Guide to the AE9 Monguor File

/The AE9 Monguor file consists of five sources, three of which are in English, one a translation from the French and one a translation from the German. Two authors, both of them Roman Catholic missionaries, are responsible for all the materials processed. Father Louis Schram was in the area from 1911 to 1922. His works are all historically oriented. Father Dominik Schröder was among the Monguor from 1946 to 1949. The basic work, by Schram, was published in three parts. The first (1:Schram) describes their origin, history and social organization; part 2 (4:Schram) their religious life (particularly oriented towards the origin and historical development of the lamaseries from the fourteenth century to 1911), and part 3 contains records of Monguor clans in Huangchung during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties. 2:Schram, which is a description of marriage and all that it entails, completes his analysis of Monguor culture. Schröder's description (3:Schröder) of Monguor religion complements that of Schram in that Schröder is more interested in the personal aspects of religious life rather than the organizational ones.

This file is probably the best one in the Central Asia and Chinese border area. It has materials in most of the cultural categories. It is specially full in data relating to marriage and religion, but is less full in those relating to material culture, language and human biology. No special marking decisions were made for this file. --Analyst/

Processed 1956-1965

Monguor AE9

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[Additional information on the Tu ren may be found in 5: Tafel, AJ1 Tibet, category 116, pp. 418-430.]

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114 Muslims than the Chinese, and says that their language is a mixture of Mongol, Chinese, and unknown words.

After his second journey in Kukunor and Tibet (1879–1880) he writes that the Daldy are called Karlun by the Tibetans and Tunschen by the Chinese and Mongols (p. 186); although he is convinced that the country of origin of the Daldy, like that of the Kirghiz, is the region of Samarkand, and that they are a mixture of the "Aryan" and "Mongol" races, but, having mingled with Chinese, the original type has disappeared; among the women, however, once in a while the genuine type is discernible (p. 188).

He notes also the legend told among the Mongols, that when Chinghis Khan ruled in the Ordos he rode so fast a horse, that in twenty-four hours he could reach Kukunor for a hunting party. Once a high official accompanied Chinghis and when he saw the country of Hsining he enjoyed it so much that he settled there with his subjects and became the founding ancestor of the Daldy tribes (p. 187).

114 101 *Potanin*, who traveled in this region in 1884–1886, refers to the Monguors as "Shirongols." He says of them that they call themselves "Mongol" or "Chagan Mongol" (White Mongol) and that some of them call themselves "Chzhahor"[3] (p. 374). The Chinese call them T'u-jen and the Mongols of the plain give them the name of "Dalda" (Doldo), or "Dolon helite doldo," which means the "doldo with seven languages." Potanin says that he prefers to call them Shirongol, because that word is better for use in the Russian language. He had heard this name used in the Ordos by the conductor of his caravan, "Santan Dzhimba," who himself belonged to the T'u-jen group of Amdo. However, neither "Shirongol" nor "Dalda" is a name known by the Monguors themselves. Only Santan Dzhimba used the name "Shirongol," explaining "Shiro" as related to "Shoro," the Mongol word for "earth" or "soil." The neighboring Tanguts, according to Potanin, called the Monguors "Cha-hor"; "Cha" meaning "Chinese" and "Hor" being the Tibetan name for the nomadic tribes of North Tibet. This term would therefore mean "Chinese Mongols." The Shirongols call the Tanguts "Tebe" ("Tubet" is the Mongol word for "Tibetan"); they call the Chinese Ch'itai (Kitat is the Mongol form); and the Mongols of the plain "Doro gadzoren Mongol"

[2] Prjevalski, *Mongolie et le pays des Tangoutes*, 172–173, 1880; Prjevalski, *Reisen in Tibet*, 186–187–188, Jena, 1884. For the original passages in Russian, see: N. M. Prjevalskii, *Mongoliya i strana Tangutov*, 199–200, Moscow, State Publishers, 1946; a reprint described as "slightly abridged," of the original St. Petersburg edition of 1875; the reprint edition has a commentary by E. M. Murzaev (see p. 315 for his notes on the "Daldy" or Monguors). The second reference is to: *Iz Zaisana cherez Khami v Tibet i na Tsaidam ya Zheltoi reki*, also available in a "slightly abridged" edition (Moscow, State Publishers, 1948) of the St. Petersburg edition of 1883; see pp. 264–265 of the reprint edition.—O. L.

[3] This is the term rendered by Huc and Gabet as "Dschiahour" (see above). See also below, p. 23, n. 1.—O. L.

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(Mongols of the lower land) (p. 375). ("Santan Dzhimba" is, of course, Potanin's version of the famous "Samdadchiemba" who had previously accompanied Huc and Gabet.)

Potanin refers further to the opinion of Uspenski, who disproves the theory of Prjevalski concerning the "Daldy" or "Talat," and claims that the Daldy are the people called by the Chinese Huang Fan and who are the Shera-Uighurs. Potanin supposes that the Shirongols probably belong to the same stock as the Shera-Uighurs who live in the Nanshan range north of Kanchou and Suchou and are called Huang Fan or "Yellow barbarians" by the Chinese. He notes that according to the *Annals* of Suchou, the names of the Princes of the "Yellow Barbarians" are Mongol names, and raises the question whether the Shirongols or Monguors may not be simply a group of these Uighurs (Yellow Uighurs) who were first Mongolized and later strongly influenced by the Chinese culture (p. 382). Potanin notes a tradition which he himself heard several times and which was also heard by Prjevalski that the Shirongols came to the Tibetan frontier from the Ordos. In connection with the fact that they are sometimes called Daldy, or Talat, he cites from Prjevalski the fact that one of the Ordos banners is called Talat. Potanin also notes a tradition that the Shirongols were sent by Chingis Khan himself to take possession of the Tibetan frontier. On the question of the precise time of their arrival, Potanin draws attention to three migrations from the Ordos region to the Tibetan frontier. The first of these was in the fourth century A.D., when a large group of the Sienpi tribe of Eastern Mongolia passed through the Ordos and migrated as far as Northern Tibet. The second, according to the Mongol historian, Sagang Setsen, was in the thirteenth century, when Dorda and Godan, brothers of Kublai Khan, were ordered by their mother to migrate to Shera-tala (Yellow Plain) northwest of Hsining. (According to a communication from Father Mostaert, this story was not written by Sagang Setsen, but added by Schmidt, his translator.) The third migration was in the fifteenth century when a large group of Ölöt or western Mongols came to the Kukunor region from the north. He suggests that the Shirongols may be the result of the mingling of the descendants of these groups, or perhaps only of the two groups that migrated in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries (p. 280).

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Potanin notes a tradition according to which the Shirongols had built a large realm, the capital of which was at Lanchou (capital of the province of Kansu); after three mighty emperors had governed the realm in succession it was destroyed by Ghesar (the mythical Tibetan hero). One of these emperors was Horbende. Potanin adds that in the Mongol chronicle *Altan Tobchi* (Russian translation, p. 196) it is said that: "Sain Altan Khagan destroyed the Sharegols of Amdo who lived between Tibet and Tangut" and he supposes that the

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600 the residue being Tibetan, Chinese and to the best of my knowledge a heretofore unknown lingo, probably the original language of the Tu-jen of this part of the Empire (p. 106).[5]

114 In his *Land of the Lamas* the same author asserts that the Dschiahours of the Three Valleys encountered by Huc and Gabet are White Mongols, whose early home was probably in the Ordos (p. 43). He quotes the *Huang Ch'ing Chih Kung T'u* (eighteenth century) as mentioning a number of Mongol tribes living in the southern portion of the Nienpei district in Sanch'uan. The same work mentions (5: 55) a tribe called Tungkou living in the same district whose chieftains bear the family name of Li and who descend from Li K'oyung, a Shat'o Turk and famous warrior of the T'ang period (p. 44). Rockhill also quotes from the dynastic history of the T'ang dynasty the tribal name Kolu, which he identifies with the Karluk Turks, northeast of the present Urumchi, in Sinkiang. These Kolu submitted to the Tibetans, and Rockhill believes that they may be the later "Tungkou," suggesting that *tung* is Chinese for "eastern," and *kou* a contraction of "Koulu," a variant of "Kolu" (p. 45).[6]

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Among the more recent travelers, the region was visited by *W. Filchner* and *A. Tafel*. In 1906 Filchner published an account of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum, the value of the volume consisting chiefly in the photographic material.[7] Tafel, although he gives interesting data about the "T'u-ren," and mentions the legends of their T'uyühun, Shat'o, or Hsi Hsia origin (p. 248), mentions their submission to the Ming and notes that the Li T'u-ssu is the most outstanding among the T'u-ssu (p. 250), does not solve the problem.[8]

Comte de Lesdain, in his journey from China through the Ordos to Tibet and India, described the country as "inhabited by the old aborigines of Kansu province, who are the most authentic remainder of the primitive race from which the Chinese spring."[9]

P. K. Kozlow, who traveled in 1907–1909, wrote of the "Donger-wa" or "people of Donger," namely, the Monguors, that they might have originated as a mixed breed of Chinese and Tanguts, and that their language was closely akin to Mongol, but with an admixture of Chinese and Tangut words.[10]

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[5] W. W. Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet, 1891–1892*, 73–106, Washington, Smithsonian Instn., 1894.

[6] W. W. Rockhill, *The land of the lamas*, New York, 1891.

[7] W. Filchner, *Das Kloster Kumbum in Tibet*, Berlin, Mittler, 1906; also *Om mani padme hum; meine China- und Tibetexpedition 1925–28*, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1929.

[8] A. Tafel, *Meine Tibetreise*, Stuttgart, Union deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1914.

[9] *From Pekin to Sikkim through the Ordos, the Gobi desert, and Tibet*, New York, Dutton, 1908.

[10] P. K. Kozlow, *Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Charachoto*, 136, Berlin, Neufeld und Henius, 1925. The original Russian edition is: P. K. Kozlov, *Mongoliya i Amdo i mertvyi gorod Khara-Khoto*, Moscow-Petrograd, State Publishers, 1923, reprinted 1948.

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

114 *Reginald Farrer*, who was in the country in 1915, writes that "Here and there all over China occur these
•101 queer little outcrops of dying races from of old," and that the "Turan," or "Children of Earth," "pervade just this one small spot on the face of China, a curious race, wholly unlike the Chinese, the Mongols, the Tibetans and the Mohamedans, if only in the fact that they are very dark and very dense with curly black hair." [11]

Frederick Wulsin wrote of the Monguors that "Some have suggested that the T'u-run (speech) is very old Mongol and others that it is based on the Shat'o Turkish dialect. The present To-run might be descended from immigrants belonging to one or the other of these races. The information now at hand does not justify me in expressing an opinion." [12]

This last citation may be taken as an appropriate summing up of the fact that the Monguors have always been an enigma to foreign travelers.

THE MONGUORS AN ENIGMA TO THE LOCAL PEOPLE

101 The Monguors have, however, been as much an
173 enigma to their Chinese neighbors as they have been to foreigners. The Chinese name T'u-jen means, as has already been explained, "autochthones" or "aborigines," and under the influence of this term the popular explanation of the Chinese of the region is that the Monguors are descendants of the first inhabitants of the country who built the oldest villages and cities, occupied the most fertile valleys, dug the irrigation canals and then were conquered and subjugated by the Chinese at some very early historical period.

Another Chinese tradition, however, is that the Monguors are of Mongol stock and settled in the region where they now live, during the Mongol dynasty, between 1260 and 1368. Still another tradition is that they are Mongols who were settled as garrisons in Yunnan Province, under the Mongol dynasty, but on the fall of that dynasty were moved to Hsining and settled there at the orders of the Ming dynasty. Yet another Chinese tradition is that the Monguors are all of Shat'o Turkish stock and arrived in the Hsining region during the T'ang dynasty (618–906); but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming dynasty. While living in the region, I also heard it said by learned Chinese who had won literary honors under the Manchu Empire that the Monguors were not a homogeneous people, but included descendants of the T'ulufan of Turkistan, remnants of the medieval T'uyühun (Sienpi) tribes, and even fragments of old Ch'iang (Ti-
173 betan) tribes. Such Chinese were prone to say in addition that the T'u-ssu or hereditary local chiefs were not of the same origin as any of their subjects, but that they

[11] Reginald Farrer, *The rainbow bridge*, 75, London, Arnold, 1921.

[12] Frederick Wulsin, Non-Chinese inhabitants of the province of Kan-su, China. *Amer. Jour. Physical Anthropol.* 8: 316, 1925.

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1: Schram, N-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

173 originally three brothers: Hor, also known as Kerker; Kerrur, and Kersur. The eldest took his subjects and went into Mongolia, where they became Mongols; the second and his followers went to Tibet and became Tibetans; the third and his subjects went to Hsining, where they became the Monguors.

Another story has it that in former times the country was always troubled by forays both from Mongolia and from Tibet, and that the Chinese commanders who succeeded in defeating and conquering some of the frontier tribes were appointed by the Chinese emperor to be the chiefs of these tribes, so that all of the chiefs of the Monguors are to be regarded as of Chinese origin.

According to still another story, an emperor of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589–620), having defeated the T'uyühun (Sienpi) near Hsining, drove most of them into Tibet; but several tribes submitted to this emperor and were assigned a territory by him in which they settled down and became the Monguors of today.

The overall conclusion seems to be that as far as tradition and legend are concerned, the problem of the origin of the Monguors is about as confused as it can be, and remains an enigma not only for Westerners but for the Chinese and for the Monguors themselves. Verbal tradition certainly provides no conclusive answer. A new trail can be blazed only by turning to the literary documents.

It was after more than three years of residence in the country that I had the good luck to obtain the 1747 edition of the *Annals* or chronicles of the prefecture of Hsining. The first edition, printed in 1595, was not available to me. I also secured the *Annals* of the province of Kansu, printed in 1909, and still later I had the very great good fortune to come into possession of a copy of the family chronicles of the clan of the Lu T'ussu, edited and printed from wood blocks in 1600 and then continued in manuscript in 1897. These materials enabled me to set out on a new attempt to clarify the origin and early history of the Monguors.

THE NAME OF THE MONGUORS

• 101 The name T'u-jen is not only used by the people of Hsining when speaking of the Monguors but is also encountered in the *Annals* of the prefecture of Hsining and of the province. According to the Chinese dictionaries, T'u-jen means "Native"; it can mean either the people pertaining by birth to a certain place, or the original inhabitants of a country. In Chinese books the word T'u-jen is never used to indicate Chinese inhabiting any place in China. The word has in general usage a derogatory meaning similar to that of the English word "native," and is used for "barbarians," non-civilized peoples subjected to the civilized Chinese, such as the Miao-tze, Lolo, and other tribes.

T'u-jen, however, has a specific meaning for the Chinese of Hsining, who use it only for the Monguors and Shat'o, perhaps because the Monguors and Shat'o speak

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101 the same language, have the same customs, dress in the same way, live in the same country, have the same T'u-ssu organization and so generally are considered to be of the same stock.

The Chinese when speaking of Hsifan (Tibetans), or of other Mongols living in the country or in Kukunor, never use the term T'u-jen, but always the terms Hsifan, etc. The question, therefore, is whether the Chinese, in calling the Shat'o and the Monguors T'u-jen, mean a people belonging by birth to the country but whose ancestors migrated from other countries to Hsining, or the original inhabitants of the country. Because the term has this double meaning, it is certainly used in both meanings.

Huc and Gabet call the Monguors Dschiahour, interpreted as "sinised Mongols." This is the term used by the Tibetans of the country. Prjevalski and Father de Smedt heard Tibetans calling them K'arlong. Potanin calls them Shirongols. Father Mostaert heard Mongols in Mongolia referring to them as Dolot; Prjevalski calls them Daldy (the same word), and the Monguors call themselves Monguor. Potanin states that they are also called White Mongols, and Chzhahor. According to Father A. Mostaert the name Monguor is merely a variant of the name Mongol. In the Monguor language, words which in other Mongol dialects end with an *l*, end with an *r*. The written sources and the tradition, however, clearly establish the fact that not all of the Monguors are of Mongol origin. There are no data, however, to explain the process by which the Shat'o group lost its original Turkish language and adopted that of the Monguors. There is an ample historical record to demonstrate that the name T'u-jen, by which the Chinese call the Monguors, is incorrect since in ancient and medieval times the region now inhabited by the Monguors was intermittently and alternatingly occupied by various tribes. The explanation of the Chinese term is, however, sufficiently obvious. The Chinese military colonists transplanted to the region at the opening of the Ming dynasty must have assumed that the Monguor "natives" whom they found there were "aborigines" who had always been there.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE MONGUORS

197 The language of the Monguors has been studied by the Fathers A. Mostaert and A. de Smedt.[15] Father A. Mostaert writes me:

> The language spoken by the Monguors is a Mongol dialect, with peculiar archaic characteristics concerning both the phonetic and the vocabulary.

[15] A. De Smedt et A. Mostaert, *Le dialecte Monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kan-su occidental. Ire partie: Phonétique.*, *Anthropos*, Vienna, Leo-Gesellschaft **24**: 145–164 et 801–815; **25**: 657–665 et 961–973; **26**: 253. *IIme partie, Grammaire.* Monumenta Serica Monograph **6**, Peking, Catholic Univ., 1945. *IIIme partie: Dictionnaire Monguor-Français*, Publication de l'Université Catholique de Pékin, Peiping, 1933. A. Mostaert, The Mongols of Kansu and their language, *Bull. Catholic Univ. of Peking* **8**, 1931.

[p. 28-b]

618 9. The Hsia clan, of Monguor stock, comprised 100
175 families, settled with the Kan seventy-five miles south-
162 east of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54). The name of the T'u-ssu was later erased from the list of T'u-ssu.

10. The La clan, a small group of Monguor stock. The number of families is not recorded. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was settled seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei, near the Kan clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54).

618 These are the sixteen groups recorded in the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, and in the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24.
177 They were all living in the country under the Mongol dynasty, and submitted to the Ming. The Ch'eng and Chi groups, in the prefecture of Hsining, and the Chao, Yeh, and Hsin groups, in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, have now "become Chinese," and their chiefs have been erased from the lists of the T'u-ssu.

The chiefs of these Shat'o and Monguor groups still bore Mongol names when they submitted to the Ming. After having held the office of T'u-ssu for two or three generations, the chiefs adopted Chinese surnames and each group then adopted the Chinese surname of its chief.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, and especially after 1723, single Tibetan families or small Tibetan groups were enrolled in nearly all the groups. Still later, Chinese families were accepted in the same way; but the Chinese did not adopt the surname of the chief of the group.

131 The foregoing data show that the habitat of the Monguors is not limited to the district of Hsining. In addition, it may be noted that the mansion of Lu T'u-ssu,
[101] of Monguor extraction, is located at Liench'eng, forty-five miles west of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. This large group call themselves Monguor and the Chinese call them T'u-jen; they are neighbors of the Monguors
624 of Nienpei. In this one group there are no less than seven T'u-ssu, all claiming descent from the imperial family of the founder of the Mongol dynasty. The T'u-ssu of Liench'eng is the head of the whole group. He alone is regarded as the ruler of the subject people and possessor of the territory assigned to them by the Ming
[651] dynasty. The other six T'u-ssu hold only the title, without the powers of chieftainship. In time of war they are bound to obey the order of the senior T'u-ssu; and for revenue each of them is allowed to collect land taxes from a fixed number of villages.

624 The seven T'u-ssu of this group represent seven lines of descent from either the brothers or the sons of the
175 prince of Nanting (the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 50, pp. 55–57, incorrectly name him prince of Wu-ting). His ancestor was Kolgan, son of Chingis Khan by his favorite beauty, Kulan.[21] The prince who was living in the country at the end of the Mongol dynasty submitted

[21] The family chronicles of this clan, which I am preparing for publication, are referred to above.

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Introduction

101 This study deals with marriage among the T'ou-jen /T'u-jen/ of Kansu. The T'ou-jen in question occupy the north side of Sining River, in the prefecture of Sining and the subprefecture of P'ing-fan (Lien-tch'eng).

114 We hope to have this monograph followed by others, which will deal with the history of the T'ou-jen, their religious, social, and political life. Our sources for the history of this people are the great history of China, the chronicles of the towns of Kansu, and the family chronicles of one of the most powerful T'ou-jen groups, which extend over a period of more than five hundred years; our sources for the ethnology are the notes collected during the course of about ten years spent in T'ou-jen country.

144 162 Of the T'ou-jen of whom we write one group is very probably of Turkish race, and the other, without doubt, as of Mongol race. The first, of the clan of Li t'ou-se, are said to be /2/ originally Cha-t'ouo /Sha-t'o/ (1) who immigrated to the region in the T'ang period

1. Aur. Stein, Serindia, Vol. 2, p. 1129: Kao-chu-hui, when describing the journey along this border, of the Chinese mission which started from Khotan in 938, tells us: Kan-chow is the camping place of the Hui-ho (Uigurs). The mountains which are about 100 li to the south (direction of Si-ning; the principal habitat of the T'ou-jen is four days from Kan-chow /Kan-tcheou/) are the territory where in the time of the Han dynasty there resided the ancient people called the little Yueh-chih. There is a race different from this people called Cha-t'ouo from the mountains of the deer forest. They are said to be descended from the Ch'u yueh race (ex. Rémusat, Ville de Khotan /City of Khotan/;

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Chavannes, Turcs Occidentaux /Western Turks/). The Cha-t'ouo to whom Kao-chu-hui's relation refers here, were a tribe of the western Turcs first settled in early times to the east of Barkoul, and after A.D. 808 transferred to the northern borders of Kan-sou, for the sake of protecting them from inroads. /Cited in English, with one interpolation in French indicated by underline./

(620-905); the chronicles of Sining confirm this tradition. The last group came to live in the area either in the Yüan period (1280-1368) or the Ming (1368-1644).

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These two groups speak the same language today, called Monguor by them. The language is very archaic; it reflects the Mongolian of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Let us call to

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the attention of those who are interested in the question of the T'ou-jen language the study of Fathers Mostaert and De Smedt published in Anthropos, XXIV-XXV, "Le dialecte monguor, parlé par les Mongols du Kan-sou occidental /The Monguor Dialect, spoken by the Mongols of Western Kansu/." The grammar and the dictionary are in press.

The Cha-t'ouo of whom we speak are then Mongolized today. It should be pointed out that the notions of race and language are subject to caution.

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The T'ou-jen, subject to China, have kept their autonomy under chiefs of their race, recognized by China and called t'ou-se. The Chinese Republic, from its beginning, has shown itself hostile to this autonomous administration and has tried to treat the T'ou-jen as Chinese, subject to the jurisdiction of the mandarins of the place.

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The ways and customs of the T'ou-jen, although influenced by the proximity of the Chinese and the Tibetans, have remained relatively pure. They reveal many a secret of their former social organization and of their nomadic life of yesteryear.

2: Schram--3 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

115 The speech extracts which appear in the present study have
191 been furnished by a T'ou-jen master of ceremonies who was accustomed to preside over the marriage ceremonies in the region. The fact that nearly all the T'ou-jen men speak Chinese more or less is what explains the use of this language, as well as the use of Chinese proverbs, in the course of the marriage ceremonies. Most of the philological notes in the present monograph were furnished by Fathers
104 Mostaert and De Smedt. The transcription of Monguor is the one used by the same Fathers, who adopted the general alphabet of Anthropos (Anthr. XXIV-V), but simplified. The transcription of the Chinese is the romanization adopted by the Variétés.

101 The term T'ou-jen is used by the Chinese of "Sining" to desig-
104 nate the people or peoples of the region who speak the Monguor language and who are under the jurisdiction of a t'ou-se. The term T'ou-jen means "aboriginal."

Although the peoples in question are certainly not the first inhabitants of the country, we have nevertheless thought we should adopt this improper term because it is in current use "in the country" and is used there to designate only this people. The term T'ou-jen is therefore here a people's name. The Tibetans, the Mongols, and the Salar of the country are not T'ou-jen in the eyes of the inhabitants of Sining. Besides, the local chronicles, as well as those of Liang-tcheou and Lan-tcheou use the same term when they deal with this people.

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When I had just arrived in the region of Sining and before I had studied the question of the T'ou-jen, an old T'ou-jen from Choang-niou-keou (region of Lien-tch'eng) told me that, according to an old tradition, the T'ou-jen had come from Yunnan and from Kweichow to fight the Tibetans of the Sining region. This piece of information was responsible for my reading the study concerning the Miao in Anthropos. It is historically certain that the T'ou-jen we are writing about did not come from either Yunnan or Kweichow: but according to the Hoa-i-i-iu (note communicated by Father Mostaert), we know that the Mongols who were subdued in the reign period of Hung-wu /1368-98/ in the Ming period waged war in southwest China: Thus it is possible that among the T'ou-jen there are Mongols whose ancestors waged war on Yunnan....This fact may provide an explanation for this tradition. We shall deal with this subject in a study on the history of the T'ou-jen.

A brief glance at the Miao peoples has become indispensable since the studies of Father Wilhelm Koppers, "Tungusen und Miao, ein Beitrag zur Frage der Komplexitaet der altchinesischen Kultur /The Tungus and Miao, A Contribution to the Problem of the Complexity of Ancient Chinese Culture/," Mitt. d. anthrop. Ges., Vienna, Vol. 60, 1930, pp. 306-319, as well as the one in Anthropos, 1930, p. 981, "Die Frage des Mutterrechtes und des Totemismus im alten China /The Question of Mother-Right and Totemism in Ancient China/."

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587 come the incoherences we have been able to establish in the present-day rites of the marriage of widows. Neither should the existence of the practice of abduction of widows be supposed for this period. It is therefore natural to conclude that, for all this period, the marriage of girls is to be considered as the only and true marriage, and that the practice of abduction existed only for them. This fact has its importance again in the question of polygamy among the T'ou-jen, because it explains a special category of polygamy still practiced nowadays. The T'ou-jen, no longer having any recollection of this institution which existed among his ancestors, today seeks an arbitrary explanation for this problem.

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101 /111/ Northern and central Asia has been the theater of numerous migrations, peaceful and otherwise, in historic and prehistoric times, of peoples having extremely varied social organizations. From this come the analogies and the ethnological borrowings ascertained among the peoples on both sides of the Bering Strait, and among the "middle and western Eurasians."

114 I summarize in this place the monumenta ethnographica which shed a new light on the chapter on "marriage by purchase" among the T'ou-jen, whose ancestors, Mongols and Cha-t'ou, were nomads.

For this purpose I use the judicious-inclusive study of Dr. Herbert König, "Das Recht der Polarvölker, IV. Das Eherecht der Polarvölker," Anthropos (1928-29).

583 171 Anthropos, 1929, p. 101, Bride Price /Brautkauf/ among the Central and Western Eurasians ... Bride-price marriage coincides in distribution almost exactly with the peoples in the polar region who have an aristocratic social organization. It is specifically reported and described in detail for the Tungus, Jakut, Samojed, Ostjak, and Lapps, and, to be sure, as a unique way of concluding marriage. Page 104. The picture

/171 cont'd/

L 582 591 P. 161: Thus it is at least when children are married at the age of 16 or 18 years. Unfortunately, the Lo-lo P'o also have the detestable habit of marrying their children from the age of ten or 12 years and /172/ even often earlier, from the age of four or six years. In this case, the children do not sleep together after the marriage. Generally even, the girl returns to her parents in the evening. About the age of 16 years they will have the girl come back. It is a rare thing for her to come back to have relations with her husband; on the average 98 out of 100 girls thus married do not want their husbands and seek a lover. The girl stays at her husband's home, and it is at his home that her lover comes each night, while the husband goes to spend the night with another woman. And note it well, although the wife works with her husband and eats at the same table, under no circumstances would she have relations with him.

L 595 In most of the Lo-lo tribes in Yunnan, polygamy is not practiced (exception made for the t'ou-se), except in the very rare cases where the first wife is sterile. In this case the husband, together with his first wife, chooses a second one.

/173/ Conclusion

The Principal Rite of Marriage

After studying marriage among the T'ou-jen, it is wholly natural to wonder what is the principal rite of marriage.

Mo [101] 121 Since the T'ou-jen with whom we deal are an amalgamation of true Mongols and of Mongolized Cha-t'ouo, it seems that to solve this problem it is necessary to compare the marriage ceremonies practiced among the T'ou-jen with those in use among the Mongols or the groups of Mongolized peoples; and that, moreover, one must take into account the civilizations of the neighboring peoples, which have been able to change or influence ways and customs either in the past or in the present. Thus one can hope to discover a ceremony practiced by all the groups in all marriages from the most solemn to the simplest.

[4]

First Part: The Religious Customs

1. Introduction*

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*The designations (1), (2), (3), etc. do not appear as footnotes in this work, but as independent subsections, and each time under the heading "Notes." Cf. p. 17 [of the foreign text] in this chapter. [In the translation these notes will be incorporated as footnotes; hence the independent subsections with the heading "Notes" (Anmerkungen) will be eliminated.]

1. The Name of the Tujen

●101 In the European literature the people of the group under consideration are usually called Tujen (Turen, T'ou-jen, T'u-jen). This is also the name usually given them by the Tsinghai Chinese. Tujen means native, man of the place. The Chinese t'u signifies place, soil, earth; jen signifies human being, man, people. The Chinese have given them this [5] name because at the time of their immigration these people were already present. They also apply this name to other peoples of the frontier region, for example, in Szechwan; no ethnic designation is expressed by it. This should not be taken to mean, however, that the Tujen are in fact the first inhabitants [114] of that region, as P. A. Volpert has done; cf. Volpert, "Etwas über die T'u-yen, Ureinwohner Westkansus [Something about the T'u-yen, the original inhabitants of West Kansu]," (Anthropos, 18/19, 1923/24). According to their tradition, they likewise immigrated, but before the Chinese.

For the rest, the following names are also used: Dalden, Dolden, Daldy (Przewalski; Grum-gržimajlo, and others); furthermore, Dchiahour (Huc and Gabet); Kansu-Mongols, Mongols of Kansu (De Smedt and A. Mostaert); Monguor (De Smedt and Mostaert). A. Mostaert would like to derive the

[5 cont.]

101 word "Dalden" from the Mongolic "Golot," with which the Mongols designate the Tujen; cf. Mostaert, The Mongols of Kansu, p. 84; DMF, p. II (1).

The Tujen refer to themselves as Moṅġol kun (Mongolic people) or tsiġan Moṅġol (White Mongols) in contrast to the other Koko Nor Mongols, whom they call xara Moṅġol (Black Mongols). The name Monguor, introduced by P.A. Mostaert, goes back to this self-designation; the dialectal variant set down by him pronounces the l like r and has a slight u sound before the open o. The neighboring Tangut use the name Karlaṅ for the Tujen, which evidently is of Tibetan origin. In the geography of the sMin-'Gyur (Min-chu)-Hutuktu, written in Tibetan, the Tujen tribe is called rGya-Hor, pronounced Dyahor, which is thus the same designation as that used by Huc and Gabet. Even today this expression is still in use among the people, who render it with the crude Chinese word tsa-chung (mixed seed), bastard.

All these names have given rise to various explanatory theories, which do not belong here. No designation is entirely unambiguous. The nearest to this might be Chiahor and Monguor, but since Tujen is the commonest, this name will be used here. The most suitable, however, would be to adopt the self-designation of the Tujen: White Mongols.

2. The Distribution of the Tujen

131 The principal area of distribution of the Tujen in the present Tsinghai Province lies south of the Richthofen Mountains, that is, in the triangle formed by the Sining and Taitung rivers. The heart of this triangle is formed by the northern side valleys of the Sining River, namely, the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan, the Ha-la-chih-kou, the Hung-nai-tzu-kou, and the Shui-mo-kou. Almost the entire region belongs to the town Huchu, which is located in the upper reaches of the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan. Aside from the county of Huchu, the Tujen are settled predominantly in the county of Minho, and in smaller groups in the counties of Lotu, Tatung, and Kungho. The Tujen themselves call the [101] area they inhabit Amdo (Tibetan). Their total number cannot
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[8 cont.]

114 the author owes the safety of the materials collected entirely to the helpfulness of his confreres. In addition to the Fathers Eichinger and Grünewald, S.V.D., I should like to mention here particularly Father Richard Haas, S.V.D., who shortly thereafter was overtaken by a violent death in the Koko Nor steppe.

4. The Sources (the Informant)

115 The informant came from Tuo-chia, that is, "Tuo home," about one kilometer east of Chi-chia-ling, which lies along the mountain route from Kan-chia-pu (in the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) to Pai-nai (in the Ha-la-chih-kou). Tuo-chia gets its name from [103] the informant's kin group [Sippe] and formerly embraced perhaps four farmsteads, [9] of which, however, a part has been destroyed by an avalanche. Today only two farms and the temple remain. The Tuo have not always resided here. They [166] come from the vicinity of the Tujen monastery Rgulõn, where [423] a hundred years ago they owned two large horse pastures. Later one of the ancestors moved to the vicinity of Chi-chia-ling and cultivated the fairly extensive upland which paid tribute to the monastery, but which today is the private property of the Tuo family and pays taxes to the county of Huchu. It consists of about 200 Chinese morgen.

114 The report applies primarily to this region, namely, to the Tujen villages Chi-chia-ling, Ta-yang-chüan, Hsiao-
● 101 yangchüan, and Sha-pa-kou, up into the Na-ling-kou. Since, however, according to my own observations and the statements of the informant, the customs in the county of Huchu are quite uniform, the area to which it is applicable can be extended farther to include the villages between Huchu and Rgulõn. These [628] villages carry on a very lively traffic with one another and are extensively interrelated. As regards numbers, this report covers approximately one quarter of all the Tujen of the Sining region, an area generally regarded as their population center.

115 The old Tuo is kin-group elder and has two younger [776] brothers, who live with him, his sons, his sons' wives, and [553] grandchildren's families. By his first name he is called yifula,

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Commandant Sire Hung of the tenth generation 101
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Hua-lin, Sire Wu Kung, the great-grandfather (tseng-tsu) of the twelfth generation 102
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I. HISTORY OF THE MONGUOR CLANS IN HUANGCHUNG

101 The Mongols, commanded by General Subudei, invaded the region of Huangchung in 1227 and invested the city of Hsining, which they conquered (*Annals* of Hsining 31B: 8a and *Annals* of Kansu 46: 20a).

In order to understand conditions in Huangchung at the time of the Mongol conquest it is necessary to take notice of the peculiar geographical conditions of the country, and to bear in mind the circumstances which had caused the presence in Huangchung in 1227 of the remnants of so many T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang tribes, of many thousands of Uighurs and of many Shat'o tribes. The social organization of this heterogeneous population and the ways in which it behaved will explain the policy adopted by the Mongol dynasty, followed by the Ming dynasty (1368), continued during the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) and even during more than ten years under the Republic (1911).

GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS

131 The Province of Kansu is divided geographically into three parts: West Kansu, Huangchung, and East Kansu, separated from one another by the range of the Southern Mountains (Nan Shan) and the Yellow River, both running in a northeasterly direction. The Nan Shan range separates West Kansu from Huangchung, and the Yellow River separates Huangchung from East Kansu.

A175 487 West Kansu, a long narrow strip, a corridor situated between the bases of the Nan Shan range and the Gobi desert, is of primary importance because through that country runs the old transcontinental silk trade road, already opened in the second century B.C.[1] and because

[1] Louis M. J. Schram, The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier. II. Their religious life, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 47 (1): 9, 1957 (hereafter referred to as Monguors II).

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I. HISTORY OF THE MONGUOR CLANS IN HUANGCHUNG

this road was the only one which secured communication between the Chinese capital and its western colonies. Until 1882 Turkistan was a part of Kansu Province. Military colonies had been established along this long corridor between 140 and 86 B.C. in order to protect the communications against the turbulent Turkish barbarians of the Gobi and the savage Tibetans. Passes running through the Nan Shan secured communications between West Kansu and Huangchung.

In A.D. 872 Kanchow, one of the oldest colonies situated in the corridor, became the seat of the Uighur Khanate.[2] Uighur princes ruled in Kanchow until 1028. At that time their realm was conquered by the Hsi-hsia. The Mongols occupied the country in 1227.[3]

East Kansu is separated from Huangchung on the west by the Yellow River, on the east it is bounded by

[2] James Russell Hamilton, *Les Ouighours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties, Bibliothèque de L'institut des Hautes Études Chinoises* 10: 14, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1955. Uighurs (called Huei-hou, Hue-ho) of Hunnic origin belong to the group of the Tolos tribes (p. 1). Their empire in Mongolia, which lasted from 745 until 840, controlled the region from Manchuria to the Altai and the territory of the Karluk in the T'ien Shan; its capital (Karabalgason) was situated on the Orkhon River. At the time of the destruction of their empire at the hands of the Khirgiz, a group of Uighurs fled into the region situated between Ku Ch'a and Besbalik in Turkistan (p. 18). It offered its offices to the Chinese army (Kuei-yi-chun) of General Chang Yi-ch'ao, garrisoned in the prefecture of Sha Chou. It fought the Tibetans in combination with the Chinese (p. 13), and in 872 these Uighurs, allies of the Chinese, settled in Kanchow. Others settled in Shi Chou (Karakhadjo), and so the northern part of Turkistan had become an Uighur country (pp. 14, 15, 16). The Uighurs were converted to Manicheism in 762-763. They were the educators of the Turco-Mongol peoples from the ninth to the thirteenth century (p. 6).

[3] Edw. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao* 5: 215, 1904. O. Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches* 2: 493, 501, Leipzig, Verlag Von Walter De Gruyter, 1936.

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MAP OF CHINA SHOWING MONGUOR REGION (INSET SQUARE) AND NEIGHBORING TERRITORIES AND PROVINCES.

[P. 8(A)]

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175 the province of Shensi, and on the south by the province
101 of Szechwan. During the period of the Han Dynasties, 202 B.C. until A.D. 220, Ch'iang (Tibetan) tribes roamed with their herds in the northern part of Tibet and Kokonor, in large parts of Shensi Province and East Kansu, and on the borders of Szechwan, Hupei, and Shansi Provinces.[4]

East Kansu had always been a region of momentous military importance, on account of its proximity to the city of Sian, situated in Shensi Province, which many times had been the capital of the empire, and on account of the impending threat of invasions on the part of the Tang-hsiang (Tibetan) tribes, whose cradle was situated in Sung P'an in North Szechwan, along the southern boundary of Shensi, where practically no boundaries were defined. The forays of Tibetans used to pass through East Kansu. Today, a city still exists called

[4] Wolfram Eberhard, *Kultur und Siedlung der Randvölker Chinas*, 67, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

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*175 101 Ti Tao, which means "the way of the barbarians," and is a reminder of these fateful days.[5] It was in order to cope with this crucial problem that so many Chinese military colonies had been established in East Kansu during the Tang dynasty, the Wu Tai (or Five Dynasties), and the Sung and Ming dynasties, and that intermittently new colonies and fortresses had to be built in order to stem the invasions and revolts of Tang-hsiang, T'u-fan, Hsi Hsia, and Mongols.[6] The Mongols at the time of their conquest of China had a lot of trouble in East Kansu and West Shensi, subduing the Tibetan and Uighur tribes which during the previous dynasties had submitted to China but whose loyalty and dependence always remained questionable.

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[5] See the remarkable study of Owen Lattimore, *The frontier in history*, X Congresso internazionale di Science Storiche, Roma, 4: 11, Settembre 1955. Relazioni 1: 106, Firenze, 1955.

[6] Franke, *op. cit.* 3: 22, 1937. *Annals* of Kansu 45: 12. In 1096 more than fifty forts and colonies had been built against the Hsi Hsia in one year.

[P. 8(C)]

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x175 101 133 Huangchung is bounded on the north by the Chi Lien Shan, a range of lower mountains which constitutes the northern end of the Nan Shan range. Being less high and abrupt, it provides an easy access to the countries of Ninghsia, Ordos, and Mongolia. In order to prevent the junction of the barbarians of Mongolia with those of Huangchung, the Chinese General Ho Ch'u-ping, in 116 B.C. (Monguors I: 19) established the first colonies in Huangchung. It was along the natural depressions in the Chi Lien range that the Tibetans many times invaded the country of the Ninghsia, Ordos, and Shansi borders, and that Mongols made inroads from Ordos into Huangchung and Kokonor. On the south side no high mountains or large rivers separate Huangchung from Kokonor and Tibet, through which many roads provide access to Central Asia.

Geographically, Huangchung, bounded by the large Yellow River on the south and east, by low mountains on the north, and spreading wide open toward the southwest facing Kokonor and Tibet, seems to be a peninsula of Kokonor and Tibet protruding into China. x175 648 Huangchung being more remote from the capital of the empire than East Kansu, the threat of inroads from the empire was apparently less imminent; and the importance of its trade being not comparable with that of the colonies situated in the corridor of West Kansu across the Nan Shan range, fewer colonies had been established there than in East Kansu. Every time rebellions or dynastic troubles occurred in China, the Tibetans of Kokonor helped their brothers of Huangchung destroy the colonies; however, as long as the empire was at peace and its military power intimidated the restless Tibetans, Chinese officials could proceed with collecting the tribute of horses from the tribes governed by their own chiefs, and the ways leading to Kokonor could be guarded.

[635] The whole of Kansu, populated by barbarians, was for centuries considered as a colony and not as a province proper. Only in 1665 was the province of Kansu established, and even up to the Republic (1911) Kansu was ruled together with Shensi by a viceroy. Only since 1928 has the province of Ch'inghai been established, encompassing Huangchung and a part of Kokonor.

THE POPULATION OF HUANGCHUNG AT THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST BY THE MONGOLS

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE TANG PERIOD

x175 162 In 1227 when the Mongols conquered Huangchung, the country was inhabited by depleted tribes of Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o, without cohesion among them. The country had passed through the ordeal of centuries of wars, and the Chinese colonies had long since vanished. x 175 648

The Tang dynasty (620–906) had been unable to

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x 175 648 cope with the turbulent empire of the T'u-fan contemporaneously founded in Lhasa, whose floods of untamed hordes had poured ceaselessly into the regions of Sung P'an in northwest Szechwan, and up into Kokonor, Shensi, and Kansu Provinces. Srong-btsan sgam-po, who had united the T'u-fan tribes into a nation, died in 650. He is credited with having initiated his subjects in Buddhism and in the Indian and Chinese civilizations.[7] Three times, in 730, 783, and 821, the Tang emperors had made treaties with the T'u-fan, fixing the limits of both empires.[8] The text of the last treaty, [131] chiseled on a slab, is still preserved in Lhasa.[9] In Huangchung, in the village of Topa, 60 li west of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 7) and northwest of the city of Tatung (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 17) still exist steles fixing the western limits of Huangchung. The texts are now indecipherable, except for a few characters.

x 175 162 The T'u-fan hordes smote upon the region of Sung P'an, in northwest Szechwan, the cradle of the Tibetan Tang-hsiang tribes. In 627 two groups of Tang-hsiang tribes, for fear of the invaders, fled to East Kansu. One group, called Tung-shan-pu, settled in the region of the modern Ch'ing-yang fu in East Kansu; the other group, called P'ing-hsia-pu, settled in the region of Mi Chih, in northwest Shensi. The leading tribe of the last group was the Topa, formerly pressed by the T'u-fan, which had submitted to the T'u-yu-hun.[10]

x 175 648 101 The P'ing-hsia-pu tribes of Shensi, during the revolt of Nan Lu Shan (756–764), had helped save the tottering throne of the Tang dynasty. Their chief had been rewarded with the name of the dynasty, Li, and the administration of some districts had been granted to the group. During the internal troubles which several times beset the empire, the P'ing-hsia-pu group had laid the foundation of its own Hsi Hsia Kingdom, and from 982 on it had considered itself strong enough to antagonize the Sung dynasty (960–1280), openly embarking on the conquest of Kansu and Shensi Provinces. The Hsi Hsia realm vanished at the hands of the Mongols in 1226.[11] Not only did these groups of Tang-hsiang tribes submit to China but, in A.D. 631, 300,000 more Tang-hsiang surrendered, pressed by the T'u-fan, and were settled in East Kansu and on the Shensi borders, where sixteen districts were established by the emperor in the countries assigned to them, garrisons established, and Chinese military officials appointed (*Annals* of Kansu 45: 53*a*).

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[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 373.

[8] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 437, 480, 484.

[9] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 484. Li Fan-koei. Inscription of the Sino-Tibetan treaty 821–822. *T'oung Pao* 64: 1 sq., 1956.

[10] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 132. R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia. *Bulletin École Française Extrême Orient* 64: 228, Paris, 1956. Peter Olbricht, Die Tanguten und ihre Geschichte bis zur Grundung von Si-hia. *Central Asiatic Journal* 2: 143. The T'opa founders of the Hsi Hsia might be of Sien-pi origin, 154.

[11] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 133, 134.

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In Kokonor T'u-fan hordes attacked the T'u-yu-hun in 634, and drove them out of the country in 672. The T'u-yu-hun, nomad tribes of Sien-pi origin, had been settled in Kokonor since A.D. 280 and, facing extermination after decades of savage wars with the T'u-fan, succeeded in being transplanted by the Chinese in 672 into the region of Ling Wu (Ninghsia) in Ming-sha hsien.[12]

Huangchung (Hsining region) was already invaded by T'u-fan in 629. The T'u-fan administered several crushing defeats to the Chinese troops on the Kokonor borders, in Huangchung and in East Kansu. After the resounding victory of the T'u-fan in 678, the Tang-hsiang tribes settled previously in East Kansu, despairing of the aid and protection of the emperor, submitted to the T'u-fan, and with them fought the Chinese troops, devastating the country. These disastrous events continued indefinitely. The emperor having fled from his capital in 756 on account of the rebellion of An Lu-shan, T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang of East Kansu combined, captured in 763 the capital of the empire, burned the palaces, and looted the city and the neighboring country. The whole of Kansu was lost. The Tsan-p'u of Lhasa appointed his T'u-fan officials and military commanders in Huangchung and East Kansu.[13] The rebellion of the Chinese governors against the emperor had started in 783 and lasted until 787. In 783 the thread of destruction hanging like a Damocles sword over the dynasty, the emperor concluded the negotiation of a treaty with the Tsan-p'u, already initiated in 780. The T'u-fan would help the emperor out of his difficulty and be rewarded with four more prefectures situated southeast of P'ing-liang in East Kansu. The T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang had helped recover the lost capital in 784, but the Chinese refused to give up the four prefectures. The enraged Tibetans furiously invaded the Wei Valley, occupied Yen and Hsia Chou in Shensi and the whole region inside the Yellow River bend, looting and laying waste the countryside. Adding to the frustration of the Chinese, Tibetan armies administered the most crushing defeat to them in Turkistan in 791. Except for Turfan, Turkistan was lost to the Chinese. In 822 there followed the humiliating treaty by which China renounced its rights over Turkistan, over the whole of Kansu and some parts of Shensi. However, forays by savage Tibetan tribes did not cease.[14]

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[12] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 397. Schram, Monguors I: 19. *Annals* of Kansu 45: 55a. R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. École Française d'Extrême Orient* 44: 223.

[13] The Tsan-p'u was the representative of the T'u-fan hierarchy; he presided over the tribes who had pledged allegiance or had been subdued; he was the arbiter of the frequently conflicting interests arising among them. The stronger the repute of the Tsan-p'u the richer the pillages to be expected, and the stronger were the bonds which tied the nation together.

[14] *Annals* of Kansu 45: 51, 62. Ch'u T'ang Shu, 146: 3–5. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 398, 399, 433, 439, 466, 469, 480, 484. *Annals* of Hsining 30: 25–30.

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S 563 141 142 body skin is brownish or yellowish and brachycephalism is found in more than 92%. They have high cheek bones, the nose is flat and the eyes show the typical Mongoloid eyefold. The eyes are either black or brown, sometimes even light brown. The hair is also black or dark brown, coarse and straight. Hair growth is sparse. The average height is about 1670 mm. The trunk is strongly built and the legs are rather short in comparison to those of the Uzbeks or Tajiks.

S 563 3. Relations with non-Mongols

There is no animosity between the various Mongol tribes, but there is a definite antagonism between the Mongols and the Kazakhs and between the Mongols and the Chinese.

S 563 175 S [167] 4. History

The Western Mongols are direct descendants from the Oirats of the great Mongolian conquest. At least, since 600 A.D. they have lived in this area. Some of the Torguts are recent immigrants or, more accurately, returnees. They left Russia in 1771 and returned to their homeland, Dzungaria.

S 563 As far as social organization is concerned, the Oirats are said to represent the old Mongolian pattern. Tribal leaders inherit their political positions, and property is considered in terms of pastures and cattle.

S 563 631 5. The leagues

The Mongols of Sinkiang were organized into three leagues:
(1) the Unen Susuqtu League, consisting of ten banners of Torguts
(2) the Batu Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts
(3) the Ching Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts and seven banners of Uriangkhai.

B. The Mongols of Kansu

N *563 101 M [101] 1. The Mongours

a. history

The Mongours are the most important Mongolian tribe living in Kansu. They are known under various names. Potanin called them Shirongols, the Chinese call them Tu-jen, the Olots and Torguts call them Dalda or Doldo, the Tanguts call them Cha-hor, but the Mongours themselves use only the latter term. The Mongours N *563 have been studied by Father Schram who states that the Mongours *175 came to Kansu in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thir- [167] teenth century and that furthermore the Mongours were already settled in the Hsi-ning area when the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) M 175 was founded. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) "benefitting by the [167] experience of the Ming succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighbouring tribes of Kokonor, assigning definite territories to each of them and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes they were able to develop the country

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19 but before *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bičig "letter, writing"	bitšig (or bitšıg)
čimůgen "hammer"	tšimgn̥
čiraɣ "face"	tširē

5) The Common Mongolian *e became *ö in certain positions:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
ebůsůn "hay"	öwsn̥
ebůddg "knee"	öwdᵊg
ebedčin "disease"	öwtšn̥
elgů- "to hang"	ölgö-

6) The Written Mongolian (old Mongolian) diphthongs have developed into long vowels in the Kalmuck language:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
dalbaɣai "large and flat"	dalwaɣā
duldui "iron rod"	duldū
gei "handle of an axe"	gē
moɣai "snake"	moɣā
alɣui "name of a plant"	alɣū

7) The Common Mongolian vowels have developed into front vowels before the Common Mongolian *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bari- "to seize"	bär-
qari- "to come back"	χär-
sayin "good"	sän

N B. The Monguor Language

*563 One of the strangest Mongolian languages is Monguor, because
[197] it preserves still some Middle Mongolian peculiarities and also
M because it is under the influence of initial forms which are charac-
[197] teristic of Tibetan. Those Mongols who call themselves Monguors
live in the Chinese province of Kansu and practice nomadic animal
M breeding as well as some agriculture. The Chinese call them
[101] Tu-jen. The Mongols of the Mongolian People's Republic call
[361] them Dolot. The sub-group of San-chuan Mongols (Monguor)
live north of Kuan-ting. The Santa live south of the Yellow River
and east of Tao-ho. The sub-group of the Shera-Yogur live around
Kan-chou, Su-chou and Tun-huang. All these tribes are Buddhists
with the exception of the Santa, who have become converted to
Islam. Culturally the Monguors, at least partially, appear to be
mongolized Turks and Tibetans.

M The following observations may be made about the Monguor
19 language:

1) The Monguor language has preserved the Common Mongolian *p or *φ as *f and as *χ:

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3:Schröder--4 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[6]

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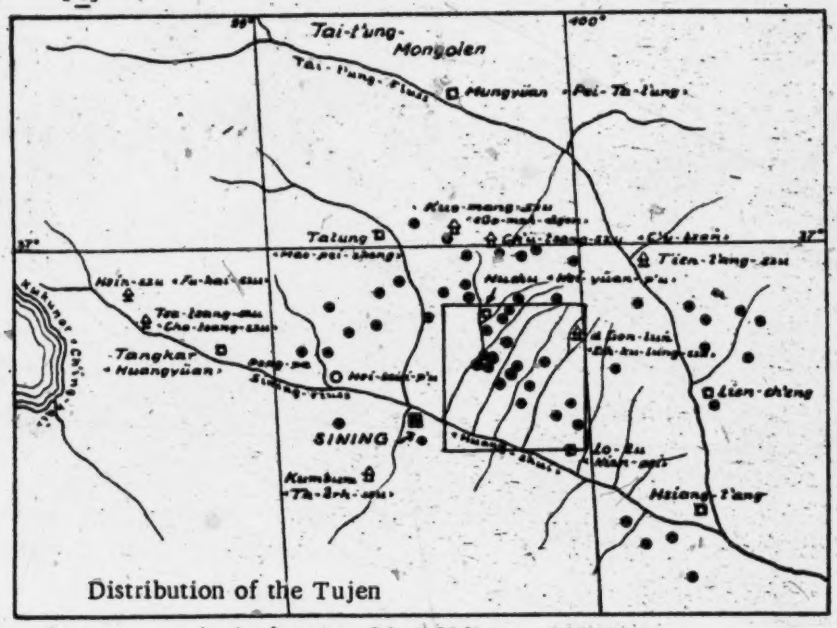
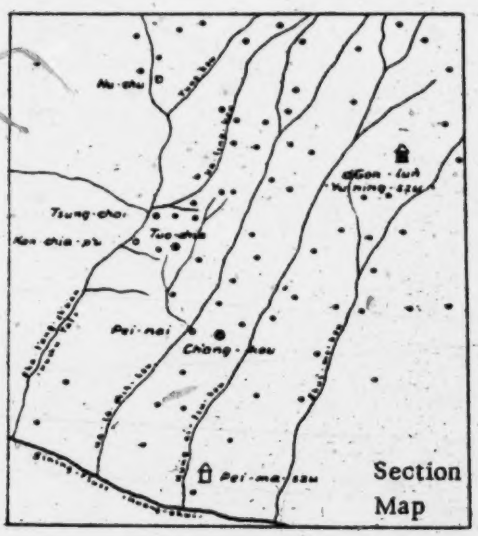


From a map in Anthropos, 24, 1929, pp. 144-45.



- Monastery
- Chinese towns
- Chinese villages
- Tu-jen settlements
- Tuo-chia, the home of the informant
- Ch'ang-kou, the home of the present T'u-kuan Hutuktu, allegedly also of the lCan-sKaya-Hu-tuktu
- dGon-lun, Erh-ku-lung-szu or Yu-ning-szu, the Tujen monastery Rëgulõn (Rgulõn).

5: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

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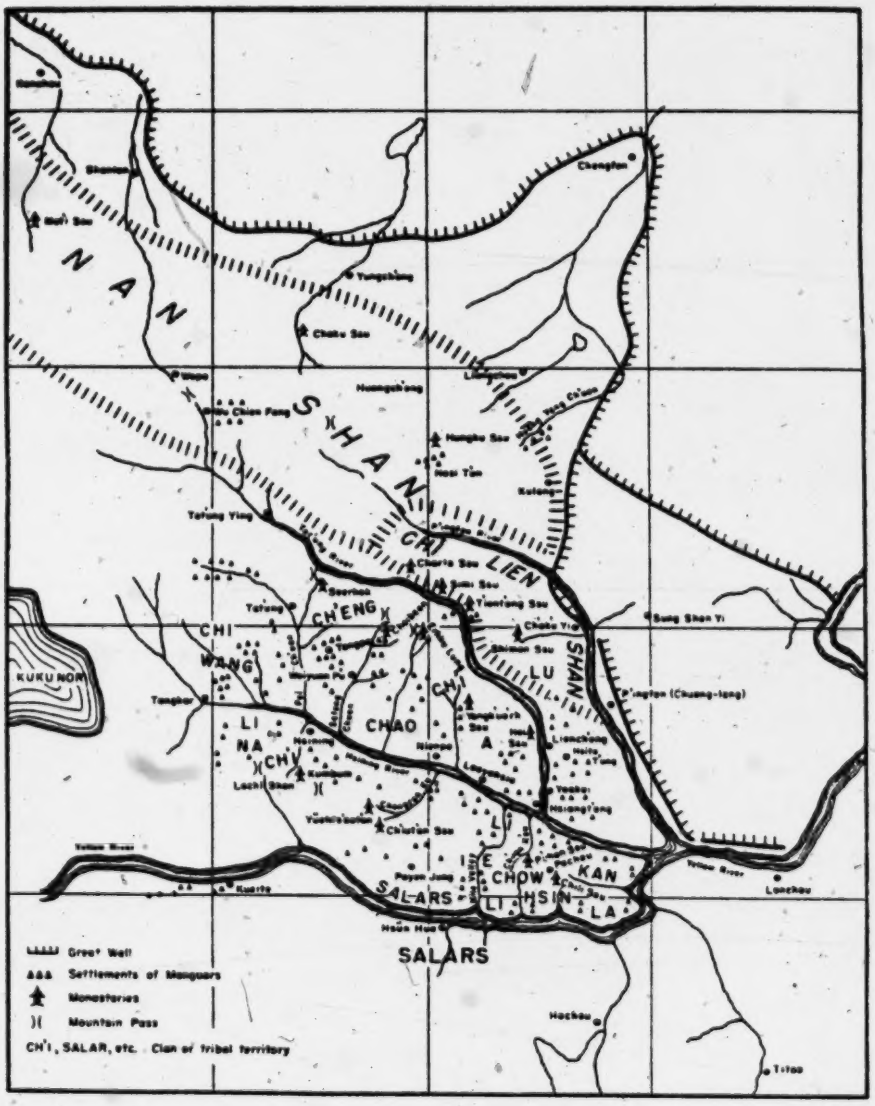

[P. 7]

5: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

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MAP OF CHINA SHOWING MONGUOR REGION (INSET SQUARE) AND NEIGHBORING TERRITORIES AND PROVINCES.

[P. 8(A)]

[8 cont.]

114 the author owes the safety of the materials collected entirely to the helpfulness of his confreres. In addition to the Fathers Eichinger and Grünewald, S.V.D., I should like to mention here particularly Father Richard Haas, S.V.D., who shortly thereafter was overtaken by a violent death in the Koko Nor steppe.

4. The Sources (the Informant)

115 The informant came from Tuo-chia, that is, "Tuo home," about one kilometer east of Chi-chia-ling, which lies along the mountain route from Kan-chia-pu (in the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) to Pai-nai (in the Ha-la-chih-kou). Tuo-chia gets its name from [103] the informant's kin group [Sippe] and formerly embraced perhaps four farmsteads, [9] of which, however, a part has been destroyed by an avalanche. Today only two farms and the temple remain. The Tuo have not always resided here. They [166] come from the vicinity of the Tujen monastery Rgulõn, where [423] a hundred years ago they owned two large horse pastures. Later one of the ancestors moved to the vicinity of Chi-chia-ling and cultivated the fairly extensive upland which paid tribute to the monastery, but which today is the private property of the Tuo family and pays taxes to the county of Huchu. It consists of about 200 Chinese morgen.

114 The report applies primarily to this region, namely, to the Tujen villages Chi-chia-ling, Ta-yang-chüan, Hsiao-
101 yangchüan, and Sha-pa-kou, up into the Na-ling-kou. Since, however, according to my own observations and the statements of the informant, the customs in the county of Huchu are quite uniform, the area to which it is applicable can be extended farther to include the villages between Huchu and Rgulõn. These [628] villages carry on a very lively traffic with one another and are extensively interrelated. As regards numbers, this report covers approximately one quarter of all the Tujen of the Sining region, an area generally regarded as their population center.

115 The old Tuo is kin-group elder and has two younger brothers, who live with him, his sons, his sons' wives, and [776] [553] grandchildren's families. By his first name he is called yifula,

[831 cont.]

241 782 787

in the case of a three-year offering, one may not choose one mountain the first year and another the second year (3). Even

3. [Foreign text p. 834.] The mountain must always be located in the people's own area. Actually such heights are always present near the villages. For example, not far from the informant's compound there is a mountain that bears the name Sheep-offering Mountain, xoni šënliedzin ula, because the offering always took place there. Among the partially Sinicized population it has retained the name hsien-yang ling, that is, Sheep-offering Height, or sheng-shan, that is, Sacred Mountain. After the greater part of the village (yang-chüan) became Christian, a high cross was erected there, and in place of the sheep offering, the people now pray there for the weather blessing.

[103]

[797] [778]

the place of the soothsaying is oriented accordingly. It is indicated where the next soothsaying will take place. It is always a mountain height, however, never a compound or a valley, as, for instance, in the case of private offerings (1).

241 782

1. [Foreign text p. 834.] The offering may also take place before an obo. It is to be differentiated from the obo offering, however. The obo is the seat of the mountain-spirit, and since the mountain sheep-offering is done especially for the mountain-spirit, the obo is preferred. Since, on

[254 cont.]

4. Lamaism

779 The preceding accounts have repeatedly demonstrated
792 how great an influence Lamaism exerts upon the people. As the latest form it has also most strongly penetrated the entire religious life; it offers the people a large number of gods and saints; it gives them the mani-trees, prayer mills, treasure urns, chorten chambers, central forts, and obos; they have it to thank for a considerable part of the world-view. To be sure, one must differentiate the ecclesiastical Lamaism of the monasteries and monks from the popular Lamaism, which in its watered-down customs remains unburdened by complicated doctrines and tantristic rites. This popular Lamaism, however, would be unimaginable without the strong support and the permanent effect of the monasteries, which are already so closely linked with the people because their community is constantly renewed from the families of the people. An important piece of the religi-
792 ous picture would therefore be lacking if one did not at least in hasty strokes characterize the monastery, which for the Tujen of that region is their spiritual center. -- The relationships to Kumbum will be passed over, although they are not to be underestimated. One merely needs to recall that it was a Chi-t'u-szu (prince) who at the beginning of the eighteenth century through his personal pledge preserved Kumbum from Chinese revenge and destruction, so that his clan until the most recent
[624] times enjoyed monastic protection and the princes (T'u-szu) themselves on their visits were received by the lamas on their knees; in this connection, cf. Schulemann, p. 179.

The name of the Tujen monastery dGon-luṅ is Tibetan.
[103] dgon (pronounced gon) means literally "solitude, hermitage." In the figurative sense it has become the established expression
[192] for "monastery" (vihāra), because a monastery must be at least 1,000 steps away from any human habitation; cf. Ch. Das, p. 275; luṅ means "valley, district." Thus, dGon-luṅ is best rendered as "monastery-valley" or "monastery-district" or simply
[346] "monastery," for a lama monastery should not be imagined as

[254 cont.]

792 a closed building, but rather as a whole settlement with temples,
[346] halls, dwelling yards, chortens, chapels, little mani-houses,
and obos. To the Tujen there dGon-luń is simply the monastery.
[103] The official full name, however, is dGon-luń byams-pa gliń,
just as the full name of Kumbum is sKu 'bum byams pa gliń. Ac-
cording to B. Laufer, byams pa gliń means "temple of the
Maitreya"; see Filchner, Kumbum, p. V. Not [255] every
monastery has such a temple, and for this reason people always
like to mention it along with the monastery. The main temple
792 of dGon-luń contains such a gigantic image of the Maitreya
778 painted on silk, over ten meters long and several meters wide.
796 It is rolled up from the temple roof and allowed to hang down
over the front into the yard usually twice a year, namely, in
the first month after the tscham dances and on the sixth day of
the sixth month. The ceremony is called dšamba sguni dielgë,
that is, to hang out the Maitreya image; dšamba or šamba is the
Tujen pronunciation of byams-pa. The Chinese call the rite
simply shai Fuoeyeh, that is, to sun the Buddha. For the be-
[788] lieving populace it is the high point of the feast days; the
people make pilgrimages to the place in great crowds in order
to venerate the image with kowtows.

792 There is no Tujen name for the monastery; their desig-
nation Rgulõń (Rëgulõń) is only a corruption of dGon-luń. Even
103 the Chinese Êrh-ku-lung is nothing more than a derivation from
the Tibetan. Some people would like the êrh to be understood
as the Chinese "two," since it is supposedly the second monastery,
which was built anew after the destruction of the first; in fact,
one also often hears the name Ku-lung without this êrh. The
designation Yu-ning-szu, monastery for the protection of Sining,
has not prevailed among the people. It is used almost exclusively
in books and official documents.

792 The monastery corresponds to the Buddhistic require-
ments in exemplary fashion, for it lies at the exit of a lonely
[361] forested valley and has been built up in part along its northern
[346] ridge, which bears the name Tuguän-ula, Tuguän mountain
[103] (Chin. T'u-kuan shan). A gigantic obo crowns its peak. Neither
[175] oral nor written information concerning the founding of the

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

period (1280–1368). The site of the hermitage of Zindpon being less picturesque, it is hard to identify it with the monastery of Goorong bzan which is a neighbor of Sha-ch'ung.[25]

175 771 [792]

[25] R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* 44: 229, 1951, identifies Sha-ch'ung (Sha-ch'ung of the Hsining *Annals*) with the monastery of the Rock of Bya-k'yun, below the city of Kui-te, south of Hsining, in the region of the Tibetans situated behind Tsong-ko. He gives details (p. 230) concerning the region of Tsong-ko situated between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng, where he notes the river of Tsong running in the valley between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng. The *Annals* of Hsining provide more details; "the River Tsong is east of the city (subprefecture of Nien-pei) (ch. 4, p. 15*a*). The valley of Tsong is situated 30 *li* west of the Great Rapids" (ch. 4, p. 10*b*), which are *circa* 30 *li* east of Nien-pei. "The River Tsong-ko which is north of the old city of Tsong-ko is [also known as] the River of Hsining [Huang-shui]; when the river reaches the city of Tsong-ko it is then called Tsong-ko River. The river changes its name according to the places [through which it flows] (ch. 4, p. 17*a*). South of the subprefecture of Nien-pei, there exists a city of Tsong-ko." The Sung *Annals* note: "The city of Lung-chih, which is the old city of Tsong-ko, depended on the Chou of Hsining. Concerning old Lung-chih there are three: at the time of the Han dynasties the city was situated west of the actual Ning-l [Hsining] in the *Chün* of the western Sea (Kukunor); at the time of the Sui and T'ang dynasties Lung-chih was situated to the southwest of the actual Nien-pei near the Yellow River; at the time of the Sung dynasty it was located to the south of Nien-pei; therefore, it is an error to say indiscriminately that the old city of Tsong-ko was only one city."

Shih-ch'eng (ch. 7, p. 13*a*) "is situated south of Nien-pei near the Yellow River," But ch. 7, p. 14 notes: "south of Nien-pei is the old city of Hua-ch'eng, which is properly the city of Shih-ch'eng established by the Hu-Wei; because in that region there was a Hua-lung valley, its name was changed to that of Hua-ch'eng hsien in 568 and in 712 the T'ang emperor adopted this appellation." (See also article *K'uo-chou*, *Annals*, ch. 7, pp. 12*a* and *b*.) However, ch. 4, p. 10 notes: "To the northwest of Hsining (region of the Kukunor) is a river running eastward (River of Hsining) passing south of Shih-ch'eng, which joins the river of the northern valley." This text and the former one concerning Tsong-ko seem to point to the strange fact that there have existed in the region of Kukunor a Tsong-ko and a Shih-ch'eng, before two cities called by the same names were established in the region south of Nien-pei.

In modern times the region south of Nien-pei near the Yellow River was separated from Nien-pei by the Ch'ing dynasty and organized as the T'ing of Pa-yen-jung. The Chinese Republic changed the name of Pa-yen-jung to Hua-lung hsien in honor of the old Hua-ch'eng hsien of 568, which at that time had taken over the place called Shih-ch'eng.

Conclusively, the former Tsong River joined the river of Hsining *circa* 10 *li* below Nien-pei; the region of Tsong-ko, Shih ch'eng in later times, was situated in the country south of Nien-pei and constitutes now, completely or at least for its largest part, the territory of Hua-lung hsien, near southwest of Nien-pei and really behind Tsong-ko as Stein notes: " . . . and southwest in Hua-lung hsien near the Yellow River is Sha-ch'ung."

More is available concerning the Tibetan tribes of Tsong-ko and the neighborhood from 1006 on (ch. 31, p. 1 *sq.*) fighting against and exterminating each other in the nomadic pattern; also about the Tsong-ko lama Li li-tsun, who married his daughter to the powerful Tibetan chief Kio-sse-louo, etc., which point to the fact that at that time these lamas belonged to the group of the Red Sect which was permitted marriage (ch.

[103]

[p. 12(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Thus, in 940 dGeba rab-gsal, who had started his religious life in the monastery of Zin-dpon, built a monastery in Dantig. At that time there existed in that region "great hermitages" and a temple in Hsining, where the three learned men from Tibet were buried. Later their names were chiseled on a stone pillar in dPari (the region between the Ta t'ung River and Nanshan, reaching to P'ing fan). At what time were the "great hermitages," the monastery of Zin-dpon, and the temple at Hsining built? Were there at that time hermitages in dPari? 175 792

The *Annals of Kansu* 45, 65–66, and the *Annals of Hsining* 30A, 30 a, b, record that during the span of time from the period of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet (some years before 650 or 696), until its persecution (in 841 or 901), the T'ufan occupied Huang chung and Lungyu from 756 until 842, under the leadership of successive descendants of the imperial T'ufan family (Tsanpu), who appointed their own officials in the country without interference by the Chinese empire. It seems appropriate to assume that Tibetan lamas would at that time have followed the T'ufan tribes in Huang chung, and have built the "great hermitages" and the temple in Hsining, being encouraged by the Tsanpu leaders, the promoters of Buddhism. Thus Buddhism would have been diffused in Huang chung between 756–842 by lamas from Tibet and that is why "great hermitages" and the temple in Hsining existed before 940. 175 [792]

The minor importance of these institutions founded in troubled times, the loss of traditions concerning their origin, and the minor interest of the Chinese scholars for Lamaism, explain the lack of records in the Chinese *Annals*.

Conclusively, from the very beginning of the Chinese colonization of Huang chung until its conquest by the Mongols in 1227, the foundation of the hermitage of Dantig in 940, and the existence at that time, of "great hermitages" in that region, and of a Buddhist temple in the city of Hsining, are the only Lamaist institutions concerning which historical records exist. 175 771

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE YÜAN DYNASTY (1280–1367)

When the Mongols conquered Huang-chung, the country was nearly depopulated. They found a few 175

31, p. 2*b*). Also, more is available concerning the subject in *Kansu chüan shen Hsin-t'ung-chih*, 1909, ch. 46, pp. 6*b*, 7*a* and 7*b*. See also Wolfram Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* 1: 20, Brill, Leiden, 1942, Shih ch'eng, alte Hsiung-nu Gebiet.

Incidentally, I encountered in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1887, Pt. 1, No. 1, p. 28: "The north of Machhu is occupied by Chinese, Tibetans, Hor, Mohammedans [this seems to be the region of Pa-yen Jung], in the east of this tract lie the districts called Tantig and Yantig in which Tantig Shelgi is a sacred place." The location seems to be the region directly south of Nien pei. However, in 1910 no monastery existed in that region. [103]

[p. 13 (A)]

GLOSSARY

Karwa The word Karwa is used in the country to designate the residences inhabited by Living Buddhas in the lamaseries. It is also used to indicate a domain and subjects granted by the Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty to meritorious lamas as their "personal" property with "right of bequeathing" it to their lama successor. It does not mean a grant of domains and subjects bestowed on a community of lamas or a lamasery.

K'ang A small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In the front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm.

Lamasery The lamasery is a place where people gather for a spiritual purpose which is void of any definite qualification; where no direction is provided in any way to the inmates, who are absolutely free to adhere to whatever doctrine they wish.

Except for the facts that the lamas observe celibacy and that the lamaseries possess corporate wealth, it is impossible to compare the lamaseries with Christian monasteries.

Living Buddha A Living Buddha is the incarnation of a Bodhisattva who, having attained the highest perfection, has potentially become a buddha. He renounces the blessedness of Nirvana and makes a vow to remain in this world in order to promote, by example and teaching, the salvation of as great a number of its creatures as possible. His vital essence thus passes

GLOSSARY

from body to body - because the body, like every material aggregate, is destined to dissolve - but it remains immaculate in its acquired unalterable purity and holiness.

Torma A small pyramidal cake, round or triangular, made with tsamba and butter; often pieces of butter or gold or silver paper are fixed upon it. It seems to represent an evil spirit on which incantations and ritual curses are proferred, on which all kind of inauspicious and calamitous items, sins and spiritual impurities are supposed to be loaded. It is thrown far away after the ceremony, often with a display of hatred and contempt, and with it calamities seem to be removed.

T'u kuan Eminent Monguor lama of Erh-kulung.

/3/

115 The speech extracts which appear in the present study have
191 been furnished by a T'ou-jen master of ceremonies who was accustomed to preside over the marriage ceremonies in the region. The fact that nearly all the T'ou-jen men speak Chinese more or less is what explains the use of this language, as well as the use of Chinese proverbs, in the course of the marriage ceremonies. Most of the philological notes in the present monograph were furnished by Fathers
● 104 Mostaert and De Smedt. The transcription of Monguor is the one used by the same Fathers, who adopted the general alphabet of Anthropos (Anthr. XXIV-V), but simplified. The transcription of the Chinese is the romanization adopted by the Variétés.

101 The term T'ou-jen is used by the Chinese of "Sining" to desig-
104 nate the people or peoples of the region who speak the Monguor language and who are under the jurisdiction of a t'ou-se. The term T'ou-jen means "aboriginal."

Although the peoples in question are certainly not the first inhabitants of the country, we have nevertheless thought we should adopt this improper term because it is in current use "in the country" and is used there to designate only this people. The term T'ou-jen is therefore here a people's name. The Tibetans, the Mongols, and the Salar of the country are not T'ou-jen in the eyes of the inhabitants of Sining. Besides, the local chronicles, as well as those of Liang-tcheou and Lan-tcheou use the same term when they deal with this people.

[P.4 is blank]

Mo M1 584 /18 cont'd/

agreements for mutual exchange of women. The respective members of the two clans that had entered on such agreement called each other "Kuda"...." /Cited in English./ The word Kuda is found as goda in the Monguor dialect as in all the other Mongol dialects; among the Monguor it has lost its primary sense. The custom according to which the members of two clans exchanged girls in marriage no longer exists. The word guda today is the name which the members of two families related by the marriage of one of their children give to each other.

Mo 104 581

Mo 582 The conclusion then will be that we see the law of exogamy practiced largely mitigated by that of endogamy, which causes many wives, even in our day, to be taken from among the daughters of paternal aunts. (2)

2. I do not believe it is necessary to refer to totemism in order to explain the law of exogamy which presides over marriages among the T'ou-jen. The conditions of nomadic life amply provide an explanation for this practice; secondly, exogamy is not essentially totemic; thirdly, totemism among the Mongols in general has not been proved. When we deal with religious life among the T'ou-jen, we shall see, nevertheless, two facts which may attract attention to this question: we shall see the erection of the pole at the festivals given after planting, and we shall have two youth festivals.

Mo [77]

/51 cont'd/

585 all until the next day, which is the day of the wedding dinner at the home of the son-in-law; we have seen that the number of guests invited to this dinner is prescribed. He will therefore have to politely send some away. To this end he comes to each person who will be sent away, without saying any more, bringing four loaves of bread and one or two pieces of raw meat. This is called pou fen tse, "to 583 431 complete the dinner." They understand and leave with many polite phrases.

585 574 /52/ The ones chosen for the feast the next day try to find lodging for the night, either with neighbors or in the home of the bride; some of them celebrate very late into the night and pass the time singing and drinking. This part of the festivity is often less attractive for us, since the girl spoils its freshness. It has the disadvantage of sending to the wedding dinner the next day at the son-in-law's home many guests with heavy heads and in bad humor because of fatigue from a tiring trip and a night without refreshing sleep.

533 585 The T'ou-jen like to sing at weddings. Their own repertory in the language of the country is not very wide, so they ordinarily sing Tibetan songs. One of the very rare songs in the Monguor [177] language is the one about the origin of the mythical bird Chong-nirwa. (1) It is very often sung at weddings.

104 773

1. Chong is probably the Buddhist Garuda called K'yun in Tibetan. Grunwedel says in Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet u. der Mongolei /Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia/, p. 25: semidivine being, deadly enemy of the Naga, a mounted bird, the king of the feathered /tribe/ and his kinsmen.... P. 191, ... is always represented in Lamaism with a thick body, human arms, on which the wings are located, and the horned head of a bird. He is part of the company of the formidable gods and plays

/52.cont'd/

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allegorical roles, such as the role of a symbol of victory.... He also occurs in Lamaism as a human-faced bird with human hands, but then he appears to be only the adoring figure standing subordinate to another chief figure. When he is the figure of worship, he stands, with outspread arms and wings, facing a dying Nāgi, his fangs /talons/ piercing her breast. /Cited in German./ The chong live on Mount Sumeru, the T'ou-jen say, although Grunwedel (p. 180), speaking of the inhabitants of Mount Sumeru, does not mention the Garuda among them.

539
831

A young man, Feng-tong-kouo, goes out into the valley every day to pasture his master's horses. Tche-mei-kouo, a young wife who lives on the plain, also comes there every day, bringing her sheep. They meet and sit down on the highest mountain, from whence they watch over their herd and flock.... Every day when leaving home, they climb up opposite sides of the mountain to join each other at the top. On the way they pick flowers and cypress branches. Every day they climb the highest peak together to light /53/ a fire there and burn their flowers and cypress branches, adding a pinch of flour made from parched wheat: This is their offering to the spirit Tsang-rtshié; then they prostrate themselves piously....

The husband of the young wife had developed a hatred for the herdsman on the other slope of the mountain. One evening he goes to his home, gets him drunk, and kills him with a dagger blow. When he comes home, he gives his wife the dagger covered with blood. She does not succeed in cleaning it with hot water or with cold. Then, taking saliva, she slowly succeeds. This is a revelation to her. Early in the morning she anxiously climbs the mountain in order to go and see the herdsman. People are already burning his

/111 cont'd/

500 that the Eskimo present in the east of the polar region is not as uniform. /Cited in German./

Anthropos, 1929, p. 129. The central North Asiatics stand in contrast with all the peoples (polar peoples) named. Exogamy prevails among the Samojed, Ostjak, Jakut, Tungus, and Dolgan. This extends not only to the kin groups but to the whole tribe. /Cited in German./

Page 130. A kind of exogamy such as is present among these peoples requires that membership in a given community (marriage class in this case) be reckoned either on the father's side or on the mother's side, and, of course, for the simple reason .... /Cited in German./

104 Page 117. The betrothal of children, that is, the designation of two people for marriage before puberty, or even before the birth of one or both of them /cited in German/ ... (is found among all the peoples of the polar region).

584 Page 102. Customarily, an intermediary appears, usually the father or some other close male relative of the bridegroom, who negotiates with the father of the bride and often receives compensation for his trouble, perhaps in the form of property. /Cited in German./

583 Page 102. The price for the bride is determined according to the wealth of the participants and is paid in property, for example, in valuable pelts. /Cited in German./

Page 102. The bride price is paid either immediately or in installments. In the latter case the bridegroom can take his bride only when the last installment has been paid, although often he has already slept with her. /Cited in German./

Page 103. I have already said that among the peoples being discussed here a bride price /Mitgift/ is always expected. In the specific reports concerning this, almost all the authors agree. /Cited in German./

595 Herbert Koenig, "Das Eherecht der Polarvoelker," Anthropos, 1929, pp. 136-137. Polygamy and Similar Situations... In the whole polar region polygamy lawfully

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hada - a scarf-like ceremonial cloth

hutukhtu - a great lama, a Living Buddha, a tulku

tsamba - flour made from parched ground barley or wheat

[16 cont.]
128 loanwords are cited, for Tibetan is the official language of
192 Lamaism, which occupies such a large place in the life of the
177 people. Here it should be mentioned that the old man desig-
[198] nated the expressions from Tibetan or Mongolic as "higher lan-
[186] guage" or "literary language," a value that he did not accord Chinese.

Finally a note with regard to the peculiar nature of this
114 work. It presents a popular religion, and that of a certain group.
[184] This means in the first place that not everything can be gen-
eralized for the Koko Nor region, not even for all the Tujen.
[179] Secondly, one will find no accounts about the dogma, the
official rites, or the secret practices of monastic Lamaism and the higher Bon religion. The Tibetan and Mongolic writings give this information. Also, it was unnecessary to cite the basic literature on this subject, at least not to any considerable extent. To be sure, this is not infrequently done, but only when it seemed to be required for an understanding of the popular customs. In such cases it was preferable to start from linguistic considerations. On the other hand, a presentation of the popular religion as practiced is a help for knowledge of the
[177] official religion. The popular belief, with its various customs, casts new light on the multiformity of monastic Lamaism, which has adopted so many pre-Buddhistic traits from the conceptual realm of Central Asia.

6. The Transcription of the Tujen Language

104

The transcription of the Tujen words and the Tibetan-Mongolic loanwords is based on the orthography of the DMF. For practical reasons, however, the large letters were replaced by small ones and the diacritical marks simplified. The following table presents first the orthography used here (S), under it the one used by P. A. Mostaert in the DMF (M), and under that the phonetic values of the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[16 cont.]

●104

Consonants

	Laryngals	Velars**	Medio-gutturals**	Pre-gutturals	Palatals	Palatalized*
S	h	ġ x	g k	y	ž š dž tš	s dz ts
M	χ	ǤΧ	G k'	y	Ǯ ṣ DǮ ṭs	ś DŹ ṭś'
A	h	g̣ x̣	g kh	y	ž̌ š̌ dž̌ tšh	š̌ dž̌ tš̌

	Dentals	Dentilabials	Labials**	Liquids	Nasals
S	d t s dz ts	f	b p w f	r l	ṅ n m
M	D t' s DZ ts'	f	B p' w f	r l, r	ŋ n m
A	đ th s đz tsh	f	b ph w ff	r l	ṅ, ŋ n m

* Only before the dipthongs ia, ie, iä, and before i.

** g, g, b have the voiceless mark "-" in the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[17] "g," "ġ," "b," "d" are always voiceless. Hence the voiceless mark (-) is superfluous. "p," "t," "k," "ts," "s," "tš," "k" are always aspirated, and therefore the aspirate "-h" is unnecessary. "d" and "t" are palatalized only in conjunction with "dz" and "ts," so that a palatalization sign is not necessary. The same applies to "s," "dz," "ts," "sdz," "sts," which are palatalized only before "i," "ia," "ie," "iä." For instance, in place of dži̇a (according to the Anthropos alphabet), there is simply dzia.

104 197 Besides "l" and "r," the DMF has a hybrid sound which approximately corresponds to the English "r" that is trilled once, and "r" is always used for it. The dialect in the region of my informant does not have nearly so many examples of this intermediate sound. The people there almost always differentiate the "l" from the "r" and almost always in the sense of written Mongolic, as I was later able to establish. According to the [192] DMF, Ǥar can mean "fire" and "hand"; supposedly there is no difference phonetically. My informants, on the other hand, quite clearly say ġal for "fire" and ġar for "hand."

[17 cont.]

104 The "f" is always bilabial before "u" and popularly acts as bilabial for the Tibetan initial "b" in loanwords, for example, fdzañ (incense) for the Tibetan bsañs. Furthermore, it is to be observed in the case of Tibetan loanwords that the silent consonants of the written language are usually pronounced.

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Vowels

S	i	ü	ẽ	ę	ë	ä	a	ō	o	u
M	i	ü	ẽ	ę	ę	ä	a	u	o	u
A	i	ü	ę	ę	e	ä	a	o	o	u

The nasals are "ã," "ẽ," "õ," "ä̃." They usually occur in conjunction with "ñ." A line over a vowel indicates lengthening. The diphthongs "ie," "iä," "ia," "iu," "io" are always rising. There is only one falling diphthong, namely, "ou"; "ō" is always given for this because the "u" is scarcely audible. The murmured vowel "ë" represents a special case. In everyday speech it is often difficult to determine in the case of lightly accented syllables whether it is "i," "e," "u" etc., especially in case endings. Thus in the text this "ë" will occasionally be found for "i" and along with the univocal "i" of the nominative or accusative or for the "u" of the dative, etc., for example, morë along with mori (horse), or morinë along with morini (of the horse), or tieńgërdë along with tieńgërdu (to the sky), etc.

As the transcription for Chinese, that of Wade-Giles is used, for Tibetan that of Grünwedel with modifications, for Mongolic that of Unkrig.

[Pages 17-18 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

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I. INTENSIVENESS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS AND THE POSITION OF ITS FORMS

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC RELIGIOUS LIFE

The religious life of the Monguors is very intensive, and not a superficial veneer that scales off easily. Indeed, it has not only a private and a family characteristic, but a social and compulsory aspect, as well.

A missionary, accustomed to living with Chinese, is quite surprised when he comes among the Monguors, by their almost continuous recitation of *Om Mani Padme H'um*.[1] It is repeated by old and young, both men and women, hundreds of times a day, under all circumstances. The mind of the Monguor appears to be fixed on religion in a most unusual way. Mothers, kissing and cuddling their babies, like to say happily, over and over, "Om Mani," "Om Mani," as if thanking Buddha (*Avalokita*) for the baby. The sick, suffering on the *k'ang*,[2] find relief in sighing Om Mani the whole day, hoping to be cured. When hailstorms threaten crops, Om Mani will be said hundreds of times by every terrified farm family, in the hope that Buddha will make the wind change the course of the clouds. When someone in the village dies, all the villagers gather at night in the courtyard of the deceased, where they sit for many hours saying the Om Mani for the deceased.

[1] The formula *Om Mani Padme H'um* has always been and still is an enigma. All attempts to explain it remain unsatisfactory. Each lama of a sect, each student of things Tibetan has proposed his own explanation. It appears to be of Hindu origin and not Tibetan. Some trace its appearance in Tibet back to the eighteenth, fourteenth, and thirteenth centuries; and even to the seventh century. See P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 24: 395, 1924. The explanation of the formula seems to vindicate *mani padme* as a vocative of *Manipadma*, the proper name of a female deity.

[2] A small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In the front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm.

[p.5(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Sodalities, most of them for women, are organized [575] in every village. The members convene to recite the Om Mani as they circle the Bumkhang[3] of the village 781 all day. Whenever a Monguor is in serious trouble, 788 he prays Om Mani, and when a happy event occurs, he gives thanks by Om Mani. Supposedly, all kinds of evil are dispelled and all blessings obtainable by Om Mani.

Monguor families place in the center of their court- 778 yards a high pole with a small flag flying from atop it. Om Mani and other prayers are printed on the flag as an offering, day and night, by the family to Buddha. Prayer wheels, containing hundreds of repetitions of Om Mani printed on paper, are moved by water power, so that Om Mani will be offered continually, as the wheels revolve.

The Monguors have used their Om Mani to such an 781 extent that its true meaning no longer exists. A farmer 788 becoming angry at the lazy oxen, while plowing his fields, will beat them and swear furiously with a well-articulated Om Mani; gamblers, on losing the game, their patience wearing thin, will say Om Mani in a blasphemous tone. While weeding fields, if a lascivious song is enjoyed, farmers say Om Mani, meaning the song is well sung. When a smutty joke is told, lis- [522 teners will say Om Mani, laughing, to indicate it is a 831] good joke. It is said that thieves and robbers say Om Mani as an aid to their practice of larceny. Foreign travelers jest that, if robbers kill their victim, he will have the consolation, when dying, of hearing the killer saying Om Mani. Om Mani can be and is offered under all circumstances: riding horseback, working in the fields or at home, while laughing, gambling, singing, conducting business, and even sleeping.

The Monguor's fondness for and promiscuous use of Om Mani has reduced it to a mockery of its original intent. Nevertheless, it is in fact most often used as a real prayer.

The Monguors are not ashamed to pray in public, to

[3] A structure at the entrance to the village to prevent the [104] entrance of evil influences.

[p. 5(8)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

cypress offering. Wei-sang, is first performed in the temple. A shaman, or lama of the Red Sect, summons into his staff the spirits who predict the success and the opportuneness of the rite. He steps to the head of the procession with the spirit-laden staff, followed by a group of horn blowers and banner and drum bearers. Then come the statue of the temple, enthroned in the sedan chair, the table and stake gods, and the 108 bearers of the heavy books, one after another, while the music plays, and Om Mani prayers are devoutly recited the whole way. The procession tours around the limits of the extensive village lands, making stops on the highest mountains or most elevated spots, where the ritual cypress burning is done and where the whole group walks three times around the spot. When they return to the temple the ritual cypress offering closes the ceremony. The procession usually lasts for a whole day. The next day the books are returned to the monastery.

782 789

The procession involves the whole male population of the village. The bearing of Buddhist books is said to be very effective, as are the praying of Om Mani, the offering of tea to the lamas and of butter for the lamps, and the shamanist spirit-laden staff, the table and stake gods, and all the other Taoist statues of the temple which tour the village at the same time. All available heterogenous forces contribute to the success of this specifically Buddhist rite. Usually this procession with the books is performed every other year; in the intervening year it is performed without the books.[4]

THE GOAT SKIN RITE

After such displays of all kinds of religious rites, however, the Monguors, still unassured, perform the celebrated goat skin rite enacted by a shaman or a lama of the Red Sect, who is proficient in subduing the hail spirits in a direct way by magical power. The rite is enacted on the highest mountain of the village—not on the sacred mountain. A big fire of cypress branches is kindled, which lasts during the entire time of the performance of the rite. The lama makes a big *torma*[5] and four smaller ones; then with *tsamba* and butter he kneads various crude figures of animals living in the water, birds of the air and of animals living on the earth.[6] Small pieces of meat are also prepared. The lama or shaman recites his awful incantations and ritual

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[4] Schröder, *op. cit.*, Der Flur Umzug, *Anthropos* 47: 835, 1952. More details are available in this valuable study.

[5] *Torma:* a small pyramidal cake, round or triangular, made with *tsamba* and butter; often pieces of butter or gold or silver paper are fixed upon it. It seems to represent an evil spirit on which incantations and ritual curses are proferred, on which all kind of inauspicious and calamitous items, sins and spiritual impurities are supposed to be loaded. It is thrown far away after the ceremony, often with a display of hatred and contempt, and with it calamities seem to be removed. (See more in Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling*, *op. cit.*, chap. XIV.) [104]

[6] According to Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 138, the dough figures represent the spirits of the upper, middle, and underworld honored in the old Bon religion. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

[p. 101 (A)]

/177 cont'd/

585 the payment of the purchase price, and to the delivery of the "merchandise" by her owners; in addition one has the admission of the girl into the bridegroom's clan and the sacrifice made by her to the god of the hearth of her new family: the whole followed by a dinner and entertainment.

But finally, why spend money for a girl? Why admit a new member into the family? Why is marriage among these peoples the great work of life? They know well why, these peoples! I suppose that they say so like the T'ou-jen in the ritual prayers, in the blessings: that they say it to those from whom they await its realization, and that exactly at the moment when the bride makes the prostrations.

This is why I consider this ceremony as the chief ceremony in marriage among these peoples.

905 The few rare materials which this study presents to us prove amply that the civilization of the T'ou-jen is far from being homogenous, and that we find ourselves here in the presence of cultural elements belonging to different types of culture.

/178/ After studying the history of this people in Kansu, its environment, its neighbors, its social, political, and religious life, we shall be better able to understand the complexity of its civilization and the origin of the cultural elements we find in it.

The T'ou-jen, separated radically for hundreds of years from other groups of their race, confined in a lost corner of Kansu, surrounded by peoples having a culture of a type different from theirs, and having themselves changed their kind of life since their arrival in the new habitat, present a very complex problem to us, whose data must be well known before it can be solved.

114 So we reserve our conclusions for later, trying above all to furnish as faithfully, as completely, as possible all the ethnologic and historic materials.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Tibetan tribes. However, nowhere is recorded in this section the name of a t'u-ssu. Records about the t'u-ssu do not reach as far as 1895. 175x 795 579 628

Here we must close the chapter of the history of the Monguors during the Ch'ing dynasty, but a few words more will help one to understand the terrible devastation wrought in Huangchung during this revolt.

In the tenth moon, when the situation was completely out of hand, General Tung Fu-hsiang arrived with a strong army from Turkistan. He first went to Ho Chou and Hsun Hua, the centers of the revolt, ruthlessly murdering the Mohammedans in the way they had behaved with the Chinese. Then he pacified the Salars of Pa Yen Jung and the entire region south of Nienpei, along the northern borders of the Yellow River, all in the same bloody way. He went to Tat'ung and Pe-ta, and reached all the strongholds and fortified villages of the Mohammedans north, south, and east of Hsining, one after another, devastating the country and slaughtering the people.

In the second moon of 1896 the revolt was quelled. The remaining Mohammedans, having no way to live, fled toward Kokonor. The Tibetans and Mongols in Kokonor had been prevented from keeping in readiness to exterminate the rebels, pursued by the army. Small groups of them fled to Turkistan across the southern mountain range and submitted to the officials of Turkistan; most of them died from starvation and cold in the middle of the winter.

In 1920, traveling in the country, one encountered ruined villages and cities which told the story of both terrible Mohammedan revolts and this made it easy to understand the hatred which today still smolders in the hearts of Chinese and Mohammedans against each other in Kansu province. 175x

This first part of the book sheds light on the hopeless situation on the frontier regions during the Ming time. 175x 105

On the one hand, the uncouth Mongols were unable to organize a united front for the recovery of their lost empire; they were divided and subdivided in groups, fighting each other under the leadership of chieftains, seething with hatred and killing one another. They tumbled back into barbarism, invading the frontier regions, plundering, ravaging the country, abducting and killing the people. In Huangchung, East Kansu, and Kokonor they ruined and scattered the Tibetan tribes, reducing them to the level of slaves.

[P. 69(A)]

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

On the other hand, the few demoralized Chinese 175x
troops, unable to cope with the situation, tried only to 105
defend the few cities and strongholds, barricading themselves behind the walls, looking at the destruction wrought around them. Their forces were too feeble to pursue mighty bands of invaders. They were afraid to enter into the barren unknown Mongolian and Tibetan countries, exposed to ambushes of enemies, to lack of food and provisions, and to extermination. The defenders of the cities had little or no communications between them as the country was too extensive. They did not muster their scattered forces to fight in pitched battles and liked better to take it easy behind the fortified walls.

All the imperial orders issued to the officers during 175x
the Ming time, as will also be read in the second section 648
of the Chronicles, enjoined them to obey their superior 105
officers and not to act independently; to send messengers to keep contact with each other; to muster troops and fight in pitched battles; not to be lazy, sitting with a wait-and-see attitude behind fortified walls; and always with threats of severe punishment for high as well as for low officers, who did not comply with the orders.

Very seldom was a new strong army sent to save a critical situation. When this happened the invaders fled, but they returned after the departure of the troops.

In these circumstances it is easy to understand that a lot of abuses must have existed among the troops garrisoned for long times in the frontier regions.

The imperial orders constantly enjoined the officers not to mix with the affairs of the civil administration, not to oppress the people, or impose taxes, exactions, etc. The people during the Ming dynasty suffered during two centuries from the inroads of barbarians, the oppression of the troops, and the maladministration of a dynasty becoming more and more effete.

In the Ch'ing dynasty the invasions of Mongols subsided a little until 1723, when bLo-bzang tan-chin launched his terrible revolt which might have caused the loss of Huangchung. Fortunately it was quelled with troops of Szechwan commanded by chiefs equal to the situation.

Then the revolts of the Mohammedans, more ruthless than those of the Mongols wrought terrible havoc, and a tremendous number of Chinese, as well as Mohammedans, lost their lives.

The Monguors had a hard time during these centuries, but remained faithful defenders of the empire.

[P. 69(B)]

111 AE9 Monguor

1: Schram, Louis M. J. The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier: their Origin, History, and Social Organization. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n. s., Vol. 44, pt. 1, pp. 1-138. Philadelphia: 1954

Yale: A53p. O185. II. 44.

[This study concentrates on the clan and family life of the Monguor who live just east of Kokonor , on the Kunsu-Chinghai boundary. Special attention is given to the effects of Chinese indirect rule upon Monguor social organization; i. e., the transformation of the clan chief into the T'u-ssu and the resulting changes in land tenure and local government. There is much description of acculturation between Monguor, Chinese, and Tibetan. An introduction by Owen Lattimore (category 116, pp. 4-17) summarizes the book. Two maps locate precisely the people described by Father Schram. --Analyst]

Field date: 1911-1922
Analyst: Arthur Fields

Evaluation: Missionary--5
Processed in 1956

2: Schram, Louis. Marriage among the T'u-jen of Kansu (China) /Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kan-sou (Chine)/. Variètès Sinologiques, No. 58, Shanghai, Catholic Mission Press, 1932.

Pp. x, 195, 12 plates

Yale: Fvh10 V32 58

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Jean H. Winchell.]
[Omitted from Files: List of Works Consulted, Alphabetical Index, and Errata]
[HRAF MS pp. v, 207]

[This is a detailed ethnohistorical study of marriage among the T'ou-jen of Kansu, based on the author's ten years residence among the people. Data are included on the mode of marriage, the process of arranging marriage, the patterns of nuptial rites, interpersonal relationships between affinal relatives, the woman's relationship with her family of orientation, the social mechanism to legitimize illegitimate children and their mothers, and the methods of terminating marriage. The author devotes a chapter to a now outmoded theoretical concern, namely whether or not the "matriarchate" existed among

2: Schram, Louis.

the T'u-jen in a former period. He examines the customs of double burial, the role of the maternal uncle, the status of the maternal clan, etc., to prove his hypothesis that the "matriarchate" was formerly present. Throughout the study, Father Schram compares T'u-jen culture with that of Historical Mongolia, the Manchu, the Lolo and the Miao. Supplementary notes on the Tungus and Lolo are added on pp. 177-191. This comprehensive study provides the researcher with valuable resources for further research with different theoretical orientations. For instance, there are rich materials on the process of bargaining and negotiation. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1915-1920
Analyst: Hesung C. Koh

Evaluation: Missionary 4, 5
Processed on 1962

3: Schröder, Dominik. Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor) [On the Religion of the Tujen of the Sining Region (Koko Nor)/. Anthropos, Vol. 47, pp. 1-79, 620-658, 822-870; Vol. 48, pp. 202-259. Posieux (Freiburg), Switzerland: Anthropos-Institut, 1952-1953.

HRAF copy /HRAF manuscript, pp. ii,398/

/Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Richard Neuse/

/This source, written by a missionary during his three years among the Tujen (Monguor) from 1946-1949, is a comprehensive study of Monguor religious practices and beliefs. Much of the information was obtained from two native informants. The work is divided into two parts. The first part gives a critical presentation of the data obtained from the informants, as well as information on the basic identification of the people and the author's methodology. Data are presented on various customs relating to Tujen officiants (spirit-spear soothsayers, sword shamans, Bon priests, and lamas); dwellings and settlements;

3: Schröder, Dominik.

the Human Being (i.e., the conclusion of the confinement period, the first birthday, the New Year's Eve feast, the age blessing, death and cremation); agriculture and livestock; and misfortune for man and animal. Part two presents an analysis of these data, beginning with a study of the total religious picture, and the various 'layers' of Tujen religion, and ending with the author's comments concerning the absorption of the Tujen into Chinese civilization.

In the translation, the independent subsections with the heading "Notes" (Anmerkungen) have been incorporated as numbered footnotes in the text. The bibliography may be found in the foreign text, p. 2-4 and p. 259(a).--Analyst/

Field date: 1946-1949
Analysts: John Beierle
Hesung C. Koh

Evaluation: Missionary - 5
Processed in 1964

4: Schram, Louis M. J. The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Border. Part II. The Religious Life. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, N.S., Vol. 47, Part 1. Philadelphia, 1957.

Pp. 164

Yale: A53p 0185 II.47

[This monograph is the second of three projected parts of the study of Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier. Father Schram presents the religious life of the Monguor in both a historical and a structural-functional frame work. The study covers: (1) the history of the introduction, growth, flourishing and crises of Lamaism, and the role of Chinese emperors in the diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung, (2) the organization of Lamaseries, their role in the community, together with the study of shamanism and the various rites of Monguor religion and cults, such as thecult of heaven and the cult of dead. The influence of the Monguor Lama upon Lamaism and the life of Monguor community, and the social function of religion in Monguor life are discussed at the end of the study. This source is based on local chronicles, the Chinese histories and "all available sources" as well as the

4: Schram, Louis M. J.

experiences of Father Schram among the people between 1911 and 1922. The great variety of sects and cults, intensive borrowing between these sects and cults, and the complexity of the relationship between religious and nonreligious rites made it difficult for the author to present a clear description of the pattern of religious life. However, the subject has been extensively studied with remarkable objectivity. --Analyst]

Field date: 1911-1922
Analyst: Hesung Chun Koh

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed: 1961

5: Schram, Louis M. J. The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier. Part III. Records of the Monguor Clans: History of the Monguors in Huangchung and the Chronicles of the Lu Family. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, N.S. - Vol. 51, Part 3. Philadelphia: 1961.

Pp. 117; 2 maps

Yale: A53P 0185 II, 51:3

[This is a historical study of the Monguor clans in Huangchung during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties (1368-1911), based on the Annals of Hsining and the Annals of Kansu. Father Schram, "in order to make the history understandable," begins his study from Huangchung during the Tang period (620-906). The latter half of this monograph is the history of a Monguor t'u-ssu clan, the most prominent among the clans. This study covers in detail some means used by the Chinese emperors to favorably impress the Monguors and to make them loyal defenders of the empire; the peculiar mentality of the Monguor t'u-ssu family; and the process of Sinisization of the Monguors. The

5: Schram, Louis M. J.

author introduces the different ethnic and tribal elements which constitute the Huangchung population without presenting a working definition of Monguors in Huangchung. This may cause difficulty and confusion for the reader. Although most of the data in this monograph pertain to the history of the Monguor and not to contemporary conditions, the material has been analyzed in terms of contemporary Monguor society, due to the rarity of data concerning the latter. --Analyst]

Field date: 1911-1922
Analyst: Hesung C. Koh

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1961

101, 113

[Additional information on the Tu ren may be found in 5: Tafel, AJ1 Tibet, category 116, pp. 418-430.]

/2 cont'd/

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162

Chavannes, Turcs Occidentaux /Western Turks/). The Cha-t'ouo to whom Kao-chu-hui's relation refers here, were a tribe of the western Turcs first settled in early times to the east of Barkoul, and after A.D. 808 transferred to the northern borders of Kan-sou, for the sake of protecting them from inroads. /Cited in English, with one interpolation in French indicated by underline./

(620-905); the chronicles of Sining confirm this tradition. The last group came to live in the area either in the Yüan period (1280-1368) or the Ming (1368-1644).

101
197

These two groups speak the same language today, called Monguor by them. The language is very archaic; it reflects the Mongolian of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Let us call to [113] the attention of those who are interested in the question of the T'ou-jen language the study of Fathers Mostaert and De Smedt published in Anthropos, XXIV-XXV, "Le dialecte monguor, parlé par les Mongols du Kan-sou occidental /The Monguor Dialect, spoken by the Mongols of Western Kansu/." The grammar and the dictionary are in press.

The Cha-t'ouo of whom we speak are then Mongolized today. It should be pointed out that the notions of race and language are subject to caution.

622
648

The T'ou-jen, subject to China, have kept their autonomy under chiefs of their race, recognized by China and called t'ou-se. The Chinese Republic, from its beginning, has shown itself hostile to this autonomous administration and has tried to treat the T'ou-jen as Chinese, subject to the jurisdiction of the mandarins of the place.

177

The ways and customs of the T'ou-jen, although influenced by the proximity of the Chinese and the Tibetans, have remained relatively pure. They reveal many a secret of their former social organization and of their nomadic life of yesteryear.

[650 cont.]

192 Western paradise: hsi-lo shih-chieh (Chin.) = world of joys.

[775] Oil fir: yu-sung mu (Chin.).

[262] Thin flat-bread made with flour: kan pin-ping (Chin.) = little dry cakes.

[Pages 650-658 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 658 and the next section begins on p. 822.]

782 [822]

241 V. Customs concerning Agriculture and Livestock

114 1. The Sowing and Harvest Thanksgiving Festivals * (1)

* See "Notes," p. 823 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[113] 1. [Foreign text p. 823.] For this subject, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Das Herbst-Dankopfer der Tujen im Sining-Gebiet [The Harvest Thank-offering of the Tujen in the Sining Region]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-45, 867-873. -- The report there presents only the offering from the harvest thanksgiving festival as the old man described it at that time. It is interesting to point out that he seized upon this offering as typical of the festival and mentioned the entire celebration only incidentally, always with the indication that the shamans actually had nothing to do with the offering. When I later asked him why he had not described the entire festival in

[625 cont.]

527 dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
[574] moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.

Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared. During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
[782] day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an
[888] offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated, joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon

[113] 3. [Foreign text p. 628.] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.

relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.

From the second day on the people make New Year's
[628] visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

[533] gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
[262] are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
[273] a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
[356] house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

temple must indeed have been devoted to the worship 175
of Buddha at some time; otherwise the name *Pei Ch'an-* 792
ssu would remain inexplicable. These facts seem to lead to the supposition that the original temple, already ruined in A.D. 265, must have been built by the early Chinese frontier colonists; and because it was not then called by the term *ssu*, the specific appellation for Buddhist temples, but *shen-ssu*, it must have been devoted to the worship of the spirits (of the locality), in the old Chinese manner. Later, after A.D. 520, the ruined original temple must have been converted into a Buddhist temple of the Dhyana sect. From that time on the people must have started calling it *Pei Ch'an-ssu*. Later still the temple, after having been changed to the cult of Taoist spirits, seems to have retained the Buddhist appellation, and the author of the *Annals* seems to have supposed erroneously that the temple was originally a Buddhist temple.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY COLONISTS OR BY MONKS FROM TURKISTAN?

Buddhism was introduced in China "officially" be- 175
tween A.D. 64 and 67 by way of Turkistan,[7] before 771
the time of King Kanishka of Kushana (80–110 or 120– 797
162), whose realm was situated on the celebrated commercial road connecting the Roman Empire with India and China.[8] Buddhism had been diffused into the petty realms of central Asia, with which the Chinese generals waged war for two centuries (121 B.C.–A.D. 101).[9] The first translators of Buddhist scriptures, mostly of Iranian and Scythian origin, came to China from Turkistan in A.D. 148.[10] All these missionaries, on their way to China, passed through Liang-chou which at that time was one of the most important emporiums in west China. Here lived businessmen from remote countries, subjects of the Roman Empire.[11]

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[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 1: 410, " . . . nothing is known for sure about the way or the time Buddhism was first diffused in China." However, Franke wrote earlier, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12: 217, 1909, " . . . Buddhism was firmly established in China in the second half of the first century A.D.; it made big strides during the middle of the second century, and rode the crest of the waves during the second half of the fourth century." Grousset, *op. cit.*, 244: "In 65 A.D. there existed sporadically in Kiangsu Buddhist communities, protected by the brother of Emperor Ming-ti. The diffusion of Buddhism seems only to have started on some large scale during the middle of the second century, A.D. . . ."

[8] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 55: " . . . the transcontinental silk trade road, running through Kashgaria (Turkistan) and Iran, was already open in the second century, B.C."

[9] O. Franke, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, " . . . during the three first centuries of our era, Buddhism must have been diffused from Gandhara and Kashmir into Turkistan."

[10] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 245.

[11] Peter Boodberg, Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 1: 289, Cambridge, November, 1936, "Besides the two 'Aryan' colonies in Shensi, there are reasons to believe that there existed on the Chinese [113]

[A 9 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The colonization of Huang-chung started between 121 and 119 B.C. with the transportation of Chinese families from central China, and criminals released from jail (*Annals* of Hsining. ch. 30, p. 2*b*). In A.D. 9 the colonization system was developed on a larger scale in the same way. In A.D. 132 (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9) after five new colonies were established, the total number reached only ten. Intermittently, new families and criminals had to be sent to replace those who died or ran away (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9*b*). In A.D. 220, after three centuries, the originally walled, small garrison of Hsining was expanded by the building of three new cities, on three sides of it (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 13*a*). For the first time, Hsining started to become a real city, the only one in the whole country. 175 [633]

It is tempting to suppose that, at the time of the expansion of the city, the temple of the "Earth Tower" might have been built, for it could easily have been protected by the garrison troops who farmed the fields around it. On the other hand, it is an historical fact that Buddhism already had a firm toehold in China in the second half of the second century A.D. It seems possible that among these colonists some might have been professing Buddhists when they arrived in Huang-chung, because Buddhism was the religion of the people. If so, Buddhism might have been imported by the colonists and practiced among them during the second century A.D. However, another possibility is not precluded. Monks who were attendants for the early translators of Buddhist texts (A.D. 148) might have settled in the emporium of Liang-chou, diffusing Buddhism as monks used to do in the oasis cities of Turkistan. Some among them might have tried to go to Hsining to spread Buddhism, after the city had been built and relative security provided. However, no historical data are available to support either of these two suppositions. 175 771 [792]

More can hardly be said about the diffusion of Buddhism in Huang-chung during the first three centuries of our era, because of the lack of historical data.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY HSIEN-PI TRIBES?

The region of Huang-chung, and its neighboring countries, upset during the second and third centuries by three noticeable invasions of Hsien-pi tribes which settled in the country, driving out the larger Tibetan

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border a third colony from the 'Far West,' this time located in modern Kansu. In the list of Hsien dependent on the prefecture of Chang-Yeh we have Li-Chien-Hsien. . . . It is tempting to see in the name of this administrative subdivision of a western Chinese province a variant transcription . . . which is one of the names under which the Roman Orient was known to the Chinese of the Han dynasty. . . . The name of the little Chinese city on the desert road to the West, would indicate that an important Western community must have sent out its sons to the distant land of the Seres to imprint the name of the metropolis on an outpost of the Han Empire." See also M. Medard, Ta-Ts'in, Province romaine en Asie, *Journal de Pékin*, 141 *et. sq.*, 1936. [113]

[p. 10 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the nomadic tribes, subjects adopted the religion professed by their kings or chiefs. Even in Europe there existed the sayings: *Regis ad exemplar* ("Subjects follow the pattern set by the king"), *cujus regio ejus religio* ("Let the religion of each state follow that of its prince"). However, not a single fact is recorded in the *Annals* concerning the building of Buddhist temples or monasteries in Huang-chung during this century of intensive cultural Buddhist activity promoted by the conquerers and rulers of Huang-chung in their capital of Liang-chou. This fact seems to challenge belief. Possibly the insecurity in the country on account of the military actions accompanying the conquest, carried on by the three successive rulers in the span of a century (345–439), and the disturbances following the transportation of such important groups of families, afford the explanation. Perhaps the Buddhist cultural activities did not appeal so much to the people, as to the court and the administrative centers of the capital, and so the impact of Buddhism remained confined to the area of the capital.

The T'o-pa Wei conquered the kingdom of Pei Liang in 439, but at the time it was involved in a serious persecution of Buddhism (438–452).[22] From 445 until 635 endless troubles occurred in Huang-chung, on account of the intermittent inroads of the T'u-yü-hun from Kukunor, and the T'o-pa, Sui, and T'ang dynasties successively had to wage war with them. (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 20*b*–24*b*). In 663 there started the intermittent inroads of the T'u-fan until 866 (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 25*a*–31*a*). During the Wu-tai period (907–960) China was unable to control Huang-chung. The Sung dynasty (920–1227) was powerless against the Hsi-Hsia and Chin, which successively occupied Huang-chung, but which themselves had trouble with the T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang (*Annals*, ch. 31, pp. 1*a*–8*b*). Finally, the Mongols conquered Huang-chung in 1227 and brought peace into the country. No wonder, during these eight centuries of intermittent troubles and change in the population, Buddhist activities were very limited, and the few existing institutions in depopulated Huang-chung were of minor importance.

HISTORICAL DATA ACCORDING TO TIBETAN SOURCES

However, the lack of information in the *Annals* of Hsining relating to this period is compensated for by data provided by the Tibetan *Blue Annals* of 'Gos lo-tsa-la composed between A.D. 1476 and 1478.[23]

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[22] Ware, *op. cit.*, 135, " . . . when in the period T'ai-yen (435–440) the province of Liang was conquered and its population moved to the capital, the monks and Buddhist paraphernalia all came East, and the counterfeit teaching increased far and wide. Presently, owing to the large number of Sramanas, an Imperial order was given to unfrock those under 50 years of age."

[23] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1949: 1; 1953: 11. *The Blue Annals* and the *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston Rin-po-

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Tibetan tribes, remnants of important ones which had 175
fled to Kukunor or Tibet. Mongol troops, divided into small units, were settled with their families under the leadership of clan chiefs at strategic points, in order to prevent possible inroads of hostile neighboring tribes. [563]
A group of Shat'o living in the country since 936 joined the conquerers and was enlisted among the frontier defenders. The descendants of these groups constitute the Monguors to whom this study is devoted. Later there came also groups of Salars, Turks of Samarkand, to whom territories were assigned. More Moslems also settled in the country.[26]

GODAN

The Yüan dynasty is well known for its devotion to 175
Lamaism. In Tibetan and Mongol literature, Godan, 797
the brother of Güyük (the Emperor T'ing tsung, 1246–1251) is celebrated as the first ardent Buddhist Mongol prince who invited to his residence in Hsi-Liang the Sa-Skya Pandita, Chief Abbot of the Sa-Skya sect.

The holy man accepted the invitation and started his "apostolic" journey. He remained seven years in Hsi-Liang successfully diffusing the religion over the entire country.[27]

According to history, the troops of Godan had de- 175
feated the Tibetans northwest of Lhasa in 1239 and 648
destroyed a monastery. The Tibetans asked for negotiations in order to end the war. Godan urged a Tibetan delegate to come to his residence, and Sa-Skya Pandita, to whom this task had been assigned, started his "apostolic" journey on "command" from Godan, in order to avoid the worst. He delivered Tibet into the hands of the Mongol Prince, received a "gold patent," became an official under Godan, and Vice-regent of Tibet. His successors inherited this office.[28] Discontent among the Tibetans over the surrender of Tibet caused a new Mongol expedition to be sent in 1251. More rivalries and discontent had to be crushed again by the Mongol troops in 1267, 1277, 1281, and 1290.[29]

The Mongol emperors, hoping to keep the Tibetans [781]
and Mongols in submission by manifesting reverence for the lamas and promoting their religion, lavishly showered favors and privileges on the lamas and became Lamaists themselves. Emperors and empresses received Lamaist initiation, and the Sa-Skya lama Phagspa, chaplain at court, was allowed to sit next to 175
the emperor.[30] The court of the Mongols was sincerely 771

[26] Louis M. J. Schram, C.I.C.M., The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 23–57, 1954.

[27] Huth, *Geschichte der Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, 130, 1896.

[28] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 8, *et seq.* It is the merit [113]
of Professor Tucci to have shed true light on this old myth about the ardent Buddhist Godan, his invitation to the Sa-Skya Pandita, and the political status of Tibet during the Yüan dynasty. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217–91, 578.

[29] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 18. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217.

[30] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 510–517–522.

[p. 13(8)]

However, no compulsory religious instruction was provided for adults or children in order to make the subjects more fervent, and no schools or charitable institutions existed. The subjects were never compelled to attend ceremonies in the temples, for only lamas recite texts in temples, and temples are not what we are accustomed to calling churches. Finally, the religious activities imposed on the subjects reflected more a material than a spiritual interest, and bound them closer to their chiefs. 175 792 794

If we take into account the period of incredibly rapid increase in the founding and branching out of monasteries, the number of lamas must have been tremendous. Certainly the revolt of 1723 and its drastic suppression largely prove this assertion. Necessarily, the absorption into the lama communities of a large proportion of the male population of the country must have adversely affected productivity. Men who became lamas were not only withdrawn from production, but had to be fed by the depleted population. It is easy to understand that in such circumstances trade and industry could by no means develop and flourish. The large groups of lamas did not produce anything; they merely consumed the production of the country and hoarded its wealth. Their economic role was simply that of consumers, and so the economy of the country was necessarily agricultural and limited to its needs. 175 792

The same conditions existed in the two cities of Huang-chung and in the garrisons. There the soldiers and the relatively feeble population consumed what the colonists could produce. Only later on, when peace was restored, communications with the capital of the province assured, and trade had become possible, could the cities and the whole country develop and emerge from the former limited agricultural economy—an outlet had been found for the products of the country. The farmer, assured of the possibility of selling as much as he could produce, started producing to the peak of his capacity. These conditions seem to explain the deadly stagnation prevailing in the country from 1368 to 1723.

These seem to have been the conditions of lama Buddhism between 1368 and 1723 in Huang-chung, the privileged legal position of the temporal and spiritual chiefs of large and small lama institutions, the important role played by the monasteries, Nang-suos and Karwas, centers of the public and private life of the country, the bursting activity displayed inside the walls of the monasteries, the conditions of the subjects of the monasteries and the economic consequences arising from the tremendous number of the male population which had become lamas.[9]

[9] H. H. Vreeland, 3rd, Mongol community and kinship structure, *Human Relations Area Files*, New Haven, 1954. After the completion of the present study, there appeared this outstanding study dealing with the Khalkha Mongols of the Narobanchin territory, the Chahar Mongols of the Taibas pasture and the Dagor Mongols of the Nonni River valley. The study [13]

[p. 51(A)]

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that the family may become rich and be blessed with 777 children. If a beggar happens to go through first, the 784 gate has to be rebuilt. A guest never enters directly the home of a friend, lest he might harm the family. Never prepare a hare or chicken for dinner for a guest, because it would harm him. When two friends, having a long talk at night, see the black top of the lamp wick showing the shape of a flower, they congratulate each other, smiling, for the spirit promises to both a happy event in the family. If a crow caws on the roof, it has to be driven away immediately lest a member of the family die or get sick. A member of the family will certainly die soon if a parson crow (hooded crow) enters the door; a calamity is imminent if a magpie cries in the evening, even if, at night, foxes howl, horses neigh, and dogs bark. If a hen crows trouble will surely start in the family, the harvest will be bad, and maybe the Moslems will rebel.

A bride on her wedding day is not allowed to be put on the horse by a "half man," a widower or bachelor; her makeup is not to be done by a "half woman," a widow or a girl, for fear of becoming soon a "half woman." A person dreaming at night about unlucky events, spits for a long time in order that ominous events will not befall him. Never give things to children which are entire, for example, hold over a bit of the frosting of a cookie. The same rule is observed when something is given to a beggar, for fear the guardian spirit of your wealth, should wreak vengeance and the family be impoverished. When drinking tea or wine, or eating food, always throw a bit of it over your shoulder, or sprinkle a few drops, thereby feeding the hungry souls roaming all over the world, in order not to be harmed by them. Never urinate in a river, or facing the sun or the moon, or at night in front of the manikan. At night never appear completely naked before the manikan, or you will surely be harmed. All the taboos after childbirth and funerals are scrupulously observed.

These few facts give an insight into the mentality of [156] fear prevailing among the Monguors concerning the whole army of malignant spirits which surround them. No wonder that the whole day long they cast horoscopes in order to avoid all possible harm. These few facts will help to understand the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live and practice their religion.[4]

[4] The very valuable study of F. Johan Frick and F. Franz Eichinger, Tiere in Voklsleben, Museum of Oriental Ethnology, *Folklore Studies*, Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China), 125 sq., Charles E. Tuttle Co., Rutland, Vermont, U. S. A. (1925), concerning the region of Huan-Yüan, west of Hsining, inhabited by Tibetans and Chinese, neighbors of the Monguors, provides interesting and minute details related to this special field. Because Tibetans and Chinese are enrolled in the Monguor clans, many of those beliefs and practices are necessarily encountered among the Monguors. The study helps to shed light on the frame of mind and the world of fear in which the Monguors live. Similarly, [113]

[p. 96 (B)]

Schröder, Dominikus. Das Herbst-Dankopfer der T'ujen im Sining-Gebiet, Nordwest-China /The Autumn Thank-offering of the Tujen in the Sining Region/. Anthropos, Vols. 37-40, pp. 867-873. Freiburg in der Schweiz: Paulusdruckerei, 1942-45 (1946/7).

Yale: Nk10 +An89 37/40

/This article covers much the same material as is in 3:Schröder this file. Therefore, it has not been processed.--Analyst/

Schröder, Dominikus. Bewillkommnung der Freude "Ying-Hsi" /Welcoming Joy "Ying-Hsi"/. Anthropos, Vols. 41-44, pp. 185-192. Freiburg in der Schweiz: Paulusdruckerei, 1946-1949.

Yale: Nk10 +An89 41/44

/Since the material covered in this article is also found in 3:Schröder, this file, it has not been processed. --Analyst/

113, 60, 61 Monguor AE9

[For discussion of kinship and kin groups among the Monguor of Kansu in relation to the kinship systems of the Altaic-speaking steppe pastoralists, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 312-360.]

113, 601 Monguor AE9

[For data on kinship terminology among the Monguor of Kansu, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 352-358.]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

IX. PUBLIC RITES

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN REGARD TO HAILSTORMS

In the mind of the Monguors is seared the belief in an incredibly prodigious medley of gods, malignant spirits, and ferocious ghosts, and consequently all events in life, happy or unhappy, must be approached from that angle. 782 731

In this chapter will be considered the calamity most dreaded by the Monguors, which does the most harm and ruins them most frequently. It is the scourge of hailstorms, which every year ruin the crops of many villages, reducing the already narrow margin of subsistence of the villagers to a minimum, and bringing many families to the verge of famine. [132]

It is obvious that this calamity is supposedly caused by malignant spirits and it is no wonder that the whole religious energy of the people is bent on securing all available means and ways to avoid disaster. No wonder that the people, scared to death, seek refuge in religion against a scourge caused by evil spirits—first of all in the religion credited with the greatest potency, without refusing the help of others less potent, imploring the aid of good spirits, and engaging in a life and death struggle with the evil spirits. 821 829

In all their village temples, accordingly, one encounters the picture of the god of the Five Roads, the Taoist combatant of hailstorms, amidst the awful scenery, previously described, whether or not the temple is dedicated to it. The shaman is invited to perform his most efficient rites against hail because he is believed the most conspicuous for his great abilities in the field. All the Taoist spirits, to whom temples in the country are dedicated, are invited by the shaman to come down into the temple yard and to participate in the performance of the rite in spring. The shaman conveys to them the sympathy of the villagers and their gracious offer of hospitality, in order that they might help their village, and after the shamanist rites have been performed the villagers still indulge in Lamaist activities against hailstorms. 782 796 789

No wonder that, from New Year's on, the villagers are obsessed by the problem, and never fail where a Kurtain is possessed by the god of the Five Roads, to invite him on the third day of the year for an exhibition

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the study of F. Franz Eichinger, Kinderlosigkeit und ihre Bekampfung in der Volksmedizin, *ibid.* 167 sq., is very instructive and unique. The author, during two years as member of the Chinese Health Committee in Ming-hsien, Lin t'ao, Ho-chou, and Labrang (East Kansu), traveled four months with the committee in the region of Hsining, Kung-ho, Hsing-hai (Monguor territory) and seized the exceptional opportunity to gather ethnological notes, which open vistas in this special field and give a better understanding of the frame of mind of the family concerning this capital topic: the care of children, the means of getting this blessing, the fear of being bereaved of them and the physical causes of this bereavement. [13] [p.97(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Mongnor AE9

NOTE ON THE CHINESE SOURCES

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In the pages that follow frequent reference is made to three Chinese compilations, the *Annals* of the *Fu* or Prefecture of Hsining, and of the Province of Kansu. The full titles of these three works are:

1. *Hsining fu hsin chih* (New annals of Hsining prefecture) in 12 volumes containing 40 *chuan* or chapters, compiled between 1755 and 1762 and probably published soon after 1762. The editor of these "new" Annals had before him the original edition of 1595 and a corrected edition of 1657. I have never had access to either of these older editions.

2. *Kansu hsin t'ung chih* (New collected annals of Kansu) in 100 *chuan*, printed in the Hsuan-t'ung period (1909–1911). The edition is called "new" because it is based on an older original the compilation of which was begun in 1728 and completed in 1736. The older edition has been inaccessible to me.

3. *Wu liang k'ao chih* (Annals of the prefecture of Liangchow), printed in 1749, including the Annals of the subprefecture of P'ing fan.

L. M. J. S.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS

Owen and Eleanor Lattimore

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racy by the use of ordinary letters and without diacritical marks, as in the name Monguor itself. Monguor, Mongol, and Manchu names are therefore written in this straightforward way when they can be readily identified. There is however a special problem when names in these languages have come down through a Chinese phonetic transcription. The sounds of Chinese match those of Mongol and Manchu very badly, and it is therefore frequently difficult to restore the original. In such cases we have simply written out the name in its Chinese form, using the Wade system, with hyphens between the syllables. As an example of the choices that have to be made on an *ad hoc* basis, take the name (or title) that is usually written Jenghis or Genghis. A closer rendering of the Mongol sound and spelling is Chinggis. In Chinese this becomes Ch'eng-chi-ssu.

Titles, ranks, and names of offices are here rendered in the same rule of thumb way.

[P. 4 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

granaries existed before 1286, and no officials to provide for the subsistence of the soldiers. Moreover, it is a fact of common knowledge that Kubilai ordered the Mongol troops to farm and to defend the country at the same time.[48] This is borne out also by the fact that at the time the Ming dynasty (1368) started establishing Chinese colonies in Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 55; *Annals* of Hsining **24**: 14*b*, and Monguors I: 30, 33), the conquered Mongol troops had to leave the irrigated country around the cities and were relegated to side valleys. The memory of this fateful decision, made by the Ming, was still fresh among the Monguors in 1910, and their tradition went so far as to claim their ancestors as the initial diggers of the irrigation canals and the inaugurators of agriculture in the country.

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

We get the confirmation of this fact from the celebrated Marco Polo, who with his father Nicolo and his uncle Matteo, went to Hsining in 1274, on his way from Venice to Peking. He writes, "the population of this country consists chiefly of idolators (Shamanists, lamaists) but there are also some Mohammedans and Christians (Nestorians) . . . the inhabitants employ themselves in trade and manufacturing. They have grain in abundance."[49]

M 175x 113 HM 175 113

Probably Marco Polo made this statement because the Mongol troops and the Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o farmed in Huangchung. This text proves also that probably during the century of peace preceding the conquest of Hsining by the Mongols, some Mohammedans and Nestorians from Turkistan had returned to Hsining, which they had known since the time of Chiossulo (1038), to engage in trade.

HM [244]

However, because the note of Marco Polo dates from 1274, we have to consider that during the campaigns of Chingis Khan in Turkistan, which had started in 1209, the Mongols had come in close contact with Mohammedans and Uighurs.[50] The influence exerted at court by the Mohammedan Yalavach is well known. It was so striking that Empress Toragana had to remove and demote him at the time he tried to impede the succession of Guyuk to Ogodei, planned by the empress.[51]

M 175x HM 175

According to H. F. Schurmann, in the early years of the Mongolian rule in North China a great number of Central Asiatic merchants had moved into China and organized in the corporation known as "Ortaq." Ortaq means "partner" or companion. These merchants were financial "partners" of members of the imperial family and nobility, from whom they received sizable amounts of silver as loans. This capital they used to expand their trade activities. In addition, many of them func-

HM [244]

M 175x 652 HM 175 652

[48] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 562.

[49] *The travels of Marco Polo*, translated and edited by W. Marsden, reedited by Thomas Right, 135–138, Everyman's Library, J. M. Dent, London, 1950.

[50] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 483.

[51] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 276, 306.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

On account of the fact that the original family chronicles were lost during the troubles which beset the Ming dynasty, the most fantastic legends have come to be spread among the Li Monguors and even among their t'u-ssu, relating to the history of the clan ancestors preceding the Ming period (1368). Some of them circulating among the Li Wen clan have been noted in Monguors 1: 26, 27. Concerning the Li Nan-ko branch we possess two recent documents of 1937 and 1941 which Chinese scholars obtained, one from the Li t'u-ssu himself, and one from a clan member. 173 614

The first document, *Studies on Frontier Areas of Kansu, Ch'ing-hai, and Tibet*, by Ma Ho-t'ien[65] records, on page 179, the personal visit of Ma Ho-t'ien to the residence of the Li t'u-ssu in the subprefecture of Ming Hua and his trip to the ancestral cemetery at Hsiang T'ang.[66] [113]

The Li t'u-ssu was so kind as to show the chronicle of his clan. The size of the chronicle is two feet square, the image of the ancestor is depicted on the first page. On the next page is elaborated his history, and so on for each of the ancestors. However, the only trustworthy part of the chronicle is that starting with the surrender of Li Nan-ko to the Ming and relating the succession of the t'u-ssu from 1371 until the present time. The entire text concerning the history of the ancestors preceding Li Nan-ko is unreliable. Then we left the t'u-ssu and went to the ancestral cemetery of the Li Nan-ko branch at Hsiang T'ang.

On page 180:

The cemetery occupies a terrain as large as six acres, enclosed by a mud wall. The central alley, bordered by stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay, leads to a big stele, behind which is said to be the tomb of Li Nan-ko, and in front of which is built a stone table for the offerings to the dead. On the stele are engraved the text of the ratification by the Ch'ing emperor, of the appointment granted by the previous Ming emperor to the incumbent to the office of t'u-ssu, the text of a funeral oration granted by an emperor at the death of a t'u-ssu, also the glorious achievements of the clan and the names of the t'u-ssu who died on the field of battle. On both sides of the avenue are erected the steles of the t'u-ssu of the Li Nan-ko clan dating from the Ming and Ch'ing periods, the most recent dating from the Kuang-su period (1875–1909). Outside the enclosure, at the entrance of the cemetery, are erected two big steles, "the spirit way steles." On the one erected on the eighth moon of 1427 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Nan-ko), who posthumously received the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Pen-chun tu-tu. He is a descendant of Li K'o-yung, whose original name was T'o-pa, to whom was granted the name Li by the Tang emperor. During the Yuan dynasty, Li Shang-ko was functionary at the offices of the prince of Ch'i. To him succeeded consecutively Li Mei-chi-lu, Li Kuan-chi-lu and Li Nan-ko who was T'ung-chih (vice-chairman) of the district of Hsining. He received during the Hung-wu period of the Ming the hereditary duty of Tu-chih-huei-shih (High Commandant). To his son Yin was granted, on account of his merits, the title of Earl of Huei Ning, 173 764 614 [324]

[65] *Kan, Ch'ing-hai, Tsang pien-ch'ü K'ao-ch'a-chi*, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1947.

[66] Hsiang T'ang is the name of the locality where the cemetery is situated, and means the Hall of Sacrifice, the room where the corpse is laid out.

[P.28(A)]

and posthumously were bestowed (upon Li Nan-ko) the titles of his son: Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Tso-chun tu-tu-fu. On the second spirit way stele erected on the third moon of 1475 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Li Yin) to whom was granted the title "official who sincerely manifested military achievements" to whom were bestowed, in a special way, the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Chou-kuo Huei Ning-pei (Earl of Huei Ning, pillar of the empire). 173 614 764

The second document is encountered in Shuo-wen-yueh-k'an 3, 10, 1942 (Ch'ung-ch'ing Shuo-wen Yueh-k'an shih). There we meet with the article "Genealogical record of the tribe of the descendants of Li K'o-yung" by Wei Chu-hsien, who passed through the subprefecture of Ming Hua (San Ch'uan Valley) in October 1941. He visited Li Pao-ch'ing, a clan member of the old Li Nan-ko branch, who told him that during the Shun-chih period (1644–1661) a genealogical chronicle had been composed based on all available sources, by Yueh-Nai, secretary of the t'u-ssu for fifteen years, well read in the history of the clan, and that Yueh Nai was a contemporary of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu.[67] 173 614 [113]

I copied the present part of the chronicle composed by Yueh Nai. The original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-yeh. The Tang emperor granted him the name Li and the title of Prince of Chin (895). He saved the Tang dynasty during the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao. Li Ssu-kung moved into Hsi Hsia, Li Chi-feng followed the Sung dynasty, offering the four districts of Yin, Hsia, Suei, Ning.[68] From the Sung until the Yuan, during generations, they lived in Hsi Hsia and were renowned for their military presentations. At the time of the Yuan, Li Shang-ko was T'ung-chih tu-tu-chih (Vice-Chairman of the protectorate office) in Hsining. Then the Li clan divided into six sub-clans, each having its t'u-ssu. The most important among them was the Li Nan-ko clan. During the Ming, Li Nan-ko surrendered with the officials of Huangchung. Then follow the names of the descendants of Li Nan-ko who fulfilled successively the duty of t'u-ssu during the Ming. Finally a genealogical scheme is elaborated, starting with Li Shang-ko, succeeded by his son Li Mei-chi-lu, his grandson Li Kuan-chi-lu, who had two sons Li Nan-ko and Ch'a han Timur. The son of Li Nan-ko was Li Yin, the son of Ch'a Han Timur was Kuan Yin-pao. The son of Li Yin was Li Ch'ang, the son of Kuan Yin-pao was Li Wen. Further the names of the successors of Li 175x [148] 614 622

[67] The shift of the Ming dynasty to that of the Manchu was preceded by a period of troubles. The rebels in Huangchung looted the country of its wealth. T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, still faithful to the Ming, tried to restore order in his territory. In 1644 his wife, concubine, two brothers, and three hundred of his subjects were killed. He himself was taken prisoner by rebels and sent to Sian to the Manchu court. He was accredited in his former duty of t'u-ssu and died as a faithful official of the Manchus (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 2*b*. *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47*b*).

[68] *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 3*b*, happened in 982.

[P.28(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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In the same year the Ko-tsa Tibetan tribe which had surrendered in 1380, whose chief controlled 400 families and nomadized southwest of Ku Shan along the northern borders of the Yellow River, plundered the lamasery of Hung-hua. Captains Kao Hsien and Yang Yu with T'u-ssu Lu (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 4; **31**: 14) pursued and defeated the rebels in the mountains of Pa-yen-jung (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 31*a*).

HT 175 648

In 1520–1521 T'u-ssu Lu twice repelled Ordos brigands invading Ku Yuan and Chuang Lang.

M 113

The very first *Annals* of Hsining composed by the scholar Chang Chih were printed in 1520 (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 15*a*).

The Chinese army revolted in Kanchow in 1522. The Tibetan tribes in Huangchung seized the opportunity to plunder the country (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 14*a*). Governor Cheng Yang could not control the situation. At the same time 20,000 Ordos brigands invaded Ku Yuan, P'ing Liang, Chin Chou, killed the military officials Yang Hung and Liu Tuan, terribly devastated the country and killed and captured more than 10,000 people (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 31*b*).

M 175x 648
HT 175 648

In 1525 Pu-erh-hai, a Mongol chief, had a score to settle with Dayan. In order to avoid his vengeance he joined the I-pu-la group. On his way to Kokonor he plundered the country. He was defeated by Yang Chung aided by T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38*a*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 42*a*) and T'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 32*b*). The next year T'u-ssu Lu was impeached by the officials of Cheng-fan and Hsining. He was removed from office (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 14*a–b*; **27**: 15).

After the officials had lost control over Huangchung in 1522 they convened to discuss these disastrous circumstances and find a solution. There was complete absence of direction and the officials were at loggerheads with one another. One group among them stubbornly defended the policy of Tuan Ying who, seventeen centuries earlier, had exterminated the Tibetans in order to pacify the country. At present, they said, the conditions are favorable, the Kokonor brigands control only two or three thousand Mongol horse and foot; from the moment the troops are moved the Tibetan tribes will abandon them. The other group obstinately advocated the policy of Chao Ch'ung-kuo who also, seventeen centuries before, won over the Tibetan tribes, granting titles to the chiefs, opening markets, etc. They said, "Because their army at present is in poor shape and money is lacking, this policy is the only one possible." The third group was as stubborn as the other two: Tuan Ying had exterminated the Tibetans and won only a barren worthless country, void of people. Chao Ch'ung-kuo had fooled himself, and after a couple of years the country had been out of control. Both generals had applied their policy to the utmost and failed. The right way is a middle way, the way of wise moderation; whoever

M 175x 648 723

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

prompt prosecution and quick forwarding of the accusations to the emperor. The emperor sanctioned the accusations January 1, 1724. An edict was sent throughout the provinces on February 11, 1724. Probably on account of this edict and the connections of the Surniana family with the Sessaka faction, General Nien Keng-Yao accused both sons of Surniana on July 1, 1724. In February, 1725, both sons were ordered to join their family, already banished to Yu Wei. In June, 1725, both were carried from Yu Wei to Peking, bound in chains, and condemned to die in prison. The twelfth son died in prison after two years of suffering, and the sixth son died in prison a couple of years later. These are the conjunctures of the accusations against the sons of the Surniana in 1724 by General Nien Keng-yao. They reveal the existence of a Catholic community and the building of a church in Hsining.[94a]

175x 798 578

Recently in Volume 18 (1959) of *Monumenta Serica*, I encountered the very interesting article, "The Description and Map of Kansu by Giovanni Battista Maoletti De Serravalle," by Professor B. Szczeniak, Notre Dame University, dealing with the same subject.

175x 113

Maoletti was born in Serravalle, near Milan, in 1669. He entered the order of the Franciscans in 1689. In 1705 he arrived in Canton and went from Sian (Shensi) to Lanchow (Kansu) in 1710. He was chased from there by bonzes in 1713, and moved to Liangchow and Hsining (Kansu) where he worked until 1716. He had been appointed Administrator of the vicariate of Hukwang, but left China during the persecution in 1724. He died on the way to Canton on January 14, 1725. The report had been written by Maoletti in Hsining, where he lived from 17[illegible] to 1716. Maoletti's map was made four to five years before the *K'ang Hsi* or Jesuit Atlas was printed in 1719. It is not a studied piece of cartography, but a sketch-map to illustrate a mission report.

The map and the description of Kansu and Kokonor at this date is the more significant, for only a short time later great changes were brought about by the Jungar invasion of Tibet (1717), and again by the terrible revolt in 1723–1724 of Mongols and Tibetans of Kokonor and Huangchung, and Lamas. The report is interesting for it deals with many details about places and people and the products of the country,—rhubarb, musk, and coal, silver and gold mines. (*Monumenta Serica* 18: 294–298, 1959.)

Professor B. Szczesniak, in his very interesting article, also notes the work of F. Dehergne, S.J., "Les Missions du Nord de la Chine vers 1700," Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu 24, 1955. Both sources help to give a view of the mission work in remote Kansu during the period of revolts.

The Maoletti report, following the map, is alive with interest in the Tartars (Mongols) who figure so prominently on the map, with the eagerness to further mission work among them, and with details about places and people. Maoletti's interest for the conversion of the Mongols is manifest in many places of the report. He is pleased to note that north of Topa sits a prince who is lord of Topa—

175x 797

[94a] *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses* 2: 366–465, Paris, Paul Daffis, 7 rue Guenegaud, 1877. De Mailla, *Histoire Generale de la Chine* 11: 373–408, Paris, Clousier, Rue Saint Jacques, 1880.

[P.60(B)]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

PREFACE

•114 During the years from 1911 to 1922 I lived as a missionary in the frontier region of Hsining in Northwest China. Among the peoples living in the region there were Chinese, Tibetans, Turkish-speaking Salars, Chinese-speaking Muslims, and a people who call themselves Monguors, and are called by the Chinese *T'u-jen,* a name that means "autochthones." Of these, I was most interested in the Monguors. The present study is drawn from notes written down at that time as well as from information in the local Chinese annals of the cities of the region and the annals of the Province of Kansu. During the years that I lived in the region, Hsining was the most important city of the Tibetan frontier of the Province of Kansu. It was only in 1928 that the vast frontier district was detached and formed into the new Province of Ch'inghai, with Hsining as its capital. (The Chinese name Ch'inghai is a translation of the Mongol name Kuke Nuur, Blue Lake, also rendered as Kukunor or Kokonor, the name of one of the outstanding geographical features of the region.)

It was in the winter of 1909 that I arrived in Kansu Province. This was the first year of the period of Hsüan T'ung when the "boy Emperor" P'u I, last of the Manchu sovereigns, ascended the throne. The Empire still had an external appearance of power and grandeur, but in less than three years it collapsed, the Emperor was forced to abdicate, and there began a long period of trouble and civil war. In 1911, the year of the Chinese Revolution, I was assigned to Hsining and studied Tibetan for half a year in the famous lamasery of Kumbum. I was then sent to a mission stationed in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, forty-five miles east of Hsining, where I continued the study of Tibetan for four years.

The Monguor people, with whom I came in contact in the course of my work as a missionary, seemed to me to be more interesting than the Tibetan tribes. All kinds of conflicting and incredible tales were current about their mysterious origin and their social organization, and very little was known about them. Having studied the history of religions and anthropology at the University of Louvain, and having studied the religions of China and taken the courses in Chinese at the University of Leiden in Holland, from 1908 to 1909, I was predisposed to be fascinated by the problem of the Monguors.

114 Later I was transferred to the mission station of Hsining, where I was in charge of more than thirty small
123 mission stations scattered all over the prefecture. I was in daily contact with Chinese, Monguors, and Tibetans, and had an opportunity to jot down notes from first hand observations. Some of the Christians were subjects of Monguor *T'u-ssu* or "native chiefs," and lived in Monguor villages. As a missionary, moreover, I had a certain amount of medical work to do, and in the course of this kind of work one gains the heart and confidence of the people and becomes conversant with their most inti-

[p. 1-a.]

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123

mate personal and family problems. It so happened that during this period I was teaching geometry and algebra to the son of the highest-ranking Chinese city official of the prefecture, and thus had an opportunity to become well acquainted with all the Chinese officials and scholars of the city. As a consequence, I was often asked by village headmen, by Tibetan and Monguor *T'u-ssu*, and by the heads of lamaseries, to help them by explaining their problems to the Chinese officials and acting as a friendly intermediary on their behalf.

Thus for a period of years my associations with Monguors were close and cordial and it was possible for me to learn something about them. On account of the pressure of my daily work, however, it was not possible at that time for me to prepare my material for publication. All that I could do was to make notes from my daily observations and scan the Chinese annals of the region. In 1922 I was transferred to the mission of Ninghsia on the borders of the Alashan Mongol Territory. In 1927–28 I went to Europe to recover from a debility caused by malaria. Returning to China, I spent the years from 1928 to 1947 in charge of different mission stations in the Hou-t'ao region on the northern edge of the Ordos Mongol territory, and could not be released to prepare publications, because of the shortage of missionaries and the trying times in which we were living. More than once I had to bury my notes and photographs, along with my other possessions, for fear of local bandits and, in later years, for fear of Japanese raids. Finally in March 1948 I arrived in Peking, hoping to prepare my material for publication. On the way, the train carrying my papers was looted by Chinese Communists in T'u-mu. One-third of the cases disappeared. Fortunately most of my notes were saved, though most of the photographs were lost.

001 In November 1948, the political and military situation in Peking having become much worse, I came to Washington in order to finish the preparation of my material and to continue research work, making use of Chinese sources in the Library of Congress. In 1949–50 Mr. Owen Lattimore invited me to take part in the program of research on the Mongol region under his direction at the Page School of International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University, under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. In the following academic year 1950–51 I received a grant from the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia to enable me to complete my work. It is a pleasure to be able to acknowledge, with the appearance of this publication, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation, the American Philosophical Society, my American and Mongol colleagues at the Johns Hopkins, and especially the time and care which Mr. H. H. Vreeland 3rd devoted to helping me in the preparation of the manuscript, and Mr. Lattimore's assistance in the final editing.

[p. 1-b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 We may now summarize the general history of this area. From 116 B.C. to A.D. 1280, military colonies were intermittently established in Hsining and the country was "officially" divided into sub-prefectures; these disappeared several times and their existence was always precarious, because of the inroads of nomadic tribes; in fact the population of the country appears to have changed many times. During the Mongol dynasty (1260–1368), the entire Hsining region was for the first time firmly annexed to China by the Mongol conquerors. The Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started off with an improvement in the organization of the country, following the Chinese pattern, but was not very successful in this undertaking because of inability to prevent inroads by nomads. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1911), benefiting by the experience of the Ming, succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighboring tribes of Kukunor, assigning definite territories to each of them, and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes, they were able to develop the country peacefully, stimulating both agriculture and commerce. Development of the country was dependent on control of the neighboring tribes.

II. THE MONGUORS

The origin of the Monguor clans, of the name "Monguor," and of the Monguor language has been a puzzle for both foreigners and local people. After presenting the enigma, I shall present some data about the name of the Monguors and the solution of the language problem. I shall then deal with the historical solution of the Monguor enigma, revealing successively the origin of the Monguor clans and the time of their first settlement in Kansu, the nature of this settlement and the distribution of the Monguor clans, population figures, and the expansion of the Monguors throughout the country.

THE MONGUORS AN ENIGMA TO FOREIGNERS

•114 *Huc and Gabet*, in their famous journey to Lhasa (1844–1846), record their passage through the country of the Monguors of the Three Valleys (San-ch'uan), called Dschiahours by the Tibetans and T'u-jen by the Chinese. Their traveling companion, Samdadchiemba, was himself a Monguor, a subject of the T'u-ssu of the Ch'i clan of the Three Valleys. Huc and Gabet describe the people as appearing to be of "Tartar" origin and their language as seeming to be a mixture of Mongol, Chinese, and Tibetan.[1]

Prjevalski, who traveled in the region in 1873, calls the Monguors "Daldy," describes them as more like the

[1] Huc and Gabet, *Souvenir d'un voyage dans la Tartarie et le Tibet, 1844–1846*, 2: 36–37, Paris, edition of 1878.

[P. 236]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

114 Muslims than the Chinese, and says that their language is a mixture of Mongol, Chinese, and unknown words.[2]

After his second journey in Kukunor and Tibet (1879–1880) he writes that the Daldy are called Karlun by the Tibetans and Tunschen by the Chinese and Mongols (p. 186); although he is convinced that the country of origin of the Daldy, like that of the Kirghiz, is the region of Samarkand, and that they are a mixture of the "Aryan" and "Mongol" races, but, having mingled with Chinese, the original type has disappeared; among the women, however, once in a while the genuine type is discernible (p. 188).

He notes also the legend told among the Mongols, that when Chinghis Khan ruled in the Ordos he rode so fast a horse, that in twenty-four hours he could reach Kukunor for a hunting party. Once a high official accompanied Chinghis and when he saw the country of Hsining he enjoyed it so much that he settled there with his subjects and became the founding ancestor of the Daldy tribes (p. 187).

114 101 *Potanin*, who traveled in this region in 1884–1886, refers to the Monguors as "Shirongols." He says of them that they call themselves "Mongol" or "Chagan Mongol" (White Mongol) and that some of them call themselves "Chzhahor"[3] (p. 374). The Chinese call them T'u-jen and the Mongols of the plain give them the name of "Dalda" (Doldo), or "Dolon belite doldo," which means the "doldo with seven languages." Potanin says that he prefers to call them Shirongol, because that word is better for use in the Russian language. He had heard this name used in the Ordos by the conductor of his caravan, "Santan Dzhimba," who himself belonged to the T'u-jen group of Amdo. However, neither "Shirongol" nor "Dalda" is a name known by the Monguors themselves. Only Santan Dzhimba used the name "Shirongol," explaining "Shiro" as related to "Shoro," the Mongol word for "earth" or "soil." The neighboring Tanguts, according to Potanin, called the Monguors "Cha-hor": "Cha" meaning "Chinese" and "Hor" being the Tibetan name for the nomadic tribes of North Tibet. This term would therefore mean "Chinese Mongols." The Shirongols call the Tangguts "Tebe" ("Tubet" is the Mongol word for "Tibetan"); they call the Chinese Ch'tai (Kitat is the Mongol form), and the Mongols of the plain "Doro gadzoren Mongol"

[2] Prjevalski, *Mongolie et le pays des Tangoutes*, 172–173, 1880; Prjevalski, *Reisen in Tibet*, 186–187–188, Jena, 1884. For the original passages in Russian, see: N. M. Prjeval'skii, *Mongoliya i strana Tangutov*, 199–200, Moscow, State Publishers, 1946; a reprint described as "slightly abridged," of the original St. Petersburg edition of 1875; the reprint edition has a commentary by E. M. Murzaev (see p. 315 for his notes on the "Daldy" or Monguor). The second reference is to: *Iz Zaisana cherez Khami v Tibet i na-l'ekhor'ya Zheltoi reki*, also available in a "slightly abridged" edition (Moscow, State Publishers, 1948) of the St. Petersburg edition of 1883; see pp. 264–265 of the reprint edition.—O. L.

[3] This is the term rendered by Huc and Gabet as "Dschiahour" (see above). See also below, p. 23, n. 1.—O. L.

[p.24a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

114 101 (Mongols of the lower land) (p. 375). ("Santan Dzhimba" is, of course, Potanin's version of the famous "Samdadchiemba" who had previously accompanied Huc and Gabet.)

Potanin refers further to the opinion of Uspenski, who disproves the theory of Prjevalski concerning the "Daldy" or "Talat," and claims that the Daldy are the people called by the Chinese Huang Fan and who are the Shera-Uighurs. Potanin supposes that the Shirongols probably belong to the same stock as the Shera-Uighurs who live in the Nanshan range north of Kanchou and Suchou and are called Huang Fan or "Yellow barbarians" by the Chinese. He notes that according to the *Annals* of Suchou, the names of the Princes of the "Yellow Barbarians" are Mongol names, and raises the question whether the Shirongols or Monguors may not be simply a group of these Uighurs (Yellow Uighurs) who were first Mongolized and later strongly influenced by the Chinese culture (p. 382). Potanin notes a tradition which he himself heard several times and which was also heard by Prjevalski that the Shirongols came to the Tibetan frontier from the Ordos. In connection with the fact that they are sometimes called Daldy, or Talat, he cites from Prjevalski the fact that one of the Ordos banners is called Talat. Potanin also notes a tradition that the Shirongols were sent by Chingis Khan himself to take possession of the Tibetan frontier. On the question of the precise time of their arrival, Potanin draws attention to three migrations from the Ordos region to the Tibetan frontier. The first of these was in the fourth century A.D., when a large group of the Sienpi tribe of Eastern Mongolia passed through the Ordos and migrated as far as Northern Tibet. The second, according to the Mongol historian, Sagang Setsen, was in the thirteenth century, when Dorda and Godan, brothers of Kublai Khan, were ordered by their mother to migrate to Shera-tala (Yellow Plain) northwest of Hsining. (According to a communication from Father Mostaert, this story was not written by Sagang Setsen, but added by Schmidt, his translator.) The third migration was in the fifteenth century when a large group of Ölöt or western Mongols came to the Kukunor region from the north. He suggests that the Shirongols may be the result of the mingling of the descendants of these groups, or perhaps only of the two groups that migrated in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries (p. 280).

114 173

Potanin notes a tradition according to which the Shirongols had built a large realm, the capital of which was at Lanchou (capital of the province of Kansu); after three mighty emperors had governed the realm in succession it was destroyed by Ghesar (the mythical Tibetan hero). One of these emperors was Horbende. Potanin adds that in the Mongol chronicle *Altan Tobchi* (Russian translation, p. 196) it is said that: "Sain Altan Khagan destroyed the Sharegols of Amdo who lived between Tibet and Tangut" and he supposes that the

[p. 24b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

114 Sharegols are the Shirongols, or that the Shirongols are their descendants (p. 375).

173 Potanin notes also another tradition that the founder of all the families of Monguor T'u-ssu, or chieftains, was Li, prince of Chin; according to this tradition the present T'u-ssu family of Li represents the direct line of descent, while the other T'u-ssu families are collateral descendants. Li, Prince of Chin (an ancient name for the northern part of what is now the Province of Shansi; a region frequently held by Turkish tribes during the early middle ages), was a high official at the court of one of the T'ang emperors. For misbehavior at an imperial dinner he was exiled to the region of Hsining. He brought Chinese to this region to develop agriculture, and built a city which became the capital of a powerful kingdom. According to some variants of the legend, the mythical Tibetan hero, Ghesar, destroyed the kingdom of the Shirongols, but according to other variants it was Li who was the founder of the Kingdom. The ancient grave of Li, Prince of Chin, is to be seen near Shandan (an old name for the city of Hsining). The stone slab set before the grave is reputed to have medicinal powers, for which reason people chip off pieces of the stone. Only about one-third of the stone still exists. Stones carved in the form of sheep are set out in rows before the grave (pp. 380–381).

114 Potanin goes on to state that there are many groups
177 of the Shirongols, some of whom live in communities of their own while others live in mixed communities. Among the Shirongols of San Ch'uan there are families of Tibetan and Chinese origin, while on the other hand some of the Shirongols have become Tibetanized. In the succession to the chieftainship, he says, the eldest son inherits, while his brothers sink into the rank of commoners. In some groups there is no chief, the people, after accusing the chief of imposing too heavy land taxes and feudal services, having become ordinary Chinese subjects. Potanin was not able to find out how many of the original eighteen groups of Shirongols still existed in his time. According to his information, the Shirongols were allowed to sell their fields to members of the same group, if they had the permission of their chief.[4]

000 *W. W. Rockhill* writes of the Monguors:

> In western Kan-su these Tu-jen alone use cave dwellings: such dwellings are found among all these people, and also, I have heard said, among the Tibetan tribes living west of Sung-p'an-t'ing. The question suggests itself whether these tribes did not teach the Chinese to make such dwellings and furthermore whether these people, these Tu-jen, are not of the same stock as the now extinct Man-tzu cave makers of western Sze-ch'uan (pp. 72–74). Their language is as I thought about eight-tenths Mongol.

[4] G. N. Potanin, *Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina Kitaya i tsentral'naya Mongoliya (The Tangut-Tibetan frontier of China and Central Mongolia)*, 1893 (in Russian). An abridged edition was published in 1950 (Moscow, State Publishers), and is the source which I have used here. The passages cited were kindly translated for me by F. J. Spriet, pp. 374, 380–384.

[p. 25a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

600 the residue being Tibetan, Chinese and to the best of my knowledge a heretofore unknown lingo, probably the original language of the Tu-jen of this part of the Empire (p. 106).[5]

114 In his *Land of the Lamas* the same author asserts that the Dschiahours of the Three Valleys encountered by Huc and Gabet are White Mongols, whose early home was probably in the Ordos (p. 43). He quotes the *Huang Ch'ing Chih Kung T'u* (eighteenth century) as mentioning a number of Mongol tribes living in the southern portion of the Nienpei district in Sanch'uan. The same work mentions (5: 55) a tribe called Tungkou living in the same district whose chieftains bear the family name of Li and who descend from Li K'oyung, a Shat'o Turk and famous warrior of the T'ang period (p. 44). Rockhill also quotes from the dynastic history of the T'ang dynasty the tribal name Kolu, which he identifies with the Karluk Turks, northeast of the present Urumchi, in Sinkiang. These Kolu submitted to the Tibetans, and Rockhill believes that they may be the later "Tungkou," suggesting that *tung* is Chinese for "eastern," and *kou* a contraction of "Koulu," a variant of "Kolu" (p. 45).[6]

101

Among the more recent travelers, the region was visited by *W. Filchner* and *A. Tafel*. In 1906 Filchner published an account of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum, the value of the volume consisting chiefly in the photographic material.[7] Tafel, although he gives interesting data about the "T'u-ren," and mentions the legends of their T'uyühun, Shat'o, or Hsi Hsia origin (p. 248), mentions their submission to the Ming and notes that the Li T'u-ssu is the most outstanding among the T'u-ssu (p. 250), does not solve the problem.[8]

Comte de Lesdain, in his journey from China through the Ordos to Tibet and India, described the country as "inhabited by the old aborigines of Kansu province, who are the most authentic remainder of the primitive race from which the Chinese spring."[9]

P. K. Kozlow, who traveled in 1907–1909, wrote of the "Donger-wa" or "people of Donger," namely, the Monguors, that they might have originated as a mixed breed of Chinese and Tanguts; and that their language was closely akin to Mongol, but with an admixture of Chinese and Tangut words.[10]

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[5] W. W. Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet, 1891–1892*, 73–106, Washington, Smithsonian Instn., 1894.

[6] W. W. Rockhill, *The land of the lamas*, New York, 1891.

[7] W. Filchner, *Das Kloster Kumbum in Tibet*, Berlin, Mittler, 1906; also *Om mani padme hum: meine China- und Tibetexpedition 1925–28*, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1929.

[8] A. Tafel, *Meine Tibetreise*, Stuttgart, Union deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1914.

[9] *From Pekin to Sikkim through the Ordos, the Gobi desert, and Tibet*, New York, Dutton, 1908.

[10] P. K. Kozlow, *Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Charachoto*, 136, Berlin, Neufeld und Henius, 1925. The original Russian edition is: P. K. Kozlov, *Mongoliya i Amdo i mertvyi gorod Khara-Khoto*, Moscow-Petrograd, State Publishers, 1923, reprinted 1948.

[P. 25-b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

114 101 *Reginald Farrer,* who was in the country in 1915, writes that "Here and there all over China occur these queer little outcrops of dying races from of old," and that the "Turan," or "Children of Earth," "pervade just this one small spot on the face of China, a curious race, wholly unlike the Chinese, the Mongols, the Tibetans and the Mohamedans, if only in the fact that they are very dark and very dense with curly black hair." [11]

Frederick Wulsin wrote of the Monguors that "Some have suggested that the T'u-run (speech) is very old Mongol and others that it is based on the Shat'o Turkish dialect. The present To-run might be descended from immigrants belonging to one or the other of these races. The information now at hand does not justify me in expressing an opinion." [12]

This last citation may be taken as an appropriate summing up of the fact that the Monguors have always been an enigma to foreign travelers.

THE MONGUORS AN ENIGMA TO THE LOCAL PEOPLE

101 173 The Monguors have, however, been as much an enigma to their Chinese neighbors as they have been to foreigners. The Chinese name T'u-jen means, as has already been explained, "autochthones" or "aborigines," and under the influence of this term the popular explanation of the Chinese of the region is that the Monguors are descendants of the first inhabitants of the country who built the oldest villages and cities, occupied the most fertile valleys, dug the irrigation canals and then were conquered and subjugated by the Chinese at some very early historical period.

Another Chinese tradition, however, is that the Monguors are of Mongol stock and settled in the region where they now live, during the Mongol dynasty, between 1260 and 1368. Still another tradition is that they are Mongols who were settled as garrisons in Yunnan Province, under the Mongol dynasty, but on the fall of that dynasty were moved to Hsining and settled there at the orders of the Ming dynasty. Yet another Chinese tradition is that the Monguors are all of Shat'o Turkish stock and arrived in the Hsining region during the T'ang dynasty (618–906); but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming dynasty. While living in the region, I also heard it said by learned Chinese who had won literary honors under the Manchu Empire that the Monguors were not a homogeneous people, but included descendants of the T'ulufan of Turkistan, remnants of the medieval T'uyühun (Sienpi) tribes, and even fragments of old Ch'iang (Tibetan) tribes. Such Chinese were prone to say in addition that the T'u-ssu or hereditary local chiefs were not of the same origin as any of their subjects, but that they 173

[11] Reginald Farrer, *The rainbow bridge*, 75, London, Arnold, 1921.

[12] Frederick Wulsin, Non-Chinese inhabitants of the province of Kan-su, China. *Amer. Jour. Physical Anthropol.* 8: 416, 1925.

[P. 26a]

2: Schram--1 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

/1/

Introduction

101 This study deals with marriage among the T'ou-jen /T'u-jen/ of Kansu. The T'ou-jen in question occupy the north side of Sining River, in the prefecture of Sining and the subprefecture of P'ing-fan (Lien-tch'eng).

114 We hope to have this monograph followed by others, which will deal with the history of the T'ou-jen, their religious, social, and political life. Our sources for the history of this people are the great history of China, the chronicles of the towns of Kansu, and the family chronicles of one of the most powerful T'ou-jen groups, which extend over a period of more than five hundred years; our sources for the ethnology are the notes collected during the course of about ten years spent in T'ou-jen country.

144 162 Of the T'ou-jen of whom we write, one group is very probably of Turkish race, and the other, without doubt, as of Mongol race. The first, of the clan of Li t'ou-se, are said to be /2/ originally Cha-t'ouo /Sha-t'o/ (1) who immigrated to the region in the T'ang period

1. Aur. Stein, Serindia, Vol. 2, p. 1129: Kao-chu-hui, when describing the journey along this border, of the Chinese mission which started from Khotan in 938, tells us: Kan-chow is the camping place of the Hui-ho (Uigurs). The mountains which are about 100 li to the south (direction of Si-ning; the principal habitat of the T'ou-jen is four days from Kan-chow /Kan-tcheou/) are the territory where in the time of the Han dynasty, there resided the ancient people called the little Yueh-chih. There is a race different from this people called Cha-t'ouo from the mountains of the deer forest. They are said to be descended from the Ch'u yueh race (ex. Rémusat, Ville de Khotan /City of Khotan/;

/110 cont'd/

587 come the incoherences we have been able to establish in the present-day rites of the marriage of widows. Neither should the existence of the practice of abduction of widows be supposed for this period. It is therefore natural to conclude that, for all this period, the marriage of girls is to be considered as the only and true marriage, and that the practice of abduction existed only for them. This fact has its importance again in the question of polygamy among the T'ou-jen, because it explains a special category of polygamy still practiced nowadays. The T'ou-jen, no longer having any recollection of this institution which existed among his ancestors, today seeks an arbitrary explanation for this problem.

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101 /111/ Northern and central Asia has been the theater of numerous migrations, peaceful and otherwise, in historic and prehistoric times, of peoples having extremely varied social organizations. From this come the analogies and the ethnological borrowings ascertained among the peoples on both sides of the Bering Strait, and among the "middle and western Eurasians."

114 I summarize in this place the monumenta ethnographica which shed a new light on the chapter on "marriage by purchase" among the T'ou-jen, whose ancestors, Mongols and Cha-t'ou, were nomads.

For this purpose I use the judicious inclusive study of Dr. Herbert König, "Das Recht der Polarvölker, IV. Das Eherecht der Polarvölker," Anthropos (1928-29).

583 171 Anthropos, 1929, p. 101, Bride Price /Brautkauf/ among the Central and Western Eurasians ... Bride-price marriage coincides in distribution almost exactly with the peoples in the polar region who have an aristocratic social organization. It is specifically reported and described in detail for the Tungus, Jakut, Samojed, Ostjak, and Lapps, and, to be sure, as a unique way of concluding marriage. Page 104. The picture

/126 cont'd/

588 A. To a prayer pole, a tree, a wall, a lion of baked clay, etc.

B. Marriages to a belt

Let us note that the marriages in the first series are also practiced by the Tibetans of Kansu, who live in a seminomadic and semi-agrarian state; they are not found among the Chinese of the region.

A. Marriages to a Prayer Pole, etc.

114 Let us first put forth the case, then let us justify the classification of this practice in the series of marriages.

One can read in the books which speak of the T'ou-jen that this people includes girls, unmarried all their lives, who, however, bear children just the same. The Chinese books especially try to disparage this people particularly because of this custom. Now, they are mistaken. These superficial observers have understood nothing about the customs of these regions. It is not by this custom that the morality of the T'ou-jen must be judged.

844 [302 554] To be able to bear a child honestly (for there is an honesty also among these peoples), custom /127/ requires, without any exception whatever, that the mother wear her hair in the style of married women; in other words, this is to say that it is necessary to be married to be able to become a mother.

848 [847] Now it happens that girls not yet given in marriage are pregnant. Two solutions then present themselves: the first is to bring on an abortion or to wait until the child is born to make it disappear or to offer it to anyone who wants it; the second is to change the hair style of the girl, that is to say, to get her married.

588 [848] When the second solution is adopted, they invite three or four neighbors, who with the family are present at the "marriage." They have been careful to prepare the attire of the bride. She arrays herself with it and has her hair done in the style of married women. Two lamps are lighted, and the sacred fire placed in the middle of the courtyard is maintained by means of cypress branches. After spreading out pieces of red felt, they proceed to the marriage, which

/159 cont'd/

Mo 60 This evolution is most curious. It moves at an uneven rate in different clans; one would even say that it goes only in jumps. The most commonplace circumstances very often can give to the movement an impulse as vigorous as the most tragic events, and that in all senses also. I quote at random: an honorific title given by China to a powerful tribal chieftain; kin relationships of a notable T'ou-jen with an influential Chinese family; marriages with Chinese; quarrels among village heads; the senseless verdict of a Chinese mandarin who understands nothing about T'ou-jen social organization; regularly repeated trips into regions with different customs; conversion to another religion; catastrophes like those of the Mohammedan revolutions, /160/ which, be decimating the people, were the cause of the adoption into certain clans of Tiberan and Chinese groups nearly as numerous as the T'ou-jen group, etc. One would say that there is very little there constant, regular, foreseen in this whole movement, ... in this evolution.

Mo 114 This chapter on the matriarchate hence was necessary to make understood a great part of the rites and customs we have met in this study; I hope that it has helped to throw the true light, in the light of which one must see the picture which this study is, on marriage among the T'ou-jen.

/161/ Supplementary Notes

Notes on the Tungus

T 113 The printing of the present study was drawing to a close when I was able to procure the work, made by a master's hand, of Mr. Shirokogoroff, Social Organisation of the Northern Tungus, Commercial Press, 1929. The following notes, taken from this work, will complete our study.

T 51 We distinguish among the Tungus a northern and a southern group. The northern group includes the peoples who speak or have spoken the dialects which all take their origin from a mother language,

/176 cont'd/

585 on first sight. The base of it is Mongol; what is Chinese is only acci-
177 dental; this is the presence of the groom beside the bride and the part he takes in a ceremony which already used to exist.

Certainly it is hard for us to understand a wedding in which the two parties do not carry out some rite together, or at least where the two parties are not present. This, nevertheless, is what we have seen among all these peoples except the T'ou-jen and the Manchu.

585 What is the high point of the wedding among these peoples?
171 It seems to me that it is still when the bride is brought in before her parents-in-law, the members of her bridegroom's clan, and all the guests to make all alone the ritual prostrations, to pay her respects and recognize her subjection. It is precisely then that among the Mongol "the ritual prayers are read... and all give her their blessings" (cf. p. 81), that among the Tungus of Transbaikalia "a shaman meanwhile intones good wishes" (cf. p. 188), that among the Miao "while the groom is on his knees, an old man enumerates all the duties he will have to carry out." (Cf. p. 99.)

It would be very interesting for us to know these "ritual prayers and blessings given by all," these "wishes intoned by the shaman," and these "duties enumerated by the old man," for I think it is just at that moment, and at that moment alone, that the true meaning of the festive event is revealed by the wishes made and the blessings implored and wished. And from whom are these blessings awaited? Who will bring about these wishes? These wishes must present a good deal of resemblance with those /177/ made among the T'ou-jen in similar circumstances, and I cannot keep from supposing that this moment of the festival must be just as impressive and just as important in these groups as among the T'ou-jen.

585 I allow myself therefore to insist on this ceremony, all the more
114 because it is especially with respect to it that we have the fewest details and that it is often passed by unnoticed in the things relative to marriage.

585 If one turns up one's nose at this rite, then marriage simply loses its meaning among these peoples, since it is reduced to the simple acquisition by purchase of a new member on the part of the bridegroom's family, to the discussions about the price of the girl, to

/177 cont'd/

585 the payment of the purchase price, and to the delivery of the "merchandise" by her owners; in addition one has the admission of the girl into the bridegroom's clan and the sacrifice made by her to the god of the hearth of her new family: the whole followed by a dinner and entertainment.

But finally, why spend money for a girl? Why admit a new member into the family? Why is marriage among these peoples the great work of life? They know well why, these peoples! I suppose that they say so like the T'ou-jen in the ritual prayers, in the blessings: that they say it to those from whom they await its realization, and that exactly at the moment when the bride makes the prostrations.

This is why I consider this ceremony as the chief ceremony in marriage among these peoples.

105 The few rare materials which this study presents to us prove amply that the civilization of the T'ou-jen is far from being homogenous, and that we find ourselves here in the presence of cultural elements belonging to different types of culture.

/178/ After studying the history of this people in Kansu, its environment, its neighbors, its social, political, and religious life, we shall be better able to understand the complexity of its civilization and the origin of the cultural elements we find in it.

The T'ou-jen, separated radically for hundreds of years from other groups of their race, confined in a lost corner of Kansu, surrounded by peoples having a culture of a type different from theirs, and having themselves changed their kind of life since their arrival in the new habitat, present a very complex problem to us, whose data must be well known before it can be solved.

114 So we reserve our conclusions for later, trying above all to furnish as faithfully, as completely, as possible all the ethnologic and historic materials.

3: Schröder--1 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[4]

First Part: The Religious Customs

1. Introduction*

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*The designations (1), (2), (3), etc. do not appear as footnotes in this work, but as independent subsections, and each time under the heading "Notes." Cf. p. 17 [of the foreign text] in this chapter. [In the translation these notes will be incorporated as footnotes; hence the independent subsections with the heading "Notes" (Anmerkungen) will be eliminated.]

1. The Name of the Tujen

101 In the European literature the people of the group under consideration are usually called Tujen (Turen, T'ou-jen, T'u-jen). This is also the name usually given them by the Tsinghai Chinese. Tujen means native, man of the place. The Chinese t'u signifies place, soil, earth; jen signifies human being, man, people. The Chinese have given them this [5] name because at the time of their immigration these people were already present. They also apply this name to other peoples of the frontier region, for example, in Szechwan; no ethnic designation is expressed by it. This should not be taken to mean, however, that the Tujen are in fact the first inhabitants [114] of that region, as P. A. Volpert has done; cf. Volpert, "Etwas über die T'u-yen, Ureinwohner Westkansus [Something about the T'u-yen, the original inhabitants of West Kansu]," (Anthropos, 18/19, 1923/24). According to their tradition, they likewise immigrated, but before the Chinese.

For the rest, the following names are also used: Dalden, Dolden, Daldy (Przewalski; Grum-gržimajlo, and others); furthermore, Dchiahour (Huc and Gabet); Kansu-Mongols, Mongols of Kansu (De Smedt and A. Mostaert); Monguor (De Smedt and Mostaert). A. Mostaert would like to derive the

[5 cont.]

161 Their total number cannot be given with any precision since the official statistics are unreliable. An estimate in a Tsinghai chronicle (1943) sets [6] [map appears here] [7] their total number for Tsinghai at approximately 27,000-30,000; cf. Hsü Kung-wu: Ch'ing-hai chih-lüeh. I have lost the other most recent statistics, especially those of the periodical Hsi-pei-t'ung-hsün. The figure cited by P. M. Hermanns seems to me to be too low; see Hermanns, Nomaden, p. 30.

792 The religious and spiritual center of the Tujen in the county of Huchu is the monastery dGon-luṅ, called Rēgulõṅ (Rgulõṅ) in the Tujen language (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 17.] The common Chinese name is Erh-ku-lung szu, more rarely, Yuning szu. Concerning the history and significance of this monastery and its Tulkus [Living Buddhas] (Ch'ang-chia and T'ukuan Hutukhtu), cf. the discussion at the conclusion of the second part.

3. Status and Task of the Investigation

114 648 There is little to report concerning research on the Tujen. European science did not become aware of this ethnic group until the second half of the last century, after the French missionaries Huc and Gabet traveled through the Koko Nor region on their Tibetan journey (1844-46) and also skirted the homeland of their guide, who was a former Tujen lama; cf. M. Huc, Travels, p. 281. After them other explorers came in contact with the Tujen, for example, Przewalski (1873), Potanin (1884), Rockhill (1891/92). D'Ollone visited a related group in southern Kansu (1906), but not the Tujen of Tsinghai. Similarly, Mannerheim stayed only among the Shera-Yõgur, with whom there is an inclination to relate the Tujen. A. Tafel made his Tibetan journey in 1905-1908 and briefly visited the Tujen in the region of the present Huchu. Filchner has not been in the region of the Tujen during his

[7 cont.]

114 travels, although he provides pictures of their dress. It is un-
648 necessary to cite in detail the literature written by these investigators. For further information, see the essay by A. Mostaert, The Mongols of Kansu; cf. the bibliography at the beginning of this work. Mostaert, however, does not mention A. Tafel.

114 None of these explorers wanted to make special studies of the Tujen, and therefore their reports are brief and more or less general; it could not be otherwise in the case of extensive travel accounts. They are usually content with information about clothing, language, place names, and the presumed origins. The chapter that Tafel devoted to the Tujen is comparatively extensive; see Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], Vol. I, pp. 241-257. Tafel must have had good informants for him to have been able to report so reliably after his two days' stay in Wei-yüan-pu. His brief presentation, to be sure, provides a fairly adequate orientation concerning the problems connected with the Tujen, but it indulges in too many controversial hypotheses regarding the history. It, too, like the reports cited above, provides relatively little material for giving one a picture of the culture of the Tujen.

114 The actual investigation of the Tujen was first instituted
797 by the Scheutvelder missionaries, who at the beginning of our century took up their work in the Amdo region. Father De Smedt soon devoted himself to learning the Tujen language and gathered extensive linguistic material, which, together with the well-known Mongolist P.A. Mostaert, he worked up into three great works: the Phonetics (Anthropos, 24/25), the Monguor-French dictionary [8] (Peking, 1933), and the Monguor grammar (Peking, 1945). P. L. Schram studied the social conditions of the Tujen and published a monograph concerning marriage (Shanghai, 1932) (2). All these works appeared after the

2. [Foreign text p. 17.] Upon the completion of the manuscript, I learned that P. L. Schram has another monograph on the history and social structure of the Tujen in preparation.

[8 cont]

114 Scheutvelder missionaries had again given up their Kansu region,
[197] which they left to the Steyler missionaries. After their departure the investigation of the Tujen again came to a halt. The language was already fairly well understood, but records of the rich folk literature and a comparison with the other Tujen dialects in Kansu were lacking. A good foundation had likewise been laid for the sociology. The other spheres, however, had not yet been considered, above all the religion and material culture (economy, clothing).

121 When the author came to this region in 1946, he intended
[177] to begin with precisely these points. The Tujen were already Sinicized to a considerable extent, but in their language, religion, and dress they were able to maintain much of their individuality until the most recent times. Therefore, in particular the legends and songs were taken down, the religious customs studied, and the dress of the Tujen women described. What seemed most interesting to the author was the religion, which is to be dealt with in the following work. The presentation is not definitive, as will become clear repeatedly below, but it does provide the fundamentals and essentials.

115 Since there are almost no written reports on this subject,
123 the author had to utilize the living sources that were available to him during his three-year stay (until 1949), in addition to his own observations. The principal one was an outstanding Tujen man, a living book concerning his people's traditions, and a Tujen singer with an enormous treasure of legends, fairy tales, and songs.

128 The work falls into two parts. The first is a critical presentation of the facts gained from the sources, and by way of introduction the chief source itself (the informant) is to be characterized. The second part presents the theoretical results derived from these facts, namely, the attempt to draw a total picture of the religion and to show the layers out of which it is formed. Hence it is not simply an offhand field report, but is also a systematic survey of the religious situation and its explanation. It is to be regretted that this work had to be
114 broken off at the site because of the suddenly erupting unrest;

[8 cont.]

114 the author owes the safety of the materials collected entirely to the helpfulness of his confreres. In addition to the Fathers Eichinger and Grünewald, S.V.D., I should like to mention here particularly Father Richard Haas, S.V.D., who shortly thereafter was overtaken by a violent death in the Koko Nor steppe.

4. The Sources (the Informant)

115 The informant came from Tuo-chia, that is, "Tuo home," about one kilometer east of Chi-chia-ling, which lies along the mountain route from Kan-chia-pu (in the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) to Pai-nai (in the Ha-la-chih-kou). Tuo-chia gets its name from [103] the informant's kin group [Sippe] and formerly embraced perhaps four farmsteads, [9] of which, however, a part has been destroyed by an avalanche. Today only two farms and the temple remain. The Tuo have not always resided here. They [166] come from the vicinity of the Tujen monastery Rgulõn, where [423] a hundred years ago they owned two large horse pastures. Later one of the ancestors moved to the vicinity of Chi-chia-ling and cultivated the fairly extensive upland which paid tribute to the monastery, but which today is the private property of the Tuo family and pays taxes to the county of Huchu. It consists of about 200 Chinese morgen.

114 The report applies primarily to this region, namely, to the Tujen villages Ghi-chia-ling, Ta-yang-chüan, Hsiao-
101 yangchüan, and Sha-pa-kou, up into the Na-ling-kou. Since, however, according to my own observations and the statements of the informant, the customs in the county of Huchu are quite uniform, the area to which it is applicable can be extended farther to include the villages between Huchu and Rgulõn. These [628] villages carry on a very lively traffic with one another and are extensively interrelated. As regards numbers, this report covers approximately one quarter of all the Tujen of the Sining region, an area generally regarded as their population center.

115 The old Tuo is kin-group elder and has two younger brothers, who live with him, his sons, his sons' wives, and [776] [553] grandchildren's families. By his first name he is called yifula,

[10 cont.]
124 all kinds of things that I noted in order to learn more about them later.

The old man received no fixed salary. He said: "We two are now used to each other like friends. If now and then you give me a piece of cloth for clothing, it will be all right." It was simply a matter of face. Accordingly, he now and then received cloth for himself and his grandchildren or, when he was ill, some medications. Or I gave him a few scrolls at the harvest festival, bought inks and paper, sent him a little jug of wine now and then, etc. On his part, he made ceremonious [431] calls on me on the customary festive days or sent baked goods, [572] a piece of meat, [11] some milk, as is customary between good acquaintances. Whenever his trips happened to bring him past my station, he would come in briefly to inquire about me. His relatives, too, frequently dismounted when they brought their sacks to the water mill in the valley, especially if the old man happened to be there. Thus a considerable number of Tujen, men, women, and children, gathered at times in the yard and were treated as guests. They told stories, sang, and laughed, and in exchange for some wheat I had to photograph them. In this fashion I was soon well known among them in the mountains.

One day the old man brought a young man to me and said: "Here is the husband of one of my daughters; he knows all the Tujen songs by heart and knows many legends. If you want him to, he will dictate everything. He can also draw pictures." Naturally I wanted him to. I was able to put down on paper a whole series of songs, fairy tales, and myths, among them the Geser saga. In addition he drew a series of pictures for [126] me and with inexhaustible patience sang the different melodies until I could render them on the flute and transcribe them. When we sat together over a jug of wine in the evening, the two men sang their song and I played the flute in accompaniment. Then they felt at ease and said: "Soon we shall all come here, men, women, boys and girls; you kill a sheep and provide the barley wine, and we shall dance and sing."

● 114 Unfortunately that never happened! The events of the
115 time made a longer stay impossible. On July 1, 1949, I took

[11 cont.]
114 leave of these dear people, for only a few weeks, we thought.
[115] In actual fact, however, I was not to see them again. In the autumn of the same year old Tuo died and with him a portion of ancient knowledge sank into the grave.

My reports concerning the life of the Tujen are therefore incomplete, because prematurely broken off. Also, the work of
124 collecting did not proceed in order. At one time the two dictated only songs. At another time the old man told me about the customs; then I would have to be gone for a number of weeks; then again the work in the fields was so pressing that they stayed away for months. In the meantime I was able to observe a number of things myself and to check on the reports, or I met other Tujen and had them tell me things.

115 Time and again I found that the reports of the old man
124 were the most precise, the most ample, and the most reliable. Once, when I was able to observe a part of the puberty rite, the old man asked me immediately: "Well, how was it? Is it not true that I related everything correctly?" He took the position: "As an old man I do not lie anymore." Occasionally he would also say: "What I say is true; what I do not know, I do not say. Everything I tell you, I myself have experienced, led, and seen at home. Ask the others." He would also warn me about others: "What that one says is not quite accurate, he exaggerates; he is still a young man." Even among his compatriots old Tuo was regarded as an honest man; his classmate in particular emphasized his reliability. He even expressed his opinion to me whenever I said I had seen something in such and such a way: "Father, you have made a mistake." Glossing anything over for my sake was scarcely to be observed.

115 [12] Once, when he was gravely ill and unable to get up
123 for several months, I said in front of others: "What a pity if old Tuo were to die; he is such an honest, good man." This was later reported to him and it pleased him greatly. As I was once able to observe from my room without being noticed, it confirmed him in his sense of honor: "What? The Father says that I am an honest man. I owe it to myself to speak the truth."

The chief inhibition on his part consisted of the fear of ridicule. It was a long time before he was certain that I

[14 cont.]

124 the course of the day or even after several days, so far as my
126 professional work permitted. [15] I added these details to the first report under the corresponding key words. At the beginning I also left the Tujen words in the text, but later I placed them under the heading "Expressions" at the end of each chapter. Naturally, the old man soon realized that I was primarily concerned with the facts and not with the words. He surprised me one day with the following remark, which provided the basis for the arrangement of the whole: "So, now I will first tell you what we do for the good fortune of the family, for the good fortune of the individual persons, for the good fortune of the herds and fields."

124 I added my own observations to the reports that I had taken
128 down, questioned others, occasionally compared the customs of the neighboring groups, at times found an observation in the literature, and added these supplementary items to each section as special notes provided with numbers.

114 Accordingly, each chapter has two parts. The first part
128 first of all presents a brief report, then under certain key words the details are added, and finally the word list. The source for this part is exclusively the informant. The second part, namely, the numbered notes, is by the author himself. They are based almost entirely upon his own observations or other sources, which in each case are indicated. [In the translation, the numbered notes are incorporated as numbered footnotes. The remarks made by the author as footnotes are indicated by an asterisk.]

124 It is not to be inferred, however, that the first, reporting part is literal dictation which relieved the writer of any further trouble. Rather, he had to work out everything from an ethnological point of view with the old man through questions repeatedly returning to the same subject, as is reflected in the key words. At the same time, the simple and clear manner of expression used by the old man was to be preserved as far as possible. Again and again, I read aloud to him the individual chapters in Chinese with the aid of my German stenogram: "Listen! Now I shall read to you what you have said." Whenever I had rendered something incorrectly, he would say immediately: "I did not say that; the matter is such and such."

[16 cont.]
128 loanwords are cited, for Tibetan is the official language of
192 Lamaism, which occupies such a large place in the life of the
177 people. Here it should be mentioned that the old man desig-
[198] nated the expressions from Tibetan or Mongolic as "higher lan-
[186] guage" or "literary language," a value that he did not accord Chinese.

Finally a note with regard to the peculiar nature of this
114 work. It presents a popular religion, and that of a certain group.
[184] This means in the first place that not everything can be gen-
[779] eralized for the Koko Nor region, not even for all the Tujen. Secondly, one will find no accounts about the dogma, the official rites, or the secret practices of monastic Lamaism and the higher Bon religion. The Tibetan and Mongolic writings give this information. Also, it was unnecessary to cite the basic literature on this subject, at least not to any considerable extent. To be sure, this is not infrequently done, but only when it seemed to be required for an understanding of the popular customs. In such cases it was preferable to start from linguistic considerations. On the other hand, a presentation of the popular religion as practiced is a help for knowledge of the
[177] official religion. The popular belief, with its various customs, casts new light on the multiformity of monastic Lamaism, which has adopted so many pre-Buddhistic traits from the conceptual realm of Central Asia.

6. The Transcription of the Tujen Language

104

The transcription of the Tujen words and the Tibetan-Mongolic loanwords is based on the orthography of the DMF. For practical reasons, however, the large letters were replaced by small ones and the diacritical marks simplified. The following table presents first the orthography used here (S), under it the one used by P. A. Mostaert in the DMF (M), and under that the phonetic values of the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[51 cont.]

777
*778

[Foreign text pp. 52-53 cont.]
from a cow, when it is sold, is also tied to the arrow, but in no case hog bristles, as for example, L. Schram (Mariage, p. 58) maintains. L. Schram in this place generally confuses the arrow of good fortune with the spirit-spear. He designates with iang hstia a [53] "tige en fer"[iron shaft], which stands in a "gros et large socle" [large and wide base] and has a length of "deux à trois pieds" [two to three feet]. It is accorded a veneration "comme devant les esprits" [as before the spirits]. This never applies to a yãnsdzia, however, but in part only to a small spirit-spear. In the case of the latter, the tip and iron foot are visible so that it gives the impression of being entirely of iron. It is likewise stuck in a large stand and may have a length of about a meter. According to my informant, the arrow of good fortune is not venerated like a spirit among the Tujen, whereas the spear is. The other statements, however, fit the arrow of good fortune.

[114]

The urn also receives additions. For instance, some kernels of grain are always thrown into it when some is sold. Furthermore, during the night when the bride is fetched, the bridegroom's family brings a hada and bran for the bride's riding animal. Part of the bran is poured into the urn and the hada is tied to the arrow of good fortune.

[585]

Safekeeping: If the arrow of good fortune was consecrated and stuck in an urn or a bushel, the latter must always stand together with the arrow in the main house on the chest in front

3: Schröder--216 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[650 cont.]

192 Western paradise: hsi-lo shih-chieh (Chin.) = world of joys.

[775] Oil fir: yu-sung mu (Chin.).

[262] Thin flat-bread made with flour: kan pin-ping (Chin.) = little dry cakes.

[Pages 650-658 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 658 and the next section begins on p. 822.]

782 [822]

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114

V. Customs concerning Agriculture and Livestock

1. The Sowing and Harvest Thanksgiving Festivals * (1)

* See "Notes," p. 823 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[113]

1. [Foreign text p. 823.] For this subject, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Das Herbst-Dankopfer der Tujen im Sining-Gebiet [The Harvest Thank-offering of the Tujen in the Sining Region]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-45, 867-873. -- The report there presents only the offering from the harvest thanksgiving festival as the old man described it at that time. It is interesting to point out that he seized upon this offering as typical of the festival and mentioned the entire celebration only incidentally, always with the indication that the shamans actually had nothing to do with the offering. When I later asked him why he had not described the entire festival in

782 [822 cont.]
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• 114

[Note on foreign text p. 823 cont.]
detail, he gave the answer: "That was too much for one afternoon." Moreover, he had described the festival as it had taken place in his little village. It had always been celebrated very simply there; now he had let the festival [178] die out completely for his village, and they would go to the neighboring village of Chichialing, where it is much longer and larger.

Here, too, nothing is presented in detail about the individual parts, as in the other chapters, because the material is too extensive and forms a subject in itself, which is to be dealt with in connection with shamanism. [756] It should be stated in advance here, however, that they are probably not Tujen shamans, but Chinese shamans, who are found scattered over wide areas of western China.

Report

241 The sowing festival and the festival of the harvest thanks-
782 giving are completely identical. Only in the autumn people have more flour and meat to celebrate the festival. Both festivals last several days. A definite number of days is not pre-
[756] scribed. At the festival one differentiates between the offering
[535] and the dances of the shamans. The offering is undertaken by
[443] the seed-master or the village elder. The dances last for an entire day; usually a market is also connected with them.

241 The shamans erect a pole in the temple yard, pray several days, send out sicknesses on the first evening, and from
782 a distance kill children or cause them to become unconscious.
756 In the evening of the final day, before they take down the pole,
754 they take the sicknesses back; then the people struck by them become healthy again.

[217 cont.]

771 Now, concerning the elements which make up these
174 customs, they fall almost entirely into four groups, each of which constitutes a special layer. These four layers are: the belief in a supreme god, shamanism, the Bon religion, and Lamaism. The layers, however, cannot simply be taken out of the whole structure, freed from all the extra features, and connected with a larger pervading stratum of the Central Asiatic religions. This is only possible in a larger context and would go beyond the bounds of this work, for the parts in question are of considerable temporal depth and embrace many peoples. In addition these layers have interpenetrated one another in that in each case the later one has absorbed the elements of the preceding ones. Thus, Lamaism, in spite of its original enmity toward the Bon religion, has nonetheless adopted much from it. The Bon faith, on the other hand, in turn has a strong shamanistic base, and an old sky-cult runs through all the layers.

771 A discussion of the two high religions, of the Bon and of
128 Lamaism, in their connection with the belief of the Tujen would go too far. Shamanism can more readily be delimited, but it
756 cannot be exhaustively presented either. So there remains the old sky-cult as a belief in a supreme god. This will be dealt with quite extensively in the following, whereas in the case of shamanism the presentation must be limited to a theoretical sketch. A special work will deal with it in detail for the whole western Chinese border region. The Bon religion and Lamaism will only be touched upon briefly.

II. The Layers of the Tujen Religion

114 771 1. The Belief in a Supreme God

In this section it is necessary to refer not only to the customs but also to the other sources and the scanty literature. Aside from the DMF and Mariage (by Schram), which offer a sparse yield for the religion, the other sources are still unpublished.
[538] They are available in the original texts, however. These are the Geser legend, the agriculture legend, the Moschus deer (the first part of the song cycle known under the name xoni, sheep), and a series of other songs and fairy tales, of which the wedding songs are appearing (Folklore Studies, Tokyo, 1952).

[238 cont.]

756 that acts, speaks, and thinks in him. This, however, is nothing
[192] other than an express possession-shamanism reduced to a simple Busshistic formula. The gurtum represents a deity.

756 Whether one may appeal to the gurtum in the "classical"
171 sense as a shaman is a question that can only be answered with the final clarification of the shaman concept. In the investigation of shamanism up to now there has been too much concern with its Siberian form and special emphasis on the flight of the soul into the beyond as a "classical" characteristic, especially with the "bird type" of shaman (9). This is not the place to

[114]

9. The one-sided preference for Siberian shamanism is also unfortunately found in the excellent work by Mircea Eliade, Le Chamanisme, in which, to be sure, there are comparisons with other parts of the earth, and the "southern" and Buddhist influences are also taken into consideration, but they are dealt with only as secondary and unimportant; above all, however, the so characteristic stamp of Lamaistic shamanism in the figure of the gurtum is completely passed over.

go into this question in greater detail, which is reserved for later [239] treatment. It should nonetheless be stated in advance that the gurtum is a true shaman of the same shamanistic rank as the Siberian. Anyone who has had an opportunity to observe a gurtum will not regard him simply as one possessed. The gurtum is likewise as bound to the ritual requirements and forms as, say, his Siberian colleague: call (vision), tutelary spirit, testing, dress and equipment, ecstasy, etc. In addition, there is much to indicate that formerly he was also familiar with the flight of the soul.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

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175
121

the population of Huang-chung. Note must be taken of these historical facts in order to explain the actual religious mentality of the people of Huang-chung.

In the same way historical events will explain the tremendous crises which affected Lamaism in Huang-chung, and the actual position it occupies in the Hsining country.

A chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung, their material, educational, and religious aspects; their means of subsistence; the subjects of the lamaseries, branch monasteries, lamas, and living Buddhas. In this chapter, details of the numerical strength of lamas, in proportion to the population as a whole, are given. These figures throw light on a subject which has been somewhat distorted by past estimates. They show that the proportion of lamas to the total population is much lower than we have been led to expect. These figures are probably more reliable than those of past estimates; certainly they are more circumstantial.

[795]

The inferior position of the Lamaism of the Red Sect in the region will also be better understood when put in its historical frame.

Similarly, the shamanism of the Monguors is approached from the angles of its peculiar connections with Taoism, the conservation of its ritual proper, and its historical connections with the "wuism" of old China and the shamanism of Central Asia. Emphasis is put also on its overwhelming importance in the religious life of the Monguors.

The second part of the study is devoted to the practical aspects of the religious life of the Monguors, its environment of fear and apprehension, and the role occupied in the fabric of daily life respectively by Lamaism and shamanism, and the various rites alien to both religions.

[114]

The describing of monasteries, Lamaist monuments, iconography, programs of studies in colleges, theatrical exhibitions by lamas, festivities, and shamanist rites, has been avoided in this part, since all are encountered hundreds of times in books dealing with the subject. Instead, emphasis is put on the specific Monguor aspects of the religious life and rites that are peculiar to them, in order to understand the religious mentality of the representatives of the religions.

A chapter will deal with the death and burial customs, and still another with the cult of "Heaven and all the spirits."

The last chapter of the study will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping the Monguors to keep their identity, traditions and customs, strengthening the social structure of the clans, and preventing their absorption in the Chinese nation.

[p. 1(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

122 It is a pleasure to acknowledge with the appearance of the second part of the study, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation and the American Philosophical Society for the grants which enabled me to complete the work, to Mr. Owen Lattimore and his colleagues of the Page School of International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University, and Professor Schuyler Cammann for assistance in the final editing.

000 I owe a special debt of gratitude to Miss Theresa A. Tims, and wish to express my sincerest appreciation for

NOTE ON THE

114 In the pages that follow frequent reference is made to two Chinese compilations, the *Annals* of the *Fu* or Prefecture of Hsining, and of the Province of Kansu. The full titles of these two works are:

1. *Hsining fu hsin chih, New annals of Hsining prefecture,* in 12 volumes containing 40 *chuan* or chapters, compiled between 1755 and 1762 and probably published soon after 1762. The editor of these

[p. 2(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

her considerable help graciously rendered in correcting and preparing the English draft and the editing of the publication with wonderful patience and good humor through long hours. I owe no small tribute to Miss Patricia E. Kenney who assisted in the typing with the same gladness and devotion.

L. M. J. S.

June, 1955
Arlington, Virginia

CHINESE SOURCES

"new" Annals had before him the original edition of 1595 and a corrected edition of 1657. I have never had access to either of these older editions.

2. *Kansu hsin t'ung chih, New collected annals of Kansu,* in 100 *chuan,* printed in the Hsüan-t'ung period (1909–1911). The edition is called "new" because it is based on an older original the compilation of which was begun in 1728 and completed in 1736. The older edition has been inaccessible to me.

[4, 2(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

At the beginning of the Chinese Republic (1911), 175 rumors upset the country for a long time, according to 114 which all the temples were to be confiscated and con- 792 verted into schools. The Li T'u-ssu, afraid of having his family monastery confiscated, and being squeezed to the wall, chose the lesser of the two evils. He reluctantly resolved to make some money from it and suggested that I buy it. Hoping to get more information about the history of the monastery, I asked for deeds and about the circumstances under which the Yüan officials had granted to his ancestors, in the heart of the city, the grounds on which the monastery had been built. "Father," he said, "No deeds exist, but is the secular tradition, well known all over the country, not sufficient to allow me to sell the family monastery?" Later, Goorongbzan, the most influential Living Buddha of the Red Sect, was in search of an opportunity to retrieve the old glory of his sect, which had been declining and waning on account of the protection and privileges accorded by the emperors of the Ch'ing dynasty to the Yellow Sect. As he was the sworn brother of the Moslem military commander of Hsining, Ma K'o-ch'en, who was at that time omnipotent, Goorongbzan called on his "brother" to obtain the necessary permission to restore the old monastery, which had been administered for centuries by lamas of his sect. A vehement protest by all the Living Buddhas of the Yellow Sect in the country was sent to the amban and to Ma K'o-ch'en. Eventually the officials confiscated the monastery, and thus ended the Ta-fo-ssu.

SHA-CH'UNG

Traditions still fresh and living, concerning mon- 175 asteries built during the Yüan period, linger among the 792 lamas of the Red and Yellow Sects. A tradition, well known all over the country, asserts that the oldest monastery in the country is that of Sha-ch'ung, situated on the left bank of the Yellow River, 140 *li* southeast of Hsining. It affirms that its founder was Karmabakshi (1203–1282),[88] the lamas belonged to the Karmapa, and that the celebrated Tsong khapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, started his religious career at Sha-ch'ung which went over to the Yellow Sect.

In 1918 I was a guest at Sha-ch'ung, a beautiful 792 lamasery. The temple, in the center of the complex of [346] buildings, had a gilt tiled roof. It was situated on the Ami ch'ü-lu Mountain, commanding a wonderful outlook over the Yellow River and the surrounding moun-

[88] Gunther Schulsman, *Geschichte der Dalai Lama*, Heidelberg, 1911. At the time of Güyük and Mönke most of the lamas on duty at the court were of Tangut origin and adherents of the Karmapa sect, spread from Tsang to Kukunor. They were proficient in magic, and rivals of the Sa-skya (p. 51). At the end of the Yüan dynasty their chief received an imperial diploma and seal (p. 56). During the Yung-lo period (1403-1424) the most prominent among the bearers of the title of *Ta-pao-fa-wang*, "Great King of the precious law," was the chief of the Karmapa sect (p. 87).

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

The author of the *Annals*, dealing with the diffusion 175
of Lamaism in Huang-chung, seems to have neglected 771
completely even the existence of Lamaism before the 114
Ming (1368). He seems very articulate concerning the problem, claiming that its diffusion had really started during the first years of the Ming and that, in fact, by the foundation of monasteries, the granting of titles to lamas, the institution of Nang-suo, Karwa, and Ch'an-shih chia, the outlook of the entire country was changed and the possession and population of Huang-chung assured.

PECULIAR POLICY IN HUANG-CHUNG

Founding of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an 175

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 13*a*, 448
13*b*) that 662

At the beginning of the Ming dynasty San-la, a Tibetan lama of Hsining, wrote a letter to induce the tribes of Han-tung to submit,[40] and built a monastery south of Nien-pei and settled there. He went to court and brought a tribute of horses, and he begged for a rescript to administer the monastery and the tribes, and for the favor of an inscription for the monastery. The Emperor T'ai-tsu (1368–1399), granted his request and favored him with an inscription reading: "Ch'ü-t'an." The Emperor established a board of lamas in Hsining and named San-la the director of the board. From that time on his pupils emulated him in building monasteries; the Emperor bestowed glorious names upon them, and in addition gave rescripts for administering them. Consequently, land and power became monopolized by the barbarian lamas. During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) there were bestowed, piecemeal, on the lamas, the titles of "Ch'an-shih" (Master in Dhyana), "Kuan-ting" (one whose head had been anointed), "Kuo-shih" (master of the empire); some were even given the title of "Ta-Kuo-shih" (great master or teacher of the empire), "Hsi T'ien Fo Tzu" (Buddha of the western Paradise; Amitābha). To all he gave seals and diplomas, and allowed [their dignities] to be transmitted, and they were ordered to bring, once every year, a tribute to the court.

Because the lamas were held in high esteem among the 175
barbarians, the government took advantage of them in 792
order to keep the barbarians in submission. The people of 622
the frontiers considered the dignity of the lamas as most glorious. For that reason, Tibetans and Monguors who had two sons, were certain to have one of them become a lama. Some even preferred not to have an heir, but ordered their sons to enter religious life. Tibetans and Monguors bequeathed their wealth to the monastery with a request for prayers, leaving their descendants destitute. Thus the barbarians became poorer and the monasteries richer. In each tribe there were people who submitted themselves to monasteries and became like a tribe, the subjects of the monastery [Shabinar].[41] The Chinese officials also entrusted the Tibetan monks with the duty of exchanging tea for horses.

[40] E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches* 2: 218. Han tung "was situated in the land, which in the days of the Han constituted all the district of Tun-Huang."

[41] Shabinar disciples. Shabinars are the supporters of the lamas, giving them material sustenance. At first some disciples performed this task. By extension, it came to mean lay adjuncts of the lamasery, and at present it means the subjects of the lamasery.

[p. 16(B)]

the Panchen Lama and the heads of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends.[106] He enjoyed a tremendous surge of popularity in Tibet and was honored in the same way as Chang-chia. 175 792 648

The fame of Erh-ku-lung thus rose higher and higher. In Huang-chung the Monguors were elated and proud of their glorious monastery and their eminent lamas. Back in Dolon nor, the Mongol and Khalkha princes paid him their adoration with the same devotion they had given to Chang-chia. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu received new titles from the emperor and was showered with favors. A permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He obtained for the Great Lama of the monastery of Labrang the title of Erdeni Nomun khan.[107] While on vacation at Erh-ku-lung, he died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri which belonged to Erh-ku-lung. [554]

His next incarnation was T'u-kuan Blo-bzan C'oskyi Nima, born in 1737. He was a celebrated teacher, well known in the Lamaist world for his proficiency in logic and philosophy. He wrote his famous *History of the Doctrines of the Yellow Sects*, which he finished a year before his death in 1802. According to Baradijn, this work, in twelve chapters, is the only Tibetan study dealing with all the Tibetan sects, including those of India, China, and the old Bön.[108] He received from the emperor the same titles as his predecessor and was granted the same favors and the same permanent duty at Peking. In 1790 he built the temple of Hung-ku-ssu, to which the emperor granted the name of Yen-hai-ssu.[109] He died in 1802. The subsequent incarnations followed in the steps of their predecessors, enjoying the same titles and privileges during the Empire and under the Republic. [114]

Sumpa Hutukhtu

Sumpa Hutukhtu is so called by Sarat Chandra Dass, the celebrated historiographer and chronologist of Tibet. Born in 1704, he is said to be the first reincarnation of the founder of Erh-ku-lung. However, because Erh-ku-lung was founded in 1604, the first Sumpa was supposed to have been a man about twenty or thirty years of age. So it would seem that a second Sumpa was intercalated between them. Sumpa II must have been the reincarnation of Sumpa I; otherwise the denomination of Sumpa is hard to explain. This supposition does not seem to be unusual if we take account of the process used for the first reincarnations of Chang-chia 175 792

[106] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283; Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 178-9.

[107] Huth, *op. cit.*, 282.

[108] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 442, Notes 655 and 656, p. 182. The work has been translated by Sarat Chandra Dass in his Contributions on the religion and history, etc. of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* 50 and 51, 1881-1882. I was surprised to read in it much data about Taoism and Confucianism with which he was very well acquainted.

[109] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (3): 12; *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*, *op. cit.*, 148-149.

[p. 32(A)]

The Kurtain was obliged to apologize to the shamans, 756
offering a sheep, and also had to offer a sheep to the 578
deity who protected the village.

During the exhibitions at Erh-ku-lung, the Kurtain 756
was decked in a splendid, long green gown, belonging 292
to the lamasery and fashioned according to that of the Taoist priests. He wore on his head the mitre of a Living Buddha. He did not wear his helmet or the sword; his appearance was less warrior-like and terrible than that of the Kurtain of Seerkok, although he seemed still to represent the type of Chinese theatrical general, with flags on his back, sitting with open sprawled legs, in spite of having had the Buddhist mitre on his head and the Buddhist staff in his hand when the exhibition started. Furthermore, the ceremonies were the same, with cypress fire, recital of the *swork'a*, drumbeating, head shaking with ringing bells, prophesying, whip, and dagger.

The lamaseries are glad to have a Kurtain, because 756
they enhance the interest at the annual pageant. These 571
yearly exhibitions seem to be the principal job of a Kurtain possessed by a lama deity. Once in a while, however, when troubles occur, when the lamasery is sued at court, he is invited to prophesy the issue of the case, but most of the time the lamas solve their own problems. His position at the lamasery seems to be of a very secondary order, according to what lamas say.

Later there will be described the role the Kurtain plays in the community of the village, and in the private life of the Monguors.

Among the Wu of the present time in China is en- 756
countered a category of possessed men and women who 171
seem to be of the same type as the Monguor Kurtains, who are not admitted into the group of the Wu (as the Kurtains are not admitted into the group of the shamans) because they did not pass the traditional tests of the Wu and did not receive the initiation. It sometimes happens that some of them transfer their business to their sons.[3] Their original possession, their behavior during the possession, are very similar with those of the Kurtains,[4] sitting on a stool before an altar, drowsily staring, yawning, shaking the head, furiously playing with a sword, prophesying and expelling evil spirits.[5] They are called *fa chang*, "Chief of Magic," while the real Wu is called *shih kung*, "Master," or *fa shih*, "Master of magic."

My data, as given above, seem not to tally completely 114
with the very valuable study of F. Dominik Schröder in *Anthropos* **47**: 27–33, 237–248, 1952, but they are based on notes collected among the Monguors, and among lamas who lived over practically the whole region, and may contribute to an understanding of the subject.

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[3] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1263.
[4] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1274.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1276.

[p.94 (A)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

question of whether a substantial principle underlies the 829
soul or not, or whether *nirvana* could be a state of happiness without there being consciousness of it. They do not care for the philosophers who discuss the existence or the inexistence of this world, of their own being, and even of Buddha himself. They only approach Lamaism from the moral and the practical angles. They endeavor to practice the rites of Lamaism, to heap up merit as prescribed by Lamaism in order to be reborn after this life, which they greatly enjoy, in a paradise of felicity where Buddha, as benevolence incarnate, will make them more and more happy every day, for the duration of time. However, this seems to be only one side of the religious frame of mind of the Lamaist Monguors and Tibetans. The other side seems rooted in the practicality, so often found among uncivilized peoples, which, in order to make more sure of attainment of the religious goal, to enjoy more blessings in this life, and avoid calamities and miseries, leads them to practice shamanist rites and rites belonging to other religions at the same time. This seems to be the complicated frame of mind of the Monguors and Tibetans of Huang-chung who are deeply religious.

Since the objective of this study is the explanation of 114
the religious frame of mind of the Monguors, there will be noted along with the rites the questions ingenuously asked by the children in the schools concerning the topics, the considerations and impressions occasionally expressed by men and women, the dialogues of shamans with the spirits denoting the hopes and the fears of the attendants and their beliefs. All these minute details will help to raise the curtain which shrouds the religious mind.

THE WORLD OF RELIGION AND FEAR IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVE

The sense of religiosity is planted in the hearts of the 829
Monguors in early life, in the family circle. Its main 869
feature seems to be fear, rather than love. The children 782
every day see their mothers performing a lot of religious practices in order to avoid the displeasure or punishments of innumerable malignant spirits which beset them everywhere. Their mother's warnings are dinned into their ears, not to do this, not to do that, for fear of being unhappy, because the spirits are very touchy, and a trifle can upset them. In this way the dread and terror of malevolent spirits cut deep furrows in their hearts, and when a hailstorm is about to destroy the crops, the oil lamps on the house altar will be lit in a hurry and the children will fall on their knees invoking Heaven and all the spirits and praying Om Mani, for [789]
as long as the threat lasts. They imitate their elders who implore, on bended knees, and urge the gods with piteous pleas, saying innumerable Om Manis and "Heaven and all the spirits" for the protection of their crops. Children cannot forget to their dying day the

[p.95(A)]

When the building of the walls was finished, the images 731
having been smoked beforehand, and blessed with 782
ritual water, and having had rice thrown upon them, were stored inside. Finally a roof covered the construction and a verandah with some prayer wheels was built around it, with an oven in front for Wei-sang. Each lama received from the Hutukhtu, as remuneration for the molding of images, a piece of cloth large enough to make a new lama costume.

When, at the time of epidemics, the Om Manis and cir- 731
cumambulations have seemed ineffective, the people 782
conclude that the Bumkhang has lost its energy, and a 789
new rite is enacted in order to strengthen its impaired capacities. The Red lamas are again invited. They read texts for seven days, and thrust a new stake in the ground before the Bumkhang, at night, while the people howl. They act exactly in the same way as the shamans who strengthen debilitated hail mounds. Because this act is not seldom performed for old Bumkhangs of villages, it seems to suggest that all the Bumkhangs in the country were built on the same pattern. This was the only Bumkhang built during my stay in the country, but old Monguors told me that all the Bumkhangs were constructed in the same way, not in order to be endowed with blessings, but in order to avert calamities plotted by evil spirits, and to block the way along which the bad influxes enter the village. The facts (1) of circumambulating in a counter-clockwise direction, (2) the way of building the Bumkhang, (3) the use of the heterogeneous items, (4) the thrusting of the stake god into it, and (5) the manner of strengthening the impaired magical power of the Bumkhang all over the country, seem to support the assumption that the Bumkhang built at Erh-ku-lung by order of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, a lama of the Yellow Sect, and all the other Bumkhangs follow thoroughly magical rites belonging to the same category as the rites performed on the hail mounds built by the shamans.

It is noteworthy that no urns are buried inside the Bumkhang and that no pole is set up inside of it, to represent the "pillar of Heaven." A couple of beams support the roof of the small building, but the magical stake god is thrust into the center of the building amidst the 100,000 clay Buddha figures.

This description does not tally with the interesting [114]
study of Dom. Schröder (p. 266). It is recorded according to my notes written at the time when the Bumkhang of Erh-ku-lung was built, and investigations were made concerning these buildings existing in the country.

FASTING RITES AMONG THE MONGUORS

Fasting is practiced in the country situated north of 785
the Hsining River by lamas of the Yellow and the Red 792
Sects and by laymen; shamans are not interested in fasting exercises. At Erh-ku-lung the rite is compulsory for all lamas. It starts on the twenty-ninth

[p. 133(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 the eminent chiefs of the clan; and by delegating high
121 officials to present official burials and sacrifices to the
648 deceased chiefs and to read the sacrificial oration com-
703 posed by the emperor himself as a farewell to the meritorious deceased.

These were some of the means used by the emperor to win the hearts of the Monguors and to make of them defenders of the empire.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge with the appearance of the last part of the study, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation and the American Philosophical Society for the grants which enabled me to complete the work, and to Professor and Mrs. Owen Lattimore for the help they rendered and for their assistance in the preparation of the study.

I cannot conclude without remembering with gratitude the special debt I owe to Miss Theresa A. Tims, and without expressing my sincerest appreciation of her considerable help, graciously rendered, in correcting and preparing the English draft and the editing of the publication with wonderful patience and good humor through long hours.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS

OWEN AND ELEANOR LATTIMORE

114 As the main significance of Father Schram's work is its presentation of historical and sociological material, no attempt has been made, in editing his text, to be over pedantic in the transliteration of Chinese and Mongol names of people, places, institutions or titles. We have adopted instead what we hope are rules of common sense.

For Chinese, the system of transliteration with the widest international acceptance is that of Wade, and we have used it except in the case of geographical names where there is a well-established English spelling. For instance the strict Wade transcription for the name of the city of Lanchow would be Lan Chou, but we use Lanchow because that form is internationally well established. Similarly we write Szechwan (the name of a province) instead of Ssu Ch'uan.

For transcribing Mongol (and Manchu) there is no widely accepted system, but fortunately the sounds of these languages can be indicated with reasonable accu-

[P. 4(A)]

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NOTE ON THE CHINESE SOURCES

In the pages that follow frequent reference is made to three Chinese compilations, the *Annals* of the *Fu* or Prefecture of Hsining, and of the Province of Kansu. The full titles of these three works are:

1. *Hsining fu hsin chih* (New annals of Hsining prefecture) in 12 volumes containing 40 *chuan* or chapters, compiled between 1755 and 1762 and probably published soon after 1762. The editor of these "new" Annals had before him the original edition of 1595 and a corrected edition of 1657. I have never had access to either of these older editions.

2. *Kansu hsin t'ung chih* (New collected annals of Kansu) in 100 *chuan*, printed in the Hsuan-t'ung period (1909–1911). The edition is called "new" because it is based on an older original the compilation of which was begun in 1728 and completed in 1736. The older edition has been inaccessible to me.

3. *Wu liang k'ao chih* (Annals of the prefecture of Liangchow), printed in 1749, including the Annals of the subprefecture of P'ing fan.

L. M. J. S.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS

Owen and Eleanor Lattimore

racy by the use of ordinary letters and without diacritical marks, as in the name Monguor itself. Monguor, Mongol, and Manchu names are therefore written in this straightforward way when they can be readily identified. There is however a special problem when names in these languages have come down through a Chinese phonetic transcription. The sounds of Chinese match those of Mongol and Manchu very badly, and it is therefore frequently difficult to restore the original. In such cases we have simply written out the name in its Chinese form, using the Wade system, with hyphens between the syllables. As an example of the choices that have to be made on an *ad hoc* basis, take the name (or title) that is usually written Jenghis or Genghis. A closer rendering of the Mongol sound and spelling is Chinggis. In Chinese this becomes Ch'eng-chi-ssu.

Titles, ranks, and names of offices are here rendered in the same rule of thumb way.

[P. 4 (B)]

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mantle. Trade was transacted in this city, where shops had been built and traders, artisans, and well-to-do people lived. In the outer city was a large terrace with three steps where every three years Heaven and Earth were worshipped, and also two smaller fortresses. More than one thousand houses were built in the outer city and many Buddhist temples with glazed tile roofs, and abodes for the lamas. Half of the buildings in the inner and outer cities were Buddhist buildings. Lamas presided at all the public ceremonies and participated at the councils of the chief. Five li outside the outer city, to the west, was built a very large lamasery with abodes for five hundred lamas and a splendid temple.

These notes written by the Chinese official prove that Chiossulo was fond of display and munificence, that his realm was flourishing and opulent and that he was a very fervent Buddhist, reigning over a Buddhist people and surrounded by lamas whom he revered. Hsining seems to have been a small Lhasa. Chiossulo was a descendant of princes who had lived in Lhasa, and the old traditions prevailing in Lhasa must have been fresh and living in his family and among his officials.

It is worth noticing that in the description of the opulent city written by the Chinese official, after many thousand Uighurs had surrendered and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo, not a single mention is recorded of a Manichean temple or Nestorian church. The Uighurs are known to have been professing Manicheans although many among them must also have been fervent Buddhists or shamanists or perhaps Nestorians. The Uighurs at the time of their arrival at Hsining must have been accompanied by their religious leaders and would normally have built some temples.

In the *Annals* of Hsining (15 : 2*b*), however, is noted a Pei-i-ssu the Temple of the White Clothes,[30] the stereotypical designation of Nestorian temples. This temple was situated north of the outer city and is the only Nestorian temple recorded in the *Annals*. The date of its construction is not recorded.

Chiossulo died in 1065 having had to defend twice more his independent kingdom against the Hsi Hsia, in 1058 and 1065 (*Annals* of Hsining 31B : 2*a–b*, 3*a*, 33*a*).

This history of Chiossulo is of overriding importance for the study of the Monguors. Unfortunately, I overlooked it at the time I prepared Part I of the study. It reveals how at the time of the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols (1227) and the Ming (1368), the population of the country had come to consist of T'u-fan tribes already mixed with Tang-hsiang tribes, a group of the Slave tribes and strong groups of Uighurs and Shat'o. It sheds light on names of tribes of Monguor commoners pointing to their Turkish and Tibetan origin. The fact that several thousand Uighur Turks had fled to Huangchung in 1038 from the corridor of West Kansu and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo,

[30] Referring to the white clothes worn at the time of baptism.

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Ch'ang and Li Wen correspond with the names encountered in the lists of the *Annals* of Hsining and Kansu. 175x 614 622

Li Shang-ko
|
Li Mei-chi-lu [60]
|
Li Kuan-chi-lu

Li Nan-ko	Ch'ahan Timur
Li Yin	Kuan-yin-pao
Li Ch'ang	Li Wen

HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE DOCUMENTS 114

Both important documents manifest the confusion existing in the minds of the Li t'u-ssu and their subjects during and at the end of the Ming dynasty. Both Li clans claim (1) their first ancestor to have been Li K'o-yung, (2) who had received the name of Li, and (3) had been created prince of Chin by the Tang emperor. However, on the spirit way stele in the cemetery, erected in 1427, is chiseled that the original name of the Li K'o-yung clan was Topa, while the genealogical chronicle composed by Yueh Nai around 1644 records that the original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-hsieh. 175x 614

The Topa tribe was the leading tribe among one of the two Tibetan Tang-hsiang groups which had fled to Kansu in 627 from Sung P'an-ting (northwest Szechwan), for fear of invading T'u-fan. This group, called P'ing-hsia-p'u, was settled by the Tang emperor in the region of the present Mi Chih Hsien (northwest of Shensi). The group, during the troubles which beset the Tang empire, had founded its own Hsi Hsia kingdom, and from 982 on waged war with the Sung empire. 175x 614

In 808 Shat'o, belonging to the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks, eluded the pursuit of Tibetans and fled from Kanchow through Huangchung and East Kansu to submit to China. They were settled in Ling Chou (Ninghsia), later in Yen Chou and still later eastward through Shansi. They were faithful warriors, who often saved the Tang dynasty. Later they founded their own ephemeral Shat'o dynasties (923–947), whose first emperor originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe.

Yueh Nai, author of the chronicle, writes that the Li clan originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks. He should have known that Li K'o-yung was a Shat'o Turk, that the Shat'o group differed from the Tibetan Hsi Hsia group, and was settled in its own country granted by the emperor, and had its own history. Nonetheless he makes them move into Hsi Hsia, he records two Hsi Hsia leaders, Li Sse-kung and Li Chi-feng, as being ancestors of the Turk Li Nan-ko, and records the offering of four Hsi Hsia districts to the Sung (982) as being an act of his Shat'o ancestor.

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II. THE CHRONICLES OF THE LU CLAN

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Chronicles of families are important historical documents, for they record trustworthy facts not included in the official histories. 175x

In the present chronicle of the Lu clan are recorded the origin of the clan, its relations with the empire, the military art of the time, the civil and military administration, the laws of succession in the t'u-ssu family, the history of the inroads of barbarians and brigands in the country, etc.

I was happy to come into possession of these Chronicles in 1916, thanks to the kindness of General Ma K'o-ch'eng of Hsining. At that time rumors were persistently spread about the abolition of the t'u-ssu institution by the new Republic (1911). The widow of T'u-ssu Lu, a Mongol Khoshot lady, daughter of the Prince of Alashan, administered the tribe, keeping the seal, and caring for her young son. In order to ensure the succession of her son to the office of his father, she had traveled to Hsining to solicit the help of the powerful general by inviting him to be so kind as to become the boy's adoptive father, and at the same time offering him precious gifts. The general accepted the offer, and a few days later the boy arrived at Hsining to recognize the general as his father and to prostrate himself three times before him. Knowing this fact, I asked my friend the general to obtain the Chronicles for me, and so they came into my possession. [14] [597]

NATURE OF THE CHRONICLES

The Chronicles, written in Chinese, consist of two small xylographic volumes. The first one consists of two sections. The first section, only 2 pages, contains a preface and the lists of the genealogies of the chiefs of the tribe to the fifteenth generation. The second section, 52 pages, starts with a preface followed by the records concerning the imperial orders sent to the clan chiefs, the titles and promotions received by them, the inroads of barbarians and brigands into their country, and the wars in which they participated until 1850. 175x 114

The second volume, 20 pages, the third section of the Chronicles, starts with a preface and presents the biographies of the fifteen t'u-ssu who successively controlled the clan until 1850.

Both volumes start with the accession of the Ming dynasty in 1368 and end in 1850 on the death of the fifteenth ancestor of the clan. To each of the two volumes are added two pages, written in Chinese with a pencil, relating facts from 1851 to 1896 and adding the biographies of the sixteenth and seventeenth ancestors. The Chronicles of the Lu Clan given on page 74 seq. are a translation from the Chinese of the two xylographic volumes referred to above.

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II. THE CHRONICLES OF THE LU CLAN

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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●114

AUTHORS OF THE CHRONICLES AND THE TIME OF THEIR COMPOSITION

The preface of the first section of the first volume starts: (this is) "the genealogical register RECOMPOSED by Lu Chi-hsun, descendant of the fifteenth generation fulfilling the hereditary office of commandant, with the possession of the seal, commanding the Monguor officers and the soldiers in the commandery of Chuang Lang."

Lu Chi-hsun succeeded his father in 1792, at the age of fifteen (Vol. I, section 2, 48) and died in 1850 (Vol. I, section 2, 52). Consequently the present genealogical register must have been recomposed between 1792 and 1850.

But an earlier Chronicle had been composed. Who was its author and at what time was it composed?

In the biography of the eighth ancestor, Lu Kuang-tsu, it is said that he returned to Lien Ch'eng in 1602, retiring on account of illness from the office he held in Nanking, that he composed in Lien Ch'eng the Chronicle of the family, in three sections: he started with the imperial orders, then he continued with the biographies of the ancestors, the correspondence with the court, and then he added some things of interest, particularly about the family. He died in 1607 in his mansion of Lien Ch'eng (Vol. I, sect. 2, 42; Vol. II, sect. 3, 10). Consequently the first Chronicles were composed between 1602 and 1607 in Lien Ch'eng, by Lu Kuang-tsu, and the second, by Lu Chi-hsun, were a continuation and perhaps a revision of the former ones.

In 1644 T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang, ancestor of the ninth generation and successor of Lu Kuang-tsu, was killed in Lien Ch'eng by brigands. Lien Ch'eng was destroyed, the palace burned down, and the wooden blocks used for the printing of the Chronicles disappeared in the flames (Vol. II, sect. 3, 52). After the recomposition of the Chronicles by Lu Chi-hsun wooden blocks must have been carved, if not during his lifetime, certainly during and before the end of the incumbency of his successor Ju Kao (1852–1893), because the biography of Ju Kao is not printed in the Chronicle, but is added, written in pencil, after 1850.

NOTE ABOUT THE AUTHORS OF THE CHRONICLES

Who was Lu Kuang-tsu? He succeeded to the office of t'u-ssu after the death of his brother Lu Kuang-hsien, who died without issue. Before that time, having no hope of becoming t'u-ssu, he devoted himself passionately to the study of the Chinese classics and nurtured this passion through his later lifetime. People of an inferior civilization admire the higher civilizations and endeavor to assimilate them. Nomads who conquered

[P. 70(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

China tried to become Chinese, and the process of sinisization was always started by the chiefs. In the t'u-ssu clans of Huangchung eminent scholars are noted. Lu Kuang-tsu was of Mongol origin and adored the Chinese civilization, becoming more Confucian than the Chinese scholars themselves. In the seven biographies composed by him, an abnormal stress is laid upon the examples of filial piety, faithfulness toward the empire, and the austerity and nobility of the ladies displayed in the family of his ancestors. The examples are noted with great care and love. He was enthusiastic about the cult of the ancestors, built an ancestral hall in 1602 in Lien Ch'eng according to the principles of the Chinese scholars and fixed the rites which should be observed in the hall at the sacrifices for the ancestors. He fervently promoted the cult of ancestors among the subjects.

No wonder that he composed a family Chronicle as a means to promote his ideal, hoping it would be read by the subjects and stimulate them to become more civilized according to the Chinese pattern. In his Chronicle nothing is noted concerning shamanism or lamaism, which were ardently practiced by the subjects. Reading the Chronicle it is useful to be conversant with the mentality of the author.

Who was Lu Chi-hsun, the author of the recomposed Chronicle? He also was a scholar, a thorough Confucianist, eager promoter and admirer of filial piety and faithfulness toward the emperor. In the biography of his father written by him, his mentality is displayed candidly and typically. He was not only a Confucianist, he was at the same time a fervent frequenter of high society. He made day and night trips to Peking to see the emperor and the splendor of the palaces. He made friendships with high officials, and was a lover of luxury, fine clothing, dinners, and songs. He had inherited these qualities from his father.

In the prefaces of the second and third sections of the Chronicles he develops the principles he recognized for their recomposition: to inform future generations about their ancestors, their glorious achievements and Confucianist virtues, in order that they might honor them and offer sacrifices to them according to the right principles; to check all the facts in order to provide posterity with authentic and genuine data; and to help the future historians with data not noted in the official history, but worth being noted.

What was the religion of Lu Chi-hsun? Was he Confucianist as well as shamanist and lamaist? Anyway he must have believed in the Living Buddhahood of his second son who controlled the monastery of Tung Erh Ku Lung which belonged to the t'u-ssu of Lien Ch'eng, and was inhabited by 500 lamas. Two other monasteries also belonged to the t'u-ssu, the Si Erh Ku Lung with 200 lamas and the Pao Nan Sse (*Annals* of P'ing fan 25*a*). In the city of Lien Ch'eng was a very renowned Buddhist temple belonging to the t'u-

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ssu, to which was attached a lama chaplain, who every day offered incense in the temple and also in the ancestor hall to the ancestors of the Lu family. 175x 114

T'O HUAN, FOUNDING ANCESTOR OF THE CLAN

According to the Chronicles of the clan, T'o Huan is its founding ancestor. He was a member of the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty, with the title of Prince of An Ting, since 1313 (Section 1, Preface. Section 3, Biography of T'o Huan, *Yuan Shih*, Chapter 108, 3rd section 24, 27*a–b*). 175x 614

In 1368 the Ming emperor entered the capital of the Yuan, whose emperor had fled to Ying Ch'ang with the imperial family. T'o Huan, prevented from accompanying the emperor, arrived in Kansu in 1369. At the end of 1369 or the beginning of 1370, General Teng Yu was sent to invite him to see the emperor. He submitted to the Ming, and was ordered to muster his troops, and he followed General Su Ta in the war against K'uo-k'uo Timur, the last general of the Yuan. In 1375 he helped General Pu Yin to beat the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa (Dorjibal). He was invited to court to receive the congratulations of the emperor, but on account of illness he could not obey the order. He died in 1376 (Section 3, biography of T'o Huan, Section 2 and beginning of Section 3, biography of Lu Yung ch'ang and letter of concubine Yang to the emperor).

His oldest son Ah-shih-t'u succeeded him, became blind, and died in 1377. His second son, Kung-pu shih-tieh succeeded in 1378, and is recorded as the ancestor of the second generation. He fought brigands in 1403 and followed the expedition of the emperor against Ah lu t'ai in 1410, and died on the field of battle.

His oldest son Shih-chia succeeded him in 1412 and is recorded as the ancestor of the third generation, with the name Hsien. In 1414 he received from the emperor the name Lu. From that time on, the clan was called Lu clan (T'o Huan was a Mongol belonging to the Borjigin clan of Chingis, he had no family name).

The Chronicle records the history of T'o Huan, the founding ancestor of the clan, and that of the ancestors who succeeded him as chiefs of the clans. It does not pay attention to the other t'u-ssu of the clan, or to groups which branched off, even by sons of T'o Huan, or by members of the principal or lateral branches.

T'o Huan is recorded as having been appointed by the emperor chief of his tribes and controller of the territory he occupied during the Yuan time. [648 624]

The *Annals* of P'ing Fan (1739) record only the title of P'ing-chang cheng-shih of T'o Huan, without noting the title, Prince of An Ting, granted to him by the emperor, although this important fact should have been known among the Lu Monguors. Lu Kuang-tsu, renowned scholar, had already composed his Chronicles between 1602 and 1607 in Lien Ch'eng. The *Annals* bypass Ah-shih-t'u who had succeeded T'o Huan in 1377 and died in the same year, and record Kung- [114]

[P.71(B)] [Text continues on P.72(B)]

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generation. The two most recent studies, however, claim him to be the descendant in the sixth generation, Papala being the son of Yeh Mei Kan and grandson of Hulut'ai. Anyway, T'o Huan is a member of the imperial family of the Yuan by the Kolgan branch.

It is interesting to conclude with the note that Papala had lived and died in Lien Ch'eng. In the *Annals* of Kansu and P'ing Fan, and in the Chronicles of the Lu clan, it is noted that T'o Huan, after his submission, was ordered to reoccupy the old country he had occupied during the Yuan dynasty. In the biography of T'o Huan (3rd section) it is recorded that he and his wife were buried in the ancestral cemetery of Hsi Ta-tung. Because it is called the ancestral cemetery, ancestors must have been buried there.

THE SONS OF T'O HUAN

The Chronicles of the Lu family note only two sons, Ah-shih-t'u the oldest, and Kung-pu-shih-tieh the second. The *Annals* of P'in Fan and those of Kansu, however, claim Pa chih han to be the first son of T'o Huan. In the study are noted the disastrous consequences of the submissions by T'o Huan, his first son, at the moment of the appointment of his successor as chief of the clan. In the history are noted three more sons: Hapin Timur, Wu T'u-ssu Timur and T'o-erh-chih-pa. Hapin Timur and Wu T'u-ssu Timur are proved by Hambis to belong to the line of Chagatai. T'o-erh-chih-pa (Dorjibal) is noted in Cho Kung lu as son of Pei Ta Han, in the Mohammedan sources. However, in the official history of the Yuan and the two recent historical works, he is claimed to be the son of T'o Huan. In the official history he is recorded as Prince of An Ting, without notice of the date of appointment. It is impossible that a son could have borne the title of his father during the lifetime of the father. T'o Huan died in 1376 and was still Prince of An Ting at the time he submitted to the Ming in 1368–1369. In the family Chronicle, however, are only noted the sons who succeeded to the office of supreme chiefs of the clan. It is not impossible that T'o Huan had had more sons, but that Dorjibal should have been one among them is not proved. In the family Chronicle it is noted that in 1375 T'o Huan helped General Pu Yin to beat the rebel Mongol Dorjibal, who can therefore hardly have been his son. Anyway, he did not succeed T'o Huan.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER OF THE FAMILY LU

PREFACE

M 175x 614 114

The genealogical register was composed by Lu Chi-hsun, descendant of the fifteenth generation, who filled the hereditary office of commander, with the possession

[P. 74(B)]

of the seal, controlling the Monguor officials and troops of Chuang Lang. 175x 614

Families have genealogical registers as kingdoms have histories. In olden times during the Chou and Ch'in dynasties, the one hundred-twenty kingdoms each had precious books. When Ssu-Ma Ch'ien composed the Shih-chi (history) he took these books as models. The coordination of the work seemed to be so clear that future genealogical registers were built according to that model. 114

Ssu Ma-ch'ien composed the genealogical registers of the San Tai period (Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties, 2205–250 B.C.). However, from Huang Ti on, the number of generations is hard to determine, and because of this and of the length of time elapsed the registers are contradictory and not entirely reliable. The same problem exists with the genealogical list of Ou-Yang Hsiu and of Su Shih, which were highly esteemed at that time. From Hsun on, Ou-Yang records only five generations for a period of 300 years, and from Tsung on, he records eighteen generations for a period of only 140 years. Checking the list of Su, one notes the omission of Chang Shih from Chou, but we see him go as far upward as Lu-Chung and Kun-wu, and we feel once more its vagueness. It is difficult to rely entirely upon them. 175x 114

The Lu family originates from the imperial family of the Yuan. However, their genealogical register does not go back that far. It reads: "(Reverentially) we dare not to look at the emperor as our ancestor. Our family name Lu started with Lu Hsien, the ancestor of the third generation. However, our first ancestor was Prince of An Ting during the Yuan. This is recorded in the genealogical lists of the Yuan dynasty, and so there is no need to investigate it again. Those who recorded the original name would not have noted it without having proof."[5]

We start with the first section of the genealogical register.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER 175x

Primordial Ancestor	T'o Huan 601
Second generation	Kung-pu-shih-tieh 614
Two sons: Ah-shih-tu succeeded, died soon, Kung-pu-shih-tieh succeeded	
Third generation	Hsien
Fourth generation	Chien
Fifth generation	Lin
Sixth generation	Chin
Seventh generation	Tung
Two sons: Tan succeeded, died soon, Tung succeeded	
Eighth generation	Kuang-tsu
Cheng-wu son of Tan succeeded, died soon. Tung three more sons: Kuang-tsu, Kuang-hsien, Kuang-kuo; Kuang-tsu succeeded	

[5] Yuan Shih, 107, 3*b*, 6*a–b*, 24, 27*b*, 113.

[P. 75 (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

river of Tatung was so swollen that boats and rafts could not cross. Ju Kao spent more than 1,000 taels, calling artisans to build a floating bridge with his own wood. The army could reach Hsining in time to save the city. 175x

1874. When the revolt was quelled he was favored by a report sent to the emperor by the viceroy, explaining the circumstances of the rescue of Hsining and the recovering of the subprefecture of Tatung. Ju Kao received a laudatory imperial order and the titles of provincial commandant-in-chief, and of Courageous Patulu.

1876. On the twenty-second of the fifth moon Shu was born to a concubine of Ju Kao. Shu later succeeded as *t'u-ssu*, the first lady having no issue.

1883. Imperial order of the twelfth moon:

Lu Ju Kao, high commandant of Chuang Lang, since the t'u-ssu submitted to the empire, they have unceasingly received official duties, have commanded their troops and administered their tribes. You are the grandson of Lu Chi Hsun. According to the former rules, I order you to succeed to the hereditary office, to command the troops and administer the tribes. (Lu Chi Hsun, his father, had died in 1851. It had been said that Ju Kao succeeded in 1852, but now he received in 1883 the official nomination.) Receive with reverence this unusual favor. Try to comfort your subjects, make them happy, provide for their needs, control your subjects, prevent inroads of brigands. [Then the injunctions continue the same as the previous ones.]

1893. On the twenty-first of the third moon Ju Kao died. My father's style name was Wan Ch'ing, his posthumous title Chen Wei. He is buried in the cemetery of Shang Hsiang T'ang. (Thanks to this text we know that the writer of the additional two pages was Shu, the son of the concubine of Ju Kao who later fulfilled the t'u-ssu office.)

The wife of Ju Kao kept the seals.

1895. The twentieth of the fourth moon Shu succeeded. The wife of Ju Kao died on the eighteenth of the ninth moon.

1897. The eighteenth of the twelfth moon the noble lady was buried at Shang Hsiang T'ang (after two years).

BIOGRAPHIES (LIEH CHUAN)

PREFACE

The name Lieh Chuan started (to be used) with Ssu-Ma Ch'ien. Biographies constitute historical material. Authors in the past did not write biographies for private individuals. 175x 114

During the Tang dynasty, Han (Yu) Ch'ang-li composed the biographies of Lu Chih and Yang Ch'eng, which were incorporated in the Hsun-tsung-shih-lu. Liu Tsung-yuan composed the biography of Tuan T'ai-wei. He did not call it "chuan" but "chuang" (memoir). Li Ao composed the Chuan of Lu T'an, but Fang Pao scorned him.

[P.93(A)]

5:Schuam M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Since the historians had lost their original profession, those appointed in the bureau of the archives became the disciples of T'an Pai-lu (and no longer composed biographies). From that time on the people were compelled to compose their family biographies themselves, to fill this want. Then, among the vulgar were people who liked to spend money to glorify their ancestors (by means of biographies). Those, among those scholars, who liked to profit from their wealth, tucked up their sleeves to write. They filled pages with falsities and errors, so that their writings were untrustworthy. 175x 114

In our family, from the Ming time on, each generation took up arms to defend the frontiers, our women and girls ardently practiced love for the country and justice in order to glorify (the country). However, the official history of the Ming did not record their deeds.

In what was recorded in our family history some events were confusing. Again we added (new facts) and eliminated (others). We followed the rules of the biographies in order to provide secure material to the official historians in the future. We dared not add (falsities), embellish (the facts), or deceive (the people), in order not to defile the glory of the anterior generations, and provide the descendants a text whose veracity may be checked.

We start with the third section which contains biographies.

SIRE T'O HUAN, THE ORIGINAL ANCESTOR 175x

Sire T'o Huan was a member of the imperial family of the Yuan.

In 1313 Emperor Jen Tsung bestowed upon him the dignity of Prince of An Ting. Successively, he served several emperors and was renowned for his faithfulness and zeal. During the Chih-yuan period (1335–1341) brigands arose (as numerous) as insects. At the time of the Ming Emperor T'ai Tsung, the brigands of Kansu entered the valley of the Huai. After a few years their bands were exterminated and pacified.

In 1368 Emperor T'ai Tsung sent Su Ta, Ch'ang Yu-chuan, and other commanders, to pacify the north with the army. Wherever they arrived the people met them and surrendered. Sire T'o Huan was grieved, cried and said, "The empire is lost." At that time, orders of the empire were not obeyed beyond some hundred li of both capitals. The army was inferior in number (to that of the enemy) and enfeebled, incapable of taking the offensive or of staying on the defensive. Sire T'o Huan, in cooperation with officers of the imperial guard commanding exhausted troops, day and night fortified and guarded the capital. Besides the famine and lack of food in the city, there was no hope of getting provisions or rescue. The officers stimulated the courage (of the troops) by means of the example of their faithfulness and fidelity. Everybody was happy to expend his forces.

[P.93(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

with the same foes; and again in 1872, at the time of the revolt of the Mohammedans, when the clan built a floating bridge to pass the Tatung River, for the army had to reach Hsining and was blocked at Lien Ch'eng. 175x

The conclusion seems to be that a sword of Damocles swayed above the clan for as long a time as the seceders were alive and assuming an attitude of menacing hostility every time an opportunity would occur.

CONCLUSION

The study ends with the biographies of the ancestors of the most prominent among the clans, the Lu clan, which shed light on the family life of the t'u-ssu and the process of Siniciation in the center of the family. 175x 632 565

This section of the Biographies shows the mentality of the chiefs of the clans and their entire families. All the chiefs of the Monguor clans at the beginning of the Ming dynasty were uncouth barbarians, admiring the Chinese civilization, feeling themselves humiliated in the presence of the Chinese. Hence the eagerness in the families of the chiefs of all the clans to learn the Chinese language, to adopt Chinese customs, to have in the family members honored with literary degrees, to see their chiefs dignified with Chinese military titles and promotions. The Chinese knew very well these dispositions and fostered them, granting military titles one after another, even bestowing upon some among them, the title of Duke of Hui Ning and Duke of Kao Yang. 156 177

The chiefs of the clans married girls of prominent Chinese officials, and married their girls to important Chinese officials and prominent Chinese families. After a couple of generations the mentality and customs in the family had completely changed. Dinners had become Chinese dinners, clothing Chinese clothing, jewelry Chinese jewelry, furniture in the houses Chinese furniture, and the walls were adorned with Chinese inscriptions and paintings. A hall to the ancestors had been built in the mansion of the chief of the clan where sacrifices were offered according to the Chinese pattern, and rich Monguors liked to display luxury in the Chinese fashion. The introduction of Chinese women into the families of the chiefs of the clan had changed entirely the mind of the family and stimulated its Siniciation. But in China the corners are never wholly square. These Sinicized Monguors profess a Confucianism that allows them to practice, even fervently, lamaism and shamanism, that allows them to burn down and rebuild monasteries, to be proprietors of monasteries and to have sons who become lamas and even Living Buddhas. 175x 177 [582]

The family chronicles of the Lu clan are a great help for the comprehension of the social life of the Monguor clans and also of the attitude of the Chinese administration, related to the policy adopted toward the Mongol and Tibetan brigands on the frontiers. 114 ●

N *563 M 604 over his sister's children. His rights in this regard are manifested mainly in three cases: (1) upon the natural death of his sister's children, they cannot be buried without his permission. The maternal uncle is considered "master of the bones" of the deceased, and has the right to permit the burial, to impede it or to prevent it. (2) If they have been murdered or have committed suicide, he is required to initiate and execute vengeance for the blood of his sister's child. (3) When they are subject to punishment for violating the society's rules, the maternal uncle must punish the children of his sister. Such punishment may range from capital to very minor terms.

N *563 M 586 Divorce is extremely rare among the Mongours. So, too, are cases of repudiation or desertion by the husband. Schram does not mention the way in which a divorce is finalized, nor how long a waiting period, if any, after divorce before remarriage is permitted.

N *563 M 837 Cases of adultery are extremely rare in Mongour society. The people are engrossed constantly with the problem of making a living, and they have little time for complicated affairs. The close physical proximity of life in an extended family makes it extremely difficult for anyone's lengthy absence or a stranger's presence in the home to go unnoticed. Schram concludes that

M [577] [184] [114] "The morality of the Mongours who live in villages and are occupied with farming, is undoubtedly on a higher standard than that of the nomad Mongols. Mongour families on the average seemed to me to be happy families that work hard but enjoy life."

/3/

115 The speech extracts which appear in the present study have
191 been furnished by a T'ou-jen master of ceremonies who was accustomed to preside over the marriage ceremonies in the region. The fact that nearly all the T'ou-jen men speak Chinese more or less is what explains the use of this language, as well as the use of Chinese proverbs, in the course of the marriage ceremonies. Most of the philological notes in the present monograph were furnished by Fathers
104 Mostaert and De Smedt. The transcription of Monguor is the one used by the same Fathers, who adopted the general alphabet of Anthropos (Anthr. XXIV-V), but simplified. The transcription of the Chinese is the romanization adopted by the Variétés.

101 The term T'ou-jen is used by the Chinese of "Sining" to desig-
104 nate the people or peoples of the region who speak the Monguor language and who are under the jurisdiction of a t'ou-se. The term T'ou-jen means "aboriginal."

Although the peoples in question are certainly not the first inhabitants of the country, we have nevertheless thought we should adopt this improper term because it is in current use "in the country" and is used there to designate only this people. The term T'ou-jen is therefore here a people's name. The Tibetans, the Mongols, and the Salar of the country are not T'ou-jen in the eyes of the inhabitants of Sining. Besides, the local chronicles, as well as those of Liang-tcheou and Lan-tcheou use the same term when they deal with this people.

[P.4 is blank]

[8 cont]

114 Scheutvelder missionaries had again given up their Kansu region,
[797] which they left to the Steyler missionaries. After their departure the investigation of the Tujen again came to a halt. The language was already fairly well understood, but records of the rich folk literature and a comparison with the other Tujen dialects in Kansu were lacking. A good foundation had likewise been laid for the sociology. The other spheres, however, had not yet been considered, above all the religion and material culture (economy, clothing).

121 When the author came to this region in 1946, he intended
[177] to begin with precisely these points. The Tujen were already Sinicized to a considerable extent, but in their language, religion, and dress they were able to maintain much of their individuality until the most recent times. Therefore, in particular the legends and songs were taken down, the religious customs studied, and the dress of the Tujen women described. What seemed most interesting to the author was the religion, which is to be dealt with in the following work. The presentation is not definitive, as will become clear repeatedly below, but it does provide the fundamentals and essentials.

115 Since there are almost no written reports on this subject,
123 the author had to utilize the living sources that were available to him during his three-year stay (until 1949), in addition to his own observations. The principal one was an outstanding Tujen man, a living book concerning his people's traditions, and a Tujen singer with an enormous treasure of legends, fairy tales, and songs.

128 The work falls into two parts. The first is a critical presentation of the facts gained from the sources, and by way of introduction the chief source itself (the informant) is to be characterized. The second part presents the theoretical results derived from these facts, namely, the attempt to draw a total picture of the religion and to show the layers out of which it is formed. Hence it is not simply an offhand field report, but is also a systematic survey of the religious situation and its explanation. It is to be regretted that this work had to be
114 broken off at the site because of the suddenly erupting unrest;

[8 cont.]

114 the author owes the safety of the materials collected entirely to the helpfulness of his confreres. In addition to the Fathers Eichinger and Grünewald, S.V.D., I should like to mention here particularly Father Richard Haas, S.V.D., who shortly thereafter was overtaken by a violent death in the Koko Nor steppe.

4. The Sources (the Informant)

●115 The informant came from Tuo-chia, that is, "Tuo home," about one kilometer east of Chi-chia-ling, which lies along the mountain route from Kan-chia-pu (in the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) to Pai-nai (in the Ha-la-chih-kou). Tuo-chia gets its name from [103] the informant's kin group [Sippe] and formerly embraced perhaps four farmsteads, [9] of which, however, a part has been destroyed by an avalanche. Today only two farms and the temple remain. The Tuo have not always resided here. They [166] come from the vicinity of the Tujen monastery Rgulõn, where [423] a hundred years ago they owned two large horse pastures. Later one of the ancestors moved to the vicinity of Chi-chia-ling and cultivated the fairly extensive upland which paid tribute to the monastery, but which today is the private property of the Tuo family and pays taxes to the county of Huchu. It consists of about 200 Chinese morgen.

114 The report applies primarily to this region, namely, to the Tujen villages Chi-chia-ling, Ta-yang-chüan, Hsiao-
101 yangchüan, and Sha-pa-kou, up into the Na-ling-kou. Since, however, according to my own observations and the statements of the informant, the customs in the county of Huchu are quite uniform, the area to which it is applicable can be extended farther to include the villages between Huchu and Rgulõn. These [628] villages carry on a very lively traffic with one another and are extensively interrelated. As regards numbers, this report covers approximately one quarter of all the Tujen of the Sining region, an area generally regarded as their population center.

115 The old Tuo is kin-group elder and has two younger [776] brothers, who live with him, his sons, his sons' wives, and [553] grandchildren's families. By his first name he is called yifula,

[9 cont.]

115 that is, mountain spirit, because he was consecrated to the mountain spirit when he was named. He was born under the sign [776] of the sheep, that is, in the second month; according to [553] European reckoning, this would be March, 1883.

[805] Like all Tujen, the old man is a Lamaist and adheres [771] to the faith and the customs of his fathers. He is known throughout the vicinity as one of the few who are still very well versed in the traditional customs. For that reason he is asked to perform everywhere as master of ceremonies, festive speaker, overseer of sacrifices, and singer. If anyone in that region is asked about usages and customs, the usual answer is: "Go to old Tuo, he knows it best."

115 In addition he has the advantage, rare among the Tujen, 212 of having completed the Chinese classical school. He can read and write very well, better than most of his Chinese neighbors. [871] He understands without difficulty history books, classical authors, local chronicles, etc., which in part are written in the literary [191] language. He does not have a sufficient command of the Fandse language to be able to speak it fluently, but he knows the terms of the lamas and is able to distinguish fairly well as to whether a word is a genuine Tujen word or a Fandse word. He himself in his youth took down in Chinese characters a considerable number of Fandse songs, which he can translate and explain, as well as some legends and speeches. He claims that formerly the Tujen language was also written and that the script has simply been lost. -- He does not speak the language of the Koko 115 Nor Mongols, but he claims that it could be understood if necessary. 191 Of course the Tujen live too far away from the Mongols, [648] only those in the vicinity of Huchu have a loose connection with the Mongols on the Tai-t'ung River beyond the Monastery Kuo-mang-szu.

124 [10] In the beginning it was not easy to persuade the old man, who for 20 years had not even been in nearby Sining, to visit me at the mission station at Kan-chia-pu, although the way there was only a two-hour ride. In the late fall of 1946 he came once for only a day. At that time I questioned him about the harvest thank-offering; the result was an article which appeared in Anthropos, 37/40. The old man could not imagine what I

[10 cont.]

124 all kinds of things that I noted in order to learn more about them later.

The old man received no fixed salary. He said: "We two are now used to each other like friends. If now and then you give me a piece of cloth for clothing, it will be all right." It was simply a matter of face. Accordingly, he now and then received cloth for himself and his grandchildren or, when he was ill, some medications. Or I gave him a few scrolls at the harvest festival, bought inks and paper, sent him a little jug of wine now and then, etc. On his part, he made ceremonious [431] calls on me on the customary festive days or sent baked goods, [512] a piece of meat, [11] some milk, as is customary between good acquaintances. Whenever his trips happened to bring him past my station, he would come in briefly to inquire about me. His relatives, too, frequently dismounted when they brought their sacks to the water mill in the valley, especially if the old man happened to be there. Thus a considerable number of Tujen, men, women, and children, gathered at times in the yard and were treated as guests. They told stories, sang, and laughed, and in exchange for some wheat I had to photograph them. In this fashion I was soon well known among them in the mountains.

One day the old man brought a young man to me and said: "Here is the husband of one of my daughters; he knows all the Tujen songs by heart and knows many legends. If you want him to, he will dictate everything. He can also draw pictures." Naturally I wanted him to. I was able to put down on paper a whole series of songs, fairy tales, and myths, among them the Geser saga. In addition he drew a series of pictures for [126] me and with inexhaustible patience sang the different melodies until I could render them on the flute and transcribe them. When we sat together over a jug of wine in the evening, the two men sang their song and I played the flute in accompaniment. Then they felt at ease and said: "Soon we shall all come here, men, women, boys and girls; you kill a sheep and provide the barley wine, and we shall dance and sing."

114 Unfortunately that never happened! The events of the
115 time made a longer stay impossible. On July 1, 1949, I took

[11 cont.]

114 leave of these dear people, for only a few weeks, we thought.
[115] In actual fact, however, I was not to see them again. In the autumn of the same year old Tuo died and with him a portion of ancient knowledge sank into the grave.

My reports concerning the life of the Tujen are therefore incomplete, because prematurely broken off. Also, the work of
124 collecting did not proceed in order. At one time the two dictated only songs. At another time the old man told me about the customs; then I would have to be gone for a number of weeks; then again the work in the fields was so pressing that they stayed away for months. In the meantime I was able to observe a number of things myself and to check on the reports, or I met other Tujen and had them tell me things.

115 Time and again I found that the reports of the old man
124 were the most precise, the most ample, and the most reliable. Once, when I was able to observe a part of the puberty rite, the old man asked me immediately: "Well, how was it? Is it not true that I related everything correctly?" He took the position: "As an old man I do not lie anymore." Occasionally he would also say: "What I say is true; what I do not know, I do not say. Everything I tell you, I myself have experienced, led, and seen at home. Ask the others." He would also warn me about others: "What that one says is not quite accurate, he exaggerates; he is still a young man." Even among his compatriots old Tuo was regarded as an honest man; his classmate in particular emphasized his reliability. He even expressed his opinion to me whenever I said I had seen something in such and such a way: "Father, you have made a mistake." Glossing anything over for my sake was scarcely to be observed.

115 [12] Once, when he was gravely ill and unable to get up
123 for several months, I said in front of others: "What a pity if old Tuo were to die; he is such an honest, good man." This was later reported to him and it pleased him greatly. As I was once able to observe from my room without being noticed, it confirmed him in his sense of honor: "What? The Father says that I am an honest man. I owe it to myself to speak the truth."

The chief inhibition on his part consisted of the fear of ridicule. It was a long time before he was certain that I

[12 cont.]

115 respected their customs and did not condemn them or brand them
123 as backward superstitions. In this respect one cannot in the long run disguise his feelings. With a sure sense the natives noticed whether one meets them with good will and respect or regards himself as superior to them. Since the old man was no dolt and had also read many a Chinese book, he knew, for example, that the Chinese tend to dismiss the peoples on their borders as
[181] barbarians. He also knew how the Chinese nearby laugh at the Tujen as backward "natives." And finally he had heard that the Christians designate as superstition much that is dear and sacred to the Tujen and the Chinese. Thus it is understandable that occasionally he would say: "Father, do not be surprised when I tell you such and such. We believe in it." Or: "Please do not laugh at it when we do something in such a way." On his part, this inhibition was extensively bridged by the genuinely tolerant
[829] attitude of the Asiatic: "All religions are good. The goal is the same, only the ways are different." On my part, the decisive attitude was that every person's conviction is to be respected if he means it honestly, even though, objectively speaking, he may be on the wrong road. The same applies to religion. And when I told the old man, "I believe such and such; you believe such and such, but I am not therefore better than you; it depends upon the conscience," he gladly agreed. Nor was any attempt ever made to influence him in his religion. He knew little about Christianity, but neither did he regard it as mystery-mongering when he inquired about it among my people. They always stressed to him: "You can hear and see everything that we do. We have no secret religion. We tell you everything. If you want to read our books, you may have them." One day he came with the question: "Should I not become a Christian?" I told him: "That depends on you. The heart of a man cannot be forced. Everyone should act according to his insight."

115 It greatly cheered his openheartedness to find many a
171 similarity between the Christian and Tujen ceremonies. Thus he was quite surprised at the fire ceremony on Easter eve. In the church he saw altars, saints' images, an oil lamp. He saw how the Christians fell on their knees. He knew: We, too,

[12 cont.]

115 sacrifice bread and wine, we, too, had a lord of heaven, we, too,
171 had a holy mother; we, too, burned incense, had consecrated water, blessed houses and cattle; we, too, prayed for the sick and anointed them with oil; we, too, had a baptism; we, too, had a procession through the meadow and prayed for the blessings of good weather; [13] we, too, had a redeemer similar to their Geser; we, too, had temples with solemn prayer and divine service; we, too, had monks and nuns; we, too, had good angels and evil demons.

115 Thus the old man felt more and more at home in our surroundings, even though he no longer spoke of becoming a Christian. In the end his judgment was: "Your religion is better. You help man."

123 As a result of our mutual genuine respect, the old man put me in the right light in his circle of acquaintances, above all among the lamas. They regarded me as one who has religion himself and does not make fun of their gods and monks. ; Accordingly I was invited one day by a Tujen family to serve as "prayer-sayer" for a funeral service, which, however, I declined. When I entered the Tujen lamasery, the monks assigned me a clean room for the Mass. They understood when I requested pure water for the "sacrifice," and when I preferred not to be interrupted. Then I placed a cross before the images of the Lamaist deities and in the presence of the curious but silent lamas I celebrated the Mass. And just as I never expected the people to kneel, for instance, or to give any other signs of reverence, so they never expected a similar courtesy from us.
[609] By the way, certain travelers report how they had their fortunes told or how they were blessed by this or that hutukhtu, and the like, this makes little impression upon the populace, aside from the fact that the people see through such conduct and often regard it merely as a superfluous gesture of courtesy.

115 In spite of the fact that as the result of this highly satis-
123 factory relationship I was able to see and hear all kinds of things, I am well aware that I by no means learned everything. No one likes to tell a foreigner about all the darker sides of his people or ticklish things. Nor was anything else to be expected in

[13 cont.]

123 view of the highly developed sense of honor of the old man.
115 For instance, he could not be persuaded to dictate the well-
[888] known mountain songs which often contain quite crude observations. On such occasions he would say: "For an old man like me this is not fitting, nor is it for you. Yes, when I was younger ... "Actually, younger people are freer in this respect. But even then they will ask: "Are there no women nearby?" It is not to be overlooked that the old man knew very well that my notations were also to go abroad. He told me about the informant of Father De Smedt, who helped the latter to write books and had even been far away in Mongolia. -- Ordinary uneducated farmers are easily satisfied with the observation: "If you came to Europe, would you not ask what they eat and drink there and what peculiar customs they have? What kind of songs they sing, what gods they worship?" And in fact one can often hear the people say: K'an i-ko jə̂-nao, k'an i-ko hsi-ch'a, that is, "Let us take a look at the excitement and see what is extraordinary." In view of the ethnic and religious mixture in Tsinghai, the people are in this respect much more generous.

The old man immediately understood that my notations would form a book. And he was proud of helping with it: "You Europeans are to be admired. We Tujen do nothing [14] to preserve our history for our descendants. In some ten years we will have become Chinese; then nothing more will be known of our language, our customs, our religion. And you want to write down everything now so that nothing will be forgotten; your service is great."

115 Another obstacle in taking notes was the informant's age.
124 He tired very easily, made digressions, and at times would interrupt the most interesting narrative by suddenly asking: "Is your father still alive? How old is he? Are you going to Koko Nor shortly?" -- and then everything would lapse into a purposeless digressive conversation. Or he would suddenly feel unwell, would want to go to sleep at once, etc. Apparently he had the following attitude: I am the guest here of a good acquaintance, just as with my kin group; we talk about this and that, go home when we want, and come back... Accordingly, it also happened that he showed up when I was not at home, merely to visit the

[14 cont.]

115 people with whom he was so well acquainted. As a kin-group
124 father, he was accustomed to a free life as his own master, and all compulsion was hateful to him.

Finally it should be taken into account that for a native it is not easy to pick out what seems worth knowing to the stranger. Everything is self-evident to him. And even the stranger cannot exhaustively inquire into all the details at one time, or even at the third or fourth time. But even in this respect the old man assisted me as much as possible.

5. The Taking of Notes

124 The conversations and questioning always took place in
191 Chinese, a language which all Tujen men and almost all Tujen women speak, except when they are among themselves. Now-
[871] adays there are schools in most of the villages, in which Chinese is the prescribed language of instruction. Since I was still on the point of learning the Tujen language, Chinese was the only one possible, and in view of our mutual familiarity with this language the possibility of a misunderstanding was very slight. In case of obscurities in the dialect, the old man was always able to give the corresponding Chinese signs; he then explained the meaning by various circumlocutions.

124 The old man proceeded from the assumption that I
126 wanted to learn the Tujen language. He therefore dictated to me brief sentences about a certain object, which I took down; for instance, "The lama is coming. They are sweeping the house. They are burning incense. Lamps are placed on the table, etc. ..." Unfortunately I did not keep these sentences. Afterwards he repeated the sense for me in Chinese; some explanations of words were added. That was the first report each time. I immediately wrote this down in German. Sometimes it was very brief, sometimes somewhat longer. In every case, however, the course of an action, the peculiarity of a ceremony, etc. were briefly and concisely summarized. Since I was actually not primarily concerned with the language, but rather with the content, I asked for supplementary details after each report, at times immediately following, and at times only in

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[46 cont.]

[Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

115

[145] a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling
[291] in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autumn
[302] of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer,
792 1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the
796 conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the
[534] monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guämbasoma) in the vicinity
[292] of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense
[782] Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In
[778] front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the
756 background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan. Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof; this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand
* [778] the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching
[292] line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter: "The Gurtum.")

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[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate 1

a

b

c

d

(Caption on following page.)

However, if he does not satisfy the requirements, and 756
does not acquit himself creditably, if his answers are 787
wrong and his dances inadequate and inelegant, he fails abjectly. The angry Buddha, rebuking and snubbing him, pulls off one of his boots and throws it contemptuously and disdainfully at the head of the Kurtain, upbraiding his impudent audacity, saying: "You are not possessed by a spirit, but by an ox, go on." All hopes of the candidate are dashed forever; the trust of the people in him is uprooted. He goes away discomfited, dishonorably evicted, and the possession is finished. The Kurtain cannot withstand the verdict of a Buddha who blocks his way. Twice I attended such a test, once at the monastery of T'ien-t'ang and once at Ch'ie-bzan. I inquired about the fantastic tales current all over the country, concerning the fact that the authenticity of the Kurtains can be tested by making them lick white-hot iron, pierce their chest with a sword, walk and sit on thorns. Always the answers were that in olden times when the Kurtains were more potent, they could stand such tests, but the present Kurtains are not made of the same stuff as in olden times, and therefore these tests can no longer be made.

TESTS OF THE KURTAINS POSSESSED BY A LAMAIST DEITY

The Kurtains possessed by Lamaist deities seem to have possessions of a lower grade. The Kurtain of Seerkok was said to be possessed by the deity Kortong (?) whose incarnation was one of the minor Living Buddhas staying at the monastery. The Kurtain of Erh-ku-lung was possessed by the minor deity Niebturk bzan whose incarnation, of second or third rank, was living at the monastery. The pictures of both deities, which I saw at the Karwa of these incarnations, represented the familiar type of the hundreds of Buddhas quietly sitting crosslegged absorbed in meditation, but the men they possessed were none the less furious Kurtains. Learned lamas did not have any knowledge of Kurtains possessed by the so-called guardians of the faith, which are pictured as terrible, cruel warriors. They asserted that all the possessions were manifestations of minor deities, and they could not easily explain how furious Kurtains were possessed by peaceful deities. Concerning the question of the possession of a lama by a Lamaist deity, they deemed it possible, but did not remember such cases in the country.

I never had the opportunity to attend a test ceremony for the kind of Kurtains possessed by Lamaist deities. but the information acquired from Living Buddhas, [115] ●
lamas, and laymen, seemed to show that little difference existed between the tests of both kinds of Kurtains. The subjects, their avocation, and training are similar, as well as the theatrical performance in the court of the main temple. The Kurtain is attired in the same way and uses the same weapons in the same way, but he must wear on his head the crown of the five Dhyana

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

examines their position. "All right!" he cries. "all 796
events will be all right this year, the village will enjoy 756
peace and thrive; this year you will be preserved from 782
hail!" A piece of red cloth is tied with a red rope on the bottle, which is put under the empty container inside the temple for seven days.

After all the rites have been accomplished, the villagers go home taking with them their own thrones of the ancestors and as many paper banners and streamers as possible, in order to place them with the deities honored at home. The shamans and the elders have a meal and plenty of wine for the whole night. The next morning the shamans leave; they came riding empty-handed on a donkey, and go back driving the donkey, laden with rolls and offerings, some wheat, and a meager payment in cash.

FEAR OF HUMAN SACRIFICES

During the second, third, and fourth months, the time 782
during which these rites are performed in one village 784
after another, everywhere children are encountered 789
wearing around their necks strips of filthy, stinking 751
cloth, with which the women had wrapped their feet (for they do not wear stockings). The heads of some children are covered with a handkerchief containing dog hair; the foreheads of some children are scratched and lightly wounded. Several times a day the children are enjoined not to eat jujubes or nuts lying along the way or in the temple yards, for fear that the spirits, avid for human sacrifices, might allure them and take their souls. Everywhere it is said that, notwithstanding the rites taking the place of the former human sacrifices, once in a while some of the spirits take a child. All these practices are used in order to frighten the spirits and to preserve the children desired by this kind of evil spirit. If, during these months, a child dies, everybody is convinced that his soul has been taken by the terrible spirits.

These practices give evidence that the belief in human 782
sacrifices required by spirits is deeply ingrained in the minds of the people. At that time, meeting children so [115]
arrayed affords a fine opportunity to collect details about the rites of spring, and the talks of the shamans, and to get an insight into the religious trend of mind of the people. These facts make it plain that the Monguor shamans, honoring Taoist spirits and performing most of the rites of the Wu of China and of the shamans living in the neighboring countries, have preserved their urge for human sacrifices. The Monguor shamans nurture the weakened, exhausted spirits in the temples with captured human souls. The burying of the Chinese beggar in the mound, in order to succeed in the struggle against the hail spirits, and the occasional capturing of a boy for the same purpose, facts attested by many trustworthy men, give evidence of the assumption. However, constraint is imposed [682]
upon them by a more civilized environment than that

[p. 112 (A)]

795
785
people who have taken the Buddhist vows, are the 792
usual practitioners.

TOPICS OF THE INSTRUCTIONS

Each year I seized every opportunity to get informa- 115
tion from fasters concerning that captivating subject, [124]
and asked the children in the schools about what 785
grandpa or grandma had said about the lama director, the topics of the preachings, the anecdotes narrated, the number of fasters. Every time the fasters reported that they were happy to have performed the exercises, although they had had a hard time. They had prayed in a group innumerable Om Manis, which had caused them to have a real feeling of happiness, and they had enjoyed the preaching. They seemed to be better Lamaists than before, for they spoke with enthusiasm about their experiences. Without doubt the fast rites had helped buoy them up and had given them zest for life.

However, it was always said that the directors of the [792]
exercises were not all interesting talkers, that some 785
were really boring men, but that they all loved Li, the 869
old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Every year, at three places at least, he was invited, and the fasters urged that the date of the exercises be postponed, in order to enjoy the old man's direction since he had endeared himself to the hearts of the people. He was an intelligent old Living Buddha, a picture of benevolence, with a great kind face, molded on pontifical lines, and all set for hearty smiles. He was a wonderful storyteller, with sparkling wit and a fetching sense of humor, who had the knack of keeping the fasters listening for two and three hours every day. He expounded his doctrine by means of anecdotes and unusual comparisons, which his uncultivated listeners could grasp, remember, and tell to others. He was a fine teacher.

The beloved topic of his talk was the life of Buddha, who fled from the luxurious palace of his illustrious parents; his terrifying mortifications and his endless charity, even for tigers and other animals, so that he had allowed himself to be devoured by the hungry tigress in order that she might nourish her cubs; his refusal to enter paradise, in order to remain in and save the world. Another topic was the paradise of Buddha and its oriental splendor where everybody hoped to go eventually; and also that of the eighteen hells, with all the terrifying torments used in the Orient. He used to put stress, in nearly every talk, on the omniscience of the terrible but equitable judge of death, who accepts no bribes, who knows all the merits and demerits of everyone; whose mill of justice grinds, in the most minute way, all our acts and intentions.

All the children knew that the poor in this world are 785
people who are suffering, for their lack of charity in 829
former existences, or for their covetousness or in- 869
justices. The topic of the punishments for injustices was one of those most elaborately developed by all the

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presented to the Living Buddha with the scarf. It is 527
the gift for outstanding persons. Then the master of 604
ceremonies makes his traditional speech. After having 792
thanked the Living Buddha, he starts his usual speech of apology: "We are ashamed to have treated the holy man so irreverently, the meat we prepared was tough and tasteless for it was meat of an old animal. The rolls were badly kneaded and hard, and boiled in rancid oil. The k'ang, on which the holy man slept was not heated enough. The holy man could not sleep a wink the whole night. Our k'ang is too short, the saintly man could not stretch out his noble legs. The felt spread on the k'ang was too thin, his holy limbs must be sore. We are a poor family and should like to offer a herd of sheep. We are ashamed to be only able to offer an old horse, saddled with a broken saddle. Our harvest this year was the worst we ever reaped, so we can afford only to offer a couple of sacks of rancid rolls. To add to our frustration, the wool of our sheep was so bad and short this year, that we can only offer a thin felt poorly prepared by an unskilled artisan. The butter we prepared for the lamas and the lamps is nearly all rancid. What we offer to you is more like a gift offered at a burial than a gift fit for these circumstances." Then the maternal uncle and the celebrant prostrate themselves, apologizing and presenting the scarf. The Living Buddha protests that he is very happy, and thanks the family for its prodigality, and promises his blessings.

At the moment of departure the family kneels with incense sticks in their joined hands at the gate of the courtyard; each of the assistant lamas receive two strings of cash, and the Living Buddha takes with him the packet of dollars. After him follow some youngsters with a beautiful horse, saddled with the finest saddle, and a precious rug upon it, with some animals carrying butter and tea for the lamas of the monastery, rolls, meat and sugar, and the news is spread all over the country that so and so offered such and such gifts with an unusual prodigality.

Poor families offer to the Living Buddha fifty strings of cash instead of a horse. The celebrant who belongs to a still poorer family goes at noon with his maternal uncle to the lamasery, in order to see a Living Buddha who performs the rites upon him and is presented with two strings of cash.[17]

This information was given me by several masters of ceremonies and Monguors who attended the rites, [115] and had themselves performed them.

XIII. DEATH

In connection with the funeral customs of the Mon- 761
guors, a few words should be said about their notions concerning the souls, because these have an important bearing upon the funeral customs.

[17] Schröder, *op. cit.*, *Der Alters Segen*, 630.

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000 THE MONGUORS OF THE KANSU-TIBETAN FRONTIER

THEIR ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

LOUIS M. J. SCHRAM, C.I.C.M.

With an Introduction by Owen Lattimore

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PREFACE

114 During the years from 1911 to 1922 I lived as a missionary in the frontier region of Hsining in Northwest China. Among the peoples living in the region there were Chinese, Tibetans, Turkish-speaking Salars, Chinese-speaking Muslims, and a people who call themselves Monguors, and are called by the Chinese *T'u-jen*, a name that means "autochthones." Of these, I was most interested in the Monguors. The present study is drawn from notes written down at that time as well as from information in the local Chinese annals of the cities of the region and the annals of the Province of Kansu. During the years that I lived in the region, Hsining was the most important city of the Tibetan frontier of the Province of Kansu. It was only in 1928 that the vast frontier district was detached and formed into the new Province of Ch'inghai, with Hsining as its capital. (The Chinese name Ch'inghai is a translation of the Mongol name Kuke Nuur, Blue Lake, also rendered as Kukunor or Kokonor, the name of one of the outstanding geographical features of the region.)

It was in the winter of 1909 that I arrived in Kansu Province. This was the first year of the period of Hsüan T'ung when the "boy Emperor" P'u I, last of the Manchu sovereigns, ascended the throne. The Empire still had an external appearance of power and grandeur, but in less than three years it collapsed, the Emperor was forced to abdicate, and there began a long period of trouble and civil war. In 1911, the year of the Chinese Revolution, I was assigned to Hsining and studied Tibetan for half a year in the famous lamasery of Kumbum. I was then sent to a mission stationed in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, forty-five miles east of Hsining, where I continued the study of Tibetan for four years.

The Monguor people, with whom I came in contact in the course of my work as a missionary, seemed to me to be more interesting than the Tibetan tribes. All kinds of conflicting and incredible tales were current about their mysterious origin and their social organization, and very little was known about them. Having studied the history of religions and anthropology at the University of Louvain, and having studied the religions of China and taken the courses in Chinese at the University of Leiden in Holland, from 1908 to 1909, I was predisposed to be fascinated by the problem of the Monguors.

114 123 Later I was transferred to the mission station of Hsining, where I was in charge of more than thirty small mission stations scattered all over the prefecture. I was in daily contact with Chinese, Monguors, and Tibetans, and had an opportunity to jot down notes from first hand observations. Some of the Christians were subjects of Monguor *T'u-ssu* or "native chiefs," and lived in Monguor villages. As a missionary, moreover, I had a certain amount of medical work to do, and in the course of this kind of work one gains the heart and confidence of the people and becomes conversant with their most inti-

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123

mate personal and family problems. It so happened that during this period I was teaching geometry and algebra to the son of the highest-ranking Chinese city official of the prefecture, and thus had an opportunity to become well acquainted with all the Chinese officials and scholars of the city. As a consequence, I was often asked by village headmen, by Tibetan and Monguor *T'u-ssu*, and by the heads of lamaseries, to help them by explaining their problems to the Chinese officials and acting as a friendly intermediary on their behalf.

Thus for a period of years my associations with Monguors were close and cordial and it was possible for me to learn something about them. On account of the pressure of my daily work, however, it was not possible at that time for me to prepare my material for publication. All that I could do was to make notes from my daily observations and scan the Chinese annals of the region. In 1922 I was transferred to the mission of Ninghsia on the borders of the Alashan Mongol Territory. In 1927–28 I went to Europe to recover from a debility caused by malaria. Returning to China, I spent the years from 1928 to 1947 in charge of different mission stations in the Hou-t'ao region on the northern edge of the Ordos Mongol territory, and could not be released to prepare publications, because of the shortage of missionaries and the trying times in which we were living. More than once I had to bury my notes and photographs, along with my other possessions, for fear of local bandits and, in later years, for fear of Japanese raids. Finally in March 1948 I arrived in Peking, hoping to prepare my material for publication. On the way, the train carrying my papers was looted by Chinese Communists in T'u-mu. One-third of the cases disappeared. Fortunately most of my notes were saved, though most of the photographs were lost.

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In November 1948, the political and military situation in Peking having become much worse, I came to Washington in order to finish the preparation of my material and to continue research work, making use of Chinese sources in the Library of Congress. In 1949–50 Mr. Owen Lattimore invited me to take part in the program of research on the Mongol region under his direction at the Page School of International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University, under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. In the following academic year 1950–51 I received a grant from the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia to enable me to complete my work. It is a pleasure to be able to acknowledge, with the appearance of this publication, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation, the American Philosophical Society, my American and Mongol colleagues at the Johns Hopkins, and especially the time and care which Mr. H. H. Vreeland 3rd devoted to helping me in the preparation of the manuscript, and Mr. Lattimore's assistance in the final editing.

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I owe a special debt of gratitude to Rev. Father A. Mostaert, who helped me with his excellent linguistic and ethnological knowledge about the Monguors and the Mongols in general, and to Rev. Father Henri Serruys for his valuable suggestions. I cannot conclude these remarks without remembering with gratitude the considerable help graciously rendered by Mrs. Clarence D. Sasscer and Mrs. William H. Wright in preparing parts of the English draft. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. A. Hummel of the Library of Congress, for his courtesy and interest, and to the staff members for all the help rendered in making the research work possible.

Following this first volume I plan to publish a second volume to deal with the religious life of the Monguors,

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and the significance in their society of Lama Buddhism, shamanism, and certain religious practices which do not seem to belong either to Lamaism or to shamanism.

A third volume will then deal with the recorded history of the Monguor clans, and the records of civil and military offices held by Monguor officials. This volume will include a translation of the family chronicles of the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu, first written in 1600 and containing, with its later continuation, a record of the clan from 1368 to 1900—a document unique of its kind among the local and especially the frontier historical materials of China.

L. M. J. S.

Arlington, Virginia
November, 1951

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000 NOTE ON THE CHINESE SOURCES

In the pages that follow frequent reference is made to two Chinese compilations, the *Annals* of the *Fu* or Prefecture of Hsining, and of the Province of Kansu. The full titles of these two works are:

1. *Hsining fu hsin chih, New annals of Hsining prefecture,* in 12 volumes containing 40 *chuan* or chapters, compiled between 1755 and 1762 and probably published soon after 1762. The editor of these "new" Annals had before him the original edition of 1595 and a corrected

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000 edition of 1657. I have never had access to either of these older editions.

2. *Kansu hsin t'ung chih, New collected annals of Kansu,* in 100 chuan, printed in the Hsüan-t'ung period (1909–1911). The edition is called "new" because it is based on an older original the compilation of which was begun in 1728 and completed in 1736. The older edition has been inaccessible to me.

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000 THE MONGUORS OF THE KANSU-TIBETAN FRONTIER

Their Origin, History, and Social Organization

LOUIS M. J. SCHRAM, C.I.C.M.

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INTRODUCTION
by Owen Lattimore

000 In the discussion of Chinese history no concept is more widely and indeed complacently accepted than that of the absorption of barbarian invaders by the superior culture of the Chinese. The concept is a basic tenet of Chinese historiography, and has been taken over without dispute by Western students of Chinese history. Yet, in spite of this widespread assumption, which acts like a lens through which we view all Chinese history, we know in fact surprisingly little about the actual phases of transformation resulting from the invasion of the Chinese society by barbarians, and the subsequent effect of Chinese contact on the various kinds of barbarian society.

In his account of the Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Father Schram has made a contribution to our understanding of these problems that is of very great value and that in one respect is outstanding: there are important studies of a number of the frontier peoples of China, but there is no other that, like this one, is based on twelve years of direct contact with the people studied, and another quarter of a century in comparable frontier regions, such as that of Ninghsia. He went to the frontier province of Kansu in 1909, proceeded to the region where the Monguors live in 1911, the year of the collapse of the Manchu dynasty, and remained there through the first years of the Chinese Republic, until 1922.

As a missionary priest he was in contact with Monguors, with frontier Chinese living among the Monguors, and with Chinese officials administering the frontier. In the conditions of those times a missionary was often able to attain a position of great local prestige and influence, and this was perhaps especially true in frontier regions, where a non-Chinese people was often ready to regard a sympathetic missionary as being "like ourselves, not a Chinese." His parishioners consulted him about their family and worldly affairs, in addition to looking to him for religious guidance. A mission had property; it bought and sold, and was therefore a part of the economic life of the community. A missionary stationed for a long time at one post was both resident and itinerant. As a resident, he had continuity of observation over a long period; at the same time in making occasional journeys he had the great advantage of being able to make frequent comparisons. In the region where Father Schram worked this was of special importance, as in a day's journey a man could pass from a sub-region in which the principal social coloration was Chinese to one in which the prevailing element was Chinese Muslim, or Monguor, or Tibetan. This setting, inclusive of the interaction of minorities on each other, as well as the relations between each minority and the Chinese majority, is discussed with great insight by Ekvall—another observer of missionary origin, in this case Protestant.[1]

[1] Robert B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier*, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1939.

A charming consequence of Father Schram's long intimacy with the Monguors was that he developed a deep affection for them. When he describes family life, the relations of parents, children, and in-laws, the daily round of work or the bustle and pageantry of ceremonial occasions, his pages are irradiated with a Flemish liveliness of delineation: his details are sharp, his colors accurate, his sense of movement perfectly balanced, and his earthy appreciation of men and women, with all their little human weaknesses, is pervaded with an affectionate sympathy.

At the same time his observation of the fabric of society is extremely realistic. On the one hand he analyzes the Monguor society so that personal, family, and community relationships can be set out with diagrammatic clarity. On the other hand, each relationship is illustrated by examples drawn from actual occurrences. In this way the reader is enabled to see first the structural framework and then—which is invaluable— the behavior of the society both under normal conditions and under stress.

One of Father Schram's most striking contributions is his study of the position and functions of the maternal uncle—who, it may be observed, was often as important in the old Chinese rural society as in that of the Monguors. There were times when the maternal uncle decided between life and death, as when, without going to the courts, a man was considered guilty of something that deserved the death penalty. In such cases it was the senior brother of the mother of the guilty man or woman who decreed the penalty, and it could not be executed without his sanction.

It has often been suggested that, in societies where property and authority are concentrated in the hands of the father's side of the family, the reservation of a particular authority to the mother's side may indicate that the society was once matrilineal and that when the transition was made from a matrilineal to a patrilineal system the transformation was not complete, some forms of authority remaining on the woman's side. With convincing clarity, through the description of actual cases involving the assertion of the authority of the mother's brother, Father Schram has shown that this assumption is unnecessary, and that the authority of the mother's brother can be a rational and consistent phenomenon in a patrilineal and patriarchal society.

The explanation is provided by the need for a device capable of mitigating the dreadful blood feuds, inherited from generation to generation, that raged among patrilineal clans. Such a clan could not inbreed. It had to take its wives from other, similar clans. A woman was, therefore, the property of her father's clan until, at marriage, she passed into the possession not solely of her

[F. 4b]

husband but of his whole clan. This concept favored, on the one hand, a tendency toward marriage alliances. Clan A took women from clan B and gave women in return. A woman of clan B taken as a wife into clan A became the chattel property of clan A, but clan B had a residual interest in her and in her children. Her daughters could not "return," as the saying went, to clan B as wives, because of their clan B blood; but her sons could continue the marriage alliance by taking wives from clan B in the next generation. On the other hand the very same concepts could lead to feuds inherited from generation to generation if clan A stole or captured a woman from clan B without negotiating for her.

For reasons like this the institutional significance of the authority assigned to the mother's brother was that it served as an excellent device for checking the tendency toward feuds. Various crimes called for the death penalty according to the customary law of a clan-organized society. Among these, to take an example given by Father Schram, was parricide—the killing either of an actual father or a "classification" father. For those who represented the paternal line of authority in the criminal's own family to take the whole responsibility was a dreadful thing, especially since they also represented "the prosecution." Yet community feeling required that the death penalty be exacted. By placing the final responsibility on the brother of the mother of the criminal the mother's clan was represented, this clan having an interest in the matter as an ally of the injured clan—but the mother's clan was also in a sense intermediate between the primarily affected clan and the community as a whole, and it was represented by a man whose personal interest was such that he would see to it that death was not inflicted unless death were deserved. For this reason what was required of the maternal uncle was not mere consent but a positive affirmation the effect of which was that clan B renounced the right to revenge by blood feud.

The same device served, on occasion, to involve more than clans A and B. Another type of tragedy described by Father Schram is the suicide of a married woman who has found life intolerable in the clan into which she has married. Though infrequent, such cases were frequent enough to require a recognized procedure. Here clan A was that of the husband of the suicide. The brother of the mother of the suicide represented clan B, demanding atonement for the wrongs that had driven its daughter to suicide. The head-on conflict involved could easily lead to a feud between the two clans, except for the fact that the brother of the mother of the suicide was not the only maternal uncle involved. He personified revenge; but the defense was personified by the brother of the mother of the husband of the suicide, a representative of still another clan, clan C. Through him as an individual the members of clan C were institutionally involved as mediators and buffers in the conflict between clan A and clan B.

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000 As Father Schram shows, these are situations in which, although the "woman's side" is represented, it is represented by those who hold the male line of authority in the woman's clan; and since the line of authority runs through the males in both the mother's clan and the father's clan, no questions of "survival of matrilineal authority" are necessarily involved.

Essentially, Father Schram's work is a study in the balance between factors of change and factors of stability in the relations between the society of China with its landfast peasants, walled cities, and heavy machinery of government, combining an imperial autocracy which was in theory absolute but in practice distant and often blind and deaf, with the satrap-like authority of provincial governors and the pervasive petty authority of local bureaucrats, and a society of Inner Asian nomad origin which had adhered to the fringe of the Chinese realm because its hereditary tribal chieftains had become feudal wardens of the marches against Tibetan raiders and the incursions of their own nomad kinsmen from the remoter depths of Inner Asia.

Some years ago, in reviewing the book by Ekvall to which the reader's attention has just been drawn, I commented on the importance of analyzing the slow rate of change in a region like that of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier for the purpose of gaining insight into what happens under the accelerated rate of change in times of stress:

> As a slow-motion movie makes it possible to study in detail the action of a runner or a boxer, [the] data can be applied to the much faster rate of change, under the stress of war, that is affecting the northwestern provinces of China, where Moslem and Chinese populations are so mixed, and fringing Mongol and Tibetan populations so important.[2]

By the same token, the analysis made by Father Schram gives us a realistic insight into the importance of what may be called the "collapse factor" in the taking over of China by the Communists. Even during the period when he lived among the Monguors, the cumulative effect of change was threatening to make the Monguor society no longer viable. As he himself writes, in a pregnant sentence in his short chapter of "Conclusions," "During the process of the disintegration of the Monguor society, it remained none the less a going concern up to a certain point." To this it need only be added that the Monguors were only one link in a chain; the decay of their society was part of the decay of the old frontier structure of China; the structure of the frontier was part of the old structure of China as a whole. The whole complex, as it changed, could remain a "going concern" only "up to a certain point." Once that point had been reached the alternatives were no longer preservation *versus* decay, but quick change in the direction of democratic evolution, which the Kuomintang failed to effectuate, *versus* quick change in the direction of violent revolution, which the Communists succeeded in forcing.

[2] Owen Lattimore, review of Ekvall, *op. cit.*, in *Pacific Affairs*, 13: 218, 1940.

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In recent years, there has been a growing interest in the relationship between the factors of stability and change in the history of the society of China. Eberhard, for example in a recent publication of great interest and value,[3] has shown that even in times of political chaos and chronic war, with repeated barbarian invasions and the erratic rise and fall of "dynasties" that controlled only fragments of North China and lasted only a few years, a large number of "gentry" families maintained their continuity: whatever happened, they remained wealthy and politically influential. These "gentry" families, moreover, included a number that were of "nomad barbarian" origin. What Eberhard has established by analyzing the biographical sections of the Chinese chronicles is confirmed by Father Schram's description of the Monguor society in decay; it is clear from his data that the tendency was for some "T'u-ssu" or chieftain families to sink to the level of commoners, losing both wealth and privilege, but for others, partly through intermarriage with influential Chinese families, to convert themselves from the status of a frontier feudal nobility to that of powerful landlord families ("gentry," in Eberhard's sense), within the Chinese society.

The "gentry," as Eberhard uses the term, were landed families collecting rents from tenants; with this revenue to give them economic assurance, part of the gentry family lived an urban life in big provincial cities or the imperial capital, sending those of its members who passed the bureaucratic examinations to make careers in the official service. The economic success and political success of such families thus interacted reciprocally, enabling them to survive for centuries.[4]

Another combination of continuity and instability must also be noted. Among the invaders studied by Eberhard who established ephemeral dynasties in North China were the Shat'o Turks, who were historical congeners of the Shat'o component of the Monguor tribal complex. They are first mentioned in the Chinese chronicles in the seventh century. In the tenth century they founded two brief dynasties in North China, the Later T'ang and Later Chin. In part they tried to rule as a foreign military élite over their Chinese subjects; in part, however, they tried to run their Chinese domain as a "going concern," taking over the Chinese political structure and using the "gentry" families who knew how to operate the Chinese system. When their rule ended, some of their upper-class families, assimilated to the Chinese, stayed on as "gentry" families; but that part of the Shat'o

[3] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers: social forces in medieval China*, Leiden, Brill, 1952. Other major publications of this prolific sociologist and social historian include: *Das Toba-Reich Nordchinas*, Leiden, Brill, 1949, and *A history of China*, London, Routledge, 1950 (first published in German, in Switzerland, in 1948, as *Chinas Geschichte*). His material on "barbarian" (especially Turkish) invaders of China is drawn mainly from Chinese sources and is worked and reworked in somewhat different ways in his various publications.

[4] Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, as cited, chap. I, "Feudalism and gentry society."

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people (they were never very numerous; Eberhard estimates them at about 100,000) that was still "tribal" ebbed back into Southwest Mongolia. There they lingered as a minor tribal element. It is from these continuators of the tribal Shat'o that certain elements of the Monguor—mostly, it would seem, noble families—derive their ancestry.

Who were these Shat'o? The Chinese characters from which the reading "Shat'o" is taken are: *sha,* "sand," and *t'o,* "a slope, a declivity"; Giles reads the two in combination as "sandy steppes."[5] The Chinese version of the name, however, is not an etymology. Sometimes the Chinese characters chosen to render foreign names happened to be descriptive; sometimes they were deliberately chosen for derogatory or laudatory purposes. Eberhard recognizes that the Chinese characters are not enough to explain the name.[6] He cites a Chinese author, writing apparently in English, to whose work I have not had access, who "boldly identifies them with the 'Sarts,'"[7] but hesitates to accept this identification, saying that "As the Shat'o were not city dwellers but nomadic warriors, this term—even if in use so early—cannot, logically speaking, have been adopted by them."[8]

This objection, however, is not sufficient to rule out the identification of Sart and Shat'o. In the form Sarta'ul (written Sartagul), it exists as a clan and Banner name in Jasakhtu Khan Aimak, Outer Mongolia. These Sarta'ul are neighbors of the custodians, in Achitu Wang Banner, of a standard which was traditionally one of the standards of Chingis Khan and is now in the museum at Ulan Batur, capital of Outer Mongolia.[9] In the annual ceremonies venerating this standard, ceremonies which were especially splendid every third year, one of the verses sung was:

> Standard that struck and shattered the Sarta'ul,
> Slaves it made of them good and bad.

In other words, this verse commemorates the defeat and capture of the ancestors of these Sarta'ul by Chingis Khan.[10] The Sarta'ul in question are now, of course, as completely Mongol as their neighbors, but their ancestors were of the Turkish-speaking, mainly Muslim Central Asian people whom the Mongols called "Sart." In this sense the Mongol use (in the form Sarta'ul) is recorded as early as the "Stone of Chingis Khan," dating from about 1225,[11] found on the frontier of Outer

[5] Herbert A. Giles, *A Chinese-English dictionary,* No. 11,358, Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh, and London, Bernard Quaritch, 2nd ed., 1912.

[6] Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers,* as cited, chap. V, "The Shat'o and their culture."

[7] Chang Si-man, *New discoveries in the ancient west of China,* 19–31, Nanking, 1947, cited in Eberhard, as above, 92, n. 4.

[8] Eberhard, *loc. cit.*

[9] I saw this standard, or *tug,* at Ulan Batur in 1944. It was a staff with an iron spearhead, and just below the spearhead a large tuft or collar of hair, apparently horse hair.

[10] The Dilowa Hutukhtu, *Autobiography* (unpublished).

[11] P. Pelliot, *Œuvres posthumes,* II, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or,* 34, Paris, Adrien-Maissoneuve, 1950.

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Mongolia and Buryat Mongolia in 1818 by the Siberian explorer Spasskii.[12] It is also found in the form Sartaq in the Qutadyū bilig.[13] 000

The name Sart, according to Pelliot,[14] is from Sanskrit *sārtha*, with the original meaning "merchant." The form Sartaq may be from a possible Sanskrit derivative, **sārthaka*, or from an Iranian suffix. A Mongol adjectival form is *sartaqtai*, and a feminine form is *sartaqčin* (Pelliot's transcriptions); [15] the use of the feminine form is one of the ways of forming a tribal name.[16]

It is apparent from the foregoing that the most justifiable part of Eberhard's caution in accepting the identification of Shat'o and Sart is the lack of mention of "Sart" before the eleventh century, whereas Shat'o occurs in the seventh century. On the other hand lack of written mention does not preclude much earlier spoken use, and this word, of Sanskrit origin, must have entered Inner Asia much earlier than the eleventh century. It seems a reasonable surmise that it was first the name by which Indian traders identified themselves; then it was used by Inner Asian peoples, and later by others, as a name for "foreigners"—especially foreigners who were conspicuous by differences of religion and language. By the nineteenth century, and until the Russian revolution, it was used by the Russians, and by Western travelers, as a name for any Turkish-speaking, Muslim, non-nomad, oasis dweller of Russian or Chinese Turkistan. Except for the fact that it must have been first used by wandering Indian merchants to describe themselves, it seems always to have been a name by which peoples described "foreign" peoples, rather than a name by which tribes or peoples called themselves.

This conclusion is on the whole supported by Barthold, who, while accepting the Chinese etymology of "Sha-t'o" as meaning "people of the steppe," held that they were

[12] The mention of the Sarta'ul in this inscription refers to the conquest of them by Chingis Khan. I. Klyukin, Drevneishaya mongol'skaya nadpis' na Khorkhira'skom ("Chingiskhanovom") kamne, *Trudy gosudarstvennogo dal'nevostochnogo universiteta*, Ser. 6, No. 5: 5 and 9, Vladivostok, 1927.

[13] P. Pelliot, Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. Barthold, *T'oung Pao*, 27: 31, n. 2, 1930. The date of the Qutadyu bilig is given as 1069 in: W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 312, 2nd ed., H. A. R. Gibb, London, Luzac, 1928.

[14] Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, as cited.

[15] P. Pelliot, Les Mongols et la papauté, *Revue de l'orient chrétien*, 3e sér., 3: 216, 1922–23.

[16] For the form Sarta'ul, Pelliot in his Notes on Barthold, 1930, cited above, p. 31, n. 2, reviews the literature up to that date on the ending -'ul (-gul) for "names of functions." The question has most recently been taken up by A. Mostaert et F. W. Cleaves, in their Trois documents mongols des archives secrètes vaticanes, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies*, 15 (3 and 4): 437, n. 21, 1952. They describe it as a deverbal suffix, used to form *nomina actoris*. I would add that it is used to form a sort of classificatory collective, which can be used as either singular or plural, e.g. *malta'ul*, "things for digging"; *alda'ul*, "stray cattle"; *nige alda'ul mori*, "a stray horse"—i.e. "a single horse belonging to the collective category of stray horses." Is it possible that the form Sarta'ul, as contrasted with forms more regularly used as tribal plurals, could originally have been derogatory?

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000 part of the Tokuz-Oguz group of Western Central Asian Turks.[17]

What the sources indicate is borne out by the usages of Inner Asia; tribes are known sometimes by their own names and sometimes by names that, originally, were given to them by others; a tribe may be diluted by new adherents until most of those in the group are not in fact descendants of the original tribal nucleus; a portion of a tribe, attached to a new tribe, may retain its old tribal name as a clan name within the new tribe; or conversely what was once a clan may grow until it becomes a tribe. These processes are complex. They include ebb and flow, ascendance and decay, repetition and divergence, the persistence of a name through changes of language, religion, and political allegiance, continuity and change. It is by such processes, which we perceive only incompletely through the thin documentation, and with the aid of that kind of clan tradition that can be at the same time factually inaccurate and historically true, that we must account for the Shat'o element among the Monguors.

Similar processes account for the derivation and formation of the Mongol element among the Monguors. Of these processes we know more. The period to which the quasi-tribal grouping of the Monguors is to be attributed is that of the fall of the Mongol empire in China.

By the second quarter of the fourteenth century (the Chinese and "nationalist" Ming dynasty, which overthrew Mongol rule in China, was established in 1368), contact with China had affected the Mongols of Outer Mongolia chiefly at the top levels of their society and chiefly through ostentatious and luxurious forms of "culture," such as grants and subsidies to princely families related to the Imperial House, and the expenditure of public funds on palaces and temples, which had little permanent effect on the body of the society.[18]

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[17] V. V. Bartol'd, *Ocherk istorii Semirech'ya,* 20, Frunze, Kirghiz Affiliate of U.S.S.R. Acad. of Sciences, 1943 reprint of the Vernyi, 1898 ed. Barthold, who did not himself use Chinese sources, adopted the Chinese etymology from p. 452 of vol. 1 (incorrectly cited; should be p. 453) of Iakinf, *Sobranie svedenii o narodakh, obitavshikh v srednei Azii v drevniya vremena,* St. Petersburg, 1851; reprinted Moscow-Leningrad, Acad. of Sciences, 1951; citation on p. 358 of vol. 1 of new edition. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux,* St. Petersburg, Acad. of Sciences, 1903, translating the same underlying passage from the (New) T'ang Shu, chap. (*chuan*) 218, reads: "There was there a great stony desert the name of which was Sha-t'o; that is why they were called 'Tou-kiue [T'u-chueh] of Sha-t'o.'" In a later work, W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale,* Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1945, a translation of a series of lectures originally given at Istambul in 1926 and published as *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*—unfortunately the translation, the only version available to me, has been stripped of the bibliographical references—states (p. 42) that the double identification of Tokuz-Oguz from an Arab source (Mas'oudi) and Shat'o from the Chinese sources is unmistakable.

[18] F. W. Cleaves, The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1346, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies,* 15 (1 and 2), 1952, discusses one instance of temple-building at Karakorum, the Mongol capital

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000 In Inner Mongolia, on the other hand, and frontier districts of China adjacent to what is now Inner Mongolia, important Mongol and Inner Asian officials and adherents of the Mongol dynasty were given grants of land and servitors.[19] When the dynasty fell, some of these families had already become to all intents and purposes—including, probably, language, wealth based on agricultural tenantry, and alliances of interest with neighboring Chinese families—"gentry" in Eberhard's sense, as cited above. When a new, strong dynasty put an end to the time of troubles and insecurity that had accompanied the fall of the old dynasty, families of this kind found it easy to support the "mandate of heaven" —the "law and order"—of the new dynasty, and to support it as Chinese, not as Mongol adherents of a new Chinese government.

For other powerful individuals and families on the territorial fringe between Chinese agriculture and the grazing lands along and beyond the Great Wall, the search for a new security was not so easy. If their major wealth was still in their herds; if their herdsmen (some of them economic dependents, others hereditary vassals granted to them by Mongol emperors) were still for the most part Mongols speaking the Mongol language, it was to their interest to find a new status that combined security with some institutional recognition of the difference between them and the Chinese subjects of the new dynasty. They had a reason for wanting to adhere territorially to the fringe of China. Though locally they might be little potentates, their future would be precarious if they called on their dependents to follow them in a migration out into the farther reaches of Mongolia; for in this more distant territory new tribal group-

in Outer Mongolia, and as part of his marshalling of relevant material, translates the entry on Karakorum in the geographical section of the Yuan (Mongol) History, which lists important building enterprises and also changes in the institutional status of the city. The existence of a city on which so much had been spent did not in any important way change the manner of life in Outer Mongolia, much less "urbanize" it.

[19] Several important publications by F. W Cleaves on bilingual inscriptions in Chinese and Mongol throw a great deal of light on the social stature of such individuals and their families. All of these are to be found in *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies*. In The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 in memory of prince Hindu (12 [1 and 2], 1949) he deals with "the genealogy and history of a family of Turkish origin, which served its Mongol rulers for five generations." They were Uigur Turks of what is now Sinkiang Province, and held an estate in the district of Wu-wei, Liang-chou, Kansu. In The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335 in memory of Chang Yin-jui (13 [1 and 2], 1950) the subject was a member of a Chinese family which for four generations was in the service of the Mongol family descended from the father of the first wife of Chingis Khan. The members of this Chinese family were therefore "subjects of the subjects" of the Mongol Emperor; they were ennobled, and their estates were in what is now Jehol Province. In The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1338 in memory of Jigüntei (14 [1 and 2], 1951) the subject was a Mongol vassal of the Mongol family just mentioned, descended from the father-in-law of Chingis Khan, and was adopted into that clan, the Unggirad (Qunggirad). His estates were also in Jehol.

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000 ings were being formed on a rather large scale, independent of China, and here they would be at a disadvantage in competition with chieftains who had larger followings of warriors.

Here, as Father Schram shows, we have the mode of formation of the Mongol majority element in the Monguor people. The clarity with which he has analyzed the difference, in a Monguor clan, between those who are members of the true genealogical clan and those who, while adopting the clan name, are in fact merely adherents of the clan is especially significant. It confirms what we can discern from written sources: at such times as the fall of a dynasty and the establishment of a new dynasty the major frontier between agricultural Chinese and pastoral nomads had to be re-drawn, and this redrawing caused a great fragmentation and dislocation of the tribal stocks. There were groups that, following their hereditary leaders, migrated in search of a more secure territory; others, also under their traditional leaders, sought an understanding with the administrative authorities of the new dynasty; others, breaking away from those who had been their leaders, adhered to new leaders in the hope of better status. Of this process we have a dramatic glimpse in the *Secret History* of the Mongols: on the death of the father of Chingis, his tribal following broke up. One faithful retainer, trying to hold back the deserters, was taunted: "The deep water has dried up, the bright rock is shattered"—in other words, "the old order is no more, the old bonds no longer hold us." [20]

In this break-up and re-grouping lies the explanation of the way in which, among the Inner Asian peoples, we find that a name that was once a great tribal name has disappeared as a tribal name, but survives, widely scattered, as a clan name; at other times the name of a clan is expanded until it covers a large tribal aggregation. Thus "Erküt" was the medieval Mongol name for "Christians." In that sense it is no longer used or even understood in Mongolia; but in one of his most fascinating studies Father Mostaert describes the survival of "Erküt" as a clan name in two Banners of the Ordos, with crypto-Christian cult practices. He mentions the possibility that there are some also in Alashan, and cites Vladimirtsov for the survival of the same clan name in Outer Mongolia.[21] In another study, Father

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[20] See Paul Pelliot, *Œuvres posthumes*, I, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, 134, Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1949.

[21] Antoine Mostaert, C.I.C.M., Les Erküt, descendants des chrétiens médiévaux, chez les Mongols Ordos, in *Ordosica* (reprint from *Bulletin* No. 9 of the Catholic University of Peking, 1934). The reference to Vladimirtsov is: B Ya. Vladimirtsov, *Sravnitel'naya grammatika mongol'skogo pis'mennogo yazyka i khalkhaskogo narechiya*, 205, Leningrad, Enukidze Oriental Institute, 1929. Vladimirtsov derives Erküt (singular *erke'ün, Mostaert, *op. cit.*, p. 1) from Greek ἄρχων, which is accepted (with further citations) by Marian Lewicki in his Les inscriptions mongoles inédites en écriture carrée, *Collectanea Orientalia*, 12: 32, Wilno, 1937. Mostaert (*loc. cit.*) more cautiously holds that "the origin is uncertain." I can add that in 1927, traveling

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Mostaert deals with nearly two hundred clan names found among the Ordos Mongols (many of which also occur among other Mongols), and his list includes a number that were once the names of tribes or tribal federations, or were applied to whole peoples, such as Kereit, Uighur, and Tangud (Northern Tibetan; the people of Hsi Hsia).[22] These analogies show that the inclusion among the Monguor Mongols of Turkish (and Tibetan and Chinese) elements was not anomalous but a phenomenon of a kind that recurred again and again in Inner Asian history.

Moreover, Father Mostaert, in the article on clan names just cited, touches on a point the significance of which has always eluded those (especially the Marxists) who have attempted to describe the social history of pastoral nomads. In the thirteenth-century *Secret History* of the Mongols, as he rightly notes, persons are identified by their clan (or tribal) affiliation, and this usage continued as late as the chronicle of Sagang Sechin (Sanang Setsen), completed in 1662. This method of identifying people by the social organization to which they belonged was characteristic of a society of nomads in which the primary form of power was control of a tribal following. The most important form of property was livestock, and as this kind of property was mobile a tribal chief was always willing to move from one region to another if by so doing he could, when on the offensive, increase the number of people under his control or, if on the defensive, keep his tribal following undiminished, because the way to the control of territory and revenue was through the control of people.

The situation was different when the dominant form of power in the life of a "tribal" people was that of a great empire. It did not matter whether the empire was Chinese in origin, like that of the Ming, or barbarian like that of the Ch'ing (Manchu) or that of the Mongols themselves in the thirteenth and fourteenth cen-

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on the Mongolian frontier of Sinkiang, I met a member of a community living in the Barkul mountains and believed locally to be of mixed Chinese and Mongol origin, who are called Erhuntze. This term is explained by the people of the region, whether their own language is Chinese, Turkish, or Mongol, as a Chinese vernacular expression (with enclitic *-tze*), meaning "bastards," or "half-breeds." It is, however, undoubtedly, though I did not recognize it at the time, the Chinese form of Mostaert's *erke-ün, theoretically reconstructed singular of the Mongol plural Erküt. See Owen Lattimore, *High Tartary*, 5–6, Boston, Little, Brown, 1930. It has not hitherto been noted that the accidental resemblance between Chinese *erhun* (which is not a literary term and therefore is not found in the sources) and Greek ἄρχων, classically "a commander, a magistrate," and later "a (Christian) priest" accounts for a term used by Marco Polo and later recorded widely in Inner Asia, even as far afield as Ladakh and Tibet, with sometimes the meaning "Christians," sometimes the meaning "people of mixed blood," and sometimes, as in Marco Polo, both meanings. Lack of knowledge of the link makes inconclusive the discussion of the term "Argon" in Sir Henry Yule, ed. and rev. Henri Cordier, *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 289 sqq., London, Murray, 3rd ed., 1921.

[22] Antoine Mostaert, C.I.C.M. Les noms de clan chez les Mongols Ordos, in *Ordosica*, as cited.

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000 turies. The dynastic power drew its main revenue from a settled population of farmers and city-dwellers. The most important forms of property were no longer mobile. The most important single source of private wealth was land, through the ownership of which the landlord dictated to the peasant the terms of the bargain under which the peasant cultivated the land; the most important sources of public revenue were the tax on land and taxes on kinds of trade which rested in fact on immobile property, such as the mulberry plantations which produced silk, or salt mines, salt wells, and so forth. To maintain a situation favorable to the dynasty, the rulers, if like the Ming they were Chinese, did not want their frontier auxiliaries, like the Monguors, to be tribal groups which, by migrating, might at any moment join a barbarian invader. They wanted feudal levies, located permanently in known territories, so that the government always knew how many troops it could summon on each sector of the frontier.

Even under the dynasty founded in China by the Mongols themselves, although the rulers regarded the Mongol tribes outside of China as their chief reservoir of politically reliable manpower, as soon as the Mongol ruler was no longer the chief of a society of nomads in search of conquest his concern for the mobility of his Mongol followers was modified. As an emperor administering a conquest already made, and ruling from a fixed capital in China, it was now his concern to know on the one hand where each part of his military reserve was geographically located and on the other hand to restrain those tribal shiftings of the followers of chiefs that led to tribal war and through tribal war to the rise of some new "great khan."

Father Mostaert correctly attributes the decline in importance of clan names among the modern Mongols to the Manchu policy, which was of the "feudalizing" kind that I have described, of creating territorial "Banners" which were assigned to hereditary princes. By this means the former tribal followings were broken up because, as he notes, people of different clans were assigned to the same Banners (and, it should be added, people of the same clan to different Banners), which "led naturally to distinguishing individuals according to the Banner from which they came and no longer according to the clan to which they belonged by birth," which "relegated the clan names to the shadows." [23]

Indeed, Father Mostaert's shrewd observations warrant an important inference: that historically, when we find frontier affairs recorded primarily in terms of negotiations with "barbarian" chiefs, the society of the frontier people in question is still tribal; when the most important administrative events recorded are allocations of territory, the social system is passing from the tribal to the feudal. Given the cyclical pattern of Chinese history as a whole, however, with its rise and fall of dynasties and its recurrent barbarian invasions almost up to

[23] *Loc. cit.*, 22.

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000 modern times: it cannot be said that there was ever a time in which all tribal societies were completely eliminated on every sector of the frontier, or a time in which a full feudal order was everywhere established, with no survivals of the tribal order of mobile property, chief, and tribal following.

Fluctuations between the tribal order and the territorial-feudal order were characteristic of frontier politics in the period when a new dynasty was consolidating its power in China. The structure and size of new territorial allocations were governed by the relations of the frontier chiefs with the new dynasty. Some chiefs fought for their independence and kept up an intermittent hostility, as did most of the important khans of Outer Mongolia during the period of the Ming Dynasty in China (1368–1644). Or, as in the case of the Monguors on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier and most of the Mongols of the Ordos and Inner Mongolia during most of the Ming period, the local chiefs might consent to become guardians of sectors of the Chinese frontier, the chiefs thus becoming in fact feudatories bound to their assigned territories and their former tribal followings feudal subjects bound to their lords.

The status of "wardens of the marches" did not rule out the possibility that, from time to time, trouble might break out between the Chinese and their watchers of the frontiers; Father Schram shows us what troubles of this kind were like in his account of the Tibetan frontier wars in the eighteenth century under the next dynasty, that of the Manchus. A group of the frontier people might turn both against its own rulers and the suzerain Chinese power. A frontier potentate might experiment with the possibilities of becoming conqueror and ruler of China. Or, by a form of blackmail, the suzerain power might be made to see that, unless one or another of its frontier groups were more lavishly treated, they might get out of hand. In the chronicles, the language must be carefully watched. What passes as a pious account of loyalty suitably rewarded may in fact record a payment of blackmail.

Religious politics, again with a frontier flavor, must also be taken into consideration. It has been too long a cliché, accepted and transmitted without examination, that the Manchus encouraged the spread of Lama Buddhism among the Mongols in order to make them less warlike. Father Schram's account of the troubles with Tibet in the early eighteenth century is a valuable addition to the already ample but neglected evidence that, on the contrary, no wars among the Mongols (and the Tibetans) were bloodier than those fought in support of rival "pacifist" Buddhist factions.

Father Schram's account is fully supported by the important new work in this field of L. Petech, who shows that while influence over the Tibetan pontiffs was part of the Manchu policy for integrating their control over Tibet, Inner Mongolia, and Outer Mongolia, it was also part of the same policy to cut off communications be-

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tween Lhasa and the Western Mongols, known variously as Oirad, Jungar, or Kalmuk.[24] The reason for this dual policy was that in the first group of regions the Manchus promoted not simply religion but the landed possessions, revenues, and institutional authority of the church in order to check the formation of over-large and therefore dangerous regional units controlled by Mongol and Tibetan nobles whom they did not rule by direct administration. It was for the same reason that the Manchu policy was to prevent members of great and powerful families from being selected as "Living Buddhas." Such families, if they controlled both ecclesiastical and secular institutions, were dangerously capable of building up a centralized power capable of challenging the dynastic authority of the Manchus. The perfectly logical aim of the Manchus was to create and maintain a situation in which they themselves could dispense favors to the princes of the church with one hand and to the secular princes with the other.

Until late in the eighteenth century the Western Mongols were recalcitrants whose ambition it was to exercise in Inner Asia precisely the same combination of church and state policy that the Manchus considered a prerogative of their own dynasty. It was, therefore, the Manchu policy to bar these Mongols from Tibet and, far from relying on the supposedly benign and pacifying effects of Buddhism, to prevent the Western Mongols from having any influence over the Dalai and Panchan Lamas, to prevent them from sending their own priests to study in Tibet, and even to prevent them from receiving Buddhist missionaries, although as an alternative it was suggested that Jungar priests might be allowed to study at Peking and Jehol, where of course they would be under the eyes of the Manchu authorities.[25] As a lasting consequence of this policy there were no important "Living Buddhas" among the Western Mongols, with the further consequence that because of the difference in the religious factor there have been notable differences in the modern nationalism of Western Mongols and other Mongols. These differences account for certain peculiarities of Mongol politics not only in the pre-Communist revolutionary period, beginning in 1911, but even after 1920–21 when Communism was introduced into Outer Mongolia.[26]

The relations that have here been discussed represent a form of feudalism, specifically a frontier feudalism with

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[24] L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, Leiden, Brill, 1950. Petech does not at times seem to realize all the implications of his rich source material.

[25] Petech, *op. cit.*, especially 186, 214. Petech states the facts. The conclusions I have drawn as to Manchu policy are my own.

[26] I shall deal with this question in more detail in a study I am preparing of the life and times of the Volga Kalmuk Dambijandsan, who declared himself both a "Living Buddha" and a reincarnation of Amursana, who in the eighteenth century, after briefly serving the Manchus, led the last stand of the Western Mongols against them. Dambijandsan's Western Mongol origins go far to explain his extraordinary career as adventurer, revolutionary, and counter-revolutionary.

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the patterns of a superseded tribalism tending now and then to come to the surface again; but since the terms "feudal" and "feudalism" are used differently by many different writers, the discussion can be clarified by defining the senses in which they are used here.

A *first phase* of feudalism, in my view, may be said to manifest itself at that stage of political evolution at which the concept of a territorially large, inclusive realm already exists, but distances are so great, communications so poor, and the techniques of mobilizing, applying, and administering the manpower of the larger state so imperfectly developed that in fact most social activity, including production, taxation, trade, administration, and war, is carried on within regional divisions of the larger realm. These divisions are the feudal units, the rulers of which are hereditary. It is economically characteristic of this feudalism that most production and consumption are within the regional unit. Most of the trade between regional units is not in necessities but in luxuries, and is not subject to the kind of play of the market that a cost accountant can readily analyze in terms of materials, wages, transport costs and reinvestment, but is governed by the caprice of princes, who may at one moment outrageously tax or expropriate the merchant and at another encourage and protect him and reward him with a lavishness that goes far beyond what any modern society would consider a reasonable mercantile calculation of profit percentages.

Once the realm has in fact been unified, this feudalism struggles to survive. The sovereign of the unified realm may be, within widely fluctuating limits, either the creature or the master of the previously existing feudal nobles. There is a long-drawn-out rivalry between the ministers of the sovereign and the feudal nobles over the collection of revenue and the exercise of authority.

When, however, the realm has been so definitely unified that despite the survival of the antecedent feudal power the power of the sovereign is unmistakably paramount, a *second phase* of feudalism begins, which is distinct from the antecedent feudalism in that it is particularly associated with the frontiers of the realm. This second phase is to be accounted for by the fact that, although the realm has been unified, it cannot be indefinitely expanded.

Among the factors accounting for diminishing returns in the benefits of expansion are the survival of regional markets and the lack of a true national market, owing to the costs of long-range transportation under pre-industrial conditions and, most important of all, inability to project a uniform agriculture, and the cities, handicrafts, administration, and military system associated with it, into uncongenial terrain. In the case of China, the problems of uncongenial terrain are illustrated by the highlands of Tibet and, historically the most important of all, the steppes beyond the Great Wall. China south of the Yangtze represents, on the other hand, the kind of problem that could be surmounted stage by stage, one region

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after another being added to the realm and the main difficulties being the extension of administrative outreach and economically profitable long-range transportation.[27]

Where a uniform agriculture could not be extended into unsuitable terrain, assimilation gave way to differentiation, marked by fortified frontiers. The Great Wall defined the steppe frontier of China; other empires excluded other kinds of terrain, either desert or steppe or forest, as shown by the ancient walled frontiers of western Inner Asia and the Near East, South Russia, the Roman Rhine-Danube *limes*, and wall-building even in Roman Britain.[28] The fact that these frontiers excluded the barbarians has always been recognized; less attention has been paid to their significance as limits deliberately set to the expansion of the wall-building empires.

Renunciation of expansion and exclusion of the barbarian did not, however, solve all the problems that arose; administrative and institutional devices had also to be employed. Of these the most important was the adoption of a "second phase" feudalism. In the case of China, adjacent barbarians were allowed to adhere to the fringe of the empire, under sanctions that were unmistakably feudal: territorial units were created, the rulers of which held hereditary titles and were subject to promotion or demotion by the Emperor of China; but control of the feudal unit was indirect—the feudal ruler, not the civil servants of the imperial bureaucracy, collected taxes, administered justice, and commanded the military levies. The function of the feudal frontier adherents was to protect the frontier against their own kinsmen, the outlying or trans-frontier barbarians. It is to this second phase of feudalism that the Monguors of Father Schram belong.

It should be added that two variants of this second phase of feudalism can be recognized, according to whether the sovereign belonged to a dynasty originating within the realm or to a dynasty founded by barbarians who had conquered the realm by breaking through the fortified frontier. For in pre-industrial history the integration of the steppe and the town was as impossible for barbarian conquerors of the realm as it was for the original civilized creators of the realm, and consequently, when a barbarian conquest succeeded, the conqueror brought part of his armed following with him, to station as garrisons among the conquered, but stationed others on the frontier to hold it, under the same form of feudal service, against a possible challenger arising in the trans-frontier who might attempt

[27] In contrast with the northern frontier, with its big wars and its permanent differentiation between Chinese and non-Chinese, "the tribes of the south . . . were dispersed peoples, who fought mile by mile before they surrendered each pocket of land . . . the spread of the Chinese was therefore a problem of social cohesion and economic organization, of drainage and irrigation, roads and trade and administration; and this was a problem that each generation of the southward-advancing Chinese took up afresh and on the spot."—Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 439, 2nd ed., New York, Amer. Geog. Soc., 1951.

[28] Lattimore, *op cit.*, introduction to the second edition.

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a conquest of the conquerors. The Monguors of Father Schram illustrate both variants. They served the Ming dynasty, of Chinese origin, and the Ch'ing dynasty, of Manchu origin, in precisely the same way.

This concept of a first phase of feudalism which belongs historically to the process of growth toward a unified realm and a second phase associated with stabilization of the frontier of a realm which has already been unified but has ceased to expand may need to be modified if it is applied to the history of feudalism elsewhere, especially in Western Europe; but in my opinion it conforms well to the successive periods of Chinese history. It clarifies the approach to "classical" Chinese feudalism, in the closing centuries of the pre-Christian era, and helps to answer, in the affirmative, the question whether effective feudal forms did in fact survive in the later Chinese state, which was in theory autocratic and administered bureaucratically by an imperial civil service.

My views in this matter appear to resemble in general those of Wolfram Eberhard, but with differences in detail that may prove to be important. Eberhard considers that feudalism is closely related to forms of conquest leading to "superstratification," when a conquering group imposes itself on the conquered; especially "ethnic superstratification," when the conquerors are a different people from the conquered.[29] Here his

[29] W. Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, as cited, 3 and 4. In this work Eberhard's selection and presentation of material are influenced by the fact that he is in large part replying to attacks on his theories by K. A. Wittfogel—e.g., Wittfogel's review of Eberhard's *A history of China*, London, Routledge, 1950, in *Artibus Asiae*, 13, Ascona, 1950. The differences of approach and method between the two may be briefly summarized. Eberhard is primarily a sociologist and secondarily a social historian. He has done field work in China and Turkey and has a command of Chinese sources that is to be envied by many sinologues. In dealing with Chinese sociology he has a tendency to invent his own terms (e.g., "gentry society"), which has the advantage of not coloring the problems he is attempting to analyze with the connotations of terms that have long been applied to similar but not necessarily identical problems in other cultures. Wittfogel, once a militant orthodox Marxist, later became a deviant Marxist. His theories stem from bitter controversies among Communists in the 1920's and 1930's. In his *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Chinas*, 1 (only volume published), Leipzig, Hirschfeld, 1931, he made brilliant use of non-Communist materials and also began elaboration of his own theory of an Asiatic society in which the need for administration of public works for irrigation, flood prevention, and canal transportation led to the hardening of a despotic state managed by a self-perpetuating bureaucracy. This theory excluded feudalism as a significant factor in post-imperial states in Asia, and has been followed up by Wittfogel so relentlessly that in his other major publication (with Feng Chia-sheng), *History of Chinese Society: Liao* (*Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, 36, 1946), Philadelphia, 1949, describing a barbarian conquest dynasty that ruled in parts of China, Manchuria, and Mongolia from the tenth to the twelfth century, the word "feudalism" is to be found only once in the index, with a reference to the pre-Christian era, although many of the phenomena described would be classified by Eberhard as a feudalism of ethnic superstratification and by me as second-phase, frontier feudalism. Although he admits (p. 45) that certain territories were "fief-like," he blurs the issue by using for them the term "entrusted territories," although from the description and the original Chinese term an

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000 argument appears to agree with my concept of a second-phase frontier feudalism, with the important difference that he makes no distinction between this and the first-phase feudalism of China in the pre-Christian era. The difference is accounted for by the fact that Eberhard puts decisive emphasis on the fact that the Chou dynasty in China "came from Western China accompanied by a group of militarily organized tribes of non-Chinese affiliation" (*op. cit.*, 3 and 4) whereas I would regard the rise of the Chou as part of the normal, non-barbarian Chinese history of that time, although admittedly they were located on the periphery and had characteristics which other Chinese regarded as barbarian contaminations.[30]

Both Eberhard's approach and mine can be used to clarify the understanding of Chinese history, I believe, because they allow for the survival of powerful landed families and the evolution out of them of Eberhard's "gentry" class, and at the same time for the perpetuation of many practices of feudal origin, of which one of the most important was the power of the gentry to exact from the peasants not only rent but unpaid services. Moreover, Eberhard's approach, though he does not make the distinction that I do between a first phase and a second phase, certainly does not deny the possibility of such a distinction, which makes it possible, in my view, to establish a graduation of historical periods from the "classical" to the later "frontier" feudalism; or, one might say, from an "ancient" to a "medieval" feudalism.

At this point a consideration of geographical factors becomes essential, because the primary characteristic of the northern frontier of China is that for so many centuries it was based on the geographical limits beyond which the Chinese could not extend their complex of economic practices and social institutions: intensive cultivation, a relatively dense population per square mile, and the multiplication of "cellular" units[31] of walled cities and their surrounding countryside. While all of the territory beyond these limits was impermeable to the extension of the Chinese complex, however, it was not uniform in itself. It varied from the oases of Turkistan, with their "intensive" irrigated agriculture and crowded

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equally good or stronger case could be made for describing them as feudally allocated territories similar in a general way to Father Schram's Monguor T'u-ssu territories. For Wittfogel, however, as a deviant Marxist, any recognition of true feudalism in such relationships, or the use of "feudal" terminology, is an indication of Stalinist Marxism. In short, Eberhard's tendency is to use new terms if the observed facts do not appear to conform to established categories; Wittfogel's tendency is to create a theoretical framework and a terminology to go with it, and to adapt the facts to the framework.

[30] Lattimore, *Inner Asian frontiers*, as cited, 306–308 and map, 254.

[31] See Owen Lattimore, The new political geography of Inner Asia. *Geographical Jour.* 119: 23. London, March, 1953, and the references there to *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, as cited, 56 and 39–40.

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cities, but lack of a size making possible the creation of great states, to the open grasslands with their more "extensive" herding economy, the more desert steppe and the uplands of Tibet, with their still more widely scattered units of camps and herds, and the forests of Urianghai (Tannu-Tuva), the fringes of Siberia adjoining Mongolia, and northern and eastern Manchuria, with the most "extensive" economy of all, that of forest hunters (including reindeer users) who in order not to kill out the game had to live in such small units, so far apart, that powerful tribal organizations were not possible.

It is easy, in discussing the relationship of environment to society, to speak of what the environment "permits," or "encourages," or "forbids," and thus to suggest that nature is active in moulding human society; but it is important, in analyzing relations between Chinese and barbarians, to stick to the fact that nature is passive and that the active factor is man, through the social organizations and economic practices that he elaborates. A Chinese could become a herdsman if he wanted to, or in some cases if he had to; but he could remain a member of the increasingly specialized Chinese agricultural and urban culture only if he remained within the geographical zone in which that culture profited by practicing intensive agriculture (irrigated agriculture wherever possible) and densely populated cities. If members of that society moved too far north into a zone where there was no water for irrigation, where only rainfall agriculture could be practiced (with the additional hazard of variable yearly precipitation), and where in order to live safely on the lower yield per acre the population had to scatter out more widely, with the cities much farther apart from each other, the very texture of their culture and society became thinner, weaker, and less "typically Chinese." A little farther out, and the terrain and climate became such that a society organized on the economic principle of pasturing livestock and the social principle of tribal association could enjoy in it both more economic prosperity and more military security than a thinned-out Chinese farming society.[32]

Eberhard, in his work on *Conquerors and rulers*, which has here been so often cited because it offers so many good points of departure for the kind of analysis here being attempted, discusses on pp. 69–71 three main types of social structure among the northern frontier nomads.

[32] Though we think normally in terms of "evolution" from extensive pastoralism to intensive agriculture, Father Schram shows that in a marginal society like that of the Monguors "devolution" could alternate with "evolution." When the change was advantageous, not only Tibetans who were more pastoral than the Monguors but Chinese who were more agricultural than the Monguors could be absorbed into a Monguor clan. He also shows how a Monguor family, if it chose to move out into the Tibetan zone and herd livestock in the Tibetan manner, could within one generation be speaking Tibetan, dressing like Tibetans and passing as Tibetans among its neighbors. It should be added that among Mongols of this general region, as well as Monguors, there has been a marked tendency toward "Tibetanization" in the past half-century.

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With the due warning that "if ethnical names are assigned to these types, this is a generalization as correct and as incorrect as every generalization is," he lists them as:

> The Tibetan, with sheep-breeding, a high-altitude horse that loses some of its military value when brought down to lower altitudes and consequently with a considerable reliance on foot soldiers instead of cavalry in war; organized in small groups with weak leadership; temporary war chiefs whose authority ends when the emergency is over.
>
> The Mongol, with cattle as the most important livestock, but with sheep, camels, and horses, and with a stronger tribal organization than the Tibetans, including hereditary chiefs.
>
> The Turkish, with horses as the most important (though again not the exclusive) livestock, and with a stratified tribal system of "leader-tribe," "ordinary tribes," and "slave-tribes."

Eberhard does not list the Tungus-Manchu forest-hunters as a separate category.

It is attractive to make such classifications but they are not, I believe, adequate to provide a framework for the known historical phenomena. The Turks, for example, range from irrigated oasis farming through pastoral nomadism to the forest hunters and reindeer herders of Urianghai and on to the sub-Arctic Yakuts. In Tibet there are not only pastoral Tibetans and high-valley agricultural Tibetans; there is also, historically, a constant interplay, with Tibetans being incorporated into Monguor clans and Monguors and other Mongols being assimilated to pastoral Tibetans, as Father Schram shows. In Mongolia, the social stratification of overlord tribe or tribes, subordinate tribes, and subject or "slave" tribes can be historically identified; this kind of stratification is not a peculiarity of the Turks.

A better method of classifying tribes is probably by a combination of geographical region and historical period.

A society of pastoral nomads profits most from sheep, goats, cattle, yaks, horses, or camels, or various percentage combinations of these different kinds of livestock not only according to region but according to historical period or phase. The regional factors include kind of pasture,[33] winter cold, water supply and periods of water shortage, altitude and distance between good winter quarters and pastures for the other seasons. Over the whole range of Inner Asia there is no doubt whatever that the sheep, economically, is the most important animal, though its percentage combination with other animals varies.[34]

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[33] Pavel Maslov, *Konets Uryankhaya*, 46, Moscow, State Publishers, 1933, states that in the steppe area of Urianghai (which resembles the neighboring regions of northwest Mongolia and Sinkiang), a count of forage grasses shows 56 eaten by cattle, 82 by horses, and no less than 570 by sheep.

[34] This one animal provides the nomad with food (not only meat but milk); housing (felted wool as a tent covering); clothing (the sheepskin with the wool on it); fuel (where sheep are penned for the night the dung is trampled hard, and when deep enough is dug out in blocks, dried, and burned); and trading

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These regional factors, however, never operate in economic isolation. A great deal depends on factors of the historical period, such as war, peace, trade, or subsidies to the nomad chieftains (or some of them) from the Chinese Empire. The operation of these other factors may so distort the "natural" regional picture that more than the "natural" number of horses may be kept for war; or sheep, for the market in China; or camels, for the caravan trade; or agriculture may be established far out in the steppe, where water is available but where agriculture would not flourish under the ordinary conditions of the play of the market, but has flourished in more than one historical period when the local nomad ruler has established relations with China that encourage him to build a little city and try to indulge himself with the luxuries of settled civilization while continuing to rule his nomad warriors in such a manner as to ensure that the subsidy from China will not be withdrawn.

These variations are governed by the working out of the two alternative forms of what may be called "frontier feudalism"—one issuing from a barbarian conquest of China, or of parts of North China, and the other from a Chinese consolidation within China, the expulsion of the barbarians, the reaffirmation of Chinese control of the frontier and the employment of groups of nomads for the defense of the frontier against other nomads. Whether the "invading" form or the "defending" form should be treated first is a matter of more or less arbitrary choice; but in this case let us follow the order of Monguor history, since we can trace the origin of the Monguors as far back as the Mongol conquest of China.

The essential unit of the pastoral nomad tribe is the clan of blood-kinship.[35] Such clans, herding their live-

commodities (the live sheep, wool, hides, intestines). See Owen Lattimore, The eclipse of Inner Mongolian nationalism, *Jour. Roy. Central Asian Soc.* 23: 421–422, London 1936. There are different Inner Asian breeds of sheep, with special qualities, as noted by Eberhard, *op. cit.*, 69. See also R. W. Phillips, R. G. Johnson, and R. T. Moyer, *The livestock of China*, Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1945. Also Matthias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, Vienna, Herold, 1949, who notes (84–101) five breeds of sheep in the Amdo region of Tibet alone. Constructive criticism of this valuable but at times tendentious book is to be found in: F. Kussmaul, Frühe Nomadenkulturen in Innerasien, *Tribus*, 1952–53: 305–360, Stuttgart, Museum für Länder- und Völkerkunde.

[35] B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi stroi Mongolov: mongol'skii kochevoi feodalizm*, Leningrad, Acad. of Sciences, 1934. There is now available a French translation: B. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols: le féodalisme nomade*, trans. Michel Carsow, Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1948. See, at this point, the discussion of the clan, pp. 56–73. Vladimirtsov's work is of great value, but must be used with caution. He was primarily a philologist rather than a sociologist or historian. He did not use Chinese sources, and hence one of his weaknesses is that he did not fully understand the interaction of Chinese and Mongol history. Moreover, as a pre-Communist scholar who continued to work under the Soviet régime, he attempted here and there "materialistic" and "class-conflict" interpretations which on the one hand make it difficult to tell how he would have presented the same material

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000 stock, did not wander hap-hazardly. They laid claim to definite pastures and to the control of routes of migration between these pastures. War was a normal concomitant of their pastoral life. There was a categorical difference between war among nomads and wars of nomads against settled peoples. The horse, which gave the nomad his strategic mobility, was a part of his normal economy. The bow, his chief weapon, was also in constant use for hunting. Collective hunts, or drives for game, were at the same time an exercise in cavalry maneuvers. Moreover, both his dwelling, the tent, and his livestock property were mobile. Women, children, and cattle could be moved out of the way of attack, or could retreat with the warriors after a defeat.

For the land-fast peasant, on the other hand, war was not a concomitant of normal life, but a destructive alternative to it. Weapons and logistic transportation were a drain on the normal economy. His village and his harvest were fixed targets that could not be moved out of the way of attack. If, with his wife and children, he fled from attack, he was destitute.

Hence, from the time that a Chinese frontier existed to be raided—and our chronicle materials for this condition of frontier war go back several centuries before Christ—any prolonged warfare on the frontier tended to make the frontier nomads militarily stronger and economically richer year by year, and the frontier Chinese militarily weaker and economically poorer.[36]

War among nomads, therefore, tended to become a process in which strong leaders eliminated weaker leaders and gathered larger tribes under their rule. The most valuable prize of this kind of warfare was the ability to lead strong tribal leagues against the oases of Inner Asia, or on plundering expeditions into China, or to the conquest of China, or parts of China, and the imposition of a regular tribute.

In the first or tribal phase of warfare the building of larger tribes made necessary the extension of the principle of blood-kinship by various devices. One of these was the principle of adoption, one form of which was "sworn brotherhood," or *anda*,[37] in which each man acquired status in the other's clan by acknowledging his ancestors.[38] Another was the institution of *unagan*

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if he had not been working under a Communist régime and on the other hand are clearly such amateur Marxism that they cannot be taken as authoritative expositions of official Soviet ideology.

[36] This excludes an earlier period in which the Chinese, by occupying land amenable to their agricultural practices, prospered by their wars against the barbarians. See Lattimore, *Inner Asian frontiers*, as cited, 344–349.

[37] See Vladimirtsov, as cited, 76.

[38] Probably an early form of this relationship is the institution under which, as between clans, tribes, or even peoples of different language and custom, who at times are hostile to each other and at other times trade with each other, a man acquires a "sponsor" in a clan that is not his own. When he goes to that clan to trade, his sponsor guarantees him against being plundered or killed, and this protection is reciprocal. Father Schram mentions this institution as between Monguors and Tibetans. Robert B. Ekvall describes it as between Tibetans and traders in his

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600 *bogol*, or collective subjection of a clan to another clan, which was not ordinary slavery, although the word *bogol* means "slave," because the unagan bogol retained their own clans and could hold property. The essence of the relationship was that they had to defend the interests of the overlord clan *as if* they were blood kin[39] which recalls Father Schram's extraordinarily clear and interesting analysis of the fictitious clan-kinship of the subject families in a Monguor clan.

While such institutions as these were artificial extensions of the kinship clan another institution, that of the *nukur* was disruptive of the clan structure and made easier the transition to feudalism. The root meaning of the word appears to be "other" -*alter*, as in *alter ego*, "companion," "friend," in this sense recalling one of the meanings of the Greek ξένος. The *nukur* was one who declared himself the follower of someone else, thus in effect avowing a relationship stronger than his own blood-loyalty to his own clan.[40] This relationship has been interestingly discussed by Yushkov in an essay on the comparabilities (or "contemporaneities," in the sense that Toynbee gives to the word "contemporaneous" in his *Study of History*[41]), between the realm of Kiev in the ninth and tenth centuries, the Mongols just before the rise of Chingis at the end of the twelfth century, and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of the sixth to ninth centuries.[42] He discusses all of them as "barbarian" states

Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, as cited, and in several stories in his *Tibetan skylines*, New York, Farrar, Straus and Young, 1952. Clearly, this institution is analagous to that which the Greeks called ξένος, a word which means both "stranger" and "guest-friend." The Greek term, however, appears to overlap in meaning with the term for another Mongol institution, that of *nukur*, for which see below.

[39] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 80–81. Vladimirtsov does not discuss the etymology of *unagan*. J. E. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, 340, Kazan, 1844, has *unagan* "a colt," "son of a slave," "serf," "slave." Father Mostaert, in a personal communication, informs me that a distinction should be made between *unagan*, "colt," and *unagan* (older form, *unugan*), *bogol*, "a serf born of a serf," the derivation being from *una-*, "to drop (to the ground in being born)," hence "a serf from birth."

[40] For the principal references in Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, see 110 *sqq.*

[41] For a comparison of Yushkov, Toynbee, and others, see Lattimore, introduction to the 2nd ed. of *Inner Asian frontiers*, as cited, xlii–xliii.

[42] S. Yushkov, K voprosu o dofeodal'nom ("varvarskom") gosudarstve, in *Voprosy istorii* 7, 1946, Moscow. As it is difficult for the non-Soviet and non-Marxist student and reader to know exactly how authoritative a Soviet scholar is considered to be, it is worth noting that Professor Yushkov has the rank of "meritorious scientific worker," but that his analysis of the class structure of his "barbarian" state, in the article cited, is rejected by K. Basilevich, Opyt periodizatsii istorii SSSR feodal'nogo perioda, in *Voprosy istorii* 11: 70, 1949; also that while his book on the social and political structure and law of the Kiev state is conceded to be the work of one who has earned great merit, it and the rest of his work "evoke a whole series of serious objections. A series of the author's positions is mistaken," according to a review in *Voprosy istorii* 4: 132, 1950, by L. Cherepnin. He is accused of carelessness in working up and editing his material, with the result that his book teems with factual contradictions and mistakes (p. 136).

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in which clan structure and the economics of slave ownership were breaking down.

The *nukur* (pl. *nukud*) was not necessarily by origin a member of a ruling clan. He could be of a subject clan, or a slave, or a prisoner of war. What counted was that his personal devotion to his chosen leader superseded all ties of tribe, clan, or family. Several of the *nukud* of Chingis were appointed to high positions as generals or rulers of territories, and there can be no doubt that the institution provided an easy transition to a feudal holding of delegated territory. The institution is of great interest in comparing the origins of feudalism in Asia and Europe, for it not only recalls the Greek ξένος but in etymology and semantics is parallel to Russian *druzhinnik*, "companion-at-arms," "member of the *druzhina* or personal following" (root *drug*, "friend"; compare *drugoi*, "other"). Compare also Latin *comes*, "companion," from which derives the feudal title of "count." Undoubtedly the *huscarles* of Harold the Saxon at Hastings were analogous in function to the *druzhina* or *nukud*, for while they were his household warriors the "hus" or "house" implies a personal following independent of kinship obligation rather than a levy of kinsmen.

While artificial extension of kinship and substitution of personal devotion for kinship reveal a strain on the older structure of tribe and clan, they are not in themselves the same thing as feudalism. While the future conqueror fought tribal wars, he was still a tribal leader; it was when he conquered a settled land and attempted to set up a system of rule and the collection of tribute that feudalism began. Because of poor economic communications for the transport of goods in bulk, not only power and rule but the collection of tribute had then to be delegated, and equated with territorial jurisdictions.

The structure of rule in China after a barbarian conquest may be presented in simplified outline as follows:

1. Well within China, garrisons of the conquerors but maintenance in large measure of administration and revenue collection through Chinese mandarin-bureaucrats, of whom the most important were members of gentry families.

2. Along the line of cleavage between Chinese farmland and the pastoral steppe, reserve contingents of tribal forces. Here the tribesmen were supposed to keep up their pastoral life and warrior virtues; but their chiefs, being granted fiefs as personal domains in the adjacent Chinese farmland, began almost at once to convert themselves into feudal nobles.

3. Farther out, in the vast reaches of what are now Outer Mongolia and Jungaria or northern Sinkiang, the basic economy remained pastoral, and because of the difficulty of bulk transport was much less affected by trade, or by subsidies in goods, coming from China. Even here, however, the conqueror-Emperor granted to his most important followers fixed domains, and these potentates of the steppe imitated, as far as they could, the new luxury and prestige of those who, farther to the south, were living off the fat of China; where streams made irrigation possible, they imported farmers from China or the oases of Turkistan; they built palaces and imported artisans to build and decorate them, and to make luxury goods.

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600 As soon as this stratification was established, the long-range forces working toward a reversal of the process began to operate. Briefly, that part of the nomad people which had taken up posts in China became detached from the tribal "reservoir" which was the ultimate source of mobile military power. They thus became vulnerable on the one side to Chinese rebellions and on the other to defection of the still tribal part of the people; but while their rule lasted they, especially the emperor and court, had the most of wealth and privilege. The border noble, with a fief adjoining and often including agricultural land, became more feudal, and so, but to a lesser degree, did the outlying tribal chiefs.

When the imperial rule began to break down, chiefly through maladministration and the deflection of too much revenue to the private use of local officials and the surviving Chinese gentry families, with one foot in the civil service and the other in landed property, the three different strata of nomad origin were affected differently.

The garrisons, and the nobles within China who had virtually become Chinese gentry families were either killed in the internal wars that overthrew the dynasty, or remained in China as Chinese subjects of the new dynasty.

The border nobles, if by this time their agricultural and town interests had become stronger than their association with what remained of their tribal following, took service with the new dynasty as feudal nobles helping it to defend its frontier against the outlying nomads, as did the founders of the Monguor clan-chieftain lines. If they distrusted the strength and did not believe in the permanence of the new dynasty, they took those of the tribesmen or retainers of their domain who were still pastoral and withdrew into the farther outlying nomad territory; but in this case, as their following was usually relatively small, they had normally to adhere to one of the larger outlying tribal groups.

The outlying chiefs, deprived of subsidies from an emperor of their own people ruling over China, and no longer restrained by that emperor's authority to allot and take away tribal lands (which had approximated to an ability to create a mixture of tribalism and feudalism by allocating "tribal fiefs"), and to discriminate between great chiefs and lesser chiefs, reverted to the old cycle of tribal life and tribal warfare.

This reverse process, in which part of the nomad people relapsed from feudalism attached to an empire of conquest and reverted toward tribalism, has not been clarified by the Russian writers who have had in their hands the most detailed material on the economy and sociology of the Inner Asian peoples. Partly, no doubt, this is because those most learned in Turkish and Mongol sources, like Barthold and Vladimirtsov, did not also have command over the Chinese sources; and the Russians have not made up for this by teamwork among

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those working in the Altaic languages (and in Iranian) and those working in Chinese.

We turn now to the phase of frontier feudalism, and of Monguor history, associated with a strong empire in China that makes use of non-Chinese frontier feudatories for the defense of China against raids, or against attempts at a renewed conquest of China from the steppe. The first point to be noted is that nationalism of the modern kind is not involved. The feudal noble of Mongol origin, granted a fief to be held on condition of defending China against his kinsmen, the tribal Mongols, does not feel "a traitor to his people." Even in the famous lament of the last Mongol Emperor, Togon Temur, when he was driven out of China, there is not a trace of "Mongol nationalism." He laments the loss of his palace and his life of glory and luxury. He sorrows also for his faithful nobles and his "beloved people"; but what he is lamenting is his loss of rule through them—not their loss as a "nation." [43]

There is a temptation, it is true, to see in the Orkhon Turkish inscriptions of the eighth century a Turkish nationalism, especially an anti-Chinese nationalism; but taken as a whole what they really reflect is something that might be called "warriorism"—the Orkhon Turks must be valiant warriors, they must be true to their chiefs, they must not succumb to Chinese luxury and softness (a point to be discussed below). Moreover, as much glory is claimed by the chiefs of the Orkhon Turks for their victories over other Turks as for their victories over the Chinese; and these other Turks are not gathered in as part of a movement of national unification, but are ruthlessly subjected:

> To the south the Tabgach [Chinese] people were his enemy, to the north the people of the Tokuz Oguz of Baz Kagan were his enemy, the Kirghiz, the Kurykans, the Thirty Tatar [tribes], the Kitai [here not the Chinese but the Kitans, who some centuries later founded the Liao empire], and the Tataby all were his enemies; my father the Kagan . . . forty-seven times he went forth with his army and fought twenty battles. By the grace of Heaven he conquered tribal leagues from those who had tribal leagues and deposed the kagans of those having kagans; he compelled his enemies to peace, forcing those who had knees to bend the knee, and those who had heads to bow [the head].[44]

It would be a mistake, on the other hand, to assume that because there was no inclusive nationalism of the steppe people, or even of those who spoke one language, such as Turkish or Mongol, they were politically so naive that they did not understand the workings of Chinese frontier policy. The classical Chinese expression of this policy was *i i chih i*—"to use barbarians to

[43] Isaac Jacob Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses, verfasst von Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi der Ordus*, German translation, 137, St. Petersburg, 1829.

[44] The "greater inscription" in honor of Kül Tegin, 14 and 15. The most recent edition of these and other runic texts is: S. E. Malov, *Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoi pis'mennosti*, Moscow-Leningrad, Acad. of Sciences, 1951.

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000 control barbarians." We may turn again to the Orkhon inscriptions to show that this policy was understood in the depths of Inner Asia:

> Evil-minded people thus taught a part of the Turkish people, saying. Who lives far away, [to him the Tabgach, the Chinese] give inferior gifts; who lives near at hand, [to him] they give good gifts; with these words they thus taught thee. And ye, the people, not possessing wisdom, listened to their speech and, approaching close, perished in great numbers. O Turkish people, when thou goest to that country, thou standest upon the brink of destruction; but when thou, being in the land of Ötüken, sendest caravans, thou art altogether without grief; when thou remainest in the Ötüken wilderness thou canst live, creating thy ancient tribal league. . . .[45]

And again:

> . . . they [the Tabgach, the Chinese] caused younger and elder brothers to quarrel, and armed against each other the people and their rulers—the Turkish people brought to ruin its existing tribal league and brought destruction upon the kagan that ruled it; to the Tabgach people they became slaves, they and their strong male issue; they became slaves, they and their chaste female issue. The Turkish rulers laid aside their Turkish names and, accepting the titles of the rulers of the Tabgach people they submitted to the kagan of the Tabgach people.[46]

The principles of a frontier policy directed from within China were simple: to give each auxiliary fief-holder complete feudal power within his fief—including, as Father Schram shows in the case of the Monguors, not only the collection of revenue but the administering of justice, and going so far as to return to his jurisdiction any of his feudal subjects who attempted to leave his domain; to prevent unity by making favors uneven; and to see that those who adhered to the frontier received "better gifts" than outlying chiefs who were not under the control of the frontier system.

There were two inherent weaknesses in the policy. One was that a feudal defense of the frontier, sector by sector, was good enough to deal with small raids; but if, far out in Inner Asia, the "wars of elimination" among

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000 the tribes resulted in rolling up a really great tribal power, there was always the danger that the defenders of the frontier would go over to the attacker. This, in fact, was what happened when the Ming dynasty fell after a long period of internal turmoil. The Monguors (and a number of other non-Chinese frontier "auxiliaries") first held aside and then took up, under the new Manchu dynasty, the same function that had been theirs under the Ming dynasty.

The second weakness was that while an administration within China wanted its frontier fief-holders to be "feudal" in their devotion to the ruling dynasty, they wanted the people of each fief to remain barbarian nomads; because it was in the character of barbarian nomads that they could best furnish the hardy, nomad cavalry needed in campaigns against their own nomad kinsmen. This kind of dichotomy could not be sustained, as Father Schram's account shows; for what made it worth the while of a border chieftain to accept a feudal domain and status on the frontier was the prospect of greater, more "Chinese" ease and luxury than he could enjoy living in the manner of his tribal kinsmen out beyond the frontier. The history of the Monguors and the whole history of the frontier, including that of Inner Mongolia in recent years, shows that if the frontier feudal noble could collect more revenue from farming than from a pastoral economy, he never resisted either the conversion of his own subjects from herdsmen into farmers or the settlement of Chinese farmers in his domain. Only if the Chinese practices of farming could not master the soil and climate of such a domain did it remain pastoral.

These recurring cycles belong to a history that has now reached its end. The railroad and machine industry can achieve that economic integration which was beyond the reach of both agricultural China and pastoral Inner Asia. Father Schram lived in and looked upon an age that the West understood only imperfectly while it lasted, and that is now rapidly vanishing.

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THE LAND IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVE

131 The Province of Ch'inghai was established only in 1928. Until then, including the entire time during which
631 I lived there and made my field studies of the Monguors, the present Province of Ch'inghai constituted the Tibetan frontier district of the Province of Kansu. It was divided into seven sub-prefectures. This study is based on the old administrative organization and takes no account of several new sub-prefectures that have since been added. It should be noted that the structure of prefectures and sub-prefectures is that of the Chinese population. Large Tibetan and Mongol groups lived outside of this organization (Kukunor, Tsaidam), and to a large extent administered their own affairs, under

[45] The "lesser inscription" to Kül Tegin, 7 and 8, in Malov, as cited.

[46] The "greater inscription," 6 and 7, in Malov, as cited.

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131 the supervision of a governor, appointed by the Chinese
631 authorities, who bore the Manchu title of Amban.

THE COUNTRY

133 The mountainous region of Hsining [according to the great French explorer and geographer, Fernand Grenard] belongs to the range of the Nan-shan [southern mountains] whose passes have an average height of 12,900 feet, whose peaks are 14,700 feet high, and whose highest point reaches 18,000 feet. The range of the Nanshan is made up of seven almost parallel stretches of mountains running in an east-west direction, becoming lower and lower toward the eastern end.

The Nanshan range is covered by several feet of loess; the mountain slopes are overspread with pebbles, stone debris, and red deposits of the Gobi, reaching to an altitude of 1500 feet. Between the seven mountain ranges, valleys form several vast corridors, several miles wide; in the

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MAP 1

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133 central parts, where the soil flattens out, pebbles, sand, dunes, pastures, and swamps appear.[1]

133 Two major tributaries of the Yellow River, the
311 Hsining and the Ta-t'ung run through the northern part of the Nanshan from northwest to east. It is in the region of these two rivers, and the northern part of the Yellow River, that the Monguors live. The country is one that is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, the mountains not being too high, while the valleys and some extensive plains afford excellent pasture, favored by a suitable rainfall. Most of the plains and the
134 largest of the valleys have, however, been opened to
133 cultivation. The larger valleys and plains, buried several
241 feet deep in loess which has been washed down from the mountains, assure good harvests year after year if crops are rotated, if streams are available for irrigation, and

[1] Fernand Grenard, "Haute Asie," in *Géographie Universelle* 7, 361, Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1929.

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134 1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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133 if the Chinese system of fertilization with human manure is used. The western part of the region is colder than

[132] the eastern part, being higher and more exposed to northwestern winds, but in spite of the small climatic difference, spelt wheat, a small amount of millet, and large crops of linseed and colza are grown nearly everywhere. On the colder, western side, the earth has to be "warmed" by plowing and cultivation; when new fields are opened to agriculture, various kinds of crops have to be grown for the first seven years; only then does the earth become warm enough to grow wheat.

137 The northern slopes of the highest mountains are covered in many places with a fair growth of timber, principally spruce, and brush; poplars, willows, and sometimes birch are plentiful in the lower valleys. The

311 economic life of the country during the period covered by this study was principally agricultural and only secondarily pastoral, although pastoralism prevails in the highest, coldest, part of the country.

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1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

000 the highest, coldest, part of the country. Coal was
316 exploited and mined in a primitive way in one of the valleys north of Hsining and near the junction of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers. According to the local *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 20*a*), iron was exploited during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644); but the deposits must have been exhausted, because during the period of my stay iron was carried all the way from the Province of Szech'uan on donkeys and mules.

In the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, and some of their small tributaries, gold was panned at irregular intervals; south of the Hsining River and in the upper reaches of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, thirty-one auriferous placers were regularly exploited, mostly by Muslims.

487 The system of communications was primitive. Ox
492 carts could travel on the roads near the larger towns and villages, but most transportation depended on pack-
505 animals, including donkeys, mules, and horses. It was only subsequent to the period covered by this study that a highway was built connecting Lanchou, the capital of the Province of Kansu, with Hsining, the capital of Ch'inghai. The Hsining River was, therefore, the biggest transport asset of the country. From the Hsining River to the Yellow River, which flows by the city of Lanchou, cargoes of grain, wool, skins, vegetable oils, and alcohol were carried on rafts made either of wood or of inflated ox skins as far as the city of Paot'ou, in the Province of Suiyüan, where they were unloaded
[463] and carried on by rail to the seaport of Tientsin. Most
[563] of this transportation business was in the hands of Chinese Muslims.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 In the oldest Chinese historical references, the country between the Tat'ung, Hsining, and Yellow Rivers was called Huang Chung and was inhabited by tribes called Ch'iang. The Chinese ideograph for this name indicated that it had the meaning "herders of sheep." The name is one that has never disappeared from Chinese usage in referring to the peoples of the edge of the Tibetan plateau; it is in use to this day. In 202 B.C. the Hsiao Yuehchih, who were probably speakers of an eastern Iranian, Indo-European language, fled from the Hsiung-nu, the principal tribe of the northern Chinese frontier, settled among the Ch'iang tribes, and were absorbed by them.

In 116 B.C. Ho Ch'ü-ping, one of the most famous frontier commanders in Chinese history, came to Huang Chung and founded the first Chinese colonies among the Ch'iang tribes. In A.D. 4 more Chinese colonies were established in the region of Kukunor, but were lost after a few years. This was, in fact, a precarious frontier. For three hundred and sixty years the frontier colonies were often in danger of annihilation, being subject to frequent tribal attack and without support from China proper, because the Later Han dynasty of the first and second centuries A.D. was troubled with chronic dynastic

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175 crises and revolts. During the anarchic period of the Three Kingdoms of the third century A.D., during which the population of China was reduced by something like three-fifths, no aid and support were available from within China, and the frontier colonies were overwhelmed.

The next period, from 265 to 589, also was a time of troubles. Different parts of North China were invaded and conquered by different nomad tribes. To some extent the invaders were absorbed by the Chinese; but to some extent also the northern Chinese were "barbarized." The main Chinese cultural area became the country south of the Yangtze.

Northern Kansu was at the same time turned upside down by nomadic tribes. Sienpi [2] tribes from northern China settled in the beginning of the second century A.D. in the region between Kueite and the Gobi, between the upper reaches of the Wei and Yellow Rivers. They fixed their capital near Lanchou, and their kingdom was called Hsi Ch'in (Western Ch'in). Lu Kuang, of Tangut origin, created at Liangchou a kingdom of Hou Liang (Later Liang). T'ufa tribes, a branch of the Sienpi, established the kingdom of Nan Liang (Southern Liang) between Hsining and Lanchou. Menghsün tribes, a branch of the Hsiungnu, founded a Pei Liang (Northern Liang) kingdom between Liangchou and Suchou (Hsüchou). Li Kao, a Chinese of western origin, created a kingdom of Hsi Liang (Western Liang) between Anhsi and Tunhuang. All of these kingdoms either annihilated each other or were eventually subjected to the Chin dynasty (Western and Eastern Chin, 265–419) or the Toba Wei dynasty (386–534). Parallel with these events, part of the border region of Hsining and Kukunor was occupied from 280 to 673 by a frontier state founded by Tuyühun tribes, also of Sienpi origin.

The next period of unification in China began under the Sui dynasty of 589–620, under which Chinese colonies were again established in Huang Chung and Kukunor in order to hold back the incursions of the Tibetans. The next dynasty, that of the T'ang, from 618 to 906, was even stronger; but even the T'ang

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[2] The data in this paragraph are based on O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches* 2: 111–114. Leipzig, de Gruyter, 1936. In 3: 250, 1937 of the same work, citing B. Laufer, article in *T'oung Pao*, 2nd ser. 9: 449, n. 3, 1908. Franke has the following to say on the ethnic composition of these tribes: "Laufer hat zweifellos Recht, wenn er meint, dass 'sicher türkische und tungusische Stämme und jedenfalls auch ein alteinheimisches Element (?) zur Bildung der Mongolen beigetragen haben.' Was hat es unter solchen Umständen für eine Bedeutung, wenn man die Sien-pi für 'Mongolen' erklärt, auch wenn zur T'ang-Zeit der Name Meng-wu als Bezeichnung eines Stammes der Schi-wei vorkommt und die Schi-wei—was ganz unsicher is—die Nachkommen der Sien-pi sein sollten? Dass aus ihnen, wie aus den Wu-huan, Hiung-nu, den K'iang und vielen anderen Völkern die 'Mongolen' der späteren Zeit zusammengesetzt worden sind, kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, aber irgend welche Bedeutung für die alten etnischen Verhältnisse hat dies nicht."

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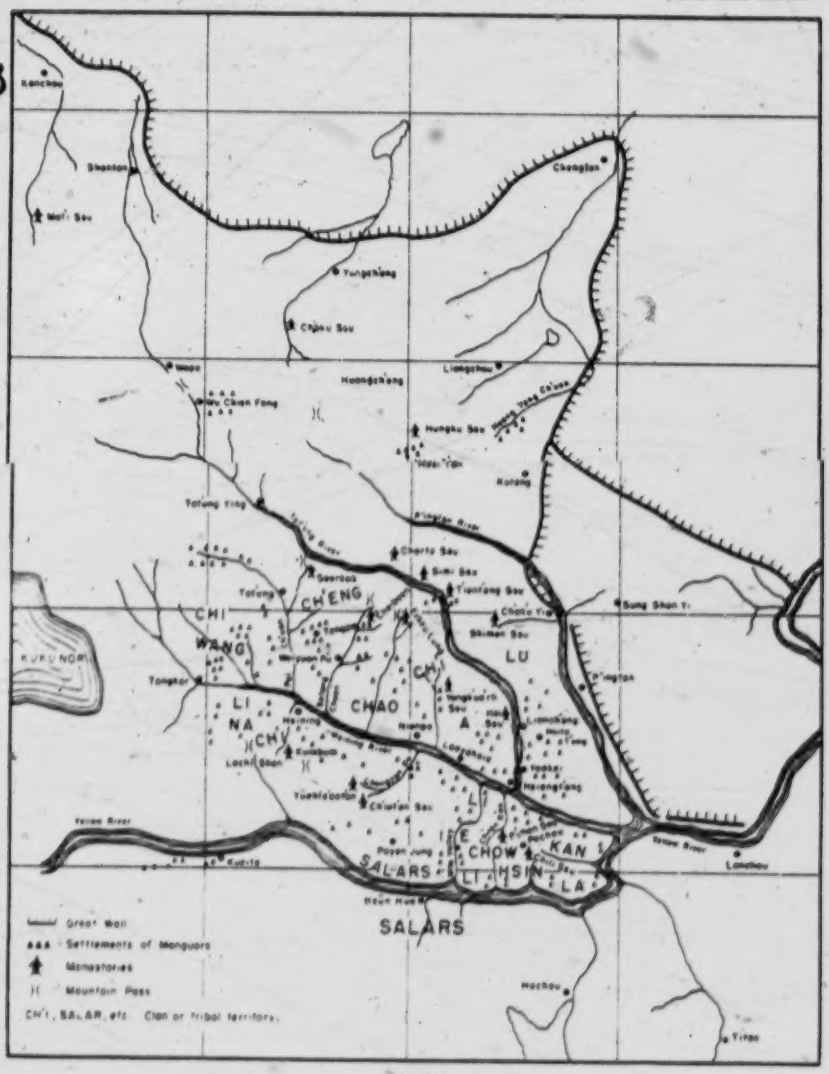

MAP 2

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1: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

dynasty could not completely check the Tibetans, who were referred to in the Chinese annals of this period as T'ufan. In 672 the T'ufan defeated the T'uyühun and began to dominate this part of the Chinese frontier. They were eventually defeated in 866 not by the T'ang Chinese but by the Uighur tribes, Turkish people of Central Asia, who settled in Huang Chung and offered a nominal allegiance to China. The next period, that of the Five Dynasties from 907 to 960, was again a time of troubles and disunity in China. The Shat'o clans which are one of the components of the Monguor people of today claim their descent from the Shat'o tribes which sought refuge in China in 808 and later founded the dynasties of the Hou T'ang or Later T'ang (923–936) and Hou Chin or later Chin (936–947). During the next period, from 960 to 1280, China south of the Yangtze was ruled by the Sung dynasty; but though culturally this was one of the greatest periods in China, the Sung dynasty lost control of North China to successive barbarian invaders. Northwest China and the modern provinces of Kansu and Ningshia, together with the Ordos region, were dominated by the Chin and by a people of Tibetan origin referred to in the Chinese annals as Hsi Hsia (Western Hsia) or Tanghsiang. (The Northern Tibetans are still referred to by the Mongols as Tangud or Tangot, a plural of "Tang.") In the course of the great Mongol conquests of the thirteenth century, the Tangud of Huang Chung were defeated and driven back into Tibet. The ancient frontier region of Huang Chung was depopulated, and to replace those who had fled a number of Mongol commanders and their followers were moved into the region. Their descendants constitute the majority group within the present Monguor people.

The Mongol dynasty, overthrown by the revolt of its Chinese subjects, was replaced by the Ming dynasty (1386–1644) which renewed once more the process of establishing Chinese military frontier colonies in Huang Chung; but recurring inroads of both Tibetan and Mongol tribes kept the Ming frontier power in this region weak. The frontier was not stabilized again until after the Manchu conquest, under the Ch'ing dynasty of 1644–1911. It was in the long period of stable rule under the Ch'ing dynasty that spreading agriculture and increasing trade began first definitely to change the lives of the originally nomadic Monguor people and then to submerge them in a flood of Chinese acculturation.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTRY

[161] From 1911 to 1922, when I lived in this region, the city of Hsifing, with a Chinese population of about 60,000 inhabitants, was the seat of a Chinese civil administrator who had authority over the Chinese of the city and the region. Law and order were assured by a local army commanded by a Chinese Muslim general. The formerly turbulent Mongol and Tibetan tribes of

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 the region came under the jurisdiction of an official with the Manchu title of Amban.

According to the *Annals of Hsining*, ch. 16, pp. 12 *a* and *b*, the tribal jurisdiction of the Amban derived from a meeting that had been held in 1732 between the provinces of Szech'uan and Shen-Kan (or "Shensi and Kansu," but embracing the territories not only of the present provinces of Shensi and Kansu but of the later-established provinces of Ningshia and Ch'inghai as well). At this meeting each tribe was assigned a fixed territory for the first time in history. The tribes allocated to the Amban of Hsining included twenty-eight banners of the Mongols of Kukunor and one banner of Mongols located in Tibet proper; the Tibetan tribes of the Kukunor frontier were reorganized at that time and for that purpose into eight major tribal groups; twenty-five Tibetan tribes of the frontier district of Yüshu, each under a chief with the title of T'u-ssu; and the very independent and warlike Tibetan tribe of the Ngoloks. By 1918, when a census was taken, the eight major Tibetan tribal groups just mentioned were reported to number 8,443 families, totaling 39,390 people.[2a]

The territory inhabited by a settled farming population was divided into the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining, Nienpei, Tat'ung, Kueite, Donkir, Payenjung, and Hsünhua. The fields around the cities and big villages were tilled by Chinese, but in outlying districts Tibetans and Monguors were to be met, wearing their distinctive, non-Chinese costumes and speaking their own languages. On the southern, western, and northern fringes of the land settled by Chinese were sedentary Tibetans who farmed and also raised sheep and cattle. In enclaves within the Chinese population lived the Monguors, in well-defined valleys where there was little Chinese population. Scattered here and there were villages of Chinese-speaking Muslims. On the southern edge of the district lived the Turkish-speaking Salar Muslims.

TIBETANS

563 From the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, pp. 11–20, the names of sixty-six Tibetan tribes can be counted, and in addition the names of fifty-two villages inhabited by Tibetans in the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining. These village Tibetans were called by the Chinese "tame" in contrast with the "wild" nomad Tibetans in the Kukunor frontier district. According to the *Annals*, the village Tibetans numbered 10,683 families, totaling 42,732 people. The exact average of four persons per family suggests that these figures are more schematic than accurate. The large number of tribes given for the "tame" Tibetans can be taken only as a general guide. It is characteristic of Tibetan tribes that they very easily subdivide into new tribes, and often a group of no more than ten or twenty families will call itself a tribe. The tribal Tibetans close

[2a] Yao Ming-hui, *Yüshu tiaoch'a chi* 1, 1–24, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1920.

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

563 to Hsining are the remnants of the once much more powerful tribes that withdrew at the beginning of the Mongol dynasty to the Kukunor region. Those who stayed behind submitted to the jurisdiction of the officials of the settled districts. There is little cohesion among them. Those who call themselves a tribe are rarely under the control of a single chief. Tribal matters are more usually disposed of by the elders of the group. The religion of all these Tibetans is Lama Buddhism. The prevailing sect is that of the Yellow Hats or reformed sect, but in the southern districts there is a fairly strong survival of the older Red Hat sect. Shamanism also continues to flourish among the Tibetans, in spite of Buddhism; their shamans are reputed to be the most powerful in the country. There are a few Tibetans living near Hsünhua who have become Muslims.

MONGUORS

563 175 618 In the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining there were then living sixteen clans of Monguors, to which should be added the Liench'eng clan, living in the territory of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. The word "clan" has been used in many senses in the literature of the social sciences. It is here used in a special sense, and for lack of a more precise term, to describe a group of people ruled by the same chief, all people born into the clan bearing the same surname as the chief of the clan and living on territory belonging to the chief. The Monguor clans (excepting the Shat'o groups) trace their presence in the Hsining district as far back as the period of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty (1260–1368). On the overthrow of this dynasty they submitted to the Ming dynasty. A fixed territory was then assigned to the chief of each clan. The Tibetans of the Hsining district were assigned territories in the same way at the same time. While the Tibetans were subject to the direct administration of the Chinese sub-prefecture officials, however, the Monguors, in spite of the fact that their territories formed enclaves within the sub-prefectures, were directly administered by their own clan chiefs under a peculiar kind of local autonomy.

MUSLIMS

563 The Hsining district is also an important Muslim stronghold. There are three Muslim groups, of which two still speak a Turkish dialect while one speaks Chinese. According to their own tradition, the Chinese-speaking Muslims are of Turkish origin, but while clinging to their religion they have adopted the Chinese language and many Chinese customs. From the Chinese point of view, however, they remain foreigners and barbarians, and there is cordial mutual dislike between Chinese and Chinese-speaking Muslims. In the Chinese *Annals* I have not been able to find any reference to the date of their earliest settlement in this region, although according to popular tradition they arrived either during

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

563 the T'ang dynasty (618–906) or the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368).

The presence of Muslims in the Hsining district under the Yuan dynasty is however evidenced by two passages in the *Annals*. One of the sixteen Monguor clans, the small clan of Yeh, is described as being of Ch'ant'ou origin, and Muslim by religion. The term Ch'ant'ou, meaning "those who wear a turban on the head," is commonly applied to central Asian Turkish Muslims. Since this clan submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 at the same time as the other Monguor clans, it must have been settled in the country under the preceding Yuan or Mongol dynasty. (Provincial *Annals*, ch. 42, p. 52.) It is also stated in the same *Annals* (ch. 42, p. 43) that the Salars also submitted to the Ming in 1371, when two of their chiefs were granted the rank of T'u-ssu. According to popular tradition they came to China from Samarkand under the T'ang dynasty. The *Annals* give no evidence for or against this tradition, but show that they were at least living in China at the end of the Yuan dynasty.[26]

The religious fanaticism of the Muslims has been their strength and their weakness.[27] It has enabled them to hold their own against the Chinese, but rivalry between sects has prevented complete cohesion. One sect, commonly known as the Old Religion, belongs to the Hanefite school; that is to say, it bases its religious doctrines on the Koran and on the Sunna or tradition. The other sect, known as the New Religion, is divided into a number of subsects and derives from the schools of the Shias and the Sufis. This sect holds that religious leaders are invested by God with special "grace"; this grace can be passed on to their sons who succeed them as religious chiefs. Owing to this belief, the sect is always exposed to the danger of further subdivision through the appearance of new claimants to religious leadership who declare themselves to be endowed with "grace." Owing to its belief in this kind of religious inspiration, the sect is marked by its devotion to the cult of saints and their tombs.

The Chinese-speaking Muslims are to be found in the cities and in villages to the west, south, and north of Hsining. Occasionally a few Chinese-speaking Muslims are to be found living in villages of the non-Muslim Chinese, but non-Muslim Chinese do not live in the villages of the Muslims. While the Muslims engage in agriculture, their most important and profitable activities

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[26] The following references to the Muslims of Northwest China are from *Moslem World*, New York: M. E. Botham, Islam in Kansu (**10**: 377–390, 1919); H. D. Hayward, The Kansu Moslems (**24**: 68–80, 1934) and Han and Hwei in the Kansu-Sinkiang marches (**26**: 62–67, 1936). See also G. F. Andrew, Islam in North-West-China today, *Jour. Roy. Central Asian Soc.*, London, **19**: 89–100, 1932.

[27] Kansu was disturbed by Muslim rebellions in 1648, 1781–1784, 1820–1828, 1862–1878, 1895–1897; a revolt broke out in 1909 but was suppressed by the Muslim chiefs themselves; between 1918 and 1921 the situation was very tense; the last revolt, 1928–1929, was headed by Ma Ch'ung-ying.

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563 are in the grain trade, and the buying and selling of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides, and lamb skins. 463 Their importance in the boat and raft trade on the Yellow River has already been noted; and many Muslims are innkeepers on the roads of Kansu. Even the astute Chinese respect them as formidable rivals in trade. There is a Chinese saying to the effect that "one Muslim asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," and another that "the food of the Muslims is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted." It is also said that "out of ten Muslims nine are thieves."

SALARS

563 The Salars live chiefly in two groups in the subprefectures of Hsünhua and Payenjung.[4a] The famous Chinese Muslim general, Ma Fu-hsiang, who enlisted many Salars in his troops, mentions the tradition that the Salars came to China as early as the T'ang dynasty, and describes them as having settled in their present homes under the Yuan or during the Ming dynasty. He divides them into two groups, the "inner five clans" (using for "clan" the Chinese word *kung*) and the "outer eight clans." The "outer" group, according to General Ma, is one that has lost its Turkish language and now speaks Tibetan. The Salars preserve their old customs and traditions by marrying only within their own groups.[4] I have often been told by Uighurs from Sinkiang who used to come to Hsining every winter to deal in Russian leather, boots, and cloth that they could not understand the dialect either of the Salars or the Turkish-descended Monguors of the Yeh clan.

The Salars are the most fanatical of all the Muslims and during the great Muslim revolts against the Chinese they have always been the fiercest and the most cruel warriors. General Ma Fu-hsiang carefully distinguishes the Salars from the Tibetans, from the groups of Mongol origin converted to Islam, and from the Tibetan-speaking group of Mongol origin which has also been converted to Islam. He himself belongs to the group of converts of Mongol descent. This group is called "San-t'a" by both Tibetans and Monguors.[5]

[4a] General references: R. B. Shaw, On the hill canton of Salar. The most easterly settlement of the Turki race, *Jour. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, London, **10**: 305–316, 1878; G. F. Andrew, Ancient Chinese Koran, *Moslem World*, New York, **24**: 84, 1934; C. D. Holton, Salars, *Friends of Moslems*, Hankow, **19**: 13, 1945. See also article "China" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* **1**: 839–854, Leyden, Brill, 1913–1934.

[4] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng-Tsang Chuang-k'uang* (General account of Mongolia and Tibet), 200, Nanking, Chunghua Publishers, 1936.

[5] According to A. De Smedt and A. Mostaert, *Le dialecte monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou occidental, IIIe partie, Dictionnaire monguor-français*, 324, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1933, "san-t'a" is probably from *sarta'ul*, "Musulman." See also P. Pelliot, in *T'oung Pao* **27**: n. 2, 1930: "*Sarta'ul*, nom mongol des Musulmans (surtout de ceux du Turkestan russe) au Moyen Age."

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175 We may now summarize the general history of this area. From 116 B.C. to A.D. 1280, military colonies were intermittently established in Hsining and the country was "officially" divided into sub-prefectures; these disappeared several times and their existence was always precarious, because of the inroads of nomadic tribes; in fact the population of the country appears to have changed many times. During the Mongol dynasty (1260–1368), the entire Hsining region was for the first time firmly annexed to China by the Mongol conquerors. The Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started off with an improvement in the organization of the country, following the Chinese pattern, but was not very successful in this undertaking because of inability to prevent inroads by nomads. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1911), benefiting by the experience of the Ming, succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighboring tribes of Kukunor, assigning definite territories to each of them, and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes, they were able to develop the country peacefully, stimulating both agriculture and commerce. Development of the country was dependent on control of the neighboring tribes.

II. THE MONGUORS

The origin of the Monguor clans, of the name "Monguor," and of the Monguor language has been a puzzle for both foreigners and local people. After presenting the enigma, I shall present some data about the name of the Monguors and the solution of the language problem. I shall then deal with the historical solution of the Monguor enigma, revealing successively the origin of the Monguor clans and the time of their first settlement in Kansu, the nature of this settlement and the distribution of the Monguor clans, population figures, and the expansion of the Monguors throughout the country.

THE MONGUORS AN ENIGMA TO FOREIGNERS

114 *Huc and Gabet*, in their famous journey to Lhasa (1844–1846), record their passage through the country of the Monguors of the Three Valleys (San-ch'uan), called Dschiahours by the Tibetans and T'u-jen by the Chinese. Their traveling companion, Samdadchiemba, was himself a Monguor, a subject of the T'u-ssu of the Ch'i clan of the Three Valleys. Huc and Gabet describe the people as appearing to be of "Tartar" origin and their language as seeming to be a mixture of Mongol, Chinese, and Tibetan.[1]

Prjevalski, who traveled in the region in 1873, calls the Monguors "Daldy," describes them as more like the

[1] Huc and Gabet, *Souvenir d'un voyage dans la Tartarie et le Tibet, 1844–1846*, 2: 36–37, Paris, edition of 1878.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

114 Muslims than the Chinese, and says that their language is a mixture of Mongol, Chinese, and unknown words.[2]

After his second journey in Kukunor and Tibet (1879–1880) he writes that the Daldy are called Karlun by the Tibetans and Tunschen by the Chinese and Mongols (p. 186); although he is convinced that the country of origin of the Daldy, like that of the Kirghiz, is the region of Samarkand, and that they are a mixture of the "Aryan" and "Mongol" races, but, having mingled with Chinese, the original type has disappeared; among the women, however, once in a while the genuine type is discernible (p. 188).

He notes also the legend told among the Mongols, that when Chinghis Khan ruled in the Ordos he rode so fast a horse that in twenty-four hours he could reach Kukunor for a hunting party. Once a high official accompanied Chinghis and when he saw the country of Hsining he enjoyed it so much that he settled there with his subjects and became the founding ancestor of the Daldy tribes (p. 187).

114 101 *Potanin*, who traveled in this region in 1884–1886, refers to the Monguors as "Shirongols." He says of them that they call themselves "Mongol" or "Chagan Mongol" (White Mongol) and that some of them call themselves "Chzhahor"[3] (p. 374). The Chinese call them T'u-jen and the Mongols of the plain give them the name of "Dalda" (Doldo), or "Dolon belite doldo," which means the "doldo with seven languages." Potanin says that he prefers to call them Shirongol, because that word is better for use in the Russian language. He had heard this name used in the Ordos by the conductor of his caravan, "Santan Dzhimba," who himself belonged to the T'u-jen group of Amdo. However, neither "Shirongol" nor "Dalda" is a name known by the Monguors themselves. Only Santan Dzhimba used the name "Shirongol," explaining "Shiro" as related to "Shoro," the Mongol word for "earth" or "soil." The neighboring Tanguts, according to Potanin, called the Monguors "Cha-hor": "Cha" meaning "Chinese" and "Hor" being the Tibetan name for the nomadic tribes of North Tibet. This term would therefore mean "Chinese Mongols." The Shirongols call the Tanguts "Tebe" ("Tubet" is the Mongol word for "Tibetan"); they call the Chinese Ch'itai (Kitat is the Mongol form), and the Mongols of the plain "Doro gadzoren Mongol"

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[2] Prjevalski, *Mongolie et le pays des Tanguutes*, 172–173, 1880; Prjevalski, *Reisen in Tibet*, 186–187–188, Jena, 1884. For the original passages in Russian, see: N. M. Prjeval'skii, *Mongoliya i strana Tangutov*, 199–200, Moscow, State Publishers, 1946; a reprint described as "slightly abridged," of the original St. Petersburg edition of 1875; the reprint edition has a commentary by E. M. Murzaev (see p. 315 for his notes on the "Daldy" or Monguor). The second reference is to: *Iz Zaisana cherez Khami v Tibet i na Tsarkhoz'ya Zheltoi reki*, also available in a "slightly abridged" edition (Moscow, State Publishers, 1948) of the St. Petersburg edition of 1883; see pp. 264–265 of the reprint edition.—O. L.

[3] This is the term rendered by Hue and Gabet as "Dschiahour" (see above). See also below, p. 23, n. 1.—O. L.

[p.24a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

114 101 (Mongols of the lower land) (p. 375). ("Santan Dzhimba" is, of course, Potanin's version of the famous "Samdadchiemba" who had previously accompanied Huc and Gabet.)

Potanin refers further to the opinion of Uspenski, who disproves the theory of Prjevalski concerning the "Daldy" or "Talat," and claims that the Daldy are the people called by the Chinese Huang Fan and who are the Shera-Uighurs. Potanin supposes that the Shirongols probably belong to the same stock as the Shera-Uighurs who live in the Nanshan range north of Kanchou and Suchou and are called Huang Fan or "Yellow barbarians" by the Chinese. He notes that according to the *Annals* of Suchou, the names of the Princes of the "Yellow Barbarians" are Mongol names, and raises the question whether the Shirongols or Monguors may not be simply a group of these Uighurs (Yellow Uighurs) who were first Mongolized and later strongly influenced by the Chinese culture (p. 382). Potanin notes a tradition which he himself heard several times and which was also heard by Prjevalski that the Shirongols came to the Tibetan frontier from the Ordos. In connection with the fact that they are sometimes called Daldy, or Talat, he cites from Prjevalski the fact that one of the Ordos banners is called Talat. Potanin also notes a tradition that the Shirongols were sent by Chingis Khan himself to take possession of the Tibetan frontier. On the question of the precise time of their arrival, Potanin draws attention to three migrations from the Ordos region to the Tibetan frontier. The first of these was in the fourth century A.D., when a large group of the Sienpi tribe of Eastern Mongolia passed through the Ordos and migrated as far as Northern Tibet. The second, according to the Mongol historian, Sagang Setsen, was in the thirteenth century, when Dorda and Godan, brothers of Kublai Khan, were ordered by their mother to migrate to Shera-tala (Yellow Plain) northwest of Hsining. (According to a communication from Father Mostaert, this story was not written by Sagang Setsen, but added by Schmidt, his translator.) The third migration was in the fifteenth century when a large group of Ölöt or western Mongols came to the Kukunor region from the north. He suggests that the Shirongols may be the result of the mingling of the descendants of these groups, or perhaps only of the two groups that migrated in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries (p. 280).

114 173

Potanin notes a tradition according to which the Shirongols had built a large realm, the capital of which was at Lanchou (capital of the province of Kansu); after three mighty emperors had governed the realm in succession it was destroyed by Ghesar (the mythical Tibetan hero). One of these emperors was Horbende. Potanin adds that in the Mongol chronicle *Altan Tobchi* (Russian translation, p. 196) it is said that: "Sain Altan Khagan destroyed the Sharegols of Amdo who lived between Tibet and Tangut" and he supposes that the

[p. 24b]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

114 Sharegols are the Shirongols, or that the Shirongols are their descendants (p. 375).

173 Potanin notes also another tradition that the founder of all the families of Monguor T'u-ssu, or chieftains, was Li, prince of Chin; according to this tradition the present T'u-ssu family of Li represents the direct line of descent, while the other T'u-ssu families are collateral descendants. Li, Prince of Chin (an ancient name for the northern part of what is now the Province of Shansi; a region frequently held by Turkish tribes during the early middle ages), was a high official at the court of one of the T'ang emperors. For misbehavior at an imperial dinner he was exiled to the region of Hsining. He brought Chinese to this region to develop agriculture, and built a city which became the capital of a powerful kingdom. According to some variants of the legend, the mythical Tibetan hero, Ghesar, destroyed the kingdom of the Shirongols, but according to other variants it was Li who was the founder of the Kingdom. The ancient grave of Li, Prince of Chin, is to be seen near Shandan (an old name for the city of Hsining). The stone slab set before the grave is reputed to have medicinal powers, for which reason people chip off pieces of the stone. Only about one-third of the stone still exists. Stones carved in the form of sheep are set out in rows before the grave (pp. 380–381).

114 Potanin goes on to state that there are many groups of the Shirongols, some of whom live in communities
177 of their own while others live in mixed communities. Among the Shirongols of San Ch'uan there are families of Tibetan and Chinese origin, while on the other hand some of the Shirongols have become Tibetanized. In the succession to the chieftainship, he says, the eldest son inherits, while his brothers sink into the rank of commoners. In some groups there is no chief, the people, after accusing the chief of imposing too heavy land taxes and feudal services, having become ordinary Chinese subjects. Potanin was not able to find out how many of the original eighteen groups of Shirongols still existed in his time. According to his information, the Shirongols were allowed to sell their fields to members of the same group, if they had the permission of their chief.[4]

000 *W. W. Rockhill* writes of the Monguors:

> In western Kan-su these Tu-jen alone use cave dwellings; such dwellings are found among all these people, and also, I have heard said, among the Tibetan tribes living west of Sung-p'an-t'ing. The question suggests itself whether these tribes did not teach the Chinese to make such dwellings and furthermore whether these people, these Tu-jen, are not of the same stock as the now extinct Man-tzu cave makers of western Sze-ch'uan (pp. 72–74). Their language is as I thought about eight-tenths Mongol.

[4] G. N. Potanin, *Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina Kitaya i tsentral'naya Mongoliya (The Tangut-Tibetan frontier of China and Central Mongolia)*, 1893 (in Russian). An abridged edition was published in 1950 (Moscow, State Publishers), and is the source which I have used here. The passages cited were kindly translated for me by F. J. Spriet, pp. 374, 380–384.

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

600 the residue being Tibetan, Chinese and to the best of my knowledge a heretofore unknown lingo, probably the original language of the Tu-jen of this part of the Empire (p. 106).[5]

114 In his *Land of the Lamas* the same author asserts that the Dschiahours of the Three Valleys encountered by
101 Huc and Gabet are White Mongols, whose early home was probably in the Ordos (p. 43). He quotes the *Huang Ch'ing Chih Kung T'u* (eighteenth century) as mentioning a number of Mongol tribes living in the southern portion of the Nienpei district in Sanch'uan. The same work mentions (5: 55) a tribe called Tungkou living in the same district whose chieftains bear the family name of Li and who descend from Li K'oyung, a Shat'o Turk and famous warrior of the T'ang period (p. 44). Rockhill also quotes from the dynastic history of the T'ang dynasty the tribal name Kolu, which he identifies with the Karluk Turks, northeast of the present Urumchi, in Sinkiang. These Kolu submitted to the Tibetans, and Rockhill believes that they may be the later "Tungkou," suggesting that *tung* is Chinese for "eastern," and *kou* a contraction of "Koulu," a variant of "Kolu" (p. 45).[6]

Among the more recent travelers, the region was visited by *W. Filchner* and *A. Tafel*. In 1906 Filchner published an account of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum, the value of the volume consisting chiefly in the photographic material.[7] Tafel, although he gives interesting data about the "T'u-ren," and mentions the legends of their T'uyühun, Shat'o, or Hsi Hsia origin (p. 248), mentions their submission to the Ming and notes that the Li T'u-ssu is the most outstanding among the T'u-ssu (p. 250), does not solve the problem.[8]

Comte de Lesdain, in his journey from China through the Ordos to Tibet and India, described the country as "inhabited by the old aborigines of Kansu province, who are the most authentic remainder of the primitive race from which the Chinese spring."[9]

P. K. Kozlow, who traveled in 1907–1909, wrote of the "Donger-wa" or "people of Donger," namely, the Monguors, that they might have originated as a mixed breed of Chinese and Tanguts, and that their language was closely akin to Mongol, but with an admixture of Chinese and Tangut words.[10]

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[5] W. W. Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet, 1891–1892*, 73–106, Washington, Smithsonian Instn., 1894.

[6] W. W. Rockhill, *The land of the lamas*, New York, 1891.

[7] W. Filchner, *Das Kloster Kumbum in Tibet*, Berlin, Mittler, 1906; also *Om mani padme hum; meine China- und Tibetexpedition 1925–28*, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1929.

[8] A. Tafel, *Meine Tibetreise*, Stuttgart, Union deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1914.

[9] *From Pekin to Sikkim through the Ordos, the Gobi desert, and Tibet*, New York, Dutton, 1908.

[10] P. K. Kozlow, *Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Charachoto*, 136, Berlin, Neufeld und Henius, 1925. The original Russian edition is: P. K. Kozlov, *Mongoliya i Amdo i mertvyi gorod Khara-Khoto*, Moscow-Petrograd, State Publishers, 1923, reprinted 1948.

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

114 101 *Reginald Farrer,* who was in the country in 1915, writes that "Here and there all over China occur these queer little outcrops of dying races from of old," and that the "Turan," or "Children of Earth," "pervade just this one small spot on the face of China, a curious race, wholly unlike the Chinese, the Mongols, the Tibetans and the Mohamedans, if only in the fact that they are very dark and very dense with curly black hair." [11]

Frederick Wulsin wrote of the Monguors that "Some have suggested that the T'u-run (speech) is very old Mongol and others that it is based on the Shat'o Turkish dialect. The present To-run might be descended from immigrants belonging to one or the other of these races. The information now at hand does not justify me in expressing an opinion." [12]

This last citation may be taken as an appropriate summing up of the fact that the Monguors have always been an enigma to foreign travelers.

THE MONGUORS AN ENIGMA TO THE LOCAL PEOPLE

101 173 The Monguors have, however, been as much an enigma to their Chinese neighbors as they have been to foreigners. The Chinese name T'u-jen means, as has already been explained, "autochthones" or "aborigines," and under the influence of this term the popular explanation of the Chinese of the region is that the Monguors are descendants of the first inhabitants of the country who built the oldest villages and cities, occupied the most fertile valleys, dug the irrigation canals and then were conquered and subjugated by the Chinese at some very early historical period.

Another Chinese tradition, however, is that the Monguors are of Mongol stock and settled in the region where they now live, during the Mongol dynasty, between 1260 and 1368. Still another tradition is that they are Mongols who were settled as garrisons in Yunnan Province, under the Mongol dynasty, but on the fall of that dynasty were moved to Hsining and settled there at the orders of the Ming dynasty. Yet another Chinese tradition is that the Monguors are all of Shat'o Turkish stock and arrived in the Hsining region during the T'ang dynasty (618–906); but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming dynasty. While living in the region, I also heard it said by learned Chinese who had won literary honors under the Manchu Empire that the Monguors were not a homogeneous people, but included descendants of the T'ulufan of Turkistan, remnants of the medieval T'uyühun (Sienpi) tribes, and even fragments of old Ch'iang (Tibetan) tribes. Such Chinese were prone to say in addition that the T'u-ssu or hereditary local chiefs were not of the same origin as any of their subjects, but that they 173

[11] Reginald Farrer, *The rainbow bridge*, 75, London, Arnold, 1921.

[12] Frederick Wulsin, Non-Chinese inhabitants of the province of Kan-su, China. *Amer. Jour. Physical Anthropol.* **8**: 316, 1925.

[P. 26a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

173 were all of Chinese extraction and did not understand the language of their subjects.

According to this tradition the founding ancestor of the Li line of T'u-ssu chiefs was not in fact of Shat'o extraction and not the son of Li K'o-yung, Prince of Chin, but a wealthy and prominent Chinese living in Hsining. At the time of the fall of the Mongol dynasty and the founding of the Ming dynasty, Tibetan tribes were making destructive forays along the Hsining frontier, and this Chinese named Li asked them to submit to the new dynasty. When they refused he went to Lanchow, asked for Chinese troops, and also called on the Monguors of the region to lend a hand in crushing the turbulent Tibetans. The marauders were defeated and fled to the Tsaidam marshes and other parts of the Tibetan plateau, the Monguors and all the other frontier people were grateful to Li for saving their lives and their wealth, and he was rewarded by the Emperor with the office of T'u-ssu and chieftainship over the Monguors.

As against this semi-literary tradition, however, both Monguors and Chinese of the valley of Shat'ang, northeast of Hsining, maintain that the Li T'u-ssu line is in fact descended from the Shat'o prince of Chin and as proof they claim that the Shat'ang valley was formerly called the Shat'o valley and that the original Li mansion was built in the village of Hsinyuânp'u, where its ruins can still be seen. They say that the founding ancestor of the Li line, at the head of his Shat'o troops, crushed insurrections led by Huang Ch'ao (875 A.D.) and saved the tottering throne of the T'ang dynasty; but that, disgusted by the intrigues of jealous Chinese ministers, he retired to Hsinyuânp'u, where in addition to the ruins of his mansion there are pointed out the ruins of another mansion, said to have been built by his "prime minister." In the same valley, near a village called Hsitsantze, the ruins of an old city are huddled at the foot of the mountains. This city is called Hsinch'eng, the "New City." Linked with this ruined city are the ruins of an old frontier "Great Wall," and both city and wall are attributed by local tradition to the founding ancestor of the Li line.

The descendants of this prince are credited by the same local tradition with having been at one time the rulers of Hsining, and it is said that the ruined Buddhist monastery of Tafu, situated near the administrative buildings of the governor of the province, in the city of Hsining, was once their ancestral temple. This tradition of the origin of the ruined temple is in fact spread all over the country.

In 1913 I received a call from the then Li T'u-ssu, who proposed to sell me the ruined monastery and the site on which it stood. When asked for his land deeds, he replied that they had been lost during some previous insurrection or time of trouble, but that the tradition of his clan, supported by the belief of all the inhabitants of the region, ought to suffice in place of legal title deeds.

[P. 26-b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

173 This Li T'u-ssu gave me the following account of his ancestry, as preserved by the tradition of the clan itself. During the T'ang dynasty, he said, in the realm of Hsi Liang,[13] a boy was born in the harem and cast away in the street. A butcher picked him up and gave him the name of Hsueh Ping-kuei. When the butcher died, the boy became a beggar. Then Wang Pao-ch'üan, minister of the King of Western Liang, whose daughter had reached marriageable age, made a public announcement that on the second day of the second moon he would throw a ball wrapped in red silk from the roof of his house; and that the lad who could catch it would become his son-in-law. It was the young beggar who had the good luck to catch the precious ball, but the minister refused him and sent him away. The daughter, however, smitten with love by the sight of the handsome beggar boy, fled from her father's mansion and joined him The beggar then became a soldier.

One day his father-in-law and his wife's two brothers seized him and tied him on a spirited horse. The horse bolted into the palace of the King, where the Princess T'ai-shan, astonished by his handsome appearance, married him. After eighteen years he remembered his first wife and fled and rejoined her. During all this time she had been waiting for him suffering innumerable privations and hardships. In the meantime the Princess had set out in pursuit of her beloved, accompanied by a troop of soldiers. She rested at night under a plum tree, where she gave birth to a boy. The boy was given the surname of Li ("Plum tree"). This was the boy who grew up to be Li K'o-yung, Prince of Chin, born of the Princess T'ai-shan under the plum tree, and destined to become the founder of the Li T'u-ssu line.

This legend accords exactly with the celebrated Chinese comedy "Ping-kuei hui yao," "Ping-kuei returns to the cavern." The significant thing about the legend in this form is that it portrays the founding ancestor of the Li line not as a descendant of the "barbarian" Shat'o tribe, but as the son of a princess belonging to the ephemeral Chinese kingdom of Hsi Liang. It probably reflects an attempt on the part of the nobility of the Monguors to deny their "barbarous" origin. The capital of Hsi Liang was at Tunhuang, in the zone of deserts and oases between the regions now administratively known as Kansu and Sinkiang, and stands at the point where a valley coming down from the northern rim of the Tibetan plateau opens into the low-lying deserts. The legend does violence to history, because the kingdom of Hsi Liang lasted from A.D. 400 to 421, and the T'ang dynasty was founded only in A.D. 620. The founder of the T'ang dynasty, Li Yuan, was a descendant in the seventh generation of the last king of Hsi Liang, and the legend, by bridging the gap, attempts to connect the founding ancestor of the Li line both with the founder of the T'ang dynasty and with his remote ancestor in the oasis kingdom of Tun-huang.

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[13] See chap. 1, p. 19.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

It should be pointed out that there is a whole complex of traditions and legends in the Hsining region referring to the famous Li, Prince of Chin. According to one of them, he used to send his cavalry horses into the valley of Sha-t'ang for summer pasture, in the care of the tribes living in that valley, and it was in this way that the Shat'o came to settle in the region.[14]

Concerning the very important Lu T'u-ssu line there are comparable legends and traditions, and in this case it is true that the T'u-ssu or chiefs do not speak the language of their subjects. According to some, the founding ancestor of this line was of Chinese extraction, having been sent in former times by the emperor of China to govern the "barbarian" people of the frontier. Others say that both this tribe and its clan of chiefs were Mongols who had been part of the garrison of Yunnan Province under the Mongol dynasty and were then moved by the Chinese, under the Ming dynasty, to the Province of Kansu to garrison the Tibetan frontier. According to still another version, the Lu clan is assigned an even more ancient origin; the story is that the chief of this tribe was responsible for capturing the terrible usurper Wang Mang, who was responsible for the interregnum between the first Han dynasty, ending in A.D. 9, and the second Han dynasty, beginning in A.D. 23. The privileges of the Lu clan chiefs are said to date from this time. To this day two human hands, shrunken, dry, and blackened, reputed to be the hands of Wang Mang, are preserved in the temple of the protecting deity of the Lu clan. I have myself seen them more than once, tied on a stick and covered with a "scarf of felicity" (*khatag*).

According to yet another legend, however, the founding ancestor of the Lu clan was a kinsman of Chingis Khan, and the whole group was originally assigned to this region by Chingis Khan himself.

Concerning the Ch'i line of T'u-ssu, it is said that the founding ancestor of this line was sent by a Mongol emperor to drive away the Tibetans, and that his first mansion was built as Hsiaoch'aoyang, where the ruins can still be seen. Later he built a new fortress north of Weiyuanp'u in Pei-nai, and a monastery in Tung-ying. The old graveyard of this clan is in T'angpa.

An old Monguor, the Lama Li Ming, superintendent of the establishment of the Living Buddha T'ukuan of the monastery of Erhkulung, gave me the following tradition which is probably colored by lamaistic teaching: the Monguors, he said, are all of Uighur origin.[14a] In former times they lived near the monastery of Mat'i, in Yungch'ang, a sub-prefecture of Liangchou. A small group of Uighurs still lives at this place. There were

[14] This tradition seems to be related to the fact that during the Yung-lo period (1403–1425), horses of the Chinese government were raised in the pastures of Shat'ang valley (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 4: 15*b*).

[14a] See also Matthias Hermanns, S.V.D., *Uiguren und ihre neuentdeckten Nachkommen*, *Anthropos*, Vienna, **35–36** (1–3): 78 sqq., 1940–1941.

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173 originally three brothers: Hor, also known as Kerker; Kerrur, and Kersur. The eldest took his subjects and went into Mongolia, where they became Mongols: the second and his followers went to Tibet and became Tibetans; the third and his subjects went to Hsining, where they became the Monguors.

Another story has it that in former times the country was always troubled by forays both from Mongolia and from Tibet, and that the Chinese commanders who succeeded in defeating and conquering some of the frontier tribes were appointed by the Chinese emperor to be the chiefs of these tribes, so that all of the chiefs of the Monguors are to be regarded as of Chinese origin.

According to still another story, an emperor of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589–620), having defeated the T'uyühun (Sienpi) near Hsining, drove most of them into Tibet; but several tribes submitted to this emperor and were assigned a territory by him in which they settled down and became the Monguors of today.

The overall conclusion seems to be that as far as tradition and legend are concerned, the problem of the origin of the Monguors is about as confused as it can be, and remains an enigma not only for Westerners but for the Chinese and for the Monguors themselves. Verbal tradition certainly provides no conclusive answer. A new trail can be blazed only by turning to the literary documents.

It was after more than three years of residence in the country that I had the good luck to obtain the 1747 edition of the *Annals* or chronicles of the prefecture of Hsining. The first edition, printed in 1595, was not available to me. I also secured the *Annals* of the province of Kansu, printed in 1909, and still later I had the very great good fortune to come into possession of a copy of the family chronicles of the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu, edited and printed from wood blocks in 1600 and then continued in manuscript in 1897. These materials enabled me to set out on a new attempt to clarify the origin and early history of the Monguors.

THE NAME OF THE MONGUORS

101 The name T'u-jen is not only used by the people of Hsining when speaking of the Monguors but is also encountered in the *Annals* of the prefecture of Hsining and of the province. According to the Chinese dictionaries, T'u-jen means "Native"; it can mean either the people pertaining by birth to a certain place, or the original inhabitants of a country. In Chinese books the word T'u-jen is never used to indicate Chinese inhabiting any place in China. The word has in general usage a derogatory meaning similar to that of the English word "native," and is used for "barbarians," non-civilized peoples subjected to the civilized Chinese, such as the Miao-tze, Lolo, and other tribes.

T'u-jen, however, has a specific meaning for the Chinese of Hsining, who use it only for the Monguors and Shat'o, perhaps because the Monguors and Shat'o speak

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101 the same language, have the same customs, dress in the same way, live in the same country, have the same T'u-ssu organization and so generally are considered to be of the same stock.

The Chinese when speaking of Hsifan (Tibetans), or of other Mongols living in the country or in Kukunor, never use the term T'u-jen, but always the terms Hsifan, etc. The question, therefore, is whether the Chinese, in calling the Shat'o and the Monguors T'u-jen, mean a people belonging by birth to the country but whose ancestors migrated from other countries to Hsining, or the original inhabitants of the country. Because the term has this double meaning, it is certainly used in both meanings.

Huc and Gabet call the Monguors Dschiahour, interpreted as "sinised Mongols." This is the term used by the Tibetans of the country. Prjevalski and Father de Smedt heard Tibetans calling them K'arlong. Potanin calls them Shirongols. Father Mostaert heard Mongols in Mongolia referring to them as Dolot; Prjevalski calls them Daldy (the same word), and the Monguors call themselves Monguor. Potanin states that they are also called White Mongols, and Chzhahor. According to Father A. Mostaert the name Monguor is merely a variant of the name Mongol. In the Monguor language, words which in other Mongol dialects end with an *l*, end with an *r*. The written sources and the tradition, however, clearly establish the fact that not all of the Monguors are of Mongol origin. There are no data, however, to explain the process by which the Shat'o group lost its original Turkish language and adopted that of the Monguors. There is an ample historical record to demonstrate that the name T'u-jen, by which the Chinese call the Monguors, is incorrect since in ancient and medieval times the region now inhabited by the Monguors was intermittently and alternatingly occupied by various tribes. The explanation of the Chinese term is, however, sufficiently obvious. The Chinese military colonists transplanted to the region at the opening of the Ming dynasty must have assumed that the Monguor "natives" whom they found there were "aborigines" who had always been there.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE MONGUORS

197 The language of the Monguors has been studied by the Fathers A. Mostaert and A. de Smedt.[15] Father A. Mostaert writes me:

> The language spoken by the Monguors is a Mongol dialect, with peculiar archaic characteristics concerning both the phonetics and the vocabulary.

[15] A. De Smedt et A. Mostaert. *Le dialecte Monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kan-su occidental. Ire partie: Phonétique. Anthropos*, Vienna, Leo-Gesellschaft **24**: 145–164 et 801–815; **25**: 657–665 et 961–973; **26**: 253. *IIme partie. Grammaire.* Monumenta Serica Monograph **6**, Peking, Catholic Univ., 1945. *IIIme partie: Dictionnaire Monguor-Français*, Publication de l'Université Catholique de Pékin, Peiping, 1933. A. Mostaert, The Mongols of Kansu and their language. *Bull. Catholic Univ. of Peking* **8**, 1931.

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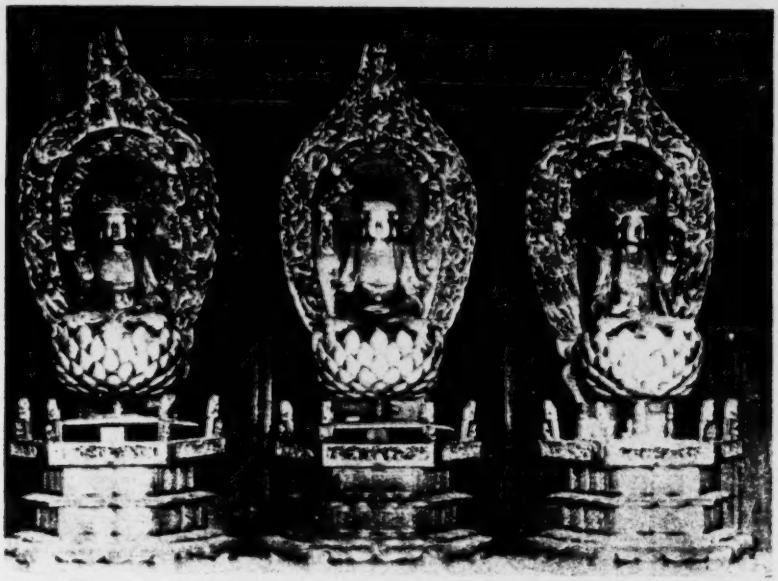

FIG. 1. The th celebrated Buddha images, said to have been brought to Hsining by the first Chinese military colonists under the Ming, from their native province of Kiangsu in 1370. They are worshipped in the Ch'eng Huang Miao (temple of the guardian spirit of the city). On the fifteenth of the first moon all the inhabitants of Hsining never omit to pay them a visit, prostrating themselves and burning incense. In the summer of every year a theatrical comedy is played in honor of these images brought from the ancestral homeland.

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197 The Monguor morphology also differs from that of the Mongol dialects.

The Monguor dialect borrowed a large number of words both from the Tibetan and mostly from the Chinese languages; the words borrowed from Turkish are less numerous.

These facts secure to the Monguor dialect a peculiar aspect, and make it so extremely different from other Mongol dialects, that Monguors are unable to converse either with eastern or with western Mongols, and in order to speak with them they have to use another language.

HISTORICAL SOLUTION OF THE ENIGMA

175 The grouping of Mongol and Shat'o tribes which resulted in the formation of the Monguor people was effected in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century. In 1226 Subudei, one of Chingis Khan's greatest commanders, invaded Hsining on his way to Lan-chou.[16] In 1275, according to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 7*a*), a Mongol army was sent to fight the turbulent T'ufan (Tibetans) whose nomad pastures

[16] H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan*, 290, 291, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950. This work contains a valuable discussion of this campaign.

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175 were in the Kukunor region. This expedition was based on Hsining. During this half-century of war, most of the population of the Hsining country, which had consisted of small Tibetan tribes, had fled and the country was laid open for the Mongols. Only in 1287, however, was Chang-chi, a son-in-law of Chingis Khan, appointed as governor of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 7*b*) and an embryonic organization started; but during the whole period of the Mongol dynasty no census is recorded. The scanty records include only such events as a movement of troops in 1302 and a famine in 1324.

During the whole Mongol period we find no references in the *Annals* concerning the presence of the Monguors in Hsining; the first historical data available are encountered during the Ming (1368–1643) and they prove that the Monguor groups were already living in Hsining during the Mongol period, under the ancestors of their later T'u-ssu.

Both the *Annals* of Kansu (ch. 42, *passim*) and the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 24, *passim*) record that the Monguors were already settled in the Hsining region when the Ming dynasty was founded in 1368. Both

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175 *Annals* also record the tradition that the Li group is of Shat'o extraction. The version of these *Annals* is confirmed in (or perhaps drawn from) the *History of the Five Dynasties* (Wu tai shih chi, ch. 74, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*; Ponapen edition), where it is recorded that the Shat'o lived in the mountainous country between Kanchou and Hsining (where the Li group still lives) in A.D. 939; and these Shat'o are described as belonging to the Chuhsieh tribe, from which came the famous Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin. The living tradition, the documentary records of the *Annals*, and the general history of China support each other. The Chuhsieh tribe fled to China in A.D. 808, in order to be protected by the T'ang emperors. They were settled in the country of Lingwu, Ninghsia, and received the surname of Li from the emperor. The other Monguor groups, according to the *Annals* of Kansu (ch. 42, p. 43), are of Mongol origin, except for one small group of seventy families belonging to the Yeh T'u-ssu who are of Ch'ant'ou [17] origin and who submitted to the Ming at the same time as the Monguors. All the Monguors are described as having been posted along these frontiers by the Ming and their chiefs as having received the title and function of T'u-ssu during the very first years of the dynasty.

According to the *Annals*, all the chiefs of the Monguor and Shat'o clans belong to their own clan and are of the same extraction, except the Ch'eng T'u-ssu who is Chinese by origin, the "founding ancestor" of his house having been born in Chiangnan province. Taking after his father, he fought the Mongols and was rewarded with the hereditary office of Chihhuishih and the administration of 120 Mongol families, who became his subjects (*Annals* of the Province, ch. 42, p. 36).

It was at the time of the submission of the Monguor clans that the Ming Dynasty started the establishment of new Chinese colonies which, together with the Monguors, were supposed to defend the country.

The first census in the *Annals* of Hsining concerning these colonies is recorded at the opening of the Ming Dynasty (ch. 16, p. 15*a*). It lists 7,200 Chinese families totalling only 15,854 persons, described as "officials and soldiers." The indicated average of less than three persons per family strengthens the probablity that there were as yet no agricultural colonists. We know from earlier records that during the Han and Sui dynasties Chinese colonies had been established. It is probable, from what we know of the general character of Chinese history, that when colonies disappeared and the country was reoccupied by nomads, some of the Chinese were killed, some fled back to areas with a more numerous agricultural population and strong walled cities, and some were absorbed by the nomads and became barbarians. Thus when the first military Ming garrisons

[17] Ch'ant'ou, "Turbaned Heads," is the vulgar Chinese term for the Turkish-speaking agricultural and town-dwelling people of Sinkiang, for whom in recent years the medieval tribal name of Uighur has, with partial historical justification, been revived. —O. L.

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175 were established, it is probable that there were no villages in the country and no "natives" whom the newcomers called "aborigines," except the Monguor groups and a very few small Tibetan groups.

Among the Chinese inhabitants of Hsining, after so many centuries, the tradition is still fresh and living that their ancestors were poor farmers of the province of Chiangsu (Kiangsu) who had been picked up at random in their home villages and sent as conscripts to garrison the Hsining frontier. The tradition is specific that they left their homes unwillingly. Every year in April at Ch'ing Ming, the spring festival when ancestors are venerated, the Chinese of Hsining first burn paper and incense and prostrate themselves in the direction of their ancient homeland before they honor their more recent ancestors. On the last day of the year they again burn paper and prostrate themselves before midnight on the main street, in the direction of Nanking on the lower Yangtze, honoring their remote ancestors who perhaps have no worshippers in their original homeland. At betrothals a packet of fine tea leaves is always offered and this is described as a custom brought from the ancestral province and loyally preserved. In the temple of the guardian deity of the city of Hsining (Ch'eng-huang Miao) a large room is reserved for three small statues of Buddha which are said to have been brought by the first Ming Chinese on their way to exile, and on the fifteenth of the first moon nobody fails to honor them. Every year a festival is organized and traditional theatricals are presented in their honor. In 1917 the statues were gilded anew and the small temple received a new coat of paint. History and tradition seem to tally, therefore, in recognizing these military colonists as the pioneers of the present Chinese population of the Hsining region.

The Chinese of Hsining always stress the fact that their ancestors were forced to leave their native province and had been exiled to the country of the barbarians. The stealing of a single melon from the fields was a crime great enough to cause exile of the whole family. Of old the Chinese people were reluctant to go to the military colonies, and prisoners from all over China had to be sent.

A living picture of the sending of colonists to Hsining by Wang-Mang, the usurper of the throne of the Han emperors in A.D. 7, is related in Chinese history.

> Wang Mang sent an emissary to Kukunor (and) induced a Ch'iang chieftain to come to court and present his grasslands to China, offering, in speech flattering to Wang Mang, to remove his people to less fertile lands and guard the frontiers. . . . When Kukunor had been accepted, Chinese settlers found it unattractive and would not move there. Wang Mang solved that problem quickly; 50 laws were added to the code, and violators were exiled to Kukunor. Thousands and tens of thousands of people were transported to this inhospitable terrain. Wang Mang would not allow the welfare of the people to interfere with his glory. The Ch'iang had not expected such mass immigration and attacked the settlers. Wang Mang had to

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175 put the rebels down by military force. He increased the harshness of the laws and exiled thousands of peasants to the barren region in order to glorify himself.[18]

This was the historical frame when the Monguor clans settled in the region of Hsining during the Yuan dynasty and when they submitted to the Ming dynasty as defenders of the marches in conjunction with the military colonists, their chiefs becoming Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu, in a country open to the forays and inroads of hostile tribes. In these conditions the Ming proposed to colonize the country.

SETTLEMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF MONGUOR CLANS IN KANSU

618 I use the term "clan" here to refer to a group sharing a common territory, a common surname, and a common chief. Monguor clans consist both of persons who recognize real or traditional kinship ties with the chief, and persons who do not recognize such ties but who have nevertheless adopted the surname of the chief and his kinsmen during the time that they were integrated into the group.

The current saying in the prefecture of Hsining and the sub-prefecture of Nienpei is that there are sixteen clans of Monguors. According to the *Annals* of Kansu, there are six clans in the prefecture of Hsining, and ten in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei.

618 1. The Ch'i clan, whose chief is recorded as being a true descendant of the imperial family of the Mongol
175 dynasty.[19] Under this dynasty the Chief of the Ch'i clan was always an important official in Kansu, and on
162 the fall of the dynasty the Ch'i T'u-ssu was the first of all the T'u-ssu to submit to the Ming dynasty in 1368, the year of its establishment.

At that time the Ch'i clan numbered eight hundred families of Monguor stock, divided into four sub-clans. In 1644, on the fall of the Ming dynasty, this clan submitted to the Manchu dynasty. It then numbered only seven hundred families, divided into eight sub-clans (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 35*a*–*b*, 36*a*). The territory assigned to them was situated thirty-five miles south of Hsining and they lived in numerous villages.

2. The Ch'eng clan. The T'u-ssu of this clan is the only one of Chinese extraction, the founding ancestor having been born in Shanyang in the province of Chiangnan.[20] His father, who had been an official under the Mongol dynasty, joined the Chinese popular rising against the Mongols. The son, who followed in his father's footsteps, was rewarded with the title and office of T'u-ssu in 1374 and received 120 Monguor families as his subjects. The territory assigned to his clan is

[18] Homer H. Dubs, Wang Mang and his economic reforms, *T'oung-pao* 35: 230–231, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1940.

[19] Ch'i is the Chinese clan name (*hsing*) adopted by the descendants of the Kiyut, a sept of the Borjigit, the clan of Chingis Khan.—O. L.

[20] Now the two provinces of Anhui and Kiangsu.—O. L.

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618 seventeen miles north of Hsining and includes seven villages (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 26*b*, 37*a–b*).

175 3. The Li clan. The T'u-ssu of this clan is of Shat'o stock. The founding ancestor, a prominent official in
162 Hsining under the Mongol dynasty, submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. As a faithful official of the Ming dynasty, he was granted the title of Earl of Kaoyang (Kaoyang Po), the third rank of nobility, for military services rendered to the empire. One of his successors, the T'u-ssu Li Shih-hsien, died in 1427 fighting against Mongol invaders. In 1643 the T'u-ssu Li Hung-hsien, his wife, and 120 men of his family were killed when they refused to surrender to the Chinese peasant rebels whose insurrection opened the way to the Manchu conquest of China.

This clan numbered 963 families originally, living in forty-eight villages, ten miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 38*b*, 39*a–b*).

4. The Na clan. The Na T'u-ssu is said to be of Shat'o stock. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming in 1371. The clan numbered only 150 families of Shat'o (Monguors), living in 8 villages three miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 39*b*, 40*a*).

5. The Wang clan. The Wang T'u-ssu, of Monguor stock, submitted to the Ming in 1371. This clan numbered 130 families of Monguor extraction and 18 Tibetan families, living ten miles west of Hsining scattered in eleven villages (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 40*b*, 41*a–b*).

6. The Chi clan. Said to be of Shat'o extraction. The founding ancestor submitted in 1371. The clan included 90 families, living twenty miles west of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 42). About 1875 the T'u-ssu was impeached by his subjects. The Chinese authorities erased his name from the list of T'u-ssu, and the clan passed under direct Chinese administration. The *Annals* do not record this fact.

In the sub-prefecture of Nienpei live ten clans:

1. The Chi clan. This clan is not the same as the clan of the same name in Hsining. Its chief is not a descendant of the Mongol imperial family of the Yuan, but is of Monguor stock. His ancestors were among the most influential frontier officials during the Mongol dynasty. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. This clan numbered 700 families of Monguor extraction. The chief lives one mile and a half north of the city of Nienpei. His subjects are scattered in many villages at varying distances from Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 44*b*, 45, 46).

2. The Li Nan-ko clan, of Shat'o stock. In the *Annals* the T'u-ssu is said to be a descendant of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin, whose son founded the dynasty of the Hou T'ang. His son in turn, Li Wen, is recorded as the T'u-ssu of Hsining. This clan numbered 4,000 families of Shat'o stock, living in eight villages or valleys forty miles southeast of Nienpei. Huc

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618 and Gabet, Potanin, and Rockhill visited Sanch'uan
where the mansion of the chief of the clan is located.
175 The son of Li Nan-ko, Li Ying, was granted the title
of Earl of Huining (Huining Po), the third rank of
162 nobility, as a reward for military services (*Annals* of
Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 47, 48). This and the following clan
are independent of each other. Each has its own T'u-ssu, and both were recognized under the Manchu dynasty as separate units.

3. The Li Hua-nao clan, also of Shat'o extraction, comprising only 100 families in 1655. The T'u-ssu lives in the city of Nienpei, and his subjects are scattered in villages to the south (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 53). The founding ancestor of this line was made a T'u-ssu only in 1655, in the early years of the Manchu dynasty, and was an offshoot of the line of Li Nan-ko. For some reason not noted in the *Annals* he received from his father or his brother 100 out of the 4,000 families of the original clan and was made a T'u-ssu.

4. The Chao T'u-ssu clan, which submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1370. This clan is of Monguor extraction. Under the Mongol dynasty it moved to Nienpei, after having lived in Mingchou, and was settled fifteen miles north of the city. The clan numbered 120 families, scattered along the valley (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 48–49). At an unknown date and for an unknown reason the T'u-ssu was erased from the list of the T'u-ssu and his subjects passed under ordinary Chinese administration. The *Annals* do not mention the fact.

5. The Ah clan, of Monguor stock, numbered 150 families, and lives seventeen miles east of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 49–50).

6. The Kan clan, of Monguor stock, numbered 300 families. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. The clan is settled 75 miles southeast of Nienpei in the valley of Mo Tou (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*b*–52).

7. The Chou clan, of Monguor stock, numbered only 62 families. It adjoins the Kan clan, living seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*b*, 52).

8. The Yeh clan, a small clan of 70 Muslim families of Turkish stock originating from Sinkiang. The Chinese called them Ch'ant'ou or Turbaned Heads. (See above, p. 34.) They settled in the country under the Mongol dynasty. As a military commander the founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371, together with the other T'u-ssu. The T'u-ssu of this line were eager defenders of the Ming frontier; two of them died in battle, one in 1570, one in 1638. They were settled in the Mila valley forty miles southeast of Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 52, 53). About 1890 the name of the T'u-ssu was erased from the list of T'u-ssu and his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects. The fact is not mentioned in the *Annals*.

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618 9. The Hsin clan, of Monguor stock, comprised 100 families, settled with the Kan seventy-five miles south-
175 east of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42,
162 p. 54). The name of the T'u-ssu was later erased from the list of T'u-ssu.

10. The La clan, a small group of Monguor stock. The number of families is not recorded. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was settled seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei, near the Kan clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54).

618 These are the sixteen groups recorded in the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, and in the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24.
177 They were all living in the country under the Mongol dynasty, and submitted to the Ming. The Ch'eng and Chi groups, in the prefecture of Hsining, and the Chao, Yeh, and Hsin groups, in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, have now "become Chinese," and their chiefs have been erased from the lists of the T'u-ssu.

The chiefs of these Shat'o and Monguor groups still bore Mongol names when they submitted to the Ming. After having held the office of T'u-ssu for two or three generations, the chiefs adopted Chinese surnames and each group then adopted the Chinese surname of its chief.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, and especially after 1723, single Tibetan families or small Tibetan groups were enrolled in nearly all the groups. Still later, Chinese families were accepted in the same way; but the Chinese did not adopt the surname of the chief of the group.

131 The foregoing data show that the habitat of the Monguors is not limited to the district of Hsining. In addi-
[101] tion, it may be noted that the mansion of Lu T'u-ssu, of Monguor extraction, is located at Liench'eng, forty-five miles west of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. This large group call themselves Monguor and the Chinese call them T'u-jen; they are neighbors of the Monguors
624 of Nienpei. In this one group there are no less than seven T'u-ssu, all claiming descent from the imperial family of the founder of the Mongol dynasty. The T'u-ssu of Liench'eng is the head of the whole group. He alone is regarded as the ruler of the subject people and possessor of the territory assigned to them by the Ming
[651] dynasty. The other six T'u-ssu hold only the title, without the powers of chieftainship. In time of war they are bound to obey the order of the senior T'u-ssu; and for revenue each of them is allowed to collect land taxes from a fixed number of villages.

624 The seven T'u-ssu of this group represent seven lines of descent from either the brothers or the sons of the
175 prince of Nanting (the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 50, pp. 55–57, incorrectly name him prince of Wu-ting). His ancestor was Kolgan, son of Chingis Khan by his favorite beauty, Kulan.[21] The prince who was living in the country at the end of the Mongol dynasty submitted

[21] The family chronicles of this clan, which I am preparing for publication, are referred to above.

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624 to the Ming dynasty in 1371 as "founding ancestor" of
175 the present line, and received the most extensive territory of all the Monguor T'u-ssu. The group numbered, according to the *Annals* of 1909, 3,245 families totalling 21,086 persons, and was divided administratively into ten banners. After the historic revolt of the Kukunor Mongols, Tibetans, and lamas, in 1723, the T'u-ssu was rewarded for his military services with the territory and inhabitants of thirteen Tibetan villages, which had belonged to a Mongol chief of Kukunor. These thirteen villages numbered 453 families, totalling 2,365 persons, at a rate of 5.2 persons per family (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 87). This group is the most outstanding among the Monguor people. Many members of these T'u-ssu families were prominent military commanders and civil officials. They wielded the largest influence in the country among the Chinese officials, and were favorably regarded by the emperors of both the Ming and Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasties.

MONGUOR POPULATION FIGURES

161 The Manguor population data at the time of the Ming, taken from the *Annals* of Kansu, printed in 1909, may be summarized as follows:

- Total of families ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu: 11,000
- Families of Monguors belonging to 9 Mongol T'u-ssu, 5,627
- Families of Shat'o Monguors belonging to the 5 Shat'o T'u-ssu, 5,303
- Families of Ch'ant'ou extraction belonging to one Ch'ant'ou T'u-ssu, 70

The number of families belonging to the Monguor La T'u-ssu is not recorded. Taking a rate of five members per family, which seems not to be too high, the number of Monguors living in Old Huang Chung would be 55,000. Adding the 471 Tibetan families ruled by the Lu T'u-ssu and Wang T'u-ssu gives a total of 57,365 ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu.

162 Striking differences in importance and strength among the clans are to be noted: the Lu clan alone ruled 3,699 families (3,246 Monguor, 453 Tibetan), and the three Shat'o Li T'u-ssu ruled 4,963 families. Then there is a sharp drop to the two Ch'i clans with 700 families each, and the remaining clans are insignificant.

It has already been noted that in each of the Monguor clans there are a few Chinese and Tibetan families, which were enrolled at different times.

EXPANSION OF THE MONGUORS OVER THE COUNTRY

175 According to the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 55, and the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24, p. 14*b*, the population of Hsining was very thin at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. The fields around the towns, irrigated by canals, were assigned to the Chinese military colonists.

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and grasslands in the extensive side valleys were assigned to each of the T'u-ssu groups for the pasturing of their herds and for the cultivation of cereals, without irrigation. The Monguors, in other words, were relegated to the side valleys after having been forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields. The account may be interpreted both as meaning that the Monguors had already begun to practice farming, and as meaning that they were able to fall back on a pastoral economy which they had not wholly abandoned.

"At the beginning of the Ming dynasty it may be assumed that each T'u-ssu lived with his subjects grouped around him in the country assigned to him, since the T'u-ssu were the appointed defenders of the frontiers, the guardians of the mountain passes and of the traditional ways followed by invading nomads. Later it is said that renewed forays of Tibetans and the Mongols of Kukunor had the effect of dispersing the Monguors. Certainly the plain fact is that at present a great many of the subjects of nearly every T'u-ssu live in territories which do not belong to the T'u-ssu to whom they are subject. In order to understand the scattering of the Monguors, however, exclusive emphasis should not be put on the factor of frontier inroads and revolts. The economic factor was also important, especially the development of agriculture and the opening to cultivation of extensive valleys, notably between 1644 and 1723, when there was relatively little frontier warfare. Indeed, after frontier disturbances a population that has fled usually comes back to its original homeland, but when the people disperse and spread in order to engage in new, profitable occupations, they settle and do not return.

There is evidence for the importance of population shifts in association with economic change in the fact that according to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 16, pp. 5*a*–*b*) 81,707 "pieces" of land in the prefecture of Hsining were opened to cultivation for the first time during the first hundred years of the Ch'ing dynasty. In addition, 6,243 "pieces" of new land were opened in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei (ch. 16, p. 9*b*) and 10,499 in the Shuo, the newly organized administrative unit of Kueite (ch. 16, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*). All of this land is referred to as grassland, meaning land opened to cultivation but not irrigated by means of canals. These figures are convincing evidence of the importance of the spread of agriculture in bringing about the dispersal of the Monguors.

The establishment of the new sub-prefecture of Tat'ung, dependent on Hsining, was also a phase of this great economic transformation. After the general revolt of the Mongols of Kukunor, the frontier Tibetans, and the lamas of the whole region had been crushed in 1723–24, the military district (*wei*) of Tat'ung, forty miles north of Hsining, was reorganized as a sub-prefecture in 1761. Chinese and Muslims, in addition to Monguors, joined in the land-rush to cultivate these

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grasslands, because attractive terms had been offered for payment for the land after three years, with loans for seed and the use of oxen.[22] The population of Tat'ung climbed from 5,862 inhabitants in 1723–35 to 11,830 between 1736–96 (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, pp. 16*a–b*) and a number of new villages were established.

Among these villages four were entirely inhabited by Monguors; three were equally divided between Monguors and Chinese, and in two the Monguors numbered 30 per cent of the population (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 12, pp. 15*a–b*). After 1796 another four villages were built for Monguors by the Living Buddha Sumpa of the monastery of Erhkulung. All the Monguors who migrated to Tat'ung in this period were subjects of the sixteen T'u-ssu settled in the region of Hsining.

Contemporary with the expansion of agriculture into the Tat'ung sub-prefecture was the opening of the splendid large plain of Weiyuanp'u, northeast of Hsining. Here again there was a land-rush, including the subjects of various T'u-ssu, who settled in scattered groups all over the plain.

The agricultural development of the region of Kueite, after the Manchus crushingly defeated the Mongols of the Kukunor plateau in 1723, is to be explained in the same way. In 1644 the population of the Kueite region numbered 2,060; in 1746, it numbered 11,560. A previous attempt had been made in 1380, early in the Ming dynasty, to use Mongols from around Hochou to colonize this region. I have often met, in Hsining, Monguors from Kueite, visiting their relatives in their old country. They told me that more than 300 Monguor families of Hsining origin were living around Kueite, scattered among Tibetans and Chinese. Their tradition was that their ancestors had left Hsining in order to make a better living.

HISTORICAL FRAME IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVED

In order to gain a clearer insight into the economy of the Monguors, including the shift from the pastoral to the agricultural; the expansion of many small Monguor groups from their original assigned territories and chiefs, and the building of new villages in other places; the many changes in the social organization of the clans and in the relations between chiefs and subjects; and, finally, changes in the means of living and the influence of Lamaism among the Monguors, it is advantageous to know the historical frame in which the Monguors lived under the Ming dynasty and during the first decades of the Ch'ing dynasty. The historical data will explain the failure of the Ming policy of colonizing the country by means of the Monguor clans and of Chinese military colonies. The failure of colonization is plainly evidenced by the census of 1573–1620, which

[22] *Tung Hua Lu* ("records" of the Manchu dynasty), Yung Cheng period (1723–1735), ch. 4, p. 39.

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175 records only 440 families of Chinese civilians in addition to the 2,560 families of officials and military colonists. These figures show that after two centuries there was only a tiny Chinese population while the military colony or garrison had decreased by two-thirds. This decline was due to inroads by Mongols and rebellions of Tibetans.[23]

After the downfall of the Yuan dynasty in 1368 the power of the descendants of Chingis Khan as rulers of all the Mongols had been overthrown by the Oirats or Western Mongols. Under Dayan Khan (1479–1523) the Eastern Mongols recovered under a descendant of Chingis for a brief period. In 1457 the Mongols had occupied the Ordos under the leadership of Aruktai; in 1509, dissatisfied with Dayan Khan, the tribe of (the chief) Ipula in conjunction with the tribes of Aerht'ussu after having killed the son of Dayan, fled to Kukunor, where they arrived in 1509 (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 13, pp. 13–14).[24] They subjugated the Hsi-fan tribes who had been occupying this territory and making inroads in the Hsining region for thirty-four years. Other Mongols who were dissatisfied with the power of Dayan and his successors joined the following of Ipula (Ibiri), hoping to find freedom and independence in far-away Kukunor. Chinese armies were sent to Hsining when the local military colonists and the Monguors could no longer cope with the situation, but the Kukunor Mongols, nevertheless, expanded their territory from Kukunor to Alashan (Pokotilov, p. 102).

In 1554 (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 13, p. 15*b*), Altan, the grandson of Dayan, came from the Ordos to Kukunor and the murderers of his uncle fled. In 1575 Altan welcomed the grand lama of Lhasa in Kukunor, gave him the title of Dalai Lama, built a temple, and proclaimed the religion of the Yellow sect as the religion of his subjects, but his son continued the inroads against Hsining and South Kansu and Szechuan. In 1635 the

[23] In this period there was close contact between Tibet and the strong Mongol power created in the Ordos-Suiyuan region by Altan Khan of the Tumets, while south of the Tibet-Ordos line of contact, the Chinese-agricultural country was ravaged by the Chinese rebel Li Ch'uang-wang, a native of Yenan in Shensi, who eventually sacked Peking in 1643, causing the last Ming emperor to commit suicide. Thus the Ming Empire was cut off from, and practically powerless in, the northwestern Kansu-Hsining hinterland.—O. L.

[24] See also D. Pokotilov, *History of the eastern Mongols during the Ming dynasty from 1368 to 1634*, Part I, trans. by Rudolph Lowenthal, *Studia Serica monographs, series* A, No. 1, Chengtu, Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute, 1947. See also the brief summary of the chaotic wars among the Mongols in this period in Chapter 2, "The period of feudal wars in Mongolia," in N. N. Poppe, *Khalkha-Mongol'skii geroicheskii epos* (*The Khalkha Mongol heroic epos*), Moscow-Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, 1937. From these sources the Chinese transcriptions Ipula and Aert'ussu may be identified with the Mongol originals Ibiri (name of a Khan) and Ordos, a tribal federation, while "Aloch'u" appears to be a rendering of part of the name of Mandulai Agulkhu, an ally of Ibiri. See also I. J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, 191, St. Petersburg, 1829.—O. L.

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175 Ölöts under their chief Gushi Khan drove out the Mongols of Kukunor and established themselves in the region, and now a period of ruin and destruction began. The *Annals* (ch. 13, pp. 13–21) from 1543 to 1642 (i.e., until the eve of the establishment of the Ch'ing dynasty), list eleven forays of Mongols coming from the Ordos, besides intermittent revolts of Tibetan tribes in the region of Hsining, or on its fringes.

Gushi, hoping to stay on good terms with the new Manchu dynasty, kept quiet in Kukunor, and there were no more forays of Mongols or Tibetans until 1723; but in 1642 the city of Hsining was besieged and taken by the followers of the Chinese rebel, Li Tze-ch'eng (Li Ch'uang-wang), and in 1648 the region of Tat'ung was disturbed by a Muslim revolt which started in the Kanchou oasis.

These facts explain the decrease of the population of the country. At the dawn of the Manchu dynasty the first census records only 13,686 persons, 2,200 fewer Chinese inhabitants than when the Ming occupied Hsining and began military colonization.

Under the Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty, however, the unfortunate region of Hsining revived and began to flourish. In the *Annals* (ch. 13, p. 15), it is noted that by the Ch'ien Lung period (1736–1796) the population had jumped to the figure of 70,470. While the strong armies of the Ch'ing assured peace in the country, and agriculture developed because outlets were provided for its products and commerce, another factor must also be taken into account. Hsining was the most important gateway into Tibet. Its prosperity depended on trade with Tibet, without which Hsining was doomed to be a dead city. Gushi Khan, chief of the Ölöts, was the protector of Tibet and the defender of the Dalai Lama. His armies and officials were always traveling between Kukunor and Lhasa and assured the security of the roads. We must remember also that during the long period of troubles in Hsining, the roads between Lhasa and Kukunor, Lhasa and Turkestan, and Lhasa and India had always remained open. Mongol princes and tribesmen made pilgrimages to Lhasa, the capital of Lamaism, the sons of Mongol princes went to Lhasa for study, and lamas and living Buddhas traveled through the Hsining and Kukunor region to Mongolia and China, from the time of the conversion of Altan Khan, and the merchants of India and Turkestan continued their business. During the period of Gushi Khan these relations with Lhasa became even closer; and Lhasa became, and thereafter remained, the religious center of the Mongol world. Its influence was already so strong that forty-four princes could convene with three Hutukhtus to draw up the so-called Mongol-Oirat code of 1640 and plan the persecution of Shamanism among the Mongols.[25]

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[25] V. A. Riasanovsky, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buryats, Kalmuks)*, 73, Harbin, Artistic Printing House, 1929; also the same, *Fundamental principles of Mongol*

[p. 35a]

175 It is not surprising that when peace was restored in Hsining the commerce with Tibet and India, which had never been completely cut off, was increasingly funnelled through Hsining toward China, bringing about a great revival of prosperity in Hsining. Interesting contemporary evidence of this prosperity is to be found in the account given by two Jesuit Fathers, Grueber and Dorville, who passed through Hsining in 1661 on the way from Peking to Lhasa.[26] They describe the town as "large and populous, and from its situation near the Great Wall of special significance, it being the first gate where the Indian traders have to wait for permission to enter the Middle Kingdom." A little later Ysbrandt Ides, of Dutch origin, an agent of the Russian Tsar, traveling from Moscow to Peking and via Hsining and Tibet to India, wrote about Hsining in 1692:

> This province borders on the upper principality of Tibet, which extends to the territories of the great Mogul, from whose dominions great number of merchants come to the vast trading city of Zunning (Hsining) in the kingdom of Xiensi (Shensi), and the door of commerce being for some time opened here and liberty granted to them as well as Muscovites and Tartars to trade here, they have with their wares and trade introduced the Mohammedan religion.

He adds that the people of Gambay (Gujarat), Bengal "and other subordinate countries" are those who chiefly resort to Zunning, bringing there diamonds, jewels, elephants' teeth, wax, etc.[27]

Ysbrandts Ides' reference to Mohammedans is corroborated by a text of the *Huang Ch'ing Chih kung t'u*, part V, p. 49, "in the beginning of the Ming, Ch'an T'ou [Turks] came from Turkistan [Hsi Yü] to trade; they settled at a place 40 *li* from Hsining and married there." The reference is probably to the place called Topa, of which Father Regis speaks in the following quotation, and where there is still a strong settlement of Mohammedans. This place was the headquarters of the Mohammedan rebels who besieged Hsining in the Mohammedan rebellion of 1868–1872. The ruins of its double walls reveal that it must once have been an important place. The only word still readable on a stele preserved there is the Chinese character "T'ang," which must refer to the claim that the place was founded during the T'ang dynasty (618–906). It is well known that from the early middle ages, the Turks, especially the Uighurs, were the traders who with their caravans traveled to Russia, Asia Minor, Mongolia, Manchuria, and China,

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law, 92 *sqq.*, Tientsin, Telberg, 1937. (N. N. Poppe, however, in his work on the Khalkha Mongol heroic epos already cited, quite rightly notes (p. 36) that while the first part of this Code constituted a "peculiar 'pact of mutual non-aggression'" between Oirats (Ölöts) and Khalkha Mongols, "in fact it was never observed by anyone."—O. L.)

[26] C. Wessels, S.J., *Early Jesuit travellers in Central Asia, 1603–1721*, 179, The Hague, Nijhoff, 1924.

[27] E. Ysbrandts Ides, *The three years' land travels of his excellency E. Ysbrandts Ides from Moscow to China*, 126, 195, London, 1705.

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175 and that Chingis used them as guides for his military expeditions.

The Jesuit Father Regis, who by order of the emperor K'ang Hsi was engaged in mapping the Hsining region in 1708–09, "encountered at Topa, a locality 40 *li* west of Hsining, three or four Catholic Armenians having a concern dealing with beautiful skins, which they bought among the Tartars." It is clear from Father Regis' account that Topa must have been a place of considerable size, for he wrote that in it "you can find all that you want in the way of foreign as well as Chinese merchandise, all kinds of drugs, dates, coffee, and so on." [28]

Another text, encountered in Courant,[29] gives interesting data about commercial and agricultural activities in Central Asia. A Russian delegate, Ivan Unkovskii, who arrived among the Jungars, reported that

> during the last thirty years, the Jungars have developed their agriculture, cultivating all kind of cereals and grits and raising all kinds of animals; they manufacture leather and cloth and iron wares, and by means of their commerce they have relations with India, Tibet, Russia, and China.[30]

At that time the Jungars were at the zenith of their glory and their realm covered the territories between Tashkent and Turfan and between Lake Zaisan and Tibet.

These facts support the assumption that the revival of commerce and trade which had never been cut off outside of Hsining began in Hsining as soon as the Ch'ing dynasty was established. The commerce with Tibet, and India, dealt mainly with luxury articles, as these texts prove; the bulk trade in wool, sheep, and lambskins is of relatively recent date. The revival of trade encouraged not only local industries but agriculture, for the supplying of caravans.

Later in this study reference will be made repeatedly to the year 1723, when there occurred the last general revolt of the Mongols, Tibetans, and lamas of the Hsining and Kukunor region, after which, with the restoration of the Manchu emperor's authority, there were important changes in the status of tribes, monasteries, and lamas. This revolt in 1723 was the outcome of a century of Tibetan history. About 1630, in the time of troubles when the Ming dynasty was collapsing and the Manchus had not yet conquered China, the Deshi (prime minister) of the province of Tsang captured Lhasa, dethroned the King of Tibet, and assumed sovereignty over

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[28] P. J. B. Du Halde, *Description de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise*, 48, La Haye, 1736.

[29] Maurice Courant, *L'Asie centrale au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles, empire kalmouk ou empire mantchou*, Lyon-Paris, *Annales de l'Université de Lyon*, N.S. 2 (26): 68, 1912.

[30] The original text is in N. I. Veselovskii, Posol'stvo k dzhungarskomu Khun-taidji Tsevan Rabtanu kapitana ot artillerii Ivana Unkovskogo i putevoi zhurnal ego na 1722–24, dokumenty, izdannye s predislovom i primechaniyami (The mission to the Jungar Khong Taiji Tsevan Rabtan of captain of artillery Ivan Unkovskii and his travel journal for 1722–24, documents, published with an introduction and notes), *Zapiski* of the Russian Geographical Society, Division of Ethnography, 10 (2), St. Petersburg, 1887.—O. L.

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175 all Tibet. As an adherent of the Red Hat sect of Lamaism, he was hostile to the Yellow sect. Gushi,[31] Khan of the Ölöts, took possession of Kukunor in 1636, driving from Kukunor the Khalkha Mongols who were adherents of the Red Hat sect. After an expedition into Khamdo in 1638, he answered the call of the Dalai Lama, invaded Tibet and in 1641 defeated the Desi. Gushi Khan retained only the command of his troops of occupation. He transferred civil authority to the Fifth Dalai Lama, Lobsang Gyats'o, who became King of Tibet, took possession of the royal palace of the King, began the building of the Potala, and created the Panch'an, the second great "incarnation" of Tibet.

The Dalai Lama died in 1680. The Manchus were by then well established in China, and the emperor K'ang Hsi had long suspected the Dalai Lama and his prime minister of being in favor both of the Chinese rebel Wu San-kuei and of Galdan, the Khan of the Jungar Mongols. The prime minister [32] kept secret the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama for fourteen years, and the Sixth Dalai Lama began to take an active part in government only in 1696.

The great-grandson of Gushi, Latsang,[33] succeeded about 1700 to the position of Mongol overlord of Tibet that had been created by Gushi Khan. The new Dalai Lama, who was fond of pleasure, wine, and women, "renounced his spiritual prerogatives, although still maintaining his temporal rights and his suzerainty over Tibet," in 1702.[34] In 1705 Latsang Khan put to death the powerful Deshi or prime minister, and in 1706 he deposed the Dalai Lama and sent him to Peking. He died on the way; possibly but not certainly by foul play. A new incarnation of the Dalai Lama was then installed, who was reputed to be Latsang's natural son. In 1708, a rival "incarnation" appeared in Eastern Tibet, who soon received support among important Mongol princes of the Kukunor region.[35] It was in these developments that the great revolt of 1723 originated. The political forces at work in these intrigues may be summarized as follows: hegemony among the Ölöts, Oirats, or Western Mongols had passed to Tsevan Rabdan, of the Jungars, whose seat of power was in the Ili valley, in what is now Sinkiang province. His growing power alarmed the Manchu dynasty in China, which by supporting the Khalkhas against the Western Mongols had already acquired suzerainty over Outer Mongolia, but had not yet been able to conquer Sinkiang. Latsang Khan, in Tibet, himself a Western Mongol, did not want to submit to the overlordship of Tsevan Rabdan and the Jungars.

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[31] Referred to as Guśri, Khan of the Qóśots (Hoshuts, one of the tribes of the Ölöt federation) by L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early eighteenth century*, 8, Leiden, Brill, 1950.—O. L.

[32] He was the natural son of the Fifth Dalai Lama (Petech, *op. cit.*, 9).—O. L.

[33] Lha-bzan in Petech, *loc. cit.*—O. L.

[34] Petech, *loc. cit.*

[35] For the foregoing summary, see Petech, *op. cit.*, 12 *sqq.*—O. L.

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He therefore sought the patronage of the Emperor of China, K'ang Hsi. Among the Kukunor Mongols, on the edge of Tibet, the most powerful princes were pro-Jungar and therefore hostile to Latsang Khan in Tibet and a potential danger to the Manchu power in China. Latsang Khan's nominee for recognition as Dalai Lama was therefore favored by K'ang Hsi against the nominee supported by the Kukunor Mongols; but at the same time he succeeded in having the rival infant Dalai Lama brought to the monastery of Kumbum, within reach of his military power, which would enable him to change his policy whenever it became expedient to do so.[36]

In 1717, two Jungar armies reached Lhasa and Kumbum (near Hsining); Latsang was killed, the Potala sacked, its priceless treasures looted, and the shrine of the revered Lobsang Gyats'o demolished.[37] With the death of Latsang Khan, the Manchu emperor changed his whole policy. Many of the Tibetans, especially in certain powerful lamaseries, had at first welcomed the Jungars; but the conduct of the Jungars had been so savage that there was soon a willingness to resist them. In 1718 the Manchu-Chinese forces moved into Tibet. After a severe defeat in 1718, they took Lhasa in 1720, with little fighting, the Jungar forces having been concentrated to meet forces coming from China on another line of march. As part of their new policy, the Manchus had recognized the "alternative" Dalai Lama (who was in the eyes of most Tibetans the legitimist claimant), and they now installed him in Lhasa.[38]

Tibet was now completely a Chinese protectorate. Manchu military efforts shifted away from Tibet toward the Jungar homeland in Sinkiang. As part of the new policy in Tibet, no effort was made to restore the former overlord position in Tibet of the ruling family of the Hoshut Mongols, the descendants of Gushi Khan.

In 1722 the emperor K'ang Hsi died. His successor, reigning under the style of Yung Cheng, attempted a policy of military and financial retrenchment. In 1723, in an attempt to take advantage of the situation, a rebellion was started among the Kukunor Mongols, led by Lobsang Dantsin (Blo-bzan-bstan-adsin in Petech, *op. cit.*), chief of the Kuknor branch of the Hoshuts and son of the second son of Gushi Khan, and therefore an uncle of the deceased Latsang Khan. His rebellion was supported by important monasteries and ecclesiastical dignitaries in the Hsining region. As it would, if successful, have cut the Hsining route from China to Lhasa and opened the way to a return of the Jungars, both the Manchu-Chinese and the Lhasa authorities reacted vigorously, especially the forces under General Nien Keng-

[36] Petech, *op. cit.*, 15–18.—O. L.

[37] The raid on Kumbum failed in its primary objective, which was to get hold of the person of the "alternative" Dalai Lama. Petech, *op. cit.*, 35.—O. L.

[38] Petech, *op. cit.*, 58–61. See also W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of Tibet, *T'oung Pao* 11, Leiden, Brill, 1910.

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175 yao, whose office was that of "warden of the marches." Monasteries in Hsining were pillaged and burned, nobles and ecclesiastical dignitaries were degraded in rank, and the administration of the Kukunor-Hsining region brought under tighter control. Throughout the region, administrative units and the local distribution of Mongols and Tibetans, lasting until the end of the Manchu dynasty, date from the measures taken at this time.[39]

The Monguors, however, retained their political status, for it is said in the *Huang Ch'ing Fanpu Yao Lüeh* (ch. 11, p. *7a*), that "their troops under the command of the T'itu Yueh Chung-ch'i, the right hand of general Nien Keng-yao, fought in the repression of the lamaseries and of the Tibetans and Mongols." It was as reward for his outstanding services that the Lu T'u-ssu received a group of thirteen Tibetan villages as his subjects.

A memorable date in the history of Hsining is 1723; from that time on it was effectively organized on the pattern of a Chinese prefecture, peace was restored, and both agriculture and trade began to flourish.

This year was also a turning point in the history of the Monguor clans; the Monguors became definitely stabilized in their agricultural economy and expanded all over the country, many of them leaving their chiefs; new means of living were available, and consequently many changes occurred in their social organization.

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE MONGUOR CLAN

COMPOSITION OF THE CLAN

767 In 1913 the festival of Ch'ing Ming, one of the most important all over China for the veneration of ancestors, fell on April 5. On that day I attended the famous yearly diet of the Ch'i clan, held in T'angpa at the graveyard of the founding ancestor of the clan. This diet was celebrated throughout the region for its display of pomp and grandeur; but that year all who attended were afraid that this might be the last such diet to be held. The atmosphere was heavy with depression and dejection, for rumors were current that the institution of T'u-ssu might be abolished by the Chinese Republic which two years before had replaced the Manchu Empire. The other clans had cancelled their celebrations, and in fact this proved to be the last such assembly ever held with the old magnificence and splendor.

The diet was a real revelation for me, a veritable seminar in ethnology. It was divided into three phases: the

[39] Petech, *op. cit.*, 82–88. It is characteristic of China, with its vast extent and poor communications, that regions and regional history are strongly marked. Often a region, especially a frontier region, is more strongly affected by some great local event than by much greater, but more distant events that merely threw a shadow in passing. Thus the Lobsang Dantsin revolt, though of minor importance in the histories of either China or Tibet, was of major importance in its effects and lasting consequences in the region of Hsining and in the destiny of the Monguors.—O. L.

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769 veneration of the ancestors at the graveyard, the festival, and the meeting of the clan. I shall note here only the facts related to the structure of the clan as manifested in the solemn worship. I shall deal later with the other phases.

In the avenue leading straight from the entrance of the graveyard to the imposing mound of the ancestor the worshippers, holding incense sticks in their hands, stood erect. They were divided into two distinct groups, standing apart but both facing the mound. The offering disposed on a table before the mound included a hog, a pork pie, rolls of steamed bread, dried grapes, sugar, and pears.

As chief of the clan the T'u-ssu stood in front of both groups and performed the libations, the burning of paper, and the offering of the sacrifices.

The first of the two groups mentioned above was disposed in six rows, each of which performed in succession the veneration of the ancestor by prostration. Then the members of the first row, in a group, turned and honored, by bowing, the members of the five other rows. Those of the second row, after having honored the members of the first row by prostrating themselves, turned and honored the members of the next four rows with a simple bow, and so on. The pork pie and the rolls, sacrifices for the ancestor, were then divided among the members of the six rows, who by eating some of the food partook at the graveyard in a sacrificial meal in communion with the ancestor. Later a piece of pork from the hog was offered to each of the families of members of the six rows.

After this sacrificial meal, the large second group approached the mound, and prostrated themselves in a group (not in separate rows), holding incense sticks in their joined hands, to venerate the ancestor. Then, prostrating themselves again in a group, they honored the members of the first group. They did not partake of the sacrificial meal. This concluded the rites at the graveyard.

The members of the first group only then went to the courtyard of Ch'i Sen-k'o (Ch'i the lion),[1] a wealthy Monguor, in order to honor the clan register of genealogy according to regular ritual and to bring it up to date by entering the names of members deceased since the last diet.

769 These rites reveal the internal structure and social organization of the Monguor clan.

618 The T'u-ssu, as recognized chief of the clan, officiated at the sacrifice, acting in front of the whole clan and in its name.

All members of the clan, as bearers of the same surname, claim descent from a common ancestor, and therefore they assemble at the grave mound of this common ancestor to venerate him collectively.

The general assembly is, however, divided into two

[1] From Monguor *senggi*, Mongol *senge*, Tibetan *senge*, "lion."

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769 618 groups, and the differences between these groups demand analysis.

1. The members of the first group are disposed in six rows which venerate the ancestor in succession and in the same way, but each row honors the others in different ways. The first row honors the five others with a simple bow. The second row honors the first row by prostration, but the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth rows by bowing only. The third row honors the first and second rows by prostration, but the fourth, fifth, and sixth rows only by bowing, and so on down.

2. All the members of the large second group venerate the ancestor by prostration, not in rows of precedence but as a uniform group. They honor the members of the six rows of the first group by the same rite of prostration, and this they also do collectively and simultaneously.

3. The members of the first group, the six rows, partake of the sacrificial meal offered to the ancestor; the members of the second group are excluded from this rite.

4. The members of the first group honor the genealogical register in the presence of the T'u-ssu, and the names of their deceased are carefully inscribed in this register according to a special ritual. The members of the second group are not allowed to honor the register and the names of their deceased are debarred from the precious book.

I was delayed in arriving at a logical analysis of these differences by the existence of a mistaken "folk" concept of the structure of the Monguor clan. According to this popular and universally accepted tradition, all members of the clan bear the same surname, which is the same as that of their chief, and therefore all are assumed to be the descendants of a common ancestor. Moreover, the pattern of actual behavior follows this tradition. In conformity with the principle of patrilineal exogamy, the boys of the clan are not allowed to marry girls of their own clan. In addition, all members of the clan venerate the same founding ancestor, as described above.

Nevertheless the existence of two groups, ritually differentiated from each other, leads inevitably to the conclusion that in each clan the members of the first are true descendants of a common ancestor, while those of the second group are commoners, descendants of other ancestors, who have been assimilated to clan status, though incompletely and at a subordinate level.

The six rows of "true" clan members represent six different generations of descent from the founding ancestor, through his sons.[2] Therefore the members of the senior generation worship the ancestor first, followed by the cadet generations in descending order. Similarly each cadet generation, from second to fifth,

[2] This does *not* mean that a man in the youngest generation had his own father, grandfather, etc., up to the fifth ascending generation still living. It means simply that owing to wide age spreads within any generation, it was ultimately possible to have assembled a group of kinsmen in which six different generations were represented.

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769 accords to its seniors a prostration, but to its juniors only a simple bow.

618 Collectively, the six lines of true genealogical descent form an elite. The "assimilated" commoners are admitted to the general rites and bear the clan name, but are excluded from the inner rites according to the principle that there cannot be actual participation in the veneration of other people's ancestors. Hence also their exclusion from the genealogical register.

The secondary status of the commoners is shown not only by their exclusion from the register and the sacrificial meal in communion with the ancestor, but by their collective prostration before the elite group. The ranking by seniority of generations, so important for the elite group, does not concern them, since those in the elite group are not in fact their kinsmen but simply represent, in a collective, undifferentiated way, the "lords" or descendants of the noble ancestor to whom their own ancestors became subject long ago.

The strongest confirmation, however, of the fact that the commoners are assimilated members of the clan and not true descendants of the clan ancestor is to be found in the fact that their dead are not entered in the genealogical record of the clan and they are not admitted to the rite of honoring the genealogical record. This exclusion would not be possible if they had any real claim to descent from the clan ancestor because in the larger Oriental cultural complex of which they are a marginal society to be debarred from the family register is the most shameful dishonor. Other facts also support the conclusion that commoners do in reality have their own line or lines of descent. They have their own cemeteries. In these cemeteries they carry out their own ceremonies of ancestral veneration, including the sacrificial meal of "communion." There is no indication that these ancestors of the commoners are regarded as offshoots from the line of the noble elite of the clan. Some of the wealthier commoners even have their own genealogical registers; but among all the seventeen Monguor groups, I never heard of a common ancestor of the entire commoner group. This absence of a claim to a common ancestor of the subject group suggests that the subject groups derive originally not from a single subject clan but from a number of subject clans, each with its own ancestor.

Analyses of the kind made above are never made by the Monguors themselves. When asked why all members of the clan, including the subject commoners, bear the same surname as the chief, the stock reply is simply that this has always been customary among them, and really it was so of old.[3]

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[3] B. Y. Vladimirtsov, in his *Régime social des Mongols*, translated by M. Carsow, 88, Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1948 (the original Russian edition was published in Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, 1934), writes that *unagan bogol* (hereditary vassals), and even "simple" *bogol* (slaves) were allowed to keep the memory of their "bones" and their clans, but "migrated in camps bear-

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618 582 In a clan structure grouped under a single clan name, the principle of exogamy is in theory supposed to be strict, but the practice varies somewhat from the theory, again indicating that the nominal clan includes a true genealogical clan together with families that have been assimilated to the clan. In a Monguor clan it is, for example, permitted for Monguor men to marry girls of families of known Chinese or Tibetan origin who have enrolled in the clan. I have also been told that among some groups of the commoners in the Li and Lu clans, Monguor boys marry Monguor girls of the same clan. They claim that in permitting such marriages they follow the practice of the Chinese, who allow marriages between families bearing the same surname (especially if it is one of the very common surnames), if the two clans are considered to be descended in fact from different original ancestors. Exogamy is, however, strictly observed among the noble or elite families who do claim true genealogical descent from a common ancestor; but once in a while a poor noble marries the daughter of a commoner of his clan.

If we may accept it as proved that the commoners are of different descent from the nobles, we are still faced with the problem of determining the real origin of the commoners. The Monguors, when asked about the difference between nobles and commoners, say that "things have always been that way." It is not surprising to find among the nobles, however, vestiges of a tradition explaining how they acquired their subject commoners. I have been told by no less than three T'u-ssu—the Ch'i, Li, and Ah—that the commoners are descendants of tribes which had been conquered by the ancestors of the T'u-ssu.

PROCESS OF CLAN FORMATION AT THE TIME OF CHINGIS KHAN

618 175 For a comparison we may turn to the record of what is known about the way that Chingis Khan allocated territories and subjects to his sons, brothers, and leading generals. Vladimirtsov has described how Chingis assigned territories to the nobility that he created as a result of his conquests, and how he gave them sometimes whole tribes and sometimes fragments of tribes to live in these territories and be ruled by them.[4] The result was a social structure in which—as we see in miniature in the surviving Monguor society—the nobility were quite clear about their claims of descent, either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors," while the subject population, of diverse origin, were less clear about their genealogies but closely associated with their rulers in a manner that remained partly tribal but had become partly feudal. Under this system, there was a protocol which nominally required each ruling prince or noble to furnish to his sovereign a

ing the name of their suzerain clan, under the orders of the latter."

[4] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 124, 125, 127. [p. 396]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

618 definite number of troops, whenever required, according
to the size of his territory and the numbers of the popu-
175 lation. Such appanages could be under the rule not only of families descended from the imperial clan, but of families whose "founding ancestors" were antrustions.[5] The origin and social condition of the commoners among the Monguor clans are clearly to be explained in this manner.

It appears probable that the Monguor groups began to form in this way as early as the rule of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty. At the very beginning of the Ming dynasty we find the chiefs of all the Monguor groups submitting to Chinese rule, but we do not find any record of groups of the Monguor type being actually created by the Ming emperors. We may therefore suppose that generally speaking the Monguor commoners of today are the descendants of families who were already subject commoners in the Mongol period before the Ming dynasty, with the later addition of a number of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. As to the manner in which such later additions could be made, I have already mentioned the fact that the Lu T'u-ssu received from the Manchu emperor thirteen Tibetan villages, numbering 2,365 persons to be his commoners and subjects, as a reward for military services rendered during the historical revolt of 1723 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 87).

175 The processes of clan formation thus resulted in the evolution of four kinds of clan chiefs:

618 1. Chiefs who, with their related nobles, claimed de-
624 scent from the Mongol imperial family of the Yuan;

2. Commoners who became chiefs of clans and founded their own noble families;

3. Antrustions, individual warriors, who became chiefs of clans and founded their own noble families;

4. Chiefs of clans who submitted voluntarily to the Yuan dynasty with their nobles and commoners.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHIEFS AND NOBLES IN THE MONGUOR CLANS

175 Among the seventeen Monguor clans, two are re-
624 corded in the *Annals* of Kansu as being descended from the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty: the Ch'i clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 35) and the Lu clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 55). The family chronicles of the Lu clan, as already mentioned, are in my possession and I am planning to edit and publish them.

[5] This term, taken from early European feudalism, is used in the French translation of Vladimirtsov for the Russian term *druzhinnik* which Vladimirtsov uses to translate the Mongol term *nukur*, literally "friend." In the simplest terms, a *nukur* was a free warrior who voluntarily attached himself to the leader of a war-band, establishing a relationship of personal loyalty transcending all clan and other obligations. Some of the greatest commanders who served Chingis Khan began as *nukur*. Mongol *nukur*, Russian *drug*, "friend," whence *druzhinnik*, and Greek ξένος, "guest-friend," all have a root meaning of "other," "foreign" (to my own clan); institutionally they share with Latin *comes*, whence the title "count," the meaning of an association formed personally, not by circumstance of birth.—O. L.

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175 The Shat'o Turkish clans were already settled in the country before the invasion of the Mongols, and submitted to them when the Mongols founded the Yuan dynasty.[6]

There are no historical references available for the origin of the chiefs and the nobles of the other Monguor clans nor was I ever able to find any surviving traditions on the subject.[7]

They may have been founded by military commanders who were commoners by birth and perhaps antrustions by career. Such founders of clans would be given subject families in reward for their services; and, as the reward would be proportionate to the services rendered, the number of families thus allocated would be larger or smaller. Since commanders had to recruit their troops among their own subjects, the number of families allocated to them as subjects was determined by their military rank. According to this reasoning the military rank of the chiefs of the smaller Monguor clans must have been low. It may be that the small clans were small at the time when they submitted to the Yuan dynasty, and that their chiefs were accordingly made military commanders of small units.

175 The influence wielded by the Shat'o group in Hsining during the Yuan dynasty must have been very important, for at the time of their submission to the Ming, Li Nan-ko held one of the highest civil offices in Hsining, that of T'ungchih, while his nephew held the office of Tutu chihhuei t'ungchih. What could have been the reason for the extraordinarily friendly feelings of the Mongols toward the Shat'o Turks?

The son of Li-K'o-yung, the famous prince of Chin, founded in China the ephemeral dynasty of the Hou T'ang, which lasted only from 923 to 936. After the overthrow of this dynasty, one branch of the Shat'o fled to the Yin-shan range, north of Suiyuan, and was later entrusted with the protection of the northwest frontiers of the Chin empire (1115–1260). These Shat'o were called the Wang-ku (Ongut) of the Yin-shan. A second branch fled to Lin-t'ao, in southern Kansu, where they were known as the Wang-ku of Lin-t'ao. These Shat'o were later transferred by the Chin to Liao-tung (Manchuria). At the beginning of the thirteenth century Alakush Tegin, chief of the Onguts of the Yin-shan, betrayed the Chin emperor and followed and aided Chingis Khan, with whom he entered into alliance in 1206. In 1209 Chingis gave his daughter Alaghi Beki to the eldest son of this Ongut chief. Ongut troops aided the Mongol general Mukhali in subduing China.[8]

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[6] *Cf. Wu tai shih chi*, ch. 74, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*; Ponapen edition.

[7] For the founding in Kansu province of a noble family of Uighur origin, under the Yuan dynasty, see F. W. Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 in memory of prince Hindu," *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Stud.* 12 (1 & 2), 1949.—O. L.

[8] P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'extrême orient, *T'oung Pao* 15: 630, 1914. A. J. H. Charignon, *Le livre de Marco Polo* 1: 247–248, Peking, Nachbauer, 1924. H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan and his conquest of North China*, 114–133–139, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950.

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175 But the third branch of the Shat'o[9] was at that time grazing its herds in the country of Huang Chung between Hsining and Kanchou. It may well be that the Mongol invaders were glad to join hands with them in 1226, and to entrust high offices on the Tibetan frontier to their chiefs. Although these Shat'o Turks held high civil offices under the Yuan, however, nothing is known about the military appointments that they held during this period.

DEVELOPMENT OF CLAN STRUCTURE

175 624 While each of the Monguor and Shat'o clans settled in Kansu before the founding of the Ming dynasty, the present rank of the "T'u-ssu" in each clan traces back to an appointment early in the Ming dynasty; and on the date of this appointment depends, in turn, the division of the descendants of the first T'u-ssu into Houses, each with its own property.

THE POSITION OF THE T'U-SSU

The genealogical register of each clan accordingly starts with the appointment of the first T'u-ssu. The family chronicles of the Lu T'u-ssu line start with T'o-Huan (Tögon), who was granted the title of Prince of Nanting under the Mongol emperor, but was first appointed T'u-ssu of the clan by the Ming. In the register of his genealogy are recorded only his descendants; his brothers, kinsmen, and even his parents are not mentioned. In this way he and not his father was established as the founding ancestor of the new clan. It was to him that the Ming Emperor assigned a territory; he was confirmed by the Emperor in the "possession" of his subjects, who were by the imperial decree forbidden to abandon him.

The brothers of such a founding ancestor could not lay any claim either to the possession of any piece of land inside his territory or to any group of his subjects; if they were allowed to live on his territory and received some subjects, it was merely by an act of grace on his part.

Not only does the genealogical register of each clan start with the first T'u-ssu, but at his death the Monguors started building a new cemetery in which the mound of the first T'u-ssu occupied the prominent site, thus indicating the beginning of a new order; at the mound of this founding ancestor, in the "old graveyard," as it is now called, the ancestors are venerated on the day of the yearly diet of the clan. Similarly, the image of the first T'u-ssu occupies the central place in the temple of the ancestors of the clan. All of these facts confirm that the first T'u-ssu is regarded as the founding chief and real origin of the clan.

The T'u-ssu forms a unit with his offspring who are classified as being of his "bone." The Monguor family

[9] According to *Hsi Tai shihchi*, ch. 74, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*, Ponapen edition

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175 624 being based on the agnatic principle, the oldest son inherits the leadership of the clan, after the death of his father.

By the beginning of the present century (1911–1922), however, the T'u-ssu was no longer living in one group with his noble kinsmen; he was not the provider of all their needs, including food and clothing; he and his nobles no longer constituted a large family; and T'u-ssu and nobles were no longer living entirely at the expense of the commoners.

The nobles were by this time living in separate and distinct families, each forming an independent economic unit. Consequently some were poor and some rich. In this economic aspect, there was no longer a distinction between nobles and commoners. Noble families bought and sold land, cattle, and grain to each other and to commoners in exactly the same way, and the rise or fall of a family's fortunes depended on the industry or laziness, the good or bad fortune, of its members.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NOBLE HOUSES

175 618 In the inheritance of wealth among nobles, however, there is a peculiar institution to be considered. In each clan the nobles are divided into branches, called "houses." In some clans there are three houses, in others four or five; in the Li clan there are thirteen. Each noble family knows the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called "the great House," the second is called the second House, and so on. Each house comprises the descendants of one of the sons of the founding ancestor of the clan who was appointed T'u-ssu at or soon after the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368. During his life, the wealth, grain, cattle, cultivated land, and money of the founding ancestor were divided among his sons. If there were three sons, the eldest by right of being the first born succeeded his father as T'u-ssu and chief of the clan; but the property of the founding ancestor was divided in three parts. The new T'u-ssu and his two brothers each inherited one part, with only the distinction that the eldest son received a somewhat larger portion of fields and cattle. The privilege of a large portion was passed on to the eldest son in each succeeding generation.[10]

The number of houses established according to the number of the sons of the founding ancestor has continued ever since as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify each other by houses, saying "I belong to" or "he belongs to the third House." In principle, also, the patrimony of each house was permanently established at this first division. In practice, however, if the descendants of either the great House or one of the junior houses

[10] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 224. "the Mongol feudal seigneur . . . usually received his fief by inheritance and transmitted it to his son. Mongol seigneurs apportioned inheritances to their sons during their own lifetime, reserving the essential part of the heritage to the eldest son, after their death." The old custom of preserving the principal fief of the father for the youngest son had disappeared by the time of the Yuan dynasty.

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618 175 grew numerous they could subdivide the patrimony; the new subdivisions would then continue as independent households or families responsible to each other in vicissitudes of wealth or poverty.

In Monguor society since the Ming, only the T'u-ssu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of the commoners. None of the houses disposed of commoners as subjects. It is quite clear, however, that in former times among the nomads each group of nobles was a real possessor of subjects. Subjects and territory were regarded as assigned to the clan by the emperor and were understood to belong to the whole clan and not to the chief alone. Accordingly, when a noble was at odds with the clan, he could leave it, taking with him his portion of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or found a new clan. In this way it often happened that when clans were at war with each other, there would be subgroups in each of them that belonged to the same "bone," although they were engaged in killing each other.[11]

The idea of the collective "ownership," by the blood-related noble families, of the subject commoners persists more strongly under a nomad economy, for obvious reasons, than it does under an agricultural economy, but memories of it persist among nomads who have become farmers. This concept seems to have prevailed among the Shat'o, who before the Ming dynasty were already divided into two groups, one of 4,000 families and one of 963 families. The chiefs of each of these groups were made T'u-ssu. Later, at the end of the Ming dynasty, the T'u-ssu Li Hua-lung of the line of Li Nan-ko died without issue and troubles broke out over the succession. The Manchu emperor appointed a claimant named Li T'ien-yu as T'u-ssu, but allowed the troublesome pretender Li Hua-nao to take 100 families from the 4,000-family group, and granted him a separate title of T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24, p. 8).

Trouble among the noble families of the Lu clan seems also to have been the reason why six members of this clan were created T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 52, pp. 58–59). The craving for subjects, based on the old custom, seems to have been the cause of these troubles, although the *Annals* gloss over the matter, as is often done in Chinese chronicles to "save face," by allowing it to be understood that each of the six new T'u-ssu had deserved his appointment through meritorious service on the Tibetan frontier.

624 175 The same lingering tradition that the nobles had or ought to have a right to dispose of a number of subjects may account for the fact that, in lieu of a division of subject commoners among the sons of a founding ancestor, each of the houses was assigned the land tax revenue of a fixed number of villages of commoners. This meant that when the patrimony of the founding ancestor was divided, the land taxes of the villages followed the division of the inheritance. Here again the

[11] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 79. [p. 42a]

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624 eldest son, succeeding as the new T'u-ssu by right of
175 being the first born, had a distinguishing privilege. The land taxes due to him (in the form of grain) had to be brought to his mansion, while the junior houses had themselves to collect the taxes from the villages assigned to them.

624 At the beginning of the Ming dynasty, when the
651 houses were first established, the tax revenues must have provided a comfortable living for each house, and it is probable that they needed no other income to live at
175 leisure, at the expense of the commoners. After a few
578 generations, however, as the descendants of each house became more and more numerous, the collection of taxes became increasingly a problem. Divided and subdivided claims to a share of the revenue became insufficient to maintain the claimant families, and were inevitably the cause of quarrels and feuds. In the end, claims to the right to collect subdivided fractions of the land tax became chronic sources of trouble not only among the families constituting the house, but between them and the commoners from whom the revenue was collected.

624 In some houses the constituent families agree with
651 each other to take turns collecting the available revenue, but this leads to disputes every year and sometimes to
578 fierce fighting. It is not unknown for two or three families to go to the villages, trying to collect the land taxes in competition with each other. When this happens, the villagers are angered and demand that the families who lay claim to revenue patch up their quarrels and adjust their claims before the villagers open their granaries. Those who claim a right to collect revenue, on the other hand, resort to various kinds of deceit in trying to extort more from the villages and to get more than the legal or customary amount. In such problems and quarrels the T'u-ssu himself is involved because by tradition it is he and not the houses who fixes the rates at which levies are collected.

624 The sources of income of a T'u-ssu are more varied
651 than those of a noble house. The T'u-ssu collects the land taxes in the villages which form the portion of his
563 own house, and in addition collects a number of special taxes which provide his personal revenue. Most of these taxes are collected from Chinese living or trading within his territory. When Monguors who belong to his clan buy livestock, wool, skins, or grain they do not pay a tax on the transaction. On such transactions the Chinese, however, do pay a tax, and so do Monguors of other clans when they engage in such transactions within the territory of the T'u-ssu. Chinese shopkeepers, blacksmiths, and innkeepers living within the clan territory pay taxes. Imposts are levied on rafts and boats on rivers running through the clan territory. At the diets or clan assemblies, and at festivals at Lama monasteries in the clan territory, taxes are collected from Chinese merchants. Payments must also be made for the registration of title deeds to land and houses, and

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624 taxes are collected from Chinese who graze their herds
651 on the clan territory. When the T'u-ssu sitting in
563 judgment settles a quarrel, he collects a payment. He also expects gifts in cash when he makes his triennial visit to the villages and on the occasion of funerals and marriages.

As opposed to these sources of personal revenue, the T'u-ssu has very few administrative expenses because most administration is carried on through the obligatory services of clan members. The few Chinese secretaries who are employed receive instead of salary the allocation of fields which they are allowed to farm without paying land taxes. Since there are no schools, there is no budget for education, nor is there any expenditure for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of administrative buildings because all such work is done through the levying of obligatory labor. Monguor carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans, in addition to unskilled labor, being available through the institution of obligatory labor services (corvée). Since each village has to provide a fixed number of soldiers, with their full equipment, uniforms, weapons, horses, tents, food, etc., there is no budget for military expenses.

THE CHIEF OF THE CLAN

624 The description of the composition of the clan that has
618 been given in the preceding pages raises by implication the problem of the origin and evolution of the clan chief.

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE CLAN CHIEF INSTITUTION

The clan chief is *not an essential element* of the clan. Vladimirtsov,[12] drawing on the Mongol *Secret History* and other chronicle material, demonstrates that, in periods when the pastoral tribes of Mongolia were not unified in large groups under powerful clans, it was quite common to find clans without a regular hereditary aristocracy, led simply by self-constituted chiefs who were heads of families. By way of comparison, it may be noted that most of the small Tibetan tribes of the Hsining region have no aristocracy of chiefs, but are ruled by a sort of council of the heads of families.

The historical and comparative material makes it clear that in clan societies without hereditary chiefs leaders may be designated temporarily and for specific purposes, such as the organization of community hunting drives, raids on other tribes, or defense against raiders. Leadership in such cases may be influenced by, but not solely determined by, seniority in the clan. It may also be influenced by the personal characteristics of resourcefulness or aggressiveness in the man who becomes a leader, or by the number of his relatives and friends and the degree to which they are respected in the community, and, therefore, it may be said that such leadership simultaneously carries a tinge of usurpation by the

[12] *Op. cit.*, 93.

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individual and a tinge of election or delegation by those whom he leads. To the extent that this kind of leadership is not a well-defined institution, it is not surprising to find that the authority of the leader can be contested and that those who do not accept his leadership may leave the clan either to join other clans or to found a new clan.

There is an inherent tendency for such temporary leadership to become institutionalized and hereditary when a leader of commanding personality succeeds in providing his clan with booty and vassals, and lives long enough to prepare the way for a son to succeed him. Permanent and hereditary chiefs may, however, also be imposed by a conquerer. In the case of the Monguors, the new Mongol empire that resulted from the Mongol conquests was powerful enough to assign fixed territories to the Monguor clans and to designate hereditary ruling chiefs, so that chieftanship had already become hereditary and aristocratic. This view is supported by the fact that when the Mongol Empire was overthrown and the Ming dynasty established in 1368, there were no less than seventeen chiefs of Monguor and Shat'o clans who were able to offer their allegiance to the Ming emperor as chiefs whose authority, territory, and subject following were locally recognized.

As the institution of hereditary chief was established or reestablished under the Ming, with the specific title of T'u-ssu, it is clear that it had conserved its social as well as its political and military characteristics, and so in the status and functions of the chief of a clan a number of aspects are to be discerned.

By virtue of his birth in the clan, the clan chief presides over the cult aspects of religion in the clan. He is the chief figure in ceremonies venerating the ancestors; he is the guardian of the genealogical register; he also heads the cult of the guardian deity of the clan, whose temple is maintained in his mansion. He is also the ruler of his clan according to the laws of succession recognized within the clan, and at the same time under the Ming dynasty, the Manchu dynasty and the Chinese Republic, he was, by appointment of the overlord state, the ruler of both the clan and its territory. In all these capacities it was his duty to act as chief of the nobles and lord of the commoners, to preside over the meetings of elders, to adjudicate quarrels, to protect his subjects against infringements on their rights and privileges, and to command the armed forces of the clan in time of war.

RULES OF SUCCESSION OF THE CLAN CHIEF

In the rules of succession to the position of chief, although the office of chief of a clan is not open to competition, there are in fact elements of heredity, of choice or selection, of the consent of the governed, and of appointment by the overlord. A man does not become chief because he has held previous high office, because he has a commanding personality, or because he is a popular leader. Nor can he usurp the leadership

[p.43b]

618 because he is backed by a group of friends. He succeeds
624 to office according to certain definite customs of the clan. The chief must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestor." When a T'u-ssu dies, the heads of all the noble families, together with the most prominent heads of families among the commoners, convene to choose a successor. It may seem anomalous that commoners should take part in the choosing of a new chief. The way in which the lower status of commoners in the ceremonial veneration of the clan ancestor is emphasized has already been described. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles that can never be completely eliminated. Nevertheless, in the last years of the history of the old Monguor society the differences between nobles and commoners had in many ways practically ceased to exist. The heads of prominent commoner families took part in all meetings at which clan affairs were discussed. In the Monguor clans, there were commoners who were wealthier, more learned, more honored in the community, and more proficient in administrative matters than many of the nobles. It even occurred that when there were quarrels among the nobles, distinguished and respected commoners were called in to mediate. It may be, therefore, either that the participation of commoners in the choice of the new chief represents no more than a condescension on the part of the nobles, for the sake of mere civility, or that there is a lingering tradition from the ancient times of tribal history that the choice of the ruling part of the tribe (now the Monguor clan) must be ratified by the consent of the governed part of the tribe.[13]

Examination of the lists of the genealogies of all the Monguor clans as they are recorded in the *Annals* of the Prefecture of Hsining suggests the conclusion that the first son of the first wife of the T'u-ssu regularly succeeded to the office of his father. If the senior son died before his father but left a living son, then this son was entitled to the succession even if he were only an adopted son. In case the senior son died before his father and left no male issue, however, the next senior brother of the T'u-ssu, or that brother's son, was entitled to the succession. In the family chronicles of the Lu clan I have found one exception to this rule, and only one, a case in which the first son of the first wife did not succeed, the succession going instead to the brother next senior to him. I shall deal with this instance in the study of the genealogy of this clan which I am preparing for publication.

618 When a T'u-ssu dies leaving no sons, trouble usually
578 breaks out in the clan because each of the surviving
611 brothers of the T'u-ssu is eager to secure the succession either for himself or for his own eldest son. In such cases, if one of the contending brothers has more influence in the community than the others, or is richer or more popular with the clan, he succeeds in getting his

[13] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 100. [p. 44a]

618 eldest son chosen and appointed. In one such case, in
578 the clan of the Na T'u-ssu, four T'u-ssu of other clans
611 were invited in to arbitrate, and after discussions which lasted many days the son of a rich man, the third brother of the T'u-ssu who had just died, was agreed on and appointed by the clan.

175 According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 24, p. 8) the last T'u-ssu of the Ming period in the clan of Li, of the
618 line founded by Li Nan-ko, was a man named Li Hua-
578 lung, who died without issue. Li T'ien-yu, the first
611 cousin of Li Hua-lung who had just died, belonging to the same generation in order of descent from the clan ancestor, and of the same house, laid claim to the succession. In order to put an end to trouble within the family, one hundred families of commoners out of the four thousand belonging to the T'u-ssu were given to the contending claimant Li Hua-nao, and consenting to a petition from the nobles who were his relatives in the clan, the Manchu Emperor bestowed on him the title of T'u-ssu. Thus Li Hua-nao became the "founding ancestor" of a new clan, with one hundred families of commoners as subjects.

618 Thus while the historical material seems to show that in most cases the choice and appointment of a new chief of the clan are a mere formality, there are also instances that seem to prove that the rule of succession is not always clear-cut, especially when the T'u-ssu dies
[562] without male issue. In any case, a daughter never suc-
[428] ceeds because the clans are built on a strictly patrilineal family system with male chieftaincy. In this respect, as will be seen below in the chapter dealing with family organization, the rules of ordinary family succession tally with those that govern the succession of the chief of the clan, and the head of the family presides over religious cult practices within the family as the chief presides within the clan.

In case the succeeding son is still a minor, however, his mother is appointed regent by the sovereign state, formerly the Empire and later the Republic. This custom seems to prove that the senior son, even if still a minor, has a specific claim to succeed his father.

There is a discrepancy between the Monguor rule of succession as far as it can be checked by historical documents and an ancient Mongol custom that prevailed up to the time of Chingis Khan, under which the eldest son received his portion of the inheritance while his parents were still living and moved away to live as the head of his own family; the next son, in due course, similarly left the parental camp, and finally the youngest son was left to care for his parents in their old age and to receive the residual inheritance. Under this custom, the original tent, camp, and herds remained with the youngest son, while the most distant related camp was that of his eldest brother, who had moved away first and farthest. Barthold, commenting on this custom, notes that Chingis Khan, during his lifetime, endowed his sons and other relations with appanages, and that Juchi,

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618 as the eldest son, received the first and most distant appanage.[14] Lattimore, making a generalized comment on the nomadic Mongol society, writes as follows.

> There is a very ancient concept of authority inherent in the life of a people whose mobile property in livestock makes it easy for them to move from one place to another. According to this concept, a "tribe" consists of an indefinite number of "unnoble" families ruled by a hereditary "noble" family. The "chief," who became stabilized as a "prince" when the Manchus ruled Mongolia by remote control, was not necessarily the eldest son of the previous chief. When a chief died his successor was chosen from a "panel," which included not only his own sons but the sons of his brothers. The brothers, uncles and male first cousins of the late chief [on the father's side] formed a clan council of "yesterday's generations" of the hereditary noble family. This clan council chose the new chief from the panel of sons and nephews, which represented "today's generation." This new chief had to be accepted by the tribe. If he were not satisfactory the tribe might demur, either at once or later. The clan council might then recall the chief, replacing him by one of his brothers, one of his male first cousins on the father's side or one of his own sons or nephews in the male line. All this rested on a still more basic sanction; if the chief did not suit the tribe, the tribe or part of the tribe might desert him. They might either run away and join some tribe which had a better chief, or more rarely some new leader might, by proving his efficiency, make himself a new chief and so found a new tribe with a new, hereditary noble family. In short, a chief had ultimately to justify himself by his ability to lead his tribe, as well as by his hereditary claims. The more anxious and dangerous the times the more pressing the demand that he meet the needs of the people.[15]

INSTALLATION OF THE CLAN CHIEF

796 The following account of the installation of the chief
618 of a clan is mostly from information given to me by the T'u-ssu of the Ch'i clan of Nienpei, with whom and with whose family I was on terms of intimate friendship.

An auspicious day is chosen, usually by a lama. The ceremonies begin with a banquet, at which the principal guest is the senior maternal uncle of the chief who is about to be installed. According to the Monguor saying, the brothers of the mother are the "masters of the bones" of the children of their sister. In ordinary life, they are the most honored guests when her children are married, and when her children die they cannot be buried without the permission of a maternal uncle; similarly at this most important moment in the life of a new chief, it is the maternal uncles who hold the place of honor among the guests.

To the feast are invited the heads of the noble families, the most prominent of the non-nobles, the officials of the T'u-ssu administration, and the local officials of the Monguor villages. An old nobleman makes a speech in which he says that on this day the entire clan recognizes its new chief, whom he mentions by name, as chief of

[14] W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, trans. and ed. by H. A. R. Gibb, 392, London, Luzac, 1928.

[15] Owen Lattimore, *Mongol journeys*, 317, New York, Doubleday, 1941.

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796 the clan. The whole clan, he says, is happy to express its obedience and its willingness to help and serve him;
618 the clan hopes that he may be as glorious a chief as his ancestors of old in defending the clan and its component families.

The new clan chief first kneels down and bows nine times to his maternal uncle; then the noble members of the clan of generations senior to that of the new chief stand in line before him, salute him reverently three times, and join hands. The new chief, at the command of the master of ceremonies, then kneels down and bows nine times to them, touching the earth with his forehead at each bow.

The noble clan members who are of the same generation as the new chief then line up, kneel down, and (again at the command of the master of ceremonies) reverently bow their heads nine times to the earth before their new chief, after which the new chief acknowledges their homage by greeting them in the same way. Finally, the members of generations younger than that of the new chief perform the ceremony, but this time the new chief makes acknowledgment only by a standing bow, not by kneeling and bowing his head to the earth. Finally the whole group of commoners and officials kneel down and bow nine times to the bowing T'u-ssu. The whole group then goes to the hall of the ancestors, where paper and incense are burned by the newly appointed chief. Those present bow their heads reverently while standing in rows according to their rank and generation, in time with the command of the master of ceremonies. The ancestors are thus supposed to have received the announcement of the appointment of the new chief. Then all go to the temple of the guardian deity of the clan.

As I shall discuss the importance of the maternal uncle in Monguor society in a later chapter, I shall here make only a brief comment on the fact that at the significant moment when, in a society organized on a patrilineal family system, the eldest son of the first wife succeeds to office as the chief of the clan, it is his maternal uncle who has the place of honor. The occasion being one in which ancient customs are likely to be preserved, we are entitled to assume that the importance of the maternal uncle goes very far back in the history of Monguor society.

THE CLAN CHIEF BECOMES A CHINESE OFFICIAL

624 The chief of the clan must next be considered in his
175 function as T'u-ssu, an office that he holds by the ap-
618 pointment of the sovereign state of which the Monguor clans are quasi-feudal frontier dependents. Under the Mongol Empire, the Monguors were entitled to consider themselves kinsmen of the Mongol rulers of China. When the Mongol Empire fell and the Chinese Ming dynasty was established, the Monguor chiefs who submitted to it did so as the result of a decision of supreme importance; by adhering to the Ming dynasty they renounced the alternative of retreating into Inner Asia

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624 with other Mongol tribes, denounced in effect their ties
175 of tribal loyalty to other Mongols, and declared their willingness to serve as feudal subordinates guarding the Chinese frontier against the inroads of Mongols,
618 Tibetans, or other "outer barbarians." When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-ssu, they ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were modified by their duty to the Chinese emperor.

THE T'U-SSU INSTITUTION

The institution of T'u-ssu or "local chief" was one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal groups on the frontier of the Empire. The first historical record of an institution comparable to that of T'u-ssu is to be found in the institution of the Chimichou, under the T'ang dynasty (618–906). Under this institution the T'ang dynasty organized "barbarian" subject tribes in "circumscriptions" ruled by hereditary native chiefs who received investiture from the emperor.[16] The institution of T'u-ssu was known under the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, was reorganized and given its definite form under the Ming dynasty, and was continued under the Manchu dynasty. It survived under the Chinese Republic.

As an institution, the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal, non-Chinese peoples, attached to but not yet absorbed into the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that of China as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native chief" and as Chinese official.

CHOICE OF CLAN CHIEF RATIFIED BY EMPEROR

624 The choosing of a new chief by the clan itself has
648 already been described. This choice had then to be ratified. This was done through the administrative office of the T'u-ssu, acting as a bureaucratic office and not as the personal office of the T'u-ssu, which sent an official notice of the death of the previous T'u-ssu to the governor of the Province, to be forwarded to the capital at Peking, giving the day, hour, and circumstances of the death of the T'u-ssu. At the same time a petition was sent, through the same channels, imploring the emperor to appoint to the office of T'u-ssu the man whom the clan had selected as its new chief. In the event that the new chief of the clan was a minor, the petition requested that his mother be appointed regent. The emperor, granting the petition, then appointed the new clan chief to the office of T'u-ssu (or, if the son were a minor, appointed his mother as regent). The mother's regency ended when the son married or when he reached the age

[16] P. Pelliot, *Bulletin de l'école Française d'extrême Orient*, 1125, 1904. Leng Shun-Sheng, T'u-ssu chi tu, in *Frontier affairs* (*Pien cheng Kunglün*) 3 (2): 11–12, 1944.

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624 of sixteen. In 1916 I was present to congratulate the
648 young T'u-ssu of the clan of Lu of Liench'eng when he assumed office after his mother had acted as regent for eight years.

The custom of entrusting the regency to the mother is an old Mongol tradition,[17] which the Ming dynasty recognized and took over. It should be noted that the Ming dynasty, though in its early years it was strong enough to conduct campaigns far afield in Mongolia, never had a firm control of the Mongolian and Inner Asian frontier as a whole. It was, therefore, well pleased when any Mongol tribes submitted of their own free will and was glad to make concessions in the way of recognizing their tribal institutions.

INVESTITURE OF THE T'U-SSU: CEREMONY DIPLOMA, AND SEAL

624 When a T'u-ssu received his Imperial appointment,
648 he was granted a diploma and seal. Only three Mongol
796 T'u-ssu, those of the Lu, Li, and Ch'i clans, received a seal worked in brass, because of the merits of their ancestors in defending the empire against Mongol and Tibetan inroads and rebellious Muslims. The other T'u-ssu were granted a seal worked in wood.[18] These seals, under the Manchu dynasty, were engraved with Chinese and Manchu inscriptions (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 39).

It was the receipt of the diploma and the custody of the seal, equivalent to personal investiture by the emperor, that conferred on the T'u-ssu the power to exercise his functions. On the one hand they symbolized his subjection to the overlord state; on the other hand they symbolized the delegation, by the sovereign overlord, of the power to rule in the territory allocated to the custodian of the seal.

The receipt of the diploma and seal was, therefore, considered the most important moment in the life of the T'u-ssu, and an honor not only to him personally but to the whole clan. The receipt of the diploma and the consignment of the seal into the hands of the T'u-ssu were, therefore, the occasion for a celebration in which the whole clan joyfully took part, willingly contributing money and time in order to make possible a display of pomp and magnificence. The whole clan was in fact called into active service. Each village, according to its importance, was assessed for a contribution of a definite number of sheep, pigs, chickens, and a cow, all of which had to be delivered to the mansion of the chief. Each village was also assessed a certain amount of wheat, a fixed sum of money, and was required to make a

[17] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 67, 68. "Widows with minor children had autocratic power over the possessions of the family until their sons had grown up and married; consequently they took the place of their husbands in all respects and enjoyed their rights."

[18] Seals of higher ranks were carved in jade, gold, silver, etc., indicating that even the highest of the Monguor T'u-ssu were regarded as relatively petty feudatories.—O. L. [P. 46b]

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FIG. 2. Li T'u-ssu and his wife. Taken at his home in Hsining in 1914. According to Li T'u-ssu, he and his wife are wearing the costumes given to his ancestor by the Emperor Shih-Tsung (Yung Cheng period, 1723–35), of the Manchu dynasty, after the victorious campaign against Lobtsang Danzan in 1723, in which this ancestor took an active part on the side of the emperor. The costumes are reverently preserved in the family. It was customary, when a man received such a costume, to present his wife with a costume matching his in its symbols of rank and dignity.

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contribution, on loan, of kettles, bowls, chop sticks, and all kinds of utensils.[19]

A number of young folk, determined by protocol, were summoned from each village to pitch tents in the precincts of the T'u-ssu's mansion, to build small temporary kitchens, to slaughter animals, cook food, serve, grind wheat, chop wood, carry fuel and water, whitewash the whole mansion, and repair the walks and paths in the courtyards of the mansion. Everyone working was fed by his own village. The chiefs of the groups of nobles, and of the villages, were bound to supervise all the preliminary arrangements, and when the actual day of the investiture arrived, they had to attend the ceremony in full official dress and help to entertain the guests.

The Monguor troops were called out in full levy, clad in brand new uniforms which had been sewed by the village women and paid for by the villagers. In addition to neighboring T'u-ssu, the most important Chinese civil and military officials of the prefecture were invited to take part in the celebration. In the old days, before Hsining had become a separate province, a prominent official was sent from Lanchou, capital of the province

[19] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 148, notes the requisitioning of food from the common people for the nobles in Mongolia at and after the time of Chingis Khan. The term for these requisitions is *shi'üsün* (*shüsün*), meaning "ration," "provision." [p. 47a]

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of Kansu, to convey to the T'u-ssu the diploma and seal sent from Peking. For the use of a group of nobles and officials of the T'u-ssu administration a number of the best horses were requisitioned from the Monguor community, equipped with fine saddles and bridles, tassels of red yak hair, and necklaces of small bells. Mounted on these, and escorted by Monguor soldiers, they rode out a long distance beyond the T'u-ssu's village to meet and welcome the official bringing the diploma and seal, who ranked as a delegate from the government at Peking.

At the gate of the T'u-ssu's village or little town a procession was formed. The diploma and seal were displayed on a large silver dish and carried in majesty in a sedan chair, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, standard bearers, and men setting off fire crackers, to the mansion of the T'u-ssu. On the raised platform or porch at the entrance to his mansion the T'u-ssu, surrounded by his oldest nobles, the most distinguished commoners, and all the important guests, knelt to receive the precious diploma and seal presented to him by the delegate. At the command of the master of ceremonies, he clasped his hands and bowed nine times. Kneeling and bowing nine times, the forehead touching the ground each time, is regarded as the homage (*homagium*) or act of fealty of the vassal to his lord.[20]

The newly-invested T'u-ssu then accepted the congratulations of those present and went to the temple of his ancestors, followed by the members of the clan who, ranged in rows according to precedence by generation, joined him in venerating the ancestors, burning incense, kneeling, and bowing, all at the commands of the master of ceremonies. In this way the happy event was announced to the ancestors.

All then went immediately to the other temple within the mansion where the guardian deity (a lamaistic deity) is honored. Again incense was burned and the other ceremonies were performed by the whole group to invoke the protection and blessings of the deity. All then returned to the mansion, in order to take part in the official reception and the presentation of the guests. Each guest offered his congratulations and presented his gifts, consisting usually of inscriptions written by outstanding Chinese calligraphers on silk or satin scrolls, paintings on silk by Chinese artists, or, in recent times, the "western innovation" of small silver shields with engraved inscriptions. The inscriptions convey congratulations, good wishes, or record a commemoration of the happy event.

The nobles of the clan then made their submission to the T'u-ssu, kneeling and bowing nine times, forehead to the ground, at the command of the master of ceremonies, and offering congratulatory scrolls and a sum

[20] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 130, describes the "act of submission" of a vassal in the Mongol empire founded by Chingis Khan in comparable terms, and notes that in feudal Russia, as among the Mongols (and, he might have added, among the Chinese), the kneeling vassal was required to bow until his forehead touched the ground.

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of money fixed by old tradition. Following them the delegates of each village, one after the other, and the officials of the T'u-ssu's own administration went through the same ceremony. If the mother of the T'u-ssu was still alive, she also received scrolls and a gift of money from each group.

During this long ceremony the musicians played and firecrackers were set off. A banquet then began, following the Chinese protocol with presentation of cups and chopsticks to the guests. During the banquet a Chinese theatrical troupe played selected acts from traditional Chinese plays or operas; it was a special courtesy to ask a guest to select something from the repertory. Songs were also sung—usually Tibetan, not Monguor songs—by the best Monguor singers. Banquets were held in the afternoon for three or four days running, attended by three or four hundred guests. These banquets were preceded in the morning by the traditional Mongol sports of horse racing and wrestling.

When, at the end of the celebrations, the delegate who brought the diploma and seal returned to Lanchou or to Peking, he was presented with a couple of fine mules and one of the best and fastest horses in the country, together with a substantial gift of money. His attendants were also given presents according to their rank. These presents were called "The money of the sweat of the horses." [21]

The investiture and festival were an expensive burden on the whole clan and on the T'u-ssu personally. As an example, in the small clan of Chao, consisting of only 140 families, most of them poor, the young man who succeeded to the title of T'u-ssu inherited from his father, an opium addict and gambler, only a burden of insoluble debts, in addition to the old tradition of a glorious past. The funds of the family being depleted, and the subjects not being able to afford the expenses of the investiture, the young heir lost his appointment and his privileges, and his people became ordinary Chinese subjects, bound thenceforth to pay their taxes directly to the Chinese administration. But since in China it is always possible to reach a compromise, the young T'u-ssu, though not invested with official rank, was allowed to collect the taxes from his former subjects on behalf of the Chinese administration, and thus he was still able to make a living.

Throughout the Orient the seal is regarded with a special veneration. It may indeed be said to be the subject of a special cult. An emperor who lost his seal would certainly lose his empire. The loss of the imperial seal has always been considered by the Chinese

[21] To put the servants of the Son of Heaven to trouble was to "cause the horses to sweat." Thus Cleaves, *op. cit.*, 26, notes that, in an inscription, an ancestor is praised because he advised his Uighur ruler to submit to Chingis. " . . . by submitting gracefully without causing the men of the Suu-tu ("fortunate") Chinggis qayan to suffer and without causing his geldings to sweat. . . . "—O. L.

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historians as a sign that "heaven" removes its mandate from the emperor. When the imperial seal of the T'ang was lost and came into the hands of the King of Chin in 936, the fact was thus explained. In China, under the old order, the seals of officials were always entrusted to their wives, who kept them with their jewelry and asked from their husbands a small sum each time that the seal was taken out to be stamped on an official document. The accumulation of these small sums constituted the savings of the wives of officials. The Monguors took over this custom from the Chinese.

In 1908, three years before the end of the Manchu empire, the T'u-ssu of the Li clan (of Shat'o origin) lost two thousand dollars at gambling. Having no money to pay his debt, harassed day and night by his creditors, he placed his seal of office in their hands as security. This T'u-ssu was the son of the deceased first wife of his father. He had a half-brother whose mother was the second wife of the previous T'u-ssu. This woman paid the gambling debt and thus got possession of the seal, charging a small sum every time that she produced it for the stamping of a document. When she died, her son got possession of the seal, and used it as authority to collect the regular traditional contributions that are expected from the subjects of the clan to pay for the funeral of the wife of a T'u-ssu. By doing this he strengthened his position, because in China, according to classical principles, the person who conducts the funeral is considered to be the lawful heir. Having in this way created the precedent of actually exercising a degree of authority over the subjects of the clan, and having the seal in his possession, it was his intention to make an accusation against his half-brother, on the grounds of misconduct, and to have himself installed as T'u-ssu.

To forestall this move, the gambling T'u-ssu called together the elders of the clan, both noble and non-noble, and also invited three neighboring T'u-ssu to arbitrate the quarrel and get him out of his appalling situation. The meetings went on for many days. The T'u-ssu was bitterly reproached, humiliated, and dressed down. He had to ask pardon for having transgressed the limits of official convention, thus dishonoring his ancestors and his clan. All this time his half-brother, fortified by actual possession of the seal, stoutly defended his right to become T'u-ssu.

The meeting finally came to the decision that the half-brother should give back the seal to the senior brother, but that in compensation he should be allowed to collect the taxes from four villages subject to his brother, and that his descendants should enjoy this privilege in perpetuity. This drastic solution is to be explained only by the old Oriental belief that the man who is in possession of the seal comes into possession also of the powers, rights, and privileges invested in the seal.

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The "locking" and "opening" of the seal emphasized its ritual importance. Every year, as the year drew to an end, on an auspicious day chosen about the twentieth of the twelfth month, it used to be the custom to "lock up" the seals of all Chinese officials. This signified that the officials were taking a vacation and that administrative matters would not be acted on again until after the New Year. The Monguors took over this practice. At the "locking up" of the seal, they invited their officials for dinner, and then all went home.

Soon after the fifteenth of the first moon, an auspicious day was chosen for the "opening of the seal." All officials under the T'u-ssu were required to attend the ceremony, together with the chiefs of villages and the most prominent members of the clan. Disposed in rows, they made the ceremonial prostration nine times before the seal and went to the ancestral temple and the temple of the guardian deity to honor them and to invoke their protection during the new year. An important meeting then followed at which administrative matters were discussed, and this meeting was in turn followed by a dinner. Ordinary routine was then resumed. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, as described by Father Mostaert,[22] a still great reverence is attached to the seal. It is treated as a cult object held in veneration throughout the year, locked in a special ornamented case in the palace of the prince of the Banner, with a lamp burning before it day and night. The opening of the seal is carried out in a more ceremonial manner than among the Monguors. A traditional speech is given by one of the most distinguished officials before the ceremony of veneration is carried out by those present.

ROLE OF CLAN CHIEF AS CHINESE OFFICIAL

WARDEN OF THE MARCHES

175

As a vassal of the overlord state in China, the T'u-ssu has the function of a warden of the marches. When the Mongol dynasty fell in 1368, it was already rotten at the core and torn apart by struggles between internal factions. Knowing that all hope for the restoration of a Mongol dynasty was lost, most of the chiefs of Mongol tribes living in Kansu submitted to the Chinese generals who led the Ming armies into this strategic province bordering on Tibet, Central Asia, and Mongolia. The Chinese, for their part, resorted to the policy, familiar to them for some two thousand years, of using barbarian vassals along the frontier as a screen against more remote barbarians.[23] They accordingly granted titles to the chiefs of the tribes that submitted, in order to make use of them in defense against the still hostile

[22] A. Mostaert, "L'ouverture du sceau" et les adresses chez les Ordos. *Monumenta Serica* 1, Fasc. 2: 315, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1935.

[23] The relationship between "inner frontier" and "outer frontier" has been described by Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 86, 238–251, 2nd ed., New York, American Geog. Soc., 1951.

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Mongol and Tibetan tribes on the northern, western, and southern borders of Kansu.

The most important chiefs who were granted the title of T'u-ssu at this time were those of the Ch'i and Lu clans, who were scions of the Imperial House of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan of the Shat'o Turks. These three had been among the highest officials in Hsining under the Mongol dynasty. Because of their local influence, backed by troops of their powerful clans, they were delegated to negotiate with neighboring Mongol and Tibetan tribes, still hostile to the new rulers of China, with whom they had friendly relations, to urge them to submit to the Ming dynasty. Most of the chiefs of the region submitted. Those who held out were subjected in campaigns carried out either by Monguor troops alone or by Monguor and Chinese troops working together. The *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, pp. 10–12) record sixteen successful campaigns of this kind in the first years of the dynasty.

From this time on the Monguors remained faithful defenders of the frontiers, first under the Ming dynasty and then under the Manchu dynasty. A number of T'u-ssu fell in battle against invading Mongols and Tibetans, and Monguor troops fought as far afield as Sinkiang in Central Asia, Tat'ung on the Inner Mongolian frontier of Shansi Province, and Yülin on the frontier between Shensi Province and the Ordos. The military system of the T'u-ssu vassals was geographically based on control of the passes on the routes of trade and possible invasion in the mountainous frontier country. Most Tibetan and Mongol forays threatening the region that is now the province of Ch'inghai were launched from the south and southwest. In order to reach the city of Hsining, these invaders had to cross the passes of the mountain range called Lachi Shan, which runs almost parallel with the upper Yellow River and is the watershed between the Yellow River and the Hsining River. The two powerful clans of Ch'i (800 families) and Li (963 families) were, therefore, settled at the approaches to these passes. To them were added the 150 families of the Na clan. In time of peace they farmed and herded cattle. Whenever there was a raid they mobilized to fight the invaders. All through the year a few soldiers were kept on duty to watch the passes. There were 69 villages of these three clans along this part of the frontier (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 36*b*, 37, 40). In the dangerous valley to the north of Hsining the two vulnerable passes of Lungku and Yenwangku were guarded by the T'u-ssu of the Ch'eng clan, with 120 families living in seven villages near the pass (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 37). In the valley west of Hsining there were two dangerous passes, Haitzeku and Paitiehku, which were guarded by the Wang and Chi T'u-ssu with 220 families (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 42*a–b*). Where the celebrated Chinese general, Ho Ch'ü-ping, had settled the oldest colonies of which there is any record, in 116 B.C., the T'u-ssu of the Li

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175 clan with his four thousand families were stationed to guard the mountain passes between the Yellow River and the Hsining River, with the T'u-ssu of the Ah clan and his 150 families to the east of them (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 48*a*–50*b*). On the southern side, between the mountains and the Yellow River there were six T'u-ssu, those of the Wang, Chou, Yeh, Li Hua-nao, Hsin, and La clans, with a total of 632 families, guarding several passes and the boat ferry across the Yellow River (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*a*, 52–54, 57). In the mountains on the north of Nienpei the Ch'i and Chao T'u-ssu with a total of 820 families guarded four important passes (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 46*b*, 49*b*).

The country thus described forms a strategic triangle between P'ingfan, Lanchou, and Nienpei which is the key to the frontier between Kansu province and the Mongolian plateau, through the natural depression which separated the Nan Shan from the Yin Shan. Its importance was recognized as early as the first Han dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 8), when the Chinese occupied it in order to prevent the Hsiungnu in Mongolia, the ancestors of the Huns, from joining hands with the Ch'iang or early Tibetan tribes in Kansu. During the Ming dynasty, Mongol tribes from Alashan and the Ordos, invading Tibet by way of Kukunor, usually forced their passage through this country. Because the ancestors of the T'u-ssu of the Lu clan had already settled in this country under the Mongol dynasty, the Ming dynasty assigned it to the Lu clan, which with its 3,245 families became the guardian of the eight passes in the mountain range called Chitzeshan and the ferry passage across the important Tat'ung River. Their villages were scattered throughout this territory (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 58*a*).

While the Monguors were thus allocated to the valleys leading up to the frontier passes, the Chinese planted colonies of their own people in the vicinity of the main towns. Thus the situation was one in which the Chinese colonies depended for their safety on the loyalty of the Monguors, and the authorities accordingly treated the Monguor T'u-ssu as important people and favored subjects.

GUARDIAN OF THE PEACE IN HIS TERRITORY

64 The T'u-ssu, though a subordinate official of the Chinese overlord state, was treated as a petty sovereign
175 in his own territory, not to be interfered with by Chinese
648 officials in the administration of his hereditary subjects. Except for capital punishment, the T'u-ssu governed his people according to Monguor custom. His vassal status, however, was shown by the fact that he could be called to account if his administration was unsatisfactory. The T'u-ssu was responsible for maintenance of his own troops, and was expected not only to take the initiative in stopping raids from across the border, but to suppress banditry. He was responsible for the security of the roads passing through his territory and

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624 could be held to account for the murder of any traveler
175 on these roads. Under the Yung Cheng reign of the Manchu dynasty, the important monastery of Erhkulung,
648 in the territory of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, joined in the great insurrection of 1723. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was punished for failing to control the insurgent monks. His subjects were taken away from him and inscribed on the register of Chinese subjects under direct Chinese administration, his territory was confiscated, and he was deprived of his rank. A large number of his subjects, however, revolted against the Chinese and joined the insurrection which was still going on. The Chinese authorities therefore compromised. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was asked to summon his subjects back to their allegiance, and was promised that his forfeited rights and privileges would be restored if he succeeded. The promise was carried out and he was in fact reinstated as T'u-ssu when he contributed to the suppression of the insurrection by bringing his subjects back under control.

651 In connection with this recorded historical incident
648 there may be cited a tradition concerning an ancestor of the T'u-ssu of the Li clan, who was condemned to
173 have his head cut off, his territory confiscated, and his subjects brought under direct Chinese jurisdiction, for
624 failing to crush a revolt. Other T'u-ssu intervened on his behalf, however, because of the meritorious services rendered to the empire by his ancestors, capital punishment was commuted, and he and his descendants were instead to be required to pay in perpetuity a tax called *ch'iu liang*, "the tax of supplication." After one or two years, however, according to the tradition, the humiliating word "supplication" was replaced by the Chinese character meaning "autumn" which is also pronounced *ch'iu*, as a "face-saving" concession. The tradition is supported by the statement in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 16, p. 5*a*) that a special "autumnal tax" was yearly collected from the Li T'u-ssu, but the Li T'u-ssu and his subjects explain away the whole matter by saying that at some time in the past, when the Chinese officials were in difficulties because of insurrections, and were short of grain and flour, the Li T'u-ssu of that time, recalling the favors bestowed on his ancestors for centuries past, magnanimously and voluntarily offered to pay this perpetual "autumn tax." Thus the clan has its own "face-saving" version of the tradition.

EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

651 The emperor, as overlord, had a special interest in
648 the fact that the Monguor troops required neither pay, provisions, nor weapons, but were maintained com-
624 pletely at the expense of their own clans. As compensation, the Chinese officials were not allowed to impose
701 land taxes on the Monguors or to requisition labor services from them. The Monguor soldier, since he was considered to be perpetually on frontier duty, could not also be requisitioned for labor; nor could he be drafted

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651 648 624 701

into the Chinese army. In order to keep up the Monguor military strength, the emperor did not allow subjects of the clan to abandon their T'u-ssu, and the Chinese officials were ordered to help the T'u-ssu in recovering any subjects who had left their territories. The overlord state thus confirmed the clan rule of the Monguors that the subjects of the clan "belonged" to the chief. While in later times Monguors farming land in territory under direct Chinese administration were required to pay the land tax, they were still exempt from the corvée of forced labor.

651 648 624

In the administration of the law, relations between Monguors and Chinese were "extraterritorial." When a Chinese accused a Monguor, the summons had to be sent to the T'u-ssu, who alone could order his subject to appear at the Chinese court. Chinese allowed by a T'u-ssu to settle in his territory became his subjects, liable to Monguor land taxes, military service, and corvées. Monguor lawsuits had to be brought before the T'u-ssu and his officials. If a Monguor did not agree with the verdict of the T'u-ssu, however, he was allowed to appeal to the Chinese high court; but this right was more theoretical than practical, because the Chinese official, considering the T'u-ssu as a fellow-official, and also not unmindful of presents at New Year and at the four seasons, regularly confirmed the verdict of the T'u-ssu.

When Chinese officials, representing the overlord state, traveled through the territory of a T'u-ssu, roads and bridges had to be put in repair. Similarly, when Chinese troops passing through the territory of a T'u-ssu had to cross a river, the Monguors were required to provide the necessary rafts and boats.

TAXES UPON T'U-SSU AND THEIR SALARY

Under the Ming dynasty, except for the "autumn tax" on the Li T'u-ssu, which has already been mentioned, no taxes were imposed on a T'u-ssu. In this respect there was a marked difference between the T'u-ssu and the chiefs of many Tibetan and Mongol tribes who were required to bring every year, or once in a term of years, a fixed tribute of horses or other products of their territories. The difference is accounted for by the fact that a tribute-paying chief and his subjects were not, like a T'u-ssu and his clan, considered to be on permanent military service.

Under the Manchu dynasty, however, the *Annals* of Kansu record that twelve out of the seventeen T'u-ssu were required to pay land tax. The five that were exempt were the five most influential and powerful: the Lu (3,245 families); two Ch'i (800 and 700 families); two Li (4,000 and 960 families), and Wang (150 families). It is possible that these T'u-ssu were exempt from the tax either because of services rendered during the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 or simply because they were powerful and the Chinese were afraid to impose a tax on them for fear they would revolt. The tax im-

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651 posed on a T'u-ssu was imposed on him personally. He
648 passed it on by making levies on his subjects, but in
spite of this their tax was lighter than the tax paid by
624 the Chinese.

In his capacity as a Chinese official, the T'u-ssu was entitled to receive an emolument; but for unknown reasons this stipend was extremely irregular. Seven T'u-ssu received none at all, and of the others the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Hsining received the highest emolument, 146.88 ounces of silver. Next to him came the Lu T'u-ssu with 76.6 ounces. Five others received 50 ounces a year, and the remainder only 40 ounces.[24]

TRIPS OF T'U-SSU TO PEKING

648 The difference between a Monguor T'u-ssu and a
624 tribute-paying chief has been mentioned. Like a T'u-ssu, the tribute-paying chief received a diploma and a seal. Unlike a T'u-ssu, he was required to offer tribute at stated intervals, and the most important privilege enjoyed by him and his people was that of admission to the frontier markets. A Monguor T'u-ssu was not bound to report in person to the capital at stated times, but there were occasions when Monguor T'u-ssu were specially summoned to Peking in order to receive awards for meritorious frontier service. On such occasions, they traveled in state. The Monguors still enjoy recalling the fine show made by these glorious ancestors, even though a levy was made on all the subjects of the T'u-ssu, to provide not only a sum of money for his expenses, but thirty soldiers in new uniforms as his escort and ten servants, five secretaries, and enough horses, well equipped, for the whole retinue, together with provisions for the journey. In addition, the most handsome horses and mules that could be found in the Monguors' country were brought and taken along to be presented to the emperor and high officials. Other products of the country, taken as presents, were musk (for the harem), stag horns in the velvet (a medicine of great repute for old men losing their virility), deer sinews (a famous medicine for rheumatic people), and bear's paws (a renowned dish at official dinners), together with saffron from Tibet.

648 Before his departure, the T'u-ssu paid a farewell visit
624 to the high Chinese officials of the frontier region, who
gave him presents and more money toward the expenses
431 of his journey—hoping of course that in Peking he would
459 praise them and their administration in the right quarters. For the whole of his journey the T'u-ssu traveled at the public expense, having permits that entitled him and his retinue to lodging free of taxes and charges. Although the capital expense of the journey was great, it was in fact remunerative both for the T'u-ssu and his retinue. They all enjoyed it, for they benefited by the ancient tradition of the East that nobody travels without

[24] In view of the irregularity and the fact that some T'u-ssu received no yearly allowance, it is possible that these payments were regarded as grants to favored vassals rather than as regular salaries to officials.—O. L.

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648 trading and making a little profit. The T'u-ssu and his
624 retinue took with them whatever they thought might sell
435 advantageously in Peking. For the return journey, they
431 bought in Peking everything that they knew would sell profitably in their home country. The profit was greatly increased by the fact that they traveled free of charge and free of the usual transit taxes. Before they left Peking, moreover, the T'u-ssu received valuable gifts from the emperor, including the traditional ceremonial long coat, the yellow robe worn by officials on state occasions, and pieces of silk and brocade. A visit of this kind to the capital enhanced the stature of the T'u-ssu both among his own subjects and among the Chinese officials, because the rich presents that he took with him provided him with friends and protectors among the high officials at court.

648 Most of the foregoing information was collected in
624 Liench'eng, the T'u-ssu of the Lu clan of Liench'eng having been among the last of the T'u-ssu who visited the emperor. Two old Monguors of this clan liked to talk about this visit on which their grandfathers or great-grandfathers had accompanied the T'u-ssu to the capital, where they had seen the emperor. According to the family chronicles of the clan, this visit was made in 1829–1830 by the T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsün, fifteenth in descent from the "founding ancestor" of the clan. He left Liench'eng on the twenty-sixth of the tenth moon and arrived at Peking on the nineteenth of the twelfth moon. On the twenty-third of the twelfth moon he was granted an audience with the emperor and from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth he was invited to banquets and theatrical performances.

On the first of the first moon, the new year according to the lunar calendar, he accompanied the high official who carried out the rite of congratulating the emperor at the palace called the T'ai Ho Tien, and partook of a dinner of state. On the evening of the same day he attended the theatrical performance played on the ice of the lake called Ying T'ai in the Forbidden City. On the fifteenth of the first moon he accompanied the high officials who attended the fireworks illumination of the Yuan Ming Yuan palace, and was granted the favor of such gifts as the peacock plume, clothes, porcelains, and rare foodstuffs. On the nineteenth he presented his thanks to the emperor and asked for leave to depart. He made his farewells to the high officials, left on the twenty-eighth, and completed the long journey back to Liench'eng on the fifth of the fourth moon.

In the same family chronicle there is recorded the visit paid in 1819 by the T'u-ssu Lu Cho to the Emperor Chia Ch'ing on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday at the summer palace of Jehol. This T'u-ssu left Liench'eng on the nineteenth of the fifth moon and arrived in Jehol on the tenth of the eighth moon. On the twelfth, he was received in audience to greet the emperor in the Lion Garden, where he was accorded the favor of receiving slices of venison sprinkled with pepper and

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648 ginger. On the thirteenth, the emperor graciously ac-
624 cepted the T'u-ssu's presents, consisting of two beautiful horses and samples of the products of the Monguor country. The T'u-ssu received a peacock plume with button, a straw hat, a collar of the design worn by officials of the fifth rank, a long coat with an embroidered medallion on the chest and back, and an official robe embroidered with dragons; together with a silk girdle, a purse, a knife to be hung from the girdle, a short and long coat of brocade, some small carpets, a splendid saddle rug, tea, and dried fruit. On the fourteenth, after a banquet and theatrical performance, he received a clock and a snuff-box. On the seventeenth, after another banquet, dinner and theatrical display, he received foodstuffs. On the eighteenth still another banquet and the theater again, and at night fire-works. On the nineteenth he went to offer his thanks to the emperor and received two pieces of brocade, two of silk, six of satin, and a piece of dried venison. On the twentieth he bade farewell to the emperor and left on the twenty-first. (Extracts from the family chronicles of Lu.).

These records give an idea of the pomp of such visits under the empire. The visit to the emperor and the honor of seeing him were the dream of a T'u-ssu and the summit of his glory; and the subjects who accompanied him liked to talk about the splendor of the imperial palace, the majesty of the emperor, and his graciousness toward their chief.

THE COMMONERS

174 Having elucidated the questions of the chiefs of the Monguor clans, their function as clan chiefs, the historical position of the first clan chief, the rules of succession and installation, and having explained the new kind of position that was acquired by becoming a Chinese official, with the title and duty of T'u-ssu, there remain the many fascinating problems of the origin and social evolution of the commoners.

To what original tribes did the commoners of the seventeen Monguor clans belong?

MONGOLS

I frequently inquired among both commoners and nobles about the names of the tribes to which they had belonged in time past, but to no avail. Not a single definite answer could be obtained. But since Potanin and Prjevalsku assert that they heard Monguors say that they were of "Chzhahor," or White Mongol, or Karluk origin, and since Father A. De Smedt heard some rare Monguors say that they were of Karluk origin, it is possible that among the commoners there still exist traceable descendants of these tribes. Failing an established tradition among the people themselves is it possible to trace historically the origin of the commoners given as subjects to the Monguor clan chiefs by the Mongol emperors? The authors of the *Annals* of the prefecture of Hsining and of the province of Kansu,

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who seem to be reliable for dates and other facts, use the Chinese terms "T'u-jen, T'u-min" (aborigines), "Fan-min and Hsi-fan" (Tibetans), and "Mongol" so undiscriminatingly that it is impossible to identify the origin and the race of the commoners, as well of most of the nobles, except for the Ch'i and Lu clan, whose nobles are said to be members of the imperial family of the Yuan; one of the Ch'i clans whose nobles are said to be of Mongol origin; and the nobles of the Li clans, who are said to be of Shat'o origin and descendants of Li K'o-yung. The same confusion is obvious in the Ch'ing *Shih Kao*, Section *Lichchuan*, T'u-ssu *chuan*, VI, whose author seems to have extracted his material from the *Annals*.

Fortunately, more is available in the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u*, Chapter V. According to the introduction, this book was printed in 1751 and was compiled under the auspices of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung who ordered the governors of the provinces in which lived non-Chinese tribes that had submitted to the Manchus to send in reports about these tribes and to help artists, sent from Peking, to draw pictures showing the characteristics and costumes of each tribe. Although the material thus collected is limited, superficial, and reduced in most cases to the simple citation of the names of tribes, without noting the sources of quotations, and frequently includes no more than a vague description of the costumes worn by the tribesmen, it does offer some valuable data. This work, however, like others, confuses the origin both of "aboriginal" tribes and of Tibetans and Mongols. Those who made the report seem not to have cared about the origins of despised barbarians.

SHAT'O, TURKISH ORIGIN

In reading the texts related to our subject, it must be borne in mind that the tradition about the Shat'o origin of the Li clan is corroborated by the *Annals*, that in Chinese histories Shat'o tribes are noted as living between Hsining and Kanchou in 939, and that the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* confirms (or repeats) the data of Chinese history, the *Annals*, and tradition. The supposition that tribes of Turkish origin, bearing Turkish names, still live in the country is therefore not unreasonable.

In the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* our subject is twice mentioned:

1. Chapter V, pp. 46–47. The heading of the notice runs: "The tribes of Tungkou vicinity governed by the Tuchihhui Ch'i Hsien-pang of Hsining *hsien*." Two figures are represented, of a man and a woman, described as "Tibetans" (*Fan*).

The Tibetans [*Fan min*] of the eight tribes of Tungkou and vicinity, descendants of the Western Ch'iang, living 70 *li* and more from Hsining *hsien*, at the time of the Yuan dynasty were governed by Chi Kungk'ohsingchi, who held the incumbency of Li-wen [legal secretary]. In the beginning of the Ming dynasty he received the title of Chihhui Chihshih and governed the Tibetans. The Ch'ing dynasty recognized the former incumbency. . . . The Ti-

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betans of the twelve Paitieh tribes and others governed by the Tuchihhui t'ungchih Li Ch'eng-t'ang, by the Chienshih Natsai, Chi Ying-k'ui, all use the same kind of clothes and adornments.

II. Chapter V, p. 55. The heading of the notice runs: "The tribes of Tungkou and other places governed by the Tuchihhui t'ungchih Li Kuo-tung of Nienpei." Two figures are represented, described as "T'u people" (*T'u min*, "natives").

The Chihhui t'ungchih of Nienpei, Li Kuo-tung, is a descendant of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung of the T'ang dynasty. At the time of the Yuan dynasty Li Nan-ko held the incumbency of T'ungchih of Hsining *chou;* for generations they [the Li family] protected the western country; during the Ming dynasty, conducting his people, he submitted and received the office of Chihhui t'ungchih. The Ch'ing dynasty, because of his merits in summoning to submission Tibetan tribes and T'u people [natives], confirmed him [Li Kuo-tung] in his hereditary incumbency. The big village of Tungkou which he governed and the Hula tribes of T'u ["native"] stock which the Peihou Li Kuo-ting governed are the tribes they originally governed. . . . The tribes of T'u stock, Luerhchia and others, which are governed by the Tuchihhui t'ungchih Ah Cheng and Chao Wei-sung, the Chienchih Yeh Sun-yang, Kan Lin-chih, and Chu Sun-lin are in the main similar in customs, clothes and adornments.

In these two passages are mentioned the names of twelve Paitieh tribes who are called Tibetans, and of tribes named Hula and Luerhchia, described simply as "natives." All three tribal names are certainly not Chinese.

The Hula are probably of Turkish stock. Hola has been noted as a Turkish tribal name,[25] and the difference between Hula and Hola need not be significant, as the names of barbarian tribes are transcribed in Chinese in widely differing forms. Were these Turkish tribes who joined the Shat'o when the Shat'o were founding the Later T'ang dynasty in the tenth century, and did small groups of them take refuge in the Hsining country on the fall of that dynasty? Nothing is said about the time or circumstances of the Hula joining the Shat'o tribes. All that we know for sure is that the Monguors who are subjects of the Li T'u-ssu are of Shat'o Turkish stock, that Hola has been noted as a Turkish name, and that people whose name is rendered by the Chinese in the very similar form of Hula are described as subjects of the Li T'u-ssu. To this may be added the fact that the illustrations of the Chinese text under discussion show the people described as "natives" and those described as "Tibetans" as different from each other.

I have not been able to find any reference to the Luerhchia. Since the Luerhchia and the Hula are the only tribes described in the passage under discussion as T'u rather than Tibetan, and since reasons have been given for believing that the Hula may be of Turkish derivation, it may be also that the Luerhchia should be taken as a group of Turkish stock, subjects of various Monguor

[25] P. A. Boodberg, Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier, in *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 1: 305, n. 77, 1936.

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T'u-ssu. The group must have been large, because its members are said to be subjects in many clans.[26]

As for the twelve Paitieh tribes, described as *Fan* or Tibetans, I have not been able to trace their name among either Tibetan, Turkish, or Mongol tribes. An interesting fact, however, is that in the tax registers these tribes are listed with the first character of the Chinese transcription reading *Chich*, so as to give a tribal name of Chiehtieh rather than Paitieh. Yet the Monguors use the pronunciation, Paitjeh; the village where the Chi T'u-ssu lives is called Paitiehchuang, "Paitieh village," and the name of the valley, which it was the frontier duty of the Chi T'u-ssu to defend, is also Paitieh. Father A. Mostaert calls my attention to the fact that the character *chich* should according to Pelliot be read *pai* and not *chich*, as in the dictionaries.[27] It is remarkable that the Monguors should have preserved the correct pronunciation.[28]

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[26] Father Hermanns, in a book received in this country after Father Schram had completed his work (Matthias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, 29, Vienna, Herold, 1949) in a list of nomad tribes in the region near the Monguor territory, has the two names Ra gya- and Hor- (the hyphens indicating that they are used in compounding tribal names), in immediate juxtaposition. The appearance of these names, reinforced by the fact that they are in juxtaposition, strongly suggests that they underlie not only the Chinese transcriptions, Luerhchia and Hula, but two transcriptions cited by Father Schram above (pp. 15, 17) which may be held to combine Luerhchia and Hula: Dschiahour, from Huc and Gabet, and Chzhahor, from Potanin, with the explanation that it is a Tibetan name for the Mongols, from Cha = "Chinese" and Hor = "the Tibetan name for the nomadic tribes of North Tibet." Rockhill, *Land of the lamas*, previously cited, p. 44, supports Potanin, giving Jya [= Rgya] as "China," and Jya Hor as "the Tibetans along the Kansu [i.e., Chinese] border."

For Luerhchia as a Chinese transcription of Tibetan Rgya (Ra gya—in Hermanns, as above), the initial *L* may seem somewhat unexpected, in view of the tendency of vernacular Chinese to put a vowel in front of an initial *r* in foreign words, so that "Erhchia" might seem more probable than "Luerhchia" as an "unscientific" rendering of Rgya. For the rendering of an initial *r* by an initial *l*, however, see *Lo-sh'a*, for Rossiya, which the Chinese used until, influenced by the Mongol pronunciation Oros, they adopted Êlossu as the Chinese form of "Russia, the Russians."

As for Hor = Hula, Laufer many years ago identified Hor as a Tibetan name for "Turks" (B. Laufer, Was Odoric of Pordenone ever in Tibet? *T'oung Pao* 15: 411, 1914). It would seem that Hor (and Hula as a transcription of Hor) must reflect the same original non-Chinese word or name as *Hu*, one of the most ancient Chinese names for "northern barbarians."

To sum up: this complicated nomenclature results from processes as the result of which, at varying times, groups of frontier Chinese absorbed among the Tibetans could be known "tribally" as Rgya; Hor tribesmen, possibly or probably of Turkish or mixed Turkish derivation, could adhere to Monguor clans; and a term like Rgya-Hor, with a meaning translateable approximately as "Altaic-speaking Chinese" (i.e., "people who speak neither Tibetan nor Chinese, but administratively are identified with China rather than Tibet"), could be used by frontiersmen in an attempt to describe the Monguors to French and Russian travelers at the end of the nineteenth century.—O. L.

[27] P. Pelliot, Les caractères de transcription *tso* ou *tsa* et *pai*, *T'oung Pao* 37: 125–134, 1944.

[28] It should be pointed out that there is a possibility that Paitieh is from Bait (Bayit, Bayid, "Wealthy"), an established Mon-

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The suggestion has been made that still another tribal name for people under the rule of the Li T'u-ssu may be concealed under the place name, Tungkou. The written form is unmistakably the Chinese for "Eastern Valley." Rockhill, however, suggested that *-kou* might stand for the first syllable of the name of the Karluk Turks, so that "Eastern *kou*" might stand for "Eastern Kar[luk]."[29] That *-kou* might be related to Kololu or Hololu, two Chinese renderings of the name of the Karluk Turks, seems doubtful, especially as there is no other mention of "Eastern" Karluks. On the other hand Tungkou, "Eastern Valley," is natural in the context, where we find "tribes of the Eastern Valley and adjacent places" and "Tibetans of the eight tribes of the Eastern Valley and vicinity" in the Chinese source that has been quoted above.

That among the subjects of Turkish descent of the Li T'u-ssu and other clans there were Karluks is not impossible, however, and perhaps probable, because travelers and Father De Smedt have heard Monguors say that they were of Karluk stock; but the Chinese text here cited does not mention the fact, and the author says explicitly that the eight tribes of the Eastern Valley are Fan min or Tibetans, descendants of the Western Ch'iang. When this author mentions the Luerhchia, the Hula, and the twelve Paitieh tribes he writes out his versions of their names in full. If he had thought that Tungkou meant "Eastern Karluks," one would expect him to have written it out also in full, as "Tung Kololu" or "Tung Hololu." All of these considerations seem to point to "Eastern Valley" and not "Eastern Karluks" as the meaning of Tungkou.

In conclusion, it seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in Monguor clans are Turks, but not Shat'o Turks, by descent, and that in this context the author of the Chinese text cited means tribes of Turkish descent when he writes of T'u "natives." It will be seen later that the author of this text does not confuse either Mongols or Tibetans with T'u.

These tentative conclusions suggest that there is an important problem yet to be solved. Fathers A. Mostaert and A. De Smedt, authors of the *Dictionnaire Monguor-Français* which has been frequently cited in these pages, and of scholarly studies of the phonetics and morphology of the Monguor language, have established the fact that it is an archaic Mongol dialect with, at present, few Turkish elements. How is it possible that these tribes, if they were in fact largely Turkish to begin with, lost their original idiom to such an extent? Father Mostaert finds a language change of this kind not unusual. Indeed, who can prove at what time these tribes lost their language? Could they not already

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gol tribal name; or it may reflect a Mongol (or Turkish) name. Baitik; *cf.* Baitik (or Baitak) Bogda, "the Holy Baitik [mountains]" between Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang. I have not been able to discover the meaning of this name.—O. L.

[29] Rockhill, *Land of the lamas*, as cited, 43.

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174 have lost their old language before they appeared on the frontiers of Kansu? Further, the impact of the Mongol culture in Asia is generally underestimated: the appeal of the Mongol culture to the nomadic tribes in the thirteenth century in fact was overwhelming, and Mongol was then the language of the rulers of Central Asia, Mongolia, and Manchuria. Many tribes of Turkish origin exchanged their language for the different but closely related Mongol language. This assumption is evidenced by the fact that among the Mongols of today are encountered many names of clans of Turkish origin. Whole groups, such as the Onguts of the Yin Shan who were of the same Shat'o origin as the Monguors, and had fled together with them to China in A.D. 808, became Mongols, speaking only Mongol. The descendants of the Nestorians of the Ordos, who were probably of Turkish stock, are today thorough Mongols.

On page 57 of the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* is the last note related to the subject of the Monguors:

> The Ch'i T'u-ssu of Nienpei is a descendant of Mongols of the Yuan period, but he does not belong to the imperial family. . . . The 20 tribes he governs in the locality called Tatzewan are the tribes he originally governed.

The names of these tribes are not given, however. These tribes were certainly Mongols, as is indicated by the tribe's name Tatzewan. "Ta-tze," originally the Chinese description of "Tatar," is to this day commonly used in Chinese instead of "Mongol," especially in the frontier regions, and often with a condescending or belittling connotation. *Wan* is a "bend" in a valley; hence Tatzewan is "Tatar Bend" or "Mongol Bend." Concerning these Monguors the Chinese author notes that their houses, food, and customs are similar to those of the neighboring people, by whom the Chinese are meant, as the context indicates, as are their customs connected with marriages and funerals, and then goes on to state that they also observe many Tibetan customs. He thus seems to make a clear distinction between these Monguor commoners and those ruled by the various T'u-ssu whom he has previously mentioned, and this distinction seems to strengthen the hypothesis of a difference of origin between these two groups of commoners. These are the only sources available for solving the problem of the ethnic origin of the Monguor commoners. A majority of Turkish element is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by T'u-ssu.

CHINESE

175 In the seventeen Monguor and Shat'o clans, in addition to the original stock who came with their chiefs
177 from Mongolia to settle as wardens of the marches, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned above, there were also Chinese and Tibetan families who enrolled in these clans during the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier. There are no records of the earliest enrollment of Chinese, but it does not seem likely that "many" Chinese were enrolled before

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the beginning of the Ming dynasty in 1368, because the census recorded in the *Annals* for 1573–1620, which has already been cited, notes only 440 Chinese civilians in the Hsining region.

It has also been pointed out that for nearly a century and a half at the end of the Ming dynasty, and most of a century at the beginning of the Manchu dynasty between 1509 and 1723, the country never enjoyed real peace for long at a time, because of intermittent Mongol and Tibetan forays and revolts, and that only after 1723 did agriculture begin to develop and the region to flourish. From then on it may be assumed that many Chinese immigrated and settled in the country, engaging in both farming and commerce.

The Chinese have always looked down on the Monguors and Shat'o with real contempt, as barbarians. I have often heard the story, well known over the Monguor country, of the enrollment of the first two Chinese in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu. This was during the Yung-lo period, 1403–1424, when two young Chinese soldiers deserted from the military colony of Hsining, fled to the Narin valley in autumn and worked for Shat'o farmers in the fields. These two boys came from Nanking and were named Pen and Pei. They married Shat'o girls, remained in Narin,[80] and enrolled in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, where their numerous descendants are still living and well acquainted with the story of their ancestors. Even after five centuries the whole group kneel together facing in the direction of Nanking on the last day of the twelfth moon and burn paper and incense sticks to honor them. On the day of the general veneration of ancestors, in April, they again burn paper and incense, first for their old ancestors in Nanking and then for their more recent ancestors.

It was probably similar stray Chinese without families who enrolled in Monguor clans during the period from 1368 to 1723. Later, in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who enrolled in the clans. The most numerous enrollments were after the disastrous intermittent Muslim rebellions, when many Chinese lost all their wealth, families were broken up, and individuals fled to the Monguors to begin life anew.

After the great rebellion of the Muslims between 1868 and 1875, the whole province of Kansu was ruined. The population was reduced from seventeen million to eleven million. The impoverished T'u-ssu, wanting to revive their revenues, were eager to allow poor Chinese to settle in their territories. The Chinese came in as refugees in the most pitiable condition. They began by working for Monguor farmers. Then the men married Monguor girls and were glad to become owners of land, which was less expensive than in the country under direct Chinese administration. They were well aware of the lighter Monguor taxes and corvées, and as they be-

[80] This place name is from Monguor *narin guor* (Mongol *narin goul* or *narin gol*), "narrow valley." See De Smedt and Mostaert, *Dictionnaire*, as cited, 125.—O. L.

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175 177 came accustomed to Monguor life they willingly became subjects of the T'u-ssu, assuming the obligations and duties imposed on commoners. These Chinese did not drop their surnames to adopt that of the T'u-ssu, and are, therefore, different in surname from the rest of the clan; but they mingled with the Monguors, living in the same hamlets and villages. There are very few hamlets in which only Chinese live. Very few of them adopted the Monguor dress, and few learned the language. Some of the formerly poor Chinese, growing wealthy, have become outstanding people in the clan, pushing themselves forward and getting jobs in the T'u-ssu administration, where the pattern was the same as that of China, with all its assets and drawbacks and squeeze and bribery.

While the Monguors have absorbed or partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture to be lower than that of the Chinese. Many of them are ashamed of their "barbarian" origin, repudiate their Monguor or Shat'o descent, and claim to be of Chinese origin; they dress like Chinese and speak only Chinese.

It is not easy to give even an approximate figure for the number of Chinese enrolled in Monguor clans, partly because so many Shat'o and Monguors claim to be of Chinese extraction. For that reason it is possible that the number of regularly enrolled Chinese families is not as large as it seems to be. In every clan, however, real Chinese are numerous. The general rule seems to be that they are descended from individuals and single families, not from groups which joined the Monguors in considerable numbers at any one time. However, a large group of Chinese bearing the surname of Pao lives in Pient'an and is enrolled in the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu.

175 177 551 Professor Lattimore draws my attention to the fact that Chinese with the clan name of Pao (which may be written in several different ways) frequently if not usually claim to be descended from the Mongol imperial clan of Borjigid. This suggestion raises problems in connection with Monguors who use the name of Pao. On the one hand, this group is often referred to in ordinary speech as "Yuan Pao," which might be held to suggest "Pao of the Yuan [dynasty]," and hence descent from the Borjigid clan. On the other hand, there is no written record that identifies the Pao as "Yuan" Pao. On the contrary, the Pao families under the Lu T'u-ssu are listed as commoners, and as such have to pay taxes and are subject to corvée and military service; whereas the Lu T'u-ssu and his noble relatives claim descent from the imperial clan of the Mongol (Yuan) dynasty through Kölgen, son of the celebrated favorite of Chingis Khan, Kulan. If, therefore, the Pao families were really of Mongol descent, how could they have become commoners under a T'u-ssu also descended from the imperial family?[81]

[81] Pao is also used by Mongols descended from Khabtu Hasar, brother of Chingis Khan. The possibility should, therefore, be

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Father A. Mostaert tells me that Taiji (i.e. descendants of the imperial line of Chingis Khan) of the Otok Banner of the Ordos Mongols, when they have much to do with the Chinese and need to use a clan name in the Chinese style, take the name of Pao, from the first syllable of Borjigid. The Taiji of the Ushin Banner of the Ordos Mongols, however, prefer to take as a Chinese clan name Ch'i, from the first syllable of Kiyut (Kiyat), which is well known as the sept or subdivision of the clan of Borjigid to which belonged Yesugei, father of Chingis Khan.[32] Possibly the explanation may be that among the Monguors noble families with the name of Ch'i descend from Chingis Khan, while families of commoners with the name of Pao have only a vaguer, undocumented claim to descent from the larger Borjigid clan of which the sept of Kiyut (Kiyat) was a particular line.

In this connection it is worth noting that, among all the seventeen Monguor clans, the general rule is that the use of a Chinese surname begins only with the third or fourth generation from the founding ancestor, with the exception of the clan of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where the Chinese form Ch'i is found from the very beginning, with the supporting statement, in both the *Annals* of Hsining and the *Annals* of Kansu that the Ch'i line was descended from the line of Chingis Khan.

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The clan name of the Lu T'u-ssu is also of special interest. This line expressly claims Mongol imperial descent, yet its Chinese clan name is neither Pao nor Ch'i. The explanation is provided in the family chronicles of the Lu T'u-ssu. In 1410 a Chinese army suffered a disastrous defeat on the river Kerulen, in Outer Mongolia, and among those who perished was the son and successor of the founding ancestor of the Lu line, who as a frontier feudatory had been summoned to take part in the Chinese expedition into Outer Mongolia.

To erase the memory of this disaster the Ming ordered that the Chinese name for the Kerulen River be changed from Luch'ü to Yinma.[33] At this point the family chronicles of the Lu clan (which, as already mentioned above, I am now preparing for publication) chime in with official history. In these records, the biography of the third T'u-ssu of the line, son of the T'u-ssu who died in battle on the Kerulen River, says that in 1414 he was ordered with his troops from Kansu to Hsüanhuafu, on the frontier between North China and Inner Mongolia, and that in a battle on the river Kant'an he made prisoner a Mongol general.

The emperor then said: In former times Tan, duke of Chu, made a punitive expedition into the region of Yenhsi. The King of Ch'eng gave him, as appanage, the

taken into account that in the Monguor usage lineal descendants of Chingis Khan, if they used the clan name Pao, were distinguished as "imperial" Pao, while collateral descendants were considered commoners.—O. L.

[32] The Mongol terms are *omog (obog)* for the main clan, and *yasu(n)* or "bone" for the sept or subdivision.—O. L.

[33] Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols*, as cited, 28.

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country of Lu. Your family submitted [to the Ming dynasty] long ago, and has fought bravely in many expeditions in far-off regions; your glorious achievements may be compared with those of the duke of Chu, and I therefore bestow on you the name of Lu. From that time, says the chronicle, the line [that is now] Lu changed its clan name to Lu. Unfortunately, however, the chronicle does not say whether the clan name was previously Pao or Ch'i.

There remains to be mentioned the use of double names called in Chinese "*fu hsing*," borne by a very few Monguor families. I noted only 5 such names: Ho-Li chia, Pao-Ma chia, Chang-Li chia, Yuan-Pao chia. The *Pai-hsing hsing* the traditional list of Chinese clan or family names, records 408 single and 30 double names, and the few double names encountered among the Monguors are not included among the 30. What may account for the Monguor double names has always been a mystery to me. I was never able to determine whether the few families of commoners bearing these names were genuine Chinese, or sinicized Monguors, or Tibetans.

TIBETANS

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In addition to the Chinese there are in some clans large numbers of Tibetans but they appear to have joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese.

In the Li clan there are 20 Tibetan families living in the Narin valley and 60 families, still wearing Tibetan dress but speaking Monguor, in Hsiatsantze ("Lower station"). These 80 families are scattered remnants of the Tibetan K'eelurk tribe. In Tseilin [34] valley lives a group of 40 Tibetan families, and another group in Shuimokou ("Water-mill valley") of more than 100 Tibetan families who speak Monguor, but still dress in the Tibetan fashion, who once belonged to the famous Wang T'u-ssu of Chonnaonastery in T'aochou prefecture. They adopted the name Li.

In the Ch'i clan there are 32 Tibetan families speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, in Tungtsantze ("Eastern station"). They belonged originally to the two Tibetan tribes of Kairtsen and Nguertsa. In Chungtsantze ("Central station") are 40 Tibetan families also speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, who formerly belonged to the tribes of Mach'i and Ch'iaok'o.

In the clan of the Wang T'u-ssu there are 18 Tibetan families.

In the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu there are 453 Tibetan families, scattered in 13 villages numbering 2,365 persons. For this big group, there are historical data. They are descended from families granted to the T'u-ssu by the emperor as a reward for his strong support in

[34] This place name, especially as the second syllable is written with the Chinese character for "grove, wood," may be a Chinese form from Monguor *dziari*, given in the *Dictionnaire*, as cited above, as "bois sacre," with a suggested possible further derivation from Tibetan *t'sal* "bois."—O. L.

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563 the suppression of the big Mongol and Tibetan frontier revolt in 1723.

177 As for these large groups, it is to be noted that they are enrolled in two of the most outstanding clans, the Li and the Ch'i. The Ch'i clan descends from the imperial family of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan has always been the strongest of all the Monguor clans. 173 Under the Mongol dynasty members of this clan held the most important administrative posts in Hsining. A 177 tradition runs in these clans that the Tibetans enrolled on their lists were already living in the country under 563 the Mongol dynasty and at that time had already separated from their original tribes and submitted to the ancestors of the Li and Ch'i clans. This tradition seems quite credible. More is not known about these Tibetans, and nothing about the 18 families under the Wang T'u-ssu. Besides these groups of Tibetans, many single Tibetan families enrolled at different times in most of the clans and live scattered among the Monguors.

177 Owing to the enrollment of Tibetans and to marriages between Monguors and Tibetans there are in Monguor social life many practices proper to the matriarchal family system. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese, many Monguors have lost their own language, repudiated their Monguor origin, and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook.

When Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors. They were no longer under the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials in respect to taxes or military service. On the other hand they could not renounce their allegiance to the T'u-ssu, or leave his territory without his permission.

The question whether there are still other "Monguor" clans in other parts of Kansu may be answered as follows: the clans called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsining region are the only seventeen clans that constitute the subject of the present study. It is known that at the time these clans submitted to the Ming dynasty and their chiefs were made T'u-ssu, other groups of Mongols lived in the southeastern part of Kansu, in the regions of Titao, Hochou, and Minchou. Their chiefs, like those of the Monguors, were made T'u-ssu, had territories assigned to them, and acted as "wardens of the marches" (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 12, *passim*). They did not, however, form part of the same community as the Monguors. The chiefs and nobles of one of these groups, living east of Hochou, claim to be descendants of the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty (*Annals*, *ibid.*). They became Muslims, and speak a language akin to Mongol.[35] Another group, also near Hochou, are called Sart'a [36] or "Muslims"; they became Muslims during the Ch'ien Lung period (1736–1796), in order to save their lives at a time when the region was dominated by rebellious Muslims. The famous Muslim gen-

[35] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng-Tsang Chuangk'uang*, 200–202.
[36] From the Chinese transcription of "Sart."—O. L.

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177 erals, Ma Fu-hsiang, Ma Hung-k'uei, Ma Hung-pin, and other military leaders all belong to this group.

In the course of the Ming dynasty a few small groups of Mongols who had at first been hostile submitted to the Ming and were settled in Kansu. In the region of Paonan, near Kueite, there still live five groups of these Mongols, whose curious fate it was to become Muslim in religion and Tibetan in language; they are called the Wut'ung [37] Mongols.

All of these groups the Chinese of Hsining call Mongols and not T'u-jen, and the seventeen Monguor clans discussed in this book are unable, because of the peculiar evolution of their own language, to talk with these Mongols in the dialects they speak; they know that they are Mongols, but say that they do not belong to the same stock. A comparative study of the social organization and the language of these groups would be interesting and important, but I have never had the opportunity to undertake it.

THE T'U-SSU AND HIS SUBJECTS

624 Up to this point both nobles and commoners have been referred to as "subjects" of the T'u-ssu. The relation is in fact somewhat complex, involving not only the relations between T'u-ssu and nobles, but those between nobles and commoners.

The T'u-ssu, in the nature of the origin of the T'u-ssu institution, was formerly the ruler of the clan with the support of and by the appointment of the emperor. Although he is of the same "bone" as the nobles, the authority and prestige that set him apart and above the nobles are unlimited. From the point of view of the overlord state, the entire authority in the clan, civil and military, is embodied in him alone, and nobles as well as commoners are his subjects. The only limit on his power is that he cannot inflict capital punishment. He also represents the leadership and prestige of the sacred founding ancestor of the clan.

T'U-SSU ULTIMATE OWNER OF THE CLAN TERRITORY

From the emperor, the T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan. These territories were originally assigned, according to a military plan, to screen the frontier, at a time when the Monguors were still nomads, and it may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories. We must, however, beware of the idea that "nomads" are concerned only with cattle-breeding. Travelers in Mongolia, medieval and modern, have noted—often with astonishment—the wide distribution of farming practiced by nomads. It is true that the farming done by nomads is rudimentary and crude compared with intensive Chinese farming, but it is also true that nomads always attempt a little auxiliary farming wherever climate and soil permit. The Monguors must, at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, have

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[37] Possibly from a mistaken Chinese transcription of Mongol *khotong*, "a Muslim."—O. L.

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311 been nomads who already knew something about farming.[38]

175 The historical picture, which includes traces of ancient irrigation before the settling of the Monguors, and new 241 Chinese agricultural colonies introduced under the Ming, indicates that the Monguors increasingly adapted themselves to an environment in which farming was possible and profitable. It is possible that with the growth of population there was no longer room for a preponderantly pastoral economy, and possible also that constant border warfare resulted in severe losses of cattle. Whatever the reason for the shift from pastoralism to agriculture, however, it brought with it important social problems, because the economic system of a people determines the rules under which property is held.

311 The nomad economy is extensive, and requires room for migration between winter and summer pasture. 241 Farming—even non-irrigated farming—is intensive compared with pastoralism, and brings with it a shift of values from the wide, windswept pastures to the small, sheltered, cultivable plot of land.[39]

The farmer's year of toil is centered on a definite piece of land. If he is a free farmer and not a mere serf, his property interest is identified with that land, and with his right to dispose of it by sale or legacy. This interest is different in kind from that of the nomad in mobile livestock. We may, therefore, well expect changes in the social psychology of the Monguors to accompany the shift from a predominance of pastoralism to a predominance of agriculture, even though the Monguors never became as exclusively agricultural as the Chinese.

423 In the Monguor society there is an adaptation between the principle of the absolute ownership of the territory by the T'u ssu and the principle of private property among members of the clan. The principle of the T'ussu's absolute ownership being recognized by the over-

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[38] L. Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie: Turcs et Mongols, des origines à 1405*, 49–50, Paris, 1896, sums up the matter in the words: "It is possible that there may have existed nomads limiting themselves exclusively to meat, milk, and the wool of their herds; but no such nomads have ever been known in historical times." Owen Lattimore, The geographical factor in Mongol history, *Geographical Jour.*, London, Jan. 1936, writes (p. 5) that "the history of the steppe peoples is not independent of the history of agricultural communities," and also draws attention (p. 14) to the agriculture of the Orkhon Turks in Northern Mongolia in the middle ages. He again refers repeatedly to semi-nomads and marginal nomads in his *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 2nd ed., New York, Amer. Geog. Soc., 1951. K. A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-seng, in *History of Chinese society: Liao, Trans. Amer Philos. Soc.* **36**: 120–121, 1949, recapitulate the views of a number of writers, but make the mistake of assuming that when William of Rubruck, in the thirteenth century, speaks of "villages in the south" from which Mongol lords drew tribute of millet and flour, he means villages of Mongol farmers. It is clear from the context that the reference is to tributary, sedentary, non-Mongol peoples.

[39] For the "extensive-intensive" range between hunting, steppe pastoralism, rainfall agriculture, and irrigated agriculture, see Lattimore, The geographical factor in Mongol history, as cited above, 6.

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423 lord state, he has the right to grant fields to monasteries or to personal friends, and the right to sell or mortgage parts of the clan territory to Chinese or to monasteries.[40]

426 As an illustration the Li T'u-ssu, in 1906, being in debt, mortgaged a part of his territory near Weiyuanp'u to the Living Buddha Chang-chia[41] of the Chang-chia monastery, a piece of the Li territory in Hsiaoyang-ch'uan and another in Shuimokou, with some adjoining

425 forest. Similarly the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Nienpei sold a part of his territory to the Chinese of Kaochai in 1908. The Lu T'u-ssu, according to the family chronicles, granted land in Niut'oukou to the father-in-law of his nephew and also to one of his secretaries.

The adaptation between this theoretical absolute ownership and the rights of private property of individual members of the clan is effected through an interesting convention: the T'u-ssu never "sells" the soil to farmers; he writes a contract under which he accepts the price of the fields, just as a seller does, but in the contract the word "pass" is used instead of the word "sell." Thus he "passes" his land to be used by the farmer and his heirs in perpetuity, and endows him with the right to "pass" it over to other members of the clan. Under this convention the T'u-ssu, by accepting the price of the land, pledges that he will not interfere with the use or disposal of it.

All interests are thus reconciled and the required stability achieved. The farmer becomes a quasi owner, with all the rights of a real owner. The T'u-ssu gets the selling price of his land but continues to be recognized as the "owner" by the overlord state, and the farmers living in "his" territory remain bound to him, remain his subjects, and liable as such to corvées, to military service, and to taxes.

Often, however, I have heard the Monguors say, heaving a deep sigh, that now-a-days their T'u-ssu love money too much;

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[40] J. Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, 13, Paris, éditions Dillen, 1932, notes that in the Ordos the territory belongs to the tribe but the prince may dispose of it in order to grant a domain to one or another of his subjects, usually an important official. The territory of the tribe may not be sold, but may be rented to Chinese for farming for a time so long that it is practically equivalent to sale.

[41] The Chang-chia (lCan-skya) Hutukhtu is one of the most important Lama Buddhist "incarnations." In the eighteenth century, in the reign of the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien Lung, the incumbent of this incarnation played an important part in the translation into Mongol of Tibetan religious literature, thus furthering the Manchu policy of diverting the attention of the Mongols away from the past and toward the acceptance of religious control. See W. Heissig, *Bolur Erike, Monumenta Serica*, Monograph 10, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1946, especially pp. 28–30. For this reason the incarnations of the Chang-chia Hutukhtu or Living Buddha were thereafter especially favored by the Manchu dynasty and afterwards by the Chinese Republic. The Chang-chia's influence was greatest in Inner Mongolia, and he also had monasteries at Wut'aishan, a great center of Mongol pilgrimage in Shansi province in North China, in Peking; and in the Monguor country as mentioned in the text above. The present incarnation of the Chang-chia is a refugee on Formosa.—O. L. [p.59a]

425 they want us to sign contracts, have them registered, and pay taxes. In the good old days, as our tradition goes, all these formalities did not exist; when Monguors wanted to bring into cultivation some non-cultivated land in the clan territory, they took possession of it, and paid the regular taxes according to average. When they "passed" the land to some other member of the clan, they fixed the sum to be paid by mutual agreement. No contract was signed. Instead, the outlines of the field were drawn on a plank; the plank was sawn in two pieces, and each took half of it. Now there are too many astute Chinese enrolled in the clan. We Monguors and the T'u-ssu are not so unsophisticated as before, and every day there are more and more formalities.

425 618 This tradition about taking possession of land within the territory of the clan according to the personal needs of the subject, and naturally without prejudice to the interests of others, is instructive and believable. In the Hsifan (Tibetan) tribe of Sumdoo, near the monastery of Erhkulung, the same procedure still prevailed in 1911–1921. There, every member of the clan was free to bring into cultivation non-cultivated land, and to build a house anywhere in the territory of the clan. The man who did so was bound to notify his taking possession of the soil by offering to the chief of the tribe a quarter of a brick of tea and two packets of Chinese vermicelli; no other formalities or expenses. This tribe was still practising far more stock-breeding than agriculture, and was probably very much like the Monguors at the time when they were making the transition from cattle-breeding to farming. Among them, if a man wanted to make money by selling land that he had improved, perhaps by building a house or adding an irrigation ditch, they agreed on a sum and drew on a sheet of paper a map of the field and each took his half of the map. There was no other form of contract, no registration, and no tax. It is remarkable that this old custom of the map as deed of sale and title deed prevailed at late as 1911–1921.

423 618 These customs seem to indicate absolute independence and equality as between individual members of the clan in taking possession of community land in order to make a living. It would seem that all the members of the clan agree with each other's fundamental right to make a living, to improve themselves financially, and to do so by whatever means they personally consider adequate or necessary, as long as these means are not prejudicial to the interests of others.

Looking back to what has been said above about the chief of the clan and the way in which he is "chosen" and appointed by the elders, it is plain that the community, represented by the elders, was originally the possessor and dispenser of the clan territory. The supremacy of the chief came late and was a kind of usurpation. We learn from history that at all times usurpers have existed. It is clear that by the time of Chingis Khan the holder of a fief was the real proprietor. The fief was a definite territory granted the fief-holder. Its inhabitants were his vassals and he was the vassal of the emperor. He was the "owner" of both the vassals and the territory,

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under the higher "ownership" of the emperor.[42] The chiefs of the Monguors and Shat'o in Kansu must have been feudatories of this kind under the Mongol dynasty.

Among nomads living in an extensive territory the territorial rights of the nomad lord over his vassals were not exercised in the same way as among farming and sedentary peoples. They took primarily the form of the power of the chief to order and regulate the movements of herds and herders according to grazing needs at different seasons, to summon men for military service, and to requisition labor for other services.

For the Monguors and Shat'o, living in the relatively small territories assigned to them by the emperor, the problem was not one of wide grazing movement but of concentration for frontier defense. The chiefs were "owners" of the territory, and of the subjects whose military services they commanded, but within the limited territory each clan member was free to settle and cultivate at his own choice, and to treat all uncultivated land as "common pasture" for grazing.

The strongly "individual" character of the right of property in the Monguor society predominates over the social, civil, and political aspects of property, and deserves attention because it is a fundamental principle still fully understood, recognized, and applied by relatively primitive peoples, but often disregarded by sociologists.

T'U-SSU LORD OF THE COMMONERS

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The distinctive mark of a commoner is to be bound to his T'u-ssu. As already explained above, commoners were subjects granted to a chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his command in time of war.[43] Since his subjects were his only source for the recruiting of troops, the military importance of a T'u-ssu corresponded to the number of his families of commoners. Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of the slave, the *nullum caput habens* of the Roman law,[44] the basic distinction between nobles and common-

[42] Compare Lord Bryce's comment, *The Roman Empire*, 122–124, 229, New York, Macmillan, 1904, that in feudal Europe "real sovereignty" resided in the fief.—O. L.

[43] An element of agreement or bargaining may also be noted. When the "founding ancestor" submitted to the Ming dynasty, he was already (*a*) the leader of a group of his noble kinsmen and (*b*) in control of a number of commoners, perhaps originally the conquered subjects of his ancestors, perhaps "granted" to his ancestors by the preceding Mongol dynasty. His "bargain" with the Ming was that, without fighting, he offered them his allegiance as the man who was able to bring this military manpower into their service. The part played by the Ming was to accept the "bargain" by confirming and sustaining the T'u-ssu in his primacy among his kinsmen and his lordship over the commoners.—O. L.

[44] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 80. In the old Mongol society the vassals were not slaves. They were allowed to possess their own property, to raise their own cattle. They enjoyed a certain amount of liberty. The suzerain did not absorb all the fruits of their labor. On the other hand, they were bound to serve him in time of peace and to fight for him in time of war; to accompany his clan when they migrated to new pastures, and always

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ers still existed in 1911–1922, even though the chasm which in former times separated nobles from commoners had almost been bridged in ordinary social life. The commoners were still, however, not allowed to abandon their chiefs. The moment they became able to exercise that freedom, the clans were bound to fall asunder, the troops to disappear, and the T'u-ssu institution to wither away.

The first duty of a subject was never to abandon his lord.[45] The subjects and their descendants were chained with fetters which never could be removed. They could not even of their own decision leave their lord in order to pass into the service of another lord. Under pre-Monguor customary law the death penalty was stipulated for attempting to do so.[46] This conviction of being chained was deeply rooted in the social consciousness of the Monguors and was considered by them to be natural. It was enforced by the right of the T'u-ssu to request from the Chinese officials the extradition of any of his subjects who fled and hid among the Chinese.

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After the great rebellion of the Muslims (1868–1872), however, the military power of the Monguors gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time wielded any considerable influence. The Chinese officials, receiving fewer presents from the impoverished T'u-ssu, were not as willing as before to uphold their rights and privileges. Although there is no documentary evidence that the Chinese were following their traditional policy of unifying the administration by gradually abolishing the privileges of tribes that had become innocuous, perhaps there were secret orders from Peking to neglect the T'u-ssu. The T'u-ssu institution had in fact become obsolete and the imperial authorities must have been aware that this kind of defense of the frontiers was now useless.[47] In any event, less support was henceforth

to live together with his clan; to help in the pastoral economy and in hunting. It was impossible for them to unbind the fetters which chained them to the suzerain, and so their descendants continued to be the vassals of his clan.

[45] There was a distinction in this respect between nobles and commoners. As shown by the recorded instances, notably in the Li clan (see above, p. 40), a kinsman of the T'u-ssu could, in certain circumstances, split away from the T'u-ssu and, by the decree of the overlord state, take some of the commoners, be allocated a territory, be created himself a T'u-ssu, and become the founder of a new line of nobles ruling over subject commoners. From this aspect the position of a T'u-ssu relative to his noble kinsmen may be described as *primus inter pares* and relative to his commoners as *princeps omnium*.—O. L.

[46] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 153.

[47] The T'u-ssu and the whole antiquated Manchu imperial system were unable to deal with the Muslim insurrection, which was eventually put down by the "new style" Chinese (not Manchu) generals in command of Chinese (not Manchu) troops, with Western arms. One consequence was that it became evident that such frontier feudatories as the Monguors were no longer either useful or dangerous. Even if there were secret orders from Peking to neglect them, therefore, there was no need for such orders. Another consequence was that the "new style" Chinese generals began to become superior in prestige to the Manchu imperial state, and became, in fact, the "founding ancestors" of

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extended to the T'u-ssu, their influence waned and dwindled, and they even became unable to insist on the extradition of fugitive subjects who preferred to become Chinese or to take a chance on earning a living elsewhere.

The cornerstone of the whole institution had always been the power to keep the subjects bound to the chief and to the territory. As this power decreased during the last fifty years of the Manchu dynasty, there were many defections. In the end the only ties still attaching the vassals to their lord were the benefits of living under his administration, because his taxes on his subjects were not as heavy as the taxes imposed on Chinese. If the subjects saw a chance to better themselves in some other way, however, or felt the fetters of the T'u-ssu too chafing, they would say goodbye to their lord and leave him.

A rich subject of the Lu T'u-ssu living in the Lumen Valley, an owner of large herds, left his lord and enrolled in a Tibetan tribe north of Weiyuanp'u, where he secured better pasturage for his flocks and enjoyed about the material advantages that he had enjoyed near his lord. He was soon on his way to becoming a Tibetan, and his Monguor lord could not impede his departure.

About 1890, several groups of Monguors, vassals of different T'u-ssu, enrolled in the Tibetan tribe called "the ten large clans" living in Hasit'an in the sub-prefecture of Kulang. They left their lords and ceased to recognize any kind of allegiance to them. Because this defection was on a large scale and damaging to their prestige, the T'u-ssu collectively sued for the extradition of their undutiful subjects at the Chinese courts at Nienpei, P'ingfan, and Hsining, and finally at Lanchou. Convinced of their inalienable rights, they persisted, but in 1914, after more than twenty years of unavailing litigation, no decision had been handed down. The disheartened lords swallowed the bitter pill. The breach had been opened in the fortress of their old institution, and it appeared to be doomed. In 1918 I saw the defecting Monguors in Hasit'an. Their womenfolk still wore the distinctive Monguor headgear and dress, and they still spoke the Monguor language, but after one or two generations they would become Tibetans.

Another group of Monguors belonging to the Li T'u-ssu left their lord, repudiated their allegiance to him, and went to live in the territory of the monastery of T'ient'ang. They got into trouble with the Living Buddha of the monastery, who ordered them to wear Tibetan costume.

The Living Buddha Sumpa of the monastery of Erhkulung had acquired a large territory belonging to Mongols living north of the sub-prefecture of Maopeisheng.[48]

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the warlords, the social class that dominated the next generation both within China and on the frontiers.—O. L.

[48] This place name is a Chinese rendering of the Mongol *mu baishing*, "ruined (lit. 'bad') building" (or "fortress"). The ancient word *baishing* is not listed as used by Monguors in De Smedt and Mostaert's *Dictionnaire*.—O. L.

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624 178 He gathered several groups of Monguors and founded four Monguor villages, naming them after the villages from which the settlers came. These Monguors still recognize their allegiance to their lords for corvées and other services, but not for land taxes, which they pay to the Buddha.

A colony of Monguors from Shangsukou emigrated to Cholok in Narinkou. They, too, continued to recognize their old lord.

These facts prove that the clan institution of the T'u-ssu was falling asunder by the end of the Manchu dynasty, and also indicate that the Monguors were so prolific that the territory assigned to them by the emperor in 1368 had become too narrow.

TAXES

651 The Monguor taxation system bespeaks the nomadic tradition. In former times the importance of a nomad chief was not appraised by the extent of his territory, but by the number of his vassals. The Monguor T'u-ssu still retain this outlook. Their neighbors, the Chinese, impose taxes on the fields, not on the people, but the T'u-ssu impose taxes on the vassals, not on the fields. The vassals, having become farmers, live in villages. The T'u-ssu taxes the village community according to the number and wealth of its families. The heads of families, together with the elders, grade the families in five classes according to their wealth and apportion the taxes among them. Rich people who are traders or have large herds but cultivate little land are more heavily taxed than poor people who cultivate more land. At the lowest level the commoner is taxed without consideration of the source of his income. At this lowest level, the amount of land cultivated necessarily becomes the sole base of taxation, and the nomadic principle of taxing the people is inevitably transformed into the agricultural principle of taxing the land.

It is easy to understand that the distribution of taxes is in many villages the source of troubles and quarrels which the T'u-ssu have to deal with on their triennial visits. Obviously, the system does not fit the framework of the present (1911–1921) economy of the Monguors. If the tax system were to fit the conditions, fields and herds and trade should be subject to differently calculated taxes; but both the Monguors and their T'u-ssu are still dominated by the nomadic tradition, and therefore accept the basic principle that it is the vassal and not the territory that should be taxed.

When the harvest has been reaped and threshed, the servants of the lord go to all the villages, exhorting the villagers to bring their taxes to the mansion of the T'u-ssu immediately. These taxes, levied in kind, constitute the principle income of the lord, who is therefore anxious to have them gathered into his granaries. The emissaries of the T'u-ssu also have their own customs and traditions. They know very well in which village they are entitled by custom to receive a sheep; in which village

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a goat; in which small village a chicken; where they may collect a fixed number of loaves of steamed bread and where they are to be presented with a stack of pancakes cooked in oil, exactly the height of two chopsticks.

The villagers must themselves bring their grain to the mansion, where the granaries occupy a large space. The number of granaries indicates the importance of the T'u-ssu, the number of his subjects, and the extent of the fields they cultivate. The grain is measured and checked at the granary. The T'u-ssu uses a measure bigger than the official measure.[49] The grain is poured out of the sack into the measure so that it forms a cone projecting above the measure. The cone is then scraped level with a stick, and the surplus grain falls to the ground. This surplus, in addition to all grain falling beside the measure when poured from the sacks, belongs to the servitors of the T'u-ssu. This odious practice, always bitterly criticized by the commoners, was adopted from the Chinese. Commoners bringing their land taxes in grain are allowed to stay overnight at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, and are given a meal of noodles as gratuity.

When the Li T'u-ssu mortgaged some fields to the Living Buddha of Erhkulung, his subjects farming these fields were jubilant because the Buddha used the official measure to measure the taxes and did not allow the use of these hateful tricks at the expense of the farmers.

Notwithstanding all these odious practices used by the T'u-ssu, however, the taxes imposed on the subjects were not so great a burden as those imposed by the Chinese administration on the Chinese. This difference was the greatest political asset of the T'u-ssu and the reason why their commoners remained vassals, and did not demand that they be allowed to come under Chinese jurisdiction.

When a T'u-ssu mortgages fields to monasteries or to the Chinese, the taxes of the farmers are made over to the new lord; but the farmers remain the subjects of the T'u-ssu and are still liable to corvées and military service. When a T'u-ssu sells his fields outright for cash, however, he may also free his subjects from the corvée. By doing so, he "loses" these subjects. While the vassals tilling the soil of a T'u-ssu must pay land taxes, Monguors "passing" their fields to other vassals in order to get a high price, take on themselves the obligation to go on paying the taxes on the land. The result of this mortgaging of the indefinite future for the

[49] During the first month of the year the T'u-ssu has to send to the Chinese officials in the nearest important city (Hsining or Nienpei) the grain-measures, weights, and scales used in the territory under his jurisdiction to be verified for honesty by comparison with the official weights and measures. One of the responsibilities of the T'u-ssu is to see that these standards are maintained by the shopkeepers and traders in his territory. The surveillance of these matters is a source of income for the T'u-ssu's underlings. The T'u-ssu uses the official measure when selling his stored grain; but in spite of his zeal for the observation of proper standards by his subjects, he uses his private—and larger—measure when weighing in the grain collected from them as taxes.

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651 sake of the fleeting present is the kind of tax called "taxes without fatherhood." Comparable to this kind of transaction is the custom according to which, when a widow remarries, her new husband sometimes accepts the obligation to pay the taxes on the fields cultivated by her deceased husband; thus, though he does not have to pay a bride-price, he does have to pay, year after year, taxes on land which still belongs to and is still cultivated by the family of his wife's late husband.

CORVÉES

The principle of the corvée, to which the Monguors are still liable, is founded upon the vassalage under which the nomads were anciently bound to the "service" of their chief. When they neither tilled the soil nor paid land taxes, they were none the less real vassals. It is plain that farming and land taxes are innovations in the Monguor economy, and do not in themselves determine vassalage, since a Monguor who does not farm is just as much a vassal as one who farms. This is proved by the fact, cited above, that Monguors who farm fields mortgaged by their chiefs to a monastery, and pay their land taxes to the monastery, are still vassals of the T'u-ssu and liable to corvée. Monguors who farm land in Chinese territory and pay their land tax to the Chinese administration may also still remain liable for corvée to the T'u-ssu, instead of to the Chinese authorities.

A T'u-ssu may call upon those of his subjects who are commoners for the repair and upkeep of his mansion, which is a real castle. In former times this upkeep was one of the important obligatory services or corvées. The mansion was built on the pattern of a Chinese *yamen* or combined official residence and government office. It was surrounded by thick, high walls with towers at the four corners, and had a moat outside the wall. The space within the walls was divided into large courtyards containing administrative offices, a prison, an armory for weapons, granaries, stables, and flour mills in addition to a temple of the guardian deity of the clan, the hall of the ancestors, and a garden. Most of the buildings had mud walls and thatched roofs, requiring endless repairs, especially after heavy rain. There was also a long, narrow passage parallel to one of the outer walls which was originally a target range for archers, later used for shooting with rifles. There are only three such mansions still standing—those of the Lu T'u-ssu of Liench'eng, the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Nienpei, and of the T'a-wu Li T'u-ssu of Sanch'uan. The others were all burned and destroyed in the long history of frontier inroads by Mongols and Tibetans and above all in the succession of terrible Muslim rebellions. The new mansions that were built to replace those destroyed are on a much more modest scale.

For the upkeep of the mansion, the planting of trees, repair of roads and bridges, and the digging of canals each Monguor is called up in rotation for a fixed number of days. He must bring his own tools, and his food is provided by his village. For special occasions, such

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651 as the ceremony of the investiture which has already been mentioned, extra services are required for white-washing, work in the kitchen, and so forth. Obligatory services and gifts in kind are also required when the son or daughter of a T'u-ssu is married. Each village must then provide a fixed number of sheep, pigs, and cattle and also a contribution of 50,000 copper coins. These celebrations last for three days, with dinners that may be attended by as many as three or four hundred guests, at which all the nobles and important commoners must be on duty.

Among the Monguors as among the Chinese a funeral is a festival. The funeral of a T'u-ssu, of one or his wives, or of a married son is a great occasion. An official invitation is sent to each village, and on the invitation is listed the required offering of gifts in kind and cash. For the funeral of the T'u-ssu, of one of his wives, or of his eldest son, 50,000 copper coins are solicited. Nobles and the important commoners who are invited to take part in the procession as mourners must be dressed, in the Chinese style, in a long white gown. Each village must provide a number of gowns, and the women of the village must buy the white cotton cloth and sew the gowns. Invitations are sent to Chinese officials, to T'u-ssu, and to important people, and Monguor commoners have to forward these messages as a corvée service. Dinners are prepared for as many as a thousand persons. The funeral procession passes through the village or town with banners and streamers. The lamas of the monasteries in the clan territory are required to take part in the funeral, chanting prayers, and must be fed for several days. The ceremonies may last for a week, and the entertainment may require the slaughtering of ten or more oxen, a hundred sheep, and fifty hogs.

In preparation for such a funeral, all the old graves in the cemetery must be put in good condition; and after the burial of a T'u-ssu a guard must be kept over the cemetery, day and night, for a whole year. Each village in rotation provides a guard for ten days. In mourning for a T'u-ssu, his officials remove from their hats for a full year the button, of different material and colors according to rank, which is the token of their office.

MILITARY SERVICE

701 Traditionally, the most important duty of the Monguors was military service. Military organization followed the conventional Mongol decimal structure, the smallest unit consisting of ten men. The most important officers were "commanders of one hundred" and "commanders of a thousand." Each T'u-ssu stood at the head of his own forces. Originally, the officers were always nobles. In later times, this tradition decayed and the T'u-ssu became accustomed to selling the office of "commander of a thousand" to the highest bidder, noble or commoner. The names of the commanders had to be submitted to the military commander of Hsining. It is hardly surprising therefore that during the great

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701 Muslim rebellion of 1868–1875 the "commanders of a thousand" vanished and the "commanders of one hundred," who had not purchased their rank, turned out to be the real leaders.

Each village knows the number of men that it must provide for military service. In some villages the farmers agree among themselves, designating each family that is to provide a soldier when there is a call for service. Another method is for the village to hire young men whenever there is a call for troops from the T'u-ssu. In some villages the custom is to set aside fields, known as "fields for the expenses of horses and soldiers," the income from which is used to meet the military obligations of the village. These fields are made over, as their private property, to families which agree to provide soldiers. Such fields are free of taxes, and the families owning them have the right to "pass" them to other families, in which case the new owners assume the obligation attached to the fields. Military equipment in the form of weapons, uniforms, kettles, tents, and horses "passes" together with the fields. Because a family owning such fields is exempt from taxes, it receives no indemnity if a son of the family is killed on military service; on the contrary, it must provide another man to take the place of the one killed. In villages that do not follow this system, the families of soldiers killed in action must be indemnified. In such villages, every time that men are called up for active service the indemnity to be provided in case of death is debated in long and earnest village meetings.

In one case known to me, all ten soldiers of the village of Lichiachai were killed in the great Muslim rebellion of 1868–1875. After this disaster no one dared to take over possession of the "fields for the expenses of horses and soldiers" and assume the responsibility of military service. In consequence, it became the custom in this village for the whole community to farm these fields, without taxes, the income providing a fund from which the village hired and equipped its contingent of ten soldiers.

701 Another typical case is that of Yangch'üan, the village
651 in which the sixth House of the Li clan collects its land taxes. In 1876, after the Muslim rebellion there were no more people in the village. The T'u-ssu and the sixth House were eager to get farmers who would pay the taxes and provide the squad of ten soldiers that constituted the obligations of this village. A group of Chinese were willing to enroll into the clan, farm the land and pay the taxes, but refused to assume the burden of equipping ten soldiers. Finally the sixth House agreed to assume the military burden, if the farmers would agree to provide the fodder of ten horses, amounting to two *tan* of peas. After a few years the sixth House started asking for four *tan* of peas. The farmers complained to the T'u-ssu and the rate was fixed at three *tan*. In 1882, however, pressure was put on the farmers to provide in addition to the fodder for them the

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701 651 ten horses. The farmers brought a suit against the sixth House in the Chinese court. The case dragged on for many years, during which both sides spent a great deal of money, and finally the farmers were compelled to give four *tan* of peas. But during the subsequent Muslim rebellion of 1891–1895 the sixth House absconded and the farmers were compelled to provide ten soldiers and horses, together with fodder and equipment. After the rebellion new complaints followed one after another and finally in 1918 the stubborn villagers refused to recognize any military burden.

701 The small scale of traditional frontier warfare is shown by the fact that only one T'u-ssu was called upon to furnish as many as 300 soldiers, 100 of them mounted. The contingent of another T'u-ssu was 150, including 50 mounted men; two others had to furnish 100 men each, 5 of them mounted (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42; *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 18, pp. 3*a*, 4*a*). Among these figures I have not been able to find those for the contingent of the Lu T'u-ssu. If his contingent numbered 300, like that of the Li T'u-ssu, the total for all the Monguors would be only 1,275 men. But it is said that he disposed of 700 Monguor soldiers and 300 lama soldiers.[50] The Monguor troops, except for those hired 705 175 by their own villages, received no pay, but when they were on active service the imperial commissary provided them with salt, tea, and flour. The troops were, however, entitled to any booty that they could capture. In the Ming dynasty, according to the *Annals* of the Province, ch. 42, p. 47*a*, an expedition was sent to Turkistan (Sinkiang) to punish the tribes of Hantung and Chiuhsien in 1423. This expedition was commanded by Li Ying, who had the title of Count (Po) of Hui-ning. His forces consisted mostly of Monguors, and they returned with a booty of more than 140,000 cattle. More recently, in 1918, a group of Monguor soldiers participated as volunteers in an expedition against the Ngolok Tibetans of Kukunor. They returned after half a year, each man with a booty of nine cows

[50] In time of war, however, it is evident that some T'u-ssu, at least, were able to raise more troops than the number required of them according to the formal lists. Thus in the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 the Chinese general Yueh Chung-ch'i enrolled 2,000 Monguor troops for the defense of the passes, according to the *Tung Hua Lu*, a Manchu imperial chronicle, 3rd vol. of the reign of Yung Cheng, 1st year, p. 29; a thousand Monguors of the Lu T'u-ssu fought at Chitzeshan, according to the *Ch'ing Shih-lu*, an archive of materials collected for the writing of a formal history of the Manchu dynasty, Bk. 144, ch. 13, p. 8; Monguors (number not given) commanded by Chiang Tung destroyed the monastery of Shihmen and killed seven hundred lamas and Tibetans according to the same source, Bk. 145, ch. 16, p. 28, and others helped to quell the revolt in the region of Kueite, according to the *Huang Ch'ing Fan-pu Yao-lüeh*, an imperial publication dealing with "barbarian" affairs, ch. 11, p. 7*a*. Previous to this, in 1720, Monguor troops of the Li T'u-ssu had accompanied the Manchu-Chinese expedition sent to drive the Jungar Mongols out of Lhasa, according to the *Wei Tsang T'ung-chih* (*Annals* of Central Tibet, ch. 13, p. 2*b*), and *Annals* of the Province of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 38*b*.

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705 175 and twenty sheep, and loaded with kettles, ropes, felt coverings for tents, lamb skins, and wool.

714 The Monguor soldier wore a turban of blue or black cotton cloth. The distinctive part of his uniform was a sleeveless jacket of red cotton cloth, with yellow trimmings and a circular patch of white on the chest and back. On these circles were written three Chinese characters reading "Monguor soldier" and the clan name of his T'u-ssu. These white circles on the red jacket made bright targets for the enemy. The soldier was expected to report for duty with an old musket and a sword. For every unit of ten men the village had to provide a tent, a kettle, and one pack horse, in addition to riding horses for the mounted men. The horses are shod only on the forefeet, as in medieval Europe.

651 As has already been described, each T'u-ssu formerly had the responsibility for guarding certain passes leading to the Tibetan plateau. At these passes detachments of Monguor troops were stationed even in times of peace, and at these posts they had the right to collect taxes from caravans. Other traditional taxes and levies were also for the maintenance of troops. Up until recent times, for instance, the Lu T'u-ssu had the right to tax all rafts going down the Tat'ung River past his town of Liench'eng. This tax was collected according to the number of steering sweeps on each raft. The Lu T'u-ssu's soldiers also collected taxes from Chinese traders buying horses, mules, cows, sheep and pigs in 527 his territory. The Monguors were exempted from 651 these taxes. Twice every year the Lu T'u-ssu inspected all his troops in the valley of Kuch'eng ("Old City"). These occasions were celebrated with horse races and wrestling matches, and there was a large market attended by an enormous crowd. The troops collected taxes from merchants attending this market.

701 651 Soldiers were also required for peace-time duty at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, as sentries, body guards, and official messengers. They also maintained order among the crowds at the great religious celebrations at the monasteries built in the territory of the T'u-ssu, and at the time of the annual clan meeting. On such occasions they also collected taxes from Chinese merchants.

TRIENNIAL INSPECTION

624 According to protocol, a T'u-ssu should make an inspection visit every three years (in some cases, every two years) to all the villages of his subjects. This visit is called the "descent among the subjects," and in the course of the visit the T'u-ssu should make a count of the number of his subjects and check on the administration of the villages, in order to make a report to the Chinese officials representing the overlord state. This triennial tour is one of the main sources of income of a T'u-ssu.

The tour begins on an auspicious day fixed by a lama. Monguor soldiers from the first village to be visited on the tour come to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, with some

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624 of the elders of their village, to escort the T'u-ssu. They bring with them the required number of horses, finely equipped and well broken to the saddle, to be ridden by the T'u-ssu's retinue of ten or more officials and servants. The finest courtyard in the village is prepared for the sojourn of the T'u-ssu, who like a medieval seigneur enjoys the *droit de gîte* at each stopping place. The procession is headed by a soldier who carries, strapped diagonally across his back, a rolled-up painting on yellow cotton cloth of the guardian deity of the clan. This picture is to be venerated at each stopping place.

624 651 Outside the village the T'u-ssu is greeted by all the inhabitants, dressed in their best clothes and kneeling and bowing. Although the occasion costs them a great deal of money, their faces are alight with joy and exaltation, because receiving their feudal lord is traditionally a joyful festival.

One of the elders presents to the T'u-ssu a *katag* or ceremonial scarf, laying it across his outstretched hands, and another elder offers him two bottles of wine. A sheep is then led before the T'u-ssu, its horns decorated with red paper and a piece of red cotton cloth strapped on its back. At the same time he is presented with a gift of 30,000 copper coins on a dish. This offering is called the "gift of joyous entrance into the village." 527 264 In former days, the sheep was slaughtered, prepared for the dinner in the evening, and served before the guests as a whole carcass, on an enormous platter. This is the traditional dish for important guests. At the same time, the most delicate piece, the fat tail, together with 1,000 copper coins, is presented to the T'u-ssu on a special plate. In recent times the T'u-ssu sometimes accepts the sheep and orders it to be brought to his palace, together with the spices required for cooking it properly. This amounts to a double charge on the village, because another sheep must be slaughtered for the evening dinner.

624 796 When the T'u-ssu and his retinue reach the courtyard where the T'u-ssu is to stay, the picture of the guardian deity of the clan is displayed in the front room. An oil lamp is lighted and incense is burned before it as long as the T'u-ssu's visit lasts. The community as a group venerate the guardian deity, prostrating themselves; in the front row are the village elders, with sticks of incense in their joined hands. This custom of carrying the guardian deity on the triennial tour of the feudal lord of the clan, giving all the village communities an opportunity to worship it, seems to correspond with the custom of honoring the "spirits of the clan" among the Manchus, as described by Shirokogoroff.[21]

177 792 At present the guardian deities of all the Monguor clans have been taken over by Lamaism. Formerly one or two lamas served as house chaplains at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, praying and burning incense every day at the temple of the guardian deity. Since the destruc-

[21] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, Shanghai, North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924.

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177 tion of most of the T'u-ssu mansions during the
792 Muslim rebellion, a small room serves as the temple, and there are no longer chaplains on permanent
177 duty except in the three clans of Lu, Li, and Ch'i, where the original temple still exists. The lamaistic deity
776 honored by the clan of the Li T'u-ssu as its guardian is Lhamo-tsang, represented as a black rider on a black mule, wearing a necklace of human skulls. The saddle is covered with a human skin. In her right hand the deity, who is female, grasps a sword, and in her left she holds a bowl made from a human skull. The mule is painted treading in blood. Lhamo is the only female among the eight "protector deities" of lamaism. She is said to be the reincarnation of the wife of Yama and the protector of Lhasa and of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas. Her paraphernalia is said to be provided for her by the gods in order to enable her to carry on her duties as protector.[52] I was unable to find out why, and at what time, the ancestor of the clan chose this monstrous deity as the protector of the clan. Nor is there any surviving tradition to explain what the clan spirits of the Monguors were like before they became modified by Lamaism.

624 After the veneration of the guardian deity, there is an
796 official reception and congratulations are exchanged. The community then leaves the courtyard and two sentries are posted at the gate to prevent free approach to the T'u-ssu. In assuming this inaccessibility at this point in the protocol, the T'u-ssu marks a departure from the familiarity of the clan or tribe, and puts on the aloofness of a high Chinese official. People who have problems to present to the T'u-ssu must ask the sentries for an audience and explain to them the problem they want to discuss. Those who want to make a legal claim, or to complain against an injustice or against the administration, must put their request in writing, and the requests are then given by the sentry to a secretary who transmits them to the T'u-ssu. Those who write down and forward the request must receive a remuneration.

624 On the following day the T'u-ssu begins a series of meetings with the chief men of the community, the elders, and the military officials. The first item of business is the examination of the village register, which is kept up to date every year. If any subjects have left the territory of the clan, the reasons are discussed and the possibility of bringing them back is considered. Accounts must be rendered of the administration of the village and the division of taxes and corvees. The T'u-ssu is interested in the harvest of the past three years, and in the observance of the old clan customs and traditions, veneration of the ancestors, reverence towards nobles, marriages, divorces, the religious festivals in the spring and autumn, the state of morals in the village, singing of obscene songs in the village, hospitality toward

[52] A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und Mongolei*, 66, 76, 175, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1900 (guide to the Ukhtomskii Collection).

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624 lands, the "passing" of land to people who are not members of the clan, etc.

624 The number of men in the village liable to military
701 service is checked, and the T'u-ssu carries out a military inspection. The troops turn out with their muskets and swords and horses. Tents, cooking kettles, pack animals and pack saddles, and sacks for carrying the flour ration are all inspected. The inspection concludes with a sham attack by the Monguor cavalry at full gallop, the soldiers firing their guns, drawing their swords, and howling and shouting.

624 The next important procedure is ratification by the
692 T'u-ssu of all the settlements made by the village elders in patching up quarrels during the preceding three years. The custom is that when such a settlement is made, each person involved must pay the elders 2,000 copper coins, and these accumulated sums must be offered to the T'u-ssu. If there are legal suits, as distinguished from these settlements, the T'u-ssu presides over them on the fourth day. To deal with such suits, he is accompanied throughout his journey by the officials of his court of justice and by lictors carrying chains, handcuffs, and batons, and wearing their appropriate costumes.

624 The custom is that justice be rendered on the threshing
693 floor of the village in the open air. The lord and his secretaries sit at tables. At the left stand two lictors
681 dressed in red cotton and wearing high red harlequin hats, and with batons in their hands. At the right stand two lictors dressed in black. Chains, handcuffs, and batons are laid on the table, and plaintiffs and defendants kneel in front. The punishments inflicted include hanging by the wrists or thumbs, and flogging up to one hundred and even five hundred lashes. The offender is stripped and pegged out face downward, arms and legs spreadeagled. The lictors, armed with short whips or rods, strike the tender inner side of the thighs. Women are flogged on the bare back. The justice meted out is not always as brutal as it appears to be, because the retinue of the T'u-ssu is always venal. They depend on bribery for their income. Although most T'u-ssu do not approve of the corruption indulged in by many of their minor officials, they cannot always prevent it. Suits brought by the Monguors before the T'u-ssu are the delight of his retinue. It is often the crying injustices caused by the venality and peculation of the petty officials that cause Monguors to leave the clan territory and abandon their land.

624 The expenses of legal suits, and of the sojourn of the
651 T'u-ssu with his retinue for that day, are paid by the litigants, but all other expenses of the official three-day
691 visit are defrayed by the people of the village. At the end of the visit, the elders and troops of the next village come to escort the T'u-ssu on the next stage of his tour.

624 It may be noted that this triennial tour of the T'u-ssu, accompanied by his court of justice, seems to suggest that it is the T'u-ssu as an individual and not his mansion

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624 as the seat of authority that is the true center of administration. The tour through his territory seems to recall the older nomad society in its reassertion of personal control over the subjects, securing the cohesion of the clan and binding the subjects to the territory. The procedure may be compared with that of the Mongols, among whom every three years the register of the population is brought up to date and a large meeting of the Banner is held.[53] Among the Manchus, the general meeting of the clan is usually held once a year and never less frequently than once in three years.[54] Among the Monguors, it is to be noted that the T'u-ssu, in addition to his triennial tour, presides once a year over the meeting of the whole clan on the day of the veneration of the ancestors.

THE T'U-SSU LORD OF THE NOBLES

173 At the seat of the T'u-ssu is kept the register of all the noble families and their members. Even the girls are
618 noted and the families into which they marry. The difference between this register and the book of genealogies of the nobles lies in the fact that in the book of genealogies the birth of children, whether boys or girls, is not noted. A noble is entered in the book of genealogies as of the day of his death, on which date are noted the day of his birth and the name of his wife. The names of unmarried sons are not inscribed because they have not produced sons for the clan; the names of girls are omitted because they are "outsiders," taking the name of a different clan as soon as they are married. The register of the noble families is more elaborate, because each member of the family, boys and girls alike, is assessed a levy of 50 coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple.

THE TRIENNAL VISIT

624 At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu among the nobles, the register is brought up to date. Because the nobles
574 live scattered in the villages among the commoners and the members of the same House do not necessarily live in the same village, the visit of the T'u-ssu is so ordered that he visits the Houses one after another on fixed days. All members of a House must gather at the home of some one member. They are expected to invite the T'u-ssu and to send horses for his retinue. The picture of the guardian deity of the clan accompanies the T'u-ssu, and a reception is held during which the members of the generation senior to the T'u-ssu bow to him, while members of junior generations prostrate themselves. The hosts must provide a dinner at which the T'u-ssu presides as chief over all his noble kinsmen. Topics of
[431] interest to the nobles are discussed, and though they offer him no money, they present him with a piece of cloth.

[53] E. Timkovskii, *Voyage en Chine par la Mongolie en 1820 et 1821*, I, 113, 321. Paris, 1827.

[54] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 51.

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624 574 cloth. On the third day he is invited by the members of the next House.

NOBLES EXEMPTED FROM TAXES, CORVÉES, MILITARY SERVICE

565 651 There are important differences between commoners and nobles in respect to taxes, military duty, and obligatory services. The way in which the nobles as kinsmen by blood of the T'u-ssu are divided into Houses according to seniority of descent from the founding ancestor, and are allocated for their personal revenue the tax income from certain villages, has already been described. The logical counterpart of the fact that the taxes of commoners can be allocated to nobles is the immunity of the nobles themselves from all taxes, obligatory services, and special contributions to the investiture of a T'u-ssu or the expenses of marriages and funerals in his mansion. The T'u-ssu and his noble kinsmen, as members of the same "bone," are thus clearly set apart as the collective "owners" of the commoners who form the larger, "assimilated" clan. Following the same general principle, when commoners bring new fields under cultivation they must pay to the T'u-ssu both a capital price for the acquisition of the land and a tax for the registration of the land as their private property, while nobles may bring new land under cultivation without any payment of any kind, thus demonstrating that they, collectively with the T'u-ssu, are the owners of the territory.

565 651 769 Nobles are, however, by the same logic, subject to contributions for the upkeep of the ancestral temple in the mansion of the T'u-ssu. All nobles of the clan, and even their wives and children, are assessed a levy of 50 copper coins every year for the expenses of the lama chaplain and the cost of oil, paper, and incense. The Monguors say that in former times the nobles were also responsible for the upkeep of the old common cemetery, and that they only later built private cemeteries, but that at present they pass on to the commoners the cost of the upkeep of these cemeteries.

565 651 The custom in regard to corvées is parallel to that regulating the payment of taxes. Though nobles may inherit the right to collect taxes from certain villages, they do not have the right to demand obligatory services; but conversely they themselves are not subject to such services. Because of this, nobles must either till their own fields and watch their own cattle, or hire people to do this work for them. If the village in which they live decides to dig an irrigation canal as a communal project, they do not have to contribute labor but must pay their share of the expenses. The only extraordinary expenses and services that can be demanded of the nobles come under the head of honorable obligations, such as taking part in the entertainment of guests during festivities, contributions to dinners, participation in the veneration of the ancestors and in clan meetings, and serving as representatives of the T'u-ssu at dinners given

565 574

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565 by Chinese officials, or on journeys to congratulate
574 Chinese officials on the major feast days of the year. The nobles as a group are also exempted from military
565 service, although the chiefs of the militia of the com-
701 moners, according to tradition, were always chosen from among the nobles in former times. In later times both
622 nobles and commoners have served as commanders and officers.[55]

It is said by the Monguors that in times past it was usually a noble who served as the chief of a village, but that because at present there are very few capable men among the nobles, these duties have devolved on commoners. Similarly, the nobles have lost the monopoly of serving as military officers.

AUTHORITY OF T'U-SSU OVER NOBLES

624 As might be expected the relations between a T'u-ssu
565 and his nobles are of a special kind. It has already been described how, on occasions of special ceremony, a T'u-ssu may actually be expected to prostrate himself before nobles who are members of a generation senior to his own, while they do not have to prostrate themselves to him, but merely clasp their hands and bow their heads. Moreover, while the T'u-ssu takes precedence when he is presiding as chief of the clan at the veneration of the ancestors, at clan meetings, during the triennial visitation, or when nobles or commoners are brought before him in a lawsuit, yet on such occasions as non-official dinners and the marriages of nobles, the T'u-ssu always requests a noble of a generation senior to his own to preside.

624 Difficulties among the nobles most commonly originate
565 either in quarrels over the division of a paternal in-
692 heritance or quarrels about the collection of taxes. In order to prevent litigation, the clan elders try to arbitrate such quarrels. Only if they are unsuccessful is a lawsuit brought before the T'u-ssu. If the parties do not agree to the T'u-ssu's verdict, they are free to appeal to a Chinese court. In a case known to me, the eleventh House of the clan of Li T'u-ssu had trouble with its villages over the collection of taxes. Unwilling to abide by the verdict of the T'u-ssu, the members of the House went to the Chinese court. They were severely rebuked, the Chinese judge angrily threatening to abolish the outmoded custom under which the members of a whole clan live at the expense of the commoners.

681 Nobles are never flogged or beaten for transgression of the law, because the lictors are commoners and it is not fitting that commoners should beat nobles.

624 When the T'u-ssu visits his nobles in the course of
565 his triennial tour, they defray his expenses, including those of his retinue, just as do the commoners.

The old nomad custom was that when an individual

[55] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 233, notes that among the Mongols of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, with the decay of the feudal system, the duty of feudal service on the part of a noble to his lord had become more voluntary than obligatory.

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624 noble or a group of nobles did not agree with the chief
565 of the clan, they were free to take those commoners who were directly subject to them and to join another clan or found a new clan. The Monguors do not remember that groups of nobles have ever left one clan to join another. The way in which, in the Li clan, a noble who did not agree to the appointment of his nephew as T'u-ssu was given 100 families and allowed to become a small independent T'u-ssu himself, has already been described. This case occurred, however, during the time of troubles when the Ming dynasty fell and the Manchu dynasty was set up. It may, therefore, be interpreted, perhaps, not as a real secession from the clan but rather as a compromise, in a time of uncertainty, to avoid dissension within the clan. Since the Monguor clans are small, and since the nobles do not have commoners who are their own direct subjects, secession from the clan is in fact practically impossible. A single family of nobles, not being able to take a following of commoners with it, would have no bargaining power in attempting to join another clan and could in fact join only if willing to accept commoner status instead of noble status. Thus it can be said that the device of granting to Houses only the right to collect taxes from certain villages, and not the direct "ownership" of the villages, has served to bind the Monguor nobles to their clan and to their territory.

WANING INFLUENCE OF NOBLES

178 The facts that have here been recited seem to justify
565 the general inference that the transition from a nomadic economy to an agricultural economy resulted in under-
624 mining the influence and power formerly wielded by the nobles as a group. On the one hand, all forms of noble power have tended to become more nearly monopolized by the T'u-ssu; on the other hand increasing self-government by the villages and participation by commoners in both civil and military administration has tended to make the power of the T'u-ssu less absolute and more nominal. Farming led to the grouping of the commoners in villages and, therefore, inevitably to new forms of administration and control. Gradually, as it became customary to give village appointments to commoners who were energetic and able instead of to idle nobles who were content to live on their revenues, the nobles were squeezed out. Since the power to appoint chiefs and elders and military commanders remained with the T'u-ssu, his nominal power was increased but since this meant that the actual collection of revenue in the villages and the actual exercise of authority were in the hands of commoners, their real power increased.

[556] This development was probably favored on the one hand by the weakening cohesion of the nobles through their division into Houses, and on the other hand by the increasingly individualistic farming economy, which increased the local respect for families which were of non-noble origin but had become wealthy and influential.

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565 Conversely, the nobles were weakened by the fact that
178 their unearned revenue decreased generation by generation, through inheritance and subdivision, so that more
558 and more, if a noble family were locally wealthy and
621 respected, it was not because of its share of taxes but because this particular family was able to produce and conserve wealth in the same manner as the leading commoner families. The ties of such a family with the rest of the nobility were weakened, and its ties with the local village community and its interests were strengthened.

NOBLES AND COMMONERS

565 We may summarize this aspect of the social history of
178 the Monguors by saying that when they first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, the social distance between commoners and nobles must have been very great. With settled life and the increasing domination of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their own ability to manage their own farms, and local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability and not primarily by class. Nobles could, in the conventional form of sale, "pass" their fields to commoners, and commoners to nobles. They bought cattle and grain from each other and sold them to each other. Nobles and commoners, if they had the money, joined together to invest in trade. Apart
565 from the important discrimination in favor of nobles in
178 immunity from taxes and corvées, and immunity from being flogged in court, the principal surviving distinc-
576 tions of the aristocracy are such things as their higher rank at important ceremonies, social precedence at dinners, marriages, funerals, and festivities (even though the noble were a poor man), the custom of calling the nobles "ta jen" (great man), and finally the old custom that when a commoner meets a noble on the road, he must dismount, remove his hat, and unroll his pigtail.

In my own experience, I know of a case of an old man named Chao, of Peiyahua, who, refusing to dismount in this manner, was brought before the T'u-ssu, made to apologize, and required to make an offering of a sheep with red paper pasted on its horns and a piece of red cotton cloth bound on its back, and to present incense and oil to the ancestral temple. It is to the disadvantage, not the advantage, of the nobles as a class that many of them show an overbearing pride. Such men are most conspicuous when, though known to be addicted to opium and gambling, they try to uphold their traditional "rights" by demanding deference from commoners.

THE CLAN ASSEMBLY

175 In the year 1913 the Monguors were entering on a period of trouble and decline. The T'u-ssu institution was threatened. Ever since the beginning of the Chinese Republic in 1911 there had been rumors that the Chinese officials would abolish the institution. The dowager who

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175 was acting as regent of the most powerful of all the Monguor clans, the Lu clan, went so far as to send valuable presents to the Muslim general, Ma K'o-ch'eng, in Hsining, who was the all-powerful warlord of the region, imploring him to become the "dry father"—that is to say, the adoptive father and protector—of her adopted son of eleven years of age. The general accepted and the boy and his mother traveled the long distance from Liench'eng to Hsining in order to perform the filial rites symbolizing the "dry fatherhood."

618 769 It was in these circumstances that I had the great good fortune to attend probably the last gathering of a clan that was held with the pomp and splendor of former days. This was the clan of the Ch'i T'u-ssu which carried out the ceremony of venerating the founding ancestor at the old cemetery, called Ch'i-chia fenyuan, or "cemetery of the Ch'i family," at T'angpa. According to the old custom, such an assembly should be held every year at the grave of the founding ancestor, on the Chinese festival of Ch'ing Ming, when ancestors are honored all

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769 over China. The festival, calculated according to the
618 lunar calendar, usually falls about the beginning of April. The assembly of the clan is concerned with three matters : the veneration of ancestors, a great feast, and an assize at which all topics concerning the clan are open for discussion.

MONGUOR CEMETERIES

764 It is plain from the descriptions that have already been
172 given that the burial customs of the Monguors in recent times have been heavily overlaid with Chinese borrowings. There are, however, indications of more ancient customs. People told that in 1906, after very heavy rains, a wall near the village of Hsinyuânp'u on the spur of a mountain in the valley of Shat'ang collapsed and a big vaulted burial chamber was revealed. It had been built with very large bricks. It contained a coffin, which had rotted away, in which there was the skeleton of a man. His clothes had rotted, but the remains of a bow, arrows, and quiver were found. Before the coffin there lay the skeleton of a horse. The saddle had also rotted,

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FIG. 3. The summer camp of Lu 65, a rich Monguor, subject of Lu T'u-ssu, who enrolled in the Tibetan tribe of Waza. His T'u-ssu was unable to prevent his departure.

The author's small white tent is at the left. The whole family wore Tibetan clothes and were already speaking Tibetan. This Monguor had left the clan of his T'u-ssu because of troubles with the T'u-ssu's officials, and also because in the Monguor country the pasturage was insufficient for his big herds. It was remarkable how the whole family, in a very few years, had adapted itself so completely to the Tibetan pattern of life. (Picture taken in 1917.)

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764 but it could be seen that the materials of the saddle had
172 included copper and iron. As this discovery was made six years before I arrived in the country, I was unable to gather more details from the local people, who were totally uninterested in archaeological discoveries. The bricks of the tomb were said to have been carried away and used by the villagers, and the place could no longer be identified.

We know from numerous archaeological excavations that such tombs were built by the Turkish and Mongol tribes of Inner Asia and Northern Mongolia from ancient down to medieval times. These tombs are related in design to the tombs of the ancient Chou kings in China in the first millennium B.C. They consist essentially of an excavated chamber, its walls shored up either with timber or, in China, with bricks, and a great tumulus heaped up over the grave.[56] In the grave were placed horses and sometimes wives and servants who had been sacrificed to be buried with the deceased. Does the horse-burial tomb in the Monguor country belong to this tradition? This question I cannot answer, as I was unable to inspect the tomb.

At present there exist only two ancestral burial mounds which, according to Monguor tradition, contain such burial chambers. One is that of the Ch'i clan in Niempei, built in the garden of the mansion, in which are buried the more recent ancestors of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, and the other that of the Lü clan in Lienchʼeng. For other clans, there are conflicting traditions. Some say that in former times a number of clans had similar ancestral mounds, but that they were destroyed by Muslims. This tradition is not supported by such evidence as the ruins of burial places of this kind; on the other hand, in all the oldest cemeteries there is merely a big mound over the grave of the founding ancestor, without burial chambers, and therefore graves with such chambers are not only exceptional but of late construction.

173 As for the valley in which the horse-burial was dis-
172 covered, it is said that it was once inhabited by the Li clan, which is of Shat'o Turkish origin. Near the place where the burial-chamber was found there are still the ruins of an old fortress which is said locally to have been built by the famous Li, Prince of Chin. Although it is quite probable that the Shat'o Turks once occupied this valley, it is certain that the famous Prince Li never lived there. It is possible that his name has been attached in folk tradition to some other once-famous Shat'o chief; but it does not seem likely that this chief, whoever he was, was a direct ancestor of the present clan, because the Li clan holds its assembly in the valley of Hanp'ingshan, five miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 4, p. 3).

764 The Sanch'uan branch of the same clan, south of Niempei, holds its diet at Hsiangt'ang, at the junction of the Tat'ung and Hsining Rivers. Here stands the most elaborate cemetery in the whole country. It seems to

[56] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* 2: 121, Liepzig, 1893. [p. 70a]

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764 be of later date, and to have been built to glorify the Li clan. Along the approach avenue are two beautiful steles honoring the two most illustrious members of the two branches of the clan, Li Wen of the Hsining branch and Li Yin of the southern branch, though neither of them is actually buried here. They bore respectively the titles of Earl of Kaoyang and Earl of Huining, according to the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 7, pp. 8, 17. The cemetery, enclosed by a mud wall, stands against the mountain and overlooks the river. Within it a large avenue bordered by stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay leads to a big stele on which is engraved the history of the clan, with its claim to descent from Li K'o-yung and the record that its chief, Li Nan-ko, submitted to the Ming and was granted hereditary chieftainship of the clan, later confirmed by the Manchu dynasty. The glorious titles of Li Wen and Li Yin are then recorded once more, together with names of members of the clan who died defending the empire, and finally there is the text of an imperially-granted funereal inscription. The cemetery contains a number of beautiful steles from the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, the most recent dating from the period of Kuang Hsü (1875–1909). Among those commemorated are Li Nan-ko, Li Wen and Li Yin who are not buried there; except for Li Wen, all those commemorated belong to the southern branch. Many of these steles are said to have been bought and engraved in Peking, and to have been granted by emperors. As the presence of a stele is no guarantee that the deceased is buried there, it is hard to say when the cemetery was actually built.

It should be noted that, under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has long been the general Monguor custom to cremate the dead, the funeral rites being carried out by lamas; but it is also a general tradition that in ancient times burial was general. T'u-ssu, however, are always buried—the aristocratic tradition being, in this instance, stronger than the religious influence.

During the six or seven centuries that the Monguors have held their present frontier territories, many private cemeteries have been built by both nobles and commoners, separate from the burial places of the founding ancestors, in which there was no more burial space left. The Monguors honor their more recent ancestors at these separate burial places, three days before the spring equinox, which gives them time to attend the annual assembly a few days later.

The cemeteries of the Monguors are laid out like those of the Chinese. They are square in shape and enclosed by a mud wall. Against the back or northern wall stands the high mound over the remains of the founding ancestor. Before the mound there stands an upright sepulchral stone slab on which are carved Chinese characters reading "thrones of the deity of the earth and of the souls of the ancestors." In front of the slab is a stone table for offerings. An avenue leads straight from the entrance of the cemetery to the high mound.

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764 In the more recent graveyards the date of the setting up of the stone and the name of the deceased can still be read, but on the older monuments nothing is legible, not only because the soft stone of the region weathers badly but because the Monguors have scratched and defaced the stones.[57] On both sides of the approach avenue there are smaller mounds, in rows, each with a stone table for offerings. Husband and wife are buried under the same mound, and as the rows of graves correspond to descent by generations, the number of generations buried in the cemetery can easily be determined.

WORSHIPPING OF THE ANCESTORS

769 On the occasion that I attended, the T'u-ssu went after breakfast to the cemetery, preceded by more than fifty soldiers and followed by the heads of the noble and non-noble families, the chiefs and elders of the villages, and the officials of his administration. In 1913 all of these personages were still wearing the old official Chinese costume customary under the Manchu Empire: a silk gown, a long silk outergown, satin boots, and a hat with a red fringe and a button on top corresponding to the grade of official rank. Hundreds of Monguor women flocked to the cemetery in their brightest attire, and men and children of the clan followed the ceremonial parade. A table bearing a large hog and a pork pie which had been prepared from the head of the hog stood next to the offering table. Alongside the offering table were also laid out twelve rolls of steamed bread, wine, tea, paper and incense sticks. On the offering table there stood a loaf of bread shaped like a dish, into the hollow of which were poured oil, flour, and roasted wheat.

The master of ceremonies, in a loud voice, ordered the nobles to line up in rows according to their generation. The non-nobles formed in rows also, standing behind the nobles and separated from them by a perceptible distance.

The next order was to adjust hats and clothes and to

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[57] The Monguors have a custom of scratching and defacing the steles in front of the grave mounds of the founding ancestors of clans and also of other celebrated ancestors, because they believe these chips have medicinal properties. Grinding the fragments to dust, they mix them with the medicines prescribed by physicians. In my own time a large part of the stele of the founding ancestor of the Ch'i clan had already disappeared and the inscription was illegible. I noticed even more defacement of the stele of the ancestor of the Li clan in Hanp'ingshan. This old cemetery is more elaborate than other Monguor cemeteries: on both sides of the large avenue leading to the central mound are animals carved in stone. This practice is allowed only for high officials. All these animals had been defaced in the same way by the Monguors.

D. C. Graham, Notes on the primitive religion of the Chinese in Szech'uan, *Jour. West China Border Research Society* 1 (1): 53, Chengtu, Canadian Mission Press, 1922–1923, writes that "in the Po-chih Miao near Sui-fu, Szech'uan . . . is a stone still worshipped, and for a few cash one can purchase a tiny bit of the rock which will cause him to recover from illness if he will grind it to sand, soak in water, and then drink the water."

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769 stand erect with arms stretched at the side. This was followed by an order to "worship the spirit of the earth." On this order the T'u-ssu, alone, went straight to the offering table before the central mound, prostrated himself, knelt and bowed nine times before the stele, and poured wine on the ground as a libation to the spirit of the earth. At the next order, "worship the ancestors!" the T'u-ssu, still alone, knelt and prostrated himself nine times before the stele, pouring the ritual libation of wine on the stone table, and performed the same rite at each end of the stone tables in front of the smaller mounds. A libation of tea was then poured in the same way, paper was burned, and incense sticks fixed on every small mound and on the central table in front of the great mound.

Again hats and clothes were adjusted, and at the order of the master of ceremonies the members of the oldest living generation lined up before the stele, and taking their time from his commands bowed, prostrated themselves, and knelt nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and so on. The rites performed by each group of the nobles and by the commoners have already been related above (pp. 60 sq.) as has also the sacrificial communion with the founding ancestor. At each distribution of pie and bread, the oldest generation received its portion first. Later the carcass of the pig was divided in the same way, and portions of the pie and the pork were reserved to be sent to noble members of the clan who had been unable to attend the assembly.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER

173 The ceremony of veneration is followed by bringing
769 up to date the genealogical register of the descendants of the founding ancestor, in the presence of the T'u-ssu and the whole noble group. In noble families, when a father, mother, or some other member of a family dies, the Monguors write the name of the deceased, the names of his parents, and the hour and day of his birth and death on a slip of red paper. This slip is impaled on a chopstick, which is planted in a bowl containing wheat, placed reverently before the picture of the Lama Buddhist or Taoist deity particularly honored in that family. The slip of paper is later removed, brought to the annual assembly, and presented to the T'u-ssu by the kneeling son of the deceased, who holds incense sticks in his joined hands. The name of the deceased is then entered in the register. After the book has been wrapped again in its yellow silk, the son first arises from his kneeling position and then prostrates himself three times. Unmarried persons are not noted in the book. In cases of adoption, the fact of adoption is recorded.

764 After these ceremonies the care of the cemetery is entrusted to one of the nobles for the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions, offerings, and the making of repairs. After a short deliberation to determine the selection, a bowl of bread is put in a

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764 bushel basket and presented to the person who has been chosen; this act constitutes the act of appointment. The man thus chosen is assigned an assistant to take care of details. This duty is performed in rotation by heads of families.

769 Neither shamans nor lamas take part in this annual
792 veneration of the ancestors. The absence of lamas is particularly striking, because during the year the routine duties of the temple of the guardian deity of the clan are entrusted to one or two lamas, as already described, while three times a year seven lamas take part in special ceremonies of veneration at this temple. The Ch'i T'u-ssu has the right to impose on the monastery of Erhkulung the corvée obligation to provide these lamas, because this monastery was originally built in the territory of the Ch'i clan by express permission, and because it has been given many grants of property by the successive T'u-ssu of the clan.

769 More than any other single ceremony, this annual
527 veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of a Monguor clan. There is a visible effect on the clansmen, who normally live secluded in their remote valleys, when at the assembly they see the pomp and splendor of the parade to the graveyard, the soldiers with banners, the T'u-ssu in his official silk robe, adorned with embroidered patches on the breast with glittering dragons—a present from the Emperor when one of his ancestors visited Peking—and all the outstanding members of both the noble and commoner groups in their robes of ceremony. Even the discrimination between nobles and commoners fosters the sense of hierarchy. There is no doubt that the commoners, like the nobles, feel pride in recalling their old glories and are elated by the ceremonies, the festivities, the singing of old songs, and the horse races, wrestling, and merry-making in the open air.

576 The sense of hierarchy, just mentioned, is well
624 exemplified by the behavior of Monguors visiting the T'u-ssu or presenting a request to him. The visitor first prostrates himself, then arises, unrolls his "queue" and removes his hat with his right hand, placing it under his left arm. Then, placing his hands together, palm to palm, he approaches the T'u-ssu. If he is asked to sit down, he does not sit but moves to the left side of the T'u-ssu and kneels on the right knee, with the left knee up, placing his hands, still palm to palm, on the left knee, in the Tibetan manner.[58]

Monguors regard it as the worst kind of incivility to start speaking and to keep the hat on the head in the presence of the T'u-ssu. This appears to be a very old Inner Asian symbol of respect. Among the Uighur Turks in the period of the T'ang dynasty (618–906),

[58] Thus the "outside" knee, farthest from the T'u-ssu, is up, "keeping the luck" between the kneeler and the T'u-ssu. This corresponds to the protocol of kneeling in a Mongol tent where the "outside" knee is that which is nearest the door and "keeps the luck," which is concentrated in the shrine at the back of the tent, within the tent.—O. L.

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576 624 "when their ministers of state had audience with the Khakhan, etiquette required them to remove the hat and enter with dishevelled hair, something akin to the Hsiungnu custom." [59]

FESTIVAL

527 Chinese merchants, who keep themselves informed of all festival dates among the Monguors, of course gather in great numbers and pitch their tents in the wide valley below the cemetery. The merchants pay taxes for permission to attend such gatherings.

On this occasion, a very large tent was pitched within which the T'u-ssu presided over the festivities, seated in the midst of the nobles, the elders, and all the prominent non-nobles of the clan, receiving the renewed professions of allegiance of his subjects. The chiefs and elders of each village, ceremonially dressed, came up one after another to do homage, bowing kneeling, and performing the *k'o-t'ou* or prostration, taking their time from the master of ceremonies who shouted his directions in a loud voice. The T'u-ssu, at the height of his glory, was happy to entertain each and every man for a few moments. Hundreds of Monguors crowded around, looking on and enjoying the ceremony.

Finally, dinner was eaten by the T'u-ssu and all the chiefs and prominent members of the clan, some seated inside the tent and an overflow outside seated on felt rugs at small tables. The customary whole sheep, the traditional dish of honor of all Inner Asian nomads, was presented to the T'u-ssu. Wine was drunk and tongues began to wag. A couple of girls with pleasing voices were invited to sing the customary songs, outside the tent and in the presence of the crowd. A number of men and women presented graceful dances, each dancing alone without a partner, to the music of a simple guitar-like instrument. Youngsters raced on unsaddled, spirited horses, passing before the tent to cross the finish line, and finally two wrestlers, a Monguor and a Tibetan lama from the monastery of Serkok, were admired and congratulated. A number of Monguors and Tibetans, befuddled with liquor, started fighting, and soldiers closed in on them to restore order. Before sunset most of the crowd had gone, leaving a few small groups still sitting on the ground, singing and making merry.

The Monguors told me that this glorious day seldom passed without a certain amount of disturbance and fighting; but the tradition is that no suits can be brought before the T'u-ssu or the village chiefs for heads smashed, bones broken, and clothes torn on this day of celebration.

ASSIZES OF THE CLAN

692 The next morning the assizes of the clan began inside the big tent, presided over by the T'u-ssu, with the chief

[59] E. H. Parker, *A thousand years of the Tartars*, 211, 2nd ed., London, Kegan, Paul, 1924. (It should be noted, however, that among the Mongols the custom is the opposite; it is an incivility to take off the hat in the presence of a superior.—O. L.)

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922), 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

692 nobles and non-nobles, chiefs of villages, and officials of the administration in attendance. A large number of Monguors sat around the tent, taking a keen interest in the proceedings. The matters discussed were for the most part of the same kind as those dealt with when the T'u-ssu makes his triennial tour of the villages: taxes and corvées were discussed and fixed, inquiries were made about the observance of traditions, the register of subjects was checked over, military matters were reviewed, and disputes between villages adjudicated. The T'u-ssu appointed or dismissed a number of chiefs, village elders, and military commanders. At these assizes suits may be brought for personal adjudication by the T'u-ssu, who metes out punishment according to custom.

The expenses of this annual assembly are shared by the subjects, while the offerings for the ancestors are paid for by the nobles—a division of expenses that again underlines the difference between the inner clan of common blood-descent and the extended clan of political subjects. Usually by the third day there are no more tents in the valley, the merchants have dispersed, and the T'u-ssu returns to his mansion. Such were the proceedings at the last glorious annual assembly of the clan of the Ch'i-T'u-ssu, which I had the good fortune to attend in 1913.

REMARKS

618 624 The description of the organization of the Monguor clans and their administration is based on the pattern of the large clans. It is easy to understand that the display of pomp at the diets is related to the importance of the clans, the number of their clan members, and their wealth, and also to the wealth and prestige of the T'u-ssu. Small clans finish the three acts of their diet in a single day, always keeping the difference and deference between nobles and commoners at the time of worshipping of the founding ancestor. In small clans however, constituted by only 150 families or so, both groups necessarily are not numerous and the diet is more like a family gathering and is more informal. Since the clan is small, all the circumstances of each family are known by the T'u-ssu and he himself tackles all the problems of the clan with the elders; the collection of land taxes by nobles is necessarily reduced to a minimum, but the nobles are always exempted from taxes and corvées. Corvées are necessarily reduced in the same way, since the mansion of the T'u-ssu is usually a small Chinese courtyard without temples and administrative buildings. Inevitably the distance which separates T'u-ssu from commoners is minimized, because the commoners may confer directly with the T'u-ssu. In the large clan it is not easy for the commoner to meet the T'u-ssu, for soldiers watch the entrance of his mansion, requests have to be written by the secretaries and forwarded by messengers to the lord, and it is uncertain if the lord will allow the Monguor commoner to see him or not. Because the distance

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618 is strictly kept, the prestige and authority of the lord are
624 inevitably increased.

In small clans, when the T'u-ssu is a haughty and supercilious man, or an opium addict and gambler exacting in his demands for corvées and greedy for the money of his subjects, he is easily criticized and despised because the distance between him and his subjects is reduced, and the commoners get into open arguments with him, and rebel and accuse him in the Chinese court. In the lack of distance between the T'u-ssu and subjects and the waning authority of the T'u-ssu lies the secret of the fact that it is in the small clans that commoners most easily leave their chiefs, giving the Chinese officials the opportunity to reduce both commoners and T'u-ssu to the rank of Chinese subjects and to confiscate their territory. It is no wonder that the clans which have disappeared are the small clans.

IV. THE VILLAGE

FORMATION OF THE VILLAGE

621 The Monguor village consists (1911–1922) of a
361 group of families living in a well defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the chief of the village. Since the villagers all till the soil and keep cattle, the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures.

Most farmers, however, live in small hamlets. The patrilineal family system seems to favor this kind of grouping. When the paternal inheritance is divided, the sons build small houses near the old one, bring new lands under cultivation, and small groups of related families, living close together, spring up all over the territory.

Wealthy Monguors hire poor people to cultivate their fields and herd their cattle, and build small houses for them near their own. Wealthy Monguors also give in to the desires of their wives and daughters-in-law and allow poor relatives to build small houses near their own. They lend them [illegible] to plow their fields, and as they prosper the group increases and the hamlet grows into a village.

361 A third factor promoting the grouping of families
621 was, in the past, the chronic insecurity of the country,
721 ravaged by recurring inroads of Tibetans and Mongols. According to tradition the Monguors, when they first came into this territory, still lived in tents. At that time it was easy to pick up the tent and move out of the path of invasion; but once they began to live in houses, the houses had to be defended. Wealthy people in the outlying territory built a high thick mud wall around their houses. To these enclosures the poor families fled in time of trouble, helping in the defense of the small community. Wealthy people, therefore, liked to see the hamlet increased by the addition of poor families, who provided more manpower for defense. All over the country numerous ruins of strongholds are the enduring witnesses of the bad old times. [p. 73-b]

361 621 721 The Ming dynasty was strongest in the first century and a half of its rule. After that, from 1509 to the founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644, and from then until 1723, recurrent forays and revolts never left the country at peace. At one time, a Chinese army of a hundred thousand men had to be sent to garrison this frontier region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 13*b*). In 1537 orders were given to build more mud walled villages, and in 1595 orders came again to repair the old fortifications and to build more new fortified villages (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, pp. 15*a*, 19*a*). It is worth noting that Liench'eng, the seat of the Lu clan, means "associated cities," since in the region of Liench'eng thirteen strongholds were built by the T'u-ssu, most of them still extant.

[712] These notices in the *Annals* suggest that few fortified villages had previously existed, but that from this time the population began to group itself around small strongholds, the more important of which grew into fortified villages.

618 701 361 621 The Monguor clan was a military institution, originally shaped on the Mongol nomadic pattern, with a decimal system of groups of 10, 100, and 1,000 families and a hierarchy of military command from the largest unit of 10,000 down to the smallest of 10. When the Monguors became farmers, the process of settling broke up these units, with the result that families that had once belonged to the same military unit were scattered among different farming groups. It then became necessary to make a new military grouping based on the distribution of villages. This led to a system of villages in which the head of the village was also the military chief, and in which the military interest of defense was coordinated with such community interests as the maintenance of irrigation canals. The transformation of villages in which some families were subject to mobilization under military units in other villages into a system in which the military unit coincided with the residential community seems to have been brought about not by planning but by a natural adjustment.

361 A Monguor village may be described as "loose," in contrast with the Chinese "compact" village. It is not a large place included between four strong, thick mud walls, with a small gate easy to defend, but a defined territory in which the people live on their farms, scattered in small groups, under the rule of the chief of the [311] territory. Each "village" has a share of pasture for the herds of the whole community and a valley for the cutting of wood and fuel by all members of the community.

It sometimes has a central stronghold in which live some twenty or thirty families. Sometimes, though not usually, the mansion of the T'u-ssu and the administrative buildings of the clan are also within the stronghold, together with a couple of shops, one of which is always the indispensable pharmacy with a Chinese "physician." Again in contrast with the Chinese pattern, there are rarely any "streets" laid out at right angles, for the

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361 Monguors seem to have an inbred abhorrence for the straight line. Some strongholds are inhabited by one hundred or two hundred families, mostly poor people, and have more and larger shops. The central stronghold is not, socially, the center of the village except when the T'u-ssu lives there. Monguor farmers, owning more cattle than Chinese, do not like to live confined within walls. Even the village meetings are not held in the stronghold.

The principle determining the location of villages seems not to have been the size of the population or the extent of the territory, but rather the topography (good defense points) or natural centers of community interest, such as an irrigation canal. In some cases the origin of a village can be traced to the fact that, in order to avoid trouble, a group of families split away from its relatives and founded a new village. In other cases, splitting-off was in order to move within reach of new pastures and sources of wood-supply. For such reasons there is great variation in density of population and distances between the villages.

DWELLINGS

342 Since, according to tradition, the Monguors were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents, it is not surprising that when they settled in Kansu and began to build houses, they copied those used by the frontier Chinese, and so the houses of the Monguors are built on the Chinese pattern. Construction begins with the building of four outer walls, forming a square and facing south. The walls are formed in the following way: The earth is levelled for the foundation. Planks are set on edge, facing each other and braced by uprights. These determine the thickness of the wall. Earth is shovelled between the planks and then pounded tight by lifting and dropping a heavy wooden ram. When the space between the planks has been tightly packed, the planks are raised and the next course is packed in the same way. By adjusting the distance between the planks, the wall is made to taper slightly toward the top. Within the walls are built the mud-walled and thatch-roofed houses, with wooden rafters and beams. At the southwest corner of the enclosure there is a small gate, not wide enough to allow a cart to enter, because a small gate is easier to defend than a large one.

343 In the angles of the other three corners are built the stables and the kitchen, which is separate from the dwelling quarters. Under the windows, outside the buildings, are constructed mangers for the cattle. At night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals, horses, mules, and donkeys. The Monguors like to sleep amid the animals as their nomad ancestors did.

342 In the houses along the side walls live the younger sons, and in the same buildings are stored grain, skins, wool, farming implements, saddles, the grindstone, etc.

The chief of the family lives in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. A large room

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342 in the center is the living room, and is used for the reception of guests and as the dining room. One of the two smaller rooms on either side of the living room is occupied by the chief of the family and his wife; the room opposite is occupied by the eldest son.

352 The largest part of each dwelling room is occupied by the *k'ang*—a small platform, two or three feet high,
354 built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm. In winter the *k'ang* is a wonderful invention. On it are spread felt rugs, and along the wall are folded and piled the covers and skins used at night. Three or four wooden cases along the wall contain the clothes of members of the family and the treasures of the mother (needle box, sewing materials, etc.), and there is also a small cupboard. Along
353 the wall, hung on pegs, are a gun, a stringed musical
251 instrument, clothes, etc. In the corner of the room stands a jar containing fermenting pickled vegetables.
342 Part of the smoke of the oven escapes through a hole pierced in the window and the door is opened when the smoke is too heavy. Beams and rafters are like ebony, blackened by the oily smoke. Around New Year, the walls are whitewashed and two or three pictures of deities are placed on the walls. After a few days the whitewash turns brown and the walls are muddy again.

343 In the northeast corner of the courtyard is the kitchen and in this building the youngest of the married sons lives with his family—for in this blessed corner, according to the shaman, a large progeny is to be expected.[1] The two remaining corners are converted into stables—for these corners, again according to the shaman, are propitious for the reproduction of animals. Sheep and cows are fenced outside the courtyard.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

621 Since nobles and commoners live in the same kind of
184 house and earn their living by the same means, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated. Poor and rich, nobles and commoners, live in the same hamlets, help each other and go in and out of each

[1] This custom preserves the tradition that the youngest son is "guardian of the hearth." There are many evidences that in ancient Turco-Mongol society elder sons moved away at marriage and received at that time their share of the inheritance. The youngest son remained with the parents and received the residual inheritance. Hence, according to Vladmirtsov (*Régime social des Mongols*, 60), the term *otchigin* or *otjigin*, "prince of the fire," for the youngest son. P. Pelliot and L. Hambis (*Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan* 1: 176, Leiden. E. J. Brill, 1951) point out that *ot* is Turkish for "fire," while *chigin* is the medieval Mongol form of *tigin* (*tegin*), which though occurring in Turkish is in their opinion of Avar (old Mongol) origin. They point to another word for "youngest son," *otqan*, as "probably" deriving from ot-qan (khan), "sovereign of the fire."—O. L.

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other's houses. Their children play together. In winter the women of noble and commoner families sit in each other's houses sewing clothes. In times of sickness or childbirth, the women of both classes help each other; they cradle and caress each other's children. When trouble breaks out between a mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law, all the neighboring women of both upper and lower classes come around to help patch up the quarrel. Rich and poor know each other's most intimate affairs and talk about them. They know all about each other's wealth or poverty, for the saying goes that the neighbor is the balance which weighs the neighbor's silver. The daily food of rich and poor is just about the same.

The intimacy in the daily family life which derived from the time when nobles and commoners migrated in small nomadic groups with their herds, pitching their tents one next the other, became more and more conventional when they settled down in small villages, and made it possible to bridge the chasm separating upper and lower classes in the official administrative hierarchy; but long before commoners were allowed to participate in the administration, the way had been prepared by the close familiarity in all the small hamlets between women of the two groups in the orbit of the family.

In such problems the overwhelming influence of the women and children is often overlooked. The first step in the leveling of social conditions between nobles and commoners was not set by any order of the T'u-ssu, but by the women and children in their daily familiar life.

The distance between rich and poor families in such a society as that of the Monguors is not so marked as in our society. The sons of the rich work in the fields just like the sons of the poor. They work side by side with the hired men. In the same way the daughters-in-law and daughters of the rich do all the household chores, and go to the fields to do the weeding and to bring in the harvest, as do the wives and daughters of the poor. Only on holidays are they better dressed and decked out with nicer jewelry.

Rich nobles and rich commoners alike hire four or five extra men to till their fields. They keep flocks of one hundred or two hundred sheep, herds of forty or fifty cows, and feed ten or more donkeys, two or three teams of mules, and one hundred or more horses, of which a couple are fast and handsome.

The man of ordinary standing hires one or two men, has fifty or one hundred sheep, ten or twenty cows, some donkeys, and a couple of mules and always has a fast, fine horse. Poor families working for the rich people earn some money and some grain and from some of the fields that they cultivate for the rich keep the harvests for themselves. With the herds of their employer they put a few sheep and a couple of cows or donkeys of their own. Sometimes they have a couple of days off to till their own small fields with the draft animals of their employer. They are dealt with in the

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621 same way as members of the family, and the relations between employer and hired men are familiar and cordial.
184 In short there are among the nobles honorable families living in affluence, and among the commoners there are the same kind of fine families. There are among both nobles and commoners less honorable families and even dishonorable ones, addicted to opium, gambling, and the whole train of attendant vices that go with these depravities. Since most families are absorbed with the struggle for life, however, they have little time left to indulge in extravagant vices. Although the villages are not beds of roses, the sociability of life among the Monguors is an attractive feature of their society.

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIALS

621 The highest official in the village is the village chief or headman. Next come the two military commanders, called Ch'ien-tsong and Pa-tsong,[2] and finally the elders. The chief of the village is responsible to the T'u-ssu for his villagers. His powers are granted to him by the T'u-ssu, on the recommendation of the elders. The institution of the office of village chief dates from after the settling down of the Monguors under Ming rule. It was an innovation and an adaptation to a new economic and social status.

In the case of the two military ranks the tradition runs that in former times all the chiefs of villages were nobles who had been appointed as military commanders and who had jurisdiction over administrative as well as military matters. The clan institution having become during, and even before, the Mongol Empire a military institution, all subjects of the clan were enrolled in one or another military unit. No surviving tradition explains the present subordination of the military officers in the village to the village chief; but this subordination must have gone against the grain of the old Mongol military tradition—especially since the chief of the village may be a commoner, not a noble—and it may well be therefore that this subordination began under the Ming dynasty and was a mark of Chinese preference for civil authority over the Mongol tradition of military supremacy.

The institution of village elders may be regarded as a survival from the nomad past of the Monguors. Nomad clans once lived and thrived without chiefs, but never

[2] These two terms are local patois for the Chinese terms Ch'ien-chang and Pai-chang, "commander of a thousand" and "commander of a hundred," which in turn are translations of traditional Mongol terms. It should be noted that since the Monguor villages of recent times do not produce a thousand men at a time to place under a commander, we have here an illustration of the very common phenomenon of the degeneration of titles by stages which may be described as (*a*) high rank; (*b*) high-sounding rank; (*c*) humdrum rank, with no consciousness, in the minds of those who daily use the title, of its original significance. Mongol history is full of this degeneration of titles and honorifics, especially when they are borrowed Chinese terms.—O. L.

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621 without elders. The whole power of the clan was anciently embodied in the elders, who appointed and dismissed the chiefs. It is therefore no wonder that the elders in every village still play, most of the time, the most important part in local administration.

622 The chief of the village is usually selected from among the commoners, but may be a noble. He is always a villager, a man noted for his proficiency in administration and in good repute among the population for his uprightness and readiness to help members of the community. He is not always the richest man in the village, but is almost always chosen from among the most outstanding families in the village. He may even be a Chinese or a Tibetan enrolled in the clan. He is chosen by the elders on the tenth of the tenth moon. The T'u-ssu is then informed and must approve and send a written commission or appointment. Thus there is a compromise between choice by the village elders and appointment at the T'u-ssu's discretion.[3]

The tour of duty of the village chief is for one year, and he can be reappointed. He is the real executive authority of the village, responsible to the T'u-ssu for law and order and representing the village in its relations with the T'u-ssu.

701 The military officers are appointed by the T'u-ssu personally, for an indefinite tenure. In former times they were always nobles, but in the last half-century of the old Monguor society many were commoners; the office had become merely honorary, and some T'u-ssu sold it to the highest bidder. The military officers are in charge of the rolls of the village militia, who are subject to call in times of emergency. In addition a few men are on permanent service as soldiers. In case of war or bandit disorders the two officers take command, and call up all the males of the village.

[796] [431] At New Year the village chief and the two military commanders offer the T'u-ssu the New Year greetings of the village and present him with tea, sugar, 622 raisins, a couple of bottles of wine, and a piece of 701 red silk eight feet in length, a ceremonial scarf and 35,000 pierced copper cash. The same three men

[3] It should be noted, however, that in Mongol society there are many examples of compromise between selection (or approval) from below and appointment (or approval) from above. The emphasis may vary either in times of the strongly centralized power of a Mongol emperor (as under Chingis and his immediate successors) or in periods of subordination of Mongol tribes to centralized empires in China (as under the Ming and Manchu dynasties). There are even traditions that the tribe (of commoners) has the right to repudiate the prince who represents the ruling noble clan; with the proviso, however, that the ruling clan may put forward another of its own members to replace the repudiated prince. It is hard to say definitely that the right of the ruling prince, chief, or T'u-ssu is the oldest right. As Father Schram points out, there are reasons for believing that the authority of a council of elders is even more ancient and fundamental. It may be suggested that in such societies as that of the Monguors the rights of the chief tend to prevail over those of the elders when there is a strong overlord paramount over both chief and elders.—O. L.

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622 701 represent the village in preparing and managing all celebrations held at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, such as the investiture, marriages, and funerals, the "opening of the seal," and the yearly diet or assembly. They also preside over the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages. Together with the elders they execute justice within the village, carry on the day-to-day administration, defend the rights of the villagers in their relations with the T'u-ssu, and of course oppose all enroachments on their own privileges.

623 The elders are appointed by the T'u-ssu himself, for an indefinite period of time. The T'u-ssu selects them from among the outstanding heads of families among nobles and commoners. Most of them are commoners; some are Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the clan. In former times they were granted by the T'u-ssu a copper button to be worn on top of the hat. All matters concerning administration of the village, the apportioning of taxes, and difficulties among the villagers are discussed between the elders, the chief of the village and the two military commanders. Of them all, it is the elders who carry the most weight.

The elders can delegate some of their powers by appointing young commoners to assist the chief of the village, to organize meetings, to summon the villagers, on necessity, and to collect taxes.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES

623 184 Meetings are the specific form of administration. The villagers are not administered by a small group of autocrats who hold themselves in aloof dignity. All topics of interest to the villagers are discussed in meetings attended by them. At these meetings everybody is allowed to express his views and to defend his rights. Very often the atmosphere of meetings is one of violent agitation and high excitement. It will be recalled that in the ancient form of pastoral nomad government under tribal elders, final decisions were made only after the heads of families had had their say at public meetings. The Monguors, in spite of the passage of many centuries, and after having adopted a sedentary farming economy, still conserve this tradition of their old administrative routine. The public meetings are part of the specific character of government in a Monguor village.

These meetings are not held in the central stronghold built by order of the Chinese, and very seldom in the courtyard of the temple of the village, but in the open air. Every village has its designated place of assembly. Some villagers hold their meetings on the large threshing floor of a particular hamlet of the village; others at a fixed spot in the main valley; others at the foot of a mountain, etc. This tradition of a customary place of assembly, as well as the form of administration, bespeaks the old nomadic customs of the Monguors.

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TOPICS OF THE MEETINGS

623 651 The most important and delicate topic of discussion at meetings is always the subject of taxes. These taxes are decreed by the T'u-ssu as a lump sum imposed on the entire village. The villagers have then to group themselves by wealth in five classes and to pay more or less taxes according to this classification. The classification of families is a very difficult and delicate problem. In the discussion everybody asserts that he is, and proves himself to be, the poorest man in the village, deserving to be put in the lowest classification. The tax imposed on the village is compared with the taxes on other villages, and the chief of the village is criticized for not having defended the interests of his village. These meetings also fix the date on which the taxes have to be ready either to be carried by the villagers in a group to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, or to be ready for the nobles who come to collect them. Illegal and oppressive exactions by the officials of the T'u-ssu and difficulties with the collecting nobles are discussed, and entrusted to the chief of the village for redress or for conciliation with the T'u-ssu.

623 312 Another important topic is the digging or repairing of irrigation canals. The number of digging days required from each family is adjusted to the amount of land each family cultivates. Quarrels are patched up with families accused of having kept the water from the canal turned into their fields for longer than the allotted time. The proper time is calculated by the time taken to burn a certain number of incense sticks for the irrigation of a determined acreage of fields.

623 651 794 At these meetings the contributions of every family are fixed for the expenses of keeping the village temple in repair and payments to the shamans who perform the two important rites of spring and of protection against storms and hail, and of thanksgiving for the harvest.[4] An apportionment is also made of the liability of members for all kinds of corvées, or obligatory services, religious as well as administrative. The groups of youngsters must be ready day and night to stay in and even sleep in the temple in order to avert the danger of hail and storms in summer. Duties must be assigned also for taking care of the sacred animal of the village, and for preparing the performance of all kinds of religious rites carried out on behalf of the village. Villagers must also be designated for all kinds of corvée service at the mansion of the T'u-ssu.

622 627 The officials must also be prepared to deal with all kinds of problems in the private lives of the villagers (except family vengeance feuds). If a villager has got himself into difficulties or is burdened with troubles not of his own making he goes to the chief of the village, presents to him a scarf of felicity and a bottle of wine, and invites him to iron out the problem. The chief

[4] The religious aspects of Monguor life will be discussed in a second volume, now being prepared for publication.

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622 sends one of his assistants to invite the elders and summons the defendant. If the problem is important, 627 the military commanders are also invited. Problems of this kind include delimitation of the boundaries of fields—a kind of arbitration case often made necessary by contracts drafted ambiguously by incapable men. Cases of dividing a paternal inheritance are often laborious and consume many days. The whole community is [681] interested in such cases. In personal quarrels, disputes, and fights the offending party may be flogged with up to one hundred stripes. If the complainant has been wounded, the defendant is condemned, in addition, to defray the expenses for the doctor and for medicine and to pay indemnity for a fixed number of days of recuperation.

685 Stealing seems to be an ineradicable evil among the Monguors, and stealing of animals is the worst of all. The Monguors still seem to have the old attitude toward thieving and the stealing of animals, although thieves are severely punished. Among the neighboring nomads, when a man is caught red-handed stealing animals, he is taken to a lonely spot, the tendons of his ankle joints are cut, and he is left, crippled, to die on the spot. The nomads show no pity for cattle thieves. The Monguors do not punish as cruelly and do not inflict capital punishment, but the thief has his hands bound behind his back and is then hung by the thumbs, until he loses consciousness. Water is then poured on his head. When he recovers consciousness, the same sport is repeated two or three times. He is then flogged with up to five hundred stripes, or even more. If a thief is caught the second time, he is sent to the T'u-ssu's prison, and when he emerges from jail, he is a wreck of his former self—provided he escapes at all, by bribing the guards.

People who steal sheaves from the field at harvest time are flogged with up to fifty or one hundred stripes and are led through the village, the sheaves on their back, [865] crying the whole way long that they are guilty. Boys accused by their parents of disobedience are flogged in the same way, after having been forced to apologize to their parents.

684 In cases of adultery the guilty pair, if caught *in flagrante delictu*, are flogged with up to one hundred stripes or more. The woman is beaten on her bare back with rawhide lash, the man on his bare buttocks and thighs. Apologies are made to the injured husband. A sheep or pig is brought to his home. Fire crackers are set off. The guilty pair ask a guarantor to speak for their proper conduct in the future. An official statement is written attesting the fact of adultery and the supplication for pardon. The two guilty persons place their right thumbs on an inked pad and then make an impression with the thumb on the statement. They are then led through the village, two drums beating before them, while they confess their guilt.

Once in a while a young woman runs away from her

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684 husband—or rather, usually, from her mother-in-law. When brought back she endures one hundred lashes on the back, and is led to her husband's house with the same "ceremonial" as related above, after having asked for a guarantor and made her thumb-print on a statement. Once in a while, also, a future son-in-law who is working for his future father-in-law, in order to marry the daughter, disappears with the daughter. After one or two years they return, and ordinarily the parents are delighted to see them again, and no more complaints are made.

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525 681 593 In cases of gambling, a fine is imposed on the offenders for the upkeep of the temple or to defray the expenses of the religious celebrations performed by the shaman at the village in spring and autumn. All kinds of interesting and dramatic cases occur. Wives complain about their husbands; widows who do not intend to remarry complain about members of the family prodding and teasing them to remarry; widows willing to remarry are hindered from remarrying; or the price for a bride is not paid at the fixed time; or a betrothal is broken off, etc.

627 Two particular cases may be described in detail, because of the light they cast on the type of cases handled by chiefs and elders, and on Monguor society in general.

In the first case, in the valley of Hungnai, in 1918, Chang Chia-pa, a Chinese whose family had been enrolled in a Monguor clan for many generations, had a daughter married "with the girdle" [5] who was the mother of a lovely boy. He also had a son, a daughter-in-law, and grandchildren. The girl of the girdle, who was always having trouble with her sister-in-law, finally could not stand any more, married a man named Hou Yu-liang as his concubine, and took her son with her. Hou paid her father four hundred strings of cash for her.

After five or six years, during the festivities held at the second moon in Weiyuanp'u, a Chinese peddler from Ho-nan province, named Li, made trouble with Hou Yu-liang for having, as he complained, married the

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[5] When a girl who is unwilling to marry has relations with a guest, custom requires that the guest present his girdle (sash) to the girl. In the event that she subsequently becomes pregnant, she performs the rites of marriage with the sash, and she is thenceforth known as "Mrs. So-and-So" (guest's name), and the son as "boy so-and-so," even if the guest never comes back during her whole life.

The importance of the girdle is worth noting. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, according to Fr. Mostaert, when on the day set for the marriage the groom falls ill and is unable to attend the ceremony, his girdle is sent to the bride and she performs the rite of marriage with it. I never met such a case among the Monguors, and it appears that the girdle is used among the Ordos Mongols in circumstances quite different from those in which it is used among the Monguors. We note also that kidnapped widows prove before the court of the village their unwillingness to marry so-and-so by showing the girdle which was exchanged with so-and-so. Father Mostaert told me that when shamans in the Ordos perform their rites, removal of the girdle is one of the most important acts. This custom is unknown among the Monguor shamans.

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627 mother of his son. The peddler was accompanied by the brother of the girl's father who had a grudge against him. The girl of the girdle did not even recognize the peddler, but since her son had always been called Li, and since she herself had for five or six years always been called Mrs. Li, the peddler, with the girl's uncle as "witness," threatened to accuse her and her husband in a Chinese court. Hou, afraid of the terrible expenses consequent on involvement in a Chinese court action—which in any case might not save him his beloved concubine—preferred to settle the trouble by compromise. He invited the chief of the village and the elders, his maternal uncle and some of his friends, and after a long "interesting" meeting, crowded with the most ticklish details, it was decided that Hou should pay 160 strings of cash to the presumed father and apologize, bringing the traditional offering of a sheep with paper pasted on its horns and a piece of red cloth on its back—all to the accompaniment of firecrackers.

583 627 The second case concerned the kidnapping of a widow. In theory it is up to a widow to make her own decision about a second marriage, but at the same time the custom exists of kidnapping the widow when she is conducted at night to the home of her second husband. In Sopokou[6] lived the widow of Hla Reng. A man named Chang, of Ch'ichialin, who intended to marry her, heard that she had already consented to marry a man named Li, and that they had exchanged girdles as tokens of their mutual consent.

Chang, unwilling to give up the widow, called together thirty or more youngsters with clubs, in order to kidnap her on her way to her second husband. But having been misled about the day of her departure, and finding no widow along the road, Chang and his gang decided that she must be still at her old home, and resolved to kidnap her there. Among the kidnappers was her own nephew, who, being familiar with the house of his aunt was charged with keeping the watchdog quiet. The group entered, smashing the door, and at the same time the candle inside the room was blown out. The woman was hurriedly seized and gagged, and a piece of red cloth wrapped around her head. Four men carried her out and lifted her onto a mule. A man jumped up behind her on the mule, holding her around the body, and the armed group in deep silence, at full speed, riding by side roads, in the dead of night, reached the home of Chang.

Then, consternation! The nephew recognized that the kidnapped woman was not his aunt, but the wife of a neighbor who had been staying for a few days with the widow. In the scurry and confusion, the widow had hidden herself in the corner of the room under some sacks. The whole group apologized and offered to take

[6] A name probably meaning "Needle Valley," from Monguor *subuge*, "needle" (de Smedt and Mostaert, *Dictionnaire*); but possibly from Mongol *subag*, "a canal."—O. L.

583 the woman back to her husband that very same night. But the clever woman refused, and nobody dared to
627 touch her again. At dawn the funny story spread like a prairie fire all over the country. The most stoic elders who had not laughed for years burst into peals of merriment. The chief of the village and the elders restrained the furious husband from bringing an action at the Chinese court. On the threshing floor the problem was tackled with the whole village in attendance. The decision was that the wife should be brought back home, preceded by a group of musicians and a sheep with paper pasted on its horns, a piece of red cloth on its back and firecrackers going off all along the road, and that a dinner should be prepared for the husband, the chief of the village and the elders.

An elder of the village, a celebrated patcher-up of troubles, told me that cases of kidnapping are usually not so dramatic. Most of the time, if a widow is being compelled to marry a man she does not like, and if she already has a man friend, she notifies him about the time and the circumstances of her departure, and he kidnaps her on the way, often after a severe fight. Later, on the threshing floor, after she has testified that she will marry her friend and that they have already exchanged girdles, the friend is required to reimburse the disappointed suitor for all his expenses and whatever part of the bride price he has already paid for the widow. (The marriage price for a widow is paid in two installments, one before she leaves home and one after she has reached the home of her new husband.) But when a widow is kidnapped against her own will, and refuses to marry the kidnapper, the decision made on the threshing floor by the chief of the village and the elders goes in her favor.

627 All cases are exposed and discussed in the open air, with all the villagers in attendance including youngsters and children, who thus get their social and family education through naked facts. The veil of privacy is ripped from all the miseries and realities of life before the eyes of the young, who are more sophisticated in such social knowledge than people in the Western world. A record of each case is filed in the "archives" of the chief of the village, and four strings of cash are set aside, to be offered to the T'u-ssu at the time of his triennial visit.

623 In most villages the influence wielded by the elders is remarkable. There are very few quarrels they are unable to patch up. Their skill seems to be based on long experience and a flair for grasping the core of problems rooted in the passions of human nature. They are supported by the reverence and esteem cultivated in the family circle for old age, which ensures attendance at their meetings and respect for their opinions. This kind of authority is even more important than the support they receive from the T'u-ssu. At the same time the fact that their meetings are public, and that the villagers can freely state their opinions and defend their rights puts pressure on the elders to act according to justice and in conformity with accepted opinion. Plaintiffs and de-

623 fendants unwilling to abide by the decision of the elders may have recourse to the T'u-ssu; but his verdict very seldom differs from that of the elders.

577 From the foregoing it can be seen that the concepts of the Monguors seem to be based on custom, tradition, and
184 what community opinion accepts as "just." Typical concepts are: wrongs are to be righted; injustices to be corrected; the rights of parents over their children, of husbands over their wives, and of widows to dispose of themselves, are to be asserted and defended; private property is to be protected; no one has the right to disturb the peace of the community. It is apparent also that among the Monguors the villagers in reality govern themselves. Although the elders are backed by the authority of the T'u-ssu, it is the villagers themselves who for the most part patch up their own quarrels, punish faults, right wrongs, and keep the peace.

The system is, in effect, one of democracy. It is only when these democratic practices do not work that recourse is had to the aid and protection of the T'u-ssu.

181 At the village meetings on the threshing floor, overwhelming stress is placed on faithful adherence to the old customs. One of the most important duties of village chiefs is to watch over their observance. The T'u-ssu, on his triennial visit, always makes inquiries on this subject, on which conservatism can be truly called hidebound. When Monguors, especially of the older generation, are heatedly discussing matters of the village, and the supreme argument of "old custom" is brought up, all opposition instantly subsides. The chiefs and elders of villages and the heads of families always urge the observance of traditions. They are firmly convinced that neglect of ancestral custom ruins the stability and prosperity of the clan. On every occasion the younger generation has this injuction dinned into its ears. The chiefs of the villages will curse other chiefs of villages, and T'u-ssu who are careless of old custom. The test of a good village chief or T'u-ssu is unshakable firmness in strict observance of the clan traditions as if they were as unyielding as the laws of nature.

177 When the Chinese Republic began in 1911, however, new ideas which had a baneful repercussion on the minds of young Monguors started to spread. It was almost a hopeless struggle for the elders to try to save the old customs. It then became apparent that the Monguors were in fact not sufficiently insulated from the pressure exerted by new ideas from outside their own society. Their social concepts had gradually been undermined and weakened by the enrollment of Chinese in their clans. Chinese concepts had, unnoticeably, long been seeping into their thought—Chinese had, it must be remembered, risen to be even village elders—and a situation had gradually been created in which the Chinese way of thinking, even if conservative in itself, was disruptive of the old Monguor concepts if it differed from Monguor concepts. [p. 80a]

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LIMITS OF AUTHORITY OF THE VILLAGE OFFICIALS

621 While the village officials are expected to deal with all possible disturbances of the peace, there are limits to their authority. The commoners, being the subjects of the T'u-ssu, who merely delegates his powers to the officials whom he appoints, have the right to appeal to him. The appeal, however, can be made only after punishment has been inflicted, in view of the fact that the commoner is also subject to the village authorities. The form of appeal to the higher authority of the T'u-ssu, therefore, is not "the village authorities *intend to be* unjust to me," but "they *have been* unjust to me." The remedy, therefore, calls not merely for preventing the carrying out of a sentence wrongly imposed, but for punishing the lower authority for a mistake made and executed. This view of the working of legal machinery is not peculiarly Monguor; it is Chinese, and indeed found in many Asian societies.

The jurisdiction of the chief of the village is, therefore, limited in two directions. He is circumscribed by custom in his authority over the villagers, and subordinate to the T'u-ssu. On his triennial visit the T'u-ssu always inquires into the administration of the officials, the suits that have been brought before them, and the way in which they have dealt with them. The outlook on these matters of Monguor society as a whole seems to be rooted in the blunt fact that the commoners are descendants of subjected tribes which might have been exterminated by their conquerors, and for which the price of survival was to become the "possessions" of the victors. The ordinary commoner, with only a confused idea about the history of his condition, knows only that he is completely subject to his T'u-ssu, to be ruled according to the customs of the clan.

In most matters the interests of each village are confined to its own territory, the payment of its own taxes, the support of its own quota of soldiers, the providing of its share of the additional levies for marriages and funerals in the T'u-ssu's family, and for the investiture of the T'u-ssu. If for any reason a village feels that it has a complaint to make, it makes its petition at the yearly assembly, or at the time of the ceremony of the opening of the seal, when all the chiefs of villages are gathered around the T'u-ssu.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VILLAGES

621 312 To the extent that villages have few affairs in common, it is easy to be good neighbors. The most frequent cause of trouble between villages is dependence on the same irrigation canal, because villages using the same canal are jointly responsible for its yearly maintenance and for emergency repairs after floods.

Most village irrigation canals tap streams running from the mountains to the Hsining River or the Yellow River. The canals are divided into sections. In a typical case, the take-off section from the mountain

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621 stream must be kept in repair by all the people using
the water of the canal throughout its length. If section
312 *B*, the middle section of the canal, is to be repaired, the
people of section *A* are not concerned. The people
of the villages along sections *B* and *C* must do all the
work. If section *C* is damaged, the villagers of that
section must do all the work alone. Yet there are times
when most of the damage is along the lowest section, and
the people, getting no help from their upstream neighbors, harbor resentment.

621 Each village is allotted a fixed number of days for the
use of water for irrigation. In times of drought, villages
312 will open their outlets from the main canals at night
when it is not their turn for water in order to steal
628 water from the section whose turn it is, pretending that
the dams broke. It is not uncommon for fights to
break out over water-stealing, giving rise to long-lasting
and bitter feuds between villages. When there is trouble
over water the chiefs and elders of villages not involved
in the case are invited to act as arbiters. If the damage
done is not too serious, a dinner is given by the offenders
and apologies are made; but if the damage is too great,
the offending village is required to pay part of the taxes
due to the T'u-ssu from the plaintiff village. Even such
a settlement, however, may become the beginning of a
feud.

621 Minor causes of friction between villages are the
stealing of sheaves from the autumn harvest by poor
628 people or, in the spring and summer, damage to the
crops of one village by straying animals from another
778 village. The chiefs of the villages concerned patch up
such petty troubles without need for arbitration. Every
village raises a sacred animal, usually a Tibetan bull yak
or a he-goat. These animals are allowed to roam freely
and to trespass on fields, and nobody complains of the
damage they cause to crops. After a few years, however, a bull begins to turn savage, and sometimes injures people. In 1914 the bull of the village of Narin
ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Lungta, who was
working in the fields. The village of Narin made
apologies, indemnified the family, and killed the bull.
The meat was offered to the village of the man who was
killed, because the people of a village are not allowed
to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. No further
trouble followed from this incident.

628 There is a strict custom that it is not allowed to sing
lascivious songs inside a village. The young people of
834 villages that are not friendly sometimes sing such songs
533 in order to tease their neighbors, and fights break out;
but if the chiefs of both villages concerned punish the
youngsters, there are no further consequences.

628 In summary, it may be said that there are few serious
quarrels between villages, except those over canals and
irrigation water; in regions where irrigation is not used,
in the so-called "dry land," serious quarrels never
break out between villages.

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V. FAMILY LIFE

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

596 The general principles of the Monguor family system have already been given above in Chapter III, and need here be recapitulated only very briefly. Until 1911–1922, when these notes were made, the Monguor family was a patrilineal, extended, patrilocal family. The extended family was under the authority of the grandfather, or of the great-grandfather if he survived. No family of which I had any knowledge exceeded four generations. The whole extended family lives in dwellings grouped around a common courtyard. The property and wealth are collectively owned by the whole group, but with authority over the property unequally concentrated in the senior generation. This manner of life is graphically described by the Monguors in expressions (used also by the Chinese and possibly borrowed from the Chinese) as "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." While these sayings may be borrowed from the Chinese, the underlying principle, that of the hearth and the fire-spirit of the hearth, belongs independently to the nomad tradition from which the Monguors are descended.

Conversely, the break-up of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families composing the extended family sets up its own kitchen, hearth, and chimney and begins to cook its own food separately. This means that it is parting from the extended family to which it belongs and founding a new extended family. The son who thus sets up separately becomes independent of the orders of the senior whom he formerly acknowledged as head of his family; he is beginning to work for himself and to retain any money that comes into his hands, instead of turning it over to the head of the family. When a son begins to act in this independent manner, the neighbors gossip, the family itself is uneasy, and it is recognized that the old family is breaking up.

596 587 It should not be assumed that polygamy is a regular characteristic of the extended family. Polygamy is very decidedly an economic question. On the one hand, polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard, because it gives rise to quarrels among wives, and on the other hand there are few Monguors who are economically able to afford a household with more than one wife. If one of the sons living in the common courtyard should venture to ask the head of the family to provide him with a concubine (perhaps because his wife is barren) all the other daughters-in-law are jealous and their husbands share with them because they feel that the cost of the concubine means that the favored brother is being given more than his share of the family's capital. If the tormenting of the other daughters-in-law should drive the concubine to despair, she might commit suicide; and a suicide always means the complete ruin of the family.

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

596 587 Theoretically, it might be argued that a son who had left the extended family to live separately would be free to take a concubine. In practice, he is rarely able to do so because the commonest reason for leaving the extended family is that it has become too poor to support all its members. The son who is starting life separately is, therefore, usually starting as a man too poor to afford a concubine.

587 Polygamy is, however, not frowned on in the case of a small family consisting of husband and wife, economically well off but without children. In order to prevent the line from dying out, thus breaking the continuity in the ancestor-cult, it is quite proper to take a concubine, even if the couple has already adopted a child. Polygamy is also not unusual in a small family in which there are children, if the family are well off; in such cases, if the wife does not object, her husband takes a concubine and the concubine helps her in her housework.

In one case in my experience, in a rich family consisting of husband, wife, and one son, who was already married, the mother objected to her husband taking a concubine, but did not mind arranging for a second wife for her son; the arrangement was one that provided an extra worker in the family.

The Monguors make a distinction between polygamy, as described above, and the levirate. In a family in which there are several sons, all of them married and having children, if one of the sons dies, the widow becomes the second wife of one of his brothers (usually a younger brother). The distinction between the levirate and polygamy is clear. Polygamy requires the expenditure of family funds for the acquisition of a second wife or concubine. In the levirate, the bride-price has already been paid; if the widow should leave the family in order to marry an outsider of her choice, she would be a loss to the family and it is proper, therefore, to make an arrangement that keeps her in the family. The levirate is, however, only practiced when brothers are still living together in the extended family, and when the widow consents.

THE FAMILY CHIEF

592 611 The position of chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head of the family. If at this moment the extended family should break up, instead of continuing to live together, the eldest son is privileged to receive a larger share of the fields and cattle forming the common property, and his own eldest son shares this privilege, also receiving a cow or horse, or a field. This rule of succession and inheritance is followed by both nobles and commoners.

592 In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. He repre-

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592 sents the family in attending the general assembly of the clan at the spring ceremony of venerating the ancestors. At such meetings, the older people are always bitter in their condemnation of heads of families who send a delegate instead of attending in person.

592 Apart from religious practices within the family, the head of the family must also attend when shamanistic
796 ceremonies are staged in the village temple. Within the household, it is his duty every morning to honor "heaven
769 and all the spirits" either on the roof of his house or in the courtyard. A duty that he cannot alienate from himself is the cult of the deity honored by his father; the picture of this deity reverts to him by inheritance. It is also his responsibility to invite either shamans or lamas to his house on various occasions.

592 In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. All money coming to
471 any member of the family must be deposited with him. Individuals in the family have no right to keep money for their own use. It is he who sells and buys cattle and grain, and all contracts must be signed by him because only his signature is legally valid for the family. He also buys, sells, or mortgages land. It is his right to decide which member of the family is to become a lama, who is to be sent to school, and who is to serve as a soldier. He directs all the ordinary routine of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns to members of the family their daily duties. If members of the family wish to attend festivals, he must give permission; he must also give permission if a daughter-in-law wants to go home to visit her parents.

[553] He is of course the one who decides on the arrange-
ments for marriages and funerals, and it is his privilege
592 to give names not only to his own children but to grandchildren. He is expected to be just and even-handed in seeing that all members of the family have their fair share of clothes and their fair share of space in living quarters. Inability to handle such matters to the satisfaction of the family often leads to the break-up of an extended family and the building of new chimneys. Authority within the family is balanced by responsibility to the chief of the clan not only for the family itself but for murders or robberies committed on land belonging
592 to the family. In the event that a member of his own family is murdered, he must join with the maternal uncle
681 of the one who has been killed in leading all the men of the family to secure vengeance. When a member of his family brings shame on the family by a crime, such as stealing, and is unwilling to make amends, he must again consult with the maternal uncle of the guilty person and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. In such cases even the death penalty may be exacted without arousing the disapproval of the public authorities.

592 When visiting a Monguor family, it is always easy to recognize the head of the family. He is better dressed than the others, is almost never without a long-stemmed pipe in his hand, and does not do any hard physical

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592 work. He entertains the guests, the other members of the family keep respectfully apart. At dinner, he and his wife occupy the places of honor and his food is served to him first. His prestige and the respect shown to him are, however, modified by the necessity for earning respect by proper conduct of the affairs of the family.

BREAKUP OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY

596 The usual time for the breaking up of an extended family is at the death of the grandfather. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More often, the sons divide the property and each one builds his own "chimney"; if he has grown sons of his own, he is already the founder of a new extended family. It is difficult for the oldest son to hold the family together, because, although he has a certain authority, it is not so great as that of a man of a senior generation. It is also at this moment that old quarrels among the wives of the various sons are likely to flare up; each woman, moreover, is eager to seize the opportunity to be recognized as the wife of the head of a new family, exercising authority in her own right over her sons, daughters-in-law, and grandchildren. I have often been told by old men that wives have a bigger stake in founding new families at this moment than do their husbands.

As an example we may take the case of a grandfather who has four sons, each of whom has three or more children. At the grandfather's death, it becomes apparent that the four brothers have different and uncongenial personalities—one perhaps is lazy, making the others feel that they are doing his share of the work and supporting his family for him, while another may be quarrelsome or avaricious. With the authority of the grandfather removed, it also becomes evident that each of the four sisters-in-law has her own personality; or perhaps one has several children and another, having only one, feels that life in the common courtyard means that she has more than her fair share of the household work and helping to look after other people's children. In short, it would be revealed that although there had been unity and harmony in the family during the ten or fifteen years that the grandfather had ruled it with tact, patience, and love for his children and grandchildren, there had nevertheless been underlying strains which, after his death, became strong enough to break up the family. While it is for such reasons that it is extremely rare to find an extended family of four generations holding together after the death of the grandfather, a few such families do hold together, not so much because of family affection as for economic reasons. The moment that an extended family begins to fall apart, its creditors appear, because once they have separated the individual families will no longer acknowledge mutual responsibility. If the extended family is so deeply in debt that after a settlement there would not be enough to divide among the separating families, it may

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596 go on living as a group even though the new head of the family is not obeyed as he should be and each component man-and-wife family is jealous and resentful of the others.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW FAMILIES

Continuing with the example of the four brothers who have been taken as a typical case of the breaking up of an extended family, it will be found that there are no dramatic ceremonies ratifying the establishment of the four new "chimneys." Sometimes the man who is establishing his own "chimney" will kill a sheep, invite some elders and his maternal uncle, offer them wine, and receive their good wishes for a happy future, while his sons and daughters-in-law and the grandchildren prostrate themselves before him and his wife. Thereafter, four new "chimneys" are registered in the archives of the village instead of one.

Generally speaking, it can be said that family ties among the Monguors are not as binding as they used to be. There is an increasing tendency to separate into small families. The bonds and associations of the clan have resisted change more successfully than the extended family.

596 888 Certain aspects of the family, however, remain strong, especially the gradation of respect according to seniority of generation. Children, from their earliest years, are accustomed to seeing each generation show respect to the generations senior to it, especially on formal occasions such as funerals, marriages, the installation of the chief of the clan, and all ceremonies connected with veneration of the ancestors. They grow up accustomed to this kind of respect, which is as important in the community and the clan as it is in the family. The result is a social outlook in which the individual is subordinated to the family and the community.

CLASSIFICATION OF KINSHIP

601 In the classification of relationship, the Monguors use the same term for all members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Thus, I address as "grandfather" not only my own grandfather, but all his brothers and the sons of his father's brothers. The term is *adie*, with differentiation of *sge* ("big") for those members of this class who are older than my grandfather, and *mula* ("little") for those who are younger. Similarly, I address as *anie* not only my own grandmother but the wives of all the men whom I address as "grandfather," with the same distinction of "big" and "little" for those who are older or younger than my actual grandmother. This term *anie*, which is also the polite expression for "madame," I likewise apply not only to the "grandmothers" who are married to my "grandfathers," but to my grandfather's sisters, because they have the same clan name that he has. In other words, his "sisters" are not only his father's daughters but the daughters of his father's brothers—

601 but not the daughters of his father's sisters, because these women have the names of the clans into which their mothers married, different from the name of my clan.

All the men of the generation of my father, according to the same system of identification, I address as *ada*, *aua*, or *aba*, the terms for "father." In addressing them, I also remember to use the distinction between "big" and "little" according to age. There is, however, one special term: the youngest brother of my father I address as *aga*.

The wives of all those whom I address as "father" I address as *ama* or *ani*, the terms for "mother." In addition to distinguishing between them as "big" and "little" according to age, I address the first wife of one of my fathers as "big" and his concubine as "little."

All the sisters of my father I address as *agu* and their husbands I address as *ayu*.

In my own generation, my brothers include the sons of my father's brothers and my sisters include the daughters of my father's brothers; but the sons and daughters of my father's sisters are not my brothers and sisters. In the brother class, those who are older than I are *aga*, and are classified as "big" and "little" according to whether they are older or younger than each other. Those in the brother classification who are younger than I are my *diu*, and I also make the "big" and "little" distinction according to whether they are older or younger than each other. The general term for "brothers" is *aga-diu*.

Among the wives of my brothers, I call those who are the wives of my elder brothers *biergan* and those who are the wives of my younger brothers *diu bieri*.

Among my own sisters, I call those who are older than I *k'ad'zi* and those who are younger than I *fud'zün diu*. The general term for those in my sister-class is *k'ad'zi-diu*. The husbands of my sisters I call *kurgen aga*, or *kurgen diu*, according to whether they are senior or junior to me.

If I want to make distinctions in describing those who are in my brother-class, I call those who are the sons of my own father *nige aaoni aga diu* ("elder and younger brothers of one father"); those who are the actual grandsons of my actual grandfather *nige adieni aga diu* ("elder and younger brothers of one grandfather"); and those who are the grandsons of men in my grandfather-class *khulo aga diu* ("remote elder and younger brothers").

I call *k'u* not only my own sons but the sons of all those in my brother-class, even the most remote.

The wives of my sons I call *k'u bieri*.

I call *fud'zün* not only my own daughters but the daughters of all my brothers. The husbands of my daughters I call *k'urgen*. The sons of my sisters, however, I call *dzie k'u* and the daughters of my sisters I call *dzie fudzün*. In this respect the usage of the Monguors is like that of the Chinese, who call the

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601 children of their sisters "outside" relatives, because they bear a different clan name.

My grandsons and all the boys in my grandson-class I call *sun dze k'u* and their wives I call *sun dze bieri*.

My granddaughters and all girls in my granddaughter-class I call *sun dze fu d'zün* and their husbands *sun dze fud'zün k'urgen*.

My maternal uncles, both the actual brothers of my own mother and the brothers of all those who are in my mother-class, I call *nage* or *adziu*.

My mother's sisters I call *anie* ("madame") and their husbands I call *ayu*.

My wife I call *ndani bieri* ("our wife") and she calls me *ndani k'un* ("our man") or *dzanguidie*, "boss," a Chinese loan-word. She may also call me *daxu*, the Monguor term for "boss," or she may address me as "father of my children." If however I should have occasion to beat my wife she will, in appealing for mercy, call me *ago* or "elder brother."

Those who are in the grandfather class of my wife I call *gadim adie*, with distinctions of "big" and "little." Those in the grandmother class of my wife I call *gadim anie*, with distinctions between "big" and "little." Those in my wife's father-class I call *gadim ada* (or *azva*, or *aba*). Those in my wife's mother-class I call *gadim ama* or *gadim anie*.

Those in my wife's brother-class, according to whether they are older or younger than she, I call *gadim aga* or *gadim diu*. Those in my wife's sister-class I call, following the same principle, *gadim k'a d'zi* or *gadim fu d'zün diu*.

My wife calls all those in my brother-class, according to whether they are older or younger than I, *aga* or *diu*. Those in my sister-class she calls, on the same principle, *kadzi* or *fud'zün diu*. The wives of those in my brother-class who are older than I she calls *biergan*, and those who are younger, *diu bieri*; speaking about them with other people, she adds *gadim*, "in-law relative." Two families whose son and daughter marry call themselves *gudor*.

The classificatory system is observed even in the most ordinary family conversation. Thus a father, wanting to send for one of his brothers, will say to a child "call your big father (i.e. my elder brother)" or "call your little father (i.e. my younger brother)." In the same way, if he wants to send for the wife of his elder brother he says "call your big mother." Even children, playing together, speak to each other as "older brother" or "younger brother." Out of courtesy, and because of the universal respect for old age, the classificatory terms are also used "artificially"; old people are addressed as "grandmother," "great-uncle," or "great aunt," even when they are not related.

GLOSSARY OF KINSHIP TERMS

The following glossary is drawn from De Smedt and Mostaert, *Dictionnaire monguor-français*, as already

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cited. A simplified transcription is used, instead of that of De Smedt and Mostaert, with its many diacritical marks. References to "Mongol" are to standard written Mongol, using Mostaert's transcription with slight simplification. References to "Ordos" are to contemporary spoken Ordos Mongol as cited in De Smedt and Mostaert in their dictionary, and again in Mostaert, *Dictionnaire Ordos*, already cited, but using a simplified transcription.

aba: father. *Cf.* Mongol *aba;* Tibetan *'a-pa, 'a-p'a.*

ada: father. *Cf.* Hsining Chinese *ah-ta;* Turkish *ata.*

adie: grandfather. *Cf.* Hsining Chinese *ah-tieh,* grandfather; standard Chinese *tieh,* father.

adieni: possessive of *adie,* grandfather.

ago (also *aguo*): elder brother; term of respect when addressing an equal. *Cf.* Hsining Chinese *ah-ko,* standard Chinese *ko.*

adzi: elder sister. *Cf.* Chinese *chieh.*

aga: elder brother. Cf. Dagor Mongol *aga,* Mongol *aqa,* Ordos *akha,* Turkish *aga.* N.B. The term *aga,* given in the text above as "youngest brother of my father," is written by De Smedt and Mostaert *āga* (with the first *a* long), and the meaning: "Younger brother of my father."

aga diu: elder and younger brother (i.e. "brothers" as an inclusive term).

agu: paternal aunt: term of respect in addressing women. *Cf.* Hsining Chinese *ah-ku;* standard Chinese *ku.*

ama: mother. *Cf.* Hsining Chinese *ah-ma;* Tibetan *'a-ma;* standard Chinese *ma.*

ani: mother. *Cf.* Turkish *ana.*

anie: grandmother. *Cf.* Tibetan *a-ne,* aunt. Also used for "madame."

awa: father. *Cf.* Mongol *aba, abai;* Ordos *awä.*

awni: possessive of *awa,* father.

ayu: husband of a paternal aunt.

bieri: wife, woman. *Cf.* Mongol *beri* and Ordos *bere,* both with the meaning of daughter-in-law, and Kalmuk Mongol *bere,* a young wife.

dakhu: proprietor, master. De Smedt and Mostaert refer, but with a question mark, to Mongol *daruga,* Ordos *daruga* or *dargu.*

diu: younger brother. *Cf.* Mongol *degü,* Ordos *dü.*

dzič: child of a sister or a daughter. *Cf.* Mongol *jige,* Ordos *dzč.*

fud'zün: girl, young girl. *Cf.* Mongol *ökin,* Ordos *o'k'in.* De Smedt-Mostaert refer to *sdzün* as a synonym (or alternative form) of *fudzün,* with further reference to Shirongol *uchin,* "daughter," and *kuchin* or *uchin dyu,* "younger sister." This suggests that we have here a word of the well-known class that once began with an *h,* lost in modern Mongol but sometimes preserved in archaic dialects (e.g. Mongol *arban,* Dagor *harban,* "ten"). In this case, an *h* or *kh* (*velar*) seems to have been replaced by an *f* (*fud'zün*) or a palatalized *s* (*sdzün*).

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601 *gadim* (also *gadin*): relatives in law having a different clan name; wife's family in relation to husband's, or husband's family in relation to wife's. *Cf.* Mongol *qadum, qadam;* Ordos *khadam.*

k'adzi: elder sister. *Cf.* Mongol *egeci,* Ordos *egetshi. K'adzi diu,* elder and younger sisters; sisters in general.

khulo: far, distant, remote. *Cf.* Mongol *qola,* Ordos *kholo.*

k'ū: son, boy. *Cf.* Mongol *köbegün,* Ordos *k'ū.*

k'urgen: son-in-law. *Cf.* Mongol *kürgen,* Ordos *k'urgen.*

mula: little, younger, etc. *Cf.* Mongol *miltagar,* flattened.

nagē: maternal uncle. *Cf.* Mongol *nagai,* Ordos *nagä.*

ndāni: genitive plural of the first person.

sge: great, honorable, etc. *Cf.* Mongol *yeke,* Ordos *ikhe.*

sundze (written *sun dze* in text, above): grandson. *Cf.* Chinese *sun-tze.*[1a]

NUCLEAR AND EXTENDED FAMILY

594 It must not be thought however that children are unable to distinguish between their actual parents and their "classificatory" parents in the extended family. The mother and father and their own children form a well defined "nuclear" family within the extended family. Some authors, in their efforts to stress the importance of the classificatory system, neglect this fact which is obvious to an observer living in actual contact with such a society.[1] The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family, and personal possessions, like clothes and the children's toys, are all kept in this room. A mother sews all the clothes and shoes for her own children. After the main meal of the day, eaten in common with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room. Parents correct and punish their own children, and it is good reason for a quarrel if anybody else dares to punish them. If a child is sick, it calls for its own mother and sleeps beside her. If there is something wrong with the conduct of a woman, the grandfather calls her husband and tells him to discipline his wife and to beat her if need be. Thus the head of the family sets the standard of discipline, but it is the husband who actually exercises discipline. Conversely, if a woman has trouble with other women, she seeks the support of her husband.

603 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather first consults her father and mother before taking action, in his capacity as head of the family, to arrange a match with another family. When such materials as cloth for the making of clothes are to be distributed, it

[1a] For these terms, compare David F. Aberle, *The kinship system of the Kalmuk Mongols,* Univ. of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology, 8, Albuquerque, N. M., Univ. New Mexico Press, 1953, one of the studies completed under the program of Mongol studies at the Johns Hopkins University.

[1] See, for example, M. Granet, *La civilisation chinoise* 1: 185, Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

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603 is the grandmother who makes the distribution, each nuclear family receiving its proper share. When a mother goes on a visit to her own parents in a different village, it is customary for her to take her children with her, and thus they come to know the parents of their mother, and her maternal uncle, very well.

ADOPTION

597 The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family. Its importance in this respect is well exemplified when a childless couple want to adopt a child. The custom is to adopt, if possible, the son of one of the brothers of the husband, who is already a classificatory son and bears by right of birth the same clan name. If this is impossible, the next step is to seek a more remotely related classificatory son from a more distant branch of the husband's family, who, though not so closely related, does have the clan name and a male ancestor in common with his adoptive father. Only if no child of the same blood on the father's side is available is a child of different clan ancestry adopted. I once attended a ceremony of adoption in a case of this kind. The child was a Chinese boy being adopted by a Monguor named Kan 75—Kan being his clan name and 75 his personal name, given to him according to a common custom, because that was the age of his grandmother at the time he was born.[2] The child being adopted was a boy of five or six from a poor Chinese family named Liu, which had several boys and was on intimate terms with the family of Kan 75.

A sheep was killed for the ceremony. Those invited included the maternal uncle of Kan 75, one of his classificatory grandfathers, one of his own brothers, the chief of the village, a Chinese scribe, and myself. The boy was brought by his father, just before noon, and was clothed in rags. He was first taken to the kitchen, where he was washed, his hair combed, and he was fitted out with brand new clothes, boots, and hat. While this was being done, the Chinese scribe wrote a contract in two copies, attesting the fact that the boy was being freely given by the Liu family to be adopted by the Kan family. The contract was signed not only by the boy's father and the adopting father, but by the adopting father's maternal uncle, grandfather, brother, and the chief of the village.

The boy was then brought out and prostrated himself, making the *k'o-t'ou* nine times first to his new maternal uncle, then to his new classificatory great-grandfather, then to his new father and mother, then to his new father's brothers, including classificatory brothers.

The new father then asked his grandfather to give the boy a new and propitious name. The boy knelt

[2] A comparable custom is known in Outer Mongolia. The father of the Dilowa Hutukhtu was called 86—using, moreover, the Chinese, Bashiliu, not the Mongol, Nayanjurgan—because he was born when his father was 86. *Autobiography*, unpublished, of the Dilowa Hutukhtu.—O. L.

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597 before him and was given the name "Tiger." The new father then led the boy to the family graveyard, taking with him some wine, steamed rolls, meat, paper, and sticks of incense. The boy knelt and honored the spirit of the earth with a libation of wine poured on the ground. He then honored his new ancestors, kneeling and prostrating himself and making a burnt offering of paper and incense. Returning home, the boy was congratulated by the guests who called him by his new name, and he in return honored all the guests as a group by prostrating himself nine times. The ceremonies concluded with a dinner for the guests. The boy was happy with his fine new clothes, and willing to stay with a family that was so much better off then the one into which he had been born. His father went home, driving a nice cow before him. The boy was to be considered not only as "belonging" to his new family, but as being descended from his new father's ancestors and as fully integrated into the family.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR IN THE FAMILY

596 The structure of a Monguor family can be clearly
576 seen when a guest is entertained at dinner. Grand-
264 father presides, sitting on the *k'ang* or heated sleeping-platform. Grandmother sits down only if invited by the guest to come up on the *k'ang*. If there is no guest, both grandfather and grandmother sit on the *k'ang*. The younger sons squat on their heels on the floor, in front of the *k'ang*, eating with chopsticks out of a bowl held in the left hand; the elder sons are allowed to sit on the edge of the *k'ang*. The staple of the meal is usually barley-flour noodles. Grandfather reaches out from the *k'ang* and puts some meat and vegetables in each bowl. Each, as he finishes his meal, licks his bowl clean and hands it to his wife to be washed. While the grandfather is sitting on the *k'ang*, none of the daughters-in-law may sit on the floor; they must remain standing.

576 It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a
272 guest. After the food has been eaten, tea is served in the same bowl. Whether food or tea is served, the bowl must always be filled to the brim. Bowls or dishes must always be presented with both hands. Tea is poured with the right hand, while the left hand is held toward the guest, palm upward.

576 One must never step over a person who is sleeping or
606 lying down. Fathers and daughters-in-law must always
291 keep some distance between them. When there is a quarrel in the family, the first reproach by a daughter-in-law is always that "distance has not been kept." This standard of propriety is common to Monguors and Chinese. A daughter-in-law is not allowed to appear before the elder generation or guests bareheaded or without wearing either a long gown or a skirt covering her trousered legs. Only when a daughter-in-law is visiting her own mother's home may she go bare-headed. In her husband's home she must always wear a gown

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576 and a felt hat which is a simpler edition of the ceremonial
606 hat with its additional ornament of a miniature spear
291 and shield.

MARRIAGE AND ITS REGULATION

581 Because of the veneration of ancestors and the neces-
858 sity for having male children in order to carry on the ancestral cult, marriage is not an optional but a necessary part of Monguor life, except of course for lamas. The poorest people will scrimp and save in order to be able to meet the expenses of getting a bride for a son. They will sell animals and land, and go into debt. When a paternal inheritance is divided, money must first be set aside to provide wives for the brothers who are not yet married. People will be consoled or resigned at the death of a husband or wife, but never for the death of an only son, and the sweetest consolation of an old man nearing death is to have married all his sons and to have cradled his grandsons. When two old Monguors meet for the first time, the polite greeting includes the question, "are all your sons married and do you have grandsons?"

582 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There is absolute prohibition against marrying a girl belonging to the same clan. Within the clan, therefore, there are no marriages between nobles and commoners, because all bear the same clan name. It has already been noted above, however, that there began to be exceptions to this rule among the commoners in the period of decay and breakdown of the Monguor society, partly because the commoners are in fact not the actual descendants of the ancestors of the noble clan but merely "assimilated" as a result of being the subjects of the noble clan, with the result that poor nobles began to marry their daughters to sons of commoners. It has also been noted that this loosening of the rules among the commoners was aided by the enrollment of Tibetans and Chinese in the Monguor clans; Tibetan and Chinese women were frequently married by Monguor commoners, and occasionally by the nobles.

The rule of exogamy makes impossible marriage between the children of two brothers, but marriages between the children of a brother and a sister are allowable and even frequent, because the sister married out of her brother's clan and her children and his children therefore have different clan names. Very often, also, when family *A* gives a girl to family *B*, family *B* reciprocates by giving a girl to be married to a boy of family *A*. In all marriages, however, boys and girls must be of the same generation—a custom which may be the result of Chinese influence.

581 The influence of wealth on marriage is of several
565 kinds. The fact that chiefs of clans and rich nobles and rich commoners are prone to marry girls from rich families, including Chinese families, has already been mentioned. The influence of wealth is also shown when

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581 a well-to-do family needing more work done in the
565 household arranges for a son who is still a child to marry a grown-up girl. It is not surprising that such marriages are frequently followed by the elopement of the poor bride with a lover of her own choosing. The
583 case corresponding to that of the bride brought into the family for the sake of her working power is that of the
587 poor young man who goes to work in a family not his own, perhaps for years, in order to earn a bride from that family. To work for a bride in this manner is to lose a certain amount of status socially, since it requires that the young man live in a household where all the male members of the family have status and rights, and he alone is an outsider. A widow usually becomes the second wife of one of her husband's brothers if the family is still living united, but not if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately. More and more, in the decline of the old Monguor society, it has become usual for the widow to make her own choice of a second husband. If, instead of going to one of her husband's brothers, she marries a man of her own choice, it is customary for her new husband to bring her home secretly and at night, for fear that she may be kidnapped on the road by some other aspiring lover—a practice that seems to indicate that an unprotected widow is, or was in the past, "fair game."

583 Two exceptional kinds of marriage I have dealt with in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen.*
588 These are the "marriage to the pole," when a girl remains in the family in which she was born, but takes lovers and bears children, who instead of having the clan name of their father or fathers inherit the clan name of their mother's brothers and are treated as if they belonged to the patrilineal clan; and the "marriage to the girdle" when a girl, unmarried and living in her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves her his girdle to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.[3] Both of these customs appear to have been borrowed by the Monguors from the Tibetans.

The price paid for the bride is the subject of considerable negotiations between the families concerned, conducted by a go-between. It is usual for a girl to be a couple of years older than her husband, and the usual age for marriage is when the boy is fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen. Divorce and repudiation by the husband are rather rare.[4]

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

562 The status of the wife is inferior to that of the hus-
581 band, as is inevitable in a society in which social rights and family property are regarded as belonging primarily

[3] See above, p. 78, n. 5.

[4] Here only a few data are given about marriage customs, since I have already published an extensive monograph on this subject; see *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kansou.*

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581

to the male side of the family. When a girl marries, her family is regarded, not as "acquiring" relations-in-law, but as "losing" the girl; hence the fundamental attitude that the husband's family is "buying" the girl and her own family "selling" her. Since by this transfer her labor and productive power are lost to the family in which she was born, the family, in arranging the match, attempts to recover the capital value of the girl and this makes it impossible to consider her wishes in making the marriage. The interests of the family come first. The same considerations apply both to the inheritance of a widow by one of her husband's brothers, and the comparable custom, known to have been observed in the ancient Mongol society from which the Monguors are descended, under which a son inherited the wives of his father, except for his own mother. Both customs can clearly be referred to the view that these women, having been acquired at the expense of the family or clan, must be retained within the family. To the Chinese the idea that a son should inherit his father's secondary wives is abhorrent, and therefore the disappearance of this custom probably began when the Monguors submitted to the Ming dynasty, although the dying out of the custom must also have been encouraged by the decrease of polygamy for reasons that have been described above.

Wives accept their inferior status without resentment. Their individual outlook is conditioned by the social atmosphere in which they have been brought up. When they were children, they realized that women were more proud of bearing sons than daughters. They knew that women who had no sons felt inferior. When they were big enough to work, they lived, worked, and ate in the kitchen with the daughters-in-law, while the male members of their family ate in the main room. Even if an uncle or brother took his meal in the kitchen, he had to be served respectfully by the womenfolk. Girls grew up accustomed to the rule that they could eat only after the men had finished. Consequently, a Monguor girl does not expect to find anything different in the family into which she marries.

Inferior status does not mean that a wife can be considered a slave. On this subject I cannot agree with the many writers who have maintained that among the pastoral nomadic societies of Asia the status of a wife is essentially that of a slave, and that the slave status derives from an anciently universal practice of marriage by capture. We know from history—for example, from the *Secret History of the Mongols*—that wives were captured. We know also that in the marriage customs of the pastoral Mongols of today there are ceremonies or practices that suggest a tradition of marriage by capture. We know also that the capture of women was one of the causes of the chronic warfare among the Mongols of old; but all of this does not prove that capture was the sole and universal method of acquiring wives. The

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562 chronic warfare among the ancient Mongols and Turks required alliances as well as feuds.

581 Hence the institution, known to be very early, of "pairs" of clans, each regularly taking its wives from the other in a sort of marriage alliance.[5] An association of this kind was a natural basis for alliance in war, since each clan would not only be aiding an ally but contributing to the security of its own daughters.[6]

512 181 Among pastoral nomads the traditional life of the man, especially the married man, is one of long periods of idleness, spent largely in gossip and visiting, alternating with short periods of intense activity—in former times. defensive and offensive warfare, and in modern times the periods of migration, especially spring and autumn migration, and the periods spent by a man when he is summoned for obligatory service under the clan or tribal chief. The Monguors, as descendants of nomads, have inherited this tradition. The Monguor men, however, because of the change to an agricultural economy, cannot be quite as lazy as pastoral nomads. Farming cannot be profitable unless the men do their share of the work; but in spite of the example of patient toil set them by their Chinese neighbors, the Monguor men are never as industrious as the Chinese.

512 462 In the home, the kitchen and all things concerning food, the preparation of meals and cleaning up after meals are women's work. Women also collect the fuel, consisting chiefly of the droppings of cows, horses, and sheep, which after being collected have to be dried in the sun until they are combustible. In the early morning when the cocks are still crowing to announce the coming day the wives start working while their husbands go on sleeping. First the wife must go to the well with a wooden cask on her back to fetch water. Then she boils water in the iron cauldron, set in the hearth, to make tea. While she is making the tea she carries hot water to her husband for washing. While the husband is drinking his early morning tea the wife dresses and washes the children, prepares breakfast and carries a

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[5] Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols*, as cited, 58. "Les Mongols des XIe-XIIIe siècles devaient parfois aller chercher très loin leurs femmes, et s'accorder avec un clan éloigné. En effect, . . . les pâturages étaient distribuées de telle manière chez les anciens Mongols, que souvent on ne recontrait aux alentours aucun répresentant d'un clan étranger. . . . Ceci explique, les réminiscences anciennes aidant, la fréquence des rapts; les femmes etaient enlevées de force chaque fois que l'occasion favorable s'en présentait.

"On relève fréquemment l'usage pour un clan de choisir ses promises dans un autre clan, mais toujours le même. Les membres de ces clans s'accordent mutuellement le titre d' 'allié,' de parent par alliance, '*quda*.' Parfois l'échange des jeunes filles à marier donne lieu à des traités en règle entre clans." (Note that side by side with the word *quda* there is the word which in modern Mongol is *hadam* and in Monguor *gadim*—see the Monguor relationship terms as given above—which expresses "relationship with a woman married into my clan, or a man who has married a woman from my clan."—O. L.)

[6] It is possible that this kind of association also helps to account for the importance of the maternal uncle, as "the man who has interest in both clans."—O. L.

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512 bowl of food in to her husband, presenting it to him
462 humbly with both hands. She then folds and stacks along the rear wall of the *k'ang* the felts, skins, and quilts that serve as bedding, and sweeps out the house and courtyard.

462 It is also woman's work to feed the livestock, milk the cows, and go out to fetch earth, carried in a basket
233 on her back, to dump in the stables where the trampling of the animals mixes it with manure and urine which will eventually be carried out to put on the fields as fertilizer. If a cart is needed in the day's work, it is the wife who harnesses the horse or ox. When it is time to grind flour, it is she who does the grinding, either pounding a little at a time in a stone mortar or taking a larger quantity to a grindstone turned by animal power. When it rains, it is her duty to take the small herds of sheep, cows, and horses out to graze in the valley or on the hill slopes, while her husband, smoking his pipe, huddles by the brazier at home to keep warm or goes to visit his friends.

462 Women also work in the fields. On the field nearest home the Monguors use stable manure; on distant fields
241 they use a fertilizer made by burning clods of earth and grass. The wife carries the ashes in a basket on her back and spreads them on the field. Most husbands help their wives in this heavy work, but it seems not to be their duty to do so. Plowing and harrowing are the main agricultural work of the men, but even in this the women frequently help them. It is not unusual to see a woman plowing and harrowing. When the heavy preparatory work has been done, husband and wife together sow and later weed the fields. They also work together in reaping the harvest, carrying it to the threshing floor, and threshing it—though there are a few lazy men who will not work after the sowing and the weeding, leaving the harvesting, carrying, and threshing to the women.

462 Whenever a woman has a few minutes to spare she reaches for her sewing box. Sewing is work that
294 Monguor women love and at which they are very skillful. They can often be seen working at night by the light of a twisted wick spluttering in a saucer of vegetable oil, patching the clothes of the family. A housewife is expected to make all the new clothes for her husband, her children, and herself. Although she is always the first to get up in the morning and the last to go to bed at night, she has a little more spare time in the winter, when there is no work in the fields, and this is the season for sewing.

603 It is the grandmother who manages the whole female side of the community, supervising and allocating work
462 to the daughters-in-law and the older girls. A good
592 manager rotates the work so that each woman will have an opportunity to do needle work and so that pregnant
606 women get lighter work. It is the grandmother also who soothes the quarrels that inevitably break out in such a family, and endeavors to keep them from be-

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603 coming serious. At the same time, a grandmother is a woman who by age and rank is entitled to be a little
462 cranky and to have her peculiar ways. If she cannot keep the peace and maintain order among the daughters-in-
592 law, she appeals to the grandfather, who orders the husband of the woman who is considered at fault to
606 tackle the problem by admonishing his wife or if necessary by beating her.

Generally speaking, however, such little incidents within the family do not turn out to be serious; a daughter-in-law is expected to be demure and obedient, to hold her tongue and not to display jealousy, but at the same time it is considered only human to allow her to display a little bit of "temperament" from time to time.
562 In spite of the fact that Monguor women do very heavy work, they are usually happy and contented and it is the normal thing for husband and wife, even though they did not make their own marriage, to have real respect and love for each other. In their own little family within the extended family husband and wife usually talk everything over together, giving the wife the feeling that she has a responsible part in their joint concerns; while, as for the husband, it is easy for him to be fond of a wife who is so obedient and works so hard.

In public, Monguor women retain enough of the old nomad tradition to be much more free, especially in their attitudes to and conversations with men, than Chinese women. While they are bound by strict rules of etiquette and are likely to be rebuked by their elders, especially at home, if they infringe these rules, they are not in public at a loss how to behave when they encounter a man; they feel perfectly free to talk with him and they do not blush or look in the other direction, as old-fashioned Chinese women used to do. They enjoy going to the big public festivals at the lamaseries, and to the annual assembly of the clan; they like to sit on the grass in mixed groups, men and women together, talking, laughing, singing, watching dances, and making merry. A woman is not embarrassed to sing a song in public; and when she is dressed in her best clothes she likes to stroll, preening herself, through the crowd, displaying her costume and her magnificent headdress. Nor are women afraid to do their own shopping; at the fairs they confidently examine the wares for sale and hold their own in bargaining over prices. In the country Monguors do not consider it shocking to see a man riding to his fields with his wife riding pillion behind him; and during the long and tedious work of weeding man and wife both like to sing in the open air.

It is perhaps worth making a few brief comparisons between the status of men and women in the Monguor society and in the greater Mongol society from which the Monguors derive. In the thirteenth century William of Rubruck reported of the Mongols that:

> It is the duty of the women to drive the carts, get the dwellings on and off them, milk the cows, make butter and

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562 *grnit*[7] and to dress and sew skins, which they do with a thread made of tendons. They divide the tendons into fine shreds, and then twist them into one long thread. They also sew the boots, the socks, and the clothing. . . . They also make the felt and cover the houses.

The men make bows and arrows, manufacture stirrups and bits, make saddles, do the carpentering on [the framework of] their dwellings and the carts, they take care of the horses, milk the mares, churn the *cosmos* or mares' milk, make the skins in which it is put; they also look after the camels and load them. Both sexes look after the sheep and the goats, sometimes the men, other times the women, milking them.[8]

Marco Polo, later in the thirteenth century, wrote:

And I tell you that the Tartar ladies trade, buy and sell and do all the work that is needed for their lords and family and for themselves.[9]

462 These comparisons are enough to show that the Monguors, both men and women, in spite of the change to agriculture, continue to divide their specialized work much as they did when they were still nomads. The men repair houses, saddles and harness for horses, mules, and donkeys; make the tools used for farming, and tan skins. In their leisure time men spin thread and twist cords and ropes. Women never kill sheep, pigs, or chickens; butchering and killing are done only by men. The fact that men do rather less work in the fields than the women has already been mentioned.

LEGENDS OF THE PAST

562 Other characteristics that Monguor women inherit from the nomad past are the ability to make decisions and take responsibility and the courage, in time of need, to fight as boldly as men. In the late twelfth century when Yesugei Bagatur, the father of Chingis Khan, was poisoned by some of his enemies, most of his followers

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[7] *Grnit* is Rubruck's rendering of the Mongol word *hurud*, from which comes the Russian word *krut*.—O. L.

[8] *The journey of William of Rubruck to the eastern parts of the world*, 1253–55, with two accounts of the earlier journey of John of Pian de Carpine, translated and edited by W. W. Rockhill, 75–76, London, 1890. Rockhill footnotes with cross-references to Pian de Carpine. The word *cosmos* is, of course, the well known word *kumys*, which is Turkish rather than Mongol. See also Lama Galsan-Gomboev, *O drevnikh mongol'skikh obychayakh i sueveriyakh, opisannykh u Plano-Karpini*, in *Trudy*, Eastern Section, Imperial Archaeological Society, 4, St. Petersburg, 1859, for comparisons of thirteenth century survivals and echoes in Mongolia.—O. L.

[9] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.* In the Russian original, Vladimirtsov quoted from Pauthier's 1865 edition of Marco Polo. In the French edition, the translator adds the quotation as here given from the 1938 edition of Marco Polo by A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot 1: 169, London, Routledge, 1938. To these citations may be added the generalized description of pastoral nomadism in W. Schmidt and W. Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, 236, 524. For the Mongols of the Ordos region of Inner Mongolia, see P. Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, cited, 102. For the Manchus and Tungus, whose ancient habitat was in the forest rather than the open grassland, see S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the northern Tungus*, 263, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1933; also the same, *Social organization of the Manchus*, already cited, 105, 122

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562 deserted, but his widow "was a woman of wisdom and decision. She assembled the small number of men that had remained loyal, raised the banner with the signs of Yesugei Bagatur, and started in pursuit of the seceders. She succeeded even in making part of them return . . ."[10] and though she failed in the end, her courage has remained a Mongol legend. Similarly, Shirokogoroff notes of the Khingan Tungus in Manchuria that "even the women maintain the clan honor and fight if necessary."[11]

562 173 The women of the Monguors have legends that are in this tradition. I have recorded one of them in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, describing the captivating song sung at Monguor marriages and at all festivals, recalling the daring exploit of the wife of the chief of the Lu clan, who killed a brigand chief and was rewarded by the emperor. The story goes that the country between Liangchou and P'ingfan was infested by the brigand Ta Kuan-ch'ün[12] and his followers and all communications between the two cities were cut. In this crisis, the wife of the Lu T'u-ssu lured the bandits into an ambush. She pitched a tent, spread red felt rugs out on the ground, and dressed some of her maids in transparent gowns. Wearing golden bracelets, playing musical instruments, and singing local songs, they "welcomed" the bandits. When the bandits were drunk, the maids beat copper cooking cauldrons as a signal and the soldiers who had been lying in ambush rushed out and loaded the chief of the bandits, his lieutenants, and seven others with chains. When the captives recovered from their drunken stupor and began to struggle, the soldiers flogged them to death, cut off their heads, and set them up on posts along the highway of Wuchaoling. The brother of the brigand chief, when he heard the news, cut his own throat. The brave wife of the T'u-ssu then sent troops to exterminate the rest of the brigands or force them to submit.

When the emperor heard of this exploit, he presented the noble lady with a thousand ounces of silver, precious golden ornaments, a complete set of hairpins and ear-

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[10] B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan*, 14–15, English translation, London, Routledge, 1930.

[11] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the northern Tungus*, 196.

[12] There is a possibility that this name is a corruption of the Chinese expression *kuang-kun* prefixed by the Chinese word *ta*, "big." In H. A. Giles, *A Chinese-English dictionary*, second edition, Shanghai and London, Kelley and Walsh, Bernard Quaritch, 1912, under number 6389, *kuang-kun* is given as "a bare pole—a swindler; a scoundrel." In the north China vernacular, however, the expression has the meaning "a tough," "a gangster," and in this meaning it has passed into more than one of the frontier languages of China. Father A. Mostaert, in his *Dictionnaire Ordos* 1: 292a, records it in the form *gauggun* with the meanings "vaurien, trompeur; qui se conduit mal, volage, leger de conduit; libertinage," and also records a verb formed from the noun. C. P. Skrine, *Chinese Central Asia*, 212–214, London, Methuen, 1926, records it in the form "Gangung" as part of the name of a swashbuckler, with the meaning of "brigand," in a Turki ballad from Kashgar.—O. L.

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562 rings and four pieces of flowered silk. He ordered his officials to build her a seven-storied mansion at Lien-
173 ch'eng. She was also presented with an inscription reading "She displayed faithfulness," and given a grant of fifty *ch'ing* of land, the revenues of which were to provide her with "toilet expenses," the Chinese expression equivalent to the English "pin money." The grant of land, according to the family chronicle of the Lu T'u-ssu, was in the country of *chun ku erh*.[13] There are also legends of the bravery of the Monguor women during the great Muslim rebellion who joined in the battle just as their husbands were beginning to retreat, and thus turned defeat into victory. According to popular tradition, it was for this exploit that the emperor himself designed the costume that Monguor women wear on ceremonial occasions, including a sleeveless "military" jacket, military skirt, and a miniature shield and spear as part of the headdress.

562 In spite of all these legendary tributes to their ability, however, Monguor women do not play a conspicuous part in politics or administration; with the exception, already noted, that when a T'u-ssu dies leaving a son who has not come of age, the boy's mother acts as regent.

THE MATERNAL UNCLE

604 The relationship between two families connected by marriage is most clearly seen in the role of the maternal uncle, who while not a part of the family of his sister's child exerts, nevertheless, a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

In discussing the role of the maternal uncle, I shall divide my remarks into two parts, dealing first with the most striking aspects of his role, and secondly with the context in which these prominent aspects occur. Since the facts which are to be presented have considerable theoretical importance for the problem of possible matriarchal survivals in a patriarchal kinship system, I shall conclude my observations with a short theoretical analysis.

604 Among the Monguors the special rights of the maternal
764 uncle were most vividly manifest in three circumstances: (1) at the natural death of his sister's children (2) in the event of their having been murdered or having committed suicide, and (3) in situations where they were subject to punishment.

[13] These three Chinese syllables are one of the regular transcriptions of the Mongol term *jun gar*, "left hand" or "left wing." This expression reflects the usual Mongol practice of dividing territories and military organizations into a left (east) and a right (west) wing (the south being "front" and the north "back"). This expression is the origin of the name of the Jungar Mongols, who were the "left wing" of the confederation of Western Mongols in the region of the Altai mountains and the northern part of Sinkiang Province which is therefore still known, in the Western literature, as Jungaria or Zungaria. In this case, however, the reference may be to land taken from some of the Jungar Mongols who eventually migrated into the pastures of the Tibetan plateau near the country of the Monguors.—O. L.

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A. The sister's children were not allowed to be buried without the permission of their maternal uncle.

When a member of the family died, a capable and outstanding man was invited to direct the preparation and the ceremonial of the funeral, and to send people to convey the obituary announcement to all the relatives. It was also his duty to call the deceased's maternal uncle or a member of the maternal uncle's family—e.g. his son or grandson. The maternal uncle was the "master of the bones" [14] of the deceased, and he disposed of the right to permit the burial or to impede and obstruct it, even with violence; consequently he was to be treated with the utmost reverence and respect at that moment.

If the relations between the two families had been unfriendly and hostile before, the maternal uncle and his family did not miss the opportunity to pay off an old grudge, impeding or at least delaying the burial and causing excessive expense to the family. He would assert that the deceased had not been well cared for, that the funeral was too small for a mother who had borne six or more children, worked her fingers to the bone, and never enjoyed any sunshine during her life, although she had been a fine mother and good homemaker, etc. He would require the deceased's family to invite twenty or thirty lamas to pray for forty-nine days, to offer a certain amount of alms to a fixed number of lamasaries, to buy the most expensive grave-clothes for the deceased, etc. In such situations, it was the duty of the director of the funeral to settle the trouble, saving as much money for the family of the deceased as possible by displaying with prodigality the proficiency of his eloquence.

If the two families had always been friendly, on the day of the funeral, before the dinner, the director of the funeral made a speech before the maternal uncle, saying that the deceased had died a natural death, notwithstanding that two or three doctors had been invited and a large amount of money had been spent for medicine; that the whole family to the best of its abilities had tried to assuage the pains and suffering of the deceased, to be agreeable and helpful to him, securing him a happy death, etc. Finally he asked the maternal uncle to examine the deceased and to give the necessary permission for the burial. In localities where the Monguors were used to burying their dead in coffins, as do the Chinese, the eldest son of the deceased knelt during the speech, presenting to the maternal uncle a plate on which was placed a hammer and the wedges with which the cover of the coffin were to be fastened. The maternal uncle himself drove a couple of wedges, after which others completed the fastening. (The same custom exists among the Chinese.) The sons and grandsons

[14] In both Mongol and Chinese usage, "bone" stands for the paternal and "flesh" for the maternal line of descent. Since the clan system was patrilineal, the body was referred to as "bones," even though the maternal uncle, who had jurisdiction in permitting burial, represented the "flesh" rather than the "bone" of the deceased.—O. L.

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604 knelt and prostrated themselves, thanking the de-
764 ceased's maternal uncle.

B. The maternal uncle was required to initiate and
604 execute vengeance for the murder or suicide of his sister's child.

628 The duty to initiate and execute vengeance fell first on the brothers of the mother of the deceased—i.e. the deceased's maternal uncles—and only secondarily on the deceased's father, brothers, and other paternal kinsmen. Hence, the mother's brothers were the immediate protectors of the lives and well-being of their sister's children and it was they who stepped forward in the event that a man or woman had been murdered in his or her own family, or a married woman had been murdered or had committed suicide in the home of her parents-in-law.

To illustrate the way in which the maternal uncle operated as an avenger, and the relationships which he had with the various other relatives of the deceased, I shall draw on an actual case of suicide which I had the opportunity of observing at first hand.

In November 1915, in Lichiat'an ("the plain of the Li family"), the daughter-in-law of Li Chin-ch'ün, born in the family of Ch'i, was found one morning hanging from a beam. She had had quarrels for many days with her mother-in-law and had been beaten by her husband. Li Chin-ch'ün, sick with fear and apprehension, and with a sense of impending doom, went in a hurry to see the chief of the village and the elders, and begged a man who was on intimate terms with the girl's maternal uncle to convey the terrible news and to invite him to come over in order to permit detachment of the body from the beam and to fix the date for the settlement of the trouble.

A hanging person was not allowed to be detached without permission of the "master of the bones." After the permission had been granted, a shaman was invited who adjured and cursed the evil spirit, feverishly cut the rope with his sword, undressed the victim and cut a small piece of flesh from the hips, which he swallowed. The victim was then deposited on the *k'ang*, or sleeping platform, to await burial after the troubles had been patched up and permission for the burial granted by the girl's maternal uncle.

During the night, with all possible haste, the Li family, aided by some friends and relatives, sent away for safe keeping its best animals and entrusted to these friends and relatives its most precious belongings—clothes, agricultural implements, etc. Hogs and sheep were killed and vast quantities of wine were prepared, in order to deal in the best way with the ill-disposed guests, for on an empty stomach trouble cannot be ironed out; empty bellies do not reason. To meet unknown contingencies which might arise, the father-in-law of the suicide borrowed money at usurious rates, mortgaged some fields, etc., for a suicide ruined a family completely, and there was a saying that: "The value of the life of a person

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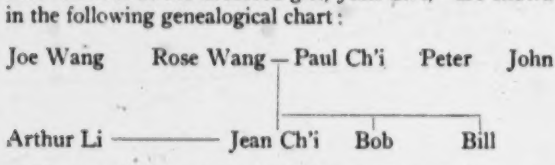
who dies by his own hand, tallies with the whole wealth of the family."

In this concrete case, what relatives were involved? The relatives of the deceased girl, Jean Ch'i,[15] are shown in the following genealogical chart:



Since Jean was the daughter of Rose Wang, Joe Wang, who is Rose's brother, was Jean's maternal uncle and was "the master of the bones" and had to lead the avengers. If Jean had had no real maternal uncle, the duty of leading the avengers would have fallen on her closest male relatives in her mother's lineage.

Since Jean was also the daughter of Paul Ch'i, Paul and his brothers and sons, and his paternal uncles and their sons and grandsons—the whole Ch'i family—were involved. They had to avenge the death of one of their members, but under the leadership of Joe Wang. They would have led the avengers only in default of Jean's maternal uncles.

On the other side, the whole Li family was involved, and with them the maternal uncles of Arthur Li, the husband of the suicide. The latter were invited to take up the cudgels in favor of Arthur and his father.

Thus four families were directly involved in the suicide—two on each side. The position of the avenging group was stronger, for they had a claim to see justice done; the position of the other group was the weaker because they were recognized as in the wrong. The first group emphasized the wickedness of the behavior of the Li family, in order to extort a severe atonement, and the other group tried to minimize the wrong, offering extenuating circumstances, in order to save Arthur and his father.

It should be noted that other families could have been indirectly involved in this case. Joe Wang, the avenger, could have asked his own maternal uncle to assist him, and in default of close members of Joe Wang's lineage, this maternal uncle would have assumed the role of "master of the bones." Similarly, Paul Ch'i could have asked assistance of his own maternal uncle.

On the other side, not only Arthur Li's maternal uncles but also his mother's maternal uncles, and his father's maternal uncles could have been asked to help in the defense.

In other words, aside from the maternal uncle of the deceased, the maternal uncles of any of the principals involved in the ensuing conflict were subject to an appeal for assistance and moral support, and, in the case of the chief avenger, for substitution in role.

It is also to be noted that in any of the clans involved—e.g. Ch'i, Wang, Li—family groups rather than entire

[15] Given names are fictitious.

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604 clans participated. In this case, Jean Ch'i's brothers,
628 father, father's brothers and the latters' sons were involved; in other cases, if the family of the defendant was wealthy, the aggrieved's grandfather, grandfather's brothers and their descendants joined the avenging group in the hopes of profiting during the impoverishment of the defendant's family. But this is usually the limit of involvement of any given clan.

To help himself in this tight spot, the father of Arthur Li invited the chief of the village and the elders to arbitrate the conflict, along with some influential men celebrated in the country for their eloquence and proficiency in the art of patching up troubles, and known to be on intimate terms with the members of the first group. These he promised a fine remuneration in case of success. Such were the actors in the drama which ensued.

On the day appointed for the settlement, the members of the Li family together with Arthur Li's maternal uncles and the chief and elders of the village, went outside the village to greet the "guests"—i.e. the members of the avenging group. They led a sheep whose horns were decorated with red paper and on whose back was bound a piece of red cotton cloth eight feet in length. With them they also took many firecrackers, to be fired in front of the guests as they returned the long way to the Li family's courtyard. This was the customary means for making a public apology.

But the guests did not show up, and for several days the Li family had to send them new invitations every day. This was Joe Wang's way of compelling the Li family to spend money and kill more animals for the invited elders, the rest of the Li relatives and Arthur Li's maternal uncles, who had to be treated with kindness and fed all during the time that Joe Wang was delaying his appearance.

Finally, after five days Joe Wang showed up with the Ch'i family and a retinue of forty or fifty men bearing clubs, etc. The whole Li family knelt and prostrated themselves to make public apology, but not a kind word was spoken by their former friends, who had now become the fiercest enemies. Entering the courtyard, the Wangs and the Ch'is went to see the victim lying on the *k'ang* unwashed and dirty, for no one was allowed to touch the victim before the case was settled. The stench lay heavy on the air, clogged the throat, and made the avengers clench their fists with rage. They breathed fire and brimstone against the Li family. The maternal uncle declared that he was coming to take vengeance, and like a bolt from the blue, he and his followers smashed all the windows and doors and tables and benches and jars and all kinds of tools; the chickens and the dog were clubbed; all the animals in the stables were driven away, etc., adding to the chaos and confusion. Babies squalled, children screamed, the daughters-in-law clutched their children to their breasts, and the whole Li family prostrated themselves, begging for

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604 mercy. The avengers knew no compassion, and every supplication was as a hot coal hissing on ice.

628 In the meantime the elders had tried to calm them down a little. The neighbors brought tea. The scolding, upbraiding, and cursing having subsided a bit, a dinner was offered. Again some of the avengers carped and complained about the quality of the food, etc. After dinner the palaver began again and went on through the whole night, with endless cursing.

The maternal uncle refused to announce his conditions for settling the trouble. The avenging group ate and drank its fill for three days, and still no solution, no headway was made.

On the fourth day the maternal uncle finally announced his conditions: the important living Buddha of Erhkulung and 20 lamas should be invited to pray for 14 days for the victim; 1,000 pounds of butter should be offered, with an alms of 10,000 taels (ounces of silver) to the same lamasery; and 10,000 taels should be paid to the family of the suicide as atonement.

In the meantime the elders, knowing the ropes, and having the knack of acquiring information, had scanned the avenging group, recognized the most influential men among them, and had already invited them on three separate nights to their homes in order to enjoy a quiet sleep. Here they sounded them out concerning the mind of the maternal uncle about his final solution; some of them ultimately weakened and money was promised to them if they would see that the trouble was settled for a minor sum.

The maternal uncle, however, a very stubborn man, did not yield to the hints and suggestions of his friends. On the fifth day no solution had yet been reached.

It so happened that I was in the neighborhood and that two of the elders knew I was an intimate friend of Joe Wang, the maternal uncle, whose sick wife and son I had helped in critical circumstances. At night I was invited to see the maternal uncle and to persuade him to settle the trouble in a more lenient way, and it was thus that I learned all the circumstances of the appalling affair.

After a new palaver, lasting a whole day and night, the case was settled: only 1,000 taels was to be paid in atonement to the maternal uncle and his family, and the maternal uncle himself should take care of the question of the prayers and alms. This settlement was in fact a subterfuge, because prayers are never said and alms never given in case of suicide, so that in reality the whole atonement price accrued to the maternal uncle (Wang family), and the suicide's paternal relatives (Ch'i family).

Under the settlement, the atonement was to be paid on the nail, according to custom, not as an actual lump sum of 1,000 ounces of silver, but partly in cash and partly in livestock and pieces of cotton cloth. Moreover it was customary in all atonements that 600 coins rated 1,000; that one piece of cloth rated as two pieces.

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604 628 and that prices of animals were fixed at double their true value. (The same custom existed for a widow's bride price.)

Nevertheless, the Li family was ruined. The entertainment of so many hostile guests and of the elders for so many days, the money promised in secret at night in order to effect an advantageous settlement, presents given to the elders, etc., constituted the most important expenses. The atonement was, in fact, the least important expense.

The ill-boding arrival of the deceased girl's maternal uncle, accompanied by the members of the Ch'i family breathing vengeance; the empty home in a state of indescribable destruction; the way in which the formerly friendly Li family was slighted, offended, treated with loathing, saddled with debts and ruined; the leaden atmosphere of gloom for so many days—all these tragic events made a deep impression and enhanced the authoritative stature of the maternal uncle, the hub around which turned the entire tragedy. When one has witnessed such a tragedy and seen one group of people on bended knees in supplication, weeping profusely, before another group of hard-hearted people, unwilling to forgive, their eyes red with hatred, rancor and embitterment, the meaning of "blood vengeance" is understood and remembered forever.

604 681 C. Capital and lesser punishments were inflicted by the maternal uncle on his sister's child in certain instances.

The maternal uncle wielded not only the power to permit or to impede the funeral of his sister's children, and to avenge their murder or suicide, but according to custom he had also the right to inflict punishment of various kinds on them. His power to mete out capital punishment may be illustrated by the following two cases of murder, the first involving only one kin group and the second involving two different kin groups.

In May 1914, in the same village of Lichiat'an, a youngster killed the older brother of his father. Subsequent to the division of the partrilineal inheritance the preceding autumn, the father and his brother had become implacable enemies and clashes had occurred between their sons on several occasions.

In this case, the maternal uncle of the murderer was invited together with the village elders and the paternal relatives of the family. The father of the murderer, heavy with despair but hoping that his son would escape with his life, invited men celebrated in the art of patching quarrels, and also the chief and elders of the village. He tried to hide some of his best animals, but no one would help him. The emotion and revulsion which arose in the country at such an unprecedented event had reached fever pitch because in the Monguor patrilineal society (as in that of the Chinese) a father's brother is classified as a "real" father, and therefore in local sentiment the murder was considered tantamount to patricide. The meeting began on the third day and

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lasted for two days, presided over by the maternal uncle of the murderer. Finally, the uncle decided that his sister's son should be buried alive, on the principle of a life for a life; that the murderer's father should defray all the expenses of the coffin, clothes, dinner and ceremonial for his own brother's funeral, should invite lamas to pray, and should give alms to the lamasery.

A document was drawn up in which the maternal uncle testified that he took the responsibility for the punishment, and to this all the chiefs of the families affixed their signatures, testifying that they agreed to abide by the decision of the maternal uncle and that they would not accuse the murderer before a Chinese court. The sons of the murdered uncle had threatened to take the case to a Chinese court, and if that had been done not only would capital punishment have been inflicted, but both families would have been ruined by the Chinese officials. The capital punishment was therefore meted out by the Monguors themselves, the maternal uncle taking the responsibility. Under the then prevailing standards, the Chinese officials, who had both administrative and justiciary powers, would take no notice of such a case of traditional and publicly approved justice unless it were formally brought before them by the relatives of the murdered man.

A deep pit was dug, thorns and brambles were thrown into it, and the murderer, cursed and disowned by his family, naked and bound hand and foot, was pushed into the hole and buried alive.[16] The coffin of the murdered uncle was placed upon the pit and a mound piled over it. The family was ruined.

A similar case happened in 1914 in the valley of Lumench'eng. A wife killed her husband at night with a hammer. In this case, the family of the husband with his maternal uncle was opposed to the family of the wife with her maternal uncle. Since the murder of a husband by his wife also deserves capital punishment in Chinese courts, and since the family of the husband threatened to take the case to the Chinese court, the maternal uncle decreed capital punishment for his niece. She was buried alive.

In addition to capital punishment decreed by the maternal uncle for his sister's children, lesser punishments —often of a severe nature—were also administered.

In 1916, in Tolong,[17] an unmarried youngster was severely beaten by his two brothers at night for theft. He was a black sheep, having brought disrepute on his family. In the morning he was found hanging from a beam. The maternal uncle and the chiefs of the family were invited to a meeting at which it was decided that an atonement should be paid to the maternal uncle.

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[16] It is possible that carrying out of the sentence of death by burying alive is influenced by the idea that, by not shedding blood, the chain of revenge and counter-revenge is broken, and the family of the man thus put to death feels no obligation to take up a new "blood-feud."—O. L.

[17] A place-name probably from Monguor *dolon*, "seven."

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604 681 (Later I heard that this decision had been criticized throughout the countryside.)

In 1917, in the valley of Hungnai a youngster of twenty-one, who was always stealing and thus disgracing his honorable family, had his eyes burned out with quicklime in keeping with the decision of his maternal uncle and the chiefs of the family.

In 1914 in Chenfan[18] valley a young woman, the wife of a poor man, eloped with a rich lover, abandoning her husband and two children. After three or four years, disgusted with the lover, she returned to her mother. Her maternal uncle and her parents ordered her to rejoin her former husband and two children. Her husband, however, before accepting her back, urged the maternal uncle to give him an affidavit, testifying that he would not provoke trouble in case the girl committed suicide, for the poor man suspected that she was not willing to return.[19]

It may perhaps seem unbelievable that as late as the period of the Chinese Republic such measures as the inflicting of capital punishment by the people was allowed, without the interference of a court. The explanation is to be found in the old tradition, still persistent at the time, that the courts need take no notice of any crime whatever, if the crime were not brought before a court by someone who had suffered loss or damage through the commission of the crime.

The T'u-ssu, the chiefs, and the elders of the villages, who themselves had no right to inflict capital punishment, knew all the facts of such cases as those I have described, since they were invited as arbiters; but they did not interfere as civil officials, because they were Monguors and they felt it natural and reasonable that each family should itself avenge the murder of a member of the family, without interference from outside authority.

In all these cases the maternal uncle acted as a real "master of the bones" of the children of his sister, notwithstanding that, in this patriarchal family system, both the children of his sister and his sister herself were considered to belong entirely to her husband and his family, in all matters of property and authority except offenses that, without the intervention of the maternal uncle, might result in blood feuds between clans. The maternal uncle did not patch up quarrels, but he did take it upon himself to make decisions; he punished, and he alone took the responsibility for his decisions.

The cases cited above highlight the fact that the maternal uncle was simultaneously a protector and disciplinarian of his sister's children, and that his authority

[18] A Chinese place name. *Chen* is "to exercise control by means of a military strong point"; *fan* is general for "barbarian," specific for "Tibetan." Hence the name means "military strong point on the Tibetan frontier."—O. L.

[19] I encountered a similar case in a Chinese community. The authority of the maternal uncle is recognized by traditional Chinese law, and Chinese say that when the maternal uncle accuses the children of his sister before a Chinese court, their own parents can do nothing to defend them.

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in these particular situations was the same whether the sister's children remained in the families in which they were born, or married out into other families (in the case of the sister's daughter). This relationship between the maternal uncle and his sister's child leads us to inquire into the nature of the relationship between the maternal uncle and his own family, on the one hand, and the families into which his sister's children were born or married, on the other.

Let us consider the relationship between the family of the maternal uncle and the family into which his sister's children were born. The two families—*A* and *B* respectively—were united directly by the marriage of a girl from family *A* with a man from family *B*, and the children of this couple became members of family *B*. We may suppose that the marriage was made possible originally because the two families would be strengthened rather than weakened. Evidence of this friendly relationship between the two Monguor families at the time of the marriage were the many presents which each lavished upon the other.

What was the effect of the maternal uncle's role as avenger and disciplinarian in strengthening or weakening this bond of friendship? Before children were born of the marriage, if the girl was killed or driven to suicide by members of family *B*, or herself caused the death of a member of family *B*, the two families became hostile, but the responsibility of initiating and executing vengeance or punishment fell on the girl's maternal uncle who was not a member of either family *A* or family *B*, but of a third family, *C*. This man assumed the responsibility for the final action taken, and the hostility between families *A* and *B* was thus given some indirection by the interposition of a third party.

When children were born to the girl in family *B*, her brother in family *A* became the maternal uncle of these children, and subsequently the natural death of these children, or their involvement in family murders and suicides, placed families *A* and *B* in a direct relationship of either hostility or closer friendship with each other, as shown by the following table:

A	*C*		*C*	
Paul Ch'i—	*Rose Wang*	her brother	*Joe Wang*	
B	*A*		*A*	*A*
Arthur Li—	*Jean Ch'i*	her brothers	*Bob Ch'i* and	*Bill Ch'i*
D	*B*		*B*	*B*
Joe Chang—	*Mary Li*	her brothers	*Peter Li* and	*Joe Li*
D			*D*	*D*
Helen Chang		her brothers	*Joe Chang* and	*Peter Chang*

Joe Wang is the maternal uncle of Jean Ch'i, Bob Ch'i, and Bill Ch'i.

Bob Ch'i and Bill Ch'i are the maternal uncles of Mary Li, Peter Li, and Joe Li.

Peter Li and Joe Li are the maternal uncles of Helen, Peter, and Joe Chang.

This relationship was in fact much more likely to be one of closer friendship in such situations. Conflict of interest between the two families would occur if the sis-

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ter's child had wronged or had been wronged by a member of his own family *B*; in such cases the maternal uncle from family *A* would be called in to administer severe punishment to his sister's child, usually against the wishes of at least one or two members of family *B*, or to initiate vengeance against members of family *B* who had wronged his sister's child. Such cases were quite rare.

More frequently, the maternal uncle was called in to support family *B* by leading the vengeance for wrongs against the sister's child committed by members of other families, as in the case of the sister's daughter who was murdered or driven to suicide by her husband and his relatives. He would also be called on to support his sister's son when the latter was himself carrying out vengeance or disciplinary activities as a "master of the bones." Consequently, family *B* looked on the maternal uncle in family *A* more as a source of moral support than as an object of fear.

While hostility was more apt to arise between the maternal uncle and the family into which his sister's daughter married, here again this eventuality was balanced by the fact that the sister's daughter's husband could call on his wife's maternal uncle to assist him in executing his own vengeance or disciplinary action, in the same way that the sister's son could call on the maternal uncle.

In reality, the role of the maternal uncle in Monguor society tended to contribute to, rather than detract from, the friendly relationship between two families connected by marriage. At the time of the marriage, these did not consider the possibility of feuds between themselves, and weddings were not surrounded by an atmosphere of fear and foreboding of future terroristic activity on the part of the maternal uncle.

The situations described above in connection with murder, suicide, and natural death present only one aspect of the maternal uncle's role. Being crises, they were exceptional, and a consideration of them alone might lead one to visualize the maternal uncle only as the primary agent for meting out justice in the families of his sister's children. His role was more complex and consideration must be given to other aspects, ordinarily overlooked, which were more important in the normal course of life and which reveal other strong bonds between the maternal uncle and the families of his sister's children. In order to get a clearer picture, let us next consider the special relationships between a brother and his sister.

We must first take into account the fact that among the Monguors the oldest son was the chief of the family after the death of his father. His sisters and younger brothers were most intimate with him, and would all take council with him. A particularly close relationship usually developed between a sister and her elder brother in regard to property. Although women could not claim any share of the family inheritance, either in their own family or

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604 in the family of their husbands, it was customary for their
681 mothers to tell their daughters secretly that they might secure a small private herd of animals by enlisting the aid of their elder brothers, who were to approach the father on auspicious occasions and ask for a gift of new born lambs or calves for their sisters. Every year at New Year's time the father was usually in a happy mood, and on the days that lambs or calves were born, the girls would worry their elder brothers and rarely failed to see their wishes fulfilled. Once the animals were obtained they were entrusted to the elder brother's care, marked on the ear with a special mark, and the brother would
[583] keep them for the sister in the family herd. On the day of her wedding, a daughter would thus possess a small herd of her own.

Again on the day of her marriage and even after marriage, a daughter would approach her elder brother in an attempt to obtain some more cows. After marriage, a girl never mixed her small herd with the herds of her husband but continued to keep it in the herd of her oldest brother. Whenever she returned home to visit her mother, she examined her little treasure, collected the lamb skins and wool, and used them or sold them for herself and her children.

583 Furthermore, on the day of her marriage, the daugh-
604 ter of a well-to-do family was usually given some land, called "cosmetic" or "paint" fields—i.e. fields whose revenue was to be used for her own personal use. The revenue from such lands became her own private income and savings. When she died, the revenue could be collected by her children. She was the real owner of the land and possessed the right to transfer it, but before transferring it, she had to inform the family of her intentions and to offer the family the first opportunity to reclaim it. When a woman acquired such lands it was again her oldest brother who took care of the land and planted, weeded, and harvested it for his sister.

I also met six young women who owned thirty or more poplar trees, planted for them by their brothers, on the edge of the fields of their parents, when they were girls of about eight or ten years of age. After fifteen years the trees had become a valuable item of capital.

604 The bond which developed between a brother and sister and which continued after the sister's marriage was extended to the sister's children. Children saw their mother's great affection for her own elder brother and *vice versa*. They knew that their mother had a small private treasure entrusted to him, from which they hoped to benefit eventually. The mother made the children feel toward her brother the way she herself felt. Hence love and esteem grew on both sides and as his sister's children grew up and married, their maternal uncle became their benefactor in the normal exigencies of life, as well as their avenger and disciplinarian in abnormal crises like those noted above.

This relationship between a brother and his sister and sister's children formed the basis for the beneficent and

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604 friendly aspect of his relationship both with the family into which his sister married and in which his sister's children were born, and with those families into which his sister's daughters married. The sister's husband's family appreciated the fact that the sister received presents through her elder brother, since her husband and children would indirectly benefit. Moreover, the sister's sons and the husbands of the sister's daughters could call on the sister's brother to act as a go-between when they were bargaining for animals or engaged in court proceedings before the T'u-ssu, to witness contracts for the sale of seeds to the local oil mills, and to help out financially when large debts fell due.

It is apparent therefore that the families into which his sister's children were born or married desired earnestly to cultivate the friendship of the children's maternal uncle, not only because of his position as potential avenging or punishing angel in life and death crises, but also because he could render real aid and support in all ordinary problems both to his sister and to her children. He was in effect not simply a relative, but an intimate friend of the family, and he was given precedence on important occasions relating to his sister's children's status in the society.

When a child was born it was customary to invite its maternal uncle to a feast; when the child was married, both its own maternal uncle and its mother's maternal uncle were invited to the wedding; at New Year's the child was sent to greet its maternal uncle; and finally the maternal uncle was invited to attend the ceremonies for the installation of his sister's son as family chief, or his investiture as T'u-ssu. But the maternal uncle did not arrange marriages nor did he appoint family chiefs. He was simply the most honored guest. For example, I have noted elsewhere [20] that families of ordinary standing were accustomed to present thirteen pieces of clothing to their betrothed daughter, five pieces to her fiancé, one piece to each of her fiancé's paternal grandparents, parents, paternal uncles, maternal aunts, brothers, and sisters. For her maternal uncle was reserved the present of honor—the large official scarf of felicity and a horse. If the girl's fiancé's grandfather were dead, her maternal uncle would be invited to preside at the wedding in his place.

In spite of the maternal uncle's rare intrusion into the affairs of his sister's children in other respects, he was in one kind of problem a meddler. Women are always sensitive about the condition of their daughters and are willing to believe and to magnify all of a daughter's complaints about sufferings inflicted on her by her mother-in-law. If a Monguor woman were an interfering character she could easily attempt to move her brothers to protect their niece, or her sons to protect their sister's child—to intrude, in their interests, into the privacy

[20] L. Schram, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kansou*, 67, Shanghai, *Variétés sinologiques* **58**, Imprimerie de la mission Catholique, 1938.

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604 of a family which knew the great influence and power of the clan of their daughter-in-law's maternal uncle and had in the back of its mind the fear of a possible suicide by the daughter-in-law. A family might have to brook actual infringement of its rights by the maternal uncles, but undue pretensions of authority on the part of a maternal uncle could be considered as occasional excesses such as occur in the accepted behavior of every society.

Considering these facts from a theoretical standpoint, we may ask whether the influence of the maternal uncle in Monguor society was derived wholly from a previous matriarchal family system or was founded in human nature and hence to be considered as natural in both patriarchal and matriarchal systems. We may also ask whether the giving of some fields and animals to the daughter was necessarily related to the female ownership of land in a matriarchal society. Is the fact that the daughter keeps her wealth in her family of origin also related to that system, or may it be explained simply by the daughter's fear lest her savings be confiscated by her husband's family the first time they are in financial straits?

Let us re-examine the facts in the light of this problem. Historically, the clans of the nomad Mongols of Asia appear to have been, like the Monguor clan, an association of consanguine relatives based on the principle of patrilineal descent and exogamy; the clan protected its own members by the institution of blood feud. Furthermore, the clan would avenge the murder of a person belonging to the same "bone"—i.e. persons born into the clan and related to the clan by patrilineal descent, whether such persons remained with the clan or married out into other clans. The duty to take vengeance was incumbent upon the whole clan and lasted as long as the wrong was not avenged. If one generation had been incapable of taking vengeance, then the obligation rested upon the following generation, and so on. Related clans could be called on for aid and support in carrying out vengeance or protection against it.

In view of this principle of blood vengeance, two facts of the Monguor vengeance pattern emerge as peculiar; first, the placing of primary responsibility for initiating the vengeance on the aggrieved's maternal uncle rather than on his paternal kinsmen, and second, the shifting of vengeance from a clan to a family duty.

In the case of Jean Ch'i, considering the old nomadic society from which the Monguors were derived, we might have expected that vengeance would have been initiated by the Ch'i family—her own kin group, or "bone," led by Paul, her father, by Peter and John, her paternal uncles, and by Bob and Bill, her brothers—not by Joe Wang, her maternal uncle.

This form of vengeance appeared to be somewhat incongruous and I asked for explanations in order to understand the trend of mind of the Monguors. The immediate answer was: "A girl is an *outsider* in her own family; she does not belong permanently to the family,

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604 because she will eventually marry into another family; she and her children will bear another surname and she will be buried not in the graveyard of her family of origin, but in the graveyard of her husband's family. If she is killed or commits suicide she has none the less to have her avenger, but since she is an *outsider*, it is appropriate that the brother of her mother assume this duty. Her paternal kinsmen are expected to avenge her death also, but only as second best, following in the wake of the maternal uncles."

When I objected to this explanation on the grounds that in the case of the murder or suicide of Jean's brothers, Bob and Bill, who were not outsiders of the Ch'i family, Joe, their maternal uncle, would have been the leaders of the avengers in precisely the same way, the Monguors answered politely that I was an *outsider* and did not understand the importance of the maternal uncle inside the orbit of the Monguor family.

Other Monguors, in order to support and justify the custom, gave me a most confused and inappropriate explanation: "Brothers and sisters are children of the same bone; members of the same bone have the duty of avenging and protecting each other and upon the most closely related among them the duty was most incumbent and most urgent." This much of the explanation is an aberration which in fact explains the old nomadic ~~and~~ not the Monguor vengeance pattern. From this the explanation went on to say, quite illogically: "Therefore, a mother's brother must protect his sister's children, sisters must respect their brothers, and sister's children are taught to respect and honor their mother's brothers."

This attempt at explanation indicates to me that the Monguors were confused in their thinking on this point, and had not been able to fit this aspect of the role of the maternal uncle consistently into the framework and principles of their patrilineal family system. I am led to suspect that the acknowledgment by them of his right was due to the presence, within their patrilineal society, of principles specific to the matriarchal system.

604 What other evidence do we have of such an intrusion?
562 I have previously noted many of them in *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, chapter VI: (1) the abnormal rights of the mother to decide herself about the marriage of her daughter; her consent had to be given even when her daughter was a widow and belonged to the family of her former husband, (2) the right of the mother, in case of the marriage of her son, to go herself to ask for his wife and to fix the date of the marriage before the go-between enters into the action, (3) the fact that in marriages between poor families, the mother-in-law herself went on the last day of the year to bring her future daughter-in-law to her home, (4) the unusual ease in adopting into a family children born of a daughter-in-law who had eloped many years before with a lover, (5) the exceptional marriages with the pole or girdle, so usual with the neighboring Tibetans, (6) the fact that a newborn son was called according to the age of his grand-

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604 562 mother, (7) the unusual fact that young boys worked for years or for a whole lifetime in the home of their father-in-law in order to marry his daughter. These leave no doubt that the patriarchal family system of the Monguors had been contaminated by many practices belonging to the matriarchal system.

604 562 177 What contact did the Monguors have with matriarchal systems?[20a] It is significant that the Monguors in Kansu were not only separated from other Mongols, but were living in the neighborhood of Tibetans and Chinese, and moreover had many of these people enrolled in their clans. Certain features of the Tibetan and Chinese social institutions appear to have been incorporated into the Monguor social organization. Among the Tibetans, the matriarchal system was in full bloom and marriages between Monguors and Tibetans opened the doors for admitting matriarchal customs into the daily routine of life to a very large extent.

The readiness of the Monguors to adopt a whole series of matriarchal traits from the Tibetans is even more understandable in view of the fact that the ancestors of the Mongols and Turks lived at the dawn of history in the neighborhood of peoples practicing the matriarchal system and their patriarchal family system was at that time already contaminated.[21]

Professor Eberhard, doubting the former existence of a "pure" and "original" patriarchal system among the Mongols and Turks, writes:

> I am forced to make the statement that nowhere did I encounter a culture corresponding perfectly to one of the cultures advocated by the theory of culture circles. . . . I harbor suspicions about the real existence of such cultures; for why do we always encounter mixing and mingling of cultures in all circles? How is it possible to prove the real existence of the culture of a circle, in the manner of the system of culture circles, by other than theoretical evidence?[22]

604 177 My overall conclusions therefore are as follows: first, that the role of the maternal uncle as "master of the bones" of his sister's children—i.e. his authority, in matters of life and death, to avenge or punish them—did not originate in the Monguor patrilineal system, but constitutes a usurpation of powers which belonged in another society to members of the same *bone*. Second,

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[20a] In this connection, see the outstanding study by Wilhelm Koppers, Die Frage des Mutterrechts und des Totemismus im alten China, *Anthropos* 8: 981 sqq., 1930.

[21] W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* 9, Part 3, Die Religionen der Hirtenvölker: 71, Münster, Aschendorf, 1949. W. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen im alten China*, 176, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

[22] W. Eberhard, *Kulturen und Siedlungen der Randvölker Chinas*, 414, Leiden, Brill, 1942. ". . . so habe ich doch feststellen müssen, dass nirgends in unseren Kulturen sich eine gefunden hat, in der die Kulture 'eines' Kulturkreises volkommen und rein zutage tritt. . . . Ich habe aber doch Bedenken wenn, die Lage wirklich so ist. Wieso soll es immer nur Mischungen gegeben haben? Wodurch (ausser durch formallogische Schlüsse) ist es dann bewiesen, dass je die Kultur existiert hat, die ein solcher Kulturkreis umfasst?"

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604 177 that the assumption of this role by the maternal uncle was only one of several non-patriarchal features introduced into the Monguor system as a result of contact with matriarchal systems. Third, that the property, assistance, and respect relationships which existed between a brother and his sister and her children, as described above, were not specific to either the patriarchal or matriarchal systems, but were founded in human nature, in conditions common to both systems. Fourth, I would add that normally the sister and her children are respected and loved in the husband's family and go through life happily—more because the two families are really friendly and intimate than because of the maternal uncle's power to intervene. After all, the solid foundation of families is not fear and hatred but love, and the functions of the maternal uncle must be viewed with not only his emergency powers in mind, but this as well.

THE CHILD

858 562 Among the Monguors, as in most societies in Asia, boys are preferred to girls. The description given by Father J. Van Oost of the favoritism shown toward boys among the Mongols of the Ordos might well have been written of the Monguors:

> He is surrounded with a kind of idolatry. His parents are proud of him; they cater to all his whims; they rush to dry his tears. A mother is always ready to suckle her son whenever he seems to want it, whether it be night or day. He is a petty tyrant who knows how to make himself obeyed, and his mother carries him around on her back when she is doing her household work. . . . If he gets sick, there is a major crisis. They think he is the victim of evil spirits. They resort to superstitious practices and go to fetch a lama who makes divinations, conjures away the spirits and prescribes remedies and talismans.[23]

843 562 When a woman is pregnant the whole village knows about it, and all of the women and girls are eagerly interested. Every soothsayer passing through the village is invited to foretell the sex of the expected child, and all the young wives ask him to foretell also when they themselves may expect a similar blessed event. When a pregnant woman enters a doorway and steps over the threshold, the other women always watch to see which foot she puts forward first. They believe that if she regularly steps over a threshold with the right foot, the child will be a boy; if it is the left foot, it will be a girl. This is because they believe that a son lies on the left side of the womb and a daughter on the right; accordingly, if the left side is heavy the mother will instinctively raise her right foot when making a step upward.[23a]

The festivities for the birth of a first son are especially important, and among the ways of propitiating fate to provide a long life, the selection of a lucky name is particularly important. Matters of such importance in the

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[23] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, as cited, 102.

[23a] Compare the Mongol expression *kul kundu*, "leg-heavy," for "pregnant."—O. L.

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843 society are naturally reflected in popular religion. Spe-
cial deities in the lama monasteries are supposed to be
562 interested in these affairs of mankind. The Monguors
often invite lamas to help them with prayers, make vows
to go on pilgrimages to far distant monasteries if they
842 are granted a son, and give alms lavishly. Their reli-
gious interpretation is that lack of sons is a punishment
for sins of the parents in previous incarnations. The
condition of a childless woman is pitiable—she is always
despondent and dejected and drags out a miserable ex-
istence. Not having a son means having no stake in the
family and society in which she lives. Her life is lonely,
for it is not easy for a childless woman to make friends.
I have often had a mother come to me with her childless
daughter-in-law, kneeling, weeping, and begging for
medicine that will make the girl bear a child, repeating
over and over again "Father, the ancestors will have no
one to sacrifice to them, the family will have no poster-
ity." Such pitiful scenes gave me an understanding of
the social outlook of the people among whom I lived; I
could even understand why they indulged in polygamy.

Childlessness is not common among the Monguors, however. On the contrary, a Monguor woman will frequently have six or more surviving children—an astonishingly large number, considering the great amount of hard work that the mother has to do and the fact that, owing to ignorance of the most elementary rules of hygiene, lack of doctors, and miscarriages, fully a third of the children die in early infancy. The Monguors are in fact much more prolific than their kinsmen who are still nomads. One reason for this may be the fact that they live in houses while the children of nomads living in tents
842 are more exposed to variations of temperature. Prob-
ably a more important reason is that there is less venereal
164 disease among the Monguors than among nomads. The
lamas, most of whom are promiscuous in spite of their vows, and great carriers of venereal disease, have less opportunity to indulge themselves in the crowded and public dwellings of the Monguors than they do among the scattered tents of the nomads.[24] The neighboring Tibetans have a very high opinion of the prolificness of the Monguors. When they are childless, they prefer to adopt a Monguor boy rather than one of their own stock, and they like to marry Monguor girls because they bear
597 more children. The Monguors have no objection to giving a girl to a Tibetan family, especially if it is a rich family.

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[24] In view of the fact that venereal disease is much less common, and families much larger, among the settled agricultural Mongols of southern and eastern Inner Mongolia than among the nomad Mongols, it is also probable that the transition from nomadism to agriculture among the Monguors has led to a stricter morality. When land becomes the principal form of property, the man who owns land wants to make sure that the son who inherits it is his legitimate son, whereas among pastoral Mongols a son, regardless of legitimacy, is a new herdsman, making it possible to look after an increased number of stock.—O. L.

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845 787 Although the Monguors like to have large families, they have a divided attitude on the birth of twins. If the twins are of the same sex, it is a good omen, but twins of different sex are a very bad omen, foretelling the impoverishment of the family, the ending of good fortune, and the sterility of the mother.[24a] According to Shirokogoroff, both the Manchus and the Tungus consider twins dangerous. They are afraid of a woman who has had twins and will not have sexual relations with her. Although they believe that twins are so closely connected that if one dies the other must die, too, they bury them separately. The Tungus believe that twins have only one soul, and when a woman has had twins no one will borrow, buy, or accept a gift from either her or her husband, for fear of also having twins.[25]

844 Since a Monguor girl is usually married at about the age of eighteen, she usually has her first child at the age of nineteen. It is rare for a girl as young as fifteen to have a child. The rule among the Monguors is to build the kitchen in the northeast corner of the courtyard. This is also the corner that is considered most propitious for a newly married couple. A woman who already has as many children as she wants will try to move out of the northeast corner and live in another room. Monguor women bear their children lying in a horizontal position, while Chinese women of the same region give birth in a kneeling position. At the time of childbirth most of the women of the village come to offer their help. There is always one of them who has a special reputation for dexterity, and she is invited specially. The Monguors prefer to have widows assisting at childbirth, because they believe that in the presence of a widow childbirth goes more smoothly and is more painless. If the delivery is difficult and seems to be taking too long, the 845 husband climbs up on the roof and stamps furiously just above the head of the woman in labor. If this is not successful, a shaman is invited to drive away the evil spirits who are impeding the delivery, or a lama is called in to pray. Children born in such circumstances are often promised to a monastery to become lamas. As soon as the child has been born the room is tabu and men are no longer allowed to enter it. Over the entrance to the room the Monguors hang a cypress bough or a ball of wool or sometimes, in the Chinese manner, a piece of red cotton or a sieve.

[24a] The second born of twins has precedence over the first born. This belief has important consequences, because if the first born sons of an eldest son are twins, it is the second born of the twins who is entitled to hold, in due course, the office of head of the family. If the first born sons of a T'u-ssu are twins, it is the second who has the right of succession. The explanation given by the Monguors is that the first born twin is the servant of the second, because a man of importance is always accompanied by a servant, who respectfully opens the door for his master.

[25] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, as cited, 114, and *Social organization of the northern Tungus*, as cited, 275.

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846 For a whole month after the birth of a child, most people will not enter the courtyard. This tabu applies not only to the room occupied by the woman and child, but to the whole courtyard and contact with the whole family. During this month the mother lives principally on a thin gruel of millet (*mi-t'ang*). The period of seclusion is twenty-nine days after the birth of a boy and thirty days after the birth of a girl. During this period the mother should not go outside of the courtyard to draw water from the well, and she is not allowed to touch religious objects. Among poor people, where the mother cannot afford to be completely idle for a whole month, she begins to do a little household work after three days.

Every three days the mother washes herself with a concoction of cypress twigs, a Tibetan custom; and the child with a concoction of pepper, which is a Chinese custom. The mother puts under the head of her child a small pillow stuffed with dried peas, in order that the child's head may grow perfectly round, and she rubs the child's head several times a day for the same reason. On the twentieth day the child's head is shaved. The mother also constantly pulls the lobes of the child's ears in order that they may grow long and pendulous.[26] A round head, long ear lobes and small, fine hands are the most important criteria of beauty and an omen of good fortune in life.

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On the third day after the birth of the child the father, dressed in his best and carrying a bottle of wine and a *khatag* or scarf of felicity goes to announce the happy news to his wife's family. When he enters their room, he asks for a cup, pours wine, and offers the cup t his wife's parents and her maternal uncles; he then bows, makes a prostration, and formally announces the sex of the child and the fact that mother and child are doing well, and invites his relatives-in-law to pay a visit. On the same day the mother-in-law comes to see her grandchild and to congratulate her daughter, bringing with her a present of some millet and some money. On the seventh day the father consults a lama of the Red Hat sect and asks him to foretell the fortune of the child by divination. On the twentieth day (the same day that the child's head is shaved), the father pays another visit to his wife's parents, again with wine and a scarf of felicity, and formally invites them and the maternal uncles to take part in festivities on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth day, according to the sex of the child.

NAME-GIVING

553 851 If the child is a boy, he is given his name on the twenty-ninth day, before the guests arrive. The father, in his best clothes, goes to the room of the grandfather

[26] In the most ancient Buddhist iconography Buddha as a young prince, before he turned to religion, was represented with heavy earrings that dragged down the lobes of his ears. In later representations of Buddha as a divinity, the ear rings have disappeared but the deformed lobes remain. Hence pendulous ear lobes are regarded as "Buddha-like."—O. L. [P. 100b]

553 taking with him a bottle of wine, a scarf of felicity, and
two hundred copper cash strung on a red cord to which
851 a flock of wool is attached. He prostrates himself nine
times and invites the grandfather to name the child.
The grandfather is seated on the *k'ang* in all his dignity,
and the whole family is gathered in the room. The
mother, cradling the child in her arms and her eyes wet
with tears stands before the grandfather with her hus-
band at her side. The father ceremoniously lays the
scarf of felicity across the outstretched hands of the
grandfather, and presents a cup of wine. Father and
mother prostrate themselves nine times, and the mother
then asks the grandfather to bestow on the child a name
of good omen. This is the first time that the grand-
father has seen the child. Looking like the living image
of ancestral pride, he solemnly confers a name and makes
the mother a present of a few pierced copper cash—
always an even number. He then takes his grandson
in his arms and kisses him and the child is then passed
on to all the other members of the family who embrace
him in the same way, joyfully congratulating the father
and mother.

608 In families where there are few children or where a
number of children have died in infancy, it is common
851 to invite the head of a family that is blessed with many
children to name the child, thus passing on the "luck"
553 of his own fertile family. This custom is of Chinese
origin as is the custom, in poor families, of inviting a
rich and respected man to preside at the name-giving
ceremony, thus becoming the *kan-fu* or "dry father" (a
Chinese term) of the child. This relationship some-
what resembles that of an adoptive father, and the child
throughout his life is considered to be in some way re-
lated to the family of his "dry father." At the New
Year and other important festivals he will always visit
his "dry father," showing him much the same kind of
affection and respect that he shows to his maternal uncle.
The "dry father" keeps up a protective interest in the
child and can be expected to help in such things as ar-
ranging his marriage; but the relationship is not one of
full adoption, in which the child is actually taken into
the adopting family.

553 Boys are frequently given the Tibetan names of lama-
istic deities or the Chinese names of Taoist deities, or
names such as "Longevity," "Felicity," "Peace," "Pros-
perity," "Strength," "Lion," or "Tiger." (The Tibetan
neighbors of the Monguors usually go to a lama of the
Red Hat sect to ask him to name a boy according to the
character indicated by his horoscope.) Girls are given
the names of lamaistic or Taoist female divinities or
the names of flowers.

Many children, both boys and girls, are given a name
that records the age of their father's mother when they
were born, such as "sixty," or "sixty-five." The name
of the father's father is given in this way only if the
father's mother is no longer living. Among the Chi-
nese of this region, on the other hand, a child is fre-

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553 quently named according to the age of the grandfather but never according to the age of the grandmother. Among the Manchus, the child is not named until it is a full year old, and it is customary to give the first son the name of the oldest son of the father's oldest brother.[27]

553 608 When, as described above, a man is invited to act as "dry father," the name that he gives to a boy as a personal name is his own clan name, combined with the Chinese words *chia pao*, so that the child is known as Lichiapao or Machiapao, "Protected by the Li family," or "Protected by the Ma family." In an analogous way, if an influential man has visited the family about the time when the boy was born, his name may be given to the boy.[28]

553 Sometimes in a poor family the mother will take her son in her arms on the twenty-ninth day and go out to the highway where she will prostrate herself before the first traveler she meets and ask him to give his name to the boy. In such cases, it is good luck if the mother meets an influential person. I myself was once riding on a journey when a woman with a child in her arms prostrated herself before me in this manner. She was a woman who had seen me before and recognized me. Turning her smiling face up to me and with a light in her eyes she said "Are you not the Father? Today I am a happy mother; I will name my child Shenfupao—Protected by the Priest." This custom, it should be noted, is never followed in the case of a first-born son.

While living among the Monguors I never heard names describing bodily deformities, nor names such as Five Pounds, or Seven Pounds, recording the weight of the child at birth, or Big Horse, Second Mule, Small Cow. Such names are used by the Chinese of this region, but not by the Monguors. On the other hand, both Monguors and Chinese sometimes give names such as Bad Son, Whom the Dogs Will Not Eat, Monstrous Boy, Monstrous Girl. Such names are intended to deceive the evil spirits, so that they will pass by the "Bad Boy" and choose some other victim.[29]

553 851 The actual giving of the name, as already described, takes place in the privacy of the father's extended family, without the presence of the mother's relatives or other guests. The mother's parents and her maternal uncles arrive about noon, and at the same time representatives of each family in the village come to take part in the festivities. Tea is first served and then the father and the mother with her child in her arms prostrate themselves nine times before the whole gathering while the mother says "The boy is paying homage."

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[27] Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, as cited, 119.

[28] Thus Chingis Khan was given the name of Temujin, after an important prisoner whom his father had captured at the time he was born.—O. L.

[29] This practice among the Monguors may not be due solely to Chinese influence. Among the Western Mongols, especially the Torguts of the Altai, who are remote from Chinese influence, it is also very common to give names of this kind.—O. L.

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553 851 When the child has been admired and the parents congratulated, the mother's mother presents her with sixteen loaves of steamed bread, four loaves baked in oil, a leg of mutton, and some clothes—a gown, a pair of trousers, or a jacket. The costliness of the clothes varies according to the wealth of the family. The mother's mother also presents the boy with a complete suit of clothes and a fine cap. A special custom, the significance of which I was unable to discover, is that the family of the father's mother and the family of the mother's mother each present the midwife with a piece of red cotton cloth four feet long.

431 553 851 A practical present from a guest to the young mother is 100 pierced copper cash on a red cord, or a four foot piece of red or green cotton cloth. Another common gift is an embroidered cap for the boy, or, following Chinese custom, a "long life lock"—a small brass lock hung around the boy's neck. Rich families are frequently given scrolls with Chinese texts inscribed on them. The boy's maternal uncle gives him "flowers of long life"—a pair of earrings, each studded with a small flower. The boy wears these in childhood and when he grows up he buys himself a larger pair. These earrings are supposed to insure him a long life.

When the presents have been given the father of the child offers wine to each guest, beginning with the child's maternal uncles; and to each guest, as the wine is offered, the mother prostrates herself with the child in her arms and says "The boy prostrates himself and thanks you."

FEAST IN THE VILLAGE

553 527 851 A merry crowd of village youngsters then leads into the courtyard a cow whose horns have been painted red and decorated with flowers. A red-painted bell hangs around the cow's neck, and she is saddled with a fine saddle and a bright saddle-rug. The grandfather is invited by the youngsters to ride on the cow, and willy nilly he has to accept this invitation. The youngsters help him up to the saddle and then hold the child up for him to take it in his arms. The cow is then led in triumph through the village, two banners from the temple at the head of the procession, drums beating and all the guests following the cow and its rider. When they return to the courtyard, the grandfather offers the young people two bottles of wine, two legs of mutton, and bowls of noodles and wheat fried in butter. This part of the entertainment is noisy and merry.

If the father's father is no longer living, it is the father's mother who has to make the triumphal ride on the cow. Otherwise the father's mother's share of the ceremonies consists in presenting to the mother of her daughter-in-law two loaves of bread, two strings of pierced copper cash, and a scarf of felicity. As she does so, she bows, presents a cup of wine, and thanks her daughter-in-law's mother for accepting the invitation to the feast and wishes her joy and happiness.

Up to this point the whole village has taken part in

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553 the festivities, except for the herdsmen and shepherds
851 who are out in the hills. They must not be overlooked,
however, for the tradition of the nomadic past of the
Monguors assures them a part. When the sun is deep
527 in the west, therefore, the father and mother take their
child and go out to a place beyond the village, which has
been previously agreed upon. The father takes with
him a bottle of wine and twelve rolls of bread, eight of
which are to be distributed to passers-by met along the
road and four to be given to the shepherds.

The shepherds have woven a long girdle for the child from wool as white as snow, and this they present to the child. They also have with them some copper coins, and these they place kindly on the milk-swollen breast of the happy mother. They crowd around to see the child and pat its soft cheeks with their rough and calloused hands. When they congratulate the mother, they present her with a small bundle of whitest wool, plucked from the backs of young sheep, saying "This wool has been gathered from the backs of hundreds of the most beautiful sheep; may your boy grow up to shear the wool of hundreds of sheep and may he have hundreds of horses to ride." The four rolls of bread are then presented to the shepherds, together with a cup of wine and some copper coins for each man. The mother invites the shepherds to dinner, the herds are driven to their stalls, and the shepherds dine and make merry all night in the courtyard.

I have often seen this simple, pastoral, and idyllic spectacle outside the village at sundown, the happy parents, the faithful shepherds, and the flocks and herds around them making a wonderful picture that recalls the past of centuries ago when the Monguors were a pastoral people. Even the traditional words of greeting and congratulation used by the shepherds are an echo of this nomadic past.

All the details that I have described emphasize the importance attached by the Monguors to the birth of a boy who will grow up to sacrifice to the ancestors and be himself a new link in the ancestral chain. The ceremonies are observed in full, as I have described them, only for the first son of each daughter-in-law in the extended family. For younger sons and for girls all that is required is that the grandfather give a name and that the parents and maternal uncles of the mother be invited. In poor families, of course, the celebration is less elaborate; but well to do families often help their poorer neighbors with the expenses of a feast for the first-born son.

DEDICATION OF THE CHILD TO THE SPIRITS

852 When a family has few children, or has had several children die, a child is often dedicated to some particular spirit. The dedication is seldom done for a first boy in good health. Very seldom is the child dedicated to a deity of the lama-Buddhist pantheon, for in that case the boy is supposed to have to become a lama later.

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852 A first-born sick child, the future head of a new family, is never dedicated to such spirits. Usually the child is dedicated to one of the Taoist spirits whose statues are honored in the temple of the village, or to the twelve Tengris of the shamans. The shaman, accordingly, is the usual performer of the ceremony, which is most often carried out in the village temple, but may be enacted at home, in which case the shaman is invited to bring with him the picture of the deity to which the child is to be dedicated. In the case of a son the ceremony is performed when he is twenty-nine days old, in the case of a girl when she is thirty days old.

The child is taken to the temple. Thirteen rolls of steamed bread are offered to the spirit and a piece of red cotton cloth five feet in length is hung on the statue of the deity while incense and boughs of cypress are burned before the statue. The shaman then takes from the statue a piece of cloth which had been previously offered in a similar ceremony, tears a strip from it and wraps it around the neck of the child. He then prays for a while, sitting with his legs crossed under him, beating his shaman drum, and then ties knots in the strip of cloth. Then he takes a loop of the rope used at the religious ceremony of the spring festival. This rope is made up of small loops of hemp around which the spirits are supposed to have descended from heaven to bless the community. It is therefore a sacred and powerful talisman. The loop of rope is covered with a tightly sewn cover of red cotton cloth. It is taken from the statue and attached to the neck of the child with a red cord. This loop of rope has the Chinese name *malu sheng* or "the rope of the highway." Some people fasten the two ends of the loop with a "lock of longevity" carved from peach wood.[30] When such a lock is used, a small arrow, made of willow wood, is sewn in a cover of red cotton cloth and attached to the back of the child's clothes. The use of the lock and the arrow is Chinese in origin and is intended to increase the effectiveness of the shamanistic rites for protection from evil spirits.

If the parents still have doubts and are not satisfied with the effectiveness of the rites that have been performed, they may take some hair from a white dog, wrap it in red cotton cloth folded in a triangle, and sew it under the child's armpit; for a dog does not die easily, and by sympathetic magic it is hoped that the child will be resistant to death. Other people wrap a clove of garlic in the same way, because the smell of garlic drives away evil spirits. Another talisman is made by taking a piece of paper which has been soaked in blood taken from a vein in the arm of a shaman while he was in a trance (as happens at the spring observances) wrapped and sewn in the same way. This is considered the most efficient of all talismans.

The loop of the "rope of the highway" is worn for five, seven, nine, or thirteen years, and during the whole of

[30] The peach is itself one of the Chinese symbols of longevity. —O. L.

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852 this time the child is considered to be dedicated to the tutelary spirit. During these years the child's head may not be shaved; though some people shave everything except the crown of the head, where the hair is allowed to grow and is braided in a "pigtail."

At about the age of thirteen, when the child is supposed to have passed successfully the dangerous years of infancy, it can be released from its "dedication"; but this requires a special ceremony, because in theory the intention is supposed to have been to dedicate the child to the deity for the whole of its life.

The ceremony of release, like the ceremony of dedication, is performed by shamans. The ceremony—which is never omitted, for fear that misfortune may overtake the child—must be performed either at the temple or at the home of the shaman, in the presence of the picture or the statue of the deity to which the child is dedicated.

The father goes to the temple with the boy and some friends. He offers thirteen rolls of steamed bread on the altar of the deity, a whole piece of red cotton cloth, and three strings of coins. He also takes to the temple a cock, a winnowing basket, a red rope five or seven yards in length, a comb, a small broom, a roll of bread, and a pair of scissors. The shaman ties one end of the rope to the statue and the other to the neck of the boy. Sitting cross-legged, he beats his drum and prays, while all those present kneel on the ground. The shaman then cuts the rope with the scissors, close to where it is tied to the statue. He takes the loose end made by the cut and ties it around the neck of the cock. He then cuts a tuft of hair from the boy, combs it, and puts it in the winnowing basket with the broom. The loaf of bread and the scissors are also placed in the basket.

One of those who has accompanied the father to the temple then takes the basket; another carries the cock, which is still attached by the red rope to the boy, and starts toward the boy's home, with the boy walking on the left side of the man who is carrying the cock. The whole of the way home the man carrying the basket repeatedly cries out at the top of his voice, calling the name of the boy: "Boy So-and-So, did he come home?" The man carrying the cock replies in the same loud voice "Yes, he is here," at the same time teasing and stirring up the cock to make it crow. When they reach the gate into the family courtyard the whole group stand for awhile repeating the same question and response. Finally they enter the courtyard where the whole family, all in their best clothes, are drawn up as if they were waiting for a distinguished guest. They bow and congratulate the boy as if he had come from a great distance, and lead him to the main room. Here the rope is untied and the cock is released in the courtyard.

The boy is seated on the *k'ang*, where he behaves as if he were a distinguished guest, drinking tea and eating some of the bread brought home in the basket. Then the rope by which he had been tied to the cock, which is still around his neck, is untied and all the talismans

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852 that had been sewn in his clothing during the period of his "dedication" are taken and placed in the winnowing basket. The contents of the basket are put at the place on the *k'ang* where the boy sleeps, and covered with the basket, upside down. The boy's head is then shaved, and he is free. A dinner follows, for all who took part in the ceremony.

On the third day after the ceremony the contents of the basket are taken away and buried in a far off, hidden place. The cock is allowed to grow old. He may not be killed, and when he dies may not be eaten. He is known as "the cock of longevity," and is treated in the same way as sacred or dedicated animals.

Girls dedicated to a tutelary spirit are liberated in the same way as boys. Most children, when they are liberated, are given back the name that they were given at birth. In addition to children who are "dedicated" in this way when they are very small, as a protective measure, children are frequently "dedicated" when they fall seriously ill.

The importance of the "cock of longevity" is illustrated by the following story. A boy of the Ngao family threw a stone and accidentally killed a "cock of longevity" belonging to the Li family. The incident threatened to become of life and death importance, because the life of a boy in the Li family depended on the cock, and the Li family was prepared to bring suit before the Li T'u-ssu, the chief of the clan. The village elders, however, proposed settlement of the incident by compromise. At a public meeting on the village threshing floor, attended by the whole community, old and young, men and women, boys and girls, it was decided to abide by the decision of an old and experienced shaman who was requested to think of a way to save the life of the Li boy. His solution was that a new cock was to be provided and a bolt of red cotton cloth offered to the tutelary deity, while he, as shaman, would say prayers in expiation of the outrage. In addition, the elders ordered the Ngao family to defray all expenses, to make an apology to the Li family, and to bring the Li family as an offering a sheep with horns adorned with a piece of red cotton cloth, while fire crackers were to be set off at the entrance to the Li family courtyard and within the courtyard.

In families where there are few children or where one of the children has been dedicated to a deity, a lovely and naive ceremony can be seen. On the sixth or seventh birthday of the boy for whom the ceremony is to be performed, the parents invite a lama of the Yellow Hat sect to say the "prayers for a peaceful life" on his behalf. These prayers are said in the early morning. Later in the day the boy's maternal uncle, some of the oldest men of the village, and the members of the family are invited to a dinner for which a sheep has been specially slaughtered. The boy, guided by one of his brothers (a person of the same generation is required, but

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852 may be either a real brother or a classificatory brother) is introduced to the guests. He takes a taper sputtering in vegetable oil, lights a lamp with it, and carries the lamp into the courtyard, offers it to Heaven, and all the spirits, burns boughs of cypress, and, accompanied by his brother, makes nine prostrations to Heaven and all the spirits. Returning to the main room, he makes the same offerings and prostrations to his tutelary spirit.

The boy then pours wine for each of the guests, beginning with his maternal uncle, inviting them to drink and be happy. Noodles are then served to all, but the boy's own bowl is only partly filled, in order to allow each of the guests to put some of his noodles in the boy's bowl, congratulating him cordially and wishing him a long and happy life. The significance of this part of the ceremony is that the longevity of the old men present is supposed to be conferred upon the boy, assuring him a long life. I was fortunate enough to witness this simple and wonderful rite and was delighted to see how the old men carried it out in a manner imbued with religious feeling and kindliness.

778 Parents who do not "dedicate" a child also protect them with talismans. If they go to a lama, he will write 755 a Tibetan prayer which he wraps in red cotton cloth to be hung around the neck of the child with a thin cord. At night it must be hung on a nail on the wall. If the child forgets to take it off and hang it up, it is considered to have been defiled and must be purified in the smoke of cypress boughs in order to restore its efficacy. If they go to a Chinese Taoist priest, he will write the Chinese character for "longevity" on a sheet of paper, adding a cabalistic design. The paper is then wrapped in red cotton cloth, folded in a triangle, and sewed on the back of the child's clothes. Either a lama or a Taoist priest will perform this service in return for a small present.

858 Respect for the lives of children is deeply rooted in the patrilineal family system. The rare instances of infanticide that I noted in my earlier study, *Le mariage chez les T'u-jen* (p. 105) are due to the influence of the Chinese, among whom this practice is not unusual. Among the Monguors, children are the golden threads interwoven in the fabric of life. A mother is bound by her love for her children and rarely leaves her hearth to live with another man. Her orientation toward her children is fortified by the respect for family obligations in which she herself has been brought up. Mothers who are unable to suckle their children easily find another woman in the village who will act as wet nurse. If a mother dies leaving young children, everyone is willing to help take care of them. When a child is sick, the whole village is in a hustle and bustle to try to help save its life, and when a child dies the consternation and sorrow are general and real. The religious observances on behalf of sick children will be discussed in a future work on the religious life of the Monguors. [P. 104 b]

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EDUCATION OF THE CHILD

603 In their early years children are brought up as much by their grandparents as by their parents. The grandfather and grandmother play with the children all day long, carrying them on their backs, holding them in their arms, fondling them, and making slaves of themselves like devoted nursemaids—and the children love them as they would a nurse. The children know very well that it is to their grandparents that they must look for sweets and candies and extra delicacies, and that when grandfather goes for a walk they may go along with him. Boys and girls are treated with the same affection.

603 606 In this relationship lies the deepest secret of why daughters-in-law become attached to the families into which they marry. Although a girl is not consulted about her marriage, although she comes to know her husband only after she has been married to him, and although she lives in an extended household where she must adjust herself to the other daughters-in-law, the fondness of the grandparents for her children goes a long way to smooth inevitable frictions and jealousies.

882 It is when the boys begin to grow up that they cease to be regarded as children and lose some of their intimate contact with their grandparents. They like to leave the family courtyard to play with other boys; and as they get bigger, small jobs are assigned to them. They begin to go out with the herds and flocks to the pastures, to help with the farming, and to learn from their fathers how to make tools. The girls help their mother in the kitchen, gather fuel, tend animals in the stalls and stables, and learn to sew. Before she is married, each girl works on her "hope chest," and under her mother's direction prepares most of the clothes that she will take with her when she marries, including the embroidered girdle and the monumental ceremonial hat and fancy boots. Through learning to cook and sew, to look after animals, and to understand farming in her own family, a girl learns how to become a good daughter-in-law.

867 The Monguors are not a people who have a fondness for learning. There are few villages that have a school, and in any case girls never go to school. The education for life of both boys and girls is mainly in the family. Children are not prevented from watching and listening to anything that goes on in the crowded extended family and in the village. At a very early age they know which woman in the village is pregnant and when the birth of the child is expected. They know how many animals are owned by each family in the village, how many colts, calves, and lambs there are; how the harvest has turned out and what the current prices are for the horses, cows, sheep, goats, skins, wool, wheat, and millet that the villagers have to sell and what the prices are for the cotton cloth, thread, needles, salt, spices, and so forth that they buy.

A boy accompanies his father to the nearest market town when he goes there to sell wheat and sees the shops, the soldiers, and the crowds. At the monastery festivals

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867 boys accompany their father and girls their mother and there they see the horse races and the merrymaking, the dancing and the singing.

869 In their religious life there are no churches, for the temples are not churches. Children never hear sermons or receive formal instruction in religion; but every morning they see grandfather honoring "Heaven and all the spirits" on the roof of the house, and they can go up there with him and make their prostrations as he does. All day long they hear him whispering his "Om Mani" as he fingers his Buddhist rosary, and they learn to pray with him. Similarly they watch their mother honoring the god of the hearth, and on the first and fifteenth of the month they see the burning of the incense and cypress boughs before the family altar. Everything that they see they ask about; and though their elders give them explanations that are closer to folklore than to theology, the children readily accept and believe the marvelous stories that they hear about Buddhas and other deities. Through watching the religious rites at monasteries and village temples and taking part in the family ceremonies for the veneration of ancestors and for deaths and marriages, children acquire, not so much a formal creed as a definite religious attitude that is a part of their social outlook.

867 The village threshing floor is almost as important a factor as the family in the education of a child. It is at public meetings at the threshing floor that the elders of the village and the village chief make all their decisions in community matters. Compromise is the prevailing rule of all such decisions, resort to the law being only a last expedient, and compromise in a village can only be reached through long discussion and public comment. The older generation takes it for granted that children should be brought to such meetings. Women and girls are as much interested as men and boys. Because from childhood they have heard disputes with neighboring villages settled at the threshing floor, men and women alike know the boundaries of their own villages, and what wood lots in the mountains belong to their village and where fuel can be obtained. They know also that there is a sacred hill on which fuel may not be obtained, because they can remember when somebody was publicly punished by beating at the meeting for breaking the tabu. Similarly they know that each family must pay its share for keeping up the cult of the clan ancestors and the religious observances of the village, because they have seen people punished and harshly reproved by the elders for attempting to evade payment of their share.

Not only have they seen men lashed and hung up by their thumbs for theft and other crimes, but they have seen young women beaten and shamed before the whole community for scandalous behavior toward their elders or for escapades with men.

They hear, moreover, every detail that goes with every story, no matter how intimate and delicate, including

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867 quarrels among husbands and wives. It is thus that they acquire a training in what is allowed and what is not allowed in their own society, and can absorb exact knowledge of what constitutes authority in the family and the village.

INSTITUTIONAL KINSHIP

608 The custom of "sworn brotherhood" is ancient in Mongol society and is widespread in Asia. The purpose of the institution is to bind together two or more men either for aid and support in general or for specific purposes. Sworn brotherhood is binding only on the individuals concerned and not on family or social groups to which they belong. Men need not belong to the same clan in order to swear brotherhood; in fact the institution probably arose out of the necessity for mutual loyalty in situations not covered by clan or family loyalty. Thus a Monguor will swear brotherhood not only with other Monguors but with Mongols, Tibetans, Chinese, or Muslims. Nor does difference in social condition matter, because a rich man may take the oath with a poor man and even a T'u-ssu with one of his subjects. Women, however, are very seldom "sworn sisters," and man and women are never "sworn brother and sister."

The oath then can be taken under various conditions. Men whose purpose is not honorable will take the oath at night, in secrecy, while those whose purpose is honorable will act quite openly, taking the oath either at the home of one of them or in the village temple.

Among the Monguors the rite requires that a sheep, goat, or chicken be killed, some of its blood gathered in a bowl, and wine added. Holding incense sticks in their joined hands, the two or more men who are going to take the oath of brotherhood prostrate themselves simultaneously before a picture or statue of the temple deity, or before "Heaven and all the spirits." Each then makes a prostration to the other as they swear solemnly an oath of mutual aid and support, calling for punishment from the spirits in case of falsehood or disloyalty. Each puts on the other's head the picture of the spirit who is being invoked, or a book containing Tibetan prayers, and both (or all) drink the blood of the sacrificial animals, mixed with wine.[31] If there are more than two taking the oath, each is given a number and from then on they address each other only by number, as "big brother number 1," "number 2," and so on. While such an oath may be taken perfectly openly, there is often about it an air of secrecy and of something reprehensible, which is not strange in view of the fact that rebellions in China have traditionally been started by bands of sworn brothers.

After the rite has been performed, the brothers present each other with articles of clothing, such as a hat or a pair of boots.

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[31] R. Grousset, *Empire des steppes*, 268, Paris, Payot, 1939, notes that when Wang Khan of the Keraits made peace with Chingis Khan, he sent him "blood contained in a cowhorn," to be used at the time of the swearing of the oath. [P. 106a]

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608 The Monguors, in taking this oath, never open a vein and drink their own blood as was done traditionally among the Turks and Mongols, among whom this kind of institutional brotherhood is known by the term *anda*.[32] In this ceremony each man opened a vein in his arm, mixed the blood in a cup with milk or fermented milk-wine, in the presence of witnesses, and thereafter each was not only the sworn brother of the other, but each enjoyed in his blood-brother's clan the same rights and privileges as if he were born from the same womb, and conversely was bound by the obligations expected of an elder or younger brother.[33]

Analogous ceremonies are known from the Polar regions to southern Asia. In the region of the Behring Straits, among the Koryaks, Italmen, and Yukagirs, a dinner is given, at which the men pledge mutual aid. Among the Koryaks and Yukagirs there is an exchange of possessions. Women and girls may also swear friendship or sisterhood in this manner.[34]

Among the Tungus the custom seems to be relatively recent and to have spread directly from the Chinese and indirectly from the Chinese through the Manchus. In taking the oath, the Tungus pray to the spirit of Heaven. Shirokogoroff considers that this is a borrowed custom because within Tungus society the relations of persons belonging to different clans were quite satisfactorily regulated.[35]

In Southwest China, among the Miao of the Province of Kueichou a cat is killed and its blood is mixed with wine and drunk;[36] in another account of Miao ceremony, Legendre notes that there are no religious ceremonies and that a dog is killed and its blood mixed with wine and drunk.[37]

608 782 Monguors, in addition to taking as witnesses "Heaven and all the spirits" or a temple deity, may invoke the buildings of a temple, or a well-known scripture such as the Kandjur or Tandjur, or a Living Buddha. The curses that are invoked in case of disloyalty are worded in such phrases as: "If I break my oath, may I be a man who has eaten the flesh of his own parents"; or "A man

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[32] The difference between *anda* sworn brotherhood and the institution of *nukur*, which has been mentioned above, is that the *nukur* was more purely military; he was a "man-at-arms" who, instead of serving in tribal ranks where loyalty and discipline were automatically covered by tribal sanctions, declared himself to be henceforth the follower of some military leader to whom he owed no blood-allegiance, but to whom henceforth he would profess a loyalty transcending that to clan and tribe. In the *anda* institution there was seniority, but also an equality of brotherhood. In the *nukur* relationship there was the strict subordination of the follower to the leader.—O. L.

[33] Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, 61, Paris, 1896.

[34] Hubert Konig, Das Recht der Polarvölker, *Anthropos* **22**: 736, 1927.

[35] Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Tungus*, as cited, 736.

[36] P. A. Schotter, Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus aborigènes du Kouy-tcheou, *Anthropos* **3**: 419, 1908.

[37] A. F. Legendre, *Le far-west chinois*, 448, Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1910.

[P. 106 b]

608 782 who has eaten the pig of the Dalai Lama"; or "If I break my oath, may I be thrown into the deepest of the eighteen Hells"; or "May I be punished through nine reincarnations"; or "If I am false to my oath, may I be killed"; or "May I have my eyes burned out." The oaths, both positive and negative, are followed by the declaration "Now we are as brothers who have suckled the milk of the same mother."

The oaths are taken very seriously. There is great fear of the retribution for perjury. There is a saying that "Poison kills only the man who drinks it but perjury brings the death of his whole family."

608 Sworn brothers call on each other and present gifts at New Year, at the Spring Festival of the Fifth Moon, and at the Autumn Festival, or "Feast of the Dead" on the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon. They invite each other to marriages and funerals like members of the family. In case of clan blood feud, a sworn brother must give help and support as if he were a blood brother. A case of this kind is recorded among the Mongols of the late twelfth century. The father of Chingis was the sworn brother of Wang Khan of the Keraits. After the death of his father and after his wife had been stolen from him by the Merkits, Chingis and his brother went to Wang Khan and presented him with the sable gown that was part of the dowry of Chingis' wife and begged for his support, and Wang Khan declared war on the Merkits.[38]

In some families, the sons of sworn brothers often swear the same oath, and it is common for sworn brothers to give their children to each other in marriage. Often the ties between sworn brothers are more intense and personal than those of blood brothers.

608 685 Among the variations of the sworn brother relationship, a rich man not engaged in crime himself may become a sworn brother with known thieves as a protection against being robbed by them. An influential man will in fact rarely refuse the oath of brothership if it is proposed to him by a noted thief. In carrying out his side of the relationship the "respectable" sworn brother will help the thief, when he is short of money and use his influence to get him off if he has been caught. Most of the thieves and robbers in the Monguor country are sworn brothers, linked in one group, and when one of them takes the oath with a rich man he informs the others and none of them will do the rich man harm.

608 It is also true that honest people take the oath together in order either to strengthen already friendly relations, or to organize themselves as a group for mutual protection. In one case of my own knowledge a poor Monguor swore the oath with a rich man who helped him get his affairs on a sound footing. The poor man was honest and loyal and in time he became a man of substance. The relations between these two were as intimate as if they had been real brothers.

608 648 It is common for a rich Monguor to become the sworn brother of the chief of a Tibetan tribe, as a means of se-

[38] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-khan*, as cited, 27.

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608 curing the opportunity to pasture his large flocks of sheep on the Tibetan grazing grounds. Similarly, a
648 Muslim will take the oath with a Monguor in order to increase and improve his wool and skin business by
[282] having, within the territory of the clan of his Monguor friend, a protector for his business and a home at which to stay. The Monguor benefits by being able to stay with his Muslim brother for several days at a time when making trips outside of Monguor territory.

Another special application of the institution of sworn brothers will be noted when we come to the description of the trading caravans that travel into and through Tibetan territory, and of the fishing engaged in by the Monguors in the waters of Kukunor lake.

608 In contrast to the tradition in the time of Chingis Khan that after the death of a sworn brother his son might appeal to the surviving sworn brother, among the Monguors the family of a sworn brother who has died has no continuing obligation. The oath may be taken for a limited period and for the achievement of a specific purpose, and be terminated when the purpose has been achieved. The oath may also be formally terminated under other conditions. Thus, in one case of which I knew, three young men in the district of Tolong took the oath together. Six months later they invited an old man to become their "sworn father." A goat was killed and the ceremony was carried out. For three years the three young men were faithful sworn brothers and showed toward their "sworn father" the devotion of true sons. The relationship was publicly known. After three years, however, gossip began to spread. People wondered why this oath had been taken when the district was at peace. It was suggested that perhaps they had subversive intentions of some kind and that harm might come to the whole community. Eventually the chief and elders of the village summoned both the sworn brothers and their sworn "father" before them and ordered them to abjure their relationship at a ceremony at the village temple, in the presence of the whole community.

Among Monguor women the equivalent or partial equivalent of "blood brotherhood" is to become "dry sisters." This relationship is only between two women; it is not extended to a group of more than two. The two who agree to be "dry sisters" do not swear an oath, but present each other with a piece of clothing and sit down to a meal together. They visit each other at New Year's, on the fifth day of the fifth month, and go to help each other in time of sickness. They invite each other to such celebrations as those for childbirth and marriage.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

428 The division of the inheritance is one of the most diffi-
596 cult of all problems in the extended family of the patrilineal Monguor society. It usually takes place when the grandfather dies and the sons decide to set up sepa-

[P. 107b]

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rate "chimneys." The decision to separate has usually, in such cases, been foreshadowed by quarrels and resentment among the sons, making it inevitable that when the actual division of the inheritance takes place there are bitter disputes.

In order to make a satisfactory settlement possible, the sons usually invite the chief of the village and the village elders, the senior representatives of their own patrilineal kin, and of course their own maternal uncle and those of their wives to take part in the discussion, which takes place in the open air at the threshing floor, witnessed by the population of the whole village. Such a discussion may take several days. Each maternal uncle is the advocate of his own sister's son, the seniors of the patrilineal kin represent the common interest of the patrilineal line, and the village chief and elders are the voices of the community.

In this discussion every possible proposal and compromise is put forward in order to secure an agreement that will leave no smoldering feud behind among the brothers. Finally contracts are written, a sheep is slaughtered, and a dinner is given to the elders to thank them for their services. The brothers prostrate themselves before each other to signify that, though they have broken up the extended family, they are still on good terms.

The property that is thus divided is of several kinds. Among any people, riches are relative to the economic system as a whole. Since the Monguors have become agricultural, land is the most valuable property. Since the tradition of cattle breeding still continues, however, livestock are also important. In addition houses, agricultural implements, clothes, and money must be considered.

The basis on which division must be determined is the fact that under the patrilineal system the entire extended family, with authority concentrated in the grandfather, is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements, and money, with individual property restricted to a few personal possessions. As long as the extended family holds together, all of its members produce for the common benefit and what is to be done with what they earn is decided by the head of the family.

Since, under the patrilineal system, sons alone may inherit, the property is first divided into as many shares as there are sons with the modification, already noted above, that the eldest son receives an extra large share and the eldest son of the eldest son also receives a special share; a son who has become a lama, however (and therefore will have no legitimate heirs), receives no share at all.

The sons of a son who has died are entitled to receive and divide their father's share. A son who has been adopted by his father's brother inherits from his adopted father and not from his real father. Similarly, a son who has been given to be adopted by a non-related family loses his rights of inheritance in his family of origin.

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428 If one of the sons has died without having sons of his
596 own and without having adopted a son, his share is divided among his brothers.

If, in order to acquire a wife, a man has contracted to work all his life in his wife's family he loses all right of inheritance in his family of origin, although he retains
583 his original surname or clan name. Such a man may
428 try to claim a share in the inheritance of his wife's family, but the claim is usually contested and settled by some sort of compromise—indicating that this kind of marriage is in itself a makeshift, not fully provided for by the rules and customs of the society. As I have pointed out in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen* (p. 118–119) the right of such a man to inherit from his family of origin is academic, since he would not have left his family for the sake of this kind of marriage unless his family had been so poor that it could offer him no inheritance worth having.

The customs of inheritance show the difference between "marriage with the pole" and "marriage with the girdle." The girl who "marries with the pole" does not leave the clan or lose her clan name; consequently, her children, by unknown or unacknowledged fathers, bear the clan name and remain in the clan, which entitles them to a share in the inheritance as if their mother had in fact been their father. In the case of the girl who "marries with the girdle" on the other hand the father is known and acknowledged, as explained above. The girl takes the clan name of this man, even though he may never return, and consequently her child or children do not bear her clan name and are not entitled to share in the inheritance.

428 It is fully in accordance with the patrilineal principle that husband and wife do not inherit from each other or from each other's families. An exception to this rule is that the widow of the head of an extended family always receives some land and livestock from her husband. The exception is only partial and temporary however, as the widow lives with one of her sons, generally the youngest, who inherits this property after her death.[39]

Because of the strong influence of Tibetan society on that of the Monguors, a word should be said about the Tibetan rules of inheritance. In my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen* (p. 49), I mentioned that in the speech made by the master of ceremonies at a Mon-

[39] This arrangement corresponds to the ancient custom in pastoral nomadic society under which (*a*) the sons as they grew up were provided with wives and given a share of the cattle, whereupon they could move away and set up independent camps, leaving the youngest son as guardian of the parents in their old age and sole heir to the residual family property at their death; and (*b*) if a man had secondary wives, these were, at his death, inherited by his sons with the exception that the first wife could not be inherited by any of the sons and no secondary wife could be inherited by her own son, thus making it necessary to provide for the senior wife until her death. These principles are obviously rooted in the fact that when livestock, instead of land, are the most important property, dispersal may be convenient in order to avoid crowding the pastures.—O. L. [p. 108 b]

428 guor marriage there is a hint of a custom under which, at the division of the paternal inheritance, a daughter was entitled to a share amounting to half of the share received by a son. I now doubt very much whether this reference is really an echo of a formerly existing Monguor custom. On the one hand, it does not correspond to the clearly expressed principles of Monguor inheritance, and on the other hand it tallies exactly with the rules of inheritance of those Tibetans whom the Chinese call Hsifan, who are the nearest Tibetan neighbors of the Monguors. A large number of families of Tibetan origin are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and there are many marriages between Monguors and Tibetans. The Tibetan custom is well known to the Monguors, and since it is favorable to the woman it must be a topic of conversation among Monguor women and may through this channel have crept into the phraseology of the master of ceremonies as an expression that is flattering to the bride but has no legal validity for the ultimate division of the inheritance.

Among the Tibetans, if the inheritance is divided before the death of the parents, the parents receive four parts of all the money in the family, sons receive two parts, grandsons one part, and unmarried daughters also receive one part. This division corresponds exactly to the reference in the speech by the Monguor master of ceremonies at a marriage. (Tibetan granddaughters and married daughters receive nothing.)

In the division of grain, each person—parents, sons, and daughters—receives one part.[40] In the division of cattle, the parents receive three parts, the sons two parts, the grandsons one part, and the sons of unmarried girls also one part. This division tallies exactly with the Monguor custom of giving a share to the children of a daughter who "marries with the pole," suggesting that this form of marriage is influenced by the Tibetan custom under which a daughter may stay at home and bear children for her own family instead of marrying and going to her husband's family. In the division of livestock these unmarried girls do not receive horses, but they receive as many cows as their brothers receive horses.

When the inheritance is thus divided before the death of the father, the Tibetan father goes to live with one of the sons and the mother with another. The unmarried daughter who has a son must make her own living. If she later has another son, he must become a lama. If such a girl later marries, her inheritance belongs to her.

422 Certain kinds of property among the Monguors are recognized as personal and not subject to family inheritance. Each person owns his own clothes. A man who engages in hunting is the owner of his own gun. A man who does part time work as a silver smith or maker of knives is the owner of the tools of his trade.

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[40] This scale of division, not favoring either the parents or the sons, suggests that grain is a late addition to the Tibetan economy, and of secondary importance.—O. L. [p. 109a]

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Women also own personal property, including their clothes and jewelry, which are for the most part presents from the woman's own family. It has also been noted above that it is customary for a girl's maternal uncle to give her, before she is married, some land and calves, or to plant some trees for her, and to give her in addition, when she is married, some land and some more animals. The maternal uncle looks after this property for her. Similarly, sisters entrust their personal treasures to the care of a brother or brothers. Thus a married woman has a kind of insurance in the form of property that is partly in the care of a brother and partly in the care of one of her mother's brothers. (Among the circum-Polar peoples, including the Koryaks, Chukchis, and Lapps there is also "women's property"; livestock belonging to a woman before marriage, or given her by her father at the time of marriage, remain her personal property.) [41]

A woman's property may continue to increase after her marriage. When she goes to visit her own family, they frequently give her presents of cotton cloth, clothes, or money. Monguor women have also adopted from Chinese women the practice of keeping chickens. In the extended family, each daughter-in-law has her own chickens, the eggs of which she collects herself and is allowed to sell. In addition, after the crops are threshed the gleanings on the threshing floor are collected and divided by the daughters-in-law. Similarly when opium is harvested the poppy juice is cooked until it becomes thick and gluey. Each individual family in the extended family cooks its own share of the harvest, which must be poured into the kettle of the head of the family; but each daughter-in-law may keep that part of the opium that sticks to the inside of her own kettle without being scraped off— a valuable saving.

Another perquisite is that when peddlers and traveling merchants come around selling sugar, fruit, candies, and cakes to the women and their children it is not unusual for a daughter-in-law to "steal" a little grain from the family granary, while the parents-in-law pretend not to notice, in order to pay for such purchases.

The jewelry and other little treasures that a woman keeps with her in her husband's family are carefully stored in a locked chest in the woman's own room.

CONCLUSIONS

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The general conclusions to be drawn from these data on family life seems to be that the children are the hub around which the whole Monguor family turns. The chief of the extended family is a happy man at home and is esteemed in the Monguor society only if he has grandchildren; the sons love their wives only when they bear children; the wives feel that they are important in the family only when they have children and sons. The children build up the morale of all the members of the

[41] Hubert Konig, *op. cit.*, 625. [p. 109b]

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858 family, give them strength and courage in the struggle
for the necessities of life, and finally, as I always ob-
596 served, the love of the grandparents for their grand-
children holds the family united, because only when the grandparents love their children can the daughters-in-law, who are so numerous in the family, forgive each other's and the grandparent's shortcomings and deficiencies. Love for the children is the oil that makes the wheels of the Monguor family turn smoothly. No Monguor can withstand the love displayed for his children.

MORALITY IN THE MONGUOR FAMILY

592 It is a general phenomenon that husbands and wives
who really enjoy the delights of a happy family life do
577 not feel the need of indulging themselves with pleasures shocking to each other's feelings. People engrossed the whole year long with the problem of making ends meet, dispose of little time to spend in that way and cannot afford its costs. In order to understand the problem we must take stock of the peculiar conditions under which the members of an extended family live. The sons, with their wives and children, live in the same courtyard, one next to the other, with the chief of the family and his wife among them. Permission for absence must be granted by the chief of the extended family, and because there is only one small gate to enter the courtyard, every visitor is instantly noticed, the reasons for his visit are discussed by all the daughters-in-law, and the length of his stay is well observed. Every one in the courtyard is the guardian of the other members of the family, and so the opportunity for misbehavior at home is reduced to a minimum. These are the conditions of every extended family. There is no secrecy. They live in glass houses. The opportunity for misbehavior in small families consisting of husband, wife, and small children is greater, although these families have next door neighbors whose tongues they cannot prevent from wagging. A married daughter who visits her parents, sometimes for many weeks, is more free since her parents do not have as much commanding influence upon her as when she was a child. Very long visits of married daughters at the home of their parents are discouraged by the older people, who seem to know more about the matter. Attendance at the public meetings when such problems are tackled in the presence of all the very interested villagers and the infliction of dishonorable punishments undoubtedly have a salutary and preventive effect upon the people; but in the Monguor society, as in all other societies, it happens that once in a while somebody falls from grace.

834 It is not allowed to the young folk to tell smutty jokes
in public or to sing lascivious songs in the village; at
weeding time, however, obscene songs are sung in the open fields and allowance seems to be made for that custom. At public festivities, at the lamaseries and at the general assembly of the clan, men and women are

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834 used to sing and to dance. It is not at such times that regrettable things happen; but at night, when the festivities are over and most of the people have returned home, it is not unusual to see young couples scatter into the surrounding countryside, into valleys in retired places, and to hear them sing the whole night long, answering each other's songs, each couple hidden in its own place. Allowance seems to be made for such customs at such times; but necessarily these groups are not numerous, for mothers with children have to go home and to take care for them, and all Monguors have children. The morality of the Monguors, who live in villages and are occupied with farming, is undoubtedly on a higher standard than that of the nomad Mongols. Monguor families on the average seemed to me to be happy families that worked hard but enjoyed life.

VI. MONGUOR ECONOMIC LIFE

311 175 An analysis of the economic life of the Monguors must begin by taking into account the shift from pastoral nomadism to settled farming. The shift probably began gradually when the Mongol conquests in 1275 drove the Tibetans back along the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, and the ancestors of the Monguors occupied the country and began to amalgamate with the Shat'o Turks who were already there. Specific historical data for the Mongol period are scarce, though we know that in 1287 a son-in-law of Chingis Khan, whose Chinese name was Chang Ch'i, was made governor of the region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 8*b*). We know also that the ancestors of the Monguors began to submit to the new Chinese Ming dynasty in 1368–1373, that each T'u-ssu and his clan were then allotted a fixed territory, and that, between 1368 and 1399, 7,200 Chinese families were sent as military colonists to this frontier (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, p. 15*a*).

THE HISTORICAL SHIFT FROM PASTORALISM TO FARMING

The next important date is 1509 when the Mongols of the Kukunor plateau of Tibet began to disturb the frontier with their inroads. From then on all through the period of decline of the Ming dynasty and the wars and disturbances that attended the founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644 and right up to the great Tibetan uprising of 1723 this frontier country was never long at peace. It was during this long and troubled period that walled towns and villages were built for better defense. We may well assume that it was during this period that the number of livestock decreased, partly because of the border raids and partly because of the difficulty of maintaining large herds in the relatively small side valleys inhabited by the Monguors, with the consequence that the Monguors became more and more dependent on the farms adjacent to their fortified villages.

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In 1723, therefore, when a long period of peace and stability began, the Monguors on the one hand had become farmers rather than herdsmen though they still owned far more livestock than Chinese farmers, and on the other hand communications opened up and trade began to flourish. The great city of Lanchou in Kansu provided a market for grain grown by the Monguors, which could be floated down the Hsining River into the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou. At the same time, with the pacification of Tibet, another market opened up for grain carried by caravan into the high plateau. The population increased, new villages were founded, and the land tax became the main source of revenue of the Monguor T'u-ssu.

The transition was so complete that the Monguors have no longing for a return to the nomadic life. In this they are different from the border Tibetans, among whom the nomadic life still carries more social prestige than settled village life.[1] The Monguors, however, appear to confirm the rule that peoples of Mongol origin, like the Turks, make the shift from pastoralism to agriculture only under the compulsion of events.[2]

FARMING

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Their farming having developed in contact with the Chinese culture, the Monguors used the farming implements of the Chinese (and not, for instance, those of the Turkish-speaking oasis farmers of Chinese Inner Asia). They buy their plowshares, spades, and other iron tools from Chinese smiths, but make the wooden parts themselves. Their farming is, however, inferior in technique to that of the Chinese. The region is too high and cold for the most intensive kind of Chinese farming, and, therefore both Chinese and Monguor farmers in the highest parts never grow the same crop on the same field for two consecutive years and try to leave each field completely fallow for a year after it has been harvested.

For fields near the villages, composted stable manure is used as a fertilizer. Every other day the women go out and bring in earth in baskets on their backs which they empty in the stables. The animals trample their dung and urine into this earth, and the floor-level of the stalls and the cow and sheep pens is gradually built up. At the end of a year, when the planting season begins, this composted manure is dug out and carried by the pack animals to the fields.

Farther away from the village ashes provide the only fertilizer. In the seventh or eighth moon, after the ground has been softened by a day or two of summer rain, a piece of land is selected and all the livestock are driven out to it and kept there, trampling the sticky earth for a whole day. The next day this top soil is

[1] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, Chicago, Univ of Chicago Press, 1939, especially pp. 76–79.

[2] Hermann Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, 176, Leipzig, 1885.

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

241 dug out with spades in the form of large, rough bricks, which are set out in rows to dry. The next spring, before sowing, these bricks are built into a long oven. The outside is plastered with mud, and after incense and boughs of cypress have been burned to propitiate the Spirit of the Earth, a fire is built in the oven. After it has burned for two days the "bricks" have crumbled into ashes. Men and women carry these ashes in baskets on their backs and scatter them on the fields that are to be sown. In some places this heavy work is done by the women alone.

241 782 Plowing and sowing begin on the propitious day and at the appointed hour designated in the old Chinese lunar calendar. Strips of red paper inscribed with auspicious Chinese characters are pasted on all the farming implements and on the horns of the oxen. Red, in the symbolism of the Chinese, is the color for joy, fertility, and good fortune.[3]

At the appointed hour the whole family, all in their best clothes, go to the fields. The procession is led by the head of the family, guiding a plow drawn by a pair of oxen. He plows a furrow in a large circle and then a cross within the circle in such a manner that when the second stroke of the cross is completed the heads of the oxen are pointing in the direction from which, according to geomantic divination, happiness and prosperity are expected to emanate during the year. This direction may vary from year to year. The family then steps into the center of the circle, kneels, and burns incense and boughs of cypress. The head of the family offers to the Spirit of the Earth a large, flat circular loaf of bread in the center of which there is a hole in which he plants incense sticks. The family prostrate themselves while the head of the family pours a libation of wine on the ground and sprinkles wine toward the "six corners" of the universe.[4] The bread is then divided into small pieces and each member of the family, and also the two oxen, are given a piece to eat on the spot. The remainder is broken into crumbs and thrown on the field. All then return home except those who complete the plowing, and sowing begins as soon as the plowing is finished.

The Chinese in this region do not have this custom, and it is possible that the Monguors took it over from the Tibetans who have a similar ceremony of beginning the farming season by blessing the earth and asking the gods for a good harvest and for protection against hail.[5]

241 243 The Monguor field crops are barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp, and potatoes. Very little millet is grown. When the Monguors plow a virgin field, they plant barley for the first six years and wheat only the seventh year, because the earth of such fields is too

[3] White (which for the Chinese is the color of mourning) is the traditional auspicious and noble color of the Mongols.—O. L.

[4] The four quarters of the compass; upward (for the sky), and downward (for below the surface of the earth).—O. L.

[5] MacDonald, *Mœurs et coûtumes tibétaines*, 229, Paris, Payot, 1930.

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241 cold to grow wheat from the beginning and has first to
243 be loosened up and warmed by the sun.

The customs connected with weeding during the growing season are especially worth noting. Men and
241 women take part, the women going to the fields in their best clothes which they change for their working clothes
533 when the work begins. Men and women squat on their heels and work along the furrows of grain, singing as
584 they work. One group answers the songs sung by another group and from time to time all burst into laughter and giggles because these songs are licentious and full of sexual references. Sometimes a man or woman sings a solo, to which all reply in chorus. If a traveler should happen to pass, especially a woman, one of the workers who has a knack for making up a song impromptu will start to sing a description of the traveler, full of suggestive remarks about the supposed purpose of the traveler's journey, with endless lascivious verses about "the way of the lonely hind roaming in search of the stag," and so forth. Only the young people take part in this work, while their elders remain in the family courtyard.

This licentiousness is associated only with the weeding season. The Chinese of this region do not have a similar custom. There are comparable customs, however, in Tibet and also in Southeast Asia; and there were comparable customs among the ancient Sienpi and the ancient Turks. It is open to question whether the Shat'o brought the custom with them when they settled in the region or whether the Monguors learned it from the Tibetans[6] or the Sienpi.

241 The crops are either plucked by hand or harvested with a sickle, the work being done by both men and women. The threshing is done on the village threshing floor with a primitive stone roller pulled by oxen, horses, mules, or donkeys.

In addition to field agriculture there are small gardens close to each courtyard where the women plant vegetables such as onions, garlic, rape, leek, cabbage, pimento, spinach, watermelons, and cantaloupes.

PASTORAL ECONOMY

231 Livestock still rank as the second most important economic resource of the Monguors. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys, and pigs and wherever the pastures are sufficient they own as many sheep and cows as possible. Horses are important for prestige,

[6] For references to Southeast Asia (Annam, Cambodia, Laos, the White Tai, the Karens of Burma, the Angami Nagas of Assam, and the Miaos and Yaos of Southwest China), see Christopher Fürer-Haimendorff in *Anthropos* 30: 916, 1935. See also A. Lietard, *Les Lolo-p'o*, 152, Münster i. W., Aschendorfsche Verlag, 1913, and D. Doutreligne in *Anthropos* 25: 163, 1930; also F. M. Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, 224, Hong Kong, Imprimerie des missions étrangères, 1930. For ancient China see H. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 237, Paris, Boccard, 1927, and R. Granet, *La civilization chinoise*, 1: 190, Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

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231 and every well-to-do family keeps a fast, handsome horse with a good saddle and trappings. They will spend freely for the purchase of a showy "Peking" outfit—a saddle edged with brass and trimmed with cloisonne enamel with stirrups to match, and a bright saddle rug. When a horse is unsaddled his head must be pointing to the west. Women as well as men may saddle horses. The Monguor vocabulary for the colors of horses and cows is very rich. They prefer black horses and cows, it being a shamanistic belief that this color is a good omen for the owner and for the increase of the livestock.

232 The Monguors geld their own horses, many of them being very proficient at this operation. The stallion is thrown on the ground and the region of the operation washed with hot water to sterilize it. The cutting is done with the sharp edge of a piece of porcelain from a freshly broken cup. The scrotum is opened and the testicles taken out. Some wine is then poured in the wound, salt rubbed into it, and the wound stitched up with a large needle, which is first "sterilized" by being rubbed in the hair of the man who is to do the stitching. Three or four threads taken from a woman's needle box are twisted together to form a coarse thread for the purpose. Finally, salt is rubbed liberally over the outside of the wound. The horse is walked around the threshing floor during the day and tied to the pole at night, in order to prevent his lying down for a few days. There is seldom a mishap in performing this operation. Some lamas are skilful in performing the operation. Horses are seldom gelded by crushing of the testicles.

787 For this important operation a shaman chooses a day of good omen. Before the operation is performed, the head of the family burns incense and boughs of cypress, offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." For seven days after the operation no visitors are allowed to enter the courtyard, at the gate of which are hung a bough of cypress and a skein of wool as a sign that a horse has been gelded.[68]

Rich people with large herds brand a mark on the left hip of horses and cows. Sheep are marked by cutting a rough design in the ear or by clipping out a piece of the ear. The Monguors are remarkably gifted at tracking lost animals. Chinese whose animals have strayed or been stolen always ask a Monguor to track them, and a tracker will follow the trail for many days.

231 462 It is women's work, except where shepherds are hired, to take care of the livestock in their stalls and pens and also to go out with them to pasture in the summer rainy season when the grass grows quickly.

231 463 Shepherds are the best paid among those Monguors who work for hire, because of the capital value of the

[68] Note that the same emblems are used to mark the tabu of a room in which childbirth has taken place, as described above. They are, therefore, tabu marks which are not restricted to a single kind of tabu.—O. L.

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231 animals entrusted to them and the skill and devotion
463 needed if the animals are to get the best pasture and to multiply rapidly. Skill is required especially in the lambing season. A shepherd is treated like a member of the family. At each meal one of the daughters-in-law presents him with his bowl of food, with both hands, with the same respect that is shown to the head of the family, and the shepherd's food is as good as that of the head of the family.

231 When there is not enough rain and the pasture is
648 poor, the Monguors will go with a present to the chief of one of the nomad tribes of Tibetans or Mongols, asking permission to graze their stock on his land during the summer. The nomads are always very generous and helpful at such times.

231 The Monguors will never sell an animal, or allow an animal already sold to leave their home, on the first or fifteenth of the moon for fear that prosperity and luck might leave the family. Other beliefs in connection with cattle breeding will be discussed in my later work on the religious life of the Monguors.

231 An old Monguor of some sixty years once told me that
251 during his lifetime he remembered four different occasions on which the cattle herds had been devastated by epizootics. When such a disaster happens, the flesh of the animals who have died of sickness is cut in long, thin strips which are dried in the sun and for the following year the Monguors have tough beef to chew at every meal.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 The Monguors hunt with the gun and with traps and
136 poison, but because the region has become too thickly populated to support a great deal of game there is no hunting on a large scale. The animals hunted are foxes, wolves, musk-deer, hares, and pheasants, while boys like to shoot marmots with matchlock guns. Foxes and wolves are killed sometimes with the gun, but more usually with strychnine bought from the Chinese. First the tracks of the animal to be poisoned are studied in order to determine its habits. Then for several days meat, taken from hares and birds that have been killed by the hunter, is laid out in order to accustom the animal to this kind of feeding. The poison is then set out. Sometimes the strychnine is put inside a ball of meat, but more usually it is put in the hollow of a long, thin bone, the ends of which are sealed with wax. The fox or wolf dies near the place where it has cracked and swallowed such a bone, while strychnine placed in a ball of meat is slower to act and the animal may travel so far that it is difficult to track. Foxes are also taken with iron traps bought from Chinese smiths. The animal to be trapped is first watched carefully for a number of days in order to learn its habits. Then roasted flour is set out for it to feed on, so that it becomes unwary, and finally the trap is baited and set.

The most valuable game is the musk-deer, which is

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

224 136 hunted in the forests of Hsimi. This animal has the habit of making and following a small beaten trail along which it goes always to the same place to drop its dung—which is done regularly at the same time of day—and to rub itself against small trees. When such a trail has been found the hunter studies it carefully to determine the best place to attach a running noose to a small tree, which is then bent over and attached to a stake in such a manner that when the deer, going along the trail, puts its head in the noose, the stake is knocked aside, the tree springs up, and the more the deer struggles the more quickly it is strangled. The hunter lies hidden 224 137 watching the trap and the moment the deer is caught he rushes out with a knife to cut out the precious musk pod, which is on the surface of the stomach, near the genitalia. It is believed that the pod must be cut out immediately because otherwise the blood inside the pod will be absorbed into the body of the animal, and the "virtue" of the musk will be lost.

The musk-deer hunters admit that adulteration of this valuable commodity begins the moment that the animal is caught. Musk pods are sold by weight, and therefore as soon as he has cut out the pod the hunter stuffs it with blood and shredded liver from the deer in order to increase the weight. It is seldom that one can buy unadulterated musk in the shops of the Chinese dealers, because in addition to what is done by the hunters themselves to increase the weight, no one knows what the dealers add.

226 648 Although the lamas and most (though not all) Mongols abhor the eating of fish, considering that taking the lives of the fish is a sin that will affect the sinner's next incarnation, the Monguors do engage in considerable fishing in Kukunor.[7] As soon as the lake has frozen in winter, small expeditions go from the Monguor country to the lake. Such an expedition lasts for about two months, and the Monguors are back by New Year's Eve of the lunar calendar, which comes usually toward the end of February or the beginning of March. The Monguors go first to see the chief of the Mongol or

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[7] Kukunor, the "Azure Lake," is 230 miles in circumference, at an altitude of 10,900 feet above sea level. (W. W. Rockhill, *The land of the lamas*, 120, New York, Century, 1891.) The water is salty. Two rivers run into the lake, the bottom of which is covered with sand and small stones. One big island rises out of the water and is inhabited by a few lamas, who only in wintertime, when the lake is frozen, can come ashore, since no boats are used on the lake. At that time the Tibetans drive horses and sheep to the island in order that they may graze and breed; colts and lambs bred on the island are assumed to be a blessing for the herds. The famous *Ch'ien-li-ma* (horses which are reputed to run 1,000 *li* or approximately 300 miles in one day) celebrated as long ago as the Han dynasty, are said to be bred on the island, whose grass is reputed wonderfully nutritive for animals. There are three kinds of fishes in the lake, where fish are plentiful: *schizopygopsis przewalskii*, *schizopygopsis leptocephalus*, and *schizopygopsis gracilis*. They weigh from three to five and seven pounds (Przewalskii, *Reisen in der Mongolei, in das Gebiet der Tanguten und den Wüsten Nordtibets*, 140, Jena, 1873).

[p 113b]

226 Tibetan tribe on the shore of the lake from whose ter-
648 ritory they plan to operate, making him a present of the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity and a cask of wine, some tobacco, and noodles. They are then given the chief's permission and the protection of the tribe.
[608] The men of each fishing expedition usually go to the same territory every year and become sworn brothers of the chief or of some important local nomad, in order to make sure that while they are camped by the lake they will be allowed to gather fuel and will have no animals stolen.

226 Each fisherman breaks a hole in the ice, and spreads a couple of sheep skins on which he sits crosslegged, a two-pronged fork in his hands, waiting for fish to come to the surface of the water. The fish is harpooned with the fork and thrown on the ice. The frozen fish are either carried to market, usually at the city of Hsining, by the Monguors themselves or sold to Muslim merchants who make up caravans of twenty or thirty mules or donkeys. These expeditions involve hard work and exposure to the bitter cold, but the business must be remunerative as many Monguors go year after year.

TRADE

463 In the territory inhabited by the Monguors trade,
transport, and small industries are mostly in the hands
563 of Chinese and Muslims. The Muslims are an ener-
441 getic and enterprising people, even more hard work-
ing and indefatigable than other Chinese. They will-
439 ingly engage in the arduous work of driving caravans of pack-mules and in running rafts and boats down the Hsining and Upper Yellow Rivers in all weathers. Most of the peddlars are also Muslims, who travel either with a pack on their backs or with a loaded donkey, wandering through the Monguor country from house to house, exchanging cloth, needles, thread, and other small wares for wool, skins, eggs, and grain. In the autumn, Muslim buyers collect sheep and oxen and drive them to Hsining in small herds.

There are very few Chinese peddlars, but the distilleries and flour and oil mills, which require money capital, are run by Chinese, and the Chinese monopolize the pork business, since the Muslims will have nothing to do with pigs. All through the year, and especially during the autumn, while the Muslims are buying up other livestock the Chinese butchers of the cities and towns send their agents into the Monguor villages to buy hogs. The Chinese merchants who do business on a bigger scale than the Muslim peddlars also send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at such large gatherings as the lama monastery festivals and the annual meetings of the Monguor clans.

441 Grain and oil seeds, being the main crops of the Monguors, are also the main commodities of trade. The conversion of grain into alcohol and of oil seeds into oil results in products of higher value in proportion to bulk and weight which can stand the cost of transporta-

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441 tion to more distant markets that could not be reached by the unprocessed grain and seeds. These enterprises are, therefore, outlying Chinese businesses intermediate between the Monguor country and the Chinese-inhabited towns and cities. Wealthy Monguors, not confident of their own ability in trade, often invest their money in such Chinese enterprises; often, unfortunately, with the result that the Chinese partners get rich while the Monguors lose their money. Only a few Monguors, who are already well on the way toward becoming completely Chinese, venture into such enterprises as managing a small shop or buying and selling animals or wool and skins.

439 In the autumn, the Chinese managers of distilleries and oil mills make contracts with the Monguor farmers, the farmers undertaking to plant an agreed acreage with the crop required by the Chinese, and to sell the harvest [152] at an agreed price. On the strength of this agreement, the Chinese buyer makes a cash advance to the Monguor farmer. Wheat that does not go to the distilleries is bought up by Muslim dealers. The wheat is measured at the Monguor farm with the buyers' own measure, draft animals are hired from the Monguors to bring the wheat to the river bank, and it is there loaded on rafts and floated down to Lanchow.

252 There are some mills that grind flour for local Monguor consumption, and for that of neighboring Mongol and Tibetan nomads, and Chinese cities. These mills are built along small streams. A vertical wooden wheel carries an endless chain of buckets. As the stream fills the lower buckets, the wheel turns; coming up over the wheel, the buckets empty into a chute, and the descending water turns the nether stone of the mill, while the upper stone remains fixed. The grindstones are so crudely grooved that the grain has to be milled three times. Professional grindstone makers cut the blue stone in the mountains, install the millstones at the mill, and visit the mills every month to cut fresh grooves in the stones. There are only a few mills with horizontal power-wheels.

23 In the profitable business of buying livestock to be
463 slaughtered in such cities as Hsining and Lanchou, the
Muslims have a virtual monopoly of buying cows and
563 oxen, the Chinese have a monopoly in buying pigs, and
441 both Muslim and Chinese butchers buy sheep. The most important season is the autumn, when the animals are in the best condition. Sheep are herded slowly for a journey of ten days or more to Lanchou, in order to
23 prevent them from going lame and losing weight. Pigs
are also driven slowly, each batch of pigs being handled
44 by three men, moving only six or eight miles a day and sometimes taking a month to reach market. Ahead of the pigs is a man on foot driving a donkey loaded with dried peas and a long basket. Every mile or two the donkey is halted, some of the peas are poured into the basket, and enough is fed to the pigs to whet their appetites and keep the fat animals waddling after the

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231 441 [237] donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel relatively well because they have not been confined and fed in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from there to Europe and America for making brushes.

236 237 443 439 The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this buying is done directly in the homes of families that have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buying in small quantities is done by the peddlars, especially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments, [436] and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for [203] Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as they travel.

442 296 543 Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs. Two or three times a year every important monastery holds special religious performances, around which there spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes, wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack [232] doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose diseases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses, cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

543 579 Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and attract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable distances. In the afternoons there are horse races and wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymaking, and often, when there has been too much drinking, fights between clans and villages.

463 439 484 A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods, attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

463 Mongolia, some of whom are going to study in the great
439 monasteries of Tibet but many of whom are going on
484 pilgrimage, partly to visit celebrated monasteries and partly just for the fun of traveling and seeing the world. Each traveler with such a caravan must take care of his own food and expenses.

A large number of young Monguors, especially those who can speak Tibetan, take jobs with these caravans. A man who is thus working with a caravan for hire can also, by ancient custom, take with him trade goods for his own private speculation. The Monguors take the big, handsome mules and fast horses bred in their own country, and things like saddle girths woven with white wool, made in the Monguor country and known to sell readily in Tibet. The Monguor mules are especially esteemed in Tibet, and consequently Monguors who have mules or horses to sell will entrust them to a young man working with one of the trading caravans, sharing with him the profit of the venture.

439 The big caravan of the Kuopa Tibetans leaves Hsining
484 during the fourth moon of the lunar calendar and returns from Lhasa in the second or third moon of the following year. In 1914, when traveling near the great lake of Kukunor, I met the vanguard of this caravan on its way to Lhasa. The vanguard carried two flags. When it was time to pitch camp for the night, the men showed their veteran skill by the way in which, under the orders of their chief, they staked out the site of the camp. An hour later the main caravan arrived in nine groups of fifty yaks, each of which was separated from the preceding group by a small distance. On each side of the caravan rode Monguors and Tibetans armed with rifles and long swords. Each of the nine groups was accompanied by travelers, some of whom were riding while others walked and led their horses and mules. Each group went straight to the spot that had been staked and roped off for it, unloaded its animals, and pitched a small tent. Some of the men then went out with the animals to pasture near the camp, while the others prepared food. In the early morning the caravan left again, in perfect order. Camp is made in the afternoon and broken in the morning with amazing skill and orderliness; throughout the journey, the pattern of the camp is maintained, so that each group knows exactly where it belongs.

Caravans carrying valuable loads never venture to travel in Tibet without a strong armed guard, for fear of being robbed by the wilder Tibetan tribes, such as
439 the Ngoloks. According to foreign explorers and
484 travelers these large and well defended caravans are seldom attacked, but according to Monguors who have
608 traveled with the caravans the safety of a caravan really depends on the custom of "sworn brotherhood." In
651 each territory through which the caravan is to travel, the chief of the caravan has a sworn brother who is one of the local chiefs. As the caravan approaches each new tribal territory, two men are sent ahead with valuable

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439 presents for this sworn brother, who then notifies his
484 tribe not to molest the caravan. The traditional presents
608 consist of bolts of satin and silk, or a load of cotton
651 textiles or sugar or Chinese vermicelli. The next day, when the caravan chief and his local sworn brother meet, the caravan chief asks politely whether he can help his brother by carrying some things for him on the way back. The local sworn brother just as politely names some purchases that he would like made for him in Hsining or Lhasa, for which he offers to pay. The two understand each other's meaning perfectly, and the following year the caravan leader will bring as presents the goods that have been indicated. Thus in fact the caravan takes its way through each territory by a form of taxation in the guise of presents.[8]

431 On the way back from Tibet the Monguors bring with
484 them *p'ulu*, a kind of woolen serge woven in Tibet in narrow bands, either dyed red or purple, or white with crosses of red or blue dyed in the fabric by the "tie and dye" method. This material, which sheds water, is greatly valued by both Tibetans and Monguors. The Monguors also bring back from Tibet incense, dates, and saffron, which they sell to Chinese, the saffron being used more for medicine than as a condiment. At the market in the frontier town of Dankar I once bought some dishes that had just been brought in from Lhasa with the Kuopa caravan. These dishes bore the trademark of "Regout, Maestricht, Holland" and had traveled from Europe to Calcutta, from Calcutta to Lhasa, and from Lhasa, loaded on yaks, to the frontier of China.

439 The young Monguors who have once worked with
484 the caravan seem to catch the fever of travel and want
583 to go back to Tibet again and again. The older people, with the wisdom of experience, explain the mystery. The reason is, they say, the ease—and variety—of getting temporarily married in Tibet. The traveler who wants to strike up a temporary relationship with a woman in Tibet shaves his head just before his caravan arrives at its destination. This makes him look like a lama, and a Tibetan girl will readily "marry" him, assuming that he has no permanent obligations to a wife at home. If he were to wear a "pig-tail," the girl might be a little more hesitant, fearing that the "marriage" would last only until he wanted to go home. When he does want to leave such a temporary wife, however, the rascally traveler simply grows his "pig-tail" again on the next stage of his journey. In this way, the enterprising caravan man can sample the joys of marriage in a number of places.

DWELLINGS

342 The construction and disposition of the houses of the Monguors having been described in Chapter IV, it

[8] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, as cited, 54, describes this form of the "sworn brother" relationship as a "guest-host" relationship, and gives valuable details on both Tibetan and Muslim caravan trade.—O. L. [P. 116a]

342 need only be noted here that few Monguors are rich enough to hire Chinese or Monguor bricklayers and carpenters. Most Monguors build their own houses.

342 Rich people lay a foundation of brick for the mud
778 walls of their houses. Even poor people, though they build their own houses, buy the frames for their doors and windows from Chinese carpenters. When a new house is built, the young people of the whole village come to help in putting up the mud walls of the enclosure. They ask no pay for this work, but are rewarded with a dinner. A peculiarity of all Monguor courtyards is that in the middle of the enclosure stands a pole from which flies a "prayer flag" on which prayers have been written in Tibetan. At the base of this pole there is a small oven for burnt offerings; but sometimes the oven is built on top of the roof of the living room.

352 The Monguors do not have much in the way of furni-
353 ture. The living quarters of each nuclear family within the extended family consist of only a single room. Wealthier people may have "*k'ang* tables"—low tables, with very short legs, set on the *k'ang*. These are of the right height for people sitting crosslegged. Poorer people may have, in front of the *k'ang*, a rough table with homemade benches. A plank, on wooden pegs driven into the wall, serves for bowls and dishes. For household work, the Monguors made their own brooms from millet straw or tamarisk twigs. Only rich people paint the woodwork of their houses. Even in a poor family, however, there hangs on the wall of the chief of the family a picture of the guardian deity of the family, and in front of this picture there is a low table with brass butter lamps and bowls for offerings.

372 The fuel used by the Monguors is chiefly the dung
237 of horses, cows, and sheep, dried in the sun. The gathering of this fuel means constant hard work for the wives, who must always have some reserve in case
352 it is raining and dry fuel cannot be gathered. Sheep dung gives the most heat. It is dug out in bricks where it has accumulated and been trampled hard in the sheep pens. Straw and dry grass are also used in the little fireplaces that heat the *k'angs*. This fuel gives a quick, hot flame; though it does not last long, the sparks are drawn by the draft into the flues that run under the *k'ang*, where they set the accumulated soot smoldering, thus providing a low but relatively steady heat through the night.

352 During the winter the Monguor men, who work so
372 much less than the women, spend most of the day sitting on the *k'ang*, either at home or at a neighbor's house.
512 A primitive brazier is made by laying some bricks in a
462 circle in which earth is placed to hold the fire. On the earth is put a mixture of sheep dung, husks, and chaff.
521 This mixture burns slowly all day and is hot enough to boil tea. The men light their pipes from this glowing mixture, and sit all day long gossiping cheerfully in a haze of smoke.

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FOOD, DRINK, AND NARCOTICS

262 796 527 The diet of the Monguors is frugal. Meat, which with milk and milk products was the staple food of their nomad ancestors, has long been a luxury. Like the Chinese, they now eat meat for half a month at the New Year, on the third of the third moon, the fifth of the fifth moon, the fifteenth of the eighth moon, and the eighth of the twelfth moon. Apart from these feasts, they eat meat only at weddings, when children have been born, at funeral feasts, or when they have distinguished guests. For such feasts, a sheep is killed. In the short summer rainy season it is also customary to kill a sheep when there is rain for several days, preventing them from going out to the fields; and it is also customary to slaughter a sheep when the harvest is carried in. Meat is always boiled. Roasted or broiled meat is very seldom eaten and is not considered tasty.

[462] 231 Every family slaughters its own animals. The slaughtering is never done by women, who are expected to produce life, not to destroy it. Most Monguor men cease to do any slaughtering when they become about fifty years old, owing to the lamaistic belief that it is not fitting for a man who is approaching the time of his own death to slaughter animals, for fear of being reincarnated as an animal.

Cows, oxen, and pigs are slaughtered by cutting the throat. Sheep are often choked. Another method of slaughtering sheep—the traditional Mongol method—is to turn the animal on its back with the head pointing west, stretching the skin tight over the breast. A slit is then cut in the skin, and the butcher slips in his hand, seizes the heart, and jerks it loose. The sheep dies instantly and no blood is shed outside the carcass.

The Monguors very seldom slaughter horses, mules, or donkeys. When these animals grow old they are either sold or allowed to live until they die a natural death. [262] The meat of horses, mules, and donkeys is never eaten, nor do the Monguors allow the use of their cooking kettles for boiling such meat.

Chickens are usually killed either by cutting off the head or by thrusting a pin into the brain.

262 All Monguors abhor the meat of marmots. Marmot fat is used as a salve on the saddle sores of horses and mules, but as food the Monguors say, "Marmots are to us Monguors what pigs are to the Mohammedans."

[795] There is a small religious sect among the Monguors, known as "those who fast," the members of which never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

[272] In the morning the Monguors drink a cup of tea and eat a piece of bread when the sun has risen in the sky "to the height of a post." Salt is always put in the boiling tea. In many families only the parents and the oldest son drink tea; the other men, and all the women, drink only water with a little milk in it. (The Chinese, of course, do not use milk in tea or in any other way.)

[252] The bread is made from barley flour and is either steamed or baked. Ordinary people seldom eat wheat

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262 flour. Noodles are also made with barley flour. Another way of preparing barley flour is to roast it in a pan. Not much millet is eaten. Linseed oil and colza oil are used in cooking. Each family has its own grindstone, mills its own flour and bakes its own bread.

[264] After the morning cup of tea and piece of bread a breakfast of noodles is eaten about nine o'clock. Tea and bread are taken again at noon. The main meal of 252 the day is eaten in the evening. It is prepared by slowly stirring barley flour into boiling water, sometimes with the addition of potatoes and flour made from dried peas. A little oil is always added to this mixture. Vegetables are eaten as relishes or side dishes, usually after being fermented in a mixture of brine and a little vinegar. This method of pickling provides the salt in the diet and makes the salt (which is expensive because of local taxes) go further. Each family plants its own vegetables, but fruit has to be brought from the city or bought from peddlars.

A special sweet dish is made by gathering ears of barley in July, before they are fully ripe, and steaming them. Unlike the Chinese and in keeping with their Mongol traditions, Monguor women milk the cows and sheep and make butter; but because they do not have enough livestock, butter is a luxury and is eaten only by the elders. Another luxury dish is made by kneading sugar into dough, shaping the dough into small rolls, and cooking them in boiling oil. These sweet rolls are a luxury because the sugar has to be bought.

264 Although there is nothing complicated about Monguor cooking, men seldom prepare food and all work in the kitchen is done by the women. Cleanliness and neatness are prized. Women wash their hands every time they enter the kitchen and the elders are always reminding them to be clean lest the god of the hearth punish them and their children be deprived of blessings. The children eat from wooden bowls, each child having his own. Grown up people often use bowls made of earthenware or rough porcelain, but in many families the only bowls are those locally made of poplar wood. After each meal everybody licks his own bowl clean before it is taken back to the kitchen. Some people however, in the Mongol manner, always keep their wooden bowl with them in the breast of their gown, taking it out whenever they drink and eat. The bowls are never cleaned except by licking. Chopsticks are used, but there are no spoons, forks, dishes, or table knives. At dinner time it is amusing to see each mother urging everybody—especially her own children—to take more food and to see how a child will draw its finger across its throat as if cutting it, saying "Oh mother, by Buddha I can eat no more."

273 The Monguors distill liquor from both barley and wheat. Although there are commercial distilleries, as has already been mentioned, most families distill their own liquor. This liquor, though it is distilled and not merely fermented, is always called "wine." It is drunk

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273 [733] at New Year and at weddings, funerals, and other festivals. The women do the distilling. Drinking too much is a weakness of Monguor men, and the women also like to drink a cup. As the distilling is crude, the liquor is by no means a healthy drink. In order to avoid drunken fights at the great spring and autumn festivals, liquor is drunk only at the end of the festivities.

276 Monguor men smoke all day long, using Chinese tobacco and the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl holding less than a thimbleful of tobacco. Often, instead of buying a wooden pipe stem from a peddler, the men make them for themselves, using the leg bone of a sheep. The pipe is hung from the belt, balanced by a small pouch which contains tinder and some small flints and has a steel 'keel." To strike a light, a piece of flint and a pinch of tinder are held between forefinger and thumb and struck against the steel. Women seldom smoke.

733 The practice of smoking opium has to some extent spread from the Chinese to the Monguors, and wherever there is an opium addict the whole family is sure to be ruined. Some T'u-ssu allow their subjects to raise opium, while others forbid it.

CLOTHING AND HEADDRESSES

291 For centuries the Monguors have been proud of their national costume, though it is true that in some Monguor communities Chinese clothing had become commoner than the Monguor costume by 1922. The adoption of Chinese clothing is probably due to the fact that the Monguor costume was despised by the Chinese wives of chiefs of clans and rich men. The enrollment of Chinese families in the Monguor clans has also had an influence. In 1949 the Communists, when they overran the Monguor country, forbade the wearing of the national costume—presumably as part of a policy of obliterating the separate customs and traditions of small minorities.

The traditional men's costume is much less elaborate than that of the women. The trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and are cut in the Chinese style with a loose crotch and baggy seat. It is said that in former days the men did not wear trousers at all, and even today the old men living north of Weiyuanp'u do not wear trousers under their gowns unless they are going to town.[9] Monguor boots resemble Tibetan boots, having a "shoe" made like a moccasin and a cloth leg reaching [294] to the knee. The legs of the trousers are stuffed into the boots. Sometimes the leg of the boot is embroidered. In winter some Monguors wear leather boots bought in the city.

[9] It is possible that the Monguor tradition on this subject is confused. Trousers have been part of the Mongol costume from ancient times. On the other hand, the Tibetans, especially the nomad Tibetans, do not wear trousers, and it is possible that the custom among some Monguors of not wearing trousers is due to Tibetan influence. On the subject see Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, Vienna, Verlag Herold, 1949, and Ekvall, *op. cit.*—O. L.

[p. 118a]

291 The gown is of dark blue cotton cloth, cut from the neck down and across under the right arm, and buttoned under the arm and down the side. A woman's gown opens on the left side instead of the right, and is worn hanging down to the heels. Men wear a sash or belt, keeping the hem of the gown hanging just a little below the knees, and loosening up the breast of the gown so that it provides a capacious pocket into which they stuff their eating bowls and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown roughly woven of white wool. A woman's working gown is woven of black and brown wool. Rich people wear a gown woven of Tibetan wool serge (*p'u-lu*). The ends of the men's sashes are seldom embroidered and on holidays they wear a vest or sleeveless jacket which is much less ornamented than that worn by women.

Men shave the front of the head and grow the hair at the back of the crown long so that it can be braided into a "pigtail" which is lengthened with green strings with tassels at the ends. They wear small, round felt hats.

302 A boy's head is not shaved until he is seven or eight, [858] at which time he begins to braid his hair in a "pigtail." A boy's costume is in general just like that of a man, but with few ornaments.

A man is not allowed to grow a beard as long as his parents are living. A man may begin to grow a beard when he is about the age of thirty if his parents died when he was relatively young. The growing of the beard is started on the first day of either the first or second moon of the new year. Some old men shave their heads clean when they reach the age of about sixty, and women of sixty also frequently cut off their long hair. Both men and women when they do this take vows like those taken by lamas and devote the rest of their lives to prayer in order to provide for a happy rebirth.

306 The only men who wear earrings are those who, described in the chapter on children, have received the "flower of longevity" from a maternal uncle in childhood. Later this "flower of longevity" is replaced by a single large silver earring.

Many men are fond of wearing a bracelet, but only on one wrist. It is usually a heavy copper ring, silver plated and carved with Chinese designs. Nearly all young people wear a bracelet on each wrist, resembling the single bracelet of a grown man. A man also hangs from his belt or sash a sheath containing a knife and chopsticks. Some of these are beautifully carved and ornamented with coral and turquoise.

A man's finger ring is made of two thin, small rings with a broad ring soldered outside them. A piece of coral or turquoise is set in this ring.

173 The national legends and traditions of the Monguors
291 are associated much more with the striking costumes of the women than with the comparatively simple cos-
562 tumes of the men. Some of these legends have already been mentioned. Another concerns the Li clan of Shat'o Turkish origin which claims as its ancestor the

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173 Prince of Chin. According to the legend this prince,
"blessed by heaven and all the spirits," begat thirteen
291 sons from his nine wives. Because he was fond of
562 magnificence and display, he designed a different costume for each wife, and this is supposed to be the origin of the nine main designs of Monguor women's costume to this day.

177 The significance of the Monguor national costume even in recent times is illustrated by the following story, which
648 stirred up interest throughout the Monguor country. In 1913 the Living Buddha of the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu [10] forbade the Monguor women living in his territory to wear their national costume and ordered them to adopt the Tibetan style of dress. Passions ran high against this order. Although the Monguors had for centuries supported the monastery with their offerings, they ceased to appear at the monastery festivals and began to make their offerings to other monasteries. Even the lamas of Monguor origin left the monastery and enrolled in other monasteries. The result was that the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu began to enroll Chinese novices and the whole spirit of the institution was changed.

291 The costumes of the Monguor women are much more
292 elaborate and distinctive than those of the men. Like the men, however, the women do not wear underclothes,
562 nor do they have nightgowns. Their bed is a piece of felt spread on the sleeping platform; there are no sheets or pillowcases, and at night they simply undress and cover themselves with roughly woven blankets or sheepskins.

291 A woman's trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and
562 are fastened around the waist with a rope twisted of sheep's wool. On the legs of the trousers, just below the knee, there is a hem of white cotton cloth. To this hem is sewn the lower leg of the trousers which can easily be removed and replaced, when the women go to festivals, with a leg of finer cloth or of silk or satin, embroidered in red. Ordinarily, the legs of the trousers are stuffed into the tops of the boots, but the ornamental trouser leg can be worn outside the boot. As with men's trousers, the cut is that of Chinese trousers, and the tradition is that in older times trousers were not used at all. The Monguor women of the villages north of the valleys of Weiyüanp'u and Hungnaitze wear trousers only on the coldest winter days and when they go to festivals.

462 Monguor women make their own boots. The sole is
294 made of alternating layers of blue and white cotton cloth pasted together and then stitched, the foot of the boot is made of dark blue cotton cloth, sometimes beautifully embroidered, and the legs are ornamented with patches of dark leather. The foot of the boot may also be made of black cotton cloth, adorned with green

[10] For references to this monastery, see Reginald Farrar, *On the eaves of the world* and *The rainbow bridge*, London, Arnold, 1917 and 1921.

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462 stitching. The leg of the boot is of dark blue cotton cloth and reaches to the knee. Stockings are not worn.
294 Some women pull their boots on over bare feet, others wrap their feet with long strips of cotton cloth. The designs embroidered on ornamental boots are Chinese —swastikas and other designs, and flowers such as violets, roses, or peonies.

554 The boots and the sash are important items in the trousseau of a Monguor bride—they display her pro-
292 ficiency in embroidery. Months of work go into the preparation of them, and girls learn the art of embroidering from older women. A pair of fine boots, worn only on festive occasions, is expected to last a lifetime. At festivals, if it is rainy or muddy, women can be seen walking barefoot carrying their precious boots under their arms, laughing and chatting as they trudge through the mud and putting on their boots only at the last moment. At such gatherings, boots and sashes are the articles that women compare and admire or envy; often a fine pair of boots is taken off and passed around the admiring circle of women while the proud owner modestly watches from the corner of her eyes, grace-
291 fully accepting compliments and congratulations. After the age of about forty, however, the woman puts aside her fancy foots and wears boots of a more simple style. An important part of the costume is a sort of apron which covers the chest and stomach. The upper part is of white cotton cloth, and the lower part of green cloth. The lower part is often beautifully embroidered with flowers, swastikas, or the Chinese characters signifying "longevity" and "happiness." On the lower part is sewed a large pocket in which women keep their needle cases, thread, and all kinds of odds and ends. The upper part of the apron hangs from a string around the neck, while the lower part is tied behind the back with laces.

Under her apron a woman wears a short shirt, reaching to the hips, made of red or green or violet cotton cloth. In winter this shirt is doubled and wadded with cotton or wool. Rich people wear shirts of satin or silk.

The woman's gown is a long, full robe, reaching to the heels, with wide sleeves. The front of the gown overlaps on the left side, and buttons under the left arm and down the side while the man's gown, as already described, buttons down the right side. Except for wealthy people, the gown is ordinarily of blue cotton cloth. Another gown of the same size and pattern is worn over the first gown. This outer gown is roughly woven from the wool of sheep or goats. As this wool has not been cleaned of its natural oil before being woven, it is heavy, warm, and sheds water well. In some places where the Monguor women, like Tibetan women, do not wear trousers, these two gowns are the only clothing. A girdle or sash holds both gowns in at the waist. For poor people, this is the only fastening of the gown; buttons are not used.

292 For festive dress the rough outer gown is not worn

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292 and the inside gown is exchanged for one made of finer cotton cloth, dyed dark blue, green, or violet, and long, wide extensions are sewn on to the regular sleeves. Often two or three sets of sleeves are worn, one over the other, to give the illusion that several gowns are being worn. In order to heighten this effect, each sleeve is slightly shorter than the one under it. These outer sleeves are made of three strips of cotton cloth of different colors, such as red, green, or violet. Each of these strips is separated from the other strips by narrow bands of cotton cloth of other colors, such as yellow, dark blue, or orange. To add to this display of color on the sleeves, a woman in her best clothes may wear a red embroidered collar, a pair of dark blue trousers, boots with red legs and black feet, embroidered. Under the bright blue sky of the Monguor country, and in the dry air and sparkling sunshine that prevail most of the year, this display of colors is not harsh or crude, but gives a wonderful feeling of life and happiness, especially in a large crowd gathered at a festival. When the sky is overcast, however, the display of color appears too garish; but almost anywhere in North China with its yellow loess earth, mud houses, and dust storms, the whole world appears monotonous and depressing in bad weather.

386 The old vegetable dyes formerly used by the Monguors have long been replaced by German aniline dyes, which is unfortunate because the colors rapidly fade in the bright sun. The colors also run when the clothes get wet, and consequently if a thunder shower breaks over a festival crowd there is bustle and confusion while the women take off their fine sleeves, the lower extensions of their trousers, their girdles, boots, and hats, wrap them in bundles, and run barefoot for shelter, wrapped only in their dark blue gowns. Women who have reached the age of about forty no longer wear the false outer sleeves, nor do they wear brilliant colors.

292 In festive dress, the Monguor woman also wears a skirt, of the pattern that used to be worn by soldiers under the empire. This skirt, which is handsomely embroidered, is of a pattern originally designed for horseback riding. It is slit both before and behind and hangs on the two sides of the body, swinging as the woman walks. The favorite color for festive dress is red, and the skirts of rich women are frequently made of embroidered satin or silk. At home, a woman usually wears a skirt of the same cut, but made of simple dark blue cotton cloth. While at home, a woman must wear either the gown or the skirt, and usually both; the members of the elder generation would never allow them to be seen dressed only in trousers and short jacket such as Chinese women wear.

The importance of the skirt as an ancient part of the costume is indicated by the fact that in former days all Monguor women, even those who during their lifetime wore Chinese costume, had at death to be dressed in a skirt to be laid in the coffin; the saying went that

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292 "one who is not dressed in a skirt could not confront the ancestors in the next world." According to tradition, Monguor women were allowed to wear this skirt by special favor of the emperor in recognition of the glorious days of the past when women had fought beside their husbands defending the frontiers of the empire.

The sash, as has already been mentioned, is one of the most important details of the wardrobe. When women gather together on holidays, the sash is the first article of dress that is inspected; after that come the boots. [294] The embroidery on the sash is the proof of a woman's skill with the needle. Custom demands that every girl, before her marriage, should herself make the embroidery on both ends of her sash, working under the supervision of her mother and with the skilled advice of other older women. This sash is worn for the first time at the girl's wedding, and after that on holidays. The ordinary woman has only one such sash to last her all her life. At the age of forty she exchanges it for one more simple in design.

Basically, the sash is a strip of green cotton cloth eight inches wide and twelve or fifteen feet in length. It is wound around the waist so that either both ends hang down in front, or one in front and the other at the back. Only the ends are embroidered, sometimes with a mosaic design, sometimes with flowers, or symbolic Chinese designs, or the Chinese characters for "longevity" or "happiness." Satin or silk handkerchiefs, edged with embroidery, are attached to the sash so that they hang down beside both of the hanging ends. A string of the old pierced Chinese copper cash is also attached to the sash, where it jingles like the bells on a horse as the woman walks. At home, when she is wearing her blue cotton gown, the woman wears a sash of the same material and color, without embroidered ends. If she is wearing her overgown of wool, the sash is of black wool with fringes of brown wool on both ends.

In addition to her "military" skirt, a woman also wears a waistcoat or sleeveless jacket of the kind worn by soldiers under the empire, covering the chest and back and reaching to the waist. This jacket may be made of dark blue cotton cloth, edged with black or brown velvet, or of red cotton, edged with black velvet and embroidered with gold thread. Wealthy women may wear jackets of satin or silk. The jacket worn at home is of simple blue cotton without edging. When a woman goes out to work, carrying earth or bringing back dung for fuel in a basket slung on her back, she wears a woolen jacket. Women over forty do not wear fancy jackets.

This jacket is not an ancient part of the costume. In older times, a kind of overcoat was worn, buttoned in front and reaching to the knees, with fringes at the bottom edge. These fringes were made of paper rolled into thick, hollow sticks, with tassels of silk thread at the ends. On the back of this coat was attached a small flag, also adorned with fringes. The silk handkerchiefs

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299 hanging beside the ends of the sash now take the place of this flag, while the jingling of the string of copper coins take the place of the rustling noise formerly made by the tasseled paper strips.

The following description of the costume of the Miao women of southern and southwest China shows many striking resemblances to Monguor costume:

> All the collars are usually so loaded with designs and embroidery in all shapes and all colors that it is difficult to see the color of the fabric. The sleeves, similarly are covered with bands of fabric of different colors, sewn on in flounces from the wrist to the elbow. In some tribes the boys wear as many flounces as the girls. Among the White Miao the skirts have no ornamentation whatever except pleats, but in most of the other tribes they are hidden under embroidery done in colored thread, patterns made with wax [11] and a multiplicity of bits of fabric of various colors sewn on to the skirt. The Miao women make all these embroideries . . . they all know how to embroider, cut clothes, and sew . . .[12]

302 Even more important for a Monguor woman than her clothes are her hair and her headdress. Hair as black as ebony is the most admired. Many Monguors have a reddish tinge in their black hair, but women consider this a blemish. The way of doing the hair and the headdress are strictly ruled by tradition. When a girl marries out of her own group, she must adopt the coiffure of her husband's group.

There are a few exceptions to this rule. In the subprefecture of Maopeisheng there are groups of Monguors who settled as "colonists" from overcrowded regions. The tendency was for groups coming from the same region to settle together. When new brides go to these colonies, they are allowed to wear the coiffure of their group or origin for only three days—a sort of affectionate and touching farewell to the past—after which they must adopt the local fashion. Among the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, of Shat'o origin, where denationalization has gone farthest, sometimes as many as three different ways of doing the hair can be seen in the same family. I have heard Monguors of other clans criticizing the Li T'u-ssu for not doing his duty in keeping up the traditions of his clan in this respect.

291 Under the empire, Chinese women in this part of
292 China never wore hats. Monguor married women, in contrast, always wear a hat, even at home. Not only do the elders insist on the observance of this tradition, but other people would laugh at a bareheaded woman. At home a small, round felt hat is worn and on holidays a special hat, different for each group. Only when a woman has left her husband's house for a visit at her parents' home is she allowed to go without a hat—a sentimental privilege giving her parents the illusion of seeing her again as she was before she was married. In contrast with this custom is the fact that a woman who

[11] This reference is to a method of making patterns, leaving part of the fabric exposed and covering part of it with wax to prevent the dye from reaching it.—O. L.

[12] Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, as cited.

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291 has passed the age of forty and would not ordinarily
292 continue to wear her ceremonial hat on festive occasions will, if her parents are still alive, continue to wear it for a few more years in order to give her parents the feeling that they have not reached extreme old age. In such cases, the woman also wears for a few extra years her fancy extra sleeves and the other showy parts of her costume. After the death of her parents, however, all this finery is put away forever, and she wears only the small felt hat.

291 There are nine different styles of hairdress and hat,
302 each peculiar to one Monguor group. The spellings given below are taken, in simplified form, from the phonetic transcriptions in *Dictionnaire Monguor-français*, by A. De Smedt and A. Mostaert. The basic term for the Monguor woman's headdress is *niudar*, and according to these authorities its etymology appears to be obscure. It may be from an old word for "head," or from a word possibly meaning "bridle."

1. *rdziämu niudar*. This style is called "the Chinese style," from the Tibetan word *rgyami*, "Chinese." The Monguors explain that in early times this style was peculiar to the Monguors, but that it was adopted by the women of the first Chinese colonists who settled in the region. This explanation is reasonable enough, since nowhere in China do women arrange their hair in this way. The foundation of this headdress is made by cutting strips of black or dark blue cotton cloth six inches long and three inches wide, which are pasted together to make a stiff board a quarter of an inch thick. While this board is still wet and soft, it is stretched over a convex tile to give it a curved shape. A hole is cut in the middle of this board.

To dress the hair, a lock is first combed down from the forehead. The rest of the hair is combed straight back to the nape of the neck, twisted loosely, and tied with red string. The tress of hair from the back of the head is then brought up to the top of the head, twisted together with the lock of hair from the forehead, fastened with red string, and passed through the hole in the pasteboard "crown," and twisted into a "bun." Several pins three inches long are stuck through this "bun" to hold it. It should be noted here that Monguor women neither shave their forehead nor pluck their eyebrows as Chinese women used to do.

With this headdress there goes a pair of earrings which are made as follows: from the hole pierced in the ear there hangs a silver hook. To this is soldered a small plate representing the head of a tiger, from which hang five small chains. To these chains is soldered a plate with flower designs, from which hang seven small silver chains. The weight of the earring is held up by a string running back of the ear.

This headdress is used by the women of the valley of Lumen, near the sub-prefecture of Xienpei. The rest of the costume that goes with this headdress consists of

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FIG. 4. Huari Niudar. Front and back views of a poor Monguor widow with her two children. She wears the headdress called "Huari Niudar." Note details: shield, spear, disc, red strings, shells, corals, etc.

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a long blue gown reaching to the knees, a sleeveless jacket, blue or violet trousers, Chinese socks, and instead of boots a kind of shoe with long upcurving toes. The men of this group dress in the Chinese fashion but still wear the Monguor felt hat. The group contains subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu who still speak the Monguor language, but at the time that I was in the region they were rapidly being assimilated to the Chinese. It is worth noting that, although the women of this group do not wear the "military" skirt or the shield and spear described below, they are convinced that the way in which they do their hair is the original, ancestral style of the days of Chingis Khan.

2. The *Huari niudar* (or *Barbardzin niudar*, "crested hat"). This is the style worn by the women of the region of Huari, north of the Hsining River. First, a lock of hair is combed down from the forehead. The rest of the hair is parted in the middle, and made into two braids, one on each side of the head. The ends of these braids are tightly tied together with red string. A ribbon of black cotton is tied around the head. Another ribbon of the same material goes over the top of the head, and the forehead lock is tucked back into it. The rest of this headdress is made as follows:

A head is roughly molded of clay and strips of cotton cloth are pasted on this mold, to form a pasteboard skull-

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291/302 cap. A high, semicircular brim is pasted on the forehead of the cap. Strips of red, blue, green, and white cotton fabric are then pasted on the crown. A tassel of thin red strings is pasted in a semicircle across the crown of the cap, from side to side. Behind this tassel, small copper rods are set in semicircles. A hole is made in the crown of the cap; when the cap is set on the head, a ribbon is braided into the forehead tress, pulled back under the cap, brought up through this hole, and rolled into a small bun. Two long pins are pushed criss-cross through the bun, and the bun is then covered with an inverted copper cup, transfixed by a large horizontal pin. This cup and pin represent the shield and spear of the warrior. Thin red strings attached to the pins under the cup are looped up and attached to the "spear" pin. At the back of this headdress there is a disc, made by pasting pieces of cotton cloth together, trimmed around the edge with pieces of cloth of different colors and encrusted with shells, pearls, mother of pearl, corals, and turquoise, imitation and genuine. This disc is held firm to the skullcap by red strings.

The earrings that go with this headdress are large and heavy. To the hook that hangs from the ear is soldered a plate with a dragon, tiger, or flower design. From this plate hang silver sticks or pins. To prevent these heavy earrings from tearing the ears, their weight is held up

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by a ribbon which is attached to the ribbon going around the head, and each earring is attached to the other by a chain encrusted with coral or pearls which passes under the chin.

This headdress is worn by the women of the valleys of Hungnai, Shuhmo, and Ch'angsha. At home, these women wear a hat representing only the upper part of the headdress, without the ornaments.

3. *T'oguäan niudar* (*T'ukuan niudar*). This headdress, worn only by the women of the region under the jurisdiction of the T'ukuan Living Buddha, is the same as the one just described, with the exception that instead of the semicircle on the forehead there is a three-pronged pasteboard fork. The earrings that go with this headdress are the same as those described above.

FIG. 5. Huari Niudar. A rich Monguor woman in home dress, wearing the Huari Niudar or "crested headdress," but without the encumbering disc on the back. She wears the winter jacket, wadded with wool or cotton, and is proud of her motherly sleeves.

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4. *Sge niudar* ("great" or "honorable" headdress). The mold or skullcap for this headdress is made as previously described. On the top of it is pasted a miniature winnowing basket, for which reason this headdress is also known as the "winnowing basket" headdress. In front, there are tassels of red thread, and at the sides are fringes of red thread. In the middle of the front of the headdress there are pieces of glass or porcelain and one or two rows of pieces of shell or coral. At the back are eight movable copper plates, which are taken off when at home. In the middle of these eight plates are the historic miniature shield and spear, from which hang red threads. Under the shield there is a small crescent shaped cushion, held by the ribbons which go around the head. This cushion is covered with black yak hair. Whenever a woman goes to a festival, she puts hemp oil on this cushion to make it shine. This cushion is called "the heart of the hair." As in numbers 2 and 3 described above, there is a strong ribbon going around the head and a central ribbon from the forehead to the nape of the neck. A small braid is plaited from the forehead lock, to be attached to the ribbon going over the top of the head, and the remainder of the hair is parted in the middle and combed over the ears in graceful waves. The ends of the hair falling over the ears are twisted together, tied with a ribbon to the forehead braid, and brought up through the hole in the skullcap to form a bun, which is covered with the "shield" and fixed with the "spear."

With this headdress is worn a collar woven of tamarisk twigs, covered with red cotton cloth to which are sewn shells and corals. The earrings are the same as those described under number 2. A red shirt is worn with this headdress. Instead of copper, rich people use a silver shield, 8 silver plates, silver pins, and silver earrings. Ordinarily, this headdress is given to a girl at the time of her marriage by her parents. It is worn up to the age of forty. To protect the headdress women always carry with them a large piece of cotton cloth to wrap around their heads in case of rain. When a woman dies, this headdress is offered to a monastery. It is sold by the monastery at public auction, and prayers are said for the dead woman according to the price at which the headdress has been auctioned.

This headdress weighs six or seven pounds (four or five Chinese *chin*), and the women who wear it walk like living statues; when they talk together, they move their heads slowly and majestically.

5. *Dziou niudar* ("needle headdress"). This headdress is like the one just described, except that the eight plates around the shield are smaller, and that a set of large copper pins forms a sort of halo around the shield. This headdress is worn by the Nima women of Lungwu and the Tsanskwor region.

6. *Sgulong niudar* ("rain-spout" headdress). This headdress is the same as number 4, except that the "winnowing basket" is depressed between the two side

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FIG. 6. Sge Niudar, the "great" or "honorable" headdress. The woman in the middle is of Tibetan origin but enrolled in a Monguor clan. She wears the simple Tibetan costume. The two on each side are Monguor, wearing the elaborate Monguor costume and the monumental "great" or "honorable" headdress. The photograph shows the pattern of the jacket, the double set of sleeves, the sash, the collar with shells and corals, and the enormous headdress described in the text.

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291 bunches of hair, and is level with the "shield." It is
302 worn by the women of the region of Areche, west of Weiyüanp'u, by those of Ch'ichiarechu, and those of Machiarechu of T'assu, near Weiyüanp'u.

7. *Yu niudar* ("disc" headdress). This headdress is the same as number 4, except that the cushion covered with yak hair is replaced by a small disc adorned with pieces of shell and coral.

8. *Ndziäsc niudar* ("plow" headdress). This headdress is again the same as number 4, except that its dimensions are smaller. The red fringes in front are longer. Formerly, the eight plates were worn at the back, but in recent times they have been replaced by a piece of red cotton cloth. The two tresses from the sides of the head and the small tress and ribbon from the forehead are fastened together at the nape of the neck around a small piece of wood, tied with red strings, and passed through the skullcap so that they hold it in place. The "shield" and "spear" are pinned to the knot of hair that comes through the skullcap.

Special earrings are worn with this headdress. They are made of silver in the shape of a *Z*. The lower part

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291 of the *Z* is passed through the lobe of the ear and then
turned up to hook into the upper part. It is said that
302 this is the primitive design of all Monguor earrings, and
there is a tradition that such earrings were formerly made
of bones. It almost seems that they might be a relic of
the neolithic period before metal was used.

9. *Sogmu niudar* ("Mongol woman's") headdress, from the Tibetan *sogmu*, "a Mongol woman." This way of doing the hair, preserved among only one of nine Monguor groups, is that which most nearly resembles, in essentials, the Mongol style of hairdress. The hair is parted in the middle of the head and braided in two plaits which hang down in front of the shoulders on the chest. Each braid is wrapped in a sheath which reaches nearly to the knees, and the sheath is both held in by the sash and buttoned to the gown to keep it firm. The sheaths worn on holidays are embroidered. A small round felt hat goes with this headdress, which is used by the women of Patsasanch'eng and of the valley of Hualin.

302 Anthropologists often overlook the psychological im-
291 portance of customs and costumes. It seems to me that
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in spite of the poor materials used by the Monguors, the clumsiness of the headdresses, and certain childish aspects of the festivals at which these costumes are paraded, it is important to realize that all this display, pathetic though it may seem, brings happiness to the people, especially the women. Whenever I attended festivals in the Monguor country I could not but notice the atmosphere of joy and happiness, especially among the women. The holiday and the opportunity to display their costumes gave them psychologically a reinforcement of their self-esteem, and when they went home they were better able

FIG. 7. Sge Niudar, the "great" or "honorable" headdress. Back view of the costume shown in fig. 6, showing the historical shield and spear, the eight movable plates, the cushion forming the "heart of the hair," and the tassels and fringes.

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291 to cope with the routine of their ordinary lives as the
302 result of a day of real happiness. At the festival they had felt and acted as if they belonged to the most beautiful and happy people in the world. Proud as peacocks,
182 they had walked smiling through the throngs as if they were queens. They had listened with pleasure to the jingling of the strings of copper coins hanging from their sashes; they had been delighted by the fluttering of the silk and satin handkerchiefs hanging by the embroidered ends of their sashes. They had enjoyed the fragrance of the strong musk perfume on their garments, and they had been admired and congratulated.

291 Unmarried girls are not dressed as gaudily as the married women. They wear blue cotton trousers, the attached lower legs of which are made of red cloth. Their blue cotton boots are embroidered with Chinese designs, usually of flowers. They wear the long gown of violet, green, blue, or red cotton cloth, with an apron over it. The hem of the gown is decorated with red cotton stitching. The collar is always of red cotton, and is embroidered. The sash is a piece of red cotton cloth, without embroidery. The sleeveless jacket is of green, blue, or red cotton trimmed at the edges with red stitching. Unmarried girls wear their hair in a small "bun" on top of the head, bound with red cord and covered with a shell. The rest of their hair is braided in two plaits, bound together at the neck with red cord and covered with a short sheath decorated with shells. Unmarried girls never wear hats. In winter they cover their ears and the side of their foreheads with a strip of red cotton cloth.

301 Both married and unmarried women wear bracelets, sometimes three or four pairs, and silver rings on the fourth finger of each hand—sometimes three or four rings on the same finger. The rings are sometimes of plain silver and sometimes set with coral or turquoise. Unmarried girls wear only small, simple rings in their ears. The earlobe is pierced in the spring on the day of the festival of the ancestors.

Both men and women often wear a reliquary on the
778 chest, made like those worn by Mongols and Tibetans, often of silver, containing bits of writing from Tibetan scriptures, and sometimes miniature Buddhas.

HANDICRAFTS AND ORIGIN OF ARTISANS

463 There are, of course, no large scale industries among the Monguors. Most of their necessities can be bought either in the Chinese towns, or at the monastery festivals or the fairs that are held at the time of the clan assemblies. The handicrafts that are found among the Monguors themselves are limited to weaving, felt making, the making of fur coats, and the work of silversmiths. In addition there are a few carpenters and stone cutters.

286 The Monguors spin their own woolen yarn. Men, women, and older children spin when they have nothing else to do, drawing out the threads from a handful of

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286 wool and spinning them with the aid of a clay spindle. Grown men spin while they are walking and boys while they are watching the herds at pasture.

The weaver is a professional who is invited to visit a household that has laid by a supply of yarn. He loads the pieces of his portable loom on a donkey, and works for a daily wage. He also makes sacks of goat hair. Sometimes he works in his own home, with yarn that is brought to him. For this kind of work, the yarn is weighed and the price is fixed according to the amount of yarn that is brought by the customer and the measurement of the cloth to be delivered. Since the yarns are spun by children and adults, at all times of the day, and are very irregular, the fabric produced from them is used to make working gowns and jackets for men and women and is extremely coarse and primitive. It sheds water well, since the wool has not been washed in hot water and the yarn retains its natural fat.

287 Felt making is also the work of professionals. For this a kind of screen is used, made of reeds. The screen is laid on the ground and the loose wool is piled on it. Each layer of wool is wetted down with hot water. The screen is then rolled up with the wool, and this bundle is then rolled back and forth for a long time in order to mat the fibers together. The felt is then dried in the sun and is ready for use. The same artisan makes, from fine selected wool, the round felt hats that the Monguors wear. When the round piece of felt has been made and is still wet, it is stretched over a mold to form the hat.

281 The preparation of the furs used by the Monguors is a household industry. The sheep and goat skins are washed, the fat is scraped off, and the skins are dried. They are then steeped in an earthenware jar containing a mixture of salt, flour, and the yeast that is used for fermenting wine, in the proportions of one handful of salt, one pound of flour, and one brick of yeast for each skin. The steeping lasts for fourteen days in the summer or twenty-one days in winter. When the steeping has been completed, the skins are washed in the river, dried in the shade, and are then ready for use. Coats made of such skins are cut and sewn by a professional artisan at the home of the Monguor customer.

326 Silversmiths make earrings, bracelets, finger rings, and the plates, cups, and pins that are used for the headdresses. They also make the sheaths that hold knife and chopsticks. The work done by Monguor silversmiths can always be distinguished from that done by Chinese, but as their work is done for a small population, it is bound to remain on a very small scale.

467 In spite of the fact that the Monguors, as subjects of
651 their own T'u-ssu, are exempt in general from Chinese demands for corvée labor, in recent years carpenters and stonecutters who make millstones have been affected by these demands. The Chinese officials make their demands on the professional guilds; the individual worker is not paid for such work, and his guild must pay him when he has been summoned for unpaid official work.

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FIG. 8. Spinning handicraft. Two girls of Monguor origin, whose parents had attached themselves to a group of Tibetans enrolled as subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu. They wear the Tibetan clothes typical of the Huari region north of Hsining. The elder girl is spinning thread, which passes over a hook at the end of the stick thrust into her collar at the back of the neck. She keeps a bundle of wool in the bosom of her gown and from it twists the yarn which is rolled on to the spindle which she holds in her left hand. The thread then passes over the hook of the stick, to stretch and straighten it. The younger sister is fluffing a bundle of wool to prepare it for her elder sister.

467 Monguor artisans engaged in such work must perforce
651 join the Chinese guilds when they are summoned to work on official buildings.

The shamans are also affected by the need for asso-
756 ciation with a guild. Whenever there is an eclipse of
177 the sun or moon the shamans are likely to be summoned to the nearest Chinese town to help, by their incantations,
467 with the "liberation" of the sun or moon. In this they are associated with the Chinese Taoist priests. I knew of one case in which there was a quarrel between the shamans of two Monguor villages. They brought their disagreement before the chief of the religious corporation, a Taoist priest, who settled the matter.

462 The question of the origin of specialized artisan crafts is an interesting problem. In the case of the Monguors, most work is done in the household and there is little need for specialized skills. When there is such a need, moreover, most people cannot afford to hire a skilled craftsman to come from a Chinese town. These con-

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462 ditions offer opportunities to the kind of man who is clever with his hands and with tools. As such a man usually works for people who live in the same village or are members of the same clan, what usually happens is that the "clever" friend is invited to come over to lend a helping hand. A large part of his reward is in the opportunity to show his superior skill. When the job has been done he is invited to dinner, or if he is a poor man he is given some grain. Such opportunities are not enough, however, to enable a man to become a full-time specialized artisan.

Two Monguor artisans, self-made men, gave me the clue to the answer to this problem. "If there were no rich people," they said, "and above all if there were no monasteries in our country, we could never have been able to make a living as artisans; we would never have been anything but helpers. Because of the monasteries and the rich people, however, we are able to work all the year round and to take on apprentices." For this kind of artisan employment, rich people and monasteries provide the materials and the artisan provides only the special skill in using the materials.

463 A youngster who is handy with tools and wants to be-
874 come an artisan invites two elders of his village to go with him at the New Year to see the artisan to whom he wants to apprentice himself. He presents the traditional "scarf of felicity" and two pieces of meat. The elders stand as surety for his obedience and honesty. He makes nine prostrations to the master artisan and promises obedience. A contract is then signed by the guarantors, the master artisan, and the boy. The period of apprenticeship is usually three years, during which the apprentice lives at the home of his master and in addition to learning his trade works, without pay, at all kinds of odd jobs, such as preparing his master's food, and working in his fields in the busy times of sowing and harvesting.

After three years, if the master is satisfied, the apprentice prepares a sheep and wine and invites his master, his two guarantors, and the former apprentices of his master to a feast. He presents his master with a gown or a pair of trousers or boots, prostrates himself nine times and receives from his master a set of the tools of his trade. He is then himself a master-artisan, and although he still has to work another year for his master, he is now paid for his work. For the rest of his life he feels indebted to his master and bound to help him whenever asked.

415 One of the minor industries engaged in by Monguors
313 is the manufacture of wooden bowls and small wooden boxes. The wood used is poplar, which is turned on a
[322] lathe and then coated with oil. Another small-scale occupation is the making of charcoal. Monguors living near forests belonging to lamaseries pay the monastery for the right to cut trees from which they burn charcoal which they take to the towns to sell. Other Monguors buy trees as they stand in the forest, cut them, and saw

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415 planks. Some of these planks are cut to the standard measurements for making coffins, and sold in the towns.
313 Another woodworking trade is the making of pack saddles for donkeys, mules, and oxen, which are sold either in the towns or at fairs.

THE CITY BECOMES THE CENTER OF ECONOMIC LIFE

177 At the end of this chapter it is interesting to consider from what center originated the new economic life of
369 the Monguors, how it developed, and what were the repercussions on the social organization of the Monguor clans, as they evolved away from pastoralism. For nearly four centuries the economic life of the Monguors was fraught with insecurity and calamities, and deprived of the peace that is the first requirement for social welfare. Indeed the economic conditions of the Monguors and of the whole country improved only when the Ch'ing dynasty secured peace, and this improvement depended on the vitality of commerce. No trade of real importance had been able to coexist with insecurity on the roads, since trade requires normal and regular transportation facilities and a safe access to the outlets of commerce. For the center of a developed economy a city is required. In this case the city was Hsining, with its group of professional merchants from all over China, associated in guilds according to the Chinese custom.

177 The prefectural city of Hsining is advantageously situated on the river of the same name, a tributary of the
369 Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou, the capital of the province. Hsining is also on the road from Peking
632 to Lhasa and India. It was the seat of the political and
[487] military administration of the country, and the merchants settled there because it was a fortified and garrisoned city. Under the older order in China important concerns maintained their headquarters in major cities and sent their agents to less secure secondary towns and villages to open branch offices.

177 The merchants of the city monopolized the whole commerce of the country. They sent out their agents to buy
369 up as much grain, oil, and wine (alcohol) as possible;
441 they bought the products collected by peddlers; their agents pitched their tents at lamasery fairs and festivals
467 and at clan diets, to provide people with groceries, cloth, silk, and hardware. The small shopkeepers scattered over the country bought their wares from the wholesale merchants in Hsining. The guilds enjoyed the privileges of trading with the nomad caravans, which had to stop and unload at their inns in order to sell their merchandise, and to buy through them the things they wanted, such as flour, oil, and cloth.

Farmers were not allowed to sell flour, oil, and other products directly to the caravans. They had to go through the guild of the *Hsieh chia*, those who controlled the "rest places." Thus the guild alone controlled the trade in the high-priced furs and other articles carried

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177 by the caravans. Only the guilds of large towns, like
369 Hsining, had connections with the guilds of other cities
441 and could afford the cost of sending boats and rafts to
467 Lanchou, the capital of Kansu. In this way the entire economy was dominated by the city merchants. The fair and festival centers never grew to the extent of themselves becoming important cities, because they were unable to attract permanent merchants, since the attendance of the people was only seasonal and there was no permanent security. These local fairs merely provided the farmers at certain dates with their peculiar usual necessities of life.

177 Merchant activity provoked deep repercussions in the
369 Monguor society, whose nobles and commoners, during
441 centuries of disorder, had lived a rather precarious ex-
651 existence, their economy being limited by the boundaries of their clans and the production only of necessities within their own small groups. Both the economic and the political organization of the Monguor clans had been founded exclusively on the possession of territory. Taxes, corvées, military service, and the administration of justice had been rooted in the ownership of territory by the T'u-ssu, the commoners being affected in a peculiar and disadvantageous way. The collection of the taxes of certain villages by the "houses" of the nobles had, however, been reduced to negligible significance after four centuries, and the financial conditions of nobles and commoners had become more equal. Some of the commoners, who were more numerous than the nobles, had become richer than the best of the nobles, and rivals in wealth even of the T'u-ssu. Since wealth and riches are equated, in Asia, with prestige and authority, it is no wonder that members of the commoner group were easily accepted to fulfill the offices of chiefs and elders in the villages, and that the administration of the villages passed into their hands. In this way the new economic conditions tended to equalize, and perhaps even to reverse, the original social inequality between nobles and commoners. Under the peace and order of the Manchu dynasty, the city merchants were protected. Headstrong and daring young men followed the caravans to Lhasa and made money by selling mules and horses. Monguors could open small shops in the countryside, and invest capital, in association with the Chinese merchants, in oil and flour mills. Fishermen could venture to Kukunor, and others to burn charcoal in the mountains or saw planks to sell in the city. Peace provided the opportunities for taking risks in commerce, and the focus of these opportunities, which transformed both the economic and the social life of the Monguors, was the city.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

624 At the end of this study of the origin and organization
175 of the Monguor clans, their constituent elements, their chiefs, their internal rights and obligations and the actual administration and family and economic life, it is perti-

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nent to review the political character of the T'u-ssu institution, and the reasons for its decay.

There can be no doubt that the T'u-ssu institution was regarded by the rulers of the Empire, whether they were Chinese or Manchu emperors, as a makeshift. The institution of the T'u-ssu as "wardens of the marches," as it had existed under the Mongols, was elaborately established under the Ming dynasty, after 1368, when the main forces of the previous rulers, the Mongols, had been driven out of China but were still dangerous enemies beyond the frontier. The new Chinese rulers were only too glad to accept the submission of the chiefs of small frontier tribes who were willing, in exchange for the continuation of their local powers and privileges, to defend the frontier against their own kinsmen, the Mongols, and against the Tibetans. The device was one familiar to the Chinese tradition of "using barbarians to control barbarians."

Although the Monguors repeatedly proved themselves loyal defenders of the frontier, they had thereafter to contend against a counter-process. Any empire, in exact proportion to the efficiency of its centralized administration, prefers to exercise direct control of its frontiers rather than to depend on vassals who have some degree of local autonomy. Consequently, whenever the central power in China was strong, it tended to take advantage of local dissensions among its frontier vassals in order to deprive them of their privileges and to bring them under direct administration.

The policy of the Chinese empire on its frontiers had always been to absorb barbarians and to make Chinese of them if it could. Until 221 B.C. when the famous Ch'in Shih-Huang unified China for the first time, both Chinese and barbarians lived in tribes under a feudal regime. Ch'in Shih-Huang abolished this regime and organized China under *Chün* and *Hsien*. This was the first radical administrative revolution in China bringing "provincial" subdivisions under a "metropolitan" central administration. People living in the *Chün* and *Hsien* were considered to be Chinese. People still living under a tribal regime were considered to be "barbarians." At the beginning of the Han dynasty, in 202 B.C., the *Hsien* in which Chinese and barbarians lived together, governed by the same Chinese officials, were called *Tao*. Wu-Ti, emperor of the Han dynasty from 140–86 B.C., after his conquests which brought many new barbarian frontier tribes under Chinese rule, tried to make Chinese of them and to include them within the Chinese administrative regime of *Chün* and *Hsien*. His system did not work for long. Intermittent dynastic revolutions, and the numerous and bloody changes of dynasties which lasted for seven centuries, enabled the barbarians to reestablish their old feudal regimes along the northern frontiers. Under the T'ang dynasty, from A.D. 618 to 906, administrative units called Chi-mi Hsien were organized, in which the tribal chiefs served as Chinese officials but were allowed at the same time to administer their tribes

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according to their old customs. They received official appointments from the emperor, and had to bring tribute to him every year or three years, and were granted titles to indicate their feudatory status. The Yuan or Mongol dynasty (1280–1368) allowed non-Chinese "barbarians" to govern themselves according to their own tribal customs. The Ming (1368–1644) at first followed this precedent, appointing tribal chiefs and allowing them to govern their own tribes; but Chinese officials were sent to examine the tribal chiefs and their administration, troops, taxes and corvée systems from time to time. Later they appointed Chinese civil officials, whenever possible, attaching them to the tribal leader who held military command. Among remote tribes this mixed system did not work well, but the next step was to abolish the regime of the hereditary chiefs, hoping by this means to bring division in the tribe and to enfeeble it with every appointment of a new chief. Finally, when this system also did not work well, a ministerial order was given to avoid the word "hereditary" in the official request for the appointment of the new chief. By this device a son was prevented from succeeding his father, unless he presented a fixed sum to the high officials in order that they might overlook the formally enacted law. The Ch'ing dynasty continued the policy of the Ming.[1]

It is clear from this historical sketch that the Chinese empire, whenever it was strong and enjoyed internal peace, tried to absorb autonomous barbarian territorial units and frontier chieftains. It tolerated them only when and where it was unable to absorb them. The T'u-ssu institution may, therefore, certainly be regarded as a device that the Chinese of the Ming dynasty adopted for the defense of the frontier only because they had to. Not confident of their ability to establish direct Chinese rule and administration in Mongolia, their intention was to build up a buffer between themselves and the Inner Asian world of Tibet, Turkistan, and Mongolia. They were content, therefore, to accept the submission of individual frontier tribes which were unable to combine with each other in a strength sufficient to threaten China, but were able to supply small, separate contingents of good warriors to screen and defend the frontiers. The chiefs of such tribes they were willing to reward with honors and military titles; they were equally ready, however, when no danger threatened from beyond the frontier, to depose these border chieftains, to bring their lands under direct Chinese taxation, and their subjects under immediate Chinese jurisdiction.

It is a remarkable fact that the institution should have survived for six centuries. The reason must be that the Ming dynasty was weak along the frontiers during its first decades, and again in the period from 1509 to its fall in 1644, and had to depend on auxiliaries. Under the Manchu dynasty the T'u-ssu were valuable to the

[1] Lung Shun-sheng, Article in Chinese on the T'u-ssu institution, in *Frontier Affairs* 2 (11–12), printed in Chungking during the war, 32nd year of the Republic, 1943.

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175 624 Manchu policy, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of preventing unity among the Eastern, Northern, and Western Mongols. In the nineteenth century, as the dynasty became less Manchu and more Chinese in its characteristics, the T'u-ssu were honored by the court in distant Peking, and were kept loyal and complacent by gifts and grants of honors—a policy ancient and widespread in the Orient.

Practically, the main factor in prolonging the survival of the institution was the feudal right of the T'u-ssu to prevent their subjects from leaving their territories, aided by the fact that because Chinese officials were unable to levy direct taxes on Monguors, life was on the whole somewhat better in Monguor territory than in territory under Chinese administration. As these factors later came to be equalized by the combination of the decreasing power of the T'u-ssu and their increasing exactions from their subjects, the most obvious phenomenon of the breakup of the T'u-ssu institution was the ability of subject Monguors to abandon their T'u-ssu with impunity and move into territory under direct Chinese control.

177 563 Among the disruptive factors within the Monguor society the most powerful was the enrollment of Chinese and Tibetans in the Monguor clans. The Tibetans were culturally more akin to the Monguors than the Chinese, and easily adopted the Monguor costume, traditions, and language; but their matrilineal kinship system undermined the patriarchal clan structure of the Monguors. The Chinese, on the other hand, penetrated the Monguor society without being absorbed by it. When a Chinese asked for the protection of a Monguor T'u-ssu and enrolled in a Monguor clan, it was for the deliberate purpose of making the best of two worlds. His object was not to become a Monguor, but to escape both the taxes that he had to pay to the Chinese authorities and the taxes that, as a Chinese resident or trading in the Monguor community, he had to pay to the Monguor T'u-ssu. With their strong Chinese devotion to their own clans and clan ancestors, such Chinese were unwilling to go so far as to accept the clan name of the T'u-ssu. They tended to continue to regard the Monguors as barbarians, and to resist the adoption of the Monguor costume and language. At the same time they pushed themselves forward in the administration of the villages in which they lived and the clans to which they had become attached, and in so doing their influence was naturally in the direction of the Chinese way of doing things and the Chinese way of thinking.

The infiltration of the Chinese trend of mind into the Monguor family system and social structure was promoted most by those Chinese who became elders and chiefs of villages and officials and secretaries living in the immediate surrounding of the T'u-ssu, drafting and executing his orders to his subjects and discussing administrative topics with him. All official documents were written in Chinese, and in all administrative discussions and meetings the Chinese language prevailed.

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177 In cases where the Chinese authorities eventually deposed
563 a T'u-ssu and took his territory and its population under direct Chinese administration, Chinese who had long been domiciled among the Monguors naturally became prominent people under the new dispensation. Thus it is plain that even though the Chinese civil officials were appointed by the T'u-ssu themselves, and not by the higher Chinese authorities, their influence promoted the process of the absorption of the Monguors by Chinese culture.

In the disintegration of the old Monguor society the personal example of the T'u-ssu themselves had a great effect. In the long period of relative peace and stability along the froniter under Manchu rule, the T'u-ssu ceased to receive fresh increments of prestige in their old capacity as military commanders and "wardens of the marches." They, therefore, naturally began to turn toward the standards of prestige accepted in the settled Chinese population. It became usual for T'u-ssu to marry the daughters of rich Chinese officials, or the half-Chinese daughters of other T'u-ssu who had married Chinese. There was thus introduced into the households of the T'u-ssu a Chinese "fine lady" point of view; these ladies despised the costume of the Monguor women as barbarous, they did not learn the Monguor language, their children received a Chinese home education and were sent to Chinese schools, and it thus became more and more common to find T'u-ssu who were unable even to speak with their subjects in their own language. Following the fashion set by their chiefs, many Monguors married the daughters of Chinese domiciled in the clan or Chinese from outside, and as this custom spread a great many Monguors in all the clans came to be ashamed of their Monguor extraction, repudiated their origin, and professed to be of Chinese origin.

177 Still another disruptive factor was that many T'u-ssu,
563 by mortgaging parts of their territories to Chinese merchants and to lamaseries, as security for loans, lost control over the revenue from land taxes. Under these con-
426 ditions they still retained the power to requisition corvée labor services; but the exercise of this power emphasized the contrast between the privileges of the chiefs and the obligations of their subjects, and weakened the bonds of loyalty that had once united the nobility and the commoners.

624 In the meantime, the T'u-ssu institution was also be-
661 coming corrupt from within. As the administrative system of the clan was so closely geared to the institution of the corvée, or obligatory labor and services, and military power depended on unpaid conscription, only a few officials received allocations of land, the income from which served as salary. The majority of the minor officials depended on bribery for their cash income, there being unlimited opportunities for bribery in the collection of land and other taxes in the form of gifts from families and individuals who wanted to be excused from compulsory services. Since it was profitable to hold such

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624 661 an official position, there was bribery also in the competition for official appointments, and thus the whole administration of the Monguor clans became thoroughly corrupt. The taxable body came to be regarded as a melon to be sliced. Apart from what was absorbed in the lower ranks through corruption, all revenue collected was the perquisite of the T'u-ssu himself. Since nothing was done for public welfare, there were no schools, there was no budget for education, nor was there any expenditure for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of administrative buildings, because all such work was done through the levying of obligatory labor. Monguor carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans in addition to unskilled labor were available through the institution of obligatory labor services.

177 563 During the process of the disintegration of the Monguor society, it remained none the less a going concern up to a certain point. As long as the T'u-ssu retained more than a certain minimum of power and wealth, it was to the advantage of the Chinese officials to cooperate with them in certain ways. Up to this point, therefore, the individual Monguor, even though he suffered from the decay of the society of which he was a part, found it impossible to escape and strike out for himself. If he tried to leave his village and settle in Chinese territory, the Chinese officials would return him to the jurisdiction of his hereditary T'u-ssu. Once the wealth and influence of the T'u-ssu had declined below the minimum, however, it was no longer worth the while of Chinese officials to cooperate with them. At this point the Chinese began to abolish or override the privileges of the T'u-ssu, to take the Monguor districts under their direct administration, and to treat the Monguors in the same way as Chinese. An example of this changing attitude of the Chinese officials has already been referred to in the case of the impoverished Chao T'u-ssu who was unable to afford the expenses of investiture and promptly had his office discontinued. An earlier case was that of the Ch'en T'u-ssu, a supercilious and over-confident man who was so oppressive in his demands for taxes and corvées that he was impeached before the Chinese court by his own subjects, about the year 1875. His territory was confiscated, his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects, and he lost both the office and the title of T'u-ssu.

The Yeh T'u-ssu who did not fight the Muslim rebellion had his territory confiscated, was deposed, and he and his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects.

The latest news I have had from Hsining since the new Communist rulers of China have taken possession of that region is that the T'u-ssu institution has been abolished, that the Monguor women and men have been ordered to change their peculiar Monguor style of dressing and to adopt Chinese costume, and that orders have been given to establish schools in the Monguor villages under Chinese teachers devoted to the new ideology. The two-thousand-year-old Chinese instinct for absorb-

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177 ing neighboring tribes and making Chinese of them
563 seems still to linger in Chinese minds, no matter what the official ideology may be. It will not be long before all the Monguor clans will have been "sinized," leading to their disappearance as a distinct people, and in the future very little will be available about the origins, institutions, traditions, and customs of the Monguors.

There remains an aspect of the life of the Monguors with which I have not here dealt, which is quite as interesting and peculiar as the social, family, and economic aspects; this is the religious life. Lamaism, shamanism, and practices and beliefs which seem not to belong to either of these two religions played a part of overwhelming importance both in the life of private families and in community life. In a later volume I shall deal with these aspects and their social impact on the Monguors.

APPENDIX

THE SHAT'O TURKS

175 Although a Shat'o Turkish stock is an important component of the Monguor people, a survey of their history will help to clarify the differences, as well as the similarities, between Turks and Mongols.

About 540 the Juan-juan, identified by Pelliot with the Avars and considered by him to have been, in their language at least, early Mongols rather than Turks,[1] controlled the vast sweep of country from the western fringe of what is now Manchuria to Turfan, in Sinkiang, and from the Great Wall of China to the Orkhon River in Outer Mongolia and the southern tip of Lake Balkhash in Turkistan. The tribes of Turkish stock called by the Chinese T'uchüeh were then subject to the Juan-juan. "T'uchüeh" probably represents a plural form of the Juan-juan name for these people: Türküt. The habitat of these Turks centered on the Altai Mountains, and they were well known for their metal working. The Kaochü, who have been identified with the Tölös, were their strongest tribe.

The Juan-juan were weakened by a feud between their ruler, whose name has come down in the Chinese sources as Anakui, and his uncle P'olomen. After several revolts, beginning in 508, the T'uchüeh overthrew the Juan-juan in 552. The Juan-juan retreated to the frontier of North China, where they took service under one of the short-lived dynasties that preceded the founding of the great T'ang dynasty in 618.

The name of the successful T'uchüeh leader has come down in the Chinese transcription as T'umen, but its Turkish form appears to have been Bumin. His success was due to the support of another Chinese frontier dynasty, that of the Toba Wei, itself of barbarian and probably Turkish origin. He died almost as soon as the

[1] The following summary is based on René Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 124 *sqq.*, Paris, Payot, 1939. Grousset drew on the original researches of Pelliot, Chavannes, Thomsen, F. W. K. Müller, Marquart, Shiratori, and others.

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victory was won and this led to a partitioning of the new Turkish domains between his son, Muhan, who received what is now Mongolia, and his younger brother, Istämi (Shihtiehmi in Chinese transcription), who received the territory to the west and south of the Altai. This was the origin of the Eastern and Western Turkish Khaganates. In good nomad style, wars continued both within these khaganates and between them.

Among the Western Turks the most important tribes were the Tölös, who have been identified with Kaochü and have also been identified as the ancestors of the Uighurs; the Syr-Tardush, and the Karluks; less important were the Ch'umi tribes on the Manas River in Sinkiang, the Ch'uyueh tribes west of Lake Barköl, and the small Chuhsieh tribes who were called Shat'o because they lived in the desert (*shat'o*, "sandy slopes").[2]

There are a number of errors and confusions in the standard Chinese histories dealing with this period, the Old T'ang *History*, the New T'ang *History*, and the Old *History* of the Wu Tai or Five Dynasties (the period of disruption and war that followed the fall of the great T'ang dynasty in 906). I therefore translate here a short commentary by Ou-Yang Hsiu, devoted to the Shat'o, which is to be found in ch. 4, pp. 10 *sqq*. of the Ponapen edition of the *Wu Tai Shihchi*, a supplement to the *History* of the Five Dynasties, of which he was the principal compiler:

> Those who for generations have lost their history are numerous. Is that the fault only of the official historians? The ancestors of the Li family originated among the Western Turks. Their proper designation is Chuhsieh. Later generations changed this to Shat'o, but they used Chuhsieh as their surname and [recognized] Panyehku[3] as their ancestor. The authors in their own preface say that Shat'o is the desert of Peit'ing [Beshbalik; the region of Urumchi or Tihua in Sinkiang]. When T'ai Tsung [627–649] of the T'ang dynasty broke up the tribes of the Western Turks, he assigned the people of T'unglop'uku to that desert and established there the *fu* [administrative district] of Shat'o and made their ancestor Panyehku Tutu [governor]; and he passed this office to his offspring for many generations. They were all Tutu of Shat'o. For that reason later generations adopted this designation.
>
> When I examine the history, all these sayings are wrong. The barbarians I and Ti [traditional Chinese classifications of "barbarians"] have no surnames [clan names]. The designation Chuhsieh is a tribal name. Panyehku was a man contemporaneous with the Chuhsieh and he was not the ancestor of the Shat'o. During the reign of T'ai Tsung there never existed a *fu* of Shat'o. When T'ang T'ai Tsung broke up the Western Turks and reorganized their tribes, he established thirteen *chou* [administrative districts] and appointed T'unglo to be Tutufu of Ch'iulin, P'uku to be Tutufu of Chinwei, Panyehku to be Tutufu of Yulu. There never existed a *fu* of Shat'o.

[2] Such, at least, is the clear traditional Chinese explanation of the name. For the possibility that "Shat'o" represents the name "Sart," see Mr. Lattimore's Introduction.

[3] E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, Collected works of the Orkhon expedition, 352, St. Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, 1903, suggests that this is probably not the name of a man but that of a tribe, the Yer-Bayirkou.—O. L.

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175 At that time among the western tribes the Ashihna of the Yent'o tribe of the Tölös were the most important. Among the other tribes there were the tribes of T'unglo, P'uku, Panyehku and others; these, more than ten in number, were smaller than the tribe of Ashihna, and there were also the tribes of Ch'uyueh and Ch'umi which were still smaller. Chuhsieh was the name of another division of the Ch'uyueh tribe; in 648 it has submitted to Panyehku.

In 649 Holu of the Ashihna revolted.[4] In 651 the Ch'uyueh and Chuhsieh tribes, having been left to one side looking on at the rebellion, followed Holu in revolt and fought on the Old Mountain and were defeated by the general Ch'ipiho. Thereafter they vanished and did not appear again. After 150 or 160 years, during the reign of the emperor Hsien Tsung [806–820] there were Chinchung and his son Chihi of the Chuhsieh tribe who presented themselves to China and called themselves by the [tribal] name Shat'o, having the surname of Chuhsieh. Shat'o is the name of a desert, south of the mountain Chinsha and east of the lake Barköl. Because the Chuhsieh of old lived in that desert they were called Shat'o Turks; but because the barbarians have no script for recording and because the Chuhsieh were a small tribe unworthy of record, later generations lost their history. When the grandson of Chinchung received the gift of the [T'ang dynasty imperial clan] surname Li and the family of Li later became famous, then the barbarians regarded the Shat'o as a noble race.

Such is Ou-Yang Hsiu's rectification of the record of the identity of the Shat'o, their origin, and their former habitation.

The next question is when and why the Shat'o came to China and submitted to the T'ang empire. The following is the account given in the *Wu Tai Shihchi*, Ponapen edition, ch. 4, p. 1:

During the reign of the emperor Te Tsung [780–804] Chinchung of the Chuhsieh tribe lived in the *chou* Chinnan near Beshbalik. During the period Cheng Yuan [785–804; part of the reign of Te Tsung] the T'ufan [Tibetan] Tsanpu [possibly a Chinese transcription of Tibetan *gyalpo*, "king,"—O. L.] attacked and took Beshbalik [in 790]. He transferred Chinchung to Kanchou, using him to hold that city. Later Tsanpu was defeated by the Uighurs. Chinchung with his son Chihi went eastward. Tsanpu, angrily pursuing them, caught up with them at the Stone Gate Pass. Chinchung fought and died, and Chihi alone went on to submit to the T'ang, who quartered

[4] In Grousset, *op. cit.*, 150, this chieftain is called "a khan of the Tulu," and the passage dealing with him is referred to E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, cited above, 32–38, translating passages from the Old T'ang *History*; but in fact the passages cited by Chavannes support the source here translated by Father Schram. In Grousset, the name of the general who defeated Holu is given as Su Ting-fang (adjusting the French transcription to the usual English transcription); but reference to Chavannes supports the "Ch'i-piho" (see below) of Father Schram's source. The discrepancies are explained by the fact that Grousset's text is a condensation. There was a khan called Tulu, but Holu was not "a khan of the Tulu"; there was, as in Father Schram's source, a general named Ch'ipiho (given by Chavannes, *op. cit.*, 34, as K'i-pi Ho-li), who was in the service of the Chinese, though he was a Turk; Chavannes gives K'i-pi (Father Schram's Ch'i-pi) as his tribal name; and there was, finally, a general named Su Ting-fang, as given by Grousset, but he appeared later in the story.—O. L.

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him at Yenchou [the modern Yenan] under the command of Fan Hsi-ch'ao, the Tiehtushih of Hohsi ["West of the River"; i.e. west of the north-south course of the Yellow River, where it separates the present provinces of Shensi and Shansi.—O. L.]

It was Chihhsin, the son of this Chihi, who received from the T'ang emperor the grant of the surname of Li, with the personal name of K'o-chang. His son, in turn, was the famous Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin, whose son Li Ts'un-tsui founded the ephemeral dynasty of the Later T'ang (923–936).

In the New T'ang *History*, ch. 143, pp. 1*b* and 2*a* of the Ponapen edition, more details are given of the flight of Chinchung from Kanchou and the arrival of his son Chihi in Yenchou. This account first narrates how the Uighurs plundered the Kanchou region and made it insecure, and how the distressed Shat'o tried to evade them, and continues:

During the period Cheng Yuan [785–804] the Shat'o tribe, of seven thousand tents, joined the T'ufan and with them marauded against Beshbalik and took the city. The T'ufan transferred the Shat'o to Kanchou, using Chinchung as their leading military advisor. When the T'ufan pillaged the frontier regions of China, they always used the Shat'o as vanguard troops. Some time previously the Uighurs had taken Liangchou, and the T'ufan, suspecting Chinchung of ambiguous behavior (for he had not helped to prevent the capture of the city), decided to transfer the Shat'o to the outer side of the river.[8] The whole Shat'o tribe was distressed and frightened. Chinchung of the Chuhsieh tribe, conferring with [his son] Chihi, said: We have, for generations been officials of the T'ang emperors, and unfortunately we have fallen into the present difficult situation [by dealing with the Tibetans instead of acting as frontier defenders of the T'ang empire in China]. If we went to the frontier gate of Suchou [Hsüchou] and submitted ourselves to the emperor there would be no danger of our race being exterminated. This, said Chinchung, is the right way. In 808 the whole group, consisting of thirty thousand people, set out, going by way of the Wutehchien [Uruken] mountains and then to the east. The T'ufan pursued them. They fought as they went, along the river T'ao. As they advanced toward the Stone Gate they fought without respite. The tribe was nearly exterminated. Chinchung died there. Chihi, gathering together the wounded soldiers, who numbered only two thousand, and seven hundred animals and a thousand camels, arrived at the frontier at Lingchou. When the Tiehtushih Fan Hsi-ch'ao heard the news of their arrival, he ordered that their tribe be settled in Yenchou.

A glance at the geography of Kansu is enough to reveal an ambiguity, if not a serious contradiction, in the accounts that have come down to us about this migration of the Shat'o.

[8] Kanchou, at this time held by the Shat'o, stands to the northwest of Liangchou, and therefore should have served to shield Liangchou from the attacks of Uighurs coming from still farther to the northwest, in the present Sinkiang province. Kanchou stands, moreover, just to the east of several headwater streams of the Etsin Gol, which flows northward into Mongolia. The penalty proposed by the Tibetans, of moving the Shat'o to the "outside" of this water barrier, meant that they would thus be made more exposed to any raids by hostile Turkish kinsmen of theirs from Central Asia.—O. L.

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1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 According to the New T'ang *History*, Chinchung suggests to Chihi "if we went . . . to Suchou." This would have meant going northwest from Kanchou. It would have brought the Sha'to to a point on the upper course of the Etsin Gol. At this point they could, as suggested in the account, have made themselves useful to the T'ang dynasty as guardians of a critical frontier point on the classical trade route leading to Turkistan; or, turning to the northeast along the Etsin Gol, they could have set out for the Utuken mountains [6] in Mongolia—and most historians have taken it for granted that this is what they did; or—and this conforms most nearly to the text—they could have started northeast toward the Utuken mountains and then, swinging to the east and again to the southeast (not mentioned in the text), have reached Lingchou, in the great Ninghsia oasis on the Yellow River.

Against this group of alternative possibilities there is the fact that by starting first in the direction of Suchou they would have directly challenged the Uighurs, by whom they were already menaced. Still more contradictory of a migration route through Suchou is the mention, in the same account, of the Sha'to fighting their way "along the river T'ao," which is exactly in the opposite direction from Kanchou, i.e., far to the southeast. The identity of the T'ao is unmistakable, in both medieval and modern times. It flows from the Tibetan plateau on the southern frontier of Kansu, flows past the important cities of Old and New T'aochou, and then turns north to flow into the Yellow River. Both historical accounts (New T'ang *History* and Ou-Yang Hsiu) also mention a Stone Gate; and there is a celebrated pass in the T'aochou region that still goes by that name. If the Shat'o migration went through T'aochou, the logical route would have been from Kanchou south into the Nanshan ranges, by what is still the main caravan route, which I myself have traveled many times, through Pientuku and over the Obo pass,[7] traversing the territory of the ancient Little Yüehchih where, as we shall see below, Shat'o were mentioned as living in 939, and southeast past Hsining to T'aochou. Then, following the course of the T'ao River back to the Yellow River, they would have reached Lingchou.

Although this route would have involved a detour to the south, its general course would have been east, since Lingchou is east and only a little to the south of Kanchou; and this southern detour would have been much less out of the way than the northern detour through Mongolia. In support of the view that the actual route of migration was that over the mountains to the T'ao River it can be argued that this route would have taken

[6] Paul Pelliot, Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie centrale; III: Le mont Yu-t'ou-kin (Ütükän) des anciens Turcs, *T'oung Pao* 26: 201, 1929. The name of these mountains in its present Mongol form is Otkhan Tengri, "Fire-lord Divinity."

[7] For stage-by-stage accounts of routes in this region, see Eric Teichman, *Travels of a consular officer in north-west China*, Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1921.—O. L.

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them away from the Uighurs, whom they were trying to evade, and that they would know the route well because of the recorded fact that they had served as vanguard troops of their Tibetan overlords in raiding Chinese territory. For thirteen years, from 792 to 805, as recorded in the Old T'ang *History*, ch. 146, pp. 11–12, they had pillaged most of the cities and important villages between T'aochou and the region of Lingchou, Ninghsia, and Yenchou, driving off cattle, stealing women and girls, and making themselves a scourge.

The foregoing analysis was written before the publication of Eberhard's valuable study of the structure of "conquest dynasties" in China, which contains an important chapter on the Shat'o Turks.[8] Eberhard adheres to what may be called the orthodox acceptance of the Utuken migration of the Shat'o; but, as will be seen below, there are considerations that make it possible to reconcile to a certain extent the Utuken version and the T'aochou version of the Shat'o migration, as recorded in the chronicles.

The next mention of the presence of the Shat'o, not as migrants but as living in the very country in which their Monguor-amalgamated descendants now live, is also to be found in the *Wu Tai Shihchi*, ch. 74, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*. In 938, after the fall of the T'ang dynasty, the king of Khotan in Chinese Turkistan (the present Sinkiang) sent to the emperor of the Later Chin, an ephemeral dynasty of Shat'o Turkish origin in North China (as will be seen below), a delegation with "tribute," consisting of products of his country. The emperor in return sent a mission of three ambassadors of whom one, Kao Chin-hui, wrote an account of his journey. The mission left Lingchou in January, 939, and was back in China by the winter of 942. In the desert between Lingchou and Liangchou he passed a night at the tent of a chief of the Yüehchih tribe. The mention of this tribal name is in itself remarkable, as the Yüehchih, a powerful tribe in the time of the Earlier Han dynasty, 202 B.C.–A.D. 8, had after that time virtually vanished from the pages of Chinese history.

Arriving then at Kanchou, he wrote:

> The Uighurs occupy the country. A [few] hundred *li* distant in the Nanshan [south] of Kanchou is the old country occupied during the Han dynasty by the Little Yüehchih; here there live other tribes, called Shat'o of the Luchüehshan [mountains], and they are said to be descendants of the Chuhsieh tribe.

Kao Chin-hui's note in passing is extremely important, because it establishes the presence, in the tenth century, of Shat'o Turks in the very region where their Monguor descendants now live, maintaining the tradition that their ancestors came to this region in the T'ang dynasty and that their chiefs are descended from Li K'o-yung. The text is one that has frequently been

[8] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers: social forces in medieval China*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1952.

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175 noted. Rémusat translated it *in extenso*.[9] Stein emphasized its geographical and archaeological importance in relation to the ancient trade routes of Central Asia.[10] Chavannes also noted the importance of surviving remnants of the Little Yüehchih,[11] but his frame of reference did not call for comment on the Shat'o.

For the purpose of a study of the historical origins of the Shat'o element among the Monguors, however, this text is of primary importance. It is indeed remarkable, in view of the attention that has been paid to other Shat'o groups, that so little note has been taken of the group here mentioned and geographically identified.

If there were Shat'o Turks in the region between Hsining and Kanchou in 939, how long had they been there and how are we to suppose that they got there?

We may take, as a point of departure, the fact that after the fall of the T'ang dynasty in 906 Northwest China was for a brief time under the control of two successive dynasties of Shat'o Turkish origin, the Later T'ang, 923–936, founded by the son of the Shat'o warrior Li K'o-yung, and the Later Chin, 936–946.[12] During this period contingents of Shat'o tribesmen might well have been sent to the Hsining country; it was known to be splendid pasture country, and the Shat'o knew of it from their own tribal history. There is moreover a lingering tradition among the Shat'o-Monguors that Shat'o tribesmen had been sent to this region by Li K'o-yung to take care of the breeding horses for the cavalry of the dynasty which, through his son, he was about to found. The tradition is reasonable in view of the fact that Chinese dynasties always set aside special pastures for the breeding of cavalry mounts—usually frontier pastures, because of the lack of pasture land where Chinese agriculture flourished.

After the opening of the tenth century, China, and especially North China, passed through a "time of troubles" that endured for three and a half centuries. It is true that from 960 to 1260 (in North China, or part of North China) or 1280 (in South China) the great Sung dynasty flourished; but even at the height of its power barbarians ravaged the Great Wall frontier, and

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[9] A. Rémusat, Histoire de la ville de Khotan, Paris, 1820.

[10] M. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan* 1: 178, London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1907; the same, *Serindia* 3: 1129, n. 15, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1921, with references to E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue*, and to Ritter, *Asien* 2: 212, 1822–1859, who in turn cites Antoine Gaubil, Suite de l'abrégé de l'histoire chinoise de la grande dynastie T'ang, *Mémoires concernant l'histoire des chinois, par les missionaires de Pékin* 16: 156, Paris, 1779–1814.

[11] E. Chavannes, Les pays d'occident d'après le Wei-lio, *T'oung Pao* 6: 519, 1905.

[12] Eberhard, *op. cit.*, 90–91, stresses a point that is important for the understanding of such short-lived dynasties founded by military adventurers: Li K'o-yung commanded not more than 10,000 soldiers, from which Eberhard reasons that "the whole Shat'o population could not have been much more than 100,000 men." This minority, he continues, "reigned over 19,000,000 Chinese families or 53,000,000 people; the Shat'o were not even two per cent of the population!"

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175 most of the time the Sung were really a Yangtze and south of the Yangtze dynasty. It would not be impossible that the Hsining Shat'o horse-breeding nomads were able to maintain themselves all through this period of turmoil in their relatively out-of-the-way pastures.

A second possible hypothesis would be that the Hsining Shat'o mentioned in 939 had not in fact been stationed there by Li K'o-yung at or just before the founding of the Later T'ang dynasty, but were remnants who had only recently fled there after the fall of that dynasty. If this view should be correct, it would mean that the "Li K'o-yung" tradition of the Monguor-Shat'o is a later invention—of a kind with many parallels in the histories of migrating peoples. On the other hand a strong argument against this hypothesis is that if the Shat'o had only recently come to the Hsining region where Kao Chin-hui found them in 939 he would have been likely, representing as he did another Shat'o dynasty, that of the Later Chin, to mention the fact.

Still a third hypothesis may be suggested. It lacks the support of any continuing legend or tradition among the Monguor-Shat'o themselves, but it is wholly in the line of the history of nomads. The Shat'o were a loose federation of tribes. At the time that they fled from Kanchou in 808, some of them may have given up and surrendered to the pursuing T'ufan Tsanpu, who allowed them to settle in the Hsining region, while the main body broke through to the T'ao River and from there made their way to Lingchou on the Yellow River. On the whole this hypothesis is the most reasonable one, because it would also allow for the corollary possibility that some of the Shat'o also broke away in the opposite direction, reaching first the Utuken Mountains and eventually Lingchou. This supposition would allow us to reconcile the conflicting mention of an Utuken line of migration and a T'ao River line of migration for the flight of the Shat'o from Kanchou.

We have next to account for the relationship between the Shat'o and the Mongols who conquered China in the thirteenth century. We have no explicit records mentioning the Shat'o between 939 and the expulsion of the Mongols from China and the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368. We do have, however, in the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 46, the explicit statement concerning the first outstanding Shat'o group that

> Li Nan-ko, a Hsifan [a term for barbarians on the border of Tibet], descendant of Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin of the T'ang dynasty, holding the office of T'ungchih in the *chou* of Hsining [under the Yuan], submitted at the beginning of the Hung Wu period [1368–1398] and was granted the hereditary office of Chihhui chienshih.

Concerning the second major Shat'o group it is recorded in the same source (ch. 42, p. 38) that

> Li wen, [nephew of Li Nan-ko], held the office of Tutu chihhui t'ungchih under the Yuan dynasty. He submitted at the beginning of the Hung Wu period and was granted [the continuation of] his former office.

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175 From these notices the inference is clear that the Shat'o chiefs had been held in high esteem by the Yuan or Mongol dynasty and had been granted important frontier offices. There are moreover clear reasons for a benevolent attitude toward the Shat'o on the part of the Mongol rulers.

Although there is such a long gap in the record of the Hsining Shat'o, we have records of two other Shat'o groups. After the fall of the two Shat'o military dynasties in the tenth century, the Later T'ang and the Later Chin, one group of Shat'o remained in the north of the present Suiyuan province, in the Yinshan range on the edge of Inner Mongolia. Another settled in the south of Kansu province, on the T'ao River. At the beginning of the twelfth century these Shat'o were transferred to Manchuria by the Chin dynasty, barbarians from Manchuria who conquered North China, and later were allowed to join the Yinshan Shat'o. This whole Shat'o group later became known as Onguts, a tribal name from *ong*, Mongol corruption of the Chinese *wang*, "prince."

Pelliot established that both the T'ao River Shat'o-Onguts and those of the Yinshan were Nestorian Christians.[13] Lattimore discovered a ruined city in Inner Mongolia, just north of the Yin-shan, with archaeological evidence of Nestorian occupation.[14] Martin, exploring this site, also found other Ongut cemeteries,[15] and commenting on these Ch'en Yuan noted that one of the tomb tablets established for the first time that a member of the famous noble clan of Yehlü, of the Khitans, had been the administrator of these Nestorians.[16] Still more cemeteries in the same region were then discovered by Henning Haslung-Christensen, the Danish explorer, and Grønbech, a member of his expedition, showed that the inscriptions on the tombstones were in the Turkish language of the Onguts, written in Syriac script.[17] In this connection it is worth noting that there is no trace of Nestorianism among the Shat'o-Monguors of the Hsining region. The cemeteries of the ancestors of the T'ussu are on the Chinese pattern, and the tombstone inscriptions are in Chinese only. It is true that there are records of Nestorians in Hsining;[18] but the Shat'o of this region were fervent Buddhists. It was they who built the Ta Fo Ssu (Great Buddha Temple) in the city of Hsining, the only building of a temple or monastery

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[13] Paul Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'extrême orient, *T'oung Pao* **15**: 623–644, 1914.

[14] Owen Lattimore, A ruined Nestorian city in Inner Mongolia, *Geographical Jour.* **83**: 481–497, London, 1934.

[15] H. Desmond Martin, Preliminary report on Nestorian remains north of Kueihua, Suiyuan, *Monumenta Serica* **3**: 232–249, Peiping, 1938.

[16] Ch'en Yuan, On the damaged tablets discovered by Mr. H. D. Martin in Inner Mongolia, *Monumenta Serica* **3**: 250–296, 1938.

[17] K. Grønbech, Turkish inscriptions of Inner Mongolia, *Monumenta Serica* **4**: 305 *sqq.*, 1939.

[18] H. Cordier, Le christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale sous les Mongols, *T'oung Pao* **18**: 59, 1917.

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175 in Hsining recorded during the period of Mongol rule.

The history of the Hsining Shat'o and those of Inner Mongolia can be joined up in the following manner. In 1201, when the ruler of the Naimans, in the present Outer Mongolia, was organizing a coalition against Chingis Khan, the chief of the Onguts of the Yinshan, Alakush Tegin, although a vassal of the Chin dynasty, warned Chingis of the coalition and offered to march with him against the Naimans. In gratitude, Chingis Khan sent him a present of 500 horses and 1,000 sheep. The Naimans were defeated in 1204, and in 1206 Chingis made Alakush a prince of the new empire he was founding and also gave his daughter, Alaghi Beki, in marriage to Poyaoho, son of Alakush. In 1219, when Chingis invaded Khorezm, he was accompanied by Poyaoho.[19] From then on for at least three generations princesses of the Mongol imperial line were given in marriage to the descendants of Alakush. A grandson of Alakush, the Prince George, was converted from the Nestorian heresy by John of Montecorvino.[20]

We are thus entitled to assume that when Subudei, one of Chingis' greatest commanders, invaded Hsining in the course of the campaign in which he took Lanchou in 1226,[21] he was delighted to find there kinsmen of the Shat'o-Onguts who were already allies and vassals of the Mongols, and that it was easy to take over the Hsining Shat'o as favored vassals of the Mongol dynasty on the Tibetan frontier.

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF LAMA BUDDHISM

Since completing the writing of this volume and while preparing the material for the subsequent volume on the place of religion in Monguor life I have realized that certain aspects of the history of the establishment and diffusion of Buddhism in the Monguor region should have been mentioned in this volume, as they explain why rapid economic development and growth of population in this region began only after the suppression of the revolt of Lobsang Dantsin and the Lamas in 1723.

Until 1723 this region, called Huang Chung, had been unsuccessfully colonized several times by Chinese settlers as an adjunct to Chinese garrisons. These attempts had failed because of tribal wars and frontier inroads. The population had remained thin, and its components had frequently changed and moved. The Ming dynasty, beginning in 1368, had settled Chinese colonies and posted Chinese garrisons in only a few localities, controlling the rest of the region by accepting the allegiance of the Monguors under their various T'u-ssu.

792 175 In order to promote the adherence of non-Chinese tribes and the allocation of them to permanent terri-

[19] Summarized from H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan and his conquest of north China*, 85, 101, 133, 237. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950.

[20] Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale, as cited, especially p. 631.

[21] Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan*, as cited, 290–291.

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tories, the Ming authorities granted special favors to Lamas who encouraged the tribes to submit to China. Most of these Lamas at that time belonged to the Red sects and were married, and could be granted hereditary titles and domains. They were also encouraged to found monasteries which had special functions in administering the tribes and collecting the tribute that symbolized Chinese rule. In my subsequent volume the names of the Lamas and tribes will be established from the Chinese sources.

Under this Imperial patronage Lamaism flourished luxuriantly under the Ming dynasty and continued to expand under the Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty. The monastery of Erh-ku-lung, founded in 1604, established forty-two subordinate institutions during the ensuing 119 years, and the monasteries of Sha-ch'ung and Kumbum followed the same pattern. North of the Hsining River the number of Lamas was very large in proportion to the thin frontier population. By 1723 Erh-ku-lung was inhabited by 2,500 Lamas. Of its satellite monasteries, Seerkōk had 2,000; Chiebsang 800; Ch'i-chia-ssu 700; T'ien-t'ang-ssu 700, and Shih-men-ssu 700, while smaller satellites had from 10 to over 100. South of the Hsining River the monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, founded under imperial patronage at the very beginning of the Ming period, had more than 950 Lamas in the main monastery and its satellites. The figures for Kumbum are not recorded for that period, but must have been of much the same order, because 300 Kumbum Lamas were beheaded in 1723.

The absorption of a high proportion of the male population by these monasteries had a serious effect on the productivity of the region which should be taken into account in addition to the losses caused by frontier insecurity. Men who became Lamas were not only withdrawn from production but had to be fed by the depleted population. We may look also to this loss of manpower as an explanation of the eagerness of the T'u-ssu to enroll in their clans Tibetans and Chinese to till their domains, found new families, and above all pay the land taxes.

At the same time the influence and power of the lamaseries competed destructively with the authority and

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wealth of the T'u-ssu, whose subjects frequently moved in large numbers to become "disciples" tilling the land of lamaseries which offered them more favorable terms of tenantry. Such considerations helped to explain why in 1723 the T'u-ssu so willingly helped the Chinese military expedition which crushed the revolt of the Lamas. Even before this, in 1591, T'u-ssu forces had taken part in the burning of the famous temple built in Kukunor by Altan Khan in 1576 at the time of his meeting with the Dalai Lama.

Nor is it surprising to learn from the Chinese sources that the Chinese officials exulted over the crushing of the revolt and the promulgation of new imperial regulations curtailing the excessive power and influence of the Lamas. Hints can be found that the local Chinese officials held a grudge against the "barbarian" Living Buddhas whom they despised but whom it had been the policy of Peking to honor and favor, and against the lamaseries which had become possessors of large domains whose tenants were exempt from compulsory services and whose rents were exempt from taxation. There is no doubt that a dangerous situation had developed in the ranks of the impoverished T'u-ssu and the discontented Chinese officials.

Economically, the wealth that flowed into the granaries and treasuries of the monasteries was removed from circulation and did not provide surpluses for trade; it was either consumed, or hoarded, or used to found new Lama communities, and was not even used for charitable grants to the lay population. At the same time, the rest of the community suffered from lack of labor to expand agriculture and production. The economy inevitably shrank until it produced scarcely enough for its own consumption; there was no surplus left to stimulate trade and the growth of cities.

Thus the sociological and economic history of Lamaism in the Monguor region can be summarized by saying that under political patronage its growth was artificially stimulated, with the result that it expanded so fast that it disrupted both the economic system and the social structure of the country, making improvement and progress impossible.

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113, 175 Historical Turkestan RL2

[For information pertaining to the history of the Shat'o Turks on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, see 1: Schram, AE9 Monguor, category 116.]

2: Schram M-4, 5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

Marriage among the T'u-jen of Kansu (China)
/Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kan-sou (Chine)/

by L. Schram

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Three Mongols of Koko Nor (Sining).
Young T'ou-jen daughter-in-law of a Tibetan family.
An Ing-iang Sien-cheng Chinese.
Young T'ou-jen married woman in festive dress. Front view, back view.
Plan of a T'ou-jen courtyard on the day of a wedding.
Young T'ou-jen woman in festive dress. Front view, back view.
Lamasery of yellow lamas of Eul-kou-loung.
T'ou-jen lama, his superior and his servant.
T'ou-jen widow with her two daughters. Front view, back view.
Two Tibetanized T'ou-jen girls.
A T'ou-jen with his son.
Rich Sinicized T'ou-jen widow.

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/1/

Introduction

101 This study deals with marriage among the T'ou-jen /T'u-jen/ of Kansu. The T'ou-jen in question occupy the north side of Sining River, in the prefecture of Sining and the subprefecture of P'ing-fan (Lien-tch'eng).

114 We hope to have this monograph followed by others, which will deal with the history of the T'ou-jen, their religious, social, and political life. Our sources for the history of this people are the great history of China, the chronicles of the towns of Kansu, and the family chronicles of one of the most powerful T'ou-jen groups, which extend over a period of more than five hundred years; our sources for the ethnology are the notes collected during the course of about ten years spent in T'ou-jen country.

144 162 Of the T'ou-jen of whom we write one group is very probably of Turkish race, and the other, without doubt, as of Mongol race. The first, of the clan of Li t'ou-se, are said to be /2/ originally Cha-t'ouo /Sha-t'o/ (1) who immigrated to the region in the T'ang period

1. Aur. Stein, Serindia, Vol. 2, p. 1129: Kao-chu-hui, when describing the journey along this border, of the Chinese mission which started from Khotan in 938, tells us: Kan-chow is the camping place of the Hui-ho (Uigurs). The mountains which are about 100 li to the south (direction of Si-ning; the principal habitat of the T'ou-jen is four days from Kan-chow /Kan-tcheou/) are the territory where in the time of the Han dynasty there resided the ancient people called the little Yueh-chih. There is a race different from this people called Cha-t'ouo from the mountains of the deer forest. They are said to be descended from the Ch'u yueh race (ex. Rémusat, Ville de Khotan /City of Khotan/;

/2 cont'd/

144 162 Chavannes, Turcs Occidentaux /Western Turks/). The Cha-t'ouo to whom Kao-chu-hui's relation refers here, were a tribe of the western Turcs first settled in early times to the east of Barkoul, and after A.D. 808 transferred to the northern borders of Kan-sou, for the sake of protecting them from inroads. /Cited in English, with one interpolation in French indicated by underline./

(620-905); the chronicles of Sining confirm this tradition. The last group came to live in the area either in the Yüan period (1280-1368) or the Ming (1368-1644).

101 197 These two groups speak the same language today, called Monguor by them. The language is very archaic; it reflects the Mongolian of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. [113] Let us call to the attention of those who are interested in the question of the T'ou-jen language the study of Fathers Mostaert and De Smedt published in Anthropos, XXIV-XXV, "Le dialecte monguor, parlé par les Mongols du Kan-sou occidental /The Monguor Dialect, spoken by the Mongols of Western Kansu/." The grammar and the dictionary are in press.

The Cha-t'ouo of whom we speak are then Mongolized today. It should be pointed out that the notions of race and language are subject to caution.

622 648 The T'ou-jen, subject to China, have kept their autonomy under chiefs of their race, recognized by China and called t'ou-se. The Chinese Republic, from its beginning, has shown itself hostile to this autonomous administration and has tried to treat the T'ou-jen as Chinese, subject to the jurisdiction of the mandarins of the place.

177 The ways and customs of the T'ou-jen, although influenced by the proximity of the Chinese and the Tibetans, have remained relatively pure. They reveal many a secret of their former social organization and of their nomadic life of yesteryear.

/3/

115 The speech extracts which appear in the present study have
191 been furnished by a T'ou-jen master of ceremonies who was accustomed to preside over the marriage ceremonies in the region. The fact that nearly all the T'ou-jen men speak Chinese more or less is what explains the use of this language, as well as the use of Chinese proverbs, in the course of the marriage ceremonies. Most of the philological notes in the present monograph were furnished by Fathers
104 Mostaert and De Smedt. The transcription of Monguor is the one used by the same Fathers, who adopted the general alphabet of Anthropos (Anthr. XXIV-V), but simplified. The transcription of the Chinese is the romanization adopted by the Variétés.

101 The term T'ou-jen is used by the Chinese of "Sining" to desig-
104 nate the people or peoples of the region who speak the Monguor language and who are under the jurisdiction of a t'ou-se. The term T'ou-jen means "aboriginal."

Although the peoples in question are certainly not the first inhabitants of the country, we have nevertheless thought we should adopt this improper term because it is in current use "in the country" and is used there to designate only this people. The term T'ou-jen is therefore here a people's name. The Tibetans, the Mongols, and the Salar of the country are not T'ou-jen in the eyes of the inhabitants of Sining. Besides, the local chronicles, as well as those of Liang-tcheou and Lan-tcheou use the same term when they deal with this people.

[P.4 is blank]

/5/

Preliminary Notes

000 1) General necessity for marriage.

2) Necessity for male descendants.

It seems that two remarks are necessary for a good understanding of this study. It is evident that in order to judge a painting, one must not see it at night in the light of a candle, but during the day in the light desired by the artist; one must even be at the right spot to observe what the author wished to put in it; then only will one understand his work.

Now concerning marriage among the T'ou-jen, the ways of thinking of the East and the West differing completely, it is easy not to see the facts in their true light.

The ways and customs of a people find their explanation in its present-day or former ways of thinking and philosophy. Whether this philosophy be good or bad, we do not judge here, but we must see the facts while seeing through ourselves in order to understand them. To observers with different ways of thinking, the same facts may seem rational and honest to some and puerile and full of horror to others.

1. General Necessity for Marriage

581 589 We Europeans do not find it strange to meet people who are not married; we are not surprised to see bachelors in our offices, at our meetings, at our parties; the idea does not occur to us that being unmarried incriminates them; although deep down we feel that this situation is abnormal, we find, outside of religious principles, enough reasons, if not to justify being single, at least to excuse it.

/6/ Now such a point of view does not exist among the T'ou-jen. No T'ou-jen will understand that a man who is not a monk, who is not a lama, is not married unless he is physically incapable of it.

581 589 183 Also among the T'ou-jen it is polite to find out whether all the sons are already married; to satisfy this law of marriage, one will go

581 /6 cont'd/
589 as far as selling all that one possesses, one's lands, houses, and ani-
183 mals, and will live in indigence; at the death of the parents, the elder married sons, in the case where the possessions are about to be divided up, must, before all else, put aside the sums required for the marriage of the younger unmarried sons; the parents, at the approach of death, will feel the greatest relief in the fact that they have gotten all their sons married. In order to permit the poor to marry, recourse is had to all kinds of contrivances, which very often are only imposed by reason of their primordial goal, which is that of marriage, and which scorn many obligations which in "justice" would seem, at the least, to have to be taken into greater consideration. One will find decisions which will appear unjust, but when one studies this mental attitude, which gives proportion to everything, one will understand that among the T'ou-jen the other principles yield to it and are sacrificed.

554 Marriage, for the T'ou-jen people, is the great affair in life,
581 obligatory above all else. One is no longer an honorable man when one is not married; this is because they believe that man has the duty to live according to natural law, that is, to marry and procreate children.

623 One day one of my catechists was invited to sit with the elders
627 of the village to judge the case of a penniless young man who had
689 run off with a girl of good rank. They had been brought back after
588 an escapade of three years, with a child born during the flight.

The young man was on his knees, his hands tied behind his back, imploring the clemency of the judges and of the whole assembled village. /7/ Despairing, he was saying, of ever being able to marry because of his extreme poverty, he had believed it permissible to act in this way, in order to be able to do his duty and marry. "I have been unjust toward the girl's parents, but I submit myself in advance to make all the reparations possible that will be required of me...." The girl also cries for mercy: "I could have hoped for a better match," she admits, "but I followed this young man to be gracious; without me, he would never have been able to marry...."

681 After an important palaver the offending couple was punished, and the judges found a way to indemnify the injured family and to legalize this union.

/7 cont'd/

627 The argument of the judges, before the whole village and the
581 families in question, is very instructive for us. The young man, they
181 said, has not respected the customs of our race, furthermore, he has been unjust with respect to the girl's family; these are grave errors; after the principal accusers, tirades are heard on the necessity of marriage and the indigence of the unfortunate man; finally, he is excused by going back to the extreme obligation to marry. As for the girl, disobedience is censured and the rights of the parents are loudly proclaimed, but she was brave in offering the young man the chance to marry, for marriage is a duty.

We should scarcely admit such reasons; and so I remarked to my catechist and explained to him that in my opinion this was only the commonplace story of a couple who loved each other. "That is possible," he replied, "but it is certain that the young man thought above all of the duty of marriage, and it is poverty which induced him to leave with the girl; as for the girl, she was courageous." It was the same argument. I encountered therefore the same way of thinking in my catechist.

This case would probably be resolved in the same way in the West as in the East, that is to say the union would be legalized; but the motives which would be invoked would be completely different.

/8/ This fact was for me a revelation at the time, and I was able to verify it many times later; it made me acquainted with the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of the general necessity for marriage.

2. Necessity for Male Descendants

858 Another mental habit among the T'ou-jen is an excessive de-
562 sire to see children born, and especially male children.
181 In Europe one is not too concerned when a family has no chil-
581 dren or when there are only girls. Among the T'ou-jen the greatest of misfortunes is the absence of male children. It is necessary to be in the Orient to "live" the text of canon law: Matrimonii finis primarius est procreatio atque educatio prolis /"The primary purpose

/8 cont'd/

858 of marriage is the procreation and rearing of offspring"/. The son is
562 the dream of the Orient. One will resign oneself to poverty, but one
181 will never be consoled for not having a son; one will be consoled over
581 the death of a husband or wife, but one will continue to weep for the loss of an only son. The fact of having no son will be interpreted as a punishment of heaven for sins committed in former lives. One will disregard expenses required for good works and pilgrimages in the interest of producing a male child. Extraordinarily noisy celebrations will be given upon the birth of a first-born son, in which the whole village will take part. The greatest happiness of a T'ou-jen woman will be that of having many sons; so that when one lives in T'ou-jen country, one thinks involuntarily of the Roman mother of the Gracchi presenting her children to her friends, saying, "Here are my jewels." One rarely sees alms refused to the numerous religious and lay beggars; it is because the terrible curse they are accustomed to offer, "Be without descendants," is feared. On the contrary, after receiving alms, the beggar will thank the giver by wishing him a numerous male posterity.

181 We must therefore expect to see matrimonial customs strongly
595 influenced by this way of thinking. Thus, when the wife has no children or no sons, it seems natural /9/ to everyone to take a second wife and even a third. Every T'ou-jen, even the most upright, if means permit, will act in this way. He will not lose the esteem of his fellows in the least for doing so; all of them will even advise him to do so, the most religious man as well as the most pious woman. When the first wife has borne sons, and the husband takes a second, nothing shocking is seen in it, for the more sons one has, the better it is.

I always remember the discussions I had with T'ou-jen friends on the subject of polygamy. I admit that it seemed to me that my arguments did not convince them, even that they were not understood. The good fortune of having sons was for them too sublime an entity to be capable of being put on the same level with the family troubles which polygamy entails; if the bringing up of children of different mothers must leave something to be desired, this disadvantage is a negligible quantity in their eyes, even a quantity of lower order.

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181 595 compared to the happiness of having descendants. This way of thinking has distant origins; the T'ou-jen inherited it from their ancestors, and they have kept it scrupulously for centuries. Let us not be surprised therefore that because of it certain customs which seem inadmissible and shocking to us appear reasonable and justifiable to the T'ou-jen.

We shall set forth in what follows the matrimonial customs of a people which is convinced of the duty of marrying, and which expects male descendants from marriage.

/10/ Division of the Study

583 Marriage is the legal union of a man and woman. But with the T'ou-jen the daughter being the property of the parents, in the true sense of the term, an indemnity is imposed on the one who wishes to marry her.

This indemnity is paid in two ways; either by purchase or by the furnishing of his person or his services for the benefit of the owner of the girl.

[587] The marriage of widows, which still often takes place nowadays in the ancient form of abduction, nevertheless falls in the category of marriage by purchase; for after having taken the widow to a safe place, a discussion is held about her price. Therefore, we shall deal successively with:

I. Marriage by purchase
II. Marriage by furnishing one's services or person
III. Abnormal marriages
IV. Divorce, repudiation, and exchange of wives
V. Runaway wives
VI. The matriarchate

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Chapter I

Marriage by Purchase

583 The purchase of the wife by the husband's family is the common form of marriage among the T'ou-jen today. This form of marriage occurs in three different cases, each of which has its customs and special rights:

A. Marriage with a young girl as the official wife
B. Marriage with a widow as the official wife
C. Marriage with a young girl or widow as the second wife, or polygamy

A. Marriage with a Young Girl as the Official Wife

Summary. -- 1. Parties to the marriage. 2. Social position of the future partners with respect to marriage. 3. When the marriage proposal is made. 4. How it is made. 5. Discussion of the bride price. 6. Delivery of the presents. 7. Age required for marriage. 8. Setting of the wedding date and last arrangements. 9. Presentation of last gifts and invitation to the wedding. 10. Wedding without ceremonies. 11. Farewell dinner at the daughter-in-law's home. 12. Getting of the bride. 13. The bride's arrival in her new family. 14. Gifts to the bridegroom's family. 15. The wedding. 16. Opening of the daughter-in-law's mouth. 17. Dinner. 18. Gifts to the family of the daughter-in-law. 19. Departure of the guests. 20. Visits after the wedding. 21. Relations of the newly married couple with the daughter-in-law's family.

1. Parties to the Marriage

584 It is natural that those who have the means choose a young girl for a wife; moreover, this is almost a necessity, because they marry young. Ordinary unions are therefore contracted between young people.

582 /12/ The first question which arises is this: With whom may marriage be contracted?

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582 The general rule which governs the unions of T'ou-jen young people is very simple. It requires only that the husband and wife not bear the same name, therefore that they belong to different
M families. There are no exceptions to this rule. Moreover, it is the
[17] same rule which exists among the Chinese and the Turco-Mongolian peoples.

M Now the T'ou-jen claim that formerly all the people of the
551 same t'ou-se were called by the name of the t'ou-se; a chief and his people thus constituted a clan. This is possible and even probable, for among the Mongols, who are racial brothers of the T'ou-jen, members of the same clan have the same name. (1) Today,

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1. The Life of Ghingis Khan, by Prof. Vladimirtsov, p. 5: The habit of minor tribes of adopting the appellation of some powerful and related neighbour even though they might be in hostile relations with the latter, is reported by the ethnologists of various parts of the world, e.g. from the Caucasus, the Altai, and contemporary Mongolia.

As the Tartar tribe was numerous, and had by the twelfth century acquired considerable importance, members of the other Mongol clans often adopted the famous name of Tartar, so that their own tribal name ceased to be known except to their nearest neighbours. /Cited in English./

P. 64: Temuchin after having brought all the tribes of Mongolia into subjection is proclaimed Ghingis Khan in 1206 at the sources of the Onon. "The Borjigin clan had once more revived the greatness and the glory of the Mongol name, and all the peoples of their race would henceforward be designated as Mongols. All the

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Noyans, Bagaturs, Beks and Tegins, all the aristocracy now became the Vassals of the clan of Mongol and accepted its name. For the first time the united nation had a common name and the name soon became so glorious that every nomad was proud to call himself a Mongol. /Cited in English./

A similar custom existed among the T'ou-jen. Indeed, we know the case of a group of more than a hundred families under the Iang t'ou-se of Tchouo-ni-tse who came to live in the Choei-mouo-keou of Sining belonging to the Li t'ou-se. The whole group changed its name from Iang to Li and acknowledged Li t'ou-se as its chief.

M 551 /13/ however, due to historic events which we shall relate in their place, families under the same t'ou-se no longer bear the same name.

M 582 178 Hence, in this case, formerly the prohibition against marriage between young people bearing the same name corresponded to that forbidding marriage between members of the same tribe or clan. This prohibition makes us think of the great law of exogamy in all its breadth; an exogamy affecting not only the family but also the clan, since here the two merge. Whatever may have been the case in the past, the law of exogamy today bears only on the single family.

M 551 613 The T'ou-jen consider that the notion of name is exactly equivalent to that of family. All those who do not bear the same name, even though they are descended directly from the same ancestor, are foreigners /i.e., outsiders/ to the family. Here is a conception laden with consequences: daughters given in marriage and, taking the name of their husbands, will consequently leave the family and will become outsiders; they will no longer be buried in the family cemetery; since their children bear a different name, they will also be foreigners to the family of the mother. It follows from this that since they do not bear the same name, there is no obstacle to the marriage of the children of the two families. Thus one regularly sees

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582 unions between the children of brothers and sisters. Moreover, it is
605 the same practice which exists among the Mongols.
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A similar custom is found among the Chinese; however, the principle "another name, another family" is not pushed to the extreme. Actually, in China one sees marriages between the sons of a sister and the daughters of her brothers, but not the other way around, between the sons of brothers and the daughters of their sisters.

Another kind of alliance much sought after among the T'ou-jen is that contracted between the sons and daughters of two sisters. Two sisters married into two different families bear different names: consequently, their children are free to intermarry. /14/ The same practice is found among the Chinese.

Mo Let us point out still another kind of alliance very frequent
582 nowadays among this people; it consists in the exchange of daughters.
171 Family A gives its daughter in marriage to the son of family B, and family B at the same time offers its daughter in marriage to the son of family A. This custom is also very frequent among the Chinese and the Manchu. (1)

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1. Some notes collected in Mr. Shirokogoroff's excellent study, Social Organisation of the Manchus, Shanghai, 1924, will broaden our horizon. Since the T'ou-jen whom we are discussing are Mongols and Mongolized Cha-t'ou-jen, it is instructive to compare their customs with those of the Manchu, who, says Mr. Shirokogoroff, p. 168, "do not understand their name as an original ethnical name, but merely as a name of the power that includes different political and ethnical groups (the Mongols and others) into a new political unit." P. 167: "a) Klaproth asserted that the
Ma 197 Manchu language is an amalgamation of the Tungus and the Mongol languages influenced
Ma 144 above all by Turkic. b) He has shown the intercourse and assimilation of different groups,

Ma 144 /14 cont'd/

Korean, Tungus, Mongols, and so on. c) I have expounded ... that the Manchus are an amalgamation from the physical standpoint, and that in general the so-called "Mongol race" is merely hypothesis insufficiently based on the superficial impression of the travellers." P. 11: "The Manchus recognize the following three groups, viz., 1) the ancient Manchus, 2) the modern (new) Manchus, 3) the Mongol-Manchus." /Cited in English./ These notes on the subject of the Manchu enter therefore within the framework of our subject. In spite of the enormous distance which separates Kansu from Manchuria, and the total absence of relations between the Manchu and the T'ou-jen, we find that many practices are absolutely identical among the two peoples; others, in the course of centuries, have undergone changes, which were different in the two camps, due to the presence of neighboring peoples with customs different from theirs; in more than one case, it is enough to look at corresponding customs in order to understand their alteration or, evolution.

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"Up to the present time the practice of exchange of women is one of the preferred ways to get a wife (among the Manchus). Among some other Tungus groups this is the only practical way of marrying." Shirokogoroff, p. 69. /Cited in English, with interpolation in French, indicated by parentheses./

Mo 582 605 /15/ When the sister's daughter marries one of the sons of her maternal uncles, this union is called tao-t'sin, which means "returning the marriage" in this sense (1) "that formerly you /16/ gave us

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1. "There is a very peculiar form of the marriage, which the Manchus designate by a special term 'tarsilambi,' i.e. I am marrying my tarsi, i.e. my father's sister's daughter. This form is very seldom used, because according to the Manchus in this matrimonial combination the brothers and sisters (of a clan) become parties of a match-maker's affair; as the results of a possible displeasure of the young man in a foreign clan, there can be anticipated some lack of good terms between the clans, which may sometimes result in conflicts. This term 'tarsi' designates My relationship with the progeniture of the women of senior class of my father's clan, and progeniture of my mother's class clan. If we agree to the supposition that some time ago the Manchus were organised into materline clans, this classificatory term and the peculiar rights of bearers in regard to marriage rights will be very clear...." Shirokogoroff, p. 70. /Cited in English./

But this practice, outside of the debatable matriarchal point of view (since it can also be met with in a patriarchal organization), presents another social aspect of great importance, as we shall see later.

"Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou /Ethnographic Notes on the Tribes of Kweichow/" by Schotter, Anthropos, 6th year, p. 320: "A custom which is obeyed among the Hë-miao, requires that the sister's daughter marry the brother's son. This is what is called 'restoring seed furnished to another family.'"

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101 When I had just arrived in the region of Sining and before I had studied the question of the T'ou-jen, an old T'ou-jen from Choang-niou-keou (region of Lien-tch'eng) told me that, according to an old tradition, the T'ou-jen had come from Yunnan and from Kweichow to fight the Tibetans of the Sining region. This piece of information was responsible for my reading the study concerning the Miao in Anthropos. It is historically certain that the T'ou-jen we are writing about did not come from either Yunnan or Kweichow: but according to the Hoa-i-i-iu (note communicated by Father Mostaert), we know that the Mongols who were subdued in the reign period of Hung-wu /1368-98/ in the Ming period waged war in southwest China. Thus it is possible that among the T'ou-jen there are Mongols whose ancestors waged war on Yunnan.... This fact may provide an explanation for this tradition. We shall deal with this subject in a study on the history of the T'ou-jen.

A brief glance at the Miao peoples has become indispensable since the studies of Father Wilhelm Koppers, "Tungusen und Miao, ein Beitrag zur Frage der Komplexitaet der altchinesischen Kultur /The Tungus and Miao, A Contribution to the Problem of the Complexity of Ancient Chinese Culture/," Mitt. d. anthrop. Ges., Vienna, Vol. 60, 1930, pp. 306-319, as well as the one in Anthropos, 1930, p. 981, "Die Frage des Mutterrechtes und des Totemismus im alten China /The Question of Mother-Right and Totemism in Ancient China/."

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582 605 the mother in marriage and now we give you back her daughter to marry your son." The Chinese do not have this expression, as a scholar pointed out to me with a touch of scorn. When the daughter of brothers marries the son of her paternal aunt, which frequently occurs among the Chinese and the T'ou-jen, it is said of this alliance "that the niece goes to join her aunt."

584 184 At any rate one should not conclude from the above that today among the T'ou-jen all marriages are contracted, from generation to generation, regularly and necessarily, between members of the same families; one must not infer that the daughters-in-law in one family are always cousins; neither should one believe that people do not become united with "foreign" families in our use of the word. Present-[605 day conditions are no longer those of former times; the truth is that 582] marriages between cousins (of brothers and sisters) are still very numerous. But since one family may be allied in this way to five or six others, and since one seeks avidly to remain always in the same circle of alliances, it is natural that unions between relatives will be more numerous than those between strictly "foreign" families.

582 This custom is of capital importance. Why does one seek and hold in such high honor these unions between families with which one already has former kin relations? This is an old and general custom. Why, above all, is the notion of tao ts'in, "returning the marriage," considered to be sacrosanct among the T'ou-jen? When a brother asks his sister for a daughter to marry his son, she cannot refuse under any pretext. Why? No one knows. Why does marriage generally remain circumscribed within a restricted circle of families? Why should a practice so generalized and deeply rooted in custom have to be recalled in the traditional short speech of the master of ceremonies of the bride's family on the wedding day at the bridegroom's house, even when the /17/ husband and wife belong to absolutely unrelated families? Even then it is supposed that they were related a long time ago, and that the present marriage renews the old relationships!

581 To understand this practice, should one not recall that all the T'ou-jen formerly lived in a nomadic state? These groups living in the immense steppes of Asia had necessarily to look for support from other nomadic groups, wandering like themselves and seeking support

Mo /17 cont'd/
581 like themselves, for fear of being absorbed or exterminated by other clans stronger than they. Now what is more natural for making these supports as firm and durable as possible than family unions incessantly renewed by marriage?

Mo 614 As a matter of fact the youth of the two groups are then mutual-
581 ly exchanged in marriage, and the young people constitute reciprocal guarantees by founding new families on one side and the other. What is more natural than that the pact concluded between two groups be sealed by a series of marriages? When one reads the history of the Mongols, one learned that a certain clan always used to take its wives from a certain other one; that peace was sealed by marriages; that pacts were guaranteed by matrimonial alliances. This is the natural and necessary economy of the nomadic state. Formerly, the purpose of marriage was not only to found a family, but very often to bring together groups of families, or whole clans.

000 When within this sphere of ideas one understands the expression tao-ts'in with its character of supreme obligation, of sacredness, one easily finds an explanation for it; similarly, one easily understands the custom of marriage between young people of groups already related. Vestiges are found here of the nomadic state where such alliances were a necessity. But as an organ useless to the body slowly atrophies and its reason for being in the end is no longer understood, so the customs under consideration, having become useless to the
Mo present-day agrarian economy and practiced /18/ less and less, have
M1 ended up by no longer being understood by the people. (1)
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1. Vladimirtsov, The Life of Ghingis Khan, p. 10. "The tribal constitution of the Mongols implied exogamy, that is to say, it obliged the men of a given clan to take wives from some other clan that was not considered close-
Mo ly akin to their own....Owing to the constant
M1 feuds, wars and raids, the kidnapping of
584 marriageable women was a frequent occurrence (witness the case of Yesugei-Begatur himself)... another solution was for the clans to conclude

Mo M1 584 /18 cont'd/

agreements for mutual exchange of women. The respective members of the two clans that had entered on such agreement called each other "Kuda"...." /Cited in English./

Mo 104 581 The word Kuda is found as goda in the Monguor dialect as in all the other Mongol dialects; among the Monguor it has lost its primary sense. The custom according to which the members of two clans exchanged girls in marriage no longer exists. The word guda today is the name which the members of two families related by the marriage of one of their children give to each other.

Mo 582 The conclusion then will be that we see the law of exogamy practiced largely mitigated by that of endogamy, which causes many wives, even in our day, to be taken from among the daughters of paternal aunts. (2)

2. I do not believe it is necessary to refer to totemism in order to explain the law of exogamy which presides over marriages among the T'ou-jen. The conditions of nomadic life amply provide an explanation for this practice; secondly, exogamy is not essentially totemic; thirdly, totemism among the Mongols in general has not been proved. When we deal with religious life among the T'ou-jen, we shall see, nevertheless, two facts which may attract attention to this question: we shall see the erection of the pole at the festivals given after planting, and we shall have two youth festivals.

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582 When the T'ou-jen give their children in marriage, nowadays at least, they attach importance to the degree of generation of the two parties: thus a nephew will never be able to marry his aunt, or an uncle his niece. The two parties must always be of the same generation.

Mo This same law operates among the Chinese. Among the T'ou-
587 jen, however, it is not so strict as among the Chinese in the case of
563 marriages between the widow of an elder brother and his younger brother. /19/ Among the Chinese of the country, an elder brother will be able to marry the widow of his younger brother, but never vice versa.

Mo As for marriages of T'ou-jen with Chinese girls, they are strong-
582 ly discouraged by the elders of the tribe as being the great cause of
563 their denationalization. Nonetheless, nowadays these marriages are more and more frequent, all the more so because of the example set by the clan chiefs. These unions precipitate the progress of the T'ou-jen people toward absorption in the Chinese nation.

Mo Very often one sees the T'ou-jen give their daughters in mar-
563 riage to Tibetans. The seminomadic Tibetans, their neighbors,
582 even seem to seek them because of their fecundity, which is well known in the region. On the other hand, it is astonishing to see how easily T'ou-jen girls adjust among the Tibetans and adopt their ways.

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1. Among the Manchu the laws regarding the "parties" to a marriage are more complicated than among the T'ou-jen. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 65 and following, says:

The women that may marry a man are limited to three restrictions: 1. the absolute prohibition, which they do not transgress, i.e. the prohibition to marry within the clan: (this law is explained as follows:) the general prohibition is to

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marry within the "mokun" two groups of clan members, who have two different ancestors in the fifth /sic/ senior class, and form of them two exogamic groups (mokun) with separate spirits, rites and shamans. 2. the facultative prohibition, i.e. the prohibition to marry within that clan, with which the man's clan is bound by some relationship of clans, or religious connection, or some degree of relationship within the mother's clan: (which comes back to the following formula:) all my class (of generation equal to mine) women belonging to other clans are my facultative wives; 3. the incidental prohibition... (for example, for widows, widowers, etc.). /Cited in English, with interpolations in French, indicated by underline./

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In the same way, marriages between young people of neighboring families are strongly discouraged. In this regard the T'ou-jen quote the Chinese saying: I iuen pou tso leang kia, toei men pou ts'in ts'in kia: "Two different families do not live in the same courtyard, /20/ one does not contract marriage with the family opposite." This is to avoid difficulties which might then easily arise.

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2. Social Position of the Future Partners with Respect to Marriage

Separation of the sexes does not exist among the T'ou-jen as it exists among the Chinese, either before or after marriage. Let us, nevertheless, beware of concluding from this that there is betrothal preceding marriage. Among the T'ou-jen there is no mutual promise of marriage made between the interested parties with a certain solemnity; moreover, love does not precede the unions. The future partners do not make their choice after knowing each other.

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584 Custom requires that the engaged couple not have relations before marriage and that they avoid each other as much as possible.

[593] We are in the Orient. Parents are absolute masters of their children. They do not conceive of marriage as being their children's personal business. With them marriage is today a family matter, as it was formerly that of the whole group, or the community.

181 178 Nowadays the T'ou-jen family seeks its own advantages in it, and the interested parties find it natural that the general welfare precedes the individual welfare, just as formerly their families, living in clans, in compact groups, found it natural that the welfare of their private families be subordinated to that of the whole group.

584 The evolution of the T'ou-jen individual today has not yet reached the point where his personal interest takes precedence over that of his family. Parents alone, then, decide the marriages of their children, and the latter find this custom rational and accept, with their fatalistic way of thinking, the often deplorable consequences of it.

/21/ However, it can happen, when a girl has not been sought in marriage at an early age, which is unusual, that the young people have talked about things other than the fine weather. In these cases it is natural that there are preferences and that the parents take them into account, provided they are not injurious to the interests of the family and especially those of the mother-in-law. But this case is the very great exception because the children are already betrothed before they have been able to make a choice.

3. When the Marriage Proposal Is Made

The marriage proposal is rarely made after the young people are old enough to understand the importance of this act and are capable of manifesting their preferences. Besides, nobody has ever thought of waiting until the children were old enough, for marriage is the task of the parents and not of the children. But such a case can occur upon the death of one of the betrothed persons toward the time of the marriage; again, it can occur in a family which was too

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584 poor to ask for a girl in marriage and which later, having arrived in easier circumstances, has the means for it. These are always exceptional cases.

As a general rule parents ask for a girl in marriage for their son when she is very young, that is, when she is three or four years old. It even happens rather often that the promise of marriage is made before the birth of the children, provided the children to be born are of different sex. The promise is then repeated in front of the guests at the churching feast, and later the official betrothal formalities will be carried out. (1)

1. Match-making can be effected before the birth of the bride and groom. In this case if the sex of the child does not correspond to the supposition of the parents, they await the birth of other children. The Manchus suppose this custom to be of a very old origin. Shirokogoroff, p. 72. /Cited in English./

582 /22/ One could conclude from the above that the ages of the partners do not differ too much in many cases. In general, however, with the exception of the case last cited, it must be said that the bride is usually one or two years older than the groom; it even happens, and unfortunately the case is not rare, that the bride is 17 years old when the groom is scarcely ten or eleven. These are sad unions, arranged by selfish mothers-in-law, who see in the daughter-in-law a servant, and in the marriage of the son a lightening of their own work. These marriages take place when the girl is 17 and the son is still a child in all the full sense of the term. (1)

1. The brides are about the same age of the grooms i.e. 21. However it occurs very often that the bride is older than the groom. I know some cases when the wives are 5 - 6 years older than their husbands.

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This may occur for example, when the parents of a young man need a working woman in the house and take before the wedding, a small girl as the future wife of their son who dies before the wedding is accomplished: then the girl becomes the wife of the following son. It is seldom that the husband is older than his wife. In the condition of the Manchu social system all these combinations are quite natural, because the parents or clan relatives who marry their children have as the purpose of marriage not only marriage as such, but rather the obtaining of new working member for the family. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64. /Cited in English./

M 584 The age at which a marriage proposal is made for a girl and the way in which the mother-in-law seeks her own advantage in the matter suffice to prove that those concerned have nothing to do with it and that their marriage is solely the business of their parents.

4. How Is a Marriage Proposal Made?

M 584 787 Since marriage is the most important event in the family, it is natural that it should have a religious character and begin with a religious rite. They thus begin with an examination of the year, month, day, and hour of birth of the future partners /23/ in order to find out whether the union will be prolific and fortunate. (1)

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1. Voyage à travers la Mongolie, en 1820 et 1821 /Trip to Peking across Mongolia in 1820 and 1821/ by Timkovski, translated and published with corrections by Klaproth in 1827, Vol. 2, p. 306. Before a marriage

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(among the Mongols) may be concluded, it is necessary to calculate with the aid of books under what signs the future husband and wife were born, so that the heavenly body which governs the birth of the latter may not be harmful to that of the former, nor dominate it: which means that the woman must not govern the household.

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The Mongols count 12 signs which correspond to our months; they are: 1, mouse; 2, ox; 3, tiger; 4, hare; 5, dragon; 6, serpent; 7, horse; 8, ram; 9, monkey; 10, hen; 11, dog; 12, pig. The fifth year, also called ibeghel, is the year in which it is always permitted to marry. As for the seventh kharchi, it is the opposite: for example, if the girl was born under the sign of the mouse and the ox, and the boy under those of the dragon and the monkey, then the marriage is permitted. But if one of the two was born under the sign of the mouse and the other under that of the horse, in this case, even though they are of different lineage, the union cannot take place. The Mongols still claim that the ox and the tiger, the hen and the horse, and the monkey are of opposite constellations, pernicious signs, "Kharchi" which are decidedly unfavorable to marriages.

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The marriage having been recognized as likely to be fecund and peaceful, they will proceed to the marriage proposal. At the beginning of the first negotiations, they will be careful to insinuate that the alliance has been predicted to be a happy one. Nevertheless,

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584 the family of the fiancée will not neglect also to have the case ex-
787 amined by competent people. If there is a discrepancy between the two predictions, a third examination will be held.

If the alliance is sincerely desired on both sides, the solution will be quickly satisfactory; for the diviner knows the people he is dealing with.

In the opposite case, the examiner, a diplomat when necessary, will give an ill-omened solution, and the marriage will be shelved. This is a good way for one side to politely refuse a marriage proposal, and for the other to understand the refusal, without loss of face.

They say that nobody would dare do without this preliminary rite. This is easy to believe for anyone who is aware of the /24/ mania of this people for consulting fate for all events of any importance, all the more when it is a question, under the circumstances, of an act with such grave and far-reaching consequences...and in spite of everything, they often disregard this when the proposed match has won their approval.

584 But by whom is this horoscope read?
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[77] The yellow lamas and the shamans, in Monguor bo, are never consulted, although lamaism and shamanism are the T'ou-jen's own religions. On this occasion they have recourse to the Chinese Ing-lang sien-cheng /lit., practitioner of Yin and Yang/ (diviner) or to the lamas of the red sect. The reason for this choice has always remained a mystery to me; no T'ou-jen was able to explain it.

584 This formality carried out, the father or mother of the future bridegroom, on the occasion of a visit to the parents of the future bride, proposes the marriage. The answer having been favorable,
583 "the mother alone" goes to the home of the family of the future
584 daughter-in-law to offer the parents eight, ten, or 12 steamed rolls (it must always be an even number), four feet of red cloth, a pair of shoes for the little daughter-in-law, and several lengths of red cord, which are customarily plaited into a girl's braids.

They take tea, they chat, the little chosen one presents herself, they talk of marriage, and the future mother-in-law takes her leave. The gifts have been accepted, the girl has presented

/24 cont'd/

583 herself, the marriage is therefore set. No longer is it kept from any-
584 one; on the contrary, they are careful to make the news known. But if, for example, before this formal visit of the future mother-in-law, the fiancée's family has changed its mind, the gifts would be left intact on the table, they would talk amiably about the weather, the girl would not appear, no allusion to the projected marriage would be made, the gifts would be politely returned at the time of departure, and the alliance would be given up. Only after these formalities have been completed, will the family of the future bridegroom secure a go-between.

171 /25/ This second formal visit by the mother then is definitely
584 binding. This custom is abnormal in a patriarchal economy. (1)

1. The bride's father, according to the customs refuses the proposals, but they do not take as serious this answer, and some time later they send to the bride's father the match-makers who propose for his daughter some price (kalin). If the two families are already connected by the matrimonial relations, the "kalin" is only a formality....

Usually the bride's father consults his wife; if he decides the question without consulting her, she can protest, but her protest is not taken in consideration. Then her husband's youngest brother intervenes, and advises the bride's mother to accept her husband's decision. After this formality is completed, she must agree to the inevitable thing. But if they address the demand to the bride's mother, her words have the same value as that of the bride's father and never can be changed. If they address the

171 /25 cont'd/
584

demand to the bride's father's youngest brother (it is supposed the father is dead), he does not answer without consulting the bride's mother and usually he acts according to her wish. Shirokogoroff, pp. 72, 73. /Cited in English./

584 5. Discussion of the Bride Price and Deciding on the Wedding Gifts

Contrary to Chinese practice which requires two go-betweens, a T'ou-jen ordinarily engages only one, a friend of the family.

One is in no hurry to get a go-between. When the girl is only four or five years old, one waits two or three years more, indeed even longer, before giving this invitation. The promise of marriage having been made to the mother-in-law, there is no longer anything to fear; only at each New Year and at the festival of the fifteenth [431] day of the eighth moon, they call on each other, exchange small gifts, and call each other Guda, "relatives by alliance," all this in order to refresh the memory.

In exceptional cases, where the girl has reached marriageable age at the time of the marriage proposal, they do not delay in making use of the services of a go-between.

583 584 After choosing an auspicious day for this important matter, the go-between leaves with the traditional gifts: a small jug of gin [777 corked with a red (a color /26/ which brings good luck) lozenge and 431] a strand of sheep's wool tied around the neck. Upon his arrival he puts his gift on the small table on the k'ang and pompously greets the fiancée's family with bows. They understand one another without saying a word; they drink tea, they smoke a pipe, and the go-between broaches his subject after pouring the gin for everyone present. "Now," he says, "since you have decided between yourselves on the marriage of your children, kindly set the day to decide on the gifts and discuss the traditional formalities. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, p. 73: The negotiations are always followed by

2: Schram--28 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

Mo 583 584 171

/26 cont'd/

a dinner with moderate libations, which made the bride's father more yielding on the question of the dimensions of the "kalin" (earnest). The final conditions are elaborated usually in the state of profound drunkenness. The "kalin" must be definitely fixed during these negotiations. It consists usually of pigs, from two to eight, always in pairs, which must be given after the match-making, some years later and just before the wedding. The pigs can also be commuted by money. Moreover they give yearly $10 (or Russian roubles) for the bride's clothing and also yearly, namely in the last month of the year, they give $1 - 5 for artificial flowers and paints.... In general all calculations concerning the "kalin" payments are made in pigs. The Manchus never calculate it in horse or cattle units.

Mo 583 171

The Mongols use as unit the horse, the reindeer. Tungus, the reindeer. It is interesting to note that the Dahurs who live in very close neighborhood with the Manchus, Mongols and Tungus, for this purpose use as unit clothing. -- (as do the T'ou-jen and the Miao of Yunnan, Kweichow.) /Cited in English, with two interpolations in French, indicated by underline./

HM 584

Timkovski, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 307: Among the Mongols the marriage proposal is made through outsiders. The consent having been given, the father

HM 584 /26 cont'd/

of the husband-to-be, accompanied by the go-between and several of his /27/ close relatives, goes to the home of the father of the wife-to-be. He brings at least a sheep, cooked and cut up: this is what is called toue lei, several containers of brandy and some khadag. The representatives of the husband-to-be, after they have expressed to the girl's father the reason for their visit, with the characteristic prolixity of Asiatics, place on a dish before the Bourkhan (religious picture or statue) the head and other pieces of the sheep and the khadag; they light candles and prostrate themselves several times before these images; then they all sit down, and the visitors regale the parents of the bride with wine and the rest of the sheep. They must at the same time give to each of them a khadag or several copper coins, which are thrown into a cup filled with wine. This custom is known under the name of takil iabikhou; it corresponds to our handshake. The conversation turns principally on the livestock demanded for the girl: in these cases people without wealth defend their interests as stubbornly as if it were a purchase. Well-to-do people do not stipulate the number of livestock, and rich Mongols, and especially princes, take pride in not discussing the matter, relying on conscience and mutual trust. With them

HM [262]

HM 583 584

/27 cont'd/

HM 583 584

this object must naturally be very important; with poor people the bride price rarely exceeds 400 head of livestock of different kinds.

Schotter, Anthropos, notes on tribes..., p. 344: At their betrothal the Inag-hoang-miao barbarians give a horse as earnest.

Mo 584 This day is again a lucky day, chosen in advance. The day being set, leave is taken, and the go-between returns to the family of the son-in-law to congratulate it on the good intentions he believes he has found at the home of the bride's parents.

On the day agreed upon the go-between comes to get final instructions before going to the bride's home. At the bridegroom's home he finds two relatives of the family, who are good speakers and have been invited by the family to accompany him and help him in the discussion. Tea /27/ and gin are drunk, and the family earnestly begs the three friends to do their utmost to avoid big expenses for them.

Mo 272 273

Having arrived at the bride's home with the traditional small jug, they find two relatives of this family also, who have been invited to take the family's part in the discussions. They do not delay in beginning after the presentation of the gin. On both sides care has been taken to invite the best speakers. These discussions differ entirely from those of the Chinese.

When the T'ou-jen have the floor, they keep it for ten, fifteen minutes without being interrupted; they make real little speeches. They tell you the most ordinary things with imperturbable seriousness, and everyone present listens with the liveliest interest. One after the other starts over again from the beginning; there is no end to it. On the whole they know in advance on both sides, considering the circumstances of the family, where the discussion will end. But /28/ custom requires a brilliant contest in eloquence. One side demands the impossible, and the other offers a ridiculous minimum. Finally, they end up by following the customs which are the rule.

/28 cont'd/

583 For families of average circumstances (I am speaking of the years 1915 - 20) they decide that they will pay for the daughter-in-law:

Twenty-four strings of cash (a string of cash at that time was worth about one dollar, and the dollar about three francs).

In addition there will be given 24 pieces of cloth for making clothes, of which 12 of the best quality are to be used for the outside of the garment and 12 of lesser quality for the lining; there will be green, black, red, and violet pieces of cloth (eight feet of calico were equivalent to a piece of Chinese cloth).

After that a mare is still necessary, and its age and quality will be decided after a new discussion.

[565] They will recall with pride the ancient tradition of the race, which has never permitted marriages without the giving of mares. Among poor families, by force of circumstances, they do without this tradition, but custom always requires that it be recalled even so.

In general, in rich families payment will consist of:

25 dollars,
16 or 20 pieces of silk or satin,
60 strings of cash,
and finally the traditional mare.

There are exceptions to the rule; thus I have known a case where 50 strings of cash, two pieces of cloth, one mare, and two cows were given; another case in which were given 24 strings of cash, 14 pieces of cloth, and a mare; still another in which 30 strings of cash, 18 pieces of cloth, a mare, and a cow were given.

584 When an agreement has been reached, the final formalities are still to come. The speakers will make apologies: "We must admit," they will say, "that the sum and /29/ gifts on which we have agreed do not come up to your expectations. But we have had in mind, above all, the happiness of your daughter; the better off the bridegroom's family will be, the happier your daughter; and then also harmony between the two families is worth more than all the gold in the world; your daughter will be the first to profit by this arrangement; she will be treated all the better; in short, you also want her good fortune above all." Then they will praise the

/29 cont'd/

584 virtues of the bridegroom and his family and predict such a fine future for the girl that the whole family will end up by being satisfied in spite of themselves.

However, they will leave a door open in case the bridegroom's family should refuse their assent. They will explain therefore that they will still have all the trouble in the world in having their propo-
[583] sitions accepted by the bridegroom's family. When they leave they will take back on behalf of the bride's family two jugs of gin, three feet of green cloth, and three lengths of green cord for plaiting in the hair.

The bridegroom's family waits with impatience. A report must now be given of the whole discussion, and especially of its practical conclusions. Then it is the other side of the picture, and with all the eloquence of which they are capable, they try to present the propositions as being eminently advantageous; they put forth the difficulties they have had to overcome in order to get there, then also, there is the girl who will make an admirable wife....

Ordinarily they resign themselves and accept the propositions; but it also may happen that the discussions have to be undertaken again at a second session, which is not auspicious. Nevertheless, it is extremely rare that they do not succeed in coming to terms and in reaching an understanding.

587 Let us note that in the marriage of a girl, even though there is only one single go-between, no marriage contract is written nor even a list of the gifts to be offered; while in the marriage of a widow, although there are two go-betweens, a contract is necessary, duly signed by the widow's parents-in-law and the go-betweens.

/30/ 6. Delivery of the Presents Demanded for the Bride

583 a) When do they proceed to the delivery of the presents?

In the exceptional case where the girl is thirteen or fourteen years old when she is sought in marriage, then during the month following the choice of gifts, they try to offer what was agreed upon.

In other cases where the formalities were decided when the girl was still little, they usually wait until she has reached her

Mo /30 cont'd/
583 eleventh or twelfth year. It may also happen that everything is given at one time after one year, and again that it is done in two or three installments. The custom is therefore that it takes a long time. (1)

HM 583

1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 308: Among the Mongols the payment of the bride price is not always made at one time; it takes place at different periods according to the wealth of the bridegroom, and these payments are sometimes extended for a period of six or seven years. The animals are delivered in the fall, each female is counted as two head.

HM [31]

Mo 584 But why these beatings about the bush which seem so petty? It is because we are dealing with practical people who consider everything, even the life and death of the girl. Indeed, if the girl were to die after the earnest has been given, the latter would not be given back; even if by chance there is another younger daughter in the family, one would not have the right to demand her to replace the dead girl. Nevertheless, if the families are well disposed and sincerely want to be allied by the marriage of their children, the negotiations are begun again, and they end up by giving the younger daughter after receiving several pieces of cloth and several dollars in compensation. Likewise, if the bridegroom dies and there is another younger unmarried son, one does not have the right to demand the bride for him; but there is always a way to reach an understanding, as in the preceding case, all the more because the difference in age between husband and wife /31/ is not taken into consideration among the T'ou-jen. It is therefore the general rule not to be in a hurry to give the earnest. However, there are laudable exceptions; it happens that more correct people are found who after two or three months fulfill this obligation.

/31 cont'd/

584 This mania for exploiting one another, which shows one small aspect of the race, is manifested at different times in the matrimonial customs; but this aspect being general, it does not offend any T'ou-jen.

583 b) How does one proceed to the delivery of the presents?

The go-between goes to the home of the bride, this time with two jugs of gin, stoppered with the lozenge and tied with the wool. The purpose of the visit is twofold: the first is to set the day of the ceremony, the second is to try to bargain again on what had been agreed upon to spend for the girl, "for the bridegroom's family is very poor, they have recently had misfortunes, losses of livestock, unforeseen expenses; in spite of all their good intentions they have not yet been able to buy the full number of required gifts, in short, it will be necessary to be generous this time and give ever so little 'face' to the go-between...."

583 584 It is good form to yield at least something. When they yield, they proceed by pairs, for example two strings of cash, two pieces of cloth.... The concessions made, the day of the ceremony is set.

584 If the daughter-in-law's family is poor and the son-in-law's wealthy, the go-between will propose to the latter that they invite the poor family to their home so that the ceremony can take place impressively. In this case, the earnest will be given at the groom's home in the presence of the go-between.

583 The delivery of the presents is generally not made without ceremony. It is the occasion of a little festival in the bride's family, in which the go-between, the groom's father, his maternal uncles, his older brothers, the advocates of a little while ago, in all seven or eight people, participate.

/32/ The go-between, taking the jug brought from the groom's home, offers to all the bride's family a tiny cup of gin; then he [301] spreads on a table the marriage gifts, to which have been added: two artificial flowers which will be stuck in the bride's hair, two bricks of rouge, a piece of black crepe which will serve as a veil, a pair of eardrops, a pair of artistically embroidered shoes.

/32 cont'd/

583 The two parties both make excuses to the other: one for its poverty and the hard times, "I could not offer more, but what is offered is given wholeheartedly"; the other for its indigence, "I was forced to ask for much too much, but now I am more than satisfied with the gifts...."

584 Then when all have taken their places again, the go-between rises and proposes to the family that they present the "flower," that is, the little bride.

They hasten to spread out a red rug or piece of red felt in the middle of the room, and the little bride, chaperoned by a young girl, appears before the assemblage. The two girls hold each other by the hand.

[302] The bride has risen early in the morning, has washed with all kinds of soap, and her hair has been dressed by the most skillful woman in the neighborhood. She has put on her handsomest finery, she has beautiful flowers in her hair, and she is made up in such a way as to be longer recognizable. Her companion, a little girl like herself, has a more modest toilette; she has no flowers in her hair, she wears a black veil on her head. They are certainly "the amazon and the little white goose"; no chance of making a mistake who is the bride.

[516 576] They advance toward the middle of the rug, facing the future father-in-law, let go their hands, bow respectfully, kneel, bow their foreheads to the ground three times, rise, and begin the same prostration over again three times. This is the ancient Chinese greeting on grand occasions. Everything is done gravely and sedately. They are well-trained T'ou-jen girls! Also their childhood games are [524] only the apprenticeship /33/ for the ceremonial. All girls play at ceremonies; they adore them. This is characteristic of the Orient.

583 584 One sees that the "flower" is aware of her own important and that of the moment; she tries to make a good impression on the assemblage, and the future father-in-law smiles, becomes young again, throws on the rug with a generous gesture two or three handfuls of red lozenges and a handful of cash, emblems of good fortune and wealth. The guests do the same. The girls pick up everything,

/33 cont'd/

583 584 bow gravely, and without having opened their mouths go away to share the lozenges and the cash.

The go-between rises and says aloud: "The flower has just been presented, let us proceed to the recognition of the alliance of the two families and the exchange of wine."

The two fathers-in-law rise and go to kneel in the middle of the rug, after bowing to each other. The go-between puts in the hand of each a little cup of gin, which they exchange and drink.

584 788 539 The cups are filled four times in a row, and they exchange them four times; those present recite aloud one of the four following couplets:

Si che iang koang	May the feast be brilliant
man siu hoa	May flowers abound.
tse suen hoa	May the flowers which are the sons and grandsons
leang mien tch'a	Bloom on both sides (to the glory of the two families).
leang kia hi ngai	May the two families be happy
so ts'in kia	To be related to each other.
sin ts'in kia	May the new family by marriage
mou tan hoa	Be like a peony (emblem of good fortune).

584 [262] /34/ Then the two fathers-in-law rise and propose that all present drink in their turn. A light meal is served consisting of boiled mutton cut in pieces, bread, and noodles in the Chinese style....

The bride's family takes care to put into the father-in-law's carpetbag two strings of cash and several loaves of bread, always an even number; the other guests receive two loaves each. The jug is given back filled with gin.

/34 cont'd/

Mo 584 431 A visitor who has come to offer presents is never allowed to leave without being given a gift. The receptacle which he brought cannot leave the house empty. Before, at each visit, they were careful to return to the go-between his jug filled with gin; the same will be done later.

7. Age Required for Marriage

Mo 582 The age required for marriage is 15 years; these 15 years are supposedly reached at the age of 14, after the winter solstice. The age of the bride varies from 15 to 17. The girls rarely pass this age without being married. This is because there are moral reasons for this general rule; as a matter of fact, the T'ou-jen claim that girls are "big" toward that age, and that there must be no more delay in Mo [801] marrying them off. Rarely girls are married at 13. Marriage never takes place when the age of the bride is an even number.

As for the age of the groom, there is no fixed rule; they do not bother about the even or odd number of years of his age. He can marry at ten, at 20, as well as at 30. Those who have the means ordinarily do not pass 17 without marrying. (1)

Mo 582

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 64: The Manchus consider as necessary, almost obligatory to marry their sons by the age of 21, and usually all Manchu young men are married before reaching this age. If this is not done "everybody will laugh" say the Manchus, because the clan to which the unmarried young man belongs may be supposed to be "inactive, weak and poor." /Cited in English./

/35/ 8. Setting of the Wedding Date; Negotiations concerning the Last Arrangements

Mo 584 When the fiancée has reached the required age for marriage, the custom is that the mother-in-law, rarely the future father-in-law,

/35 cont'd/

584 goes to her home with the traditional presents: gin, eight or ten
[583] loaves of bread, four feet of red cloth. The go-between is not present.

This visit is ordinarily made toward the fifteenth day of the eighth moon, which is one of the great festivals of the year. After putting down her gifts, the visitor pretends to kneel to greet the family ceremoniously, but this is forestalled. Tea and bread are served. Then the visitor herself takes her jug and pours gin for those present, a sign that she comes on an important mission. After this, she speaks of the wedding and asks that the day for it be set.

Appearances require that the bride's family pretend to wish to put off the wedding. "They love the girl so much, she is so good to her parents, so devoted, they will never be able to separate themselves from her." They beg that she be left with them for two or three more years. The daughter, in the kitchen, must weep aloud meanwhile...finally they end up by yielding with tears in their eyes.

Several days afterward the groom's family invites a Chinese diviner or a red lama, two members of the bride's family, her parents, and the go-between. The auspicious day is chosen with all possible respect, for on the happy wedding day will depend in great measure the good fortune of the married couple. This choice is of greatest importance.

[585 178] In the family of the Li t'ou-se no weddings will be seen in the third and the ninth month of the year. In the old days the people whom he governs did the same; nowadays the people bother less and less with this custom.

[585] /36/ The wedding day being set, discussions are begun on the subject of the last arrangements. Well-to-do families make weddings the biggest festivity of their lives. The arrangements for this festivity are made by common agreement between the two families after a laborious discussion.

The bride's family: "I have then made the sacrifice of my daughter for a certain day, but have you arranged all that is necessary for the wedding? Have you prepared for my daughter a headdress of silver strips, skirts, clothes...."

Again, much is asked in order to obtain little. The mother-in-law makes excuses: We are poor, times are bad...but she protests

/36 cont'd/

584 the attentions with which she will surround the bride....Again, the go-between by means of eloquence must run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

[583 431] For people of average means, at this second settlement, they ordinarily end up by promising for the bride:

a headdress of copper strips,
eardrops of silver or silvered copper,
a cloth skirt,
cloth trousers,
a pair of leggings for boots,
a hat cover of red cloth for the wedding day and another of green cloth.

Rich families manage to give a hat of silver strips or silvered copper, one or two pairs of silver eardrops, and several silk garments. If the bridegroom's family is too accommodating, it will be well exploited.

After that they come to the negotiations about the dinner. The bride's family begins by asking for their guests a dinner of 80 to 100 places. New palavers...the go-between ends up by getting them to content themselves with about 40 places on their part. Among rich families a dinner of 100 places is required.

/37/ But what dinner will you give? We must have a Chinese dinner of 12 or 16 large bowls. We do not wish to lose face, it is the least that you can give us, we have continually made concessions for everything, on this point we cannot yield. New exploits of eloquence on the part of the go-between, -- "Until now I have been able to arrange everything to the satisfaction of both families, I hope you will let me keep face until the end. I have always succeeded in marriage discussions, and I hope that this time it will work again. Let us see; plates and dishes are necessary for a Chinese dinner; no way to find them in the whole country. An excellent cook is necessary, where is he? A room for the dinner is necessary, where is it to be found? And then, we are not Chinese. Let us follow the customs of our ancestors and give a big T'ou-jen dinner. [273] I insist upon gin of superior quality and in sufficient quantity, two

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[273] /37 cont'd/
pounds per person; I demand big and fat sheep...," and everything is settled.

And to say that the two parties knew the conclusions of the discussion beforehand! Palavering is necessary, one must give oneself importance; then, speechifying and chattering are the principal and the most agreeable pastime of people who almost never work in their lives.

585 Most weddings take place after the work in the fields is over, in the months of October, November, and December. About this time the animals are fat, the barns full of grain, and there is something with which to distill, oneself, a kind of gin with spelt. However, one does see rich families who, to demonstrate abundance and well-being, celebrate the marriages of their children in the months of May, June, and July, which are called the "empty" months. (1)

584 1. Shirokogoroff, p. 76: Some time before the wedding they fix a happy day for the ceremony of wedding in accordance with Chinese manual...by Chinese sien-sheng. /Cited in English./

P. 74: Some time before the wedding, the representatives of the bridegroom's clan in a large number, and connected by friendship with the bride's clan people, call upon the bride's father or his substitute, to fix exactly the day of the wedding. But the bride's father refuses to do it. /38/ Then the bridegroom's representatives propose to him a supplementary "kalin". In the past time this consisted only of a pig, which was eaten during the wedding, but it has grown with time and at the present time it can be valued at $100 - 300 paid
583 in pigs or money or goods. Besides, the bridegroom's clan must give some silk

/38 cont'd/

583 clothing and jewellery up to the sum of $100 -300. If the bridegroom's clan refuses, the wedding may be adjourned for a period of two years. They can refuse to give the bride three times, but finally they are obliged to give her without supplementary "kalin". In such case,
582 for the bride the age of 27 years is limit beyond which she cannot be kept in her clan. So that the matrimonial periods are the ages of 15, 17, 19, or 16, 18, 20... However if the matrimonial parties are on good terms the payment of the supplementary "kalin" can be omitted. Some days, 5 or 6 before the wedding, the bridegroom's clan people bring the supplementary "kalin" which they transmit solemnly to the bride's father or his substitute. /Cited in English./

/38/ 9. Delivery of the Presents and Invitation to the Wedding

583 About ten days before the wedding, the go-between and several members of the bride's family go to deliver the gifts agreed upon; in addition they bring 12 loaves of bread, a sheep, a goat, and the pieces of meat called mutsé, a term which the people did not succeed in explaining to me; only one knows by that that all the girls of the bride's neighborhood and the married girls in her family are invited.

583 After taking tea, they show the clothes, the hat, the eardrops...
584 so that they may be examined in detail. From time to time it happens that at this moment new difficulties again arise. Such and such a piece is refused.... Another must be substituted for it in haste or the wedding will be postponed until later. They demand everything up to the last cash before allowing the bride to leave;

Mo /38 cont'd/
583 for they know that after her departure they will not be able to get
584 anything more.

10. Marriage without Ceremonies

Mo 585 When a girl has reached marriageable age and the families are too poor to permit themselves the luxury of grand festivities, they proceed in a very simple fashion which they call /39/ "marriage without ceremonies," that is, the girl is taken away without any ceremonies. That is always done the last month of the year, on the ninth, tenth, or eleventh day. The mother-in-law in the company of the go-between goes to get the girl. They take tea with her family, they are served a piece of meat and some bread; then the two of them take the girl away on foot. If the distance is great, they go on horseback. When they arrive at the home of the groom, there is no festivity. The bride, still wearing her hair as unmarried girls wear it, becomes a member of the family as an unmarried girl. (1)

Mo 585

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 65: The Manchus also adopt the following practice: they take into the family where there is a boy a small girl for whom they pay her parents a price arranged and she lives in the position of a bride until the boy reached the age of 17, 18. Then they have the marriage ceremony and the young man becomes a husband. They follow this practice when the girl's parents are poor and have many daughters and the boy's parents need a working member in the family. P. 75: When the girl reached the age of 15, 17 years, they make a very modest wedding. /Cited in English./

/39 cont'd/

585 In the evening of the last day of the year, in the kitchen, in
302 front of the fireplace and before the image of the god of the hearth, they plait the bride's hair in the fashion of married women. The groom arrives, the whole family is together; the engaged couple kneel and bow three times to the god of the hearth. The marriage ceremony is completed! They prostrate themselves to their parents and to the whole family; a little extra is served at the meal, and they wish one another better days and a return of good fortune.

463 On the first days of the new year the parents invite the go-
465 between, they dine the best they can, they pour gin, and the young
58 couple prostrate themselves to him. Then they offer the go-between the usual present of the poor, either a string of cash or a string of cash and 400 cash. They make excuses for the little that they can offer, they thank him effusively, and then they have discharged their obligations.

585 When the bride's family is very poor, it happens that the groom's family (mother-in-law and go-between) take the girl to their home when she is only nine or ten years old or even younger. They keep her in the family as an unmarried girl until she has reached 15; /40/ then the last day of the year she is married as described above. Marriage without ceremonies is also practiced in the last month of the year when there is a sudden death near the time of the wedding in one of the families of the engaged couple; the same should the girl's parents die; then the groom's family hastens to take the girl home to marry her when she is about 15.

765 Among the more Chinese T'ou-jen, upon the death of the
585 parents of one of the parties several days before the wedding, they follow the Chinese custom, which consists in celebrating the marriage without paying attention to the death. The festivities take place with the usual vigor. Only on the day after the wedding do the lamentations and the great mourning begin; the death is announced everywhere and preparations for the funeral are made.

/40 cont'd/

11. Farewell Dinner at the Bride's Home

584 The solemnities begin at the bride's home the day preceding
585 the wedding. They are often richer and noisier than the ones at the groom's home on the day of the wedding. They have a special character. No guest of the groom's family is present at this festivity; it is given solely in honor of the relatives of the bride's family and intimate friends. Nobody is invited. It is up to each one to judge whether his relations with the celebrating family permit his presence. The more influence the family has, the more numerous will be the intimate friends. With us, such an uncertainty about the number of guests would be very annoying for the service and would cause a good many surprises at the dinner. Here, this is the least of their worries, for the custom of bringing loaves of bread in the guise of gifts can provide for every eventuality.

585 In the first place, one notices among the guests the members
[182] of the family of the bride's mother. They will never fail to be present at the festivity. They consider their presence not /41/ only a duty but a right; thus their absence would be unjustifiable. The elders of the mother's clan are always present. Truly odd way of thinking, they do not go to the festivity to enhance its solemnity nor to give evidence of their friendship to the family, but tanquam potestatem habentes /"as having authority"/. They see in the girl who is leaving the family their daughter who is leaving them; they wish to be present at her departure and show themselves her protectors. One feels in this the unity of the family, one sees in it a feeling of strong cohesiveness; it is the clan which is there at the dinner. They will absent themselves from the dinner at the groom's home, but never from the one at the bride's.

Among the guests are also seen the members of the paternal side of the girl, friends and neighbors. The members of the mother's family take precedence at the dinner.

585 The Orient is pre-eminently the land of ceremonies; at fes-
[183] tivities the guests require that they be rigorously observed; if not, although treated royally, they will not be satisfied and in the whole region criticisms will go about at a good round pace.

/41 cont'd/

585 Care is taken to invite for the event a master of ceremonies (called Lordziwa, from the Tibetan Lo-rgyus, "narration," "speech"); he will be a man highly regarded in the region, eloquent and adroit. He will make all the necessary arrangements, will give orders, will smooth out all the difficulties which could arise, and will pronounce the traditional speeches at the desired moment. He will have at his disposal two well-trained men, whom he will have close at hand and who will serve the guests at the table.

[342 349] The courtyard is made ready for the festivity, for it is there that it will take place; whether it is freezing hard or pouring rain, no matter. Besides, the T'ou-jen houses have no room which could hold 40 or 50 guests. The courtyard usually being rectangular, they build several masonry supports 30 centimeters high, on which are laid planks which serve as tables. These tables are two feet wide. The planks are not fastened together, are not painted, are not /42/ even covered with tablecloths. Fitted together, they form a single piece and are arranged in a horseshoe. /See illustration 5./ The serving is done from inside the tables. The guests are seated on the outside, on pieces of felt spread out on the ground or on straw. Care is taken to hang cloths above the courtyard, which give the illusion of being seated in a vast tent. The decoration of the courtyard consists of some Chinese paper lanterns hung overhead and some red silk streamers, 30 to 40 centimeters wide, draped lengthwise of the courtyard. In a corner two or three Chinese musicians make a racket.

[372] In the middle of the rectangle of tables burns a large fire, the sacred fire of the shamanists. From time to time they throw cypress branches on the fire as incense. Several paces lower than the fire, in the posterior part of the rectangle, are laid out horizontally on two little walls two doors taken off their hinges; they serve as a table where the presents are displayed. Add a few hens which scratch about in the courtyard, several lambs which clutter up the open space, several children who run between one's legs, and that is pretty much the scene of the festivity.

/42 cont'd/

585 The guests have been arriving since ten o'clock in the morning, some on foot, others on horseback. The guests' mounts are attached to ropes tied to stakes driven into the ground in the area in front of the door, just as nomads do in front of the tent. All the neighbors, on duty, await the guests in this area, who as they arrive are conducted into a room in the side buildings of the courtyard. In the room, on the wall facing the door, is hung a religious image. The guest bows to it, kneeling. A Chinese has taken up his stand on the k'ang; he holds a brush in his hand and writes in the register of festivities the name of the guest and notes conscientiously the gifts he brings. The master of ceremonies takes these, thanks the guest, claims that he has been too generous, and the guest /43/ leaves the room.

585 /43/ According to custom, each guest must bring eight loaves of bread cooked in steam; as for the rest, he gives as he pleases. A present of four or six feet of red or green cloth is usually enough. If the guest is an intimate friend of the family, he will give a few feet more, or he will offer a less ordinary kind of cloth, or he will add to his gifts 800 cash strung on a red cord with a strand of white wool at the end. Every family keeps these registers of donors; for later in similar circumstances the register is there to inform them as to the fashion in which the givers will be treated in their turn.

[604] Custom determines only the presents the mother's family will offer. The maternal uncles of the bride must give her a skirt; the maternal aunts give her a pair of boots or a pair of parti-colored sleeves, or a piece of cloth ten feet long. These formalities taken care of, the guest is conducted into the front building where he greets the heads of the family and is immediately served tea with milk and some bread. Having drunk his cup of tea, he leaves the room to make room for other guests and to mingle with the group which is standing in the courtyard.

585 Toward two o'clock in the afternoon no more guests arrive; everyone takes his place in the courtyard in front of the tables set up, the women on one side and the men on the other. If there is a guest of note, he takes his place at the table of honor, which backs [604] up to the front building, with the maternal uncles of the bride.

/43 cont'd/

585 Each guest has settled himself, not without first having made many an excuse and salaam. All follow the gospel which advises taking the last place in order to see oneself forced to go up toward the first ones. It is a real contest of politeness in which the master of ceremonies is forced to intervene with much circumspection. The parents of the bride do not preside at the festivity.

585 At the table one is all the more at ease if there are fewer /44/
264 guests. The felt rugs and the litters of straw are very practical
[285] "seats" at these wedding dinners, since they permit seating as many people as one wishes. The guests having taken their places, the meal is begun by serving tea with milk and dry bread. Because the interior of the rectangle remains free, the service is done briskly. Do not expect to see beautiful teapots, milk jugs, cups, saucers, plates of fine porcelain. The milk is already poured into the tea in the kitchen, the copper teapots are those of every day; the bread is put around in piles on the tables, the cup is made of white earthenware but without cracks.

585 After the tea, well-heated gin is served. It is poured into
273 about 20 small terra cotta cups, which each one passes to the other after drinking two or three swallows. The women drink the gin like
585 the men. They chatter, they smoke, while waiting for the main
262 dish, which consists of a sheep served whole and cooked to a turn.
264 The head and the saddle are detached but put back in place so as to give the illusion of one intact piece. Three sheep are served at a time. While the sheep are being admired, the servers distribute to
[415] each guest a small wooden receptacle which has the shape of a saucer and in which vinegar is poured. Several wooden boxes con-
[263] taining salt and pimento are in the center of the table. The T'oujen do not use forks or spoons; the fingers are the main means of eating, as they maneuver with a knife and the pair of chopsticks which each guest carries in a case attached to his belt. The servers take the meat with their fingers, cut it in pieces, and fill the saucers of the guests with it. The meat is eaten seasoned with salt, pimento,
[263] and vinegar, and one adds to it a piece of bread. The bones are thrown on the table or on the ground. As soon as the mutton is tackled, complete silence reigns over the assemblage, all of whom

/44 cont'd/
585 maneuver busily. Having no napkin, one ends by licking one's
262 fingers at first, then rubs /45/ them on one's boots to soften the
264 leather. A bowl of bouillon finishes the meal. Gin is poured, and
[527] the table is cleared. This is the famous feast called susen by the T'ou-jen and ts'iuen iang si by the Chinese, "the dinner with the sheep served whole." It is the largest dinner given in the region.

585 It must be admitted that for such a dinner the dishes are neither
261 large in number nor dainty, and that the culinary art has not reached
[252] the heights; but this does not keep the good stomach and the T'ou-jen spirit from being at their zenith. Everything is relative in this world below.

171 This dinner, these hosts, this scene make one think of dinner
264 among nomads on the steppe. There, the dinner is served in a spacious tent; among the T'ou-jen it is given in the courtyard covered with cloth; there, all are seated on the ground on pieces of felt or on straw, here the same; there, rudimentary plates and dishes, here the same; there, the main dish of the grand feasts is sheep served whole, here also. Why don't the T'ou-jen put on a feast like the Chinese, putting some ten tables in a courtyard, each one for eight guests? It is because among the T'ou-jen the old customs of the nomads live again at the important moments of life. Once and for
585 all let us call attention to the vestiges of the ancient nomadic organi-
262 zation of the T'ou-jen, met with on the occasion of a wedding. In the olden times they busied themselves with the raising of large
585 animals (oxen, sheep, horses). The proof of it is that all the presents
431 given in former times and recalled on the occasion of wedding feasts
231 consisted either of horses or oxen; the bride's family used to give an ox to her maternal uncle, a horse to the maternal uncle of the groom, and another horse to the groom himself; the groom's family used to give an ox to the maternal uncle of the bride; they still require a mare as earnest for the girl; the meat at the dinner is invariably
[262] mutton; again it is mutton which is offered at various times, according to matrimonial custom, and it is mutton which is given to the guests at the moment of /46/ departure.

231 Nowhere is pork mentioned as being offered as a gift, although at present the T'ou-jen are occupied principally with the raising of

M /46 cont'd/
231 pigs. With their tsao tchou, i.e., "pigs which live on plants," they are the great suppliers of pigs for the capital of the province.

M We have arrived at the chief attraction of the wedding.
585 They begin by spreading out the presents the parents made to
431 their girl and to the family of the bride /sic/. This display is pre-
583 sented on the doors laid out for the purpose in front of the shamanistic fire within the tables. For people of average means the gifts are usually composed of the following pieces:

For the girl:
1) three long garments of checked calico with lining, a green garment, another of red, a third violet
2) two long plain garments, blue and black
3) two skirts
4) one long padded garment
5) three plain trousers
6) three or four waistcoats (bolero type), blue, black, violet
7) one large hat for feast days
8) several belts each 12 feet long, parti-colored or embroidered
9) four or five pairs of sleeves in varied colors
10) five or six pairs of artistically embroidered sleeves
11) some ten pairs of leggings
12) a long garment of black sheep's wool
13) a belt of black sheep's wool (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 308: (among the Mongols) when everything is agreed upon, the parents of the bride are obligated to construct for her a yurt, provided with everything necessary for a household, /47/ so that she does not need to ask for anything from others. Then she is given all that concerns her toilette and even a saddled horse on which she is to go to her husband's home.

/47 cont'd/

585 431 583 For the son-in-law: 1) Chinese cap
2) lined or plain garment of checked calico, blue in color
3) belt of red cloth 12 feet long
4) leggings or boots, never trousers
5) a big Tibetan k'ata, which will be put around his neck (1)

1. K'ata (Tibetan, khabtags) ... is a pale-blue silk scarf, very primitively woven; it is offered among the T'ou-jen to persons whom one wishes to honor or from whom one expects a service; it is even offered to the gods. Very pretty ones are found, blue or white, of first quality, very long, with Buddhist pictures; they are offered only on important occasions and to persons of note.

For the grandfather: a piece of felt
For the grandmother: a long, plain garment or a skirt
585 431 583 602 [287] For the son-in-law's father: a piece of felt
For the son-in-law's mother: a long garment or a skirt
For the paternal uncles of son-in-law: a pillow
For the paternal aunts of the son-in-law: leggings
For the son-in-law's brothers: leggings, pillow, or k'ata
For the little sisters of the son-in-law: two feet of white cloth serving as a handkerchief
For the big sisters of the son-in-law: a piece of red cloth four feet long
For the maternal uncle of the son-in-law: the gift of honor, a big k'ata, and a string of large cash strung on red cord with a strand of white wool
For the go-between: a pair of boots and a string of cash or six strings of cash and a pillow.

In rich families the fabrics will be of the best quality; in addition they will have a hat of silver strips, two or three pairs of ear-

583 /47 cont'd/
585 drops, silver rings.... It even happens that rich people give their
431 daughter several /48/ arpents of land, which are called ngusge
602 gadiziar (ngusge, "rouge"; gadiziar, "land"), i.e., the land which
[425] procures the girl's rouge, with the condition that the husband must sow it and give the revenue from it to his wife. Thereafter, if the son-in-law's family is ever forced to sell these lands, the first offer will have to be made to the wife's family.

423 About 30 years ago, the Ma family of Na-lin-keou had re-
583 ceived in marriage a girl, Pao, who had received from her parents some "rouge lands." The Ma family became poor and mortaged these lands to the Pen family; later it sold them to the Heou family. The Pens, basing their right on the Chinese axiom, "He who holds a mortgage has prior right of purchase," brought an action against the Mas and demanded the turning over of the lands. But then the Pao family appeared and claimed these lands as being the "rouge lands" given to their aunt at the time of her marriage. The Chinese court recognized this custom and decided in their favor.

This same custom is still found among the Mongols. Recently, the king of Orat of the confederation of Olantsh'ab, giving his daughter in marriage to the king of Hang King of the confederation of the Ortos, gave her on this occasion part of the lands of Sainnoor (30 li southwest of the Christendom of San-tao-k'iao, Mission of Ning-Hia).

585 As for the gifts of which I have spoken above, there are
583 numerous variants; I knew a case where the girl was given only six long garments; another where she was given ten; everything depends on the financial situation of the family.

The women in particular are very much interested in the gifts; they examine the fabrics and the finish of the embroideries, especially those on the sleeves and the two ends of the belts. Months and months of work are often put on these pieces. When the examination is finished, the bride is brought in.

She is carried on a small, low Chinese table, which has been covered /49/ previously with red felt. She is put down between the sacred fire and the display of presents. This is her first and only
[302] appearance at this festivity. She is bareheaded and wears the hair style of unmarried girls.

/49 cont'd/

585 604 The master of ceremonies moves toward the girl's maternal uncle, makes three bows in the Chinese manner, and invites him to take his place beside her. The uncle comes forward, stands beside the girl. The assemblage rises and stares silently at the scene

The master of ceremonies presents a cup of wine to the maternal uncle and invites him to empty it. He reiterates the gesture three times. After this he offers to the seated girl two cups, which she grasps in each hand; he puts in them a red lozenge and pours wine in them. She holds the full cups in front of her at the level of her mouth. At this moment the master of ceremonies makes this speech to her:

"Your maternal uncle, the master of your bones, is at your side; the whole family is present here; your departure is set for tomorrow. From the time of our ancestors, at the dividing up of the family property, one whole part used to revert to the son, and to the daughter half of this amount. Present times no longer permit such a division, there comes to you no more than several pieces of clothing"; then, he names one by one the gifts which the family gives her and shows them to those present, without forgetting to state the color, the quality of the fabric.... He likewise enumerates the gifts prepared for the son-in-law and his family. Addressing himself again to the girl, he says, "Your parents have certainly done all that they could for you; and they would have done more, but their means did not permit it. Be glad, be very grateful to your parents, do not forget them, see, your maternal uncle and the whole family will always be 'at your back.' " Then the girl weeps bitterly, and according to custom she must manifest the greatest sorrow.

The whole assemblage is under the spell of the moment, a tear forms in many eyes. Two women come /50/ to get the girl and take her back....

585 614 604 This ceremony gives one something to think about, all the more because it is not explainable in a patriarchal organization where the daughter is the true property of her father, her grandfather, or rather the paternal clan. What is this maternal uncle with all his clan doing, he who will always be the protector of the girl, who will always be "at her back?" This duty is really incumbent on the paternal clan.

M /50 cont'd/
585 Why is the maternal uncle invited to stand near the girl during the
614 whole speech, and why does the maternal clan have precedence at
604 the festivity and at the dinner? Why is the paternal clan in the very background all this day, when it is nevertheless the one which is giving its daughter in marriage and which has the duty to defend her? Also abnormal is this custom which fixes only the gifts to be offered to the girl by the maternal aunts and uncles and not those to be given by her paternal uncles and aunts. Finally, why attach more im-
M portance to this festivity than to the one at the son-in-law's home?
585 Let us remember that this ceremony is held around a shamanistic
795 fire and not before an image of Buddha, although Buddhism is with-
771 out question the primary religion of the country, and that in spite of the fact that the whole clan includes numerous lamas among its
M members, shamanism is actually the old religion of the T'ou-jen.
585 Let us note again that the master of ceremonies, when he takes the floor, recalls the faraway past in which the daughter still inherited from her parents half as much as a son. One would say it was a history lesson.

We are here in the presence of a very old ceremony, one which is completely abnormal in a patriarchal organization.

After the speech and the girl's departure, the guests are in-
M vited to sit down; gin is served, and they play mora noisily; they
[262] sing and smoke while waiting for the Chinese noodles to be served.

M /51/ The master of ceremonies arranges the gifts in chests,
585 and all the pieces are numbered, so that the next day at the dinner
583 at the son-in-law's home, when he again takes the floor, he can take them out without difficulty. (1)

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1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 308: (Mongols) As soon as the livestock has been delivered to the future wife's father (the German translation of the same work says that he himself comes to the future husband's home to get them), he gives a feast which is soon reciprocated by the husband-to-be for the relatives and

2: Schram--54 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
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affinal kin of the girl. The young man, accompanied by his family and friends, sometimes up to a hundred persons, goes to the father-in-law's with several dishes of cooked mutton; the rich have up to 20 different dishes brought along with a great quantity of brandy and khadak; all the guests are already assembled in the yurt of the latter. After they have worshiped the idols, they present khadak to the father-in-law, the mother-in-law, and the closest relatives. Then all the guests go out from the yurt, sit down in a circle, and the meal begins; it consists of meat, wine, and tea in bricks. When the feast is over, the husband with his followers sometimes goes to repeat it at the homes of other close relatives of the wife-to-be. This feast is called khorim kourghetzou, "offer of the nuptial feast." Then it is that the husband-to-be, and often his father and mother, receive rich clothing on behalf of the future wife. Moreover, the husband does not have the satisfaction of courting his future wife, for according to the custom of the Mongols, from the day of betrothal she must avoid any meeting not only with her lover but even with his parents. It is also at this feast that, in response to the solicitations of the future husband's mother, the two parties consult the lama who chooses a lucky day for the wedding.

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The festivity draws to a close. The master of ceremonies who has counted the guests has ascertained that he cannot keep them

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585 all until the next day, which is the day of the wedding dinner at the home of the son-in-law; we have seen that the number of guests invited to this dinner is prescribed. He will therefore have to politely send some away. To this end he comes to each person who will be sent away, without saying any more, bringing four loaves of bread and one or two pieces of raw meat. This is called pou fen tse, "to complete the dinner." They understand and leave with many polite phrases.

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/52/ The ones chosen for the feast the next day try to find lodging for the night, either with neighbors or in the home of the bride; some of them celebrate very late into the night and pass the time singing and drinking. This part of the festivity is often less attractive for us, since the gin spoils its freshness. It has the disadvantage of sending to the wedding dinner the next day at the son-in-law's home many guests with heavy heads and in bad humor because of fatigue from a tiring trip and a night without refreshing sleep.

585 574

The T'ou-jen like to sing at weddings. Their own repertory in the language of the country is not very wide, so they ordinarily sang Tibetan songs. One of the very rare songs in the Monguor language is the one about the origin of the mythical bird Chong-tsewa. (1) It is very often sung at weddings.

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1. Chong is probably the Buddhist Garuda called K'yun in Tibetan. Grunwedel says in Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet u. der Mongolei /Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia/, p. 25: semidivine being, deadly enemy of the Naga, a mounted bird, the king of the feathered /tribe/ and his kinsmen.... P. 191, ... is always represented in Lamaism with a thick body, human arms, on which the wings are located, and the horned head of a bird. He is part of the company of the formidable gods and plays

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allegorical roles, such as the role of a symbol of victory.... He also occurs in Lamaism as a human-faced bird with human hands, but then he appears to be only the adoring figure standing subordinate to another chief figure. When he is the figure of worship, he stands, with outspread arms and wings, facing a dying Trigi, his fangs /talons?/ piercing her breast. /Cited in German./ The chong live on Mount Sumeru, the T'ou-jen say, although Grunwedel (p. 180), speaking of the inhabitants of Mount Sumeru, does not mention the Garuda among them.

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A young man, Feng-tong-kouo, goes out into the valley every day to pasture his master's horses. Tche-mei-kouo, a young wife who lives on the plain, also comes there every day, bringing her sheep. They meet and sit down on the highest mountain, from whence they watch over their herd and flock.... Every day when leaving home, they climb up opposite sides of the mountain to join each other at the top. On the way they pick flowers and cypress branches. Every day they climb the highest peak together to light /53/ a fire there and burn their flowers and cypress branches, adding a pinch of flour made from parched wheat: This is their offering to the spirit Tsang-rtshié; then they prostrate themselves piously....

The husband of the young wife had developed a hatred for the herdsman on the other slope of the mountain. One evening he goes to his home, gets him drunk, and kills him with a dagger blow. When he comes home, he gives his wife the dagger covered with blood. She does not succeed in cleaning it with hot water or with cold. Then, taking saliva, she slowly succeeds. This is a revelation to her. Early in the morning she anxiously climbs the mountain in order to go and see the herdsman. People are already burning his

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539 body without succeeding. The fire goes out continually. She takes
831 her big hatpin and throws it into the fire. The fire flares up and bites the corpse for a moment, then goes out again. She throws on it in turn the copper cup attached to her headdress, her ring, her eardrops; then, taking off all her clothes, she throws them one by one into the fire, and each time the fire burns the corpse a little more. Finally, she jumps into the fire. The fire shoots up, glowing, at once and consumes the two lovers. A tree is seen to come out of the ground at the spot; it has two branches which intertwine but separate above. The husband of the dead wife, in a transport of rage, runs up with his axe to separate the two branches....O, marvel, two wonderful birds fly away from the knot. They were the Chong-tieua. (1)

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1. This very old legend is found all over Asia in many various forms. Etudes asiatiques /Asiatic Studies/, published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Far-Eastern School, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 35, "The Peacocks Flew Away"... third-century Chinese poem by d'Aurouseau, and Vol. 1, p. 189, notes 1 and 2, Annamite poem, translated and annotated by G. Cordier.

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533 Another song which the T'ou-jen never fail to sing at a wedding
539 dinner is a Tibetan song. It is enjoyed all the more because it is accompanied by dancing and gestures. It lends itself to a very expressive mimicry. It tells the story of a T'ou-jen Judith. In the T'ou-jen region of Lien-tch'eng the brigand Wang-mang had been terrorizing the region for years. In spite of the magnificent rewards promised by the emperor of China to anyone who could catch him, nobody /54/ was succeeding in taking or killing him; for he was vulnerable only under the armpit. The wife of a T'ou-jen military man by the name of Lou, known in the country for her marvelous beauty, succeeds in seducing Wang-mang, and at night in his tent

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539 she drives home the dagger under the armpit of Wang-mang, who is sleeping dead drunk beside her.

A flying courier carried the news of this exploit to Peking. The Judith saw herself bestowed with honorary titles, and her husband received the hereditary position of t'ou-se of Lien-tch'eng. This is the origin of the glory of the Lou clan.

In the lamasery at Lien-tch'eng are still kept two dried-up black hands, which are claimed to be those of Wang-mang. The T'ou-jen regard them with veneration. Unfortunately, they are two right hands! In addition, the origin of the function of t'ou-se of the Lou clan is entirely otherwise, as we shall see in the historical part of our work. The only fact to be retained from this legend is that there was in the region a robber named Wang-mang.

12. Getting the Bride

585 The Chinese diviner or the red lama has previously set the favorable hour at which the bride is to leave her paternal home. This departure can be set for any hour of the day or night. Therefore everything is prepared in order that the ceremonial be finished by the favorable hour of departure, which is called the mati funigu, or the hour when one mounts the saddle. The bridegroom goes to get his bride, with two companions well versed in the ways and cus-
585 toms and knowing how to sing well; often the go-between goes with
292 them. The son-in-law has put on his best /55/ clothes and wears the great ceremonial hat with red fringe (the one of the ancient dynasty of the Manchu); red cords are plaited into his hair. He carries a bow of olden times; on the end of the bow is attached a strand of red wool. A quiver worn on a strap over his shoulder con-
[441] tains four arrows. Upon his return home he will hang the bow above the window of the nuptial room where his wife will be brought, and the four arrows will be hung in each corner of the room. According to custom, the companions must wear a long, white garment of sheep's wool, a garment rarely worn by the men in the area.

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The son-in-law always rides horseback on this occasion. If the distance is great, the two companions will also ride horseback; if it is short they will go on foot. They lead the horse which the bride will mount. This horse must be a mare or a stallion; if it is a mare, it cannot be pregnant. The horse's trappings are of no importance. They have been careful to put a bag full of straw on the horse's mane, on which the bride will lean during the whole trip; a rug or a piece of red felt covers the saddle; the horse wears small bells. The companions drag along a two-year-old sheep, which they will offer to the family upon their arrival. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, Social Organization of the Manchus, p. 77: When the day of wedding is fixed, they send invitations written on red paper to all relatives and honorary guests....All acts concerning the wedding ceremonies, invitations of the guests, presents and so on must be registered in a special book and made according to the calendar and hours fixed in advance....

The day before the day of the wedding, they go to bring the bride to the bridegroom's father's house... in a special carriage.... As soon as the carriage is ready for the road, the bridegroom kneels down in front to "inbe" (wooden screen put in the yard) and several times touches the soil soundly with his forehead. They burn as incense the Chinese ajen hen, fixed in a cup with the black beans, that have generally a very important part during the wedding ceremony.... Usually they leave the bridegroom's house in the afternoon calculating to arrive at the bride's house before the

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585 sun sets.... In the carriage sits a woman of 30 - 35 years old. She as well as other people who follow the carriage must have all her children alive and can belong to any clan except that of the bride. She has with her a piece of raw pork and 20 - 30 Chin. small rolls put in a sack. [43] The meat is called "exchanging mother's flesh." The woman gives it to the bride's mother and at the same time takes the bride. This is exchange /56/ of the bride (mother's flesh) against the pork.... In the carriage there also sits a driver.... Before the carriage ride on horseback the bridegroom and his aid...before them rides a man who burns...Chinese crackers... before this man ride two or four men with Chinese lanterns.... /Cited in English./

P. 78: If anyone meets the bridal caravan, he must leave free way to the caravan... even if this would be a governor general, he would do the same. If two bridal caravans meet on the road they stop, and the free pass is decided by a duel of the two bridegrooms. During the duel they burn Chinese crackers all time. /Cited in English./

P. 79: At the moment of arrival of the caravan, the gate of the bride's house is opened widely to receive the bridegroom.... Then they approach the door of the principal house. The door must be shut. They knock at the door and somebody, always a young man, asks from inside, who has arrived and for what purpose.

Mo 585 /56 cont'd/

Then the bridegroom's party without saying the purpose of their visit insists in being let in. After long negotiations they let them enter in, for a price of 5 - 7 - 9 pieces of red paper, symbolising money, some black beans and charcoal, all made of paper. If the weather is not cold the negotiations are very long. /Cited in English./

Mo 583 585 /56/ When they have arrived at the home of the bride, they find the door shut and barricaded. They knock at the door for a long time, calling the people. The women answer from inside, but they refuse to open the door. Then the companions beg them by singing. This song is improvised on a desired /voulu/ melody. They sing, for example, that they have come by mountains and valleys..., which they are careful to describe...; the family is renowned for its hospitality; why don't they open up this time? They are so tired, they come from so far, they are good people..., but they do not speak of the purpose of their trip. The women answer by singing, "We will open the door to you if you can answer our questions." Again improvisations. An example: Did the sun precede the moon, or the moon the sun? Did the bow exist before the arrow, or the arrow before the bow? Did the jug exist before the cup, or the cup before the jug? Answer: The moon was before the sun..., etc. Why so? The sun came second for heating; the bow followed the arrow for the happiness of military men, the pitcher for the good of hosts.

Mo 585 It is obviously very pointless; it is endless; let us note that one is quickly in trivialities and broad jokes.

The women end up by drawing the bolts noisily, but they continue to push against the door. The men /57/ outside push with vigor, while somebody throws an avalanche of water on their heads from above. The son-in-law keeps his distance. Finally the door is opened. (1)

M: Lo 585

/57 cont'd/

1. Customs of the same kind in which women play an important role in similar circumstances are found among the Miao of Kweichow. Cf. Anthropos, 6th year, Schotter, "Notes ethnologiques sur les tribes du Kosi-tchecu."

Likewise among the Lolo of Szechwan a custom is found that is absolutely identical to the one we have just described among the T'eu-jen. -"Enquête sur les barbares du Liang-chan /Investigation of the Barbarians of Liang-chan/" in Politique de Pékin, June 20, 1931: "When the bearers of the bride arrive at her house, the women of her family begin to sprinkle them with water either with pails or hand pumps. The bearers must let them do it, they are not permitted to avoid the sprinkling."

Mo 585 782

After they have tidied their clothes, the three or four visitors are ushered into the room. They kneel before the religious image hung on the wall opposite the entrance door and get ready to kneel before the members of the family who hasten to stop them. Out of a bag they take two big jugs of gin closed by a lozenge with the traditional strand of wool, and two legs of mutton. They present the legs and apologize, saying that in other days their ancestors offered two sheep to the women. Then turning to the men, they present the gin, saying that in the old days it was customary to offer two goatskin bottles; but times are no longer like that; anyway, what we present is given wholeheartedly. Then they spread a piece of red cloth two feet long on the table and put 12 loaves of bread on it, adding the veil of red or green cloth for the bride, a comb with an even number of teeth, the helmet of copper or silver with which she will cover her head, the red cords to plait into her hair,

Mo 582 292

585 /57 cont'd/
[292] the eardrops, as well as the large pin which fastens the headdress to the coil of hair.

The dinner is not delayed; a sheep is served whole, as well as a dish of noodles. Things are not dragged out. Let us note that the guests who have spent the night are at the dinner and are present at the farewell ceremonies.

/58/ The two companions rise, take out from their bags two new jugs of gin, and offer a round to everyone present, bidding them to help everything go off in good order, for the ceremonial hour designated for taking away the bride has struck. They open the second flask immediately, pour for everybody in the same way, "and this," they say, "is to invite you all to the wedding dinner, which will take place today at our place."

Then they proceed to the dressing of the bride. She is seated in
[77] a side room on a little Chinese table on which is unfolded a piece of red felt. The bridegroom is invited by the family to enter the room. The bride keeps her eyes lowered and does not even greet him. It is the bridegroom's task to undo the unmarried girl's braid of his bride. There are always three red strings in the coil of hair; the bridegroom takes them out and puts one in his pocket. The two others will then be attached to the iang hstia (1) and kept in the family so that the

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1. The iang hstia is the family's good-luck talisman. It is an iron rod two to three feet long fixed in a bulky and wide wooden base. Attached to it are little strands of wool, hair from the tails of cows and pigs and from horse manes', red strings, ends of k'ata; on the base, carved in the shape of a saucer, are seen grains of wheat, millet, colza.... The iang hstia is held in honor by the family; it has its place beside the spirit which is honored there, and is itself honored. The T'ou-jen believe that

/58 cont'd/

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their good fortune is attached to the persons of their children, to the animals they raise, to the grain they cultivate. When a daughter is given in marriage, it is good fortune which goes away; when animals are sold, it is wealth which abandons them.... Now to keep good fortune and wealth from leaving the family, they take from the braid of the daughter given in marriage the two red strings, which they attach to the tang hsia, they take hairs from the animals, they keep some grains of the cereals they sell. Favors received from spirits cannot be sold; so they believe they are in order with the spirits by keeping a souvenir of the favors received. They will therefore kneel before the tang hsia as before the spirits.

585 family's good fortune may not go away with the daughter who is leaving the home. The son-in-law takes the new comb he has brought passes it three times through his own hair, then three times through that of his bride. The third time he leaves it in her hair and goes out of the room.

The door of the room is closed, and the women inside comb and dress the bride. The two recent singers /59/ had brought a red [823] garment for her, because the bride must be dressed all in red today. Nevertheless, she sometimes covers her head with a green veil. The two companions stay in front of the bride's room and intone the song of the toilette while the women inside hurry to finish their task. They are heard singing, "We who are named Li have come to the home of the honorable Wang family with a comb having an even number of teeth; we have not learned to comb hair, we beg you, comb the girl's hair with art in our place.... We have brought earrings, we beg you to put them on her," and so on for all the pieces of attire.

/59 cont'd/

585 And they continue to sing, "On the spot where the bride is seated, later will sit sons and grandsons....On the ground she treads on you will find grain, money, wealth...."

585 292 The toilette is finished. A veil of coarse red cloth entirely envelops the bride's head and is tied around her neck with a red cord so that she cannot see anything any more. There are some areas where the veil is no longer tied around the neck.

585 [262] Meanwhile, the master of ceremonies has laid out before the religious image a table on which is noticed a cup of milk, a cypress branch to which is attached a strand of wool, a bushel measure containing wheat, with a prayer book in Tibetan characters on top of the grain, another lighted lamp, and a bundle of chopsticks. If there is a red lama in the house, he begins to intone the farewell prayers. The mother of the girl is seated alone on the ground in front of the table, facing the image. The door opens with a din. The bride, veiled and yelling, is carried seated on a piece of felt, either by four women or by a brother, who holds her in his arms. They run around the table, carrying the bride. They leave the room abruptly, and at the moment of leaving, one of the women carriers /60/ takes the chopsticks laid on the bushel of grain and throws them impetuously on the mother's knees. Everything is done with precipitation and abruptness. The singers continue their songs while the girl is carried outside. "When your daughter comes back, your courtyard will be full of horses and oxen, your house will be rebuilt with a second story and a veranda, the lintel of the door will have become one of gold." They continue their songs outside: "It is the auspicious time to mount on horseback; it is the auspicious time for the horsemen to mount in the saddle; it is [illegible] take the great highway to the north (or to the south)."

The bride is put in the saddle by her brothers, and the singers do not stop singing while dancing in cadence and making their long white garments float. There are places where a man also mounts on horseback behind the bride and holds her in his arms. This rider is a member of the family but never one of her brothers.

The son-in-law and the go-between have gone ahead. The horse which the bride rides is led to the middle of the area in front

Mo /60 cont'd/
585 of the house. Her father, also on horseback and holding the iang hstia in his hands, gesticulates like a madman, pretending to stop his daughter's departure. His horse is led three times around the open space; he calls his daughter with loud cries. She answers each time, shouting, "I am here, yes, here." On the third time around the father on horseback is led into his house but on the side opposite to the one from which his daughter will go.

The side from which the departure is to be made has been carefully indicated by the diviner; it is the way on which the spirit of good fortune awaits. Then the women of the family, those of the neighborhood, and the neighborhood girls run after the bride's horse and keep him from advancing. The singers throw them some cash to make them let go the bridle, but the girls continue to follow the bride the whole day. They hold each other's hands, sing, and caper. This scene does not lack picturesqueness and poetry. They follow their friend to the bridegroom's house, and they go around the farm, /61/ singing and holding each other by the hand. The bridegroom's family then gives each girl three cash, three loaves of bread cooked in oil, and a piece of pork, and they go back without going in. (1)

Mi
[585]

1. Schotter, "Notes ethnogr. sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou," Anthropos, 6th year, Vol. 2, p. 320: If you meet a group of young Miao girls on the highway, it will be a bride going on foot with her companions to her husband's house. The joyful troop will come back the same day of the wedding.

Mo
585 This practice is called āgu dźüradźin (āgu, i.e., "paternal aunt," term of respect for women; dźüradźin, i.e., "to follow," "to run after someone"). It is the pursuit of the lady.

The bride must have a companion; for this, they always look for a beautiful young woman who is alert and resourceful, who will follow her on horseback. She is always a woman who has children; a little page, riding pillion, clings behind her.

M 585 /61 cont'd/

[431 178] According to what they claim, in former times the bride's parents used to make the present of a handsome horse to the son-in-law at the moment of departure. The custom does not appear to exist any longer.

M [593] The bride's father and mother do not participate in the festivity, but her brothers, sisters, uncles, and aunts are all present.

When the bride is on the way, all the guests who stayed overnight follow in a group; the gift bearers wind up the procession. The bride laments all the way, leaning on the bag of straw placed on the horse's neck, her head always enveloped in the coarse veil. These tears, these sobs, constitute a real elegy. She addresses herself aloud to her parents, her brothers, her sisters; she has a good memory about each one of them; she calls to mind their goodness, the gifts; she recalls the animals in the stable, her paternal home... then she is M [606] afraid of the future, of her parents-in-law, whom she does not know; she is afraid of being cursed by her mother-in-law, afraid that the name of her mother will be used in order to curse her. Often in these elegies there are splendid sallies, very naive, very deeply felt; the M [607] girls also /62/ learn this kind of literature in their play; the sisters-in-law teach them, and they teach one another. It is an elegy based on life. Similarly touching ones are heard at burials. (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 309 and following. On the preceding day, two lamas go on behalf of the husband-to-be to find out from the parents of the bride whether any obstacles have arisen (German translation: The Mongols do not have the custom of going to get the bride. The evening before the departure they content themselves with sending two men for....). As the day nears, the wife-to-be pays visits to her closest relatives and spends at least one night at the home of each of them having a good time, going walking with her friends, who

/62 cont'd/

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then accompany her to the paternal house where the rest of the time, which is one night or two, she plays, sings, and entertains her companions, her relatives, her neighbors, who are gathered together. The day before the one when she is to leave the paternal yurt, the lamas offer prayers according to the rite called Gouroum ki kou, and before the departure according to the San tabi-khou rite. While the yurt and the other objects are being sent, the intimate friends gather in the yurt and sit in a circle near the door with the wife-to-be, sitting as close to her as they can. (German translation: all the bride's friends gather in the yurt.) The envoys of the husband-to-be have trouble making all these people leave one by one (German translation says: "those who are to bring the bride"; it does not say that they are sent by the husband-to-be) and getting hold of the wife-to-be to carry her out of the yurt; they then put her on a horse, cover her with a coat, have her go around the sacred fire three times, then they set off, accompanied by the closest relatives; they are followed by the mother and the other relatives of the wife-to-be. The father stays home if he has not been invited the day before, and on the third day goes to find out about his daughter's health. The carrying off of the wife-to-be is not ordinarily effected without strong opposition, especially if there are several vigorous men among her

/62 cont'd/

HM 585

friends (German translation: vigorous women friends), and more particularly in former days when the bride was tied, when she was held back by the sleeves of her dress, or when they were attached to the yurt. At half a verst of the way /translator's note: possibly "halfway"/, the husband-to-be sends wine and meat to refresh the bride and those who accompany her. Upon her arrival she remains surrounded by her companions until her yurt is ready. As soon as she enters it, she is seated on a bed. The numerous plaits of hair which she wore as a girl are undone, her coral ornaments are removed, and after they put some ornaments on the two plaits left, she is dressed in the clothes that a married woman wears.

HM [301]

M 585

Because of her regrets and sorrow the bride does not address herself to anyone during the whole trip; according to custom, she cannot speak to anyone. The bridegroom's family sends two groups to meet the procession, and a third waits near the house. The two groups greet the guests on the road and offer them tea and gin. They have lighted a large fire right in the road where the guests can warm themselves in the winter and light their pipe. They get off their horses to go near the fire, then the procession continues.

M [571 777 484]

Since all marriages are always celebrated on special auspicious days, it is not rare to see nuptial processions meet. The custom then is that the processions stop. The young T'ou-jen bride, who has carefully put away her new comb in a piece of red cloth, takes it out and exchanges it with the unknown bride. Without speaking to each other and without being able to see each other, sobbing, they exchange their good-luck tokens. Touching little scene.

/63/

Mo 585 484 784 The travelers who meet a nuptial procession always make a detour to avoid it for fear that the evil spirit which is supposed to follow the bride will bring them misfortune. (1)

Ma 585

1. Shirokogoroff, pp. 80-81: (Those who have come to get the bride dine after taking tea.) An old experienced man, who must belong to the bride's clan, gives orders (máster of ceremonies)....(Two girls of the bride's clan and a little boy are seated at dinner near the friend who comes to get the bride. In the morning, people get up early and eat. The bridegroom steals the chopsticks he has used and goes out into the courtyard....) During this meal the bride's clan women dress the bride. During the dressing she cries, or pretends to cry. When she is ready, nobody says her goodbye, and (the master of ceremonies) cries: the bride is ready. Then the bridegroom and all his party run hastily towards the carriage to put as quickly as possible the horses on the carriage. At the same time the crying and resisting bride is carried by her brothers, who throw her into the carriage that must be run out the yard as soon as possible. After this it can be stopped to arrange the harness. Usually the bride's brothers escort on horseback the bridal caravan. The customs of the ancient Manchus differ a little from these of the modern Manchus. For ex.: the bridegroom enters the bride's house only with his aid...prays to the bride's clan spirits...after this sits down on a small basket (for chickens /in English/) to await

/63 cont'd/

Ma 585

the ritual meal. When the meal is ready they invite him to take a very modest place near the door on the right "k'ang," while his aid and driver occupy the principal place. The bridegroom and his aid do not steal the chopsticks. When the bride is put into the carriage the bridegroom goes to thank the bride's mother,...before going away he prays once more the bride's clan's spirits. (The presents from the bride's family and from her mother's brother and his wife are taken to the son-in-law's home the very morning of the wedding day. The women who accompany the convoy will open the boxes with much ceremony and will allow the gifts received by the bride to be admired....) /Cited in English with connecting phrases in French, indicated by parentheses./

/64/ 13. Arrival of the Bride in her New Family

Mo 585

The procession has arrived at its destination. Two young women are there waiting for the bride outside the great door. Their ages and the animals of their cycle must be in complete harmony with those of the bride; moreover, they cannot be widows nor pregnant, and all their children must be alive.

The bridegroom helps his bride down from her horse; first he puts her on a little Chinese table and then on a piece of red or white felt in front of another little table on which have been placed two cups of tea and two plates of bread. A bushel of bran has been put at the door. With the bride standing on the felt, the two women hasten to put under her arm a small jug of gin in which a pair of chopsticks have been put. A piece of red cloth covers the neck and

/64 cont'd/

585 envelops the chopsticks. Then the son-in-law places himself on the left side of the bride, near enough to her so that his arm touches hers, and so that she knows when she must go ahead and stop. At the moment when they enter the courtyard, pieces of red felt are spread in their path one after the other. Cash, symbol of wealth, are thrown in front of them, and likewise wheat, symbol of fecundity. The couple is led straight to the kitchen where the T'ou-jen honor the god of the hearth. There the jug and the chopsticks which she held are taken from the bride, and these objects are put down before the god of the hearth, whom the bride salutes with three prostrations. (1)

1. "Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen /On Fire Worship among the Mongols/," by N. Poppe, Asia Major, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 141-142.

[776 782] As can be seen from the above, much depends on the fire god. It is no wonder, then, that the young bride, when she first steps across the threshold of the new house, must bow in front of the hearth. By this act she puts herself under the protection of the fire god, since this same figure is the guardian spirit of the family. /Cited in German./

/65/ We have seen that at the bride's departure chopsticks were thrown on her mother's lap. This gesture meant that she no longer belonged to the clan; here, as soon as she arrives, she is incorporated into the bridegroom's family by being offered another pair of chopsticks and presenting them to the god of the hearth. From the kitchen she is led to the nuptial chamber, her head still veiled. On the four corners of the k'ang (1) have been put several cash, two

[354] 1. K'ang: stove used in the north, on which the family spends the night.

packages of sugar, and some red lozenges.

/65 cont'd/

585 Four bundles of straw burn at the four corners of the courtyard; it is hoped that the smoke will rise straight up. An oil lamp, in which [354] two wicks of equal length have been placed, is put in front of the religious image in the main building and is lighted as soon as the bride has entered the nuptial chamber. They look at the lamp attentively without touching it in order to see which of the two wicks, the one on the right side or the one on the left, will go out first. In this is seen an omen for the long life of the husband and wife; the right wick designates the girl, the left the boy.

The bride's maid of honor accepted the cup of gin presented to her when she dismounted. She dipped her finger in it and sprinkled some toward the four cardinal directions; then she touched the wine with her lips. She did the same for the bread and tea which were presented. Only after performing this rite did she follow the bride into the nuptial chamber, whose door was closed behind her. She is not given anything to eat or drink as long as the marriage rite is not finished.

As soon as the bride crossed the threshold of the door and entered the courtyard, the go-between took his place in the middle of it, [262] holding in his hands a cup of flour made from parched wheat; he ate some flour and drank some gin each time the bride passed through the courtyard, either going to the kitchen or returning to the nuptial chamber.

The other guests do not enter then but go toward the open area in front of the house. A little table has been placed /66/ in the middle of the area, and on it are seen a well-done sheep, several more legs of mutton, a pig's head, some sausages.... In front of the [262 604] table is spread out a piece of red felt on which is seated the bridegroom's maternal uncle. Here he seems to fill the post of head of the family as did the maternal uncle of the bride in his niece's family. Gin is being warmed over a small fire.

Upon the arrival of the guests the bridegroom's father has gone to meet them with the traditional k'ata on both hands. He greets each of them by putting the k'ata on their hands. This is the ceremony of welcome.

/66 cont'd/

585 A member of the family says aloud, "The sheep will be divided into five parts. The first will be for the maternal uncle, the second for the father, the third and fourth for each of the two singers, and the fifth for the master of ceremonies. Then the guests tackle the legs of mutton, the sausages, etc. After this appetizer the guests of the bride's family are invited to enter the courtyard. The placement of the tables for the feast inside the courtyard is the same as at the bride's home on the day of the dinner.

[604 262] The bride's maternal uncle and the go-between are invited to be seated in the place of honor. Tea is poured, and loaves of bread cooked in steam are served hot. As soon as the tea is drunk, the two singers from before appear, holding in their hands a teapot whose spout is coated with butter. They pour the buttered tea for all those present, who understand by this rite that they are asked to give up their places to the guests of the bridegroom's family, who will be served tea and bread like them. The bridegroom's family has treated its own guests in the same way as the bride's family treated its guests: introduction into a side room, presentation of gifts, notation in the register....(1)

[71]

1. Shirokogoroff, pp. 82, 83, 84: Every guest is obliged to give some present which cannot be less than $1 in value, or in money. They have a special book in which they inscribe all guests' names and presents. The guests whose presents are of value are inscribed in a red paper, which is fixed near the front door. Finally the bride and bridegroom arrive, they descend from the carriage outside the yard. The women who arrived with them conduct the bride and bridegroom by the hands to the screen. /Cited in English./

/67/

14. Gifts of the Bride's Family to that of the Bridegroom

585 431 All the guests remain standing at the back of the courtyard, and it is before them that the presents from the bride's family are taken out of the boxes. They are displayed on the doors inside the rectangle of tables. First the new clothes which her parents give to her are handed over to the bride, and her maid of honor hurries to put them on her in her room. There are also the new clothes for the bridegroom, who likewise puts them on.

The bride's family's master of ceremonies takes his place inside the rectangle of tables near the sacred fire. The bride, dressed in her new clothes, the veil always on her head, leaves her room and is led by her maid of honor inside the rectangle on the right side of the red felt. The bridegroom takes his place beside her on the left, his arm touching the bride's. A young man places himself behind him; the bride's maid of honor is behind her. They kneel on the pieces of felt, having in front of them a table on which two lighted lamps are placed, and on whose four corners are put four small packages of cash.

The master of ceremonies begins his speech: "We, the bride's family, have invited as guests the go-between, the maternal and paternal uncles and aunts of the bride, as well as their sons and daughters...." All the guests from the bride's clan come forward to take their places in the upper part of the courtyard. The master of ceremonies speaking in the name of the bride's family first presents the k'ata to each guest of the groom's family; then gin is poured for everyone. "Now," he continues, "I have a word to say: before the wolf, the dog is afraid to bark; before great men, little people are afraid to open their mouths. If what I am going to say is well said, do not praise me; if what I am going to say is badly said, excuse me.... /68/ In olden times the ancestors used to proceed to marriages only when the limits of the lands were well established. (Nobody [423] has been able to explain this passage to me; this fact seems to lack sense as much in a nomadic organization as in the present-day agrarian one in which the T'ou-jen live. Actually, today the T'ou-jen

585 /68 cont'd/
431 are all owners with personal title, all their properties are demarcated;
423 therefore it is no longer a question of demarcating lands. Is this an allusion to a previous social condition no longer remembered?)

585 "Generations have succeeded generations. When an idol of
539 Buddha is old and lusterless and when it is giled anew, it is again shining and beautiful to see; when one puts a brand-new border around an old garment, the garment has gained much by it; when to the old relations between families new ones are added, they become all the stronger. Among you was born a boy who had all the virtues of the lion; among us was born a girl like the "khuī t shiąn" (mythological bird). It was the ideal combination for a marriage. But how would this union have been able to be accomplished? (The cupbearer pours wine for the go-between and bows to him.) If one does not see clouds in the sky, no rain will fall; if there are no go-betweens on the earth, there will be no marriages. (1) What was too high, you, go-between,

1. Compare Anthropos, 6th year, p. 320, Schotter, "Notes ethnogra. sur tribus du Koei tcheou": Just as thunder and lightning pave the way for rain, so go-betweens are necessary to pave the way for marriages.

have lowered; what was too low, you have raised; the high and the low have met on the same level like the lever arm of the balance. You have leveled off the way on which the two parties have traveled.

"In olden times they used to thank the go-between for his services by dressing him in new clothes from head to foot; but the feeble means of our poor family allow us to offer you only a pair of boots and a string of cash. We hope nevertheless that you will be satisfied."

585 /69/ After giving the gift to the go-between the orator usually
608 addresses the maternal uncle of the bridegroom. The cupbearer bows to him and pours gin for him. "When a son," he says, "has no wai-kia (the son calls his mother's family wai-kia /Chinese term for one's mother's family, literally, "outside family"/, i.e., all her relatives,

585 /69 cont'd/
608 brothers, sisters...), then when the son sees that his mother has no relatives, it is a sign for him that his mother's origin is not pure. When a wife has no niang-kia /literally, "wife's family"/ (the wife
608 calls her own parents, brothers and sisters her niang-kia), then when
585 the relatives of a wife are not known, it is a sign for her that her
431 origin is doubtful. Formerly, a handsome horse used to be given to
[604] the bride's maternal uncle, master of his sister's children. But times are changed; although you are the principal guest, nowadays we give only the k'ata; we give you a fine one, a big one, do not refuse it...." Then the orator addresses the parents of the bridegroom: "During the day your heart, always occupied with the children, cannot be at rest; even at night, you cannot sleep. Such solicitude truly deserves several garments and fine gifts; but you know our indigence; when we stretch out our arms, the sleeves of our garments are too short and the arms stick out from them; at night when we stretch out our legs, our feet stick out from the covers, which are too short. What misery! If we had been able to follow the inclinations of our hearts, you would have had splendid gifts." Then the cupbearer advances toward the grandfather, bows to him, and presents gin to him. "Grandfather," continues the orator, "we present you with a brand-new piece of felt, unfortunately it is too narrow, too short, too thin, and it is badly made in the bargain, but deign to accept it anyway."

The cupbearer advances toward the grandmother. "We give you a garment made of very bad cloth and very badly made, but deign to accept it"; and the ceremony continues thus in the same vein for the father, mother, etc., as was said in No. 11. This scene is often rather picturesque and /70/ brightens up faces; the grandfather must sit down on the piece of felt, the grandmother is dressed in the garment, they have a good time....

585 The orator addresses the bride and groom last: "In olden times,"
431 he says, "sons-in-law used to receive several complete costumes; moreover, they were given in hand a fine bow, a quiver, and arrows; in addition a fine horse. Unfortunately, those good times have vanished, and the parents-in-law offer you only..." (see No. 11).

M /70 cont'd/
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431 "And you, our daughter, you are also the child of your times. Formerly, the gifts which the parents gave to their daughter were so numerous that they had to be transported on wagons or a whole herd of oxen was loaded with them. We give you the following gifts (see No. 11). Truly they are insignificant; it is as if we were giving a naked daughter to the mother-in-law.

"To you all, relatives by marriage, we pour wine, be indulgent and content." Then the master of ceremonies out loud orders the bride and groom to kneel to the whole assemblage; then wine is poured for all the guests. (1)

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1. Father De Smedt gives me a variation of the master of ceremonies' speech, although noting that the T'ou-jen from whom he got it even told him that he had forgotten a good deal about the subject. Although this speech is incomplete, it contains variations which are worth the trouble of being kept: "A dog does not dare bark in the presence of a tiger, thus it is not fitting for a little man like me to speak before an assemblage as respectable as yours. A horse of small size does not run fast, they say; thus the words of a man without merit are insignificant. If you succeed in understanding my words, do not attach any importance to them; if you do not understand them, do not make fun of me. When an old statue is newly gilded, when a brand-new border is put on an old garment.... Thus it is a praiseworthy practice always to become related to families with which marriages have been contracted for many generations...." The rest is about as we have related above.

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Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 305. The dowry of the girl consists,

HM 583 /70 cont'd/

apart from clothing and utensils, of a certain quantity of ewes and horses (among the Mongols).

/71/ 15. The Wedding

M 585 Then they proceed to the marriage ceremony as such. This most solemn ceremony of all recalls Biblical times to us, first because of its profoundly religious character, and then because of the old man officiating.

M [603 604] Actually, this office belongs by right to the grandfather in the bridegroom's family. When the grandfathers are dead, the maternal uncle takes their place. The name given to the old man who officiates is very characteristic: he is called šürödzin khun, which means literally "the man who gives the blessing." Indeed, it is the old man who orders the prostrations to be made to heaven, to the spirits, to the members of the family and clan, and it is he who pronounces the wishes for good fortune and prosperity, the bringing about of which is awaited from heaven and the spirits. Thus we are in the presence of a religious rite in the full force of the term, a rite which reveals the capital importance attached to marriage. Besides it leaves an unusual impression on the assemblage.

All those present are standing. The bridegroom is on his knees at the left of the bride, whose head is still enveloped in the red cloth; the maid of honor is on her knees behind the bride, likewise a young man behind the bridegroom. Then the grandfather advances and takes his place standing near the sacred fire; he orders in the midst of the greatest silence:

M 585 181 THAT THE FIRST PROSTRATION BE MADE TO HEAVEN AND TO THE MULTIFARIOUS SPIRITS.

Dē thurōŋ thorguē šge thiaŋgeri olon phurgán ñiandu murgu.

The bride and groom, the maid of honor and the young man make the great Chinese prostration: three genuflections and as many bows, touching the ground with the forehead. All is done solemnly and simultaneously.

/72/

585 THAT THE SECOND PROSTRATION BE MADE TO THE FATHER
181 AND MOTHER AND TO THE PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY.

Dē gōrda thorguē āni āwa khudugu šgesdu murgu.

THAT THE THIRD BE MADE TO THE PERSONS OF THE MOTHER'S CLAN AND TO THE WHOLE CLAN.

Dē gūrānda thorguē urug tharug imag saru ñiandu murgu.

Then in the midst of the greatest silence he continues in a solemn voice:

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO BUILD SEVEN FARMS!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO BUILD HOUSES WITH A SECOND STORY AND A VERANDA!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO SHEAR SEVERAL HUNDRED SHEEP ANNUALLY!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO MOUNT HUNDREDS OF HORSES AND RAISE HERDS OF HUNDREDS OF OXEN!

MAY YOUR SONS BE NUMEROUS: SO THAT YOU MAY SEE YOUR GRANDSONS STILL MORE NUMEROUS!

MAY YOUR FAMILY BE FECUND AND OVERFLOWING WITH PROSPERITY LIKE THE SEA WHICH OVERFLOWS!

MAY YOU BE DURABLE AS IRON!

MAY YOU DAY BY DAY BECOME RICHER AND MORE POWERFUL LIKE FIRE ON WHICH OIL IS POURED!

585 Then the old men and the parents throw some cash on the felt at the feet of the young couple. The maid of honor removes the veil from the young wife and leads her into the nuptial chamber. The two lamps which burn on the table in the middle of the courtyard are taken away to be put before the religious image, where they will burn as long as there is any oil.

[793] Let us note the absence at this marriage ceremony of any religious personnel, shaman, lama, tao-jen /Taoist priest/; let us notice in addition that it does not take place in a temple, but that it is performed in the home, under the authority of the head of the family, in front of the ancient shamanistic sacred fire, and under the patronage of "heaven and the multifarious spirits." Marriage among the T'ou-jen is then, incontestably, /73/ something other than a simple union of the sexes. The wishes for prosperity enunciated

2. Schram--81 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2
Manchu AG4

/73 cont'd/

Mo 585

by the "old man who blesses" for the benefit of the young married couple make one see clearly what is expected of this union, on whose behalf is awaited the bringing about of these wishes, and how marriage is viewed in time; certainly it is not regarded as a temporary union. (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 311. The bride is dressed in the clothes of a married woman and taken to the home of her father-in-law to make a bow (mourgoulekou) to him. She finds gathered there all the relatives and friends of her future husband. During the reading of the prayers of the ritual, her face is hidden, and following the various movements of a man who serves as a guide for her and who is always chosen as being of the same age as she, she bows first toward the fire, then toward the father and mother and the other closest relatives of her husband-to-be; all give her their blessing (youroughel) aloud. During this ceremony, clothing and other objects are distributed to them on her behalf. The father-in-law, according to a previous agreement, has chosen those which suit him....Then the bride returns to her yurt.

Ma 585

Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 82, 83, 84: Finally the bride and bridegroom arrive, they descend from the carriage outside the yard.... The woman who arrived with them conducts the bride and bridegroom by the hands to the screen: they put the bride by the bridegroom's right hand and burn Chinese incense. The bride and

/73 cont'd/

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bridegroom kneel down three times and pray the spirits of heaven and earth. After this ceremony, the bridegroom goes to the front door, and a woman who must be happy and may not be pregnant at this time, puts on the bride's head a piece of red silk, and she leads the bride by hand to the front door. The bridegroom catches as quick as possible the silk and puts it somewhere in his clothing. After this they lead the bride in the house and put her on the k'ang behind the curtains. There she stays all the time. No men can enter there or see her, except the bridegroom who visits her several times; he must be all the time near this place. The bridegroom's parents assist him and are sitting near the bride's place. There they receive congratulations from the arriving guests while the bride's and bridegroom's parties take the ritual meal. After this they prepare the rooms and the tables for the wedding feast. Meanwhile behind the curtains is operated by some women the rite of "untying of the virginal tress". This rite is considered by the Manchus as one of the most important moments of the wedding. When the tress is untied, they extract the hair one by one on the forehead. After this is finished the bride must be left alone always behind the curtains. /Cited in English./

/73 cont'd/

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16. Opening of the Daughter-in-law's Mouth

Until now the wife has not yet opened her mouth; her head has always been enveloped in the veil until the end of the marriage ceremony. On no pretext has she been able to say a word since her departure from her home. All the guests have had their /74/ eyes fixed upon her; uttering a single word would be considered one of the most fatal omens for the future. She is even forbidden to satisfy her natural needs, and in anticipation of that she has abstained from drinking the day before.

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Her mouth must be opened by the mother-in-law in person.

Led back into the nuptial chamber after the marriage ceremony, she has been served tea and bread still in silence. Then comes the mother-in-law, who sits down on the k'ang and tells her point-blank, "Starting from today you are forbidden to divulge anything that goes on in the family, and anything that will happen in the future. You will not repeat within the family what you will hear outside. A daughter-in-law's mouth must be 'hard' (do not tell anything) with respect to people outside, it must be 'flexible' toward her relatives."

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The daughter-in-law answers affirmatively, her mouth is opened. They talk again together for several minutes. Henceforward the wife is permitted to talk with her maid of honor in the nuptial chamber; the women who are at the festivity go to wish her good day.

17. The Dinner

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The guests of the two families have taken their places at the tables prepared for the dinner. (1) The maternal uncle, the go-

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 84: (A dinner is served in the Chinese style. A master of ceremonies conducts the proceedings.) The clan people and especially the family members eat after the guests. When the meal approaches its end, they bring to the bride's place the ritual meal

585 /74 cont'd/
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of 6 cups and 6 plates. The bride is sitting now dressed as a married woman and turning her face to the wall (like the Chinese). The bridegroom arrives with a boy and without seeing the bride's face, eats his first meal in the presence of his future wife. The bridegroom repeats his visits to the bride during this day six times. /Cited in English with interpolations in French, indicated by parentheses./

between, and all the daughter-in-law's family occupy the first places.

585 This is the big dinner with the whole sheep. They always be-
262 gin by offering gin. First the elders of the son-in-law's family /75/
264 pour it three times for the daughter-in-law's family; then the new husband's father and mother themselves present three cups to the new relatives; next comes the son-in-law, who also in his turn offers gin to his new family. The dinner proceeds as at the daughter-in-law's home.

585 18. Gifts of the Son-in-law's Family to the Daughter-in-law's Family
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They begin by distributing to each guest a piece of raw meat of the weight of a leg of mutton. The guest puts it in his carpetbag. The guests cannot go back home with empty hands; that would be a great affront to them. One can judge the quantity of meat necessary
[262] for such a wedding. That again breathes of the nomad, who lives on herds and with whom meat constitutes the basic food.

After this distribution of meat, the son-in-law enters the courtyard, leading a horse; he has attached a piece of red cloth to its mane. At the same time several cows, sheep, donkeys, and goats are led into the same courtyard where the guests are.

/75 cont'd/

585 431 The master of ceremonies of the son-in-law's family then takes the floor to distribute the traditional gifts to the daughter-in-law's family. The son-in-law remains kneeling, holding his horse by the bridle.

585 604 431 The master of ceremonies first addresses the maternal uncle of the daughter-in-law. The cupbearer bows to him and offers gin to him three times in a row. He begins with the saying, "Nan tch'ou wai kia, niu tch'ou niang kio," i.e., "the boy has the physique and the moral nature of his mother's family, and the girl those of her own relatives /parents/.

"Now you, maternal uncle, you are the representative of the family stock of our new daughter-in-law; it is fitting therefore to present to you, /76/ before doing so to all the others, our respectful compliments. We offer you the great ritual k'ata and a sheep. We should give you a cow according to tradition, but times have changed. Receive with good will." Formerly, the maternal uncle used to receive a cow on behalf of his mother's family; today he is given a sheep as at the home of the son-in-law. Next he addresses the go-between, for whom they pour the gin...."Formerly the go-between was given a complete costume, but times are no longer the same.... We present to you a string of cash, be satisfied...."

585 431 Then it is the turn of the bride's maid of honor; they pour gin for her. They give her a piece of cloth four feet long, a goat, 600 cash. But she hastens to protest with vehemence (it is the tradition), which provokes the laughter of the assemblage. She is given the traditional 800 cash.

The little page comes and receives 200 cash for riding the horse. The bearers of the boxes containing the bride's gifts receive 400 cash apiece; then all the members of the bride's family receive the k'ata. The master of ceremonies sits down, pretending to have finished his task.

585 431 231 But then comes what is called the suhuta, the final ceremony. In cauda venenum /"poison in the tail"/. The master of ceremonies from the daughter-in-law's family, as well as several elders of the family, stands up indignant; they manifest with vehemence the desire

/76 cont'd/

585 to see the old traditions observed and protest against innovations.
431 In this case it is a question of having themselves granted several
231 more head of livestock. The other side understands immediately that the festivity will not end peacefully without the giving of some animals. It is the moment for the master of ceremonies from the son-in-law's family to show eloquence and tact. He rises and proclaims that peace between the two families is more important than several animals. "We want a lasting and peaceful alliance," /77/ cries he. "We must have concord and harmony. We ask no better than to satisfy your wishes. Choose our best beasts, but leave us at least several old and thin animals, for we are poor, we still have to live. But peace above all, and also the welfare of the children. Do not forget that two animals are necessary for the plow and that if you take one of them, we shall no longer be able to work our lands; you will not be able to do any more with one single animal; then leave face also to your son-in-law. We know the traditions, but times are no longer the same, and customs also change a little."

During this speech one of the guests of the daughter-in-law's family has already detached the piece of red cloth from the horse's mane, which signifies that the horse is considered as secured, ready to be taken away. The son-in-law leads the horse out of the courtyard. Two or three members of the daughter-in-law's family who have gotten together in advance mark about ten animals with butter. The son-in-law's family is displeased...they get angry...they push
[604] one another...they shout.... Then the daughter-in-law's maternal uncle, the representative of the whole clan, rises and asks how many animals have been marked. "Ten," they answer him, for example. "Ah, good," says he, "we shall take these ten away." The owners complain...they beg...they do not let anything leave the courtyard...all the son-in-law's family kneel before the maternal uncle, imploring him. In the end they agree on two-thirds or on half of the animals already marked. The horse is taken away as well as another animal; the rest of the animals will be taken the next day.

It sometimes happens that the scene does not end so peaceably. Indeed, it is known that the son-in-law's family has hidden its best

585 /77 cont'd/
231 animals with neighbors or elsewhere; it allows only a few old nags
431 to be seen, which it does not even intend to give up.

It is at this moment that the little peculiarities of the race be-
[571 come apparent in all their crudeness. We have been able to notice
578] in all the phases of T'ou-jen marriage this mania for mutual exploi-
tation. /78/ At this hour one sees the two clans together, equally avid, and each of the two, under the pressure of the moment, feels itself united and strong. The voice of blood makes itself heard quickly, brutal, demanding. It is no longer a question of civilities and ceremonies, and it is not at all rare that the festivity degenerates into quarrels and scuffles.

585 In this moment one sees that marriage among the T'ou-jen is
614 not a disinterested affair but an affair of the clan, of the community, among whom the general good takes precedence over everything.

After such eventualities of a T'ou-jen wedding, it is natural enough when one meets those who are coming from a wedding to ask them whether all went well, or whether there wasn't some trouble!

Now one understands the importance attached to the role of master of ceremonies. It is he who must prevent these difficulties, who must judge when it is necessary to yield and how far the concession can go. He must have the required tact and the appropriate word which all will be pleased to hear. He will be listened to all the more if he is highly esteemed by both sides.

585 In two circumstances this cry of the blood among the T'ou-jen
578 is brutal and terrible: at the end of the ceremonies of a marriage,
571 and on the occasion of the negotiations after the suicide of a daughter-in-law.

The Pei family was giving a daughter in marriage to the Li family. The Pei grandfather, known for his extraordinary cupidity, had enjoined his master of ceremonies to demand the finest horse in the Li family's stable, a horse highly reputed in the region. When the moment came they demanded the horse, but the horse was not there. They looked in vain at the homes of the relatives and neighbors; the horse remained impossible to find. Coarse words were exchanged, and they came to blows. The festivity ended without any

585 /78 cont'd/
578 more being served to drink and without the distribution of the fare-
571 well gifts.

The next day the Peis got ready to bring an action before the t'ou-se. The customs had not been observed, /79/ the farewell gifts
[431] had not even been given, people had fought, etc.... The injured side demands indemnities for the injuries and apologies for the discourtesies.

[627] The elders of the region come to see the Peis and propose to settle the affair amicably. Negotiations...dinner...and practical conclusion: the Lis will make apologies and will offer a sheep to the Peis, then the two families will renew kin relationships.

After rounding this dangerous cape, they breathe again and quickly serve gin to distract their minds. Each one having taken his place again at the table, Chinese noodles are served to finish up.

585 The son-in-law's family invites its master of ceremonies to
431 distribute the farewell gifts. It is the pou fen tse /"supplementary shares"/ complement of the dinner. According to custom, they give to each person of a generation above that of the daughter-in-law eight loaves of bread and two pieces of meat. To the persons of the same generation and to those of lower generation they give four loaves of bread and one piece of meat. Then they think also of the persons who should have been present and who have excused themselves; they likewise prepare for them their loaves of bread and pieces of meat. In the evening at the moment of departure it is not rare to see the guests go away with one or two loads of bread and meat. It would be a discourtesy to refuse the gifts. They claim that formerly, at the moment of departure, the son-in-law's family used to give to the daughter-in-law's family "the lama's part." It consisted of two pieces of meat and eight loaves of bread, which were taken to the lamasery the next day.

The custom of asking for the lama's part has continued to exist in different places, but that of taking the gift to the lamasery has disappeared.

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19. Departure of the Guests

585 These wedding dinners always end in the evening. /80/ Most of the guests get ready to leave about this time. However, one always finds a group who will spend the night drinking and singing.

[213] As soon as they get ready to leave, they shut up the young bride in the room; the custom is that she does not say good-by to the guests. At the departure the young women of the family and the young neighbor women are at the door, provided with a jug of gin, to offer the stirrup cup. The departure itself constitutes a rejoicing. The women who have prepared flour of parched wheat try to smear the faces of those who are leaving. They shove each other, they chase one another; several women take the men while others daub them...they defend themselves.... The departure is always very noisy. They mount the drunkards on the horses, they go away and come back to take a last glass.... It goes without saying that drink takes many victims at these festivities. On these days one can determine the truth of the saying, "The camel, as soon as he sees the willow, can no longer be held back; the T'ou-jen, as soon as he sees gin, no longer is in control of himself." At nightfal the son-in-law enters the nuptial chamber where he finds his young wife and the maid of honor. Since the door of the room stays open, all the members of the family and the guests who have stayed late follow with their eyes the rite which takes place. The young married couple first make a prostration to the maid of honor, who wishes them all the good luck imaginable while presenting to them two cups of gin tied together with a red cord. The young couple must drink in concerr. She pours for them three times in succession while the group on the outside makes the warmest wishes. The newly married couple make a second prostration to the maid of honor and to the whole group as thanks; the maid of honor leaves them, closing the door of the nuptial chamber. The lamp in the room must not go out for three nights. (1) The following morning the

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 86: (These rites are more complicated among the Manchu:)

/80 cont'd/ [MANCHU]

585 Then they put on the ground a table on which they put two candles and two small cups for Chinese alcohol. Everyone is pushed out the room. An old woman takes the bride and the bridegroom by the hands and leads them three times around the table, gives two small cups of alcohol /81/ to the young people and transmits the bride's hand to the bridegroom. During this time the 'maître des ceremonies' /master of ceremonies/ approaches the house, he has in his hands a torch and a basket with black beans and sings the nuptial song. After each couplet he throws the beans against the window; the crowd of guests repeats the above words. After the rite of transmitting of the hands is over, the crowd enters the house. The following morning the young wife with her husband go around the court, houses and kitchen garden, pray and give the sacrifices to different spirits. (Then she goes to honor the tomb of the ancestors of her new family... on her return,) the young wife stands by the principal door, puts tobacco on the pipes of all her new clan members, lights the pipes and gives them with ceremonial manner to her new relatives. They keep during the whole night a lighted lamp on the k'ang.

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The following night the proof of virginity is required. /Cited in English, with French interpolations indicated by parentheses. /

Mo 585 /81/ maid of honor comes to arrange the hair-do of the young wife in the manner of the women of the place.

20. Visits after the Wedding

Mo 574 585 Mo [262]

The third day after the wedding, the father and mother of the young wife come to make a visit to the newly related family. This visit is called "opening a new road," tying new relationships. They bring a jug of gin, loaves of bread, dry Chinese noodles, and come, they say, to invite the son-in-law to come to their home. It is customary that on this day the young wife prepares the dinner. They make her take a practical examination of her culinary knowledge. It is she also who serves the last dish of the dinner and clears the table. The guests praise her and throw several cash for her into the empty cups. In the evening the guests go home.

The next day the father-in-law, the son-in-law, and the young wife go, the three of them, to return the visit to the parents-in-law. They bring two jugs of gin and loaves of bread. The married couple make the great prostration to the members of the family who are of generations above their own. In the evening the father and the son-in-law go back home /82/ and leave the young wife with her parents for several days. After choosing an auspicious day, one of her brothers will take her back to her husband's home. (1)

HM 585 754

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 312: A month later the young wife sets out with her husband or with one of her close relatives to pay a visit to her parents, which she repeats several months or a year later. (German translation: and stays with them for several months, indeed often for a year.)

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She makes this last visit solely in order to receive the livestock which are part of her dowry. The parents for love of their daughter give her as many as their resources permit. Rich people give their daughter as many as one hundred head of livestock of different kinds.

Shirokogoroff, pp. 89-90: The eleventh day after the wedding, the young couple visits the young woman's mother's house. Usually only they two go, but it is also permitted to take with them a driver. No solemnity is practised. The mother and the relatives meet them at the gate, after which they serve the ritual meal of 8 cups and 9 plates. During this visit the young couple do not stay a long time in the wife's mother's house, and they absolutely cannot spend a whole night under the roof of this house. This restriction is effective only for the first visit, after which the young couple can sleep in the house. Five days after this visit, the young woman goes once more to her mother's family. This time she must be transported in her mother's carriage and with her mother's horses. She stays in her mother's house during 15 days. This custom is called "visit of my mother's clan." /Cited in English./

/82 cont'd/

21. Relations of the Married Couple with the Daughter-in-law's Family

593 585 a) Relations of the married daughter with her own family after the wedding.

The daughter-in-law is incorporated into the family of her [776 782] husband. We have seen that upon her arrival at the door of the house she was given chopsticks and a jug of gin, and that then she was taken to the kitchen to honor the god of the hearth of her new family by prostrating herself three times and presenting her offering of gin and her chopsticks.

Henceforth she will call the members of her husband's family by the same name that he calls them; in speaking of them to a third person she will add the term gadin, which means relatives by marriage.

Because the husband's family bought her, she has become its property; her original family no longer has any rights over her. One /83/ expects therefore that the relations of the married daughter with her own family would be broken, or at least that they would be very much reduced. Now this is not the case, as the long and frequent visits she continues to make to her parents after the wedding prove, as well as the custom of keeping her valuables and her clothes in her original family.

593 574 As a matter of fact, custom has it that the husband takes his wife and children to the home of their relatives in the first month of the year. His wife will stay with her family for ten or 20 days, often for even a month. When this period has gone by, her brother takes her back to her parents-in-law. Toward the fifth of the fifth moon the husband takes her to her family for the second time. This visit is shorter; after a few days her brother takes her back. About the fifteenth of the eighth moon the husband takes her to her parents' home for the third time. This time she stays there 15 or 20 days or even a month. The fourth visit to her family takes place in the last [527] month of the year and lasts about 20 days. Her brother brings her back for the festival of the god of the hearth, a festival which

593 /83 cont'd/
574 daughters-in-law cannot miss on any pretext. Each time the trip is
[527] made on horseback, and the husband comes back home the same day or the next.

When the two families live in places too distant from each other, for example, two days or more, the daughter-in-law makes only two visits a year to her parents. The first is made after the sowing, about the third moon, and lasts a month, the second after the threshing of the wheat, about the eleventh moon; it lasts a month and a half or even two months. The daughter-in-law will always be back for the festival of the god of the hearth.

[562] Women over forty can go to their own families whenever they like.

Outside of these customary visits there are cases of sickness in the family, mourning, marriage, celebration for a first-born child, etc., and each time the married daughter does not fail to be present.

/84/ This is the customary thing. However, in practice these visits depend on many circumstances. It may happen that the daughter-in-law's family is poor and does not want to entertain its daughter and her two or three small children. Then these visits will become shorter and less numerous. It may happen that the relations of the daughter-in-law with her family are less intimate, then of course they see one another less. When the parents of the married daughter are dead, the brothers and the sisters-in-law invite their sister less. Likewise when the married daughter has several children, she will not be able to take them all away with her, and she will not want to leave them for as long a time and so often. If the husband and wife get along well together and the daughter-in-law is well treated by the mother-in-law, her visits will naturally be reduced; but although reduced, they are always extraordinarily frequent.

In general, these visits are the cause of many troubles in the two families because they are too prolonged and too frequent. They give the young wife every chance for relations that are not praiseworthy at her place of origin, and these end up by chilling the relationship with her husband. During these visits the daughter often complains about her mother-in-law; then her parents, in order to

/84 cont'd/

593 make her life more bearable, make difficulties with the family of
574 the parents-in-law, and instead of doing good to their daughter they make her situation more and more difficult.

422 Besides these abnormal visits, it is necessary to point out a
58 custom completely singular in a patriarchal organization, with the system of the "large family," in which the daughter-in-law and all that belongs to her is the property of her husband and his family. This custom is that the young married woman keeps her jewels, her ornaments, her best clothes, and all that is dear to her not at the home of her husband but at her own mother's. There she has two or three trunks which her parents take care of but whose keys she keeps. On festive occasions the married woman herself goes to her parents' home to get her best clothes, or she sends someone to get them. Yet at her husband's home /85/ she also has one or two trunks in which she keeps her less important things and those of her children. This general custom offends neither the husband nor his family; all the same it may be the occasion of many disagreeable consequences. Indeed, it is thanks to this "strongbox" that dishonest women find a place to conceal things unfairly acquired in the family of the parents-in-law; again it is there that the presents offered by a too assiduous lover repose, etc. The T'ou-jen all recognize that this custom is not ideal, but they are powerless to make it disappear. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, p. 61: The adoption of a woman by the new clan is symbolised by a prayer addressed to the spirits of her husband's clan and a visit to the tomb of her husband's ancestors. Besides, in the course of the marriage ceremony she must execute some other rites symbolising her adoption by her husband's clan.

Among the northern Tungus the woman, after she is married, is not so closely bound at her husband's clan, and she is always considered as belonging to her mother's clan.

Mo 171 /85 cont'd/

> In her husband's clan, she keeps her own spirits and sho /sic/ can never be relatively to the new spirits equal to the persons born in her husband's clan. /Cited in English./

b) Relations of the son-in-law with the family of his parents-in-law.

Mo 606 The son-in-law addresses the members of his wife's family in the same way that he addresses those of his own family, but adding the term gadin in speaking of them to a third person.

There are two official visits to be made each year to his parents-in-law; the first at the new year and the second on the fifteenth of the eighth moon. In addition, it is his duty to go to ask about the health of his parents-in-law when they are sick. Likewise he will take part in the festivities which are given at their home on the occasion of a marriage, upon the birth of a first-born child, ...and he will never be absent from the mournings of the family.

It is to be noted that he will always take an active part in festivities and mournings; he does not mix with the guests, he does not have his place at dinner with the guests; but being considered as a member of the family, he will help with the preparations, he will receive the /86/ guests upon their arrival, and he will dine in the kitchen with the members of the family of his parents-in-law. Again it is his duty to lend a hand to his parents-in-law when they have to use force to defend their rights, as, for example, on the occasion of the suicide or the repudiation of one of his wife's sisters. However, the adage says that relationships must not be too intimate with a related family, and that one must avoid all kinds of commercial transactions. (1)

Mo [762]

Mi Mo 585

1. I summarize in this note, according to l'Histoire des Miao /The History of the Miao/ by Savina, 2nd ed. (1930), pp. 226-229, several resemblances

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found between Miao and T'ou-jen weddings. The importance attached in ethnology to this people is well known. P.W. Koppers, "Die Frage des Mutterrechts und des Totemismus im alten China /The Question of Mother-right and Totemism in Old China/," p. 996: ...just as the original homogeneity of the Tungus and Tung-hu is so probable...it seems to me that the ancient connection between the Tungus (Proto-Tungus, Pre-Chinese) and Miao-tze has been demonstrated equally as plausibly /cited in German/. Anthropos, 1930.

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First, marriages[1] are almost always celebrated at about the same time, November, December, January. One marries young, between 15 and 20 years. Prognostications are necessary in order to be able to marry. The parents decide on the marriage of their children. The wedding meal is always twofold, i.e., taken in two places, at the home of the bridegroom's parents and at the home of the bride's. If the latter is to leave the paternal home to go to be the daughter-in-law in her bridegroom's home, the first meal is taken at her home. On the other hand, it is taken at the bridegroom's home if he is to go to be the son-in-law at the home of the bride's parents. Then there are also husband-sons-in-law. The dinner menu: corn meal, alcohol, pork if desired. The meal is served on tables improvised for the occasion, planks held up by stakes; the meat put on leaves is

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[262]

1 [marriages: Miao marriages --- Analyst]

2: Schram--98 M-4, 8 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
Miao AE5

[MIAO]

Mi 585 [262]

/86 cont'd/

eaten first while drinking alcohol; it is only at the end that the corn meal is brought.... Each guest presents a coin upon his arrival. At the end of the evening meal the newly married man makes the ritual prostrations to the ancestors in the presence of all the assembled relatives, and without pronouncing a single word. He is assisted by his best man, who makes the same prostrations as he, and by an old man who enumerates aloud all the duties he will have to carry out henceforth in the tribe. Then they count the money contributed by the guests, and they take an inventory of the young wife's trousseau. This trousseau consists of clothes, skirts, turbans, belts, puttees, pieces of cloth, etc. Men and women examine...and admire the embroideries. The young wife in a corner weeps and sings to her companions the naive song of the bride... which recalls the elegy of the T'ou-jen bride on the road. At the departure of the guests the door is barricaded with a fagot to prevent the newly married wife from leaving. She watches her relatives leave through the slit of the partition.

Mi 583]

Mo [585 171]

We have spoken in the course of this work, following the notes of Father Schotter, of the girls who accompany the bride to the bridegroom's home.

Mi 582

Monogamy and exogamy seem to have always existed among the Miao. There exists also a law, or rather a custom which

2: Schram--99 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Mongol AE9
Miao AE5

/86 cont'd

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has the force of law, which requires taking a wife of one's own race.
Savina, Hist. des Miao, p. 284.

/87/ B. Marriages of Widows as Official Wives

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Summary. -- 1. Rights of widows, theory and practice. 2. Procedure for the purchase of a widow. 3. Departure of the widow. 4. Settling of accounts. 5. Marriage of widows. 6. Two typical abductions of widows. 7. Vestiges of marriage by abduction among the T'ou-jen.

1. Rights of Widows, Theory and Practice

When parents give a daughter in marriage, they say, "We have taken leave of our daughter," or "We have given our daughter," or even with a slight scorn "We have sold her"; which denotes clearly that a girl's marriage is not her own affair but definitely the business of her parents. On the other hand, when a widow marries, they say, "She has found a man," that is, that she herself has chosen her husband and that she has acted in complete freedom. Besides, the adage says, "Ts'ien kia yeou tié-niang, heou-kia yeou pen-jen," i.e., the first marriage is arranged by the parents, subsequent marriages no longer depend on the parents but on the widow herself.

The terminology used to indicate these two kinds of marriages, as well as this adage, both throw light on the new situation of a woman in widowhood. Everything depends on her; she will remarry or not, and she will choose by herself the husband she wants. At least this is the theory. Yet in practice her right will be respected as long as her owners find no disadvantage in the decision taken by her. It may even happen that she is married off by force by her parents-in-law, and even that she is simply abducted by an unknown man. This is to say that everywhere praxis differs a speculatione /"practice differs from theory"/. But /89/ let us remember this: in case of litigation everywhere among the T'ou-jen, the rights of the widow

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[183]

Mo 587 589 /88 cont'd/

will be invoked, and these rights will form the basis of the discussion.

Mo [765] Therefore after the death of the husband, according to custom the widow will stay in the home of her parents-in-law 49 days. These days are called days of mourning. When this period of time has gone by, she will definitely be able to leave her parents-in-law and go back to her own family. That is her right.

Mo 589 Nevertheless I have known more than one case where young widows did not wait for the 49 days to pass before leaving the parents-in-law; they simply fled. This is because they had wind of the dealings of the parents-in-law, who were getting ready to sell them against their wishes. The right of widows is then a precarious right. A young widow without sons looks quickly for a match, for she knows well that if she does not look for him herself, her hand will be forced.

Ma 587

1. Shirokogoroff, Social Organization of the Manchus, pp. 70, 71: There are some peculiarities in the widow's and the widower's marriage. The widow can be remarried according to her personal choice and wish. None of her clan, i.e. her husband's clan, can force her to do it. The late husband's younger brother is always obliged to take care of the widow and his brother's children. The widow has the right to request the separation of her family from the rest of her husband's family and in this case she inherits all the property of her husband. /Cited in English./

Ma 614 589 P. 54: If a widow declares to the Mokonda (the clan chief) that she does not wish to be remarried, but the relatives of her late husband persist on it,

/88 cont'd/

Ma 614 589

the Mokunda may decide if she shall be remarried or not, and usually he takes the widow's interest into consideration. /Cited in English, with French interpolation indicated by parentheses./

2. Procedure for the Purchase of a Widow

Mo 587 [765]

Let us suppose that a young widow has returned to her parents' home 49 days after the death of her husband. It is one of the facts of the day, known immediately throughout the whole region, all the more because everybody knows she is waiting for a match. The candidates who have already made inquiries ask through a go-between or even personally for an interview with the widow. This interview ordinarily takes place at the home of a neighbor or friend. If the /89/ negotiations have results, the two parties generally give each other a token; the widow gives her ring or her eardrops or her bracelet; the future husband invariably gives his belt. These tokens bestow the right to act with force in case of contest, of rivalry, or of resistance on the part of the widow's owners. Only a few days after the interview, for such marriages move with precipitation and in the greatest secrecy for fear that the widow will be abducted by a rival, the suitor sends to the widow's "own" parents two go-betweens. They present themselves with the traditional jug of gin and arrange for the earnest, which is here insignificant. It generally does not exceed about ten strings of cash. It is a pure formality. They leave from home, enjoining the greatest secrecy, to go to the home of the former parents-in-law of the widow in order to obtain their consent and to discuss the price. The parents-in-law are indeed the owners of the widow.

Mo [301]

Mo 587 606

When the parents-in-law are well disposed and willing to discuss in question, they are offered a jug of gin; in the opposite case the jug is taken away, and plans are made to abduct the widow by force and as quickly as possible. But when all goes well, the go-betweens come back the second day and begin by promising the

Mo /89 cont'd/
587 mother-in-law two bricks of tea, which is what they call k'ai k'eou
606 ts'ien, i.e., "the cash which open her mouth"; next they promise the father-in-law 12 strings of cash, called tchou hoen ts'ien, i.e., "the cash which make him take upon himself the responsibility for the marriage." (1) Then they discuss the price of the widow, a

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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: The Manchus do not pay "kalin" if the woman demanded is a widow. /Cited in English./

price which ordinarily varies between 150 and 200 strings of cash. Again, since it will be necessary to write a contract, and since all the grandfathers, uncles, and brothers will have to affix their signatures to it, /90/ they discuss the price and the number of signers at the rate of three strings of cash per signature. Three or four relatives of the family take part in this discussion, which always takes place at night.

Mo [583] This sum is called ming ts'ien /"money in the open"/, i.e., the official or public price of the widow. Very often it happens that one or another member of the family secretly lets it be known that he opposes this marriage and that he will cause difficulties.

Ordinarily these recalcitrants take advantage of their relationship to make some easy money. They take them privately and discusses with them in secret the sum of money which their consent is worth. This is the ngan ts'ien, i.e., "the secret money," which very often is far from being insignificant. It is what makes people say that the expenditures made for widows, particularly for those who are going to be second wives, are based on the wealth of the suitor.

Mo 587 585 These negotiations with the surly relatives having produced results and the price being agreed upon, the suitor must make his decision. When consent is given, he does not pay the money; he will pay only on the day when the widow has crossed the threshold of his house. We have seen exactly the opposite for the marriage of

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587 [585] girls; they are allowed to leave home only when the very last cash has been paid.

This is because there are so many unforeseen events in this kind of marriage: the widow can deceive the suitor, the parents-in-law can play bad tricks on him, the parents of the widow can do the same, an unknown man can abduct her forcibly at night....Because of these risks the go-betweens do not dare demand payment of the sum before the widow is at her husband's home. A second precaution to take in order to avoid subsequent difficulties consists in the writing of a contract duly signed by the whole family of the parents-in-law, which is scarcely required for the marriage of girls. The marriage contract of a widow is signed only when she has entered the house of her /91/ husband and the money is counted on the table. In the old days, it is said, they used to do without a contract, and they contented themselves with taking the widow's ring, breaking it in two, and giving half to each party.

It is in the evening or at night that they go to get widows, and that is always done without anyone's knowledge. These precautions are needed when one knows the way of thinking of the T'ou-jen, according to which the widow belongs to anyone who can take her. [589] When a widow has made her choice and the negotiations have been begun, she will no longer dare to leave her house; in the evening she will call trusted men, who will mount guard, armed to the teeth. Her parents will be careful to distribute the sa lou ts'ien /"money to block the road"/ to the neighbors: This is the money bestowed on the neighbors so that they will defend the widow in case of an abduction.

3. Departure of the Widow

A band of ten to 20 men armed with swords, sticks, guns... go away in the night and in the greatest silence to get the widow. The greater the danger appears, the larger will be the escort. The widow is at the home of her parents or has gone to some agreed-upon place. The parents will consent to the departure of their

/91 cont'd/

587 widow-daughter only when the go-betweens have paid them ing ts'in ts'ien, i.e., "cash for cooperation in the marriage," ordinarily 12 strings of cash. This sum paid, no time is lost; they hurry to put the widow in the saddle, the band surrounds her and leaves post-haste, taking care to go a roundabout way in order to escape all risk and conduct her safe and sound to the home of her new husband.

On arrival she dismounts; a fire is lighted in great haste in front of the house, and the widow is presented with the paper which one burns for the dead. She kneels and burns it in memory of her dead husband; then she offers up a libation of gin for him. She stands and looks into space for several moments. /92/ This is the wang
[782 heou k'an /"taking the last look"/, the farewell look toward her
272] dead husband. She passes over the fire so that all the bad influences which could have attached themselves to her, or the bad spirits which could have followed her, will vanish. Having crossed the fire, she enters the house only after taking off her little felt hat and undoing her hair, which she rolls up carelessly and puts back under her hat. She will wear her hair in the style of the women of the clan or village to which she is henceforth deemed to belong.

The armed band is invited to a light meal composed of bread, meat, tea, and gin. The widow takes tea with the women of the family.

4. Settling of Accounts

587 The widow is not secure so long as the accounts are not settled
583 and the contract is not signed; so they hurry first thing in the morning
177 to finish the business. The go-betweens first pay secret sums to the grumblers, then accounts are settled with the parents-in-law and the widow. For this purpose they are asked to go, not to the home of the new husband, but to a friend's home or to a remote place. The price of a girl is paid in full, while that of a widow is subject to bold acts of stinginess. Only judge: 600 cash are worth 1,000; at present animals must be accepted in place of paying in silver, and they are evaluated at double their value. They give cloth which they claim

/92 cont'd/

587 is too expensive, then they tear a piece of cloth in two to make it
177 count for two pieces. It is the famous koa-fou ts'ien, i.e., "the
583 price of widows." It is a practice which the T'ou-jen learned from the Chinese, who are past masters in such matters.

587 But although custom admits these practices, it is not rare that
178 the settling of accounts degenerates into brawls. The contract is written and signed this same day, and the signers are /93/ reimbursed. The mother-in-law is offered the pieces of tea which were promised to her so that she would consent to the marriage, and the father receives his tchou hoen ts'ien.

5. Marriage of Widows

587 A marriage ceremony takes place the same day if possible or the next day. They invite to the home of the new son-in-law the father and mother, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters of the newly taken away widow. It is a little group of eight, ten, or 15 persons, among whom the go-betweens are counted.

Tea, bread, gin are served as usual; then the parents give their daughter a new long gown, and to the son-in-law a felt hat and a belt. Often they add a pair of shoes for the new mother-in-law, and a k'ata for the father-in-law.

A table is set up in front of a religious image. Two lighted lamps are placed on it; a rug is spread out in front of the table. The widow clothed in the new gown which she has just received from her parents and the son-in-law also wearing the new hat and belt make the great prostration in the Chinese manner, first to heaven and the multifarious spirits, then to their parents and the elders of the family, third to the family related through marriage and to the clan. The sacred shamanistic fire is absent.

The father-in-law then presents four strings of cash to his new son-in-law as a token of their alliance; the whole family together politely refuses them. Three strings of cash are given to those who wrote the contract and to the go-betweens; then a light meal is served. At the departure of the guests, they are not given meat to take away; the hosts are satisfied to offer several loaves of bread.

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587 The customary proceedings of the marriage of a widow then are
[604] very simple; the maternal uncle who plays the most important role at the marriage of girls does not even appear. The great preoccupation of the T'ou-jen in the marriage of a widow is to take her away from a rival /94/ and to conduct her without let or hindrance to her new domicile.

6. Two Typical Abductions of Widows

587 The following incidents throw a true light on the T'ou-jen way
583 of thinking concerning the marriage of widows.

At the place Souo-pou-keou lived a widow of a certain Hla Rong. A Tchang of Ki-kia-lin, wishing to marry her, learned that he was too late; the widow had already given her consent to another and had exchanged tokens with him. Tchang wanted her at any price. He proposed therefore to abduct her by force, then to get in touch with the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow to give them the earnest. If such affairs are taken to court, reimbursement of the earnest is required from the abductors, then the woman is
[671] granted to them. These abductions are thus recognized by the law. Tchang calls upon the help of about 30 trustworthy men, well armed, to take away the widow from the hands of his rival's band the night when the rival would take her to his home. The abductors were at their post, but the other band did not arrive. Believing therefore that they had been fooled, they decided to go to the widow's house, take it by assault, and abduct the widow.

Tchang counted as head of his band the widow's nephew, who could inform them about the arrangement of the house. They burst into the courtyard, they force the doors, they gag the woman, four of them carry her outside, they put her on the horse, and they flee
[492] hurriedly. Meanwhile the nephew had been taking care of the dogs and had opened the great door.

The journey went on in the greatest silence. After 15 kilometers of forced march they arrived home, removed the gag from the woman, and untied her hands. What was their surprise when in

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587 the darkness they heard the woman affirm that they had been mistaken;
583 that she was a neighbor who had come to keep the widow company; that she was married and /95/ that her husband was very much alive, and that the person they were looking for had hidden behind a wardrobe at the moment of danger. Consternation!

What to do? Sending back the woman was a loss of face, and then she did not want to go back.

[627 684] The incident was known everywhere in the region from the next day on; the widow's parents and the husband of the abducted woman were already getting ready to bring suit against the woman's abductors. The elders of the village knew that it was a mistake and proposed to arrange the affair amicably.

There was a palaver and a dinner, which my catchist attended. The conclusion of the discussion was that the young wife was to be taken back on horseback with a band at the head of the procession and a salvo of firecrackers. A sheep with a scarf of red cloth on its horns was to be offered, and apologies were to be made. They laughed heartily in the region at the unfortunate nephew who had presided at the abduction of his aunt.... The young widow meanwhile was married to the man of her choice.

Another very interesting incident for understanding the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of abduction and the conditions which permit it is the following:

A young widow of Pien-tan, after negotiations in due form, was taken at night to the home of a Tchao of Na-ling keou. Tchao, who was known for his avarice and had a very bad reputation, tried to pick a quarrel with the go-betweens on the subject of the widow's price, although the sum had already been agreed on. He wanted to be shrewd. Since the widow was at his house, he hoped to drag out the settlement of accounts and to get out of it by giving only part of it the agreed-upon price. After three weeks the matter was still dragging on, nothing had yet been paid, and consequently the contract had not yet been signed. New palaver in the courtyard of the pagoda two li distant from his house. Now in the absence of Tchao, a certain Tchang of Tong-keou, accompanied /96/ by several men

/96 cont'd/

587 he could rely on, came to abduct the newly married widow in broad
583 daylight. It is probable that she consented to being abducted; for living with her new husband for a month, she had been able to judge him. It is equally probable that the go-betweens and the former parents-in-law of the widow were in on it; perhaps the neighbors who did not sympathize with Tchao were not strangers to it either, for they did not budge when the people came to abduct the widow. Tchao goes to the Chinese city to bring suit. The Chinese judgment
[672] was the following: The widow must be sent back to her parents' home and neither Tchao nor Tchang may marry her.

According to T'ou-jen custom, the woman would have had to stay with Tchang, and Tchao by reason of not having paid the agreed-upon sum in time lost entirely all right over the widow.

7. Vestiges of Marriage by Abduction among the T'ou-jen

587 One can conclude from the preceding that nowadays the pur-
671 chase of the wife by the husband is the legal form of marriage, while
582 also recognizing as legal the abduction of a widow, on condition that the owners be indemnified.

583 One can believe that formerly the custom of abduction must have been general and that it was practiced for marriages of girls. Indeed, numerous vestiges of abduction are found in the customs surrounding the marriage of girls. When the son-in-law with his companions comes to get the bride, why does he find the door of the house shut? Why is it necessary to end up by breaking it in and receiving an avalanche of water on the head? This certainly is an assault on the girl's dwelling. When they sing at the door and ask that it be opened, one feels that this way is not natural and that in addition there is no sense to it. Besides, the song has nothing in it that is prescribed, when everything else in the customs is clearly fixed, even the speeches that are made. Why this thick veil /97/ which envelops the bride's head and which does not allow her to see; it is even tied around the neck with a red cord. Is it not to bandage the eyes of a person who is being abducted? At the moment of carrying the bride outside, why this abruptness, the door of the room which

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Mo 583

is opened with a din, this headlong haste while she is carried away, and why the cries and sobs of the girl?

Again there is the father who gets on the horse to make the circuit of the open area three times, gesticulating with the iang hstia and calling his daughter constantly by name, and the latter on horseback in the middle of the area answers sobbing, "I am here, yes, here"... is this not sham pursuit? Must one not explain in the same sense of abduction the custom according to which the women of the house, those of the neighborhood, and the girls continue to pursue the bride, taking the horse by the bridel? And must one not take in this sense the expression which names this custom "pursuit of the lady?"

All this nuptial procession formed by the people of the maternal clan, does it not represent the people of the family who pursue the abducted daughter?

Think again of this man on horseback behind the bride and who holds her in his arms. Is this the gesture of abduction? Why must the bride lament during the whole trip, and why according to custom can she not speak to anyone?

It is the son-in-law himself who takes his bride off her horse, his own capture. Upon arrival he shuts the girl up in a room with her companion and does not give her anything to eat or drink. And again, why this prolonged silence until after the marriage? Is it the girl sulking?

Remember the wedding festivity, which ends brutally by the taking away of animals and the scuffle which often follows; would that not mean that the parents are avenging themselves for the abduction of the girl?....And to say that still in our day, the festivity /98/ often degenerates into quarrels and fights?

All these details taken together prove the existence of the abduction (1) of girls in the past. Among these details there are

Mo 583 848

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 76:
The "kalin" (earnest for the bride) is not paid or is paid after a long delay.

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Mo 583 848

if the girl before the wedding becomes pregnant. In such a case she can be taken by capture and neither feast nor wedding are celebrated. The capture is usually effected by the bridegroom himself helped by 5-6 young men of his clan. The act of capture is always followed by insults and violations towards the bride. If she cries and prays to defend her, her relatives do not venture to intervene.

This is a sole case when the Manchus use "marriage by capture." Any other customs connected directly or indirectly, or survivals of them cannot be mentioned among the Manchus. /Cited in English, with interpolation in French in parentheses./

Mo 583

I think, however, I have to explain by abduction the rite according to which they cover, only for an instant, the bride's head with a piece of red silk taken away as quickly as possible by the bridegroom. Likewise I see a vestige of abduction in the fact that the bridegroom and his band find the door of the bride's house shut when they go to get her. Without invoking abduction it is impossible to explain the custom which requires that they carry the bride away with haste and throw her into the wagon, that in addition they only half harness the animals to leave as quickly as possible, and stop outside to arrange the harnesses, etc.

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Schotter, "Notes sur les tribus du Koei-Tcheou," Anthropos, 6th year,

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p. 320: There are (among the Hé-miao) abductions with tacit consent. It is then to avoid all expense. P. 342: One likewise finds vestiges of abduction among the Song-kia-tse.

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit. /"Das Recht der Polarvoelker (The Law of the Polar Peoples)," Anthropos, 1928-29/, pp. 119-120, 121. Marriage by Capture and Elopement. As in the Old Australian Culture according to Graebner, marriage by capture should, according to him (Schmidt, Koppers), be a normal legal institution among the pastoral peoples and also the polar peoples among them, whom he includes in the northern group. Now it is true that the procurement of women by force for marriage is found among almost all polar peoples, and it is not at all uncommon. Once upon a time, however, (marriage by capture) supposedly was a legal custom, at least in former times. /Cited in English./

583 some which taken separately admit of another explanation. But is it not rational to explain them in this sense when, on the one hand, abduction is still practiced today for widows, and when, on the [587] other hand, some /details/ are found among them which are certainly not explainable without admitting abduction? Thus one can be tempted to explain the following of the bride by the girls of the village as being one step in conducting their friend. But then why do they take the horse's bridle and try to prevent his departure, and why is this ceremony called "pursuit of the lady?" One can find fault again with the fact that the bride's own brothers /99/ carry her out of the room, and with this other that a member of the family

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583 rides pillion and holds her in his arms. But it is necessary to take account of the circumstances in which the girl is carried away; it is done running, while closing the door with a crash, while the girl sobs, etc. Surely it is not the brother's place to carry his sister outside in a case of abduction, nor that of a member of the family to ride pillion, to hold the girl in his arms. We are here in the presence of an old custom belonging to an outdated organization and whose sense and memory the T'ou-jen have lost. Ever since, it is not surprising to note meaningless actions and anomalies. Besides, it is the general law which rules customs no longer understood. The more one goes ahead in time, the less one understands them, and the more one distorts them.

/100/ C. Polygamy

595 Summary. -- 1. Polygamy exists but is not general. 2. The four categories of polygamists. 3. Procedure for the purchase of a concubine. 4. Position of the second wife with respect to the official wife.

1. Polygamy Exists. It Is Not General

One can expect to meet polygamy among the T'ou-jen when one understands their thinking as to the necessity of having male descendants. When one considers their ideas on the subject of the position of a widow who has children in the T'ou-jen family system, as well as their way of thinking on the subject of the position of a woman, on whom rests all the work in the country. However, when one thinks of the generally poor circumstances of the people, it is easy to admit that polygamy cannot be general. The economic condition is here one of the largest factors in the question of polygamy.

The T'ou-jen, living nowadays in an agrarian state, inhabit a country which is not precisely a "promised land" for the tiller of the soil. The climate is generally cold, the country is mountainous,

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595 the land is limited and rather poor. Now to procure for oneself two wives, maintain them, and raise the children who will be born is assuredly a heavy burden. It will therefore be necessary either to have the means and be more or less rich, or to be forced to it by circumstances. This is what we shall ascertain while examining the various categories of polygamists.

Let us always keep in mind the fact that since polygamy is not at all reprehensible in the eyes of the T'ou-jen, one sees it practiced by the most respectable people.

Is the number of wives limited? How many wives /101/ could one take and still remain an upright man in the eyes of the people? This is an idle question; I know of only a few cases of T'ou-jen who had three wives. I have never heard it said that a T'ou-jen went beyond this number.

2. The Four Categories of Polygamists

Mo 595 842 a) The first category of polygamists includes sterile couples. One sees polygamy where there are no children or where there is a scarcity of children. The necessity of having male children takes precedence over everything in T'ou-jen life. It is this way of thinking which gives the courage to live more poorly, sharing the daily bread, which is already very scarce, with a new life partner; it is again this way of thought which persuades the official wife and makes her allow the husband to take another partner. At the time of family disputes the sterility of the wife is the decisive argument to make her listen to reason and to preach patience and harmony in the family. Thus as a general rule, although the economic condition of the family permits it ever so little, a sterile couple will see a second wife added. (1) Fortunately, sterility always remains the

Mo 595 842

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64: Generally speaking the Manchus do not consider polygamy as a good institution, except in the case of the woman's

/101 cont'd/

Ma 595 842

sterility. In such case both wives are called "grand wife" in opposition to the concubines called "secret (to be hidden) young wife." /Cited in English./

Mo 595 842

exception.

Therefore in well-off families polygamy will often be seen where there are only one or two daughters; and at the same time one will not always meet two wives in rich families where there are very few children. How can one explain these facts?

Mo 593 171

It is that polygamy among the T'ou-jen remains in practice a very delicate and complex problem. In the family circle the T'ou-jen wife occupies a position much more important than the one which the Chinese wife occupies; in addition T'ou-jen family /102/ life is more intimate than Chinese family life. It proceeds from there that the T'ou-jen wife has more influence on the husband than her Chinese sister has. As schools are rare and intellectual formation among the men is almost nil, the wife will not be inferior to men in that direction. Let us suppose now that she has been able to make herself more or less appreciated by her husband, or let us suppose that having one or two children she is categorically opposed to the introduction of a second wife into the home; or let us suppose that she has won over to her side her /his?/ own parents and that they show themselves displeased with the project; or let us suppose that the wife suggests the word suicide... and then how many suppositions are still possible when one knows that the heart of a jealous woman is an inexhaustible source of expedients... and we shall understand that in practice polygamy bristles with numberless difficulties. As a general rule, if there are no serious motives which enter into it, like sterility or one of the causes explained below: a simple stray impulse, a desire of the lower instinct, even wealthiness, these alone are not enough for practicing polygamy.

Mo 595 589

b) The second category of polygamists: widows, or the levirate.

/102 cont'd/

Mo 595 589 Besides sterility and scarcity of children, which are above all the determining and positive causes of polygamy, there is another cause which is rather passive-negative in the sense that polygamy in this case is rather necessitated by circumstances which do not depend on the wife and is brought on by the situation in which she finds herself. This is the case of the widow upon the decease of the husband among the T'ou-jen.

Mo 587 595 The young widow, who has ordinarily borne several children, finds herself at this moment of her life completely perplexed: to remarry is to run toward the unknown and to abandon her children, who, in her opinion, will be unhappy for the rest of their lives. How can she live without these children? Staying in the family as a widow is advised against for her because of her relative youth... /103/ moreover one of her sons will perhaps be able to marry in two or three years... the position of mother-in-law appeals to her. The family of the parents-in-law understands also what it will lose upon the departure of this fertile woman, and what her children will lose. In this case the mother-in-law, during the 49 days following the death, proposes to the widow that she not leave them and that she marry one of the brothers of the dead man. If there are unmarried sons in the family, a match from among them is proposed to her, the difference in age between husband and wife having little importance in T'ou-jen country. If all the sons are married, she can remarry as the second wife of one of her husband's brothers, little does it matter whether he is older or younger than the dead man.

That is a case of polygamy very common among widows who have children. It is the levirate. Although in theory widows are free to go back to their maternal families after the 49 days of mourning and to marry again at another wedding, they very often remain as the second wife of one of the brothers of the dead husband in order to take care of their children. (1)

Ma 587 595

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64: The widow can marry anyone of her husband's clan members except his

/103 cont'd/

Mo 587 595

brothers, but this marriage is considered as if she would marry a man of a foreign clan. Thus the custom known as the levirate as a matrimonia form is not practised among the Manchus. P. 70-71: The widow cannot be remarried if she has a son of age over 12. If a widower marry a widow, the marriage between their children born before their second marriage is strictly prohibited. /Cited in English./ This is not the case among the T'ou-jen.

Mo [582]

Mo [582]

Mo 582 587 177

Nevertheless, the Li t'ou-se, present head of one of the most important T'ou-jen clans, forbade marriages of widows of an elder brother to one of the younger brothers of the dead man either as official wife or as second wife. The Chinese disapprove of such unions, and the Li t'ou-se made this prohibition so as not to scandalize them. He made inquiries about marriages in his clan, and punished those who had disregarded his orders. The fine consisted of a pig to be offered to his ancestors; he wished by respect for his ancestors to protest his attachment to the old customs of the race.

Mo 582 587

/104/ The elders used to claim nevertheless that these unions were permitted by custom. (1) I believe it all the more willingly

1. Bartold, Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion, (1928), p. 390: The custom of marrying the father's widow was still maintained among the Uighurs, but has now disappeared among the Mongols under the influence of Buddhism. /Cited in English./

when I think of an old custom of the Mongols, brothers by race of the T'ou-jen, which permitted the sons to marry even the concubines of their dead father, with the exception of marrying their own mother; and I believe it also because this prohibition does not exist in the other T'ou-jen clans.

/104 cont'd/

595 The T'ou-jen find this kind of polygamy rational when they
587 think of the sad condition in which orphans are put, who, they say, will have to count solely on the grandparents alone, who are already old. I believe that the true explanation of this fact must be found in the former custom which did not permit widows to leave the clan.

Notice with respect to this very special category of polygamists the very special manner in which one speaks of these marriages. One does not say that the widow looked for a husband, as one says in the case of widows who remarry outside the clan of the parents-in-law, but one says sarun xîgu, "to cover the shadow." (2) Is it the

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2. It is perhaps useful to note in connection with the expression "to cover the shadow," the way of thinking of the Ou-hoan, Sien-pi peoples (Tong hou peoples) on the subject of the condition of widows in the world beyond. Parker, A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 2nd ed., p. 85: (The widow after being remarried either to her husband's brothers or to his paternal uncles...) "after death reverted to her first husband in the next world." /Cited in English, with introductory part in French./

new husband who covers the shadow of his dead brother, so that this shadow will do no more evil? Among the T'ou-jen the shamans claim that all illnesses are caused by the passage of the shadow of a dead person over the body of a person in good health.

587 Yet it happens, when widows are no longer young, that they
589 stay in the family of their parents-in-law without remarrying, sole-
765 ly in order to care for their children. When /105/ widows who have not remarried bear another child during the two years following the death of the husband, such a case does not surprise the T'ou-jen too much; the child is supposed to be the child of the dead man. It is

Mo 581 589 765 [177] [822] /105 cont'd/ then called, if it is a son, either, according to the Chinese custom, Hiao cheng tse, i.e., "/son/ born during the mourning period," or else, according to the T'ou-jen custom, xara khû, i.e., "black son," which again means "son of mourning" since black is the color of mourning among the T'ou-jen; they say "to wear black" for "to be in mourning." Black was formerly also the color of mourning among the Mongols. When widows who have not remarried bear children after two years, it happens that these children are abandoned or that they are drowned right after birth, especially if they are girls. That happens when the family has many children, or when none of the neighbors wants to feed the poor being. When the newborn is a son, they will keep him, but he will not inherit family property, and as a general rule they will send him at about the age of nine or ten to a lamasery to remain a bachelor. This is the most practical solution for avoiding difficulties in the family later. (1)

Mo [847 848] Mo [792]

Ma [847 848]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 77: The Manchus are very strict in killing illegitimate children, i.e. the children born by unmarried girls and widows.

The other Tungus groups consider girls who have children as the best for marriage, because these girls have the proof of their fecundity. /Cited in English./

Mo 595 c) The third category of polygamists is met in well-to-do families who lack workers.

Mo 461 462 595 We have seen that all the work, so to speak, is assigned to the wife; the household duties, the care of the livestock, and a large part of the work in the fields. A T'ou-jen wife actually kills herself with work. It is painful to us to look at these men with the nomadic instinct, do-nothings, idlers, spare themselves the least fatigue. It can happen, therefore, in families which have much

/105 cont'd/

461 livestock, much land, and few workers, that the wife herself proposes
462 to the husband that he take another partner to lighten her work. But
595 then she herself will try /106/ to find a much younger girl than she, less talented, less beautiful, the kind minus habens, /"having less"/, on the whole a person who will not give offense to her and to whom she will be able to give orders. The T'ou-jen women are very shrewd in this regard. I have even twice known the case of a woman shrewder yet; instead of looking for a second wife for her husband, she had found it more practical to give a second wife to her son, who was scarcely seventeen and already had a wife several years older than he. These cases explain again the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of marriage. We have said above that marriage is not the personal affair of those concerned, and that the T'ou-jen see in it something besides the procreation of descendants.

595 d) Fourth category of polygamists: that of those who want to have two wives to enjoy them.

This category is rather rare. It is always dangerous, say the elders, to take a second wife when the first has children and does not want to hear polygamy mentioned. Those who proceed further end up by taking a concubine to sell the official wife, as the adage says. Besides, says another adage, "Women are like medicine; one must not take too much." Polygamy is therefore far from being general among the T'ou-jen. For my part, I believe that this chapter will gain a great deal by being carefully reviewed and corrected in many ethnology books.

3. Procedure for the Purchase of a Concubine

As a general rule, the husband first proposes to his wife that he take a concubine. If the wife will not listen and if the husband is very eager to do it, he will have recourse to a woman friend of his wife or even to one of her parents /relatives?/ in order to convince her. If that does not succeed, the affair is usually /107/ shelved.
[606] If the wife consents, the husband will send someone to the wife's

/107 cont'd/

595 [604] family to announce his intention to them. The envoy will bring the traditional jug of gin and will say that their daughter has given her consent to her husband's wishes for such and such a reason. Then he will beg the parents not to make difficulties for the son-in-law. His mission will be easy to carry out when it is a question of sterility, of widowhood, or of lack of workers. He will meet difficulties, often serious, when he has a case in the fourth category of polygamists to present.

595 762 The purpose of this interview is above all to come to an understanding with this family, who will claim to have given their daughter to be the sole mistress of the house. Then, it is a precautionary measure. Experience has taught that these unions are often disastrous, and that it is among them that the greatest number of suicide is found. Now we know the T'ou-jens' profound fear of suicides, which regularly ruin the families concerned. In case of suicide, the clans of the mother and father of the unfortunate woman present themselves in order to demand an account of the death of their daughter. If before concubinage it has been possible to obtain the consent of the family, later, if ever the misfortune comes, there will be more chance for an understanding. The husband first asks for his wife's consent because he also knows that suicide is her supreme weapon and that he can do nothing against it.

595 587 The second wife that the T'ou-jen takes is either a girl or a widow. If she is a widow, they follow the procedure for the marriage of widows; the price of a concubine widow is double or triple that of an official wife. If the second wife is a girl, they go through all the phases of the marriage of girls.

595 Well-to-do families rarely give their daughters to be concubines. Poor families will "resign themselves" to it wholeheartedly, fascinated by the extraordinary compensations which they receive for this "sacrifice." The price of girl concubines /108/ go up to 300 strings of cash and more, without counting the clothes, the dinner, and the rest; which proves abundantly that the financial situation plays a fundamental role in polygamy.

/108 cont'd/

595 4. Position of the Concubine with Respect to the Official Wife

In theory the official wife is the mistress; she takes precedence over her companion, she gives orders in the house, receives guests in the absence of the husband, converses with them together with him, settles the thousand little matters which occur in the course of the day, has the right to go to festivals before the second wife... and after her death, she will have precedence over the second wife in the cemetery.

But in practice, except for her title and her precedence in the cemetery, everything will depend on the way in which she will be able to deal with her rival and command her husband's respect; if she is the least bit less talented than the rival, her superiority will vanish very quickly.

It is natural besides for the husband to be fonder of the young woman who gives him children than of the great lady who is sterile. The husband would need the tact of a master and that for a whole lifetime in order never to allow this natural inclination, which must cause jealousy in the official wife, to appear. The wife would have to have a heroic character not to become bitter when she notices that she occupies only second place in the heart and the esteem of the husband when it is natural for her to think that she has a right to the first. Now, unfortunately, all T'ou-jen husbands are not masters of tact and all T'ou-jen wives are not heroines in the mastery of the heart. So it is rare that the wives get along well with each other. Nevertheless, if the official wife is in the least capable and the husband is correct, she will be able to take precedence at home and in public, she will be able to demand from her husband /109/ better clothes than those the concubine wears, she will be able to live with her husband in the best room, to have herself served first at meals
578 after the husband, to sit down first after him, etc.... When there is quarrel between the wives, the husband simply goes walking and comes back when the storm has calmed down.

595 601 The second wife will call the official wife "my big sister," and the official wife will call the second "my sister." When there are children, they will say: "Call me the grandmother of the children" or "Call me the little mother." Similarily, the husband will say: "Where is the children's grandmother; where is the little one?"

Mo 595 534 422 /109 cont'd/

Each of the two women has her chickens, which she has at her disposal as owner, as well as the eggs. The grain left on the flat area after the threshing and winnowing also goes into their private tills. At the time of the opium harvest, what adheres to the [276] lining of the containers reverts to them also; each one therefore has her personal savings.

Mo 595 I cannot end the chapter on polygamy without concluding that monogamy is in fact the general rule and the moral order among the T'ou-jen, while polygamy constitutes an exception to the rule.

Indeed, one meets polygamy only in special cases, which are sterility, widowhood, and the shortage of workers. The fact that polygamists of the fourth category are by far the least numerous seems to prove the point. (1)

Ma 595

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64: Among the Manchus monogamy is the usual form of marriage. Polygamy if indeed it does occur, is a very exceptional form and can be considered as an incidental institution. According to the Manchus, polygamy is a modern fashion borrowed from the Chinese who especially the rich people use it very largely. The rich Manchus used to have 5, 6 wives until a new law limited the number of wives to two only. There is no restriction to taking two sisters as wives, but the Manchus do not like to give two daughters, because other unmarried people may be discontented by it. /Cited in English./

Mo 595 Conclusion. An ethnographic fact of prime important entirely dominates the question of the marriage of girls and widows, and in part that of polygamy.

000 /109 cont'd/
595 and in part that of polygamy. We wish to speak /110/ of the custom
587 which says that widows upon the death of their husbands should not leave the husband's family but be remarried, either to the dead man's brother or to his paternal uncle.

595 We cannot attach too much importance to this institution,
587 first because of its universality, then because of its great age and
171 the length of its existence. Indeed, this practice has been in force among all the nomadic peoples who have wandered in the immense steppes of northern and southern Asia, as Chinese history attests. (1)

1. Parker, A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 2nd ed., p. 4: A universal custom, which as we shall see, extended for a thousand years over the whole of Tartary, was for the son to take over his deceased father's wives (with exception of his own natural mother) and for younger brothers to take over the widows of their elder brethren. It does not appear quite certain whether the son or the brother had first choice; perhaps the brother only took when there was no son, possible vice-versa. /Cited in English./ Parker, p. 19, cites this practice among the Hiung-nu; p. 85, among the Wu hwan and Sien-pi; p. 109, among the T'u-yu-hun. Barthold cites it among the Ouigour and Mongols, cf. note, p. 104.

587 As a consequence of this fact it is not a question of speaking in any way of widow marriage for all this period of history. Widows used to simply pass to other members of the same family. From that

/110 cont'd/

587 come the incoherences we have been able to establish in the present-day rites of the marriage of widows. Neither should the existence of the practice of abduction of widows be supposed for this period. It is therefore natural to conclude that, for all this period, the marriage of girls is to be considered as the only and true marriage, and that the practice of abduction existed only for them. This fact has its importance again in the question of polygamy among the T'ou-jen, because it explains a special category of polygamy still practiced nowadays. The T'ou-jen, no longer having any recollection of this institution which existed among his ancestors, today seeks an arbitrary explanation for this problem.

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101 /111/ Northern and central Asia has been the theater of numerous migrations, peaceful and otherwise, in historic and prehistoric times, of peoples having extremely varied social organizations. From this come the analogies and the ethnological borrowings ascertained among the peoples on both sides of the Bering Strait, and among the "middle and western Eurasians."

114 I summarize in this place the monumenta ethnographica which shed a new light on the chapter on "marriage by purchase" among the T'ou-jen, whose ancestors, Mongols and Cha-t'ou, were nomads.

For this purpose I use the judicious inclusive study of Dr. Herbert König, "Das Recht der Polarvölker, IV. Das Eherecht der Polarvölker," Anthropos (1928-29).

583 Anthropos, 1929, p. 101, Bride Price /Brautkauf/ among the Central and Western Eurasians ... Bride-price marriage coincides in distribution almost exactly with the peoples in the polar region who have an aristocratic social organization. It is specifically reported and described in detail for the Tungus, Jakut, Samojed, Ostjak, and Lapps, and, to be sure, as a unique way of concluding marriage. Page 104. The picture

/111 cont'd/

800 that the Eskimo present in the east of the polar region is not as uniform. /Cited in German./

Anthropos, 1929, p. 129. The central North Asiatics stand in contrast with all the peoples (polar peoples) named. Exogamy prevails among the Samojed, Ostjak, Jakut, Tungus, and Dolgan. This extends not only to the kin groups but to the whole tribe. /Cited in German./

Page 130. A kind of exogamy such as is present among these peoples requires that membership in a given community (marriage class in this case) be reckoned either on the father's side or on the mother's side, and, of course, for the simple reason .... /Cited in German./

104 Page 117. The betrothal of children, that is, the designation of two people for marriage before puberty, or even before the birth of one or both of them /cited in German/ ... (is found among all the peoples of the polar region).

584 Page 102. Customarily, an intermediary appears, usually the father or some other close male relative of the bridegroom, who negotiates with the father of the bride and often receives compensation for his trouble, perhaps in the form of property. /Cited in German./

583 Page 102. The price for the bride is determined according to the wealth of the participants and is paid in property, for example, in valuable pelts. /Cited in German./

Page 102. The bride price is paid either immediately or in installments. In the latter case the bridegroom can take his bride only when the last installment has been paid, although often he has already slept with her. /Cited in German./

Page 103. I have already said that among the peoples being discussed here a bride price /Mitgift/ is always expected. In the specific reports concerning this, almost all the authors agree. /Cited in German./

595 Herbert Koenig, "Das Eherecht der Polarvoelker," Anthropos, 1929, pp. 136-137. Polygamy and Similar Situations... In the whole polar region polygamy lawfully

/111 cont'd/

595 prevails. One can marry as many women as he wants and can support.... The reasons for the polar men taking a second wife are the wish to acquire additional help in the household and the wish for children, the latter in the case of sterility of the first, whom it is economically impossible simply to divorce. Moreover, the first wife always continues to be the most respected; among the Jukagir there are various designations. For example, the second is known as "little wife," but the third is characterized as a concubine. /Cited in German./

As for monogamy, Herb. Koenig says: ... Monogamy, actually the most common because of the economic situation ... /cited in German/.

/112/ Chapter II

Marriages by the Furnishing of One's Services or Person

583 All the marriages described above are concluded by purchase, either of a girl or of a widow. The new category of unions in which the wife is no longer bought offers to poor needy people the only means of being able to marry. People of average means will prefer to purchase a girl for their son rather than to lay themselves open to a whole series of disagreeable consequences totally inherent in this kind of union involving furnishing of services or one's person.

So the disadvantages must be really serious for even the T'ou-jen to advise against them, these people whom we have seen to be such great lovers of small profits.

These alliances are therefore "nowadays" solely practiced by young people who have no other means of marrying and who are resigned to these sacrifices in the hope of descendants and in order to fulfill the obligation to marry.

The division of the chapter will therefore be: Furnishing of services to marry:

/112 cont'd/

583 A. A widow

B. A girl, or the question of husband-sons-in-law

A. Marriage of a Widow

587 One marries a widow without having to pay for her when she is indigent and finds herself after the death of her husband with three or four children; when furthermore she is alone in the world by reason of the fact that she has no brothers-in-law, or if she has, they are too poor to provide for her needs. This is then the case of widows without means of subsistence.

583 /113/ There are naturally few with a taste for this kind of
587 marriage, for those who venture into such will have to raise another person's children, who, sooner or later, if they do not return bad for good, will at least be very little grateful for the care which has been given them. This kind of marriage is literally that called by the Chinese tchao fou iang tse, i.e., "looking for a husband who will feed the children." Although these unions are not advantageous for the husband, nevertheless there are always poor men of some age who, attracted by the hope of offspring, decide to expose themselves to the dangers of such a union, or who rather allow themselves tobe tempted by the widow. Indeed, the terms of this marriage say clearly that it is the widow who is seeking the husband. That says enough,
584 that these unions are not highly prized. In such a marriage, the two
587 parties agree on it first between themselves. Their decision made, they themselves invite a go-between, who will go to see the paternal uncles and the grandparents of the children. The T'ou-jen family has an agnatic base, and the family system is that of the large family
584 with community of property. On the death of the husband, the
421 widow remains therefore within the domain of the community; consequently, it will be necessary to recognize her owners. But since this property is rather a burden for them, it will be easy to come to an agreement. Furthermore, the widow's family knows that if it is not accommodating, the widow will be able to give them a lot of trouble.

/113 cont'd/

587 593 764 The conditions the family lays down are the following: the sons will remain the descendants of the dead man; they will continue to bear his name and will later be buried in their father's cemetery. The new husband will bring them up and feed them. When they reach marriageable age, he will buy them a wife, or he will give the family the required sum ad hoc; then he will be able to send away the married ones, who will provide for their own subsistence. As for the daughters, he will be able to sell them. Since he obligates himself for expenses which so many burdens necessitate, the family does not demand any compensation for the widow.

587 589 578 721 /114/ It often happens that as a consequence of misunderstandings and quarrels, the brothers divide up the property and debts among themselves and form independent families. When a widow of such a family wants to remarry, the family requires the new husband to recognize the debts of the dead man; and the creditors exert pressure on the family to prevent the marriage in case of refusal; but if they are lucky enough to be dealing with a virago who threatens to come with her children and live with them, the difficulties vanish, the debts are put on the children's account and will be demanded later when the children are grown.

587 428 593 In the case where the widow with her children has inherited several plots of land from her dead husband, the new husband will be able to work them to support his family, but he will not be able to sell them since they are the property of the male orphans /sic/. Once they are married, the latter can demand these lands and send their foster father away with their mother, which often happens; if they get along well, they stay together. If, on the other hand, the new husband has lands of his own, and the widow does not, he maintains the family, gets the sons married, and sends them away. If during the marriage the family becomes richer, if the patrimony increases, and children are born of the new marriage, the children of the first husband will receive the share of their dead father plus half of the lands and assets acquired after the second marriage. The personal properties of the new husband are inherited by his own children. If the husband happens to die without leaving children, his personal

/114 cont'd/

Mo 587 assets and his widow being the property of his own family, they go back into its domain.

428 593 These conditions show clearly that the widow is considered to have left the family of her former parents-in-law completely; the

Mo 589 latter have given up all the rights they had with respect to her and have entrusted the children to her with the obligation to raise them for their clan.

Mo 584 587 675 When such a marriage is made, a contract is always written in duplicate; /115/ one copy is kept by the husband, and the other is given to the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow. In it minute mention is made of properties, debts, ... and then of the

Mo 82 obligations of the new husband.

If they remain poor after the marriage and find it impossible to marry off the sons, when the latter have grown up they end up by

Mo 587 591 going away as they wish.

There is no abduction to fear in the present case; the marriage takes place very simply and openly. If the widow has plots of land and the husband does not, he comes to live with her; in the opposite case, the widow with the children moves in with him. If neither one or the other has anything, they look for a place to live, and go to live together. One prostration to heaven and to the spirits, in the presence of the go-between and the parents, and this is all the ceremony of such marriages; add to it another to the parents and to the go-between. (1)

Mo 428 589 423

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit.[1], p. 142 If the widow and her daughters do not wish to be cared for by their husband's and father's brothers, they may also receive a part of the property. This part is equal to that of a brother. In this way the woman may become the owner of land and house. But this ownership can be transmitted only during two generations (from mother to daughter) because the bride's

[1. op. cit. ie: Social Organisation of the Manchus --- Analyst.]

Ma 428 589 425 /115 cont'd/ [Manchu]

property, as a rule, becomes her husband's property and through the husband this property is transmitted to a foreign clan.

Ma 597 589 If the widow has succeeded and some time later is going to be remarried, her property must be transferred to the person who can be her heir. However if the widow and her daughters keep the property during several years (5-6), the widow can remarry and reserve her rights to her property. Besides there is a peculiar form of inheritance by adoption. If the deceased has no son and his brother succeeds him and assumes the care of the widow, he gives to her his son for adoption.

Ma 428 The property never can be inherited in the female line by the relatives of motherline filiation. /Cited in English./

Ma 562 583 There are cases in which a boy can marry a girl without having to pay for her. This kind of marriage today is contracted solely by poor young people. It is the case of saying: timeo Danaos et dona ferentes /"I fear Danaüs and the bearing of gifts"/. In the Orient girls are not given as presents; altruism has not evolved to this point. Because a young man loves a girl seriously, that is not a reason for giving her to him free.

/116/

000 8. Marriage of a Girl, or the Question of Husband-sons-in-law

Summary. ---1. Exchange of a girl for the furnishing of services until the death of the parents-in-law. 2. Exchange of a girl for the furnishing of services for a fixed number of years. 3. Purchase of a girl and search for a son-in-law who will serve their parents-

/116 cont'd/

000 in-law until death. 4. Furnishing of one's person by adoption in order to obtain a wife.

1. Exchange of a Girl for the Furnishing of Service until the Death of the Parents

Mo 583 608 606 Let us suppose parents, poor or rich, advanced in age, and having a single daughter. If the family is well-to-do, in time it will have procured a second wife; nevertheless the case occurs in which it has not done so. The parents prize their daughter and are persuaded that she cannot do without them and will never leave them. Convinced wrongly or rightly of the attachment their daughter feels Mo [591] for them, they look for a way to avoid being separated from her by giving her a husband who will come to live with them and work their lands. The daughter will bear children who will be the joy of their old age, and the son-in-law will be a pious son to them who will serve them until the time when they go to join their ancestors. That is at least the explanation given for this custom by present-day T'ou-jen.

The girl's parents, without practicing adoption as such, accept the son-in-law in their home as a member of the family and give him their daughter without requiring pecuniary compensation. The son-in-law gets a go-between and two guarantors; a contract is written in which it is stipulated that he will stay with his parents-in-law and /117/ serve them until their death.

Mo 606 591 Among the T'ou-jen what is the legal position of such a son-in-law with respect to his own family and that of his wife?

The case in question is a pure and simple practice belonging to the matriarchate system. It is, indeed, the case of husband-son-in-law who go to live with the parents-in-law for life and who receive the daughter in marriage in exchange for their services. (1) They

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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 142-143: The transmission of a property through the woman from a clan to another one takes place in the case where the male person

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enters his father-in-law's house, and after the death of the latter the property is inherited by the son-in-law, i.e. the person belonging to another clan. The same combination will take place if the widow has no sons and marries her daughter to the person who enters her house. In this case the person must live prior to the mother-in-law's death at least 4-10 years in her home, but if the death occurs before the period expires, the son-in-law must leave the house with wife; and in the case of his wife's death during this period, he leaves his mother-in-law's house and the care of her must be assumed by her husband's clan people. /Cited in English./

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Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., 192; Anthropos, p. 121: The Man's Joining the Family of the Wife. I come now to a custom that is widespread in the polar region, which is that after marriage the man moves in with the wife. This move may be permanent or temporary. The latter case only involves living and traveling with the parents-in-law, but perhaps with obligations to them for maintenance; joining permanently, however, involves the complete adoption of the son-in-law into the family, to which he henceforth belongs as a son, as the brother of his wife. After the death of his father-in-law and the departure of the wife's older brother through

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marriage, he becomes the head of the family.... /Cited in German./

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 114. Bride Service of the Wife. Concerning the institution of bride service of the wife, examples are known to me from three places in the polar region, one of which, however, I must immediately reject as very doubtful.... The origin of this custom has not yet been determined. /Cited in German./ I cannot keep myself from thinking that we find ourselves here before badly controlled facts, and that instead of explaining them by Brautdienste der Frau, /"bride service of the wife"/, one must look for their reason for existing, either in the generosity of the bridegroom's family toward that of the poor bride or in the lack of workers in the bridegroom's family or in the case of the death of the parents, etc., as the facts prove among the T'ou-jen and the Manchu. Besides we are here before the very frequent case of the T'ong-yang si-fou-tse which is met everywhere in China, i.e., a poor girl, usually not yet marriageable, is accepted into the family as the future bride of a son. She will be married when the two reach marriageable age. It is not a question of Brautdienste der Frau nor a question of Erprobung des Mädchens /"testing the girls"/.

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606 lose their rights of inheritance in their family of origin, but since
691 /118/ they are regarded as members of the wife's family, they get back their lost rights. Cases are even cited where they become head in the wife's family. That is the general law fitting this practice.

593 Now the T'ou-jen live at present under a patriarchal system,
608 which is incompatible with this custom. Consequently, it is not
606 surprising that the husband-son-in-law finds himself in a very dis-
554 advantageous position....

[551] Since there has been no adoption of the son-in-law into the wife's family, he continues to be called by the name of his father, he and his children; he continues to be a member of his paternal family, to honor the dead of his father's family, and to lend a hand to his family of origin in cases of vengeance, etc. Thus in theory he keeps the rights of inheritance in his paternal family. But since these sons-in-law usually belong to very poor families, the chance to enjoy their rights of inheritance very rarely presents itself.

I have, however, met the case in question two or three times, and each time the brothers who had stayed home tried to eliminate the husband-son-in-law on the pretext that he had not contributed to the acquiring of the family's property. However, the unfortunate one always succeeded in making the most of his rights, if not wholly at least in part.

That amply proves that the husband-son-in-law living with the parents-in-law to serve them until death is in a false position with respect to his family of origin.

His position with respect to his wife's family is no better. Indeed, under the patriarchal system, succession is paternal. The name of the son-in-law differs from that of his wife's family; now we have seen "another name, another family," the son-in-law then does not have the right of inheritance to make the most of here. This is what explains the fact that one will never see young people of a well-to-do family consent to making themselves husband-sons-in-law, and that only those who have nothing to lose will take this
608 path.

606 /118/ If the parents-in-law are poor, there will be no difficul-
428 ties for this combination on the part of their own family; if, on the

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606 608 428 other hand, the family is well-to-do, the brothers of the future father-in-law will not allow his daughter, at his death, to inherit his property, which by right will have to revert to them. They will thus do their utmost early to see that the daughter will be given in marriage outside the family, and they will try to persuade the father to adopt one of their sons. If the father will not hear of it and continues to look for this ideal son-in-law, the family will not be able to gainsay it as long as the parents-in-law are living. The latter on their part will be prepared for eventualities and will try to cash in their real estate so as to be able to favor the daughter. Nevertheless, the son-in-law will always be the bête noire of the family and will be able to expect a thousand annoyances and continual ill will. Upon the death of the parents-in-law, the son-in-law has the right to return with his wife to his original family; but since the latter is usually poor, he will not do it; besides, he knows in advance that he will not be welcome. In the case where his wife's family is rich, they will always leave at least something to the daughter at the time of division of property; for example, several plots of land, a house, etc.; she will never be completely disinherited. Add to that the little bogus she has put aside in advance, and the young couple will have something to live on. The brothers of the husband-son-in-law will not come to beg from him, since the property he possesses is deemed to belong to his wife.

In the case where the parents-in-law are the only representatives of their clan, the position of the husband-son-in-law is more enviable.

I have never seen people look for husband-sons-in-law where there were sons.

The position of the husband-son-in-law with respect to his wife's family is thus again a false position.

606 675 The contracts of such marriages, as a general rule, are not punctiliously observed, especially when the parents-in-law are poor; either the son-in-law ends up by deserting his wife and her /120/ family and goes elsewhere to seek his fortune, or the daughter, loving her husband, flees with him. If people succeed in bringing them back and if they persist in no longer wanting to live with the parents,

2: Schram--136 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

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M 675 608 an attempt will be made to demand some kind of compensation from the son-in-law, and the affair will be ended.

The conclusion of the chapter will thus be that we are here in the presence of a deformation of the practice of spending a lifetime, on the part of the son-in-law, in the family of his parents-in-law, for the purpose of obtaining their daughter in marriage.

Mo HM 608 Have the T'ou-jen ever practiced this custom in all its fullness? In principle that is not impossible, since one still sees the Manchu practice it as such today, even while having a patriarchal system and paternal succession. In addition, we know that the Mongols, racial brothers of the T'ou-jen, formerly used to follow this custom and that they still practice it. (1) Next, it is very curious to ascertain how

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1. Vladimirtsov, Life of Chingis Khan, p. 87: (Yesugey with his son Temuchin (future Chingis Khan) goes to ask in marriage for the latter Börte, daughter of Dai-se-chen.) The proposal was accepted, Yesugey presented Dai-se-chen with his remount horse, and left Temuchin to stay there in the quality of future son-in-law. This, according to the Mongol custom, definitely confirmed Yesugey's decision to become related to the house of Dai-se-chen /cited in English, with introductory sentence in French in parentheses/.

the T'ou-jen easily adopt it again in all its purity as soon as they find themselves again in a place where it is practiced.

M 361 831 The subprefecture of Koei-té, situated two days' journey to the south of Sining on the shores of the Yellow River in the middle of Tibetan territory, forming there a prosperous Chinese-T'ou-jen oasis, has for a long time been the place of refuge for T'ou-jen who fled with someone else's wife with the intention of never returning to their

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361 place of origin. Now among the T'ou-jen of this area, a good many
831 have come to practice again the former custom of husband-sons-in-law practiced by the Tibetans, their neighbors. As soon as they ar-
608 rive in the region they no longer give their daughters in marriage out-
184 side the house, but they seek a /121/ husband-son-in-law for them;
583 on the other hand, they send their sons to become husband-sons-in-law in other families. Among many of these T'ou-jen, the sons no longer enjoy even the right of inheritance in their own family, where the daughters have become the sole heirs; in other families they continue to inherit beside their sisters. They are thus passing through a period of transition. One T'ou-jen family after the other adopts the customs of the Tibetans, at first some of the customs and only in part, and gradually they become Tibetanized. Besides, it is a fact that the Tibetan environment is not distasteful to them, and that T'ou-jen girls given in marriage to Tibetans quickly feel at home.

562 The T'ou-jen of the Sining region, speaking of their brothers
184 of Koei-té, say, laughing, that among the latter the wife is owner
177 and mistress of the home, niu-jen tang ts'ai, that the men do not count there, that there are women there who themselves send away their husbands, that women are found there who have more than one husband, and that the old men there are to be pitied. Thus Tibetan
178 customs.

608 How must one explain the deformation of the practice of
[177] husband-sons-in-law among the T'ou-jen?

First, it is necessary to know that the Mohammedan revolutions decimated the T'ou-jen population in Kansu. Some T'ou-jen, in order to remake their groups and get rents for their lands, accepted in their clans numerous heterogeneous Chinese and Tibetan elements; other T'ou-jen headmen never succeeded in rebuilding the ruins. Add to that the use of opium which especially undermined the families of the headmen and put them in debt and impoverished them; it is thus not surprising that the power and also the influence of the t'ou-
[622] se were decidedly impaired. The prime blow of all was more and more frequent recourse to Chinese magistrates on the part of the T'ou-jen. In the old days, say the elders, the t'ou-se alone was

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608 our judge in case of litigation; nobody would have dared to address
178 himself to the Chinese mandarins for fear of reprisals on the part of the t'ou-se. I believe we /122/ must look in this direction for the solution to our problem. As a matter of fact, the Chinese court
[428] recognizes only the sons' right of inheritance and, lacking them, that of members of the paternal side. In case of litigation, the paternal side is always sure to win its case against an only daughter, and the brother husband-son-in-law, as long as adoption has not been practiced, can always hope to see his rights recognized in his original family. Several verdicts of this kind suffice to deform a custom and create a completely new attitude. In addition, a tested virtue is necessary to be able to resist such temptations!

2. Exchange of a Girl for Furnishing of Services for a Fixed Number of Years

583 Everyday experience having proved that the preceding solution
565 is not practical, say the T'ou-jen, there are people who look for
466 another, more psychological inactual fact. Indeed, the sight of the end of one's own troubles in a future relatively near at hand gives the courage to remain faithful to duty. A family of poor or even average means can promise to give their daughter to a poor young man provided that he binds himself to work five, eight, ten, or 12 years for them.

675 The contracts for these marriages are generally made by the
466 parents themselves, with one or two individuals who act as guarantors
606 for the son-in-law. While in the preceding case the girl can be
583 nubile at the time when a husband is being found for her, in the present case the arrangement always takes place when the girl is only seven, eight, or ten years old at the most. As for the age of the son-in-law, there is nothing definite: he can be ten or 12 years old as well as 30 and even more. When the girl is 15, they will have a little festival, and she will wear her hair in the fashion of married women; then she is married.

Why this engagement when the girl is still a child? /123/ It it because they know one another in the country and do not want to

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Mo 675 606 466 583

be duped all down the line. As a matter of fact, as soon as the girl is 15 and is married, she, like her husband, will want to be more free. She will let him persuade her that one can work everywhere and that there is nothing more to be gained in the home of the parents-in-law. One day there is an argument in the family, and the couple disappears. Now at this moment the family of the parents-in-law will already have profited by at least several years of work by the son-in-law. It rarely happens that the son-in-law is faithful to his pledges to the end. It is then a frail alliance.

Mo 608 606 583 171

The present case is the usual case of husband-sons-in-law. It enjoys a very wide diffusion all over Asia, among the Turkish, Mongol, and Manchu peoples and among the peoples of northern Asia (1).

Ma 606 608 583

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: There is also a very interesting custom of getting a wife by personal work in the house of the future father-in-law. A poor man who cannot pay "kalim" through the intermediary of some person asks the bride's father to give him his daughter against his personal work in the house of his future father-in-law. The minimum period of this is three years and the maximum ten years. The future son-in-law lives in the house of his future father-in-law, but he always has his separated spirits and goes to his clan's meetings and sacrifices. After the fixed period is expired, they make a very modest wedding and the young husband brings his wife to his own house or lives in the house of his wife's father as a workman at a fixed salary. Sometimes the father-in-law gives the

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Mo 606 608 583

young couple some means to start an independent household. This custom is very broadly practised by the Manchus who consider it as one of the most ancient and purely national institutions. /Cited in English./

Mo [584]

Dr. Herbert Koenig, op. cit., pp. 109-110: The essence of this way of concluding a marriage lies in the fact that the bridegroom thereby begins his wooing, that he performs the most menial work for his future father-in-law, who treats him almost like a slave.... In this case, too, an intermediary sometimes is involved, usually the father, some other close relative, or even a friend, who asks the father of the bride whether the suitor can begin his service for the girl. Page 656: Thus, bride service in all likelihood is limited to the Asiatic side of the Bering Strait and the Aleutians and is lacking among the Eskimo. /Cited in German./

Mo 608 606 583 171

and everywhere they seem to hold this practice in respect. /124/ Among the T'ou-jen, according to what one can see, it creates a good many disagreeable situations; thus it is not surprising to hear the elders declare that this custom is practiced much less nowadays than in the good old days. This custom is still found rather often among the Chinese of Kansu.

3. Purchase of a Girl and Search for a Son-in-law Who Will Serve Their Parents-in-law until Death

Mo 608 583

Another still more risky combination is one often found in reasonably well-to-do families which have no child. They buy a girl,

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608 they get a husband for her, and they hope that the couple will stay
583 with their benefactors to serve them until their death. This is then the foremost case which occurs with the least chance of success, since the feelings of this stranger will not be comparable to those of a daughter of their own. If there is no hope for them of great material advantages, the couple ends up by going away.

4. Furnishing of One's Person by Adoption in Order to Obtain a Wife

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583 In this category we see the principle of the patriarchate tri-
606 umphing. This fourth combination is one found in rather rich families who have only one daughter and who adopt a son-in-law in order to give him as a husband to their daughter. The purpose of this arrangement, according to the T'ou-jen, is not to be separated from their daughter and to make her and the son-in-law their lawful heirs.

Now so that this may be possible in a patriarchal system, the son-in-law must exchange his family name for that of his parents-in-law. He must separate himself radically from his own parents and clan in order to recognize his parents-in-law and all /125/ their clan as his own. He must give himself completely to this family, he must make offerings to their ancestors, and in this way he will be able to continue the family line, and at his death be buried in their cemetery. This is, then, the furnishing of services for life at the same time as that of oneself in all its breadth.

From this it is understandable that such an arrangement must raise difficulties on the part of the family; so a whole series of formalities is required in order to bring it about. The father of the family begins by inviting his brothers and announcing his irrevocable decision. So that they will sign the contract of adoption and admit the new son-in-law into the family circle, he will propose bequeathing to them several plots of land after his death; the rest of the holdings will have to fall to the son-in-law and his wife. All that does not proceed without long discussions. Finally, the contract of adoption is signed on the occasion of a family dinner, where the son-in-law makes the great prostration to his new parents; he bows to the religious image honored in the house and burns cypress branches; his

Mo /125 cont'd/
597 name is inscribed in the family register in the presence of the whole
606 family; he goes to the clan cemetery to make offerings to the ances-
583 tors of his new parents, and goes to the village pagoda to venerate the loca deities, protectors of his adoptive family. (1) This arrange-

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1.. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 61: The adoption of men (among the Manchu) is practised only for children. When the child becomes 6-7 years old the couple who adopt it organize a sacrifice to their clan spirits. They declare to the spirits and to the child adopted, that such and such person is adopted in the clan, and that this person leaves his former clan and spirits and enters into this clan. /Cited in English; French interpolation in parentheses/.

ment presents all the necessary guarantees for a serious and lasting union... but at the price of what sacrifices on the part of the son-in-law.

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Chapter III

Abnormal Marriage

Mo 588 We have seen all the troubles brought on by marriages of girls exchanged for the furnishing either of the person of the son-in-law or his services for a fixed period or for life. Nevertheless, this whole series of marriages is more or less understandable to the European mind; the two series of alliances which follow no longer are. They are the marriages:

588 /126 cont'd/

A. To a prayer pole, a tree, a wall, a lion of baked clay, etc.

B. Marriages to a belt

Let us note that the marriages in the first series are also practiced by the Tibetans of Kansu, who live in a seminomadic and semi-agrarian state; they are not found among the Chinese of the region.

A. Marriages to a Prayer Pole, etc.

114 Let us first put forth the case, then let us justify the classification of this practice in the series of marriages.

One can read in the books which speak of the T'ou-jen that this people includes girls, unmarried all their lives, who, however, bear children just the same. The Chinese books especially try to disparage this people particularly because of this custom. Now, they are mistaken. These superficial observers have understood nothing about the customs of these regions. It is not by this custom that the morality of the T'ou-jen must be judged.

844 302 554 To be able to bear a child honestly (for there is an honesty also among these peoples), custom /127/ requires, without any exception whatever, that the mother wear her hair in the style of married women; in other words, this is to say that it is necessary to be married to be able to become a mother.

Now it happens that girls not yet given in marriage are pregnant. 848 [847] Two solutions then present themselves: the first is to bring on an abortion or to wait until the child is born to make it disappear or to offer it to anyone who wants it; the second is to change the hair style of the girl, that is to say, to get her married.

588 [848] When the second solution is adopted, they invite three or four neighbors, who with the family are present at the "marriage." They have been careful to prepare the attire of the bride. She arrays herself with it and has her hair done in the style of married women. Two lamps are lighted, and the sacred fire placed in the middle of the courtyard is maintained by means of cypress branches. After spreading out pieces of red felt, they proceed to the marriage, which

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588 is usually contracted with the prayer pole, called mané kan, which is found in nearly all courtyards of T'ou-jen residences. (It is a pole set up in the middle of the courtyard, at the top of which float streamers on which are printed lamaic prayers in Tibetan characters.) Often the marriage is also contracted with a wall, with a tree which is in front of the house, with the little lion of baked clay which is above all the house roofs, even with a rock, etc.

The girl kneels three times and each time makes three great prostrations as one does at a wedding. She makes the prostrations in the direction of the prayer pole or the tree or the object she is supposed to be marrying; at the same time she says each time, "Heaven has combed my hair, the prayer pole, etc. is my husband..."; then she makes the same prostrations to her parents and the others present.

588 The children resulting from such a "marriage" are called t'ien
848 cheng tse, i.e., "begotten by heaven," and they bear the name of the mother's family. /128/ These kinds of marriages are not at all numerous, for the reason that nearly all girls are given in marriage at an early age. They occur from time to time, especially in certain regions. The vicinities of Wei-iuen p'ou, Hong-ngai-tse-keou, and San-tch'oan are the regions where these practices are most frequent.

They occur more rarely in families where there are married sons; they are found most often in families where there are only one or two daughters. These women very often remain in this condition all their lives and continue to become mothers; others do not persist in this abnormal state and end up by marrying someone of their choice.

I have classified this practice in the series of marriages because it creates for the mother and children a legal position identical to that which marriage creates for the married couple and their offspring. In addition, its purpose is manifestly the procreatio et educatio prolis "the procreation and rearing of offspring" of the mother's clan.

858 As a matter of fact, the child born of this kind of marriage be-
588 comes legitimate heir of its mother's family; it is, they say, wai-cheng ting kieou-kieou, i.e., "the son of a daughter holds the rank of maternal uncle." Even if there are sons in the family who have children, the son of the woman in question will become heir by the

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858 same right as his cousins, sons of his mother's brothers. The reason
588 given for this is that the mother, at the time of her son's birth, was no longer a girl but quite married, since she was wearing her hair in the fashion of wives. But suppose that the young woman, as a result of difficulties with a sister-in-law or with her parents, or having simply found a match which she likes, marries again at a "second" wedding, then she can either take her son with her, and he loses
[128] ipso facto his rights to inheritance in his mother's family, and he must change his family name and inherit in the family of his new father (for by the change of name he falls into the category of adoptive children), or else the grandmother opposes the departure /129/ of her daughter's son, and he stays in his mother's family, keeping his rights.

848 It often happens that neither the grandmother nor the mother
792 keeps the child but that they entrust him to a lamasery. Lamas no
178 longer having the right of inheritance, these children disappear from public life. This category of children are sent to the lamasery probably to avoid difficulties which arise later at the time of the division of property, either on the part of the uncles or the nephews, just as when the mother takes the child to the home of her new husband and the latter adopts him as his son, which makes one suppose that these children's right to inherit is nowadays no longer very stable. One feels a period of transition in the custom. We are here in the presence of a practice which must have been more general in olden times and which has its roots in an organization which is not patriarchal.

562 These girl-mothers are received in all groups and are regarded
588 as virtuous women in spite of the fact that people know this custom is
593 considered abominable in the eyes of their Chinese neighbors. These women are recognized as being married; for, they say, their marriage took place in the manner of the marriage of girls, in the courtyard of the house, in front of the sacred fire. Their children are recognized as children of the clan, and they are given the name of their mother. In T'ou-jen families, when a brother dies, leaving only daughters, his brothers inherit his property; the daughters indeed do not inherit; but when this brother has a daughter of the category of which we

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562 peak, and when she has a son, then the brothers of the deceased will
588 not have the right to demand his property for themselves. In addition,
593 these same brothers who would not permit their brother to bequeath his property to his daughter and a son-in-law not adopted into the clan recognize the right of inheritance of a niece married to a prayer pole and of her children.

As long as the girl-mother stays home with her children, it is rare that difficulties arise; but often the situation changes when the woman is married at a "second" wedding /130/ and her children are still young. Then the woman's uncles, if she has no brothers, or these brothers if she has any, try to make her take her children with her and have them adopted by the new husband. They want to secure the property of the brother for themselves; for the property of the clan cannot pass to another clan. If the sons of the girl-mother are married at the time when she marries for the second time, there is no longer anything to fear for their rights. Let us note again that for these women, when they later remarry someone of their choice, there is no festivity as at the marriage of girls; they are satisfied with inviting a few neighbors. The second marriage can, in a way, be compared to a widow's marriage; however, such a woman will never have to fear being abducted.

The present case then is very strange in a society which, today, has strictly paternal descent. The fact that these rights are universally recognized is a sign that they date from far back; also the T'ou-jen cannot explain their origin and simply admit the fact.

8. Marriages to a Belt

588 These marriages, although they are as abnormal as those of the
184 preceding series, nevertheless seem to constitute a separate series.
574 First, they are practiced less than those we have just described, and
837 then their origin does not seem to be the same. They find their explanation in the custom of offering, for the night, a girl or a woman to a passing guest; in short, it is prostitution for the sake of hospitality. (1)

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1. Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 140: Guest Prostitution. Guest prostitution, which is found among the polar peoples, also belongs in the same category. It is the custom of giving guests not only accommodations and lodgings, but in addition putting the wife or daughter at their disposal for sexual relations. It is very widespread among the polar peoples, although it is not characteristic. I have found no report of it among the central North Asiatics, with the exception of the Tungus. /Cited in German./

588 This kind of marriage is practiced more where there is /131/
574 no son, but only a nubile daughter who has not yet been given in
837 marriage. These are therefore very rare cases. This custom is again a way for the parents to keep their daughter with them; the daughter can in this way know the advantages of motherhood while taking care of her parents; the latter on their part will not have to be exposed to the risks inherent in the practice of husband-sons-in-law. This is the explanation given by the T'ou-jen.

588 When the father offers his daughter to some passing guest, the
574 latter must give his belt in exchange and leave it with the girl. The importance attached to the belt has never been explained. We have met the belt twice before in the marriage of widows. The guest goes away in the morning and will perhaps never come back; but if the girl is found pregnant, they make her new clothes as well as a married woman's hat; they comb her hair in the bride's style, they invite several neighbors, they put the belt on red felt spread out on the ground. The girl kneels and makes the great prostration to the belt, to her parents, and to those present, saying that she is the wife of the guest. Later, she will give her child the name of the guest and will herself be called by the same name by all the neighbors, although perhaps she will never see this passing traveler again. The

588 /131 cont'd/
574 children born later will continue to be always given the name of the
[858] guest. It goes without saying that the latter does not bother in any way with the support of either the child or the woman.

[428] Important remark: No right of inheritance is recognized for these children in the family of their mother. They are considered as the children of a daughter married to some individual, for they bear another name; now, another name, another family.

588 This curious custom finds its place in the series of marriages
554 because it creates a legal position in favor of the mother identical in every way to that of any married woman. The woman married to a belt is considered the wife of husband X and no one will ever venture to abduct her.

588 /132/ Marriages to a belt and those to prayer poles resemble each other strongly; the manner of celebrating them is the same; women who have contracted these marriages are considered as duly married, and the children, in the two groups, are recognized as legitimate. The only difference between the two groups of marriages lies in the fact that those of the prayer-pole group are recognized by the mother's clan, and those of the other are considered as not belonging to this clan. Those of the prayer-pole group seem to be direct vestiges of one of the stages of the matriarchate; indeed, they bring about inheritance in the family by the daughter. Those of the second group, on the contrary, by the fact that the woman and the children are considered as having left the clan, do not seem to have this origin; but if the prayer-pole marriages had not existed formerly, those of the belt group would never have been practiced.

588 The following item throws a singular light on this category of
593 marriages. A certain Tchang-kia-pa of Hong-ngai-tse-keou had a daughter married to a belt, mother of a small child; in addition, he had a married son at home. As a consequence of continual friction between the daughter married to the belt and the daughter-in-law, the first sought a match, married, and left the paternal home, taking away her son. Thus a certain Hou Iu-leang bought her as his second wife for the sum of 200 strings of cash.

After five or six years, at the time of the great fair and festivities of Wei iuen-p'ou which take place in the second moon, a

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588 Chinese of Honan, accompanied by an uncle of the lady formerly
593 married to the belt, accosted Hou Iu-leang and reproached him for having taken his wife. The latter no longer recognized the individual; but, since he had a witness, since the child was formerly called by his name and the mother had also born this name, the supposed husband felt himself very much within his rights and threatened Mr. Hou with a lawsuit.

/133/ Hou, fearing the heavy expenses of the Chinese courts and not sure of a fair verdict, preferred to settle the affair amicably. He called upon the heads of the village and those of his clan, and the conclusion was that Hou had to pay the unknown man 80 strings of cash and that the father who had sold his daughter had to offer him a sheep and make apologies to him. This story thus proves that this category of marriages is officially recognized among the T'ou-jen.

/134/ Chapter IV

Divorce, Repudiation, Exchange of Wives

586 One can expect divorces and repudiations, owing to the too
184 great freedom which exists between the sexes. These two forms of termination of marriage rarely occur when there are several children in the family. Repudiation occurs more rarely than divorce, and the latter is not so frequent as one might suppose at first sight. Let us still remember that divorce and repudiation, like all the great acts
[671] of life, marriage, adoption, etc., are effected without the intervention of law courts. As long as they can arrange things among themselves, they do not resort to the law; they call upon its help when all other means of conciliation are exhausted.

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A. Divorce

586 Summary. -- 1. Right of divorce, theory and practice. 2. Causes of divorce. 3. Procedure.

1. Right of Divorce, Theory and Practice

Divorce among the T'ou-jen takes on a special character, that of the sale of the wife by the husband with her consent. The definition of divorce is fully realized in it: the dissolving of the marriage ties in view of the respective interests of the husband and wife.

[562] /135/ In theory the wife's right to separate from her husband and ask for divorce is not recognized; the reason for it is that the wife is considered as the pure and simple property of the husband who bought her. On the contrary, the husband's right, in theory, to send his wife away, to sell her with her consent, as well as to do it in spite of her, is recognized. Moreover, he has the right to repudiate her by sending her back to her parents.

[614] 627 586 Although this theory has the force of law, I have nevertheless known the case of a rich woman bringing suit through the head of the clan, the t'ou-se, to obtain a divorce. An only daughter, when very young she had married a poor young man who had come to live at her home and serve her parents until their death. Now the husband-son-in-law in question was dissipating her fortune. The clans of the girl's mother and father as well as the elders of the village together presented a petition to the t'ou-se in which they confirmed the facts and asked the t'ou-se to grant the divorce. The divorce was granted. They based their argument on the fact that the wife had been given to the husband-son-in-law in exchange for the good services he was to render to the parents-in-law and the family; now he had not been faithful to his pledges....

586 The case of divorce occurs in practice in the following form: when the couple are no longer getting along, the wife has already found, in most cases, someone who wants to obtain her. If she has not yet found anyone, the husband will urge her to look for someone

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586 and will if need be help her in the task. Thus the wife maintains face; she will be able to say that she did not want her husband any more, and he will not have any difficulties with his wife's family either, since it is the daughter who wanted to go away. In the end, the husband will even profit greatly by the sale of his wife. On the other hand, if the wife insists on not wanting to look for another match, the husband will be patient and will not resort to repudiation except as a last extreme. That is the ordinary course of the preambles to divorce.

/136/ 2. Causes of Divorce

593 The causes of divorce appear to be more or less numerous.
586 The primary and most ordinary cause is certainly interest in another person, which brings on mutual and daily increasing aversion between the husband and wife. A wife can fall and that is understood; the husband will even allow his wife not to come home at night from time to time, for he himself does not come home regularly every evening, either. Grounds for divorce require regular and therefore public relations.

626 Do not think, however, that husbands give complete freedom
837 to their wives; do not believe that all husbands are indifferent to
539 these things. They tell about a good many cases in which the wife and her lover, having been surprised at night, were tied together or tied to a stake, beaten, etc., by the heads of the village with whom
837 the husband had lodged a complaint. The families of the guilty ones
672 were called, they had to act as guarantors for their members; then the guilty man had to offer his apologies to the injured husband and give him a pig, a sheep, etc. The level of morality among the T'ou-jen has not yet fallen so low that they no longer know their duties and rights in these matters. So it is not rare to see a husband beat his wife and to hear the wife, on her knees, beg her husband, "Big brother, pardon me this time; big brother, treat me with indulgence this time, that won't happen any more." Now one does not ask pardon and one does not allow oneself to be beaten when one's conscience is clear.

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586 595 Polygamy often leads to divorce. The too marked attentions of the husband for the second wife embitter the official wife and make her look for another husband. Polygamy is the sure means foreseen by the husband to get rid of his wife whom he no longer loves in order to take another who is to his taste. Once the latter is married, the first will consent to being sold and will be forced indirectly to get another suitor. /137/

586 Bad treatment which a husband makes his wife undergo does not constitute grounds for divorce. Brutality of the husband can at the most force the wife to flee to her parents. Then the family, the maternal uncle at the head, will come to demand explanations and will require guarantees for the future; after which the wife will return home. If the brutality continues, the wife herself will look for another match, and they will proceed to divorce.

They do not divorce because of sterility but take a second wife. Bodily faults of the wife are rarely grounds for divorce. In this case, because it is hard for the wife herself to find a match; no other resort is left to the husband except repudiation.

A husband who has ascertained that his wife steals, wastes his property; etc., will try to make her life impossible and to force her indirectly to get a purchaser in order to be able to get a divorce. They are always afraid of repudiation.

In the case that the daughter-in-law does not get along with the mother-in-law, if the couple get along well together, they will try to have a division of the property so that they can live separately. If, on the other hand, the couple do not get along, they will proceed as in the preceding cases...and will be divorced.

Here again as everywhere else one perceives the shortcoming of the race. The pursuit of small profits manifests itself in everything. They will be patient for years, they will humiliate themselves as far as urging the wife to get another match, for the price of the sale of the wife is coveted above all. However, in the end this price will be determined in direct proportion, on the one hand, to the aversion felt for the wife, and on the other hand, to the wealth of the suitor, as well as to the passion he feels for the woman who

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586 is for sale. These prices are as a general rule higher than those paid for a widow or a girl.

The agreement is generally concluded in the following manner: /138/ After the husband and wife have consulted together and the wife has found a place to go, the husband invites to his house two go-betweens, his uncles, and his brothers. He admits to them that the situation is impossible and that he wants to get rid of his wife; that she has found a prospective husband and that she is in agreement with him. Several days later the go-betweens one evening invite "to their home" the husband, his uncles, his brothers, the wife's prospective husband, and two or three of his friends. They first discuss the price of the woman. For people of average means, the price will vary between 200 and 300 strings of cash. Then they talk over the sum demanded by the signers of the contract, who as always try to profit by these transactions. The amount of money these people claim is sometimes very considerable and can represent half of the woman's price; it is because as members of the family, they do not permit this dishonor. Then comes the discussion of the sum which will be given to the woman's parents-in-law, who are supposed to oppose the divorce also, for they especially are sensitive to the loss of face for the whole family. This sum can go from ten to 50 strings of cash. The money stipulated for a divorce is required up to the last cash. The prospective husband puts the money into the hands of the go-betweens, who will give it to those who have a right to it after the signing of the contract.

586 This contract will never be written in any house but in a re-
675 mote place, a ravine or a mountain cave. The first signer is the
587 husband. He must sign with the left thumb and the right toe; for this purpose they smear the thumb and toe with ink and put them on the contract; then come the other signers, who sign by hand. When the contract is signed, the go-betweens go to get the woman and present her to her new owner. After all is arranged and the wife is already in her new dwelling, the go-betweens go to pay a visit to the wife's parents in order to announce the new marriage of their daughter to them and to bring a little gift on behalf of the new

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586 son-in-law. At the same time they invite them /139/ to come to
675 the home of the new son-in-law to be present at the wedding, which
587 is conducted according to the custom for the marriage of widows.

The go-betweens have a rather easy task at the home of the wife's parents, since it is their daughter who has herself sought a match and has been the cause of the divorce.

586 It is superfluous to say that divorces are viewed with disfavor. They always advise against taking a wife whose husband is living, for one does not divorce a good wife. These are costly and very risky marriages in this sense, that often harmony does not prevail very long between the new husband and wife. Also the adage says: He who has money does not buy the wife of a husband who is still living; he who has cash does not acquire lands situated on river banks (for fear of erosion).

The cause of the rarity of divorces and repudiations is to be sought in the dishonor which T'ou-jen common sense believes to be attached to them. This thesis is easily proved by the fact that they precisely allege dishonor to the family in order to be able to extort a large sum of money from the purchaser. Now the T'ou-jen do not let go of their money without serious reason! This thesis is again proved by the really lugubrious circumstances which accompany divorce and repudiation; these contracts are signed at night...in a cave, signed by the toe..., while all those present talk only of dishonor.... Now these circumstances of time, place, manner are not those of an honorable act. These circumstances leave a deep impression on the people. In addition, they always speak of a divorced woman with scorn, and of the man who married her. When they say that she is a houo jen ts'i, i.e., "the wife of a living man," they do not ask any further explanation; the situation is deemed to be known.

When, on the other hand, one thinks an instant about the solemnities which accompany the weddings of girls, of the expenses which are borne, and the trouble the whole clan, /140/ the friends, and neighbors take to pay their respects; when one thinks of the blessings which are wished for the couple and begged from heaven and the multifarious spirits, it is not surprising that the T'ou-jen believe

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586 that marriage is not a commonplace act in a man's life, that it is not an affair of a few days or years, or that it is an act depending on the whims and passions of a moment. In order to understand this way of thinking one must take the facts as a whole. I think many authors speak too lightly of this question in ethnographies.

B. Repudiation

What we have called divorce is the sale of the wife by the husband, but with her consent and after she has found someone of her choice to marry.

Repudiation occurs when the husband no longer wants anything to do with his wife, so that he sends her back to her parents or her brothers or sells her in spite of her wishes. Repudiation rarely occurs; it is always very discreditable for the family as well as for the wife herself.

First the wife's parents see the material side in repudiation. Who will maintain the woman henceforward? The brothers and the sisters-in-law on their part are scarcely delighted with such a present; and then who else will want this unfortunate woman? The woman understands better than anybody her situation and her future, so she will insinuate through a third person that there is nothing left for her but suicide. Terrible weapon, which will make the husband stop and think.

586 When repudiation is decided upon, the family of the repudiated
672 wife begins by demanding a large indemnity from their daughter's husband for the dishonor he does them, then a sum for the support of the woman. If need be, the whole family, /141/ men and women, will go and settle down at the husband's home to make an uproar for several days; or they will forcibly take away his livestock, etc. If the husband risks daring to sell the wife against her wishes, he will find it difficult to find someone to whom to sell her; the purchaser will also be afraid of reprisals from the woman's family. It is not easy to find people willing to write these contracts for an insignificant

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586 sum or to find signers and go-betweens, for nobody wants to expose
672 himself to the vengeance of the family of the repudiated wife. I knew a case where all was ready for the repudiation of a woman who was claimed to be badly formed physically. Since the family was
M rich, it was on the point of turning up its nose at all threats. At the
[762] last moment it changed its mind when it learned that the wife had just procured opium to end her life.

M Thus those who do not fear exposing themselves to such troubles
586 will repudiate their wives. Fortunately, these people are extremely
432 rare.

It must therefore be admitted that in this respect the T'ou-jen have not undergone the pernicious influence of their neighbors and masters, the Chinese, among whom repudiation and the sale of the wife often occur in normal times. One will never see T'ou-jen women sold in great numbers in time of famine as is seen in China even today. One will not meet T'ou-jen who will take a mortage on their wives, as I have seen happen twice among the Chinese. One will never see the T'ou-jen put a woman on the mountain of filial piety as I once saw done. Although with them the wife must work very hard, she is more highly esteemed and respected than in China.

M If, however, repudiation does take place, they begin by getting
586 go-betweens, who will go to consult with the wife's family. When the discussions have reached an end and the money demanded has been promised, the contract is written and signed as for divorce. The go-between, after bringing the promised sum to the family of the
M repudiated woman, /142/ will go to get the latter and present her to
[858] her parents. The children in this case stay with the husband's family. (1)

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1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 313: (Mongols.) Divorce is very frequent; the least dissatisfaction on one side or the other is enough to have it declared. If the husband wants to be separated from his wife without a

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586 legitimate reason, he is obliged to give her one of her most beautiful dresses and a saddled horse in order to return to her parents' home. He keeps the rest of the dowry as the equivalent of the livestock which he has given. If a wife runs away on the sly from the home of her husband to whom she has taken an aversion and comes back to her parents, they are obliged to give her back to her husband three times. If she leaves a fourth time, then the negotiations for the divorce [672] begin. All the wife's dowry remains in the hands of the husband, and the wife's father must give him in addition a quantity of livestock determined by the authorities. This restitution, which among the richest people does not exceed 33 head of livestock, is effected only when the divorced woman remarries, unless the parents for love of their daughter and to avoid unpleasant occurrences decide on it at once of their own volition. But since such a separation is very disadvantageous for the wife's family and for the wife herself, the latter sometimes succeeds in taking away with her her best dresses and her jewels. If she is cited before the judges for this removal, she is obliged to return these objects to her husband, with the exception of a saddled horse and one of the most beautiful dresses which were part of her dowry.

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586 Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 91: Divorce properly speaking is not practised among the Manchus. The wife cannot leave her husband even in the case if he is drunkard, has some chronic illness or practises robbery. But at the same time the husband had the right to put away his wife after an official declaration to the public authorities. This declaration must be written and marked with twenty dactyloscopic prints of the complaint. This document is given to the divorced wife and a copy of it is kept in the office. This practice is of course of a very late origin. The woman is expelled from [273] her husband's house in the case of bad conduct, if she is addicted to alcohol, has bad manners and habits and betrays her husband too shamelessly. In such cases the woman returns to her mother. If she is dead, the woman goes to her mother's brother or to her father's brother and never to her brothers. If the wife leaves her husband without permission, she cannot be received by her relatives of her mother's clan because she had other spirits, those of her husband's clan. However notwithstanding all these restrictions, it happens some times that women leave their husbands. If the divorce or too simply the running away of a wife is recognised as an accomplished fact, they never pay back the kalin

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(earnest). They pay it back only in the case, if it is paid and the bride runs away with someone else just before the wedding. Such cases are absolutely exceptional ... all this question must be reported to the clan. /Cited in English, with French interpolation, indicated by parentheses./

Mo 586 A case can occur in which the wife is the only guilty one. It is natural then that the wife's family does not require compensation, etc. I have never, however, heard it said that the guilty wife's family had to give back to the injured son-in-law the earnest received at the time of the marriage.

Mo 586 554 /143/ On the question of repudiation let us note that it is necessary to take account of many circumstances, of which one of the main ones is the economic status of the wife's family, the influence this family enjoys in the region, and above all the fact of having among its members people who will know how to cope with the husband's family in spite of everything. One must also take into account the power of the husband's family, which if it has influential protectors can allow itself to be prepared for all eventualities. In the Orient especially, it is not enough to have rights, it is necessary to be able to defend them.

C. Exchange of Married Women

Mo 437 593 587 I cannot pass by in silence the case of four families of Hong-ngai-tse-keou, who without recourse to divorce or repudiation got rid of their wives by mutually exchanging them, without further ceremony; the children remained in the families where they were born. All was arranged without go-betweens, contract, or expenses, by common agreement among those concerned.

These are the only cases of this practice which have come to my knowledge, and I think they are isolated cases which prove

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437 nothing. Public opinion strongly disclaimed this practice and the
593 elders did not admit it. (1)
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1. David Macdonald, Moeurs et coutumes des Thibétains /Practices and Customs of the Tibetans/, p. 136: Another singular usage, but one which is practiced only in high circles, is that two men exchange their wives by mutual consent. The latter are consulted on the question, and their consent to the combination must be obtained.

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 137: Wife Exchange. It is also incorrect when Graebner says that it is precisely in the region of the Old Asiatic peoples that the custom flourishes most.... It is much more common generally among the Eskimo tribes known so far, and it is present among practically all of them, while among the Old Asiatics it is not known at all by the Korjak, far from it, and the Jukugir, too, have only a weak tendency toward it. /Cited in German./

Mo /144/ I think I must point out the influence of Tibetan practices
587 especially for this singular case. Indeed, each year one sees several
437 T'ou-jen of Hong-ngai-tse-keou go to Tibet to sell mules from the
593 Sining region. It would not be surprising if these T'ou-jen traders
177 learned about this custom in Tibet and practiced it later.

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Chapter V

Runaway Wives

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593 It is not rare to see the daughter-in-law flee to the paternal home after a quarrel at the house of the parents-in-law. In this case, the latter /sic/ quietly await the arrival of the son-in-law in order to hear his explanations. If he does not bother with the fugitive, the parents of the runaway woman get a go-between so that he may go to make inquiries. Since usually both sides are at fault, the go-between will come back to bring back the daughter-in-law in order to make her apologize to her parents-in-law; the son-in-law will accompany her to present his apologies also to his wife's parents.

The exhortations to the daughter-in-law are very typical in the sense that they are rather platonic, even fatalistic: You are a daughter-in-law, they will say, therefore you have to suffer some vexations, even some humiliations; but know well that it is not for all your life; for the adage says, one is a daughter-in-law for only 30 years and then one is oneself the mother-in-law for the same term of years. Console yourself!

This running away within the family rarely leads to important consequences, but there is another kind of running away which is much more serious. Indeed, if repudiation rarely occurs and if divorce is not frequent, the flight of a wife with her lover happens oftener.

The causes of such misadventures are the great freedom of relations between the sexes before as well as after marriage, and especially at the time of festivities; the vexations of mothers-in-law, the /146/ unfortunate unions between young people of too different character, and above all the too great difference in age which often exists between husband and wife. The husband is not nubile and the wife is six or seven years older than he; the wife has begun by treating her husband as a child and has enjoyed authority. Later when the husband wants to take up his rights, then it is that the difficulties begin. Furthermore, the wife meanwhile has already learned to

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578 amuse herself... and has already had too many relations... one fine
593 day she disappears. This is the big affliction of the region. When a wife has run away, they immediately guess who her accomplice is; but it is necessary to be able to locate them. If the inquiries made about them are fruitless, after several days the son-in-law will go to his wife's family, pretending to believe that his dear better half is at their home and that he will find out about her return. This is also a way of informing the parents about their daughter's flight.

If after five or six months the fugitive has not come back, her parents require the son-in-law, accompanied by two aides, to go to get her at his expense; there is always some indication as to where she is. If they have exact information, they go to the headmen of the place to demand that they get hold of the fugitives so that they can bring them back home tied up.

684 Upon their return to the village, the village heads and the
687 members of the families of the lover and the wife are called. In the
681 presence of the whole populace, who very much relish this kind of distraction, the village heads begin the preliminary investigation of the affair. The case is examined to the bottom, and finally the lover is badly beaten and hung up by the thumbs until someone turns up who will act as guarantor for him. Then comes the woman, who is beaten on her bare back with leather lashes for as long as she does not manifest her regrets while adding good resolves for the future. Then the two culprits are taken through the village and exposed to the mockery of all; a herald precedes them, beating a drum and proclaiming their crime. It may happen that an indemnity on the part of the lover's family may be asked for the wrong done to the husband.

586 /147/ The wife goes back into the house; if she brings a child
681 born during the escapade, he is accepted into the family.

But it may also happen that the runaways are not found. Then after two or three years of vain search, the wife's parents demand a settlement of accounts. The parents-in-law then invite the parents of the runaway daughter-in-law, as well as her maternal uncles, the village heads, and several friends who are good speakers, for it will be a question of tseou che jen ming, i.e., "the indemnity (to the parents) for the loss of their daughter occasioned by her running away."

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586 681 Indeed, the parents claim that their daughter, as a consequence of bad treatment on the part of the parents-in-law, was forced to leave home, ran away, and must have perished nobody knows where. The parents-in-law are therefore responsible for her death...., and the discussion begins. On both sides they are convinced that the daughter is just as guilty as the parents-in-law, if not more; they also know very well that the daughter is alive. Everyone understands that the parents want to profit by the occasion in order to raise money on the backs of their family by marriage. After long discussions, which can last two days and more, they end up by having to give to the parents of the runaway a sum of two to three hundred strings of cash as indemnity for the daughter-in-law, who is deemed to be lost. A contract is written by which it is recognized that the affair is shelved forever and that in the future the parents-in-law will no longer be able to try to pick a quarrel with the son-in-law nor extort money a second time...; furthermore, should the daughter return, they bind themselves to pay back the indemnity. As for this last clause, it is gone with the wind; the adage says besides: "Once the flesh has entered the wolf's mouth, it is not easy to pull it out again."

586 583 681 Nevertheless, if the daughter comes back after several years with her lover, or if she has been taken and brought back forcibly, they act as above with the runaways of this category; however they require more serious guarantees and a larger indemnity on the part of the lover's family. It happens very often that on /148/ this occasion they sell the woman to her lover if he has the wherewithal to pay for her. They likewise sell him the children born during the long absence. If the wife is not sold, she goes back to her home and is again admitted into the family circle with the children born to her while away, for, says the adage: "What grows on my land is mine and what my wife gives birth to is mine."

586 593 However one can believe that the parents are scarcely delighted with such presents, especially when children are not lacking in their home. Indeed, the adage says: "The cow to be robust must run on the mountain, but it must come home to the stable." If the comparison is not elegant, it makes one think of the nomadic life. The

2: Schram--164 M-4,5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
Manchu AG4

/148 cont'd/

Mo 586 593 children are accepted in the family to keep the daughter-in-law home better, say the T'ou-jen, and to avoid a second escapade. Then, if later one wants to get rid of them, one will send the boys to the lamasery to devote themselves to the service of Buddha; as for the girls, they will be given in marriage. I confess I have not met polyandry among the T'ou-jen.

Mo 548 Likewise, prostitution in the strict sense of the word is not known. Although there are the series of prayer-post wives and belt wives, they cannot be classed in this category. Indeed, they consider themselves as being married, and they are considered as such, and furthermore they hardly ply the trade of prostitutes. (1)

Ma [548] 1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 152: Prostitution as a social phenomenon among the Manchus is unknown. /Cited in English./

Mo 589 793 Celibacy is practiced solely by the lamas of the yellow sect, and the T'ou-jen furnish a sizable contingent to this religious body. They are the only bachelors among the T'ou-jen. There is no lamasery for women in the country; all the women without exception Mo [302] practice marriage under one or the other of the forms we have described above. It happens at the very most that one meets widows or women of advanced age who shave their heads and devote themselves especially to prayer while staying at home.

/149/ Chapter VI

The Matriarchate

006 Summary: -- A. Present-day patriarchal state. System of the large family. B. Former matriarchate proved by: (1) Double burial. (2) The relations of the maternal uncle with the family of his sister

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and her children. (3) Importance of the mother, daughter-in-law, children, maternal clan. (4) The practice of husband-sons-in-law.

A. Present-day Patriarchal State System of the Large Family

121 In order to be able to understand a large part of the marriage rites and customs which we have described in this study, one must necessarily admit the hypothesis of a former matriarchate among the T'ou-jen.

596 Indeed, a large part of the marriage customs is unexplainable in the strictly patriarchal organization in which the T'ou-jen live today. Their family organization is that of the "large family." The grandfather is head of the family. His sons and grandsons after marriage continue to live under his authority, in the same courtyard, as long as life together is more or less possible. The grandfather has the community property at his disposal; he makes the sales, the purchases, the borrowings, etc. All that which is acquired by the sons or the grandsons goes back into the collective patrimony, and none of them is an owner with personal title. The grandfather has at his disposal not only the property but even the persons who constitute the family in the sense that he assigns to each one of them his daily /150/ occupations and his mode of life. The children belong neither to the mother nor the father but to the grandfather alone who will make of them monks, farmers, merchants, men of letters, as seems fitting to him. The grandfather alone is responsible before the T'ou-jen headmen for the conduct of all the members of the family. Succession in the family is regularly from father to son; at the death of the head of the family, the sons alone inherit the community property to the exclusion of the daughters. Conclusion: In such a patriarchal system the women and the maternal clan do not count at all.

121 But it has been said with much logic: "Scientific hypotheses are not true, they are convenient." Let us try, then, in order to be

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121 able to leave hypothesis and move on the ground of truth, to prove by the vestiges met with in the daily customs the existence of the matriarchate among the T'ou-jen in a former period.

121 The thesis is all the more interesting because it concerns former
177 nomads formerly occupied with the raising of large animals, nomads of Mongol and Cha-t'ouo origin, speaking today the Monguor language, a Mongol dialect.

The matriarchal institution in the Mongol branch of the T'ou-jen must be anterior by a good deal to their immigration to Kansu, which dates from the time of either the Yüan or the Ming dynasty; for, in those times, the Mongols practiced the patriarchate. As for the social institutions of the Cha-t'ouo branch at the time of its settlement in Kansu, we have no certain data.

121 To prove the thesis I shall make use of materials which will be found explained more at length in other subsequent studies, as well as those met in the present monograph.

/151/ B. Ancient Matriarchate

1. Double Burial

764 In comparative ethnology double burial is considered as a specific element of the matriarchate. (1) Now the T'ou-jen groups

1. Anthropos, 1930, p. 992. "Die Frage des Mutterrechts," by W. Koppers: In the light of comparative ethnology, the double funeral appears to be a peculiarity of pronounced mother-right culture. /Cited in German./

[177] which have undergone the influence of Chinese civilization for so many centuries still practice this custom nowadays in the following

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764 form: After incinerating their dead according to Lamaist rites, they gather the remains in a chest ad hoc, and bury them provisionally in a clean, dry place on the slope of a mountain. At the ts'in-ming /ch'ing ming/, the festival of the dead among the Chinese, they disinter the chest to bury it for good in the common cemetery of the clan. This custom is followed even by the T'ou-jen who live beside the cemetery. This practice which the T'ou-jen claim to have been general in the old times nowadays is already no longer seen nowadays in many places.

2. Relations of the Maternal Uncle with the Family of his Sister and her Children

604 Another basic element of the matriarchate is the particular situation which the maternal uncle occupies in this organization where all the rights of the family seem to belong to him.

a) Right of life and death over his sister's children.

[761] Now, even today, among the T'ou-jen the maternal uncle has kept the most important rights over his sister's children; he has even kept the right of life and death over them. Elsewhere I shall describe three true-to-life happenings where one sees the maternal uncle preside over a family council in which, without any subsequent form of trial and without the intervention of the law or the courts, he decides that /152/ his sister's son will be buried alive. Now without the consent of the maternal uncle nobody would dare to make such a decree; no member of the family would dare take upon himself such a responsibility, not even the grandfather, although we are in the patriarchal period. These facts are all the more strange since capital punishment is not even within the jurisdiction of the head t'ou-se.

In its place I shall quote with all the circumstances the case of two brothers who in the lifetime of their widowed mother indirectly caused the suicide of their brother, a rogue of the worst kind, whom they had shut up in a room after beating him; the scamp hung himself. Now, for causing their brother's death, they had to pay an indemnity to their maternal uncle, the master of the bones of his

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604 sister's children. Note that even if the father had been living, the procedure would have been the same.

The maternal uncle plays the principal role in the parleys on [762] the occasion of the suicide of his sister's children. Third series of facts: A young woman, an unbearable scold, had abandoned her poor husband to follow a lover in easier circumstances. After two or three years, since she no longer got along with him either, the woman came back to her family, who wanted to return her to her legitimate husband. Fearing that at the least quarrel she might swallow opium and ruin his family, he required the maternal uncle of the shrew to constitute himself guarantor that there would not be any action on the part of his family in case the woman committed suicide. There was a family council, and the maternal uncle signed a contract in the sense indicated after making strongly virulent admonitions to his niece. The maternal uncle had to make the pledge, and not her own father. I met an absolutely similar case among the Chinese of Kansu.

These three series of facts prove the maternal uncle's rights of life and death over his sister's children. They are all of relatively recent date. In none of these cases was the maternal uncle charged at law. This is therefore proof that present-day custom still accepts these rights.

604 /153/ In China also, moreover, the rights of the maternal
171 uncle are very extensive even today; the Chinese proverb says enough about it, "kieou-fou kao wai-cheng, iang lao tse k'eng pou hia," i.e., "when the maternal uncle makes a charge at law against one of his sister's children, the children's own father can do nothing to defend them." (1) The maternal uncle has the right to punish his

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 144: If the mother should accuse her son, intervention to stop the execution in this case can be made by the mother's brother, who can take the guilty man under his charge.... In the intervention

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604
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of the mother's brother, we can see some survival of an ancient form of the Manchu society which was organised on the principle of materline filiation, in which the mother's clan was a natural protector of its members. It is clear that the part of protector was executed by the mother's brother. Even now the mother's brother ... is generally charged with the moral control over his sister's children (as among the Chinese). Therefore he sometimes is obliged to help his sister's children. He is in very peculiar terms with them ... is much beloved by them ... he helps them in matrimonial affairs, he may also intervene in the education of them ... P. 154: The clan organisation in its institutions, as for example, the woman chieftainship, the peculiar rights and duties of the mother's brother, the mother's privilege to prevent her daughter although she is already married, and several others, retains traces of a great influence of the women and their relatives, which show that the Manchus in former times had another system of social organisation. /Cited in English./

P. 91: During the life of a married couple, the wife's mother's clan has no important part, except in the case of divorce, but relations and high consideration of this clan are always strictly maintained. /Cited in English./

nephews in China.

/153 cont'd/

604 These facts make understandable the expression so often met in this study, "that the maternal uncle is really the master of the bones of his sister's children."

604 b) Permission to bury the dead is given by the maternal uncle.

764 After what we have just said, is it not natural that the T'ou-jen call the maternal uncle at the death of his sister and her children? Burial will never take place as long as he has not given his permission. In the case of rumors about the unnatural death of a person under his jurisdiction, he will examine the body. It is to recognize his rights that the family will call him each time that a burial takes place to inspect the body, and they will humbly beg him to give permission /154/ for burial or cremation. When they bury in the Chinese manner, they present to the maternal uncle the axe and the wedge for closing the cover of the coffin. This is what the Chinese do also.

604 c) Precedence of the maternal uncle at the wedding.

585 In the light of these facts, is it not easy to understand the importance that the T'ou-jen attach, at the time of marriage, to the mother's clan and to the maternal uncle in particular? He presides then at the festivity at his sister's home. They offer him the great gift of honor. He is invited to remain standing beside the bride during the speech of the master of ceremonies, who names him at this moment the master of the bones of his sister's children. At the home of the son-in-law it is he again who is the great guest and who receives the gift of honor. If there are neither grandfather or old men, it is he who conducts the wedding ceremony, who orders the prostrations, and says the blessings. At the time of the carrying off of the animals and of the uproar at the end of the wedding festivity, it is he again who settles the quarrel in the name of his sister's family, and it is before him that the son-in-law's whole family prostrate themselves. At the dinner at the bridegroom's home, the master of ceremonies emphasizes the importance of the maternal clan: "The man as well as the woman must have a maternal clan so that they can prove their origin." They scarcely speak of the paternal clan. Addressing himself to him a second time, the master of ceremonies says: "The man is indebted to the maternal clan for his qualities, as the woman is to her family's clan." Not the least allusion to the paternal clan.

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3. Importance of the Mother, the Daughter-in-law, the Chilu, the Maternal Clan

593 a) Abnormal interference in the marriage of her children.
562 In a patriarchal organization the wife does not own anything, she does not count; even her children do not belong to her. Is it not necessary therefore to explain the predominant position of the mother in the marriage rites as being a vestige of a /155/ former matriarchate:
593 Indeed, the wedding "seems" even in our day to be the business
562 of the mother alone. Without speaking of the marriage promises
587 made between mothers as yet only pregnant, we have seen that the official request for the bride is made by the mother alone. The consent given to the mother alone enjoys all the necessary guarantees so that they can allow themselves to wait four or five years more before getting a go-between. Likewise, when the earnest is discussed, it is again the mother alone who goes to ask for the girl to be married at an early date; only after the mother's request does the go-between appear in order to set the date and the rest. For marriages without ceremony it is the mother again who, with the go-between, goes in complete simplicity to get the bride who is poor. This fact is very significant. Along the way, what the sobbing bride fears most is that they will curse her by cursing her mother; this is the greatest injury that can be done to her.

606 When one examines present-day customs concerning young
587 widows, one finds it abnormal in a patriarchal organization that the
593 young widow after the 49 days of mourning goes back to her mother's family to stay there until her second marriage. Indeed, she is the property pure and simple of her parents-in-law. It is likewise abnormal that the go-betweens, at the time of the second marriage, address themselves to her own parents before addressing her mother-in-law. Does not that recall the time when the daughter was married at home and had no mother-in-law?

After addressing the mother, the go-between goes to the home of the widow's parents-in-law, and there again he accosts first the mother-in-law, just as if she had the widow-bride at her disposal

/155 cont'd/

606 ahead of all the other members of the family. What is typical is that
587 they call the money given to the mother-in-law k'ai k'eou ts'ien,
593 "the sum which opens her mouth," for if she does not open her mouth, that is to say, if she does not consent, the marriage comes to nought.

/156/

b) Succession on the maternal side.

562 Without admitting a former matriarchate, how can one explain
593 the situation of the women in the series of marriages to the prayer
588 pole, etc.? In this case the "girl-mother" is seen to enjoy all the rights of a married woman, her children bear her name and inherit in her clan beside the children of her brothers. This is certainly the case which makes kinship, order of succession, and the property of the family pass on the mother's side. This single case which continues to exist in the middle of a patriarchal period in which the children of daughters as well as their mother are considered as outside the family, deserves all attention.

c) Admission into the family of children born of outsider fathers.

843 Is it not permitted to see vestiges of the matriarchate in the great facility with which they admit into the family the children of daughters-in-law and widows, born certainly of fathers who are outsiders; partus sequitur ventrem /"offspring proceed from the womb"/: they recognize only the mother. We have seen that here they are in a period of transition which begins to make this practice more and more difficult.

562 d) Frequent family visits of the daughter-in-law and right to
421 keep her property at her mother's home.
593
574 Again what can be said of the abnormal custom which allows the daughter-in-law these frequent visits and these long vacations with her family? This custom is not natural in a patriarchal organization where the daughter-in-law is the property of her husband, and where she must give this clan her life, her time, and all her work. This custom gives the impression that the daughter, after marriage, always continues to live with her own family and not that of her husband, (1) all the more /157/ because she keeps at her parents' home

/157 cont'd/

Ma 574 593

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 90-91: The second long visit of the newly married wife in her mother's house may be also understood as a survival of the custom that prescribed to the newly married wife to keep her place in her mother's house. Furthermore the Manchus never say "the wife's father's clan" but "the wife's mother's clan." At the same time they say "the husband's clan" and "the husband's father's clan." Thus all these facts cannot be explained without a supposition of the materline clan system in the past. /Cited in English./

Mo 562 421 593 574 her finest clothes, her ornaments, her jewels, and everything that is dear to her. One keeps one's treasures at one's home; now, the home of the daughter-in-law does not seem to be near her husband. This last custom, which still effectively recognizes that the wife today has certain property rights, does not belong to a patriarchal organization; furthermore, we saw in the speech of the master of ceremonies that formerly the daughter enjoyed property rights since in her own family she inherited half of a son's share.

e) Festivities at the birth of daughters.

Mo 527 844 We shall describe elsewhere the extraordinary noisy festivities in which the whole village takes part, given on the occasion of the birth of the first child of a daughter-in-law, whether this child be a son or daughter, the celebration is equally solemn. Now such a festivity upon the birth of a daughter is again absolutely abnormal in a patriarchal system, where only the male descendant counts. We must note that already in many T'ou-jen families this festivity is celebrated only upon the birth of the first son. This celebration is absolutely inconceivable to a Chinese mind.

Mo [171]

f) Wedding dinner at the bride's home.

Mo 585 562 In a patriarchal system how does one justify the dinner given at the bride's home for the members of her family alone on the eve of

Mo /157 cont'd/
585 her departure? The wedding festivity takes place in the patriarchal
562 system in the bridegroom's family on the same day as the marriage.
Mo The departure of the daughter cannot be considered as a reason for
[171] rejoicing; also this custom is not found in China. Is it not also a custom of olden times, when one celebrated the arrival of the son-in-law and his entry into the family?

4. Husband-sons-in-law

Mo We have described above the different forms taken by the
608 husband-sons-in-law practice. The great frequency of this practice
591 in spite of all the troubles it entails, /158/ again brings us back to the
606 former matriarchate. (1) But let us put aside the "fact itself" of this

> 1. I know only one single case in which a T'ou-jen woman governed her clan. It is that of the widow of the Lou t'ou-se. It is an isolated case, completely accidental and recent. I see in it no relation whatever with the matriarchate which formerly existed among the T'ou-jen.

Mo [592]

institution which is essentially matriarchal in order to explain some strange vestiges still met with today relative to this practice.

Formerly, the husband-son-in-law, living in his wife's family, had necessarily to be considered as an intimate member of the family. Now can one not see a vestige of this position of the son-in-law in the fact that at the time of celebrations and of mourning, the son-in-law does not have his place at the dinner among the guests? On the contrary, even today, he is relegated to the kitchen among the intimates of the family. Celebrations and mournings are not a time of rejoicing for him, of feasting and of drinking bouts, but a time during which work is required of him which is considerable and very disagreeable.

Ma We have seen that among the Manchu, when the son-in-law
606 comes to get his bride, he honors first the spirits of that family, then

Ma /158 cont'd/
606 he is made to sit at the bottom of the k'ang on a little bench during the dinner which precedes the departure, while the drivers of the cart take their places at the table. The bridegroom is not treated as a guest there either.

Mo In the same series of facts must again be classed the presence
601 required of the son-in-law at the home of the parents-in-law when
606 the latter have to defend their rights by force, for example, on the occasion of a suicide or the repudiation of one of their daughters.

The fact that the son-in-law calls all the members of his wife's family by the same name that he calls respectively those of his own family, adding gadin, which means "relative by marriage," is rather significant in itself.

Mo All these facts taken together prove not only the existence of
60 the matriarchate among the T'ou-jen at a /159/ previous period, but they even give the illusion, both by their number and by their diversity, that the T'ou-jen still live under this system today. Now that is not true. Their social economy is indubitably patriarchal. The explanation of this fact must be found in this: that they practice these matriarchal rites and customs without understanding them any more, because their ancestors practiced them, because they still continue to
Mo be part of the body of custom. They do not find it strange that the
[604] maternal uncle is called the "master of the bones of his sister's children," that he gives permission to bury the dead, that he presides at weddings, etc. It seems completely natural to them that it is he who enjoys these prerogatives and not the grandfather, solely because he has always enjoyed them. T'ou-jen men of letters, imbued with
Mo Confucianist principles, do not examine this question either, for,
[171] they say, our T'ou-jen ways have always differed from Chinese ways....., and for them all is accounted for.

Thus it is that one understands the coexistence of two systems diametrically opposed to each other and the extreme slowness with which one passes from one social system to another among these peoples. This is also what explains the great diversity one encounters in the ways and customs of the T'ou-jen when one considers them in detail.

/159 cont'd/

Mo 60 This evolution is most curious. It moves at an uneven rate in different clans; one would even say that it goes only in jumps. The most commonplace circumstances very often can give to the movement an impulse as vigorous as the most tragic events, and that in all senses also. I quote at random: an honorific title given by China to a powerful tribal chieftain; kin relationships of a notable I'ou-jen with an influential Chinese family; marriages with Chinese; quarrels among village heads; the senseless verdict of a Chinese mandarin who understands nothing about I'ou-jen social organization; regularly repeated trips into regions with different customs; conversion to another religion; catastrophes like those of the Mohammedan revolutions, /160/ which, by decimating the people, were the cause of the adoption into certain clans of Tibetan and Chinese groups nearly as numerous as the I'ou-jen group, etc. One would say that there is very little that is constant, regular, foreseen in this whole movement, ... in this evolution.

Mo 114 This chapter on the marriages hence was necessary to make understood a great part of the rites and customs we have met in this study; I hope that it has helped to throw the true light, in the light of which one must see the picture which this study is, on marriage among the I'ou-jen.

/161/ Supplementary Notes

Notes on the Tungus

T 113 The printing of the present study was drawing to a close when I was able to procure the work, made by a master's hand, of Mr. Shirokogoroff, Social Organisation of the Northern Tungus, Commercial Press, 1929. The following notes, taken from this work, will complete our study.

T 91 We distinguish among the Tungus a northern and a southern group. The northern group includes the peoples who speak or have spoken the dialects which all take their origin from a mother language,

/161 cont'd/

T 101 Evenki. The southern group includes the Manchu, the Goldi, the Olca, etc. The difference between the dialects of the two groups is not so clear as that which is met in the great subdivisions of the Indo-European languages. S. O. T., p. 51.

T 177 167 Now one finds among the Tungus all possible degrees of "Mongolization," with respect to language and customs, from the slightest to the most complete, especially in the northern group. This fact explains why distinguished linguists have gone as far as to deny even the existence of the Tungus as an independent unit. S. O. T., p. 87.

"Along with the penetration of the Mongol culture into the body of the northern Tungus complex, the intercourse between the Mongols and the Tungus grew so that they intermixed and crossed. Naturally the anthropological elements characteristic of Mongol ethnical groups... have also penetrated these northern groups to such an extent that some former northern groups have become entirely modified in their original physical features....By this method, a complete "Mongolization" of the Tungus has been and is still in operation...." S. O. T., p. 87. /Cited in English./

T 60 177 The Tungus formerly had a matriarchal organization which they exchanged for a patriarchal organization. With the new customs they borrowed, for what pertains to marriage, new terms to designate them; now it is a certain fact that all these terms are of Turco-Mongol origin. S. O. T., p. 242.

In the course of our work we have given notes relative to the southern group of the Tungus (Manchu group); here we give those relative to the northern group, more Mongolized than the southern group. Mo Thus our documentation will embrace the two groups.

T 582 As for the first paragraph, "Parties to the Marriage," p. 12, we /162/ establish among the northern Tungus as among the T'ou-jen the law of exogamy:

Op. cit., 210... "among the Tungus marriage within the clan is considered as incest and is prohibited, i.e. a man may marry no woman born in his clan. Exogamy is the backbone of the Tungus social organisation....Exogamy is one of the oldest institutions among the Tungus." One even meets endogamy, and, on page 336, this law is explained by migrations in distant places and the absence of

Mo T 582 /162 cont'd/

peoples of the same race, "among some groups this practice has been established as a custom." /Quotations cited in English./

T 583 P. 14. Exchange of girls; op. cit., 220: "Marriage by exchange is still the ... most favoured form of getting wife." /Cited in English./

P. 15. Marriages, Tao-ts'in marriages between cousins, etc., op. cit., 213:

"Among all groups, marriage between cross-cousins is considered as a preferential mating.... Marriage with the father's sister's children is allowed, as is observed among the Manchus." Op. cit., 214: "The mode of marrying most preferred is that when a brother and sister are exchanged against a brother and sister." /Cited in English./

P. 17. Practice of exchange of women between two clans. Op. cit., 212: "Among the Tungus it is of very common occurrence that two clans are bound by a systematic exchange of women, so that the mother's clan provides the women." /Cited in English./

T 584 P. 20. The social position of the future husband and wife with respect to marriage is the same as among the T'ou-jen. Op. cit., 222: "Among the khingan Tungus, the girl is not consulted in principle. She can thus be married against her will /cited in English/."

T 584 Op. cit., 224: "Match-making and marriages are not private and personal affairs but a clan affair, and the Kalym constitutes an essential element of marriage.... The girl may be present (at the match-making) but custom requires that she must not show that the discussion concerns her. In the presence of the match-makers nobody consults her at all." /Cited in English./

T 582 P. 21. Children given in marriage before birth. Op. cit., 219: "... most of them are sometimes betrothed from early childhood and even before birth, as among the Manchus, and as commonly practised among the Chinese /cited in English/." As far as the Chinese are concerned, I believe the statement is too general.

P. 21. Respective ages of the bride and groom. Op. cit., 219: "Generally speaking the Tungus prefer an equal age in husband and wife. However under the stress of economical needs the Tungus sometimes marry a woman to a young boy in order to get a working woman /cited in English/."

/162 cont'd/

P. 21. The marriage proposal. Op. cit., 223: "There are
584 /163/ three instances of match-making: 1) when the children are so small that they are not consulted and the question is settled by the relatives of the young boy and girl; 2) when the girl and the young man of adult age are consulted, and the question is settled by their relatives in the same way as in case 1; 3) when the girl and young man are in love and the initiative of the match-making is taken by them; the formal side is again settled by their relatives. Match-making preceded by capture may be related to case 3 /cited in English/."

When is it made? Op. cit., 227: "Match-making may be arranged at any age of the interested persons...." Op. cit., 235: "...takes place soon after birth of the interested persons or later...." Op. cit., 220: "...match-making and marriage are sometimes postponed till the adult age of the young man is reached." /Cited in English./

By whom is it made, and how? Op. cit., 224: "The choice of the match-makers is limited by no regulations, except that referring to persons belonging to the family.... First, the visitors start a neutral conversation ... then they take from their clothing a bottle of wine
[273] and pray the host to take it... without wine no match-making discussion is possible." Op. cit., 227: "If the bride's relatives do not want to give her away, custom requires that he (or she) must bargain as long as possible; the arrangement about the Kalym takes over five years.... disputes at match-making are exceptionally rare." /Cited in English./

P. 25. Consent of the mother. Op. cit., 224: "Formal con-
562 sent of the mother is obligatory among the Khingan Tungus." Op. cit.,
584 271: "The woman takes a very active part in the discussions concerning match-making, marriages and other social functions of the family members. Her opposition to her husband's opinion, if reasonable, defines the final issue of the discussion. She may also veto a decision taken without her consent." /Cited in English./

P. 26. The go-between. Op. cit., 239: "The essential event
584 in match-making is the Kalym arrangement which as a rule is paid in two parts among Tungus, Manchus, Goldi, or by instalments as it is sometimes allowed among the Buriats. Contents and value of the

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584 Kalym depend upon the economic condition of the groups." Op. cit., 225: "The matter of discussion is the Kalym ... it does not mean the price of the bride.... The usual Kalym consists of domesticated animals, ... reindeer, horses, pigs, cows, sheep. As a rule, a part of the Kalym among all Tungus is always paid at the match-making." Op. cit., 227: "Generally speaking the Tungus like to show that the match-making and the wedding are acts of a business character and above all of great profit." /Cited in English./

761 P. 30. Decease of one of the engaged people before marriage.

584 Op. cit., 227: "If the betrothed girl or boy dies before the wedding, another girl or boy of the same clan are given instead of the deceased /cited in English/."

585 P. 31. Payment of the earnest. Op. cit., 235: "Kalym and supplementary /164/ Kalym must be transmitted." Op. cit., 239: "Kalym transmission constitutes the most important part of the wedding... may be included in the ceremony performed on the same day that the woman goes to the man's clan, as may be seen among the reindeer Tungus, or it may constitute a separate ceremony as among the nomad Tungus, Manchus, Goldi." Op. cit., 227: "As soon as the matter of Kalym is settled the match-makers prepare a feast... the first place belongs to the person with whom the matter has been settled. The father considers it his duty to return the feast to the match-makers. These feasts sometimes take two or three days and all clansmen of the bride and the bridegroom take their part in the pleasure." /Cited in English./

582 P. 34. Age required for marriage. Op. cit., 227: "Marriage is usually postponed till the fifteenth year or more; or to a definite or indefinite date...." Op. cit., 218: "Girl is sometimes married at an age when she cannot become an actual wife.... But among the reindeer Tungus of Manchuria ... marriage takes place at age of eighteen years. The age of thirty as the max. limit has been indicated to me by some groups ... in exceptional cases, it reaches the age of forty .... Among other groups...not before the age of fifteen and usually between the age of eighteen and twenty.... When the marriage is postponed after [584] the age of the bride's maturity, the betrothed husband...is allowed intercourse with his betrothed." /Cited in English./

/164 cont'd/

585 P. 35. Setting the day of the wedding. Op. cit., p. 230: "Tungus do not distinguish any happy or unhappy days, as the Manchus do /cited in English/."

P. 36. Date of the wedding. "As a rule weddings are carried out at seasons when the Tungus do not hunt /cited in English/."

583 P. 46. The girl's dowry. Op. cit., 228: "No discussion as to the dowry is allowed. The honour of the clan requires the dowry to be as rich as possible. As a general rule it is considered as the private property of the woman, which she may dispose of almost without any control. It follows her, if she leaves the husband's clan, unless she [231] commits certain crimes, and her daughters inherit it.... Among all groups the dowry consists of two parts: reindeer, horses, cattle... and personal clothing of the bride, clothing for the bridegroom and his clansmen, some cash, implements, kettles...." /Cited in English./

585 P. 63. Getting the bride. Op. cit., 240: "Delivery of the bride is always by her clan people, and among the Manchus she is accompanied to the bridegroom's clan by the bridegroom.... This constitutes the formal act of the fulfillment of the match-making agreement, and it is found among all groups. The bride's father and mother do not follow their daughter to the bridegroom's clan.... Among the Goldi the mother together with her daughter goes to the bridegroom's house." /Cited in English./

P. 64. Arrival of the bride in her new family. Op. cit., 240: /165/ "The act of entering the bridegroom's clan... is essential part of the wedding ceremony, for when the woman joins her husband's clan, this is expressed among all groups either by a sacrifice sometimes given by the bride, as it is observed among the Tungus (except the nomad Tungus) and the Buriats and sometimes given by other persons, as is observed among the Goldi, nomad Tungus, or a ritual complex including visit to the ancestral tombs, as is recorded for the Manchus." /Cited in English./

585 P. 71. The wedding. I summarize the wedding ceremonies,
563 (A) among the Tungus of Transbaikalia and (b) among the nomad Tungus.

/165 cont'd/

563 A. "Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia." Op. cit., 230. The
585 guests gather in a place designated in advance, in two groups, that of the bride and that of the bridegroom; they settle down in two groups of wigwams /sić/ prepared for the festivity. "Before the day of the wedding the bridegroom is allowed to visit the wigwam of his affianced wife's parents... and remains there with the bride for the night... facts and survivals seem to point to an old custom of the consummation of the marriage in the affianced wife's house, i.e. formerly in her mother's clan." The ceremony begins by the delivery of the earnest brought to the bride's camp... discussions... supplementary earnest. From the bride's camp her dowry and the gifts intended for the bridegroom and his family are solemnly transported. The bride-
[292] groom then puts on these clothes. "At this time the bride's clan women dress the bride for her wedding. They put her best coats on, three or four at once...." After a sham abduction during which a man is taken from her clan, the bride arrives in the groom's clan, and after circling the wigwam three times, she enters it... during the light meal she makes an offering to the spirits of her husband's clan. The wedding itself: the married couple bow to the assemblage, who kiss the bride's hand and mouth; the go-betweens spit three times on her hand. Meanwhile a shaman or someone else chants and... "expresses various wishes as to the happiness of the new couple." Dinner, guests seated in a circle, men on one side and women on the other... speeches... "the social importance of the fact of marriage is always accentuated by the speakers"... after the dinner, dances all night and festivities for three days.... Page 235: "wedding feast is held in the bridegroom's and in the bride's clan." /Sections within quotation marks cited in English./

B. Marriage among the nomad Tungus. Page 236: "The day before the wedding the bridegroom puts a felt tent inside the camp
[352] enclosure of his father.... In the middle of the tent a fire is made as usual... around the fire, skins and felt rugs are placed.... From early morning the bridegroom's clansmen sit in a tent specially prepared.... The bridegroom is not to be seen... and does not take any part in the ceremony, but is busy with other things, cooking and serving. Variations: the bride is met outside the tent enclosure by the

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563 bridegroom's people, or the bride goes straight to her relatives' house
585 or tent.... A little time before the bride's arrival, two men belonging to the bride's ulus arrive on a cart with the dowry, /166/ her own and the man's clothing.... They are met with the bridegroom's people in the front of the gate"... they are questioned, it is claimed that they have mistaken the address... they are led with the dowry into the tent intended for the bride... dispute about the bride's cushions. "The bride with her face covered by red silk material, with two others of her ulus women and two men all go on horse-back out the village." A group of horsemen and horsewomen follows her... they take tea along the way... the bride refuses it... furious race of the horsemen and horsewomen followed by the bride, straight toward the place of the festivity prepared outside the enclosure of the tents. A big fire burns there... the bride is near the fire... the riders ride around the fire at a gallop, "fire ring"... a tea is served... the bride taken into the bridegroom's tent is hidden behind a curtain of sheepskins... she is dressed, they fix her up in the style of married women. The bride with the guests goes into her father-in-law's tent... entrance is barred to her... discussions, gifts are given... they enter, they present gifts to the father-in-law, the bride makes a prostration to him as well as to the whole assemblage, offerings thrown on the fire.... The bridegroom arrives, receives a khatag and then leaves. The bride is taken back to her tent... dinner is served to her... Festivity and dinner outside the enclosure where the tents are. /Sections enclosed in quotation marks are cited in English./

Op. cit., 241: "Among all groups the ceremony of the wedding may be simplified if the persons getting married are poor, or if previous to the formal marriage they have violated customs, or if a widow or divorced person is one of the contracting parties. The simplifying of the ceremony does not however allow of the exclusion of the acts of importance: delivery of the bride and her adoption as symbolised by a sacrifice." /Cited in English./

[83] P. 81. Op. cit., 208: "Among the reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia the virginity of the bride is not required... but the facts of the girl's relations are rather of clandestine character. If the

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563 girl gets pregnant, it does not reduce her value. Among the Udehe,
585 a girl's pregnancy may be used as a way of compelling her parents...
[831] to give her in marriage to theman responsible for her pregnancy. Among the reindeer Tungus of Manchuria a girl's pregnancy is considered a shameful thing, but the girl is always excused; for among these Tungus sexual intercourse after a certain age is considered as a natural phenomenon. Among the Khingan, Tungus girls are permitted to have free intercourse after the age of fifteen or sixteen. Intercourse is strictly prohibited among the Manchus." /Cited in English./

587 P. 87. Rights of widows. Op. cit., 266: "Juniors have cer-
589 tain rights as to her, i.e. according to the principle of levirate. She may be given to another man as wife in case of her husband's death and if she consents. If she remarries into another clan, her Kalym is naturally received by her late husband's clan; when she does not want to leave her late husband's clan, she may stay there for any length time. The woman does not inherit her husband, if she does not leave her husband's clan /167/ and has children, she takes up the direction of the property which is supposed to belong to the children." /Cited in English./

583 P. 96. Vestiges of abduction. Op. cit., 220: "Marriages by capture are also known. They occur if the parent's will cannot be changed. This practice according to the Tungus is an innovation mostly due to Russian influence.... Among the Barguzin and the Nerchinks Tungus capture is considered a heinous crime.... I do not presume to say that capture was unknown among the Tungus. The close cultural relationship of the Tungus to the Palaeasiatics at a remote period, is beyond doubt. Among the Gilaks and the Koriaks capture is an essential of the wedding ceremony.... It was also known long ago among the Sien-pi. We do not yet know whether the Tun-hu were the Tungus, Mongols or Palaeasiatics, but there is no doubt that they were neighbors of the southern Tungus." /Cited in English./

587 P. 100. Polygamy exists. Op. cit., 212: "If the first wife
595 dies, the widower is allowed to marry her sister. In all cases of polygyny, I know that the Tungus used to speak of it with a certain repugnance and disdain and persons who were polygynous were not

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587 considered good people. The Manchu practice is similar to that of
595 the Tungus...." Op. cit., 214: "the practice of levirate and sororate is general. The Goldi extend the levirate to the father's wives, except the mother, so that the son inherits the wife of his father and makes her his wife. With good reason it may be supposed that this practice of the Goldi has been known among all Tungus." /Cited in English./

847 P. 105. Op. cit., 272: "Preventive methods, abortion and the killing of children when the mother is alive are unknown among the Tungus /cited in English/."

595 P. 109. Op. cit., 212: "Monogamy and polygyny. The first form is the commonest one, and the second is very rare... as a matter of fact. Polygyny is not allowed except in case the first wife either has no children or has attained an age when she can have no more. Polygyny does not exceed one per cent of all the cases observed. Sometimes the practice does not allow one to marry two sisters." /Cited in English./

595 P. 109. Op. cit., 212: "The wives in all cases call one another
593 sister (senior or junior) and the children of both mothers call them 'the mother.'" Op. cit., 266: "The woman does not call her husband by his personal name, but (says) my children's father. The husband does the same in reference to his wife." /Cited in English./

606 P. 116. Husband-sons-in-law. Op. cit., 239: "Marriage by
466 service among some groups is a form of the Kalym payment used among all groups." Op. cit., 219: "If the bridegroom cannot pay the Kalym, then he arranges payment by his own work. The man works for his future wife's parents or relatives, and the marriage takes place when the fixed period expires. Among the Manchus, the Udehe, and especially among /168/ the Buriats and the Goldi, marriage by service is now rarely practised." Op. cit., 240: "Consummation of the marriage, in marriage by service, is subject to great variations... not allowed among Manchus and Buriats, but not prohibited among the northern Tungus." /Cited in English./

586 P. 134. Divorce. Op. cit., 222: "Divorce is an exceptionally rare occurrence among the Tungus. There are three occasions, namely

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586 when the woman requires divorce, when the husband requires it, when both of them require it. The matter has to be settled in all three cases by a clan meeting or a meeting of the two joint clans. Among the Tungus and Manchus the act of divorce must be sealed by the fingerprints of the people of the husband's clan, the husband and the wife...." Op. cit., 209: "Very rarely misconduct results in divorce.

684 As a general rule among the Tungus groups, women's intercourse with foreigners is disapproved of and gives the husband certain rights to the support of his clan in claiming divorce. Some Tungus groups, e.g. the Goldi, the Udehe, even recognise the husband's right to kill the wife and her accomplice who are taken in flagrant delict. This practice was also known among the Muki, who lived in Manchuria in the sixth century after Christ...." Op. cit., 267: As for the support which the wife can anticipate on the part of her clan.... "The woman's clan never refuses her request of inquiry. The woman's clan may avenge her death... life for life." /Cited in English./

P. 136. Op. cit., 208: "On the violations of the (sex) customs persons are considered to be "a bad man or a bad woman" which means more than a simple disapproval of conduct, for if his conduct becomes a habit, the matter is to be set before a clan meeting with all the consequences that may result from it (including the death penalty).... Among the Manchus the custom requires the suicide of the criminal, e.g. the case of the father-in-law surprised by his son with the latter's wife...." Op. cit., 209: "Among all groups in exceptional cases, the husband openly opposes his wife's conduct, and if she continues her relations he tries to exhort her to change her ways... or even beats her...." Page 209: "The Tungus possess a special term meaning to sleep with a married woman "dorokto" which seems to be derived from "doro" to steal." /Cited in English./

548 P. --. Prostitution. Op. cit., 271: "The practice of prostitution has not been recorded by me among the Tungus groups investigated...." Page 272: "Cases of prostitution or sale of wives as recorded among the Udehe are unknown among the Tungus." /Cited in English./

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177 P. --. Matriarchate. Op. cit., 242: "Most of the (wedding) terms used by Tungus are borrowed from the Mongols and other ethnical groups, yet some practices are borrowed direct from the same sources. This is quite comprehensible for the matrineal system of the clan was probably used by the early Tungus and Manchus or perhaps even by the pro-Tungus. As a matter of fact the Kalym, the dowry, the journey of the bride and her adoption by the husband's clan are absolutely useless /169/ in the matrilineal clan system and the matrilocal marriage. It is thus natural that the terms concerning all these elements of the wedding have been borrowed together with the customs. The fact of the Turco-Mongol origin of most of the terms of relationship adopted by the Tungus when they had already adopted the patrineal clan system is beyond doubt...." Page 243: "The maximum result of analysis may be that at certain periods, the matrilinea. system was a widely distributed ethnographical feature, characteristic of different groups, just as nowadays the patrineal system is that adopted by almost all groups of Asia." /Cited in English./

/170/ Notes on the Lo-lo P'o

L 113 These notes are taken from Au Yun-nan. Les Lo-lo P'o /In Yunnan. The Lo-lo P'o/ by the Reverend Father Alfr. Lietard, Library of Ethnologieal Monographs, Anthropos (1913). The book in question reached me only when the printing of my study was nearly finished.

L 114 One is very surprised to ascertain that the T'ou-jen matrimonial customs present so much resemblance with those of the Lo-lo P'o, especially with respect to the general trend of the different phases of marriage. Unfortunately, the Father Lietard's work is not detailed enough to permit a deeper study of the subject. However, these notes as well as those which precede on the Miao suffice to recall the importance of the problem concerning the factor of the peoples of southwestern China, not only in the question of Chinese civilization but also in that of the ethnology of the Turco-Mongol group.

L 584 Op. cit., p. 155 and following: When the parents have cast their eyes on a girl whom they would like to have their son marry, the

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L 584 father enters upon negotiations with the girl's father. If the latter's response is favorable, a go-between is sought. He must be an individual who has many children. The go-between is invited to dinner, and during the meal, at which meat and wine are served, he is asked to go to such and such a family to ask for such and such a girl in marriage. He goes there for the evening meal, with one or two pounds of meat and two measures of wine. He makes the proposal, and the next day L [273] he can bring back a favorable answer to the boy's family. They fete him, which is called "drinking the wine of the promise." They wait six months or a year and proceed to the second operation called "drinking the wine of the end of the negotiations." The go-between is again invited to dinner. After the meal he goes to the girl's family, taking along a goat, a pound of salt, and 20 measures of wine. There L [262 231] the goat is killed, and they feast while discussing the conditions of the marriage. After the banquet the go-between returns to announce to the boy's father the conditions, which are nearly always 6 or 7 tael's L [301] of silver and flowered shoes or a turban. If the boy's family is rich, more is demanded: silver bracelets, rings, and earrings and eardrops. Two months before the wedding the go-between conducts the ceremony of setting the wedding day. For that he comes first to the boy's home, from where after a family-style meal he goes to the girl's home to set the day of the wedding. He takes a piece of cloth, a liang of sewing thread, two measures of wine. The day before the wedding a friend L 585 of the family takes a 20-pound goat to the girl's home. The morning of the big day the go-between, who has received two measures of wine /171/ and two goat heads for his trouble, takes to the girl's home 6 or 7 ounces of silver, the shoes, etc. He is accompanied by the boy, who upon arriving at the girl's home prostrates himself to his parents-in-law, thanking them for giving their daughter to him. The daughter herself stays in the kitchen; she must not see her fiancé. L M [533] Then the family gives a big feast to the guests. The meal is served in the courtyard under tents. They sing. The old people especially distinguish themselves by their improvisations. (This sung Lo-lo dialogue can very well be compared with the T'ou-jen song of the toilette, p. 59.) What have you put on your daughter's head? Your daughter

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585 wears a turban of gauze. And what have they put on her ears? ... and her body, what have you clothed it with?..., etc. But to whom shall the girl be handed over? Hand her over to the spirit of the hearth. When she has made three prostrations to it, she will be handed over to her father-in-law, she will be handed over to her mother-in-law. When they have sung enough, the boy goes home accompanied by one of his relatives /parents/. The go-between bows to the father and mother of the girl, inviting them to come to the wedding at the boy's home. The father, the mother, and all the free members of the family indeed go in response to the invitation, [574] each one carrying his bedding for the night. The elder sister, or if [513] there is none, an older female relative, takes the young bride on her [482] back, and everybody sets out led by the go-between. Before arriving at the boy's house, they stop on the road. The go-between goes there alone to announce the arrival of the bride and her relatives and asks for some men of good will to come to carry the guests' bedding. He comes back with the men. He lights a torch while his wife distributes tobacco, and they smoke a pipeful. [276] The procession sets out on the way after they have blindfolded the girl's eyes. The woman who carries her is given 16, 36, or 66 cash. If the girl is big she is not carried on the back except from that moment on. The elder sister thus carries the bride to the middle of the courtyard. There she puts her down and then leads her in front of the kitchen door, where she removes her blindfold. They both enter the kitchen and prostrate themselves before the image of the spirit of the hearth. They stay in the kitchen where other companions come to join her. It is there that they will be served something to eat at the time of the meal. During this time the go-between presents the girl's parents to the boy's parents. And when the feast is ready, they sit down at the table.

After the meal they sing and especially they dance. The girl comes out and dances like everybody else, as well as the boy. The girl stays at her husband's home two or four days, her elder sister keeping her company. After this lapse of time the young couple in the company of the same elder sister go to spend several days with the parents of the girl. After three or four days the young couple come back to the boy's home.

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L 582 591 P. 161: Thus it is at least when children are married at the age of 16 or 18 years. Unfortunately, the Lo-lo P'o also have the detestable habit of marrying their children from the age of ten or 12 years and /172/ even often earlier, from the age of four or six years. In this case, the children do not sleep together after the marriage. Generally even, the girl returns to her parents in the evening. About the age of 16 years they will have the girl come back. It is a rare thing for her to come back to have relations with her husband; on the average 98 out of 100 girls thus married do not want their husbands and seek a lover. The girl stays at her husband's home, and it is at his home that her lover comes each night, while the husband goes to spend the night with another woman. And note it well, although the wife works with her husband and eats at the same table, under no circumstances would she have relations with him.

L 595 In most of the Lo-lo tribes in Yunnan, polygamy is not practiced (exception made for the t'ou-se), except in the very rare cases where the first wife is sterile. In this case the husband, together with his first wife, chooses a second one.

/173/ Conclusion

The Principal Rite of Marriage

After studying marriage among the T'ou-jen, it is wholly natural to wonder what is the principal rite of marriage.

Mo [01] 121 Since the T'ou-jen with whom we deal are an amalgamation of true Mongols and of Mongolized Cha-t'ouo, it seems that to solve this problem it is necessary to compare the marriage ceremonies practiced among the T'ou-jen with those in use among the Mongols or the groups of Mongolized peoples; and that, moreover, one must take into account the civilizations of the neighboring peoples, which have been able to change or influence ways and customs either in the past or in the present. Thus one can hope to discover a ceremony practiced by all the groups in all marriages from the most solemn to the simplest.

2: Schram--191 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
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It was in order to make the T'ou-jen matrimonial ritual better understood that we have had recourse to the notes concerning the Mongols (1), concerning the northern and southern Tungus among

1. The Mongol problem is very complex. Indeed, as Mr. Shirokogoroff says ("New Contribution to the Problem of the Origin of the Chinese Culture," Anthropos, 1931, p. 221): "Yet we have a very confused idea as to the early Mongols, especially their ancestors and their relationship with the Palaeasiatic groups. In fact amongst the Mongols, one may observe different anthropological types and especially type A, and a very numerous type B, the latter of which forms the great majority among the Palaeasiatics. There are many other reasons which incline me to the idea that the Palaeasiatic factor must not be omitted from one's sight when the origin and formation of the Mongols and the Mongol complex are considered." /Cited in English./ This is why we have taken advantage of the judicious, comprehensive study of Dr. Herb. Koenig, Das Eherecht der Polarvoelker, in the course of this work.

Deniker (Les races et les peuples de la terre /The Races and Peoples of the Earth/, 1926, p. 460) recognizes three great divisions among the Mongols: A) that of the western Mongols, or Kalmouk, B) that of the eastern Mongols, C) that of the Buriats.

A. Mostaert, "The Mongols of Kansu and their Language," Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking (Dec. 1931),

2: Schram--192 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
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AM 113 pp. 1, 2, 3, gives by his bibliography an idea of the present state of the Mongol philological problem.

M 121 whom all degrees of Mongolization are found, /174/ and then to those concerning the Miao and the Lo-lo P'o.

M 585 When one studies the T'ou-jen matrimonial ritual all alone without taking into account the rituals of the other groups, it is an eminently solemn rite which immediately impresses one and which shows itself to be the high moment of the whole wedding. It is indeed the moment when the bride and groom, kneeling one beside the other in the presence of the whole assemblage, standing and silent, of the guests of the two families, give together the three great ritual prostrations "to heaven and to the multifarious spirits," then to the parents and to all the assemblage, while "the old man who blesses" pronounces the good wishes, which say clearly what is meant by the union of the two persons on whom every eye is fixed. When the good wishes are pronounced and the prostrations made, the bride's veil is removed and she is taken to the nuptial chamber as if to signify the end of the great act. If there is a solemn moment in the T'ou-jen wedding, it is certainly this one.

Now we find this rite in all T'ou-jen weddings: in the marriage without ceremony of poor girls, in that of widows without support, and even in the abnormal marriages to the prayer poles and the belt. When all the other rites are missing, the prostration to heaven or to the spirits made by the bride and groom is never omitted. This leads one to believe that in the eyes of the T'ou-jen this rite is by far the most important.

M 585 17 Now, shall we find a similar rite in the other groups? Among the Mongols one meets a scene nearly identical to the one seen among the T'ou-jen; but one is very surprised not to see the groom take part in it beside the kneeling bride. Indeed, the bride alone is brought into the father-in-law's home where the parents and friends of the future wife are gathered; ritual prayers are read; three prostrations are given by the bride to the fire, to the father and mother, to the bride's parents; all give her their blessings aloud. /175/ (Cf. page 81)

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585 171 Among the Tungus of the northern group and especially among those of Transbaikalia, the bridal couple come together "to bow to" the guests seated around the fire; the latter kiss the bride's hand and mouth ... a shaman meanwhile intones good wishes for them. (Cf. page 183.) (The author notes Russian influence expressly for this group.)

Among the nomads of the same group, the bride alone is taken in before the father-in-law and kneels before him and the elders of the clan, others throw offerings into the fire.... (Cf. p. 184.)

Among the Tungus of the southern group, especially among the Manchu, the bridal couple kneel together upon their arrival in the husband's courtyard and make three prostrations to heaven and earth and burn incense. (Cf. p. 81.)

Among the Miao it is the groom alone who makes the ritual prostrations in the presence of the relatives gathered together, and an old man enumerates all the duties which he will have to perform henceforward in the tribe. (Cf. p. 99.)

Among the Lo-lo P'o the bride alone makes the prostrations in the kitchen to the god of the hearth. (Cf. page 190.)

Therefore it can be established that one finds only among the T'ou-jen and Manchu the ritual prostrations to the spirits, etc., "made together by the bridal couple"; however, among the Manchu the ceremony is carried out with much less solemnity than among the T'ou-jen.

585 177 Now on the one hand these two peoples are the most Sinicized of all the peoples in question, and on the other hand, it is precisely among the Chinese that one sees practiced the rite of ritual prostrations "made together by the bridal couple" to heaven and earth and to the spirits. One would thus be led to suppose that we are dealing here with a Chinese rite which the T'ou-jen and Manchu have adopted and which the T'ou-jen especially have /176/ admirably thrown into relief in a setting of Mongol origin. Besides, one would be led to make the not-at-all commonplace observation that a rite attributed to the neighbors constitutes today, among the T'ou-jen at least, the high moment of the wedding for the reason that this rite must have responded singularly well to the natural and religious aspirations of the people. But let us undeceive ourselves. This fact is not so Chinese as it may seem

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585 on first sight. The base of it is Mongol; what is Chinese is only acci-
177 dental; this is the presence of the groom beside the bride and the part he takes in a ceremony which already used to exist.

Certainly it is hard for us to understand a wedding in which the two parties do not carry out some rite together, or at least where the two parties are not present. This, nevertheless, is what we have seen among all these peoples except the T'ou-jen and the Manchu.

585 What is the high point of the wedding among these peoples?
171 It seems to me that it is still when the bride is brought in before her parents-in-law, the members of her bridegroom's clan, and all the guests to make all alone the ritual prostrations, to pay her respects and recognize her subjection. It is precisely then that among the Mongol "the ritual prayers are read ... and all give her their blessings" (cf. p. 81), that among the Tungus of Transbaikalia "a shaman meanwhile intones good wishes" (cf. p. 183), that among the Miao "while the groom is on his knees, an old man enumerates all the duties he will have to carry out." (Cf. p. 99.)

It would be very interesting for us to know these "ritual prayers and blessings given by all," these "wishes intoned by the shaman," and these "duties enumerated by the old man," for I think it is just at that moment, and at that moment alone, that the true meaning of the festive event is revealed by the wishes made and the blessings implored and wished. And from whom are these blessings awaited? Who will bring about these wishes? These wishes must present a good deal of resemblance with those /177/ made among the T'ou-jen in similar circumstances, and I cannot keep from supposing that this moment of the festival must be just as impressive and just as important in these groups as among the T'ou-jen.

585 I allow myself therefore to insist on this ceremony, all the more
174 because it is especially with respect to it that we have the fewest details and that it is often passed by unnoticed in the things relative to marriage.

585 If one turns up one's nose at this rite, then marriage simply loses its meaning among these peoples, since it is reduced to the simple acquisition by purchase of a new member on the part of the bridegroom's family, to the discussions about the price of the girl, to

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585 the payment of the purchase price, and to the delivery of the "merchandise" by her owners; in addition one has the admission of the girl into the bridegroom's clan and the sacrifice made by her to the god of the hearth of her new family: the whole followed by a dinner and entertainment.

But finally, why spend money for a girl? Why admit a new member into the family? Why is marriage among these peoples the great work of life? They know well why, these peoples! I suppose that they say so like the T'ou-jen in the ritual prayers, in the blessings: that they say it to those from whom they await its realization, and that exactly at the moment when the bride makes the prostrations.

This is why I consider this ceremony as the chief ceremony in marriage among these peoples.

105 The few race materials which this study presents to us prove amply that the civilization of the T'ou-jen is far from being homogenous, and that we find ourselves here in the presence of cultural elements belonging to different types of culture.

/178/ After studying the history of this people in Kansu, its environment, its neighbors, its social, political, and religious life, we shall be better able to understand the complexity of its civilization and the origin of the cultural elements we find in it.

The T'ou-jen, separated radically for hundreds of years from other groups of their race, confined in a lost corner of Kansu, surrounded by peoples having a culture of a type different from theirs, and having themselves changed their kind of life since their arrival in the new habitat, present a very complex problem to us, whose data must be well known before it can be solved.

114 So we reserve our conclusions for later, trying above all to furnish as faithfully, as completely, as possible all the ethnologic and historic materials.

2: Schram--196 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Three Mongols of Koko Nor (Sining).
The young man in the center is a Beile, tribal chief. He wears on his chest a Buddhist reliquary.

2: Schram--197M-4, 5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Young T'ou-jen woman, given in marriage to a Tibetan family.
The father-in-law is riding the richly accoutered horse and the mother-in-law has the baby in her arms. The whole group wears Tibetan costume.

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2: Schram--198 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

An Ing-iang Sien-cheng Chinese, in fine array, in front of the door of his house. At the left his pupil-apprentice, in the background his old servant.

2: Schram--199 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Young T'ou-jen married woman in festive dress, an enormous headdress on her head. She wears the costume peculiar to the T'ou-jen.

2: Schram--200 M-4, 5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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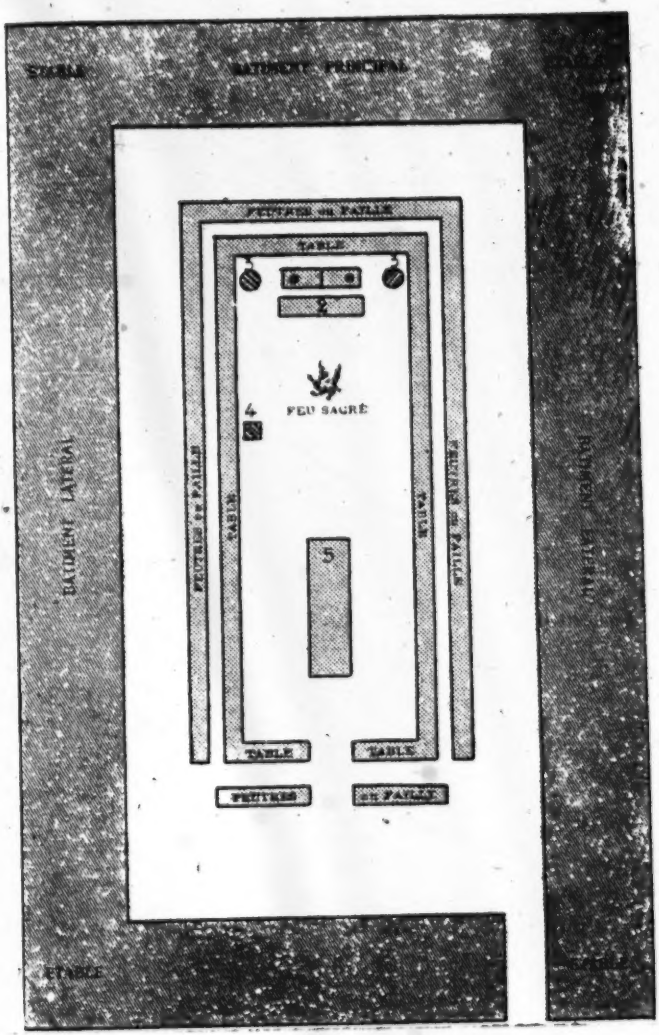

Plan of a T'ou-jen courtyard.

1. Table with the two lamps.
2. Red felt.
3. Place of the cupbearer.
4. Seat of the master of ceremonies.
5. Table where the gifts are spread out.

2: Schram--201 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Young T'ou-jen married woman in festive dress, T'ou-jen costume.

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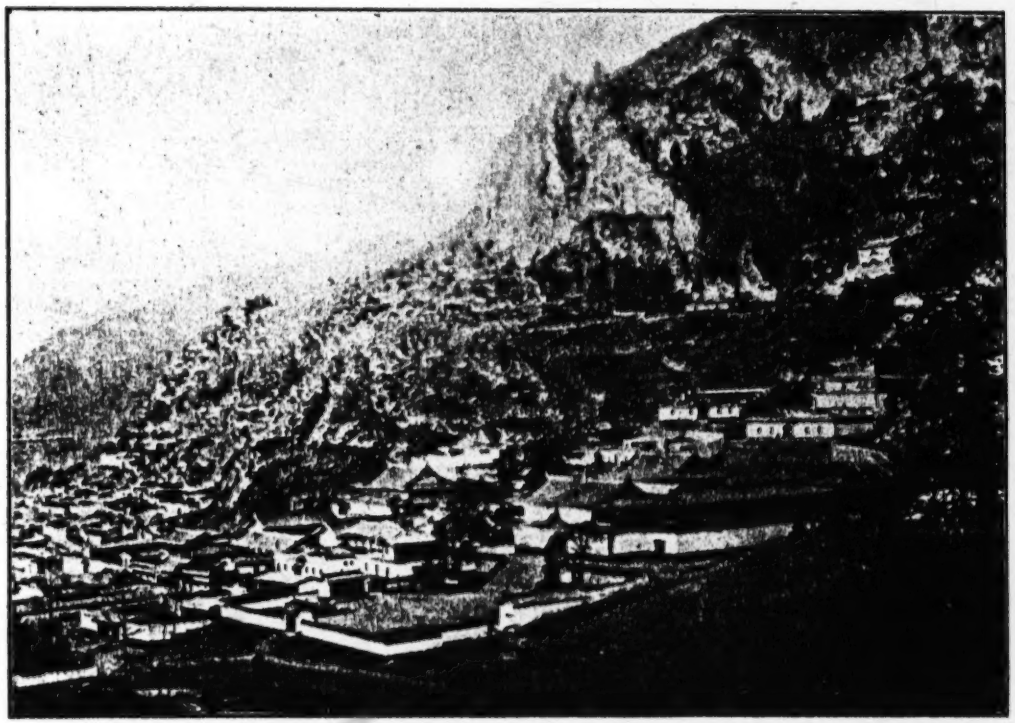

Lamasery of the yellow lamas of Eul-kou-long (northern Sining). With few exceptions, all the lamas are T'ou-jen.

2: Schram--203 M-4, 5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

793
291
516
142

Left, a T'ou-jen lama wearing the dress of the yellow lamas.
Center, his superior, T'ou-jen lama in Chinese dress.
Right, a lay T'ou-jen, their servant.

291
302
561
142

T'ou-jen widow with her two daughters, in T'ou-jen dress.

Note the hair style. There are nine kinds of them. Li Kin-wang, ancestor of the Li clan had nine wives and each of them had her special hair style; from that the nine T'ou-jen hair styles still seen today!

2: Schram--205 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

563
291
177
302
301
142

Two girls belonging to a Tibetanized T'ou-jen family. They wear the dress of the girls of Hoa-ri (northern Sining). The older one is spinning with the distaff and carries at the nape of the neck the stick to which she fastens the thread; the little one pulls out the wool.

2: Schram--206 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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516
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352

A T'ou-jen with his son; they wear Chinese clothes (country of Nien-pei, Sining).

2: Schram--207 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

142
291
304
302
531
285
516
405

Rich T'ou-jen widow, no longer speaking her language, wearing no longer the costume of her race. Type of completely Sinicized T'ou-jen, even having the little Chinese feet. However, at her death she will be dressed in the T'ou-jen style for her last toilette!

2: Schram AE9 Monguor

VARIÉTÉS SINOLOGIQUES N° 58

LE MARIAGE
CHEZ
LES T'OU-JEN DU KAN-SOU
(CHINE)

par

LE P. L. SCHRAM
De la Congrégation du Cœur Imm. de Marie
SCHEUT-BRUXELLES

CHANGHAI
IMPRIMERIE DE LA MISSION CATHOLIQUE
T'OU-SÈ-WÈ — ZI-KA-WEI
1932

[Title page]

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2: Schram AE9 Monguor

A
SON
EXCELLENCE
MONSEIGNEUR HUBERT OTTO

ÉVÊQUE TITULAIRE D'ASSUR
ANCIEN VICAIRE APOSTOLIQUE
DU
KAN-SOU
1889-1920

QUI ENVOYA LES PREMIERS MISSIONNAIRES AU PAYS DE SINING, LEUR ENJOIGNANT DANS CHAQUE LETTRE, "OPPORTUNE ET IMPORTUNE..." D'ÉTUDIER LA LANGUE ET LES MOEURS DES T'OU-JEN, AFIN DE MIEUX LES COMPRENDRE, DE LES AIMER DAVANTAGE ET DE LES AMENER PLUS AISÉMENT A DIEU.

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Cette étude a été honorée d'un subside de la Commission Sino-Belge d'instruction et de philanthropie.

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LE MARIAGE

CHEZ LES

T'OU-JEN DU KAN-SOU (CHINE)

par le P. L. Schram, c. i. c. m. Scheut.

INTRODUCTION

Cette étude traite du mariage chez les T'ou-jen 土人 du Kan-sou 甘肅. Les T'ou-jen en question occupent le côté nord du Si-ning ho 西寧河, dans la préfecture de Si-ning et la sous-préfecture de P'ing-fan 平番 (Lien-tch'eng 連城).

Nous espérons faire suivre cette monographie par d'autres, qui traiteront de l'histoire des T'ou-jen, de leur vie religieuse, sociale et politique. Nos sources pour l'histoire de ce peuple sont la grande histoire chinoise, les chroniques des villes du Kan-sou et les chroniques familiales d'un des plus puissants groupes t'ou-jen, qui s'étendent sur une période de plus de cinq cents ans; nos sources pour l'ethnologie, sont les notes recueillies durant le cours d'une dizaine d'années, passées au pays t'ou-jen.

Les T'ou-jen dont nous traitons, sont les uns, très probablement de race turque, et les autres, sans conteste, de race mongole. Les premiers, du clan du Li T'ou-se,, se disent être

originairement des Cha-t'ouo 沙陀 (1) immigrés au pays sous la dynastie des T'ang 唐 (620-905); les chroniques de Si-ning confirment cette tradition. Les derniers sont venus habiter la contrée, soit sous la dynastie des Yuen 元 (1280-1368) soit sous celle des Ming 明 (1368-1644).

Ces deux groupes parlent aujourd'hui la même langue, nommée par eux le Monguor. La langue est très archaïque; elle reflète le Mongol du XIII et du XIV S. Signalons à ceux qui s'intéressent à la question de la langue t'ou-jen, l'étude des PP. Mostaert et De Smedt, parue dans Anthropos XXIV-V. *Le dialecte monguor, parlé par les Mongols du Kan-sou occidental.* La grammaire et le dictionnaire sont sous presse.

Les Cha-t'ouo dont nous parlons sont donc, de nos jours, mongolisés. C'est le cas de dire que les notions de race et de langue sont sujettes à caution.

Les T'ou-jen, soumis à la Chine, ont gardé leur autonomie sous des chefs de leur race, reconnus par la Chine et nommés t'ou-se. La république chinoise, dès ses débuts, s'est montrée hostile à cette administration autonome et s'est efforcée de traiter les T'ou-jen en simples Chinois, soumis à la juridiction des mandarins du lieu.

Les us et coutumes des T'ou-jen, bien qu'influencés par le voisinage des Chinois et la proximité des Tibétains, sont restés relativement purs. Ils révèlent maint secret de leur ancienne organisation sociale et de leur vie nomade d'antan.

(1) SERINDIA. AUR STEIN, vol. 2 p. 1129: Kao-chu-hui, when describing the journey along this border, of the Chinese mission which started from Khotan in 938, tells us: Kan-chow is the camping place of the Hui-ho (Uigurs). The mountains which are about 100 li to the south (direction de Si-ning; l'habitat principal des T'ou-jen est à quatre journées de Kan-chow (Kan-tcheou 甘州) are the territory where in the time of the Han dynasty, there resided the ancient people called the little Yueh-chih. There is a race different from this people called cha-t'ouo from the mountains of the deer forest. They are said to be descended from the Ch'u yueh race (ex. Rémusat, *Ville de Khotan*; Chavannes, *Turcs Occidentaux)*: The Cha-t'ouo to whom Kao-chu-hui's relation refers here, were a tribe of the western Turcs first settled in early times to the east of Barkoul, and after A.D. 808 transferred to the northern borders of Kan-sou, for the sake of protecting them from inroads.

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Les extraits de discours qui paraissent dans la présente étude, ont été fournis par un T'ou-jen maître des cérémonies, qui avait l'habitude de présider les mariages dans la contrée. Le fait, que presque tous les hommes t'ou-jen parlent plus au moins le chinois, est ce qui explique l'emploi de cette langue, ainsi que l'usage des proverbes chinois au cours des cérémonies du mariage. La plupart des notes philologiques rencontrées dans la présente monographie ont été fournies par les PP. Mostaert et De Smedt. La transcription du Monguor est celle employée par les mêmes Pères, qui ont adopté l'alphabet général de l'Anthropos (V. Anthr. XXIV-V), mais simplifiée. La transcription du chinois est la romanisation adoptée par les Variétés.

Le terme T'ou-jen est employé par les Chinois de "Si-ning" pour désigner le ou les peuples du pays, qui parlent la langue monguor et qui sont sous la juridiction d'un t'ou-se. Le terme T'ou-jen signifie "aborigène".

Bien que les peuples en question ne soient certainement pas les premiers habitants du pays, nous avons néanmoins cru devoir adopter ce terme impropre parce qu'il est d'un usage courant "au pays" et y est employé pour désigner seulement ce peuple. Le terme T'ou-jen est donc ici un nom de peuple. Les Tibétains, les Mongols, les Salars du pays, ne sont pas des T'ou-jen aux yeux des habitants de Si-ning. D'ailleurs, les chroniques de l'endroit, ainsi que celles de Liang-tcheou 涼州 et celles de Lan-tcheou 蘭州 se servent du même terme, quand elles traitent de ce peuple.

NOTES PRÉLIMINAIRES

1) Nécessité générale du mariage.
2) Nécessité d'une descendance mâle.

Il semble que deux remarques sont nécessaires pour la bonne intelligence de cette étude. Il est évident que pour juger d'un tableau, il ne faut pas le voir la nuit à la lumière d'une bougie, mais qu'il faut le regarder le jour à la lumière voulue par l'artiste; même il faut se trouver à l'endroit précis, pour observer ce que l'auteur a voulu y mettre; alors seulement on comprendra son œuvre.

Or, pour ce qui regarde le mariage des T'ou-jen, les mentalités de l'Est et de l'Ouest différant du tout au tout, il est aisé de ne pas voir les faits sous leur vrai jour.

Les us et coutumes d'un peuple trouvent leur explication dans sa mentalité et sa philosophie actuelles ou anciennes. Que cette philosophie soit bonne ou mauvaise, nous ne le jugeons pas ici, mais c'est en nous en pénétrant que nous devons voir les faits pour les comprendre. A des observateurs avec mentalités différentes, les mêmes faits pourront paraitre aux uns rationnels et honnêtes, et aux autres puérils et pleins d'horreur.

1 NÉCESSITÉ GÉNÉRALE DU MARIAGE.

Nous autres Européens, nous ne trouvons pas étrange de rencontrer des gens qui ne sont pas mariés; nous ne sommes pas surpris de voir des célibataires dans nos bureaux, dans nos réunions, dans nos fêtes; l'idée ne nous viendra pas de leur incriminer le célibat; bien qu'au fond nous sentions que cette situation est anormale, nous trouvons en dehors des principes religieux assez de raisons, si ce n'est pour justifier le célibat, du moins pour l'excuser.

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Or, une mentalité pareille n'existe pas chez les T'ou-jen. Aucun T'ou-jen ne comprendra qu'un homme qui n'est pas religieux, qui n'est pas lama, ne soit pas marié, à moins qu'il en soit empêché physiquement.

Aussi chez les T'ou-jen, on s'informera par politesse, si tous les fils sont déjà mariés; pour satisfaire à cette loi du mariage, on ira jusqu'à vendre tout ce qu'on possède, ses terres, ses maisons, ses animaux et on vivra dans l'indigence; à la mort des parents, les fils ainés mariés, dans le cas où l'on procède au partage des biens, devront, avant tout, mettre à part les sommes requises au mariage des cadets non mariés; les parents à l'approche de la mort, éprouveront le plus grand soulagement dans le fait qu'ils ont marié tous leurs fils. Afin de permettre aux pauvres de se marier, on aura recours à toute espèce de combinaisons, qui, bien souvent, ne s'imposent qu'en raison de leur but primordial qui est celui du mariage, et qui font fi de nombre d'engagements qui en "justice" sembleraient, pour le moins, devoir être pris en plus grande considération. On trouvera des jugements qui paraîtront injustes, mais quand on étudie cette mentalité, qui donne la mesure à tout, on comprendra que chez les T'ou-jen, les autres principes lui cèdent le pas et soient sacrifiés.

Le mariage, pour le peuple T'ou-jen, est la grande affaire de la vie, affaire obligatoire avant tout. On n'est plus honnête homme quand on n'est pas marié; c'est que l'on croit que l'homme a le devoir de vivre d'après la loi naturelle, c-à-d. de se marier et de procréer des enfants.

Un jour, un de mes catéchistes fut invité à siéger avec les anciens du village pour juger le cas d'un jeune homme sans sou ni maille, qui s'était enfui avec une jeune fille de bonne condition. On les avait ramenés, après une escapade de trois ans, ainsi qu'un enfant né pendant la fuite.

Le jeune homme était à genoux, les mains liées derrière le dos, implorant la clémence des juges et de tout le village

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assemblé. Désespérant, disait-il, de pouvoir jamais se marier à cause de son extrême pauvreté, il s'était cru permis d'agir de la sorte, afin de pouvoir remplir son devoir de se marier. " J'ai été injuste envers les parents de la fille, mais je me soumets d'avance à faire toutes les réparations possibles qu'on exigera de moi .." La fille aussi crie grâce: "j'aurais pu espérer un meilleur parti, avoue-t-elle, mais j'ai suivi ce jeune homme par condescendance; sans moi, il n'aurait jamais pu se marier..."

Après une palabre d'importance, le couple fautif fut puni, et les juges trouvèrent un moyen de dédommager la famille lésée et de légaliser cette union.

L'argumentation des juges, devant tout le village et les familles en cause, est pour nous très instructive. Le jeune homme, dirent-ils, n'a pas respecté les coutumes de notre race, il a été en outre injuste envers la famille de la fille; ce sont des fautes graves; après les chefs d'accusation, on entend des tirades sur la nécessité du mariage et l'indigence du malheureux; en fin de compte, on l'excuse en recourant à l'extrême obligation du mariage. Pour le fait de la fille, on blâme la désobéissance et on proclame haut les droits des parents, mais elle a été courageuse en offrant au jeune homme l'occasion de se marier, car le mariage est un devoir.

Nous n'admettrions guère de pareilles raisons; aussi j'en fis la remarque à mon catéchiste et lui expliquai que, d'après moi, nous n'avions là que la banale histoire d'un couple qui s'aimait. Cela se peut, me répondit-il, mais il est certain que le jeune homme a pensé avant tout au devoir du mariage, et c'est l'indigence qui l'a poussé à partir avec la fille; quant à la fille, elle a été courageuse; c'était la même argumentation. Je rencontrai donc chez mon catéchiste la même mentalité.

Ce cas serait probablement résolu de la même manière en Occident qu'en Orient, c'est à-dire qu'on légaliserait cette union; mais les motifs qu'on invoquerait seraient tout autres.

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Ce fait fut une révélation pour moi à cette époque, et j'ai pu le contrôler maintes fois dans la suite; il m'a fait connaître la mentalité t'ou-jen au sujet de la nécessité générale du mariage.

2 NÉCESSITÉ D'UNE DESCENDANCE MÂLE

Une autre mentalité chez les T'ou-jen est celle du désir excessif de voir naître des enfants, et surtout des enfants mâles.

En Europe, on ne s'alarme pas trop quand une famille ne compte pas d'enfants, ou qu'elle ne compte que des filles. Chez les T'ou-jen, le plus grand des malheurs est l'absence d'enfants mâles. Il faut être en Orient pour "vivre" le texte de droit canon "*matrimonii finis primarius est procreatio atque educatio prolis*". Le fils est le rêve de l'Orient. On se résignera encore à la pauvreté, mais jamais on ne se consolera de n'avoir pas de fils; on se consolera de la mort d'un mari ou d'une femme, mais on continuera de pleurer la perte d'un fils unique. Le fait de ne pas avoir de fils, sera interprété comme un châtiment du ciel pour des fautes commises dans des vies antérieures. On ne regardera pas aux dépenses que réclament les bonnes œuvres et les pèlerinages, dans le but de donner le jour à un enfant mâle. On donnera des fêtes extraordinairement bruyantes à la naissance d'un premier-né, auxquelles tout le village prendra part. Le plus grand bonheur d'une femme t'ou-jen sera celui d'avoir beaucoup de fils; aussi quand on vit au pays t'ou-jen, on songe involontairement à la mère romaine des Gracques présentant à ses amies ses enfants, disant "voici mes bijoux". Les nombreux mendiants religieux ou laïcs se verront rarement refuser l'aumône; c'est qu'on craint la terrible malédiction qu'ils ont coutume de proférer: "Soyez sans descendance". Au contraire, après avoir reçu l'aumône, le mendiant remerciera en souhaitant une nombreuse postérité mâle.

Nous devons donc nous attendre à voir le coutumier matrimonial fortement influencé par cette mentalité. Ainsi, quand la femme n'a pas d'enfants ou n'a pas de fils, il semble naturel

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à tous, de prendre une seconde femme et même une troisième. Tout T'ou-jen, même le plus honnête, si les moyens le lui permettent, en agira de la sorte. Il ne perdra pas pour cela le moins du monde l'estime de ses concitoyens; même tous lui donneront ce conseil, l'homme le plus religieux comme la femme la plus dévote. Quand la première femme a donné le jour à des fils, et que le mari en prend une seconde, on n'y verra rien qui choque, car plus on a de fils et mieux cela vaut.

Je me rappelle toujours les discussions que j'ai eues, au sujet de la polygamie, avec des amis t'ou-jen. J'avoue que mes arguments me paraissaient ne pas les convaincre, même qu'ils n'étaient pas compris. Le bonheur d'avoir des fils était pour eux une entité trop sublime, pour qu'elle eût pu être mise en parallèle avec celle qui constitue les misères de famille qu'entraine la polygamie; si l'éducation des enfants de mères différentes doit laisser à désirer, ce dommage à leurs yeux est une quantité négligeable, même une quantité d'un ordre inférieur, comparée à celle qu'est le bonheur d'avoir une descendance. Cette mentalité a des origines lointaines, les T'ou-jen l'ont héritée de leurs ancêtres et ils l'ont conservée religieusement pendant des siècles. Ne nous étonnons donc pas qu'à cause d'elle, certains usages qui nous semblent inadmissibles et choquants paraissent aux T'ou jen raisonnables et justifiés.

Nous exposons dans la suite le coutumier matrimonial d'un peuple qui est convaincu du devoir de se marier, et qui attend du mariage une descendance mâle.

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DIVISION DE L'ÉTUDE

Le mariage est l'union légale d'un homme et d'une femme. Mais la fille étant chez les T'ou-jen la propriété des parents, dans le vrai sens du terme, l'indemnité s'impose à qui désire l'épouser.

Cette indemnité se remet de deux façons; ou bien par l'achat, ou bien par la prestation de sa personne ou de ses services au bénéfice du propriétaire de la fille.

Le mariage des veuves, qui se fait encore souvent de nos jours, sous l'ancienne forme du rapt, rentre cependant dans la catégorie des mariages par achat; car après avoir conduit la veuve en lieu sûr, on en débat le prix. Nous traiterons donc successivement:

I des mariages par achat,
II des mariages par prestation de ses services ou de sa personne,
III des mariages anormaux,
IV du divorce, de la répudiation et de l'échange de femmes,
V des épouses en fuite,
VI du matriarcat.

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CHAPITRE I

MARIAGES PAR ACHAT.

L'achat de la femme par la famille du mari, est aujourd'hui la forme générale du mariage chez les T'ou-jen. Cette forme de mariage se présente dans trois cas différents, qui chacun ont leur coutumier et leurs droits spéciaux :

A — Mariage d'une jeune fille comme femme en titre
B — Mariage d'une veuve comme femme en titre
C — Mariage d'une jeune fille ou d'une veuve, comme seconde femme ou la polygamie.

A — MARIAGE D'UNE JEUNE FILLE COMME FEMME EN TITRE

SOMMAIRE. — 1 Sujets du mariage. — 2 Position sociale des futurs conjoints vis-à-vis du mariage. — 3 Quand se fait la demande de mariage. — 4 Comment se fait-elle. — 5 Débat du prix de la fiancée. — 6 Remise des présents. — 7 Age requis pour le mariage. — 8 Fixation de la date du mariage et dernières dispositions. — 9 Remise des derniers cadeaux et invitation à la fête. — 10 Mariage sans cérémonies. — 11 Dîner d'adieu chez la bru. — 12 Invitation de la fiancée. — 13 Arrivée de la fiancée dans sa nouvelle famille. — 14 Cadeaux à la famille du fiancé. — 15 Le mariage. — 16 Ouverture de la bouche de la bru. — 17 Dîner. — 18 Cadeaux à la famille de la bru. — 19 Départ des convives. — 20 Visites après le mariage. — 21 Relations des nouveaux mariés avec la famille de la bru.

1 — LES SUJETS DU MARIAGE.

Il est naturel que ceux qui en ont les moyens prennent une jeune fille pour être leur femme; de plus c'est quasi une nécessité, du fait qu'on se marie jeune. Les unions ordinaires sont donc contractées entre jeunes gens,

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La première question qui se pose est celle-ci: avec qui peut-on contracter mariage?

La loi générale qui régit les unions des jeunes gens T'ou-jen est très simple: elle exige seulement, que les deux époux ne portent pas le même nom, donc qu'ils soient de familles différentes. A cette loi il n'y a pas d'exception. C'est d'ailleurs la même loi qui existe chez les Chinois et les peuples turco-mongols.

Or les T'ou-jen prétendent, qu'anciennement tout le peuple d'un même t'ou-se 土司 portait le nom de celui-ci; chef et peuple constituaient donc un seul clan. C'est possible et même probable, car chez les mongols frères de race des T'ou-jen, ceux d'un même clan portent aussi un même nom. (1) Aujourd'hui

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(1) The life of Ghingis Khan, by prof. Vladimirtsov. p. 5: The habit of minor tribes of adopting the appellation of some powerful and related neighbour even though they might be in hostile relations with the latter, is reported by the ethnologists of various parts of the world, e.g. from the Caucasus, the Altai, and contemporary Mongolia.

As the tartar tribe was numerous, and had by the twelfh century acquired considerable importance, members of the other mongol clans often adopted the famous name of Tartar, so that their own tribal name ceased to be known except to they nearest neighbours.

p. 64: Temuchin après avoir soumis toutes les tribus de la Mongolie est proclamé Chingis Chan en 1206 aux sources de l'Onon. The clan Borjigin had once more revived the greatness and the glory of the mongol name, and all the peoples of their race would hence forward be designed as Mongols. All the Noyans, Bagaturs, Beks and Tegins, all the aristocracy now became the Vassals of the clan of Mongol and accepted its name. For the first time the united nation had a common name and the name soon became so glorious that every nomad was proud to call himself a Mongol.

Une même coutume a existé chez les T'ou-jen. En effet nous connaissons le cas d'un groupe de plus de cent familles dépendant du Iang t'ou-se 楊土司 de Tchouo-ni-tse, 卓泥子 qui vint habiter le Choei-mouo-keou 水磨溝 de Si-ning appartenant au Li t'ou-se. Tout le groupe changea son nom de Iang, en celui de Li, et reconnut Li t'ou-se 李土司 pour son chef.

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cependant par suite d'événements historiques que nous exposerons en leur lieu, les familles dépendant d'un même t'ou-se ne portent plus le même nom.

Donc dans ce cas, anciennement, l'interdiction de se marier entre jeunes gens portant le même nom, équivalait à celle qui défend le mariage entre membres de la même tribu, ou du même clan. Cette interdiction nous rappelle la grande loi de l'exogamie dans toute son ampleur; exogamie non seulement quant à la famille, mais même quant au clan, puisque ici les deux se confondent. Quoi qu'il en soit du passé, la loi de l'exogamie de nos jours ne porte plus que sur la seule famille.

Les T'ou-jen considèrent la notion de nom comme exactement équivalente à celle de famille. Tous ceux qui ne portent pas le même nom, bien qu'ils descendent directement du même ancêtre, sont des étrangers pour la famille. C'est là une notion grosse de conséquences: les filles données en mariage prenant le nom de leur mari, sortiront donc de leur famille, deviendront des étrangères pour elle; elles ne seront plus enterrées dans le cimetière familial; leurs enfants s'appelant d'un nom différent, seront donc également des étrangers pour la famille de la mère. Il suit de là que puisqu'ils ne portent pas le même nom, il n'y a pas d'empêchement au mariage des enfants des deux familles. Aussi on voit régulièrement des unions entre les enfants de frères et sœurs. C'est d'ailleurs la même pratique qui existe chez les Mongols.

On trouve chez les Chinois une coutume semblable; toutefois le principe "autre nom, autre famille" n'est pas poussé jusqu'au bout. En effet en Chine on voit des mariages entre les fils d'une sœur et les filles des frères de celle-ci, mais pas inversement entre les fils des frères et les filles des sœurs.

Un autre genre d'alliance, très recherché chez les T'ou-jen, est celui contracté entre les fils et filles de deux sœurs. Deux sœurs mariées dans deux familles différentes, portent des noms différents: partant leurs enfants sont libres de se marier

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entre eux. On trouve la même pratique chez les Chinois.

Signalons encore un genre d'alliance très fréquent de nos jours chez ce peuple; il consiste dans l'échange des filles. La famille A donne sa fille à marier au fils de la famille B, et la famille B offre en même temps la sienne en mariage au fils de la famille A. Cette coutume est de même très fréquente chez les Chinois et chez les Mandchoux. (1)

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(1) Quelques notes recueillies dans l'excellente étude de Mr SHIROKOGOROFF, *Social Organisation of the Manchus, Shanghai*, 1924. élargiront notre horizon. Les T'ou-jen dont nous traitons étant des Mongols et des Cha-t'ouo mongolisés, il est instructif de comparer leurs mœurs à celles des Manchoux, qui dit Mr Shirokogoroff, p. 168, do not understand their name as an original ethnical name, but merely as a name of the power that includes different political and ethnical groups (the Mongols and others) into a new political unit p.167. a) Klaproth asserted that the manchu language is an amalgamation of the Tungus and the Mongol languages influenced above all by Turkic. b) He has shown the intercourse and assimilation of different groups, Koreant Tungus, Mongols, and so on. c) I have expounded...that the Manchoux are an amalgamation from the physical standpoint and that in general the so called "Mongol race" is merely hypothesis insufficiently based on the superficial impression of the travellers p. 11. The Manchus recognise the following three groups, viz, 1) the ancient Manchus, 2) the modern (new) Manchus, 3) the Mongol-Manchus. Ces notes au sujet des Mandchoux rentrent donc dans le cadre de notre sujet. Malgré l'énorme distance qui sépare le Kan-sou de la Mandchourie, et l'absence totale de relations entre les Mandchoux et les T'ou-jen, nous trouvons beaucoup de pratiques absolument identiques chez les deux peuples; d'autres au cours des siècles ont subi des transformations inégales dans les deux camps, dues au voisinage de peuples à mœurs différentes des leurs; dans plus d'un cas il suffit de mettre en regard les coutumes réciproques pour comprendre leur altération ou leur évolution.

Up to the present time the practice of exchange of women is one of the preferred ways to get a wife, (chez les Mandchoux). Among some other Tungus groups this is the only practical way of marrying. Shirokogoroff, p. (69)

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Trois Mongols du Koukounor (Sining).
Le jeune homme au centre est un "Beile", chef de tribu. Il porte sur la poitrine le reliquaire des bouddhistes.

[Face p. 141]

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Quand la fille de la sœur épouse un des fils des oncles maternels, cette union s'appelle *tao-t'sin* 倒親 ce qui veut dire, retourner le mariage, en ce sens (1) "qu'autrefois vous

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(1) There is a very peculiar form of the marriage, which the Manchus designate by a special term "tarsilambi" i.e. I am marriying my tarsi, i.e. my father's sister's daughter. This form is very seldom used, because according to the Manchus in this matrimonial combination the brothers and sisters (of a clan) become parties of a match-maker's affair; as the results of a possible displeasure of the young man in a foreign clan, there can be anticipated some lack of good terms between the clans, which may sometimes result in conflicts This term "tarsi" designates My relationship with the progeniture of the women of senior class of my father's clan, and progeniture of my mother's class clan. If we agree to the supposition that some time ago the Manchus were organised into materline clans, this classificatory term and the peculiar rights of bearers in regard to marriage rights will be very clear ...Shirokogoroff, p. 70

Mais cette pratique en dehors du point de vue matriarcal discutable (puisqu'on peut la rencontrer également dans une organisation patriarcale) présente encore un côté social de grande importance, comme nous verrons de suite.

Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou, 貴州 par Schotter. Anthropos 8me année p.320 Une coutume qui fait loi chez les Hö-miao, veut que la fille de la sœur se marie avec le fils du frère. C'est ce qui se dit: restituer la graine fournie à une autre famille.

A peine arrivé au pays de Si-ning et n'ayant pas encore étudié la question des T'ou-jen, un vieux T'ou-jen de Choang-niou-keou 雙牛溝 (pays de Lien-tch'eng 連城) me disait que, d'après une vieille tradition, les T'ou-jen étaient venus du Yun-nan, 雲南 et du Koei-tcheou pour combattre les Tibétains de la contrée de Si-ning. Cette information fut cause que je lus l'étude concernant les Miao dans Anthropos .. Il est certain historiquement que les T'ou-jen dont nous traitons, ne sont pas originaires du Yun-nan, ni du Koei-tcheou: mais d'après le Hoa-i-i-iu -華夷譯語 (note communiquée par les P. Mostaert), nous savons que des Mongols qui s'étaient soumis sous Hong-ou 洪武 des Ming, ont fait la guerre dans le Sud-Ouest de la Chine. Ainsi il est possible que parmi les T'ou-jen, il y ait des Mongols dont les ancêtres ont fait la guerre au Yun-nan ...Ce fait peut fournir une explication à cette tradition. Nous traiterons cette question dans une étude sur l'histoire des T'ou-jen.

Un coup d'œil sur les peuples Miao est devenu indispensable, depuis les études du P. Wilhelm Koppers "Tungusen und Miao, ein Beitrag zur Frage der Komplexitaet der altchinesischen Kultur" Mitt. d. anthrop. Ges. Wien LX 1930 306-319. ainsi que celle dans Anthropos 1930 p.981, Die Frage des Mutterrechtes und des Totemismus im alten China.

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nous donniez la mère en mariage et maintenant nous vous rendons sa fille, pour épouser votre fils." Les Chinois n'ont pas cette expression, comme me faisait remarquer un lettré avec une pointe de dédain. Quand la fille des frères épouse le fils de sa tante paternelle, ce qui est d'un usage commun chez les Chinois et chez les T'ou-jen, on dit de cette alliance "que la nièce va rejoindre sa tante."

Toutefois il ne faut pas conclure de ce qui précède, qu'aujourd'hui chez les T'ou-jen tous les mariages sont contractés, de génération en génération, régulièrement et nécessairement entre les membres des mêmes familles; il ne faut pas en inférer que les brus dans une même famille sont toujours cousines entre elles; il ne faut pas croire non plus qu'on ne s'unit pas à des familles "étrangères" dans notre acception du mot. Les conditions actuelles ne sont plus celles des vieux temps; la vérité est, que les mariages entre cousins (de frères et sœurs) sont encore très nombreux. Mais comme une même famille peut être alliée de la sorte à cinq ou six autres, et comme on recherche avidement à rester toujours dans le même cercle d'alliances, il est naturel que les unions entre parents seront plus nombreuses, que celles entre des familles strictement étrangères.

Cette coutume a son importance capitale. Pourquoi recherche-t-on et tient-on tant en honneur ces unions entre familles avec lesquelles on a déjà d'anciennes relations de parenté ? C'est une coutume vieille et générale. Pourquoi surtout la notion du *tao ts'in* "retourner le mariage" est-elle chez les T'ou-jen considérée comme sacro-sainte? Quand un frère demande à sa sœur pour son fils une fille à marier, elle ne peut sous aucun prétexte la refuser. Pourquoi? Personne ne le sait. Pourquoi le mariage reste-t-il généralement circonscrit dans un cercle restreint de familles? Pourquoi cette coutume si générale et invétérée dans les mœurs doit-elle être rappelée dans l'allocution traditionnelle du maître des cérémonies de la famille de la fiancée au jour du mariage chez le fiancé, même quand les

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époux appartiennent à des familles absolument étrangères l'une à l'autre? Même alors on suppose qu'elles sont apparentées de longue date, et que le mariage présent renoue les vieilles relations!!!

Pour comprendre cette pratique, ne doit-on pas se rappeler que tous les T'ou-jen ont vécu anciennement à l'état nomade? Ces groupes vivant dans les immenses steppes de l'Asie, devaient nécessairement chercher un appui près d'autres groupes nomades, errant comme eux et cherchant un appui comme eux, de peur d'être absorbés ou exterminés par d'autres clans, plus forts qu'eux? Or quoi de plus naturel pour réaliser ces appuis aussi solides et durables que possible, que les unions de familles incessamment renouvelées par le mariage?

De fait on échange alors mutuellement en mariage la jeunesse des deux groupes, et celle-ci en fondant de nouvelles familles de part et d'autre, constitue des garants réciproques. Quoi de plus naturel que le pacte conclu entre deux groupes, soit scellé par une série de mariages? Quand on lit l'histoire des Mongols, on apprend que tel clan prenait toujours ses femmes chez tel autre; que les paix étaient scellées par des mariages; que des pactes étaient garantis par des alliances matrimoniales. C'est l'économie naturelle et nécessaire du stade nomade. Autrefois le but du mariage n'était pas seulement celui de fonder une famille, mais très souvent celui de rapprocher des groupes de familles, des clans entiers.

Quand dans ce cercle d'idées, on comprend l'expression "*tao-ts'in*" avec son caractère d'obligation suprême, de sacré, on lui trouve aisément une explication; de même on comprend facilement la coutume de se marier entre jeunes gens de groupes déjà apparentés. On trouve ici des vestiges de l'état nomade où ces alliances étaient une nécessité. Mais comme un membre devenu inutile au corps, s'atrophie lentement, et que sa raison d'être finit par ne plus être comprise, de même les coutumes en question devenues inutiles à l'économie agraire actuelle et pratiquées de

moins en moins, ont fini par ne plus être comprises par le peuple. (1)

La conclusion sera donc, que nous voyons pratiquée la loi de l'exogamie mitigée largement par celle de l'endogamie, qui fait prendre beaucoup d'épouses encore de nos jours parmi les filles des tantes paternelles (2).

Quand les T'ou-jen marient leurs enfants, ils tiennent, de nos jours du moins, compte du degré de génération des deux partis: ainsi un neveu ne pourra pas se marier avec sa tante, ni un oncle avec sa nièce. Il faut toujours que les deux partis soient de génération égale.

Cette même loi est en vigueur chez les Chinois. Toutefois chez les T'ou-jen elle n'est pas si stricte que chez les Chinois pour le cas des mariages entre veuve d'un frère aîné et un frère

(1) The life of Ghingis Khan, Vladimirtsov, p.10 The tribal constitution of the mongols implied exogamie, that is to say, it obliged the men of a given clan to take wives from some other clan that was not considered closely akin to their own .... Owing to the constant feuds, wars and raids the kidnapping of marriageable women was a frequent occurence (witness the case of Yesugei-Begatur himself)...another solution was for the clans to conclude agreements for mutual exchange of women. The respective members of the two clans that had entered on such agreement called each other "Kuda"... Le mot Kuda se retrouve dans le dialecte mongour "goda" comme dans tous les autres dialectes mongols: chez les Monguors il a perdu son sens premier. La coutume d'après laquelle les membres de deux clans échangent les filles en mariage n'existe plus. Le mot "guda" est de nos jours le nom que se donnent mutuellement les membres de deux familles alliées entre elles par le mariage d'un de leurs enfants.

(2) Je ne crois pas devoir recourir au Totémisme pour expliquer la loi de l'exogamie qui préside aux mariages chez les T'ou-jen. Les conditions de la vie nomade fournissent amplement une explication à cette pratique: secondement l'exogamie n'est pas essentiellement totémique: troisièmement le totémisme chez les Mongols en général n'est pas prouvé. Traitant de la vie religieuse chez les T'ou-jen, nous verrons cependant deux faits qui pourront attirer l'attention sur cette question: nous verrons l'érection du mât, aux fêtes données après les semailles, et nous aurons deux fêtes de la jeunesse.

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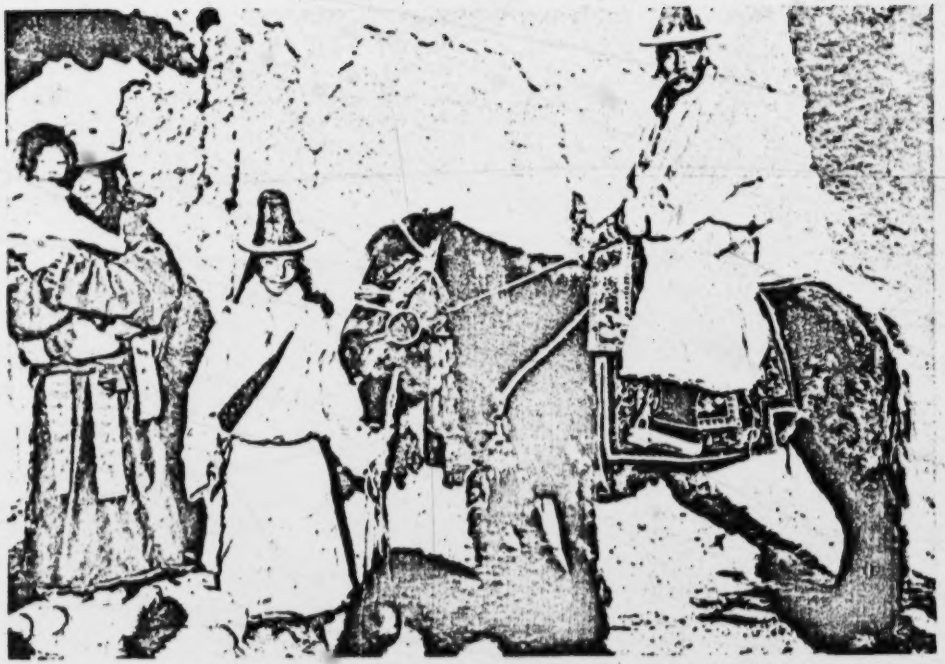

Jeune femme t'ou-jen, donnée en mariage dans une famille tibétaine.
Le beau-père monte le cheval richement harnaché et la belle-mère a le bébé sur les bras.
Tout le groupe porte le costume tibétain.

[face p. 16]

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moins âgé. Chez les Chinois du pays, un frère aîné pourra se marier avec la veuve de son frère cadet, mais jamais vice-versa.

Quant aux mariages des T'ou-jen avec les filles chinoises, ils sont fortement déconseillés par les anciens de la tribu, comme étant la grande cause de leur dénationalisation. Néanmoins de nos jours ces mariages sont de plus en plus fréquents, d'autant plus que l'exemple en est donné par les chefs des clans. Ces unions précipitent la marche du peuple T'ou-jen vers l'absorption dans la nation chinoise.

Très souvent on voit les T'ou-jen donner leurs filles en mariage aux Tibétains. Les Tibétains semi-nomades, leurs voisins, semblent même les rechercher à cause de leur fécondité bien connue dans la contrée. Il est étonnant d'un autre côté de voir comme les filles t'ou-jen s'accoutument facilement chez les Tibétains et adoptent aisément leurs mœurs. (1)

De même on déconseille fortement les mariages entre jeunes gens de familles voisines. Les T'ou-jen citent à ce propos le dicton chinois: *i iuen pou tso leang kia, toei men pou ts'iu ts'in kia*: 一院不作兩家對門不娶親家 dans une même cour

(1) Chez les Mandchoux les lois qui regardent "les sujets" du mariage sont plus compliquées que chez les T'ou-jen Shirokogoroff, cit.p. 65 et seq.

The woman that may marry a man are limited to three restrictions: 1. the absolute prohibition, which they do not transgress, i.e. the prohibition to marry within the clan: cette loi est expliquée comme suit: the general prohibition is to marry within the "mokun" two groups of clan members, who have two different ancestors in the fith senior class, and form of them two exogamic groups (mokun) with separate spirits, rites and shamans. 2.. the facultative prohibition, i.e. the prohibition to marry within that clan, with which the man's clan is bound by some relationship of clans, or religious connection, or some degree of relationship within the mother's clan: ce qui revient à la formule suivante: all my class(de génération égale à la mienne) women belonging to other clans are my facultative wives; 3.. the incidental prohibition .. p.e. pour veuves et veufs, etc.

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n'habitent pas deux familles différentes, avec la famille d'en face on ne contracte pas mariage. C'est pour éviter des difficultés qui alors surgissent aisément.

2 POSITION SOCIALE DES FUTURS CONJOINTS VIS-A-VIS DU MARIAGE.

La séparation des sexes n'existe pas chez les T'ou-jen, comme elle existe chez les Chinois, ni avant ni après le mariage. Gardons-nous cependant d'en conclure à l'existence de fiançailles précédant le mariage. Il n'y a pas chez les T'ou-jen de promesse mutuelle de mariage, faite entre les intéressés avec une certaine solennité; de plus l'amour ne précède pas les unions. Les futurs conjoints ne font pas leur choix, après s'être connus réciproquement. La coutume veut que les fiancés n'aient pas de relations avant le mariage et qu'ils se fuient autant que possible.

Nous sommes en Orient. Les parents sont les maitres absolus de leurs enfants. Ils n'envisagent pas le mariage comme étant une affaire personnelle de leurs enfants. Le mariage est de nos jours chez eux l'affaire de la famille, comme il était jadis celle du groupe entier, celle de la communauté.

De nos jours la famille T'ou-jen y cherche ses avantages propres, et les intéressés trouvent naturel que le bien général passe avant le bien particulier, tout comme anciennement leurs familles vivant en clans, en groupes serrés, trouvaient naturel que le bien de leurs familles privées, fût subordonné à celui du groupe entier.

L'évolution de l'individu t'ou-jen n'est pas encore arrivée aujourd'hui au point que son intérêt personnel prime celui de sa famille. Les parents seuls décident donc du mariage de leurs enfants, et ceux-ci trouvent cette coutume rationnelle et en acceptent avec leur mentalité fataliste, les conséquences souvent déplorables.

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Il peut arriver cependant, quand la bru n'a pas été demandée en mariage en bas âge, ce qui est extraordinaire, que la jeunesse s'est entretenue d'autres choses que du beau temps. Il est naturel dans ces cas, qu'il y ait des préférences et que les parents en tiennent compte, pourvu qu'ils ne lèsent pas les intérêts de la famille et surtout pas ceux de la belle-mère. Mais ce cas est la très grande exception, parce que les enfants sont déjà fiancés avant qu'ils aient pu faire un choix.

3 QUAND SE FAIT LA DEMANDE EN MARIAGE.

La demande en mariage se fait rarement après que les jeunes gens sont déjà en âge de comprendre l'importance de cet acte, et quand ils sont capables de manifester leurs préférences. D'ailleurs personne n'a jamais songé à attendre jusqu'à ce que les enfants en fussent là, car le mariage est l'œuvre des parents et non des enfants. Toutefois ce cas peut se présenter au décès d'un des fiancés vers le temps du mariage; il se présente encore dans une famille qui était trop pauvre pour demander une fille en mariage et qui par après devenant plus aisée, en a les moyens. Ce sont toujours des cas exceptionnels.

En règle générale les parents demandent une fille en mariage pour leur fils quand celle-ci est en bas âge, c.à.d. quand elle a trois ou quatre ans. Il arrive même bien souvent que la promesse de mariage est faite avant la naissance des enfants, pour le cas où les enfants à naître seront de sexe différent. On rappelle alors la promesse devant les convives, à la fête des relevailles, et plus tard on remplira les formalités des fiançailles officielles. (1)

(1) Match-making can be effected before the birth of the bride and groom. In this case if the sex of the child does not correspond to the supposition of the parents, they await the birth of other children. The Manchus suppose this custom to be of a very old origin. Shirokogoroff, p. 72.

2: Schram AE9 Monguor

On pourrait conclure de là que l'âge des conjoints ne diffère pas trop dans beaucoup de cas. Cependant en général, hormis le cas cité en dernier lieu, il faut dire que la fiancée est d'ordinaire plus âgée d'un ou deux ans que le fiancé; même il arrive, et malheureusement le cas n'est pas rare, que la fiancée a dix-sept ans quand le fiancé en a à peine dix ou onze. Ce sont des unions tristes, arrangées par des belles-mères égoïstes, qui voient dans la bru une servante, et dans le mariage du fils un allègement à leur propre travail. Ces mariages se font quand la fille a dix-sept ans et que le fils est encore un enfant dans toute la force du terme. (1)

L'âge auquel on demande la fille en mariage, et la manière dont la belle-mère y poursuit ses propres avantages, suffisent pour prouver que les intéressés n'y ont rien à voir, et que leur mariage est l'affaire unique de leurs parents.

4 COMMENT SE FAIT LA DEMANDE EN MARIAGE ?

Le mariage étant le plus important événement dans la famille, il est naturel qu'il ait un caractère religieux et débute par un rite de religion. On commencera donc par faire examiner l'année, le mois, le jour, l'heure de la naissance des futurs époux,

(1) The brides are about the same age of the grooms i.e. 21. However it occurs very often that the bride is older than the groom. I know some cases when the wives are 5-6 years older than their husbands. This may occur for exemple, when the parents of a young man need a working woman in the house and take before the wedding, a small girl as the future wife of their son who dies before the wedding is accomplished: then the girl becomes the wife of the following son. It is seldom that the husband is older than his wife. In the condition of the manchu social system all these combinations are quite natural, because the parents or clan relatives who marry their children have as the purpose of marriage not only marriage as such, but rather the obtaining of new working member for the family. Shirokogoroff. p. 64 op. cit.

2: Schram AE9 Monguor

afin de savoir si l'union sera prolifique et heureuse.(1) Le mariage ayant été reconnu comme devant être fécond et paisible, on procédera à la demande en mariage. Au début des premiers pourparlers, on aura soin d'insinuer que l'alliance a été prédite heureuse. La famille de la fiancée ne laissera pas néanmoins de faire examiner elle aussi le cas par des gens compétents. S'il y a désaccord entre les deux prédictions, on procèdera à un troisième examen.

Dans le cas où l'alliance est sincèrement désirée des deux côtes, la solution sera vite satisfaisante; car le devin lui aussi connaît son monde.

Dans le cas contraire, l'examinateur, diplomate quand il le faut, donnera une solution néfaste, et le mariage sera classé. C'est le bon moyen de refuser poliment une proposition de mariage d'un côté, et de comprendre le refus de l'autre, sans perte de face.

On certifie que personne n'oserait se passer de ce rite préliminaire. Cela est facile à croire, pour qui tient compte de la

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(1) Voyage à Péking à travers la Mongolie, en 1820 et 1821 par TIMKOVSKI traduit et publié avec corrections par KLAPROTH en 1827. p. 306 Vol. 2. Avant qu'un mariage (chez les Mongols) puisse se conclure, il faut qu'à l'aide de livres on calcule sous quels signes le futur et la future sont nés, afin que l'astre qui apprend la naissance de la dernière, ne puisse pas nuire à celui du futur, ni le dominer: ce qui signifie que la femme ne doit point commander le ménage. Les Mongols comptent douze signes qui correspondent à nos mois; ce sont: 1 souris, 2 bœuf, 3 tigre, 4 lièvre, 5 dragon, 6 serpent, 7 cheval, 8 bélier, 9 singe, 10 poule, 11 chien, 12 porc. La cinquième année nommée aussi *ibeghel* est celle où il est toujours permis de se marier: quant à la septième kharchi, c'est le contraire: p.e. si la fille est née sous le signe de la souris et du bœuf, et le garçon sous ceux du dragon et du singe, alors le mariage est permis: Mais si l'un des deux futurs est né sous le signe de la souris et l'autre sous celui du cheval, dans ce cas, quand même le futur et la fiancée seraient de souche différente, l'union ne peut avoir lieu. Les Mongols prétendent encore que le bœuf et le tigre, la poule et le cheval, et le singe sont des constellations opposées, des signes pernicieux, "ehkrchir" qui s'opposent décidément aux mariages.

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manie de ce peuple de consulter les sorts pour tous les événements de quelque importance, d'autant plus qu'il s'agit en l'occurence d'un acte à conséquences si graves et si lointaines... et malgré tout, on passe souvent outre, quand le parti proposé a gagné les sympathies.

Mais par qui cet horoscope est-il tiré?

Les lamas jaunes ou *chamans*, en Monguor *bo*, ne sont jamais consultés, bien que le lamaïsme et le chamanisme soient les religions propres des T'ou-jen. Ils ont recours en l'occasion aux 陰陽先生 *Ing-Iang sien-cheng* chinois (chiromanciens) ou aux lamas de la secte rouge. Le motif de ce choix m'est toujours resté un mystère; aucun T'ou-jen ne me l'a pu expliquer.

Cette formalité accomplie, le père ou la mère du futur fiancé, à l'occasion d'une visite chez les parents de la future fiancée, proposent donc le mariage. La réponse ayant été favorable, "la mère seule" se rend chez la famille de la bru future pour offrir aux parents huit ou dix ou douze petits pains cuits à la vapeur (il faut toujours un nombre pair), quatre pieds de toile rouge, une paire de souliers pour la petite bru, et quelques brasses de cordes rouges qu'on a l'habitude de tresser dans la natte des jeunes filles.

On prend le thé, on bavarde, la petite élue se présente, on parle mariage, et la future belle-mère prend congé. On a accepté les cadeaux, la fille s'est présentée, le mariage est donc décidé. On n'en fait plus de secret pour personne, au contraire, on a soin d'ébruiter la nouvelle. Mais si par ex. avant cette visite officielle de la future belle-mère, la famille de la fiancée avait changé d'avis, alors on laisserait les cadeaux intacts sur la table, on parlerait affablement du beau temps, la fille ne se présenterait pas, on ne ferait pas allusion au mariage projeté, on rendrait poliment les cadeaux au moment du départ et l'alliance serait abandonnée. Après que ces formalités ont été remplies, alors seulement la famille du futur gendre invitera l'entremetteur.

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Un Ing-iang Sien-cheng chinois, en grand costume, devant la porte de sa maison.
A gauche son élève-apprenti, dans le fond son vieux serviteur.

[face p. 234]

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La deuxième visite officielle de la mère engage donc décisivement. Cette coutume dans une économie patriarcale, est anormale. (1)

5 DÉBAT DU PRIX DE LA FIANCÉE ET DÉTERMINATION DES CADEAUX DU MARIAGE

Contrairement à l'usage chinois qui veut deux entremetteurs, le T'ou-jen en invite ordinairement un seul, un ami de la famille.

On n'est pas pressé de s'adresser à l'entremetteur. Quand la fille a seulement quatre ou cinq ans, on attend encore deux, ou trois ans, voire même plus longtemps, avant de faire cette invitation. La promesse de mariage ayant été faite à la belle-mère, il n'y a plus rien à craindre; seulement à chaque nouvel an et à la fête du quinze de la huitième lune, on se rend visite, et on se fait des petits cadeaux, on se nomme entre soi *Guda* "parents par alliance", tout cela pour se rafraichir la mémoire.

Dans les cas exceptionnels, où la fille aurait atteint l'âge nubile lors de la demande de mariage, on ne tarderait pas de recourir aux bons soins de l'entremetteur.

Après avoir choisi un jour de bon augure pour cette importante affaire, l'entremetteur s'en va avec les cadeaux traditionnels: un cruchon de genièvre bouché avec un jujube rouge (couleur

(1) The bride's father, according to the customs refuses the proposals, but they do not take as serious this answer, and some time later they send to the bride's father the match-makers who propose for his daughter some price (kalin). If the two families are already connected by the matrimonial relations, the "kalin" is only a formality.....

Usually the bride's father consults his wife: if he decides the question without consulting her, she can protest, but her protest is not taken in consideration. Then her husband's youngest brother intervenes, and advises the bride's mother to accept her husband's decision After this formality is completed, she must agree to the inevitable thing. But if they address the demand to the bride's mother, her words have the same value as that of the bride's father and never can be changed. If they address the demand to the bride's father's youngest brother (it is supposed the father is dead), he does not answer without consulting the bride's mother and usually he acts according to her wish. Shirokogoroff. p.72, 73.

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qui porte bonheur) et une floche de laine de mouton liée autour du goulot. A son arrivée, il pose son cadeau sur la petite table du k'ang et salue pompeusement la famille de la fiancée avec révérences. On se comprend sans mot dire; on boit le thé, on fume la pipe, et l'entremetteur entame sa cause, après avoir versé le genièvre à toute l'assistance. Donc, dit-il, puisque vous avez décidé entre vous le mariage de vos enfants, je vous prie de vouloir fixer le jour, pour déterminer les cadeaux et débattre les formalités traditionnelles. (1)

Ce jour est de nouveau un jour heureux choisi d'avance, Le jour étant déterminé, on se salue et l'entremetteur retourne chez la famille du gendre pour la féliciter des bonnes dispositions qu'il a cru trouver chez les parents de la fiancée.

Au jour convenu l'entremetteur vient prendre les dernières instructions avant de se rendre chez la famille de la fiancée. Il trouve chez le fiancé deux parents de la famille, bons parleurs, invités par ceux-ci pour l'accompagner et l'aider au débat. On

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SHIROKOGOROFF p. 73: The negotiations are always followed by a dinner with moderate libations, which made the bride's father more yielding on the question of the dimensions of the "kalin" (arrhes). The final conditions are elaborated usually in the state of profound drunkenness. The "kalin" must be definitly fixed during these negotiations. It consists usually of pigs, from two to eight, always in pairs, which must be given after the match-making, some years later and just before the wedding. The pigs can also be commuted by money. Moreover they give yearly $10 (or russian roubles) for the bride's clothing and also yearly, namely in the last month of the year, they give $1-5 for artificial flowers and paints... In general all calculations concerning the "kalin" payments are made in pigs. The Manchus never calcule it in horse or cattle units.

The Mongols use as unit the horse, the reindeer. Tungus, the reindeer. It is interesting to note that the Dahurs who live in very close neighbourhood with the Manchus. Mongols and Tungus, for this purpose use as unit clothing.-comme les T'ou-jen et les Miao du Yun-nan. Koei tcheou.

TIMKOVSKI. OP. CIT. p.307. Vol.2: Chez les Mongols la demande de mariage se fait par des personnes étrangères. Le consentement donné, le père du futur accompagné de l'entremetteur et de plusieurs de ses

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boit le thé et le genièvre, et la famille prie instamment les trois amis, de faire tout leur possible pour lui éviter les grandes dépenses.

Arrivés chez la famille de la fiancée avec le traditionnel cruchon, ils trouvent également deux parents de cette famille, invités par elle, pour prendre son parti dans les discussions. On ne tarde pas à commencer après la présentation du genièvre. Des deux côtés on a eu soin d'inviter les meilleurs parleurs. Ces débats diffèrent du tout au tout des débats chinois.

Les T'ou-jen quand ils ont la parole, la tiennent pendant dix, quinze minutes, sans qu'on les interrompe; ils débitent de vrais petits discours. Ils vous disent les choses les plus ordinaires avec un sérieux imperturbable, et toute l'assistance les écoute avec le plus vif intérêt. L'un après l'autre recommence ab ovo; c'est à n'en pas finir. En somme ils savent d'avance des deux côtés, vu la condition de la famille, où se fixera le débat. Mais

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proches parents, va chez celui de la future; il apporte au moins un mouton cuit et découpé: c'est ce qu'on appelle "*toue lei*", plusieurs vases avec de l'eau-de-vie et des khadag: Les envoyés du futur, après avoir communiqué au père de la fille le motif de leur visite, avec la prolixité ordinaire aux Asiatiques, placent sur un plat devant le Bourkhan (image ou statue religieuse) la tête et d'autres morceaux du mouton et des khadag; allument des cierges et se prosternent plusieurs fois devant ces images; ensuite ils s'asseoient tous et les arrivés régalent avec du vin et le reste du mouton les parents de la future, à chacun desquels ils doivent en même temps remettre un khadag ou quelques monnaies en cuivre qu'on jette dans une tasse remplie de vin. Cet usage est connu sous le nom de "*takil tabikhou*" il répond à notre toucher de la main. La conversation roule principalement sur les bestiaux exigés pour la fille: dans ces cas les gens sans fortune défendent leurs intérêts avec autant d'obstination que si c'était un marché. Les gens aisés ne stipulent pas le nombre des bestiaux, et les riches Mongols et surtout les princes, mettent de l'orgueil à ne pas discuter, se reposant sur la conscience et la foi mutuelles. Chez eux cet objet doit naturellement être très important: chez les pauvres la dot excède rarement quatre cents têtes de bétail de différentes espèces.

SCHOTTER, Anthropos, notes sur tribus... p.344 A leurs fiançailles les barbares Inag-hoang-miao donnent un cheval comme arrhes,

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la coutume veut une joute oratoire brillante. Les uns exigent l'impossible, et les autres offrent un minimum ridicule. En fin de compte on finit par suivre les coutumes, qui font loi.

Pour les familles de condition moyenne (je parle des années 1915-1920) on décide qu'on payera pour la bru:

Vingt-quatre ligatures (la ligature en ces temps valait à peu près un dollar, et le dolllar à peu près trois francs);

On donnera en outre vingt-quatre pièces de toile pour confectionner des habits, dont douze de meilleure qualité devant servir pour l'extérieur de l'habit, et douze de moindre qualité pour la doublure; il y aura des pièces de toile de couleur verte, noire, rouge et violette (huit pieds de calicot valaient une pièce de toile chinoise).

Après cela, il faut encore une jument, dont on fixera l'âge et la qualité, après un nouveau débat.

On rappellera avec orgueil l'ancienne tradition de la race, qui n'a jamais permis de mariages sans donner des juments. Chez les familles pauvres, par la force des choses, on se passe de cette tradition, mais la coutume veut toujours, qu'on la rappelle quand même.

En règle générale, dans les familles riches on payera:

vingt-cinq dollars,
seize ou vingt pièces de soie ou de satin,
soixante ligatures,
viendra ensuite la jument traditionnelle.

Il y a des exceptions à la règle; ainsi j'ai connu le cas où l'on donnait cinquante ligatures, deux pièces de toile, une jument et deux vaches; un autre cas où l'on donnait vingt-quatre ligatures, quatorze pièces de toile et une jument; un autre encore où l'on remit trente ligatures, dix-huit pièces de toile, une jument et une vache.

L'accord étant fait, viennent les formalités finales. Les orateurs s'excuseront; "nous devons avouer, diront-ils, que la somme et

Jeune femme t'ou-jen mariée,
en habits de fête, l'énorme coiffure sur la tête.
Elle porte le costume propre aux T'ou-jen.

[face p. 28]

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les cadeaux dont nous sommes convenus, ne répondent pas à votre attente. Mais nous avons eu en vue, avant tout, le bonheur de votre fille; plus la famille du fiancé sera aisée, et plus votre fille sera heureuse; puis l'entente des deux familles vaut plus que tout l'or du monde; votre fille profitera la première de cet arrangement; elle sera d'autant mieux traitée; en somme vous voulez aussi son bonheur avant tout". Alors ils loueront les vertus du fiancé et de sa famille, et prédiront à la fille un avenir si beau, que toute la famille finira par être satisfaite malgré elle.

Toutefois ils laisseront une porte ouverte, pour le cas où la famille du fiancé refuserait son assentiment. Ils expliqueront donc qu'ils auront encore toute la peine du monde, à faire accepter leurs propositions par la famille du fiancé. Au départ ils rapporteront de la part de la famille de la fiancée, deux cruchons de genièvre, trois pieds de toile verte, et trois brasses de cordes vertes qu'on tresse dans les cheveux.

La famille du fiancé attend avec impatience. Il faut rendre compte maintenant de tout le débat, et surtout de ses conclusions pratiques Alors c'est le revers de la médaille, et avec toute l'éloquence dont ils sont capables, ils s'efforcent de présenter les propositions comme étant éminemment avantageuses; ils exposent les difficultés qu'ils ont eu à vaincre pour en arriver là, puis, c'est la fille qui sera une épouse admirable.....

D'ordinaire on se résigne et on accepte les propositions; mais il arrive aussi que les débats doivent être repris à une seconde séance, ce qui n'est pas de bon augure. Cependant il est extrêmement rare que l'on ne parvienne pas à s'arranger et à s'entendre.

Remarquons que pour marier une jeune fille, bien qu'il n'y ait qu'un seul entremetteur, on n'écrit pas de contrat de mariage ni même une liste des cadeaux à offrir; tandisque pour marier une veuve, bien qu'il y ait deux entremetteurs, il faut un contrat dûment signé par les beaux-parents de la veuve et les entremetteurs.

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6 REMISE DES PRÉSENTS EXIGÉS POUR LA FIANCÉE

a) Quand procède-t-on à la remise des présents?

Dans le cas exceptionnel, où la fille a treize ou quatorze ans quand on la demande en mariage, alors ou dans le mois qui suit le choix des cadeaux, on s'efforce d'offrir ce dont on était convenu.

Dans les autres cas où les formalités ont été décidées quand la fille était encore en bas âge, on attend le plus souvent jusqu'à ce qu'elle ait atteint sa onzième ou sa douzième année. Il arrive aussi que l'on donne le tout après un an en une fois, et il arrive également qu'on le fait en deux ou trois fois. La coutume est donc que l'on traine en longueur. (1)

Mais, pourquoi ces tergiversations qui semblent mesquines?

C'est qu'on a affaire à des gens pratiques qui spéculent sur tout, même sur la vie et la mort de la fille. En effet, si la fille venait à mourir, après que les arrhes ont été données, celles-ci ne seraient pas rendues; même si par hasard, il y a encore une fille plus jeune dans la famille, on n'aurait pas le droit de l'exiger pour remplacer la défunte. Cependant si les familles sont de bonne composition et désirent sincèrement s'allier par le mariage de leurs enfants, on recommence les pourparlers et on finit par donner la fille plus jeune, après avoir reçu en compensation quelques pièces de toile et quelques dollars. De même, si le gendre vient à mourir et qu'on a encore un fils plus jeune non marié, on n'a pas le droit d'exiger la fiancée pour lui; mais il y a toujours moyen de s'entendre, comme dans le cas précédent; d'autant plus, que la différence d'âge entre les époux

(1) TIMKOVSKI. Voyage à Péking. vol.2 p. 308. : Chez les Mongols le paiement de la dot ne se fait pas toujours à la fois; il a lieu à différentes époques, selon la fortune du marié, et ces termes se prolongent parfois jusqu'à six et sept ans. Les animaux sont livrés en automne, on compte chaque femelle pour deux têtes.

n'est pas prise en considération chez les T'ou-jen. C'est donc la règle générale de ne pas être pressé pour donner les arrhes. Toutefois il y a de louables exceptions; il arrive qu'on trouve des gens plus corrects qui après deux ou trois mois s'acquittent de cette obligation.

Cette manie de s'exploiter réciproquement, qui dénote un petit côté de la race, se manifeste à différentes reprises dans le coutumier matrimonial; mais ce petit côté étant général, il n'offusque aucun T'ou-jen.

b) Comment procède-t-on à la remise des cadeaux?

L'entremetteur se rend chez la famille de la fiancée, cette fois avec deux cruchons de genièvre, bouchés avec le jujube, et liés avec la laine. Le but de a visite est double: le premier est de fixer le jour de la cérémonie, le second but est de tâcher de marchander encore, sur ce qu'on était convenu de dépenser pour la fille, "car la famille du gendre est très pauvre, elle a eu récemment des malheurs, des pertes de bétail, des dépenses imprévues; malgré toute sa bonne volonté, elle n'a pu encore acheter au complet tous les présents requis, enfin il faudra être généreux cette fois, et donner tant soit peu la "face" à l'entremetteur.....

Il est de bon ton de céder au moins quelque chose. Quand on cède, on procède par paires, p.e. deux ligatures, deux pièces de toile..... Les concessions faites, on fixe le jour de la cérémonie.

Si la famille de la bru est une famille pauvre et celle du gendre une famille aisée, l'entremetteur proposera à celle-ci d'inviter chez elle la famille pauvre, pour que la cérémonie puisse se faire solennellement. Dans ce cas, on donnera les arrhes chez le gendre en présence de l'entremetteur.

La remise des présents ne se fait généralement pas sans cérémonies. Elle donne lieu dans la famille de la fiancée à une petite fête à laquelle participent l'entremetteur, le père du gendre, ses oncles maternels, ses frères aînés, les avocats de tantôt, en tout sept ou huit personnes.

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L'entremetteur prenant le eruchon apporté de chez le fiancé, présente à toute la famille de la fiancée une minuscule tasse de genièvre, puis il étale sur une table les cadeaux de mariage, auxquels on a ajouté: deux fleurs artificielles qu'on piquera dans les cheveux de la bru, deux briques de fard, une pièce de crèpe noir qui servira de voile, une paire de pendants d'oreilles, une paire de souliers artistement brodés.

Les deux partis s'excusent mutuellement: l'un s'excusera de sa pauvreté et des temps durs, "je n'ai pu offrir davantage, mais ce qui est offert l'est de grand cœur"; l'autre s'excuse aussi de son indigence "j'ai été porté à exiger beaucoup trop, mais je suis plus que satisfait maintenant des présents....."

Alors quand tous ont repris leur place, l'entremetteur se lève et propose à la famille de leur présenter la "fleur" c.à.d. la petite fiancée.

On s'empresse d'étendre un tapis rouge ou un feutre rouge, au milieu de la pièce, et la petite fiancée chaperonnée d'une jeune fille, parait devant l'assemblée. Les deux filles se tiennent par la main.

La fiancée s'est levée le matin de bonne heure, s'est lavée à tous les savons, a été peignée par la femme la plus habile du voisinage, a mis ses plus beaux atours, a de belles fleurs dans les cheveux et est fardée de manière à ne plus être reconnaisable. Sa compagne, petite fille comme elle, a la toilette plus modeste; elle n'a pas de fleurs dans les cheveux, elle porte un voile noir sur la tête. Ce sont bien "l'amazone et la petite oie blanche" pas moyen de se tromper au sujet de la personne.

Elles s'avancent vers le milieu du tapis, face au futur beau-père, se lâchent les mains, s'inclinent respectueusement, se mettent à genoux, s'inclinent trois fois le front jusqu'à terre, se lèvent et recommencent trois fois la même prostration. C'est l'ancien salut chinois des grandes circonstances. Tout se fait gravement et posément. C'est qu'elles sont stylées les filles t'ou-jen! Aussi leurs jeux d'enfants ne sont que l'apprentissage

du cérémonial. Toutes les jeunes filles jouent aux cérémonies, elles les adorent. C'est le propre de l'Orient.

On voit que la "fleur" est consciente de l'importance de sa personne et de celle du moment; elle tâche de produire une bonne impression sur l'assemblée... et le futur beau-père de sourire, de rajeunir, de jeter sur le tapis d'un geste généreux, deux, trois poignées de jujubes rouges et une poignée de sapèques, emblèmes de bonheur et de richesse. Les invités font de même. Les filles ramassent tout, saluent gravement et sans avoir ouvert la bouche, s'en vont partager les jujubes et les sapèques.

L'entremetteur se lève et dit à haute voix: "la fleur vient d'être présentée, procédons à la reconnaissance de l'alliance des deux familles et à l'échange du vin".

Les deux beaux-pères se lèvent et vont s'agenouiller au milieu du tapis, après s'être salués mutuellement. L'entremetteur leur met dans la main à chacun une petite tasse de genièvre, qu'ils échangent et qu'ils boivent. On remplit les tasses quatre fois de suite, et ils les échangent quatre fois; l'assistance récite à haute voix un des quatre distiques suivants:

Si che iang koang 席事揚光 *man siu hoa* 滿繡花	Que la fête soit brillante que les fleurs abondent,
tse suen hoa 子孫花 *leang mien tch'a* 兩面插	Que les fleurs qui sont les fils et les petits-fils s'épanouissent des deux côtés (à la gloire des deux familles),
leang kia hi ngai 兩家喜愛 *tso ts'in kia* 作親家	Que les deux familles soient contentes de s'apparenter,
sin ts'in kia 新親家 *mou tan hoa* 牡丹花	Que la nouvelle famille par alliance soit comme une pivoine. (emblème de bonheur).

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Alors les deux beaux-pères se lèvent et proposent à toute l'assistance de boire à son tour. On sert une collation composée de mouton bouilli, coupé en morceaux, du pain et des nouilles à la chinoise.....

La famille de la fiancée a soin de mettre dans le sac de voyage du beau-père deux ligatures et quelques pains, toujours en nombre pair; les autres convives reçoivent aussi chacun deux pains. Le cruchon est rendu rempli de genièvre.

On ne laisse jamais partir un visiteur qui est venu offrir des présents, sans lui rendre un cadeau. Le récipient qu'il apporta ne peut pas sortir vide de la maison. Auparavant, à chaque visite, on a eu soin de rendre à l'entremetteur son cruchon rempli de genièvre; on fera de même dans la suite.

7 ÂGE REQUIS POUR LE MARIAGE

L'âge requis pour le mariage est quinze ans; ces quinze ans sont censés atteints à l'âge de quatorze ans, après le solstice d'hiver. L'âge de la fiancée varie de quinze à dix-sept ans. Les filles dépassent rarement cet âge sans se marier. C'est qu'il y a pour cette règle générale des raisons d'ordre moral; en effet, les T'ou-jen prétendent que les filles sont "grandes" vers cet âge, et qu'il ne faut plus tarder de les marier alors. Rarement on marie les filles à treize ans. Le mariage ne se fait jamais, quand les années de la fiancée sont en nombre pair.

Quant à l'âge du fiancé il n'y a pas de règle fixe; on ne s'occupe pas du nombre pair ou impair de ses années d'âge. Il peut se marier à dix ans, à vingt ans, aussi bien qu'à trente. Ceux qui en ont les moyens ne dépassent pas d'ordinaire les dix-sept ans sans se marier. (1)

(1) SHIROKOGOROFF, p.64: The Manchus consider as necessary, almost obligatory to marry their sons by the age of 21, and usually all Manchu young men are married before reaching this age. If this is not done "everybody will laugh" say the Manchus, because the clan to which the unmarried young man belongs, may be supposed to be "inactive, weak and poor".

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8 FIXATION DE LA DATE DU MARIAGE : POURPARLERS AU SUJET DES DERNIÈRES DISPOSITIONS

Quand la fiancée a atteint l'âge requis pour se marier, la coutume veut que la belle-mère, rarement le futur beau-père, se rende chez la famille de la fiancée avec les présents traditionnels: genièvre, huit ou dix pains, quatre pieds de toile rouge. L'entremetteur n'est pas de la compagnie.

Cette visite se fait d'ordinaire, vers le quinze de la huitième lune, qui est une des grandes fêtes de l'année. La visiteuse après avoir déposé ses cadeaux, fait semblant de s'agenouiller pour saluer révérencieusement la famille, mais on la prévient. On sert le thé, le pain. Alors la visiteuse prend elle-même son cruchon et verse le genièvre à l'assistance, signe qu'elle vient pour une mission importante. Après quoi, elle parle du mariage et demande d'en fixer le jour.

Les convenances exigent, que la famille de la fiancée fasse semblant de vouloir différer le mariage. "On aime tant la fille, elle est si bonne pour ses parents, si dévouée, ils ne pourront jamais s'en séparer". Ils supplient de la leur laisser encore deux, trois ans. La fille, à la cuisine, doit entre temps pleurer à haute voix ..... en fin de compte, on finit par céder avec les larmes dans les yeux.

Quelques jours après, la famille du fiancé invite un chiromancien chinois ou un lama rouge, deux personnes de la famille de la fiancée, ses parents et l'entremetteur. On choisit le jour de bon augure avec tout le respect possible, car du jour heureux du mariage dépendra en grande partie le bonheur des conjoints. Ce choix est capital.

Dans la famille du Li t'ou-se, on ne verra jamais de mariage dans le troisième et le neuvième mois de l'année. Anciennement le peuple qu'il gouverne faisait de même; de nos jours le peuple s'occupe de moins en moins de cette coutume.

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Le jour du mariage étant fixé. on entame les discussions au sujet des dernières dispositions. Les familles aisées font du mariage la plus grande fête de la vie. Les dispositions pour cette fête sont prises de commun accord par les deux familles après un laborieux débat.

La famille de la fiancée: " J'ai donc fait le sacrifice de ma fille pour tel jour, mais avez-vous arrangé tout ce qu'il faut pour le mariage? Avez vous préparé pour ma fille un couvre-chef à lames d'argent, des jupes, des habits.. "

De nouveau, on exige beaucoup, pour obtenir peu. La belle-mère fait des excuses: On est pauvre, les temps sont mauvais... mais elle proteste des soins dont elle entourera la fiancée. De nouveau, l'entremetteur à coups d'éloquence, doit ménager la chèvre et le chou.

Pour gens de condition moyenne, à ce deuxième arrangement on finit d'ordinaire par promettre pour la fiancée:

un couvre-chef à lames de cuivre,
des pendants d'oreilles en argent ou en cuivre argenté,
une jupe en toile,
un pantalon en toile,
une paire de jambières pour les bottes,
un couvre-chapeau en toile rouge pour le jour du mariage, et un autre en toile verte.

Les familles riches s'arrangent pour donner un chapeau à lames d'argent ou en cuivre argenté, une ou deux paires de pendants d'oreilles en argent, et quelques habits en soie. Si la famille du fiancé est trop coulante, elle sera bien exploitée.

Après cela, on en vient aux pourparlers du diner. La famille de la fiancée commence par exiger pour ses convives, un diner de quatre-vingt à cent couverts. Nouveaux palabres..... l'entremetteur finit par obtenir qu'ils se contentent d'une quarantaine de couverts pour leur part. Chez les familles riches on exige un diner de cent couverts.

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Mais quel diner donnerez-vous? Il nous faut un diner chinois, de douze ou seize grands bols. Nous ne voulons pas perdre la face, c'est le moins que vous puissiez nous donner, nous avons coutinuellement fait des concessions pour tout, sur ce point nous ne pouvons céder. Nouveaux exploits d'éloquence de la part de l'entremetteur, — " Jusqu'ici j'ai tout pu arranger à la satisfaction des deux familles, j'espère que vous me laisserez la face jusqu'au bout. J'ai toujours réussi dans les débats de mariage et j'espère que cette fois-ci cela marchera encore. Voyons; pour un diner chinois il faut de la vaisselle; pas moyen de la trouver dans tout le pays: Il faut un cuisinier excellent, où est-il? Il faut une salle pour le diner, oú la trouver? Et puis nous ne sommes pas chinois. Suivons les coutumes de nos ancêtres et donnons le grand diner t'ou-jen. J'exige le genièvre de qualité supérieure et en quantité suffisante, deux livres par personne; j'exige des moutons gras et gros ....."et tout s'arrange.

Et dire que les deux partis avant les discussions connaissaient les conclusions du débat! Il faut la palabre, il faut se donner de l'importance; puis, pérorer et jaser sont le principal et le plus agréable passe-temps de gens qui ne travaillent presque jamais de la vie.

La plupart des fêtes de mariage ont lieu, après que les travaux des champs ont pris fin, aux mois d'Octobre, de Novembre et Décembre. Vers ces temps les animaux sont gras, les greniers pleins de grains et il y a de quoi distiller soi-même une espèce de genièvre avec l'épeautre. On voit toutefois des familles riches, pour faire montre d'abondance et de bien-être, célébrer les mariages de leurs enfants aux mois de Mai, de Juin, de Juillet qui sont appelés les mois " vides ". (1)

(1) SHIROKOGOROFF, p. 76. Some time before the wedding they fix a happy day for the ceremonig of wedding in accordance with chinese manual ... by chinese sien-sheng.

SHIROKOGOROFF, p. 74: Some time before the wedding, the representatives of the bridegroom's clan in a large number, and connected by friendship with the bride's clan people, call upon the bride's fatheror his substitute, to fix exactly the day of the wedding. But the bride's father refuses to do it,

9 REMISE DES PRÉSENTS ET INVITATION À LA FÊTE.

Une dizaine de jours avant le mariage, l'entremetteur et quelques personnes de la famille de la fiancée, s'en iront remettre les cadeaux dont on était convenu; en plus ils apportent douze pains, un mouton, une chèvre et les pièces de viande nommées "*mutsé*", terme que les gens ne sont pas parvenus à m'expliquer; seulement on sait que par là, on invite toutes les filles du voisinage de la fiancée et les filles mariées de sa famille.

Après avoir pris le thé, on expose les habits, le chapeau, les pendants d'oreilles pour qu'on les examine en détail. Il arrive de temps à autre, qu'à ce moment encore surgissent de nouvelles difficultés. On refuse telle ou telle pièce Il faudra à la hâte lui en substituer une autre, ou bien on remettra le mariage à plus tard. On exige jusqu'à la dernière sapèque avant de laisser partir la fiancée; car l'on sait qu'après son départ, on ne pourra plus rien obtenir.

10 MARIAGE SANS CÉRÉMONIES.

Quand la fille a atteint l'âge de se marier, et que les familles sont trop pauvres pour se permettre le luxe de grandes fêtes, on procède d'une façon très simple, qu'on nomme "le

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Then the bridegroom's representatives propose to him a supplementary "kalin". In the past time this consisted only of a pig, which was eaten during the wedding, but it has grown with time and at the present time it can be valued at $ 100-300 paid in pigs or money or goods. Besides the bridegroom's clan must give some silk clothing and jewellery up to the sum of $ 100-300. If the bridegroom's clan refuses, the wedding may be adjourned for a period of two years. They can refuse to give the bride three times, but finally they are obliged to give her without supplementary "kalin". In such case, for the bride the age of 27 years is limit beyond which she cannot be kept in her clan So that the matrimonial periods are the ages of 15, 17, 19, or 16, 18, 20... However if the matrimonial parties are on good terms the payement of the supplementary "kalin" can be omitted. Some days, 5 or 6 before the wedding, the bridegroom's clan people bring the supplementary "kalin" which they transmit solemnly to the bride's father or his substitute.

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mariage sans cérémonies, c. à. d. qu'on emmène la fille sans cérémonies. Cela se fait toujours le dernier mois de l'an, le neuvième, le dixième ou le onzième jour. La belle-mère en compagnie de l'entremetteur va chercher la fille. Ils prennent le thé chez la famille de la fiancée, on leur sert un morceau de viande, du pain; puis à eux deux, ils emmènent la fille à pied. Dans le cas où la distance est grande, on monte à cheval. Arrivés chez la famille du fiancé, il n'y a pas de fête. La fiancée portant encore les cheveux comme les portent les jeunes filles, fait partie de la famille en qualité de jeune fille. (1)

Au soir du dernier jour de l'an, dans la cuisine, devant l'âtre et devant l'image du dieu du foyer, on tresse les cheveux à la façon des femmes mariées. Le fiancé arrive, toute la famille est réunie; les fiancés se mettent à genoux et saluent trois fois le dieu de l'âtre. La cérémonie du mariage est achevée! Ils font la prostration à leurs parents et à toute le famille; on se fait servir un petit extra au repas, en se souhaitant de meilleurs jours et un retour de la fortune.

Aux premiers jours de l'an, les parents invitent l'entremetteur, on dîne le mieux qu'on peut, on verse le genièvre et les jeunes mariés lui font la prostration. Puis on offre à l'entremetteur le présent habituel des pauvres, soit une ligature, soit une ligature et quatre cents sapèques. On s'excuse du peu qu'on peut offrir, on remercie avec effusion, et on se quitte.

Quand la famille de la fiancée est très pauvre, il arrive que celle du fiancé (belle-mère et entremetteur) emmène la fille chez elle, quand la petite n'a que neuf ou dix ans, ou même quand elle est plus jeune encore. On la laisse dans la famille en qualité de jeune fille, jusqu'à ce qu'elle ait atteint ses quinze

(1) SHIROKOGOROFF, p. 65; The Manchus also adopt the following practice: they take in to the family where there is a boy a small girl for whom they pay her parents a price arranged and she lives in the position of a bride until the boy reached the age of 17. 18. Then they have the marriage ceremony and the young man becomes a husband. They follow this practice when the girl's parents are poor and have many daughters and the boy's parents need a working member in the family p. 75 when the girl reached the age of 15. 17. years. they make a very modest wedding.

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ans; alors le dernier jour de l'an, on la marie comme il est dit plus haut. Le mariage sans cérémonies se pratique encore au dernier mois de l'an, quand inopinément il y a un décès vers le temps de la fête, dans une famille des fiancés; de même dans le cas où les parents de la fille meurent; alors la famille du fiancé s'empresse d'emmener le fille chez eux pour la marier vers l'âge de quinze ans.

Chez les T'ou-jen plus chinoises, à la mort des parents d'un des partis, quelques jours avant la fête. on suit la coutume chinoise, qui consiste à célébrer le mariage sans s'occuper du décès. Les fêtes se passent avec le brio habituel. Le lendemain de la fête seulement, commencent les lamentations et le grand deuil; on annonce partout le décès et on fait les préparatifs pour les funérailles.

11 DINER D'ADIEU CHEZ LA FAMILLE DE LA FIANCÉE.

Les solennités commencent chez la famille de la fiancée, le jour qui précède le mariage. Elles sont souvent plus riches et bruyantes que celles chez le fiancé le jour du mariage même. Elles ont un caractère spécial. A cette fête n'est présent aucun convive de la famille du fiancé: Elle est donnée uniquement en l'honneur des parents de la famille de la fiancée et des amis intimes On n'invite personne. C'est à chacun de juger si les relations avec la famille en fête permettent la présence. Plus la famille a d'influence et plus nombreux seront les amis intimes. Chez nous, une pareille incertitude au sujet du nombre des convives, serait fort ennuyeuse pour le service, et réserverait pas mal de susprises au dîner. Ici, c'est le moindre des soucis, car la coutume d'apporter des pains en guise de cadeau, peut parer à toutes les éventualités.

On remarque en premier lieu parmi les convives, les membres de la famille de la mère de la fiancée. Ils ne manqueront jamais d'assister à la fête. Ils considèrent leur présence non

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seulement comme un devoir, mais comme un droit; aussi leur absence serait injustifiable. Les ainés du clan de la mère sont toujours présents. Mentalité vraiment curieuse, ils ne vont pas à la fête pour en rehausser la solennité ni pour donner un gage de leur amitié à la famille, mais *tanquam potestatem habentes.* Ils voient dans la fille qui quitte la famille, leur fille qui les quitte; ils veulent être présents à son départ et se montrer ses protecteurs. On y sent l'unité de famille, on y voit un sentiment de forte cohésion; c'est le clan qui est là au dîner. Ils s'absenteront du dîner chez le gendre, mais jamais de celui chez la fiancée.

Parmi les convives on remarque encore les membres du côté paternel de la fille, les amis et les voisins. Les nembres de la famille de la mère ont la préséance au dîner.

L'Orient est le pays des cérémonies par excellence; aux fêtes les convives exigent qu'elles soient rigoureussment observées; si non, bien que traités royalement, ils ne seront pas satisfaits et dans toute la contrée les critiques iront bon train.

On a soin d'inviter pour la circonstance un maître des cérémonies (nommé Lordiziwa, du tibétain Lo-rgyus, narration, discours); ce sera un homme estimé dans le pays, éloquent et adroit. Il prendra toutes les dispositions nécessaires, donnera des ordres, aplanira toutes les difficultés qui pourraient se présenter et prononcera les discours traditionnels au moment voulu. Il disposera de deux hommes bien dressés qu'il aura à la main et qui serviront les convives à table.

On prépare donc la cour pour la fête, car c'est là qu'elle se déroulera; qu'il gèle à pierre fendre, qu'il pleuve à verse, rien n'y fait. D'ailleurs les maisons t'ou-jen n'ont aucune salle, qui puisse contenir un nombre de quarante ou de cinquante convives. La cour étant d'ordinaire rectangulaire, on construit quelques supports en maçonnerie, hauts de trente centimètres, sur lesquels sont disposées quelques planches qui font service de tables. Ces tables ont deux pieds de largeur. Les planches ne sont pas reliées entre elles, ne sont pas peintes, ne sont pas

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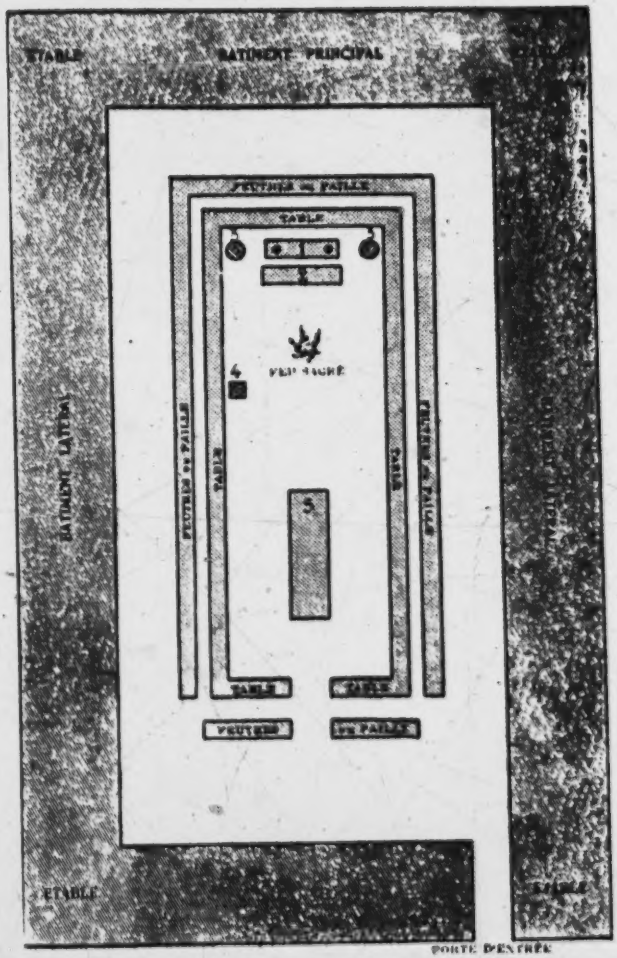
même couvertes de nappes: ajustées l'une à l'autre, elles forment une seule pièce et sont disposées en fer à cheval. Le service se fait à l'intérieur des tables. Les convives sont assis à l'extérieur des tables, sur des feutres étendus sur le sol, ou sur de la paille. On a soin de tendre au dessus de la cour, des toiles qui donnent l'illusion d'être assis dans une vaste tente. La décoration de la cour consiste en quelques lanternes chinoises en papier, suspendues au dessus de la tête, et en quelques banderolles de soie rouge, larges de trente à quarante centimètres, drapées le long de la cour. Dans un coin, deux ou trois musiciens chinois font du vacarme.

Au milieu du rectangle des tables brûle un grand feu, le feu sacré des chamanistes. Sur le feu on jette de temps en temps, des branches de cyprès en guise d'encens. Quelques pas plus en bas du feu, dans la partie postérieure du rectangle, sont disposés horizontalement sur deux petits murs, deux battants qu'on a sortis de leurs gonds; ils remplacent la table où sont exposés les présents. Ajoutez quelques poules qui picorent dans la cour, quelques agneaux qui encombrent la place, quelques enfants qui courent dans les jambes, et voilà à peu près la scène de la fête.

Les convives sont arrivés à partir de dix heures du matin, les uns à pied les autres à cheval. Les montures des convives sont attachées à des cordes liées à des pieux fichés en terre, sur l'aire devant la porte, tout comme font les nomades devant la tente. Tous les voisins, à la tâche, attendent sur l'aire les convives qui au fur et à mesure de leur arrivée sont conduits dans une chambre des bâtiments latéraux de la cour. Dans la chambre, au mur face à la porte, est suspendue une image religieuse. Le convive la salue en s'agenouillant. Un Chinois s'est installé sur le k'ang; il tient à la main un pinceau et inscrit au registre des fêtes le nom du convive et annote consciencieusement les cadeaux qu'il apporte. Le maître des cérémonies les reçoit, remercie, prétend que le convive a été trop généreux et le convive



PLAN D'UNE COUR T'OU JEN.

1 Table avec les deux lampes.
2 Feutre rouge.
3 Place de l'échanson.
4 Siège du maître de cérémonie.
5 Table ou sont étalés les cadeaux.

[face p. 42]

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quitte la chambre.

Chaque convive doit apporter d'après la coutume, huit pains cuits à la vapeur; quant au reste, il donne à sa convenance. Un cadeau de quatre ou de six pieds de toile rouge ou verte, fait d'ordinaire l'affaire. Si l'invité est un ami intime de la famille, il donnera quelques pieds en plus, ou offrira une étoffe moins ordinaire, ou bien il ajoutera à son cadeaux huit cents sapèques enfilées sur une corde rouge avec une floche en laine blanche au bout. Toutes les familles gardent ces registres des donateurs; car plus tard en des circonstances pareilles, le registre est là pour renseigner sur la façon dont on sera traité à son tour.

Seuls sont déterminés par la coutume les présents qu'offrira la famille de la mère. Les oncles maternels de la fiancée doivent lui offrir une jupe; les tantes maternelles lui donnent une paire de bottes, ou une paire de manches bigarrées, ou une pièce de toile de dix pieds de long. Ces formalités accomplies, on conduit le convive dans le bâtiment de front, où il salue les chefs de la famille, et aussitôt on sert un thé au lait et du pain Ayant bu sa tasse de thé, il quitte la salle pour laisser la place à d'autres convives et se mêler au groupe qui stationne dans la cour.

Vers les deux heures de l'après-midi, il n'arrive plus de convives; on prend place dans la cour devant les tables dressées, les femmes d'un côté et les hommes de l'autre. S'il y a un convive de marque, il prend place à la table d'honneur qui fait dos au bâtiment de front, avec les oncles maternels de la fiancée. Chaque convive s'est installé, non sans avoir préalablement fait force excuses et salamalecs. Tous suivent l'évangile, qui conseille de prendre la dernière place, pour se voir forcé de monter vers les premières. C'est une vraie joute de politesses où le maître des cérémonies est forcé d'intervenir avec beaucoup de circonspection. Les parents de la fiancée ne président pas à la fête.

A table on est d'autant plus à l'aise, qu'il y a moins de

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convives. Les tapis de feutre et les litières de paille sont des "sièges" très pratiques à ces dîners de noce, vu qu'ils permettent d'installer autant de monde qu'on veut. Les invités ayant pris place, on commence par servir un thé au lait et du pain sec. L'intérieur du rectangle restant libre, le service se fait lestement. Ne vous attendez pas à voir de belles théières, des pots au lait, des tasses, des soucoupes, des assiettes en fine porcelaine. Le lait est déjà versé dans le thé à la cuisine, les théières en cuivre sont celles de tous les jours; les pains sont disposés par tas sur les tables, la tasse est fabriquée de terre blanche, mais sans fêlures.

Après le thé on sert le genièvre bien chauffé. Il est versé dans une vingtaine de petites tasses en terre cuite, que l'on se passe l'un à l'autre, après en avoir bu deux ou trois gorgées. Les femmes boivent le genièvre comme les hommes. On jase, on fume, en attendant le plat de résistance, qui consiste en du mouton servi en entier et cuit à point. La tête et la selle en sont détachées, mais ajustées en leurs endroits respectifs, de façon à donner l'illusion d'une pièce intacte. On sert trois moutons à la fois. Pendant qu'on admire les moutons, les serveurs distribuent à chaque convive un petit récipient en bois, qui a la forme de soucoupe et dans lequel on verse du vinaigre. Quelques boîtes en bois occupent le milieu de la table, contenant du sel et du piment. Les T'ou-jen ne se servent ni de fourchette ni de cuiller; les doigts sont la grande ressource, encore qu'on manœuvre au moyen du couteau et de la paire de bâtonnets que chaque convive porte en gaine et attachés à sa ceinture. Les serveurs prennent la viande avec les doigts, la coupent en morceaux et en remplissent les soucoupes des convives. La viande passe assaisonnée de sel, de piment et de vinaigre, en y ajoutant un morceau de pain. Les os sont jetés sur la table ou à terre. Dès qu'on attaque le mouton, il règne un silence complet sur l'assemblée, qui manœuvre consciencieusement. N'ayant pas de serviette, on finit par se lécher les doigts d'abord, puis on les

frotte à ses bottes pour en ramollir le cuir. Un bol de bouillon termine le repas. On verse le genièvre et on dessert la table. C'est le fameux festin appelé "susen" par les T'ou-jen et "ts'iuen iang si" 全羊席 par les Chinois, le dîner au mouton servi en entier. C'est le plus grand dîner qu'on donne au pays.

Il faut avouer, que pour un dîner pareil, la vaiselle n'est pas encombrante ni délicate, et que l'art culinaire n'a pas atteint les sommets; ce qui n'empêche pas que le bon estomac et l'esprit t'ou-jen ne soient à leur zénith. C'est que tout est relatif en ce bas monde.

Ce dîner, ces hôtes, cette scène font songer au dîner des nomades dans la steppe. Là, le dîner est servi dans une tente spacieuse; chez les T'ou-jen, il se donne dans la cour recouverte d'une toile; là, tous sont assis par terre sur des feutres ou de la paille, ici de même; là, une vaiselle rudimentaire, ici la même; là, le grand plat des grandes fêtes est le mouton servi en entier, ici encore. Pourquoi les T'ou-jen ne festoient-ils pas comme les Chinois, et ne disposent-ils pas dans une cour une dixaine de tables, chacune pour huit convives? C'est que chez les T'ou-jen les vieilles coutumes des nomades revivent aux grands moments de la vie. Appelons une fois pour toutes, l'attention sur les vestiges de l'ancienne organisation nomade des T'ou-jen, rencontrés à l'occasion du mariage. Ils s'occupaient dans les vieux temps de l'élevage des grands animaux (bœufs, moutons, chevaux). La preuve en est, que tous les cadeaux faits anciennement, et rappelés à l'occasion des fêtes de mariage, consistaient soit en chevaux, soit en bœufs; la famille de la fiancée donnait à son oncle maternel un bœuf, un cheval à l'oncle maternel du fiancé, et un autre cheval au fiancé même; la famille du fiancé rendait un bœuf à l'oncle maternel de la finacée; on exige encore une jument comme arrhes de la fille; la viande au dîner est invariablement le mouton; c'est encore le mouton qui est offert à différentes reprises d'après le coutumier matrimonial, et c'est du mouton qui est donné aux convives au moment du

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départ.

Nulle part il n'est fait mention de viande de porc offerte en cadeau, bien qu'actuellement les T'ou-jen s'occupent avant tout de l'élevage du porc. Avec leurs "tsao tchou" 山猪 i. e. porcs des montagnes, ils sont les grands fournisseurs de porcs de la capitale de la province.

Nous sommes arrivés au clou de la fête.

On commence par étaler les présents des parents faits à leur fille et à la famille de la fiancée. Cet étalage est fait sur les battants de porte disposés à cet effet devant le feu chamaniste, à l'intérieur des tables. Pour gens de condition moyenne les cadeaux se composent d'ordinaire des pièces suivantes:

pour la fille:

1) trois habits longs en calicot croisé avec doublure, un habit vert, un autre rouge, un troisième violet,
2) deux habits longs simples, bleu et noir,
3) deux jupes,
4) un habit long ouaté,
5) trois pantalons simples,
6) trois ou quatre gilets (genre bolero) bleu, noir, violet,
7) un grand chapeau pour les jours de fête,
8) quelques ceintures de douze pieds de long chacune, bigarrées ou brodées,
9) quatre ou cinq paires de manches en couleurs variées,
10) cinq ou six paires de manches artistement brodées,
11) une dizaine de paires de jambières,
12) un long habit en laine noire de mouton,
13) une ceinture en laine noire de mouton, (1)

(1) TIMKOVSKI. Voyage à Péking Vol 2. p 308: (chez les Mongols) lorsque tout est convenu, les parents de la future sont obligés de lui construire une tourte, pourvue de tout ce qui est nécessaire pour un ménage,

Jeune femme t'ou-jen mariée, en habits de fête, costume t'ou-jen.

[face p. 46]

Pour le gendre: 1) bonnet chinois,
2) habit double ou simple en calicot croisé, de couleur bleue,
3) ceinture en toile rouge de douze pieds de long,
4) des jambières ou bottes, jamais de pantalon,
5) un grand k'ata tibétain qu'on lui mettra autour du cou (1);

pour le grand-père: une pièce de feutre,
pour la grand-mère: un habit long simple, ou une jupe,
pour le père du gendre: une pièce de feutre,
pour la mère du gendre: un habit long ou une jupe,
pour les oncles paternels du gendre: un oreiller,
pour les tantes paternelles du gendre: des jambières,
pour les frères du gendre: jambières, ou oreiller, ou k'ata,
pour les petites sœurs du gendre: deux pieds de toile blanche servant de mouchoir,
pour les grandes sœurs du gendre: une pièce de toile rouge de quatre pieds de long,
pour l'oncle maternel du gendre: le don d'honneur, un grand k'ata, et une ligature de grandes sapèques enfilées sur corde rouge avec une floche de laine blanche,
pour l'entremetteur: une paire de bottes et une ligature, ou bien six ligatures et un oreiller.

Dans les familles riches les étoffes seront de meilleure qualité, on aura en outre un chapeau en lames d'argent, deux ou trois paires de pendants d'oreilles, des bagues en argent... Il arrive même que les riches donnent à leur fille quelques

afin qu'elle n'ait pas besoin de rien demander aux autres: On lui donne ensuite tout ce qui concerne sa toilette et même un cheval sellé, sur lequel elle doit aller chez son époux.

(1) K'ata (tibétain, khabtags)... est une écharpe en soie bleu-pâle, tissée très primitivement; on l'offre chez les t'ou-jen à des personnes qu'on veut honorer, ou dont on attend un bienfait; on l'offre même aux dieux. On en trouve de très jolies, bleues ou blanches de première qualité, fort longues, avec images bouddhiques; elles ne sont offertes que dans les grandes circonstances, et à des personnes de marque.

arpents de terre qu'on nomme "ngusge gadiziar (ngusge: fard; gadiziar: terre) i. e. la terre qui procure le fard de la fille, avec la condition que le mari doit l'ensemencer et en donner les revenus à sa femme. Ensuite, si jamais la famille du gendre se voit forcée de vendre ces terres, la première offre devra être faite à la famille de la femme.

Il y a une trentaine d'années, la famille Ma du Na-lin-keou avait marié une fille Pao, qui avait reçu de ses parents des "terres du fard". La famille Ma devint pauvre et hypothéqua ces terres à la famille Pen; plus tard elle les vendit à la famille Heou. Les Pen, fondant leur droit sur l'axiome chinois, "celui qui prend une hypothèque a la priorité de droit d'achat", intentèrent un procès aux Ma et exigèrent la cession des terres. Mais alors la famille Pao apparut et réclama ces terres, comme étant les "terres du fard" données à leur tante lors de son mariage. Le tribunal chinois reconnut cette coutume et leur donna gain de cause.

On retrouve encore cette même coutume chez les Mongols. Dans ces derniers temps, le roi d'Orat de la confédération de Olantsh'ab mariant sa fille au roi de Hang King, de la confédération des Ortos, lui donna à cette occasion une partie des terres de Sainnoor (30 li SO. de la chrétienté de San-tao-k'iao, Mission de Ning-Hia).

Quant aux présents dont j'ai parlé plus haut, il y a de nombreuses variantes; j'ai connu un cas où l'on donnait à la fille seulement six habits longs; un autre où l'on en donnait dix; tout dépend de la situation financière de la famille.

Les femmes en particulier s'intéressent fort aux cadeaux; elles examinent les étoffes et le fini des broderies, surtout celles des manches et des deux bouts des ceintures. On travaille souvent des mois et des mois à ces pièces. L'examen achevé on amène la fiancée.

On la porte sur une petite table basse chinoise, qu'on a

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couverte préalablement d'un feutre rouge. On la dépose entre le feu sacré et l'étalage des cadeaux. C'est sa première et unique apparition à cette fête. Elle a la tête découverte et porte la coiffure des jeunes filles.

Le maître des cérémonies se dirige vers l'oncle maternel de la fille, fait trois inclinations à la chinoise et l'invite à prendre place à côté d'elle. L'oncle s'avance, se range debout à côté de la jeune fille. L'assemblée se lève et fixe silencieuse la scène.

Le maître des cérémonies présente une coupe de vin à l'oncle maternel et l'invite à la vider. Il réitère trois fois le geste. Après quoi il offre à la fille assise, deux coupes qu'elle saisit de chaque main; il y met un jujube rouge et y verse du vin. Elle tient les coupes pleines devant elle à la hauteur de la bouche. A ce moment-là, le maître des cérémonies lui tient ce discours:

"Votre oncle maternel, le maître de vos os, se tient à vos côtés; la famille entière est ici présente; votre départ est fixé pour demain. Du temps de nos ancêtres, au partage des biens de la famille, il revenait une part entière au fils, et à la fille la moitié de cette part. Les temps actuels ne permettent plus pareil partage, il ne vous revient plus que quelques pièces d'habillement"; puis, il nomme un à un les cadeaux que la famille lui donne et les montre à l'assistance, sans oublier de dire la couleur, la qualité de l'étoffe... il énumère également les cadeaux préparés pour le gendre et sa famille. S'adressant de nouveau à la fille, il dit "vos parents ont certainement fait pour vous tout ce qu'ils ont pu; et ils auraient fait davantage, mais leurs moyens ne le permettaient pas. Soyez contente, soyez bien reconnaissante envers vos parents, ne les oubliez pas, voyez votre oncle maternel et toute la famille, elle sera toujours "derrière votre dos". Alors la fille pleure à chaudes larmes, et d'après la coutume, elle doit manifester la plus grande douleur.

Toute l'assemblée est sous l'impression du moment, une larme perle dans beaucoup d'yeux. Deux femmes viennent

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prendre la fille et la reconduisent...

Cette cérémonie porte à réfléchir, d'autant plus qu'elle ne s'explique pas dans une organisation patriarcale où la fille est la vraie propriété de son père, de son grand-père, ou plutôt du clan paternel. Que vient faire cet oncle maternel avec tout son clan, qui sera toujours le protecteur de la fille, qui sera toujours "derrière son dos"? C'est bien au clan paternel qu'incombe ce devoir. Pourquoi l'oncle maternel est-il invité à se tenir debout près de la fille pendant tout le discours et pourquoi le clan maternel a-t-il la préséance à la fête et au dîner? Comment le clan paternel est-il au tout dernier plan, tout ce jour, alors que c'est pourtant lui qui marie sa fille, et qui a le devoir de la défendre? Anormal encore ce coutumier qui détermine seulement les cadeaux à offrir à la fille par les oncles et les tantes maternels, et non ceux à donner par ses oncles et ses tantes paternels. Enfin pourquoi attacher plus d'importance à cette fête qu'à celle chez le gendre?

Retenons que cette cérémonie se fait autour du feu chamaniste, et non devant une image de bouddha, bien que le bouddhisme soit sans conteste, la première religion du pays, et malgré que tout le clan compte de très nombreux lamas parmi ses membres, c'est que le chamanisme est en effet l'ancienne religion des T'ou-jen.

Remarquons encore que le maître des cérémonies, dès qu'il prend la parole, rappelle le passé lointain où la fille héritait encore de ses parents la moitié d'une part de fils. On dirait une leçon d'histoire.

Nous sommes ici en présence d'une cérémonie très ancienne et tout-à-fait anormale dans une organisation patriarcale.

Après le discours et le départ de la fille, on prie les invités de s'asseoir; le genièvre est servi et on joue bruyamment à la mourre; on chante et on fume en attendant qu'on serve les nouilles chinoises.

Le maître des cérémonies range les cadeaux dans des caisses, et toutes les pièces sont numérotées, pour que le lendemain au dîner chez le gendre, quand il prendra de nouveau la parole, il puisse les sortir sans difficulté (1)

La fête touche à sa fin. Le maître des cérémonies qui a compté les convives, a constaté qu'il ne peut les garder tous jusqu'au lendemain, qui est le jour du dîner de noces chez le gendre; nous avons vu que le nombre des convives invités à ce dîner est déterminé. Il devra donc en renvoyer poliment quelques-uns. Dans ce but il vient apporter à chaque personne qui sera renvoyée, sans dire plus, quatre pains et un ou deux morceaux de viande crue: C'est ce qu'on nomme "pou fen tse 補分子 compléter le dîner". On se comprend et on quitte avec beaucoup de politesses.

(1) TIMKOVSKI. VOYAGE. Vol. 2. p. 308: (Mongols) Aussitôt que les bestiaux ont été livrés au père de la future (La traduction allemande du même ouvrage dit que celui-ci vient lui-même chez le futur pour les recevoir), celui-ci donne une fête qui est bientôt rendue par le futur aux parents et aux alliés de la jeune fille. Le jeune homme accompagné de sa famille et de ses amis, quelquefois au nombre de cent personnes, va chez le beau-père avec plusieurs plats de mouton cuit; les riches en font porter jusqu'à vingt plats différents et avec une grande quantité d'eau-de-vie et de khadak; tous les convives sont déjà rassemblés dans la tourte du dernier. Après avoir adoré les idoles on présente au beau-père, à la belle-mère et aux plus proches parents du khadak. Ensuite tous les convives sortent de la tourte, s'asseoient en cercle et le repas commence; il consiste en viande, vin et thé en briques. Cette fête terminée, le mari avec sa suite va quelquefois la répéter chez d'autres proches parents de la future. On nomme ce régal khorin kourghetzou, "offre de la fête nuptiale". C'est alors que le futur et souvent aussi son père et sa mère reçoivent de riches vêtements de la part de la future. Du reste le mari n'a pas la satisfaction de courtiser sa future épouse, car d'après l'usage des Mongols, elle doit depuis le jour des fiançailles éviter toute entrevue non seulement avec son amant, mais même avec ses parents. C'est à cette fête aussi que d'après les instances de la mère du futur, les deux partis consultent le lama qui choisit un jour heureux pour le mariage,

Les élus du festin de demain tâchent de trouver un gîte pour la nuit, qui chez les voisins, qui dans la maison de la fiancée; quelques-uns festoient très tard dans la nuit et passent le temps en chantant et en buvant. Cette partie de la fête est souvent moins attrayante pour nous, vu que le genièvre en gâte la fraîcheur. Cette fête a le désavantage d'envoyer le lendemain au dîner de noce chez le gendre, beaucoup de convives à tête lourde et mal disposés, à cause des fatigues d'une journée laborieuse et d'une nuit sans sommeil réconfortant.

Les T'ou-jen aiment à chanter aux noces. Leur répertoire à eux en langue du pays n'est pas très fourni; aussi ils chantent ordinairement des chansons tibétaines. Une des très rares chansons en langue monguor, est celle qui chante l'origine de l'oiseau mytique Chong-nirwa (1). Elle est très souvent chantée aux mariages.

Feng-tong-kouo, un jeune homme, s'en va paître tous les jours dans la vallée les chevaux de son maître. Tche-men-souo une jeune épouse qui habite la plaine, y vient de même tous les jours mener ses moutons. Ils se rencontrent et s'asseoient sur la plus haute montagne, d'où ils surveillent leurs troupeaux .... Tous les jours en sortant de chez eux, ils montent par le côté opposé de la montagne pour se rejoindre au sommet. Ils cueillent en cours de route des fleurs et des branches de cyprès. Tous les jours ils montent ensemble sur le pic le plus élevé pour y allumer

(1) Chong, sera probablement le Garuda bouddhique appelé "K'yun" en tibétain. Grunwedel dit dans "Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet u. der Mongolei p. 25: halbgoettliche Wesen, Todfeind der Nagas, ein reisiger Vogel, der Koning der gefiederten, und seine Sippe ... P. 191, wird in Lamaismus immer mit dickem Koerper, menschlichen Armen, an denen die Fluegel sitzen, und gehoernten Vogelkopf dargestellt. Er gehoert in das Geleit der furchtbaren Goetter und spielt allegorisch verwendet, ziemlich die Rolle eines Symboles des Sieges... Auch kommt er im Lamaismus alamenschengesichtiger Vogel mit menschlichen Handen vor, aber dann scheint er nur die anbetend stehende Nebenfigur einer andern Hauptfigur zu sein. Wenn er Kuhfigur ist, dann steht er en face mit ausgebretteten Armen und Fluegeln auf einer sterbenden Nâgi, seine Fange in ihre Brust bohrend. Les "chong" vivent au mont Sumeru, disent les T'ou-jen, bien que Grunwedel p. 180 parlant des habitants du mont Sumeru, ne cite pas parmi eux, les Garuda.

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un feu et y brûler leurs fleurs et leurs branches de cyprès en y ajoutant une pincée de farine de froment grillé: C'est leur offrande à l'esprit Tsang-rtshié; puis, ils font religieusement la prostration.....

Le mari de la jeune épouse avait pris en haine le pâtre de l'autre versant de la montagne. Un soir il va chez lui, le soule et le tue d'un coup de poignard. Revenu chez lui, il donne à son épouse le poignard couvert de sang. Elle ne parvient pas à le nettoyer, ni à l'eau chaude ni à l'eau froide: Alors prenant de la salive, elle y réussit lentement. Ce lui est une révélation. De grand matin elle gravit anxieuse la montagne, pour aller voir le pâtre. Les gens sont déjà en train de brûler son cadavre sans y parvenir. Le feu s'éteignant continuellement, elle prend sa grande épingle de chapeau et la jette dans le feu. Le feu est activé et mord un instant le cadavre, puis s'éteint de nouveau. Tour-à-tour elle y jette la coupe en cuivre attachée à son couvre-chef, sa bague, ses pendants d'oreilles; puis, se débarrassant de tous ses habits, elle les jette un à un dans le feu, et à chaque fois le feu brûle un peu plus le cadavre. En fin de compte, elle saute dans le brasier. Du coup, le feu monte ardent et consume les deux amants. On voit un arbre sortir de terre au même endroit; il porte deux branches qui s'entrelacent pour se séparer en haut. Le mari de l'épouse défunte, transporté de rage, accourt avec sa hache, pour séparer les deux branches .. ô merveille, deux admirables oiseaux s'envolent du nœud. C'étaient les Chong-nirwa.

Une autre chanson que les T'ou-jen ne manquent jamais de chanter aux diner de noce, est la chanson tibétaine. Elle est d'autant plus goutée qu'étant accompagnée de danse et de gestes, elle se prête à une mimique très expressive. Elle chante l'histoire d'une Judith t'ou-jen. Au pays t'ou-jen de Lien-tch'eng, le brigand Wang-mang terrorisait la contrée, depuis des années. Malgré les magnifiques récompenses promises par l'empereur de Chine à qui pourrait le prendre, personne ne

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parvenait à s'emparer de lui ni à le tuer; car il n'était vulnérable que sous l'aisselle. La femme d'un militaire t'ou-jen du nom de Lou, connue dans le pays pour sa beauté merveilleuse, parvient à séduire Wang-mang, et la nuit dans sa tente, elle enfonce le poignard sous l'aisselle de Wang-mang, qui dort ivre-mort à côté d'elle. (1)

Un courrier volant portait la nouvelle de cet exploit à Péking. La Judith se vit gratifiée de titres honorifiques, et son mari reçut la charge héréditaire de t'ou-se de Lien-tch'eng. C'est l'origine de la gloire du clan Lou.

On conserve encore à Lien-tch'eng dans la lamaserie, deux mains noires desséchées, qu'on prétend être les mains de Wang-mang. Les T'ou-jen les regardent avec vénération. Malheureusement ce sont deux mains droites! De plus l'origine de la fonction de t'ou-se du clan Lou est tout autre, comme nous verrons dans la partie historique de notre travail. Le seul fait à retenir de cette légende, est qu'il y a eu dans la contrée un brigand appelé Wang-mang.

12 INVITATION DE LA FIANCÉE.

Antérieurement, le chiromancien chinois, ou le lama rouge, a fixé l'heure favorable à laquelle la fiancée doit quitter la maison paternelle. Ce départ peut être fixé à toutes les heures aussi bien du jour que de la nuit. Donc on s'arrange pour que tout le cérémonial soit achevé pour l'heure favorable du départ, qu'on nomme le "mari funigu" ou l'heure où l'on se met en selle. Le fiancé va chercher sa fiancée, avec deux compagnons bien stylés dans les us et coutumes et sachant bien chanter; souvent l'entremetteur les accompagne. Le gendre a revêtu ses meilleurs

(1) Cette légende très ancienne se retrouve dans toute l'Asie, sous des formes très variées. "ETUDES asiatiques" publiées à l'occasion du 25me anniversaire de l'école d'Extr.-Orient 1925, tome I p. 35., "Les paons se sont envolés"... poème chinois du 3me siècle par d'Aurouseau, et tome 1er. p. 189 note 1 et 2me, Poème annamite, traduit et annoté par G. Cordier.

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habits et porle le grand chapeau de cérémonie, avec franges rouges (celui de l'ancienne dynastie des Mantchoux) ; dans ses cheveux sont tressées des cordes rouges. Il porte un arc des vieux temps; au bout de l'arc est attachée une floche de laine rouge. Un carquois porté en bandoulière, contient quatre flèches. Au retour chez lui, il suspendra l'arc au-dessus de la fenêtre de la chambre nuptiale où sa femme sera conduite, et les quatre flèches seront suspendues dans chacun des coins de la chambre. Les compagnons doivent porter d'après la coutume, un habit long, blanc, en laine de mouton, habit porté rarement par les hommes dans le pays.

Le gendre monte toujours un cheval pour cette circonstance. Si la distance est grande, les deux compagnons monteront aussi à cheval, si la distance est courte ils iront à pied. Ils conduisent le cheval que montera la fiancée. Ce cheval doit être une jument ou un étalon; si c'est une jument, elle ne peut pas être pleine. La robe du cheval n'a pas d'importance. On a eu soin de déposer sur la crinière du cheval, un sac rempli de paille, sur lequel la fiancée se penchera pendant tout le trajet; un tapis ou un feutre rouge couvre la selle; le cheval porte des grelots. Les compagnons trainent encore un mouton de deux ans, qu'ils offriront à la famille à leur arrivée. (1)

(1) SHIROKOGOROFF, Social organisation of the Manchus, p. 77: When the day of wedding is fixed, they send invitations written on red paper to all relatives and honorary guests... All acts concerning the wedding ceremonies, invitations of the guests, presents and so on must be registered in a special book and made according to the calendar and hours fixed in advance...

The day before the day of wedding, they go to bring the bride to the bridegroom's father's house... in a special carriage... As soon as the carriage is ready for the road, the bridegroom kneels down in front to "inbe" (wooden screen put in the yard) and several times touches the soil soundly with his forehead. They burn as incense, the chinese ajen hen, fixed in a cup with the black beans, that have generally a very important part during the wedding ceremony... Usually they leave the bridegroom's house in the afternoon calculating to arrive at the bride's house before the sun sets... In the carriage sits a woman of 30-35 years old. She as well as other people who follow the carriage must have all her children alive and can belong to any clan, except that of the bride. She has wih her a piece of raw pork and 20-30 chin. small rolls put in a sack. The meat is called "exchanging mother's flesh". The woman gives it to the bride's mother and at the same time takes the bride. This is exchange

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Quand ils seront arrivés à la maison de la fiancée, ils trouveront la porte fermée et barricadée. Ils frappent à la porte pendant longtemps en appelant les gens. Les femmes répondent à l'intérieur, mais elles refusent d'ouvrir. Alors les compagnons les supplient en chantant. Ce chant s'improvise sur un air voulu. Ils chantent p. e. qu'ils sont venus par monts et par vaux... qu'ils ont soin de décrire... la famille est renommée pour son hospitalité; comment cette fois n'ouvre-t-on pas? Il sont si fatigués, ils viennent de si loin, ils sont de bonnes gens... mais ils ne parlent pas du but de leur voyage. Les femmes répondent en chantant "Nous vous ouvrirons si vous pouvez répondre à nos questions". De nouveau des improvisations. Un exemple: Est-ce-que le soleil précéda la lune, ou bien la lune précéda le soleil? est-ce-que l'arc fut avant la flèche, ou bien la flèche avant l'arc? est-ce-que la cruche a existé avant la tasse, ou bien la tasse avant la cruche? Réponse; la lune fut avant le soleil... etc.. Pourquoi cela? Le soleil vint en second lieu pour réchauffer; l'arc suivait la flèche pour le bonheur des militaires, la cruche pour le bien des hôtes.

On voit que c'est très fade; c'est à n'en pas finir; notons qu'on en est vite aux trivialités et aux grivoiseries.

Les femmes finissent par tirer bruyamment les verrous, mais elles continuent de pousser la porte. Les hommes à

of the bride (mother's flesh) against the pork... In the carriage there also sits a driver... Before the carriage ride on horseback the bridegroom and his aid.. before them rides a man who burns.. chinese crackers.. before this man ride two or four men with chinese lanterns...

p. 78: If anyone meets the bridal caravan, he must leave free way to the caravan... even if this would be a governor general, he would do the same. If two bridal caravans meet on the road they stop, and the free pass is decided by a duel of the two bridegrooms.. During the duel they burn chinese crackers all time.

p. 79: At the moment of arrival of the caravan, the gate of the bride's house is opened widely to receive the bridegroom.. Then they approach the door of the principal house. The door must be shut. They knock at the door and semebody, always a young man, asks from inside, who has arrived and for what purpose. Then he bridegroom's party without saying the purpose of their visit insists in being let in. After long negotiations they let them enter in, for a price of 5-7-9 pieces of red paper, symbolising money, some black beans and charcoal, all made of paper. If the weather is not cold the negotiations are very long.

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l'extérieur l'enfoncent avec vigueur, pendant que d'en haut on leur verse une avalanche d'eau sur la tête. Le gendre se tient à distance. Enfin la porte est ouverte. (1)

Après avoir arrangé leurs habits, les trois ou quatre hôtes sont introduits dans la chambre. Ils s'agenouillent devant l'image religieuse suspendue au mur face à la porte d'entrée et s'apprêtent à s'agenouiller devant les membres de la famille qui s'empressent de s'y opposer. Ils sortent d'un sac deux grandes cruches de genièvre, fermées par un jujube avec la traditionnelle floche de laine, et deux gigots de mouton. Ils présentent les gigots et s'excusent, disant, qu'autrefois les ancêtres offraient deux moutons aux dames. Se tournant vers les hommes, ils présentent le genièvre, disant que, dans les vieux temps, on avait coutume d'en offrir deux outres ; mais les temps ne sont plus pareils ; toutefois ce que nous présentons est donné de grand cœur. Alors ils étendent une pièce de toile rouge de deux pieds de long sur la table et y déposent douze pains, y joignant le voile en toile rouge ou verte pour la fiancée, un peigne à dents paires, le casque en cuivre ou en argent dont elle se couvrira la tête, les cordes rouges à tresser dans ses cheveux, les pendants d'oreilles, ainsi que la grande épingle qui fixe le couvre-chef au chignon.

Le dîner ne tarde pas, un mouton est servi en entier, ainsi qu'un plat de nouilles. On ne traîne pas. Notons que les convives de la veille sont au dîner et assistent aux cérémonies du départ.

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(1) Des coutumes du même genre où les femmes jouent un rôle marquant en pareille circonstance, se retrouvent chez les Miao du Koei-tcheou. cf. Anthropos, 6me année, Schotter, Notes ethnologiques sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou.

De même chez les Lolos du Se-tch'oan, on rencontre une coutume absolument identique à celle que nous venons de décrire chez les T'ou-jen. Enquête sur les barbares du Liang-chan, dans Politique de Péking, 20 Juin 1931.. "Lorsque les porteurs de la fiancée arrivent dans la maison de la mariée, les femmes de la famille de celle-ci se mettent à les asperger d'eau, soit avec des seaux, soit avec des pistons. Les porteurs doivent se laisser faire, il ne leur est pas permis d'éviter l'aspersion."

Les deux compagnons se lèvent, sortent de leurs sacs deux nouveaux cruchons de genièvre, et offrent à toute l'assistance une tournée, la priant de les aider à ce que tout se passe en bon ordre, car l'heure faste désignée pour amener la fiancée a sonné. Aussitôt ils ouvrent le second flacon, versent de même à toute l'assistance "et ceci, disent-ils, est pour vous inviter tous au dîner de noce qui aura lieu aujourd'hui chez nous."

Alors on procède à l'habillement de la fiancée. Elle est assise dans une chambre latérale sur une petite table chinoise sur laquelle est déployé un feutre rouge. Le fiancé est invité par la famille à entrer dans la chambre. La fiancée garde les yeux baissés et ne le salue même pas. C'est au fiancé à délier la natte de jeune fille de sa fiancée. Dans la tresse il y a toujours trois ficelles rouges; le fiancé les enlève et en empoche une, les deux autres seront de suite attachées au "*Iang hstia*" (1) et conservées dans la famille, pour que le bonheur familial ne s'en aille pas avec la fille qui quitte le foyer. Le gendre prend le peigne neuf qu'il a apporté, le passe trois fois dans sa propre chevelure, puis trois fois dans celle de sa fiancée, la troisième fois il le laisse dans ses cheveux et sort de la chambre.

On ferme la porte de la chambre et les femmes à l'intérieur peignent et habillent la fiancée. Les deux chantres de

(1) Le *iang hstia* est un garde-bonheur pour la famille. C'est une tige en fer, longue de deux à trois pieds, fixée dans un gros et large socle de bois. On y voit attachées des petites floches de laine, des poils de queue de vache, de porc, de crinière de chevaux, des ficelles rouges, des bouts de k'ata; sur le socle sculpté en forme de soucoupe, on voit des grains de froment, de millet, de colza... Le *iang hstia* est tenu en honneur dans la famille; il a sa place à côté de l'esprit qu'on y honore et est honoré lui-même. Les T'ou-jen croient que leur bonheur est attaché aux personnes de leurs enfants, aux animaux qu'ils élèvent, aux céréales qu'ils cultivent. Quand une fille est donnée en mariage, c'est le bonheur qui s'en va; quand des animaux sont vendus, c'est la richesse qui les abandonne... or pour éviter que le bonheur, la richesse ne quittent la famille, on enlève de la natte de la fille, donnée en mariage, deux ficelles rouges, qu'on attache au *iang hstia*, on enlève des poils aux animaux, on retient quelques grains des céréales qu'on vend. Les bienfaits reçus des esprits ne peuvent passe vendre; or, on croit être en règle avec les esprits en gardant un souvenir des bienfaits reçus. On s'agenouillera donc devant le *Iang hstia* comme devant les esprits.

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tout à l'heure avaient apporté un habit rouge pour elle, car la fiancée doit être habillée tout de rouge aujourd'hui. Il arrive cependant, qu'elle se couvre la tête d'un voile vert. Les deux compagnons se tiennent devant la chambre de la fiancée et entonnent le chant de la toilette, pendant que les femmes à l'intérieur s'empressent de terminer leur besogne. On les entend chanter "Nous autres qui nous appelons Li, nous nous sommes rendus chez l'honorable famille Wang avec un peigne à dents paires; nous n'avons pas appris à peigner, nous vous en prions, peignez avec art la fille en notre place... nous avons apporté des boucles d'oreilles, nous vous prions de les lui mettre"... et ainsi de suite pour toutes les pièces d'habillement.

Et ils continuent de chanter "à l'endroit où est assise la fiancée, plus tard s'asseoiront des fils et des petits-fils... sur le sol qu'elle foule vous trouverez des céréales, de l'argent, des richesses..."

La toilette est faite, un voile rouge de toile grossière enveloppe entièrement la tête de la fiancée, et est lié au cou avec un cordon rouge, de façon à ce qu'elle ne puisse plus rien distinguer. Il y a des endroits où on ne lie plus le voile autour du cou.

Entre temps, le maitre des cérémonies a disposé, devant l'image religieuse, une table sur laquelle on remarque une tasse de lait, une branche de cyprès, à laquelle est attachée une floche de laine, un boisseau contenant du froment, avec un livre de prières en caractères tibétains au-dessus du grain, encore une lampe allumée et un paquet de bâtonnets à manger. S'il y a un lama rouge dans la maison, il commence à chanter les prières du départ. La mère de la fille seule, est assise sur le sol devant la table, face à l'image. La porte s'ouvre avec fracas, la fiancée voilée et hurlante est portée assise sur un feutre, ou par quatre femmes, ou par le frère qui la tient dans ses bras. On fait en courant le tour de la table en portant la fiancée. On sort brusquement de la chambre, et au moment de sortir, une des porteuses

prend les bâtonnets déposés sur le boisseau et les jette impétueusement sur les genoux de la mère. Tout se fait avec précipitation et brusquerie. Les chantres continuent leurs chants pendant qu'on porte la fiancée à l'extérieur "quand votre fille reviendra, votre cour sera pleine de chevaux et de bœufs, votre maison sera rebâtie avec étage et avec véranda, le linteau de la porte sera devenu un linteau d'or"... Arrivés à l'extérieur ils continuent leurs chants" C'est le temps propice pour monter à cheval, c'est le temps propice pour les cavaliers de se mettre en selle... c'est le temps pour prendre la grande route du Nord (ou du Sud...).

La fiancée est mise en selle par ses frères et les chantres ne cessent de chanter en dansant en cadence et en faisant flotter leur long habit blanc. Il y a des endroits où un homme monte encore à cheval derrière la fiancée et la tient dans ses bras. Ce cavalier est un membre de la famille, mais jamais un de ses frères.

Le gendre et l'entremetteur sont allés de l'avant. On mène le cheval que monte la fille au milieu de l'aire devant la maison. Son père monté sur un cheval aussi, tenant dans ses mains le "*iang hstia*" gesticule comme un forcené, faisant semblant de s'opposer au départ de sa fille. On conduit son cheval trois fois autour de l'aire; il appelle à grands cris sa fille qui y répond chaque fois en criant "je suis ici, oui ici." Au troisième tour, on conduit le père à cheval dans sa maison, mais par le côté opposé à celui que prendra sa fille.

Le côté par où le départ doit se faire, a été soigneusement indiqué par le chiromancien; c'est la voie sur laquelle l'attend l'esprit du bonheur. Alors les femmes de la famille, celles du voisinage, et les filles du voisinage courent après le cheval de la fiancée et l'empêchent d'avancer. Les chantres leur jettent quelques sapèques pour qu'elles lâchent la bride, mais les jeunes filles continuent de suivre la fiancée sur toute la route. Elles se tiennent par les mains, et chantent en gambadant. Cette scène ne manque pas de pittoresque et de poésie. Elles suivent leur amie à la maison du fiancé et elle font le tour de la ferme en

chantant et en se tenant par la main. La famille du fiancé donne alors à chaque fille trois sapèques, trois pains cuits à l'huile et un morceau de charcuterie et elles retournent sans être entrées.(1)

On nomme cette pratique "*âgu d'úzuraúgu*" (Ăgu. i. e. tante paternelle, terme de respect pour les femmes; *d'úzuraúgu*, i. e. poursuivre, courir après quelqu'un), C'est la poursuite de la dame.

Il faut une compagne à la fiancée; on lui cherche toujours une belle jeune femme alerte et débrouillarde, qui la suivra à cheval; c'est toujours une femme qui a des enfants; un petit page monté en croupe se tient accroché derrière elle.

Anciennement à ce qu'on prétend, les parents de la fiancée faisaient le présent d'un beau cheval au gendre au moment du départ. La coutume paraît ne plus exister.

Le père et la mère de la fiancée ne participent pas à la fête, mais ses frères, sœurs, oncles, et tantes y assistent tous.

Quand la fiancée est en marche, tous les convives de la veille suivent en groupe; les porteurs de présents ferment le cortège. La fiancée se lamente tout le long de la route, penchée sur le sac de paille placé sur le cou du cheval, sa tête toujours enveloppée dans la toile grossière. Ces pleurs, ces sanglots constituent une vraie élégie. Elle s'adresse à haute voix à ses parents, à ses frères, à ses sœurs; elle a un bon souvenir pour chacun d'eux; se rappelle leur bonté, les cadeaux; se rappelle les animaux de l'étable, la maison paternelle..... puis elle a peur de l'avenir, de ses beaux-parents qu'elle ne connaît pas, a peur d'être maudite par sa belle-mère, a peur qu'on emploie le nom de sa mère pour la maudire Il y a souvent dans ces élégies des traits splendides, bien naïfs, très sentis; aussi les filles

(1) Notes ethnogr. sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou, Schotter, Anthropos 6me année, fas. 2me p. 320: Si vous rencontrez en route un groupe de jeunes demoiselles Miao, ce sera une fiancée se rendant à pied avec ses compagnes dans la maison de son époux. La troupe joyeuse reviendra le jour même du mariage.

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apprennent-elles ce genre de littérature dans leurs jeux; les belles-sœurs les leur apprennent et elles se les apprennent l'une à l'autre. C'est l'élégie vécue. On en entend pareillement de touchantes aux enterrements. (1)

Toute à ses regrets et à ses douleurs, la fiancée ne s'adresse à personne pendant tout le trajet; même d'après la coutume, elle ne peut parler à personne. La famille du fiancé envoie deux groupes à la rencontre du cortège, et un troisième attend près de la maison. Les deux groupes saluent les invités sur la route et leur offrent un thé et du genièvre. En plein chemin, ils ont allumé un grand feu, où les invités peuvent se réchauffer l'hiver et allumer la pipe. On descend de cheval pour aller près du feu, puis le cortège se remet en marche.

Comme tous les mariages se célèbrent toujours aux jours fastes, il n'est pas rare de voir se rencontrer des cortèges nuptiaux. La coutume veut alors que les cortèges s'arrêtent. La jeune fiancée t'ou-jen qui a empoché soigneusement son peigne neuf dans un morceau de toile rouge, le sortira et l'échangera avec la fiancée inconnue: sans se parler et sans qu'elles puissent se voir, elles échangent, en sanglotant, leur porte-bonheur. Touchante petite scène.

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(1) TIMKOVSKI. VOYAGE. VOL 2 p. 309 et suiv. La veille du jour, deux lamas vont de la part du futur, s'informer chez les parents de la fiancée s'il n'est pas survenu d'obstacles (Trad. allem. Les Mongols n'ont pas la coutume d'aller chercher la fiancée. La veille du départ au soir on se contente d'envoyer deux hommes pour). A l'approche du jour la future fait ses visites à ses plus proches parents, et passe au moins une nuit chez chacun d'eux à s'amuser, à se promener avec ses amies, qui l'accompagnent ensuite dans la maison paternelle où le reste du temps, qui est d'une nuit, ou deux, elle joue, chante et régale ses compagnes, ses parents, ses voisins qui se trouvent réunis. La veille du jour où elle doit quitter la tourte paternelle, les lamas font des prières d'après le rite nommé Gouroum ki kou et avant le départ, suivant le rite San tabi-khou. Pendant que l'on expédie la tourte et les autres objets, les amis intimes se rassemblent dans la tourte et s'asseoient en cercle près de la

Les voyageurs qui rencontrent un cortège nuptial font toujours un détour pour l'éviter, dans la crainte que le mauvais esprit qui est censé suivre la fiancée, ne leur porte malheur. (1)

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porte avec la future, en se tenant le plus près d'elle qu'ils peuvent. (Trad. allem". toutes les amies de la fiancée se rassemblent dans la lourte) Les envoyés du futur ont de la peine à faire sortir tout ce monde un à un. (Trad. allem. dit: ceux qui doivent amener la fiancée, on ne dit pas qu'ils sont envoyés par le futur) et à se saisir de la future pour l'emporter hors de la lourte; ils la placent alors sur un cheval, la couvrent d'un manteau, lui font faire trois fois le tour du feu sacré, puis ils se mettent en route accompagnés des plus proches parentes; ils sont suivis par la mère et par les autres parents de la future. Le père reste chez lui, s'il n'a pas été invité la veille, et va le troisième jour s'informer de la santé de sa fille. L'enlèvement de la future ne s'effectue pas ordinairement sans une forte opposition, surtout s'il y a parmi ses amis plusieurs hommes vigoureux (Trad. allem. amies vigoureuses) et notamment autrefois qu'on liait la mariée, qu'on la retenait par les manches de sa robe, ou qu'on les attachait à la lourte. A un demi verste de la route le futur envoie du vin et de la viande pour régaler la fiancée et ceux qui l'accompagnent. A son arrivée elle reste entourée de ses compagnes, jusqu'à ce que sa lourte soit préparée. Dès qu'elle y est entrée on la fait asseoir sur un lit, on défait les tresses nombreuses qu'elle portait comme fille, on lui ôte ses parures de corail et après avoir joint quelques ornements aux deux tresses qu'on lui laisse elle est revêtue des habits de femme mariée.

(1) SHIROKOGOROFF, p. 80-81: ceux qui sont venus chercher la fiancée dînent après avoir pris le thé. An old experienced man, who must belong to the bride's clan, gives orders (maître des cérémonies)... Près de la compagne qui vient chercher la fiancée sont assises au dîner deux filles du clan de la fiancée et un petit garçon. Le matin on se lève de bonne heure et on dîne, Le fiancé vole les bâtonnets à manger dont il s'est servi au dîner et sort dans la cour... During this meal the bride's clan women dress the bride. During the dressing she cries, or pretends to cry. When she is ready nobody says her good-bye, and (the maître des cérémonies) cries: the bride is ready. Then the bridegroom and all his party run hastily towards the carriage to put as quickly as possible the horses on the carriage. At the same time the crying and resisting bride is carried by her brothers, who throw her into the carriage that must be run out the yard assoon as possible. After this it can be stopped to arrange the harness. Usually the bride's brothers escort on horseback the bridal caravan. The customs of the ancient Manchus differ a little from these of the modern Manchus. For ex.: the bridegroom enters the bride's house only with his aid.. prays to the bride's clan spirits.. after this sits down on a small basket (for chickens) to await the ritual meal. When the meal is ready they invite him to take a very modest place near the door on the right "k'ang," while his aid and driver occupy the principal place. The bridegroom and his aid do not steal the chopsticks. When the bride is put into the carriage the bridegroom goes to thank the bride's mother,.. before going away he prays once more the bride's clan's spirits. Les présents de la famille de la fiancée, et du frère de sa mère, et de la femme de celui-ci, sont transportés chez le gendre le matin même du jour du mariage. Les femmes qui accompagnent le convoi ouvriront les caisses, avec beaucoup de cérémonie et laisseront admirer les cadeaux reçus par la fiancée..

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13. ARRIVÉE DE LA FIANCÉE DANS SA NOUVELLE FAMILLE.

Le cortège est arrivé à destination. Deux jeunes femmes sont là, qui attendent la fiancée à l'extérieur de la grande porte. Leurs âges et les animaux de leur cycle doivent être en complète harmonie avec ceux de la fiancée; de plus elles ne peuvent être veuves ni être enceintes et tous leurs enfants doivent être en vie.

Le fiancé descend sa fiancée de cheval; il la dépose d'abord sur une petite table chinoise et ensuite sur un feutre rouge ou blanc; devant une autre petite table, où on a déposé deux tasses de thé et deux assiettes de pain. Un boisseau de son a été mis à la porte. La fiancée étant debout sur le feutre, les deux femmes s'empressent de mettre sous son bras, un petit cruchon de genièvre dans lequel on a mis une paire de bâtonnets; un morceau de toile rouge couvre le goulot et enveloppe les bâtonnets. Alors le gendre se place du côté gauche de la fiancée, assez près d'elle pour que son bras touche le sien, et pour qu'elle sache quand elle doit s'avancer et s'arrêter. Au moment où ils entrent dans la cour, on étend des feutres rouges sur leur parcours l'un après l'autre; on jette devant eux des sapèques, emblème de la richesse, et on leur jette de même du froment, emblème de la fécondité. Le couple est conduit tout droit à la cuisine, où les T'ou-jen honorent le dieu de l'âtre. Là, on enlève à la fiancée le cruchon et les bâtonnets qu'elle tenait, et ces objets sont déposés devant le dieu de l'âtre, que la fiancée salue de trois prostrations. (1)

(1) Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, von N. Poppe, Asia Major, Vol. secundum, Fasc. I, P. 141-2

Wie man aus dem Obigen ersieht hängt vieles von der Feuergottheit ab. Kein Wunder daher, dass sich die Jungvermählte, wenn sie zum erstenmal die Schwelle des neuen Hauses betritt vor dem Hausherde verbeugen muss. Damit stellt sie sich unter den Schutz der Feuergottheit denn dieselbe ist zugleich der Schutzgeist der Familie.

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Nous avons vu qu'au départ de la fiancée, on avait jeté les bâtonnets sur les genoux de sa mère. Ce geste signifiait qu'elle n'appartenait plus au clan; ici, dès son arrivée, on l'incorpore dans la famille du fiancé, en lui offrant une autre paire de bâtonnets et en la présentant au dieu de l'âtre. De la cuisine, elle est conduite à la chambre nuptiale, la tête toujours voilée. On a déposé aux quatre coins du *k'ang* (1), quelques sapèques, deux paquets de sucre et des jujubes rouges.

Quatre bottes de paille brûlent aux quatre coins de la cour; on espère que la fumée montera bien droit. Une lampe à huile, dans laquelle deux mèches d'égale longueur ont été mises, est placée devant l'image religieuse du bâtiment principal, et est allumée dès que la fiancée est entrée dans la chambre nuptiale. On observe la lampe avec attention sans la toucher, pour voir laquelle des deux mèches, celle du côté droit ou celle du côté gauche, s'éteindra en premier lieu. On y voit un pronostic pour la longue vie des conjoints; la mèche de droite désignant la fille, et celle de gauche le garçon.

La dame d'honneur de la fiancée en descendant de cheval, a accepté la tasse de genièvre qu'on lui a présentée. Elle y a trempé son doigt et en a aspergé aux quatre coins cardinaux, puis elle a touché le vin des lèvres. Elle a fait de même pour le pain et pour le thé qu'on a présentés. Ce n'est qu'après avoir accompli ce rite, qu'elle a suivi la fiancée dans la chambre nuptiale, dont on a fermé la porte derrière elle. On ne lui donne ni à manger, ni à boire, tant que le rite du mariage n'est pas accompli.

Dès que la fiancée a passé le seuil de la porte et est entrée dans la cour, l'entremetteur a pris place au milieu de celle-ci, tenant dans ses mains une tasse de farine de froment grillé; il a mangé de la farine et bu du genièvre chaque fois que la fiancée a passé dans la cour, en allant à la cuisine, ou en se rendant à la chambre nuptiale.

Les autres invités n'entrent pas de suite mais se dirigent vers l'aire, devant la maison. Au milieu de l'aire est disposée une

(1) K'ang: poêle usité dans le Nord, sur lequel la famille passe la nuit

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petite table, sur laquelle on voit un mouton cuit à point, encore quelques gigots, une tête de porc, des saucissons... Devant la table est étendu un feutre rouge sur lequel est assis l'oncle maternel du fiancé. Il semble remplir ici la fonction de chef de famille, tout comme l'oncle maternel de la fiancée dans la famille de sa nièce. Sur un petit feu, on chauffe le genièvre.

A l'arrivée des convives, le père du fiancé est allé au-devant d'eux, avec le *k'ata* traditionnel sur les deux mains: Il salue chacun d'eux, en leur mettant le *k'ata* sur les mains. C'est la cérémonie de bienvenue.

Un membre de la famille dit à haute voix: le mouton sera divisé en cinq parties, la première sera pour l'oncle maternel, la deuxième pour le père, la troisième et la quatrième pour chacun des deux chantres et la cinquième pour le maître des cérémonies. Alors, les hôtes attaquent les gigots, les saucissons, etc. Après ce hors-d'œuvre, on prie les convives de la famille de la fiancée d'entrer dans la cour. La disposition des tables pour la fête à l'intérieur de la cour, est la même que chez la fiancée au jour du diner.

L'oncle maternel de la fiancée et l'entremetteur, sont priés de s'asseoir à la place d'honneur. On verse le thé et on sert tout chauds des pains cuits à la vapeur. Dès que le thé est bu, les deux chantres de tantôt apparaissent tenant dans les mains une théière, dont le tuyau est enduit de beurre. Ils versent le thé beurré à toute l'assistance, qui comprend par ce rite, qu'elle est priée de laisser la place aux convives de la famille du fiancé qui seront servis au thé et au pain comme eux. La famille du fiancé a traité ses propres convives de la même façon, dont celle de la fiancée a traité les siens: introduction dans une chambre latérale, présentation des cadeaux, annotation au registre... (1)

(1) SHIROKOGOROFF, p. 82-3-4: Every guest is obliged to give some present which cannot be less than 1 in value, or in money. They have a special book in which they inscribe all guests' name and presents. The guests whose presents are of value are inscribed in a red paper, which is fixed near the front door. Finally the bride and bridegroom arrive, they descend from the carriage outside the yard. The women who arrived with them, conduct the bride and bridegroom by the hands to the screen.

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14. CADEAUX DE LA FAMILLE DE LA FIANCÉE A CELLE DU FIANCÉ.

Tous les convives se tiennent debout au fond de la cour, et c'est devant eux qu'on sort des caisses les présents de la famille de la fiancée. On les expose sur les battants de porte à l'intérieur du rectangle des tables. On remet d'abord à la fiancée les habits neufs que ses parents lui offrent, et sa dame d'honneur, dans sa chambre, s'empresse de les lui mettre. Il y a aussi les habits neufs pour le fiancé, qui s'en revêt également.

Le maître des cérémonies de la famille de la fiancée, prend place à l'intérieur du rectangle des tables près du feu sacré. La fiancée vêtue de ses habits neufs, le voile toujours sur la tête quitte sa chambre et est conduite par sa dame d'honneur dans l'intérieur du rectangle, sur le côté droit du feutre rouge. Le fiancé prend place à côté d'elle, à gauche, son bras touchant celui de la fiancée. Derrière lui se place un jeune homme; la dame d'honneur de la fiancée est derrière elle. Ils s'agenouillent sur les feutres, ayant devant eux une table sur laquelle sont posées deux lampes allumées, et aux quatre coins de laquelle sont disposés quatre petits paquets de sapèques.

Le maître des cérémonies commence son allocution: "Nous, la famille de la fiancée, nous avons invité pour convives, l'entremetteur, les oncles et les tantes maternels et paternels de la fiancée, ainsi que leurs fils et filles"... Tous les convives du clan de la fiancée s'avancent pour prendre place dans la partie supérieure de la cour. Le maître des cérémonies parlant au nom de la famille de la fiancée présente d'abord le k'ata à chaque convive de la famille du fiancé; puis on verse à tous le genièvre. "Donc, continue-t-il, j'ai un mot à dire: devant le loup, le chien a peur d'aboyer; devant les grands hommes, les petites gens ont peur d'ouvrir la bouche. Si ce que je vais dire est bien dit, ne me louez pas; si ce que je vais dire est mal dit, excusez-moi...

"Dans le vieux temps, les ancêtres ne procédaient aux mariages que quand les limites des terres étaient bien fixées. (Personne ne m'a pu expliquer ce passage; ce fait semble un non-sens, aussi bien dans une organisation nomade que dans l'organisation agraire actuelle, dans laquelle vivent les T'ou-jen. En effet, de nos jours les T'ou-jen sont tous propriétaires à titre personnel, toutes leurs propriétés sont délimitées; donc il n'est plus question de déliniter les terres. Est-il fait ici allusion à une condition sociale antérieure, dont on n'a plus souvenir?)

"Les générations ont succédé aux générations: Quand une idole de bouddha est vieille et sans lustre et qu'on la redore à neuf, elle est de nouveau reluisante et belle à voir; quand autour d'un vieil habit on remet un bord tout neuf, l'habit y a beaucoup gagné; quand aux vieilles relations entre les familles on en ajoute de nouvelles, elles deviennent d'autant plus fortes. Chez vous était né un garçon qui avait toutes les vertus du lion; chez nous était née une fille semblable au "*khui t'ùshian*" (oiseau mythique). C'était l'idéal pour un mariage. Mais comment cette union aurait-elle pu s'accomplir? (L'échanson verse le vin à l'entremetteur et le salue) Si dans le ciel on ne voit pas de nuages, il ne tombera pas de pluie; si sur la terre il n'y a pas d'entremetteurs, il n'y aura pas de mariages (1). Ce qui était trop élevé, vous entremetteur, vous l'avez abaissé, ce qui était trop bas, vous l'avez élevé; le haut et le bas se sont rencontrés sur le même niveau comme le levier de la balance. Vous avez nivelé la route, sur laquelle se sont engagés les deux partis.

"Dans les vieux temps on remerciait l'entremetteur de ses services, en l'habillant de neuf des pieds à la tête; mais les faibles moyens de notre pauvre famille ne permettent que de vous offrir une paire de bottes et une ligature. Nous espérons néanmoins que vous serez satisfait".

(1) Comparez Anthropos 5me, année p. 320 Schotter, Notes ethnogra. Sur tribus du Koei tcheou: Comme le tonnerre et l'éclair préparent la pluie, il faut des entremetteurs pour préparer les mariages.

Après avoir remis le cadeau à l'entremetteur, l'orateur s'adresse d'ordinaire d'abord à l'oncle maternel du fiancé. L'échanson le salue et lui verse le genièvre. "Quand un fils, dit-il, n'a pas de *wai-kia* 外家 (le fils nomme *wai-kia* la famille de sa mère, i. e. tous ses parents, frères, sœurs), donc quand le fils voit que sa mère n'a pas de parents, c'est un signe pour lui, que l'origine de sa mère n'est pas pure. Quand une épouse n'a pas de *niang-kia* 娘家 (l'épouse nomme ses propres parents, frères et sœurs, sa *niang-kia*), donc quand les parents d'une épouse ne sont pas connus, c'est un signe pour elle que son origine est douteuse. A l'oncle maternel de la fiancée, maitre des enfants de sa sœur, on donnait autrefois un beau cheval. Mais les temps sont changés; bien que vous soyez l'hôte principal, on ne donne plus de nos jours que le k'ata; nous vous en donnons un beau, un grand, ne le refusez pas"... Puis l'orateur s'adresse aux parents du fiancé: "pendant le jour, votre cœur toujours occupé des enfants ne peut être en repos; pas même la nuit, vous ne pouvez dormir. Pareille sollicitude vraiment vaudrait plusieurs habits et de beaux cadeaux; mais vous connaissez notre indigence; quand nous étendons nos bras, les manches de nos habits sont trop courtes et les bras en sortent; la nuit quand nous étendons nos jambes, nos pieds sortent des couvertures qui sont trop courtes. Quelle misère! Si nous avions pu suivre les inclinations de notre cœur, vous auriez eu de splendides cadeaux". Alors, l'échanson s'avance vers le grand-père, le salue et lui présente le genièvre. "Grand-père, poursuit l'orateur, nous vous présentons un feutre tout neuf, malheureusement il est trop étroit, trop court, trop mince, et il est encore mal fabriqué par dessus le marché, mais daignez l'accèpter quand même".

L'échanson s'avance vers la grand-mère "Nous vous présentons un habit fait de toile très mauvaise et très mal confectionné, mais daignez l'accepter"; et la cérémonie continue ainsi sur le même ton, pour le père, la mère, etc., comme il a été dit au n° 11. Cette scène est souvent assez pittoresque et

déride les fronts; le grand-père doit s'asseoir sur le feutre, on met l'habit à la grand-mère, on s'amuse...

L'orateur s'adresse en dernier lieu aux fiancés: "Dans les vieux temps, dit-il, les gendres recevaient quelques costumes complets; de plus on leur donnait dans la main un bel arc, un carquois et des flèches; en outre un beau cheval. Malheureusement ces beaux temps se sont évanouis et les beaux-parents vous offrent seulement"..... voir n° 11

"Et vous, notre fille, vous êtes aussi l'enfant de votre temps. Anciennement, les cadeaux que donnaient les parents à leur fille étaient si nombreux qu'on devait les transporter sur des chars, ou qu'on en chargeait toute une troupe de bœufs. Nous vous donnons les cadeaux suivants, voir n° 11. Vraiment ils sont insignifiants: c'est comme si nous donnions à la belle-mère une fille toute nue.

"A vous tous, parents par alliance, nous versons le vin, soyez indulgents et contents". Alors le maître des cérémonies ordonne à haute voix au fiancé et à la fiancée de saluer à genoux toute l'assemblée, puis on verse le vin à tous les convives (1).

(1) Le P. De Smedt me donne une variante du discours du maître des cérémonies, tout en notant que le T'ou-jen dont il tient la pièce, disait lui même avoir beaucoup oublié à ce sujet. Bien que ce discours soit incomplet il contient des variantes qui valent la peine d'être retenues: "Un chien n'ose pas aboyer en présence d'un tigre, ainsi il ne sied pas à un petit homme comme moi de porter la parole dans une assemblée aussi respectable que la vôtre. Un cheval de petite taille ne court pas vite, dit-on: ainsi les paroles d'un homme sans mérites sont insignifiantes. Si vous parvenez à comprendre mes paroles, n'attachez-y aucune importance; si vous ne les comprenez pas, ne vous moquez pas de moi. Quand une vieille statue est dorée à neuf, quand sur un vieil habit on met un bord tout neuf.. Ainsi c'est une pratique louable de s'apparenter toujours à des familles avec lesquelles on a contracté des mariages depuis de multiples générations"... Le reste est à peu près comme nous avons relaté plus haut.

TIMKOVSKI, Voyage à Péking, vol 2 p. 305. La dot de la fille consiste, indépendamment des vêtements, des ustensiles, dans une certaine quantité de brebis et de chevaux (chez les Mongols).

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15 LE MARIAGE.

On procède donc à la cérémonie du mariage proprement dit. Cette cérémonie solennelle entre toutes nous rappelle les temps bibliques; d'abord à cause de son caractère profondément religieux, et ensuite à cause du vieillard officiant.

En effet, cet office revient de droit au grand-père de la famille du fiancé. Dans le cas où tous les grand-pères sont décédés, l'oncle maternel prend leur place. Le nom donné au vieillard officiant est bien caractéristique: on l'appelle *súrôdúzin khun*, ce qui signifie littéralement "l'homme qui donne la bénédiction". De fait, c'est le vieillard qui commande les prostrations à faire au ciel, aux esprits, aux membres de la famille et du clan, et c'est lui qui prononce les vœux de bonheur et de prospérité, dont on attend la réalisation de la part du ciel et des esprits. Nous voilà donc en présence d'un rite de religion dans toute la force du terme, rite qui révèle l'importance capitale qu'on attache au mariage. D'ailleurs il laisse une impression peu ordinaire sur l'assemblée.

Toute l'assistance est debout: le fiancé est agenouillé à gauche de la fiancée, qui a la tête toujours enveloppée dans la toile rouge; la dame d'honneur est à genoux derrière la fiancée, de même un jeune homme derrière le fiancé. Alors le grand-père s'avance et prend place debout près du feu sacré; il commande dans le plus grand silence:

QUE LA PREMIÈRE PROSTRATION SOIT FAITE AU CIEL ET AUX MULTIPLES ESPRITS.

De thuron thorgue sge thiangeri olon phurgan niandu murgu.

Les fiancés, la dame d'honneur et le jeune homme font la grande prostration chinoise: trois génuflexions et autant de saluts, en touchant le sol du front; tout se fait posément et avec ensemble.

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QUE LA DEUXIÈME PROSTRATION SOIT FAITE AUX PÈRE ET MÈRE ET AUX PRINCIPAUX MEMBRES DE LA FAMILLE :

De gorda thorgue ani awa khudugu sgesd murgu.

QUE LA TROISIÈME SOIT FAITE AUX PERSONNES DU CLAN DE LA MÈRE ET A CEUX DE TOUT LE CLAN.

De guranda thorgue urug tharug imag saru niandu murgu.

Puis, au milieu du plus grand silence, il continue d'une voix solennelle :

PUISSIEZ-VOUS BÂTIR SEPT FERMES !

PUISSIEZ-VOUS BÂTIR DES MAISONS A ÉTAGE ET AVEC VÉRANDA !

PUISSIER-VOUS ANNUELLEMENT TONDRE PLUSIEURS CENTAINES DE MOUTONS !

PUISSIEZ-VOUS MONTER DES CENTAINES DE CHEVAUX ET ÉLEVER DES TROUPEAUX DE CENTAINES DE BŒUFS !

PUISSENT VOS FILS ÊTRE NOMBREUX, AFIN QUE VOUS PUISSIEZ VOIR VOS PETITS-FILS PLUS NOMBREUX ENCORE !

PUISSE VOTRE FAMILLE ÊTRE FÉCONDE ET DÉBORDANTE DE PROSPÉRITÉ COMME LA MER QUI DÉBORDE !

PUISSIEZ-VOUS ÊTRE DURABLES COMME LE FER !

PUISSIEZ-VOUS DEVENIR DE JOUR EN JOUR PLUS RICHES ET PLUS PUISSANTS COMME LE FEU SUR LEQUEL ON VERSE DE L'HUILE !

Alors les vieux et les parents jettent quelques sapèques sur le feutre, aux pieds du jeune couple. La dame d'honneur enlève le voile à la jeune épouse et la reconduit dans la chambre nuptiale. On prend les deux lampes qui brûlent sur la table au milieu de la cour, pour les déposer devant l'image religieuse, où elles brûleront aussi longtemps qu'il y aura de l'huile.

Remarquons l'absence à cette cérémonie de mariage, des ministres du culte chaman, lama, tao-jen ; notons de plus qu'elle n'a pas lieu dans un temple, mais qu'elle est accomplie dans la maison même, sous l'autorité du chef de la famille, devant l'ancien feu sacré chamaniste, et sous les auspices du "ciel et des multiples esprits". Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen est donc, sans

conteste, autre chose qu'une simple union des sexes. Les vœux de prospérité émis par le "vieillard bénissant" en faveur des jeunes mariés, font voir clairement ce qu'on attend de cette union, de la part de qui on attend la réalisation de ces vœux, et comment on se représente le mariage dans le temps; certes on ne se le figure pas comme une union passagère. (1)

16. OUVERTURE DE LA BOUCHE DE LA BRU.

Jusqu'ici, l'épouse n'a pas encore ouvert la bouche; sa tête a toujours été enveloppée dans le voile, jusqu'à l'accomplissement du rite du mariage. Sous aucun prétexte, elle n'a pu dire un mot, depuis le départ de chez elle. Tous les convives ont eu les

(1) TIMKOVSLI. VOYAGE. VOL. 2 p. 311 La fiancée est revêtue des habits de mariée et conduite chez son beau-père pour lui faire la révérence (mourgoulekou): elle y trouve réunis tous les parents et amis de son mari futur. Pendant la lecture des prières du rituel, elle a la figure cachée et suivant les divers mouvements d'un homme qui lui sert de guide, et qui est toujours choisi du même âge qu'elle, elle s'incline premièrement vers le feu, ensuite vers le père et la mère et les autres plus proches parents du futur: tous lui donnent à haute voix leur bénédiction. (youroughel) Pendant cette cérémonie, on leur distribue de sa part des vêtements et d'autres objets. Le beau-père, d'après une convention préalable, a choisi ceux qui sont à sa convenance... Ensuite la future retourne à sa tourte.

SHIROKOGOROFF, op. cit. p. 82-3-4: Finally the bride and bridegroom arrive, they descend from the carriage outside the yard .... The woman who arrived with them conducts the bride and bridegroom by the hands to the screen: they put the bride by the bridegroom's right hand and burn chinese incense. The bride and bridegroom kneel down three times and pray the spirits of heaven and earth. After this ceremony, the bridegroom goes to the front door, and a woman who must be happy and may not be pregnant at this time, puts on the bride's head a piece of red silk, and she leads the bride by hand to the front door. The bridegroom catches as quick as possible the silk and puts it somewhere in his clothing. After this they lead the bride in the house and put her on the k'ang behind the curtains. There she stays all the time. No men can enter there or see her, except the bridegroom who visits her several times; he must be all the time near this place. The bridegroom's parents assist him and are sitting near the bride's place. There they receive congratulations from the arriving guests while the bride's and bridegroom's parties take the ritual meal. After this they prepare the rooms and the tables for the wedding feast. Meanwhile behind the curtains is operated by some women the rite of "untying of the virginal tress". This rite is considered by the Manchus as one of the most important moments of the wedding. When the tress is untied, they extract the hair one by one on the forehead. After this is finished the bride must be left alone always behind the curtains.

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yeux fixés sur elle; proférer une seule parole serait considéré comme un présage des plus funestes pour l'avenir. Il lui est même défendu de satisfaire à ses besoins naturels, et en prévision de cela, la veille elle s'est abstenue de boire.

La bouche doit lui être ouverte par la belle-mère en personne.

Reconduite après le rite du mariage dans la chambre nuptiale, on lui a servi, toujours en silence, du thé et du pain. Alors vient la belle-mère, qui s'assied sur le k'ang et lui dit à brûle-pourpoint; "à partir d'aujourd'hui, il vous est défendu de rien divulguer de tout ce qui se passe dans la famille, et de tout ce qui s'y passera à l'avenir. Ce que vous entendrez à l'extérieur, vous ne le répéterez pas dans la famille. Il faut que la bouche d'une bru soit "dure" (ne racontez rien) vis-à-vis des gens de l'extérieur, il faut qu'elle soit "souple" vis-à-vis des ses parents".

La bru répond affirmativement, la bouche est ouverte. On s'entretient encore pendant quelques instants. Désormais, il est permis à l'épouse de parler avec sa dame d'honneur dans la chambre nuptiale; les femmes qui sont à la fête vont lui souhaiter le bonjour.

17. LE DINER.

Les convives des deux familles, ont pris place aux tables préparées pour le diner (1). L'oncle maternel, l'entremetteur et toute la famille de la bru, occupent les premières places.

C'est le grand diner au mouton entier. On commence toujours par offrir le genièvre. D'abord les anciens de la famille

(1) SHIROKOGOROFF. p. 84: On sert un diner à la chinoise. Un maître des cérémonies conduit les affaires. The clan people and especially the family members eat after the guests. When the meal approaches its end, they bring to the bride's place the ritual meal of 6 cups and 6 plates. The bride is sitting now dressed as a married woman and turning her face to the wall (comme les chinoises.) The bridegroom arrives with a boy and without seeing the bride's face, eats its first meal in the presence of his futur wife. The bridegroom repeats his visits to the bride during this day six times.

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du gendre le versent trois fois à la famille de la bru; ensuite, le père et la mère du nouvel époux, présentent eux-mêmes trois tasses aux nouveaux parents; puis, vient le gendre, qui lui aussi offre à son tour le genièvre à sa nouvelle famille. Le dîner se passe comme chez la bru.

18. CADEAUX DE LA FAMILLE DU GENDRE A LA FAMILLE DE LA BRU.

On commence par distribuer à chaque convive un morceau de viande crue, du poids d'un gigot de mouton. Le convive le met dans son sac de voyage. Les invités ne peuvent retourner chez eux les mains vides, ce serait leur faire un grand affront. On peut juger de la quantité de viande qu'il faut à pareille noce. Cela encore sent le nomade, qui vit de troupeaux et chez qui la viande constitue le fond de la nourriture.

Après cette distribution de viande, le gendre entre dans la cour, conduisant un cheval; il a attaché un morceau de toile rouge à sa crinière. On y mène en même temps, toujours dans la même cour où sont les convives, quelques vaches, quelques moutons, quelques ânes, quelques chèvres,

Le maître des cérémonies de la famille du gendre, prend alors la parole pour répartir les cadeaux traditionnels à la famille de la bru. Le gendre tenant son cheval par la bride, se tient agenouillé.

Le maître des cérémonies s'adresse d'abord à l'oncle maternel de la bru. L'échanson le salue et lui offre le genièvre trois fois de suite. Il commence par le dicton "*Nan tch'ou wai kia, niu tch'ou niang kio* 男出外家女出娘家, i. e. le garçon a le physique et le moral de la famille de sa mère, et la fille ceux de ses propres parents.

"Or vous, oncle maternel, vous êtes le représentant de la souche de notre nouvelle bru; il sied donc de présenter à vous,

avant de le faire à tous les autres, nos respectueux hommages. Nous vous offrons le grand *k'ata* rituel et un mouton. Nous devrions vous donner une vache d'après les traditions, mais les temps ont changé .. Recevez avec bienveillance". Anciennement, l'oncle maternel recevait de la part de la famille de sa mère une vache; aujourd'hui on lui donne un mouton comme chez le gendre. Ensuite, il s'adresse à l'entremetteur, à qui on verse le genièvre . "Anciennement, on donnait à l'entremetteur un costume complet, mais les temps ne sont plus les mêmes... nous vous présentons une ligature, soyez content... "

Alors c'est le tour de la dame d'honneur de la fiancée; on lui verse le genièvre On lui présente une pièce de toile de quatre pieds de long, une chèvre, six cents sapèques. Mais elle s'empresse de réclamer avec véhémence (c'est la tradition), ce qui provoque les rires de l'assemblée. On lui donne les huit cents sapèques traditionnelles.

Vient le petit page, qui reçoit deux cents sapèques, pour avoir monté le cheval. Les porteurs des caisses contenant les cadeaux de la fiancée, reçoivent chacun quatre cents sapèques; puis tous les membres de la famille de la fiancée reçoivent le *k'ata*. Le maitre des cérémonies s'asseoit, feignant d'avoir accompli sa tâche.

Mais alors vient ce qu'on nomme le "*suhuta*", la cérémonie de la fin. In cauda venenum. Le maitre des cérémonies de la famille de la bru, ainsi que quelques ainés de la famille, se lèvent indignés; ils manifestent avec véhémence le désir de voir observées les anciennes traditions, et protestent contre les nouveautés. Il s'agit dans le cas, de se faire octroyer encore quelques têtes de bétail. L'autre parti comprend aussitôt que la fête ne se terminera pas paisiblement, sans donner quelques animaux. C'est le moment pour le maitre des cérémonies de la famille du gendre, de faire montre d'éloquence et de tact. Il se lève et proclame que la paix entre les deux familles est plus importante que quelques animaux. Nous voulons une alliance durable et paisible,

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s'écrie-t-il, il faut la concorde et l'harmonie. Nous ne demandons pas mieux que de satisfaire vos désirs. Choisissez nos meilleures bêtes, mais laissez nous au moins quelques animaux vieux et maigres, car nous sommes pauvres, il nous faut vivre encore. Mais la paix avant tout, et aussi le bonheur des enfants. N'oubliez pas, qu'il faut deux animaux à la charrue et que si vous en prenez un, nous ne pourrons plus labourer nos terres; vous ne pourrez non plus rien faire avec un seul animal; puis laissez la face aussi à votre gendre. Nous connaissons les traditions, mais les temps ne sont plus les mêmes, et les coutumes changent aussi quelque peu.

Pendant ce discours, un des convives de la famille de la bru a déjà détaché de la crinière du cheval le morceau de toile rouge; ce qui signifie que le cheval est considéré comme accaparé, prêt à être emmené. Le gendre conduit le cheval hors de la cour; deux ou trois membres de la famille de la bru, qui se sont concertés d'avance, marquent au beurre une dizaine d'animaux. La famille du gendre est mécontente... on s'échauffe... on se bouscule... on crie . Alors l'oncle maternel de la bru, le représentant de tout le clan, se lève et demande combien d'animaux on a marqués; dix, lui répond-t-on, par ex. "Ah! bien, dit-il, ces dix nous les emmènerons." Les propriétaires se lamentent.... ils supplient... ils ne laissent rien sortir de la cour,.. toute la famille du gendre s'agenouille devant l'oncle maternel en l'implorant. En fin de compte on s'arrange pour les deux tiers, ou pour la moitié des animaux déjà marqués. Le cheval est emmené ainsi qu'un autre animal; le reste des animaux sera conduit le lendemain.

Il arrive que la scène ne se termine pas aussi paisiblement. En effet, on sait que la famille du gendre a caché ses meilleurs animaux chez les voisins ou ailleurs; elle ne laisse voir que quelques vieilles biques, qu'elle n'entend même pas céder.

C'est à ce moment que les petits côtés de la race se manifestent dans toute leur crudité. Nous avons pu remarqeur à toutes les phases du mariage *t'ou-jen* cette manie de s'exploiter

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mutuellement. A cette heure, on voit les deux clans en présence, également avides, et chacun des deux, sous la pression du moment, se sent uni et fort. La voix du sang se fait vite entendre, brutale, exigeante. Il n'est plus question de civilités et de cérémonies, et il n'est pas rare du tout que la fête dégénère en querelles et bagarres.

En ce moment on voit que le mariage chez les T'ou-jen n'est pas une affaire désintéressée, mais une affaire du clan, de la communauté, chez qui le bien général prime tout.

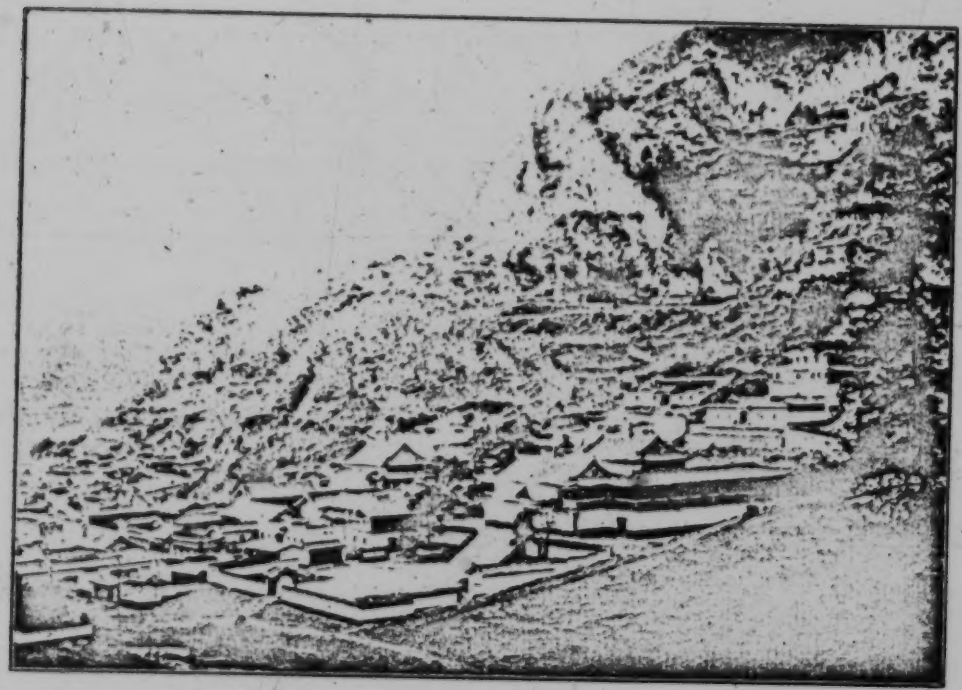
Après ces éventualités du mariage *t'ou-jen*, il est assez naturel, quand on rencontre ceux qui viennent de la noce, de leur demander si tout s'est bien passé, ou s'il n'y a pas eu ..... de la casse!

Maintenant, on comprend l'importance qu'on attache au rôle du maitre des cérémonies. C'est lui qui doit prévenir ces difficultés, qui doit juger quand il faut céder, et jusqu'où la concession peut aller; il faut qu'il ait le tact nécessaire et le mot opportun, que tous aiment à entendre. Il sera d'autant plus écouté qu'il sera estimé par les deux partis.

En deux circonstances, ce cri du sang chez les T'ou-jen est brutal et terrible: à la fin des cérémonies d'un mariage, et à l'occasion des pourparlers après le suicide d'une bru.

La famille PEI donnait à la famille LI, une fille en mariage. Le grand-père PEI connu pour sa cupidité extraordinaire, avait enjoint à son maitre des cérémonies, d'exiger le plus beau cheval de l'écurie de la famille LI, un cheval réputé dans la contrée. Le moment venu, on exige le cheval; mais le cheval n'était pas là. On eut beau chercher chez les parents et les voisins, le cheval reste introuvable... On échange de gros mots et on en vient aux mains. La fête se termina, sans qu'on servit plus à boire et sans qu'on distribuât les cadeaux du départ.

Le lendemain, les PEI s'apprêtèrent à intenter un procès chez le T'ou-se; les coutumes n'avaient pas été observées, même



Lamaserie des lamas jaunes de Eul-kou-long (nord de Sining). A peu d'exceptions près, tous les lamas sont t' ou-jen.

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on n'avait pas donné les cadeaux du départ, on s'était battu, etc... Le parti lésé exige des indemnités pour les blessures et des excuses pour les incivilités.

Les anciens de la contrée viennent voir les PEI et proposent d'arranger l'affaire à l'amiable. Pourparlers,... dîner... et conclusion pratique: les LI feront des excuses, et offriront un mouton aux PEI, puis les deux familles renoueront les relations de parenté.

Après avoir contourné ce cap dangereux, on respire et on sert vite le genièvre pour distraire les esprits: Chacun ayant repris sa place à table, on sert les nouilles chinoises pour finir.

La famille du gendre invite son maître des cérémonies à distribuer les cadeaux du départ. C'est le "*pou fen tse* 補分子" complément du dîner. On donne d'après la coutume à chaque personne de génération supérieure à celle de la bru, huit pains et deux morceaux de viande; aux personnes de génération égale et à celles de génération inférieure on donne quatre pains et un morceau de viande. Alors on songe aussi aux personnes qui auraient dû être présentes et qui se sont excusées; on leur prépare de même leurs pains et leurs morceaux de viande. Le soir, au moment du départ, il n'est pas rare de voir les invités s'en retourner avec une ou deux charges de pains, de viande. Ce serait une incivilité que de refuser les cadeaux. On prétend qu'anciennement, au moment du départ, la famille du gendre remettait à celle de la bru "la part du lama". Elle consistait dans deux morceaux de viande et huit pains, qui le lendemain étaient apportés à la lamaserie.

La coutume de demander la part du lama, a continué d'exister en différents endroits, mais celle d'apporter le cadeau à la lamaserie a disparu.

19. DÉPART DES CONVIVES.

Ces dîners de noce finissent toujours à la tombée du jour. La

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dame d'honneur vient arranger la coiffure de la jeune mariée à la manière des femmes de l'endroit.

20. VISITES APRÈS LE MARIAGE.

Le troisième jour après la fête, le père et la mère de la jeune épouse viennent faire une visite à la famille nouvellement apparentée. On nomme cette visite "ouvrir une voie nouvelle", lier de nouvelles relations. Ils apportent une cruche de genièvre, des pains, des nouilles chinoises sèches, et viennent, disent-ils, pour inviter le gendre à venir chez eux. Il est de coutume que ce jour, la jeune mariée prépare le diner. On lui fait passer l'examen pratique de ses connaissances culinaires. C'est elle aussi, qui sert le dernier plat du diner, et dessert la table. Les hôtes la louent et jettent pour elle quelques sapèques dans les tasses vides. Le soir, les hôtes rentrent chez eux.

Le lendemain, le beau-père, le gendre et la jeune épouse vont à eux trois rendre la visite aux beaux-parents. Ils apportent deux cruches de genièvre et des pains. Les mariés font la grande prostration aux membres de la famille de génération supérieure à la leur. Le soir, le père et le gendre retournent

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cohol to the young people and transmits the bride's hand to the bridegroom. During this time the "maître des cérémonies" approaches the house, he has in his hands a torch and a basket with black beans and sings the nuptial song. After each couplet he throws the beans against the window; the crowd of guests repeats the above words. After the rite of transmitting of the hands is over, the crowd enters the house. The following morning the young wife with her husband go around the court, houses and kitchen garden, pray and give the sacrifices to different spirits. Puis elle va honorer le tombeau des ancêtres de sa nouvelle famille... au retour, the young wife stands by the principal door, puts tobacco on the pipes of all her new clan members, lights the pipes and gives them with ceremonial manner to her new relatives. They keep during the whole night a lighted lamp on the k'ang.

The following night the proof of virginity is required.

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chez eux, et laissent pour quelques jours la jeune épouse chez ses parents. Après avoir choiri un jour faste, un de ses frères la reconduira chez son mari (1).

21. RELATIONS DES MARIÉS AVEC LA FAMILLE DE LA BRU,

a) **Relations de la fille mariée avec sa propre famille, après le mariage.**

La bru est incorporée dans la famille de son mari. Nous avons vu que dès son arrivée, à la porte de la maison, on lui a donné les bâtonnets et le cruchon de genièvre, et que de suite on l'a conduite à la cuisine, honorer le dieu de l'âtre de sa nouvelle famille, en se prosternant trois fois et en présentant son offrande de genièvre et ses bâtonnets.

Elle nommera dorénavant les membres de la famille de son mari, du même nom que les nomme celui-ci; en parlant d'eux à une tierce personne, elle ajoutera le terme "*gadin*" qui signifie parents par alliance.

La famille du mari l'ayant achetée, elle est devenue sa propriété; sa famille d'origine n'a plus de droits sur elle. On

(1) TIMKOVSKI. VOYAGE... P. 312, VOL 2.: Un mois après, la jeune épouse se met en chemin avec son mari ou avec un de ses proches, pour rendre visite à ses parents: ce qu'elle répète plusieurs mois ou un an plus tard. (trad. allem. et reste chez eux pendant plusieurs mois, voire souvent pendant un an) Elle fait cette dernière visite uniquement pour recevoir les bestiaux qui font partie de sa dot. Les parents par amour pour leur fille lui en donnent autant que leurs facultés le leur permettent. Les riches donnent à leur fille jusqu'à cent têtes de bétail de différentes espèces.

SHIROKOGOROFF. p 89-90.: The eleventh day after the wedding, the young couple visits the young woman's mother's house. Usually only they two go, but it is also permitted to take with them a driver. No solemnity is practised. The mother and the relatives meet them at the gate, after which they serve the ritual meal of 3 cups and 9 plates. During this visit the young couple do not stay a long time in the wife's mother's house, and they absolutly cannot spend a whole night under the roof of this house This restriction is effective only for the first visit, after which the young couple can sleep in the house. Five days after this visit, the young woman goes once more to her mother's family. This time she must be transported in her mother's carriage and with her mother's horses. She stays in her mother's house during 15 days. This custom is called "visit of my mother's clan

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s'attend donc à ce que les relations de la fille mariée avec sa famille propre soient rompues, ou du moins qu'elles soient très réduites. Or cela n'est pas le cas, comme le prouvent les longues et fréquentes visites qu'elle continue de faire chez ses parents après le mariage, ainsi que la coutume de garder dans sa famille d'origine ses valeurs et ses habits.

En effet, la coutume veut que le mari conduise sa femme et ses enfants chez leurs parents, au premier mois de l'an. Sa femme restera dans sa famille pour dix ou vingt jours, souvent même pour un mois. Ce terme écoulé, son frère la reconduit chez ses beaux-parents. Vers le cinq de la cinquième lune, le mari la reconduit pour la deuxième fois dans sa famille. Cette visite est plus courte; après quelques jours son frère la ramène. Vers le quinze de la huitième lune, le mari la conduit pour la troisième fois chez ses parents. Cette fois elle y reste quinze ou vingt jours, voire même un mois. La quatrième visite dans sa famille a lieu au dernier mois de l'an, et dure une vingtaine de jours. Son frère la ramène pour la fête du dieu de l'âtre, fête que les brus ne peuvent manquer sous aucun prétexte. Chaque fois le voyage se fait à cheval, et le mari revient chez lui le même jour ou le lendemain.

Quand les deux familles habitent des endroits trop distants l'un de l'autre, p. e. deux jours ou plus, alors la bru fait seulement chez ses parents deux visites par an; la première se fait après les semailles, vers la troisième lune et dure un mois, la seconde après le battage du blé vers la onzième lune; elle dure un mois et demi, voire même deux mois. La bru sera toujours de retour pour la fête du dieu de l'âtre.

Les femmes qui ont passé la quarantaine peuvent se rendre dans leur propre famille quand bon leur semble.

En dehors de ces visites coutumières, on a dans la famille les cas de maladie, de deuil, de mariage, de fête pour un premier né, etc.., et chaque fois la fille mariée ne manque pas de faire acte de présence.

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Voilà le coutumier. Toutefois en pratique, ces visites dépendent de multiples circonstances. Il arrive que la famille de la bru étant pauvre ne cherche pas à entretenir sa fille et ses deux, trois petits enfants; alors ces visites deviendront plus courtes et moins nombreuses. Il arrive que les relations de la bru avec sa famille sont moins intimes, alors forcément on se voit moins. Quand les parents de la fille mariée sont décédés, les frères et les belles-sœurs invitent moins leur sœur; de même quand la fille mariée a plusieurs enfants, elle ne pourra pas les emmener tous avec elle, et elle n'aimera pas les quitter pour un temps aussi long et si souvent. Les époux s'accordant bien, et la belle-fille étant bien traitée par la belle-mère, ses visites se réduisent naturellement; mais bien que réduites, elles sont toujours extraordinairement fréquentes.

En général, ces visites, parce qu'elles sont trop prolongées et trop fréquentes, sont la cause de beaucoup de misères dans les deux familles. Elles procurent à la jeune épouse toutes les facilités de relations peu louables en son lieu d'origine, et celles-ci finissent par refroidir les rapports avec le mari. Pendant ces visites, la fille se plaint souvent de sa belle-mère; alors ses parents, pour lui rendre la vie plus supportable, font des difficultés à la famille des beaux-parents, et au lieu de faire du bien à leur fille, lui rendent la situation de plus en plus difficile.

A côté de ces visites anormales, il faut signaler une coutume tout-à-fait singulière dans une organisation patriarcale, avec le système de la "grande famille", où la bru et tout ce qui lui appartient, est la propriété de son mari et de la famille de celui-ci. Cette coutume consiste en ce que la jeune femme mariée garde ses joyaux, ses parures, ses beaux habits et tout ce qui lui est cher, non chez son mari, mais dans la famille de sa mère à elle. Lá, elle a deux ou trois malles dont ses parents prennent soin, mais dont elle garde la clef. A l'occasion des fêtes, la femme mariée va chercher elle-même chez ses parents ses meilleurs habits, ou elle envoie quelqu'un les chercher. Chez son mari

cependant, elle a aussi une ou deux malles, dans lesquelles elle garde ses menus objets et ceux de ses enfants. Cette coutume générale n'offusque ni le mari ni sa famille, n'empêche qu'elle ne soit l'occasion de bien des déboires. En effet, c'est grâce à ce "coffre-fort" que les femmes malhonnêtes trouvent où recéler les choses injustement acquises dans la famille des beaux-parents; c'est là encore que reposent les présents offerts par un amant trop assidu, etc.. Les T'ou-jen reconnaissent tous que cette coutume n'est pas idéale, mais ils sont impuissants à la faire disparaître. (1)

b) **Relations du gendre avec la famille de ses beaux-parents.**

Le gendre nomme les membres de la famille de sa femme de la même manière qu'il nomme ceux de sa propre famille, mais en y ajoutant le terme "gadin" en parlant d'eux à une tierce personne.

Il a deux visites officielles à faire chaque année à ses beaux-parents; la première au nouvel an, et la seconde au quinze de la huitième lune. En outre il est de son devoir d'aller s'enquérir de la santé de ses beaux-parents quand ceux-ci sont malades; il participera de même aux fêtes qui sont données chez eux à l'occasion d'un mariage, à la naissance d'un premier-né .. et il ne manquera jamais aux deuils de la famille.

Il est à remarquer que toujours il prendra une part active aux fêtes et aux deuils; il ne s'y mêle pas aux hôtes, il n'a pas sa place au diner avec les convives; mais étant considéré comme un membre de la famille, il aidera aux préparatifs, il recevra les

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SHIROKOGOROFF p. 61: The adoption of a woman by the new clan is symbolised by a prayer addressed to the spirits of her husband's clan and a visit to the tomb of her husband's ancestors. Besides, in the course of the mariage ceremony she must execute some other rites symbolising her adoption by her husband's clan

Among the nothern Tungus the woman, after she is married, is not so closely bound at her husband's clan, and she is alwags considered as belonging to her mother's clan. In her husband's clan, she keeps her own spirits and sho can never be relatively to the new spirits equal to the persons born in her husband's clan.

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hôtes à leur arrivée, et il dinera à la cuisine, avec les membres de la famille de ses beaux-parents. C'est de son devoir encore de prêter main forte à ses beaux-parents, dans le cas où ceux-ci doivent user de force pour défendre leurs droits, comme, p. e., à l'occasion du suicide ou de la répudiation d'une des sœurs de sa femme. Toutefois l'adage dit, qu'avec une famille apparentée, les relations ne doivent pas être trop intimes et qu'on doit éviter toutes sortes de transactions commerciales. (1)

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(1) Je résume en cette note, d'après l'Histoire des Miao, par Savina, 2me édit. 1930, P. 226-7-8-9, quelques ressemblances que l'on trouve entre les mariages Miao et T'ou-jen. On sait l'importance qu'on attache en ethnologie à ce peuple, cf. P. W. KOPPERS, Die Frage des Mutterrechts und des Totemismus im alten China. P. 996 * nachdem die ursprüngliche enge Zusammengehörigkeit von Tungusen und Tung-hu so wahrscheinlich geworden ist... anderseits wohl ebenso wahrscheinlich von mir die uralte Verbindung von Tungusen (Proto-Tungusen, Pra-Chinesen) und Miao-tze hat dargetan werden können. * Anthropos 1930

D'abord les mariages se célèbrent à peu près vers la même époque, Nov. Déc. Janvier. On se marie jeune entre 15 et 20 ans. Il faut des pronostics faustes pour pouvoir se marier. Les parents décident du mariage de leurs enfants. Le repas de noce est toujours double, i. e. pris en deux endroits, chez les parents du fiancé et chez ceux de la fiancée. Si cette dernière doit quitter la maison paternelle pour aller faire la bru dans celle de son fiancé, le premier repas est pris chez elle: il est pris au contraire chez le fiancé, si ce dernier doit aller faire le gendre chez les parents de la fiancée. Donc on a aussi les maris-gendres. Le menu du diner: farine de maïs, de l'alcohol, de la viande de porc à discrétion. Le repas est servi sur des tables de circonstance, des planches montées sur des piquets: la viande posée sur des feuilles est mangée en premier lieu en buvant de l'alcohol: ce n'est qu'à la fin qu'on apporte la farine de maïs... Chaque invité remet une obole en arrivant. A la fin du repas du soir, le nouveau marié fait les prostrations rituelles aux ancêtres en présence de toute la parenté réunie, et sans prononcer un seul mot. Il est assisté d'un garçon d'honneur qui fait les mêmes prostrations que lui, et d'un vieillard qui énumère à haute voix tous les devoirs qu'il aura à remplir désormais dans la tribu. Puis on compte l'argent versé par les invités, et on fait l'inventaire du trousseau de la jeune mariée. Ce trousseau consiste en habits, jupes, turbans, ceintures, bandes molletières, pièces de toile, etc... Hommes et femmes examinent..et admirent les broderies. La jeune mariée dans un coin pleure et chante à ses compagnes le naïf chant de la fiancée.. qui rappelle l'élégie de la fiancée t'ou-jen en cours de route. Au départ des convives, on barricade la porte avec un fagot, pour empêcher la nouvelle mariée de partir: elle regarde partir les siens à travers les fentes de la cloison.

Nous avons parlé dans le cours de ce travail, d'après les notes du P. Schotter, des filles qui accompagnent la fiancée chez le fiancé.

La monogamie et l'exogamie semblent avoir existé de tout temps chez les Miao.. Il existe aussi une loi, ou plutôt une coutume qui a force de loi, et qui oblige à prendre femme dans sa race. p. 284. Hist. des Miao. Savina.

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B — MARIAGES DES VEUVES COMME FEMMES EN TITRE.

SOMMAIRE. — 1. Droits des veuves, théorie et pratique. — 2. Procédure pour l'achat d'une veuve. — 3. Départ de la veuve. 4. Réglement des comptes. — 5. Mariage des veuves. — 6. Deux enlèvements typiques de veuves. — 7. Vestiges du mariage par enlèvement chez les T'ou-jen.

1. — DROITS DES VEUVES, THÉORIE ET PRATIQUE.

Quand les parents donnent une fille en mariage, ils disent nous avons congédié notre fille", ou bien "nous avons donné notre fille", ou même avec un léger mépris "nous l'avons vendue;" ce qui dénote clairement, que le mariage de la fille n'est pas son affaire à elle, mais bien l'affaire de ses parents. Au contraire quand une veuve se marie, on dit "elle a cherché un homme"; c'est donc dire qu'elle a elle-même choisi son mari et qu'elle a agi en toute liberté. D'ailleurs l'adage dit "*ts'ien kia yeou tié-niang, heou-kia yeou pen-jen* 前嫁由爹娘後嫁由本人", i. e. le premier mariage est arrangé par les parents, les mariages subséquents ne dépendent plus des parents, mais de la veuve elle-même.

La terminologie employée pour indiquer ces deux sortes de mariages, ainsi que cet adage, jettent à eux deux la lumière sur la nouvelle situation d'une femme en état de veuvage. Tout dépend d'elle; elle se remariera ou non, et elle choisira elle-même le mari qu'elle désire. Voilà du moins la théorie. En pratique cependant son droit sera respecté, pour autant que ses propriétaires ne trouveront aucun désavantage dans la décision prise par elle; même il lui arrivera d'être mariée de force par ses beaux-parents, et même d'être enlevée tout simplement par un inconnu. C'est dire que partout la "praxis differt a speculatione". Mais

retenons ceci: en cas de litige, partout chez les T'ou-jen, on invoquera les droits de la veuve, et ces droits feront la base de la discussion.

Donc après la décès du mari, la veuve d'après les coutumes restera encore quarante-neuf jours dans la maison de ses beaux-parents. Ces jours sont appelés, jours de deuil. Ce laps de temps écoulé, elle pourra quitter définitivement ses beaux-parents et rentrer dans sa propre famille. Voilà son droit.

J'ai connu cependant plus d'un cas, où les jeunes veuves n'attendaient pas que les quarante-neuf jours fussent révolus pour quitter les beaux-parents; elles s'enfuyaient tout bonnement. C'est qu'elles avaient eu vent des agissements des beaux-parents, qui s'apprêtaient à les vendre contre leur gré. Le droit des veuves est donc un droit précaire; aussi une veuve sans fils cherche vite elle-même un parti, car elle sait bien que si elle ne le cherche pas elle-même, on lui forcera la main (1).

2 PROCÉDURE POUR L'ACHAT D'UNE VEUVE.

Supposons qu'une jeune veuve soit rentrée chez ses parents, quarante-neuf jours après le décès de son mari. C'est un des faits du jour, connu de suite par toute la contrée, d'autant plus que tout le monde sait qu'elle attend un parti. Les amateurs qui ont déjà pris des informations, demandent par un entremetteur ou même personnellement, une entrevue avec la veuve. Cette entrevue a d'ordinaire lieu chez un voisin ou un ami. Si les

(1) SHIROKOGOROFF. Social organisation of the Manchus. p. 70: 71: There are some peculiarities as to the widow's and the widower's marriage. The widow can be remarried according to her personal choice and wish. None of her clan i. e. her husband's clan, can force her to do it. The late husband's younger brother is always obliged to take care of the widow and his brother's children. The widow has the right to request the separation of her family from the rest of her husband's family and in this case she inherits all the property of her husband.

P. 54: If a widow declares to the Mokunda (le chef du clan) that she does not wish to be remarried, but the relatives of her late husband persist on it, The Mohunda may decide if she shall be remarried or not, and usually he takes the widow's interest into consideration.

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pourparlers ont abouti, généralement les deux partis se donnent un gage; la veuve passe sa bague, ou ses pendants-d'oreilles, ou son bracelet; le futur mari donne invariablement sa ceinture. Ces gages donnent le droit d'agir avec la force dans les cas de contestation, de rivalité, ou celui de résistance de la part des propriétaires de la veuve. Peu de jours après l'entrevue, car de pareils mariages marchent avec précipitation et dans le plus grand secret, de crainte que la veuve ne soit enlevée par un rival, le prétendant envoie chez les "propres" parents de la veuve deux entremetteurs. Ils se présentent avec la traditionnelle cruche de genièvre, et s'arrangent pour les arrhes qui sont ici insignifiantes. Elles ne dépassent pas généralement une dizaine de ligatures. C'est pure formalité. Ils partent de chez eux, en recommandant le plus grand secret, pour se rendre chez les anciens beaux-parents de la veuve, afin d'obtenir leur consentement et débattre le prix. Les beaux-parents en effet, sont les propriétaires de la veuve.

Quand les beaux-parents sont de bonne composition et acceptent de débattre le prix en question, on leur offre une cruche de genièvre; dans le cas contraire, on emporte le cruchon, et on s'avise pour enlever la veuve de force et le plus vite possible. Mais quand tout marche bien, les entremetteurs reviennent le second jour et commencent par promettre à la belle-mère deux briques de thé, c'est ce qu'on nomme "*k'ai k'eou ts'ien* 開口錢", i. e. les sapèques qui ouvrent la bouche; ensuite ils promettent au beau-père douze ligatures, nommées "*tchou hoen ts'ien* 主婚錢", i. e. les sapèques qui font prendre sur soi la responsabilité du mariage (1). Alors, on débat le prix de la veuve, prix qui varie d'ordinaire entre cent cinquante et deux cents ligatures. En outre, comme il faudra écrire un contrat et comme tous les grands-pères, oncles et frères devront y apposer leur signature,

(1) SHIROKOGOROFF. op. cit. p. 75. The Manchus do not pay "kalin" if the woman demanded is a widow.

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on débat le prix et le nombre des signataires, soit trois ligatures par signature. A ce débat qui a toujours lieu la nuit, prennent part trois ou quatre parents de la famille.

Cette somme est nommée "*ming ts'ien*" 明錢, i. e. le prix officiel ou public de la veuve. Il arrive bien souvent que l'un ou l'autre membre de la famille fait savoir en secret, qu'il s'oppose à ce mariage, et qu'il fera des difficultés.

D'ordinaire, ces récalcitrants profitent de leur parenté pour gagner aisément quelque argent. On les prend en particulier et on débat avec eux en secret, la somme d'argent que vaudra leur consentement. C'est le "*ngan ts'ien* 暗錢", i. e. l'argent secret, qui bien souvent est loin d'être insignifiant. C'est ce qui fait dire que les dépenses faites pour des veuves, spécialement pour celles qui vont être femmes en second, sont basées sur la fortune de l'amateur.

Ces pourparlers avec les parents grincheux ayant abouti et le prix étant convenu, le prétendant doit prendre sa décision. Le consentement étant donné, il ne verse pas l'argent; il ne payera que le jour où la veuve aura franchi le seuil de sa maison. Nous avons vu tout le contraire pour le mariage des jeunes filles, on ne les laisse quitter le foyer que quand la toute dernière sapèque a été payée.

C'est qu'il y a tant d'imprévus dans ce genre de mariages: la veuve peut tromper le prétendant, les beaux-parents peuvent lui jouer de vilains tours, les parents de la veuve peuvent faire de même, un inconnu peut de nuit l'enlever de force... A cause de ces risques, les entremetteurs n'osent pas exiger le versement de la somme, avant que la veuve ne soit chez le mari. Une seconde précaution à prendre, pour éviter des difficultés subséquentes, consiste dans la rédaction d'un contrat dûment signé par toute la famille des beaux-parents, ce qui n'est guère requis pour le mariage des jeunes filles. Le contrat du mariage d'une veuve n'est signé que lorsque celle-ci est entrée dans la maison du

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mari, et que l'argent est compté sur la table. Dans les vieux temps, dit-on, on se passait de contrat, et on se contentait de prendre la bague de la veuve, de la briser en deux et de donner à chaque parti une moitié.

C'est le soir, ou la nuit, qu'on va chercher les veuves, et cela se fait toujours à l'insu de tout le monde. Ces précautions s'imposent quand on connait la mentalité des T'ou-jen, d'après laquelle la veuve appartient à qui sait la prendre. Quand une veuve a fait son choix et que les pourparlers ont été entamés, elle n'osera plus quitter sa maison; le soir, elle fera appel à des hommes de confiance, qui armés jusqu'aux dents monteront la garde. Ses parents auront soin de distribuer le "*sa lou ts'ien* 塞路錢" aux voisins: C'est l'argent octroyé aux voisins, pour qu'ils défendent la veuve, dans le cas d'un enlèvement.

3. DÉPART DE LA VEUVE.

Une bande de dix à vingt hommes armés de sabres, de bâtons, de fusils... s'en vont dans la nuit et dans le plus grand silence, chercher la veuve. Plus le danger parait grand et plus considérable sera l'escorte. La veuve se trouve chez ses parents, ou s'est rendue dans quelque endroit convenu. Les parents ne consentiront au départ de leur fille-veuve, que quand les entremetteurs leur auront payé "*ing ts'in ts'ien* 應親錢", i. e. sapèques pour la coopération au mariage, soit d'ordinaire douze ligatures. Cette somme versée, on ne perd pas son temps, on s'empresse de mettre la veuve en selle, la bande l'entoure et part dare-dare en ayant soin de faire des détours, pour échapper à tous les dangers et la conduire saine et sauve à la maison de son nouveau mari.

A l'arrivée, elle descend de cheval; on allume en toute hâte un feu devant la maison, et on présente à la veuve le papier qu'on brûle pour les défunts. Elle s'agenouille et le brûle en souvenir de son mari défunt; ensuite, elle lui fait une libation au genièvre, elle se lève et regarde quelques instants dans le

vague. C'est le "*wang heou k'an* 望後看", le regard d'adieu vers son mari défunt. Elle passe au-dessus du feu, pour que toutes les mauvaises influences, qui auraient pu s'attacher à elle, ou les mauvais esprits qui auraient pu la suivre, s'évanouissent. Ayant traversé le feu elle n'entre dans la maison qu'après avoir enlevé son petit chapeau de feutre et défait ses cheveux, qu'elle enroule négligemment et ramène sous son chapeau. Elle portera les cheveux à la mode des femmes du clan ou du village auquel elle est censée dorénavant appartenir.

La bande armée est invitée à une collation, composée de pain, de viande, de thé et de genièvre. La veuve prend le thé en compagnie des femmes de la famille.

4. RÈGLEMENT DES COMPTES.

La veuve n'est pas en sécurité, tant que les comptes ne sont pas réglés, et que le contrat n'est pas signé; aussi s'empresse-t-on dès le matin de terminer l'affaire. Les entremetteurs paient d'abord aux grincheux les comptes secrets, ensuite on règle les comptes avec les beaux-parents et la veuve. On les prie de se rendre à cet effet, non pas chez le nouveau mari, mais chez un ami ou dans un lieu retiré. Le prix de la jeune fille est payé intégralement, tandis que celui de la veuve est sujet à d'audacieuses lésineries. Jugez plutôt: six cents sapèques en valent mille; à présent on force d'accepter des animaux au lieu de payer en argent; et on les évalue au double de leur valeur; on donne de la toile qu'on prétend trop chère, puis on déchire une pièce de toile en deux, pour la faire compter pour deux pièces. C'est le fameux "*koa-fou ts'ien* 寡婦錢", i. e. le prix des veuves. C'est une pratique que les T'ou-jen ont apprise des Chinois, qui sont passés maîtres en pareilles affaires.

Mais bien que la coutume admette ces pratiques, il n'est pas rare que le règlement des comptes dégénère en rixes. Le contrat est écrit et signé ce jour même, et les signataires sont

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rétribués. On offre à la belle-mère les pièces de thé, qui lui furent promises pour qu'elle consentit au mariage, et le père reçoit son "*tchou hoen ts'ien*".

5. MARIAGE DES VEUVES.

Une cérémonie de mariage a lieu le jour même si possible ou le lendemain. On invite chez le nouveau gendre, les propres père et mère, oncles et tantes, frères et sœurs de la veuve nouvellement emmenée. C'est un petit groupe de huit, dix ou quinze personnes, parmi lesquelles on compte les entremetteurs.

Le thé, le pain, le genièvre, sont servis comme d'habitude; alors les parents donnent à leur fille un nouvel habit long, et au gendre un chapeau de feutre et une ceinture. Souvent on y ajoute encore pour la nouvelle belle-mère, une paire de souliers, et un k'ata pour le beau-père.

Une table est disposée devant une image religieuse; on y place deux lampes allumées; un tapis est étendu devant la table. La veuve revêtue de l'habit neuf qu'elle vient de recevoir de ses parents, et le gendre portant lui aussi le chapeau neuf et la nouvelle ceinture, font la grande prostration à la chinoise, d'abord au ciel et aux multiples esprits, puis à leurs parents et aux aînés de la famille, la troisième à la famille apparentée et au clan. Le feu sacré chamaniste fait défaut.

Le beau-père présente alors quatre ligatures à son nouveau gendre, comme gage de leur alliance; toute la famille de concert, les refuse poliment. On donne trois ligatures à ceux qui ont écrit le contrat et aux entremetteurs; puis on sert une collation. Au départ des convives, on ne leur donne pas de viande à emporter, on se contente d'offrir quelques pains.

Le coutumier du mariage d'une veuve est donc très simple; l'oncle maternel qui joue le premier rôle au mariage des jeunes filles n'y parait même pas. La grande préoccupation des T'ou-jen dans le mariage d'une veuve, est de la soustraire à un rival

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et de la conduire sans encombre à son nouveau domicile.

6. DEUX ENLÈVEMENTS TYPIQUES DE VEUVES.

Les faits suivants jettent un vrai jour sur la mentalité des T'ou-jen, à propos du mariage des veuves.

A l'endroit Souo-pou-keou 梭布溝, vivait une veuve d'un certain Hia Hong. Un Tchang de *Ki-kia-lin* 幾家嶺 désirant l'épouser, apprit qu'il venait trop tard; la veuve avait déjà donné son consentement à un autre et échangé les gages avec lui. Tchang la voulait à tout prix. Il se proposait donc de l'enlever de force, puis de s'aboucher avec la famille des anciens beaux-parents de la veuve pour leur donner les arrhes. Si de pareilles affaires sont portées en justice, on exige de la part des ravisseurs le remboursement des arrhes, puis la femme leur est adjugée. Ces enlèvements sont donc reconnus par la loi. Tchang fait appel à une trentaine d'hommes de confiance, bien armés, pour soustraire la veuve aux mains de la bande de son rival, la nuit où celui-ci l'emmènerait chez lui. Les ravisseurs étaient à leur poste, mais la troupe adverse n'arrivait pas. Croyant donc avoir été mystifiés, ils décidèrent de gagner la maison de la veuve, de la prendre d'assaut et d'enlever la veuve.

Tchang comptait comme chef de bande, le neveu de la veuve, qui pouvait les renseigner au sujet des dispositions de la maison. On fait irruption dans la cour, on force les portes, on baillonne la femme, on la porte à quatre à l'extérieur, on la met sur le cheval et on s'enfuit précipitamment. Entre temps, le neveu s'était occupé des chiens et avait ouvert la grande porte.

La course se poursuivit dans le plus grand silence. Après quinze kilom. de marche forcée ils arrivèrent chez eux, enlevèrent le baillon à la femme et lui délièrent les mains. Quelle ne fut pas leur surprise quand ils entendirent dans l'obscurité, la femme affirmer qu'ils s'étaient trompés; qu'elle était une voisine, qui était venue tenir compagnie à la veuve; qu'elle était mariée et

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que son mari vivait bel et bien, et que la personne qu'ils cherchaient s'était cachée derrière une armoire, au moment du danger. Consternation!

Que faire? Renvoyer la femme était une perte de face; et puis elle ne voulait pas retourner.

Le fait était connu partout dans la contrée dès le lendemain; les parents de la veuve et le mari de la femme enlevée s'apprêtaient déjà à aller intenter un procès aux ravisseurs de la femme. Les anciens du village sachant que c'était une méprise, proposaient d'arranger l'affaire à l'amiable.

Il y eut une palabre et un dîner, auxquels mon catéchiste assista. La conclusion du débat fut, que la jeune épouse devait être ramenée à cheval, musique en tête, avec salve de pétards, un mouton avec écharpe en toile rouge aux cornes devait être offert, et des excuses devaient être faites. On a bien ri dans la contrée du malencontreux neveu qui avait présidé à l'enlèvement de sa tante..... La jeune veuve entre temps fut mariée au parti de son choix.

Un autre fait très intéressant pour comprendre la mentalité des T'ou-jen au sujet du rapt, et les conditions qui le permettent, est le suivant:

Une jeune veuve de Pien-tan 扁担, après des pourparlers en due forme, fut conduite la nuit, chez un Tchao du Na-ling keou 拉嶺溝. Tchao qui était réputé pour son avarice et avait un très mauvais renom, chercha noise aux entremetteurs, au sujet du prix de la veuve, tout en ayant convenu de la somme. Il voulait faire le malin; la veuve étant chez lui, il espérait traîner en longueur le règlement des comptes, et en être quitte, en ne donnant qu'une partie du prix convenu. Après trois semaines, l'affaire traînait toujours, rien n'était encore payé et par conséquent le contrat n'était pas encore signé. Nouvelle palabre dans la cour de la pagode, distante de deux li de chez lui. Or en l'absence du Tchao, un Tchang du Tong-keou 東溝, accompagné

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de quelques hommes de confiance, vint enlever en plein jour la veuve nouvellement mariée. Il est probable qu'elle a consenti à se faire enlever; car habitant avec son nouveau mari depuis un mois, elle avait pu le juger; il est également probable que les entremetteurs et les anciens beaux-parents de la veuve y étaient pour quelque chose; peut-être les voisins qui ne sympathisaient pas avec Tchao, n'y étaient pas étrangers non plus, car ils ne bougèrent pas quand on vint enlever la veuve. Tchao se rend à la ville chinoise intenter un procès. Le jugement chinois fut le suivant: la veuve doit être renvoyée chez ses parents et ni Tchao, ni Tchang, ne peuvent l'épouser.

D'après le coutumier t'ou-jen, la femme aurait dû rester chez Tchang, et Tchao du fait de ne pas avoir payé à temps la somme convenue perdait bel et bien tout droit sur la veuve.

7. VESTIGES DU MARIAGE PAR ENLÈVEMENT CHEZ LES T'OU-JEN.

On peut conclure de ce qui précède que de nos jours l'achat de la femme par le mari est la forme légale du mariage, tout en reconnaissant comme légal aussi l'enlèvement d'une veuve, à condition d'en indemniser les propriétaires.

Il est permis de croire qu'anciennement la coutume du rapt a dû être générale, et qu'elle fut pratiquée pour les mariages de jeunes filles. En effet on trouve de nombreux vestiges du rapt dans le coutumier du mariage des jeunes filles. Quand le gendre avec ses compagnons vient chercher sa fiancée, pourquoi trouve-t-il la porte de la maison fermée? Pourquoi faut-il finir par l'enfoncer et recevoir une avalanche d'eau sur la tête? C'est bien l'assaut de la demeure de la fille. Quand on chante à la porte et qu'on demande de l'ouvrir, on sent bien que cette façon n'est pas naturelle, et que de plus elle ne rime à rien. Le chant d'ailleurs n'a rien de déterminé, alors que tout dans le coutumier est nettement fixé, même les discours qu'on prononce. Pourquoi ce voile

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grossier qui enveloppe la tête de la fiancée, et qui ne lui permet pas de voir; il est même lié autour du cou, avec une corde rouge. N'est-ce pas là bander les yeux d'une personne qu'on enlève? Au moment de porter la fiancée à l'extérieur, pourquoi cette brusquerie, la porte de la chambre qu'on ouvre avec fracas, cette précipitation pendant qu'on l'emporte et pourquoi les cris et les sanglots de la fille?

Il y a encore, le père qui monte le cheval pour faire trois fois le tour de l'aire, en gesticulant avec le "iang hstia", et appelant constamment sa fille par son nom, et celle-ci à cheval au milieu de l'aire répond en sanglotant "je suis ici, oui ici"... n'est-ce pas un simulacre d'une poursuite? Ne doit-on pas expliquer dans le même sens du rapt, la coutume d'après laquelle les femmes de la maison, celles du voisinage et les filles continuent de poursuivre la fiancée, prenant le cheval par la bride? Et ne faut-il pas prendre dans ce sens l'expression qui dénomme cette coutume "poursuite de la dame"?

Tout ce cortège nuptial formé pas les gens du clan maternel, ne réprésente-t-il pas les gens de la famille qui poursuivent la fille enlevée?

Songez encore à cet homme à cheval derrière la fiancée et qui la tient dans les bras? C'est bien le geste de l'enlèvement? Pourquoi la fiancée doit-elle se lamenter pendant tout le trajet, et ne peut-elle d'après le coutumier parler à personne?

C'est le gendre lui-même, qui descend sa fiancée de cheval, sa capture à lui; il enferme à son arrivée la fille dans une chambre avec sa compagne, et ne lui donne ni à boire ni à manger. Et pourpuoi encore ce silence prolongé jusqu'après le mariage? Est-ce la fille qui boude?

Rappelez-vous la fête du mariage, qui finit brutalement par l'enlèvement d'animaux et la bagarre qui souvent s'ensuit; cela ne signifierait-il pas que les parents se vengent de l'enlèvement de la fille?..... Et dire que de nos jours encore, la fête

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dégénère souvent en querelles et batailles?

Tous ces détails pris dans leur ensemble, prouvent l'existence du rapt (1) des jeunes filles dans le passé. Parmi ces détails, il y en a qui pris isolément sont susceptibles d'une autre explication. Mais n'est-il pas rationnel de les expliquer dans ce sens, quand d'un côté on pratique encore de nos jours le rapt pour les veuves, et quand d'un autre côté on en trouve parmi eux quelques-uns, qui certainement sont inexplicables sans admettre l'enlèvement? Ainsi on peut être tenté d'expliquer la poursuite de la fiancée par les filles du village, comme étant un pas de conduite à leur amie. Mais alors pourquoi prennent-elles la bride du cheval et veulent-elles empêcher son départ, et pourquoi cette cérémonie s'appelle-t-elle "poursuite de la dame"? On peut épiloguer encore sur le fait que les propres frères de la fiancée

(1) SHIROKOGOROFF. OP. CIT. P. 76: The "kalin (arrhes de la fiancée) is not paid or is paid after a long delay, if the girl before the wedding becomes pregnant. In such a case she can be taken by capture and neither feast nor wedding are celebrated. The capture is usually effected by the bridegroom himself helped by 5-6 young men of his clan. The act of capture is always followed by insults and violations towards the bride. If she cries and prays to defend her, her relatives do not venture to intervene.

This is a sole case when the Manchus use "marriage by capture" Any other customs connected directly or indirectly, or survivals of them cannot be mentionned among the Manchus.

Je crois pourtant devoir expliquer par le rapt, le rite d'après lequel on couvre, pour un instant seulement, la tête de la fiancée avec un morceau de soie rouge enlevé aussi vite que possible par le fiancé. De même je vois un vestige du rapt, dans le fait que le fiancé et sa troupe trouvent la porte de la maison de la fiancée, fermée quand ils vont la chercher. Sans invoquer le rapt il est impossible d'expliquer la coutume qui veut qu'on emporte avec précipitation la fiancée et qu'on la jette dans le char, que de plus on attèle à demi les animaux pour partir aussi vite que possible, quitte à s'arrêter à l'extérieur pour arranger les harnais, etc.

SCHOTTER, NOTES SUR LES TRIBUS DU KOEI-TCHEOU, Anthropos. 6me année p. 320. Il y a (chez le Hé-miao) des enlèvements avec le consentement tacite. C'est alors pour éviter toute dépense, p. 342: on trouve de même des vestiges d'enlèvement chez les Song-kia-tse.

Dr Herbert König. op. cit. p. 119-120 121. Raub-und Entführungsehe. Wie nach Graebner in der altaustralichen Kultur, soll nach ihm (Schmidt, Koppers) bei den Hirtenvölkern also auch den Polarvölkern unter ihnen, die er zur nördlichen Gruppe rechnet, die Raubehe ein regelrechtes Rechtinstitut sein. Richtig ist nun, dass bei fast allen Polarvölkern die gewaltsame Beschaffung von Frauen zur Ehe vorkommt, und das gar nicht so selten.. Nun soll aber doch wenigstens früher einmal als Rechtsitte (die Raubehe) bestanden haben.

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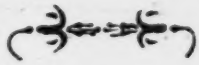
la portent hors de la chambre, et sur cet autre qu'un membre de la famille monte en croupe et la tient dans ses bras. Mais il faut tenir compte des circonstances dans lesquelles on emporte la fille; on le fait en courant, en fermant la porte avec fracas, pendant que la fille sanglote, etc... Certes, ce n'est pas au frère de porter sa sœur dehors en cas d'enlèvement ni à un menbre de la famille de monter en croupe, de tenir la fille dans les bras. Nous sommes ici en présence d'une vieille coutume, appartenant à une organisation périmée et dont les T'ou-jen ont perdu le sens et le souvenir. Dès lors il n'est pas étonnant de constater des non-sens et des anomalies. C'est d'ailleurs la loi générale qui règle les coutumes qu'on ne comprend plus. Plus on avance dans le temps, moins on les comprend, et plus on les déforme.



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C — LA POLYGAMIE.

SOMMAIRE. — 1. La polygamie existe, mais n'est pas générale. 2. Les quatre catégories de polygames. — 3. Procédure pour l'achat d'une concubine. — 4. Situation de la seconde femme vis-à-vis de la femme en titre.

1. LA POLYGAMIE EXISTE, N'EST PAS GÉNÉRALE.

On peut s'attendre à rencontrer la polygamie chez les T'ou-jen, quand on comprend leur mentalité, quant à la nécessité d'avoir une descendance mâle; quand on tient compte de leurs idées au sujet de la situation d'une veuve qui a des enfants, dans le système familial T'ou-jen, ainsi que la mentalité au sujet de la situation d'une femme, sur qui repose tout le travail au pays. Toutefois, quand on pense à la condition généralement pauvre du peuple, il est aisé d'admettre que la polygamie ne peut pas être générale. La condition économique est ici un des plus grands facteurs dans la question de la polygamie.

Les T'ou-jen, vivant de nos jours à l'état agraire, habitent un pays qui n'est pas précisément une "terre promise" pour le laboureur. Le climat en est généralement froid, le pays est montagneux, les terres sont peu étendues et plutôt pauvres. Or se procurer deux femmes, les entretenir et élever les enfants qui naitront, est sans contredit une lourde charge. Il faudra donc, ou bien en avoir les moyens et être de condition plus ou moins riche, ou bien il faudra y être forcé par les circonstances. C'est ce que nous constaterons en examinant les diverses catégories de polygames.

Tenons toujours compte du fait, que la polygamie n'étant nullement répréhensible aux yeux des T'ou-jen, on la voit pratiquer par les gens les plus honnêtes.

Le nombre des femmes est-il limité? Combien de femmes

pourrait-on prendre, tout en restant honnête homme aux yeux du peuple? Question oiseuse; j'ai seulement connaissance de quelques cas de T'ou-jen qui avaient trois femmes. Jamais je n'ai entendu dire, qu'un T'ou-jen ait dépassé ce nombre.

2. LES QUATRE CATÉGORIES DE POLYGAMES.

a) La première catégorie des polygames, comprend les ménages stériles.

On voit la polygamie là où il n'y a pas d'enfants, ou bien là où il y a pénurie d'enfants. La nécessité d'avoir des enfants mâles prime tout dans la vie t'ou-jen. C'est cette mentalité qui donne le courage de vivre plus pauvrement, partageant le pain quotidien, très réduit déjà, avec une nouvelle compagne; c'est cette mentalité encore qui amadoue la femme en titre, et lui fait permettre au mari de prendre une compagne en plus. Lors des disputes de ménage, la stérilité de la femme est l'argument décisif pour lui faire entendre raison, et prêcher la patience et la concorde en famille. Donc en règle générale, tant que les conditions économiques de la famille le permettront tant soi peu, un ménage stérile se verra adjoindre une seconde femme (1). Heureusement la stérilité reste toujours l'exception.

Donc dans les familles aisées on verra souvent la polygamie là où il y a seulement une ou deux filles; et en même temps on ne rencontrera pas toujours deux femmes dans les familles riches, où il y a très peu d'enfants. Comment expliquer ces faits?

C'est que la polygamie chez les T'ou-jen, reste en pratique un problème fort délicat et complexe. La femme t'ou-jen occupe dans le cercle familial une position beaucoup plus importante que celle qu'y occupe la femme chinoise; de plus la vie de famille

(1) SHIROKOGOROFF. Op. Cit. p. 64: Generally speaking the Manchus do not consider polygamy as a good institution, except in the case of the woman's sterility. In such case both wives are called "grand wife" in opposition to the concubines called "secret (to be hidden) young wife".

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t'ou-jen est plus intime que la vie de famille chinoise. Il découle de là que la femme t'ou-jen a plus d'ascendant sur le mari que n'en a sa sœur chinoise. Comme les écoles sont rares, et que la formation intellectuelle chez les hommes est quasi nulle, la femme ne sera pas inférieure aux hommes de ce côté-là. Supposons maintenant qu'elle ait pu se faire apprécier plus au moins par son mari, ou bien supposons qu'ayant un ou deux enfants, elle s'oppose catégoriquement à l'introduction d'une seconde femme au foyer; ou supposons qu'elle ait gagné à son parti ses propres parents et que ceux-ci se montrent mécontents du projet; ou supposons que la femme suggère le mot de suicide... et puis combien de suppositions sont possibles encore, quand on sait que le cœur d'une femme jalouse est une source intarissable d'expédients... et nous comprendrons que la polygamie soit en pratique hérissée de difficultés sans nombre. En règle générale, s'il n'y a pas de motifs sérieux qui entrent en cause, comme le sont la stérilité, ou une des causes expliquées plus loin : une simple velléité, un désir de bas instinct, même la situation fortunée, seuls ne suffisent pas pour pratiquer la polygamie.

b) La deuxième catégorie de polygames; les veuves, ou le lévirat.

A côté de la stérilité et de la pénurie d'enfants, qui sont avant tout les causes déterminantes et positives de la polygamie, il y a une autre cause qui est plutôt passive-négative, en ce sens que la polygamie dans ce cas, est plutôt nécessitée par les circonstances qui ne dépendent pas de la femme, et est amenée par la situation dans laquelle elle se trouve. C'est le cas de la veuve au décès du mari chez les T'ou-jen.

La jeune veuve, qui a d'ordinaire donné le jour à quelques enfants, se trouve à ce moment de la vie tout-à-fait perplexe: se remarier, c'est courir vers l'inconnu, et c'est abandonner ses enfants, qui d'après elle, seront malheureux pour le reste de la vie; comment vivre sans ces enfants? rester dans la famille en qualité de veuve, lui est déconseillé à cause de son âge relative-

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ment jeune... cependant un de ses fils pourra peut-être se marier dans deux ou trois ans... la position de belle-mère lui sourit. La famille des beaux-parents comprend, elle aussi, ce qu'elle perdra au départ de cette femme féconde, et ce qu'y perdront les enfants. Dans ce cas la belle-mère, pendant les quarante-neuf jours qui suivent le décès, propose à la veuve de ne pas les quitter et de se remarier avec un des frères du défunt. S'il y a des fils non mariés dans la famille, on lui propose un parti parmi eux, la différence d'âge entre les époux importe peu au pays t'ou-jen ; si tous les fils sont mariés, elle pourra se remarier en qualité de seconde femme d'un des frères de son mari, peu importe que celui-ci soit plus âgé ou moins âgé que le défunt.

Voilà un cas de polygamie très ordinaire chez les veuves qui ont des enfants. C'est le lévirat, bien qu'en théorie les veuves soient libres de rentrer dans leurs familles maternelles, après les quarante-neuf jours de deuil, et de convoler à d'autres noces, elles restent très souvent comme seconde femme d'un des frères du mari défunt, dans le but de s'occuper de leurs enfants (1).

Cependant le LI t'ou-se "actuel" chef d'un des plus importants clans t'ou-jen défendit les mariages des veuves d'un frère aîné, avec un des frères moins âgés du défunt, soit comme femme en titre, soit comme seconde femme. Les Chinois réprouvent de pareilles unions, et le LI T'ou-se, pour ne pas les scandaliser, porta cette défense ! Il s'enquit des mariages dans son clan, et punit ceux qui avaient enfreint ses ordres. L'amende consistait dans un porc à offrir à ses ancêtres ; il voulut, par égard pour ses ancêtres, protester de son attachement aux vieilles coutumes de la race.

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(1) SHIROKOGOROFF. op. cit. p. 64: The widow can marry anyone of her husband's clan members except his brothers, but this marriage is considered as if she would marry a man of a foreign clan. Thus the custom known as the levirate as a matrimonial form is not practised among the Manchus P. 70-71 the widow cannot be remarried if she has a son of age over 12. If a widower marry a widow, the marriage between their children born before their second marriage is stricty prohibited. Ce qui n'est pas le cas chez les T'ou-jen.

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Les anciens prétendaient néanmoins, que ces unions étaient permises par les coutumes. (1) Je le crois d'autant plus volontiers quand je songe à l'ancienne coutume mongole, frères de race des T'ou-jen, qui permettait aux fils de se marier, même avec les concubines de leur père défunt, à l'exception cependant d'épouser leur propre mère; et je le crois aussi parce que cette défense n'existe pas dans les autres clans t'ou-jen.

Les T'ou-jen trouvent rationnel ce genre de polygamie quand ils songent à la triste condition, qui est faite aux orphelins, qui, disent-ils, devront compter uniquement sur les seuls grands-parents, qui sont déjà vieux. Je crois que la vraie explication de ce fait, doit se trouver dans l'ancienne coutume qui ne permettait pas aux veuves de sortir du clan.

Remarquez à propos de cette catégorie toute spéciale de polygames, la manière tout spéciale dont on dénomme ces mariages; on ne dit pas que la veuve a cherché un mari, comme on dit pour le cas des veuves, qui se remarient en dehors du clan des beaux-parents, mais on dit "sarun xâgu" couvrir l'ombre. (2) Est-ce le nouveau mari qui couvre l'ombre de son frère défunt, pour que cette ombre ne fasse plus de mal? Chez les T'ou-jen, les chamans prétendent que toutes les maladies sont causées par le passage de l'ombre d'un défunt sur le corps d'une personne en bonne santé?

Il arrive cependant, quand les veuves ne sont plus jeunes, qu'elles restent dans la famille de leurs beaux-parents sans se remarier, uniquement pour prendre soin de leurs enfants. Quand

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(1) BARTOLD. TURKESTAN DOWN TO THE MONGOL INVASION. 1928, p. 390: The custom of marrying the father's widow, was still maintained among the Uighurs, but has now disappeared among the Mongols, under the influence of Buddhism.

(2) Il n'est peut-être pas inutile de noter en connexion avec l'expression "couvrir l'ombre", la mentalité des peuples Ou-hoan, Sien-pi (peuples Tong hou) au sujet de la condition des veuves dans l'au de-là. Parker, A thousand years of the Tartars, sec. ed. p. 85: la veuve après avoir été remariée soit avec les frères de son mari, soit avec les oncles paternels de celui-ci ... after death reverted to her first husband in the next world.

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A gauche un lama t'ou-jen, portant le costume des lamas jaunes.
Au centre son supérieur, lama t'ou-jen en costume chinois.
A droite un t'ou-jen laïc, leur serviteur.

[face p. 165]

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pendant les deux ans qui suivent le décès du mari, les veuves non remariées donnent encore naissance à un enfant, ce cas n'est pas pour surprendre les T'ou-jen outre mesure; l'enfant est censé être l'enfant du défunt. On l'appelle alors, si c'est un fils, ou bien d'après la coutume chinoise "*Hiao cheng tse* 孝生子", i. e. né dans le deuil, ou bien d'après la coutume t'ou-jen "*xara khû*", i. e. fils noir, ce qui signifie encore fils du deuil, puisque chez les T'ou-jen le noir est la couleur du deuil; on dit, porter du noir, pour porter le deuil. Le noir était anciennement aussi la couleur du deuil chez les Mongols. Quand des veuves non remariées donnent après deux ans le jour à des enfants, il arrive qu'on abandonne ces enfants, ou qu'on les noie de suite après la naissance, spécialement si ce sont des filles; cela se présente quand la famille a beaucoup d'enfants, ou qu'aucun des voisins ne désire nourrir le pauvre être. Quand le nouveau-né est un fils, on le gardera, mais il n'héritera pas des biens de la famille, et en règle générale on l'enverra vers l'âge de neuf, dix ans à la lamaserie, garder le célibat. C'est la solution la plus pratique pour éviter plus tard des difficultés dans la famille (1).

c) La troisième catégorie de polygames, se rencontre dans les familles aisées qui manquent de personnel.

Nous avons vu que tous les travaux pour ainsi dire sont imposés à la femme; les soins de la maison, du bétail, et une grande partie des travaux des champs. Une femme t'ou-jen se tue réellement au travail. Il nous est pénible de regarder ces hommes, à l'instinct nomade, fainéants, flâneurs, s'épargner la moindre fatigue. Il arrive donc, dans les familles qui ont beaucoup de bétail, beaucoup de terres et peu de personnel, que la femme elle-même propose au mari de prendre une compagne pour lui alléger le travail. Mais alors, elle tâchera elle-même

(1) SHIROKOGOROFF, op. cit. p. 77: The Manchus are very strict in killing illegitimate children, i. e. the children born by unmarried girls and widows.

The others Tungus groups consider girls who have children as the best for marriage, because these girls have the proof of their fecundity.

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de trouver une fille beaucoup moins âgée qu'elle, moins douée, moins belle, le genre "minus habens", en somme une personne qui ne lui portera pas ombrage, et à qui elle pourra commander. Les femmes t'ou-jen sont très intelligentes sous ce rapport. J'ai même connu deux fois le cas d'une femme plus maligne encore; au lieu de chercher une seconde femme pour son mari, elle avait trouvé plus pratique de donner une seconde femme à son fils, qui avait à peine dix-sept ans et avait déjà une femme plus âgée que lui de quelques années. Ces cas expliquent encore la mentalité t'ou-jen au sujet du mariage. Nous avons dit antérieurement que le mariage n'est pas l'affaire personnelle des intéressés, et que les T'ou-jen y voient autre chose que la procréation d'une descendance.

d) Quatrième catégorie de polygames: celle de ceux qui veulent avoir deux femmes pour en jouir.

Cette catégorie est plutôt rare. Il est toujours dangereux, disent les anciens, de prendre une seconde femme quand la première a des enfants et ne veut pas entendre parler de polygamie. Ceux qui passent outre, finissent par prendre une concubine pour vendre la femme en titre, comme dit l'adage. D'ailleurs, dit un autre adage, "les femmes sont comme la médecine, il ne faut pas en prendre trop". La polygamie est donc loin d'être générale chez les T'ou-jen. Je crois pour ma part que ce chapitre gagnera beaucoup à être soigneusement revu et corrigé dans beaucoup de livres d'ethnologie.

3. PROCÉDURE POUR L'ACHAT D'UNE CONCUBINE.

En règle générale, le mari fait d'abord à sa femme la proposition de prendre une concubine. Si celle-ci ne veut pas en entendre parler et que le mari y tienne beaucoup, il aura recours à une amie de sa femme, ou même à un de ses parents pour la convaincre. Si cela ne réussit pas, d'ordinaire l'affaire est

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classée. Dans le cas où la femme y consent, le mari enverra quelqu'un auprès de la famille de sa femme, pour lui faire part de son projet. L'envoyé apportera le traditionnel cruchon de genièvre et dira que leur fille a donné son consentement aux désirs de son mari pour tel et tel motif. Puis il priera les parents de ne pas faire de difficultés au gendre. Sa mission sera facile à remplir, quand il s'agira des cas de stérilité, de veuvage ou de manque de personnel. Il rencontrera des difficultés souvent sérieuses, quand il aura à plaider un cas de la quatrième catégorie de polygames.

Le but de cette entrevue est, avant tout, de s'arranger avec cette famille, qui prétendra avoir donné sa fille pour qu'elle soit seule maitresse de maison. Ensuite, c'est une mesure de prévoyance. L'expérience a appris que ces unions sont souvent désastreuses, et que c'est parmi elles qu'on trouve le plus grand nombre de suicides. Or, nous savons la crainte sérieuse des T'ou-jen, pour les suicides qui ruinent régulièrement les familles en cause. En cas de suicide, les clans de la mère et du père de la malheureuse, se présentent pour demander compte de la mort de leur fille. Si avant le concubinage on a pu obtenir le consentement de la famille, plus tard, si jamais le malheur arrive, il y aura plus de chance de pouvoir s'entendre. Que le mari demande d'abord le consentement de sa femme, c'est qu'il sait aussi que le suicide est son arme suprême, et qu'il ne peut rien contre elle.

La seconde femme que le T'ou-jen s'adjoint, est ou bien une jeune fille, ou bien une veuve; si c'est une veuve, on suit la procédure du mariage des veuves; le prix d'une veuve concubine est le double ou le triple de celui d'une femme en titre. Si la seconde femme est une fille, on passera par toutes les phases du mariage des jeunes filles.

Les familles aisées donneront rarement leurs filles pour être concubines. Les familles pauvres s'y "résigneront" de grand cœur, fascinées par les compensations extraordinaires qu'elles reçoivent pour ce "sacrifice". Les prix d'une fille concubine

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monteront à trois cents ligatures et plus, sans compter les habits, le diner, et le reste; ce qui prouve abondamment que la situation financière joue un rôle primordial dans la polygamie.

4. SITUATION DE LA CONCUBINE VIS-A-VIS DE LA FEMME EN TITRE.

En théorie, la femme en titre est la maitresse, elle a le pas sur sa compagne, elle commande à la maison, reçoit les hôtes en l'absence du mari, s'entretient avec eux de concert avec lui, arrange les mille petites affaires qui se présentent dans le cours de la journée, a droit d'aller aux fêtes avant la seconde femme... et après sa mort, elle aura au cimetière la préséance sur la seconde femme.

Mais en pratique, à part son titre et sa préséance au cimetière, tout dépendra de la manière dont elle saura traiter sa rivale et s'imposer à son mari; pour peu qu'elle soit moins douée que celle-ci, sa supériorité s'évanouira bien vite.

Il est naturel d'ailleurs, que le mari soit plus porté pour la jeune femme qui lui donne des enfants, que pour la grande dame stérile. Il faudrait chez le mari un tact de maitre et cela pendant toute une vie, pour ne jamais laisser paraitre au jour cette disposition naturelle, qui doit causer la jalousie chez la femme en titre; il faudrait un caractère héroïque chez la femme pour qu'elle ne s'aigrisse pas, quand elle remarque qu'elle occupe seulement la deuxième place dans le cœur et l'estime du mari, alors qu'il est naturel pour elle, de penser qu'elle a droit à la première. Or, malheureusement tous les maris t'ou-jen ne sont pas maitres en fait de tact, et toutes les femmes t'ou-jen ne sont pas des héroïnes en fait de maitrise du cœur. Aussi il est rare que les femmes s'accordent bien entre elles. Cependant, pour peu que la femme en titre soit capable et que le mari soit correct, elle saura prendre les devants à la maison et en public, elle saura exiger du mari

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des habits meilleurs que ceux que porte la concubine, elle saura habiter avec le mari la meilleure chambre, se faire servir aux repas la première après le mari, s'asseoir la première après lui, etc ..... Quand il y a brouille entre les femmes, le mari va tout simplement se promener et revient quand l'orage est calmé.

La seconde femme nommera le femme en titre, "ma grande sœur", et la femme en titre nommera la seconde, "ma sœur". Quand il y a des enfants, on dira: appelez-moi la grand'mère des enfants, ou bien appelez-moi la petite mère. Le mari dira de même, où est la grand'mère des enfants, où est la petite?

Les deux femmes ont chacune leurs poules dont elles disposent en propriétaires, ainsi que des œufs. Les grains abandonnés sur l'aire après le battage et le vannage, rentrent aussi dans leur caisse particulière. Au temps de la récolte de l'opium, ce qui adhère aux parois des récipients, leur revient également; chacune a donc ses épargnes personnelles.

Je ne puis terminer le chapitre sur la polygamie sans conclure, que la monogamie est en fait la règle générale et l'ordre moral chez les T'ou-jen, tandis que la polygamie constitue une exception à la règle.

En effet, on ne rencontre la polygamie que dans des cas spéciaux, qui sont la stérilité, le veuvage, et le manque de personnel. Le fait que les polygames de la quatrième catégorie sont de loin les moins nombreux, semble prouver la thèse (1).

CONCLUSION. Un fait ethnographique d'importance capitale domine entièrement la question du mariage des filles et des veuves, et en partie celle de la polygamie: nous voulons parler

(1) SHIROKOGOROFF. op. cit. p. 64: Among the Manchus monogamie is the usual form of marriage. Polygamy if indeed it does occur, is a very exceptional form and can be considered as an incidental institution. According to the Manchus, polygamy is a modern fashion borrowed from the chinese who especially the rich people use it very largely. The rich Manchus used to have 5, 6 wives until a new law limited the number of wives to two only. There is no restriction to taking two sisters as wives, but the Manchus do not like to give two daughters, because other unmarried people may be discontented by it.

de la coutume qui veut que les veuves à la mort de leurs maris, ne sortent pas de la famille de celui-ci, mais soient remariées, soit aux frères du défunt, soit à ses oncles paternels.

Nous ne pouvons attacher trop d'importance à cette institution à cause de son universalité d'abord, puis à cause de son ancienneté et de la durée de son existence. En effet, cette pratique a été en vigueur chez tous les peuples nomades qui ont erré dans les immenses steppes de l'Asie septentrionale et méridionale, comme l'histoire chinoise l'atteste (1).

Par suite de ce fait il n'est pas question de parler en quelques sorte, de mariage de veuve pour toute cette période de l'histoire. Les veuves passaient simplement à d'autres membres de la même famille. De là viennent les incohérences que nous avons pu constater dans les rites actuels du mariage des veuves. Il n'y a pas non plus à supposer pour cette période l'existence de la pratique de l'enlèvement des veuves. Il est par conséquent naturel de conclure que, pour toute cette période, le mariage des jeunes filles est à considérer comme le seul et vrai mariage, et que la pratique de l'enlèvement existait seulement pour elles. Ce fait a son importance encore dans la question de la polygamie chez les T'ou-jen, parce qu'il explique une catégorie spéciale de polygamie pratiquée encore de nos jours. Le T'ou-jen n'ayant plus souvenir de cette institution, qui existait chez ses ancêtres, cherche aujourd'hui à ce problème une explication arbitraire.

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(1) Parker, "A thousand years of the Tartars." sec. ed. p. 4: A universal custom, which as we shall see, extended for a thousand years over the whole of Tartary, was for the son to take over his deceased father's wives (with exception of his own natural mother) and for younger brothers to take over the widows of their elder brethren. It does not appear quite certain whether the son or the brother had first choice: perhaps the brother only took when there was no son, possibly vice-versa. p. 19 Parker, cite cette pratique chez les Hiung-nu: p. 85 chez les Wu hwan and Sien-pi: p. 109 chez les T'u-yu-hun. Barthold la cite chez les Ouigours et Mongols, cf. note p. 104

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L'Asie septentrionale et centrale a été le théâtre de nombreuses migrations paisibles et autres, aux époques historiques et préhistoriques, de peuples ayant des organisations sociales très variées. De là les analogies et les emprunts ethnologiques constatés chez les peuples des deux côtés du détroit de Béring, et chez les "mittleren und westlichen Eurasiaten.

Je résume en cet endroit, les "monumenta ethnographica" qui jettent une nouvelle lumière sur le chapitre du "mariage par achat" chez les T'ou-jen, dont les ancêtres, "Mongols et Cha-t'ous, étaient nomades

J'emploie à cet effet, la judicieuse étude d'ensemble, du Dr Herbert König "Das Recht der Polarvölker, IV Das Eherecht der Polarvölker" Anthropos 1928-9

Anthropos, 1929 p 101, Der Brautkauf der mittleren u. westlichen Eurasiaten... Die Brautkaufehe deckt sich in ihrer Verbreitung fast mit den Völkern aristokratischer Gesellschaftsverfassung im Polargebiete. Ausdrücklich berichtet u. eingehend geschildert ist sie von Tungusen, Jakuten, Samojeden, Ostjaken und Lappen, und zwar als einzige Eheschliessungsform.. p. 104 Nicht so einheitlich ist das Bild, das im Osten des Polargebietes die Eskimo bieten.

Anthropos 1929, p. 129. Gegenüber all den genannten Völkern (Polarvölkern) stehen die mittleren Nordasiaten. Bei Samojeden, Ostjaken, Jakuten, Tungusen u. Dolganen herrscht Exogamie. Diese erstreckt sich nicht nur auf das Geschlecht, sondern auf den ganzen Stamm.

p. 130. Eine Exogamie. wie sie bei diesen Völkern vorhanden ist, erfordert, dass die Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten Gemeinschaft (hier Heiratsklasse) entweder nach der Vaterseite oder der Mutterseite gerechnet wird, und zwar aus dem einfachen Grunde...

p. 117... Die Kinderverlobung, d. h. die Bestimmung zweier Menschen zur Ehe vor Eintritt der Reife, oder sogar schon vor der Geburt des einen oder beider von ihnen.. se rencontre chez tous les peuples der Polargebiete.

p. 102. Gewöhnlich tritt ein Freiwerber auf, meist der Vater oder ein sonstiger naher männlicher Verwandter des Bräutigams, der mit dem Vater der Braut verhandelt und oft eine Entschädigung für seine Mühewaltung, etwa in Gestalt eines Rentieres erhält.

p. 102. Der Preis für die Braut ist nach den Vermögensverhältnissen der Beteiligten verschieden und wird in Rentieren bzw, in wertvollen Pelzen entrichtet.

p. 102. Der Brautpreis wird entweder sofort oder in Raten bezahlt. In letzterem Falle darf der Bräutigam die Braut erst zu sich nehmen, wenn auch die letzte Rate bezahlt ist, obschon er oft vorher bereits bei ihr schlafen darf.

p. 103. Ich sagte schon dass bei den hier besprochenen Völkern stets eine Mitgift gewahrt wurde. In der ausdrücklichen Angabe einer solchen stimmen fast alle Berichterstatter überein.

Herbert Koenig. "Das Eherecht der Polarvoelker", Anthropos, 1929, p. 136-7. Vielweiberei und ähnliche Verhältnisse.. In ganzen Polargebiete herrscht rechtlich die Vielweiberei. Es kann ein jeder soviel Frauen heiraten als er will und ernähren kann... Die Gründe die den Polarmenschen dazu fürhen eine zweite Frau zu nehmen, sind der Wunsch nach Erlangung einer weiteren Hilfe im Haushalt oder nach Kindern, letzteres im Falle der Unfruchtbarkeit der ersten, welche bei wirtschaftlicher Unmöglichkeit aber einfach verstossen wird. Die erste Frau bleibt sonst stets die angesehenste; bei den Jukagiren gibt es verschiedene Bezeichnungen. So wird der zweite als "kleine Weib" die dritte aber als Konkubine characterisiert.

Quant à la Monogamie, Herb. Koenig dit:... Die durch die wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse meist gebotene tatsächliche Eineheee...

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CHAPITRE II

MARIAGES PAR PRESTATION DE SES SERVICES, OU DE SA PERSONNE.

Tous les mariages décrits plus haut, sont conclus par l'achat, soit d'une jeune fille, soit d'une veuve. La nouvelle catégorie des unions, dans laquelle la femme n'est plus achetée, offre aux pauvres nécessiteux l'unique ressource de pouvoir se marier. Les gens de condition moyenne préféreront acheter une fille pour leur fils, plutôt que de s'exposer à toute une série de déboires, fatalement inhérents à ce genre d'union qu'est le mariage par prestation de services, ou par prestation de sa personne.

Aussi, il faut que les désavantages en soient réellement sérieux, pour que les T'ou-jen même les déconseillent, eux que nous avons vus si grands amateurs de petits profits.

Ces alliances sont donc "de nos jours" uniquement pratiquées par les jeunes gens, qui n'ont pas d'autres moyens de se marier, et qui dans l'espoir d'une descendance et pour satisfaire à l'obligation de se marier, se résignent à ces sacrifices.

La division du chapitre sera donc: Prestation de services pour marier

A — une veuve

B — une jeune fille, ou la question des maris-gendres.

A — MARIAGE DE VEUVE.

On se marie avec une veuve sans devoir la payer, dans le cas où celle-ci est dans l'indigence, et se trouve après le décès de son mari avec trois ou quatre enfants; quand de plus elle est seule au monde, du fait qu'elle n'a pas de beaux-frères, ou qu'en ayant, ils sont trop pauvres pour subvenir à ses besoins. C'est donc le cas des veuves sans moyens de subsistance.

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Veuve t' ou-jen avec ses deux filles, en costume t'ou-jen.
A remarquer la coiffure. On en compte neuf espèces. Li Kin-wang ancêtre du clan Li avait neuf femmes et chacune d'elles avait sa coiffure spéciale:de là les neuf coiffures t'ou-jen qu'on voit encore de nos jours!

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Il y a naturellement peu d'amateurs pour ce genre d'alliance, car ceux qui s'y aventurent devront élever les enfants d'un autre, qui tôt ou tard, s'ils ne rendent pas le mal pour le bien, seront pour le moins très peu reconnaissants pour les soins qu'on leur aura donnés. Ce genre de mariage est littéralement, celui appelé par les chinois "*tchao fou iang tse* 招夫養子", i. e. chercher un mari qui nourrira les enfants. Bien que ces unions ne soient pas avantageuses au mari, il y a néanmoins toujours des pauvres d'un certain âge, qui attirés par l'espoir d'une progéniture, décident de s'exposer aux dangers de pareille union, ou qui plutôt se laissent tenter par la veuve. En effet, les termes de ce mariage disent clairement que c'est la veuve qui cherche le mari. Cela dit assez, que ces unions ne sont pas prisées. Dans pareil mariage, les deux partis se concertent d'abord entre eux. Leur décision prise, ils invitent eux-mêmes un entremetteur, qui ira voir les oncles paternels et les grands-parents des enfants. La famille t'ou-jen est à base agnatique, et le système de famille est celui de la grande famille avec communauté de biens. A la mort du mari, la veuve reste donc dans le domaine de la communauté; il faudra par conséquent reconnaître ses propriétaires. Mais comme cette propriété est pour eux plutôt une charge, il sera facile de s'entendre. De plus, la famille de la veuve sait bien, que si elle n'est pas accommodante, la veuve saura lui causer pas mal de désagréments.

Le conditions que pose la famille sont les suivantes: les fils resteront les descendants du défunt, ils continueront de porter son nom, et seront plus tard enterrés dans le cimetière de leur père; le nouveau mari les éduquera et les nourrira; arrivés à l'âge de se marier, il leur achètera une femme, ou bien il donnera à la famille la somme requise *ad hoc*; alors il pourra renvoyer les mariés, qui pourvoiront eux-mêmes à leur subsistance; quant aux filles, il pourra les vendre. Puisqu'il s'engage aux dépenses que nécessitent tant de charges, la famille n'exige pas de compensation pour la veuve.

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Il arrive souvent que par suite de malentendus et de querelles, les frères font entre eux le partage des biens et des dettes et constituent des familles indépendantes. Quand une veuve d'une famille pareille désire se remarier, la famille exige que le nouveau mari reconnaisse les dettes du défunt; et les débiteurs prêtent main forte à la famille pour empêcher le mariage en cas de refus; mais s'ils ont la chance d'avoir affaire à une virago, qui menace de venir s'installer chez eux avec ses enfants, les difficultés s'évanouissent, les dettes sont mises sur le compte des enfants et seront exigées plus tard, quand les enfants seront grands.

Dans le cas où la veuve avec ses enfants a hérité de son mari défunt quelques lopins de terre, le nouveau mari pourra les labourer pour entretenir sa famille, mais il ne pourra pas les vendre puisqu'ils sont la propriété des orphelins mâles. Ceux-ci une fois mariés peuvent exiger ces terres et renvoyer leur père nourricier avec la mère, ce qui arrive souvent; dans la cas où ils s'accordent bien, ils restent ensemble. Si, au contraire, le nouveau mari a des terres à lui, et que la veuve n'en ait pas, il entretient la famille, marie les fils et les renvoie. Si pendant le mariage la famille s'enrichit, si le patrimoine s'accroit et que desenfants soient nés du nouveau mariage, les enfants du premier mari recevront la part de leur père défunt, plus la moitié des terres et des biens acquis après le second mariage. Les propriétés personnelles du nouveau mari sont héritées par ses enfants à lui. Si le mari vient à mourir sans laisser d'enfants, ses biens personnels et sa veuve étant la propriété de sa famille à lui, ils rentrent dans le domaine de celle-ci.

Ces conditions montrent clairement que la veuve est considérée comme ayant quitté entièrement la famille de ses anciens beaux-parents; ceux-ci ont cédé tous les droits qu'ils avaient sur elle, et lui ont confié les enfants avec l'obligation de les élever, pour leur clan.

Quand on fait pareille alliance, on écrit toujours un contrat

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en double, dont une copie est conservée par le mari et l'autre est remise à la famille des anciens beaux-parents de la veuve; il y est fait minutieusement mention des propriétés, des dettes... puis des obligations du nouveau mari.

Si, après le mariage, ils restent pauvres et se trouvent dans l'impossibilité de marier les fils, ceux-ci devenus grands, finissent par s'en aller de leur gré.

Il n'y a pas d'enlèvement à craindre pour le cas qui nous occupe, on se marie très simplement en plein jour. Dans le cas où la veuve a des terres et que le mari n'en a pas, il vient habiter chez elle; dans le cas contraire, la veuve avec les enfants s'installe chez lui; s'ils n'ont rien ni l'un ni l'autre, ils cherchent un gîte et vont habiter ensemble. Une prostration au ciel et aux esprits, en présence de l'entremetteur et des parents, et c'est tout le cérémonial de pareils mariages; ajoutez-y une autre aux parents et à l'entremetteur (1).

Il y a des cas où un garçon peut épouser une fille sans devoir la payer. Ce genre de mariage est de nos jours, uniquement contracté par les jeunes gens pauvres. C'est le cas de dire "timeo Danaos et dona ferentes". En Orient, on ne donne pas les filles en cadeaux; l'altruisme n'a pas évolué à ce point. Qu'un jeune homme aime sérieusement une fille, ce n'est pas un motif pour la lui donner gratis.

SHIROKOGOROFF. OP. CIT. p: 142. If the widow and her daughters do not wish to be cared for by their husband's and father's brothers, they may also receive a part of the property. This part is equal to that of a brother. In this way the woman may become the owner of land and house. But this ownership can be maintained only during two generations (from mother to daughter) because the bride's property, as a rule, becomes her husband's property and through the husband this property is transmitted to a foreign clan.

If the widow has succeeded and some time later is going to be remarried, her property must be transferred to the person who can be her heir. However if the widow and her daughters keep the property during several years (5-6), the widow can remarry and reserve her rights to her property. Besides there is a peculiar form of inheritance by adoption. If the deceased has no son and his brother succeeds him and assumes the care of the widow, he gives to her his son for adoption.

The property never can be inherited in the female line by the relatives of motherline filiation.

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B — MARIAGE DE JEUNE FILLE, OU LA QUESTION DES MARIS-GENDRES.

SOMMAIRE. — 1. Échange de fille contre la prestation de services, jusqu'à la mort des beaux-parents. — 2. Échange de fille contre la prestation de services pendant un nombre d'années déterminé. — 3. Achat d'une jeune fille, et recherche d'un gendre qui serviront leurs beaux-parents jusqu'à la mort. — 4. Prestation de sa *personne par adoption* pour obtenir une épouse.

1. ÉCHANGE DE FILLE CONTRE PRESTATION DE SERVICE, JUSQU'A LA MORT DES PARENTS.

Supposons des parents pauvres ou riches, avancés en âge et ayant une fille unique. Si la famille est aisée, elle se sera procuré à temps une seconde femme; cependant le cas se présente où elle ne l'a pas fait. Les parents tiennent à leur fille, se persuadent que la fille ne peut pas se passer d'eux et qu'elle ne les quittera jamais. Persuadés à tort ou à raison de l'attachement que leur fille leur porte, ils cherchent le moyen de ne pas s'en séparer, en lui donnant un mari qui viendra habiter chez eux, et travaillera leurs terres; la fille mettra au monde des enfants qui feront la joie de leurs vieux jours, et le gendre sera pour eux un fils pieux qui les servira jusqu'au moment où ils iront rejoindre leurs ancêtres. Voilà du moins l'explication donnée à cette coutume par les T'ou-jen actuels.

Les parents de la fille, sans pratiquer l'adoption proprement dite, acceptent le gendre chez eux comme membre de la famille, et lui donnent leur fille sans exiger de compensations pécuniaires. Le gendre cherche un entremetteur et deux garants; un contrat est écrit où est stipulé qu'il restera chez ses beaux-parents et

les servira jusqu'à leur mort.

Quelle est chez les T'ou-jen la position juridique d'un pareil gendre vis-à-vis de sa propre famille et vis-à-vis de celle de sa femme?

Le cas en question est une pratique pure et simple, propre au régime du matriarcat. C'est, en effet, le cas des maris-gendres qui vont habiter chez les beaux-parents pour la vie, et qui reçoivent la fille en mariage en échange de leurs services (1). Ils perdent leurs droits d'héritage dans leur famille d'origine, mais étant

(1) SHIROKOGOROFF, op. cit. p. 147-3. The transmission of a property through the woman from a clan to another one, takes place in the case where the male person enters his father-in-law's house, and after the death of the latter the property is inherited by the son-in-law i. e. the person belonging to another clan. The same combination will take place, if the widow has no sons and marries her daughter to the person who enters her house. In this case the person must live prior to the mother-in-law's death, at least 4-10 years in her home, but if the death occurs before the period expires, the son-in-law must leave the house with wife; and in the case of his wife's death during this period, he leaves his mother-in-law's house and the care of her must be assumed by her husband's clan people.

Dr Herbert König, op. cit. 192; Anthropos, p. 121. Der Ubertritt des Mannes in die Familie der Frau: Ich komme jetzt zu einer auch im Polargebiet weitverbreiteten Sitte, die darin besteht, dass der Mann nach der Heirat zu der Frau übersiedelt. Diese Uebersiedlung kann eine dauernde oder nur vorübergehende sein. Bei letzterer scheint nur ein gemeinsames Wohnen und Wandern mit den Schwiegereltern in Frage zu kommen, vielleicht noch mit Unterhaltspflicht ihnen gegenüber, bei dauerndem Uebertritt findet aber eine völlige Aufnahme des Schwiegersohnes in die Familie statt, der er fortab als Sohn angehört, wie die Brüder seiner Frau. Erwird aber nach dem Tode des Schwiegervaters und dem Ausscheiden der älteren Brüder der Frau durch Heirat selbst zum Haupte der Familie...

Dr Herbert König, op. cit. p. 114... Der Brautdienst der Frau. Von dem Institute des Brautdienstes der Frau sind mir von drei Stellen des Polargebietes Belege bekannt geworden, von denen ich jedoch einen von vorn herein als ganz zweifelhaft ausscheiden möchte... Aus welchen Anschauungen heraus die Sitte aber enstanden ist, das ist damit noch nicht gesagt. Je ne puis me défendre de croire que nous nous trouvons ici devant des faits mal contrôlés, et qu'au lieu de les expliquer par "Brautdienste der Frau" on doit chercher leur raison d'être, soit dans la générosité de la famille du fiancé envers celle de la fiancée pauvre, soit dans le manque de personnel dans la famille du fiancé, soit dans le cas de décès des parents, etc., comme les faits le prouvent chez les T'ou-jen et les Mantchoux. D'ailleurs nous nous trouvons ici devant le cas très fréquent des T'ong-lang si-fou-tse qu'on rencontre par toute la Chine, i. e. une fille pauvre, d'ordinaire encore non nubile, est acceptée dans la famille comme future fiancée d'un fils, on la mariera quand les deux conjoints auront l'âge du mariage. Pas question de "Brautdienste der Frau" pas question de "Erprobung des Mädchens".

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regardés comme membres de la famille de leur femme, ils y retrouvent leurs droits perdus; même on cite des cas où ils deviennent chefs dans la famille de leur femme. C'est là le droit général, propre à cette pratique.

Or les T'ou-jen vivent actuellement sous le régime du patriarcat qui est incompatible avec cette coutume. Il n'est pas étonnant dès lors, que le mari-gendre se trouve dans une position très désavantageuse...

Comme il n'y a pas eu d'adoption du gendre dans la famille de sa femme, celui-ci continue de s'appeler du nom de son père, lui et ses enfants; il continue d'être membre de sa famille paternelle, d'honorer les défunts de la famille de son père, et de prêter main forte à sa famille d'origine dans les cas de vengeance, etc. En théorie donc, il garde les droits d'héritage dans sa famille paternelle. Mais comme ces gendres appartiennent d'ordinaire à des familles très pauvres, l'occasion de jouir de ses droits d'héritage se présente très rarement.

J'ai toutefois rencontré le cas en question, deux, trois fois, et chaque fois les frères qui étaient restés chez eux tâchaient d'éliminer le frère mari-gendre, sous prétexte qu'il n'avait pas contribué à l'acquisition des biens de la famille. Toutefois le malheureux parvenait toujours à faire valoir ses droits, si pas en entier du moins en partie.

Cela prouve amplement que le mari-gendre habitant chez les beaux-parents pour les servir jusqu'à la mort, se trouve dans une position fausse vis-à-vis de sa famille d'origine.

Sa position vis-à-vis de la famille de sa femme n'est pas meilleure. En effet, sous le régime du patriarcat, la succession est paternelle. Le nom du gendre diffère de celui de la famille de sa femme; or nous avons vu "autre nom, autre famille", le gendre n'a donc pas de droit d'héritage à faire valoir ici. C'est ce qui explique qu'on ne verra jamais des jeunes gens de famille aisée consentir à se faire maris-gendres, et que seulement ceux qui n'ont rien à y perdre s'engagent dans cette voie.

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Si les beaux-parents sont pauvres, il n'y aura pas de difficultés à cette combinaison de la part de leur propre famille; si, au contraire, la famille est aisée les frères du futur beau-père ne permettront pas qu'à sa mort sa fille hérite de ses biens, qui de droit devront leur revenir. Ils feront donc à temps tout leur possible pour que la fille soit donnée en mariage en dehors de la maison, et ils tâcheront de persuader le père d'adopter un de leurs fils. Si le père ne veut rien entendre et continue de chercher ce gendre idéal, la famille ne pourra pas y contredire, tant que vivront les beaux-parents. Ceux-ci de leur côté se prépareront aux éventualités et tâcheront de réaliser en espèces leurs propriétés foncières, de façon à pouvoir favoriser la fille. Néanmoins le gendre sera toujours la bête noire dans la famille et pourra s'attendre à mille tracasseries et à une malveillance continuelle. A la mort des beaux-parents, le gendre a le droit de retourner avec sa femme dans sa famille d'origine; mais comme d'ordinaire celle-ci est pauvre, il ne le fera pas; d'ailleurs il sait d'avance qu'il ne sera pas le bienvenu. Dans le cas où la famille de sa femme est riche, on laissera toujours au moins quelque chose à la fille, au moment du partage des biens, par ex. quelques lopins de terre, une maison, etc: elle ne sera jamais déshéritée complètement. Ajoutez à cela le petit *boni* qu'elle aura mis de côté d'avance, et le jeune ménage aura de quoi vivre. Les frères du mari-gendre ne viendront pas importuner celui-ci, puisque les biens qu'il possède sont censés appartenir à sa femme.

Dans le cas où les beaux-parents sont les seuls représentants de leur clan, la position du mari-gendre est plus enviable.

Je n'ai jamais rencontré qu'on cherchât des maris-gendres, là oú l'on avait des fils.

La position du mari-gendre vis-à-vis de la famille de sa femme est donc encore une position fausse.

Les contrats de pareils mariages, en règle générale, ne sont pas observés ponctuellement, surtout quand les beaux-parents sont pauvres; ou bien le gendre finit par délaisser sa femme et sa

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famille, et va chercher fortune ailleurs, ou bien la fille aimant son mari, s'enfuit avec lui. Si on parvient à les ramener et s'ils persistent à ne plus vouloir habiter chez les parents, on tâchera d'exiger du gendre un semblant de compensation et l'affaire sera terminée.

La conclusion du chapitre sera donc, que nous sommes ici en présence d'une déformation de la pratique, du passage à vie, de la part du gendre, dans la famille de ses beaux-parents, dans le but d'obtenir leur fille en mariage.

Est-ce-que les T'ou-jen ont jamais pratiqué cette coutume dans toute son ampleur? En principe, cela n'est pas impossible, puisqu'on voit encore de nos jours les Mantchoux la pratiquer comme telle, tout en ayant le régime du patriarcat et la succession paternelle. De plus, nous savons que les Mongols, frères de race des T'ou-jen, pratiquaient cette coutume anciennement, et qu'ils la pratiquent encore (1). Ensuite, il est bien curieux de constater comment les T'ou-jen l'adoptent aisément de nouveau dans toute sa pureté, du moment qu'ils se retrouvent dans un milieu où elle est pratiquée.

La sous-préfecture de Koei-té, située à deux journées au Sud de Si-ning, sur les rives du Fleuve Jaune en plein territoire tibétain, y formant une prospère oasis chinoise-t'ou-jen, est de longue date le lieu de refuge des T'ou-jen qui s'enfuient avec la femme d'autrui, dans l'intention de ne plus jamais revenir dans leur lieu d'origine. Or parmi les T'ou-jen de ces endroits, bon nombre en sont venus à pratiquer de nouveau l'ancienne coutume des maris-gendres, que pratiquent les Tibétains leurs voisins. Dès qu'ils arrivent au pays, ils ne donnent plus leurs filles en mariage en dehors de la maison, mais ils cherchent pour elles un

(1) VLADIMIRTSOV. LIFE OF GHINGIS KHAN p. 87. Yesugey avec son fils Temuchin (futur Ghingis Khan) va demander en mariage pour celui-ci Börte, la fille de Dai-se-chen: The proposal was accepted. Yesugey presented Dai-se-chen with his remount horse, and left Temuchin to stay there in the quality of futur son-in-law. This, according the mongol custom, definitly confirmed Yesugey's decision to become related to the house of Dai-se-chen.

Deux filles appartenant à une famille de t'ou-jen tibétanisés. Elles portent l'habillement des filles du Hoa-ri (Nord de Sining) L'aînée file la quenouille et porte dans la nuque le bâtôn auquel elle accroche le fil; la petite étire la laine.

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mari-gendre; d'un autre côté, ils envoient leurs fils devenir maris-gendres dans des familles étrangères. Chez beaucoup de ces T'ou-jen les fils ne jouissent plus même du droit d'héritage dans leur propre famille où les filles sont devenues les seules héritières; en d'autres familles ils continuent d'hériter à côté de leurs sœurs. Ils passent donc par une période de transition. Une famille t'ou-jen après l'autre adopte les mœurs des Tibétains, d'abord quelques-unes et en partie seulement, et doucement ils se "tibétanisent". C'est d'ailleurs un fait que le milieu tibétain ne leur répugne pas, et que les filles t'ou-jen données en mariage à des Tibétains se sentent vite chez elles.

Les T'ou-jen des parages de Si-ning parlant de leurs frères de Koei-té, disent en riant, que chez eux la femme est propriétaire et maîtresse de maison, "*niu-jen tang ts'ai*", que les hommes n'y comptent pas, qu'il y a là des femmes qui renvoient elles-mêmes leur mari, qu'on y trouve des femmes qui ont plus d'un mari, et que les vieillards y sont à plaindre. Donc des mœurs tibétaines.

Comment faut-il expliquer la déformation de la pratique des maris-gendres chez les T'ou-jen?

D'abord, il faut savoir que les révolutions mahométanes ont décimé la population T'ou-jen au Kan-sou. Quelques T'ou-jen pour refaire leurs groupes et se procurer les redevances de leurs terres, ont accepté dans leurs clans de nombreux éléments hétérogènes chinois et tibétains: d'autres chefs t'ou-jen ne sont jamais parvenus à relever les ruines. Ajoutez à cela l'usage de l'opium qui a miné surtout les familles des chefs, et les a endettées et appauvries; il n'est donc pas étonnant que le pouvoir et aussi l'influence des T'ou-se aient subi de rudes atteintes. La première entre toutes fut le recours de plus en plus fréquent aux tribunaux chinois de la part des T'ou-jen. Dans les vieux temps, disent les anciens, le T'ou-se seul était notre juge en cas de litige: personne n'aurait osé s'adresser aux mandarins chinois par crainte de représailles de la part du T'ou-se. Je crois qu'il

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faut chercher dans ce sens la solution à notre problème. En effet, le tribunal chinois reconnait seulement le droit d'héritage des fils, et à leur défaut des membres du côté paternel. En cas de litige, le côté paternel est toujours sûr d'obtenir gain de cause contre une fille unique, et le frère mari-gendre, tant que l'adoption n'a pas été pratiquée, peut toujours espérer de voir reconnaître ses droits dans sa famille d'origine. Quelques verdicts dans ce genre suffisent pour déformer une coutume et créer une mentalité toute neuve. De plus il faut une vertu éprouvée pour pouvoir résister à des tentations pareilles!

2. ÉCHANGE DE FILLE CONTRE LA PRESTATION DE SERVICES PENDANT UN NOMBRE DÉTERMINÉ D'ANNÉES.

L'expérience de tous les jours ayant prouvé que la solution précédente n'est pas pratique, disent les T'ou-jen, il se trouve des gens qui en cherchent une autre; plus psychologique de fait. En effet, la vue de la fin de ses propres misères dans un avenir relativement peu éloigné, donne le courage de rester fidèle au devoir. Une famille de condition pauvre ou même moyenne peut promettre de donner sa fille à un jeune homme pauvre, pourvu que celui-ci prenne l'engagement de travailler cinq, huit, dix ou douze ans chez elle.

Les contrats de ces mariages sont généralement faits par les parents eux-mêmes, avec un ou deux individus qui se portent garants pour le gendre. Tandis que dans le cas précédent, la fille peut être nubile au moment où on lui cherche un mari, dans le cas présent, l'arrangement a toujours lieu quand la fille a seulement sept, huit ou dix ans au plus. Quant à l'âge du gendre il n'y a rien de défini: il peut avoir dix ou douze ans, aussi bien qu'il peut en avoir trente et même plus. Quand la fille aura ses quinze ans, on fera une petite fête et elle portera ses cheveux à la façon des femmes mariées; donc elle sera mariée.

Pourquoi cet engagement quand la fille est encore enfant?

Un t'ou-jen avec son fils;
ils portent les habits chinois.
(pays de Nien-pei, Sining).

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C'est qu'on se connaît au pays et qu'on ne veut pas être dupé sur toute la ligne. En effet, dès que la fille aura ses quinze ans et sera mariée, elle aimera comme son mari d'être plus libre; elle se laissera persuader par lui qu'on peut travailler partout et que chez les beaux-parents il n'y a plus rien à gagner. On se dispute un jour dans la famille, et le couple disparaît. Or, à ce moment, la famille des beaux-parents aura déja profité au moins de quelques années de travail du gendre. Il arrive rarement que le gendre soit fidèle à ses engagements jusqu'au bout. C'est donc encore une alliance caduque.

La cas présent est le cas ordinaire des maris-gendres. Il jouit d'une très grande diffusion par toute l'Asie, chez les peuples Turcs, Mongols, Mantchoux et chez les peuples du nord de l'Asie (1), et partout on semble tenir cette pratique en honneur.

SHIROKOGOROFF. op. cit. p. 75. There is also a very interesting custom of getting wife by personal work in the house of the futur father-in-law. A poor man who cannot pay "kalim" through the intermediary of same person asks the bride's father to give him his daughter against his personal work in the house of his futur father-in-law. The minimum period of ihis is three years and the maximum ten years. The futur son-in-law lives in the house of his futur father-in-law, but he always has his separated spirits and goes to his clan's meetings and sacrifices. After the fixed period is expired, they make a very modest wedding and the young husband brings his wife to his own house or lives in the house of his wife's father as a workman at a fixed salary. Sometimes the father-in-law gives the young couple some means to start an independent household. This custom is very broadly practised by the Manchus who consider it, as one of the most ancient and purely national institutions.

Dr HERBERT KOENIG, op. cit. p. 109-110. Das Wesen dieser Eheschliessungsart besteht darin dass der Bräutigam seine Werbung damit beginnt, dass er bei dem zukünftigen Schwiegervater die niederigsten Arbeiten verrichtet, während er von ihm fast wie ein Sklave behandelt wird... Auch hier tritt gelegentlich ein Freiwerber auf, meist der Vater, ein anderer naher Verwandter, auch ein Freund kann es sein, der bei dem Vater der Braut anfragt ob der Bewerber um das Mädchen seine Dienste beginnen kann. P. 656. So ist die Brautdienstehe allem Anscheine nach, auf die asiatische Seite der Beringstrasse und die Aleuten beschränkt, während sie bei den Eskimo fehlt.

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Chez les T'ou-jen, à ce qu'on peut voir, elle crée pas mal de déboires: il n'est donc pas étonnant d'entendre les anciens affirmer que cette coutume est de nos jours beaucoup moins pratiquée que dans les bons vieux temps. On rencontre encore assez souvent cette coutume chez les Chinois du Kan-sou.

3. ACHAT D'UNE JEUNE FILLE ET RECHERCHE D'UN GENDRE, QUI SERVIRONT LEURS BEAUX-PARENTS JUSQU'A LA MORT,

Une autre combinaison plus aléatoire encore est celle qu'on rencontre souvent dans les familles passablement aisées, mais qui n'ont pas d'enfant. On achète une fille, on lui cherche un gendre, et on espère qu'ils resteront chez leurs bienfaiteurs pour les servir jusqu'à leur mort. C'est donc le premier cas qui se représente avec moins de chance de succès: vu que les sentiments de cette étrangère ne pourront être comparés à ceux de la propre fille. S'il n'y a pas d'espoir pour eux de grands avantages matériels, ils finissent par s'en aller.

4. PRESTATION DE SA PERSONNE PAR ADOPTION POUR OBTENIR UNE ÉPOUSE.

Dans cette catégorie nous voyons le principe du patriarcat qui triomphe. Cette quatrième combinaison est celle qu'on rencontre dans les familles plutôt riches qui n'ont qu'une fille unique et adoptent un gendre pour le donner comme mari à leur fille. Le but de cet arrangement, toujours d'après les T'ou-jen, est ne pas se séparer de leur fille et de la constituer avec le gendre, leurs héritiers légitimes.

Or, pour que cela soit possible dans le régime du patriarcat, il faut que le gendré échange son nom de famille contre celui de ses beaux-parents: qu'il se sépare radicalement de ses propres parents et de son clan, pour reconnaitre ses beaux-parents et tout

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leur clan pour le sien propre: il faut qu'il se donne tout entier à cette famille, il faut qu'il fasse des offrandes à leurs ancêtres, et de la sorte il pourra continuer la lignée dans la famille et à sa mort être enterré dans leur cimetière. C'est donc la prestation de services pour la vie, en même temps que celle de soi-même dans toute son étendue.

On comprend de suite qu'un pareil arrangement doit susciter des difficultés de la part de la famille; aussi il exige toute une série de formalités pour le réaliser. Le père de famille commence par inviter ses frères et annoncer sa décision irrévocable. Pour qu'ils signent le contrat d'adoption, et admettent le nouveau gendre dans le cercle de famille, il proposera de leur léguer quelques lopins de terre après son décès; le reste des propriétés devra échoir au gendre et à son épouse. Tout cela ne marche pas sans de longues discussions; enfin le contrat d'adoption est signé à l'occasion d'un dîner de famille, où le gendre fait la grande prostration à ses nouveaux parents; il salue l'image religieuse honorée dans la maison, et brûle des branches de cyprès; son nom est inscrit au registre familial en présence de toute la famille; il se rend au cimetière du clan pour faire des offrandes aux ancêtres de ses nouveaux parents, et va à la pagode du village vénérer les dieux du lieu, protecteurs de sa famille d'adoption (1). Cet arrangement présente toutes garanties nécessaires à une union durable et sérieuse mais au prix de quels sacrifices de la part du gendre.

SHIROKOGOROFF, op. cit. p. 61. The adoption of men (chez les Mantchoux) is practised only for children. When the child becomes 6-7 years old the couple who adopt it organize a sacrifice to their clan spirits. They declare to the spirits and to the child adopted, that such and such person is adopted in the clan, and that this person leaves his former clan and spirits and enters into this clan.

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CHAPITRE III

MARIAGES ANORMAUX.

Nous avons vu toutes les misères qu'entraînent les mariages de jeunes filles, échangées contre la prestation, soit de la personne du gendre, soit des services pour un terme fixé ou à vie. Néanmoins toute cette série de mariages sont plus ou moins compréhensibles pour une mentalité européenne; les deux séries d'alliances qui suivent, ne le sont plus. Ce sont les mariages

A — avec le mât-à-prières, avec un arbre, avec un mur, avec un lion en terre cuite, etc...

B — les mariages avec la ceinture.

Notons que les mariages de la première série sont pratiqués aussi par les Tibétains du Kan-sou, qui vivent à l'état semi-nomade et semi-agraire; on ne les trouve pas chez les Chinois du pays.

A — MARIAGES AVEC LE MÂT-A-PRIÈRES, ETC.

Exposons d'abord le cas, puis justifions la classification de cette pratique, dans la série des mariages.

Il arrive de lire dans les livres qui parlent des T'ou-jen, que ce peuple compte des filles, non mariées toute leur vie, qui cependant donnent naissance à des enfants, quand même. Les livres chinois surtout s'efforcent de dénigrer ce peuple, avant tout, à cause de cette coutume. Or, ils se trompent; ces observateurs superficiels n'ont rien compris aux coutumes de ces pays Ce n'est pas par cette coutume qu'il faut juger la moralité des T'ou-jen.

Pour pouvoir honnêtement donner naissance à un enfant (car il y a une honnêteté aussi chez ces peuples), la coutume

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veut, sans exception aucune, que la mère porte les cheveux à la manière des femmes mariées; c'est dire en d'autres mots, qu'il faut être mariée pour pouvoir devenir mère.

Or, il arrive que des jeunes filles, non encore données en mariage, sont enceintes. Deux solutions se présentent alors; la première c'est de provoquer l'avortement, ou d'attendre que l'enfant soit né pour le faire disparaître ou l'offrir à qui le voudra; la seconde est de changer la coiffure de la jeune fille; c'est-à-dire de la marier.

Quand on adopte la seconde solution, on invite trois ou quatre voisins, qui avec la famille assistent au "mariage". On a eu soin de préparer la toilette de la mariée. Elle s'en revêt donc et se fait coiffer à la mode des femmes mariées. Deux lampes sont allumées et le feu sacré placé au milieu de la cour est entretenu au moyen de branches de cyprès. Après avoir étendu des feutres rouges, on procède au mariage, qui se fait ordinairement avec le mât-à-prières, nommé "*mané kan*", qu'on trouve dans presque toutes les cours des habitations t'ou-jen; (c'est un mât, dressé au milieu de la cour, au haut duquel flottent des banderolles, sur lesquelles sont imprimées des prières lamaïques en caractères tibétains); souvent il se fait aussi avec un mur avec un arbre, qui est devant la maison, avec le petit lion en, terre cuite, qui est au-dessus de tous les toits des maisons; même avec un rocher, etc.

La fille s'agenouille à trois reprises et chaque fois fait trois grandes prostrations comme on en fait au mariage. Elle fait les prostrations dans la direction du mât-à-prières, ou dans celle de l'arbre, ou de l'objet avec lequel elle est censée se marier; en même temps elle dit chaque fois, "le ciel m'a peigné les cheveux, le mât-à-prières, etc., est mon mari..." ensuite elle fait les mêmes prostrations à ses parents et aux assistants.

Les enfants issus d'un pareil "mariage" sont nommés "*t'ien cheng tse* 天生子", i. e. engendrés par le ciel., et ils portent le nom de la famille de la mère.

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Ces sortes de mariages ne sont nullement nombreux, pour le motif que presque toutes les filles sont données en mariage en bas âge; ils se présentent de temps à autre, surtout dans certaines régions; les alentours de *Wei-iuen p'ou* 威遠堡, de *Hong-ngai-tse-keou* 紅岩子溝 et de *San-tch'oan*, 三川 sont les régions où ces pratiques sont les plus fréquentes.

Elles se présentent plus rarement dans les familles, où il y a des fils mariés; on les trouve le plus souvent dans les familles, où il y a seulement une ou deux filles. Ces femmes restent très souvent toute leur vie dans cette condition et continuent de devenir mères; d'autres ne persistent pas dans cet état anormal et finissent par se marier avec quelqu'un de leur choix.

J'ai classifié cette pratique dans la série des mariages, parce qu'elle crée pour la mère et pour les enfants, une position juridique identique à celle que crée le mariage pour les mariés et leur progéniture; de plus son but est manifestement la "*procreatio et educatio prolis*" du clan de la mère.

En effet, l'enfant né de ce genre de mariage devient héritier légitime de la famille de sa mère; c'est, dit-on "*wai-cheng ting kieou-kieou* 外甥頂舅舅", i. e. le fils d'une fille occupe un rang d'oncle maternel. Même s'il y a dans la famille des fils qui ont des enfants, le fils de la femme en question deviendra héritier au même titre que ses cousins, fils des frères de sa mère. La raison qu'on en donne, c'est que la mère, lors de la naissance de son fils, n'était plus jeune fille, mais bel et bien mariée, puisqu'elle portait les cheveux à la façon des femmes. Mais supposez que la jeune femme, par suite de difficultés avec une belle-sœur ou avec ses parents, ou qu'ayant trouvé simplement un parti qui lui plait, convole à de "secondes" noces, alors, elle peut, ou bien emmener son fils avec elle, et celui-ci perd *ipso facto* ses droits à l'héritage dans la famille de sa mère, il doit changer de nom de famille et hérite dans la famille de son nouveau père (car il tombe par le changement de nom dans la catégorie des enfants adoptifs), ou bien, la grand-mère s'oppose au départ

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du fils de sa fille, et celui-ci reste dans la famille de sa mère tout en gardant ses droits.

Il arrive souvent que ni la grand-mère ni la mère ne gardent l'enfant, mais qu'elles le confient à une lamaserie. Les lamas n'ayant plus de droit d'héritage, ces enfants disparaissent de la vie publique. On envoie cette catégorie d'enfants à la lamaserie, probablement pour éviter des difficultés qui se présenteront plus tard lors du partage des biens, soit de la part des oncles, soit de la part des neveux. De même que la mère emmène l'enfant chez son nouveau mari, et que celui-ci l'adopte pour son fils, cela fait supposer que le droit d'hériter chez ces enfants n'est plus très stable de nos jours. On sent une période de transition dans le coutumier; nous sommes ici en présence d'une pratique, qui a dû être plus générale dans les vieux temps et qui a ses racines dans une organisation qui n'est pas patriarcale.

Ces filles-mères sont reçues dans toutes les sociétés et on les regarde comme des femmes honnêtes, malgré qu'on sache que cette coutume passe pour être abominable aux yeux des voisins chinois. On reconnait à ces femmes une condition de mariée; car, dit-on, leur mariage s'est fait à la manière du mariage des jeunes filles, dans la cour de la maison, devant le feu sacré. On reconnait ces enfants comme enfants du clan et on leur donne le nom de la mère. Dans les familles t'ou-jen, quand un frère vient à mourir, laissant seulement des filles, ses frères héritent de ses biens, les filles en effet n'héritent pas; mais quand ce frère a une fille de la catégorie dont nous parlons, et que celle-ci a un fils, alors les frères du défunt n'auront pas le droit d'exiger ses biens en leur faveur; de plus ces mêmes frères qui ne permettraient pas à leur frère de léguer ses biens à sa fille et à un gendre non adopté dans le clan, reconnaissent le droit d'héritage d'une nièce, mariée au mât-à-prières, et de ses enfants.

Tant que le fille-mère reste chez elle avec ses enfants, il est rare qu'il surgisse des difficultés; mais souvent la situation change, au moment où la femme convole à des "secondes" noces,

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quand ses enfants sont encore en bas âge. Alors les oncles de la femme, dans le cas où elle n'a pas de frères; ou ces frères, dans le cas où elle en a, s'efforcent de lui faire emmener avec elle ses enfants et de les faire adopter par le nouveau mari. Ils désirent accaparer les biens du frère; car les biens du clan ne peuvent passer à un autre clan. Dans le cas où les fils de la fille-mère sont mariés au moment où elle convole à des secondes noces, il n'y a plus rien à craindre pour leurs droits. Notons encore que pour ces femmes, quand elles se remarient plus tard avec quelqu'un de leur choix, il n'y a pas de fête comme au mariage des jeunes filles; on se contente d'inviter quelques voisins. Le second mariage peut, en quelque sorte, être assimilé à un mariage de veuve; toutefois une femme pareille ne devra jamais craindre d'être enlevée.

Le cas présent est donc bien étrange dans une société qui, aujourd'hui, est à descendance strictement paternelle; que ces droits soient reconnus universellement, c'est un signe qu'ils datent de loin; aussi les T'ou-jen ne peuvent expliquer leur origine et admettent simplement le fait.

B — MARIAGES AVEC LA CEINTURE.

Ces mariages, bien qu'ils soient aussi anormaux que ceux de la série précédente, semblent cependant constituer une série à part. D'abord ils sont moins pratiqués que ceux que nous venons de décrire, et ensuite leur origine ne semble pas être la même. Ils trouvent leur explication dans la coutume d'offrir, pour la nuit, une fille ou une femme à un hôte de passage; c'est en somme la prostitution hospitalière (1).

Ce genre de mariage se pratique davantage là où il n'y

(1) Dr Herbet König, op. cit p. 140. Gastprostitution. In den selben Zusammenhang gehört auch die bei den Polarvölkern auftretende Gastprostitution, das ist die Sitte, dem Gaste nicht nur Bewirtung und Behausung zu geben, sondern ihm ausserdem die Frau oder Tochter zum Geschlechtsverkehre zur Verfügung zu stellen. Ihre Verbreitung ist bei den Polarvölkern sehr weitgehend, jedoch nicht gerade characteristisch. Nachtrichten darüber fand ich nicht von den mittleren Nordasiaten, mit ausnahme der Tungusen.

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a pas de fils, mais seulement une fille nubile, qui n'est pas encore donnée en mariage. Ce sont donc des cas très rares. Cette coutume est encore un moyen, pour les parents, de tenir leur fille chez eux; la fille pourra, de la sorte, connaître les avantages de la maternité, tout en prenant soin de ses parents; ceux-ci, de leur côté, ne devront pas s'exposer aux aléas inhérents à la pratique des maris-gendres. C'est l'explication donnée par les T'ou-jen.

Quand le père offre sa fille à quelque hôte de passage, celui-ci doit donner sa ceinture en échange, et la laisser à la fille. L'importance qu'on attache à la ceinture ne m'a jamais été expliquée. Nous avons rencontré la ceinture antérieurement à deux reprises dans le mariage des veuves. L'hôte s'en va le matin et ne reviendra peut-être plus jamais; mais si la fille est trouvée enceinte, on lui fait des habits neufs ainsi qu'un chapeau de femme mariée; on lui peigne les cheveux à la mariée, on invite quelques voisins, on met la ceinture sur un feutre rouge étendu sur le sol; la fille s'agenouille et fait la grande prostration à la ceinture, à ses parents, et à l'assistance, en se disant la femme de l'hôte. Plus tard, elle nommera son enfant du nom de l'hôte, et sera elle-même nommée du même nom par tous les voisins, bien que peut-être jamais elle ne reverra plus ce voyageur de passage. Les enfants qui naîtront ultérieurement continueront à être nommés toujours du nom de l'hôte. Il va de soi que celui-ci ne s'occupe nullement de l'entretien ni de l'enfant ni de la femme.

Remarque capitale: on ne reconnaît aucun droit d'héritage à ces enfants dans la famille de leur mère; ils sont considérés comme les enfants d'une fille mariée à un individu quelconque, car ils portent un autre nom; or, autre nom, autre famille.

Cette coutume curieuse trouve sa place dans la série des mariages, parce qu'elle crée une position juridique en faveur de la mère, identique en tout à celle de toute femme mariée. La femme mariée à la ceinture est considérée comme la femme du mari X et jamais on ne s'aventurera à l'enlever.

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Les mariages avec la ceinture et ceux avec les mâts-à-prières se ressemblent fort; la manière de les célébrer est la même; les femmes qui ont contracté ces mariages sont considérées comme dûment mariées, et les enfants, dans les deux groupes, sont reconnus comme enfants légitimes. La seule différence entre les deux groupes de mariages, consiste dans la fait que ceux du groupe "mât-à-prières" sont reconnus par le clan de la mère, et ceux de l'autre sont considérés comme n'appartenant pas à ce clan. Ceux du groupe "mât-à-prières" semblent être des vestiges directs d'un des stades du matriarcat; ils procurent en effet la succession de la famille par la fille; ceux du deuxième groupe, au contraire, du fait que la femme et les enfants sont considérés comme étant sortis du clan, ne semblent pas avoir cette origine; mais si les mariages "mât-à-prières" n'avaient pas existé anciennement, ceux du "groupe ceinture" n'auraient jamais été pratiqués.

Le fait suivant jette une singulière lumière sur cette catégorie de mariages. Un certain Tchang-kia-pa du *Hong-ngai-tse-keou*, avait une fille mariée à la ceinture, mère d'un petit enfant; il avait de plus chez lui, un fils marié. Par suite de mésintelligence continuelle entre la fille mariée à la ceinture et la belle-fille, la première chercha un parti, se maria, et quitta la maison paternelle, emmenant son fils. Donc un certain Hou iu-leang, l'acheta en qualité de seconde femme, pour la somme de deux cents ligatures.

Après cinq ou six ans, lors de la grande foire et des festivités de Wei iuen-p'ou, qui ont lieu à la deuxième lune, un Chinois du Ho-nan, accompagné d'un oncle de la dame anciennement mariée à la ceinture, accosta Hou iu-leang et lui reprocha d'avoir pris sa femme. Celle-ci ne reconnaissait plus l'individu; mais, comme il avait un témoin, comme l'enfant s'appellait autrefois de son nom et que la mère porté, aussi ce nom le prétendu mari se sentait fort de son droit, et menaçait Mr Hou de lui intenter un procès.

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Hou craignant les grosses dépenses du tribunal chinois et incertain au sujet d'un verdict équitable, préféra arranger l'affaire à l'amiable. Il invita les chefs du village et ceux de son clan, et la conclusion fut que Hou dut payer à l'inconnu quatre-vingts ligatures et que le père qui avait vendu sa fille, dut lui offrir un mouton, et lui faire des excuses. Ce fait prouve donc que cette catégorie de mariages est officiellement reconnue chez les T'ou-jen.

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CHAPITRE IV

DIVORCE, RÉPUDIATION, ÉCHANGE DE FEMMES

On peut s'attendre à des divorces et à des répudiations, vu la trop grande liberté qui règne entre les sexes. Ces deux formes de solution du mariage se présentent rarement, quand il y a quelques enfants dans la famille. La répudiation se présente plus rarement que le divorce, et celui-ci n'est pas si fréquent qu'on pourrait le supposer à première vue. Retenons encore que le divorce et la répudiation, comme tous les grands actes de la vie, mariage, adoption, etc., sont effectués sans l'intervention des tribunaux. Aussi longtemps qu'on peut s'arranger entre soi, on n'a pas recours à la loi; on y fait appel, alors que tous les moyens de conciliation sont épuisés.

A — DIVORCE.

SOMMAIRE: 1. — droit de divorce, théorie et pratique. — 2. Causes du divorce. — 3. Procédure.

1. DROIT DE DIVORCE, THÉORIE ET PRATIQUE.

Le divorce chez les T'ou-jen revêt un caractère spécial, celui de la vente de la femme par le mari, avec le consentement de celle-ci. La définition du divorce s'y trouve pleinement réalisée: la dissolution des liens du mariage, en vue des intérêts respectifs du mari et de la femme.

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En théorie, on ne reconnait pas à la femme le droit de se séparer de son mari et de demander le divorce; la raison en est que la femme est considérée comme la propriété pûre et simple du mari, qui l'a achetée. On reconnait au contraire au mari, en théorie, le droit de congédier sa femme, de la vendre avec son consentement, tout aussi bien que de le faire malgré elle; en outre il a le droit de la répudier en la renvoyant chez ses parents.

Bien que cette théorie ait force de loi, j'ai connu cependant le cas d'une femme riche, intentant un procès auprès du chef du clan, le T'ou-se, pour obtenir le divorce. Fille unique, elle s'était mariée toute jeune avec un jeune homme pauvre, qui était venu habiter chez elle et servir ses parents jusqu'à leur mort. Or, le mari-gendre en question dissipait sa fortune. Les clans de la mère et du père de la fille, ainsi que les anciens du village présentaient ensemble au t'ou-se une supplique, où ils confirmaient les faits et priaient le t'ou-se d'accorder le divorce. Le divorce fut prononcé. Ils basaient leur argumentation sur le fait qu'on avait donné la femme au mari-gendre en échange des bons services qu'il devait rendre aux beaux-parents et à la famille; or, il n'avait pas été fidèle à ses engagements.....

Le cas de divorce se présente en pratique sous la forme suivante: les époux ne s'accordant plus, la femme a trouvé déjà, dans la plupart des cas, un acquéreur; si elle n'en a pas trouvé encore, le mari l'engagera à en chercher et lui facilitera la besogne au besoin. Ainsi la femme garde sa face; elle pourra dire qu'elle ne voulait plus de son mari, et celui-ci n'aura pas de difficultés non plus avec la famille de la femme, vu que c'est la fille qui a voulu s'en aller; en fin de compte, le mari profitera encore largement de la vente de l'épouse. Au contraire si la femme s'obstine à ne pas vouloir chercher un autre parti, le mari patientera, et ne se résoudra à la répudiation qu'à la toute dernière extrémité. C'est là le cours ordinaire des préambules du divorce.

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2 CAUSES DU DIVORCE

Les causes du divorce paraissent être plus ou moins nombreuses. La première cause et la plus ordinaire est bien l'assiduité auprès d'une personne, qui provoque l'aversion mutuelle et grandissant tous les jours, chez les deux époux. Une femme peut tomber et on comprend cela; le mari admettra même que sa femme ne rentre pas la nuit de temps à autre, car lui-même ne rentre pas non plus régulièrement tous les soirs. Le motif du divorce veut des relations suivies et partant publiques.

Ne pensez pas toutefois que les maris donnent toute liberté à leurs femmes; ne croyez pas que tous les maris sont indifférents à ces choses-là. On raconte assez de cas, où la femme et son amant ayant été surpris la nuit, furent liés ensemble ou liés à un poteau, battus, etc., par les chefs du village chez qui le mari avait porté plainte. Les familles des coupables furent invitées, elles devaient se porter garants pour leurs membres; puis le coupable devait présenter ses excuses au mari lésé, et lui offrir un porc, un mouton, etc. Le niveau de la moralité chez les T'ou-jen n'est pas encore tombé si bas qu'on ne connaisse plus ses devoirs et ses droits en ces matières. Aussi il n'est pas rare de voir le mari battre sa femme, et d'entendre la femme, à genoux, supplier son mari "grand frère, pardonnez cette fois, grand frère, usez d'indulgence pour cette fois, cela n'arrivera plus." Or, on ne demande pas pardon, et on ne se laisse pas battre quand la conscience n'a rien à se reprocher.

La polygamie offre souvent l'occasion du divorce. Les égards trop marqués du mari pour la seconde femme aigrissent la femme en titre et font en sorte qu'elle cherche un autre mari. La polygamie est le moyen sûr prévu par le mari, de se défaire de sa femme qu'il n'aime plus, pour en prendre une autre qui est à son goût. Celle ci une fois épousée, la première consentira à se laisser vendre, et sera forcée indirectement de chercher un

amateur.

Les mauvais traitements que le mari fait subir à sa femme, ne constituent pas un motif de divorce. La brutalité du mari peut au plus, forcer la femme à s'enfuir chez ses parents. Alors la famille, l'oncle maternel en tête, viendra demander des explications, et exigera des garanties pour l'avenir; après quoi la femme rentrera au logis. Si la brutalité continue, la femme elle-même cherchera un parti, et on procédera au divorce.

Pour cause de stérilité on ne divorce pas, mais on prend une seconde femme. Les défauts corporels de la femme sont rarement un motif de divorce. Dans ce cas, la femme trouvant elle-même difficilement un parti, il ne reste au mari d'autre ressource que la répudiation.

Un mari qui aura constaté que sa femme vole, gaspille ses biens, etc., tâchera de lui rendre la vie impossible et de la forcer indirectement à chercher un acquéreur, pour pouvoir divorcer. On a toujours peur de la répudiation.

Dans le cas où la bru ne s'accorde pas avec la belle-mère, si les deux époux s'entendent bien, on tâchera de faire le partage des biens, pour qu'ils puissent vivre séparément; si au contraire les époux ne s'accordent pas, on procédera comme dans les cas précédents . . et on divorcera

Ici encore comme partout ailleurs, on aperçoit le défaut de la race. La recherche des petits profits se manifeste en tout; on patientera des années, on s'humiliera, jusqu'à engager la femme à chercher un parti, car le prix de la vente de la femme est ambitionné avant tout. En fin de compte cependant, ce prix sera fixé en raison directe, d'un côté de l'aversion qu'on a pour l'épouse, et d'un autre côté de la fortune que possède l'amateur, ainsi que de la passion qu'il éprouve pour la femme qui est à vendre. Ces prix sont en règle générale plus élevés que ceux qu'on paie pour une veuve ou une jeune fille.

L'accord est généralement conclu de la manière suivante:

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Après que les époux se sont concertés et que la femme a trouvé où se placer, le mari invite chez lui deux entremetteurs, ses oncles et ses frères. Il leur avoue que sa situation est impossible et qu'il veut se débarrasser de sa femme; qu'elle a trouvé un amateur et qu'elle est tombée d'accord avec lui. Quelques jours après, les entremetteurs invitent un soir "chez eux", le mari, ses oncles, ses frères, l'amateur de la femme et deux ou trois de ses amis. On débat d'abord le prix de la femme. Pour gens de condition moyenne, le prix variera entre deux cents et trois cents ligatures. Ensuite, on débat la somme qu'exigent les signataires du contrat, qui comme toujours tâchent de profiter de ces transactions; aussi l'argent que ces gens réclament est parfois très respectable et peut représenter la moitié du prix de la femme; c'est qu'étant membres de la famille ils ne permettent pas ce déshonneur. Vient ensuite le débat de la somme qu'on donnera aux beaux-parents de la femme, qui sont censés s'opposer également au divorce; car eux surtout sont sensibles à cette perte de face pour toute la famille. Cette somme peut aller de dix à cinquante ligatures. L'argent stipulé pour un divorce est exigé jusqu'à la dernière sapèque. L'amateur remet l'argent dans les mains des entremetteurs, qui le donneront à qui de droit, après la signature du contrat.

Ce contrat ne sera jamais écrit dans une maison quelconque, mais dans un lieu retiré, un ravin ou une caverne de la montagne. Le premier signataire est le mari. Il doit signer du pouce gauche et de l'orteil droit; à cet effet on enduit d'encre le pouce et l'orteil, et on les pose sur le contrat; puis viennent les autres signataires qui signent de la main. Le contrat signé, les entremetteurs vont chercher la femme et la présentent à son nouveau propriétaire. Après que tout est arrangé et que la femme est déjà dans sa nouvelle demeure, les entremetteurs vont faire une visite aux parents de la femme, pour leur annoncer le nouveau mariage de leur fille, et apporter de la part du nouveau gendre un petit cadeau; en même temps ils les invitent

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à venir chez le nouveau gendre, assister au mariage, qui se fait d'après le coutumier du mariage des veuves.

Les entremetteurs ont la besogne assez facile chez les parents de la femme, vu que c'est leur fille qui a elle-même cherché un parti, et a été cause du divorce.

Il est superflu de dire que les divorces sont mal vus. On déconseille toujours de prendre une femme dont le mari est en vie; car on ne divorce pas avec une bonne femme. Ce sont des mariages coûteux et fort aléatoires, en ce sens que souvent la concorde ne régne pas longtemps chez les nouveaux époux; aussi l'adage dit: celui qui a de l'argent n'achète pas la femme d'un mari qui est encore en vie; celui qui a des sapèques n'acquiert pas des terres situées sur les bords des rivières (par crainte d'érosion).

La cause de la rareté des divorces et des répudiations est à chercher dans le déshonneur que le sens commun t'ou-jen croit y être attaché. Cette thèse est prouvée aisément par le fait que précisément on allègue le déshonneur pour la famille, afin de pouvoir extorquer une forte somme d'argent de la part de l'acquéreur. Or, les T'ou-jen ne lâchent pas leur argent sans motif sérieux! Cette thèse est prouvée encore par les circonstances réellement lugubres qui accompagnent le divorce et la répudiation; ces contrats sont signés la nuit dans une caverne, signés à l'orteil.... pendant que tous les assistants ne parlent que de déshonneur. Or ces circonstances de temps, de lieu, de manière, ne sont pas celles d'un acte honorable. Ces circonstances laissent une profonde impression sur le peuple. De plus, on parle toujours avec mépris d'une femme divorcée, et de celui qui l'a épousée. Quand on dit, que c'est une "*houo jen ts'i*" 活人妻 i. e. la femme d'un homme en vie, on ne demande plus d'explication ultérieure, le numéro est censé connu.

Quand d'un autre côté, on songe un instant aux solennités qui accompagnemt les mariages des jeunes filles, aux dépenses qui y sont faites et aux peines que se donnent tout un clan, et

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les amis, et les voisins pour présenter leurs hommages, aux bénédictions que l'on souhaite aux époux et qu'on implore du ciel et des multiples esprits, il n'est pas étonnant que les T'ou-jen croient que le mariage n'est pas acte banal dans la vie d'un homme, qu'il n'est pas une affaire de quelques jours ou de quelques années, ou qu'il est un acte dépendant des lubies et des passions d'un moment. Pour comprendre cette mentalité, il faut prendre les faits dans leur ensemble. Je crois que beaucoup d'auteurs parlent trop à la légère de cette question dans les livres d'ethnographie.

B – RÉPUDIATION

Ce que nous avons nommé divorce est la vente de l'épouse par le mari, mais avec le consentement de celle-ci et après qu'elle a trouvé quelqu'un de son choix pour se remarier.

La répudiation se présente quand le mari ne veut plus de sa femme, qu'il la renvoie chez ses parents ou chez ses frères, ou qu'il la vend malgré elle. La répudiation se présente rarement; elle est toujours fort déshonorante aussi bien pour la famille que pour la femme même.

D'abord les parents de la femme voient dans la répudiation le côté matériel. Qui entretiendra désormais la femme? Les frères et les belles-sœurs de leur côté ne sont guère charmés d'un cadeau pareil; et puis qui voudra encore de cette malheureuse? La femme comprend mieux que personne sa situation et son avenir, aussi insinuera-t-elle par une tierce personne, qu'il ne lui reste plus qu'à se suicider. Arme terrible, qui fera réfléchir le mari.

Dans le cas où la répudiation est décidée, la famille de la répudiée commence par exiger du mari de leur fille, une indemnité sérieuse pour le déshonneur qu'il leur fait, puis une somme pour l'entretien de la femme; au besoin, toute la famille,

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hommes et femmes, iront s'installer chez le mari faire du tapage pendant plusieurs jours; ou bien ils enlèveront de force son bétail, etc. Si le mari risque d'oser vendre la femme malgré elle, il trouvera difficilement à qui la vendre; l'acquéreur aura peur aussi des représailles de la famille de la femme. Il n'est pas aisé de trouver des gens qui veuillent écrire ces contrats pour une somme insignifiante, ni de trouver des signataires et des entremetteurs, car personne ne veut s'exposer aux vengeances de la famille de la répudiée. J'ai connu un cas, où tout était prêt pour la répudiation d'une femme qu'on prétendait être mal conformée physiquement; la famille étant riche, elle était sur le point de faire fi de toutes les menaces; au dernier moment, elle changea d'avis, quand elle apprit que l'épouse venait de se procurer l'opium pour mettre fin à sa vie.

Répudieront donc leur femme, ceux qui ne craignent pas de s'exposer à ces misères. Heureusement, ces gens sont excessivement rares.

Il faut donc avouer que, sous ce rapport, les T'ou-jen n'ont pas subi l'influence pernicieuse de leurs voisins et maîtres, les Chinois, chez qui la répudiation et la vente de la femme en temps ordinaire se présentent souvent. On ne verra jamais vendre des femmes t'ou-jen en grand nombre, en temps de famine, comme cela se voit encore de nos jours en Chine; on ne rencontrera pas des T'ou-jen qui prendront une hypothèque sur leur femme, comme j'ai vu deux fois le cas chez les Chinois; on ne verra jamais les T'ou-jen mettre une femme au mont de piété, comme je l'ai rencontré une fois. Bien que la femme doive travailler rudement chez eux, elle est plus estimée et plus respectée qu'en Chine.

Si toutefois la répudiation se fait, on commence par inviter des entremetteurs qui iront s'entretenir avec la famille de l'épouse; les débats ayant abouti et l'argent exigé ayant été promis, le contrat est écrit et signé comme pour le divorce. L'entremetteur, après avoir apporté la somme promise à la famille de la répudiée,

ira chercher celle-ci et la présenter à ses parents. Les enfants dans ce cas, restent dans la famille du mari (1).

Le cas peut se présenter, où la femme est la seule coupable. Il est naturel qu'alors la famille de la femme n'ait pas à exiger des compensations, etc. Je n'ai jaimais entendu dire toutefois que la famille de la femme coupable devait rendre au gendre lésé, les arrhes reçues au moment du mariage.

(1) TIMKOVSKI. VOYAGE À PEKING. Vol. 2 p. 313: (Mongols). Le divorce est très fréquent; le moindre mécontentement d'un côté ou de l'autre suffit pour le faire prononcer. Si le mari sans motif légitime veut se séparer de sa femme, il est obligé de lui donner une de ses plus belles robes et un cheval scellé pour retourner chez ses parents. Il garde le reste de la dot comme équivalent pour les bestiaux qu'il a donnés. Si une femme s'échappe furtivement de chez son mari qu'elle a pris en aversion et revient auprès de ses parents, ceux-ci sont obligés de la rendre trois fois à son époux. Si elle quitte une quatrième fois, alors commencent les négotiacions pour le divorce: toute la dot de la femme reste entre les mains du mari, et le père de la femme doit lui rendre de plus une quantité de bétail déterminée par les autorités. Cette restitution, qui chez les gens les plus riches n'excède pas 33 pièces de bestiaux, ne s'effectue que lorsque la femme divorcée se remarie, à moins que les parents par amour pour leur fille et pour éviter des désagréments ne s'y décident sur le champ, de leur propre mouvement. Mais une telle séparation étant très désavantageuse pour le famille de la femme et pour la femme elle-même, cette dernière réussit parfois à emporter avec elle ses meilleures robes et ses bijoux. Si elle est citée devant les juges pour cet enlèvement, elle est obligée de rendre ces objets à son époux, à l'exception d'un cheval scellé et d'une des plus belles robes qui faisaient partie de sa dot.

(1) SHIROKOGOROFF. op. cit. p. 91: Divorce properly speaking is not practised among the Manchus. The wife cannot leave her husband even in the case, if he is drunkard, has some chronic illness or practises robbery. But at the same time the husband had the right to put away his wife after an official declaration to the public authorities. This declaration must be written and marked with twenty dactyloscopic prints of the complaint. This document is given to the divorced wife and a copy of it is kept in the office. This practice is of course of a very late origin. The woman is expelled from her husband's house in the case of bad conduct, if she is addicted to alcohol, has bad manners and habits and betrays her husband too shamelessly. In such cases the woman returns to her mother. If she is dead, the woman goes to her mother's brother or to her father's brother and never to her brothers. If the wife leaves her husband without permission, she cannot be received by her relatives of her mother's clan, because she had other spirits, those of her husband's clan. However notwithstanding all these restrictions, it happens some times that women leave their husbands. If the divorce or too simply the running away of a wife is recognised as an accomplished fact, they never ray back the kalin arrhes. They pay it back only in the case, if it is paid and the bride runs away with some one else just before the wedding. Such cases are absolutly exceptional... all this question must be reported to the clan.

Notons pour la question de la répudiation, qu'il faut tenir compte de beaucoup de circonstances, dont une des principales est bien la condition économique de la famille de la femme, l'influence dont cette famille jouit dans la contrée, et avant tout le fait d'avoir parmi ses membres, des gens qui sauront tenir tête malgré tout à la famille du mari. Il faut tenir compte aussi de la puissance de la famille du mari, qui ayant des protecteurs influents, peut se permettre de se préparer à toutes les éventualités. En Orient surtout, il ne suffit pas d'avoir des droits, il faut pouvoir les défendre.

C – ÉCHANGE DE FEMMES MARIÉES.

Je ne puis passer sous silence le cas de quatre familles du *Hong-ngai-tse-keou*, qui sans recourir au divorce ou à la répudiation, se débarrassèrent de leurs femmes en les échangeant mutuellement, sans autre forme de procès; les enfants restèrent dans les familles où ils étaient nés. Tout s'était arrangé, sans entremetteurs, sans contrat, sans frais, d'un commun accord entre les intéressés.

Ce sont les seuls cas de cette pratique venus à ma connaissance, et je crois que ce sont des cas isolés, qui ne prouvent rien. L'opinion publique désavouait fortement cette pratique et les anciens ne l'admettaient pas (1).

(1) MŒURS ET COUTUMES DES THIBÉTAINS. DAVID MACDONALD. P. 136: Un autre usage singulier, mais qui ne se pratique que dans les hautes sphères, est que deux hommes échangent leurs femmes par consentement mutuel. Celles-ci sont consultées sur la question, et il faut obtenir leur consentement à la combinaison.

Dr Herbert König op. cit. p. 137 Frauentausch Es ist auch nicht richtig wenn Graebner sagt, dass die Sitte gerade im Gebiete der altasiatischen Völker am meisten blühe... Sie kommt vielmehr bei sämtlichen bisher bekannten Eskimo Stämmen vor, und das sind wohl so ziemlich alle vorhandenen, während sie von den Altasiaten die Korjaken gar nicht kennen, sogar weit von sich weisen und auch die Jakugiren nur schwache Ansätze dazu haben.

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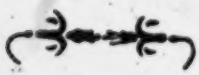
Je crois devoir signaler l'influence des mœurs tibétaines surtout pour ce cas singulier. En effet, on voit chaque année quelques T'ou-jen du Hong-ngai-tse-keou se rendre au Thibet, pour vendre des mules du pays de Si-ning. Il ne serait pas étonnant que ces commerçants t'ou-jen aient appris cette coutume au Thibet et l'aient pratiquée ensuite.



CHAPITRE V

ÉPOUSES EN FUITE.

Il n'est pas rare de voir la bru s'enfuir à la maison paternelle après une brouille chez ses beaux-parents. Dans ce cas, ceux-ci attendent paisiblement l'arrivée du gendre, pour entendre ses explications. Si celui-ci ne s'occupe pas de la fugitive, les parents de la femme en fuite invitent l'entremetteur pour qu'il aille prendre des informations Comme d'ordinaire les deux parties sont en faute, l'entremetteur reviendra ramener la bru, pour lui faire faire des excuses à ses beaux-parents; le gendre l'accompagnera, pour présenter lui aussi ses excuses aux parents de sa femme.

Les exhortations à la bru sont très typiques, en ce sens qu'elles sont assez platoniques, fatalistes même: vous êtes bru, dira-t-on, donc il vous faut subir quelques contrariétés, même quelques humiliations; mais sachez bien que ce n'est pas pour toute la vie; car l'adage dit, on n'est bru que pour trente ans et ensuite on est soi-même belle-mère, pour un même terme d'années. Consolez-vous!

Ces fuites en famille portent rarement à grandes conséquences, mais il y a un autre genre de fuites beaucoup plus sérieuses; en effet, si la répudiation se présente rarement et si le divorce n'est pas fréquent, la fuite d'une épouse avec son amant arrive plus souvent.

Les causes de pareilles mésaventures sont la grande liberté de relations entre les sexes avant comme après le mariage, et surtout aux temps des fêtes; les vexations des belles-mères, les

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malheureuses unions entre jeunes gens de caractères trop différents, et avant tout la trop grande différence d'âge qui existe souvent entre les époux. L'époux n'est pas nubile et l'épouse a six, sept ans de plus que lui; l'épouse a commencé par traiter son époux en enfant et a joui de l'autorité; plus tard quand l'époux veut reprendre ses droits, c'est alors que les difficultés commencent. De plus l'épouse entre temps a déjà appris à se divertir... et a déjà eu trop de relations... un beau jour elle disparait. C'est la grande plaie de la contrée. Quand une épouse s'est enfuie, on a deviné aussitôt le complice; mais il faut pouvoir les répérer. Si on ne parvient pas à s'enquérir à leur sujet, le gendre se rendra après quelques jours chez la famille de sa femme, feignant de croire que sa chère moitié est chez eux et s'informera de son retour. C'est aussi une façon d'informer les parents de la fuite de leur fille.

Si après cinq ou six mois, la fugitive n'est pas revenue, ses parents exigent que le gendre, accompagné de deux aides aille la chercher à ses frais; on a toujours quelque indice à son sujet. Dans le cas où on a des renseignements précis, on se rend chez les chefs du lieu, demander qu'ils s'emparent des fugitifs, afin qu'ils puissent les ramener ligotés chez eux.

De retour au village, on invite les chefs du village et les membres de la famille de l'amant et de l'épouse. En présence de toute la population, qui goûte fort ce genre de distraction, les chefs du village commencent l'instruction de l'affaire. Le cas est examiné à fond, et finalement l'amant est battu sérieusement et suspendu par les pouces, jusqu'à ce qu'il se présente quelqu'un qui se porte garant pour lui. Suit la femme, qui est battue sur le dos nu avec des lanières de cuir, aussi longtemps qu'elle ne manifeste pas ses regrets en y ajoutant des bons propos pour l'avenir. Alors les deux criminels sont menés par le village et exposés à la risée de tous; un héraut les précède, frappant du tambour et publiant leur faute. Il arrive qu'on exige encore une indemnite de la part de la famille de l'amant, pour le tort fait à l'époux.

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Riche veuve t' ou-jen,
ne parlant plus sa langue, ne portant plus le costume de sa race.
Type de t' ou-jen complètement chinoisée, ayant même les petits pieds chinois. Toutefois à la mort, on l'habillera à la t'ou-jen pour sa dernière toilette !!

[face p. 147]

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L'épouse rentre alors au logis; si elle apporte un enfant né pendant l'escapade, celui-ci est accepté dans la famille.

Mais il arrive aussi qu'on ne retrouve pas les fuyards. Alors après deux ou trois ans de vaines recherches, les parents de l'épouse exigent un règlement de comptes. Les beaux-parents invitent donc les parents de la bru en fuite, ainsi que ses oncles maternels, les chefs du village et quelques amis bons parleurs, car il sera question du "*tseou che jen ming* 走失人命", i. e. l'indemnité aux parents pour la perte de leur fille, occasionnée par sa fuite.

En effet, les parents prétendent que leur fille, par suite de mauvais traitements de la part des beaux-parents, s'est vue forcée de quitter le foyer, s'est enfuie, et a dû périr on ne sait où. Les beaux-parents sont donc responsables de sa mort , et la discussion commence. Des deux côtés, on est convaincu que la fille est tout aussi coupable que les beaux-parents, si pas plus; puis on sait très bien aussi, que la fille est toujours en vie; tous comprennent que les parents veulent profiter de l'occasion pour battre monnaie sur le dos de leur famille par alliance. Après de longues discussions qui peuvent durer deux jours et plus, on finit par faire donner aux parents de la fugitive, une somme de deux à trois cents ligatures, comme indemnité pour la bru, qui est censée perdue. On écrit un contrat par lequel on reconnaît que l'affaire est classée pour toujours, et qu'à l'avenir les beaux-parents ne pourront plus chercher noise au gendre, ni derechef extorquer de l'argent..... ; de plus, en cas de retour de la fille, il s'engagent à rembourser l'indemnité. Quant à cette dernière clause, autant en emporte le vent; l'adage dit d'ailleurs: "une fois que la chair est entrée dans la gueule du loup, il n'est pas facile de l'en retirer".

Cependant, si la fille revient après quelques années avec son amant, ou si elle a été prise et ramenée de force, on agit comme plus haut avec les fuyards de cette catégorie; toutefois on exige des garanties plus sérieuses et une indemnité plus forte de la part de la famille de l'amant. Il arrive très souvent qu'à

cette occasion on vend la femme à son amant, si celui-ci a de quoi la payer; on lui vend de même les enfants qui sont nés pendant la longue absence. Dans le cas où on ne vend pas l'épouse, elle rentre dans son foyer, et elle est de nouveau admise dans le cercle de famille avec les enfants qui lui sont nés dans la fuite, car, dit l'adage, "ce qui croît sur mon terrain est à moi te ce qu'enfante ma femme est à moi".

Cependant on peut croire que les parents ne sont guère enchantés de pareils cadeaux, surtout quand il ne manque pas d'enfants chez eux. En effet, l'adage dit: "la vache pour être robuste doit courir dans la montagne, mais il faut qu'elle mette bas à l'étable". Si la comparaison n'est pas élégante, elle fait songer à la vie nomade. On accepte les enfants dans la famille pour mieux tenir la bru chez elle, disent les T'ou-jen, et pour éviter une seconde escapade, Ensuite, si plus tard on veut se débarrasser d'eux, on enverra les garçons à la lamaserie se dévouer au service de bouddha; quant aux filles, on les donnera en mariage. J'avoue ne pas avoir rencontré la polyandrie chez les T'ou-jen.

De même, la prostitution au sens strict du mot, n'est pas connue. Bien qu'on ait les séries des femmes-mât-à prières et des femmes-ceintures, on ne peut pas les classer dans cette catégorie. En effet, elles se considèrent elles-mêmes comme étant mariées, et elles sont considérées comme telles, et de plus elles ne font guère le métier de prostituées. (1)

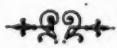
Le célibat est uniquement pratiqué par les lamas de la secte jaune, et les T'ou-jen fournissent à cette corporation religieuse un contingent très sérieux. Ils sont les seuls célibataires parmi les T'ou-jen. Il n'existe pas de lamaserie pour femmes dans le pays; toutes les femmes sans exception pratiquent le mariage sous l'une ou l'autre des formes que nous avons décrites plus haut. Il arrive tout au plus, qu'on rencontre des veuves, ou des femmes d'un âge avancé, qui se rasent la tête et se dévouent spécialement à la prière, tout en restant chez elles.

(1) SHIROKOGOROFF. OP. CIT. P. 152. Prostitution as a social phenomenon among the Manchus is unknown.

CHAPITRE VI

LE MATRIARCAT.

SOMMAIRE. — A. — État patriarcal actuel. Système de la grande famille. B. — Matriarcat ancien prouvé par 1° le double enterrement. 2° les relations de l'oncle maternel avec la famille de sa sœur et ses enfants. 3° l'importance de la mère, bru, enfants, clan maternel. 4° la pratique des maris-gendres.



A. — ÉTAT PATRIARCAL ACTUEL. SYSTÈME DE LA GRANDE FAMILLE.

Afin de pouvoir comprendre une grande partie des rites et coutumes du mariage que nous avons décrits dans cette étude, il faut nécessairement admettre l'hypothèse d'un matriarcat antérieur chez les T'ou-jen.

En effet, une grande partie du coutumier du mariage est inexplicable dans l'organisation strictement patriarcale, dans laquelle vivent aujourd'hui les T'ou-jen. Leur organisation familiale est celle de la "grande famille." Le grand-père est le chef de famille ; ses fils et petits-fils après leur mariage, continuent de vivre sous son autorité, dans la même cour, aussi longtemps que la vie en commun est plus ou moins possible ; le grand-père dispose seul des biens de la communauté ; il fait les ventes, les achats, les emprunts, etc ; tout ce qui est acquis par les fils ou les petits-fils rentre dans le patrimoine collectif, et aucun d'eux n'est propriétaire à titre personnel ; le grand-père dispose non seulement des biens, mais même des personnes qui constituent la famille, en ce sens qu'il assigne à chacune d'elles ses occupa-

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tions journalières et son genre de vie; les enfants n'appartiennent ni à la mère ni au père, mais au seul grand-père qui en fera des religieux, des laboureurs, des commerçants, des lettrés, comme bon lui semble; le grand-père est seul responsable devant les chefs t'ou-jen, de la conduite de tous les membres de la famille. La succession dans la famille se fait régulièrement de père en fils; à la mort du chef de la famille, les fils seuls héritent des biens de la communauté, a l'exclusion des filles. Conclusion: dans un régime patriarcal pareil, les femmes et le clan maternel ne comptent nullement.

Mais on a dit avec beaucoup de logique "les hypothèses scientifiques ne sont pas vraies, elles sont commodes" Tâchons donc pour pouvoir sortir de l'hypothèse et afin de nous mouvoir sur le terrain de la vérité, de prouver par les vestiges rencontrés dans le coutumier journalier, l'existence du matriarcat chez les T'ou-jen à une période antérieure.

La thèse est d'autant plus intéressante qu'il s'agit d'anciens nomades, occupés jadis de l'élevage des grands animaux, nomades d'origine mongole et cha-t'ouo, parlant aujourd'hui la langue monguor, un dialecte mongol.

L'institution matriarcale chez la branche mongole des T'ou-jen, doit être antérieure de beaucoup à leur immigration au Kan-sou, qui date du temps de la dynastie, soit des Iuen, soit des Ming; car, en ces temps-là, les Mongols pratiquaient le patriarcat. Quant aux institutions sociales de la branche cha-t'ouo, lors de sa fixation au Kan-sou, nous n'avons pas de données certaines.

Pour prouver la thèse, je ferai emploi de matériaux qu'on trouvera expliqués plus au long en d'autres études ultérieures, ainsi que de ceux rencontrés dans la présente monographie.

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B. — MATRIARCAT ANCIEN.

1. LE DOUBLE ENTERREMENT.

En ethnologie comparée, on considère le double enterrement comme un élément spécifique du matriarcat (1). Or les groupes t'ou-jen qui ont subi l'influence de la civilisation chinoise pendant tant de siècles, pratiquent encore de nos jours cette coutume sous la forme suivante: après avoir incinéré leurs morts d'après les rites lamaïstes, ils cueillent les ossements dans une caisse ad hoc, et les enterrent provisoirement en un lieu sec et propre, sur la pente d'une montagne; au *ts'in-ming* 清明, la fête des morts chez les Chinois, ils déterrent la caisse, pour l'enterrer définitivement dans le cimetière commun du clan. Cette coutume est pratiquée même par les T'ou-jen qui demeurent à côté du cimetière. Cette pratique, que les T'ou-jen prétendent avoir été générale dans les vieux temps, ne se voit déjà plus de nos jours en beaucoup d'endroits.

2 RELATIONS DE L'ONCLE MATERNEL AVEC LA FAMILLE DE SA SŒUR ET SES ENFANTS.

Un autre élément constitutif du matriarcat est bien la situation particulière qu'occupe l'oncle maternel dans cette organisation, où tous les droits de la famille semblent lui appartenir.

a) Droit de vie et de mort sur les enfants de sa sœur.

Or actuellement encore, l'oncle maternel a conservé chez les T'ou-jen les droits les plus importants sur les enfants de sa sœur; il a même gardé le droit de vie et de mort sur eux. Ailleurs, je décrirai trois faits vécus, où l'on voit l'oncle maternel présider un conseil de famille, dans lequel sans forme ultérieure de procès, et sans intervention ni de la loi ni des tribunaux, il décide que

(1) Anthropos 1930 P. 992. DIE FRAGE des Mutterrechts, von W. Koppers. Im Lichte der vergleichenden Ethnologie scheint die Doppelbestattung bestimmter Mutterrechtskultur eigentümlich zu sein.

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le fils de sa sœur sera enterré vivant. Or, sans le consentement de l'oncle maternel, personne n'oserait poser un acte pareil ; aucun membre de la famille n'oserait prendre sur lui une telle responsabilité, pas même le grand-père..., bien que nous soyons dans la période patriarcale. Ces faits sont d'autant plus étranges, que la peine capitale n'est pas même du ressort du chef t'ou-se.

En son lieu, je citerai avec toutes les circonstances, le cas de deux frères qui du vivant de leur mère veuve, causèrent indirectement le suicide de leur frère, un vaurien de la pire espèce, qu'ils avaient enfermé dans une chambre après l'avoir battu ; le vaurien s'y penditi. Or, ils durent payer une indemnité pour avoir causé la mort de leur frère, à leur oncle maternel, le maître des os des enfants de sa sœur. Notez que même, si le père avait été en vie, la procédure aurait été la même.

L'oncle maternel joue le rôle principal dans les pourparlers à l'occasion du suicide des enfants de sa sœur. Troisième série de faits : Une jeune femme, insupportable mégère, avait abandonné son mari pauvre, pour suivre un amant de condition plus aisée. Après deux ou trois ans, ne s'accordant plus avec lui, la femme revint dans sa famille, qui voulu la rendre à son mari légitime. Celui-ci craignant qu'à la moindre brouille elle n'avalât l'opium et ruinât sa famille, exigea que l'oncle maternel de la mégère se portât garant, qu'il n'y aurait pas de suite de la part de sa famille, dans le cas où la femme se suiciderait. Il y eut un conseil de famille, et l'oncle maternel signa un contrat dans le sens indiqué, après avoir fait des remontrances fort virulentes à l'adresse de sa nièce. L'oncle maternel devait se porter caution, et non le propre père. J'ai rencontré un cas absolument semblable chez les Chinois du Kan-sou.

Ces trois séries de faits prouvent les droits de vie et de mort de l'oncle maternel sur les enfants de sa sœur. Ils sont tous de date relativement récente. Dans aucun de ces cas on n'accusa en justice l'oncle maternel. C'est donc une preuve que le coutumier actuel admet encore ces droits.

En Chine aussi d'ailleurs, les droits de l'oncle maternel sont fort étendus, de nos jours encore; le proverbe chinois en dit assez "*kieou-fou kao wai-cheng, iang lao tse k'eng pou hia* 舅父告外甥養老子抗不下", i. e. quand l'oncle maternel accuse en justice un des enfants de sa sœur, le propre père des enfants n'y peut rien, pour les défendre (1). L'oncle maternel a le droit de punir ses neveux en Chine.

Ces faits font comprendre l'expression si souvent rencontrée dans cette étude "que l'oncle maternel est réellement le maître des os des enfants de sa sœur."

b) La permission d'enterrer les morts, est donnée par l'oncle maternel.

Après ce que nous venons de dire, n'est-il pas naturel, que les T'ou-jen invitent l'oncle maternel au décès de sa sœur et de ses enfants? L'enterrement n'aura jamais lieu, tant qu'il n'en aura pas donné la permission. Dans le cas de rumeurs au sujet de la mort non naturelle d'une personne qui est de son ressort, il examinera le cadavre. C'est pour reconnaître ses droits, que la famille l'invitera chaque fois, lors d'un enterrement, à inspecter le cadavre et elle le priera humblement de donner la permission

(1) SHIROKOGOROFF, Op. Cit. P. 144: If the mother should accuse her son intervention to stop the execution in this case, can be made by the mother's brother, who can take the guilty man under his charge .. In the intervention of the mother's brother, we can see some survival of an ancient form of the Manchu society which was organised on the principle of materline filiation, in which the mother's clan was a natural protector of its members. It is clear that the part of protector was executed by the mother's brother. Even now the mother's brother... is generally charged with the moral control over his sister's children (comme chez les Chinois). Therefore he sometimes is obliged to help his sister's children. He is in very peculiar terms with them.. is much beloved by them.. he helps them in matrimonial affairs, he may also intervene in the education of them... p. 154. The clan organisation in its institutions, as for example, the woman chieftainship, the peculiar rights and duties of the mother's brother, the mother's privilege to prevent her daughter although she is already married, and several others, retains traces of a great influence of the women and their relatives, which show that the Manchus in former times had another system of social organisation.

P. 91, during the life of a married couple, the wife's mother's clan has no important part. except in the case of divorce, but relations and high consideration of this clan are always strictly maintained.

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pour l'enterrement ou l'incinération. Quand on enterre à la chinoise, on présentera à l'oncle maternel la hache et le coin pour fermer le couvercle du cercueil C'est d'ailleurs ce que font aussi les Chinois.

c) **Préséance de l'oncle maternel au mariage.**

À la lumière de ces faits, n'est-il pas aisé de comprendre l'importance que les T'ou-jen attachent au moment du mariage au clan de la mère, et à l'oncle maternel en particulier? Il préside donc à la fête, chez sa sœur; on lui offre le grand cadeau d'honneur; il est invité à se tenir debout à côté de la fiancée, pendant le discours du maître des cérémonies, qui le nomme en ce moment le maître des os des enfants de sa sœur; chez le gendre, c'est lui encore qui est le grand hôte et qui reçoit le cadeau d'honneur; en l'absence du grand-père ou en l'absence des vieillards, c'est lui qui fait la cérémonie du mariage, qui commande les prostrations et dit les bénédictions; au moment de l'enlèvement des animaux et du tumulte à la fin de la fête du mariage, c'est lui encore qui décide de la querelle au nom de la famille de sa sœur, et c'est devant lui que toute la famille du gendre se prosterne; au diner chez le fiancé, le maître des cérémonies souligne l'importance du clan maternel: "il faut à l'homme comme à la femme un clan maternel, pour qu'ils puissent justifier leur origine", on ne parle guère du clan paternel; une seconde fois s'adressant à lui, le maître des cérémonies dit: "l'homme est redevable pour ses qualités au clan maternel, comme la femme l'est au clan de sa famille". Pas la moindre allusion au clan paternel.

3. IMPORTANCE DE LA MÈRE, DE LA BRU, DE L'ENFANT, DU CLAN MATERNEL.

a) **Ingérence anormale dans le mariage de ses enfants.**

Dans une organisation patriarcale, la femme ne possède pas, elle ne compte pas; ses enfants même ne lui appartiennent pas. Ne faut-il donc pas expliquer comme étant un vestige du

matriarcat ancien, la condition prédominante de la mère dans les rites du mariage?

En effet, le mariage "semble" être encore de nos jours l'affaire de la mère seule. Sane parler des promesses de mariage faites entre elles par les mères encore enceintes, nous avons vu que la demande officielle de la fiancée est faite par la mère seule. Le consentement donné à la mère seule jouit de toutes les garanties nécessaires pour qu'on puisse se permettre d'attendre encore quatre, cinq ans, avant d'inviter un entremetteur. De même, quand les arrhes ont été discutées, c'est encore la mère seule qui va demander de marier prochainement la fille; après la demande de la mère seulement, l'entremetteur se présente pour fixer la date et le reste. Pour les mariages sans cérémonies, c'est la mère encore, qui avec l'entremetteur va chercher en toute simplicité la fiancée pauvre. Ce fait est bien significatif. Le long de la route, ce que la fiancée sanglotante craint le plus, c'est qu'on la maudira en maudisant sa mère; c'est la plus grande injure qu'on puisse lui faire.

Quand on examine le coutumier actuel concernant les jeunes veuves, on trouve anormal dans une organisation patriarcale, que la jeune veuve après les quarante-neuf jours de deuil, rentre dans la famille de sa mère pour y rester jusqu'à ses secondes noces. En effet, elle est la propriété pure et simple de ses beaux-parents. Il est anormal de même que les entremetteurs, lors des secondes noces, s'adressent à ses parents propres, avant de s'adresser à sa belle-mère. Cela ne rappelle-t-il pas le temps, où la fille se mariait chez elle et n'avait pas de belle-mère?

Après s'être adressé à la mère, l'entremetteur se rend chez les beaux-parents de la veuve, et là de nouveau il accoste d'abord la belle-mère, tout comme si elle disposait de la veuve-bru, avant tous les autres membres de la famille. Ce qui est typique, c'est qu'on nomme l'argent qu'on donnera à la belle-mère "*k'ai k'eou ts'ien* 開口錢 la somme qui ouvre la bouche", car si elle n'ouvre pas la bouche, c. à. d. si elle ne consent pas, le mariage

avorte.

b) Succession par le côté maternel.

Sans admettre le matriarcat ancien, comment expliquer la situation des femmes dans la série des mariages avec le Mât-à-prières, etc. Dans ce cas, on voit la "fille-mère" jouir de tous les droits d'une femme mariée, les enfants nés d'elle, porter son nom et hériter dans son clan, à côté des enfants de ses frères. C'est bien le cas qui fait passer du côté de la mère, la parenté, l'ordre de succession et les biens de la famille. Ce seul cas qui continue d'exister en pleine période patriarcale, dans laquelle les enfants des filles, ainsi que leur mère, sont considérés comme des étrangers pour la famille, mérite toute attention.

c) Admission dans la famille des enfants nés de pères étrangers.

N'est-il pas premis de voir des vestiges du matriarcat, dans la grande facilité avec laquelle on admet dans la famille les enfants des brus et des veuves, nés certainement de pères étrangers; *partus sequitur ventrem*: on reconnait seulement la mère. Nous avons vu qu'ici l'on est dans une période de transition, qui commence à rendre cette pratique de plus en plus difficile.

d) Fréquentes visites en famille de la bru, et droit de garder ses biens chez sa mère.

Que dire encore de la coutume anormale, qui permet à la bru ces fréquentes visites et ces longues vacances en famille? Cette coutume n'est pas naturelle dans une organisation patriarcale, où la bru est la propriété du mari, et où elle doit donner à ce clan et sa vie, et son temps, et tout son travail. Cette coutume donne l'impression que la fille, après le mariage, continue toujours d'habiter sa famille à elle et non celle de son mari (1), d'autant plus

SHIROKOGOROFF. OP. CIT. P. 90-91. The second long visit of the newly married wife in her mother's house may be also understood as a survival of the customs that prescribed to the newly married wife to keep her place in her mother's house. Further more the Manchus never say "the wife's father's clan" but "the wife's mother's clan. At the same time they say "the husband's clan "and" the husband's" father's clan. Thus all these facts cannot be explained without a supposition of the materline clan system in the past.

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qu'elle garde chez ses parents ses beaux habits, ses parures, ses bijoux et tout ce qui lui est cher. On garde ses trésors chez soi; or, le chez soi de la bru, ne semble pas être près de son mari. Cette dernière coutume, qui reconnait effectivement encore à la bru de nos jours un certain droit de propriété, n'appartient pas à une organisation patriarcale; de plus nous avons vu dans le discours du maitre des cérémonies qu'anciennement la fille jouissait du droit de propriété, puisqu'elle héritait, dans sa famille propre, la moitié d'une part de fils.

e) Fêtes à la naissance des filles.

Nous décrirons ailleurs les fêtes extraordinairement bruyantes auxquelles participe tout le village, données à l'occasion de la naissance du premier enfant d'une bru; que cet enfant soit un fils ou une fille, la fête est également solennelle Or, une fête pareille à la naissance d'une fille est absolument anormale encore dans le régime patriarcal, où le descendant mâle compte seul. Il faut noter que déjà dans beaucoup de familles t'ou-jen, on ne célèbre plus cette fête qu'à la naissance du premier fils. Cette fête est absolument inconcevable pour un cerveau chinois.

f) Dîner de mariage chez la fiancée.

Comment justifier, dans un régime patriarcal, le dîner donné chez la fiancée pour les membres de sa famille seule, la veille de son départ? La fête du mariage se passe dans le système patriarcal, dans la famille du fiancé, au jour même du mariage. Le départ de la fille ne peut être considéré comme un motif de réjouissance; aussi on ne trouve pas cette coutume en Chine. N'est-ce pas aussi une coutume des vieux temps, où l'on fêtait l'arrivée du gendre et son entrée dans la famille?

4. LES MARIS-GENDRES.

Nous avons décrit ci-dessus, les différentes formes que revêt la pratique des maris-gendres. La grande fréquence de cette pratique malgré tous les déboires qui lui sont propres,

nous ramène encore au matriarcat ancien (1). Mais laissons de côté le "fait même" de cette institution qui est essentiellement matriarcale, pour expliquer quelques vestiges étranges qu'on rencontre encore de nos jours relativement à cette pratique.

Anciennement, le mari-gendre habitant dans la famille de sa femme, devait nécessairement y être considéré comme un membre intime de la famille. Or, ne peut-on pas voir un vestige de cette condition du gendre, dans le fait qu'au moment des fêtes et des deuils, le gendre n'a pas sa place au diner parmi les convives? Au contraire, de nos jours encore, on le relègue à la cuisine parmi les intimes de la famille. Les fêtes et les deuils ne sont pas pour lui un temps de réjouissance, de ripaille et de beuverie, mais bien un temps pendant lequel on exige de lui, un travail parfois assez lourd et fort désagréable.

Nous avons vu que chez les Mandchoux, quand le gendre vient chercher sa fiancée, il honore d'abord les esprits de cette famille, puis, qu'on le fait asseoir au bas du k'ang sur un petit banc, pendant le diner qui précède le départ, alors que les conducteurs du char prennent place à table. Le gendre n'y est pas traité non plus comme un convive.

Il faut classer encore dans la même serie de faits, la présence requise du gendre chez les beaux-parents, au moment où ceux-ci ont à défendre leurs droits par la force, p. e. à l'occasion du suicide ou de la répudiation d'une de leurs filles.

Le fait que le gendre nomme tous les membres de la famille de sa femme du même nom qu'il nomme respectivement ceux de sa famille, en y ajoutant "*gadin*", qui veut dire parent par alliance, est assez significatif par lui-même.

Tous ces faits pris dans leur ensemble, prouvent non seulement l'existence du matriarcat chez les T'ou-jen, à une

(1) Je ne connais qu'un seul cas où une femme t'ou-jen ait gouverné son clan. C'est celui de la veuve du Lou t'ou-se. C'est un cas isolé, tout-à-fait fortuit et récent. Je n'y vois aucune relation avec le matriarcat qui a existé anciennement chez les T'ou-jen.

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période antérieure, mais ils donnent même l'illusion, et par leur nombre, et par leur diversité, que les T'ou-jen vivent encore de nos jours sous ce régime. Or, cela n'est pas. Leur économie sociale est sans conteste patriarcale. L'explication de ce fait doit se trouver dans ce qu'ils pratiquent ces rites et coutumes matriarcaux, sans les plus comprendre, parce que les ancêtres les pratiquaient, parce qu'ils continuent toujours à faire partie du coutumier. Ils ne trouvent pas étrange que l'oncle maternel est nommé le "maître des os des enfants de sa sœur", qu'il donne la permission d'enterrer les morts, qu'il préside aux fêtes de mariage, etc. il leur semble tout naturel que ce soit lui qui jouisse de ces prérogatives et non le grand-père, uniquement parce que de tout temps il en a joui. Les gens de lettres t'ou-jen, imbus des principes confucianistes, n'examinent pas cette question non plus, car, disent-ils, nos mœurs t'ou-jen ont toujours différé des mœurs chinoises..., et tout est expliqué pour eux.

C'est ainsi qu'on comprend la coexistence de deux régimes diamétralement opposés et l'extrême lenteur avec laquelle on passe chez ces peuples d'un régime social à un autre. C'est aussi ce qui explique la grande diversité que l'on rencontre dans les us et coutumes des T'ou-jen, quand on en vient aux détails.

Cette évolution est des plus curieuses. Elle marche d'un pas inégal dans les différents clans; on dirait même qu'elle ne se meut que par sauts. Les circonstances bien souvent les plus banales peuvent donner au mouvement une impulsion aussi vigoureuse que les événements les plus tragiques, et cela dans tous les sens ainsi; je cite au hasard: un titre honorifique donné par la Chine à un chef de tribu puissant; des relations de parenté d'un notable T'ou-jen avec une famille chinoise influente; des mariages avec Chinois; des querelles entre des chefs de villages; le verdict insensé d'un mandarin chinois, qui ne comprend rien à l'organisation sociale t'ou-jen; des voyages répétés régulièrement en des pays à mœurs différentes; la conversion à une autre religion; des catastrophes comme celles des révolutions mahométanes,

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qui, en décimant le peuple, ont été cause de l'adoption dans certains clans, de groupes thibétains et chinois presque aussi nombreux que le groupe t'ou-jen.. etc. On dirait qu'il ya très peu de constant, de régulier, de prévu, dans tout ce mouvement... dans cette évolution.

Ce chapitre sur le matriarcat était donc nécessaire, pour faire comprendre une grande partie des rites et coutumes que nous avons rencontrés dans cette étude; j'espère qu'il a aidé à jeter le vrai jour, à la lumière duquel l'on doit voir le tableau qu'est cette étude, sur le mariage chez les T'ou-jen.

NOTES SUPPLÉMENTAIRES

NOTES SUR LES TONGOUSES

L'impression de la présente étude touchait à sa fin, quand je pus me procurer le travail, fait de main de maître, de Mr Shikorogoroff, "Social Organisation of the Northern Tungus". Commercial press, 1929. Les notes qui suivent, prises dans cette œuvre, compléteront notre étude.

On distingue parmi les Tongouses un groupe nord et un groupe sud. Le groupe nord comprend les peuples qui parlent, ou ont parlé, des dialectes qui tous tirent leur origine d'une langue mère l'Evenki: le groupe sud comprend les Mandchoux, les Goldi, les Olca etc. La différence entre les dialectes des deux groupes, n'est pas si tranchée que celle qu'on rencontre dans les grandes subdivisions des langues indo européennes. S. O. T. p. 51

Or, on trouve chez les Tongouses tous les degrés possibles de "mongolisation", quant à la langue et quant aux coutumes, depuis la plus légère jusqu'à la plus complète, surtout dans le groupe nord. Ce fait explique pourquoi des linguistes distingués en sont venus jusqu'à nier l'existence même des Tongouses comme unité indépendante. S. O. T. p. 87.

Along with the penetration of the mongol culture into the body of the northern Tungus complex, the intercourse between the Mongols and the Tungus grew so, that they intermixed and crossed. Naturally the anthropological elements characteristic of mongol ethnical groups... have also penetrated these northern groups to such an extent, that some former northern groups have become entirely modified in their original physical features... By this method, a complete "mongolization" of the Tungus, has been and is still in operation... S. O. T. p. 87.

Les Tongouses avaient anciennement l'organisation matriarcale qu'ils échangèrent contre l'organisation patriarcale. Ils empruntèrent pour ce qui concerne le mariage, avec les nouvelles coutumes, des termes nouveaux pour les désigner: or c'est un fait certain que tous ces termes sont d'origine turco-mongôle. S. O. T. p. 242.

Dans le cours de notre travail nous avons donné les notes relatives au groupe sud des Tongouses (groupe Mandchou), en ce lieu nous donnons celles relatives au groupe nord, plus mongolisé que le groupe sud. De la sorte notre documentation embrassera les deux groupes.

Quant au paragraphe Ier, "les sujets du mariage" p. 12 nous

constatons chez les Northern Tungus comme chez les T'ou-jen, la loi de l'exogamie:

Op. cit. 210 ... "among the Tungus marriage within the clan is considered as incest & is prohibited, i. e. a man may marry no woman born in his clan. Exogamy is the backbone of the Tungus social organisation.. Exogamy is one of the oldest institutions among the Tungus." Même on rencontre l'endogamie, et, à la page 336, cette loi est expliquée par les migrations en des lieux distants et l'absence des peuples de même race, "among some groups this practice has been established as a custom."

P. 14... L'échange des filles; op. cit. 220: Marriage by exchange is still the.. most favoured form of getting wife.

P. 15 Mariages, "Tao-ts'in" mariages entre cousins etc., op. cit. 213:

Among all groups, Marriage between cross-cousins is considered as a preferential mating... Marriage with the father's sister's children is allowed, as is observed among the Manchus. op. cit. 214. The mode of marrying most preferred is that when a brother and sister are exchanged against a brother and sister.

P. 17. Pratique de l'échange de femmes entre deux clans: Op. cit. 212. Among the Tungus it is of very common occurrence that two clans are bound by a systematic exchange of women, so that the mother's clan provides the women.

P. 20... La position sociale des futurs conjoints vis-à-vis du mariage est la même que chez les T'ou-jen. Op. cit. 223: Among the khingan Tungus, the girl is not consulted in principle. She can thus be married against her will.

Op. cit. 224: Match-making and marriages are not private and personal affairs but a clan affair, and the Kalym constitutes an essential element of marriage... The girl may be present (at the match-making) but custom requires that she must not show that the discussion concerns her. In the presence of the match-makers nobody consults her, at all.

P. 21... Enfants donnés en mariage avant la naissance. Op. cit. 219: most of them are sometimes bethroted from early childhood and even before birth, as among the Manchus, and as commonly practised among the Chinese. Pour ce qui regarde les Chinois, je crois que l'affirmation est trop générale.

P. 21... Ages respectifs des fiancés. Op. cit. 219: Generally speaking the Tungus prefer an equal age in husband and wife. However under the stress of economical needs the Tungus sometimes marry a woman to a young boy in order to get a working woman.

P. 21... La demande en mariage. Op. cit. 223...: There are

three instances of match-making: I) when the children are so small that they are not consulted and the question is settled by the relatives of the young boy and girl; 2) when the girl and the young man of adult age, are consulted, and the question is settled by their relatives in the same way as in case I; 3) when the girl and young man are in love and the initiative of the match-making is taken by them: the formal side is again settled by their relatives. Match-making preceded by capture may be related to case 3.

Quand est-elle faite? Op. cit. 227: Match-making may be arranged at any age of the interested persons... op. cit. 235.. takes place soon after birth of the interested persons or later... Op. cit. 220... match-making and marriage are sometimes postponed till the adult age of the young man is reached.

Par qui est-elle faite, et comment? Op. cit. 224: The choice of the match-makers is limited by no regulations, except that referring to persons belonging to the family... First, the visitors start a neutial conversation... then they take from their clothing a bottle of wine and pray the host to take it... without wine no match-making discussion is possible: Op. cit. 227 If the bride's relatives do not want to give her away, custom requires that he (or she) must bargain as long as possible; the arrangement about the Kalym takes over five years.. disputes at match-making are exceptionally rare.

P. 25... Consentement de la mère. Op. cit. 224: Formal consent of the mother is obligatory among the Khingan Tungus. Op. cit. 271: The woman takes a very active part in the discussions concerning match-making, marriages and other social functions of the family members. Her opposition to her husband's opinion, if reasonable, defines the final issue of the discussion. She may also veto a decision taken without her consent.

P. 26... L'entremetteur;... Op. cit. 239: The essential event in match-making is the Kalym arrangement witch as a rule is paid in two parts among Tungus, Manchus, Goldi, or by instalments as it is sometimes allowed among the Buriats. Contents & value of the Kalym depend upon the economic condition, of the groups. Op. cit. 225: The matter of discussion is the Kalym,.. it does not mean the price of the bride... The usual Kalym consists of domesticated animals.. reindeer, horses, pigs, cow, sheep.. As a rule, a part of the Kalym among all Tungus is always paid at the match-making. Op. cit. 227: Generally speaking the Tungus like to show that the match-making and the wedding are acts of a business character and above all of great profit.

P. 30... Décès d'un des fiancés avant le mariage.. Op. cit. 227: If the betrothed girl or boy dies before the wedding, another girl or boy of the same clan are given instead of the deceased.

P. 31... Remise des arrhes: Op. cit. 235: Kalym and supple-

mentary Kalym must be transmitted.. Op. cit. 239: Kalym transmission constitutes the most important part of the wedding... may be included in the ceremony performed on the same day that the woman goes to the man's clan, as may be seen among the reindeer Tungus, or it may constitute a separate ceremony as among the nomad Tungus, Manchus, Goldi.. Op. cit. p. 227: As soon as the matter of Kalym is settled the match-makers prepare a feast... the first place belongs to the person with whom the matter has been settled. The father considers it its duty to return the feast to the match-makers. These feasts sometimes take two or three days and all clansmen of the bride and the bridegroom take their part in the pleasure.

P. 34... Age requis pour le mariage.. Op. cit. 227.. Marriage is usually postponed till the fifteenth year or more; or to a definite or indefinite date... Op. cit. 218: Girl, is sometimes married at an age when she cannot become an actual wife... But among the reindeer Tungus of Manchuria... marriage takes place at age of eighteen years. The age of thirty as the max. limit, has been indicated to me by some groups... in exceptional cases, it reaches the age of forty... Among other groups.. not before the age of fifteen and usually between the age of eighteen and twenty,... When the marriage is postponed after the age of the bride's maturity, the betrothed husband.. is allowed intercourse with his betrothed.

P. 35... Fixation du jour du mariage... Op. cit. p. 230: Tungus do not distinguish any happy or unhappy days, as the Manchus do.

P. 36. Date du mariage... As a rule weddings are carried out at seasons when the Tungus do not hunt.

P. 46. La dot de la fille. Op. cit. 228:.. No discussion as to the dowry is allowed. The honour of the clan requires the dowry to be as rich as possible. As a general rule it is considered as the private property of the woman, which she may dispose of almost without any control. It follows her, if she leaves the husband's clan, unless she commits certain crimes, and her daughters inherit it.. Among all groups the dowry consists of two parts: reindeer, horses, cattle... and personal clothing of the bride, clothing for the bridegroom and his clansmen, some cash, implements, kettels...

P. 63. Invitation de la fiancée. Op.. cit. 240:.. Delivery of the bride is always by her clan people, and among the Manchus she is accompanied to the bridegroom's clan by the bridegroom... This constitutes the formal act of the fulfillment of the match-making agreement, and it is found among all groups. The bride's father and mother do not follow their daughter to the bridegroom's clan... Among the Goldi the mother together with her daughter goes to the bridegroom's house.

P. 64. Arrivée de la fiancée dans sa nouvelle famille. Op. cit.

240: The act of entering the bridegroom's clan... is essential part of the wedding ceremony, for when the woman joins her husband's clan, this is expressed among all groups either by a sacrifice sometimes given by the bride, as it is observed among the Tungus (except the nomad Tungus) and the Buriats and sometimes given by other persons, as is observed among the Goldi, nomad Tungus, or a ritual complex including visit to the ancestral tombs, as is recorded for the Manchus.

P. 71. e mariage. Je résume les cérémonies du mariage, A.. chez les Tungus of Transbaikalia et B. chez les nomad Tungus.

A.. reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia. Op. cit. 230. Les convives se réunissent en un lieu désigné d'avance, en deux groupes, celui de la fiancée et celui du fiancé: ils s'installent dans deux groupes de wigwam préparés pour la fête. Before the day of the wedding the bridegroom is allowed to visit the wigwam of his affianced wife's parents... and remains there with the bride for the night.. facts and survivals seem to point to an old custom of the consummation of the marriage in the affianced wife's house, i. e. formerly in her mother's clan. La fête commence par la remise des arrhes portées dans le camp de la fiancée... discussions... arrhes supplémentaires. Du camp de la fiancée sont transportés solennellement la dot de celle ci et les cadeaux destinés au fiancé et à sa famille. Le fiancé se revêt de suite de ces habits. At this time the bride's clan women dress the bride for her wedding. They put her best coats on, three or four at once... Après un simulacre de rapt, pendant lequel on prend un homme de son clan, la fiancée arrive dans le clan du fiancé et après avoir fait trois tours du wigwam elle y entre... pendant la collation elle fait une offrande aux esprits du clan de son fiancé. Mariage même: les mariés saluent l'assemblée, qui baise la main et la bouche de la fiancée: les entremetteurs crachent trois fois sur sa main. Entre-temps un chaman ou un autre chante et... expresses various wishes as to the happiness of the new couple. Dîner,. convives assis en cercle, hommes d'un côté, et femmes de l'autre... discours.. the social importance of the fact of marriage is always accentuated by the speakers... après le dîner dances toute la nuit et fêtes durant trois jours... 235: wedding feast is held in the bridegroom's and in the bride's clan.

B... mariage chez les nomad Tungus... 236: the day before the wedding the bridegroom puts a felt tent inside the camp enclosure of his father... In the middle of the tent a fire is made as usual... around the fire, skins and felt rugs are placed....From early morning the bridegroom's clans men sit in a tent specially prepared ....The bridegroom is not to be seen.. and does not take any part in the ceremony, but is busy with others things,,, cooking and serving.. Variations: the bride is met outside the tent enclosure by the bridegroom's people, or the bride goes straight to her relatives house or tent... A little time before the bride's arrival, two men belonging to the bride's ulus arrive on a cart with the dowry,

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her own and the man's clothing... They are met with the bridegroom's people in the front of the gate... on les interroge, on prétend qu'ils se sont trompée d'adresse... on les conduit avec la dot dans la tente destinée à la fiancée... dispute à propos des coussins de la fiancée. The bride with her face covered by red silk material, with two others of her ulus women and two men all go on horse-back out the village. Un groupe de cavaliers et d'amazones la suit... on prend le thé en cours de route.... la fiancée le refuse.... course furibonde des cavaliers et amazones suivis de la fiancée, droit vers le lieu de la fête, préparé en dehors de l'enclos des tentes. Un grand feu y brûle... la fiancée est près du feu... les cavaliers font le manège autour du feu au galop, fire ring... un thé est servi.. la fiancée, introduite dans la tente du fiancé est cachée derrière un rideau de peaux de moutons... on l'habille, on fait sa toilette à la manière des femmes mariées. La fiancée avec les convives se rend dans la tente de son beau-père... l'entrée lui est barrée... discussions, on donne des cadeaux... on entre, on présente des cadeaux au beau-père, la fiancée lui fait la prostration ainsi qu'à toute l'assemblée, offrandes jettées sur le feu... Le fiancé arrive, reçoit un khatag et part de suite. La fiancée est reconduite dans sa tente... on lui sert le dîner... Fête et dîner à l'extérieur de l'enclos des tentes.

Op. cit. 241: Among all groups the ceremony of the wedding may be simplified if the persons getting married are poor, or if previous to the formal marriage they have violated customs, or if a widow or divorced person is one of the contracting parties. The simplifying of the ceremony does not however allow of the exclusion of the acts of importance: delivery of the bride and her adoption as symbolised by a sacrifice.

P. 81. Op. cit. 208: Among the reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia the virginity of the bride is not required... but the facts of the girls relations are rather of clandestine character. If the girl gets pregnant it does not reduce her value. Among the Udehe, a girl's pregnancy may be used as a way of compelling her parents.. to give her in marriage to the man responsible for her pregnancy. Among the reindeer Tungus of Manchuria a girl's pregnancy is considered a shamefull thing, but the girl is always excused; for among these Tungus sexual intercouse after a certain age is considered as a natural phenomenon. Among the Khingan, Tungus girls are permitted to have free intercourse after the age of fifteen of sixteen. Intercourse is strictly prohibited among the Manchus.

P. 87. Droits des veuves. Op. cit. 266: Juniors have certain rights as to her, i. e. according to the principle of levirate. She may be given to another man as wife in case of her husband's death and if she consents. If she remarries into another clan her Kalym is naturally received by her late husband's clan: when she does not want to leave her late husband's clan she may stay there for any lengthtime. The woman does not inherit her husband, if she does not leave her husband's clan

and has children, she takes up the direction of the property which is supposed to belong to the children.

P. 96. Vestiges du rapt. Op. cit. 220: Marriages by capture are also known. They occur if the parent's will cannot be changed. This practice according to the Tungus is an innovation mostly due to russian influence.. Among the Barguzin and the Nerchinks Tungus capture is considered a heinous crime... I do not presume to say that capture was unknown among the Tungus. The close cultural relation ship of the Tungus to the Palaeasiatics at a remote period, is beyond doubt. Among the Gilaks and the Koriaks capture is an essential of the wedding ceremony... It was also known long ago among the Sien-pi. We do not yet know whether the Tuu-hu were the Tungus, Mongols or Palaeasiatics, but there is no doubt that they were neighbours of the southern Tungus.

P. 100. La polygamie existe. Op. cit. 212:... If the first wife dies the widower is allowed to marry her sister. In all cases of polygyny, I know that the Tungus used to speak of it with a certain repugnance and disdain and persons who were polygynous were not considered good people. The Manchu practice is similar to that of the Tungus... Op. cit. 214: the practice of Levirate and sororate is general. The Goldi extend the levirate to the father's wives, except the mother, so that the son inherits the wife of his father and makes her his wife. With good reason it may be supposed that this practice of the Goldi has been known among all Tungus.

B. 105. Op. cit. 272: Preventive methods, abortion and the killing of children when the mother is alive are unknown among the Tungus.

P. 109. Op. cit. 212: Monogamy and polygyny. The first form is the commonest one, and the second is very rare... as a matter of fact. Polygyny is not allowed except in case the first wife either has no children or has attained an age when she can have no more. Polygyny does not exceed one per cent of all the cases observed. Sometimes the practice does not allow one to marry two sisters.

P. 109. Op. cit. 212: The wives in all cases call one another sister (senior or junior) and the children of both mothers call them "the mother". Op. cit. 266; The woman does not call her husband by his personal name, but (says) my children's father. The husband does the same in reference to his wife.

P. 116. Maris-gendres... Op. cit 239: Marriage by service among some groups is a form of the Kalym payment used among all groups. Op. cit. 219: If the bridegroom cannot pay the Kalym, then he arranges payment by his own work. The man works for his future wife's parents or relatives, and the marriage takes place when the fixed period expires. Among the Manchus, the Udehe, and especially among

the Buriats and the Goldi marriage by service is now rarely practised. 240: Consummation of the marriage, in marriage by service, is subject to great variations... not allowed among Manchus and Buriats, but not prohibited among the northern Tungus

P. 134: Divorce. Op. cit. 222: Divorce is an exceptionally rare occurence among the Tungus. There are three occasions, namely when the woman requires divorce, when the husband requires it, when both of them require it. The matter has to be settled in all three cases by a clan meeting or a meeting of the two joint clans. Among the Tungus and Manchus the act of divorce must be sealed by the fingerprints of the people of the husband's clan, the husband and the wife... 209: Very rarely misconduct results in divorce. As a general rule among the Tungus groups, women's intercourse with foreigners is disapproved of and gives the husband certain rights to the support of his clan in claiming divorce. Some Tungus groups, e. g. the Goldi. the Udehe, even recognise the husband's right to kill the wife and her accomplice who are taken in flagrant delict. This practice was also known among the Muki, who lived in Manchuria in the Sixth century after Christ... 267. Quant au support que la mariée peut escompter de la part de son clan... The woman's clan never refuses her request of inquiry. The woman's clan may avenge her death... life for life.

P. 136. Op. cit. 208: On the violations of the (sex) customs persons are considered to be "a bad man or a bad woman" which means more than a simple disapproval of conduct, for if his conduct becomes a habit, the matter is to be set before a clan meeting with all the consequences that may result from it (including the death penalty)... Among the Manchus the custom requires the suicide of the criminal, e. g. the case of the father-in-law surprised by his son with the latter's wife... 209. Among all groups in exceptional cases, the husband openly opposes his wife's conduct, and if she continues her relations he tries to exhort her to change her ways... or even beats her... p. 209: The Tungus possess a special term meaning to sleep with a married woman "dorokto" which seems to be derived from "doro" to steel.

P. Prostitution. Op. cit. 271: The practice of prostitution has not been recorded by me among the Tungus groups investigated.... 272. Cases of prostitution or sale of wives as recorded among the Udehe, are unknown among the Tungus.

P. Matriarcat. Op. cit. 242: Most of the (we ding) terms used by Tungus are borrowed from the Mongols and other ethnical groups, yet some practices are borrowed direct from the same sources. This is quite comprehensible for the matrineal system of the clan was probably used by the early Tungus and Manchus or perhaps even by the pro-tungus. As a matter of fact the Kalym, the dowry, the journey of the bride and her adoption by the husband's clan are absolutely useless

in the matrilineal clan system and the matrilocal marriage. It is thus natural that the terms concerning all this elements of the wedding have been borrowed together with the customs. The fact of the turco-mongol origin of most of the terms of relationship adopted by the Tungus when they had already adopted the patrineal clan system is beyond doubt... 243: The maximum result of analysis may be, that at certain periods, the matrilineal system was a widely distributed ethnographical feature, characteristic of different groups, just as nowadays the patrineal system is that adopted by almost all groups of Asia.

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NOTES SUR LES LO-LO P'O.

Ces notes sont prises dans "*Au Yun-nan. Les Lo-lo P'o, par le R. P. Alfr. Lietard, Bibliothèque de monographies ethnologiques Anthropos 1913...*" Le livre en question m'est parvenu seulement quand l'impression de mon étude était près d'être achevée.

On est tout étonné de constater que le coutumier matrimonial t'ou jen, présente tant de ressemblance avec celui des Lo-lo P'o, surtout quant à la marche générale des différentes phases du mariage. Malheureusement le travail du P. Lietard est trop peu détaillé pour permettre une étude plus approfondie sur le sujet. Ces notes toutefois, ainsi que celles qui précèdent sur les Miao, suffisent pour rappeler l'importance du problème concernant le facteur des peuples du S-O de la Chine, non seulement dans la question de la civilisation chinoise, mais aussi dans celle de l'ethnologie du groupe turco-mongol.

Op. cit. p. 155, et suiv.: Les parents ayant jeté les yeux sur une fille qu'ils veulent faire épouser par leur fils, le père de celui-ci entre en pourparlers avec le père de la fille. La réponse de ce dernier étant favorable, on cherche un entremetteur. Celui-ci doit être un individu qui a beaucoup d'enfants. L'entremetteur est invité à dîner, et pendant le repas où l'on sert viande et vin, on le prie de se rendre dans telle famille, pour demander telle fille en mariage. Il s'y rend pour le repas du soir, avec une ou deux livres de viande et deux mesures de vin. Il fait la proposition et le lendemain il peut rapporter une réponse favorable à la famille du garçon. On lui fait fête, ce qui s'appelle: "boire le vin de la promesse". On attend six mois ou un an, et l'on procède à la seconde opération appelée: "boire le vin de la fin des pourparlers". L'entremetteur est de nouveau invité à dîner. Après le repas, il va dans la famille de la fille, emportant une chèvre, une livre de sel et 20 mesures de vin. Là, on tue la chèvre et l'on festoie, tout en débattant les conditions du mariage. Après le festin, l'ent remetteur revient annoncer au père du garçon ses conditions qui sont presque toujours: 6 ou 7 taels d'argent, et des souliers fleuris ou un turban. Si la famille du garçon est riche on exige de plus: des bracelets en argent, des bagues, et des boucles et pendants d'oreilles. Deux mois avant le mariage, l'entremetteur accomplit la cérémonie de la fixation du mariage. Pour cela il vient d'abord chez le garçon, d'où après un repas fait en famille, il se rend chez la fille indiquer le jour du mariage. Il porte une pièce d'étoffe, un leang de fil à coudre, 2 mesures de vin. La veille du mariage, un ami de la famille porte chez la fille une chèvre de 20 livres. Le matin du grand jour, l'entremetteur ayant reçu pour sa peine deux mesures de vin

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et deux têtes de chèvres, porte chez la fille les 6 ou 7 onces d'argent, les souliers, etc. Il est accompagné du garçon, qui en arrivant chez la fille fait la prostration à ses beaux-parents, les remerciant de lui avoir donné leur fille. La fille elle, reste à la cuisine, elle ne doit pas voir son fiancé. La famille donne alors un grand festin aux invités. Le repas est servi dans la cour sous des tentes. On chante. Les vieux surtout se distinguent par leurs improvisations. (Ce dialogue chanté Lo-lo, peut très bien être comparé au chant de la toilette t'ou-jen P. 59). Qu'avez-vous déposé sur la tête de votre fille? Votre fille porte un turban de gaze. Et que lui a-t-on mis aux oreilles?... et son corps de quoi l'avez-vous revêtu?.. etc.. Mais à qui livrer la fille! Livrez-la à l'esprit du foyer. Quand elle lui aura fait trois prostrations, on la livrera à son beau-père, on la livrera à sa belle-mère. "Quand on a bien chanté, le garçon s'en retourne chez lui accompagné par un de ses parents,. L'entremetteur fait le salut au père et à la mère de la fille, les invitant à se rendre à la noce chez le garçon. Le père, la mère et tous les membres libres de la famille, se rendent en effet à l'invitation, chacun portant ses couvertures pour la nuit. La sœur ainée, ou à son défaut une parente plus vieille, prend la jeune mariée sur son dos, et tout le monde se met en route conduit par l'entremetteur. Avant d'arriver à la maison du garçon, on s'arrête sur la route. L'entremetteur seul se rend là-bas, annoncer l'arrivée de la fiancée et de ses parents et demande quelques hommes de bonne volonté pour venir porter les couvertures des invités. Il revient avec les hommes. Il allume une torche, tandis que sa femme distribue du tabac, et l'on fume une pipe. Le cortège se met en route après qu'on a bandé les yeux de la fille. On remet à sa porteuse 16, ou 36 ou 66 sapèques. Si la fille est grande on ne la porte pas à dos, sinon à partir de ce moment. La sœur ainée porte donc la mariée au milieu de la cour. Là, elle la dépose et de suite la conduit devant la porte de la cuisine, où elle lui enlève son bandeau. A deux, elles entrent dans la cuisine et se prosternent devant l'image de l'esprit du foyer. Elles restent à la cuisine où d'autres compagnes viennent la rejoindre. C'est là qu'on leur servira à manger au moment du repas. Pendant ce temps l'entremetteur présente les parents de la fille aux parents du garçon. Et le festin préparé, on se met à table.

Après la repas on chante et surtout on danse. La fille sort et danse comme tout le monde, ainsi que le garçon. La fille reste chez son mari 2 ou 4 jours, sa sœur ainée lui tenant compagnie. Après ce laps de temps, le jeune ménage en compagnie de la même sœur ainée, va passer quelques jours chez les parents de la fille. Après trois ou quatre jours, les jeunes mariés reviennent chez le garçon.

P. 161: Il en est ainsi du moins quand on marie les enfants à l'âge de 16 ou 18 ans. Malheureusement les Lo-lo po ont aussi la détestable habitude de marier leurs enfants dès l'âge de 10 ou 12 ans et

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même souvent plus tôt, dès l'âge de 4 ou 6 ans. Dans ce cas, les enfants ne couchent pas ensemble après le mariage. Généralement même, la fille retourne le soir chez ses parents. Vers l'âge de 16 ans, on fera revenir la fille. C'est chose rare qu'elle revienne pour avoir des relations avec son mari; dans une moyenne de cas de 98 pour 100 les filles ainsi mariées ne veulent pas de leur mari, et cherchent un amant. La fille reste chez son mari, et c'est chez lui que son amant vient chaque nuit, tandis que le mari va passer la nuit avec une autre. Et remarquez-le bien, pour rien au monde la femme quoique travaillant avec son mari et mangeant à la même table ne voudrait avoir des relations avec lui.

Dans la plupart des tribus lo-lo au Yun-nan, la polygamie n'est par pratiquée (exception faite pour les t'ou-se), sauf dans les cas très rares où la première femme est stérile. Dans ce cas le mari, de concert avec sa première femme, en choisit une seconde.

CONCLUSION

Le rite principal du Mariage.

Après avoir étudié le mariage chez les T'ou-jen, il est tout naturel de se demander, quel est le rite principal du mariage.

Comme les T'ou-jen dont nous traitons sont un amalgame de vrais Mongols et de Cha-T'ouo mongolisés, il semble que pour résoudre ce problème, il faut comparer les cérémonies du mariage pratiquées chez les T'ou-jen, avec celles en usage chez les Mongols ou les groupes de peuples mongolisés; et qu'il faut en outre tenir compte des civilisations des peuples voisins, qui ont pu altérer ou influencer les us et coutumes, soit dans le passé, soit dans le présent. De la sorte on peut espérer découvrir une cérémonie pratiquée par tous les groupes, dans tous les mariages, depuis les plus solennels jusqu'aux plus simples.

C'était pour mieux faire comprendre le coutumier matrimonial t'ou-jen que nous avons eu recours aux notes concernant les Mongols (1), concernant les Tongouses du nord et du sud, parmi lesquels on rencontre tous les degrés de mongolisation,

(1) Le problème mongol est très complexe. En effet, comme dit Mr Shikorogoroff (Anthropos 1931, p. 221. New contribution to the problem of the origin of the chinese culture). Yet we have a very confuse idea as to the early Mongols, especially their ancestors and their relationship with the palaeasiatics groups. In fact amongst the Mongols, one may observe different anthropological types and especially type A, and a very numerous type B, the latter of which forms great majority among the Palaeasiatics.. There are many other reasons which incline me to the idea that the palaeasiatic factor must not be omitted from one's sight when the origin and formation of the Mongols and the mongol complex are considered.. C'est pourquoi nous avons profité au cours de ce travail de la judicieuse étude d'ensemble du Dr Herb. Koenig. Das Eherecht der Polarvoelker.

Deniker, (Les races et les peuples de la terre, 1926. p. 460) reconnait trois grandes divisions parmi les Mongols: A) celle des Mongols occidentaux ou Kalmouk. B) celle des Mongols orientaux. C) celle des Buriates.

A. Mostaert. The Mongols of Kansu and their language Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking. Dec. 1931. p. 1. 2. 3... donne par sa bibliographie, une idée de l'état actuel du problème philologique mongol.

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et ensuite à celles concernant les Miao et les Lo-lo P'o.

Quand on étudie le coutumier matrimonial t'ou-jen tout seul, sans tenir compte des coutumiers des autres groupes, il est un rite éminemment solennel qui saute de suite aux yeux et qui s'indique de lui-même, comme étant le moment capital de tout le mariage. C'est, en effet, celui qui consiste en ce que les fiancés agenouillés l'un à côté de l'autre, en présence de toute l'assemblée debout et silencieuse des invités des deux familles, donnent ensemble les trois grandes prostrations rituelles "au ciel et aux multiples esprits", puis aux parents et à toute l'assemblée, pendant que le "vieillard bénissant" prononce les vœux, qui disent clairement ce qu'on entend de l'union des deux personnes, sur qui sont fixés tous les regards. Les vœux étant prononcés et les prostrations données, on enlève le voile à la mariée et on la reconduit dans la chambre nuptiale, comme pour signifier la fin du grand acte... S'il y a un moment solennel dans le mariage des T'oujen, c'est bien celui en question.

Or ce rite, nous le retrouvons dans tous les mariages t'ou-jen: dans les mariages sans cérémonies des filles pauvres, dans celui des veuves sans soutien et même dans les mariages anormaux avec les mâts-à-prières et avec la ceinture. Quand tous les autres rites font défaut, la prostration au ciel ou aux esprits faite par les fiancés, n'est jamais omise. Ceci porte à croire qu'aux yeux des T'ou-jen ce rite est de loin le plus important.

Or, rencontrons-nous un rite semblable chez les autres groupes? Chez les Mongols, on rencontre une scène à peu près identique à celle qu'on a vue chez les T'ou-jen: mais on est tout étonné de ne pas voir y figurer le fiancé à côté de la fiancée agenouillée. En effet, la fiancée seule est introduite chez le beau-père, chez qui se trouvent réunis les parents et les amis de la future: lecture est faite des prières du rituel: trois prostrations sont données par la fiancée au feu, aux père et mère, aux parents de la future, tous lui donnent à haute voix leur bénédiction.

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(cf. page 73.)

Chez les Tongouses du groupe nord et notamment chez ceux de la Transbaïkalie, les fiancés ensemble viennent "saluer" les convives assis autour du feu; ceux-ci baisent la main et la bouche de la fiancée... un chaman entre temps chante les vœux de bonheur. (cf. page 161.) (L'auteur note expressément pour ce groupe l'influence russe).

Chez les nomades du même groupe, la fiancée seule est introduite devant le beau-père et s'agenouille devant lui et les ainés du clan, d'autres jettent des offrandes dans le feu... (cf. p. 161.)

Chez les Tongouses du groupe sud, notamment chez les Mandchoux, les fiancés ensemble, dès leur arrivée dans la cour du mari, s'agenouillent, font trois prostrations au ciel et à la terre et brûlent de l'encens. (cf. page 73.)

Chez les Miao, c'est le fiancé seul qui fait les prostrations rituelles en présence des parents réunis, et un vieillard énumère tous les devoirs qu'il aura à remplir désormais dans la tribu. (cf. page 86.)

Chez les Lo-lo P'o, la fiancée seule fait les prostrations à la cuisine, au dieu de l'âtre. (cf. page. 171)

Donc on peut constater qu'on rencontre seulement chez les T'ou-jen et chez les Mandchoux, les prostrations rituelles aux esprits, etc. "*faites de concert par les fiancés*": chez les Mandchoux toutefois la cérémonie est faite avec beaucoup moins de solennité que chez les T'ou-jen.

Or, d'un côté ces deux peuples sont les plus chinoisés parmi tous les peuples en question, et d'un autre côté c'est précisément chez les Chinois qu'on voit pratiquer le rite des prostrations rituelles "faites de concert par les fiancés", au ciel et à la terre, et aux esprits. On serait donc porté à supposer qu'on a ici affaire à un rite chinois que les T'ou-jen et les Mandchoux ont adopté, et que surtout les T'ou-jen ont admira-

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blement mis en relief dans un décor d'origine mongole; en outre, on serait porté à faire la constatation peu banale qu'un rite prêté aux voisins, constitue actuellement, chez les T'ou-jen du moins, le moment capital du mariage, pour la raison que ce rite a dû répondre singulièrement aux aspirations naturelles et religieuses du peuple. Mais détrompons-nous. Ce fait n'est pas si chinois qu'il semble à première vue. Le fond en est mongol; ce qui est chinois n'est qu'accidentel: c'est la présence du fiancé aux côtés de la fiancée et la part qu'il prend à une cérémonie qui existait déjà.

Certes, nous comprenons difficilement un mariage, où les deux partis ne pratiquent pas de concert un rite quelconque, ou du moins où les deux partis ne sont pas présents. C'est pourtant ce que nous avons vu chez tous ces peuples, les T'ou-jen et les Mandchoux exceptés.

Quel est le moment capital du mariage chez ces peuples?

Il me semble que c'est encore quand la fiancée est introduite devant ses beaux-parents, les membres du clan de son fiancé et tous les convives, pour faire toute seule les prostrations rituelles, pour présenter ses hommages et reconnaître sa sujétion. C'est précisément alors, que chez les Mongols "on fait la lecture des prières rituelles.. et que tous lui donnent leur bénédiction" (cf. p. 73), que, chez les Tongouses de Transbaïkalie, "un chaman chante entre temps les voeux" (cf. p. 161), que chez les Miao, "le fiancé étant agenouillé, un vieillard énumère tous les devoirs qu'il aura à remplir". (cf. p. 86)

Il serait très intéressant pour nous de connaître ces "prières rituelles et ces bénédictions données par tous", "ces vœux chantés par le chaman," et, ces "devoirs énumérés par le vieillard", car je crois que c'est juste en ce moment, et en ce moment seul, que le vrai sens de la fête est révélé par les vœux que l'on fait et les bénédictions que l'on implore et souhaite. Et de qui attend-on ces bénédictions? Qui réalisera ces vœux? Ces vœux doivent présenter beaucoup de ressemblance avec ceux

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qui sont faits chez les T'ou-jen en semblable circonstance, et je ne puis me défendre de supposer que ce moment de la fête, doit être tout aussi impressionnant et tout aussi important chez ces groupes, que chez les T'ou-jen.

Je me permets donc d'insister sur cette cérémonie, d'autant plus que c'est surtout à son sujet, que nous avons le moins de détails et que souvent elle est passée inaperçue dans les relations de mariage.

Si on fait fi de ce rite, alors le mariage perd tout simplement sa signification chez ces peuples, vu qu'il est réduit à la simple acquisition par achat d'un nouveau membre de la part de la famille du fiancé, aux discussions du prix de la fille, au paiement du prix d'achat, et à la livraison de la "marchandise" par ses propriétaires: en plus on a l'admission de la fille dans le clan du fiancé, et le sacrifice fait par elle au dieu du foyer de sa nouvelle famille: le tout étant suivi par un diner et des divertissements.

Mais en fin de cause, pourquoi dépense-t-on l'argent pour une fille? Pourquoi admet-on un nouveau membre dans la famille? Pourquoi le mariage est-il chez ces peuples, la grande œuvre de la vie? Ils le savent bien, ces peuples! Je suppose qu'ils le disent comme les T'ou-jen dans les prières rituelles, dans les bénédictions: qu'ils le disent à ceux de qui ils en attendent la réalisation, et *cela tout juste au moment où la fiancée fait les prostrations.*

C'est pourquoi je considère cette cérémomie comme étant la cérémonie capitale dans les mariages de ces peuples.

*
* *

Les quelques rares matériaux que nous présente cette étude, prouvent amplement que la civilisation des T'ou-jen est loin d'être homogène, et que nous nous trouvons ici en présence d'éléments culturels appartenant à différents types de culture.

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Après avoir étudié l'histoire de ce peuple au Kan-sou, son milieu, ses voisins, sa vie sociale, politique, et religieuse, nous serons mieux à même de comprendre la complexité de sa civilisation, et la provenance des éléments culturels que nous y rencontrons.

Les T'ou-jen, séparés radicalement depuis des centaines d'années des autres groupes de leur race, confinés dans un coin perdu du Kan-sou, environnés de peuples ayant une culture de type différent de la leur, et ayant changé eux-mêmes complètement le genre de vie depuis leur arrivée dans le nouvel habitat, nous présentent un problème fort complexe, dont les données doivent être bien connues avant de pouvoir être résolu.

Aussi nous réservons pour plus tard nos conclusions, nous efforçant avant tout de fournir aussi fidèlement, aussi complètement que possible, tous les matériaux ethnologiques et historiques.

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Voile de la fiancée: V. enlèvement

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61	4	*âgu d'úzuraúgu*	*āgu ǵžüraǵžin.*
66	32	less than 1	les than 1$
68	17		*khui t'ushian khuĭ t'šhiąn.*
71	8	*súrôdúzin khun*	*šürōǵžin khun*
26		*Dē thurōŋ thorguē šge thiąngeri olon phurgán ńiąndu murgu*	
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Le lecteur bénévole corrigera lui-même les fautes de moindre importance.

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3: Schröder M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

On the Religion of the Tujen of the Sining Region (Koko Nor)
[Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor)]

000

by Dominik Schröder

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First Part: The Religious Customs

1. Introduction*

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*The designations (1), (2), (3), etc. do not appear as footnotes in this work, but as independent subsections, and each time under the heading "Notes." Cf. p. 17 [of the foreign text] in this chapter. [In the translation these notes will be incorporated as footnotes; hence the independent subsections with the heading "Notes" (Anmerkungen) will be eliminated.]

1. The Name of the Tujen

101 In the European literature the people of the group under consideration are usually called Tujen (Turen, T'ou-jen, T'u-jen). This is also the name usually given them by the Tsinghai Chinese. Tujen means native, man of the place. The Chinese t'u signifies place, soil, earth; jen signifies human being, man, people. The Chinese have given them this [5] name because at the time of their immigration these people were already present. They also apply this name to other peoples of the frontier region, for example, in Szechwan; no ethnic designation is expressed by it. This should not be taken to mean, however, that the Tujen are in fact the first inhabitants [114] of that region, as P. A. Volpert has done; cf. Volpert, "Etwas über die T'u-yen, Ureinwohner Westkansus [Something about the T'u-yen, the original inhabitants of West Kansu]," (Anthropos, 18/19, 1923/24). According to their tradition, they likewise immigrated, but before the Chinese.

For the rest, the following names are also used: Dalden, Dolden, Daldy (Przewalski; Grum-gržimajlo, and others); furthermore, Dchiahour (Huc and Gabet); Kansu-Mongols, Mongols of Kansu (De Smedt and A. Mostaert); Monguor (De Smedt and Mostaert). A. Mostaert would like to derive the

[5 cont.]

101 word "Dalden" from the Mongolic "Golot," with which the Mongols designate the Tujen; cf. Mostaert, The Mongols of Kansu, p. 84; DMF, p. II (1).

The Tujen refer to themselves as Moṅġol kun (Mongolic people) or tsiġan Moṅġol (White Mongols) in contrast to the other Koko Ṅor Mongols, whom they call xara Moṅġol (Black Mongols). The name Monguor, introduced by P.A. Mostaert, goes back to this self-designation; the dialectal variant set down by him pronounces the l like r and has a slight u sound before the open o. The neighboring Tangut use the name Karlaṅ for the Tujen, which evidently is of Tibetan origin. In the geography of the sMin-'Gyur (Min-chu)-Hutuktu, written in Tibetan, the Tujen tribe is called rGya-Hor, pronounced Dyahor, which is thus the same designation as that used by Huc and Gabet. Even today this expression is still in use among the people, who render it with the crude Chinese word tsa-chung (mixed seed), bastard.

All these names have given rise to various explanatory theories, which do not belong here. No designation is entirely unambiguous. The nearest to this might be Chiahor and Monguor, but since Tujen is the commonest, this name will be used here. The most suitable, however, would be to adopt the self-designation of the Tujen: White Mongols.

2. The Distribution of the Tujen

131 The principal area of distribution of the Tujen in the present Tsinghai Province lies south of the Richthofen Mountains, that is, in the triangle formed by the Sining and Taitung rivers. The heart of this triangle is formed by the northern side valleys of the Sining River, namely, the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan, the Ha-la-chih-kou, the Hung-nai-tzu-kou, and the Shui-mo-kou. Almost the entire region belongs to the town Huchu, which is located in the upper reaches of the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan. Aside from the county of Huchu, the Tujen are settled predominantly in the county of Minho, and in smaller groups in the counties of Lotu, Tatung, and Kungho. The Tujen themselves call the area they inhabit Amdo (Tibetan). Their total number cannot

[101] 000

[5 cont.] Their total number cannot
161 be given with any precision since the official statistics are unreliable. An estimate in a Tsinghai chronicle (1943) sets [6] [map appears here] [7] their total number for Tsinghai at approximately 27,000-30,000; cf. Hsü Kung-wu: Ch'ing-hai chih-lüeh. I have lost the other most recent statistics, especially those of the periodical Hsi-pei-t'ung-hsün. The figure cited by P. M. Hermanns seems to me to be too low; see Hermanns, Nomaden, p. 30.

792 The religious and spiritual center of the Tujen in the county of Huchu is the monastery dGon-luṅ, called Rëgulõṅ (Rgulõṅ) in the Tujen language (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 17.] The common Chinese name is Erh-ku-lung szu, more rarely, Yuning szu. Concerning the history and significance of this monastery and its Tulkus [Living Buddhas] (Ch'ang-chia and T'ukuan Hutukhtu), cf. the discussion at the conclusion of the second part.

3. Status and Task of the Investigation

114 648 There is little to report concerning research on the Tujen. European science did not become aware of this ethnic group until the second half of the last century, after the French missionaries Huc and Gabet traveled through the Koko Nor region on their Tibetan journey (1844-46) and also skirted the homeland of their guide, who was a former Tujen lama; cf. M. Huc, Travels, p. 281. After them other explorers came in contact with the Tujen, for example, Przewalski (1873), Potanin (1884), Rockhill (1891/92). D'Ollone visited a related group in southern Kansu (1906), but not the Tujen of Tsinghai. Similarly, Mannerheim stayed only among the Shera-Yögur, with whom there is an inclination to relate the Tujen. A. Tafel made his Tibetan journey in 1905-1908 and briefly visited the Tujen in the region of the present Huchu. Filchner has not been in the region of the Tujen during his

3;Schröder--4 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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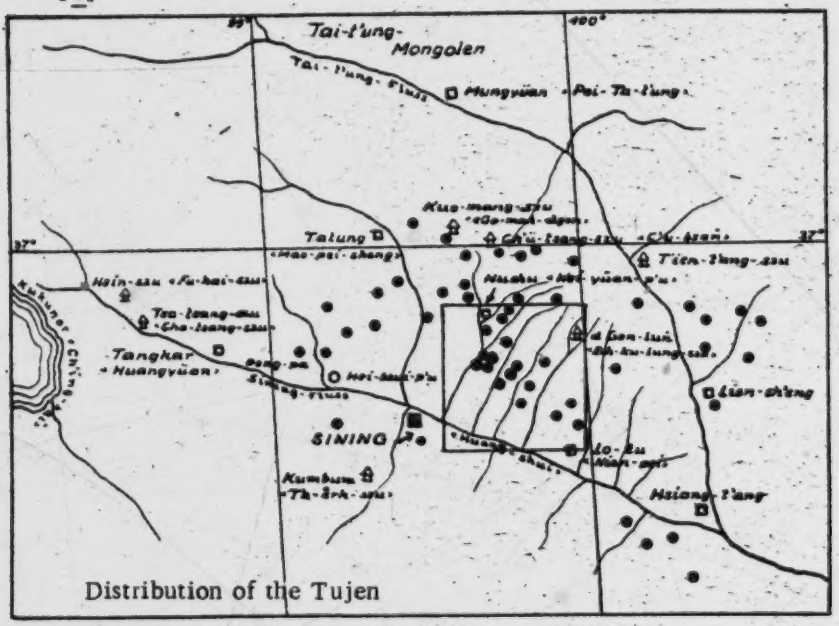
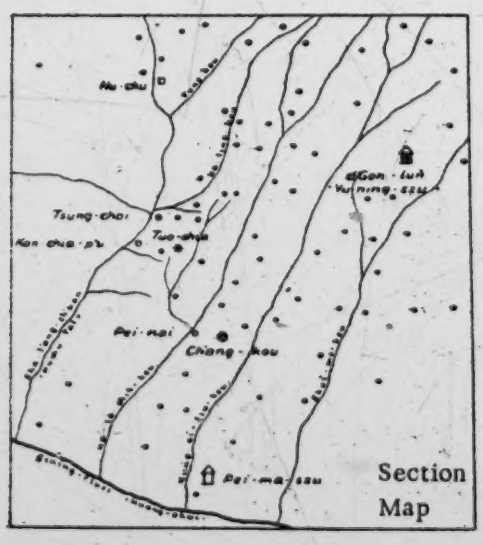


From a map in Anthropos, 24, 1929, pp. 144-45.



- Monastery
- Chinese towns
- Chinese villages
- Tu-jen settlements
- Tuo-chia, the home of the informant
- Ch'ang-kou, the home of the present T'u-kuan Hutuktu, allegedly also of the lCaṅ-sKaya-Hu-tuktu
- dGon-luṅ, Erh-ku-lung-szu or Yu-ning-szu, the Tujen monastery Rëgulõṅ (Rgulõṅ).

[7 cont.]

114 648 travels, although he provides pictures of their dress. It is unnecessary to cite in detail the literature written by these investigators. For further information, see the essay by A. Mostaert, The Mongols of Kansu; cf. the bibliography at the beginning of this work. Mostaert, however, does not mention A. Tafel.

114 None of these explorers wanted to make special studies of the Tujen, and therefore their reports are brief and more or less general; it could not be otherwise in the case of extensive travel accounts. They are usually content with information about clothing, language, place names, and the presumed origins. The chapter that Tafel devoted to the Tujen is comparatively extensive; see Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], Vol. I, pp. 241-257. Tafel must have had good informants for him to have been able to report so reliably after his two days' stay in Wei-yüan-pu. His brief presentation, to be sure, provides a fairly adequate orientation concerning the problems connected with the Tujen, but it indulges in too many controversial hypotheses regarding the history. It, too, like the reports cited above, provides relatively little material for giving one a picture of the culture of the Tujen.

114 797 The actual investigation of the Tujen was first instituted by the Scheutvelder missionaries, who at the beginning of our century took up their work in the Amdo region. Father De Smedt soon devoted himself to learning the Tujen language and gathered extensive linguistic material, which, together with the well-known Mongolist P.A. Mostaert, he worked up into three great works: the Phonetics (Anthropos, 24/25), the Monguor-French dictionary [8] (Peking, 1933), and the Monguor grammar (Peking, 1945). P. L. Schram studied the social conditions of the Tujen and published a monograph concerning marriage (Shanghai, 1932) (2). All these works appeared after the

2. [Foreign text p. 17.] Upon the completion of the manuscript, I learned that P. L. Schram has another monograph on the history and social structure of the Tujen in preparation.

[8 cont]

114 Scheutvelder missionaries had again given up their Kansu region,
[199] which they left to the Steyler missionaries. After their departure the investigation of the Tujen again came to a halt. The language was already fairly well understood, but records of the rich folk literature and a comparison with the other Tujen dialects in Kansu were lacking. A good foundation had likewise been laid for the sociology. The other spheres, however, had not yet been considered, above all the religion and material culture (economy, clothing).

121 When the author came to this region in 1946, he intended
[177] to begin with precisely these points. The Tujen were already Sinicized to a considerable extent, but in their language, religion, and dress they were able to maintain much of their individuality until the most recent times. Therefore, in particular the legends and songs were taken down, the religious customs studied, and the dress of the Tujen women described. What seemed most interesting to the author was the religion, which is to be dealt with in the following work. The presentation is not definitive, as will become clear repeatedly below, but it does provide the fundamentals and essentials.

115 Since there are almost no written reports on this subject,
123 the author had to utilize the living sources that were available to him during his three-year stay (until 1949), in addition to his own observations. The principal one was an outstanding Tujen man, a living book concerning his people's traditions, and a Tujen singer with an enormous treasure of legends, fairy tales, and songs.

128 The work falls into two parts. The first is a critical presentation of the facts gained from the sources, and by way of introduction the chief source itself (the informant) is to be characterized. The second part presents the theoretical results derived from these facts, namely, the attempt to draw a total picture of the religion and to show the layers out of which it is formed. Hence it is not simply an offhand field report, but is also a systematic survey of the religious situation and its explanation. It is to be regretted that this work had to be
114 broken off at the site because of the suddenly erupting unrest;

[8 cont.]

114 the author owes the safety of the materials collected entirely to the helpfulness of his confreres. In addition to the Fathers Eichinger and Grünewald, S.V.D., I should like to mention here particularly Father Richard Haas, S.V.D., who shortly thereafter was overtaken by a violent death in the Koko Nor steppe.

4. The Sources (the Informant)

115 The informant came from Tuo-chia, that is, "Tuo home," about one kilometer east of Chi-chia-ling, which lies along the mountain route from Kan-chia-pu (in the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) to Pai-nai (in the Ha-la-chih-kou). Tuo-chia gets its name from [103] the informant's kin group [Sippe] and formerly embraced perhaps four farmsteads, [9] of which, however, a part has been destroyed by an avalanche. Today only two farms and the temple remain. The Tuo have not always resided here. They [166] come from the vicinity of the Tujen monastery Rgulõn, where [423] a hundred years ago they owned two large horse pastures. Later one of the ancestors moved to the vicinity of Chi-chia-ling and cultivated the fairly extensive upland which paid tribute to the monastery, but which today is the private property of the Tuo family and pays taxes to the county of Huchu. It consists of about 200 Chinese morgen.

114 The report applies primarily to this region, namely, to the Tujen villages Chi-chia-ling, Ta-yang-chüan, Hsiao-
101 yangchüan, and Sha-pa-kou, up into the Na-ling-kou. Since, however, according to my own observations and the statements of the informant, the customs in the county of Huchu are quite uniform, the area to which it is applicable can be extended farther to include the villages between Huchu and Rgulõn. These [628] villages carry on a very lively traffic with one another and are extensively interrelated. As regards numbers, this report covers approximately one quarter of all the Tujen of the Sining region, an area generally regarded as their population center.

115 The old Tuo is kin-group elder and has two younger brothers, who live with him, his sons, his sons' wives, and [776] [553] grandchildren's families. By his first name he is called yifula,

[9 cont.]

115 that is, mountain spirit, because he was consecrated to the mountain spirit when he was named. He was born under the sign [776] of the sheep, that is, in the second month; according to [553] European reckoning, this would be March, 1883.

[805] Like all Tujen, the old man is a Lamaist and adheres [771] to the faith and the customs of his fathers. He is known throughout the vicinity as one of the few who are still very well versed in the traditional customs. For that reason he is asked to perform everywhere as master of ceremonies, festive speaker, overseer of sacrifices, and singer. If anyone in that region is asked about usages and customs, the usual answer is: "Go to old Tuo, he knows it best."

115 In addition he has the advantage, rare among the Tujen, of having completed the Chinese classical school. He can read 212 and write very well, better than most of his Chinese neighbors. [871] He understands without difficulty history books, classical authors, local chronicles, etc., which in part are written in the literary [191] language. He does not have a sufficient command of the Fandse language to be able to speak it fluently, but he knows the terms of the lamas and is able to distinguish fairly well as to whether a word is a genuine Tujen word or a Fandse word. He himself in his youth took down in Chinese characters a considerable number of Fandse songs, which he can translate and explain, as well as some legends and speeches. He claims that formerly the Tujen language was also written and that the script has simply been lost. --He does not speak the language of the Koko 115 Nor Mongols, but he claims that it could be understood if neces- 191 sary. Of course the Tujen live too far away from the Mongols; [648] only those in the vicinity of Huchu have a loose connection with the Mongols on the Tai-t'ung River beyond the Monastery Kuo-mang-szu.

124 [10] In the beginning it was not easy to persuade the old man, who for 20 years had not even been in nearby Sining, to visit me at the mission station at Kan-chia-pu, although the way there was only a two-hour ride. In the late fall of 1946 he came once for only a day. At that time I questioned him about the harvest thank-offering; the result was an article which appeared in Anthropos, 37/40. The old man could not imagine what I

[10 cont.]

124 had in mind. Besides, I had not treated him respectfully enough and made the mistake of not offering him enough brandy. After all, at that time I was still unacquainted with the proverb of the Chinese: t'u-jen chien chiu, chia-la chien liu; freely translated, "The Tujen are as fond of brandy as goats are of greens."

[181] [273]

Only after a year did I again get in touch with him. At that time I was celebrating a festival in a neighboring community and invited the old man by messenger to a mutton feast. He received the place of honor next to me, ate his fill of the meat, and was challenged by one person after another to the drinking game, during which he consumed an ample amount. In this state of uplift an old Chinese, his former classmate, negotiated with him and obtained his consent to live with me for a few days in the station. When he appeared in January, 1947, he was received in the friendliest manner. He sat at the table with me and received as much barley wine as he liked, and he could take a sizeable quantity of it. Upon his departure in the afternoon I presented him with sugar, currants, baked goods, sausage, and cigars, things that are not common there, with which, as he said, he demonstrated at home the generosity of the European who had treated him as a complete and equal human being. When, in addition, I made it possible for him and his wife to receive medical treatment without cost from the mission sisters, his distrust disappeared; from then on he always showed up at my place for a number of days, and precisely on the date agreed upon, which is astonishing among these people.

[273] [262]

To the old man's credit, let it be said at this point that afterwards he made absolutely no demands. He valued his honor and wanted to be taken seriously. For the rest, he lived in the same room with the employees of the mission station, slept on the same kang, and ate the same food, even though I offered him a room of his own and a special diet. He stated: "That does not suit an old farmer like me; I want to be with your people so that I have company." Only on certain days, for instance, at festivals or when there were visitors, did he have to have a substantial drink. This strongly stimulated him to tell stories, during which my attention was drawn to

[10 cont.]
124 all kinds of things that I noted in order to learn more about them later.

The old man received no fixed salary. He said: "We two are now used to each other like friends. If now and then you give me a piece of cloth for clothing, it will be all right." It was simply a matter of face. Accordingly, he now and then received cloth for himself and his grandchildren or, when he was ill, some medications. Or I gave him a few scrolls at the harvest festival, bought inks and paper, sent him a little jug of wine now and then, etc. On his part, he made ceremonious [431] calls on me on the customary festive days or sent baked goods, [572] a piece of meat, [11] some milk, as is customary between good acquaintances. Whenever his trips happened to bring him past my station, he would come in briefly to inquire about me. His relatives, too, frequently dismounted when they brought their sacks to the water mill in the valley, especially if the old man happened to be there. Thus a considerable number of Tujen, men, women, and children, gathered at times in the yard and were treated as guests. They told stories, sang, and laughed, and in exchange for some wheat I had to photograph them. In this fashion I was soon well known among them in the mountains.

One day the old man brought a young man to me and said: "Here is the husband of one of my daughters; he knows all the Tujen songs by heart and knows many legends. If you want him to, he will dictate everything. He can also draw pictures." Naturally I wanted him to. I was able to put down on paper a whole series of songs, fairy tales, and myths, among them the Geser saga. In addition he drew a series of pictures for [126] me and with inexhaustible patience sang the different melodies until I could render them on the flute and transcribe them. When we sat together over a jug of wine in the evening, the two men sang their song and I played the flute in accompaniment. Then they felt at ease and said: "Soon we shall all come here, men, women, boys and girls; you kill a sheep and provide the barley wine, and we shall dance and sing."

114 Unfortunately that never happened! The events of the
115 time made a longer stay impossible. On July 1, 1949, I took

[11 cont.]

114 leave of these dear people, for only a few weeks, we thought.
[115] In actual fact, however, I was not to see them again. In the autumn of the same year old Tuo died and with him a portion of ancient knowledge sank into the grave.

My reports concerning the life of the Tujen are therefore incomplete, because prematurely broken off. Also, the work of
124 collecting did not proceed in order. At one time the two dictated only songs. At another time the old man told me about the customs; then I would have to be gone for a number of weeks; then again the work in the fields was so pressing that they stayed away for months. In the meantime I was able to observe a number of things myself and to check on the reports, or I met other Tujen and had them tell me things.

115 Time and again I found that the reports of the old man
124 were the most precise, the most ample, and the most reliable. Once, when I was able to observe a part of the puberty rite, the old man asked me immediately: "Well, how was it? Is it not true that I related everything correctly?" He took the position: "As an old man I do not lie anymore." Occasionally he would also say: "What I say is true; what I do not know, I do not say. Everything I tell you, I myself have experienced, led, and seen at home. Ask the others." He would also warn me about others: "What that one says is not quite accurate, he exaggerates; he is still a young man." Even among his compatriots old Tuo was regarded as an honest man; his classmate in particular emphasized his reliability. He even expressed his opinion to me whenever I said I had seen something in such and such a way: "Father, you have made a mistake." Glossing anything over for my sake was scarcely to be observed.

115 [12] Once, when he was gravely ill and unable to get up
123 for several months, I said in front of others: "What a pity if old Tuo were to die; he is such an honest, good man." This was later reported to him and it pleased him greatly. As I was once able to observe from my room without being noticed, it confirmed him in his sense of honor: "What? The Father says that I am an honest man. I owe it to myself to speak the truth."

The chief inhibition on his part consisted of the fear of ridicule. It was a long time before he was certain that I

[12 cont.]

115 respected their customs and did not condemn them or brand them
123 as backward superstitions. In this respect one cannot in the long run disguise his feelings. With a sure sense the natives noticed whether one meets them with good will and respect or regards himself as superior to them. Since the old man was no dolt and had also read many a Chinese book, he knew, for example, that the Chinese tend to dismiss the peoples on their borders as
[181] barbarians. He also knew how the Chinese nearby laugh at the Tujen as backward "natives." And finally he had heard that the Christians designate as superstition much that is dear and sacred to the Tujen and the Chinese. Thus it is understandable that occasionally he would say: "Father, do not be surprised when I tell you such and such. We believe in it." Or: "Please do not laugh at it when we do something in such a way." On his part, this inhibition was extensively bridged by the genuinely tolerant
[829] attitude of the Asiatic: "All religions are good. The goal is the same, only the ways are different." On my part, the decisive attitude was that every person's conviction is to be respected if he means it honestly, even though, objectively speaking, he may be on the wrong road. The same applies to religion. And when I told the old man, "I believe such and such, you believe such and such, but I am not therefore better than you; it depends upon the conscience," he gladly agreed. Nor was any attempt ever made to influence him in his religion. He knew little about Christianity, but neither did he regard it as mystery-mongering when he inquired about it among my people. They always stressed to him: "You can hear and see everything that we do. We have no secret religion. We tell you everything. If you want to read our books, you may have them." One day he came with the question: "Should I not become a Christian?" I told him: "That depends on you. The heart of a man cannot be forced. Everyone should act according to his insight."

115 It greatly cheered his openheartedness to find many a
171 similarity between the Christian and Tujen ceremonies. Thus he was quite surprised at the fire ceremony on Easter eve. In the church he saw altars, saints' images, an oil lamp. He saw how the Christians fell on their knees. He knew: We, too,

[12 cont.]

115 sacrifice bread and wine, we, too, had a lord of heaven, we, too,
171 had a holy mother; we, too, burned incense, had consecrated water, blessed houses and cattle; we, too, prayed for the sick and anointed them with oil; we, too, had a baptism; we, too, had a procession through the meadow and prayed for the blessings of good weather; [13] we, too, had a redeemer similar to their Geser; we, too, had temples with solemn prayer and divine service; we, too, had monks and nuns; we, too, had good angels and evil demons.

115 Thus the old man felt more and more at home in our surroundings, even though he no longer spoke of becoming a Christian. In the end his judgment was: "Your religion is better. You help man."

123 As a result of our mutual genuine respect, the old man put me in the right light in his circle of acquaintances, above all among the lamas. They regarded me as one who has religion himself and does not make fun of their gods and monks. Accordingly I was invited one day by a Tujen family to serve as "prayer-sayer" for a funeral service, which, however, I declined. When I entered the Tujen lamasery, the monks assigned me a clean room for the Mass. They understood when I requested pure water for the "sacrifice," and when I preferred not to be interrupted. Then I placed a cross before the images of the Lamaist deities and in the presence of the curious but silent lamas I celebrated the Mass. And just as I never expected the people to kneel, for instance, or to give any other signs of reverence, so they never expected a similar courtesy from us.
[609] By the way, certain travelers report how they had their fortunes told or how they were blessed by this or that hutukhtu, and the like, this makes little impression upon the populace, aside from the fact that the people see through such conduct and often regard it merely as a superfluous gesture of courtesy.

115 In spite of the fact that as the result of this highly satis-
123 factory relationship I was able to see and hear all kinds of things, I am well aware that I by no means learned everything. No one likes to tell a foreigner about all the darker sides of his people or ticklish things. Nor was anything else to be expected in

[13 cont.]

123 view of the highly developed sense of honor of the old man.
115 For instance, he could not be persuaded to dictate the well-
[888] known mountain songs which often contain quite crude observations. On such occasions he would say: "For an old man like me this is not fitting, nor is it for you. Yes, when I was younger . . . "Actually, younger people are freer in this respect. But even then they will ask: "Are there no women nearby?" It is not to be overlooked that the old man knew very well that my notations were also to go abroad. He told me about the informant of Father De Smedt, who helped the latter to write books and had even been far away in Mongolia. -- Ordinary uneducated farmers are easily satisfied with the observation: "If you came to Europe, would you not ask what they eat and drink there and what peculiar customs they have? What kind of songs they sing, what gods they worship?" And in fact one can often hear the people say: K'an i-ko jê-nao, k'an i-ko hsi-ch'a, that is, "Let us take a look at the excitement and see what is extraordinary." In view of the ethnic and religious mixture in Tsinghai, the people are in this respect much more generous.

The old man immediately understood that my notations would form a book. And he was proud of helping with it: "You Europeans are to be admired. We Tujen do nothing [14] to preserve our history for our descendants. In some ten years we will have become Chinese; then nothing more will be known of our language, our customs, our religion. And you want to write down everything now so that nothing will be forgotten; your service is great."

115 Another obstacle in taking notes was the informant's age.
124 He tired very easily, made digressions, and at times would interrupt the most interesting narrative by suddenly asking: "Is your father still alive? How old is he? Are you going to Koko Nor shortly?" -- and then everything would lapse into a purposeless digressive conversation. Or he would suddenly feel unwell, would want to go to sleep at once, etc. Apparently he had the following attitude: I am the guest here of a good acquaintance, just as with my kin group; we talk about this and that, go home when we want, and come back... Accordingly, it also happened that he showed up when I was not at home, merely to visit the

[14 cont.]

115 people with whom he was so well acquainted. As a kin-group
124 father, he was accustomed to a free life as his own master, and all compulsion was hateful to him.

Finally it should be taken into account that for a native it is not easy to pick out what seems worth knowing to the stranger. Everything is self-evident to him. And even the stranger cannot exhaustively inquire into all the details at one time, or even at the third or fourth time. But even in this respect the old man assisted me as much as possible.

5. The Taking of Notes

124 The conversations and questioning always took place in
191 Chinese, a language which all Tujen men and almost all Tujen women speak, except when they are among themselves. Now-
[871] adays there are schools in most of the villages, in which Chinese is the prescribed language of instruction. Since I was still on the point of learning the Tujen language, Chinese was the only one possible, and in view of our mutual familiarity with this language the possibility of a misunderstanding was very slight. In case of obscurities in the dialect, the old man was always able to give the corresponding Chinese signs; he then explained the meaning by various circumlocutions.

The old man proceeded from the assumption that I
124 wanted to learn the Tujen language. He therefore dictated to
126 me brief sentences about a certain object, which I took down; for instance, "The lama is coming. They are sweeping the house. They are burning incense. Lamps are placed on the table, etc. ..." Unfortunately I did not keep these sentences. Afterwards he repeated the sense for me in Chinese; some explanations of words were added. That was the first report each time. I immediately wrote this down in German. Sometimes it was very brief, sometimes somewhat longer. In every case, however, the course of an action, the peculiarity of a ceremony, etc. were briefly and concisely summarized. Since I was actually not primarily concerned with the language, but rather with the content, I asked for supplementary details after each report, at times immediately following, and at times only in

[14 cont.]

124 the course of the day or even after several days, so far as my
126 professional work permitted. [15] I added these details to the first report under the corresponding key words. At the beginning I also left the Tujen words in the text, but later I placed them under the heading "Expressions" at the end of each chapter. Naturally, the old man soon realized that I was primarily concerned with the facts and not with the words. He surprised me one day with the following remark, which provided the basis for the arrangement of the whole: "So, now I will first tell you what we do for the good fortune of the family, for the good fortune of the individual persons, for the good fortune of the herds and fields."

124 I added my own observations to the reports that I had taken
128 down, questioned others, occasionally compared the customs of the neighboring groups, at times found an observation in the literature, and added these supplementary items to each section as special notes provided with numbers.

Accordingly, each chapter has two parts. The first part
114 first of all presents a brief report, then under certain key words
128 the details are added, and finally the word list. The source for this part is exclusively the informant. The second part, namely, the numbered notes, is by the author himself. They are based almost entirely upon his own observations or other sources, which in each case are indicated. [In the translation, the numbered notes are incorporated as numbered footnotes. The remarks made by the author as footnotes are indicated by an asterisk.]

124 It is not to be inferred, however, that the first, reporting part is literal dictation which relieved the writer of any further trouble. Rather, he had to work out everything from an ethnological point of view with the old man through questions repeatedly returning to the same subject, as is reflected in the key words. At the same time, the simple and clear manner of expression used by the old man was to be preserved as far as possible. Again and again, I read aloud to him the individual chapters in Chinese with the aid of my German stenogram: "Listen! Now I shall read to you what you have said." Whenever I had rendered something incorrectly, he would say immediately: "I did not say that; the matter is such and such."

[15 cont.]

124 Sometimes he would come back after a few days and ask: "May I hear once more what you have taken down? Something else has occurred to me, add this and that." In each case he would know exactly on which sheet the passage was, although he could not read any of it, proof of his attentiveness and his good memory.

128 Sometimes it may appear as though the linguistic dress
192 of this first part excessively conveys my European technical
177 terms and not the simple language of the informant. This is not the case, however, for such technical terms are found in both Chinese and the Tujen language. Chinese and Tujen have their own words for trance, meditation, offering, libation, prayer, etc. They distinguish between slaughtering and offering a sacrifice, between monk and layman, etc. These are, after all, the conceptions of a people who has not only been extensively influenced by Lamaism with its abundant religious forms, but also has active intercourse with Chinese culture. It should therefore be emphasized that all the words at the end of a chapter under the heading "Word List" come from the informant, including the indication of a possible Tibetan [16] or
[198] Chinese origin (3). It is not surprising that so many Tibetan

3. [Foreign text p. 18.] Mr. Unkrig had the kindness to check the word lists. In the process it turned out that the informant was quite reliable with his information concerning the Tibetan equivalents. Where it seemed necessary (not always), these equivalents have been added to the individual chapters in the univocal form of the written language (Tib. and Mong.), with the entry (Unkrig). I am further indebted to Mr. Unkrig for many another linguistic suggestion and above all for the inspection of the lexicons and Lamaist literature that otherwise was not available.

[16 cont.]
128 loanwords are cited, for Tibetan is the official language of
192 Lamaism, which occupies such a large place in the life of the
177 people. Here it should be mentioned that the old man desig-
[198] nated the expressions from Tibetan or Mongolic as "higher lan-
[186] guage" or "literary language," a value that he did not accord Chinese.

Finally a note with regard to the peculiar nature of this
114 work. It presents a popular religion, and that of a certain group.
[184] This means in the first place that not everything can be gen-
eralized for the Koko Nor region, not even for all the Tujen.
[179] Secondly, one will find no accounts about the dogma, the
official rites, or the secret practices of monastic Lamaism and the higher Bon religion. The Tibetan and Mongolic writings give this information. Also, it was unnecessary to cite the basic literature on this subject, at least not to any considerable extent. To be sure, this is not infrequently done, but only when it seemed to be required for an understanding of the popular customs. In such cases it was preferable to start from linguistic considerations. On the other hand, a presentation of the popular religion as practiced is a help for knowledge of the
[177] official religion. The popular belief, with its various customs, casts new light on the multiformity of monastic Lamaism, which has adopted so many pre-Buddhistic traits from the conceptual realm of Central Asia.

6. The Transcription of the Tujen Language

104

The transcription of the Tujen words and the Tibetan-Mongolic loanwords is based on the orthography of the DMF. For practical reasons, however, the large letters were replaced by small ones and the diacritical marks simplified. The following table presents first the orthography used here (S), under it the one used by P. A. Mostaert in the DMF (M), and under that the phonetic values of the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[16 cont.]

104

Consonants

	Laryngals	Velars**	Medio-gutturals**	Pre-gutturals	Palatals	Palatalized*
S	h	ġ x	g k	y	ž š dž tš	s dz ts
M	χ	Ǧ Ƨ	G k'	y	Ǯ ṣ DƵ ṭs	ś DƵ́ ṭś'
A	h	ġ x	g kh	y	ž̌ š̌ dž̌ tšh	š́ dź tś

	Dentals	Dentilabials	Labials**	Liquids	Nasals
S	d t s dz ts	f	b p w f	r l	ñ n m
M	D t' s DZ ts'	f	B p' w f	r l, r	ŋ n m
A	đ th s đz tsh	f	b ph w ff	r l	ñ, ŋ n m

* Only before the dipthongs ia, ie, iä, and before i.

** ġ, g, b have the voiceless mark "-" in the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[17] "ġ," "g," "b," "d" are always voiceless. Hence the voiceless mark (-) is superfluous. "p," "t," "k," "ts," "s," "tš," "k" are always aspirated, and therefore the aspirate "-h" is unnecessary. "d" and "ṭ" are palatalized only in conjunction with "dz" and "ts," so that a palatalization sign is not necessary. The same applies to "s," "dz," "ts," "sdz," "sts," which are palatalized only before "i," "ia," "ie," "iä." For instance, in place of dźia (according to the Anthropos alphabet), there is simply dzia.

104 197 Besides "l" and "r," the DMF has a hybrid sound which approximately corresponds to the English "r" that is trilled once, and "r" is always used for it. The dialect in the region of my informant does not have nearly so many examples of this intermediate sound. The people there almost always differentiate the "l" from the "r" and almost always in the sense of written Mongolic, as I was later able to establish. According to the [192] DMF, Ǧar can mean "fire" and "hand"; supposedly there is no difference phonetically. My informants, on the other hand, quite clearly say ġal for "fire" and ġar for "hand."

[17 cont.]

104 The "f" is always bilabial before "u" and popularly acts
192 as bilabial for the Tibetan initial "b" in loanwords, for example, fdzaṅ (incense) for the Tibetan bsaṅs. Furthermore, it is to be observed in the case of Tibetan loanwords that the silent consonants of the written language are usually pronounced.

104

Vowels

S	i	ü	ẽ	ę	ẽ	ã	a	ō	o	u
M	i	ü	ę̄	ę	ę̌	ã	a	u̱	o	u
A	i	ü	ę	ę	e	ą	a	o	ọ	u

The nasals are "ã," "ẽ," "õ," "ã̄." They usually occur in conjunction with "ṅ." A line over a vowel indicates lengthening. The diphthongs "ie," "iä," "ia," "iu," "io" are always rising. There is only one falling diphthong, namely, "ou"; "ō" is always given for this because the "u" is scarcely audible. The murmured vowel "ë" represents a special case. In everyday speech it is often difficult to determine in the case of lightly accented syllables whether it is "i," "e," "u" etc., especially in case endings. Thus in the text this "ë" will occasionally be found for "i" and along with the univocal "i" of the nominative or accusative or for the "u" of the dative, etc., for example, morë along with mori (horse), or morinë along with morini (of the horse), or tieṅgërdë along with tieṅgërdu (to the sky), etc.

As the transcription for Chinese, that of Wade-Giles is used, for Tibetan that of Grünwedel with modifications, for Mongolic that of Unkrig.

[Pages 17-18 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[18]

II. Customs concerning the Officiants

000

1. The Spirit-spear Soothsayer*

*See "Notes," pp. 23-26 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

791 787 Like all other kinds of soothsaying through a deity, soothsaying with the spirit-spear is called "to question the spirit." It proceeds as follows:

A spirit-spear is fetched in case there is none in the family. Then the soothsayer is invited. He is offered tea and [264] bread. Meanwhile the yard and the place where the soothsaying is to take place are swept. The great incense offering is pre- [782] sented in the yard in the usual form, and it remains burning throughout the ceremony. The soothsayer dons a long cloak, takes [783] off his cap, washes his hands and face, and rinses out his mouth. Then he steps in front of the spear, which has either been planted [788] in the ground or is held by a man, and kowtows three times. He rises, seizes the spear with both hands in the middle of the shaft, and holds it vertically in front of him. In this position he says the prayer of invitation. During this prayer the spirit descends. The spear starts to tremble, and with it the soothsayer's arms; one hears the bells rattle. Now the suppliant presents his case and receives directions from the spirit in the spear as to what he should do. The will and the reply of the spirit are manifested by the movement of the spear, for example, by stamping, leaping up, shaking. The soothsayer, too, questions the spear-spirit and imparts its answer. When the soothsaying is over, the soothsayer says the farewell prayer. The spear becomes quiet and stands still. The spirit is gone, and the soothsayer puts the spear aside again and makes his kowtow three times.

Spear-soothsaying is almost always practiced at all ceremonies in order to call down the spirit as witness. The soothsaying is always done in the same fashion.

[18 cont.]

Details

791 The soothsayer: The soothsayer is called "the one who
787 seizes the consecrated." He has a close relationship with the spirit, but is not possessed by it. He, however, is not master over his movements, but the spirit is. [19] The latter shakes the spear and the soothsayer's arms. The soothsayer does not
[756] go into ecstasy like other shamans, among whom the entire body quivers.

Not everyone is capable of being moved by the spirit and of learning its meaning. Only by experimentation does one discover this characteristic; this usually happens when one is alone in a lonely place. When there is no soothsayer in a locality, the people request one person or another whom they regard as suitable to try it, especially when it is urgently necessary, for instance, in case of an approaching thunderstorm or sudden sickness. There are no special schools or teachers. Spear-soothsaying is not passed down in the family.

791 The spear-soothsayers constitute a special type that is
756 different from other soothsayers and shamans. Each one practices his profession for himself. They have no relations of any kind among themselves and have no special social position or rights. [Fig. 1 appears here.] Also, they have no special doctrines or secrets, as do certain shamans, for instance. They are ordinary farmers with wife and child.

It is true that lamas, Bon priests, and other shamans can prophesy with the spear, but not all of them, and it has nothing to do with their status. For that reason they do not wear their own official costume for it, unless they happen to be wearing it already.

The spear-soothsayer is not tied to one specific spirit, as is the sword-shaman, for instance, who can only call down his tutelary spirit. A spear-soothsayer can prophesy with all spears and all spirits at any time of the day or night and at any place, even if he should wander a thousand miles away.

791 Hence the spear-soothsayer is the one most frequently used by the Tujen. There is one in almost every village, and he is easy to find because no special moral and social

[19 cont.]

791 prerequisites are necessary. Thus he officiates as soothsayer
[787] and invoker of spirits for almost all undertakings, such as house-building, oracles, offerings, festivals, travel, etc. (10). [The notes are not indicated in numerical order. The first nine are given just prior to or in connection with the word list that follows.]

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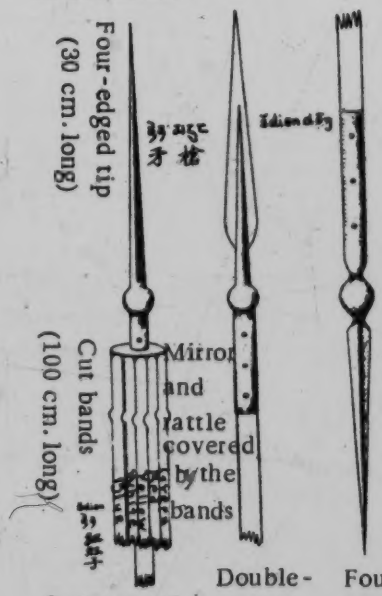
10. [Foreign text p. 26.] Besides the spirit-spear, the Tujen have other oracles that are used in like manner, namely, the spirit table, sirie purgan,

[532]



(Drawings from personal observation)

Fig. 1. Spirit-spear

[19 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.]
and the spirit litter, called chiao-chiao-tzu in Chinese. They, too, are provided with bells, colored bands of cloth, and metal mirrors, and are consecrated by the lama or by shamans. The "black tiger" is usually regarded as the spirit-table god, and the mother-goddess, Chinese niang-niang, as the spirit of the litter. Both the table and the figure of the goddess [Fig. 2 appears here] bear intestines together with the genitals. -- The table is not to be conceived as a table, but rather as a symbolic imitation of the animal figure with four legs and rump, which is further confirmed by the added intestines. Whereas in the case of the spirit-spear only one person addresses the spirit, in the case of the litter and the table there are several men. Two men hold the table between them, one seizing the front legs and one the hind legs. During the petitioning a man plants himself in front of them, and, depending upon the answer, the table begins to shake, jump, rear up, retreat, etc., without the two men being able to do anything against it. It is the same with the litter, which is borne by four men on their shoulders. Here a man likewise stands in front of the goddess and petitions her, and, depending upon the answer, the litter shakes on the bearers' shoulders, drives them forward, backwards, in a circle, etc. The men maintain that they are

[776]

787

[19 cont.]

787

[Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.]
not master over their movements, so strong is the propulsion.

With all these mediums, the main thing is not the soothsaying but the temporary effects of the indwelling spirit. For that reason, the spirit is always summoned when a religious act at which its presence is desired is undertaken, for instance, an offering, housebuilding, laying out a cemetery, etc. It leads everything, sees everything, guards everything. To be sure, there are always people needed who can react to the spirit's movements, for not everyone is qualified for it.

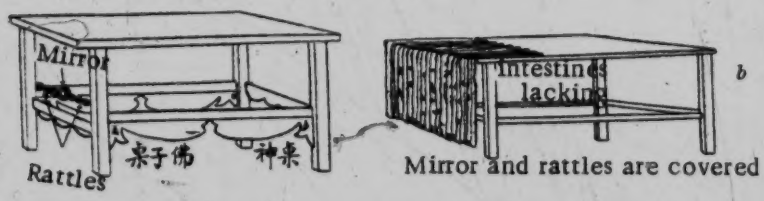
[791]

*778 The spear: The spirit-spear is simply called "the holy-sublime." It looks like an ordinary spear, except that it is more beautiful. A number of colored bands in the [20] five [53] sacred colors and ceremonial cloths (hada) are fastened directly under the very long tip. A garland of little bells and a series of dollar-sized metal mirrors are likewise found directly below the tip, but are covered by the bands. The bands are called "consecration bands." They can be made of every possible kind of material, no matter where it is from or what purpose it has already been used. The spear is consecrated by means of the [787] bands, so that the spirit dwells in it. It makes its activity known through the bells. The metal mirrors represent its omniscience, whereby it sees everything as in a thousand mirrors. Formerly these mirrors were made of gold, but nowadays they are usually only little copper plates which are attached by an eyelet, like buttons. The number of the bands, bells, and mirrors is not prescribed.

[20 cont.]

*778 [824] The making of the spear: The wood of the shaft must have grown wild. Wood that has been planted or wood from inhabited, settled regions may never be taken, for it is not pure. The wood is therefore sought in lonely forests and mountains. The most superior wood is sandalwood. Since this is rare, however, the mountain ash is usually used. -- The iron is usually wrought iron. There is no prescriptions concerning its origin. It may be bought, taken from old tools, etc.

Fig. 2



a. Spirit-table without bands (sirie purgan); b. spirit-table with bands (sirie purgan).

[422] [562] [463] Anyone may have a spirit-spear, and anyone may make it himself, but never women. If the owner wants to have a beautiful spirit-spear, however, he will go to a skilled craftsman, carpenter, and smith. It is required that before starting the work the craftsman rinse out his mouth, wash his face and hands, and hold the latter [783] over the smoke of a cypress fire. The tools are also thoroughly smoked. In addition, the smith casts some cypress incense into his [782] smithy fire.

The craftsman may work at home in his workshop or in with [322] the family of his client. The individual parts are made separately, [326] in other words, the shaft by the carpenter, the tip and foot by the smith. They bring the parts to the owner's house. The latter then [782] offers twelve steamed loaves (or baked loaves) on the shelf in front of the Buddha image, as well as a piece of red cloth and a measure of barley. The craftsmen place their instruments on the grain in [788] the bushel, and all of them kowtow in front of the Buddha image, [322] while the incense offering is presented outside. The carpenter [326] receives the barley; the smith receives the twelve loaves with the red cloth.

[20 cont.]

*778 It does not matter who puts the spear together. No special ceremonies are connected with it. Now the owner tends to the bands, bells, and copper plates. The bells are the ordinary little rattling bells, such as horses wear around their necks. One [792] can take the spear to a lamic monastery or have it consecrated at home; the ceremonies are the same in both places.

*778 The consecration of the spear: The spear cannot be con-
792 secrated by an ordinary lama; he must be a Living Buddha. Only he has the power to make a spirit live in the spear.

After the hutukhtu has been entertained in the customary fashion, the general ceremonies of the lama-reception have been carried out, and the tormas [sacrificial objects made of dough] [21] stand in front of the household altar, the consecration begins. Young hutukhtus perform it in the household chapel, but old ones remain seated on the warm kang in the main house.

The master of the household drives the spear in the ground in front of the lama, unless he holds it in his hands standing upright during the entire ceremony. Another brings the attachments for the spear on a tray. First the bands and then the rattles and the mirror are attached. If the hutukhtu does not want to do this himself, it will be done by an assisting lama or by a man. Every piece, before it is tied on, is held in the incense that is kept ready in an iron spoon.

*778 Once the spear has been thus prepared, the master of the
[782] household takes it either into the chapel or to the shelf before the household altar, where he sticks it in a large stand. In front of it he burns fragrant sandalwood incense, sets up little burning oil- or butter-lamps, and offers little bowls with barley, wine, and water, and finally a large loaf of wheat bread weighing several pounds. The hutukhtu at this point goes to stand in
[783] front of the spear and sprinkles it with the consecrated wumba-
[792] water. He then sits down with his legs crossed on a white felt mat in front of the spear and gives the prayer of consecration. Then he rises, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley from a little plate handed to him, blows over it, and casts it over the spear with his right hand. Meanwhile all those present kowtow in

[21 cont.]

*778 front of the spear, the men in the room itself, the women in front of the door out in the open.

776 Only now can the spirit dwell in the spear. Which spirit
*778 it is depends entirely upon the owner of the spear. He tells this beforehand to hutukhtu who performs the consecration, and the latter gives an appropriate prayer of consecration. Only one spirit ever operates in a spear. The Tiengëre or the god of heaven never resides in the spear. The ones who do are always ordinary spirits, for instance, the mother-goddess, the tiger god, the mountain spirit, etc.

*778 After the consecration the hutukhtu stays in the house un-
[792] til the following morning and is then dismissed with an appropri-
[527] ate remuneration. The master of the household, however, in-
[273] vites his friends and acquaintances in and celebrates the new event with them over barley wine and dances with song far into the night.

Storage of the spear: Since an entire village can have a spear consecrated, it frequently happens that it is simply kept
[346] in the communal temple of the place. This is also often the case with regard to private individuals, because the temple is regarded as the most eminent place. In the temple itself it stands in a wooden stand next to the other gods on one of the many altars. Sometimes it is simply propped against the wall in a god's niche.

If somebody wants to keep the spear in his own yard, a
[346] special chapel is required. Most of the house chapels are constructed specifically for such a spear. Here, too, it may stand in a rack, lean against the wall, or be driven into the clay floor. All that matters is that the spear stand upright. For instance, one may never lay it flat on the altar. The master of the
[782] household often gives the little incense offering in front of the spear. It is not necessary that a spear be kept in the house of
[791] the [22] village soothsayer; indeed, many soothsayers have no spirit-spear themselves.

346 The room or the temple in which the spear stands is sim-
*778 ply called "house of holies." It is usually only a room in the yard. It must be separated from all the other rooms by a wall and

[22 cont.]

346 must have its own door to the outside. The chapel may not be
*778 constructed in such a way that it can also be reached through another room that is occupied. It must be located in the main
[783] house. In order to avoid any danger of pollution, the chapel is
[791] preferably erected on the roof of the main house. The soothsayer determines in what part or on what side of the main house it should be. Aside from silence, the reason for this strict sep-
[783] aration from the other rooms is that in crossing other rooms one may become unclean, especially if the rooms are accessible to the women.

783 Prescriptions for purity: Ordinarily, any man or boy may
*[778] touch the spear, fetch it, and take it away. They may also enter the chapel at will. Women, however, may never touch
[562] the spear or visit the chapel. They are always regarded as unclean. There are also certain taboos, however, for the men.

The man's wife or any other woman in the family may not be in confinement. Not until ten days after the conclusion
[846] of the confinement, that is, 40 days after the birth, is the man pure again. If he has visited another family in which there is a woman in childbed, he is pure immediately after the conclusion of the confinement, that is, 30 days after the birth.

Those in mourning are unclean for 49 days, if they are
[765] members of the dead person's own family. If the parents have died, the children are regarded as unclean for 100 days. If someone participated in the obsequies of another family, he is unclean for only three days.

[791] These prescriptions for purity also apply to the soothsayer.
He may not enter the chapel during this time, and especially
*[778] may not touch the spear or even practice soothsaying. When this period has elapsed, the men are automatically pure again; there is no special purification ceremony (1).

[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 26.] The prescriptions for purification are the same as among the Chinese in Tsinghai; they apply for all religious activities and temple visits. The Chinese also have

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.]
special sayings concerning this, which the Tujen lack.

Word List

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To prophesy: purgandë sila = the spirit to question (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 23.]
This expression applies both to the people who question the god and to the soothsayer who calls down the spirit. The Chinese say for this ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, "to invite the Buddha-Father." This expression is applied primarily to the soothsayer himself; in an extended sense it signifies every questioning by means of a deity, soothsaying, oracle.

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Spear-soothsayer: šdiendzën; šdien (Tib.) – the consecrated, the sacred (4).
dzën (Tib. loanword) = to contain, to hold.

4. [Foreign text pp. 23-24.]
šdien is the name both for the consecrated spear with bands attached and for the consecration band (or bands) itself, but primarily for the bands after the consecration and detached from the spear. The consecrated bands on the spear, according to the informant, are called by the Tibetan names xuon (silk cloth)

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 23-24 cont.]
and sënisial (silk threads). These Tibetan names are sacred, whereas in profane speech the silk is called turguo and the threads šdadzë. For the use of šdien, cf. also the chapter, "The Animal Consecration," Note 4.

To explain the Tibetan loanword šdien, the old man wrote the Chinese sign kung-fêng, "to worship, to consecrate." In order to consecrate an object, to set it aside for the gods and make it especially worthy of worship, one should tie a band to it. Later on, so he said, the whole object, the figure, etc., was called šdien, as well as the bands and thread which made the spear sacred. The DMF (p. 371) explains šdien: "piece of red or yellow material that is put on the idols to worship them, on men or on animals to consecrate them to the gods or to preserve their life" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. rten, "visible representation, symbol, seat of deity" (?) [cited in English]. This explanation, which comes from another Tujen informant, agrees almost entirely with that of the old man. He only noted in connection with it that not only red or yellow bands, but also those of various colors could be used, [24] although one would not attach them to human beings. Red seems to be the most important color, however, as is apparent from the Chinese name hung-hung-tzu, "the red."

šdien is derived from the Tibetan rten; for further details see the following chapter, "The Gurtum," and Part Two. Here it

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 23-24 cont.] should only be noted that šdien (rten) in the narrow sense signifies "to contain, content," that is, seat of the spirit. In the broader sense one can accept the above explanation and translate it generally as "the consecrated, the sacred," etc.

dzën = Tib. 'dsin = "to hold, carrier." Ch. Das does not have the combination rten 'dsin, but on p. 1053 he gives similar compounds, for instance, rdo rje 'dsin: "the holder of the vajra" [cited in English]. šdiendzën has thus been rendered quite accurately by the informant as "carrier of the sacred; the one holding the consecrated."

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Spirit-spear: šdiendoň (5); doň (Tib. loanword) = conch, sublime, white, pure.
purgän = god, spirit, demon.
fo-yeh (chin.) = Buddha-Father (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 24.] When the informant here identifies the doň in šdiendoň with the Tibetan duň (conch), it is a rare case of an incorrect explanation by him. The phonetically similar doň, to be sure, has the meaning of "conch, pure, white, sublime" (cf. the chapter, "The Incense Offering"), but here it is none other than the Tibetan mduň, "lance, spear," in which the initial "m" is silent. Nasalized "u" is always changed into "o" among the Tujen. The Chinese tien-tung (spirit-spear), which likewise

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 24 cont.] is copied from the Tibetan name, is phonetically less ambiguous. Otherwise the Chinese say simply mao-ch'iang (= to the Siningman, miao ch'iang), that is, spear, lance.

šdiendoṅ therefore must be rten mduṅ in Tibetan, This combination is not found in Ch. Das, but it cannot mean anything other than a spear which is the seat of a spirit. For further information, see Part Two.

[792] The word purġan is used not only for the spirits themselves, but also for everything that they choose as a seat, though never for a Tulku (Living Buddha). The Chinese, on the other hand, designate with fo-yeh not only the Buddhistic gods and their idols, but also the Tulkus, which they also call huo-fo (fuo), "Living Buddha."

The consecration bands: šdien, or xuon (Tib.), or sënisial (Tib.?) (4) [see Note 4 above].

Bells (rattles): xõṅġuor (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 26.] xõṅġuor: Mongolic xongxo, Manchurian honggon, probably comes from the Chinese chung = bell. -- dzändän: goes back to Sanskrit and signifies sandaltree (Unkrig).

Mirror: xaldan mälõṅ = gold-mirror.
xdzër (Tib.) mälõṅ = gold-mirror.

Sandalwood: dzändän mõdë = sandalwood (11) [see Note 11 above].

[824] Mountain ash: ġadani yärgë mõdë = the mountain's ash wood (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 25.] The botanical name of the yärgë was not definitely

[22 cont.]

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[824]

[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.] determined. According to the explanations of the people it is a rowan tree or mountain ash. According to others it could also be the tamarisk. The DMF likewise speaks of a mountain ash ("sorbier") and gives the Mongol. equivalent irgai, but then translates it with "chèvrefeuille" (honeysuckle) (p. 489). W.A. Unkrig (communication) gives the Mongolic xargai for it, with the meaning "larch, resinous tree, Pinus larix." The Chinese name, hsün-mu (hsün-tzu), is likewise indefinite.

Consecration prayer: rami (Tib.).
Chapel, temple: ṡdien kañ (Tib.) - holy house.
[23]
192 Prayer of invitation: ġsolkā (solkā) (Tib.).
782 ch'ing tsan (Chinese) = praise (3).
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3. [Foreign text p. 23.] The prayer of invitation varies according to the spirits to be called down. ġsolka or solka is the Tibetan gsol k'a (cf. DMF, 354). Ch. Das (p. 1315) translates it as: "request, prayer" [cited in English]. It is a request to the spirit to descend. The Chinese expression ch'ing-tsan says literally "to pray, to praise." In point of fact these prayers of invitation are at the same time supposed to contain praise of the tutelary spirit concerned, similar to the shaman prayers.

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787 The spirit is there (sc., in the spear): purġān xärgëdzi kurdzia = the spirit, circling, arrived.

*778 [23 cont.]
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[41]

Spear: sdzida (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 24.] The ordinary spears (sdzida) have disappeared from among the people. Only sporadically does one still see rough pikes which the farmers take with them into the mountains in order to keep the wolves away.

Spear tip: tolgue = head, tip (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 24.] The spirit-spears vary greatly in form and ornamentation. There are spears that are over two meters long, and some of only one meter. Most of them probably approach an average of two meters. Beautifully cut bands hang on a number of spears, for instance, on the temple-spear of the soothsayer of Êrh-ku-lung. On other spears they are attached in disorderly and random fashion. Of the spear forms mentioned above, the four-edged tip is the most common. The foot looks almost like the tip itself; it may be edged or round. Two-pronged tips also occur, but the informant does not consider them as effective as the other forms. -- If the spear breaks, the shaft is burned. The new shaft in turn receives the iron parts of the old one. If the iron parts break, they are worked again for another spear. The new

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 24 cont.]
spear must always be consecrated to the same deity as the old one.

Spear shaft: sdzida gändzë (Chin.) = spear shaft.
Spear foot: sdzida xuedë = spear end.
Two-edged tip: nieṅgän tolġue = flat tip.
Three-edged tip: ġuran bulõndë tolġue = three edges tip.
Four-edged tip: dieran bulõndë tolġue = four edges tip.
Trident tip: ġuran salä tolġue = three prongs tip.
The spear is shaking: šdien (purġan, šdiendõn) bõdzia (9).

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9. [Foreign text pp. 25-26.] The Tujen never say šdiendzën bõdzia, that is, the soothsayer is shaking. They do say sgurdien bõdzia, that is, the shaman is shaking. In the case of shamans they will never say purġan bõdzia, that is, the spirit is shaking. These distinctions are to be noted; bõ- is reserved for that which is in motion, that is, the spear and the shaman, in other words šdien (= šdiendõn or purġän) and sgurdien. bõ- actually means (come down, descend, begin, start work," and refers to the medium of the spirit, not to the spirit itself, for the latter's descent is designated by kur- (kuru-), that is, "to arrive." This differentiates the peculiarity of the trance from the activity of the soothsayer. The Chinese, too, express a clear differentiation here. For the trance they say fashen-tzu, that is, to bring the body to a state of excitement; for the calling of the spirit for soothsaying, they say ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, to invite the Buddha(father).

Indeed, the way the soothsayers work is easy to differentiate from that of the shaman. I was able to observe both

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.]
repeatedly. There are two kinds of communication with the spirit. In the case of spear-soothsaying the center of movement lies in the spear and stays there. The spear shakes and draws only the soothsayer's arms and a little of the upper part of his body into the movement. The body is still; there is only an autonomous movement of the spear. At the same time the soothsayer is wholly aware of his surroundings; he observes everything that goes on about him and hears everything, even when he bends down to the spear and seems to speak with the spirit in it. When he speaks in the name of the spirit, he does so in a light, normal voice. When he is done, he sets the spear aside the way a craftsman lays down his tool. There is no excitement in the whole affair. -- It is different in the case of the shaman trance. The shaman, too, has weapons, for instance, sword and spear. I was able to observe in the clouds of incense how first the spear tip began to tremble, then the shaft. From the shaft the shaking went over to the arm, then on the chest to the next arm, and finally to the head and the entire body. The center of movement then lies in the shaman himself. He becomes pale or quite red. The heavy, much-too-large helmet is placed on his head, but because of his swelling head it nonetheless sits firmly. He foams at the mouth and speaks disjointed words in various languages. He is entirely inwardly directed and takes no notice of his

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.]
surroundings. To him everything is in a state of excitement and trembling. After the trance he is exhausted and has to rest for several hours.

For the conclusion of the spear-sooth-saying there is the expression šdien (šdiendõn) džuoladzia, that is, the spear is ready. For the cessation in the case of the [26] shaman one says sgurdien dõnladzia, that is, the shaman is finished. The actual meaning of džuo- and dõn- has never been clear to me.

000 [Pages 23-26 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[27] 2. The Gurtum (Sword-shaman)*

* See "Notes," pp. 31-33 [of the original text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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The sword-shaman has as his most important weapon the sword, with which he fights against the demons. He always performs his ceremonies in a trance condition. Then his tutelary deity descends upon him and endows him with great powers.

Whether one becomes a shaman depends upon his ability to go into a trance. Some inherit it in the family. Many of them experiment in a lonely spot. As soon as one has learned [792] how to do it, he goes to a lamic monastery. There he is tested to see if he is genuine. If he is genuine, he receives instruction and an amulet. Every year, however, he must return once to his teacher in order to train himself further.

[27 cont.]

756 The sword-shamans heal the sick, drive away demons, and
[789] practice soothsaying. In so doing, they wound themselves and
[787] the sick with the sword and burn themselves with fire, but if they are true shamans, this does not harm them.

Details

756 Dress: The shamans wear an ordinary long garment. Some-
292 times they also put on a robe similar to that of the Chinese
293 bonze, except that it is red. They girdle themselves with a
*778 red belt. On the chest they wear an amulet with a god's figure
[171] or a little bag with the hada [scarf-like ceremonial cloth] that the lama has given them at the consecration. It is their tutelary spirit. They throw the wide shoulder-collar over it, which falls with the points over the chest, back, and shoulders. It is of various colors and often beautifully cut. They hang the
[325] breast-mirror on a red string over the shoulder collar. Formerly this was made of gold; now it is made of copper. The shaman rubs it to a shine with incense ashes. The mirror is round and has a diameter of 15 to 20 centimeters. In the middle it has a round protuberance, on which the tutelary deity's name is sometimes inscribed in Tibetan signs. Several colorful hada-cloths are suspended from the two eyelets of the mirror. --
756 On their heads the shamans wear a red headcloth. It is about
292 50 to 80 centimeters square. One tip is cut off to a breadth of about 20 centimeters; at these cut ends there are two red bands; the cloth looks like an irregular pentagon. They sew five small copper horse-rattles on the cut edge. The cloth is thrown over the head in such a fashion that the edge with the little bells runs across the forehead and the other tips fall down over the ears and shoulders. They fasten the cloth on the back of the head with the bands. -- Over this headcloth they then tie a five-part crown similar to that of the lamas (4).

*[778] 4. [Foreign text p. 32.] The headcloth is not always of this kind. There are also cloths that are larger and that have no bells. In this case the shaman ties on a

[27 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 32 cont.] special forehead-band with the little bells. -- The crown is not always necessary. The images found on the five prongs are supposed to be determined by the tutelary spirit. I have also seen crowns that bear no images, but only Tibetan signs.

The crown bears five Buddha images or five death's-heads or other signs. -- The articles of clothing are procured by the shaman himself. There are also certain prescriptions as to how they are to be treated.

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[28] The equipment: The shaman must always have a sword. It is the seat of his tutelary spirit. The sword is usually two-edged. It has no colored bands. The handle is made of wood. The same rules apply for the making of the sword as for the spirit-spear. The sword is wrapped together with the crown inside the red headcloth and is placed upright in the house on his household altar. He burns incense and kowtows in front of it (1).

1. [Foreign text pp. 31-32.] In this kind of shamanism the sword seems to be essential.

It was impossible to find out in what way the sword is the seat of the tutelary spirit. It may be that it is constantly the seat of the spirit, but perhaps it is so only temporarily. The question is the same as in the case of the spirit-spear. The fact that the bands, the mirror, and the bells are often lacking argues against a permanent seat. On the other hand, one also finds swords that are provided with these. -- I once saw in a Chinese temple the sword of a deceased shaman, which

[28 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 31-32 cont.]
was kept there for his successor. It was two-edged and on one side bore the Bear constellation engraved on it; on the other side was the name ... niang-niang, that is, ... mother. The name of that goddess has escaped me.

[32] The swords used by the shaman, however, are not always two-edged. The informant, it is true, claims that this is the case for the shamans of the Tujen; he commented that the Tujen formerly had had no two-edged swords, with the exception of their shamans. Among the same Chinese shamans, however, I also saw single-edged swords, which are called ma-tao, that is, horse-swords; they are easy to swing and formerly were used by horsemen.

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Even while traveling, the shaman treats his sword with care and reverence. He wraps it in the red head-cloth and carries it upright in his arm in front of his chest, almost the way one carries a small child. When he puts up at an inn, he places it in a clean spot and first pays it reverence. At night he puts it under his neck roll. I was able to observe this on various occasions en route.

Besides the sword, which he must always use, the shaman has other objects that he can use, depending upon the kind of demons or ceremonies, for example: the hemp whip, which usually has a carved handle with a snake's head or death's-head; the demon fetters, likewise made of hemp with iron

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[28 cont.]

756 rings at the end; the spirit-spear; the winnowing tray and the
*778 sieve (2).--He must make this equipment himself in accordance

> 2. [Foreign text p. 32.] In the case of one other temple shaman I also saw the bow and arrow as equipment. Incidentally, the shaman carries all the customary weapons. -- The spirit-sling is twisted out of hemp, wrapped in red cloth, and is about one meter long. The iron rings on it have a symbolic significance that I have forgotten. The Chinese, so far as I can recall, call the sling k'un-hsien-sheng, that is, spirit-binding string. In the accompanying photograph the shaman holds the sling with the ring in his left thumb.

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with certain rules. He keeps it at home on the altar of his tutelary deity with the sword and the god's image.

756 The trance: The trance usually takes place in the house
787 in front of the altar. The shaman rinses out his mouth, washes
[783] his hands and face, presents an incense offering in the yard or
[782] before the altar, kowtows before the sword, and puts on his garb (3). The incense fire is maintained in the yard by other

> 3. [Foreign text p. 32.] He always puts on his costume with prayer.

men who also blow the conch (5).

> 5. [Foreign text p. 32.] Some claim that the shaman has to wash himself once more before the trance.

[576] Now a long, low table is placed in front of the altar, and the shaman sits on it in the Buddha position with his legs

[28 cont.]

756 crossed under him, his face turned toward the door, and his
787 back to the altar. He has placed his sword across his knees.
He holds a burning stick of incense upright in his hands in front
[576] of his chest, so that the smoke rises into his face. Then he
speaks the prayer of invitation to his tutelary spirit. Meanwhile
men make smoke around him with incense. Gradually his
hands begin to tremble; the movement passes to the arms,
chest, and head. Finally his entire body is trembling and
shaking, but especially the head with a violence that makes
the bells rattle. At this point the stick of incense is taken out
of his hand and he is given his sword (6). The spirit has now

6. [Foreign text p. 32.] The little stick is placed in the incense bowl.

[789] descended upon him. He begins to prophesy and to exorcise the demons.

The shaman may also choose another place for the trance, for instance, the temple, the house chapel, a mountain top,
* [778] an obo [a mound of stones dedicated to the mountain spirit], the yard. He never undertakes the trance on the kang in a side room. If there is a god's image with a soul on the household altar, he always sits down facing this image; in the case of the obo he must turn toward the obo. -- In front of the obo or on the mountain top he need not sit on a table, but can kneel on the bare ground. If he undertakes the trance in the yard of a compound, he goes to the side opposite the main house so that he has the round manger with the mani-tree before him and faces the main house. There he kneels upright on a white felt mat. The other ceremonies are the same.

The compound in which he undertakes the trance must first be swept clean; all the rooms are fumigated with incense. The [29] table or the mat on which he kneels must also be
[609] fumigated. -- There is no taboo for strangers, however; all may witness the ceremony. Women, however, may not enter
[562] the room in which the trance takes place.

[29 cont.]

756 787 Soothsaying: In the common form of soothsaying, the petitioner kowtows to the shaman in the trance and presents his request. He may also let an experienced man do the asking. The soothsayer then holds his breast-shield flat on his left hand, takes barley kernels from a little plate with the tip of the sword, and scatters them on the shield. From the pattern of the kernels he now gives his answer. Often he also moves in a violent trance and mumbles all kinds of disjointed words which a practiced man quickly writes down on paper and which afterwards are interpreted. In the trance, the soothsayer may speak any language, Tibetan, Chinese, Tujen, Mongolic, even if he has not learned it.

This soothsaying also precedes all the other ceremonies that he performs during the trance, such as exorcising demons, healing the sick, etc.

[562] Calling: The shamans are always men. When someone thinks that he has the ability to go into a trance, he goes to a quiet, remote spot and experiments with a staff, a sword, etc. In time he becomes proficient. He also becomes aware of which spirit takes possession of him. Frequently the people in [792] the village propose to a young man that he should try it once. * [778] If he then succeeds, they suggest that he have himself consecrated in the lamic monastery. -- Most shamans take up this 756 calling of their own accord. Those who receive the art from their fathers are not common. The shamans are always healthy, [158] normal men; they are only more easily excitable (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 32.] They do not form an organization of their own. True, I have been repeatedly told that in the sixth month on the first (?) or fifteenth day the shamans of the Hsi-ch'uan gather in a village near Tuopa (west of Hei-tsuei-p'u) and organize a kind of trance competition for an entire day. This custom, however, is supposedly recent.

[29 cont.]

756 Consecration: Once the young man has tested himself
787 and feels secure, he takes 12 loaves of steamed bread, three
792 loaves of baked bread, money, and a hada, and goes to the
*778 monastery. There he hands the gifts to a schooled lama with special praying power and requests the consecration.

First a test takes place. With the usual ceremonies, the shaman must put himself in a trance. He must indicate given objects; thorns are scattered on the floor and he is challenged to sit on them; whips are lashed in his direction, and in every possible way attempts are made to intimidate him. If he is a genuine shaman in a genuine trance, he is not afraid and is not injured. If his state is not genuine, he becomes frightened, backs away, or comes out of the trance.

At this point the presiding lama takes a hada (13),

[192] 13. [Foreign text p. 33.] Hada, Tib. k'a btags, is a scarf-like ceremonial cloth.

slings it around the shaman's neck, and asks which tutelary spirit revealed itself to him. The shaman then pronounces the name, kneels, and receives from the lama the instructions concerning his duties as shaman. Among these are the taboo and purification prescriptions, for example: he may not officiate when he
[783] is in mourning or when his wife is in confinement; also during this time he may not worship his tutelary spirit; after sexual intercourse and after enjoyment of tobacco and a considerable amount of liquor, he is unclean (11), and he must purify himself

[273] 11. [Foreign text p. 33.] Actually, liquor is not prohibited for the shamans. Here a Buddhistic prescription seems to be in effect, but in a weakened form, for a moderate consumption of liquor does not make the shaman unclean, only drunkenness does, although in the eyes of the Tujen this by no means represents anything morally objectionable.

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756 before the [30] individual acts by inflicting wounds with the
787 sword, piercing his chest, licking red-hot iron, etc. Along with
792 this instruction, which is contained in certain Tibetan books,
the lama says the prayer of consecration over him.

*778 Then the shaman rises and washes his hands, face, and
[783] head with the water from the lama's holy can. He must likewise first rinse out his mouth. Then barley is thrown over him and he is fumigated with incense. The lama takes the hada that he had slung around his neck, makes a knot in it, folds it together, sticks it in a little rectangular red or yellow bag, and hangs this around the shaman; it is the amulet of his tutelary spirit and is called "protective fort" (8). In place of this hada,

8. [Foreign text p. 32.] It is unclear whether this hada is the seat of the tutelary spirit. In any case it is to be regarded as a protective amulet.

or together with this hada, the shaman may also wear on his chest a large case containing the figure of his tutelary spirit (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 32-33.] The consecration ceremony might lead one to believe that the shaman is only capable of performing his office by means of it. In itself it has nothing to do with shamanizing. It is merely an official confirmation of one's capabilities, and also the people desire it. There
[184] are also shamans, however, who have not been consecrated in the monastery, especially among the people mixed with Chinese.

The consecration appears to admit the shamans to the position of lay monks, for among the monks there are also those who act as shamans and have certain prescriptions. Thus on the route from Hei-tsuei-tzu

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[Note on foreign text pp. 32-33 cont.]
to Shang-wu-chwang there is a village with a small lamasery [33] from which the shamans of Kumbum come, who appear especially on New Year's. As a missionary tells me, in the village there in quite recent times a young man was doing exercises almost daily, going into a trance on the river bank, fighting with a sword, shooting arrows, etc.

In any case all the lamaseries attach great importance to having a shaman who, possessed by the tutelary spirit dPekar, prophesies on New Year's. I observed these shamans in Kuo-mang-szu and Kumbum. In the Tujen lamasery, where a living shaman-monk was not to be found, I saw on New Year's a life-sized figure set up in full shaman regalia. At the sooth-
[791] saying on the fifteenth day, however, the spear-soothsayer acted in his stead in the temple yard, where the dances take place, before the hutukhtu, the assembled monks, and all the people. In Kuo-mang-
[562] szu I even saw a woman appear in the temple as a shaman, but she did not represent the usual type of sgurdien.

The lama does not put the shaman costume on his protégé. Usually he comes to the monastery without any costume and does not see to it until later. Frequently his own village helps to provide it. He makes the two-edged sword himself or has it made by the smith.

756 The tutelary spirit: The tutelary spirit always reveals
776 itself to the shaman; a lama cannot designate a tutelary spirit for anyone. The shaman often calls himself "spirit-
*[778] disciple" or "spirit-protégé." The spirit has its seat in the

[30 cont.]

756 sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary
*778 spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front
[776] of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he
[782] sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.

The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit
[439] are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery
[792] markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

756 Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his
776 tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration: the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in general the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the tutelary spirit of the shaman.

756 Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to prophesy, heal the sick, conjure away storms, drive away demons.
463 He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests, or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect a mani-tree, but he may set up an ordinary mani-flag on the yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the pole-goat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate at funerals and weddings.

755 The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold.
756 The following is the most common. First of all the shaman puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron
[787] spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open [31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly steeped. Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the sick person to drink.

756 In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their
783 hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[31 cont.]

Word List

192
756 The sword-shaman: sgurdien; gurdien (Tib. Tujen) (10); ku-wai-tien (Chin.); fa-la-tzu (Chin.); fa-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); nañsuo (Tib.); Yao-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); shen-ti-tzu (Chin.) = spirit disciple.

10. [Foreign text p. 33.] The Tujen strictly differentiate the sgurdien from the bō, the Chinese fa-shih, drum-shaman. The Chinese also make this distinction. They call the gurtum ku-êrh-tien or ku-wai-tien, which is nothing other than a phonetic imitation of the word sgurdien, which in turn comes from the Tibetan sku-rten, "body container." The gurtum is regarded as the container, the carrier of his tutelary god. See the precise explanation of the name in Part Two, "The Shaman Character of the Gurtum."

[787] To go into a trance: sgurdien bōdzia = the shaman has come down, (that is, he has begun to shake); fa-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to exc[illegible] the body; yao-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to shake the body.

[782] The prayer of invitation (before the trance): ǵsolkā (Tib. loan-word); ch'ing-tsan (Chin.) = praise.

Consecration prayer of the lama over the shaman: guo šguē (Tib. and Tuj.).

[792] Great lama: ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.) = lama with great power for prayer and magic.

*[778] The table upon which the shaman goes into a trance: t'iao-chuo-tzu (Chin.) = long table.

[31 cont.]

192 The shaman's sword: aradzi = two-edged sword; wadăm (Tib.) (12); chien (Chin.).

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12. [Foreign text p. 33.] wadam: Tibetan dpa-gdam = sword. -- sõnkuor: Tibetan skyon = protection, 'k[illegible] = little disks (Unkrig).

[776] The tutelary-spirit -- hada: šdien = the consecrated, as it is called before it is stuck in the bag; sõnkuor (Tib. loanword) (12) [see note 12 above] = protective fort, as it is called when it is inside the bag; the amulet is also called this.

*[778] Chest-mirror: mălõn (Tib. loanword); hu-hsin ching (Chin.) = the mirror protecting the heart.

Headcloth: tolgue bãnladzin = the head covering.

pao-chin = packing cloth (Chin.).

Rattles: xõnguor; ling-êrh (Chin.).

Plowshare: timur ndziesẽ; t'ieh-hua (Chin.).

Thorns: huang-ts'ê (Chin.).

[789] To banish devils: ilie sdzira; pudag sdzira = to banish filth.

Recompense for the shaman: hsiang-ch'ien = incense money.

[Pages 31-33 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[33] 3. The Bon Priest*

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* See "Notes," pp. 34-35 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are two kinds of Bon priests: the nomads and the

[33 cont.]

791 farmers (1). The Bon priests of the nomads are now found only

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1. [Foreign text p. 34.] There are also Bon priests who live in monasteries. Such a monastery is found near the Tujen monastery Rgulõn. The inmates of this monastery, however, do not wear any special garb, but are dressed like laymen. The lamas prefer to invite them for certain ceremonies to exorcise demons. -- The other farmer-Bon are only very rarely seen any more. They live like everyone else, marry, and work the fields.

among the Fandse, although formerly some were also Tujen. They have a very long, thick queue, which they wear wound around the head, and a long red garment with a red or yellow belt. -- The present-day Bon priests of the Tujen have almost died out; they are ordinary farmers and are distinguished from the other shamans or soothsayers as follows:

Details

791 Clothing: They wear ordinary garb: in winter a fur, and in summer the long coat. They do not wear trousers (2). They

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2. [Foreign text p. 35.] The fact that they do not wear trousers may indicate an origin from the Fandse, who formerly did not wear trousers, as is still customary for their women and lamas.

take off their shoes during prayer on the kang. They do not have any special official dress. [34] They only put a wreath of wild-pig bristles around the head (3), which are supposed to

3. [Foreign text p. 35.] The informant did not know why they have to be wild-pig bristles.

represent long hair.

[34 cont.]
000 represent long hair.

791 Equipment: Like the lamas, they have a bell, a large, two-
778 sided drum, a small double-drum (hourglass drum); for exorcising
534 demons they use a whip made of human skin and a bone flute.
[789] Furthermore, they have Tibetan books, sounding boards, and
thunderbolt.

[765] The drum was formerly made of human skulls, over which human skin was stretched for the drumhead. The whip had a handle of human bones. The flute was made of the shinbone of a full-grown girl who had not yet married and had lost her life through suicide or an accident. It is open at one end and cut off smoothly. This end serves as mouthpiece and is inlaid with metal. The other end has a small hole on each of the two condyles. The flute is wrapped with the girl's skin; it is sewed tight (5). The same skin is also used for plaiting the whip and

5. [Foreign text p. 35.] The reports vary concerning the bone from which the flute is made. Most of them say that it is the shinbone; others claim that it is the thigh bone. I did not learn anywhere that the periosteum had to be eaten. --The flute has an uncannily plaintive tone; it has an especially penetrating effect at night, when it is often heard in lamaseries. -- The Bon also try to drive away
[789] unpleasant events with the sound of the flute, for example, a punitive expedition, tax collectors, soldiers, etc., as happened in Kweiteh, for instance.

covering the drum. There are certain regulations for the manufacture of these objects. The Bon priest makes the implements himself (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 35.] What is here said concerning the making of the flute, drum, and whip is confirmed by other people, but no one has seen how they are made in detail. Some say it has to be a girl who has not yet

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[Note on foreign text p. 35 cont.] menstruated; others maintain the opposite. At any rate, she has to be an unmarried person. In this connection cf. what is said in the section concerning death customs and cremation: that they are demons and are especially feared by demons.

791 [789] Activities: A special activity of the Bon priests is the erection of the pole-goat and conjuring away storms, as well as the making and conjuring of the figure-litter. Otherwise they have almost the same activities as the other soothsayers: they designate lucky days for housebuilding, traveling, etc.; they question fate concerning sickness and medicine, For soothsaying, [787] however, they use no special instruments; instead they have books from which they take everything. There are also Bon [755] priests who have learned to take the pulse and to prescribe medicines and are able to cure without magic. -- The Bon priests do not go into a trance, but only pray (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 35] The Bon are regarded with a kind of secret fear by the Tujen. They also have something to do with springs and mountains. It is said that they often dwell alone in tents in remote ravines and at wells throughout the summer. There they pray, conjure away storms, etc. Perhaps this seclusion contributes to the fact that all kinds of uncanny machinations are reported of them.

Word List

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Shepherd-Bon: sënogsa (snagsa) (7); ch'an-t'ou peng-po (Chin.) = Bon with queue wound up.

[34 cont.]

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7. [Foreign text p. 35.] dziliu: Tibetan dril bu = bell. -- kãṅgergë: Mongolic k'eng-gerge = drum. -- sënoġsa (snaġsa): Tibetan shags pa = sorcerer; shags bon = Bon priest. -- (n)duombora: Tibetan sdom = to bind, spu = hair, ra = wreath. -- šgãṅdõṅ: Tibetan rkaṅ = shinbone, duṅ = trumpet, snail. -- ndarë: probably a literary botching of the Sanskritic damaru (Unkrig).

Farmer-Bon: xuändie; su-jen peng-po (Chin.) = Lay-Bon.
Bon priest (in general): peng-po-tzu (Chin.).
Hair wreath of the farmer-Bon: (n)duombōra (Tib. and Tujen) (7) [see Note 7 above].
[778] Bone flute: šgãṅ-dõṅ (Tib. and Tujen); chuo-pa (Chin.) = shinbone (7) [see Note 7 above].
[534] Hourglass drum: ndarë (Tib. loanword) (7) [see Note 7 above]; pa-lang-ku (Chin.).
Bell: dziliu (7) [see Note 7 above]; ling-tang (Chin.).
Whip: p'i-pien-tzu (Chin.) = skin-whip.
Big drum: ta-ku (Chin.); kãṅgärgë.

[Pages 34-35 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[35]
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4. The Lama (Lama-Reception)*

*See "Notes," pp. 41-43 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are many ceremonies to which a lama is invited.

[35 cont.]

792 A distinction is made between great and small lamas. The great ones are usually Living Buddhas (hutukhtu) (1).

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1. [Foreign text p. 41.] The following presentation applies primarily to the reception of a hutukhtu. In case of lesser lamas the ceremonies are simpler. -- Divine images, for instance, the litter of the Kuan Yin, of the tiger god, etc., also receive a similar reception when they are brought into the house for exorcising evil. Unfortunately I was unable to take down the corresponding ceremonies. I once saw such a god's litter standing on a house roof. -- The lama-reception was observed by me personally.

Before one invites a lama, the house must be cleaned. A special room is prepared, in which the lama prays and sleeps. Then the people go to get him with horses. In the case of a great lama, the entire village participates in the reception. As soon as he enters the compound, incense is offered and the conch is blown. He is led into the house and given hospitality. Afterwards he gives the book-blessing in the yard and begins his ceremonies.

[36] [Fig. 3 appears here.]

792 The lama always makes a number of tormas, in front of
[778] which little water-bowls are offered. He also has with him the same objects that he has in the monastery. -- When he finishes the ceremonies he is paid. Usually the monks of the monastery are also fed at that time.

Details

792 Preparations: Before anyone invites a lama, he consults
796 with him about the time. The soothsayer sets the day for the
574 ceremonies accordingly. For instance, if according to the

[36 cont.]

Fig. 3

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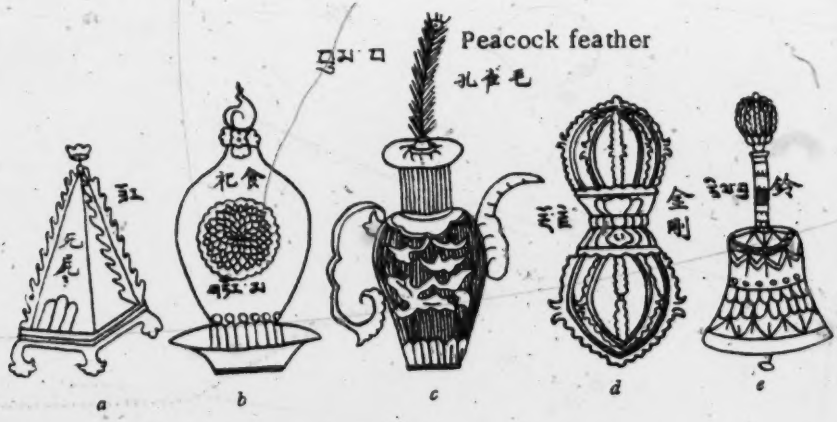

[532] a. Torma; b. torma; c. wumba-can of the lama; d. thunderbolt (dordzi); e. bell. (Drawing by a Tujen.)

792 soothsaying the setting up of a mani-tree is supposed to take place
791 on the fifteenth day of a given month, then the lama must come
574 a week in advance because a prayer service of several days always precedes it. Only the higher lamas stay for just a day. The preparations are always carried out by the master of the household with the assistance of the mother's brother.

On the day before, the yard and all the rooms of the house are swept clean. The men fumigate all the rooms with the red-hot stone and the incense fire, so that no demons will carry on their mischief. For the lama, the host reserves the best room in the main house, which immediately adjoins the chapel or the household altar. He spreads one or two layers of white or red felt mats on the kang and places two beautiful saddle-blankets over them, one for the lama and one for his assistant. The place on which the lama is to sit is indicated by a hada. The latter is regarded as an honored memento and is later hung by the household altar.

Between the two blankets there is a fire basin with a large teakettle. Behind it there is a kang table with the food: a [262] round wooden bowl of tsamba on which several pieces of buttered

[36 cont.]

792 bread have been placed in a pyramid and crowned with a red
796 date; a little box with tschürra (dry curds) for kneading tsamba;
574 a number of small [37] plates with black and white sugar, candy
[262] sugar, currants, and dates; a number of small plates of goods baked with sugar and oil. -- Later, when the lama performs his ceremonies, the things are cleared away so that an empty table is at his disposal.

Hutukhtus or higher lamas send ordinary, serving lamas to the people a few days in advance to prepare the room and the things needed for the ceremonies. They also help in the kitchen because they know best which dishes their hutukhtu prefers. They also see to it that the riding animals of the monastery are properly [492] accommodated.

The fetching of the lama: On the stipulated day the young men and boys of the village set out for the lamic monastery with the most beautiful and fastest horses. Some of them ride all the way to the monastery itself; some wait halfway. The hutukhtu [492] always rides on his own animal; it must be a white horse. The other lamas, on the other hand, may use any animals available.

When at the halfway point the lama meets the troop that has come to fetch him, the oldest man steps forward and hands the lama a hada. He accepts it and touches the kneeling man's forehead. Then the youngest with the fastest horses leap into the saddle and ride ahead at a wild gallop in order to announce the news of the lama's arrival in the village. The lama likewise tries to follow at a rapid pace. Only the old lamas take their time. This fetching is called single fetching. Sometimes the fetching is done in two or three stages; then it is called double or triple fetching. Each time the ceremonies of handing over the hada and of the blessing are repeated. In the case of the third troup, however, the fetchers are on foot, for they only go just outside the village.

Reception: As soon as the messengers come riding in, the entire village gathers in front of the house that has invited the lama. All are wearing their best clothes. On the threshing

[37 cont.] On the threshing
792 floor the women and children tirelessly perform their round
796 dances with song, so that one can hear them from afar; the
574 lama is supposed to see how joyfully they welcome him. Out-
[535] side the village all get off their horses; only the lama rides on alone. A man leads his horse by the reins.

As soon as he comes to the gate of the yard, a kang table is placed on the left side of the horse, and a white mat is put over it. The men help the lama out of the saddle, and all kowtow; only the women go on dancing without interruption. The lama steps out of the stirrups onto the table that has been set there and then strides toward the gate, where the master of the household is kneeling. He has placed a hada over his raised hands, and with it he extends to the lama a white bowl of milk with a cypress twig. The lama dips the twig into the milk, sprinkles the gate posts with it, and enters. The incense offering rises in the yard; people blow on all the conches they have. The men draw the lama forward with burning [38] sticks of incense and escort him to his room. There he sits down on the place indicated by the hada. The hada, however, is taken away.

792 The blessing: First of all, the lama rests with his com-
796 panions. The master of ceremonies pours him some tea and
574 invites him to fortify himself. Then the lama recites certain prayers. Meanwhile the yard fills with guests.
788 At this point the master of the household enters the guest room, hands the lama a hada, kowtows, and requests him to come out in order to bless the people. The lama gives him a few small gifts, which he has brought with him, with a hada. Then he rises and goes out. Outside there is an armchair with a cushion; the lama sits down on it, his back turned toward the main house; a white felt mat is spread in front of him.
[554] Now the people move past him according to rank, first the men, then the women. Each person bows low before him while he touches the forehead or the crown of the head of everyone with his prayer book. His assistant stands at his side. After this ceremony he again withdraws into the house. [Figs. 4 and 5 appear here.]

[38 cont.]

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Prayer service: Now he begins his prayer service. Before each prayer service a few tormas are made; if he is a great lama, his assistants see to it. The tormas vary and represent offerings to the gods. In part they are left standing on the table, or they are taken to the household altar. Before that comes a series of little water bowls, grain bowls, liquor bowls (3),

3. [Foreign text p. 41.] There is a definite number and order for these little bowls. The water offering plays an important role in the monastic cult, cf. Kumbum, p. 251. The Tujen and Chia-Hsifan [Sifan] frequently present the water offering in the morning. Thus,

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Fig. 4.

Fig. 5

Fig. 4. Two hourglass drums. (Drawing of a Tujen.) Fig. 5. Butter-lamp.

I once saw how an old man got up in the morning, washed himself, burned incense, put a large copper bowl and 12 little bowls of water on the household altar, kowtowed three times in the courtyard, one of these in the direction of Kumbum, kowtowed three times in front of the household altar, and then emptied the water bowls.

and butter-lamps, which are always kept burning. Later these tormas are either taken away or eaten by the family, and sometimes thrown

[38 cont.]

792 to the animals (2).

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[192]

2. [Foreign text p. 41.] Concerning šdorma, the DMF writes (p. 338): "pyramidal figures made of grilled dough and offered to the spirits to ward off their evil influences. Cf. Tib. gtor-ma, id. (Mong. turma, tuurma, turuma...)" [translated from French]. Ch. Das characterizes (p. 527) the expression gtor-ma, which in turn goes back to a Sanskrit word, as cast offering: "sacrificial objects, i.e., that which is strewn or scattered or given away" [cited in English]. They are said to consist mostly of dough (rice, barley, etc.), to have a pyramidal shape, and are supposed to ward off dangers, to pacify the spirits, etc. -- Much has been written concerning the meaning of the gtor-ma; in this connection cf. the accounts in Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, Ch. XIV. The Tujen conceive of the torma as the seat of a demon or of a god or as spirit food. It does not remain a permanent seat, however, but only during the time of the ceremonies. The spirit is conjured into it by the lama. I was unable to ascertain the name balih among them. As spirit food they call it by the Chinese word szu-shih, that is, offering food, but there is another interpretation, namely "corpse," which also has the form szu-shih. This is what they call the

[38 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 41 cont.]
torma that at the conclusion of the tsam dance on New Year's is carried off and burned as the murdered enemy of the religion. -- They also call the mandala-figure torma, for instance, during the erection of the pole-goat. -- The fact that the torma has a sacral function for only a brief time explains why it is no longer given any attention after the ceremonies, but is thrown away, given to the animals to eat, or even eaten by the people themselves.

Insofar as I was able to establish among the Tujen, the tormas are always made only of tsamba and butter, and not, as Filchner (Unkrig) writes, loc. cit., out of sour dough. It may be that this kind of preparation is peculiar to the monasteries.

The cult implements of the hutukhtu are the same as those he uses at home in the monastery, to wit, the holy water-can with the peacock feather, the hourglass drum, the thunderbolt, and the hand bell. He always has these things ready at hand on the table. He always holds his mani-string in his hand. While praying he does not sit at the side, but behind the table, on the kang and facing the door. He lays his prayer book in front of him on his knees or on the kang table. Sometimes he also gives the [788] water blessing while the others prepare the tormas. For this purpose he has pure spring water poured into the [39] holy can; one of the assistants throws consecrated spices into it and places the can on a little plate with Tibet barley. The lama then recites the prayer of blessing over it.

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Prayer fee: During the time of his stay the lama is entertained very hospitably. The master of the household, who is also called "master of gifts," must serve him personally. The

[39 cont.]

792 lama, however, does not have his principal meal at noon, like
796 the other guests, but only in the late afternoon. In order to en-
465 tertain him men and women dance and sing in the yard. Only in the case of very high hutukhtus is there no dancing.

[574] On the last day, after the lama's morning meal, but while
[535] he is still drinking tea on the kang, the master of gifts appears with the ceremonial helpers and with many words expresses his gratitude for the visit and the prayer. Then he hands him a tray with the gifts, over which a hada is spread, and the master of gifts announces what the lama is receiving for his services. This hada over the tray is called "speech hada." The things are put in front of the lama on the table and kowtows are made three times. The assistants, too, receive appropriate gifts.

The fee varies according to the wealth of the master of gifts, the position of the lama, and the ceremonies performed. Usually it consists of several back-baskets of bread (5), some

5. [Foreign text p. 42.] A back-basket holds 24 loaves. The red cloth is for the lama's clothing. Why only grain and money are thought of as a unity and designated by the same name, mbō, is unclear to me. According to the DMF, it comes from the Tibetan p'ogs, "fee."

pieces of mutton (4), silver money, and red cloth. Wealthy

[262] 4. [Foreign text p. 42.] Although
[782] Buddhism prohibits killing, the lamas, as well as the hutukhtus, eat flesh in all forms, as I repeatedly was able to observe. In the monastery Kuo-mang-szu I once noted that a sacrificial sheep, skinned and eviscerated, was set on a sacrificial table in front of the temple door. During

[39 cont.]

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[262]
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[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.]
the subsequent prayer ceremonies, the master of gifts, who had sacrificed this sheep, had the flesh cooked and a piece served to each of the monks in the temple during a pause in the prayer. It is therefore not surprising that the lama receives a loin of mutton for his fee. Since the Tujen, however, do not sacrifice a sheep in the presence of a lama (cf. the chapter, "The Mani-tree"), it seems to be a matter of not performing the killing itself before the eyes of the lama or in the same yard.

people give much more, for instance, beautiful horses, ornamental pendants, cloth, etc. When it is a matter of great
[782] occasions, a prayer service is even ordered for the monastery during the time that the lama stays with the master of gifts. During these days the master of gifts provides all the monks with rice, sugar, butter, and tea. Even pilgrims who stay in
[788] the monastery during these days and "stop in" to honor and to pray for the master of gifts are provided for and also receive alms for the journey.

[782] The masters of gifts also usually donate the prayer tea for the entire monastery, which is drunk during the ceremonial
[272] in the prayer hall, for example, at funerals, etc. Often they also set up a great number of butter-lamps in the temple at this
[354] time, or at least they donate the butter for the lamps. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

792 Return: After the lama has received his gifts, he is cere-
796 monially escorted out of the gate of the yard. An incense offering is again presented, but otherwise no further ceremonies
574 take place. The white horse is brought up, a kang table with a felt mat is set up for mounting, and the lama is lifted into the saddle. Then the men escort him out of the village. There

[39 cont.]

792 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the recep-
796 tion. The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the
574 gifts are brought after him on animals.

[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers. [465] They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

351
796 Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is
784 called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the be-
[609] ginning of the performance may not enter the yard. On the
[792] other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning
[211] may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as
[177]

7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

[534]

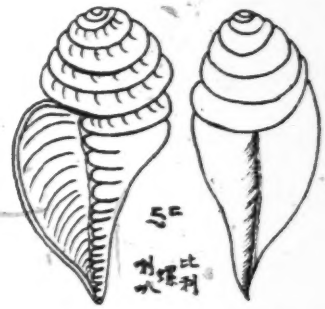

Fig. 6. Shells.

[532]

(Drawing of a Tujen.)

351 [40 cont.]
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[177]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] maintains that formerly the Tujen used no sieve and that they learned of it from the Chinese. Nowadays paper is commonly used when it is a matter of a taboo that is not connected with the prayer service. Thus the people stick a rectangular piece of red paper to the gate intrados, on the right when, for example, there is sickness in the compound, and on the left when a woman is in confinement there. White paper is used when someone has died, a custom that probably comes from the Chinese.

[574] The taboo always lasts for several days, three, five, seven, always an odd number, and always as long as the lama is staying [792] at the house, as well as two days afterwards. If, for example, the lama is there only one day, the taboo lasts three days; if he is there three days, it lasts five days, etc. If he is in the house for seven days, however, the taboo lasts for an entire week after his departure (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 42-43.] The taboo regulations mentioned here also apply to other religious ceremonies, even when no lama or Bon priest is invited. The taboo is then in force for only three days, however. -- Even the best friends are not admitted into the house, but are dealt with by the gate of the yard. For this reason they must first call out loudly so that someone will come out.

[43] Sometimes the people also say that in case of illness the yard is [751] marked not out of fear of the spirits, but

351 [40 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text p. 43 cont.]
rather in order to give strangers a signal so that they will not be infected and will stay outside.

Word List

192
792 Lama: lama; ho-shang (Chin.).
Lama of the Yellow Sect: gẽlõñba (Tib.); sira lama.
Lama of the Red Sect: fulan lama.
Great lama: šge lama; ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.).
Small lama: mula lama.
Hutukhtu (6): sãñ (10); šge sãñ = great H.; mula sãñ = small H.
huo-fuo (Chin.) = Living Buddha; fo-yeh = Buddha.

6. [Foreign text p. 42.] The common people know little about the hierarchy among the monks. They know great and small lamas. Among the great they count the hutukhtu, the tsüordzi and the kãnbõ. According to their conception, a great lama is especially learned, knows many magical practices, and therefore has special power. The small lamas have only a little learning and are able to perform only minor ceremonies, for instance, the obo prayer.

[775] The hutukhtus are regarded as Buddhic incarnations. In this the common people do not differentiate between Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Among them everything is fuo-yeh, that is, Buddha-Father. They use this Chinese name for everything that is the seat of the spirit or a spirit itself, in other words, also for the incarnations

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[775]

[40 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] (Tulkus), the spirit-spear, gods' statues with souls. Sometimes, for the sake of clarity, they designate the incarnations as huo-fuo (Chinese), that is, Living Buddha. The Tujen name purġan is usually used only for the spirits and the spirit seats with souls. Sometimes one hears the expression sãṅ or sãṅrẽ-dzi. I have never encountered the names Tulku, Hutukhtu, or Gegen, which in the Tujen language has the same meaning as sãṅ, the enlightened one.

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10. [Foreign text p. 43.] sãṅrẽdzi: Tibetan saṅs = pure, rgyas = spread out. -- ġdzo: Tibetan ġzo = to remind, to bring to mind; dãṅwu: Tibetan daṅ po = first time; niwa: Tibetan gñis pa = second time; gdzänba: Tibetan gsum pa = third time. -- simier: Tibetan ǰis = fortune, mar = butter. -- sidar: Tibetan ǰis = fortune, dar = silk cloth. -- sändzõṅ: Tibetan ts'em bzaṅ = cloth good. -- dõṅsär: Tibetan bdun = seven, gser = golden; the seven golden ones. -- lamar: Tibetan la = wax (from the Chinese), mar = butter. -- dordzi: Tibetan rdo = stone, rje = master. -- bosẽ: perhaps from the Mongolic; püse = trade, business; cf. Chin. p'u-tzu. -- mäntsia: Tibetan maṅ = ample, ja = tea (Unkrig).

[40 cont.]

192 Lama-reception: lama ndziala.

792 Lama blessing: ndziärgän (Tib.) - in rows.

First fetching: ġdzõ dãñwu (Tib. loanword) (10) [see
796 Note on preceding page].

574 Second fetching: ġdzõ niwa (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Third fetching: ġdzõ ġdzãmba (Tib. loanword) 10 [see Note 10 on preceding page].

192 Tsamba bowl with buttered slices: simier (10) [see Note 10 on
262 preceding page].

796 Little plate with baked goods: sẽtoġ.

Sugar candy: ping-t'ang (Chin.).

Apple: hai-t'ang (Chin.).

Nuts: ho-t'ao (Chin.).

Dates: sa-tsao-êrh (Chin.).

Dry curds: tsũra (Tib., Tuj.).

Oil sticks: san-tzu (Chin.).

Filled loaves: taġur.

Oil pies: yu-pao-tzu (Chin.).

192 Speech hada: sidãr (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10
796 on preceding page].

Red cloth (which one presents to the lama): sãndzõñ (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Grain with money: mbõ.

Loin of mutton (also the entire sheep): ndžuãn.

[778] Torma: šdorma (Tib. loanword) (2) [see Note 2 above].

Little copper bowl with water, grain, etc.: dõñsär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Butter-lamp: lamar (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

[778] Holy water-can: wumbã (Tib. loanword).

Peacock's feather: k'un-ch'üo-mao (Chin.).

Thunderbolt: dordzi (Tib., Tuj.).

[41]

[534] Hourglass drum: ndarẽ.

Mani-string: mani.

[41 cont.]

192 Prayer fee: bosë (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

796 Tea provided in the lamic monastery: mäntsia (mändzia) (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

[784] Taboo of the compound: udie dzilä-; chi-men (Chin.) = to forbid the door.

[357]

[Pages 41-43 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[43] III. Customs concerning the Dwelling and Settlement

000

1. The Incense Sacrifice*

*See "Notes," pp. 46-49 [of the foreign text]. In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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Every day at sunrise the house and yard are swept clean.

512 The housewife fans the family fire on the kang, around which

[356] young and old gather during the day. The master of the house

[783] washes his hands and face (1), takes some coals from the fire,

[515]

1. [Foreign text p. 46.] This ablution is undertaken for all religious activities, and it is also the common way of washing oneself in the morning. Since wash-bowls are unknown or have been used only recently, it is done in the following way: one takes a mouthful of water from a bowl and rinses the mouth; then he

372 [43 cont.]
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[783]
[575]

[Note on foreign text p. 46 cont.]
takes a second mouthful and lets it run out of the mouth over the cupped hands and washes them; the third mouthful, allowed to run into the hand in the same way, serves to wash the face. This is repeated as desired, until one is clean. In case someone has a washbowl, he may under no circumstances forget to rinse his mouth, because that is part of the purification for a religious ceremony.

and puts them on the incense plate under the mani-tree out in the yard. There he blows on the coals to make a large flame, throws cypress twigs, butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, tea leaves, sugar, and a number of colored threads into it, and finally sprinkles the fire with pure water. Then, when the smoke rises up, the conch is blown, and the master of the house, as well as all those standing by, makes a three-fold [788] kowtow three times in front of the fire. With this the morning offering is concluded, and all go to their daily work.

Details

782 Persons: Usually the master of the household presents the [592] incense offering. In his stead, however, another male member [562] of the family may perform the act, but never women, unless there is no male person in the house and the children are still too small. Women may be present and make the kowtow, just as they also sweep the yard, set the things in readiness, and even hand them over for the offering. The conch is usually blown by someone who does not perform the offering. If the master of the household making the offering does it himself, it is done before the kowtow.

[43 cont.]

782 Time: The incense offering is to be given as early as possible, as soon as the morning twilight appears. One is not allowed to wait until the sun is high. Nowadays, even though [178] the families are no longer pious, [44] they will nonetheless give the incense offering at the least on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of the lunar month. On these three days small butter- or [178] oil-lamps are also lighted in the house in front of the Buddha images.

782 Place: The usual place for the morning offering is the 778 yard. One may also go into the local temple or in front of the obo. This is also usually done on the above-mentioned three days. In the yard itself the fireplace is the incense plate on the central fort in front of the mani-pole (2). If there is no

[192]

2. [Foreign text p. 46.] The incense plate is called fdzãñ tše = incense terrace. The Chinese call it sang lu-tzu = cypress-incense oven. In many instances, the Tujen have taken over the Chinese incense oven. It looks like a small temple. Frequently people also make do with a small clay niche. The incense plate on the edge of the round manger is either a stone plate, a brick (tile), or a smooth layer of clay.

[177]

incense plate, the master of the household burns the incense in the central fort (round manger) itself, or on the ground in front of it. Each time, however, the area must first be swept. Worship in front of the fire does not take place directly in front of it; instead people go around the round manger, so that the round manger with the mani-tree, then the fire, then the main house, and finally the mountains behind it are before one. The other persons are also there. No one may ever stand between the fire and the main house.

[44 cont.]

782 Offerings: The fire[1] need not be taken from the hearth or
372 from the kang. It may be freshly lighted in the yard. It is all the same no matter which device is used for starting the fire, matches, flint, etc. To feed the fire when kindling it, straw is most commonly used. Malodorous fuels, like coal, dried dung, etc., which otherwise prevail in profane use, are not allowed.

782 The twigs of the cypress tree serve as incense (3).
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3. [Foreign text pp. 46-47.] The cypress used for incense is the tuja tree, vulgar: tree of life. Everywhere in Tsinghai this tree is regarded as a superior tree, even among the Chinese, who prefer to use its wood for coffins. The Chinese name is pai-shu (pei-shu or pei-mu) = cedar, juniper, cypress. The Tujen word šgua is a contraction of the Tibetan šug-pa. šug-pa, as the juniper group is called, is native to Tibet: Juniperus excelsa, Juniperus squamosa, Juniperus communis. See Ch. Das, p. 1239 ff. saṅs šiṅ is given there as a synonym: wood of purity. saṅs, however, may also mean "to vaporize, to evaporate," etc.; cf. loc. cit., p. 1265: "evaporation" [cited in English]. Of the other synonyms, lha-yi šiṅ (gods-tree) should be mentioned because the informant, too, maintains that the tree is sacred to Lhamo. If genuine juniper is available, for instance, in wild mountain regions, it, with its berries, is preferred for the incense burning. The Tujen word fdzaṅ (šdzaṅ, saṅ), according to the informant, comes from the

[778]

[1] [i.e. the fire for the morning offering — ANALYST]

[44 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 46-47 cont.] Tibetan. Thus, it corresponds to bsaṅs (Ch. Das, p. 1316), "incense." -- In Mongolic the expression for this is sang idegen, "incense-food" (Unkrig). -- The Chinese, too, have taken over this word, at least in Tsinghai, and call the cypress-incense sang. In addition, they have the Chinese expression pei-hsiang: cypress-incense. They call the stick incense, in other words, the incense candles, simply hsiang or pan-hsiang (perhaps: blossom-incense); pan-hsiang is also used as a verb, to burn incense in honor of a person (rarely used). -- For "to burn incense" [47] the Tujen say fdzaṅ ġarġa, "to release incense (to let rise)." They differentiate two types. One is the "great incense," šge fdzaṅ. This incense offering always takes place in the open, and for it complete little branches and twigs are burned. The other kind is the "small incense," mula fdzaṅ. For the latter, not whole twigs, but cypress needles, which are first pounded into an incense powder, are scattered into the fire. It burns very rapidly and makes a great deal of smoke, but produces no wood-smoke. This type is preferred for incense offerings in the house and for fumigating objects at purification ceremonies.

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[778] This tree is consecrated to the mother-goddess Lhamo. The blossoms are supposed to have a pleasant fragrance, no matter what color they are. The more manifold and colorful the kinds are, the better it is. To be sure, they are dried first, so that they will burn well.

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.] Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot be imagined without tsamba. They roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.), that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain, and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-grain flour is eaten exactly as among the Tibetans (Fandse). After the consumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48] kneaded into a dry dough in the tea bowl with the remainder of the tea and the butter floating on it, and it is then eaten in the form of little pellets or little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used for the incense offering, however, may not be kept with the ordinary tsamba. Every family has a special little box for it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf. Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further details.

[262] [252] [171] [264]

[783] never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the [263] sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color; therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than the white.

The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant [439] addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop. [824] They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

[192] 4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loan-word, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

[44 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 47 cont.]
"evil spirit (?)" (p. 311), is misleading. Ch. Das (p. 1057) gives the meaning: "an article, thing, material, object" [cited in English], and further: de'i rdsas, "requisites for this purpose (sc., unclean matters); especially for sacrifices, sorceries, etc., hence also used as identical with magical agency" [cited in English]. This last signification is applicable to the accompanying gifts and offerings in connection with conjuring away demons; cf. rdzē in the chapters, "The Demon Escort," "The Figure Conjuring," etc. The explanation in the DMF (p. 311) is also in accord with this: "object that one releases with the aim of being freed from an evil (money or some other object is added to it), ransom" [translated from French]. rdzē, therefore, is to be understood in the very widest sense as outfit, utensils, provision of the gods (clothes, rings, viaticum), additions to the offering, etc., as is shown by the plethora of the incense gifts. These additions correspond extensively with the additions for the earth-god's urn (treasure urn), but they probably are to be traced back only to Lamaist influence, for in the Tujen songs that mention the incense offering they are never mentioned, in contrast to the tree of life, the water, and the flowers, which are never absent. The most important flower, mentioned again and again,

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[44 cont.]

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is the kanba; cf. Part Two, "The Incense Offering." This flower has a strong, very fragrant scent which can be perceived far and wide at the incense offering. The Tujen name corresponds with the Tibetan (Unkrig). Ch. Das (p. 140) translates k'am-pa as Tanacetum tomentosum and designates it as a "very aromatic plant growing in the high mountains of Tibet" [cited in English]. Dinand identifies the flower as the tansy, Tanacetum vulgare; cf. Handbuch der Heilpflanzen [Handbook of Medicinal Plants], p. 211, with illustration, Pl. XXIII, 2. According to G.A. Stuart, it belongs to the species Artemisia vulgaris, which is exceedingly aromatic. He distinguishes three kinds: Artemisia Indica, -- Sinensis (ai-hao), -- moxa; cf. Chinese materia medica, p. 52. -- From the use of the cypress and the flowers, one can conclude that from the outset the incense offering is to be conceived of, not as a burned offering, but as an aromatic offering. -- For further details concerning the incense offering, see Part Two. -- With respect to rdzē, cf. also the chapter, "The Earth-God Urn."

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They are the same kinds as those the lama mixes in at the consecration of the wumba-water. The Tujen names have been lost. In Tibetan they are called "the good six." There are the following kinds: cloves, saffron, cardamom, marl (?), nutmeg, camphor.

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Instead of the water, one can also squirt milk or barley wine into the fire. They are then no longer called milk or

[44 cont.]

782 wine, however, but "libation" (6). Nevertheless water is always

6. [Foreign text p. 48.] The informant observed that "libation" is otherwise only called tusa; only in the case of the incense offering would one say tsiab. The rite implies, however, that it is not a matter of a libation at all. Drink-offerings are always poured on the ground. Here, however, the water is sprinkled on the fire; in addition, in this case water is preferred to all other liquids and is regarded as the purest and most superior. This requires a different interpretation. As a loan-word, tsiab corresponds to the Tibetan c'ab. Ch. Das (p. 409) explains c'ab: "water in any form; but not used like c'u to signify a river" [cited in English]. He further mentions sna c'ab as water with which the monks moisten their tongues before starting a religious ceremony, in order to purify themselves, which is approximately the same as the above-described purification before the incense offering. In other words, the tsiab is nothing other than a purification of the fire by sprinkling it with water. Later the people came to think of it as an offering and used milk and wine for it. Nonetheless, the awareness has remained that it should really be water.

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superior. It must be pure, from a well, a spring, or a river. Standing water, for instance, that from a kitchen tub, may not be drawn by anyone, however pure it might be. The water is sprinkled into the fire with a cypress twig (10).

[44 cont.]

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10. [Foreign text p. 49.] For the water offering, cf. the chapter, "The Lama-reception, Note 3.

The threads are in the well-known five sacred colors. The material does not matter. The best, naturally, are silk threads. Wealthy [45] people throw a small bundle of each [556] color into the fire every time; poor people, on the other hand, merely cut off a little piece from each string, so that they will last a long time.

782 The conch comes from the east, from China or Tibet. It is said that none are found in the Koko Nor. Hence, not 534 every family has a conch. It is therefore not absolutely neces- [439] sary for one to be blown at the offering (7).

7. [Foreign text pp. 48-49.] The conch is the Triton horn, the Triton spiral. To the Tujen it is a symbol of purity and of the sublime. Accordingly, the word dön is also used adjectively for: pure, white, sublime, sacred. One could translate it simply as "conchlike." It is found in this sense especially commonly in songs. In order to blow it, one pierces the pointed end and edges it usually with metal; this serves as the mouthpiece. Colorful bands often hang at the other end, the horn; cf. the illustration. In spite of its dull tone, the conch resounds very far.

It is self-evident that the conch is not native to that region. The Tujen name is a phonetic imitation of the Tibetan dun; usually the Tibetans further add dkar, "white." In Mongolic this conch is called labai (Unkrig; Kov. 1958), which in turn is related to the Chinese la-pa,

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.]
"trumpet." Judging by the sign, however, this la-pa is itself a Chinese imitation of a foreign word. The Tsinghai Chinese have the designation pi-li for the shell-horn, but this evidently comes from the Tujen verb pilie (to blow), for instance, dõngẽ pilie = to blow the conch. The Chinese say ch'uei pi-li for this. Otherwise, the Chinese name for the Triton horn is simply luo (lo), and the conch-goddess taken over from Buddhism (Tib. Dun ma, Sanskr. Mangala śankha) is called pao-lo t'ien-nü, "heavenly elf of the preciousness-conch"; cf. Pander-Grünwedel, Pantheon, p. 105, No. 294; p. 115.

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The shell-horn and its cultic use is old and widespread in India and the South Seas and has been taken over into Buddhism. The function of the conch in the Lamaist cult naturally cannot be explored further here. For an understanding of the Tujen custom, however, the following should be noted. The blowing of the conch brings harmony into the universe and [49] can release the hunger-spirits (Preta) and lead them into the paradise of joys (Tushita); cf. Pander-Grünwedel, loc. cit. Shells whose spirals do not run from right to left, as is usual, but the opposite way are especially valuable; cf. Ch. Das (p. 628): duṅ-dkar gyas 'k'il (Sanskr. dakṣiṇā varta śankha). The sound of such a conch cures sickness, and, if it is kept in the house, it pacifies quarrels and disturbances and guarantees harmony in the family. That

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[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.]
may also be the reason why the Tujen always try to obtain such a conch and blow it in the morning at the incense offering in the yard.

For the rest, the conch in itself is made to order for the offering. It formerly served as an offering bowl; cf. Ch. Das (p. 627). Today it is regarded as the third of the eight offerings (mc'od brgyad) or good-luck symbols (bkra ši rtags brgyad) as a sign of being turned in the right direction, sending out lovely sounds to the ten points of the compass; cf. Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, p. 21.

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All these objects that have been enumerated are part of a complete incense offering. Since a family only rarely has these accessories on hand, the offering is usually given in the simple form, that is, people content themselves with cypress twigs, tsamba, and water-sprinkling. Not even butter and milk have been available recently among the Tujen.

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Meaning: The incense offering is primarily to heaven, as is the first kowtow. In the second place, it is intended to honor the mountain and earth spirit, and in the third place all the other countless spirits. Oral prayers are not spoken, but one usually says or thinks: "Heaven knows it." The offering is a request for protection and pleases the spirits because of the distinguished gifts. Hence, the men give it at all religious ceremonies, for instance, at the sowing festival, at the veneration of the obo, at the sheep sacrifice, etc. It is left to burn for hours during the entire procedure. Since the Tujen have practiced the incense offering since time immemorial, it constantly recurs in the songs (8).

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8. [Foreign text p. 49.] The incense

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] offering is widespread everywhere among the nomads of Tsinghai and has been partially taken over by the Chinese. It is also practiced in all lamic monasteries. Even if it does not come from Buddhism, it has been taken up by it in the ritual and honored with "incense-sutras," which are recited during the burning of aromatic substances in honor of the gods. The additions superimposed on the original simple form also come from Lamaism. Concerning this original form, its origin and religious dedication to heaven, cf. Part Two.

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The purification-fire: Aside from this incense offering, cypress incense is also burned on other occasions, but only for purification, for example, to fumigate the house to drive away the demons, to fumigate the sacrificial sheep, to fumigate the face and hands at religious ceremonies. This fire, however, is accorded no veneration; no kowtow is made before it; it is not sprinkled with water, and no butter or any kind of addition is put in it. It is not an offering. Should someone accidentally burn an actual incense offering, he can use even this for the purpose of purification (9).

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[796]
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9. [Foreign text p. 49.] On other occasions, too, the fire is used as a means of purification. For instance, according to an ancient custom, a Tujen widow, when she remarries, must step across a fire, just as among the Chia-Fandse the bride is led over fir-tree fire (sung-p'an). The fire-jumping in the night of the full moon after New Year's may have the same significance; cf. "The New Year's Festival," Note 6. Not only the fire has

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.]
this purificatory effect, however, but also the incense itself. This is shown by its name, "purity-wood," and by the use of bsañs as a verb, which, according to Ch. Das (p. 1316), means "to cleanse, to remove" [cited in English]. For this reason incense is also scattered in the water with the red-hot stone (ch'ü-t'an) that is used for cultic purification.

Word List

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Cypress tree: šgua sdziödzē (3) [see Note 3 above].
Cypress: šgua.
Cypress incense: fdzañ (šdzañ, dzañ, sañ) (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba offering: fdzañ šdzam (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba (profane): talġa (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 49.] talġa: Tib. t'al ba or t'al k'a = powder, dust, ash; Mong. talxa = flour, rye flour, barley flour.

ġlu-smän: Tib. klu sman = the dragon medicine, bot. Angelica. There are four kinds, of which the black and the white are the best. The white Angelica is used against sickness from the earth-dragon. In Mongolic it is called luus-un em = dragon-medicine.

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snaġsog: Tib. sna = many, and ts'ogs = kind. lisi = Tib. li-ši = Carophyllus. gušgum: Tib. gur-gum = saffron, crocus. sēsmiel: Tib. sug-smel (rmel) = cardamom; Chin. pai-tou kuan

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[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.]
(white bean-tressel). gagula: Tib. ka ko la = Amomum medium; Chin. ts'ao-kuo (straw-fruit). dzati: Tib. dsa tsi (Sanskr.) = nutmeg. ġawur: Tib. ga-bur (Sanskr.) = camphor (Unkrig).

Spices: ġlu (ġlo, ġlē) sëmän; ġlu (Tib. loanword) = earth-god;
sëmän (Tib. loanword) = medicine, spice (11) [see Note 11 above].

Känba flowers: känba.

Incense additions: rdzē (Tib. loanword) = additions, things.
snaġsoġ fdzäñ rdzē (Tib. loanword) = many kinds of incense additions (4), (11) [see Notes 4 and 11 above].

Cloves: lisi (Tib.); ting hsiang (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Saffron: guśgum (Tib.); tsang hung-hua (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Cardamom: sësmiel (Tib.); i-chi-jen (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Marl: gagula (Tib); ts'ao-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Nutmeg: dzati (Tib.); jou-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Camphor: ġawur (Tib.); ping-p'ien (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

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Milk (profane): sun.

Libation: tsiab (tsiaw) (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 above].

[534] Conch: doṅ (Tib. loanword) = trumpet, horn (7) [see Note 7 above].

Heaven, you know it: tieṅgërë mudie.

[372] Purification-fire: sündur (Tib. loanword).

3: Schröder--84 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate I

115
142
291
302
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a

b

792
796
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292
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c

d

(Caption on following page.)

3: Schröder--85 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[46 cont.]

000 [Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

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[142] a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling
[291] in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autumn
[302] of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer,
1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the
792 conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the
796 monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guämbasoma) in the vicinity
[534] of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense
[292] Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In
[782] front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the
[778] background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-
szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-
reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan.
756 Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to
enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof;
this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand
* [778] the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching
line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not
[292] wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is
very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter:
"The Gurtum.")

3: Schröder--86 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate 2

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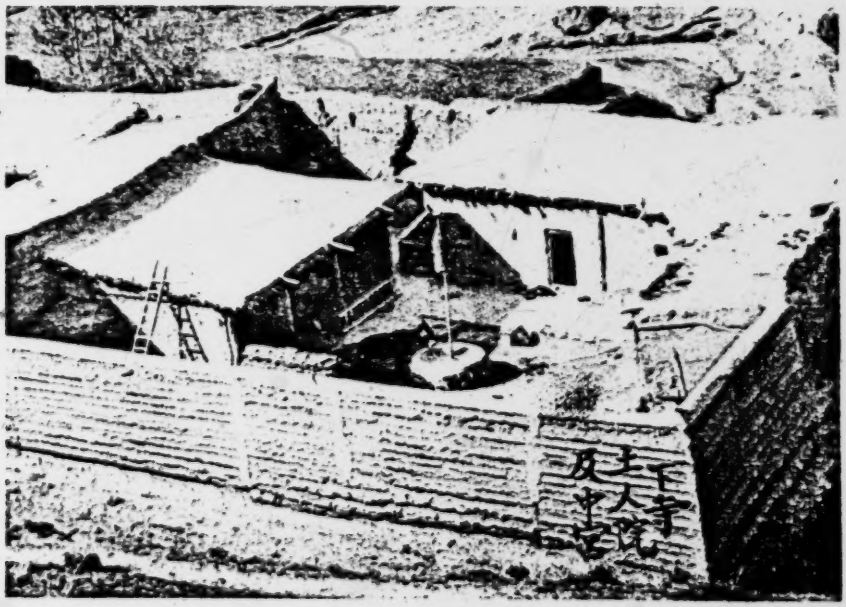

(Caption on following page.)

3: Schröder--87 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Caption for Plate 2 between pp. 48 and 49.]

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a: Mani-tree on a house roof in the village T'a-erh-wan west of Tangkar in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

b: An old Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai on the way to the obo of the Sha-pa-kou, 1949. In his right hand a poplar branch with flocks of wool, in his left and imitation spear with a flock of wool and painted spiral. In front of him on the ground: a [782] bundle of straw for the incense fire, a saddle bag with white stones that will be thrown on the obo, a jug of barley wine for the libation, and behind it a little bag with cypress needles (incense). (To accompany the chapter: "The Obo.")

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[351]
[417]

c: A Tujen yard of the settlement Ha-szu (Hsia-szu) on the way from Na-ling-kou to Yang-chüan. In the center of the yard, the central fort with the mani-tree. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

000 [50]

2. The Arrow of Good Fortune*

*See "Notes," pp. 52-55 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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In every good Tujen house there is an arrow. The tip is stuck in an urn of grain, in a crevice in the wall, or in a slit in a beam. Hadas, colorful ribbons, sheep wool, hair, etc. are [792] attached to the arrow. The arrow is consecrated by a lama or a Bon priest, and on this occasion it is venerated in the house. Later, however, it is not venerated any more. The arrow is [777] not the seat of a spirit, but rather guarantees good fortune and wealth in the family.

[50 cont.]

Details

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*778 The arrow: Originally the people used a genuine arrow (2).

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2. [Foreign text p. 52.] According to the reports of the old people, the Tujen arrows are exactly like those of the Fandse and Mongols in Tsinghai. These arrows can be seen in great numbers in every lamasery. Their average length is about one meter. Their feathering is usually radial and made of eagle feathers (ying-mao). The forms of the arrow tips are exceedingly manifold. The material is always iron. -- The children's bows and arrows are simple, crude toys, as in Europe. Nowadays the bow and arrow have disappeared from the life of the Tujen.

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They are rare nowadays, since the Tujen no longer have the bow and arrow as weapons. The arrows were very manifold, however. Today, only a simple arrow shaft without tip and feathering is used for the most part. There are no prescriptions for its manufacture.

The urn: An ordinary clay urn or wide vase is used, such as can be obtained anywhere. Sometimes the urn is fitted up like the treasure-urn of the earth-god. In that case, however, not several scrolls, but only one is put in it. Also, fluid butter is not poured over the grain. The following kinds of grain are contained in it: wheat, black and white barley, light and dark Tibetan barley, but never beans, peas, etc. The urn may be of any color. It is not required for the arrow of good fortune, however. Sometimes the latter is simply stuck in a measure of grain or in a wooden cylinder, or no container at all is used and the arrow is stuck anywhere in the beams or the wall,

[50 cont.]
777 always inside the house. In such a case the arrow is not made or
*778 consecrated by a lama or Bon priest (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 52.] For the preparation of the urn, cf. the section: "The Earth-god Urn."

Attachments: Always and in all cases hadas and sheep wool are attached to the arrow. If the arrow is consecrated, a small copper mirror is usually also attached to it. -- When
[237] an animal is sold or given away, some of its hair is tied to the arrow, as in the case of horses, donkeys, and mules. The hair
[432] is taken from the mane or tail. Similarly, when a sheep is sold some wool is also tied on. Hog bristles, however, may never be tied to the arrow of good fortune. -- After a child's first haircut,
[302] on the first birthday, the downy hairs that have been cut off are rolled into a little ball, and a thread is drawn out of it, with
[852] which the ball is tied to the arrow; similarly the bow and arrow that the child seized as an oracle on this occasion is tied to it. -- When a daughter is married, a number of small strips of cloth
[585] are cut from the seam of her bridal [51] dress for the arrow. Also some hair of the bride, which was combed out during the hair-dressing and adornment on the eve of her being taken away, is carefully collected and attached to the arrow of good fortune (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 52-53.] The fact that sheep wool is always attached to the arrow, as to the obo, seems to be connected with the sheep of good fortune; cf. below. F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148) would like to connect the little balls of wool (cotton) with the thread figures (mdos), which hold fast the demons. -- Occasionally, silk threads in the five sacred colors are also added. Hair

[51 cont.]

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[Foreign text pp. 52-53 cont.]
from a cow, when it is sold, is also tied to the arrow, but in no case hog bristles, as for example, L. Schram (Mariage, p. 58) maintains. L. Schram in this place generally confuses the arrow of good fortune with the spirit-spear. He designates with iang hstia a [53] "tige en fer" [iron shaft], which stands in a "gros et large socle" [large and wide base] and has a length of "deux à trois pieds" [two to three feet]. It is accorded a veneration "comme devant les esprits" [as before the spirits]. This never applies to a yãnsdzia, however, but in part only to a small spirit-spear. In the case of the latter, the tip and iron foot are visible so that it gives the impression of being entirely of iron. It is likewise stuck in a large stand and may have a length of about a meter. According to my informant, the arrow of good fortune is not venerated like a spirit among the Tujen, whereas the spear is. The other statements, however, fit the arrow of good fortune.

The urn also receives additions. For instance, some kernels of grain are always thrown into it when some is sold. Furthermore, during the night when the bride is fetched, the bridegroom's family brings a hada and bran for the bride's riding animal. Part of the bran is poured into the urn and the hada is tied to the arrow of good fortune.

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Safekeeping: If the arrow of good fortune was consecrated and stuck in an urn or a bushel, the latter must always stand together with the arrow in the main house on the chest in front

[51 cont.]

777 of the Buddha image or, in case there is a chapel, kept in the
chapel. If it is stuck somewhere without an urn, this must also
*778 always be in the main house.

777 Construction and consecration: The arrow without the urn
*778 is prepared and provided with the attachment by the master of
the household himself without any kind of ceremony. It is then
782 fumigated once and stuck in its place with an incense offering.

In the case of an arrow with an urn, the lama is invited with the usual formalities. He makes his torma, sets up the little water-bowls, etc., just as on other occasions. Then he prays for a day or more and gives the prayer of consecration over the arrow. During this prayer the arrow is fumigated with cypress incense. Then the pot is brought, washed, and fumigated, while the lama prepares the scroll. The latter is also fumigated. After that, the grain is poured into the urn and the arrow stuck in it. The master of the household places the pot with the arrow in front of the lama on the kang, and the latter then attaches the individual objects. Each piece is first held in the incense and then handed to the lama. Everything is accompanied by the lama's prayer. It is also permissible for other persons, for example, the master of the household, to tie on the attachments. -- The master of the household then places the arrow-urn on the chest in front of the god's image with the usual offering gifts: little water-bowls, wine, grain, butter, milk, bread, etc. Outside in the yard the great incense offering is made, and inside all those present make a three-fold kowtow before the new arrow of good fortune. During the entire veneration, however, the lama remains seated on the kang and prays.

777 At noon a family festival[1] is celebrated with a banquet,
*778 and there is singing and drinking into the night. The lama
[527] stays until the following morning.

[787] Use and significance: The arrow is never used for sooth-
[585] saying because it cannot become the seat of a spirit, like the spirit-spear, for instance (5). Only once is it taken out of the

1 [to celebrate the consecration of the arrow of good fortune - ANALYST]

[51 cont.]

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5. [Foreign text p. 53.] The informant firmly insisted upon this statement, although the consecration, beribboning, mirror, and bells seem to argue that the arrow is a seat of the spirit.

777 house, namely, during the wedding. While the bride, amidst
*778 the weeping and wailing of the women, is led out to the thresh-
585 ing floor and mounts the riding animal, the father takes the arrow of good fortune and runs back and forth with it behind the bride, calling out the name of his daughter, who is led on the riding animal three times around the threshing floor before she rides off. The father wants to keep back the good fortune.

[52] The arrow holds together the good fortune and well-
[171] being of the household, as do the god of wealth and the treasure-
[432] urn among the Chinese. For that reason something is held back as "seed" and "root" from everything that is sold and attached to the arrow or added to the urn (6). With her marriage, the

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6. [Foreign text pp. 53-55.] One receives differing information among the people concerning the word yãṅsdzia. Some say yãṅ means "good fortune," whereas the informant subscribes more to the meaning "germ," root, seed, guarantee of good fortune." In the region of Bengbar (Hsi-ch'uan) the arrow is called yãṅbõ. The ... bõ could not be explained by anyone. The people derived the yãṅ from the Tibetan and said it meant "good fortune." Undoubtedly it is identical with the Tibetan g, yaṅ. The Chinese word ying-pao mentioned by F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 139) is phonetically very reminiscent of the designation yãṅbõ. The Tujen have a third expression for

[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
the arrow of good fortune in the word yãṅdar. They interpret the yãṅ as "good fortune" and the dar as "to increase." The old man, however, would not let the dar be applied to the entire arrow, but only to the hada attached to it, and he is correct in this, for dar in Tibetan signifies "cloth, silk." He stated that the whole thing, including the urn, is always only called yãṅsdzia. It is unclear to me what the sdzia in this combination actually means. It is doubtful that it is a literary botching of mda', "arrow."

In order to determine the meaning of the arrow of good fortune in more detail, it is best to start from the Tib. word g, yaṅ. According to Ch. Das, the sense of wealth, fullness of life, treasures, state of well-being is connected with g, yaṅ. This is apparent from the corresponding combinations with g, yaṅ (cf. pp. 1149ff.). The very essence of good fortune, however, seems to be the sheep; metaphorically it is simply called g, yaṅ-dkar, "the white good-fortune." White is also the color of good fortune. But how, then, is the arrow of good fortune to be comprehended as the carrier of good fortune?

[822]

Its peculiar character becomes clearest at the wedding ceremony. When the bride departs from the parental house and is led three times around the threshing floor on horseback, the father of the bride runs behind the bride three times

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
with the arrow of good fortune and calls out her name. Meanwhile the attendants sing a song in which they conjure everything that the bride takes with her onto the arrow as a "germ," so that it might stay behind. -- The urn that holds the grain brought by the bride-fetchers is a similar matter. This urn is called g.yaṅ-bum in Tibetan and its meaning corresponds with that given by Ch. Das (p. 1150). It contains treasures: gold, silver, money, ornaments, etc. The arrow of good fortune and the urn of good fortune thus carry the germs and vital power of all the blessings of good fortune of the kin group [Sippe], be they animals, human beings, [54] treasures, or seed. They not only carry them, but also guarantee their preservation and increase. This conception, however, is not only found among the Tujen.

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The shepherd-nomads have a custom similar to that of the Tujen and the agricultural Fandse with their arrow of good fortune. When they sell animals, they tie some of the wool or hair to the tent post or to a string inside the tent. (G. Montell, p. 49, illustration, reports something similar from the Mongols.) This post or string has a special relationship to heaven. Among the agriculturalists the urn appears in accordance with the importance of the agricultural products. Thus, the Chinese likewise have a pao-p'ing, "treasure-vase"; similarly, the Lolo have an ancestral chest in which

[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
they keep the ornaments and mementos of the kin group in order to have a guarantee for the good fortune and wealth of the family; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa: I chia. Above all, the arrow of good fortune seems to be of great importance among the Bon; cf. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 190, 184, 178. It plays a special role in the wedding customs of the Bon, as H. Francke has de-
[585] scribed them in the wedding songs. The wedding customs of the Tujen and their songs show a certain relationship with these Bon customs, which in itself is not surprising
[177] since up to the most recent times the Bon religion in Amdo had a strong influence. The conception of the tribal animals, mother-animals, mother-treasures, to which all other earthly animals, treasures, etc. go back, however, belongs to the world-view of the Bon; cf. H. Francke; Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 8 ff. The tribal ani-
[533] mals are also celebrated in song by the Tujen in a song-cycle bearing the name xoni, "sheep." This song-cycle actually stems from the Amdo-Fandse, among whom it is called g, yañ-dkar, "white good-fortune," or g, yañ-dkar lug, "sheep of the white good-fortune." Although vari-
[825] ous animals are celebrated in song, the sheep stands in the center as the supreme blessing of good fortune.

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If one ties these conceptions together, it may be stated of the yãñsdzia: It bears within it the germs and origins of the gifts of fortune of this world. Living beings are allied more with heaven (are

[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
perhaps to be interpreted as astral), and the seeds, together with the other treasures, more with earth. The arrow represents the connection of the two (heavenly post, heavenly rope). This idea also fits in well with the pre-Buddhistic -- shamanistic world-picture with the world mountain and the individual realms. Cf. for instance, the representation in the mountain torma at the ritual of the pole-goat, where all of creation is put in miniature on a mandala. A germinally pre-formed world which maintains the actual, large world through its vital power is always fundamental. -- It would be interesting to pursue these conceptions across Asia; perhaps even the Inao and the "sending off" of the Ainu are connected with them.

[772]

The arrow of good fortune and the customs connected with it have passed into Buddhism and are practiced in all lamic monasteries. The arrow is found everywhere. The most important ceremony is the summoning of good fortune (g.yaṅ 'gug). This ceremony is reported in detail in F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, pp. 139-147), where further details concerning the Lamaistic use of the [55] arrow can also be found, but this does not belong here. Only one parallel with the popular custom among the Tujen should be mentioned, where Lessing describes the procession with the arrow of good fortune (p. 146): "After this interlude, the procession continues its way and finally returns to Hall II. They have absorbed all they can the elixir

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[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
or vital forces (rasayana, Tib. bcud len, Mong. sime, shime) of heaven and earth, sun and moon, rivers and lakes, trees and herbs" [cited in English]. This corresponds precisely to the above-mentioned wedding ceremony of the Tujen at the departure of the bride, where likewise "the germs, vital force" are conjured in song onto the arrow with which the father runs behind the bride.

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The Tujen word for this "germ, seed," etc. in the songs is furie; cf. Schröder, Hochzeitslieder" [Wedding Songs]. furie is the Mongolic ūre (DMF, p. 111) and in meaning corresponds, like sime, to the Tibetan bcud in bcud len. len signifies "to seize, to grasp, to gather" (Ch. Das, p. 1220), and bcud, "sap, moistness, essence, force," etc. (p. 394). The meaning that my informant gave for the word yān is identical with this; cf. above. With regard to the expression bcud-len, Ch. Das writes (p. 394): "the art of extracting essences for prolonging health and longevity, such essences as being of different kinds ..." [cited in English]. He also mentions in particular the earth-force: "sa-yi bcud, the essence of the earth, by which the produce of the field, medicinal plants and precious metals and stones, etc., are said by Tibetans to be produced; therefore this essence is the natural fecundity of the soil ..." [cited in English]. More about this in another place (in the myth about the origin of agriculture).

[585] bride leaves the family, but it is desired that good fortune and wealth should not leave the home with her. For that reason clothing and bits of hair are also preserved on the arrow.

[52 cont.]

Word List

192
777 Arrow: sēmu.
Arrow tip: timurdē.
*778 Arrow feathering: sēmu fodie.
Arrow of good fortune: yãṅsdzia (1) (6) [see Note 6 above].

1. [Foreign text p. 52.] yãṅsdzia: Tib. g, yaṅ = good fortune, mda' = arrow. yãṅdżēw: Tib. g, yaṅ (the same), skyob = to protect. An offering to guarantee good fortune is designated by it. yãṅbo (-po): seems to be connected with the Tib. g, yaṅ-bum = urn of good fortune (Unkrig).

Urn: p'endzē (Chin.).
Urn with grain: yãṅ-dżēw = to fill with good-fortune seeds (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1 above].
To fill the urn: yãṅdzēwrē ġada = to fill up with seed stuffing.
Attachments: yãṅ rdzē = seed attachments (additions).
Hada: kadaġ (Tib.).
Cloth remnants: sdziedzē dzüldēgãn = cloth remnants of all kinds.
Mane hairs: dzãṅgãṅ; tsung-kang (Chin.).
Black hairs: sul.
Ball of hair: fudzē sdzialaġ = downy-hair ball.
Sheep wool: ṅguasē.
Consecrating prayer: yãṅpo dgē (Tib. loanword) = arrow-of-good-fortune prayer (1) [see Note 1 above].
To prepare the arrow: ilieni yãṅsdziarē fuya = to tie everything to the arrow of good fortune.

[Pages 52-55 contain the notes given as numbered footnotes.]

[55] 3. The Mani-tree and the Central Fort *

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* See "Notes," pp. 60-63 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

*778 In almost every Tujen yard a mani-tree is set up in the [357] middle of the central fort [Mittelburg] or round manger [Rundkrippe]. The mani-tree need not be erected at the same time as this central fort; it can be done later. The time is [791] determined by the soothsayer.

The mani-tree consists of a wooden mast with a tip, which represents sun and moon. Below this tip a five-colored cover is drawn over the mast-end, and below this mast-end flies the white mani-flag.

This flag is printed in the lamic monastery. At the same [792] time the master of the household invites a lama to raise the tree. The lama prays several days and on the last day undertakes [782] the raising. During these days the yard is taboo. The great [351] incense offering is presented three times daily.

[784] At the raising, the mast is brought into the yard, placed with its tip on the central fort, and the individual parts are attached to it. Once the pole has been set up, it is fumigated, [782] first with the red-hot stone and then with incense. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from a plate with the spear tip and throws them over the tree, and the master of the household [56] [Fig. 7 appears here] dabs the tree with butter. Then the men dig a narrow deep hole in the central fort down to the level of the ground. The soothsayer again throws some grains of barley into it with the spear, and the master of the household also strews a few incense leaves in it. Then the men set the tree in the hole and draw it up. In order to make it stand firmly, it is wedged in at the base with stones and clay. The entire operation is done under the constant supervision of the spear-god cited.

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[822]

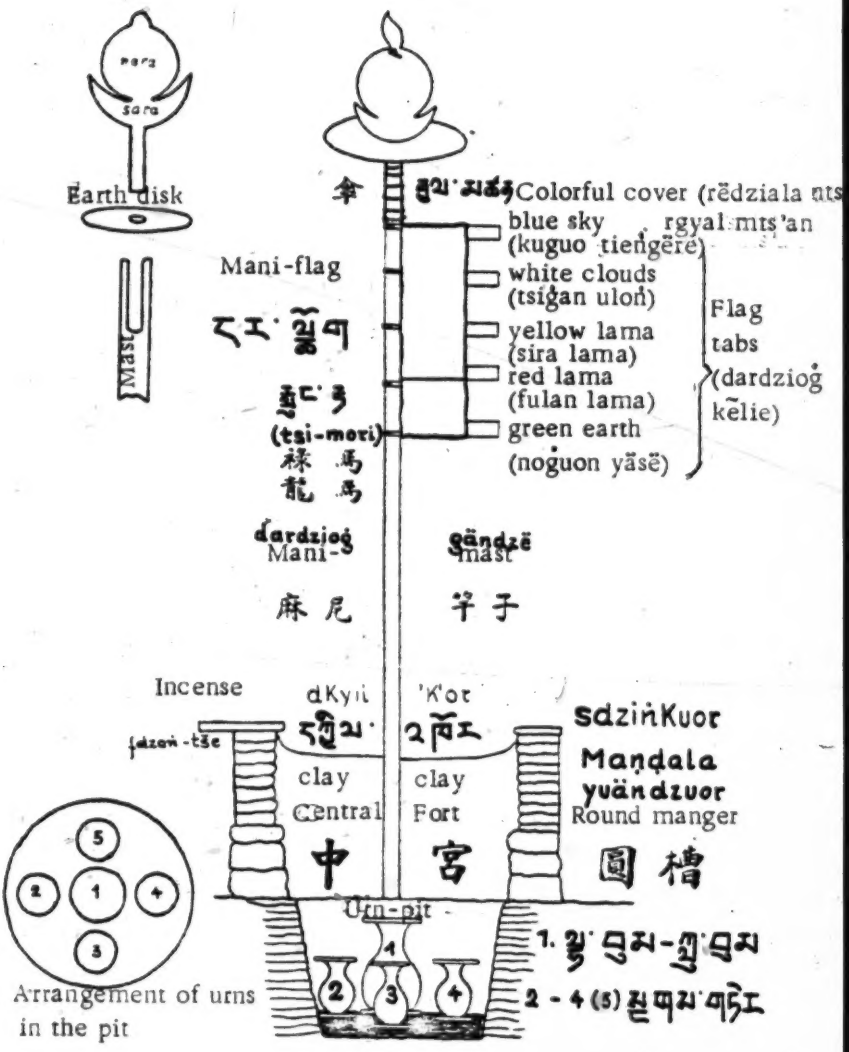

Fig. 7. Mani-tree and Central Fort.

The large urn in the center (1) is called Spirit-Naga-urn, the accompanying urns (2-5, three of which are visible), magical treasure.

[56 cont.]

782 Now comes the offering. Incense is burned on the fumi-
*778 gating plate under the mani-tree, while a table with the follow-
ing gifts is put in front of it (1): a number of small bowls of

1. [Foreign text p. 60.] One can also burn incense directly at the foot of the tree inside the round manger and set the offerings there.

barley wine, grain, pure water, a large bowl of tea, bread, butter- or oil-lamps, and two vases of colorful flowers. -- The lama comes out, sits down on the opposite side of the central fort on a white felt mat, and gives the consecrating prayer. Meanwhile all those present kowtow and blow the conch.

After the prayer, the offerings are cleared away. Water and wine are poured on the ground, and small pieces of the bread are thrown into the air. The little oil-lamps are left standing. Everything else is taken into the house.

*778 The master of the household gives the guests a meal; they
527 dance and sing and drink into the night in the yard around the
[792] new mani-tree -- The next morning the lama is taken home to
the monastery.

Details

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*778 Persons: For praying, an ordinary lama, not a living
[782] Buddha, but sometimes a Bon priest, is invited. Everything can
[792] also be done without a lama, but then the performance lasts
[592] only one day because the praying is omitted. In this case the
master of the household himself erects the tree. The ceremonies are almost the same as with a lama. The soothsayer, however, may never be lacking, whether or not he is a spear-soothsayer, or the litter-bearers or the table-god soothsayer (2).

[787]

2. [Foreign text p. 60.] The soothsayer is invited in the morning and given hospitality. He calls down the spirit and then determines precisely

[56 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.]
791 when the ceremony is to begin.
787 The soothsayer himself never takes part. He merely determines the time and names the spirit under whose supervision everything takes place.

*778 [57] Time: The time determined by the soothsayer varies in length: one, three, five, seven days, if a lama comes; otherwise only one day. The raising itself takes one forenoon at most. It is always started in the morning. -- Usually the tree is erected in conjunction with the construction of the central fort. It may also be erected, however, on any other day of the year.

The tree: The tree must always have its bark removed. Its size varies according to the proportions of the yard and the kind of wood. Fir trees are usually the longest. There are no prescriptions concerning the material and the origin of the tree. It may be cut down as desired. Also, there are no special ceremonies connected with it. There are trees up to ten meters in height, especially when it is a matter of mani-masts for the entire village or a monastery. On the average, however, they are five to six meters long (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 60.] Nowadays a complete mani-tree in the center of the yard is found only rarely. Usually an old cracked pole without a flag, to which the animals are tied, stands in the round manger. -- The mani-tree does not need to be confined to the center of the yard. One can also see mani-trees on the massive yard walls, especially where these come together at a corner. There are also communal mani-trees that are erected by an entire village, usually

[621]

[57 cont.]

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[621]

[Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.] on a raised terrace with a beautiful incense oven in front of it. Frequently a mani-pole with a fluttering pennant also stands in the center of the obo. The most beautiful and largest mani-trees are found in front of the entrance gates of the Living Buddhas in the lamaseries; they are up to 15 meters long and bear flags up to five or eight meters long which are printed all over with Tibetan texts. -- Mani-poles are found even among the Chinese, although rarely.

[792]

[171]

The tip (4): The tip is cut out of a wooden board as thick

4. [Foreign text p. 60.] This tip also occurs again and again on chorten, temple roofs, coffins, in symbols, etc. -- The large mani-trees mentioned above in front of the yard of the Living Buddhas, however, usually have a golden ball in place of the sun-moon tip.

[792]

as a thumb, in the shape of a sun resting on a half-moon. A small semicircle sits on the sun, and the moon has a handle with which the tip is set on the end of the pole. Everything, sun, half-moon, and handle, is cut out of one piece. This tip, however, does not sit directly on the pole, but instead is stuck through a round wooden plate-sized disk that comes to rest vertically on the end of the pole (5). The sun with its attached

5. [Foreign text p. 60.] The old man knew of no name for the round disk through which the handle of the moon sickle is stuck. He thought

[57 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.] that this disk represented the wreath of rays of the stars. Sometimes one also hears that it represents the earth-disk. -- He designated the small round piece set on the sun as a star; accordingly, sun, moon, and stars would be on the tip. Nothing is known among the people about the other explanations of the Lamaistic occult interpretations, such as that of the sun as tilaka, of the moon sickle as bindu (drops), and of the attached piece as a flame-shaped nāda (sacrificial cry), etc. Cf. Note 9.

piece and the vertical disk are painted with a red color, for instance, red clay. The moon sickle is white. -- In place of this cut-out sun-moon tip, one can also tie a bundle of cypress twigs to the pole; this is also done later with the same ceremonies.

The cover: The cover, which covers the connection of the tip and the end of the pole, is sewed together out of five rings of cloth. Each ring has its own color. The cover is about 30 to 50 centimeters long and is adjusted according to the thickness of the tree. There are no regulations concerning the origin and nature of the material, but the cloth must be clean and whole. Both men and women may sew this cover, but usually the men do it. After the sewing, the cover is fumigated in the incense and placed on the household altar (6).

[192]

6. [Foreign text pp. 60-61.] The name of the cover is apparently nothing but a literary botching of the Tibetan rgyal-mts'an (pronounced rdzial-), of the victory-ornament

[57 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 60-61 cont.]
(cf. Filchner, Unkrig, p. 21) that is part of the eight offerings (mc'od brgyad). Ch. Das (p. 313) explains the rgyal-mts'an (Sanskritic dhvajā) as a war banner or victory sign of Buddhism; it is the official standard of the Buddhists. One often finds it as garment trimming in various colors or as a cloth cylinder on flagpoles or on a post. Sometimes it is made of brass or wood. Furthermore, Ch. Das cites 11 kinds of rgyal-mts'an in Tibetan Buddhism, which fight the demonic powers.

The Chinese translation san (screen) might be misleading and point to the first of the eight offerings, the white screen, gdugs dkar (Sanskritic chattra); cf. Ch. Das, p. 69 (bkra šis ...), and Filchner, Unkrig, p. 21. -- The Tujen do not differentiate precisely here.

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The multicolored cover is found in the most diverse varieties: [61] as column drapes in the temples, as gigantic cloth bells or screens, on ceremonial standards, on trident masts, as curtains, etc. In other words, it does not represent a peculiarity of the mani-tree. Because the rgyal-mts'an also occurs as garment trimming (cf. above), the colorful ring-trimming on the sleeves of the Tujen costume is probably connected with it, which, indeed, is often drawn on as a cloth funnel.

[291]

The mani-flag: The flag consists of a long piece of white cloth. Usually it is cotton cloth, which can be bought in town. It should always be new and faultless. One leaves the original width of the cloth as it is, in other words, about 30 to 50 centimeters. The length depends on the mani-mast, for the flag is

[57 cont.]

*778 attached to the tree along the long side. On the average the length is 150 to 200 centimeters. The master of the household first takes this bolt of cloth to a lamic monastery where it is [782] printed with prayers and the picture of an air-horse in the monastery press, only on one side, however. About three-quarters of the flag is covered with prayers, and the lowest quarter with the air-horse. At home the man or the woman then sews a row of strings on one long side, with which the flag is tied to the pole. [58]. The other long side, fluttering in the breeze, is [822] provided with five tabs of cloth in the five sacred colors. The length depends on the flag. Usually they are about two fingers wide and a finger long. They may be quadrangular or triangular. The flag is likewise fumigated and placed next to the cover on the household altar. For these tabs, too, there are no regulations concerning the origin and nature of the material (7).

[192]

7. [Foreign text p. 61.] The mani-flag has various names; cf. below, Note 10. All these names apply in the first place to the horse-image, then to the flag, and finally to the entire tree. The image is the most important, especially when one considers that paper images are also in use.

*778 796 782 On every flag or every image there are the most varied sayings and representations, in Tibetan or Chinese or Mongolic. Sometimes the horse also bears on its back the sign of good fortune, nuru. These paper horses play [171] an important role in the ceremony of releasing the horses, which is performed by the Tujen as well as by the Chinese and Tibetans. This ceremony is practiced at certain times of the year, for instance, in the month of the

[58 cont.]

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[Foreign text p. 61 cont.]
New Year, very early in the morning, as I observed. On this occasion a great incense offering with a great many small dough-lamps are burned, bread, tea, and barley wine are offered, and finally a pack of paper horse-images with all kinds of inscriptions is thrown into the air and scattered in all directions by the wind. The entire ceremony takes place on a mountain. In case of misfortune anyone may undertake this ceremony at will.

*778 782 The sheep offering: When a lama has raised the mani-pole, then there remains the above-described offering of bread wine, flowers, etc. After that the lama withdraws into the [791] house. In the yard the spear-soothsayer divines once more [787] whether the spirits want another sheep offering or not. The soothsayer then announces the will of the spirit; sometimes the latter dispenses with a sheep offering; sometimes he wants to have it immediately, and sometimes only after a few days. [357] The yard must then remain taboo for that length of time. -- [784] The sheep offering is never given in the presence of the lama, [792] since it is, of course, always connected with the killing of the animal, and the lamas do not permit killing. The ritual of the sheep offering does not differ from the usual slaughter- and offering-ritual.

*778 Renewal of the mani-tree: If in the course of time the tree or the flag have suffered damage, they are renewed, that is, only the part that is damaged. The tattered flag is [372] burned, for instance, in the hearth or in a fire specially kindled for it, but always with pure firewood, never with the usual dry dung, for example. The unusable mani-tree is likewise burned. In no case may it be used for other purposes,

[58 cont.]
*778 say, as roof board. When the mani-tree or the part concerned is replaced, everything is done with the same ceremonies as at a new raising.

[357] The small mani-flag: Instead of the large mani-tree, a small pole with an air-horse pennant is frequently raised on the yard gate of the outer yard. This pennant is about an ell square and is printed only with the picture of the air-horse, or at most with a few brief Tibetan sayings as well. This pen-
[792] nant is also made in the monastery. No lama and no sooth-
[791] sayer is invited to raise this flag, however. The soothsayer merely determines a lucky day and a favorable hour. Every-
[357] thing is done without special ceremonies, even without an in-
[784] cense offering. The yard, however, is taboo for a few days. Some farmers raise both the large mani-flag in the yard and the small mani-flag on the gate.

357 The round manger: When a new compound is laid out,
*778 a round manger or central fort is always dug in the middle of the yard, exactly in accordance with the soothsayer's directions.
[791] For this purpose, the lama makes five treasure-urns, which
[792] are set in the pit. The pit is covered level with the ground and over it is raised a round wall of about two meters in diameter and one meter high. The lower three layers are stones; the upper layers, air-dried bricks. This circle is filled with clay and stamped down. In the center there is a pole or a cart axle,
[231] to which the animals are tied [59] when they are sunned and fed there during the day. For that reason the whole structure is called "round manger." It is also called "central fort," for it is the center of the yard and the buried urns protect the compound. The central fort is complete only when the mani-pole is raised. On the edge of the round manger, facing the main house, is found the fumigating plate. -- The making and burying of the urns is done with the same ceremonies that are performed in connection with the treasure-urn or the raising of a beńkań (chorten chamber). -- The round manger is painted
[527] white. After the raising, the master of the household holds a

[59 cont.]

357 *778 [527] [171]

festive banquet; the people sing and dance around the new central fort (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 61.] The round manger is also commonly erected by the Chinese. The farther east one goes, however, the rarer it becomes. In any case, among the Chinese the mani-pole in the round manger is lacking, and sometimes even the structure, in other words, the manger itself. For them it is important only that an urn be buried in the center of the yard, and the construction of every compound practically begins with this burial of the urn. This spot or the round manger is called chung-kung, that is, central fort, or yüan-ts'ao, that is, round manger. The ceremony is performed by the lay bonze or by a Tao-shih, temple bonze, but usually the geomancer indicates the spot where the urn (or the urns) is to be buried. This is connected, however, with the geomantic determination of the whole compound.

*778 539

Song: After the erection of the central fort or the mani-tree, the following song is popularly sung: "If one steps through the large gate, what then is round? If one steps through the large gate, then the round manger is round; half-yaks, mules, horses form a circle, and in the middle rises the mani-tree. If one steps into the kitchen, what then is round? If one steps into the kitchen, the kettle and lid are round; cups, bowls, and dishes form a round herd, the wooden spoon rises up in the middle. If one steps into the main house, what then is round? If one steps into the main house, the fire basin is round. Relatives and friends sit around it, and in the middle the wine jar rises up."

[59 cont.]

*778 Meaning: The mani-tree guarantees good fortune and
[777] peace for the household, yard, and people. The air-horse is a
symbol of fate. On its back it bears the precious stone of good
[772] fortune: nuru. The tree represents the world-mountain. Around
its peak circle sun, moon, and stars, and below lies the world
with the people, with house and yard and herds (9).

[351]

9. [Foreign text pp. 61-62.] This explanation by the informant indicates that only with the raising of the mani-pole is the compound complete, part of the world order, as is also expressed in other songs. It is based upon the Lamaistic conception of the world, according to which the world-mountain is in the center and everything else is situated around it. Among the lamas one always finds this interpretation, as it is presented symbolically in the monogram found everywhere, the nantšu wãńdãh. To be sure, the Tujen know nothing of the detailed interpretations of this monogram (cf. Note 3), nor of the parallel between this cosmic interpretation and the human body. -- Here it should also be noted that in this symbol the flat disk under the moon sickle is lacking, and furthermore that the colors are different; the small flame on the sun is green, the sun itself white, the moon sickle red; cf. Unkrig in Filchner: Kumbum, pp. 160-161.

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[62] The word sdzi-ńkuor and the informant's translation, "center-round," phonetically and semantically give precisely the Tibetan word dkyil 'k'or; cf. DMF, p. 387, and Ch. Das, p. 56.

[59 cont.]

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[192]

[Note on foreign text pp. 61-62 cont.]
The various meanings of dkyil 'k'or are given there, particularly as the equivalent of the Sanskritic word mandala, the magical circles and figures and representations of the divine dwellings, etc. (cf. the chapter, "The Pole-Goat"); furthermore, for the conception of the universe under consideration here, "According to the Buddhist cosmogony there are sa-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of earth, c'u-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of water, the ocean, rlun-gi dkyil 'k'or the atmosphere, me-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of fire; each forming a stratum over the other. The upper stratum, i.e. that which is beyond the atmosphere, is called the sphere of fire or light [cited in English] (Ch. Das, loc. cit.). If one puts this orthodox Lamaist explanation beside the old man's explanation, he sees how indigenous and alive this conception is among the Tujen, how it is literally built into the existential sphere.

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The air-horse does not really seem to belong in this conceptual picture, and it could not be learned from the informant what the air-horse, in other words, the mani-flag, has to do with the world mountain, why it is attached to it. He thought that it would hang high on it and could flutter well in the wind, and, with its prayer and magical formulas, it would be the same as a prayer-mill that is likewise turned by the wind on the roof. Other

[59 cont.]

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[775]

[Note on foreign text pp. 61-62 cont.] explanations do not connect the air-horse with the round manger, either. Thus, one can hear that the magical formulas and prayers are carried to heaven on the air-horse. Others, again, believe that the air-horses are ridden by the wandering restless spirits and souls of the dead; in this way they would find the right way and come to rest. According to them, this is also the reason why these paper horses are released in such large numbers. Then the spirits are appeased and would no longer visit and molest human beings.

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Word List

(Cf. the drawing)

The mani-tree (tree and flag together): dardzioǵ (Tib.).
The mast: dardzioǵ gändzë (Chin.); mani-kan-tzu (Chin.).
The sun: nara.
The moon: sara.
For the round disk and the piece on the sun there are no specified Tujen names.
The cover: rdziala ntsam (Tib.); san (Chin.) = screen (6) [see Note 6 above].
The flag: dardzioǵ (Tib.); ta-ch'iu (Chin.); ki mori = air horse;
loňšda (Tib.); lu-ma (Chin.) = horse of good fortune;
lung-ma (Chin.) = dragon-horse (10).

10. [Foreign text pp. 62-63.] loňšda is the Tibetan rluň rta, air-horse; ki-mori is the literal Tujen translation of it.

[59 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 62-63 cont.] Concerning its meaning as "fate," cf. Part Two, II, 1, c. -- Perhaps the Chinese lung-ma is also only a phonetic imitation of this Tibetan rluṅ (air), which perhaps came about because the dragon-horse, which likewise is called lung-ma, appears in legends and tales as a wonder horse. In the Sining chronicle, in the chapter on the Koko Nor Lake, there is a passage concerning this dragon-horse. In certain times the T'u-yü-hun were supposed to drive their horses (quite bad ones, too) into the lake, and they would then couple with the dragon. The horses descended from them were supposed to be able to cover thousands of miles in a day.

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[171]

For the paper prints of the air-horses the Chinese usually say lu-ma (good-luck horses). They claim that the above-mentioned "releasing" of these horses, fang lu-ma, is an old Chinese custom, whereas the Tujen, Fandse, and lamas claim it as their own tradition. -- In addition, the Chinese have gold-yellow paper leaves attached to house gates, animals, etc., which they burn on various occasions. They are called chih-ma [63] (paper-horses) or piao-ma (leaf-horses). Although there is no horse-image on it, many people derive the ...ma from "horse."

The ta-ch'iu is a Chinese literary botching of dardzioġ; one hears this expression mostly in the region of Tangkar. dardzioġ corresponds to the Tibetan dar lcog (DMF, p. 44); according to Ch. Das

[59 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 62-63 cont.]
this means "silk" and "tip" and is "a flag-staff about 10 or 12 feet high ... on house-tops, piles of stone, or on votive cairns" (p. 620) [cited in English].

The flag tabs: dardzioġ kilie = mani-flag tabs [Zungen, literally "tongues"].
Blue sky: kuguo tieṅgĕre.
White clouds: tsiġan uloṅ.
Yellow lama: sira lama.
Red lama: fulan lama.
Green earth: noġuon yäsĕ = green grass.
The round manger: yüän dzuor = round manger; yüan-ts'ao (Chin.) = round manger; sdziṅkuor (Tib.) = center-round (9) [see Note 9 above].
The incense plate: fdzaṅ tśĕ = incense-terrace.
The central urn (that is, central fort): lawum-ġluwum (Tib.) = spirit-urn -- earth-god-urn.
The four little urns: sĕnog-der (snaġ-der) = magical urns (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 63.] sĕnoġder: Tibetan snags = magical saying, spell formula, gter = treasure, storage chamber. Meaning: magical treasure chamber (Unkrig).

[Pages 60-63 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

*778

[63] The Obo*

* See "Notes," pp. 68-71 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[63 cont.]

Report

*778 On the mountains in the vicinity of the villages, the Tujen like to erect an obo. This is a large stonepile over a pit in which all kinds of things are buried. On these stonepiles stands a large square wooden frame, in which all kinds of weapons, tree twigs, and mani-flags are placed. Frequently several smaller stonepiles run from the obo to the four points of the compass; there will be at least one row in the direction of the mountain ridge.

*778 782 [776] [792] [791] The obo is dedicated to the mountain-spirit. It protects the village and the individual family. The obo is venerated three times each month with an incense offering. Sheep sacrifices also often take place at the obo. On special occasions a lama or Bon priest is invited to pray before the obo. When air-horses are released, it is done preferably from the peak on which an obo stands. -- Every year a large folk festival takes place near the obo.

Details

*779 [621] [628] Place: The obo is always erected on a mountain height. A place by a pass is preferred. It need not be the highest mountain in the area. Each village may have its own obo, or several villages may erect an obo together. In the latter case they agree upon a favorable place between the villages (1).

[171]

1. [Foreign text p. 68.] The obo need not always be on a mountain. In other regions around Sining one finds obos on the plain, for instance, near Fandse and Chiafandse settlements. Even here, however, trees are almost always present. Nevertheless, the Tujen maintain that they would never build an obo on the plain, for, according to them, an obo belongs to the mountain-spirit and must

[63 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 68 cont.] therefore stand on a mountain. -- They take the sacred place quite seriously. Thus, it is striking that for all Tujen villages mountain terrain is set aside, a piece of grass land with forest, where no agriculture may be carried on. Where the Chinese intervene, however, these mountain groves disappear. From these sparse remains one can imagine what the now bare agricultural land looked like in former times.

[621]

*778 784 The mountain on which the obo stands may not be defiled. No fields may be laid out there; the trees may not be cut down; the grass may not be cut; the ground may not be turned up. The animals that live there, for instance, hares, foxes, birds, are not hunted or killed. Everything must be left just as it grows [231] and thrives by nature; the cattle may not graze there at any [776] time. This place, namely, belongs to the mountain-spirit and is called sacred mountain.

*778 The obo pit: When the obo is erected, a pit is dug. All [792] kinds of valuables are put in it, primarily treasure-urns (earth-[791] god urns), as in the case of the central fort of the compound. [178] The obo is erected by a lama or Bon priest. No [64] Tujen of the present generation has seen this ceremony. The present-day obos still stem from olden times and are more and more falling into disrepair. Therefore no one knows any more precisely what is buried in the obo.

The stone mound: The height of the mound varies, depending on the circumstances. First an outer wall is put in layers in circular form. A large number of little stones are put inside the circle up to the edge, and these are supposed to be white stones. At every obo veneration additional stones are

[64 cont.]

*778 always thrown in, so the pile constantly grows. The outer wall of the mound is covered with whitewash. The twelve small stonepiles are called "obo children." An urn is buried under each of them.

The obo frame: The frame that is set on the stone mound has four strong corner-posts connected by crossbeams as thick as an arm. There are no regulations for its construction, not even for its material. When this frame falls into disrepair, it is replaced by a new one and the remains of the old one are used in any way desired. Depending on the size of the obo, there are frames from one to three meters long at the sides and up to two meters high. The frame serves entirely for holding weapons, tree twigs, and poles.

*778 Votive offerings: In the obo frame are placed wooden weapons, such as spears, swords, arrows, bows, and pikes, re-
782 cently even wooden rifles. Furthermore, tree twigs and mani-flags are stuck in between.

There are no regulations concerning the wood. Bunches of sheep wool are tied to both the weapons and the tree twigs. The spears are sometimes painted red and wound spirally with strips of black cloth. The swords are likewise painted black up to the handle. The flocks of wool on the spear tip are a substitute for the spear tassels, which on real spears consist of bundles of white yak tails colored red. The black color signifies iron. Formerly the spears were wound spirally with strips of tin.

[824] The tree twigs are usually from poplars, fir trees, and cypresses. Cypresses and fir trees are preferred. The leaves may be left on them. Smooth twigs with the bark removed may also replace the spears.

Other offerings, too, are thrown inside the frame on the stone mound, such as white stones, gold, silver, money, grain, sugar, butter, flowers, tea leaves, etc. Silk threads and hadas are tied to the obo frame; a silk string is drawn around the
[178] frame. Formerly the obo was draped with valuable cloths, but

[64 cont.]

*778 782 [178] nowadays the people are too poor. The silk threads and the long silk string are merely a substitute for them. Similarly, gold and silver are scarcely ever thrown on the obo any more.

Sometimes a string with 12 mani-flags is also drawn across the nearby pass from the obo-frame or from the mani-pole. This string is of black wool and is called "wolf string." Another string, on which 12 mani-flags are hung, is frequently run from the obo to a tree. This string is white and is called "mani-string."

782 [796] [65] The month offering: Usually the obo is venerated on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of each lunar month (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 69.] There is no connection between obo and month. The days mentioned here are generally preferred for offering and cult, and for this the phases of the moon are decisive.

This is done usually by the master of the family. He goes to the obo very early in the morning with a spear or several twigs and all the other necessities.

First he gives the customary incense offering before it. Then he pours a bowl of barley wine on the ground before the incense fire. He places lances and twigs with bunches of wool on the obo, hangs silk threads on the frame, and throws his votive gifts on the mound, namely, butter, tea leaves, money, silver, etc., as much as he can afford. Then he goes around the obo three times from left to right, throws 108 small white [788] stones on it, and in doing so prays the om mani padme hum and in between calls out: "I throw at the white obo." Then he makes a threefold kowtow before the incense fire and facing the obo. During the entire ceremony the conch is blown by his companions. This is not necessary, however.

The sheep sacrifice: There are no definite prescriptions concerning the time of the sheep sacrifice. There are communal [621] sacrifices, at which the entire village participates for village

[65 cont.]

782 concerns, and there are private sacrifices which the individual
[621] gives for his family.

The communal sacrifice is usually given in summer after the erection of the pole-goat for a good harvest. A private sacrifice is undertaken at any time of year according to time and circumstances, for instance, in case of an illness or before an important undertaking. Since one man alone cannot carry out everything for a sacrifice, he invites several other men to it, who help him and afterwards consume the sacrificial meat. The person who makes the offering must also pay the cost.

The sacrificial rite does not differ from that of the other
[231] sheep sacrifice. Thus, the sheep is washed, has milk poured over it, is fumigated, etc. Usually a soothsayer is present.
[791] After the sacrificial meat has been boiled, several bowls of broth
[252] are scooped out. The offering-casts are made with it in the directions indicated by the soothsayer. These are always the same. Three bowls are thrown towards the north for heaven, three bowls each to the east, south, west, and north for the countless spirits, three bowls to the left of the incense offering for the mountain-spirit in the obo, three bowls to the right of the incense offering for the earth-spirit. Then follow three more bowls on the obo, and finally three additional bowls are poured before the spirit-spear. Then follows the offering meal,
[574] at which all the meat is consumed.

Before the sheep offering the general obo-veneration is first undertaken, as at the month offering.

[792] The obo prayer: Frequently a lama or Bon priest is in-
[791] vited to pray before the obo. This may last one to seven days, depending upon the request. Here, too, either the entire
[621] village or an individual person is the petitioner. Everyone pays personally for the expenses arising from it.

The prayer service begins with an incense offering of the people. Meanwhile the lama makes a šdorma. Then the people place the following offerings before the obo: three baked loaves, 13 steamed loaves, a bowl [66] of barley wine, flowers in vases, small bowls with honey, a cup of tea, black and white sugar, a bowl of tsamba with butter-disks.

[66 cont.]

782 Sitting before the obo, the lama gives the appropriate
[533] prayers, accompanying them on his hourglass drum and the bell. At the same time the people burn incense at several places, kowtow, and blow the conch. This service may sometimes last the entire day. When the lama is finished with the prayer, he takes the torma to a stone on the obo, sprinkles the obo with holy water, and casts barley on it, over which he lightly blows with his mouth. The people then take something from offerings that stand in front of the obo, pluck something off, and throw some of this into the incense fire and on the obo. The flowers are all thrown on the mound. Meanwhile others have already placed the spears, twigs, and mani-flags on the obo and have thrown the votive gifts on it, as at the month offering. Then all of them circle around the obo, throwing the white stones and praying the obo call. At this point all of them once more make a threefold kowtow, drink tea, and go home.

The prayer service may also last several days. Then people set up tents on the mountain and live and eat there.

527 The obo festival: Every year on the sixth day in the sixth
782 month an obo festival takes place. At these festivals the obo is venerated in the morning, as it is at the month offering. A sheep offering and the prayer service of the lama may also be connected with it.

527 All the people from the neighborhood, men and women, old and young, gather at the obo. If the obo terrain is too
[541] difficult and not level enough, they gather at the foot of the
[533] mountain or on a meadow. There the men hold horse races, people sit around the fire and drink and sing; they eat and
[439] dance and laugh. Chinese traders appear, set up their booths, and peddle their wares. -- Formerly, when the old weapons
[526] were still used, the horse races were followed by archery, spear throwing, and sword fights. Wrestling matches were especially
[178] popular. Nowadays this is no longer the case. Only the horse
[541] racing and the singing contests are still held. The mountain-
[533] spirit rejoices when the people are so gay (3).

[171] 3. [Foreign text p. 69.] The obo festival is also celebrated by the

[66 cont.]

527 [171]

[Note on foreign text p. 69 cont.] Mongols and Tangut. According to the informant, a day in the sixth month is always chosen, but it does not always have to be the sixth day. It is the time at which formerly the obos were erected, and it seems to be a matter of the yearly return. -- Nowadays these festivals have more or less degenerated into a Chinese commercial racket, as has, for instance, the festival in the New Year's month at Wei-yüan-pu (Huchu), which is really a Tujen festival. Only the horse racing and the singing of songs have remained from olden times.

[178]

*778 776 Obo and mountain-spirit: The obo is the dwelling of the mountain-spirit. Everything that grows on the earth, grass, trees, flowers, the wild animals, and human beings, belongs to him. From the obo he guards the welfare of the tribe (ayil) and protects animal and man. The wild and tame animals are his herd and the wolves his dogs. For that reason an offering is made to the mountain-spirit before the obo whenever the wolves become too destructive. He can keep them in check.

[782] [825]

The silk (cloths or bands) on the obo signifies the clothes of the mountain spirit; the white color of the obo wall, his eminence and his good fortune.

The obo is the armory of the village and of the mountain-spirit. In olden times it was from here that the men fetched their weapons for battle and for athletic contests. [67] And they brought them back here. Nowadays the Tujen are peaceful farmers; they no longer use their weapons. Therefore they surrender them to the mountain-spirit.

[411]

The mountain-spirit is given something from everything that is valuable: gold, silver, silk, etc. All the good fortune, the wealth, and the preservation of the village are guaranteed through him. The mountain-spirit provides the descendants;

[782]

[67 cont.]
*778 the little stone mounds signify fertility (4).
776

4. [Foreign text p. 69.] The Tujen distinguish three great spirits: the sky, the mountain-spirit, and the earth-god. It should be emphasized that the characteristics of the mountain-spirit come fairly close to those of the sky (cf. Part 2). -- The special sacrificial animal for the mountain-spirit and the sky is the sheep. -- To the earth one sacrifices pigs, and always in the compound, whereas one sacrifices to the sky and the mountain-spirit usually in the open. -- The ritual for the pig sacrifice is the same as for the sheep sacrifice: washing, fumigating, milk pouring, etc., which makes a very strange impression in the case of this animal, an indication that the pig sacrifice was not adopted until a later time and was confused with the sheep-sacrifice rituals.

[231]

539 The first obo: According to the Tujen legend of the Geser
*778 xaan, the first obo was erected in the golden age of mankind by the first xaan on earth, the Hamluo siergän:

"Everything was very good. It was a time of honey and fat. At the beginning of the three summer months he erected a regieńguo obo on the peak of the Rira-ntumbo. Hamluo siergän sank into contemplation. Of (sc. the three) Gadbo Huala, Šdonšdog Sienba, Sasin Dadma, one went to break cypress twigs, one to buy spices, and one to gather white stones. He sat in contemplation for a week. When a week had passed, he erected the regieńguo obo. In the obo he placed the mother dog Tsila, on whose body he scattered spice-medicine. He wrapped silk around its body. Then he sprinkled holy water over it. He invited the regieńguo lama, who recited the consecrating

[67 cont.]

539 *778 prayer. He prayed for seven days. On this obo they heaped white stones. Within the circle of the obo they piled large stones in layers. On the peak of the obo they stuck cypress twigs and tied wool from the white sheep to them. They covered the circle of the obo with white earth (5). They wrapped the obo with silk.

[822]

5. [Foreign text p. 69.] The white color is the lucky color of Lamaism. The white conch, the white earth-god urns, the white flocks of wool on the twigs of the tree of life are to be recalled. When someone starts a journey it is said: may your way be white. Among the Tulkus this is even symbolically expressed by scattering flour, chalk, etc. on the path. The monasteries are painted white, and the palace of the earth-spirit is supposed to be white.

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[346]

In the days of the three summer months they threw at the obo, galloping on their horses. They threw white stones, they threw gold and silver, they threw grain and butter. And the life of man unfolded" (6).

6. [Foreign text pp. 69-70.] This passage is literally translated from the Tujen version of the Geser legend as it was dictated to me by a singer with the aid of the old man. It characteristically shows how closely the conception of the obo is connected with Buddhistic forms. Nothing is to be seen of the repeatedly asserted hostility between Buddhism and pre-Buddhistic cults. In lamic monasteries there are books concerning the erection of obos; I did not succeed in seeing such a book, however,

[67 cont.] [Note on foreign text pp. 69-70 cont.]

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*778

or in learning anything further about the rites. I was merely told that there is a whole series of obo types, among them some that are not erected by by lamas. Furthermore the objects put in an obo pit were said to vary greatly. Preferably, urns, kettles, and implements were placed there.

In this myth a dog is buried in the obo, and, it seems, a live one. It is treated like other Lamaistic divine figures that are animated by a deity: it receives a silk garment, is sprinkled with holy water, and has spices cast on it; the votive prayer is given. It is a mother dog. The significance of this dog Tsila could not be determined. Presumably it was one of the tribal animals. The Chinese in the Tujen village Hua-ling-kou (Huchu County) claim that the [70] Tujen bury a dog in the obo. This dog is said to be their ancestor. My informant very definitely disputed this, and I was unable to obtain any further information concerning this contention. From where did people get this story? They said that it had been handed down in this form. At any rate, it is striking that the dog occurs in this Tujen myth. On the other hand, it is to be considered that the informant is well acquainted with the disparaging Chinese conception (also in the literature) that the barbarians are descended from dogs. -- The dog also plays a role among the Tujen as the provider of the first barley and furthermore, in connection with the weather fort of the dog yelping at the sky, hao t'ien chen (Chin.).

[648]

[67 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 69-70 cont.]
But this dog in the weather fort is connected with the dog of the same name of the hero Geser, hao t'ien ch'üan (Chin.).

For the rest, the basic features of the obo veneration appear in this myth: casting votive gifts, the circling (that is, on horseback, as is said to be done still among the neighboring Mongols), incense offerings. -- Weapons are not mentioned, but the cypress twigs that are stuck on the white stonepile are. -- And above all it is noteworthy that the obo is erected on the world-mountain and this probably gives the real connection and deeper meaning, which by no means need be Buddhist.

[772]

This suggestion would also correspond to what, for example, Bastian writes (Chinareisen [China Travels], pp. 395 ff.), that the obo represents the mountain Sumeru. And the many small stonepiles in the direction of the various points of the compass thus also fit into the same world-picture. Cf. Unkrig in Filchner: Kumbum, Note 1638.

[772]

The mani-strings are evidently likewise a Lamaistic product, perhaps a substitute for the sheep's shoulder bones formerly hung from them, which Bastian, loc. cit. p. 601, mentions. The Tujen no longer know anything about these shoulder blades. It cannot be explained why the two strings, the black and the white, are differentiated in this way here.

[67 cont.]

Word List

192
*778 Obō: laždzë (lawdzë, ladzë) (Tib. loanword) (7).
mao-chi (Chin.);these are the signs for reed - good fortune.
[776] Shan-shen (Chin.) = mountain-spirit (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 70.] The statement of the old man that the expression obō is unknown in his region was surprising to me. I found it confirmed; at least it is not used among the Tujen there, which is all the more surprising since the Chinese use the word obō the most. The Tujen almost exclusively use the Tibetan loanword laždzë (or lawdzë). Farther away, to be sure, there are Tujen who are familiar with both designations; laždzë is nothing other than the Tibetan la-rtse, "mountain top," according to Ch. Das (p. 1200): "the summit of a pass." The relationship to the cult of heights and the mountain-spirit is clear. -- Besides the foreign word obō (Mong. obuġa, DMF 296) the Chinese also have the name mao-chi.

The Chinese expression mao-chi has no logical meaning in itself. In the Tangkar chronicle I saw for it the sign for reeds (mao) and good fortune (chi); there are also other ways of writing it. This shows that a phonetic imitation of a foreign word is involved here. The original word for it, however, cannot be determined. In the region of the Chia-Hsifan around Kumbum the name shan-shen, that is, mountain-spirit, is used the most. With it the Chinese simply identify the obo with the spirit, which corresponds with the situation, since it is in fact the seat of the mountain spirit.

[776]

[67 cont.]

192 Obo mountain: lawdzë ūla.

*778 To erect obo: lawdzë paġguni.

Obo pit: lawdzë nukuo.

Stone mound: tašë soġdō.

Obo frame: lawdzë dziadzë (Chin.).

Whitewashing: tsiġandë budē.

Contents of the obo pit: rdzē.

[782] Votive offerings for the obo: lawdzë šdodlōdzān ntsuomdzia = weapons placed on the obo.

Spear: dzida.

Sword: wōldë.

Tree twigs: sdziōdzë aralaġ = (poplar) twigs;
šgua aralaġ = cypress twigs;
tāngërag aralaġ = fir branches.

Sheep wool: nġuasë.

Silk threads: torġuo šdadzë = silk threads.

Little white stones: mulġan (mula) tsiġan tašë.

Spear tassel: dzida mān dzioġ.

[68]

Grain: dzüldë tara = all kinds of grain.

Sugar: ġarā.

Gold: xaldān.

Silver: miēngu.

Mani-string: lang-sheng (Chin.) = wolf string.
kimori bōdoġ = air-horse string.

Obo call: garu (Tib.) lawdzë yara (Tib.).
šdo-o-od = the white obo from below I throw at (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 71.]
mändzioġ: Tibetan lcog = pennant, pinnacle, peak. The mān seems to come from the Chinese mang = pennant.
-- garu lawtsë yäre šdodla (obo call): Tibetan dkar (pronounced gar) = white,

[68 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 71 cont.]
la rtse – obo, yar = upward, stod la = upward, to place on top. -- rēdziõn: Tibetan žon = to ride. -- yifula: Tibetan ri bo = mountain, hill, lha = spirit. -- ndziġdien: Tibetan 'jig = transitoriness, rten = container. A Buddhistic mode of expression for the world: the ten containers of transitoriness (Unkrig).

Little stonepiles: lawdzē dzidziġa = obo chicks.
Obo sheep-offering: lawdzē tada xoni šēṅlie = to sacrifice a sheep before the obo.
[782] The lama prays before the obo: lama lawdzē tada mošguni.
The offerings: yilenē šēṅlie = total offerings.
To dwell at the obo: lawdze tada sō-.
To set up a tent: bekārge posġuo-.
[541] Horse racing: mori holilġa = to make horses race.
Whose horse is fast: kāni mori gurdā?
[526] Shooting competition: sēmu sēmuda- = to shoot arrows.
Whose skill with weapons is great: kāni xuawu šgewa?
The young people wrestle: mula kunsgē walde-.
Whose strength is great: kāni kudzi šgewa?
Large and small sing together: šge mulasgē nigē dōlā-.
Whose songs are many: kāni dō uluona?
[541] Obo horse-racing: lawdzē šda rēdziõn (Tib. (8) [see Note 8 above].
[527] Obo festival: lawdzē šdodlō, mori holġani = to make the horses run pelting the obo.
[621] [757] The obo protects human beings: lawdzē ayili kun, ase, mulā-sēla, nasā, ġuosāni furõṅlāni = the obo of the village (kin group) protects human beings, animals, little children, from epidemics and strife.
[776] The mountain-spirit: yifu la (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above].

[68 cont.]

192 The game is cared for by the mountain-spirit: lawdzë
*778 udaġladzän sōwa (or fsüärëġwa) = birds (or game) are ruled by the obo.

The dog of the mountain-spirit (wolf): yifulani noxuę.
The old people relate legends: šdogu kunsgē xuęńge gulie-.
Whose legends are many: käni xuę uluona?
Large and small drink barley wine: šge mulā dërasēńgë udzi-.
Today is good: niudurġuo dur sēna.
In conviviality let us sit together: suġdzieńge sōldeya!
One does not know today what tomorrow will be: niudurë malõńguni li mudien.
With death it is all over: fugugē bura dzia.
We come into the world for nothing: ndziġdienë (8) [see Note 8 above]) arän nigē huę rëdziā- (nigë xue = once).

[Pages 68-71 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[71] 5. The Chorten Chamber*

*778
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* See "Notes," pp. 77-79 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[621] In each Tujen village and sometimes also in individual
[351] compounds there is a chorten chamber. The actual name is hundred-thousand-house. This chamber looks like a small temple without doors. In it there are several sacred urns, which are buried under 100,000 small clay cones. In this cone-mountain is stuck the column of the sky, which is covered with all kinds of blessing formulas.

[71 cont.]

346 The chorten chamber is erected by the entire village.
*778 Everyone must give a hand. The lama comes and prays for
[621] seven days, makes a series of tormas, and manufactures the
[792] urns. On the seventh day the chorten chamber is built. Only little windows are left in it. In front of the chorten chamber the men burn incense and move in a circle around the chamber as at the obo. Through the window holes they then again throw in little chorten.

[621] The chorten chamber protects the village and the family
[777] from misfortune. It represses the evil earth-influences. [Fig. 8 appears here.]

Details

[361] Place: The chorten chamber is always erected outside
[791] the compound and outside the village. No attention is paid to paths. The place is more precisely designated by the soothsayer, not by the lama.

[72] Form: The groundplan of the chorten chamber is rectangular. Its size varies greatly. There are small chambers as high as a man and large ones with beautiful tile roofs and columned porticoes. There is never a door in the wall. Only at head level are square peepholes left, an ell square. There is no sun-moon disk on the roof, such as is otherwise common on temples. Usually a beautiful incense oven stands before the chamber. -- There are many kinds of chorten chambers. The one here is the most common; it is called "house-chamber," for there are also some that are not roofed (1).

[192] 1. [Foreign text pp. 77-78.] According to the informant, bẽn designates the same thing as the Tibetan 'bum (in many places also pronounced bẽn), that is, 100,000. kãn is the Tibetan word for house, but it can also mean temple, for example, in the word sdienkãn.

[72 cont.]

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*778
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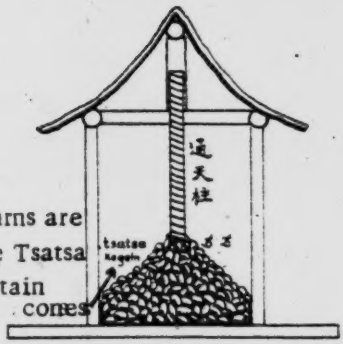
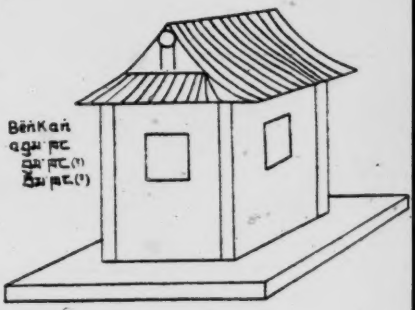
[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.] Accordingly, beñ-kañ would mean: the chamber of the 100,000, or more freely and with reference to the sasa contained in it, chamber of the countless sasa, chorten chamber. In the DMF binkañ stands for it, with the explanation: "small temple with four doors, where one puts the idols and religious objects that one no longer wants to keep in the house (it is usually built at the exit of a village or at a crossroads)" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. bank'aṅ, "store-room, treasury" [cited in English]. -- According to all the information available to me, the beñkañ never has a door; the informant



a
The urns are in the Tsatsa Mountain cones



a; Chorten chamber inside; b. chorten chamber outside.

also definitely denies that superfluous cult objects that one no longer wants to keep at home are put in it. The name might better be derived from bum-k'aṅ, "urn-house." bum-k'aṅ, namely, is also the central part of a chorten, which, of course, is urn-shaped.

[72 cont.]

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*1778
192

[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.] According to W.A.Unkrig, the Mongolic rendering of it is bum-xan. In Mongolic linguistic usage this would be the same as cara-īngēr, with which a cremation house is designated, literally, "house of the frying pan" (communication). But even this interpretation seems doubtful.

The informant is probably correct with his explanation: bẽn = 'bum = 100,000, countless; and bẽnkãn = house of the countless (chorten). In the literature "Ts'a ts'a house" is used for it, for instance, A. Tafel, Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], II, p. 265. To be sure, Ch. Das, too, speaks not of a 'bum-k'an, but of a ts'a-k'an: "place, where ts'a-ts'a are kept" (p. 1017) [cited in English]. In general, these little clay cones are stored in huge quantities in chorten or dwellings, etc., and A. Tafel would like to connect this custom with the Bon religion; cf. op. cit., pp. 198, 265. At any rate, the popular belief of the Tujen ascribes great power to these ts'a-ts'a. Concerning the significance of the ts'a-ts'a in Buddhism proper, cf. the relevant works by Tucci.

Nothing specific, however, is designated by the name bẽnkãn; it is only a generic concept. As the lamas in the Mongol lamasery Dsadsang near Tangkar and in Kumbum say, there are two groups of bẽnkãn. First there are those without walls and roof, for example: log-log (a kind of stone pyramid); ndõn-ndõn; ser-wdziãl. Secondly, those with walls and

[72 cont.]

346
*778
192

[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.]
a roof, such as dzĕw-yi and ger-kăṅ. The kăṅ described here is this ger-kăṅ. Actually this name is a tautology, for ger is Mongolic and means house (tent), in other words, the same as the Tibetan kăṅ. Besides these names, there are other special designations for bĕṅkaṅ, such as mani bĕṅkăṅ, tsăla bĕṅkăṅ, dšōma bĕṅkăṅ, maridzĕ bĕṅkăṅ. Unfortunately all these types could not be inquired into precisely [78], nor likewise the meaning of the name and the contents of the bĕṅkăṅ. The many rĕduombĕṅ (7) [see Note 7 below], pyramid-like stonepiles which hold down evil demons, as is also reported in the Tujen myth of the female man-eater Măṅgudzĕ, probably also belong among the bĕṅkăṅ. For this function the Chinese have the expression pu mei-ch'i, that is, to plug up the (earth)veins' breath.

*778 Time: The chorten chamber may be erected at any time of the year, although the frost-free period is preferred because of the work on the walls. The soothsayer designates the specific [791] day and hour. -- The preparation, however, takes many weeks because the building material, the urns, and the clay cones must be manufactured. In addition, a small village festival [527] is always connected with the erection and for that reason the time after the harvest is preferred.

[621] Persons? All the persons of the village take part in the [496] preparations, men, women, and children. The leader divides the work among the individual families. At the erection and the [562] consecrating ceremonies, however, only men are active. Women [792] are kept away. -- The consecration of the urns and the service

[72 cont.]
*778 at the erection is undertaken only by a lama of higher rank.

[792] The urns: Altogether there are ten urns, two large urns up to 40 centimeters high and eight small urns. Concerning the purchase, the purification of the urns, etc., the same regulations apply as in the case of the earth-god urn (cf. the relevant section).

The contents of the urns: The large urns contain two layers of filling; in addition, a bundle of five prayer scrolls is stuck in each layer, in other words, ten scrolls, five in each of the two bundles, in each large urn.

The manufacture of these bundles is done in the following fashion: The lama takes a little stick of clean wood about ten centimeters long and as thick as a little finger. Around this he wraps a layer of leaves of paper printed with Tibetan texts. He [213] himself brings the wooden plates for the printing, since the texts vary according to the spirits represented by the scrolls. A very tight wrapping of silk thread in the five colors is put around this layer of paper, so that nothing can be seen of the texts. Then the lama takes five such scrolls and ties them together in such a way that the principal scroll is in the middle and the other four surround it symmetrically. Then a layer of silk or thin cloth, yellow or red in color, is put around this bundle, and finally the whole is once more wound tightly with silk thread in the five colors, like a thread-spool for spinning. -- Everything, the paper, the cloth, the threads, etc., are sprinkled each time with holy water and fumigated before use. -- Thus altogether four bundles are prepared.

[73] As extra features for the receptacle the following are used: mountain earth from sacred mountains (it must be taken from the peak); river water, pure spring water, which is sprinkled into the urn; wood from pure trees in the mountains, fir or cypress tops (foliage and bark from these trees are also permissible); grain, such as wheat, white beans, white rape, barley, and Tibetan barley (ch'ing-kuo); black and white sugar; Buddha gold, silver, little pieces of pearl, mother-of-pearl.

[73 cont.]

*1778 These extra features were supposed to represent the seven jewels, but they cannot be obtained, and hence the objects enumerated are used as substitutes.

In addition, all kinds of spices are put in it, which the lama himself brings. These are the 74 kinds of earth-god spices. In addition there are five strands of thread in the sacred colors, or even individual threads. They are placed vertically in the filling.

The filling is done in the following order: First the earth and the wood are placed inside and sprinkled with spring water. Then the first bundle of scrolls is set inside and filled out with the grain. Over that come the other extra features, up to half of the urn. Then the second layer with the second scroll bundle follows, exactly like the first one. Finally fluid butter is poured over the whole up to the edge, and precisely like the earth-god urn it is tied with a red or yellow cloth, sealed, and at the end where the seal hangs down it is painted with a nuru sign. Then the second large urn and the eight accompanying urns follow. The accompanying urns have no Buddha-bundles (2).

*1778
1776

2. [Foreign text p. 78.] The scrolls placed in the urns are supposed to represent certain spirits; according to the informant, the lowest scrolls represent the earth-god and the uppermost the mountain-spirit, each with its four companions. On the other hand, according to his statements, there seem to be many kinds of such spirits since the leaves of paper are correspondingly printed differently. Clarity could not be obtained. The leaves of paper, however, also act as magic, as is indicated by their name, snag, that is, magic(sayings). The cloth and thread wrappings represent the clothes of the spirit. -- There is

[73 cont.]

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776

suggested the assumption that in the case of the scrolls four spirits of the compass points are involved. The fact that the lama gives a special votive prayer over them means that the urn actually does become the dwelling of the spirits. -- The four accompanying urns are supposed to have the same significance as the other earth-god urns, in other words, additional gifts to the earth-god, or offerings. It may be, however, that they represent the points of the compass, just as is possible in the case of the central fort. -- Concerning the significance of the accompanying urns, there is no uniform popular conception.

*778 Consecration of the urns: All the urns are now placed together on one or two wooden trays, on which cypress leaves and barley grains have been scattered. The trays are brought by the master of ceremonies to the chest in front of the household deity. The lama makes a torma and places it in front of the urns. Now, after a butter-lamp has been lighted in front of each urn and seven little water-bowls stand in front of them, the lama sprinkles holy water over them and places the holy water-can on a little plate with Tibetan barley before the urns on the chest. Now he sits down on a felt mat and gives the votive prayer over the urns. He may also do this on his kang. Afterwards everything is again fumigated. In the yard, meanwhile, the great incense offering is burning.

*778
824

The sky column: As soon as the lama has come, the village elders present a petition to him and have him give the regulations for the tree that is to stand as the column in the chorten chamber. They then fetch a carpenter from the village

[73 cont.]

*778 and go into the mountains to look for the tree. The tree must
[824] be a wild one, not one planted by human beings. It must not be taken from inhabited places or from the edge of a path. The wood should be superior, at least fir or cypress wood.

[783] Before the carpenter sets to work, he washes his hands and face and rinses out his mouth. Then he fumigates his head and hands. He proceeds in exactly the same fashion with his tools. First he indicates on the trunk the four points of the compass; then he fells it and smoothes the four sides corresponding to [74] these directions, which the tree must also retain in the chorten chamber. The tree may be only six ells long, no more and no less. The width is about ten centimeters.

The trunk is brought home and planed smooth in the compound where the lama is staying, while the lama prays and outside the incense offering is burned. Then the carpenter brings it into the house and lays it by the lama on the kang. The latter first gives a prayer over the trunk and then inscribes
[242] Tibetan sayings on it in red. He usually uses red clay dissolved in water for this. The trunk thus inscribed is then wrapped with a yellow cloth and a number of threads is wound around it. The points of the compass are written on the cloth. Then the tree is put between the urns on the household altar and placed upright, propped against the wall. The little oil-lamps and seven water-bowls are renewed, and while a new incense offering is given in the yard, the lama sprinkles the trunk and gives the votive prayer over it (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 78.] The construction of this sky column is very similar to the making of the spirit-spear. -- The trunk need not always be smoothed. In the case of partially decayed bẽñkãñ one can see little trunks sticking out of the sasa-mountain with all their bark and without any further preparation, which allows an even more natural connection with the world-tree. It is

[74 cont.]

*778

[Note on foreign text p. 78 cont.] noteworthy that at all times the orientation of the tree as it grew must be preserved. -- Nothing further was learned about the name sõń-siń. The Chinese expression t'ung t'ien-chu, which is doubtless much more appropriate, is also used there for the center column in Lamaistic temples and for the center pole of the tent. In southern Kansu a large monolith bearing the same name stands somewhere in the mountains, as I was told by a missionary who was an eye-witness. This center pole plays a well-known role in the west of China, so nothing further need be said about it here.

[192]

The chorten: The chorten have the form of small clay cones and look like large eight-turreted chorten. The Chinese call them "red clay clods." Altogether there are supposed to be 100,000 little cones, but this number is not always adhered to, especially if the village is small. Three to four months beforehand, these little clay cones are poured into special wooden molds. The village elders apportion the number for each family.

[62]

The under-surfaces of the still damp little forms are tamped on Tibetan barley and incense which remain stuck to them as they dry. The average size is about the length of a finger; there are also larger ones (4). -- The finished chorten

[192]

4. [Foreign text p. 78.] With reference to the Fandse language, sasa is also pronounced dzadza (ts'a-ts'a). These clay cones not only have the shape (even if only roughly) of chorten, but they also frequently represent sacred figures which, according to the old man's

[74 cont.]

*778

[Note on foreign text p. 78 cont.] assertion, are likewise placed in the chorten chamber. At any rate, they are to be distinguished from the tormas, which are never made of clay; cf. Ch. Das, p. 1019, and A. Tafel, I, 221, II, 331.

are carried in a pile into a temple hall or into a clean yard. On the last day before the construction the lama goes there, sprinkles them with holy water, and prays over them. Then he makes a torma on the spot, which is placed before the clay cones with the customary seven water-bowls. After everything has been fumigated with incense, he gives the votive prayer and then goes back to his host.

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[791]

The erection of the chorten chamber: On the seventh day the spear-soothsayer appears very early in the morning. He divines in the yard, under the questioning of the leader, when and where the chamber is to be erected. Then he goes out and with spear-shaking indicates the precise spot by driving the spear into the ground there. The lama meanwhile drinks his morning tea.

Now the people bring everything, stones, beams, chorten, clay, straw, urns, in short, all that is necessary. For the lama a white felt mat is spread out in an easterly direction, a small kang-table is placed on it, and a delegation is sent to invite him ceremoniously and escort him to this spot. He takes his seat on the mat and begins his prayer, accompanied by bell and drum.

The soothsayer now takes away the spear, and the men scatter twigs of the tree of life and barley grains over the place where it was driven into the ground. Then they place the first large urn precisely on the mark left by the spear, and [75] each of the four other small urns at the four points of the compass. Behind these the sky column with the four points of the compass indicated on it is set up. It is not driven into the ground, but

[75 cont.]

*778
346

is held by hand for the time being while the men in great haste pile up the clay cones, basketful after basketful, over the urns and around the base of the column until the latter remains standing by itself. Once the urns are covered to a certain level, all kinds of additions are once more scattered over them, the kinds of things that the urns already contain and which have been left over for the purpose. Now, with the same ceremonies, the second layer follows with the next four urns, which are grouped precisely around their large urn, the latter being placed directly over the large urn below. And again the clay chorten are piled over them until finally the urns are buried under a pyramid and only the upper part of the column remains visible. -- The column comes to stand on the side of the urns facing a mountain, which, in this mountainous terrain, can be seen immediately.

Before the column is buried by the many chorten, it is sprinkled once more with holy water and fumigated (5). During

[532]

5. [Foreign text p. 78,] As monks in Kumbum said, before the erection of sky column, a floor drawing or a leaf of paper with a drawing is first placed on the ground (mandala). The informant was of the opinion that this is not always the case. It is noteworthy that this drawing has exactly the same name as the central fort, namely, sdziñkuor. This would indicate that in both cases the same thought is involved.

the entire ceremony, from morning until evening, the great incense offering is burned in front of the spot or at several places in the vicinity. At the conclusion, even the lama himself makes the incense offering before the consecrated and fumigated chorten-mountain with the column, while everybody kowtows.

Afterwards he again sits down on his mat and proceeds with his prayers. Meanwhile the chamber is built with great haste. First the four corner posts are erected and connected

[75 cont.]

*778 with one another at the same height at the top. The leader
346 brings 12 loaves and some liquor and places them on a tray before the chorten-mountain. The carpenters lay the ridge-piece by it. Into it they have drilled a hole, filled it with grain and butter, and closed it again with a wooden cover. The leader binds an ell of red cloth around this place -- it is the middle. Then they burn incense and kowtow. At the same time the tools are put on a small measure of grain before the loaves.
[483] The carpenters now climb on the frame and draw up the ridge-piece by ropes. The leader then throws two loaves of bread up to them, which they throw back; likewise the liquor is handed up to them, which they drink. Only now do the carpenters put the ridge-piece on the supports, exactly above the sky column. The latter, however, does not touch the ridge-piece, but towers up in the center, not quite reaching the ridge. --
[783] The ridge-piece is likewise sprinkled with pure water beforehand and fumigated with incense and the red-hot stone.

Now the carpenters again climb down, and the men begin to erect the wall between the corner posts. When these have reached about 50 centimeters, so that the chorten can no longer roll out, they pause. Once again incense leaves are scattered over the chorten-mountain and then work is resumed, evenly on all four sides. At head level a gap is left on each side. They immediately continue to build the wall up to the roof and everything is immediately covered with clay mortar. The roof is also [76] immediately covered. When everything is dry, the outside is whitewashed. -- If it is not finished on the same day, work is continued on the next day.

Towards the end the lama once again makes a torma and places it in front of the chorten chamber. One again burns incense, blows the conch, and kowtows. Then everyone, even the women, go around the chamber, as around an obo. -- Frequently the lama once again sprinkles the new chorten chamber
[527] with holy water after the whitewashing; then all go home and celebrate the event with a feast, singing, dancing, and drinking.

[782] Veneration of the chorten chamber: Later the chorten chamber is venerated on certain days by a procession around it

[76 cont.]

*778 and incense, as an obo is. On these occasions new clay cones
346 are thrown into it through the gaps. Usually this is on the first,
782 eighth, and fifteenth day of the month. At other times, too, however, in case of emergency and misfortune, the people venerate the chorten chamber. The procession always goes from west to east, in other words, not in the direction of the course of the sun.

*778 Meaning: The chorten chamber is connected with the
[776] mountain-spirit and earth-god. The column establishes the
[772] connection with the sky. The chamber holds down the hostile
[751] earth-influences. Thus it protects against misfortune and illness (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 79.] The urn, the mountain, and the tree are essential for the bẽṅkãṅ. Therefore it belongs in the same conceptual
[772] realm as the central fort in the yard, namely, the widespread myth of heaven and earth, joined (or separated) by the world-tree. In this connection, in the case of the central fort the mani-flag might be Lamaist-secondary, and in the case of the chorten chamber the sasa-mountain, which consists of the mani-cones, as they are sometimes called. -- Now that a house is built over it, it is probably quite secondary. It evidently only has the function of protection and no inner relationship to its contents. It is striking that the sky column likewise is not erected as the bearer of the ridge-piece; it is freestanding and does not extend to the beam.
[771] Also, in the case of the customs

[76 cont.]

*778
171

[Note on foreign text p. 79 cont.] connected with the erection of the chamber no inner relationship to the content finds expression. These are the same customs that are practiced in connection with all housebuilding by the Tsinghai Chinese.

Word List

192
*778

Chorten chamber: bẽṅkãṅ (Tib. loanword) = countless chamber (house) (1) [see Note 1 above].
ger-kãṅ, ger (Tuj.) = house, kãṅ = chamber.
ma-ni lou (Chin.) = mani-house (high house).

Sky column: sõṅ-siṅ (Tib. loanword) - protective tree (wood) (7).
t'ung-t'ien chu (Chin.) = to connect sky column.

7. [Foreign text p. 79.] sõṅ siṅ: Tibetan skyoṅ = to preserve, protect, siṅ = wood. -- sasa: Tibetan ts'a ts'a = little conical clay cones. -- sena: Tibetan sna = group, category. -- šder: Tibetan gser = gold. -- wsirẽ: Tibetan byi-ru (pronounced šuru) = coral. -- sõdãṅ: could ~~come~~ from the Chinese (?). ts'u-t'ang - vinegar-pool. -- sguora: Tibetan skor ba = to circle around. -- rẽduombẽṅ: Tibetan rdõ = stone, 'bum = 100,000 (Unkrig).

Clay chorten, clay cone: sasa (Tib. loanword), tza-tza (4) [see Note 4 above].

[76 cont.]

192 hung ni-tan-tzu (Chin.) = red clay clods.

*778 Gaps in the wall: tsiäṅguäṅ = windows.

The great urn: lha-wum (Tib.) = spirit urn (receptacle).

ġlo-wum (Tib.) = earth-god urn.

ġlo-wum gõṅluo (Tuj.) = earth-god urn receptacle.

The small urns: snoġ dër (Tib. loanword) = magic-urn.

Contents of the receptacle: rdzē (Tib.).

yang-wu (Chin.) = things.

Mountain-earth: sa-sena (Tib.) (7) [see Note 7 above]; siru = earth.

Water: tsü-sena (Tib.); fdzë = water.

Wood: siṅ sena (Tib.); mõdë = wood.

Buddha gold: sdzer (7) [see Note 7 above]; sädoġ (Tib.).

Mother of pearl ? wsirë (Tib.) (7) [see Note 7 above]; shan-hu (Chin.) = coral.

Precious stone: mädoġ (Tib.) = flower; chen-chu = jewel.

Earth-god spice: ġlo-smän (Tib. loanword).

Little water-bowl: dõṅsär (Tib. loanword).

Black incense: gukual

hei-hsiang (Chin.).

[782] Prayer of consecration: rami.

Red earth: fulan siru; huang-tan (Chin.) = yellow ocher.

[77]

[789] Magic formulas: snaġ (snoġ).

Mandala drawing: sdzi ṅkuor (Tib. loanword).

Ridge-piece: chung-leang (Chin.) = center beam.

Red-hot stone: ts'u-t'an, ch'ü-t'an (Chin.); sõdäṅ; sõdäṅ (7) [see Note 7 above].

Procession around the chorten chamber: sguora (Tib. loanword).

[Pages 77-79 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 79, and the next section begins on p. 620.]

[620]

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IV. Customs concerning the Human Being

* See "Notes," p. 622 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

846 Soon after the birth of a child one makes the happy event
[851] known to the family of the mother of the woman in childbed.
The mother then comes to visit her daughter. The other rela-
[431] tives, however, come only after one month. They bring gifts
and hold a feast. On the morning of this day the child is
[553] solemnly given a name, and in the evening it is brought before
the gate of the yard for the reception of the shepherd. Then
[527] there is singing and drinking and dancing into the night.
[852]

Details

Birth announcement: Three days after the birth of a
[851] boy or girl, the father-in-law of the woman in childbed takes
a little jug of liquor and some oil-baking and goes to the family
[273] of his daughter-in-law. It is immediately apparent why he has
come to visit, and he need only tell the day and the hour of
birth and whether it is a boy or girl. After they have drunk the
[593] liquor, the mother goes directly to her daughter in order to take
care of what needs to be done. She stays there a few days and
then often repeats her visit.

846 Conclusion of the confinement: Exactly 29 days after
431 the birth, in other words, on the thirtieth day, the parents and
nearest relatives of the woman in childbed appear at her
husband's house. They bring clothing for the child [621] and
[262] the woman (a long upper garment and shoes) and, further, four
large loaves of bread, oil-cakes, and other baked goods. The

[621 cont.]

846 431 [262] loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter, and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

[858] [822] Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

553 791 [787] [592] Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the master of the household gives the great incense offering in the yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the [778] child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

551

3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guãnbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guãmbo; ifulã sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sẽrãṅ (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; lǎsdze sẽrãṅ, pass-peak-palace; tuguãn ula, mountain of the Tuguãn. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

[621 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 622 cont.] the father or grandfather or someone else in the family was just fifty years old, but the mother's family has no influence on such names. For boys, instead of mdzuo (full) one says serãṅ, that is, roughly "sublime." Other names are, for example, wadma sdzig, that is, lotus flower, for girls; or wadma sdzia, that is, dedicated to the lotus, for boys. -- The Chinese, too, have a similar custom. They, for example, take a boy to the temple of the black tiger and then call him "dedicated to the black tiger," hei-hu-pao; or "dedicated to the mother," niang-niang-pao, when they have put the child under the protection of the mother-goddess in the temple. The Chinese pao and the sdzia of the Tujen have the same meaning.

[171]

5. [Foreign text p. 622.] sẽrãṅ: Tibetan sraṅ (?) = dwelling, settlement (Unkrig).

553 child to eat; he likewise offers it tea. It is not the child, how-
791 ever, but the mother who eats the gifts. Then everyone makes a threefold kowtow in the house to the soothsayer and the Buddha image, and outside to the sky.

If the spear-spirit desires that the family elder should
[592] give the name, the latter performs the same ceremonies, but the soothsayer supervises the performance with the trembling spear. Also, the kowtow is then made to the family elder. --
553 This ceremony is usually undertaken by the grandfather or
592 father, or by the man who is the master in the family (4). It
[792]

[621 cont.]

553 [592] [792]

4. [Foreign text p. 622.] A lama can also perform the ceremony. This is rarely done, however. Usually the father or kin-group elder does it.

is never a woman or a relative from the family of the woman in childbed.

Following the name-giving or in the course of the day, the mother with the child in her arms must kowtow to all the guests; for this she receives a small gift of money for the child. -- Towards noon the family holds a general feast, for men and women separately. On this occasion much barley wine is drunk, and there is singing and dancing.

[431] [527] [273] [562]

852 Reception of the shepherd: Towards evening, when the animals are expected back from the pasture, the father or the mother takes the infant in his arms and takes it out in front of the gate of the yard, where they meet the homecoming herd. The shepherd must give the child some money, and in return the father gives him a loaf of bread which he must eat immediately. This custom is called "to welcome the shepherd"; the Chinese say "to welcome the sheep" (2). -- The guests

[431] [553]

[171] [846]

2. [Foreign text p. 622.] The reception of the shepherd is also found among the Chinese, just as the termination of the confinement generally is almost the same among them. In the region of Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) I learned from the missionary there, P. Frick, that the people place the child in the manger so that it may later own many herds and become a good horseman. This custom could not be confirmed for the Tujen.

[621 cont.]

852 take no further notice of this ceremony, but drink and dance
553 far into the night; then they gradually scatter. Only the closest relatives of the young mother stay until the next day.

[622]

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Word List

846 To be in childbed: sara sōdzi = she sits out the month; tsuo yüeh (Chin.).

To terminate the confinement: sara durgeni = she terminates the month.

ch'u-yüeh (Chin.) = to step out of the month.

man-yüeh (Chin.) = to fulfill the month.

[852] Reception of the shepherd: asdzi dzēlie-; ying-yang (Chin.) = to welcome the sheep.

[Page 622 contains the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

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527

2. The First Birthday*

* See "Notes," pp. 623-625 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[787] On the first birthday the father puts the child on the kang and
[302] places various things before it. From the object that the child
[778] grasps it can be seen what it will become in later life. After that its hair is cut and this is hung on the arrow of good fortune.

Details

852 787 The oracle: On the morning of the anniversary of the birth, the father brings the child into the main house or into the kitchen and sets it on the kang. He places a kang table with three little baked loaves of bread, five steamed loaves of bread, and a cup of tea in front of it. Next to it, for a boy, he puts a span-long bow with a small arrow, brush, paper, and money; for a girl, these are needle, yarn, ell, scissors, knife. The three little baked loaves signify the three Buddhistic world-
[776] spirits (2). The five steamed loaves symbolize the five blessings

2. [Foreign text p. 624.] It could not be ascertained which three names are individually involved. sãṅrēdzi (Illuminated One) is the title for the Tulkus; cf. section, "The Lama-reception," and Note 6 below.

[777] of good fortune: age, wealth, health, virtue, blessed death (1).
[171]

1. [Foreign text pp. 623.] Chinese and Tibetan conceptions are mixed in the explanation of these loaves, for the Chinese also have this birthday ceremony. The Chinese proverb, wu fu p'eng shou, the five good-fortune-[624] (signs) hold up the age-(sign). A custom at New Year's: The sign shou is written in the center of a red paper, and in a circle around it the five signs for good fortune, fu.

The parents give the child some of the bread to eat and let it drink tea, or the mother suckles it. Then they ask it to grasp at the things on the kang table. If the boy grasps
[778] money, he will be an industrious tradesman; if he seizes bow

[623 cont.]

852 and arrow, he will be a strong warrior; if he grasps brush and
787 paper, he will be a learned scholar. It is similar for the girl.
778 The object that is chosen by the child is hung on the arrow of good fortune (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 624.] Concerning the arrow of good fortune, cf. the appropriate section. Tying the object grasped by the child to the arrow is supposed to preserve the child's strength so it will develop in the direction indicated. On the arrow of good fortune in the yard of my informant, I saw a large number of miniature bows, arrows, and balls of hair of his children and grandchildren.

302 The haircut: The child still has downy hair because it
852 has not been shorn since birth. Now the father or some other man takes it in his arms and takes it into the yard. There another man shaves its head, regardless of whether it is a boy or a girl. One or two tufts of hair remain standing on the back of
[778] the head (4). The father twists the hair between the palms of

4. [Foreign text p. 624.] The tufts of hair that are left were probably intended as beginnings for the later hairdress (queue). It could not be determined whether they might perhaps have something to do with a con-
[171] secrated Buddha-tuft, as, for example, among the Lolo; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa, I-chia. In any case the tufts of hair are nowadays shaved off again. Probably the tufts, like the custom as a whole, were taken over from the Chinese. The Chinese call these children's hair-tufts tsung-chiao

[624 cont.]

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852

[Note on foreign text p. 624 cont.] (roughly = little head horn). To what extent they thereby characterize childhood is shown by the expression tsung-chiao chih chiao, friendship since childhood (literally, little head horn connection).

[778] his hands into a little roll and twirls one thread out of it with which he ties it to the arrow of good fortune. Formerly these strands were drawn through a coin with a hole in it, and this, together with the ball of hair, was hung on the arrow. The hair of the children thus remain on the arrow of good fortune throughout their lives.

852 [782] Then the father goes with the child and the arrow of good fortune into the yard and makes the great incense offering. On this occasion the child kowtows to the sky for the first time. After the offering the arrow is taken back to its original place (5).

[527]
[177]
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5. [Foreign text pp. 624-625.] The first birthday celebration was evidently taken over from the Chinese there. An example of how it is practiced elsewhere in China, taken from J. Doolittle, Social Life (p. 90), will be presented here for the sake of clarity: "On the first birthday the mother is presented with another thank-offering, and other gifts of clothing and food are received by the grandmother on the maternal side. If it is a boy, a pair of shoes and a cap are found among other items of clothing; if it is a girl, then arm bands and head ornaments are also found among other articles of clothing. The preparations for the thank-offering

[623 cont.]

852
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[Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.]
are carried out by the grandmother on the maternal side ..." etc. "Before this festival is celebrated, a large bamboo sieve, such as the farmers use for screening the grain, is placed on the table before the ancestral tablets, where incense and candles have already been lighted. On this sieve are placed a series of coins, a pair of scissors, an ell measure, a copper mirror, brush, inks, paper, inkstone, one or two books, the abacus, a gold or silver ornamental object or some other implement, fruit, etc. The child wears the new clothes which it has just been given and is put on the sieve amidst the objects. Now it is a question of what the child grasps first, holds, and plays with. This moment has an exceedingly great fascination for the parents and assembled friends. It is said that the object the child seizes first indicates its later activities, profession, character, and position in the world. If the child is a boy and seizes a book or an object that has something to do with literature, such as a brush or ink, then one assumes that he will be a great scholar. If he grasps the money or [625] gold and silver objects, then he will be famous on account of his wealth and skill in acquiring money. Once in the Sung dynasty a girl, when she was a year old and had been set on the sieve, first grasped two little miniature weapons with one hand and with the other two vessels such as are used for certain offerings on state occasions. After a few minutes she laid these things

[623 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.]
down again and grasped a seal. She then no longer paid any attention to the things that lay before her. And now the result: this girl became chancellor of an imperial realm." -- The oracle at this birthday celebration corresponds essentially with that of the Tujen.

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The Tujen celebrate birthdays otherwise, too, both men and women, but only from the forty-fifth year on. A feast is held, at which all the relatives take part. As presents, nine loaves of bread are customary. Eight steamed loaves signify the eight genii, pa-hsien, and one loaf represents the god of age, shou-hsing (star of age). Towards sundown, all go outside to the graves and give the ancestral offering. Then they go home and drink and dance into the night. -- As the names show, this custom is also borrowed from the Chinese. The Tujen originally had no ancestral offering; to the Chinese, on the other hand, the arrow of good fortune and the dance with song are foreign.

[769]

[177]
[769]

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Word List

[844] To give birth: tōrō-.
[527] Birthday: tōrōdzān udur; or contracted, tōrōdzūdur.
To celebrate the birthday: tōrōdzūdur nogdzi-.
That woman has given birth: nie bieri tōrōdzia.
When were you born? tsini kidzie tōrōwa?
Yes, I am really celebrating: nogdzidza ligunadzi.

192 776 [623 cont.]
The three world-spirits: dier xsēm sañrēdzi (6) (Tib. manner of speaking).

6. [Foreign text p. 625.] dier xsēm sañrēdzi: xsēm = Tib. gsum = three; sañrēdzi = Tib. sañs -rgyas = widespread splendor = Buddhistic title for incarnation. -- dier cannot be identified; it must be Tibetan, however, and mean the same as "region, world." I would like to connect it with the three worlds of the Bon; cf. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], p. 139; Francke, Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 5 ff. -- This tripartition is also familiar to the Chinese; one has only to think of the Taoistic san-ching or the Buddhistic san-chieh.

192 777 The five blessings of good fortune: wu-fu (Chin.).

[Pages 623-625 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[625] 527 3. The New Year's Festival*

* See "Notes," pp. 628-629 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[171] [574] The New Year is celebrated by the Tujen at the same time as by the Chinese. In the first days they rest from all work,

[625 cont.]

527 dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
[574] moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.

Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared. During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
[782] day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an
[888] offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated, joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon

3. [Foreign text p. 628.]
[113] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.

relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.

From the second day on the people make New Year's
[628] visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

[533] gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

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[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
[262] are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
[273] a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
[356] house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

[626 cont.]

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[354]

1. [Foreign text p. 628.]
The lamps are large copper butter-lamps or the small copper bowls. -- If there is no mani-tree, the red lamp is hung on a roof slat in front of the door of the main house. This lamp is very likely copied from the Chinese celestial lantern. The Chinese, too, draw up such a lamp on a tall mast in the yard, like a flag, and let it burn every night. It is called t'ien-teng, that is, celestial lamp.

[177]

[356] the window newly plastered. In recent times the Tujen also
[177] write vernal sayings on red paper, like the Chinese, and paste them to the door posts. This was formerly not the case.

[573] Night watch: During the night before New Year's Day sleeping is not allowed. The old people say: "Please do not sleep tonight, the gods want to be welcomed early tomorrow morning." Therefore the master of the household stays up with his whole family. They partake liberally of tea, liquor, and the New Year's food, sing and converse until dawn.

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[888]

New Year's morning: At the first cockcrow after midnight even the last stragglers put on their best clothes. Only the very old in the family remain lying on the kang. The master of the household puts large, burning butter- or oil-lamps in the room on the household altar. In the yard he hangs a red paper lantern with a butter-lamp to the mani-tree (1) [see Note 1 above]. It is attached to a transverse strip on it. Then outside, with the entire family, he gives the great incense offering, and everyone makes a threefold kowtow to the sky out in the open. The same is repeated before the household altar for the countless other spirits. During this time a stone is made red-hot in the
[783] hearth fire, and with this glowing stone all the rooms of the compound are fumigated. At the same time the conch is blown. The fumigation may also be done by women (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 628.] The

[626 cont.]

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[783]
[789]

[Note on foreign text p. 628 cont.] The fumigating with the red-hot stone is supposed to purify the house and drive away the demons, like the exploding of rockets.

Then a second offering follows. The master of the household takes little sticks of incense, one for each member of the family, and lights them in the room above the lamp. Then he goes out around the mani-pole and, with all the members of the family, makes a threefold kowtow to the sky, facing the main house. He puts the little sticks in the incense oven on the round manger. Then the same ceremony is repeated in the house before the household altar, where the new little sticks continue to smolder in the incense basin. During the entire ceremony rockets and cannons are fired in order to scare away the demons. Together with the incense, yellow paper is also burned, exactly as among the Chinese (8).

[789]
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8. [Foreign text p. 629.] As among the Chinese, the hearth-god is also carried off and on New Year's morning is again festively carried in. I was unable to learn anything concerning an original Tujen ceremony with respect to the hearth fire. Since time immemorial an incense offering has been made to the hearth-god, but it is uncertain whether on this occasion cypress twigs were thrown into the fire. Nowadays little sticks of incense are generally put on the wall behind the hearth, precisely as among the Chinese.

[776]
[372]

Another fire ceremony takes place in the first full-moon night of the year from the fourteenth to the fifteenth day. Young people light a series of little straw fires (10 to 15) on the path or on

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[626 cont.]

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[372]
[783]
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[Note on foreign text p. 629 cont.]
the threshing floor and jump over them. It is said that this is done in order to become pure; others say it is only for fun. The Chinese there, who also have this custom, maintain that it is an old Chinese practice. They also tell a legend about it, which I have forgotten. It has something to do with a battle ruse of old heroes whose memory one wants to celebrate. -- For the purificatory fire, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 9.

[177]

It is precisely in the New Year's practices that the strong mixture with Chinese customs appears, so that in individual instances it is impossible to say definitely what originally belonged to the Tujen. One can safely ascribe to them, however, the ying-hsi ceremony, renewal of the animal consecration, and above all the dancing and singing of songs, which the Chinese do not know.

[821]

The dances with song point to a close connection with the waxing moon, since they are usually performed at night on the fifteenth day, even throughout the night. It is almost as though the New Year's festival applies primarily to the new moon. After the first full moon, everything is quite suddenly broken off.

Once the incense ceremony is over, the master of the household places a table in the yard before the round manger. On it are put trays with five steamed loaves, five oil-loaves, three tagur loaves, and all kinds of baked goods (3) [see Note 3 above]. Then a bowl of barley wine is poured out and a

[626 cont.]
527 threefold kowtow is again made to the sky. The same ceremony
782 is repeated before the household altar for the other gods.

[627] Gratulation: Meanwhile, the old people of the
527 household have also arisen. Now they, too, pay their New Year's
888 reverence to the sky and the countless spirits. Then they sit
576 down on the kang with the master of the household and the family elder for tea and receive the kowtow from their sons and daughters. Then the general breakfast takes place. The children kowtow before their parents, the younger siblings before the older siblings, the younger cousins before the older cousins, etc. The old ones give younger ones some money.

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527 The welcoming of joy: Towards midday the welcoming
[776] of the god of joy takes place. For this one drives the animals onto the threshing floor, makes an offering of bread and wine, burns incense, waters the animals, and again drives them home. This practice is exactly the same as among the Chinese (7).

[787] 7. [Foreign text p. 629.] At New Year's the Tujen also question all kinds of oracles in a way similar to that of the Chinese, for example, the feed oracle, in connection with which one feeds the animals with various kinds of bread in order to prophesy concerning the harvest (cf. Schröder, "Ying-hsi, and Note 3 above). Another oracle is the ice-breaking. Young boys and men go to the river, take a sheet of ice, and break it apart. In the break lines pictures of species of grain are recognizable; the species that appear most clearly may be expected to have the best harvest during the year. This oracle is also found among the Chinese.

[627 cont.]

527 782 Obo veneration: At the same time or still in the early hours of the morning some family representatives go outside to venerate the obo. On this occasion, after the stone throwing, the air-horses, which are printed on yellow paper, are released. They flutter and whirl about in the wind as a sign of good fortune for the family (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 628.]
Cf. section, "The Mani-tree,"
Note 7.

527 574 Gratulation visits: At midday the villagers visit one another. One takes five to six loaves of bread, sticks of incense, yellow paper, and a little jug of barley wine and goes to the family with which one is friendly. There the guest places the bread before the household altar, lights the little sticks, burns the paper, and pours a few drops of wine on the floor. After that he kowtows before the altar and gratulates the master of the household as well as the individual members of the family. [576] The one of lower standing or the younger one must always kowtow to the one of higher standing on this occasion. Then they sit down on the kang around the fire, drink tea or wine, converse, and sing. Sometimes a round of dancing also follows in the yard.

When women go gratulating, they take no wine, incense, or paper with them, but only bread and tea. They put the bread on the altar, pour some tea on the ground, and then kowtow. They never sit with the men on a kang, however.

It is obligatory that the younger relatives go to the older relatives. In any case on New Year's Day itself one stays in the village. Only from the second day on do the friends and relatives living farther away visit one another.

527 533 Entertainment: During the first 14 days of the new year the people meet every evening at moonrise in the yards. Incense is burned and singers who tell legends are invited. They take turns singing competitively, during which two persons grasp each other by a lappet of the coat. When one of them

[627 cont.]
527 cannot sing or sings incorrectly, his opponent cuts a piece from
533 the lappet. Thus one can sing away his whole garment in an evening.

Above all, the young people meet on the threshing floor and in a circle sing all kinds of songs. This lasts the entire
[883] night, especially at the first [628] full moon. Only towards morning do they stop. Boys and girls mingle freely in the circle. Small boys dressed in reversed hides represent demons and beat on pieces of wood; others imitate Chinese traders, play all kinds of tricks, etc. (5).

[535]
[171]

5. [Foreign text pp. 628-629.] These round dances are exactly like those among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiafandse. Men and women and boys and girls form [629] a circle. One person leads the song and also indicates the dance movement. The others sing the refrain and repeat the movement together. They also dance in twos to the rhythm of the song. These dances are also performed generally at entertainments, for example, at a wedding, upon the arrival of the lama, etc. There are many kinds of the songs. They are divided into two groups: family songs, which are decent and are sung in the house; wild songs, whose content, taken from love-life, is usually quite crude. The melodies to a great ex-
[171] tent are the same as among the Fandse. Besides Tujen songs Chinese and Tibetan songs are also sung. The song
[539] given here is Tibetan in its original
[883] text. -- At these moonlight dances the young people spend the entire night out in the open, and more than

[628 cont.]

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[533]
[883]

[Note on foreign text pp. 628-629 cont.]
one couple is seen disappearing off to one side. Concerning the types of songs, cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder."

After the fifteenth day the common workaday life begins
[262] again. The many oil-loaves, however, are eaten for a long time.

[539]
[533]

Song: On New Year's the following song is popularly sung:

1. On New Year's one makes a kowtow to the sky, burns incense, and then one eats.
2. If you observe the laws of the emperor, in later life you will become a minister
3. If you do not forget the kind deeds of the parents, you will later live long.

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Word List

New Year: šeni sara = new month.
To celebrate the New Year: šeni sara nogdzini.
Last day of the old year: tsiafudzarē šēlõn = of the thirtieth evening.
udurdza xuänuo = day - late.
To slaughter pigs: xgeni ala-.
[252] To bake oil-baking: tsiänguor tsina-.
To distill wine: dērasēngē dzinlie-.
To roll thin noodles: narin šēlõnge dielge-.
To steam pastry: šëmienge dzinlie-.
To bake Tachur bread: tagur šdimienge sira-.
To celebrate the thirtieth when it grows dark: xara wolgu tsiafudzar nogdzi-.
Please do not sleep today, the gods are to be welcomed early tomorrow morning: niu šēlõn bi ndēra, malõn siernege purgan dzëliegu-.
To burn a little stick of incense: gudzi šda-; shao-hsiang (Chin.).
To burn paper: bio šda; shao huang piao (Chin.).

192 [628 cont.]
527 The welcoming of joy: ying hsi (Chin.).

[Pages 628-629 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[630] 4. The Age-blessing*

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* See "Notes," pp. 634-635 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[792] Old people, men and women, invite the lama to bless and instruct them. This is a great family festival. It is prepared a long time in advance.

On a certain day acquaintances and relatives come and bring the old person presents and gratulate him. They are [574] treated with tea and cake. There is singing and dancing and a feast is held. The young people fetch the hutukhtu. When he arrives, the women of the village dance, and incense is burned in the yard. The hutukhtu blesses the guests at the feast and the old person.

In the afternoon the age-consecration is performed. The hutukhtu makes a number of tormas, which are carried off. Then the old person kneels on the felt mat before the hutukhtu, is blessed with holy water, receives instructions, and is girdled with a yellow sash. He then resembles a lay monk. The mother's [792] brother determines what compensation the hutukhtu is to receive. [465] The next morning the hutukhtu returns to his monastery.

The consecrated person must now observe special commandments, must withdraw on the first and fifteenth of the [785] month for meditation, and fast and pray. -- Not all people can afford this celebration, for it is very expensive.

[630 cont.]

Details

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The consecrated person: The person may be a woman or a man. He must be advanced in age; usually he is around sixty years old. At this age they are pious and reflective and are better able to observe the prescriptions. Young people are eager for life, violent, and uncontrolled. The consecration is done only by an incarnation, hutukhtu, not by an ordinary lama.

[792]

Preparations: The preparations are carried out in consultation with the mother's brother. He determines the day and the hutukhtu who is to be invited. Since the whole village takes part in the celebration, money is saved a long time in advance. Sheep, pigs, or a cow are slaughtered; oil-baking, bread, and oil-sticks, san-tzu, are baked for provisions; the house and yard are put in order, liquor is distilled, new clothes are purchased, and the gifts for the hutukhtu are provided. The latter, a few days in advance, sends one or several monks who put the room in order for him and prepare the kitchen, so that he may live and eat worthily.

[604] [621] [262]

Gratulation and reception of guests: On the day set, the person to be consecrated puts on his best clothes and stays in a clean side room. The visitors, relatives, and [631] guests come early in the forenoon. They gratulate the person to be consecrated and bring a gift; usually they wrap a hada around it, which they solemnly hand to the person. The gifts are put on a chest in a room, usually in front of a household altar. Bread, oil-baking, cloth, hadas, silver money, etc. are given. A master of ceremonies is designated so that all may go according to custom and order.

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Of the guests, the mother's brother is the person of greatest respect. One goes toward him and hands him a hada. When he comes, the person to be consecrated steps down from the kang and receives him. He then hands the gifts to him and is treated with tea and cake in the place of honor. Then everyone together drinks tea and liquor and breaks pieces of oil-sticks into the bowls. -- Aside from the mother's brother, the daughter's

[604] [431]

[631 cont.]

527 778 888 [431] husband and the daughter's children must give a hada and money to the person to be consecrated. In return they later receive greater remuneration when they depart.

[574] [562] Feast: The feast takes place in the yard, first for the men, then for the women. Three fields are divided off, right and left for guests, and in the center for the mother's brother with the two closest relatives. These three sit on a felt mat on even ground with their backs to the main door of the main house and have before them a low kang table with the dishes; they are served separately by the master of ceremonies. On the two fields to the right and left, straw is scattered in a square; heavy planks are put in front of it and sometimes also mats, which are to represent the tables. In the middle of each square there burns a fire in which tea and liquor are warmed.

[264] [574] The food is introduced with tsamba and tea, which is taken with butter and milk. Mutton or pork follows; the fatter it is, the better liked and more superior it is. A considerable amount is drunk. Rice follows as the main dish, which is mixed with butter and sugar and sweet roots. -- The women eat after the men. -- During the meal there are always some free, who sing and dance.

527 778 888 792 604 Settling the prayer fee: After the meal, the master of ceremonies pours out liquor for the mother's brother. The sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law kneel down before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies hands him a hada and starts the negotiations over the price. The mother's brother demands expensive gifts and much money for the lama; the master of ceremonies, through his rhetorical skill, must gradually lower the demands, until finally a suitable sum is agreed upon. Then the sons and daughters stand up, kowtow, thank the mother's brother, and go. This is similar to what is done at the pai-ta before the cremation (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 634.] For further details, see chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation." Here, too, the

[631 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 634 cont.]
prominent position of the mother's brother is particularly striking.

Arrival of the lama: The day before or early in the morning, horsemen have ridden to the lamasery to fetch the hutukhtu. He comes towards midday and is led into the house with the usual ceremonies. On the threshing floor before the yard gate the women dance and sing with all their might. In the yard the incense offering is burned and the conch [632] is blown. The lama is led to the kang in the main house; there he rests and drinks tea.

[604]

After a considerable time, the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies introduce themselves to him, give him a hada, and request him to bless the guests at the celebration. Outside, before the door of the main house, he sits down on a chair, and all pass by with bent heads, the mother's brother first. The hutukhtu touches the crown or the forehead of each one with his heavy prayer book. This is called the lama-blessing, from which the entire ceremony gets its name (2). --

[788]

2. [Foreign text p. 634.] Cf. chapter, "Reception of the Lama." I could ascertain no name other than lama ndziala; ndziala has a whole series of meanings, among others: to invite a hutukhtu. Because the age-consecration is the greatest familial religious event to which the hutukhtu is invited, it is simply called the "invitation." It is a ceremony in which a special relationship to monasticism is established through the consecration.

[192]

The person to be consecrated does not come, but waits until later.

[632 cont.]

527 The age-consecration: After the usual butter-lamps and
778 little bowls have been set before the household altar in the main
888 house, the assisting lama makes a few tormas, among them a
792 little one. The tormas are placed on a tray before the household altar.

On the floor before the kang of the hutukhtu a felt mat is spread and the little torma is put on it. The person to be consecrated enters, followed by the mother's brother and his children, kneels barefoot and bareheaded (the women without a headdress and with their braids hanging down) on the mat, kowtows three times, and remains kneeling before the torma.

The hutukhtu prays over the candidate for consecration. The latter holds out his cupped hands, into which the hutukhtu pours holy water from his can. He drinks it. There follows a second pouring into the cupped hands. The candidate for consecration rinses his mouth with it and spits the water twice over the torma. He washes his head with the third portion of water poured into his cupped hands. Finally the last pouring follows, with which he washes his face (4).

[783]

4. [Foreign text p. 634.] Washing, of course, plays an important role in all consecration ceremonies; even Buddha images are washed before they become "ensouled." In this connection, cf. also Filchner, Kumbum, pp. 267 ff.; Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141; furthermore the chapter, Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation."

After that the hutukhtu sprinkles him with holy water from the can and throws Tibetan barley over him, on which he has blown three times. He consecrates the water with the spices in advance, after the tormas are finished. For the sprinkling he uses the peacock feather, not a twig from the tree of life.

Now the master of ceremonies, the husbands of the daughters, and children take the torma that stands before the

[632 cont.]

527 candidate out into the yard and throw it away. The mother's
778 brother stays there, and after that only own children still appear.
888 They stand or kneel in the side room behind the person to be
792 consecrated and shut the door, because only a few people may be present. Only the person to be consecrated remains in the lama-room, kneeling before the kang.

The candidate for consecration now washes himself again in the manner described above, is again sprinkled with holy water, and has Tibetan barley thrown at him. The master of ceremonies takes an iron spoon, puts in it some of the red-hot material from the fire-basin of the lama, scatters pounded cypress incense on it, and the lama throws fragrant spices over
[713] it. The person to be consecrated is fumigated all around with this and is now completely pure. The hutukhtu gives the consecration prayer over him and instructs him regarding the com-
[785] mandments that he must observe from now on. These commandments relate to fasting, abstention, the prohibition against killing, prayer, etc. They vary somewhat for men and women. [633] The instruction is given in the Tujen language so that the candidate will understand it.

Now follows the donning of the yellow sash. It is about
[292] a hand wide and four to five ells long. It is not supposed to be silk. Silk mixed with cotton is permitted, but usually it is cotton. The candidate must provide it himself. This sash lies before the hutukhtu on the kang table and is fumigated at the same time as the person to be consecrated. It is not sprinkled with holy water. The assisting lama places the sash over the candidate's left shoulder and ties it together under the right arm
[292] with a yellow string that has likewise been fumigated. The cloth has the same name as the loop of cloth that the lamas throw over the shoulder.

Since the consecration does not take place until late afternoon, it has meanwhile become evening. Only now does the hutukhtu partake of the main meal. In the yard, however, the guests gather around the fire, warm their liquor, and sing and dance into the night.

The next morning the hutukhtu performs his usual morn-
[465] ing prayers, drinks tea, and receives his prayer fee: several

[633 cont.]

527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
792 brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
[431] oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[465] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him. A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
[792] after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed
[766] by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
[262] longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation. This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[633 cont.]

778 incense offering in the morning. Then he withdraws to the kang,
888 drinks "empty tea," that is, pure tea without additions and without
[785] food. He meditates and prays on his mani-string. No one may disturb him, even when guests come; he likewise does not concern himself about anything. During this time he may not sleep. Also, he may not go into the temple or to the obo. Only in the afternoon does he partake of a meal, which, however, is better and more ample than usual (5).

[527] 5. [Foreign text pp. 634-635.] Concerning the whole affair, cf. Filchner, Kumbum, p. 199. The ceremony described here is much more detailed than there and also deviates somewhat. The name Upāsaka (or Upāsika) was not mentioned by the informant. Also, he did not know the prescriptions in detail. He did confirm, however, that after each commandment the candidate had to affirm that he would observe it. The old man had not had the consecration performed for him. The people regard the consecrated persons as lay gelong; one is reminded here of the similarity with the third order in the Christian Occident.

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778 It is also clear from the commandments why young people are not considered for the consecration. To be sure, this consecration can be completed at any age at or after death; at that time even young people are no longer capable of transgressing the commandments. The age-consecration seems to be merely the last step of a series of consecrations of laymen which are undertaken parallel with the consecration stages of the lamas. The

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[633 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 634-635 cont.] The informant once mentioned a kind of baptism at which the dǰawdzi (Tib.) is prayed; in Chinese this prayer is called hsi-lien-ching, prayer of washing the face. Evidently the [635] ceremony observed by Filchner was such a boy's baptism; Om mani padme hum, loc. cit. Later there follows a second consecration for young people, which is called gãṅsgur (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 below] after the corresponding prayer, in Chinese san-hun ching, prayer of the three souls. So the informant told me. Unfortunately I could no longer record these ceremonies.

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Word List

778 Age-consecration: šge lama ndziala- = great lama-invi-
888 tation.
527 Master of ceremonies; kãṅguo.
To fetch the hutukhtu: ġdzõ niwa (twice) (or dãṅwu, if the first time).
Mother's brother: nëgä; achiu (Chin.); ayãṅ.
[601] Mother's brother's son: ku-chiu (Chin.).
Sash: ġëdzãn (Tib. loanword) (6).
[292]

6. [Foreign text p. 635.] gëdzãn: Tibetan gazn = the yellow sash of the lama costume. -- gõṅsõn: Tib. dgoṅ = solitude, soṅ = to go away; meaning, "to go into solitude." -- gëlõṅba: Tib. dge = virtue, sloṅ = to apply oneself, pa = belonging to; meaning, "one who applies himself to virtue." -- gesnien: Tib. dge = virtue, bsñen = to approach. -- gãṅsgur:

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[633 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 635 cont.] Tib. dbaṅ = force, bskur = to consecrate, to transfer. This is a ceremony of the transference of force, at which each lama receives a secret name (Unkrig).

To admit to lama standing with prayer: gẽsnien dẑẽwla-.
[785] To observe a day of meditation: pi-chai (Chin.); gõnsõn (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Member of the Yellow Church: gẽlõnba (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Pages 634-635 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[635] 5. Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation*

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* See "Notes," pp. 650-658 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

763 If someone is close to death, his clothes are taken off,
764 if he is wearing any on the kang. He is washed, shaved, or in the case of a woman the hair is dressed, and tied in a crouching position immediately after the last breath. A piece of cloth is thrown over the shoulder, which is the sole garment of the dead.

764 Then he is put in a death-box, which looks like a portable house, and propped up with straw. The box is placed on the floor in a room, and the closest relatives hold a death-watch there. At each meal the people bring some of the food in front of the death-box, burn paper, and kowtow. Each

[635 cont.]

764 evening the neighbors and friends gather and pray for the dead, squatting in a circle. Some days before the cremation, the master of ceremonies invites a lama to conduct the death cere-
[792] monies and burn the corpse. First, however, the mother's
[604] brother must release the corpse; this is done the evening before at the meal, when he demands an accounting for the dead person and his interment.

The cremation is undertaken outside the village in a crematory, which on each occasion is built at a different place.
[792] The lama performs almost the same ceremonies on this occasion as at the fire-pouring. After the cremation the remaining bones are kept in a wooden chest and temporarily buried on the spot.
[765] Not until the next spring do the relatives transfer them to the
766 family cemetery. -- Small children are not buried. Adult girls are burned quietly without ceremonies in an isolated place.

765 The strict period of mourning lasts 49 days. As a sign of mourning, the men turn their clothing inside out, and the women remove their ornaments and certain parts of their headdress.

[636] Details

763 Preparation of the corpse: Shortly before death, the men
764 shave first the head and then the beard of the dying person. If death sets in too suddenly, however, so that they can no longer shave him alive, it is left undone. After the shaving, he is undressed and his hands, face, and feet are washed, not the entire body. The men do this for men, the women for women. The women keep their long hair, as do girls. The hair is parted in the center and two three-stranded braids are plaited, which hang down over the breast or the back. In the case of sudden death, the corpse is merely washed and the hair dressed; the washing is then done with only a damp cloth (1).

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1. [Foreign text p. 650.] Why no water may flow over the corpse could not be discovered; probably it is feared that the water would thereby be made impure; it is counted among the basic elements.

[636 cont.]

775 Before the dying person draws his last breath, someone puts
763 a mani-ball, a piece of gold, a piece of silver, and a piece of
778 butter in his mouth. The mani-ball guarantees him an advanced
[262] age after the later rebirth (2). Gold and silver testify at the
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2. [Foreign text pp. 650-651.] According to the informant, in the case of the mani-ball, mani-ruru, the pill that the Chinese call chen-ling wan, that is, the soul-shaking pill, is involved. According to Taoistic reports in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien, spirit-mirror, this pill is made from the sap of the legendary fan-hun-shu, that is, the soul-restoring tree. This tree grows on the coast of the western ocean. It is of black wood. If one strikes it, it sounds like the growling of a bull. Its root is brewed into a thick brew, and out of this brew the pill is made. The pill has an exceedingly strong scent (the tree can also be smelled miles away). This scent is called fan-hun hsiang, that is, soul-restoring scent. If after someone dies he is touched with this pill within three days or it is burned before him so that the smoke passes over him, or if the pill is put in his mouth, then he comes to life again. Under the Han emperors this kind of incense was supplied as tribute from the Yüeh-chih and supposedly brought dead persons to life in the palace. This pill also plays an important role in the medicine of the lamas. It is the so-called pill of immortality. The Tujen buy this pill in the monasteries. Its color is red. According to their

775 [636 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text pp.650-651]. conceptions, to be sure, it cannot ensoul the dead corpse again, but it nonetheless brings the dead to life in another rebirth. -- W. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, also mentions this pill on p. 400 under the name rilu, and in Note 1683 under the Tibetan way of writing it, ril bu. It is clear that the Tujen pronunciation reru (ruru) is merely a corruption of the Tibetan word. Ch. Das has two ways of writing it, ril po and ril bu (with the l silent); he translates both as "ball, globule," [cited in English], and for ril bu he also adds "pill" [cited in English], [651] without any further designations for them (pp. 1184-85). This ruru is to be distinguished from nuru, the Tib. nor bu or cintāmani, the Buddhistic wishing-jewel. -- According to the conception of the lamas and of the people, the ruru pill reproduces itself; cf. the chapter, "Earth-god Urn." Sometimes one meets lamas who firmly believe that Europeans, too, have this wonder pill of long life, which is why they live much longer than the Chinese and the Tibetans; they claim to know that there are people in Europe who are several hundred years old.

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rebirth that he comes from a wealthy position and will again acquire gold and silver. Butter is the most superior daily food and is supposed to be that again in the later life.

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[636 cont.]

764 As soon as no sign of life can be seen from the dead person, he is immediately put in a crouching position, before the corpse becomes rigid, on the kang on which he died (3). With

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3. [Foreign text pp. 651-652.] The conceptions of the people vary concerning the crouch-box and the crouch-seat. Nothing concerning an ancient origin is known to them. Some believe that the corpse is put in a crouching position only because otherwise it would not fit in the death-box; in this case the box is viewed as primary and more important. The informant says to this that formerly the Tujen were unacquainted with cremation and did not have any death-boxes either. This was first introduced by the lamas. The dead were exposed on the mountains for the animals to devour, as the Fandse do today. He himself would prefer to be buried in Chinese fashion; he feared being tied up and cremated.

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Others maintain that the Tujen buried their dead in coffins in former times. As proof they cite the case of an old Tujen village in Yungchwan where coffins were exposed by a mountain slide; these stemmed at least from the early Ming period. This evidence, however, indicates little when one considers that as early as the Han period Chinese military expeditions took place in the nearby Huchu valley.

Even without cremation, however, the death-box is found in Tsinghai, for instance, in the Bengbar Valley, a branch

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[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.]
valley in Hsi-ch'uan. The so-called Chia Hsifan (Village Fandse), who originally were Mongols and are Sinicized today, live there. They, too, exactly like the Tujen, put the dead in a crouching position in the crouch-box, although they do not cremate them, but bury them.

Furthermore, the Taoist monks and people who died in a sitting position are buried sitting in the crouch-box. There is an interesting corresponding expression for the death of such people, sōwā guei wōldzia, he has departed sitting, in Chinese tsuo-hua, that is, to be transformed sitting. The word sō- can mean "to sit" as well as "to contemplate." Such people are regarded as saints who, in contemplation, pass into another world. A death in this position is also regarded as especially honorable. A chorten is usually erected on the graves of these people. -- For the Taoist sitting burial, cf. the picture. This photograph was posed. The Taoist priest of Kanchiapu was happy to have himself photographed in his death-box and showed how he would be placed in the box. He kept this box standing in his temple and with pride showed each visitor this beautifully painted piece of carving. A very fine picture is also to be found in F. Dransmann, T'aishan-Kūfu Guide, p. 19. It is the mummy of the Taoist priest Suin, who at the time of Kanghsi worked for 60 years on the T'aishan and, crouching in the death-box, [652] was buried there in the "Grotto of the Immortal" (hsien-

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[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.]
jen tung). -- For the sitting burial in eastern Tibet, cf. Tafel, Tibetreise, I, 236-237, with drawing.

It is known everywhere that Tulkus and other lamas are cremated. In this connection cf. the description in Filchner, Kumbum, pp. 240-242. In the case of the sitting position of the lamas, the Taoist monks, and those who died in contemplation, however, the position is that of a sitting Buddha, with legs folded under and the hands at rest, whereas the position among the Tujen and the Chiafandse is quite different, namely, the fetal position.

Other explanations of the Tujen, perhaps the most widespread, say that the human being rests in this position in the mother's womb and is born so; naked and in the same position he then again goes back into the womb of rebirth, just as he came (reversed, to be sure). In this comparison, the earth or fire as the symbol of motherhood thrusts itself upon one, and the death-box (or among other peoples the sack or coffin) as symbolic womb. -- This explanation of the people has the most to it. It is grounded in very ancient religio-cosmogonic thought processes which closely connect birth and death. Skeletons in a crouching position occur from many cultures, and people in a fetal crouching position are repeatedly represented in the archaic high cultures, and to be sure in connection with the devouring

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[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.] figures (Chin. t'ao-t'ieh) and the underworld. Professor C. Hentze in his most recent works has extensively revealed these connections, and one is referred to them here. -- I learned nothing concerning the conception that the dead must be placed in a sleeping position, although it is known that the nomads there on the Koko Nor sleep in this position, which can sometimes also be observed among Chinese and Tujen during the day.

764 the arms bent, the hands are put with the palms together and pressed upright against the chest so that they touch the chin. The thumbs are not crossed. The wrists are tied together with a hemp string and this is placed around the neck so that the hands stay together and cannot fall forward. Then the thighs are pressed firmly against the chest and arms and the calves against the thighs, so that the feet and seat rest in one plane. The feet are wound with a hemp string so that they will stay in position (4). Now one takes a quadrangular piece of cloth,

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4. [Foreign text p. 652.] The binding of the corpse is not regarded as tying down the dead person to prevent him from returning, as is the intention among the Chinese with the tying together of the feet. The informant claims that the binding has only the purpose of making the crouching position secure.

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In view of the otherwise common use of sheep wool, it is striking that only hemp strings are taken. As a reason the people say that if one took wool, the dead would be reborn as an

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[Note on foreign text p. 652 cont.]
animal with wool. In the case of hemp this is impossible, for one is not transformed into a plant.

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The informant claimed to know nothing about hemp as a means of frightening off demons, as, for example, in the case of the hemp whip of the shamans. It may be that Chinese influence makes itself felt here, for the Chinese, too, use only hemp in connection with the dead, and it also plays an important role in the mourning costume (hemp belt, hair string, hemp veil, etc.). Strict mourning is therefore called simply "hemp mourning," ma-hsiao, among the Chinese.

764 about two ells square, cuts a round hole in the middle, and throws it over the dead person's head in such a way that the tips fall over the chest, back, and shoulders. This cloth is [766] called "death garment." It is yellow for persons who have received the age-consecration, white for young people. It does not matter what kind of cloth it is made of (5). -- All

5. [Foreign text pp. 652-653.]
The shoulder-throw is strongly reminiscent of the shoulder-collars of the shamans. A connection could not be discovered. The Tujen maintain that the cloth is usually taken off before cre-
[789] mation: later one uses it as an amulet, since it has great healing and protective power. With regard to this, the informant observed that one could indeed take off the white shoulder-cloth before crema-
[766] tion, but that it had no magical power and was used for profane purposes. The

[636 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 652-653 cont.] yellow shoulder-cloth, on the other hand, which a dead person with age-consecration wears, must be burned with the corpse, just like the sash that he received at that time.

this must be done while the corpse is still flexible. Once it is rigid, it maintains its position virtually unchanged.

The death-box. The death-box is made either long be-
[171] fore death or not until death has taken place, as among the Chinese where the coffin is sometimes ready decades before-
[735] hand. Only poor people do not make the death-box until after the death. The box is always made of wood, but it does not matter what kind of wood it is made of; after all, it is not buried, as is the coffin among the Chinese, but is burned with the dead person. The box has the height of a litter or sedan chair; the dead person fits exactly into it. The bottom of the box extends into four carrying beams, [637] similar to a
[532] flat litter. The box [illustration appears here], however is not
[171] a simple wooden chest, but represents a small temple with roof and doors and often very rich carving, similar to death-box of the Chinese bonze (6). Unlike the latter, however, it has a sun

6. [Foreign text p. 653.] in the case of the coffin of the Taoshih the sun-moon attachment, the movable back wall, and the carrying pole are lacking. The corpse is usually put inside through the front door or from above, because the roof piece is removable.

and moon in the center of the roof, similar to the tip of a mani-pole; this is generally regarded as necessary. The box
[556] is painted and decorated according to the wealth, piety, and
[321] affection of the relatives.

There are no definite ritual prescriptions for the prep-
[465] aration of the box. The carpenter receives the usual fee for

764 [637 cont.]
465 his work and, in addition, twelve
322 loaves of bread, two ells of white cloth, and a small measure of wheat (six pounds). After the work is done, this measure of wheat is put on the house-
[782] hold altar, and the carpenter puts his tools on it. The master of the household sticks a few burning incense-sticks among them and puts the loaves before them. Then everyone makes a three-
[532]

Death-box
(Drawing of a Tujen)

fold kowtow (7). The carpenter does not receive the white cloth until the funeral meal.

[782] [776] [177] 7. [Foreign text p. 653.] This ceremony actually has nothing to do with the death-box. It is customary after all carpentry work; it is done to honor the tutelary god of the carpenter, Lu-pan-yeh. It is a Chinese custom.

764 Lying in state: If the box is already available at death, the corpse is immediately put in it. If it is not yet ready, then the people put the dead in a crouching position on the kang or on the floor of the room in which he died. First, however, they lay down a white felt mat as a pad; straw is not used. No one may sleep or live in the same room with the dead, only in an adjoining room. A table with 12 loaves of bread, which come from the deceased's own family, and a water-lamp stand before the crouching corpse.

[462] Putting the corpse in the box is always done by men. The
[593] son puts his father and mother inside. The father, however, never puts his son in; that is taken care of by the young brothers or cousins.

[637 cont.]

764 cousins. Female persons are also put in the box by men. Then, after the corpse has been propped up with straw, a board is slid in at the back from above. The men then wash their hands. The box is put in a room and placed on four raised clay bricks, so that it will be easy to pick it up later to carry it. A white felt mat is usually spread out beforehand. The box of a deceased master of the household or his wife always stands in the main house; in other cases it is put in the room in which the dead person used to live.

Next to the box there is a small, coffin-like little casket whose lid is pegged down like those of the Chinese coffins. It is the little casket in which the bones that remain after cremation are kept. Usually a rolling pin (noodle roller), which was 412 made at the same time as the coffin or death-box, leans 764 against the box (8). [638] Other rolling pins are not used at [322] all.

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8. [Foreign text p. 653.] This custom, too, seems to have been borrowed from the Chinese. The rolling pin is called mien-kan or kan-ch'ang in Chinese. On the average it is one meter long and three to four centimeters thick. It is used principally to roll noodles. The rolling pin is also called pai-hu by the Chinese, that is, white tiger, because it can become the seat of the tiger god for soothsaying or shamanistic ceremonies, just as the spirit-spear becomes the seat of the spirit. The rolling pin is also handled in the following way: a man takes it with both hands and calls down the demon into it; then the roller shakes and trembles.

[778] [787] [776]

The enemy of the rolling pin is the threshing roller, lu-chu. It represents the dark (green) dragon, ch'ing-lung,

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[638 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.] the declared opponent of the white tiger. -- Furthermore, the white tiger is powerless against anything that comes from the dead or is connected with the dead; he fears coffins, death-boxes, burials, etc. For that reason coffin-making is the best opportunity for making a rolling pin, and therefore the rolling pin is propped against the death-box. The relationship of the tiger to the rolling pin is thereby neutralized. -- People very rarely have a rolling pin made other than at the time of a burial; the carpenter must then plane the pole on a threshing roller, the enemy of the white tiger. The millstone also has an effect similar to that of the threshing roller, for it crushes the provider of the "white," that is, the grain from which the flour comes.

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764 all. As in the case of the crouching corpse, a small kang table with the gifts to the dead is also placed before the death-box.
171 Men and women kowtow before it, burn white paper, like the
[782] Chinese, and weep aloud (9).

9. [Foreign text p. 653.] Aside from the bone-casket I once saw a small wooden casket of coffin-like form beside a death-box. The people said a small manlike doll lay in it. It was supposed to keep misfortune and death away from the house. The informant had not yet seen that and thought that this custom had come from

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[Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.] the Chinese. Among the Chinese I learned the following: If someone died on an unlucky day -- which the geomancer determines -- there is danger that he will take someone else from the family with him into the beyond. In order to prevent this, the family provides a substitute at the interment. They lay a human figure made of apricot or peach wood, which the demons particularly fear, in a miniature coffin. At the interment this miniature coffin is buried at the base of the grave and the actual coffin is put on top of it. -- The Tujen bury the miniature coffin under the bone-chest. The Chinese name for this custom is ch'ung-sang, that is, double interment. One would do better to translate it as "accompanying interment." It clearly has nothing to do with an escort for the dead and the double interment in the usual sense. A kind of after-consumer [Nachzehrer] is involved here.

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Gifts for the dead: The Tujen make an offering of 12 loaves of bread and a water-lamp before the dead (10). First,

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10. [Foreign text p. 654.] Death-gifts and offering regulations correspond with those of the Chinese. The water-lamp, shui-teng, is an earthen bowl which is half-filled with water, beans are usually also added. A layer of oil is poured on the water. A little wooden plate, into which a wick is stuck, floats

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] on the oil. This is to prevent the wick from burning too far down into the bowl; in order to save oil, the lower half is filled with water. -- The Chinese dough-lamp of long life, ch'ang-ming teng, has nothing to do with this lamp; it is unknown to the Tujen.

the deceased's own family must present these gifts. A so-called paper-bowl also stands on the floor next to the bread and the water-lamp. After each meal some tea, soup, or milk is poured into it, and little pieces of meat, bread, vegetable, etc. [264] are thrown in, according to what the family has just eaten. Until the day of cremation the dead is always supposed to partake of the meals of the household. The paper-bowl is an ordinary earthen bowl; it gets its name from the fact that after the paper-burning the charred leaves are thrown in it (11). Along with the

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11. [Foreign text p. 654.] The paper-burning is typically Chinese.

water-lamp it is emptied in front of the gate on the last day, when the death-box leaves the compound for cremation. It is not broken, but may be used again for other purposes.

764 On the third day after the death, the oldest married daughter of the household appears with 12 loaves of bread. Then 782 the family loaves before the death-box are replaced by the 593 daughter's loaves. This is called "bread exchange." This takes place each time a person makes an offering of loaves. The oldest daughter is followed in order by the younger ones, whether or not the corpse has already been put in the box. Unmarried [589] daughters of the household do not make offerings. Every time [152] someone offers loaves, he also burns white paper and weeps aloud; the men, it is true, do not weep (24).

[638 cont.]

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24. [Foreign text p. 657.] A custom that is no longer practiced among the Tujen was the eating of oil-dishes on the eve of the cremation, bān-sān tsinani, that is, one cooks oil-dishes. The daughters and their girls (nieces) brought a measure of wheat flour and a jug of oil. Both would be roasted together in a kettle after the pai-ta and handed around. It was kneaded into dumplings like tsamba. -- Similar old Tujen customs have now been forgotten, according to the informant. The extensive customs of the Chinese are being adopted more and more, and in the foreseeable future the cremation of the dead will have yielded to the Chinese funeral celebration.

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Only after the corpse is in the box do the other relatives come, and the same rite is repeated. These are only the relatives on the father's side, however. The other acquaintances and friends also make an appearance with them. The relatives on the mother's side come only on the day before the cremation, regardless of whether the dead person is a man or a woman.

With regard to the offerings for the dead, one must always distinguish whether a person of an older, a contemporary, or a younger generation is involved. The older generation never makes an offering to the younger, for example, the father never to the son. The man does make an offering to his wife, however, and vice versa. The man also makes an offering to his older sisters-in-law.

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Of the offering of 12 loaves of bread that each one brings, he gets two back; ten are used in the house of mourning and are eaten by the relatives or guests. The loaves that are returned are called "returned plate."

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292 765 [171] Mourning dress: Mourning is worn immediately after the death. It does not consist of a special white garb, as among the Chinese, but only of a change of dress.

During the period of mourning the men remove their colorful vests and take everything colored off their clothing, such as neck bands, sleeve edging, etc. Their long cloak is turned and worn with the lining, or in winter with the fur, on the outside. [302] They do not cut their hair, and they let the beard grow. The red or green trouser belt made of cloth is replaced by [639] a white or black one. Instead of the clothes-belt they wear a thick hemp string.

Like the men, the women also remove the colorful sleeve strips, trouser trimming, and shoe and boot ornamentation, especially everything red. The red or green skirt over the trousers is not worn at all. Instead of the colorful clothes, the woman puts on only a simple upper garment of one color. She takes off the ear pendants, arm bands, and the neck band, and [301] removes from her headdress all lace, tassels, and hanging strings, as well as the silver hair cap [Haarschale] and the little copper plates. She keeps only the simple, rigid frame of the headdress and covers its colorful strips uniformly by sticking green paper on them. She puts a blue cloth made of coarse linen over this as a head veil. She replaces her broad and colorful belt with a hemp string.

[602] [593] All the close relatives are required to wear mourning dress, those who also must give the death-offering. The only exception is the husband upon the death of his wife. He may not wear mourning.

764 782 [602] Prayer service: The prayer service is called "prayer tea." The relatives on the father's side assemble daily in the house of mourning; toward evening they sit on the kang around the open fire in the kitchen and pray the mani for the dead on their mani-string. When they are finished, they receive noodle soup and go home. This prayer service lasts until the day of cremation. One need not sit around the kang fire, however, but can also perform these prayers before the death-box itself.

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764 782 792 The official prayer-service is undertaken by a lama, if possible by a hutukhtu. He is given a room of his own in the house of mourning, which ordinarily immediately adjoins the room in which the corpse is laid out, so that he can remain on the kang when he recites the office of the dead. A lama never prays directly before the corpse. A hutukhtu visits the house of mourning only on the day before the cremation, and stays there only one night. He also always undertakes the ceremonial cremation with the fire-pouring. Other lamas, on the other hand, may perform services in the house of mourning several days before.

[177] In recent times the Tujen also invite Chinese bonzes for the prayers. They adhere to their own rites. It also happens that bonzes and lamas are invited at the same time. Then the prayer rite is mixed. A cremation, however, is never carried out without some religious officiant first giving the prayers for the dead (12). Lamas of lower rank, who may not undertake the

[123] 12. [Foreign text p. 654.] The Tujen have no difficulties in inviting representatives of various religions for prayers. I was even requested once to give the Christian office of the dead. -- On the other hand, the Chinese Buddhists also invite the lamas to give prayers for the dead.

fire-pouring, or bonzes do not go along to the place of cremation, but remain in the house of mourning.

764 782 792 465 [604] For the prayer, the relatives, lamas, and bonzes receive a corresponding honorarium which is usually fixed by the mother's brother on the occasion of the demand for an accounting during the last mourning meal. The Chinese bonzes, to be sure, demand a fixed fee immediately upon being invited; otherwise they do not come at all. The other persons who say prayers, assistants at the cremation, etc. receive compensation in the form of alms on the eve of the cremation or on the morning after the cremation.

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764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
782 large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
792 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
465 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
[272] temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
[262] own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people
[788] buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the
[556] temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it.
[432] In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of
butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large
month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and
night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate
to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the
dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name
of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by
the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer
services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
602 Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain
a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

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13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] hsiao-tzu in Chinese, who are the male descendants and relatives of the first and second degree, for example, younger brothers, younger cousins, grandsons.

on the mother's side do not appear in the house of mourning until the eve of the cremation.

764 They must be informed, however, immediately after the death; this is called "death announcement." The master of
602 ceremonies, with a small bottle of liquor, goes to the mother's
604 brother to announce the death of the latter's nephew or niece (14).

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14. [Foreign text p. 654.] In recent times the Tujen announce the death to the mother's brother by means of a written communication, like the Chinese. The original practice, however, is the announcement with the liquor-jug, to which is tied a flock of wool.

[792] The two now consult as to how the funeral solemnities are to
[465] be arranged, how many monks are to be invited to pray, how large the fees are to be, etc. The mother's brother is intent upon setting demands as high as possible, whereas the master of ceremonies sets lower ones. Once they have agreed upon
[273] the approximate level, they drink the little jug of liquor together. If they do not agree, the master of ceremonies returns home with the liquor and he receives new instructions from the bereaved family. Sometimes this happens two or three times. A final arrangement is not made until the last day at the accounting in the house of mourning.

On the eve of the cremation, the mother's brother, and with him all the male relatives on the mother's side, appears in the yard of the bereaved. The women among the maternal

764 [640 cont.]
[602] relatives do not come (15). The mother's brother is solemnly
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15. [Foreign text pp. 654-655.] Three groups of relatives are to be distinguished, which correspond to the kinship divisions of the Chinese there: 1. One's own family, dzienani kudë, Chin. pen-chia. To this belong the descendants in a direct line, son, grandson, grandchildren, even the daughters who are already married outside. They live together in one compound. 2. Cousinhood, dzienani šäni, Chin. tang-chia-tzu. These are the father's brothers and cousins, in practice all the relatives with the same family name. -- This group is obligated to provide for the interment, while one's own family (even the daughters) wear mourning dress and are subject to the strict mourning taboos. As soon as the daughters return to their husband's family, however, they take off the mourning. 3. Affinity by marriage, urog, Chin. ch'in-chia, ch'in-ch'i. Since among the Tujen here the Chinese expressions are now in use, the following names should be distinguished: ch'in-chia in the strict sense is the relationship of the sons-in-law with whom the daughters have married. They have another family name, wai-hsing. The family from which the mother comes is called wai-chia; here the brother of the mother is the person of respect who represents her interests. The family from which the mother of the father comes is called wei-chia; here, too, for the

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[Note on foreign text pp. 654-655 cont.] father his mother's brother is the person of respect, who in case of death demands an accounting. Wei-chia and wai-chia have the same signs; only the pronunciation is different. Literally translated it means [655] "the outside family," in other words, not belonging to the male line. Instead of wai-chia one also says niang-chia, which designates the family from which the mother comes. This expression is also used for the family of the lama, who, of course, is unmarried. -- The wai-chia or niang-chia does not appear until the day before the cremation.

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The mother's brother is solemnly

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received by the master of ceremonies and led to the death-box. There he and his retinue offer the 12 loaves, burn paper, and kowtow. During this time all the relatives must express great bereavement and the women utter loud lamentations. The mother's brother also weeps. After this ceremony, the mother's brother is led into the house and onto the kang, where he is given tea and bread. He rests a little while. The other companions are given hospitality outside in the yard where everything is set up for the funeral meal and the ceremony of the accounting.

[641] The mother's brother is led into the yard and sits on a white felt mat which is spread out on the ground directly before the entrance of the main house. He sits with his back to the house, facing the mani-tree. A kang table is put in front of him. The other relatives on the maternal side sit on straw to the right and left of him in a semicircle. Boards which are supposed to represent tables are put in front of them. Now oil-baking, tea, and pastries are brought. The serving is done by the cousinhood on the father's side (16). After the first bite, the guests are

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16. [Foreign text p. 655.] At the interment, the Tujen have the

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[Note on foreign text p. 655 cont.]
following offices: 1. The master of ceremonies. He takes care of everything connected with the customs concerning the dead and the cremation. He is called by the Chinese name sang-kuan, that is, leader of the interment, or hu-sang, that is, protector of the interment. He is usually picked from the cousinhood. 2. The gift-guardian. He takes the offering loaves and keeps them in a special room. In Chinese he is called k'u-kuan, that is, treasure-guardian. -- The Chinese also put a secretary at his disposal, who notes what the individual guests have given. The Tujen do not have this. 3. The host. He is there solely for the lama and provides for his entertainment, for his animals, for the things needed at the ceremony, for paper to burn, etc. The Tujen call him känguo. In his place the Chinese have an incense-manager. 4. The female cook, called dziemā nienie by the Tujen. -- With exception of the känguo and the dziemā nienie, the officiants seem to have been taken over from the Chinese.

764 given some liquor, and the bereaved on the father's side come
604 in the circle with the master of ceremonies and kneel on the
[602] ground before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies
[273] steps forward and invites the mother's brother to take a drink of
liquor. He hands him a hada and a piece of white cloth and
[537] requests him to present his wishes for the dead and to release
the corpse for the cremation.

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764 604 537 [273] The mother's brother puts the hada over his shoulders, takes a swallow of liquor, and begins his speech. Usually he demands an accounting concerning the care of his protégé during the latter's illness and demands the small fees for the prayer service, saying that they should be ashamed of such avarice, the dead had always been a good person, the pride of his family, he deserved better; now at least one should give him a decent death-box and provide the most magnificent cremation possible; far too few lamas had been invited, but now they should recompense them with much money and rice and butter, etc.

[273] Every time that the mother's brother puts forward a wish or a complaint and pauses, the master of ceremonies has his liquor bowl refilled and calls upon him to drink. Then the master of ceremonies replies in the name of the paternal relatives, seeks to invalidate the reproaches, to lessen the demands, and to emphasize the efforts of the family. He says that the most expensive medicines were procured for the deceased during his illness, for how could one neglect such a virtuous person; moreover, everything that the family could do in his honor and for his soul would be done, but one should not demand the impossible; after all, one must die sometime; the times are bad, but they would gladly give the lama that and that, etc. -- So it goes back and forth between the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies, until a course is finally agreed upon and the mother's brother declares that now he is satisfied and will release the corpse. Now the mother's brother is invited to inspect the corpse, but he usually does not do this.

764 604 After this speech, the bereaved arise, kowtow three times before the mother's brother, and return to the deathwatch by the box. The mother's brother follows them and kowtows before the dead. Then alms are distributed to the guests, usually [431] coins. This is called "to do good," for it is advantageous for the deceased. Then the meal for the relatives on the mother's side [735] takes place in a large circle. Usually there is rice, but among poor people only noodle soup.

[775] [177] [642] The ceremony of the demand for an accounting has the purpose of releasing the soul of the dead for the migration

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764 of the soul, according to the saying: if the mother's brother does
604 not open his mouth, the dead cannot migrate. When the soul has
775 no more demands to make on this world, then it leaves house and
177 home. Its demands are advocated by the mother's brother (17). --

17. [Foreign text pp. 655-656.] The people do not agree about the origin and meaning of this ceremony. The Chinese say that it was copied from them; the Tujen claim that it is an old custom of their ancestors. -- The Chinese also have the name bäda (pai-ta); they also say pai-wai for it. They have no special explanation for pai-ta; they interpret pai-wai as "to profit, to tain an advantage." There is no character for either word. This would not be so important, however, since there is a great number of dialectal expressions for which there are no characters. -- The informant believes that bäda is a Tujen word and means "to profit, to gain," exactly like the Chinese pai-wai. If this custom does not occur farther to the east, which would have to be investigated, then one could conceive of it as a borrowing from the Tujen.

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The pai-ta of the Chinese is somewhat more extensive. First there is the donning of the white mourning cap, tai-hsiao, then the viewing of the corpse, wang-ku, that is, to view the bones; the mother's brother in this role is called ku-chu, that is, bones-master, an expression that the Tujen also have. Then follows the speech of the mother's brother, pai-wai. And when the negotiations on this

[642 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 655-656 cont.]
occasion are concluded satisfactorily, then there follows first the kowtow with the offering for the dead before the corpse. Concerning the bone relationship, cf. Part 2, I, 2.

The speech of the mother's brother is somewhat different from that of the Tujen. He principally demands a magnificent coffin, elegant death-garments, and many bonzes for the interment. Indeed, he even reclaims things of the dead person, for instance, the cow that provided him with milk, as well as valuables that are desired as mementos, for, he says, since the beloved deceased no longer dwells among his relatives, one wants at least his personal objects out of affection. Everyone knows that this is done less out of affection than out of a desire for gain. [656] The quite un-Chinese demand for the milk cow is striking here, since the Chinese drink practically no milk.

Among the Tujen, the pai-ta makes a somewhat more selfless impression. The negotiations deal primarily with the lamas to be invited and their prayer fee, and this primarily so that the soul of the dead person will be satisfied and set out on its migration.

In the case of the pai-ta, therefore, a twofold viewpoint is to be differentiated, the social, which comes to the fore more among the Chinese, and the religious, which is of more concern among the Tujen. In the first case it is a matter of asserting the rights of the mother's family; in the second case, it is a matter of the conception

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[Note on foreign text pp. 655-656 cont.] of the souls of the dead, who evidently are regarded as living corpses. This point is decisive in explaining the meaning. It is a matter of the peace and good fortune of the family, which are endangered by a restless soul if it is not satisfied and continues to wander about. This satisfaction is brought about by providing a decent interment (clothing, coffin) and the prayer of the lama. Then "the way is open" for the soul, as the Buddhists say; the significance of the above-mentioned proverb of the Chinese is shown here. How strongly this conception still affects even the Chinese is shown by the recast saying, wai-chia pu k'ai yen, wang-jen pu shang t'ien, that is, if the mother's family does not begin to speak, the dead will not ascend to heaven. -- With all this, however, it becomes clear how strong the rights of the mother's family are, and its concern for its members even beyond death.

If there is no actual mother's brother, then the one nearest to the mother's brother takes his place; this is the one who follows the mother's brother in the inheritance.

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Time of cremation: As soon as the dead person draws his last breath, a relative goes to the soothsayer or Bon priest and has the day of cremation determined by the spirits. He does not enter the compound of the soothsayer, however, but announces himself in front of the large gate of the yard, because since he comes from the house of a dead person, he may not appear before the gods. Aside from the spirit-spear, spirit-table, spirit-litter, and the Bon priest, one may also ask a Chinese lay bonze. Lamas and Taoist bonzes never determine the time. Only the day is given, not the hour. As

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764 a rule, all young people under 20 years of age, whether male or
[766] female, are cremated in the evening at sundown. Persons over 20 years of age are cremated in the morning at sunrise. The place of cremation is prepared the day before.

Place of cremation: The place of cremation is usually chosen by the master of ceremonies after consultation with the members of the family. Only ground that belongs to the deceased's own family or to the relatives on the father's side is considered. A dead person may never be cremated on strange soil or on land that belongs to the maternal relatives. Special preference is given to a spot on a steep ridge between fields, because the fire for the oven can most easily be set there. In
241 choosing the spot, one must see to it that the smoke will not
764 blow across a sown field. Therefore, after the sowing festival in the spring, a remote place is chosen in a ravine or on a
178 mountain where there are no more fields. Aside from the fact that the seed would be trampled, the smoke of a burning corpse is harmful for the growth and the harvest. Therefore nowadays, when even the most remote little mountain patches are planted, cremation is increasingly on the wane, especially in the valleys, and the dead are buried in coffins (19).

[177] [Foreign text p. 656.] This may not be the most decisive reason for the disappearance of the custom, however, but rather the general Sinicization. In remote ravines everywhere a place can still be found for cremation, for even the Chinese in the valleys cremate their adult, unmarried daughters in such remote places.

764 If the fire-pouring is undertaken at the cremation, then
792 the lama himself goes out to the field the day before and chooses a suitable spot. For this purpose he kneads a large torma
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764 in the house and takes the torma to the place where he wants the
792 crematory to be built. The incense offering is then made in
782 front of the torma, but without any extra features, except tsamba
and butter; the lama sprinkles the fire with holy water. While
he then prays on a white felt mat, the others kowtow. In this
[776] way the lama requests the place for the cremation from the
mountain-spirit; the incense and the torma are meant for the
mountain-spirit. In making the choice, the lama takes into
account the evenness of the ground, since for these ceremonies
he needs a suitable place for the table and the mat he sits on.

764 [643] Erection of the crematory: Now [illustration ap-
333 pears here] an oven is built out of clay bricks. The torma is set
to one side, and no further attention is paid to it. First the men
build a quadrangular base, about two ells high and two ells
wide; on this they erect the round crematory, about four ells
high. It looks like a barrel. On the west side a broad longi-
tudinal slit remains open, through which the corpse is set inside.
On each side of the base a large hole is left for the firing. The
oven is calked with clay and lime and then is painted white (25).

25. Foreign text pp. 657-658.] The
crematory may be made in various
forms. The one copied from the
crematory of the lamas (cf. the draw-
ing made by a Tujen) is regarded as the
most superior one. Similarities with the
understructure of the chorten cannot be
[778] denied. On graves of persons who died
sitting up, I saw chorten which repre-
sented an almost exact copy of the
crematory, only slightly more rounded.
-- When the fire-pouring is undertaken
[532] at the cremation, the ground-drawing
is naturally also made, and usually not
on the ground itself, [658] but rather
one puts down a large leaf of paper with

[643 cont.]

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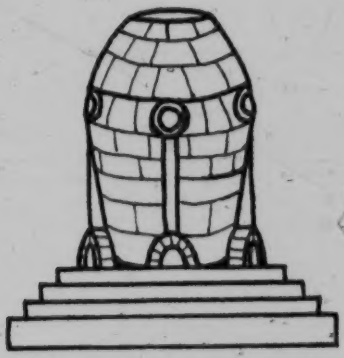

[532]

Crematory, tab.
(Drawing of a Tujen.)

[Note on foreign text pp. 657-658 cont.]
the drawing on it; then the base is built on it. Several sheets are often pasted together. The drawing is sometimes so wide that it sticks out under the base. The ground-drawing naturally also varies in the decoration, but the thunderbolts and the lotus flower are always there. The oven with the corpse is thought of as borne by the lotus flower, out of which come the flames of the transformation of life during the burning. In this connection cf. the section, "The Fire-pouring," Note 4. -- There are certainly connections between the crematory and the bum-pa of the chorten.

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764 The funeral procession: On the morning of the day set, the
[604] mother's brother and all the relatives of the deceased burn white paper in front of the box; they kowtow three times and start a loud lamention. Four bearers take the box with the corpse up on

[643 cont.]

764 their shoulders and carry it out to the yard gate. Before the gate the water-lamp and the paper basin are emptied. Here, too, the straw that served the bereaved as an underlayer during the deathwatch is burned. The procession goes to the crematory at a rapid pace. Old and young, men and women, follow in colorful confusion.

Young boys go with them. They carry straw, firewood, cypress twigs, a wooden bed or a door for the lama, a white felt mat, and a large iron kettle for melting the butter. At the oven, the men place the box on the ground. The relatives once more burn paper and throw themselves down to kowtow. Then 764 the master of ceremonies steps forward and addresses a few words 537 of farewell to the deceased. He says approximately the following: We have done what we could for you; we invited the lamas, we have prayed, we have given alms. We have made a beautiful box for you; you can be content. Therefore think no more of us and do not return to disturb the peace of our house. Be without care; we shall not forget you and shall continue to pray for you and to make offerings to you.

764 After this speech he distributes money among those [431] present. This is alms and is called "box-money." Now the [533] women once more begin the lamentation. They have a certain melody and express their grief in impromptu words. Then all go home. Only the master of ceremonies, two fire guards, the sons-in-law, the nephews, and the lama remain. The fire is serviced only by the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The sons-in-law and nephews assist with other operations.

Putting the corpse inside: The men who remained behind bring the litter to the west side of the oven where the broad slit was left. They put the litter with the back to this opening and draw the wooden wall out, so that the corpse is exposed in the back. Meanwhile the [644] fire guards have piled cypress twigs and wood on the oven floor. The corpse is now put on the firewood in the oven, the back to the east, the face to the west. [775] Then the slit is walled off. The face must be turned to the [823] west because the realm of the blessed is located there, to which he must now migrate.

[644 cont.]

764 The lama now takes his place on the bed or the door,
792 over which a white mat has been spread, on the west side of the oven. His face is turned toward the east, facing that of the dead person. Before him stands a little kang table with his cult implements. Next to it lie two pieces of sacking, on which two white cloth runners have been spread; the little plates with the spices and the materials for the fire-pouring (cf. the appropriate section) stand on that. On the white cloth there is also a tray with a torma. The lama prepared it in the morning in the house of mourning and brought it along. This torma rep-
[778] resents a spirit that protects the dead person and leads him west-
[775] ward into the land of rebirth. -- The lama comes from the west, the land of the Buddhas, and goes to the east; therefore he is seated opposite the dead person.

764 The fire preparation: Now the iron kettle is put on three
372 stones and a great fire is kindled under it; it does not matter how this fire is made. Several lumps of butter are thrown into the kettle and allowed to melt. The men then make the
[792] lighting pole, while the lama begins the prayers for the dead.

The lighting pole is a stick two to three meters long. Any wood desired can be used for it. A thick strand of cotton wadding is wound on one end. The master of ceremonies now brings a paper lantern, in which there is a small butter-lamp. It must be a butter-lamp; an oil-lamp or a candle is not permitted. In olden times there were no butter-lamps either, but wooden splinters from the oil fir. This lamp may not be lighted with ordinary fire, for instance, with the fire from the butter-kettle. It must be new fire which is struck from the flint on the first blow. If the master of ceremonies does not get a spark the first time, he may not try it a second time with the same stone. For this reason he keeps a whole series of flint stones in readiness (18). Now if the spark has fallen on the

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18. [Foreign text 656.] In recent times matches are also used instead of the flint stones. In this case, too,

[644 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
however, the match must burn at the first stroke; otherwise one throws it away and takes a second one.

tinder at the first blow and has ignited it, then the master of ceremonies takes a handful of straw, holds the glowing tinder in it, and blows the whole thing into a bright flame, with which he lights the butter-lamp. Then he soaks the lighting pole in the butter-kettle containing the fluid butter, holds it over the butter-lamp in the lantern until the head of cotton wadding flares up brightly, and lights the oven with it through the four fire holes. Meanwhile the lama proceeds with his prayers. As [792] soon as the flames rise high, the master of ceremonies takes the soul-guide torma and throws it from above into the oven onto the corpse; it is burned with it. Then the lama undertakes the fire-pouring.

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Cremation and fire-pouring: The ceremony of the fire-pouring is the same as on other occasions. Only here the butter and the spices are thrown onto the [645] corpse in the oven, for which the lama holds the pouring-tube over the edge of the oven. The spices, however, are thrown into the flames by the master of ceremonies. The lama takes only a pinch each time and puts it on a [illustration appears here] little plate which the master of ceremonies holds in his hand. When the butter and the spices are used up, the lama ends his prayer and goes to the house. With him go the master of ceremonies, the sons-in-law, and the nephews.

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Only the two fire guards remain behind. They shatter the box, burn it with the corpse, and wait until the corpse is completely reduced to ashes. This takes several hours. Then they put the little bone-casket that was brought along in one of the fire holes without the bones and cover it with earth. They put boards over the still smoldering oven, which they weight with rocks and lumps of earth so that dogs and wolves cannot get in, and then they go home. They leave the oven alone. After three days the bones are stored.

[645 cont.]

764 All who participated at the cremation wash their hands
[783] and fumigate them in a great incense fire in front of the yard
gate. Then they drink tea and hold a funeral meal. The lama
[792] usually returns to his monastery on the same day.

[415] Ladling spoon and pouring tube.
In the spoon, the thunderbolt, rdo-rja.
[532] (Drawing of a Tujen.]

764 The fire-pouring is undertaken only in the case of those
795 persons who have received a Buddhist baptism. Old people in
addition also receive the age-consecration and are regarded as lay
792 monks. If someone has died without the Buddhist baptism, it
[778] is performed after death. This is done by the lama with the
help of a chest mirror. Since no water may flow over the dead
person, the lama holds the chest shield in front of him so that
the head is mirrored in it. He pours the consecrated water from
his can over this mirror image and gives the baptismal prayer (20).

20. [Foreign text p. 656.] The fact that no water may flow over the dead person is not the only reason for the washing in the mirror. The mirror image is washed
[778] even in the case of living persons, just as at the consecration of Buddha images. In this connection cf. also Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141. In the passage, "Then he takes a little metal mirror, points its front side in all directions, and sprinkles it with a few drops of water from his cult vessel," it is not a matter of simply turning the mirror

[645 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
back and forth, but in all probability it is to catch the mirror images of the boys who have been brought before the Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age, receive the age-consecration and become a member of the monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman, from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring [783] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purification for the dead, similar to baptism. [372]

764 Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed 766 with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of [792] ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of [372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is desirable, but not essential.

764 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three days for the bone storage. During these three days the members 602 of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there, kowtow, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea. Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the men and women of the deceased's own family and at least one man, but no women, of the related families, and furthermore the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the [782] oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea. 764 After they have then kowtowed, men and women dig the bones out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

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764 the little bones go into it, however, for it is only an ell long and two handbreadths high. The lid is pegged down, like a Chinese coffin. The remaining bones are carried by hand, aprons, or in a back-basket to the nearest mountain height. Animals as a rule do not eat them because they are burned. Only sheep like to nibble on them. The bones decompose very rapidly, however.

The bone-chest is placed in the oven, weighted down with clay bricks, and then the oven is torn down so that it forms a little mound with the chest buried under it. This is always done if the cremation has taken place after the harvest during the period before the grave festival in the third month.

[765 769] At the grave festival, the Chinese ch'ing-ming, the bone-chest is buried in the communal family cemetery. The place of the cremation is leveled.

If the cremation is after the grave festival, then the oven is, to be sure, torn down and the place again cultivated, but the bone-chest is not buried at the place of the oven, but on a remote ridge of arable land in a field belonging to the deceased's own family. [765] Only at the next grave festival in the following year is it transferred to the family cemetery.

If the cremation has taken place on a distant mountain far from the family, then a tent is pitched there to wait until the third day, the bones are stored, and the chest is brought down in order to bury it on the ridge of a field on one's own land. [776 778 823] Such a cremation may never be undertaken on the peak of a mountain, but about halfway up. The peak is sacred to the mountain-spirit and may not be desecrated.

If the bone-chest has been buried in the oven or field, then the relatives burn white paper before it, throw pieces of bread on the bone-grave, and pour out tea before it for the dead. Then they kowtow and go home. The guests are treated with tsamba and butter in the house of mourning. The master of ceremonies receives 12 loaves of bread and two ells of white cloth; [465] the two fire guards are given six loaves each and two ells of cloth.

[646 cont.]
000 each and two ells of cloth.

765 At the next grave festival, which usually falls in the third
[769] lunar month, all the relatives gather at the kin-group cemetery for the offering to the dead; at that time the bone-chest is also transferred to it. A number of men go to the old burial spot at the place of cremation, dig up the chest, and bring [647] it to the cemetery without any ceremony. There they dig a small
[561] hole and put the chest in it. This is done only by men who are
[593] of the same generation as the dead person or of a lower generation. A father, for instance, would never bury his son, nor the uncle his nephew, etc.

765 As soon as the pit has been filled, the offering for the
769 dead takes place; the relatives burn paper and little sticks of incense, set down loaves of bread, meat, etc., pour out tea,
[782] liquor, and soup, and hold a little meal at the grave. Then everyone goes home. -- The transfer of the bones, however, need not be done at the next grave festival; sometimes one waits two or three years. The bones may not be interred, however, outside the period of the grave festival (21).

[192] 21. [Foreign text pp. 656-657.]
The Tujen word sẽn-min̆ is evi-
[177] dently merely a phonetic imitation of the Chinese ch'ing-ming. The informant said that the Tujen did not know about the grave festival in olden times, but that they have copied it from the Chinese, which indeed is confirmed by the precisely identical rites and the asserted former exposure of the corpse. -- The postponement [657] of a final interment of the bones until this feast, however, remains unexplained, especially since the Chinese usually bury their dead immediately in the cemetery. The
[777] informant observed in this connection that the Chinese inter their dead on

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[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days [177] memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown [782] and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowa- [178] days the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

765 Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead 784 person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they [574] want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even [796] more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to [262] undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The
food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[262] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
[585] also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune
to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not offici-
[783] ate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean,
[796] and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automati-
[783] cally lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary.
One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves,
and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival,
at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery,
the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no
ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost
775 nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do
fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims
on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had
been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul
[777] haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own
family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one
[791] questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune,
and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved,
it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul.
[782] One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering
to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray
for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is
carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the
adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[648 cont.]

766 buried, or simply burned. No death ceremonies are undertaken. At the burning they receive no box, but are reduced to ashes, like the girls.

Like the boys, girls under ten years of age may also be exposed, buried, or burned. The corpse then usually becomes prey for dogs and wolves. Girls over ten years of age, however, must be burned, for at this time menstruation may set in, and their souls are then dangerous demons, of which even the other spirits are afraid (22). The burning is done without any ceremony

[775] [776]

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22. [Foreign text p. 657.] Why the girls are so dangerous could not be clearly established. Perhaps the same notion as is behind the pai-ta lies at the root of it, namely, that the soul leaves this life dissatisfied, that is, that after the girl attained maturity she did not achieve her proper destiny in marriage. There is no death-marriage here, as, for example, in Shantung, so the soul cannot rest in peace. This soul demon, however, is destroyed through burning, according to the statements of the Chinese and Tujen. I know of a case in which a Chinese girl was exhumed and burned two years after her death because something uncanny was always happening in the family and one accident followed another. That, however, did not help either. -- Shamanistic conceptions, too, are certainly suggested. One need only recall that the Bon priests make the bone flute from the bones of such a girl and the whip from her skin.

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[648 cont.]

766 and on the same day on which the girl died. If she died in the morning, she is burned in the evening; if she died in the late evening, she is burned the following morning. A man from her own family takes the corpse just as it is, with the clothes, over his shoulder, carries it to a remote ravine, digs a hole by a copse, piles straw and twigs in it, puts the corpse on top, and burns it. Usually a few other people also help. One does not wait until the dead girl is completely reduced to ashes, but leaves the still smoldering corpse behind and goes home. Dogs and wolves consume the remains. As soon as a girl has been married, however, 764 even if only for a few days, she receives an honorable cremation like any other woman, with all the ceremonies, with prayer, and with a death-box. This also applies to those daughters who [588] have not yet found a man, but who are married to the sky or the mani-tree.

762 If an adult, whether a man or a married woman, has 766 killed himself, he receives the usual cremation ceremonies without fire-pouring and without a death-box. Usually no one [782] is invited to give the prayer. At the final funeral meal, how- [604] ever, the mother's brother will demand a precise accounting concerning the causes of the suicide, especially if a woman is involved, and he will insist upon an honorable death rite with a death-box. Disputes are common at such times.

766 Those who lost their lives through violence, such as drownings, falls from heights, murder, etc., receive a cremation or interment like any other person of the same age.

[649] Those who died outside the yard, be it an ordinary death or through an accident or suicide, are always laid out outside of the compound, say, in a special tent or in a cave. If a suicide has taken place inside the yard, however, the person who has taken his life is laid out in the house.

792 Persons who have died far away are brought home. If 766 this is not possible, for instance, in the case of soldiers, a lama is invited. While praying he writes down the name of the de- [212] ceased on a stiff sheet of paper and sticks it in a measure of grain (wheat), which is then placed on a table in the room into which otherwise the death-box would have been brought. All the same ceremonies are now carried out in front of it, as though

[649 cont.]

792 an actual corpse were present. On the day set this sheet of paper
766 is burned in the field, but quite simply, without any oven and without a lama. No one bothers with the ashes. The lama writes
[212] the name on a second sheet, however, and this is put in the bone-chest, which is buried at the place of the burning (23) until the

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23. [Foreign text p. 657.] The neighboring Chinese have a similar custom. They place the ancestral tablet of the dead person in a little coffin and bury it in the cemetery. This interment has legal force; when it is undertaken, it is regarded as proof that the person is actually dead. A parallel is found among the Chinese in the proxy wedding with a stuffed straw-man.

[212] transfer to the kin-group cemetery takes place at the grave festival. -- The signs that the lama writes are Tibetan.

Word List

192
764 Cremation: galdë awu- = to put in the fire.

To die: ugei (guei) wōldzia = he has passed away.

He died sitting: sōwa guei wōldzia; tsuo-hua (Chin.) = transformed sitting.

Death of a bonze: niesā sdzia = he has flown away. yü-hua (Chin.) = feathered transformed.

Death of a lama: siagladzia = he has turned to nothing.

[775] He is reborn: härga (xara) rëdzia = he has come back; sdziewa.

One has put him in the crouching position: ndañlalgadzia = he has been put in equilibrium.

The dead person: guei woldzän kun = departed person.

Death clothing (shoulder hanging): bōw-la (Tib. loanword) = white garment.

Death lament: dō tedzi ula.

192 [649 cont.]
764 Death box: odõṅ.
Bone-chest: mula odõṅ = little death-box.
[354] Water-lamp: fdzë dzüla.
Paper-bowl: tsialdzë pendzë.
To wear the clothing reversed: diela furula mõsë.
Prayer tea: rgē tsia.
[782] Prayer for the dead: xar(i)dzän kunë xuenuo mani sguorluo- = (to pray) in behalf of the deceased person afterwards the mani in the circle.
Prayer fee for the lama: mbõ (Tib. loanword).
Prayer alms: odõṅ dzied = death-box alms.
192 Own family: dzienäni kudë.
601 Relatives on the father's side: dzienani šäni = own relatives, those with the same family name.
Relatives on the mother's side, affinity through marriage: urog. Those with different family names.
[608] Artificial kinship: šäni funi = kinship-smoke. Neighbors and friends who take the place of relatives in performing services at the reception of guests, cremation, etc.

[650]
[764] Bone-master, mother's brother: tsigän yesëni daxu = the owner of the white bones;
ku-chu (Chin.).
Mother's brother: nëgä; achiù (Chin.).
Nephew (sister's son): dzie; wai-sheng (Chin.).
Son-in-law: kurgien; nü-hsü (Chin.).
Sister: agü.
Daughter: fsdzün.
192 He died as a rider: tsürog morina bagaldilä sdzia fugudzia.
He died as a settler: sänrëdzi liela guei wõldzia.
764 Burned bones: xuodzën yäsë = dry bones.
Crematory: taw (tab) (Tib.).
Lighting pole: xuämbar.
Lay bonze: lao shih-fu (Chin.) = old master.
Demand for an accounting: bäda; pai-ta (Chin.).
769 Grave festival: ch'ing-ming (Chin.); sëṅ-miṅ (21) [see Note 21
192 above].

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[650 cont.]

192 Western paradise: hsi-lo shih-chieh (Chin.) = world of joys.

[775] Oil fir: yu-sung mu (Chin.).

[262] Thin flat-bread made with flour: kan pin-ping (Chin.) = little dry cakes.

[Pages 650-658 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 658 and the next section begins on p. 822.]

782 [822]

241 V. Customs concerning Agriculture and Livestock

114 1. The Sowing and Harvest Thanksgiving Festivals * (1)

* See "Notes," p. 823 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[113] 1. [Foreign text p. 823.] For this subject, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Das Herbst-Dankopfer der Tujen im Sining-Gebiet [The Harvest Thank-offering of the Tujen in the Sining Region]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-45, 867-873. -- The report there presents only the offering from the harvest thanksgiving festival as the old man described it at that time. It is interesting to point out that he seized upon this offering as typical of the festival and mentioned the entire celebration only incidentally, always with the indication that the shamans actually had nothing to do with the offering. When I later asked him why he had not described the entire festival in

782 [822 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 823 cont.]
detail, he gave the answer: "That was too much for one afternoon." Moreover, he had described the festival as it had taken place in his little village. It had always been celebrated very simply there; now he had let the festival die out completely for his village, and they would go to the neighboring village of Chichialing, where it is much longer and larger.

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Here, too, nothing is presented in detail about the individual parts, as in the other chapters, because the material is too extensive and forms a subject in itself, which is to be dealt with in connection with shamanism. It should be stated in advance here, however, that they are probably not Tujen shamans, but Chinese shamans, who are found scattered over wide areas of western China.

[756]

Report

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The sowing festival and the festival of the harvest thanksgiving are completely identical. Only in the autumn people have more flour and meat to celebrate the festival. Both festivals last several days. A definite number of days is not prescribed. At the festival one differentiates between the offering and the dances of the shamans. The offering is undertaken by the seed-master or the village elder. The dances last for an entire day; usually a market is also connected with them.

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The shamans erect a pole in the temple yard, pray several days, send out sicknesses on the first evening, and from a distance kill children or cause them to become unconscious. In the evening of the final day, before they take down the pole, they take the sicknesses back; then the people struck by them become healthy again.

[822 cont.]

241 782 756 [292] The shamans are always men (2). They wear women's

2. [Foreign text p. 823.] The name for these shamans is bō, in other words, the typical Mongolic word. The Tujen strictly differentiate them from the other shamans and the Bon priests. They are the cult dancers designated by the Chinese as fa-shih, that is, sorcerer, or shih-kung, that is, teacher, whose chief goddess is the Niang-niang, that is, mother.

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[534] clothes and a woman's hairdo. Their drum consists of an iron or wooden ring over which is stretched a sheepskin. They carry [535] the litter of the mother-goddess onto a threshing floor and dance before it. During the dance the drums are beaten. They do all [787] kinds of acrobatic feats, and one of them goes into a great trance and wounds himself.

241 782 The sowing festival takes place during the period from the third to the fifth month, the harvest festival in the ninth or tenth month. No village celebrates both festivals. There is no harvest festival where the sowing festival is held, and there is no sowing festival where there is a harvest festival.

[823] At the sowing festival one prays for protection against storms and for rain; at the harvest festival one expresses thanks for the harvest. [The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

000 2. The Pole-goat *

* See "Notes," pp. 829-830 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designation for them in the text.]

[823 cont.] 2. The Pole-goat

Report

241 789 791 778 When the seed has shot up in the early summer, one invites a Bon priest who prays on a mountain and erects the pole-goat. He comes to the seed-master on the day before, and on the following morning he goes with the men to the mountain. There they drink tea. The Bon priest sits on a felt mat. A low kang table is put before him so that he may place his cult objects upon it, and next to him is put an earthen vessel with tsamba, butter, and little gold leaves, as well as a bowl of water and red dye. He needs this for the torma. To this is added a little plate with barley and the holy-water can.

[782] First the men make the great incense offering, which is maintained throughout the performance. The Bon priest makes four little tormas, called "misfortune-tormas," which he places with all kinds of extra features on a tray. The seed-master goes in the four directions of the compass with the tray and each time throws away a torma.

[824] Then the Bon priest makes the "weather-torma." [825] Meanwhile the men slaughter a goat, stuff the hide, and put it on a tall pole. They lay this, together with the goat doll, before the Bon priest. He ties four little wooden wedges to its feet and a special wedge on the goat's forehead. He inscribes the wedges with Tibetan magical signs. Then the pole is set up, and the priest places the weather-torma, together with the extra features, before the pole. [782] A great incense offering and frequent kowtowing accompany this ceremony.

Then the priest goes to his place and makes the "mountain-torma." It has three layers and is the largest of all the tormas. He puts this behind the pole. Again incense is burned and all kowtow.

241 789 791 In the meantime other men have boiled the goat meat in the kettle. The seed-master now makes an offering of this meat to the gods. At the conclusion there is then a communal meal at which the remainder of the meat is consumed. Then all go home, but there is no singing and drinking as on other occasions. [782] [264]

[824 cont.]

241 789 791 [778] This is the ceremonial erection of the pole-goat. In the case of the simple type only one misfortune-torma is made, which represents the four others; there is also the weather-torma. The mountain-torma is omitted and no magical wedges are tied to the goat.

[782] [465] When one has undertaken the ceremonial erection, the Bon priest must come often during the summer and hold prayer services before the pole-goat. In the autumn, after the harvest, he receives from each family a certain measure of grain as compensation. In the case of the simple erection, without any summer prayer, only on the day itself is he given a large loaf of bread and a piece of meat from the loin of the goat.

Details

241 789 791 787 Time: The time of the erection is determined by the soothsayer, and in the local temple. It always falls in the period from the thirteenth day in the fifth lunar month to the sixth day in the sixth lunar month. One may also let the Bon priest determine the day. He uses three dice for this. He compares the numbers thrown with his soothsaying book and in this manner determines a day (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 829.] The time coincides with that in which the Chinese put their weather forts in order and drive in the thunderbolts (ch'a p'ai).

241 789 778 [621] [791] Place: The pole-goat is always erected on the highest mountain in the people's own local area, and only on one mountain and only one goat. Small hamlets or compounds may do it together; then the highest mountain of all these hamlets is chosen (1). -- The spot on the mountain itself is indicated by

1. [Foreign text p. 829.] If the mountain is too far away, one sets up a tent and lives there.

[824 cont.]

241 the soothsayer when the pole-goat is raised for the first time.
789 This spot is then always retained. A hole is dug there and covered
with a clod of earth or a rock so that it will not be destroyed by
778 the next year.

[791] The place is never taboo, regardless of whether the pole-goat stands there or not. One may pasture animals there, start a fire, etc. Women need not avoid it.

241 [825] Persons: Only a Bon priest may undertake the
789 performance, never a lama or a soothsayer. Nowadays the cus-
tom is scarcely ever practiced because the Bon priests have died
791 out. It is still found only in very remote mountain villages. The
[178] simple ceremony is performed by a Bon priest of the second class,
the solemn ceremony by a Bon priest of the first class because
[292] he has special magical power. The costume is that of the ordinary people since the Bon priest is, of course, a farmer. He merely needs to wear the forehead wreath and a long garment.

In addition the following act with him: the seed-master and his helper, the village elders, and generally all men, all soothsayers. It is enough, however, if only one soothsayer is represented, for instance, a sword-shaman, a spirit-table
[562] soothsayer, etc. Women must not witness the ceremony, but little girls may watch.

241 The pole: It does not matter of what wood and amidst
789 which ceremonies the pole is made. Usually it is a slender
poplar tree ten meters long. The village itself is responsible
778 for this pole. It is used every year and kept in the family of the
[621] annually alternating seed-master. It may be burned, cut up, etc. when it has served its purpose for several years.

The goat: Ordinarily it is a wool goat; color, age, sex, size, etc. are unimportant. It is true that the people prefer horned goats over the hornless. No one cares about the origin of the goat; it may be purchased, be a gift, etc. After it has been taken down from the pole in the autumn, the hide belongs to the seed-master, but it is so dilapidated that it is not usable.

[825 cont.]
241 It therefore, with the head, is left to be eaten by wolves and
789 dogs. The hide is not used for magic.
778

[791] The misfortune-torma: The Bon priest washes his hands and face and makes a little torma of tsamba mixed with butter about ten centimeters high and three to four centimeters wide. He puts it on a tray or a wooden plate. As extra features he adds in very small quantities: raw mutton or pork, leeks, beets, breadcrumbs, white and black sheep's wool, five kinds of grain, tea leaves, money, silver, gold, five little pieces of cloth, five-colored threads, and black and white sugar and puts a dough-lamp with a burning cotton wick beside them. These extra features also apply to the three other tormas, in other words, to all four little misfortune-tormas.

The extra features, along with the tormas, are thrown
[533] in all four directions of the compass, while the seed-master,
[782] amidst blowing on the conch, makes the great incense offering
[791] and the Bon priest prays the appropriate spirit conjuration. For the first four tormas the Bon priest uses only the sounding plate and the bone flute, not the double drum and bell.

In the case of the simple ceremony with only one misfortune-torma, naturally only one direction of the compass can be considered. This one is indicated by the Bon priest himself.
[791]

241 Making the pole-goat: The Bon priest does not concern
789 himself about the goat. The men fumigate and wash the goat
778 as usual and pour milk over it; while the goat shakes itself, they make [826] a threefold kowtow in a circle around it, because
825 the sky accepts the animal. Then the goat is slaughtered and
[787] the blood caught in a basin. In skinning it one does not slit open the belly side, but rather an incision is made below the tail which just suffices to pull off the hide from behind over the head. The head is cut off inside the hide so that it remains whole and unskinned within it. In the same fashion one cuts off the feet, leaving them in the hide. Only then is the skinned goat [illustration appears here] eviscerated and cut up, and the
[252] blood, with the scraps of meat, is stuffed into the cleaned intestines.

[826 cont.]

241 These intestines, together with the meat, are cooked in a kettle over
789 a hole in the ground.
778 The hide is tightly stuffed with any kind of straw in such a
[825] way that the head and legs stick out stiffly, and the pole is stuck
[252] in it from the rear up to the head. Thus the goat sits firmly upright on the pole and need not be tied on. Then the men fumigate goat and post with incense and lay it down before the Bon priest.

The raised pole-goa
(Drawing of a Tujen

[532]
[791] The weather-torma: The Bon priest meanwhile has finished the second torma, the weather-torma. It is exactly the same size as the first, that is, the four first tormas. With a prayer he puts it on a wooden tray with the following extra features: one to three butter-lamps, three little copper bowls with pure water, a little bowl of the barley wine, a little bowl of Tibetan barley or wheat, a little bowl of tea leaves, a little bowl of dough beans [Teigbohnen]. -- This torma also bears several colorful butter-flowers.

[791] During its preparation the Bon priest prays a special weather-prayer.
[782] Sometimes he also pastes some paper money on the torma. [Illustration appears here.]

Magic dagger, wooden peg, mpuru. (From the drawing of a Tujen.)

[826 cont.]

241 789 778 [791] The wedges: After making the torma the Bon priest inscribes the wedges. They are provided by the seed-master. They have the form of the Lamaistic magic dagger; they are three-edged, seven inches (23 centimeters) long, and one inch (3.3 centimeters) wide. Only the hardest wood is used; in that region there are only the three kinds: huang-san-tzu, hei-ts'u, hua-mu (7).

[824]

7. [Foreign text p. 830.] The names could not be identified; huang-san-tzu seems to be black sandalwood; hua-mu is birch. In any case it is supposed to be the hardest wood that can be found. Among the kinds of wood there, birch is in fact regarded as one of the hardest; people even make wheel rims out of it.

It does not matter whether all of them are made from one of these kinds or whether all the kinds are used. There are five wedges in all. The head of the wedge is notched into three parts (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 829.] The shape of the magic dagger varies. The grip in particular varies, but usually it is three stepped death's-heads. The daggers that I saw were all of iron. I also heard, however, that formerly there were daggers of human bones. In this way the three-edged pointed shape and the bone knob could be easily explained; it would also fit in well with the skull drum, skin whip, bone flute, etc. -- The black color signifies iron.

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[826 cont.]

241 789 778 791 [217]

The seed-master places these wedges on the table before the Bon. The latter inscribes all three sides with Tibetan magic formulas. For this purpose he uses Chinese ink and the brush or the Tibetan bamboo pencil. The wedge that is intended for the head of the goat [827] has a black hada slung around it at the head and a black string or a small chain in the middle.

Then some of the wool is cut from the pole-goat lying in front of the Bon, a few threads are twisted together, and with these the Bon priest ties on the wedges, one on each foot and one between the horns. All five wedges have the tip downward. [788] He then sprinkles water from his holy-water can over goat and pole, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley, blows on it three times, and scatters it over the whole.

241 789 791 782 [821] [823]

The erection of the pole-goat and the offering: The men set the pole in the hole and wedge it tight with stones and earth. The goat must face the northwest because storms usually come from there. As soon as the pole is firmly set, the Bon brings the weather-torma, together with the extra features, to the foot of the pole, sets it down, and immediately returns to his place in order to continue the weather-prayer. Now he accompanies the prayer only with his drum and the bell. Again the men make a great incense offering amidst blowing on the conch.

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The mountain-torma: Then the mountain-torma is prepared. It has three steps, is round, and looks like a pyramid with terraces about ten centimeters high. Altogether it is about 40 centimeters high. The torma is painted with soft butter colored red and is given the following extra features: on the first layer, water animals, frog, snake, fish, dragon, turtle, and, further, little stones, little lumps of earth, and finally a few squirts of water; on the second layer, mountain animals, deer, horse, yak, half-yak, sheep, goat, hare, fox, wolf, and a few little pieces of wood; on the third layer animals of the air, phoenix, eagle, peacock, magpie, dove, swallow, and, further, sun disk and moon sickle. On the uppermost tip are

[827 cont.]
241 placed various kinds of real flowers (3).

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[782]

3. [Foreign text p. 829.] This is a representation of the world with animals and stars, in other words, a mandala. It is interesting that the informant designates this torma as an offering, as well as all the extra features of the torma, whereas the two other tormas represent spirits.

[791] These figures are all made in miniature from butter and tsamba by the Bon priest himself. He places the torma on the tray with exactly the same sacrificial extra features as in the case of the weather-torma. This torma is likewise brought to the foot of the pole, usually behind it and somewhat elevated. Lamps and little bowls are put in front of it. Thus, two tormas in all stand under the pole-goat. While the Bon priest goes back and continues his prayers, the men again burn incense.

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The goat offering: The goat offering consists of the throwing of sacrificial meat. While the Bon priest rests from his prayers, the spear-soothsayer (or another) indicates the direction in which the offering is to be made and, with the shaking spear, supervises the performance. The seed-master takes a bowl of the broth from the kettle and throws it in the air for the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then four throws in the four directions of the compass follow, and finally three throws toward the northwest for the weather-spirits. At each throw the men kneel down and make a three-fold kowtow.

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With that the actual ceremony is concluded. The men sit down [828] around the kettle, consume the remaining meat, and drink tea. Then all go home, including the Bon priest. -- The tormas are either burned in the fire or simply left standing.

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[828 cont.]

241 The veneration of the pole-goat: During the summer the
789 farmers appear singly or together before the pole-goat, make an
791 offering, pray, burn incense, and kowtow in order to protect the
782 seed from hail. The Bon priest also comes often to pray. In
former times he even pitched his tent for a longer period of time
and remained there in order to be constantly on hand for the
weather conjuration in case of storms. This is no longer the
case today. The weather conjuration is now done by the sooth-
sayer, usually the spirit-soothsayer.

Taking down the pole-goat: After the fifteenth day in the eighth lunar month, when the harvest has been cut, the pole-goat is again taken away. One no longer has the sooth-sayer determine the day, but instead acts according to the circumstances. The Bon priest is again invited; he again makes the tormas and prays. Usually a sheep is sacrificed.

241 Interpretations: The pole-goat is supposed to banish
789 bad weather and protect the harvest. The custom occurs only
among farmers, even among the agricultural Fandse. The
776 goat has special protective power because its head serves as an
825 anvil for the god Dāntsien Sāṅ. He is the smith in the weather
821 ministry (5). During storms he hammers his iron between the horns,
[171]

5. [Foreign text pp. 829-830.] The conception of the storm ministry bears a resemblance to the Chinese lei-pu (thunder division). It is uncertain, however, whether borrowings are involved. At any rate, in the popular tradition of the Tujen the Bon priest has a special connection with weather magic (cf. also Tafel, Tibetreise). -- Concerning the storm-god Dāntsāṅ (Dāntsien Saṅ) the informant knew nothing other than that there is an image of

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[828 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 829-830 cont.]
him in the monastery Rgulõn and that he is a tutelary god of the Bon. Dăntsien is evidently a Tujen corruption of the Tibetan dam-can, "keeping a vow" (cf. Ch. Das, p. 618). This is only a general title which could be applied to many gods. According to Grünwedel (Mythologie, pp. 187 ff.), Ch. Das (p. 618), and others, however, it refers to the Lamaistic terror-god rDo-rje-legs (pa), who rides on a goat (ram) and [830] was elevated to the tutelary lord (Dharmapāla) of the doctrine. H. Hoffmann denies that he is a Tantristic god and wants to designate him as an old Bon god, in which he is correct, as the ceremony described here indicates. He then continues (Quellen [Sources], p. 164): "There is an interesting statement by Jäschke, as yet unconfirmed, according to which Rdor-legs ... was an honorable village smith. ... At any rate it is noteworthy that Waddell also speaks of a 'demon blacksmith' [cited in English]." These surmises can now be confirmed by the ceremony of the pole-goat and the tradition connected with it. The dam-can is a smith-god of the Bon and stands in a special relationship to the weather conjuration and to the goat cult which, after all, likewise belongs to the realm of the Bon or is at least pre-Buddhistic. (Cf. the old name of Lhasa, which was originally called Ra-sa, Goat-place, and had a temple of the same name.)

[828 cont.]

241 during which lightning flashes and glowing hailstones fall to
789 earth. Through this the evil demons are killed, so no misfortune
821 befalls the seed and human beings (6).

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6. [Foreign text p. 830.]
Weather magic plays an important role in all of Tsinghai. A pure Bon ceremony is involved here. Neither the Chinese nor the lamas practice it. And if it is correct that the nomads do not have it, this is an indication of the close connection of the Bon with agriculture. -- The Chinese engage in their weather magic through other shamans or through lay bonzes, exorcists, etc., never through a Bon priest. -- Only in very isolated instances does one find the pole-goat among the Chinese, and then it is along the border of the Tujen or Fandse region. I frequently saw one in a valley along the Pei-ch'uan river south of Hsin-t'ien-p'u, where there was a Chinese village; here they departed from the rule that it must be erected on a mountain.

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Other types of weather conjurations are undertaken with help of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, the spirit-litter, and with thunderbolts. All these things are the seat of deities. As soon as bad weather approaches, the corresponding bearers fetch these seats of the deities, summon the spirit, and station themselves out in the open facing the storm. Further details concerning these ceremonies in another place. The entire

[828 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 830 cont.]
weather conjuration of this region still seems to be an inheritance from the Bon. The conditions and customs connected with it are strongly reminiscent of the description given by A. Tafel for the Bon in eastern Tibet, Tibetreise, II, pp. 198 ff.

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The first four tormas represent evil demons. They are driven away by the throwing. The extra features are given so that they will be content and will not return; they are things which one needs in daily life.

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The second torma, weather-torma, represents the spirits of the weather ministry. The extra features are an offering to make them favorably disposed.

The mountain-torma represents the world-mountain. Sun and moon circle around it. This mountain is the spirit paradise. It is put under the pole so that the spirits will withdraw into this paradise and leave the human beings.

The wedges represent the magic dagger of the smith-god and his subordinates. They are the chief weapons against demons.

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The Bon priest is also a pupil and subordinate of this smith-god. He especially venerates him and likewise uses the three-edged magic dagger in conjuring away the demons. At the temple

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dances (tscham dances) the subordinate spirits of the weather-smith-god also appear with the dagger. Lamas never use the dagger. The three notches form three knobs which are supposed to represent the human skull. The demons especially fear this,

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like all things that come from the dead, such as the bone flute, the whip of human skin, and the skull drum.

192 [829] Word List

241 The pole-goat: aradziãn (Tib. loanword) = to stretch out the goat.
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ima rẽdziala (Tujen) = to stretch out the goat.

[778] The goat: ima; chũ-la (Chin.); chia-la (Chin.).

[829 cont.]

192 241 789 [782] Weather-prayer: dirēdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword) (8).
lei-pu ching (Chin.) - weather ministry prayer.

8. [Foreign text p. 830.] xsertsien: Tibetan gser = golden, skyem = drink. It is the Mongolic altan umdagan, golden drink, poured out at the obo offering, the tea offering before the obo. An offering to the local gods. --guax: Tibetan skyeg (pronounced kag) = misfortune. --mpuru: Tibetan p'ur bu = nail, peg; can also be a god's name. --satsiog: Tibetan sa = place, skyon = to guard, to preserve; king, protector. --darnag: Tibetan dar = silk, nag = black (Unkrig).

[778] Misfortune-torma: guax (8) [see Note 8 above] sdor (Tib.).
Weather-torma: dirdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword)? cf. weather-prayer.
Mountain-torma: rira (Tib. loanword) = world-mountain, Sumeru, mandala.
Magic dagger: mpuru (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above]; ting-shen-chuang; spirit peg (Chin.).
To notch: nduodba (Tib.?).
Magic formulas: snag (sēnog).
[791] Bon priest second class: xuāndie; sēnogsa (snagsa) (Tib. loanword).
peng-po (Chin.).
Weather conjuration: satsion (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above.]
The black hada (on the dagger): chao-t'ien p'a (Chin.) = the sky-covering veil.
darnag (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].
The black string: fsiasga (Tib. loanword) = lasso for capturing horses.
k'un-hsien sheng (Chin.): the genii-binding string.

[Pages 829-830 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[831]

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3. The Mountain Sheep-offering*

* See "Notes," pp. 834-835 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

After the erection of the pole-goat up to the time of the harvest a sheep is usually offered on a mountain top. This is [621] an occasion for the entire village. The people do this to ask [776] heaven, the mountain-spirit, and the spirits of the four regions of the world to protect the seeds. The offering may be repeated frequently, but only one sheep is offered each time. The [264] sacrificial meat is eaten by the participants at the conclusion.

Details

241 Time: At the erection of the pole-goat the soothsayer 782 determines how frequently during the summer and on what day a sheep is to be offered. He also indicates whether the spirits con- 787 cerned want to have this offering every year; sometimes it is [791] only once, and sometimes several years in succession. If there is no other occasion during this time, this soothsaying retains its validity. After this period has elapsed the soothsaying is done anew. -- If the village has erected a pole-goat, the offering always takes place in the period after it has been erected. If no pole-goat is present, then it may sometimes fall in the time of the erection of the pole-goat.

Place: The offering always takes place on the same mountain on which the pole-goat stands, and in front of the latter. Otherwise the soothsayer determines the spot. It must be kept for the time when the offering is due. For instance,

[831 cont.]

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in the case of a three-year offering,* one may not choose one mountain the first year and another the second year (3). Even

3. [Foreign text p. 834.] The mountain must always be located in the people's own area. Actually such heights are always present near the villages. For example, not far from the informant's compound there is a mountain that bears the name Sheep-offering Mountain, xoni šënliedzin ula, because the offering always took place there. Among the partially Sinicized population it has retained the name hsien-yang ling, that is, Sheep-offering Height, or sheng-shan, that is, Sacred Mountain. After the greater part of the village (yang-chüan) became Christian, a high cross was erected there, and in place of the sheep offering, the people now pray there for the weather blessing.

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[797] [778]

the place of the soothsaying is oriented accordingly. It is indicated where the next soothsaying will take place. It is always a mountain height, however, never a compound or a valley, as, for instance, in the case of private offerings (1).

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1. [Foreign text p. 834.] The offering may also take place before an obo. It is to be differentiated from the obo offering, however. The obo is the seat of the mountain-spirit, and since the mountain sheep-offering is done especially for the mountain-spirit, the obo is preferred. Since, on

[831 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 834 cont.] the other hand, it is done for protection against bad weather, it is also popularly done before the pole-goat.

[562] Persons: As is the case for all religious ceremonies, the women are kept away. The participants are the seed-master, the village elders, and all other men and youths. Any kind of [791] soothsayer may appear on this occasion. It is important that at the actual offering some spirit is always summoned by the soothsayer and supervises the performance. -- Participation is also [784] prohibited to all who are in mourning and in whose compound there is a woman in childbed. -- People with empty utensils, for example, empty water pails, baskets, etc., may not come near. For this reason the gong is beaten before the offering, so that such persons will stay away (2).

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2. [Foreign text p. 834.] The fear of an encounter with empty utensils is quite general in Tsinghai. It signifies poverty, vain endeavor, etc. Tujen express the wish, for example, before a journey: huodzēn sawa bi pēṅgë, that is, "may an empty vessel not appear." The Chinese, too, have similar expressions.

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Sacrificial animal: As sacrificial animal only a sheep is considered, no goat and especially no pig. The sheep may be of any color and sex, even castrated. It must be at least a year old, however. A sheep that is too young would be an insult to the gods, aside from the fact that the meat would not be sufficient for the participants. Usually the [832] sheep is [621] purchased jointly. Every family must provide grain or money for this purpose; the owner is always given compensation. To be [784] sure, the sheep may not come from a family that is taboo at the time, for instance, through bereavement, childbed, sickness, etc.

[832 cont.]

241 Such families, however, must make their contribution. The
782 main thing is that the animal be healthy and without flaw. For
[825] instance, it may not be lame or blind. Also, ugly colors are
[621] avoided, for instance, a white animal with a black head, etc.

Objects used: For the offering one needs several iron kettles, several buckets of water, knives, ladling spoons, cords, blood basins, eating bowls, firewood, etc. In addition, one takes along all the equipment for the incense offering.

Slaughtering: The slaughtering is preceded by a great incense offering, which is maintained by the men throughout the ceremony. Anyone may repeatedly throw cypress twigs into it at will, offer barley wine, etc. At the same time the
[202] conch is steadily blown so that one can hear from afar that an offering is taking place on the mountain.

Young men bring the animal to the spot, untie it, and
241 wash it with their hands from head to tail. Then it is fumigated
782 with incense. Another places a white stone in the fire. When
783 it is hot, he scoops hot water out of a kettle with an iron spoon, puts the stone in the spoon, scatters pounded cypress leaves over it, and with it fumigates the sheep. All the men who helped with the slaughtering wash their hands and faces, rinse out their mouths, and fumigate themselves. All the implements are likewise washed and fumigated.

Now they form a circle around the sheep and pour milk
241 over its head and neck. It does not matter what kind of milk
782 it is. One may also use flour- or tsamba-water or even pure
787 water. A healthy sheep shakes itself at this pouring. This shaking is an indication that the sky accepts the animal. Then the men make a threefold kowtow in a circle around the sheep. After the milk has been poured over it, they let the sheep run free for a few steps and capture it again. In case the animal does not shake itself, they immediately fetch another.

241 The slaughtering is performed by the seed-master. His
782 helpers seize the sheep by its legs and horns, force it down on
231 the ground, and bend back its head so that the throat is tensed.

[832 cont.]

241 The seed-master then cuts through the throat and arteries with
782 a powerful stroke, and the helpers catch the blood in the basin
231 with constant stirring. None of the blood is supposed to fall on the ground. Any traces of blood are covered with earth. When the sheep has ceased bleeding, it is skinned. Sometimes the head remains attached to the hide, or it is cut off entirely with the hide, and placed to one side on the hide.

241 Now one usually takes a broad board, places the sheep
782 on it, and eviscerates it. Excrement and unusable scraps are
252 put aside. The intestines are cleaned in warm water and filled with blood and little bits of diced flesh from the scraps. The eviscerated body [833] is rinsed out with water and cut apart. The thighs are cut off, the loins and rib pieces are cut out, and everything is finally cut into little pieces so that it can be cooked more conveniently.

The cooking; In a kettle over a hole in the earth water is brought to a boil, in which the pieces of meat are cooked. Women may not help with the cooking. Spices, even salt, are prohibited for the sacrificial meat. The intestines filled with blood are also boiled.

During the cooking the men sit to one side, converse, pray their mani, or offer new incense. When the meat is done, it is taken out and cut into little slices on a board, including lungs, kidneys, liver, and heart. At the same time the ribs and other bones are broken. Now several bowlfuls are scooped from the broth in the kettle and some of the little pieces of meat are put in them. Then the soothsayer is called.

241 Soothsaying: The soothsayer invokes the spirit and indi-
782 cates in which direction the bowls must be emptied. He also
791 determines how many bowls must be offered in each case. There is always an offering to the sky and to the mountain-spirit,
787 and usually also to the world-spirits; only the number of bowls
[776] varies. If one wants to make an offering to still other spirits, this is especially requested by the soothsayer. The soothsayer continues to officiate until the conclusion of the offering and with the spirit invoked supervises the performance.

[833 cont.]

241 782 [791] Offering: The seed-master takes the first bowl and throws its contents toward the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then the other bowls for the mountain-spirit and the other spirits follow. At each offering throw, the men kowtow in the appropriate direction. No one may pick up the little pieces of meat or so much as eat them. Dogs are kept away, at least until the end of the offering.

[264] Meal: After this offering the meat is taken from the kettle and divided among the men. They sit in a circle, drink tea, eat bread, converse, and laugh. After the meal all go home. Everyone takes his things with him.

Meaning: The offering is made for the protection of the seeds (4).

241 782 174 776

4. [Foreign text p. 834.] The meaning is no longer unambiguous now. The protection of the seeds is certainly involved, but whether the offering is primarily for the mountain-spirit or for the weather-spirits or for the sky is unclear. The mountain-height and the obo argue in favor of the mountain-spirit. The sky is always considered first, however. -- The old man said that in former times they had made the offering for the protection of the animals.

It is possible that originally a pure mountain-spirit or sky offering was involved, but that later, with agriculture, the weather-gods moved into the foreground, for hail and storms are feared primarily by farmers and not so much by shepherds.

[833 cont.]

241 782 171 Distribution: The mountain sheep-offering is practiced everywhere there are Tujen, even among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiahsifan (5). In some regions it is also

5. [Foreign text pp. 834-835.]

241 782 231 The ritual of slaughter and offering described here is typical for all slaughtered offerings. In the case of goats and pigs the procedure is the same. Because the pig squeals too much when slaughtered (it is not unconscious), its mouth is tightly tied together. The pouring with milk is omitted for pigs. The sheep's mouth is likewise held shut. Perhaps this is a survival from a suffocation sacrifice.

241 782 In the case of longer festivals the slaughtered animal is not cut up immediately, but is tied to a longish table or frame after the skinning and the removal of the entrails, and in its natural position with the legs spread apart, if possible standing and with head raised. It is placed before the deity or the temple entrance in this fashion. Only at the conclusion of the festival is it cut up and boiled. Sometimes the cut-up uncooked parts are also presented before the deity.

The distribution of the sacrificial meat is usually done in the form indicated after the cooking as a meal. The hide is usually given back to the owner; the [835] head is received by the seedmaster or the officiating supervisor. Bon priests, lamas, shamans, etc. who

[833 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 834-835 cont.]
have been invited often receive a loin, jou-fang-tzu (Chin.), that is, "meat square," or a thigh, etc. These are not cooked, but are laid aside for this purpose.

For the rest, there are always minor variations, but always the following sequence: purification (washing), slaughtering, offering, meal. Slaughtering, offering, and meal may sometimes be distributed over various days.

[171] the custom among Chinese, but not generally. The Chinese, however, do not go on the mountains for this purpose, but make the offering in the local temple.

Word List

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To sacrifice a sheep on the mountain: uladë xoni šënlie- (šënlie-)
Offering throw: dziarin uguo = to give throwing away.
p'ao-ts'an (Chin.) = to throw away.
Own area: dzienani satsia.
Empty utensils: huodzën sawa;
k'ung chia-shih (Chin.).

[Pages 834-835 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[835]

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4. The Procession around the Field*

*See "Notes," pp. 838-839 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[835 cont.] 4. The Procession around the Field

Report

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782 As soon as the seed develops ears in the summer, the procession around the field takes place. One hundred and eight
[778] men of the village, with the seed-supervisor, set out on the way to the nearest lamasery and fetch the 108 sacred books. On this occasion they present a large kettle of tea to the lamas; before the Buddha images of the monastery they make an offering of butter for the lamps. The Tujen of this region go usually to the monastery Rgulõñ (1); the way there takes an entire day

1. [Foreign text p. 838.]
Concerning the monastery Rgulõñ,
cf. the introduction and Part 2, II, 4.

each time. The books are brought into the local temple.

The procession takes place on the following morning. All the men of the village and all soothsayers gather in the temple yard. First a great incense offering is made. Then all
[791] the soothsayers do their soothsaying in succession, the spear-
[787] soothsayer, the sword-shaman, the litter bearers, the table-god bearers. As many soothsayers as are there must appear. One wants to find out through them how the weather and the harvest will be during the course of the summer.

Once the soothsaying is over, the procession starts moving. At the head goes the spear-soothsayer with the spear, then follow the shamans, the god-litter, the spirit-table, and the 108 book-bearers, one after the other. In this procession
[533] the drum beaters, trumpet and conch blowers, cymbal and gong beaters are in single file. Also, all the flags of the temple are taken along, and they are carried by the book-bearers, the flags over the left shoulder and the book on the back. Two men follow behind them, each with a large back-basket of straw, cypress leaves and incense additions, and a jug of pure water. Other men join on at will.

[788] During the entire procession the trumpets are blown, the drums beaten, and the Om mani padme hum prayed. The

[835 cont.]

241 782 procession moves from the temple directly to the nearest mountain and along the ridges across all the mountains of the entire village area. On each height the customary incense offering is burned by the two men, while the procession itself moves on. Towards midday, however, a halt is made on a height especially designated for this purpose. After the incense offering refreshments [264] are taken. The people bring bread, tea, and soup here in advance. Then the procession marches on. Not until evening does one return to the temple. On the following day the people take the books back to the lama monastery.

[836] Details

[562] Persons: Only male persons may take part in the procession, regardless of whether they are adults or boys, so long as they are strong enough to carry the heavy book and can pray the mani. The seed-supervisor determines how many persons each family must provide to make up the number of 108 book-bearers. If there are not enough people in one village, help is brought in from the neighborhood. Chinese are also admitted. -- In fetching and taking the books back to the monastery the number does not matter, so one person may carry two books. The Tibetan books are, to be sure, very large and heavy, since they are bound between two boards.

241 782 624 794 The seed-supervisor is changed every year at the harvest thanksgiving offering. He is charged with taking care of all the religious celebrations of the year. He is not the village mayor, however. Because his main concern is the seed, he is called seed-supervisor. The supervisor of the past year helps him (2).

[171] [797] 2. [Foreign text p. 838.] The Chinese, too, have such a religious supervisor who is chosen annually. Usually he is simply called t'ou-jen, that is, head man, or he is also called huei-t'ou, that is, meeting (festival) head; ch'ing-miao t'ou is also used,

[836 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.] but only for the period of the sowing festival with the cult dances. -- The Christian missionaries have taken over this arrangement for their ecclesiastical celebrations and folk festivals. Thus, besides the community mayors there are also special supervisors who, for instance, organize the festival for processions or at Easter, accommodate the guests, slaughter the festival sheep, etc.

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It is not absolutely necessary for there to be several soothsayers. If a village has several, however, they must all appear. If it has none at all, then it invites at least one from outside. A lama or a Bon priest is never invited.

Time: The time for the procession around the field is determined by the soothsayer at the pole-goat offering in the spring (aradziãn) on the thirteenth day in the fifth month. The procession itself must always be in the seventh month, when the seed is developing ears, because the greatest danger for the coming harvest is precisely at this time on account of the many and big storms during this month (3). The time is also often

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3. [Foreign text p. 838.] Cf. the sections, "Mountain Sheep-offering" and "Pole-goat."

determined in the lamasery. Since, of course, there are many villages that want to hold the procession, it may happen that two villages set the same time. Therefore the seed-supervisor goes to the monastery a month in advance and inquires when the books are available. The day is determined accordingly. -- It is usually calculated that the ceremony will last three days, one day for fetching the books, one for the procession, and one for

[836 cont.]

241 taking them back. One day can be saved, however, if the books
782 are taken directly to the following neighboring community or fetched from there. In this case the monastery must be notified. The procession must begin at the first sign of dawn because otherwise one day would not be sufficient.

Place: Only one's own village area is considered for the
[628] procession.[1] It is not permitted, for instance, that two villages join together and hold only one procession in both areas. Also,
[346] the people always gather in the temple, for every village has at
[787] least one small temple; no soothsaying is done outside the temple or temple yard.

Objects: The books are not absolutely necessary. A book procession does not take place every year, but usually only every three years. In the other years the procession is held without books. The ceremonies [837] are the same, except that the monastery is not notified when the date is set; two days are saved that would have been necessary for the transportation of the books. Also, the number of participants need not be 108, al-
[801] though because of the sacred number it should be aimed at (6).

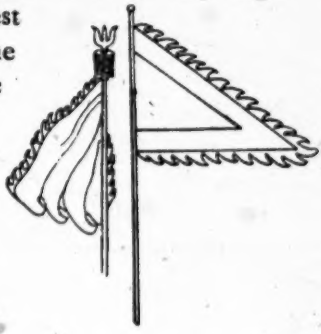
6. [Foreign text p. 839.] The book-carrying is a widespread custom in all lamic monasteries. In particular one can repeatedly see women who carry the heavy books, volume after volume like a rucksack on their backs, around the prayer halls of the temple, which often goes on for days, chuan miao (Chin.). Many Tujen women make such a vow in times of distress or sickness. -- It should also be recalled that a Tulku [Living Buddha] blesses the faithful by placing the book on their foreheads.

[1] [i.e. - Procession around the field. - ANALYST]

[837 cont.]

241 There are no rules about the musical instruments. [Illustra-
782 tion appears here.] Whatever one has is taken along. The temple
533 drum -- a barrel drum with a drumhead on both sides -- and the conch are always certain to be there. The drum is not very large and is carried on a belt in front of the chest so that it can be beaten on both sides. The conch shell is the same as that used at the incense offering. The trumpets are the
[177] ordinary Chinese shawms (la-pa); the cymbals and the gong are also Chinese.

241 Among the flags there are black,
782 red, yellow, etc. Usually they are provided with colorful borders. There are also flags with pictures, for example, of the mountain-spirit. Many flags also have Chinese sayings sewed on
[532] them, usually in white. There are no special Tujen names for the flags. The number is arbitrary.



Flags such as are carried during the procession around the field. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

Aside from the usual cypress incense the Chinese incense sticks are also popularly taken along; butter, water, tea, etc. are just as desirable as at other incense offerings. More recently yellow paper
[177] is also burned in Chinese fashion.

The soothsayers must always carry along their soothsaying tokens, that is, the objects that are the seat of the spirit, in other words,
[778] spear, litter, table, etc. During the entire procession, the spirit
[791] remains in the object concerned, which is signified by the shaking and rattling of the bells and the movement of the bearers.

241 Soothsaying: At the soothsaying one tries to learn as precisely
782 as possible when and where the heaviest hail will come down and
787 how one should protect himself against it, whether by means of offerings or prayer or the mani-tree, and the like. At this time the
[821] seed-master makes a brief speech to the spirit concerned, charging him with the duties that he must fulfill for a good harvest and telling him that he will be rewarded for his protection by an offering (4).

241 4. [Foreign text p. 838.] An offer-
782 ing is usually connected with the

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.]
soothsaying, for instance, a cock offering, grain or bread offering, etc., as I was able to observe.

Meaning: The purpose of the procession is to honor the gods so that they will protect the seed and provide an abundant harvest. [778] The sacred books have a special power. Above all, however, the gods that are taken along are supposed to spare the fields from hail and storms. -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have [171] this procession. The Chinese do not have it in this form (5).

5. [Foreign text pp. 838-839.] The Chinese have the procession in two stages. Once, when the seed comes up. Then the driving in of the thunderbolts in the weather forts on the mountain peaks takes place. They move with music and flags and the god-litter onto the mountain and take along the wooden wedges inscribed with magical formulas. They call this ch'a-p'ai, that is, "to drive in pegs." -- A second procession takes place later in the summer, and every 14 days, on the first and fifteenth day of each month. They call this procession chuan shan, that is, to march around (on the) mountains. On these occasions only flags or musical instruments are taken along. Formerly the conch trumpet was blown on these occasions, which otherwise is not used among the Chinese.

[177] As the informant related, the Tujen today have already to a great

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.]
extent taken over this ch'a-p'ai, in other words, the procession with the driving in of thunderbolts, in place of the former aradziãn (pole-goat), and for the reason that there are hardly any Bon priests. The chuan-shan of the Chinese, however, is not the same as their procession around the fields, sguora. To be sure, it also took place in the summer, but every 14 days, whereas they would hold their field procession only once. Nowadays, however, when the Tujen are already half-Chinese, they would also do it more simply, but therefore more frequently, just like the Chinese.

It is difficult to say what is earlier. It appears that a Lamaistic custom is not involved, for one never invites a lama, and even the Buddhist books are unnecessary. There must always be a soothsayer, however, with the spirit invoked. It is therefore possible that this procession [839] is connected with the original shamanistic weather conjuration as it is still practiced today, and that the Buddhist books did not come in until later.

The Chinese field procession, on the other hand, makes an impoverished impression. Only flags and musical instruments are taken along. The people participate only very poorly, and the procession lasts only three to four hours. Formerly the conch was blown on these occasions, but no longer now. The conch, however, is a peculiar feature of the Tujen and Fandse, not of the Chinese. Furthermore, the field procession

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.] is no longer held in many places. And this seems to be all the more the case the farther eastward one goes, in other words, into Chinese territory.

Thus it may be asserted with some degree of probability that the field procession is of neither Chinese nor Lamaistic origin. With the Sinicization of the Tujen, and the Fandse in particular, it was still practiced initially, then fell into disuse more and more, and finally was completely lost. -- On the other hand, non-original elements have been added, such as the Buddhist books and the Chinese musical instruments, probably also the god-litter, which almost always shelters the Chinese Niang-niang, the mother deity, and finally also the Chinese incense and the offering paper.

The Chinese thunderbolt procession will be described in more detail in a separate work. Here it should merely be noted that it is connected with the weather forts. These are found only in Tsinghai and its border region to southern Kansu. They might well belong to a shamanistic cycle of ideas.

[838] Word List

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Procession around the field: sguora (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 839.] sguora: Tibetan skor = to circle around (Unkrig).

3: Schröder--248 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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[624]
[794]
[534]

[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor: tōrōdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.

Trumpet: dōṅ; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.

Cymbals: nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rēbuoġē (?).
ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.

Flags: ch'i-tzu (Chin.).

Books: luān = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.

Book-bearers: luān rēgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

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VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

* See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

[839 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 842 cont.]
with which then the performance is
likewise supervised.

into the spear, and one asks him, for instance, "Shall we consecrate an animal?" He answers, "Yes." "Do you want a goat, a hen, a horse?" [840] "No." "Do you want a sheep?" "Yes." "Shall we consecrate it to a god?" "No." "Shall we consecrate it to the sky?" "Yes."

Then the soothsayer sets the spear aside. Hastily the people run to fetch a sheep. They bring it into the yard, because one consecrates an animal to the sky only out in the open. A man holds in his hand a little plate with barley; on top of this he places a narrow red band. He stands next to the soothsayer, who again has invoked the god and amidst spear shaking supervises the action. Now once more there is an interrogation, during which one determines when the consecration is to be renewed.

The sheep is then washed from head to foot with pure water. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from the little plate with the tip of the spear and throws them into the [783] incense, which is burned throughout the ceremony. Another puts some of the incense in a hollow tile and fumigates the sheep all around. Then he pours a bowl of milk over the animal's neck, back, and head. All the men kneel around the sheep in a circle, and when it shakes itself they make a threefold kowtow, for the sky has accepted the animal. The soothsayer sets the spear aside.

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Now one takes the red band from the little plate, holds it in the incense, ties it in the wool on the sheep's shoulder, and lets the sheep run free. It may run where it will, for it belongs to the sky.

Each year this sacred sheep is again brought here in the first month from the first to the fifteenth day. Then the consecration is renewed in similar fashion before the spirit-spear and a new band is tied in the wool.

[840 cont.]

Details

778 Place: It is unimportant where the interrogation takes
787 place; first the spot must be swept clean and, in case it is in
[783] the house, fumigated. The hands and face are washed and the great incense offering is made in the yard.

If the ceremony is in an open field or in the pasture, the place is not swept, for field and pasture are always clean. Incense is always offered, however.

Sometimes the place of interrogation and that of the consecration are different, for instance, when during the interrogation in the house it turns out that the animal is to be consecrated to the sky. In that case, one immediately goes out into the yard and continues the performance there. -- If the animal is consecrated to the mountain-spirit, one goes outside the village on a hill or before the obo. Small animals, for instance, a hen, may be consecrated in the house before the household altar.

If the entire village consecrates an animal, then everything takes place in the temple yard, and likewise if several families jointly consecrate an animal. If there is no temple, a clean compound is sought.

Time: There are no special days for the consecration. It depends entirely upon chance, whenever illness, misfortune, etc. happen. The ceremonies are always undertaken in bright daylight.

[841] The people are always careful that the consecration follows immediately after the interrogation. For this reason they immediately fetch the animal. Sometimes it also happens that they do not immediately find an appropriate animal; then one to two days pass between the interrogation and the consecration. In this case after two days one continues amidst the same ceremonies. Only the purification of the place and of the people and the incense offering are repeated.

778 Consecration-master: The consecration-master may be:
562 an individual person, a family, a village, several families. It

[841 cont.]

778 is never women, however. It is true that a single woman may
562 promise an animal, for example, but in such a case other men, such as the mother's brother, undertake the interrogation and consecration. This may be done in the house of the woman.

778 Animals: As consecration-animals the following are per-
825 missible: horses, mules, asses, cows, sheep, goats, and even
[783] hens; pigs or dogs are never taken because they are unclean. In the case of all these animals, age, color, sex, or castration plays no role. White or male animals are not especially pre-
[178] ferred. Large animals are no longer consecrated now, because the Tujen no longer have the large herds and are too poor. Usually one promises sheep and goats. Hens are frequently chosen because they are the cheapest (2).

2. [Foreign text pp. 842-843.] In the Tujen monastery Rgulõn the choice of animals is different. A lama and a shaman related: one never consecrates dogs, and no hens, [843] only cocks, but these in all colors. Of the horses one takes only stallions; they must be black with a white spot on the forehead or grey (ch'ing-ma) of black-white mixed color. Of the mules one takes only females, no male animals. Their color is a bright reddish-brown. Belly, mouth, and eye-rings should be light. Of ordinary cattle and yaks one takes only black steers that have a white spot on the forehead; similarly among the sheep only black rams, flawless and with circular or doubly curled horns. -- I also saw such animals there in the monastery. The consecrated mule was especially beautiful; it looked almost exactly like a wild

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[Note on foreign text pp. 842-843 cont.]

chiang. The rules mentioned here lead one to surmise that conceptions from lunar mythology (black-white, circular horns) are involved here. The preference for male animals, with the exception of the mules, is also striking. -- This rule is also decisive in profane life. People who have a high opinion of themselves ride only male horses (gelding), but female mules; the reddish-brown color with white mane and white tail is regarded as elegant. White eye-rings, belly covering, and white mouth are highly esteemed for all riding animals of whatever color and help to determine the price. -- It is also interesting that among the goats the lamas prefer not black, but reddish-brown bucks.

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The old man said that the ordinary people would not bother with these rules unless they gave the animal to the monastery. Otherwise the color, age, sex, castration, etc. were unimportant, so long as the animal had no physical defects.

The released animals usually stay with their own herd or in the house, for they are used to it. If they run away, nobody bothers about it. A family always keeps horses, mules, and cattle at home and uses them as before. This was not the case originally, however; it is a deviation from the old custom, brought about by poverty and work in the fields.

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A consecrated animal may never be killed. It must die a natural death. If it is eaten by a wolf, it need not be replaced. If an evildoer kills the consecrated animal, then the punishment of heaven or of the consecration-deity will strike him. Also, under no circumstances may one slaughter a consecrated animal for the offering; this would be tantamount to ordinary killing.

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[841 cont.]

778 Regardless of how the animal[1] lost its life, its flesh may never be
825 eaten.

Furthermore such animals may not be sold or given away,
[262] for they belong to the god. One may give it to a monastery
[432] where it is cared for and protected until its death. -- An animal may not be acquired for the consecration with money; it must always be given as a gift.

There is no special watch over the consecrated animals, so that they can freely mount one another. The offspring are
[422] then counted as profane animals and fall to the original owner.

Whether the animal is pleasing to the god is manifested
[787] when the milk is poured over it. If it does not shake itself, one immediately fetches another; the ceremonies are then repeated. Every healthy animal shakes itself. If there is no milk, one dissolves tsamba or white flour in pure water so that it looks like milk. Some people take only clear water. This is not proper.

There are gods who ride the animals, for instance,
[776] Amtsiensa rides [842] on a wool-goat and Lamusa on a mule (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 843.] In the monastery Rgulõh each month (on the first or fifteenth day) consecrated riding animals are magnificently saddled and led onto the colonnade of the chief temple immediately in front of the entrance. There they are offered to the god (Fo-yeh) for riding; then one lets them
[792] run. -- Perhaps it is worth mentioning in this connection that the Tulkus (incarnation) of the lamic monasteries may ride only white horses, which otherwise are not regarded as superior.

It could not be discovered which
[171] gods are the riding gods. The Amtsiensa corresponds to the Chinese Tan-chiao hao-hua, and the Lamusa to the Chinese Lo-tzu t'ien-wang, that is, the heavenly mule-king.

[1] [Ke - a consecrated animal - See cat. 116, pp 248-249 - ANALYST]

[842 cont.]

778 [825] -- The name of the animals, however, is not taken from the deity concerned, but from the consecration band. Thus, the animals are called consecrated horse, consecrated sheep, etc. The Chinese say "sacred horse," "sacred sheep," etc.

Consecration bands: The bands are simply called "the consecrated." Although all the sacred colors are permissible, red or yellow is preferred for them. It does not matter where the band comes from or what material it is made of. Hada strips, pieces of clothing, wool or silk threads, anything is permitted. The size varies, but on the average it is an ell long and two fingers wide.

The band is supposed to be tied on the front part of the body and on the upper half of the animal, for instance, on the mane, forelock, or shoulder. In the case of hens one slings it around the neck. If the animal loses the band, it is not replaced. -- One can also tear off a band from the spirit-spear, from the spirit-litter, etc. In that case, however, it must later be replaced. Nevertheless these bands are not especially fumigated; they are already pure through their earlier designation (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 843-844.] There are two names for the bands on the consecrated animal, which are valid both before the consecration and after the consecration. The one is the name šdien, exactly as for the bands on the consecrated spirit-seats (spirit-spear, -table, -litter). But whereas in that case one can call the object together with the bands šdien, here the animal together with the band is never called šdien, but only the band alone, an indication that the consecrated animal is not regarded as possessed by the spirit.

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[842 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 843-844 cont.]

The second name is šdier; šdier corresponds to the Mongolic seter; cf. DMF, p. 335, "sdier, ribbon or piece of material attached to the tail or to the mane of an animal consecrated to the deities running free. Cf. Mong. seter, ord. se't'er id." [translated from French]. -- The Tujen designate both the consecration band and the consecrated animal with šdier. This likewise agrees with Mongolic linguistic usage. According to W.A. Unkrig (communication), seter is a [844] band that is tied in the animal's mane or tail. seter also refers to the animal itself and the rite by which it is consecrated. For seter, Kovalevskij (1346) gives the Tibetan equivalents bsruń rtags. According to Jäschke (594 and 212) this means: tutelary-spirit sign, through which it is clear that the animal belongs to the tutelary spirit. Neither Jäschke nor Das have the word combination bsruń rtags.

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[791] Renewal of the consecration: Usually the renewal takes place in the local temple. The soothsayer determines which day between the new and the full moon. This day of renewal must then be maintained for the life of the animal.

One may also choose the original place of consecration. -- Consecration-master, consecration-god, and consecration-animal must always remain the same. Only if an animal no longer shakes itself when the milk is poured over it is another one taken.

Also, old lost bands are not replaced at the renewal, but
[211] every year a new band is added, so the years of consecration can be determined by the number of bands.

[171] Distribution: The animal-consecration is practiced wherever Tujen live. The Chinese do not know it; only in

[842 cont.]

778 isolated instances do they copy it from the Tujen, where they
171 live with them. The Fandse (Tangut) and also the lamic monasteries do have the animal-consecration. There it is much more solemn (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 844.]
The animal-consecration among the neighboring Chiahsifan in Benbar (Hsi-ch'uan) is similar to the one described here. There, however, one only takes animals capable of reproduction, but no asses. The preferred colors are chestnut-colored hide with black mane and black tail (hung-tsao-liu) and eggshell-colored hide with black mane and black tail (yin-k'uo). In place of a band of material one takes small hand-sized rags (cut in the form of streamers) in the five sacred colors and ties them together. Usually they are tied in the mane. -- The consecration is not performed by private persons, but by the lama, shamans, or Bon priests. A one-day prayer service is connected with it. -- The animals are usually kept for use in the house, and even ridden, but a saddle that a woman has used may never be put on them. The renewal takes place every year on the same day of the first consecration.

One sees many riders with such beribboned animals.

[842 cont.]

Word List

192
778 Consecration-band: šdier (Tib. loanword).
hung-tzu (Chin.) = the red.

To tie on the consecration-band: šdier fuya-.

[825] The consecration-animal: šdier.

Sacred horse: šdier mori; sheng ma (Chin.).

Sacred sheep: šdier xoni; sheng yang (Chin.).

Sacred goat: šdier ima; sheng chia-la (Chin.), etc.

[Pages 842-844 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[844]

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2. The Demon-escort *

* See "Notes," pp. 846-847 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

789 The demon-escort consists of leading the harmful spirit
[791] out of the house and releasing it in the distance. It is done upon
[777] the command of the soothsayer in case of family misfortune.

On a set day one invites a lama to the house. He prays
[792] for six days with the usual ceremonies and makes several tormas
with the appropriate additions, as on other occasions. The
[778] compound is taboo, and the master of the household makes the
[782] great incense offering three times a day.

In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes the actual
[778] demon-torma, which, with all kinds of provisions for travel, is
[792] placed on a table in front of the household altar.

On the seventh day one takes the torma, along with a
[825] riding animal carrying the travel provisions, outside the village

[844 cont.]
789 and releases the animal. It may run where it will; no one pays
[825] any attention to it.

Details

789 Persons: The demon-releasing may be undertaken by: a
792 lama, but not a hutukhtu, a Bon priest, a shaman, a spear-
soothsayer, or other soothsayers with litter, table-god, etc. The
791 six-day prayer service, however, is undertaken only by lamas
756 and Bon priests; this is the great releasing, [845] whereas the
ceremony performed by a shaman or soothsayer alone is the
little releasing. Even though at the great releasing the lama may
do everything himself, usually a soothsayer nonetheless goes
along (spear, litter, etc.). The members of the family take
care of everything else, getting the animals ready, gifts, etc.

789 The animals: The animals permissible are: horses,
825 cattle, sheep, goats, hens, and cocks. Those not permitted are
dogs, pigs, mules, half-yaks. Dogs and pigs are regarded as un-
[783] clean. Mules and half-yaks are incapable of reproduction; for
this reason, too, one does not take castrated animals. The rules
connected with the animal-consecration do not apply here. The
animals are ridden by the demons and carry the burdens on their
travels. The hens, however, can be burdened; one simply lets
them fly. They are therefore usually used only for the "little
releasing." Special ceremonies, such as washing and fumigating,
are not performed on the animals; also color and age are unim-
portant.

782
789 The travel provisions: The following things are packed
in the travel bag, which is usually woven out of wool: money
[484] (any kind of money, just so long as it is in circulation at the
[415] time), cloth (for instance, cotton, silk, linen, of any color),
a strand of unspun wool, cotton or silk threads (no wool threads),
tea leaves, baked or steamed loaves in any number desired, a
food bowl of porcelain or clay (no ordinary wooden one), new
men's clothing, elegant boots, cloth shoes, an elegant cap or an

[845 cont.]

789 elegant hat, black and white sugar, fresh good butter, a piece of
raw meat, dates, apples, and other fruits. All these things must
782 be new; they may not have been used even once, for otherwise
the demon is not satisfied and returns.

789 Releasing: In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes
a large three-cornered torma (1). The master of the household
[778]
[792]

1. [Foreign text pp. 846-847.] This form of torma can frequently be seen in lamaseries. They are especially reserved for demons. It is usually a pyramid of dough from 30 to 50 centimeters high. The types seem to vary. I saw some that were hung with intestines and bore death's-head figures (at the banishing of the mBarma in Kumbum); others had an arrow with a mani-wheel stuck in them, etc. Evidently the Tibetan zor, Mongol. = sor [847] (Unkrig), is involved. Ch. Das writes under zor, p. 1098: "reaping-hook, a sickle, a knife, esp. the weapons employed in combating the evil spirits in the gtor ma offerings, such as knife, sword, sling, bow and arrows" [cited in English]. There is a very detailed description of the manufacture, consecration, and use of the zor in Pozdneev, Skizzen [Sketches] (pp. 283 ff.): "A three-cornered pyramid, hollow on the inside, which is made of dough and colored a flaming red, is called zor. Figures are engraved on it with the burin, such as flowers, circles, fiery tongues, etc., as a result

[845 cont.]

789
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[Note on foreign text pp. 846-847 cont.]
of which the whole pyramid is given the appearance of a fiery, flaming bonfire. The representation of a skull, which is likewise made of dough, is put on the tip. But then the same kind of skulls are placed at the foot of each of the three corners. An arrow is stuck in the middle of the pyramid, from which hadak hang, and which, instead of feathering, bears a little wheel ..." etc. (Translated by W.A. Unkrig.) Lessing maintains of the arrow in the zor: "To this arrow attached a 'ghost or spirit', as my informant put it" [cited in English] (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148). -- Whether and to what extent this arrow in the demon-torma is connected with the arrow of good fortune is unclear. One conceives of the zor most simply as bearer of the weapons that are feared by the demons. A similarity with the weapon-bearing and demon-combating gurtum is undeniable.

789 places it on a table in front of the household altar, but not on the altar. Alongside it he places the sack with the clothing and food provisions.

On the following morning, the seventh day, one in-
[791] vites the spear-soothsayer. After a good breakfast he summons
[787] the spirit and determines the exact hour in which the demon must be carried away. Usually it is done immediately following the soothsaying.

[791] A man takes the saddlebag, the lama the tray with the
[792] torma that represents the demon, and behind him follows the

[845 cont.]

789 spear-soothsayer amidst constant shaking; he must remain until
792 the end. They go in front of the yard gate. There another man
[791] waits with the animal. The master of the household places the saddlebag on the unbridled and unsaddled animal and leads it away by the head harness, followed by the lama, spear-soothsayer, and the other men. The procession goes out of the village by the usual route. Outside the village he leads the animal a distance across the fields, takes off its head harness, and chases it away, and to be sure in an uninhabited direction so that it cannot immediately run back into the village. On the [846] spot at which the animal was released, the lama sets down the torma. Before it a man erects a small wall of clay bricks with the broad side facing the village, so that the demon will not come back again. Then all go home. The animal is not supposed to run home again; no one bothers about what happens to it. It belongs to the demon. In case it does come running back again later, it is driven off with blows of a stick.

789 The simple releasing: Besides this ceremonial form,
791 there is also a simple releasing, which takes only half a day
757 or a whole day. One invites a shaman or a soothsayer, who escorts the things away. On this occasion there is no praying and no torma is made. The master of the household holds a hen in readiness and brings the traveling clothes and food on a tray before the household altar. The soothsayer or shaman invokes the spirit and, followed by the master of the household, goes with the tray out into the field. There a large pile of straw is heaped up. The things on the tray are flung into it and the whole is set afire. While the flames beat upward, the hen is allowed to fly away. -- If a soothsayer officiates, then the performance usually takes place in the morning. If a shaman undertakes the releasing, then it is not done until the late evening at the coming of darkness. The shaman follows
[787] in a state of trance and swings his sword in battle against the demon. Even if the shaman at the "great releasing" follows the lama in place of a spear-soothsayer, he performs this
[535] sword dance, but this is always in broad daylight (2).

[846 cont.]

789
184
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[782]

2. [Foreign text p. 847.] There are similar spirit-releasings in many variations both among the Tujen and among the Chinese. The basic feature is the same everywhere: one releases the demon with many gifts so that it will not return. The ceremonial driving away of the mBarma demon in Kumbum is nothing other than such a releasing, only with a more complicated ritual and with the expenditure of enormous sums of money. The demon is represented there by his mother's brother, a selected man, while his image is burned together with the thread (mdos) towers. In the neighboring Huchu valley, for instance, in Kanchiapu, he is represented by the dough image and then is beaten to pieces by the children and eaten; in Tsungchai he is conjured into a kind of "town fortress" (tu-ch'eng) and this is burned; farther up in Kao-ch'iang-p'u he is put, with his belongings, on a little boat and allowed to float away.

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[776]
[782]
[556]

Interpretation: The demon who disturbs the compound must be led away with all the gifts and conveniences imaginable so that he will not think back on his old location. The prayers of the lama and also the torma depend upon the demon. Regardless of whether it is a great or little exorcism, the effect is the same. Only the wealthy can afford large animals, and usually today it is only the lamic monasteries that undertake such an expensive ceremony.

[846 cont.]

789 If an evildoer steals the animal or the things,[1] the
776 demon will punish him.
688

Word List

192 Demon escort: rëdzõňwa (Tib.?) ġarġani = one takes away
789 that which is to be taken away.
[778] The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].
Saddlebag: dadzë (Chin. loanword).
Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[847]

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3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

751
755
789 Report

In order to protect the children from misfortune, one
791 invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then
they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they
[777] make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.
[778] On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter
and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing.
[782] There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

1 [ie - the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST]

[847 cont.]

Details

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755 Time: Ordinarily the ceremony takes place when a child is sick. It can also be undertaken, however, as a preventive measure against [848] sickness. Then the third or ninth month is chosen by preference.

789
791 Place: One stays in one's own house and does not go into the local temple; the Bon priests also live in the compound. The place is taboo during these days. The burning of the objects must always be done outside the place.

789
782 The prayer service: For the prayer service the Bon priests bring along a large double drum, which is suspended from a beam (1), and, furthermore, sounding plates, a hand bell,
791
[534]

1. [Foreign text p. 849.] By means of a ring the drum is suspended from a beam in the room with a cord. The Bon sticks one finger of his left hand through the second ring on the drum and thus pulls the drum tight so that it does not swing back and forth. At the same time he also holds in his left hand a sounding plate. In his right hand he has drum sticks and the second sounding plate, so that through skillful handling he can beat both instruments at the same time.

bone flute, and Tibetan prayer texts. The prayer service takes place four times a day, namely, at sunrise, after the morning tea, at noon, and in the evening; the incense offering is made in the yard each time.

[848 cont.]

789 778 The litter: The litter looks like a death-box, in other words, it has the shape of a small temple with a movable door. Only it is almost entirely made of paper, even the sun-moon attachment on the ridge-piece. First a floor is made out of a soft clay plate. Into this plate, at the four corners, the Bon priest sticks poles about a meter long as columns, connects them with crosslaths, and thus makes a framework. This is covered by pasting paper on it. No particular color is required. The whole is set on two carrying poles so that it looks like a litter. [783] Then the men fumigate the litter with cypress incense. They do not use the red-hot stone. The work is not done on the kang, but on the floor.

789 778 791 532 The figures: First the Bon priest washes a clay vessel, fumigates it, puts tsamba and butter in it, and kneads them thoroughly. In all 81 figures are formed, nine kinds with nine pieces each. The kinds are: sheep, goat, hen, pig, dog, snake, frog, horse, and cattle. The Bon priests put these figures in the litter and fumigate everything together. -- The men of the household assist at the making of both the litter and the figures. [783] The Bon priests and men must wash and fumigate themselves beforehand each time; otherwise they may not give a hand. [782] The Bon priests accompany the work with prayers said by rote.

[782] The accompanying gifts: Since the figures are small, at most a handbreadth in size, there is still room in the litter for all kinds of accompanying gifts. These consist of Tibetan barley, white barley, wheat, beans, millet, and some small loaves of bread. To this are also added white and black sheep wool, white and black sugar, money, a raven's feather, some silver, and a sheet of paper on which the Bon priests have printed or drawn the images of the sickness-demons. Once everything has been placed inside, the door of the litter is [783] closed and sealed, and the litter is fumigated. Then it is put on the floor in front of the household altar. A three-cornered torma and a white horse's skull are in front of it (2). The skull

[848 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether the horse's skull represents the riding animal of the spirit could not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another torma is also made.

789 [849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day
[787] the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books
[791] the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away.
[533] They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum, sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the torma.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the torma is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen.
[782] The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long
[171] migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this custom.

[755]

4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This ceremony is very similar to the figure-conjuration of the shamans

[849 cont.]

789
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[Note on foreign text p. 850 cont.] and to the demon-escort. I could not ascertain from the notes whether the Bon priest touches the sick person with the figures and thus transfers the sickness to them, as is the case with the shamanistic figure-conjuration. Cf. the following chapter, Note 5.

Word List

192
789 Figure-litter: šergundi; made up of šē (Tib.) = demon,
[778] rēgun = nine (Tib.); ndi (Tib.?) = complete (3) (5).

3. [Foreign text p. 850.] This explanation by the informant is uncertain.

5. [Foreign text p. 850.] šergundi: Tibetan bse = demon, dgu = nine, k'ri (pronounced thi) = litter. Meaning: nine-demons' litter. -- šbawog: Tibetan sbal (pronounced bal) = toad, frog; nag = black (Unkrig).

[791] Bon priest: xuāndzie (xuāndie).
[778] Demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.).
[825] Sheep: xoni.
Goat: imā.
Hen: tagu.
Pig: xge.
Dog: nogue (noxue).
Snake: mogue.
Frog: šbawog (5) [see Note 5 above].
Horse: mori.
Cattle: ulā.

192 [849 cont.]
789 Raven's feather: kērie fōdē.
He has painted the demon on paper: tsialdzērē ilieni xuarladzia.
[778] Horse's skull: mori tolguē yāsē.
Little-bearer: ndi kurgēdzin kun = men accompanying the whole (litter?) away.

[Pages 849-850 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[850]

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4. The Figure-conjuration * (1)

* See "Notes," pp. 851-182 [of foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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[192]

1. [Foreign text p. 851.] I could not obtain any clarification concerning the actual name. It seems that the rdzõṅ in rdzõṅwa is the same as in dzõṅrē. The ceremony is quite similar to the one with the figure-litter.

[789]

Report

[756] In case of very severe illness one invites in a shaman who makes a series of figures, touches the sick person with them, and takes away the figures in the evening for burning.

[789] Afterwards he buries a series of objects in order to hold down the sickness-demon. The compound remains taboo for [357] all strangers during this time, three, five, seven, or nine days, [784] depending upon the sickness involved.

[850 cont.]

Details

755 778 532 [171] [789]

The figures: Nine kinds of things are needed for the figure-conjuration. 1. Five little paper men (2). They are

2. [Foreign text p. 851.] The Chinese, too, have these paper figures at their demon exorcisms; they call them wu-tao shen. Among them, however, it is not clear whether five or only one demon is involved. They are mentioned once in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien as wu-tao lei-shen, that is, five-way thunder-spirits, which punish human beings through wind, rain, water, fire, and epidemics.

about 10 to 20 centimeters high and of the type of the Chinese paper figures that are burned at the burial. Only here they wear Tujen dress, which depends on whether male or female demons are involved. One can also simply cut them out of a piece of strong paper, but usually they are stuck together in the form of a figure with the help of stalks of grass. 2. Five little tsamba men. They are not colored, but retain the characteristic tsamba color. Also, they wear no clothing and are represented as sexless. 3. A pig made of tsamba. 4. A hen or a cock made of tsamba. 5. A dog made of tsamba. 6. A sheep made of tsamba. 7. A goat of tsamba. 8. A cow of tsamba. 9. A horse of tsamba. These figures [756] are made by shamans with the help of a skillful man, in a way similar to the figures of the figure-litter.

755 782 Then they are put on a tray with the following accompanying gifts: a piece of raw pork, beef, or mutton, some pieces of cloth and threads in the five sacred colors for the five little men, and bread and money. The tray is set before the household altar, and a burning dough-lamp and a basin with cypress incense or a number of incense sticks are put in front of it.

[850 cont.]

755 The conjuration: As soon as it is dark the gurtum goes
756 into a trance in the usual fashion before the household altar.
[787] Then he rises, fights [851] the demons with his sword in the air, and goes to the sick person. The tray is brought after him. With his one free hand he takes one figure after another from the tray, touches the affected places on the patient with them while constantly swinging the sword and murmuring magic words, and puts them back on the tray (5).

[171]
[789]

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5. [Foreign text p. 852.] The custom of transferring sickness to animals or animal figures is also reported of Siberian shamans elsewhere. In this case, however, the similarity with the above-described Bon custom is to be noted. Originally actual animals might have been sacrificed. It was Buddhism that first combated these sacrifices and abolished them. Then substitute figures arose for them. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 176 and 263, writes in this connection: "...prohibits for the hated rivals the sacrifice of animals. In this connection the interesting fact is mentioned that the Bon-po were forced to make images of yaks and sheep out of grain mush, as well as wooden deer heads with wide horns, which henceforth had to serve as substitutes at the sacrificial ceremonies. The first-mentioned dough figures, made by means of wooden molds, are still found today, it is worthy of note, even in the rites of the Lamaists"; cf. loc. cit., where the literature is also cited.

[851 cont.]

755 Then he storms out into the street, and the men follow
him with the things while he fights on with his sword. As soon
756 as they are out of the village and reach a crossroads, they stop.
A man piles a back-basket full of straw on the ground, and the
things from the tray are thrown into it. Then the whole thing is
set afire. They do not wait any longer, but quickly go home.

755 Burial of the magic objects: The shaman designates a
789 spot on the ground in front of the yard gate; the men immedi-
[787] ately dig a pit there. The shaman, still in a trance, puts nine
[756] kinds of things in it. First he puts a black food bowl on the floor
of the pit; he puts red-hot coals in the food bowl, pours pure
water over them, and puts in an iron knife, a small bow and
arrow, a magic wooden dagger, a black chain (3), and a piece

[778]

3. [Foreign text pp. 851-852.] The magic dagger and the black chain are also used in connection with the pole-goat; cf. the appropriate section. No clarification could be obtained concerning the type of wood used for this dagger. The informant called it [852] siraldzin; he translated it with the Chinese huang-san (shan) tzu in the sense of yellow-mountain (wood). In the DMF there is the translation "armoise," Artemisia. This could not possibly be involved here. It must be a very hard kind of wood.

of iron from a town gate. He inverts a large earthen vessel over the whole (4); the men fill the pit and level it off so that one

4. [Foreign text p. 852.] The chain binds the demons, and the vessel caps them.

[851 cont.]

755 can no longer see where the things are buried.

[789] Now all go into the house. The shaman awakes from his
[787] trance.
[756]

Word List

192 Figure-conjuration: rdzõ̇nwa (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1 above], (5) [see Note 5 above], (6)
755

6. [Foreign text p. 852] rdzõ̇nwa or dzõ̇nre: At the base of these two words lies the Tibetan stem rdsons = to take away (pronounced: dzon). siradzin: Mongolic sira modon = yellow-wood. It is an especially hard kind of wood, Phellodendron amurense (Unkrig).

[778] Figures (little men): rdzõ̇nrë (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Raw meat: tōgō maxa.
Black food-bowl: xara iġa.
Black vessel: xara pëndzë.
Knife: tsidëġuo.
Magic dagger: siral(dzin) (6) [see Note 6 above] mpuru = yellow-wood magic-dagger.
Chain: fsiasġa.
Iron from the town gate: badzër-udie timur.

000 [Pages 851-852 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[852] 5. The Washing of the Sick*

* See "Notes," p. 854 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation the notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[852 cont.] 5. The Washing of the Sick

Report

755 The washing of the sick is undertaken by the sword-
[756] shaman at the coming of darkness. He puts himself in a trance
[787] as is customary during the incense offering, then throws a few kernels of Tibetan barley on his breast-mirror, which is held flat, and prophesies which illness is involved; then he under-
[357] takes the ceremonies. The taboo for the compound begins on
[784] the following day and, depending on the declaration of the shaman, may last three, five, or seven days.

The ceremony has three parts: the actual washing, fire-blowing, and the healing drink. The things needed for the washing are provided by the family itself.

Details

The washing of the sick: The washing takes place in the kitchen. The following things are needed for it: seven bowls of fresh water, an iron knife, a door lock, seven white stones, a bowl of liquor, some flowers, three, five, and seven pieces of paper with certain prayer texts, seven different things in all.

755 Now in the kitchen the hearth kettle is washed, fumi-
756 gated, and placed on the fire. The master of the household lights the fire and throws [853] incense twigs into it. Now the
[787] shaman, already in a trance, comes out of the main house into the kitchen; in his right hand he holds his spirit-sword, while he keeps his left hand free for the various actions.

First the seven bowls of water are poured into the kettle, and the shaman throws incense twigs and Tibetan barley into it. Then he thrusts his sword through his clothes into his chest as
[783] proof of his power and in order to purify himself. No blood flows.

Meanwhile the sick person is brought into the kitchen. The shaman bares the chest of the patient and thrusts the above-mentioned knife midway into it. No blood may flow. If the
[787] sick person bleeds, then he will not be healed; if he does not bleed, he will be saved. The shaman plasters the wound with one of the prayer sheets; he throws the knife into the kettle.

[853 cont.]

755 During this time a man heats the seven white stones in
756 the hearth fire until they are red-hot. Then he takes them out with an iron spoon and with it hands them to the shaman. The latter takes one stone after another in his mouth and spits them into the kettle. Then he throws the other things, the lock, the flowers, and the prayer texts, into the water and finally pours in the bowl of liquor. Now the sick person is completely disrobed, and the shaman washes him from top to bottom with his one free hand, scooping the boiling water out of the kettle with his hand. Then the sick person is put back on his kang in the house.

The water remains in the kettle, on the following two days, when the shaman has already gone, the people must repeat the washing. On the third day they pour out the water in front of the yard gate. They can use the things, the lock, knife, etc., again for ordinary purposes.

755 The fire-blowing: After the washing the shaman goes into the room of the sick person. During this time the men in
372 the yard start a strong fire with sheep dung and wood. They put
756 a plowshare in it and make it white-hot. A man puts a stick
[787] through the white-hot plowshare and takes it in to the shaman, who is still in a trance, but has given his sword to another man. Now he seizes the glowing plowshare with both hands with a hada that hangs from his breast-mirror, licks it with his bare tongue, takes a respectable mouthful of liquor, and turns to the sick person. He blows the alcohol out of his mouth over the
[273] plowshare in strong blasts, which each time makes a burst of fire shoot out toward the sick person. Then he takes the plowshare in front of the gate and places it at the foot of the yard wall. There the men immediately throw earth over it and wall it in.

755 The drink of the sick: Now the shaman again goes into
756 the room of the sick person. A man extends an iron spoon to him. He rips off a piece of the hada on his protective-mirror, places it in the spoon, and throws a few barley kernels in it. Then a man pours water into the spoon until it is full, holds it

[853 cont.]
755 in the hearth fire until the water boils and the cloth and barley
are thoroughly boiled. He hands this decoction to the sick person
756 who must drink it down immediately. With that the ceremony
is ended.

[854] The shaman rests from his exertions, eats his supper, and goes home.

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Word List

Washing the sick:	ġuãndzi (xuãndzie) fdzẽ ʼsdani = the shaman boils water.
[756] Sword-shaman:	sgurdien.
Knife:	tsidiǵuo.
Lock:	tsũrǵuo.
Red-hot stone:	sõdaṅ; ts'u-t'an (ch'ü-t'an) (Chin.).
Barley liquor:	miṅ-liu dẽrasẽ.
Flowers:	tsidziǵ.
Prayer texts:	dzayaṅ (1).

1. dzayãṅ: Mongolic ḍayaġan (pronounced ḍayan) = fortune, fate, etc.; meaning: prayer of fate (Unkrig).

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6. The House-purification *

* See "Notes," p. 855. [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

755 If someone is seriously ill, then the shaman, with the
789 men of the household, undertakes a house-purification. On this
756 occasion the demon is conjured out of the house in a straw doll,
[783] dragged out of the village, and burned.

[854 cont.]

Details

755 789 [416] Things: Seven things are needed for the exorcism: 1. A torch. It consists of a stick wrapped with straw and soaked in oil. At least one torch is needed, but usually there are several. 2. A measure of small pebbles of any color. 3. An oil-pan. This is usually only a large iron spoon that is filled with oil and glowing coals to make a strong flame. 4. Bow and arrow. The arrow is wrapped with wadding at the tip; it is soaked in oil and lighted. 5. A hemp whip. It is usually very long, up to two meters. To make it, three tapering strands of hemp are plaited into a braid that is so thick at one end that it can just be held in the hand, whereas the other end tapers to a fine point so that it will crack well. 6. A live hen of any color or sex. 7. A straw man (3). It is very simple. One takes a long

[778] [171]

3. [Foreign text 855.] The Chinese, too, often use these straw dolls, which they throw on the field or on crossroads, likewise without shamans. -- In the Tujen monastery of the Yellow Sect, Rgulõh, I once also saw Bon priests who had been invited by the monastery to undertake a demon-conjuration on the fifteenth day of each month. They also made a straw man and said that the Namśri was conjured into it by their prayers. On the last morning, before sunrise, they tied this straw doll to a mani-pole and hacked it to pieces with their knives.

smooth wisp of straw, bends it in the middle, ties off the upper third with pieces of straw so that a head is formed, and transversely through this third draws a smaller wisp which represents the arms. -- All these things are provided by the people themselves.

[854 cont.]

755 789 [756] [787] Exorcism: Towards evening, when darkness begins to fall, the shaman goes into a trance before the household altar (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 855.] Before the exorcism the shaman divines, with barley on his protective mirror, which demon is involved.

During this time a man runs out of the village with the hen to a crossroads, twists or hacks off the hen's head, and with the fluttering [855] hen squirts the blood in all directions of the compass. [982] Then he throws away the hen as food for the demon and goes home. -- The straw man is put on the threshold of the main house or in the yard.

755 789 756 [787] [273] As soon as the shaman is in a trance, he jumps up and, running in wild leaps through all the rooms of the compound, performs the sword battle against the demon. The men follow him. Stones hail down on the ground. One circles around in the rooms with the torches. One man holds the oil-pan, takes mouthfuls of liquor, and blows it over the fire into the room, so that each time a red flash shoots out. Others crack the whip from room to room and shoot burning arrows at the floor. In this way the demon is driven into the straw doll. This is dragged by a hemp string or a straw rope out of the gate over the village street to the nearest crossroads, where the hen is lying. The shaman follows, fighting with his sword; stones, blows, fire-arrows, and flashes of fire rain down on the doll. It is left lying at the crossroads. The men pour the oil out of the pan over it, throw the torches, arrows, stones, etc. on it, and leave it smoldering (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 855.] This form of exorcism is the simplest of all. Usually all kinds of other ceremonies are connected with it. I once saw such a sword-shaman as he was trying to heal a child among the Chinese. He cast

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[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.]
about himself with sword and lance, hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up a straw man, swung a winnowing shovel and a sieve, danced, and foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

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Word List

755	House-purification:	rdzõ̀wa (rẽdzõ̀wa).
789	The torch:	huo-pa (Chin.).
[416]	The stones:	taṡẽ; ṡa-shih (Chin.).
	Oil-basin:	ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
	Fire-arrow:	ġal sẽmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
	Fire-bow:	ġal lẽmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
	The hemp whip:	uhuosẽ yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
	The hen:	tagũ; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here = to live.
[778]	The straw man:	ṡdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

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7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[856 cont.]

782 soothsayer determines that the earth-god is angry and wants to
[791] have an urn. This urn is buried in the ground on a day indicated
[787] by the soothsayer. All kinds of spices are to be found in the urn,
[777] put there by a lama. This is done after a seven-day prayer in
the family itself. During these days the compound is taboo.
[792] Usually there are several urns, because one does not bother the lama for merely one. After he has filled the urn with spices on the last day, he pours liquid butter over it, ties it up with a cloth, seals the string, and paints a nuru sign on the outside. Then the urn is fumigated and sprinkled with holy water, whereupon the master of the household places it on the chest before the Buddha image.

In front of the urn one places the usual little water-bowls, butter-lamps, grain-bowls, etc. The urn, however, does not stand on the bare floor of the chest, but rather a sheet of paper is first put down as an underlayer, a few cypress leaves and grains of barley are scattered over it, and the urn is put on top.
[792] Now the lama comes down from the kang, sits on the white felt mat in front of the urn, and gives the consecration-prayer (1).

[778] 1. [Foreign text p. 858.] As is always done on other occasions, here, too, a torma is made by the lama, which is carried out into the open. It was unfortunately no longer possible to inquire as to whether this torma is put on the place where the urn is buried, say, as an offering for the earth, which is to be injured, similar to what is done at the house, at the fire-pouring, at the crematory, etc.

791 During this time the spear-soothsayer is fetched. He
787 now gives the precise hour in which the urn is to be buried.
The master of the household puts the urn on a tray, and the
782 procession moves out to the area indicated by the soothsayer.
The soothsayer follows with the invoked spear-god and then

[856 cont.]
782 indicates precisely to the foot the spot where the urn is to be
[791] buried; he likewise determines the depth. Usually this is one
[787] to two ells. A few cypress twigs are put on the floor of the pit. Over them the soothsayer scatters a few barley kernels with the tip of the spear, and one or more flat white stones, depending on how many urns there are, are put on the whole, and the urn is put on it. Then on top of the urn is put a flat white stone, like a lid. Finally the space between the urn and wall is stuffed all around with cypress twigs, and everything is filled with earth, stamped down, and made level. Then the men burn cypress incense and kowtow in front of the urn thus buried.
[792] The lama remains seated on his mat in front of it for some time yet and finishes his prayers. Then all go home.

Details

782 The urn: The urn is an ordinary clay vessel such as is
415 baked in Tsinghai. Usually they are of whitish-yellow color, about 20 to 30 centimeters high, with a thick belly and a narrow neck. The urn for the earth-spirit must be uncolored and unglazed, at least on the outside, and must have a flat bottom. The master of the household buys the urn himself, washes it
[386] [857] thoroughly, and paints it on the outside with gypsum or lime water, for only white urns are given to the earth-spirit. At the conclusion, it is fumigated and ready for use by the lama.

782 Contents of the urn: There are five kinds of grain in the
824 urn, namely: blue Tibetan barley, red wheat, white barley, white rice (2), and yellow rape. The spices are the same as at

2. [Foreign text p. 858.] Why white is used twice here, white barley and white rice, is unclear. Otherwise rice is never used among the five kinds of grain and is not even present in Tsinghai. Perhaps this is an indication of a southern origin of the urn.

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[857 cont.]

782 [824] the incense offering, the good six. To this are added little leaves of Buddha gold, little pieces of silver, corals, little pieces of mother-of-pearl, sometimes rare stones or water, and then five-colored silk threads, white and black sugar, tea leaves, and a few little balls of butter.

The filling: First a mortar with pestle, a large earthen vessel, and a clean iron kettle are provided. All these objects are thoroughly washed and fumigated in the incense fire. The spices are pounded to flour in the mortar and then poured by the lama into the vessel, where they are thoroughly mixed with the five kinds of grain. The quantity depends on the size of the urn. Meanwhile the master of the household melts a lump of butter in the iron kettle over the fire. The lama pours this melted butter into the grain and spice mixture with a spoon and thoroughly kneads everything together.

He puts this mixture into the urn, but only one-third of it. Over this first filling he puts a layer of the other additions, gold, silver, etc. Then the remaining two-thirds are added, almost up to the rim of the urn, and the liquid butter is poured on, almost to overflowing. The master of the household brings a yellow or red hada (or cloth), fumigates it, and hands it to the lama. He ties up the urn with it in three layers, in which the colors yellow and red may alternate. The thread that is wound around the cloth must also be yellow or red and is first fumigated. Once everything is thoroughly tied up, the knot is covered with sealing wax (3) and finally stamped with a seal

[439] 3. [Foreign text p. 858.] Latsia, as the sealing wax is called, is obtainable from Chinese traders.

that bears Tibetan signs. Afterwards the lama paints a nuru [778] jewel on the white urn with red pigment, usually red clay, [386] which is to signify a treasure. This makes the urn distinguishable as a treasure for the earth-god (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 858.] The Tujen call the symbol of good

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 858 cont.]
fortune, which consists of several conchoidal eggs and is surrounded with flames, nuru. This is found very often in Lamaistic symbolism and is also borne by the air-horse. It is the cintāmaṇi. Cf. above: "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation," Note 2.

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Persons: The urn can only be made by a lama who possesses special powers. One never fetches a Living Buddha for it. The latter, however, may make and consecrate them in his monastery. -- Since one can also order the urns in the monastery (they are not in stock), the master of the household may fetch it from there and bury it at home without a lama. [791] It must always be done with the assistance of a soothsayer, however, and in the presence of an invoked spirit -- If one wants to bury several urns, however, this must always be done by a lama even if the urns were bought in the monastery. -- If one wants to have several urns made at home, then he fetches [35] [784] several lamas at the same time (5). -- Regardless of whether the

5. [Foreign text pp. 858-859.]
As the lamas in Kumbum maintain, there is a great number of treasure urns, and special prayers are used for each type. [859] The urns are preferably buried in obos. -- In [192] Kumbum the urns are usually called beṅba, which seems to be the same as the Tibetan bum-ba, vessel. Another name is xdĕr-wĕm, which probably corresponds to the Tibetan gter-bum, treasure vessel, Chinese pao-p'ing. The expression sĕnoġ-dĕr (cf. section, [778] "Mani-tree and Central Fort") perhaps

[857 cont.]

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[357]

[Note on foreign text pp. 858-859 cont.] comes from the fact that the urn is consecrated with certain conjuration formulas, snags (dha-rani), in other words, represents a magic treasure.

urn is buried by one or more lamas or by the master of the household, the compound is always taboo during this time.

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[778]

[858] Place: The place at which the urn is buried must always be chosen in such a way that no person or domestic animal can desecrate it. No one may run across such a place. For this reason roads and public places are avoided, for the place is, after all, not specially marked. Otherwise the urn may be buried anywhere, in the fields or in the pasture, in the yard or in the house. Indeed, one may even set it in yard and room walls and wall it up.

Significance: The contents of the urn are the treasures and yield of the earth, everything that belongs in the realm of the earth-god or of the mountain-spirit. One wants to please these two spirits through these valuables so that they will hold down the evil earth-influences and protect human beings from misfortune. It is as though gifts were being given to persons in office (6).

[776]
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6. [Foreign text pp. 859-860.] According to this explanation, an offering to the earth-god is involved. The interpretation, however, might not suffice. One must consider the urn in its wider context. It repeatedly occurs in Tujen usage, with the arrow of good fortune, with the round manger, in the obo, in the chorten chamber, and, to be sure, in twofold form: in the one case as the seat of a deity, which through the formula scroll,

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
silk wrapping, etc. is transferred into the urn; in other cases without this deity, as, for instance, the urns accompanying the central urn in the chorten chamber and central fort, or, as in the preceding section, alone. In this case it is to be conceived as a representation of the earth with its vital and germinating forces and its treasures, as was shown above in the section on the arrow of good fortune. In the other case the earth-god takes his seat in his realm (urn). The urn is simply a part of the representation of the world-picture (mandala), as the realm of the earth-god.

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What these earth deities are is unclear. In any case the ġlu (Tib. klu) or Nagas belong among them. In addition, however, another earth-deity is venerated among the Tujen, which perhaps is of Chinese origin, for like the Chinese they also have a pig offering in honor of the earth-god and certain ceremonies for pardon that are connected with a grain offering. They are performed especially in connection with digging, housebuilding, etc., or when someone suffers harm while digging. Unfortunately I was no longer able to record these ceremonies. It cannot be definitely determined whether this earth-spirit is male or female.

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Another group to be considered is sman. A part of the filling is called ġlu-smăn (Tib. klu-sman); cf. the chapter above, "The Incense Offering," Note 11. According to H. Hoffmann,

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
Quellen (pp. 160 ff.), no clarification can be obtained concerning the Sman: "We can only conclude from the places at which they are mentioned, that earth-spirits or local spirits are involved." -- G. Tucci, Tib. Painted Scrolls (pp. 720 ff.), regards the Sman as the feminine counterparts of the gods and explains the connection between medicine and femininity in the following manner: "sman means either medicine or women. The connection between the two meanings is perhaps given by the implication that these sman were witches and that they were supposed to be possessed of the healing power with which, in shamanism, women are not rarely endowed" [cited in English]. And further below: "... but nothing prevents us from understanding 'lha and their wives' ..." [cited in English]. -- Therefore in the case of the treasure urn we would be dealing with the klu and their feminine counterparts, the sman.

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The burying of the treasure urn is often equated by the Chinese with the burying of other vessels. These are two different things, however. Chinese and Tujen often put tea bowls, vessels, and the like, with the opening [860] downward, into the ground in order to exorcise and hold down the demons. This custom, however, originates from shamanistic practices, such as the Taoists also have. Thus the shamans there throw tea bowls in the air or on the ground so that the demons will be capped (this is done when the bowl falls with the opening down),

[858 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
for instance, at the erection of the weather fort, in the case of knife-climbing, disease exorcism, etc.

Word List

192 Earth-god: ġlu (glë).
782 Earth-god urn: sënoġ-der; sënoġ (Tib.) = to meditate; der (Tib.) = urn, bottle.
[776]
[778] To buy an urn: sënoġ-der bula; bula = to buy; but used only for the consecrated urn, otherwise "to buy" is called awu-.

Contents of the urn: rdzë (Tib.) (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 860.]
Concerning rdzë, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 4. These additions are for the greater part designated by the Chinese as yao (yüo) and are not to be thought of merely in the sense of medicine. Everything possible that has a special effect falls under yao: minerals, powder, spices, little pieces of shell, gold, and silver, and the filling of the treasure urn. Lamas from Kumbum and Bengbar told me that there are about 30 to 40 types of treasure urns with different fillings. One of the most valuable is the one that contains mani-ruru (little balls). These little balls multiply, they "cast young," as the people say, and fill up the entire urn; cf. section, "Customs concerning the Dead," Note 2. Ch. Das (p. 874) calls the urn additions bum rdsas: "twenty-five articles (comprising

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 860 cont.] consecrated objects and various sorts of medicines) required to be kept in the sacred-pot which contains the sacred water" [cited in English]. In his case, however, the holy-water urn, bum pa, is involved. Cf. the chapter above, "The Incense Offering."

All kinds of filling:	yilẽ tawa ndzuomladzi = all kinds -- filling -- being complete.
Urn binding:	ama budzin = opening-binding.
Sealing wax:	latsia (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 860.] latsia: comes from the Chinese; la-cha = sealing wax. nuru: Tib. nor bu; also called yid-bžin = a treasure that one desires (Unkrig).

[778] Jewel of good fortune:	nuru (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].
Buddha gold:	fo-chin (Chin.).
Coral:	šurẽ.
Mother-of-pearl:	mãdog (Tib. loanword).
[824] White rice:	tsigan tudurga; no-mi (Chin.).
Yellow rape:	sira yãnsgar; shen-ts'ai-tzu (Chin.) = spirit-rape.

[Pages 858-860 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[860]

8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions. They make a small torma which one takes out into the open and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar. The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying. One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the burning at the fire-pouring.

After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the master of the household undertakes the great incense offering in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[861 cont.]

782 outside for the ceremony, and the lama makes another torma of
792 pure butter. He takes this outside and puts it on the drawing of the burning-place. Then the ceremony of the fire-pouring follows, at which all kinds of wood and spices are burned.

The lama continues to pray until evening. The following morning he receives his fee and is taken back to the monastery. Sometimes, however, one keeps him a few more days for prayers. -- After the fire-pouring the yard remains taboo for at least another week.

[784] [351]

Details

[756] Persons: The fire-pouring may not be undertaken by shamans, but only by lamas. These are not ordinary lamas, however. Only the three top classes are considered for it: the Hutukhtu, the Tsŭordzi, and the Känpo. Usually three lamas are needed. It suffices if one of them belongs to the higher rank, but one often invites more (1).

[791]

1. [Foreign text p. 867.] Other Tujen claim that a Bon priest could also undertake the fire-pouring, which, after all, is to be expected, at least in the case of the black fire-pouring. The old informant, however, and other people, too, decidedly contest this. According to them, only a lama (gelõngba) is to be considered for this; the Bon priests, they claim, concern themselves only with demon exorcism.

782 The fire-pouring may be ordered by a private person (man or woman), by an individual family, or by the entire village. -- During the ceremony, the general avoidance pre-
[562] scriptions apply. Women may be present, but may not assist.

[861 cont.]

782 Place: Ordinarily the fire-pouring takes place in a compound. If the affair is organized by the village, then the temple yard is preferred. They may also go to a mountain, but not to its peak, only halfway up. -- The burning-place is always indicated in detail by a soothsayer. [791]

There are no further prescriptions concerning the location of the various types of fire-pourings, except for the black fire-pouring. It may never be undertaken in a yard, temple, or in the village. For it a very remote mountain region is sought and the people stay there in tents for several days.

[791] Time: The soothsayer determines the date days or weeks ahead of time. If the lama cannot come on the day set, then [792] he is asked to state the term, and the soothsayer then determines a day within this period. The ceremony always lasts seven days; the actual fire-pouring always takes place on the morning of the last day. There are no interdicted periods; it could also be undertaken when the family concerned is still in its period of mourning or when there is still a woman in childbed in the compound. In this case, the woman in childbed, for instance, would not be allowed to watch.

778 Tormas: Six tormas in all are made. 1. A small torma, 782 as always in connection with lama-visits. This is the misfortune-torma, after whose removal the compound is taboo. 2. On the [792] morning of the second day three large tormas follow. One of [351] them represents the god (Buddha), to whom the [862] fire-pouring [784] is presented. The other two, which are slightly lower, symbolize his two subordinate companions. The color of these tormas varies according to which god is involved. The tormas are put before the household altar or in the household chapel, and they are elevated in a box that is covered with a cloth or a board so that no animal (for instance, a cat) can desecrate them. The votive gifts are put in a row in front of these tormas: seven bowls of pure water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of sugar, a bowl of dough beans, and several small butter-lamps. These little lamps remain burning day and night until the conclusion

[862 cont.]

778 of the ceremonies. -- The three tormas are left standing until
782 three days after the fire-pouring and then are eaten by the members of the family. They may also be given to the domestic animals. In summer, however, they are often already so moldy that they are only fit for dogs. The names of the three tormas
[171] agree with the names of the gods that they represent. This is similar to the ancestral tables of the Chinese, which are likewise set up and venerated. -- 3. On the afternoon of the sixth day a fifth torma is made. It is smaller than the others and represents the earth- or mountain-spirit, for which reason it is also called earth-spirit (mountain-spirit) torma. The lama puts it on the place selected for the fire-pouring. In front of it, as votive gifts, there are: three bowls of water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of tea, a butter-lamp, and three sticks of incense. The lama sprinkles the torma with holy water from
[792] the wumba can, while the master of the household burns incense in front of it. Then the lama settles down on a felt mat and says a votive prayer in which he requests the earth-spirit to free the burning-place for the fire-pouring. After the prayer the torma is put on a wall or thrown away in the field so that the birds will eat it. The color of this torma is white. 4. Finally a sixth torma is made on the morning of the seventh day. It is not made of tsamba mixed with butter like the other tormas, but of pure butter alone. It represents the fire-god and is therefore colored a fiery red. Before the fire-pouring it is placed on the ground-drawing and afterwards burned with the rest.

782 The burnt offerings: For the actual fire-pouring the
824 following things are needed: 1. Firewood and twigs from the tree of life. They are supplied by the gift-master (that is, of the particular family). The firewood is an ell long. Formerly only fir wood was used; nowadays the wood of the white poplar is popular. One takes branch- and knot-free pieces as thick as an arm, which are split lengthwise. The length and being free of branch-knots are prescribed. 2. Butter, which is melted for the fire-pouring and poured into the fire. It must not be too old.

[862 cont.]

782 3. Two pieces of wood from the red and white sandal tree.
824 4. A large quantity of burning-spices, which the family itself must provide: white rape kernels, white hemp seeds, black hemp seeds, wheat, Tibetan barley, white peas, glutenous rice, white barley, certain Tibetan herbs, Tibetan flowers, a Tibetan species of reed-grass, and white grass from Tsinghai. 5. Consecration-wood. The consecration-wood varies according to the type of fire-pouring. For the [863] white fire-pouring one uses branches of the white poplar; in all there are 46 pairs of pieces of branch. Every piece has a length of nine fingerbreadths and must have formed three side twigs. These side twigs are cut off at a length of three fingerbreadths. The cut surfaces of the pieces must all run at right angles, not at a slant. The bark is left on; one may not damage it, otherwise the gift-master and his [753] relatives will later have a bad skin-eruption. In order to avoid its becoming torn, the cut surface is smeared with butter. Instead of poplar wood, tamarisk wood is also permitted. This by nature is very straight and free of branches. For this reason, in contrast to the pieces of poplar, they may not show any branch attachments. The length, however, must be the same. The color of the tamarisk wood is red (2). 6. The six spices of

2. [Foreign text p. 867.] Nothing could be discovered about the symbolism of the various types of wood. That would be interesting, especially on account of the requirement of the branch attachments.

the incense offering. They are likewise provided by the gift-master. 7. The 74 types of earth-god spices, which the lama brings with him, already pounded to powder.

782 Preparation of the burnt offerings: The lama prepares
[792] the burnt offerings on the afternoon of the sixth day. In each case he puts one kind of the burning-spices in an earthen vessel, mixes it with the five kinds of grain, pours liquid butter over it,

[863 cont.]

782 scatters over it the six incense spices and the spice-powder of the 74 earth-god spices, mixes everything together thoroughly, and in each case puts this mixture in two portions on a little plate, since at the fire-pouring he must throw the fire-offerings into the fire in two sequences, in other words, there are as many plates as there are kinds, each with two portions. In order to protect the spices from dust and impurity, they are individually covered with a sheet of paper. -- The 46 pairs of pieces of consecration-wood are put together on a separate tray. The lama sprinkles the burnt offerings thus arranged with holy water and has them [792] taken to the household altar.

782 Preparation of the place for the fire: In conjunction
532 with the preparation of the burnt offerings, the spear-soothsayer determines the place for the fire-pouring. He usually selects
[791] it in the yard. The lama puts the earth-god torma with the
[792] consecration-gifts on this spot. Once this has been removed, the lama measures off a rectangle about two ells square on the ground with a string whitened in gypsum or powdered lime. [Illustration appears here.] He beats the lines onto the ground, just as the carpenters do on wood with their black measuring string. Inside this square he draws a second, parallel rectangle that is about a handbreadth smaller. A frame is thus formed. Likewise with white powder and with the help of a wooden or leather pattern (3), he draws eight thunderbolts on this frame,

3. [Foreign text p. 867.] The patterns were formerly made of leather. Nowadays they are usually of wood or cardboard.

namely, one in each corner and one in the center on each side. The powdered lime is simply scattered over the pattern, and when he takes this away, [864] the contours of the drawing remain. The thunderbolts run parallel to the direction of the frame, in other words, they are not diagonal to it. Finally he

[864 cont.]

782 also draws two crossed thunderbolts in the center of the rectangle (4).

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4. [Foreign text pp. 867-868.] As other people and lamas relate, there is a great assortment of different ground-drawings which evidently merely represent variations of the mandala. My informant, for instance, had one of his relatives draw the above-described figure. He explained it in the following way [868] (see figure below): The thunderbolts represent the four principal directions and the four directions between them. The circle with the crossed thunder-
[772] bolts signifies the foundation of the world-mountain rirā (Sumeru), for this rests on a golden disk. The thunderbolts signify the rest and stability and durability of the world's foundation. Originally they were supposedly made of gold as a sign of their indestructibility. The
[824] peonies are supposed to be the sum-bol of the flourishing familial good
[325] fortune. The same meaning also underlies the thunderbolt that is

Mandala at the fire-pouring.
(Drawing of a Tujen.)

[864 cont.]

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[357]
[171]

[Note on foreign text pp.867-868 cont.] soldered into the ladling spoon for the liquid butter. -- The significance of the peonies corresponds to the custom of the lamaseries and of the Chinese, among whom peony shrubs of various colors are planted in the yard. Tujen and Chinese believe that a wealthy, affluent man always has a peony shrub before his door. -- Instead of the peony, lotus blossoms are painted in the case of the ground-drawing of the crematory. These represent the lotus on which the Buddha supposedly sat and from which the flames of transformation emanate. Cf. the chapter on cremation.

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Now the men build a low wall with clay bricks on one side of the figure, while the lama says his prayers. This wall is terrace-shaped. The lower layer consists of two rows of bricks laid lengthwise; the second layer takes half the brick, and the third layer has only one brick. The whole wall, in other words, is six clay bricks high. The front and back side is coated with clay and lime and whitewashed. The vertical terraces remain free. With his pattern the lama again draws a thunderbolt on each of them, in other words, five thunderbolts altogether. This wall is to protect the lama from the fire, since at the pouring he is seated on level ground or only very slightly elevated (5). After the drawing, the lama again

[333]

5. [Foreign text p. 868.] There are also walls with four to six steps. According to the statements of others, the wall also bears the color of the fire-pouring concerned, and the ground-drawing likewise.

withdraws into the house for prayer.

[864 cont.]

782 The fire-pouring: On the morning of the seventh day,
[792] immediately after sunrise, the lama says his morning prayer, drinks tea, and makes the fire-torma. Meanwhile, after the incense offering, everything is prepared outside for the fire ceremony.

Next to the burning-place a large iron kettle for melting the butter is put on three stones. A pile of firewood lies next to it. A felt mat for the lama is put to the west of the wall, for he always sits facing east. Sometimes a broad kang table is set up, which serves the lama as a seat. On it is put a piece of wide cloth, which during the fire-pouring he places over his knees for protection, so that [illustration appears here] no liquid butter will drip on his clothes. Next to the seat one places the fire fan
[372] consisting of a piece of white cloth that is provided with two little parallel sticks, so that the lama can grasp it with both
[783] hands. The fire is fanned with it because one may not pollute it with his breath.

In front of the lama-seat and the wall there is a small table for the cult implements, prayer book, bell, etc. To the right of the seat there stands a small table on which to put the pouring-tube and the spoon. To the left, next to the lama-seat, one puts a wide board or a door taken off its hinges, over which one spreads a sack, and over that a white cloth runner. [Illustrations a, b, c, and d appear here.] [865] The tray with the pieces of wood and the 12 little plates with the burning-spices are on top of that. Furthermore the following are kept
[372] in readiness: several flintstones or a box of matches, a butter-lamp, a paper lantern, and a lighting pole such as is also used at the cremation.

782 Now the lama comes out with the fire-torma and puts it
792 in the center of the ground-drawing on a layer of cypress twigs. Around this the men pile up the prescribed firewood in the shape of an octogon that tapers toward the top, leaving an empty space in the center around the torma. They then fill this space with cypress twigs. The gift-master then ceremoniously hands a hada to the lama and requests him to begin the ceremony. While he goes to the other side of the pile of wood and makes a threefold

[866 cont.]

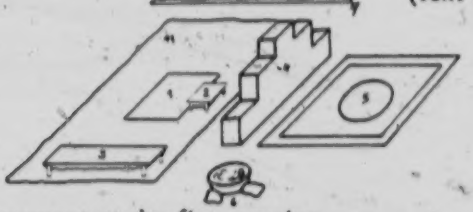
782 kowtow, there to the lama, the lama sprinkles the pile of wood
792 with holy water and scatters barley kernels on it, over which he has breathed three times.

[372] Now the gift-master strikes a spark from the flint at the first blow, catches it with hemp tow, blows it to a small flame in a little bundle of straw, and lights the butter-lamp with it. Then the paper lantern lamp is lighted with the light of the butter-lamp. The ceremony and the rules are exactly the same as at the cremation. Now one hands the lama the lighting pole.

[372] He holds its head of tow over the butter-lamp until it flames up and sets fire to the pile of wood with it. As soon as the fire flames high, all those present fall on their knees and make a threefold kowtow. In case the fire does not burn immediately,

[372] the lama fans it with the cloth fan. Now the fire-pouring follows.

The lama places the cloth over his knees, takes the pouring tube, lays it with the outflow over the wall, holds the handle with his left hand, and with his right hand pours spoonfuls of liquid butter into the funnel, so that it flows in a stream into the fire and flames up violently. After he has done this a few times, one hands him the little plates with the burnt offerings. With the first three fingers of his right hand, he takes one of the two portions each time and with benedictions throws it into the fire. Then some pieces of wood follow, then again pourings of (text continues on p. 299)



Arrangement at the fire-pouring.

[333] 1. Seat of the lama; 2. table for prayer books; 3. table for spoons; 4. protective wall; 5. place of burning (ground-drawing); 6. butter kettle; 7. board; 8. cloth runner; 9. tray with consecration wood; 10. plates of the accompanying gifts for the burning; 11. felt mat. (Drawing according to information from the informant.)

[864]

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(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
756 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[757] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
292 village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
[534] val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[778] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-
pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip
[142] with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the
gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest
Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The
Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
[171] graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical.
Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs
concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his
percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his
instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the follow-
ing day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless
one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing
to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed.
[333] The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[865 cont.]

782 776 Types of fire-pouring: There is a whole series of different fire-pourings, depending upon the deity concerned. Usually the fire-pouring is undertaken to honor the following deities: the horse-god, the cattle-god, the lion-god, and the water-faced Buddha.

[822] [866] Other types depend upon the color of the gods. Thus there is a red, yellow, white, and black fire-pouring. The tormas are also colored according to the colors of these gods, which they represent. Likewise, a special kind of wood is used for the 782 individual colors: for the red, tamarisk wood; for the yellow, [824] white thorn; for the white, poplar wood; and for the black, black thorn. The ceremonies are the same for the first three fire-pourings; only the prayers vary. -- The black fire-pouring in particular, however, deviates from the others (6).

782 184

6. [Foreign text p. 868.] Lamas report that there are many different types of fire-pourings, the four mentioned here being only the four main types, and that they have extensive books concerning the rites. -- The description of these orthodox Lamaistic rites would require a special study. In this connection, cf. Lessing, Yung Ho Kung (pp. 150-161). Only one of the many types practiced in the monastery is described there, and also only the phases "which can be easily observed by the inexperienced visitor" (p. 150) [cited in English]. Without going into a comparison with the above-described form, let it merely be pointed out here that the basic features are identical. Of the four main types characterized by Lessing, only the color agrees with the account given by my informant; he knew nothing

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 868 cont.]
about the various forms of the burning-place (mandala) and the Tibetan-Chinese names. Also, the addresses of the fire-pouring are different (p. 151); in addition, other burnt offerings are enumerated there.

It must be noted that among the Tujen a simple, popular form is involved, which varies according to location and the situation of the population. It is only too understandable that the ordinary people know nothing about the complicated and in part tantric symbolism. It is enough for them if through the ceremony the gods provide for their welfare and protection and if the demons remain far away.

782 The black fire-pouring: The persons are the same. The [302] lama and his helper, however, smear their faces with soot. They [792] also wear black clothes. All objects are black, the torma, the felt mat, the wall, the ground-drawing, etc.

[372] Instead of firewood one takes pig or camel dung. Black sticks are stuck around the black torma on the ground-drawing; the intestines of a black sheep are suspended on them in garland fashion. The intestines are not cleaned, but are full of dung. In place of the butter one takes black linseed oil, and the dung is soaked in it so that it will burn better.

The burnt offerings are: black barley, black linseed, the seed of the wild rape, wheat mixed with black earth, dark beans, glutenous rice colored black, herbs colored black, etc.

[778] As votive offerings for the black tormas, which represent the demons, one takes milk from a black sheep and urine from a black donkey served in a black bowl, and, as incense, pig dung.

[866 cont.]

782 The place for the black fire-pouring is usually a remote
[792] ravine. One pitches black tents and lives there several days
with the lama in solitude. In no case may one undertake the
black fire-pouring in the vicinity of temples or human habitations.

[731] In case of epidemics, the black fire-pouring is used
[755] preferably, in order to annoy the demons of sickness and thus to
[777] drive them away, for with them the misfortune, too, disappears.

[776] Meaning: The fire-pouring is an offering for the gods;
through it they are supposed to be induced to turn away mis-
[792] fortune and sickness (7). The seven-day prayer of the lama is
[755]

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7. [Foreign text pp. 868-869.] The whole gives very much the impression of a fire-offering. The informant, however, thought that it had nothing to do with it. According to him it was an offering to the appropriate
[776] Buddhas. The fire-god was also venerated with it, as the torma proved, but this was not the main thing. Nevertheless there is no doubt but that a fire-offering, Homa, is involved (cf. Lessing, loc. cit.). The Tujen name alone cannot be interpreted other than as a corruption of the Tibetan sbyin-sreg. sbyin is pronounced jin, which is very clearly to be seen in Note 8 (źūin-tsëǵ). Ch. Das, p. 940, writes under sbyin-sreg: "burnt offerings as made by Tantrik Buddhists, ... sbyin-sreg-gi [869] rdsas clarified butter, articles necessary for burnt sacrifices. ... sbyin-sreg-gi yam-šiṅ ... first wood necessary for the offering" [cited in English]. (For yam-šiṅ, cf. the Tujen foreign word yiew-siṅ.) "Homa is the

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 868-869 cont.] chief of all fire-sacrificials" [cited in English]. -- The DMF, p. 73, likewise has the expression dzuntsiog and writes: "name of certain libations and offerings" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. t'sogs, "sacrificial offering" [cited in English]. Then it presents the expression lama dzuntsiog fudzuruna (= surina) and writes: "the lama performs the libations" [translated from French]. There can be no question of a libation here, and the ... tsiog (ts'og) is also not the Tibetan ts'ogs, which, according to Ch. Das (pp. 1032, 1033), means "accumulation," and, in connection with 'k'or, "offering in a circle (mandala)." Although the informant did not primarily emphasize the fire-offering, he nonetheless translated the dzuntsiog with the Chinese tao huo-t'an = literally, to pour on the fire surface = to undertake the fire-pouring. F. Lessing (p. 150) has for this the expression huo-t'an-i-kuei, roughly, rite of the fire-terrace.

782 just as important as the fire-ceremony. -- The fire-pouring is
792 widespread among the Tujen and Fandse. It is also undertaken
[171] in the lamic monasteries.

Word List (8)

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782

8.[Foreign text pp. 869-870.] In addition to the names mentioned here, I also learned in the Mongol lamasery Tsa-tsang-szu and in the neighboring monastery Fu-hai szu or Hsin-szu (Guăm-basoma) west

[866 cont.]

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782

[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]
of Tangkar the following details and variations:

Fire-pouring: żüin (yüin)-tsēǵ; cf. the Tujen corruption dzun-tsioǵ.

Ground-drawing (mandala): sdziṅkuor (Tib.).

Separation wall: lämbän (Tib.). Cf. längaṅ (Tujen) and lan-kan (Chin.).

Pouring spoon: rgäṅ zär (Tib.).

Butter-spoon (for liquid butter): tombō (Tib.).

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Firewood (which is placed in octagonal form on the burning-place): xsiǵ ǵa (Tib.).

Consecration-wood (which is thrown with the spices into the fire): yäm šeṅ (Tib.); cf. the Tujen word yiew siṅ.

Wood for the white fire-pouring: nia-rēx (Tib.) or, according to another pronunciation, niäw rsēǵ (Tib.); hsi-fan liu (Chin.) = Tibetan willow; chi-chua liu (Chin.) = hens-foot-willow.

Black thorn: tsērnaǵ (Tib.); or sdzirwa (Tib.); xara tsitsērnaǵ (Mongol.).

Wood for the red fire-pouring: uombō (Tib.); balaǵ (Mongol.); sa-liu (Chin.), probably the High Chinese sha-liu (= sand willow) is meant.

Tamarisk: sōgä. This word is Mongolic and Tujen in any case. The Chinese also say so-kai for it, evidently an approximation of the sound. I also heard this word from Tibetans. It is likewise used for the red fire-pouring. One prefers these switches for whip handles.

[866 cont.]

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[824]
[322]

[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]

Wood for the yellow fire-pouring: maġa (Tib.); dziãṅma (Mongol.); chien-yang liu (Chin.); the wood is used a great deal for mill wheels; it seems to be a kind of maple. I also saw it a great deal among carvers, who praise it as the best wood for carving.

[778]

Fire-torma: dãmbala (Tib.).

Yellow fire-pouring: sẽru dżiwi ẑũin tseġ (Tib.).

Red fire-pouring: ġõngẽ dżiwi ẑũin tseġ (Tib.).

White fire pouring: siwi dżiwi żũin tseġ (Tib.).

Black fire-pouring: dẑoġguei dżiwi żũin tseġ (Tib.).

Burnt offerings: rdzẽ (Tib., Mongol.).

Butter: marku (Tib.); dasu (Mongol.).

[870]

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Grain: nie (Tib.); tara (Mongol.); the Mongols there designate Tibetan barley, ch'ing-k'o, with tara, which is simply grain.

Wheat: dẑõ (Tib.); budẽ (Mongol.).

Beans: tẑamã (Tib.); burdzieġ (Mongol.).

Barley: sõ (Tib.); sõtara (Mongol.); it is probably a combination of the Tibetan sõ and the Mongolic tara (grain).

White rape: yõṅgur (Tib., Mongol.); pei-ts'ai-tzu (Chin.).

Indian incense grass: gusia (Tib., Mongol.); wei-tzu ts'ao (Chin.); that is, reed. Evidently the kuśa grass designated by Filchner, Kumbum, p. 88 and Note 400, which supposedly stems from India, is involved here.

[866 cont.]

192
782
[824]

[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]
Butter-tsamba: sŭosĕn (Mongol.); a mixture to which other additions are added.
Blue flowers: dżĕyăńgĕ (Tib.); gōxu (according to another dialect, kōku) dzidzigĕ (Mongol.); lăn-ts'ao (Chin.) = blue grass.
Individual additions: tsiawar rdzē (Tib.).
All kinds of additions: ondōń rdzē (Tib., Mongol.).

[824]

Monk's herb: durĕwā (Tib., Mongol.); ping-ts'ao (Chin.) = ice herb; tao-seng-ts'ao (Chin.) = Taoist-Buddhist monk's herb; instead of seng (monk), the sign for sheng is also written; that may be false, however. It is unclear to me which herb is involved.

All the names have been written according to the dialect of the monks in Tsatsang-szu, who mostly come from the region of Dulăn (Tsaidam).

Fire-pouring: dzuntsiog̀ (Tib. loanword) (9), suri = to pour fire-pouring, DMF 73.

9. [Foreign text p. 870.] Tsŭordzi: Tibetan c'os = doctrine, rje = master. The representative of the monastery abbot is designated by it, teacher. -- Kăńbō: Tibetan mk'an = master, po = particle. mk'an po = abbot of a monastery, professor, head of a lamasery. -- gaňsăr: Tibetan gaň sa? = tube. --

[824]

dziăńgōn: probably arose from the Tibetan gTsaň = Tib. province, and sňo = herb. -- ndoluwa: perhaps is connected with the Tibetan sgrol ba = the goddess Dolma, to

[866 cont.]

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[824]
[776]

[Note on foreign text p. 870 cont.]
help, to save; otherwise called Tārā. -- gusia: Tibetan ku ša (from the Sanskrit) = botanical Poa cynosuroides. -- sāndoṅmani: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words seṅ (Sanskrit. siṁha) = lion, gdoṅ = face, maṇi = jewel. It is a goddess. -- šda(m)tsēni: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words rta = horse, mgrin (pronounced din) = neck, also voice; in other words: the horse-necked one, or the horse-voiced one. -- logoṅ: Tibetan klu (pronounced lu) = dragon, and gdoṅ = face. Literally, therefore, dragon-face (Unkrig).

[372] Fire-place: taw (Tib. loanword) = oven, hearth.

[778] Misfortune-torma: ġuaġ dor (Tib.).
ġuaġ = misfortune; prayer said during the preparation of this torma.

Earth-spirit torma: ġlū-šdorma.
Mountain-spirit torma: yifula-šdorma.
Fire-torma: ġal šdorma.
Earth-god spices: ġlu smān (Tib.).
dalān dierān sāmba smān = 74 pieces of spices.

[867]

[532] Measuring string: šdag paġdzin bōdoġ = pattern-drawing string.
Pattern: arasē xuar = leather model; tsialdzē xuar = paper model.

Burning-place drawing (mandala): tawni xuar.

[333] Wall: lāṅgāṅ (Chin. loanword).
Pouring tube: šge gāṅsār (Tib. loanword) = large spoon.
Ladling spoon for butter: mula gāṅsār = little spoon.
Spoon (profane): dzieġliu (Tujen).

[372] Cloth fan: ki yūelwa = air-cloth.
rloṅ yāg (Tib.).
Cloth (profane): bosē.

[867 cont.]

192 Lighting pole: xuãmbar.

782 Flint and steel: kidie.

[372] Fire struck with flint and steel: kidie ġal = flint-and-steel fire.

Ordinary fire: arãñka ġal.

At the fire-pouring pouring there is no loss through bad weather: dsuntsiog surẽwa, dierdzia sdzũen uguei.

At the black fire-pouring pouring the demons flee: xara dzuntsiog surewa, mõ iliesgẽ xuoluode pusa sdzia (sdzim).

[372] Firewood: taw siṅ (Tib.) = oven-wood.

Consecration-wood: yiew (ziew) -siṅ (Tib.).

192 Tibet-herbs: dziaṅgoṅ (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

tsang ts'ao (Chin.) = Tib. herb.

782 Tibet-flowers: kãnba (Tib. loanword).

824 ta t'ou mao hsiang (Chin.).

White grass (from Tsinghai): ndoluwã (9) [see Note 9 above]; pai-ts'ao (Chin.).

Tibetan hard grass (reed): gusia (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

tsang hsi-chi (Chin.).

Tamarisk?: guãnbõ (xuãnbo); sõgä.

Poplar wood: mõdẽ = wood.

White thorn: siraldzin = yellow thorn.

Black thorn: xara rẽguodzẽ.

192 Horse-god: šdamtsẽni (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

782 ma-wang (Chin.).

Cattle-god: ndigsier (Tib. loanword); niu-wang (Chin.).

776 Lion-god: sãndoṅmani (Tib. loanword); shih-wang (Chin.) (9) [see Note 9 above].

Water-faced Buddha: logon rẽdziawu (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

shuei-lien p'usa (Chin.).

[Pages 867-870 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 870 of Vol. 47, and the next section begins on p. 202 of Vol. 48.]

3: Schröder--309 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[202]

Conclusion*

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*For the first part of this work, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 1-79, 620-658, 822-870 [the "First Part" above in the HRAF translation]. A supplement to the bibliography there, pp. 2-4 [see foreign text; the bibliography was not reproduced for the translation], will be found at the end of this article; see below p. 259 [see foreign text].

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Second Part: Analysis

An all-round picture of the Tujen religion can only be drawn within the frame of a broader cultural view, for which the other records from the rich treasure of legends and songs are also utilized. Over and above this, a judgment concerning the cultural and religious historical-relationships requires a comparison [171] with the neighboring Chinese, Tangut, Mongols, and Yugur (1).

[174]

1. A comparison with both the eastern part of north China (Tungus) and the southwest would also be very informative. The tradition of the Tujen speaks of an eastern origin, and the peoples upon whom they are superimposed in the present-day Amdo originally belonged to the Ch'iang, of whom large parts migrated toward the south into present-day Kham, Szechwan, and Yunnan. This conception has been advocated for a long time by the Chinese; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder: Die Fandse, pp. 1 f. It has now been confirmed by Professor Doctor J. F. Rock for the Na-khi. A comparison

[202 cont.]

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with their religion is justified all the more since it has preserved the pre-Buddhistic form in a much less corrupted state than the religion of the mother country, which lies within the effective range of the Yellow Church (Kumbum); see below, pp. 390 ff. In addition the Na-khi possess a religious literature in which the old customs are unequivocally fixed, and which J.F.Rock has worked over and published; for this whole subject, cf. J.F.Rock, Na-khi Kingdom; id., Naga Cult, I, pp. 2 f., and Muan Bpö, p. 7. Unfortunately, these works, which represent a treasure trove for knowledge of the pre-Buddhist belief in the Chinese-Tibetan border region, could not be adequately quoted here.

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It is true that in the notes of the first part extensive consideration was given to this, so that now it is already established that the religion of the Tujen and of their Lamaistic neighbors do not differ from each other in many ways. A further analysis and summary of the question, however, [203] would grow into a series of special essays that would go too far beyond this work, which, after all, is primarily intended to be a survey.

The present material, however, is ample enough to characterize the basic features of the religious framework, which even a later and more precise treatment will scarcely change. This characterization will be attempted in a cross- and longitudinal section. The one offers a total picture of the religious world-view; the other shows the more or less interpenetrating layers of the religion.

[203 cont.]

I. The Total Religious Picture

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1. The Deities

a) The Higher Deities

The higher deities are to be understood as those figures that do not belong among the so-called purġan, but are mentioned separately from these by their own names. These are heaven (tieńġëre), the mountain-spirit (yifula), and the earth-deity or earth-deities (ġlu; itoġa). They seem to be the older deities and will be dealt with later when the belief in a supreme god is discussed.

b) The Lower Deities

192 776 The lower deities can all be included under the generic name purġan. The word purġan is none other than the term customary in the literature, Burchan (Burkhan, Burkan), which, as is well known, stands for "god" in large parts of Central Asia. The origin of this name has not been clarified. Usually a connection with "Buddha" is assumed, and the word is derived from the compound Bud(dah)-Khan; see W. Schmidt, UdG, X, p. 573, with reference to the sources. This passage, which deals with the Tungus, emphasizes that there Burkan predominately refers to foreign deities, a situation that is quite close to that found among the Tujen. Another explanation connects the word with the Buddhistic grave-monument (oral communication from W. A. Unkrig), namely, purġan supposedly arose from the Mongolic suburġan. The word suburġan in turn is derived from the Tibetan spur-k'aṅ, house of corpses, cremation place. Since consonant clusters are avoided in Mongolic, a u was inserted between the s and the p for easier pronunciation, just as also happens in the case of other word derivations. Thus from spur, through the transformation of the p (which the Mongols do not have) to b, the word subur arose. The n in k'an is slurred into a simple n.

192 778 776 With suburġan (spur-k'aṅ) one designated the same thing as with the Tibetan mc'od-rten, chorten or stupa, which literally

[203 cont.]

192 means "offering container." The chortens now usually shelter
778 the ashes of Buddhist saints or their relics and frequently also
776 bear their pictures on the front side. Thus the meaning of an idol is connected with the whole. The chortens or stupas or suburgans are therefore the seat of a spirit or of a deceased person. A deity is present in them. They are the same as [204] what the Mongols or Tujen imagine under the expression purġan. This conception is confirmed, furthermore, by the urn shape of the stupa. In Tibetan the lower part is called bum-ba, urn, pot. As has already been shown in the case of the earth-god urn and the beṅkaṅ, urns are frequently the seat of a deity. This conception is also found elsewhere, and one might also connect the urn with the throne of the gods, which will not be discussed here. In any case, the Tujen word purġan is late and Buddhistic in origin.

776 All the inhabitants of the Buddhist, Bonist, and Taoist pantheon fall within the group of these lower gods insofar as the Tujen have taken it over. A special position seems to be oc-
776 cupied by the fire-spirit as hearth-god or god of the shaman
372 fire, whom Schram so strongly emphasizes in his book concerning marriage among the Tujen. I could no longer confirm any special veneration of the shaman fire, however. If one disregards the fire offering, which is included as part of the rite of the Lamaistic fire-pouring, there remains to the people only the hearth-god, who, however, is venerated no more frequently than among the Chinese, for example. The use of fire for purifica-
[783] tion (widow marriage, leaping over fire, fumigation, red-hot stone, etc.) seems to have nothing to do with a god. It can be explained purely magically, because the demons fear the fire. They are, of course, always regarded as unclean, as the common phrase, pudaġ ilie, dirty demon, proves.

776 Of the other gods who deserve special mention, there
[791] are the shaman and soothsaying gods, who animate or temporarily
[787] take possession of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, and the divine images, for instance, the black and white tiger, the great mother, the dragon. Furthermore, an important role is
[177] played by the god of joy (at a wedding), who probably comes from the Chinese, the horse- and cattle-king, the world-directions spirits, and the gods of the weather ministry with the smith-god

[204 cont.]

776 of the Bon, the Dăntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance among the people that might be expected. They know of [796] Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth [535] day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha, [791] and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call [788] sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full [756] warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people. Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called [753] ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune, [777] failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the [731] plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are com- [782] bated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the Dăntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[205 cont.]

774 Unequivocal statements concerning the conceptions of the soul among the Tujen could not be secured. It is true that several souls can be inferred from the death customs described, but the naming and peculiar nature of these souls remain vague.

192 Two designations for "soul" come into consideration:
774 namsü (namšë) and suniedzë. The word namsü is seldom used. According to the DMF (256), it corresponds to the Tibetan ñams-su. This independent connection cannot be confirmed in Ch. Das, but ñams alone is found there, p. 476, with the meaning: "...the soul, mind, spirit as an entity" [cited in English]. The su could at most still be an instrumental particle. One will probably not go wrong, therefore, if he equates namsü not with ñams-su, but with the Tibetan rnam šes, pronounced nam-še. Ch. Das (762) translates it with: "...the mind, knowledge, intellect, memory" [cited in English]. H.A.Jäschke, on the other hand, has for it the explanation (315): "3. in popular language: soul, e.g. of the departed..." [cited in English]. The much more frequently used word suniedzë has the same meaning. It is the equivalent of the Mongolic sünesün. Both namsü and suniedzë signify nothing uniform, for there are three souls: nigë
774 kundu ġuran namsü-i, or nigë kundu suniedzë ġuran-i; that is:
775 "There are three souls to a human being"; cf. DMF 256. And of what kind are these souls? toroñ yesë saġdzini, ġuordani sdziewa awura sdzini, ġurandani iliedu furani (cf. DMF 361), that is, "The first guards the bones, the second assumes the rebirth, the third transforms itself into a demon." Mostaert, op. cit., refers to Sanžeev, "Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten [World-view and shamanism of the Alar-Burjat]," Anthropos, 22, 1927, p. 585. The conception of the tripartition,
[171] however, is much more widespread; at any rate in Lamaistically influenced Asia it is found almost everywhere. Even the Tsinghai Chinese know of three souls: one goes into the underworld, one stays with the corpse (bones), one wanders around in the world. What is common to these three souls is that they can separate themselves from the body.

775 The bone-soul remains with the skeleton after death, at
764 least until the rite of the bāda has been completed, whereby it
604 is satisfied and becomes free. Its agent in this ritual and the

[205 cont.]

775 decisive authority is the mother's brother of the deceased. There-
764 fore among the people he is accordingly called tsiğan yesë daxu,
604 that is, "white-bone-master"; Chinese [206] ku-chu, that is, "bone-master." This soul finally becomes free at the cremation, at which, of course, the bones (better: the skeleton) are destroyed except for a few remains. The peculiarity of this soul[1] is its
775 clan [Clan] membership, as is expressed by the name of the
614 mother's brother and his importance. He is the representative
604 of the mother's kin-group [Sippe]. The Tujen, however, like
764 the Mongols and other tribes, determine the kin group according to the bones. Among the Tujen likewise the question as to the family is: "What are your bones," tsini yesë yan-i? Bones and clan (kin group) therefore are equated. Thus one has grounds for maintaining that the bone-soul is borne by the life principle of the clan and propagates itself in the clan. How is unclear. As clan-master, the mother's brother is also bone-master. He exercises more rights over his sister's child than the latter's actual father and also demands the final accounting. But what happens to the thus liberated soul? Perhaps a similar custom among the Manchuria-Tungus, specifically among the Birarčen [Birar] and Kumarčen, provides insight into this. S. M. Shirokogorov reports of their soul-migration into the underworld: "The second river is the Yellow River, after crossing which the soul meets with Mongoldai Nakču, i.e. Mongoldai 'senior of the mother's clan,' which examines the case before allowing the soul to cross the Black River beyond which Inmun-kan reigns" [cited in English] (Psychomental Complex, p. 142; as cited in UdG, X, p. 563). Mongoldai, the master of the mother's clan in the underworld, here does what the bone-master of the dead does in the upper world: he demands an accounting and investigates the condition of the dead person's soul. The result is also the same: the soul becomes free for its migration and the corpse free for the burial. I could not confirm this underworld correspondence for the bāda among the Tujen; at any rate, nothing drew one's attention in this direction. Perhaps the extension of the conception into the
[769] underworld is lacking among them because they practice

1 [i.e. - the "bone-soul", one of three souls of a human being - ANALYST]

[206 cont.]

775 practically no ancestor cult and therefore know of no ancestor
614 spirit like the Tungusic Mongoldai Nakču. Unconsciously, how-
604 ever, forgotten conceptions might still have an effect. At any
764 rate, a custom that is often explained as thirst for honor and
[769] avarice would in this way find a suitable explanation. In the case of the bāda the principal demands of the mother's brother are directed at the inviolability of the corpse (= no violent death) and a costly death-box, as well as splendid prayers for the dead. When, in connection with the underworld custom of the Tungus, one assumes that the dead person will reach the clan-master of the underworld in an honorable, fine condition and contented, then the care of the earthly clan-master for his clan members is thereby also documented, and the clan has a good reputation in the beyond. Father W. Schmidt sought to interpret similar conditions among other peoples meaningfully, and, to be sure, in connection with the double interment of the matriarchal agrarian culture. In the latter the fleshly parts are allowed to fall to destruction. They are of no significance for the further existence of the human being. The bones, however, which are carefully cleaned and then finally interred or supplied for the cult, are important. Moon-mythological ideas lie at the bottom of this procedure. The waning moon becomes thinner and thinner, until finally only [207] a "bone" remains, but the latter gradually clothes itself again with "flesh" and grows to become the full moon, a mirror image of the perishing and becoming of man. According to this conception, the skeleton is the "essential," the support; see UdG, X, pp. 742 f. If this meaning of the bones is so harmoniously a part of the moon-mythological matriarchal agricultural culture, then the striking arrangement among the Tujen, bones -- mother's clan -- mother's brother, is also explained. -- The sociological side of this custom will not be dealt with here.

775 The second soul goes to the western paradise (Tushita)
171 and waits there for a new rebirth. The incarnation into lower forms is regarded as punishment for a vicious and evil life, exactly in the sense of the Buddhist-Lamaist wheel of life. These conceptions, however, do not have much force among

[207 cont.]

775 the Tujen. For instance, one hears little about a Buddhist hell,
171 which plays a much more important role among the neighboring Chinese and is quite graphically portrayed in many temples. It is true that the Tujen like to consider the misfortune in this world as punishment for earlier transgressions. This soul, which
775 one could call "incarnation soul" or "private soul" -- in con-
764 trast to the clan soul -- becomes free for the incarnation through the transforming lotus fire at the cremation. The informant, at any rate, interpreted the lotus-mandala and the fire at the cremation in this sense and ascribed to them a transforming power. This does not mean that this soul remains in the body as long as, say, in an animated corpse. Rather, at the death of the person, the lamas are supposed "to open the way" through prayer, so that the soul may reach Tushita. To what extent such explana-
[171] tions correspond with the orthodox Buddhist doctrine will be left undecided. Any any rate, the conceptions of the people are vague.

775 Even more unclear are the conceptions about the third
776 soul, which is supposed to transform itself into a demon. Nothing is known about its fate and about the cause of such a transformation. Such a soul is feared, however. Perhaps it is this soul that in case of dissatisfaction after the bäda disturbs the
[764] human beings at the command of the clan soul, haunts the
[782] house and yard, and causes sickness and misfortune. At any rate, a great part of the offerings and prayers at the death rites is given out of fear of this soul. The constantly expressed wish to the dead person runs: "Forget us, be content, do not come
775 back." A natural discontent and a kind of missing of life's goal
776 are connected with the soul of unmarried adult girls. It be-
589 comes a demon who is so dangerous that even other demons flee from it, for which reason the Bon priests take the material for
[765] their bone flutes, their whip, etc. from the corpses of such girls. The discontent and non-fulfillment can only be accounted for in this case by the unmarried state, which, according to Tujen conceptions, goes against every natural ordinance for a female person. One may suspect that this soul-belief also has a strong
[588] effect on the custom that the Tujen call "to arrange the heavenly

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775 hairdress," through which a girl is wedded to heaven and is no
776 longer burdened with the contempt suffered by unmarried women
[589] (see above). The fear of the female demon-souls [208] is also
[588] widespread among the Chinese, and there is only one way of
[171] being safe from them: the cremation. In the customs of the Tsinghai Chinese, this fear and contempt have their basis in the Buddhist conception that a woman is an unclean being and that this uncleanness is only removed through the man and his descendants. This attitude is strengthened through the fervent desire for sons and grandsons, which again is connected with the ancestor cult. These Buddhistic motives are certainly also decisive in part among the Tujen. Among them, too, the
[562] woman is regarded as unclean, even if not so harshly as among
[783] the Chinese. The veneration of the ancestors plays scarcely any role. Nonetheless, uncleanness and demonism are closely
[841] connected. A very common expression runs: pudag̀ ilie, unclean demon; a woman is also pudag̀ during her period.

The demon soul therefore seems to stand in a special relationship with the female principle. This suggests the surmise that it represents the flesh-(body)-soul in the human being, which stands in contrast to the bone-soul. In northeastern Tibet and elsewhere one encounters the conception that the bones of a person come from the man and the flesh from the woman. Among the Tujen, however, this relationship is difficult to determine
[614] because it is precisely the bone-soul that is related so closely to the mother's clan. This does not, it is true, exclude an individual assignment to the man (father), but it does not permit it to make its appearance through this unquestionably matriarchal trait.

775 From everything, one can see that the Tujen are little concerned about the after-life of the soul and the beyond. To them it is enough if they are left in peace on earth. The Buddhist conceptions are more theoretical. In actuality one not infrequently encounters a this-worldly fatalism which expresses itself in the saying: "Our life does not have much meaning"
[171] (literally: we have lived in vain). Even if the conception of the
[769] soul has much similarity to that of the Chinese, the Tujen

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171] are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
[769] ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
[764] stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that the deceased would remain among the living and would need to
[782] partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
[513] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined
[753] is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
[756] for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
[755] soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This catching of the soul is called: suniedzë xura-. It is unclear from this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru (rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun, moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals. Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the underworld and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

[209 cont.]

772 The sky-column and world-mountain (world-tree) are emphasized
778 above all at the central fort and the chorten chamber. In both cases, however, a strong emphasis on the realm of the underworld, which is represented by the urns, is also striking. The latter are nothing other than the realm of the Nagas, who play such an important role in the Bon religion and point to the pre-Buddhistic roots of the conception of the world. The arrangement of the urns and of the scrolls in the urns mirrors the world order in the four directions of the compass and their center.
[782] The treasure urns thus represent the wealth of the earth. At the same time they are regarded as an offering to the earth-deities, whereas the main urn is the dwelling of the deities. To what extent magical effects are intended still remains to be investigated. In this connection one must also take into consideration the burying of objects in general, as, for instance, in the case of the obo, the weather fort, the warding-off magic against sickness, the construction of a compound, etc.

The air-horse on the mani-tree (mani-flag) seems to be less closely connected with the world-mountain. Indeed, it is frequently set up separately. The connection with the mani-tree is probably due to the circumstance that it simultaneously represents the four directions of the compass (2). At the same

2. The five cloth tabs on the mani-flag (cf. Anthropos 47, 1952, p. 56, Fig. 7 [see p. 100 above in the HRAF translation]) are evidently a curtailment and combination of formerly variously colored air-horse flags; four of these are regarded as the bearers of the air-horse- or wind-master and are arranged according to the four directions of the compass. This conclusion comes from a Tibetan text, for whose French résumé I am indebted to Professor Doctor R. Stein (Paris).

[209 cont.]

772 time, an inner significance cannot be denied to it. The air-
778 horse is the symbol and the guarantor of the destiny of the family,
of the kin group. Human destiny, however, is fitted into the
[614] course of the world, just as the kin-group compound occupies its
[35] place in the world-structure. According to Tujen conception, a
compound is not "complete" if the central fort and mani-tree
are lacking. Through them the living space of the kin group is
given conformity with the living space of the other living beings.

The world is no rigid schema, however; this is proved by the significance of the arrow of good fortune. In its way, the arrow of good fortune also represents the world: the [210] urn symbolizes the earth with its fruit; the arrow, the connecting column to the sky. Frequently four other arrows corresponding to the four directions of the compass are added to the central arrow. The vital force in the arrow of good fortune is new and not observable in the other world-representations (central fort, mandala, etc.). The germs of things, the force of increase and of life, are conjured into it. It guarantees wealth, good fortune, and a full life. The tufts of hair from the animals and the grain in the urn signify that these things will not be lost to the owner even when he has sold them. The oracle-toys of the children on the arrow guarantee the development of the young person in the corresponding direction; the hairs and threads of clothing from the bride insure that despite the loss of the daughter her good fortune will not escape. The dynamism of the world is expressed on the arrow of good fortune, whereas on the mandala (central fort, etc.), more the fixed order. Here, however, the cosmic force, the sap of life, and germinal base are not to be conceived as mana, but are to be derived from their connection with the superposed heaven. The astral, heavenly order is not only the model of its earthly mirror-image; it also imparts to the world its force, which permeates both. The references in the chapter on the arrow of good fortune already offer several indications of this. These conceptions can still be pursued much further. Their threads are quite tangled; they extend back to very early cultural forms and are linked with the oldest kind of communication between heaven and earth. Old forms of sacrifice and having the deities present are linked

[210 cont.]
772 with it (3).
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3. The arrow of good fortune, in other words, occupies the place of the tree of life, to which men, animals, and plants owe their existence and their development; cf. Uno Holmberg, Der Baum des Lebens [The Tree of Life], p. 69 f. Among the Na-khi this tree of life is the juniper tree (Juniperus). The well-being, wealth, and the unfolding of life of human beings are ascribed to it; cf. J.F.Rock, Muan Bpö, pp. 21, 42, 94. As the wood of life, the arrow of good fortune in the house also represents the world axis, similar to the central column in temples, chortens, god-figures (human spinal column), which is designated by the Tibetan name srog šiṅ, that is, the wood of life. H.A.Jäschke (Dictionary, p. 585) translates the expression with "axle, axle tree" [cited in English]. As a supplement, let it be mentioned that this srog šiṅ is probably also the equivalent for the Tujen name of the sky-column (sõn-siṅ) in the chorten chamber; cf. Anthropos 47, 1952, pp. 76, 78, 79 [pp. 143, 137, 143, in the HRAF translation]. (Personal suggestion from Professor Doctor R. Stein).

The conception of the arrow of good fortune as a personification of the god of life is no longer vital among the Tujen. That it may have this significance is proved by the Na-khi in southwestern China. Instead of the treasure urn with

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the arrow of good fortune of the Tujen, they have a basket. In it, among other things, there is a miniature tower; it represents the god of life, called Ssu, Tibetan srog lha. The basket is his home. The miniature tower (t'a, "pagoda") may also be replaced by an arrow, so that this represents the god of life; cf. J. F. Rock, Naga Cult, pp. 146, 250, 251 (according to a personal communication). The significance of the god of life and his home agrees with the significance of the arrow of good fortune and the treasure urn. -- S. Hummel has also pointed to the arrow as the bearer of reproductive power and of the cosmic vital force; cf. Geheimnisse tibetischer Malereien [Secret Tibetan Paintings], pp. 8-14 passim.

Very ancient and widespread representations are involved here. The connection of god of life and ancestor and his seat in an urn or basket, etc. can be followed all the way to Indochina; and in the burial urns and Shang bronzes in ancient China are probably to be seen the forerunners of the pagoda as seat of the god of life or ancestors, whose modern modification is the ancestral tablet, and in a certain sense also the hearth-god tsao-chün, which is also called ssu-ming (director of life). This as a brief reference.

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A special work concerning the

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gurtum-shamans will go into the ideology underlying the whole (god of life, god of war, god of wealth, Pekar, tree of life, arrow of good fortune, spear, ancestral tablets, etc.); cf. also below, pp. 363-388.

[773] [211] The origin of the world is unfortunately recorded only in scanty documents. According to the Geser legend and the aphoristic wisdom of the people, the earth arose through a churning in the water like butter (cream) in milk. It floats on top and is held by a wooden post which one day will start to grow and develop leaves. Then the earth will tip over and bring on the end of the world. The physical sky floats over the earth on a golden peg (nail); in this connection, cf. DMF, p. 115 and p. 445. Here there are conceptions that at first glance contradict those described above, but they can nevertheless be con-
[171] nected with them indirectly. They are recently elaborated variants from Indian cosmology (churning with the world-column; turtle as earth-bearer) and are linked with Mongolic peculiarities (heavenly bell on a golden nail); in this connection, cf. W. Lüdtke, Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans [The Veneration of the Genghis Khan]. Concerning the polar star as beacon, see further below, p. 883. Over against the earth with the wooden peg (modë ġadasē) stands heaven with the golden peg (xaldan
[821] ġadasē). Among the Tujen, however, the polar star is called xaldan ġadasē: xaldan because of its shining color; ġadasē because of its similarity to a nail head. Actually ġadasē means post, peg, nail, tack. The polar star, to be sure, is otherwise conceived as the axle of the sky. Thus, the greening world-tree (earth-wood) and sky-axle (star-gold) correspond with each other. Here, too, the comparison of two parts of the world that are supposed to correspond is suggested: the sky above, the earth below. The conception of the tilting and finally falling earth may go back to the observation that the polar star, the sky-axle, is not in the zenith, but in the north. The way the
[533] world-tree and stars belong together is poetically rendered in

[211 cont.]

772 the many riddle-songs of the Tujen, when they sing of the tree,
[533] which bears the sun, moon, and stars in its crown; cf., for example, Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder," loc. cit., Song I and II.
[171] Further connections will be passed over here. Only the great similarity of these songs to the wedding songs of western Tibet will be mentioned; see Francke, Tibetische Hochzeitslieder [Tibetan Wedding Songs].

772 With this harmonious conception of the world and its
779 close connection with human beings, one would also expect a projection of the macrocosm into the microcosm. In Lamaism, of course, these correspondences are carried through to the smallest detail and find their symbolic representation in the well-known syllable-monogram, the rnam bču dbaṅ idan; in this connection, cf. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, pp. 160 f. These minute correspondences of the Lamaist monks, however, are too artificial for the people. They know nothing about them. Security in the great cosmos in which they literally build suffices for them. This world-feeling does not enter into sophisticated speculations.

[212] 3. The Religious Cult

a) The Basic Psychic Attitude

771 The inner attitude of the people toward the good spirits
776 is the consciousness of dependence upon them. They determine the well-being in this world, which, after all, is the focal point of thought, for one does not think much about the beyond. Hence the first thing a person does when misfortune or an unusual situation surprises him is to turn to a spirit, a mightier being, which can help here. How much this attitude dominates the common man is apparent from the above-mentioned basic thoughts of the informant, which provided the articulation of all the customs: "... now I shall tell you first what we do for the good fortune of the family, etc."; cf. "Introduction," Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 15 [p. 16 above in the HRAF translation]. Everything is thereby subordinated to the religious

[212 cont.]

771 utilitarian idea. The Tujen give their offerings and prayers in
776 order to make the spirit world favorably inclined toward them
for the purpose of earthly well-being. They are not so submis-
[782] sive to the harmful demons, however, but instead face them
[789] with greater hostility and try to vanquish them with the help
of the good spirits or through magic.

b) The Offering

The Types of Offering

782 The Tujen distinguish the following types according to what is offered: the incense offering, food and drink offering, slaughtered offering, animal-consecration. -- Aside from the incense offering and the animal-consecration, they have a
[192] common name for the offering, namely, šeńlie, which corresponds to the Chinese hsien. Thus, they say, for instance, šdimie šeńlie-, to offer bread; tsidzig šeńlie-, to offer flowers; xonini šeńlie-, to offer a sheep (cf. DMF 376). This expression šeńlie may not be used for anything else.

The incense offering, which originally was an aromatic offering, has now been greatly extended by all kinds of additions, such as butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, silk threads. Here, too, however, the rule against giving anything that smells unpleasant is maintained. The use of butter and
[174] tsamba, which are the staple foods of the nomads there, implies an old pastoral custom. Concerning the original incense offering, cf. the chapter further below, "The Belief in a Supreme God."

The food offering principally includes bread, wine, butter, tsamba. One puts them down before the spirit, for instance, before the household altar, the obo, the mani-tree, the god's image, etc. When they are taken away and consumed, some is thrown to the deity concerned. Liquids are poured on the ground or squirted into the air. The custom of
[264] throwing something to the spirits before each meal belongs here, too.

[212 cont.]

782 The slaughtered offering, together with the animal-
[778] consecration, forms the group of animal offerings, of which one is bloody, the other unbloody. The bloody [213] animal-
[574] offering is carried out in three steps which are clearly differentiated by the people: slaughtering, presentation, sacrificial meal. The classic example is described above as the mountain sheep-offering. The actual presentation, usually in the form of the offering-throw, is designated by the term "offering." Often there is an interval of a whole day between slaughtering and presentation and the meal.

[787] The slaughtering is preceded by the washing and the
[778] milk-oracle, as well as the releasing and recapturing of the animal. It almost has the appearance of an abbreviated animal-consecration, at which the animal is likewise released.

The presentation may be done in two ways. Either the skinned whole animal is set up before the deity, or it is cut up immediately, boiled, and then the pieces of meat with the broth are thrown to the deity. It also happens that the thoroughly cooked pieces are put on plates in front of the altar, like bread or wine. Putting up the pole-goat is probably a remnant of
[171] Central Asiatic form, analogous to the hanging up of the hide of sacrificial animals among the Siberian peoples. Among the Tujen, however, no attention whatever is paid to the skeleton, since, of course, the animal is cut up and boiled with the bones.

782 The sacrificial meal is consumed by all the people, by men, women, and children. I do not know of any sacrificial
574 animals that are reserved for only certain groups. To be sure certain parts are reserved for certain persons as especially tasty, such as the loins, the head, etc. The sacrificial meal is not regarded as a profane act. It is regarded as part of the offering, there is the unequivocal expression for it: "This is a part of our offering."

782 A peculiarity of these offerings is still to be emphasized:
826 the fear of blood. The blood is not spilled but caught during the slaughtering and poured into the intestines. The blood belongs to the animal and is sacrificed and eaten with it. Traces of blood on the ground are immediately covered with earth and wiped away.

[213 cont.]

782 The pig offering proceeds like the sheep offering, however little appropriate the procedure is for this animal. -- The hen offering is done without much ceremony. The animal's head is cut or twisted off, the hen is swung around in a circle so that the blood squirts around, and then it is allowed to fly. I do not know whether the hen is consumed later. It certainly did not happen in several cases observed.

778 782 The animal-consecration is already unequivocally an offering in that the animal is given up by human beings as a voluntary gift to a god and normally may not be used any more.

I could confirm nothing about a human consecration, which Mostaert (DMF, p. 371 under sdien) mentions, unless the shaman consecration is meant, or the recommendation of a child to a tutelary spirit whose name it later bears. In any event the vow [831] of virginity could be regarded as an offering to heaven, as a sign [302] of which a girl lets her hair fall down freely; cf. DMF, p. 103. [588] One can also include its counterpart, namely, the marriage of a girl with heaven, whose sign is the "heavenly hairdo"; cf. Schram, Mariage, pp. 127 ff.

[214] Recipients of the Offering

782 776 To what extent heaven has a share in all offerings and what offerings are reserved for it will be discussed below. The pig is inadmissible as an offering for the higher deities (except for the earth), and the hen likewise. They are the sacrificial animals for lower gods and demons.

Whether there is an actual offering to the demons is questionable. In the case of the ceremonies dealing with the evil spirits, for instance, the demon-escort, the figure-litter, the various tormas, etc., one regards the accompanying gifts, designated as rdzē, as things that the demon needs or likes, for example, the riding animal, the clothes, the money, the wool, etc. Furthermore, aside from the intent to appease and to satisfy, there is also a certain contempt for the demon connected with these gifts, in that raw flesh, leeks, beans, and unclean intestines are offered to it, as though to a wild bestial creature.

[214 cont.]

782 This is intended to make him satisfied so that he will go away
776 and not return. Any feeling of awe and submissiveness, such as is characteristic towards a higher spirit and is manifested in the offering, is lacking. A similar notion of fear plays a contributing role here, which one also entertains for the souls of the dead, of whom it is expected that they will not molest human beings and will be content.

The Executers of the Offering

782 All these offerings can be assigned primarily to the
771 people as chief bearers. It is the most important religious activity of the ordinary people. It presupposes little, namely, a gift and an attitude. It requires no special schooling, no involved ritual, and no learning of prayers. The offerers are the family head, the seed-master, or the village elders. It is precisely these laymen themselves who at the purely Lamaistic ceremonies or those of the Bon and shamans perform the actual offering operation, for example, at the harvest thanksgiving festival and at the erection of the pole-goat or the central fort. Even the tormas, which, of course, can in part be regarded as offerings, are usually set up or carried outside by men from among the people.

c) The Prayer

782 The spontaneous and freely-formulated prayer is a natural matter-of-course among the Tujen. They are also conscious of this form of prayer when they maintain: "We farmers have forgotten our old prayers; everyone prays with his own words." (Cf. Schröder: "Herbst-Dankopfer [Harvest Thank-offering]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-1945, p. 872.)

Besides these spontaneous utterances they also still know
782 simple, brief prayer formulas to heaven and the gods, as when
788 they say, "Oh you spirits, do not be like human beings!" or when they uninterruptedly recite on their prayer-string "Om

[214 cont.]

782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types of prayer under the expression yandzila-, to implore, to request, and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer, however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which
[463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the
[792] lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people
[791] connect praying with these professions is shown by the common designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the
[192] Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen, that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom mošē, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching. In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer, something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of
[791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests, Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely linked.

5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

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174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

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structure that has developed in the course of centuries. It is similar to the religion of the Mongols generally, which Pallisen in his dissertation would like to designate as syncretism. This is found even more among the Kansu Mongols, the Tujen. This syncretism is understandable for two reasons, one psychological and one historical.

Viewed psychologically, the East Asian, including the Mongol, is inclined to negotiation, to compromise, and to understanding toleration. The informant has formulated this accurately: "All religions are good. The goal is the same, only the paths are different" (cf. "Introduction," Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 12)[p. 12 above in the HRAF translation]. 'One does not want to bind himself exclusively to one particular way, but wants to examine everything from a practical utilitarian viewpoint to see what is conducive to his happiness and well-being. One tries this with all the gods and is gladly prepared to take up into his heaven any useful spirit. Even Christianity in China would [216] long ago have fallen victim to this inclination, if it were not so decisively intent on a dogmatic and ritual separation. Otherwise one could soon rediscover it with its figures of saints, doctrines, and rites, say, in Lamaism, just as in actual fact such an influence is assumed from early Christian times.

The history and distribution of the Tujen has greatly favored this spiritual readiness and has brought them into close contact with the various religions. Whoever the original Tujen may be, all those who have reported about them are agreed that they have an active history of migration behind them and that their basic stock is Mongolic. Aside from their migrations, perhaps for several centuries in their present location, even if they have maintained their linguistic and racial peculiarities, they have had active intercourse with the most varied peoples, such as the Tangut, the former rulers of Amdo, with the Mongols of the various waves of invasion, and finally with the Chinese pressing in after them. Probably their original faith in pre-Lamaistic times was determined extensively by the Bon doctrine of the Tangut, until the Yellow Church from neighboring Kumbum then brought all Amdo under its influence. Finally,

[216 cont.]

771 Chinese civilization, which with agriculture also brought corre-
174 sponding religious customs with it, passed over them, even if it has only slightly penetrated into the religion.

This peculiar position, conditioned by history and en-
771 vironment, makes the religion of the Tujen a significant subject
792 in the religious history of Amdo and of the Chinese border region
174 generally, so that it is actually no longer simply a matter of the religion of the Tujen alone. The Tujen monks seem to have been aware of this advantageous position and have actively taken part in the investigation of the forms of belief of the border land, especially that of Lamaism. Through this they have won a certain learned and religio-political influence. An example of this is given by Cybikov in his introduction to the "Lam rim c'en po" (pp. XVI-XVII, translated by W.A. Unkrig), where he speaks of the Ch'ang-chia hutukhtu, who, as is known, comes from the Tujen lamasery Erh-ku-lung: "But whatever the situation may be. The home of the Ch'ang-ch'a hutukhtus occupies such a position between China, Mongolia, the East Tibetans, the Tangut, and formerly also the Uigur, that it had to serve as an arena for the contact between these peoples and for the formation of a tribe in which is embodied the traits of all four of these peoples. If one takes a look at the present-day situation exclusively, without historical considerations, according to our view it has contributed greatly to the fact that these lamas had to gain enormous influence on Tibetan and Mongolic affairs and on the relationship of these peoples to the Manchu dynasty." I found this confirmed when I visited the lamasery there. If we also disregard the observation of Cybikov concerning the ethnic formation of the Tujen, it must nevertheless be admitted that this people has taken over many religious traits from its neighbors. It is therefore also no accident that it was precisely a Tulku (Tuguān
[538] hutukhtu) from the Tujen monastery [217] who in the eighteenth century wrote the only known Tibetan book about all the Tibetan sects, including the Bon. He had the most varied forms constantly and directly before his eyes, just as even today the religious customs of the Tujen still represent a living catalogue of patterns in this respect.

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771 Now, concerning the elements which make up these
174 customs, they fall almost entirely into four groups, each of which constitutes a special layer. These four layers are: the belief in a supreme god, shamanism, the Bon religion, and Lamaism. The layers, however, cannot simply be taken out of the whole structure, freed from all the extra features, and connected with a larger pervading stratum of the Central Asiatic religions. This is only possible in a larger context and would go beyond the bounds of this work, for the parts in question are of considerable temporal depth and embrace many peoples. In addition these layers have interpenetrated one another in that in each case the later one has absorbed the elements of the preceding ones. Thus, Lamaism, in spite of its original enmity toward the Bon religion, has nonetheless adopted much from it. The Bon faith, on the other hand, in turn has a strong shamanistic base, and an old sky-cult runs through all the layers.

771 A discussion of the two high religions, of the Bon and of
128 Lamaism, in their connection with the belief of the Tujen would
756 go too far. Shamanism can more readily be delimited, but it cannot be exhaustively presented either. So there remains the old sky-cult as a belief in a supreme god. This will be dealt with quite extensively in the following, whereas in the case of shamanism the presentation must be limited to a theoretical sketch. A special work will deal with it in detail for the whole western Chinese border region. The Bon religion and Lamaism will only be touched upon briefly.

II. The Layers of the Tujen Religion

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1. The Belief in a Supreme God

In this section it is necessary to refer not only to the customs but also to the other sources and the scanty literature. Aside from the DMF and Mariage (by Schram), which offer a sparse yield for the religion, the other sources are still unpublished.
[538] They are available in the original texts, however. These are the Geser legend, the agriculture legend, the Moschus deer (the first part of the song cycle known under the name xoni, sheep), and a series of other songs and fairy tales, of which the wedding songs are appearing (Folklore Studies, Tokyo, 1952).

[217 cont.]

771 776 The belief in a supreme god among the Tujen must have been known to the people themselves at an early date. Tafel noted in his fairly reliable chapter: "The Turen [sic] of Wei-yüanpu are a very curious tribe. Many say that they have only one single god in which they believe. But they are, like the [218] Chinese, also Buddhists" (Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], I, p. 246). The author unfortunately does not tell who these "many" are. Probably they are the Tujen themselves. Tafel is right insofar as a true monotheism is unknown to the Tujen. On the other hand they do not share the same Buddhism with the Chinese. The Tujen are Lamaists, the Chinese, on the other hand, never or only as an exception. From the customs observed, it now appears incontestably that the so-called one god [821] of the Tujen is a supreme god who is venerated in the form of the heavens. One must, therefore, start from "heaven."

a) The Name "Heaven"

rëǧuo

772 For "heaven" the Tujen know two expressions, namely, 776 rëǧuo and tieńgëre. The word rëǧuo is little used and then only in the sense of the physical sky, firmament. It agrees entirely 192 with its Mongolic equivalent oktarǧui, which is to be equated [821] with the Tibetan mk'a or nam mk'a or gnam, and means: sky, empty space above the air, firmament, vault of the heavens, ether, atmosphere, air. Cf. Kovalevski, p. 430. Even among the following expressions that include oktarǧui, there is none in which oktarǧui is comprehended as a deity or spirit. Cf. op. cit., pp. 430-433. Thus it must be sharply distinguished from tengri (tieńgëre) and cannot be used synonymously with the latter. Only in the sense of the physical sky do they overlap. Among the Tujen, reǧuo is chiefly regarded as light-sky, bearer of brightness. One therefore likes to add the adjective kuǧuo (blue, light, bright), for instance, kuǧuo rëǧuo undurwa (the blue sky is high). The kuǧuo rëǧuo (light sky) stands in contrast to the [825] xara gadzier (dark earth). An appropriate bird is assigned to [539]

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772 each of them as a symbol of brightness and of darkness. Thus,
776 in a wedding song it is said: xara gadzier mundzini xela; kuǵuo
192 rëǵuoni dzindzini xela (the black earth's dark bird calls; the
light sky's light bird answers). Here, it is true, the rëǵuo has
[825] been drawn into the -- probably Tibetan -- mythology of light
[539] and darkness, but nothing concerning a possible significance of the rëǵuo as spirit or deity is expressed by it. (Cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder.") Even if the expression rëǵuo in its meaning as light-bearer corresponds approximately to the word tieńgëre, its deeper meaning is thereby exhausted and it will not be considered further.

tieńgëre

772 tieńgëre is the Tujen form of the written Mongolic
776 tengri or tngri. It may signify both the natural sky as well as
192 heaven as a deity. As natural sky it is provided with the same
821 adjectives as the word rëǵuo, in other words, with kuǵuo (blue), undur (high), etc. Like the latter, it also, as the daylight sky, stands in contrast to the dark earth. Our expression "heaven and earth" is always rendered among the Tujen by kuǵuo tieńgëre, xara gadzier (light sky, dark earth). They would never [219] simply say "heaven and earth." In this conception, the Tujen go hand in hand with their Altaic-Mongolic relatives. In his dissertation, Pallisen has presented the connection of light and heaven especially clearly: Among all Altaic peoples the sky is primarily perceived as the daylight sky. According to H. Vambéry and Barbier de Maynard, the concepts "the light," "brightness" in all Altaic languages belong to the same word family as tengri (Religion der Altmongolen [Religion of the Ancient Mongols], p. 123). Pallisen then appends the word lists for 13 languages, which are intended to illustrate this connection (op. cit., pp. 123 ff.).

The sky, however, is regarded not only as the embodiment of light, but it is also the bearer of the most important cosmic phenomena. This is expressed in many everyday phrases, for example: the sky rains; the sky is cold; the sky is hot; the sky thunders; the sky is cheerful, etc. Hence,

[219 cont.]

772 the heavens, even purely sensibly, stand in the consciousness of
776 the Tujen as something important, exalted, as that immeasurable
192 space of light embracing the world, in which the natural events
821 that so impress the simple human being take place. It is not the word rëguo that arouses this consciousness in them, but the word tieńgëre. Evidently, it is one of the oldest words that they, along with the other Altaic peoples, among whom it is charged with the same content, have inherited from hoary prehistory. It cannot be further analyzed etymologically.

772 For this reason, this very expression is excellently suitable
776 for designating what we call "God." Where the Tujen, who are,
192 after all, a branch of the Mongols, acquired the link between
174 the name tieńgëre and the concept "God" is not to be dealt with here. That belongs in the history of the religion of the Mongols or of the Altaic peoples generally. Father W. Schmidt has made it seem probable that it is not a matter of equating the highest being with the material heaven, but only of a transference of the name "heaven" to the supreme god; this must have happened at the time of the transition to herding in the great steppes where "they have before them the huge dome of the heavens unobscured in its entire extent and with all natural phenomena taking place in the sky"; cf. Schmidt, Religionsgeschichte [History of Religion], p. 256, UdG, X, pp. 128 ff. The question arises here: Does this also apply to the Tujen and in what way? How is the name tieńgëre used, as a generic or proper name? Does it actually signify God?

One must first of all go back to the general Mongolic conceptions, which, to be sure, know the same name. Pallisen in this connection comes to the following conclusion (op. cit., p. 126): "One can therefore say that in this stage of development Tengri meant something like 'God Heaven' as a proper name, not 'heaven god' and not 'god in heaven' or 'god of heaven,' as some researchers maintain.... Gradually, however, Tengri was used to designate the God of the Christians and of the Mohammedans, and finally, with the adoption of Buddhism, this word became equivalent to the Sanskritic Deva, and numerous deities of the Lamaistic pantheon, which in part were taken into it from the old folk-belief, were [220] then also called

[220 cont.]

772 Tengri, with the addition of a definite proper name (especially
776 the 33 tengri: ghutschin ghurban Tengri)." "In other words, for
192 the interpreters and for the numerous strangers generally who
174 stayed at the court of the great Khan and among whom many priests of all religions were also represented, the significance of Tengri as a generic name for "god" was already familiar and clear" (op. cit., p. 127). -- Later, according to Pallisen, along with Buddhism there came the term burxan, which is supposed to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word for Buddha and among the Mongols is supposed to have taken on the meaning of "idol, deity, spirit, god's image." (Concerning the origin of the word Burchan or purġan, cf. above.)

Among the Tujen this development is difficult to determine. I have often asked people how many tieńgëre there are. I always received the answer; only one. Only once did my informant observe that there were also other gods called tieńgëre. When he was then to name these gods, he did not know a single one. This is a sign of how secondary the significance of tieńgëre as a generic name must have been among the Tujen, since it could disappear from linguistic usage so completely without a trace, if it was ever present. Perhaps the above-mentioned observation of A. Tafel concerning a "single god" is to be traced back to a similar piece of information. The tieńgëre of the Tujen, in other words, does not entirely correspond with the tengri of the Mongols. Only the word purġan, which corresponds to the Mongolic burxan, has taken over the function of a generic name; purġan signifies not only the native gods, spirits, gods' images, but generally all the deities of the various religions. At times it may also designate a demon. It is used in a way similar to the Chinese fo-yeh, though to be sure never for a Tulku. The conception of a plurality, which, of course, is essential for a generic concept, is always connected with the word purġan.

772 According to all the information and on the basis of the
776 customs recorded, tieńgëre alone is reserved as the proper name
192 of the god-heaven. The bilingual Tujen generally translate it with the Chinese t'ien (heaven) or lao-t'ien (old heaven) or

[220 cont.]

772 t'ien-yeh (father "heaven"). The fact that this tiengĕre applies
776 exclusively to the heavenly being appears with special clarity
192 in the constantly used formula: šge tiengĕre, uluon purgan (the great heaven, the many spirits). Quite consciously here uniqueness is placed over against multiplicity and at the same time it is expressed that heaven possesses at least as much honor as the purgan, in other words, is also a deity, or can be a higher spiritual being. What the content of this god-concept is now, whether it is really a heaven as supreme god, is to be made clear in the following, and, to be sure, first of all in connection with the heaven cult of the people.

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b) The Heaven Cult

After all that has been said up to now, it is established beyond doubt that the Tujen venerate the heavens. It can also be confirmed further from the popular literature, as will become clear below. Thus [221] here it is only a question of the what and how of the veneration of heaven (offering, prayer), insofar as it is appropriate to provide information concerning the god-concept and the conceptions linked with it, as well as the age and the position of the belief in a supreme god.

1) The Offering

782 As regards the form, the executers, and the sentiment of the offering, what is said generally about the offering applies. Here in first place the question arises: Are there offerings that in a special way are intended for heaven or that have a special relationship to it? This is quite generally the case with every offering insofar as it can be conceived as a primitial offering. In addition there are also other offerings which -- at least originally -- were reserved for heaven, among which the incense offering and sheep offering are the most important.

The Primitial Offering

[192] The Tujen do not know a special generic name for the primitial offering. They say, depending on the circumstances:

[221 cont.]

782 to throw the first (the first piece, the first drop, the first bowl,
192 etc.) to the heavens. For "first" they use the word toroṅ. As a number it can be adjectival and substantival, in other words, "the first" or "firstling." In addition, it also signifies a blessing, an advantage, for example: kuni toroṅ (the first of the people) is a man skilled in speech who can appear in public; or morini toroṅ (the first among horses), an especially fast and strong horse. In exactly the same way the gift at the primitial offering is simply designated as toroṅ. Whether a special blessing
782 is also to be indicated by it remains to be decided. I am not aware that especially good parts are taken for it; one does not take long to choose them, although care is always taken to see that they are not inferior, spoiled, or unclean. The primitial offering is always intended for heaven. Even where it is intended for several deities, heaven nonetheless stands in first place. Two kinds can be distinguished: the direct and the indirect.

782 The direct primitial offering is so generally widespread
264 among the Tujen that it strikes everyone who has ever observed the people at their meals. Usually it is done in the following
[826] way. In the case of beverages one dips the middle finger, which is the most superior one, into his drinking bowl, withdraws it again, and flicks the drop suspended from it into the air. This is done three times in succession. In the case of foods, for instance, bread or meat, a little piece is picked off and thrown high toward the heavens or backward over the shoulder. The direction in which one is seated does not matter. Sometimes it happens that one pours out a whole bowlful of the beverage. All confirm that they present this gift first to heaven before they themselves enjoy it. Only after heaven are they sometimes also thrown to other spirits.

782 The primitial offering is rooted deep in the consciousness of the Tujen. According to their view it must extend
773 back to the beginnings of humanity. Thus in the Geser legend
264 it is said of the first emperor Hamluo Siergān when he stopped on a [222] journey and boiled tea: "fulan tsiani sdzūlġano, tsiani toroṅni kuġuo tieṅgērdu tsiodlodzi" (when the red tea

[222 cont.]

782 boiled, he threw the first of the tea to the light heavens). The
773 firstling-offering is attested to even more clearly in the agricul-
264 ture myth (V. 680-690), when after long endeavor by the demiurge the first barley ripens and comes into the possession of human beings: "When after seven weeks they went to look, the barley was ripe. The head was bent over. With both hands they rubbed this (sc. the ear), which hung down like a whip. And when the kernels had come out, they wanted to make an offering to the light heavens. They offered that barley and bent their heads to the ground. But there was no way to eat." In other words, even before the people were able to make use of the blessing of the new food, they offered the firstling-gift to heaven. [192] The word ǰenlie, that is, to offer in the true sense, appears in the original text.

782 The indirect primitial offering is directed at the heavens only by the roundabout way of another offering. It is found in connection with almost all the offerings to the good spirits. In the religious customs one will scarcely find an offering that is not first made to heaven. This is shown by the actual offering act, the presentation, and the show of respect connected with it, the kowtow. Thus, the offering at the erection of the pole-goat, for instance, or even the obo offering is certainly intended for the weather gods or the mountain-spirit, and yet heaven receives the first three bowls; the other spirits come after it. Just as the human being first gives some of his goods to heaven before he uses them, so is it also in the spirit world. One could call this a primitial offering of the offering. There are naturally exceptions to this practice, as, say, in the case of the fire-pouring, torma, hen offering, etc., which belong more in the domain of Lamaism and of the Bon religion. By and large, however, the indirect primitial offering is always practiced.

The Incense Offering

In the section concerning the incense offering (see "First Part," Anthropos 47, 1952, pp. 43 ff. [pp. 69 ff. above in the HRAF translation]), it was emphasized that it is offered to heaven first and afterwards to the other gods. In the "Notes"

[222 cont.]

782 it was surmised that a primitial offering might likewise be involved, for it is the first offering of the day, in which man gives to heaven something of all things important to life. Arguing against the primitial offering, however, is the simple form of the incense offering, which consists essentially of the burning of fragrant things, of cypress twigs (4), flowers, etc. These,

[824]

4. When the popular word cypress is used here, the Thuja tree in the botanical sense is always meant; cf. Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 46 [p. 72 above in the HRAF translation]. The Tujen name šgua (= Tibetan šug-pa) has several meanings. Among the Tujen the Thuja tree always represents the cypress, and above all the juniper (Juniperus), which in their region of cultivation occurs only infrequently and at most is encountered in the mountains. The difference is purely material; in the religion the Thuja tree takes over the position of the juniper and the cypress. Professor Doctor J.F.Rock, as a botanical expert, no longer found any cypress north of Minchow (Kansu), but he did still find ten species of juniper (personal communication).

however, are no longer foodstuffs if one disregards the water with which the fuel for the fire is sprinkled in order to purify it.

782 539 [171] [223] This simple form of the incense offering seems at the outset to have been reserved exclusively for heaven and is of great antiquity. It is also attested to among the Mongols as a heaven-offering, and among the Tujen it is found in numerous songs. Several citations will confirm this, first from the Geser legend. In Verses 1-6 the customs of the first human

782 539 [223 cont.]
beings are described: "One clothed oneself in tree leaves. One ate tree fruit. One lay on flower leaves. When one was thirsty, he drank water. At daybreak one burned great incense (šdeliedzi šge fdzañ ǵarǵani)." In Verses 38-42 it is related how the first emperor burns incense in order to perform a heavy task: "When he was supposed to churn together the earth on the immense spring water, this was terribly difficult. And burning a great incense offering, he implored the light heavens (šge fdzañni ǵarǵadzi kuǵuo tieńgērni yañdziladzia)." Verses 158-167 describe another incense offering of the first emperor. He gathers [824] flowers (kānba flowers = Artemisia species) on the shady side of the mountain, juniper twigs on the sunny side, scoops pure water from the river, and then it is said: "Climbing onto the high mountain he burned great incense, implored the heavens, implored the countless spirits... (undur ǵadadu ǵaridzi šge fdzañni ǵarǵaya, šge tieńgērni yañdziłaya, uluon purǵani yañdzilaya...)." The offering in this case is also presented to other spirits, but heaven is in first place. This is also emphasized by the fact that it takes place on a mountain. None of the purǵan is mentioned by name. The daily incense offering is mentioned in Verses 190-193: "Daily burning incense, he lived (sc. the first emperor). From below rose the great incense, and the smoke of the incense pushed open the gate of heaven; and the exalted [776] Sdeńlatsien-sañ (= the highest heaven lord) looked down." (Udurdu fdzañ ǵarǵadzi sōdzamba. dōrōdza šge fdzañni ǵarǵano, fdzañni funini tieńgērni udieni baǵa niedzia. Sdeńlatsien-sañ dorodzi nōdzia.) The relationship of the incense to heaven is unambiguous here. (For further details concerning the Šdeńlatsien-san, cf. below.) The passage concerning the heavenly wanderings of the first emperor, Verses 1221-1222, runs similarly: "Then on his wanderings he came before the great gate of heaven, and the smoke of the great incense pushed open the gate of heaven." (Di yōdzi tieńgērni šge udie tada kurdzia. šge fdzañni funini tieńgērni udieni baǵa niedzia.) On earth, namely, one burns incense during this time so that the undertaking of the journey to implore a ruler from heaven will succeed.

[223 cont.]

782 539 Further evidence is also found in the first part of the animal song cycle, the "Moschus deer." Verses 191-201 describe the incense offering in the following manner: "There is a procedure for catching the Moschus deer. Climb the north side (of the mountain) and pick green juniper twigs. Climb the sunny side and gather white känba flowers. Go down to the flat plain and gather yellow känba flowers. Go to the bank [224] of the river and burn great incense. Venerate the great heaven, implore the countless gods." (Šge fdzaṅbeṅ ġarġaya, šge tieṅgëre amudadzi, uluon purġan yaṅdzilaya.)

[533] Now one more example from the wedding song, "The Bird Pair." The pair, shepherd and shepherdess, sing alternately: "When the sun rises shining, we pick green cypress twigs. Climbing up the shady side, we gather white känba flowers. Descending to the flat plain, we scoop up clear water. Climbing up the high mountain, we burn great incense, and burning the great incense it is a good job when we are a pair." (Šge fdzaṅni ġarġaya; šge fdzaṅni ġarġadza, tsiari ġuori sguren-wa.)

782 174 These examples from the popular literature can be multiplied at will. The passages cited, however, suffice to secure the following conclusions: 1. The original form of the incense offering was extremely simple. Juniper twigs, flowers, and purification water belong with it. The offering was purely an aromatic offering. Although fire is naturally necessary also, it is nowhere mentioned. Not even the expression "to set afire" is used. The usual word "ġarġa" is the causative of "ġari-" (to generate, to produce, to rise) and refers here to the smoke. No foodstuffs are offered. The other additions, spices, etc., can be explained from Lamaism (5). Whatever in the way of

5. J.F.Rock also establishes for the Na-khi an original simple form, juniper twigs and butter; the other additions were not added until later; see Naga Cult, pp. 231 f.

foodstuffs is still offered in the present form should be conceived

[224 cont.]

782 as a combination of a primitial offering with the matutinal in-
174 cense offering. Even these gifts, however, may not have a bad odor, which wholly corresponds with the original meaning of the incense offering. 2. The incense offering, according to these texts, is already very ancient. Even if the legends are distressingly embellished from Lamaism, they nonetheless go back to pre-Buddhist conditions. This applies especially to the
[773] Geser legend. Lamaistic monks in Kumbum emphasize that the legend has nothing to do with their religion. In similar
782 fashion this type of incense offering is declared to be pre-
174 Buddhistic in western Tibet; cf. A. H. Francke, Tibetische
171 Hochzeitslieder, pp. 25 f. (Darmstadt, 1923). The pre-Buddhistic occurrence among the ancient Mongols has already been mentioned. The Tujen are of Mongolic derivation, and they also have religious links with the pre-Buddhist Tibetans, as is shown in the wedding customs and songs (6). -- How far the

6. For the distribution of the incense offering, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 49 [pp. 80-81 above in the HRAF translation]. Its occurrence in ancient China also argues in favor of its being pre-Buddhist in character; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder, Die Fandse, p. 183, where the ancient Chinese burnt offering is equated with the incense offering of the Fandse. The Na-khi juniper incense offering, whose great similarity with the incense offering of the Tujen and the Tibetans cannot be denied, is also pre-Buddhist; cf. the descriptions by J. F. Rock, Naga Cult, pp. 230 ff., and Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 34.

782 incense offering goes back is indicated by the hunting song cycle.
174 It was probably already practiced in the early period of a hunting
[538] culture and from there passed into the herding culture. It is

[224 cont.]

782 striking [225] that the agriculture myth does not mention the in-
174 cense offering. The conditions of the environment -- mountain pasture, forest, wild flowers, etc. -- do not fit in with agriculture (7). -- Here it may be asked whether the incense offering is

[824] [773]

7. The ancient nature of the incense offering is to be explained in the final analysis by the ancient nature of the juniper tree, which as world- and life-tree stands at the beginning of time; cf. J.F.Rock, Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 20, 21, 132, 143. Since it is the first tree of the world, even the first emperor (Geser legend) could burn only these twigs in honor of heaven. The incense offering therefore belongs in the world of the religious archetypes which became standard for the later human beings, just as the archetypes of the first human being, of the world-mountain and the tree of life, of heaven and earth, of the first obo, etc. extend back into that legendary period.

older than the primitial offering. In common with the latter it is mentioned in the legends before all other offerings. The first emperor already knows both offerings; the wedding song and the hunting song mention the incense offering, the agriculture myth only the primitial offering. The relationship of the two offerings to each other cannot be determined. 3. The incense
782 offering is always given either to heaven alone or to it in the first place. It is a true heaven-offering. It is only rarely directed to the other spirits, which, according to their collec-
[776] tive name, are called purgan and therefore are only of later Buddhist origin. Mountain heights seem to have been preferred
[823] in order to be closer to heaven. Even today this is still done. The Tujen are aware of this and give as the reason that it is

[225 cont.]

782 more suitable for heaven (8). The relationship to the supreme

[823]
[773]

8. Above all the rising smoke connects this offering to heaven; the expression ǵarǵa, to make rise, is especially to be noted here. The smoke is like a living column of heaven or a living road to heaven. The shamanistic significance of the incense offering comes from this; not only promotes the trance, but is at the same time the path and motive power of the journey to heaven. The first emperor of the Geser legend demands, for instance, that during his journey to heaven the incense offering not be interrupted; the rising smoke strikes against the gate of heaven and opens the entrance for him, and he shoots his incompetent companion on the tip of his arrow into the rising column of smoke, in which he descends to earth.

[756]

[773]

being is also expressed, for example, in the wedding songs from Khalatse (western Tibet). There, according to Francke, op. cit., pp. 25 f., it is said: "This blue smoke that rises upward signifies that no trouble will arise with brGya-byin, the lord of the gods."

The Sheep Offering

[825] The sheep as a sacrificial animal, according to the material available, is reserved in a special way for heaven and the mountain-spirit, even though it may also be offered to the other gods. It is never offered to the mountain-spirit alone without heaven, however. There are sheep offerings that apply only to heaven, namely at the sowing and harvest

[241]

[225 cont.]

782 thanksgiving festivals. (Cf. D. Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer
241 [Harvest Thank-offering]," Anthropos 37-40, 1942-45, pp. 867-874.)

That a true heaven-offering is involved is clearly expressed, loc. cit.: "It is already apparent from the entire offering performance and the words spoken in connection with it that it is an offering to heaven. To the question, 'You are therefore making an offering to the gods in the temple?' the old man responded: 'No, [226] we are making an offering to heaven... This offering is a veneration of heaven... I have already said it; we are thanking heaven for the yield of the year. He cares for seed and man and livestock'..." (Anthropos, op. cit., p. 873). The same statement must also apply to the sowing festival at which the ceremonies are almost the same.

782 Now it is striking that it is precisely in an agricultural
241 rite, sowing and harvest festivals, that a sheep offering takes
174 place. I was later able to visit many such festivals and to determine the actual form, which is more in keeping with the character of agriculture and shamans. In the valleys, namely, in the Chinese area of settlement, no sheep, but -- at least preferably -- a pig is offered. This pig is surrounded with many rites, among which a regular procession with the sacrificed pig takes place. The shamans accompany this procession with drum-beating and prayers. I observed it thus for instance in Tsung-chai and environs. In the mountains, on the other hand, among the Tujen, a sheep is sacrificed preferably, although the Tujen also keep pigs. There remains, therefore, only the one explanation that the original form of these agricultural festivals is connected with a pig offering and that the sheep offering of the Tujen has replaced this as a foreign body. The reason for this lies close at hand. The Tujen, according to their tradition, were once shepherds, and many elements of a herding culture can still be seen among them. With the transition to agriculture, the spring festival of the shepherds evidently became connected with the sowing festival, and the autumn festival of the shepherds with the harvest festival of the agriculturalists. Since, however, the sheep was a sacrificial animal that they were devoted to,

[226 cont.]

782 the Tujen did not want to give up the sheep offering at these
241 festivals. In the description of the festival it is, to be sure, very
174 strongly emphasized that the entire sacrificial rite in the narrower sense (slaughtering, etc.) has nothing to do with the shamans. The offerers are the elders, in other words, laymen. The shaman rite, mainly prayer service and dance, runs alongside it.

Therefore, in the harvest thank-offering and the sowing offering of the Tujen we have before us an old heaven-offering which is consciously fostered by the people and unequivocally applied to heaven.

2) The Prayer

782 What was said above about the spontaneous, unformulated,
788 and freely formulated prayer also applies to the prayer to heaven. Every person can express his need, his request, his gratitude, his feelings to the heavens, just as they come to him. One thing in particular, however, must be noted here. While the formulated prayer, the prayer service, is generally reserved for special professions and the offering more for the people, this does not wholly apply in the case of the prayer to heaven. I was unable to confirm that there are any actual prayers by religious officiants that apply only to heaven. Therefore, concerning the offering and prayer, there is no special class in relation to heaven. Both are the concern of the laymen, of the people, of the masters of the household or of individual persons.

Aside from my own observations, the personal prayer to [227] heaven is sufficiently attested to by the passages that were cited for the incense offering. There is almost always a prayer in connection with it, a supplication (yaṅdzi-) to heaven. And until now a prayer is also always connected with each offering, each kowtow to heaven, at least an inner one. (Cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-1945, p. 872.) The only prayer formulas of the people in the Tujen language are addressed to heaven, namely: tieṅgēre mudie (heaven knows); and tieṅgēre
[174] tsiad sadni wari (heaven, you hold justice). The formula tieṅgēre

[227 cont.]

782 mudie is already known from the early period of the Mongols, and
788 it attests to what an ancient heritage the veneration of heaven is
[174] among the Mongolic basic stock of the Tujen. There is usually a three-fold kowtow also connected with the prayer, whereby the person also wishes to indicate purely outwardly in a formal ceremony his submissiveness before the god-heaven.

c) The Nature and Characteristics of Heaven

Uniqueness

772 The discussion of the name has already indicated that the
776 designation tieṅgëre is reserved for heaven alone. It does not share this name as a title with any other deity, even, say, by adding a proper name of a certain deity to it. This unique position of heaven becomes even clearer when one considers it in relation to the other deities.

776 The position with respect to the gods in general. -- The offering, the many texts from the songs, and the other customs everywhere acknowledge heaven as the first. This is acknowledged briefly and concisely in the constantly recurring expression šge tieṅgëre, uluon purġan (the great heaven, the countless spirits). Heaven is the great one. It is especially set apart from the many other spirits. As the first it has a share in all offerings, for it -- before all other gods -- the first kowtow is made, the first dedication of the day. The Tujen express this: What would the gods be without heaven, he is their lord"; cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873. -- Heaven also has this position of pre-eminence over those deities who it might seem share the honor with him, for which reason they are to be mentioned briefly in the following.

773 The position with respect to the heaven-emperor of the
776 Geser legend. -- The Geser legend mentions three lords of heaven, among whom Šdeṅglatsien Saṅ is the highest. He lives with them in the immeasurable space of heaven, likewise

[227 cont.]

773 776 called tieńgëre here as the dwelling place of the gods. He has a spouse, sons and daughters, a magnificent residence, a splendid army. In short, the emperor of heaven and his realm are pictured in detail according to human conceptions of earthly khans. At the request of the earthly emperor his son is reborn in this world in order to free them from the evildoers. This is Geser Khan.

Next to this figure, however, there continues to exist the formless old tieńgëre, [228] as the above-mentioned citations from the Geser legend show. He is venerated through incense offerings, and one prays to him. Here is an old conception that has been taken into the legend. The legend itself is not of Mongolic origin, but perhaps belongs in the world of the Bon with their Tibetan homeland. Despite its repudiation by the Buddhists, it was embellished with many Buddhist additions, and the lamas play a certain role in it. Now, however, every people that claims the legend as its own, including the Tujen, has further incorporated its own material in it and wants to see in it in some way or another the foundation of its old popular customs. Therefore even if the figure of the heaven-emperor is accepted, the old tieńgëre nonetheless remains alive in the consciousness of the people and also makes his entry into the Geser legend; indeed, he continues to exist as the supreme deity in rank, regardless of whether this can be harmoniously reconciled with the other heavenly figure or not. The attitude of the people can best be rendered by the passage already cited above and given here in more detail, Verses 158 ff.: "Climbing onto the high mountain, he burned great incense, implored heaven (tieńgëre), implored the countless spirits (purgan), implored Sdeńlatsien Sań, implored Warintsien Sań, implored Sëma Lortsien Sań." In other words, heaven comes first, and only after the other gods the three rulers of heaven. The preeminent position of heaven cannot be more clearly expressed. It also clearly shows, however, how here two views still not blended together go along side by side and how little the people trouble themselves about inner coherence, but cling to what they have. The tieńgëre is the most important deity to

[228 cont.]
776 the people, and they do not want to be without it in the legend.
[773] The Šdenlatsien San has no significance in the customs.

The position with respect to the mountain-spirit and the earth-god. -- In the chapter concerning the obo, the incense offering, and in other places mention was made of a tripartition of the deities, namely, in the sequence: heaven, mountain-spirit and earth-god, countless gods. Since the mountain-spirit and earth-god are not included under the Buddhistic concept purgan, a pre-Buddhistic age is automatically suggested. In addition, the mountain-spirit has tasks that one could ascribe to heaven. What is the relationship to it?

776 The Tujen call the mountain-spirit yifula. A Tibetan
551 equivalent would be the word already mentioned earlier, ri-bo
192 lha (mountain-spirit). The informant, who himself bore this name, translated it, however, with the Chinese Shan-shen pao (mountain-spirit protection). (Concerning the name-giving, cf. above, "The Conclusion of the Confinement.") This leads, however, to a Mongolic analysis of the word. According to W.A.Unkrig, this is found in the combination: ibel (protection) and ula (mountain); cf. Koval., p. 282. The interpretation corresponds to the Chinese translation. Yifula thus would be appropriately rendered with "protector of the mountains."
776 Without settling the origin of the name, it can nevertheless be
171 maintained that the cult of the mountain-spirit in the obo festival is a Mongolic peculiarity from ancient times that is repeatedly reported in the literature. Among the Tujen, too -- as among the neighboring Tangut -- the obo festival occupied an important position; cf. "The Obo," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

776 [229] The mountain-spirit is not a terror-god, but a mild, providing father, the lord of the animals, who watches over the welfare of the herds, who cares for plants and trees, and who is concerned about the increase of human beings. He is the guardian of the ayil (village, tribe) and guards its weapons. The people gather around him for playing and dancing,
[171] prayer and offering. Although the mountain-spirit is thus

[229 cont.]

776 concerned about the well-being of the people, it is striking that
171 he is not linked with the protection of seed and harvest. Otherwise, however, his tasks correspond to those of heaven, even if he is primarily a nature god who shares his character with the lord of the animals and forests of many Siberian peoples.

776 Nonetheless there is a difference between him and heaven. First of all heaven is given precedence, even in connection with all offerings to the mountain-spirit, for instance, the obo offering. Whereas the mountain-spirit has a fixed residence in the obo, his fort, and therefore is tied to the place, heaven retains its freedom with regard to locality. The mountain-spirit can also be a tutelary spirit of the human beings who are named after him; as assisting spirit he may enter into the shaman and take possession of him in the trance. This is altogether out of the question for heaven. People are surprised if one even asks about it. There are pictures and flags of the mountain spirit; he can animate a spirit-spear. Heaven is formless, imageless; no one knows what it looks like. -- Heaven has an exalted uniqueness even in contrast to the mountain-spirit.

[553] [756] [787]

174 Besides the mountain-spirit the earth-deity has its seat
776 in the obo, and, to be sure, in the layer of earth. Its name glu is doubtless the Tibetan klu, Naga, dragon. In Mongolic
[192] the word for it is lu, which is also much in use in the Tujen language. It corresponds to the Chinese lung (dragon). The customs-with the earth-god urn show the earth deity of the Tujen more in the Bonistic realm of the Naga cult than in the Mongolic. It is quite possible that two types have mixed here or that the ancient Mongolic has been covered by the later Bonistic-Lamaistic. According to Pallisen (op. cit., pp. 159 f.), the ancient Mongols practiced a cult of the earth-deity, who is probably to be thought of as female. There it bears the name itoga or, in the prevocalic version, etügen, and is conceived as the tutelary deity of the homeland earth. The characteristics that are attributed to this deity correspond to those of the mountain-spirit. It is also to be surmised that this deity is to be associated with the female shamans, who call themselves udugan

[229 cont.]

174 (udagan, idugan). (Cf. Koval., p. 386; Uno Harva, Die religiösen
776 Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker [The Religious Conceptions of the Altaic Peoples], p. 450.) As the ceremonies of the earth-god urn indicate, this deity has something to do with butter and silk (silk wrapping, butter-pouring), as well as with grain (barley filling). Something similar applies to the etügen, which, as a female deity, is endowed with the attribute "fat-faced" and "silk-faced." (Cf. N.N. Poppe, "Schaman. Handschriften [Shamanistic Manuscripts]," Vol. I, 196-197, Manuscript XI; statement according to W.A. Unkrig.) Further indications of the connection of the earth-deity with the origin of agriculture and corresponding Tujen myths must be omitted here.

776 [230] Now regardless of where the earth-deity of the Tujen came from, it, heaven, and the mountain-spirit form an ancient trinity which has divided up the world. According to the [821] general conception of the Tujen, heaven rules over the air space, the clouds, wind, lightning, sun, moon, and stars. The mountain-spirit rules over the surface of the earth; animals, human [822] beings, birds, forests, pastures, and mountains. The earth-deity rules over the interior of the earth: metals, rocks, treasures, the snakes and the worms, as well as the seed that slumbers in the earth. This division, however, does not exclude heaven from the other two realms. After all that has been said, he continues to be the lord of the gods and men. If he appears here as coadministrator of the layers of the world, he only seemingly surrenders his partial domains. One might better think of a splitting off of certain activities of heaven and their being made independent, as P.W. Schmidt assumes for similar cases among other Asiatic peoples.

The Knowledge of Heaven

776 After the preceding discussions, the further characteris-
782 tics of heaven automatically present themselves. Among these characteristics knowledge appear most clearly. Concerning this knowledge the informant gave the following information (Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873): "At the

[230 cont.]

776 incense burning you say: 'Heaven, you know it. What then
782 does heaven know?' -- 'Heaven knows all, he knows the attitude of my heart, he knows that I want to venerate him.' " -- This oft-cited saying in literal translation runs: heaven to know; freely, the heaven knows; or, the heaven is knowing. This is not a petitioning prayer, but simply a pure acknowledgment of this characteristic of heaven, and it implies, according to the explanation given, an omniscience.

Other expressions are found for this consciousness of the people. Thus, a frequently used oath-formula for a deposition, for example, runs: "Heaven is not high; heaven knows it (tieṅgëre undur guei; tieṅgëre mudiem)." The meaning is: Heaven is high, to be sure, but not so high that it would not know. (Cf. DMF 416, where this sentence likewise is designated as a "formule de serment" [oath-formula].) Another phrase that is often used runs similarly: "tsimi mō gedzi yidza, tieṅgëre mudiem. If (I) have done evil to you (if evil has happened to you), then heaven knows it"; cf. DMF 416. This especially emphasizes the knowledge of the inner attitude.

If one now adds generally that the whole veneration of heaven in offering and prayer is done under the presupposition that heaven also knows of human distress, it may be asserted that the people's consciousness of heaven simply as the knowing one is very much alive.

776 The belief in the knowledge is connected with the omnipresence of heaven. To be sure, it cannot be expressly ascertained, but the Tujen nonetheless have a conception of it when they say: "Heaven is there where one places it (tieṅgëre andzi tedza, andzi-i)." According to the linguistic usage this means: Heaven is everywhere. (Cf. DMF 416, where the same meaning is explained.) This phrase seems evidently to be determined by the strong impression [231] that the all-encompassing firmament makes on the unconstrained mind of the people, especially in the steppes and on the mountains on the Koko Nor. As far as one wanders, whether by day or night, the endless heaven extends
[772] over man. It is really an all-encompassing bell, which the Tujen imagine to be fastened to a nail in the universe.

[231 cont.]

The Power of Heaven

776 Heaven as giver of all benefits. -- As repeatedly appears in the individual chapters, all benefits come from heaven. It [241] gives rain and sunshine, causes the seed to thrive, and protects [782] man and animal from sickness. Man acknowledges this in the offering, especially in the primitial offering and the harvest thank-offering. The grain, the barley, is ultimately traced back to heaven by man. (Cf. above under the primitial offering, agriculture myth, p. 340.) Man owes even his clothing [773] to heaven. Thus it is said at the beginning of the Geser legend: "Heaven provided the benefit of clothing; a boot fell down from heaven (tieńgĕre dźog ńańladzia; tieńgĕrdza perlõńgĕ bõdzi rĕdzia)." (Verses 6-7.) -- That other gods are also called upon for various needs does not prejudice the fact that heaven is the cause of even these benefits. The case would only be otherwise if there were things which were ascribed to these spirits to the exclusion of heaven, which, however, cannot be demonstrated from the material available.

776 The moral power of heaven. -- The moral power of 577 heaven is expressed by the fact that man puts his conscience in 626 relation to heaven and acknowledges the latter as binding and entitled to sanction. For that which we would call conscience the Tujen simply uses the word heart (sgil); sgil is not the physi- [192] cal heart, but the inner attitude, heart in the figurative sense. Thus they say, for instance, sen sgil (good heart); tsini sgil diesẽn ugua (you do not have an honest attitude); tsini sgil ugua (you have no conscience). In these cases the Tujen translates the word sgil with the Chinese leang-hsin (conscience, honest spirit). (Cf. also DMF 348.) Now, as the two prayer formulas that were explained above demonstrate, heaven knows the inner attitude, it knows the heart of a man: "If I did evil to you, heaven knows it," "Heaven is not high, it knows it." Since these sentences are used as oath or vow formulas, it is not simply confirmation of heavenly knowledge that is given by them, but rather one tacitly also presupposes a sanction by

[231 cont.]

776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieńgëre dardzia, heaven has
punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means
[192] literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly
horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolgue dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike
a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the
Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is
sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair. (Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.) Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness: "We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge tieńgërni amudadzi, nig[illegible]isëni dzawa dañlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani[illegible]e in the absence of a husband is
regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram, op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). --
The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to
[831] heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzūn tieńgërde fdzë bōlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

[232 cont.]

776 773 Heaven and creation. -- Even though the Tujen ascribe to heaven all the benefits of life, this still does not mean that they also derive from it the origin of the world. They do not concern themselves about it. "The old man gave no clear answer to the question as to whether heaven had also created the earth and human beings, where they came from: 'Who knows that? Who asks about it? No one says anything about that.'" (Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873.)

According to the Geser legend a world with living beings was present from the very beginning. In this world there lived the "lama existing by virtue of himself" (arañ sūndē lama = P'an-ku). He is by no means God, for above him there already existed heaven, which threw down in a boot the first emperor, who was raised by this lama. It is then described how the earth became populated. Finally, there still exist original beings (original animals), and it is likewise not said where they come from. Here Buddhistic, Lamaistic, and ancient popular conceptions are intermingled and run side by side. Nowhere, however, is there mention of any creation; only the first emperor came from heaven.

The same is also found in the agriculture myth. This [241] deals with the outfitting of the earth by a Buddhistically conceived demiurge. At the center of it is the creation of the food base through the bringing forth of barley from the magical vase and the introduction of agriculture. [233] This demiurge also comes down from heaven in three steps. There is no mention, however, of any creation of the world or human beings, only of an arrangement of the world into a habitable living space. The myth begins: "In the olden days of yore when the race of human beings had been produced, there was neither sun nor moon, and the race of human beings existed in darkness. There was no chance to live." Where the human beings came from remains unresolved. It says only, sēmtsien kuni darladzia (the totality of human beings had been produced). One may assume, however, that heaven was involved, for the culture hero (who outfitted the earth) likewise comes from heaven, as does the first emperor of the human beings in the Geser legend, and later Geser himself.

[233 cont.]

776 Even less can be determined of any creative activity of
773 heaven with respect to the individual human being. To be sure, a current Tujen saying runs: suniedzëne tieńgëre xuradzia, heaven has taken the soul (DMF 361), but this expresses only the rulership of heaven over life and death. There is no mention of a creation of the soul. The Chinese also know a similar phrase: t'ien shou-la t'a-ti ling-hun.

777 Heaven and fate. -- A question suggested in connection
776 with the ancient Mongolic meaning of fate or good fortune, which has had its greatest elaboration in the sülde cult, is
192 whether something similar is to be found among the Tujen, say,
171 that there might be a fate standing over heaven. -- The Tujen know three expressions for "fate": dzieyan, šdiemdžël, kimori.

dzieyan is used predominantly in the sense of favorable conditions of life, for instance, when one says: "The girl has experienced a favorable fate," meaning that she has married into a good, wealthy family. The Tujen word corresponds to the Mongolic jayagan, but does not have the latter's essential content. The significance seems, rather, to have been transferred from the original jayagan to the Tujen expression šdiemdzël.

šdiemdzël, peculiarly enough, is now found not so much in everyday language as in song. Thus the Tujen songs popular-
[533] ly end with the verse: moṅgol kuni lõnšda (or kimori) darlagu, šdiemdžëlgë rëdziglaya, in order to erect the air-horse of the Mongols, let (us) lay (= build) a good-fortune foundation. This conception is linked with the image of the central fort. The air-horse is grounded in the central fort. Accordingly the šdiemdžël would correspond to the basis for fate, which is symbolized in the air-horse. Evidently, ancient conceptions are mixed here with more recent Buddhistic ones, whereby in connection with the Hayagriva figure, fate and horse are brought together. Linguistically the word šdiemdžël cannot be understood unequivocally. The second syllable ... džël, however,

[233 cont.]

777 is undoubtedly to be equated with the Mongolic dsol (dzol). Ac-
776 cording to Koval. (2386), it means: good fortune, salvation,
192 Koval. gives the Tibetan equivalent stes for it. When one notes
171 that the Tujen always insert an i before an e in Tibetan loan-
words, then the first syllable šdie(m) might be this Tibetan stes, whose final s is silent. The m would then be inserted in assimilation to the following dental. As regards its meaning, the Tujen translate šdiemdžël [234] with the Chinese yün-ch'i or t'ien-ming. They also, however, render kimori in the same way. It is thereby stated that fate is under the power of heaven, which Uno Harva also stresses for the Altaians and Mongols (Vorstellungen, pp. 144-145). In other words these Altaic-Mongolic conceptions can easily be linked with the kimori and šdiemdžël of the Tujen. According to Uno Harva, in the case of the guarantors of good fortune, the tutelary spirit of man, called zajači, is involved in the form of a double: "If a person is wealthy in his lifetime, zajači is also well-dressed, rides on a horse, and is gay" ... When the person dies, zajači disappears into heaven where he lives in the company of the gods" (op. cit., pp. 276 f.). The Lamaistic air-horse of the Tujen like-
777 wise bears on its back the guarantor of good fortune, the wish-
776 ing jewel, by virtue of which the human being obtains all that
171 seems desirable to him, in other words, good fortune. It has almost the effect of an amulet. Now, according to Uno Harva, when the tutelary lord of good fortune seems to be oriented more toward the individual person, then in the case of the sülde of the Mongols he is acting for the entire people, and, to be sure, through the khan; meanwhile, the historical development among the Chinggisiden made nine Tengri of good fortune out of it. Father W. Schmidt, in conjunction with Banzarov, characterizes the sülde in the following manner (UdG., X, p. 78): "Heaven guides the world like the khan and possesses its sülde ... The sülde of the khan is a reflection of the sülde of heaven ... The nine sülde-tengri, according to their character, are always there in order to protect. They are represented in warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone, in the manner of riders ..." etc. Here, too, it is the riding

[234 cont.]

777 god of good fortune. It seems that further reminders of these
776 times still echo in the Tujen songs: of the fate of the Mongols,
171 which is based on good fortune; or of the sülde of the khan, which invisibly protects his subjects (UdG., loc. cit.). -- Whatever the connections may be, neither according to Uno Harva nor according to Banzarov-Schmidt nor in the conception of the Tujen themselves is there a fate or good fortune that is independent of the rule of heaven.

772 Summary. -- Everything that has been said about heaven
776 proves it to be an independent deity existing for itself, sharply separated from all other gods, ruling them and dominating the entire world. Its name is "heaven," not in the physical but in the personal sense. Everything pantheistic and animistic and every mana concept remains far removed from it. To be sure, it is not one god [monotheism] in the strict sense, but an authentic supreme god, a towering unique phenomenon among all the other deities. Because of this uniqueness the statement of A. Tafel about the Tujen can now be repeated in its correct interpretation: "Many say they have only one single god in which they believe."

[235] 2. Shamanism

121 Whereas the discussion of the belief in a supreme god
756 could be confined to the region of the Tujen themselves and the corresponding sources, this is not possible for shamanism, for which reason a detailed presentation would not be suitable for this work. It is reserved for a special study. Here the ground-plan can only be drawn in a sketchy fashion, merely representing a theory, because the detailed proofs must be omitted here. The question runs: Of what type is Tujen shamanism and where is it to be classified from the religio-historical standpoint? -- Three types are found among the Tujen: bö-shamanism (drum-shamans), gurtum-shamanism (warrior-shamans), and idol-shamanism (with the spear-soothsayer).

[235 cont.]

a) The bō or Drum-shamans

Characterization

756
192 The name: The Tujen name current throughout the land, bō, corresponds to the written Mongolic būge. Koval. (1242) gives for it the Chinese equivalent wu-jen, the Manchurian saman, the Tatar bugu, and the Tibetan lha-pa. The Russian expressions means: shaman, sorcerer; he translates it into French as: chaman, enchanteur. The Mongolic būge and all the other translations cited do not have any uniform meaning and can be used for the various types of shamans, exorcists, and even sorcerers.

The Chinese in the area and the Tujen translate bō with fashih, or somewhat contemptuously with shih-kung. The fa-shih call themselves only by this special name. According to communications (P. P. Eichinger, Bockwinkel), the name wu-shih is also in use in southern Kansu. It is important that all these designations are never permissible for the gurtum. The fa-shih are a special group that is to be clearly defined. (Space forbids going into an explanation of the names here.)

756 Clothing and equipment. -- The fa-shih wear an old
192 woman's costume without sleeves and usually patterned with pictures of dragons. Normally they have no head covering,
[531] but their hair is pinned up in the fashion of an old Chinese
[302] style for women, unless they are wearing an appropriate wig with hairknots, hair-bowl, and hairpin. These are not always available, however. On special occasions, they don the well-known five-part Buddhistic crown called p'ai-tzu.

756 Their essential equipment consists of the hoop drum, the hemp whip, and a three-pronged broad dagger. Other objects are added according to their functions.

756 Gods. -- Their principal deity is the great mother (ta
776 niang-niang), also called mother of the nine heavens (chiu t'ien nai-nai). In addition, they also venerate the black tiger

[The bō or Drum-Shamans]

[235 cont.]

756 and, depending upon the region, various local spirits. These
[776] gods predominantly come from the Taoist pantheon.

[789] [236] Activity. -- Their principal task is the weather
[241] conjuration, the sowing and harvest festivals, and curing sick-
[755] nesses.

756 Peculiarity. -- The bō or fa-shih are differentiated from
787 the other shamans by the fact that they have no trance. If one questions the people about it, one always receives the same answer: "fa-shih pu fa shen (the fashih do not go into ectascy)." Now that is not entirely correct. Namely, at the conclusion of the sowing or harvest festival, one of them attempts an imitation of the trance and wounds himself with the knife. This is called: "fa ta-shen (to produce a great trance)." It is not a trance at all, but at most a relic suggesting it; I was able to observe it several times. Thus the people are basically right when they do not accord ecstasy to them. -- The people sum up the main
756 characteristic, however, in the saying: "fa-shih ch'uei ku, t'iao
535 shen (the fashih beat the drum and perform spirit dances)." Drum and dance are the most outstanding. They always dance in groups before the image of the great mother in order to please her, or also before the sacrificial pig. These are not shamanistic individual dances in order to induce a trance, but are cultic group-dances that follow a definite ritual. One can therefore designate them as drum- or dance-shamans, although true shamanistic features are scarcely present any more.

Classification

171 Relationship to the more recent Siberian shamanism.
756 -- There are few similarities with Siberian shamanism. One could regard the drum as the most important continuation from Siberian shamanism. The relationship with the Tungusic and Mongolic-Manchurian shamanism is stronger. The drum has almost exactly the same execution and the same appendages as, for example, among the Mongols of the Kūrie-Banner. (Cf.

[236 cont.]
171 Heissig, "Shamanen," Folklore Studies, 3, 1944, p. 72, Figs. 1-
756 7; likewise Shirokogorov, Psychomental Complex, pp. 297 f.) The absence of the trance seems to fit in least of all with Siberian shamanism.

The relationship to China. -- First the distribution must be considered. According to personal observations and various reports by the Chinese and missionaries, the fashih type is spread over all of Kansu and Shansi and into the interior of the coastal provinces Hopeh and Shantung. In the Amdo region he is found wherever there are Chinese settlements, especially in the vicinity of Sining and Kweiteh (on the Yellow River). In type he fits in well with an agricultural people, precisely through the emphasis of the harvest ceremony and of the female appearance.

Almost all the origin reports that I was able to gather attest to the descent of the fashih from a woman, a first shamaness. She was brought to life from a female skeleton through a magic incantation by T'ai-shang lao-chün (a title of Lao-tzu) and received from him her shamanistic powers. In southern Hopeh today the fashih are still predominantly women. -- Furthermore, the fashih are always associated with the spirits of the dead and ancestors, which likewise agrees with the Chinese mentality.

[237] The origin legends and the deities also point to a close connection with Wuism or Taoism. (Cf. De Groot, Religious System, Vol. VI, Part II, 1187 ff.) The god-litter with the niang-niang is almost the same as the one pictured there. The Taoists, sworn enemies of the fashih, claim that the latter split off from them as a false sect. Whereas the Taoists represented an official and respected religion, the fashih, as bearers of the shen-chiao (spirit religion), led a despised existence up to the most recent times.

174 The position in Tsinghai. -- Apparently this Chinese
756 shamanism also came to Amdo with the Chinese settlers. There it has adopted various elements, diluted its original shamanistic character, and fostered the cultic group-dance. Since the

[237 cont.]

174 weather conjuration from the Bon was much practiced there, it
756 also took this over, which, indeed, was close to it in type. Probably the weather-conjuring Bon were absorbed by them.

The Tujen have likewise permitted their Mongolic shamanism to flow into this fashih shamanism and have transferred to it the original name, bō. A Tujen bō once said: "We have a common root with the Mongolic shamans." This shamanism has remained remote from Lamaism, as well as from the gurtum; a certain rivalry exists between it and them.

The question of the bō or fa-shih demands an extensive presentation of Chinese shamanism generally, which has already been undertaken.

b) The Gurtum or Warrior-shamans

Characterization

756 Appearance. -- Among the Tujen the gurtum wears a
292 red cloak that is held together with a cloth belt, a shoulder collar, a chest mirror, a Lamaistic amulet or a hada (ceremonial cloth) in the chest bag, a headcloth that covers the eyes, a garland of bells around his forehead, and on top of it the five-part Lamaistic crown. The most important piece of his equipment is the sword, without which he does not shamanize at all, so that really one should call the Tujen gurtum a "sword-shaman." He also uses other weapons, however, such as the spirit-spear and the knife. At major ceremonies he also works with sieve, winnowing-fan, and five little paper men called wu-tao shen in Chinese, which could be translated as "five-direction spirits."

The whole type of the gurtum is that of a warrior who exorcises misfortune in the demon battle. Aside from this popular image of his appearance, which is fairly complete, there are also simple, degenerated types who wear only the most necessary equipment, say, the headcloth, the chest
[177] mirror, and the sword, even over a modern European suit. At solemn sword battles, however, they also appear in full regalia.

[237 cont.]

756 The most distinguished form of the gurtum is undoubtedly
292 the Lamaistic temple-shaman. He appears in magnificent battle dress, with bow and arrow and [238] spirit-spear. On his back he carries little flags, like the former Chinese general, and thereby identifies himself as the leader of an army whose parts are represented precisely by these flags. When one sees these gurtum -- for instance, in Kumbum or Kuo-mang-szu -- one involuntarily thinks of the traditional heroes of the Chinese theater. On the other hand, in the rest of their equipment they remind one of the Lamaistic war gods who are regarded as protectors of the dogma. To be sure, in individual instances there are variations, but in general the type of these temple shamans remains the same, and they are designated in general by the same name as the people's gurtum.

756 Written Chinese also has the name hu-fa, which is a translation of c'os skyoṅ or Dharmapala. J. F. Rock also emphasizes their similarity to an army leader: "The Dharmapāla are demon-generals who execute the will of the tutelaries, or demon-kings. They are hideous and fierce-looking and each commands a horde of demons" [cited in English] (Na-khi Kingdom, I, p. 210, Note 26).

192 The shaman character. -- The word "gurtum," in Tujen
756 sgurdien, in Chinese ku-erh-tien or ku-wai-tien, stems from Tibetan Lamaistic terminology. It comes from the word sku-rten, and not, as F. Lessing believes, from skur-bltams, body shakers (F. Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143). According to Ch. Das (536), rten signifies something that supports, bears, or contains something; sku-rten, according to him, means the same as: the bearer or the container of a person himself, an image of the gods or Buddha. On page 89 he gives sku-rten as an abbreviation of the three aspects sku, gsuṅ, t'ugs-rten. According to page 91, sku-gsuṅ-t'ugs are the body, speech, and thinking, in other words the three realms of human behavior or suffering: deed, word, thought. Concerning the cosmic mythological co-ordination of these aspects with the world directions and the five c'os skyoṅ, cf. further below. The expression sku-rten, in other words, signifies that the gurtum is the container of a deity

[238 cont.]

757 that acts, speaks, and thinks in him. This, however, is nothing
[192] other than an express possession-shamanism reduced to a simple Busshistic formula. The gurtum represents a deity.

757 Whether one may appeal to the gurtum in the "classical"
171 sense as a shaman is a question that can only be answered with the final clarification of the shaman concept. In the investigation of shamanism up to now there has been too much concern with its Siberian form and special emphasis on the flight of the soul into the beyond as a "classical" characteristic, especially with the "bird type" of shaman (9). This is not the place to

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9. The one-sided preference for Siberian shamanism is also unfortunately found in the excellent work by Mircea Eliade, Le Chamanisme, in which, to be sure, there are comparisons with other parts of the earth, and the "southern" and Buddhist influences are also taken into consideration, but they are dealt with only as secondary and unimportant; above all, however, the so characteristic stamp of Lamaistic shamanism in the figure of the gurtum is completely passed over.

go into this question in greater detail, which is reserved for later [239] treatment. It should nonetheless be stated in advance that the gurtum is a true shaman of the same shamanistic rank as the Siberian. Anyone who has had an opportunity to observe a gurtum will not regard him simply as one possessed. The gurtum is likewise as bound to the ritual requirements and forms as, say, his Siberian colleague: call (vision), tutelary spirit, testing, dress and equipment, ecstasy, etc. In addition, there is much to indicate that formerly he was also familiar with the flight of the soul.

[239 cont.]

756 The religious character. -- What has been said up to now about the nature and activities of the gurtum shows that they rest upon a passive and receptive basic attitude, a basic attitude that seems to be at variance with the warrior-shaman. The relationship of dependency, however, in the realm of "divine" possession, with regard to the possessor-spirit, is unequivocal. The active ability to coerce, the arbitrariness, which represents the basic element of magic, is lacking. The basis is religious, not magical.

[787] The gurtum himself can do nothing about his calling. It comes over him unwilled, sometimes against his will. One day he is seized by the spirit in a vision, put in ecstasy, and 756 recognizes by sight his future possessor. This being chosen is 792 acknowledged most strikingly in the search for a shaman by the monasteries. Even though the individual monasteries are anxious to have a gurtum, no monastery can designate or train one of its inmates for this purpose, although this would be expected in the case of tantristic Lamaism. They remain for years without the coveted shamanistic soothsayer, until one day someone who was chosen by a deity to be its vessel is found. The calling is a free gift that is not hereditary. It is known of the monastery Kumbum that for a long time it was punished by having to do without a gurtum in whom the oracle-god made himself present.

756 Everything that the gurtum does is done in the power of his possessor-spirit, like an instrument, and not because of cer- 787 tain actions, gestures, or formulas. The inducing of ecstasy is not a way of forcing the spirit to come down, but a ceremonial force transmitted through the calling, which does not rob the spirit of its freedom. The shaman only receives this power from his tutelary lord himself, and to be sure under certain preconditions, such as continence, donning the attire, invitation prayer. This prayer, as its name indicates, is not a magical [782] formula, but praise and a request; it does not have any effect in itself, just as the donning of the equipment alone would not draw down the deity.

Likewise the taming of the demons in the spirit battle of the trance, the soothsaying, healing, etc. are done through

[239 cont.]
756 the spirit in the shaman; he is actually the warrior, the sooth-
[787] sayer, the healer. His presence is essential. Therefore the
people also fall down before the gurtum and venerate him like
[782] a god. Finally, even the shaman himself has the duty of venerating
his tutelary spirit; he must burn incense for it, make offerings,
and pray to it. -- This religious character of the gurtum, how-
ever, by no means excludes all magic. His special position
suggests [240] that he also engages in magical practices, but
then not in his character as a shaman but as a human being
whom one especially trusts since he is in communication with
the spirit world; cf. above, p. 330.

Classification

171 Present-day Chinese shamanism in the form of the fashih,
756 wushih, or shihkung, as well as the earlier Wuism, has no direct
connection with the gurtum. The Chinese shamans are female
oriented, directed toward agriculture, and pass down their office
within the kin group; they have the dance and the drum, the
trance has become vestigial, and the rites are overlaid with
Taoistic elements. None of this applies to the gurtum. He is
the type of the manly warrior, knows no drum but weapons, and
no dance but battle. He cannot pass down his office, but re-
ceives it through individual calling. A certain enmity between
him and the fashih has already been indicated.

The present-day Siberian shaman likewise has a differ-
ent appearance. He, too, knows the drum and for the most part
practices a kind of dance. The shaman costume is not the uni-
form type like that of the gurtum and is hung with all kinds of
things, iron, feathers, figures, etc. In ecstasy he imitates the
[787] ascent to heaven or the journey of the soul which I could not
find in the case of the gurtum, even though Lessing (Mongolen,
p. 148) indicates such. Furthermore, there exists between this
type of shaman, who in Mongolic is called bō (bōge) and in
Tujen bō, and the gurtum a conscious contrast which Lessing,

[240 cont.]

171 loc. cit., also emphasizes. W. Heissig, too, has encountered
756 the difference between these two groups among the East Mongols; cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," p. 40. There the gurtum are also called "Lajing." Exactly like the Tujen, the Chinese, too, differentiate between the bö (fashih) and the gurtum (fa-la-tzu or ku-erh-tien).

Beyond doubt, therefore, the gurtum in his present form
[779] is affiliated with Lamaism. First of all his area of distribution coincides with that of Lamaism. One finds the gurtum in Tibet, Amdo, and Mongolia. To designate him as specifically Mongolic, as is done occasionally in the expression "the Mongolic gurtum," is misleading. To be sure he was described predominantly by travelers in the Mongolic region, but detailed studies concerning him were hitherto lacking. There is no original Mongolic name for the gurtum, and the general term bö (böge, bügü) for shaman is not applicable to him. All names are Tibetan.

756 But what position does the gurtum occupy in Lamaism?
776 His main task seems to be exhausted in the representation of the tutelary gods who constitute a special conceptual realm.
779 The three aspects that are included under the word sku have
174 already been indicated "gurtum." The Lamaistic tutelary deities also bear the collective name "the five bodies," along with the other name, "the five kings" (Mongolic: tabun xaǧan) or "the protectors of the [241] doctrine" (Tibetan: c'os skyoń). R. Bleichsteiner in his article "Srog-bdag, the lord of life" (Archiv für Völkerkunde, Vienna, V, 1950, pp. 104-138) has indicated the relationships between the three aspects, the directions and world-guardians, who to be sure correspond to the five tutelary lords. Evidently elements of various origins have been combined here in the speculative melting pot of Buddhism through the popular paralleling of microcosm and macrocosm. The presence of these figures and the cultic utilization are accomplished through the gurtum or, as he is also called as presenter of the tutelary deities, the sruń-ba (ma). In the case of the people's gurtum this relationship likewise makes itself apparent through the use of the wu-tao-shen cut in paper in various colors, which were mentioned earlier. It seems, however, that this relationship is more

174 [241 cont.]
756 external and applies to the actual temple-gurtum, whereas the
779 people's gurtum is more strongly connected with the mountain-
[776] spirit and obo.

The foreign character of the gurtum in Lamaism. -- Even though the present-day figure of the gurtum, as was just stressed, belongs to Lamaism according to his appearance, his name, and his conceptual realm, this affiliation is not as close as it might seem.

In the first place the shamanistic basis of the gurtum points away from Lamaism. To be sure, tantristic Lamaism has its special presuppositions for the vivifying and presenting of deities; in this connection cf. Glasenapp, in ZDMG, 90, 1936, p. 552 (cited from Hoffmann, Quellen, p. 206), and H. Findeisen, Eine Erscheinung Yamantakas [An Appearance of Yamantaka], pp. 2 f. The ensouling of the gods' idols also lies in this direction. These presuppositions, however, are not decisive for the shaman-nature of the gurtum. The religious character of the gurtum shuns these magically colored rites. His calling and his power are independent of Lamaism. The shaman is a layman. The same is confirmed by W. Heissig (op. cit., p. 40): "The Layičing, however, belongs to no spiritual community, but is a layman." Only when he has become a shaman does he receive his confirmation in the monastery and Lamaistic instruction. The customs described in the first part concerning the gurtum and the helplessness of the monasteries in the search for a temple-shaman illuminate this
[792] fact sufficiently. This naturally does not exclude the possibility that in individual cases a shaman's calling may fall to a lama. This is not the rule, however, as the great number of people's gurtums outside the monastery proves, at least in the Koko Nor region.

Furthermore, the tutelary gods represented in the
174 gurtum do not seem to be at home in Lamaism; in the case of
756 the people's gurtum with his link to the popular mountain-spirit,
776 this is to be expected from the outset, but it is no less true for
779 the c'os-skyoṅ, for where is the boundary line between the

174 756 776 779

[241 cont.]
original and the borrowed to be drawn in Lamaism? Bleichsteiner (op. cit., p. 111) writes: "The relationships of Pekar and the five kings generally are so manifold and complicated that an unravelling seems to be enormously difficult." This one fact, however, is probably firmly established: two of these kings, Pekar and dGra-lha, come from the pre-Buddhist realm.

[242] Even the name Pekar, of the possessor-spirit of that famous state-oracle of gNas-c'un, in its many forms has no satisfactory Lamaistic explanation. Although Tucci may have recently confirmed the view of Grünwedel, who in agreement with Schiefner derives the name dPe-kar from the Sanskrit word vihārā (= monastery), this explanation nonetheless gives too much the impression of an "ad hoc" one, because Pekar is just moved up as monastery protector. Bleichsteiner, unconvinced by this interpretation, increases the explanations of the name by one new one and derives the word Pekar from the Iranian; cf. A. Grünwedel, Mythologie, p. 182, Note 2; R. Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 107 and 111 f.

Even more decisively than the name Pekar, Bleichsteiner designates the figure of Pekar as foreign: "With the exception of the legend ..., according to which the great magician Padmasambhava is supposed to have brought the demon Pehar or Pekar from the Indian monastery Odantapuri to the monastery founded by him, bSam-yas, as guardian and treasure protector, the sources concerning his origin from East Turkistan are fairly well in agreement." By way of confirmation he further cites Tucci: "The last-named investigator regards Pekar as a foreign tribal god that was later introduced into Tibet and converted to Buddhism by Padmasambhava." Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 110, 111; cf. also H. Hoffmann, Quellen, p. 163.

Just as Pekar is the most important representative of the five world-guardians, or of the five c'os-skyoṅ, so dGra-lha is the main figure among the five personal tutelary spirits, who with Srog-bdag also has been moved up among the cosmic world-guardians. Here, too, the co-ordination of microcosm and macrocosm and their mutual interpenetration are to be emphasized. dGra-lha, who like Pekar appears as warrior, belongs

[242 cont.]

174 in the pre-Buddhist Bon layer. There can be no doubt about this
756 after the expositions of Bleichsteiner, who bases himself on
776 Hoffman; cf. Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 108 and 118 f.;
779 Hoffmann, Quellen, pp. 171 f. Here let it be noted that among the Tsinghai Chinese these personal tutelary spirits are found in a Buddhist transformation, and to be sure in the so-called "golden lamps" which every man carries unseen on his body, and two of them on his shoulders.

It is unnecessary here to discuss the other figures of the five kings, since at this point no clarity concerning them can be obtained. The world-picture to which they belong, in spite of all the Buddhistic features, has such a broad base that it extends from Central Asia to India and into the ancient Orient, for even the world-mountain conception and the world-directions arrangement with corresponding guardians does not come from Buddhism in the final analysis, even though -- taken over and reinterpreted by it -- it may have been brought as on a "vessel" over extensive parts of the Orient.

The mountain-spirit, the principal tutelary spirit of the people's gurtum, is so evidently pre-Buddhist that it need not be discussed further here. It will be referred to again in the description of the weather forts in Tsinghai. Hoffmann (Quellen, pp. 159 and 166) has given a report concerning the mountain-spirits, with references to the pertinent literature. He classifies them as pre-Buddhist [243] gods under the type of the rGyal-po, to which the c'os-skyoṅ also belong. The picture of the mountain-god Kangchendzōnga permits one to see a certain similarity with the gurtum (pp. 166-167).

The position of the gurtum within Lamaism thus shows that he was not there originally. Both his being a shaman as such and the possessor-spirits represented by him come from earlier, non-Buddhist layers. Only the adaptation and
174 serviceability for the Buddhist community as its tutelary lord
756 (monastery), the speculative classification under the "aspects,"
779 the ritual embellishments during the testing and functioning of the gurtum, certain prayers, and finally the assimilation to the dress of the Buddhist deities are Lamaist, in other words,

[243 cont.]
756 all more or less unimportant elements. The type of the pro-
174 tective warrior, however, goes uniformly through the various
[779] representations. Thus the question of the origin of the gurtum
becomes the question of the origin of the warrior-shaman.

The Origin of the Warrior-shaman

This question cannot be exhaustively dealt with here within the framework of a presentation of the Tujen religion, since it is closely connected with the origin of shamanism in general. The following points are therefore to be regarded merely as sketchy hints for a later investigation.

Warrior-shamans and Bon religion. H. Hoffmann writes in his book (Quellen, p. 194) of the gNas c'un oracle: "He is, therefore, a living relic of the Bon religion in Lamaism, and to be sure of that side of the Bon religion that is extremely close to the shamanism of the Siberian peoples ..." On page 205 he comes back to the same observation after he has set forth in the same chapter the shamanistic elements in the Bon religion. The type of the Bon shaman pictured there, however, does not correspond to the type of the gurtum or warrior-shaman. The clothing is different, and the Bon shaman works with the hoop drum covered on one side (cf. op. cit., p. 201). A kind of kettledrum is also used. On his drum the Bon-pa rides heavenward in ecstasy. Hoffman quite correctly links this type of shaman with the present-day Siberian form of shamanism (pp. 202 f.). Two important elements, the hoop drum
[774] and the flight of the soul, do not appear with the warrior-
shaman. To be sure, in the temple, as I was able to observe in Kumbum and Kuomang-szu, large, double-sided drums were likewise beaten as the gurtum was transported into the trance, but only by the assisting lamas, and to be sure they were the drums that are otherwise used at the religious service. The hoop drum, however, of which Hoffman (op. cit., p. 203) gives an illustration, is not used. In the case of the gurtum the
[787] necessary connection between the drum and the ascent to

[243 cont.]

174 heaven is completely lacking. The type of Bon shamanism de-
756 scribed here seems rather to have its vestiges among the fashih
[789] in the Chinese Koko Nor region, whose close connection to the Bon religion was already surmised above, especially since these fashih (or bö) [244] are very frequently represented precisely in the region of Kuei-tê on the same river where today the Bon religion is still fairly strong. -- It is not to be disputed in any way that the type of the gNas-c'uń oracle is a survival from the Bon religion. However, just as the Bon religion generally is not a homogeneous structure, so the shamanism contained in it would also not have been of a uniform type. And precisely if the gNas-c'uń oracle is a survival from the Bon religion, this proves that here, too, as elsewhere, at least two shaman types were present: the Siberian drum-shamans and the warrior-shamans (10). An element that Hoffmann clearly characterizes,

10. The gurtum type of the gNas-c'uń oracle can be linked much better to Gšen-rab itself or to the Dto-mba Shi-lo of the Na-khi, the founder of Bon shamanism. The sign for Dto-mba Shi-lo is Ssu, in other words, the ancestor, tutelary god, and in the final analysis the god of life of the Na-khi family; cf. J.F. Rock, "Dto-mba Shi-lo," p. 45, Note 2. This establishes the connection with the basic figures of the other possessor-spirits of the gurtum,
776] who, to be sure, finally manifest themselves likewise as god of life. -- Furthermore, the Dto-mbas with their swords and demon battles ("sham battles" [cited in English]) resemble the gurtum; cf. J.F. Rock, op. cit., p. 77, Pl. 12.

however, must be considered in the case of the warrior-shaman,

174 [244 cont.]
756 namely, the connections between bird and shaman (p. 199 f.).

756 Warrior-shaman and tutelary-spirit heroes. -- In shamanism the tutelary or helping spirits play a decisive role. In the
776 case of the possession-shaman, and therefore also in the case of the warrior-shaman, these spirits are at the same time the possessor-spirits. What is most important about the warrior-figures of the tutelary spirits of the temple-shamans has already been said, when mention was made of the five kings, especially Pekar and dGra-lha.

171 The dGra-lha of the Tibetans has a counterpart in the
756 good-fortune tutelary lord of the Mongols as he has already been described above in the section on the cult of heaven (p. 359),
776 and to be sure in the figure of the dsayači and its extension in the sülde. The warlike character of the sülde tengri has been described in detail by the Mongol Dordschi Banzarov in his "Černaja vjera ili šamanstvo u Mongolov" (1846). Only a characteristic quotation from the version of Father W. Schmidt (UdG, X, p. 79) is to be given here: "The nine sülde-tengri, according to their character, are always there in order to protect us. They are represented in a warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone, in the manner of riders, dressed in armor, wearing helmets on their heads, armed with swords and spears, holding a knout in one hand, a flag in the other. They are accompanied by falcons, as well as by a lion, a panther, bears and dogs." Father W. Schmidt notes in connection with this description: "Banzarow, as he states, has taken this presentation from Volume IV of the work by Mergen Diyanči; he wrote the book concerning the offerings presented to these genii." (UdG, loc. cit.) Concerning the relationship of the dGra-lha to the sülde or to the Mongolic good-fortune tengri and their warlike character, as well as their representation in the banner and on flags (jusun-sülde), Lüdtke has given a report, referring to Potanin, Waddel, Grünwedel, and other Russian as well as Mongolic sources; [245] See Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ...," op. cit., pp. 110-115. A supernatural double of the human being, who is conceived as a warlike tutelary lord and who shares and influences the weal and woe

[245 cont.]

171 of his protégé, is involved here; in this connection cf. also
756 Bleichsteiner (or Hoffmann), "Srog-bdag," pp. 118 f. It is not
776 possible to give here all the models and possible archetypes of these warlike doubles and "alter egos." They are very widely distributed in space and time, as is the belief in tutelary spirits generally, and extend back over the archaic high cultures into still earlier times (Megalithic); cf. Dominik Wölfel, Die Religionen des vorindogermanischen Europa. A special development is represented by the sülde banner of the Mongolic khans, which also attests to the fact that in the case of these tutelary spirits true localizations and seizure are involved.

174 That these tutelary spirits are connected with ancestors,
756 and in part identical with them, can likewise be amply docu-
776 mented, as it is repeatedly emphasized in the shamanism. One special feature is still to be pointed out: the shamanistic use of armor and weapons. My informant told me that the Tujen
[523] formerly had brought the weapons and equipment of famous popular heroes into the temple where they were stored. Then
[787] when a shaman who had been called put on this equipment, the powers and the spirit of the hero descended upon him. The shift of an old popular custom into Lamaism is evident here, for prior to this the protector and guardian of the ayil (tribe) was the mountain-spirit in the obo; he watched over the weapons, and in former times arms were also buried in the obo; cf. above, pp. 351 f., and the chapter on the obo, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation]. Just as the popular festivals were later transferred from the obo to the Lamaistic temple, this also happened with the weapons and equipment and the associated donning of them by the shaman. This also explains the especially close connection of the people's gurtum with the mountain-spirit and obo and his warlike character still today. It is well-known that the obo has a special connection with the tribal lord and the latter's descendants. Like-
[773] wise it is told of Geser, who, to be sure, according to the Tujen version, was also the ancestor of the Tujen, how he donned the supernatural armor which is kept in readiness for the special task of the battle against the ills of mankind in heaven

[245 cont.]

171 Heissig reports similarly of the East Mongols: "In the
756 monasteries, according to tradition, weapons, helmet, and
776 war harnesses of famous, perhaps legendary Mongolic heroes are preserved... These heroes and their arms bear the name Coyjing (lit. coyijung). Once or twice every month, after previous praying and fasting, a number of lama-monks in the Kūriye-Banner are supposed to clothe themselves with the armor of the Coyijing and seize the weapons belonging to them. The spirits and powers of the heroes immediately come over their bearers and equipment. The lamas go into ecstasy..."; cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," op. cit., p. 41. Coyjing, of course, refers to the Tibetan co's-skyon. Here, too, however, the old conception
[523] continues to have its effect of preserving the powers of the old heroes for the succeeding generations by preserving the equipment and weapons.

756 [246] One could call this custom a shamanistic preserva-
523 tion of antiquities. At any rate, every visitor of Lamaistic temples and shrines is struck by the ample store of weapons, banners, etc. Perhaps the Tujen custom of presenting the clothing of the deceased to the monastery also goes back to this conception, even though today they are merely thought of as a bosē, a prayer fee. When a monastery lacks a shaman who can don the armor, an artificial figure is dressed in it. I once saw such a statue equipped with ancient weapons and exhibited in a sitting position in the gate of the soothsayer-temple at dGon-luṅ, just as the gurtum at the beginning of his trance is seated in the temple facing the image of his tutelary spirit. The people moved past this image and gave it the appropriate veneration. This figure is likewise called sgurdien.

171 The warrior-shaman is widespread, and was even in pre-
756 Lamaistic times. B. Laufer presents clear evidence for its presence in ancient China in his book, Chinese Clay Figures. He presents several illustrations of excavated statuettes and dates these back to the Chou period, to an "archaic period" [cited in English]); cf. the legend for Plate XVII. Laufer describes these figures expressly as shamans "in the act of throwing a spear during a struggle with demons" [cited in English]. On

[246 cont.]

171 756 page 277, he goes into greater detail regarding the interpretation of these figures: "In the grim faces ... the demoniacal power of these armored knights ... is well represented. The helmet-mask is formed by a bird's head with a strong flavor of the Indian Garuda ... a shawl is elegantly draped around the shoulders, and tied in a knot over the chest, the two iron breastplates being visible beneath it" [cited in English]. -- In other words, the same type of warrior as in the case of the gurtum is involved: with helmet, weapons, shoulder hanging, demon battle, etc. -- Certainly further evidence for ancient China could be cited, say, in conjunction with the recent publications of C. Hentze. -- Likewise such types may be demonstrable for India, Indonesia, and the ancient Near East in connection with the ancient Iranian warrior gods and the corresponding figures in Hinduism, Indra, Shiva, etc.; in this connection cf. R. Bleichstein (based on Grünwedel), op. cit., pp. 111-124.

174 756 825 [773] Warrior shaman and bird. -- The connections between bird and shamanism are stressed often enough in the literature. The bird type of shaman is one of the basic types. Usually, the original ancestor of the shaman, or the first shaman, is a bird or incarnated in a bird. The heroes of the folktales, however, are also often linked with a bird ancestor. For instance, the Geser of the Tujen is supposed to have been sent to earth as a cuckoo. If this relationship applies generally, then the warrior-shaman in particular can be linked with the bird figure. There has been an attempt to show that his armor goes back to the feather armor, in other words, to the shaman attire of the bird type. I cannot go further into the sources here. The feather helmet of the ancient Chinese shaman mentioned by B. Laufer and the feather-ornamented helmet of the gNas-c'un gurtum, as well as the report by Georgi in his "Alphabetum Tibetanum," point in this direction.

174 756 [247] This connection between warrior and bird only becomes meaningful if one understands it as a solarization of the ancestor hero. Both the mythologies of the most ancient Chinese excavations (cf. the works by C. Hentze) and the

[247 cont.]

174 Indic -- Ancient-Oriental conceptions show the bird (the Indian
756 Garuda) as a symbol of light in contrast to darkness which is popularly conceived as a snake (Garuda -- snake). The winged sun is a well-known phenomenon in Chinese antiquity, in the archaic cultures of the Near East, and in the religion of the Central American high cultures, as is the equating of sun bird and king or hero in Egypt. This motif of light battling against darkness, of the bird of light against the snake of darkness, is also so widespread in America that recently Paul Radin has set it up as a fundamental life-interpretation of the peoples; cf. Radin, "The Basic Myth of the American Indians," Eranos, 1949.

The warrior-shaman in the final analysis is none other than the mythical first bird that stands in a special relationship with the human ancestors and battles the forces of darkness, the evil in the world. He is thus drawn into the very ancient mythology of mankind and the very ancient experience of the battle between light and darkness as it has been formulated, say, by Von Ow for the life-interpretation of the Avesta: "The Eranic religion penetrated deeply into private life. According to the Avesta, the principal task was: to battle against the forces of darkness. This idea is supposedly symbolized by the clothing of the Eranian, which is regarded as armor" (Ow, Hom, pp. 142 f.).

The bird symbolism of shamanism is ambiguous. In Siberian shamanism the characteristic of flight comes more to the fore, in gurtum-shamanism more the characteristic of light. Finally, it is common to both that the shaman is defender of life. Light is life and stands in contrast to darkness and death. Therefore the shaman as representative of light and of life is necessarily also fighter and warrior.

c) Summary

174 Thus the circle closes around the Lamaistic gurtum.
756 The Lamaistic gurtum arose from two components, one pre-Lamais-
779 tic and one Lamaistic. The pre-Lamaistic component is the warrior-shaman. This in turn has two components; a special one, the development of the outward appearance from the fighting light-bird; and a general

[247 cont.]

174 one, the shaman as representative of the god of life (characterized by the tree of life, etc.).

756 Among the people Buddhism found in the warrior-shaman

779 a type which could be "converted" especially easily. It connected the tutelary figures of its religion with this popular shaman. It had been especially prepared for this type of possession-shamanism through the tantrist-magical realizations so that it could easily absorb it. What then remained of other shaman types was branded and fought as xara nom, black belief, by the new "orthodox" shamanism with the spread of Lamaism. This [248] opposition, dealt with much in the literature, is aptly characterized by Lessing in a conversation with his teacher: "... 'Then is a gurtum not a shaman?' I asked him. 'By no means, something much higher. What he invokes, those are the authentic spirits, not the unclean ones of the Bö (written in Mong. böge, shaman)' ..." (Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143).

d) Idol-shamanism

756 In what follows the justification for speaking of idol-

791 shamanism as a special matter will automatically appear. One

[778] could also call it simply "thing-shamanism," because a thing represents the person as shaman. Among the shamanistic idols the spirit-spear of the Tujen occupies a favored position.

The Spirit-spear

The relationship of soothsayer and spear. -- Here the difference in the shamanizing of a gurtum and that of a spear-soothsayer should be recalled (cf. the appropriate chapters in the first part, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 18-33 [pp. 21-50 above in the HRAF translation]. Whereas the gurtum is completely

[787] possessed and in this state psychically closes himself off from the outside world, the spear-soothsayer remains in control of himself and awake. He does not go into ecstasy; only the spear is possessed by the spirit and affects the soothsayer. The soothsayer,

[248 cont.]

756 it is true, must have the special ability to "activate" the spear
791 and to interpret its movements in order to learn what the spirit in the spear wants, but he himself is not inwardly filled by it.

756 On the other hand, the relationship between spirit and
791 spear is much closer. It is the seat of the spirit and is treated as such. Like a shaman it receives a consecration, is clothed
778 with an "official garb": with bands, little bells, and mirrors. The people venerate it like a god that is present. In order to enter actively into a relationship with the world of men through soothsaying, healing, and exorcising evil, or in order to have an active effect on the outside world, this spear-idol needs a middleman who takes it in his hand and to whom it "speaks." This is the "idol-holder," the sdiendzẽn, rten 'dsin. He is not called a shaman, for it is not he, the soothsayer, but the possessed spear that is actually the shaman. The soothsayer is, as it were, merely a living extension of the idol, its loud-speaker.

778 How is the spear to be classified? As the spear is now used, it is to be regarded as a special kind of idol, as its name as spirit seat already suggests. The Tibetan compound rten-mduñ is not found in Ch. Das. However, analogous to the name sku-rten (gurtum) and corresponding to the character of the spear, the rten can here mean nothing other than container or visible representation of the deity: a weapon as seat of the deity. This suggests the question: Was the spirit-spear independent from the outset, or is it merely the tool of a shaman?

171 The spirit-spear as independent idol, in other words,
778 not as equipment of the shaman, is distributed throughout the Tujen and agricultural region of eastern Amdo. [249] One finds it frequently in temples and in family chapels, even among the Chinese. To what extent the Tangut nomads there possess it is beyond my knowledge. The spear must have had an
[174] independent significance in Lamaism even in early times, however, for one frequently encounters it in Lamic monasteries, and usually in conjunction with other standards (banners). The Geography of the Minchu-Hutukhtu is able to report: "In

[249 cont.]

171 Nanggardse there is a fearful chapel of the Gur, and in it there
778 is a lance (mduń) which is said by the worshipers to be sacred and is called 'remover of the thirteen enemies of the religion'"; according to W. Unkrig, Ms, p. 14. R. Bleichsteiner writes of a similar banner: "Another narrative reports on the victorious campaign of a barbarian prince across China, Hor and Grug-gug, during which he used a magical flag into which rNam-sras, the world guardian of the north, and eight companions had been conjured" ("Srog-bdag," p. 111).

The spirit-spear can easily be linked with other similar idols, such as Stabongonen, carriage axles, weather clubs, and noodle rollers among the Tujen, all of which are beribboned and hung with little bells and little metal disks. They, too, are used by a soothsayer in exactly the same way as the spirit-spear. This shows that it is merely one among the many shamanistic idols. That such stick-idols are very widespread not only in the Koko Nor region but also in other places in Tibet is shown from a remark by Jäschke: "... the local lha are not always represented by figures resembling human beings, but even by sticks, stones and similar fetishes" [cited in English], p. 599. And on page 7 he speaks of the Pekar idol, also cited by Bleichsteiner, and notes: "... consisting like most of the popular idols in those countries of a wooden stick or log decked with rags ..."; cf. also Bleichsteiner, op. cit., p. 112. Jäschke adds that this idol is certainly pre-Buddhistic. Such idols can be shown for all of northern Asia as far to the east as the Inao of the Ainu; for example, cf. Joseph Haekel, Idolkult und Dualsystem bei den Ugriern. The shamanistic use, however, seems nowhere to be so well attested to as in the case of the spirit-spear of the Tujen.

A second link can be established from the spirit-spear to the standard, flag, or banner. The spear as standard is an anciently known article, as are its sacredness and its veneration in the flag or standard cult. This cult was practiced above all by the Mongols in the form of the sülde veneration. Now
[174] it is well possible that this very sülde cult was "co-converted" to Lamaism along with the conversion of the Mongols, especially

[249 cont.]

171 since the Buddhists in their victory banner, the rgyal-mtsan, had
778 similar conceptions. The Mongolic Tujen would naturally also
have taken part in this change. Probably the spear-standard was
[174] at the same time also regarded as ancestor spear or clan idol; this
[614] fact is established beyond doubt for the nine-tipped sülde of
Genghis Khan. His spirit and his force have their seat in this
sülde; further details and relationships unfortunately cannot be
presented here; for that, cf., for example, the descriptions by
W. Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ...," in Archiv
für Religionswissenschaft, 25, 1927, pp. 110-115. In any case,
[614] it is striking how [250] each ayil (clan settlement) of the Tujen
is intent upon possessing a spirit-spear. Similar ideas can also
be shown elsewhere. For example, the Bhil in India are
acquainted with the clan spear at religious functions; see
W. Koppers, "Die Bhil ...," pp. 182 ff. Even more clearly
does the similarity with the spirit-spear and the connection
with the clan appear in the case of the clan standard of the
Chewsur [Khevsur]. The form of this standard with its bands,
the little bells, the ball-knob, etc. can scarcely be distin-
guished from the spirit-spear of the Tujen. Also, their clan
priest is practically a shamanistic soothsayer who works with
the spear standard. In view of the great significance that the
standards had among the Turks and Mongols (tuq-banner) and
in view of the lively history of these peoples, influences and
relics in the Caucasus are to be assumed from the first; cf.
Radde, The Chewsuren, pp. 100 ff., and Nioradze, Begräbnis,
pp. 10 ff. -- Sacral spears are abundantly known in Africa,
as are the gods' standards in the ancient Orient. The hitherto
not properly explainable Scythian pole appendages with their
hooks and prongs, perhaps for little bells and other hangings,
may also belong here. It is altogether possible that all these
standards are not simply representations and localizations of
deities, but were also used shamanistically in the manner of
the spirit-spear or the clan standard of the Chewsur.

Further connections also seem to exist between the
spirit-spear and the world-tree or the world-axle. One should
think for instance, of the cosmic significance of the jewel-
spear in the Japanese creation mythology, where it has a

[250 cont.]

171 778 function similar to the cosmic twirling pole in the milky original ocean of the South Asiatic world myth; see F. Numazawa, Weltanfänge [Original World], p. 345. Mention was made earlier of the world-pole among the Tujen; cf. above, pp. 319 ff. The conceptions connected with it are an ancient Mongolic heritage among them. The "golden nail" representing the world-pole, from which the dome of heaven is suspended, is interpreted among the Olöt Mongols as a banner that stands on the world-mountain Sumeru, and around which all the stars revolve. The same conception is found among the Ordos Mongols, where the golden nail or polar star is called 'the golden banner of the mountain Sumeru.' Among the Chalcha [Khalkha] Mongols this polar-star pole, like the jewel-spear among the Japanese, becomes the twirler with which one beats kumiss; see Lüdtke, op. cit., pp. 115, 118. Lüdtke would like to put the transformation of the world-pole into a banner in a later period, when the Mongols already possessed an extensively developed military organization. The Japanese jewel-spear, however, indicates that the basis of this conception goes back far beyond the Mongolic era (11). Accordingly, Lüdtke's view should perhaps be

11. The significance of the lance among the Ngadju Dajak [Dyak] in Borneo should be briefly pointed out here. The connection of lance, flag, tree of life, and "total deity" is still much more apparent and conscious there than in Central Asia and Tibet. Even the shamanistic priests as representatives of the "total deity" are much more strikingly involved in this conception than, for instance, the gurtum as representative of the god of life; cf. H. Schärer, Die Gottesidee, pp. 29 ff., 87, 148 ff.

corrected: "I would not want [251] to derive this whole

[251 cont.]

171 conceptual cycle from China either; there, too, to be sure, there
778 is a determining constellation called a 'standard,' not on the pole, however, but rather on the ecliptic" (op. cit., p. 117). At any rate, the astral spear or the standard is not merely the property of the Mongols (12). Here the similarity with the

12. The military flag cult of the Chinese in its well-known form is too recent to permit any ancient mythological conclusions; cf., for instance, Doolittle, Social Life, pp. 287 f.

cosmically conceived arrow of good fortune that was dealt with earlier should also be pointed out; see above, p. 321. -- After these references, which refer more or less to the spear alone, its significance in shamanism is easier to understand.

756 Spirit-spear and shaman. -- The spirit-spear stands in a
778 two-fold relationship with the shaman, once as world-tree and as weapon, and then as something independent and representative of the shaman.

171 In the case of Siberian shamanism, for which the sym-
756 bolism of the journey to heaven is so important, the shaman climbs up on the ladder, the tree, the pole, the bridge, etc.
778 into the world beyond. In the rite, therefore, the most varied representations of this earth-heaven connection appear. What, then, is more obvious than that the spear with its symbolism as world-tree or peak of the world-mountain should be drawn into it? Unfortunately, the evidence for a ritual use of the spear as heaven-ladder (bridge, bow) among the Central Asiatic peoples seems to be difficult to obtain. It must be all the more surprising that among the remote Australians the spear fulfills this function. M. Eliade cites Pettazzoni in this connection and says in his excellent work, Le Chamanisme, pp. 426 f.: "The bow being unknown in Australia, its place in the myth is taken by a lance which bears a long piece of material; the

[251 cont.]

756 lance having been implanted in the celestial vault, the hero
778 climbs all the way up with the help of the pennant" [translated
[171] from French].

However frequently the spirit-spear is used independently of a true shaman among the Tujen, it nonetheless is frequently enough part of the equipment of the gurtum. In his hand it is an important weapon. Just as the weapons and the armor of the ancient hero-ancestors endow him with special powers, so doubtless also does the ancestor spear. In the already-cited Geser
[773] legend of the Tujen, Geser takes the heavenly weapons for himself, which are all provided with the adjective sdier, for instance, sdier lēmu, sdier sēmu, etc., sacred arrow and bow. The things designated with sdier, however, are all adorned in a manner similar to the spirit-spear, above all with the colorful bands. This is supposed to express a consecration, a sacral
174 character. -- Now, however, when there is no true shaman, nothing remains but to make the spirit-spear independent.

756 It must represent the shaman and accordingly receives
778 a perfected outfit and an additional consecration, whereby,
791 as original weapon, it becomes an independent idol. It becomes tutelary-spirit possessed. As seat of the sülde it is from the outset already especially fitted for this. Since, however, it is not alive and cannot appear as a human being, [252] a man is appointed for it, the soothsayer. The latter takes over part of the operations of a true shaman, but without becoming the seat of a spirit himself. There takes place, as it were, a distribution of shamanistic functions: the essential, inner ones are peculiar to the spear; the unessential, outer ones to the soothsayer (13).

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13. The shaman attire in other regions also has great similarity with the spear as spirit seat and effective unity with the shaman. It is "saturated" by spirits, who give signs of life by trembling, moving, etc.; cf. Eliade (Shirokogorov), Le Chamanisme, p. 143. Even though the spear as shaman equipment shares this property with the attire, this alone

[252 cont.]

756 778 still cannot explain its great significance and use.

The Other Idols

778 791 Just as the spirit-spear is the seat of a deity which is activated by a middleman, so also is a series of other idols. These may be: the table, the spirit-litter, weather club, carriage axles, noodle roller, etc. Of these the spirit-table and the god-litter are the most important.

The spirit-table bears its name unjustly, for it is not a [776] table, but the representation of an animal deity, the black tiger. This is confirmed by the fact that it is consecrated at the consecration of this tiger and is regarded as possessed by the latter. Furthermore, the intestines of the tiger are attached under the top, which, however, are not visible to the eye.

[787] The soothsaying with the table is done exactly as with the spear, except that it is held by two persons.

This deity, according to all the statements, is peculiar to the Chinese shamans. That it was originally foreign to the [776] Tujen is proved precisely by the superficial name given it, sirie purgan (table-deity), where in reality the top forms the back, the table legs are the tiger's legs, and the underside bears the intestines.

The spirit-litter has no Tujen name at all, but is simply called, as in Chinese, chiao-tzu or niang-niang chiao-tzu (litter of the mother). The litter is not the main thing, but the god's [532] figure sitting in it, which is executed as realistically as possible, with magnificent clothes, real hair, and flesh-colored face. The interior likewise contains the intestines, the heart, and the maternal organs. The figure is consecrated with the litter, at which time the inner organs are put inside.

This goddess likewise belongs to the Chinese shamans (fashih), who also undertake its animation. Frequently,

[252 cont.]
778 however, the lamas in the monastery do this. For soothsaying
791 the litter is taken up on the shoulders of four men, who then
[787] involuntarily follow the movements of the deity.

Summary

756 Both idol-shamanism and gurtum-shamanism form a unity
787 in their appearance. They have in common: the clothing
791 (= beribboning), the metal disks, the little bells or rattles, and possession by a spirit. They both belong in the conceptual realm of the connection [253] between heaven and earth and of the world- or shaman-tree that is hung with bells and mirrors; in this connection cf. the myths of the Golden or the songs of the Tujen, which tell about a tree that bears the sun, moon, and stars in its top. In the case of the human shaman all functions are united in one bearer, whereas in idol-shamanism these functions are divided between man and thing, but this division in turn constitutes a unity in the activities. There arises here the fundamental question: Is not the entire idol cult to be understood ultimately from this shamanistic standpoint? Does it not gain its real significance only through the living person? Certainly a great deal of what has hitherto been designated as "fetishism" or "idol cult" is at bottom merely a variant of shamanism, a static permanent form of that which the shaman represents for only a short period of time with great psychic upheaval: a direct link with the spirit world, culturally regularized, and ritually developed; making present and vivifying deities and demons that the human being wants to have with him.

Here it should be once more emphasized that these ideas are merely a sketch for a theory whose detailed presentation does not belong here.

3. The Bon Religion

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779 Among the Bon there are three groups: the shepherd-Bon, the farmer-Bon, and the monastery-Bon. This division

[253 cont.]

791 is a purely popular one, and nothing about the inner relationship
779 of these groups to one another is indicated by it; they are probably not essentially different. The farmer-Bon have become most superficial and degenerate. They still wear as their sole distinguishing mark only the artificial brush garland, in order thus to imitate the massive braided turban of the shepherd-Bon; they have practically died out. -- The most important cultic
[765] implements of the Bon are taken from the human corpse: the
[534] double skull-drum covered with human skin, the whip plaited out of human skin (and probably with a bone handle), the thigh-bone flute, and the bone dagger. These implements are supposed to be taken from the corpse of an unmarried adult female person. By the special relationship to skeleton and corpse alone,
[174] the Bon might acknowledge an ancient Tibetan home, which, to be sure, is not only called the "snow land," but also the "land of corpses."

[789] Even though the Bon have much in common with the lamas, there is a series of ceremonies reserved for them, especially the various types of demon exorcism. They are even invited into the monastery by the lamas on the first and fifteenth day of every month, where they undertake these rites. Nothing more about a former opposition between
178 Buddhism and the Bon religion is to be noted here. It shares
791 with Lamaism the fate of gradual disappearance; indeed, in
779 its official form it has already preceded it in this. It is a striking fact that both the Bon religion and Lamaism wane as Chinese agriculture expands, although precisely the sedentary life [254] of the lamas in the large monasteries and the performance of the weather conjuration of the Bon should be especially appropriate for an agricultural culture. The reasons are certainly not religious in nature.

174 The Tujen, however, have probably preserved much
791 more of the Bon tradition than is recognizable at first glance.
779 The marriage customs and the popular poetry probably contain a great deal that would make this ancient layer clear and permit it to be followed deep into Tibet. It is difficult, however, to free everything from the Lamaistic embellishments.

[254 cont.]

4. Lamaism

779 The preceding accounts have repeatedly demonstrated
792 how great an influence Lamaism exerts upon the people. As the latest form it has also most strongly penetrated the entire religious life; it offers the people a large number of gods and saints; it gives them the mani-trees, prayer mills, treasure urns, chorten chambers, central forts, and obos; they have it to thank for a considerable part of the world-view. To be sure, one must differentiate the ecclesiastical Lamaism of the monasteries and monks from the popular Lamaism, which in its watered-down customs remains unburdened by complicated doctrines and tantristic rites. This popular Lamaism, however, would be unimaginable without the strong support and the permanent effect of the monasteries, which are already so closely linked with the people because their community is constantly renewed from the families of the people. An important piece of the religi-
792 ous picture would therefore be lacking if one did not at least in hasty strokes characterize the monastery, which for the Tujen of that region is their spiritual center. -- The relationships to Kumbum will be passed over, although they are not to be underestimated. One merely needs to recall that it was a Chi-t'u-szu (prince) who at the beginning of the eighteenth century through his personal pledge preserved Kumbum from Chinese revenge and destruction, so that his clan until the most recent
[624] times enjoyed monastic protection and the princes (T'u-szu) themselves on their visits were received by the lamas on their knees; in this connection, cf. Schulemann, p. 179.

The name of the Tujen monastery dGon-luṅ is Tibetan.
[103] dgon (pronounced gon) means literally "solitude, hermitage." In the figurative sense it has become the established expression
[192] for "monastery" (vihāra), because a monastery must be at least 1,000 steps away from any human habitation; cf. Ch. Das, p. 275; luṅ means "valley, district." Thus, dGon-luṅ is best rendered as "monastery-valley" or "monastery-district" or simply
[346] "monastery," for a lama monastery should not be imagined as

[254 cont.]

792 a closed building, but rather as a whole settlement with temples,
[346] halls, dwelling yards, chortens, chapels, little mani-houses,
and obos. To the Tujen there dGon-luń is simply the monastery.
[103] The official full name, however, is dGon-luń byams-pa gliń,
just as the full name of Kumbum is sKu 'bum byams pa gliń. Ac-
cording to B. Laufer, byams pa gliń means "temple of the
Maitreya"; see Filchner, Kumbum, p. V. Not [255] every
monastery has such a temple, and for this reason people always
like to mention it along with the monastery. The main temple
792 of dGon-luń contains such a gigantic image of the Maitreya
778 painted on silk, over ten meters long and several meters wide.
796 It is rolled up from the temple roof and allowed to hang down
over the front into the yard usually twice a year, namely, in
the first month after the tscham dances and on the sixth day of
the sixth month. The ceremony is called dšamba sguni dielgē,
that is, to hang out the Maitreya image; dšamba or šamba is the
Tujen pronunciation of byams-pa. The Chinese call the rite
simply shai Fuoeyeh, that is, to sun the Buddha. For the be-
[788] lieving populace it is the high point of the feast days; the
people make pilgrimages to the place in great crowds in order
to venerate the image with kowtows.

792 There is no Tujen name for the monastery; their desig-
nation Rgulõń (Rēgulõń) is only a corruption of dGon-luń. Even
103 the Chinese Êrh-ku-lung is nothing more than a derivation from
the Tibetan. Some people would like the êrh to be understood
as the Chinese "two," since it is supposedly the second monastery,
which was built anew after the destruction of the first; in fact,
one also often hears the name Ku-lung without this êrh. The
designation Yu-ning-szu, monastery for the protection of Sining,
has not prevailed among the people. It is used almost exclusively
in books and official documents.

792 The monastery corresponds to the Buddhistic require-
[361] ments in exemplary fashion, for it lies at the exit of a lonely
[346] forested valley and has been built up in part along its northern
[103] ridge, which bears the name Tuguān-ula, Tuguān mountain
[175] (Chin. T'u-kuan shan). A gigantic obo crowns its peak. Neither
oral nor written information concerning the founding of the

[255 cont.]

792 monastery could be obtained on account of the brevity of the visit.
175 The Sining chronicle reports nothing about it. Originally it seems to have been a Tibetan establishment. Until its destruction dGon-luṅ possessed great importance in Ambo. Then it was overshadowed by other monasteries. The patriotic monks in the first year of Emperor Yung-cheng had put themselves on the side of the Mongolic Koko Nor prince (ch'en-wang) bLo-bzan bsTan-'dsin. The consequence of this was that dGon-luṅ was destroyed by a Chinese punitive expedition in the year 1723 along with several other monasteries, among which was also sGo-maṅ-dgon (gSer-k'og-dgon-pa). Upon the request of the Tuguān Hutukhtu, who at that time resided in Peking, the emperor permitted the monastery to be rebuilt in 1733, as well as sGo-maṅ-dgon; cf. Hsü Kung-wu, pp. 113, 115; Schulemann, p. 179; Sining-Chronicle. After this reconstruction dGon-luṅ received the official name Yu-ning-szu and a memorial stone on which these events were noted. The text of this stone is reprinted in the Sining chronicle. One cannot see the stone itself. The lamas have immured it in order to be rid of the honorable but unpleasant memory. About 60 years ago the new monastery had to endure the Dunganen rebellion, which claimed the lives of many Tujen. It never again reached its old dimensions, of which an isolated remnant still remains, namely, the temple with the gurtum-deity dPekar and the spirit-spear of the monastery soothsayer.

792 [256] Today the monastery is under the county government of Huchu. Formerly it was independent with its lands,
[657] forests, and pastures and controlled many taxable Tujen villages. It numbers about 300 monks and several Tulkus, who are almost all Tujen. As affiliates under the supreme Tulku, the Tuguān Hutukhtu, its administrator mentioned to me also the following lamaseries: Man-t'ou-szu, a few kilometers northwest; Chin(g)-kang-ta-szu, 20 kilometers to the north; Chang-chia-szu, 65 kilometers southeast near Lotu; Hua-yüan-szu, 12 kilometers to the south, a Bon monastery; Hung-ku-szu, in the Lianchow region (Kansu); Ma-t'i(eh)-szu, in the Kanchow region (Kansu). These connections indicate how far the significance of the monastery must have extended. From the beginning it has been

[256 cont.]

792 a place for the cultivation of knowledge, and the fame of its learned Tulkus released the Tujen from their seclusion and drew them into the extensive domain of the Lamaistic world. The "Geography of Tibet," written in the Tibetan language by the Minchu Hutukhtu from the monastery sGo-maṅ-dgon around 1830, reports: "... the monastery dGon-luṅ, in which one counts up to 2,000 clerics and where formerly there lived: the two reincarnations lCaṅ-skya and Sum-pa mk'an-po, the author of the History of the Yellow Cap Doctrine, Žva-ser c'os byuṅ, 'T'uu-bkvan bLo-bzaṅ C'os-kyi Ni-ma, and other important learned personalities"; see MS, p. 40.

The importance of the lCaṅ-skya Hutukhtu has already been mentioned above on page 331. The first lCaṅ-skya Hutukhtu was born in 1641 in Amdo. His ancestors came from a region called the "Gray Meadows" (communication from Mr. Unkrig). This place name has been transferred to the person (lcaṅ-skya = meadow-gray). The child was recognized as a reincarnation of the Dharmaśvamin of the monastery dGon-luṅ and was called there at the age of eight. Then the young Tulku was sent to inner Tibet for study and returned again to Amdo until Emperor Kang-hsi called him to Peking. In the service of the emperor and of Lamaism the hutukhtu led an active life as church politician and scholar. His travels led him into Mongolia, to Tibet and Amdo, where, for instance, in 1709 he reformed the program of studies in dGon-luṅ and other monasteries and installed several Grand Lamas. He died in 1713; cf. Schulemann, pp. 177 f., where also further sources for a more detailed orientation concerning the hutukhtu and his earlier existences are given. The lCaṅ-skya Hutukhtu was counted among the four great church princes of Lamaism. He resided later in Peking, beside the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama in Tibet, and the Jibtsun-Dampa in Mongolia; see Pander, "Geschichte des Lamaismus," ZfE, 1889, p. (202). In the European literature his name became known above all through Pander-Grünwedel's book, which under the title Das Pantheon des Tschang-tscha Chutuktu offers a description of the world of the Lamaistic gods, which is based upon an

[256 cont.]

792 illustrated work by this hutukhtu.

The other incarnation from dGon-luṅ, namely, the Tuguān Hutukhtu, is similarly famous. There is no explanation of this name. Perhaps it is a transference from the place to his person; it is better, however, to assume that the name of the mountain goes back to the hutukhtu, rather than the other way around. The Chinese way of writing the signs of this name [Illustrations a and b appear here] [257] varies as T'u-kuan, Tou-kuang, or T'ou-kuang, an indication that the phonetic imitation of a possibly Mongolic (Tujen) name, say, Toġan, is involved here. The Tibetan way of writing T'uu-bkvan is likewise quite strange, and therefore, according to Ch. Das, p. 577, the Mongolic name Toġan is rendered. As the first Tuguān Hutukhtu, Nag-dbaṅ c'os-kyi rgya-mts'o was called to Peking under Emperor Yung-cheng; he was born in 1679 and died in 1735; see Schulemann, pp. 178 f. The best known is his subsequent incarnation, the above-mentioned author of the work of religious history concerning the various Lamaistic and pre-Lamaistic systems and the Yellow Church; cf. Filchner, Kumbum, p. 181. He is supposed to have lived from 1702-1775 (communication from Mr. Unkrig). The Tuguān Tulkus likewise resided in Peking for the most part, whereby the relations to their tribal monastery dGon-luṅ did not suffer further; it is the case even today that many hutukhtus travel outside the country for years, in Tibet, India, Mongolia. In 1948, the present Tuguān Hutukhtu, according to the statements of his relatives from the Ch'ang-kou, had already been in Nanking in the ministry as expert for the Lamaist border region for more than two years. Curiously enough, his relatives were of the opinion that nowadays the Tuguān and lCan-skya (Ch'ang-chia) incar-
[775] nations are no longer differentiated and appear in only one representative. No clarification could be obtained from these statements. There seemed to be rivalries between the Li Clan and the Ch'ang Clan, who both claimed the incarnation succession.

In view of the pre-eminent position that these hutukhtus occupied in Peking, it is not surprising that many Tujen lamas

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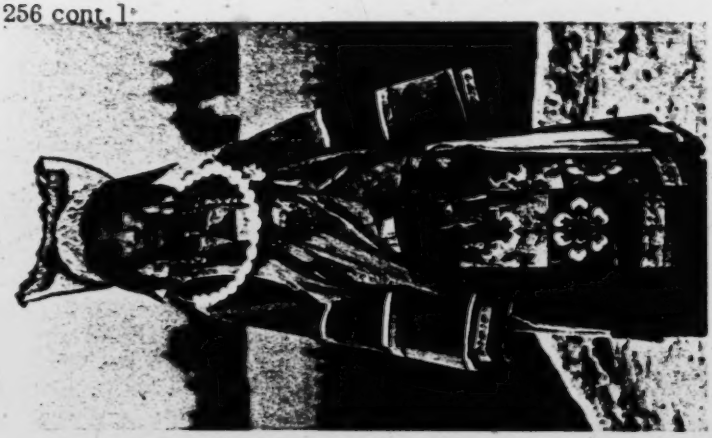

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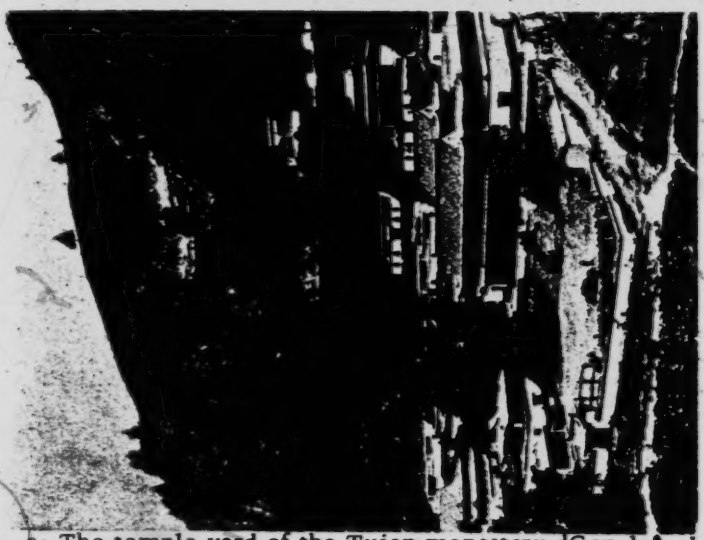

a: The temple yard of the Tujen monastery dGon-luñ. Left, the gable of the Tuguãn palace, Tuguãn-larõñ. In the background the foothill of the Tuguãn mountain, Tuguãn-ula. (Photo. Jos. Trippner.) b: Young Tujen woman in ancient dress.
142 Characteristic are: the high headdress, niudar, now prohibited;
292 the neck ring; the wide sleeve rings; the wide embroidered cloth
301 bands over the skirt. The pattern was the garb of a Tujen
531 princess. (Photo. Mission Archives, Sining.)

[257 cont.]

792 went there. Pander speaks (op. cit., p. 204) of Man-tzu or Chinese from Sining, who were accommodated in 13 temples in Peking (1889). These Man-tzu (= barbarians), however, could only have been Tujen, for the Chinese are not Lamaists, and the Tibetans (Fan-tzu) are specifically named by Pander. The monastery Sung-chu-szu is regarded expressly as a Tujen lamasery. Even today (at least up until 1948) almost all its monks come from the Sining region and are Tujen, as the monks from this monastery related during a visit home. To be sure the number has shrunk greatly.

771 These are all facts that must be taken into account in
792 judging the Lamaism of the Tujen. The people are proud of their famous monastery. It is their pilgrimage center. Young
[788] and old gather there at the festivals. They hold horse races
[527] and sing their old popular airs there. At the temple festivals with the magnificent dances the Lamist doctrine is deepened
[796] and clarified. In the venerable halls filled with incense they
[778] see their gods in magnificent statues, painted on silk, on walls and altars. There lie also the heavy sacred books of the Kandjur and Tandjur, which they bear on their backs around the sanctuary in order to free themselves from affliction or to fulfill a vow. In the temples and yards they watch the monks hold learned disputations, read the scriptures, recite the prayers. They invite them to undertake solemn religious services in their compounds, to give their children their names, to consecrate the old, [258] to bless the young, to pray for the dead, to cre-
[574] mate the corpses. The lama is a frequent and welcome guest in the family. Generally, the people seem to link themselves
[756] to the monastic life at the important stages of life. Even the
[778] shaman receives his consecration in the monastery. Every family was proud if one of its sons became a lama; indeed, it was even an unwritten law.

771 So it was, at least until the most recent times. Today, however, the young people no longer want to know anything
792 about becoming a lama. They prefer to attend the Chinese
177 schools and are intent on the new education. They despise the old and do not take it seriously anymore. What the

[258 cont.]

771 Minchu Hutukhtu wrote a hundred years ago in his "Geography
792 of Tibet" has already become true: "This home of the second Victorious Tsongkhapa was at one time famous in all Tibet ...
177 Now, however, it is not only under the pressure of the deluded Chinese and Mussulmanic doctrine, but there approaches the time when Tibetans and Mongols will believe the Kung-tzu, Lao-tzu, or the teacher Naniku of Ssei"; MS, loc. cit. If one thinks of the most recent events, even in that remote area, then one sees even this melancholy prophecy surpassed, for even the doctrines of a K'ung-tzu and Lao-tzu will no longer draw the Tujen into their jurisdiction. They, too, already belong to the past.

Conclusion

174 In the course of the work it became increasingly clear
771 that the religion of the Tujen no longer represents anything uniform and independent. Rather, it grew from roots of various origins into a colorful composite that is based on the varied past of the Tujen and their present-day homeland which lies in the middle between various peoples. In particular, however, Lamaism
[779] has fostered these international connections, even to Lhasa and Peking, and has contributed decisively to religious assimilation. In this respect, the Tujen share their fate with the neighboring peoples insofar as they are not Chinese. Their belief is linked to a common layer, which, as Lamaistic popular religion, extends over the entire area of influence of the Yellow Church. Thus, the principal questions raised earlier concerning shamanism, the Bon religion, the cult of heaven, etc. are not questions that can be resolved from the point of view of the Tujen alone. Their religion has a much more general significance. To be sure, a number of special characteristics can be established. These do not suffice, however, for drawing definite conclusions concerning the origin and ethnic affiliation of the people. And even less do they permit the delimitation of any individual Tujen groups, which certainly are present. As sources for such cultural-historical and ethnic relationships, almost

[258 cont.]

174 only the language with the folk literature still remains, perhaps
771 also the dress, but above all the tradition and the written history, which are chiefly contained in Chinese reports. This does not mean that the religion and ethnology are not to be considered; rather, they must be drawn upon in a complementary and explanatory fashion. [259] It is too late, however, to arrive at clear results in a purely folkloristic or ethnological way. That might still have been possible perhaps 50 years ago.

174 Now, however, the Sinicization of the Tujen approaches
177 its conclusion. For a long time with respect to religion they had
771 a strong support in the Lamaistic world and defied the Chinese influence, although they had taken over their agriculture many generations ago. Today, however, they have detached themselves from this support; indeed, the support itself has already become very decayed. The reasons for this cannot be discussed here. The Tujen are giving up themselves, their language, their religion. When their children have become grandparents, Chinese culture will again have incorporated into itself a new domain which will be differentiated from the other provinces only insofar as the Chinese proverb can be applied: "At ten miles the language is different, at a hundred the custom." -- And yet all are "Chinese." [The supplement to the bibliography appears here; see foreign text.]

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor AE9

756, 791, 792

/Information on religious specialists has been filed as follows:

756 - drum-shaman or bo (fa-shih)

756 - gurtum or warrior-shaman

791 - spirit-spear sooth-sayer

791 - bon priest

792 - lamas

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor AE9

793

/For information on the lamas and the hutukhtus (Living Buddhas) and their activities see category 792./

778

/For information on sacred objects and places: the spirit-spear, shaman's sword, the arrow of good fortune, the mani-tree and the central fort, the obo, and the chorten chamber, see category 116, pp. 23-50, and pp. 84-144./

104

hada - a scarf-like ceremonial cloth

hutukhtu - a great lama, a Living Buddha, a tulku

tsamba - flour made from parched ground barley or wheat

3; Schröder AE9 Monguor

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[Title page]

Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor)

Von Dominik Schröder

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Abriß einer Ch'inghai-Chronik, s. HSÜ KUNG-WU.

Ackerbau-Sage = *šdie udurni udurdu*. Originaltext in Tujen, aufgenommen von DOMINIK SCHRÖDER.

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Erster Teil: Das religiöse Brauchtum

I. Einleitung *

1. Der Name der Tujen

In der europäischen Literatur werden die Leute der in Frage stehenden Volksgruppe gewöhnlich *Tujen* (*Turen*, *T'ou-jen*, *T'u-jen*) genannt. Das ist der Name, den ihnen auch die Ch'inghai-Chinesen beilegen. *Tujen* heißt soviel wie Eingeborner, Mann vom Orte. Das chinesische *t'u* bedeutet Ort, Boden, Erde; und das *jen* bedeutet Mensch, Mann, Leute. Die Chinesen haben ihnen diesen

* Die Anmerkungen ([1], [2], [3] etc.) finden sich in dieser Arbeit nicht als Fußnoten, sondern als selbständige Unterkapitel und zwar jedes Mal unter der Überschrift „Anmerkungen". Vgl. zu diesem Kapitel p. 17.

Namen gegeben, weil bei ihrer Einwanderung diese Leute schon vorhanden waren. Sie wenden diese Bezeichnung auch auf andere Völkerschaften des Grenzgebietes an, z. B. in Szechuan ; damit ist über die ethnische Bestimmung nichts ausgesagt. Man darf aber nicht meinen, daß nun die Tujen tatsächlich die ersten Einwohner jener Gegend sind, wie P. A. VOLPERT es getan hat ; vgl. VOLPERT : Etwas über die *T'u-yen*, Ureinwohner Westkansus (Anthropos 18/19. 1923/24). Sie sind ihrer Tradition zufolge ebenfalls eingewandert, aber vor den Chinesen.

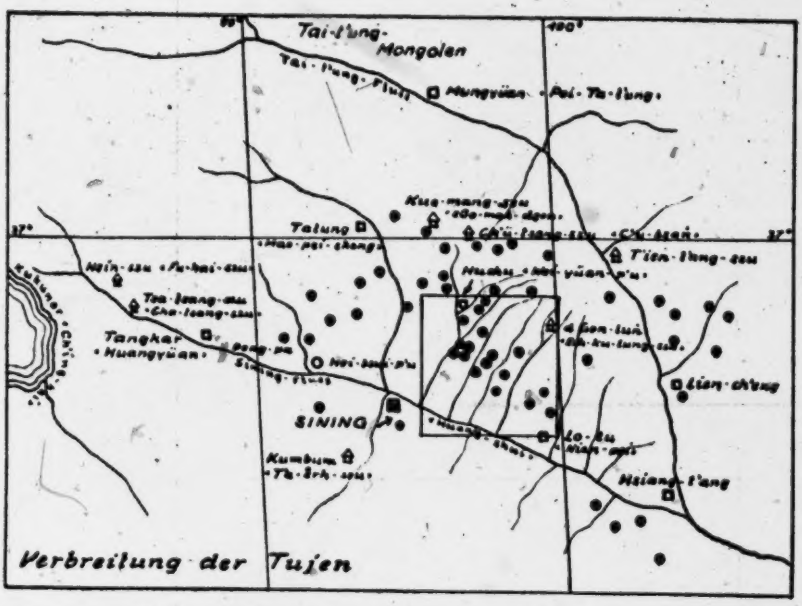
Im übrigen werden noch folgende Namen gebraucht : *Dalden*, *Dolden*, *Daldy* (PRZEWALSKI ; GRUM-GRŽIMAJLO u. a.) ; ferner *Dchiahour* (HUC und GABET); Kansu-Mongolen, Mongols of Kansu (DE SMEDT und A. MOSTAERT); Monguor (DE SMEDT und MOSTAERT). A. MOSTAERT möchte das Wort *Dalden* vom mongolischen *Dolot* ableiten, womit die Mongolen die Tujen benennen ; vgl. MOSTAERT, The Mongols of Kansu, p. 84 ; DMF, p. II (1).

Die Tujen selber bezeichnen sich mit *Moṅgol kun* (mongolische Menschen) oder *tsiġan Moṅgol* (weiße Mongolen) im Gegensatz zu den andern Kukunor-Mongolen, die sie *xara Moṅgol* (schwarze Mongolen) nennen. Der von P. A. MOSTAERT eingeführte Name *Monguor* geht auf diese Selbstbezeichnung zurück ; die von ihm fixierte Dialektvariante spricht das *l* nach *r* hin und hat vor dem offenen *o* noch einen *u*-Vorschlag. Die benachbarten Tanguten gebrauchen für die Tujen den Namen *Karloṅ*, der offenbar tibetischen Ursprungs ist. In der tibetisch geschriebenen Geographie des sMin-'Gyur (Minchu)-Hutuktu wird der Tujen-Stamm *rGya-Hor* genannt, gesprochen *Dyahor*, was also die gleiche Bezeichnung ist, die HUC und GABET benutzen. Auch heute noch ist dieser Ausdruck beim Volke im Gebrauch, welches ihn mit dem derben chinesischen Wort *tsa-chung* (Misch-Same), Bastard, wiedergibt.

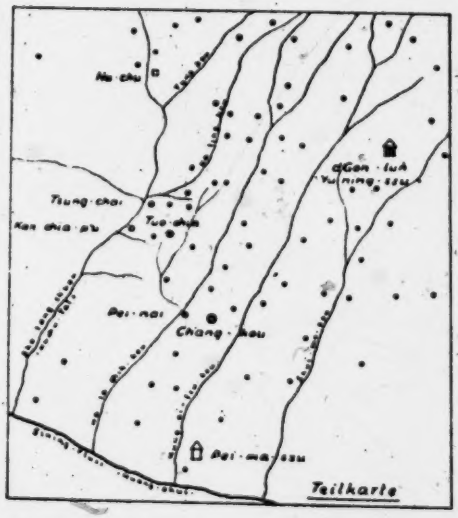
An alle diese Namen knüpfen sich verschiedene Erklärungstheorien, die nicht hierher gehören. Keine Bezeichnung ist restlos eindeutig. Am ehesten kämen noch in Frage *Chiahor* und *Monguor*. Da aber *Tujen* am meisten eingebürgert ist, sei dieser Name auch an dieser Stelle weiter gebraucht. Das passendste wäre jedoch, die Selbstbezeichnung der Tujen anzunehmen : Weiß-Mongolen.

2. Die Verbreitung der Tujen

Das Hauptverbreitungsgebiet der Tujen in der heutigen Ch'ing-hai-Provinz liegt südlich vom Richthofen-Gebirge, und zwar im Dreieck, das vom Sining- und Taitungfluß gebildet wird. Das Kernstück in diesem Dreieck bilden die nördlichen Seitentäler des Siningflusses, nämlich das Sha-t'ang-ch'uan, das Ha-la-chih-kou, das Hung-nai-tzu-kou und das Shui-mo-kou. Fast der ganze Bereich gehört zur Stadt Huchu, welche im Oberlauf des Sha-t'ang-ch'uan liegt. Außer im Kreise Huchu siedeln die Tujen vorwiegend noch in dem Kreise Minho und als kleinere Gruppen in den Kreisen Lotu, Tatung, Kungho. Ihren Wohnbereich nennen die Tujen selbst *Amdo* (tibetisch). Ihre Gesamtzahl läßt sich nicht genau angeben, da die amtlichen Statistiken unzuverlässig sind. Ein Abriß einer Ch'inghai-Chronik (1943) setzt



Nach einer Karte aus: Anthropos 24. 1929, p. 144/45.



- Klöster.
- Chinesische Städte.
- Chinesische Dörfer.
- Tu-jen-Siedlungen.
- Tuo-chia 朵家, die Heimat des Gewährsmannes.
- Ch'ang-kou 長溝, die Heimat des jetzigen T'u-kuan Hutuktu, angeblich auch des lCańskya-Hu-tuktu 章嘉呼圖克圖.
- dGon-luń 多公隆, Êrh-ku-lung-szu 兒科隆寺 oder Yu-ning-szu 佑寧寺, das Tujen-Kloster Rĕgulŏń (Rgulŏń).

ihre Gesamtzahl für Ch'inghai schätzungsweise auf 27 000-30 000 fest; vgl. HSÜ KUNG-WU: *Ch'ing-hai chih-lüeh*. Andere Statistiken jüngster Zeit, besonders die der Zeitschrift *Hsi-pei-t'ung-hsün*, sind mir verloren gegangen. Die von P. M. HERMANNS angeführte Zahl scheint mir zu tief gegriffen; s. HERMANNS, Nomaden, p. 30.

Religiöses und geistiges Zentrum der Tujen des Kreises Huchu ist das Kloster dGon-luń, in der Tujensprache *Rĕgulōń* genannt [1] (*Rgulōń*).

3. Stand und Aufgabe der Forschung

Über die Tujenforschung ist nur wenig zu berichten. Die europäische Wissenschaft wurde erst in der zweiten Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts auf diese Völkerschaft aufmerksam, nachdem die französischen Missionare HUC und GABET auf ihrer Tibetreise (1844-46) das Kukunorgebiet durchzogen und auch die Heimat ihres Reiseführers streiften, der ein ehemaliger Tujen-Lama war; vgl. M. HUC, Travels, p. 281. Nach ihnen kamen auch andere Forscher mit den Tujen in Berührung; so PRZEWALSKI (1873), POTANIN (1884), ROCKHILL (1891/92). D'OLLONE besuchte eine verwandte Volksgruppe in Südkansu (1906), aber nicht die Tujen von Ch'inghai. Ebenso hielt sich MANNERHEIM nur bei den Shera-Yögur auf, die man gerne mit den Tujen in Beziehung setzen möchte. 1905-1908 machte A. TAFEL seine Tibetreise und besuchte kurz die Tujen in der Gegend des heutigen Huchu. FILCHNER ist auf seinen Reisen nicht im Gebiet der Tujen gewesen, obwohl er Bilder von ihrer Tracht bringt. Die von diesen Forschern verfaßte Literatur im einzelnen anzuführen, erübrigt sich. Für nähere Angaben sei auf den Aufsatz von A. MOSTAERT verwiesen: The Mongols of Kansu; vgl. Literaturverzeichnis am Anfang dieser Arbeit. MOSTAERT erwähnt aber nicht A. TAFEL.

Alle diese Reisenden haben keine besondern Studien über die Tujen betreiben wollen, weshalb auch ihre Berichte nur kurz und mehr oder weniger allgemein gehalten sind, wie es eben bei großen Reisebeschreibungen nicht anders möglich ist. Sie begnügen sich meist mit Angaben über Kleidung, Sprache, Ortsnamen und die mutmaßliche Herkunft. Verhältnismäßig umfangreich ist das Kapitel, welches TAFEL den Tujen widmete; s. Tibetreise, Bd. I, pp. 241-257. TAFEL muß gute Berichterstatter gehabt haben, daß er bei seinem zweitägigen Aufenthalt in Wei-yüan-pu so zuverlässig berichten konnte. Seine kurze Darstellung orientiert zwar ziemlich gut über die Fragen, die mit den Tujen zusammenhängen, ergeht sich jedoch zu viel in umstrittenen Hypothesen über die Geschichte. Auch sie bietet, wie die oben angeführten Berichte, praktisch wenig Stoff, aus dem sich ein Bild über die Kultur der Tujen gewinnen ließe.

Die eigentliche Erforschung der Tujen setzt erst mit den Scheutvelder-Missionaren ein, die anfangs unseres Jahrhunderts im Amdo-Gebiet ihre Arbeit aufnahmen. P. DE SMEDT gab sich bald an die Erlernung der Tujensprache und sammelte umfangreiches linguistisches Material, das er mit dem bekannten Mongolisten P. A. MOSTAERT zu drei großen Werken verarbeitete: die Phonetik (Anthr. 24/25), das Monguor-Französische Wörterbuch

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor

(Peking 1933), die Monguor-Grammatik (Peking 1945). P. L. SCHRAM studierte die sozialen Verhältnisse der Tujen und veröffentlichte eine Monographie über die Heirat (Shanghai 1932). Alle diese Arbeiten erschienen, nachdem die Scheutvelder Missionare ihr Kansugebiet wieder aufgegeben hatten, das sie den Steyler Missionaren überließen. Nach ihrem Weggang geriet die Erforschung der Tujen wieder ins Stocken. Die Sprache war bereits ziemlich gut erfaßt. Es fehlten aber noch die Aufnahme der reichen Volksliteratur und der Vergleich mit den andern Tujendialekten in Kansu. Für die Soziologie war ebenfalls ein gutes Fundament gelegt. Jedoch die andern Bereiche waren noch nicht in Angriff genommen, so vor allem die Religion und materielle Kultur (Wirtschaft, Kleidung).

Als der Verfasser nun 1946 in jenes Gebiet kam, wollte er darum gerade an diesen Punkten ansetzen. Die Tujen sind bereits weitgehend sinisiert. Aber in ihrer Sprache, Religion und Kleidertracht konnten sie bis in die jüngste Zeit noch eine große Eigenständigkeit bewahren. Daher wurden vor allem die Sagen und Lieder aufgenommen, die religiösen Gebräuche studiert und die Tracht der Tujenfrauen beschrieben. Am anziehendsten erschien dem Verfasser die Religion, welche in der folgenden Arbeit behandelt werden soll. Die Darstellung ist nicht endgültig, wie weiter unten immer wieder deutlich wird; aber sie bringt doch das Grundlegende und Wesentliche.

Weil es nun über diesen Gegenstand fast keine literarischen Berichte gibt, mußten die lebendigen Quellen ausgenützt werden, welche dem Verfasser in seinem dreijährigen Aufenthalt (bis 1949) neben eigenen Beobachtungen zur Verfügung standen. Das waren in der Hauptsache ein hervorragender Tujen-Mann, ein lebendiges Buch seines eigenen Volkstums, und ein Tujen-Sänger mit einem Riesenschatz an Sagen, Märchen und Liedern.

Die Arbeit zerfällt in zwei Teile. Der erste ist eine kritische Darstellung der aus den Quellen gewonnenen Tatsachen, wobei einleitend die Haupt-Quelle selbst (der Gewährsmann) zu kennzeichnen ist. Der zweite Teil bringt die theoretischen Ergebnisse aus diesen Tatsachen, nämlich den Versuch, ein Gesamtbild der Religion zu zeichnen und die Schichten aufzuweisen, aus denen sie gebildet wird. Es handelt sich also nicht nur um einen freien Feldbericht, sondern auch um eine systematische Aufnahme des religiösen Bestandes und dessen Auslegung. Zu bedauern ist, daß diese Arbeit an Ort und Stelle wegen der plötzlich einbrechenden Unruhen abgebrochen werden mußte; und nur der Hilfsbereitschaft seiner Konfratres verdankt der Verfasser die Sicherstellung des gesammelten Materials. Neben den PP. EICHINGER und GRÜNEWALD, S. V. D., sei hier besonders des P. RICH. HAAS, S. V. D., gedacht, den bald darauf in der Kukunor-Steppe ein gewaltsamer Tod ereilte.

4. Die Quellen (der Gewährsmann)

Der Gewährsmann stammt aus Tuo-chia, d. h. Tuo-Heim, etwa 1 *km* östlich von Chi-chia-ling, das am Bergwege von Kan-chia-pu (im Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) nach Pai-nai (im Ha-la-chih-kou) liegt. Tuo-chia hat seinen Namen von der Sippe des Gewährsmannes und umfaßte früher vielleicht vier Gehöfte,

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor

von denen aber ein Teil durch einen Bergrutsch zerstört wurde. Jetzt sind nur noch zwei Höfe und der Tempel übrig. Die Tuo waren nicht immer hier ansässig. Sie stammen aus der Nähe des Tujenklosters Rgulöň, wo sie noch vor 100 Jahren zwei große Pferdeweiden besaßen. Später zog einer der Ahnen in die Nähe von Chi-chia-ling und bebaute das ziemlich ausgedehnte Bergland, welches dem Kloster tributpflichtig war, heute aber Privatbesitz der Tuo-Familie ist und dem Kreise Huchu Steuern zahlt. Es sind etwa 200 chinesische Morgen Land.

Der Bericht hat in erster Linie Geltung für diese Gegend, nämlich für die Tujendörfer Chi-chia-ling, Ta-yang-chüan, Hsiao-yangchüan, Sha-pa-kou bis hinein ins Na-ling-kou. Da aber nach eigener Beobachtung und der Aussage des Gewährsmannes die Sitten im Kreise Huchu ziemlich einheitlich sind, läßt sich der Geltungsbereich weiter ausdehnen, und zwar auf die Dörfer zwischen Huchu und Rgulöň. Diese Dörfer haben unter sich einen sehr regen Verkehr und sind weitgehend miteinander verwandt. Zahlenmäßig wäre mit diesem Bericht etwa ein Viertel aller Tujen des Sining-Gebietes erfaßt und zwar in einem Gebiet, das allgemein als ihr Verbreitungszentrum gilt.

Der alte Tuo ist Sippenältester und hat noch zwei jüngere Brüder, die mit ihm, seinen Söhnen, Sohnsfrauen und Enkelfamilien zusammen wohnen. Mit seinem Vornamen heißt er *yifula*, d. h. Berggeist, weil er bei der Namengebung dem Berggeist geweiht wurde. Er ist im Zeichen des Schafes geboren und zwar im zweiten Monat; das ist nach europäischer Rechnung im März 1883.

Der Alte ist, wie alle Tujen, Lamaist und hängt am Glauben und den Sitten seiner Väter. In der ganzen Umgebung ist er als einer der wenigen bekannt, die sich noch sehr gut im überlieferten Brauchtum auskennen. Darum lädt man ihn überallhin als Zeremonienmeister, Festredner, Opfervorsteher und Sänger ein. Fragt man in jener Gegend jemanden nach Sitten und Gebräuchen, dann erhält man gewöhnlich die Antwort: „Geh zum alten Tuo, der weiß es am besten."

Dazu besitzt er den Vorteil, der unter den Tujen selten ist, daß er die chinesische Klassikerschule absolviert hat. Er kann sehr gut lesen und schreiben, besser als die meisten der chinesischen Nachbarn. Geschichtsbücher, Klassiker, Ortschroniken usw., die zum Teil in der Literatensprache geschrieben sind, versteht er ohne Schwierigkeit. Die Fandse-Sprache beherrscht er nicht so, daß er fließend sprechen könnte. Aber er kennt die Termini der Lamas und weiß ziemlich gut bei einem Wort zu unterscheiden, ob es echtes Tujen oder ein Fandse-Wort ist. Er selber hat in seiner Jugend in chinesischen Zeichen eine Menge Fandselieder aufgezeichnet, die er übersetzen und erklären kann, auch einige Sagen und Reden. Von der Tujensprache behauptet er, sie sei früher auch geschrieben worden, nur habe man die Schrift verloren. — Die Sprache der Kukunor-Mongolen spricht er nicht. Er meint aber, man könne sie zur Not verstehen. Die Tujen wohnen auch zu weit von diesen Mongolen weg; nur die in der Nähe von Huchu haben über das Kloster Kuo-mang-szu hinaus eine lockere Verbindung mit den Mongolen am Tai-t'ung-Fluß.

Es war im Anfang nicht leicht, den Alten, der seit 20 Jahren nicht einmal mehr in dem nahegelegenen Sining war, zu mir auf die Missionsstation nach Kan-chia-pu einzuladen, obwohl der Weg nur zwei Reitstunden betrug. Im Spätherbst 1946 kam er einmal nur für einen Tag. Ich frug ihn damals über das Herbst-Dankopfer aus; das Ergebnis war ein Artikel, welcher im „Anthropos" 37/40 erschien. Der Alte wurde nicht klug daraus, was ich vorhatte. Zudem hatte ich ihn nicht respektvoll genug behandelt und den Fehler begangen, daß ich ihm nicht genug Branntwein anbot. Ich kannte ja noch nicht das Sprichwort der Chinesen: *t'u-jen chien chiu, chia-la chien liu*; frei übersetzt: „Die Tujen sind scharf auf Branntwein wie Ziegen auf Grünes."

Erst nach einem Jahre kam ich wieder in Fühlung mit ihm. Damals feierte ich in einer benachbarten Gemeinde ein Fest und ließ den Alten durch einen Boten zum Hammelessen einladen. Er erhielt den Ehrenplatz neben mir, tat sich gütlich am Fleisch und wurde von einem nach dem andern zum Trinkspiel aufgefordert, wobei er reichlich auf seine Rechnung kam. In diesem gehobenen Zustand verhandelte ein alter Chinese, sein ehemaliger Klassengenosse, mit ihm und erreichte die Zusage, daß er für einige Tage bei mir in der Station wohnen wolle. Als er hierauf im Januar 1947 erschien, wurde er aufs freundlichste empfangen. Er saß mit mir zu Tisch und bekam soviel Gerstenwein als ihm lieb war, wovon er aber auch eine gehörige Menge vertrug. Beim Abschied am Nachmittag schenkte ich ihm Zucker, Korinthen, Gebäck, Wurst und Zigarren, alles Sachen die dort nicht alltäglich sind, womit er zu Hause, wie er sagte, die Großzügigkeit des Europäers bewies, der ihn als vollen, ebenbürtigen Menschen behandelt habe. Als ich dann noch bei den Missionsschwestern eine kostenlose Krankenbehandlung für ihn und seine Frau veranlaßte, war sein Mißtrauen geschwunden; er erschien von da an immer wieder für einige Tage bei mir, und zwar genau auf das abgemachte Datum, was bei diesen Leuten erstaunlich ist.

Hier sei zur Ehre des Alten gesagt, daß er nachher überaus anspruchslos war. Er hielt auf seine Ehre und wollte ernst genommen sein. Im übrigen wohnte er mit den Angestellten der Missionsstation im gleichen Raum, schlief auf gleichem Kang und aß das gleiche Essen, obwohl ich ihm ein eigenes Zimmer und eigene Kost anbot. Er meinte: „Für mich alten Bauern paßt das nicht; ich will mit deinen Leuten zusammen sein, damit ich Gesellschaft habe." Nur an bestimmten Tagen, z. B. bei Festen oder Besuch, mußte er einen ordentlichen Trunk haben. Das regte ihn sehr zum Erzählen an, wodurch ich auf allerlei Dinge aufmerksam wurde, die ich mir merkte, um nachher mehr darüber zu erfahren.

Der Alte erhielt keinen festgesetzten Lohn. Er sagte: „Wir zwei sind jetzt aneinander gewöhnt wie Freunde. Wenn du mir ab und zu ein Stück Tuch gibst für Kleider, dann soll es schon recht sein." Es war eben Sache des Gesichtes. So bekam er denn ab und zu Tuch für sich und seine Enkel oder, wenn er krank war, einige Medikamente. Oder ich schenkte ihm zum Herbstfest ein Paar Spruchrollen, kaufte Tusche und Papier, schickte ihm ab und zu ein Krüglein Wein usw. Andererseits machte er mir an den üblichen Feiertagen seine Aufwartung oder schickte Gebäck, ein Stück Fleisch,

etwas Milch, so wie es zwischen guten Bekannten Brauch ist. Führte sein Weg zufällig an meiner Station vorüber, dann kam er kurz herein, um sich nach mir zu erkundigen. Auch seine Verwandten stiegen öfters ab, wenn sie ihre Säcke zur Wassermühle im Tale brachten, vor allem dann, wenn der Alte gerade da war. So versammelte sich mitunter eine ganze Menge Tujen, Männer, Frauen und Kinder im Hofe und waren zu Gast. Sie erzählten, sangen und lachten, und ich mußte sie gegen ein Entgelt an Weizen photographieren. Auf diese Weise war ich bald bei ihnen in den Bergen bekannt.

Eines Tages brachte mir der Alte einen jungen Mann heran und sagte: „Hier ist ein Tochtermann von mir; der kann alle Tujenlieder auswendig und weiß viele Sagen. Wenn du willst, wird er alles diktieren. Auch Bilder kann er malen." Natürlich wollte ich. So brachte ich eine ganze Reihe Lieder, Märchen und Mythen zu Papier, darunter auch die Gesersage. Er malte mir dazu eine Serie Bilder und sang mit unermüdlicher Geduld die einzelnen Melodien vor, bis ich sie auf der Flöte nachspielen und aufzeichnen konnte. Wenn wir dann abends bei einem Kruge Wein zusammen saßen, sangen die beiden Männer ihre Lieder, und ich blies die Flöte dazu. Dann fühlten sie sich wohl und meinten: „Nächstens werden wir alle herkommen, Männer, Frauen, Buben und Mädel; du schlachtest ein Schaf und sorgst für den Gerstenwein; und wir werden tanzen und singen."

Leider kam es nicht mehr soweit! Die Zeitereignisse machten einen längeren Aufenthalt nicht mehr möglich. Am 1. Juli 1949 nahm ich Abschied von den lieben Leuten, wie wir meinten, nur für einige Wochen. Tatsächlich aber sollte ich sie nicht mehr wiedersehen. Im Herbst des gleichen Jahres starb der alte Tuo, und mit ihm sank ein Stück alten Wissens ins Grab.

Meine Berichte über das Leben der Tujen sind also unvollständig, weil vorzeitig abgebrochen. Auch ging die Sammelarbeit nicht der Reihe nach. Bald diktierten die beiden nur Lieder. Bald erzählte mir der Alte von den Sitten; bald mußte ich für einige Wochen fort; bald drängte bei ihnen die Feldarbeit, so daß sie monatelang ausblieben. Zwischendurch konnte ich einiges selber beobachten und die Berichte kontrollieren; oder ich traf andere Tujen und ließ mir von ihnen erzählen.

Immer wieder fand ich, daß die Berichte des Alten die genauesten, reichhaltigsten und zuverlässigsten waren. Als ich einmal einen Teil der Altersweihe beobachten konnte, frug mich der Alte gleich: „Na, wie war es? Nicht wahr, ich habe doch alles richtig erzählt?" Er stand auf dem Standpunkt: „Ich alter Mann lüge nicht mehr." Mitunter sagte er auch: „Was ich sage, ist wahr; was ich nicht weiß, sage ich nicht. Ich habe alles selber daheim mitgemacht, geleitet und gesehen. Frag die andern." Er konnte mich auch vor andern warnen: „Was der sagt, ist nicht ganz richtig, der übertreibt; das ist noch ein junger Bursche." Auch unter seinen Landsleuten galt der alte Tuo als ein ehrlicher Mann; besonders sein Klassengenosse betonte dessen Zuverlässigkeit. Er vertrat auch mir gegenüber seine Auffassung, wenn ich meinte, ich hätte etwas so und so gesehen: „Pater, du hast dich vertan." Von einer Schönrederei mir zuliebe war wenig zu merken.

Als er einmal schwer krank war und mehrere Monate nicht aufstehen konnte, äußerte ich vor andern: „Wie schade, wenn der alte Tuo stürbe; er ist ein so ehrlicher, guter Mensch." Das hat man ihm später erzählt und es tat ihm sehr wohl. Wie ich einmal unbemerkt von meinem Zimmer aus feststellen konnte, bestärkte ihn das in seinem Ehrgefühl: „Was? Der Pater sagt, ich sei ein ehrlicher Mann. Ich bin es mir schuldig, daß ich die Wahrheit sage."

Das Haupthemmnis bei ihm war die Angst vor der Lächerlichkeit. Es dauerte lange, bis er sicher war, daß ich ihre Sitten achtete, nicht verurteilte und nicht als rückständigen Aberglauben brandmarkte. Man kann sich hierin auf die Dauer nicht verstellen. Mit sicherem Gespür merken es die Einheimischen, ob man ihnen mit Wohlwollen und Hochachtung entgegentritt oder ob man sich ihnen überlegen dünkt. Da der Alte kein Dummkopf war und auch manches chinesische Buch gelesen hatte, wußte er z. B. daß die Chinesen ihre Randvölker gerne als Barbaren abtun. Auch war ihm bekannt, wie die chinesische Umgebung die Tujen als rückständige „Eingeborne" belachte. Und schließlich hatte er gehört, daß die Christen vieles als Aberglauben bezeichnen, was den Tujen und den Chinesen lieb und teuer ist. So ist es verständlich, wenn er mitunter sagte: „Pater, wundere dich nicht, wenn ich das und das erzähle. Wir glauben daran." Oder: „Bitte, lache nicht darüber, wenn wir so etwas tun." Von seiner Seite aus wurde dieses Hemmnis weitgehend durch die echt tolerante Einstellung des Asiaten überbrückt: „Alle Religionen sind gut. Das Ziel ist gleich, nur die Wege sind verschieden." Von meiner Seite aus war die Haltung maßgebend, daß man jedes Menschen Überzeugung achten soll, der es ehrlich meint, auch wenn er objektiv auf falschem Wege sein mag. Dasselbe gilt auch für die Religion. Und wenn ich dem Alten sagte: „Ich glaube dies und dies, du glaubst das und das; aber darum bin ich doch nicht besser als du; es kommt auf das Gewissen an", dann stimmte er gerne zu. Es wurde auch nie der Versuch gemacht, ihn religiös zu beeinflussen. Vom Christentum wußte er wenig. Er empfand es aber auch nicht als Geheimnistuerei, wenn er sich bei meinen Leuten erkundigte. Sie betonten ihm stets: „Du kannst alles sehen und hören, was wir tun. Wir haben keine Geheimreligion. Alles sagen wir dir. Wenn du unsere Bücher lesen willst, kannst du sie haben." Eines Tages kam er mit der Frage: „Soll ich nicht Christ werden?" Ich sagte ihm: „Das hängt von dir ab. Das Herz des Menschen kann man nicht zwingen. Jeder soll nach seiner Erkenntnis handeln."

Sehr erleichtet hat es seine Offenherzigkeit, daß er so manche Ähnlichkeit zwischen den christlichen und Tujen-Zeremonien fand. So war er über die Feuerweihe an Karsamstag ganz überrascht. Er sah in der Kirche Altäre, Heiligenbilder, eine Öllampe. Er sah, wie sich die Christen auf die Knie warfen. Er wußte: auch wir opferten Brot und Wein, auch wir hatten einen Himmelsherrn, auch wir hatten eine heilige Mutter; auch wir verbrannten Weihrauch, hatten geweihtes Wasser, segneten Häuser und Vieh; auch wir beteten über die Kranken und salbten sie mit Öl; auch wir hatten eine Taufe; auch wir hatten eine Flurprozession und beteten den Wetter-

segen ; auch wir hatten einen Erlöser, ähnlich wie ihr Geser ; auch wir hatten Tempel mit feierlichem Gebet und Gottesdienst ; auch wir hatten Mönche und Nonnen ; auch wir hatten gute Engel und böse Dämonen.

So fühlte sich der Alte in unserer Umgebung immer mehr heimisch, wenn er auch nicht mehr vom Christwerden sprach. Am Schlusse war sein Urteil jedoch : „Euere Religion ist besser. Ihr helft den Menschen."

Unsere gegenseitige ehrliche Hochachtung hatte die Folge, daß mich der Alte in seinem Bekanntenkreis, vor allem bei den Lamas, ins rechte Licht rückte. Sie betrachteten mich als einen, der selber Religion hat und sich nicht über ihre Götter und Mönche lustig macht. So wurde ich denn auch eines Tages von einer Tujenfamilie als „Beter" für eine Leichenfeier eingeladen, was ich jedoch ablehnte. Kam ich in die Tujen-Lamaserie, dann wiesen mir die Mönche einen sauberen Raum an für die Messe. Sie verstanden, wenn ich für das „Opfer" reines Wasser erbat, wenn ich keine Störung liebte. Dann stellte ich ein Kreuz vor die Bilder der lamaistischen Gottheiten und feierte im Beisein von neugierigen, aber stillen Lamas das Meßopfer. Und wie ich niemals erwartete, daß sich die Leute z. B. hinknieten oder sonstwie Zeichen der Ehrfurcht gaben, genauso wenig erwarteten sie ein ähnliches Entgegenkommen von uns. Wenn übrigens gewisse Reisende berichten, wie sie sich hätten weissagen lassen oder wie sie sich von dem und jenem Hutuktu den Segen geholt hätten usw., so macht das auf die Bevölkerung nur wenig Eindruck, abgesehen davon, daß die Leute ein solches Verhalten durchschauen und oft nur als eine überflüssige Anstandsgeste gelten lassen.

Trotzdem ich auf dieses gute Einvernehmen hin allerlei zu sehen und zu hören bekam, weiß ich doch recht gut, daß ich lange nicht alles erfahren habe. Niemand wird gerne einem Ausländer alle Schattenseiten seines Volkes oder heikle Dinge erzählen. Das war bei dem ausgeprägten Ehrgefühl des Alten auch nicht anders zu erwarten. Er war z. B. nicht zu bewegen, die bekannten Berglieder zu diktieren, die oft recht derbe Anzüglichkeiten bringen. Dann sagte er : „Für mich Alten paßt das nicht, für dich auch nicht. Ja als ich jünger war ..." Tatsächlich sind jüngere Leute diesbezüglich freier. Aber auch dann fragen sie noch : „Sind auch keine Frauen in der Nähe ?" Nicht zu übersehen ist, daß der Alte genau wußte, daß meine Aufzeichnungen auch ins Ausland kommen sollten. Er erzählte mir von dem Gewährsmann des P. De Smedt, der diesem geholfen habe, Bücher zu schreiben und sogar weit fort in der Mongolei gewesen wäre. — Gewöhnliche ungebildete Bauern lassen sich leicht mit der Bemerkung abfinden : „Wenn du nach Europa kämst, würdest du da nicht fragen, was sie dort essen und trinken und was sie für sonderbare Sitten haben ? Was für Lieder sie singen, welche Götter sie verehren ?" Und man kann tatsächlich oft von den Leuten hören : *K'an i-ko jê-nao, k'an i-ko hsi-ch'a*, d. h. „Laßt uns mal den Trubel anschauen und was Seltenes sehen." Bei dem Völker- und Religionsgemisch in Ch'inghai sind die Leute hierin viel großzügiger.

Der Alte war sich sofort darüber klar, daß meine Aufzeichnungen ein Buch bilden würden. Und er war stolz darauf, dabei mitzuhelfen : „Ihr Europäer seid zu bewundern. Wir Tujen tun nichts, um unsern Nachkommen

unsere Geschichte aufzubewahren. In einigen zehn Jahren sind wir Chinesen geworden; dann weiß man nichts mehr von unserer Sprache, unsern Sitten, unserer Religion. Und du willst nun alles aufschreiben, damit nichts vergessen wird; dein Verdienst ist groß."

Ein anderes Hindernis bei der Aufnahme war das Alter des Gewährsmannes. Er ermüdete sehr leicht, machte Abschweifungen, konnte mitunter in der interessantesten Erzählung plötzlich fragen: „Lebt dein Vater noch? Wie alt ist er? Gehst du nächstens an den Kukunor?" — und dann verlief sich alles in einer zwanglosen abwegigen Unterhaltung. Oder er fühlte sich auf einmal unwohl, wollte gleich schlafen gehn usw. Offenbar hatte er etwa diese Einstellung: Ich bin hier bei einem guten Bekannten zu Gast, so wie bei meiner Sippe; man redet über dies und jenes, geht heim, wann man will, kommt wieder ... So kam es auch vor, daß er sich einstellte, wenn ich nicht zu Hause war, nur um die Leute zu besuchen, mit denen er so bekannt war. Als Sippenvater an ein freies, eigenherrliches Leben gewöhnt, war ihm aller Zwang verhaßt.

Schließlich ist noch zu berücksichtigen, daß es für einen Einheimischen nicht leicht ist, gerade das herauszugreifen, was dem Fremden wissenswert erscheint. Ihm ist alles selbstverständlich. Und auch der Fremde kann nicht auf einmal, auch nicht beim dritten und vierten Male alle Einzelheiten erschöpfend fragen. Aber auch hierin kam mir der Alte soweit wie möglich entgegen.

5. Die Aufnahme

Die Unterhaltung und Befragung geschah immer auf Chinesisch, eine Sprache, die alle Tujenmänner und fast alle Tujenfrauen sprechen, außer wenn sie unter sich sind. Heute sind in den meisten Dörfern Schulen, in denen Chinesisch die vorgeschriebene Unterrichtssprache ist. Da ich die Tujensprache erst lernen wollte, kam auch nur das Chinesische in Betracht; und bei unserer beiderseitigen Vertrautheit mit dieser Sprache war die Möglichkeit eines Mißverstehens sehr gering. Bei etwaigen Unklarheiten des Dialektes konnte der Alte immer die entsprechenden chinesischen Schriftbezeichnungen angeben; er erklärte dann den Sinn in verschiedenen Wendungen.

Der Alte ging davon aus, daß ich die Tujen-Sprache lernen wollte. Darum diktierte er mir über einen bestimmten Gegenstand kurze Sätze, die ich notierte; z. B. „Der Lama kommt. Man fegt das Haus. Man verbrennt Weihrauch. Die Lampen stellt man auf den Tisch, usw. ..." Leider habe ich diese Sätze nicht aufbewahrt. Danach gab er mir auf Chinesisch eine Wiederholung des Sinnes; einige Worterklärungen schlossen sich an. Das war jedesmal der erste Bericht. Diesen schrieb ich sofort in Deutsch auf. Manchmal fiel er sehr knapp, manchmal etwas länger aus. Immer aber war kurz und bündig der Gang einer Handlung, die Eigenart einer Zeremonie usw. zusammengefaßt. Da es mir aber tatsächlich nicht zuerst auf die Sprache ankam, sondern auf den Inhalt, frug ich nach jedem Bericht ergänzende Einzelheiten; bisweilen sofort anschließend, bisweilen erst im Laufe des Tages oder sogar nach mehreren Tagen, so wie es meine Berufsarbeit erlaubte.

Diese Einzelheiten fügte ich unter den entsprechenden Stichworten dem Erstbericht bei. Anfangs ließ ich auch die Tujenwörter im Text. Später aber setzte ich sie unter dem Stichwort „Ausdrücke" an den Schluß eines jeden Kapitels. Selbstverständlich begriff auch der Alte bald, daß es mir in erster Linie auf die Sache und nicht auf die Worte ankam. Darum überraschte er mich eines Tages mit folgender Bemerkung, welche die Grundlage zur Einteilung des Ganzen bot: „So, jetzt werde ich dir zuerst erzählen, was wir für das Glück der Familie tun, für das Glück des Einzelmenschen, für das Glück der Herden und Felder."

Zu den aufgezeichneten Berichten machte ich meine eigenen Beobachtungen, frug andere, verglich mitunter die Sitten der benachbarten Volksgruppen, fand bisweilen eine Bemerkung in der Literatur, und fügte diese Ergänzungen als eigene mit Zahlen versehene Anmerkungen zu jedem Abschnitt hinzu.

So hat jedes Kapitel zwei Teile. Der erste Teil bringt zunächst einen kurzen **Bericht**, dann unter bestimmten Stichwörtern die **Einzelheiten** dazu, und schließlich die **Wörterliste**. Dieser Teil hat ausschließlich den Gewährsmann zur Quelle. Der zweite Teil ist vom Schreiber selber, nämlich die numerierten **Anmerkungen**. Sie beruhen fast ganz auf eigener Beobachtung oder anderen Quellen, die jedesmal angegeben sind.

Es ist aber nun nicht so, als wäre der erste berichtende Teil ein wörtliches Diktat, das den Schreiber jeder weiteren Mühe enthoben hätte. Er mußte vielmehr alles nach ethnologischen Gesichtspunkten mit dem Alten erarbeiten, an Hand von stets wiederkehrenden Fragen, wie sie sich in den Stichworten spiegeln. Dabei sollte, soweit eben möglich, die schlichte und klare Ausdrucksweise des Alten beibehalten werden. Immer wieder habe ich ihm die einzelnen Kapitel an Hand meines deutschen Stenogramms in Chinesisch vorgelesen: „Höre einmal zu! Jetzt lese ich dir vor, was du gesagt hast." Hatte ich etwas nicht richtig wiedergegeben, sagte er sofort: „Das habe ich nicht gesagt; das ist so und so." Manchmal kam er nach einigen Tagen wieder und frug: „Kann ich noch einmal hören, was du notiert hast? Mir ist noch etwas eingefallen, schreibe das und das hinzu." Er wußte dann jedesmal genau, auf welchem Blatt die Stelle war, obwohl er nichts davon lesen konnte; ein Beweis für seine Aufmerksamkeit und sein gutes Gedächtnis.

Manchmal mag es scheinen, als bringe die sprachliche Einkleidung dieses ersten Teiles zu sehr meine europäischen Fachausdrücke und nicht die einfache Sprache des Gewährsmannes. Das ist aber nicht der Fall; denn sowohl im Chinesischen als auch in der Tujen-Sprache finden sich solche termini technici. Chinesen und Tujen haben eigene Wörter für Trance, Betrachtung, Opfer, Libation, Gebet usw. Sie unterscheiden zwischen Schlachtung und Darbringen eines Opfers, zwischen Mönch und Laie usw. Es sind ja Anschauungen eines Volkes, das nicht nur weitgehend vom Lamaismus mit seinen reichhaltigen religiösen Formen beeinflußt ist, sondern auch in regem Verkehr mit der chinesischen Kultur steht. Darum sei betont, daß alle Wörter am Schlusse eines Kapitels, die unter dem Stichwort „Wörterliste" stehen, vom Gewährsmann stammen, samt dem Hinweis auf eine etwaige tibetische

oder chinesische Herkunft [3]. Es ist nicht verwunderlich, daß so viele tibetische Fremdwörter aufgeführt werden; denn Tibetisch ist die offizielle Sprache des Lamaismus, der einen so breiten Raum im Volksleben einnimmt. Hier sei erwähnt, daß der Alte die Ausdrücke aus dem Tibetischen oder dem Mongolischen als „höhere Sprache" oder „Literatursprache" bezeichnet hat, eine Wertschätzung, die er dem Chinesischen nicht zubilligte.

Schließlich noch ein Hinweis auf die Eigenart dieser Arbeit. Sie stellt eine Volksreligion dar, und zwar die einer bestimmten Gruppe. Das besagt erstens, daß sich nicht alles für das Kukunorgebiet, auch nicht für alle Tujen, verallgemeinern läßt. Zweitens wird man keine Ausführungen über die Glaubenslehre, die offiziellen Riten oder geheimen Praktiken des klösterlichen Lamaismus und der höheren Bonreligion finden. Darüber geben die tibetischen und mongolischen Schriften Aufschluß. Es war auch nicht notwendig, die wesentliche Literatur hierüber heranzuziehen, wenigstens nicht in größerem Umfang. Zwar ist das nicht selten geschehen, aber doch nur dann, wenn es zum Verständnis der Volkssitten erforderlich schien. Mit Vorliebe wurde dabei vom Sprachlichen ausgegangen. Andererseits ist eine Darlegung der gelebten Volksreligion eine Hilfe für die Kenntnis der offiziellen Religion. Der Volksglaube mit seinen abwechslungsreichen Sitten wirft wieder neues Licht auf die Vielgestalt des klösterlichen Lamaismus, der so viele vorbuddhistische Züge aus dem mittelasiatischen Vorstellungsbereich angenommen hat.

6. Die Umschrift der Tujensprache

Der Umschrift für die Tujenwörter und die tibetisch-mongol. Fremdwörter liegt die Schreibweise des DMF zugrunde. Aus praktischen Rücksichten wurden jedoch die großen Buchstaben durch kleine ersetzt und die diakritischen Zeichen vereinfacht. Folgende Tabelle bringt zuerst die hier angewandte Schreibweise (S), darunter die von P. A. MOSTAERT im DMF (M) und darunter die Lautwerte des Anthroposalphabetes (A).

Konsonanten

	Laryngale	Velare [2]	Mediogutturale [2]	Praeguturale	Palatale	Palatalisierte [1]
S	*h*	*ġ x*	*g k*	*y*	*ż ś dż tś*	*s dz ts*
M	*χ*	*Ġ χ*	*G k'*	*y*	*Ż ś DŻ tś*	*ś DŹ tś'*
A	*h*	*ġ x*	*g kh*	*y*	*ż ś dż tśh*	*ś dź tś*

	Dentale	Dentilabiale	Labiale [2]	Liquide	Nasale
S	*d t s dz ts*	*f*	*b p w f*	*r l*	*ṅ n m*
M	*D t' s DZ ts'*	*f*	*B p' w f*	*r l,r*	*n n m*
A	*d th s dz tsh*	*f*	*b ph w ff*	*r l*	*ṅ,n n m*

[1] Nur vor den Diphtongen *ia, ie, id* und vor *i*.
[2] *g, g, b* tragen im Anthroposalphabet (A) das Enttonungszeichen „-".

g, ǵ, b, d sind immer stimmlos. Darum ist das Enttonungszeichen (-) überflüssig. *p, t, k, ts, s, tš, k* sind immer aspiriert, weshalb sich das Aspirations *-h* erübrigt. *d* und *t* werden nur in Verbindung mit *dz* und *ts* palatalisiert, so daß ein Palatalisationszeichen nicht notwendig ist. Dasselbe gilt für *s, dz, ts, sdz, sts,* die nur vor *i, ia, ie, iä* palatalisiert werden. z. B. statt des *dźia* (nach dem Anthropos-Alphabet) steht einfach *dzia*.

Das DMF hat außer *l* und *r* noch einen Zwitterlaut, der etwa dem englischen einmal angeschlagenen *r* entspricht, und setzt dafür immer *r*. Der Dialekt in der Gegend meines Gewährsmannes hat für diesen Zwischenlaut lange nicht so viele Belege. Die Leute unterscheiden dort fast immer zwischen *l* und *r* und fast immer im Sinne des Schriftmongolischen, wie ich später feststellen konnte. Nach dem DMF kann *ǵar* „Feuer" und „Hand" bedeuten; lautlich wäre kein Unterschied. Meine Gewährsleute hingegen sagen für „Feuer" ganz klar *ǵal* und für „Hand" *ǵar*.

Das *f* ist vor *u* immer bilabial und fungiert als Bilabial gerne für das tibetische Anfangs-*b* in Lehnwörtern; z. B. *fdzaṅ* (Weihrauch) für das tib. *bsaṅs*. Ferner ist bei tib. Lehnwörtern zu beachten, daß die stummen Konsonanten der Schriftsprache meist mitgesprochen werden.

Vokale

S	*i*	*ü*	*ē*	*ę*	*ĕ*	*ä*	*a*	*ō*	*o*	*u*
M	*i*	*ü*	*ē*	*ę*	*ę*	*ä*	*a*	*u*	*o*	*u*
A	*i*	*ü*	*ę*	*ę*	*ĕ*	*ą*	*a*	*o*	*ǫ*	*u*

Die Nasale sind *ā, ē, ō, ä*. Sie kommen meist in Verbindung mit *ṅ* vor. Ein Strich über einem Vokal bedeutet Dehnung. Die Diphtonge *ie, iä, ia, iu, io* sind immer steigend. Es gibt nur einen fallenden Diphtong, nämlich *ou*; dafür ist immer *ō* gesetzt, weil das *u* fast kaum wahrnehmbar ist. Eine Besonderheit stellt der Murmelvokal *ĕ* dar. Es ist in der Umgangssprache oft schwer feststellbar, ob es sich bei leichten Silben um *i, e, u* usw. handelt, besonders bei Kasusendungen. So findet sich mitunter im Text dieses *ĕ* für *i* und neben dem eindeutigen *i* des Nominativs oder Akkusativs oder für das *u* des Dativs usw. z. B. *morĕ* neben *mori* (Pferd) oder *morinĕ* neben *morini* (des Pferdes), oder *tieṅgĕrdĕ* neben *tieṅgĕrdu* (dem Himmel) usw.

Als Umschrift für das Chinesische ist die von GILES-WADE verwandt, für das Tibetische die von GRÜNWEDEL mit Modifizierungen, für das Mongolische die von UNKRIG.

Anmerkungen

[1] Der gewöhnliche chinesische Name ist Êrh-ku-lung szu, seltener Yuning szu. Über die Geschichte und Bedeutung dieses Klosters und seiner Tulkus (Ch'ang-chia und T'ukuan Hutuktu) vgl. die Ausführungen am Schlusse des zweiten Teiles.

[2] Bei Fertigstellung des Manuskriptes erfuhr ich, daß P. L. SCHRAM noch andere Monographien über die Geschichte und Gesellschaftsordnung der Tujen in Vorbereitung hat.

[3] Herr UNKRIG hatte die Güte, die Wortlisten nachzuprüfen. Dabei stellte sich heraus, daß der Gewährsmann ziemlich zuverlässig war mit seinen Angaben über die tibetischen Äquivalente. Wo es nötig schien (nicht immer), sind diese Äquivalente in der eindeutigen Form der Schriftsprache (tib. und mong.) den einzelnen Kapiteln hinzugefügt worden mit dem Vermerk: (UNKRIG). Herrn UNKRIG verdanke ich noch manch andern sprachlichen Hinweis und vor allem die Einsicht in die Lexika und lamaistische Literatur, die sonst nicht erreichbar war.

II. Bräuche um Religionsdiener

1. Der Geisterspeer-Wahrsager *

Bericht

Das Wahrsagen mit dem Geisterspeer heißt wie alle andern Arten des Wahrsagens durch eine Gottheit „den Geist befragen". Es geht so vor sich:

Man holt einen Geisterspeer, falls man nicht selber einen in der Familie hat. Dann lädt man den Wahrsager ein. Er wird mit Tee und Brot bewirtet. Unterdessen fegt man den Hof und den Ort, wo die Wahrsagung stattfinden soll. Im Hofe bringt man in der üblichen Form das große Weihrauchopfer dar, welches während der ganzen Zeremonie brennen bleibt. Der Wahrsager zieht ein langes Kleid an, nimmt die Mütze ab, wäscht sich Hände und Gesicht und spült den Mund. Dann tritt er vor den Speer, der entweder in den Boden gerammt oder von einem Manne gehalten wird, und macht einen dreifachen Kotou. Er erhebt sich, faßt den Speer mit beiden Händen in der Mitte des Schaftes und hält ihn senkrecht vor sich hin. In dieser Stellung betet er das Einladungsgebet. Während dieses Gebetes steigt der Geist herab. Der Speer fängt an zu zittern und mit ihm die Arme des Wahrsagers; man hört die Schellen rasseln. Jetzt trägt der Bittsteller seine Sache vor und erhält vom Geiste im Speer Anweisung, was er zu tun hat. Der Wille und die Antwort des Geistes offenbart sich aus den Bewegungen des Speeres, z. B. durch Stampfen, Hochspringen, Schütteln. Auch der Wahrsager frägt den Speergeist und teilt dessen Antwort mit. Ist die Wahrsagung vorbei, so betet der Wahrsager das Abschiedsgebet. Der Speer beruhigt sich und steht still. Der Geist ist fort, und der Wahrsager stellt den Speer wieder beiseite und macht seinen dreifachen Kotou.

Das Speerwahrsagen wird fast immer bei allen Zeremonien geübt, um den Geist als Zeugen herabzurufen. Die Wahrsagung geschieht dabei stets in der gleichen Weise.

Einzelheiten

Der Wahrsager: Der Wahrsager heißt „das Geweihte Fassender". Er geht mit dem Geist eine enge Verbindung ein, wird aber nicht von ihm besessen. Jedoch ist er nicht Herr über seine Bewegungen, sondern der Geist.

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* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 23-26.

Dieser schüttelt den Speer und die Arme des Wahrsagers. Der Wahrsager kommt auch nicht in Extase, wie andere Schamanen, bei denen der ganze Körper bebt.

Nicht jeder ist fähig, vom Geiste bewegt zu werden und dessen Sinn zu erfahren. Erst durch Ausprobieren entdeckt man diese Eigenschaft; das geschieht meist allein an einem einsamen Ort. Wenn in einem Orte kein Wahrsager ist, so bitten die Leute den einen oder andern, den sie für geeignet halten, er möge es einmal versuchen, besonders wenn es dringend notwendig ist, z. B. bei einem heranziehenden Gewitter oder bei plötzlicher Krankheit. Eigene Schulen oder Lehrer gibt es nicht. Das Speerwahrsagen wird nicht in der Familie weitervererbt.

Die Speerwahrsager bilden eine besondere Art, die von andern Wahrsagern und Schamanen verschieden ist. Jeder übt für sich seine Tätigkeit aus. Unter sich stehen sie in keinerlei Verbindung und haben keine gesellschaftliche Sonderstellung oder Rechte. Auch haben sie keine eigenen Lehren oder Geheimnisse wie z. B. gewisse Schamanen. Es sind gewöhnliche Bauern mit Frau und Kind.

Wohl können auch Lamas, Bonpriester und andere Schamanen mit dem Speer wahrsagen, aber auch nicht alle; und dann hat das mit ihrem Stand nichts zu tun. Darum ziehen sie dabei nicht ihre eigene Amtstracht an, falls sie diese nicht so schon tragen.

Der Speerwahrsager ist nicht an einen bestimmten Geist gebunden wie z. B. der Schwertschamane, der nur seinen Schutzgeist herabrufen kann. Ein Speerwahrsager kann mit allen Speeren und allen Geistern wahrsagen, zu jeder Tag- und Nachtzeit und an jedem Orte, mag er auch 1 000 Meilen weit wandern.

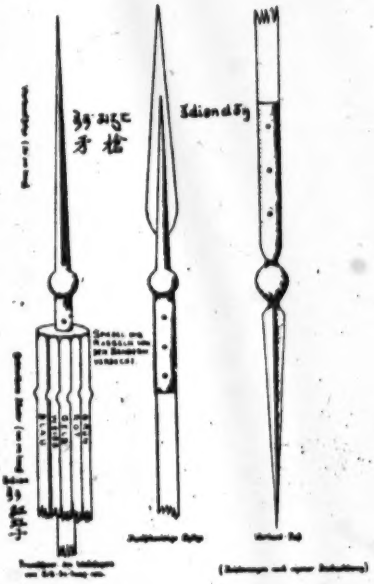


Fig. 1. Geisterspeer.

Darum ist der Speerwahrsager der von den Tujen am meisten gebrauchte Wahrsager. Man hat fast in jedem Dorfe einen solchen, und er ist leicht zu finden, weil sonst keine besondern moralischen und gesellschaftlichen Voraussetzungen notwendig sind. So amtet er als Wahrsager und Geistrufer bei fast allen Unternehmungen, wie beim Hausbau, Orakel, Opfern, Festen, Reisen usw.[10]

Der Speer: Der Geisterspeer heißt schlechthin „das Heilig-Erhabene". Er sieht aus wie ein gewöhnlicher Speer, nur ist er schöner. Unmittelbar unter der sehr langen Spitze befestigt man eine Menge bunter Bänder in den

fünf heiligen Farben und Zeremonientücher (*Hada*). Ebenfalls unmittelbar unter der Spitze, aber durch die Bänder verdeckt, befindet sich ein Kranz von kleinen Schellen und eine Reihe von dollar-großen Metallspiegeln. Die Bänder heißen „Weihebänder". Sie können aus allen möglichen Stoffarten genommen werden, einerlei woher sie stammen und wozu sie bereits verwandt wurden. Durch die Bänder ist der Speer geweiht, so daß der Geist darin wohnt. Durch die Schellen verkündet er seine Tätigkeit. Die Metallspiegel stellen seine Allwissenheit dar, wodurch er alles wie in tausend Spiegeln sieht. Früher waren diese Spiegel aus Gold. Jetzt aber sind es gewöhnlich nur Kupferplättchen, die an einer Öse, ähnlich wie Knöpfe, angeheftet werden. Die Zahl der Bänder, Schellen und Spiegel ist nicht vorgeschrieben.

Die Herstellung des Speeres: Das Holz des Schaftes muß wild gewachsen sein. Nie darf selbstgepflanztes Holz oder solches von bewohnten, belebten Gegenden genommen werden; denn es ist nicht rein. Man sucht es darum in einsamen Wäldern und Bergen. Das vornehmste Holz ist Sandelholz. Da dieses aber selten ist, nimmt man meist die Bergesche. — Das Eisen ist gewöhnliches Schmiedeeisen. Über seine Herkunft bestehen keine Vorschriften. Man kann es kaufen, von alten Geräten abnehmen usw.

Jedermann darf einen Geisterspeer haben und jedermann kann ihn selber verfertigen, nie aber Frauen. Wenn der Besitzer jedoch einen schönen Geisterspeer haben will, geht er zu einem geübten Handwerker, Schreiner und Schmied. Die Regel verlangt, daß sich der Handwerker vor der Arbeit den Mund spüle, Gesicht und Hände wasche und diese über den Rauch von Zypressenfeuer halte. Auch die Werkzeuge werden abgeräuchert. Der Schmied wirft überdies noch Zypressenweihrauch in sein Schmiedefeuer.

Der Handwerker kann zu Hause in seiner Werkstatt arbeiten oder auch in der Familie seines Auftraggebers. Die einzelnen Teile werden getrennt angefertigt, also der Schaft vom Schreiner, Spitze und Fuß vom Schmied. Sie bringen die Teile zum Hause des Eigentümers. Dieser opfert dann auf der Lade vor dem Buddhabild zwölf Dampfbrote (oder gebackene Brote), ein rotes Stück Tuch und ein Maß Gerste. Die Handwerker legen ihre Instrumente auf das Getreide im Scheffel, und alle machen vor dem Buddhabild Kotou, während draußen das Weihrauchopfer dargebracht wird. Die Gerste erhält der Schreiner, die zwölf Brote mit dem roten Tuche erhält der Schmied.

Wer den Speer zusammensetzt, ist ganz gleich. Es sind keine besondern Zeremonien damit verbunden. Nun besorgt der Eigentümer Bänder, Schellen, Kupferplatten. Die Schellen sind die gewöhnlichen kleinen Rasselschellen, wie Pferde sie um den Hals tragen. Man kann den Speer in ein Lamakloster bringen oder auch zu Hause weihen lassen; die Zeremonien sind an beiden Orten gleich.

Die Weihe des Speeres: Den Speer kann kein gewöhnlicher Lama weihen; es muß ein lebender Buddha sein. Nur er hat die Vollmacht, einen Geist in dem Speer wohnen zu lassen.

Nachdem der Hutuktu in der üblichen Weise bewirtet ist, die allgemeinen Zeremonien des Lama-Empfanges vollzogen sind, und die Tormas

vor dem Hausaltar stehen, beginnt die Weihe. Junge Hutuktus nehmen sie in der Hauskapelle vor, alte jedoch bleiben auf dem warmen Kang im Haupthaus sitzen.

Der Hausherr rammt den Speer vor dem Lama in den Boden, falls er ihn nicht während der ganzen Zeremonie aufrechtstehend in seinen Händen hält. Ein anderer bringt auf einem Tablett die Angebinde für den Speer. Zuerst werden die Bänder, dann die Rasseln und die Spiegel angeknüpft. Will es ein Hutuktu nicht selber tun, so besorgt es ein assistierender Lama oder sonst ein Mann. Jedes Stück wird vor dem Anbinden in den Weihrauch gehalten, den man in einem Eisenlöffel bereithält.

Ist der Speer so hergerichtet, dann bringt ihn der Hausherr entweder in die Kapelle oder auf die Lade vor dem Hausaltar, wo er ihn in einen großen Ständer steckt. Er verbrennt vor ihm duftenden Sandelholzweihrauch, stellt brennende Öl- oder Butterlämpchen hin, opfert kleine Schälchen mit Gerste, Wein und Wasser und schließlich ein großes mehrpfündiges Weizenbrot. Der Hutuktu begibt sich jetzt selber vor den Speer und besprengt ihn mit dem geweihten Wumba-Wasser. Hierauf setzt er sich mit gekreuzten Beinen auf eine weiße Filzmatte vor den Speer und betet das Weihegebet. Dann erhebt er sich, nimmt von einem dargereichten Tellerchen eine Prise Tibetgerste, bläst darüber und wirft sie mit der rechten Hand über den Speer. Währenddessen machen alle Anwesenden vor dem Speer Kotou, die Männer im Raume selber, die Frauen vor der Tür im Freien.

Jetzt erst kann der Geist im Speere wohnen. Welcher Geist das ist, hängt ganz von dem Eigentümer des Speeres ab. Er teilt das vorher dem weihenden Hutuktu mit, und dieser betet ein dementsprechendes Weihegebet. In einem Speer wirkt immer nur ein Geist. Nie nimmt der *Tiengère* oder der Himmelsgott Sitz im Speer. Es sind immer gewöhnliche Geister, z. B. die Muttergöttin, der Tigergott, der Berggeist usw.

Nach der Weihe bleibt der Hutuktu bis zum folgenden Morgen im Hause und wird dann mit einem entsprechenden Lohne verabschiedet. Der Hausherr aber lädt seine Freunde und Bekannten ein und feiert mit ihnen bei Gerstenwein und Liedertanz bis spät in die Nacht das neue Ereignis.

Aufbewahrung des Speeres: Da auch ein ganzes Dorf einen Speer weihen lassen kann, so kommt es oft vor, daß dieser einfach im gemeinsamen Ortstempel aufbewahrt wird. Auch bei Privatleuten ist das leicht der Fall, weil der Tempel als der vornehmste Platz gilt. Im Tempel selber steht er in einem Holzständer auf einem der vielen Altäre neben den andern Göttern. Bisweilen lehnt man ihn einfach in einer Götternische an die Wand.

Will jemand den Speer in seinem eigenen Gehöft aufbewahren, dann ist eine eigene Kapelle erforderlich. Die meisten Hauskapellen werden gerade für so einen Speer hergerichtet. Auch hier kann er in einem Gestell stehen, an die Wand gelehnt oder in den Lehmboden gerammt sein. Es kommt nur darauf an, daß der Speer aufrecht steht. Man dürfte ihn z. B. nie flach auf den Altar legen. Vor dem Speere bringt der Hausherr öfters das kleine Weihrauchopfer dar. Es ist nicht erforderlich, daß ein Speer im Hause des

Dorfwahrsagers aufbewahrt wird, ja viele Wahrsager haben selber überhaupt keinen Geisterspeer.

Der Raum oder der Tempel, worin der Speer steht, heißt einfach „Heiligen-Haus". Im Gehöft ist es meist nur ein Zimmer. Dieses muß von allen andern Räumen durch eine Wand getrennt sein und eine eigene Außentür besitzen. Man darf die Kapelle nicht so anlegen, daß sie auch noch durch einen andern Wohnraum erreicht werden kann. Sie muß sich im Haupthaus befinden. Um aber jede Gefahr einer Verunreinigung auszuschalten, wird die Kapelle mit Vorliebe auf dem Dache des Haupthauses errichtet. In welchem Teil oder auf welcher Seite des Haupthauses sie sein soll, bestimmt der Wahrsager. Abgesehen von der Stille ist der Grund für diese strenge Trennung von den andern Räumen der, daß man beim Durchschreiten anderer Räume unrein werden kann, besonders dann, wenn sie den Frauen zugänglich sind.

Reinheitsvorschriften: Für gewöhnlich darf jeder Mann oder Junge den Speer berühren, ihn holen und fortbringen. Auch dürfen sie beliebig die Kapelle betreten. Nie aber dürfen Frauen den Speer berühren oder die Kapelle besuchen. Sie gelten immer als unrein. Für die Männer gelten aber überdies noch gewisse Tabuvorschriften.

Die Frau des Mannes oder irgend eine andere Frau in der Familie darf sich nicht im Wochenbett befinden. Erst zehn Tage nach Abschluß des Wochenbettes, d. h. 40 Tage nach der Geburt, ist der Mann rein. Hat er eine andere Familie mit einer Wöchnerin besucht, so ist er schon sofort nach Abschluß des Wochenbettes rein, d. h. 30 Tage nach der Geburt.

Trauertragende sind 49 Tage unrein, wenn es die eigenen Familienmitglieder des Toten sind. Sind die Eltern gestorben, dann gelten die Kinder 100 Tage als unrein. Hat jemand am Begräbnis einer fremden Familie teilgenommen, dann ist er nur 3 Tage unrein.

Diese Reinigkeitsvorschriften gelten auch für den Wahrsager. Er darf in dieser Zeit nicht die Kapelle betreten, erst recht nicht den Speer berühren oder sogar wahrsagen. Ist die Zeit abgelaufen, dann sind die Männer von selbst wieder rein; eine eigene Reinigungszeremonie gibt es nicht [1].

Wörterliste

Wahrsagen:	*purġandë sila* = den Geist befragen [2].
Speerwahrsager:	*šdiendzën*; *šdien* (tib.) = Geweihtes, Heiliges [4].
	dzën (tib. Lehnwort) = halten, fassen.
Geisterspeer:	*šdiendöṅ* [5]; *döṅ* (tib. Lehnw.) = Muschelhorn, erhaben, weiß, rein.
	purġän = Gott, Geist, Dämon.
	fo-yeh (chines.) = Buddha-Vater [5].
Die Weihebänder:	*šdien*; oder *xuon* (tib.); oder *sënisial* (tib. ?) [4].
Schellen (Rasseln):	*xöṅguor* [11].
Spiegel:	*xaldan mälöṅ* = Gold-Spiegel.
	xdzër (tib.) *mälöṅ* = Gold-Spiegel.
Sandelholz:	*dzändän mödë* = Sandel-Holz [11].
Berg-Esche:	*ġadani yärġë mödë* = des Berges Esche Holz [8].
Weihegebet:	*rami* (tib.).
Kapelle, Tempel:	*šdien kän* (tib.) = Heiliges Haus.

Einladungsgebet:	*ġsolhā* (*solhā*) (tib.).
	ch'ing tsan (chin.) = Lobpreis [3].
Der Geist ist da (sc. im Speer):	*purġān xārgādzi hurdzia* = Der Geist kreisend ankam.
Speer:	*sdzida* [4].
Speerspitze:	*tolġuę* = Kopf, Spitze [7].
Speerschaft:	*sdzida gāndzē* (chin.) = Speer Schaft.
Speerfuß:	*sdzida xuędē* = Speer Ende.
zweischneidige Spitze:	*niengān tolġuę* = platte Spitze.
Dreikant-Spitze:	*ġuran bulōndē tolġuę* = dreier Kanten Spitze.
Vierkantspitze:	*dieran bulōndē tolġuę* = vier Kanten Spitze.
Dreizack-Spitze:	*ġuran salā tolġuę* = drei Gabel Spitze.
Der Speer schüttelt sich:	*šdien* (*purġan, šdiendōn*) *bōdzia* [8].

Anmerkungen

[1] Die Reinigkeitsvorschriften sind dieselben wie bei den Chinesen in Ch'inghai; sie gelten für alle religiösen Handlungen und Tempelbesuche. Die Chinesen haben hierüber noch besondere Sprüche, die den Tujen fehlen.

[2] Dieser Ausdruck gilt sowohl für die Leute, welche den Gott befragen als auch für den Wahrsager, der den Geist herabruft. Die Chinesen sagen dafür *ch'ing fo-yeh*, d. h. „den Buddha-Vater einladen". Dieser Ausdruck gilt in erster Linie für den Wahrsager selber, im weitern Sinne bedeutet es jedes Befragen durch eine Gottheit, Wahrsagen, Orakel.

[3] Das Einladungsgebet ist je nach den herabzurufenden Geistern verschieden. *ġsolka* oder *solka* ist das tibetische *gsol k'a* (cf. DMF 354). Ch. Das (p. 1315) übersetzt es mit: „request, prayer". Es ist eine Bitte an den Geist, herabzusteigen. Der chinesische Ausdruck *ch'ing-tsan* besagt wörtlich „bitten, preisen". Tatsächlich sollen diese Einladungsgebete zugleich auch einen Lobpreis auf den betreffenden Schutzgeist enthalten, ähnlich wie die Schamanengebete.

[4] *šdien* heißt sowohl der geweihte, mit Bändern behaftete Speer als auch das Weiheband (oder die Bänder) selber, aber erst die Bänder nach der Weihe und losgelöst vom Speer. Die geweihten Bänder am Speere nennt man dem Gewährsmann zufolge mit den tibetischen Namen *xuon* (Seidentuch) und *sēnisial* (Seidenfäden). Diese tibetischen Namen sind sakral, wogegen im profanen Sprachgebrauch die Seide *turġuo* und die Fäden *šdadzē* heißen. Zum Gebrauch von *šdien* vgl. auch das Kapitel: Die Tierweihe, Anm. 4.

Zur Erklärung des tibetischen Lehnwortes *šdien* schrieb der Alte die chinesischen Zeichen *kung-fêng*, „verehren, weihen", hin. Um einen Gegenstand zu weihen, für die Götter zu bestimmen und besonders verehrungswürdig zu machen, knüpfe man ein Band daran. Später habe man den ganzen Gegenstand, die Figur usw. *šdien* genannt, ebenso die Bänder und Fäden, die den Speer heilig machten. Das DMF (p. 371) erklärt *šdien*: „pièce d'étoffe rouge ou jaune qu'on met aux idoles pour les vénérer, aux hommes ou aux animaux pour les consacrer aux dieux ou leur conserver la vie." Cf. tib. *rten* „visible representation, symbol, seat of deity" (?). Diese Erklärung, die sich auf einen andern Tujen als Gewährsmann stützt, stimmt fast ganz mit der des Alten überein. Er bemerkt dazu nur, daß es nicht nur rote oder gelbe Bänder, sondern auch solche von verschiedenen Farben sein könnten;

an Menschen würde man sie jedoch nicht heften. Rot scheint aber die wichtigste Farbe zu sein, wie aus dem chinesischen Namen *hung-hung-tzu*, „das Rote", hervorgeht.

šdien ist vom tibetischen *rten* abzuleiten; Näheres siehe im folgenden Kapitel: Der Gurtum; ebenso im 2. Teil. Hier sei nur bemerkt, daß *šdien* (*rten*) im engeren Sinne „enthalten, Behältnis" bedeutet, d. h. Geistersitz. Im weiteren Sinne kann man die obige Erklärung annehmen und es allgemein als „Geweihtes, Heiliges usw." übersetzen.

dzën = tib. *'dsin* = „halten, Träger". CH. DAS hat die Verbindung *rten 'dsin* nicht. Aber er bringt p. 1053 ähnliche Zusammensetzungen, z. B. *rdo rje 'dsin*: „the holder of the *vajra*". *šdiendzën* ist also vom Gewährsmann ganz treffend mit „Träger des Heiligen; das Geweihte Fassender" wiedergegeben worden.

[5] Wenn der Gewährsmann hier in *šdiendoň* das *doň* mit dem tibetischen *duň* (Muschel) identifiziert, so ist das bei ihm ein seltener Fall einer unzutreffenden Erklärung. Das lautlich gleiche *doň* hat zwar den Sinn von „Muschel, rein, weiß, erhaben" (vgl. das Kapitel: Das Weihrauchopfer), aber hier ist es nichts anderes als das tibetische *mduň*, „Lanze, Speer", bei dem das Anfangs-*m* stumm ist. Nasaliertes *u* wird bei den Tujen immer in *o* abgeändert. Das chinesische *tien-tung* (Geisterspeer), welches ebenfalls dem tibetischen Namen nachgebildet ist, ist lautlich eindeutiger. Sonst sagen die Chinesen einfach *mao-ch'iang* (= dem Sininger: *miao ch'iang*), d. h. Speer, Lanze.

šdiendoň müßte also im Tibetischen *rten mduň* heißen. In CH. DAS findet sich diese Zusammensetzung nicht. Es kann aber nichts anderes bedeuten als einen Speer, der Sitz eines Geistes ist. Näheres siehe im 2. Teil.

Das Wort *purgan* gebraucht man nicht nur für die Geister an sich, sondern auch für alles, was sie als Sitz wählen, jedoch nie für einen Tulku (lebenden Buddha). Die Chinesen hingegen benennen mit *fo-yeh* nicht nur die buddhistischen Götter und deren Idole, sondern auch die Tulkus, welche sie auch *huo-fo* (*fuo*), „lebender Buddha", heißen.

[6] Die gewöhnlichen Speere (*sdzida*) sind aus dem Volk verschwunden. Nur vereinzelt sieht man noch plumpe Spieße, die die Bauern mit in die Berge nehmen, um sich die Wölfe vom Leib zu halten.

[7] Die Geisterspeere wechseln mannigfach in Form und Schmuck. Es gibt Speere, die über zwei Meter lang sind, und solche von nur einem Meter. Die meisten dürften im Durchschnitt doch an zwei Meter herankommen. An manchen Speeren hängen schön zugeschnittene Bänder, z. B. am Tempelspeer des Wahrsagers von Êrh-ku-lung. Bei andern sind sie wieder wirr und wahllos angeknüpft. Von den oben genannten Formen ist die Vierkant-Spitze am häufigsten. Der Fuß sieht fast wie die Spitze selber aus, er kann kantig und rund sein. Zweizackige Spitzen kommen auch vor; aber der Gewährsmann hält sie für nicht so wirksam wie die andern Formen. — Zerbricht ein Speer, so wird der Schaft verbrannt. Der neue Schaft erhält wieder die Eisenteile des alten. Zerbrechen die Eisenteile, so werden sie wieder für einen andern Speer verarbeitet. Der neue Speer muß immer wieder der gleichen Gottheit geweiht werden wie der alte.

[8] Der botanische Name von *yärgë* war nicht eindeutig festzustellen. Den Erklärungen der Leute zufolge handelt es sich um die Eber- oder Bergesche. Nach andern könnte es auch die Tamariske sein. Das DMF spricht ebenfalls von einer Eberesche („sorbier") und gibt das mongol. Äquivalent *irgai* an, das es aber mit „chèvrefeuille" (Ziegenblatt) übersetzt (p. 489). W. A. UNKRIG (Mittlg.) setzt dafür das mongolische *xargai* mit der Bedeutung „Lärche, harzhaltiger Baum, Pinus larix". — Der chines. Name *hsün-mu* (*hsün-tzu*) ist ebenfalls nicht eindeutig.

[9] Die Tujen sagen nie *šdiendzën bödzia*, d. h. Wahrsager schüttelt sich. Wohl sagen sie *sgurdien bödzia*, d. h. der Schamane schüttelt sich. Beim Schamanen werden sie nie sagen *purgan bödzia*, d. h. der Geist schüttelt sich. Diese Unterschiede sind zu beachten; *bö-* ist reserviert für das, was in Bewegung ist, das ist der Speer und der Schamane, also *šdien* (= *šdiendöň* oder *purgän*) und *sgurdien*. *bö-* heißt eigentlich „herabkommen, niedergehen, anfangen, Arbeit beginnen" und wird auf das Medium des Geistes bezogen, nicht auf den Geist selber; denn dessen Herabkunft wird mit *kur-* (*kuru-*) bezeichnet, d. h. ankommen. Damit ist die Besonderheit der Trance von der Tätigkeit des Wahrsagers unterschieden. Auch die Chinesen haben hier einen klaren Unterschied im Ausdruck. Für die Trance sagen sie *fashen-tzu*, d. h. den Körper in Aufregung bringen; für das Rufen des Geistes beim Wahrsagen sagen sie *ch'ing fo-yeh*, d. h. den Buddha(vater) einladen.

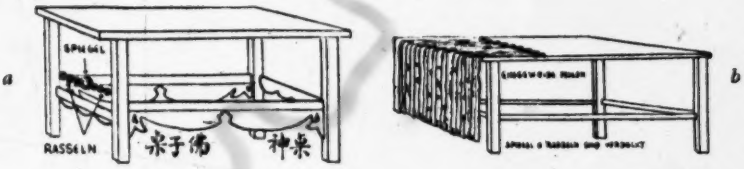
Tatsächlich ist auch die Wirkweise des Wahrsagers von der des Schamanen leicht zu unterscheiden. Ich habe beides öfters beobachten können. Es sind zweierlei Verbindungsarten mit dem Geist. Beim Speerwahrsagen liegt das Bewegungszentrum im Speer und bleibt darin. Der Speer schüttelt sich und bezieht vom Wahrsager nur die Arme und ein wenig auch den Oberkörper mit in die Bewegung hinein. Der Körper ist ruhig; es ist nur eine eigenmächtige Bewegung des Speeres. Der Wahrsager ist dabei ganz für seine Umgebung aufgeschlossen, er beobachtet alles, was um ihn vorgeht, hört alles, auch wenn er sich zum Speer neigt und mit dem Geist darin zu sprechen scheint. Wenn er im Namen des Geistes redet, dann ist es in leichter normaler Sprache. Ist er fertig, dann stellt er den Speer beiseite, so wie wenn ein Handwerker sein Werkzeug niederlegt. Es ist an der ganzen Sache nichts Aufgeregtes. — Anders bei der Schamanentrance. Der Schamane hat auch Waffen, z. B. Schwert und Speer. Ich konnte beobachten, wie im Weihrauchnebel zuerst die Speerspitze zu zittern anfing, dann der Schaft. Vom Schaft aus griff das Schütteln auf den Arm über, dann auf die Brust bis in den nächsten Arm, schließlich auf den Kopf und den ganzen Körper. Das Bewegungszentrum liegt dann im Schamanen selber. Er wird fahl oder auch ganz rot. Man setzt ihm den schweren, viel zu großen Helm auf, der aber wegen des anschwellenden Kopfes trotzdem festsitzt. Er schäumt und redet abgerissene Worte in verschiedenen Sprachen. Er ist ganz nach innen gerichtet und nimmt keine Notiz von seiner Umgebung. Alles an ihm ist in Aufregung und Zittern. Nach der Trance ist er erschöpft und muß mehrere Stunden ruhen.

Für das Beenden des Speerwahrsagens hat man den Ausdruck *šdien* (*šdiendöň*) *džuoladzia*, d. h. der Speer ist fertig. Für das Aufhören beim

Schamanen sagt man *sgurdien dönladzia*, d. h. der Schamane ist fertig. Die eigentliche Bedeutung von *dzuo-* und *dön-* ist mir nie klar geworden.

[10] Außer dem Geisterspeer haben die Tujen noch andere Orakel, die in gleicher Weise angewandt werden, nämlich den Geistertisch, *sirie purgan*, und die Geistersänfte, chinesisch *chiao-chiao-tzu* genannt. Auch sie sind mit Schellen, bunten Tuchbändern und Metallspiegeln versehen und vom Lama oder von Schamanen geweiht. Als Geistertisch-Gott kommt meist der „schwarze Tiger" in Betracht und als Geist der Sänfte die Muttergöttin, chinesisch *niang-niang*. Sowohl der Tisch als auch die Figur der Göttin

Fig. 2



a: Geistertisch ohne Bänder (*sirie purgan*); *b*: Geistertisch mit Bändern (*sirie purgan*).

tragen Eingeweide samt den Genitalien. — Der Tisch ist nicht als Tisch aufzufassen, sondern als bildliche Nachahmung der Tierfigur mit vier Beinen und Rumpf, was durch die angebrachten Eingeweide noch bestärkt wird. Wenn beim Geisterspeer nur eine Person auf den Geist anspricht, so sind es bei der Sänfte und dem Tisch mehrere Männer. Den Tisch halten zwei Männer zwischen sich, wobei einer die Vorder- und einer die Hinterbeine packt. Beim Befragen stellt sich ein Mann vor sie hin und je nach der Antwort fängt der Tisch an sich zu schütteln, zu springen, sich aufzubäumen, zurückzuweichen usw., ohne daß die beiden Männer etwas dagegen tun könnten. Ähnlich ist es bei der Sänfte, die von vier Männern auf den Schultern getragen wird. Hier steht ebenfalls ein Mann vor der Göttin und frägt sie; und je nach der Antwort schüttelt sich die Sänfte auf den Schultern der Träger, treibt diese vorwärts, rückwärts, im Kreise usw. Die Männer behaupten, sie seien nicht Herr über ihre Bewegungen, so stark sei der Antrieb.

Bei all diesen Medien ist nicht das Wahrsagen die Hauptsache, sondern das zeitweilige Wirken des innewohnenden Geistes. Darum wird der Geist immer zitiert, wenn man eine religiöse Handlung vornimmt, bei der man seine Gegenwart wünscht, z. B. Opfer, Hausbau, Friedhofanlage usw. Er leitet alles, sieht alles, überwacht alles. Allerdings sind dazu immer Leute erforderlich, die auf die Bewegungen des Geistes reagieren können; denn es eignen sich nicht alle dazu.

[11] *xönguor*: mongolisch *xongxo*, mandschurisch *honggon*, stammt wohl aus dem Chinesischen, *chung* = Glocke. — *dzändän*: geht auf das Sanskrit zurück und bedeutet Sandelbaum (UNKRIG).

2. Der Gurtum (Schwertschamane) *

Bericht

Der Schwertschamane hat als wichtigste Waffe das Schwert, womit er gegen die Dämonen kämpft. Er vollzieht seine Zeremonien immer im Francezustand. Dann steigt sein Schutzgott auf ihn hernieder und verleiht ihm große Kräfte.

Ob einer Schamane wird, hängt von seiner Fähigkeit ab, in Trance zu kommen. Manche erben es in der Familie. Viele probieren an einem einsamen Ort. Sobald einer es gelernt hat, begibt er sich in ein Lamakloster. Dort wird ausprobiert, ob er echt ist. Wenn er echt ist, erhält er Belehrungen und ein Amulett. Er muß aber jedes Jahr einmal zu seinem Lehrmeister zurückkommen, um sich weiter auszubilden.

Die Schwertschamanen heilen Kranke, vertreiben Dämonen und wahrsagen. Dabei verwunden sie sich und die Kranken mit dem Schwert, brennen sich mit Feuer; aber wenn sie echte Schamanen sind, schadet es ihnen nicht.

Einzelheiten

Kleidung: Die Schamanen tragen ein gewöhnliches langes Kleid. Manchmal ziehen sie auch einen Rock an, ähnlich dem der chinesischen Bonzen, nur ist er rot. Sie gürten sich mit einem roten Gürtel. Auf der Brust tragen sie ein Amulett mit einer Götterfigur oder ein Beutelchen mit dem Hada, welches ihnen der Lama bei der Weihe gegeben hat. Es ist ihr Schutzgeist. Darüber werfen sie den breiten Schulterkragen. Dieser fällt mit den Zipfeln über Brust, Rücken und Schultern. Er ist von verschiedener Farbe und oft schön ausgeschnitten. Über den Schulterkragen hängen sie an einer roten Schnur den Brustspiegel. Dieser war früher aus Gold; jetzt ist er aus Kupfer. Der Schamane reibt ihn mit Weihrauchasche blank. Der Spiegel ist rund und hat einen Durchmesser von 15 bis 20 *cm*. In der Mitte hat er eine runde Erhöhung, worauf manchmal in tibetischen Zeichen der Name des Schutzgottes steht. An den beiden Ösen des Spiegels hängen mehrere bunte Hadatücher. — Auf dem Kopfe tragen die Schamanen ein rotes Kopftuch. Es ist etwa 50 bis 80 *cm* im Geviert. Ein Zipfel ist ungefähr in einer Breite von 20 *cm* abgeschnitten; an diesen Schnittenden befinden sich zwei rote Bänder; das Tuch sieht aus wie ein unregelmäßiges Fünfeck. Auf den Schnittrand nähen sie fünf kleine kupferne Pferderasseln. Das Tuch wird so über den Kopf geworfen, daß der Rand mit den Glöckchen über die Stirne läuft und die anderen Zipfel über Ohren und Schultern herunterfallen. Mit den Bändern binden sie das Tuch auf dem Hinterhaupt fest. — Über dieses Kopftuch binden sie dann eine fünfteilige Krone, ähnlich wie die der Lamas [4]. Die Krone trägt fünf Buddhabilder oder fünf Totenköpfe oder sonstige Zeichen. — Die Kleidungsstücke besorgt sich der Schamane selbst. Es gibt auch bestimmte Vorschriften, wie sie zu behandeln sind.

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 31-33.

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Die Ausrüstung: Der Schamane muß immer ein Schwert haben. Es ist Sitz seines Schutzgeistes. Das Schwert ist meistens zweischneidig. Es hat keine bunten Bänder. Der Griff ist aus Holz. Für die Anfertigung des Schwertes gelten dieselben Regeln wie beim Geisterspeer. Das Schwert wickelt er zusammen mit seiner Krone in das rote Kopftuch und stellt es zu Hause aufrecht auf seinen Hausaltar. Davor verbrennt er Weihrauch und macht Kotou [1].

Außer dem Schwerte, das er immer benutzen muß, hat der Schamane noch andere Gegenstände, die er je nach Art der Dämonen oder Zeremonien gebrauchen kann. So die Hanfpeitsche, welche meist einen geschnitzten Griff mit einem Schlangen- oder Totenkopf hat; die Dämonenfessel, ebenfalls aus Hanf mit Eisenringen am Ende; den Geisterspeer; die Worfelwanne und das Sieb [2]. — Diese Ausrüstung muß er sich selber unter bestimmten Regeln herstellen. Er bewahrt sie zu Hause auf dem Altare seines Schutzgottes mit dem Schwerte und dem Götterbild auf.

Die Trance: Die Trance findet meistens im Hause vor dem Altar statt. Der Schamane spült sich den Mund, wäscht sich Hände und Gesicht, bringt im Hofe oder vor dem Altar das Weihrauchopfer dar, macht vor dem Schwerte Kotou und zieht die Kleider an [3]. Im Hofe wird das Weihrauchfeuer von anderen Männern weiter unterhalten, welche auch die Muschel blasen [5].

Nun stellt man vor den Altar einen länglichen, niedrigen Tisch, und der Schamane setzt sich mit unterschlagenen Beinen im Buddhasitz darauf, das Gesicht zur Türe und den Rücken zum Altar gewandt. Sein Schwert hat er über seine Knie gelegt. In den Händen hält er einen brennenden Weihrauchstengel aufrecht vor die Brust, so daß der Rauch ihm ins Gesicht steigt. Dann betet er das Einladungsgebet an seinen Schutzgeist. Währenddessen räuchern ihn Männer mit Weihrauch ringsum ab. Allmählich fangen die Hände an zu beben; die Bewegung greift auf Arme, Brust und Kopf über. Schließlich zittert und schüttelt sich der ganze Körper, besonders heftig aber der Kopf, daß die Schellen rasseln. Jetzt nimmt man ihm den Weihrauchstengel aus der Hand und reicht ihm sein Schwert [6]. Der Geist ist jetzt auf ihn herabgekommen. Er beginnt wahrzusagen und die Dämonen zu bannen.

Der Schamane kann sich auch für die Trance einen anderen Ort wählen, z. B. den Tempel, die Hauskapelle, einen Berggipfel, ein Obo, den Hof. Niemals nimmt er die Trance auf dem Kang in einem Nebenraum vor. Ist auf dem Hausaltar ein beseeltes Götterbild, dann setzt er sich stets mit dem Gesicht zu diesem Bild gewandt; beim Obo muß er sich zum Obo wenden. — Vor dem Obo oder auf dem Bergesgipfel braucht er sich nicht auf einen Tisch zu setzen, sondern kann auch auf dem blanken Boden knien. Nimmt er die Trance im Hofe eines Gehöftes vor, dann geht er auf die entgegengesetzte Seite des Haupthauses, so daß er die Rundkrippe mit dem Manibaum vor sich hat und mit dem Gesicht dem Haupthaus zugewandt ist. Dort kniet er sich aufrecht auf eine weiße Filzmatte. Die übrigen Zeremonien sind gleich.

Das Gehöft, in welchem er die Trance vornimmt, muß vorher sauber gefegt werden; alle Räume räuchert man mit Weihrauch aus. Auch der

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Tisch oder die Matte, worauf er kniet, müssen abgeräuchert werden. — Es herrscht aber für Fremde kein Tabu, alle können der Zeremonie zuschauen. Frauen dürfen aber den Raum, worin die Trance stattfindet, nicht betreten.

Wahrsagung: Bei gewöhnlicher Art der Wahrsagung gibt der Bittsteller dem Schamanen in der Trance Kotou und bringt sein Anliegen vor. Er kann auch einen erfahrenen Mann fragen lassen. Der Wahrsager hält dann seinen Brustschild flach auf der linken Hand, er nimmt mit der Schwertspitze von einem Tellerchen Gerstenkörner und streut sie auf den Schild. Aus der Lage der Körner gibt er nun seine Antwort. Oft bewegt er sich auch in heftiger Trance und murmelt allerlei abgerissene Worte, die ein geübter Mann schnell auf ein Papier schreibt, und welche nachher gedeutet werden. In der Trance kann der Wahrsager alle Sprachen reden, Tibetisch, Chinesisch, Tujen, Mongolisch, auch wenn er sie nicht gelernt hat.

Diese Wahrsagung geht auch allen andern Zeremonien voraus, welche er in der Trance vornimmt, wie Dämonenbann, Krankenheilung etc.

Berufung: Die Schamanen sind immer Männer. Wenn jemand meint, er habe die Fähigkeit, sich in Trance zu versetzen, so geht er an einen stillen, abgelegenen Ort und probiert mit einem Stab, einem Schwert usw. Mit der Zeit bekommt er Übung. Auch wird ihm bewußt, welcher Geist von ihm Besitz nimmt. Oft machen auch die Leute im Dorfe einem jungen Manne den Antrag, er solle es einmal versuchen. Wenn es dann gelingt, sind sie dafür, daß er sich im Lamakloster weihen lasse. — Die meisten Schamanen ergreifen diesen Beruf aus eigenem Antrieb. Solche, die die Kunst von ihren Vätern übertragen bekommen, sind nicht häufig. Die Schamanen sind durchweg gesunde, normale Männer; nur sind sie leichter erregbar [7].

Weihe: Hat der junge Mann sich selber erprobt und fühlt er sich sicher, dann nimmt er zwölf Dampfbrote, drei gebackene Brote, Geld und ein Hada und begibt sich zum Kloster. Dort übergibt er einem geschulten Lama von besonderer Gebetskraft die Geschenke und bittet um die Weihe.

Zunächst findet eine Probe statt. Der Schamane muß sich unter den üblichen Zeremonien in Trance versetzen. Man läßt ihn versteckte Gegenstände angeben, auf den Boden streut man Dornen und fordert ihn auf, sich darauf zu setzen, man schlägt mit Peitschen nach ihm und sucht ihn auf alle mögliche Weise einzuschüchtern. Ist er ein echter Schamane mit echter Trance, so fürchtet er sich nicht und verwundet sich auch nicht. Ist seine Sache unecht, dann gerät er in Angst, weicht aus oder kommt aus der Trance.

Nun nimmt der vorsitzende Lama ein Hada [13] und schlingt es dem Schamanen um den Hals und frägt, welcher Schutzgeist sich ihm geoffenbart habe. Der Schamane nennt dann den Namen, kniet sich hin und erhält vom Lama die Belehrung über seine Pflichten als Schamane. Darunter sind die Tabu- und Reinigungsvorschriften enthalten; z. B. darf er nicht amten, wenn er in Trauer ist, wenn seine Frau in Wochen liegt, er darf in dieser Zeit auch seinen Schutzgeist nicht verehren; nach ehelichem Verkehr, nach Genuß von Tabak und reichlichem Alkohol ist er unrein [11], und er muß sich vor den

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einzelnen Handlungen durch Verwundungen mit dem Schwert, Durchbohren der Brust, Ablecken von glühendem Eisen usw. reinigen. Anschließend an diese Belehrung, die in bestimmten tibetischen Büchern enthalten ist, betet der Lama über ihn das Weihegebet.

Dann erhebt sich der Schamane und wäscht sich mit dem Wasser aus der Weihekanne des Lama Hände, Gesicht und Kopf; ebenso muß er vorher seinen Mund spülen. Hierauf wird er mit Gerste beworfen und mit Weihrauch abgeräuchert. Der Lama nimmt das Hada, welches er ihm um den Hals geschlungen hatte, ab, macht einen Knoten hinein, faltet es zusammen, steckt es in einen kleinen, viereckigen, roten oder gelben Beutel und hängt diesen dem Schamanen um; es ist das Amulett seines Schutzgeistes und heißt „Schutzburg" [8]. Statt dieses Hada, oder zusammen mit diesem Hada kann der Schamane auch eine große Kapsel auf der Brust tragen mit der Figur seines Schutzgeistes [9].

Die Schamanenkleidung legt der Lama dem Schützling nicht an. Meist kommt er ohne alle Kleidung ins Kloster und besorgt sie sich erst später. Oft ist ihm das eigene Dorf bei der Anschaffung behilflich. Das zweischneidige Schwert macht er sich selber, oder läßt es vom Schmiede anfertigen.

Der Schutzgeist: Der Schutzgeist offenbart sich immer selbst dem Schamanen; ein Lama kann keinem einen Schutzgeist bestimmen. Der Schamane nennt sich oft „Geist-Jünger" oder „Geist-Schützling". Der Geist hat seinen Sitz im Schwert. Oft hängt der Schamane ein Bild seines Schutzgeistes über den Hausaltar. Er muß davor jeden Tag Weihrauch verbrennen, genau so wie vor seinem Schwert; zu bestimmten Zeiten opfert er ihm Ziegen, Schafe oder Schweine.

Die Amulett-Häuschen mit dem Bilde des Schutzgeistes kaufen die Schamanen in Klöstern oder auf Klostermärkten. Sie sind ziemlich teuer, da sie meistens aus Peking, Shanghai oder Tibet stammen.

Alles, was der Schamane tut, tut er kraft seines Schutzgeistes. Als solche kommen in Betracht: die Drachengötter, der Tiger-Gott, die große Mutter, überhaupt die vielen niederen Geister der gelben Religion, welche Besitz von einem Menschen ergreifen können. Der Himmel jedoch kann nie Schutzgeist des Schamanen werden.

Aufgabe des Schamanen: Der Schwertschamane soll wahrsagen, Kranke heilen, Wetter bannen, Dämonen vertreiben. In die Tätigkeit der Lamas, Bonpriester oder Trommelschamanen darf er sich nicht einmischen. So ist ihm z. B. nicht gestattet, einen Manibaum zu errichten; wohl aber kann er eine gewöhnliche Manifahne auf dem Hoftor aufstellen. Er darf auch nicht die Zeremonie der Pfahlziege vornehmen, keine Saat- und Erntefeiern abhalten; bei Leichenfeiern und Hochzeiten hat er nicht aufzutreten.

Die Zeremonien der Krankenheilung sind ziemlich vielfältig. Die folgende ist die häufigste. Zunächst versetzt sich der Schamane in Trance. Dann bringt ihm ein Mann einen großen Eisenlöffel mit Wasser. Der Schamane reißt von seinem Schutzspiegel ein Stück Tuch ab, wirft es in das Wasser, streut noch einige Gerstenkörner darüber und hält den Löffel über das offene

Feuer bis das Wasser siedet und das Tuch ganz ausgelaugt ist. Dann nimmt er das Tuch heraus und gibt die Brühe dem Kranken zu trinken.

Um sich zu reinigen oder sich selber zu strafen oder um ihre Echtheit zu beweisen, schlucken sie Feuer, halten sie die Hand in die Flammen, durchbohren sich mit dem Schwert, schlitzen sich den Leib auf, lecken glühendes Eisen ab usw.

Wörterliste

Der Schwertschamane :	*sgurdien* ; *gurdien* (tib. Tujen) [10] ; *ku-wai-tien* (chin.) ; *fa-la-tzu* (chin.) ; *fa-shen-tzu-ti* (chin.). *nänsuo* (tib.) ; *Yao-shen-tzu-ti* (chin.) ; *shen-ti-tzu* (chin.) = Geist-Jünger.
in Trance kommen :	*sgurdien bödzia* = der Schamane ist herabgekommen (d. h. er hat angefangen sich zu schütteln) ; *fa-shen-tzu* (chin.) = den Körper in Erregung bringen ; *yao-shen-tzu* (chin.) = den Leib schütteln.
das Einladungsgebet (vor der Trance) :	*ǵsolkä* (tib. Lehnw.) ; *ch'ing-tsan* (chin.) = Lobpreis.
Weihegebet des Lama über den Schamanen :	*guo ǵgué* (tib. u. Tuj.).
großer Lama :	*ching-fa ta-ti lama* (chin.) = Lama von großer Gebets- und Zauberkraft.
der Tisch, auf dem der Schamane in Trance kommt :	*t'iao-chuo-tzu* (chin.) = länglicher Tisch.
das Schamanenschwert :	*aradzi* = zweischneidiges Schwert ; *wadäm* (tib.) [11] ; *chien* (chin.).
das Schutzgeist-Hada :	*ǵdien* = das Geweihte, so genannt, bevor es im Beutel steckt ; *sönkuor* (tib. Lehnw.) [12] = Schutzburg, so genannt, wenn es im Beutel steckt ; auch das Amulett heißt so.
Brustspiegel :	*mälön* (tib. Lehnw.) ; *ku-hsin ching* (chin.) = das Herz schützender Spiegel.
Kopftuch :	*tolgue bänladzin* = den Kopf Einhüllendes. *pao-chin* = Pack-Tuch (chin.).
Rasseln :	*xönguor* ; *ling-êrh* (chin.).
Pflugschar :	*timur ndziesé* ; *t'ieh -hua* (chin.).
Dornen :	*huang-ts'ê* (chin.).
Teufel bannen :	*ilie sdzira* ; *pudaǵ sdzira* = Schmutz bannen.
Lohn für den Schamanen :	*hsiang-ch'ien* = Weihrauchgeld.

Anmerkungen

[1] Das Schwert scheint bei dieser Art des Schamanismus wesentlich zu sein.

In welcher Weise das Schwert Sitz des Schutzgeistes ist, war nicht herauszufinden. Es mag sein, daß es ständig Sitz des Geistes ist, vielleicht auch nur vorübergehend. Die Frage ist dieselbe wie beim Geisterspeer. Gegen einen ständigen Sitz spricht, daß daran die Bänder, der Spiegel und die Glocken oft fehlen. Andererseits findet man auch Schwerter, welche damit versehen sind. — Ich sah einmal in einem chinesischen Tempel das Schwert eines verstorbenen Schamanen, das man dort für den Nachfolger aufbewahrte. Es war zweischneidig und trug auf der einen Seite das Bärengesicht eingraviert ; auf der andern Seite stand der Name ... *niang-niang*, d. h. ... Mutter. Der Name jener Göttin ist mir entfallen.

Die Schwerter, die der Schamane gebraucht, sind aber nicht immer zweischneidig. Der Gewährsmann behauptet das zwar für die Schamanen der Tujen; er bemerkte dazu, die Tujen hätten früher keine zweischneidigen Schwerter gehabt, ausgenommen ihre Schamanen. Ich sah aber bei den gleichen chinesischen Schamanen auch einschneidige Schwerter, welche man *ma-tao*, d. h. Pferde-Schwerter nennt; sie sind leicht geschwungen und wurden früher von Reitern gebraucht.

Auch auf Reisen behandelt der Schamane sein Schwert mit Sorgfalt und Ehrfurcht. Er wickelt es in das rote Kopftuch ein und trägt es aufrecht im Arm vor der Brust, fast wie man ein kleines Kind trägt. Steigt er in einer Herberge ab, so stellt er es an einen sauberen Platz und verehrt es zuerst. Nachts legt er es unter seine Nackenrolle. Ich konnte das verschiedentlich unterwegs beobachten.

[2] Bei einem andern Tempelschamanen sah ich noch Pfeil und Bogen als Ausrüstung. Überhaupt trägt der Schamane alle üblichen Waffen. — Die Geisterschlinge ist aus Hanf gedreht, mit rotem Tuch umwickelt, und etwa 1 *m* lang. Die Eisenringe daran haben eine symbolische Bedeutung, die ich vergessen habe. Die Chinesen nennen die Schlinge, so weit ich mich entsinne, *k'un-hsien-sheng*, d. h. Geister fesselnder Strick. In der beigefügten Aufnahme hält der Schamane die Schlinge mit dem Ring im linken Daumen.

[3] Die Kleidung legt er immer unter Gebet an.

[4] Das Kopftuch ist nicht immer in dieser Art. Es gibt auch Tücher, die größer sind und die keine Schellen tragen. In diesem Fall binden die Schamanen ein eigenes Stirnband mit den Glöckchen um. — Die Krone ist nicht immer notwendig. Welche Bilder sich auf den fünf Zacken befinden, soll sich nach dem Schutzgeist richten. Ich habe auch Kronen gesehen, die keine Bilder trugen, sondern nur tibetische Zeichen.

[5] Manche behaupten, der Schamane müsse sich vor der Trance noch einmal waschen.

[6] Das Stäbchen wird ins Weihrauchbecken gesteckt.

[7] Eine eigene Organisation bilden sie nicht. Wohl hat man mir verschiedentlich erzählt, daß im sechsten Monat am ersten (?) oder 15. Tag die Schamanen des Hsi-ch'uan in einem Dorfe nahe bei Tuopa (westl. von Hei-tsuei-p'u) zusammenkommen und einen Tag lang eine Art Wett-Trance veranstalten. Diese Sitte soll aber erst neu sein.

[8] Es ist unklar, ob dieses Hada Sitz des Schutzgeistes ist. Jedenfalls ist es als ein Schutzamulett aufzufassen.

[9] Die Weihezeremonie könnte glauben machen, als ob der Schamane erst durch sie zu seinem Amte befähigt würde. Sie hat mit dem Schamanisieren an sich nichts zu tun. Es ist nur eine amtliche Bestätigung der Fähigkeiten, und auch das Volk wünscht sie. Es gibt aber auch Schamanen, die sich nicht im Kloster haben weihen lassen, besonders unter der chinesischen Mischbevölkerung.

Die Weihe scheint den Schamanen in den Stand der Laienmönche aufzunehmen; denn auch unter den Mönchen gibt es solche, die als Schamanen fungieren und bestimmte Vorschriften haben. So ist auf dem Wege von Hei-tsuei-tzu nach Shang-wu-chwang ein Dorf mit einer kleinen Lamaserie,

wo die Schamanen von Kumbum herstammen, welche besonders an Neujahr auftreten. Wie mir ein Missionar erzählt, hielt dort im Dorfe in jüngster Zeit ein junger Mann fast täglich Übungen mit Trance am Flußufer ab, Schwertfechten, Pfeilschießen usw.

Jedenfalls legen alle Lamaserien Gewicht darauf, einen Schamanen zu haben, der vom Schutzgeist *dPekar* besessen, an Neujahr weissagt. So beobachtete ich diese Schamanen in Kuo-mang-szu und Kumbum. In der Tujenlamaserie, wo ein lebender Schamanenmönch nicht zu finden war, sah ich auf Neujahr eine lebensgroße Figur in voller Schamanenrüstung aufgestellt. Bei der Wahrsagung am 15. Tage jedoch fungierte an seiner Stelle der Speerwahrsager im Tempelhof, wo die Tänze stattfinden, vor den Hutuktus, den versammelten Mönchen und dem ganzen Volke. In Kuo-mang-szu sah ich im Tempel sogar eine Frau als Schamane auftreten. Sie stellte aber die übliche Art der *sgurdien* nicht dar.

[10] Die Tujen unterscheiden den *sgurdien* streng vom *bö*, dem chinesischen *fa-shih*, Trommelschamanen. Auch die Chinesen machen diesen Unterschied. Den Gurtum nennen sie *ku-êrh-tien* oder *ku-wai-tien*, was weiter nichts ist als eine Lautnachahmung des Wortes *sgurdien*, welches hinwieder vom tibetischen *sku-rten*, „Leib-Behälter", kommt. Der Gurtum wird als Behälter, Träger seines Schutzgottes aufgefaßt. Die genaue Erklärung des Namens siehe im zweiten Teil: Der Schamanencharakter des Gurtum.

[11] Eigentlich ist Schnaps für die Schamanen nicht verboten. Hier scheint eine buddhistische Vorschrift mitzuwirken, aber in abgeschwächter Form; denn durch mäßigen Genuß verunreinigt sich der Schamane nicht, nur durch Trunkenheit, obwohl diese in den Augen der Tujen durchaus nichts moralisch Verwerfliches bedeutet.

[12] *wadam*: tibetisch *dpa-gdam* = Schwert. — *sönkuor*: tibetisch *skyon* = Schutz, *'k'or* = Scheibchen (UNKRIG).

[13] Hada, tib. *k'a btags*, ist ein schärpenähnliches Zeremonientuch.

3. Der Bonpriester *

Bericht

Es gibt zwei Arten Bonpriester: die einen sind Nomaden, die andern Ackerbauer [1]. Die Bonpriester der Nomaden finden sich jetzt nur noch unter den Fandse, früher gab es auch Tujen. Sie haben einen sehr langen dicken Zopf, den sie um den Kopf gewunden tragen, und ein langes rotes Gewand mit rotem oder gelbem Gürtel. — Die jetzigen Bonpriester der Tujen sind fast ausgestorben; es sind gewöhnliche Bauern und unterscheiden sich von den andern Schamanen oder Wahrsagern wie folgt:

Einzelheiten

Kleidung: Sie tragen gewöhnliche Kleider, im Winter einen Pelz und im Sommer den langen Rock. Hosen tragen sie nicht [2]. Beim Gebet auf dem Kang ziehen sie die Schuhe aus. Eine besondere Amtstracht haben sie nicht.

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 34-35.

Nur legen sie einen Kranz von Wildschweinborsten um den Kopf [3], welche die langen Haare darstellen sollen.

Ausrüstung: Ähnlich wie die Lamas haben sie eine Schelle, eine große zweiseitige Trommel, eine kleine Doppeltrommel (Sanduhrtrommel); zum Dämonenbannen gebrauchen sie eine Peitsche aus Menschenhaut und eine Knochenflöte. Ferner haben sie auch tibetische Bücher, Klangteller, Donnerkeil.

Die Trommel wurde früher aus Menschenschädeln gemacht; darüber spannte man Menschenhaut als Trommelfell. Die Peitsche hatte einen Griff aus Menschenknochen. Die Flöte ist aus dem Schienbein eines erwachsenen Mädchens gemacht, das noch nicht verheiratet war und durch Selbstmord oder einen Unglücksfall ums Leben gekommen ist. Sie ist an einem Ende offen und glatt abgeschnitten. Dieses Ende dient als Mundstück und wird mit Metall eingefaßt. Das andere Ende hat auf den zwei Gelenkköpfen je ein kleines Loch. Die Flöte wird mit der Haut des Mädchens umwickelt; man näht sie fest [5]. Die gleiche Haut gebraucht man auch, um die Peitsche zu flechten und die Trommel zu bespannen. Es gibt für die Herstellung dieser Gegenstände bestimmte Regeln. Der Bonpriester fertigt die Geräte selber an [4].

Tätigkeit: Eine besondere Tätigkeit der Bonpriester ist das Errichten der Pfahlziege und der Wetterbann, ferner Herstellung und Bann der Figurensänfte. Sonst haben sie fast die gleiche Tätigkeit wie die andern Wahrsager, sie bestimmen Glückstage für Hausbau, Reisen usw.; sie befragen das Los über Krankheit und Medizin. Zum Wahrsagen gebrauchen sie jedoch keine besondern Instrumente, sondern sie haben Bücher, aus denen sie alles entnehmen. Es gibt auch Bonpriester, welche das Pulsfühlen und Medizinverschreiben gelernt haben und ohne Zauberei heilen können. — Die Bonpriester kommen nicht in Trance, sondern beten nur [6].

Wörterliste

Hirten-Bon:	*sunogsa* (*snagsa*) [7]; *ch'an-t'ou peng-po* (chin.) = Bon mit aufgewundenem Zopf.
Bauern-Bon:	*xuändir*; *su-jen peng-po* (chin.) = Laien-Bon.
Bonpriester (allgemein):	*peng-po-tzu* (chin.).
Haarkranz der Bauern-Bon:	(*u*)*duomböra* (tib. u. Tujen) [7].
Knochenflöte:	*šgäu-dön* (tib. u. Tujen); *chüo-pa* (chin.) = Schienbein [7].
Sanduhrtrommel:	*ndarë* (tib. Lehnw.) [7]; *pa-lang-ku* (chin.).
Glocke:	*dzilin* [7]; *ling-lang* (chin.).
Peitsche:	*p'i-pien-tzu* (chin.) = Haut-Peitsche.
große Trommel:	*la-ku* (chin.); *kängärgë*.

Anmerkungen

[1] Es gibt auch Bonpriester, die in Klöstern leben. Ein solches Kloster befindet sich nahe bei dem Tujen-Kloster Rgulön. Die Insassen jenes Klosters tragen aber keine besondere Tracht, sondern sind gekleidet wie Laien. Sie werden mit Vorliebe zu bestimmten Zeremonien des Dämonenbannes von den Lamas eingeladen. — Die andern Bauern-Bon trifft man nur noch sehr selten an. Sie leben wie jedermann, heiraten und ackern.

[2] Daß sie keine Hosen tragen, dürfte auf eine Herkunft von den Fandse hinweisen, die früher ja auch keine Hosen trugen, so wie es bei ihren Frauen und Lamas heute noch Sitte ist.

[3] Warum es gerade Schweineborsten sein müssen, wußte der Gewährsmann nicht.

[4] Was hier über die Herstellung von Flöte, Trommel und Peitsche gesagt wird, bestätigen auch andere Leute. Aber keiner hat gesehen, wie die Herstellung im einzelnen geschieht. Manche sagen, es müsse ein Mädchen sein, das noch nicht menstruiert habe, andere behaupten das Gegenteil. Jedenfalls handelt es sich um eine noch nicht verheiratete Person. Vgl. dazu, was im Abschnitt über Totenbräuche und Leichenverbrennung gesagt ist: daß sie Dämonen sind und von Dämonen besonders gefürchtet werden.

[5] Über den Knochen, aus welchem die Flöte gemacht wird, sind die Berichte verschieden. Die meisten sagen, es sei der Schienbeinknochen; andere behaupten, es sei der Oberschenkelknochen. Daß die Knochenhaut gegessen werden müßte, erfuhr ich nirgends. — Die Flöte hat einen unheimlich klagenden Ton; besonders eindringlich wirkt er des nachts, wie man es in Lamaserien öfters hören kann. — Auch unangenehme Ereignisse suchen die Bon mit dem Flötenton zu vertreiben, z. B. Strafexpedition, Steuereintreiber, Soldaten usw., wie es z. B. in Kueiteh geschah.

[6] Die Bon werden von den Tujen mit einer Art heimlicher Scheu betrachtet. Sie haben auch etwas mit Quellen und Bergen zu tun. Oft sollen sie einsam den ganzen Sommer hindurch in entlegenen Schluchten und an Quellen in Zelten hausen. Dort beten sie und bannen Gewitter usw. Vielleicht trägt diese Zurückgezogenheit dazu bei, ihnen allerlei unheimliche Machenschaften nachzusagen.

[7] *dzilin*: tibetisch *dril bu* = Schelle. — *kängergē*: mongolisch *k'enggerge* = Trommel. — *sṅoǵsa* (*snaǵsa*): tibetisch *sṅags pa* = Zauberer; *sṅags bon* = Bonpriester. — (*n*)*duombora*: tibetisch *sdom* = binden, *spu* = Haar, *ra* = Kranz. — *ǵändön*: tibetisch *rkaṅ* = Schienbein, *duṅ* = Trompete, Schnecke. — *ndarē*: wahrscheinlich eine Verballhornung des sanskritischen *ḍamaru*? (UNKRIG).

4. Der Lama (Lama-Empfang) *

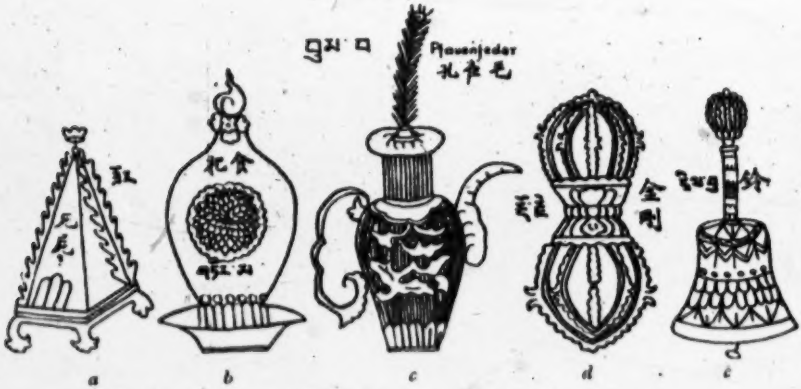
Bericht

Bei vielen Zeremonien wird ein Lama eingeladen. Man unterscheidet große und kleine Lamas. Die großen sind gewöhnlich lebende Buddhas (Hutuktu) [1].

Bevor man einen Lama einlädt, muß das Haus gereinigt werden. Ein eigenes Zimmer wird eingerichtet, worin der Lama betet und schläft. Dann holen ihn die Leute mit Pferden ab. Bei einem großen Lama steht das ganze Dorf zum Empfang bereit. Sobald er ins Gehöft einzieht, wird Weihrauch geopfert und die Muschel geblasen. Er wird ins Haus geleitet und bewirtet. Danach gibt er im Hofe den Buch-Segen und beginnt seine Zeremonien.

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 41-43.

Fig. 3



a: Torma; *b*: Torma; *c*: Wumba-Kanne des Lama; *d*: Donnerkeil (*dordzi*); *e*: Schelle. (Zeichnung eines Tujen.)

Der Lama macht immer einige Tormas, vor denen Wasserschälchen geopfert werden. Er hat auch die gleichen Gegenstände bei sich wie im Kloster. — Ist er mit den Zeremonien fertig, so wird er entlöhnt. Meistens speist man dann auch die Mönche des Klosters.

Einzelheiten

Vorbereitungen: Bevor jemand einen Lama einlädt, erkundigt er sich bei ihm nach der Zeit. Dementsprechend setzt der Wahrsager den Tag für die Zeremonien fest. Soll z. B. der Wahrsagung zufolge am 15. Tag eines Monates die Errichtung eines Manibaumes stattfinden, dann muß der Lama schon eine Woche vorher kommen, weil immer ein mehrtägiger Gebetsdienst vorausgeht. Einzig die höheren Lamas bleiben nur einen Tag da. Die Vorbereitungen trifft immer der Hausherr unter Hinzuziehung des Mutterbruders.

Am Tage vorher werden der Hof und sämtliche Räume des Hauses sauber gefegt. Alle Zimmer räuchern die Männer mit dem Glühstein und Weihrauchfeuer aus, damit keine Dämonen ihr Unwesen treiben. Dem Lama reserviert der Gastherr das vornehmste Zimmer im Haupthaus, das unmittelbar an die Kapelle oder den Hausaltar stößt. Auf den Kang breitet er eine oder zwei Lagen weiße oder rote Filzmatten und legt zwei schöne Satteltteppiche darüber, einen für den Lama und einen für seinen Assistenten. Die Stelle, worauf der Lama zu sitzen kommt, wird durch ein Hada bezeichnet. Dieses gilt als ein ehrenvolles Andenken und wird später am Hausaltare aufgehängt.

Zwischen die beiden Teppiche stellt man ein Feuerbecken mit einer großen Teekanne. Dahinter kommt ein Kangtisch mit dem Imbiß: eine runde Holzschale Tsamba, worauf mehrere Butterschnitten pyramidenartig zusammengestellt sind und mit einer roten Dattel gekrönt werden; ein kleines Kästchen mit Tschürra (Trockenquark) zum Tsamba-Kneten; einige kleine

Teller mit schwarzem und weißem Zucker, Kandiszucker, Korinthen, Datteln; einige kleine Teller mit Zucker- und Öl-Gebäck. — Wenn der Lama später seine Zeremonien vornimmt, werden die Sachen abgeräumt, so daß ihm ein leerer Tisch zur Verfügung steht.

Hutuktus oder höhere Lamas schicken schon einige Tage vorher gewöhnliche, diensttuende Lamas zu den Leuten, damit sie das Zimmer und die für die Zeremonien notwendigen Sachen herrichten. Sie helfen auch in der Küche aus, weil sie am besten wissen, welche Speisen ihr Hutuktu am liebsten nimmt. Sie schauen auch, daß die Reittiere des Klosters gebührend untergebracht werden.

Das Abholen des Lama: Am festgesetzten Tage machen sich die jungen Männer und Jünglinge des Dorfes mit den schönsten und schnellsten Pferden zum Lamakloster auf. Ein Teil reitet durch bis zum Kloster selbst; ein Teil wartet auf halbem Wege. Der Hutuktu reitet immer sein eigenes Tier; es muß ein weißes Pferd sein. Die andern Lamas hingegen können alle möglichen Tiere gebrauchen.

Trifft der Lama auf halbem Wege mit dem Abholertrupp zusammen, dann tritt der älteste Mann hervor und überreicht dem Lama ein Hada. Dieser nimmt es entgegen und berührt dem Manne, der sich hinkniet, die Stirne. Dann schwingen sich die jüngsten mit den schnellsten Pferden in den Sattel und reiten in rasendem Galopp voraus, um im Dorfe die Nachricht von der Ankunft des Lama zu melden. Auch der Lama sucht jetzt in schneidigem Trab zu folgen. Nur die alten Lamas nehmen sich Zeit. Dieses Abholen nennt man einmaliges Abholen. Manchmal stuft sich das Abholen auch in zwei oder drei Etappen; das nennt man zweimaliges oder dreimaliges Abholen. Jedesmal wiederholen sich die Zeremonien des Hadaüberreichens und des Segens. Beim dritten Trupp aber sind die Abholer zu Fuß; denn sie gehen nur eben zum Dorf hinaus.

Empfang: Sobald die Meldereiter eintreffen, versammelt sich das ganze Dorf vor dem Hause, das den Lama geladen hat. Alle haben ihre besten Kleider an. Auf der Tenne tanzen die Frauen und Mädchen unermüdlich ihren Liederreigen, daß man es schon weithin hören kann; der Lama soll sehen, wie froh sie ihn bewillkommnen. Vor dem Dorfe sitzen alle vom Pferde ab; nur der Lama reitet allein. Ein Mann führt sein Pferd am Zügel.

Sobald er vor das Hoftor kommt, stellt man auf die linke Seite des Pferdes einen Kangtisch und legt eine weiße Matte darüber. Die Männer helfen dem Lama aus dem Sattel, alle machen Kotou; nur die Frauen tanzen ununterbrochen weiter. Der Lama steigt aus den Bügeln auf den bereitgestellten Tisch und schreitet dann dem Tore zu. Dort kniet der Hausherr. Über seine erhobenen Hände hat er ein Hada gelegt und hält damit dem Lama eine weiße Schale Milch mit einem Zypressenzweig entgegen. Dieser taucht den Zweig in die Milch, besprengt damit die Torpfosten und tritt ein. Im Hofe steigt das Weihrauchopfer auf; man bläst mit allen Muschelhörnern, die man haben kann. Die Männer ziehen dem Lama mit bren-

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor

nenden Weihrauchstäbchen voran und geleiten ihn in sein Zimmer. Dort setzt er sich auf den durch das Hada bezeichneten Platz. Das Hada wird jedoch weggenommen.

Der Segen: Zunächst ruht sich der Lama mit seinem Gefährten aus. Der Zeremonienmeister gießt ihm Tee ein und fordert ihn auf, sich zu stärken. Hierauf betet der Lama bestimmte Gebete. Unterdessen füllt sich der Hof mit Gästen.

Der Hausherr tritt nun in den Gastraum, überreicht dem Lama ein Hada, macht Kotou und bittet ihn, herauszukommen, um das Volk zu segnen. Der Lama gibt ihm einige kleine Geschenke, die er mitgebracht hat, mit einem Hada. Dann erhebt er sich und geht hinaus. Draußen steht ein Schemel mit einem Sitzkissen; der Lama nimmt darauf Platz, den Rücken zum Haupthaus gewandt; vor ihn breitet man eine weiße Filzmatte. Jetzt ziehen die Leute dem Range nach an ihm vorbei, zuerst die Männer, dann die Frauen. Jede Person verneigt sich tief vor ihm, während er mit seinem Gebetbuch jedem die Stirn oder den Scheitel berührt. Ihm zur Seite steht sein Assistent. Nach dieser Zeremonie zieht er sich wieder ins Haus zurück.

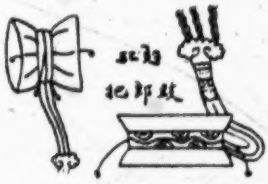


Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 4: Zwei Sanduhrtrommeln. (Zeichnung eines Tujen.) Fig. 5: Butterlampe.

Gebetsdienst: Nun beginnt er seinen Gebetsdienst. Vor jedem Gebetsdienst werden einige Tormas gemacht; ist es ein großer Lama, so besorgen das seine Assistenten. Die Tormas sind verschieden und stellen Opfer an die Götter dar. Man läßt sie zum Teil auf dem Tisch stehen oder bringt sie auf den Hausaltar. Davor kommen eine Reihe Wasserschälchen, Getreideschälchen, Schnapsschälchen [3], Butterlampen, die immer am Brennen gehalten werden. Später werden diese Tormas entweder fortgebracht oder auch in der Familie gegessen, manchmal auch den Tieren vorgeworfen [3].

Die Kultgeräte des Hutuktu sind dieselben wie er sie auch zu Hause im Kloster benutzt: nämlich die Weihwasserkanne mit der Pfauenfeder, die Sanduhrtrommel, der Donnerkeil und die Handglocke. Diese Dinge hat er immer auf dem Tisch griffbereit. In der Hand hält er stets seine Manischnur. Beim Beten sitzt er nicht seitlich, sondern hinter dem Tisch, das Gesicht der Türe zugewandt, auf dem Kang. Sein Gebetbuch legt er vor sich auf die Knie oder den Kangtisch. Manchmal nimmt er auch noch die Wasserweihe vor, während die andern die Tormas fertigmachen. Er läßt sich dazu in die

Weihekanne reines Quellwasser gießen; einer der Assistenten wirft Weihegewürze hinein und stellt die Kanne auf ein Tellerchen mit Tibetgerste. Darüber betet der Lama dann das Weihegebet.

Gebetslohn: Der Lama wird während der Zeit seines Aufenthaltes sehr vornehm bewirtet. Der Hausherr, welcher auch „Gabenherr" genannt wird, muß ihm selber auftragen. Seine Hauptmahlzeit hält der Lama aber nicht wie die andern Gäste, mittags, sondern erst am späten Nachmittag. Um ihn zu erfreuen, tanzen und singen Männer und Frauen im Hofe. Nur bei ganz großen Hutuktus tanzt man nicht.

Am letzten Tage, nach dem Morgenimbiß des Lama, während er auf dem Kang noch Tee trinkt, erscheint der Gabenherr mit den Zeremoniengehilfen und bedankt sich mit vielen Worten für den Besuch und das Gebet. Dann übergibt er ihm ein Tablett mit den Geschenken, über die ein Hada ausgebreitet ist, und der Gabenherr verkündet, was der Lama für seinen Dienst erhält. Dieses Hada über dem Tablett heißt „Reden-Hada". Man stellt die Sachen vor den Lama auf den Tisch und macht dreimal Kotou. Auch die Assistenten erhalten entsprechende Gaben.

Der Lohn ist verschieden, je nach dem Reichtum des Gabenherrn, der Würde des Lama und der vollzogenen Zeremonien. Gewöhnlich sind es mehrere Kiepen Brot [5], einige Schaffleischstücke [4], Silbergeld und rotes Tuch. Reiche Leute schenken noch viel mehr, z. B. schöne Pferde, Schmuckgehänge, Tuch usw. Wenn es sich um große Anlässe handelt, wird sogar in der Zeit, in welcher der Lama beim Gabenherrn weilt, für das Kloster ein Gebetsdienst bestellt. Der Gabenherr beköstigt in diesen Tagen sämtliche Mönche mit Reis, Zucker, Butter und Tee. Auch Pilger, die während dieser Tage im Kloster weilen und für den Gabenherrn „Einkehr" halten und beten, werden mitbeköstigt und erhalten noch Almosen für die Reise.

Die Gabenherren stiften auch gewöhnlich, z. B. beim Beerdigen usw., für das ganze Kloster den Gebetstee, der während des Offiziums in der Gebetshalle getrunken wird. Oft stellen sie in dieser Zeit noch eine Menge Butterlampen im Tempel auf, oder sie spenden wenigstens die Butter für die Lampen.

Rückkehr: Nachdem der Lama seine Gaben empfangen hat, wird er feierlich das Hoftor hinausgeleitet. Man bringt wieder ein Weihrauchopfer dar. Aber sonst finden keine Zeremonien mehr statt. Das weiße Pferd wird herbeigeführt, ein Kangtisch mit einer Filzmatte zum Aufsteigen bereitgestellt, und der Lama wird in den Sattel gehoben. Dann begleiten ihn die Männer zum Dorfe hinaus. Einen eigentlichen Begleitzug mit Pferden, ähnlich wie beim Empfang, gibt es nicht. Der Lama reitet mit seinen Mönchen allein zurück. Nur die Geschenke werden ihm auf Tieren nachgebracht.

Fig. 6. Muscheln.
(Zeichnung eines Tujen.)

Die Hutuktus werden immer auf diese feierliche Art empfangen. Niedrigere Lamas, z. B. solche, die nur einmal zum Beten an einem Obo kommen, erhalten einen einfachen Empfang. Ähnlich verfährt man auch mit den Bonpriestern, Schamanen, Wahrsagern. Man holt sie nicht feierlich ab und gibt ihnen nur mäßigen Lohn.

Tabu des Gehöftes: Bei vielen Gebetszeremonien des Lama ist das Gehöft für Fremde unzugänglich. Das nennt man „die Tür verbieten". Wer bei Beginn der Handlung nicht da ist, darf den Hof nicht mehr betreten. Leute, die aber von Anfang an im Hofe waren, dürfen auch später frei ein- und ausgehen [7]. Um den Hof als verboten (tabu) zu kennzeichnen, heftet der Hausherr einen Zypressen- oder Tannenzweig oder ein Sieb an das Hoftor [8].

Das Tabu dauert immer mehrere Tage, drei, fünf, sieben; immer in ungerader Zahl, und immer solange, als der Lama im Hause weilt, und noch zwei Tage darüber hinaus. Ist z. B. der Lama nur einen Tag da, so dauert das Tabu drei Tage, ist er drei Tage da, so dauert es fünf Tage usw.; ist er aber sieben Tage im Hause, dann dauert das Tabu nach seinem Weggang noch eine ganze Woche [9].

Wörterliste

Lama:	*lama*; *ho-shang* (chin.).
Lama der gelben Sekte:	*gĕlönba* (tib.); *sira lama*.
Lama der roten Sekte:	*fulan lama*.
großer Lama:	*šge lama*; *ching-fa ta-ti lama* (chin.).
kleiner Lama:	*mula lama*.
Hutuktu [6]:	*sän* [10]; *šge sän* = großer H.; *mula sän* = kleiner H.
	huo-fuo (chin.) = lebender Buddha; *fo-yeh* = Buddha.
Lama-Empfang:	*lama ndziala*.
Lamasegen:	*ndziärgän* (tib.) = der Reihe nach.
einmaliges Abholen:	*ǵdzö dänwu* (tib. Lehnw.) [10].
zweites „	*ǵdzö niwa* (tib. Lehnw.) [10].
drittes „	*ǵdzö ǵdzämba* (tib. Lehnw.) [10].
Tsambaschüssel mit Butterschnitten:	*simier* [10].
Gebäcktellerchen:	*sĕloǵ*.
Kandiszucker:	*ping-t'ang* (chin.).
Äpfel:	*hai-t'ang* (chin.).
Nüsse:	*ho-t'ao* (chin.).
Datteln:	*sa-tsao-êrh* (chin.).
Trockenquark:	*tsürä* (tib., Tuj.).
Ölstangen:	*san-tzu* (chin.).
Füllbrote:	*taǵur*.
Ölpasteten:	*yu-pao-tzu* (chin.).
Redehada:	*sidär* (tib. Lehnw.) [10].
rotes Tuch (das man d. Lama schenkt):	*sändzön* [10].
Getreide mit Geld:	*mbö*.
Schaflende (auch ganzes Schaf):	*ndžuän*.
Torma:	*šdorma* (tib. Lehnw.) [8].
Kupferschälchen mit Wasser, Getreide usw.:	*dönsär* (tib. Lehnw.) [10].
Butterlampe:	*lamar* (tib. Lehnw.) [10].
Weihwasserkanne:	*wumbä* (tib. Lehnw.).
Pfauenfeder:	*k'un-ch'üo-mao* (chin.).
Donnerkeil:	*dordzi* (tib., Tuj.).

Sanduhrtrommel: *ndarē*.
Manischnur: *mani*.
Gebetslohn: *bosē* [10].
Teebewirtung im Lamakloster: *mäntsia* (*mändzia*) [10].
tabu des Hofes: *udie dzilä-*; *chi-men* (chin.) = verbieten, die Tür.

Anmerkungen

[1] Die folgende Darstellung gilt in erster Linie für den Empfang eines Hutuktu. Bei niederen Lamas sind die Zeremonien einfacher. — Auch Götterbilder, z. B. die Sänfte der *Kuanyin*, des Tigergottes usw., erhalten einen ähnlichen Empfang, wenn man sie zum Unheilbannen ins Haus bringt. Es war mir leider nicht mehr möglich, die entsprechenden Zeremonien aufzunehmen. Ich sah einmal eine solche Göttersänfte auf einem Hausdache stehen. — Den Lama-Empfang habe ich selber beobachtet.

[2] Zum *šdorma* schreibt das DMF (p. 338): „figures pyramidals faites de pâte de farine grillée et qu'on offre aux esprits pour écarter leurs mauvaises influences. Cf. tib. *gtor-ma* id. (mong. *turma*, *tuurma*, *turuma* ...)". Ch. Das kennzeichnet (p. 527) den Ausdruck *gtor-ma*, der wiederum auf ein Sanskritwort zurückgeht, als Wurfopfer: „sacrificial objects, i. e., that which is strewn or scattered or given away". Sie bestünden meist aus Teig (Reis, Gerste usw.), hätten Pyramidengestalt und sollen Gefahren abwenden, die Geister besänftigen usw. — Über den Sinn des *gtor-ma* ist viel geschrieben worden; vgl. dazu die Ausführungen in Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, Kapitel XIV. Die Tujen fassen das Torma als Sitz eines Dämons oder eines Gottes oder als Geisterspeise auf. Es bleibt aber nicht Dauersitz, sondern nur während der Zeit der Zeremonien. Der Geist wird durch den Lama hineingebannt. Den Namen *baliñ* konnte ich bei ihnen nicht feststellen. Als Geisterspeise nennen sie es mit dem chinesischen Wort *szu-shih*, d. h. Opfer-Speise; es gibt aber noch eine andere Deutung, nämlich „Leiche", das auch *szu-shih* lautet. So wird nämlich das Torma genannt, das am Schluß des Tšam-Tanzes auf Neujahr als ermordeter Feind der Religion fortgebracht und verbrannt wird. — Torma nennen sie auch die Maṇḍala-Figur, z. B. beim Errichten der Pfahlziege. — Daß das Torma nur für kurze Zeit eine sakrale Funktion hat, erklärt auch, warum man es nach den Zeremonien nicht mehr beachtet, es fortwirft, den Tieren zu fressen gibt oder es sogar selbst ißt.

Soweit ich bei den Tujen feststellen konnte, werden die Tormas immer nur aus Tsamba und Butter hergestellt, nicht aber, wie Filchner (Unkrig) a. a. O. schreibt, aus gegorenem Teige. Mag sein, daß diese Art der Zubereitung den Klöstern vorbehalten ist.

[3] Für diese Schälchen gibt es eine bestimmte Zahl und Ordnung. Das Wasseropfer spielt im Klosterkult eine wichtige Rolle, vgl. Kumbum, p. 251. Auch die Tujen und Chia-Hsifan bringen häufig des morgens das Wasseropfer dar. So sah ich einmal einen Alten, wie er morgens aufstand, sich wusch, Weihrauch verbrannte, eine große Kupferschale und zwölf kleine Schälchen Wasser auf den Hausaltar stellte, dreimal im Hofe Kotou gab, davon einen in Richtung Kumbum, dreimal vor dem Hausaltar Kotou gab und dann die Wasserschalen wieder ausleerte.

[4] Obwohl der Buddhismus das Töten verbietet, essen die Lamas, auch die Hutuktus, Fleisch in allen Formen, wie ich es immer wieder sehen konnte. Im Kloster Kuo-mang-szu beobachtete ich einmal, daß ein Opferschaf abgehäutet und ausgeweidet auf einem Opfertisch vor der Tempeltüre aufgestellt war. Bei den darauffolgenden Gebetszeremonien ließ der Gabenherr, der dieses Schaf geopfert hatte, das Fleisch kochen und jedem Mönche im Tempel während einer Gebetspause ein Stück servieren. Es ist also nicht auffallend, wenn der Lama zum Lohne eine Schafslende erhält. Da aber die Tujen trotzdem in Gegenwart eines Lama kein Schafopfer darbringen (vgl. Kapitel : Der Manibaum), scheint es nur darauf anzukommen, daß die Tötung selbst nicht vor den Augen des Lama oder im gleichen Hofe vorgenommen wird.

[5] Eine Kiepe enthält 24 Brote. Das rote Tuch ist für die Kleidung der Lamas. Warum nur Getreide und Geld als eine Einheit aufgefaßt und mit dem gleichen Namen *mbö* bezeichnet werden, ist mir unklar. Nach dem DMF kommt es vom tibetischen *p'ogs*, Lohn.

[6] Von den Stufengraden der Mönche weiß das gewöhnliche Volk wenig. Sie kennen große und kleine Lamas. Zu den großen rechnen sie die Hutuktu, die *tsüordzi* und die *känbö*. Nach ihrer Vorstellung ist ein großer Lama besonders gelehrt, kennt viele Zauberpraktiken und hat darum eine besondere Kraft. Die kleinen Lamas haben nur wenig Gelehrsamkeit und können nur kleine Zeremonien vornehmen : z. B. das Obogebet.

Die Hutuktus werden als buddhistische Inkarnation betrachtet. Dabei unterscheiden die gewöhnlichen Leute nicht zwischen Buddha und Bodhisattvas. Bei ihnen ist alles *fuo-yeh*, d. h. Buddha-Vater. Diesen chinesischen Namen gebrauchen sie für alles, was Sitz eines Geistes oder selbst ein Geist ist, also auch für die Inkarnationen (Tulkus), den Geisterspeer, beseelte Götterstatuen. Manchmal bezeichnen sie der Klarheit halber die Inkarnationen mit *huo-fuo* (chinesisch), d. h. lebender Buddha. Für die Geister allein und die beseelten Geistersitze gebraucht man am meisten den Tujen-Namen *purgan*. Bisweilen hört man den Ausdruck *säṅ* oder *säṅrë-dzi*. Auf den Namen Tulku, Hutuktu oder Gegen, das in der Tujensprache den gleichen Sinn wie *säṅ*, Erleuchteter, hat, bin ich nie gestoßen.

[7] Das gilt nach andern Aussagen nur für die Hausinsassen. Gäste, die fortgehen, dürfen nicht wiederkommen.

[8] Der Gewährsmann behauptet, die Tujen hätten früher kein Sieb benutzt ; das hätten sie von den Chinesen gelernt. Heute wird häufig Papier gebraucht, wenn es sich um ein Tabu handelt, das nicht mit dem Gebetsdienst zusammenhängt. So kleben die Leute ein viereckiges rotes Stück Papier auf die Torlaibung, rechts, wenn z. B. eine Krankheit im Hofe herrscht, links, wenn eine Wöchnerin da ist. Weißes Papier benutzt man, wenn einer gestorben ist ; eine Sitte, die wohl von den Chinesen stammt.

[9] Die hier erwähnten Taburegeln gelten auch für andere religiöse Zeremonien, auch wenn kein Lama oder Bonpriester eingeladen wird. Dann ist das Tabu aber nur für drei Tage in Kraft. — Auch die besten Freunde werden dann nicht ins Haus gelassen, sondern am Hoftore abgefertigt. Sie müssen darum vorher laut rufen, damit jemand herauskommt.

Manchmal sagen die Leute auch, man kennzeichne den Hof bei Krankheit nicht aus Geisterfurcht, sondern um Fremden ein Zeichen zu geben, damit sie sich nicht anstecken und draußen bleiben.

10 *sänrědzi* : tibetisch *saṅs* = rein, *rgyas* = ausgebreitet. — *ǵdzo* : tibetisch *ǵzo* = erinnern, zu Gemüte führen ; *dänwu* : tibetisch *daṅ po* = erstmalig ; *niwa* : tibetisch *gñis pa* = zweitmalig ; *gdzänba* : tibetisch *gsum pa* = drittmalig. — *simier* : tibetisch *šis* = Glück, *mar* = Butter. — *sidar* : tibetisch *šis* = Glück, *dar* = Seidentuch. — *sändzöṅ* : tibetisch *ts'em bzaṅ* = Tuch gutes. — *döṅsär* : tibetisch *bdun* = sieben, *gser* = golden ; die sieben Goldenen. — *lamar* : tibetisch *la* = Wachs (aus dem Chinesischen), *mar* = Butter. — *dordzi* : tibetisch *rdo* = Stein, *rje* = Herr. — *bosě* : vielleicht aus dem Mongolischen ; *püse* = Handel, Geschäft ; vgl. chines. *p'u-tzu*. — *mäntsia* : tibetisch *maṅ* = reichlich, *ja* = Tee (UNKRIG).

III. Bräuche um Wohnung und Siedlung

1. Das Weihrauchopfer *

Bericht

Alltäglich bei Sonnenaufgang werden Haus und Hof sauber gefegt. Die Hausfrau entfacht auf dem Kang das Familienfeuer, um das sich tagsüber alt und jung versammeln. Der Hausherr wäscht sich Hände und Gesicht [1], nimmt etwas Glut von dem Feuer und bringt es hinaus in den Hof auf die Weihrauchplatte unter dem Manibaum. Dort bläst er die Glut zu einer großen Flamme, wirft Zypressenzweige, Butter, Tsamba, Blumen, Gewürz, Teeblätter, Zucker und einige bunte Fäden hinein und besprengt schließlich das Feuer mit reinem Wasser. Wenn dann der Rauch hochsteigt, wird die Muschel geblasen, und der Hausherr sowie alle Umstehenden machen dreimal einen dreifachen Kotou vor dem Feuer. Damit ist das Morgenopfer beendet, und alle gehen an ihr Tagewerk.

Einzelheiten

Personen : Gewöhnlich bringt der Hausherr das Weihrauchopfer dar. Statt seiner kann aber auch ein anderes männliches Familienmitglied die Handlung vornehmen ; niemals jedoch Frauen, es sei denn, daß keine männliche Person im Hause weilt und die Kinder noch zu klein sind. Frauen dürfen auch dabei sein und den Kotou machen, wie sie auch den Hof fegen, die Sachen bereitstellen und sogar zum Opfer anreichen können. Die Muschel wird gewöhnlich von jemand geblasen, der nicht opfert. Tut es der opfernde Hausherr selber, so geschieht das vor dem Kotou.

Zeit : Das Weihrauchopfer soll möglichst früh dargebracht werden, schon beim Morgengrauen. Man darf nicht warten, bis die Sonne schon hochsteht. Wenn heutzutage die Familien auch nicht mehr fromm sind, so

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 46-49.

bringen sie doch noch wenigstens am 1., 8. und 15. Tage des Mondmonats das Weihrauchopfer dar. An diesen drei Tagen werden dann auch kleine Butter- oder Öllampen im Hause vor den Buddhabildern angezündet.

Ort: Der gewöhnliche Ort für das Morgenopfer ist der Hof. Man kann auch in den Ortstempel oder vor das Obo gehen. Das geschieht auch meistens an den oben erwähnten drei Tagen. Im Hofe selber ist die Brandstätte die Räucherplatte auf der Mittelburg vor der Manistange [2]. Ist keine Räucherplatte da, so verbrennt der Hausherr den Weihrauch in der Mittelburg (Rundkrippe) selber oder auch auf dem Boden davor. Jedesmal aber ist der Platz zuerst zu fegen. Die Verehrung vor dem Feuer findet nicht unmittelbar vor diesem statt, sondern man geht um die Rundkrippe herum, so daß die Rundkrippe mit dem Manibaum, dann das Feuer, dann das Haupthaus und schließlich die Berge hinter ihm vor einem sind. Auch die andern Personen befinden sich dort. Nie darf jemand zwischen dem Feuer und dem Haupthaus stehn.

Opfergaben: Das Feuer braucht nicht vom Herde oder vom Kang genommen zu sein. Man kann es auch im Hofe neu anzünden. Dabei ist es ganz gleich, welches Feuerzeug benutzt wird, Streichholz, Feuerstein usw. Als Nahrung wird beim Entfachen meist Stroh genommen. Übelriechende Brennstoffe sind nicht erlaubt, wie Kohlen, Trockenmist usw., die sonst im profanen Gebrauch vorherrschen.

Als Weihrauch dienen die Zweige des Zypressenbaumes [3]. Dieser ist der Göttermutter *Lhamo* geweiht. Die Blumen sollen einen angenehmen Duft haben, einerlei von welcher Farbe. Je vielfältiger und bunter die Sorten sind, umso besser ist es. Allerdings werden sie vorher getrocknet, damit sie auch gut brennen.

Statt der Butter ist auch trockener Rahm statthaft, ganz gleich ob die Milch gekocht oder roh war. Hat man gerade keinen Tsamba zur Hand [5], so ist auch gebranntes Weizen- oder Gerstenmehl erlaubt, niemals aber Bohnenmehl, weil es unrein ist. Beim Zucker gelten keine Vorschriften bezüglich der Farbe; darum nimmt man gewöhnlich den roten, weil er billiger ist als der weiße.

Das Gewürz, das als wohlriechende Zutat ins Feuer gestreut wird, ist in irgend einer chinesischen Apotheke gekauft. Es heißt „Erdgottgewürz" oder einfach „Zugabe" [6]. Es sind dieselben Sorten, die der Lama bei der Weihe des Wumba-Wassers beimengt. Die Tujen-Namen sind verlorengegangen. Auf Tibetisch heißen sie „die guten Sechs". Es sind folgende Arten: Gewürznelken, Safran, Kardamom, Mergel (?), Muskatnuß, Kampfer.

Statt des Wassers kann man auch Milch oder Gerstenwein ins Feuer spritzen. Dann heißen sie aber nicht mehr Milch oder Wein, sondern „Libation" [6]. Das vornehmste ist jedoch immer das Wasser. Dieses soll rein sein, aus einer Quelle oder einem Brunnen oder einem Fluß. Abgestandenes Wasser z. B. aus einem Küchenzuber, darf niemand schöpfen, mag es auch noch so rein sein. Das Wasser wird mit einem Zypressenzweig ins Feuer gesprengt [10].

Die Fäden sind in den bekannten fünf heiligen Farben. Auf den Stoff kommt es dabei nicht an. Die besten sind natürlich Seidenfäden. Reiche

Leute werfen jedesmal von jeder Farbe ein kleines Bündel hinein, Arme hingegen schneiden von jedem Faden nur ein Stückchen ab, damit sie noch lange ausreichen.

Die Muschel kommt vom Osten, aus China oder aus Tibet. Im Kukunor soll man keine finden. Darum hat nicht jede Familie eine Muschel. Sie braucht deshalb auch nicht unbedingt beim Opfer geblasen zu werden [7].

Alle diese aufgezählten Sachen gehören zu einem vollständigen Weihrauchopfer. Da aber nur in seltenen Fällen eine Familie diesen Zubehör vorrätig hat, wird das Opfer gewöhnlich in der einfachen Form dargebracht, d. h. man begnügt sich mit Zypressenzweigen, Tsamba und Wassersprengen. Nicht einmal Butter und Milch ist neuerdings bei den Tujen vorrätig.

Sinn: Das Weihrauchopfer gilt in erster Linie dem Himmel, ihm gilt auch der erste Kotou. An zweiter Stelle will man damit den Berg- und Erdgeist ehren, und an dritter Stelle alle andern zahllosen Geister. Mündliche Gebete werden nicht gesprochen, wohl sagt oder denkt man gewöhnlich: „Der Himmel weiß es." Das Opfer ist eine Bitte um Schutz und gefällt den Geistern wegen der vornehmen Gaben. Darum bringen die Männer es bei allen religiösen Zeremonien dar, z. B. beim Saatfest, bei der Oboverehrung, beim Schafopfer usw. Es bleibt dann während der ganzen Handlung stundenlang brennen. Weil die Tujen das Weihrauchopfer seit alters gepflegt haben, kommt es auch immer wieder in den Liedern vor [8].

Das Reinigungsfeuer: Außer diesem Weihrauchopfer wird auch sonst Zypressenweihrauch verbrannt, aber nur um zu reinigen. So z. B. bei Ausräuchern des Hauses, um die Dämonen zu vertreiben, zum Abräuchern des Opferschafes, zum Abräuchern von Gesicht und Händen bei religiösen Zeremonien. Aber man zollt diesem Feuer keinerlei Verehrung, macht keinen Kotou, besprengt es nicht mit Wasser, gibt keine Butter und überhaupt keine Zutaten hinein. Es ist kein Opfer. Verbrennt einer jedoch zufällig ein richtiges Weihrauchopfer, so kann er auch dies für die Reinigungszwecke nehmen [9].

Wörterliste

Zypressenbaum:	*ǯgua sdziödzē* [3].
Zypresse:	*ǯgua.*
Zypressenweihrauch:	*ǯdzäṅ* (*ǯdzäṅ, dzäṅ, säṅ*) (tib. Lehnw.).
Opfertsamba:	*ǯdzäṅ ǯdzam* (tib. Lehnw.).
Tsamba (profan):	*talga* [11].
Gewürze:	*ġlu* (*ġlo, ġlē*) *sēmän*; *ġlu* (tib. Lehnw.) = Erdgott; *sēmän* (tib. Lehnw.) = Medizin, Gewürz [11].
Känba-Blumen:	*känba.*
Weihrauchzutaten:	*rdzē* (tib. Lehnw.) = Beigaben, Sachen. *snaġsoġ ǯdzäṅ rdzē* (tib. Lehn.) = vielerlei Weihrauch Beigaben [4,11].
Gewürznelken:	*lisi* (tib.); *ting hsiang* (chin.) [11].
Safran:	*gušgum* (tib.); *tsang kung-hua* (chin.) [11].
Kardamom:	*sēsmiel* (tib.); *i-chi-jen* (chin.) [11].
Mergel:	*gagula* (tib.); *ts'ao-kuo* (chin.) [11].
Muskatnuß:	*dzati* (tib.); *jou-kuo* (chin.) [11].
Kampfer:	*ġawur* (tib.); *ping-p'ien* (chin.) [11].

Milch (profan): *sun*.
Libation: *tsiab* (*tsiaw*) (tib.) [6].
Muschel: *dön* (tib. Lehnw.) = Trompete, Horn [7].
Himmel Du weißt es: *tieńgěrě mudie*.
Reinigungsfeuer: *sündur* (tib. Lehnw.).

Anmerkungen

[1] Diese Waschung wird bei allen religiösen Handlungen vorgenommen, und sie ist auch die gewöhnliche Art, sich morgens zu waschen. Da man keine Waschschüssel kennt, oder sie erst neuerdings gebraucht, geschieht es auf folgende Weise: Man nimmt aus einer Schale einen Schluck Wasser und spült den Mund; dann nimmt man den zweiten Schluck und läßt ihn aus dem Munde über die hohlen Hände laufen und wäscht sie; der dritte Schluck, in der gleichen Weise in die Hand laufen gelassen, dient dazu, das Gesicht zu waschen. Das wiederholt man beliebig, bis man sauber ist. Falls jemand eine Waschschüssel hat, so darf er auf keinen Fall vergessen, den Mund zu spülen, das gehört zur Reinigung für eine religiöse Zeremonie.

[2] Die Weihrauchplatte heißt *ʃdzäń tše* = Weihrauch-Terrasse. Die Chinesen sagen dafür *sang lu-tzu* = Zypressenweihrauch-Ofen. Vielfach haben die Tujen den chinesischen Weihrauchofen übernommen. Er sieht aus wie ein kleines Tempelchen. Oft behilft man sich auch mit einer einfachen Lehmnische. Die Räucherplatte auf dem Rand der Rundkrippe ist entweder eine Steinplatte, oder ein Backstein (Ziegel), oder ein glatter Lehmaufstrich.

[3] Die für Weihrauch in Frage kommende Zypresse ist der Tujabaum, vulgär: Lebensbaum. Dieser Baum gilt überall in Ch'inghai als ein vornehmer Baum, auch bei den Chinesen, welche sein Holz mit Vorliebe für Särge benutzen. Der chinesische Name ist *pai-shu* (*pei-shu* oder *pei-mu*) = Zeder, Wacholder, Zypresse. Das Tujenwort *šgua* ist eine Zusammenziehung des tibetischen *šug-pa*. *šug-pa*, womit die Juniperus-Gruppe benannt wird, welche in Tibet heimisch ist: Juniperus excelsa, Juniperus squamosa, Juniperus communis, s. CH. DAS, p. 1239 ff. Als Synonym ist dort *saṅs šiṅ* angegeben: Holz der Reinheit. *saṅs* kann aber auch „verdampfen, verflüchtigen usw." heißen; vgl. a. a. O. p. 1265: „evaporation". Von den andern Synonymen ist *lha-yi šiṅ* (Götter-Baum) zu nennen, weil auch der Gewährsmann behauptet, daß der Baum der *Lhamo* heilig ist. Hat man richtigen Wacholder, z. B. in wilden Berggegenden, so wird dieser mit seinen Beeren beim Weihrauchverbrennen bevorzugt. Das Tujenwort *ʃdzaṅ* (*šdzaṅ*, *saṅ*) kommt, dem Gewährsmann zufolge, aus dem Tibetischen. Es entspricht also dem *bsaṅs* (CH. DAS, p. 1316), „Weihrauch". — Im Mongolischen steht dafür *sang idegen*, „Weihrauch-Speise" (UNKRIG). — Auch die Chinesen haben dieses Wort übernommen, wenigstens in Ch'inghai, und nennen den Zypressenweihrauch *sang*. Daneben haben sie auch den chinesischen Ausdruck *pei-hsiang*: Zypressen-Weihrauch. Den Stäbchenweihrauch, also die Räucherkerzen, nennen sie einfach *hsiang* oder *pan-hsiang* (vielleicht: Blüten-Weihrauch); *pan-hsiang* wird auch verbal gebraucht, Weihrauch zu Ehren einer Person verbrennen (selten gebräuchlich). — Für „Weihrauch verbrennen" sagen

die Tujen *ʃdzaṅ garġa*, „Weihrauch entlassen (aufsteigen lassen)". Sie unterscheiden zwei Arten. Die eine ist der „große Weihrauch", *šge ʃdzaṅ*. Dieses Weihrauchopfer findet stets im Freien statt, und man verbrennt dabei vollständige Ästchen und Zweige. Die andere Art ist der „kleine Weihrauch", *mula ʃdzaṅ*. Dazu nimmt man nicht ganze Zweige, sondern zerstampft die Zypressennadeln zu Weihrauchmehl und streut es ins Feuer. Es verbrennt sehr schnell unter starker Rauchentwicklung, hat aber keinen Holzrauch. Diese Form bevorzugt man für Räucheropfer im Hause und zum Abräuchern von Gegenständen bei Reinigungszeremonien.

[4] Das als tibetisches Lehnwort bezeichnete *rdzē* entspricht dem *rdsas* (Unkrig); das im DMF gegebene Äquivalent *'dre*, „evil spirit (?)" (p. 311) ist abwegig. Ch. Das (p. 1057) hat dafür die Bedeutung: „an article, thing, material, object", und weiter: *de'i rdsas*, „requisits for this purpose (sc. unreine Angelegenheiten); especially for sacrifices, sorceries etc., hence also used as identical with magical agency". Diese letzte Bedeutung trifft zu für die Begleitgaben und Opfer beim Dämonenbann; vgl. *rdzē* im Kapitel: Das Dämonengeleit; Der Figurenbann usw. Damit stimmt auch die Erklärung im DMF (p. 311) überein: „objet qu'on met en liberté dans le but d'être délivré d'un mal (on y ajoute de l'argent ou quelqu'autre object), rançon." *rdzē* ist also im allerweitesten Sinn aufzufassen als Ausstattung, Utensilien, Proviant der Götter (Kleider, Ringe, Wegzehr), Opferbeigaben usw., wie ja aus der Fülle der Weihrauchgaben ersichtlich ist. Diese Beigaben stimmen weitgehend mit den Zutaten für die Erdgotturne (Schatzurne) überein. Sie sind aber wohl erst auf lamaistischen Einfluß zurückzuführen; denn in den Tujenliedern, welche das Weihrauchopfer erwähnen, werden sie nie genannt, ganz im Gegensatz zum Lebensbaum, Wasser und den Blumen, die nie fehlen. Die vornehmste, immer wieder genannte Blume ist die *kanba*; vgl. unten 2. Teil: Das Weihrauchopfer. Diese Blume hat einen starken, sehr wohlriechenden Duft, den man beim Weihrauchopfer weithin wahrnimmt. Der Tujenname stimmt mit dem tibetischen überein (Unkrig). Ch. Das (p. 140) übersetzt *k'am-pa* mit Tanacetum tomentosum und bezeichnet dies als eine „very aromatic plant growing in the high mountains of Tibet". Dinand identifiziert die Blume mit dem Rainfarn, Tanacetum vulgare; vgl. Handbuch der Heilpflanzen, p. 211, mit Abb., T. XXIII, 2. Nach G. A. Stuart gehört sie zur Species der Artemisia vulgaris, die überaus wohlriechend ist. Er unterscheidet drei Arten: Artemisia Indica, — Sinensis (*ai-hao*), — *moxa*; vgl. Chinese materia medica, p. 52. — Aus der Verwendung der Zypresse und der Blumen kann man also schließen, daß das Weihrauchopfer von Anfang an nicht als Brand-, sondern als Duftopfer aufzufassen ist. — Näheres über das Weihrauchopfer s. in Teil 2. — Zu *rdzē* vgl. auch das Kapitel: Die Erdgott-Urne.

[5] Tsamba ist auch heute noch nicht aus der Tujen-Küche fortzudenken. Man röstet *ch'ing-k'o* (chinesisch) oder *šbē* (tuj.), d. h. Spelt, Grünkorn, und mahlt es auf einer Handmühle. Dieses Röstkornmehl wird genau wie bei den Tibetern (Fandse) genossen. Nach dem Genuß von Buttertee wird Tsamba mit dem Rest von Tee und der darauf schwimmenden Butter in der Tee-

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schale zu einem trockenen Teig geknetet und dann in Kügelchen oder Würstchen gegessen. — Der Tsamba aber, der für das Weihrauchopfer gebraucht wird, darf nicht mit dem gewöhnlichen Tsamba aufbewahrt werden. Jede Familie hat dafür ein eigenes Kästchen. — Über *šbĕ, ch'ing-k'o* vgl. Näheres in SCHRÖDER: Hochzeitslieder.

[6] Der Gewährsmann bemerkte, daß „Libation" sonst immer nur *tusa* genannt würde; nur beim Weihrauchopfer würde man *tsiab* sagen. Der Ritus legt aber nahe, daß es sich gar nicht um eine Libation handelt. Trankopfer werden stets auf die Erde hingegossen. Hier aber wird das Wasser ins Feuer gesprengt; zudem wird Wasser an dieser Stelle allen andern Flüssigkeiten vorgezogen und gilt als die reinste und vornehmste. Das verlangt eine andere Deutung. Als Lehnwort entspricht *tsiab* dem tib. *c'ab*. CH. DAS (p. 409) erklärt *c'ab*: „water in any form; but not used like *c'u* to signify a river." Er erwähnt dann noch *sňa c'ab* als Wasser, mit dem sich die Mönche vor Beginn einer religiösen Zeremonie die Zunge netzen, um sich zu reinigen, was etwa das gleiche ist, wie oben die beschriebene Reinigung vor dem Weihrauchopfer. Das *tsiab* ist also nichts anderes als eine Reinigung des Feuers durch Besprengen mit Wasser. Später hat das Volk es als Opfer aufgefaßt und dafür Milch und Wein genommen. Es hat aber dennoch im Bewußtsein behalten, daß es eigentlich Wasser sein müßte.

[7] Die Muschel ist das Tritonshorn, die Tritonsschnecke. Den Tujen gilt sie als Sinnbild der Reinheit und des Erhabenen. So wird das Wort *dōň* auch adjektivisch gebraucht für: rein, weiß, erhaben, heilig. Man könnte es einfach mit „muschelig" übersetzen. Besonders häufig findet es sich in diesem Sinne in Liedern. Zum Blasen durchbohrt man das spitze Ende und faßt es meist in Metall ein; es dient als Mundstück. Am andern Ende, dem Schalltrichter, hängen oft bunte Bänder; vgl. Abb. Trotz ihres dumpfen Tones klingt die Muschel sehr weit.

Daß die Muschel in jener Gegend nicht heimisch ist, versteht sich von selbst. Der Tujen-Name ist die Lautnachahmung des tibetischen *duň*, meist fügen die Tibeter noch *dkar*, „weiß", hinzu. Im Mongolischen heißt diese Muschel *labai* (UNKRIG; Kov. 1958), was wiederum dem chinesischen *la-pa*, „Trompete", verwandt ist. Dem Zeichen nach ist aber dieses *la-pa* auch nur eine chinesische Lautnachahmung eines Fremdwortes. Die Ch'inghai-Chinesen haben für das Muschelhorn die Bezeichnung *pi-li*, die aber offensichtlich vom Tujenverb *pilie* (blasen) kommt, z. B. *dōňgĕ pilie* = die Muschel blasen. Die Chinesen sagen dafür *ch'uei pi-li*. Sonst ist der chinesische Name für das Tritonshorn einfach *luo* (*lo*), und die aus dem Buddhismus übernommene Muschel-Göttin (tib. *Duň-ma*, skr. *Mangala śankha*) heißt *pao-lo t'ien-nü*, „himmlische Elfe der Kostbarkeits-Muschel"; vgl. PANDER-GRÜNWEDEL, Pantheon, p. 105, Nr. 294; p. 115.

Das Muschelhorn und sein kultischer Gebrauch ist in Indien und der Südsee schon alt und weitverbreitet und in den Buddhismus übernommen worden. Die Funktion der Muschel im lamaistischen Kult kann hier natürlich nicht weiter erörtert werden. Zum Verständnis der Tujen-Sitte sei jedoch noch folgendes bemerkt. Das Muschelblasen bringt Harmonie ins Weltall und

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Tafel 1

a

b

a: Der Gewährsmann Tao Yifuh aus Tasechia bei Chichia-ling im Kreise Huchu, Tujen. Geboren März 1883, gestorben im Herbst 1949. Aufnahme in der Missionsstation zu Kanchia-p'u, Sommer 1948. (Zu: Einleitung.)
b: Lama die Muschel zum Blasen ansetzend. Aufnahme am 11. Mai 1949 im Kloster Fu-hai-szu oder Hsin-szu (Guambasoma) in der Nähe des Kukunor. (Zum Kapitel: Das Weihrauchopfer.)

c

d

c: Ein Tulku mit seinen Kultgerät beim Gebet. Vor ihm der Text, in der Linken die Manischnur. Im Hintergrund assistierende Lamas. Aufnahme im Kloster Fu-hai-szu, Mai 1948. (Zum Kapitel: Der Lama-Empfang.)
d: Gurtum aus Hei-tsui-p'u im Hsi-ch'uan. Aufnahme in seinem Gehöft, Herbst 1948. Wir durften nicht durchs Hoftor eintreten, sondern mußten übers Dach einsteigen; so wollte es der Schutzgeist. Der Gurtum hält in der Rechten den Geisterspeer, in der Linken die Fangleine und das Geisterschwert mit dem Griff nach unten. Er trägt nicht die fünfteilige Krone. Diese einfache Art des Gurtums ist in Chinghai weit verbreitet. (Zum Kapitel: Der Gurtum.)

[Follow p. 48]

kann die Hungergeister (*Preta's*) erlösen und ins Freudenparadies führen (*Tushita*); vgl. PANDER-GRÜNWEDEL, a. a. O. Besonders wertvoll sind Muscheln, deren Spiralen nicht wie gewöhnlich von rechts nach links, sondern umgekehrt verlaufen; vgl. CH. DAS (p. 628): *duṅ-dkar gyas 'k'il* (skr. *dakṣiṇā varta śankha*). Der Klang einer solchen Muschel heilt Krankheiten, und bewahrt man sie im Hause auf, so tilgt sie Streit und Unfrieden und gewährt Harmonie in der Familie. Das mag auch der Grund sein, warum die Tujen sich immer um eine solche Muschel bemühen und sie morgens beim Weihrauchopfer im Gehöfte blasen.

Im übrigen ist die Muschel auch schon von sich aus auf das Opfer hingeordnet. Früher diente sie als Opferschale; vgl. CH. DAS (p. 627). Heute gilt sie als drittes der acht Opfer (*mc'od brgyad*) oder Glücksymbole (*bkra šis rtags brgyad*) als Zeichen der Hinwendung nach der rechten Seite, nach den zehn Weltenrichtungen liebliche Klänge aussendend; vgl. FILCHNER (UNKRIG): Kumbum, p. 21.

[8] Das Weihrauchopfer ist unter den Nomaden Ch'inghais überall verbreitet und teilweise von den Chinesen übernommen. Es wird auch in allen Lamaklöstern gepflegt. Mag es auch nicht aus dem Buddhismus stammen, so ist es doch von ihm ins Rituale aufgenommen und mit „Weihrauch-Sutra's" beehrt worden, die bei Verbrennung wohlriechender Substanzen zu Ehren der Götter gebetet werden. Vom Lamaismus stammen auch die Zutaten, welche die ursprüngliche einfache Form überlagerten. Über diese ursprüngliche Form, deren Herkunft und religiöse Zuordnung zum Himmel vgl. den 2. Teil.

[9] Auch sonst wird das Feuer als Reinigungsmittel gebraucht. So muß z. B. nach alter Sitte eine Tujenwitwe bei Wiedervermählung über ein Feuer schreiten, ähnlich wie bei den Chia-Fandse die Braut über Tannenholzfeuer geführt wird (*sung-p'an*). Den gleichen Sinn dürfte auch das Feuerspringen in der Vollmondnacht nach Neujahr haben; vgl.: Das Neujahrsfest, Anm. 6. Doch hat nicht nur das Feuer diese Reinigungswirkung, sondern auch der Weihrauch selber. Das geht schon aus seinem Namen „Reinheits-Holz" hervor und aus dem Verbalgebrauch von *bsaṅs*, welches nach CH. DAS (p. 1316) „to cleanse, to remove" bedeutet. Aus diesem Grunde wird auch in das Wasser mit dem Glühstein (*ch'ü-t'an*), der zur kultischen Reinigung benutzt wird, Weihrauch gestreut.

[10] Zum Wasseropfer vgl. Kapitel: Der Lama-Empfang, Anm. 3.

[11] *talga*: tib. *t'al ba* oder *t'al k'a* = Pulver, Staub, Asche; mong. *talxa* = Mehl, Roggen-, Gerstenmehl.

ġlu-smdn: tib. *klu sman* = die Drachenmedizin, bot. Angelica. Es gibt vier Arten, von denen die schwarze und die weiße die besten sind. Die weiße Angelica ist gegen Krankheiten vom Erd-Drachen. Im Mongolischen heißt sie *luus-un em* = Drachen-Medizin.

snagsog: tib. *sna* = vielerlei, und *ts'ogs* = Art. *lisi* = tib. *li-ši* = Carophyllus. *gušgum*: tib. *gur-gum* = Safran, Krokos. *sěsmiel*: tib. *sug-smel* (*rmel*) = Kardamom; chin. *pai-tou kuan* (weiße Bohnenkrone). *gagula*: tib. *ka ko la* = Amomum medium; chin. *ts'ao-kuo* (Stroh-Frucht). *dzati*: tib. *dsa tsi* (skr.) = Muskat. *ġawur*: tib. *ga-bur* (skr.) = Kampfer (UNKRIG).

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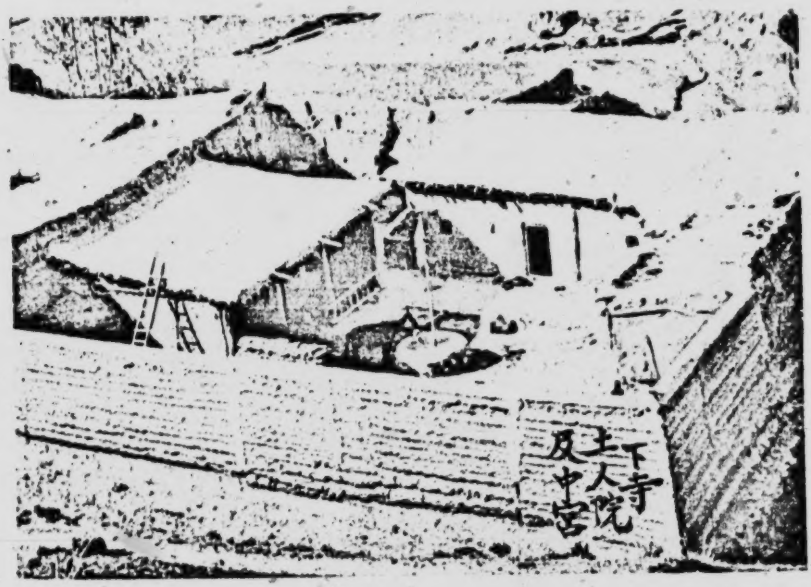
Tafel 2

a

b

a: Manibaum auf einem Hausdache im Dorfe T'a-erh-wan westlich von Tangkar in der Nähe des Kukunor. Sommer 1948. (Zum Kapitel: Der Manibaum.)

b: Alter Tujen vom Yang-p'o-t'ai auf dem Wege zum Obo des Shi-p'e-kou, 1949. In der Rechten ein Pappkast mit Wollbocken, in der Linken ein imitierter Speer mit Wollbocke und aufgemalter Spirale. Vor ihm auf dem Boden: ein Bündel Stroh für das Weihrauchfeuer, ein Sattelsack mit weißen Steinen, die auf das Obo geworfen werden, ein Krug Gerstenwein für die Libation, dahinter ein Säckchen mit Zypressen-Nadeln (Weihrauch). (Zum Kapitel: Das Obo.)



c

c: Ein Tujen-Hof der Siedlung Hä-szu (Hsia-szu) auf dem Wege vom Na-ling-kou nach Yang-chüan. In der Hofmitte die Mittelburg mit dem Manibaum. Sommer 1948. (Zum Kapitel: Der Manibaum.)

[Face p. 49]

2. Der Glückspfeil *

Bericht

In jedem guten Tujen-Hause findet sich ein Pfeil. Dieser steckt mit der Spitze in einer Urne mit Getreide oder in einem Mauerspalt oder in einer Balkenritze. An den Pfeil bindet man Hadas, bunte Bänder, Schafwolle, Haare usw. Der Pfeil wird von einem Lama oder Bonpriester geweiht und bei dieser Gelegenheit im Hause verehrt. Später jedoch verehrt man ihn nicht mehr. Der Pfeil ist nicht Sitz eines Geistes, sondern er garantiert Glück und Reichtum in der Familie.

Einzelheiten

Der Pfeil: Ursprünglich gebrauchten die Leute einen richtigen Pfeil [2]. Diese sind jetzt selten, da die Tujen nicht mehr Pfeil und Bogen als Waffen haben. Die Pfeile sind aber sehr mannigfaltig gewesen. Jetzt nimmt man meist nur noch einen einfachen Pfeilschaft ohne Spitze und Fiederung. Für die Herstellung bestehen keine Vorschriften.

Die Urne: Man gebraucht eine gewöhnliche Tonurne oder breite Vase, wie sie überall erhältlich ist. Manchmal wird die Urne hergerichtet wie die Schatzurne des Erdgottes. Dann kommen aber nicht mehrere, sondern nur eine Spruchrolle hinein. Auch übergießt man das Getreide nicht mit flüssiger Butter. An Getreide sind folgende Arten darin enthalten: Weizen, schwarze und weiße Gerste, helle und dunkle tibetische Gerste, niemals aber Bohnen, Erbsen usw. Die Urne kann von jeder Farbe sein. Sie ist aber nicht für den Glückspfeil notwendig. Manchmal steckt man diesen nur in ein Maß Getreide oder einen Holzzylinder; oder man gebraucht überhaupt keinen Behälter und steckt den Pfeil irgendwohin ins Gebälk oder die Mauer, allerdings immer im Hause. In einem solchen Falle wird der Pfeil jedoch nicht von einem Lama oder Bonpriester hergerichtet oder geweiht [3].

Angebinde: Immer und auf alle Fälle werden an dem Pfeile Hadas und Schafwolle befestigt. Ist der Pfeil geweiht, dann kommt meist auch noch ein kleiner kupferner Spiegel daran. — Verkauft oder verschenkt man ein Tier, dann wird auch von dessen Haaren etwas an den Pfeil gebunden, so bei Pferden, Eseln, Maultieren. Die Haare werden aus Mähne oder Schwanz genommen. Auch beim Veräußern eines Schafes wird noch einmal etwas Wolle angeknüpft. Nie aber dürfen Schweineborsten an den Glückspfeil gebunden werden. — Nach dem ersten Haarschnitt eines Kindes, am ersten Geburtstag, werden die abgeschnittenen Flaumhaare zu einer kleinen Kugel gewickelt und ein Faden daran ausgedreht, womit man die Kugel an den Pfeil bindet; ebenso knüpft man Pfeil und Bogen daran, welche das Kind bei dieser Gelegenheit als Orakel ergriffen hatte. — Wird eine Tochter verheiratet, so schneidet man einige kleine Streifchen Tuch von ihrem Braut-

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 52-55.

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kleidsaum ab für den Pfeil. Auch Haare der Braut, die beim Frisieren und Schmücken in der Nacht vor der Wegführung ausgekämmt wurden, werden sorgfältig gesammelt und am Glückspfeil befestigt [4].

Auch die Urne erhält Zugaben. So wirft man immer einige Körner Getreide hinein, wenn man solches verkauft. Ferner bringt in der Nacht beim Abholen der Braut die Bräutigamsfamilie ein Hada und Kleie für das Reittier der Braut mit. Die Kleie wird zum Teil in die Urne geschüttet und das Hada an den Glückspfeil gebunden.

Aufbewahrung: Wenn der Glückspfeil geweiht wurde und in einer Urne oder einem Scheffel steckt, so muß diese immer mit dem Pfeil zusammen im Haupthaus auf der Lade vor dem Buddhabild stehn oder, falls man eine Kapelle hat, in der Kapelle aufbewahrt werden. Wird er ohne Urne irgendwo festgesteckt, so muß auch das immer im Haupthaus sein.

Errichtung und Weihe: Der Pfeil ohne Urne wird ohne jedes Zeremoniell vom Hausherrn selber zurechtgemacht und mit dem Angebinde versehen. Er wird dann einmal abgeräuchert und unter Weihrauchopfer an seinen Platz gesteckt.

Beim Pfeil mit einer Urne lädt man den Lama unter den üblichen Gepflogenheiten ein. Er macht sein Torma, stellt die Wasserschälchen auf usw., wie sonst auch. Dann betet er einen Tag oder auch mehr und spricht das Weihegebet über den Pfeil. Während dieses Gebetes wird der Pfeil mit Zypressenweihrauch abgeräuchert. Dann wird der Topf gebracht, gewaschen und abgeräuchert, indes der Lama die Spruchrolle fertig macht. Auch diese wird abgeräuchert. Danach füllt man das Getreide in die Urne und steckt den Pfeil hinein. Der Hausherr stellt den Topf mit dem Pfeil vor den Lama auf den Kang, und dieser knüpft nun die einzelnen Sachen an. Jedes Stück wird vorher in den Weihrauch gehalten und dem Lama angereicht. Alles wird vom Gebete des Lama begleitet. Es ist auch statthaft, daß andere Personen, z. B. der Hausherr, die Angebinde befestigen. — Hiernach stellt der Hausherr die Pfeilurne auf die Lade vor das Götterbild mit den üblichen Opfergaben: Wasserschälchen, Wein, Getreide, Butter, Milch, Brot usw. Im Hofe draußen wird das große Weihrauchopfer dargebracht, und drinnen machen alle Anwesenden vor dem neuen Glückspfeil einen dreifachen Kotou. Bei der ganzen Verehrung aber bleibt der Lama auf dem Kang sitzen und betet.

Am Mittag feiert man ein Familienfest mit Gelage, singt und trinkt bis in die Nacht. Der Lama bleibt bis zum folgenden Morgen.

Gebrauch und Sinn: Der Pfeil wird nie zum Wahrsagen benutzt, weil er nicht Sitz eines Geistes werden kann, wie z. B. der Geisterspeer [5]. Nur einmal wird er aus dem Hause genommen, nämlich bei der Hochzeit. Während die Braut unter Weinen und Wehklagen der Frauen hinaus auf die Tenne geführt wird und das Reittier besteigt, nimmt der Vater den Glückspfeil und läuft damit hinter der Braut hin und her, den Namen seiner Tochter rufend, welche auf dem Reittier dreimal um die Tenne geführt wird, bevor sie davonreitet. Der Vater will das Glück zurückhalten.

Der Pfeil hält Glück und Wohlstand des Hauses zusammen, ähnlich wie der Reichtumsgott und die Schatzurne bei den Chinesen. Darum wird von allem, was man veräußert, etwas als „Same" und „Wurzel" zurückbehalten und am Pfeile befestigt oder der Urne beigegeben [4]. Die Braut geht mit der Heirat aus der Familie fort; aber man will, daß Glück und Reichtum nicht mit ihr das Heim verlassen. Darum werden auch Kleider und Haarreste am Pfeil aufbewahrt.

Wörterliste

Pfeil:	*sĕmu.*
Pfeilspitze:	*timurdĕ.*
Pfeilfiederung:	*sĕmu fodie.*
Glückspfeil:	*yāṅsdzia* [1], [4].
Urne:	*p'endzĕ* (chin.).
Urne mit Getreide	*yāṅ-dĕw* = Glücks-Samen füllen (tib. Lehnw.) [1].
Die Urne füllen:	*yāṅdzĕwrĕ ǵada* = Samenfüllsel einfüllen.
Angebinde:	*yāṅ rdzĕ* = Samen Angebinde (Zutat).
Hada:	*hadag* (tib.).
Tuchreste:	*sdziedzĕ dzüldĕgān* = Tuchreste allerart.
Mähnenhaare:	*dzāṅgāṅ*; *tsung-hang* (chin.).
Schwarzhaare:	*sul.*
Haarkugel:	*fudzĕ sdzialag* = Flaumhaar Kugel.
Schafwolle:	*ṅguasĕ.*
Weihegebet:	*yāṅpo dgĕ* (tib. Lehnw.) = Glückspfeil Gebet [1].
den Pfeil herrichten:	*ilieni yāṅsdziarĕ fuya* = alles dem Glückspfeile anbinden.

Anmerkungen

[1] *yāṅsdzia*: tib. *g,yaṅ* = Glück, *mda'* = Pfeil. *yāṅdĕw*: tib. *g,yaṅ* (idem), *skyob* = schützen. Damit bezeichnet man ein Opfer zur Sicherstellung des Glücks. *yāṅbo* (*-po*): scheint mit dem tib. *g,yaṅ-bum* = Glücksurne, zusammenzuhängen (UNKRIG).

[2] Nach den Berichten der Alten sind die Tujenpfeile genau so wie die der Fandse und Mongolen in Ch'inghai. Man kann diese Pfeile in großer Anzahl in jeder Lamaserie sehen. Ihre Durchschnittlänge beträgt etwa 1 *m*. Ihre Fiederung ist meist radial und aus Adlerfeder (*ying-mao*). Sehr mannigfaltig sind die Formen der Pfeilspitzen. Das Material ist immer Eisen. — Die Pfeile und Bogen der Kinder sind einfache plumpe Spielzeuge, wie in Europa auch. Heute sind Pfeil und Bogen aus dem Leben der Tujen verschwunden.

[3] Zur Herrichtung der Urne vgl. d. Abschn.: Die Erdgott-Urne.

[4] Daß immer Schafwolle am Pfeil befestigt wird, ähnlich wie am Obo, scheint mit dem Glücksschaf zusammenzuhängen, vgl. weiter unten. F. LESSING (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148) möchte die Woll(Baumwoll)-Kügelchen mit den Fadenfiguren (*mdos*) in Verbindung bringen, welche die Dämonen festhalten. — Mitunter werden auch Seidenfäden in den fünf heiligen Farben hinzugefügt. Auch die Haare eines Rindes werden beim Verkauf an den Pfeil gebunden, auf keinen Fall aber Schweineborsten, wie das z. B. L. SCHRAM (Mariage, p. 58) behauptet. L. SCHRAM verwechselt an dieser Stelle überhaupt den Glückspfeil mit dem Geisterspeer. Mit *iang hstia* bezeichnet er einen

„tige en fer", der in einem „gros et large socle" steht und eine Länge von „deux à trois pieds" hat. Man zollt ihm eine Verehrung „comme devant les esprits". Das trifft aber niemals auf ein *yäńsdzia* zu, sondern zum Teil nur auf einen kleinen Geisterspeer. Bei diesem sind Spitze und Eisenfuß sichtbar, so daß er den Eindruck erweckt, als sei er ganz aus Eisen. Er steckt ebenfalls in einem großen Gestell und kann die Länge von etwa einem Meter haben. Der Glückspfeil wird, meinem Gewährsmann zufolge, bei den Tujen nicht verehrt wie ein Geist, wohl der Speer. Die andern Angaben passen jedoch wieder für den Glückspfeil.

[5] Der Gewährsmann bestand fest auf dieser Behauptung, obwohl die Weihe, Bebänderung, Spiegel und Schellen dafür zu sprechen scheinen, daß der Pfeil dennoch Sitz des Geistes ist.

[6] Über das Wort *yäńsdzia* erhält man beim Volke verschiedene Auskunft. Die einen sagen, *yäń* bedeute „Glück", wogegen der Gewährsmann mehr den Sinn von „Keim, Wurzel, Same, Glückgarant" unterschiebt. In der Gegend von Bengbar (Hsi-ch'uan) heißt der Pfeil *yäńbō*. Das ... *bō* konnte niemand erklären. Das *yäń* leiteten die Leute aus dem Tibetischen ab, und es bedeute „Glück". Zweifelsohne ist es mit dem tibetischen *g,yaṅ* identisch. Das bei F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 139) erwähnte chinesische Wort *ying-pao* erinnert lautlich sehr an die Bezeichnung *yäńbō*. Einen dritten Ausdruck für den Glückspfeil haben die Tujen im Worte *yäńdar*. Sie deuten das *yäń* als „Glück" und das *dar* als „vermehren". Der Alte ließ jedoch das *dar* nicht für den ganzen Pfeil gelten, sondern nur für das Hada, das daran befestigt ist, womit er auch das Richtige trifft; denn *dar* bedeutet im Tibetischen „Tuch, Seide". Er meinte, das Ganze, samt der Urne, würde immer nur *yäńsdzia* genannt. Was das *sdzia* in dieser Zusammensetzung eigentlich bedeutet, ist mir nicht klar. Daß es eine Verballhornung von *mda'*, Pfeil, sei, ist zweifelhaft.

Um den Sinn des Glückspfeiles näher zu bestimmen, geht man am besten vom tib. Wort *g,yaṅ* aus. Nach Ch. Das verbindet sich mit *g,yaṅ* der Sinn von Reichtum, Lebensfülle, Schätzen, Wohlstand. Das geht aus den entsprechenden Zusammensetzungen mit *g,yaṅ* hervor (vgl. pp. 1149 ff.). Der Inbegriff des Glückes aber scheint das Schaf zu sein; es heißt metaph. einfach *g,yaṅ-dkar*, „das weiße Glück". Weiß ist auch die Glücksfarbe. Wie ist denn aber der Glückspfeil als Träger des Glückes aufzufassen?

Am deutlichsten wird seine Eigenart bei den Hochzeitszeremonien. Wenn die Braut vom Elternhaus aufbricht und auf dem Pferde reitend dreimal um die Tenne geführt wird, läuft der Vater der Braut dreimal hinter der Braut mit dem Glückspfeile her und ruft deren Namen. Währenddessen singen die Begleiter ein Lied, worin sie alles, was die Braut mitnimmt, als „Keim" auf den Pfeil bannen, damit es zurückbleibe. — Ähnlich ist es mit der Urne, welche das Getreide aufnimmt, das die Brautabholer gebracht haben. Diese Urne heißt tib. *g,yaṅ-bum* und ihre Bedeutung deckt sich mit dem Sinn, den Ch. Das (p. 1150) angibt. Sie enthält Schätze: Gold, Silber, Geld, Schmuck usw. Der Glückspfeil und die Glücksurne tragen also die Keime und Lebenskraft aller Glücksgüter der Sippe, seien sie nun Tiere, Menschen,

Schätze oder Saat. Sie tragen sie nicht nur, sondern gewähren auch deren Bestand und Vermehrung. Diese Vorstellung findet sich aber nicht nur bei Tujen allein.

Die Hirten-Nomaden haben einen ähnlichen Gebrauch wie die Tujen und Ackerbau-Fandse mit ihrem Glückspfeil. Wenn sie Tiere veräußern, dann binden sie etwas von der Wolle oder den Haaren an den Zeltpfahl oder an einen Strick im Zeltinnern. (Ähnliches berichtet G. MONTELL, p. 49 [Bild], von den Mongolen). Dieser Pfahl oder Strick hat eine besondere Beziehung zum Himmel. Bei den Ackerbauern tritt entsprechend der Bedeutung der Erdfrüchte die Urne hinzu. So haben die Chinesen ebenfalls eine *pao-p'ing*, „Schatz-Vase" ; ähnlich besitzen die Lolo eine Ahnenkiste, worin sie Schmuck und Andenken der Sippe aufbewahren, um dadurch eine Gewähr für Glück und Reichtum der Familie zu haben ; vgl. LIN YÜEH-HWA : I-chia. Vor allem scheint der Glückspfeil bei den Bon von großer Wichtigkeit zu sein ; vgl. H. HOFFMANN : Quellen, pp. 190, 184, 178. Eine besondere Rolle spielt er bei den Hochzeitssitten der Bon, wie sie H. FRANCKE in den Hochzeitsliedern beschrieben hat. Die Hochzeitssitten der Tujen und ihre Lieder weisen eine gewisse Verwandtschaft mit diesen Bon-Sitten auf, was an sich ja nicht verwunderlich ist, da die Bonreligion in Amdo bis in die jüngste Zeit hinein von starkem Einfluß war. Zur Weltanschauung der Bon gehört nun aber die Vorstellung von den Stammtieren, Muttertieren, Mutterschätzen, auf die alle andern irdischen Tiere, Schätze usw. zurückgehen ; vgl. H. FRANCKE : Hochzeitslieder, pp. 8 ff. Die Stammtiere werden auch von den Tujen in einem Liederzyklus besungen, welcher den Namen *xoni*, „Schaf", trägt. Dieser Liederzyklus stammt eigentlich von den Amdo-Fandse, bei denen er *g,yań-dkar*, „weißes Glück", oder *g,yań-dkar lug*, „Schaf des weißen Glücks", heißt. Obwohl verschiedene Tiere besungen werden, steht das Schaf als das höchste Glücksgut im Mittelpunkt.

Verbindet man diese Vorstellungen miteinander, so läßt sich vom *yańsdzia* behaupten : Es trägt die Keime und Ursprünge der Glücksgüter dieser Welt in sich. Die Lebewesen werden mehr dem Himmel zugeordnet (sind vielleicht astral zu deuten), und die Saat samt den andern Schätzen mehr der Erde. Der Pfeil stellt die Verbindung von beiden dar (Himmelspfahl, Himmelsseil). Diese Idee ordnet sich auch gut in die vorbuddhistisch-schamanistische Weltauffassung mit dem Weltenberg und den einzelnen Bereichen ein. Vgl. z. B. die Darstellung im Berg-Torma beim Ritus der Pfahlziege, wo die ganze Schöpfung in Miniatur auf ein Maṇḍala gebracht wird. Grundlegend ist immer eine keimhaft vorgebildete Welt, welche die wirkliche große Welt durch ihre Lebenskraft erhält. — Es wäre interessant, diese Vorstellungen über Asien hin zu verfolgen ; vielleicht ist sogar das Inao und das „Entsenden" der Ainu damit in Zusammenhang zu bringen.

Der Glückspfeil und die damit verbundene Sitte ist in den Buddhismus übergegangen und wird in allen Lamaklöstern geübt. Überall findet sich der Pfeil. Die wichtigste Zeremonie ist die Herbeirufung des Glücks (*g,yań 'gug*). Über diese Zeremonie ist in F. LESSING (Yung Ho Kung, pp. 139-147) ausführlich berichtet, wo auch Näheres über die lamaistische Verwendung des

Pfeiles zu finden ist, was aber nicht mehr hierher gehört. Nur eine Parallele zum volkstümlichen Gebrauch bei den Tujen sei erwähnt, wo LESSING die Prozession mit dem Glückspfeil schildert (p. 146): „After this interlude, the procession continues its way and finally returns to Hall II. They have absorbed all they can the elixir or vital forces (*rasayana*, tib. *bcud len*, mong. *sime*, *shime*) of heaven and earth, sun and moon, rivers and lakes, trees and herbs." Das entspricht genau der oben erwähnten Hochzeitszeremonie der Tujen beim Aufbruch der Braut, wobei ebenfalls „die Keime, Lebenskraft" im Liede auf den Pfeil gebannt werden, mit dem der Vater hinter der Braut einherläuft.

Das Tujenwort für diesen „Keim, Samen usw." lautet in den Liedern *furie*; vgl. SCHRÖDER, Hochzeitlieder. *furie* ist das mongolische *üre* (DMF, p. 111) und entspricht dem Sinne nach, wie *sime*, dem tibetischen *bcud* in *bcud len*. *len* bedeutet „fassen, ergreifen, sammeln" (CH. DAS, p. 1220) und *bcud* „Saft, Feuchtigkeit, Essenz, Kraft usw." (p. 394). Damit deckt sich die Bedeutung, welche mein Gewährsmann für das Wort *yän* geltend macht; vgl. oben. Zum Ausdruck *bcud-len* schreibt CH. DAS (p. 394): „the art of extracting essences for prolonging health and longevity, such essences as being of different kinds ...". Er erwähnt auch besonders die Erdkraft: „*sa-yi bcud*, the essence of the earth, by which the produce of the field, medicinal plants and precious metals and stones, etc., are said by Tibetans to be produced; therefore this essence is the natural fecundity of the soil ..." — Darüber an anderer Stelle mehr (in der Mythe über den Ursprung des Pflanzenbaues).

3. Der Manibaum und die Mittelburg *

Bericht

Fast in jedem Tujengehöft wird ein Manibaum errichtet, und zwar in der Mitte der Mittelburg oder Rundkrippe. Der Manibaum braucht mit dieser Mittelburg nicht zu gleicher Zeit aufgestellt zu werden, es kann das auch später noch geschehen. Die Zeit bestimmt der Wahrsager.

Der Manibaum besteht aus einem Holzmast mit einer Spitze, die Sonne und Mond darstellt. Unter dieser Spitze wird eine fünffarbige Hülle auf das Mastende gezogen, und unter diesem Mastende flattert die weiße Manifahne.

Diese Fahne wird im Lamakloster bedruckt. Zu gleicher Zeit lädt der Hausherr einen Lama ein, um den Baum zu errichten. Der Lama betet mehrere Tage und nimmt am letzten Tage die Aufrichtung vor. Während dieser Tage ist der Hof tabu. Täglich wird dreimal das große Weihrauchopfer dargebracht.

Bei der Errichtung bringt man den Mast in den Hof, legt ihn mit der Spitze auf die Mittelburg und knüpft die einzelnen Teile daran fest. Ist die Stange hergerichtet, dann wird sie abgeräuchert, zuerst mit dem Glühstein und dann mit Weihrauch. Der Wahrsager nimmt mit der Speerspitze einige Gerstenkörner von einem Teller und wirft sie über den Baum, und der Hausherr

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 60-63.

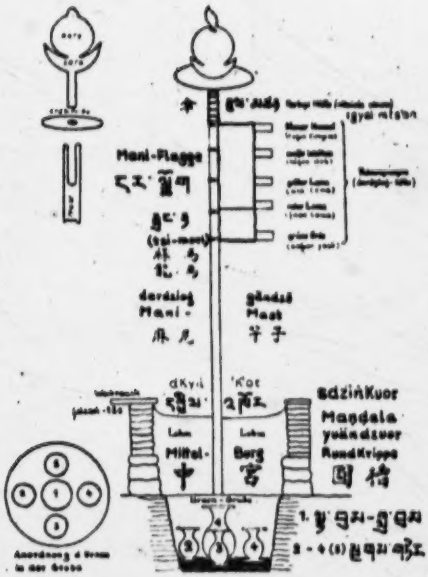


Fig. 7. Manibaum und Mittelburg.
Die große Urne in der Mitte (1) heißt Geister-Naga-Urne, die Begleiturnen (2-5, drei davon sichtbar) Zauberhort.

betupft den Baum mit Butter. Hierauf graben die Männer in die Mittelburg ein schmales tiefes Loch bis auf die Bodenebene. Der Wahrsager wirft wieder mit dem Speer einige Gerstenkörner hinein, und der Hausherr streut noch einige Weihrauchblätter dazu. Dann setzen die Männer den Baum ins Loch und ziehen ihn hoch. Damit er einen guten Stand hat, wird er am Fuße mit Steinen und Lehm festgekeilt. Die ganze Handlung geschieht unter ständiger Aufsicht des zitierten Speergottes.

Jetzt folgt das Opfer. Auf der Räucherplatte unterm Manibaum wird Weihrauch verbrannt, während man davor einen Tisch mit folgenden Gaben stellt [1]: einige Schälchen Gerstenwein, Getreide, reines Wasser, eine große Schale Tee, Brote, Butter- oder Öllämpchen und zwei Vasen bunter Blumen. — Der Lama kommt heraus, setzt sich auf die Gegenseite der Mittelburg auf eine weiße Filzmatte und betet das Weihegebet. Dabei machen alle Anwesenden Kotow und blasen die Muschel.

Nach dem Gebet werden die Opfergaben abgeräumt. Wasser und Wein gießt man auf den Boden und wirft von den Broten kleine Stückchen in die Luft. Die Öllämpchen bleiben stehen. Alles andere nimmt man mit ins Haus.

Der Hausherr gibt den Gästen ein Mahl; man tanzt und singt und trinkt bis in die Nacht, und zwar im Hofe um den neuen Manibaum. — Am andern Morgen bringt man den Lama heim ins Kloster.

Einzelheiten

Personen: Zum Beten lädt man einen gewöhnlichen Lama, keinen lebenden Buddha ein, manchmal auch Bonpriester. Man kann auch alles ohne Lama vollziehen. Dann dauert die Handlung aber nur einen Tag, weil das Beten ausfällt. In diesem Falle errichtet der Hausherr selber den Baum. Die Zeremonien sind fast die gleichen wie beim Lama. Nie aber darf der Wahrsager fehlen, einerlei ob er Speerwahrsager ist, oder die Sänftenträger oder die Tischgottwahrsager [2]. Der Wahrsager legt nie selber Hand an. Er hat nur die Zeit zu bestimmen und den Geist zu zitieren, unter dessen Aufsicht sich alles vollzieht.

3:Schröder AE9 Monguor

Zeit: Die vom Wahrsager bestimmte Zeit ist verschieden lang; einen, drei, fünf, sieben Tage, wenn ein Lama kommt; sonst nur einen Tag. Die Errichtung selber nimmt höchstens einen Vormittag in Anspruch. Man beginnt immer morgens. — Meist wird der Baum im Anschluß an den Bau der Mittelburg errichtet. Er kann aber auch zu allen andern Tagen des Jahres errichtet werden.

Der Baum: Der Baum muß immer frei von seiner Rinde sein. Die Größe wechselt je nach Maßgabe des Hofes und der Holzart. Tannenbäume sind meist die längsten. Über das Material und die Herkunft des Baumes bestehen keine Vorschriften. Man kann ihn nach Belieben fällen. Auch sind keine besondern Zeremonien damit verbunden. Es gibt Bäume bis zu 10 *m* Höhe, besonders wenn es sich um Manimasten für das ganze Dorf oder ein Kloster handelt. Durchschnittlich aber sind sie 5 bis 6 *m* lang [3].

Die Spitze [4]: Die Spitze wird aus einem daumendicken Holzbrett geschnitten, und zwar in Form einer Sonne, die auf einem Halbmond ruht. Auf der Sonne sitzt noch ein kleiner Halbkreis, und der Mond hat einen Stiel, mit dem die Spitze auf das Stangenende gesetzt wird. Alles: Sonnenaufsatz, Halbmond und Stiel sind aus einem Stück geschnitten. Diese Spitze sitzt aber nicht unmittelbar auf der Stange, sondern wird durch eine tellergroße, runde Holzscheibe gesteckt, die wagerecht auf das Stangenende zu liegen kommt [5]. Die Sonne mit ihrem Aufsatz und die wagrechte Scheibe werden mit roter Farbe gestrichen, z. B. roter Erde. Die Mondsichel ist weiß. — Statt dieser ausgeschnittenen Sonnen-Mond-Spitze kann man auch einen Büschel Zypressenzweige auf die Stange binden; auch das geschieht später unter den gleichen Zeremonien.

Die Hülle: Die Hülle, welche die Verbindung von Spitze und Stangenende verdeckt, wird aus fünf Stoffringen zusammengenäht. Jeder Ring hat eine eigene Farbe. Die Hülle ist etwa 30 bis 50 *cm* lang und richtet sich nach der Dicke des Baumes. Über die Herkunft und Beschaffenheit des Stoffes gibt es keine Regeln, sofern das Tuch nur sauber und ganz ist. Sowohl Männer als auch Frauen können diese Hülle nähen; meistens aber tun es die Männer. Nach dem Nähen wird die Hülle im Weihrauch abgeräuchert und auf den Hausaltar gelegt [6].

Die Manifahne: Die Fahne besteht aus einem langen Stück weißen Tuches. Meist ist es Baumwolltuch, das man in der Stadt kaufen kann. Es soll immer neu und fehlerfrei sein. Man beläßt dem Tuch die originale Bahnbreite, also etwa 30 bis 50 *cm*. Die Länge richtet sich nach dem Manimast; denn die Fahne wird mit der Längsseite am Baume angebracht. Im Durchschnitt beträgt die Länge 150 bis 200 *cm*. Diese Tuchbahn bringt der Hausherr zuerst in ein Lamakloster, wo sie in der Klosterdruckerei mit Gebetssprüchen und dem Bilde eines Luftpferdes bedruckt wird, jedoch nur einseitig. Etwa dreiviertel der Fahne wird mit Gebeten und das unterste Viertel mit dem Luftpferd versehen. Zu Hause näht dann der Mann oder die Frau auf einer Längsseite eine Reihe Schnüre an, womit die Fahne an die Stange

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor

geknüpft wird. Die andere, im Winde flatternde Längsseite versieht man mit fünf Stoffzungen in den fünf heiligen Farben. Die Länge richtet sich nach der Fahne. Meist sind sie etwa zwei Finger breit und einen Finger lang. Sie können rechteckig oder auch dreieckig sein. Die Fahne wird ebenfalls abgeräuchert und neben die Hülle auf den Hausaltar gelegt. Auch für diese Zunge gelten keinerlei Vorschriften bezüglich der Herkunft und Art des Stoffes [7].

Das Schafopfer: Wenn ein Lama die Manistange errichtet hat, dann bleibt es bei dem oben beschriebenen Opfer von Brot, Wein, Blumen usw. Danach zieht sich der Lama ins Haus zurück. Im Hofe wahrsagt der Speerwahrsager noch einmal, und zwar, ob die Geister noch ein Schafopfer wollen oder nicht. Der Wahrsager gibt dann den Willen des Geistes kund; manchmal verzichtet dieser auf ein Schafopfer, manchmal will er es sofort haben, manchmal erst nach einigen Tagen. Der Hof muß dann solange tabu bleiben. — Man bringt nie das Schafopfer in Gegenwart des Lama dar, weil es ja immer mit der Tötung des Tieres verbunden ist, und die Lamas lassen keine Tötung zu. Der Ritus des Schafopfers weicht nicht von dem gewöhnlichen Schlacht- und Opferritus ab.

Erneuerung des Manibaumes: Hat im Laufe der Zeit der Baum oder die Fahne Schaden gelitten, so werden sie erneuert, und zwar nur der Teil, der beschädigt ist. Die zerfetzte Fahne wird verbrannt, z. B. im Herd oder in einem eigens dafür angezündeten Feuer, aber immer mit reinem Brennholz, nie z. B. mit dem üblichen Trockenmist. Der unbrauchbare Manibaum wird ebenfalls verbrannt. Auf keinen Fall darf man ihn für andere Zwecke verwenden, etwa als Dachlatte. Wenn man den Manibaum oder den entsprechenden Teil ersetzt, vollzieht sich alles unter den gleichen Zeremonien wie bei einer Neuerrichtung.

Die kleine Maniflagge: Statt des großen Manibaumes errichtet man öfters auch auf dem Hoftor des Außenhofes eine kleine Stange mit einem Luftpferdwimpel. Dieser beträgt etwa eine Elle im Geviert und ist nur mit dem Bild des Luftpferdes bedruckt, höchstens noch mit einigen kurzen tibetischen Sprüchen. Auch dieser Wimpel wird im Kloster hergerichtet. Aber zur Errichtung dieser Flagge lädt man keinen Lama und keinen Wahrsager ein. Der Wahrsager bestimmt nur einen Glückstag und eine günstige Stunde. Alles geschieht ohne besondere Zeremonien, sogar ohne ein Weihrauchopfer. Wohl aber ist der Hof einige Tage tabu. Manche Bauern errichten sowohl die große Manifahne im Hof als auch die kleine Maniflagge auf dem Tore.

Die Rundkrippe: Wird ein neues Gehöft angelegt, so wird auch immer mitten im Hofe eine Rundkrippe oder Mittelburg gegraben, genau nach Angabe des Wahrsagers. Zu dem Zwecke richtet der Lama fünf Schatzurnen her, welche in die Grube gesetzt werden. Die Grube wird eingeebnet und über ihr eine runde Mauer von etwa 2 *m* Durchmesser und 1 *m* Höhe errichtet. Die untern drei Schichten sind Steine, die obern Schichten Luftziegel. Diese Rundung wird mit Lehm ausgefüllt und festgestampft. In die Mitte kommt ein Pfahl oder eine Wagenachse, woran man die Tiere bindet,

wenn man sie tagsüber dort sonnt und füttert. Deshalb heißt das Ganze auch „Rundkrippe". Man nennt sie auch „Mittelburg"; denn es ist die Hofmitte, und die eingegrabenen Urnen beschützen das Gehöft. Die Mittelburg ist erst vollständig, wenn auch die Manistange errichtet wird. Auf dem Rande der Rundkrippe, nach dem Haupthause hin, befindet sich die Räucherplatte. — Die Herrichtung und das Eingraben der Urnen geschieht nach gleichen Zeremonien wie bei der Schatzurne oder bei Errichtung eines *beňkaň* (Tschortenkammer). — Die Rundkrippe wird weiß gestrichen. Nach der Errichtung hält der Hausherr ein Festmahl; man singt und tanzt um die neue Mittelburg [8].

Lied: Nach der Errichtung der Mittelburg oder des Manibaumes singt man gerne folgendes Lied: „Tritt man durchs große Tor, was ist dann rund? Tritt man durchs große Tor, dann ist die Rundkrippe rund; Halbyaks, Maultiere, Pferde bilden eine Runde, und mitten darin ragt der Manibaum empor. Tritt man in die Küche, was ist dann rund? Tritt man in die Küche, so ist Kessel und Deckel rund; Tassen, Näpfe und Schalen bilden eine runde Schar, der Holzlöffel ragt mitten darin empor. Tritt man ins Haupthaus, was ist dann rund? Tritt man ins Haupthaus, so ist das Feuerbecken rund. Verwandte und Freunde sitzen darum, und in der Mitte ragt der Weinkrug empor."

Sinn: Der Manibaum verbürgt Glück und Frieden für Haus, Hof und Menschen. Das Luftpferd ist Sinnbild des Schicksals. Auf seinem Rücken trägt es den Edelstein des Glückes: *nuru*. Der Baum stellt den Weltenberg dar. Um seinen Gipfel kreisen Sonne, Mond und Sterne, und unten liegt die Welt mit den Menschen, mit Haus und Hof und Herden [9].

Wörterliste
(Vgl. Zeichnung)

Der Manibaum (Baum und Fahne zusammen): *dardzioġ* (tib.).
Der Mast: *dardzioġ gändzë* (chin.); *mani-kan-tzu* (chin.).
Die Sonne: *nara*.
Der Mond: *sara*.
Für die runde Scheibe und den Aufsatz auf der Sonne gibt es keine eigenen Tujen-Namen.
Die Hülle: *rdziala ntsam* (tib.); *san* (chin.) = Schirm [8].
Die Fahne: *dardzioġ* (tib.); *ta-ch'iu* (chin.); *ki mori* = Luftpferd; *loňšda* (tib.); *lu-ma* (chin.) = Glückspferd; *lung-ma* (chin.) = Drachen-Pferd [10].
Die Fahnenzungen: *dardzioġ kilie* = Manifahne-Zungen.
Blauer Himmel: *huguo tieňgëre*.
Weiße Wolken: *tsiġan uloň*.
Gelber Lama: *sira lama*.
Roter Lama: *fulan lama*.
Grüne Erde: *noġuon yäsë* = grünes Gras.
Die Rund-Krippe: *yüän dzuor* = runde Krippe; *yüan-ts'ao* (chin.) = Rundkrippe; *sdziňkuor* (tib.) = Mittel-Rund [8].
Die Räucherplatte: *fdzaň tšë* = Weihrauch-Terasse.
Die Mittelurne (i. d. Mittelburg): *lawum-ġluwum* (tib.) = Geisterurne-Erdgotturne.
Die vier kleinen Urnen: *sënog-der* (*snaġ-der*) = Zauber-Urnen [11].

Anmerkungen

[1] Man kann auch unmittelbar am Fuße des Baumes in der Rundkrippe Weihrauch verbrennen und die Opfergaben niederstellen.

[2] Der Wahrsager wird am Morgen eingeladen und bewirtet. Er ruft den Geist herab und bestimmt dann genau den Anfang der Zeremonie.

[3] Heute findet man nur noch selten in der Hofmitte einen vollständigen Manibaum. Meist steht in der Rundkrippe eine alte rissige Stange ohne Fahne, woran die Tiere angebunden werden. — Der Manibaum muß nicht immer auf die Hofmitte beschränkt sein. Man sieht Manibäume auch auf den massiven Hofmauern, besonders wo diese in der Ecke zusammenlaufen. Auch gibt es gemeinsame Manibäume, die ein ganzes Dorf errichtet, meist dann auf einer erhobenen Terrasse mit einem schönen Weihrauchofen davor. Häufig steht auch in der Mitte des Obo eine Manistange mit flatterndem Wimpel. Die schönsten und größten Manibäume befinden sich vor den Eingangstoren der lebenden Buddhas in den Lamaserien, die bis zu 15 *m* Länge haben und bis zu 5 bis 8 *m* lange Flaggen tragen, die über und über mit tibetischen Texten bedruckt sind. — Sogar unter den Chinesen findet man Manistangen, wenn auch selten.

[4] Diese Spitze kommt auch immer wieder vor auf Tschorten, Tempeldächern, Totenladen, in Symbolen usw. — Die großen erwähnten Manibäume vor den Höfen der lebenden Buddhas jedoch haben statt der Sonnen-Mond-Spitze meist eine goldene Kugel.

[5] Für die runde Scheibe, durch die der Stiel der Mondsichel gesteckt wird, wußte der Alte keinen Namen. Er meinte, diese Scheibe stelle den Strahlenkranz der Gestirne dar. Manchmal hört man auch, sie vertrete die Erdscheibe. — Den kleinen runden Aufsatz auf der Sonne bezeichnete er als Stern; so wären denn Sonne, Mond und Sterne auf der Spitze. Von andern Erklärungen der lamaistischen Geheimdeutungen, wie der Sonne als *tilaka*, der Mondsichel als *bindu* (Tropfen) und des Aufsatzes als flammenförmiger *nāda* (Opferschrei) usw. ist bei den Leuten nichts bekannt. Vgl. Anm. 9.

[6] Der Name der Hülle ist offenbar nichts anderes als eine Verballhornung des tibetischen *rgyal-mts'an* (gespr. *rdzial-*), des Sieges-Schmuckes (cf. FILCHNER, UNKRIG, p. 21), welches zu den acht Opfern gehört (*mc'od brgyad*). CH. DAS (p. 313) erklärt das *rgyal-mts'an* (skr. *dhvajā*) als Kriegsbanner oder Siegeszeichen des Buddhismus; es ist die amtliche Standarte der Buddhisten. Oft findet man es als Kleiderverbrämung in verschiedenen Farben oder als einen Stoffzylinder auf Fahnenstangen oder an einem Pfahl. Mitunter wird es in Messing oder Holz angefertigt. Dann führt CH. DAS elf Arten des *rgyal-mts'an* im tibetischen Buddhismus an, welche die dämonischen Mächte bekämpfen.

Die chinesische Übersetzung *san* (Schirm) könnte irreführen und auf das erste der acht Opfer hinweisen, den weißen Schirm, *gdugs dkar* (skr. *chattra*); cf. CH. DAS, p. 69 (*bkra šis* ...) und FILCHNER, UNKRIG, p. 21. — Die Tujen unterscheiden hier nicht genau.

Die mehrfarbige Hülle trifft man in den verschiedensten Spielarten

an : als Säulenumhänge in den Tempeln, als riesige Tuchglocken oder Schirme, an Zeremonienstandarten, an Dreizack-Masten, als Vorhänge usw. Sie bilden also keine Besonderheit des Manibaumes. Weil das *rgyal-mts'an* auch als Kleiderverbrämung vorkommt (cf. oben), so ist vielleicht der bunte Ringenbesatz der Tujentracht an den Ärmeln damit in Verbindung zu bringen, der ja oft als Stofftrichter übergezogen wird.

[7] Die Manifahne hat verschiedene Namen, vgl. weiter unten Anm. 10. Alle diese Namen gelten in erster Linie für das Pferdebildnis, dann für die Fahne und schließlich für den ganzen Baum. Das Bild ist dabei das wichtigste ; zumal wenn man bedenkt, daß auch Papierbilder im Gebrauch sind.

Es gibt auf jeder Fahne oder jedem Bild die verschiedensten Sprüche und Darstellungen, auf Tibetisch oder Chinesisch oder Mongolisch. Manchmal trägt das Pferd auch noch auf dem Rücken das Glückzeichen *nuru*. Diese Papierpferde spielen eine große Rolle bei der Zeremonie des Loslassens der Pferde, die sowohl von Tujen als auch Chinesen und Tibetern vorgenommen wird. Diese Zeremonie wird zu bestimmten Jahreszeiten, z. B. im Neujahrsmonat morgens in aller Frühe geübt, wie ich es beobachtete. Dabei wird ein großes Weihrauchopfer mit einer Menge kleiner Teiglampen verbrannt, Brot, Tee und Gerstenwein wird geopfert, und schließlich wird ein Pack papierene Pferdebilder mit allerlei Aufschriften in die Luft geworfen und vom Wind in alle Richtungen zerstreut. Das Ganze findet auf einem Berge statt. Auch sonst kann jeder bei Unglück diese Zeremonie beliebig vornehmen.

[8] Die Rundkrippe wird häufig auch von Chinesen errichtet. Aber je weiter man nach Osten kommt, umso seltener ist sie zu finden. Auf jeden Fall fehlt bei den Chinesen die Manistange in der Rundkrippe, manchmal auch sogar der Aufbau, also die Krippe selber. Wichtig ist ihnen nur, daß eine Urne in der Hofmitte vergraben wird ; und jeder Gehöftbau beginnt praktisch mit diesem Vergraben der Urne. Diese Stelle oder die Rundkrippe heißt *chung-kung*, d. h. Mittelburg, oder auch *yüan-ts'ao*, d. h. Rundkrippe. Vorgenommen wird die Zeremonie vom Laienbonzen oder von einem *Tao-shih*, Tempelbonzen ; meist aber gibt der Geomant die Stelle an, wo die Urne (oder die Urnen) vergraben werden soll. Das hängt aber mit der geomantischen Bestimmung des ganzen Gehöftes zusammen.

[9] Diese Erklärung des Gewährsmannes besagt, daß erst mit Errichtung der Manistange das Gehöft vollendet ist, eingeordnet in die Welt, wie es auch bei andern Liedern zum Ausdruck kommt. Sie beruht auf der lamaistischen Vorstellung der Welt, derzufolge in der Mitte der Weltberg steht, um den alles andere gelagert ist. Bei den Lamas findet man immer diese Deutung, wie sie ja auch symbolisch in dem überall zu findenden Monogramm, dem *nantšu wändän*, dargestellt wird. Allerdings wissen die Tujen nichts über die Einzeldeutungen dieses Monogrammes (vgl. Anm. 3), auch nichts von der Parallele dieser kosmischen Deutung mit dem menschlichen Körper. — Es ist hier auch zu bemerken, daß in diesem Symbol die flache Scheibe unter der Mondsichel fortfällt, und ferner, daß die Farben verschieden sind ; die kleine Flamme auf der Sonne ist grün, die Sonne selbst weiß, die Mondsichel rot ; vgl. UNKRIG in FILCHNER : Kumbum, p. 160-61.

Das Wort *sdzi-ṅkuor* und die Übersetzung des Gewährsmannes mit „Mittel-Rund" gibt lautlich und dem Sinne nach das tibetische Wort *dkyil 'k'or* genau wieder; vgl. DMF, p. 387 und CH. DAS, p. 56. Dort werden die verschiedenen Bedeutungen für *dkyil 'k'or* angeführt, im besonderen: als Äquivalent des Sanskritwortes *maṇḍala*, die magischen Kreise und Figuren und Darstellungen von Götterwohnungen usw. (vgl. das Kapitel: Die Pfahlziege); ferner für die hier in Frage kommende Vorstellung vom Weltall: „According to the Buddhist cosmogony there are *sa-yi dkyil 'k'or* the sphere of earth, *c'u-yi dkyil 'k'or* the sphere of water, the ocean, *rluṅ-gi dkyil 'k'or* the atmosphere, *me-yi dkyil 'k'or* the sphere of fire; each forming a stratum over the other. The upper stratum, i. e. that which is beyond the atmosphere, is called the sphere of fire or light." (CH. DAS, a. a. O.) Hält man diese orthodoxe lamaistische Erklärung neben die Erklärung des Alten, so sieht man, wie volkstümlich und lebendig diese Weltvorstellung bei den Tujen ist, wie sie buchstäblich in den Lebensraum hineingebaut wird.

In dieses Vorstellungsbild scheint das Luftpferd eigentlich nicht hineinzugehören, und es war auch vom Gewährsmann nicht zu erfahren, was das Luftpferd, also die Maniflagge, mit dem Weltenberg zu tun habe, warum man sie daran anbringe. Wohl meinte er, sie würde daran so hoch hängen und könne gut im Winde flattern und wäre mit ihren Gebets- und Zauberformeln dasselbe wie eine Gebetsmühle, die auf dem Dache auch vom Winde gedreht würde. Andere Erklärungen bringen das Luftpferd auch nicht mit der Rundkrippe zusammen. So kann man hören, auf dem Luftpferd würden die Zauberformeln und Gebete in den Himmel getragen. Wieder andere meinen, die Luftpferde würden von den umherirrenden unruhigen Geistern und Totenseelen geritten; so würden sie den rechten Weg finden und zur Ruhe kommen. Das sei auch der Grund, warum man diese Papierpferde in so großer Zahl loslasse. Dann wären die Geister beruhigt und würden nicht mehr die Menschen aufsuchen und belästigen.

[10] *loṅšda* ist das tibetische *rluṅ rta*, Luftpferd; *ki-mori* ist die wörtliche Tujenübersetzung davon. Über seine Bedeutung als „Schicksal" vgl. 2. Teil, II, 1, c. — Vielleicht ist das chinesische *lung-ma* auch nur eine Lautnachahmung dieses tibetischen *rluṅ* (Luft), die sich deshalb nahelegte, weil das Drachenpferd, das ja ebenfalls *lung-ma* heißt, in Sagen und Erzählungen als ein Wunderpferd auftaucht. In der Siningchronik steht im Kapitel über den Kukunor-See ein Passus über diese Drachenpferde. Zu gewissen Zeiten würden die *T'u-yü-hun* ihre Pferde (auch ganz schlechte) in den See treiben, welche sich dann mit dem Drachen paarten. Die von ihnen abstammenden Pferde könnten an einem Tage tausende von Meilen zurücklegen.

Für die Papierdrucke der Luftpferde sagen die Chinesen meist *lu-ma* (Glücks-Pferde). Das oben erwähnte „Loslassen" dieser Pferde, *fang lu-ma*, beanspruchen sie als eine alte chinesische Sitte, wohingegen die Tujen, Fandse und Lamas sie für ihre eigene Tradition ausgeben. — Daneben haben die Chinesen noch goldgelbe Papierblätter, die sie bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten verbrennen, an Haustore oder Tiere usw. anheften. Sie heißen *chih-ma*

3:Schröder AE9 Monguor

(Papier-Pferde) oder *piao-ma* (Blatt-Pferde). Obwohl kein Pferdebildnis darauf ist, leiten viele Leute das ... *ma* von „Pferd" ab.

Das *ta-ch'iu* ist eine chinesische Verballhornung von *dardzioġ*; man hört diesen Ausdruck meist in der Gegend von Tangkar. *dardzioġ* entspricht dem tibetischen *dar lcog* (DMF, p. 44); dieses bedeutet nach CH. DAS „Seide" und „Spitze" und ist: „a flag-staff about 10 or 12 feet high ... on house-tops, piles of stone, or on votive cairns" (p. 620).

[11] *sënoġder*: tibetisch *sṅags* = Zauberspruch, Bannformel, *gter* = Schatz, Vorratskammer. Sinn: Zauberschatzkammer (UNKRIG).

4. Das Obo *

Bericht

Auf den Bergen in der Nähe der Dörfer errichten die Tujen gerne ein Obo. Das ist ein großer Steinhaufen über einer Grube, in der allerlei Sachen eingegraben sind. Auf diesen Steinhaufen steht ein viereckiges großes Holzgestell, wohinein man allerlei Waffen, Baumzweige und Manifahnen steckt. Oft laufen vom Obo in den vier Windrichtungen noch mehrere kleinere Steinhaufen; zum wenigsten eine Reihe in Richtung des Bergesrückens.

Das Obo ist dem Berggeist geweiht. Es beschützt das Dorf und die Einzelfamilie. Jeden Monat verehrt man das Obo dreimal mit einem Weihrauchopfer. Am Obo finden auch öfters Schafopfer statt. Bei besondern Anlässen lädt man einen Lama oder Bonpriester ein, damit er vor dem Obo bete. Wenn man Luftpferde losläßt, so tut man das mit Vorliebe von der Höhe, auf der ein Obo steht. — Alljährlich findet beim Obo ein großes Volksfest statt.

Einzelheiten

Ort: Das Obo wird immer auf einer Bergeshöhe errichtet. Man bevorzugt einen Platz an einem Engpaß. Es braucht aber nicht der höchste Berg in der Gemarkung zu sein. Jedes Dorf kann sein eigenes Obo haben. Es können auch mehrere Dörfer zusammen ein Obo errichten. Dann einigt man sich auf einen günstigen Platz zwischen den Dörfern [1].

Den Berg, worauf das Obo steht, darf man nicht entweihen. Man darf keine Felder dort anlegen; die Bäume dürfen nicht abgeholzt werden; das Gras darf man nicht schneiden; den Boden nicht aufwühlen. Tiere, die dort hausen, z. B. Hasen, Füchse, Vögel, werden nicht gejagt oder getötet. Man muß alles so lassen, wie es von Natur wächst und gedeiht; nicht einmal das Vieh darf dort weiden. Dieser Ort gehört nämlich dem Berggeist und heißt heiliger Berg.

Die Obogrube: Bei Errichtung des Obo wird eine Grube gegraben. Dahinein kommen allerlei Kostbarkeiten, hauptsächlich Schatzurnen (Erdgotturnen), ähnlich wie bei der Mittelburg des Gehöftes. Das Obo wird von einem Lama oder Bonpriester errichtet. Von der jetzigen Generation hat kein

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 68-71.

Tujen mehr diese Zeremonie gesehen. Die heutigen Obos stammen noch aus alter Zeit und zerfallen immer mehr. Darum weiß keiner mehr genau, was in das Obo vergraben wird.

Der Steinhügel: Die Höhe der Hügel ist verschieden, je nach den Umständen. Zuerst wird eine Außenwand kreisförmig aufgeschichtet. In diese Rundung kommt eine große Menge kleiner Steine bis zum Rande, und zwar sollen es weiße Steine sein. Bei jeder Oboverehrung werden immer neue Steine dazugeworfen, so daß der Haufen immer wächst. Die Außenwand des Hügels wird weiß getüncht. Die zwölf kleinen Steinhaufen heißen „Obokinder". Unter jedem wird eine Urne vergraben.

Das Obogestell: Das Gestell, das man auf den Steinhügel setzt, hat vier starke Eckpfosten, welche durch armdicke Querbalken verbunden sind. Regeln für dessen Herstellung gibt es nicht, auch nicht für das Material desselben. Wird dieses Gestell baufällig, so ersetzt man es durch ein neues und verwendet die Reste des alten ganz nach Belieben. Je nach der Größe des Obos gibt es Gestelle von 1 bis 3 *m* Seitenlänge und bis zu 2 *m* Höhe. Das Gestell dient einzig dazu, Waffen, Baumzweige und Stangen zu halten.

Weihegaben: In das Obogestell kommen Waffen aus Holz, wie Speere, Schwerter, Pfeile, Bogen, Hellebarden; neuerdings sogar Holzgewehre. Ferner steckt man Baumzweige und Manifahnen dazwischen.

Über das Holz gibt es keine Vorschriften. Sowohl an Waffen wie an Baumzweigen werden Schafwollbüschel angebunden. Die Speere sind manchmal rot bemalt und mit spiralförmigen schwarzen Tuchstreifen umwunden. Die Schwerter sind ebenfalls bis zum Griff schwarz gestrichen. Die Wollflocken an der Speerspitze sind Ersatz für die Speerquasten, welche an richtigen Speeren aus weißen Yakschwanz-Büscheln bestehen, die man rot färbt. Die schwarze Farbe bedeutet Eisen. Früher umwand man die Speere spiralenförmig mit Blechstreifen.

Die Baumzweige sind gewöhnlich von Pappeln, Tannen und Zypressen. Bevorzugt werden Zypressen und Tannen. Man kann auch die Blätter daran lassen. Geschälte, glatte Zweige können auch die Speere ersetzen.

Auf den Steinhügel innerhalb des Gestelles werden auch andere Opfergaben geworfen, so kleine weiße Steine, Gold, Silber, Geld, Getreide, Zucker, Butter, Blumen, Teeblätter usw. An das Obogestell bindet man Seidenfäden, Hadas; um das Gestell zieht man eine Seidenschnur. Früher behängte man das Obo mit kostbaren Tüchern. Aber jetzt sind die Leute zu arm. Die Seidenfäden und die lange Seidenschnur ist nur ein Ersatz dafür. Auch Gold und Silber werden fast nicht mehr auf das Obo geworfen.

Manchmal zieht man vom Obogestell oder von der Manistange aus noch eine Schnur mit zwölf Manifahnen über den Engpaß in der Nähe. Diese Schnur ist aus schwarzer Wolle und heißt „Wolfsschnur". Eine andere Schnur wird häufig noch vom Obo bis an einen Baum geführt, woran zwölf Manifahnen hängen. Diese Schnur ist weiß und heißt „Manischnur".

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor

Das Monatsopfer: Gewöhnlich wird das Obo am 1., 8. und 15. Tag eines jeden Mondmonates verehrt [2]. Das geschieht gewöhnlich vom Familienherrn. Er begibt sich mit einem Speer oder mehreren Zweigen und allem andern Zubehör in aller Frühe zum Obo.

Zuerst bringt er davor das gewöhnliche Weihrauchopfer dar. Dann gießt er eine Schale Gerstenwein vor dem Weihrauchfeuer auf den Boden. Hierauf steckt er Lanzen und Zweige mit Wollbüscheln aufs Obo, hängt Seidenfäden ans Gestell und wirft seine Weihegaben auf den Hügel, nämlich Butter, Teeblätter, Geld, Silber usw., so wie er es sich gerade leisten kann. Dann geht er dreimal von links nach rechts um das Obo herum, wirft 108 kleine weiße Steine hinauf und betet dabei das *om mani padme hum* und ruft dazwischen: „Das weiße Obo bewerfe ich." Hierauf macht er vor dem Weihrauchfeuer zum Obo gewandt einen dreifachen Kotou. Während der ganzen Zeremonie wird von Begleitern die Muschel geblasen. Das ist aber nicht notwendig.

Das Schafopfer: Für die Zeit des Schafopfers gibt es keine festen Vorschriften. Es gibt gemeinsame Opfer, an denen sich das ganze Dorf für die Dorfanliegen beteiligt; und es gibt private Opfer, die der einzelne für seine Familie darbringt.

Das gemeinsame Opfer wird meist im Sommer, nach Errichtung der Pfahlziege für eine gute Ernte, dargebracht. Ein Einzelopfer wird je nach Zeit und Umständen zu allen Jahreszeiten vorgenommen, z. B. bei Krankheit, vor einem wichtigen Unternehmen. Da aber ein Mann allein nicht alles zu einem Opfer erledigen kann, lädt er dazu noch mehrere Männer ein, die ihm helfen und nachher das Opferfleisch verzehren. Wer das Opfer darbringt, muß auch für die Kosten aufkommen.

Der Opferritus unterscheidet sich nicht von dem der andern Schafopfer. Das Schaf wird also gewaschen, mit Milch begossen, geräuchert usw. Meist ist auch ein Wahrsager dabei. Nachdem das Opferfleisch gekocht ist, werden vom Sud mehrere Schalen geschöpft. Damit vollzieht man die Opferwürfe in den vom Wahrsager angegebenen Richtungen. Diese sind immer gleich. Drei Schalen wirft man nach Norden für den Himmel, je drei Schalen nach Ost, Süd und West und Nord für die zahllosen Geister, drei Schalen links neben das Weihrauchopfer für den Berggeist im Obo, drei Schalen rechts neben das Weihrauchopfer für den Erdgeist. Dann folgen drei weitere Schalen auf das Obo, und schließlich gießt man noch drei Schalen vor den Geisterspeer hin. Dann folgt das Opfermahl, wobei alles Fleisch aufgezehrt wird.

Vor dem Schafopfer wird zuerst die allgemeine Oboverehrung vorgenommen wie beim Monatsopfer.

Das Obogebet: Oft lädt man einen Lama oder Bonpriester ein, um vor dem Obo zu beten. Das kann 1 bis 7 Tage dauern, je nach dem Anliegen. Auch hier ist entweder das ganze Dorf oder eine Einzelperson der Bittsteller. Jeder kommt selbst für die daraus entspringenden Unkosten auf.

Der Gebetsdienst beginnt mit einem Weihrauchopfer der Leute. Währenddessen macht der Lama ein *šdorma*. Dann stellen die Leute folgende Opfergaben vor das Obo: drei Backbrote, dreizehn Dampfbrote, eine Schale

Gerstenwein, Blumen in Vasen, kleine Schalen mit Honig, eine Tasse Tee, schwarzen und weißen Zucker, eine Schüssel Tsamba mit Butterscheiben.

Der Lama betet vor dem Obo sitzend die entsprechenden Gebete, die er mit seiner Sanduhrtrommel und der Schelle begleitet. Die Leute verbrennen dabei an mehreren Stellen Weihrauch, machen Kotou und blasen die Muschel. Dieser Dienst kann mitunter den ganzen Tag dauern. Ist der Lama mit dem Gebet fertig, dann bringt er das Torma auf einen Stein auf dem Obo, besprengt das Obo mit Weihwasser und bewirft es mit Gerste, über die er leicht hinbläst. Hierauf nehmen die Leute von Opfergaben, die vor dem Obo stehen, pflücken etwas ab und werfen davon ins Weihrauchfeuer und auf das Obo. Die Blumen werden sämtlich auf den Hügel geworfen. Unterdessen haben andere schon die Speere, Zweige und Manifahnen auf das Obo gesteckt und die Weihegaben darauf geworfen wie beim Monatsopfer. Dann umkreisen alle das Obo, die weißen Steine werfend und den Oboruf betend. Nun machen alle noch einmal einen dreifachen Kotou, trinken Tee und gehen nach Hause.

Der Gebetsdienst kann auch mehrere Tage dauern. Dann schlagen die Leute Zelte auf dem Berg auf und wohnen und essen dort.

Das Obofest: Jährlich findet am sechsten Tag im sechsten Monat ein Obofest statt. Bei diesen Festen wird morgens das Obo wie beim Monatsopfer verehrt. Man kann auch ein Schafopfer und den Gebetsdienst des Lama damit verbinden.

Alle Leute aus der Nähe, Männer und Frauen, Alt und Jung, kommen beim Obo zusammen. Ist das Obogelände zu schwierig und nicht flach genug, dann versammelt man sich am Fuße des Berges oder sonstwie auf einer Wiese. Dort halten die Männer Pferderennen ab, man sitzt ums Feuer, trinkt und singt, man ißt und tanzt und lacht. Chinesische Händler stellen sich ein, schlagen ihre Buden auf und bieten ihre Waren feil. — Früher, als man noch die alten Waffen gebrauchte, schlossen sich an die Pferderennen Bogenschießen, Speerwerfen und Schwertkämpfe an. Besonders gerne hielt man Ringkämpfe ab. Heute ist das nicht mehr der Fall. Man übt nur noch das Pferderennen und das Wettsingen. Der Berggeist freut sich, wenn das Volk so lustig ist [3].

Obo und Berggeist: Das Obo ist die Wohnung des Berggeistes. Ihm gehört alles, was auf der Erde lebt, Gras, Bäume, Blumen, die wilden Tiere und die Menschen. Vom Obo aus bewacht er Wohl und Wehe des Stammes (*ayil*) und beschützt Tier und Mensch. Die wilden und zahmen Tiere sind seine Herde und die Wölfe seine Hunde. Darum bringt man dem Berggeist vor dem Obo ein Opfer dar, wenn die Wölfe zu schädlich werden. Er kann sie bändigen.

Die Seide (Tücher oder Bänder) am Obo bedeuten die Gewänder des Berggeistes; die weiße Farbe der Obowand seine Erhabenheit und sein Glück.

Das Obo ist das Waffenhaus des Dorfes und des Berggeistes. Hier holten in alten Zeiten die Männer ihre Waffen zu Kampf und Wettspiel.

Hierhin brachten sie sie zurück. Jetzt sind die Tujen friedliche Bauern, ihre Waffen brauchen sie nicht mehr. Darum übergeben sie sie dem Berggeist.

Von allem, was kostbar ist, schenkt man dem Berggeist etwas: Gold, Silber, Seide usw. Durch ihn wird alles Glück, der Reichtum und Bestand des Dorfes gewährleistet. Der Berggeist spendet die Nachkommenschaft; die kleinen Steinhügel bedeuten Fruchtbarkeit [4].

Das erste Obo: Nach der Tujensage vom Geser-*xaan* wurde das erste Obo im goldenen Zeitalter der Menschheit vom ersten *xaan* auf Erden, dem *Hamluo siergän*, errichtet:

„Es war alles sehr gut. Es war eine Zeit von Honig und Fett. Zu Anfang der drei Sommermonate errichtete er ein *regieńguo*-Obo auf dem Gipfel des *Rira-ntumbo*. *Hamluo siergän* versank in Betrachtung. Von (sc. den Dreien) *Gadbo Huala*, *Šdonšdog Sienba*, *Sasin Dadma*, ging einer Zypressenzweige brechen, einer Gewürze kaufen und einer weiße Steine sammeln. Eine Woche saß er in Betrachtung. Als eine Woche erfüllt war, errichtete er das *regieńguo*-Obo. In das Obo setzte er den Mutterhund *Tsila*. Auf dessen Leib streute er Gewürzmedizin. Seinen Leib umwickelte er mit Seide. Dann sprengte er Weihwasser über ihn. Den *regieńguo*-Lama lud er ein. Der betete das Weihegebet. Sieben Tage betete er. Auf jenes Obo häuften sie weiße Steine. Im Kreisrund des Obo schichteten sie große Steine auf. Auf den Gipfel des Obo steckten sie Zypressenzweige und banden daran Wolle vom weißen Schaf. Das Kreisrund des Obo bestrichen sie mit weißer Erde [5]. Mit Seide umwickelten sie das Obo. In den Tagen der drei Sommermonate bewarfen sie, auf den Pferden galoppierend, das Obo. Weiße Steine warfen sie, Gold und Silber warfen sie, Getreide und Butter warfen sie. Und der Menschen Leben entfaltete sich. [6]"

Wörterliste

Obö:	*lašdzë* (*lawdzë*, *ladzë*) (tib. Lehnwort) [7].
	mao-chi (chin.); es sind die Zeichen für Schilf-Glück.
	Shan-shen (chin.) = Berggeist [7].
Oboberg:	*lawdzë ûla*.
Obo errichten:	*lawdzë paġguni*.
Obogrube:	*lawdzë nukuo*.
Steinhügel:	*tašë soġdö*.
Obogestell:	*lawdzë dziadzë* (chin.).
weißtünchen:	*tsiġandë budë*.
Inhalt der Obogrube:	*rdzë*.
Weihegaben für das Obo:	*lawdzë šdodlödzän ntsuomdzia* = auf das Obo gesetzte Waffen.
Speer:	*dzida*.
Schwert:	*wöldë*.
Baumzweige:	*sdziödzë aralaġ* = (Pappel)zweige;
	šgua aralaġ = Zypressenzweige;
	tängërag aralaġ = Tannenäste.
Schafwolle:	*ńguasë*.
Seidenfäden:	*torġuo šdadzë* = Seiden-Fäden.
kleine weiße Steine:	*mulġan* (*mula*) *tsiġan tašë*.
Speerquaste:	*dzida män dzioġ*.

Getreide :	*dzüldē tara* = allerlei Getreide.
Zucker :	*ġarā.*
Gold :	*xaldān.*
Silber :	*miŋgu.*
Manischnur :	*lang-sheng* (chin.) = Wolfsschnur.
	himori bödoġ = Luftpferd Schnur.
Oboruf :	*garu* (tib.) *lawdzē yāra* (tib.).
	šdo-o-od = das weiße Obo von unten her bewerfe ich [8].
kleine Steinhaufen :	*lawdzē dzidziġa* = Obo Küken.
Obo-Schafopfer :	*lawdzē tada xoni šēŋlie* = vor dem Obo ein Schaf opfern.
Der Lama betet vor dem Obo :	*lama lawdzē tada mošguni.*
Die Opfergaben :	*yilenē šēŋlie* = gesamtes Opfern.
Beim Obo hausen :	*lawdze tada sō-.*
Ein Zelt aufschlagen :	*bekärge posġuo-.*
Pferderennen :	*mori holilġa* = Pferde rennen lassen.
Wessen Pferd ist schnell :	*käni mori gurdā* ?
Wettschießen :	*sēmu sēmuda-* = Pfeile schießen.
Wessen Waffenkunst ist groß =	*käni xuawu šgewa* ?
Die jungen Leute ringen :	*mula kunsgē walde-.*
Wessen Kraft ist groß :	*käni kudzi šgewa* ?
Groß und klein singen eins :	*šge mulasgē nigē dölā-.*
Wessen Lieder sind viel :	*käni dö uluona* ?
Obo Pferderennen :	*lawdzē šda rēdziöŋ* (tib.) [8].
Obofest :	*lawdzē šdodlō, mori holġani* = das Obo bewerfend die Pferde rennen lassen.
Das Obo beschützt die Menschen :	*lawdzē ayili kun, asē, mulā-sēla, nasā, ġuosāni furöŋlāni* = Das Obo des Dorfes (Sippe) beschützt Menschen, Tiere, Kleinkinder, vor Seuchen und Streit.
Der Berggeist :	*yifu la* (tib.) [8].
Das Wild wird vom Berggeist betreut :	*lawdzē udaġladzān sōwa* (oder *fsüärēġwa*) = Vom Obo regierte Vögel (oder Wild) sind.
Der Hund des Berggeistes (Wolf) :	*yifulani noxuŋ.*
Die alten Leute erzählen Sagen :	*šdogu kunsgē xuŋŋge gulie-.*
Wessen Sagen sind viel :	*käni xuŋ uluona* ?
Groß und klein trinken Gerstenwein :	*šge mulā dērasēŋgē udzi-.*
Der heutige Tag ist gut :	*niudurġuo dur sēna.*
In Gemütlichkeit laßt uns zusammensitzen :	*suġdzieŋge söldeya* !
Heute weiß man das Morgige nicht :	*niudurē malöŋguni li mudien.*
Mit dem Tode ist's aus :	*fugugē bura dzia.*
In die Welt umsonst kamen wir :	*udziġdienē* [8] *arāŋ nigē huŋ rēdziā-* (*nigē xue* = einmal).

Anmerkungen

[1] Das Obo muß nicht immer auf einem Berge sein. Man kann auch in andern Gegenden um Sining Obos in der Ebene antreffen, z. B. bei Fandse- und Chiafandse-Siedlungen. Aber auch hier sind fast immer Bäume dabei. Die Tujen jedoch behaupten, sie würden nie ein Obo in der Ebene bauen; denn ein Obo gehöre dem Berggeist und müsse daher auf einem Berge stehen. — Sie nehmen es mit dem heiligen Ort ziemlich ernst. So ist es auffallend, daß bei allen Tujendörfern Berggelände ausgespart wird, ein Stück Grasland mit Wald, wo kein Ackerbau betrieben werden darf. Wo aber Chinesen dazwischen kommen, verschwinden diese Berghaine. An diesen spärlichen Resten kann man sich vorstellen, wie das jetzt kahle Ackerland früher ausgesehen hat.

3:Schröder AE9 Monguor

[1] Zwischen Obo und Mond besteht keine Beziehung. Die hier genannten Tage werden allgemein für Opfer und Kult bevorzugt, und dafür sind die Mondphasen maßgebend.

[2] Das Obofest wird auch von den Mongolen und Tanguten gefeiert. Dafür sucht man, nach Aussage des Gewährsmannes, immer einen Tag im sechsten Monat aus, es braucht aber nicht immer der sechste Tag zu sein. Es ist die Zeit, in welcher früher die Obos errichtet wurden; und es scheint, daß es sich dabei um die jährliche Wiederkehr handelt. — Heute sind diese Feste mehr oder weniger in einen chinesischen Markttrubel ausgeartet, wie z. B. das Fest im Neujahrsmonat bei Wei-yüan-pu (Huchu), das eigentlich ein Tujenfest ist. Aus der alten Zeit sind nur noch das Pferderennen und das Liedersingen geblieben.

[4] Die Tujen unterscheiden drei große Geister: den Himmel, den Berggeist und den Erdgott. Hervorgehoben sei, daß die Eigenschaften des Berggeistes ziemlich nahe an die des Himmels heranreichen (vgl. Teil 2). — Das eigentliche Opfertier für den Berggeist und den Himmel ist das Schaf. — Der Erde opfert man Schweine und zwar immer im Gehöft, wogegen man dem Himmel und Berggeist meist im Freien opfert. — Der Ritus beim Schweineopfer ist der gleiche wie beim Schafopfer: waschen, abräuchern, Milchguß usw., was sich bei diesem Tier recht befremdlich ausnimmt; ein Hinweis, daß das Schweineopfer erst später übernommen und mit den Schafopferriten versehen wurde.

[5] Die weiße Farbe ist die Glücksfarbe des Lamaismus. Es sei an die weiße Muschel erinnert, die weißen Erdgotturnen, die weißen Wollflocken an Lebensbaumzweigen. Wenn jemand eine Reise antritt, so sagt man: möge dein Weg weiß sein. Bei den Tulkus wird das sogar bildlich vorgeführt, indem man bei ihrem Aufbruch Mehl, Kalk usw. auf den Weg streut. Weiß sind die Klöster gestrichen, und weiß soll der Palast des Berggeistes sein.

[6] Dieser Passus ist wörtlich aus der Tujenversion der Geser-Sage übersetzt, wie sie mir von einem Sänger mit Hilfe des Alten diktiert wurde. Er ist charakteristisch dafür, wie eng die Vorstellung vom Obo mit buddhistischen Formen verbunden ist. Von der immer wieder behaupteten Gegnerschaft zwischen Buddhismus und vorbuddhistischem Kult ist nichts zu merken. Es gibt in Lamaklöstern Bücher über die Errichtung von Obos; es ist mir aber nicht gelungen, ein solches Buch zu sehen oder näheres über die Riten zu erfahren. Nur erzählte man, es gäbe eine ganze Reihe von Oboarten, darunter auch solche, die nicht von Lamas errichtet werden. Auch sei es ganz verschieden, was alles in einer Obogrube beherbergt würde. Man bringe darin mit Vorliebe Urnen, Kessel und Rüstungen unter.

Bei dieser Mythe wird ein Hund im Obo begraben, und wie es scheint, ein lebendiger. Er wird behandelt wie andere lamaistische Götterfiguren, die von einer Gottheit beseelt werden, erhält ein Seidengewand, wird mit Weihwasser besprengt, mit Gewürzen beworfen; das Weihegebet wird gebetet. Es ist ein Mutterhund. Welche Bewandtnis es mit diesem Hunde *Tsila* habe, war nicht festzustellen. Vermutlich gehört er zu den Stammtieren. Chinesen in dem Tujendorf Hua-ling-kou (Kreis Huchu) behaupten, die

Tujen würden einen Hund ins Obo eingraben. Dieser Hund sei ihr Vorfahre. Mein Gewährsmann stritt das entschieden ab, und ich konnte auch sonst keine weitere Auskunft über diese Behauptung erhalten. Woher die Leute diese Erzählung haben? Sie sagten, das sei so überliefert. Jedenfalls ist auffallend, daß auch in dieser Tujenmythe der Hund vorkommt. Andererseits ist zu bedenken, daß der Gewährsmann wohl um die herabsetzende chinesische Auffassung weiß, welche (auch in der Literatur) die Barbaren von Hunden abstammen läßt. — Der Hund spielt bei den Tujen noch eine Rolle als Spender der ersten Gerste; ferner bei der Wetterburg des zum Himmel schreienden Hundes, *hao t'ien chen* (chin.). Aber dieser Hund in der Wetterburg wird in Verbindung mit dem gleichnamigen Hund des Helden Geser gebracht, *hao t'ien ch'üan* (chin.).

Im übrigen sind in dieser Mythe die Grundzüge der Oboverehrung vorhanden: Bewerfen mit Weihegaben, Umkreisen (und zwar zu Pferde, wie das noch bei benachbarten Mongolen sein soll), Weihrauchopfer. — Waffen werden nicht erwähnt, wohl aber die Zypressenzweige, die auf den weißen Steinhaufen gesteckt werden. — Und vor allem ist bemerkenswert, daß das Obo auf dem Weltenberg errichtet wird und somit wohl der eigentliche Zusammenhang und tiefere Sinn gegeben ist, der durchaus nicht buddhistisch zu sein braucht.

Mit diesem Hinweis würde auch übereinstimmen, was z. B. BASTIAN (Chinareisen pp. 395 ff.) schreibt, das Obo stelle den Berg Sumeru dar. Und auch die vielen kleinen Steinhaufen in Richtung der Weltgegenden ordnen sich so in das gleiche Weltbild ein. Vgl. UNKRIG in FILCHNER: Kumbum, Anm. 1638.

Die Manischnüre sind offenbar ebenfalls ein lamaistisches Ergebnis, vielleicht ein Ersatz für die früher daran aufgehängten Schafschulterknochen, die BASTIAN, a. a. O. p. 601, erwähnt. Von diesen Schulterblättern ist bei den Tujen nichts mehr bekannt. Warum man hier die beiden Schnüre, die schwarze und weiße, so unterscheidet, läßt sich nicht klären.

[7] Überraschend war mir die Aussage des Alten, daß man in seiner Gegend den Ausdruck *obō* nicht kenne. Ich fand das bestätigt; zumindest wird er unter den dortigen Tujen nicht gebraucht, was umso verwunderlicher ist, als die Chinesen das Wort *obō* am meisten gebrauchen. Die Tujen haben fast ausschließlich das tibetische Lehnwort *lašdzē* (oder *lawdzē*). Weiter entfernt gibt es allerdings Tujen, die beide Bezeichnungen kennen; *lašdzē* ist weiter nichts als das tibetische *la-rtse*, „Berg-Spitze", nach CH. DAS (p. 1200): „the summit of a pass". Die Beziehung zum Höhenkult und Berggeist ist eindeutig. — Neben dem Fremdwort *obō* (mong. *obuǵa*, DMF 296) haben die Chinesen noch den Namen *mao-chi*.

Der chinesische Ausdruck *mao-chi* gibt an sich keinen vernünftigen Sinn. In der Tangkar-Chronik sah ich dafür die Zeichen von Schilf (*mao*) und Glück (*chi*); es gibt auch andere Schreibarten. Das beweist, daß es sich hier um eine Lautnachahmung eines Fremdwortes handelt. Welches aber das Originalwort dafür sein soll, ist nicht festzustellen. In der Gegend der Chia-Hsifan um Kumbum ist der Name *shan-shen*, d. h. Berggeist, am gebräuchlichsten. Damit identifizieren die Chinesen das Obo einfach mit dem Geiste, was ja auch der Sache entspricht; denn es ist ja der Sitz des Berggeistes.

• *mändzioğ* : tibetisch *lcog* = Wimpel, Zinne, Spitze. Das *män* scheint aus dem Chinesischen zu stammen, *mang* = Wimpel. — *garu lawtsë yäre šdodla* (Oboruf) : tibetisch *dkar* (gesprochen *gar*) = weiß, *la rtse* = Obo, *yar* = nach oben, *stod la* = nach oben, auflegen. — *rëdziön* : tibetisch *ston* = reiten. — *yifula* : tibetisch : *ri bo* = Berg, Hügel, *lha* = Geist. — *ndzigdien* : tibetisch *'jig* = Vergänglichkeit, *rten* = Behälter. Eine buddhistische Ausdrucksweise für die Welt : die 10 Behälter der Vergänglichkeit (UNKRIG).

5. Die Tschortenkammer *

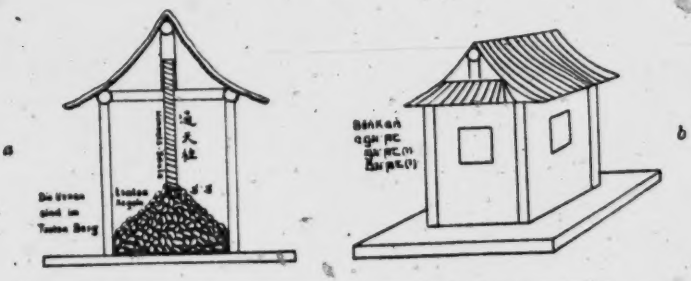
Bericht

In jedem Tujendorfe und mitunter auch bei Einzelhöfen findet sich eine Tschortenkammer. Der eigentliche Name ist Hunderttausend-Haus. Diese Kammer sieht aus wie ein kleiner Tempel ohne Türen. Es sind darin mehrere heilige Urnen, welche unter 100 000 kleinen Tonkegelchen begraben sind. In diesem Kegelberg steckt die Himmelssäule, die mit allerlei Segensformeln beschrieben ist.

Die Tschortenkammer wird vom ganzen Dorfe errichtet. Alle müssen mithelfen. Der Lama kommt und betet sieben Tage, macht eine Reihe Tormas und richtet die Urnen her. Am siebten Tage wird die Tschortenkammer gebaut. Man läßt nur kleine Fenster darin. Vor der Tschortenkammer verbrennen die Männer Weihrauch und ziehen im Kreise um die Kammer herum wie beim Obo. Durch die Fensterlöcher werfen sie dann wieder kleine Tschorten hinein.

Die Tschortenkammer schützt das Dorf und die Familie vor Unglück. Sie unterdrückt die schlechten Erdeinflüsse.

Fig. 8



a : Tschortenkammer innen ; *b* : Tschortenkammer außen.

Einzelheiten

Ort : Die Tschortenkammer wird immer außerhalb des Gehöftes errichtet und außerhalb des Dorfes. Auf Wege nimmt man keine Rücksicht. Der Ort wird vom Wahrsager näher bestimmt, nicht vom Lama.

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 77-79.

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor

Form: Der Grundriß der Tschortenkammer ist rechteckig. Die Größe ist ganz verschieden. Es gibt kleine Kammern in Mannshöhe und große mit schönen Ziegeldächern und Säulenumgang. Niemals befindet sich eine Tür in der Wand. Nur in Kopfhöhe läßt man quadratische Luken von einer Elle im Geviert. Auf dem Dach befindet sich keine Sonnen-Mondscheibe, wie sonst häufig bei Tempeln. Vor der Kammer steht meist ein schöner Weihrauchofen. — Es gibt viele Arten von Tschortenkammern. Diese hier ist die häufigste, sie heißt „Haus-Kammer"; denn es gibt auch solche, die nicht überdacht sind [1].

Zeit: Die Tschortenkammer kann zu allen Jahreszeiten errichtet werden. Man bevorzugt aber die frostfreie Zeit wegen der Mauerarbeiten. Im einzelnen gibt der Wahrsager Tag und Stunde an. — Die Vorbereitung beansprucht jedoch viele Wochen, weil man das Baumaterial, die Urnen und die Tonkegelchen herrichten muß. Zudem ist immer ein kleines Dorffest mit der Errichtung verbunden, weshalb man mit Vorliebe die Zeit nach der Ernte wählt.

Personen: Bei der Vorbereitung beteiligen sich alle Personen des Dorfes, Männer, Frauen und Kinder. Der Vorsteher verteilt die Arbeit auf die einzelnen Familien. Bei der Aufrichtung und den Weihehandlungen jedoch sind nur Männer tätig. Frauen hält man fern. — Die Weihe der Urnen und den Dienst bei der Errichtung nimmt nur ein Lama von höherem Range vor.

Die Urnen: Im ganzen sind es zehn Urnen, zwei große Urnen bis zu 40 *cm* Höhe und acht kleine Urnen. Über den Kauf, die Reinigung der Urnen usw. gelten dieselben Vorschriften wie bei der Erdgotturne (vgl. den betreffenden Abschnitt).

Der Inhalt der Urnen: Die großen Urnen enthalten zwei Schichten Füllsel, dazu wird in jede Schicht ein Bündel von fünf Gebetsrollen gesteckt, also in jede große Urne zehn Rollen zu je fünf in zwei Bündeln.

Die Herrichtung dieser Bündel geschieht in folgender Weise: Der Lama nimmt ein Stäbchen aus sauberem Holz von etwa 10 *cm* Länge und der Dicke eines kleinen Fingers. Darum wickelt er eine Schicht mit tibetischen Texten bedruckter Papierblätter. Er bringt zu diesem Druck selber die Holzplatten mit, da die Texte je nach den Geistern verschieden sind, welche durch die Rollen dargestellt werden. Um diese Papierschicht kommt mit Seidengarn in den fünf Farben eine ganze enge Wickelung, so daß man von den Texten nichts mehr sieht. Dann nimmt der Lama fünf solcher Röllchen und bindet sie zusammen, und zwar so, daß die Hauptrolle in die Mitte kommt und die andern vier sie symetrisch umgeben. Um dieses Bündel kommt dann eine Lage Seide oder dünnes Tuch von gelber oder roter Farbe, und schließlich wird das Ganze noch einmal mit Seidengarn in den fünf Farben eng umwickelt wie eine Fadenspule beim Spinnen. — Alles, das Papier, das Tuch, die Fäden usw. werden jedesmal vor dem Gebrauch mit Weihwasser besprengt und abgeräuchert. — So werden im ganzen vier Bündel fertiggemacht.

Als Gefäßbeigaben werden gebraucht: Bergerde von heiligen Bergen (sie muß vom Gipfel genommen sein); Flußwasser, reines Quellwasser, welches in die Urne gesprengt wird; Holz von reinen Bäumen in den Bergen, Tannen- oder Zypressenspitzen (auch Laub und Rinde von diesen Bäumen ist statthaft); Getreide: Weizen, weiße Bohnen, weißer Raps, Gerste, Tibetgerste (*ch'ing-kuo*); schwarzer und weißer Zucker; Buddhagold, Silber, Perlstückchen, Perlmutter. Diese Beigaben sollten die sieben Kleinodien darstellen. Man kann diese aber nicht besorgen und nimmt daher diese aufgezählten Dinge als Ersatz.

Außerdem kommen noch allerlei Gewürze hinein, die der Lama selbst mitbringt. Es sind die 74 Arten des Erdgott-Gewürzes. Dazu kommen noch fünf Fadenstränge in den heiligen Farben oder auch einzelne Fäden. Sie werden senkrecht in die Füllung gesteckt.

Das Einfüllen geschieht in folgender Ordnung: Zuerst wird die Erde und das Holz eingelegt und mit Quellwasser bespritzt. Dann wird das erste Rollenbündel eingesetzt und mit dem Getreide ausgefüllt. Darüber kommen die andern Beigaben bis zur Hälfte der Urne. Hierauf folgt genau wie zuerst die zweite Schicht mit dem zweiten Rollenbündel. Schließlich wird das Ganze bis zum Rande mit flüssiger Butter übergossen und genau wie bei der Erdgotturne mit einem roten oder gelben Tuch zugebunden, versiegelt und an dem Ende, wo das Siegel herabhängt, mit einem *nuru*-Zeichen bemalt. Dann folgen die zweite große Urne und die acht Begleiturnen. Die Begleiturnen haben keine Buddhabündel [8].

Weihe der Urnen: Alle Urnen werden nun zusammen auf ein oder zwei Holztablette gestellt, auf die man Zypressenblätter und Gerstenkörner gestreut hat. Die Tablette bringt der Zeremonienmeister auf die Lade vor dem Hausgott. Der Lama macht ein Torma und setzt es vor die Urnen. Nachdem nun vor jeder Urne eine Butterlampe angezündet ist und sieben Wasserschälchen davor stehen, sprengt der Lama geweihtes Wasser darüber und stellt die Weihwasserkanne auf ein Tellerchen mit Tibetgerste vor die Urnen auf die Lade. Jetzt setzt er sich auf eine Filzmatte und betet über die Urnen das Weihegebet. Er kann das aber auch auf seinem Kang tun. Danach wird alles wieder abgeräuchert. — Im Hofe brennt dabei das große Weihrauchopfer.

Die Himmelssäule: Sobald der Lama gekommen ist, werden die Dorfältesten bei ihm vorstellig und lassen sich die Regeln angeben für den Baum, der als Säule in der Tschortenkammer stehen soll. Sie holen dann einen Zimmermann aus dem Dorfe und gehen in die Berge, den Baum zu suchen. Der Baum muß wildgewachsen sein, nicht von Menschen gepflanzt. Er soll nicht von belebten Plätzen und vom Wegesrand genommen sein. Das Holz sei vornehm, wenigstens Tannen- oder Zypressenholz.

Bevor der Zimmermann Hand anlegt, wäscht er sich Hände und Gesicht und spült den Mund. Dann räuchert er Kopf und Hände ab. Genau so verfährt er mit seinen Werkzeugen. Zunächst bezeichnet er am Stamm die vier Himmelsrichtungen; dann fällt er ihn und glättet die vier Seiten entsprechend

diesen Richtungen, die der Baum auch in der Tschortenkammer beibehalten muß. Der Baum darf nur 6 Ellen lang sein, nicht mehr und nicht weniger. Die Breite beträgt etwa 10 *cm*.

Der Stamm wird nach Hause gebracht und im Hofe, worin der Lama weilt, glatt gehobelt, während der Lama betet, und draußen das Weihrauchopfer verbrannt wird. Dann bringt ihn der Schreiner ins Haus und legt ihn zum Lama auf den Kang. Dieser betet zunächst ein Gebet über den Stamm und beschreibt ihn dann mit roten tibetischen Sprüchen. Meist benutzt er dazu rote Erdfarbe, die in Wasser aufgelöst wird. Der so beschriftete Stamm wird dann mit einem gelben Tuch umwickelt und mit einigen Fäden umwunden. Auf das Tuch werden die Himmelsrichtungen geschrieben. Man bringt den Baum hierauf zwischen die Urnen auf den Hausaltar und stellt ihn an die Wand gelehnt aufrecht. Die Öllämpchen und sieben Wasserschalen werden erneuert, und während im Hof ein neues Weihrauchopfer dargebracht wird, besprengt der Lama den Stamm und betet das Weihegebet über ihn [3].

Die Tschorten: Die Tschorten haben die Form von kleinen Lehmkegeln und sehen aus wie große, achttürmige Tschorten. Die Chinesen sagen dazu „rote Lehmklöße". Im ganzen sollen es 100 000 Kegelchen sein. Man hält sich aber nicht immer an die Zahl, besonders wenn das Dorf klein ist. Schon 3 bis 4 Monate vorher werden diese Lehmkegelchen in eigenen Holzformen gegossen. Die Dorfältesten verteilen dabei die Zahl auf jede Familie.

Die Unterflächen der noch feuchten Figürchen werden auf Tibetgerste und Weihrauch getupft, die beim Trockenwerden daran hängen bleiben. Die Durchschnittsgröße ist etwa eine Fingerlänge; es gibt auch größere [4]. — Die fertigen Tschorten bringt man auf einen Haufen in eine Tempelhalle oder in ein sauberes Gehöft. Der Lama begibt sich am letzten Tage vor der Errichtung dorthin, besprengt sie mit Weihwasser und betet darüber. Dann macht er an Ort und Stelle ein Torma, welches mit den üblichen sieben Wasserschälchen vor die Tonkegel gestellt wird. Nachdem alles mit Weihrauch abgeräuchert ist, betet er das Weihegebet und geht dann wieder zu seinem Gastherrn.

Die Errichtung der Tschortenkammer: Am siebenten Tage erscheint in aller Frühe der Speerwahrsager. Er wahrsagt im Hofe, unter Befragung des Vorstehers, wann und wo die Kammer zu errichten ist. Dann geht er hinaus und gibt unter Speerschütteln genau die Stelle an, indem er den Speer dort in den Boden rammt. Der Lama trinkt unterdessen seinen Morgentee.

Jetzt bringen die Leute alles herbei, Steine, Balken, Tschorten, Lehm, Stroh, Urnen, alles was eben notwendig ist. Für den Lama breitet man mit der Richtung nach Osten eine weiße Filzmatte hin, stellt einen kleinen Kangtisch darauf und schickt eine Abordnung, die ihn feierlich einlädt und zu dieser Stelle geleitet. Er nimmt auf der Matte Platz und beginnt sein Gebet, von Schelle und Trommel begleitet.

Der Wahrsager nimmt nun den Speer fort, und die Männer streuen Lebensbaumzweige und Gerstenkörner über die Stelle, wo er eingerammt war. Dann setzen sie genau auf die Spur des Speeres die erste große Urne und

je nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen die vier andern kleinen Urnen. Dahinter wird die Himmelssäule mit den vier bezeichneten Richtungen aufgestellt. Sie wird nicht in den Boden gerammt, sondern man hält sie vorläufig noch fest, dieweil nun die Männer in aller Eile die Tonkegel Kiepe um Kiepe über die Urnen und um den Fuß der Säule anhäufen, bis diese von selbst stehen bleibt. Sind die Urnen so bis zu einer Fläche eingedeckt, dann streut man noch einmal allerlei Beigaben darüber, wie sie bereits in den Urnen enthalten sind und die man dafür übriggelassen hatte. Jetzt folgt unter den gleichen Zeremonien die zweite Schicht mit den nächsten vier Urnen, die genau um ihre große Urne gruppiert werden, welche unmittelbar über die untere große Urne zu stehen kommt. Und wiederum werden die Lehmtschorten darüber gehäuft, bis am Schlusse die Urnen unter einer Pyramide begraben sind und die Säule nur noch mit dem obern Teil zu sehen ist. — Die Säule kommt auf die Seite der Urnen zu stehen, nach welcher ein Berg liegt, was bei dem bergigen Gelände sofort zu ersehen ist.

Bevor die Säule von den vielen Tschorten begraben wird, wird sie noch einmal mit Weihwasser besprengt und abgeräuchert [8]. Während der ganzen Zeremonie, von morgens bis abends, wird vor der Stelle oder auch an mehreren Stellen in der Nähe das große Weihrauchopfer verbrannt. Am Schlusse bringt sogar der Lama selbst vor dem geweihten und abgeräucherten Tschortenberg mit der Säule das Weihrauchopfer dar, während alle Kotou machen.

Danach setzt er sich wieder auf seine Matte und fährt mit seinen Gebeten fort. Währenddessen wird in aller Eile die Kammer gebaut. Zunächst werden die vier Eckpfosten aufgerichtet und oben miteinander in gleicher Höhe verbunden. Der Vorsteher bringt zwölf Brote und etwas Schnaps und stellt sie auf einem Tablett vor den Tschortenberg. Die Schreiner legen dazu den Firstbalken. Darin haben sie ein Loch gebohrt und dieses mit Getreide und Butter gefüllt und wieder mit einem Holzdeckel verschlossen. Der Vorsteher umbindet diese Stelle — es ist die Mitte — mit einer Elle roten Tuches. Dann verbrennt man Weihrauch und macht Kotou. Dabei werden die Werkzeuge auf ein kleines Maß Getreide vor die Brote gelegt. Die Schreiner steigen nun aufs Gerüst und ziehen an Stricken den Firstbalken hoch. Der Vorsteher wirft ihnen dann zwei von den Broten hinauf, die sie aber wieder zurückwerfen; ebenso reicht man ihnen den Schnaps, den sie austrinken. Jetzt erst legen die Schreiner den Firstbalken auf die Stützen, genau über die Himmelssäule. Diese berührt jedoch nicht den Firstbalken, sondern ragt frei nicht ganz bis zum First in der Mitte empor. — Der Firstbalken wird vorher ebenfalls mit reinem Wasser besprengt und mit Weihrauch und dem Glühstein abgeräuchert.

Jetzt steigen die Schreiner wieder herunter, und die Männer beginnen, zwischen den Eckpfosten die Mauern hochzuziehen. Haben diese etwa 50 *cm* erreicht, so daß die Tschorten nicht mehr herausrollen können, so machen sie eine Pause. Man streut noch einmal über den Tschortenberg Weihrauchblätter und arbeitet dann weiter, auf allen vier Seiten gleichmäßig. In Kopfhöhe bleibt auf jeder Seite eine Lücke. Es wird gleich bis zum Dach weitergemauert und alles sofort mit Lehmmörtel verputzt. Auch das Dach wird

sofort gedeckt. Wenn alles trocken ist, wird die Außenseite mit Kalkmilch geweißt. — Wird man nicht am gleichen Tage fertig, so arbeitet man am folgenden Tage weiter.

Gegen Schluß macht der Lama noch einmal ein Torma und stellt es vor die Tschortenkammer. Man verbrennt wieder Weihrauch, bläst die Muschel und macht Kotou. Dann ziehen alle, auch die Frauen, um die Kammer herum, wie um ein Obo. — Oft besprengt der Lama noch einmal die neue Tschortenkammer nach dem Weißen mit Weihwasser; dann begeben sich alle nach Hause und feiern das Ereignis mit Festgelage, Singen, Tanzen und Trinken.

Verehrung der Tschortenkammer: Später wird die Tschortenkammer zu bestimmten Tagen durch Umzug und Weihrauch verehrt, ähnlich wie ein Obo. Dabei wirft man durch die Luken neue Lehmkegel hinein. Meist ist das am ersten, achten und fünfzehnten Tage des Monats. Aber auch sonst, bei Not und Unglück verehren die Leute die Tschortenkammer. Der Umzug geht immer von West nach Ost, also nicht in Richtung der Sonnenbahn.

Sinn: Die Tschortenkammer steht in Verbindung mit dem Berggeist und Erdgott. Die Säule stellt die Verbindung mit dem Himmel her. Die Kammer hält die feindlichen Erdeinflüsse nieder. So schützt sie vor Unglück und Krankheit [6].

Wörterliste

Tschortenkammer:	*bönkän* (tib. Lehnwort) = zahllos Kammer (Haus) [1].
	ger-kän, ger (tuj.) = Haus, *kän* = Kammer.
	ma-ni lou (chin.) = Mani-Haus (Hochhaus).
Himmelssäule:	*sön-sin* (tib. Lehnw.) = Schutz-Baum (Holz) [7].
	t'ung-t'ien chu (chin.) = verbinden Himmel Säule.
Lehmtschorten, Lehmkegel:	*sasa* (tib. Lehnw.), *tza-tza* [4].
	hung ni-tan-tzu (chin.) = rote Lehmklöße.
Mauerluken:	*tsiönguän* = Fenster.
Die große Urne:	*lha-wum* (tib.) = Geist Urne (Gefäß).
	glo-wum (tib.) = Erdgott Urne.
	glo-wum gönluo (tuj.) = Erdgott Urne Gefäß.
Die kleinen Urnen:	*snog der* (tib. Lehnw.) = Zauber-Urne.
Gefäßinhalt:	*rdzë* (tib.).
	yang-wu (chin.) = Sachen.
Bergerde:	*sa-sena* (tib.) [7]; *siru* = Erde.
Wasser:	*tsü-sena* (tib.); *fdzë* = Wasser.
Holz:	*sin sena* (tib.); *mödë* = Holz.
Buddhagold:	*ldzer* [7] *sädog* (tib.).
Perlmutter?	*wsirë* (tib.) [7]; *shan-hu* (chin.) = Koralle.
Edelstein:	*mädog* (tib.) = Blume; *chen-chu* = Juwel.
Erdgottgewürz:	*glo-smän* (tib. Lehnw.).
Wasserschälchen:	*dönsär* (tib. Lehnw.).
Schwarzer Weihrauch:	*gukual*
	hei-hsiang (chin.).
Weihegebet:	*rami*.
Rote Erde:	*fulan siru*; *huang-tan* (chin.) = gelber Ocker.

Zauberformeln: *snag* (*snog*).
Mandalazeichnung: *sdzi ńkuor* (tib. Lehnw.).
Firstbalken: *chung-leang* (chin.) = Mittelbalken.
Glühstein: *ts'u-t'an*, *ch'ü-t'an* (chin.); *sŏdăń*; *sŏdăn* [1].
Umzug um die Tschortenkammer: *sguoza* (tib. Lehnw.).

Anmerkungen

[1] *bĕń* bezeichnet dem Gewährsmann zufolge dasselbe wie das tibetische *'bum* (vielerorts auch *bĕń* gesprochen), d. h. 100 000. *kăń* ist das tibetische Wort für Haus; es kann aber auch Tempel bedeuten, wie z. B. im Wort *šdienkăń*. *bĕń-kăń* würde demnach soviel heißen wie: die Kammer der 100 000; oder freier mit Rücksicht auf die darin enthaltenen *sasa*: Kammer der zahllosen *sasa*, Tschortenkammer. Im DMF steht dafür *bińkăń*, mit der Erklärung: „petit temple à quatre portes où on met les idoles et les objets religieux qu'on ne veut plus conserver à la maison (on le construit d'ordinaire à la sortie d'un village ou sur un carrefour)". Cf. tib. *bank'ań* „store-room, treasury". — Nach allen Erkundigungen, die mir möglich waren, hat der *bĕńkăń* nie eine Tür; auch daß man darin überflüssige Kultobjekte unterbringt, die man zu Hause nicht mehr behalten will, streitet der Gewährsmann entschieden ab. Eher noch wäre der Name von *bum-k'ań*, „Urnen-Haus" abzuleiten. *bum-k'ań* ist nämlich auch der mittlere Teil einer Tschorte, der ja urnenförmig aussieht. Nach W. A. Unkrig lautet dafür die mongolische Wiedergabe *bum-xan*. Dieses wäre im mongolischen Sprachgebrauch gleich dem *caraïngĕr*, womit man ein Leichenverbrennungshaus bezeichnet, wörtlich „Haus der Bratpfanne" (Mittlg.). Aber auch diese Deutung scheint zweifelhaft.

Der Gewährsmann dürfte schon Recht haben mit seiner Erklärung: *bĕń* = *'bum* = hunderttausend, zahllos; und *bĕńkăń* = Haus der zahllosen (Tschorten). In der Literatur wird dafür „*Ts'a ts'a*-Haus" gebraucht, z. B. A. Tafel: Tibetreise, II, p. 265. Auch Ch. Das spricht zwar nicht von einem *'bum-k'ań*, wohl aber von einem *ts'a-k'ań*: „place, where *ts'a-ts'a* are kept" (p. 1017). Auch sonst werden diese Tonkegelchen massenweise in Tschorten oder Wohnungen usw. aufbewahrt; und A. Tafel möchte diese Sitte mit dem Bontum in Verbindung bringen; vgl. a. a. O. pp. 198, 265. Jedenfalls schreibt der Volksglaube der Tujen diesen *ts'a-ts'a* eine große Kraft zu. Über die Bedeutung der *ts'a-ts'a* im eigentlichen Buddhismus vgl. die entsprechenden Arbeiten von Tucci.

Mit dem Namen *bĕńkăń* ist aber auch nichts Einheitliches bezeichnet; es ist nur ein Gattungsbegriff. Wie Lamas in der Mongolenlamaserie Dsadsang bei Tangkar und in Kumbum erzählten, gibt es zwei Gruppen von *bĕńkăń*. Erstens solche ohne Wände und Dach: z. B. *log-log* (eine Art Steinpyramide); *ndŏń-ndŏń*; *ser-wdziäl*. Zweitens solche mit Wänden und Dach, wie *dźĕw-yi* und *ger-kăń*. Der hier beschriebene *kăń* ist dieser *ger-kăń*. Eigentlich ist dieser Name eine Tautologie; denn *ger* ist mongolisch und heißt Haus (Zelt), also dasselbe wie das tibetische *kăń*. Außer diesen Namen gibt es noch andere Sonderbezeichnungen für *bĕńkań*, wie *mani bĕńkăń*; *tsäla bĕńkăń*; *dšŏma bĕńkăń*; *maridzĕ bĕńkăń*. Alle diese Arten konnten leider nicht mehr genauer

erfragt werden, ebenso nicht mehr die Bedeutung der Namen und der Inhalt der *bĕńkăń*. Zu den *bĕńkăń* gehören wahrscheinlich auch die vielen *rĕduombĕń* [7], pyramidenartige Steinhaufen, welche böse Dämonen niederhalten, wie es ja auch in der Tujenmythe von der Menschenfresserin *Măńgudzĕ* berichtet wird. Die Chinesen haben für diese Funktion den Ausdruck *pu mei-ch'i*, d. h. verstopfen der (Erd)adern Hauch.

[2] Die in die Urnen gesetzten Rollen sollen bestimmte Geister darstellen; dem Gewährsmann zufolge wären die untersten Rollen der Erdgott und die obersten der Berggeist, jeder mit seinen vier Begleitern. Andererseits scheint es aber nach seiner Aussage viele Arten solcher Geister zu geben, weil die Papierblätter dementsprechend verschieden bedruckt werden. Klarheit war nicht zu gewinnen. Die Papierblätter wirken aber auch als Zauber, wie ihr Name *snag*, d. h. Zauber(-sprüche), besagt. Die Tuch- und Fadenwickelung stellen die Kleider des Geistes dar. — Naheliegend ist die Annahme, daß es sich bei den Rollen um vier Weltenrichtungsgeister handelt. Daß der Lama ein eigenes Weihegebet über sie betet, bedeutet, daß die Urne tatsächlich Wohnung der Geister wird. — Die vier Begleiturnen sollen denselben Sinn wie die andern Erdgotturnen haben, also Beigaben an den Erdgott oder Opfer. Es mag aber auch sein, daß sie die Weltgegenden darstellen, wie das ja auch bei der Mittelburg möglich ist. — Über den Sinn der Begleiturnen herrscht keine einheitliche Volksauffassung.

[3] Die Herrichtung dieser Himmelssäule hat sehr große Ähnlichkeit mit dem Geisterspeer-Anfertigen. — Der Stamm braucht nicht immer geglättet zu sein. Bei halbzerfallenen *bĕńkăń* kann man auch Stämmchen mit voller Rinde und ohne weitere Bearbeitung aus dem *sasa*-Berg herausragen sehen, was eine noch natürlichere Verbindung mit dem Weltenbaum zuläßt. Beachtenswert ist, daß immer die gewachsene Ortung des Baumes beibehalten werden muß. — Über den Namen *sŏń-siń* war nichts weiter zu erfahren. Der chinesische Ausdruck *t'ung t'ien-chu*, der wohl viel zutreffender ist, wird auch dort für die Mittelsäule in lamaistischen Tempeln und die Mittelstange des Zeltes gebraucht. In Südkansu steht irgendwo im Gebirge ein großer Monolith, der denselben Namen trägt, wie mir ein Missionar als Augenzeuge erzählte. Dieser Mittelpfahl spielt im Westen Chinas eine bekannte Rolle, so daß hier nichts weiter gesagt zu werden braucht.

[4] *sasa* wird auch in Anlehnung an die Fandsesprache *dzadza* (*ts'a-ts'a*) gesprochen. Diese Tonkegelchen haben nicht nur die Form (wenn auch nur ungenau) einer Tschorte, sondern sie stellen auch oft Heiligenfiguren dar, die, der Bestätigung des Alten zufolge, ebenfalls in die Tschortenkammer hineinkommen. Auf alle Fälle aber sind sie von den Tormas zu unterscheiden, die nie aus Lehm verfertigt sind; cf. CH. DAS, p. 1019; A. TAFEL, I 221, II 331.

[5] Wie Mönche in Kumbum sagten, wird vor Errichtung der Himmelssäule zuerst noch eine Bodenzeichnung oder ein Blatt Papier mit einer Zeichnung auf den Boden gebracht (*maṇḍala*). Der Gewährsmann meinte, das sei nicht immer der Fall. Bemerkenswert ist, daß diese Zeichnung genau so heißt wie die Mittelburg, nämlich *sdziṅkuor*. Das würde besagen, daß es sich in beiden Fällen um den gleichen Gedanken handelt.

[6] Beim *bĕṅkăṅ* sind wesentlich die Urne, der Berg, der Baum. Darum gehört er in denselben Vorstellungsbereich wie die Mittelburg im Hofe, nämlich den weitverbreiteten Mythos von Himmel und Erde, verbunden (bzw. getrennt) durch den Weltenbaum. Hierbei dürfte bei der Mittelburg die Maniflagge lamaistisch-sekundär sein und bei der Tschortenkammer der *sasa*-Berg, der aus den Manikegeln besteht, wie sie mitunter genannt werden. — Daß nun ein Haus darüber gebaut wird, ist wohl ganz nebensächlich. Dieses hat offenbar nur die Funktion eines Schutzes und keine innere Beziehung zu seinem Inhalt. Es ist auffallend, daß die Himmelssäule auch nicht als Träger des Firstbalkens errichtet wird, sie steht frei und reicht nicht bis an den Balken heran. Auch bei den Bräuchen bei der Errichtung der Kammer kommt keine innere Beziehung zum Inhalt zum Ausdruck. Es sind dieselben Bräuche, wie sie sonst bei jedem Hausbau der Ch'inghai-Chinesen geübt werden.

[7] *sŏṅ siṅ* : tibetisch *skyoṅ* = bewahren, schützen, *šiṅ* = Holz. — *sasa* : tibetisch *ts'a ts'a* = konische Tonkegelchen. — *sena* : tibetisch *sna* = Gruppe, Kategorie. — *šder* : tibetisch *gser* = Gold. — *wsirĕ* : tibetisch *byi-ru* (gesprochen *šuru*) = Koralle. — *sŏdăṅ* : könnte aus dem Chinesischen stammen (?). *ts'u-t'ang* = Essig-Lache. — *sguora* : tibetisch *skor ba* = umkreisen. — *rĕduombĕṅ* : tibetisch *rdŏ* = Stein, *'bum* = 100 000 (UNKRIG).

(Fortsetzung folgt)

[Text continues on p. 620]

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor

[pp. 80-620 not processed]

Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor)

Von DOMINIK SCHRÖDER

(Erste Fortsetzung)

IV. Bräuche um den Menschen

1. Die Vollendung des Wochenbettes *

Bericht

Bald nach der Geburt eines Kindes macht man der Mutterfamilie der Wöchnerin Mitteilung von dem frohen Ereignis. Die Mutter kommt dann ihre Tochter besuchen. Die andern Angehörigen kommen aber erst nach einem Monat. Sie bringen Geschenke und halten ein Festmahl. Am Morgen dieses Tages wird dem Kind feierlich ein Name gegeben, und am Abend bringt man es vor das Hoftor zum Empfang des Hirten. Dann singt und trinkt und tanzt man bis in die Nacht.

Einzelheiten

Geburtsmeldung: Drei Tage nach der Geburt eines Knaben oder Mädchens nimmt der Schwiegervater der Wöchnerin ein Krüglein Schnaps und etwas Ölgebäck und begibt sich zur Familie seiner Schwiegertochter. Man sieht schon gleich, warum er zu Besuch kommt, und er braucht bloß noch den Tag und die Stunde der Geburt mitzuteilen und ob es ein Knabe oder Mädchen ist. Nachdem sie dann den Schnaps getrunken haben, begibt sich die Mutter gleich zu ihrer Tochter, um nach dem Rechten zu sehen. Sie weilt einige Tage dort und wiederholt dann öfters ihren Besuch.

Abschluß des Wochenbettes: Genau 29 Tage nach der Geburt, also am 30. Tage, stellen sich die Eltern und nächsten Verwandten der Wöchnerin im Hause ihres Mannes ein. Sie bringen Kleider für das Kind

* Anmerkungen siehe p. 622.

und die Frau (ein langes Obergewand und Schuhe), ferner vier große Brotfladen, Ölkuchen und anderes Gebäck. Die Brotfladen sind rund, etwa 30 bis 40 *cm* im Durchmesser und etwa 5 *cm* dick. In der Mitte haben sie ein großes rundes Loch [1].

Auch die andern Bekannten und Verwandten erscheinen mit Geschenken für das Kind; meist mit Stoff für Kleidchen, blau für einen Knaben, rot für ein Mädchen.

Namengebung: Am Morgen des gleichen Tages lädt man den Speerwahrsager ein. Nachdem er seinen Morgentee getrunken hat, bringt der Hausherr im Hof das große Weihrauchopfer dar, und der Wahrsager wahrsagt, ob er selber oder der Familienherr dem Kinde den Namen geben soll, und welchen Namen der Geist wünscht.

Gibt der Wahrsager den Namen, dann bringt man auf einem Tablett Brot, Tee und Butter. Die Mutter nimmt das Kind auf den Arm und stellt sich vor den Wahrsager. Dieser setzt den Speer beiseite, nimmt mit dem Finger etwas Butter vom Tablett, streicht sie dem Kinde auf die Stirn und sagt z. B.: „Er soll Berggeist heißen". Das bedeutet, daß das Kind dem Berggeist geweiht ist und nach dessen Namen gerufen wird [3]. Danach nimmt er Brot und reicht es dem Kinde zum Essen, ebenso bietet er ihm Tee an. Aber statt des Kindes genießt die Mutter die Gaben. Hierauf geben alle im Hause dem Wahrsager und Buddhabild und draußen dem Himmel dreimal Kotou.

Wünscht der Speergeist, daß der Familienälteste den Namen gebe, so vollzieht dieser dieselben Zeremonien; der Wahrsager jedoch beaufsichtigt die Handlung mit dem bebenden Speer. Auch dem Familienältesten gibt man dann Kotou. — Diese Zeremonie nimmt gewöhnlich der Großvater oder Vater vor oder der Mann, der Herr in der Familie ist [4]. Niemals ist es eine Frau oder ein Verwandter aus der Familie der Wöchnerin.

Anschließend an die Namengebung oder auch im Laufe des Tages muß die Mutter mit dem Kinde auf dem Arm allen Gästen Kotou geben; dafür erhält sie ein kleines Geldgeschenk für das Kind. — Gegen Mittag hält die Familie ein allgemeines Festmahl, für Männer und Frauen getrennt. Man trinkt dabei viel Gerstenwein, singt und tanzt.

Empfang des Hirten: Gegen Abend, wenn man die Tiere von der Weide zurückerwartet, nimmt der Vater oder die Mutter den Säugling auf den Arm und geht mit ihm vor das Hoftor, wo sie mit der heimkehrenden Herde zusammentreffen. Der Hirte muß dem Kinde etwas Geld geben, und der Vater schenkt ihm dafür ein Brot, welches er sogleich essen muß. Diese Sitte heißt „den Hirten bewillkommnen", die Chinesen sagen dafür „die Schafe bewillkommnen" [2]. — Die Gäste lassen sich durch diese Zeremonie nicht weiter stören, sondern trinken und tanzen bis in die späte Nacht: dann zerstreuen sie sich allmählich. Nur die nächsten Verwandten der jungen Mutter bleiben bis zum folgenden Tag.

Wörterliste

in Wochen sein:	*sara södzi* = sie sitzt den Monat ab; *tsu yüeh* (chin.).
das Wochenbett beenden:	*sara durgeni* = sie beendet den Monat.
	ch'u-yüeh (chin.) = aus dem Monat treten.
	man-yüeh (chin.) = den Monat erfüllen.
Empfang des Hirten:	*asdzi dzëlie-*; *ying-yang* (chin.) = die Schafe bewillkommnen.

Anmerkungen

[1] Über die Bedeutung des großen runden Loches in den Brotfladen erfuhr ich nichts.

[2] Der Empfang des Hirten findet sich auch bei den Chinesen, wie denn überhaupt die Beendung des Wochenbettes bei ihnen fast gleich ist. In der Gegend von Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) erfuhr ich von dem dortigen Missionar P. FRICK, daß die Leute das Kind in die Krippe legen, damit es später viele Herden besäße und ein tüchtiger Reiter werde. Bei den Tujen war diese Sitte nicht festzustellen.

[3] Unter den Tujen kommen gerne Namen vor, die einen Bezug auf einen Geist haben; z. B. *guänbö-sdzia*, d. h. dem *Guämbo* anvertraut; *ifulä sdzia*, dem Berggeist anvertraut; *xaldan sërän* (tib.)[5], goldener Palast; *lašdze sërän*, Paß-Gipfel-Palast; *tuguän ula*, Berg des *Tuguän*. Mädchennamen werden gerne nach besonderen Anlässen gegeben, z. B. *tayin mdzuo*, volle fünfzig; weil der Vater oder Großvater oder sonst jemand der Familie gerade fünfzig Jahre alt war; keinen Einfluß hat aber auf solche Namen die Mutterfamilie. Bei Knaben sagt man statt des *mdzuo* (voll) *serän*, d. h. etwa „erhaben". Andere Namen sind z. B. *wadma sdzig*, d. h. Lotosblume, für Mädchen; oder *wadma sdzia*, d. h. dem Lotos anvertraut, für Knaben. — Auch die Chinesen haben eine ähnliche Sitte. Sie bringen z. B. einen Knaben in den Tempel des schwarzen Tigers und nennen ihn dann „schwarzem Tiger anvertraut", *hei-hu-pao*; oder „der Mutter anvertraut", *niang-niang-pao*, wenn sie das Kind im Tempel der Muttergöttin zum Schutze dargeboten haben. Das chinesische *pao* und das *sdzia* der Tujen haben gleichen Sinn.

[4] Auch ein Lama kann die Zeremonie vornehmen. Das geschieht jedoch selten. Meist macht es der Vater oder Sippenälteste.

[5] *sërän*: tibetisch *sran* (?) = Wohnung, Siedlung (UNKRIG).

2. Der erste Geburtstag *

Bericht

Beim ersten Geburtstag setzt der Vater das Kind auf den Kang und legt ihm verschiedene Sachen vor. Aus dem Gegenstand, den das Kind ergreift, ist ersichtlich, was es im spätern Leben wird. Danach schneidet man ihm die Haare und hängt diese an den Glückspfeil.

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 623-625.

Einzelheiten

Das Orakel: Am Morgen des Jahrestages der Geburt bringt der Vater das Kind ins Haupthaus oder in die Küche und setzt es auf den Kang. Davor stellt er einen Kangtisch mit drei kleinen gebackenen Broten, fünf Dampfbroten und einer Tasse Tee. Daneben legt er für einen Jungen einen spannelangen Bogen mit einem kleinen Pfeil, Pinsel, Papier und Geld; bei einem Mädchen sind es Nadel, Zwirn, Elle, Schere, Messer. Die drei gebackenen Brötchen bedeuten die drei buddhistischen Weltengeister [2]. Die fünf Dampfbrote versinnbildlichen die fünf Glücksgüter: Alter, Reichtum, Gesundheit, Tugend, seliger Tod [1].

Die Eltern geben dem Kinde von den Broten zu essen und lassen es Tee trinken, oder die Mutter stillt es. Hierauf fordern sie es auf, nach den Sachen auf dem Kangtisch zu greifen. Greift der Knabe nach Geld, so wird er ein tüchtiger Händler, ergreift er Pfeil und Bogen, so wird er ein starker Krieger, greift er nach Pinsel und Papier, so wird er ein Gelehrter. Ähnlich ist es bei dem Mädchen. Das Ding, das vom Kind gewählt wurde, wird an den Glückspfeil gehängt [3].

Der Haarschnitt: Das Kind trägt noch Flaumhaare, da es seit der Geburt noch nicht geschoren wurde. Nun nimmt es der Vater oder sonst ein Mann auf den Arm und bringt es in den Hof. Dort rasiert ihm ein anderer Mann den Kopf, einerlei, ob es ein Knabe oder ein Mädchen ist. Auf dem Hinterkopf bleiben ein oder zwei Haarbüschel stehen [4]. Der Vater dreht die Haare zwischen den Handflächen zu einer kleinen Kugel und zwirbelt noch einen Faden heraus, womit er sie an den Glückspfeil knüpft. Früher zog man diese Strähne durch eine Lochmünze und hing diese mit der Haarkugel zusammen am Pfeil auf. So bleiben die Haare der Kinder das ganze Leben am Glückspfeil.

Danach geht der Vater mit dem Kind und dem Glückspfeil in den Hof und bringt das große Weihrauchopfer dar. Dabei macht das Kind zum ersten Male dem Himmel Kotou. Nach dem Opfer wird der Pfeil wieder an seinen ursprünglichen Platz zurückgebracht [5].

Wörterliste

gebären:	*tŏrŏ-.*
Geburtstag:	*tŏrŏdzän udur*; oder zusammengezogen: *tŏrŏdzŭdur.*
Geburtstag feiern:	*tŏrŏdzŭdur nogdzi-.*
jene Frau hat geboren:	*nie bieri tŏrŏdzia.*
Wann bist du geboren?:	*tsini kidzie tŏrŏwa?*
ja ich feiere wirklich:	*nogdzidza ligunadzi.*
die drei Weltengeister:	*dier xsèm sänrèdzi* [6] (tib. Redeweise).
die fünf Glücksgüter:	*wu-fu* (chin.).

Anmerkungen

[1] Bei Erklärung dieser Brote mischen sich chinesische und tibetische Vorstellungen; denn auch die Chinesen haben diese Geburtstagszeremonie. Bekannt ist das chinesische Sprichwort: *wu fu p'eng shou*, die fünf Glück-

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(Zeichen) halten das Alter-(Zeichen) empor. Ein Brauch an Neujahr: In die Mitte eines roten Papieres wird das Zeichen *shou* geschrieben und im Umkreis die fünf Zeichen für Glück, *fu*.

[2] Um welche drei Namen es sich im einzelnen handelt, konnte nicht ermittelt werden. *sǎnrèdzi* (Erleuchteter) ist der Titel für die Tulkus; vgl. Abschnitt: Der Lamaempfang; ebenso unten: Anm. 6.

[3] Über den Glückspfeil vgl. den betreffenden Abschnitt. Daß die vom Kind ergriffenen Dinge an den Pfeil gebunden werden, soll dem Kinde die Kraft erhalten, sich in der angegebenen Richtung zu entwickeln. Am Glückspfeil im Gehöft meines Gewährsmannes sah ich eine ganze Menge von Miniaturbogen, Pfeilen und Haarknäueln seiner Kinder und Enkel.

[4] Die zurückgelassenen Haarbüschel sind wahrscheinlich als Ansätze für die spätere Haarfrisur gedacht gewesen (Zopf). Es war nicht festzustellen, ob sie vielleicht etwas mit einem geweihten Buddha-Schopf zu tun haben, wie z. B. bei den Lolo; vgl. LIN YÜEH-HWA: I-chia. Jedenfalls werden die Haarbüschel heute wieder abrasiert. Wahrscheinlich sind die Büschel wie die ganze Sitte aus dem Chinesentum übernommen worden. Die Chinesen nennen diese kindlichen Haartuffen *tsung-chiao* (etwa = Haupt-Hörnchen). Wie sehr sie damit das Kindesalter kennzeichnen, ergibt sich aus dem Ausdruck *tsung-chiao chih chiao*, Freundschaft seit dem Kindesalter (wörtl. Haupt-Hörnchen Verkehr).

[5] Die erste Geburtstagsfeier ist offenbar von den dortigen Chinesen übernommen. Ein Beispiel dafür, wie sie sonst in China geübt wird, sei der Klarheit halber im Anschluß an J. DOOLITTLE: Social life (p. 90) gebracht: „Beim ersten Geburtstag wird der Mutter ein anderes Dankopfer dargebracht, und andere Geschenke an Kleidung und Essen werden von der Großmutter mütterlicherseits entgegengenommen. Wenn es ein Knabe ist, so befinden sich unter anderen Kleidungsstücken ein Paar Schuhe und eine Mütze; ist es ein Mädchen, dann finden sich unter anderen Kleidungsstücken noch Armbänder und Kopfschmuck. Die Vorbereitungen zu dem Dankopfer werden von der Großmutter mütterlicherseits getroffen" ... usw. „Bevor man dieses Fest begeht, wird ein großes Bambussieb, so wie es die Bauern zum Getreidesieben gebrauchen, auf den Tisch vor den Ahnentafeln gelegt, wo bereits Weihrauch und Kerzen angezündet sind. Auf dieses Sieb legt man einen Satz Geldstücke, eine Schere, ein Ellenmaß, einen Kupferspiegel, Pinsel, Tusche, Papier, einen Tuschestein, ein oder zwei Bücher, das Rechenbrett, einen goldenen oder silbernen Schmuckgegenstand oder sonst ein Gerät, Früchte usw. Das Kind trägt die neuen Kleider, die man ihm gerade geschenkt hat, und wird auf das Sieb mitten zwischen die Gegenstände gesetzt. Nun kommt es darauf an, was das Kind zuerst ergreift, festhält und damit spielt. Dieser Augenblick hat für die Eltern und versammelten Freunde einen überaus großen Reiz. Man sagt, daß der Gegenstand, den das Kind zuerst ergreift, auf die spätere Tätigkeit, Beruf, Charakter und Stellung in der Welt hinweist. Ist das Kind ein Knabe und ergreift ein Buch oder einen Gegenstand, welcher etwas mit Literatur zu tun hat, wie Pinsel oder Tusche, dann nimmt man an, daß es ein großer Gelehrter wird. Packt es das Geld oder

Gold- und Silbersachen, dann wird es berühmt wegen seines Reichtums und Geschickes, sich Geld zu erwerben. In der Sung-Dynastie ergriff einmal ein Mädchen, als es ein Jahr alt war und auf das Sieb gesetzt wurde, zuerst zwei kleine Miniaturwaffen mit der einen Hand und mit der anderen zwei Gefäße, wie sie für gewisse Opfer bei staatlichen Anlässen gebraucht werden. Nach einigen Minuten legte es diese Sachen wieder hin und ergriff ein Siegel. Danach achtete es nicht mehr auf die Sachen, die vor ihm lagen. Und nun das Ergebnis: Dieses Fräulein wurde Kanzler eines Kaiserreiches." — Das Orakel bei dieser Geburtstagsfeier stimmt im Wesentlichen mit dem der Tujen überein.

Auch sonst feiern die Tujen den Geburtstag, sowohl Männer wie Frauen, aber erst vom 45. Lebensjahre an. Es wird ein Festmahl gehalten, an dem sich alle Verwandten beteiligen. Als Geschenke sind neun Brote üblich. Acht Dampfbrote bedeuten die acht Genien, *pa-hsien*, und ein Brot stellt den Gott des Alters dar, *shou-hsing* (Alters-Stern). Gegen Sonnenuntergang gehen alle hinaus an die Gräber und bringen das Ahnenopfer dar. Dann gehen sie heim, trinken und tanzen bis in die Nacht. — Wie die Namen beweisen, ist auch diese Sitte den Chinesen entlehnt. Die Tujen kennen ursprünglich kein Ahnenopfer; den Chinesen hingegen ist der Glückspfeil und der Liedertanz fremd.

[6] *dier xsēm sāṅrēdzi*: *xsēm* = tib. *gsum* = drei; *saṅrēdzi* = tib. *saṅs -rgyas* = ausgebreiteter Glanz = buddhistisch: Titel für Inkarnationen. — *dier* läßt sich nicht identifizieren; es muß aber tibetisch sein und soviel wie „Region, Welt" bedeuten. Ich möchte es mit den drei Welten der Bon in Zusammenhang bringen; vgl. HOFFMANN: Quellen, p. 139; FRANCKE: Hochzeitslieder, p. 5 ff. — Auch den Chinesen ist diese Dreiteilung bekannt; man denke nur an das taoistische *san-ching* oder das buddhistische *san-chieh*.

3. Das Neujahrsfest *

Bericht

Das Neujahr feiern die Tujen zur gleichen Zeit wie die Chinesen. In den ersten Tagen ruhen sie sich von jeder Arbeit aus, tanzen und singen und besuchen sich gegenseitig. Erst nach dem ersten Vollmond am 15. Tage beginnt wieder der Alltag.

Schon viele Tage vorher werden Fleisch, Kuchen usw. vorbereitet. In der Nacht vom letzten Tag des alten zum ersten Tag des neuen Jahres geht niemand schlafen. Des Morgens opfert man zuerst den Göttern, verehrt die Familienältesten, bewillkommnet die Freunde [3], verehrt das Obo. Am Nachmittag besuchen sich Verwandte und Bekannte des Dorfes.

Vom zweiten Tag an geht man zu Neujahrsbesuchen außerhalb des Dorfes, erneuert die Tierweihe [6], versammelt sich im Hofe oder auf der Tenne, singt Sagen und Lieder und tanzt. Es ist eine fröhliche Zeit.

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 628-629.

Einzelheiten

Vorbereitung: Bereits eine Woche vorher werden Schweine oder Schafe geschlachtet, Nudeln auf Vorrat geschnitten, die verschiedensten Sorten Ölkuchen gebacken, vor allem das *tagur*-Brot und gefüllte Teigpasteten [3]. Wichtig ist eine große Menge Gerstenwein, da in den Neujahrstagen überall viel getrunken wird. Am Tage vorher werden Haus und Hof gefegt, Laternen und Lampen hergerichtet [1] und die Fenster neu verklebt. Neuerdings schreiben die Tujen auch Frühlingssprüche auf rotes Papier wie die Chinesen und kleben sie auf die Türpfosten. Das war früher nicht so.

Nachtwache: In der Nacht vor Neujahr darf nicht geschlafen werden. Die Alten sagen: „Heute nacht wollet nicht schlafen, morgen früh wollen die Götter bewillkommnet werden." Darum bleibt der Hausherr mit seiner ganzen Familie auf. Man tut sich gütlich an Tee, Schnaps und dem Neujahrsessen, singt und unterhält sich, bis es Morgen wird.

Der Neujahrsmorgen: Beim ersten Hahnenschrei nach Mitternacht ziehen auch die letzten Nachzügler ihre besten Kleider an. Nur die ganz Alten der Familie bleiben auf dem Kang liegen. Der Hausherr stellt große, brennende Butter- oder Öllampen im Zimmer auf den Hausaltar. Im Hofe hängt er eine rote Papierlaterne mit einer Butterlampe an den Manibaum [1]. Sie wird an einer Querleiste an ihm befestigt. Dann bringt er mit der ganzen Familie draußen das große Weihrauchopfer dar, und alle machen dem Himmel einen dreifachen Kotou im Freien. Das gleiche wiederholt sich vor dem Hausaltar für die zahllosen andern Geister. Während dieser Zeit glüht man im Herdfeuer einen Stein, und mit diesem Glühstein werden sämtliche Räume des Gehöftes ausgeräuchert. Dabei wird die Muschel geblasen. Das Ausräuchern kann auch von Frauen besorgt werden [2].

Danach folgt ein zweites Opfer. Der Hausherr nimmt Weihrauchstäbchen, für jedes Familienmitglied eins, und zündet sie im Zimmer über der Lampe an. Dann geht er hinaus um die Manistange und macht, zum Haupthaus gewandt, mit sämtlichen Familienmitgliedern dem Himmel einen dreifachen Kotou. Die Stäbchen steckt er in den Weihrauchofen auf der Rundkrippe. Hierauf wiederholt sich die gleiche Zeremonie im Haus vor dem Hausaltar, wo die neuen Stäbchen im Weihrauchbecken weiterschwelen. Während der ganzen Zeremonie werden Raketen und Böller abgebrannt, um die Dämonen zu verscheuchen. Zugleich mit dem Weihrauch wird auch gelbes Papier verbrannt, genau wie bei den Chinesen [6].

Ist die Weihrauchzeremonie vorbei, so stellt der Hausherr einen Tisch in den Hof vor die Rundkrippe. Darauf kommen Tablette mit fünf Dampfbroten, fünf Ölbroten, drei *tagur*-Broten und allerlei Gebäck [3]. Danach gießt man eine Schale Gerstenwein aus und macht wieder dem Himmel einen dreifachen Kotou. Die gleiche Zeremonie wird vor dem Hausaltar für die andern Götter wiederholt.

Gratulation: Mittlerweile sind auch die Alten des Hauses aufgestanden. Sie erweisen nun auch dem Himmel und den zahllosen Geistern ihre Neujahrsverehrung. Dann setzen sie sich mit dem Hausherrn und den Familienältesten zum Tee auf den Kang und nehmen von ihren Söhnen und Töchtern den Kotou entgegen. Danach findet das allgemeine Frühstück statt. Die Kinder machen vor ihren Eltern Kotou, die jüngern Geschwister vor den ältern Geschwistern, die jüngeren Vettern vor den ältern Vettern usw. Die Alten geben den Jüngeren etwas Geld.

Bewillkommnung der Freude: Gegen Mittag findet die Bewillkommnung des Freudengottes statt. Man treibt dazu die Tiere auf die Tenne, opfert Brot und Wein, verbrennt Weihrauch, tränkt die Tiere und treibt sie wieder heim. Dieser Brauch ist genau derselbe wie bei den Chinesen [7].

Oboverehrung: Einige Familienvertreter begeben sich zu gleicher Zeit oder noch in früher Morgenstunde hinaus, um das Obo zu verehren. Bei dieser Gelegenheit werden nach dem Steinwurf die Luftpferde, die auf gelbes Papier gedruckt sind, losgelassen. Sie flattern und wirbeln in alle Winde zum Glück für die Familie [4].

Gratulationsbesuche: Am Mittag besuchen sich die Dorfbewohner gegenseitig. Man nimmt fünf bis sechs Brote, Weihrauchstäbchen, gelbes Papier, ein Kännchen Gerstenwein und begibt sich zur befreundeten Familie. Dort stellt der Gast die Brote vor den Hausaltar, zündet die Stäbchen an, verbrennt Papier und gießt einige Tropfen Wein auf den Boden. Danach macht er vor dem Altar Kotou und beglückwünscht den Hausherrn sowie die einzelnen Familienmitglieder. Der Niederstehende oder Jüngere hat dabei immer dem Höherstehenden Kotou zu geben. Dann setzt man sich auf den Kang ums Feuer, trinkt Tee oder Wein, unterhält sich und singt. Manchmal schließt sich auch noch im Hofe eine Tanzrunde an.

Wenn Frauen gratulieren gehen, nehmen sie keinen Wein, keinen Weihrauch und kein Papier mit, sondern nur Brote und Tee. Das Brot stellen sie auf den Altar, gießen etwas Tee auf den Boden und machen dann ihren Kotou. Sie setzen sich aber nie mit den Männern auf einen Kang.

Es ist Pflicht, daß sich die jüngeren Verwandten zu älteren Verwandten begeben. Allerdings bleibt man am Neujahrstage selber im Dorf. Erst vom zweiten Tage ab besuchen sich die entfernter wohnenden Freunde und Verwandten.

Belustigungen: In den ersten vierzehn Tagen des Neuen Jahres treffen sich die Leute immer wieder abends bei Mondaufgang in den Gehöften. Man verbrennt Weihrauch, lädt Sänger ein, welche Sagen erzählen. Man singt im Wechselgesang um die Wette. Dabei fassen sich je zwei Personen am Rockzipfel. Wenn einer den Wechselvers nicht kann oder falsch singt, schneidet ihm sein Gegner ein Stück vom Zipfel ab. So kann jemand an einem Abend sein ganzes Kleid versingen.

Vor allem treffen sich die jungen Leute auf der Tenne und singen im Reigen allerlei Lieder. Das dauert die ganze Nacht, besonders beim ersten

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Vollmond. Erst gegen Morgen macht man Schluß. Jungen und Mädchen mischen sich zwanglos im Kreise, kleine Buben, mit umgedrehtem Fell bekleidet, stellen Dämonen dar und schlagen auf Hölzer, andere machen chinesische Händler nach, treiben allerlei Possen usw.[5]

Nach dem 15. Tage beginnt wieder das gewöhnliche Leben der Arbeit. Aber man zehrt noch lange von den vielen Ölbroten.

Lied: Auf Neujahr wird gerne folgendes Lied gesungen:

1. Auf Neujahr gibt man dem Himmel Kotou,
   verbrennt Weihrauch und dann ißt man.
2. Wenn du die Gesetze des Kaisers hältst,
   wirst du im spätern Leben Minister.
3. Wenn du die Wohltaten der Eltern nicht vergißt,
   wirst du später lange leben.

Wörterliste

Neujahr:	*šeni sara* = neuer Monat.
Neujahr feiern:	*šeni sara nogdzini.*
letzter Tag des alten Jahres:	*tsiafudzarē šēlōn* = des Dreißigsten Abend.
	udurdza xuānuo = Tag — spät.
Schwein schlachten:	*xgeni ala-.*
Ölgebäck backen:	*tsiāngguor tsina-.*
Wein destillieren:	*dērasēngē dzinlie-.*
dünne Nudeln walzen:	*narin šēlōnge dielge-.*
Pasteten dämpfen:	*šēmienge dzinlie-.*
Tachurbrote backen:	*tagur šdimienge sira-.*
wenn es dunkelt, den Dreißigsten feiern:	*xara wolgu tsiafudzar nogdzi-.*
Heute wollet nicht schlafen, morgen früh sollen die Götter bewillkommnet werden:	*niu šēlōn bi ndēra, malōn siernege purgan dzēliegu-.*
Stäbchenweihrauch verbrennen:	*gudzi šda-*; *shao-hsiang* (chin.).
Papier verbrennen:	*bio šda*; *shao huang piao* (chin.).
Bewillkommnung der Freude:	*ying hsi* (chin.).

Anmerkungen

[1] Die Lampen sind große kupferne Butterlampen oder die kleinen kupfernen Schälchen. — Ist kein Manibaum vorhanden, dann hängt man die rote Lampe an eine Dachlatte vor der Türe des Haupthauses. Diese Lampe dürfte wohl der chinesischen Himmelslaterne nachgemacht sein. Auch die Chinesen ziehen eine solche Lampe an einem hohen Mast im Hofe wie eine Fahne hoch und lassen sie jeden Abend brennen. Sie heißt *t'ien-teng*, d. h. Himmelslampe.

[2] Das Ausräuchern mit dem Glühstein soll das Haus reinigen und die Dämonen vertreiben, ähnlich wie das Raketenknallen.

[3] Über die Brotarten vgl. DOM. SCHRÖDER, Ying-hsi. Anthropos 41-44. 1946-49. p. 186, Anm. 3; im gleichen Artikel ist die ganze Zeremonie der Bewillkommnung der Freude beschrieben.

[4] Vgl. Abschnitt: Der Manibaum, Anm. 7.

[5] Diese Reigen sind genau so wie bei den benachbarten ackerbauenden Fandse und Chiafandse. Männer und Frauen, Buben und Mädchen bilden

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einen Kreis. Eine Person singt vor und gibt auch die Tanzbewegung an. Die andern singen den Refrain und wiederholen gemeinsam die Bewegung. Auch zu zweien tanzt man im Rhythmus des Liedes. Diese Tänze werden auch sonst bei Belustigungen aufgeführt, z. B. bei Hochzeit, bei Ankunft des Lama usw. Von den Liedern gibt es viele Arten ; man teilt sie in zwei Gruppen ein : Familienlieder, die anständig sind und im Hause gesungen werden ; wilde Lieder, die meist recht derben Inhalt aus dem Liebesleben bringen. Die Melodien sind weitgehend dieselben bei den Fandse. Man singt neben Tujenliedern auch chinesische und tibetische. Das hier angefügte Lied ist im Urtext tibetisch. — Bei diesen Mondscheintänzen verbringen die jungen Leute die ganze Nacht im Freien, und mehr als ein Pärchen sieht man abseits verschwinden. Über die Liederarten vgl. SCHRÖDER : Hochzeitslieder.

[6] Vgl. Abschnitt : Die Tierweihe.

[7] An Neujahr befragen die Tujen auch allerlei Orakel ähnlich wie die Chinesen, z. B. das Futterorakel, bei dem man Tiere mit verschiedenen Brotarten füttert, um daraus über die Ernte zu wahrsagen (vgl. SCHRÖDER, Yinghsi ; und oben, Anm. 3). Ein anderes Orakel ist das Eisbrechen. Junge Burschen und Männer gehen an den Fluß, nehmen eine Platte Eis und brechen sie auseinander. In den Bruchlinien sind Bilder von Getreidesorten erkennbar ; die Arten, die am deutlichsten hervortreten, lassen im Jahre die beste Ernte erwarten. Dieses Orakel ist auch bei den Chinesen zu finden.

[8] Ähnlich wie bei den Chinesen wird auch der Herdgott fortgebracht und am Neujahrsmorgen wieder feierlich eingeführt. Über eine originelle Tujenzeremonie bezüglich des Herdfeuers konnte ich nichts erfahren. Dem Herdgott wurde von jeher ein Weihrauchopfer dargebracht, aber es ist unsicher, ob man dabei Zypressenzweige ins Feuer warf. Heute werden allgemein Weihrauchstäbchen hinterm Herd an die Wand gesteckt, genau wie bei den Chinesen.

Eine andere Feuerzeremonie findet in der ersten Vollmondnacht des Jahres vom 14. zum 15. Tag statt. Junge Leute zünden auf dem Wege oder auf der Tenne eine Reihe kleine Strohfeuer an (10-15) und springen darüber. Man sagt, das tue man, um rein zu werden ; andere meinen, es sei nur zum Spaß. Die dortigen Chinesen, die auch diese Sitten haben, behaupten, es sei ein alter chinesischer Brauch. Sie erzählen auch eine Sage darüber, die ich vergessen habe. Sie hat etwas mit einer Kriegslist alter Helden zu tun, deren Andenken man feiern will. — Zum Reinigungsfeuer vgl. Abschnitt : Das Weihrauchopfer, Anm. 9.

Gerade in den Neujahrsbräuchen tritt die starke Vermischung mit chinesischen Sitten hervor, so daß sich im einzelnen nicht bestimmt sagen läßt, was ursprünglich den Tujen zugehört. Man kann aber wohl die *ying-ksi*-Zeremonie, Erneuerung der Tierweihe, und vor allem das Tanzen und Liedersingen, das die Chinesen nicht kennen, ihnen zuschreiben.

Die Liedertänze weisen auf einen engen Zusammenhang mit dem wachsenden Mond hin, da sie meist nachts, am 15. Tag sogar die ganze Nacht, aufgeführt werden. Es ist fast, als gelte die Neujahrsfeier in erster Linie dem neuen Monde. Nach dem ersten Vollmond wird alles schlagartig abgebrochen.

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4. Der Alters-Segen *

Bericht

Alte Leute, Männer und Frauen, laden den Lama ein, damit er sie segne und belehre. Das ist ein großes Familienfest. Lange vorher schon wird es vorbereitet.

An einem bestimmten Tage kommen dann die Bekannten und Verwandten, bringen dem Alten Geschenke und gratulieren. Sie werden mit Tee und Kuchen bewirtet. Man singt und tanzt und hält ein Festmahl. Die jungen Leute holen den Hutuktu ab. Wenn er ankommt, tanzen die Frauen des Dorfes, und im Hofe verbrennt man Weihrauch. Der Hutuktu segnet die Festgäste und den Alten.

Am Nachmittag wird dann die Altersweihe vorgenommen. Der Hutuktu macht einige Tormas, welche weggebracht werden. Danach kniet sich der Alte auf die Filzmatte vor den Hutuktu, wird mit Weihwasser gesegnet, erhält Belehrungen und wird mit einer gelben Schärpe umgürtet. Er gleicht dann einem Laienmönch. Der Mutterbruder bestimmt, welchen Lohn der Hutuktu erhält. Am andern Morgen kehrt der Hutuktu in sein Kloster zurück.

Die Weiheperson hat jetzt besondere Gebote zu halten, muß am ersten und 15. des Monats sich zur Betrachtung zurückziehen, fasten und beten. — Nicht alle Leute können sich diese Feier leisten, denn sie ist sehr teuer.

Einzelheiten

Die Weiheperson: Die Person kann eine Frau oder ein Mann sein. Sie soll ein hohes Alter haben; meist ist sie gegen 60 Jahre alt. In diesem Alter sind sie nämlich fromm und besonnen und können die Vorschriften besser halten. Junge Leute sind lebenslustig, heftig und unbeherrscht. — Die Weihe wird nur von einer Inkarnation, Hutuktu, vorgenommen, nicht von einem gewöhnlichen Lama.

Vorbereitungen: Die Vorbereitungen werden im Einvernehmen mit dem Mutterbruder getroffen. Er bestimmt den Tag und den Hutuktu, der eingeladen werden soll. Da an der Feier das ganze Dorf teilnimmt, wird schon lange vorher Geld gespart. Man schlachtet Schafe, Schweine oder ein Rind; bäckt Ölgebäck, Brot und Ölstengel, *san-tzu*, auf Vorrat; richtet Haus und Hof her, brennt Schnaps, kauft neue Kleider und sorgt für die Geschenke des Hutuktu. Dieser schickt schon einige Tage vorher einen oder mehrere Mönche, welche das Zimmer für ihn in Ordnung bringen und die Küche vorbereiten, damit er würdig wohnen und essen kann.

Gratulation und Gästeempfang: Am festgesetzten Tage zieht die Weiheperson ihre besten Kleider an und verweilt in einem saubern Nebenraum. Schon am frühen Vormittag kommen die Besucher, Verwandte und

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 634-635.

Gäste. Sie gratulieren der Weiheperson und bringen Geschenke; meist wickeln sie noch ein Hada darum, das sie der Person feierlich überreichen. Die Geschenke werden in einem Raum auf eine Lade, meist vor einen Hausaltar, gelegt. Man schenkt Brote, Ölgebäck, Tuch, Hadas, Silbergeld usw. Damit alles nach Sitte und Ordnung geht, wird ein Zeremonienmeister bestimmt.

Von den Gästen ist der Mutterbruder die Hauptrespektsperson. Man geht ihm schon entgegen und überreicht ihm ein Hada. Wenn er kommt, steigt die Weiheperson vom Kang herunter und empfängt ihn. Er überreicht ihr dann die Geschenke und wird auf dem Ehrenplatz mit Tee und Kuchen bewirtet. Dann trinken alle zusammen Tee und Schnaps und brocken zerkleinerte Ölstengel in die Näpfe. — Außer dem Mutterbruder müssen die Tochtermänner und die Kinder der Tochter der Weiheperson ein Hada und Geld schenken. Dafür erhalten sie beim Weggang später ein größeres Entgelt.

Festmahl: Das Festmahl findet im Hofe statt, zuerst für die Männer, dann für die Frauen. Es werden drei Felder abgeteilt, rechts und links für die Gäste und in der Mitte für den Mutterbruder mit den zwei nächsten Verwandten. Diese drei sitzen mit dem Rücken zur Haupttüre des Haupthauses auf einer Filzmatte zu ebener Erde und haben einen niederigen Kangtisch vor sich mit den Speisen; sie werden eigens von den Zeremonienmeistern bedient. Auf den beiden Feldern rechts und links wird im Geviert Stroh gestreut; davor legt man Bretterbohlen und manchmal auch Matten, welche die Tische vertreten sollen. In der Mitte jedes Geviertes brennt ein Feuer, in dem man Tee und Schnaps wärmt.

Das Essen wird eingeleitet mit Tsamba und Tee, der mit Butter und Milch genommen wird. Daran schließt sich Schaffleisch oder Schweinefleisch; je fetter, umso lieber und vornehmer ist es. Es wird sehr viel getrunken. Als Hauptspeise folgt Reis, welcher mit Butter und Zucker und süßen Wurzeln durchmischt ist. — Nach den Männern essen die Frauen. — Während des Mahles sind immer einige frei, die singen und tanzen.

Festsetzen des Gebetslohnes: Nach dem Essen gießt der Zeremonienmeister dem Mutterbruder Schnaps ein. Die Söhne, Töchter und Schwiegertöchter knien vor dem Mutterbruder nieder. Der Zeremonienmeister überreicht ihm ein Hada und beginnt mit dem Verhandeln des Preises. Der Mutterbruder beansprucht teuere Gaben und viel Geld für den Lama; der Zeremonienmeister muß durch seine Redegewandtheit allmählich die Forderungen heruntersetzen, bis man sich schließlich auf eine vernünftige Höhe einigt. Dann stehen die Söhne und Töchter auf, machen Kotou, danken dem Mutterbruder und gehen. Es ist ähnlich wie bei dem *pai-ta*, vor der Leichenverbrennung [1].

Ankunft des Lama: Bereits tags zuvor oder am frühen Morgen sind Reiter zur Lamaserie geritten, den Hutuktu abzuholen. Er kommt gegen Mittag an und wird unter den üblichen Zeremonien ins Haus geleitet. Auf der Tenne vor dem Hoftor tanzen und singen die Frauen aus Leibeskräften. Im Hofe wird das Weihrauchopfer verbrannt und die Muschel

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geblasen. Den Lama geleitet man zum Kang im Haupthause; dort ruht er sich aus und trinkt Tee.

Nach geraumer Zeit stellen sich der Mutterbruder und die Zeremonienmeister bei ihm vor, schenken ihm ein Hada und bitten ihn, die Festgäste zu segnen. Draußen vor der Tür des Haupthauses setzt er sich auf einen Stuhl, und alle ziehen mit gebeugtem Haupte vorbei, der Mutterbruder zuerst. Der Hutuktu berührt jedem den Scheitel oder die Stirn mit seinem schweren Gebetbuch. Das nennt man den Lamasegen, von dem die ganze Zeremonie den Namen hat [3]. — Die Weiheperson kommt nicht, sondern wartet bis später.

Die Altersweihe: Nachdem im Haupthaus die üblichen Butterlampen und Schälchen vor dem Hausaltare aufgestellt sind, macht der assistierende Lama einige Tormas, darunter auch ein kleines. Die Tormas werden auf ein Tablett vor den Hausaltar gestellt.

Auf den Boden vor dem Kang des Hutuktu breitet man eine Filzmatte aus und stellt das kleine Torma darauf. Die Weiheperson tritt, gefolgt von dem Mutterbruder und ihren Kindern, herein, kniet sich barfüßig und barhäuptig (die Frauen ohne Kopftracht mit herunterhängenden Zöpfen) auf die Matte, macht dreimal Kotou und bleibt vor dem Torma knien.

Der Hutuktu betet über den Weihekandidaten. Dieser hält die hohlen Hände hin, in welche der Hutuktu aus seiner Kanne Weihwasser gießt. Er trinkt es. Es folgt ein zweiter Guß in die hohlen Hände. Der Weihekandidat spült damit den Mund und speit das Wasser zweimal über das Torma. Mit dem dritten Wasserguß in die hohlen Hände wäscht er sich das Haupt. Schließlich folgt der letzte Guß, mit dem er sich das Gesicht wäscht [4].

Danach besprengt ihn der Hutuktu mit Weihwasser aus der Kanne und wirft Tibet-Gerste, welche er dreimal angeblasen hat, über ihn. Das Wasser weiht er mit den Gewürzen schon vorher, nachdem die Tormas fertig sind. Zum Besprengen gebraucht er die Pfauenfeder, nicht einen Lebensbaumzweig.

Jetzt bringen der Zeremonienmeister, die Tochtermänner und Kinder das Torma, das vor dem Kandidaten steht, zum Hofe hinaus und werfen es fort. Der Mutterbruder bleibt da, und nachher kommen nur noch die eigenen Kinder hinzu. Sie stellen oder knien sich im Nebenraum hinter die Weiheperson und schließen die Tür, weil nur wenig Leute zugegen sein sollen. Nur die Weiheperson bleibt im Lamaraum vor dem Kang knien.

Der Weihekandidat wäscht sich nun wieder auf die oben beschriebene Weise, wird wieder mit Weihwasser besprengt und mit Tibet-Gerste beworfen. Der Zeremonienmeister nimmt einen Eisenlöffel, legt etwas Glut aus dem Feuerbecken des Lama hinein, streut zerstampften Zypressenweihrauch darauf und der Lama wirft wohlriechendes Gewürz darüber. Damit wird die Weiheperson ringsum abgeräuchert und ist nun vollständig rein. Der Hutuktu betet über ihn das Weihegebet und belehrt ihn, welche Gebote er von jetzt an zu halten hat. Diese Gebote beziehen sich auf Fasten, Enthaltsamkeit, Tötungsverbot, Gebet usw. Sie sind für Männer und Frauen etwas ver-

schieden. Die Belehrung geschieht in der Tujensprache, damit der Kandidat sie versteht.

Jetzt folgt das Anlegen der gelben Schärpe. Sie ist etwa eine Hand breit und 4-5 Ellen lang. Es soll keine Seide sein. Halbseide ist erlaubt, meist ist es Baumwolle. Der Kandidat hat sie selber zu besorgen. Diese Schärpe liegt vor dem Hutuktu auf dem Kangtisch und wird zu gleicher Zeit wie die Weiheperson abgeräuchert. Mit Weihwasser wird sie nicht besprengt. Der assistierende Lama legt dem Kandidaten die Schärpe über die linke Schulter und bindet sie unter dem rechten Arm mit einem gelben Faden, der ebenfalls abgeräuchert wurde, zusammen. Das Tuch hat denselben Namen wie die Tuchschleife, die die Lamas über die Schulter werfen.

Da die Weihe erst am späten Nachmittag geschieht, ist es mittlerweile Abend geworden. Jetzt erst nimmt der Hutuktu die Hauptmahlzeit ein. Im Hofe aber sammeln sich die Gäste um das Feuer, wärmen ihren Schnaps und singen und tanzen bis in die Nacht.

Am andern Morgen verrichtet der Hutuktu seine üblichen Morgengebete, trinkt Tee und erhält seinen Gebetslohn: mehrere Kiepen Brot, Fleisch, Geld usw. — Die Gäste haben schon tags zuvor nach dem Festessen je ein Stück Fleisch oder Speck und vier Stück Ölgebäck erhalten. Der Mutterbruder, die Tochtermänner und deren Söhne erhalten acht Ölbrote, ein größeres Stück Fleisch und ein Hada; denn sie haben dem Kandidaten auch mehr Geschenke gebracht als die andern. — Nach dem Morgenimbiß begibt sich der Hutuktu in sein Kloster zurück. Man begleitet ihn nicht, bringt ihm aber die Geschenke ins Kloster nach. Dort stiftet man für die Mönche einen großen Kessel Tee und für die Tempelgötter Lampenbutter [3].

Pflichten und Vorrechte der Weiheperson: Die Weiheperson zählt als Laienlama bzw. Laiennonne. Darum wird sie nach dem Tode auf feierliche Weise in dem vom Hutuktu gesegneten Leichenofen verbrannt. Der Hutuktu, der sie geweiht hat, erhält bei der Übermittlung der Todesnachricht seines Kandidaten zwölf Dampfbrote und drei *tagur*-Brote und muß für ihn besonders beten. Er nimmt auch gewöhnlich die Totenzeremonien vor.

Der Geweihte darf nun sein ganzes Leben lang keinen Alkohol mehr trinken, nicht rauchen, keine Eier und kein Fleisch von gefallenen Tieren und kein Hühnerfleisch essen [4]; nur Fleisch von geschlachteten Tieren ist ihm gestattet. Er hat sich des Geschlechtsverkehrs zu enthalten und jeden Monat sich zur Betrachtung zurückzuziehen.

Das geschieht am ersten und fünfzehnten Tage, es sind Fasttage und Tage der Betrachtung. Meist kommt noch der achte Monatstag hinzu. An diesen Tagen bringt er morgens feierlich das Weihrauchopfer dar. Dann zieht er sich auf den Kang zurück, trinkt „leeren Tee", d. h. reinen Tee ohne Zutaten und ohne Essen. Er hält Betrachtung und betet an seiner Manischnur. Niemand darf ihn stören, auch wenn Gäste kommen; er selber kümmert sich ebenfalls um nichts. Während dieser Zeit darf er nicht schlafen. Auch darf er nicht in den Tempel oder zum Obo gehen. Erst am Nachmittag nimmt er eine Mahlzeit zu sich, die aber besser und reichlicher als gewöhnlich ist [5].

Wörterliste

Altersweihe:	*Ige lama ndziala-* = großes Lama-Einladen.
	törödzudur nogdzi- = Geburtstag feiern.
Zeremonienmeister:	*kâŋguo.*
den Hutuktu abholen:	*ǵdzö niwa* (zweimal) (oder *dâŋwu*, wenn das erste Mal).
Mutterbruder	*nöǵâ*; *achin* (chin.); *ayâŋ.*
Sohn des Mutterbruders:	*ku-chin* (chin.).
Schärpe:	*ǵödzân* (tib. Lehnw.) [4].
unter Gebet in den Lamastand aufnehmen:	*gönien dötwla-.*
Einkehrtag halten:	*pi-chai* (chin.); *gönsöŋ* (tib. Lehnw.) [4].
Mitglied der gelben Kirche:	*gölönba* (tib. Lehnw.) [5].

Anmerkungen

[1] Näheres siehe Kapitel: Totenbräuche und Leichenverbrennung. Auch hier ist die hervorragende Stellung des Mutterbruders besonders auffällig.

[2] Vgl. Kapitel: Empfang des Lama. Ich konnte keinen andern Namen feststellen als *lama ndziala*; *ndziala* hat eine ganze Reihe Bedeutungen, unter anderem auch: einen Hutuktu einladen. Weil die Altersweihe das größte religiöse Ereignis einer Familie ist, wozu der Hutuktu eingeladen wird, wird es eben die „Einladung" schlechthin genannt. Es ist eine Zeremonie, in welcher durch die Weihe eine besondere Beziehung zum Mönchstum hergestellt wird.

[3] Hieraus geht hervor, wie kostspielig die Altersweihe ist. Sie ist darum allein schon sehr angesehen. Ich entsinne mich eines Falles, daß ein junger Mann diese Feier für seine alte Mutter organisierte. Die Leute meinten: „So ein armer Schlucker will eines solchen Ansehens willen sein Vermögen ruinieren. Dieser Gernegroß." Aber sie machten am Festtage selber eifrig mit.

[4] Die Waschung spielt ja in allen Weihezeremonien eine große Rolle, auch Buddhabilder werden gewaschen, bevor sie „beseelt" werden. Vgl. dazu auch FILCHNER: Kumbum, p. 267 ff.; FILCHNER: Om mani padme hum, p. 137-141; ferner das Kapitel: Totenbräuche und Leichenverbrennung.

[5] Zum Ganzen vgl. FILCHNER: Kumbum, p. 199. Die hier beschriebene Zeremonie ist viel ausführlicher als dort und weicht auch etwas ab. Den Namen *Upâsaka* (resp. *Upâsika*) nannte der Gewährsmann nicht. Auch wußte er nicht die Vorschriften im einzelnen. Wohl bestätigte er, daß der Kandidat nach jedem Gebot zu bejahen habe, er wolle es halten. Der Alte hat an sich selber nicht die Weihe vornehmen lassen. Das Volk betrachtet die Weihe-Personen als Laien-Gelong; man wird hier an die Ähnlichkeit mit dem dritten Orden im christlichen Abendland erinnert.

Aus den Geboten ist auch klar, warum junge Leute für die Weihe nicht in Frage kommen. Allerdings kann diese Weihe in jedem Lebensalter, bei oder nach dem Tode, ergänzt werden; dann sind auch junge Leute nicht mehr fähig die Gebote zu übertreten. Die Altersweihe scheint nur die letzte Stufe einer Weihefolge von Laien zu sein, die parallel zu den Weihestufen der Lamas vorgenommen werden. Der Gewährsmann erwähnte einmal eine Art Taufe, bei welcher das *dzawdzi* (tib.) gebetet wird; chinesisch heißt dieses Gebet *hsi-lien-ching*, Gebet des Gesicht-Waschens. Offenbar war die von

FILCHNER beobachtete Zeremonie eine solche Knabentaufe; Om mani padme hum, a. a. O. Später folgt dann noch eine zweite Weihe für junge Leute, die nach dem entsprechenden Gebete *gäńsgur* (tib.)* heißt, auf Chinesisch *san-hun ching*, Gebet der drei Seelen, genannt. So teilte mir der Gewährsmann mit. Leider konnte ich diese Zeremonien nicht mehr aufnehmen.

* *gědzän*: tibetisch *gzan* = die gelbe Schärpe der Lamakleidung. — *gönsön*: tib. *dgoń* = Einsamkeit, *soń*: fortgehen; Sinn: in die Einsamkeit gehen. — *gělönba*: tib. *dge* = Tugend, *sloń* = sich befleißigen, *pa* = zugehörig; Sinn: Ein Tugendbeflissener. — *gesnien*: tib. *dge* = Tugend, *bsńen* = sich nähern. — *gäńsgur*: tib. *dbań* = Gewalt, *bskur* = weihen übertragen. Es ist die Zeremonie der Gewaltübertragung gemeint, wobei jeder Lama einen geheimen Namen erhält (UNKRIG).

5. Totenbräuche und Leichenverbrennung *

Bericht

Ist jemand dem Tode nahe, dann werden ihm die Kleider ausgezogen, falls er auf dem Kang überhaupt solche trägt. Man wäscht, rasiert oder frisiert ihn, wenn es eine Frau ist, und bindet ihn sofort nach dem letzten Atemzug in Hockerstellung. Über die Schulter wird ein Stück Tuch geworfen, welches das einzige Kleidungsstück des Toten ist.

Danach setzt man ihn in eine Totenlade, die wie ein tragbares Haus aussieht, und stopft ihn mit Stroh fest. Die Lade wird in einem Zimmer auf den Boden gestellt, und die nächsten Angehörigen halten dort Totenwacht. Bei jeder Mahlzeit bringen die Leute etwas von den Speisen vor die Totenlade, verbrennen Papier und machen Kotou. Jeden Abend versammeln sich die Nachbarn und Freunde und beten, im Kreise hockend, für den Toten. Einige Tage vor der Verbrennung lädt der Zeremonienmeister einen Lama ein, damit er die Totenzeremonien vornehme und die Leiche verbrenne. Zuvor aber muß der Mutterbruder die Leiche freigeben; das geschieht am Vorabend beim Essen, wenn er Rechenschaft für den Toten und dessen Bestattung fordert.

Die Verbrennung wird außerhalb des Ortes in einem Leichenofen vorgenommen, den man jedesmal an einem andern Orte mauert. Der Lama nimmt dabei fast dieselben Zeremonien vor, wie beim Feuerguß. Nach der Verbrennung werden die restlichen Knochen in einem Holzkasten geborgen und an Ort und Stelle vorläufig begraben. Erst im nächsten Frühjahr übertragen sie die Angehörigen auf den Familienfriedhof. — Kleine Kinder werden nicht begraben. Erwachsene Mädchen verbrennt man ohne Zeremonien still an einem abgelegenen Ort.

Die strenge Trauerzeit beträgt 49 Tage. Zum Zeichen der Trauer wenden die Männer die Kleidung um, und die Frauen entfernen den Schmuck und bestimmte Teile ihrer Kopftracht.

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 650-658.

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Einzelheiten

Herrichtung der Leiche: Kurz vor dem Tode rasieren die Männer dem Sterbenden zuerst den Kopf und dann den Bart. Tritt der Tod aber zu plötzlich ein, so daß sie ihn nicht mehr lebend rasieren können, so unterbleibt es. Nach dem Rasieren entkleidet man ihn und wäscht ihm Hände, Gesicht und Füße, nicht den ganzen Körper. Bei Männern tun das die Männer, bei Frauen die Frauen. Die Frauen behalten ihre langen Haare, ebenso die Mädchen. Man frisiert ihnen einen Scheitel in der Mitte und flicht zwei dreisträhnige Zöpfe, die über die Brust oder den Rücken herabhängen. Bei einem plötzlichen Tode wird die Leiche nur gewaschen und gekämmt; das Waschen geschieht dann nur mit einem feuchten Tuche [1].

Ehe der Sterbende den letzten Atemzug tut, legt ihm jemand eine Manikugel, ein Stück Gold, ein Stück Silber und ein Stück Butter in den Mund. Die Manikugel gewährleistet ihm nach der späteren Wiedergeburt ein hohes Alter [2]. Gold und Silber bezeugen bei der Wiedergeburt, daß er aus einem reichen Wohlstand kommt und auch dann wieder Gold und Silber erwerben wird. Butter ist die vornehmste, alltägliche Nahrung und soll es auch wieder im späteren Leben sein.

Sobald sich am Toten kein Lebenszeichen mehr feststellen läßt, bringt man ihn auf dem Kang, auf dem er verschied, sofort in Hockerstellung, noch ehe die Leiche erstarrt [3]. Die Hände werden bei gekrümmten Armen mit den Flächen zusammengelegt und aufrecht gegen die Brust gedrückt, daß sie das Kinn berühren. Die Daumen werden nicht gekreuzt. Die Handwurzeln werden mit einer Hanfschnur zusammengebunden und diese um den Hals gelegt, so daß die Hände zusammenbleiben und nicht nach vorne herunterfallen können. Dann preßt man die Oberschenkel fest gegen Brust und Arme und drückt die Waden an die Oberschenkel, so daß Füße und Gesäß in einer Ebene ruhen. Damit die Füße ihre Haltung beibehalten, werden sie mit einer Hanfschnur umschlungen [4]. Nun nimmt man ein viereckiges Stück Tuch, ungefähr zwei Ellen im Quadrat, schneidet in der Mitte ein rundes Loch und wirft es dem Toten so über den Kopf, daß die spitzen Enden über Brust, Rücken und Schultern fallen. Dieses Tuch heißt „Totenkleid". Bei Leuten, welche die Altersweihe empfangen haben, ist es gelb; bei jungen Leuten weiß. Es ist einerlei, aus welchem Stoff es besteht [5]. — Alles dies muß geschehen, solange die Leiche noch beweglich ist. Ist sie starr, dann hält sie die Stellung ziemlich unverändert bei.

Die Totenlade: Die Totenlade wird entweder schon lange vor dem Tode oder erst nach dem Tode hergestellt, ähnlich wie bei den Chinesen der Sarg bisweilen Jahrzehnte vorher schon fertig ist. Nur arme Leute zimmern die Totenlade erst nach dem Ableben. Die Lade ist immer aus Holz; aber es ist belanglos, aus welchem Holze sie gemacht wurde; sie wird ja nicht, wie bei den Chinesen der Sarg, begraben, sondern mit dem Toten verbrannt. Die Lade hat die Höhe einer Sänfte oder eines Tragstuhles; der Tote paßt genau hinein. Der Boden der Lade läuft in vier Tragbalken aus,

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ähnlich wie eine flache Sänfte. Die Lade ist aber kein einfacher Holzkasten, sondern stellt einen kleinen Tempel dar, mit Dach und Türen und oft sehr reichem Schnitzwerk, ähnlich wie die Totenlade der chinesischen Bonzen [6]. Aber sie hat, anders als diese, auf der Dachmitte noch Sonne und Mond, ähnlich der Spitze einer Manistange; das wird allgemein als notwendig betrachtet. Bemalung und Verzierung der Lade richten sich nach der Wohlhabenheit, der Frömmigkeit und der Anhänglichkeit der Angehörigen.

Totenlade.
(Zeichnung eines Tujen.)

Bestimmte rituelle Vorschriften für die Anfertigung der Lade gibt es nicht. Der Schreiner erhält den gewöhnlichen Arbeitslohn und überdies noch zwölf Brote, zwei Ellen weißes Tuch und ein kleines Maß Weizen (sechs Pfund). Dieses Maß Weizen wird nach der Arbeit auf den Hausaltar gestellt, und der Schreiner legt seine Werkzeuge darauf. Der Hausherr steckt einige brennende Weihrauchstengel dazwischen und stellt die Brote davor. Dann machen alle einen dreifachen Kotou [7]. Das weiße Tuch erhält der Schreiner erst beim Trauermahl.

Aufbahrung: Ist die Lade schon beim Tode vorhanden, so wird die Leiche sofort hineingebracht. Ist sie noch nicht fertig, dann setzen die Leute den Toten in Hockerstellung auf den Kang oder den Boden des Zimmers, worin er verschied. Zuvor legen sie aber eine weiße Filzmatte als Unterlage hin; Stroh gebraucht man nicht. Niemand darf mit dem Toten im gleichen Raume schlafen oder wohnen; wohl in einem Nebenzimmer. Vor der Hockerleiche steht ein Tisch mit zwölf Broten, die von der eigenen Familie stammen, und eine Wasserlampe.

Das Einbringen in die Lade geschieht immer durch Männer. Der Sohn setzt den Vater und die Mutter ein. Der Vater aber nie den Sohn; das besorgen die jungen Brüder oder Vettern. Auch weibliche Personen werden von den Männern in die Lade gebracht. Nachdem dann die Leiche mit Stroh festgestopft ist, wird rückwärts ein Brett von oben eingeschoben. Die Männer waschen sich danach die Hände. Die Lade wird in einem Zimmer auf vier hochgestellte Lehmsteine gestellt, damit man beim Transport später leicht untergreifen kann. Gewöhnlich breitet man vorher noch eine weiße Filzmatte hin. Die Lade eines verstorbenen Hausherrn oder dessen Frau steht immer im Haupthaus; in andern Fällen stellt man sie in das Zimmer, worin der Tote gewöhnlich gelebt hat.

Neben die Lade kommt ein kleines sargähnliches Kästchen, dessen Deckel wie die der chinesischen Särge festgepflockt wird. Es ist das Kästchen, worin nach der Verbrennung die restlichen Knochen geborgen werden. An der Lade lehnt gewöhnlich noch ein Teigroller (Nudelwalze), der bei der Herstellung eines Sarges oder einer Totenlade zugleich angefertigt wurde [8].

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Andere Teigroller werden überhaupt nicht gebraucht. Wie bei der Hockerleiche, wird auch vor die Totenlade ein kleiner Kangtisch mit den Totengaben gestellt. Männer und Frauen machen davor Kotou, verbrennen weißes Papier, wie die Chinesen, und weinen laut [9].

Totengaben: Die Tujen opfern vor dem Toten zwölf Brote und eine Wasserlampe [10]. Zuerst muß die eigene Familie diese Gaben darbringen. Neben den Broten und der Wasserlampe steht noch eine sogenannte Papierschale auf dem Boden. Dahinein gießt man nach jeder Mahlzeit etwas Tee, Suppe oder Milch, wirft kleine Stückchen Fleisch, Brot, Gemüse usw. dazu, je nachdem, was die Familie gerade gegessen hat. Der Tote soll bis zum Tage der Verbrennung immer teilhaben am Tische des Hauses. Die Papierschale ist eine gewöhnliche irdene Schale; sie hat ihren Namen daher, daß man nach dem Papierverbrennen die verkohlten Blätter hineinwirft [11]. Sie wird mit der Wasserlampe am letzten Tage vor dem Tore ausgeleert, wenn die Totenlade zum Verbrennen das Gehöft verläßt. Zerbrochen wird sie nicht, sondern kann wieder für andere Zwecke gebraucht werden.

Am dritten Tage nach dem Tode stellt sich die älteste verheiratete Tochter des Hauses mit zwölf Broten ein. Dann werden die Familienbrote vor der Totenlade durch die Brote der Tochter ersetzt. Das nennt man „Brotwechsel". Dieser findet jedesmal statt, wenn eine Person Brote opfert. Der ältesten Tochter folgen der Reihe nach die jüngern, einerlei ob die Leiche schon in die Lade eingesetzt ist oder nicht. Unverheiratete Töchter des Hauses opfern nicht. Sooft jemand Brote opfert, verbrennt er auch weißes Papier und weint laut; die Männer allerdings weinen nicht [24].

Erst nachdem die Leiche in der Lade ist, kommen die andern Verwandten, und es wiederholt sich der gleiche Ritus. Es sind aber nur die Verwandten väterlicherseits. Mit ihnen stellen sich auch die übrigen Bekannten und Freunde ein. Die Verwandten mütterlicherseits kommen erst am Tage vor der Verbrennung, einerlei, ob der Tote ein Mann oder eine Frau ist.

Bei den Totenopfern ist immer zu unterscheiden, ob es sich um eine Person älterer, gleicher oder jüngerer Generation handelt. Die ältere Generation opfert nie der jüngeren, z. B. der Vater nie dem Sohn. Wohl opfert der Mann seiner Frau und umgekehrt. Der Mann opfert auch seinen älteren Schwägerinnen.

Von den zwölf Opferbroten, die jeder bringt, erhält er zwei zurück; zehn werden im Trauerhause verwandt und von den Angehörigen oder Gästen gegessen. Die zurückgegebenen Brote nennt man „zurückgegebener Teller".

Trauertracht: Gleich nach dem Ableben trägt man Trauer. Sie besteht aber nicht wie bei den Chinesen in einer eigenen weißen Kleidung, sondern nur in einer Veränderung der Tracht.

In der Trauerzeit legen die Männer ihre bunten Westen ab und entfernen alles Farbige an ihrer Kleidung, wie Halsborden, Ärmelsaum usw. Ihr langes Gewand wird gewendet und mit dem Futter, oder im Winter mit dem Pelz, nach außen getragen. Sie scheren sich nicht die Haare und lassen den Bart wachsen. Der rote oder grüne Hosengurt aus Tuch wird durch

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einen weißen oder schwarzen ersetzt. Statt des Kleidergürtels tragen sie eine dicke Hanfschnur.

Ähnlich wie die Männer, trennen auch die Frauen die bunten Ärmelstreifen, Hosenbesätze, Schuh- und Stiefelverbrämungen ab, besonders alles Rote. Der rote oder grüne Rock über der Hose wird überhaupt nicht getragen. Statt der bunten Kleider zieht die Frau nur ein schlichtes, einfarbiges Obergewand an. Sie legt die Ohrgehänge, Armbänder und den Halsreifen ab, entfernt von ihrem Kopfputz alle Tressen, Quasten, Schnurgehänge sowie die silberne Haarschale und die kupfernen Plättchen. Nur das einfache, starre Gerüst der Haartracht behält sie bei und verklebt noch dessen bunte Streifen einheitlich mit grünem Papier. Darüber legt sie als Kopfschleier ein blaues, grobleinenes Tuch. Ihren breiten und bunten Kleidergürtel ersetzt sie durch einen hänfenen Strick.

Zum Trauertragen sind alle nahen Verwandten verpflichtet, welche auch das Totenopfer darbringen müssen. Eine Ausnahme macht nur der Ehemann beim Tode seiner Frau. Er darf keine Trauer tragen.

Gebetsdienst: Der Gebetsdienst heißt „Gebetstee". Die Verwandten väterlicherseits finden sich täglich im Trauerhause zusammen; gegen Abend setzen sie sich in der Küche um das offene Feuer auf dem Kang und beten an ihrer Manischnur das Mani für den Toten. Wenn sie fertig sind, erhalten sie eine Nudelsuppe und gehen heim. Dieser Gebetsdienst dauert bis zum Tage der Leichenverbrennung. Man braucht jedoch nicht um das Kangfeuer zu sitzen, sondern kann auch vor der Totenlade selber diese Gebete verrichten.

Der amtliche Gebetsdienst wird von einem Lama, wenn möglich von einem Hutuktu, vorgenommen. Dieser erhält im Trauerhause ein eigenes Zimmer, das gewöhnlich unmittelbar an den Aufbahrungsraum stößt, so daß er auf dem Kang bleiben kann, wenn er das Totenoffizium rezitiert. Ein Lama betet nie unmittelbar vor der Leiche. Ein Hutuktu besucht nur am Tage vor der Verbrennung das Trauerhaus und weilt nur eine Nacht dort. Er nimmt auch immer die feierliche Einäscherung mit dem Feuerguß vor. Andere Lamas hingegen können schon mehrere Tage vorher Dienst im Trauerhause verrichten.

Neuerdings laden die Tujen auch chinesische Laienbonzen zum Beten ein. Diese halten sich dann an ihre eigenen Riten. Es kommt auch vor, daß man Bonzen und Lamas zugleich bestellt. Dann ist der Gebetsritus gemischt. Nie aber wird eine Verbrennung vorgenommen, ohne daß irgend ein Religionsdiener vorher die Totengebete verrichtet hätte [12]. Lamas niederen Ranges, die keinen Feuerguß vornehmen können, oder Bonzen, gehen nicht mit zum Verbrennungsplatz, sondern bleiben im Trauerhause.

Für das Gebet erhalten die Verwandten, Lamas und Bonzen eine entsprechende Gebühr, die gewöhnlich vom Mutterbruder bei der Rechenschaftsforderung während des letzten Trauermahles festgesetzt wird. Die chinesischen Bonzen allerdings verlangen schon gleich bei der Einladung einen festen Lohn, sonst kommen sie überhaupt nicht. Die andern Beter, Gehilfen bei der Verbrennung usw., erhalten am Abend vor der Verbrennung oder am Morgen nach der Verbrennung ein Entgelt in Form von Almosen.

Hutuktus und Lamas höheren Ranges ernten oft sehr große Gebühren; es gibt Leute, die bis zu zwei, drei Pferden spenden. Wenn die Angehörigen die Lamas ins Kloster zurück begleiten, nehmen sie einen Block Ziegeltee mit und kochen ihn im großen Tempelkessel für die Mönche, welche mitunter noch eigene Stipendien bekommen, damit sie für den Toten beten. Reiche Leute kaufen zu diesem Anlaß bis zu 300 Pfund Reis und kochen ihn in der Tempelküche mit Zucker und Butter und speisen damit die Lamas. Dazu erhält jeder Mönch noch eine Schale Tsamba mit Butterschnitten. Vor den Tempelstatuen zündet man dann gerne Butterlampen an, manchmal bis zu 1000 Stück. Oft wird eine große Monatslampe gestiftet, die 29 Tage lang Tag und Nacht ununterbrochen brennt; während dieser Zeit hält das Kloster den Gebetsdienst für den Toten. — Wohlhabende Familien schenken dem Kloster auch die Prunkkleider und den Schmuck der Toten, besonders der Frauen. Ein Lama heftet dann den Namen des Verstorbenen an die Gewänder und legt sie vor einem Buddhabild im Tempel nieder. Die Kleider werden später vom Kloster verkauft. Mit dem Erlös halten die Mönche weiteren Gebetsdienst für die Seelenruhe des Toten.

Rechenschaftsforderung der Mutterfamilie: Während die Leidtragenden der eigenen Familie Tag und Nacht neben der Lade kniend Wache halten [13], stellen sich die Angehörigen mütterlicherseits erst am Vorabend der Verbrennung im Trauerhause ein.

Sie müssen aber schon sofort nach dem Tode benachrichtigt werden; das nennt man „Totenmeldung". Der Zeremonienmeister begibt sich mit einer kleinen Flasche Schnaps zum Mutterbruder, um den Tod von dessen Neffen oder Nichte zu melden [14]. Die beiden überlegen nun, wie die Trauerfeierlichkeiten zu regeln sind, wieviel Mönche man zum Beten einladen soll, wie hoch die Gebühren sind usw. Der Mutterbruder ist darauf bedacht, möglichst hohe Forderungen zu stellen, wogegen der Zeremonienmeister weniger ansetzt. Haben sie sich auf den ungefähren Stand geeinigt, dann trinken sie zusammen das Krüglein Schnaps aus. Kommen sie nicht überein, so geht der Zeremonienmeister wieder mit dem Schnaps heim und holt sich bei der Trauerfamilie neue Anweisungen. Mitunter geschieht das zwei- bis dreimal. Eine endgültige Regelung findet erst am letzten Tage bei der Rechenschaftsablage im Trauerhause statt.

Am Vorabend der Verbrennung erscheint der Mutterbruder und mit ihm die ganze männliche Verwandtschaft mütterlicherseits im Trauerhof. Die Frauen der mütterlichen Verwandtschaft kommen nicht [15]. Der Mutterbruder wird vom Zeremonienmeister feierlich empfangen und zur Totenlade geführt. Er und sein Gefolge opfern dort die zwölf Brote, verbrennen Papier und machen Kotou. Während dieser Zeit müssen alle Verwandten große Trauer bekunden und die Frauen lautes Wehklagen anstimmen. Auch der Mutterbruder weint. Nach dieser Zeremonie wird der Mutterbruder ins Haus auf den Kang geleitet, wo man ihm Tee und Brot aufträgt. Er ruht sich ein wenig aus. Die andern Begleiter bewirtet man draußen im Hofe, wo anschließend alles für das Totenmahl und die Rechenschaftszeremonie hergerichtet wird.

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Der Mutterbruder wird in den Hof geführt und läßt sich auf einer weißen Filzmatte nieder, die auf dem Boden unmittelbar vor dem Eingang des Haupthauses ausgebreitet ist. Er setzt sich mit dem Rücken zum Hause, das Gesicht zum Manibaum gewandt. Vor ihn stellt man einen Kangtisch. Rechts und links von ihm setzen sich die andern Verwandten mütterlicherseits auf Stroh, und zwar in einem Halbkreis. Vor sie legt man Bretter, welche Tische vertreten sollen. Nun trägt man Ölgebäck, Tee und Pasteten auf. Die Bedienung besorgt die Vetternschaft väterlicherseits [16]. Nach dem ersten Imbiß wird den Gästen Schnaps eingegossen, und die Leidtragenden väterlicherseits kommen mit dem Zeremonienmeister in den Kreis und knien sich vor dem Mutterbruder auf den Boden. Der Zeremonienmeister tritt vor und fordert den Mutterbruder zu einem Trunk Schnaps auf. Er überreicht ihm ein Hada und zwei Stück weißes Tuch und bittet ihn, seine Wünsche für den Toten vorzubringen und die Leiche für die Verbrennung freizugeben.

Der Mutterbruder legt das Hada über seine Schultern, nimmt einen Schluck Schnaps und beginnt seine Rede. Meist fordert er Rechenschaft über die Sorge für seinen Schützling bei dessen Krankheit, beanstandet die geringen Gebühren für den Gebetsdienst, man müsse sich schämen über einen solchen Geiz, der Tote sei immer ein guter Mensch gewesen, der Stolz seiner Familie, er habe Besseres verdient; nun solle man ihm doch wenigstens eine anständige Totenlade schenken und für eine möglichst prunkvolle Verbrennung sorgen; es seien viel zu wenig Lamas eingeladen worden; jetzt möchten sie diese aber mit viel Geld und Reis und Butter entlohnen usw.

Jedesmal wenn der Mutterbruder einen Wunsch oder eine Beschwerde vorgebracht hat und eine Pause macht, läßt ihm der Zeremonienmeister die Schnapsschale wieder füllen und fordert ihn zum Trinken auf. Dann entgegnet der Zeremonienmeister im Namen der väterlichen Verwandten, sucht die Vorwürfe zu entkräften, die Forderungen abzuschwächen und die Anstrengungen der Familie zu betonen. Man hätte dem Verstorbenen in der Krankheit die teuersten Medizinen besorgt, denn wie könne man einen so tugendhaften Menschen vernachlässigen; man wolle auch zu dessen Ehre und für dessen Seele alles tun, was in Kräften der Familie stünde, aber man dürfe nichts Unmögliches verlangen; sterben müsse man nun einmal; die Zeiten seien schlecht, aber gerne wollten sie dem Lama das und das schenken usw. — So geht es zwischen Mutterbruder und Zeremonienmeister hin und her, bis man sich schließlich auf einer Linie geeinigt hat, und der Mutterbruder erklärt, jetzt sei er zufrieden und gebe die Leiche frei. Nun fordert man den Mutterbruder noch auf, die Leiche zu besichtigen, aber er tut das gewöhnlich nicht.

Nach dieser Rede erheben sich die Leidtragenden, machen vor dem Mutterbruder dreimal Kotou und begeben sich zur Totenwacht an die Lade zurück. Der Mutterbruder folgt ihnen und macht vor dem Toten Kotou. Dann werden an die Gäste Almosen ausgeteilt, meist Kleingeld. Das nennt man „Gutes tun"; denn es ist nützlich für den Verstorbenen. Hierauf findet für die Verwandten mütterlicherseits das Essen in einem großen Kreise statt. Gewöhnlich gibt es Reis, bei armen Leuten aber nur Nudelsuppe.

Die Zeremonie der Rechenschaftsforderung hat den Sinn, die Seele des Toten für die Seelenwanderung freizugeben, nach dem Spruch: wenn der Mutterbruder den Mund nicht öffnet, kann der Tote nicht wandern. Hat die Seele keine Ansprüche mehr auf dieser Welt, dann verläßt sie Haus und Hof. Ihre Ansprüche werden vom Mutterbruder vertreten [17]. — Ist kein eigentlicher Mutterbruder da, dann tritt der dem Mutterbruder zunächst Stehende für ihn ein; das ist der, der dem Mutterbruder im Erbe folgt.

Zeit der Verbrennung: Sobald der Tote den letzten Atemzug tut, begibt sich ein Angehöriger zum Wahrsager oder Bonpriester und läßt durch die Geister den Tag des Verbrennens bestimmen. Er betritt aber nicht das Gehöft des Wahrsagers, sondern meldet sich vor dem großen Hoftor an, denn weil er aus dem Hause eines Toten kommt, darf er nicht vor den Göttern erscheinen. Abgesehen vom Geisterspeer, Geistertisch, der Geistersänfte und dem Bonpriester, kann man auch einen chinesischen Laienbonzen fragen. Aber Lamas und taoistische Bonzen bestimmen nie die Zeit. Man gibt nur den Tag an, nicht die Stunde. In der Regel werden alle jungen Leute unter zwanzig Jahren, einerlei ob Mann oder Frau, am Abend bei Sonnenuntergang verbrannt. Über zwanzig Jahre alte Leute verbrennt man morgens bei Sonnenaufgang. Die Brandstätte wird tags zuvor fertiggemacht.

Ort der Verbrennung: Der Verbrennungsort wird meistens vom Zeremonienmeister nach Überlegung mit den Familienangehörigen gewählt. Es kommt dafür nur ein Gelände der eigenen Familie oder der Verwandten väterlicherseits in Frage. Nie darf ein Toter auf fremdem Boden oder dem der mütterlichen Verwandten eingeäschert werden. Besondern Vorzug hat eine Stelle an einem abschüssigen Feldrain, weil sich dort am leichtesten die Feuerung für den Ofen anlegen läßt. Bei der Wahl ist darauf zu achten, daß der Rauch nicht über ein Saatfeld streichen kann. Nach dem Saatfest im Frühjahr sucht man darum einen entlegenen Ort in einer Schlucht oder auf einem Berge auf, wo keine Felder mehr sind. Abgesehen davon, daß die Saat zertreten wird, ist der Rauch einer brennenden Leiche schädlich für das Wachstum und die Ernte. Darum kommt heute, wo sogar die entlegensten Bergfleckchen bepflanzt werden, die Leichenverbrennung immer mehr ab, vor allem in den Tälern, und man begräbt die Toten in Särgen [18].

Wird bei der Leichenverbrennung der Feuerguß vorgenommen, dann geht tags zuvor der Lama selbst hinaus aufs Feld und wählt eine passende Stelle. Zu diesem Zweck knetet er im Hause ein großes Torma und bringt das Torma dorthin, wohin er den Leichenofen gebaut haben will. Vor dem Torma wird dann das Weihrauchopfer dargebracht, jedoch ohne alle Zutaten, Tsamba und Butter ausgenommen; der Lama besprengt das Feuer mit Weihwasser. Während er dann auf einer weißen Filzmatte betet, machen die andern Ketou. Auf diese Weise erbittet der Lama den Platz vom Berggeist für die Verbrennung; auch der Weihrauch und das Torma gelten dem Berggeist. Der Lama nimmt bei der Wahl Rücksicht auf eine ebene Beschaffenheit des Bodens, denn er benötigt für die Zeremonien einen entsprechenden Platz für den Tisch und seine Sitzmatte.

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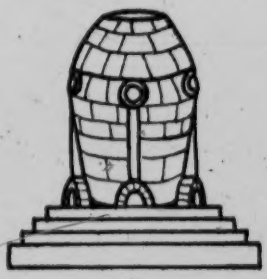
Errichtung des Leichenofens: Nun wird ein Ofen aus Lehmsteinen gemauert. Das Torma wird beiseite gesetzt, und man kümmert sich nicht mehr darum. Zuerst mauern die Männer einen viereckigen Sockel, etwa zwei Ellen hoch und zwei Ellen breit; auf diesem errichten sie den runden Leichenofen, etwa vier Ellen hoch. Er nimmt sich aus wie ein Faß. Auf der Westseite bleibt ein breiter Längsspalt frei, durch den die Leiche eingesetzt wird. Im Sockel läßt man auf jeder Seite ein großes Loch für die Feuerung. Der Ofen wird mit Lehm und Kalk verputzt und dann weiß gestrichen [24].



Leichenofen, *tab.*
(Zeichnung eines Tujen.)

Der Leichenzug: Am Morgen des festgesetzten Tages verbrennen der Mutterbruder und alle Angehörigen des Toten vor der Lade weißes Papier; sie machen dreimal Kotou und stimmen ein lautes Weheklagen an. Vier Träger nehmen die Lade mit der Leiche auf die Schultern und tragen sie zum Hoftor hinaus. Vor dem Tore werden die Wasserlampe und das Papierbecken ausgegossen. Hier wird auch das Stroh verbrannt, welches den Leidtragenden bei der Totenwache als Unterlage gedient hat. Raschen Schrittes geht der Zug zum Leichenofen. Alt und jung, Männer und Frauen folgen in buntem Durcheinander.

Mit ihnen ziehen junge Burschen. Sie tragen Stroh, Brennholz, Zypressenzweige, ein Holzbett oder eine Tür für den Lama, eine weiße Filzmatte und einen großen Eisenkessel für die Butterschmelze. Am Ofen setzen die Männer die Lade auf den Boden. Die Angehörigen verbrennen noch einmal Papier und werfen sich hin zum Kotou. Dann tritt der Zeremonienmeister hervor und richtet einige Abschiedsworte an den Toten. Er sagt etwa folgendes: Wir haben für dich getan, was wir konnten; wir luden die Lamas ein, wir haben gebetet, wir haben Almosen gegeben. Eine schöne Lade haben wir dir gezimmert; du kannst zufrieden sein. So denke denn nicht mehr an uns und komme nicht wieder, den Frieden unseres Hauses zu stören. Sei unbesorgt; wir werden dich nicht vergessen und weiter für dich beten und dir opfern.

Nach dieser Rede teilt er unter die Anwesenden Geld aus. Es ist ein Almosen und heißt „Lade-Geld". Jetzt stimmen die Frauen noch einmal die Totenklage an. Sie haben eine bestimmte Melodie und drücken in freien Worten ihren Schmerz aus. Dann gehen alle heim. Es bleiben nur noch der Zeremonienmeister, zwei Feuerwärter, die Schwiegersöhne, die Neffen und der Lama. Das Feuer wird nur vom Zeremonienmeister und den beiden Wärtern bedient. Die Schwiegersöhne und Neffen sind bei andern Handreichungen behilflich.

Einsetzen der Leiche: Die zurückgebliebenen Männer bringen die Sänfte auf die Westseite des Ofens, wo man den breiten Spalt gelassen hatte. Sie stellen die Sänfte mit dem Rücken an diese Öffnung, ziehen die Holzwand heraus, so daß die Leiche mit dem Rücken frei wird. Unterdessen haben die

Feuerwärter auf dem Ofenboden Zypressenzweige und Holz aufgeschichtet. Die Leiche wird nun, den Rücken nach Osten, das Gesicht nach Westen, in den Ofen auf das Brennholz gesetzt. Dann wird der Spalt zugemauert. Das Gesicht muß deshalb nach Westen gerichtet sein, weil dort das Reich der Seligen liegt, wohin er jetzt zu wandern hat.

Der Lama nimmt nun auf der Westseite des Ofens auf dem Bett oder der Türe, worüber man eine weiße Matte gebreitet hat, Platz. Sein Gesicht ist nach Osten, gegen das Gesicht des Toten gewandt. Vor ihm steht ein kleiner Kangtisch mit seinen Kultgeräten. Daneben liegen zwei Sackleinen, auf die man zwei weiße Tuchbahnen gebreitet hat; darauf stehen die Tellerchen mit den Gewürzen und der Zubehör für den Feuerguß (vgl. den betr. Abschnitt). Auf dem weißen Tuch steht auch ein Tablett mit einem Torma. Der Lama hat es am Morgen im Trauerhaus verfertigt und mitgebracht. Dieses Torma stellt einen Geist dar, der den Toten beschützt und ihn nach Westen ins Land der Wiedergeburt führt. — Der Lama kommt aus dem Westen, dem Lande der Buddhas und geht nach Osten; darum sitzt er umgekehrt wie der Tote.

Die Feuerbereitung: Jetzt wird der Eisenkessel auf drei Steine gesetzt, und man entfacht unter ihm ein starkes Feuer; woher dieses Feuer genommen wird, ist belanglos. In den Kessel wirft man mehrere Klumpen Butter und läßt sie zergehen. Die Männer richten dann die Zündstange her, während der Lama schon mit den Totengebeten anfängt.

Die Zündstange ist ein Stiel von 2-3 *m* Länge. Man kann dazu jedes beliebige Holz nehmen. Auf ein Ende windet man einen dicken Wattestrang. Der Zeremonienmeister bringt nun eine Papierlaterne, worin eine kleine Butterlampe steht. Es muß eine Butterlampe sein; eine Öllampe oder eine Kerze ist nicht erlaubt. In alten Zeiten hatte man auch keine Butterlampen, sondern Kienspanholz von der Öltanne. Diese Lampe darf nicht mit gewöhnlichem Feuer angezündet werden, z. B. mit dem Feuer vom Butterkessel. Es muß neues Feuer sein, das auf den ersten Hieb aus dem Feuerstein geschlagen wird. Bekommt der Zeremonienmeister nicht gleich das erste Mal einen Funken, so darf er es mit dem gleichen Stein nicht das zweite Mal versuchen. Darum hält er eine ganze Reihe Feuerzeuge bereit [18]. Ist nun beim ersten Hieb der Funken auf den Zunder gefallen und hat dieser gezündet, dann nimmt der Zeremonienmeister eine Handvoll Stroh, hält den glimmenden Zunder hinein und bläst das Ganze zu einer hellen Flamme, womit er die Butterlampe anzündet. Hierauf tränkt er die Zündstange im Butterkessel mit flüssiger Butter, hält sie über die Butterlampe in der Laterne, bis der Wattekopf hell aufflammt, und zündet damit durch die vier Feuerlöcher den Ofen an. Währenddessen fährt der Lama ständig mit seinen Gebeten fort. Sobald die Flammen hochschlagen, nimmt der Zeremonienmeister das Seelenführer-Torma und wirft es von oben in den Ofen auf die Leiche; es wird mit ihr verbrannt. Dann nimmt der Lama den Feuerguß vor.

Verbrennung und Feuerguß: Die Zeremonie des Feuergusses ist dieselbe wie sonst auch. Nur wird hier die Butter und das Gewürz auf die

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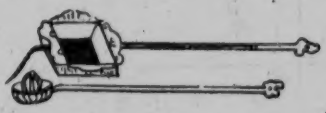
Leiche im Ofen geworfen, weshalb der Lama das Gießrohr über den Ofenrand hält. Das Gewürz wird jedoch vom Zeremonienmeister in die Flammen geworfen. Der Lama nimmt jedesmal nur eine Prise und legt sie auf ein

Schöpflöffel und Gießrohr.
Im Löffel der Donnerkeil, *rdo-rja*.
(Zeichnung eines Tujen.)



Tellerchen, das der Zeremonienmeister in der Hand hält. Ist die Butter und das Gewürz zu Ende, so hört auch der Lama mit seinem Gebet auf und geht nach Hause. Mit ihm gehen der Zeremonienmeister, die Schwiegersöhne und Neffen.

Nur die beiden Feuerwärter bleiben zurück. Sie zerschlagen die Lade und verbrennen sie mit dem Toten und warten, bis die Leiche vollständig eingeäschert ist. Das dauert einige Stunden. Dann stellen sie das mitgebrachte Knochenkästchen ohne die Knochen in eines der Feuerlöcher und bedecken es mit Erde. Über den noch schwelenden Ofen legen sie Bretter, die sie mit Steinen und Erdschollen beschweren, damit Hunde und Wölfe nicht hineinkönnen, und gehen heim. Den Ofen lassen sie allein. Nach drei Tagen werden die Knochen geborgen.

Alle, die bei der Verbrennung beteiligt waren, waschen sich die Hände und räuchern sie in einem großen Weihrauchfeuer vor dem Hoftore ab. Dann trinken sie Tee und halten ein Trauermahl. Der Lama geht meist noch am gleichen Tage zurück in sein Kloster.

Der Feuerguß wird nur bei solchen Personen vorgenommen, welche eine buddhistische Taufe empfangen haben. Alte Leute erhalten dazu noch die Altersweihe und gelten als Laienmönche. Ist jemand ohne die buddhistische Taufe gestorben, so wird sie nach dem Tode noch nachgeholt. Das geschieht vom Lama mit Hilfe eines Brust-Spiegels. Da ja über den Toten kein Wasser fließen darf, hält der Lama ihm den Brustschild vor, so daß sich der Kopf darin spiegelt. Über dieses Spiegelbild gießt er das geweihte Wasser aus seiner Kanne und spricht dabei das Aufnahmegebet [20]. Ein so Getaufter kann jetzt auch, unbeachtet seines jugendlichen Alters, die Altersweihe empfangen und Mitglied der Mönche werden. Dadurch ist jedem Menschen, ob Mann oder Frau, vom zwanzigsten Lebensjahre ab der Feuerguß durch den Lama bei der Verbrennung gesichert. Der Feuerguß ist eine Reinigung für den Toten, ähnlich wie die Taufe.

Gewöhnliche Verbrennung: Findet kein Feuerguß statt, dann folgt auch kein Lama zur Stätte der Verbrennung. Es fallen dort alle Zeremonien fort. Die Verbrennung wird ebenfalls vom Zeremonienmeister, den zwei Feuerwärtern, den Schwiegersöhnen und Neffen besorgt. Aber man gebraucht keine Zündstange, schmilzt keine Butter, schlägt kein Feuer, sondern zündet den Ofen mit irgendeinem Holzscheit oder Streichholz an. Man schaut aber doch, daß man nach Möglichkeit zum Anzünden Zypressenzweige zur Hand hat. Das ist erwünscht, aber nicht notwendig.

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Knochenbergung und Nachbestattung: Mit der Knochenbergung wartet man drei Tage. Während dieser drei Tage begeben sich die Familienangehörigen allabendlich zum Ofen, verbrennen dort Papier, machen Kotou, gießen Tee und Suppe auf den Boden.

Am Morgen des dritten Tages versammeln sich die Verwandten väterlicherseits im Trauerhause und trinken Tee. Danach gehen sie zur Brandstätte, und zwar von der eigenen Familie die Männer und Frauen und von den verwandten Familien wenigstens ein Mann, aber keine Frauen, ferner der Zeremonienmeister und die zwei Feuerwächter. Die Verwandten mütterlicherseits kommen nicht mehr. Am Ofen opfern sie zwölf Brote, einige dünne ungesäuerte Fladen, verbrennen Papier und stellen Tee hin. Nachdem sie dann Kotou gegeben haben, scharren Männer und Frauen die Knochen aus den vier Brandlöchern heraus und füllen sie in die Knochenkiste. Es gehen aber nur die kleinen Knochen hinein; denn sie ist nur eine Elle lang und zwei Handbreiten hoch. Der Deckel wird verpflockt wie beim chinesischen Sarg. Die restlichen Knochen trägt man in Händen, Schürzen oder in einer Kiepe auf die nächste Bergeshöhe. Tiere fressen sie im allgemeinen nicht, weil sie brandig sind. Nur Schafe knabbern gern davon. Die Knochen verfallen aber sehr schnell.

Die Knochenkiste setzt man in den Ofen, beschwert sie mit Lehmsteinen und reißt dann den Ofen ein, so daß er einen kleinen Hügel bildend, die Kiste unter sich begräbt. Das geschieht immer, wenn die Verbrennung nach der Ernte in der Zeit vor dem Gräberfest im dritten Monat stattgefunden hat. Am Gräberfest, dem chinesischen *ch'ing-ming*, wird die Knochenkiste auf dem gemeinsamen Familienfriedhof begraben. Der Verbrennungsplatz wird geebnet.

Ist die Verbrennung nach dem Gräberfest, dann wird der Ofen zwar eingerissen und der Platz wieder bebaut; aber die Knochenkiste wird nicht an der Stelle des Ofens begraben, sondern in einem abgelegenen Ackerrain auf eigenem Felde. Erst am nächsten Gräberfest im nächsten Jahre wird sie auf den Familienfriedhof überführt.

Hat die Verbrennung auf einem entlegenen Berge, fern der Familie stattgefunden, dann schlägt man dort ein Zelt auf, wartet bis zum dritten Tage, birgt die Knochen und bringt die Kiste hinab, um sie im Ackerrain auf eigenem Grund und Boden zu begraben. Eine solche Verbrennung darf nie auf dem Gipfel des Berges vorgenommen werden, sondern etwa in halber Höhe. Der Gipfel ist dem Berggeist heilig und darf nicht entweiht werden.

Ist die Knochenkiste im Ofen oder Acker begraben, dann verbrennen die Angehörigen davor weißes Papier, werfen Brotstückchen auf das Knochengrab und gießen Tee davor aus für den Toten. Sodann machen sie Kotou und gehen heim. Im Trauerhause werden die Gäste mit Tsamba und Butter bewirtet. Der Zeremonienmeister erhält zwölf Brote und zwei Ellen weißes Tuch; den beiden Feuerwärtern gibt man je sechs Brote und zwei Ellen Tuch.

Beim nächsten Gräberfest, das meist im dritten Mondmonat fällig ist, versammeln sich alle Verwandten zum Totenopfer auf dem Sippenfriedhof; dann wird auch die Knochenkiste dorthin übertragen. Einige Männer gehen zur alten Bestattungsstelle am Brandplatz, graben die Kiste aus und bringen

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sie ohne jede Zeremonie auf den Friedhof. Dort graben sie ein kleines Loch und setzen die Kiste hinein. Das besorgen aber nur Männer, die mit dem Toten von gleicher oder niedrigerer Generation sind. Ein Vater wird z. B. nie seinen Sohn begraben, der Onkel nicht seinen Neffen usw.

Sobald die Grube zugeworfen ist, findet das Totenopfer statt; die Angehörigen verbrennen Papier und Stäbchenweihrauch, stellen Brote, Fleisch usw. hin, gießen Tee, Schnaps, Suppe aus und halten am Grabe ein kleines Mahl. Dann geht jeder nach Hause. — Die Übertragung der Knochen muß jedoch nicht am nächsten Gräberfest sein; man wartet mitunter zwei bis drei Jahre. Aber außer der Zeit des Gräberfestes dürfen die Knochen nicht beigesetzt werden [31].

Die Trauerzeit: Die eigentliche Trauerzeit dauert 49 Tage. Ursprünglich hatten die Tujen kein Hunderttage-Gedächtnis; jetzt aber richten sie sich hierin oft nach den Chinesen.

Während dieser 49 Tage nach der Knochenbergung muß der Hauptleidtragende täglich bei Sonnenuntergang zum vorläufigen Grabe gehen und dort Weihrauch verbrennen, Suppe ausgießen und dreimal Kotou geben. Am 49. Tage aber begibt sich die ganze Familie hinaus, opfert Tee, Brot, Schnaps und verbrennt Papier. Bei dieser Gelegenheit verbrannten früher die Männer die hänfene Haarschnur aus ihrem Zopf und die Frauen die Papierteile ihrer Kopftracht, die sie als Zeichen der Trauer trugen. Weil heute aber Zopf und Kopftracht verschwunden sind, fällt diese Zeremonie aus.

Angefangen vom Todestage bis zum 49. Tage nach der Knochenbergung dürfen die Familienmitglieder des Toten keine Besuche abstatten, auch nicht bei Verwandten. Wollen sie jemand sprechen, so dürfen sie nicht den Hof betreten, sondern müssen die Leute vor das Hoftor herausbitten. Erst recht nicht dürfen sie Tempel besuchen, vor den Götterbildern erscheinen, Weihrauchopfer darbringen oder sonstige Kulthandlungen vornehmen. — In dieser Zeit sind auch gewürzte Speisen, Weißmehl, Butter und Milch verboten. Die Nahrung besteht aus einfachem Tsamba. Alle Ausgänge sind zu Fuß zu machen; reiten darf man nicht; wohl kann jemand ein Lasttier mitführen. — Die Leidtragenden haben sich des ehelichen Verkehrs zu enthalten; auch bei Hochzeiten dürfen sie nicht erscheinen, denn das bringt der Braut Unglück. — Ein trauernder Schamane oder Wahrsager darf in dieser Zeit nicht amten; überhaupt macht die Trauer unrein, weshalb man nicht einmal bei einer religiösen Handlung zugegen sein soll.

Nach dem 49. Tage erlöschen diese Vorschriften von selbst. Eigene Reinigungszeremonien sind nicht notwendig. Man beginnt wieder mit dem Weihrauchopfer im Hofe, rasiert sich und geht den täglichen Geschäften nach.

Totenverehrung: Außer dem Gräberfest, an dem sich alle zum Opfer auf dem Sippenfriedhof versammeln, kennen die Tujen keine Totenverehrung. Ahnentafeln gibt es nicht.

Man denkt nicht weiter über die Seele eines Toten nach; sie hat ihre Wanderung angetreten. Die meisten Leute wissen fast gar nichts von Lohn und Strafe nach dem Tode. Wohl fürchten sie die Toten, besonders wenn

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jemand noch mit Ansprüchen oder Schulden an die Lebenden gestorben ist, z. B. wenn der Tote bestohlen wurde, wenn eine Tat noch ungesühnt ist usw. Dann spukt die Seele noch in der alten Behausung herum, bringt Unglück und Krankheit über die eigene Familie, ja Zwist und Tod. In solchen Fällen befragt man einen Wahrsager über die Ursache des Unglücks; und wenn es feststeht, daß es sich um eine Totenseele handelt, so wird im einzelnen bestimmt, was für diese noch getan werden soll. Man geht zum Grabe, verbrennt Papier, opfert dem Toten. Hilft das auch noch nicht, so lädt man einen Lama zu mehrtägigem Gebet ein; dieser macht ein eigenes Torma, welches fortgebracht wird, damit so das Unheil gebannt werde.

Jugendliche und anormal Verstorbene: Knaben werden mit fünfzehn Jahren zu den Erwachsenen gerechnet; sie erhalten eine Verbrennung wie die Erwachsenen, einerlei, ob sie schon verheiratet sind oder nicht. Im Alter von 1-15 Jahren werden sie auf dem Felde ausgesetzt, verscharrt oder einfach verbrannt. Man nimmt keine Totenzeremonien vor. Bei der Verbrennung erhalten sie keine Lade, sondern werden wie die Mädchen eingeäschert.

Wie die Knaben, können auch die Mädchen unter zehn Jahren ausgesetzt, verscharrt oder verbrannt werden. Die Leiche fällt dann gewöhnlich Hunden und Wölfen zum Opfer. Mädchen über zehn Jahren müssen aber verbrannt werden, denn in dieser Zeit kann die Menstruation einsetzen, und ihre Seelen sind dann gefährliche Dämonen, vor denen sogar die andern Geister Angst haben [22]. Die Verbrennung geschieht ohne jegliche Zeremonie, und zwar am gleichen Tage, an dem das Mädchen starb. Stirbt es morgens, so wird es abends verbrannt; stirbt es am späten Abend, so wird es am folgenden Morgen verbrannt. Ein Mann von der eigenen Familie nimmt die Leiche so wie sie ist, mit den Kleidern, über die Schulter, trägt sie in eine abgelegene Schlucht, gräbt an einer Böschung ein Loch, schichtet Stroh und Reisig hinein, legt die Leiche darauf und verbrennt sie. Meist helfen noch einige Leute. Man wartet nicht ab, bis die Tote restlos eingeäschert ist, sondern läßt die noch schwelende Leiche zurück und geht heim. Was übrig bleibt, fressen Hunde und Wölfe. Sobald aber ein Mädchen verheiratet ist, und wären es nur ein paar Tage, erhält es eine ehrenwerte Verbrennung wie jede andere Frau, mit allen Zeremonien, mit Gebet und mit einer Totenlade. Das gilt auch für solche Töchter, welche noch keinen Mann gefunden haben, die aber mit dem Himmel oder dem Manibaum verheiratet sind.

Hat sich ein Erwachsener, einerlei ob Mann oder verheiratete Frau, selbst getötet, so erhält er das gewöhnliche Verbrennungszeremoniell, ohne Feuerguß und ohne Totenlade. Meist wird auch kein Beter eingeladen. Beim letzten Trauermahl aber wird der Mutterbruder scharfe Rechenschaft verlangen über die Ursachen des Selbstmordes, besonders wenn es sich um eine Frau handelt, und er wird auf einem ehrenvollen Totenritus mit einer Totenlade bestehen. Es kommt dann leicht zu Streit.

Gewaltsam ums Leben Gekommene, wie Ertrunkene, Abgestürzte, Erschlagene usw., erhalten eine Verbrennung oder Bestattung wie jeder andere des gleichen Alters.

Solche, die außerhalb des Hofes starben, sei es eines gewöhnlichen Todes, sei es durch Unfall oder Selbstmord, werden stets außerhalb des Gehöftes aufgebahrt, etwa in einem eigenen Zelt oder in einer Höhle. Ist aber ein Selbstmord im Hofe geschehen, so wird auch der Selbstmörder im Hause aufgebahrt.

Personen, die in der Ferne gestorben sind, werden nach Hause gebracht. Ist das aber nicht möglich, z. B. bei Soldaten, dann lädt man einen Lama ein. Dieser schreibt den Namen des Toten unter Gebeten auf ein steifes Blatt Papier und steckt es in ein Maß Getreide (Weizen), welches dann auf einen Tisch in einem Zimmer gestellt wird, in das sonst die Totenlade käme. Davor werden nun alle die gleichen Zeremonien vollzogen, als wäre eine wirkliche Leiche vorhanden. Am festgesetzten Tage wird dieses Blatt Papier auf dem Felde verbrannt, jedoch ganz einfach, ohne Ofen und ohne Lama. Um die Asche kümmert sich niemand. Aber der Lama schreibt den Namen auf ein zweites Blatt, und dieses wird in die Knochenkiste gelegt, welche am Verbrennungsplatz begraben wird[23], bis dann am Gräberfest die Übertragung auf den Sippenfriedhof stattfindet. — Die Zeichen, welche der Lama schreibt, sind tibetisch.

Wörterliste

Totenverbrennung:	*ǵaldē awu-* = ins Feuer setzen.
sterben:	*ugei* (*guei*) *wöldzia* = er ist vergangen.
er ist sitzend gestorben:	*söwa guei wöldzia*; *tsuo-hua* (chin.) = sitzend verwandelt.
Tod eines Bonzen:	*niesā sdzia* = er ist fortgeflogen. *yü-hua* (chin.) = gefiedert verwandelt.
Tod eines Lama:	*siaǵladzia* = er ist zu nichts geworden.
er ist wiedergeboren:	*härga* (*xara*) *rēdzia* = er ist wiedergekommen; *sdziewa*.
Man hat ihn in den Hockersitz gebracht:	*ndāñlalǵadzia* = er ist ins Gleichgewicht gebracht worden.
der Tote:	*guei woldzān kun* = vergangener Mensch.
Totenkleid (Schulterbehang):	*böw-la* (tib. Lehnw.) = weißes Kleid.
Totenklage:	*dö tędzi ula.*
Todenlade:	*odöñ.*
Knochenkiste:	*mula odöñ* = kleine Totenlade.
Wasserlampe:	*ǰdzē dzüla.*
Papierschale:	*tsialdzē pendzē.*
die Kleider umgewendet tragen:	*diela furula mösē.*
Gebetstee:	*rgē tsia.*
Totengebet:	*xar(i)dzān kunē xuǵnuo mani sguorluo-* = dem abgeschiedenen Menschen hinterher das Mani im Kreise (beten).
Gebetslohn für den Lama:	*mbö* (tib. Lehnwort).
Gebetsalmosen:	*odöñ dzied* = Totenlade-Almosen.
eigene Familie:	*dziennāni kudē.*
väterlicherseits Verwandte:	*dziennani šāni* = eigene Verwandtschaft; solche mit dem gleichen Familiennamen.
mütterlicherseits Verwandte, Schwägernschaft:	*urōǵ.* Solche mit verschiedenem Familien Namen.
künstliche Verwandtschaft:	*šāni funi* = Verwandtschafts-Rauch. Nachbarn und Freunde, die die Dienstleistungen von Verwandten beim Gästeempfang, Verbrennen usw. ersetzen.

Knochenherr, Mutterbruder :	*tsigän ysseni daxu* = der weißen Knochen Besitzer ; *ku-chu* (chin.).
Mutterbruder :	*nädä* ; *achiu* (chin.).
Neffe (Schwestersohn) :	*dsie* ; *wai-sheng* (chin.).
Schwiegersohn :	*hurgien* ; *nü-hsü* (chin.).
Schwester :	*agü*.
Tochter :	*fsälsün*.
Er ist als Reiter gefallen :	*tsüroß morina bagäldilä sdzia fugudzia*.
Er ist als Einsiedler gestorben :	*sänrädzi liela guei wöldzia*.
verbrannte Knochen :	*xuodzän yäsä* = trockene Knochen.
Leichenofen :	*taw* (*tab*) (tib.).
Zündstange :	*xuämbar*.
Laienbonze :	*lao shih-fu* (chin.) = alter Meister.
Rechenschaftsforderung :	*bäda* ; *pai-ta* (chin.).
Gräberfest :	*ch'ing-ming* (chin.) ; *sän-min* [21].
westliches Paradies :	*hsi-lo shih-chieh* (chin.) = Freuden-Welt.
Öltanne :	*yu-sung mu* (chin.).
dünne Mehlfladen :	*kan pin-ping* (chin.) = trockene-Küchlein.

Anmerkungen

[1] Warum kein Wasser über die Leiche fließen darf, war nicht zu erfragen ; wahrscheinlich fürchtet man, das Wasser dadurch zu verunreinigen ; es zählt zu den Grundelementen.

[2] Dem Gewährsmann zufolge handelt es sich bei der Manikugel, *manirunu*, um die Pille, die von den Chinesen *chen-ling wan* genannt wird, d. h. die seelenerschütternde Pille. Nach taoistischen Berichten im *shen-hsien t'ung-chien*, Geisterspiegel, wird diese Pille aus dem Saft des sagenhaften *fan-hun-shu*, d. h. des seelenwiederbringenden Baumes, hergestellt. Dieser Baum wächst am Gestade des Westmeeres. Er ist von schwarzem Holz. Wenn man ihn anschlägt, dann tönt er wie das Brummen eines Stieres. Seine Wurzel wird zu einem steifen Sud gebraut, und aus diesem Sud macht man die Pille. Die Pille hat einen überaus starken Duft (auch den Baum kann man schon meilenweit riechen). Dieser Riechstoff heißt *fan-hun hsiang*, d. h. seelenwiederbringender Duft. Berührt man jemanden nach seinem Tode innerhalb drei Tagen mit dieser Pille oder verbrennt man sie vor ihm, so daß der Rauch über ihn streicht, oder legt man ihm die Pille in den Mund, dann wird er wieder lebendig. Unter den Han-Kaisern wurde dieses Räucherwerk als Tribut von den Yüeh-chih geliefert und soll im Palast Tote zum Leben erweckt haben. Diese Pille spielt auch in der Medizin der Lamas eine große Rolle. Es ist die sogenannte Pille der Unsterblichkeit. Die Tujen kaufen diese Pille in den Klöstern. Ihre Farbe ist rot. Nach ihrer Auffassung kann sie zwar nicht den toten Leichnam wieder beseelen, aber sie erweckt den Toten dennoch in einer andern Wiedergeburt zum Leben. — Auch W. FILCHNER (UNKRIG) : Kumbum, erwähnt diese Pille p. 400 unter dem Namen *rilu* und in Anmerkung 1683 unter der tib. Schreibweise *ril bu*. Es ist klar, daß die Tujenaussprache *reru* (*ruru*) nur eine Verballhornung des tib. Wortes ist. CH. DAS hat dafür zwei Schreibweisen : *ril po* und *ril bu* (mit stummem *l*) ; beide übersetzt er mit „ball, globule", und für *ril bu* fügt er noch „pill" hinzu,

ohne auf deren weitere Bestimmung einzugehen (p. 1184/85). Zu unterscheiden ist dieses *ruru* von *nuru*, dem tib. *nor bu* oder *cintāmaṇi*, dem buddhistischen Wunschkleinod. — Nach Auffassung der Lamas und des Volkes vermehrt sich die *ruru*-Pille; vgl. das Kapitel: Erdgotturne. Mitunter trifft man Lamas, die fest glauben, auch die Europäer hätten diese Wunderpille des langen Lebens, weshalb sie auch viel älter würden als Chinesen und Tibeter; sie wollen wissen, daß es in Europa Leute gäbe, die mehrere hundert Jahre alt sind.

[3] Verschieden sind die Auffassungen der Leute über die Hockerlade und den Hockersitz. Von einem alten Ursprung ist ihnen nichts bekannt. Die einen meinen, der Leichnam würde nur deshalb in die Hockerstellung gebracht, weil er sonst nicht in die Totenlade ginge; man sieht dabei die Lade als das Erste und Wichtigere an. Der Gewährsmann sagt dazu, früher hätten die Tujen die Leichenverbrennung nicht gekannt und auch keine Totenlade gehabt. Das sei erst durch die Lamas eingeführt worden. Die Toten hätte man auf den Bergen den Tieren zum Fraße ausgesetzt, so wie es heute die Fandse tun. Er selber wolle sich lieber nach Chinesenart begraben lassen; vor dem Verschnüren und Verbrennen habe er Angst.

Andere behaupten, die Tujen hätten früher ihre Toten in Särgen begraben. Als Beweis führen sie an, daß in Yangchüan, einem alten Tujendorfe, durch Bergrutsch Särge freigelegt wurden; diese stammten wenigstens aus der frühen Mingzeit. Aber dieser Beweis besagt wenig, wenn man bedenkt, daß bereits in der Hanzeit im nahegelegenen Huchutale chinesische Militärexpeditionen stattfanden.

Aber auch ohne die Leichenverbrennung kommt die Totenlade in Chinghai vor. So im Bengbar-Tale, einem Nebental im Hsi-ch'uan. Dort wohnen die sogenannten Chia-Hsifan (Dorffandse), die ursprünglich Mongolen waren und heute sinisiert sind. Auch sie setzen, genau wie die Tujen, die Toten mit Hockerstellung in die Hockerlade, verbrennen sie aber nicht, sondern begraben sie.

Ferner werden in der Hockerlade sitzend die taoistischen Mönche und solche Leute begraben, die sitzend gestorben sind. Interessant ist die entsprechende Ausdrucksweise für den Tod solcher Leute *sōwā guei wōldzia*, sitzend ist er vergangen, im Chinesischen *tsuo-hua*, d. h. sitzend verwandelt werden. Das Wort *sō-* kann sowohl „sitzen" als auch „betrachten" bedeuten. Solche Leute gelten als Heilige, die in Betrachtung in eine andere Welt hinübergingen. Ein Tod in dieser Haltung gilt auch besonders ehrenvoll. Auf dem Grabe dieser Leute errichtet man gewöhnlich eine Tschorte. — Zur taoistischen Sitzbestattung vgl. Bild. Dieses Foto ist gestellt. Der Taopriester von Kanchiapu war gerne bereit, sich in seiner Totenlade fotographieren zu lassen, und machte vor, wie er in die Lade eingesetzt würde. Er hatte diese Lade in seinem Tempel stehen und zeigte jedem Besucher mit Stolz diese schön bemalte Schnitzarbeit. Ein schönes Bild findet sich auch in F. Dransmann, T'aishan-Küfu Guide, p. 19. Es ist die Mumie des taoistischen Priesters Suin, welcher zur Zeit Kanghsi's sechzig Jahre lang auf dem T'aishan wirkte und dort in der Totenlade hockend in der „Grotte des

Unsterblichen" (*hsien-jen tung*) beigesetzt ist. — Zur Sitzbestattung in Ost-Tibet vgl. TAFEL, Tibetreise, I, 236-237, mit Zeichnung.

Daß Tulkus und andere Lamas verbrannt werden, ist überall bekannt. Vgl. dazu die Beschreibung in FILCHNER: Kumbum, p. 240-242. Aber bei der sitzenden Stellung der Lamas, der taoistischen Mönche und der in Betrachtung Gestorbenen ist die Haltung die eines sitzenden Buddha mit untergeschlagenen Beinen und ruhenden Händen, wogegen die Haltung bei den Tujen und den Chiafandse ganz verschieden ist, nämlich die embryonale.

Andere Erklärungen der Tujen, vielleicht die landläufigsten, sagen, daß der Mensch in dieser Stellung im Mutterleibe ruhe und so geboren werde; nackt und in der gleichen Stellung gehe er auch wieder in den Schoß der Wiedergeburt zurück, so wie er gekommen (allerdings umgekehrt). Bei diesem Vergleich drängt sich die Erde oder das Feuer als Symbol der Mutterschaft auf und die Totenlade (oder bei andern Völkern der Sack oder Sarg) als symbolischer Schoß. — Diese Erklärung der Leute hat am meisten für sich. Sie gründet in uralten religiös-kosmogonischen Gedankengängen, welche Geburt und Tod in engen Zusammenhang bringen. Skelette in Hockerstellung liegen aus vielen Kulturen vor, und Menschen in embryonaler Hockerstellung werden in den archaischen Hochkulturen immer wieder dargestellt, und zwar in Verbindung mit den Verschlingergestalten (chin. *t'ao-t'ieh*) und der Unterwelt. Prof. C. HENTZE hat in seinen jüngsten Arbeiten diese Zusammenhänge weitgehend aufgedeckt, weshalb hier darauf verwiesen sei. — Über die Vorstellung, daß der Tote in Schlafstellung gebracht werden müßte, erfuhr ich nichts, wiewohl es bekannt ist, daß die Nomaden dort am Kukunor in dieser Stellung schlafen, was man mitunter auch bei Chinesen und Tujen tagsüber beobachten kann.

[4] Das Binden der Leiche wird nicht als eine Fesselung des Toten betrachtet, um ihn so an der Rückkehr zu verhindern, was bei den Chinesen mit dem Zusammenbinden der Füße beabsichtigt wird. Der Gewährsmann behauptet, die Bindung habe nur den Zweck, die Hockerstellung zu festigen.

Bei der sonst häufigen Verwendung von Schafwolle ist es auffallend, daß man nur Hanfschnüre nimmt. Als Grund geben die Leute an, wenn man Wolle nähme, würde der Tote als Tier mit Wolle wiedergeboren. Das sei bei Hanf nicht möglich; denn in eine Pflanze wird man nicht verwandelt.

Von Hanf als Dämonen-Schreck, wie z. B. bei der Hanfpeitsche der Schamanen, wollte der Gewährsmann nichts wissen. Es mag sein, daß sich hier chinesischer Einfluß geltend macht. Denn auch die Chinesen verwenden beim Toten nur Hanf, welcher auch bei der Trauerkleidung eine große Rolle spielt (Hanfgürtel, Haarschnur, Hanfschleier usw.). Die strenge Trauer wird darum bei den Chinesen einfach „Hanftrauer", *ma-hsiao*, genannt.

[5] Der Schulterüberwurf erinnert sehr an die Schulterkragen der Schamanen. Ein Zusammenhang war nicht zu erfragen. Die Tujen behaupten, daß das Tuch meistens vor der Verbrennung abgenommen wird; man verwende es später als Amulett, da es eine große Heil- und Schutzkraft habe. Dazu bemerkt der Gewährsmann, man könne wohl das weiße Schultertuch vor dem Verbrennen abnehmen, aber es habe keine Zauberkraft und würde zu profanen Zwecken verwandt. Das gelbe Schultertuch hingegen, das ein

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Toter mit Altersweihe trage, müsse mit der Leiche verbrannt werden, ebenso die Schärpe, die er damals erhalten habe.

[6] Bei der Lade der *Taoshih* fehlt der Sonnen-Mond-Aufsatz, die bewegliche Rückwand und die Tragstange. Die Leiche wird meist durch die vordere Türe eingesetzt oder von oben her, weil der Dachaufsatz abnehmbar ist.

[7] Diese Zeremonie hat eigentlich nichts mit der Totenlade zu tun. Sie ist üblich nach allen Schreinerarbeiten; man will dadurch den Schutzgott der Schreiner, den *Lu-pan-yeh*, ehren. Es ist eine chinesische Sitte.

[8] Auch diese Sitte scheint von den Chinesen entlehnt zu sein. Der Teigroller heißt auf chinesisch *mien-kan* oder *kan-ch'ang*. Er ist im Durchschnitt 1 *m* lang und 3-4 *cm* dick. Er wird hauptsächlich zum Nudelwalzen gebraucht. Der Teigroller wird von den Chinesen auch *pai-hu*, d. h. weißer Tiger, genannt, weil er bei Wahrsagung oder schamanistischen Zeremonien Sitz des Tigergottes werden kann, ähnlich wie der Geisterspeer Sitz eines Geistes wird. Der Teigroller wird auch so gehandhabt: ein Mann nimmt ihn mit beiden Händen und ruft den Dämon in ihn herab; dann rüttelt und schüttelt sich der Roller.

Der Feind des Teigrollers ist die Dreschwalze, *lu-chu*. Sie stellt den dunkeln (grünen) Drachen dar, *ch'ing-lung*, den ausgesprochenen Gegner des weißen Tigers. — Ferner ist der weiße Tiger ohnmächtig gegen alles, was von Toten stammt oder mit Toten zusammenhängt; er fürchtet Särge, Totenladen, Begräbnisse usw. Darum ist das Sargmachen die beste Gelegenheit, einen Teigroller herzustellen, und darum wird auch der Teigroller an die Totenlade gelehnt. Dadurch wird die Beziehung des Tigers zum Teigroller neutralisiert. — Außerhalb der Begräbniszeit lassen die Leute sehr selten einen Teigroller verfertigen; dann muß der Schreiner die Stange auf einer Dreschwalze, dem Gegner des weißen Tigers, zurechthobeln. Ähnlich wie die Dreschwalze wirkt auch der Mühlenstein; denn er zertrümmert den Spender des „Weißen", d. h. das Getreide, aus dem das Mehl kommt.

[9] Außer dem Knochenkasten sah ich einmal neben einer Totenlade noch ein kleines Holzkästchen von sargähnlicher Form. Darin, so sagten die Leute, lag eine kleine Menschenpuppe. Sie sollte Unglück und Tod vom Hause fernhalten. Der Gewährsmann hatte das noch nicht gesehen und meinte, diese Sitte sei von den Chinesen gekommen. Bei den Chinesen erfuhr ich folgendes: Ist jemand an einem Unglückstage gestorben, — was der Geomant feststellt —, so besteht die Gefahr, daß er noch einen aus der Familie ins Jenseits mit hinübernimmt. Um dem vorzubeugen, sorgt die Familie gleich bei der Beerdigung für Ersatz. In einen Miniatursarg legen sie eine Menschenfigur aus Aprikosen- oder Pfirsichholz, das die Dämonen besonders fürchten. Dieser Miniatursarg wird bei der Beerdigung in der Sohle des Grabes verscharrt, und darauf kommt der eigentliche Sarg. — Die Tujen vergraben den Miniatursarg unter der Knochenkiste. Der chinesische Name für diese Sitte ist *ch'ung-sang*, d. h. Doppel-Bestattung. Man würde es besser durch „Mitbestattung" übersetzen. Daß sie nichts mit Totenfolge und der Doppelbestattung im üblichen Sinne zu tun hat, ist einleuchtend. Es handelt sich hier um eine Art Nachzehrer.

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[10] Totengaben und Opferregeln stimmen mit denen der Chinesen überein. Die Wasserlampe, *shui-teng*, ist eine irdene Schale, die halb mit Wasser gefüllt wird; meist kommen noch Bohnen hinzu. Auf das Wasser gießt man eine Schicht Öl. Auf dem Öl schwimmt ein Holzplättchen, in dem ein Docht steckt. Man will auf diese Weise verhindern, daß der Docht zu tief in die Schale hinabbrennt; um Öl zu sparen, füllt man die untere Hälfte mit Wasser. — Die chinesische Teiglampe des langen Lebens, *ch'ang-ming teng*, hat mit dieser Lampe nichts zu tun; sie ist den Tujen unbekannt.

[11] Das Papierverbrennen ist typisch chinesisch.

[12] Die Tujen haben keine Schwierigkeiten, Vertreter verschiedener Religionen zum Beten einzuladen. Es ist mir sogar einmal angetragen worden, das christliche Totenoffizium zu beten. — Andererseits laden auch die chinesischen Buddhisten die Lamas zum Totenbeten ein.

[13] Auch diese Sitte der Totenwacht scheint chinesisch beeinflußt zu sein. Die Leidtragenden knien rechts und links neben der Lade auf Stroh, so wie die Chinesen rechts und links neben der offenen Leiche knien. Des Nachts kauern sie sich zusammen und legen einen Lehm- oder Ziegelstein als Kopfkissen unter, nach dem alten chin. Spruch: *ch'in san, chen k'uai*, d. h. auf Stroh schlafen, einen (Lehm)-stein unterlegen. — Die Leichenwache ist Pflicht für die Ehrfurcht schuldende Generation, chinesisch *hsiao-tzu* genannt, das sind die männlichen Nachkommen und Verwandten ersten und zweiten Grades, z. B. Söhne, jüngere Brüder, jüngere Vettern, Enkel.

[14] Neuerdings melden die Tujen den Tod beim Mutterbruder durch eine schriftliche Mitteilung, wie die Chinesen. Das Ursprüngliche ist aber die Meldung mit dem Schnapskrug, an dem eine Wollflocke gebunden wird.

[15] Bei der Verwandtschaft sind drei Gruppen zu unterscheiden, die mit der Verwandtschaftseinteilung der dortigen Chinesen übereinstimmen: 1. Die eigene Familie, *dzienani kudē*, chin. *pen-chia*. Dazu gehören die Nachkommen in gerader Linie, Sohn, Enkel, Enkelkinder, auch die Töchter, die bereits nach auswärts verheiratet sind. Sie wohnen zusammen in einem Gehöft. 2. Vetternschaft, *dzienani šäni*, chin. *tang-chia-tzu*. Das sind die Vaterbrüder und Vettern, praktisch ist es die ganze Verwandtschaft mit dem gleichen Familiennamen. — Dieser Gruppe obliegt die Sorge für das Begräbnis, während die eigene Familie (auch die Töchter) die Trauerkleider trägt und den strengen Trauerverboten unterworfen ist. Sobald die Töchter aber in ihre Mannesfamilie zurückkehren, legen sie die Trauer ab. 3. Die Schwägernschaft, *urog*, chin. *ch'in-chia, ch'in-ch'i*. Weil hier bei den Tujen jetzt die chinesischen Ausdrücke in Gebrauch sind, seien folgende Namen unterschieden: *ch'in-chia* im strengen Sinne ist die Verwandtschaft der Schwiegersöhne, in die die Töchter eingeheiratet haben. Sie haben einen andern Familiennamen, *wai-hsing*. Die Familie, aus der die Mutter stammt, nennt man *wai-chia*; der Bruder der Mutter ist hier die Respektsperson, der ihre Interessen vertritt. Die Familie, aus der die Mutter des Vaters stammt, nennt man *wei-chia*; auch hier ist für den Vater sein Mutterbruder die Respektsperson, welche beim Tode Rechenschaft verlangt. *Wei-chia* und *wai-chia* haben die gleichen Zeichen, nur die Aussprache ist verschieden. Wörtlich übersetzt heißt es

„die außenstehende Familie", also nicht zur männlichen Linie gehörig. Statt *wai-chia* sagt man auch *niang-chia*, man bezeichnet damit die Familie, aus der die Mutter stammt. Dieser Ausdruck wird auch für die Familie des Lama gebraucht, der ja unverheiratet ist. — Die *wai-chia* oder *niang-chia* erscheint erst am Vortage der Verbrennung.

[16] Beim Begräbnis haben die Tujen folgende Ämter: 1. Der Zeremonienmeister. Dieser besorgt alles, was mit den Bräuchen um den Toten und um das Verbrennen zusammenhängt. Er wird mit dem chinesischen Namen *sang-kuan*, d. h. Bestattungsleiter, oder *hu-sang*, d. h. Bestattungs-Schützer, benannt. Er wird meist aus der Vetterschaft genommen. 2. Der Geschenkwalter. Er nimmt die Opferbrote entgegen und verwahrt sie in einem eigenen Raum. Man nennt ihn auf Chinesisch *k'u-kuan*, d. h. Schatzwalter. — Die Chinesen geben ihm noch einen Sekretär zur Seite, der aufzeichnet, was die einzelnen Gäste geschenkt haben. Das haben die Tujen nicht. 3. Der Gastherr. Dieser ist nur für den Lama da, sorgt für dessen Bewirtung, für dessen Tiere, für die bei den Zeremonien benötigten Sachen, für Brandpapier usw. Die Tujen nennen ihn *käuguo*. Die Chinesen haben an seiner Stelle einen Weihrauchverwalter. 4. Die Köchin. Von den Tujen *dziemä nienie* genannt. — Mit Ausnahme des *käuguo* und der *dziemä nienie* scheinen die Amtswalter von den Chinesen übernommen zu sein.

[17] Über Herkunft und Sinn dieser Zeremonie sind sich die Leute nicht einig. Die Chinesen sagen, es sei ihnen nachgeahmt; die Tujen behaupten, es sei eine alte Sitte ihrer Vorfahren. — Auch die Chinesen haben den Namen *bäda* (*pai-ta*); sie sagen auch *pai-wai* dafür. Für das *pai-ta* haben sie keine eigene Erklärung; das *pai-wai* deuten sie als „profitieren, Vorteil erhaschen". Für beide Worte gibt es keine Schriftzeichen. Das wäre aber nicht so wichtig, da es eine ganze Menge Dialektausdrücke gibt, für die keine Zeichen bestehen. — Der Gewährsmann meint, *bäda* sei ein Tujenwort und würde soviel wie „profitieren, gewinnen" heißen, also genau wie das chinesische *pai-wai*. Wenn diese Sitte nicht weiter im Osten vorkommt, was zu untersuchen wäre, dann könnte man an eine Entlehnung von den Tujen denken.

Das *pai-ta* der Chinesen ist etwas umfangreicher. Zuerst folgt das Anlegen der weißen Trauermütze, *tai-hsiao*, dann die Besichtigung der Leiche, *wang-ku*, d. h. Knochen beschauen; der Mutterbruder heißt in dieser Eigenschaft *ku-chu*, d. h. Knochen-Herr, ein Ausdruck, den auch die Tujen haben. Daran schließt sich die Rede des Mutterbruders, *pai-wai*. Und wenn die Verhandlung dabei zur Zufriedenheit ausfällt, dann folgt erst der Kotou mit dem Totenopfer vor der Leiche. Über die Knochenverwandtschaft vgl. 2. Tl., I, 2.

Auch die Rede des Mutterbruders ist etwas verschieden von der der Tujen. Er verlangt hauptsächlich einen prächtigen Sarg, vornehme Totengewänder und viele Bonzen zur Beerdigung. Ja, er fordert sogar Sachen des Toten zurück, so z. B. die Kuh, die ihn mit Milch versorgte, auch Wertgegenstände, die man als Andenken behalten will; denn da der geliebte Tote nicht mehr unter seinen Angehörigen weile, so wolle man doch aus Anhänglichkeit wenigstens seine persönlichen Gegenstände. Dabei weiß jeder, daß es weniger aus Anhänglichkeit als aus Gewinnsucht geschieht. Auffallend ist

hier die ganz unchinesische Forderung nach der Milchkuh, da die Chinesen fast keine Milch trinken.

Bei den Tujen macht das *pai-ta* einen etwas selbstloseren Eindruck. Man verhandelt hauptsächlich wegen der einzuladenden Lamas und deren Gebetslohn; dies hauptsächlich mit Rücksicht darauf, daß die Seele des Toten zufrieden sei und ihre Wanderung antrete.

Beim *pai-ta* ist also ein zweifacher Gesichtspunkt zu unterscheiden, der soziale, der mehr bei den Chinesen hervortritt, und der religiöse, der von den Tujen mehr berücksichtigt wird. Bei dem ersten handelt es sich um die Geltendmachung der Rechte der Mutterfamilie; beim zweiten um die Seelenvorstellung bei Toten, die offenbar als lebende Leichname gedacht werden. Bei Erklärung des Sinnes ist dieser Punkt ausschlaggebend. Es handelt sich um den Frieden und das Glück der Familie, das durch eine ruhelose Seele gefährdet wird, wenn diese nicht zufriedengestellt wird und weiterwandert. Diese Zufriedenstellung geschieht durch die Sorge um ein anständiges Begräbnis (Kleider, Sarg) und das Gebet der Lamas. Dann ist für die Seele „der Weg geöffnet", wie die Buddhisten sagen; das oben erwähnte Sprichwort der Chinesen erhält hier seinen Sinn. Wie stark diese Vorstellung auch bei den Christen noch weiterwirkt, erhellt sich aus dem umgeformten Spruch *wai-chia pu k'ai yen, wang-jen pu shang t'ien*, d. h. wenn die Mutterfamilie nicht zu reden anfängt, steigt der Tote nicht in den Himmel. — Bei allem aber wird deutlich, wie groß die Rechte der Mutterfamilie sind, die noch bis über den Tod hinaus für ihre Mitglieder besorgt ist.

[18] Neuerdings gebraucht man statt der Feuerzeuge auch Streichhölzer. Aber auch hier muß das Zündholz auf den ersten Strich brennen, sonst wirft man es fort und nimmt ein zweites.

[19] Dies dürfte aber nicht der ausschlaggebende Grund für das Schwinden der Sitte sein, sondern die allgemeine Sinisierung. Es läßt sich überall noch in entlegenen Schluchten ein Platz für die Verbrennung finden; denn auch die Chinesen in den Tälern verbrennen ihre erwachsenen, unverheirateten Töchter an solchen abgelegenen Orten.

[20] Für das Waschen im Spiegel ist aber nicht nur der Grund maßgebend, daß kein Wasser über den Toten fließen soll. Auch bei Lebenden wird das Spiegelbild gewaschen, ebenso bei der Weihe von Buddhabildern. Vgl. dazu auch FILCHNER: Om mani padme hum, p. 137-141. Bei der Stelle: „Dann nimmt er einen kleinen Metallspiegel, zeigt dessen Vorderseite nach allen Seiten und beträufelt ihn mit einigen Tropfen Wasser aus seinem Kultgefäß", handelt es sich nicht um ein einfaches Hin- und Herwenden des Spiegels, sondern höchstwahrscheinlich um das Auffangen der Spiegelbilder der Knaben, die vor den Kampo gebracht wurden, und um das Abwaschen dieser Bilder.

[21] Das Tujenwort *sên-min* ist offenbar nur eine Lautnachahmung des chinesischen *ch'ing-ming*. Der Gewährsmann erzählte, die Tujen hätten in alter Zeit nicht das Gräberfest gekannt, sie hätten es von den Chinesen abgeschaut, was ja auch durch die genau gleichen Riten und die früher behauptete Leichenaussetzung bekräftigt wird. — Unerklärt bleibt aber die Ver-

schiebung einer endgültigen Beisetzung der Knochen bis auf dieses Fest, zumal die Chinesen ihre Toten gewöhnlich sofort auf dem Friedhof beerdigen. Der Gewährsmann bemerkte dazu, daß die Chinesen ihre Toten an bestimmten Glückstagen beerdigen; die Tujen aber hätten für die Toten nicht eigene Glückstage. Der Tag des *ch'ing-ming* sei aber immer ein unfehlbarer Glückstag, und darum warte man bis dahin. Andererseits behauptet er, die Tujen hätten früher nie Friedhöfe gehabt, sondern sie hätten ihre Toten nach Belieben begraben, aber nicht auf gemeinsamem Feld; erst recht sei das nach Einführung der Verbrennung unnötig gewesen. — Man kommt hier wohl kaum an einer ursprünglichen Doppelbestattung vorbei.

[32] Warum die Mädchen so gefährlich sind, war nicht klarzustellen. Vielleicht liegt derselbe Gedanke wie bei dem *pai-ta* zugrunde, daß die Seele unbefriedigt aus diesem Leben scheidet, nämlich, daß das Mädchen nach erlangter Reife seine eigentliche Bestimmung in der Heirat nicht erreichte. Eine Totenheirat, wie z. B. in Shantung, gibt es hier nicht, so daß die Seele nicht zur Ruhe kommen kann. Dieser Seelendämon wird aber nach Aussage der Chinesen und Tujen durch Verbrennung vernichtet. Mir ist der Fall bekannt, daß noch zwei Jahre nach dem Tode ein chinesisches Mädchen ausgegraben und verbrannt wurde, weil es in der Familie immer spukte und ein Unglück auf das andere folgte. Geholfen hat es allerdings auch nicht. — Naheliegend sind gewiß auch schamanistische Vorstellungen. Man braucht nur daran zu erinnern, daß die Bonpriester die Knochenflöte aus den Knochen und die Peitsche aus der Haut eines solchen Mädchens verfertigen.

[33] Die benachbarten Chinesen haben eine ähnliche Sitte. Sie legen die Ahnentafel des Toten in einen kleinen Sarg und bestatten sie auf dem Friedhof. Diese Beerdigung hat rechtskräftigen Charakter; wenn sie vorgenommen wird, gilt das als Beweis, daß die Person wirklich tot ist. Eine Parallele findet sich bei den Chinesen in der stellvertretenden Hochzeit mit einem ausstaffierten Strohmann.

[34] Eine Sitte, die jetzt nicht mehr geübt wird, war bei den Tujen das Ölspeise-Essen am Vorabend der Verbrennung, *bän-sän tsinani*, d. h. Ölspeise kocht man. Die Töchter und deren Mädchen (Nichten) brachten ein Maß Weizenmehl und einen Krug Öl. Beides wurde nach dem *pai-ta* zusammen in einem Kessel geröstet und herumgereicht. Man knetete es zu Klößen wie Tsamba. — Ähnliche alte Tujensitten sollen dem Gewährsmann zufolge jetzt vergessen sein. Man hat sich immer mehr an die umfangreichen Gebräuche der Chinesen angeglichen, und in absehbarer Zeit wird die Totenverbrennung der chinesischen Leichenfeier gewichen sein.

[35] Der Leichenofen kann in verschiedener Form ausgeführt werden. Als die vornehmste Art gilt die, welche dem Leichenofen der Lamas nachgeahmt ist (vgl. dazu die Zeichnung, die von einem Tujen stammt). Es lassen sich Ähnlichkeiten mit dem Unterbau der Tschorten nicht verkennen. Ich sah auf Gräbern von sitzend Gestorbenen Tschorten, die fast eine genaue Nachbildung des Ofens darstellten, nur etwas abgerundeter. — Wenn bei der Verbrennung der Feuerguß vorgenommen wird, dann wird natürlich auch die Bodenzeichnung gemacht, und zwar meistens nicht auf dem Boden selber,

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sondern man legt ein größeres Blatt Papier mit der Zeichnung hin; darauf wird dann der Sockel gemauert. Oft werden mehrere Bogen zusammengeklebt. Die Zeichnung ragt bisweilen unter dem Sockel heraus, so breit ist sie. Die Bodenzeichnung variiert natürlich auch in der Dekoration; aber immer sind die Donnerkeile und die Lotosblume dabei. Der Ofen mit der Leiche wird als von der Lotosblume getragen gedacht, aus welcher die Flammen der Lebensverwandlung bei der Verbrennung schlagen. Vgl. dazu den Abschnitt: Der Feuerguß, Anm. 4. — Zwischen dem Leichenofen und der *bum-pa* der Tschorten bestehen sicher Zusammenhänge.

(Fortsetzung folgt.)

[Text continues on p. 822]

3:Schröder AE9 Monguor

[continued from p. 658]

Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor)

Von DOMINIK SCHRÖDER

(Zweite Fortsetzung)

V. Bräuche um den Ackerbau und das Vieh

1. Das Saat- und Herbstdankfest[1] *

Bericht

Das Saatfest und das Fest des Herbstdankes sind vollständig gleich. Nur haben die Leute im Herbst mehr Mehl und Fleisch, um das Fest zu feiern. Beide Feste dauern mehrere Tage. Eine bestimmte Anzahl Tage ist nicht vorgeschrieben. Man unterscheidet beim Feste das Opfer und die Tänze der Schamanen. Das Opfer wird von dem Saatherrn oder den Dorfältesten vorgenommen. Die Tänze dauern einen ganzen Tag; damit ist auch gewöhnlich ein Markt verbunden.

Die Schamanen errichten einen Mast im Tempelhof, beten mehrere Tage, senden am ersten Abend Krankheiten aus und töten aus der Ferne Kinder oder machen sie ohnmächtig. Am letzten Tage abends, bevor sie den Mast niederlegen, nehmen sie die Krankheiten wieder zurück; dann werden die davon betroffenen Leute wieder gesund.

Die Schamanen sind immer Männer[2]. Sie tragen Frauenkleider und eine Frauenfrisur. Ihre Trommel besteht aus einem Eisen- oder Holzreifen, worüber ein Schaffell gespannt ist. Sie tragen die Sänfte der Mutter-Göttin auf eine Tenne und tanzen davor. Während des Tanzes werden die Trommeln geschlagen. Sie machen allerlei Kunststückchen, und einer kommt in große Trance und verwundet sich.

Das Saatfest findet in der Zeit vom dritten bis fünften Monat statt, das Herbstfest im neunten oder zehnten Monat. Kein Dorf feiert aber beide Feste. Wo das Saatfest ist, ist kein Herbstfest, und wo ein Herbstfest ist, ist kein Saatfest.

* Anmerkungen siehe p. 823.

Beim Saatfest bittet man um Schutz vor Gewitter und um Regen; beim Herbstfest dankt man für die Ernte.

Anmerkungen

[1] Zu diesem Thema vgl. DOM. SCHRÖDER, Das Herbst-Dankopfer der Tujen im Sining-Gebiet. Anthropos 37-40. 1942-45. 867-873. — Der dortige Bericht bringt nur das Opfer aus dem Herbstdankfest, wie es der Alte damals beschrieb. Es ist interessant, darauf hinzuweisen, daß er dieses Opfer als typisch für das Fest herausgriff und die ganze Feier nur nebenher erwähnte, immer mit dem Hinweis, daß die Schamanen eigentlich nichts mit dem Opfer zu tun hätten. Als ich ihn später frug, warum er nicht das ganze Fest ausführlich beschrieben habe, gab er zur Antwort: „Das war zu viel für einen Nachmittag". Zudem habe er das Fest so erzählt, wie es bei ihm in seinem kleinen Dörfchen vonstatten gegangen sei. Dort sei es immer sehr einfach gefeiert worden, jetzt habe er das Fest für sein Dorf ganz fallen gelassen, und sie würden ins Nachbardorf Chichialing gehen, wo es viel länger und größer sei.

Auch hier ist nichts Näheres über die einzelnen Teile gebracht, wie in den andern Kapiteln, weil der Stoff zu umfangreich ist und ein eigenes Thema bildet, das im Zusammenhang mit dem Schamanismus behandelt werden soll. Hier sei jedoch schon vorausgenommen, daß es wohl keine Tujen-Schamanen, sondern chinesische Schamanen sind, die sich über weite Gebiete Westchinas verbreitet finden.

[2] Der Name für diese Schamanen ist *bö*, also das typische mongolische Wort. Die Tujen unterscheiden sie streng von den andern Schamanen und den Bonpriestern. Es sind die von den Chinesen als *fa-shih*, d. h. Zauberer, oder *shih-kung*, d. h. Lehrmeister, bezeichneten Kulttänzer, deren Hauptgöttin die *Niang-niang*, d. h. Mutter, ist.

2. Die Pfahlziege *

Bericht

Wenn im Frühsommer die Saat hochgeschossen ist, lädt man einen Bonpriester ein, der auf einem Berge betet und die Pfahlziege errichtet. Er kommt tags zuvor zum Saatherrn und begibt sich am folgenden Morgen mit den Männern auf den Berg. Dort trinken sie Tee. Der Bonpriester setzt sich auf eine Filzmatte. Vor ihn stellt man einen niedrigen Kangtisch, damit er seine Kultgegenstände darauf lege, und neben ihn setzt man eine Tonschüssel mit Tsamba, Butter, Goldblättchen, sowie eine Schale Wasser und rote Farbe. Das benötigt er für die Torma. Dazu kommt noch ein Tellerchen mit Gerste und die Weihwasserkanne.

Zuerst bringen die Männer das große Weihrauchopfer dar, das während der ganzen Handlung unterhalten wird. Der Bon macht vier kleine Torma, „Unheiltorma" genannt, die er mit allerlei Zugaben auf ein Tablett stellt. Der Saatherr geht mit dem Tablett in die vier Himmelsrichtungen und wirft jedesmal ein Torma fort.

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 829-830.

Dann macht der Bon das „Wettertorma". Währenddessen schlachten die Männer eine Ziege, stopfen das Fell aus und stecken es auf eine hohe Stange. Diese legen sie mit der Ziegenpuppe vor den Bon nieder. Er bindet vier kleine Holzkeile an die Füße und einen besondern Keil auf die Stirn der Ziege. Die Keile beschriftet er mit tibetischen Zauberzeichen. Dann wird die Stange aufgerichtet, worauf der Bon das Wettertorma samt den Zugaben vor die Stange stellt. Ein großes Weihrauchopfer und mehrfacher Kotou begleiten diese Zeremonie.

Hierauf geht der Bon auf seinen Platz und verfertigt das „Bergtorma". Es hat drei Schichten und ist das größte von allen Torma. Dieses stellt er hinter die Stange. Wiederum wird Weihrauch verbrannt und von allen Kotou gemacht.

Andere Männer haben während der Zeit im Kessel das Ziegenfleisch gekocht. Von diesem Fleische opfert nun der Saatherr den Göttern. Am Schlusse folgt dann ein gemeinsames Mahl, wobei das restliche Fleisch verzehrt wird. Dann gehen alle nach Hause; aber man singt und trinkt nicht wie sonst.

Das ist die feierliche Errichtung der Pfahlziege. Bei der einfachen Art wird nur ein Unheiltorma gemacht, welches die vier andern vertritt, dazu kommt noch das Wettertorma. Das Bergtorma fällt fort, und man bindet keine Zauberkeile an die Ziege.

Hat man die feierliche Errichtung vorgenommen, dann muß der Bonpriester den Sommer über öfters kommen und vor der Pfahlziege Gebetsdienst halten. Im Herbst, nach der Ernte, erhält er von jeder Familie ein bestimmtes Maß Getreide als Lohn. Bei der einfachen Errichtung, ohne Sommer-Gebet, erhält er nur am Tage selber ein großes Brot und ein Stück Fleisch von der Lende der Ziege.

Einzelheiten

Zeit: Die Zeit der Errichtung wird vom Wahrsager bestimmt, und zwar im Ortstempel. Sie fällt aber immer in die Zeit vom dreizehnten Tag im fünften Mondmonat bis zum sechsten Tag im sechsten Mondmonat. Man kann auch den Bonpriester den Tag bestimmen lassen. Dieser benutzt dazu drei Würfel. Die geworfenen Zahlen vergleicht er mit seinem Wahrsagebuch und bestimmt so einen Tag [3].

Ort: Die Pfahlziege wird immer auf dem höchsten Berg der eigenen Ortsgemarkung errichtet, und zwar nur auf einem Berg und nur eine Ziege. Es können sich aber auch kleine Weiler oder Gehöfte zusammentun; dann wird der höchste Berg von all diesen Weilern gewählt [1]. — Der Ort auf dem Berge selber wird vom Wahrsager angegeben, wenn man zum ersten Male die Pfahlziege errichtet. Diesen Platz behält man dann für immer bei. Man gräbt dort ein Loch und deckt es mit einer Erdscholle oder einem Steine zu, damit es nicht bis zum nächsten Jahre zerfällt.

Der Ort ist niemals tabu, einerlei ob gerade die Pfahlziege dort steht oder nicht. Man kann dort die Tiere weiden, Feuer anmachen usw. Auch Frauen brauchen ihn nicht zu meiden.

Personen : Nur ein Bonpriester darf die Handlung vornehmen, nie ein Lama oder ein Wahrsager. Jetzt wird allerdings die Sitte kaum noch geübt, weil die Bonpriester ausgestorben sind. Nur in ganz entlegenen Bergdörfern findet sie sich noch. Die einfache Zeremonie nimmt ein Bon zweiter Klasse vor, die feierliche ein Bon erster Klasse, denn er hat besondere Zauberkraft. Die Tracht ist die der gewöhnlichen Leute, da der Bon ja auch Bauer ist. Er braucht nur den Stirnkranz und ein langes Kleid zu tragen.

Außerdem wirken mit : der Saatherr und sein Gehilfe, die Dorfältesten und überhaupt alle Männer, alle Wahrsager. Es genügt jedoch, wenn nur ein Wahrsager vertreten ist, z. B. ein Schwertschamane, ein Geistertischwahrsager usw. Frauen sollen nicht bei der Zeremonie Zeuge sein, wohl können kleine Mädchen zuschauen.

Der Pfahl : Es kommt nicht darauf an, aus welchem Holze und unter welchen Zeremonien der Pfahl hergerichtet wird. Meist ist es ein 10 *m* langer schlanker Pappelbaum. Für diese Stange muß das Dorf selber aufkommen. Diese Stange wird jedes Jahr benutzt und in der Familie des jährlich wechselnden Saatherrn aufbewahrt. Man kann sie verbrennen, zerhacken usw., wenn sie nach einigen Jahren ausgedient hat.

Die Ziege : Gewöhnlich ist es eine Wollziege ; Farbe, Alter, Geschlecht, Größe usw. sind belanglos. Wohl bevorzugen die Leute Hornziegen gegenüber hornlosen. Um die Herkunft der Ziege kümmert sich niemand ; man kann sie kaufen, sich schenken lassen usw. Nach der Abnahme vom Pfahl im Herbst gehört das Fell dem Saatherrn ; aber es ist so zerfallen, daß es nicht verwendbar ist. Es bleibt daher samt dem Kopf liegen zum Fraß für Wölfe und Hunde. Zu Zauberei wird das Fell nicht verwandt.

Das Unheiltorma : Der Bon wäscht sich Hände und Gesicht und verfertigt aus Tsamba mit Butter vermischt ein kleines Torma von etwa 10 *cm* Höhe und 3-4 *cm* Breite. Dieses stellt er auf ein Tablett oder einen Holzteller. Dazu legt er als Beigaben in allerkleinsten Mengen : rohes Schaf- oder Schweinefleisch, Lauch, Rüben, Brotkrumen, weiße und schwarze Schafwolle, fünf Arten Getreide, Teeblätter, Geld, Silber, Gold, fünf Stückchen Tuch, fünffarbene Fäden, sowie schwarzen und weißen Zucker, und stellt eine Teiglampe mit brennendem Wattedocht dazu. Diese Beigaben gelten auch für die drei andern Torma, also für alle vier kleinen Unheiltorma.

Die Beigaben werden mit den Torma in alle vier Windrichtungen geworfen, während der Saatherr unter Muschelblasen das große Weihrauchopfer darbringt, und der Bon den entsprechenden Geisterbann betet. Der Bon benutzt bei den ersten vier Torma nur die Klangteller und die Knochenflöte, nicht die Doppeltrommel und Schelle.

Bei der einfachen Zeremonie mit nur einem Unheiltorma kann natürlich nur eine Himmelsrichtung beachtet werden. Diese gibt der Bon selber an.

Herrichtung der Pfahlziege : Um die Ziege kümmert sich der Bon nicht. Die Männer räuchern und waschen die Ziege wie üblich und übergießen sie mit Milch ; während die Ziege sich schüttelt, machen sie im Kreise her-

um einen dreifachen Kotou, weil der Himmel das Tier annimmt. Dann wird die Ziege geschächtet und das Blut in einem Becken aufgefangen. Beim Abhäuten schlitzt man die Bauchseite nicht auf, sondern man macht unterm Schwanz einen Schnitt, der gerade hinreicht, das Fell von hinten über den Kopf abzuziehen. Den Kopf schneidet man innerhalb des Fells ab, so daß er ganz und unabgehäutet darin bleibt. In gleicher Weise schneidet man die Füße ab, sie im Felle belassend. Dann erst wird die abgehäutete Ziege ausgeweidet, zerlegt und das Blut mit Fleischabfall in die gereinigten Därme gefüllt. Diese Därme werden mit dem Fleisch zusammen in einem Kessel über einem Erdloch gar gekocht.

Das Fell stopft man mit Stroh, gleich welcher Art, prall aus, so daß Kopf und Beine steif abstehen, und führt von rückwärts die Stange hinein bis zum Kopf. So sitzt die Ziege aufrecht und fest auf der Stange und braucht nicht eigens angebunden zu werden. Dann räuchern die Männer Ziege und Stange mit Weihrauch ab und legen sie vor den Bonpriester hin.

Die errichtete Pfahlziege. (Zeichnung eines Tujen.)

Das Wettertorma: Der Bon ist unterdessen mit dem zweiten Torma, dem Wettertorma, fertig. Es ist genau so groß wie das erste, bzw. die vier ersten Torma. Unter Gebet stellt er es auf ein Holztablett mit folgenden Beigaben: ein bis drei Butterlampen, drei Kupferschälchen mit reinem Wasser, ein Schälchen Gerstenwein, ein Schälchen Tibetgerste oder Weizen, ein Schälchen Teeblätter, ein Schälchen Teigbohnen. — Dieses Torma trägt noch einige bunte Butterblumen. Bei seiner Anfertigung betet der Bon ein eigenes Wettergebet. Manchmal klebt er noch etwas Papiergold auf das Torma.

Zauberdolch, Holzpflock; *mpuru*. (Nach der Zeichnung eines Tujen.)

Die Keile: Nach dem Anfertigen des Torma beschriftet der Bon die Keile. Diese besorgt der Saatherr. Sie haben die Form der lamaistischen Zauberdolche, sind dreikantig, sieben Zoll (23 *cm*) lang und einen Zoll (3, 3 *cm*) breit. Nur das härteste Holz gebraucht man dafür; das sind in jener Gegend nur die drei Sorten: *huang-san-tzu, hei-ts'u, hua-mu* [7]. Ob man sie alle aus einer dieser Sorten anfertigt oder alle Sorten gebraucht, ist gleich. Im ganzen sind es fünf Keile. Der Kopf der Keile ist dreiteilig gekerbt [4].

Der Saatherr legt diese Keile dem Bon auf den Tisch. Dieser beschreibt alle drei Seiten mit tibetischen Zauberformeln. Dazu bedient er sich chinesischer Tusche und des Pinsels oder des tibetischen Bambusstiftes. Der Keil, der für den Kopf der Ziege bestimmt

ist, wird am Kopfe mit einem schwarzen Hada und in der Mitte mit einer schwarzen Schnur oder einer kleinen Kette umschlungen.

Dann schneidet man etwas von der Wolle der vor dem Bon liegenden Pfahlziege ab, dreht einige Fäden, und der Bon bindet damit die Keile fest, an jeden Fuß einen und einen zwischen die Hörner. Alle fünf Keile schauen mit der Spitze nach unten. Aus seiner Weihwasserkanne spritzt er dann Wasser über Ziege und Stange, nimmt eine Prise Tibetgerste, bläst dreimal darüber und streut sie auf das Ganze.

Die Errichtung der Pfahlziege und das Opfer: Die Männer setzen die Stange ins Loch und keilen sie mit Steinen und Erde fest. Die Ziege muß nach Nordwesten schauen, weil von dort gewöhnlich die Gewitter kommen. Sobald die Stange feststeht, bringt der Bon das Wettertorma samt den Beigaben an den Fuß, stellt es ab und geht sofort wieder auf seinen Platz zurück, um das Wettergebet weiterzubeten. Jetzt begleitet er das Gebet nur mit seiner Trommel und der Schelle. Wiederum bringen die Männer ein großes Weihrauchopfer unter Muschelblasen dar.

Das Bergtorma: Daran schließt sich die Anfertigung der Bergtorma. Es ist dreistufig und rund und sieht aus wie eine Pyramide mit etwa 10 *cm* hohen Terrassen. Im ganzen ist es etwa 40 *cm* hoch. Das Torma wird mit rotgefärbter, weicher Butter überstrichen und erhält folgende Beigaben: auf der ersten Schicht Wassertiere, Frosch, Schlange, Fisch, Drache, Schildkröte, ferner kleine Steinchen, Erdklümpchen und schließlich noch einige Spritzer Wasser; auf der zweiten Schicht Bergtiere, Hirsch, Pferd, Yak, Halbyak, Schaf, Ziege, Hase, Fuchs, Wolf und einige Stückchen Holz; auf der dritten Schicht Lufttiere, Phönix, Adler, Pfau, Elster, Taube, Schwalbe, ferner Sonnenscheibe und Mondsichel. Auf die oberste Spitze kommen verschiedene Arten echter Blumen [3].

Diese Figuren werden alle aus Butter und Tsamba in Miniatur vom Bon selber hergestellt. Er setzt das Torma aufs Tablett mit genau denselben Opferbeigaben wie beim Wettertorma. Dieses Torma wird ebenfalls an den Fuß der Stange gebracht, meistens hinter sie und etwas erhöht. Davor kommen Lampen und Schälchen. So stehen im ganzen zwei Torma unter der Pfahlziege. Während der Bon zurückgeht und seine Gebete weiterbetet, verbrennen die Männer wieder Weihrauch.

Das Ziegenopfer: Das Ziegenopfer besteht im Wurf von Opferfleisch. Während der Bon sich von seinen Gebeten ausruht, gibt der Speerwahrsager (oder ein anderer) die Richtung an, in welcher das Opfer zu vollziehen ist, und beaufsichtigt mit dem Schüttelspeer die Handlung. Der Saatherr nimmt aus dem Kessel eine Schale von dem Sud und wirft diese in der vom Wahrsager angegebenen Richtung in die Luft für den Himmel. Dann folgen vier Würfe in die vier Weltrichtungen und schließlich drei Würfe nach Nordwesten für die Wettergeister. Bei jedem Wurf knien die Männer nieder und machen einen dreifachen Kotou.

Damit ist die eigentliche Zeremonie beendet. Die Männer setzen sich

um den Kessel, verzehren das restliche Fleisch und trinken Tee. Dann gehen alle heim, auch der Bon. — Die Torma werden entweder im Feuer verbrannt oder einfach stehengelassen.

Die Verehrung der Pfahlziege: Während des Sommers stellen sich die Bauern einzeln oder gemeinsam vor der Pfahlziege ein, opfern, beten, verbrennen Weihrauch und machen Kotou, um die Saaten vor Hagel zu schützen. Auch der Bon kommt öfters und betet. Früher schlug er sogar für längere Zeit sein Zelt auf und blieb dort wohnen, um stets bei Gewitter für den Wetterbann da zu sein. Das ist jetzt nicht mehr der Fall. Den Wetterbann nimmt jetzt der Wahrsager vor, meist der Speerwahrsager.

Das Abnehmen der Pfahlziege: Nach dem fünfzehnten Tag im achten Mondmonat, wenn die Ernte geschnitten ist, wird die Pfahlziege wieder fortgenommen. Man läßt dann aber den Tag nicht mehr vom Wahrsager bestimmen, sondern richtet sich nach den Umständen. Der Bon wird wieder eingeladen, er macht wieder die Torma und betet. Meist opfert man dann ein Schaf.

Deutungen: Die Pfahlziege soll die Unwetter bannen und die Ernte schützen. Die Sitte kommt nur bei Bauern vor, auch bei den ackerbauenden Fandse. Die Ziege hat eine besondere abwehrende Kraft, weil sie dem Gotte *Däntsien Sän* mit ihrem Kopf als Amboß dient. Er ist Schmied im Wetterministerium [5]. Bei Gewittern hämmert er zwischen den Hörnern sein Eisen, dabei sprühen die Blitze, und glühende Hagelkörner fallen auf die Erde. Dadurch werden die schädlichen Dämonen erschlagen, so daß Saaten und Menschen kein Unglück geschieht [6].

Die ersten vier Torma stellen böse Dämonen dar. Durch das Fortwerfen werden sie vertrieben. Die Beigaben gibt man mit, damit sie zufrieden sind und nicht mehr wiederkommen; es sind Dinge, die man im täglichen Leben braucht.

Das zweite Torma, Wettertorma, stellt die Geister des Wetterministeriums dar. Die Beigaben sind ein Opfer, das sie günstig stimmen soll.

Das Bergtorma stellt den Weltenberg dar. Sonne und Mond kreisen um ihn. Dieser Berg ist das Geisterparadies. Man stellt ihn unter den Pfahl, damit die Geister sich in dieses Paradies zurückziehen und von den Menschen ablassen.

Die Keile stellen die Zauberdolche des Schmiedegottes und seiner Untergebenen dar. Sie sind die Hauptwaffen gegen die Dämonen. Auch der Bonpriester ist ein Schüler und Untergebener dieses Schmiedegottes. Er verehrt ihn besonders und gebraucht beim Dämonenbannen ebenfalls den dreikantigen Zauberdolch. Auch bei den Tempeltänzen (Tschamtänzen) treten die untergebenen Geister des Gewitter-Schmiedegottes mit diesen Dolchen auf. Lamas gebrauchen den Dolch nie. Die drei Kerben bilden drei Knäufe, welche Menschenschädel darstellen sollen. Davor haben die Dämonen besonders Angst, wie überhaupt vor Sachen, die von Toten stammen, wie die Knochenflöte, die Menschenhautpeitsche und die Schädeltrommel.

Wörterliste

Die Pfahlziege:	*aradziäṅ* (tib. Lehnwort) = Ziege ausspannen.
	ima rèdziala (tuj.) = Ziege ausspannen.
Die Ziege:	*ima*; *chü-la* (chin.); *chia-la* (chin.).
Wettergebet:	*dirèdzia xsertsien* (tib. Lehnw.) [6].
	lei-pu ching (chin.) = Wetterministerium-Gebet.
Unheiltorma:	*ǵuax* [6] *ldor* (tib.).
Wettertorma:	*dirdzia xsertsien* (tib. Lehnw.) ? vgl. Wettergebet.
Bergtorma:	*rira* (tib. Lehnw.) = Weltenberg, Sumeru, Maṇḍala.
Zauberdolch:	*mpuru* (tib.) [6]; *ting-shen-chuang*: Geisterpflock (chin.).
Kerben:	*nduodba* (tib. ?)
Zauberformeln:	*snaǵ* (*sènoǵ*).
Bonpriester 2. Klasse:	*xuändie*; *sènoǵsa* (*snaǵsa*) (tib. Lehnw.)
	peng-po (chin.).
Wetterbann:	*satsiöṅ* (tib. Lehnw.) [6].
Das schwarze Hada (am Dolch):	*chao-t'ien p'a* (chin.) = den Himmel bedeckender Schleier.
	darnaǵ (tib. Lehnw.) [6].
Die schwarze Schnur:	*fsiasga* (tib. Lehnw.) = Lasso zum Einfangen der Pferde.
	k'un-hsien sheng (chin.): die Genien bindende Schnur.

Anmerkungen

[1] Wenn der Berg zu weit entfernt ist, schlägt man dort ein Zelt auf und wohnt dort.

[2] Die Zeit fällt mit der zusammen, in welcher die Chinesen ihre Wetterburgen in Ordnung bringen und die Donnerkeile einrammen (*ch'a p'ai*).

[3] Hier ist es eine Darstellung der Welt mit Tieren und Gestirnen, also ein Maṇḍala. Interessant ist, daß der Gewährsmann dieses Torma als Opfer bezeichnet wie auch alle Torma-Beigaben, wogegen die beiden andern Torma Geister darstellen.

[4] Die Form der Zauberdolche ist verschieden. Besonders variiert der Griff; meist sind es jedoch dreifach gestaffelte Totenköpfe. Die Dolche, die ich sah, waren alle aus Eisen. Ich hörte aber auch, daß es früher Dolche aus Menschenknochen gab. So ließe sich die dreikantige spitze Form und der Knochenknauf leicht erklären; es würde auch gut zur Schädeltrommel, Hautpeitsche, Knochenflöte usw. passen. — Die schwarze Farbe bedeutet Eisen.

[5] Die Vorstellung vom Gewitterministerium hat Ähnlichkeit mit dem chinesischen *lei-pu* (Donner-Abteilung). Es sei jedoch dahingestellt, ob Entlehnungen bestehen. Jedenfalls bringt die Volkstradition der Tujen die Bon in besondere Beziehung zum Wetterzauber (vgl. auch TAFEL: Tibetreise). — Über den Gewittergott *Däntsän* (*Däntsien Saṅ*) wußte der Gewährsmann nichts weiter, als daß es im Kloster Rgulöṅ ein Bild von ihm gebe, und daß er ein Schutzgott der Bon sei. *Däntsien* ist nun offenbar eine Tujenverballhornung des tibetischen *dam-can*, „Gelübde wahrend" (cf. CH. DAS, p. 618). Damit ist nur ein allgemeiner Titel angegeben, der auf viele Götter angewandt werden könnte. Nach GRÜNWEDEL (Mythologie, p. 187 ff.), CH. DAS (p. 618) u. a. ist aber der lamaistische Schreckensgott *rDo-rje-legs* (*pa*) gemeint, der auf einer Ziege (Widder) reitet und zum Schutzherrn (*Dharmapāla*) der

Schröder AE9 Monguor

Lehre erhoben wurde. H. HOFFMANN lehnt ihn als tantristischen Gott ab und will ihn als einen alten Bon-Gott bezeichnen, womit er das Richtige trifft, wie die hier beschriebene Zeremonie dartut. Er schreibt dann weiter (Quellen, p. 164): „Interessant ist die allerdings noch nicht bisher bestätigte Angabe JÄSCHKES, wonach *Rdor-legs*" ... „ein ehrsamer Dorfschmied war". ... „Erwähnenswert ist jedenfalls die Tatsache, daß WADDELL auch von einem 'demon blacksmith' redet." Diese Vermutungen können nun durch die Zeremonie der Pfahlziege und die damit verbundene Tradition bestätigt werden. Der *dam-can* ist ein Schmiedegott der Bon und steht in besonderer Beziehung zum Wetterbann und zum Ziegenkult, welcher ja ebenfalls in den Bereich der Bon gehört oder doch zumindest vorbuddhistisch ist. (Man vgl. den alten Namen von Lha-sa, das ursprünglich *Ra-sa* [Ziegen-Ort] hieß und einen Tempel gleichen Namens hatte).

[6] Der Wetterzauber spielt in ganz Chinghai eine große Rolle. Hier handelt es sich um eine reine Bonzeremonie. Weder die Chinesen noch die Lamas üben sie. Und wenn es stimmt, daß die Nomaden sie nicht haben, dann läge hier ein Hinweis auf den engen Zusammenhang der Bon mit dem Ackerbau. — Die Chinesen führen ihren Wetterzauber durch andere Schamanen aus oder durch Laienbonzen, Exorzisten usw., nie durch einen Bon. — Nur sehr vereinzelt trifft man bei Chinesen die Pfahlziege an, und dann ist es am Rande des Tujen- oder Fandsegebietes. So sah ich öfters eine solche in einem Tale am Pei-ch'uan-Fluß, südlich von Hsin-t'ien-p'u, wo ein Chinesendorf war; hier war man von der Regel, daß sie auf einem Berg errichtet sein soll, abgewichen.

Andere Arten des Wetterbannes werden mit Hilfe des Geisterspeeres, des Geistertisches, der Geistersänfte und mit Donnerkeilen vorgenommen. Alle diese Dinge sind Sitz von Gottheiten. Sobald nun ein Unwetter naht, holen die entsprechenden Träger diese Göttersitze, zitieren den Geist und stellen sich im Freien dem Gewitter entgegen. Näheres über diese Zeremonien an anderer Stelle. Der ganze Wetterbann jener Gegend scheint noch ein Erbe von den Bon zu sein. Die damit zusammenhängenden Verhältnisse und Gebräuche erinnern sehr an die Schilderung, wie sie A. TAFEL für die Bon in Ost-Tibet gibt; Tibetreise II, p. 198 ff.

[7] Die Namen waren nicht zu identifizieren; *hung-san-tzu* scheint schwarzes Sandelholz zu sein; *hua-mu* ist Birkenholz. Es soll jedenfalls das härteste Holz sein, das sich finden läßt. Bei den dortigen Holzarten gilt tatsächlich Birkenholz als eines der härtesten; die Leute machen daraus sogar Radfelgen.

[8] *xsertsien*: tibetisch *gser* = golden, *skyem* = Trank. Es ist das mongolische *altan umdaġan*, goldener Trank, ausgegossen beim Obo-Opfer, das Teeopfer vor dem Obo. Ein Opfer an die Lokalgötter. — *guax*: tibetisch *skyeg* (gesprochen *kag*) = Unheil. — *mpuru*: tibetisch *p'ur bu* = Nagel, Pflock; kann auch Göttername sein. — *satsioġ*: tibetisch *sa* = Ort, *skyoṅ* = behüten, bewahren; König, Schützer. — *darnaġ*: tibetisch *dar* = Seide, *nag* = schwarz (UNKRIG).

3. Das Bergschafopfer*

Bericht

Nach Errichtung der Pfahlziege bis zur Zeit der Ernte wird gewöhnlich auf einer Bergeshöhe ein Schaf geopfert. Es ist eine Angelegenheit des ganzen Dorfes. Damit will das Volk den Himmel, den Berggeist und die Geister der vier Weltgegenden bitten, daß sie die Saaten schützen. Das Opfer kann öfters wiederholt werden; aber man opfert jedesmal nur ein Schaf. Das Opferfleisch wird am Schluß von den Teilnehmern gegessen.

Einzelheiten

Zeit: Bei Errichtung der Pfahlziege bestimmt der Wahrsager, wie oft im Sommer und an welchem Tage ein Schaf geopfert werden soll. Er gibt auch an, ob die betreffenden Geister dieses Opfer alle Jahre haben wollen, manchmal ist es nur einmal, manchmal mehrere Jahre hintereinander. Ist in dieser Zeit kein sonstiger Anlaß, so behält diese Wahrsagung Geltung. Nach Ablauf dieser Periode wird wieder neu gewahrsagt. — Hat das Dorf eine Pfahlziege errichtet, dann findet das Opfer immer in der Zeit nach der Errichtung statt. Ist keine Pfahlziege vorhanden, dann kann es manchmal auch in die Zeit der Errichtung der Pfahlziege fallen.

Ort: Das Opfer findet immer auf dem gleichen Berge statt, auf dem die Pfahlziege steht, und zwar vor dieser. Sonst bestimmt der Wahrsager den Platz. Dieser muß beibehalten werden für die Zeit, in der das Opfer fällig ist. Man kann z. B. bei einem dreijährigen Opfer nicht im ersten Jahre den einen und im zweiten Jahre einen andern Berg wählen [3]. Auch der Ort des Wahrsagens richtet sich danach. Es wird angegeben, wo das nächste Mal die Wahrsagung stattfindet. Immer aber ist es eine Bergeshöhe, nie ein Gehöft oder ein Tal, wie z. B. bei privaten Opfern [1].

Personen: Wie bei allen religiösen Zeremonien, werden die Frauen ferngehalten. Es beteiligen sich daran der Saatherr, die Dorfältesten und alle andern Männer und Jünglinge. Jede Art von Wahrsager kann dabei auftreten. Wichtig ist, daß bei dem eigentlichen Opfer immer irgend ein Geist vom Wahrsager zitiert wird und die Handlung beaufsichtigt. — Die Teilnahme ist auch verboten für alle, welche Trauer tragen, und in deren Hof sich eine Wöchnerin befindet. — Leute mit leeren Geräten, z. B. leeren Wassereimern, Kiepen usw. sollen sich nicht nähern. Man schlägt darum vor dem Opfer den Gong, damit sich solche Personen fernhalten [2].

Opfertier: Als Opfertier kommt nur ein Schaf in Betracht, keine Ziege und erst recht kein Schwein. Das Schaf kann jeder Farbe und Geschlechtes sein, auch kastriert. Es muß aber wenigstens ein Jahr alt sein. Ein zu junges Schaf wäre eine Beleidigung der Götter; abgesehen davon, daß das Fleisch für die Teilnehmer nicht ausreichen würde. Meist wird das

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 834-835.

Schaf gemeinsam gekauft. Jede Familie hat dafür Getreide oder Geld zu stellen; der Eigentümer wird immer entschädigt. Allerdings darf das Schaf nicht aus einer Familie stammen, die gerade tabu ist, z. B. durch Trauer, Wochenbett, Krankheit usw. Solche Familien müssen aber doch ihren Beitrag liefern. Die Hauptsache ist, daß das Tier gesund und fehlerlos ist. Es darf z. B. nicht lahm oder blind sein. Auch vermeidet man allzu häßliche Farben, z. B. ein weißes Tier mit schwarzem Kopf usw.

Gebrauchsgegenstände: Zum Opfer benötigt man einige Eisenkessel, einige Eimer mit Wasser, Messer, Schöpflöffel, Stricke, Blutbecken, Eßnäpfe, Brennholz usw. Zudem nimmt man sämtlichen Zubehör für das Weihrauchopfer mit.

Schlachtung: Die Schlachtung wird mit einem großen Weihrauchopfer eingeleitet, welches von den Männern während der ganzen Zeremonie unterhalten wird. Jeder wirft nach Belieben immer wieder Zypressenzweige hinein, opfert Gerstenwein usw. Dabei wird ständig die Muschel geblasen, so daß man schon von weitem hört, daß auf dem Berge ein Opfer stattfindet.

Junge Männer bringen das Tier heran, binden es los und waschen es mit den Händen vom Kopf bis zum Schwanz. Dann wird es mit Weihrauch abgeräuchert. Ein anderer legt einen weißen Stein in das Feuer. Wenn dieser heiß ist, schöpft er mit einem Eisenlöffel heißes Wasser aus einem Kessel, legt den Stein in den Löffel, streut zerstampfte Zypressenblätter darüber und räuchert damit das Schaf ab. Auch alle Männer, die beim Schlachten behilflich sind, waschen sich Hände und Gesicht, spülen den Mund und räuchern sich ab. Ebenso werden alle Geräte gewaschen und abgeräuchert.

Nun umringt man das Schaf und übergießt ihm Kopf und Nacken mit Milch. Es ist einerlei, welcher Art die Milch ist. Man kann auch Mehl- oder Tsambawasser oder sogar reines Wasser benutzen. Ein gesundes Schaf schüttelt sich auf diesen Guß hin. Dieses Schütteln ist ein Beweis, daß der Himmel das Tier annimmt. Darum machen die Männer im Kreise um das Schaf einen dreifachen Kotou. Nach dem Übergießen mit Milch lassen sie das Schaf einige Schritte frei laufen und fangen es wieder. Falls das Tier sich nicht schüttelt, holen sie sofort ein anderes.

Das Schlachten wird vom Saatherrn vorgenommen. Seine Gehilfen packen das Schaf an den Beinen und Hörnern, drücken es auf den Boden und beugen seinen Kopf zurück, so daß die Kehle sich spannt. Der Saatherr durchschneidet dann mit kräftigem Schnitt Kehle und Schlagadern, und die Gehilfen fangen das Blut unter ständigem Rühren im Becken auf. Von dem Blute soll nichts auf die Erde fallen. Etwaige Blutspuren werden mit Erde zugeschüttet. Hat das Schaf sich ausgeblutet, so wird es abgehäutet. Manchmal bleibt der Kopf am Fell, oder er wird ganz und mit Fell abgeschnitten und abseits auf das Fell gelegt.

Jetzt nimmt man gewöhnlich ein breites Brett, legt das Schaf darauf und weidet es aus. Unrat und unbrauchbare Abfälle werden auf die Seite geschafft. Die Därme werden in warmem Wasser gereinigt und mit Blut und kleinen Fleischwürfeln vom Abfall gefüllt. Der ausgeweidete Körper

wird mit Wasser ausgeschwenkt und zerlegt. Man trennt die Schenkel ab, schneidet die Lenden und Rippenstücke heraus und zerkleinert schließlich alles, damit es bequemer gekocht werden kann.

Kochen: In einem Kessel über einem Erdloch wird Wasser zum Sieden gebracht, worin die Fleischstücke gekocht werden. Frauen dürfen beim Kochen nicht helfen. Gewürze, auch Salz, sind für das Opferfleisch verboten. Auch die mit Blut gefüllten Därme werden gekocht.

Während des Kochens sitzen die Männer abseits, unterhalten sich, beten ihr Mani oder opfern neuen Weihrauch. Ist das Fleisch gar, wird es herausgenommen und auf einem Brett in kleine Scheiben geschnitten, auch Lunge, Nieren, Leber und Herz. Dabei werden auch die Rippen und andere Knochen zerbrochen. Nun schöpft man aus dem Kesselsud mehrere Schalen und gibt einen Teil der Fleischstückchen hinein. Dann ruft man den Wahrsager.

Wahrsagung: Der Wahrsager ruft den Geist und gibt an, in welcher Richtung die Schalen ausgeleert werden müssen. Auch bestimmt er, wieviel Schalen jeweils zu opfern sind. Immer wird dem Himmel und dem Berggeist geopfert, meist auch den Weltengeistern; verschieden ist nur die Zahl der Schalen. Wenn man noch andern Geistern opfern will, wird das eigens vom Wahrsager erfragt. Der Wahrsager bleibt bis zum Schlusse des Opfers in Dienst und beaufsichtigt mit dem zitierten Geist die Handlung.

Opfer: Der Saatherr nimmt die erste Schale und wirft deren Inhalt in der vom Wahrsager bezeichneten Richtung gegen den Himmel. Dann folgen die andern Schalen für den Berggeist und die andern Geister. Bei jedem Opferwurf machen die Männer in der entsprechenden Richtung Kotou. Niemand darf die Fleischstückchen aufraffen oder vielleicht sogar essen. Hunde hält man wenigstens bis zum Ende des Opfers fern.

Mahl: Nach diesem Opfer wird das Fleisch aus dem Kessel genommen und unter die Männer verteilt. Man setzt sich in die Runde, trinkt Tee, ißt Brot, unterhält sich und lacht. Nach dem Mahl gehen alle nach Hause. Ein jeder nimmt seine Sachen mit.

Sinn: Das Opfer wird dargebracht zum Schutze der Saaten[4].

Verbreitung: Das Bergschafopfer wird überall geübt, wo Tujen sind, auch bei den benachbarten ackerbautreibenden Fandse und Chiahsifan[5]. In manchen Gegenden ist es auch bei Chinesen Sitte, aber nicht allgemein. Die Chinesen gehen dazu aber nicht auf die Berge, sondern opfern im Ortstempel.

Wörterliste

dem Berge ein Schaf opfern:	*uladē xoni ʃēnlie-* (*ʃēnlie-*).
Opferwurf:	*dziarin uguo* = wegwerfend geben.
	p'ao-ts'an (chin.) = wegwerfen.
eigene Gemarkung:	*dzienani satsiā.*
leeres Gerät:	*huodzēn sawa*;
	k'ung chia-shih (chin.).

Anmerkungen

[1] Das Opfer kann auch vor einem Obo stattfinden. Dann ist es aber von dem Obo-Opfer zu unterscheiden. Das Obo ist Sitz des Berggeistes, und weil das Bergschafopfer wohl besonders dem Berggeist gilt, wird das Obo bevorzugt. Weil es andererseits zum Schutz gegen Unwetter ist, geht man auch gerne vor die Pfahlziege.

[2] Die Furcht, mit leeren Geräten zusammenzutreffen, ist in Chinghai ganz allgemein. Es bedeutet Armut, vergebliches Bemühen usw. Tujen sprechen z. B. vor einer Reise den Wunsch aus: *huodzēn sawa bi pēngē*, d. h. „ein leeres Gefäß wolle nicht antreffen". Ähnliche Wendungen haben auch die Chinesen.

[3] Der Berg muß immer in der eigenen Gemarkung liegen. Tatsächlich sind bei den Dörfern immer solche Höhen vorgesehen. So liegt nicht weit vom Gehöft des Gewährsmannes ein Berg, der den Namen Schaf-Opfer-Berg trägt, *xoni šēnliedzin ula*, weil dort immer das Opfer stattfand. Er hat bei der zum Teil sinisierten Bevölkerung den Namen *hsien-yang ling*, d. h. Schafopfer-Höhe, oder *sheng-shan*, d. h. heiliger Berg, beibehalten. Nachdem der größere Teil des Dorfes (*yang-chüan*) christlich geworden ist, hat man dort ein hohes Kreuz aufgerichtet, und statt des Schafopfers beten die Leute jetzt dort den Wettersegen.

[4] Der Sinn ist jetzt nicht mehr eindeutig. Es handelt sich sicher um den Schutz der Saaten; aber ob das Opfer in erster Linie dem Berggeist oder den Wettergeistern oder dem Himmel gilt, ist unklar. Die Bergeshöhe und das Obo sprechen für den Berggeist. Der Himmel ist jedoch immer an erster Stelle mitberücksichtigt. — Der Alte sagte, früher hätten sie das Opfer zum Schutz der Tiere dargebracht.

Es ist möglich, daß es sich ursprünglich um ein reines Himmels- oder Berggeistopfer handelte, daß aber dann später mit dem Ackerbau die Wettergötter in den Vordergrund rückten; denn Hagel und Gewitter werden in erster Linie von Bauern und nicht so sehr von den Hirten gefürchtet.

[5] Der hier beschriebene Ritus des Schlachtens und Opferns ist typisch für alle Schlachtopfer. Auch bei Ziegen und bei Schweinen wird in gleicher Weise verfahren. Weil das Schwein bei der Schächtung (es wird nicht betäubt) zu sehr schreit, wird ihm das Maul fest verschnürt. Das Übergießen mit Milch fällt allerdings beim Schwein fort. Auch dem Schafe hält man das Maul zu. Vielleicht ist das ein Rest eines Erstickungsopfers.

Bei längeren Festen wird das geschlachtete Tier nicht sofort zerstückelt, sondern nach Abhäutung und Ausnehmen der Eingeweide auf einen länglichen Tisch oder ein Gestell gebunden, und zwar in natürlicher Haltung, mit gespreizten Beinen, wenn möglich stehend und mit erhobenem Kopfe. So wird es vor die Gottheit oder den Tempeleingang gestellt. Erst am Schluß des Festes wird es zerstückelt und gekocht. Manchmal werden auch die zerlegten ungekochten Teile vor der Gottheit präsentiert.

Die Verteilung von Opferfleisch geschieht meist in der gegebenen Form nach dem Kochen als Mahl. Das Fell erhält meist der Eigentümer zurück, den

Kopf bekommt der Saatherr oder der fungierende Vorsteher. Geladene Bonpriester, Lamas, Schamanen usw. erhalten oft eine Lende, *jou-fang-tzu* (chin.), d. h. „Fleisch-Quadrat", oder einen Schenkel usw. Diese werden dann nicht gekocht, sondern für diesen Zweck beiseite gelegt.

Im übrigen kommen immer wieder kleine Variationen vor. Aber stets folgen sich: Reinigung (Waschung), Schlachtung, Opfer, Mahl. Schlachtung, Opfer und Mahl können manchmal auf verschiedene Tage verteilt werden.

4. Der Flur-Umzug *

Bericht

Sobald im Sommer die Saat in die Ähren schießt, findet der Flurumzug statt. 108 Männer des Dorfes machen sich mit dem Saatvorsteher auf den Weg zur nächsten Lamaserie und holen die 108 heiligen Bücher. Den Lamas spendieren sie dabei einen großen Kessel Tee; vor den Buddhabildern des Klosters opfern sie Butter für die Lampen. Die Tujen der hiesigen Gegend gehen meist zum Kloster Rgulön [1]; der Weg beansprucht jedesmal einen ganzen Tag. Die Bücher werden in den Ortstempel gebracht.

Am folgenden Morgen findet die Prozession statt. Alle Männer des Dorfes und alle Wahrsager finden sich im Tempelhof ein. Zuerst wird ein großes Weihrauchopfer dargebracht. Dann wahrsagen alle Wahrsager der Reihe nach, der Speerwahrsager, der Schwertschamane, die Sänftenträger, die Tischgotträger. Soviele Wahrsager da sind, soviele müssen auch auftreten. Man will durch sie erfahren, wie das Wetter und die Ernte im Laufe des Sommers sein wird.

Ist das Wahrsagen vorbei, so setzt sich der Zug in Bewegung. Allen voraus geht der Speerwahrsager mit dem Speer, dann folgen der Schamane, die Göttersänfte, der Geistertisch, die 108 Bücherträger, einer hinter dem andern. In diesen Zug werden die Trommelschläger, Trompeten und Muschelhornbläser, Zimbel- und Gongschläger eingereiht. Auch alle Fahnen des Tempels werden mitgenommen, und zwar werden sie von den Bücherträgern getragen, die Fahnen über die linke Schulter und das Buch auf dem Rücken. Hinterher folgen zwei Mann mit je einer großen Kiepe Stroh, Zypressenblättern und Weihrauchzugaben und einem Kruge reinen Wassers. Andere Männer schließen sich nach Belieben an.

Während des ganzen Zuges werden die Trompeten geblasen, die Trommel geschlagen und das *Om mani padme hum* gebetet. Der Zug bewegt sich vom Tempel aus gleich auf den nächsten Berg und den Höhenrücken entlang über alle Berge der ganzen Dorfgemarkung. Auf jeder Höhe wird das übliche Weihrauchopfer von den beiden Männern verbrannt, während der Zug selber weiterzieht. Gegen Mittag jedoch wird auf einer eigens dazu bestimmten Höhe Halt gemacht. Nach dem Weihrauchopfer nimmt man eine Stärkung ein. Die Leute bringen Brot, Tee und Suppe schon vorher dorthin. Dann geht der Zug weiter. Erst gegen Abend kehrt man zum Tempel zurück. Am andern Tage bringen die Leute die Bücher wieder ins Lamakloster.

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 838-839.

Einzelheiten

Personen: Nur männliche Personen dürfen sich am Zuge beteiligen, einerlei, ob es Erwachsene oder Knaben sind, falls sie nur stark genug sind, das schwere Buch zu tragen, und das Mani beten können. Der Saatvorsteher bestimmt, wie viele Personen jede Familie zu stellen hat, damit die Zahl von 108 Buchträgern voll wird. Reichen in einem Dorfe die Leute nicht aus, dann holt man in der Nachbarschaft Hilfe. Auch Chinesen sind zugelassen. — Beim Abholen und Zurückbringen der Bücher ins Kloster kommt es auf die Zahl nicht an, so daß einer zwei Bücher tragen kann. Die tibetischen Bücher sind allerdings recht schwer und groß, da sie zwischen zwei Bretter gebunden sind.

Der Saatvorsteher wird jedes Jahr beim Herbstdankopfer gewechselt. Ihm obliegt die Sorge für alle religiösen Veranstaltungen des Jahres. Er ist jedoch nicht Ortsvorsteher. Weil seine Hauptsorge der Saat gilt, heißt er Saatvorsteher. Der Vorsteher des letzten Jahres ist ihm behilflich [2].

Es brauchen nicht unbedingt mehrere Wahrsager zu sein. Hat aber ein Dorf mehrere, so müssen alle erscheinen. Hat es überhaupt keine, dann lädt es von auswärts wenigstens einen ein. Nie wird ein Lama oder Bonpriester eingeladen.

Zeit: Die Zeit für den Flurumzug wird vom Wahrsager beim Pfahlziegenopfer im Frühling (*aradziäń*) am 13. Tag im fünften Monat bestimmt. Der Umzug selber muß immer im siebenten Monat sein, wenn die Saat Ähren ansetzt, weil gerade in dieser Zeit die größte Gefahr für die kommende Ernte ist, wegen der großen und vielen Gewitter in diesem Monat [3]. Oft wird auch die Zeit in der Lamaserie bestimmt. Da es nämlich viele Dörfer gibt, welche den Umzug halten wollen, so kann es vorkommen, daß zwei Dörfer die gleiche Zeit festsetzen. Darum geht der Saatvorsteher schon einen Monat vorher zum Kloster und frägt, wann die Bücher frei sind. Dementsprechend wird der Tag bestimmt. — Für die Dauer der Zeremonie berechnet man gewöhnlich drei Tage, einen Tag zum Holen der Bücher, einen für den Umzug, einen für das Zurückbringen. Es läßt sich aber ein Tag sparen, wenn man die Bücher gleich in die folgende Nachbargemeinde bringt oder sie dort abholt. In diesem Falle muß das Kloster verständigt werden. Der Umzug muß schon beim ersten Dämmern beginnen, weil sonst ein Tag nicht ausreichen würde.

Ort: Für den Umzug kommt nur die eigene Ortsgemarkung in Frage. Daß sich z. B. zwei Dörfer zusammentun und in beiden Gemarkungen nur eine Prozession halten, ist nicht erlaubt. Man versammelt sich auch immer im Tempel; denn jedes Dorf hat wenigstens einen kleinen Tempel; außerhalb des Tempels oder Tempelhofes wird nicht gewahrsagt.

Gegenstände: Die Bücher sind nicht unbedingt nötig. Eine Bücherprozession findet auch nicht alle Jahre statt, gewöhnlich nur alle drei Jahre. Die andern Jahre hält man den Umzug ohne Bücher. Dabei sind die Zere-

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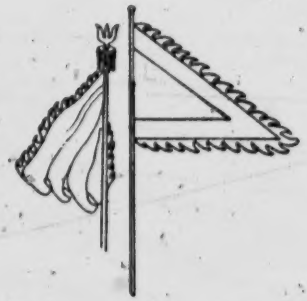
monien aber gleich. Nur wird bei der Zeitbestimmung das Kloster nicht verständigt; es fallen zwei Tage fort, die für den Büchertransport nötig wären. Auch braucht die Zahl der Teilnehmer nicht 108 zu betragen, obwohl man sich der heiligen Zahl wegen darum bemühen soll [6].

Für die Musikgeräte gibt es keine Regeln. Man nimmt mit, was man eben hat. Sicher ist immer die Tempeltrommel — eine Faßtrommel mit zweiseitiger Bespannung — und die Muschel dabei. Die Trommel ist nicht sehr groß und wird an einem Gurt vor der Brust getragen, so daß man sie von beiden Seiten schlagen kann. Das Muschelhorn ist das gleiche wie sonst beim Weihrauchopfer. Die Trompeten sind die gewöhnlichen chinesischen Schalmeien (*la-pa*), auch die Zimbeln und der Gong sind chinesisch.



Fahnen, wie sie beim Flurumzug getragen werden. (Zeichnung eines Tujen.)

Unter den Fahnen gibt es schwarze, rote, gelbe usw. Meist sind sie mit farbigen Borten versehen. Es gibt auch Fahnen mit Bildern, so vom Berggeist. Viele Fahnen haben auch chinesische aufgenähte Sprüche, meist in weißer Farbe. Besondere Tujennamen gibt es nicht für die Fahnen. Die Zahl ist beliebig.

Neben dem gewöhnlichen Zypressenweihrauch nimmt man auch gerne die chinesischen Räucherstäbchen mit; Butter, Wasser, Tee usw. sind genau so erwünscht wie beim andern Weihrauchopfer. Neuerdings verbrennt man auch nach chinesischer Art gelbes Papier.

Die Wahrsager müssen immer ihre Wahrsagezeichen mittragen, d. h. die Gegenstände, welche Sitz des Geistes sind, also Speer, Sänfte, Tisch usw. Während des ganzen Zuges bleibt der Geist in dem betreffenden Gegenstand gegenwärtig, was sich durch Schütteln und Rasseln der Schellen und die Bewegungen der Träger bekundet.

Wahrsagung: Man sucht bei der Wahrsagung möglichst genau zu erfahren, wann und wo die schwersten Hagelschläge niedergehen, wie man sich dagegen schützen soll, ob durch Opfer oder Gebet oder Manibaum u. dgl. Der Saatherr hält dabei dem betreffenden Geist in einer kurzen Ansprache seine Pflichten vor, die er für eine gute Ernte zu erfüllen hat, und sagt ihm, daß man ihm durch Opfer seinen Schutz belohnen wolle [4].

Sinn: Der Umzug beabsichtigt, die Götter zu ehren, damit sie die Saat beschützen und eine reiche Ernte spenden. Die heiligen Bücher haben eine besondere Kraft. Aber vor allem sollen die mitgenommenen Götter die Fluren vor Hagel und Gewitter verschonen. — Auch die benachbarten ackerbautreibenden Fandse haben diese Prozession. Die Chinesen haben sie nicht in dieser Form [5].

Wörterliste

Flurumzug:	*sguora* [7].
Saatvorsteher:	*törödzi* (Oberhaupt); *ch'ing-miao t'ou* (chin.) = Jung-Saat-Herr.
Trompete:	*dön*; *la-pa* (chin.) = chin. Schalmei.
Zimbeln:	*nao* (chin.) = die großen Schlagteller; *rëbuogë* (?).
	ts'a (*ch'a*)-*pao* (chin.) = die kleinen Klangteller.
Fahnen:	*ch'i-tzu* (chin.).
Bücher:	*luän* = Gebet; *ching* (chin.) = Gebet.
Bücherträger:	*luän rëgudzin kun* = Gebete tragende Leute.

Anmerkungen

[1] Über das Kloster Rgulön vgl. Einleitung und 2. Teil, II, 4.

[2] Auch die Chinesen haben einen solchen jährlich neu zu wählenden religiösen Vorsteher. Meist heißt er einfachhin *t'ou-jen*, d. h. Hauptmann, oder man nennt ihn auch *huei-t'ou*, d. h. Versammlungs-(Fest-)Haupt; *ch'ing-miao t'ou* wird auch gebraucht, aber nur für die Zeit der Saatfeste mit den Kulttänzen. — Die christlichen Missionare haben für ihre kirchlichen Feiern und Volksfeste diese Einrichtung übernommen. So gibt es neben den Gemeindevorstehern noch eigene Vorsteher, welche z. B. bei Prozessionen oder zu Ostern die Feste organisieren, die Gäste unterbringen, das Festschaf schlachten usw.

[3] Vgl. die Abschnitte „Bergschafopfer" und „Pfahlziege".

[4] Mit dem Wahrsagen ist gewöhnlich noch ein Opfer verbunden, z. B. Hahnenopfer, Getreide-, Brotopfer usw., wie ich es beobachten konnte.

[5] Die Chinesen haben die Prozession in zwei Etappen. Einmal, wenn die Saat aufgeht. Dann findet das Einrammen der Donnerkeile in die Wetterburgen auf den Bergesgipfeln statt. Sie ziehen mit Musik und Fahnen und der Göttersänfte auf die Berge und führen die mit Zaubersprüchen beschriebenen Holzkeile mit. Das nennen sie *ch'a -p'ai*, d. h. „einrammen Pflöcke". — Eine zweite Prozession findet später im Sommer statt, und zwar alle vierzehn Tage, am ersten und fünfzehnten Tag eines jeden Monates. Diese Prozession nennen sie *chuan shan*, d. h. umherziehen (auf den) Bergen. Hierbei werden nur Fahnen und Musikinstrumente mitgenommen. Früher blies man dabei auch die sonst bei den Chinesen nicht gebräuchliche Muscheltrompete.

Wie der Gewährsmann erzählt, haben die Tujen heute schon weitgehend dieses *ch'a-p'ai*, also den Umzug mit Einrammen von Donnerkeilen, an Stelle des ehemaligen *aradziän* (Pfahlziege) übernommen; und zwar deshalb, weil es kaum noch Bonpriester gebe. Das *chuan-shan* der Chinesen aber sei nicht dasselbe wie ihr Flurumzug, *sguora*. Es finde zwar auch im Sommer statt, aber alle vierzehn Tage, während sie ihre Flurprozession nur einmal abhalten würden. Heutzutage jedoch, wo die Tujen schon halbe Chinesen seien, würden sie es auch einfacher machen, dafür aber öfters, so wie die Chinesen auch.

Was nun eher ist, ist schwer zu sagen. Es scheint, daß es sich nicht um eine lamaistische Sitte handelt; denn nie lädt man einen Lama ein; und auch die buddhistischen Bücher sind nicht notwendig. Wohl aber muß immer ein Wahrsager dabei sein mit dem zitierten Geist. So ist es möglich, daß diese Prozession mit dem ursprünglichen schamanistischen Wetterbannen zu-

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sammenhängt, wie es heute noch geübt wird, und daß erst später die buddhistischen Bücher hinzukamen.

Die chinesische Flurprozession macht dagegen einen verarmten Eindruck. Man nimmt nur Fahnen und Musikinstrumente mit. Die Leute beteiligen sich nur sehr schwach daran, und die Prozession dauert nur drei bis vier Stunden. Früher blies man dazu die Muschel, jetzt nicht mehr. Die Muschel ist aber eine Eigenart der Tujen und Fandse, nicht der Chinesen. Ferner wird die Flurprozession vielerorts nicht mehr gehalten. Und das scheint um so mehr der Fall zu sein, je weiter man nach Osten, also in chinesisches Gebiet, kommt.

So läßt sich mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit behaupten, daß die Flurprozession weder chinesischen noch lamaistischen Ursprungs ist. Bei Sinisierung der Tujen, resp. der Fandse, wurde sie noch anfangs geübt, verkam dann immer mehr und wurde schließlich ganz fallen gelassen. — Andererseits sind nicht ursprüngliche Elemente hinzugekommen, so die buddhistischen Bücher und die chinesischen Musikinstrumente, wahrscheinlich auch die Göttersänfte, welche fast immer die chinesische *Niang-niang*, die Muttergottheit, beherbergt, und schließlich noch der chinesische Weihrauch und das Opferpapier.

Über die chinesische Donnerkeil-Prozession soll in einer besonderen Arbeit ausführlicher berichtet werden. Hier sei nur bemerkt, daß sie mit den Wetterburgen zusammenhängt. Diese finden sich nur in Chinghai und dessen Grenzgebiet bis Südkansu. Sie dürften wohl in einen schamanistischen Vorstellungskreis gehören.

[6] Das Büchertragen ist eine weitverbreitete Sitte in allen Lamaklöstern. Immer wieder kann man vor allem Frauen sehen, welche die schweren Bücher Band um Band wie einen Rucksack auf dem Rücken um die Gebetshallen des Tempels tragen, was oft tagelang dauert (chin.) *chuan miao*. Viele Tujenfrauen machen in Zeit der Not oder Krankheit ein solches Gelübde. — Es sei nebenbei noch daran erinnert, daß ein Tulku die Gläubigen durch Auflegen des Buches auf die Stirne segnet.

[7] *sguora*: tibetisch *skor* = umkreisen (UNKRIG).

VI. Bräuche bei Unglück von Mensch und Tier

1. Die Tierweihe *

Bericht

Wenn in einer Familie die Kinder sterben, das Vieh fällt, die Ernte zerschlagen wird oder sonst viel Unglück geschieht, zürnt ein Gott. Man muß ihn versöhnen. Manchmal will der Gott ein Tier. Um welchen Gott und um welches Tier es sich handelt, erfährt man vom Wahrsager [1]. Dieser ruft den Geist in den Speer, und man frägt ihn z. B.: „Sollen wir ein Tier weihen?" Er antwortet: „Ja." „Willst du eine Ziege, ein Huhn, ein Pferd?"

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 842-844.

„Nein." „Willst du ein Schaf ?" „Ja." „Sollen wir es einem Gotte weihen ?" „Nein." „Sollen wir es dem Himmel weihen ?" „Ja."

Dann stellt der Wahrsager den Speer beiseite. Eilends laufen die Leute fort, ein Schaf zu holen. Sie bringen es in den Hof, weil man dem Himmel nur im Freien ein Tier weiht. Ein Mann hält in der Hand ein Tellerchen mit Gerste ; darüber liegt ein schmales rotes Band. Er stellt sich neben den Wahrsager, der wiederum den Gott gerufen hat und unter Speerschütteln die Handlung beaufsichtigt. Jetzt folgt noch einmal eine Befragung, in der man feststellt, wann die Weihe zu erneuern ist.

Danach wird das Schaf vom Kopf bis zu den Füßen mit reinem Wasser abgewaschen. Der Wahrsager nimmt mit der Speerspitze einige Gerstenkörner vom Tellerchen und wirft sie in den Weihrauch, der während der ganzen Zeremonie verbrannt wird. Ein anderer nimmt von dem Weihrauch in einen Hohlziegel und räuchert das Schaf ringsum ab. Dann gießt er dem Tier eine Schale Milch über Nacken, Rücken und Kopf. Dabei knien alle Männer im Kreise um das Schaf, und wenn dieses sich schüttelt, machen sie einen dreifachen Kotou, denn der Himmel hat das Tier angenommen. Der Wahrsager stellt den Speer beiseite.

Nun nimmt man das rote Band vom Tellerchen, hält es in den Weihrauch, knüpft es dem Schaf auf der Schulter in die Wolle und läßt dieses frei. Es kann laufen, wohin es will, denn es gehört dem Himmel.

Jedes Jahr wird dieses heilige Schaf wieder herbeigebracht, und zwar im 1. Monat vom ersten bis fünfzehnten Tag. Dann wird die Weihe auf ähnliche Weise vor dem Geisterspeer erneuert und ein neues Band in die Wolle geknüpft.

Einzelheiten

Ort : Es ist einerlei, wo die Befragung stattfindet ; zuerst muß der Ort sauber gefegt und, falls es im Hause ist, ausgeräuchert werden. Man wäscht sich Hände und Gesicht und bringt im Hof das große Weihrauchopfer dar.

Ist die Zeremonie auf freiem Feld oder auf der Weide, so wird der Platz nicht gefegt ; denn Feld und Weide sind immer rein. Aber stets wird Weihrauch geopfert.

Manchmal ist der Ort der Befragung und der Weihe verschieden, z. B. wenn sich bei der Befragung im Hause herausstellt, daß das Tier dem Himmel geweiht werden soll. Dann geht man nämlich unverzüglich hinaus in den Hof und setzt dort die Handlung fort. — Wird das Tier dem Berggeist geweiht, so begibt man sich vors Dorf auf einen Hügel oder vor das Obo. Kleine Tiere, z. B. ein Huhn, können auch im Hause vor dem Hausaltar geweiht werden.

Weiht das ganze Dorf ein Tier, dann vollzieht sich alles im Tempelhof, ebenso wenn mehrere Familien gemeinsam ein Tier weihen. Ist kein Tempel da, so sucht man ein sauberes Gehöft.

Zeit : Besondere Tage für die Weihe gibt es nicht. Das hängt ganz vom Zufall ab, so wie es sich durch Krankheit, Unglück usw. gerade ergibt. Die Zeremonien werden immer am hellen Tage vorgenommen.

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor

Die Leute sind stets darauf bedacht, daß die Weihe sich unmittelbar an die Befragung anschließt. Darum schaffen sie sofort das Tier herbei. Mitunter kommt es auch vor, daß sie nicht sofort ein entsprechendes Tier finden; es vergehen dann ein bis zwei Tage zwischen Befragung und Weihe. In diesem Falle fährt man nach zwei Tagen unter den gleichen Zeremonien fort. Wiederholt werden nur die Reinigung des Ortes und der Leute und das Weihrauchopfer.

Weiheherr: Der Weiheherr kann sein: eine Einzelperson, eine Familie, ein Dorf, mehrere Familien. Nie aber sind es Frauen. Wohl kann z. B. eine alleinstehende Frau ein Tier geloben, aber dann nehmen andere Männer, z. B. der Mutterbruder, Befragung und Weihe vor. Das kann im Hause der Frau geschehen.

Tiere: Als Weihetiere sind zulässig: Pferde, Maultiere, Esel, Rinder, Schafe, Ziegen, ja sogar Hühner; nie nimmt man Schweine oder Hunde, weil sie unrein sind. Bei all diesen Tieren spielen Alter, Farbe, Geschlecht, Kastration keine Rolle. Weiße oder männliche Tiere werden auch nicht besonders bevorzugt. Große Tiere weiht man jetzt nicht mehr, weil die Tujen nicht mehr die großen Herden besitzen und zu arm sind. Meist gelobt man Schafe und Ziegen. Hühner werden oft gewählt, weil sie am billigsten sind [2].

Die freigelassenen Tiere bleiben gewöhnlich bei der eigenen Herde oder im eigenen Hause; denn sie sind daran gewöhnt. Laufen sie davon, so kümmert sich niemand darum. Pferde, Maultiere und Rinder behält eine Familie immer daheim und benutzt sie nach wie vor. Das war aber ursprünglich nicht so; es ist ein Abweichen von der alten Sitte, bedingt durch Armut und Feldarbeit.

Ein geweihtes Tier darf niemals getötet werden. Es muß eines natürlichen Todes sterben. Wird es vom Wolf gefressen, so braucht es nicht ersetzt zu werden. Tötet ein Bösewicht das Weihetier, dann trifft ihn die Strafe des Himmels oder Weihegottes. Auch darf man unter keinen Umständen ein geweihtes Tier zum Opfer schlachten; das wäre gleichbedeutend mit gewöhnlicher Tötung. Einerlei, wie das Tier ums Leben kam, niemals darf sein Fleisch genossen werden.

Es ist auch nicht gestattet, solche Tiere zu verkaufen oder zu verschenken, denn sie gehören dem Gotte. Wohl kann man es einem Kloster übergeben, wo es bis zu seinem Tode gepflegt und beschützt wird. — Für die Weihe darf ein Tier nicht durch Geld erworben werden; es muß immer geschenkt sein.

Über die geweihten Tiere wird nicht besonders gewacht, so daß sie sich frei bespringen können. Die Jungen zählen dann als profane Tiere und fallen dem ursprünglichen Eigentümer zu.

Ob das Tier dem Gott gefällt, offenbart sich beim Übergießen mit Milch. Schüttelt es sich nicht, so holt man unverzüglich ein anderes; die Zeremonien werden dann wiederholt. Aber jedes gesunde Tier schüttelt sich. Ist keine Milch da, dann löst man Tsamba oder Weißmehl in reinem Wasser auf, so daß es wie Milch aussieht. Manche Leute nehmen nur klares Wasser. Das gehört sich nicht.

Es gibt Götter, welche die Tiere reiten; so z. B. reitet der *Amtsiensa*

auf einer Wollziege und der *Lamusa* auf einem Maultier [3]. — Der Name der Tiere wird aber nicht von dem entsprechenden Gott genommen, sondern vom Weiheband. So heißen die Tiere Weihepferd, Weiheschaf usw. Die Chinesen sagen dafür „heiliges Pferd", „heiliges Schaf" usw.

Weihebänder: Die Bänder werden einfach „das Geweihte" benannt. Wenn auch alle heiligen Farben zulässig sind, so bevorzugt man doch dafür rot oder gelb. Woher das Band stammt und aus welchem Stoff es ist, ist einerlei. Hadastreifen, Kleiderreste, Woll- oder Seidenfäden, alles ist erlaubt. Die Größe ist verschieden, im Durchschnitt eine Elle lang und zwei Finger breit.

Das Band soll dem Tiere am Vorderkörper, und zwar in der obern Hälfte angeknüpft werden, z. B. an Mähne, Stirnschopf, Schulter. Bei Hühnern schlingt man es um den Hals. Verliert das Tier das Band, so wird es nicht ersetzt. — Man kann auch ein Band vom Geisterspeer, von der Geistersänfte usw. abreißen. Aber dann muß es später wieder ersetzt werden. Diese Bänder werden jedoch nicht mehr eigens abgeräuchert; sie sind schon durch ihre frühere Bestimmung rein [4].

Erneuerung der Weihe: Meist findet die Erneuerung im Ortstempel statt. Welcher Tag zwischen Neu- und Vollmond es ist, bestimmt der Wahrsager. Dieser Erneuerungstag muß dann lebenslänglich für das Tier beibehalten werden.

Man kann auch den ursprünglichen Weiheort wählen. — Weiheherr, Weihegott, Weihetier müssen immer dieselben bleiben. Nur wenn ein Tier sich beim Übergießen mit Milch nicht mehr schüttelt, wird ein anderes genommen.

Auch bei der Erneuerung werden alte verlorene Bänder nicht ersetzt. Es kommt aber jedes Jahr ein neues Band hinzu, so daß man an der Zahl der Bänder die Weihejahre feststellen kann.

Verbreitung: Die Tierweihe wird überall dort geübt, wo Tujen wohnen. Die Chinesen kennen sie nicht; nur vereinzelt machen sie es den Tujen nach, wo sie mit ihnen zusammenwohnen. Wohl haben die Fandse (Tanguten) und auch die Lamaklöster die Tierweihe. Dort ist sie viel feierlicher [5].

Wörterliste

Weiheband:	*šdier* (tib. Lehnw.).
	hung-tzu (chin.) = das Rote.
Das Weiheband anknüpfen:	*šdier fuya-*.
Das Weihetier:	*šdier*.
Heiliges Pferd:	*šdier mori*; *sheng ma* (chin.).
„ Schaf:	*šdier xoni*; *sheng yang* (chin.).
„ Ziege:	*šdier ima*; *sheng chia-la* (chin.) usw.

Anmerkungen

[1] Auch hier kann die Wahrsagung durch die Sänfte oder den Geistertisch geschehen, mit denen dann ebenfalls die Handlung überwacht wird.

[2] Im Tujenkloster Rgulön ist die Wahl der Tiere anders. Ein Lama und ein Schamane erzählten: Hunde weiht man nie, auch keine Hühner,

nur Hähne, diese aber in allen Farben. Von Pferden nimmt man nur Hengste; sie müssen schwarz sein mit einem weißen Stirnfleck oder grau (*ch'ing-ma*) von schwarz-weißer Mischfarbe. Von Maultieren nimmt man nur Stuten, keine männlichen Tiere. Deren Farbe ist ein leuchtendes Rotbraun. Bauch, Maul und Augenringe sollen hell sein. Von gewöhnlichen Rindern und Yaks nimmt man nur schwarze Stiere, die einen weißen Stirnfleck haben; ähnlich bei Schafen nur schwarze Böcke, fehlerlos und mit kreisrunden oder doppelgewundenen Hörnern. — Ich sah auch im Kloster dort solche Tiere; besonders schön war das geweihte Maultier; es sah einem wilden Chiang fast gleich. Die hier erwähnten Regeln lassen vermuten, daß es sich um mondmythologische Vorstellungen handelt (schwarz-weiß, kreisrunde Hörner). Auch ist die Bevorzugung von männlichen Tieren auffallend, mit Ausnahme der Maultiere. — Diese Regel ist auch im profanen Leben maßgebend. Leute, die etwas auf sich halten, reiten nur männliche Pferde (Wallach), aber weibliche Maultiere; auch die rotbraune Farbe mit weißer Mähne, weißem Schweif gilt als vornehm. Weiße Augenringe, Bauchdecke und weißes Maul sind bei allen Reittieren jeder Farbe sehr angesehen und beim Preise mitbestimmend. — Interessant ist noch, daß die Lamas von Ziegen keine schwarzen, sondern rotbraune Böcke bevorzugen.

Der Alte sagte, das gewöhnliche Volk würde sich um diese Regeln nicht kümmern, falls sie das Tier nicht dem Kloster schenkten. Sonst sei Farbe, Alter, Geschlecht, Kastration usw. belanglos, falls das Tier keinen körperlichen Schaden habe.

[3] Im Kloster Rgulön werden jeden Monat (am ersten oder fünfzehnten Tag) geweihte Reittiere prächtig gesattelt und auf den Säulengang des Haupttempels unmittelbar vor den Eingang geführt. Dort werden sie dem Gott (*Fo-yeh*) zum Reiten angeboten; dann läßt man sie laufen. — Vielleicht ist in diesem Zusammenhang erwähnenswert, daß die Tulkus (Inkarnationen) der Lamaklöster immer nur weiße Pferde reiten dürfen, die sonst nicht als vornehm gelten.

Welches nun die reitenden Götter sind, war nicht zu ermitteln. Der *Amtsiensa* entspricht dem chinesischen *Tan-chiao hao-hua*, und der *Lamusa* dem chinesischen *Lo-tzu t'ien-wang*, d. h. dem himmlischen Maultierkönig.

[4] Für die Bänder am Weihetier gibt es zwei Namen, welche sowohl vor der Weihe als auch nach der Weihe Geltung haben. Das eine ist der Name *šdien*, genau wie für die Bänder an geweihten Geistersitzen (Geisterspeer, -tisch, -sänfte). Aber während man dort den Gegenstand mitsamt den Bändern *šdien* nennen kann, wird hier niemals das Tier mit dem Band zusammen *šdien* genannt, sondern nur das Band allein; ein Hinweis darauf, daß das Weihetier nicht als vom Geiste besessen aufgefaßt wird.

Der zweite Name ist *šdier*; *šdier* entspricht dem mongolischen *seter*; vgl. DMF, p. 335, „*sdier*, ruban ou pièce d'étoffe attaché à la queue ou à la crinière d'un animal consacré aux divinités courant en liberté. Cf. mo. *seter*, ord. *se'l'er* id.". — Mit *šdier* bezeichnen die Tujen sowohl das Weiheband als auch das geweihte Tier. Das stimmt ebenfalls mit dem mongolischen Sprachgebrauch überein. Nach W. A. Unkrig (Mittlg.) ist *seter* ein

Band, das dem Tier in Mähne oder Schwanz gebunden wird. Man versteht unter *seter* auch das Tier selbst und den Ritus, in dem es geweiht wird. KOVAL. (1346) bringt für *seter* die tibetischen Äquivalente *bsruṅ rtags*. Das bedeutet nach JÄSCHKE (594 u. 212) soviel wie: Schutzgeist-Marke, wodurch deutlich wird, daß das Tier dem Schutzgeist gehört. Weder JÄSCHKE noch DAS haben die Wortverbindung *bsruṅ rtags*.

[5] Die Tierweihe bei den benachbarten Chiahsifan in Beńbar (Hsi-ch'uan) ist ähnlich der hier beschriebenen. Dort nimmt man aber nur zeugungsfähige Tiere, aber keine Esel. Bevorzugte Farben sind fuchsfarbenes Fell mit schwarzer Mähne und schwarzem Schwanz (*hung-tsao-liu*) und eischalenfarbenes Fell mit schwarzer Mähne und schwarzem Schwanz (*yin-k'uo*). Statt eines Stoffbandes nimmt man kleine, handgroße Läppchen (wimpelartig zugeschnitten) in den fünf heiligen Farben und heftet sie zusammen. Gewöhnlich werden sie in die Mähne gebunden. — Die Weihe wird nicht von Privatpersonen, sondern vom Lama, Schamanen oder Bonpriester vorgenommen. Es ist damit ein eintägiger Gebetsdienst verbunden. — Die Tiere werden gewöhnlich weiter zum Gebrauch im Hause behalten, auch geritten; nur darf nie ein Sattel aufgelegt werden, den eine Frau gebraucht hat. Die Erneuerung findet jedes Jahr am gleichen Tage statt, an dem die erste Weihe war.

In der Tat sieht man viele Reiter mit solchen bebänderten Tieren.

2. Das Dämonengeleit *

Bericht

Das Dämonengeleit besteht darin, daß man einen schädlichen Geist aus dem Hause führt und in die Ferne entläßt. Es geschieht auf Anordnung des Wahrsagers bei Familienunglück.

An einem festgesetzten Tage lädt man einen Lama zu sich ins Haus. Dieser betet sechs Tage unter den üblichen Zeremonien und unter Herstellung von mehreren Torma mit den entsprechenden Beigaben, wie sonst auch. Das Gehöft ist tabu, und der Hausherr bringt dreimal am Tage das große Weihrauchopfer dar.

Am sechsten Tage abends verfertigt der Lama das eigentliche Dämonen-Torma, welches mit allerlei Reiseproviant auf einen Tisch vor dem Hausaltar gestellt wird.

Am siebten Tage bringt man das Torma mit einem Reittier, das den Reiseproviant trägt, vors Dorf und entläßt das Tier. Es kann laufen, wohin es will, man kümmert sich nicht darum.

Einzelheiten

Personen: Das Dämonenentlassen kann vornehmen: ein Lama, aber nicht ein Hutuktu, ein Bonpriester, ein Schamane, ein Speerwahrsager oder andere Wahrsager mit Sänfte, Tischgott usw. Den sechstägigen Gebetsdienst nehmen jedoch nur Lamas und Bonpriester vor; das ist die große Entlassung,

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 846-847.

wogegen die Zeremonie durch einen Schamanen oder Wahrsager allein die kleine Entlassung ist. Wenn auch bei der großen Entlassung der Lama alles allein vornehmen kann, so geht doch gewöhnlich ein Wahrsager mit (Speer, Sänfte usw.). Die Angehörigen der Familie besorgen alles andere, Bereitstellung von Tieren, Gaben usw.

Die Tiere: Als Tiere sind zulässig: Pferde, Rinder, Schafe, Ziegen, Hühner und Hähne. Nicht erlaubt sind Hunde, Schweine, Maultiere, Halbyaks. Hunde und Schweine gelten als unrein. Maultiere und Halbyaks sind zeugungsfähig; darum nimmt man auch keine kastrierten Tiere. Hier gelten nicht die Regeln wie bei der Tierweihe. Die Tiere werden von den Dämonen geritten und tragen auf deren Reisen die Last. Den Hühnern jedoch kann man nichts aufladen; man läßt sie einfach fliegen. Man gebraucht sie darum meistens nur bei dem „kleinen Entlassen". Besondere Zeremonien wie Waschen, Abräuchern werden an den Tieren nicht vorgenommen; auch sind Farbe und Alter belanglos.

Der Reiseproviant: In den Reisesack, der gewöhnlich aus Wolle gewebt ist, verpackt man folgende Sachen: Geld (einerlei welches Geld, falls es augenblicklich nur im Umlauf ist), Tuch (z. B. Baumwolle, Seide, Leinen, einerlei welcher Farbe), einen Strang ungesponnene Wolle, Baumwoll- oder Seidenfäden (keine Wollfäden), Teeblätter, gebackene oder gedämpfte Brote in beliebiger Zahl, einen Eßnapf aus Porzellan oder Ton (keinen gewöhnlichen hölzernen), neue Männerkleider, vornehme Stiefel, Tuchschuhe, eine vornehme Mütze oder einen vornehmen Hut, schwarzen und weißen Zucker, frische, gute Butter, ein Stück rohes Fleisch, Datteln, Äpfel und anderes Obst. Alle diese Sachen müssen neu sein; man darf sie auch nicht ein einziges Mal benutzt haben, denn sonst ist der Dämon nicht zufrieden und kommt wieder.

Entlassung: Am Abend des sechsten Tages verfertigt der Lama ein großes dreieckiges Torma [1]. Der Hausherr stellt es auf einen Tisch vor den Hausaltar, aber nicht auf den Altar. Dazu legt er den Sack mit den Kleidern und Eßvorräten.

Am folgenden Morgen, dem siebten Tage, lädt man den Speerwahrsager ein. Nach einem guten Frühstück ruft er den Geist und stellt genau die Stunde fest, in welcher der Dämon fortzubringen ist. Meistens geschieht es sofort im Anschluß an die Wahrsagung.

Ein Mann nimmt den Sattelsack, der Lama das Tablett mit dem Torma, das den Dämon darstellt, und hinter ihm folgt der Speerwahrsager unter ständigem Schütteln; er muß bis zum Schluß dabei bleiben. Sie ziehen vors Hoftor. Dort wartet ein anderer Mann mit dem Tier. Den Sattelsack legt der Hausherr auf das ungezäumte und ungesattelte Tier und führt dieses am Kopfgestell fort, gefolgt vom Lama, Speerwahrsager und den andern Männern. Der Zug geht auf dem gewöhnlichen Weg vor das Dorf hinaus. Außerhalb des Dorfes führt er das Tier ein Stück querfeldein, nimmt ihm das Kopfgestell ab und treibt es davon, und zwar in eine unbewohnte Richtung, damit es nicht wieder sofort ins Dorf zurücklaufen kann. An der

Stelle, an der man das Tier freigelassen hat, setzt der Lama das Torma nieder. Ein Mann richtet davor eine kleine Brüstung aus Lehmsteinen auf, und zwar mit der Breitseite nach dem Dorfe hin, damit der Dämon nicht mehr zurückkomme. Dann gehen alle nach Hause. Das Tier soll nicht mehr heimlaufen; man kümmert sich nicht darum, was mit ihm geschieht. Es gehört dem Dämon. Falls es später wieder zugelaufen kommt, treibt man es mit Stockschlägen davon.

Die einfache Entlassung: Außer dieser feierlichen Form gibt es auch noch eine einfache Entlassung, die nur einen halben oder ganzen Tag beansprucht. Man lädt einen Schamanen oder sonst einen Wahrsager ein, welcher die Sachen fortbegleitet. Es wird dabei nicht gebetet und auch kein Torma gemacht. Der Hausherr hält ein Huhn bereit und bringt die Reisekleider und Eßwaren auf einem Tablett vor den Hausaltar. Der Wahrsager oder Schamane zitiert den Geist und geht, gefolgt vom Hausherrn, mit dem Tablett hinaus aufs Feld. Dort schüttet man einen großen Strohhaufen auf. Die Sachen auf dem Tablett werden hineingeschleudert und das Ganze angezündet. Während die Flammen hochschlagen, läßt man das Huhn davonfliegen. — Wenn ein Wahrsager amtiert, dann geschieht die Handlung meist morgens. Nimmt ein Schamane die Entlassung vor, dann ist sie erst am späten Abend bei Einbruch der Dunkelheit. Der Schamane folgt im Trancezustand hinterher und schwingt sein Schwert im Kampfe gegen den Dämon. Auch wenn der Schamane beim „großen Entlassen" dem Lama an Stelle eines Speerwahrsagers folgt, führt er diesen Schwerttanz auf; aber das ist immer am hellen Tage [3].

Deutung: Der Dämon, welcher das Gehöft beunruhigt, soll mit allen erdenklichen Gaben und Bequemlichkeiten fortgeführt werden, damit er nicht mehr an seine alte Stätte zurückdenke. Die Gebete des Lama und auch das Torma richten sich nach dem Dämon. Einerlei, ob es eine große oder kleine Austreibung ist, die Wirkung ist dieselbe. Große Tiere können sich nur die Reichen leisten, und meist sind es heute nur noch die Lamaklöster, welche eine so teuere Zeremonie vornehmen. Stiehlt ein Bösewicht das Tier oder die Sachen, dann wird ihn der Dämon strafen.

Wörterliste

Dämonengeleit:	*rèdzòňwa* (tib. ?) *ǵarǵani* = das Fortzubringende bringt man fort.
das Dämonen-Torma:	*dzuor* (tib.) [1].
Sattelsack:	*dadzè* (chin. Lehnw.).
Inhalt des Sattelsackes:	*rdzè* (tib. Lehnw.) (evtl. Proviant).

Anmerkungen

[1] Diese Form von Torma kann man häufig in Lamaserien sehen. Sie sind speziell für Dämonen reserviert. Es ist meist eine Teigpyramide von 30-50 *cm* Höhe. Die Arten scheinen zu variieren. Ich sah solche, die mit Gedärmen behängt waren und Totenkopffiguren trugen (beim Bann des *mBarma* in Kumbum); andere hatten einen Pfeil mit einem Manirad in sich stecken usw. Es handelt sich offenbar um das tibetische *zor*, mongol. = *sor*

(UNKRIG). CH. DAS schreibt unter *zor* p. 1098: „reaping-hook, a sickle, a knife, esp. the weapons employed in combating the evil spirits in the *gtor ma* offerings, such as knife, sword, sling, bow and arrows." Sehr ausführlich ist die Herstellung, Weihe und Verwendung des *zor* bei POZDNEEV: Skizzen (p. 283 ff.) beschrieben: „*Zor* heißt eine dreieckige, innen hohle Pyramide, die aus Teig hergestellt und brennend rot gefärbt ist. Mit dem Stichel werden an ihr Figuren eingraviert, wie Blumen, Kreise, feurige Zungen usw., infolgedessen die ganze Pyramide durch und durch das Aussehen eines feurigen, flammenden Scheiterhaufens erhält. Auf der Spitze wird die Darstellung eines Schädels angebracht, der ebenfalls aus Teig hergestellt ist. Dann aber werden ebensolche Schädel am Fuße jeder der drei Ecken hingelegt. In die Mitte der Pyramide wird ein Pfeil gesteckt, an dem Hadak hängen, und der statt seiner Feder ein kleines Rad trägt ..." usw. (Übers. von W. A. UNKRIG). LESSING behauptet vom Pfeil im *zor*: „To this arrow attached a 'ghost or spirit', as my informants put it" (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148). — Ob und in wieweit dieser Pfeil im Dämonen-Torma mit dem Glückspfeil zusammenhängt, ist unklar. Man faßt das *zor* am einfachsten als Träger der Waffen auf, die von den Dämonen gefürchtet werden. Eine Ähnlichkeit mit dem waffentragenden und Dämonen bekämpfenden Gurtum ist nicht zu verkennen.

[2] Ähnliche Geisterentlassungen gibt es in vielen Variationen sowohl unter den Tujen als auch bei den Chinesen; überall ist der Grundzug gleich: man entläßt den Dämon mit vielen Geschenken, damit er nicht wiederkehre. Auch die feierliche Vertreibung des *mBarma*-Dämons in Kumbum ist nichts anderes als eine solche Entlassung, nur unter komplizierterem Ritus und mit Aufwand ungeheuerer Geldmittel. Der Dämon wird dort von seinem Mutterbruder, einem ausgesuchten Manne, vertreten, während sein Bild verbrannt wird mitsamt den Faden(*mdos*)-Türmen. Im benachbarten Huchutale, z. B. in Kanchiapu, wird er im Teigbild dargestellt und dann von den Kindern zerschlagen und verspeist; in Tsungchai bannt man ihn in eine Art „Stadtburg" (*tu-ch'eng*) und verbrennt diese; weiter aufwärts in Kao-ch'iang-p'u setzt man ihn mit seinem Zubehör auf ein kleines Schiff und läßt ihn davonschwimmen.

3. Die Figurensänfte *

Bericht

Um die Kinder vor Unglück zu schützen, lädt man einen Bonpriester ein. Dieser bringt einen Begleiter mit, und dann halten sie einen siebentägigen Gebetsdienst. Während dieser Zeit verfertigen sie allerlei Figuren aus Tsamba.

Am letzten Tage setzen sie die Figuren in eine Papiersänfte und bringen sie mit zwei Torma an ein Flußufer oder eine Wegkreuzung. Dort wird alles verbrannt. Dadurch hindert man den Krankheitsdämon an seiner Rückkehr.

Einzelheiten

Zeit: Gewöhnlich findet die Zeremonie bei Krankheit eines Kindes statt. Sie kann aber auch sonst als eine Vorbeugungsmaßnahme gegen

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 849-850.

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor

Krankheit vorgenommen werden. Dann wird mit Vorliebe der dritte oder neunte Monat gewählt.

Ort: Man bleibt im eigenen Hause und geht nicht in den Ortstempel; auch die Bonpriester wohnen im Gehöft. Der Ort ist während dieser Tage tabu. Das Verbrennen der Gegenstände muß immer außerhalb des Ortes geschehen.

Der Gebetsdienst: Für den Gebetsdienst bringen die Bonpriester eine große Doppeltrommel mit, welche an einen Balken gehängt wird[1]; ferner Klangteller, Handglocke, Knochenflöte und tibetische Gebetstexte. Der Gebetsdienst findet viermal am Tage statt, nämlich beim Sonnenaufgang, nach dem Morgentee, am Mittag und am Abend; jedesmal wird im Hofe das Weihrauchopfer dargebracht.

Die Sänfte: Die Sänfte sieht aus wie eine Totenlade, hat also die Gestalt eines kleinen Tempels mit beweglicher Tür. Nur ist sie fast ganz aus Papier, auch der Sonne-Mond-Aufsatz auf dem First. Zunächst macht man einen Boden aus einer weichen Lehmplatte. In diese Platte steckt der Bonpriester an den vier Ecken etwa 1 *m* lange Stäbe als Säulen, verbindet sie mit Querleisten und stellt so ein Gerüst her. Dieses wird mit Papier verklebt. Eine bestimmte Farbe ist nicht verlangt. Das Ganze setzt man auf zwei Tragstangen, daß es aussieht wie eine Sänfte. Darauf räuchern die Männer die Sänfte mit Zypressenweihrauch ab. Den Glühstein gebrauchen sie nicht. Die Arbeit wird nicht auf dem Kang, sondern auf dem Boden gemacht.

Die Figuren: Zuerst wäscht der Bonpriester eine Tonschüssel, räuchert sie ab, gibt Tsamba und Butter hinein und knetet sie gut durch. Im ganzen werden 81 Figuren geformt, neun Arten zu je neun Stück. Die Arten sind: Schaf, Ziege, Huhn, Schwein, Hund, Schlange, Frosch, Pferd und Rind. Diese Figuren setzen die Bonpriester in die Sänfte und räuchern alles zusammen ab. — Sowohl bei der Herstellung der Sänfte als auch der Figuren sind die Männer des Hauses behilflich. Bonpriester und Männer müssen sich jedesmal vorher waschen und abräuchern, sonst dürfen sie nicht Hand anlegen. Die Bonpriester begleiten die Arbeit mit auswendig aufgesagten Gebeten.

Die Begleitgaben: Da die Figuren klein sind, höchstens eine Handbreite groß, ist in der Sänfte noch Platz für allerlei Begleitgaben. Diese bestehen in Tibetgerste, weißer Gerste, Weizen, Bohnen, Hirse und einigen kleinen Broten. Dazu kommen noch weiße und schwarze Schafwolle, weißer und schwarzer Zucker, Geld, eine Rabenfeder, etwas Silber und ein Blatt Papier, worauf die Bonpriester die Bilder der Krankheitsdämonen gedruckt oder gezeichnet haben. Ist alles eingesetzt, so wird die Türe der Sänfte verschlossen und versiegelt und die Sänfte abgeräuchert. Dann stellt man sie vor den Hausaltar auf den Boden. Davor kommt ein dreieckiges Torma und ein weißer Pferdeschädel[2]. Der Schädel wird nicht abgeräuchert. Auf seine Stirn kleben die Bonpriester ein Bild eines Dämons. Manchmal wird noch ein Torma dazu gemacht.

Das Fortbringen: Am Abend des siebten Tages bestimmen die Bonpriester an Hand ihrer Wahrsagebücher genau die Richtung, in welcher die Sänfte fortgebracht werden muß. Sie selber gehen nicht mit, sondern bleiben auf dem Kang und beten unter Begleitung von Trommel, Klangtellern und Schelle die Banngebete. Vier Männer nehmen die Sänfte in die Hand, nicht auf die Schulter, und tragen sie in besagter Richtung zum Flußufer oder an eine Wegkreuzung außerhalb des Dorfes. Andere Männer folgen mit einem Kohlenbecken, einer großen Kiepe Stroh, mit dem Pferdeschädel und dem Torma.

Ist der Zug am bezeichneten Platze angekommen, so wird das Stroh auf den Boden geschüttet und die Sänfte in der festgesetzten Richtung daraufgestellt; nach der gleichen Richtung vor die Türe legt man den Pferdeschädel, und hinter die Sänfte stellt man das Torma. Damit alles gut brennt, schichten die Leute noch etwas Stroh ringsum auf und zünden das Ganze an. Ohne abzuwarten, ob alles in Flammen aufgeht, eilen sie nach Hause, und keiner darf sich umschauen.

Deutung: In der Sänfte wird der Dämon fortgetragen. Beim Verbrennen wird er freigelassen und geht in die Richtung, die durch die Stellung der Türe angedeutet wird. Damit er nicht mit dem Weg in Verlegenheit kommt, wählt man gerne Kreuzwege oder den Fluß, die ja eine bestimmte Richtung haben. Die Tiere und Beigaben sind Geschenke für die lange Wanderung [4]. — Auch die benachbarten ackerbauenden Fandse haben diese Sitte.

Wörterliste

Figurensänfte:	*Iərgundi*; zusammengesetzt aus *Iə* (tib.) = Dämon, *rəgun* = neun (tib.); *ndi* (tib. ?) = vollständig [3,5].
Bonpriester:	*xuəndzie* (*xuəndie*).
Dämonen-Torma:	*dzuor* (tib.).
Schaf:	*xoni*.
Ziege:	*imə*.
Huhn:	*tagu*.
Schwein:	*xgg*.
Hund:	*nogug* (*noxue*).
Schlange:	*mogug*.
Frosch:	*Iəbawog* [5].
Pferd:	*mori*.
Rind:	*ulə*.
Rabenfeder:	*kəriə fədə*.
Er hat auf Papier den Dämon gemalt:	*tsialdzirə ilieni xuarladzia*.
Pferdeschädel:	*mori tolgud yəsə*.
Sänftenträger:	*ndi kurgədzin hun* = das Ganze (Sänfte ?) fortbegleitende Menschen.

Anmerkungen

[1] Die Trommel wird mit einem Ring an einen Zimmerbalken mit einem Stricke aufgehängt. Durch den zweiten Ring an der Trommel steckt der Bon einen Finger der linken Hand und zieht so die Trommel stramm, damit sie nicht baumelt. Zugleich hält er noch in der linken Hand einen Klangteller. In der rechten hat er Trommelschlegel und den zweiten Klangteller, so daß er durch geschickte Haltung beide Instrumente zugleich schlagen kann.

[1] Ob der Pferdeschädel das Reittier des Geistes darstellt, war nicht zu erfragen.

[2] Diese Worterklärung des Gewährsmannes ist unsicher.

[4] Diese Zeremonie hat viel Ähnlichkeit mit dem Figurenbann der Schamanen und dem Dämonengeleit. Ob der Bonpriester die kranke Person mit den Figuren berührt und so die Krankheit auf diese überträgt, wie das beim schamanistischen Figurenbann der Fall ist, konnte ich aus den Aufzeichnungen nicht sicherstellen. Vgl. folgendes Kapitel, Anm. 5.

[5] *šergundi* : tibetisch *bse* = Dämon, *dgu* = neun, *k'ri* (gesprochen *thi*) = Sänfte. Sinn : Neun-Dämonensänfte. — *šbawog* : tibetisch *sbal* (gesprochen *bal*) = Kröte, Frosch, *nag* = schwarz (UNKRIG).

4. Der Figurenbann [1] *

Bericht

Bei sehr schwerer Krankheit lädt man einen Schamanen ein, welcher eine Reihe Figuren macht, damit den Kranken berührt und die Figuren am Abend zum Verbrennen fortbringt.

Danach vergräbt er eine Reihe Gegenstände, um die Krankheitsdämonen niederzuhalten. Das Gehöft bleibt in dieser Zeit 3, 5, 7 oder 9 Tage für alle Fremden tabu, je nach der Krankheit, um die es sich handelt.

Einzelheiten

Die Figuren : Zum Figurenbann werden neun Arten von Sachen benötigt. 1. Fünf Papiermännchen [2]. Sie sind etwa 10-20 *cm* groß und von der Art der chinesischen Papierfiguren, welche beim Begräbnis verbrannt werden. Nur tragen sie hier Tujentracht, je nachdem es sich um männliche oder weibliche Dämonen handelt. Man kann sie auch einfach aus einem Stück starken Papiers ausschneiden ; meist jedoch werden sie mit Hilfe von Grasstengeln figürlich zusammengeklebt. 2. Fünf Tsambamännchen. Sie werden nicht gefärbt, sondern behalten die eigentliche Tsambafarbe. Auch tragen sie keine Kleider und werden geschlechtslos dargestellt. 3. Ein Schwein aus Tsamba. 4. Ein Huhn oder ein Hahn aus Tsamba. 5. Ein Hund aus Tsamba. 6. Ein Schaf aus Tsamba. 7. Eine Ziege aus Tsamba. 8. Eine Kuh aus Tsamba. 9. Ein Pferd aus Tsamba. Diese Figuren werden vom Schamanen mit Hilfe eines geschickten Mannes verfertigt, ähnlich wie bei den Figuren der Figurensänfte.

Dann werden sie mit folgenden Beigaben auf ein Tablett gestellt : einem Stück rohen Schweine-, Rind- oder Schaffleisches, einigen Tuchstücken und Fäden in den fünf heiligen Farben für die fünf Männchen, sowie Brot und Geld. Das Tablett setzt man vor den Hausaltar, stellt eine brennende Teiglampe davor und ein Becken mit Zypressenweihrauch oder einigen Weihrauchstäbchen.

Der Bann : Sobald es dunkelt, versetzt sich der Gurtum vor dem Hausaltar in üblicher Weise in Trance. Dann erhebt er sich, ficht mit dem

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 851-852.

Schwerte in der Luft gegen die Dämonen und begibt sich so zum Kranken. Das Tablett bringt man ihm nach. Er nimmt mit der einen freien Hand eine Figur nach der andern vom Tablett, berührt damit unter ständigem Schwertschwingen und Murmeln von Zauberworten die kranken Stellen des Patienten und stellt sie wieder aufs Tablett zurück [5].

Dann stürmt er hinaus auf die Straße, und die Männer folgen ihm mit den Sachen, während er mit seinem Schwerte weiterkämpft. Sobald sie aus dem Dorfe sind und an einen Kreuzweg kommen, machen sie halt. Ein Mann schüttet eine Kiepe Stroh auf den Boden; darauf wirft man die Sachen vom Tablett hinein. Dann wird das Ganze angezündet. Man wartet nicht weiter, sondern geht eilends nach Hause.

Vergraben der Zaubergegenstände: Vor dem Hoftor bezeichnet der Schamane eine Stelle auf dem Boden: Die Männer graben dort sofort eine Grube. Dahinein setzt der Schamane, immer noch in Trance, neunerlei Sachen. Zunächst stellt er auf den Boden der Grube einen schwarzen Eßnapf; in den Eßnapf legt er glühende Kohlen, gießt reines Wasser darüber und legt ein Eisenmesser, einen kleinen Pfeil und Bogen, einen hölzernen Zauberdolch, eine schwarze Kette [3] und ein Stück Eisen von einem Stadttor hinzu. Über das Ganze stülpt er eine große irdene Schüssel [4]; die Männer werfen die Grube zu und ebnen sie ein, so daß man nicht mehr sieht, wo die Sachen vergraben sind.

Nun begeben sich alle ins Haus. Der Schamane erwacht aus seiner Trance.

Wörterliste

Figurenbann:	*rdzõṅwa* (tib. Lehnw.) [1,5,6].
Figuren (Männchen):	*rdzõṅrë* (tib. Lehnw.) [6].
rohes Fleisch:	*tögõ maxa.*
schwarzer Eßnapf:	*xara iga.*
schwarze Schüssel:	*xara pëndzë.*
Messer:	*tsidëguo.*
Zauberdolch:	*siral(dzin)* [6] *mpuru* = Gelbholz-Zauberdolch.
Kette:	*fsiasga.*
Eisen vom Stadttor:	*badzër-udie timur.*

Anmerkungen

[1] Über den eigentlichen Namen konnte ich keine Klarheit bekommen. Es scheint, daß daß *rdzõṅ* in *rdzõṅwa* dasselbe ist wie in *dzõṅrë*. Die Zeremonie ist der mit der Figurensänfte ziemlich ähnlich.

[2] Auch die Chinesen haben diese Papierfiguren bei ihren Dämonenaustreibungen; sie nennen sie *wu-tao shen*. Es ist aber nicht klar, ob es sich bei ihnen wirklich um fünf oder nur um einen Dämon handelt. Sie werden einmal im *shen-hsien t'ung-chien* erwähnt als *wu-tao lei-shen*, d. h. fünf-wegige Donnergeister, welche die Menschen durch Wind, Regen, Wasser, Feuer, Epidemien strafen.

[3] Der Zauberdolch und die schwarze Kette werden auch bei der Pfahlziege gebraucht; vgl. den betr. Abschnitt. Über die Art des Holzes bei diesem Dolch war keine Klarheit zu gewinnen. Der Gewährsmann nannte es

siraldzin; er übersetzte es mit dem chinesischen *huang-san* (*shan*) *tzu* im Sinne von Gelb-Berg (Holz). Im DFM steht die Übersetzung „armoise", Beifuß. Das kann hier unmöglich in Frage kommen. Es soll eine sehr feste Holzart sein.

[4] Die Kette fesselt die Dämonen, und die Schüssel kappt sie.

[5] Die Sitte, Krankheiten auf Tiere oder Tierfiguren zu übertragen, wird auch sonst von sibirischen Schamanen berichtet. Es ist aber dabei die Ähnlichkeit mit der oben beschriebenen Bonsitte zu beachten. Ursprünglich dürften es richtige Tiere gewesen sein, die geopfert wurden. Erst der Buddhismus hat diese Opfer bekämpft und abgeschafft. Dafür sind dann Substituts-Figuren aufgekommen. H. HOFFMANN: Quellen, p. 176 und 263, schreibt dazu: „... den verhaßten Rivalen die Tieropfer untersagt. In diesem Zusammenhange wird die interessante Tatsache erwähnt, daß man die Bon-po zwang, Abbilder von Yaks und Schafen aus Getreidebrei, sowie hölzerne Hirschköpfe mit breitem Geweih herzustellen, die hinfort als Substitute bei den Opferzeremonien zu dienen hatten. Die zuerst erwähnten, vermittels hölzerner Formen hergestellten Teigfiguren finden heute noch bemerkenswerterweise auch bei den Riten der Lamaisten ihre Verwendung"; vgl. a. a. O., wo auch die Literatur zitiert wird.

[6] *rdzönwa* oder *dzönre*: diesen beiden Wörtern liegt der tibetische Stamm *rdsons* = fortbringen (gesprochen: *dzon*), zugrunde. *siraldzin*: mongolisch *sira modon* = Gelb-Holz. Es ist eine besonders harte Holzart, Phellodendron Amurense (UNKRIG).

5. Die Krankenwaschung *

Bericht

Die Krankenwaschung wird vom Schwertschamanen bei Anbruch der Dunkelheit vorgenommen. Er versetzt sich wie üblich während des Weihrauchopfers in Trance, wirft dann einige Körner der Tibetgerste auf seinen flachgehaltenen Brustspiegel und wahrsagt, um welche Krankheit es sich handelt; dann nimmt er die Zeremonien vor. Am folgenden Tage beginnt das Tabu für das Gehöft, das je nach der Angabe des Schamanen drei, fünf oder sieben Tage dauern kann.

Die Zeremonie umfaßt drei Teile: die eigentliche Waschung, Feuerblasen und Heiltrunk. Die für die Waschung notwendigen Sachen werden von der Familie selber besorgt.

Einzelheiten

Die Krankenwaschung: Die Waschung findet in der Küche statt. Man benötigt dafür folgende Dinge: sieben Schalen frisches Wasser, ein Eisenmesser, ein Türschloß, sieben weiße Steine, eine Schale Schnaps, einige Blumen, drei, fünf und sieben Papierstücke mit bestimmten Gebetstexten, im ganzen sieben verschiedene Sachen.

In der Küche wird nun der Herdkessel gewaschen, abgeräuchert und auf die Feuerung gestellt. Der Hausherr zündet das Feuer an und wirft

* Anmerkungen siehe p. 854.

3:Schröder AE9 Monguor

Weihrauchzweige hinein. Nun kommt der Schamane, bereits in Trance, aus dem Haupthaus in die Küche; in der rechten Hand hält er sein Geisterschwert, während er die linke für die verschiedenen Verrichtungen frei behält.

Zunächst werden die sieben Schalen Wasser in den Kessel gegossen, und der Schamane wirft Weihrauchzweige und Tibetgerste hinein. Dann stößt er sich durch die Kleider sein Schwert in die Brust, zum Beweis seiner Kraft und um sich zu reinigen. Es fließt kein Blut.

Mittlerweile wird der Kranke in die Küche gebracht. Der Schamane entblößt dessen Brust und stößt das oben erwähnte Messer mitten hinein. Es darf kein Blut fließen. Blutet der Kranke, dann wird er nicht geheilt, blutet er nicht, dann ist er gerettet. Die Wunde klebt der Schamane mit einem der Gebetsblätter zu; das Messer wirft er in den Kessel.

Während dieser Zeit glüht ein Mann im Herdfeuer die sieben weißen Steine. Dann nimmt er sie mit einem Eisenlöffel heraus und reicht sie damit dem Schamanen hin. Dieser nimmt einen Stein nach dem andern in den Mund und speit sie in den Kessel. Hierauf wirft er die andern Sachen, das Schloß, die Blumen und die Gebetstexte ins Wasser und gießt schließlich die Schale Schnaps hinzu. Nun wird der Kranke vollständig entkleidet, und der Schamane wäscht ihn mit der einen freien Hand von oben bis unten ab, mit der Hand das siedende Wasser aus dem Kessel schöpfend. Dann wird der Kranke ins Haus auf seinen Kang zurückgebracht.

Das Wasser bleibt im Kessel, und die Leute müssen an den folgenden zwei Tagen, wenn der Schamane schon fort ist, die Waschung wiederholen. Am dritten Tage gießen sie das Wasser vor dem Hoftore aus. Die Sachen, Schloß, Messer usw., können sie wieder für den Alltag gebrauchen.

Das Feuerblasen: Nach der Waschung begibt sich der Schamane in den Krankenraum. Während dieser Zeit entfachen die Männer im Hofe mit Schafmist und Holz ein starkes Feuer. Dahinein legen sie eine Pflugschar und glühen sie weiß. Ein Mann steckt einen Stock durch die glühende Pflugschar und bringt sie hinein zum Schamanen, der immer noch in Trance ist, sein Schwert aber einem andern Manne gegeben hat. Nun packt er die glühende Pflugschar mit beiden Händen mit einem Hada, das an seinem Brustspiegel hängt, leckt sie mit der bloßen Zunge ab, nimmt einen ordentlichen Schluck Schnaps und wendet sich zum Kranken. In starken Stößen bläst er den Alkohol aus seinem Munde über die Pflugschar, wodurch jedesmal ein starker Feuerstrahl zum Kranken geworfen wird. Dann bringt er die Pflugschar vors Tor und legt sie an den Fuß der Hofmauer. Dort wird sie von den Männern sofort mit Erde überworfen und zugemauert.

Der Krankentrunk: Nun geht der Schamane wieder in den Krankenraum. Ein Mann hält ihm einen eisernen Löffel hin. Er reißt ein Stück von seinem Schutzspiegel-Hada ab, legt es in den Löffel und wirft noch einige Gerstenkörner hinein. Dann gießt ein Mann den Löffel voll Wasser, hält ihn ins Herdfeuer, bis das Wasser siedet und Tuch und Gerste durchgekocht sind. Diesen Sud reicht er dem Kranken, welcher ihn sofort hinuntertrinken muß. Damit ist die Zeremonie beendet.

Der Schamane ruht sich von seiner Anstrengung aus, ißt zu Abend und geht heim.

Wörterliste

Krankenwaschung:	*ǵuändzi* (*ruändzie*) *ʃdzə ždani* = der Schamane Wasser kocht.
Schwertschamane:	*sgurdien.*
Messer:	*tsidiǵuo.*
Schloß:	*tsürguo.*
Glühstein:	*söddn̓*; *ts'u-t'an* (*ch'ü-t'an*) (chin.).
Gerstenschnaps:	*min̓-liu dtrasə.*
Blumen:	*tsidzig.*
Gebetstexte:	*dzayän̓* [1].

Anmerkungen

[1] *dzayän̓*: mongolisch *ḑayaǵan* (gesprochen *ḑayan*) = Glück, Schicksal usw.; Sinn: Schicksalsgebet (UNKRIG).

6. Die Hausreinigung *

Bericht

Ist jemand schwer krank, dann nimmt der Schamane mit den Männern des Hauses eine Hausreinigung vor. Dabei wird der Dämon aus dem Hause in eine Strohpuppe gebannt, aus dem Dorfe geschleift und verbrannt.

Einzelheiten

Sachen: Zur Austreibung benötigt man sieben Sachen: 1. Eine Fackel. Sie besteht aus einem Knüppel, den man mit Stroh umwickelt und in Öl tränkt. Es ist wenigstens eine Fackel erforderlich, meist jedoch sind es mehrere. 2. Ein Maß kleiner Kieselsteine, einerlei von welcher Farbe. 3. Eine Ölpfanne. Das ist meist nur ein großer Eisenlöffel, der mit Öl und glühenden Kohlen gefüllt wird, so daß eine starke Flamme entsteht. 4. Pfeil und Bogen. Der Pfeil wird mit Watte an der Spitze umwickelt; diese tränkt man mit Öl und zündet sie an. 5. Eine Hanfpeitsche. Sie ist gewöhnlich sehr lang, bis zu zwei Meter. Man flicht dazu drei sich verjüngende Hanfstränge zu einem Zopfe, der an einem Ende so dick ist, daß man ihn soeben in der Hand halten kann, wogegen das andere Ende fein zuläuft, damit es gut knallt. 6. Ein lebendes Huhn, einerlei welcher Farbe und welchen Geschlechtes. 7. Ein Strohmann [3]. Er ist sehr einfach. Man nimmt einen langen glatten Strohwisch, knickt ihn in der Mitte, schnürt mit Strohhalmen das obere Drittel ab, so daß ein Kopf entsteht, und zieht durch dieses Drittel quer einen kleineren Wisch hindurch, welcher die Arme darstellt. — Alle diese Sachen werden von den Leuten selber besorgt.

Austreibung: Gegen Abend bei einbrechender Dunkelheit versetzt sich der Schamane vor dem Hausaltar in Trance [1]. Während dieser Zeit läuft ein Mann mit dem Huhn vor das Dorf hinaus an eine Wegkreuzung, dreht oder hackt dem Huhn den Kopf ab und spritzt mit dem flatternden

* Anmerkungen siehe p. 855.

Huhn das Blut in alle Windrichtungen. Dann wirft er das Huhn als Speise für die Dämonen fort und geht heim. — Den Strohmann legt man auf die Schwelle des Haupthauses oder in den Hof.

Sobald der Schamane in Trance ist, springt er auf und führt, in wilden Sprüngen durch alle Räume des Gehöftes laufend, den Schwertkampf gegen die Dämonen aus. Ihm folgen die Männer. Es hagelt Steine auf den Boden. Mit den Fackeln kreist man in den Zimmern. Einer hält die Ölpfanne, schluckt Schnaps und bläst ihn über das Feuer in den Raum, so daß jedesmal ein roter Strahl entsteht. Andere knallen mit der Peitsche von Raum zu Raum und schießen brennende Pfeile auf den Boden. So wird der Dämon in die Strohpuppe getrieben. Diese schleift man an einer Hanfschnur oder einem Strohseil zum Tor hinaus über die Dorfstraße bis zum nächsten Kreuzweg, wo das Huhn liegt. Der Schamane folgt fechtend mit seinem Schwert; auf die Puppe regnet es Steine, Hiebe, Feuerpfeile, Feuerstrahlen. Am Kreuzweg wird sie liegengelassen. Die Männer gießen das Öl aus der Pfanne über sie, werfen die Fackeln, Pfeile, Steine usw. darauf und lassen sie schwelend zurück [2].

So wird der Dämon gebannt. Der Schamane geht heim und nimmt sein Abendbrot.

Wörterliste

Hausreinigung:	*rdzönwa* (*rědzönwa*).
die Fackel:	*huo-pa* (chin.).
die Steine:	*tašě*; *sa-shih* (chin.).
Ölbecken:	*ǧal-tuǧuo*; *yu-kuo* (chin.).
Feuerpfeil:	*ǧal sěmu*; *huo-chien* (chin.).
Feuerbogen:	*ǧal lěmu*; *huo-kung* (chin.).
die Hanfpeitsche:	*uluosě yudier*; *ma-pien-tzu* (chin.).
das Huhn:	*tagů*; *huo-chi* (chin.), *huo*: hier = leben.
der Strohmann:	*šdagu kun*; *ts'ao-jen* (chin.).

Anmerkungen

[1] Vor der Austreibung wahrsagt der Schamane mit Gerste auf seinem Schutzspiegel, um welchen Dämon es sich handelt.

[2] Diese Form der Austreibung ist die allereinfachste. Meist werden noch allerlei andere Zeremonien damit verbunden. Ich sah einmal einen solchen Schwertschamanen, wie er bei Chinesen ein Kind heilen wollte. Er warf mit Schwert und Lanze um sich, zerhackte das Huhn, zerhackte einen Strohmann, schwang eine Worfel und ein Sieb, tanzte und schäumte.

[3] Auch die Chinesen gebrauchen oft diese Strohpuppen, welche sie auch ohne Schamanen aufs Feld oder auf Wegkreuzungen werfen. — In dem Tujenkloster der gelben Sekte, Rgulöň, sah ich einmal auch Bonpriester, die vom Kloster geladen waren, um am fünfzehnten Tag eines jeden Monats einen Dämonenbann vorzunehmen. Auch sie machten einen Strohmann, von dem sie sagten, daß der *Namśri* durch ihre Gebete hineingebannt würde. Am letzten Morgen banden sie vor Sonnenaufgang diese Strohpuppe an eine Manistange und zerhackten sie mit ihren Messern.

7. Die Erdgott-Urne *

Bericht

Wenn im Hause Unglück herrscht, dann bestimmt manchmal der Wahrsager, daß der Erdgott erzürnt ist und eine Urne haben will. Diese Urne wird an einem vom Wahrsager angegebenen Tag in die Erde vergraben. In der Urne befinden sich allerlei Gewürze, die von einem Lama eingefüllt werden. Das geschieht nach siebentägigem Gebet in der Familie selbst. Während dieser Tage ist das Gehöft tabu.

Meist sind es mehrere Urnen; denn für eine bemüht man den Lama nicht. Nachdem er am letzten Tage die Urne mit Gewürzen gefüllt hat, übergießt er sie mit flüssiger Butter, bindet sie mit einem Tuche zu, versiegelt die Schnur und malt außen ein *nuru*-Zeichen darauf. Dann wird die Urne abgeräuchert und mit geweihtem Wasser besprengt, worauf der Hausherr sie auf die Lade vor dem Buddhabild stellt.

Vor die Urne stellt man die üblichen Wasserschälchen, Butterlampen, Getreideschälchen usw. Die Urne steht aber nicht auf dem blanken Ladenboden, sondern zuerst legt man ein Blatt Papier als Unterlage hin, streut einige Zypressenblätter und Gerstenkörner darauf und stellt die Urne darauf. Nun kommt der Lama vom Kang herunter, setzt sich auf die weiße Filzmatte vor der Urne und betet das Weihegebet [1].

Während dieser Zeit wird der Speerwahrsager geholt. Er gibt nun genau die Stunde an, in der die Urne eingegraben wird. Der Hausherr stellt die Urne auf ein Tablett, und der Zug bewegt sich hinaus in die vom Wahrsager angegebene Gegend. Der Wahrsager folgt mit dem herbeigerufenen Speergott und gibt dann auf den Fuß genau die Stelle an, wo die Urne begraben werden soll, auch die Tiefe bestimmt er. Meist sind es 1-2 Ellen. Auf den Boden der Grube werden einige Zypressenzweige gelegt. Darüber streut der Wahrsager mit der Speerspitze einige Gerstenkörner, und auf das Ganze legt man einen oder mehrere flache weiße Steine, je nachdem wieviel Urnen es sind, und stellt die Urne darauf. Auf die Urne kommt dann wiederum ein flacher weißer Stein wie ein Deckel. Schließlich wird der Zwischenraum zwischen Urne und Wand ringsum mit Zypressenzweigen ausgestopft und alles mit Erde zugeschüttet, festgestampft und eben gemacht. Dann verbrennen die Männer vor der so eingegrabenen Urne Zypressenweihrauch und machen Kotou. Der Lama bleibt auf seiner Matte noch einige Zeit davor sitzen und betet seine Gebete zu Ende. Dann gehen alle heim.

Einzelheiten

Die Urne: Die Urne ist ein gewöhnliches Tongefäß, wie sie in Chinghai gebrannt werden. Meist sind sie von weißgelber Farbe, etwa 20-30 *cm* hoch, mit einem dicken Bauch und einem engen Hals. Die Urne für den Erdgeist soll ungefärbt und nicht glasiert sein, wenigstens nicht von außen, und soll einen flachen Boden haben. Der Hausherr kauft die Urne selber, wäscht sie

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 858-860.

gründlich und bestreicht sie außen mit Gips- oder Kalkwasser, denn nur weiße Urnen werden dem Erdgeist geschenkt. Am Schluß wird sie abgeräuchert und ist gebrauchsfertig für den Lama.

Inhalt der Urne: In die Urne kommen die fünf Getreidearten, nämlich: blaue, tibetische Gerste, roter Weizen, weiße Gerste, weißer Reis [2] und gelber Raps. Die Gewürze sind dieselben wie beim Weihrauchopfer, die guten Sechs. Dazu kommen noch kleine Blättchen Buddhagold, Silberstückchen, Korallen, Perlmutterstückchen, manchmal noch seltene Steine oder Wasser, dann fünffarbige Seidenfäden, weißer und schwarzer Zucker, Teeblätter und einige Butterkügelchen.

Das Einfüllen: Zunächst besorgt man einen Mörser mit Stößel, eine große irdene Schüssel und einen sauberen Eisenkessel. Alle diese Gegenstände werden gut gewaschen und im Weihrauchfeuer abgeräuchert. Das Gewürz wird im Mörser zu Mehl zerstampft und dann vom Lama in die Schüssel geschüttet, wo es mit den fünf Arten Getreide gut vermischt wird. Die Menge richtet sich nach der Größe der Urne. Währenddessen zerläßt der Hausherr im Eisenkessel über dem Feuer einen Klumpen Butter. Der Lama gießt mit einem Löffel diese zerlassene Butter zu der Getreide- und Gewürzmischung und knetet alles gut durcheinander.

Diese Mischung füllt er in die Urne, jedoch nur zu einem Drittel. Über diese erste Füllung legt er eine Schicht mit den andern Zutaten, Gold, Silber usw. Dann werden die restlichen zwei Drittel, fast bis zum Rande der Urne, nachgefüllt und mit flüssiger Butter fast bis zum Überlaufen übergossen. Der Hausherr bringt ein gelbes oder rotes Hada (oder Tuch), räuchert es ab und reicht es dem Lama. Der bindet damit die Urne zu, und zwar in dreifacher Lage, wobei die Farben gelb und rot abwechseln können. Auch der Faden, der um das Tuch geschlungen wird, muß gelb oder rot sein und wird vorher abgeräuchert. Ist alles gut verknotet, dann wird der Knoten mit Siegellack überzogen [3] und schließlich mit einem Siegel, das tibetische Zeichen trägt, abgestempelt. Danach malt der Lama mit roter Farbe, meist roter Erde, auf die weiße Urne ein *nuru*-Kleinod, was soviel wie Schatz bedeuten soll. Dadurch wird die Urne als ein Schatz für den Erdgott kenntlich gemacht [4].

Personen: Die Urne kann nur ein Lama herrichten, der besondere Vollmachten besitzt. Man holt nie einen lebenden Buddha dafür. Wohl kann dieser sie in seinem Kloster herstellen und weihen. — Da man die Urnen auch im Kloster bestellen kann (vorrätig sind sie nicht) so kann auch der Hausherr sie dort abholen und zu Hause ohne Lama eingraben. Aber immer muß das unter der Assistenz eines Wahrsagers und in Gegenwart eines zitierten Geistes geschehen. — Will man aber mehrere Urnen begraben, so muß das immer durch einen Lama geschehen, auch wenn die Urnen im Kloster gekauft wurden. — Will man zu Hause mehrere Urnen anfertigen lassen, dann holt man mehrere Lamas zu gleicher Zeit [5]. — Einerlei, ob die Urne von einem oder mehreren Lamas oder vom Hausherr eingegraben wird, für die Zeit ist das Gehöft immer tabu.

Ort: Der Ort, an dem die Urne begraben wird, muß immer so gewählt sein, daß ihn kein Mensch oder Haustier entweihen kann. Niemand darf über einen solchen Ort hinweglaufen. Darum vermeidet man Wege und öffentliche Plätze; denn der Ort wird ja nicht eigens gekennzeichnet. Im übrigen kann die Urne überall eingegraben werden, einerlei ob auf den Feldern oder auf der Weide, im Hof oder im Haus. Ja, man kann sie sogar in Hof- und Zimmerwände einsetzen und vermauern.

Sinn: Der Inhalt der Urne sind die Schätze und Erträgnisse der Erde, alles, was in den Bereich des Erdgottes oder auch des Berggeistes gehört. Man will diese beiden Geister durch diese Kostbarkeiten erfreuen, damit sie die bösen Erdeinflüsse niederhalten und die Menschen vor Unglück schützen. Es ist so, wie wenn man Amtspersonen Geschenke macht [6].

Wörterliste

Erdgott:	*glu(glē)*.
Erdgott-Urne:	*sēnog-der*; *sēnog* (tib.) = meditieren; *der* (tib.) = Urne, Flasche.
eine Urne kaufen:	*sēnog-der bula*; *bula* = kaufen; aber nur für die geweihte Urne gebraucht, sonst heißt kaufen *awu-*.
Inhalt der Urne:	*rdzē* (tib.) [7].
allerlei Füllsel:	*yilē tawa ndzuomladzi* = allerart — Füllsel — vollständig seiend.
Urnenbinde:	*ama budzin* = Öffnung-Gebinde.
Siegellack:	*latsia* [8].
Glückskleinod:	*nuru* (tib. Lehnw.) [9].
Buddhagold:	*fo-chin* (chin.).
Korallen:	*fsurē*.
Perlmutter:	*mādog* (tib. Lehnw.).
Weißer Reis:	*tsigan tudurga*; *no-mi* (chin.).
Gelber Raps:	*sira yānsgar*; *shen-ts'ai-tzu* (chin.) = Geister-Raps.

Anmerkungen

[1] Wie sonst immer, wird auch hier vom Lama ein Torma gemacht, das ins Freie getragen wird. Es war leider nicht mehr möglich zu erfragen, ob dieses Torma auf den Platz gestellt wird, wo die Urne vergraben wird, etwa als Opfer für die zu beschädigende Erde, ähnlich wie beim Haus, beim Feuerguß, beim Leichenofen usw.

[2] Warum hier zweimal Weiß gebraucht wird, weiße Gerste und weißer Reis, ist unklar. Reis wird sonst bei den fünf Sorten Getreide nie benutzt und kommt auch in Chinghai gar nicht vor. Vielleicht ist das ein Hinweis auf südliche Herkunft der Urne.

[3] *Latsia*, wie der Siegellack heißt, ist bei chinesischen Händlern erhältlich.

[4] *Nuru* nennen die Tujen das Glückszeichen, das aus mehreren muschelförmigen Eiern besteht und mit Flammen umgeben ist. Dieses findet sich sehr häufig in der lamaistischen Symbolik und wird auch vom Luft-Pferd getragen. Es ist das *cintāmaṇi*. Vgl. oben: Totenbräuche und Leichenverbrennung, Anm. 2.

[5] Wie die Lamas in Kumbum behaupten, gibt es eine große Anzahl von Schatzurnen, und für jede Art werden besondere Gebete gebraucht. Mit

Vorliebe würde man die Urnen in Obos vergraben. — In Kumbum nennt man die Urnen gewöhnlich *benba*, was dasselbe zu sein scheint wie das tibetische *bum-ba*, Gefäß. Ein anderer Name ist *xdēr-wēm*, was wohl dem tibetischen *gter-bum* entspricht: Schatzgefäß; chinesisch *pao-p'ing*. Der Ausdruck *sēnoġ-dēr* (vgl. Abschnitt: Manibaum und Mittelburg) kommt vielleicht daher, daß die Urne unter gewissen Beschwörungsformeln, *snags* (*dharani*), geweiht wird, also einen Zauber-Schatz darstellt.

Dieser Erklärung zufolge handelt es sich um ein Opfer an den Erdgott. Die Auslegung dürfte aber nicht genügen. Man muß die Urne in ihrem weiteren Zusammenhang betrachten. Sie kommt im Tujen-Brauchtum immer wieder vor, beim Glückspfeil, bei der Rundkrippe, im Obo, in der Tschortenkammer, und zwar in zweifacher Form: einmal als Sitz einer Gottheit, welche durch die Spruchrolle, Seidenwicklung usw. in die Urne versetzt wird; ein andermal ohne diese Gottheit, wie z. B. die Begleiturnen der Mittelurne in der Tschortènkammer und Mittelburg, oder, wie in dem vorliegenden Abschnitt, allein. In diesem Falle ist sie als eine Darstellung der Erde mit ihren Lebens- und Keimkräften und ihren Schätzen aufzufassen, wie oben im Abschnitt über den Glückspfeil dargetan wurde. Im andern Falle nimmt der Erdgott in seinem Reiche (Urne) seinen Sitz. Die Urne gehört eben als ein Teil in die Darstellung des Weltbildes (Maṇḍala), als das Reich der Erdgötter.

Welches diese Erdgottheiten nun sind, ist unklar. Jedenfalls gehören die *ġlu* (tib. *klu*) oder *Nagas* dazu. Aber außerdem wird bei den Tujen auch noch ein anderer Erdgott verehrt, der vielleicht chinesischer Herkunft ist; denn wie die Chinesen haben auch sie ein Schweineopfer zu Ehren des Erdgottes und gewisse Zeremonien der Abbitte, die mit einem Getreideopfer verbunden sind. Sie werden besonders bei Erdarbeiten, Hausbau usw. geübt, oder wenn jemand bei Erdarbeiten zu Schaden kommt. Leider konnte ich diese Zeremonien nicht mehr aufnehmen. Ob dieser Erdgeist männlich oder weiblich ist, läßt sich nicht bestimmt feststellen.

Eine andere in Frage kommende Gruppe sind die *Sman*. Ein Teil der Füllsel heißt ja *ġlu-smän* (tib. *klu-sman*); vgl. oben Kapitel: Das Weihrauchopfer, Anm. 11. Nach H. Hoffmann: Quellen (p. 160 ff.) ist über die *Sman* keine Klarheit zu gewinnen: „Wir können aus den Stellen, an denen sie erwähnt werden, nur eben schließen, daß es sich um Erd- oder Lokalgeister handelt." — G. Tucci: Tib. Painted Scrolls (p. 720 ff.) hält die *Sman* für die weiblichen Gegenstücke der Götter und erklärt die Verbindung zwischen Medizin und Weiblichkeit folgendermaßen: „*sman* means either medicine or women. The connection between the two meanings is perhaps given by the implication, that these *sman* were witches and that they were supposed to be possessed of the healing power with which, in shamanism, women are not rarely endowed." Und weiter unten: „ . . . but nothing prevents us from understanding *'lha* and their wives' . . ." — Wir hätten es also bei der Schatzurne mit den *klu* und deren weiblichen Gegenstücken, den *sman*, zu tun.

Das Vergraben der Schatzurne wird von den Chinesen oft mit dem Vergraben anderer Geschirre gleichgesetzt. Das ist aber zweierlei. Chinesen und Tujen bringen oft Teeschalen, Schüsseln u. dgl. mit der Öffnung nach

unten in die Erde, um die Dämonen zu bannen und niederzuhalten. Diese Sitte entspringt aber schamanistischen Praktiken, wie sie auch die Taoisten haben. So werfen die dortigen Schamanen Teeschalen in die Luft oder auf den Boden, damit die Dämonen gekappt werden (das geschieht, wenn die Schale mit der Öffnung nach unten fällt), z. B. beim Errichten der Wetterburg, beim Messerklettern, beim Krankheitsbann usw.

[7] Über *rdzē* vgl. Abschnitt : Das Weihrauchopfer, Anm. 4. Diese Zutaten werden zum großen Teil von den Chinesen als *yao* (*yüo*) bezeichnet und sind nicht nur im Sinne von Medizin aufzufassen. Unter *yao* fällt alles Mögliche, das eine besondere Wirkung hat : Mineralien, Pulver, Gewürz, Muschel-, Gold-, Silberstückchen und Füllsel der Schatzurne. Lamas aus Kumbum und Bengbar erzählten mir, es gäbe etwa 30-40 Arten von Schatzurnen mit verschiedener Füllung. Eine der kostbarsten ist die, welche *mani-ruru* (Kügelchen) enthält. Diese Kügelchen vermehren sich, sie „werfen Junge", wie die Leute sagen, und erfüllen die ganze Urne ; vgl. Abschnitt : Totenbräuche, Anm. 2. CH. DAS (p. 874) nennt die Urnenbeigaben *bum rdsas* : „twenty-five articles (comprising consecrated objects and various sorts of medicines) required to be kept in the sacred-pot which contains the sacred water." Es handelt sich aber bei ihm um die Weihwasserurne, *bum pa*. Vgl oben das Kapitel : Das Weihrauchopfer.

[8] *latsia* : kommt aus dem Chinesischen ; *la-cha* = Siegellack. *nuru* : tib. *nor bu* ; auch *yid-bžin* genannt = ein Kleinod, das man wünscht (UNKRIG).

8. Der Feuerguß *

Bericht

Bei Familienunglück lädt man bisweilen den Lama ein, damit er den Feuerguß vornehme. Das dauert sieben Tage. Am ersten Tage kommt der Lama mit seinen Begleitern. Sie machen ein kleines Torma, das man ins Freie bringt und wegwirft. Danach wird das Tabu für den Hof eröffnet, indem man einen Zypressenzweig ans Tor hängt. Am zweiten Tage werden drei große Torma gemacht, die auf dem Hausaltar aufgestellt werden. Der Lama betet fünfmal am Tage. Am sechsten Tage nachmittags werden die unmittelbaren Vorbereitungen für den Feuerguß getroffen ; dies besorgen zwei bis drei Lamas, wobei noch wenigstens einer auf dem Kang sitzenbleibt und weiterbetet. Man holt den Speerwahrsager. Er bestimmt unter den üblichen Zeremonien des Speergott-Rufens den Ort für den Brandplatz beim Feuerguß.

Danach fertigt der Lama noch einmal ein Torma an und stellt es auf die Stelle, welche der Wahrsager bezeichnet hat. Er setzt sich auf eine Matte davor und betet die entsprechenden Gebete, während der Hausherr im Hofe das große Weihrauchopfer vornimmt. Dann wird das Torma hinaus vors Tor gebracht und fortgeworfen, damit es die Vögel fressen. Der Lama erhebt sich nun von seiner Matte und macht auf dem Brandplatz die Bodenzeichnung, und die Leute mauern mit einigen Back- oder Lehmsteinen davor eine kleine

* Anmerkungen siehe pp. 867-870.

Brüstung. Die Zeichnung wird für die Nacht mit Säcken oder Brettern überdeckt, damit niemand darüberläuft und sie dadurch verunreinigt.

Am siebenten Tage hält der Lama in aller Frühe seinen Gebetsdienst. Nach dem Frühstück rüsten die Leute draußen alles für die Zeremonie, und der Lama macht noch ein Torma aus reiner Butter. Dieses bringt er hinaus und setzt es auf die Zeichnung des Brandplatzes. Dann folgt die Zeremonie des Feuergusses, wobei allerlei Holz und Gewürze verbrannt werden.

Der Lama betet noch bis zum Abend. Am andern Morgen erhält er seinen Lohn und wird ins Kloster zurückgebracht. Aber manchmal behält man ihn noch einige Tage zum Beten da. — Nach dem Feuerguß bleibt der Hof wenigstens noch eine Woche tabu.

Einzelheiten

Personen: Der Feuerguß kann nicht von Schamanen, sondern nur von Lamas vorgenommen werden. Es sind aber keine gewöhnlichen Lamas. Es kommen dafür nur die drei obersten Klassen in Frage: die *Hutuktu*, die *Tsüordzi* und die *Känpo*. Man benötigt meist drei Lamas. Es genügt, wenn einer von diesen der höheren Klasse angehört; oft aber lädt man noch mehr ein [1].

Der Feuerguß kann von einer Privatperson (Mann oder Frau), von einer Einzelfamilie oder auch vom ganzen Dorf bestellt sein. — Bei der Zeremonie gelten die allgemeinen Meidungsvorschriften. Frauen können zugegen sein, dürfen aber nicht mithelfen.

Ort: Gewöhnlich findet der Feuerguß in einem Gehöfte statt. Geht die Sache vom Dorfe aus, dann bevorzugt man den Tempelhof. Man kann dann auch auf einen Berg gehen, jedoch nicht auf dessen Gipfel, sondern in halbe Höhe. — Die Brandstelle wird stets im einzelnen von einem Wahrsager angegeben.

Für den Ort der verschiedenen Arten von Feuergüssen gelten weiter keine Vorschriften. Eine Ausnahme bildet der schwarze Feuerguß. Dieser darf nie in einem Hofe oder Tempel oder im Dorfe vorgenommen werden. Man sucht dazu eine ganz entlegene Berggegend und hält sich dort in Zelten mehrere Tage lang auf.

Zeit: Der Wahrsager bestimmt schon Tage oder Wochen vorher das Datum. Kann der Lama nicht am festgesetzten Tage kommen, dann bittet man ihn um Angabe des Termins, und der Wahrsager bestimmt dann einen Tag innerhalb dieser Zeit. Die Zeremonie dauert immer sieben Tage; der eigentliche Feuerguß findet stets am Morgen des letzten Tages statt. Verbotene Zeiten gibt es nicht; er könnte auch vorgenommen werden, wenn die betreffende Familie noch ihre Trauerzeit hätte, oder noch eine Wöchnerin im Hofe wäre. Es dürfte aber in diesem Falle z. B. die Wöchnerin nicht zuschauen.

Torma: Im ganzen werden sechs Torma angefertigt. 1. Ein kleines Torma, wie immer beim Lamabesuch. Es ist das Unheil-Torma, nach dessen Wegbringen das Gehöft tabu ist. 2. Am Morgen des zweiten Tages folgen drei große Torma. Eines davon stellt den Gott (Buddha) dar, welchem der

Feuerguß dargebracht wird. Die beiden andern, welche ein wenig niedriger sind, symbolisieren seine zwei dienstbaren Begleiter. Die Farbe dieser Torma ist verschieden, je nachdem, um welchen Gott es sich handelt. Man stellt die Torma vor den Hausaltar oder in die Hauskapelle, und zwar erhöht in eine Kiste, die man mit einem Tuch oder einem Brett überdeckt, damit kein Tier (z. B. eine Katze) sie entweihen kann. Vor diesen Torma reiht man die Weihegaben auf: sieben Schalen reinen Wassers, eine Schale Gerstenwein, eine Schale Zucker, eine Schale Teigbohnen und einige Butterlämpchen. Diese Lämpchen bleiben Tag und Nacht brennen bis zum Schluß der Zeremonien. — Die drei Torma werden bis drei Tage nach dem Feuerguß stehengelassen und dann von den Familienmitgliedern gegessen. Man kann sie auch den Haustieren geben. Im Sommer aber sind sie oft schon so schimmelig, daß sie nur noch für Hunde in Frage kommen. Die Namen der drei Torma richten sich nach den Namen der Götter, die sie darstellen. Es ist so ähnlich wie bei den Ahnentafeln der Chinesen, welche ja ebenfalls aufgestellt und verehrt werden. — 3. Am Nachmittag des sechsten Tages wird ein fünftes Torma angefertigt. Es ist kleiner als die andern und stellt den Erd- oder Berggeist dar, weshalb es auch Erdgeist(Berggeist)-Torma heißt. Der Lama stellt es auf den zum Feuerguß ausersehenen Platz. Davor kommen als Weihegaben: drei Schalen Wasser, eine Schale Gerstenwein, eine Schale Tee, eine Butterlampe und drei Stengel Weihrauch. Der Lama besprengt das Torma mit Weihwasser aus der Wumbakanne, während der Hausherr davor Weihrauch verbrennt. Hierauf läßt sich der Lama auf eine Filzmatte nieder und betet ein Weihegebet, in dem er den Erdgeist bittet, den Brandplatz für den Feuerguß freizugeben. Nach dem Gebet setzt man das Torma auf eine Mauer oder wirft es auf dem Felde weg, damit es die Vögel fressen. Die Farbe dieses Torma ist weiß. 4. Schließlich wird noch ein sechstes Torma am Morgen des siebenten Tages verfertigt. Es ist nicht, wie die andern Torma, aus Tsamba mit Butter vermischt, sondern aus reiner Butter allein. Es stellt den Feuergott dar und ist darum feuerrot gefärbt. Vor dem Feuerguß wird es auf die Bodenzeichnung gestellt und nachher mitverbrannt.

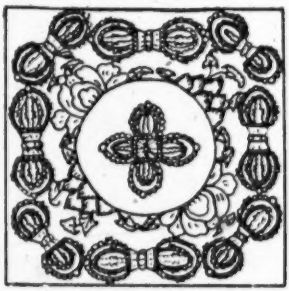
Die Brandgaben: Für den eigentlichen Feuerguß werden folgende Sachen benötigt: 1. Brennholz und Lebensbaumzweige. Sie werden vom Gabenherr (d. h. der eigenen Familie) selber besorgt. Das Brennholz ist eine Elle lang. Es war früher nur Tannenholz in Gebrauch; heute nimmt man gerne Holz der Weißpappel. Man nimmt ast- und knotenfreie, armdicke Stücke, welche der Länge nach gespalten werden. Die Länge und das Freisein von Astknoten ist Vorschrift. 2. Butter, welche für den Feuerguß geschmolzen und ins Feuer gegossen wird. Sie soll nicht zu alt sein. 3. Zwei Stücke Holz vom roten und weißen Sandelbaum. 4. Eine ganze Menge Brandgewürze, welche die Familie selber besorgen muß; das sind: weiße Rapskörner, weißer Hanfsamen, schwarzer Hanfsamen, Weizen, Tibetgerste, weiße Erbsen, Klebreis, weiße Gerste, gewisse tibetische Kräuter, tibetische Blumen, eine tibetische Riedgrasart, Weißgras aus Chinghai. 5. Weiheholz. Das Weiheholz ist je nach der Art des Feuergusses verschieden. Für den

3:Schröder AE9 Monguor

weißen Feuerguß verwendet man Äste von der Weißpappel, im ganzen sind es 46 Paar Zweigstücke. Jedes Stück hat eine Länge von neun Fingerbreiten und muß drei Nebenzweige angesetzt haben. Diese Nebenzweige werden bis auf drei Fingerbreiten Länge abgeschnitten. Die Schnittflächen der Stücke müssen alle rechtwinkelig verlaufen, nicht schief. Die Rinde läßt man daran; man darf sie nicht beschädigen, sonst erhalten der Gabenherr und seine Angehörigen später einen bösen Hautausschlag. Um ein Rissigwerden zu vermeiden, beschmiert man daher die Schnittfläche mit Butter. Statt des Pappelholzes ist auch Tamariskenholz erlaubt. Dieses ist von Natur aus sehr gerade und astfrei. Darum dürfen sie im Gegensatz zu den Pappelstücken auch keine Astansätze aufweisen. Die Länge muß aber die gleiche sein. Die Farbe des Tamariskenholzes ist rot [2]. 6. Die sechs Gewürze des Weihrauchopfers. Sie werden ebenfalls vom Gabenherrn besorgt. 7. Die 74 Arten des Erdgott-Gewürzes, welche der Lama, schon zu Pulver zerstampft, mitbringt.

Herrichtung der Brandgaben: Die Brandgaben macht der Lama am Nachmittag des sechsten Tages zurecht. Er gibt von den Brandgewürzen jedesmal eine einzige Art in eine irdene Schüssel, mischt sie mit den fünf Getreidesorten, übergießt sie mit flüssiger Butter, bestreut sie mit den sechs Weihrauchgewürzen und dem Gewürzmehl der 74fachen Erdgottgewürze, mischt alles gut durcheinander und legt diese Mischung jedesmal in zwei Portionen auf ein Tellerchen, da er beim Feuerguß die Feuergaben in zwei Folgen ins Feuer werfen muß; also soviel Arten, soviel Tellerchen zu je zwei Portionen. Um die Gewürze vor Staub und Verunreinigung zu schützen, werden sie einzeln mit einem Blatt Papier zugedeckt. — Die 46 Paar Weiheholz-Stücke legt man zusammen auf ein eigenes Tablett. Die so hergerichteten Brandgaben besprengt der Lama mit Weihwasser und läßt sie auf den Hausaltar bringen.

Bereitung der Feuerstelle: Anschließend an die Zurichtung der Brandgaben bestimmt der Speerwahrsager den Platz für den Feuerguß; er wählt ihn meist im Hofe. Auf diesen Platz stellt der Lama das Erdgott-Torma mit den Weihegaben. Ist dieses dann fortgebracht, so mißt der Lama mit einer in Gips- oder Kalkmehl geweißten Schnur auf dem Boden ein Rechteck ab, etwa zwei Ellen im Geviert. Die Linien schlägt er auf den Boden, so wie es die Schreiner mit ihrer schwarzen Meßschnur auf Holz tun. In dieses Geviert zeichnet er ein zweites, parallel laufendes Rechteck, das etwa eine Handbreite kleiner ist. Dadurch entsteht ein Rahmen. Auf diesen Rahmen zeichnet er, ebenfalls mit weißem Mehl, mit Hilfe einer Holz- oder Lederschablone [3] acht Donnerkeile, nämlich in jede Ecke und auf jede Seitenmitte einen. Das Kalkmehl wird einfach über die Schablone gestreut, und wenn er diese fort-



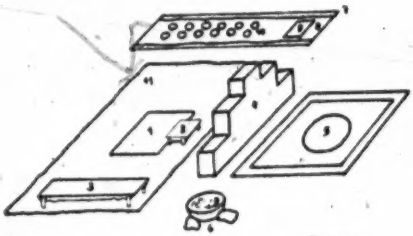
Mandala beim Feuerguß.
(Zeichnung eines Tujen.)

nimmt, bleiben die Konturen der Zeichnung zurück. Die Donnerkeile laufen parallel der Rahmenrichtung, stehen also nicht quer dazu. Schließlich zeichnet er noch in die Rechteckmitte zwei sich kreuzende Donnerkeile [4].

Nun bauen die Männer mit Lehmsteinen eine kleine Brüstung auf einer Seite der Figur, während der Lama seine Gebete verrichtet. Diese Brüstung ist terrassenförmig. Die untere Schicht besteht aus zwei Reihen längsgelegter Steine, die zweite Schicht ist einen halben Stein eingezogen, und die dritte Schicht hat nur noch einen Stein. Die ganze Brüstung ist also sechs Lehmsteine hoch. Die Vorder- und Rückseite wird mit Lehm und Kalk verputzt und weiß getüncht. Die waagerechten Terrassen bleiben frei. Auf sie zeichnet der Lama wieder mit seiner Schablone je einen Donnerkeil, also fünf Donnerkeile im ganzen. Diese Brüstung soll den Lama vor dem Feuer schützen, da er beim Guß zu ebener Erde, oder nur ganz gering erhöht sitzt [5]. Nach dem Zeichnen zieht sich der Lama wieder zum Gebet ins Haus zurück.

Der Feuerguß: Am Morgen des siebenten Tages, gleich nach Sonnenaufgang, betet der Lama sein Morgengebet, trinkt Tee und macht das Feuer-Torma. Währenddessen wird draußen nach dem Weihrauchopfer alles für die Feuerzeremonie zurechtgemacht.

Neben den Brandplatz stellt man auf drei Steine einen großen Eisenkessel für die Butterschmelze. Ein Stoß Brennholz liegt daneben. Westlich der Brüstung legt man eine Filzmatte für den Lama; denn er sitzt immer mit dem Gesicht nach Osten. Manchmal stellt man noch einen breiten Kangtisch hin, der dem Lama als Sitz dient. Darauf legt man ein Stück breites Tuch, das er beim Feuerguß zum Schutz über die Knie legt, damit

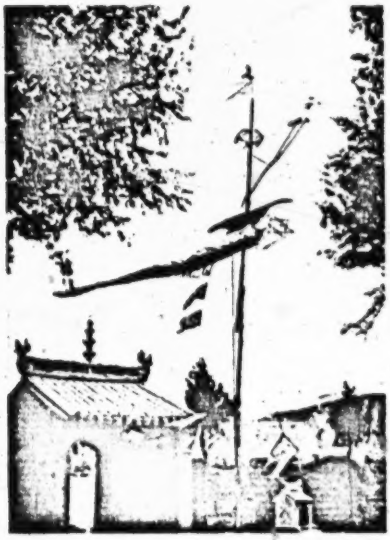


Anordnung beim Feuerguß.
1. Sitz des Lama; 2. Tisch für Gebetbücher; 3. Tisch für Löffel; 4. Schutzwand; 5. Brandplatz (Bodenzeichnung); 6. Butterkessel; 7. Brett; 8. Tuchbahn; 9. Tablett mit Weiheholz; 10. Teller der Brandbeigaben; 11. Filzmatte. (Zeichnung nach Angabe des Gewährsmannes.)

ihm keine flüssige Butter auf die Kleider träufelt. Neben den Sitz legt man den Feuerfächer, bestehend aus einem Stück weißen Tuches, das mit zwei parallellaufenden Stäbchen versehen ist, so daß es der Lama mit beiden Händen fassen kann. Damit wird das Feuer befächelt; denn man darf es nicht mit seinem Atem verunreinigen.

Vor den Lamasitz und die Brüstung kommen ein kleiner Tisch für die Kultgeräte, Gebetbuch, Schelle usw. Rechts vom Sitz steht ein kleiner Tisch zum Ablegen des Gießrohres und des Löffels. Links neben den Lamasitz wird ein breites Brett oder eine ausgehobene Tür gelegt, worüber man einen Sack und darüber eine weiße Tuchbahn breitet. Darauf kommen das

Dominik Schröder, Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor)



a

b

a: Voll ausgerüsteter Schamanenmast im Ortstempel zu Pao-chia-k'ou (Sha t'ang-ch'uan) beim Saatfest 1948. Beim Herbstdankopfer werden die gleichen Schamanenbäume errichtet. Es gibt aber auch einfachere Formen. (Zum Kapitel: Das Herbstdankopfer.) *b*: Trommelschamane, *ji-shih* oder *shih-kung* oder *bo*. Ein Tujen vom Yang-p'o-t'ai beim Tujendorf Chia-chia-ling. Aufgenommen beim Herbstdankfest, Chia-chia-ling, Oktober 1948. In der Rechten hält er die Reifentrommel mit dem Schlegel, in der Linken hält er das dreieckige Geisterschwert, über der Schulter trägt er die Hanfpeitsche mit dem geschnitzten Griff. Die fünfteilige Krone ist wie die der Gurtum. (Zum Kapitel: Das Saat- und Erntefest.)

c

d

c: Lama in Ausstattung und mit Geräten für den Feuerguß. Aufnahme gestellt, in der Lamaserie *Hsin-szu*, etwa 10 *km* westlich von Tanghar. Mai 1949. (Zum Kapitel: Der Feuerguß.) *d*: Der Tuoshih von Kanchiapu in Totenhaltung in seiner Totenlade. Die Türen sind weggenommen. Photo gestellt. Die Totenlade der Tujen ist fast gleich. Kanchiapu, Frühjahr 1949. (Zum Kapitel: Totenbrauche.) Photos: Dominik Schröder.

[follow p. 864]

3:Schröder AE9 Monguor

Tablett mit den Holzstücken und die zwölf Tellerchen mit den Brandgewürzen. Ferner werden bereitgehalten: mehrere Schlagfeuerzeuge oder eine Schachtel Streichholz, eine Butterlampe, eine Papierlaterne und eine Zündstange, wie sie auch bei der Leichenverbrennung gebraucht wird.

Nun kommt der Lama mit dem Feuer-Torma heraus und setzt es mitten auf die Bodenzeichnung auf eine Unterlage von Zypressenzweigen. Die Männer schichten hierum, nach oben sich verjüngend, in Achteckform das vorschriftsmäßige Feuerholz, in der Mitte einen leeren Raum um das Torma belassend. Diesen Raum füllen sie dann mit Zypressenzweigen aus. Hierauf überreicht der Gabenherr dem Lama feierlich ein Hada und bittet ihn, die Zeremonie zu eröffnen. Während er sich auf die andere Seite des Holzstoßes begibt und dort dem Lama gegenüber einen dreifachen Kotou macht, besprengt der Lama den Holzstoß mit Weihwasser und bestreut ihn mit Gerstenkörnern, über die er dreimal hingehaucht hat.

Jetzt schlägt der Gabenherr aus dem Feuerstein auf den ersten Hieb einen Funken, fängt ihn mit Hanfwerg auf, bläst ihn in einem kleinen Büschel Stroh zu einem Flämmchen und zündet damit die Butterlampe an. Mit dem Licht der Butterlampe wird dann die Papierlaterne angezündet. Die Zeremonie und die Regeln sind genau wie bei der Leichenverbrennung. Nun reicht man dem Lama die Zündstange. Er hält den Wergkopf derselben über die Butterlampe, bis er aufflammt, und setzt damit den Holzstoß in Brand. Sobald das Feuer hochschlägt, fallen alle Anwesenden auf die Knie und machen einen dreifachen Kotou. Falls das Feuer nicht gleich brennt, fächelt es der Lama mit dem Tuchfächer an. Nun folgt der Feuerguß.

Der Lama legt sich das Tuch über die Knie, nimmt das Gießrohr, legt es mit dem Ausflußende über die Brüstung, hält mit der linken Hand den Griff und gießt mit der rechten löffelweise flüssige Butter in den Abflußtrichter, so daß sie in einem Strahl ins Feuer fließt und heftig aufflammt. Nachdem er das einige Male getan hat, reicht man ihm die Tellerchen mit den Brandgaben. Mit den drei ersten Fingern der rechten Hand nimmt er jedesmal eine der zwei Portionen und wirft sie unter Segenssprüchen ins Feuer. Dann folgen einige Stücke Holz, dann wieder Buttergüsse, Tellerchen usw., bis alles im Feuer verbrannt ist. Der Lama betet nun noch unter dem Klang seiner Schlaginstrumente das Schlußgebet und begibt sich ins Haus zurück. — Er reinigt seine Instrumente, nimmt seine Mahlzeit, erhält seinen Lohn und reitet am folgenden Tag mit seinen Begleitern ins Kloster zurück, falls man ihn nicht noch für andere Gebete, die nichts mehr mit dem Feuerguß zu tun haben, dabehalten will.

Sieben Tage lang bleibt das Gehöft tabu, und in diesen sieben Tagen wird der Brandplatz so gelassen wie er ist. Danach wird die Brüstung abgerissen, und alle Spuren der Zeremonie werden beseitigt. Die Lehmsteine kann man wieder für profane Zwecke gebrauchen.

Arten des Feuergusses: Es gibt eine ganze Reihe von verschiedenen Feuergüssen, je nach der Gottheit, um die es sich handelt. Meist wird der Feuerguß zu Ehren der folgenden Gottheiten vorgenommen: des Pferdegottes, des Rindergottes, des Löwengottes und des wassergesichtigen Buddha.

Andere Arten richten sich nach der Farbe der Götter. So gibt es einen roten, gelben, weißen und schwarzen Feuerguß. Nach den Farben dieser Götter werden auch die Torma gefärbt, welche sie darstellen. Ebenso wird für die einzelnen Farben eine besondere Holzart gebraucht, so beim roten: Tamariskenholz, beim gelben: Weißdorn, beim weißen: Pappelholz und beim schwarzen: Schwarzdorn. Bei den drei ersten Feuergüssen sind die Zeremonien gleich, nur die Gebete variieren. — Besonders aber weicht der schwarze Feuerguß von den andern ab [6].

Der schwarze Feuerguß: Die Personen sind die gleichen. Der Lama und sein Gehilfe aber schmieren sich das Gesicht mit Ruß ein. Sie tragen auch schwarze Kleider. Alle Gegenstände sind schwarz, das Torma, die Filzmatte, die Brüstung, die Bodenzeichnung usw.

Statt des Brennholzes nimmt man Schweine- oder Kamelmist. Um das schwarze Torma auf der Bodenzeichnung steckt man schwarze Stäbe; daran werden die Därme eines schwarzen Schafes guirlandenartig aufgehängt. Die Därme sind nicht gereinigt, sondern voll Mist. An Stelle der Butter nimmt man schwarzes Leinöl, auch den Mist tränkt man damit, damit er besser brennt.

Die Brandgaben sind: schwarze Gerste, schwarzer Leinsamen, Samen des wilden Rapses, Weizen mit schwarzer Erde vermischt, dunkle Bohnen, schwarz gefärbter Klebreis, schwarz gefärbte Kräuter usw.

Als Weihegaben für die schwarzen Torma, welche die Dämonen darstellen, nimmt man Milch von einem schwarzen Schaf, Urin von einem schwarzen Esel in schwarzer Schale serviert, und als Weihrauch Schweinemist.

Der Ort für den schwarzen Feuerguß ist gewöhnlich eine abgelegene Schlucht. Dort schlägt man schwarze Zelte auf und wohnt mit dem Lama mehrere Tage in der Einsamkeit. Auf keinen Fall darf man den schwarzen Feuerguß in der Nähe von Tempeln oder menschlichen Behausungen vornehmen.

Bei Epidemien wird der schwarze Feuerguß mit Vorliebe angewandt, um die Krankheitsdämonen zu ärgern und so zu vertreiben; denn mit ihnen weicht auch das Unheil.

Sinn: Der Feuerguß ist ein Opfer für die Götter; sie sollen dadurch bewogen werden, Unglück und Krankheit abzuwenden [7]. Genau so wichtig wie die Feuerzeremonie ist auch das siebentägige Gebet des Lama. — Der Feuerguß ist bei Tujen und Fandse verbreitet. Auch in Lamaklöstern wird er vorgenommen.

Wörterliste [8]

Feuerguß:	*dzuntsiog* (tib. Lehnw.) [9], *suri* = Feuerguß gießen, DMF 73.
Feuerplatz:	*taw* (tib. Lehnw.) = Ofen, Feuerstelle.
Unheil-Torma:	*guag dor* (tib.).
	guag = Unheil; Gebet bei Anfertigung dieses Torma.
Erdgeist-Torma:	*glü-ldorma*.
Berggeist-Torma:	*yifula-ldorma*.
Feuer-Torma:	*gal ldorma*.
Erdgottgewürze:	*glu smän* (tib.).
	dalän dierän sämba smän = 74 Stück Gewürze.

Meßschnur :	*ldag pagdzin bödog* = Muster zeichnende Schnur.
Schablone :	*arasä xuar* = Leder-Form ; *tsialdzä xuar* = Papier-Form.
Brandplatzzeichnung (Maṇḍala) :	*tawni xuar.*
Brüstung :	*läṅgäṅ* (chin. Lehnw.).
Gußrohr :	*ige gäṅsär* (tib. Lehnw.) = großer Löffel.
Schöpflöffel für Butter :	*mula gäṅsär* = kleiner Löffel.
Löffel (profan) :	*dziegliu* (Tujen).
Tuchfächer :	*hi yüelwa* = Luft-Tuch.
	rlöṅ yäg (tib.).
Tuch (profan) :	*bosä.*
Zündstange :	*xuämbar.*
Feuerzeug :	*hidie.*
Geschlagenes Feuer :	*hidie gal* = Feuerzeug-Feuer.
Gewöhnliches Feuer :	*arönka gal.*
Beim Feuerguß-gießen gibt es keinen Verlust durch Unwetter :	*dsuntsiog surëwa, dierdzia sdzüen uguei.*
Beim schwarzen Feuerguß-gießen fliehen die Dämonen :	*xara dzuntsiog surewa, mö iliesgä xuoluode pusa sdzia (sdzim).*
Feuerholz :	*taw siṅ* (tib.) = Ofen-Holz.
Weiheholz : :	*yiew (ziew) -siṅ* (tib.).
Tibet-Kräuter :	*dziäṅgöṅ* (tib. Lehnw.) [4].
	tsang ts'ao (chin.) = tibet. Kraut.
Tibet-Blumen :	*känba* (tib. Lehnw.).
	ta t'ou mao hsiang (chin.).
Weißgras (aus Chinghai) :	*ndoluwä* [4] ; *pai-ts'ao* (chin.).
tibetisches Hartgras (Ried) :	*gusia* (tib. Lehnw.) [4].
	tsang hsi-chi (chin.).
Tamariske ? :	*guänbö (xuänbo)* ; *sögä.*
Pappelholz :	*mödä* = Holz.
Weißdorn :	*siraldzin* = Gelbdorn.
Schwarzdorn :	*xara rëguodzä.*
Pferdegott :	*ldamtsëni* (tib. Lehnw.) [4].
	ma-wang (chin.).
Rindergott :	*ndigsier* (tib. Lehnw.) ; *niu-wang* (chin.)
Löwengott :	*sändöṅmani* (tib. Lehnw.) ; *shih-wang* (chin.) [4].
wassergesichtiger Buddha :	*logon rëdziawu* (tib. Lehnw.) [4].
	shuei-lien p'usa (chin.).

Anmerkungen

[1] Andere Tujen behaupten, auch ein Bonpriester könne den Feuerguß vornehmen, was ja auch wenigstens beim schwarzen Feuerguß zu erwarten wäre. Aber der alte Gewährsmann und auch andere Leute streiten das entschieden ab. Nur ein Lama (*gelöṅgba*) käme dafür in Frage ; die Bonpriester würden sich nur mit Dämonenbann befassen.

[2] Über die Symbolik der verschiedenen Holzarten war nichts zu ermitteln. Das wäre interessant, besonders wegen der Forderung der Astansätze.

[3] Die Schablonen wurden früher aus Leder hergestellt. Heute sind sie meist aus Holz oder Pappe.

[4] Wie andere Leute und Lamas erzählen, gibt es eine ganze Menge verschiedener Bodenzeichnungen, die offenbar nur Variationen des Maṇḍala darstellen. So ließ z. B. mein Gewährsmann von einem seiner Verwandten die oben beschriebene Figur zeichnen. Er erklärte sie folgendermaßen

(siehe Fig. p. 863): Die Donnerkeile stellen die vier Hauptweltrichtungen und die vier Zwischenrichtungen dar. Der Kreis mit den gekreuzten Donnerkeilen bedeutet das Fundament des Weltenberges *rirā* (Sumeru); denn dieser ruhe auf einer goldenen Scheibe. Die Donnerkeile bedeuten Ruhe und Festigkeit und Dauer des Weltfundamentes. Ursprünglich seien sie aus Gold gewesen zum Zeichen ihrer Unzerstörbarkeit. Die Päonien seien das Sinnbild des aufblühenden Familienglückes. Der gleiche Sinn liegt auch dem Donnerkeil zugrunde, der in den Schöpflöffel für die flüssige Butter eingelötet ist. — Die Bedeutung der Päonien stimmt mit dem Brauch der Lamaserien und der Chinesen überein, im Hofe Päoniensträucher von verschiedener Farbe zu pflanzen. Tujen und Chinesen meinen, ein reicher, wohlhabender Mann hat immer einen Päonienstrauch vor der Türe. — Statt der Päonie malt man bei der Bodenzeichnung des Leichenofens Lotosblumen. Diese stellten den Lotos dar, auf welchem der Buddha säße, und aus welchem die Flammen der Verwandlung schlügen. Vgl. Kapitel Leichenverbrennung.

[5] Es gibt auch vier- bis sechsstufige Brüstungen. Nach Aussagen anderer trägt auch die Brüstung die Farbe des betreffenden Feuergusses, ebenso die Bodenzeichnung.

[6] Lamas berichten, daß es sehr viele Arten von Feuergüssen gebe, die vier hier genannten seien nur die vier Hauptarten. Auch hätten sie umfangreiche Bücher über die Riten. — Die Beschreibung dieser orthodoxen lamaistischen Riten würde ein eigenes Studium verlangen. Man vgl. dazu LESSING: Yung Ho Kung (p. 150-161). Dort ist von vielen Arten, wie sie im Kloster geübt werden, nur eine beschrieben und auch nur die Phasen „which can be easily observed by the inexperienced visitor" (p. 150). Ohne auf einen Vergleich mit der oben beschriebenen Form einzugehen, sei nur darauf hingewiesen, daß die Grundzüge gleich sind. Von den bei LESSING gekennzeichneten vier Hauptarten stimmt bei meinem Gewährsmann nur die Farbe überein; von den verschiedenen Formen des Brandplatzes (Maṇḍala) und den tibetischen-chinesischen Namen wußte er nichts. Auch sind die Adressaten des Feuergusses verschieden (p. 151); ebenso sind dort andere Brandgaben aufgezählt.

Es ist eben zu beachten, daß es sich bei den Tujen um eine einfache, volkstümliche Form handelt, die auch wieder nach Ort und Verhältnissen der Bevölkerung variiert. Daß das gewöhnliche Volk nichts von der komplizierten und zum Teil tantrischen Symbolik weiß, ist allzu verständlich. Ihm genügt es, wenn die Götter durch die Zeremonie Schutz und Wohlfahrt spenden, und wenn die Dämonen ferne bleiben.

[7] Das Ganze macht sehr den Eindruck eines Feueropfers. Aber der Gewährsmann meinte, damit hätte es nichts zu tun. Es sei ein Opfer an die entsprechenden Buddhas. Der Feuergott würde auch mitverehrt, wie das Torma beweise, aber er sei nicht die Hauptsache. Es ist aber kein Zweifel, daß es sich um ein Feueropfer, *Homa*, handelt (vgl. LESSING, a. a. O.). Allein schon der Tujenname kann nicht anders gedeutet werden als eine Verbalhornung des tibetischen *sbyin-sreg*. *sbyin* wird *jin* gesprochen, was in Anm. 8 (*žüin-tsëg*) ganz deutlich zu ersehen ist. CH. DAS schreibt p. 940 unter *sbyin-sreg*: „burnt offerings as made by Tantrik Buddhists", ... „*sbyin-sreg-gi*

rdsas clarified butter, articles necessary for burnt sacrifices". ... „*sbyin-sreg-gi yam-śiṅ* ... first wood necessary for the offering". (Zu *yam-śiṅ* vgl. das Tujenfremdwort *yiew-siṅ*) „*Homa* is the chief of all fire-sacrificials". — Das DMF hat p. 73 ebenfalls den Ausdruck *dzuntsioġ* und schreibt: „nom de certaines libations et offrandes". cf. tib. *t'sogs* „sacrificial offering". Dann bringt es die Wendung *lama dzuntsioġ fudzuruna* (= *surina*) und schreibt: „le lama fait des libations". Von einer Libation kann hier keine Rede sein, und das ... *tsioġ* (*ts'og*) ist auch nicht das tibetische *ts'ogs*, welches nach Ch. Das (pp. 1032, 1033) soviel wie „Anhäufung" und in Verbindung mit *'k'or* soviel wie „Opfer in einem Kreis (Maṇḍala)" bedeutet. — Obwohl der Gewährsmann nicht in erster Linie das Feueropfer betonte, übersetzte er doch das *dzuntsioġ* mit dem chinesischen *tao huo-t'an* = wörtlich: die Feuerfläche begießen = den Feuerguß vornehmen. F. Lessing (p. 150) hat dafür den Ausdruck *huo-t'an-i-kuei*, etwa: Ritus der Feuerterrasse.

* Zu den hier genannten Namen erfuhr ich in der Mongolenlamaserie tsa-tsang-szu und dem benachbarten Kloster Fu-hai szu oder Hsin-szu (Guämbasoma) westlich von Tangkar noch folgende Einzelheiten und Abweichungen:

Feuerguß: *żüin* (*yüin*)-*tsēġ*; vgl. die Tujen-Verbalhornung *dzun-tsioġ*.

Bodenzeichnung (Maṇḍala): *sdziṅkuor* (tib.)

Trennungsmauer: *lāmbān* (tib.). Vgl. *lāngaṅ* (tujen) und *lan-kan* (chines.).

Gußlöffel: *rgāṅ zār* (tib.).

Butterlöffel (für flüssige Butter): *ṭombō* (tib.).

Feuerholz (das in Achteckform auf den Brandplatz gesetzt wird): *xsiġ ġa* (tib.).

Weiheholz (das mit den Gewürzen ins Feuer geworfen wird): *yām śēṅ* (tib.); vgl. das Tujenwort *yiew siṅ*.

Holz für den weißen Feuerguß: *nia-rēx* (tib.) oder nach einer andern Aussprache: *niāw rsēġ* (tib.); *hsi-fan liu* (chin.) = tibetische Weide; *chi-chua liu* (chin.) = Hühner-Fuß-Weide.

Schwarzdorn: *tsērnaġ* (tib.); oder *sdzirwa* (tib.); *xara tsitsērnaġ* (mongol.).

Holz für den roten Feuerguß: *uombō* (tib.); *balaġ* (mongol.); *sā-liu* (chin.), wahrscheinlich ist das hochchinesische *sha-liu* (= Sandweide) gemeint.

Tamariske: *sōgā*. Dieses Wort ist auf alle Fälle mongolisch und tujen. Auch die Chinesen sagen dafür *so-kai*, offenbar eine Anlehnung an den Laut. Auch von Tibetern hörte ich dieses Wort. Es wird ebenfalls für den roten Feuerguß gebraucht. Man bevorzugt diese Gerten für Peitschenstiele.

Holz für den gelben Feuerguß: *maġa* (tib.); *dziāṅma* (mongol.); *chien-yang liu* (chin.); das Holz wird viel für Mühlenräder gebraucht; es scheint eine Ahornart zu sein. Auch sah ich es viel bei Schnitzern, welche es als das beste Schnitzholz loben.

Feuer-Torma: *dāmbala* (tib.).

gelber Feuerguß: *sēru dżiwi żüin tseġ* (tib.).

roter Feuerguß: *ġöngē dżiwi żüin tseġ* (tib.).

weißer Feuerguß: *siwi dżiwi żüin tseġ* (tib.).

schwarzer Feuerguß: *dżoġguei dżiwi żüin tseġ* (tib.).

Brandgaben: *rdzē* (tib., mongol.).

Butter: *marku* (tib.); *dasu* (mongol.).

Getreide: *nie* (tib.); *tara* (mongol.); mit *tara* bezeichnen die Mongolen dort die tibetische Gerste, *ch'ing-k'o*, welches das Getreide schlechthin ist.
Weizen: *dšö* (tib.); *budē* (mongol.).
Bohnen: *tšamā* (tib.); *burdzieg* (mongol.).
Gerste: *sö* (tib.); *sötara* (mongol.); wahrscheinlich ist es eine Zusammensetzung aus dem tibetischen *sö* und dem mongolischen *tara* (Getreide).
weißer Raps: *yöṅgur* (tib., mongol.); *pei-ts'ai-tzu* (chin.).
indisches Räuchergras: *ǵusia* (tib., mongol.); *wei-tzu ts'ao* (chin.); d. h. Schilfrohr-Gras. Offenbar handelt es sich um das bei FILCHNER: Kumbum, p. 88 und in Anm. 400 bezeichnete Kuśa-Gras, das aus Indien stammen soll.
Butter-Tsamba: *süosēn* (mongol.); ein Gemisch, zu dem auch noch andere Zutaten kommen.
blaue Blumen: *dżēyāṅgē* (tib.); *göxu* (nach anderer Mundart: *köku*) *dzidzigē* (mongol.); *lān-ts'ao* (chin.) = blaues Gras.
Einzelbeigaben: *tsiawar rdzē* (tib.).
vielerlei Beigaben: *ondöṅ rdzē* (tib., mongol.).
Mönchskraut: *durēwā* (tib., mongol.); *ping-ts'ao* (chin.) = Eiskraut; *tao-seng-ts'ao* (chin.) = taoistischer-buddhistischer-Mönch-Kraut; es wird statt *seng* (Mönch) auch das Zeichen für *sheng* geschrieben; das dürfte aber falsch sein. Um welches Kraut es sich handelt, ist mir unklar.

Sämtliche Namen sind nach dem Dialekt der Mönche in Tsatsang-szu aufgeschrieben, die meist aus der Gegend von Dulän (Tsaidam) stammen.

Tsüordzi: tibetisch *c'os* = Lehre, *rje* = Meister. Damit wird der Stellvertreter des Klosterabtes bezeichnet, Lehrmeister. — *Känbö*: tibetisch *mk'an* = Meister, *po* = Partikel. *mk'an po* = Abt eines Klosters, Professor, Haupt einer Lamaserie. — *gäṅsär*: tibetisch *gaṅ sa?* = Röhre. — *dziäṅgöṅ*: ist wohl entstanden aus dem tibetischen *gTsaṅ* = tibet. Provinz, und *sṅo* = Kraut. — *ndoluwa*: hängt vielleicht zusammen mit dem tibetischen *sgrol ba* = die Göttin *Dolma*, helfen, retten; sonst *Tārā* genannt. — *gusia*: tibetisch *ku ša* (aus dem Sanskrit) = botanisch Poa cynosuroides. — *sändöṅmani*: läßt sich auflösen in die tibetischen Wörter *seṅ* (sanskrit. *siṃha*) = Löwe, *gdoṅ* = Gesicht, *maṇi* = Kleinod. Es ist eine Göttin. — *šda(m)tsēni*: läßt sich auflösen in die tibetischen Wörter *rta* = Pferd, *mgrin* (gesprochen *din*) = Nacken, auch Stimme; also: der Pferdenackige, oder der Pferdestimmige. — *logöṅ*: tibetisch *klu* (gesprochen *lu*) = Drache, und *gdoṅ* = Gesicht. Wörtlich also: Drachengesicht (UNKRIG).

(Schluß folgt.)

[Continued on p. 202(a)]

[continued from p. 870]

Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor)

Von Dominik Schröder

(Schluß *)

Zweiter Teil: Analyse

Ein allseitiges Bild der Tujenreligion läßt sich erst im Rahmen einer größeren Kulturbetrachtung zeichnen, wobei auch die andern Urkunden aus dem reichen Sagen- und Liederschatz auszubeuten sind. Darüber hinaus verlangt ein Urteil über die kultur- und religionsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhänge einen Vergleich mit den benachbarten Chinesen, Tanguten, Mongolen und Yugur [1].

Zwar wurde darauf in den Anmerkungen des ersten Teiles weitgehend Rücksicht genommen, so daß jetzt schon feststeht, daß die Religion der Tujen und der lamaistischen Nachbarn sich in Vielen nicht voneinander unterscheiden. Aber eine weitere Auflösung und Zusammenfassung der Fragen

* Den ersten Teil dieser Arbeit siehe Anthropos 47. 1952. pp. 1-79, 620-658, 822-870. Zu dem Literaturverzeichnis ebd. pp. 2-4 findet sich ein Nachtrag am Ende dieses Artikels, siehe unten p. 259.

[1] Sehr aufschlußreich wäre auch ein Vergleich sowohl mit dem östlichen Nordchina (Tungusen) als auch mit dem Südwesten. Die Überlieferung der Tujen spricht von einer östlichen Herkunft; und die von ihnen im heutigen Amdo überlagerten Völkerschaften gehörten ursprünglich zu den Ch'iang, von denen große Teile nach Süden ins jetzige Kham, Sechuan und Yünnan abwanderten. Diese Auffassung wurde schon lange von den Chinesen vertreten; vgl. Jen Nai-ch'iang-Schröder: Die Fandse, p. 1 f. Sie wurde jetzt von Prof. Dr. J. F. Rock für die Na-khi bestätigt. Ein Vergleich mit deren Religion rechtfertigt sich umso mehr, da sie die vorbuddhistische Form viel unverfälschter bewahrt hat als die Religion des Stammlandes, das im Wirkungsbereich der gelben Kirche (Kumbum) liegt; s. unten pp. 254 ff. Überdies besitzen die Na-khi eine religiöse Literatur, in der das alte Brauchtum eindeutig festgelegt ist, und die J. F. Rock verarbeitet und veröffentlicht hat; vgl. zum Ganzen J. F. Rock: Na-khi Kingdom; ders.: Nâga Cult I, p. 2 f.; und Muan Bpö, p. 7. Leider konnten diese Arbeiten, die eine Fundgrube für die Kenntnis des vorbuddhistischen Glaubens im chinesisch-tibetischen Grenzgebiet sind, hier nicht mehr gebührend herangezogen werden.

[p. 202 (a)]

würde zu einer Reihe von Sonderabhandlungen anwachsen, welche diese Arbeit, die ja hauptsächlich eine Übersicht sein will, allzusehr überschritten.

Der vorliegende Stoff ist jedoch reichhaltig genug, um die Grundzüge des religiösen Gefüges zu kennzeichnen, das auch eine spätere genauere Ausführung kaum verändern wird. Diese Kennzeichnung sei in einem Quer- und Längsschnitt versucht. Der eine bietet ein Gesamtbild der religiösen Weltanschauung; der andere zeigt die sich mehr oder weniger durchdringenden Schichten der Religion.

I. Das religiöse Gesamtbild

1. Die Gottheiten

a) Die höheren Gottheiten

Unter den höheren Gottheiten sind jene Gestalten zu verstehen, die nicht zu den sogenannten *purġan* gehören, sondern von diesen getrennt mit eigenen Namen aufgeführt werden. Das sind der Himmel (*tieńgëre*), der Berggeist (*yifula*) und die Erdgottheit oder Erdgottheiten (*ġlu*; *itoġa*). Sie scheinen die älteren Gottheiten zu sein und werden später behandelt werden, wenn vom Hochgottglauben die Rede ist.

b) Die niederen Gottheiten

Die niederen Götter lassen sich alle unter dem Gattungsnamen *purġan* zusammenfassen. Das Wort *purġan* ist nichts anderes als das in der Literatur gebräuchliche *Burchan* (*Burkhan*, *Burkan*), welches bekanntlich weithin in Innerasien für „Gott" steht. Die Herkunft dieses Namens ist ungeklärt. Meistens nimmt man eine Verbindung mit „Buddha" an und leitet das Wort aus der Zusammensetzung *Bud(dha)-Khan* ab; s. W. Schmidt: UdG X, p. 573 mit Angabe der Quellen. Diese über die Tungusen handelnde Stelle hebt hervor, daß unter *Burkan* dort vorwiegend fremde Gottheiten verstanden werden, ein Umstand, der auch auf die Tujen ziemlich zutrifft. Eine andere Erklärung bringt das Wort mit dem buddhistischen Grabmonument zusammen (mündl. Mittlg. von W. A. Unkrig); *purġan* sei nämlich aus dem mongolischen *suburġan* entstanden. Das Wort *suburġan* leitet sich wiederum vom tibetischen *spur-k'aṅ*, Leichenhaus, Verbrennungsort, ab. Da im Mongolischen Konsonantenhäufungen vermieden werden, wurde zwischen dem *s* und dem *p* noch ein *u* zur leichteren Aussprache eingeschoben, wie es auch sonst bei andern Wortableitungen geschieht. So entstand aus *spur* durch Umwandlung des *p* (welches die Mongolen nicht kennen) in *b* das Wort *subur*. Das *ṅ* in *k'aṅ* verflüchtigt sich zu einem einfachen *n*.

Mit *suburġan* (*spur-k'aṅ*) bezeichnete man dasselbe wie mit dem tibetischen *mc'od-rten*, Tschorten oder Stupa, was wörtlich „Opfer-Behälter" bedeutet. Die Tschorten bergen jetzt meist die Asche von buddhistischen Heiligen oder deren Reliquien und tragen häufig auch deren Bilder auf der Stirnseite. So verbindet sich mit dem Ganzen der Sinn eines Idols. Die Tschorten oder Stupas oder Suburgane sind also Sitz eines Geistes oder eines Verstorbenen. Es ist eine Gottheit in ihnen gegenwärtig. Sie sind dasselbe,

was sich die Mongolen oder Tujen unter dem Ausdruck *purgan* vorstellen. Bestärkt wird diese Auffassung noch durch die Urnenform der Stupa. Der Unterteil heißt nämlich auf Tibetisch *bum-ba*, Urne, Topf. Wie bei der Erdgotturne und dem *benkan* schon dargetan, sind Urnen oft Sitz einer Gottheit. Diese Vorstellung findet sich auch sonst; und man möchte die Urne in Verbindung mit dem Götterthron bringen, worauf einzugehen hier nicht der Ort ist. Jedenfalls ist das Tujenwort *purgan* späten Ursprungs und buddhistischer Herkunft.

Unter die Gruppe dieser niederen Götter fällt die Gesamtheit der Bewohner des buddhistischen, bonistischen und taoistischen Pantheons, soweit es die Tujen übernommen haben. Eine Sonderstellung scheint der Feuergeist als Herdgott oder Gott des Schamanenfeuers einzunehmen, den SCHRAM in seinem Buche über die Heirat der Tujen so stark hervorhebt. Ich konnte jedoch keine besondere Verehrung des Schamanenfeuers mehr feststellen. Sieht man von dem Feueropfer ab, welches als ein Teil im Ritus des lamaistischen Feuergusses enthalten ist, so verbleibt dem Volke nur noch der Herdgott, der aber nicht häufiger verehrt wird als beispielsweise unter den Chinesen auch. Die Verwendung des Feuers zur Reinigung (Witwenheirat, Feuerspringen, Abräuchern, Glühstein usw.) scheint mit einem Gotte nichts zu tun zu haben. Sie läßt sich rein magisch erklären, weil die Dämonen das Feuer fürchten. Diese gelten ja immer als unrein, wie die allgemeine Redensart *pudag ilie*, schmutziger Dämon, beweist.

Von den andern Göttern verdienen eine besondere Erwähnung die Schamanen- und Wahrsagegötter, die den Geisterspeer, den Geistertisch, die Götterbilder beseelen oder zeitweilig in Besitz nehmen, z. B. der schwarze und weiße Tiger, die große Mutter, der Drache. Ferner spielen eine große Rolle der Freudengott (bei der Hochzeit), der wohl von den Chinesen herkommt, der Pferde- und Rinderkönig, die Weltenrichtungsgeister und die Götter des Wetterministeriums mit dem Schmiedegott der Bon, dem *Däntsien-Sang*, welcher auf dem Bockskopf sein Eisen hämmert, so daß es blitzt und donnert (vgl. Die Pfahlziege, Anthropos 47. 1952. pp. 823 ff.).

Die übrigen lamaistischen Götter haben nicht die Bedeutung im Volke, wie sie zu erwarten wäre. Man kennt noch den *Maitreya*, dessen Bild am sechsten Tag im sechsten Monat nach den Tempeltänzen im Hofe von Êrh-ku-lung ausgehängt und verehrt wird; ferner *Tsongkhapa*, den Gründer der gelben Kirche, chinesisch *pao-pei-fo-yeh*, Edelstein-Buddha, genannt, und den Wahrsagegott *Pekar*, welchen das Volk einfach *sgurdien* (Gurtum) nennt, und der oft in Lebensgröße mit voller Kriegsrüstung an Wallfahrtstagen im Tempel aufgestellt wird. Doch wird dieser lamaistische Orakelgott weniger vom Volke als von den eigentlichen Schamanen verehrt. — Von einer Identifizierung Buddhas mit dem Höchsten Wesen (Himmel) ist im Volke nichts zu merken. Es kennt nichts Höheres als den Himmel. Vgl. weiter unten (pp. 227 ff.).

c) Die Dämonen

Außer von den zahllosen Geistern, den *uluon purgan*, ist die Welt noch von zahllosen Dämonen bevölkert, den sogenannten *ilie*. Sie schaden den Menschen durch Krankheit, Unfall, Mißwachs und Unwetter. Besonders gefürchtet ist

der Pestgott *Barma*, chinesisch *wen-shen*, Epidemiegott, dem der schwarze Feuerguß gilt. Die Gewitterdämonen werden von den Geistern des Wetterministeriums bekämpft. Sie fürchten vor allem die glühenden Kugeln, die vom Amboß des *Dāntsien-Sang* auf die Erde herniederregnen und sie erschlagen.

Die lamaistischen Schreckensgötter, unter denen die Göttermutter *Lha-mo* dem Volke am bekanntesten ist, werden nicht als Dämonen betrachtet. Ihre Hauptaufgabe ist nicht, die Menschen zu peinigen, sondern die wahre lamaistische Lehre vor deren Feinden zu schützen.

2. Das Seelen- und Weltbild

a) Seelenvorstellung

Über die Seelenvorstellungen der Tujen waren eindeutige Angaben nicht sicherzustellen. Aus den geschilderten Totenbräuchen lassen sich zwar mehrere Seelen erschließen, aber die Benennung und Eigenart dieser Seelen bleibt verschwommen.

Für „Seele" kommen zwei Bezeichnungen in Frage: *namsü* (*namšē*) und *suniedzē*. Das Wort *namsü* wird selten gebraucht. Es entspricht, dem DMF (256) zufolge, dem tibetischen *ñams-su*. In Ch. Das läßt sich diese selbständige Verbindung nicht feststellen; wohl findet sich dort p. 476 *ñams* allein in der Bedeutung: „... the soul, mind, spirit as an entity". Das *su* könnte höchstens noch Instrumental-Partikel sein. Man wird wohl nicht fehlgehen, wenn man daher *namsü* nicht dem *ñams-su*, sondern dem tibetischen *rnam šes* gleichsetzt, gesprochen: *nam-še*. Ch. Das (762) übersetzt es mit: „... the mind, knowledge, intellect, memory". H. A. Jäschke aber hat dazu die Erklärung (315): „3. in popular language: soul, e. g. of the departed ...". Den gleichen Sinn hat das viel häufiger gebrauchte Wort *suniedzē*. Es ist das Äquivalent zum mongolischen *sünesün*. Sowohl *namsü* als *suniedzē* besagen nichts Einheitliches, denn es gibt drei Seelen: *nigē kundu ġuran namsü-i*, oder: *nigē kundu suniedzē ġuran-i*, d. h.: „Einem Menschen drei Seelen sind"; vgl. DMF 256. Und welcher Art sind diese Seelen? *torōñ yesē saġdzini, ġuordani sdziewa awura sdzini, ġurandani iliedu ʃurani* (vgl. DMF 361), d. h. „Die erste bewacht die Knochen, die zweite nimmt die Wiedergeburt an, die dritte verwandelt sich in einen Dämon". Mostaert verweist a. a. O. auf Sanžeev: Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten, Anthropos 22. 1927. p. 585. Aber die Vorstellung von der Dreiteilung ist noch viel weiter verbreitet, jedenfalls in dem lamaistisch beeinflußten Asien fast überall. Auch die Ch'inghai-Chinesen kennen drei Seelen: eine geht in die Unterwelt, eine bleibt bei der Leiche (Knochen), eine irrt in der Welt umher. Diesen drei Seelen ist gemeinsam, daß sie sich vom Körper trennen können.

Die Knochenseele weilt nach dem Tode bei den Gebeinen, und zwar wenigstens solange bis der Ritus des *bāda* vollzogen ist, wodurch sie zufriedengestellt und frei wird. Ihr Anwalt in diesem Ritus und die entscheidende Autorität ist der Mutterbruder des Verstorbenen. Darum heißt er auch sinngemäß im Volke *tsiġan yesē daxu*, d. h. „Weiß-Knochen-Herr"; chinesisch

ku-chu, d. h. „Knochen-Herr". Endgültig frei wird diese Seele bei der Leichenverbrennung, wobei ja die Knochen (besser: das Skelett) bis auf einen kleinen Rest vernichtet werden. Eigenart dieser Seele ist die Clan-Zugehörigkeit, wie sie schon durch den Namen des Mutterbruders und dessen Wichtigkeit zum Ausdruck kommt. Er ist der Vertreter der Muttersippe. Die Sippe aber bestimmen die Tujen, wie die Mongolen und andere Stämme, nach den Knochen. Die Frage nach der Familie heißt bei den Tujen ebenfalls: „Welches sind deine Knochen", *tsini yesĕ yan-i*? Knochen und Clan (Sippe) werden also gleichgesetzt. Somit kann man begründet behaupten, daß die Knochenseele vom Lebensprinzip des Clans getragen wird und sich im Clan fortpflanzt. Wie, das ist unklar. Als Clan-Herr ist der Mutterbruder auch Knochen-Herr. Er übt mehr Rechte über sein Schwesternkind aus als dessen leiblicher Vater und verlangt auch die letzte Rechenschaft. Was aber geschieht mit der so freigewordenen Seele? Vielleicht gibt eine ähnliche Sitte bei den Mandschurei-Tungusen, speziell bei den Birarčen und Kumarčen, darüber Aufschluß. Von deren Seelen-Wanderung in die Unterwelt berichtet S. M. SHIROKOGOROV: „The second river is the Yellow River, after crossing which the soul meets with *Mongoldai Nakču*, i. e. *Mongoldai* 'senior of the mother's clan', which examines the case before allowing the soul to cross the Black River beyond which *Inmun-kan* reigns" (Psychomental Complex p. 142; nach Hinweis in UdG X, p. 563). *Mongoldai*, der Herr des Mutter-Clans in der Unterwelt, tut hier das, was der Knochen-Herr des Toten in der Oberwelt tut: er verlangt Rechenschaft und untersucht die Angelegenheit der Totenseele. Auch das Ergebnis ist das gleiche: die Seele wird frei für ihre Wanderung und die Leiche frei für die Bestattung. Ich konnte diese unterweltliche Entsprechung des *bäda* bei den Tujen nicht feststellen, wenigstens lenkte nichts die Aufmerksamkeit in diese Richtung. Vielleicht fehlt die Verlängerung der Vorstellung bis in die Unterwelt bei ihnen deshalb, weil sie praktisch keinen Ahnenkult üben und darum auch keinen Ahnen-Geist wie den tungusischen *Mongoldai Nakču* kennen. Aber unbewußt können doch noch vergessene Vorstellungen weiterwirken. Jedenfalls fände so eine oft als Ehrsucht und Geiz ausgelegte Sitte eine passende Erklärung. Beim *bäda* gehen nämlich die Hauptansprüche des Mutterbruders auf die Unversehrtheit der Leiche (= kein gewaltsamer Tod) und eine kostbare Totenlade, sowie prunkvolle Totengebete. Wenn man im Anschluß an die Unterweltsitte der Tungusen annimmt, daß der Tote in ehrenvollem, schönem Zustand und zufrieden beim Clan-Herrn der Unterwelt ankommt, dann wird damit auch die Sorge des irdischen Clan-Herrn für seine Clan-Angehörigen dokumentiert, und der Clan ist auch im Jenseits gut angeschrieben. P. W. SCHMIDT suchte ähnliche Verhältnisse bei andern Völkern sinnvoll zu deuten, und zwar im Anschluß an die Doppelbestattung der mutterrechtlichen Agrarkultur. In dieser läßt man die Fleischteile der Vernichtung anheimfallen. Sie sind für den Weiterbestand des Menschen bedeutungslos. Wichtig aber sind die Knochen, die sorgfältig gereinigt und dann endgültig bestattet oder dem Kult zugeführt werden. Diesem Verfahren liegen mondmythologische Gedanken zugrunde: Der abnehmende Mond magert immer mehr ab, bis schließlich nur noch

ein „Knochen" übrigbleibt; dieser aber bekleidet sich langsam wieder mit „Fleisch" und wächst zum Vollmond heran: ein Spiegelbild vom Vergehen und Werden des Menschen. Nach dieser Anschauung ist also das Knochengerüst das „Wesentliche", das Tragende; s. UdG X, p. 742 f. Wenn diese Bedeutung der Knochen so harmonisch in die mondmythologisch-mutterrechtliche Ackerbaukultur hineingehört, dann erklärt sich auch bei den Tujen die auffallende Zuordnung: Knochen — Mutterclan — Mutterbruder. — Auf die soziologische Seite dieser Sitte sei hier nicht eingegangen.

Die zweite Seele geht zum westlichen Paradies (*Tushita*) und wartet auf eine neue Wiedergeburt. Als Strafe für ein lasterhaftes und schlechtes Leben gilt die Inkarnation in niederen Formen, ganz im Sinne des buddhistisch-lamaistischen Lebensrades. Doch haben diese Vorstellungen bei den Tujen nicht viel Kraft. So hört man z. B. wenig über eine buddhistische Hölle, die bei den benachbarten Chinesen eine viel wichtigere Rolle spielt und in vielen Tempeln recht anschaulich abgebildet wird. Wohl fassen die Tujen das Unglück auf dieser Welt gerne als Strafe für frühere Vergehen auf. Diese Seele, die man „Inkarnationsseele" oder „Privatseele" nennen könnte — im Gegensatz zur Clanseele — wird bei der Leichenverbrennung durch das verwandelnde Lotosfeuer für die Inkarnation frei. Der Gewährsmann deutete wenigstens das Lotos-Mandala und das Feuer bei der Verbrennung in diesem Sinne und schrieb ihnen eine verwandelnde Kraft zu. Das besagt nicht, daß diese Seele so lange im Körper weile wie etwa in einem beseelten Leichnam. Vielmehr sollen beim Tode des Menschen die Lamas durch Gebet „den Weg öffnen", damit die Seele zum *Tushita* gelangen könne. Inwieweit sich solche Erklärungen mit der buddhistisch-orthodoxen Lehre decken, sei dahingestellt. Jedenfalls sind die Auffassungen der Leute verschwommen.

Noch unklarer sind die Vorstellungen über die dritte Seele, die sich in einen Dämon verwandeln soll. Man weiß nichts über ihr Schicksal und über die Ursache einer solchen Verwandlung. Aber eine solche Seele ist gefürchtet. Vielleicht ist es diese Seele, die bei Unzufriedenheit nach dem *bäda* im Auftrage der Clanseele die Menschen beunruhigt, in Haus und Hof herumgeistert, Krankheit und Unglück verursacht. Jedenfalls geht ein großer Teil der Opfer und Gebete bei den Totenriten auf Rechnung der Furcht vor dieser Seele. Der stets ausgesprochene Wunsch an den Toten lautet: „Vergiß uns, sei zufrieden, komme nicht zurück". Eine naturnotwendige Unzufriedenheit und eine Art Verfehlung des Lebenszieles haftet der Seele unverheirateter, erwachsener Mädchen an. Sie wird ein Dämon, der so gefährlich ist, daß sogar andere Dämonen vor ihr fliehen, weshalb denn auch die Bonpriester das Material für ihre Knochenflöte, ihre Peitsche usw. von den Leichen solcher Mädchen nehmen. Die Unzufriedenheit und Nichterfüllung kann in diesem Falle nur durch das Unverheiratetsein begründet werden, das ja nach Tujen-Auffassung für ein weibliches Wesen gegen jede natürliche Bestimmung geht. Man darf vermuten, daß dieser Seelenglaube auch stark bei jener Sitte mitwirkt, welche die Tujen „Anlegen der Himmelsfrisur" nennen. Dadurch wird ein Mädchen dem Himmel angetraut und ist nicht mehr mit der Verachtung eheloser Frauen belastet (s. oben). Die Furcht vor den weiblichen Dämonenseelen

ist auch unter den Chinesen verbreitet, und es gibt nur einen Weg, vor ihnen sicher zu sein: die Verbrennung. Im Brauchtum der Ch'ing-hai-Chinesen hat diese Furcht und Verachtung ihren Grund in der buddhistischen Auffassung, daß die Frau ein unreines Wesen ist und diese Unreinheit erst durch den Mann und dessen Nachkommenschaft behoben wird. Verstärkt wird diese Einstellung durch den sehnlichen Wunsch nach Söhnen und Enkeln, was wieder mit dem Ahnenkult zusammenhängt. Diese buddhistischen Beweggründe sind sicher auch bei den Tujen mitbestimmend. Auch bei ihnen gilt die Frau als unrein, wenn auch nicht so schroff wie bei den Chinesen. Die Ahnenverehrung spielt kaum eine Rolle. Doch sind Unreinheit und Dämonie eng miteinander verbunden. Ein ganz gewöhnlicher Ausdruck lautet: *pudaǵ ilie*, unreiner Dämon; *pudaǵ* ist auch die Frau während ihrer Periode.

Die Dämonenseele scheint also in besonderer Beziehung zum weiblichen Prinzip zu stehen. Darum legt sich die Vermutung nahe, daß sie die Fleisch-(Leib-)Seele im Menschen darstellt, welche der Knochenseele gegenübersteht. In Nordost-Tibet und anderwärts trifft man nämlich auf die Anschauung, die Knochen eines Menschen stammten vom Manne und das Fleisch von der Frau. Bei den Tujen ist jedoch dieses Verhältnis deshalb schwer zu bestimmen, weil gerade die Knochenseele so eng auf den Mutter-Clan bezogen wird. Das schließt zwar eine individuelle Zuordnung zum Manne (Vater) nicht aus, läßt sie aber durch diesen zweifellos mutterrechtlichen Zug nicht in Erscheinung treten.

Aus allem ersieht man, daß die Tujen sich über das Fortleben der Seele und das Jenseits wenig Gedanken machen. Ihnen ist es genug, wenn sie auf der Erde in Frieden gelassen werden. Die buddhistischen Vorstellungen sind mehr theoretisch. In der Wirklichkeit trifft man nicht selten auf einen diesseitigen Fatalismus, der sich in dem Spruch äußert: „Unser Leben hat nicht viel Sinn" (wörtlich: umsonst haben wir gelebt). Wenn auch die Seelenvorstellung viel Ähnlichkeit mit der der Chinesen hat, so kennen die Tujen doch keinen Ahnenkult; und es ist auffallend, daß sie nicht geneigt sind, diesen von den Chinesen zu übernehmen. Die Totenopfer bei der Leichenfeier sind eher aus der oben gekennzeichneten Furcht zu verstehen und aus dem Gedanken, die Verstorbenen würden noch unter den Lebenden weilen und bedürften noch der Teilnahme an Speise und Trank. Auch fehlen bei den Tujen alle Grabbeigaben, die den Chinesen so wichtig sind.

Abgesehen vom Tode, kann auch die Seele schon zu Lebzeiten entweichen und davonwandern. Das geschieht im Traum und bei der Krankheit, ja sogar während des gewöhnlichen Schlafes. Wie man sich das vorzustellen hat, zeigt eine Stelle der Gesersage, in der es heißt, ein Unhold sei in Schlaf verfallen und seine Seelen seien in Gestalt einer schwarzen und einer weißen Schlange aus den Nasenlöchern davongekrochen, weshalb er nicht imstande war aufzuwachen. Das Zurückrufen der Seele bildet bei den Tujen-Schamanen eine oft gewünschte Tätigkeit. Dieses Seelenfangen nennt man: *suniedzē xura-*. Doch bei diesem Ausdruck ist unklar, um welche von den drei Seelen es sich handelt.

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor

b) Das Weltbild

Das Weltbild der Tujen fällt weitgehend mit dem lamaistischen zusammen, welches ja im wesentlichen dasselbe ist wie im Alten Orient, im vorbuddhistischen Indien und in Zentralasien. Es besagt für sie keine Besonderheit.

Im Mittelpunkt des Weltalls steht der Berg Sumeru (*rira*). Um ihn ordnet sich die Welt in drei Schichten. Oben kreisen Sonne, Mond und Gestirne. In der Mitte ist die Erdfläche mit den verschiedenen Ländern, Menschen und Tieren. Um das Fundament des Weltenberges liegen die Unterwelt und das Wasser. Diese Vorstellung kehrt ganz oder teilweise im religiösen Leben in bildlicher Gestalt wieder. Am eindeutigsten findet sie sich im Mandala-Opfer der Bon während der Errichtung der Pfahlziege (Berg-Torma). Mehr oder weniger klare Spielarten davon sind: die Mittelburg mit dem Manibaum, die Tschortenkammer mit der Himmelssäule, das Obo, die Bodenzeichnungen (*maṇḍala*) beim Feuerguß und bei der Leichenverbrennung. Himmelssäule und Weltenberg (Weltenbaum) sind vor allem bei der Mittelburg und der Tschortenkammer hervorgehoben. Bei diesen beiden fällt aber auch eine starke Betonung des Reiches der Unterwelt auf, welches in den Urnen dargestellt wird. Sie sind nichts anderes als das Reich der Nagas, die im Bontum eine so bedeutende Rolle spielen und auf die vorbuddhistischen Wurzeln der Weltvorstellung hinweisen. In der Anordnung der Urnen und der Rollen in den Urnen selbst spiegelt sich die Weltordnung nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen und ihrem Mittelpunkt wider. Die Schatzurnen stellen dabei den Reichtum der Erde dar. Sie gelten auch zugleich als ein Opfer an die Erdgottheiten, wogegen die Haupturne Wohnsitz der Gottheiten ist. Inwieweit auch magische Wirkungen dabei beabsichtigt sind, bleibt noch zu untersuchen. Man muß da auch das Eingraben von Gegenständen im allgemeinen berücksichtigen, wie z. B. beim Obo, der Wetterburg, dem Abwehrzauber von Krankheiten, der Errichtung eines Gehöftes usw.

Weniger mit dem Weltenberg zusammenzuhängen scheint das Luftpferd am Manibaum (Maniflagge). Es wird ja häufig getrennt aufgestellt. Die Verbindung mit dem Manibaum verdankt es wohl dem Umstand, daß es zugleich die vier Himmelsgegenden darstellt [2]. Doch läßt sich ein innerer Sinn dabei nicht verkennen. Das Luftpferd ist das Sinnbild und der Garant des Schicksals der Familie, der Sippe. Das menschliche Schicksal aber ist in den Lauf der Welt eingeordnet, so wie das Sippengehöft seinen Platz im Weltenbau einnimmt. Nach Tujenauffassung ist ein Gehöft nicht „vollständig", wenn Mittelburg und Manibaum fehlen. Durch sie wird dem Lebensraum der Sippe die Übereinstimmung mit dem Lebensraum der anderen Lebewesen gegeben.

Die Welt ist aber kein starres Schema; das beweist die Bedeutung des Glückspfeiles. Auch der Glückspfeil stellt auf seine Art die Welt dar: die

[2] Die fünf Stoffzungen an der Maniflagge (vgl. Anthropos 47. 1952. p. 56, Fig. 7) sind offenbar eine Verkümmerung und Verbindung von ehemalig verschiedenfarbigen Luftpferdflaggen; vier davon gelten als die Träger der Luftpferde- oder Wind-Gebieter und sind den vier Weltengegenden zugeordnet. Dieser Schluß ergibt sich aus einem tibetischen Text, dessen französisches Résumé ich Prof. Dr. R. Stein (Paris) verdanke.

Urne versinnbildlicht die Erde mit ihren Früchten, der Pfeil die verbindende Säule zum Himmel. Oft sind dem Mittelpfeil noch vier andere Pfeile entsprechend den vier Weltengegenden hinzugegeben. Neu und bei den andern Welt-Darstellungen (Mittelburg, Mandala usw.) nicht erkennbar ist die Lebenskraft im Glückspfeil. In ihn sind die Keime der Dinge gebannt, die Kraft der Vermehrung und des Lebens. Er gewährt Reichtum, Glück und Lebensfülle. Die Haarbüschel von den Tieren und das Getreide in der Urne bedeuten, daß diese Dinge dem Eigentümer nicht verlorengehen, auch wenn er sie veräußert hat. Die Orakelspielzeuge der Kinder am Pfeil garantieren die Entwicklung des jungen Menschen in der entsprechenden Richtung; die Haare und Kleiderfäden der Braut verbürgen, daß mit dem Verlust der Tochter doch nicht ihr Glück entweicht. Am Glückspfeil kommt die Dynamik der Welt zum Ausdruck, am Mandala (Mittelburg usw.) mehr die feste Ordnung. Weltkraft, Lebenssaft, Keimgrund sind aber hier nicht als *Mana* aufzufassen, sondern aus ihrer Verbindung mit dem übergeordneten Himmel herzuleiten. Die astrale, himmlische Ordnung ist nicht nur das Vorbild ihres irdischen Spiegelbildes; sie teilt auch der Welt ihre Kraft mit, welche beide durchwaltet. Schon die Hinweise im Kapitel über den Glückspfeil bieten manche Anhaltspunkte dafür. Aber diese Vorstellungen lassen sich noch viel weiter verfolgen. Ihre Fäden sind ziemlich verwirrt; sie reichen zurück bis in sehr frühe Kulturformen und sind verknüpft mit der ältesten Art des Verkehres zwischen Himmel und Erde. Alte Opferformen und das Gegenwärtigsetzen von Gottheiten hängen damit zusammen [3].

[3] Der Glückspfeil nimmt also die Stelle des Lebensbaumes ein, dem Menschen, Tiere und Pflanzen ihr Dasein und ihre Entfaltung verdanken; vgl. UNO HOLMBERG: Der Baum des Lebens, p. 69 f. Bei den Na-khi ist dieser Lebensbaum der Wacholder (Juniperus). Ihm wird Wohlstand, Reichtum und Lebensentfaltung der Menschen zugeschrieben; vgl. J. F. ROCK: Muan Bpö, pp. 21, 42, 94. Als Holz des Lebens vertritt der Glückspfeil im Hause auch die Weltachse, ähnlich wie die Mittelsäule in Tempeln, Tschorten, Götterfiguren (menschliche Wirbelsäule), die mit dem tibetischen Namen *srog ŝiṅ* bezeichnet wird, d. h. Lebens-Holz. H. A. JÄSCHKE (Dictionary, p. 585) übersetzt den Ausdruck mit „axle, axletree". Nachträglich sei erwähnt, daß dieses *srog ŝiṅ* wahrscheinlich auch das Äquivalent ist für den Tujennamen der Himmelssäule (*sòṅ-ŝiṅ*) in der Tschortenkammer; vgl. Anthropos 47. 1952. pp. 76, 78, 79. (Pers. Hinweis von Prof. Dr. R. STEIN).

Die Auffassung des Glückspfeils als einer Personifikation des Lebensgottes ist bei den Tujen nicht mehr lebendig. Daß er diese Bedeutung haben kann, beweisen die Na-khi in Südwestchina. Statt der Schatzurne mit dem Glückspfeil der Tujen haben sie einen Korb. Darin befindet sich unter anderem ein Miniaturturm; dieser stellt den Lebensgott dar, *Ssu* genannt, tibetisch *srog lha*. Der Korb ist sein Heim. Der Miniaturturm (*t'a*, „pagoda") kann auch durch einen Pfeil ersetzt werden, so daß dieser den Lebensgott darstellt; vgl. J. F. ROCK: Naga Cult, pp. 146, 250, 251 (nach persönlicher Mitteilung). Die Bedeutung des Lebensgottes und seines Heimes deckt sich mit der Bedeutung des Glückspfeiles und der Schatzurne. — Auf den Pfeil als Träger der Zeugungskraft und der kosmischen Lebenskraft hat auch S. HUMMEL hingewiesen; vgl. Geheimnisse tibetischer Malereien, pp. 8-14 passim.

Es handelt sich hier um ganz alte und weitverbreitete Darstellungen. Die Verbindung von Lebensgott und Ahne und dessen Sitz in einer Urne oder Korb usw. ist bis nach Hinterindien hinein zu verfolgen; und in Alt-China sind wahrscheinlich in den Graburnen und Shangbronzen Vorläufer der Pagode als Sitz des Lebensgottes

Die Herkunft der Welt wird leider nur von spärlichen Dokumenten belegt. Nach der Gesersage und der Spruchweisheit des Volkes ist die Erde durch Quirlen im Wasser entstanden wie Butter (Rahm) in der Milch. Sie schwimmt obenauf und wird von einem Holzpfahl gehalten, der eines Tages zu wachsen und zu grünen beginnt. Dann wird die Erde umkippen und den Weltuntergang herbeiführen. Der physische Himmel schwebt über der Erde an einem goldenen Pflock (Nagel); vgl. dazu DMF p. 115 und p. 445. Hier kommen Vorstellungen zur Geltung, die auf den ersten Blick den oben geschilderten widersprechen, die sich jedoch mittelbar damit verbinden lassen. Es sind letztlich ausgeprägte Varianten aus der indischen Kosmologie (Quirlen mit der Weltsäule; Schildkröte als Erdträger) und hängen mit mongolischen Eigenarten zusammen (Himmelsglocke am goldenen Nagel); vgl. dazu W. LÜDTKE: Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans. Über den Polarstern als Feldzeichen siehe weiter unten p. 250. Der Erde mit dem Holzpflock (*modē ġadasē*) steht der Himmel mit dem Goldpflock (*xaldan ġadasē*) gegenüber. *xaldan ġadasē* heißt aber bei den Tujen der Polarstern: *xaldan* wegen seiner leuchtenden Farbe, *ġadasē* wegen seiner Ähnlichkeit mit einem Nagelkopf. Eigentlich bedeutet *ġadasē* soviel wie Pfahl, Pflock, Nagel, Zapfen. Der Polarstern wird ja sonst auch als Himmelsachse aufgefaßt. Somit entsprechen sich grünender Weltenbaum (Erde-Holz) und Himmelsachse (Gestirne-Gold). Auch hier legt sich der Vergleich von zwei Weltteilen nahe, die übereinstimmen sollen: oben der Himmel, unten die Erde. Die Vorstellung der sich neigenden und schließlich kippenden Erde mag auf die Beobachtung zurückgehen, daß der Polarstern, die Himmelsachse, nicht im Zenith, sondern im Norden steht. Die Zugehörigkeit von Weltenbaum und Gestirnen wird durch die vielen Rätsellieder der Tujen dichterisch veranschaulicht, wenn sie vom Baume singen, der Sonne, Mond und Sterne in seinem Gipfel trägt; vgl. z. B. SCHRÖDER: Hochzeitslieder a. a. O., Lied I und II. Weitere Zusammenhänge mögen hier übergangen werden. Nur auf die große Ähnlichkeit dieser Lieder mit den Hochzeitsliedern West-Tibets sei hingewiesen; s. FRANCKE: Tibetische Hochzeitslieder.

Man sollte nun bei dieser harmonischen Weltauffassung und ihrer engen Verbindung mit dem Menschen auch eine Projektion des Makrokosmos in den Mikrokosmos erwarten. Im Lamaismus sind diese Entsprechungen ja bis ins Kleinste durchgeführt und finden ihr Sinnbild in dem bekannten Silbenmonogramm, dem *rnam bču dbaṅ ldan*; vgl. dazu FILCHNER (UNKRIG): Kumbum p. 160 ff. Doch diese Kleinst-Entsprechungen der lamaistischen Mönche sind dem Volk zu künstlich. Es weiß nichts davon. Ihm genügt die Geborgenheit im großen Kosmos, in den es buchstäblich hinbaut. Dieses Weltgefühl läßt sich nicht auf geklügelte Spekulationen ein.

oder Ahnen zu sehen, deren moderne Abwandlung die Ahnentablette ist und in gewissem Sinn auch der Herdgott *tsao-chün*, welcher auch *ssu-ming* (Verwalter des Lebens) genannt wird. Das als kurzer Hinweis.

Auf die Ideologie, die dem Ganzen zugrundeliegt (Lebensgott, Kriegsgott, Reichtumsgott, Pekar, Lebensbaum, Glückspfeil, Speer, Ahnentablette usw.) wird eine besondere Arbeit über den Gurtum-Schamanen eingehen; vgl. auch unten pp. 237-253.

3. Der religiöse Kult

a) Die seelische Grundhaltung

Die innere Haltung des Volkes gegenüber den guten Geistern ist das Bewußtsein der Abhängigkeit von ihnen. Von ihnen wird das Wohlergehen auf dieser Welt bestimmt, welches ja im Mittelpunkt des Denkens steht; denn über das Jenseits macht man sich nicht viele Gedanken. Darum ist auch das erste, was ein Mensch tut, wenn ihn ein Unglück oder eine ungewöhnliche Lage überrascht, die Hinwendung zu einem Geist, einem mächtigeren Wesen, welches hier helfen kann. Wie sehr diese Einstellung den Mann aus dem Volke beherrscht, geht aus dem oben erwähnten Grundgedanken des Gewährsmannes hervor, welcher die Einteilung für das ganze Brauchtum bot: „... jetzt werde ich dir zuerst erzählen, was wir für das Glück der Familie tun usw."; vgl. Einleitung, Anthropos 47. 1952. p. 15. Damit wird alles dem religiösen Nützlichkeitsgedanken untergeordnet. Um sich nun zum Zwecke des irdischen Wohlergehens die Geisterwelt gewogen zu machen, bringen die Tujen ihr Opfer und Gebet dar. Den schädlichen Dämonen sind sie jedoch nicht so unterwürfig, sondern sie stehen ihnen mehr feindlich gegenüber und suchen sie mit Hilfe der guten Geister oder durch Zauber zu zwingen.

b) Das Opfer

Die Opferarten

Je nachdem, was geopfert wird, unterscheiden die Tujen folgende Arten: das Weihrauchopfer, Speise- und Trankopfer, Tötungsopfer, Tierweihe. — Abgesehen vom Weihrauchopfer und der Tierweihe haben sie einen gemeinsamen Namen für das Opfer, nämlich *šeňlie*, welches dem chinesischen *hsien* entspricht. So sagen sie z. B. *šdimie šeňlie-*, Brot opfern; *tsidzig šeňlie-*, Blumen opfern; *xonini šeňlie-*, ein Schaf opfern (vgl. DMF 376). Dieser Ausdruck *šeňlie-* kann für nichts anderes gebraucht werden.

Das Weihrauchopfer, das ursprünglich ein Duftopfer war, ist jetzt durch allerlei Zutaten wie Butter, Tsamba, Blumen, Gewürz, Seidenfäden stark erweitert. Aber auch hier wird die Regel aufrechterhalten, nichts zu spenden, was unangenehm riecht. Das Auflegen von Butter und Tsamba, welche die Hauptnahrungsmittel der dortigen Nomaden sind, läßt auf einen alten Hirtenbrauch schließen. Über das ursprüngliche Weihrauchopfer vgl. weiter unten das Kapitel: Der Hochgott-Glaube.

Die Speiseopfer umfassen vorwiegend Brot, Wein, Butter, Tsamba. Man stellt sie vor den Geist hin, z. B. vor den Hausaltar, das Obo, den Manibaum, das Götterbild usw. Wenn man sie fortnimmt und verzehrt, wirft man der betreffenden Gottheit etwas davon zu. Flüssigkeit wird auf den Boden gegossen oder in die Luft gespritzt. Dahin gehört auch die Sitte, vor jeder Mahlzeit den Geistern etwas zuzuwerfen.

Das Tötungsopfer bildet mit der Tierweihe zusammen die Gruppe der Tieropfer, von denen das eine blutig, das andere unblutig ist. Das blutige

3: Schröder AE9. Monguor

Tieropfer vollzieht sich in drei Stufen, welche vom Volk klar unterschieden werden: Schlachtung, Darbringen, Opfermahl. Das klassische Beispiel ist oben im Berg-Schafopfer beschrieben. Das eigentliche Darbringen, meist in der Form des Opferwurfes, wird mit dem Worte „Opfer" bezeichnet. Oft ist zwischen Schlachten und Darbringen und dem Mahl ein ganzer Tag Spielraum.

Dem Schlachten geht das Waschen, das Milchorakel, sowie Freilassen und Wiederfangen des Tieres voraus. Es nimmt sich fast aus wie eine verkürzte Tierweihe, bei welcher ja das Tier ebenfalls freigelassen wird.

Das Darbringen kann auf zweifache Art geschehen. Entweder wird das ganze abgehäutete Tier vor der Gottheit aufgestellt, oder man zerlegt es sofort, kocht es und wirft dann die Fleischstücke mit der Brühe der Gottheit zu. Es kommt auch vor, daß man die gargekochten Stücke auf Tellern vor den Altar stellt, ähnlich wie Brote oder Wein. Ein Rest zentralasiatischer Form ist wohl das Aufstellen der Pfahlziege, analog dem Aufhängen des Felles der Opfertiere bei den sibirischen Völkern. Doch wird bei den Tujen keinerlei Rücksicht auf das Skelett genommen, da ja das Tier zerlegt und mit den Knochen gekocht wird.

Das Opfermahl wird vom ganzen Volke, von Männern, Frauen und Kindern eingenommen. Es ist mir nicht bekannt, daß es Opfertiere gibt, die nur bestimmten Gruppen vorbehalten wären. Wohl werden gewisse Teile als besonders schmackhaft bestimmten Personen vorbehalten, so die Lenden, der Kopf usw. Das Opfermahl wird auch nicht als profaner Akt angesehen. Man faßt es als zum Opfer gehörig auf und hat dafür den eindeutigen Ausdruck: „Das ist ein Teil von unserm Opfer."

Eine Eigenart bei diesen Opfern ist noch hervorzuheben: die Blutscheu. Man vergießt nicht das Blut, sondern fängt es beim Schächten auf und füllt es in die Därme. Das Blut gehört zum Tier und wird mitgeopfert und mitgegessen. Blutspuren auf dem Boden werden sofort mit Erde beworfen und verwischt.

Ähnlich wie das Schafopfer vollzieht sich auch das Schweineopfer, so wenig angemessen die Art und Weise auch diesem Tiere ist. — Das Hühneropfer geschieht ohne viel Zeremonie. Man hackt oder dreht dem Tiere den Kopf ab, schwenkt das Huhn im Kreise, so daß das Blut umherspritzt, und läßt es dann fliegen. Ich weiß allerdings nicht, ob man das Huhn später genießt. In einigen beobachteten Fällen geschah es bestimmt nicht.

Die Tierweihe ist als Opfer schon dadurch eindeutig, daß das Tier vom Menschen einem Gotte als freies Geschenk überlassen wird und normalerweise nicht mehr gebraucht werden darf.

Von einer Menschenweihe, die MOSTAERT (DMF p. 371 unter *šdien*) erwähnt, konnte ich nichts feststellen, es müßte denn sein, daß man die Schamanenweihe darunter versteht oder die Anempfehlung eines Kindes an einen Schutzgeist, dessen Namen es später trägt. Als ein Opfer an den Himmel könnte allenfalls das Gelübde der Jungfrauschaft gelten, zum Zeichen dessen sich ein Mädchen die Haare frei herabhängen läßt; vgl. DMF p. 103, wie man auch das Gegenteil dahin zählen kann, nämlich die Vermählung eines Mädchens mit dem Himmel, deren Zeichen die „Himmelsfrisur" ist; vgl. SCHRAM, Mariage p. 127 ff.

Empfänger des Opfers

Inwieweit der Himmel an allen Opfern teilhat, und welches die ihm vorbehaltenen Opfer sind, wird unten noch erörtert. Als Opfer für die höheren Gottheiten ist das Schwein (außer für die Erde) unzulässig, ebenfalls das Huhn. Sie sind die Opfertiere für niedere Götter und Dämonen.

Ob es ein eigentliches Opfer an die Dämonen gibt, ist fraglich. Bei den Zeremonien um die bösen Geister, z. B. dem Dämonengeleit, der Figurensänfte, den verschiedenen Tormas usw., betrachtet man die mit *rdzẽ* bezeichneten Beigaben als Dinge, die der Dämon nötig hat oder liebt; so das Reittier, die Kleider, das Geld, die Wolle usw. Ferner ist mit diesen Gaben neben dem Willen der Beschwichtigung und des Abfindens noch eine gewisse Geringschätzung des Dämons verbunden, indem man ihm rohes Fleisch, Lauch, Bohnen, unsaubere Gedärme darbietet wie einem wilden, tierischen Wesen. Damit will man ihn zufriedenstellen, auf daß er weiche und nicht wiederkomme. Es fehlt jede Gesinnung der Ehrfurcht und Unterwürfigkeit, wie sie einem höheren Geiste gegenüber kennzeichnend ist und sich sonst im Opfer bekundet. Hier spielt ein ähnlicher Gedanke der Furcht mit, die man auch vor den Seelen der Toten hegt, von denen man erwartet, daß sie den Menschen nicht behelligen und selber zufrieden sind.

Die Vollzieher des Opfers

Alle diese Opfer lassen sich in erster Linie dem Volke als Hauptträger zueignen. Es ist die wichtigste religiöse Betätigung der gewöhnlichen Leute. Sie setzt nur wenig voraus, nämlich eine Gabe und eine Gesinnung. Es bedarf keiner eigenen Schulung, keines umständlichen Rituals und keines Gebetelernens. Die Opferer sind das Familienoberhaupt, der Saatherr oder die Dorfältesten. Gerade diese Laien sind es, die selbst bei den rein lamaistischen Zeremonien oder denen der Bon und Schamanen die eigentliche Opferhandlung vollziehen, z. B. beim Herbstdankfest, bei Errichtung der Pfahlziege oder der Mittelburg. Auch die Tormas, die ja zum Teil als Opfer angesehen werden können, werden meist von den Männern aus dem Volke vor die Götter hingestellt oder nach draußen fortgebracht.

c) Das Gebet

Das spontane und frei formulierte Gebet ist bei den Tujen eine natürliche Selbstverständlichkeit. Sie sind sich auch dieser Gebetsweise bewußt, wenn sie behaupten: „Wir Bauern haben unsere alten Gebete vergessen, jeder betet mit eigenen Worten." (Vgl. SCHRÖDER: Herbst-Dankopfer, Anthropos 37-40. 1942/45. p. 872.)

Außer diesen freien Äußerungen kennen sie auch noch einfache, kurze Gebetsformeln an den Himmel und die Götter; so wenn sie sagen: „Oh ihr Geister, seid doch nicht wie die Menschen!", oder wenn sie an der Gebetsschnur ununterbrochen ihr *„Om mani padme hum"* hersagen, oder wenn sie sich an den Himmel wenden mit dem alten Ausspruch: „Der Himmel weiß." —

Diese beiden Arten von Gebet fassen sie unter dem Ausdruck *yandzila-*, flehen, bitten, zusammen und verbinden es meist mit dem Opfer, um ihre Gesinnung auszudrücken. Das selbständige, reine Gebet ist ziemlich selten.

Das Volk fühlt sich aber mit dieser Art Gebet noch nicht zufrieden, sondern nimmt seine Zuflucht gerne zum rituellen, kultischen Gebet, wofür es die eigenen Stände der Priester gibt: die Bon und die Lamas und die taoistischen Mönche. Das soll nicht heißen, daß diese ausschließlich des Betens wegen eingeladen werden. Aber wie stark die Leute das Beten mit diesen Ständen verbinden, geht aus der gemeinsamen Benennung hervor, die sowohl bei Tujen als auch bei den Chinesen zur Unterscheidung von den Laien gebraucht wird: *nien-ching-ti jen*, d. h. betender Mensch. Dieses amtliche Beten heißt *luom mošē*, Gebete hersagen; genau wie im Chinesischen *nien-ching*. Das ist in den Augen der Leute das klassische, richtige Gebet; etwas fest Formuliertes, nach bestimmten Riten Hergesagtes, durch die heiligen Texte Festgelegtes, so wie die Sutra (*luom*) und die chinesischen *ching*.

So kann man denn sagen, daß das Opfer in erster Linie den Laien zufällt, das Beten aber eigenen Ständen.

4. Die Magie

Über eine eigentliche Volksmagie waren mir fast keine Feststellungen möglich. Es gibt eine ganze Menge von Zauberhandlungen und Verwendung von Amuletten. Im allgemeinen aber holt das Volk dafür Schamanen, taoistische Priester, Bon und Wahrsager. Da die Magie als Hauptziel die Abwehr von bösen Geistern hat, so fällt diese Aufgabe vor allem den Schamanen zu, die ja schon ohnehin mit Hilfe ihrer Schutzgeister die Dämonen bekämpfen. So werden auf diesem Wege Magie und Schamanismus eng verknüpft.

5. Der Misch-Charakter der Tujen-Religion

Aus dem Brauchtum der Tujen geht klar hervor, daß wir es nicht mit einer einfachen Glaubensform zu tun haben, sondern mit einem vielschichtigen Gebilde, welches sich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte entwickelt hat. Es ist ähnlich wie mit der Religion der Mongolen überhaupt, die PALLISEN in seiner Dissertation als Synkretismus bezeichnen möchte. Noch mehr trifft das bei den Kansumongolen, den Tujen, zu. Dieser Synkretismus ist aus zweierlei Gründen verständlich, einem psychologischen und einem geschichtlichen.

Psychologisch gesehen neigt der Ostasiate, auch der Mongole, zum Verhandeln, zum Ausgleich und zur verständnisvollen Duldung. Der Gewährsmann hat das trefflich formuliert: „Alle Religionen sind gut. Das Ziel ist gleich, nur die Wege sind verschieden" (vgl. Einleitung, Anthropos 47. 1952. p. 12). Man will sich nicht ausschließlich auf einen einzigen Weg festlegen, sondern von einem sachlichen Nützlichkeitsstandpunkt her alles auswerten, was einem zum Glück und Wohlstand förderlich ist. Man versucht es mit allen Göttern und ist gern bereit, jeden brauchbaren Geist in seinen Himmel aufzunehmen. Auch das Christentum in China wäre dieser

Neigung schon längst zum Opfer gefallen, wenn es nicht so entschieden auf eine glaubensmäßige und rituelle Trennung bedacht wäre. Man könnte es sonst bald mit seinen Heiligengestalten, Lehren und Riten etwa im Lamaismus wiederentdecken, wie denn auch tatsächlich ein solcher Einfluß aus der frühchristlichen Zeit angenommen wird.

Die Geschichte und Verbreitung der Tujen hat diese seelische Bereitschaft sehr begünstigt und sie mit den verschiedenen Religionen in enge Berührung gebracht. Wer die ursprünglichen Tujen auch sein mögen, so sind sich doch alle Berichterstatter darin einig, daß sie eine bewegte Wandergeschichte hinter sich haben, und daß ihr Grundstock mongolisch ist. Abgesehen von ihren Wanderungen standen sie vielleicht schon mehrere hundert Jahre in ihrem jetzigen Wohnsitz mit den verschiedensten Völkerschaften in lebhaftem Verkehr, wenn sie auch ihre sprachlichen und rassischen Eigenheiten bewahrt haben, so mit den Tanguten, den früheren Herren von Amdo, mit den Mongolen der verschiedenen Einbruchswellen und schließlich mit den nachdringenden Chinesen. Wahrscheinlich wurde ihr ursprünglicher Glaube in vorlamaistischer Zeit weitgehend von der Bonlehre der Tanguten bestimmt, bis dann die gelbe Kirche vom benachbarten Kumbum her ganz Amdo unter ihren Einfluß brachte. Zuletzt ist das Chinesentum, welches mit dem Ackerbau auch entsprechende religiöse Sitten mit sich führte, über sie gekommen, wenn es sich auch in der Religion noch wenig durchgesetzt hat.

Diese eigenartige, durch Geschichte und Umwelt bedingte Stellung macht die Religion der Tujen zu einem bedeutungsvollen Gegenstand der Religionsgeschichte von Amdo und des chinesischen Grenzgebietes überhaupt, so daß es sich eigentlich nicht mehr um die Religion der Tujen allein handelt. Die Tujen-Mönche scheinen sich dieser vorteilhaften Lage bewußt gewesen zu sein und haben selber tätig in die Erforschung der Glaubensformen des Grenzlandes eingegriffen, besonders in die des Lamaismus. Dadurch gewannen sie einen gewissen wissenschaftlichen und religionspolitischen Einfluß. Ein Beispiel dafür bringt CYBIKOV in seiner Einführung zum „*Lam rim c'en po*" (pp. XVI-XVII, übersetzt von W. A. UNKRIG), wo er auf den Ch'ang-chia Hutuktu zu sprechen kommt, der ja aus der Tujen-Lamaserie Êrh-ku-lung stammt: „Aber wie dem auch sei. Die Heimat der Ch'ang-ch'a Hutuktu's nimmt zwischen China, der Mongolei, den Osttibetern, den Tanguten, und früher auch den Uiguren eine solche Lage ein, daß sie besonders als Arena einer Berührung dieser Völkerschaften und der Bildung eines Stammes dienen mußte, der in sich die Züge aller dieser vier Völkerschaften verkörpert. Wenn man ohne geschichtliche Erwägungen ausschließlich die heutige Lage ins Auge faßt, so hat sie nach unserer Ansicht viel dazu beigetragen, daß diese Lamas gewaltigen Einfluß auf die tibetischen und mongolischen Angelegenheiten und auf die Beziehung dieser Völkerschaften zu der Manchu-Dynastie gewinnen mußten." Ich fand das bestätigt, als ich die dortige Lamaserie besuchte. Lassen wir auch die Bemerkung CYBIKOVS über die ethnische Bildung der Tujen außer acht, so muß man doch zugeben, daß dieses Volk viele religiöse Züge von den Nachbarn übernommen hat. Es ist darum auch kein Zufall, daß es gerade ein Tulku (Tuguän Hutuktu) aus dem Tujen-Kloster war,

der im 18. Jahrhundert das einzige bisher bekannte tibetische Buch über sämtliche tibetischen Sekten, einschließlich der Bon, verfaßte. Er hatte ja die verschiedensten Formen stets unmittelbar vor Augen, ähnlich wie auch heute noch das religiöse Brauchtum der Tujen einen lebendigen Musterkatalog in dieser Beziehung darstellt.

Was nun die Elemente angeht, aus denen sich dieses Brauchtum zusammensetzt, so fallen sie fast restlos auf vier Gruppen, von denen jede eine besondere Schicht bildet. Diese vier Schichten sind : der Hochgottglaube, der Schamanismus, die Bonreligion und der Lamaismus. Die Schichten lassen sich aber nicht ohne weiteres aus dem ganzen Gefüge herausnehmen, von allem Nebenwerk befreien und mit einer größeren durchgehenden Lage der zentralasiatischen Religionen verbinden. Das ist nur in größerem Zusammenhange möglich und würde den Umfang dieser Arbeit weit überschreiten, denn die in Frage stehenden Teile sind von beträchtlicher Zeittiefe und umfassen viele Völker. Zudem haben sich diese Schichten gegenseitig durchdrungen, indem die jeweils spätere die Elemente der vorhergehenden aufsog. So hat der Lamaismus trotz seiner ursprünglichen Feindschaft gegen die Bonreligion doch vieles von ihr angenommen. Der Bonglaube hingegen besitzt wiederum eine stark schamanistische Grundlage, und durch alle Stufen hindurch geht ein alter Himmelskult weiter.

Die beiden Hochreligionen der Bon und des Lamaismus in ihrem Zusammenhang mit dem Glauben der Tujen zu erörtern, führt ins Uferlose. Der Schamanismus läßt sich schon eher abgrenzen, kann aber auch nicht erschöpfend dargestellt werden. So bleibt also noch der alte Himmelskult als Hochgottglaube übrig. Dieser wird im folgenden einigermaßen vollständig behandelt, wogegen beim Schamanismus sich die Darlegung auf eine theoretische Skizze beschränken muß. Eine eigene Arbeit wird sich ausführlich mit ihm für das ganze westchinesische Grenzgebiet befassen. Die Bonreligion und der Lamaismus werden nur kurz gestreift.

II. Die Schichten der Tujen-Religion

1. Der Hochgottglaube

In diesem Abschnitt ist es notwendig, neben dem Brauchtum auch noch die anderen Quellen und die kärgliche Literatur heranzuziehen. Abgesehen von dem DMF und „Mariage" (von SCHRAM), die für die Religion eine spärliche Ausbeute bieten, sind die andern Quellen noch unveröffentlicht. Sie liegen jedoch im Originaltext vor. Es sind dies die Gesersage, die Ackerbausage, der Moschushirsch (der erste Teil des unter dem Namen *xoni*, Schaf, bekannten Liederzyklus) und eine Reihe sonstiger Lieder und Märchen, von denen die Hochzeitslieder im Erscheinen begriffen sind (Folklore Studies [Tokyo] 1952).

Der Hochgottglaube der Tujen muß schon früh dem Volke selber bewußt gewesen sein. Schon TAFEL bemerkt in seinem ziemlich zuverlässigen Kapitel : „Die Turen von Wei-yüanpu sind ein ganz eigenartiges Völkchen. Viele sagen, sie hätten nur einen einzigen Gott, an den sie glaubten. Aber sie sind, wie die

Chinesen, auch Buddhisten" (Tibetreise I, p. 246). Der Verfasser teilt leider nicht mit, wer diese „viele" sind. Wahrscheinlich sind es die Tujen selber. TAFEL hat insofern recht, als ein eigentlicher Monotheismus den Tujen unbekannt ist. Andererseits teilen sie mit den Chinesen doch nicht den gleichen Buddhismus. Die Tujen sind Lamaisten, die Chinesen hingegen nie oder nur ausnahmsweise. Aus dem vorliegenden Brauchtum geht nun einwandfrei hervor, daß der sogenannte Eingott der Tujen ein Hochgott ist, der unter der Gestalt des Himmels verehrt wird. Man muß also vom „Himmel" ausgehen.

a) Der Name „Himmel"

rēġuo

Für „Himmel" kennen die Tujen zwei Ausdrücke, nämlich *rēġuo* und *tieńgēre*. Das Wort *rēġuo* wird wenig gebraucht, und dann nur im Sinne von physischem Himmel, Firmament. Es deckt sich vollkommen mit seinem mongolischen Äquivalent *oktarġui*, welches dem tibetischen *mk'a* oder *nam mk'a* oder *gnam* gleichzusetzen ist und soviel heißt wie : Himmel, leerer Raum über der Luft, Firmament, Himmelsgewölbe, Äther, Atmosphäre, Luft. Vgl. KOVALEVSKI p. 430. Auch unter den folgenden mit *oktarġui* zusammengesetzten Redewendungen findet sich keine, die *oktarġui* als eine Gottheit oder einen Geist auffaßt. Vgl. a. a. O. pp. 430-433. Es ist somit scharf von *tengri* (*tieńgēre*) zu unterscheiden und kann mit diesem nicht synonym gebraucht werden. Nur im Sinne von physischem Himmel überschneiden sie sich. Bei den Tujen wird *rēġuo* hauptsächlich als Lichthimmel, Träger der Helligkeit betrachtet. Man fügt darum gerne das Eigenschaftswort *kuġuo* (blau, licht, hell) hinzu, z. B. *kuġuo rēġuo undurwa* (der blaue Himmel ist hoch). Das *kuguo rēġuo* (lichter Himmel) steht im Gegensatz zum *xara gadzier* (dunkle Erde). Beiden ist je ein entsprechender Vogel zugeordnet als Sinnbild der Helligkeit und des Dunkels. So heißt es in einem Hochzeitsliede *xara gadzier mundzini xęla* ; *kuġuo rēġuoni dzindzini xęla* (der schwarzen Erde Dunkelvogel ruft ; des lichten Himmels Lichtvogel antwortet). Hier ist das *rēġuo* zwar in die — wahrscheinlich tibetische — Mythologie von Licht und Finsternis hineinbezogen, aber über eine etwaige Bedeutung des *rēġuo* als Geist oder Gottheit wird damit nichts ausgesagt. (Vgl. SCHRÖDER, Hochzeitslieder). Mag auch der Ausdruck *rēġuo* in seiner Bedeutung als Lichtträger mit dem Worte *tieńgēre* annähernd zusammenfallen, so ist damit sein tieferer Sinn erschöpft und er scheidet für die weitere Betrachtung aus.

tieńgēre

tieńgēre ist die Tujenform des schriftmongolischen *tengri* oder *tngri*. Es kann sowohl den natürlichen Himmel bedeuten wie auch den Himmel als Gottheit. Als natürlicher Himmel wird es mit denselben Eigenschaftswörtern bedacht wie das Wort *rēġuo*, also mit *kuġuo* (blau), *undur* (hoch) usw. Wie dieses steht es auch als Tageshimmel im Gegensatz zur dunklen Erde. Unser Ausdruck „Himmel und Erde" wird bei den Tujen immer mit *kuġuo tieńgēre, xara gadzier* wiedergegeben (lichter Himmel, dunkle Erde). Sie würden nie-

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor

mals einfachhin „Himmel und Erde" sagen. In dieser Vorstellung gehen die Tujen mit ihren altaisch-mongolischen Verwandten Hand in Hand. In seiner Dissertation hat PALLISEN die Verbindung von Licht und Himmel besonders deutlich herausgestellt: Bei allen altaischen Völkern wird nämlich der Himmel zu allererst als Tageshimmel empfunden. Nach H. VAMBÉRY und BARBIER DE MAYNARD gehören die Begriffe „das Licht", „die Helle" in allen altaischen Sprachen zu derselben Wortfamilie wie das *tengri* (Religion der Altmongolen, p. 123). PALLISEN läßt dann für dreizehn Sprachen die Wortlisten folgen, welche diesen Zusammenhang veranschaulichen sollen (a. a. O. p. 123 ff.).

Aber nicht nur als Verkörperung des Lichtes gilt der Himmel, sondern er ist auch Träger der wichtigsten kosmischen Erscheinungen. Das kommt in den vielen alltäglichen Redensarten zum Ausdruck: z. B. der Himmel regnet; der Himmel ist kalt; der Himmel ist heiß; der Himmel donnert; der Himmel ist heiter usw. Somit steht der Himmel schon rein sinnenmäßig als etwas Wichtiges, Erhabenes im Bewußtsein der Tujen; als jener unermeßliche, die Welt umspannende Lichtraum, in dem sich die Naturereignisse abspielen, die den schlichten Menschen so beeindrucken. Es ist nicht das Wort *rēguo*, das in ihnen dieses Bewußtsein weckt, sondern das Wort *tieńgēre*. Offenbar ist es eines der ältesten Wörter, das sie aus grauer Vorzeit gemeinsam mit den andern altaischen Völkern ererbt haben, bei denen es mit dem gleichen Inhalt geladen ist. Man kann es nicht mehr weiter etymologisch auflösen.

Darum eignete sich gerade dieser Ausdruck vortrefflich, um das zu bezeichnen, was wir „Gott" nennen. Hier soll nicht untersucht werden, woher die Tujen, die ja ein Zweig der Mongolen sind, die Verbindung zwischen dem Namen *tieńgēre* und dem Begriffe „Gott" erhalten haben. Das gehört in die Geschichte der Religion der Mongolen oder der altaischen Völker allgemein. P. W. SCHMIDT hat wahrscheinlich gemacht, daß es sich nicht um eine Gleichsetzung des Höchsten Wesens mit dem materiellen Himmel handelt, sondern nur um eine Übertragung des Namens „Himmel" auf den Hochgott; das sei in der Zeit des Übergangs zur Herdentierzucht in den großen Steppen geschehen, wo „sie die ungeheuere Himmelskuppel ungehindert in ihrer ganzen Ausdehnung und mit allen am Himmel sich vollziehenden Naturerscheinungen vor sich haben"; vgl. SCHMIDT: Religionsgeschichte, p. 256; UdG X, pp. 128 ff. Es frägt sich hier: trifft das auch für die Tujen zu und in welcher Weise? Wie wird der Name *tieńgēre* gebraucht, als Gattungs- oder Eigenname? Bezeichnet er wirklich Gott?

Man muß zunächst auf die allgemein mongolischen Vorstellungen zurückgreifen, die ja den gleichen Namen kennen. PALLISEN kommt dabei zu folgendem Ergebnis (a. a. O. p. 126): „Man kann also sagen, daß in diesem Entwicklungsstadium *Tengri* etwa 'Gotthimmel' als Eigenname bedeutete, nicht 'Himmelsgott' und nicht 'Gott im Himmel' oder 'Gott des Himmels', wie es einige Forscher behaupten. ... Allmählich wurde aber *Tengri* zur Benennung des Gottes der Christen und der Mohammedaner gebraucht, und schließlich mit der Annahme des Buddhismus wird dieses Wort dem sanskritischen *Deva* äquivalent, und zahlreiche Gottheiten des lamaistischen Pantheons, die teilweise in dasselbe aus dem alten Volksglauben übernommen wurden, werden

dann auch *Tengri*, mit Beifügung eines bestimmten Eigennamens genannt (vor allem die 33 *tengri* : *ghutschin ghurban Tengri*)." „Also war für die Dolmetscher und für die zahlreichen Fremden überhaupt, die am Hofe des Groß-Chans sich aufhielten und unter denen auch viele Priester aller Religionen vertreten waren, die Bedeutung *Tengri* als Gattungsname 'Gott' schon geläufig und klar" (a. a. O. p. 127). — Später kam, nach PALLISEN, mit dem Buddhismus auch noch der Terminus *burxan* hinzu, der eine Verbalhornung des Sanskritwortes für Buddha sei und bei den Mongolen den Sinn von „Idol, Gottheit, Geist, Götterbild" angenommen habe. (Über die Herkunft des Wortes *Burchan* oder *purġan* vgl. oben.)

Bei den Tujen ist diese Entwicklung schwer festzustellen. Ich habe des öfteren die Leute gefragt, wieviele *tieńgēre* es gäbe. Immer erhielt ich die Antwort : nur einen. Nur einmal meinte mein Gewährsmann, es gäbe auch andere Götter, die man *tieńgēre* nenne. Als er dann diese Götter angeben sollte, wußte er auch nicht einen einzigen. Das ist ein Zeichen dafür, wie nebensächlich bei den Tujen die Bedeutung von *tieńgēre* als Gattungsname gewesen sein muß, da sie so spurlos aus dem Sprachgebrauch verschwinden konnte, falls sie überhaupt vorhanden war. Vielleicht ist die oben erwähnte Bemerkung A. TAFELS von einem „einzigen Gott" auf eine ähnliche Auskunft zurückzuführen. Das *tieńgēre* der Tujen deckt sich also nicht ganz mit dem *tengri* der Mongolen. Die Aufgabe eines Gattungsnamens hat allein das Wort *purġan* übernommen, welches dem mongolischen *burxan* entspricht ; *purġan* bedeutet nicht nur die einheimischen Götter, Geister, Götterbilder, sondern überhaupt alle Gottheiten der verschiedenen Religionen. Mitunter kann es auch einen Dämon bezeichnen. Es wird ähnlich gebraucht wie das chinesische *fo-yeh*, allerdings niemals für einen Tulku. Mit dem Worte *purġan* verbindet sich immer die Vorstellung einer Mehrzahl, was ja für einen Gattungsbegriff wesentlich ist.

Nach allen Erkundigungen und auf Grund des aufgenommenen Brauchtums bleibt *tieńgēre* allein als Eigenname dem Gotthimmel vorbehalten. Die biglotten Tujen übersetzen es allgemein mit dem chinesischen *t'ien* (Himmel) oder *lao-t'ien* (alter Himmel) oder *t'ien-yeh* (Vater „Himmel"). Daß dieses *tieńgēre* ausschließlich nur dem Himmelswesen gilt, tritt besonders klar in der stets gebrauchten Formel zutage : *šge tieńgēre, uluon purġan* (der große Himmel, die vielen Geister). Ganz bewußt wird hier die Einzigkeit der Vielheit gegenübergestellt und auch zugleich zum Ausdruck gebracht, daß der Himmel zumindest soviel an Würde besitzt wie die *purġan*, also auch eine Gottheit ist, bzw. ein höheres, geistiges Wesen sein kann. Was dieser Gottesbegriff nun beinhaltet, ob es wirklich einen Himmel als Hochgott gibt, soll im folgenden klarwerden, und zwar zunächst im Anschluß an den Himmelskult des Volkes.

b) Der Himmelskult

Daß die Tujen den Himmel verehren, dürfte nach allem, was bisher gesagt wurde, außer Zweifel stehen. Es läßt sich auch noch aus der Volksliteratur weiterhin bekräftigen, wie unten von selbst deutlich wird. Somit

handelt es sich hier nur um das Was und Wie der Himmelsverehrung (Opfer, Gebet), insofern es geeignet ist, über den Gottesbegriff und die damit verbundenen Vorstellungen sowie das Alter und die Stellung des Hochgottglaubens Aufschluß zu geben.

1) Das Opfer

Was die Form, die Vollzieher und die Gesinnung des Opfers betrifft, so gilt, was allgemein vom Opfer gesagt wurde. Hier frägt es sich in erster Linie: gibt es Opfer, die in besonderer Weise dem Himmel zugedacht werden oder eine besondere Beziehung zu ihm haben? Das ist ganz allgemein bei jedem Opfer der Fall, insofern es als Primitialopfer aufgefaßt werden kann. Daneben finden sich auch andere Opfer, die — wenigstens ursprünglich — dem Himmel vorbehalten werden, unter denen das Weihrauchopfer und Schafopfer die wichtigsten sind.

Das Primitialopfer

Einen eigenen Gattungsnamen für das Primitialopfer kennen die Tujen nicht. Sie sagen je nach den Umständen: das Erste (das erste Stück, den ersten Tropfen, die erste Schale usw.) dem Himmel zuwerfen. Für „Erstes" gebrauchen sie das Wort *torōṅ*. Es kann als Zahlwort adjektivisch und substantivisch sein, also auch „das Erste" oder „Erstling" heißen. Daneben besagt es auch noch eine Güte, einen Vorzug; so ist z. B. *kuni torōṅ* (der Leute Erster) ein redegewandter Mann, der auftreten kann; oder *morini torōṅ* (der Pferde Erstes) ein besonders schnelles und starkes Pferd. Genau so wird beim Primitialopfer die Gabe einfachhin als *torōṅ* bezeichnet. Ob damit auch eine besondere Güte bezeichnet werden soll, bleibt dahingestellt. Mir ist nicht bekannt, daß man dafür besonders gute Teile nimmt; man wählt nicht lange. Jedoch wird stets darauf geachtet, daß sie nicht minderwertig, verdorben oder unrein sind. Das Primitialopfer gilt stets dem Himmel. Auch dort, wo es mehreren Gottheiten zugedacht wird, steht dennoch der Himmel an erster Stelle. Es lassen sich zwei Arten unterscheiden: das unmittelbare und das mittelbare.

Das unmittelbare Primitialopfer ist so allgemein unter den Tujen verbreitet, daß es jedem auffällt, der je dem Volke beim Essen zugeschaut hat. Meist geschieht es auf folgende Weise. Bei Getränken taucht man den Mittelfinger, welcher der vornehmste ist, in seine Trinkschale, zieht ihn wieder heraus und spritzt den daranhängenden Tropfen in die Luft. Das tut man dreimal hintereinander. Bei Speisen, z. B. Brot oder Fleisch, pflückt man ein Stückchen ab und wirft es hoch gegen den Himmel oder rückwärts über die Schulter. Auf die Richtung, in der man sitzt, kommt es nicht dabei an. Bisweilen kommt es vor, daß man eine ganze Schale vom Getränke ausgießt. Alle bestätigen, daß sie diese Gabe zuerst dem Himmel schenken, ehe sie sie selbst genießen. Erst nach dem Himmel werden sie mitunter auch andern Geistern zugeworfen.

Das Primitialopfer ist tief im Bewußtsein der Tujen verwurzelt. Es muß nach ihrer Ansicht schon bis in die Anfänge der Menschheit zurückreichen. So heißt es in der Gesersage vom Urkaiser *Hamluo Siergän*, als er auf einer

Reise haltmachte und Tee kochte: *„fulan tsiani sdzülgano, tsiani torönni kuguo tiengerdu tsiodlodzi"* (als der rote Tee kochte, warf er das Erste des Tees dem lichten Himmel zu). Noch deutlicher wird das Erstlingsopfer in der Ackerbaumythe bezeugt (V. 680-690), als nach langem Bemühen des Demiurgen die erste Gerste reift und in den Besitz der Menschen kommt: „Als sie nach 7 Wochen schauen gingen, da war die Gerste reif. Der Kopf neigte sich. Mit beiden Händen zerrieben sie diese (sc. die Ähre), die wie eine Peitsche herniederhing. Und als die Körner ausgegangen waren, wollten sie dem lichten Himmel opfern. Jene Gerste opferten sie und neigten das Haupt zur Erde. Doch zu essen gab es kein Mittel." Also noch bevor die Menschen vom Segen der neuen Nahrung Gebrauch machen können, opfern sie dem Himmel die Erstlingsgabe. Im Urtext steht das Wort *šeñlie*, d. h. opfern im eigentlichen Sinn.

Das mittelbare Primitialopfer wird erst auf dem Umwege über ein anderes Opfer an den Himmel gerichtet. Es findet sich fast bei allen Opfern an die guten Geister. Im religiösen Brauchtum wird man kaum ein Opfer finden, das nicht zuerst dem Himmel gilt. Das zeigt sich beim eigentlichen Opferakt, dem Darbringen, und der damit verbundenen Ehrenbezeugung, dem Kotou. So ist z. B. das Opfer bei Errichtung der Pfahlziege oder auch das Obo-Opfer bestimmt den Wettergöttern oder dem Berggeist zugedacht. Und dennoch erhält der Himmel die ersten drei Schalen; erst nach ihm kommen die andern Geister. Genau wie der Mensch zuerst von seinen Gütern dem Himmel spendet, ehe er sie benutzt, so ist es auch bei der Geisterwelt. Man könnte das ein Primitialopfer des Opfers nennen. Es gibt natürlich Ausnahmen von dieser Gepflogenheit, wie etwa beim Feuerguß, Torma, Huhnopfer usw., die mehr in den Bereich des Lamaismus und der Bonreligion gehören. Aber im großen und ganzen wird das indirekte Primitialopfer stets geübt.

Das Weihrauchopfer

Im Abschnitt über das Weihrauchopfer (siehe erster Teil, Anthropos 47. 1952. pp. 43 ff.) wurde betont, daß es in erster Linie dem Himmel dargebracht wird und danach den anderen Göttern. In den Anmerkungen ist die Vermutung ausgesprochen, daß es sich ebenfalls um ein Primitialopfer handeln könnte; denn es ist das erste Opfer des Tages, in welchem der Mensch von allen lebenswichtigen Dingen dem Himmel spendet. Gegen das Primitialopfer spricht jedoch die einfache Form des Weihrauchopfers, die wesentlich in der Verbrennung von wohlduftenden Dingen besteht, von Zypressenzweigen [4], Blumen etc. Das sind aber keine Lebensmittel mehr, falls man vom Wasser absieht, womit die Feuernahrung besprengt wird, um sie zu reinigen.

[4] Wenn hier das volkstümliche Wort Zypresse gebraucht wird, so ist damit immer botanisch der Thujabaum gemeint; cf. Anthropos 47. 1952. p. 46. Der Tujenname *šgua* (= tibetisch *šug-pa*) ist vieldeutig. Der Thujabaum vertritt bei den Tujen immer die Zypresse und vor allem den Wacholder (Juniperus), der in ihrem Anbaugebiet nur wenig vorkommt, und höchstens in den Bergen angetroffen wird. Der Unterschied ist rein materiell; religiös übernimmt der Thujabaum die Stellung des Wachol-

Diese einfache Form des Weihrauchopfers scheint von Anfang an nur dem Himmel vorbehalten gewesen zu sein und ist von hohem Alter. Auch bei den Mongolen ist es als ein Himmelsopfer bezeugt, und bei den Tujen findet es sich in zahlreichen Liedern. Einige Belege sollen das bekräftigen, zunächst aus der Gesersage. In Vers 1-6 werden die Gepflogenheiten des ersten Menschen geschildert: „Man kleidete sich in Baumblätter. Man aß Baumfrüchte. Man legte sich auf Blumenblätter. Wenn man dürstete, trank man Wasser. In der Tagesfrühe verbrannte man großen Weihrauch (*šdeliedzi šge ʃdzań ġarġani*)." In Vers 38-42 wird erzählt, wie der Urkaiser Weihrauch verbrennt, um ein schweres Werk zu vollbringen: „Wie er auf dem riesigen Quellwasser die Erde sollte zusammenquirlen, da war das furchtbar schwer. Und ein großes Weihrauchopfer verbrennend, flehte er den lichten Himmel an (*šge ʃdzańni ġarġadzi kuġuo tieńgērni yańdziladzia*)." Vers 158-167 beschreibt ein anderes Weihrauchopfer des Urkaisers. Er sammelt Blumen (*kānba*-Blumen = Artemisia-Art) auf der Schattenseite des Berges, Wacholderzweige auf der Sonnenseite, schöpft aus dem Flusse reines Wasser, und dann heißt es: „Auf den hohen Berg steigend, verbrannte er großen Weihrauch, flehte den Himmel an, flehte die zahllosen Geister an ... (*undur ġadadu ġaridzi šge ʃdzańni ġarġaya, šge tieńgērni yańdzilaya, uluon purġani yańdzilaya ...*)." Das Opfer wird in diesem Falle auch andern Geistern dargebracht; aber an erster Stelle steht der Himmel. Das wird auch dadurch hervorgehoben, daß es auf einem Berge stattfindet. Es wird von den *purġan* keiner namentlich genannt. Das tägliche Weihrauchopfer wird in Vers 190-193 erwähnt: „Täglich Weihrauch verbrennend, lebte er (sc. der Urkaiser). Von unten stieg der große Weihrauch auf; und der Qualm des Weihrauchs drückte die Himmelspforte auf; und der erhabene *Sdeńlatsien-sań* (= der oberste Himmelsherr) schaute nach unten hinab. (*Udurdu ʃdzań ġarġadzi sōdzamba. dōrōdza šge ʃdzańni ġarġano, ʃdzańni ʃunini tieńgērni udieni baġa niedzia. Sdeńlatsien sań dorodzi nōdzia.*)" Die Beziehung des Weihrauchs zum Himmel ist hier eindeutig. (Näheres über den *Šdeńlatsien-san* vgl. weiter unten.) Ähnlich lautet die Stelle von der Himmelswanderung des Urkaisers, Vers 1221-1222: „Dann kam er auf seiner Wanderung vor das große Himmelstor; und der Rauch des großen Weihrauchs drückte das Himmelstor auf. (*Di yōdzi tieńgērni šge udie tada kurdzia. šge ʃdzańni ʃunini tieńgērni udieni baġa niedzia.*)" Auf der Erde verbrannte man nämlich während der Zeit Weihrauch, damit das Reiseunternehmen, vom Himmel einen Herrscher zu erflehen, gelänge.

Weitere Belege finden sich auch im ersten Teil des Tierliederzyklus, dem „Moschushirsch". Vers 191-201 schildern das Weihrauchopfer folgendermaßen: „Den Moschushirsch zu fangen, gibt es ein Verfahren. Die Nordseite (des Berges) besteige und pflücke grüne Wacholderzweige. Die Sonnenseite besteige und sammle weiße Känba-Blumen. Gehe hinunter in die flache Ebene und sammle gelbe Känba-Blumen. Begib dich ans Ufer

ders und der Zypresse. Prof. Dr. J. F. Rock fand als botanischer Fachmann nördlich von Minchow (Kansu) keine Zypresse mehr, wohl aber noch zehn Arten Wacholder (Persönliche Mitteilung).

des Flusses und verbrenne großen Weihrauch. Den großen Himmel verehre, die zahllosen Götter flehe an. (*Šge ʃdzańbeń ġarġaya, šge tieńgère amudadzi, uluon purġan yańdzilaya.*)"

Nun noch ein Beispiel aus dem Hochzeitslied „Das Vogelpaar". Das Paar, Hirte und Hirtin, singen abwechselnd: „Wenn die Sonne leuchtend aufgeht, pflücken wir grüne Zypressenzweige. Auf die Schattenseite aufsteigend, sammeln wir weiße Känba-Blumen. In die flache Ebene niedersteigend, schöpfen wir klares Wasser. Auf den hohen Berg steigend, verbrennen wir großen Weihrauch; und den großen Weihrauch verbrennend, ist es ein gutes Werk, wenn wir ein Paar sind. (*Šge ʃdzańni ġarġaya; šge ʃdzańni ġarġadza, tsiari ġuori sguren-wa.*)"

Diese Beispiele aus der Volksliteratur können beliebig vermehrt werden. Doch die angeführten Stellen genügen, um folgende Schlüsse zu sichern: 1. Die ursprüngliche Form des Weihrauchopfers war denkbar einfach. Es gehören dazu Wacholderzweige, Blumen und Reinigungswasser. Das Opfer war ein reines Duftopfer. Wenn natürlich auch das Feuer notwendig ist, so wird es nirgends genannt. Nicht einmal der Ausdruck „entzünden" wird gebraucht. Das übliche Wort „*ġarġa*" ist das Kausativ von „*ġari-*" (erzeugen, hervorbringen, aufsteigen), und bezieht sich hier auf den Rauch. Keine Lebensmittel werden geopfert. Die andern Zutaten, Gewürze usw. lassen sich aus dem Lamaismus erklären [5]. Was in der heutigen Form noch an Lebensmitteln mitgeopfert wird, wäre als eine Verbindung eines Primitialopfers mit dem morgendlichen Weihrauchopfer aufzufassen. Aber auch diese Gaben dürfen nicht schlecht duften, was dem ursprünglichen Sinne des Weihrauchopfers ganz entspricht. 2. Das Weihrauchopfer ist nach diesen Texten schon sehr alt. Mögen die Sagen auch notdürftig lamaistisch verbrämt sein, so gehen sie doch auf vorbuddhistische Verhältnisse zurück. Besonders trifft das für die Gesersage zu. Lamaistische Mönche in Kumbum betonten, die Sage habe nichts mit ihrer Religion zu tun. In gleicher Weise findet sich diese Art des Weihrauchopfers in West-Tibet als vorbuddhistisch bezeugt; vgl. A. H. FRANCKE: Tibetische Hochzeitslieder p. 25 f. (Darmstadt 1923). Das vorbuddhistische Vorkommen bei den Altmongolen wurde schon erwähnt. Die Tujen sind aber mongolischer Abstammung, und auch zu den vorbuddhistischen Tibetern haben sie religiöse Beziehungen, wie sich das in den Hochzeitsbräuchen und Liedern zeigt [6]. — Wie weit das Weihrauchopfer zurückreicht, ist im Jagdliederzyklus angedeutet. Wahrscheinlich wurde es schon in der Frühzeit einer Jägerkultur geübt und ist von dort ins Hirtentum übergegangen. Auffallend

[5] Auch J. F. ROCK stellt für die Na-khi eine ursprüngliche, einfache Form fest, Wacholderzweige und Butter; erst später seien die anderen Zutaten hinzugekommen; s. Naga Cult, p. 231 f.

[6] Zur Verbreitung des Rauchopfers s. Anthropos 47. 1952. p. 49. Für den vorbuddhistischen Charakter spricht auch das Vorkommen in Altchina; cf. JEN NAI-CH'IANG-SCHRÖDER: Die Fandse, p. 183, wo das altchinesische Brandopfer mit dem Rauchopfer der Fandse gleichgesetzt wird. Vorbuddhistisch ist auch das Wacholder-Rauchopfer der Na-khi, dessen große Ähnlichkeit mit dem Rauchopfer der Tujen und Tibeter sich nicht verkennen läßt; vgl. die Beschreibungen von J. F. ROCK: Naga Cult, pp. 230 ff.; und Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 34.

ist, daß die Ackerbaumythe das Weihrauchopfer nicht erwähnt. Die Umweltverhältnisse — Bergweide, Wald, wilde Blumen usw. — passen nicht zum Ackerbau [7]. — Hier läßt sich fragen, ob das Weihrauchopfer älter sei als das Primitialopfer. Es hat mit diesem gemeinsam, daß es in den Sagen vor allen andern Opfern genannt wird. Schon der Urkaiser kennt beide Opfer; das Hochzeitslied und das Jagdlied nennen das Weihrauchopfer, die Ackerbaumythe nur das Primitialopfer. Das Verhältnis der beiden Opfer zueinander läßt sich nicht entscheiden. 3. Das Weihrauchopfer gilt immer entweder dem Himmel allein oder ihm an erster Stelle. Es ist ein eigentliches Himmelsopfer. Nur selten richtet es sich an die anderen Geister, die ihrem Sammelnamen entsprechend *purgan* genannt werden, also erst späteren buddhistischen Ursprungs sind. Mit Vorliebe scheint man Bergeshöhen gewählt zu haben, um dem Himmel näher zu sein. Auch heute noch tut man das. Die Tujen sind sich dessen bewußt und nennen als Grund, daß es sich so besser für den Himmel passe [8]. Die Beziehung zum Höchsten Wesen kommt z. B. auch im Hochzeitslied aus Khalatse (West-Tibet) zum Ausdruck. Dort heißt es nach FRANCKE a. a. O. p. 25 f.: „Dieser blaue Rauch, der nach oben steigt, bedeutet, daß mit *brGya-byin*, dem Herrn der Götter, kein Unfrieden entstehen möchte."

Das Schafopfer

Das Schaf als Opfertier ist dem vorliegenden Material zufolge in besonderer Weise dem Himmel und Berggeist vorbehalten, wenn es auch den anderen Göttern geopfert werden kann. Aber nie wird es dem Berggeist allein ohne den Himmel geopfert. Wohl gibt es Schafopfer, die nur dem Himmel gelten, nämlich beim Saat- und Erntedankfest. (Vgl. D. SCHRÖDER: Herbst-Dankopfer, Anthropos 37-40. 1942/45. pp. 867-874.)

Daß es sich um ein eigentliches Himmelsopfer handelt, ist a. a. O. klar ausgedrückt: „Schon aus der ganzen Opferhandlung und den dabei gesprochenen Worten geht hervor, daß es ein Opfer an den Himmel ist. Auf die Frage: 'Ihr opfert also den Göttern im Tempel?', antwortete der Alte: 'Nein,

[7] Die Urtümlichkeit des Rauchopfers erklärt sich letzten Endes aus der Urtümlichkeit des Wacholderbaumes, der als Welten- und Lebensbaum am Anfang der Zeiten steht; cf. J. F. ROCK: Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 20, 21, 132, 143. Da er der erste Baum der Welt ist, konnte auch der Urkaiser (Gesersage) nur diese Zweige zu Ehren des Himmels verbrennen. Das Rauchopfer gehört also in die Welt der religiösen Urtypen, die für die spätere Menschheit maßgebend wurden; genau so wie die Urtypen des ersten Menschen, des Weltenberges und des Lebensbaumes, des Himmels und der Erde, des ersten Obo usw. in jene sagenhafte Zeit zurückreichen.

[8] Vor allem setzt der aufsteigende Rauch dieses Opfer in Beziehung zum Himmel; hier ist die Ausdrucksweise *garga*, aufsteigen lassen, besonders zu beachten. Der Rauch ist wie eine lebende Himmelssäule oder ein lebender Himmelsweg. Daher rührt auch die schamanistische Bedeutung des Rauchopfers; es fördert nicht nur die Trance, sondern ist zugleich Weg und Triebkraft der Himmelsreise. Der Urkaiser der Gesersage verlangt z. B., daß während seiner Himmelsreise das Rauchopfer nicht unterbrochen werden soll; der aufsteigende Rauch stößt gegen die Himmelspforte und öffnet ihm den Eingang; und seinen unfähigen Begleiter schießt er auf seiner Pfeilspitze in die aufsteigende Rauchsäule, worin er zur Erde hinabfährt.

wir opfern dem Himmel' ... 'Dieses Opfer ist eine Himmelsverehrung' ... 'Ich habe es doch schon gesagt; dem Himmel danken wir für die Erträgnisse des Jahres. Er sorgt für Saat und Mensch und Vieh' ..." (Anthropos a. a. O. p. 873). Dieselbe Aussage hat auch für das Saatfest zu gelten, bei welchem die Zeremonien fast gleich sind.

Es ist nun auffallend, daß ausgerechnet in einem Ackerbauritus, Saat- und Herbstfest ein Schafopfer stattfindet. Ich konnte aber später viele solcher Feste besuchen und die eigentliche Form feststellen, welche dem Ackerbau- und Schamanencharakter mehr entspricht. In den Tälern nämlich, im chinesischen Siedlungsbereich, wird kein Schaf, sondern — wenigstens mit Vorliebe — ein Schwein geopfert. Dieses Schwein wird mit vielen Riten umgeben, worunter auch eine regelrechte Prozession mit dem geopferten Schweine stattfindet. Die Schamanen begleiten diese Prozession mit Trommelschlag und Gebet. So beobachtete ich es z. B. in Tsung-chai und Umgebung. In den Bergen hingegen, bei den Tujen, wird mit Vorliebe ein Schaf geopfert, obwohl die Tujen auch Schweine halten. Es bleibt also nur die eine Erklärung übrig, daß die ursprüngliche Form dieser Ackerbaufeste mit einem Schweineopfer verbunden ist, und daß das Schafopfer der Tujen dieses als ein Fremdkörper ersetzte. Der Grund dafür ist naheliegend. Die Tujen sind ihrer Tradition nach einmal Hirten gewesen, und es lassen sich noch viele hirtenkulturliche Elemente bei ihnen aufzeigen. Mit dem Übergang zum Ackerbau hat sich offenbar das Frühlingsfest der Hirten mit dem Saatfest und das Herbstfest der Hirten mit dem Erntefest der Ackerbauer verbunden. Weil nun aber das Schaf ein liebgewonnenes Opfertier war, haben die Tujen das Schafopfer bei diesen Festen nicht preisgeben wollen. In der Beschreibung des Festes ist ja sehr stark betont, daß der ganze Opferritus im engeren Sinne (Schlachten usw.) nichts mit den Schamanen zu tun haben will. Die Opferer sind die Ältesten, also Laien. Der Schamanenritus, hauptsächlich Gebetsdienst und Tanz, läuft nebenher.

Wir haben also im Herbstdankopfer und Saatopfer der Tujen ein altes Himmelsopfer vor uns, welches vom Volke bewußt gepflegt und eindeutig auf den Himmel bezogen wird.

2) Das Gebet

Was oben vom spontanen, unformulierten und freiformulierten Gebet gesagt wurde, gilt auch für das Gebet an den Himmel. Jeder Mensch kann seine Not, seine Bitten, seinen Dank, seine Gefühle dem Himmel gegenüber bekunden, wie es ihm gerade kommt. Aber eines ist hier besonders zu beachten. Während das formulierte Gebet, der Gebetsdienst, im allgemeinen besondern Ständen vorbehalten ist und das Opfer mehr dem Volke, trifft das nicht ganz beim Gebet an den Himmel zu. Eigentliche Gebete von Religionsdienern, die nur dem Himmel gelten, konnte ich nicht feststellen. Dem Himmel gegenüber gibt es also, was Opfer und Gebet angeht, keinen eigenen Stand. Beides ist Angelegenheit der Laien, des Volkes, des Hausherrn oder des Einzelmenschen.

Abgesehen von eigenen Beobachtungen, ist das persönliche Gebet an

den Himmel zur Genüge durch die Stellen belegt, welche für das Weihrauchopfer herangezogen wurden. Fast immer ist dabei ein Gebet, ein Flehen (*yaṅdzi-*) zum Himmel vorhanden. Und bis jetzt ist auch mit jedem Opfer, jedem Kotou an den Himmel stets ein Gebet verbunden, wenigstens ein inneres. (Vgl. Herbst-Dankopfer, Anthropos 37-40. 1942-45. p. 872.) Die einzigen Gebetsformeln des Volkes in der Tujensprache richten sich an den Himmel, nämlich: *tieṅgère mudie* (der Himmel weiß) und: *tieṅgère tsiad sadin wari* (Himmel, Du hältst die Gerechtigkeit). Die Formel *tieṅgère mudie* ist schon aus der Frühzeit der Mongolen bekannt, und sie bezeugt, ein wie altes Erbe die Himmelsverehrung beim mongolischen Grundstock der Tujen ist. Mit dem Gebet ist gewöhnlich auch ein dreifacher Kotou verbunden, wodurch der Mensch in einer umständlichen Zeremonie auch rein äußerlich seine Unterwürfigkeit vor dem Gotthimmel bekunden will.

c) Die Natur und Eigenschaften des Himmels

Die Einzigkeit

Die Erörterung des Namens hat bereits gezeigt, daß die Bezeichnung *tieṅgère* allein dem Himmel vorbehalten ist. Er teilt diesen Namen auch nicht als Titel mit einer anderen Gottheit, wozu noch etwa ein Eigenname einer bestimmten Gottheit gesetzt würde. Diese einzigartige Stellung des Himmels wird noch klarer, wenn man ihn im Verhältnis zu den andern Gottheiten betrachtet.

Die Stellung zu den Gottheiten allgemein. — Das Opfer, die vielen Texte aus den Liedern, das übrige Brauchtum anerkennen überall den Himmel als den Ersten. Das wird kurz und bündig in dem stets wiederkehrenden Ausdruck *šge tieṅgère, uluon purgan* (der große Himmel, die zahllosen Geister) anerkannt. Der Himmel ist der Große. Er wird eigens gegenüber den vielen andern Geistern herausgestellt. Er hat als Erster teil an allen Opfern, ihm gilt — vor allen andern Göttern — der erste Kotou, die erste Huldigung des Tages. Die Tujen sprechen das auch aus: „Was wären die Götter ohne den Himmel, er ist ihr Herr"; vgl. Herbst-Dankopfer, a. a. O. p. 873. — Diese Vorrangstellung hat der Himmel auch jenen Gottheiten gegenüber inne, von denen es scheinen möchte, daß sie mit ihm die Würde teilen, weshalb sie im folgenden kurz zu erwähnen sind.

Die Stellung zum Himmelskaiser der Gesersage. — Die Gesersage kennt drei Himmelsherren, unter denen der *Šdeṅglatsien Saṅ* der höchste ist. Er wohnt mit ihnen zusammen im unermeßlichen Himmelsraum, hier als Aufenthaltsort der Götter ebenfalls *tieṅgère* genannt. Er hat eine Gemahlin, Söhne und Töchter, eine herrliche Residenz, ein prächtiges Heer. Kurzum, der Himmelskaiser und sein Reich sind nach menschlichen Vorstellungen irdischer Khane bis ins einzelne ausgemalt. Sein Sohn wird auf Bitten des Erdenkaisers auf dieser Welt wiedergeboren, um sie von den Unholden zu befreien. Es ist Geser-Khan.

Aber neben dieser Gestalt existiert der gestaltlose, alte *tieṅgère* weiter,

wie die oben erwähnten Zitate aus der Gesersage dartun. Er wird durch Weihrauchopfer verehrt, und man betet zu ihm. Hier ist eine alte Vorstellung mit in die Sage hineingenommen worden. Die Sage selbst ist nicht mongolischen Ursprungs, sondern gehört vielleicht in die Welt der Bon mit ihrer tibetischen Heimat. Sie wurde trotz der Ablehnung der Buddhisten mit vielen buddhistischen Zutaten verbrämt, und die Lamas spielen eine gewisse Rolle darin. Nun hat aber jedes Volk, das die Sage für sich beansprucht, auch die Tujen, sein Eigenes noch hineingedichtet und will die alten Volkssitten irgendwie darin begründet wissen. Wenn darum die Gestalt des Himmelskaisers zwar angenommen wird, so bleibt dennoch der alte *tieńgēre* im Bewußtsein des Volkes lebendig und hält auch seinen Einzug in die Gesersage, ja er bleibt dem Rang nach als die höchste Gottheit bestehen, einerlei, ob sich das harmonisch mit der andern Himmelsgestalt vereinigen läßt oder nicht. Die Einstellung des Volkes läßt sich am besten durch den bereits oben zitierten, hier noch ausführlicheren Passus wiedergeben, Vers 158 ff.: „Auf den hohen Berg steigend, verbrannte er großen Weihrauch, flehte den Himmel an (*tieńgēre*), flehte die zahllosen Geister an (*purǵan*), flehte den *Šdeńlatsien Saṅ* an, flehte den *Warintsien Saṅ* an, flehte den *Sēma Lortsien Saṅ* an." Also zuerst kommt der Himmel, und nach den andern Göttern erst die drei Himmelsherrscher. Klarer kann die Vorrangstellung des Himmels nicht ausgedrückt werden. Es zeigt sich aber auch deutlich, wie hier zwei Anschauungen noch unverschmolzen nebeneinander einhergehen, und wie wenig sich das Volk um innere Zusammenhänge Sorge macht, sondern an dem festhält, was es besitzt. Der *tieńgēre* ist dem Volke die wichtigste Gottheit, und es möchte sie nicht in der Sage missen. Der *Šdeńlatsien Saṅ* hat im Brauchtum keine Bedeutung.

Die Stellung zum Berggeist und zum Erdgott. — Im Kapitel über das Obo, das Weihrauchopfer und an andern Stellen war von einer Dreiteilung der Gottheiten die Rede, nämlich in der Reihenfolge: Himmel, Berggeist und Erdgott, zahllose Götter. Dadurch, daß der Berggeist und Erdgott nicht unter den buddhistischen Begriff *purǵan* eingereiht werden, legt sich ein vorbuddhistiches Alter von selber nahe. Dazu hat der Berggeist Aufgaben, die man dem Himmel zuschreiben könnte. Wie ist das Verhältnis zu ihm?

Die Tujen nennen den Berggeist *yifula*. Ein tibetisches Äquivalent wäre das früher schon erwähnte Wort *ri-bo lha* (Berg-Geist). Der Gewährsmann, welcher selbst diesen Namen trug, übersetzte es jedoch mit dem chinesischen *Shan-shen pao* (Berg-Geist Schutz). (Über die Namensgebung vgl. oben: Die Vollendung des Wochenbettes.) Das führt aber auf eine mongolische Auflösung des Wortes. Und die findet sich nach W. A. UNKRIG in der Zusammensetzung: *ibel* (Schutz) und *ula* (Berg), vgl. KOVAL p. 282. Die Deutung entspricht der chinesischen Übersetzung. *Yifula* wäre also sinngemäß mit „Schützer der Berge" wiederzugeben. Ohne die Herkunft des Namens zu entscheiden, läßt sich jedoch behaupten, daß der Kult des Berggeistes im Obofest seit alters eine mongolische Eigenart ist, die immer wieder in der Literatur berichtet wird. Auch bei den Tujen — wie bei den benachbarten Tanguten — stand das Obofest in hohem Rang; vgl. Das Obo, Anthropos 47. 1952. pp. 63 ff.

Der Berggeist ist kein Schreckensgott, sondern ein milder, fürsorglicher Vater, der Herr der Tiere, dem Wohl und Wehe der Herden am Herzen liegt, der sich um Pflanzen und Bäume sorgt, der sich um die Vermehrung der Menschen kümmert. Er ist der Sachwalter des *ayil* (Dorfes, Stammes) und hütet dessen Waffen. Um ihn versammelt sich das Volk zu Spiel und Tanz, Gebet und Opfer. Obwohl sich also der Berggeist um das Wohlergehen des Volkes müht, wird er auffallenderweise nicht mit dem Schutz von Saat und Ernte in Verbindung gebracht. Im übrigen aber decken sich seine Aufgaben mit denen des Himmels, wenn er auch in erster Linie ein Naturgott ist, der seine Eigenart mit dem Herrn der Tiere und Wälder so mancher sibirischer Völker teilt.

Aber es ist doch ein Unterschied zwischen ihm und dem Himmel. Zunächst erhält der Himmel auch bei allen Opfern an den Berggeist den Vorrang, z. B. beim Obo-Opfer. Während der Berggeist im Obo, seiner Burg, einen festen Wohnsitz findet, also ortsgebunden ist, behält der Himmel seine örtliche Freiheit. Der Berggeist kann auch Schutzgeist der Menschen sein, die sich nach ihm benennen; er kann als Hilfsgeist in den Schamanen eingehen und in der Trance von ihm Besitz ergreifen. Das kommt für den Himmel überhaupt nicht in Frage. Die Leute wundern sich schon, wenn man sich nur danach erkundigt. Vom Berggeist gibt es Bilder und Fahnen; er kann einen Geisterspeer beseelen. Der Himmel ist gestaltlos, bildlos, keiner weiß, wie er aussieht. — Der Himmel ist auch dem Berggeist gegenüber von erhabener Einzigartigkeit.

Neben dem Berggeist hat die Erdgottheit im Obo ihren Sitz, und zwar in der Erdschicht. Ihr Name *ġlu* ist zweifellos das tibetische *klu*, Naga, Drache. Im Mongolischen findet sich dafür das Wort *lu*, welches auch in der Tujensprache viel im Gebrauch ist. Es entspricht dem chinesischen *lung* (Drache). Die Gebräuche mit der Erdgotturne weisen die Erdgottheit der Tujen mehr in den bonistischen Bereich des Naga-Kultes als in den mongolischen. Es ist ganz gut möglich, daß sich hier zwei Typen vermischt haben, bzw. der altmongolische vom späteren bonistisch-lamaistischen überlagert wurde. Nach Pallisen (a. a. O. p. 159 f.) übten die Altmongolen einen Kult der Erdgottheit, die wahrscheinlich weiblich zu denken ist. Dort trägt sie den Namen *itoga* oder, in vordervokalischer Lesart, *etügen* und wird als Schutzgottheit der Heimaterde aufgefaßt. Die Eigenschaften, welche dieser Gottheit beigelegt werden, stimmen mit denen des Berggeistes überein. Es ist auch zu vermuten, daß diese Gottheit mit den weiblichen Schamanen in Verbindung zu bringen ist, welche sich *udugan* (*udagan*, *idugan*) nennen. (Vgl. Koval, p. 386; Uno Harva: Rel. Vorstellungen, p. 450.) Wie die Zeremonien der Erdgotturne zeigen, hat diese Gottheit etwas mit Butter und Seide zu tun (Seidenwicklung, Butterbegießen), ebenso mit Getreide (Gerstenfüllung). Ähnliches trifft für die *etügen* zu, welche als weibliche Gottheit mit der Eigenschaft „fettgesichtig" und „seidengesichtig" bedacht wird. (Vgl. N. N. Poppe: Schaman. Handschriften, Bd. 1, 196/97, Hschr. XI; Angabe nach W. A. Unkrig.) Weitere Hinweise auf den Zusammenhang der Erdgottheit mit dem Ursprung des Ackerbaues und entsprechender Tujen-Mythe müssen hier erspart bleiben.

Einerlei nun woher die Tujen ihre Erdgottheit haben, sie bildet mit dem Himmel und Berggeist eine alte Dreiheit, welche sich die Welt aufgeteilt hat. Nach der allgemeinen Vorstellung der Tujen herrscht der Himmel über den Luftraum, die Wolken, Winde, Blitz, Sonne, Mond und Sterne. Der Berggeist verwaltet die Erdoberfläche: Tiere, Menschen, Vögel, Wälder, Weiden und Berge. Die Erdgottheit regiert über das Erdinnere: die Metalle, Gesteine, Schätze, die Schlangen und das Gewürm, sowie die Saat, die in der Erde schlummert. Diese Aufteilung schließt jedoch den Himmel nicht von den andern beiden Bereichen aus. Nach allem, was bisher gesagt wurde, bleibt er der Herr der Götter und Menschen. Wenn er hier als Mitverwalter der Weltschichten auftritt, so gibt er nur scheinbar seine Teilbereiche auf. Man könnte eher an eine Abspaltung und Verselbständigung gewisser Tätigkeiten des Himmels denken, wie P. W. SCHMIDT es für ähnliche Fälle bei andern asiatischen Völkern annimmt.

Das Wissen des Himmels

Nach den voraufgegangenen Erörterungen ergeben sich die weiteren Eigenschaften des Himmels von selbst. Unter diesen Eigenschaften tritt am deutlichsten das Wissen hervor. Über das Wissen gab der Gewährsmann folgende Auskunft (SCHRÖDER: Herbst-Dankopfer, a. a. O. p. 873): „Beim Weihrauchverbrennen sagt ihr: 'Himmel, du weißt es. Was weiß denn der Himmel?' — 'Der Himmel weiß alles, er kennt die Gesinnung meines Herzens, er weiß, daß ich ihn verehren will.'" — Dieser oft zitierte Spruch lautet wörtlich übersetzt: Himmel wissen; frei: der Himmel weiß; oder: der Himmel ist wissend. Das ist kein Bittgebet, sondern nur einfach eine reine Anerkennung dieser Eigenschaft des Himmels, und sie beinhaltet nach der gegebenen Erklärung ein Allwissen.

Für dieses Volksbewußtsein finden sich noch andere Ausdrücke. So lautet z. B. eine oft gebrauchte Beteuerungsformel für eine Aussage: „Der Himmel ist nicht hoch; der Himmel weiß es (*tieńgère undur guei*; *tieńgère mudiem*)." Der Sinn ist: Der Himmel ist zwar hoch; aber doch nicht so hoch, daß er es nicht wüßte. (Vgl. DMF 416, wo dieser Satz ebenfalls als eine „formule de serment" bezeichnet wird.) Ähnlich klingt eine andere, oft gebrauchte, Redewendung: „*tsimi mö gedzi yidza, tieńgère mudiem*. Habe (ich) dir Böses getan (ist dir Böses geschehen), so weiß es Himmel"; vgl. DMF 416. Damit ist besonders das Wissen über die innere Gesinnung betont.

Nimmt man nun noch allgemein hinzu, daß die ganze Himmelsverehrung in Opfer und Gebet unter der Voraussetzung geschieht, daß der Himmel auch um die menschlichen Nöte weiß, so läßt sich behaupten, daß im Volk das Bewußtsein vom Himmel als dem Wissenden schlechthin sehr lebendig ist.

Der Glaube an das Wissen hängt mit der Allgegenwart des Himmels zusammen. Sie läßt sich zwar nicht ausdrücklich feststellen, aber die Tujen haben doch eine Vorstellung davon, wenn sie sagen: „Der Himmel ist dort, wo man ihn hinstellt (*tieńgère andzi tędza, andzi-i*)." Das heißt dem Sprachgebrauch nach: Der Himmel ist überall. (Vgl. DMF 416, wo der gleiche Sinn erklärt wird.) Diese Redensart scheint offensichtlich von dem starken Ein-

druck bestimmt, welchen das allumspannende Firmament auf das unbefangene Volksgemüt macht, besonders in den Steppen und auf den Bergen am Kukunor. Soweit man auch wandert, ob bei Tag oder Nacht, immer dehnt sich der unendliche Himmel über dem Menschen. Er ist wirklich eine allumfassende Glocke, die sich die Tujen an einem Nagel im Universum befestigt denken.

Die Macht des Himmels

Der Himmel als Spender aller Wohltaten. — Wie es in den einzelnen Kapiteln immer wieder hervortritt, kommen alle Wohltaten vom Himmel. Er spendet Regen und Sonnenschein, verleiht der Saat Gedeihen, schützt Mensch und Tier vor Krankheit. Der Mensch anerkennt das im Opfer, besonders im Primitial- und Herbst-Dankopfer. Das Getreide, die Gerste, führt der Mensch letztlich auf den Himmel zurück. (Vgl. oben unter dem Primitialopfer, Ackerbaumythe, p. 222.) Auch die Kleidung verdankt der Mensch ihm. So heißt es zu Anfang der Gesersage: „Der Himmel spendete Kleider-Wohltat; vom Himmel fiel ein Stiefel herab (*tieńgère dżoġ nàńladzia; tieńgèrdza perlóńgè bödzi rèdzia.*)" (Vers 6-7.) Daß auch andere Götter für die verschiedenen Nöte angerufen werden, beeinträchtigt nicht die Tatsache, daß der Himmel die Ursache auch dieser Wohltaten ist. Anderes wäre nur der Fall, wenn es Dinge gäbe, die unter Ausschluß des Himmels diesen Geistern zugeschrieben würden, was sich aber aus dem vorhandenen Material nicht beweisen läßt.

Die moralische Macht des Himmels. — Die moralische Macht des Himmels äußert sich dadurch, daß der Mensch sein Gewissen in Beziehung zum Himmel setzt und diesen als sanktionsberechtigt, bindend anerkennt. Für das, was wir Gewissen nennen würden, setzt der Tujen einfach das Wort Herz (*sgil*); *sgil* ist nicht das physische Herz, sondern die innere Gesinnung, Herz in übertragenem Sinn. So heißt es z. B. *sgn sgil* (gutes Herz); *tsini sgil diesèn ugua* (Du hast keine ehrliche Gesinnung); *tsini sgil ugua* (Du hast kein Gewissen). In diesen Fällen übersetzt der Tujen das Wort *sgil* mit dem chinesischen *leang-hsin* (Gewissen, lautere Gesinnung). (Vgl. auch DMF 348.) Wie nun die zwei Gebetsformeln, die oben erklärt wurden, dartun, weiß der Himmel um die innere Gesinnung, er kennt das Herz des Menschen: „Tat ich Dir Böses, so weiß es der Himmel", „Der Himmel ist nicht hoch, er weiß es". Da diese Sätze als Beteuerung oder Schwurformeln gebraucht werden, so ist damit nicht einfach eine Feststellung des himmlischen Wissens gemacht, sondern man setzt stillschweigend auch eine Sanktion durch den Himmel voraus, die auf diesem Wissen gründet. Das wird noch deutlicher dadurch, daß man dem Himmel Strafgewalt zuschreibt. Ein vielgebrauchtes Wort ist: „*tieńgère dardzia* (der Himmel hat [sc. ihn] gestraft; d. h. Unglück gesandt)"; *dari-* heißt wörtlich: bändigen; es wird vorwiegend für das Bezwingen störrischer Pferde gebraucht. Ähnlich heißt es auch, wenn man einen übermütigen Menschen demütigt: „*tolgue dari-* (den Kopf niederzwingen)." (Vgl. DMF 45.) Das Volk legt gerne die Unglücksschläge, die einen Menschen treffen, als eine Demütigung und Strafe des Himmels aus.

Als bindende Macht zeigt sich der Himmel vor allem bei der Eheschließung. Nach L. SCHRAM (Mariage p. 71 u. 174) ist der eigentliche Akt der Eheschließung der Kotou, den die Brautleute im Hofe vor dem Himmel und den zahllosen Burchanen vollziehen. Der Himmel steht an erster Stelle. Schon aus der Feierlichkeit, welche die andern Zeremonien überragt, ergibt sich die Bedeutung des Aktes. Genau wie bei den Chinesen ist dieser Ritus vor dem Himmel (bei Chinesen ohne Burchane) rechtskräftig, und die Ehe gilt als geschlossen. Daß dem eine alte Vorstellung zugrunde liegt, zeigt sich in dem überlieferten Liede „Das Vogelpaar", das bei jeder Hochzeit gesungen wird. Darin wird geschildert, wie Hirte und Hirtin beim Weihrauchopfer sich als ein Paar betrachten. (Vgl. oben, p. 224, wo vom Weihrauchopfer die Rede ist.) Dann aber heißt es mit unmißverständlicher Eindeutigkeit : „Den großen Himmel verehren wir und sind ein Leben lang ein Paar (*šge tieńgērni amudadzi, nigē nisēni dzawa dāńlieya*)". Auch die Heirat mit dem Manibaum beim Fehlen eines Gatten gilt vor dem Himmel als rechtskräftig ; vgl. SCHRAM a. a. O. p. 127. Die von der Frau geborenen Kinder heißen auf chinesisch *t'ien sheng tzu* (Himmels-Kinder). Vor dieser Ehe wird dem Mädchen die Frauenfrisur zurechtgemacht ; das nennt man chinesisch *pao t'ien-t'ou* (die Himmelsfrisur anlegen). — Auch das Gegenteil trifft zu, daß ein Mädchen dem Himmel seine Jungfrauschaft gelobt und zum Zeichen dafür die Haare hängen läßt : *arin ʃsdzün tieńgērdē ʃdzē bölġadzia* (das reine Mädchen läßt dem Himmel die Haare lang hängen). — Im übrigen dürfte bei den Tujen die altmongolische Vorstellung von der Auserwählung der Mongolen durch Gott und dessen Herrschaftsauftrag noch nachwirken.

Himmel und Schöpfung. — Wenn die Tujen auch alle Wohltaten des Lebens dem Himmel zuschreiben, so heißt das noch nicht, daß sie auch die Herkunft der Welt von ihm ableiten. Hierüber machen sie sich keine Gedanken : „Auf die Frage, ob der Himmel auch die Erde und die Menschen erschaffen habe, woher sie kämen, gab der Alte keine klare Antwort : 'Wer weiß das ? Wer frägt danach ? Darüber sagt keiner etwas'." (SCHRÖDER : Herbst-Dankopfer, a. a. O. p. 873.)

Der Gesersage zufolge war schon gleich von Anfang an eine Welt mit Lebewesen vorhanden. Auf dieser Welt lebte der „aus sich seiende Lama" (*arāń sündē lama* = P'an-ku). Dieser ist nicht etwa Gott ; denn über ihm existierte ja schon der Himmel, welcher in einem Stiefel den Urkaiser herunterwarf, der von diesem Lama großgezogen wurde. Es wird dann geschildert, wie die Erde sich bevölkert. Schließlich existieren noch Urwesen (Urtiere), von denen auch nicht gesagt wird, woher sie kommen. Hier gehen buddhistische, lamaistische und alte Volksvorstellungen durcheinander und nebeneinander. Aber nirgends ist von einer Schöpfung die Rede, nur der Urkaiser stammt vom Himmel.

Dasselbe findet sich auch in der Ackerbaumythe. Diese behandelt die Ausstattung der Erde durch einen buddhistisch aufgefaßten Demiurgen. Im Mittelpunkt steht dabei die Schaffung der Nahrungsgrundlage durch die Hervorbringung der Gerste aus der Zaubervase und die Einführung des Ackerbaus.

Auch dieser Demiurg kommt in drei Stufen vom Himmel herab. Aber von einer Welt- und Menschenschöpfung ist keine Rede, nur von einer Herrichtung der Welt zu einem bewohnbaren Lebensraum. Die Mythe beginnt: „In der alten Tage Vorzeit, als der Menschen Geschlecht hervorgebracht war, gab es weder Sonne noch Mond; und der Menschen Geschlecht war in Finsternis. Es gab keine Möglichkeit zu leben." Von wo die Menschen kamen, bleibt ungelöst. Es heißt nur *sëmtsien kuni darladzia* (die Gesamtheit der Menschen war hervorgebracht). Man darf aber annehmen, daß dafür auch der Himmel in Frage kommt; denn der Kulturheros (der die Erde ausstattet) stammt ebenfalls vom Himmel, so wie in der Gesersage der Urkaiser der Menschen, und später Geser selbst.

Noch weniger ist von einer Schöpfertätigkeit des Himmels gegenüber dem Einzelmenschen festzustellen. Zwar lautet ein geläufiger Tujenspruch: *suniędzëne tieńgëre xuradzia*, der Himmel hat die Seele genommen (DMF 361); damit ist aber nur die Herrschaft des Himmels über Leben und Tod zum Ausdruck gebracht. Von einer Schöpfung der Seele ist keine Rede. Eine ähnliche Redensart kennen auch die Chinesen: *t'ien shou-la t'a-ti ling-hun*.

Himmel und Schicksal. — Bei der alten mongolischen Bedeutung des Schicksals oder Glückes, die ihre stärkste Ausprägung im Sülde-Kult erfahren hat, liegt die Frage nahe, ob Ähnliches auch bei den Tujen zu finden ist, etwa so, daß es ein über dem Himmel stehendes Schicksal gäbe. — Die Tujen kennen für „Schicksal" drei Ausdrücke: *dzieyan, šdiemdžël, kimori*.

dzieyan wird vorwiegend im Sinne von günstigen Lebensverhältnissen gebraucht, z. B. wenn man sagt: „Das Mädchen hat ein günstiges Geschick erfahren", und damit meint: es hat in eine gute, reiche Familie hineingeheiratet. Das Tujenwort entspricht dem mongolischen *jayagan*, hat aber nicht dessen Wesensinhalt. Die Bedeutung scheint vielmehr von dem ursprünglichen *jayagan* auf den Tujenausdruck *šdiemdzël* übergegangen zu sein.

šdiemdzël findet sich nun eigenartigerweise nicht so sehr in der Umgangssprache als vielmehr in Liedern. So schließen die Tujen-Gesänge sehr gerne mit dem Vers: *moṅġol kuni lōṅšda* (oder: *kimori*) *darlagu, šdiemdžëlgë rëdziġlaya* (um das Luftpferd der Mongolen zu errichten, laßt [uns] ein Glücksfundament legen [= bauen]). Diese Vorstellung schließt sich an das Bild der Mittelburg an. Das Luftpferd gründet in der Mittelburg. Demnach entspräche das *šdiemdžël* der Grundlage für das Schicksal, welches im Luftpferd versinnbildet ist. Hier vermischen sich offenbar alte Vorstellungen mit jüngeren buddhistischen, wodurch im Anschluß an die *Hayagriva*-Gestalt Schicksal und Pferd zusammengebracht sind. Sprachlich läßt sich das Wort *šdiemdžël* nicht eindeutig fassen. Die zweite Silbe *..dzël* ist aber zweifelsohne dem mongolischen *dsol* (*dzol*) gleichzusetzen. Nach Koval. (2386) bedeutet es: Glück, Heil. Koval. bringt dafür das tibetische Äquivalent *stes*. Wenn man beachtet, daß die Tujen durchweg vor einem *e* in tibetischen Lehnwörtern ein *i* einschieben, dann dürfte die erste Silbe *šdie(m)* dieses tibetische *stes* sein, dessen Schluß-*s* stumm ist. Das *m* wäre im Angleich an den folgenden Dental dazwischengeschoben. Dem Sinne nach übersetzen die Tujen *šdiemdžël*

mit dem chinesischen *yün-ch'i* oder *t'ien-ming*. Aber auch das *kimori* geben sie in gleicher Weise wieder. Schon damit ist ausgesprochen, daß das Schicksal unter der Macht des Himmels steht, was auch UNO HARVA für die Altaier und Mongolen hervorhebt (Vorstellungen, p. 144/45). Diese altaisch-mongolischen Vorstellungen lassen sich nämlich zwanglos mit dem *kimori* und *šdiemdžël* der Tujen in Verbindung bringen. Nach UNO HARVA handelt es sich nämlich bei dem Glücksgaranten um den Schutzgeist des Menschen, *zajači* genannt, in Form eines Doppelgängers: „Wenn der Mensch in seinem Leben reich ist, ist auch *zajači* gut gekleidet, reitet auf einem Roß und ist fröhlich" ... „Wenn der Mensch stirbt, entfernt sich *zajači* in den Himmel, wo er in Gesellschaft der Götter lebt" (a. a. O. p. 276 f.). Das lamaistische Luftpferd der Tujen trägt ebenfalls auf seinem Rücken den Glücksgaranten, das Wunschkleinod, kraft dessen der Mensch alles erlangt, was ihm wünschenswert erscheint, also das Glück. Es ist fast von der Wirkung eines Amulettes. Wenn nun nach UNO HARVA der Glücks-Schutzherr mehr auf den Einzelmenschen hingeordnet erscheint, so ist er beim *sülde* der Mongolen auf das ganze Volk ausgerichtet, und zwar durch den Khan; die geschichtliche Entwicklung hat mittlerweile unter den Chinggisiden neun Glücks-*Tengri* daraus gemacht. P. W. SCHMIDT kennzeichnet im Anschluß an BANZAROV das *sülde* folgendermaßen (UdG. X, p. 78): „Der Himmel lenkt die Welt wie der Khan und besitzt sein *sülde* ... Der *sülde* des Khans ist ein Abglanz des *sülde* des Himmels ... Die neun *sülde-tengri* sind ihrem Charakter nach immer dazu da, um zu beschützen. Sie werden dargestellt in kriegerischer Haltung, als wenn ihnen ein Kampf mit jemand bevorstünde, in der Art von Reitern ..." usw. Auch hier ist es der reitende Glücksgott. Es scheint, daß bei den Tujenliedern noch ferne Erinnerungen an diese Zeiten nachklingen: vom Schicksal der Mongolen, das auf dem Glück gründet; oder vom *sülde* des Khans, das unsichtbar seine Untertanen schützt (UdG. a. a. O.). — Wie die Zusammenhänge auch sein mögen, weder nach UNO HARVA, noch nach BANZAROV-SCHMIDT, noch in der Vorstellung der Tujen selber gibt es ein Glück oder Schicksal, welches sich dem Walten des Himmels entzöge.

Zusammenfassung. — Alles, was bisher vom Himmel gesagt wurde, beweist ihn als eine für sich bestehende, unabhängige Gottheit, scharf von allen andern Göttern geschieden, sie beherrschend und die ganze Welt regierend. Sein Name ist „Himmel", nicht im physischen, sondern im persönlichen Sinne. Alles Pantheistische, Animistische und jeder Mana-Begriff bleibt ihm fern. Zwar ist er kein Eingott im strengen Sinne, aber ein echter Hochgott, eine überragende einmalige Erscheinung unter allen andern Gottheiten. Wegen dieser Einzigartigkeit läßt sich nun in der richtigen Deutung das Wort A. TAFELS über die Tujen wiederholen: „Viele sagen, sie hätten nur einen einzigen Gott, an den sie glaubten."

2. Der Schamanismus

Konnte sich die Erörterung des Hochgottglaubens auf das Gebiet der Tujen selbst und die entsprechenden Quellen beschränken, so ist das beim Schamanismus nicht möglich, weshalb eine ausführliche Darstellung nicht mehr zu dieser Arbeit gehört. Sie ist einer eigenen Studie vorbehalten. Hier kann nur skizzenhaft der Grundriß dazu gezeichnet werden, der aber nur eine Theorie darstellt, weil an dieser Stelle auf die ausführlichen Beweise verzichtet werden muß. Die Frage lautet: Welcher Art ist der Tujen-Schamanismus, und wo läßt er sich religionsgeschichtlich einordnen? — Bei den Tujen finden sich drei Arten: der *bö*-Schamanismus (Trommelschamanen), der Gurtumschamanismus (Kriegerschamanen), der Idolschamanismus (mit dem Speer-Wahrsager).

a) Die bö oder Trommelschamanen

Kennzeichnung

Der Name: Der landläufige Tujenname *bö* entspricht dem schriftmongolischen *büge*. Koval. (1242) bringt dazu das chinesische Äquivalent *wu-jen*, die mandschurische *saman*, die tatarische *bugu* und die tibetische *lha-pa*. Der russische Ausdruck bedeutet: Schamane, Zauberer; im Französischen übersetzt er: chaman, enchanteur. Sowohl das mongolische *büge* als auch alle andern angeführten Übersetzungen besagen aber nichts Einheitliches und lassen sich auf die verschiedenen Arten von Schamanen, Exorzisten, ja sogar Zauberer anwenden.

Die Chinesen am Orte und die Tujen übersetzen das *bö* mit *fashih*, oder etwas verächtlich mit *shih-kung*. Die *fa-shih* selbst nennen sich nur mit diesem eigenen Namen. Im Süden Kansus ist Mitteilungen zufolge (P. P. Eichinger, Bockwinkel) noch der Name *wu-shih* im Gebrauch. Wichtig ist, daß alle diese Bezeichnungen niemals für den Gurtum zulässig sind. Die *fa-shih* sind eine eigene, klar abzugrenzende Gruppe. (Auf die Namenserklärungen einzugehen, verbietet hier der Raum.)

Kleidung und Ausrüstung. — Die *fa-shih* tragen eine alte Frauentracht, ohne Ärmel, meist mit Drachenbildern gemustert. Normalerweise haben sie keine Kopfbedeckung, sondern ihre Haare sind nach einer alten chinesischen Frauenmode aufgesteckt, falls sie nicht eine entsprechende Perücke mit Haarknoten, Haarschale und Haarnadel tragen. Diese sind aber nicht immer vorhanden. Bei besonderen Anlässen legen sie jedoch die bekannte fünfteilige buddhistische Krone an, *p'ai-tzu* genannt.

Ihre unbedingte Ausrüstung besteht in der Reifentrommel, der Hanfpeitsche und einem dreizackigen breiten Dolch. Dazu kommen noch andere Gegenstände, je nach ihren Funktionen.

Götter. — Ihre Hauptgottheit ist die große Mutter (*ta niang-niang*), auch Mutter der neun Himmel genannt (*chiu t'ien nai-nai*). Dazu verehren sie noch den schwarzen Tiger und, je nach den Gegenden, verschiedene Lokalgeister. Diese Götter stammen vorwiegend aus dem taoistischen Pantheon.

Tätigkeit. — Ihre Hauptaufgabe ist der Wetterbann, das Saat- und Erntefest sowie Krankenheilen.

Eigenart. — Die *bō* oder *fa-shih* unterscheiden sich von den andern Schamanen dadurch, daß sie keine Trance haben. Wenn man die Leute danach fragt, so lautet die stets gleiche Antwort: „*fa-shih pu fa shen* (die Fashih kommen nicht in Ekstase)." Das stimmt nun nicht ganz. Am Schlusse der Saat- oder Erntefeier versucht nämlich einer von ihnen eine Nachahmung der Trance und verwundet sich mit dem Messer. Das heißt man dann: „*fa ta-shen* (eine große Trance hervorbringen)." Aber es ist überhaupt keine Trance, höchstens ein andeutungsweises Relikt davon; ich konnte das öfters beobachten. So haben die Leute im Grunde genommen doch recht, wenn sie ihnen keine Ekstase zubilligen. — Die Haupteigenart aber faßt das Volk in dem Spruch zusammen: „*fa-shih ch'uei ku, t'iao shen* (die Fashih schlagen die Trommel und führen Geistertänze auf)." Trommel und Tanz ist das Hervorstechendste. Sie tanzen immer in Gruppen vor dem Bild der großen Mutter, um diese zu ergötzen, oder auch vor dem Opferschwein. Das sind keine schamanistischen Einzeltänze, um eine Trance zu erwirken, sondern kultische Gruppentänze nach bestimmtem Ritual. Man kann sie also als Trommel- oder Tanzschamanen bezeichnen, obwohl eigentlich Schamanistisches kaum noch vorhanden ist.

Einordnung

Verhältnis zum neueren sibirischen Schamanismus. — Mit dem sibirischen Schamanismus liegen wenig Ähnlichkeiten vor. Man könnte noch die Trommel als die wichtigste Fortführung aus dem sibirischen Schamanismus ansehen. Größer ist die Verwandtschaft mit dem tungusischen und mongolisch-mandschurischen Schamanismus. Die Trommel hat fast genau dieselbe Ausführung und dieselben Anhängsel wie z. B. bei den Mongolen des Küriebanners. (Vgl. HEISSIG: Schamanen. Folklore Studies 3. 1944. p. 72, Abb. 1-7; ebenso SHIROKOGOROV: Psychomental Complex, p. 297 f.) Am wenigsten scheint die Abwesenheit der Trance zum sibirischen Schamanismus zu passen.

Die Beziehung zu China. — Zunächst ist die Verbreitung zu beachten. Nach persönlichen Feststellungen und verschiedenen Berichten von Chinesen und Missionaren ist der Typ des Fashih über ganz Kansu, Shansi, bis hinein nach den Küstenprovinzen Hopeh und Shantung verbreitet. Im Amdogebiet findet er sich überall, wo chinesische Siedlungen sind, besonders in der Nähe von Sining und Kueiteh (am Gelben Fluß). Er paßt seiner Art nach auch gut zu einem Ackerbauvolk, eben durch die Betonung der Erntezeremonien und des weiblichen Erscheinungsbildes.

Fast alle Herkunftsberichte, die ich sammeln konnte, bezeugen die Abkunft der Fashih von einer Frau, einer Urschamanin. Diese wurde vom *T'ai-shang lao-chün* (ein Titel Lao-tzu's) durch einen Zauberspruch aus einem weiblichen Skelett zum Leben erweckt und erhielt von ihm ihre schamanistischen Kräfte. In Süd-Hopeh sind die Fashih heute noch vorwiegend Frauen. — Ferner werden die Fashih immer in Beziehung zu Toten- und Ahnengeistern gebracht, was ebenfalls der chinesischen Mentalität entspricht.

Die Entstehungssagen und die Gottheiten weisen auch auf einen engen Zusammenhang mit dem Wuismus, bzw. Taoismus hin. (Vgl. De Groot, Religious System, Vol. VI, P. II, 1187 ff.) Die Göttersänfte mit der *niang-niang* ist fast die gleiche wie die dort abgebildete. Die Taoisten, geschworene Gegner der Fashih, behaupten, diese hätten sich als eine falsche Sekte von ihnen abgesplittert. Während die Taoisten eine offizielle und angesehene Religion vertraten, führten die Fashih als Träger der *shen-chiao* (Geister-Religion) bis in die jüngste Zeit ein verachtetes Dasein.

Die Stellung in Ch'inghai. — Offenbar kam dieser chinesische Schamanismus mit den chinesischen Siedlern auch nach Amdo. Er hat dort verschiedene Elemente in sich aufgenommen, seinen ursprünglichen schamanistischen Charakter verwässert und den kultischen Gruppentanz gepflegt. Da von den Bon her der Wetterbann dort sehr in Übung war, hat er auch diesen übernommen, was seiner Art ja nahelag. Wahrscheinlich sind die wetterbeschwörenden Bon in ihnen aufgegangen.

Die Tujen haben ihren mongolischen Schamanismus ebenfalls in diesen Fashih-Schamanismus einfließen lassen und auf diesen den ursprünglichen Namen *bō* übertragen. Ein Tujen-*bō* meinte einmal: „Wir haben mit den mongolischen Schamanen eine Wurzel." Vom Lamaismus ist dieser Schamanismus ferngeblieben, ebenso von den Gurtum; zwischen ihm und diesen besteht vielmehr eine gewisse Rivalität.

Die Frage der *bō* oder *fa-shih* verlangt eine weitgehende Darstellung des chinesischen Schamanismus überhaupt, welche bereits begonnen ist.

b) Die Gurtum oder Kriegerschamanen

Kennzeichnung

Erscheinungsbild. — Bei den Tujen trägt der Gurtum einen roten Mantel, der mit einem Tuchgürtel zusammengehalten wird, einen Schulterkragen, einen Brustspiegel, ein lamaistisches Amulett oder ein Hada (Zeremonientuch) im Brustbeutel, ein Kopftuch, das die Augen verhüllt, einen Schellenkranz um die Stirne und darüber die fünfteilige lamaistische Krone. Seine wichtigste Ausrüstung ist das Schwert, ohne das er überhaupt nicht schamanisiert, so daß man den Tujen-Gurtum eigentlich „Schwertschamane" nennen müßte. Er gebraucht aber auch andere Waffen, wie den Geisterspeer und das Messer. Bei größeren Zeremonien arbeitet er auch mit Sieb, Worfelwanne und fünf Papiermännchen, die im Chinesischen *wu-tao shen* heißen, was man mit „Fünf-Richtungs-Geister" übersetzen könnte.

Der ganze Typ des Gurtum ist der eines Kriegers, welcher im Dämonenkampf das Unheil bannt. Neben diesem volkstümlichen Erscheinungsbild, das ziemlich vollkommen ist, finden sich auch noch einfache, entartete Typen, die sogar über einem modernen europäischen Anzug nur noch die allernotwendigste Ausrüstung tragen, etwa das Kopftuch, den Brustspiegel und das Schwert. Bei feierlichen Schwertkämpfen jedoch treten sie wieder in voller Tracht auf.

Die vornehmste Form des Gurtum ist zweifellos der lamaistische Tempelschamane. Er tritt in prächtigem Waffenrock auf, mit Pfeil und Bogen und

Geisterspeer. Auf dem Rücken trägt er kleine Fähnchen, wie der ehemalige chinesische Feldherr, und erweist sich dadurch als Führer einer Armee, deren Teile durch eben diese Fähnchen dargestellt werden. Wenn man diese Gurtum — z. B. in Kumbum oder Kuo-mang-szu — sieht, denkt man unwillkürlich an die traditionellen chinesischen Theaterhelden. Andererseits erinnern sie in ihrer sonstigen Ausrüstung durchaus an die lamaistischen Kriegsgötter, welche als Schutzherren der Lehre gelten. Zwar lassen sie im einzelnen auch Spielarten zu, aber im großen und ganzen bleibt der Typ dieser Tempelschamanen gleich, und sie werden ganz allgemein wie die Volks-Gurtum mit dem gleichen Namen bezeichnet.

Das Schriftchinesische führt außerdem noch den Namen *hu-ʃa*, was eine Übersetzung von *c'os skyoṅ* oder *Dharmapala* ist. Auch J. F. ROCK hebt deren Ähnlichkeit mit einem Heerführer hervor: „The Dharmapāla are demon-generals who execute the will of the tutelaries, or demon-kings. They are hideous and fierce-looking and each commands a horde of demons" (Na-khi Kingdom, I, p. 210, note 26).

Der Schamanencharakter. Das Wort „Gurtum", im Tujen *sgurdien*, im Chinesischen *ku-erh-tien* oder *ku-wai-tien*, stammt aus der tibetisch-lamaistischen Terminologie. Es kommt vom Worte *sku-rten* und nicht, wie F. LESSING meint, von *skur-bltams*, Körperschlenkerer (F. LESSING: Mongolen, p. 143). Nach CH. DAS (536) bedeutet *rten* etwas, was stützt, trägt oder etwas enthält; *sku-rten* besagt nach ihm soviel wie: der Träger oder das Behältnis einer Person selbst, ein Götter- oder Buddhabild. Auf p. 89 führt er *sku-rten* als eine Abkürzung der drei Aspekte *sku, gsuṅ, t'ugs-rten* an. Nach p. 91 sind *sku-gsuṅ-t'ugs* der Leib, die Rede und das Denken, also die drei Bereiche des menschlichen Handelns oder Leidens: Tat, Wort, Gedanke. Über die kosmisch-mythologische Zuordnung dieser Aspekte zu den Weltengegenden und den fünf *c'os skyoṅ* vgl. weiter unten. Der Ausdruck *sku-rten* besagt also, daß der Gurtum das Behältnis einer Gottheit ist, die in ihm handelt, redet und denkt. Das ist aber nichts anderes als ein ausgesprochener Besessenheits-Schamanismus, auf eine einfache buddhistische Formel gebracht. Der Gurtum stellt eine Gottheit dar.

Ob man den Gurtum im „klassischen" Sinn als einen Schamanen ansprechen darf, ist eine Frage, die erst mit der endgültigen Klärung des Schamanen-Begriffes überhaupt beantwortet werden kann. Man hat sich bei der Bestimmung des Schamanismus bisher zu stark mit dessen sibirischer Form befaßt und besonders den Seelenflug ins Jenseits als ein „klassisches" Kennzeichen hervorgehoben, vor allem beim „Vogeltyp" des Schamanen[9]. Hier ist nicht der Ort, näher auf diese Frage einzugehen, die einer späteren

[9] Die einseitige Bevorzugung des sibirischen Schamanismus findet sich leider auch in dem hervorragenden Werke von MIRCEA ELIADE: Le Chamanisme; darin werden zwar Vergleiche mit andern Erdteilen angestellt und auch die „südlichen" und buddhistischen Einflüsse berücksichtigt; sie werden jedoch nur als zweitrangig und unwesentlich dargetan; vor allem aber ist die so eigenartige Ausprägung des lamaistischen Schamanismus in der Gestalt des Gurtum vollständig übergangen.

Behandlung vorbehalten ist. Es sei aber doch schon vorweggenommen, daß der Gurtum ein echter Schamane ist, von gleichem schamanistischem Rang wie der sibirische. Wer Gelegenheit hatte, einen Gurtum zu beobachten, wird ihn nicht einfach für einen Besessenen halten. Der Gurtum ist ebenfalls an die rituellen Forderungen und Formen gebunden wie etwa sein sibirischer Genosse: Berufung (Vision), Schutzgeist, Prüfung, Tracht und Ausrüstung, Ekstase usw. Zudem deutet vieles darauf hin, daß er früher auch den Seelenflug kannte.

Der religiöse Charakter. — Was bisher von der Natur und Tätigkeit des Gurtum gesagt wurde, zeigt, daß sie auf einer passiven, empfangenden Grundhaltung beruhen, einer Grundhaltung, die dem Kriegerschamanen zu widersprechen scheint. Aber das Abhängigkeitsverhältnis, im Bereiche der „göttlichen" Besessenheit, gegenüber dem Besitzergeist ist eindeutig. Es fehlt die aktive Zwingbarkeit, die Eigenmächtigkeit, wie sie das Wesenselement der Magie darstellt. Die Grundlage ist religiös, nicht magisch.

Der Gurtum kann von sich aus nichts zu seiner Berufung tun. Sie kommt ungewollt, mitunter wider Willen, über ihn. Er wird eines Tages visionär vom Geiste erfaßt, in Ekstase versetzt und erkennt im Gesichte seinen zukünftigen Besitzer. Dieses Erwähltwerden wird am auffälligsten anerkannt bei der Suche der Klöster nach einem Schamanen. Wenn auch die einzelnen Klöster darauf bedacht sind, einen Gurtum zu besitzen, so kann doch kein Kloster einen seiner Insassen dazu bestimmen oder heranschulen, obwohl das bei dem tantristischen Lamaismus zu erwarten wäre. Sie bleiben jahrelang ohne den erwünschten schamanistischen Wahrsager, bis eines Tages jemand gefunden wird, der von einer Gottheit erwählt wurde, ihr Behältnis zu sein. Die Berufung ist ein freies Geschenk, das nicht vererbt wird. Vom Kloster Kumbum ist bekannt, daß es lange Zeit zur Strafe auf einen Gurtum, in dem sich der Orakelgott gegenwärtigsetzte, verzichten mußte.

Alles, was der Gurtum vollbringt, tut er in der Kraft seines Besitzergeistes, ähnlich wie ein Instrument, und nicht auf Grund bestimmter Handlungen, Gesten oder Formeln. Das Herbeiführen der Ekstase ist kein Herabzwingen des Geistes, sondern eine durch die Berufung übertragene zeremonielle Gewalt, die den Geist nicht seiner Freiheit beraubt. Der Schamane erhält erst von seinem Schutzherrn selbst diese Vollmacht, und zwar unter bestimmten Voraussetzungen, wie Enthaltsamkeit, Anlegen der Tracht, Einladungsgebet. Dieses Gebet ist, wie sein Name besagt, keine Zauberformel, sondern ein Lobpreis und eine Bitte; es wirkt nicht aus sich, ebensowenig wie das Anlegen der Ausrüstung allein schon die Gottheit herabziehen würde.

Auch das Bezwingen der Dämonen im Geisterkampf der Trance, das Wahrsagen, Heilen usw. geschieht durch den Geist im Schamanen; er ist eigentlich der Krieger, der Wahrsager, der Heiler. Seine Gegenwart ist wesentlich. Darum fällt das Volk auch vor dem Gurtum nieder und verehrt ihn wie einen Gott. Schließlich hat auch der Schamane selbst seinem Schutzgeist gegenüber die Pflicht der Verehrung; er muß ihm Weihrauch verbrennen, Opfer darbringen, und er betet zu ihm. — Dieser religiöse Charakter des Gurtum schließt jedoch keineswegs alle Magie aus. Wegen seiner besonderen Stellung liegt es

vielmehr nahe, daß er auch sonstige Zauberpraktiken übt; aber dann nicht in seiner Eigenschaft als Schamane, sondern als ein Mensch, dem man besonders vertraut, da er mit der Geisterwelt in Verbindung steht; vgl. oben p. 215.

Einordnung

Der heutige **chinesische Schamanismus** in der Gestalt der Fashih, Wushih oder Shihkung und auch der frühere Wuismus hat keine unmittelbare Verbindung zum Gurtum. Die chinesischen Schamanen sind weiblich orientiert, auf den Ackerbau eingestellt und vererben ihr Amt innerhalb der Sippe; sie haben den Tanz und die Trommel, die Trance ist verkümmert, und die Riten sind taoistisch überwuchert. Das alles trifft nicht auf den Gurtum zu. Er ist der Typ des männlichen Kriegers, kennt keine Trommel, sondern Waffen, und keinen Tanz, sondern Kampf. Er kann sein Amt nicht vererben, sondern erhält es durch Einzelberufung. Auf eine gewisse Gegnerschaft zwischen ihm und den Fashih wurde schon hingewiesen.

Der jetzige **sibirische Schamane** zeigt ebenfalls ein anderes Erscheinungsbild. Auch er kennt die Trommel und übt meist eine Art Tanz. Das Schamanenkleid hat nicht den einheitlichen Typ wie das des Gurtums, und ist mit allerlei Dingen, Eisen, Federn, Figuren usw. behangen. In der Ekstase ahmt er den Himmelsaufstieg oder die Seelenreise nach, die ich beim Gurtum nicht feststellen konnte, wenn auch LESSING (Mongolen, p. 148) eine solche andeutet. Ferner besteht zwischen dieser Art Schamanen, die im Mongolischen *bö* (*böge*) und im Tujen *bō* heißen, und dem Gurtum ein bewußter Gegensatz, den auch LESSING a. a. O. hervorhebt. Auch W. HEISSIG hat die Verschiedenheit dieser beiden Gruppen bei den Ostmongolen angetroffen; vgl. HEISSIG: Schamanen, p. 40. Dort werden die Gurtum auch „Lajing" genannt. Genau wie die Tujen unterscheiden auch die Chinesen zwischen dem *bō* (Fashih) und dem Gurtum (*fa-la-tzu* oder *ku-êrh-tien*).

Die Zugehörigkeit des Gurtum zum Lamaismus steht also in seiner jetzigen Gestalt außer Zweifel. Zunächst fällt sein Verbreitungsgebiet mit dem des Lamaismus zusammen. Man findet den Gurtum in Tibet, Amdo und der Mongolei. Ihn als spezifisch mongolisch zu bezeichnen, wie das mitunter in der Redewendung „der mongolische Gurtum" geschieht, ist irreführend. Er wurde zwar vorwiegend von Reisenden im mongolischen Gebiet beschrieben, aber eingehende Studien über ihn standen bisher noch aus. Für den Gurtum gibt es keinen ursprünglich mongolischen Namen, und der allgemeine Terminus *bō* (*böge*, *bügü*) für Schamane ist nicht auf ihn anwendbar. Alle Namen sind tibetisch.

Welche Stellung aber nimmt der Gurtum im Lamaismus ein? Seine Hauptaufgabe scheint sich in der Darstellung der Schutzgötter zu erschöpfen, die einen besonderen Vorstellungsbereich bilden. Schon bei Erklärung des Namens „Gurtum" wurde auf die drei Aspekte hingewiesen, die unter dem Worte *sku* zusammengefaßt werden. Die lamaistischen Schutzgottheiten tragen nun auch den Sammelnamen „die fünf Körper", neben dem andern Namen „die fünf Könige" (mongolisch: *tabun xaġan*) oder „die Schützer der

Lehre" (tibetisch: *c'os skyoṅ*). R. BLEICHSTEINER hat in seinem Artikel „Srog-bdag, der Herr des Lebens" (Archiv für Völkerkunde [Wien] 5. 1950. pp. 104-138) die Beziehungen zwischen den drei Aspekten, den Himmelsrichtungen und Weltenhütern, die ja mit den fünf Schutzherren zusammenfallen, aufgezeigt. Hier sind offenbar Elemente verschiedener Herkunft im spekulativen Schmelztiegel des Buddhismus unter der beliebten Parallelisierung von Mikrokosmos und Makrokosmos vereinigt worden. Die Gegenwärtigsetzung dieser Gestalten und die kultische Auswertung geschieht durch den Gurtum oder, wie er als Darsteller der Schutzgottheiten auch heißt, den *sruṅ-ba* (*ma*). Beim volkstümlichen Gurtum tritt diese Beziehung ebenfalls zutage durch die Verwendung der in Papier geschnittenen *wu-tao-shen* in verschiedenen Farben, wovon vorhin die Rede war. Es scheint aber, daß diese Beziehung mehr äußerlich ist und dem eigentlichen Tempel-Gurtum zukommt, wogegen der Volksgurtum stärker mit dem Berggeist und Obo verbunden ist.

Der Fremdcharakter des Gurtum im Lamaismus. — Wenn auch die heutige Gestalt des Gurtum, wie eben betont wurde, seinem Erscheinungsbild, seinem Namen und seinem Vorstellungsbereich nach zum Lamaismus gehört, so ist diese Zugehörigkeit doch nicht so eng, wie es scheint.

Zunächst weist die schamanistische Grundlage des Gurtum aus dem Lamaismus hinaus. Wohl hat der tantristische Lamaismus seine besonderen Voraussetzungen für das Verlebendigen und Darstellen von Gottheiten; vgl. dazu GLASENAPP in ZDMG 90. 1936. p. 552 (zitiert nach HOFFMANN: Quellen, p. 206) und H. FINDEISEN: Eine Erscheinung Yamantakas, p. 2 f. Auch die Beseelung der Götteridole liegt in dieser Richtung. Aber diese Voraussetzungen sind für das Schamane-Sein des Gurtum nicht maßgebend. Der religiöse Charakter des Gurtum entzieht sich diesen magisch betonten Riten. Seine Berufung, seine Kraft, sind vom Lamaismus unabhängig. Der Schamane ist Laie. Dasselbe bestätigt W. HEISSIG (a. a. O. p. 40): „Der Layičing gehört jedoch zu keiner geistlichen Gemeinschaft, sondern ist Laie." Erst wenn er Schamane geworden ist, erhält er im Kloster seine Bestätigung und eine lamaistische Belehrung. Die im ersten Teil geschilderten Bräuche um den Gurtum und die Hilflosigkeit der Klöster bei der Suche nach einem Tempelschamanen erhellen diese Tatsache zur Genüge. Das schließt natürlich nicht aus, daß im Einzelfall eine Schamanenberufung auf einen Lama treffen kann. Doch ist das nicht die Regel, wie die große Zahl der Volksgurtum außerhalb der Klöster beweist, wenigstens im Kukunorgebiet.

Ferner scheinen die im Gurtum dargestellten Schutzgötter nicht im Lamaismus beheimatet zu sein; beim Volksgurtum mit seiner Verbindung zum volkstümlichen Berggeist ist das von vorneherein zu erwarten, aber auch nicht minder bei den *c'os-skyoṅ*; denn wo ist beim Lamaismus die Grenze zwischen Originellem und Entlehntem zu ziehen? BLEICHSTEINER schreibt (a. a. O. p. 111): „Die Beziehungen *Pekars* und der fünf Könige überhaupt sind so mannigfaltig und verwickelt, daß eine Entwirrung ungeheuer schwierig erscheint." Aber das eine steht wohl fest: zwei von diesen Königen, *Pekar* und *dGra-lha*, stammen aus vorbuddhistischem Bereich.

Schon der Name *Pekar*, des Besitzergeistes jenes berühmten Staatsorakels von *gNas-c'uṅ*, findet in seinen vielen Formen keine hinreichende lamaistische Erklärung. Mag auch neuerdings TUCCI die Ansicht GRÜNWEDELS bestätigen, welcher im Anschluß an SCHIEFNER den Namen *dPe-kar* vom Sanskritwort *vihārā* (= Kloster) ableitet, so macht diese Erklärung doch zu sehr den Eindruck eines „ad hoc", weil *Pekar* eben zum Klosterbeschützer aufgerückt ist. BLEICHSTEINER vermehrt denn auch, nicht von dieser Deutung überzeugt, die Namenserklärungen um eine neue und leitet das Wort *Pekar* aus dem Iranischen ab; vgl. A. GRÜNWEDEL: Mythologie, p. 182, Anmerkung 2; R. BLEICHSTEINER, a. a. O. pp. 107 und 111 f.

Noch entschiedener als den Namen *Pekars* verweist BLEICHSTEINER die Gestalt *Pekars* in die Fremde: „Mit Ausnahme der Legende ..., wonach der große Magier *Padmasambhava* den Dämon *Pehar* oder *Pekar* aus dem indischen Kloster Odantapuri nach dem von ihm gegründeten Kloster bSam-yas als Wächter und Schatzhüter gebracht habe, sind die Quellen über seine Herkunft aus Ostturkestan ziemlich einig." Zur Bekräftigung zitiert er noch TUCCI: „Der letztgenannte Forscher hält *Pekar* für einen fremden Stammesgott, der später in Tibet eingeführt und von *Padmasambhava* zum Buddhismus bekehrt wurde." BLEICHSTEINER, a. a. O. pp. 110, 111; vgl. auch H. HOFFMANN: Quellen, p. 163.

So wie *Pekar* der wichtigste Vertreter der fünf Weltenhüter, bzw. der fünf *c'os-skyoṅ*, ist, so ist *dGra-lha* die Hauptgestalt unter den fünf persönlichen Schutzgeistern, der mit *Srog-bdag* auch unter die kosmischen Weltenhüter aufgerückt ist. Auch hier ist die Zuordnung von Mikrokosmos und Makrosmos und die gegenseitige Durchdringung hervorzuheben. *dGra-lha*, der wie *Pekar* als Krieger auftritt, gehört in die vorbuddhistische Bon-Schicht. Daran kann nach den Ausführungen BLEICHSTEINERS, der sich auf HOFFMANN stützt, kein Zweifel bestehen; vgl. BLEICHSTEINER, a. a. O. pp. 108 und 118 f.; HOFFMANN: Quellen, p. 171 ff. Hier sei der Hinweis gestattet, daß bei den Ch'ing-hai-Chinesen sich diese persönlichen Schutzgeister in buddhistischer Umwandlung finden, und zwar in den sogenannten „goldenen Lampen", die jeder Mann unsichtbarerweise auf seinem Körper trägt, davon auch zwei auf den Schultern.

Auf die andern Gestalten der fünf Könige einzugehen, erübrigt sich hier, weil über sie einstweilen keine Klarheit zu gewinnen ist. Das Weltbild, dem sie angehören, hat trotz aller buddhistischen Züge doch eine so breite Basis, daß es von Zentralasien nach Indien und in den Alten Orient hineinreicht; denn auch die Weltbergvorstellung und Weltenrichtungs-Ordnung mit entsprechenden Hütern stammt letztlich nicht aus dem Buddhismus, mag sie auch — von ihm übernommen und umgedeutet — wie auf einem „Fahrzeug" über weite Teile des Orients gebracht worden sein.

Der Berggeist, der Hauptschutzgeist der Volksgurtum, ist so offensichtlich vorbuddhistisch, daß er hier nicht weiter erörtert zu werden braucht. Es ist darauf bei Beschreibung der Wetterburgen in Ch'ing-hai zurückzukommen. Über die Berggeister hat HOFFMANN (Quellen, pp. 159 und 166) unter Hinweis auf die entsprechende Literatur berichtet. Er reiht sie als vorbuddhistische

Götter unter den Typ der *rGyal-po*, zu dem auch die *c'os-skyoṅ* gehören, ein. Die Abbildung des Berggottes *Kangchendzönga* läßt eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit mit dem Gurtum erkennen (pp. 166/7).

Die Stellung des Gurtum innerhalb des Lamaismus ergibt also, daß er dort nicht ursprünglich ist. Sowohl das Schamane-Sein als solches wie die von ihm dargestellten Besitzergeister stammen von früheren nichtbuddhistischen Schichten. Lamaistisch sind nur die Anpassung und Dienstbarmachung für die buddhistische Gemeinde als deren Schutzherrn (Kloster), die spekulative Einordnung unter die „Aspekte", die rituelle Verbrämung bei Prüfung und Funktion des Gurtums und gewisse Gebete, schließlich das Angleichen an die Tracht der buddhistischen Gottheiten; also alles mehr oder weniger unwesentliche Elemente. Aber einheitlich geht durch die verschiedenen Darstellungen der Typ des schützenden Kriegers. Somit wird die Frage nach der Herkunft des Gurtum zur Frage nach der Herkunft des Kriegerschamanen.

Die Herkunft des Kriegerschamanen

Diese Frage kann hier im Rahmen einer Darstellung über die Tujenreligion auch nicht annähernd erschöpfend behandelt werden, hängt sie doch eng mit dem Ursprung des Schamanismus überhaupt zusammen. Die folgenden Punkte sind daher nur als skizzenhafte Hinweise für eine spätere Untersuchung aufzufassen.

Kriegerschamane und Bonreligion. H. HOFFMANN schreibt in seinem Buche (Quellen, p. 194) vom *gNas c'uṅ*-Orakel: „Er ist also ein lebendiges Relikt des Bontums im Lamaismus und zwar jener Seite des Bontums, die dem Schamanismus der sibirischen Völker äußerst nahesteht ...". Auf p. 205 kommt er auf die gleiche Feststellung zurück, nachdem er im gleichen Kapitel die schamanistischen Elemente im Bontum herausgestellt hat. Aber der dort gezeichnete Typ des Bon-Schamanen entspricht nicht dem Typ des Gurtum oder Kriegerschamanen. Die Kleidung ist verschieden, und der Bon-Schamane arbeitet mit der einseitig bespannten Reifentrommel (vgl. a. a. O. p. 201). Auch eine Art Kesselpauke wird dabei verwandt. Auf seiner Trommel reitet der Bon-pa in Ekstase himmelwärts. Diesen Schamanentyp schließt HOFFMANN ganz richtig an die heutige sibirische Form des Schamanismus an (p. 202 f.). Zwei wichtige Elemente, die Reifentrommel und der Seelenflug, treten beim Kriegerschamanen nicht hervor. Zwar werden im Tempel, wie ich es in Kumbum und Kuomang-szu beobachten konnte, bei Überführung des Gurtum in die Trance ebenfalls große, doppelseitige Trommeln geschlagen, aber nur von den assistierenden Lamas; und zwar die Trommeln, die auch sonst beim Gottesdienst gebraucht werden. Nicht aber wird die Reifentrommel benutzt, von der HOFFMANN (a. a. O. p. 203) eine Abbildung bringt. Vollends fehlt beim Gurtum die notwendige Beziehung zwischen Trommel und Himmelsaufstieg. Die hier geschilderte Art des Bon-Schamanismus scheint vielmehr ihr Relikt bei den Fashih im chinesischen Kukunorgebiet zu haben, deren enge Beziehung zum Bontum schon oben vermutet wurde, zumal diese Fashih (oder *bö*) besonders gerade in der Gegend von

Kuei-tê am gleichen Fluß, wo heute noch das Bontum ziemlich stark ist, sehr häufig vertreten sind. — Es soll in keiner Weise bestritten werden, daß der Typ des *gNas-c'uṅ*-Orakels ein Relikt aus dem Bontum sei. Aber so wie das Bontum überhaupt kein homogenes Gebilde ist, so wird auch der in ihm enthaltene Schamanismus nicht von einem einheitlichen Typ gewesen sein. Und gerade, wenn das *gNas-c'uṅ*-Orakel ein Relikt aus dem Bontum ist, so beweist das, daß auch hier, wie sonst, wenigstens zwei Schamanentypen vorhanden waren : die sibirischen Trommelschamanen und die Kriegerschamanen [10]. Ein Element, das HOFFMANN deutlich kennzeichnet, muß jedoch beim Kriegerschamanen berücksichtigt werden, nämlich die Zusammenhänge zwischen Vogel und Schamane (p. 199 f.).

Kriegerschamane und Schutzgeister-Helden. — Beim Schamanismus spielen die Schutz- oder Hilfsgeister eine ausschlaggebende Rolle. Diese Geister sind beim Besessenheitsschamanen, also auch beim Kriegerschamanen, zugleich die Besitzergeister. Über die Kriegergestalten der Schutzgeister der Tempelschamanen wurde bereits das Wichtigste gesagt, als von den fünf Königen, besonders von *Pekar* und *dGra-lha*, die Rede war.

Zum *dGra-lha* der Tibeter findet sich das Gegenstück beim Glücks-Schutzherrn der Mongolen, wie er bereits oben im Abschnitt über den Himmelskult (p. 234) geschildert wurde, und zwar in der Gestalt des *dsayači* und dessen Weiterführung im Sülde. Den kriegerischen Charakter der Sülde-Tengri hat der Mongole DORDSCHI BANZAROV in seinem „Černaja vjera ili šamanstvo u Mongolov" (1846) ausführlich beschrieben. Nur ein charakteristisches Zitat sei hier in der Verarbeitung von P. W. SCHMIDT gebracht (UdG, X, p. 79) : „Die neun *sülde-tengri* sind ihrem Charakter nach immer dazu da, um uns zu beschützen. Sie werden dargestellt in kriegerischer Haltung, als wenn ihnen ein Kampf mit jemandem bevorstünde, in der Art von Reitern, in Panzer gekleidet, auf ihren Köpfen Helme tragend, mit Schwertern und Speeren bewaffnet, in der einen Hand eine Knute, in der andern eine Fahne haltend. Sie werden von Falken begleitet, ebenso von einem Löwen, einem Panther, Bären und Hunden." P. W. SCHMIDT macht zu dieser seiner Ausführung die Bemerkung : „Diese Darstellung hat BANZAROW, wie er angibt, entnommen dem IV. Bande der Werke von MERGEN DIYANČI ; er verfaßte das Buch über die diesen Genien dargebrachten Opfer." (UdG. a. a. O.). Über das Verhältnis des *dGra-lha* zum *Sülde* oder zu den mongolischen Glückstengri und deren kriegerischen Charakter sowie ihre Darstellung im Feldzeichen und auf Fahnen (Jusun-Sülde) hat LÜDTKE im Anschluß an POTANIN, WADDEL, GRÜNWEDEL und andere russische sowie mongolische Quellen berichtet ;

[10] Viel eher läßt sich der Gurtum-Typ des *gNas-c'uṅ*-Orakels an *Gšen-rab* selber anschließen oder an den *Dto-mba Shi-lo* der Na-khi, den Begründer des Bon-Schamanismus. Das Zeichen für *Dto-mba Shi-lo* ist *Ssu*, also der Ahnherr, Schutzgott und letzten Endes der Lebensgott der Na-khi-Familie ; vgl. J. F. ROCK : Dto-mba Shi-lo, p. 45, note 2. Damit ist die Verbindung zu den Grundgestalten der andern Besitzergeister des Gurtum hergestellt, die sich ja letztlich ebenfalls als Lebensgott erweisen. — Übrigens gleichen die Dto-mbas mit ihren Schwertern und Dämonenkämpfen („sham battles") dem Gurtum ; vgl. J. F. ROCK : a. a. O. p. 77, Pl. 12.

s. LÜDTKE: Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans . . ., a. a. O. pp. 110-115. Es handelt sich hier um einen überirdischen Doppelgänger des Menschen, der als kriegerischer Schutzherr gedacht wird, und der Wohl und Wehe seines Schützlings teilt und beeinflußt; vgl. dazu auch BLEICHSTEINER (bzw. HOFFMANN), Srogbdag, p. 118 f. Es ist hier nicht möglich, die Vorbilder und eventuellen Urtypen dieser kriegerischen Doppelgänger und „Alter Ego's" alle anzuführen. Sie sind räumlich und zeitlich sehr verbreitet, wie der Schutzgeisterglaube überhaupt, und reichen über die archaischen Hochkulturen in noch frühere Zeiten (Megalithikum) zurück; vgl. DOMINIK WÖLFEL: Die Religionen des vorindogermanischen Europa. Eine Sonderentwicklung stellen die Süldebanner der mongolischen Khane dar, wodurch auch bezeugt wird, daß es sich bei diesen Schutzgeistern um wirkliche Lokalisationen und Besitzergreifung handelt.

Daß diese Schutzgeister mit Ahnen in Verbindung stehen, zum Teil damit identisch sind, ist ebenfalls zur Genüge belegbar, wie das im Schamanentum immer wieder betont wird. Hier sei noch auf einen besonderen Zug hingewiesen: die schamanistische Verwendung von Rüstungen und Waffen. Mein Gewährsmann erzählte mir, daß die Tujen früher die Waffen und Rüstungen berühmter Volkshelden in die Tempel gebracht hätten, wo sie aufbewahrt wurden. Wenn dann ein berufener Schamane diese Rüstungen angelegt hätte, seien die Kräfte und der Geist des Helden auf ihn herabgekommen. Hier liegt offenbar die Verschiebung einer alten Volkssitte in den Lamaismus vor; denn vordem war der Hüter und Sachwalter des *ayil* (Stammes) der Berggeist im Obo; er bewahrte die Waffen, und in früheren Zeiten wurden auch Rüstungen im Obo vergraben; vgl. oben p. 228 f. und das Kapitel über das Obo. Anthropos 47. 1952. pp. 63 ff. So wie sich die Volksfeste vom Obo später zum lamaistischen Tempel verlagerten, so geschah es auch mit den Waffen und Rüstungen und dem damit verbundenen Anlegen durch den Schamanen. Von hier aus erklärt sich auch die heute noch besonders enge Verbindung des Volksgurtum mit dem Berggeist und Obo und sein kriegerischer Charakter. Daß das Obo eine besondere Beziehung zum Stammherrn und dessen Nachkommenschaft hat, ist bekannt. Ebenso wird von Geser, der ja nach der Tujenversion auch Ahnherr der Tujen ist, erzählt, wie er die überirdische Rüstung anlegte, die für die besondere Aufgabe des Kampfes gegen die Übel der Menschheit im Himmel bereitgehalten wird.

Ähnliches berichtet HEISSIG von den Ostmongolen: „In den Klöstern werden, der Überlieferung zufolge, Waffen, Helm und Kriegsharnische von berühmten, vielleicht sagenhaften mongolischen Helden aufbewahrt . . . Diese Helden und ihre Rüstungen führen den Namen Coyjing (lit. *coyijung*). Jeden Monat ein- oder zweimal sollen sich im Küriye-Banner nach vorhergehendem Beten und Fasten einige Lama-Mönche mit den Rüstungen der Coyijing bekleiden und die dazugehörigen Waffen ergreifen. Über ihre Träger und Rüstungen kommen alsbald die Geister und Kräfte der Helden. Die Lama geraten in Ekstase . . ."; vgl. HEISSIG: Schamanen a. a. O. p. 41. Unter Coyjing sind natürlich die tibetischen *c'os-skyoṅ* zu verstehen. Aber auch hier wirkt die alte Vorstellung weiter, die Kräfte der alten Helden durch Aufbewahren der Rüstungen und Waffen der Nachwelt zu erhalten.

Man könnte diese Sitte eine schamanistische Konservierung des Altertums nennen. Jedenfalls fällt jedem Besucher lamaistischer Tempel und Heiligtümer der reiche Vorrat an Waffen, Bannern usw. auf. Vielleicht geht auch die Tujensitte, die Kleider der Verstorbenen dem Kloster zu schenken, auf diese Vorstellung zurück, wenn sie auch heute nur noch als ein *bosĕ*, eine Gebetsgebühr, aufgefaßt werden. Wo in einem Kloster ein Schamane fehlt, der die Rüstung anlegen kann, wird eine künstliche Figur damit bekleidet. Ein solches mit alten Waffen ausgerüstetes Standbild sah ich einmal in der Pforte des Wahrsagertempels zu dGon-luṅ in sitzender Haltung ausgestellt, so wie auch der Gurtum zu Anfang seiner Trance dem Bilde seines Schutzgeistes im Tempel gegenübersitzt. Das Volk zog an diesem Bild vorbei und gab ihm die entsprechende Verehrung; es nannte diese Figur ebenfalls *sgurdien*.

Der Kriegerschamane ist weit verbreitet und war es schon in vorlamaistischer Zeit. Für seine Anwesenheit in Altchina bietet B. LAUFER deutliche Belege in seinem Buche: Chinese Clay Figures. Er bringt mehrere Abbildungen ausgegrabener Statuetten und datiert diese bis in die Chou-Zeit, in eine „archaic period" zurück; vgl. die Legende zu Plate XVII. LAUFER kennzeichnet diese Figuren ausgesprochen als Schamanen „in the act of throwing a spear during a struggle with demons". p. 277 geht er nochmals näher auf die Deutung dieser Figuren ein: „In the grim faces ... the demoniacal power of these armored knights ... is well represented. The helmet-mask is formed by a bird's head with a strong flavor of the Indian Garuda ... A shawl is elegantly draped around the shoulders, and tied in a knot over the chest, the two iron breastplates being visible beneath it." — Es handelt sich also um denselben Typ des Kriegers wie beim Gurtum: mit Helm, Waffen, Schulterbehang, Dämonenkampf usw. — Es lassen sich sicher noch andere Belege für Altchina anführen, etwa im Anschluß an die neueren Veröffentlichungen von C. HENTZE. — Ebenso dürften solche Typen für Indien, Indonesien und den alten Vorderen Orient nachweisbar sein im Zusammenhang mit den alten iranischen Kriegsgöttern und den entsprechenden Gestalten im Hinduismus, Indra, Shiva usw.; vgl. dazu R. BLEICHSTEINER (gestützt auf GRÜNWEDEL) a. a. O. pp. 111-124.

Kriegerschamane und Vogel. — Die Zusammenhänge zwischen Vogel und Schamanismus sind in der Literatur oft genug hervorgehoben worden. Der Vogeltyp des Schamanen ist einer von den Grundtypen. Meist ist der Urahn des Schamanen, oder der erste Schamane, ein Vogel oder durch einen Vogel inkarniert. Aber auch die Helden der Volkssagen werden oft in Verbindung mit einem Vogelahnen gebracht. So soll z. B. der Geser der Tujen als Kuckuck auf die Erde gesandt worden sein. Gilt diese Beziehung schon allgemein, so läßt sich besonders der Kriegerschamane mit der Vogelgestalt in Verbindung bringen. Man hat zu beweisen versucht, daß seine Rüstung auf den Federpanzer, also auf das Schamanenkleid vom Vogeltyp zurückgeht. Auf die Quellen kann hier nicht weiter eingegangen werden. Der von B. LAUFER erwähnte Federhelm des altchinesischen Schamanen und der federnverzierte Helm des *gNas-c'uṅ*-Gurtums, sowie der Bericht von GEORGI in seinem „Alphabetum Tibetanum" weisen in diese Richtung.

Diese Verbindung zwischen Krieger und Vogel wird erst sinnvoll, wenn man diesen als eine Solarisierung des Ahnen-Helden auffaßt. Sowohl die Mythologien der ältesten chinesischen Ausgrabungen (vgl. die Arbeiten von C. HENTZE) als auch die indisch-altorientalischen Vorstellungen bringen den Vogel (den indischen Garuda) als ein Lichtsymbol in Gegensatz zur Dunkelheit, die gerne als Schlange aufgefaßt wird (Garuda - Schlange). Die geflügelte Sonne ist im chinesischen Altertum, in den archaischen Kulturen Vorderasiens und in der Religion der mittelamerikanischen Hochkulturen eine bekannte Erscheinung, ebenso die Gleichsetzung von Sonnenvogel und König oder Held in Aegypten. Dieses Motiv des kämpfenden Lichtes gegen die Finsternis, des Lichtvogels gegen die Dunkelheits-Schlange findet sich auch in Amerika so weit verbreitet, daß neuerdings PAUL RADIN es als eine grundlegende Lebensauffassung der Völker aufstellt; vgl. RADIN: The Basic Myth of the American Indians; in: Eranos 1949.

Der Kriegerschamane ist letzten Endes nichts anderes als der mythische Urvogel, der zu den menschlichen Ahnen in besonderem Verhältnis steht und die Mächte der Finsternis, das Unheil in der Welt bekämpft. Er ist somit hineinbezogen in die uralte Menschheitsmythologie und das uralte Erlebnis vom Kampfe zwischen Licht und Finsternis, wie es etwa VON OW für die Lebensauffassung des Avesta formuliert hat: „Die eranische Religion griff tief in das Privatleben ein. Hauptaufgabe nach dem Avesta war es: zu kämpfen gegen die Mächte der Finsternis. Diese Idee soll schon die Kleidung des Eraniers versinnbildlichen, welche als Rüstung betrachtet wird" (Ow: Hom, pp. 142 f.).

Die Vogelsymbolik des Schamanismus ist vieldeutig. Im sibirischen Schamanismus tritt mehr die Eigenschaft des Fluges hervor, im Gurtumschamanismus mehr die Eigenschaft des Lichtes. Gemeinsam ist schließlich beiden, daß der Schamane Anwalt des Lebens ist. Licht ist Leben und steht im Gegensatz zu Finsternis und Tod. Darum ist der Schamane als Vertreter des Lichtes und des Lebens notwendig auch Kämpfer und Krieger.

c) Zusammenfassung

Somit schließt sich der Kreis um den lamaistischen Gurtum. Der lamaistische Gurtum entstand aus zwei Komponenten, einer vorlamaistischen und einer lamaistischen. Die vorlamaistische Komponente ist der Kriegerschamane. Dieser hat wiederum zwei Komponenten; eine besondere: die Entwicklung des Erscheinungsbildes aus dem kämpfenden Lichtvogel, und eine allgemeine: den Schamanen als Vertreter des Lebensgottes (gekennzeichnet durch Lebensbaum usw.).

Der Buddhismus fand im Volke am Kriegerschamanen einen Typ, der sich besonders leicht „bekehren" ließ. Er verband mit diesem Volksschamanen die Schutzgestalten seiner Religion. Zu dieser Art von Besessenheitsschamanismus war er durch die tantristisch-magischen Vergegenwärtigungen besonders vorbereitet, so daß er ihn leicht absorbieren konnte. Was dann noch an andern Schamanentypen übrigblieb, wurde durch den neuen „orthodoxen" Schamanismus mit der Ausbreitung des Lamaismus als *xara nom*, schwarzer Glaube, gebrandmarkt und bekämpft. Diesen in der Literatur viel behandelten

Gegensatz findet man bei LESSING in einer Unterhaltung mit seinem Lehrer treffend gekennzeichnet: „... 'Ist denn ein Gurtum kein Schamane?' fragte ich ihn. 'Bewahre, etwas viel Höheres. Was er beschwört, das sind die rechten Geister, nicht die unreinen des *Bö* (mong. geschr. *böge*, Schamane)' ..." (LESSING: Mongolen, p. 143).

d) Der Idol-Schamanismus

Die Berechtigung, vom Idol-Schamanismus als einer Besonderheit zu sprechen, ergibt sich in der Folge von selbst. Man könnte ihn auch einfach „Sach-Schamanismus" nennen, weil eine Sache den Menschen als Schamanen vertritt. Unter den schamanistischen Idolen nimmt der Geisterspeer der Tujen eine bevorzugte Stellung ein.

Der Geisterspeer

Das Verhältnis von Wahrsager und Speer. — Es sei hier zuerst an die Verschiedenheit des Schamanisierens bei einem Gurtum und bei einem Speerwahrsager erinnert (vgl. im 1. Teil die entsprechenden Kapitel, Anthropos 47. 1952. pp. 18-33). Während der Gurtum vollständig besessen ist und sich in diesem Zustande von der Außenwelt seelisch abschließt, bleibt der Speerwahrsager seiner selbst mächtig und wach. Er fällt nicht in Ekstase; nur der Speer wird vom Geiste besessen und wirkt auf den Wahrsager ein. Der Wahrsager muß zwar die besondere Fähigkeit besitzen, den Speer zu „aktivieren" und seine Bewegungen zu deuten, um innezuwerden, was der Geist im Speere will; aber er wird selber nicht innerlich davon erfüllt.

Dagegen ist die Beziehung zwischen Speer und Geist viel enger. Er ist Sitz des Geistes und wird als solcher behandelt. Ähnlich wie ein Schamane erhält er eine Weihe, wird mit einer „Amtstracht" bekleidet: mit Bändern, Glöckchen und Spiegeln. Das Volk verehrt ihn wie einen gegenwärtigen Gott. Um aber tätig durch Wahrsagen, Heilen, Unheilbannen mit der Menschenwelt in Verbindung zu treten oder um nach außen hin lebendig zu wirken, bedarf dieses Speeridol eines Mittelsmannes, der es in die Hand nimmt und auf den es „anspricht". Das ist der „Idol-Halter", der *sdiendzên, rten 'dsin*. Man nennt ihn nicht einen Schamanen; denn nicht er, der Wahrsager, sondern der besessene Speer ist eigentlich der Schamane. Der Wahrsager ist gleichsam nur eine lebendige Verlängerung des Idols, sein Lautsprecher.

Wo ist der Speer einzuordnen? So wie der Speer jetzt gebraucht wird, ist er als eine besondere Art von Idol aufzufassen, wie schon sein Name als Geistersitz nahelegt. Die tibetische Zusammensetzung *rten-mduñ* ist bei CH. DAS nicht zu finden. Aber analog dem Namen *sku-rten* (Gurtum) und dem Charakter des Speeres entsprechend, kann das *rten* hier nichts anderes bedeuten als Behältnis oder sichtbare Darstellung der Gottheit: eine Waffe als Sitz der Gottheit. Das legt die Frage nahe: war der Geisterspeer von vorneherein selbständig, oder ist er nur Werkzeug eines Schamanen?

Der Geisterspeer als selbständiges Idol, also nicht als Ausrüstung des Schamanen, ist im ganzen Tujen- und Bauerngebiet des östlichen Amdo ver-

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor

breitet. Man findet ihn häufig in Tempeln und in Familienkapellen; sogar bei den Chinesen. Wieweit die dortigen Tanguten-Nomaden ihn besitzen, entzieht sich meiner Kenntnis. Der Speer muß aber schon früh eine selbständige Bedeutung im Lamaismus besessen haben; denn in Lamaklöstern trifft man ihn oft an, und zwar meist im Verein mit anderen Standarten (Bannern). Die Geographie des MINCHU-HUTUKTU weiß zu berichten: „In Nanggardse gibt es eine furchtbare Kapelle des Gur, und in ihr befindet sich eine Lanze (*mduñ*), die von den Verehrern als eine heilige ausgegeben und 'Beseitiger der dreizehn Feinde der Religion' genannt wird"; nach W. UNKRIG, Ms., p. 14. Von einem ähnlichen Banner schreibt R. BLEICHSTEINER: „Eine andere Erzählung berichtet über den siegreichen Feldzug eines Barbarenfürsten über China, Hor und Grug-gug, wobei er eine magische Fahne benützte, in die rNam-sras, der Weltenhüter des Nordens mit acht Begleitern gebannt war" (Srog-bdag, p. 111).

Der Geisterspeer läßt sich leicht mit andern ähnlichen Idolen in Verbindung bringen, wie Stabongonen, Wagenachsen, Wetterkeilen und Nudelrollern bei den Tujen, die alle bebändert und mit Glöckchen und Metallscheibchen behangen sind. Auch sie werden von einem Wahrsager genau so gebraucht wie der Geisterspeer. Damit erweist er sich nur als eines unter den vielen schamanistischen Idolen. Daß solche Stab-Idole nicht nur im Kukunorgebiet sehr verbreitet sind, sondern auch an anderen Stellen Tibets, geht aus einer Bemerkung JÄSCHKES hervor: „... the local *lha* are not always represented by figures resembling human beings, but even by sticks, stones and similar fetishes"; p. 599. Und p. 7 spricht er von dem auch durch BLEICHSTEINER zitierten *Pekar*-Idol und bemerkt: „... consisting like most of the popular idols in those countries of a wooden stick or log decked with rags ..."; vgl. auch BLEICHSTEINER a. a. O. p. 112. JÄSCHKE fügt hinzu, daß dieses Idol schon vorbuddhistisch sei. Solche Idole lassen sich für ganz Nordasien nachweisen bis weit nach Osten zu den Inao's der Ainu; vgl. beispielsweise Jos. HAEKEL: Idolkult und Dualsystem bei den Ugriern. Der schamanistische Gebrauch scheint aber nirgends so bezeugt zu sein wie beim Geisterspeer der Tujen.

Eine zweite Verbindung läßt sich vom Geisterspeer zur Standarte, Fahne oder dem Banner herstellen. Der Speer als Standarte ist eine altbekannte Sache, ebenso wie seine Heiligkeit und die Verehrung im Fahnen- oder Standartenkult. Dieser Kult wurde vor allem von den Mongolen in Form der Süldeverehrung gepflegt. Es ist nun gut möglich, daß gerade dieser Süldekult bei der Mongolenbekehrung zum Lamaismus „mitbekehrt" wurde; zumal die Buddhisten in ihrem Siegesbanner, dem *rgyal-mtsan*, ähnliche Vorstellungen besaßen. An dieser Wandlung hätten natürlich auch die mongolischen Tujen teilgenommen. Wahrscheinlich galt die Speerstandarte zugleich auch als Ahnenspeer oder Clanidol; diese Tatsache steht für das neunzipflige Sülde des Chinggis Khan außer Zweifel. Sein Geist und seine Kraft hatten ihren Sitz in diesem Sülde; weitere Einzelheiten und Zusammenhänge können hier leider nicht gebracht werden; man vergleiche dazu z. B. die Ausführungen von W. LÜDTKE: Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ..., in: Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 25. 1927. pp. 110-115. Auffallend ist jedenfalls, wie

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jeder *ayil* (Clansiedlung) der Tujen bestrebt ist, einen Geisterspeer zu besitzen! Gleiche Ideen lassen sich auch sonst nachweisen. So kennen z. B. die Bhil in Indien den Clanspeer bei religiösen Funktionen; s. W. KOPPERS: Die Bhil ..., p. 182 ff. Noch deutlicher tritt die Ähnlichkeit mit dem Geisterspeer und die Verbindung mit dem Clan bei der Clanstandarte der Chewsuren hervor. Die Form dieser Standarte läßt sich mit ihren Bändern, dem Glöckchen, dem Kugelknauf usw. kaum vom Geisterspeer der Tujen unterscheiden. Auch ihr Clanpriester ist praktisch ein schamanistischer Wahrsager, der mit der Speerstandarte arbeitet. Bei der großen Bedeutung, welche die Standarten unter den Türken und Mongolen hatten (Tuq-Banner) und bei der bewegten Geschichte dieser Völker sind Beeinflussungen und Relikte im Kaukasus von vornherein anzunehmen; vgl. RADDE: Die Chewsuren, pp. 100 ff.; und NIORADZE: Begräbnis, pp. 10 ff. — Sakralspeere sind in Afrika reichlich bekannt, ebenso die Götterstandarten im Alten Orient. Hierher dürften auch die bisher nicht recht erklärbaren skythischen Stangenaufsätze zu rechnen sein, mit ihren Haken und Aussparungen, vielleicht für Glöckchen und sonstige Anhängsel. Es ist durchaus möglich, daß alle diese Standarten nicht nur einfach Repräsentationen und Lokalisationen von Gottheiten darstellten, sondern auch schamanistisch gebraucht wurden nach Art des Geisterspeeres oder der Clanstandarte der Chewsuren.

Weitere Zusammenhänge scheinen ferner zwischen dem Geisterspeer und dem Weltenbaum oder der Weltenachse zu bestehen. Man denke z. B. an die kosmische Bedeutung des Juwelenspeeres in der japanischen Schöpfungsmythologie, wo er eine gleiche Funktion besitzt wie der kosmische Quirlpfahl im milchigen Urmeer der südasiatischen Weltenmythen; s. F. NUMAZAWA: Weltanfänge, p. 345. Vom Weltenpfahl bei den Tujen ist schon früher die Rede gewesen; s. oben pp. 209 ff. Die damit verbundenen Anschauungen sind bei ihnen altes, mongolisches Erbe. Der den Weltenpfahl vertretende „goldene Nagel", an dem das Himmelsgewölbe hängt, wird bei den Olöt-Mongolen als ein Feldzeichen gedeutet, das auf dem Weltenberge *Sumeru* steht, und um das sich alle andern Sterne drehen. Dieselbe Auffassung findet sich bei den Ordos-Mongolen, wo der goldene Nagel oder Polarstern 'das goldene Feldzeichen des Berges *Sumeru*' genannt wird. Bei den Chalcha-Mongolen wird dieser Polarstern-Pfahl, wie bei den Japanern der Juwelenspeer, zum Quirl, mit dem man Kumys schlägt; s. LÜDTKE a. a. O. pp. 115, 118. LÜDTKE möchte die Umwandlung des Weltenpfahles in ein Feldzeichen in eine spätere Zeit verlegen, als die Mongolen schon eine straff ausgebaute Militärorganisation besaßen. Der japanische Juwelenspeer zeigt aber, daß die Grundlage zu dieser Vorstellung weit über das mongolische Zeitalter hinausreicht [11]. Vielleicht ist dementsprechend LÜDTKES Ansicht zu korrigieren: „Auch aus China möchte

[11] Hier sei kurz auf die Bedeutung der Lanze bei den Ngadju Dajak in Borneo hingewiesen. Die Verbindung von Lanze, Flagge, Lebensbaum und „totaler Gottheit" ist dort noch viel offenliegender und bewußter als in Zentralasien und Tibet. Auch die schamanistischen Priester schließen sich als Vertreter der „totalen Gottheit" viel auffallender an diese Vorstellung an als z. B. der Gurtum als Vertreter des Lebensgottes; vgl. H. SCHÄRER: Die Gottesidee, pp. 29 ff., 87, 148 ff.

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ich diesen ganzen Vorstellungskreis nicht ableiten; es gibt freilich auch dort ein 'Standarte' genanntes bestimmendes Sternbild; aber nicht am Pol, sondern an der Ekliptik" (a. a. O. p. 117). Jedenfalls ist der astrale Speer oder die Standarte nicht nur Eigentum der Mongolen [13]. Es sei hier auch auf die Ähnlichkeit mit dem früher behandelten, kosmisch aufgefaßten Glückspfeil hingewiesen; s. oben p. 210. — Nach diesen Hinweisen, die sich mehr oder weniger auf den Speer allein beziehen, ist seine Bedeutung im Schamanismus leichter zu verstehen.

Geisterspeer und Schamane. — Zum Schamanen steht der Geisterspeer in zweifachem Verhältnis: einmal als Weltenbaum und als Waffe, dann als eine Verselbständigung und Vertreter des Schamanen.

Beim sibirischen Schamanismus, für den die Himmelsreise-Symbolik so wichtig ist, steigt der Schamane auf der Leiter, dem Baum, dem Pfahl, der Brücke usw. aufwärts in die jenseitige Welt. Im Ritus treten also die verschiedensten Darstellungen dieser Erde-Himmel-Verbindung auf. Was ist da naheliegender, als daß auch der Speer in seiner Symbolik als Weltenbaum oder Spitze des Weltenberges mit hineinbezogen wird? Leider scheinen die Belege für eine rituelle Verwendung des Speeres als Himmelsleiter (Brücke, Bogen) bei den zentralasiatischen Völkern schwer zu erbringen zu sein. Umso mehr muß überraschen, daß bei den entlegenen Australiern der Speer diese Funktion erfüllt. M. Eliade zitiert in diesem Zusammenhang Pettazzoni und sagt in seinem ausgezeichneten Werk „Le Chamanisme", p. 426 f.: „L'arc étant inconnu en Australie, sa place dans le mythe est prise par une lance qui porte un long morceau d'étoffe; la lance s'étant implantée dans la voûte céleste, le héros monte jusque là à l'aide de l'écharpe."

So häufig auch der Geisterspeer bei den Tujen unabhängig von einem echten Schamanen gebraucht wird, so gehört er doch oft genug zur Ausrüstung des Gurtum. Er ist in seiner Hand eine wichtige Waffe. Wie die Waffen und die Rüstung der alten Helden-Ahnen ihm besondere Kräfte verleihen, so zweifellos auch der Ahnenspeer. In der bereits zitierten Gesersage der Tujen nimmt Geser die himmlischen Waffen an sich, welche alle mit dem Beiwort *sdier* bedacht werden, z. B. *sdier lēmu*, *sdier sēmu* usw., heiliger Pfeil und Bogen. Die mit *sdier* bezeichneten Dinge sind aber alle in ähnlicher Weise ausstaffiert wie der Geisterspeer, vor allem durch die bunten Bänder. Dadurch soll eine Weihe, ein sakraler Charakter ausgedrückt werden. — Wenn nun aber kein echter Schamane da ist, so bleibt nichts anderes übrig, als den Geisterspeer zu verselbständigen.

Er muß den Schamanen vertreten und erhält dementsprechend eine vervollkommnete Ausrüstung und eine zusätzliche Weihe, wodurch er als ursprüngliche Waffe zum selbständigen Idol wird. Er wird schutzgeistbesessen. Als Sitz des Sülde ist er schon von vorneherein dazu besonders geeignet. Da er aber nicht lebt und nicht wie ein Mensch auftreten kann, wird ihm ein

[13] Der militärische Flaggenkult der Chinesen ist in seiner bekannten Form zu jung, um altmythologische Schlüsse zu erlauben; vgl. z. B. Doolittle: Social Life, p. 287 f.

Mann zugesellt, der Wahrsager. Dieser übernimmt einen Teil der Handlungen eines echten Schamanen, ohne aber selbst Geistersitz zu werden. Es findet gleichsam eine Aufteilung schamanistischer Funktionen statt: die wesentlichen, inneren sind dem Speer eigen, die unwesentlichen, äußeren dem Wahrsager[13].

Die anderen Idole

Genau wie der Geisterspeer Sitz einer Gottheit ist, welche durch eine Mittelsperson aktiviert wird, sind es auch eine Reihe anderer Idole. Das können sein: der Tisch, die Geistersänfte, Wetterkeile, Wagenachsen, Nudelroller usw. Von diesen sind der Geistertisch und die Göttersänfte die wichtigsten.

Der Geistertisch trägt seinen Namen zu Unrecht, denn es ist kein Tisch, sondern die Darstellung einer Tiergottheit, des schwarzen Tigers. Das wird dadurch bestätigt, daß er bei der Weihe diesem Tiger geweiht wird und als von diesem besessen gilt. Ferner werden unter der Platte die Eingeweide des Tigers angebracht, welche jedoch dem Auge nicht sichtbar sind.

Das Wahrsagen mit dem Tisch geschieht genau wie beim Speer; nur wird er von zwei Personen gehalten.

Diese Gottheit ist nach allgemeiner Aussage den chinesischen Schamanen eigen. Daß sie den Tujen ursprünglich fremd ist, beweist eben die oberflächliche Namengebung *sirie purgan* (Tisch-Gottheit), wo doch in Wirklichkeit die Platte den Rücken bildet, die Tischbeine Tigerbeine sind und die Unterseite die Eingeweide trägt.

Die Geistersänfte hat überhaupt keinen Tujen-Namen, sondern heißt wie im Chinesischen einfach *chiao-tzu* oder *niang-niang chiao-tzu* (Sänfte der Mutter). Nicht die Sänfte ist die Hauptsache, sondern die darin sitzende Götterfigur, welche in möglichster Naturtreue, mit prächtigen Kleidern, richtigen Haaren und fleischfarbenem Gesicht, ausgeführt wird. Das Innere birgt ebenfalls die Eingeweide, das Herz und die mütterlichen Organe. Die Figur wird mit der Sänfte geweiht, wobei die inneren Organe eingesetzt werden.

Auch diese Göttin ist den chinesischen Schamanen (Fashih) zugehörig, welche auch deren Beseelung vornehmen. Häufig tun das jedoch die Lamas in den Klöstern. Zum Wahrsagen wird die Sänfte von vier Mann auf die Schultern genommen, welche dann willenlos den Bewegungen der Gottheit folgen.

Zusammenfassung

Sowohl der Idolschamanismus als auch der Gurtum-Schamanismus bilden erscheinungsmäßig eine Einheit. Sie haben gemeinsam: die Kleidung (= Bebänderung), die Metallscheiben, die Glöckchen oder Rasseln und die Besessenheit durch einen Geist. Sie gehören beide in die Vorstellungswelt der Ver-

[13] Große Ähnlichkeit mit dem Speer als Geistersitz und Wirkeinheit mit dem Schamanen hat auch die Schamanentracht in andern Gegenden. Sie wird von Geistern „durchtränkt", welche Lebenszeichen geben durch Zittern, Bewegen usw.; vgl. ELIADE (SHIROKOGOROV): Le Chamanisme, p. 143. Wenn der Speer als Schamanenausrüstung auch diese Eigenschaft mit der Tracht teilt, so kann das allein doch noch nicht seine große Bedeutung und Verwendung erklären.

bindung zwischen Himmel und Erde und des Welten- oder Schamanenbaumes, der mit Glocken und Spiegeln behangen ist ; vgl. dazu die Mythen der Golden oder die Lieder der Tujen, welche von einem Baum berichten, der Sonne, Mond und Gestirne in den Wipfeln trägt. Beim Menschen-Schamanen sind alle Funktionen in einem Träger vereinigt, wogegen im Idolschamanismus diese Funktionen zwischen Mensch und Ding aufgeteilt sind ; aber diese Aufteilung bildet in ihrer Tätigkeit wiederum eine Einheit. Es frägt sich hier grundsätzlich : Ist nicht der gesamte Idolkult schließlich von diesem schamanistischen Standpunkt aus zu verstehen ? Gewinnt er nicht erst durch den lebendigen Menschen seine eigentliche Bedeutung ? Sicherlich ist manches, was man bisher als „Fetischismus" oder „Götzenkult" bezeichnete, im Grunde genommen nur eine Spielart des Schamanismus, eine statische Dauerform dessen, was der Schamane nur für kurze Zeit unter großer seelischer Aufwühlung darstellt : eine unmittelbare Verbindung mit der Geisterwelt, kultisch genormt und rituell entwickelt ; eine Gegenwärtigsetzung und Verlebendigung von Gottheiten und Dämonen, die der Mensch bei sich haben will.

Hier sei noch einmal betont, daß diese Gedanken nur eine Skizze für eine Theorie sind, deren ausführliche Darlegung nicht hierhergehört.

3. Die Bonreligion

Unter den Bon gibt es drei Gruppen : die Hirten-Bon, die Bauern-Bon und die Kloster-Bon. Diese Einteilung ist rein volkstümlich, ohne daß damit etwas über das innere Verhältnis der Gruppen zueinander gesagt wird ; sie dürften nicht wesentlich verschieden sein. Die Bauern-Bon sind am meisten verflacht und entartet. Sie tragen als einziges Kennzeichen nur noch den künstlichen Borstenkranz, um so den gewaltigen Zopfturban der Hirten-Bon nachzuahmen ; sie sind praktisch schon ausgestorben. — Die wichtigsten Kultgeräte der Bon sind von der menschlichen Leiche genommen : die mit menschlicher Haut bespannte Doppelschädeltrommel, die aus Menschenhaut geflochtene Peitsche (und wahrscheinlich mit einem Knochengriff) die Schenkelbeinflöte und der Knochendolch. Diese Geräte sollen von der Leiche einer unverheirateten, erwachsenen Frauensperson genommen werden. Schon durch die besondere Beziehung zu Skelett und Leiche dürften sich die Bon zu einer alttibetischen Heimat bekennen, welche ja nicht nur das „Schneeland", sondern auch das „Land der Leichen" genannt wird.

Wenn die Bon auch vieles mit den Lamas gemeinsam haben, so ist doch eine Reihe von Zeremonien ihnen vorbehalten, besonders die verschiedenen Arten des Dämonenbannes. Sogar von den Lamas werden sie monatlich am ersten und fünfzehnten Tag ins Kloster eingeladen, wo sie diese Riten vornehmen. Von einem früheren Gegensatz zwischen Buddhismus und Bonreligion ist hier nichts mehr zu merken. Sie teilt auch mit dem Lamaismus das Geschick des allmählichen Verschwindens, ja in der offiziellen Form ist sie ihm schon darin vorausgeeilt. Es ist nämlich eine auffallende Tatsache, daß sowohl die Bonreligion als auch der Lamaismus in dem Maße abnehmen, wie der chinesische Ackerbau sich ausbreitet, obwohl doch gerade die Seß-

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haftigkeit der Lamas in den großen Klöstern und die Tätigkeit des Wetterbannes der Bon einer Ackerbaukultur besonders entsprechen müßte. Die Gründe sind gewiß nicht religiöser Natur.

Die Tujen haben aber wahrscheinlich viel mehr vom Bontum bewahrt, als auf den ersten Blick erkennbar ist. Die Heiratssitten und die Volksdichtung dürften noch manches bergen, was diese alte Schicht deutlich macht und sie bis tief hinein nach Tibet verfolgen läßt. Nur ist es schwer, alles vom lamaistischen Beiwerk zu befreien.

4. Der Lamaismus

Die vorausgehenden Ausführungen haben immer wieder gezeigt, eine wie große Wirkung der Lamaismus auf das Volk ausübt. Er hat auch als letzte Form das ganze religiöse Leben am stärksten durchdrungen; er bietet dem Volke eine große Anzahl von Göttern und Heiligen; er schenkt ihm die Manibäume, Gebetsmühlen, Schatz-Urnen, Tschortenkammern, Mittelburgen und Obos; ein wesentlicher Teil der Weltanschauung ist ihm zu verdanken. Zwar muß man dabei den kirchlichen Lamaismus der Klöster und Mönche vom Volkslamaismus unterscheiden, der in seinen verwässerten Gebräuchen unbelastet bleibt von verwickelten Lehren und tantristischen Riten. Aber dieser Volkslamaismus wäre undenkbar ohne den starken Rückhalt und die Dauerwirkung der Klöster, die schon deshalb so volksverbunden sind, weil sich ihre Gemeinschaft ständig aus den Familien des Volkes erneuert. Im religiösen Bilde würde darum ein wichtiges Stück fehlen, wollte man nicht wenigstens in flüchtigen Strichen das Kloster kennzeichnen, welches für die Tujen jenes Landstriches ihr geistiger Mittelpunkt ist. — Die Beziehungen zu Kumbum seien übergangen, obwohl sie nicht zu unterschätzen sind. Man braucht nur daran zu erinnern, daß es ein *Chi-T'u-szu* (Fürst) war, der Kumbum anfangs des 18. Jahrhunderts durch seine persönliche Bürgschaft vor der chinesischen Rache und der Zerstörung bewahrte, so daß sein Clan bis in die jüngste Zeit den Klosterschutz innehatte und die Fürsten (*T'u-szu*) selber bei ihren Besuchen von den Lamas kniend empfangen wurden; vgl. dazu SCHULEMANN, p. 179.

Der Name des Tujenklosters *dGon-luṅ* ist tibetisch. *dgon* (gesprochen *gon*) bedeutet wörtlich „Einöde, Einsiedelei". Im übertragenen Sinn ist es zum feststehenden Ausdruck für „Kloster" (*vihāra*) geworden, weil ein Kloster mindestens tausend Schritt von jeder menschlichen Behausung entfernt sein soll; vgl. CH. DAS, p. 275; *luṅ* heißt soviel wie „Tal, Bezirk". Somit läßt sich *dGon-luṅ* am besten mit „Kloster-Tal" oder „Kloster-Bezirk" oder einfach „Kloster" wiedergeben; denn man hat sich unter einem Lamakloster sowieso kein geschlossenes Gebäude, sondern eine ganze Siedlung mit Tempeln, Hallen, Wohnhöfen, Tschorten, Kapellen, Mani-Häuschen und Obos vorzustellen. Den dortigen Tujen ist *dGon-luṅ* das Kloster schlechthin. Der amtliche volle Name lautet aber *dGon-luṅ byams-pa gliṅ*, ähnlich wie der volle Name von Kumbum *sKu 'bum byams pa gliṅ* lautet. Nach B. LAUFER bedeutet *byáms pa gliṅ* „Tempel des *Maitreya*"; s. FILCHNER: Kumbum, p. V. Nicht

jedes Kloster hat einen solchen Tempel, weshalb er bei einem Kloster immer gerne mitgenannt wird. Der Haupttempel von *dGon-luṅ* birgt ein solches Riesenbild des *Maitreya* auf Seide gemalt, von über 10 m Länge und einigen Metern Breite. Es wird vom Tempeldach her aufgerollt und über die Front in den Hof hinabhängen lassen, meist zweimal im Jahre, nämlich im ersten Monat nach den Tschamtänzen und am sechsten Tag des sechsten Monats. Die Zeremonie heißt *dšamba sguni dielgë*, d. h. das *Maitreya*-Bild aushängen; *dšamba* oder *šamba* ist die Tujen-Aussprache für *byams-pa*. Die Chinesen nennen den Ritus einfach *shai Fuo-yeh*, d. h. den Buddha sonnen. Er bildet für das gläubige Volk den Höhepunkt der Festtage; die Leute pilgern scharenweise herbei, um das Bild durch Kotou zu verehren.

Einen Tujen-Namen für das Kloster gibt es nicht; ihre Bezeichnung *Rgulōṅ* (*Rëgulōṅ*) ist nur eine Verballhornung von *dGon-luṅ*. Auch das chinesische *Êrh-ku-lung* ist weiter nichts als eine Ableitung aus dem Tibetischen. Manche Leute wollen das *êrh* als das chinesische „zwei" verstanden wissen, da es ja das zweite Kloster sei, welches nach der Zerstörung des ersten neu erbaut wurde; tatsächlich hört man auch oft den Namen *Ku-lung* ohne dieses *êrh*. Die Bezeichnung *Yu-ning-szu*, Kloster vom Schutze Sinings, hat sich im Volke nicht durchgesetzt. Sie wird fast nur in Büchern und amtlichen Schriftstücken geführt.

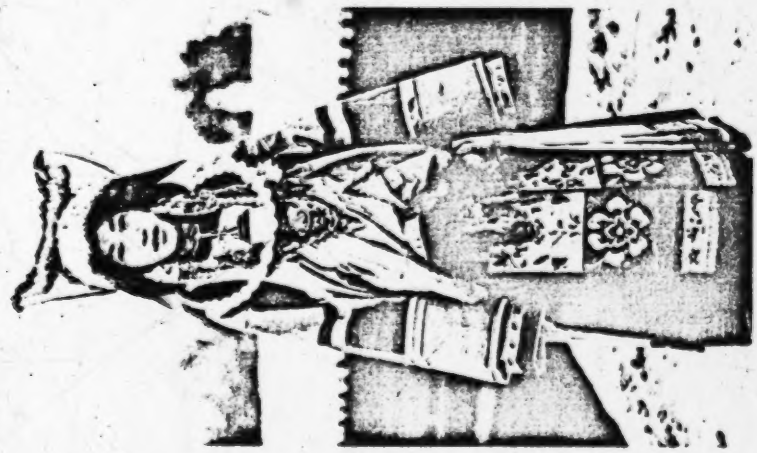
Das Kloster entspricht den buddhistischen Forderungen in vorbildlicher Weise; denn es liegt am Ausgang eines einsamen, bewaldeten Tales und ist teilweise an dessen nördlichen Höhenrücken hinaufgebaut, der den Namen Tuguän-ula, Tuguän-Berg, trägt (chin. T'u-kuan shan). Ein riesiges Obo krönt seinen Scheitel. Über die Gründung des Klosters war wegen der Kürze des Aufenthaltes weder eine mündliche noch eine schriftliche Auskunft zu erhalten. Die Sining-Chronik berichtet nichts darüber. Es scheint aber ursprünglich eine tibetische Gründung gewesen zu sein. Bis zu seiner Zerstörung besaß dGon-luṅ in Amdo eine große Geltung. Dann wurde es von andern Klöstern überflügelt. Die patriotischen Mönche hatten sich im ersten Jahre des Kaisers Yung-cheng auf die Seite des mongolischen Kukunorfürsten (*ch'en-wang*) bLo-bzan bsTan-'dsin gestellt. Die Folge davon war, daß dGon-luṅ von einer chinesischen Strafexpedition im Jahre 1723 mit noch andern Klöstern, worunter sich auch sGo-maṅ-dgon (gSer-k'og-dgon-pa) befand, zerstört wurde. Auf das Ansehen des Tuguän Hutuktu, der sich damals in Peking aufhielt, ließ der Kaiser das Kloster 1733 wieder aufbauen, ebenso sGo-maṅ-dgon; vgl. Hsü Kung-wu, pp. 113, 115; Schulemann, p. 179; Sining-Chronik. Nach diesem Wiederaufbau erhielt dGon-luṅ den offiziellen Namen Yu-ning-szu und einen Gedenkstein, worauf diese Ereignisse vermerkt wurden. Der Text dieses Steines ist in der Sining-Chronik abgedruckt. Den Stein selber bekommt man nicht zu sehen. Die Lamas haben ihn eingemauert, um so der ehrenvollen aber unangenehmen Erinnerung ledig zu sein. Das neue Kloster mußte vor etwa 60 Jahren noch einmal den Dunganenaufstand über sich ergehen lassen, der viele Tujen das Leben kostete. Es hat nie mehr die alte Ausdehnung erreicht, von der noch ein abgelegener Rest übrigblieb, nämlich der Tempel mit der Gurtum-Gottheit *dPekar* und dem Geisterspeer des Klosterwahrsagers.

Heute steht das Kloster unter der Kreisverwaltung von Huchu. Früher war es mit seinen Ländereien, Wäldern und Weiden unabhängig und beherrschte viele abgabepflichtige Tujendörfer. Es zählt etwa 300 Mönche und mehrere Tulkus, die fast alle Tujen sind. Als Filialen unter der Abhängigkeit des obersten Tulku, des Tuguän Hutuktu, nannte mir dessen Verwalter noch folgende Lamaserien: Man-t'ou-szu, einige km nordwestlich; Chin(g)-kang-ta-szu, 20 km nördlich; Chang-chia-szu, 65 km südöstlich bei Lotu; Hua-yüan-szu, 12 km südlich, ein Bonkloster; Hung-ku-szu, im Lianchow-Gebiet (Kansu); Ma-t'i(eh)-szu, im Kanchow-Gebiet (Kansu). Diese Verbindungen bezeugen, wie weit sich die Bedeutung des Klosters erstreckt haben muß. Es war von je eine Pflegestätte der Wissenschaft, und der Ruhm seiner gelehrten Tulkus löste die Tujen aus ihrer Abgeschlossenheit und bezog sie hinein in den weiten Bereich der lamaistischen Welt. Die „Geographie Tibets", in tibetischer Sprache vom Minchu Hutuktu aus dem Kloster *sGo-mań-dgon* etwa 1830 verfaßt, berichtet: „... das Kloster *dGon-luń*, in dem man an die 2000 Kleriker zählt und wo früher lebten: die zwei Wiedergeburten *lCań-skya* und *Sum-pa mk'an-po*, der Verfasser der 'Geschichte der Gelbmützen-Lehre, *tva-ser c'os byuń*', T'uu-bkvan *bLo-bzań C'os-kyi Ni-ma*, und andere namhafte gelehrte Persönlichkeiten"; s. MS p. 40.

Die Bedeutung der lCań-skya Hutuktu wurde schon oben p. 216 erwähnt. Der erste lCań-skya Hutuktu wurde 1641 in Amdo geboren. Seine Vorfahren stammten aus einer Gegend, die „Graue-Weiden" hieß (Mitteilung von Herrn UNKRIG). Dieser Ortsname ist auf die Person übergegangen (*lcań-skya* = Weide-grau). Das Kind wurde als Wiedergeburt des Dharmaśvamin des Klosters dGon-luń erkannt und achtjährig dorthin berufen. Dann wurde der junge Tulku zum Studium nach Innertibet geschickt und kehrte wieder nach Amdo zurück, bis ihn Kaiser Kang-hsi nach Peking berief. Im Dienste des Kaisers und des Lamaismus führte der Hutuktu ein bewegtes Leben als Kirchenpolitiker und Gelehrter. Seine Reisen führten ihn in die Mongolei, nach Tibet und Amdo, wo er z. B. 1709 in dGon-luń und anderen Klöstern die Studienordnung reformierte und mehrere Groß-Lamas einsetzte. Er starb im Jahre 1713; vgl. SCHULEMANN, p. 177 f., wo auch die weiteren Quellen für eine eingehendere Orientierung über den Hutuktu und seine früheren Existenzen angegeben sind. Der lCań-skya Hutuktu zählte zu den vier größten Kirchenfürsten des Lamaismus. Er residierte später in Peking, neben dem Dalai-Lama und Panchen-Lama in Tibet und dem Jibtsun-Dampa in der Mongolei; s. PANDER, Geschichte des Lamaismus, ZfE 1889, p. (202). In der europäischen Literatur wurde sein Name vor allem durch PANDER-GRÜNWEDELS Buch bekannt, das unter dem Titel „Das Pantheon des Tschang-tscha Chutuktu" eine Beschreibung der lamaistischen Götterwelt bietet, die auf einem Bildwerk dieses Hutuktu fußt.

Ähnlich berühmt ist auch die andere Inkarnation aus dGon-luń, nämlich der Tuguän Hutuktu. Eine Erklärung dieses Namens gibt es nicht. Vielleicht ist er eine Übertragung vom Ort auf seine Person; es ist allerdings eher anzunehmen, daß der Name des Berges auf den Hutuktu zurückgeht, als umgekehrt. Die chinesische Lesart der Zeichen dieses Namens

Dominik Schröder, Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor)



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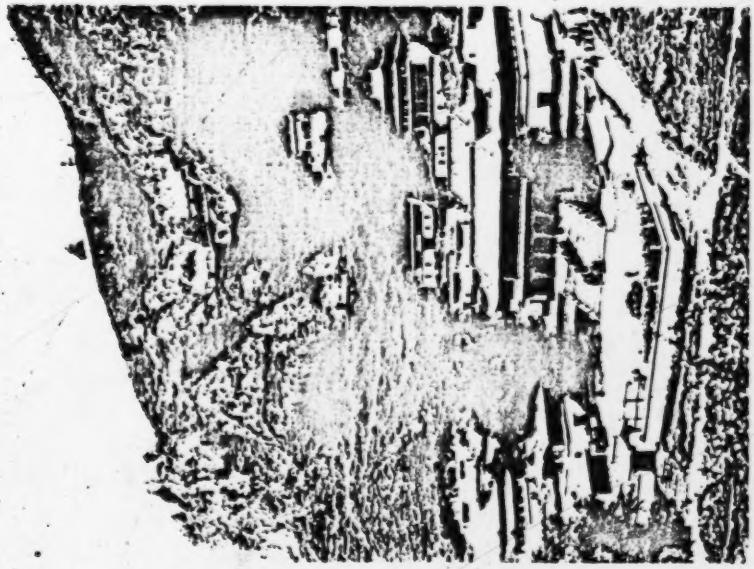

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a: Der Tempelhof des Tujen-Klosters dGon-lun. Links die Giebel des Tuguän-Palastes, *Tuguän-larbi*. Im Hintergrund der Ausläufer des Tuguän-Berges, *Tuguän-ula*. (Foto: Jos. Trippsek.) *b*: Junge Tujenfrau in alter Tracht. Kennzeichnend sind: die hohe Kopftracht, *uindar*, jetzt verboten; der Halsreif; die breiten Armelringe; die breiten bestickten Stoffbänder über dem Rock. Vorbild war die Tracht einer Tujen-Fürstin. (Foto: Missionsarchiv Sining.)

[face p 256 (a)]

variiert zwischen *T'u-kuan*, *Tou-kuang*, *T'ou-kuang*, ein Zeichen, daß es sich um die Lautnachahmung eines vielleicht mongolischen (Tujen-)Namens handelt, etwa *Toġan*. Die tibetische Schreibweise *T'uu-bkvan* ist ebenfalls ganz fremdartig, so wird nach CH. DAS, p. 577, der mongolische Name *Toġan* wiedergegeben. Als erster Tuguän Hutuktu wurde *Nag-dbaṅ c'os-kyi rgya-mts'o* unter Kaiser Yung-cheng nach Peking berufen; er war 1679 geboren und starb 1735; s. SCHULEMANN, p. 178 f. Am bekanntesten ist dessen nachfolgende Inkarnation, der oben bereits genannte Verfasser der religionsgeschichtlichen Werke über die verschiedenen lamaistischen und vorlamaistischen Systeme und über die Gelbe Kirche; vgl. FILCHNER: Kumbum, p. 181. Er soll von 1702-1775 gelebt haben (Mitteilung von Herrn UNKRIG). Auch die Tuguän-Tulkus hielten sich meistens in Peking auf, wodurch die Beziehungen zu ihrem Stammkloster dGon-luṅ weiter nicht litten; es ist auch heute noch so, daß viele Hutuktus jahrelang außer Landes auf Reisen sind, in Tibet, Indien, Mongolei. Der jetzige Tuguän Hutuktu weilte 1948, nach Mitteilung seiner Verwandten aus dem Ch'ang-kou, bereits über zwei Jahre in Nanking im Ministerium als Sachverständiger für das lamaistische Grenzgebiet. Eigenartigerweise waren dessen Verwandte der Meinung, daß jetzt die Tuguän- und lCan-skya (*Ch'ang-chia*)-Inkarnationen nicht mehr unterschieden würden und nur in einem Vertreter aufträten. Klarheit war aus diesen Aussagen nicht zu gewinnen. Es schienen Rivalitäten zwischen dem Clan Li und dem Clan Ch'ang zu bestehen, die beide die Inkarnationsfolge beanspruchten.

Bei der hervorragenden Stellung, welche diese Hutuktus in Peking innehatten, ist es nicht verwunderlich, daß sich auch viele Tujen-Lamas dorthin begaben. PANDER spricht (a. a. O. p. 204) von Man-tzu oder Chinesen aus Sining, denen in Peking 13 Tempel (1889) eingeräumt seien. Diese Man-tzu (= Barbaren) können aber nur Tujen gewesen sein; denn die Chinesen sind keine Lamaisten, und die Tibeter (Fan-tzu) werden von PANDER eigens genannt. Als ausgesprochene Tujen-Lamaserie in Peking gilt das Kloster Sung-chu-szu. Auch heute noch (wenigstens bis 1948) stammen dessen Mönche fast alle aus dem Sining-Gebiet und sind Tujen, wie die Mönche aus diesem Kloster bei einem Heimatbesuch erzählten. Allerdings ist die Zahl sehr zusammengeschmolzen.

Dies alles sind Tatsachen, die bei Beurteilung des Lamaismus der Tujen berücksichtigt werden müssen. Das Volk ist stolz auf sein berühmtes Kloster. Es ist sein Wallfahrtszentrum. Dort trifft sich an den Festen jung und alt. Dort halten sie Pferderennen ab und singen ihre alten Volksweisen. Bei den Tempelfesten mit den prächtigen Tänzen wird die lamaistische Lehre vertieft und veranschaulicht. In den ehrwürdigen, weihrauchdurchzogenen Hallen sehen sie ihre Götter in prunkenden Standbildern, auf Seide gemalt, auf Wänden und Altären. Dort liegen auch die schweren heiligen Bücher des Kandjur und Tandjur, die sie auf dem Rücken um das Heiligtum tragen, um sich von einer Not zu befreien oder ein Gelübde zu erfüllen. In den Tempeln und Höfen sehen sie die Mönche gelehrte Disputationen abhalten, die Schriften vorlesen, die Gebete rezitieren. Sie laden sie ein, in ihrem Gehöft feierliche Götterdienste vorzunehmen, ihren Kindern den Namen zu geben, die Alten

zu weihen, die Jungen zu segnen, für die Toten zu beten, die Leichen zu verbrennen. Der Lama ist ein häufiger und gern gesehener Gast in der Familie. Überhaupt scheint sich das Volk in den wichtigen Lebensstufen dem Mönchsleben anzuschließen. Sogar der Schamane erhält im Kloster seine Weihe. Jede Familie war stolz, wenn einer ihrer Söhne Lama wurde, ja es war sogar ungeschriebenes Gesetz.

So galt es wenigstens noch bis in die jüngste Zeit. Heute aber wollen die jungen Leute nichts mehr vom Lama-Werden wissen. Sie besuchen lieber die chinesischen Schulen und sind auf die neue Bildung bedacht. Das Alte verachten sie und nehmen es nicht mehr ernst. Es hat sich bereits bewahrheitet, was der Minchu Hutuktu vor hundert Jahren in seiner „Geographie Tibets" geschrieben hat: „Diese Heimat des zweiten Siegreichen Tsongkhapa war ehedem in ganz Tibet berühmt ... Jetzt aber steht sie nicht nur unter dem Druck der verblendeten chinesischen und muselmännischen Lehre, sondern es naht die Zeit, da Tibeter und Mongolen dem Kung-tzu, Lao-tzu oder dem Lehrer Naniku von Ssei glauben werden"; MS a. a. O. Wenn man an die neuesten Ereignisse auch in jenem abgelegenen Landstrich denkt, dann sieht man diese kummervolle Vorhersage noch übertroffen; denn auch die Lehren eines K'ung-tzu und Lao-tzu werden die Tujen nicht mehr in ihren Bann ziehen. Auch sie gehören bereits der Vergangenheit an.

Schluß

Im Laufe der Arbeit wurde immer deutlicher, daß die Religion der Tujen nichts Einheitliches und Eigenständiges mehr ist. Sie wuchs vielmehr aus Wurzeln verschiedener Herkunft zu einem bunten Gebilde zusammen. Das ist begründet in der bewegten Vergangenheit der Tujen und ihrer jetzigen Heimat, die mitten zwischen verschiedenen Völkerschaften liegt. Besonders aber hat der Lamaismus diese zwischenvölkischen Verbindungen, sogar bis Lhasa und Peking, gefördert und entscheidend zur religiösen Einebnung beigetragen. In dieser Hinsicht teilen die Tujen ihr Geschick mit den Nachbarvölkern, soweit sie keine Chinesen sind. Ihr Glaube verbindet sich zu einer gemeinsamen Schicht, die sich als lamaistische Volksreligion über den ganzen Einflußbereich der Gelben Kirche hinzieht. Somit sind die früher aufgeworfenen Hauptfragen über den Schamanismus, die Bonreligion, den Himmelskult usw. keine Fragen, die von den Tujen her allein gelöst werden können. Ihre Religion hat eine viel allgemeinere Bedeutung. Gewiß lassen sich einige Besonderheiten feststellen. Doch diese genügen nicht, um über die Herkunft und ethnische Zugehörigkeit des Volkes sichere Schlüsse zu ziehen. Erst recht lassen sich dadurch keine einzelnen Tujen-Gruppen abgrenzen, die gewiß vorhanden sind. Als Quelle für solche kulturgeschichtlichen und ethnischen Zusammenhänge verbleiben fast nur noch die Sprache mit der Volksliteratur, vielleicht auch die Tracht, vor allem aber die Tradition und Schriftgeschichte, die hauptsächlich in chinesischen Berichten enthalten ist. Damit soll die Religion und Volkskunde nicht ausgeschaltet sein; sie muß vielmehr ergänzend und erklärend hinzugezogen werden. Um aber auf rein folkloristischem oder

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ethnologischem Wege zu klaren Ergebnissen zu gelangen, ist es zu spät. Das wäre vielleicht vor fünfzig Jahren noch möglich gewesen.

Jetzt aber geht die Sinisierung der Tujen ihrem Abschluß entgegen. Lange hatten sie in religiöser Hinsicht einen starken Rückhalt in der lamaistischen Welt und trotzten dem chinesischen Einfluß, obwohl sie deren Ackerbau vor vielen Generationen übernommen hatten. Heute jedoch haben sie sich aus diesem Rückhalt herausgelöst, ja der Rückhalt selber ist schon sehr morsch geworden. Die Gründe dafür können hier nicht erörtert werden. Die Tujen geben sich selber auf, ihre Sprache, ihre Religion. Wenn ihre Kinder Großväter geworden sind, wird sich die chinesische Kultur wiederum einen neuen Bereich einverleibt haben, der sich von den andern Provinzen nur mehr insoweit unterscheidet, als sich das chinesische Sprichwort anwenden läßt: „Bei zehn Meilen ist die Sprache verschieden, bei hundert die Sitte." — Und dennoch sind alle „Chinesen".

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TRANSACTIONS

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1957

THE MONGUORS OF THE KANSU-TIBETAN BORDER

Part II. Their Religious Life

LOUIS M. J. SCHRAM, C.I.C.M.

THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
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MARCH, 1957

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PREFACE

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The origin, history, and social organization of the Monguors were studied in Part I,[1] together with the family and economic life. Their religious life is here dealt with as Part II of the same study.

It is common knowledge that the private and public religious life of the Monguors is intensive, and that the Monguors are as fervently Lamaist as shamanist, and also practise rites belonging to neither of these religions.

In dealing with the Lamaism of the Monguors, the purpose is not to study the origin, the history, and the philosophy of Lamaism in general in Tibet and Mongolia; instead, in the first part of the study, emphasis is put on the historical frame within which Lamaism was diffused in the limited region of Huang-chung.

The study is based on local chronicles, the Chinese histories, and all available sources, and also on the experience of a long stay among the people. The author hopes that he has thus attained insight into the history of the introduction, growth, flourishing, and crises of Lamaism, depending on peculiar circumstances of persons, events, and times.

The part played by the Chinese emperors in the diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung will be noted, the reasons of the imperial policy explained, and the peculiar legal institutions that were established to promote Lamaism will be recorded.

Local history will provide the data regarding the times, the places, and the peculiar circumstances in which monasteries were founded, and will point to the outstanding position occupied by the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung, situated in the heart of the Monguor country north of the Hsining River. Erh-ku-lung surpassed all the lamaseries of the country for a century. Animated with prodigious activity it founded forty-two daughter lamaseries, enrolling a tremendous number of the Monguor male population in its institutions.

The local history will reveal also that some of the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung were learned authors of books, and directors of the imperial committee for the translation of the Kanjur and Tanjur from Tibetan into Mongol and that important diplomatic missions in Tibet were entrusted to them by the emperors who appointed them as spiritual directors of the Mongol princes, and from whom they received honorary offices at the capital.

Their influence reached as far as Peking, Mongolia, and Tibet. The colleges of Erh-ku-lung were attended by lamas from Kansu, Mongolia, and Tibet who, upon returning to their own countries, founded monasteries on the pattern of Erh-ku-lung.

These historical facts will explain the influence exerted by the Monguor lamas upon Lamaism, and upon

[1] Louis M. J. Schram, The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, Their origin, history, and social organization, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1), 1954.

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771 175 121 the population of Huang-chung. Note must be taken of these historical facts in order to explain the actual religious mentality of the people of Huang-chung.

In the same way historical events will explain the tremendous crises which affected Lamaism in Huang-chung, and the actual position it occupies in the Hsining country.

A chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung, their material, educational, and religious aspects; their means of subsistence; the subjects of the lamaseries, branch monasteries, lamas, and living Buddhas. In this chapter, details of the numerical strength of lamas, in proportion to the population as a whole, are given. These figures throw light on a subject which has been somewhat distorted by past estimates. They show that the proportion of lamas to the total population is much lower than we have been led to expect. These figures are probably more reliable than those of past estimates; certainly they are more circumstantial.

[795] The inferior position of the Lamaism of the Red Sect in the region will also be better understood when put in its historical frame.

Similarly, the shamanism of the Monguors is approached from the angles of its peculiar connections with Taoism, the conservation of its ritual proper, and its historical connections with the "wuism" of old China and the shamanism of Central Asia. Emphasis is put also on its overwhelming importance in the religious life of the Monguors.

The second part of the study is devoted to the practical aspects of the religious life of the Monguors, its environment of fear and apprehension, and the role occupied in the fabric of daily life respectively by Lamaism and shamanism, and the various rites alien to both religions.

[114] The describing of monasteries, Lamaist monuments, iconography, programs of studies in colleges, theatrical exhibitions by lamas, festivities, and shamanist rites, has been avoided in this part, since all are encountered hundreds of times in books dealing with the subject. Instead, emphasis is put on the specific Monguor aspects of the religious life and rites that are peculiar to them, in order to understand the religious mentality of the representatives of the religions.

A chapter will deal with the death and burial customs, and still another with the cult of "Heaven and all the spirits."

The last chapter of the study will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping the Monguors to keep their identity, traditions and customs, strengthening the social structure of the clans, and preventing their absorption in the Chinese nation. [p. 1(B)]

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122 It is a pleasure to acknowledge with the appearance of the second part of the study, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation and the American Philosophical Society for the grants which enabled me to complete the work, to Mr. Owen Lattimore and his colleagues of the Page School of International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University, and Professor Schuyler Cammann for assistance in the final editing.

000 I owe a special debt of gratitude to Miss Theresa A. Tims, and wish to express my sincerest appreciation for

NOTE ON THE

114 In the pages that follow frequent reference is made to two Chinese compilations, the *Annals* of the *Fu* or Prefecture of Hsining, and of the Province of Kansu. The full titles of these two works are:

1. *Hsining fu hsin chih, New annals of Hsining prefecture,* in 12 volumes containing 40 *chuan* or chapters, compiled between 1755 and 1762 and probably published soon after 1762. The editor of these

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her considerable help graciously rendered in correcting 000 and preparing the English draft and the editing of the publication with wonderful patience and good humor through long hours. I owe no small tribute to Miss Patricia E. Kenney who assisted in the typing with the same gladness and devotion.

L. M. J. S.

June, 1955
Arlington, Virginia

CHINESE SOURCES

"new" Annals had before him the original edition of 114
1595 and a corrected edition of 1657. I have never had access to either of these older editions.

2. *Kansu hsin t'ung chih, New collected annals of Kansu,* in 100 *chuan,* printed in the Hsüan-t'ung period (1909–1911). The edition is called "new" because it is based on an older original the compilation of which was begun in 1728 and completed in 1736. The older edition has been inaccessible to me.

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I. INTENSIVENESS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS AND THE POSITION OF ITS FORMS

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC RELIGIOUS LIFE

The religious life of the Monguors is very intensive, 771
and not a superficial veneer that scales off easily. Indeed, it has not only a private and a family characteristic, but a social and compulsory aspect, as well.

A missionary, accustomed to living with Chinese, is 781
quite surprised when he comes among the Monguors, 788
by their almost continuous recitation of *Om Mani Padme H'um.*[1] It is repeated by old and young, both men and women, hundreds of times a day, under all circumstances. The mind of the Monguor appears to be fixed on religion in a most unusual way. Mothers, kissing and cuddling their babies, like to say happily, over and over, "Om Mani," "Om Mani," as if thanking Buddha (*Avalokita*) for the baby. The sick, suffering on the *k'ang*,[2] find relief in sighing Om Mani the whole day, hoping to be cured. When hailstorms threaten crops, Om Mani will be said hundreds of times by every terrified farm family, in the hope that Buddha will make the wind change the course of the clouds. When someone [764]
in the village dies, all the villagers gather at night in the courtyard of the deceased, where they sit for many hours saying the Om Mani for the deceased.

[1] The formula *Om Mani Padme H'um* has always been and [104]
still is an enigma. All attempts to explain it remain unsatisfactory. Each lama of a sect, each student of things Tibetan has proposed his own explanation. It appears to be of Hindu origin and not Tibetan. Some trace its appearance in Tibet back to the eighteenth, fourteenth, and thirteenth centuries; and even to the seventh century. See P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 24: 395, 1924. The explanation of the formula seems to vindicate *mani padme* as a vocative of *Manipadma*, the proper name of a female deity.

[2] A small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, [104]
upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In the front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm.

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Sodalities, most of them for women, are organized [575] in every village. The members convene to recite the Om Mani as they circle the Bumkhang[8] of the village 781 all day. Whenever a Monguor is in serious trouble, 788 he prays Om Mani, and when a happy event occurs, he gives thanks by Om Mani. Supposedly, all kinds of evil are dispelled and all blessings obtainable by Om Mani.

Monguor families place in the center of their court- 778 yards a high pole with a small flag flying from atop it. Om Mani and other prayers are printed on the flag as an offering, day and night, by the family to Buddha. Prayer wheels, containing hundreds of repetitions of Om Mani printed on paper, are moved by water power, so that Om Mani will be offered continually, as the wheels revolve.

The Monguors have used their Om Mani to such an 781 extent that its true meaning no longer exists. A farmer 788 becoming angry at the lazy oxen, while plowing his fields, will beat them and swear furiously with a well-articulated Om Mani; gamblers, on losing the game, their patience wearing thin, will say Om Mani in a blasphemous tone. While weeding fields, if a lascivious song is enjoyed, farmers say Om Mani, meaning the song is well sung. When a smutty joke is told, lis- [522 teners will say Om Mani, laughing, to indicate it is a 831] good joke. It is said that thieves and robbers say Om Mani as an aid to their practice of larceny. Foreign travelers jest that, if robbers kill their victim, he will have the consolation, when dying, of hearing the killer saying Om Mani. Om Mani can be and is offered under all circumstances: riding horseback, working in the fields or at home, while laughing, gambling, singing, conducting business, and even sleeping.

The Monguor's fondness for and promiscuous use of Om Mani has reduced it to a mockery of its original intent. Nevertheless, it is in fact most often used as a real prayer.

The Monguors are not ashamed to pray in public, to

[8] A structure at the entrance to the village to prevent the [104] entrance of evil influences.

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twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or 781
to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one 788
understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration to Buddha.

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. 794
The chief of the family is its religious head and its rep- 782
resentative. He worships "Heaven and all the spirits" on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each family honors the image of its family protector-deity. At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue worshipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors. The chief of the family is its representative at the performance of public rites. Attended by his family, he performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fingering his prayer beads.

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of 794
the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of 622
the village and its elders administer both the official and religious life of the people in it. Even as they apportion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth [65]
and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum for religious services. They impose corvées on the villagers for municipal functions as well as for such religious functions as protection against hailstorms or the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner, heads of families are summoned to participate in rites at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain. The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief. He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as the family chief does in his own circle.

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious [614]
life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter. It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite. On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry about public worship in the village and the morality of his subjects.

Religious activities are part of the family and social life of the Monguor society. Their social organization is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Mon- 771
guors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are 754
not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fer- 756
vent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor

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shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

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understand the striking incompatibility which exists 829
between the religious and philosophical principles of 771
these religions, while we see the paradox of things which cannot coexist logically, actually coexisting in a very smooth and natural way. The Monguors believe that each of these religions is right, and practice them according to their various circumstances of life. While their knowledge about dogmas and religion is limited and unstable, their religious spirit is unusually developed. What is the reason for this trend of mind, this carelessness concerning differences between religions and philosophical principles? Our illusions and misunderstandings occur because we compare the conversion to Lamaism of the Mongols and the Monguors with the conversion to Christianity of peoples in ancient times, and assume that a similar change of mind took place among the Monguors. We envision churches filled to capacity for weekly worship, people receiving instructions about definite dogmas, children attending parochial schools, learning prayers, studying religion, and being educated in their belief, and we also envision a group of religious leaders, proficient in the religious sciences, but none of these exist or form a part of Lamaism.

The vast and splendid temples in the monasteries 792
are not churches or places where the faithful fulfill in 794
common their religious duties. Lamas recite texts in 796
the temples; laymen do not. There are no spiritual 771
leaders, skilled in religious sciences, to preach and instruct the faithful. Nowhere are there parochial schools for children; nor is anything done to provide serious religious education for the people. Lamaists are like stray sheep without shepherds, for nowhere is there a pastor or rector taking care of definite groups of the faithful. In teaching Christianity, new notions and principles were instilled in the minds of prospective converts. Their incompatibility with the principles of other religions was explained. The prospective converts were taught that they must live according to the principles of Christianity; that in order to do this they would have to change from their way of life to the Christian way, by changing their conduct, feelings, habits, and way of thinking. None of these things are taught about Lamaism. The religious value of the faith is never explained. No zeal is displayed in order to form serious types of Lamaists. The lama does not care about the shaman as he performs his rites; the shaman does not mind, and acts in like manner; the Taoist, considered as the second best, does not bother, for he is very happy to be invited and to earn some money. Shamans are considered the most potent men in certain circumstances, while lamas are believed to be the appropriate performers of certain kinds of rites. Consequently, the two religions are considered equally necessary and equally right.

The fact that serious Lamaists are not formed ap- 771
pears to be responsible for the Mongours still being fer-

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vent shamanists, and provides a reason why Lamaism 771
never succeeded in uprooting shamanism, notwithstanding its overwhelming influence for centuries. Another important factor, without doubt, is in the very nature of the debased Lamaism. Lamas of the Red Sect, who [795]
were the first to come into the country, indulged in nearly all the same magical practices as the old shamans, including bloody sacrifices, except that they performed them in such a way that the people, not interested in philosophical and doctrinal discussions but in having religious men who could avert all kinds of calamities in the most efficient way, jumped to the obvious conclusion that the basic difference existing between shamanism and Lamaism was only a question of more or less proficiency in magical art. Lamaism became a kind of supplementary devotion, stimulating the heart to natural kindness and religiosity, but harmonizing perfectly with all kinds of magical practices, regardless of the performer.

POSITION OF SHAMANISM

The place shamanism occupies in the religious life of 771
the Monguors, and its persistence over centuries under 756
the most unfavorable conditions, seems to be an enigma. The lamas, who outnumber the shamans perhaps a hundred to one, are members of a wealthy institution. The few shamans are mostly poor people who derive a precarious existence from the farming of some fields and the fulfilling of their office. Lamas have temples that glisten with gilt; the shamans have none of their own. Lamas are more or less cultured men; most of the shamans are unable to read. The lama institution enjoys [648]
a high prestige among the Chinese officials, and controls nearly all the levers of power in the country; the poor shaman, living in the village with his family, always at the beck and call of the villagers, is an unknown and powerless entity in the official world. But, in spite of these unfavorable conditions, the shaman remains a figure of importance with his own kind of prestige, in the religious life of the Monguors.

For those who are cognizant of the power of the impact of wealth and decorum upon the societies of the Orient, this fact seems hard to understand. Its explanation is to be found in the general belief that the shamans are mightier than the lamas because they are more proficient in magical art, and in the subduing of evil spirits. People steeped in superstition, beset on every side by malignant spirits, confronted by diseases, misfortunes, and evils, have easy recourse to the men they believe might best help them, and whom they believe best master the technique of undoing the harm wrought by uncontrollable forces, namely, the shamans. This belief in the magical superiority of the shaman is so deep-rooted because lamas, and even Living Buddhas, when squeezed to the wall, unable to cope with uncontrollable forces and events, resort occasionally to their last shred of hope, the shaman.

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Confidence in the power of the shaman is so strong among the Monguors and over the whole country, that even Sinicized Mongours and neighboring Chinese from outside the clans never fail to invite the shaman to their homes, even though they have long since abandoned the lamas. Before Buddhism and Lamaism were diffused in central Asia and Tibet, these countries were entirely shamanist. There is much evidence today to show that shamanism still occupies a prominent place in the religious life of these peoples. Mme David-Neel assumes that in spite of the fact that the Tibetans are considered to be Lamaists, most of them, except the learned lamas, are shamanists.[4] 771 756

II. INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM AND LAMAISM IN HSINING (HUANG-CHUNG)

NO HISTORICAL DATA BEFORE 1227 IN THE ANNALS OF HSINING

OLD OCCUPANTS OF HUANG-CHUNG WERE NOT BUDDHISTS

The *Annals* of Hsining do not record a single fact concerning either the time or the way Buddhism first was introduced in what is now the Hsining region. Dealing with the temples and monasteries built in the country, the author of the *Annals*, in concluding ch. 15, p. 13*a* incidentally notes: ". . . the country of Huang-chung [Hsining], being properly the region of the Hsiao Yüeh-chih [Indo European Scythians], which had been lost several times at the hands of the Tibetans and the barbarians, it is no wonder that [there] Buddhists are numerous and Taoists are few in number." The author seems to suppose that these Scythians and Tibetans were Buddhist at that early time, but in ch. 30, pp. 1–12 (the only pages concerned with these early Scythians and Tibetans), he does not record any fact concerning Buddhism in regard to either these Scythians or these Tibetans. 175 771 792

No evidence can be offered concerning these Scythians to support the assertion of the profession of Buddhism by that "small branch of Hsining Hsiao Yüeh-chih."[1] However, the main branch of the Yüeh-chih 175 771

[4] Alexandra David-Neel, *Au Pays des brigands gentilshommes* 101, Paris, Plon, 1933.

[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30. According to the *Annals*, the Hsiung-nu Khan, Mao Tun, having killed the king of the Scythians (202–201 B.C.), a small and feeble branch among them settled in the mountains and mixed with the Tibetans (p. 1*b*). They submitted to the Chinese General Ho Ch'ü-ping (121–119 B.C.) and lived among the Chinese (colonists). They lived in seven groups, numbering in all 9000 or more soldiers, spread over the region of Huang-chung to Ling-chü (colony near Kukunor) (p. 2*a*). During the period Hung-Yüan (A.D. 89–105), refusing to revolt with the Tibetan Mi-T'ang tribes, they helped the Chinese General Tung Hsün crush the revolt. Tung-Hsün gave them the title of *I-Ts'ung-Ch'iang*, and *I-Ts'ung-Hu* (loyally following Tibetans and barbarians, re-

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tribes, chased from Mongolia and Turkistan by the 175
Hsiung-nu between 176 and 165 B.C., finally became 771
unified, and founded the realm of Kushana (between Iran and India), in the first half of our era.[2] When that branch adopted Buddhism is not known, but its third king, Kanishka (A.D. 80–11–, or A.D. 120–162), was a fervent protector of Buddhism.

The Tibetans of Huang-chung, in those early times, [177]
were still buried in barbaric darkness. It was much later, around A.D. 630–650, that Buddhism was first spread among them, and even then it had little appeal for the people on account of the strong opposition of the native *Bön* religion. The second attempt at diffusion by Padmasambhava a century later (775–788 or 797), was more successful.[3] Conclusively, Buddhism had not been spread during this period among these Scythians or the Tibetans.

FIRST TEMPLE BUILT IN HUANG-CHUNG

Buddhism "seems," however, to have been spread 175
into the country in the first centuries of our era, because 792
the author of the *Annals* (ch. 15, p. 2*b*) mentions the "monastery" Pei Ch'an-ssu, and notes: ". . . the 'monastery' is situated five *li* outside the northern gate of the city of Hsining, at the foot of the 'Earth Tower Mountain' "; it is the very oldest monastery of which Han-yin tells: ". . . north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the monastery of the 'Earth Tower.' "

According to the Chinese "Dictionary of Famous Men of China," (*Chung-kuo ming-jen ts'e tien*) Han-yin was a native of Tun-Huang (Nan hsi-chou) who fulfilled important functions on behalf of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün (A.D. 401–439), the king of the ephemeral realm of Pei Liang. Han-yin was the author of several books, among them *The Annals of the Thirteen Chou*. In these *Annals* (p. 8), we read:

the *Shui-ching-chu* records: north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the 'Earth Tower' temple, (*shen-ssu*); according to the *Shui-ching-chu* the river Huang, turning to the east, passes on the southern side of the 'Earth Tower'; the tower on the northern side leans against the mountain, the original crest being 300 feet high, and looks steep, as if it were artificially cut; at the foot of the tower are the remainders of old walls and of carved walls of the temple (or temples).

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spectively), which titles are recorded on pp. 6*a*–11*b*. Every time they took sides with the Chinese in quelling the intermittent revolts of Tibetans. In A.D. 184 (p. 11*b*) during the revolt of the Yellow Turbans, which accelerated the fall of the later Han dynasty (A.D. 220), the Scythians revolted with the Tibetan Hsien-lin tribes, and from that time on, their name disappears from the *Annals*; nothing more seems to be known about them.

Ed. Chavannes, Les Pays d'occident d'après Le Wei Lio, *T'oung Pao*, 6: 527–528, 1905.

[2] René Grousset, *Histoire de l'extrême Orient*, 60, 61, 64, Paris, Geuthner, 1929.

[3] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 361. Bacot, Jacques, Le Mariage chinois du roi Tibetain Sron-bcan-sgan-po, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, 7, Juillet, Louvain, Istas, 1935.

"The Tibetan chronicles show that in the IXth century, Buddhism had only passed the frontiers of Tibet without having either affected the mind of the people or even the court."

[P. 8(B)]

According to this text, Han-yin does not report hav- 175
ing seen the temple between 401 and 439. He notes 792
only the text of the *Shui-ching-chu*, an earlier geographical work, probably completed before A.D. 265, by an unknown author and largely commented and expanded by Li Tao-Yüan on the basis of his own studies and observations. He died in 527.[4] Han-yin consequently used the original edition of the *Shui-ching-chu* and thus the fact of the existence of the vestiges of the ruined temple (or temples) of the "Earth Tower" before A.D. 265 is evidenced. The *Shui-ching-chu* of Li Tao-Yüan notes *verbatim* the same text (p. 24*b*), adding: ". . . when Han-yin says, 'on the northern side of Hsi-p'ing is the temple of the "Earth Tower,"' he refers to this temple."

NOT A BUDDHIST TEMPLE

The original *Shui-ching-chu* in mentioning, "the temple of the 'Earth Tower' uses the term *Shen-ssu* for "temple." This term is not specific for temples devoted to the worship of Buddha, but rather is used to designate temples devoted to sacrifices to ancestors or to the spirits in general. The text notes that the vestiges of the "temple" were still existing in 265.

The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 notes the existence of the *Pei Ch'an-ssu*, "the northern temple of contemplation," also called *Yung-hsing-ssu*, "temple of eternal inspiration," situated five *li* outside the northern gate of the city at the foot of the "Earth Tower Mountain." The name of "Earth Tower Mountain," situated five *li* north of the city, was still well known in 1912; the temple was still called *Pei Ch'an-ssu*, which eliminates any doubt concerning the identity of the location of the temple called by these three names.[5] In 1912 a steep winding path led to the temple, which was a deep cavern, and some smaller ones, dug half way up the mountain side. A large, elaborate veranda constituted the entrance. Inside the cavern were statues of Lu tung-ping, Ho-hu-yeh, Ma-wang, and Niu-wang. It is certain that the temple was a Taoist temple. An old Taoist, living in one of its small rooms, took care of it, collecting some grain in autumn from the neighboring farmers and enjoying his job.

IT IS ACTUALLY CALLED PEI CH'AN-SSU

Ch'an-ssu suggests that the builders of the temple belonged to the Dhyana sect, diffused in China by Buddhidharma, an Indian or Iranian Buddhist missionary, who arrived only in A.D. 520 (?) and died in 535.[6] The

[4] A. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period* 2: 970 sq., note by Dr. Hu Shih and *passim* the references concerning the *Shui-ching-chu* in Vols. 1–11 (see "Index of Books," in Hummel, *op. cit.*).

[5] *Yüan huo Chün-hsien chih*, ch. 39, p. 16*a*, erroneously notes: "130 *li* west of the city of Hsi-p'ing is the mountain of the Earth-tower, at its base is the temple (*Shen-ssu*) of the Earth-tower."

[6] O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches* 2: 299–300, Leipzig, Verlag Von Walter De Gruyter, 1936.

[p. 9(A)]

temple must indeed have been devoted to the worship 175
of Buddha at some time; otherwise the name *Pei Ch'an-* 792
ssu would remain inexplicable. These facts seem to lead to the supposition that the original temple, already ruined in A.D. 265, must have been built by the early Chinese frontier colonists; and because it was not then called by the term *ssu*, the specific appellation for Buddhist temples, but *shen-ssu*, it must have been devoted to the worship of the spirits (of the locality), in the old Chinese manner. Later, after A.D. 520, the ruined original temple must have been converted into a Buddhist temple of the Dhyana sect. From that time on the people must have started calling it *Pei Ch'an-ssu*. Later still the temple, after having been changed to the cult of Taoist spirits, seems to have retained the Buddhist appellation, and the author of the *Annals* seems to have supposed erroneously that the temple was originally a Buddhist temple.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY COLONISTS OR BY MONKS FROM TURKISTAN?

Buddhism was introduced in China "officially" be- 175
tween A.D. 64 and 67 by way of Turkistan,[7] before 771
the time of King Kanishka of Kushana (80–110 or 120– 797
162), whose realm was situated on the celebrated commercial road connecting the Roman Empire with India and China.[8] Buddhism had been diffused into the petty realms of central Asia, with which the Chinese generals waged war for two centuries (121 B.C.–A.D. 101).[9] The first translators of Buddhist scriptures, mostly of Iranian and Scythian origin, came to China from Turkistan in A.D. 148.[10] All these missionaries, on their way to China, passed through Liang-chou which at that time was one of the most important emporiums in west China. Here lived businessmen from remote countries, subjects of the Roman Empire.[11]

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[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 1: 410, " . . . nothing is known for sure about the way or the time Buddhism was first diffused in China." However, Franke wrote earlier, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12: 217, 1909, " . . . Buddhism was firmly established in China in the second half of the first century A.D.; it made big strides during the middle of the second century, and rode the crest of the waves during the second half of the fourth century." Grousset, *op. cit.*, 244: "In 65 A.D. there existed sporadically in Kiangsu Buddhist communities, protected by the brother of Emperor Ming-ti. The diffusion of Buddhism seems only to have started on some large scale during the middle of the second century, A.D. . . ."

[8] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 55: " . . . the transcontinental silk trade road, running through Kashgaria (Turkistan) and Iran, was already open in the second century, B.C."

[9] O. Franke, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, " . . . during the three first centuries of our era, Buddhism must have been diffused from Gandhara and Kashmir into Turkistan."

[10] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 245.

[11] Peter Boodberg, Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 1: 289, Cambridge, [113]
November, 1936, "Besides the two 'Aryan' colonies in Shensi, there are reasons to believe that there existed on the Chinese

[P 9(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The colonization of Huang-chung started between 121 and 119 B.C. with the transportation of Chinese families from central China, and criminals released from jail (*Annals* of Hsining. ch. 30, p. 2*b*). In A.D. 9 the colonization system was developed on a larger scale in the same way. In A.D. 132 (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9) after five new colonies were established, the total number reached only ten. Intermittently, new families and criminals had to be sent to replace those who died or ran away (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9*b*). In A.D. 220, after three centuries, the originally walled, small garrison of Hsining was expanded by the building of three new cities, on three sides of it (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 13*a*). For the first time, Hsining started to become a real city, the only one in the whole country.

It is tempting to suppose that, at the time of the expansion of the city, the temple of the "Earth Tower" might have been built, for it could easily have been protected by the garrison troops who farmed the fields around it. On the other hand, it is an historical fact that Buddhism already had a firm toehold in China in the second half of the second century A.D. It seems possible that among these colonists some might have been professing Buddhists when they arrived in Huang-chung, because Buddhism was the religion of the people. If so, Buddhism might have been imported by the colonists and practiced among them during the second century A.D. However, another possibility is not precluded. Monks who were attendants for the early translators of Buddhist texts (A.D. 148) might have settled in the emporium of Liang-chou, diffusing Buddhism as monks used to do in the oasis cities of Turkistan. Some among them might have tried to go to Hsining to spread Buddhism, after the city had been built and relative security provided. However, no historical data are available to support either of these two suppositions.

More can hardly be said about the diffusion of Buddhism in Huang-chung during the first three centuries of our era, because of the lack of historical data.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY HSIEN-PI TRIBES?

The region of Huang-chung, and its neighboring countries, upset during the second and third centuries by three noticeable invasions of Hsien-pi tribes which settled in the country, driving out the larger Tibetan

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border a third colony from the 'Far West,' this time located in modern Kansu. In the list of Hsien dependent on the prefecture of Chang-Yeh we have Li-Chien-Hsien. . . . It is tempting to see in the name of this administrative subdivision of a western Chinese province a variant transcription . . . which is one of the names under which the Roman Orient was known to the Chinese of the Han dynasty. . . . The name of the little Chinese city on the desert road to the West, would indicate that an important Western community must have sent out its sons to the distant land of the Seres to imprint the name of the metropolis on an outpost of the Han Empire." See also M. Medard, Ta-Ts'in, Province romaine en Asie, *Journal de Pékin*, 141 *et. sq.*, 1936.

tribes [12] and assimilating the smaller ones, changed the 175
whole of the population. This raises the question 771
whether Buddhism was spread into the country by these Hsien-pi tribes. It could hardly have been spread by the group of nomadic Hsien-pi tribes called *T'u-fa* which, coming along the Yin-Shan, settled in the region between Lan-chou and Hsining during the second century A.D.[13] No historical data exist concerning the diffusion of Buddhism along the Yin-Shan at that time. Consequently, these Hsien-pi tribes did not spread Buddhism in Huang-chung at the time of their arrival.[14] Two centuries later they founded an ephemeral realm called "Nan-liang," having its capital in Hsining (339–414). For the same reason, Buddhism cannot have been spread at the time of the arrival of the second group of Hsien-pi, called the Ch'i-fu tribes, which in the third century A.D. came from the northern desert, where they lived as nomads along the same Yin-Shan, and then settled in the country of the T'ao River, south of Hsining. They founded the ephemeral realm of Hsi Ch'ing (385–431) with its capital in Ho-chou.[15] Nor can Buddhism, again for the same reason, have been spread at the time of the arrival of a third strong group of Hsien-pi, the T'u-yü-hun tribes which, living as nomads along the same Yin-Shan, settled in A.D. 280 in the neighboring region of Hsining and in Kukunor, and founded a realm which lasted until 672. At the time of the invasions by these Hsien-pi tribes in the country of Huang-chung, they were still buried in barbaric darkness.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY THE BUDDHIST KINGS OF LIANG-CHOU?

This interesting problem will be approached from 175
geographical and historical aspects. The countries of Huang-chung and Liang-chou are separated by the Nan-Shan (southern mountain range), across which many low passes facilitate communication. During the Hou-Han dynasty Huang-chung depended on Liang-chou.[16] Later on, it was conquered and governed successively by the kings of the ephemeral realms of Ch'ien-Liang, Hou-Liang, and Pei Liang, who resided at the important emporium of Liang-chou.[17]

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[12] Wieger, *Textes historiques* 2: 1207–1208, Ho-chien Fu, Imprimerie de Hien-hien, 1904.

[13] O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches, op. cit.* 2: 112.

[14] James A. Ware, Wei-shou on Buddhism, *T'oung Pao* 30: 126, 1933. "Before the Wei had established their realm in the north. . . . They had not yet heard of Buddha, or if they had, they had not yet put their trust in him." Wei, alias Yüan Wei, ruled over varying portions of North China from 386.

[15] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 85.

[16] *Yüan huo Chün-hsien chih*, ch. 29, p. 15.

[17] Wolfram Eberhard, *Das Toba Reich in Nord China*, 180, Leiden, Brill. In 439 T'o-pa Wei conquered Pei Liang, the last of the petty realms which had successively settled in Liang-chou from 345 on. These realms had so monopolized the entire trade of Central Asia that Liang-chou became the most important colony of foreign traders, whose caravans arrived incessantly.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The Chin dynasty, which started in A.D. 265, had 175
been unable to control its empire, which was invaded by the northern barbarians. The governors of the distant Liang-chou, according to the circumstances, recognized the authority of either the empire or one of the nearest new barbarian kingdoms (Chao, Ch'ing, Wei), or both at the same time, or even declared themselves independent, founding their own kingdoms and expanding their power and influence as far as Turkistan and Huang-chung (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, pp. 14–17).

From 345 until 439 Liang-chou was not only the 175
most important emporium of the West but also the most 771
active cultural center of Buddhism.

The kings of Ch'ien-Liang (345–385) promoted and protected Buddhism.[18] The kings of Hou-Liang (385–401) were as fervent protectors of Buddhism as the kings of Ch'ien-Liang.[19] However, Buddhism reached its highest degree of intellectual activity during the period of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün of Pei Liang (401–439), who controlled Turkistan and nearly the entire east of modern Kansu.[20] His counselor was the celebrated Dharmaksema.[21] One is easily tempted to suppose that Buddhism was diffused on a large scale in the countries subjected to unusually fervent Buddhist rulers—and all the more since during the period of 401–439, two [167]
thousand families from Liang-chou were transported to Huang-chung (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, p. 176), three thousand from Yung-ch'ang (ch. 30, p. 18*a*), and five thousand from Ho-chou (ch. 30, p. 18*b*). It seems to be an axiom that in Asia, and especially among

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Because China at that time was involved in endless wars, many Chinese from Ho-pei, allured by the prospects of peaceful living and profitable trading, moved into Liang-chou. The acquisition of the wealthy and rich emporium of Liang-chou had also been the motive for the expedition of the T'o-pa and the destruction of Pei Liang. The Chinese population of Liang-chou, according to the custom during these ages, were then taken slaves to populate the realm of the T'o-pa.

[18] They built the big monastery and superb tower in the city of Liang-chou, the first grottos of *Sha-chou* (Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1185), and supported Chih-shih-lün, an Upsaka of the country of the Yüeh-chih, who translated in Liang-chou four volumes of Buddhist texts (*A catalogue of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, App. II, No. 35, p. 398, Bunyiu Nanjio, 1930), and the Chinese *Sramana* Chu Fu-nien who translated 12 works (Catalogue . . . App. II, No. 58, p. 405).

[19] The king's counselor was the Indian monk, Kumarajiva, who translated the 200 and more volumes of the Sutralankara (*Nanjio catalogue*, App. II, No. 59, p. 407) in Liang-chou. They built a tower and a monastery in the city, said to contain the relics of the monk (*Annals* of Liang-chou, 30*a*); the monk was very proficient in foretelling the future (*ibid.*, 34*b*, 35*a*.)

[20] *The Bunyiu Nanjio catalogue of Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka* mentions no less than nine names of learned foreign monks working in Liang-chou, supported by the king, translating 82 works from Indian and Sanskrit into Chinese (App. II, p. 410, No. 61, pp. 64–72). Nan-yang-hu, the nephew of the king was a translator (App. II, No. 83). Walter Fuchs, Zür technischen Organisation der Übersetzungen buddhistischer Schriften in Chinesische, *Asia Major* 6: 84, 1930.

[21] *Annals* of Liang-chou, 34*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 196. Ware, *op. cit.* 2: 133.

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the nomadic tribes, subjects adopted the religion professed by their kings or chiefs. Even in Europe there existed the sayings: *Regis ad exemplar* ("Subjects follow the pattern set by the king"), *cujus regio ejus religio* ("Let the religion of each state follow that of its prince"). However, not a single fact is recorded in the *Annals* concerning the building of Buddhist temples or monasteries in Huang-chung during this century of intensive cultural Buddhist activity promoted by the conquerers and rulers of Huang-chung in their capital of Liang-chou. This fact seems to challenge belief. Possibly the insecurity in the country on account of the military actions accompanying the conquest, carried on by the three successive rulers in the span of a century (345–439), and the disturbances following the transportation of such important groups of families, afford the explanation. Perhaps the Buddhist cultural activities did not appeal so much to the people, as to the court and the administrative centers of the capital, and so the impact of Buddhism remained confined to the area of the capital.

The T'o-pa Wei conquered the kingdom of Pei Liang in 439, but at the time it was involved in a serious persecution of Buddhism (438–452).[22] From 445 until 635 endless troubles occurred in Huang-chung, on account of the intermittent inroads of the T'u-yü-hun from Kukunor, and the T'o-pa, Sui, and T'ang dynasties successively had to wage war with them. (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 20*b*–24*b*). In 663 there started the intermittent inroads of the T'u-fan until 866 (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 25*a*–31*a*). During the Wu-tai period (907–960) China was unable to control Huang-chung. The Sung dynasty (920–1227) was powerless against the Hsi-Hsia and Chin, which successively occupied Huang-chung, but which themselves had trouble with the T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang (*Annals*, ch. 31, pp. 1*a*–8*b*). Finally, the Mongols conquered Huang-chung in 1227 and brought peace into the country. No wonder, during these eight centuries of intermittent troubles and change in the population, Buddhist activities were very limited, and the few existing institutions in depopulated Huang-chung were of minor importance.

HISTORICAL DATA ACCORDING TO TIBETAN SOURCES

However, the lack of information in the *Annals* of Hsining relating to this period is compensated for by data provided by the Tibetan *Blue Annals* of 'Gos lo-tsa-la composed between A.D. 1476 and 1478.[23]

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[22] Ware, *op. cit.*, 135, ". . . when in the period T'ai-yen (435–440) the province of Liang was conquered and its population moved to the capital, the monks and Buddhist paraphernalia all came East, and the counterfeit teaching increased far and wide. Presently, owing to the large number of Sramanas, an Imperial order was given to unfrock those under 50 years of age."

[23] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1949: 1; 1953: 11. *The Blue Annals* and the *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston Rin-po-

Buddhism, introduced in Tibet during the reign of 175
King Sron-btsan sgam-po, who died in A.D. 650 or 698, 771
was persecuted by King Lang Darma in either 841 or [798]
901. The persecution lasted for 70 or 108 years.
However, the doctrine continued to exist in Western Tibet (mNa-ris).

In Book II of the *Blue Annals* (pp. 65–66) it is stated that:

dGe-ba rab-gsal started his religious life at the hermitage of Zin-dpon. Three hermits [24] had fled via Khotan, to the country of Hor (Uigur kingdom), during the persecution and proceeding to Amdo met with dGe-ba rab-gsal, born in 892 in the village of Jya-zur situated north of Hsün-hua on the northern bank of the Yellow River. One of these "Three Learned Men of Tibet" ordained dGe-ba rab-sgal who went to Kan-chou (Kansu) for study but could not enter Tibet on account of the famine. In a vision he saw "Asuras" known as the "Nine Brother Dwarfs" residing in the neighborhood of Mount Dantig, who invited him to go to their place where there are great hermitages "promising to become his lay supporters."

In order to combat certain Yogis existing there, he laid the foundation of the monastery of Dantig, disciples joined him; he resided there for 35 years and died at 84 (975). Other celebrated fugitives of Tibet, called "The Six Men from *dbUs* and *gTsan*," who inaugurated the revival of Buddhism in Tibet, had met with dGe-ba rab-sgal, and had their ordination ceremony presided over by his disciple.

The text of the *Blue Annals* presents evidences of the existence of the hermitage of Zin-dpon and the founding of a hermitage at Mount Dantig by dGe-ba rab-gsal in the country where, during that period, there existed "great hermitages."

The text (*Blue Annals*, 65) fixing the location of Mount Dantig notes: "Ri Dantig is situated on the bank of the rMa-chu or Huang-ho, southeast of Kum-'bum and north of Hsün-hua." In the Introduction (p. 17), the author notes that "dGe-ba rab-gsal was born in 892 in Tsong-ka bDe-khams" (north Amdo; according to a local tradition his native village was Jya-zur, situated on the northern bank of the rMa-chu, north of Hsün-hua).

The location of Mount Dantig on which dGe-ba rab-gsal built his hermitage in A.D. 940, southeast of Hsining on the northern bank of the Yellow River, seems to correspond perfectly with that of the Mount Ami ch'ü-lu situated 140 *li* southeast of Hsining on which is built the actually still existing picturesque monastery of Sha-ch'ung. In 1910 its origin had been lost, but various surviving traditions attributed its origin to the Yüan

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che composed in 1322, partly translated by E. Obermiller, 1931, are the main sources of information for all later historical compilations in Tibet. *Ibid.*, Introduction, 1.

[24] *Idem*, 63, cites Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism*. Obermiller, *Blue annals*, 2: 201. The three men are called *Bodhi-kyi mkhas-pa mi-gsum* or The Three Learned Men of Tibet. They are buried in a temple at Hsining. In dPari, north of Hsining, there exists a stone pillar with the names of three men mentioned on it (verbal communication of Rev. dGe-dun Chos-'phel). I never heard about such facts during my sojourn in the country.

[p. 12(A)]

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period (1280–1368). The site of the hermitage of Zin-dpon being less picturesque, it is hard to identify it with the monastery of Goorong bzan which is a neighbor of Sha-ch'ung.[25]

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[25] R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* **44**: 229, 1951, identifies Sha-ch'ung (Sha-ch'ung of the Hsining *Annals*) with the monastery of the Rock of Bya-k'yun, below the city of Kui-te, south of Hsining, in the region of the Tibetans situated behind Tsong-ko. He gives details (p. 230) concerning the region of Tsong-ko situated between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng, where he notes the river of Tsong running in the valley between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng. The *Annals* of Hsining provide more details; "the River Tsong is east of the city (subprefecture of Nien-pei) (ch. 4, p. 15*a*). The valley of Tsong is situated 30 *li* west of the Great Rapids" (ch. 4, p. 10*b*), which are *circa* 30 *li* east of Nien-pei. "The River Tsong-ko which is north of the old city of Tsong-ko is [also known as] the River of Hsining [Huang-shui]; when the river reaches the city of Tsong-ko it is then called Tsong-ko River. The river changes its name according to the places [through which it flows] (ch. 4, p. 17*a*). South of the subprefecture of Nien-pei, there exists a city of Tsong-ko." The Sung *Annals* note: "The city of Lung-chih, which is the old city of Tsong-ko, depended on the Chou of Hsining. Concerning old Lung-chih there are three: at the time of the Han dynasties the city was situated west of the actual Ning-I [Hsining] in the *Chün* of the western Sea (Kukunor); at the time of the Sui and T'ang dynasties Lung-chih was situated to the southwest of the actual Nien-pei near the Yellow River; at the time of the Sung dynasty it was located to the south of Nien-pei; therefore, it is an error to say indiscriminately that the old city of Tsong-ko was only one city."

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Shih-ch'eng (ch. 7, p. 13*a*) "is situated south of Nien-pei near the Yellow River." But ch. 7, p. 14 notes: "south of Nien-pei is the old city of Hua-ch'eng, which is properly the city of Shih-ch'eng established by the Hu-Wei; because in that region there was a Hua-lung valley, its name was changed to that of Hua-ch'eng hsien in 568 and in 712 the T'ang emperor adopted this appellation." (See also article *K'uo-chou*, *Annals*, ch. 7, pp. 12*a* and *b*.) However, ch. 4, p. 10 notes: "To the northwest of Hsining (region of the Kukunor) is a river running eastward (River of Hsining) passing south of Shih-ch'eng, which joins the river of the northern valley." This text and the former one concerning Tsong-ko seem to point to the strange fact that there have existed in the region of Kukunor a Tsong-ko and a Shih-ch'eng, before two cities called by the same names were established in the region south of Nien-pei.

In modern times the region south of Nien-pei near the Yellow River was separated from Nien-pei by the Ch'ing dynasty and organized as the T'ing of Pa-yen-jung. The Chinese Republic changed the name of Pa-yen-jung to Hua-lung hsien in honor of the old Hua-ch'eng hsien of 568, which at that time had taken over the place called Shih-ch'eng.

Conclusively, the former Tsong River joined the river of Hsining *circa* 10 *li* below Nien-pei; the region of Tsong-ko, Shih ch'eng in later times, was situated in the country south of Nien-pei and constitutes now, completely or at least for its largest part, the territory of Hua-lung hsien, near southwest of Nien-pei and really behind Tsong-ko as Stein notes: ". . . and southwest in Hua-lung hsien near the Yellow River is Sha-ch'ung."

More is available concerning the Tibetan tribes of Tsong-ko and the neighborhood from 1006 on (ch. 31, p. 1 *sq.*) fighting against and exterminating each other in the nomadic pattern; also about the Tsong-ko lama Li li-tsun, who married his daughter to the powerful Tibetan chief Kio-sse-louo, etc., which point to the fact that at that time these lamas belonged to the group of the Red Sect which was permitted marriage (ch.

[p. 12(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Thus, in 940 dGeba rab-gsal, who had started his religious life in the monastery of Zin-dpon, built a monastery in Dantig. At that time there existed in that region "great hermitages" and a temple in Hsining, where the three learned men from Tibet were buried. Later their names were chiseled on a stone pillar in dPari (the region between the Ta t'ung River and Nanshan, reaching to P'ing fan). At what time were the "great hermitages," the monastery of Zin-dpon, and the temple at Hsining built? Were there at that time hermitages in dPari? 175 792

The *Annals of Kansu* 45, 65–66, and the *Annals of Hsining* 30A, 30 a, b, record that during the span of time from the period of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet (some years before 650 or 696), until its persecution (in 841 or 901), the T'ufan occupied Huang chung and Lungyu from 756 until 842, under the leadership of successive descendants of the imperial T'ufan family (Tsanpu), who appointed their own officials in the country without interference by the Chinese empire. It seems appropriate to assume that Tibetan lamas would at that time have followed the T'ufan tribes in Huang chung, and have built the "great hermitages" and the temple in Hsining, being encouraged by the Tsanpu leaders, the promoters of Buddhism. Thus Buddhism would have been diffused in Huang chung between 756–842 by lamas from Tibet and that is why "great hermitages" and the temple in Hsining existed before 940. 175 [792]

The minor importance of these institutions founded in troubled times, the loss of traditions concerning their origin, and the minor interest of the Chinese scholars for Lamaism, explain the lack of records in the Chinese *Annals*.

Conclusively, from the very beginning of the Chinese colonization of Huang chung until its conquest by the Mongols in 1227, the foundation of the hermitage of Dantig in 940, and the existence at that time, of "great hermitages" in that region, and of a Buddhist temple in the city of Hsining, are the only Lamaist institutions concerning which historical records exist. 175 771

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE YUAN DYNASTY (1280–1367)

When the Mongols conquered Huang-chung, the country was nearly depopulated. They found a few 175

31, p. 2b). Also, more is available concerning the subject in *Kansu chüan shen Hsin-t'ung-chih*, 1909, ch. 46, pp. 6b, 7a and 7b. See also Wolfram Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* 1: 20, Brill, Leiden, 1942, Shih ch'eng, alte Hsiung-nu Gebiet.

Incidentally, I encountered in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1887, Pt. 1, No. 1, p. 28: "The north of Machhu is occupied by Chinese, Tibetans, Hor, Mohammedans [this seems to be the region of Pa-yen Jung], in the east of this tract lie the districts called Tantig and Yantig in which Tantig Shelgi is a sacred place." The location seems to be the region directly south of Nien pei. However, in 1910 no monastery existed in that region. [103]

[p. 13 (A)]

Tibetan tribes, remnants of important ones which had 175
fled to Kukunor or Tibet. Mongol troops, divided into small units, were settled with their families under the leadership of clan chiefs at strategic points, in order to prevent possible inroads of hostile neighboring tribes. [563]
A group of Shat'o living in the country since 936 joined the conquerers and was enlisted among the frontier defenders. The descendants of these groups constitute the Monguors to whom this study is devoted. Later there came also groups of Salars, Turks of Samarkand, to whom territories were assigned. More Moslems also settled in the country.[26]

GODAN

The Yüan dynasty is well known for its devotion to 175
Lamaism. In Tibetan and Mongol literature, Godan, 797
the brother of Güyük (the Emperor T'ing tsung, 1246–1251) is celebrated as the first ardent Buddhist Mongol prince who invited to his residence in Hsi-Liang the Sa-Skya Pandita, Chief Abbot of the Sa-Skya sect.

The holy man accepted the invitation and started his "apostolic" journey. He remained seven years in Hsi-Liang successfully diffusing the religion over the entire country.[27]

According to history, the troops of Godan had de- 175
feated the Tibetans northwest of Lhasa in 1239 and 648
destroyed a monastery. The Tibetans asked for negotiations in order to end the war. Godan urged a Tibetan delegate to come to his residence, and Sa-Skya Pandita, to whom this task had been assigned, started his "apostolic" journey on "command" from Godan, in order to avoid the worst. He delivered Tibet into the hands of the Mongol Prince, received a "gold patent," became an official under Godan, and Vice-regent of Tibet. His successors inherited this office.[28] Discontent among the Tibetans over the surrender of Tibet caused a new Mongol expedition to be sent in 1251. More rivalries and discontent had to be crushed again by the Mongol troops in 1267, 1277, 1281, and 1290.[29]

The Mongol emperors, hoping to keep the Tibetans [781]
and Mongols in submission by manifesting reverence for the lamas and promoting their religion, lavishly showered favors and privileges on the lamas and became Lamaists themselves. Emperors and empresses received Lamaist initiation, and the Sa-Skya lama Phagspa, chaplain at court, was allowed to sit next to 175
the emperor.[30] The court of the Mongols was sincerely 771

[26] Louis M. J. Schram, C.I.C.M., The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 23–57, 1954.

[27] Huth, *Geschichte der Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, 130, 1896.

[28] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 8, *et seq.* It is the merit [113]
of Professor Tucci to have shed true light on this old myth about the ardent Buddhist Godan, his invitation to the Sa-Skya Pandita, and the political status of Tibet during the Yüan dynasty. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217–91, 578.

[29] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 18. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217.

[30] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 510–517–522.

[p. 13(8)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Buddhist, and Peking was a Buddhist city. However, the Mongols also favored all religions—shamanism, Nestorianism, Catholicism. 175 771

The impact of Lamaism during the Yüan dynasty was limited to Peking. The number of conversions to Lamaism in Mongolia, and the number of monasteries, were insignificant, since when Altan, Khan of T'umed in 1578, proclaimed the Yellow Church the official religion of the Mongols, the Red Church was very nearly extinct. Possibly the appeal of Lamaism to the Mongols at that time was very limited because the marvels performed by the Red lamas (such as making rain, dispelling hail, predicting the future, rising in the air, subduing evil spirits, protecting the herds by sorcery) had already been performed by their own old shamans for centuries. So, for them, Lamaism could have seemed but another form of their own shamanism. [184]

TA-FO-SSU

In the long list of monasteries and temples recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining, there is mention only of the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the heart of the city, with the note: " . . . it is an old monastery built by the Mongols, to which was granted during the Hung-wu period of the Ming (1368–99), the inscription 'Pacified Tibetans' " (*Annals* ch. 15, p. 1*b*). The temple complex in 1915, although in a state of total dilapidation, gave evidence that it must have constituted a fine monastery in former times. The main temple (two stories high) contained three huge statues of Buddhas, nine meters in height. The ruins of four smaller temples were still in existence, as well as a great number of small rooms, the habitations of former lamas. This temple was built by the ancestors of the Li T'u-ssu who fulfilled in Hsining the important office of Yu-ch'eng at the end of the Yüan dynasty. The clan of the Li T'u-ssu belonged to the Ch'u-yüeh tribe of the Shat'o group which founded the Later T'ang and the Later Chin dynasties (923–947). The Shat'o were Buddhists, and the emperors of their dynasties liked to visit the caves of Lung-men where they prayed for rain and snow.[31] They honored especially the Buddhist deity, Pishamen (*Vaisrayana*), one of the "Four Heavenly Kings," guardians of the four directions.[32] This devotion must have been old, because it is said that "Li K'o-yung as a youth once prayed in the temple of Vaisrayana."[33] No wonder then that the Li clan built the celebrated Ta-fo-ssu. However, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, the Shat'o had two religions. Besides Buddhism, the old Turkish "God of Heaven" was still worshipped by them. After the conquest of North China, the Shat'o also worshipped the gods of the Chinese official religion.[34] 175 792 346 [771]

[31] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.
[32] *Ibid.*, 96.
[33] *Ibid.*, 92.
[34] *Ibid.*, 94. Schram, *op. cit.*, 30.

[P. 14(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

At the beginning of the Chinese Republic (1911), 175
rumors upset the country for a long time, according to 114
which all the temples were to be confiscated and con- 792
verted into schools. The Li T'u-ssu, afraid of having his family monastery confiscated, and being squeezed to the wall, chose the lesser of the two evils. He reluctantly resolved to make some money from it and suggested that I buy it. Hoping to get more information about the history of the monastery, I asked for deeds and about the circumstances under which the Yüan officials had granted to his ancestors, in the heart of the city, the grounds on which the monastery had been built. "Father," he said, "No deeds exist, but is the secular tradition, well known all over the country, not sufficient to allow me to sell the family monastery?" Later, Goorongbzan, the most influential Living Buddha of the Red Sect, was in search of an opportunity to retrieve the old glory of his sect, which had been declining and waning on account of the protection and privileges accorded by the emperors of the Ch'ing dynasty to the Yellow Sect. As he was the sworn brother of the Moslem military commander of Hsining, Ma K'o-ch'en, who was at that time omnipotent, Goorongbzan called on his "brother" to obtain the necessary permission to restore the old monastery, which had been administered for centuries by lamas of his sect. A vehement protest by all the Living Buddhas of the Yellow Sect in the country was sent to the amban and to Ma K'o-ch'en. Eventually the officials confiscated the monastery, and thus ended the Ta-fo-ssu.

SHA-CH'UNG

Traditions still fresh and living, concerning mon- 175
asteries built during the Yüan period, linger among the 792
lamas of the Red and Yellow Sects. A tradition, well known all over the country, asserts that the oldest monastery in the country is that of Sha-ch'ung, situated on the left bank of the Yellow River, 140 *li* southeast of Hsining. It affirms that its founder was Karmabakshi (1203–1282),[35] the lamas belonged to the Karmapa, and that the celebrated Tsong khapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, started his religious career at Sha-ch'ung which went over to the Yellow Sect.

In 1918 I was a guest at Sha-ch'ung, a beautiful 792
lamasery. The temple, in the center of the complex of [346]
buildings, had a gilt tiled roof. It was situated on the Ami ch'ü-lu Mountain, commanding a wonderful outlook over the Yellow River and the surrounding moun-

[35] Gunther Schuleman, *Geschichte der Dalai Lama*, Heidelberg, 1911. At the time of Güyük and Mönke most of the lamas on duty at the court were of Tangut origin and adherents of the Karmapa sect, spread from Tsang to Kukunor. They were proficient in magic, and rivals of the Sa-skya (p. 51). At the end of the Yüan dynasty their chief received an imperial diploma and seal (p. 56). During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) the most prominent among the bearers of the title of *Ta-pao-fa-wang*, "Great King of the precious law," was the chief of the Karmapa sect (p. 57).

[p. 14(B)]

tainous country. It was inhabited by two or three 792
hundred lamas of Tibetan origin, and had four colleges. The Abbot told me the monastery had been founded by a lama of Amdo, called Don dub. During the Yüan dynasty he had studied in Tibet. He was a learned man. The Abbot pointed to a stupa built on [346]
top of the temple and said it contained the relics of the founder. He went on to explain that Don dub had been the Teacher of Tsong khapa (born in 1357, ten years before the end of the Yüan dynasty) who started his religious career at Sha-ch'üng, and that the teacher brought his pupil to Lhasa when he was sixteen years of age. Then the Abbot led me to a nice building claiming it was there Tsong khapa had lived.[56]

It is not known what kind of monastery Sha-ch'ung 175
was in the beginning; whether it was a small hermitage 792
where a few unmarried Red lamas lived together or only a temple where some married Red lamas gathered at fixed times. The latter, depending more or less on a chief chosen from among them, scattered over the country, their pupils living with them, farming or raising cattle and performing cultural rites when invited by the people to do so. Important lamaseries could hardly have existed at that time, because of the disturbed circumstances. Even if Sha-ch'ung was not the hermitage of Dantig, built in 940 by dGe-ba rab-gsal, it certainly existed at the end of the Yüan dynasty. Two facts seem to support the tradition.

Sha-ch'ung in 1916 was a neighbor of the most im- 792
portant monastery of the Red Sect, whose Living 578
Buddha, Goorongbzan, presided over a group of more than two hundred lamas of his sect. The same year both lamaseries claimed to be possessors of a strip of intervening pasture, and had a fight at close quarters. Many lamas on both sides were wounded. Ma k'o-ch'en, the Moslem commander of Hsining, and sworn brother of Goorongbzan, put an end to the feud which had lasted for centuries. He adjudicated the possession [691]
of the debatable pasture to Goorong, who produced deeds dating from the period of the Yüan, but which the former officials would never recognize because of the influence wielded by the Yellow Sect. This fact supports the evidence of the tradition according to which both lamaseries had existed during the Yüan. The old feud was rooted in the fact that Sha-ch'ung, which belonged to the Red Sect, later went over to the Yellow Sect, while the monastery of Goorong clung to its original Red Sect.

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[56] E. Obermiller, Tsunkhaba le Pandit, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 2: 321, Louvain, Istas, 1934–1935. L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 2nd ed., 59, W. Heffer, Cambridge, 1934. Wilhelm Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling*, 175, Leipzig, 1933. The confirmation of this tradition is found in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo, translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Pt. I, 1: 27, "Chya Khyung, the seat of Chhoije Tondub Rinchhen, contains his tomb as well as the residence of Tsong khapa."

[p. 15(A)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

A second fact is encountered in a publication of Ma Fu-hsiang.[37] For many years he was the most prominent official of Hsining engaged with Tibetan and Mongol affairs. Later, he became governor of Suiyüan Province and a member of the Meng-Tsang Yüan in Nanking. The passage from the publication states: 792 578

> More than 100 *li* southeast of Hsining, on the territory of the 'Ten Tribes,' is the Ami chü-lu mountain upon which was built the monastery of Sha-ch'ung which had more than 1,000 lamas. It was there that Tsong khapa had his hair clipped [entered religion], and remained for more than 10 years, starting his studies and religious life, before he went to Tibet (p. 198).

In 1906 the Chinese started digging for gold in the sacred mountain. The lamas, opposed to the digging, fought and two men were killed. The governor of the province ordered punishment to be imposed upon the lamasery with ruthless severity. Ma Fu-hsiang, being acquainted with the Tibetans, sought to settle the question amicably and went to Sha-ch'ung. The rebelling lamas and 1,000 soldiers of the "Ten Tribes" were determined to fight the Chinese troops. During the long period of discussion, the head of the lamasery repeated over and over that the lamasery and the mountain were hallowed places, because it was there that the founder of the Yellow Church had clipped his hair and remained for more than ten years. He protested that by digging at these spots the "artery" of the Yellow Church would be damaged, and the ruin of its religion be made inevitable (p. 190). Finally, as always in the Orient, a way was found to settle the case, by promising that no more digging would be done on the Sacred Mountain; but on the territory of the "Ten Tribes" digging would be allowed (p. 193). This fact gives evidence of the deep-seated conviction among the Tibetans about the veracity of the tradition and infers the existence of the lamasery at the time of the Yüan period (1280–1367). More traditions exist about monasteries having been built during the Yüan period, as related by the lamas, but they are vague and no names or specific places are indicated nor do ruins exist. However, it is not impossible that the traditions point to the hermitages noted in the *Blue Annals*. The building of the big monastery of Ta fo-ssu by one of the important T'u-ssu clans reveals the fact that Lamaism was a living entity among the T'u-ssu and their Monguors. Is it not too far-fetched to suppose that among the T'u-ssu only the Li T'u-ssu were Lamaist, since it is well known that the Ch'i and Lu T'u-ssu in 1644 were proprietors of monasteries constructed by them, although we do not know when they were constructed.[38] Besides, the facts that the monastery of Goorongbzan existed near Sha-ch'ung, and that in the beginning of the Ming a board of lamas was established, suggest the assumption that in Huang-chung during the Yüan period there probably must

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[37] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng Tsang Chuang-k'uang*, Nanking, Chung-Hua yin-shu kung-ssu, 1931.

[38] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 34, p. 3a.

[p.15(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

have existed more insignificant hermitages, scattered over the country. The lack of historical data does not permit further assertion about the diffusion of Lamaism during the Yüan period. 175 771 792

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368-1643)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE MING

The emperors of the Ming dynasty followed in the wake of those of the Yüan dynasty, protecting and promoting Lamaism among the Tibetans and the Mongols, in order to hold in subjection the turbulent tribes living in remote countries. This policy indeed was less expensive than that of venturesome military expeditions. 175 662 771

The perspicacious Chinese Ming emperors from the very beginning grasped the capital flaw inherent in the policy of the Yüan, in regard to Tibet. Khubilai must have known that the Tibet of the thirteenth century was not the Tibet of the seventh and eighth centuries, when the Tibetan tribes, united by powerful chiefs and allured by the prospect of plundering, marauded over the western and southern frontiers of China, and in 763 even plundered the capital of China with 200,000 men. Tibet of the thirteenth century was a disintegrated country, divided among antagonistic aristocratic families, each claiming to be the protector and defender of its preferred lama sect and powerful lamasery. The armed struggles between these families had involved, necessarily, the sects they protected, and caused the sects to fight on the side of their protectors and to ruin each other. Thus the doctrinal divergences between the sects seem not to have been the capital cause of the fierce hostility among them.[39]

The appointment of the Sa-Skya great lama as Viceregent of Tibet at the time Godan had fanned the flame of the long-standing animosity and hatred among the aristocratic families and sects, to the extent that five times Mongol armies had to be sent to quell the revolts. Notwithstanding this initial political blunder, Khubilai and his successors continued to extend their special protection to the Sa-Skya sect and to lavish on it the highest possible marks of honor at court.

However, at the end of the Mongol dynasty the powerful aBrigumpa sect had succeeded in overthrowing the Sa-Skya. Therefore, from the very beginning, the Ming dynasty avoided having to back and restore the supremacy of the decaying Sa-Skya or to patronize the most powerful aBrigumpa. It lavishly granted the same titles and favors to chiefs and influential lamas of different sects, using them for its political purposes. On the one hand, all the rival Lamaist sects had to stand on the same footing, and had to curry favors with the emperors, but, on the other hand, more and more favors had to be granted, and Lamaism reached a very high degree in Huang-chung.

[39] Tucci, *op. cit.*, 39, *et seq.* [p. 16 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The author of the *Annals*, dealing with the diffusion 175
of Lamaism in Huang-chung, seems to have neglected 771
completely even the existence of Lamaism before the 114
Ming (1368). He seems very articulate concerning the problem, claiming that its diffusion had really started during the first years of the Ming and that, in fact, by the foundation of monasteries, the granting of titles to lamas, the institution of Nang-suo, Karwa, and Ch'an-shih chia, the outlook of the entire country was changed and the possession and population of Huang-chung assured.

PECULIAR POLICY IN HUANG-CHUNG

Founding of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an 175

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 13*a*, 648
13*b*) that 662

At the beginning of the Ming dynasty San-la, a Tibetan lama of Hsining, wrote a letter to induce the tribes of Han-tung to submit,[40] and built a monastery south of Nien-pei and settled there. He went to court and brought a tribute of horses, and he begged for a rescript to administer the monastery and the tribes, and for the favor of an inscription for the monastery. The Emperor T'ai-tsu (1368–1399), granted his request and favored him with an inscription reading: "Ch'ü-t'an." The Emperor established a board of lamas in Hsining and named San-la the director of the board. From that time on his pupils emulated him in building monasteries; the Emperor bestowed glorious names upon them, and in addition gave rescripts for administering them. Consequently, land and power became monopolized by the barbarian lamas. During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) there were bestowed, piecemeal, on the lamas, the titles of "Ch'an-shih" (Master in Dhyana), "Kuan-ting" (one whose head had been anointed), "Kuo-shih" (master of the empire); some were even given the title of "Ta-Kuo-shih" (great master or teacher of the empire), "Hsi T'ien Fo Tzu" (Buddha of the western Paradise; Amitabha). To all he gave seals and diplomas, and allowed [their dignities] to be transmitted, and they were ordered to bring, once every year, a tribute to the court.

Because the lamas were held in high esteem among the 175
barbarians, the government took advantage of them in 792
order to keep the barbarians in submission. The people of 622
the frontiers considered the dignity of the lamas as most glorious. For that reason, Tibetans and Monguors who had two sons, were certain to have one of them become a lama. Some even preferred not to have an heir, but ordered their sons to enter religious life. Tibetans and Monguors bequeathed their wealth to the monastery with a request for prayers, leaving their descendants destitute. Thus the barbarians became poorer and the monasteries richer. In each tribe there were people who submitted themselves to monasteries and became like a tribe, the subjects of the monastery [Shabinar].[41] The Chinese officials also entrusted the Tibetan monks with the duty of exchanging tea for horses.

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[40] E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches* 2: 218. Han tung "was situated in the land, which in the days of the Han constituted all the district of Tun-Huang."

[41] Shabinar disciples. Shabinars are the supporters of the lamas, giving them material sustenance. At first some disciples performed this task. By extension, it came to mean lay adjuncts of the lamasery, and at present it means the subjects of the lamasery.

[p. 16(B)]

4; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The first Ming emperor was delighted with the good will and efforts of San-la in bringing the Tibetan tribes into submission; he aimed to set an example of his high appreciation for the achievement, by rewarding San-la in an unusual way, thereby encouraging other lamas to follow his example. San-la appears to have been the first lama to act in this way, which explains the emphasis on his career in the *Annals* and the mention of him also in the general history of the Ming dynasty (ch. 300, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is further recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a* of the *Annals*, concerning the appreciation of the Ming emperors for San-la and his brothers that:

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> . . . in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) an imperial rescript was sent to build a monastery [presumably with a large sum of money]; two lamas of the group received the distinction of Kuo-shih ["teacher of the empire"], three received that of Master in Dhyana; a vast territory was granted; a gold and a silver seal were bestowed, each being 14 inches in circumference; one square jade seal, two ivory ones, and the inscription for a stele. During the Hung-hsi and Hsüan-te periods (1425–35) two texts, composed by the emperors, were again granted for two more steles.

This last text, encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining, is excerpted from the *Ming shih* (ch. 330, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is very informative concerning the pro-Lamaist policy of the Ming, and the position of Lamaism in the country of Hsining at that time. According to the text, the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) was the beginning of the granting of titles to "influential lamas," which explains why no title is recorded for the meritorious San-la who received the chieftainship of the tribes and of the lamasery in the beginning of the Hung-wu period (1368–1399). The same practice concerning the granting of titles, found in the *Ming-shih* (ch. 330, p. 4*a*), mentions that in 1426 the additional title of "great teacher of the empire" and the honor of the fourth official grade had been bestowed on five lamas of note, to whom the title of "teacher of the empire" had previously been granted (1403–1424), because of their merits in helping to quell the revolts. The title "Master in Dhyana" and the honor of the sixth official grade had been granted probably for similar reasons.[42]

[42] The granting of titles, however, did not start with the Ming; the *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih, Chüan chou* (p. 27*a*), records: "Kubilai [1280–1295] in the beginning [of his reign] granted the title of Ta-kuo-shih great teacher of the empire, to the Sa-Skya lama, Phagspa, and later bestowed on him the title of 'great king of the precious law,' *Ta-pao-fa-wang*. When he spoke to him he called him, honorably, *Ti-shih*, 'teacher of the emperor'; at the same time to lama Tan-pa was granted the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and the number of those upon whom this title had been bestowed was not restricted to one. During the Hung-wu period [1368–1398] the titles of 'teacher of the empire' and 'great teacher of the empire' were only granted to four or five lamas. During the Yung-lo period [1403–1424] the title of 'king of the law' had been granted to two lamas, and that of 'Buddha of the western Paradise' to two

[p.17(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

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The texts are very informative concerning the reason why, and the circumstances in which, titles were granted to lamas, and how Lamaism was as a consequence diffused in the country of Hsining and gained its tremendous influence and power.

The Ming dynasty in 1368 faced a double problem.[43] On the one hand, it had to take possession of the country and to protect it against inroads from turbulent nomadic tribes. On the other hand, the country having been depopulated during the disorders at the end of the previous dynasty, it had to find permanent trustworthy settlers and to attach them to the soil. The first problem was solved by accepting the submission of the groups of Monguors, making their chiefs T'u-ssu, Chinese officials, and wardens of the region and the passes, which they had guarded during the Yüan dynasty, and by means of sending a Chinese army of colonists and released prisoners. The second problem was tackled by favoring lamas, by attracting groups of families subject to them or tribes belonging to them or willing to submit to the empire, and assigning to them vast territories. Lamas were appointed chiefs of the tribes, granted honorable titles and privileges which could be transmitted to their successors. They encouraged the building of monasteries. Mongol tribes from Ordos which invaded Kukunor, driving out or subduing the Tibetan tribes of that country, provided a favorable opportunity to use the influence of the lamas to accept and settle the fleeing Tibetan tribes without territory, who were marauding over the country.

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The evidence for this policy is to be found in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 19, p. 3*b*): "The Tibetan Lung-pu-tribe (2,000 families) devastated the country several times. The Chinese armies were unable to make them surrender. Finally the Chinese General Tung-lo invited So-nan-chien-tso, a lama of the monastery of Ta-ming, in order to exhort them to submit." He was successful in his attempt. The author naïvely notes that in the tribe there were "two masters of the empire."

Page 6*a*: "The Lung-pen tribe, administered by a lama, came to settle in the country [and to submit]. Its chief received the title of 'teacher of the empire' and the duty of *Chih-hui*."

Page 6*a*: "The Sina tribe [still governed by a Living Buddha] had a lama with the title of 'teacher of the empire' (because he submitted with his tribe)."

Page 6*a*: "The lama chief of the Ch'ia-erh-chih tribe

other lamas; but to 18 lamas had been granted the titles of *Kuan-ting* or *Ta-kuo-shih*, or both. During the Ching-t'ai period (1450–1456) the titles were granted so profusely that we lose count." P. Pelliot, Les "kouo-cheu ou Maîtres du Royaume" dans le Bouddhisme chinois *T'oung Pao* 12: 671, 1911. The title of "teacher of the empire" was used in China at the time of the northern Chi (550–557); the title is also encountered in north-west India in A.D. 500 and was already known in Central Asia in A.D. 382.

[43] Schram, *op. cit.*, 34.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

bore the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and fulfilled the duty of *Chih-hui*," for the same reason. 792

Page 8*b*: "The Ssu-hou-mi tribe had a lama 'teacher of the empire' who had been granted a golden seal." (This unusual favor must have been granted for the same sort of reason.) 554 662 175

Page 10*b*: "The Ssu-ngo-ssu-ko tribe, always revolting and plundering, submitted after a lama had settled among them; also the Hsiao-cha-erh tribe (p. 11*a*) settled inside the wall and submitted after a lama living in the western mountains of Su-chou had been sent from Tibet for that purpose. The Pen-la tribe submitted after a lama coming from the south had settled among them." Three more tribes governed by lamas submitted; the Na-erh-pu (p. 5*a*), the Yeh-ch'ü (p. 6*a*), and the Nan-ta (p. 6*b*).

The submission of tribes induced by lamas started at the very beginning of the Ming (1368), and continued during the entire Ming period. The country thus became populated by tribes which professed the Lamaism of the Red Sect. The strong appeal to submit was, on the one hand, the insecurity in the region of Kukunor and, on the other hand, the benefits which attached to submission.

THREE PECULIAR INSTITUTIONS FOR LAMAS

From the very beginning the Ming created in Huang-chung for these lama chiefs three peculiar institutions: the Nang-suo,[44] the Karwa, and the Ch'an shih chia. Nang-suo and Karwa consisted basically of the granting of a territory, the fixing of a yearly tribute, the recognition of the chieftainship of the lama who had brought in the tribe, and of the heritability of that chieftainship. The Ch'an shih chia also enjoyed the privilege of heredity and a yearly allowance of wheat-flour, but no territories were granted to them. 175 792 554 793

This peculiar characteristic of heredity for lamas is explained by the fact that at that time they must have belonged to the Red Sect, and have been married. Red lamas living in the same tribe must have had a chieftain among them who had been granted the privilege of having the chieftainship transferred upon his death to his son. The difference between Nang-suo and Karwa chiefs was that the Nang-suo chief was the leader of a group or community of lamas, so constituted that the entire group was interested in his privileges and benefits. The Karwa chief was a single lama presiding over a small group of subjects. His privileges included only his own family and private interests. The Ch'an shih chia's privileges applied only to him personally. Another important difference between Nang-suo and Karwa was that later, when a group of Red lamas adhered to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privileges of their chief lama were transferred to the intendancy of the monastery, while the privileges of a Karwa chief

[44] Mathias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, 262, Wien. Herold, 1949.

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of the Yellow Sect were transmitted to his apprentice (usually his nephew) and remained as before a private interest. 175 792 554 793

Nang-suo

Until 1723 there were eighteen Nang-suo in the country of Hsining. Sixteen of them were abolished after the revolt of that year. Only two managed to survive: the Nang-suo of Editsa, which had sent its allegiance to the Chinese General Nien Keng-yao before the troubles started, and the despised Sina Nang-suo which had been implicated in the revolt but changed its mind after the revolt appeared to be about to fail.[45] This explanation afforded by the Amban of Hsining and the history tallies well with what is told by the Monguors and the lamas all over the country, who disdainfully recall the sayings: *Chien pu kuo Editsa Nang-suo,* "no slyer creature than the Editsa Nang-suo," and *Sina Nang suo chiao ts'ai liang chia,* "The Sina Nang-suo plants his feet in two boats [is untrustworthy]." The Editsa Nang-suo having gone over to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privilege was inherited by the intendancy of the monastery. Editsa was still flourishing in 1910–1920; Sina, however, had passed through a bad period.

According to the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, pp. 6*a* and 6*b*;

> Sina was a group which submitted in 1380 and lived inside the wall, grazing its animals 60 *li* north of Hsining [region of T'o-pa], having a city and houses, and engaging in agriculture; it possessed a Buddhist temple, and its lama had received the title of "Master of the Empire," with silver and ivory seals. It was a group of 500 families, comprising more than 1,500 persons. It offered a yearly tribute of more than 300 horses. One of its subtribes was called the Small Sina tribe and lived in Ku-shan; its tribute was 30 or more horses. Its other subtribe was the Ssu-ta-lama tribe, and lived near the temple of Hsieh-erh-kang-chin; its tribute was 50 or more horses.

After the revolt, troubles did not cease within the Sina tribes, whose subjects had been compelled to participate in the rebellion at the beginning by the Nang-

[45] *Tung-hua-lu,* First year of Yung-cheng period, 3: 23*a*, 25. *Ming-shih-lu,* Yung-cheng period, *Chuan* 12, p. 27. In 1707 Father Regis, S.J., was sent by the emperor, during the period K'ang Hsi, to draw the map of the empire (Henri Cordier, *Histoire de la Chine,* 3: 333, Paris, Geuthner, 1920). He remained in Hsining for a month, visited T'o-pa and writes: "This village is not administered by Chinese officials, but depends on a lama, always chosen from the same family which belongs to this country. This family is the most outstanding one in the country. The lama administers these Tibetans (*Hsifan*) and punishes misbehavior. This people, not wholly subject to China, are rarely summoned by the Chinese officials, and seldom obey their orders. The lama chief does not seem to trouble the subjects very much, providing they honor him and fulfill their obligations toward Buddha, which seem not to be too burdensome. The three or four Armenians who were trading furs in T'o-pa, seemed very pleased with the chief lama, and praised his administration." (J. B. DuHalde, *Description géographique de la Chine,* 49–50, 1736.) Schram, *op. cit.,* 36.

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suo chief, and had suffered enormously. Finally they refused to deliver taxes to the Nang-suo and asked the Chinese officials to accept them as Chinese subjects. The request was readily granted, and an arrangement was made between the Chinese officials and the Nang-suo by which every year the subprefect of Hsining was to pay 1,500 strings of cash to the Nang-suo; the Nang-suo could only collect the rents, and his subjects were henceforth considered Chinese subjects. This happened after 1755, because the *Annals* (ch. 19, 15*a*), say that "in 1755 the chief of the Sina tribe, which numbered 1,379 persons, resided in the village of the upper Sina lamasery." In 1910 most of its fields had been sold by the Sina intendancy, which had adhered to the Yellow Sect. Its resources were so depleted that the seals of the former Nang-suo had been mortgaged to the lamasery of Kumbum, which thereby acquired the authority to collect the rents from the remaining properties.

The Lung pen Nang-suo is often spoken about in the country. It lived on both sides of the wall in former times and submitted in 1380, together with its neighbors, the Sina tribe, and then moved inside the wall. It numbered 130 families. Its lama chief had received the title of "Master of the empire" and the official rank of Chih-hui. Its subtribe, the Pen-pa-erh had one hundred or more families (*Annals*, ch. 19, p. 15*a*). In 1916 the impoverished chief was still called Nang-suo lama locally. He lived in the Naring Valley. He told me that his lamasery had been destroyed in 1723 and that the lamas had disappeared. His subjects, who had become subjects of the Chinese officials, lived in Ta-Hsiao-Kang-ch'eng. His predecessors had sold nearly all the fields and he could not collect the rents on the remaining fields. His neighbors said that his predecessors had mortgaged his seals to the intendancy of Sina. In early times they had two temples, Lung pen kui ssu and Lung hua [illegible] which were destroyed during the revolt. Only one [illegible]e of one of the temples had been rebuilt and the [illegible]ma still collected some alms among his former 373 families. Often recalled also in local tradition are the Nang-suos of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, abolished after 1723. They were important in former times.

Karwa [46]

According to a tradition well known all over the region, thirteen Karwa were established north of the Hsining River during the Ming dynasty. In 1912 seven of them still existed, Li-ch'i, Ch'ien-tsun-urgon, Pei-cha-erh-ti, Sia-mer, Tsan-tsa, Chao-chia, and Huo-puo. There are no records of Karwa south of the

[46] The word *Karwa* is used in the country to designate the residences inhabited by Living Buddhas in the lamaseries; it is also used to indicate a domain and subjects granted by the Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty to meritorious lamas as their "personal" property with "right of bequeathing" it to their lama successor. It does not mean a grant of domains and subjects bestowed on a community of lamas or a lamasery.

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Hsining River. A Karwa is a kind of mediaeval seig- 175
niory presided over by a lama. Granted by the em- 792
peror, it is a more or less vast domain in which usually 554
forty to fifty families live. Pei-cha-erh-ti Karwa had 793
152 families (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, p. 16*a*). The tenants had in former times been subjects of the lama. There is a temple on the domain, and next to it is the residence of the lama seignior, with granaries. The domain is the personal property of the lama lord who is completely independent of any Living Buddha or monastery. The three lordship lamas I have met told me that the Ming emperors had granted this privilege to their ancestor lamas, each of whom belonged at that time to the Red Sect and was married. Each of these lamas had been granted a Karwa because he had submitted to the Ming with his small tribe, or had induced a neighboring tribe to submit to the emperor or had rendered service to the Chinese army, giving secret information to the officers fighting the revolted Tibetans. They explained the disappearance of the six Karwa which no longer existed by the fact that these lamas did not follow the Yellow Sect and remained married. They said that theoretically among the lamas of the Red Sect one son should succeed the father as lama of the sect, but in reality when the father died his sons divided among them the property and the subjects, and the Karwa vanished, with the result that the temple became the property of the village. The seigniors who went over to the Yellow Sect, however, managed to survive by the fact that the lama lord of every generation adopted only one apprentice lama, to whom he bequeathed the domain. The apprentice was usually one of his nephews, and so the Karwa continued its existence, the lama collecting rents from the tenants and imposing some corvées. After the revolt of 1723 the domains of the Karwa were not confiscated but the subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials. Only rents, not taxes, were allowed to be collected and corvées continued to be imposed.

The lama seignior of the Li-ch'i Karwa (who is a 792
member of the powerful Li T'u-ssu clan) fulfills, of his 796
own free will, an important function at the monastery of Chie-bzang, but he remains the proprietor of his Karwa and has one apprentice who will inherit the domain. Every year on the tenth of the tenth moon, he invites to his small temple four lamas, alternatively, of the Yellow and the Red Sects, to pray from sunrise to sunset for blessings upon his "subjects," who bring a contribution of twenty pounds of butter and five sheep. The lord provides tea and noodles. The subjects all enjoy attending the religious ceremony and the annual dinner, and are used to the custom of going home at sunrise the next day. The Pei-cha-erh ti Karwa is still celebrated for the fasting rites held at its temple, about which more will be said. 792

The lord of the Tsan-tsa Karwa, feeling lonely in his 554
estate, married a young girl in 1914. All the members 428

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of his family assembled and protested, urging that a 792
boy, a nephew of the family, be adopted by the lord 554
as his apprentice, and that a testament should be writ- 428
ten and signed by the officials of the village, in order to make sure that after the death of the lord, the domain and his private property (sheep, cows, horses) would be bequeathed to the apprentice. The apprentice would first have to be sent to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to receive a serious religious education. Not long after the birth of a child to the lord and his wife, the lord died. His wife received a small field and some cattle, but the Karwa was inherited by the apprentice. The domain passes at every generation to a member of the same family (from uncle to nephew). The family retains the right to keep an eye on the regular succession, and so in the country a Karwa is considered to be the property of the Karwa lama and his family. This fact reveals a social tradition existing throughout the country, and the pride of the old families to whose lama a Karwa had been granted by the emperors in former times.

This pride appears to be the reason why, when a lama lord dies without having adopted an apprentice, the whole family convenes and decides to offer the domain to a lama member of the family. However, when there is not such a lama, the members of the family divide among them the domain and private property of the deceased, and the Karwa vanishes.

Ch'an-shih-chia ("Master in Dhyana" families) 175

This institution, dating from the Ming, seems to be 792
in the line of the Karwa. In Huang-chung there was 554
attached to the title of Ch'an-shih ("Master in Dhy- [651]
ana"), the privilege of receiving every year from the Chinese administration a fixed quantity of wheat. At the same time, if the lama happened to acquire some fields on which to build a grain or oil mill, his fields and mills were exempt from taxes. The title of Ch'an-shih appears to have been hereditary. This seems to be the reason why the people always talk of Master in Dhyana "families" and seldom of Master in Dhyana lamas. In the country north of the Hsining River, with which I was best acquainted, there were still several Masters in Dhyana, independent of any monastery, living next to their relatives and each having a small temple of his own. The family tried to provide a nephew as an apprentice, for such a lama would upon the death of his master become Master in Dhyana by the transfer of the original seal and the original patent letters.

Most of these Masters in Dhyana lived in opulence, 554
their families being exempted from land taxes because 428
they were supposed to till the fields of the lama. In Suo-pu-t'an I encountered the Shih-hu Ch'an-shih-chia, a layman, who enjoyed, with his family, the privileges of a Ch'an-shih lama. Since there had been no lama in the family to succeed the previous master he had in-

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herited the privilege by virtue, he said, of possessing the seal and the patent letters. Every year he received his wheat support and was exempt from land and mill taxes. To him, this condition seemed very reasonable! The same condition existed in Sha-t'ang-ch'uan with the layman Hsiao-ssu Ch'an-shih chia. It is hard to understand how the privilege could have continued after the revolt of 1723, when under orders from Peking all the seals and patent letters granted during the Ming were withdrawn.

These facts shed light on the peculiar way in which Lamaism was diffused during the Ming in Huang-chung, and explain one of the reasons why the monasteries became the proprietors of vast domains, governing subjects and exerting a tremendous influence all over the country.

During the Yüan and the very beginning of the Ming dynasties, small communities of lamas of the Red Sect had been founded by wandering lamas who had attained a certain local reputation for skill in necromancy, or who by asceticism had gained a reputation as holy men, thereby attracting a few disciples. The bonds which bound these married or unmarried men were, without doubt, looser than the bonds which tied the lamas of the lamaseries of the later Yellow Sect. However, it may be assumed that in those times none of these little communities yet exerted a prominent influence upon the country, and for that reason nothing about them was recorded in the *Annals*.

The minor importance of these monasteries seems to account also for the fact, that at the beginning of the Ming (1368), the lama, Sanla, could be appointed chief of the board of lamas. The fact, however, of the institution of such a board at the beginning of the Ming seems to prove that at that time although the communities were small, the total number of lamas was large enough to justify the creation of such a board.[47]

NO LIVING BUDDHAS IN HUANG-CHUNG DURING THE MING DYNASTY

It is noteworthy that at that time titles and benefits were indiscriminately bestowed upon meritorious lamas, lamas who were chiefs of tribes, chiefs of more or less important communities, and even single lamas. There were as yet no Living Buddhas.

The first Living Buddha, recognized as the reincarnation of Tsong khapa (1357–1419), the founder of the Yellow Sect, was Gedun-gyatso who in 1475 inherited the succession of the second head of the sect. The prin-

[47] The Ming policy of the T'u-ssu, Karwa, and Nangsuo institutions, and of the grant of Kuo shih and Ch'an-shih titles to lamas with their respective privileges, was not peculiar to Huang-chung. It was also followed in south Kansu, Lin-t'ao, and Ho-chou, where nineteen T'u-ssu, Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih, etc., were created. After the revolt of 1723 the Chinese officials of Ho-chou asked for the abolition of these institutions, because of oppressions by T'u-ssu and lamas (*Annals* of the Province of Kansu, ch. 88: 12–13).

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The prin-

ciples on which succession by reincarnation are founded had existed for centuries, but had not yet been generally applied. The next prominent lama to whom the principles were applied was the Panchen lama of Tashilhumpo. In the next two centuries succession by reincarnation, inaugurated by the Yellow Sect in 1475, spread to such an extent that every monastery, including less important ones, of whatever sect, had its own Living Buddha. Some of them had several in the same monastery.[48] Even the superior of the convent of nuns, situated on the shore of Lake Yandok, having defended her convent against the invading Mongols in 1716, became the incarnation of Palden Lhamo, celebrated all over Tibet and Mongolia, and the potent protector of the Dâlai and Panchen Lamas and Lhasa.

In the first Part of this study it was noted that Palden Lhamo is the protectress of the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, which honors her in a peculiar way.[49] Her picture is carried by the T'u-ssu on his triennial visit to the Monguor villages in order that all the clansmen and the subjects may perform their obeisance before the image. In Huang-chung the passion for Living Buddhas went so far as to declare the father of Tsong khapa a reincarnation, called Achia Bsan, which is the proprietor and grand chief of the Kumbum monastery. Even this was not enough. Tsong khapa's mother was also declared a reincaration, but her reincarnation always appears in a boy, who is the Living Buddha of the monastery of Rardscha, on the upper reaches of the Yellow River. However, according to Lamaist doctrine and rites, the father's reincarnation takes precedence over the mother's. Each reincarnation has a residence in Kumbum, but the father, being the grand chief of the monastery, has his own headquarters.[50]

TEMPLES BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY

In analyzing the Ming policy concerning Lamaism in Huang-chung, it is of interest to know how many monasteries were built in Huang-chung during this period.

Included in the long list of temples found in the *Annals* of Hsining there are recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a*, the temple of Ch'ü-t'an, as having been built in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424); ch. 15, p. 2, the small temple of Hung-t'ung-ssu in the city of Hsining in 1390; ch. 15, pp. 4*b* and 5*a*, the famous monastery of Kumbum, adding that only in 1596 were negotiations begun to enlarge its buildings and to construct a big monastery; in ch. 31, p. 14*a*, in the account of revolts of Tibetans and the inroads by Mongols from Kukunor, it is incidentally noted that the monastery of Hung-shan-ssu, 60 *li* south of Ch'ü-t'an, had been looted and destroyed in 1519, as well as

[48] Maraini, Fosco, *Secret Tibet*, 144, translated from the Italian by Eric Mosbacher, New York, Viking, 1952.

[49] Schram, *op. cit.*, 65.

[50] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 237.

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the temple of T'ieh-fu-ssu, 40 *li* west of Hsining in 1537 175
(ch. 31, p. 15*a*). 792

The information in the *Annals* is restricted to these 346
five poor items. Huth notes[51] that the Third Dalai Lama, Sod-nam, on his way to Ordos in 1582, went from Kukunor to Kumbum and established a college there for the explanation of sacred texts. From Kumbum he went to Ribo-nan-tig (probably the hermitage of Dantig noted on pp. 31 *sq.*), to take a long rest; then, after visiting many big lamaseries, he arrived in the Ordos. I am unable to identify the names of the lamaseries noted here, and am very sceptical about these "big" monasteries, because no ruins, vestiges or traditions of them are preserved. The big monasteries of Huang-chung which have to be studied, were all built in more recent times. The historical data are again very scanty.

CH'Ü-T'AN-SSU, FIRST LAMASERY BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY

The first lamasery built during the Ming, according to the *Annals* (ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a*), is the famous monastery of Ch'ü-t'an.[52] The history of this first lamasery, built by the Ming emperors, is preserved in broad strokes in the text (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 32, pp. 16–20) of three steles, now demolished. All three give evidence of the high consideration of the emperors for Lamaism.

The first text was granted by Emperor T'ai-tsung (Ch'eng-tsu) of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424), and concerns a "golden" (bronze) statue offered to the lamasery by the emperor. The text notes that the artisans, not succeeding in preparing the mold for the statue, went to eat their meal. While they were gone the mold grew into perfect shape of its own accord. The statue was cast from it and exuded a wonderful perfume.

The second text was granted by Emperor Jen-tsung of the Hung-hsi period (1425). It recalls the merits of Emperor T'ai-tsu of the Hung-wu period (1368–1399), who founded the monastery, ordered the building of a temple, and granted the name of "Ch'ü-t'an," and of Emperor T'ai-tsung who ordered the construction of a second temple.

The third text, granted by Emperor Hsüan-tsung of the Hsüan-te period (1426–1436), ordered the construction of a third temple, after recalling summarily the history of the lama, San-la, and his tribe, and the grant of the monastery and its title.

Legends

The origin of the celebrated monastery is overlaid 538
with a wonderful legend, believed and enjoyed by the people. It should first be remembered that Emperor

[51] Huth, *op. cit.* 2: 227.

[52] Ch'ü-t'an-Gautama, a name of Shakyamuni, means "most victorious on earth."

[p.21(B)]

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T'ai-tsu of the Ming dynasty designated his grandson, 538
Hui-ti, to succeed to the throne in 1399. After three years, his uncle Ch'eng-tsu (Yung-lo period), usurped the throne and Hui-ti perished in a conflagration of the palace. A note added in the history states that it is related that Hui-ti escaped, disguised as a lama, and wandered incognito from monastery to monastery in Yunnan and south China; that he finally returned to Peking in 1440, and died after revealing his identity. This topic seems to be the basis for the legends concerning Ch'ü-t'an. However an "historical" fact may well have provided the fabric from which was woven the legend elaborated by the lamas, since the fact concerns the very province of Kansu.

At the time of the collapse of the Sung dynasty in 1276, the last emperor, Chao-hsien, was made prisoner by the Mongol conquerors in Hang-chou and the Chinese imperial harem was transferred to the north. In 1288 the imperial prisoner was sent (banished) to Kansu (Ho-hsi) in order to study Tibetan sutras. In Kansu he became a lama monk and adopted the religious name of Ho-tsun (mKha-'bcum). He died in 1323 in Kansu, a century before the founding of Ch'ü-t'an.

During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) Chinese scholars liked to gossip about the possible Chinese origin of the Mongol emperor, Shun-ti,[53] as well as the possible Mongol origin of the Ming emperor, Ch'eng-tsu (Yung-lo period). These tales are well known among the lamas and the Monguors.

A lama, honored for his holiness, lived in secluded 539
retirement on a high mountain near Ch'ü-t'an. He left for Peking one July carrying a small pack held by a light wooden frame, on his back. The heat was tropical and the holy man threw his mantle in the air, where it remained floating over his head protecting him the whole long way, even in the streets of Peking. Emperor Hui-ti, seeing the miracle, renounced his throne, left the palace and harem, and followed the returning holyman to Ch'ü-t'an with two of his ministers and his two brothers, all of whom became lamas.

At first the emperor resided at the very small monastery of Hung-shan-ssu, 60 *li* south of Ch'ü-t'an. He sent his cattle and horses to the pastures of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and went to Ch'ü-t'an. There he planted his stick at a certain spot and suddenly it turned into a blossoming sandalwood tree; whereupon he decided to build a monastery and a temple around the tree. A dry tree is still shown inside the temple, adorned with ceremonial scarves offered by the worshipping people who pass under its branches in order to receive blessings. Three small trees outside the temple are said to have sprouted from the dry tree.

The emperor had a well dug to be used for watering his horses. A small lama boy, while drawing water, fell

[53] P. Pelliot, L'Edition collective des œuvres de Wang Kouo-wei, *T'oung Pao*, 26: 136, 1926.

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into the well and disappeared. Only his clothes were 539
seen in the river with which the well was connected underground. The emperor ordered the well to be filled and had a beautiful tower built over it. The ruins of the tower are still shown to visitors.

There are displayed in the head temple three fine 538
saddles of unusually large size, with stirrups twice as large as those used today, for in former times people of note were taller, bigger, and stronger. The saddles are said to have belonged to the emperor and his brothers. When the emperor died his two ministers, in fear of having their families exterminated, changed their names. The first adopted the name of Chen Lo-kang, and his descendants still live in the Kang-tse Valley near Nien-pei. The other adopted the name of Yang Kang-tsun; his descendants live in Chen fan Valley.

The emperor appointed a member of the imperial family to manage the lamasery. He was called T'ien-hu-chün, and his name was Chu, the name of the imperial family. The appointment was hereditary and the emperor had carved on a slab the provisions concerning the appointment. The descendant of Mr. Chu presided over the ceremony of theatrical representations on New Year's. Later on, a corrupt descendant, after using the revenues and land taxes of the monastery for himself, was killed by the lamas, and the slab was smashed. The plinth which supported the slab is still shown to visitors.

Inside the courtyard of the enormous temple are the ruins of four beautiful stupas built by the Emperor. At the base of each he had buried, at night, immense treasures. One of the previous incarnations of the Living Buddha dug up the treasure from one of the stupas at night and took it to his residential quarters; but within a few moments his palace vanished in a blaze. Since that time, no one has dared to try to remove the treasures.

Upon his death, the emperor was buried in the lamasery. However, the lamas of Hung-shan-ssu claim that the emperor died and was buried in their monastery, and they have the visitor admire their own ruined tower built over a well and their own old dry tree enclosed in their temple. These honored trees, enclosed by a temple, point to the tree of Kumbum which sprouted from the afterbirth of Tsong khapa buried in Kumbum, even as the small trees sprouted from the roots of the old dry one. The tower built on the well points to the stupa of Kumbum, said to be the first monument built at Kumbum. It is hard to say which of these legends is the oldest.[54]

Temples and History of the Lamasery

Inside an enormous rectangular courtyard are three 792
temple halls built in a row; a wall encloses the court- 346

[54] In Kumbum in 1577 there was built a temple enclosing the celebrated tree which was at that time 223 years old.

[p.22(B)]

yard with a large veranda attached to it. On the long wall are depicted scenes of the life of Buddha, painted in Chinese style, similar to those seen in Chinese temples. 792 346

The chief temple hall (A), built on a high terrace, is the most conspicuous, thereby attracting the attention of visitors. It is larger in size and higher than the other two. It is built on the pattern of the luxurious Chinese temples, with a large porch in front and beautiful roofs; a large, magnificent staircase leads to the terrace, which is surrounded by a railing of carved red stone. It is said to have been built according to the pattern of the Temple of Heaven in Peking (built in 1420). Inside the chief temple hall, at its center, is an enormous carved white stone plinth, two meters square, which enthrones the big statue of Buddha, Jo-wo rin-po-che (the gem of majesty—Shakyamuni), gift of Emperor T'ai-tsung, according to the stele.

On either side of this central statue a copper Buddha statue is enthroned on a plinth of white stone, a little smaller in size than the central one. In front of the statues, three big white stone plinths support three huge brass cauldrons. One contains butter, one vegetable oil and wicks burning before the statues, and the third wheat, colza, and spelt, as an offering to the Buddha. It is said that at the bottom of this huge cauldron there are still a few grains dating from the time of Emperor Hui-ti, and consequently they are bigger than normal, just like the saddle and stirrups noted previously. [532] [782]

In these temples hang inscriptions, offerings of the emperors honoring the Buddhas, dating from the periods of Hung-wu, 1368–1398; Yung-lo, 1403–1425; Hung-hsi, 1425; Hsüan-te, 1426–1435; Wan-li, 1573–1619 and Ch'un cheng, 1628–1643.

In temple (B) called the Chü-k'ang, smaller red stone plinths support three copper Buddha statues, and three butter, oil, and grain cauldrons. In front of the central statue, still in the temple, is the famous dead sandalwood tree, adorned with scarves of felicity, its trunk overlaid by large copper plates in order to preserve and support it.

Temple (C), dedicated to Byams pa hlarang (Maitreya—the loving one) is built according to the same pattern, but has plinths of white stone supporting three statues, with two lamps and offering cauldrons.

The display of huge timbers in the construction of the temples reminds one of times past, when gigantic trees adorned the tops of the mountains. Special roads and carts were built to carry the massive plinths to the spot. The ruins of four stupas adorn the courtyard, one on each side of the chief temple, and one on each side of temple (C). Enormous white stone plinths carved in the shape of elephants, support four huge drums and two smashed steles on either side of the entrance.

Ch'ü-t'an, with more than six hundred lamas in the heyday of its glory, founded two large subsidiaries:

[p. 23(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Yao-ts'ao-t'ai ("the terrace of medicinal herbs"), Hung-shan-ssu, and three smaller ones. Yao-ts'ao-t'ai was the vast pasture ground for the herds of the monastery and of the lamas. According to the abbots, it soon developed to the extent of having 200 lamas. Hung-shan-ssu soon had more than 150 lamas and received from the emperor a special grant of 500 taels every year (the reason is not known; *Annals*, ch. 15, p. 8*a*). In 1747 the allocation was still provided by the officials. The Living Buddhas of the three monasteries told me that because most of their lamas were of Monguor origin, their monasteries declined after Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung had been built, and the Monguor lamas had gone over to these lamaseries. However, there are other reasons which caused the decline of the flourishing monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, which at present is in a state of indescribable dilapidation. 792 346 175 792 346

In 1509 the Tibetans of Kukunor, driven from their pastures by the Mongol, I-pu-la, made inroads in Huang-chung. They looted and ruined the branch monastery of Hung-shan-ssu in 1519 (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 14*a*). In 1558 the Mongols of Kukunor looted and sacked Ch'ü-t'an (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 16*b*) and the neighboring country; probably Yao-ts'ao-t'ai also. The Moslems, in 1862–1872, wrought terrible havoc on the temples and the palaces of the Living Buddhas, and burned the printing blocks of the library. In 1895 the temple was again looted by the revolting Moslems. Material damage and ruins, however, are reparable, but damage and ruin caused from within the lama institution itself are not.

The troubles started between the mother monastery of Ch'ü-t'an and the branch of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, which is situated on the rich pasture grounds and forests included in the initial domain of the old monastery granted by the emperors. Very early, a couple of small temples and homes for lamas had been built on the spot, and a superior appointed. Around 1660, according to the abbots, more than 200 lamas lived at the subsidiary and more temples had been built. Its superior, a very learned and holy man, died and was reincarnated. His reincarnation was called Karang bzang and settled at the subsidiary monastery. (At that time the vogue for reincarnations was in full swing.) Very soon the mother monastery had its own reincarnation, the Living Buddha Mei, and four small Living Buddhas. The branch also provided a small Buddha called the Liang-chou fo-yeh. 175 792 578 [775]

With both monasteries having Living Buddhas, friction started between them and lasted for more than two centuries. Jealousy and hatred became deep-rooted. Both monasteries behaved like ducks, appearing calm and unruffled on the surface, but paddling like devils underneath it. The eternal question of the corvées imposed by the mother monastery on its subsidiaries and the demand for land rents kept open festering wounds, and the yearly disputes grew more and more acute.

[p.23(B)]

Finally, in 1885 the branch declared its independence 175
and claimed to be possessor of the pasture and farm 792
grounds and the forests formerly entrusted to its care 578
by the mother monastery. A serious fight at close quarters occurred in the mother lamasery.

Ch'ü-t'an sued the branch to vindicate its rights of 691
proprietor of all the domains of Ch'ü-t'an. The lawsuit 792
was carried to the Court of Justice of the Subprefecture 662
of Nien-pe and lasted for two years. The Chinese officials, lavishly bribed by both groups, finally sent the lawsuit to the Court of the Prefecture of Hsining in order that their friends and superiors might have the opportunity to acquire some wealth and promote the cause of justice. Again, the lamas stubbornly spent their money for two years. Still unwilling to accept the verdict of the judges, the suit was sent to the Supreme Court of the capital of the province. Here the Chinese officials were very happy to meet the interested customers, and the gullible lamas started immediately to sow again, seeds of wealth and happiness in the gardens of the highest officials. For sixteen years the clever officials kept the wheels turning, encouraging both groups, exciting passions and stubbornness, promising to both sides a successful conclusion. The gullible lamas spent money, and the officials milked the meek cows dry. Finally, the wealth of the mother lamasery was exhausted first, so that the branch lamasery won the suit. The branch, during all the trouble, relied on the forests, sold wood, and was in a more advantageous position to "defend its rights." Throughout this long period the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung tried several times to spread oil on the troubled waters and settle the question amicably, but to no avail.

The loss of face for the mother monastery was too 627
humiliating. At night its lamas went to Yao-ts'ao-t'ai 579
and burned its temples; the next day the lamas of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai went at noon to Ch'ü-t'an and burned the palaces of the Living Buddha and killed two lamas. In 1905 the two groups, both bled white, agreed to have the question settled by Living Buddhas. An indemnity was fixed for the two lamas who had been killed, and because the damage caused by the fires was considered to be equal, the problem was settled.

In 1915 there were 285 lamas at Yao-ts'ao-t'ai: at the mother monastery there were only fifty or sixty, most of them children. Five hundred and fifty lamas had left the mother monastery, with four minor Living Buddhas, because they had been compelled to contribute to the expenses caused by the suit, and to fulfill the corvées imposed in connection with it. The administration of the mother monastery, in former times so flourishing and wealthy, was reduced to a minimum. One lama administered the property, a precentor led the prayers in the temple, and all the other duties were fulfilled by the Living Buddha himself. The homes formerly occupied by the six hundred lamas were inhabited by Monguor, Tibetan, and Chinese families.

[p.24(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Ch'ü-t'an was the only monastery in Huang-chung where laymen and lamas lived in the same compound. This fact reveals the mentality of the lamas and the customs of that time. These details were obtained from Living Buddhas and old lamas of Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, and in Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung, and among chiefs of the villages near these places. 792 342

STAGNATION IN THE DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM

The building of the splendid monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, the exceptionally favorable disposition of the emperors toward Lamaism, the lavish granting of titles and privileges to lamas who induced Tibetans to submit, all seemed to augur a period of intensive diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung. However, for two centuries Ch'ü-t'an remained the only important monastery in the whole country. Two reasons seem to account for this: the insecurity in the region of Huang-chung, and the violent struggle in Tibet between the sects, which depleted the forces of expansion of Lamaism abroad. 175 [771 797] 792 175

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, pp. 12*b*–19*a*) that during the period 1448–1600 there were thirty-seven inroads of Mongols from Kukunor, the Ordos, neighboring Tibetan tribes, or revolts of Tibetans. Fortunately, the construction of Ch'ü-t'an was completed (1426–1436) before the troubles started. Certainly troubled times are not propitious for the building of big monasteries, so Nang-suos and Karwas necessarily remained humble institutions.

Conditions in Tibet were just as unfavorable: Tsong khapa died in 1419. The five biggest monasteries of his sect were built before 1437. The rival Red Sects were still so aggressive as to dare to build their monasteries close to those of the Yellow Sect, and were even able to hinder the lamas of the Yellow Sect from attending (1498–1518) the famous sMon lam New Year religious festival, instituted by Tsong khapa himself.[55] In 1537 eighteen monasteries of the Yellow Sect were destroyed. In 1553 a war broke out with the Galdan monastery.[56] In 1621–1631 Mongols were called in by the Dalai Lama to rescue his sect,[57] but the Mongol Nairamdahu, an adherent of the Red Sect, fled from Mongolia to Kukunor in 1633 and persecuted the Yellow Sect which had spread.[58] Finally, in 1642, Tibet was conquered by the Ölöt Mongols whose chief, Gushi, offered it to the Dalai Lama. Although it is recognized that the effective power of the Dalai began with the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam (1542–1587), his political power was still scanty and questionable; it only began to develop with the Fifth Dalai Lama, Nag-dban Blo bzang (1617–1682), when Gushi Khan renewed in his favor the endowment conferred by Khubilai on the Sa-Skya.[59] 175 771

[55] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 39.
[56] *Ibid.*, 40.
[57] *Ibid.*, 58.
[58] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 132; also Huth, *op. cit.*, 51, 248–253.
[59] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 48.

[p.24(B)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The support and protection of the Mongols and of the emperors of China saved and established the Yellow Sect, which was on a foundation of rock. In 1717–1719 the Jungar Mongols persecuted the Red Sects and destroyed 550 of their monasteries.[80]

175 648 771 [789]

KUMBUM [81]

The insecurity in Huang-chung and the struggle in Tibet among the sects provide an explanation for the late date assigned to the founding of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum. One and a half centuries after the death (1419) of Tsong khapa, the lama Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, in 1560, built some "cells" for himself and his ten monks (hermitage). Later, twenty more cells were added. In 1577, seventeen years later, a temple was built close to the "tower," whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree which at that time must have been 220 years old (1357–1577), and a statue of Maitreya was honored in the temple.[82] According to this tradition and the customs of Buddhist India, a tower must have first been built on the spot of the birth of Tsong khapa to commemorate the event. It is not known when this tower was built.

175 792 346

[80] L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 44, 71, Leiden, Brill, 1950.

[81] Kumbum, the lamasery of the 100,000 images is, at present, the most celebrated lamasery of Huang-chung, because of its precious trees, which are lilacs (Philadelphus, coronarius; see Rockhill, W., *Land of the lamas*, 67). The main tree sprang from the placenta of Tsong khapa (1357) and is said to have 100,000 images of Buddhas growing on its leaves. Much has been written about the tree. On May 6 and October 3, 1912, and on October 10, 1914, Father J. Essens and I read on the leaves only the two letters *Pa*, the thirteenth letter of the alphabet and *Ya*, the twenty-fourth letter, repeated indefinitely, written more or less correctly where the leaves were easy to reach. They were written with the red earth, which Chinese and Tibetan teachers use to correct the compositions of pupils. The sacred leaves are a wonderful panacea, healing all kinds of diseases of men, women, and children. It has been recorded that in Ch'ü-t'an and in Hung-shan-ssu the same kind of miraculous trees are encountered.

[792 137 755]

It is worth noting what is written regarding the tree (here called a "White Sandalwood") in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomunkhan of Amdo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1887, Part I, No. I, p. 28: "On the birthplace of Tsong khapa there exists a white Sandalwood tree, on every leaf of which, at the time of the reformer's birth, there appeared a picture of the Buddha Senge naro, supernaturally inscribed. Hence, from the circumstance of a 'hundred thousand images of Buddha' having appeared on the leaves, the town and the monastery is called Kumbum. Even at the present age, images are occasionally said to be seen divinely inscribed on the leaves of the Chandan tree and Sugpa trees of the grove. The enemies of the Gelugpa say that the said images are secretly drawn with pins and needles by the Gelugpa monks." The Chinese call Kumbum T'a-erh-ssu, that is, "The lamasery of the [eight] stupas," because at its entrance there are eight stupas said to contain the ashes of eight Living Buddhas killed by General Nien Keng-yao at the time of the revolt of the Kumbum lamas in 1723. Filchner (*Dschamba-ling*, 160) notes: "They were built at the time of the 31st mK'ampo of Kumbus [date not given] by the chief of Roko, native of Amdo, after eight lamas had been killed by a Chinese prince, ruler of the country."

[82] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 29.

[p:25(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

In 1578, a year after the building of the first temple, the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam, had his historical meeting with Altan Khan of the T'umed, at which the Yellow Sect was proclaimed the religion of the Mongols. It is amazing that neither of them, during their long stay at Kukunor, visited Kumbum (only three days distant), the birthplace of the founder of the sect, or called on Achia, incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa, or took a glance at the first Yellow Sect temple and the miraculous tree. Possibly the temple had not yet been built nor the legend of the tree spread, nor the incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa recognized. However, four years later, in 1582, the Dalai, on his way to the Ordos, visited Kumbum where he founded a school for the explanation of the sacred texts (the school only started in 1600 or 1612) and then went for a long rest, not to Kumbum where the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father must have been, but to the monastery of Ribo Nantig (Huth, 227). Perhaps it was not convenient for the Dalai Lama to take a rest at the insignificant monastery of Kumbum, where neither a school nor the incarnation of Achia yet existed.

In 1600 the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan, on his way to Lhasa for his enthronement, passed through Kukunor, where he remained for three months without even paying a visit to Kumbum and the precious tree or to Achia, the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father! (Huth, 238). In 1652 the Fifth Dalai Lama on his way to Peking did not visit Kumbum. Was Kumbum still so insignificant at that time?[63] According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 4*b* and 5*a*), the decision to build a monastery on a large scale was made only in 1596. This decision does not seem impossible when it is connected with the fact that in 1593 new Chinese troops and colonists arrived in Huang-chung, making the peace prospects seem even brighter (ch. 31 p. 19*a*). At any rate, the monastery of Kumbum appears to have developed very slowly. Its first Tsan njid temple was erected in 1600 or 1612,[64] the Sutra temple of Mysticism in 1649,[65] the palace for the Khampo in 1687,[66] the Pakar temple in 1692,[67] Duinkhor Kalacakra College in 1825,[68] College of Medicine in 1850,[69] and the celebrated gilt tiled roof was put on the temple in 1883.[70] Ac-

[63] W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung Pao* 11: 14, 1910. Huth, *op. cit.*, 268.

[64] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 93.

[65] *Ibid.*, 124.

[66] *Ibid.*, 237.

[67] *Ibid.*, 230.

[68] *Ibid.*, 137.

[69] *Ibid.*, 65.

[70] *Ibid.*, 28. Because so much has been written about Kumbum, this study has been confined to the points relating to our subject. The major part of the lama population of Kumbum in 1910–1920 consisted of lamas of Monguor and Tibetan origin from Huang-chung; lamas of Mongolia have always been numerous, while lamas of Tibet constituted a minor group. Since the troubles in Kumbum in 1908–1909, between the Dalai Lama and Achia Hutukhtu, the proprietor of the monastery—reincarnation of the father of Tsong khapa—which ended with

[p. 25(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

tually, Achia Bsan, reincarnation of the father of Tsong khapa, is the proprietor and chief of Kumbum. 175 792 346

The *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* [71] notes that the series of his incarnations began in 1417 (two years before the death of his son, Tsong khapa!). It says that for fifteen incarnations Achia administered the monastery of Kumbum and was recognized as its chief and proprietor by the five tribes and the inhabitants of the seven valleys, and that he possessed a piece of pasture ground in Chahar. However, it notes also that, in 1746, the name of Achia Hutukhtu (his sixteenth incarnation) was drawn from the celebrated urn in Peking, and that an order was given to write the deeds of a pasture ground in Chahar. This text is a model of ambiguity and full of holes; it suggests that in 1746 Achia received for the very first time the title of Hutukhtu and that his name was registered on the roster of the Living Buddhas in the Mongolian Superintendency, although the process of reincarnation had begun in Lhasa only in 1475. Since deeds were then written, this implies also that at that time pasture grounds were granted to him for the first time. Thus, previous to 1746, no Achia reincarnation, chief of Kumbum, existed. 775

These assumptions seem to be supported by the fact that it was not in 1417, but in 1560, that some poor cells were built for the first time in Kumbum by lama Rintschen Dson dui tschamtso and his ten monks and also by the facts that in 1719 the emperor ordered Skal bzan rgyamts'o, chief of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu to administer the monastery,[72] and that in 1723 mK'ampo Nomun-khan, head of the monastery of Kumbum and nephew of bLo Blzan bstan dsin, stirred the lamas to revolt and was made prisoner and the monastery was burned.[73] Until that time, not a single mention is made of Achia who, as head of the monastery and Hutukhtu, must have been the man responsible in such circumstances. However, the name of the real founder of the monastery is well known, as well known as the two other later heads and chiefs of the monastery. 175 792 346

It is a fact that Achia, created Hutukhtu only in 1746, had to remain in Peking, attached to the committee for the printing and translating of Tibetan books into Mongol, which was presided over by the second incarnation of the Chang chia. "In the last half of the 18th century it seems to have been the vogue for translators to ask Achia for a postscript to their translations. Many works printed at that time bear a postscript 'by 175 214 814

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the suicide of Achia, there are no more lamas of Tibet in Kumbum. In 1746 the reincarnation of Achia received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor. From that time on, according to the abbots, the prominent lamas of Kumbum have always been Monguors.

[71] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih. History of the Buddhist religion in Mongolia and Tibet* 2: 143, 1935.

[72] Han Ju-lin, *Pien cheng kung lun*, (*Frontier Affairs*) 3 (5): 16, 1944.

[73] *Yung-cheng Shih-lu, ts'e* 145, *Chuan* 14: 10.

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Achia.' "[74] However, the myth of his previous exist- 175
ences was deeply rooted. "In 1686, a previous exist- 214
ence of Achia, the 16th, is said to have resided in the 814
Yung-ho-kung temple of Peking, which had only been made a monastery in 1743. The roster of famous workers on the committee of translators at that time does not contain the name Achia."[75]

The emperor, after having drastically quelled the 175
lama revolt, permitted the rebuilding of the monasteries 662
of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, giving them the text of a 792
less honorable stele to be carved, and imposing on Erh-ku-lung the new name of Yu-ning-ssu, and on Seerkok that of Kuang-hui-ssu. The chief of the monastery of Seerkok (Chie bsan rimpoche) having been beheaded, the Dalai lama in 1727 sent to Peking a learned lama, Tsanpo of Amdo, whom he himself had previously honored by the title of Nomun-kan. In order to rebuild Seerkok, the emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu[76] and he became Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the new chief and proprietor of Seerkok. Since the chiefs of Erh-ku-lung had not plotted in the revolt, they were left undisturbed. Is it far-fetched to suppose that after the disappearance of mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the request of the Dalai Lama, Achia became the new chief and proprietor of Kumbum in 1746 in the same way that Min chu-erh had become chief of Seerkok? It would have been a fine political gesture for the emperor to ennoble the father of Tsong khapa, chief of the Yellow Church, in order to regain the sympathy of the lamas of the whole Yellow Sect whose group in Hsining he had punished so severely for their irresponsible behavior. It is probably a unique case in the history of Lamaist reincarnations that a layman then became reincarnated as a Living Buddha.

ERH-KU-LUNG

While Kumbum was outgrowing its infantile period, 175
there occurred the humble beginning of the monastery 792
of Erh-ku-lung (1604), on the northern side of the 346

[74] Walter Heissig; *Die Pekinger Lamaistische Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, 109, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1954.

[75] *Ibid.*, 110.

[76] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 2: 125. However, Tsampo Nomun-khan of Amdo writes about himself in his well-known Geographical work, 29: "North of Ssi ling is the great monastery of Gahdan Tam Chhoi ling (seat of lama Tsampo Nomun-khan) in ancient times called Amdo Gomang gonpa; at present known as Serkhang gonpa." Sarat Chandra Das adds: "The author is an incarnation of an eminent lama named Tag tse chove, who was invited to be the abbot of the monastery. There are 2,000 monks, many know the Tshan nid philosophy." The work of Tsampo has to be read cautiously. Before 1723 there were 2,000 lamas; at the time of his arrival Seerkok was destroyed. On pages 29 and 30 he gives the names of 18 monasteries built north of Erh-ku-lung and says: "The monasteries are mostly subordinate to the Kumbum and Tsampopa [himself] abbots, in consequence of which those under Je gampo and Phagden have been converted in Gelugpa institutions." However, these institutions had been founded by Erh-ku-lung and nine of them by Seerkok, which abbots had always belonged to the Gelugpa or Yellow Sect.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Hsining River in the main country of the Monguors. 175
Its Tibetan name is *dGon lung*. *"dGon"* means a her- 792
mitage, hence a monastery; *"lung"* means valley—the 346
hermitage of the valley. In Chinese literature it is called *Ku-lung;* the Chinese and Monguors call it *Erh-ku-lung*. It is situated at the entrance of a valley on the northern side of the T'u-Kuan Mountains. Erh-ku-lung is the mother monastery of all those situated north of the Hsining River. Its lamas in 1911 were mostly of Monguor origin, or Mongols from Mongolia, together with Tibetans of Huang-chung. Its administration was Monguor and its prominent Living Buddhas had always been reincarnations born in Kansu or Kukunor.

Legends

The origin of Erh-ku-lung is overlaid with legends. 792
The saying goes that during the Yüan period (1280- 539
1368) a Buddha appeared to a holy lama of the Sa-skya Sect, called Diasai, absorbed in profound meditation, and ordered him to build a monastery in Huang-chung on a site he designated. The next day the lama started his journey. He wandered many years in order to find the indicated site. Finally, he recognized it at Erh-ku-lung and the Monguors started building a hermitage. A handsome, very intelligent young man of Erh-ku-lung, called Sumpa, asked the lama to accept him as his apprentice and to instruct him. The happy holy man devoted his energy and marvelous ability to educating the young man. More young recruits arrived. The holy lama returned to Tibet with two of the most intelligent novices, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan. He entrusted the task of caring for the monastery in the meantime to the young Sumpa. The lama died in Tibet and the two novices, after brilliantly completing their studies in Tibet and writing learned books, returned to Erh-ku-lung, performed miracles, and died at the same time as Sumpa. All three were reincarnated and became the celebrated three Living Buddhas, who are the co-proprietors and chiefs of Erh-ku-lung.

At that time a lama of Erh-ku-lung, born in the neighborhood of Chie-bzan, enjoyed the reputation of holiness. After his death he was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung and was called the Living Buddha Chie-bzan. Another holy lama, born in Har-ch'in (Liao tung), called Wang, died and was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung as the Living Buddha Wang. These two smaller incarnations, in conjunction with the three former incarnations who received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor, constitute the board of the monastery, called "wu-ta-nang," which is still in existence. A residence was built by them for Diasai, the holy founder of the monastery, but the holy man failed to return from Tibet. At present, however, two lamas are still appointed to keep the home ready for the eventual return of the departed saint. They enjoy the nominal privilege

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

of receiving eighty shares at the time of distribution of alms to the lamas. 792 539

A second legend explains in another way the origin of the monastery, and its peculiar administration by five Living Buddhas. One of the first Dalai Lamas lay dying on his bed in Lhasa from a terrible abscess on his thigh, which was greatly swollen. It would not yield to medical attention. Finally, the state oracle of Lhasa received in his trances notification that five Living Buddhas were confined in the tumor, and had to be released before the abscess would respond to medication. Lamas were sent all over the world to find an enormous sandalwood tree, recently uprooted by a big storm, in which the five Buddhas were confined. A whole army of lamas started in search of the life-saving tree. They eventually found it in the country of Erh-ku-lung. In the presence of an enormous crowd they started sawing the trunk of the fabulous sandalwood tree. Suddenly the teeth of the saw scratched on something which seemed hard as stone, and five statues of Buddhas escaped in the air. With the instinct of homing pigeons they fell on the very spot where a monastery was to be built. This is the origin of the temple and its "Wu-ta-nang." It is said the statues are locked in a closet in the temple, but no one is allowed to see them, the key being kept by the Chang-chia Hutukhtu.

History of the Lamasery

The origin of Erh-ku-lung seems, however, to have been less miraculous. The construction of the monastery started in 1604, after the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan (1598–1616), sent the lama, Don Yod Choskyi rgyamtso, from Lhasa to the region of Erh-ku-lung, to invite and encourage the people to build a lamasery. 175 792

The first great lama was Sumpa Danchos rgyamtso, born in Sumpa close to Erh-ku-lung.[77] He started with a small community, but attracted more and more novices. It was he who laid the foundation for the monastery.[78] Nothing more is known about this lama [79] except that twice he fulfilled the office of *Fa-t'ai* (see p. 61) of Erh-ku-lung, once in 1621 and again in 1649. These facts seem to support the supposition that the newly founded monastery soon flourished, all the more since a branch had been established at RGyud pagrva, the later monastery of Hsien mi-ssu, from the very beginning.[80] Two lamas, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan,[81] must have been members of

[77] R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. Ecole française d'Extrême Orient* 14: 253, 1951. Sumpa possibly originated from the ancient Tibetan (Mi-nag) Sumpa tribe, which had submitted to the king of Tibet. At the time of K'ri sron bde btsan (eighth century) the tribe had been appointed warden of the Sino-Tibetan frontiers of the country of Mi-nag.

[78] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 45.

[79] *Idem* 3 (5): 19.

[80] *Idem* 3 (1): 45.

[81] Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1882: 1 and 5. In Tibet all great personages are called after the name of their birthplace, also sects; *Sa-Skya, Jonanpa, Shanpa, Digun*

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the original community. Chang-chia died (1641?), and was reincarnated for the first time in 1642 near the end of the Ming dynasty, (1643) and became the first Chang-chia Living Buddha.[82] T'u-kuan, a lama born during the Ming dynasty, was chosen Fa-t'ai of Erh-ku-lung in 1672. He died and was reincarnated in 1680[83] and became the first T'u-kuan Living Buddha. 175 792

LAMAISM AT THE END OF THE MING DYNASTY

At the very end of the Ming dynasty (1643), Ch'ü-t'an with more than 600 lamas, having branches with more than 350 lamas, was the leading monastery of Huang-chung. Kumbum began in 1560, and in 1644 was still in its period of development. Nothing is known about Sha-ch'ung, though it must still have existed. The hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, founded in 1604, had developed very fast. It had a Living Buddha boy, the Chang-chia, born in 1642. It expanded rapidly and founded hermitages for its lamas, which must have been numerous. Several Nang-suos, Karwas, and Master in Dhyana institutions existed in the country. Domains were given to many lamas who had induced Tibetans to submit to the empire. A small temple may have been built by them, and probably a few small groups of wandering lamas existed all over the country. This seems to have been the situation of Lamaism in Huang-chung at the end of the Ming dynasty.

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE CH'ING DYNASTY (1644–1911)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE CH'ING

The Ch'ing dynasty continued the policy of the Ming, protecting and promoting Lamaism. Its first act was to recognize the *status quo* of Tibet which emerged after conquest by the Ölöts during the troubled period preceding its accession to power. The Ch'ing dynasty, engaged in a terrible struggle with the western Mongols, the Jungars, which lasted for more than a century, from the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century, understood the need for a pro-Lamaist policy. Lamaism had a firm hold on the western Mongols as well as on the eastern Mongols and in Tibet. The struggle was so fierce as to induce Maurice Courant to include in the title of his book *L'Asie centrale aux XVIIme et XVIIIme siècles*, the question, *"Empire kalmouk ou empire mantchou?"*[84] It is easy to understand that in such conditions the favorable disposition of Tibet toward the dynasty would 175 648

Pa are designated after the names of localities where they were taught and originated. *Karmapa, Bulugpa*, were taken from the names of their respective teachers. *Kahdampa, Dso-gchyenpa, Chhyay Chhempa*, and *Shi chhyepa* were named after their respective rituals and external *Kriya*.

[82] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (4): 12.

[83] *Idem* 3 (5): 12.

[84] *Annales de l'université de Lyon*, n.s., 2, fasc. 24, Lyon, 1912.

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be an immense asset for its policy in Central Asia and in the neighboring countries of China.[85] 175 648

LAMAISM DIFFUSED BY MONGUOR LAMAS OF ERH-KU-LUNG

During the Ch'ing dynasty, Lamaism reached its highest level of influence and power. Four Living Buddhas dominated this period: (1) the Dalai Lama, (2) the Panchen Lama, (3) the rJe-btsun dam-pa of Urga, and (4) the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the Monguor of Erh-ku-lung. The Chang-chia reincarnations were towering personalities. During this period they dominated the Lamaist world of Mongolia, Peking, and Huang-chung, and wielded an important influence in Tibet. 175 792

Next to Chang-chia came the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu and the great Sumpa, as celebrated as Chang-chia for their science, learned works and influence at court. Later on, Min-chu-erh, known as Tsanpo Nomun khan,[86] a learned man and chief of the monastery of Seerkok, an old branch of Erh-ku-lung, followed in the wake of the three preceding Hutukhtus. If the names of the chiefs of the celebrated monastery of Labrang, founded in 1708, who were intimately connected with T'u-kuan, and who obtained imperial favors for them and the title of *Erdeni Nomun han* (Huth, p. 332) are added to the glittering list of prominent personalities of Erh-ku-lung, one is not amazed to read in the relations of the Franciscan Fathers written in 1730 in Tibet:

> In my time nearly all the lecturers and lamas of the universities, masters of the Supreme Lama and of the Grand Lamas, who have been born again, came from Amdo, a province from which they do not draw soldiers, (p. 313). . . . Tibetans are generally intelligent, although not equal to the people of the state of Amdo, who are extremely quick (p. 218).[87]

Without a doubt the monastery of Erh-ku-lung profited by the names of its prominent and learned chiefs and lamas. For a long time it surpassed all the other monasteries of Huang-chung. The number of its lamas reached 2,500 in 1723. Its prodigious activity was responsible for the foundation of all the monasteries north of the Hsining River. Since Lamaism, among the Monguors and their clan chiefs, is intimately connected with the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, whose Living Buddhas were mostly born in their country, it is necessary to study Lamaism among them, in the atmosphere of their beloved monastery. In order to gain an insight into the tremendous influence exerted by the

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[85] Schram, *op. cit.*, 36, 37.

[86] *Nom-un khan*—"King of the Law." This title was given for the first time to Gushi. See Cammann, *Trade through the Himalayas*, 92, note 45, Princeton, N. J., 1951.

[87] Clement R. Markham, *Narratives of the mission of G. Bogle to Tibet*, App. 309, London, 1876; also *Brief account of the Kingdom of Tibet* by Fra Francesco Orazio della Penna di Billi, Klaproth, 1730, from the autograph manuscript of the author.

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monastery of Erh-ku-lung in the Lamaist world, the 175
three personalities who are keystones of its institutions, 792
will be briefly described.

Chang-chia Hutukhtu

In 1642 a boy was born in the village of I-k'o. He was recognized as the reincarnation of a lama of Erh-ku-lung born into the Chang family (hence his name *Chang-chia*) in the Hung nai Valley, sixty *li* northeast of Hsining.[88] He started his religious career at the age of five at the small hermitage belonging to Erh-ku-lung called T'an rim tarpa. He entered the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in 1651. In 1661 he was sent by Sumpa to Tibet where he studied for twenty years in the most celebrated colleges, knitting friendly relations with the most renowned lamas of Tibet, and teaching and preaching in the colleges. He returned to Erh-ku-lung. In 1682 his beloved teacher, the great lama of Galdan, was invited by the emperor to Peking. Chang-chia, having scored successes in Tibet, seething with ambition, and eager to rub elbows with the rich and the great of the world, hurried off to meet his teacher in Kukunor. He obtained permission from his teacher to follow him on his trip to Peking as a "humble member of his retinue" (Huth, 276). In Peking the teacher recommended his learned pupil to the emperor.[89]

After being chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1687, [554]
the emperor called him to Peking in 1693. Sumpa, leading a big retinue, brought him to the capital. The

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[88] Ting Chih-ts'un, Li tai Chang-chia Hutukhtu, *Pien-cheng kung-lün* 6 (4): 4.

[89] Ting Chih-ts'un, Li tai Chang-chia Hutukhtu, *Pien-cheng kung-lün* 6 (4): 4, 1947. Much confusion has existed concerning the origin of the Chang-chia reincarnation. Mayers, *Chinese government*, Hong Kong, Kelly & Walsh, 1896, 3rd ed., No. 598 says: "The metropolitan Chang-chia, re-embodiment of a Hutukhtu, dispatched under the same title, to represent him near the Chinese court toward the close of the 17th century, by the Dalai Lama of that period, received with profound respect by K'anghsi, was assigned a residence at Dolon nor; by decree of Ch'ienlung, the successor of the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, removed his residence from Dolon nor to the Yung-ho-kung, where state services were performed under direction of the Metropolitan who it is said wielded supreme religious sway."

Baron A. von-Stael-Holstein, Remarks on an XVIIIth century Lamaist document, Kuo-hsueh chi-k'an, 401, 1923, says: "K'ang hsi invited the 5th Dalai Lama to Peking, who refused, and Nag-dban blo-bzan cos-ldan (Chang-chia XIV) took the Dalai's place. He is supposed to be the incarnation of Mkhyen-rab-grags-pa hodzer, born in Chang-chia village, Kansu-Kukunor, hence the name Chang-chia."

Walter Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos*, 48: 499, 1953: says that according to a Mongol source the 5th Dalai Lama sent a lama, Che-sen Chorji to the Manchu emperor T'ai-tsung, with letters and presents. He was delegate to the city of Mukden in 1637. T'ai-tsung appointed the lama envoy to be his own chaplain, praising him as Chang-chia Hutukhtu. Heissig notes (note 132, p. 500) that the Mongol text about the appointment of the envoy as Chang-chia is wrong, because Chang-chia came first to the Manchu court at Peking in 1687.

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emperor appointed him to the office of Jassak Great Lama, the highest office entrusted to lamas in Peking; he bestowed on him the dignity and diploma of Hutukhtu, and a golden seal, together with the eulogistic title, "entirely virtuous, vastly compassionate, great state teacher, one whose head is annointed."[90] He was vested with powers of spiritual control over the Mongols of Chahar. 175 792

The bolt of fame had struck the ambitious Chang-chia. Inner Mongolian, and Khalkha princes and nobles gathered at Dolon nor to adore the great living Buddha.

In 1696–1697, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, already raised to a high pitch of fame in Mongolia and Peking, was delegated by the emperor to go to Lhasa to bring to the recently enthroned sixth Dalai Lama a seal and diploma, and to convey imperial gifts to the Panchen and the chief lamas of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends. This diplomatic mission immensely enhanced the prestige of Chang-chia in the Lamaist world of Tibet. Back in Peking, he was showered with gifts by the emperor. 175 792 648 554

In 1709, when he was on a vacation in Erh-ku-lung, the Monguors, exulting with pride, had a feeling for him that was a little short of idolatrous. He reformed the program of studies at Erh-ku-lung and appointed eminent teachers. It is not amazing that the lamas dreamed up an illustrious pedigree for their distinguished Hutukhtu, the favorite of the emperor and idol of the people, and that they imagined thirteen reincarnations preceding the reigning one. The first was no less than Chan dana, a contemporary and disciple of the Buddha himself. As for these thirteen fabulous reincarnations, it is enough to say that the so-called thirteenth rebirth was that of a boy born in Chang-chia village, who became a simple lama and about whom nothing more is known. During the administration of Sumpa he was a simple lama at Erh-ku-lung. After his death a boy born in I-k'o in 1642 was considered to be his reincarnation and consequently was called the fourteenth Chang-chia. This "fourteenth reincarnation," actually the first, recommended by his teacher to the emperor, was the lucky founder of the glorious series.

Chang-chia Rolpa dorje, the fifteenth reincarnation (1717–1786), in fact the second, was brought to Peking at the age of seven. Considered as a miracle child endowed with an illustrious pedigree, he was the playmate and intimate friend of the imperial princes. In 1734, at the age of seventeen, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Szech' uan (mGar t'ar), with an order to accompany, as imperial envoy, the banished seventh Dalai Lama on his reinstallation in Lhasa. (The Dalai Lama had been banished in 1728.[91]) This second diplomatic mission surrounded the Chang-chia

[90] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, ti 5 p'ien*, 93.
[91] Petech, *op. cit.*, 157.

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reincarnations with an aura of glory. At Lhasa the lamas paid enthusiastic adoration to him. Their devotion went so far as to make them struggle and compete for the drinking of a draught of the water Chang-chia had used for his toilet.[92] Back in Peking, Chang-chia asked the emperor to return to the Dalai Lama the confiscated districts of Lit'ang and Batang, and to grant him a subsidy. Only a subsidy of 5,000 taels was allowed.[93]

Rolpa dorje was also a learned man. His appointment by the emperor as chief of the commission for the revision of the translation into Mongol of the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*,[94] enhanced his prestige in the learned world, even as his learned works were studied in the colleges of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung (Huth, 291). In 1725 the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama received imperial envoys, presenting them with a complete set of the *Kanjur*, together with its supplements, and the complete works of Tsong khapa and the first Chang-chia Hutukhtu.[95]

The Monguor Chang-chia Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung, conspicuous for their great abilities, extensive learning, high position at the Peking court, and former diplomatic missions, wielded an enormous influence in the highest Lamaist circles in Tibet. The appointment by the emperor of the regent Gyal ts'ab in Tibet, during the reign of the eighth Dalai Lama (1759–1804) was obtained by the influence of the Chang-chia II.[96] The influence which the Panchen Lama exercised over the temporal affairs of Tibet and the interest he enjoyed at the Peking court through his friend, Chang-chia, the lama primate, made the emperor, Ch'ien-lung, invite him to Peking, where he arrived in 1780 and died of smallpox.[97]

George Bogle in 1774–1775 was trying to get an agreement from the well-disposed Panchen Lama for Indian trade with Tibet. Even more important than the Panchen's promise to send envoys was his assurance to Bogle that he had written the Grand Lama at Peking, who had great influence with the emperor, informing him that the English were now masters of Bengal, that

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[92] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 99.

[93] Petech, *op. cit.*, 162.

[94] Walter Heissig, Die Mongolischen Publication und Ubersetzungs Wesen der Mandjuzeit, *Sinologica* 3 (3): 205, 1953. Translations of Vols. 1 to 22 of the *Kanjur* by learned Mongol lamas already existed at the time of Ligdan Khan 1604–1634: the translation of 1717–1720 is almost textually the same as the former. The duty of Chang-chia, head of the committee, consisted in supervising the dogmatical genuineness of the translation. The Mongol translation of Dharani was published in 1759. More than 200 translations of Tibetan works still exist in Mongol.

[95] Petech, *op. cit.*, 9. One of the works of the second Chang-chia Hutukhtu is known in Europe through the translation of Eugen Pander, *Das Pantheon des Tschang tscha Hutukhtu*, Berlin, 1890.

[96] Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 46.

[97] *Ibid.*, 47. Schuyler Cammann, The Panchen Lama's visit to China in 1780, *Far Eastern Quart.* 9 (1): 6–18, 1949.

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Hastings, their chief, had shown him great favor, and that the English allowed everyone to follow his religion unmolested. He closed with the suggestion that the Grand Lama send some people from China to call on Hastings and to visit the principal temples of Bengal.[98] An interesting note encountered in Gunther Schuleman's work tells that the Chang-chia Hutukhtu asked the emperor to allow the Cossacks, prisoners of war interned in a camp at Albazin on the Amur, to invite a priest or pope, and to build a chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas.[99]

The subsequent Chang-chia incarnations until the present one, the nineteenth, enjoyed the same position of eminence, privileges, and titles in Peking under the Empire and the Republic. At the beginning of the Republic, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu was sent to Mongolia to exhort the princes to recognize the newly founded Republic. He was nominated honorary president of the Committee of Mongol and Tibetan Affairs.[100] All these facts seem to bear out the assertion that the Chang-chia Hutukhtus of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung were towering personalities in the Lamaist world during the Ch'ing dynasty and under the Republic, and that they enhanced the prestige of Lamaism among the Monguors and the Tibetans of Huang-chung. When the Chinese Government fled to Formosa for fear of the Communists, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu accompanied it, and at present is living there.[101]

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[98] Schuyler Cammann, *Trade through the Himalayas*, 49.

[99] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 178.

[100] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 11. von Stael-Holstein, *op. cit.*, 401, says: "During the Republic the titles of Chang-chia on his visiting card, support the evidence of the high favors bestowed upon him, 'High class adviser at the president's office; inspector of the Lamaist religious establishments in Peking, Inner Mongolia, Chahar, Wü-T'ai-Shan, Jehol, and Dolon nor,'" 1923.

[101] After completing the present study, I had the opportunity to read a most valuable work by Professor Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistischen Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1954. It contains many complementary data concerning the Chang-chia incarnations, and their literary productions, excerpted from Mongol and Tibetan sources, making it possible to complement the information drawn from Chinese sources.

Chang-chia I (1642–1714), by order of Emperor Sheng tsu (K'ang-hsi period 1662–1722) came to Peking in 1693 with an imposing array of fifteen lama scholars, headed by Sumpa, chief of Erh-ku-lung. The emperor granted Sumpa the title of Jassak lama. (At that time Sumpa must have been Sumpa II, a minor Living Buddha.) Each of the fifteen other lamas was granted the title of Sula Blama. Chang-chia asked the emperor for this title as a favor to Sumpa (18). Chang-chia supervised the revision of the Kanjur (19), which had already been started in 1604–1634 by 40 scholars. He was ordered to instruct the Khalkha lamas in Dolon nor and the Mongol princes who attended his lectures, so he wielded a great influence among the princes and lamas in Mongolia (p. 20). In 1710 the emperor contributed to the foundation of the Tantra college in Erh-ku-lung (p. 28). Chang-chia I, a prolific author, died in 1714. The complete works of Chang-chia, written in Tibetan, were translated into Mongol and published in seven volumes in Peking in 1720 (pp. 58, 59). In 1729 there was published in

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T'u-kuan Hutukhtu

At the time when Chang-chia was at the height of his glory, T'u-kuan, another eminent Monguor lama of Erh-ku-lung, was on the way to becoming his equal. With Sumpa and Chang-chia he was considered the

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Peking a biography of Chang-chia which had been translated into Mongol, in four volumes, by one of his most intimate pupils (p. 63).

Chang-chia II (1717–1786) was still a boy, living in Huang chung, at the time of the revolt of the lamas (1723). The emperor, in order to save the life of the new Chang-chia incarnation, forbade the army commanders to kill boys under fifteen years of age. Chang-chia was brought to Peking at the age of nine (1724). He studied Chinese, Mongol, Manchu, etc., with the son of the emperor, the future emperor Kao tsung (Ch'ien lung period, 1736–1796), and the twelfth prince, who became his friends (64). In the friendship which existed between Chang-chia, the future emperor, and the Manchu prince lies the explanation for the tremendous influence wielded by Chang-chia in Mongolia and Tibet. It also explains the prodigious activity displayed by the board for the translation of Tibetan books and the printing of Mongol books, of which Chang-chia was the chief. The Mongol lamas were elated by the publication of lamaist literature in Mongol, and the Mongol princes offered donations for its printing. Under the leadership of Chang-chia II, 99 lamaist works were printed in Mongol in Peking (p. 72). Chang-chia used his influence to change the trend of thinking of Mongol lamas, who were very fond of writing biographies of saints according to the pattern of the Geser epos (of Tibetan origin). He did not even allow the lamas to read or preserve the epos. It had not been reprinted in Peking since 1716 (87). However, he promoted the fusion (already started during the K'ang hsi period, p. 36) of the legendary Geser with Kuan ti, the Chinese god of war, and also their cult, making of them protectors of the country, to be worshipped by the Chinese military officials (p. 148). Chang-chia laid stress on the production of works in the dogmatic line (p. 106). The revision of the Kanjur was finished in 1720 (during the boyhood of Chang-chia II): From 1741 on, Chang-chia II, with a strong group of scholars, prepared the revision of the Tanjur which was finished in 1749 (p. 85). In 1780 the Panchen Lama attending the celebration of the seventieth birthday of the emperor in Jehol, composed a biography and eulogy in Tibetan of the fifteenth preexistences of Chang-chia II. It was translated into Mongol and was very popular in Mongolia and Tibet (p. 142), as was the biography of Chang-chia I, written by T'u-kuan Hutukhtu I (1737–1802) (p. 158).

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The prodigious literary activity displayed during the lives of both Chang-chia I and II seems to have been notably reduced from the time of Chang-chia III on (1789–1846). In the meantime the Emperor Kao tsung, personal friend and protector of Chang-chia II died (1795); the Mongol princes had become less interested in offerings for the printing of books, and only a few lamas of Alashan continued to indulge in literary productions (165). In Heissig, not a name of a single author of Kumbum is noted during or after the period of this prodigious literary activity. Only ten new productions are noted during the nineteenth century, together with a few reprints of former books (p. 159). After the death of Chang-chia III (1846) his biography was written, starting with those of his previous existences (p. 168). Heissig notes that he does not understand why, in the historical sketch of the life of Chang-chia I, the biography of Chang-chia I written by T'u-kuan I of Erh-ku-lung is omitted (p. 167). He wonders also why the famous *History of the diffusion of Lamaism in Mongolia* written by T'u-kuan II was not printed in Peking (p. 3) during the time Chang-chia II was the chief of the imperial committee. The explanation for these pertinent questions will be

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co-proprietor and chief of Erh-ku-lung. The figures 175
of these three men throw a lengthening shadow over 792
the glorious monastery of Erh-ku-lung, and over the Lamaist world in Tibet, Mongolia, Peking, and Huang-chung, during the Ch'ing dynasty.

A boy born in T'u-kuan, located at the foot of the T'u-kuan Mountains close to Erh-ku-lung, became a lama at the former hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, which had rapidly grown under the administration of Sumpa. The boy was born in the Wang chia tribe, subject to the Li T'u-ssu, and is said to have belonged to the Li T'u-ssu clan. It is also told that he was born in the Sina tribe in the Ch'ing-yang-ch'uan, in the village of T'u-kuan. The date of his birth is not recorded. However, it is noted that he fulfilled the office of Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1672, at the time when Chang-chia was studying at Lhasa.[102]

A boy born in 1680 was said to be the reincarnation [775]
of this T'u-kuan Lama and was called the Living Buddha T'u-kuan Nag dban C'osky rgyamts'o. The series of the T'u-kuan reincarnations started with him. Upon completing his studies in Tibet, he was chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1705. He founded a hermitage at C'os bzan, where he lived in retired seclusion with seven lamas, meditating and teaching.[103] He was the teacher of the young fifteenth Chang-chia incarnation and the famous Sumpa. He became the equal of Chang- [854]
chia when the Emperor K'ang Hsi called him to Peking in 1715, and bestowed on him gifts, the title of Hutukhtu and a seal. He enjoyed the high esteem of the emperor who, in 1719, ordered the lama, Skal-bzan rgya-mts'o, administrator of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu in order to have him administer his monastery.[104] (Something wrong may have happened at Kumbum.)

In 1720 the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was sent on a dip- 175
lomatic mission to greet the seventh Dalai Lama on the 792
upper reaches of the Yangtse River on his way to 648
Lhasa.[105] The Dalai Lama had been confined at Kumbum for five years. He was brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence. T'u-kuan, in his capacity of imperial envoy, was granted the title of Hutukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas. He assisted at the enthusiastic enthronement of the Dalai Lama and brought letters and imperial gifts to

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provided by the subsequent troubled history of Erh-ku-lung (see below, p. 36).

Summarizing the literary activities of the Chang-chia incarnations, as chiefs of the imperial committee for the printing of Mongol books in Peking, they had printed in Mongol, during a period of 261 years (1650–1911), 108 volumes of the Kanjur, 226 of the Tanjur and 220 other works (2).

These facts afford conclusive evidence of the very important role played by the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung in the diffusion of Lamaism in their own country, and in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet.

[102] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 12.

[103] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283.

[104] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 15. [p. 31 (B)]

[105] Petech, *op. cit.*, 60.

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the Panchen Lama and the heads of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends.[106] He enjoyed a tremendous surge of popularity in Tibet and was honored in the same way as Chang-chia.

The fame of Erh-ku-lung thus rose higher and higher. In Huang-chung the Monguors were elated and proud of their glorious monastery and their eminent lamas. Back in Dolon nor, the Mongol and Khalkha princes paid him their adoration with the same devotion they had given to Chang-chia. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu received new titles from the emperor and was showered with favors. A permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He obtained for the Great Lama of the monastery of Labrang the title of Erdeni Nomun khan.[107] While on vacation at Erh-ku-lung, he died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri which belonged to Erh-ku-lung.

His next incarnation was T'u-kuan Blo-bzan C'oskyi Nima, born in 1737. He was a celebrated teacher, well known in the Lamaist world for his proficiency in logic and philosophy. He wrote his famous *History of the Doctrines of the Yellow Sects*, which he finished a year before his death in 1802. According to Baradijn, this work, in twelve chapters, is the only Tibetan study dealing with all the Tibetan sects, including those of India, China, and the old Bön.[108] He received from the emperor the same titles as his predecessor and was granted the same favors and the same permanent duty at Peking. In 1790 he built the temple of Hung-ku-ssu, to which the emperor granted the name of Yen-hsi-ssu.[109] He died in 1802. The subsequent incarnations followed in the steps of their predecessors, enjoying the same titles and privileges during the Empire and under the Republic.

Sumpa Hutukhtu

Sumpa Hutukhtu is so called by Sarat Chandra Dass, the celebrated historiographer and chronologist of Tibet. Born in 1704, he is said to be the first reincarnation of the founder of Erh-ku-lung. However, because Erh-ku-lung was founded in 1604, the first Sumpa was supposed to have been a man about twenty or thirty years of age. So it would seem that a second Sumpa was intercalated between them. Sumpa II must have been the reincarnation of Sumpa I; otherwise the denomination of Sumpa is hard to explain. This supposition does not seem to be unusual if we take account of the process used for the first reincarnations of Chang-chia

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[106] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283; Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 178–9.

[107] Huth, *op. cit.*, 287.

[108] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 442, Notes 655 and 656, p. 182. The work has been translated by Sarat Chandra Dass in his Contributions on the religion and history, etc. of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* 50 and 51, 1881–1882. I was surprised to read in it much data about Taoism and Confucianism with which he was very well acquainted.

[109] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5): 12; *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*, *op. cit.*, 148–149.

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and T'u-kuan, and the obsession for reincarnations which was in full swing at that time. Sumpa II must have been one of the countless so-called "minor" Living Buddhas who were not listed on the register of Buddhas in Peking, and to whom the title of Hutukhtu had not been granted, but only the title of Jassak Lama. In the same way the minor Living Buddha Sumpa II must have headed the big retinue which brought the "minor" Living Buddha Chang-chia to Peking in 1693, who, only after his arrival at Peking, received his title and became the great Chang-chia Hutukhtu. Until that time Sumpa II, Chang-chia, and T'u-kuan were all "minor" Living Buddhas, living at Erh-ku-lung.

Sumpa III, still a minor Living Buddha, underwent a stiff course of instruction at Erh-ku-lung, under the direction of the celebrated T'u-kuan, after which he was sent for further study to Tibet. The young Sumpa must have been a very intelligent and studious pupil, for in 1726 he had already been appointed mK'ampo of the very celebrated SGoman College in aBras-spuns.[110] At the same time he must have been an unusually strong personality, a man of solidly set opinions, a special individual, a law unto himself, stern and uncompromising, for, in the teeth of strong opposition on the part of the lamas when civil war violently agitated the country, he ordered his lamas to keep quiet and to keep the strictest neutrality because, according to the principles of Buddhism, it is not allowed for anyone, particularly the lamas, to fight and kill.[111] The example was followed by the other monasteries.

Back in Huang-chung in 1730, he founded the monastery of Bshad-sgrab with eighty lamas, and admitted fifteen more from the monastery (hermitage) of Bsam-gtang. He was called to Peking in 1737, and appointed by the emperor as spiritual guide of all the princes and chiefs of Mongolia. His prestige in Peking and Mongolia and the consideration the emperor had for him were extraordinary. The emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu, but he declined the offer, objecting that it was only fit for religious men aspiring to worldly glory. The amazed emperor answered, "You are a genuine religious man." In Peking he revised all the Tibetan books existent in China, and was rewarded by the emperor with the title of Erdeni Pandita.

In 1745 he was appointed the head of Erh-ku-lung. There, his first step was to scale down the splendor of his environment and to simplify his retinue. Sumpa was a learned man. He wrote the famous *History of the Rise and Downfall of Buddhism in India and Tibet.*[112]

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[110] Petech, *op. cit.*, 121.

[111] *Ibid.*

[112] Sarat Chandra Dass, Contribution to the history and religion of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 58, 1889. This study is preceded by the translation of the biography of Sumpa.

Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 147, after giving the content of the work of Sumpa, concludes: "... the work is composed with a wise and discriminating choice of older sources, pointing out for

The Monguor Sumpa was a prolific author, who 175
wrote about all the important subjects related to the 792
curriculum of the studies of lamas. In the official records in Peking, preserved in the Li-fan-Yüan (1793), concerning the subsequent reincarnations of Sumpa, it is said they are indistinct and vague; that maybe they are recorded in Lhasa at the office of the Dalai Lama.[113]

The two Living Buddhas, Chie bzan and Wang, members of the board of five of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, led a sheltered life in their residences and nothing is recorded concerning them.

SUBSIDIARY LAMASERIES FOUNDED BY ERH-KU-LUNG

The influence exerted upon the country of Huang- 175
chung, and especially upon the country north of the 771
Hsining River, by the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and 792
its three celebrated personalities was tremendous. The whole country, void of monasteries before 1600, became dotted with institutions of the Yellow Sect, depending on Erh-ku-lung. This unusual fervor for the diffusion of Lamaism seems to account for the disappearance of nearly all the small institutions of the Red Sect in that country, and their absorption into the fold of the Yellow Sect. The forces of expansion radiating from Ch'ü-t'an, Sha-ch'ung, and Kumbum situated south of the Hsining River, never before 1723 matched those radiating from Erh-ku-lung. The reason might be the lack of celebrated, learned, influential monks enjoying the favors of the emperors. This seems to account for the fact that at present a number of small Red communities and two important monasteries of the Red Sect still exist in the country south of the Hsining River.

Sumpa Damchos, the first administrator of Erh-ku- 175
lung, must have been a very capable and intelligent 792
man, devoted to the diffusion of Lamaism. He built his monastery on a solid foundation to prepare learned and pious men. He sent the best of his novices to Tibet to study, and organized studies at home. In the very beginning (1604) he founded the hermitage of Rgyud pagrva,[114] the monastery of Hsien-mi-ssu. In 1915 it was inhabited by 4 Living Buddhas and 160 lamas; it also established two colleges. He founded the hermitage of T'an-rim tarpa, where the young Chang-chia, at the age of five, started his religious life.[115] In 1651, when Chang-chia and T'u-kuan were still children, he se[illegible]e vice-administrator of Erh-ku-lung, Dongrub rgyamat'so, of Mongol origin, to Ta-

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each subject the main works. He intended to write an encyclopedia from which an idea could be had of the formation and spread of Buddhist thought. . . . It is a rich encyclopedia; harmonious composition is missing. Its value: it purports to be a *summa* of Tibetan historical traditions in which chronicles, myths, saints' lives, political changes, religious doctrines are met, in whose harmony the fortunes of the sacred doctrine of Tsung khapa become a reality and are developed."

[113] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (4): 16.

[114] *Idem* 1: 45.

[115] Huth, *op. cit.*, 272.

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t'ung wei, in order to build the later famous monastery of Seerkok, Gadan Ch'osling, also called Kou-mang-ssu, and Kuang-hui-ssu.[116] 175 792

The new daughter monastery flourished so fast as to have, before the revolt of 1723, two thousand lamas, and three colleges, among which the Tch'an-njid College was very renowned. Probably very soon Seerkok became an autonomous monastery. It developed to such an extent as to administer nine branches of its own and to have eighteen Living Buddhas within its walls.

Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the head of the lamasery, celebrated for his *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia*, is known as the Tsanpo Nomun-khan of Amdo.[117] In 1727 he was sent by the Dalai Lama to court and received from the emperor the title of Hutukhtu. He was showered with gifts and a permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He became one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung.[118] [554]

In 1693 the hermitage of Byan-c'ub existed, dependent on Erh-ku-lung. It was here that Chang-chia retired.[119] In 1705 T'u-kuan established the hermitage of C'os bzan where he retired with seven lamas.[120] He died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri, also dependent on Erh-ku-lung.[121] In 1711 the learned lama, Zabsdrun of Temma, near Erh-ku-lung, having been appointed teacher by Chang-chia[122] at the College of Tantras in Erh-ku-lung, founded a branch in Kan-ch'an-ssu which in 1915, had two hundred lamas and two Living Buddhas.

In 1730 the Great Sumpa, on his return from Tibet, immediately founded the monastery of Bshad sgrub with eighty lamas and fifteen from Bsam gtang glin.[123] From 1604 until 1730 the building of hermitages and bigger monasteries was a real obsession among the prominent lamas and chiefs of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung and its branches. The records of the havoc wrought during the crushing revolt of 1723 by the Chinese army reveal more names of sacked and destroyed monasteries: Chie-Bzan with eight hundred lamas, the monasteries of Hsia, Ya, Ku, Chu-erh, Kan-chu-erh, and more than one thousand grottoes in the mountains; also the monastery of Shih-men-ssu with two hundred lamas and two Living Buddhas; Ch'i-chia-ssu with two subsidiaries[124]; T'ien T'ang-ssu with two hundred lamas, three Living Buddhas,

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[116] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 45; 3 (4) 10; 5: 13*a*.

[117] Sarat Chandra Dass, Brief account of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1 and 27, 1887. This work was translated into Russian in 1895.

[118] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 123.

[119] Huth, *op. cit.* 277.

[120] *Ibid.*, 283.

[121] *Ibid.*, 288.

[122] *Ibid.*, 279.

[123] Sarat Chandra Dass, Life of Sumpa khampo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 198, 1889.

[124] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 46*b* and 47*a*.

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three colleges, and Chiar-too-ssu. Forty lamaseries established north of the Hsining River and in the prefectures of P'ing fan, Liang-chou, Kan-chou and Su-chou, originated from Erh-ku-lung or its subsidiaries and were built between 1604 and 1723. 175 772

The prodigious activity in Huang-chung and the flourishing of the monasteries are, beyond doubt, indebted to the position of eminence enjoyed at court by the three learned Monguor lamas and their reincarnations, and to the initial impulse given to Erh-ku-lung by its first Sumpas. Not only Huang-chung, but the whole Yellow Church derived benefits from the zeal of these fervent Monguors. Their influence was also tremendous upon the chiefs of Outer and Inner Mongolia. In Mongolia the fervor of the converted old adherents of the Red Sect to the Yellow Sect can be ascribed in great part to the influence of the Monguor lamas appointed by the emperor as their spiritual guides. This fact also accounts for the large number of Mongol lamas living in the monasteries of Huang-chung. The Mongol monasteries are also indebted to them for the development and organization of their studies on a serious basis. Their learned books were among those used in the Mongol colleges. Most of their teachers had been pupils of these eminent lamas who had studied at Erh-ku-lung, noted as the highest center of learning at that time. Back in their country they vied in building monasteries.[125]

The position of these learned scholars in Peking and the patronage of the Manchu emperors contributed to the development of that copious production, of encyclopedic and compilatory character, which marks the 18th century in Tibetan literary history.[126] [212]

REVOLT OF BLO-BZAN BSTAN-DSIN AND THE LAMAS

The year 1723 marks a turning point in the history of Lamaism in Huang-chung, and ends with one of those tragedies with which history is replete. At the time, Lamaism rode the crest of the wave of glory and success, monasteries and their affiliates dotted the country of Hsining, especially north of the river and far into the Nan-shan. The number of lamas was countless, the people paid enthusiastic adoration to their Living Buddhas. Each family offered one or more of its sons to the service of Buddha. Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662–1722) lavishly bestowed his favors upon Huang-chung, promoting Chang-chia to be the first lama in rank in Peking, and T'u-kuan to be the second. He invested them with diplomatic missions in Tibet and promoted them as the spiritual guides of the Mongol princes. 175 771

The country was at peace and the future filled with the greatest promise, when suddenly, like a colossus on feet of clay, the luxurious Lamaist institution crumbled and collapsed. The lamasery of Erh-ku-lung with 175 579 771

[125] Huth, *op. cit.*, 372–374.
[126] Petech, *op. cit.*, 242. [p. 34(A)]

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its 2,500 lamas, from which had radiated a prodigious 175
force of expansion for 120 years, had all its temples, 579
stupas, and homes of lamas burned to the ground; 17 771
villages and 7,000 houses were destroyed. Full scale fighting erupted between the lamas and the subjects of the monastery, against the emperor's army; 6,000 were killed. At Seerkok, the branch of Erh-ku-lung having 2,000 lamas, not a single temple, stupa, or home was left; 700 lamas and 2,000 of its fighting subjects were killed. The chief of the monastery, Chie-bzan Rimpoche, was beheaded. Ch'i-chia-ssu, with its two branches, was leveled to the ground; 500 fighting lamas and 1,000 subjects were killed. The monastery of Chie-bzan vanished in flames; 800 lamas perished or fled. The monastery of Shih-men, a center of revolt, disappeared in a blaze and 700 fighting lamas and subjects were killed. All the lamaseries and important branches situated north of the river were completely ruined; their lamas were either killed or they had fled. At the monastery of Kumbum 300 lamas were beheaded, fled, or were killed. All the temples and homes of lamas were burned, except the head temple.

Nien Keng-yao, commanding the imperial army, said that because of the furious armed resistance displayed by the lamas he had to punish them.[127] The head of the monastery, the mK'ampo, surrendered. The Chinese general informed the emperor about his prisoner. He suggested that by no means should clemency be shown toward him, for he had been the cause of all the trouble, stirring the lamas and the people to revolt. Since nothing more is said about him in the *Shih-lu*, the *Tung-hua-lu* or the *Sheng-wu-chi*, it can be supposed that he was beheaded.[128] During the revolt, two more prominent Living Buddhas were beheaded, Temma gr[illegible]tchen and Nga-ch'i T'u-men-han.[129]

Nothing is recorded about the famous monastery of [712]
Ch'ü-t'an, and I have found it impossible to get any information whether or not it participated in the troubles. Lamas like to keep secret in their fold this dishonorable page of their history. This sudden disaster, which ruined all the institutions of Lamaism in Huang-chung, had more far-reaching harmful consequences in the future, from which Lamaism never recovered.

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[127] *Shih-lu, Yung-cheng*, ts'e 145, Chüan 14, 10.

[128] These facts are far from the legend as spread by Filchner: that the Ch'i-T'u-ssu was guarantee for Kumbum, that he was the protector of the monastery and that the amban himself could not interfere with the problem of Kumbum. In reminiscence of this fact, the grateful lamas knelt in greeting to the Ch'i T'u-ssu when he attended the festivals at the lamasery. In fact it was customary for the lamas to greet in corps all the T'u-ssu who attended the festivals with their retinue. The same honor was displayed for the Li T'u-ssu and for the Ch'i T'u-ssu at Erh-ku-lung. All the T'u-ssu who fought on the side of the Chinese at that time were intelligent enough to understand that it was not the time to interfere with the problem.

[129] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 46–48, who relies on *Tung-hua-lu, Shih-lu, Shen-wu-chi* for the period of Yung-cheng. *Annals* of the province, ch. 46; 55*b*–56*a*, 56*b*.

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WHAT WERE THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THESE CALAMITIES?

The troubles in Lhasa at the beginning of the eighteenth century ruined the influence and power of the Qoshot Mongols in Tibet who had founded the realm of the Dalai Lama.[130] bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, the grandson of Gushi, devising the unification of the Qoshots and the revival in his person of the imperial dream of Gushi, assumed the title of Dalai Hung-T'aichi, and broke into open rebellion against China in the eighth month (September, 1723).[131] His rebellion did not have much appeal for the divided Qoshots, and his power was greatly enfeebled. However, having obtained the tremendous support of the mK'ampo Nomun-khan, superior and chief of Kumbum and his nephew, who called all the lamas and Tibetans of Huang-chung to take sides with him, Bstan-dsin started invading the Chinese frontier and Huang-chung. 175

Since it was feared that Bstan-dsin would perturb Tibet, the Chinese authorities acted with great promptness.[132] Nien Keng-Yao, marshal for the pacification of the distant countries, and General Yüeh Chung-ch'i were provided with strict instructions to furnish a drastic example for the government which had so lavishly bestowed unusual favors on the lamas of Huang-chung. Nien Keng-yao disposed of 900,000 soldiers,[133] of whom 3,000 were soldiers of the Monguor T'u-ssu. He crushed the revolt by March, 1724, and made Bstan-dsin flee with but a few men. The example was drastic. The revolted lamas and tribes were severely punished, and the monasteries destroyed. In the reports of General Funingga, concerning the quelling of the revolt of bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, written in the Manchu language, and sent to the emperor from Hsining, not a single word is encountered about the part played by the Hsining lamas in the revolt or of the drastic repression by Nien Keng-yao, although Funingga three times had defeated the Moslems and Tibetans who helped bLo-bzan. It is not easy to guess the reason for this reticence.[134] 175 579

WHERE WERE THE THREE CELEBRITIES OF ERH-KU-LUNG AT THAT TIME?

The Chang-chia of that time, the second, was still a boy seven years of age. The lamas of Erh-ku-lung had hidden him at the monastery of Chiar-too. Nien Keng-yao, according to orders of Peking, brought the boy there. The whereabouts of T'u-kuan seem mysterious. In 1720 he was in Lhasa, vested with a diplomatic mis- 175

[130] Here the consequences of the revolt relative to Lamaism are exposed. The political aspects are dealt with in Schram, *op. cit.*, 36–37.

[131] Petech, *op. cit.*, 82.

[132] *Ibid.*

[133] *Tung-hua-lu, Yung-cheng* 3: 29.

[134] *Berichte des Generals Funingga*, 18 *Jahrhundert*, 104–114, 1953.

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sion, but he seems to have been back in Peking before 175
1723. Perhaps he remained at the capital, because Huth [135] tells us that the emperor told him that he was worried about the events in Huang-chung. However, Schuleman says [136] that having been "condoned" he was "brought" to Peking and, a few years later (1729), thanks to his counsel and influence, the emperor allowed the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok to be rebuilt and he contributed to their reconstruction.[137] At that time Sumpa was still a minor Living Buddha, studying at Lhasa. In his later works Sumpa came to the fore with stern uncompromising character in the cause of principles, condemning the acts of lamas who killed human beings. In caustic and cutting terms he frankly put all the blame of these tragic events on the mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the chiefs of the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, and on the lamas who caused the ruin of all the monasteries, the destruction of their property, and the death of their subjects, whom they had forced to take their side in the trouble. He defended the line of action and the policy of the emperor and did not put a shadow of blame on the drastic means used by the Chinese officers to crush the revolt.[138]

CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLT

The regulations governing Lamaism in Huang- 175
chung after the repression of the revolt were as drastic 792
as the repression itself. They show that the emperor 579
was bursting with indignation, at the appalling ingratitude of the monasteries, for he resolved in dead earnest to use an iron policy in handling the turbulent lamas. All the titles and seals of "teachers of the empire" (*kuo-shih*) and "Masters in Dhyana" (*Ch'an-shih*), granted to outstanding and meritorious lamas during the Ming dynasty, were recalled. The complement of lamas was not to exceed three hundred men for the big monasteries, and ten or more for the small monasteries. Lamas were not allowed to have more than one disciple.

Twice a year the Chinese officials were to investigate the monasteries for observance of regulations for which the abbots had been made responsible, to check the number of lamas, and to prevent the concealing of weapons. All the subjects of the lamaseries had to become subjects of the Chinese administration, and the land taxes accruing to the lamas had to be collected by Chinese officials. The subjects of monasteries became liable to corvées imposed by the Chinese for building cities, digging canals, and for the army. Trials and suits were brought under the jurisdiction of the Chinese courts. Every year the Chinese officials had to grant

[135] Huth, *op. cit.*, 285.
[136] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 179.
[137] Petech, *op. cit.*, 87.
[138] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 47.

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each lama a certain amount of wheat and a fixed sum of silver as compensation for the withdrawn taxes.[139] 175 792 579

The revolt of 1723 ruined the former wealth and prestige of the lamaseries. The Chinese officials, who before 1723 had acted reluctantly as humble servants of the chiefs of the lamaseries for fear of the emperor, became their superiors. They acted as such especially in courts of justice, when monasteries and lamas accused each other, or when Chinese brought suit against monasteries. In the minds of the Chinese officials the prestige of Chang-chia and other Hutukhtus of Huang-chung had slipped down many rungs of the ladder of glory. Hutukhtus had to remain in Peking where an honorable office was assigned to them, principally in order to make hostages of them and to prevent new revolts of lamas. Their powers were reduced to honorary dimensions. (The iron hand in the velvet glove!)

Regardless of the fact that titles and distinctions had been granted to the lamas, these drastic regulations were never revoked. Before 1723 the lamas were in the lap of luxury; they collected taxes on their fields which were tilled by their subjects. Now, this primary source of wealth vanished, and their land became of less value.

The boundaries of the extensive properties granted them by the emperors had never been accurately drawn. For the most part, monasteries had simply occupied land adjacent to their property, for at that time they were omnipotent. For more than a century, suits followed concerning the delimitation of the boundaries, which continually shrank, the Chinese officials being eager to sell land to Chinese.

The official revenues of the lamas were restricted to the collection of rents and to a pitifully small amount of wheat and a little silver granted to them yearly.[140] The officials soon substituted poor, cheaper barley for the wheat, and the weight of the grain received was below the official weight; silver was converted into cash and the profit on the exchange went into the pockets of the officials. The subjects of the lamaseries were now subject to the Chinese officials, under whose jurisdiction they were liable to corvée. They were thus withdrawn from the influence of the lamaseries. The once powerful lamas swallowed the bitter pill; evil times had befallen them. The consequences of the revolt of 1723, which had brought Lamaism to such a pass, still prevailed under the Republic.

CONDITIONS OF ERH-KU-LUNG IN 1910–1920

The number of lamas had shrunk from 2,500 in 1723 to 270. Only two of the four former colleges still existed. Eleven minor Living Buddhas inhabited the monastery. The temples, homes for lamas and Living Buddhas, and administrative buildings, had been re- 175 792

[139] *Shen-wu-chi*, ch. 5, p. 12; *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 525; *Fan-pu*, 1, p. 7a; *Tung-hua-lu*, *Yung cheng*, *op. cit.* 4: 34–36.
[140] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, p. 12a.

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constructed after 1723, and rebuilt a second time after the revolt of the Moslems in 1872 (at which time the monastery had been abandoned for three years). The internal organization of the formerly flourishing monastery was affected by dissensions among the triumvirate, and peace within its walls was disturbed by the divided lamas, who had taken opposite sides in the conflict. The Chang-chia Hutukhtu left Erh-ku-lung, and more than one hundred lamas followed him. It was a severe blow to the mother monastery. He rebuilt one of his branches, called Ch'ie-bzan, to be his abode on the very rare occasions of his short returns from Peking to the country. He never again visited Erh-ku-lung. The seeds of a callous hostility between Erh-ku-lung and Ch'ie-bzan were planted and their relations cut off. 175 792

The three founders, however, were and remained the co-proprietors of the initial domain, monastery, and branches of Erh-ku-lung. However, each of them, by means of gifts and domains offered to them individually, had built up his own fortune. They hoarded their revenues or used them to found their own branches. In 1910 T'u-kuan Hutukhtu personally was the proprietor of seven branches. He possessed expansive properties on which he built seven villages. He also possessed eighteen oil or wheat mills. His herds of sheep and horses grazed in the Alashan territory and on the domains of T'ien-t'ang-ssu, his former branch, which by 1910 had become an independent monastery. Chang-chia had six branches of his own, eleven villages, nine mills, and very expansive domains. Sumpa had five branches of his own, and wider territories than T'u-kuan and Chang-chia.

The troubles had started not on questions of doctrine or liturgy, but on matters of finance and property. Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa clashed on the question of a territory belonging to the original domain, the status of which T'u-kuan and Sumpa maintained. Chang-chia, however, claimed it to be his property. Finally, the debatable domain was recognized to be the property of the initial domain. 175 792 578

Chang-chia never forgot this loss of face. The money granted by the emperor for the reconstruction of Erh-ku-lung in 1729 was insufficient. Nevertheless, Chang-chia urged that a part of it be used for the rebuilding of his own Ch'ie-bzan. This was refused by the other two and the rift between the triumvirate became wider and wider. T'u-kuan, however, used a large part of his own wealth for the reconstruction of Erh-ku-lung, which lasted for decades. Sumpa, with his own money, built the two colleges, their temples and palaces for Fa-t'ai. Chang-chia refused to make any contribution. After the revolt of 1872 and the destruction of Erh-ku-lung by the Moslems, T'u-kuan and Sumpa rebuilt the monastery. Chang-chia again declined to help.[141] Instead, he rebuilt his own monas- 175 792 [578] 346

[141] It is not surprising that Chang-chia did not print the works of T'u-kuan (see above, p. 31).

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tery in the most luxurious style. The head temple, with 175
its gilt tiled roof, which had been preserved, was em- 792
bellished and other temples rebuilt. He rebuilt a splen- 346
did palace for himself patterned after the most luxurious palaces in Peking. Chang-chia's Ch'ie-bzan was the wealthiest monastery in the country, with 150 lamas, 2 colleges, and 4 minor Living Buddhas. Most of its wealth was provided by Mongols, among whom the influence and prestige of Chang-chia was proverbial.

Every year, lama expeditions of Ch'ie-bzan traveled 175
in Mongolia in order to collect alms. Chang-chia's 794
prestige was so great that the Queen of the Torgots 648
came to Ch'ie-bzan in 1913, to invite the intendant of the monastery to send an expedition among her tribesmen, for it had been a long time since an expedition had reached her country. I happened to be at Ch'ie-bzan in 1914 when the expedition returned. It had collected 3,000 sheep, 400 horses, and 280 camels, which were loaded with wool and skins.

The breach between T'u-kuan and Sumpa, which oc- 175
curred in 1890, was more tragic. During the rebellion 578
of the Moslems, Sumpa (born in 1854) had fled among 792
the Mongols and Tibetans, north of Kukunor. He met with a Mongol girl, whom he had moved to his branch monastery called Sumpa-ssu. The lama community of Erh-ku-lung, after some years, could no longer stand the disrepute brought on the monastery. It brought [691]
suit against Sumpa before the Amban in the prefectural city of Hsining, claiming he was not a genuine reincarnation. The lama community urged that he be erased from the list of Buddhas, and insisted on the right to search for the genuine reincarnation. For several months the lamas disturbed the whole city with the scandal, and spent money. The Chinese enjoyed all the incidents of the trial. Sumpa lost his face and honor irretrievably. Sumpa, however, was rich and the Amban venal. The Amban finally proposed that Sumpa leave Erh-ku-lung and move to one of his affiliates. This reincarnation (the third) of the illustrious Sumpa, having cut a sorry figure, never returned to Erh-ku-lung, but lived at his branch where, in 1916, his two girls delighted the old age of their father, who was sixty. His eldest daughter had married the son of the chief of the Aruk tribe. In 1916 the old man made a pilgrimage to Lhasa, and the lamas said he was atoning for his sins. No wonder that the Li-fan yüan records lacked information concerning the subsequent reincarnations of the Great Sumpa.

The Living Buddha Ch'ie-bzan of Erh-ku-lung hav- 175
ing a branch monastery of his own, moved into it, 792
appearing at Erh-ku-lung only to attend the festivals. 627
The Living Buddha Wang lived in retired seclusion. 762
Soon after the trial of Sumpa, the minor Living Buddha Tsung-tsa, one of the eleven, followed in the steps of Sumpa and established a family in Tsung-tsa. In the winter of the same year, the minor Living Buddha Seerting was taken and beaten at night by the husband and

[p.3X(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

friends of a lady Seerting was "visiting." He was 175
found the next morning hanging from a beam in his 792
palace. The loss of face had been too tremendous. 627
Erh-ku-lung had become a place of unrelieved misery. 762
The year 1890 was one of the most fateful in the history of Erh-ku-lung.

After the withdrawal of Chang-chia Hutukhtu and 175
Sumpa Hutukhtu, T'u-kuan became the actual omnipo- 792
tent chief of the monastery, and acted and was recognized as such. Because it is customary to hush up dishonorable facts deliberately, Chang-chia and Sumpa were very seldom spoken about. It was a long time before I knew they had been the honored co-founders of the monastery.

The former glorious days of Erh-ku-lung vanished. There were no longer learned men at the monastery, which for a century had been the most celebrated center of learning in Huang-chung. Its renown for science passed to the now flourishing monastery of Labrang. The tragic departure of two of its glorious founders put a blight on it, and left a leaden atmosphere of gloom hovering over it. Troubles had succeeded each other. Kumbum, in the meantime, had made great strides, and became the most celebrated monastery of Huang-chung. It was visited by caravans of pilgrims from Mongolia and Tibet, which no longer cared for, or even paid a visit to Erh-ku-lung. Once at the top of the Lamaist world, Erh-ku-lung became a dim shadow of its former self, a second-rate monastery.

III. THE LAMASERIES IN HUANG-CHUNG

THE YELLOW SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG 792

This chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung. The forty-two monasteries and branches situated north of the Hsining River were built according to the pattern of the old mother monastery of Erh-ku-lung. It seems obvious, therefore, to base the study on this initial institution, the most renowned and flourishing in former times. Because all the lamaseries of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung have been organized on the same pattern, a general view of Lamaist institutions can thus be obtained.

The study is founded on facts collected during a 121
stay of many years among the Monguors; which may give a better insight into the matter and reveal the trend of mind of the actors.

THE LAMASERIES OF HUANG-CHUNG INDEPENDENT OF LHASA

All the lamaseries in Huang-chung are autonomous 175
units, independent of Lhasa both in matters of admin- 792
istration and appointment of superiors, even in matters of doctrine. The Achia Lama defended the autonomy of Kumbum against the illegal interference of the Dalai Lama in 1908 by committing suicide. This energetic

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revindication of the autonomy of Kumbum by Achia 175
sharply confirms the trend of mind of the Monguor 792
lamas concerning the autonomy of their monasteries.

Not a single lamasery in Huang-chung was founded by the Dalai Lama. Kumbum was founded in 1560 by the lama, Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, and his ten disciples of their own accord. The fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan, sent a lama to invite the Monguors of Erh-ku-lung to be so kind as to build a monastery in their country.

Seerkok had been ruined and burned to the ground. The chief lama was beheaded in 1723. Seerkok having no more leaders, the Dalai Lama sent the learned lama, Tsanpo, who was studying at Lhasa, to rebuild the monastery. He bestowed upon Tsanpo the title of Nomum-khan, and recommended him to the emperor. The emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu. Lhasa no longer cared for Seerkok because it was autonomous, having its own chief.

The other monasteries throughout the whole region were institutions of the Red Sect, such as Ch'ü-t'an, which was founded by the lama San La. Most of them later adhered to the Yellow Sect but maintained their independence. However, some small ties seem to link the lamaseries of Huang-chung to Lhasa. Upon the death of the Hutukhtus of Huang-chung, Lhasa is asked to designate three names to be placed in the golden urn at Peking. One name is drawn from the golden urn thereby determining the new incarnation. However, the three names required for the new incarnation of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu are supplied by his friend, the grand lama of Labrang. The recognition of the incarnation of all the other Living Buddhas of Huang-chung who do not enjoy the title of Hutukhtu is attested to by the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung. Confirmation of this recognition by a minor Living Buddha is sufficient to establish the Living-Buddhahood of lamas deemed by their confreres to fulfill the requirements *ad hoc*.

For more than a century (1600 to 1723) the relations between the monasteries of Huang-chung and Lhasa had been really important, because of the imposing array of learned scholars of Erh-ku-lung who taught in the most important lamaseries of Lhasa, the lamas of Huang-chung who performed their studies at Lhasa, and the several diplomatic missions of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus sent by the emperors to the Dalai Lamas.

It is not hard to understand why Lhasa displayed so little interest in the monastery of Kumbum. The reason is that Kumbum was autonomous. The Third Dalai Lama paid a short visit to Kumbum for the first time in 1583. He insisted on the founding of a school for the explanation of the sacred texts. In 1723 the chief lama of Kumbum was the fateful mK'ampo Nomun-Khan, nephew of bLo Blzan bstan dsin. He received his title of Nonun-Khan from the Dalai Lama.

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From 1715 until 1720 the Seventh Dalai Lama was confined at Kumbum by the emperor. Several visits to Kumbum, made by the Dalai Lama or the Pan-chen Lama on their way to Peking, have to be added in order to complete the scheme of the relations between the two monasteries. 175 792

These facts suffice to prove that the relations between the lamaseries of Huang-chung and the Dalai Lama were of courtesy, friendship, and helpfulness, not those of subordinates with superiors. The independence from Lhasa of the lamaseries of Huang-chung is evidenced by their independence in managing their affairs. Each had its supreme chief, who was the recognized proprietor.

THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE LAMASERIES

Each monastery has a supreme chief who is the recognized proprietor of the lamasery and the initial territory granted by the emperor or T'u-ssu for the establishment of the monastery. He is the proprietor of the temples and buildings built by him or his previous incarnations, and of the alms offered to it. In Huang-chung the supreme chiefs of monasteries are all Living Buddhas. At present some of them are minor, others major Living Buddhas. In Kumbum, Achia Hutukhtu is the supreme chief of the monastery; in Seerkok, Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu. In Erh-ku-lung there are three supreme chiefs, Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa, but actually T'u-kuan Hutukhtu alone governs the whole monastery because of the historical circumstances already recorded. Minor Living Buddhas are Buddhas who do not enjoy the title of Hutukhtu, granted by the emperor, and whose name, usually, is not recorded in the files of the Li Fan Yüan in Peking. Minor Living Buddhas, in order to live inside the walls of the great monastery and to build a palace, must obtain the permission of the supreme chief; they are considered as guests of the lamasery. 792

The supreme chief is responsible before the Chinese administration for his subjects' crimes or murders committed in his monastery, or in his domain. He appoints the superiors of the various institutions established inside the monastery and in the branches. In time of trouble between the various institutions he tries to mediate. The extent to which he interferes with subordinates depends not on institutional regulations, but simply on whether he is personally a meddlesome character.

In monasteries the "community of the lamas" is a recognized autonomous unit, with its own wealth, properties (herds, fields, subjects, etc.), administration. It has its own right to bring suit in the Chinese courts, and to establish subsidiaries, whose administrators depend upon it and not upon the supreme chief. The community of Erh-ku-lung has three such subsidiaries: Ta-ssu, Hsiao-ssu, and Hsiao Erh-ku-lung. It was the

lama community of Erh-ku-lung that brought suit against Sumpa and spent the money for the trial, not T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, who would not interfere to prevent the scandal. 792

The colleges or faculties in monasteries are also recognized autonomous units, with their own administration, properties, wealth, gifts, alms, and the right of suing in Chinese courts. I do not have any record of colleges possessing branches, but I suppose they do. [794]

What bond binds these disparate elements together? Usually a Living Buddha who is the supreme chief of a lamasery is honored by the lamas, who know that he is always ready and braced to defend the rights of the institution, like Achia at Kumbum. When the communities or colleges meet with financial troubles, they know that the supreme chief uses his own wealth to make donations to them—"help provided makes sympathy wax." Nevertheless, each institution has its own administration, and the supreme chief does not interfere with its jurisdiction. The governing board of each institution confers with the supreme chief on the appointment of administrative officers and on such matters as the invitation to be sent when a new Fa-t'ai is needed.

If troubles arise the board of the autonomous institution takes advice from the supreme chief, and many difficulties are thus avoided. Finally, the supreme chief has the right to dismiss recalcitrant members, but if an entire group persists in standing up for its rights, and threatens to bring suit in the Chinese court or to quit the monastery, the supreme chief can rarely prevail against them. Nobody can prevent a lama or a group of lamas from quitting a monastery; no vows or bonds tie the lamas to any monastery. Undoubtedly, a great amount of kindness and devotion on the part of the supreme chief toward the members of the monastery is required. This is the real keystone of an effective administration in monasteries whose elements are so loosely united.

ADMINISTRATION OF LAMASERIES: MATERIAL ASPECTS

The administration of a lamasery is complex. In order to get a better insight into the matter the material aspects will be dealt with first, and then the religious and educational.

OFFICIALS AND THEIR ATTRIBUTES

Most Living Buddhas who are supreme chiefs of monasteries live in retirement in their palaces, and are happy to entrust the entire material administration of the institution to a lama intendant, for whom the Tibetan term is Tsuordzi and the Chinese term, Hsiang tso. The few exceptions who are meddlers with the administration are well known throughout the country, and that kind of Living Buddha usually does not get very far with his intendant.

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The appointment of the lama intendant is an act of 792
overriding importance and far-reaching consequences. The supreme chief himself chooses a capable, loyal, and dependable lama and appoints him as Intendant of the Monastery—not of the community of lamas, or of the colleges. The appointment is indefinite and can be transferred to another lama at the will of the supreme chief. Usually, however, it lasts for a lifetime. The intendant is a man of confidence on whom the supreme chief relies completely. He occupies a large courtyard of the administrative buildings constructed in the center of the monastery. The instruments of torture displayed at the gate of his courtyard indicate that he rules its court of justice and is its chief executive by appointment of the proprietor of the monastery.

All important administrative questions of the monastery are discussed between the supreme chief and his intendant: the invitation of the Fa-t'ai's proposed by the boards of the community of lamas and of the colleges, the appointment of procurators and of lay intendants; matters concerning the subjects, the villages, and branches of the monastery; and troubles between lamas or within the community of lamas or the colleges. The intendant knows the lamas of merit and the intrigues, competitions and factions among them. He is invited to attend the meetings between the supreme chief and the boards of the colleges and the community of lamas. Because he is a man of experience, and usually of long residence at that particular lamasery, his advice is respected and usually followed. The ability to mediate is even more important than the manner of authority.

The intendant must be a man who knows the Chinese 792
officials and the intricacies of the courts of justice. He 648
sends the seasonal gifts to the Chinese officials, visits them to knit friendship with them, and knows who among them is well or ill disposed toward the monastery. He also knows the influential persons in the city who are friends of the officials, and who among them can be used if need be for the benefit of the monastery by exerting their influence upon the officials. He visits such people occasionally during the year to offer them gifts, in order to have a foot in the door when needed. Lamas know very well that "Justice cannot stand on its own feet, it needs to be supported and steadied." The intendant must be a man who can see farther ahead than ordinary naive and ignorant lamas and is able, therefore, to dissuade them from bringing lawsuits.

The intendant of the monastery alone disposes of all 792
the wealth of the monastery (not of the wealth of the community of the lamas or of the colleges), its revenues, investment of capital, loans, gifts, and alms received (but not of alms given to the community of lamas or to the colleges). He has to cope with all the expenses of the monastery, and to try to increase the collection of gifts and alms. He is in charge of the provisioning of the monastery, and must see that the procurator secures

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the colossal amounts of butter that a monastery requires. In the temples of Erh-ku-lung eight butter lamps burn before the statues day and night. Each lamp consumes 180 pounds of butter every year, making 1,440 pounds for the eight lamps. The intendant told me that every year he had to provide a total of more than 3,000 pounds of butter for lamps, kitchen, and tea, and had to send lamas to Kukunor and Mongolia in order to collect this enormous amount. The intendant, in short, is the biggest cog in the wheel of administration. A visitor must inquire for him and pay him a visit, for it is he who cares for visitors and pilgrims of note. 792 [354]

It is easy to understand why it pays to have an experienced intendant, one who creates good relations with the outside Chinese world, acquires benefactors for the monastery, maintains control of the inside world of the monastery and has sufficient influence to be successful in the office, but these things cannot be realized in a few months.

The choice of an intendant who is capable is usually easy, but it is not so easy to find a lama who is, at the same time, capable and always loyal and dependable. Because so much power is vested in him it is not exceptional to encounter an intendant who is getting too big for his britches, stirring up trouble and acting as if none of the rules of the monastery existed for him. He disposes of so much wealth that it is almost impossible to control his financial transactions, and many intendants pile up their own comfortable fortune. They know all the liabilities and the debts of the monastery; they enjoy too much personal influence in Chinese administrative circles, and when things go wrong they can pull many wires in order to save themselves or even to harm the monastery. It is not easy to handle intendants, and it is more difficult to dismiss them, according to the sayings of experienced old lamas.

Next to the intendant comes the procurator (nirwa, in Tibetan; Takuan-chia, in Chinese). He also is appointed by the supreme chief of the monastery, in consultation with the intendant. The appointment is for three or five years, and may be renewed. The procurator supplies the personal needs of the Living Buddha, and under the supervision of the intendant he administers the internal affairs of the intendancy, including the board and jobs of servants, upkeep of buildings, stables, and equipment. He organizes the expeditions that go out to collect alms in Mongolia and Kukunor, keeps the accounts of the collection of revenues and of the corvées imposed on monastery subjects, and judges minor lawsuits. He discusses with the intendant the small loans granted to subjects or other people, dispenses the alms distributed to lamas. He is in fact the lieutenant and usually the protégé of the intendant, through whom he has obtained his appointment from the Living Buddha. If an intendant and his procurator are in collusion, they can easily dupe the supreme chief for a long time. [p.40(A)]

The procurator in turn has an assistant (htie wa, in Tibetan and erh kuan chia, in Chinese), who helps him at the job. He is appointed or dismissed by the Living Buddha at the same time as his superior. The servants under the procurators vary in numbers according to the importance of the monastery. At Erh-ku-lung there are thirty lama servants and ten lay servants. 792

Two lay intendants are also appointed by the Living Buddha. It is customary, after three years, that they present their resignation, which is accepted or refused. Their duties are more honorary than executive. When the Living Buddha goes on a journey they accompany him as masters of his retinue. Under the empire a blue button adorned the top of their hats. They take care of the impedimenta. Arriving at a destination at night, they take care of all necessities at the inn, and then take the visiting card of the Buddha to the Chinese official of the village or the city. The intendant sends them to the city to bring gifts or to greet the officials when he is unable to do it himself, and he delegates them to mediate in the villages. [574]

When the personal wealth of the supreme chief is great enough, he appoints a private intendant and procurator to administer it.

The minor Living Buddhas who are guests, living at the monastery, have their own administration. It is more or less personal, according to their wealth (subsidiaries, villages, herds), and according to their own propensity for caring for their business. Their intendants do not enjoy such influence as the intendants of the important monasteries.

The material side of the administration of the communities of the lamas and of the colleges is identical, consisting of an intendant and procurator chosen by them but approved by the supreme chief. Their intendants are important personages who care for the wealth of the community or the college, investment of capital, revenues of villages, sale or purchase of land, herds, relations with the Chinese administration, suits at the court of justice, judgment of the suits of subjects, care of the subsidiaries and gifts. These procurators provide the food used at the meetings, and supervise the upkeep of the buildings and temples of the community of lamas and the colleges, and of the palaces of their Fa-t'ai's. They manage the expeditions to Mongolia and Kukunor for the collection of alms, distribute the share of alms offered to the lamas of the community or to the colleges, and the collection of the revenues of lands. They are appointed by the supreme chief on the joint recommendation of his own intendant and the board of the community or the college. The intendant of a community of lamas or of a college is therefore always the protégé of the superintendent, although the administration of the community and of the colleges is at the same time institutionally autonomous.

These notes give an insight on the personnel used for the material administration of the Monguor monasteries

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and their attributions; it is identical, probably, in all 792
the monasteries of Huang-chung.

ENVIRONMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION

In order to gain an insight into the administration of a monastery, of a community of lamas, or of a college, it is not sufficient to know what officials make the wheels turn and what their respective functions are. A knowledge of the environment in which they act is also necessary. This can best be provided by examples, numbered below from 1 to 7. The intendant is ultimately the hub around which the entire administration is built.

(1). In 1914 the Lama Li, intendant of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, moved his two concubines into a nice building situated in the most remote west corner of the monastery. The three intendants of the lama community and the two colleges protested vehemently to the T'u-kuan against the impudence of the intendant and urged his dismissal, but he was only ordered to move his concubines to the "summer palace" of the Hutukhtu himself, a couple of miles distant from the monastery.

Li was a very capable man, well known all over the 792
country. He had often extricated the monastery from 426
very tight spots. A few weeks before he was given the above order, he had succeeded in sending back to Mongolia a strong group of Mongols who had been dispatched by their prince to urge the long delayed payment of an important debt contracted by one of T'u-kuan's former incarnations. For six months the Mongols had been enjoying life, eating the best food, drinking the best wine, and feeding their animals at the expense of the intendancy. They were resolved to leave the monastery only after full payment of the debt. No one had succeeded in persuading them to leave, not even by proposing to pay half of the debt at once and the remainder the following year. Intendant Li, who had been on duty in Lanchou, was finally summoned by the distressed Hutukhtu. After a few days he had succeeded so well as to make the creditors grant "reverentially" the remission of half of the debt and to make them joyfully agree to urge the payment of the remaining half by the next incarnation of T'u-kuan.

T'u-kuan was greatly indebted to his intendant for 792
the many services rendered to him, but at the same time he was unable to dismiss him for fear he would revive many old troubles and harm the monastery. The intendant was thoroughly aware of this predicament and acted impudently, breaking one of the most basic rules of the Yellow Sect, that of celibacy.

(2) A servant of the intendancy of the old and 792
venerated minor Living Buddha Li of Erh-ku-lung in- 691
advertently broke the big tea cauldron belonging to 628
the community of the lamas. The intendant of the [415]
community of lamas stirred up the turbulent lamas who urged old Li to have a new cauldron cast, but the placid

[p.41(A)]

old Li would not budge. The whole community was 792
humming like a beehive and about to drive the old Li 691
and his intendant out. T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was unable 628
to pour oil on the troubled waters; the furious intendant of the community of lamas, in a flush of excitement, called thirty lamas, went to Hsining and brought an accusation against old Li. At the court the Amban immediately fell under the spell of the placid and respectable Buddha, bent with age, who explained his case peaceably.

The Amban did not allow the thirty or more turbulent lamas to return to the monastery, after they had, with vehemence and arrogance, several times presented their claims before him. He made them wait for the publication of the verdict, and while waiting had them live in Chinese inns, where they spent money every day, bribing the happy officials who would make their hopes run high one day and dash them to the ground on the next, thus making them spend more money. The Living Buddha and his intendant lived at peace at the home of his nephew, the Li T'u-ssu. He was acquainted with the most prominent men in the city, had them working for him and bringing small gifts. After four months the impoverished lamas became as meek as lambs and the Amban deemed the time ripe to pronounce the verdict: "The cauldron had been broken inadvertently. Because the community of lamas drank tea from the cauldron several times every day, the community should bring into his hands $800, and he would take care of the casting of a beautiful cauldron; the intendant and the board of the community should be put in jail until the money was ready." The epilogue of this interesting trial was that after a few days the money was reverentially placed in the hands of the Amban, the intendant and the men of the board were released, and the Amban had a cauldron cast—for $150!

The intendants are powerful elements in a monastery. In this case T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, belonged to the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, as did the venerable old Living Buddha Li. Yet he could not stay the hands of the intendant and the board of the community of the lamas who, incautiously disregarding the relationship between the two venerable living Buddhas were too quick on the trigger in resorting turbulently to the Chinese courts of justice, although they should have known the dangers by experience. The officials know it is impossible to talk sense into such lamas without first making them spend all their money and letting them wait for months at the gate of the court. The lesson given to the lamas is remunerative for the Chinese officials, but the lamas, stubborn as mules, appear again before the judges at the next opportunity, and receive the same lesson all over. Such is the atmosphere of a monastery and its 688
inmates. 792

(3) Li, the lama intendant, of the Living Buddha Lu, 691
supreme chief of the monastery of Yang-k'uo-erh-ssu, 578

[p.41(B)]

was officially appointed chiliarch (*ch'ien hu*)[1] by the 688
Amban, with the privilege of judging the subjects of 792
the monastery. He was thus simultaneously a monastic 578
official and a Chinese civil official. He had amassed a 691
comfortable fortune at the expense of the subjects of six villages belonging to the monastery. A shrewd, capable man, in order to assure his position, he cleverly moved his younger sister near the monastery in order to have the young Living Buddha "acquainted" with her.

Lamas and subjects urged the dismissal of the intendant. The Buddha refused and threatened to accuse the three ringleaders of the rebellion, but the subjects and lamas went to the court of the subprefect of Nien-pe and accused both the Buddha and the intendant. Knowing that the intendant was rich, the judge examining the case put him in jail on the very first day of the trial, to make him understand that the roles were reversed. The sister of the intendant was called to testify, and the Living Buddha lost face before the people of Nien-pe, who attended all the sessions with the keenest interest. Finally, the Buddha was divested of the privilege of having a chiliarch to judge his subjects, and blushing with shame he received a lecture from the judge on the observance of celibacy in the Yellow Sect. The girl was ordered to move far away from the monastery.

The intendant, dismissed from his office by the judge, was released after several more months. He had spent his whole fortune, and had even been forced to sell his fields, cattle, and two oil mills. During the troubles, 70 of the 150 lamas left the monastery. This intendant caused the ruin of the monastery.

(4) The most beautiful bridge in Kansu is over the 792
Ta-t'ung River, opposite the monastery of T'ien-t'ang- 578
ssu, which before 1723 had had three colleges, two 628
Living Buddhas, and 700 lamas, and at this time still had 200. When the supreme chief of the monastery was only seven years of age, troubles had started between the intendancy of the monastery and that of the community of lamas. Each claimed to be the proprietor of the bridge, with the right to collect tolls. The lamas, divided into two groups, became involved in the troubles. For twelve years both intendancies, accusing each other, moved from city to city and from one court of justice to another, and spent all the money of the respective intendancies. The head temple of the monastery was closed for three years. Finally, the Chinese judges having milked the cows dry, abolished the right of the lamas to receive the toll and took it themselves. The peace of the monastery was disturbed to the point that 120 disgusted lamas left. In 1920 only 80 lamas remained, some old men, but mostly children. The stubborn intendencies had preferred to wreck the

[1] "Chief of 1,000 families" is an official, appointed by the Chinese administration, who controls a tribe or group of people. He imposes corvées, collects taxes for the government, mediates troubles, and awards punishments. Although his subjects very seldom number 1,000 families, the title remains the same.

lamasery rather than accept any of the propositions suggested to end the feud.[2] 792 578 628

(5) I was told many times, by two honorable intendants, that it was the heated rivalry between the intendancies of the three supreme chiefs of Erh-ku-lung that had, in former times, caused the departure of Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the rift between the supreme chiefs, and the decline of Erh-ku-lung. There must be a grain of truth in the traditions of these experienced men who, better than we, understand the enormous influence exerted by the intendancies upon the Living Buddhas, and the jealousies between the intendancies.

(6) Most old lamas have a disciple who, upon their death, becomes their legal heir and proprietor of their entire fortune (home, herds, money, etc.). However, it is a noted fact that it is very difficult for the disciple of an intendant to inherit the fortune of his master. The old intendant of the Tenma Living Buddha, supreme chief of the monastery of Kan-ch'an-ssu, became sick, retired, and declined into that stage of life called "second childhood." His disciple, an intelligent boy of fourteen years, following the advice of his shrewd, experienced maternal uncle, Manguru, chief of a Tibetan tribe in Waza, subject to Tenma, secretly moved the comfortable fortune of his master to the home of his rich uncle. When the master died, Tenma, thinking like every Living Buddha, suspected that his old intendant had amassed a fortune at his expense and went immediately to examine his richly furnished home, hoping to find a colossal fortune. The floors of the rooms were turned over, the chimney broken, the sheep, cow, and horse pens dug up several feet deep, but no silver was found. Railing and raging, the Living Buddha drove into his own pens the 150 cows, 40 horses, and 600 sheep of the deceased. 792 428

The maternal uncle defended the disciple, and protested. After a couple of days the deluded Tenma went to Hsining with an imposing retinue of twenty men in order to accuse the disciple and his uncle at the court of the subprefect, of having stolen the fortune unjustly amassed by the intendant. The disciple and his uncle were flogged and thrown into jail, but did not confess to being guilty. After a few days the shrewd uncle made friends with the underlings of the officials by bribing them. He and the disciple were released, and thereupon rewarded the underlings by showing them the way to extort money from Tenma. After three years, the subprefect declared both the uncle and the disciple innocent. Tenma brought suit again at the court of the Amban, where it dragged on for more than four years more, which made the officials happy. They excited his hatred against the disciple and his uncle. But the disciple and his uncle lived in a small inn and 792 691 428

[2] Reginald Farrer, *Rainbow bridge*, 111, London, Arnold, 1921. Farrer was in T'ien-t'ang-ssu during the summer months, studying the flora of the country. He describes the wonderful bridge and includes a picture of it.

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did not spend much money. Tenma, with his retinue, 792
living according to his station, giving bribes and send- 691
ing gifts, spent lavishly. Finally, the disgusted Amban, 428
in order to end the trouble, delegated his power to the Living Buddha of Seerkok.

The intendant of the living Buddha of Seerkok, prompted by the Amban, settled the question after two or three sessions. He condemned Tenma to pay 3,000 taels to the disciple as indemnity for carrying away the cattle. Tenma protested. He was put in the jail [697] of the monastery and manacled. After two months he agreed to pay the alloted sum, and so was released.

Epilogue: For seven years, the stubborn Manguru was the most talked of man in the country because of his courageous resistance to the Living Buddha. He decided to rehabilitate the poor man, on whose chieftain's prestige his tribe depended. He bought a nice black horse, a fine Peking saddle, put a piece of yellow satin on the top of it, and, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, he and the disciple prostrated themselves and, apologizing, presented the horse.

This case is unique in the annals of Lamaism in Hsining. A stubborn Living Buddha, condemned by the intendancy of Seerkok, was put in jail and manacled. What was the cause of the trouble? Living Buddhas were eternally suspicious of the honesty of their intendants. Noteworthy also is the fact that the maternal uncle, not his father or brother, defended the disciple. In the tribe of Manguru matriarchy is still prevalent.

(7) Last of all, a very important psychology is to 792
be noted regarding injustices perpetrated among the 796
Monguors and Tibetans, and among lamas as well as among Living Buddhas. When an injustice is committed, its perpetrators are pursued by the enraged guardian spirit that protects the wealth of the family involved. According to this philosophy, when intermittent calamities or misfortunes occur in a family and weigh it down, magical rites are to be performed to propitiate the enraged pursuing spirit. (This rite will be studied later.)

This rite was ordered to be performed at his branch 792
monastery by the poor Sumpa Hutukhtu when, after 788
his voluntary banishment, one misfortune succeeded another. He claimed that the misfortunes were caused by the injustices perpetrated by the former and present intendants of his monastery, who had aroused the avenging bolts of the guardian spirits of the families who had suffered their injustices. The same rite was performed at Erh-ku-lung in 1919, on the orders of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, after he had vainly built a Bumkhang in 1917, in order to put an end to the misfortunes which ruined the monastery. It was performed at Seerkok in 1920, on the orders of the supreme chief of the monastery, Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, in the same circumstances, and the same explanation was openly proclaimed by both prominent chiefs of the most important monasteries. [p.43(A)]

I remarked that the performance of this rite, not kept secret in the fold of the monastery but put completely on public display, was not very honorable for the intendants. The lamas answered, "When squeezed to the wall and when all other rites have been of no avail, the rite has to be performed." Such facts, without stretching the point, are really informative, concerning the type of the intendants. 792 788

The overriding importance attached to the appointment of the intendant, who can make a monastery flourish or ruin it, may be explained by the enormous influence exerted in a monastery by them, which matches that of the supreme chief of the institutions, and the stumbling blocks encountered by the intendants, which endanger the correct fulfilling of their office. They serve also to gain a true insight into the frame of mind of the administrative world of the monasteries.

MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE OF THE LAMASERIES

DOMAINS

During the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties, large domains were granted to the monasteries to provide their means of subsistence. In former times it was easy for the emperors to be lavish in such grants in a sparsely populated country. I never had the opportunity to see the old deeds under which the vast domains of Erh-ku-lung and its flourishing subsidiaries had been granted. Its most important domain is that of the Fan-wu-pu, which it shares with its daughter monastery of Seerkok.[3] 792 423 643 434

The Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa Hutukhtus were the favorite Living Buddhas of the emperors. It seems an obvious assumption that private domains were also granted to each of them, because Chang-chia was able to found on his properties six branches and eleven villages. T'u-kuan founded seven villages and seven affiliates, while Sumpa founded five branches, and further it is said he disposed of more domains than both Chang-chia and T'u-kuan. The tax and rent revenues collected on their private properties must have been considerable because Chang-chia built nine oil and grain mills and T'u-kuan eighteen, in order to dispose of their grain. [256]

[3] The Fan-wu-pu (the five tribes of barbarians) are situated in the region of Wei-yüan-p'u. They are: (1) Pei-tsui-pu (Narin valley), (2) Tsan-tsa-pu (east and west Tsan-tsa), (3) Hsieh-tsa-pu, (4) Pu-tsa-pu (near the mountains), and (5) Kuang-hua-pu (west of Wei-Yüan-p'u). The people living in these vast territories were the subjects of these two lamaseries, to which they paid taxes and rent, and were liable for corvées. All the villages from Pei-tsui-pu eastward (Ha-la-chih and Hung nai valleys) belonged to Erh-ku-lung; those westward to Seerkok. In 1910 both lamaseries still collected the rent of these fields, enjoyed the privilege of traveling for alms among these former subjects, and vindicated the right of still being invited by them for the performance of public and private religious activities. In that region the monastery of Erh-ku-lung had built twenty-four oil and grain mills. These domains were administered in former times by the important T'u-kuan and Seerkok Nang suo.

[p.43 (B)]

Concerning Seerkok, the former subsidiary of Erh-ku-lung, it is recorded that it disposed of a property 45 miles (150 *li*) in length and 10 miles (30 *li*) wide.[4] Achia Hutukhtu of Kumbum collected taxes and rents from five tribes of farming Tibetans and the inhabitants of seven valleys.[5] The country for 200 *li* around Kumbum belongs to the monastery; several thousand "tame" barbarians are its subjects.[6] Achia Hutukhtu received from the emperor an extensive region for grazing his herds in Chahar (Inner Mongolia). The contract was written by order of the emperor in 1766.[7] Erh-ku-lung received land from the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where a lot of its subjects farmed. After the revolt of 1723, the Ch'i T'u-ssu responsible for the revolt of Erh-ku-lung lost his title and the subjects who farmed his land. Later he was given a chance to regain his title and subjects, if he could bring those who had revolted to submission. He succeeded, and recovered title and subjects, as described in Part I (p. 50).

It has been recorded that Ch'ü-t'an, which was the first lamasery founded by the Ming emperors, received wide domains so that it was able to build the two large branches of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and Hung Shan-ssu (*Annals* of Hsining. ch. 15, p. 13). During the Ming dynasty large domains had also been granted to the Karwa and Nang-suo institutions, as noted above. Most of the minor Living Buddhas also possessed domains granted by T'u-ssu or wealthy people, or which they purchased themselves.

If account is taken of all these facts, it is easy to understand why the Chinese officials, who before 1723 could not collect taxes on all these vast domains, harbored an enormous jealousy, and why they exulted after the revolt when the emperor assigned the collection of these taxes to them. The text of the author of the *Annals* of Hsining records (chap. 31, p. 22) that ". . . in 1727, by decree, the emperor in one day, put an end to calamities lasting hundreds of years." This text, on the one hand, proves the rejoicing of the Chinese officials at that time; on the other hand, the loss of these enormous revenues impoverished the monasteries tremendously. The lamas, however, were very proficient in finding a means to cushion the shock to some extent.[8]

RENTS

After the revolt, the lamas could only receive the rent of their tenants in the way in which a rich landowner received them; but it was customary that the government receive the taxes, not directly from the tenants.

[4] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 5: 123.
[5] *Ibid.*, 143.
[6] *Ibid.*, 11.
[7] *Ibid.*, 143.
[8] In 1948 according to the official data provided by the Bureau of the actual province of Ch'ing-hai (Hsining), only 177 of the 235 Jamaseries, owned collectively about 500,000 *mou* (acres) of land and 5,000 to 6,000 head of livestock. Wang Wen-han, *Pien-chiang tung-hsin* 1: 1–7, 1948.

but from the landowner who, in case the tenant disappeared or became insolvent, was responsible for the tax. In this way the lamas who were landowners had to collect the official taxes from their tenants, and accompany the endless caravans of their tenants' donkeys carrying grain to the official granaries. Before the journey to the granary started, however, each tenant had to measure the grain in the presence of the lamas and with the measure supplied by the lamas, the capacity of which was greater than the official one; this enabled the lamas to set aside a valuable surplus over the vast amount of official taxes. 792 427 651 434 [492] [804]

The properties of the lamaseries, consisting of extensive territories, contain a large part of waste and untilled land on which no taxes are imposed. The industrious intendants developed these properties by means of irrigation canals, and called in new farmers to till the new fields. The legal amount of taxes, however, has always remained the same as the initial amount, because the intendants, by means of collusion and bribery, easily succeed in gaining over the tax collectors. In this way the revenues of the intendancies are greatly increased, and they still receive surreptitiously a very large revenue. Moreover, they are able to store the surplus, which they can grind or sell when prices are highest. 792 423 651 [311 312] 434

HERDS

Sheep, cows, and horses constitute, for many intendancies, a source of revenue. Large herds are grazed in Kukunor or Mongolia where the pastures are larger, smaller herds in the country for local use. Mongol princes and Tibetan chiefs of tribes are always ready to help the monasteries. A contract is made with herdsmen by which the first calves, colts, and lambs belong to the owner, the second-born to the herdsman, and so on. Every three years a lama inspector of the intendancy examines the accounts of the herdsmen and settles with them the number of animals to be sold, and the herdsmen show the skins of the animals which died during the three-year period. If they cannot produce the skins of the dead animals it is assumed that they sold the animals and they must pay the owner of the herds. 792 434 233

OIL AND GRAIN MILLS

These mills are a large source of revenue. The monastery proper of Erh-ku-lung is owner of twenty-four oil and grain mills; the T'u-kuan himself has eighteen, Chang-chia nine. The mills are leased by Monguors or Chinese. The rent of oil mills is 300 pounds of oil for a season's use, besides which it must press the oil belonging to the monastery. The grain miller must grind the grain of the intendancy and at the New Year season give a pig weighing 120 pounds. Most of the oil which is not consumed in the kitchen in the preparation of food, or in the lamps in the temples and homes, is sent by raft to Lan-chou, the capital of the province. 792 434 256

[p.44 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The oil trade is a very important and lucrative business. Flour is sold in Hsining. The taxes imposed on the mills are very heavy, but the monasteries still enjoy the old privilege granted before 1723, and are exempted from these taxes. Even families in which a Living Buddha has been born enjoy the same privilege, for instance, the Lan family living in Hung nai tzu Valley. Every year, however, the family has to offer 10 pounds of oil at Erh-ku-lung to the intendancy of its Buddha, deceased a century ago. The lamas claim the privilege, which was granted during the Yung lo period (1403–1424), because oil is consumed in the lamps of the temples before the Buddhas, and flour is used by the lamas, the servants of Buddha. 792 [438] 434 651

FORESTS

Only two monasteries possess extensive forests—Seerkok and T'ien-T'ang. Because wood is very scarce in the northern part of the province, forests are an important source of revenue. 792 434 314

TOLL ON BRIDGES

The history of the famous bridge of T'ien T'ang has been recorded. For many years it was a source of large revenue, which finally caused its ruin. 792 434 [494]

The monastery of Kan-ch'an, belonging to the famous Tenma, receives toll on a raft, which ferries passengers across the Ta-t'ung River. Tenma is a very well-known man in the country. His first incarnation, a learned man, was appointed Fa-t'ai in Erh-ku-lung by the first Chang-chia (Huth, p. 279). It is related that he caused the ruin of Erh-ku-lung. In 1723 bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, chief of the revolt, was a prisoner in Hsining, and about to be executed. He heard that Tenma was in the city. Through the guardians of the jail, he implored him to write a letter to the Chinese generals in order to save his life. Tenma, unaware of the consequences of such an act, wrote the letter. The generals got the impression that Erh-ku-lung was mixed up with the revolt, and they destroyed the monastery. This is a fine story, manufactured on the ground out of whole cloth, in order to free the old mother monastery from blame, but why was the blame put on Tenma? 505 175

For many years during the period of my stay, the young Tenma, swelling with ambition, was the most talked-of man in the country for his audacious plan to construct a European suspension bridge over the river, like those in photographs he had seen in magazines. He started buying all the available iron in the country, felling all the big trees growing on the domain of the monastery, and building a large brickyard. Blacksmiths, carpenters, and bricklayers worked for four years. He built four great towers, two on each side of the river. The blacksmiths made enormous iron chains, too heavy to manipulate or to move. He exhausted the entire treasure of the monastery. Troubles started 792 334

[p.45(A)]

among the intendancies and the impoverished lamas. 792 Saddled with debts, and his plans not working out, he 334 was compelled to give up his ambitious dreams and revert to the ancestral raft.

It is said that this holy man enjoyed the gift of bilocation. The people still state that many times many people saw him directing the shifts of blacksmiths and carpenters on the river, and at the same time saw him in ecstatic rapture in the temple.

It was after his financial collapse that he started the trouble with the disciple of his deceased intendant, which lasted for seven years, in order to retrieve his fortunes, only to land in jail in Seerkok. Finally, having debased his name and position of authority, he moved to one of his affiliates in the region of Kan-chou, where he was still living in 1920. Tenma was a typical figure in the world of Living Buddhas in 1910–1920.

COLLECTION OF ALMS IN FAR-OFF COUNTRIES

Expeditions to far-off countries are an important 792 source of revenue. They last for several months and 434 are organized by the various intendancies in their own 431 behalf. Sometimes the supreme chief of a monastery accompanies the expedition. In 1914 T'u-kuan went to the region of the Yellow Tibetans (Uigurs) living around Su-chou. He left on the second of the second moon and was back at Erh-ku-lung in the tenth moon, with 124 cows, 146 horses, 90 sheep, and 2,000 taels. He seemed to be very happy when I visited him after the trip. During the troubles in 1940, T'u-kuan went to Mongolia, among the Urats, and traveled for four years. He visited me at Man-huei in Hou T'ao. He had a lot of trouble entering Hsining with 300 horses and 200 loaded camels because he was suspected of having had connections with the revolting Mongol, Te wang.

When I was in Kumbum in 1912 I met a returning expedition from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 3,000 sheep, 260 horses, 140 cows, and loaded with butter, wool, skins, and yak hair. All the butchers from Hsining rushed to Kumbum to buy cheap cows and sheep. In December, 1914, I met a caravan of Kumbum returning from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 6,000 sheep, 150 horses, and 200 cows. On the way they had lost 40 horses. They went to Hsining in order to [427] bring suit against the chief of the tribe on whose territory the horses had been lost. The Amban settled the trouble in one session. He ordered that a kettle containing boiling oil be brought to him. Then he ordered both groups to grasp a one dollar piece he had thrown in the boiling oil. The lamas prostrated, apologized and implored for mercy, but the Tibetan chief tucked up his sleeves and went straight to the kettle. The gesture was sufficient for the Amban. The lamas received two hundred lashes, and were put into jail until a fine of two hundred dollars was brought to the court. [p.45(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

In 1914, in Nien pe, I encountered the unusual case 792
of a lama not enlisted in any monastery, who came back 434
from Mongolia, with 40 loaded camels, to the home of his brother in Kang-tzu Valley, after a trip which had lasted for sixteen years. The shrewd lama had collected alms for himself! He died a few days after his return. His brother thereafter was a rich man.

A large capital investment is required for such ex- 792
peditions. The intendancies buy all kinds of things 484
used by the nomad Tibetans and Mongols. They carry 434
prayer books, paintings and statues of Buddhas, spoons, 443
wooden cups, teapots, kettles, thread of all colors, needles, boots, cotton, silk, satin, combs, tobacco, saddles from Peking, bridles, stirrups, finger and ear rings, charm boxes, toothpicks, ear probers, tweezers, prickers (necessary for the performance of the toilet), cheap synthetic jewelry, and tea.

All these things are loaded on oxen and entrusted to loyal and dependable lamas of the intendancies who set out on the journey. All along the way they sell their wares, adding to each item a scarf of felicity, blessed by their Buddha at home. The trade is carried on by [437]
barter. They accept wool, skins, yak hair, butter, sheep, cows, and horses, claiming they are collecting alms. When the animals they collect along the way become too numerous, they hire Tibetans or Mongols to help drive them. Because they get twice or thrice the cost of the wares and because labor has little value, these expeditions are really remunerative. However, if it happens that a caravan of another intendancy precedes their own, and the Tibetans or Mongols do not need anything more, then "fishing after the net is a losing business"; but according to the figures noted above, the expeditions are usually very profitable.

TAXES

At the seasonal festivals, held on the grounds of the 792
monastery, taxes are collected by the lamas from the 434
merchants of the city, who pitch their tents and do busi- [65]
ness on their territory, and from the Tibetans and Monguors who sell animals and their primitive homespun products.

MONEYLENDING

Lending of money at the Chinese legal rate of 30 per 792
cent interest is the most important source of revenue 434
for the intendancies. The lending of money is far more 426
remunerative than the purchase of land and mortgages, which afford more security. However, the intendancies prefer the bigger interest.

Intendancies dispose of capital to secure the annual subsidy granted to the lamas, the purchase of the important quantity of butter to be burned in the temple lamps, the expenses for the purchase of all the items required for the expeditions in Mongolia, Kukunor and Ts'aidam, and the expenses of the fixed festivals held at the monasteries. Besides these the intendancies dis-

[p. 46 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

pose of the amount of money provided from the various sources noted in this section. 792 434 426

Loans are made to Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese, to shopkeepers, merchants in the city, in fact to anyone who provides serious guarantors. Two guarantors are always required, a lama and a layman.

The Chinese who lend money at the same legal rate of 30 per cent interest are very, very rarely entirely successful in this financial operation, and they know it before they start. After the third year, when the capital is nearly recovered, troubles usually start and new provisions are accepted for a smaller interest, or the problem is brought to the Chinese court of justice, which inevitably decides in favor of the poor party. In China it is the custom for the judge to decide in favor of the borrower and for the richer party to give up some of its rights and benefits. However, the inexorability of the lamas in collecting interest is an attested fact. The proverbs and sayings all over the country go: *"Chiu ming ti k'o-wa, sha-jen ti lama,"* meaning "even merchants who are so eager for money, save the life of a miserable man, but the lamas kill him"; also, *"lama chang nan la, p'o-niang chang nan la,"* meaning "It is not easy to be indebted to a lama, not easy to be indebted to a woman," because nobody can withstand the curses of a woman or the eagerness of lamas. Lamas are noted as loan sharks all over the country.

The people approach the lamas to borrow money and grain, because the people of the country are poor and the lamas dispose of money. On the twenty-fifth of the twelfth moon, the interest is due. In the evening, on the fifth of the moon, groups of young lamas gather in all the streets of the monasteries crying at the top of their voices that the interest has to be brought in by the twenty-fifth. They continue this crying for several days. With this notice the lamas' guarantors set out to find the persons whom they have guaranteed, as well as the layman guarantors, their partners. If they cannot find the hiding debtor, then on the twenty-fifth the lama is tied and lashed with ruthless severity until he pays the debt himself. If the debtor and layman are subjects of the monastery, they undergo the same rough procedure. No mercy is shown until the last farthing is extorted. Subjects do not dare bring suit against the lamas at the Chinese courts, because they cannot stand up against such a rich and influential opponent as the intendant. The lamas try to lend, if possible, to their subjects, to subjects of other monasteries, to T'u-ssu, or rich people who can provide a serious guaranty.

In the Orient, wealth and money are the mightiest factors of influence and power. In this respect the regulations of 1723, which were aimed at undermining and undoing the influence and power of the monasteries, failed almost completely. The monasteries are still the most influential and powerful institutions in the country.

[p. 46 (B)]

SUBJECTS OF THE LAMASERIES

This matter fits into the frame of the material ad- 792
ministration of the monasteries. One of the most important duties of the intendants is the administration of the subjects of the monastery, of the community of the lamas, or of the colleges.

After the revolt of 1723, when the lamas had com- 792
pelled their subjects to rebel together with them, all 651
their subjects were withdrawn from them and made subjects of the Chinese officials. The taxes, formerly imposed by the monasteries on their properties for their own benefit, were imposed by the Chinese administration for the benefit of the empire and collected by the Chinese officials, and, because all Chinese subjects were liable to corvées, the newly acquired subjects were made liable to corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The subjects of the monasteries became, at the same time, liable to the Chinese courts of justice, and the old right of the monasteries to judge their subjects was abolished. All the ties which bound the subjects to the monasteries vanished and the possibility of a new revolt stirred up by the monasteries was eliminated. The extensive properties of the monasteries were not confiscated, however, so the people who tilled their fields were still obliged to pay rental in return for the use of the fields, in the same way that rents were paid to other proprietors. This was the status which was decreed after 1723 and which still prevailed in 1910–1920.

KINDS OF SUBJECTS

The monasteries in Huang-chung, before 1723, seem 792
to have possessed two kinds of subjects: the tillers of their fields and some Tibetan tribes possessing their own territory, which for an unknown reason had become their tributaries. This latter category, according to the regulations of 1723, was entirely set free from all obligations toward the monasteries.

The origin of the status of the first category of subjects of the lamaseries, the tillers of the soil, is better known, because in the *Annals* of Hsining ch. 15, pp. 13*a* and 13*b*, the author complains that before 1723 a great many families of barbarians had gone over to the lamaseries, leaving their own chiefs in order to become their subjects, and that accordingly the influence and wealth of the lamaseries had greatly increased.

Today, among the subjects of the lamaseries, the Monguor families are the most numerous; then follow Tibetan and a few Chinese families. This fact seems to suggest that, of old, the Monguors constituted the bulk of the subjects of the lamaseries.

In Part I of this study (p. 60) it was explained that 622
the subjects of the T'u-ssu could never abandon their clan chief, and that, because the T'u-ssu were the wardens of the marches and had soldiers, the Chinese officials had to prevent their subjects from abandoning them. Consequently a subject of a T'u-ssu, in order

[p.47(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to become a subject of a lamasery, had to be relieved of 622
military service, corvée, and allegiance to his clan chief. The loss of a subject for the clan chief meant loss of a soldier, a tiller of his soil, and a payer of land taxes—a considerable detriment to his power and his wealth. It is obvious that the loss of a couple of families did not matter too much, but the loss of numerous families would have disturbed the clan chiefs and made them try to prevent the illegal desertion of their subjects.

However, at that time Lamaism was at the height of its glory and power. Even the discontented Chinese officials had no way to oppose the omnipotent Living Buddhas pampered at the court in Peking, and could not lend a helping hand to the T'u-ssu, urging the return of their subjects and bringing suit over the encroachment on their rights. The T'u-ssu, willy-nilly, saw their subjects leave them in large numbers, lured by the more favorable conditions of living offered by the lamaseries.

In this way the lamaseries assembled the group of 792
subjects referred to by the author of the *Annals*, who of 566
their own free will became genuine monastery serfs ("Shabinar"), free of allegiance to their clan chiefs. In 1723, being the actual serfs of the lamaseries, they were compelled to fight at the side of the lamas, their chiefs, against the Chinese armies, according to the general conditions imposed on serfs and subjects.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE SUBJECTS IN RELATION TO THE LAMASERIES

Notwithstanding the drastic regulations decreed after 1723 in order to loose completely all the ties which bound the subjects to the lamaseries, and to avoid revolts in the future, the subjects still continue to recognize some obligations to the lamaseries.

Farmers Offering Oil and Pigs

From 1723 until 1910, the so-called subjects paid 792
their rent in kind and carried it to the monastery; the 427
farmers were organized in villages, and each village 566
continued to offer as before, in the autumn of each year, a certain number of pounds of vegetable oil to the intendancy whose fields they tilled; it was considered as an offering for the lamps in the temples of the intendency. In addition, every year in the New Year season they continued to bring to the same intendancy a pig weighing 120 pounds. If the scale did not tip 120 pounds, the weight lacking was made up in pork. In former times when subjects married, it was customary for the family of the bride to demand from the family of the bridegroom a portion for the lamas. This [585]
consisted of 30 pounds of pork, and was offered to the intendancy on which the family of the bride depended. At present the 30 pounds of pork are still asked for and presented to the family of the bride, but the meat no longer reaches the intendancy.

[p. 47 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

Service for Prayers and Alms Collections:

A strict condition of service continues which compels the farmers of the monastery to invite the lamas of the intendancy, whose fields they till, to perform both public religious rites in the village, and private services in individual families. Lamas of one intendancy or monastery are not allowed to perform these rites among subjects of another intendancy. In the same way, when lamas are touring for alms among the subjects of their own intendancy, lamas of other monasteries are not allowed to tour. 792 571

The intendancies urge the observance of this service even by former tributaries, but it does not always work. The Tibetan tribe of Sumdoo, former tributary of the community of lamas of Erh-ku-lung, accused the intendancy, in 1918, of trying to occupy a part of its territory. The Chinese court, however, recognized the ownership of the debatable ground by the tribe. Sumdoo, having a grudge against the intendancy, invited the intendancy of Seerkok to perform a tribal religious rite. The day preceding the appointed day, a group of furious lamas from Erh-ku-lung, intending to assert their prerogative to conduct the service, arrived and started with the prayers. All the ladies of the tribe, engaged in preparing the food for the three-day solemnity, arrived ranting, panting, and cursing the lamas with feminine fury, and threw their boots at the heads of the bewildered lamas. The lamas, powerless against the infuriated women, returned to their intendancy. 792 571 796 578

The next day, when the solemnities had already been started by the lamas of Seerkok, the intendant of Erh-ku-lung arrived with an imposing retinue to assert his rights. All the men of the tribe vanished, entrusting the emergency to the ladies, who arrived with the same threatening appearance of the former day, and the intendant and his retinue understood that the relations between the intendancy and Sumdoo were sundered forever. This incident illustrates the psychology of the lamas in trying by all means to retain their old rights, even among tributaries with whom all legal connections have been cut off.

Repair of the Lamasery:

The chiefs of the villages inhabited by the subjects of the intendancies are ordered by their respective intendancy to send a fixed number of men to repair the buildings belonging to the intendancy, to chop wood, grind wheat, thresh the harvest, sweep snow, and build roads or bridges. The subjects are still willing to comply with these corvées. 792 466

Travel of the Chief of the Lamasery:

When the supreme chief of the lamasery makes a long journey, the chiefs of the intendancies order the chiefs of the villages to send a couple of horsemen each 792 484 651

[p.48(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to make up his retinue, and it even happens that a 792
couple of men are asked for from former tributaries. 484
The subjects are thus liable to the corvées of the mon- 651
astery and at the same time to Chinese official corvées.

Administration of Justice

All the subjects of the monasteries are liable to the 792
Chinese courts of justice. It would seem logical to 691
have abolished all the old courts of justice existing at the monasteries, but all intendants still dispense justice to their subjects, expose at the gate of their intendancy the instruments of torture, and have their own jails. The intendants of Erh-ku-lung, Kumbum and Seerkok are even recognized officially by the Amban as ch'ien-hu, i.e., civil officials having the right to judge subjects.

In 1916 the minor Living Buddha of the monastery 792
of Dia-ik, fired by ambition and knowing my good rela- 692
tions with the Amban, importuned me for weeks to have me recommend him for the office of ch'ien-hu. He became ch'ien-hu not only of his subjects, but of the three former tributary Tibetan tribes depending on his previous incarnations. In 1917, with an air of exulting pride, he broke the news to me of having obtained in Peking the title of Hutukhtu. It is hard for a western mind to unravel these administrative mysteries.

The subjects enjoy the right of bringing suit at the 792
Chinese courts, but often they do not do so for fear of 692
retaliation by the intendancies, which they are unable 661
to match. However, since the Republic, more and more cases have been initiated by subjects who, victims of crying injustices, have plucked up their courage to challenge their intendants, because their minds were not insulated from the modern principles taught by teachers and officials. Nothwithstanding the change in the social psychology of the subjects, the intendants, the builders of big fortunes, continue to plant in the hearts of their subjects the seeds of aversion and hatred against themselves. Many of them collect the rent from their subjects with measures greater than the legal one, compelling them to fill them to the point where the grain spills on the ground, and not allowing them to collect the spilled surplus, which they appropriate. Being the most important businessmen in the country, they impose corvées on the subjects in order to carry on their own business, and when the patience of the subjects is worn thin, the clash comes, causing the ruin of the monastery. Such were the conditions prevailing between the subjects and the monasteries in 1910–1920. The monasteries had in the end succeeded in maintaining a firm grip on their subjects, notwithstanding the aim of the regulations, decreed after the revolt of 1723, to withdraw them from the baneful influence of the monasteries.

[p. 48(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

LAMASERIES AS ADMINISTRATIVE CENTERS OF THE COUNTRY AND CONDITIONS OF THE SUBJECTS BEFORE 1723

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The study of the material aspects of the administration of the monasteries and the status of their subjects in 1910–1920, which are the consequences of the revolt of 1723, provides many facts pointing to the situation as it existed before 1723, and makes possible a reconstruction of the conditions in which the lamaseries flourished and their subjects lived before that fateful date.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) had succeeded in driving the Mongols out of China, there existed in Huang-chung only the two cities of Hsining and Nien pei, and some fortified walled places which were garrisons established in former times to assure the occupation of the always disturbed country. The Ming started anew the colonization of the depopulated country by transplanting from central China 7,200 Chinese families (Part I: p. 30), accepting the submission of the Monguors, and assigning to each of their groups a definite territory, making them wardens of the country and their chiefs officials of the empire, with the prerogatives of the office of T'u-ssu (Part I: 46 sq.). The city of Hsining was more a military than a civil administrative center.

In order to repopulate the country, the Ming adopted the policy of attracting lamas and settling them in the region with the subjects they induced to submit to the empire. It granted them territories and made the lamas the hereditary chieftains of the groups they had brought in. They were responsible for the tribute to be offered to the emperor and had complete jurisdiction over their subjects. Hence the flourishing of lamaseries, Nang-suos, Karwas. The protection bestowed upon the lamas and the immunity granted to them by the emperor made the dissatisfied Chinese officials keep quiet and swallow their national pride. [168 648]

Consequently, large territories were assigned to the Monguor clans and larger or smaller ones to the lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas, whose inhabitants were completely withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials. Besides these autonomous groups there lived, scattered over the country, some small groups of petty Tibetan tribes, remnants of tribes which had fled from Kukunor or Tibet, depending directly upon the Chinese administration. From among those groups, from among the Monguor clans, and from their own subjects, the lama institutions recruited and increased the number of their lamas.

The chiefs of the lama institutions accredited by the emperor lived in their seigniories like princes, surrounded by a large or small retinue, occupying a more or less elaborate residence built within a compound of temples, the quarters of the lamas, and large granaries. They appointed the staffs of lama officials for administering justice among the subjects (officially appointed 792 175 692 [643]

[p.49(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

chiliarchs still exist in Kumbum, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok), meting out punishments (instruments of torture are still displayed at lama courts), and imprisonment (the prison of Seerkok still exists); caring for the preservation of peace and order in the territories assigned to them, inquiring about travelers passing through it; administering the distribution of fields, the imposition and collection of taxes, the imposition of tolls on bridges (the bridge of T'ien t'ang and raft of Kan ch'an), and the imposition of corvées. 792 175 692

At the time of the inroads of marauding Mongol and Tibetan tribes, the revolts of Moslems, and the lama revolt against China in 1723, the subjects were compelled by the lamas to take sides with them in combat and in defending the lamaseries and their territories. In short, the privileges bestowed upon the chiefs of the lama institutions before 1723 were far-reaching. They were units, scattered over the country, administering their subjects according to their own rules and customs, entirely free from the interference of Chinese officials.

The lamaseries were the administrative centers of the groups subordinated to them. All the country's wealth flowed into their granaries and treasuries. Moreover, the lamas tended herds of cows, sheep, and horses, built oil and grain mills, and received donations. The lamaseries were the only places where huge sums of money could be borrowed (Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu borrowed money from them by mortgaging parts of their properties). They removed the wealth of the country from circulation and hoarded it or used it to found new lama communities (the tremendous branching out of monasteries between 1600 and 1723). They did not even use it for charitable institutions for the people of the country. 792 175 425 426

The lamaseries, originally built in lonely places and in remote valleys, in order that the monks would not be disturbed in their meditations and studies by the tumult of the world, were in olden times the most animated places of the country. In autumn the subjects carried taxes and rents on long caravans of donkeys to their granaries. The measuring of grain went on, as it did all over Asia, with rumbling noise and cries, bursting with activity for weeks in succession. At the time of exchanging tea for horses all the subjects were interested in the assessment of the horses. The tumult and discussions on the grounds of the monastery lasted for days and days. The selection of the horses for tribute to the emperor was conducted with like tumult and confusion, and often for the same length of time. Two or three times a year large festivals were held at the monasteries. They were attended by all the people of the country interested in horse racing, wrestling, singing, dancing, and in the big fairs held at that time. Chinese traders came from the city, pitched their tents, paid toll to the lamas, and sold their wares. The Monguors and Tibetans also arrived with their homespun 792 175 651 427 [554 443]

[p. 49 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

products and animals for trading. All year long the 792
silence of the holy places was disturbed by the coming 175
and going of caravans of donkeys carrying grain to the 651
oil and grain mills, and returning with flour and oil 427
which was measured with the usual rumble of noise and cries. Throughout the year, groups of subjects never failed to become involved in trials, defending their rights by roaring and crying with vehemence and passion at the court of lamas. Punishments were meted out with ruthless severity, so that cries and screams could be heard throughout the entire monastery—whetting the curiosity and disturbing the meditation of the monks.

The interest of the subjects was centered only on the 175
monastery. There was no need for them to go to the 633
city, since the necessities of life could be secured at the 792
monastery fairs and nobody cared for the Chinese officials, the lamas being their legal officials. Many, many people had never seen or entered a city. The monasteries and their subjects lived their own life, in their own orbit, alien to the city, just as if Chinese officials did not exist.

These conditions changed after 1723 when the lamas lost their privileges and the country developed economically. From that time on the city became the center of the economic, civil, and administrative life; before that time, it had been primarily a military center, engrossed in the protection of the country.

What was the social position of the subjects of the 175
lama institutions before 1723? It seems that religion 792
must have been a subsidiary and not a primary motive 571
for becoming subjects of the lamas, because all of them were spurred by the hope of earning a better living under the lama regime than under the regimes of the Chinese officials or the Monguor T'u-ssu. Having been driven out of their territories by marauding Mongols, they may have hoped to find a peaceful country within the frontier zone of China, on the domains of the lamas. Being groups or tribes, or single families of destitute people, they were happy to submit to lama chiefs, and they were thankful to them for being accepted as their subjects. They did not lay claim to any rights, and the lamas did not consider that they were entitled to any, because they had achieved nothing that could have supported such claims. In this way the lamas strove to make their domains more and more productive, and were only concerned with the duties to be imposed on the subjects, without paying any attention whatever to rights they might have claimed.

The subjects were all on the same social level; there 175
was no more question of nobles and commoners among 565
them. They were all equally subject to taxes and cor- 792
vées, and all of them were tenants of the fields of the lamas. They enjoyed the rights to live, to till the soil, and to consume the surplus of their labor. Since the lamas never sold their fields, the subjects had no opportunity to become proprietors of the soil, as was the

[p.50(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

case with the subjects of the T'u-ssu, and so no out- 175
standing rich families could rise up among them. Since 565
the entire administration was carried on exclusively 792
by lamas, the subjects could hardly incur any important social prestige within their circle, or become leading personalities, and certainly not during the entire Ming period (1368–1644) when intermittent troubles and interruptions of trade curtailed the opportunity to become rich. Accordingly, the lamas effectively controlled the subjects and their domains.

As no written code of law existed, the lama officials 175
helped themselves with a house law on a grand scale, 792
by imposing taxes, corvées, and tribute, mediating 692
troubles in families, meting out punishments and imprisonments for crying injustices. The subjects, pinning their hope on a better living, were submissive and obedient, simply because the chief lama was their lord.

It is easy to understand that the subjects of the monasteries enjoyed no rights of their own, but they depended entirely on the administration of the chief of the monastery and his lama officials.

It may be supposed, however, that capital punish- [631]
ment of the subjects of the monasteries was reserved to the emperor, as it was in the case of subjects of the T'u-ssu. It is not known whether, before 1723, the right of recourse of the subjects to a higher Chinese court existed or not. If it did exist, it must have been nominal, as it is at present.

The living conditions of the subjects, however, must 175
have been for the most part bearable, as evidenced by 792
the fact that so many people applied to the lamaseries 571
to become subjects. Only after 1723 are a few cases known of subjects revolting against the chief lama and his officials, such as the case of Yang-kuo-erh-ssu, and that of the subjects of the Sina tribe, who preferred to become Chinese subjects rather than remain subjects of the lamas. On the other hand, the unbelievably large number of lamas from among the subjects, since every family had a son or an uncle lama, must have disposed the families favorably toward the monasteries and their chiefs, and made the subjects overlook the shortcomings and deficiencies inherent in any human institution.

The reasons why the privileged status of the monasteries lasted for so long in Huang-chung were, first, the insecurity of the country, especially after 1509, and then the influence of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus in Peking.

The chiefs of the monasteries were, at the same time, 175
the temporal and the spiritual chiefs of the subjects. 792
The subjects were compelled to invite the lamas on 794
whom they depended to recite texts in behalf of the families or of the communities, or to perform public or private ceremonies, to the exclusion of lamas of other communities, at such times as epidemics, epizootics, the burying of the dead. They had to make donations at fixed times, when their lamas, their chiefs, came touring for alms among them. Corvées were imposed at the time of celebrations and festivities at their lamaseries.

[p. 50 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

However, no compulsory religious instruction was provided for adults or children in order to make the subjects more fervent, and no schools or charitable institutions existed. The subjects were never compelled to attend ceremonies in the temples, for only lamas recite texts in temples, and temples are not what we are accustomed to calling churches. Finally, the religious activities imposed on the subjects reflected more a material than a spiritual interest, and bound them closer to their chiefs. 175 792 794

If we take into account the period of incredibly rapid increase in the founding and branching out of monasteries, the number of lamas must have been tremendous. Certainly the revolt of 1723 and its drastic suppression largely prove this assertion. Necessarily, the absorption into the lama communities of a large proportion of the male population of the country must have adversely affected productivity. Men who became lamas were not only withdrawn from production, but had to be fed by the depleted population. It is easy to understand that in such circumstances trade and industry could by no means develop and flourish. The large groups of lamas did not produce anything; they merely consumed the production of the country and hoarded its wealth. Their economic role was simply that of consumers, and so the economy of the country was necessarily agricultural and limited to its needs. 175 792

The same conditions existed in the two cities of Huang-chung and in the garrisons. There the soldiers and the relatively feeble population consumed what the colonists could produce. Only later on, when peace was restored, communications with the capital of the province assured, and trade had become possible, could the cities and the whole country develop and emerge from the former limited agricultural economy—an outlet had been found for the products of the country. The farmer, assured of the possibility of selling as much as he could produce, started producing to the peak of his capacity. These conditions seem to explain the deadly stagnation prevailing in the country from 1368 to 1723.

These seem to have been the conditions of lama Buddhism between 1368 and 1723 in Huang-chung, the privileged legal position of the temporal and spiritual chiefs of large and small lama institutions, the important role played by the monasteries, Nang-suos and Karwas, centers of the public and private life of the country, the bursting activity displayed inside the walls of the monasteries, the conditions of the subjects of the monasteries and the economic consequences arising from the tremendous number of the male population which had become lamas.[9]

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[9]H. H. Vreeland, 3rd, Mongol community and kinship structure, *Human Relations Area Files*, New Haven, 1954. After the completion of the present study, there appeared this outstanding study dealing with the Khalkha Mongols of the Narobanchin territory, the Chahar Mongols of the Taibas pasture and the Dagor Mongols of the Nonni River valley. The study [13]

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BRANCH LAMASERIES

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It has been noted how at Erh-ku-lung there existed from the very beginning a real passion for the founding of hermitages, which began as affiliates and later became independent monasteries. Not only did the three founders of the monastery found their own branches next to those of the monastery, but the lesser Living Buddhas, the communities of lamas, and the colleges followed their example. According to the superiors of the monastery, and the general testimony in the country, forty-two branches proceeded from Erh-ku-lung. Several times prominent lamas told me that the founders of branches had a predilection for them at the time of their founding, but later they invariably became a burden.

ADMINISTRATION AND OFFICIALS

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The first act of the founder of a branch was to appoint a rector, Nirwa (Nerpa), as chief of the new community. At the beginning, when the group of lamas was still small, he held the entire authority in his own hands. Later on a lama disciplinarian, Ge-ko, a precentor, Um-dse, and an adviser to the rector were added, and the administration was complete. For a very long time, the rector also had the function of procurator. The rector and the disciplinarian were appointed by the founder of the subsidiary for a three years' tenure of office. Later, precentor, adviser, and procurator were chosen by the community. The rector and the disciplinarian were invited to the mother house to receive their appointment. The whole community of the branch had to come to the mother house in order to invite and to acknowledge the new authorities by

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concerning the lamasery of Narobanchin, based on data provided to the author by the Dilowa Hutukhtu himself, co-proprietor of the institution, gives a unique insight into the nature of a lamasery, situated in the open Gobi desert, among nomadic tribes insulated from the impact of the Chinese civilization and culture, and in its adaptation to the tribal, social and economic environment. The history of the founders is noted, the way the banner princes granted territories, allowed their subjects to abandon them in order to become plain subjects of the lamasery, the legal status of the lamasery and its subjects, the rendering of justice by the lamas, the interesting administration of the temple wealth and property, the means of subsistence of the subjects, the levies, services, and corvées imposed by the lamasery, etc. This study sheds light on what the social and economic conditions of the subjects of the Monguor lamaseries must have been before the revolt of 1723, and is a perfect foil to the actually existing conditions of the subjects of the Monguor lamaseries. This study for a long time will remain a standard work in this special field. The study of shamanism among the Dagor Mongols (p. 250) is a very valuable contribution to the subject of shamanism among the Mongols; many new facts and peculiar conceptions concerning souls, death, and spirits are secured and their impact upon the family life exposed. The peculiar position and behavior of the shamans in the Dagor society is very instructive.

The chapters concerning the social organization, economic life, and kinship and property structure of these tribes are of equal importance, but they do not fit into the frame of this study.

[p. 51(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

prostrations and by presentation of the ceremonial scarf. 175
They escorted them to the branch where a sheep was 792
killed and a dinner enjoyed. 794

DOMAINS AND REVENUES

An affiliate, in order to enjoy viability, had to possess 175
a territorial domain. The mother house, where possible, 792
assigned to it a part of its own domain; where this was 571
not possible, the founder made arrangements to provide 794
a domain. The T'u-kuan bought some ground for his affiliate of Ma-t'i-ssu. Every year the affiliate had to pay the interest of the capital thus invested, amounting to 60 taels or 36½ bricks of tea. The rector of the affiliate was bound to account for the material administration of his institution, receipt of rents, selling of trees, investment of the capital of the affiliate, and herds, and required a fixed sum to be sent out of the revenues to the intendancy of the founder. Finally, the intendant of the founder supervised the material administration of the subsidiary. When recalcitrant subjects refused obeisance, the rector and the disciplinarian sent them to the mother house, but such subjects would quit the monastery before they were summoned to see the founder.

OBLIGATION TO A FA-T'AI WHEN INVITED

When one of the members of the subsidiaries is invited to take the office of Fa-t'ai (Lob-pon) at the mother house, he is never allowed to decline the invitation, even after the subsidiary has become entirely independent, and even if the man thus summoned to officiate as invited Fa-t'ai is a Living Buddha or the supreme chief of the independent monastery. This custom seems to be general.

OBLIGATION TO JOIN THE RETINUE OF THE CHIEF OF THE LAMASERY

When the founder of the affiliate makes a long journey 175
or accompanies an alms expedition to far-off countries, 792
the branches must send lamas to make up his retinue. 484
When the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu went to Peking to fulfill the assignment entrusted to him at the capital, even the independent old branches were kind enough to present a couple of lamas each to enhance his prestige. When he went to Peking for the last time, seventeen independent branches sent lamas. Lamas like to visit the capital, since it is a remunerative business. In the Orient a traveler always does some business on the way, especially an eminent personage such as T'u-kuan, traveling as a state official. He and his retinue enjoyed [534]
the privilege of going everywhere free of taxes.

AUTONOMY OF BRANCH LAMASERIES 175

How did the subsidiaries become independent? The 792
tragic events which occurred at Ch'ü-t'an and Yao- 794
ts'ao-t'ai have already been recorded. Although such 571

[p. 52 (A)]

tragic events seldom happen, independence is never acquired without friction between the daughter and mother houses. Usually the difficulties begin with the crucial problem of the delivery of the share of revenue required by the intendancies of the founders. The separation usually occurred, according to old lamas, at a time when the mother house was involved in inextricable difficulties and unable to assert its authority, or when the founder was still in the prime of life. 175 792 794 571

The obsession for having Living Buddhas started in Erh-ku-lung in the second half of the seventeenth century with the incarnations of the founders. Very soon some of the subsidiaries endowed themselves with their own Living Buddhas, partly for decorative reasons and partly in anticipation of a possible rupture with the founders. These Living Buddhas eventually seized a favorable opportunity provided by circumstances to declare their independence and take possession of the territory formerly allocated to the subsidiary. On the other hand, it is easy to understand that subsidiaries, which had developed to the point of having several hundred inmates, or two thousand as in Seerkok, split away (from the mother house) when they had capable authorities, or when the intendancies of the mother house were too exacting and greedy on the question of collecting a share of the revenues of the subsidiary. At such a time the veneer of filial devotion easily scales off.

This was the case with the affiliate of T'ien-T'ang with its seven hundred lamas, two Living Buddhas, and three colleges. Its founder, T'u-kuan, squeezed to the wall, understood the gravity of the situation and made the best of a bad bargain, granting independence after it had been declared, provided the duty was acknowledged of presenting a yearly allocation to the intendancy of one of the Living Buddhas of T'ien-T'ang, the teacher in a former incarnation of T'u-kuan (this was a delicate gesture), together with the right to graze his herds on the domain of the new monastery. The conditions were gratefully accepted and good relations between the former daughter and its mother house continued.

The branch of Ta-ssu, depending on the community of the lamas of Erh-ku-lung, had troubles with the intendancy of its founder concerning the crucial question of the exaction of revenues. It happened that one of the lamas of Ta-ssu, scion of the noble family of the Lu T'u-ssu, died. The shrewd lamas invited the supreme chief of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an in order to inquire whether the departed lama had or had not been of the stuff of which Living Buddhas are made. The intelligent Living Buddha of Ch'ü-t'an easily understood the meaning of the fervent lamas and declared that the noble lama was already reborn in the family of the Prince of Alashan, and it happened that the wife of the noble Lu T'u-ssu was a princess of Alashan. This was a double blessing sent by the Buddha! Independence was immediately declared, backed by the in-

[p.52(B)]

fluential family of the Lu T'u-ssu and the Prince of Alashan, and a new monastery was born. The community of Erh-ku-lung was powerless. 175 792 794

It sometimes happens that a branch not having its own Living Buddha does not wait to declare its independence. Chai-ya, a small branch of forty lamas dependent on T'u-kuan, possessed some forests; the selling of trees was its primary source of revenues. The subprefect of P'ing-fan confiscated the forest in 1912. At the time, rumors were spread all over the country concerning the confiscation of the domains of all the monasteries. T'u-kuan, deeming it not the appropriate time to accuse the subprefect at the capital of the province, did not help the branch to recover the forest. The frustrated and infuriated branch boldly declared its independence and thereafter had no further relations with the founder. 571

Kalang, an old, independent affiliate of Labrang, founded its own branch, Pi-t'ang. Pi-t'ang flourished and Kalang declined. Pi-t'ang prepared to invite a Living Buddha to move into its establishment, but Kalang refused permission. The lamas of the lamaseries fought among themselves in 1912, and the Moslem General, Ma K'o-ch'en, sent troops to quell the troubles. In 1915 the country was troubled by the Pai Lang (White Wolf) brigands, and the old feud flared up again. Kalang accused Pi-t'ang at the subprefecture of Hsün-hua. Finally Kalang refused to accept the verdict of the subprefect and prepared to fight Pi-t'ang. The general, Ma K'o-ch'en of Hsining, sent his troops, and twenty-one fighting lamas of Kalang and seven Moslem soldiers were killed. Kalang had to pay an indemnity of $10,000 for the soldiers killed. The members of the intendancy were put into jail and Pi-t'ang was declared independent by the Moslem general. These facts give an insight into the problems of the subsidiaries, the very loose ties which knit mother and daughter houses, the reasons which cause a scission, and the ways in which their separation may be achieved and independence acquired. Very often the part played by the intendants is paramount in creating the breach between mother and daughter houses.

LAMA ARMY

At present, the lamaseries of Huang-chung no longer have a regular armed force of lamas who are maintained by the lamasery, as is still the rule in Tibet. The only record encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 28, p 13) concerning a lama army is a supplication sent to the emperor during Cheng-te period (1506–1521) by the Chinese officials of Hsining, asking that the farmers of Hsining be exempted from the burden of supporting the lama army. At that time there existed only the important lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an, with its subsidiaries, some Nang-suos and Karwas, and the lamasery of Sha-chün. From the relatively small number of lamas at that time, it may be assumed that the lama army con- 175 792 701

[p. 53 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

sisted of lamas and the subjects of the monastery. However, during the revolt of 1723, the lamaseries were in full bloom, and must have had soldiers, because the Chinese General, Nien Keng-yao, blamed the lamas for fighting furiously, and the monasteries for being the depots of weapons. It may be assumed that after the revolt of 1723 the lamaseries were not allowed to have armies. However, during the revolt of the Moslems in 1895, the lamas of Kumbum attacked the stronghold of the rebels in To-pa as auxiliaries of the Chinese regular armies.[10] Nearly all the monasteries at that time except Kumbum were destroyed and burned.

INTERFERENCE OF THE EMPEROR AND T'U-SSU WITH THE LAMASERIES

In Europe during the Middle Ages, many monasteries and abbeys had a bad time. The princes and kings granted vast domains to religious orders to encourage them to branch out into their territories. The grants were gratefully accepted and abbeys built, but some among the gracious donors, in a surge of religiosity, went so far as to appoint an official for the collection of land taxes and the administration of the domains, whose duty it was to furnish the revenue to the abbots in order to free the monks of material troubles. Often these officials were relatives of the donors, and collected most of the taxes for themselves, and the monasteries, unable to make ends meet and to uphold and develop their institutions, had no means of protesting against the relative of the prince. Very often princes started interfering in the administration of the monasteries and claimed the right to appoint an abbot of their own, often a relative. After unworthy abbots were appointed the monasteries relaxed, with the consequences that might be expected.

I know of only two similar cases of interference in Huang-chung. The Lu T'u-ssu of Lien ch'eng had established three important lamaseries and granted vast domains to them. In 1727 the census records for the monastery of Ku-ch'eng show 140 lamas, for Lien-hua 100, and for Pao-nen-ssu 191, a total of 431 lamas. Next to them the T'u-ssu had founded two smaller monasteries, Hsi ssu and Kan-ch'an ssu, which received smaller domains from him. Two among these five monasteries had no Living Buddhas, so that the T'u-ssu appointed himself the intendant; and every three years, at appointment time, troubles arose.

The case of Ch'ü-t'an has been recorded. According to the legend the monk, Emperor Hui-ti, had appointed his relative hereditary administrator of the domains, and a tablet had been erected testifying to the appointment. The fact is, that the real emperor of the

[10] Susie Carson Rynhart, M.D., *With the Tibetans in tent and temple*, 92, London, Fleming Revell, 1902; see also M. S. Wellby, *Through unknown Tibet*, 281, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1898.

[p. 53 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Yung-cheng period, not the monk Emperor Hui-ti, had 643
appointed the administrator, who was killed. 175

Possibly the precarious position of the Li and Ch'i 792
T'u-ssu, their financial troubles, which compelled them 622
to mortgage parts of their domains to Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, enfeebled their influence and power, and prevented them from interfering with the administration of the monasteries which had received domains from them in former times. On the other hand, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, before 1723, had prominent Hutukhtus whose influence superseded that of the T'u-ssu. Only these two cases are known to me.

IV. ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAMA-SERIES: EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS 792

It seems necessary in dealing with the educational and religious aspects of a monastery, its rules, discipline, and colleges, to know beforehand to what kind of subjects the initiation into the monastic life and religious training is given. The subjects of the monastery are its main source of lamas.

LAMAS

LACK OF CANDIDATES

The superiors of all the monasteries complained bitterly about the want of religious candidates. In fact they declared that at this time (1911–1920) there existed in Huang-chung only two monasteries still having the four colleges (Kumbum and Sha-ch'ung), and the fact that so many monasteries were shadows of their former selves was the consequence of the lack of religious candidates.

CAUSES CONTRIBUTING TO LACK OF CANDIDATES

The situation in Huang-chung in 1910 was no longer 175
the same as that before 1723. After the crushing of the 177
revolt, the country had enjoyed peace, and developed and prospered tremendously. Chinese settled in great numbers in the thinly populated country, filled with hopes for a comfortable living. Chinese officials became more and more numerous. Chinese *literati* came to take the helm and to enforce on the uncivilized Monguors, Tibetans, and lamas admiration for the superior Chinese civilization.

First of all, the Monguors, not insulated against the impact of Chinese culture because a large number of Chinese had already been enrolled in their clans, and because their T'u-ssu were already far along in the process of Sinicization, underwent the process in differing degrees. In Huang-chung, even as in the northwest border countries of China, the first consequences of the process of Sinicization are a pride in being considered Chinese, and a scorn for lamas, whom they be-

[p. 54(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

gin to consider as barbarians. When a Monguor family 173
starts losing its identity, no more children become 177
lamas, relations with the monasteries vanish, and no more alms are offered. A lamasery situated in a Chinese environment cannot maintain itself. The schools [371]
with Chinese teachers, established in the country, exert a baneful influence on the recruiting; boys who attend Chinese schools no longer become lamas.

The bulk of the endless number of lamas was pro- 175
vided in former times by the Monguors and Tibetans 792
of Huang-chung. At the time Erh-ku-lung, Seerkok, and T'ien-t'ang ssu rode the crest of the wave of glory and learning, a respectable number of Mongols of Kukunor and Mongolia, and Tibetans of Kukunor, enrolled in the monasteries of Huang-chung, but this glorious time has long vanished. Kumbum, possessing very rich revenues, is now the only prosperous lamasery in the region; a number of Mongols and Tibetans from Kukunor are on its roster. Since the troubles with the Dalai Lama (1909) very few Tibetans from Tibet proper visit and live at Kumbum (1910–1920). At present, in most of the monasteries, the population consists of older lamas and young boys. At Seerkok, Ch'ü-t'an, and T'ien-t'ang a lot of Chinese or Sinicized Monguor lamas are enrolled, even Chinese boys, mostly children of poor Chinese families. The lamas of Erh-ku-lung asserted that these monasteries were on the way to losing the real monastic spirit. Seerkok in 1723 had two thousand lamas; in 1890, according to Rockhill,[1] it still had seven hundred lamas; in 1910 only about three hundred. Four hundred lamas deserted the monastery during the last twenty years, disgusted by the public misbehavior of the supreme chief of the monastery.

He was the second reincarnation of the glorious Min chu-erh Hutukhtu, author of the celebrated *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia*, well known in Europe. Seerkok, in order to retrieve its former position, managed to reincarnate two of its small Living Buddhas, one in Mongolia, the other in Tibet, pinning its hope on fresh recruits from Mongolia and Tibet. However, the Chinese element among the lamas was already too strong. Chinese lamas had forged ahead and were invested with the most important offices, which kept new recruits away. Without doubt, another cause contributing to the lack of candidates was the troubled situation existing in the monasteries of the country. One after another, they passed through harrowing experiences which caused their ruin. This predicament, of their own making, sets the tongues of the people wagging, brings disrepute on the institutions, and disgusts the parents to the extent they refuse their boys permission to join the lama corps. These seem to be the two important reasons causing the lack of candidates.

[1] W. W. Rockhill, *Land of the lamas*, 98, New York, Century, 1891.

[p.54 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

NUMBER OF LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

Fantastic figures concerning the number of lamas are encountered in publications on the subject.[18] Concerning Huang-chung, we possess a census of lamas and lamaseries (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, pp. 6, 9, 10, 12) existing between 1729 and 1735. Although the census returns used are largely mere estimates, they seem to have at least a general reliability. However, because there is no comparable census of the secular population, it is impossible to determine the proportion of lamas to the male population at that time. 175 792 162

After the revolt of 1723, each lama was to be given a certain amount of wheat yearly, for his subsistence.[2] At the same time, the number of lamas to be allowed in the big monasteries was fixed at 300, and in the small monasteries at 10 or more. A register was kept by the official containing the name and age of each lama. Lamaseries which had more than the allotted number of lamas could only get support for 300 of them. Certainly Kumbum with 3,000 and Seerkok with 700, surpassed the quota, if not in 1730, without doubt later on. It may be supposed that in this period those of the larger lamaseries that were short of the number of lamas allowed made provision (through bribery) to have the largest possible number recorded. The total figure noted, according to the census, is 5,543 lamas, living in the four subprefectures of Hsining, Nien-pei, Ta-t'ung, and Kui-te, scattered among 77 lamaseries.

According to the situation in 1910 very few of the large monasteries reached the quota of 300 lamas, except Kumbum which is said to have had 3,000. Therefore, if we suppose that the total number of lamas in the four subprefectures reached 10,000, our estimate would certainly be sufficient. Regarding the excessive number of lamas in one lamasery, it must be borne in mind that the lamas are always prone to exaggerate; for instance, the number 3,000 for Kumbum is not the number of lamas dwelling in the monastery, but the number of parts or "shares" into which the gifts distributed to the lamas are divided. The distribution differs in each monastery. In Kumbum for instance, at each distribution each of the Living Buddhas receives 50 parts, as do the five Fa-t'ais; other officials receive 20, 10, and 5 parts, etc. In this way the actual number of lamas is reduced to 2,000. [431]

At the time I lived at Kumbum the number of lamas

[18] W. W. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 215, cites with approval a Chinese estimate that for every family in Tibet there were three lamas.

[2] The census (1729–1735) records in the prefecture of Hsining 2,611 lamas. Each lama received yearly 1.6 *tan* of wheat; each of the 961 lamas of the subprefecture of Nien-pei received yearly 1.7 *tan* of wheat; each of the 1,331 lamas of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung received yearly 2.7 *tan* of barley; each of the 690 lamas of the subprefecture of Kuei-te received only 0.24 *tan* of barley. The 5,543 recorded lamas of the four subprefectures of Hsining received subsistence grants of 9,040 *tan* of grain as compensation for the taxes the 77 lamaseries were no longer allowed to collect after the revolt of 1723. *Annals* of Hsining 16: 6*b*, 9*a*, 10*a*, 12*a*.

[p. 55 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

who attended the morning ceremonies in the central hall never exceeded 800 or 900, although all the inmates of the monastery had to attend the exercise. This fact led me to make inquiries, and this was the explanation given by the officials of the monastery, and confirmed by officials of other monasteries where the same rule exists. In 1779, only fifty years after the destruction of the lamaseries in Huang-chung and the fixing of the official census, the Panchen Lama on the way to Peking, where he died from smallpox, remained for a few months at Kumbum. "In Amdo were 50,000 lamas in all the monasteries whom he entertained with food, besides distributing alms of one 'san' to each monk."[3] To people conversant with the geography and history of the country, this number seems fantastic.

The most recent and reliable data concerning the figures of the lamas in the province of Ch'ing-hai were secured by Mr. Wang Wen-han in 1948.[4] He made his inquiries on the basis of the recent official census provided by the Min-cheng t'ing or "people's (local) government office." Since the establishment in 1928 of the province of Ch'ing-hai, which encompasses the whole of Kukunor, Yu-shu, and large territories around Kui-te and Ta-t'ung hsien, formerly considered as barbarian regions, 13 subprefectures have been established, in which there are 235 lamaseries having 26,534 lamas. In the remote barbarian Yu-shu only there are 99 lamaseries with 10,665 lamas. The entire population of the new province being 1,346,320 inhabitants of which 683,802 are males and 662,518 females, the proportion of lamas should be one for every 26 males. However, the computation is very confused, because of the lack of figures for the lama population in minor lamaseries and the addition of new territories, and it is impossible to find out the number of lamas in the former prefecture of Hsining, on which my own computation was based. The article by Mr. Wang gives a better insight into the number of lamas and their proportion in relation to the entire male population of the province, and one which is notably smaller than the proportion usually cited by travelers. Although all census returns are always an estimate, especially in the Orient, the study by Mr. Wang is very interesting, because for the very first time in history we have an approximate census of the population and of the lamas in 1948.

CENTERS FOR RECRUITING LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

San-ch'uan, the fertile territory assigned to the Li T'u-ssu during the Ming period, is renowned for the recruiting of lamas. A saying goes: *"Shan-hsi ti k'o-wa, San-ch'uan ti lama"* meaning, "Shan-hsi [province] is the most prolific in merchants, and San-ch'uan

[3] Sarat Chandra Dass, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 28, 1882.

[4] Wang Wen-han, Ch'ing-hai Meng-Tsang jen-ming chih tsung-chiao hsin-yang, in the review *Pien-chiang t'ung-hsun*, No. 1 : 1 and 2, 1948.

is the most prolific in lamas." It is a known fact that of 175
old the clan of the Li T'u-ssu was fervently addicted to 792
Buddhism, and that the big monastery of Ta-Fo-ssu was built by the Li clan in Hsining during the Yüan dynasty. During the Ming dynasty a lama of the Li clan received the Karwa privilege, which still exists. The T'u kuan Hutukhtu was born in the Wang tribe, subjects of the Li clan. There are still two minor Li Living Buddhas at the monastery of Erh-ku-lung. In San-ch'uan there also live subjects of Ch'i, Na, and Kan T'u-ssu. Most of the San-ch'uan lamas like to enroll in Kumbum where the key offices are filled by them. It is a public secret that at various times friction and disputes have arisen in Kumbum between groups of [578] lamas competing for the possession of the lucrative offices. As the outcome of this kind of competition, the administration of Kumbum is completely in the hands of Monguor lamas.

The next center of recruitment is the Hung-nai-tzu Valley, the birthplace of the first incarnation of the famous Chang-chia Hutukhtu, and inhabited mostly by Monguors and Tibetans. It is customary among them to have only one of the brothers marry, while the others become lamas. Their devotion to having lamas in the family goes to the extent of buying a boy for the [608] monastery in case no male descendants are born. Several families have become extinct through lack of male descendants.

If account be taken of the number of monasteries and branches founded by Erh-ku-lung during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the fervor of the Monguors for becoming lamas must have been considerable. At present, this fervor has diminished to a large extent. Many families have not provided a lama for at least two generations; the ties which bound them to the lamaseries seem to have become looser.

WAYS AND MEANS OF RECRUITMENT

A lama, possessing some wealth, likes to have a disciple who will help and serve him to his dying day, and enable him to enjoy peacefully a ripe old age. A poor lama cannot afford the luxury of a disciple. According to the regulations of 1723, a lama is allowed to have only one disciple. However, when the rule is relaxed, rich lamas may have two or three; most of the Living Buddhas have two. The lama usually tries to choose his disciple from among his nephews or from among the children of well-to-do families, which later will help to support the disciple and indirectly his master.

The choice is made before the child has reached the age of seven. If the family agrees, the lama offers a ceremonial scarf to the father and a brick of tea to the mother. The agreement cannot thereafter be retracted. At the time the child is seven or eight years of age the mother prepares a lama costume for him. On an auspicious day he is led by his father to the lamasery.

[p. 56(A)]

Many parents with only one boy pass through a bad time when a lama friend comes to ask for him as his disciple. Once in a while the lamas are very exacting and do not hesitate to predict the most terrible calamities in case of refusal. In 1913 the old man Chao of Lu-men-chih Valley who was seventy years of age was, after twenty years, still under the influence of the prediction of calamities made by a lama of Erh-ku-lung in the event he should refuse to give up his son. 175 792

A rich old Tibetan named Pao, father of an only son of six years, told me how the Living Buddha of Hsien-mi-ssu came to ask for his boy. The old man had begged the Living Buddha, prostrated himself and cried with his wife before him, for days in succession, and proposed to offer his beautiful mule, the best in the whole country, but to no avail. On the one hand the promises of blessings, and on the other the prediction of calamities, caused him to make the painful decision to offer his son.

There are children smitten with severe disease who are dedicated by their parents to the service of Buddha in the event they should recover, and children sent to the monastery by parents of large families. Very often it is difficult for these parents to find a lama who will assume the duty of caring for them, and arrangements are made between the lama and the parents concerning the support and the upkeep of the child. The bonds which tie such pupils to their masters are looser, and when they are able to stand on their own feet they try to find a way of making their own living. These are the usual ways of getting pupils. In all these cases the parents, not the children, make the decision for them to enter the monastic life. No question of vocation or willingness to devote a lifetime to the service of Buddha is considered by the children. The vocation consists of the decision by the parents and the readiness of a lama to accept the child as a pupil.

Children who are physically deformed or disabled, or children of butchers or notorious thieves are not allowed to become pupils. It is also said that children who do not care when a raven comes and sits near them are not fit for the monastic life.

However, I met an exception in Chie-bzan in 1913. A Tibetan named La, after being married for two years, living uncongenially with his wife, sold his horse, cows, and sheep, and, leaving a couple of cows and calves to his wife, became a lama at Chie-bzan.

PUPIL AND MASTER

NOVICE

175 792 571

On an auspicious day, a father arrives at the monastery with his son. The boy presents to his master lama the traditional scarf of felicity, a couple of packets of Chinese noodles, and prostrates himself nine times. The boy receives the name of his master, for lamas are not supposed to have any family. The adoption is finished, master and novice constitute one family, and

[p.56(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the boy will obey his master as he obeyed his parents. 175
By this ceremony, which is a real adoption, the novice 792
is constituted the legal heir of the fortune of his master, 571
who usually possesses a home or a small courtyard inside the monastery, some animals, and money. The novice will stay with and serve his master his whole life, the master caring for his subsistence, keep, and education.

FIRST VOWS

After a few days, on a new auspicious day, the cere- 792
mony of the taking of the first vows is performed. In [782]
the early morning, the master himself shaves the head of his pupil. It is said that a layman is not allowed to be present at that moment. Five Gelüng [5] lamas arrive; one of them sits against the wall of the k'ang, and the other four, in pairs, sit opposite each other. The kneeling novice holds incense sticks in his hands and the Gelüng starts the ceremonial prayers, reciting the thirteen traditional vows which the novice repeats after him. Nine prostrations are given before a picture of some Buddha, and the chief of the Gelüngs makes a speech. The boy thanks the Gelüng and his master by prostrations, and the vows are taken. From that time on the boy is called *Wendee*.[6] In some monasteries only two Gelüngs preside over the ceremony; at Seerkok, only one. The master then enters the name of his pupil in the roster of inmates of the monastery. The master alone is the judge of the aptitude and religious vocation of his pupil.

The master starts the education of his pupil by teach- 792
ing him how to arrange the house altar, sweep and 874
keep the house clean, care for the stables, collect cow dung for fuel, draw water, milk the cows, tend the animals, graze the cattle, prepare food and tea. The novice is the genuine servant of his master, a cheap laborer. However, when the novice is not engaged in domestic duties, he receives religious education from his master, which starts with the study of the alphabet and reading of texts, and at the same time he repeats daily after the master and commits to memory the texts recited in the head temple. When he has learned them he is allowed to attend the morning ceremonies and to share the benefit of hot tea every day, to partake of the many meals, fixed according to the calendar of the monastery, and participate in the distribution of the alms.

Memorizing is the most important point in the program of studies. Later on, the master helps his pupil to read and to commit to memory the texts used at funerals, for diseases, to protect the herds, the harvest, etc., because these texts will help him to make a living in the future. Every morning the pupil recites the prepared texts before his master. During his spare time, when he is not engaged in domestic duties, he has to

[5] L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*, 2nd Ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

[6] *Ibid.*, 171, Ge-nen-Bandi-Rab-brun—Gelüng.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

commit the texts to memory, punishments being in- 792
flicted if he is slack in his scholastic duty. No haste 874
or fuss is made about the matter of study, for master and pupil possess endless years for the job. No dignitary at the monastery inquires about the studies of the pupil or the teaching of the master; the intellectual and religious education is a family matter, a duty between master and pupil.

SECOND VOWS

At the age of eighteen the novice takes his second 782
vows and is called *Gelüng*. According to the rules, the 792
vows are only allowed to be taken at the age of twenty, but at eighteen, one year is added for his father and one for his mother, and the required twenty years are complete. The ritual for the taking of the second vows, which number 253, is the same as for the taking of the first vows. A minor Living Buddha or a Fa-t'ai is invited to preside over the ceremony, after which an official religious name is given to the novice. The family and friends of the novice are invited to attend this important rite and they bring gifts with them, such as meat, rice, raisins, jujubes, Chinese noodles, rolls. A dinner is served, and each of the guests upon leaving for home receives two rolls from the novice.

The taking of the 253 vows is the highest rung of the ladder of Lamaist dignities reached by 99 out of 100 lamas in Huang-chung. Although the appellation of "lama" is officially reserved for monks who have passed this stage, in Huang-chung it is commonly used for all monks who have taken the second vows, and usually indiscriminately for all people who wear the lama clothing.

Old lamas naïvely admitted that in former times a [484]
lot of lamas of Huang-chung used to go to Lhasa to complete their studies and to obtain higher titles, but that at present, because the former reputed centers of learning in Tibet had fallen into a state of deterioration, no lamas are traveling to Tibet. It may be that the monasteries of Huang-chung have declined, and no appeal for serious studies is felt among the lamas. During the Moslem revolt of 1872, hundreds of lamas fled to Tibet and came back after the rebellion without having seized the opportunity to increase their knowledge.

After the second vows, the scientific and religious 792
education is complete. The lama can then read a text 874
more or less correctly, without understanding it. He cannot write a letter, but is able to recite a number of texts, which he has committed to memory in order to assure himself a living. Every morning he attends the ceremony in the main temple, where instruction is given which very seldom has any appeal to him, since he cannot grasp its confused meaning, being engaged the whole day long in domestic duties. No elementary or high schools exist at the lamaseries; there is no special instruction for boys and teenagers; no religious guid-

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ance is provided by an experienced spiritual director 792
and adapted to the needs of turbulent young people. 874
There is no novitiate. A young lama's director is his own master, who himself has received no scientific or religious training. The pupil tries to imitate the older lamas. He listens to their conversations and observes their actions. This lack of real education makes an experienced man pause.

RELATIONS BETWEEN PUPIL AND MASTER

The Wendee, after becoming a Gelüng, does not leave 792
his master, but continues to serve him to his dying day. 571
A lama enjoys the highest respect and love of his family, especially when he is young. His master allows him to make frequent visits to his parents, for it pays him to do so. The saying goes that lamas are quite like married girls. When they visit their family, they take nothing with them and ride an empty horse, but when they leave their father's home their horse is loaded with gifts. The lama never returns from his parents without having received some clothing from his mother, having his clothes mended, and having received some sweet rolls, meat, and pickled vegetables. His parents slaughter a sheep or kill a pig, and a piece of meat is sent to the lama and his master. The master enjoys these small gifts and they help smooth the relations between master and pupil, who have to live congenially together, enduring each other's shortcomings and deficiencies. The intelligent master tries to cultivate good relations with the family of his pupil because this will help to make the pupil obedient and avoid friction between them.

Old, experienced lamas told me often that the problem of the pupil is of overriding importance and is a nightmare to many lamas. The young people now are not as unsophisticated as in old times. The master, an uneducated man, who has never learned to restrain his own passions and temperament, is usually not a man qualified to educate a wild pupil, but the fault does not always lie only with him. The stumbling block in the [867]
education of pupils is to be sought, not usually in the home of the master, but outside the monastery, where the pupil goes every day for hours on end, to collect fuel or graze the animals. Boys of seven, eight, and ten years of age meet with teenagers, already thoroughly corrupt, who pervert them and plant in their hearts the seeds of evil weeds which are likely to thrive for the rest of their lives.

Among these groups of young lamas all the short- 792
comings of the masters of the monastery are discussed, 867
the pitiful conditions of the pupils, the disappearance of 571
pupils, the accusations at the Chinese courts of masters by their pupils, the successful removal of a part of the master's wealth by the pupil. These young folk listen all night long to the conversations of the older lamas, who know, to the last detail, all the scandals of the lamas and of the monasteries of the whole country, who

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talk of commerce and business deals, and about the interesting places they have visited. In this way the youngsters come to know about a great deal of unedifying material which they discuss, with relish and interest, when they meet outside the monastery, and so the spirit of commercial adventure is cultivated in them, and the passion to see places and to wander. This poisoned atmosphere, woven around them, has a pernicious bearing on their careers. In the long run, the young lama receives his education outside the monastery in the groups of unrestrained young lamas, and in the evening at the home of his master when old lamas talk unguardedly. In the Orient there are no secrets.

772 867 571

In 1913 I was a guest at the monastery of Hsien-mi. One night the rich intendant of the community of lamas arrived after an absence of three weeks. His two disciples, sixteen and nineteen years of age, had disappeared after being beaten by him for insubordination. Finally, he had found them at the monastery of Shih-men, five days distant from Hsien-mi. By dint of promises he had succeeded in bringing them back home. Two days later I arrived at the monastery of Chu-erh. Two pupils had just undergone a terrible ordeal. One had stolen 50 taels from his master and the other had concealed the stolen money. Punishments were inflicted on both the thief and his accomplice with ruthless severity.

The old rector of the branch of Hua-Yüan-ssu, depending on Erh-ku-lung, had borrowed from a rich Monguor 200 taels. Trusting his pupil, thirty-six years of age, he had sent him with the money to the Monguor. Three months later the Monguor again asked for his money. Then the pupil disappeared and the rector had to pay the sum again. A year later the pupil returned and apologized. The rector was happy to see him again.

An old, sick, asthmatic lama, a friend of mine, came to get some medicine. His young pupil, sixteen years of age (this was his second disciple), had come back after wandering for a year. The asthmatic old man had implored him not to act in that way any more, and had promised to give him a horse and to defray all the expenses of a trip to Lhasa, after he reached his twentieth year of age.[7]

The disappearance of the young lamas is the greatest concern of the old lamas. Punishment is enough to make them leave. Often two or three young men, lured by adventure, decide to abandon their masters and disappear, taking their leave for months or years. The masters, not knowing whether they will return, cannot make provision to search for another pupil, for in case a master's pupil should return, and in the meantime another pupil had been taken on, suit could be brought in the Chinese courts by the former pupil to obtain the wealth of the master and a definite separation.

[7] Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 36, 37, more about this matter.

[p. 58 (B)]

Even this kind of trouble is mild enough. It is more serious when the pupil accuses his master in the Chinese court, alleging that living with his master is impossible, and demanding a part of his wealth. Such impudent acts of audacity happen from time to time. I asked the subprefects of Tat'ung and Nien-pei, and the Amban, about the reasons given for such accusations. All three told me, "Father, you do not know the secrets of the monasteries. The alleged reasons are always, in the long run, the same as those used by the daughters-in-law when they accuse their fathers-in-law." 792 571 691

A lama cannot stand having such accusations put on public display by an unscrupulous pupil who aims at getting hold of his wealth, for even if he wins the suit, his entire wealth has vanished. The pupil knows perfectly well how much his master is worth, and tells the officials and the underlings of the court how much they can expect to benefit. Such a suit makes the court happy. An intelligent lama, therefore, always tries to invite influential people to mediate the quarrel and to work out an agreement, consenting to give up a part of his fortune and to separate from the pupil. The lama can then begin again with another pupil, while he still has something to his name.

The life of a lama is not a bed of roses. Even if he should be an affluent individual, insecurity over the attitude of his uneducated pupil, fears of having the pupil accuse him at the Chinese courts, and the possibility of losing his fortune, must always hover in the background. 792 571

The life of the pupil is not a bed of roses either.[8] Not having received any real religious education, having no serious occupation, living a lazy life, the prospect of having to serve, who knows for how many years, a master who is becoming old and has many weaknesses and imperfections, is not alluring. On the other hand, being in the prime of life, used to engaging in domestic duties, enjoying the company of young people of dubious behavior, the pupil is not disposed to dedicate all his energy to study and devote himself entirely to a perfect monastic life.

These seemed to be the conditions prevailing between masters and pupils in the monasteries of Huang-chung in 1910–1920, which became evident after observing the lama life at close quarters for several years.

THE IDEAL MONGUOR LAMA IN HUANG-CHUNG

It was always very interesting to inquire, among well-acquainted, serious lamas, and among young pupils, how a "good" lama behaved the whole day long. The answers given are summed up in the following statement, bearing evidences of a long-standing tradition and of a general uniformity in the concept of a "model," or "ideal" lama. 792 157

In the very early morning the master awakens his

[8] Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 129, 130, 131.

[p. 59(A)]

pupil, who prepares tea. He presents a cup of tea to 792
his master and enjoys one with him. In the winter he 157
kindles the brazier. Then he sweeps the courtyard while his master rises. He brings him a basin of hot water, so that he may wash his face. He wipes the dust from the house altar and the furniture, and prepares the ritual tea to be offered before the Buddha image (a yellow powder consisting of several kinds of pounded roots mixed with water). The master fills the brass cups, displayed in a row before the image, taking care not to spill a single drop outside the cup. Master and pupil recite the ritual prayer, prostrating themselves as long as the prayer lasts. Fervent lamas are accustomed to make 108 prostrations with their pupil. Everyone assured me that this is really hard work, especially in wintertime.

After the ritual the pupil empties the brass cups, pouring out the ritual tea in the courtyard in a place assumed to be clean, and cleans the cups. About this time the conches are blown and the drums beaten in the central assembly hall, and master and pupil go to attend the morning ceremony. They then come back to their quarters, and, after driving the oxen and horses to pasture, the pupil places the text book on the lap of his master and then with his back turned to the master recites the lesson indicated for that day. If he fails, the master inflicts corporal punishment and fixes the lesson for the next day. The pupil then prepares breakfast, after which he goes out to collect fuel. He is back at noon in order to serve tea and tsamba to his master. The ritual tea is offered again before the images, with prostrations, and the pupil, free for the whole afternoon, is then allowed to relax with his friends outside the monastery. He has to be back by the time the sun is as high as two posts, in order to prepare the evening meal of noodles and tea, which the master enjoys sitting on the k'ang while his pupil squats on the floor. After the kitchen chores are finished and the animals tended, the pupil starts memorizing texts for the next morning. When it is time to go to bed, a last and third ritual tea is offered, with prostrations, before the image on the house altar, and master and pupil sleep next to each other on the k'ang. A pupil is never allowed to go to bed before his master.

During the long winter nights, in order to have an [805]
idea of the time, the good lamas fix three sticks of incense, end to end. To the third stick is attached a thread with copper coins. This device is suspended above a basin. When the third stick has burned down, the thread with the coins falls into the basin. The lama awakes and kindles a new series of three sticks of incense. He repeats this process a third time. When the coins fall for the third time the pupil is awakened and he starts the day's chores as before. If it happens that, when master and pupil are ready to attend the morning ceremony, the dawn is still some way off, they return to their slumbers; but if it is at hand they must, ac-

[p.59 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

cording to the rules, occupy the time in meditation or prayer. 792 157

A good lama should daily, once in the morning and once in the afternoon, walk around the monastery saying his beads and prostrating himself at the small shrines along the ritual way. In the fourth moon he makes the same round, prostrating himself the whole way along. This is said to be really exhausting work.

Every year a good lama enters a retreat at home for two weeks. He does not leave his room, talks with no one, and cancels all appointments with visitors. He prays and reads texts the whole day and offers the ritual tea four times daily before the image. A good lama never sits on a bench or chair, but always squats [516] cross-legged on the floor or the k'ang, barefooted, his clothes adjusted decently. He eats only mutton, beef, or pork, never the meat of the horse, donkey, hare, or [262] chicken, or fish or eggs. Lamas are not allowed to raise sheep, goats, pigs, chickens, or donkeys. A model lama lives in retirement, avoiding mixing with the groups of lamas who play chess and cards all night, or indulge in endless gossip, or tell smutty jokes and indecent stories, for the saying goes that "nothing is dirtier than the tongue of a lama." A good lama deals with books with reverence, putting them, wrapped in a yellow silk scarf, before the Buddha statues, carrying them on his back when traveling. A good lama does not even go to say prayers at private homes, when invited by the people; he does not leave the monastery.

These notes, given by older lamas and young Wendees, reveal what lamas think about an ideal lama and what sort of ideal is held up before young lamas. However, in order to be able to become an "ideal lama" some wealth is required, or at least an honorable competency, and it is precisely the lack of this primary condition which provides the clue to most of the miseries of individual lamas and the ruin of many monasteries.

HOW LAMAS PROVIDE FOR THEIR SUBSISTENCE

792

Lamas have to earn a living, because support furnished by the monastery is insufficient. Poor lamas try to find a full-time job in the several intendancies of the monastery or with the minor Living Buddhas, or by accompanying expeditions to collect alms, or by working in the printing offices. Many find a part-time [466] job carrying water every day for several rich lamas, driving animals to the pasture grounds and then back home again, selling cow dung and fuel. Lamas like to be hired, by a lama whose pupil has abandoned him, to search for and bring back the strayed pupil. Lamas try to buy a young, nicely built horse or mule, and are happy to hire young lamas who will work every day at breaking it to the saddle, in order that they will be able to sell it in the cities or in Lhasa, where such animals command a good price. Lamas

[p.60(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

proficient in the art of gelding, are well known to the farmers and can earn money by this skill. Others, skilled in the diseases of domestic animals, are busy all year writing prescriptions and selling medicines. 792

Still others work as doctors and earn a pretty good living. After examining the six different pulses of the patient, an agreement is made. The doctor guarantees the cure after a certain number of days, and demands immediate payment of an agreed sum, or of an animal, according to the seriousness of the disease. Then follows the prescription and the medicine. Other lamas are engaged in the tailoring business and sell cloth, silk, and brocade. Lamas like to be hired by devout people to make pilgrimages to celebrated monasteries for their intention. I once saw a lama reading texts for three days in the temple of medicine. Two bricks of tea put near him were the salary for the reading, which had been requested by a sick Monguor. I was told at Kumbum that many lamas, hired by Monguors or Tibetans, made a good living by prostrating themselves 108 times every day, for a fixed number of days, before a celebrated temple. Lamas try to be invited by their family, relatives, or friends of the family to pray at their home for several days for an agreed intention. If a sheep or goat is given as payment, they manage to put them, ear-marked, into the herds of some family, and thus in time many lamas come to own a small herd. [759] [760]

If you need some musk or saffron, or *p'ulu* cloth[9] or other products of Tibet, within an hour a lama will show up with what you want, ready to close a deal. It is the same if you need animals or a fine Peking saddle. A few lamas travel over the country to sell books. Lamas who have money in hand are ready to lend it, providing there are satisfactory guarantees. If you are calling on lamas and a lama visitor shows up, they talk business after a few minutes, always business. It was interesting to ask the young lama boys about the means used by the lamas to earn a living. They knew perfectly well how each lama made money, what his profits were, and how much he owned.

It is easy to understand that the mind of a people endowed with such a roving eye for business is not bent on prayers and meditations, and that such people are not committed to monastic life with passionate devotion. Perhaps the environment in which the lamas live, their daily conversations, the successes scored by lamas in trade, stimulate the passion to acquire more and more wealth in order to be able to live at ease in a

[9] W. W. Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891-92*, 67, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1894, describes *p'ulu* as woolen fabric woven in pieces, usually thirty feet long and about nine inches wide. The best kinds of this cloth come from Ulterior Tibet. The most popular colors are red, purple, striped and white with red and blue dyed crosses. The fabric is used in China to cover saddles or trim seats of carts. *"P'ulu"* is the Chinese transcription of the Tibetan name of this cloth, *"p'ruk."* [p. 60(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

ripe old age, with the result that they turn out to be 792
steady and sound business men, wearing religious clothes. Necessarily, the precepts and rules of the monastic life come more often to be honored in the breach than in the observance, and so the lamas drag each other down hill.

COMMUNITY OF LAMAS

How does a lamasery control its members and provide for their education? This is done through two organizations, the community of the lamas and the colleges or faculties.

Lamaseries have to control their lamas because they are responsible to the Chinese Government for the crimes and injustices caused by their members. Many lamas not dependent on any lamasery live in the country dressed as lamas and earn their own living, and do not involve any lamasery in the troubles they might cause.

In order to become a member of a lamasery, the name of the applicant must be entered on the roll of the organic community of the lamas. This carries with it permission to live in the monastery, to share its benefits and support, and to become a member of any college. The organic community of the lamas administers the entire lamasery; it fixes the rules observed by all the lamas of the institution; it sees to their observance and inflicts punishment for infractions. The community of the lamas is the hub around which the entire lamasery revolves. It possesses its own wealth and has its independent administration, as has been explained (p. [42]
38). The main temple of the lamasery is its property and in it all the lamas have to convene in the early morning to read texts. Every time the main temple is destroyed (as by revolts or fire), the organic community of the lamas must rebuild it.

In December, 1912, the vast temple of Kumbum dis- 175
appeared in a furious blaze after the morning conven- 792
tion of the lamas. The adjacent temple, containing the [42]
dried trunk of the fabulous tree, was preserved, but the entire precious library, splendid old tapestries, precious embroidered streamers, paintings, the large Buddha painting, 21 meters in length and 15 meters in width, which was hung every year on the mountain at the festival, two enormous butter lamps of massive silver, the entire wardrobe and masks used in the theatrical performances, silver *chortens* containing the ashes of celebrated Living Buddhas, disappeared in the blaze. The guardians of the temple disappeared at full speed. Devoted old lamas testified that Tsong-khapa had punished Kumbum whose old fervor had decayed. I saw the whole community, old and young, devoutly carrying the ashes of the temple on their backs into an enclosure, because it was stated that the ashes, hallowed by the prayers said in the temple, must not be allowed to be desecrated. The intendants of the community of the lamas toured the Tibetan and Mongol countries

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for the next two years collecting alms; Seerkok offered 175
a thousand big trees, Labrang $6,000, Erh-ku-lung 792
$1,000. After three years the temple was rebuilt.

In 1910 the same thing happened at the monastery of Chu erh under similar circumstances.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE LAMAS

FA-T'AI, CALLED "MASTER OF THE DOCTRINE" ("LOB-PON" OR "MK'AMPO")

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The supreme chief of this independent institution is 794
the Fa-t'ai. His office is the most honorable one a 534
lama may fill. Fa-t'ais are chosen from among respectable lamas with a blameless record, celebrated for their knowledge. Not only lamas are invited to that office, but even Living Buddhas. Most of the eminent lamas in the country have been Fa-t'ais in nearly all the big lamaseries in Huang-chung. It has been recorded that a lama, even a Living Buddha, who is a member of an affiliate, never declines the invitation to fill this office at the mother house. Each college also has its own Fa-t'ai.

The office of Fa-t'ai is held for a term of three years only. The intendancy proposes to the supreme chief of the lamasery the name of the desired lama, and, on obtaining the consent of the supreme chief, sends lamas with the invitations. The Fa-t'ai lives in a beautiful residence and has as many lama servants as he desires. He is supposed to be the spiritual director of the institution which invited him, and to possess the power to reform the behavior of the lamas and to urge even stricter observance of the rules. It has been recorded how the stubborn Sumpa of Erh-ku-lung demanded in Lhasa the complete neutrality of the lamas of his community at the time when all the lamas of Lhasa prepared to participate in the civil war, and that finally the example set by him was followed by all the lamaseries of Lhasa. The same thing happened in Kumbum in 1895 at the time of the rebellion of the Moslems. The Fa-t'ai (m'Kampo) was the Living Buddha Mina, [669] a quiet and peaceful man, who ordered the lamas to prepare only to defend the lamasery in case of attack. However, Shertoch, another Living Buddha of Kumbum, more turbulent and still recalling the destruction of the monastery except for the temple containing the celebrated tree during the revolt of 1862–1874, stirred the lamas to attack the enemy in the Moslem stronghold of T'opa, fighting on the side of the Chinese Army. After the first attacks had been unsuccessful, and several lamas had been killed, the war party grew bitter against Mina, who had to resign the post of Fa-t'ai and for some time was in fear of his life.[10] Achia, the chief and proprietor of Kumbum must have been an irresolute man, for he did not interfere even in such critical circumstances.

[10] Wellby, *op. cit.*, 281. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 72, 92.

[p. 61 (B)]

The Fa't'ai even has the power to redress the mal- 792
administration of the intendancies, but all these powers 794
are more nominal than effective, because the name of 554
the Fa-t'ai-to-be is proposed by the intendancies themselves to the supreme chief of the lamasery. They know very well which Fa-t'ais are bent on reforms and set in their ways, and in order to secure the peace of the lamas and their own, they avoid proposing the name of "trouble makers." The Fa-t'ais, on the other hand, are practical Orientals. They know their appointment lasts for only three years, and that, if they should start with reforms, they would meet with the general covert opposition of the intendancies and of all the lamas, and their reforms would be hamstrung, so why borrow troubles if the next Fa-t'ai would undo what his predecessor had built up?

Therefore, the powers of a Fa-t'ai in Huang-chung are in practice reduced to theoretical and honorary dimensions. They are venerated as the learned supreme teachers of the community and occupy the highest seat in the main temple, next to that of the supreme chief of the lamasery. They very seldom attend the ceremonies in the temple, except when a rich pilgrim invites the community to read texts in his behalf. They attend the ceremony at the time of the festivities in order to enhance the prestige of the community, and march in procession with a stately measured tread to the temple, with the traditional splendor of their retinue. In the fourth, sixth, and eighth months they preach in the temple for the lamas for a few days. The rest of the time they live a happy, peaceful life in their residences, devoting their time to study and meditation, and entrusting, as their predecessors did, the whole direction of the institution to the intendant, who in the final analysis governs the entire institution. Fa-t'ais are inclined more to the speculative than the practical side of life.

A Fa-t'ai has to be a rich man in order to be able to fulfill his office. On the one hand he receives a small salary and at the time of the distribution of alms he receives as many shares as the supreme chief of the lamasery, but the flow of donations is irregular and unpredictable. On the other hand, a Fa-t'ai, several times a year, has to entertain the lamas of the community in a more or less sumptuous manner, with tea, butter, *tsamba,* mutton, beef, rice, raisins, and rolls. Each lama has to take home a fixed number of rolls. These repeated entertainments of lamas, four or five times a year, are the big expenses which a poor Fa-t'ai cannot afford, and they explain why poor but celebrated lamas decline the offer of the office of Fa-t'ai in large communities.

INTENDANT

Every day, during the morning assembly, a few re- [62A]
marks are made to the community by the intendant concerning the observance of rules, the decorum required of lamas, the punishments inflicted the previous day

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for infractions of the rules, the reform of some misbehavior, the arrival of distinguished guests or pilgrims, the offer of important gifts, and special religious ceremonies asked for by devout people. Herein consists the entire direction and instruction of the lamas, except for those who study in the colleges. 792 [626] 554 794

His role has been explained. He is the chief executive of the institution and administers its wealth. He has his own residence; his courtyard is his court of justice, where all the suits of the lamas and of the subjects are judged. All the officials of the institution receive his orders; he has one or two procurators helping him in the material administration, commanding a number of servants varying in accordance with the importance of the lamasery.

DISCIPLINARIANS

Their function is a really important element in the government of hundreds of uncivilized lamas and turbulent young folk living in the same lamasery, most of whom wander correctly along the path of monastic life more from fear of severe corporal punishment than for pure love of Buddha. I never saw a master of discipline in the lamaseries wearing a delightful smile. More often they seemed to be the type of tormentors that might step out of a picture of the Eighteen Buddhist Hells. No wonder the lamas, especially the young folk, dread them. 792 626 794

Usually there are two disciplinarians appointed by the Fa-t'ai for a term of one year. Often they have been proposed for the position by the intendant and his councillors. The disciplinarian presides over a number of lictors. During ceremonies in the temple the disciplinarian maintains order among the older lamas and keeps a constant eye on the novices. A breach of silence or any irreverence is punished instantly by blows from his rawhide whip. He takes note of the presence and absence of lamas at the morning ceremonies, and must investigate to find out whether lamas, not enrolled in the monastery, or laymen, are remaining with their friends at night inside the lamasery, and is responsible in general for the observance of the rules of the monastery.

Permission is required from the intendancy to leave the lamasery for a long time. Business deals are not to be made too ostentatiously. At night lamas may gather with friends to relax, talk, play cards and chess, but are not allowed to make much noise or to disturb the sleep of their neighbors. Gambling is not allowed, nor is the drinking of liquor. At night, the disciplinarian with some of his lictors, armed with rawhide whips, makes a tour of the lamasery. Lamas found brawling, quarrelling, or fighting are brought to the court of the intendant, where penalties are meted out in various brutal forms. The time of the festivities is a difficult one for the disciplinarians, when merchants pitch their tents, and lamas and people drive bargains. [773 525] 784

[p. 62(B)]

Very often fights occur, for no important deal is closed 792
in the Orient without brawling or quarrelling. At that 626
time the disciplinarians and their lictors are on duty 794
all day and night.

At festival time women are allowed in the monastery, and relatives are allowed to visit their lama and stay at night in his home, after permission has been obtained from the intendancy. Several old lamas explained to me that the disciplinarian has to be changed every year in order to prevent the lamas from becoming too well acquainted with him, and arranging by bribery to break the rules. How officials, with such a terrible exterior appearance, can be approached so easily to be bribed is shrouded in mystery. For this reason, in all the lamaseries of Huang-chung the disciplinarians are said to be changed every year.

PRECENTOR—UM-DSE

In every lamasery there is a precentor, the leader of 792
the texts recited at the assemblies in the temple. He 794
is usually a man endowed with a voice that resounds in a deep, low, grave tone. At the same time he is the master of ceremonies who trains the officiants. He opens the prayers in a loud voice, in a special low register, the others taking up the chants in unison at the top of their voices.

COUNCILLORS

In larger lamaseries there are usually four councillors, older lamas, appointed by the Fa-t'ai for three years on the recommendation of the intendant. They constitute in effect, with the intendant, the administrative board of the institution. Before the name of the appointee is proposed to the Fa-t'ai, the intendant refers the proposal to the chief of the lamasery. The result is that the nominally supreme powers of a Fa-t'ai within his institution are in practice curtailed, and the influence wielded by the intendant upon the supreme chief of the lamasery being usually unlimited, the intendant is in reality the supreme ruler of the institution.

The rules to be observed in the lamaseries by all the inmates include the non-admittance of women, the non-admittance at night of laymen, or lamas who are not on the roster, and the obligation to attend the ceremonies prescribed for the members of the community. All other rules conform with the elementary standards of good behavior.

COLLEGES

In important lamaseries, colleges have been estab- 792
lished, theoretically as centers of higher education. 794
Some foreign travelers call them "universities." In 873
Huang-chung the only requirements for becoming a member of one of the four traditional colleges and reaping the benefits of the institution, are to be a member of the organic community of the lamas and to know the prescribed texts recited at the meetings held at the temple of the college. Accordingly, the majority

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of the members of a college, at the time they enter, 792
have previously received only the training of ordinary 794
lamas, which consists of learning to read and write 873
more or less correctly. Old lamas, as well as young Wendees, from the time they fulfill these two conditions, are allowed to apply for membership if the colleges have an appeal for them. A lama is not compelled to enter any college. If he does, the manner of joining or leaving a college is the same as described for joining or leaving the community of the lamas. Every lama is allowed to remain a member of a college for as long as the appeal of the college persists, and usually he remains a member for the whole of his lifetime.

Each college is an independent unit within the lamasery, having its own wealth and administration, its own temple, administrative buildings, and residence for its Fa-t'ai. The administration of the colleges is built on the pattern of the organization of the community of the lamas, with the same kinds of officials, and enjoying the same kinds of autonomous rights and privileges.

The four colleges are: (1) The College of Philosophy [871]
and Metaphysics, (2) The College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, (3) The College of Medicine, and (4) The College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules.

In Huang-chung at present (1910–1920) nothing more is required from the members of a college than attendance at the ceremonies in its temple and at the instruction given by the Fa-t'ai on a few fixed dates. There are no regular courses with compulsory attendance, no program of studies is required to be completed within a certain number of years, there are no compulsory examinations, and no obligation to take any degree or diploma. No director supervises the studies of the members of the college; studies are a personal matter, depending on the initiative of each individual.

A lama who has some feeling for study, who possesses some money provided by his family, or whose master is willing to spend some money for his education, goes to see a learned lama taking with him some meat, noodles, raisins, sugar, and some money, and prostrates himself, offering the ceremonial scarf and asking the lama to be his teacher. Usually, three or four lamas manage to become pupils of the same master. At fixed times they have to bring presents to the [875]
teacher. The study of the book designated by the master starts with committing the text to memory, and [876]
recitation before the master. Two or three times a week the master takes time to hear the recitation. Student and master are in no hurry; once in a while the master is too busy to teach, or one of the students is prevented from attending the lesson. The students all engage in domestic duties. Their capacities and fervor for study are not the same. After a few weeks one of them is memorizing the fourth, one the tenth sheet, and so on. After several weeks more, a couple of them have no further desire for study and drop out.

[p. 63(B)]

The master starts with the explanation of the text 792
after the student has finished memorizing it, and so it 794
happens that, after some time, one pupil is studying a 873
second or a third book, while the others are still study- [876]
ing the first one. It is hard to teach pupils who have
not received the same educational preparation and who
progress at an unequal pace. The lack of elementary
schools and high schools compels the master to adapt [872]
his teaching to the capacity and enthusiasm of each of
the students, and inevitably the study loses its interest
for pupil and master.

It is no wonder that very few learned lamas are encountered at present among the lamas of Huang-chung. The Living Buddha Goorong bzan, of the Red Sect, was the only man celebrated for his learning all over the country during the period 1910–1920, and he enjoyed this reputation among lamas of the Yellow Sect as well as the Red Sect. In Kumbum there was also a learned Living Buddha, Chao-hsi, who was said to have given instruction in the lamasery of Galdan in Tibet. In June, 1920, he was invited by the community of lamas of Kumbum to give instruction for ten days, and Kumbum seized this opportunity to invite all the lamas of Huang-chung to attend the ceremony, remembering that each attendant should offer a ceremonial scarf to the preacher, and bring his food with him. Kumbum, however, would offer two butter-teas to the participants each day. I was at Hua-yüan, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, at that time, and the intendant, in order to have his lamas attend the instruction, himself offered to provide them with the food for twelve days; but only 12 among the 58 lamas went to Kumbum.

In 1914 I was told that among the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, 1,300 were members of the College of Philosophy, 350 of the College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, 200 each in the College of Medicine and the College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules. All these numbers have to be reduced according to the ratio previously noted for the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, but the proportion is the same for the members attending the colleges. Thus, among the 3,000 lamas 2,000 or two-thirds were enjoying a higher educational training in the colleges, and they remained members of the colleges for the whole of their lives. This was generally true for all of the colleges of Huang-chung.

The reason for the unusual attendance at the col- 792
leges is not that these institutions are centers of higher 554
education, but rather that they provide meals for their 873
members. The richest colleges, able to give the great- 814
est number and the choicest meals, are the best at- 262
tended, such as the College of Philosophy. Another
attraction of this very popular college, teaching the
most arduous of all the sciences, is the relaxation provided by the public disputations. The schedule of the
meals provided by the various colleges supports these
statements: [p. 64(A)]

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1st month from 3rd to 18th, 3 cups of butter tea and tsamba, in all the colleges. 792
2nd month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only. 557 873
3rd month from 11th to 16th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges. 814 262
4th month from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges
5th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
6th month from 1st to 10th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
8th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
9th month from 15th to 19th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
10th month from 22nd to 29th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
11th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
12th monthly from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.

During the first, second, eighth, and eleventh months there is an exception. During each of these months, the philosophers four times enjoy two cups of rice, meat, and raisins. Rich pilgrims are accustomed to ask for special ceremonies and prayers more often in the College of Philosophy than in the other colleges, and each time they offer rice, meat, raisins, and alms. The philosophers thus enjoy more extra dinners than the members of other colleges, and receive greater shares at the distribution of alms. It is not amazing that a lama who can hardly make ends meet, but is endowed with a philosophical brain, considers it more educational to enroll in the College of Philosophy than in the others. Herein lies the practical attraction to the study of philosophy.

PREDILECTION FOR THE COLLEGE OF PHILOSOPHY, ITS CAUSES

The public disputations are the next attraction. 792
Among the huge numbers of members of the College 814
of Philosophy there are always some exceptions. Small 873
groups of students are encountered who are genuinely interested in study and under the direction of competent professors invited by them, they undergo a severe course of instruction. Two or three times every week they are engaged in public disputations, attended by all the members of the college. Students studying the same book form the center of a numerous audience, squatting on the ground of the courtyard in the open air. These disputation exercises have been described by many authors; it is sufficient to record that the same circles always enjoy the biggest attendance, not for the interest of the subject disputed, which is rather mild, but in order to enjoy the virtuosity of celebrated de-

[p. 64(B)]

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baters who are always the same and fond of displaying their ability.

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Not a few among them are real actors, who would honor the stages of the best theaters in the civilized world. Their poses, mimicry, jokes, verve, double meaning suggestions, affected sounds, and their knack of keeping the people amused, whet the curiosity and provide a real relaxation. Nearly the whole community huddles around them, even the old lamas who are used to sitting sleepily at these compulsory, boring meetings, for whom the novelty has worn off many, many years ago, and who have never been interested in the subject itself, strain their ears and huddle a little nearer to the stage and relax happily.

The Yellow Sect has always been fond of dialectic. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of Erh-ku-lung was celebrated for his logic in the learned world of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung.[11] The dialectic methods of Nagarjuna are particularly enjoyed by the philosophers. He used to "prove," in the most incredible ways, the nonexistence of the world, of his proper self, and even of Buddhism.[12] The debaters try by means of recitation of endless memorized texts to stagger their opponents, and by tortuous questions to entice them into snares of sophism and to prove the most unbelievable theses. The attractive public disputations help to break the monotony of the monastic life, and to provide a couple of hours of relaxation.

It was said that once in a while some students passed official examinations and obtained titles and degrees, but I never had the opportunity to be present at such ceremonies.

Both these reasons explain the unusual attraction toward the College of Philosophy of the large number of lamas, who even lack the education of a student of an elementary school, and also the stubborn perseverance of the old lamas in continuing as members of the college.

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The conditions for becoming a member of the other colleges and the method of study are identical with those of the College of Philosophy. The lamas have to attend only one compulsory service in the early morning in the main temple, as required by the organization of the community of the lamas, and have plenty of time to attend the exercises prescribed by other colleges in the morning and afternoon; they even have plenty of time to indulge in domestic duties and commerce. It would be instructive to make a comparison between the standard of the studies in Huang-chung and that of the celebrated lamaseries of Tibet, as described in nearly all the works concerned with the subject.[13] After investigating the situation in Huang-chung, I harbor suspicions concerning the punctilious observance of the pro-

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[11] Huth, *op. cit.*, 281.

[12] René Grousset, *Philosophies indiennes*, ch. 9, *passim*, Paris, Desclée de Brower, 1931.

[13] Waddell, *op. cit.*, 184–188; Filchner, *op. cit.*, 350–358; Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 94, etc.

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gram of studies, elaborately built up and highly vaunted, 792
and the knowledge and education sometimes attributed 873
to the lamas in Tibet and Mongolia. My opinions seem 794
to be justified by the opinions of other authors, who have lived for years among the lamas, knowing their language and being themselves Buddhists.

The learned Buddhist, Mme Alexandra David-Neel, 792
who lived in the lamaseries of Tibet and Huang-chung 157
for many years, knew the language very well and was 829
always sympathetic to the lamas, giving "philosophical" justifications for much questionable behavior, but she confesses:

> At the morning exercise are intermixed subtle philosophy with commercialism, high spirituality with feverish pursuit of vile satisfactions, which are impossible to separate from each other; novices, educated in this whirlpool of contrary influences, follow one or another of them, according to their nature and the direction given to them by their master.[14] In Tibet the clerical education has produced only a "small number" of selected literary men, a "large number" of slothful brutes, joyous, gay fellows, and picturesque blusterers, and all these various characteristics, if they do not show up in every lama, are at least "simultaneously deeply ingrained in the nature of all of them." [15]

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist monk, who went to Lhasa to study Lamaism in the learned centers of Tibet, states that they graduate from the college after having studied for twenty-one years; they study especially the Buddhist Catechism and philosophy. They are from thirty to thirty-six years of age when they graduate.[16] It may safely be said that their purpose in entering the priesthood is only to procure the largest possible amount of fortune as well as the highest possible fame in that entirely secluded world of theirs. They do not seek religious truths or practice religious austerities for the work of delivering men and leading them to salvation, but they study to acquire fame, wealth, and influence, and there is nothing deep in their religious life, and 999 out of 1,000 have no conception of the problems of future life.[17] He states also that their faith is a veritable mass of superstition.[18]

These two learned Buddhists seem to confirm my suspicions and to reveal the philosophy and the behavior of the lama institutions. They corroborate my [123]
own observations, made at various institutions during the same span of time. A single fact may account only for the mentality of a single man; a multitude of facts, however, reveal the mentality of an entire corporation.[19]

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[14] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 95.

[15] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 96.

[16] Ekai Kawaguchi, *Three years in Tibet*, 291, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

[17] *Ibid.*, 348.

[18] *Ibid.*, 560.

[19] Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 108, *sq.*, gives interesting comparative data concerning the lamas and their behavior in the lamaseries situated in the Gobi Desert in the Narobanchin territory.

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LIVING BUDDHAS

ABODE

Living Buddhas who are possessors of lamaseries, 792
live in them; Living Buddhas who do not possess their 794
own lamasery, ask permission of the supreme chief of 342
a lamasery to live as a guest on his property and to build a residence. Usually this kind of poor Living Buddha tries to dwell in a rich and celebrated monastery, where pilgrim caravans come and plenty of alms are offered. By having a share in the alms it is easier for them to make a living. This is also the reason why lamas prefer to be entered on the rolls of these rich institutions. Many Living Buddhas who have monasteries of their own like to have another residence in a celebrated lamasery such as Kumbum or Labrang.

These buildings enhance the splendor of the lamasery and are usually built by the tribesmen of the Living Buddhas. A stele is erected in the courtyard, with the names of all the people who contributed to the building expenses engraved on it. Larger or smaller buildings are added in order to provide quarters for them when they visit the lamasery. All the important Living Buddhas in the country possess such more or less luxurious residences in the celebrated lamaseries, built by their intendancies. This kind of residence is called Karwa. In Kumbum there are 83, in Labrang 40, in Erh-ku-lung 14.

WHAT IS A LIVING BUDDHA? 792

A Living Buddha is the incarnation of a *Bodhisattva* who, having attained the highest perfection, has potentially become a Buddha. He renounces the blessedness of *Nirvana* and makes a vow to remain in this world in order to promote, by example and teaching, the salvation of as great a number of its creatures as possible. His vital essence thus passes from body to body—because the body, like every material aggregate, is destined to dissolve—but it remains immaculate in its acquired unalterable purity and holiness.[20]

APPLICATION OF THE SYSTEM IN HUANG-CHUNG

It has been recorded that the theory of succession by 792
reincarnation only started in Lhasa in 1475. In 78
Huang-chung, the first known Living Buddha was Chang-chia, born in 1642. No records exist concerning the appearance of the first Living Buddhas in Ch'ü-t'an, Kumbum, or Sha-ch'üng. However, it may be taken for granted that these lamaseries would not have had their Living Buddhas as early as 1642, but it was probably close to that time that they began to follow the example set by Erh-ku-lung, rather than suffer in competition with it.

At any rate it seems that succession by reincarnation must have started and been practiced on a large scale during the period from 1600 to 1723, when numerous hermitages and branches arose all over the country of

[20] Tucci-Ghersi, *Secrets of Tibet*, 38, London, 1935.

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Huang-chung, and the mother lamaseries became firmly established. 792 775

PROCEDURE OF BECOMING A LIVING BUDDHA IN HUANG-CHUNG

The first incarnations of the five great Hutukhtus started as minor Living Buddhas, in the same way as the innumerable minor Living Buddhas who still spring up every day. A lama who is celebrated for his saintliness and wisdom, for his zeal in the diffusion of the religion, and for his blameless life, and is considered by his friends to have displayed the signs of approaching the final illumination, may be acknowledged by them after his death to be a Bodhisattva, to have renounced the blessedness of Nirvana, and to have made the vow to remain in this world for the salvation of all creatures. However, in Huang-chung the acknowledgment of lamas has to be sanctioned by a Living Buddha, whether a minor or a great one. The Panchen Lama confirmed that Chang-chia was the incarnation of a Dharmasvanin Graspa-odzer [21]; K'ri-c'en Blogros rgyamts'o confirmed the Bodhisattvaship of T'u-kuan.[22] It has already been noted that Chang-chia declared, on a morning in 1913, that the Wang Fa-t'ai of Ch'ie-bzan was a Living Buddha, and the Living Buddha of Ch'ü-t'an declared that the nephew of the Lu T'u-ssu, a Lama of Ta-ssu, was a Living Buddha.

It is a known fact that much private influence is brought to bear in the selection of Living Buddhas, in order to secure the appointment of scions of noble, wealthy, and influential families, or to provide some other benefit. It has already been recorded how the lamas endeavored to obtain the protection of the most powerful T'u-ssu. Therefore, the first incarnation of the series of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was caused to appear in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, and two more Living Buddhas were incarnated in this clan, the old and young Li Living Buddhas. At the beginning of the Ming, a lama of the Li clan had already become a Karwa lama; the Karwa still exists and is administered by a lama of the Li clan. The nephew of the powerful Lu T'u-ssu recently became a Living Buddha, as has been noted and at the same time the branch lamasery of Ta-ssu became independent. One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan was a lama of the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng belonging to the Lu T'u-ssu; one of the incarnations of Chang-chia was born in Too long, which belongs to the Lu clan. Seerkok, as already noted, arranged to have two of its minor Living Buddhas reincarnated, one in Mongolia and one in Tibet, in order to attract lamas from these countries to fill up its depleted roster, but without avail. 792 662 775 [622]

One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan appeared in Siamar, in the Tibetan family of Ts'e-bdurk, the richest and most influential in the region. The parents, with their daughter, went to Lhasa on a pilgrimage of

[21] Huth, *op. cit.*, 273.
[22] *Ibid.*, 281.

[p. 66 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

thanksgiving for the honor bestowed upon the family. 792
Some time later, the nephew of T'u-kuan, of the Ts'e- 662
bdurk family became the reincarnation of the Living 775
Buddha of Labrang, the most intimate friend of T'u-kuan for many generations. It was T'u-kuan who, in Peking, obtained the title of Erdeni Nomun-khan for the Living Buddha of Labrang.[23] After the death of the Living Buddha of Labrang, T'u-kuan is invited to cast the horoscope in order to indicate the place where the reincarnation of his friend will occur, and *vice versa*.

SEARCH FOR THE INCARNATION

This problem has been dealt with by many authors. 792
Therefore, only data concerning Huang-chung will here 795
be recorded, because they may help to reveal the social 648
psychology of the Monguor lamas and of the Monguors. Upon the death of one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, the Dalai Lama is invited to cast the horoscope indicating the place of rebirth. Usually two or three boys seem to fulfill the requirements. Their names are sent to Peking and put in the traditional urn, according to the protocol established by imperial edict in 1793,[24] from which one is then drawn. The name drawn is supposed to be that of the genuine incarnation. For minor Living Buddhas, another Living Buddha is requested to render the service.

Usually the place of rebirth is indicated in terms as 792
vague as the oracle of Delphi, and lamas go to find the 795
candidate, but old lamas have admitted to me confi- 662
dentially that soon after the death of a Living Buddha 787
some lamas of the intendancy are sent to investigate where children were born around that time, and in what wealthy family, and actually it is usually one or two years before the horoscope is cast. Sometimes the horoscope is so vague that it is many years before the boy is found. The rebirth of Achia of Kumbum who died tragically in 1909 was found after six years, and two boys fitted the requirements. The two names were sent to Peking, and one was chosen. At that time the lamas of Kumbum were in a hurry, fearing that Achia would no longer reincarnate because of the fateful circumstances of his death. When the boy is found, lamas have him select from among several items displayed (beads, cups, etc.) the things he used in his previous existences. This is performed in the presence of lamas only.

Wonderful legends are told about the reincarnations 538
of Erh-ku-lung. T'u-kuan, bent with age, went on foot 775
to Peking, incognito, in order to heap up piles of merit. At night, in Lien-ch'eng, a good but poor lady prepared his food, and in the morning when he left she offered him her last piece of brick tea. T'u-kuan died in Peking and was reborn in the child to which the poor but charitable lady gave birth. It was her reward.

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[23] Huth, *op. cit.*, 288.

[24] W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung pao* 9 (1): 55, March, 1910.

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The horoscope concerning the incarnation of Chang-chia was on one occasion extremely vague. "Reborn in the province of Shan-hsi," it said; nothing more. Lamas, after looking for six years, did not find the boy. Tired and despondent, they entered a Chinese inn, at the same time that a boy seven years old was returning from school. He looked at the lamas, and never having seen lamas before he started laughing. His mother immediately said, "It is the very first time I ever saw my boy laughing that way." Suspicion arose in the hearts of the lamas. They asked the lady for lodging for the night, but she flatly refused. The boy implored his mother again and again to allow them to stay. Then the lamas understood, the boy was the incarnation. They knelt before him, offering the ceremonial scarf of yellow satin, and acknowledging him as their Living Buddha. The boy smiled in the most happy way. They presented the traditional scarf to the Chinese parents, who refused to let the boy go because he was their only son. Finally, when 5,000 taels of silver were promised, the parents agreed. The lamas bought two fine mules and a cart, and returned with their Living Buddha to Erh-ku-lung. 175 775 792 787

The young Living Buddha Li had been dead five years, and the horoscope revealed he would reincarnate this time in a certain family Li. On the twenty-fourth of the fourth month, in the village of Li-chia-t'ai in the Naring Valley, there was a festival at the San-pao temple. The old Li Living Buddha, a venerable old man, adored in the country, attended the festival, as he had done for many years. All the children fled upon his arrival. Squatting on the ground in front of a big tent, he talked with the crowd. A poor boy, clothed in rags, ingenuously came close to the old man, whose beads he twisted around his tiny arms. Finally he sat in the old man's lap, and the old man understood and placed a red ribbon around his neck.

When he got back home, the intendancy decided that the genuine incarnation had been found. Lamas were sent to congratulate the parents, and to offer the ceremonial scarf. The Li T'u-ssu, the elders of the village, and the maternal uncle of the boy were invited to make preparations for the installation of the new Living Buddha. The intendancy prepared a dinner and the guests decided that 500 taels should be offered to the parents; a silk gown and velvet boots to the grandfather; a long coat to the maternal uncle; a long coat in flowered silk to the Li T'u-ssu, chief of the clan; a mare and a Peking saddle to the father; a beautiful cow to the mother, and 30 ounces of tea to each of the other members of the family. [431]

The next day the village offered a dinner. Thirty lamas arrived on horseback to lead the boy to his intendancy. On the way, two small groups of lamas on horseback were waiting to congratulate the boy, offering the scarf and prostrating themselves. The next day, before the dinner prepared by the intendancy, the boy was led to the temple where texts were read and the 175 775 792

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

whole community lavishly entertained. The guests 175
were entertained at the intendancy. After dinner, 400 795
taels instead of 500 taels were presented to the parents. 792
Then the guests, bursting with righteous indignation, started cursing the intendancy and a feverish discussion broke up in a violent wrangle. In the scurry and confusion and unexpected hurly burly, all the lamas of the monastery and the intendants arrived to patch up the trouble. The 500 taels were paid. After ten years I heard the people of Li-chia-t'ai still cursing the intendancy.

In 1894 the intendancy of T'u-kuan got into trouble over its last incarnation. A lama boy, seven years of age, who lived at the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng which belonged to the Lu T'u-ssu, was recognized as the incarnation of T'u-kuan. Lu T'u-ssu, the lamas of Ku-ch'eng, the family of the boy, and the entire village objected, and did not allow the boy to abandon the monastery without having the intendancy pay 5,000 [431]
taels to the family. The most influential mediators were invited by Erh-ku-lung in order to find a compromise. Sheep and cows were killed every day, plenty of wine distilled, and lamas and the whole village had a wonderful time enjoying dinners and drinks for ten days. Finally the compromise was reached that 3,600 taels should be paid to the family and various gifts offered to the T'u-ssu, the intendancy of Ku-ch'eng, the members of the family, and the mediators. The intendancy of T'u-kuan, which was known all over the country to be rich and wealthy, the lamas, the whole of Ku-ch'eng, and the family of the new incarnation, thus seized the opportunity to share in their own way a part of the honor befallen to Erh-ku-lung by discovery of the reincarnation.

It happens, however, that once in a while the horoscope seems to be cast in the wrong way. A nephew of T'u-kuan, two years of age, was recognized to be the incarnation of the minor Living Buddha Kao of Ch'ie-bzan. At five years of age, upon the death of his parents, he was taken to the intendancy, but seemed to be an idiot. In 1918, at thirty years of age, he was still only allowed to leave the intendancy once a month, in order to climb the mountain to the Obo and to burn incense.

EDUCATION OF THE MONGUOR LIVING BUDDHAS

Usually at the age of seven or eight the new Living 792
Buddha is brought to the lamasery, led by a splendid 871
procession of lamas, and installed in the luxurious intendancy, where a group of lama servants scrape and fawn in his presence, cater to his whims, and do his bidding.

The Orient is the country of decorum; the traditional splendor of the oriental courts is proverbial. The Liv- [511]
ing Buddhas of all the sects are extremely fond of decorum, and try to impress the uncivilized people by a display of munificence and wealth. For this reason

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even minor Living Buddhas live in luxurious residences, 792
with a private chapel and servants. Admittance to the 871
Living Buddha is very complicated; no one is even al- [811]
lowed to enter the kitchen, at the entrance of which, [784]
when the Living Buddha is present, is a high stone, whitewashed and covered with a ceremonial scarf.

The first duty of the intendant is to acquire for his 792
new master two lama teachers of good repute and ex- 871
tensive learning, in order to provide for the education 554
of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the 292
boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity.

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks 792
before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after 554
months and months the exercises always have to be 869
repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and 868
the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.[25]

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, 157
particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training.

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and 792
writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before 875
his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he [876]
fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary lamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-ku-lung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed

[25] Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

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his bag and returned to Labrang. The master of the 792
well-known bridge-builder, Temna, convinced that his 875
pupil was not of the stuff of which philosophers are made, saddled his horse and went back home. It seems that such instances often occur.

Bit by bit, I pieced together the interesting curricu- 792
lum of T'u-kuan. At seven years of age he entered the 871
intendancy of Erh-ku-lung; at nine years of age he 484
was sent to Labrang (two weeks riding on horseback) to study with a couple of young Living Buddhas there; at twelve he was back in Erh-ku-lung, at thirteen he went to Peking, and congratulated the Emperor at New Year's; at only sixteen years of age he was back at Erh-ku-lung; at seventeen he returned to Labrang for study; at nineteen he went back to Erh-ku-lung and went on a vacation with his family for four months.

After that he went with an expedition collecting alms among the Uigurs of Kan-chou and Su-chou, and on a second one to Mongolia, which took three and one-half years. His studies lasted over a period of seven or eight years, with intermissions of several years. It is said that the masters of the Living Buddhas never [875] leave their pupils; they accompany them on the journeys and are said to teach philosophy and metaphysics while riding horseback during the whole of the journey. Most of the Living Buddhas and Lamas, however, go through life with only a sketchy background in Lamaist learning.

What about the frame of mind and the religious for- 792
mation, the interior spiritual life, the meditations and 156
contemplations of Living Buddhas who, from the prime of life, are fed on unwholesome values by a master, swelling their pride, flaunting their superiority above others, and inflating their self-importance? What of the consequences to the minds and hearts of these teenagers of basking continually in the adulation of a group of flattering admirers, who feign to have for them a feeling that is little short of idolatrous, being always wrapped in a shining coat of adoration, wearing a look of portentous solemnity, as if the face wore a mask? Without doubt some of them are carried away with their own play-acting and like to move in this misty land of Utopia. Probably for many of them the scales will, one day or another, weigh down their eyes and bear evidence of their loss of touch with reality.

An old teacher of Living Buddhas once revealed to 792
me that the biggest problem for teachers is to keep 875
young men, for whom studies have not the slightest appeal, occupied all day long. They are bored by their dull and uneventful life and, upon coming of age, strike out for themselves. They have outgrown the time when corporal punishment could be inflicted. They fritter the time away on trifles, on investigating all the vices of life among the servants and former novices of their previous incarnations. They play chess and cards, and, lazing the time away, they prepare their own ruin. A large number of them are buds that will never bloom.

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BEHAVIOR OF THE LIVING BUDDHAS OF HUANG-CHUNG

Some facts will explain this matter better than philo- 792
sophical considerations. 276

In 1916 the Living Buddha of the monastery of Sha- 691
ku-ssu (Yung ch'ang hsien), an old branch of Erh-ku- 157
lung, was an inveterate opium addict and had ruined his monastery. In order to retrieve his financial position in an easy way, he called on the Living Buddha of the monastery of Nan-ying (Liang chou), saying that he remembered in all the minutest detail having loaned, five generations ago, to his honorable confrere of Nan-ying, three herds of horses, five of sheep, three of cows, and 300 taels, and that this debt had never been paid; because he was poor and his confrere rich he would like to have his confrere take care of the matter.

The answer of the equally shrewd confrere was that [696]
he did not at all remember such an enormous debt, although he remembered in all possible detail the events that had happened during five generations. Thereupon the living Buddha of Sha-ku-ssu brought suit against his confrere at the Court of Justice in Liang-chou, claiming that his confrere knew all about the question, but that his pathological craving for money made him throttle his conscience and commit this crying injustice. The confrere reciprocated along the same line, exposing the opium addict before the interested audience; but because in China a rich man must always give up some of his rights in favor of the poor, the rich Living Buddha was ordered to give ten horses, and his poor confrere was able to continue smoking his opium for some time.

The reason alleged by the opium smoker should be 792
well known among lamas and Living Buddhas. It was 157
the same that was used by the Dalai Lama at Kumbum 578
in 1909. In autumn he arrived at Kumbum with the traditional splendor of an Oriental potentate. Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese ran to Kumbum to honor him. The Dalai Lama and his retinue were savage and arrogant; their animals were turned loose among the crops in the fields. Every day troubles arose over the sheep and flour offered by the mandarins, and the Dalai Lama, swayed by foolish pride and insolence, insisted on transferring three lama officials of Kumbum. Achia, defending his rights, denied the Dalai Lama permission to interfere with his administration of the lamasery.

The reason alleged by the Dalai Lama was that in one of his previous existences he remembered having been an incarnation of Achia and supreme chief of Kumbum. But Achia, without losing his balance, flatly denied the fact because he did not remember such an incarnation. Furthermore, he pointed out that the Dalai Lama was the incarnation of Tsong khapa, who was the incarnation of Chen-resig, while he himself was the incarnation of Tsong-khapa's father. He wondered how a son could behave so insolently and impudently

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toward his father, and he could not understand how the 792
same individual could happen to be the incarnation of 157
the father and the son. Then Achia talked to him like 578
a father, telling him to be more circumspect and to behave more decently, for many tales were already spreading about his behavior with Tibetan women. Liberties of that kind, he said, outraging the Lamaist conventions, were not allowed at Kumbum. The lamas of Kumbum, breathing fire and brimstone, prepared their weapons and called together lamas of neighboring monasteries. The officials of Hsining (the Amban, the General, the tao-t'ai, and the prefect) were in a hurry, and went to Kumbum with troops in order to prevent a clash. Finally, in order to get rid of the Dalai Lama as fast as possible, they decided to let him appoint three lama officials and then to depose them after his departure. The Dalai Lama left, and the three appointed officials also left as quickly as possible for fear of being killed by the Kumbum lamas. The deposed officials assumed their jobs again, but Achia, deeming that he had ir- [762]
retrievably lost face, cut his throat. Several times I heard this tragic story, told by the Amban himself and by the officials at Kumbum.

The Dalai Lama cut a sorry figure in Hsining in 792
1909. The residence of Achia, destroyed by fire in 157
1895, was still not rebuilt in 1914, although all the materials for the reconstruction had been ready since 1909. The wood had been offered by the Tibetan Chief, Kach-htjir, and a contract had been written by the intendancy, promising Kach-htjir and his relatives the privilege of always staying at the residence, whenever they visited Kumbum.

Chao, the Living Buddha of Sia-mar, was a most celebrated man all over the country for his skill in patching up troubles, his unusual eloquence, proficiency in using the double-edged sword, of menaces and threats, soft words and blandishments. However, his influence lay in his cultivated acquaintance with the Chinese officials, to whom he paid visits and offered lavish gifts, and whom in due time he would use and provide with lawsuits that would benefit them. He was credited with having marvelous abilities and of being a powerful man. The saying went around that his special [828]
kind of intelligence weighed so heavily on one side of his body, that the soles of a new pair of shoes, after a few days, were always run down on the same side—the side where his intelligence was pressing the most.

He had obtained the office of chiliarch, the old privilege of judging the numerous tribes formerly subjected to his predecessors. He started abolishing, among his subjects, the smoking and planting of opium, with Draconian severity, and flogging and fining addicts of alcohol. He compelled the Chinese, to whom his subjects had transferred lands, to return the fields. Wherever there happened to be a festival, he pitched his tent and waited to render justice. Young women who had eloped and had been brought back by his retinue of

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

twenty Tibetan soldiers, were flogged on such occasions 792
in order to make a drastic example of them. Whenever 157
people had a serious conflict, this Living Buddha was invited as arbitrator. He extended his zeal with prodigality, indulging his greedy fondness for display, and cultivating his reputation for knowing how to straighten out problems that seemed to be in a hopeless muddle. These activities absorbed all of his time and energy.

Cha-ik Hutukhtu followed in the wake of the Living Buddha of Siamar, building up his influence among the Chinese officials by means of gifts and visits, and by obtaining of the illustrious title Hutukhtu. He was never at home.

The Living Buddha Pu of Seerkok was fond of beau- [526]
tiful and fast horses. Every three days he participated in the morning races in the city of Hsining, riding his own horses in competition with the Moslems, who raised the best horses in the country. He was a better success at riding horses and breeding them than in philosophy and metaphysics; he was never seen in the temple.

The supreme chief of Seerkok, incarnation of the celebrated and learned Min-chu-erh, had a job at Nanking in the Bureau of Tibetan and Mongol affairs, but spent all of his spare time in Shanghai, indulging in expensive distractions and sorely depleting the funds of his intendancy. Back in Hsining, the community of the lamas stirred up trouble by not allowing him to return to the monastery, and preparing to bring suit against him at court, claiming that he was not the genuine incarnation. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu told me in Man hui, Hou-t'ao, in 1940 that he had sent his intendant to Seerkok in order to avoid scandal and to smooth the ruffled feathers of the lamas, and that after several weeks, Min-chu-erh, his behavior having been on display in the city of Hsining, had succeeded in returning to Seerkok, protected by a retinue of thirty Moslem soldiers loaned by General Ma Erh-hsiang.

It was delightful to encounter once in a while a good Living Buddha, who was really loved by the people. In Hsien mi monastery the Goomang Buddha, an old man, was engaged all year long in making up packages containing medicine, on which he blew his blessings and which he distributed gratis to people who come from far away to receive them. It was a panacea, which [757]
healed all kind of diseases of men, women, and children.

Dealing with fasting rites for laymen, there will be recorded the example of a really outstanding Living Buddha, the old Li. Modest and unassuming, adored by the people, his preaching developed and revived the sense of religiosity and of justice and humanity. His beneficent influence radiated far beyond the circle of fasters, into families and the administration of villages. He was at that time, among the Living Buddhas, the only educator of the Monguors, a benefactor of the Monguor society. [p.70(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

LAMAISM AND MONASTICISM

The study of the preceding topics will help in understanding what the Lamaist institution in Huang-chung, called lamasery, consists of fundamentally. It can best be done by means of defining the respective positions of its chiefs and its subjects. 792

In speaking about lamas and lamaseries, the terms "monk" and "monastery" are used indiscriminately, because we have no other terms. However, except for the facts that the lamas observe celibacy and that the lamaseries possess corporate wealth, it is impossible to compare the lamaseries with Christian monasteries.

The lamasery is a place where people gather for a spiritual purpose which is void of any definite qualification; where no direction is provided in any way to the inmates, who are absolutely free to adhere to whatever doctrine they wish.[28]

Lamas take the first and second vows, promising to Buddha to be faithful to them. They take no vows of submission to the chief of the community, promising nothing to him except to remain celibate and to observe the rules of the community, to attend the exercises in the temple, and not to disturb the peace of the lamasery.

The chief of the lamasery has no right to impose any duty on the lamas. A salary is paid for the fufilling of any office, and those who do not intend to earn the money, do not apply for the job. The chief of the lamasery has no right to interfere with the studies or the scientific trend of mind of the lamas. He only has the right to urge their presence at the ceremonies and knowledge of the texts recited at the meetings, because lamas attending the assembly receive a remuneration of tea, *tsamba*, meal, and a share of alms.

The chief of the lamasery has no right to interfere with the religious and spiritual education of the lamas. These fields are under the jurisdiction of the individual master who directs the studies of a pupil. The lamas have the right to bring suit against each other at the Chinese courts, and the pupil has the right to bring suit against his master, without interference from the chief of the lamasery. 792 554

The amazing respective positions of a chief of the lamasery and the lamas are crudely demonstrated by the facts of the admission of a lama to the lamasery, his retirement from it, and the conditions existing between them after the abandonment. Admission into a lamasery in Huang-chung is not complicated. Every unknown man who wears lama clothes and who goes straight to the courtyard of the intendancy of the monastery, presents 100 copper cash and asks for admittance, is given a scarf of felicity. He is led to see the intendant before whom he prostrates himself and to whom he presents the scarf; he promises to observe celibacy and the rules of the monastery, and to attend the morning ceremonies. His name is entered on the 792

[28] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 100.

[P.71(A)]

roll of the inmates and from that time on he becomes 792
a member of the community, and is able to reap the benefits of his membership. The same rule exists for admission to the colleges.

Nobody cares about the past of the newcomer, nobody inquires about the name of his country, his parents, or the reasons for his arrival. The lamas know very well that inquiries about these matters are of no avail, for if he were a dishonorable man he would certainly not reveal his past. Therefore, it suffices to say that you are coming to worship a certain Buddha honored at the lamasery, and that the period required to satisfy your devotion will probably be long, maybe a year, two years, or more. Then you have to try and find yourself a home in the lamasery, renting a room from a lama, or sharing a room. The proprietor of a courtyard has to report the names of the lamas living in his yard. In small institutions the control is easy, but in large ones, like Kumbum, it is impossible. Frequently, lamas assured me that there was always a number of non-registered lamas, mostly of the traveling businessman type, living at the homes of their friends.

Withdrawal from the lamasery is as easy. Every lama is free to abandon the lamasery forever, at any time. He has only to inform the intendancy of his departure. Only lamas who are guarantors for debts are not allowed to leave, as long as the business is unfinished. A lama is free to sell his courtyard to another lama, and to leave at any time. Usually, a number of lamas leave after the distribution of alms. Once a lama has left the monastery, it has no obligation to care for him any more, unless he has been a guarantor or has committed an injustice against the lamasery. The rector of Chiar-too-ssu, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, left the [792] monastery, bought property adjacent to it, and without changing his lama dress for the clothes of a layman, lived with his wife unmolested. I encountered three or more lama doctors, celebrated for proficiency in their art, who lived with their wives, still wearing their religious garb. Even the son of one of them was dressed as a lama.

If a lama whose name is inscribed on the rolls should be informed by his friends of a charge made against him at the intendancy for moral reasons or theft, he leaves the lamasery in time to avoid the punishments which are meted out with ruthless severity, and moves to another lamasery. Most of the time, a lama would be advised to leave by the intendency itself, for intendancies are reluctant to inflict such punishments, in order to avoid scandal.

In Kumbum, in 1912, I saw a lama, accused by a 792
husband for visiting his wife, beaten unconscious before 627
the main temple, while the community read impreca- 684
tions. Half his face was blackened with soot; a paper 681
hat, half black, half white, was put on his head; and the traditional oval was impressed on both his cheeks

[p. 71 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

with a burning ram's horn. He was carried outside the 792
monastery wall by lamas. Ashes were spread all the 627
way along in order to prevent his "spirit" from finding 684
the way back to harm the lamasery. A large group of 682
lamas followed. He was thrown on the ground, stripped
of all his garments, amid the shouts of the lamas and
the long blare of trumpets, and the group returned to
the monastery without looking back. A round mark [685]
is burned on thieves. It is impossible for those so
marked to enter any monastery.

At the time of the festival at Erh-ku-lung in 1912, 792
three young lamas molested a young lady, causing her 684
death. They fled the same night. The whole village 682
of Too-long accused the monastery at Hsining, which
was unable to trace the murderers and had to pay
an indemnity of 3,000 taels, after spending far more at
court. The whole country was bursting with righteous [627]
indignation. It was a tremendous loss of face for the
lamasery.

Lamas not only lack the vow of obedience, but also 792
the vow of poverty. It has been explained how lamas 511
retain their own wealth and the means they use for in-
creasing it.[27] Among the lamas are rich individuals
enjoying a happy life, possessing a beautiful courtyard,
clothed with silk and brocade, riding the finest horses
and mules of the country, served by as many lamas as
they wish, and there are poor individuals who have
trouble making both ends meet—ill fed, ill clothed,
working the whole day. Nobody takes care of them
because wealth is a personal matter, and no vow of
poverty exists. It has been explained how the lack of
the vow of poverty is responsible in a large part for
the loss of spirit in the monastic life, and how from
this lack originate most of the vices encountered among
the lamas and the ruination of monasteries.

Lamas lack the vow of chastity, for chastity reaches 792
farther than celibacy. The Buddhists know this very 831
well and the texts prove it.[28]

The reform of Tsong-khapa, the founder of the Yel- [185]
low Sect, aimed at return to the traditional monastic
life, based on celibacy and serious study. The sense
of the necessity of celibacy still seems to prevail among
the Monguor lamas. This assumption seems evidenced
by the facts that the communities of lamas bring suit at
Chinese courts against even supreme chiefs of lama-
series, and intendants who betray their vows, as was
the case with the Living Buddhas Sumpa, Lu-chia, and
Min-chu-erh, and even with Li, the intendant of the
T'u-kuan Hutukhtu. It was the same with the Living
Buddha Seerting who was caught red-handed by the

[27] The wealth possessed by a lama, his courtyard, etc. are inherited by his apprentice; in case he dies without having an apprentice, his wealth is sold by the intendancy; prayers are said by the lamas and alms given to them. If a lama who is proprietor of a courtyard marries, his courtyard is taken by the intendancy.

[28] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Morale bouddhique*, 79, Paris, Librairie Nationale, 1927.

[p.72(A)]

villagers, who also did not permit such liberties to Living Buddhas. Feeling the stigma attached to his exposure, he committed suicide. It also seems to be evidenced by the fact that penalties are still inflicted upon lamas, in the crudest forms, for infraction of this rule. This stigma is still attached to those who fail to meet their moral obligations. 772 831 [762]

The reform by means of serious study, however, seems to be a failure among the Monguor lamas of the present times. Among so many Monguor Living Buddhas and lamas, only the Living Buddha Chao-hsi of Kumbum enjoyed some repute, but in order to cause the lamas to attend his instructions, special benefits had to be provided for them. Very few among the Living Buddhas and lamas are interested in study at the present time, and, having nothing to occupy them all day, become involved in vice. Army officers and directors of schools are aware of the necessity of keeping young folk busy the whole day long, alternating fixed jobs with recreation. The lamas, however, except for attendance at the morning convention, which lasts only an hour, have to kill time making their own living. [185] 792 461

In the whole region of Hsining not a single school has been established by the rich monasteries, in order to promote the instruction of the Monguors and the Tibetans. Even at present in the lamaseries not a single elementary school exists for the lama boys, and no religious education is given to them. Not a single lama takes care of the spiritual needs and instruction of the adherents to their religion who live in a given area. Not a single hospital has been founded in order to assuage the pains and sufferings of the sick Monguors and Tibetans. The universal charity of Lamaism does not consist in love for one's neighbor, but in a platonic compassion for the universal sufferings of humanity and of all living things and for the impermanence of all existing beings. Lamas are not sisters of charity; they pass the sick draped in their cloak of indifference.[29] 772 871

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[29] Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, 373, notes: "Among Buddhist believers there has been scarcely anyone who has ever given any thought to social problems. The priests of ancient times were generally recluses who paid no attention whatever to the application of their religion to the needs of the practical world or to making the principles of true Buddhism as distinct as possible." [792 771 175]

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist, conversant with the Tibetan language and literature, went to Tibet to study Lamaism, and wrote an instructive note on Lamaism (p. 410). "I confine myself only to a popular exposition of the subject. Lamaism is constituted by two main branches; the older, the 'red cap sect' subdivided into many branches, and the later, the 'yellow cap sect.' They all agree upon cardinal points and in the formula for attaining perfection. The founder of the old sect was a Tantric priest, 'Lobon Padma Chungne' born in Cabul. He enjoined on his disciples the practices of flesh-eating, marriage, and drinking liquors, in order to attain Buddhahood . . . details I cannot give, for they are full of obscenity. The old sect, extremely popular in Tibet, has undergone considerable modification by lamas. . . . I note the reaction against the old sect by Atisha [from India, eleventh century], later by Tsong Khapa [fifteenth century]. The principle of Tsong Khapa was that priesthood must stand on asceticism. Therefore he urged

[p. 72 (B)]

More has been done by the chiefs and elders of the villages in promoting justice, creating respect for elders, restoring peace in families, defending the position of the women, preventing adultery, punishing the faults of the youngsters, and making the families happy than by the lamas. 792 626 888

I felt really happy to encounter among this tremendous number of lamas the single exception of the old Living Buddha Li, who in the fasting exercises taught the older people to crave pardon for their faults and to pray, and to hear them say that they were happy to have heard comforting words from the mouth of the old man.

V. THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

GENERAL ASPECTS AND FORMER CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG 795 792 175

In Huang-chung, there are not only lamas of the Yellow Sect, the reformed sect of Tsong khapa, but also of the Red Sect, which still adheres to the rules observed before the reform. The red lamas marry, and live, scattered over the country, with their wives and children. They till their fields and raise cattle, indulge in wine and tobacco, eat garlic and nearly all kinds of meat. They perform their rites when invited by the people and live under the direction of a superior, who has far less power over them than the superior of the yellow lamas has over his subjects.

At home they wear the dress of the lay people; when performing rites they wear the usual lama dress—a red gown, the red hat, and a shade before the eyes, adorned with fringes of the five ritual colors. They use the same ritual paraphernalia as the lamas of the Yellow Sect, but they like to use a drum made of two skulls, and to blow a trumpet made of a human thigh bone; they recite their own texts. They seem to lay stress on the cult of water springs. All of them have the duty to perform the Rite of the 108 Springs, which lasts for 129 days, at least once in their lifetime. Some among them perform this rite two or three times. Well versed in magic, they are capable of performing not only the rites performed by the Yellow lamas, but also many other rites prohibited for the Yellow lamas. [292] [534]

All the lamas of Huang-chung belonged to the Red Sect in former times. The lamas of Ch'ü-t'an, the Nang-suo, Karwa lamas, the Dhyana family lamas, the lamas belonging to small monasteries or hermitages,

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abstinence from carnal desires, liquor, and he enforced the rules of moral discipline. However, he did not denounce the images worshipped by the old sect, representing men and women in offensive postures, but gave to them a new interpretation of an abstract nature. . . . Externally the two sects do not differ much from each other." And on p. 434: "I am compelled to say that Lamaism has fallen, and that it has assumed a form quite contrary to that to which its great reformer Tsong Khapa elevated it, and I am sincerely sorry for this degeneration." [792 771 175]

[p. 73(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the lamas living secluded in the mountains, all indulged 795
in magic. It is not known when most of them went 792
over to the Yellow Sect, perhaps between 1600 and 175
1723; nor is it known when the first lamas of the Yellow Sect penetrated the country, diffusing the reform. If account were taken of the date 1560, when a small hermitage of ten Yellow lamas started at Kumbum, and developed slowly; and the date of 1604 when Erh-ku-lung humbly began, it may be presumed that until that time the Red Sect was the only one prevalent in Huang-chung, living a precarious existence owing to the intermittent inroads and revolts in the country. Only after Gushi Khan had conquered Tibet in 1636 and [648]
offered it to the Dalai Lama and after the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) had established the supremacy of the Yellow Sect, and the hated rival sects had been enfeebled, can it be assumed that the Yellow Sect entered a period of success in Huang-chung.

It was often said that, after the encounter of Altan Khan with the Dalai Lama in Kukunor (1577), where Altan proclaimed the Yellow Sect the official religion of the Mongols, and built a temple, the sect started diffusing on a large scale in Huang-chung. This assumption is hard to prove on account of the hatred fostered against the invading Mongols, and the disturbances in the country, for in 1591 the Monguor troops with the Chinese Army burned to the ground the temple built by Altan fifteen years before,[1] and the Mongol, Nairamdahu, persecuted the Yellow Sect in Kukunor in 1633.

PRESENT CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

795

The conditions under which the Red lamas lived 794
during the Ming period, in the always disturbed country, seem to have been akin with those under which they now live in the region north of the Hsining River. A small number of them are encountered in villages there. Lamas of several villages, constituting a small group, choose from among them a chief, who holds the position for one year. They possess their own small temple where, four times a year, they gather for seven days in order to read their texts, perform their rites, and discuss their own topics with their chief. Some of them have a pupil who receives training from his master. Each of them tries to be invited by the people to perform rites that are paid for. Not having a monastery or a Living Buddha, the institution lacks a backbone.

After 1642, when the Yellow Sect started the prac- 175
tice of Living Buddhas in Huang-chung and developed 795
its strong organization, two of the most important Red groups south of the Hsining River, where the Red lamas were more numerous, managed to have their own Living Buddhas. In the group of Goorong bzan near

[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, 18*b*. [p. 73(B)]

Sha-ch'ung, and the group of Kan-cha Valley which 175
had living Buddhas, the original temple yard became a 795
monastery, and the loose group thus got a chief invested with authority over his subjects and wielding influence in the country.

The small groups of Red lamas north of the Hsining River, however, had no Living Buddha. Twice a year they invited the Living Buddha of Kan-cha, and four times a year went to Kan-cha, in order to attend their rites, but for a long time now the Living Buddha has only been invited every two or three years, and the lamas seldom go to Kan-cha—all the more since Kan-cha, being in a state of dilapidation, has lost its attractiveness. It had been destroyed by the Moslems in 1868–1872, and its important library of printing blocks was burned; it has not yet been restored.

The monastery of Goorong bzan, however, is flourishing. The Living Buddha is a strong personality [792] bristling with activity. Acknowledged as the most learned Living Buddha, all over the country, even by the lamas of the Yellow Sect, he is trying to restore the former glory of the Red Sect. His difficulties with the lamasery of Sha-ch'ung, and his intentions to restore and occupy the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the center of the city of Hsining, have been recorded. His monastery is in fine shape, the temples are as beautiful as most of the temples of the Yellow Sect. Four times a year more than two hundred of his red lamas convene for seven days, for the reading and explanation of texts, and the performance of their rites. Goorong and the dignitaries of the monastery preside over the convention in the same way as those of the Yellow Sect.

Tibetans like to make pilgrimages to his lamasery [648] and offer their donations. It is a well-known fact in Huang-chung that among the Red lamas there are more learned men than among the Yellow lamas. However, the bulk of them are only versed in the recitation of the texts used at the performance of their rites, and possess only a smattering of knowledge in their religion. They attach an unusual importance to the strictest observance of all the rites during their performances. Their religious training seems to be directed in that way, for they claim that the slightest omission or error in the rites and in the recitation of the texts completely spoils the efficacy of the rite.

The subject of the different kinds of Red Sects and 795
the deities honored in their temples may be passed over 792
here, because it has been dealt with by many authors. The peculiar feature of the Red lamas' institution in Huang-chung is the only subject of our study.

Among the Red Living Buddhas, the son succeeds the father, as the Living Buddha. Goorong, a tall, upright man of immense strength, hard as nails, begot nine sons from his two wives. Four of his sons are Living Buddhas, three of them in Red monasteries south of the Yellow River. Goorong is called the father of the Living Buddhas. He is a modern man, who has visited

[p. 74(A)]

Peking, Nanking, and Shanghai. He rides a bicycle, 795
walks his smallest sons in a European baby carriage, 792
likes photography, delights in playing a phonograph, enjoys working with electricity at home and in the temple. He possesses all kinds of medical instruments and gives injections. He is reputed to be very proficient in magic, and is the most talked-about man in the country.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RED AND YELLOW LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

The feud between the two sects in Huang-chung 795
never seems to have been as fierce as it was in Tibet, 628
where lamas fought each other and destroyed each 578
others' monasteries. The reason seems to be the 792
troubled circumstances in the country. The people, the Red lamas, and their small institutions suffered tremendously on account of the inroads. The whole country was impoverished. The diffusion of the Yellow Sect, under such conditions, necessarily began on a small, unnoticed scale and when peace was restored the Yellow Sect was protected by the emperors and the Red Sect was powerless.

None the less, Reds and Yellows know their history well, and the embers of the old antagonism are still smoldering under the ashes. The troubles between Goorong and Sha-ch'ung, and the vehement protest of all the Yellow Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, when Goorong was trying to occupy the Ta-fo-ssu, give evidence of this. South of the Yellow River, in the subprefecture of Kui-te, lamas of the Yellow Sect recently prevented the Red lamas of Keura from rebuilding their temple. The trouble developed into full-scale fighting, and lamas on both sides were killed. The lamasery of the Yellow Sect was burned to the ground by the Moslem troops, who restored order. The Yellow Living Buddha fled, but the lamasery had to pay a heavy indemnity. On the north of the Hsining River, however, both sects seem to live congenially, because the Yellow Sect is omnipotent and the Reds are a minority, having not a single monastery in the country.

When the Red group of Erh-chia-ting near Erh-ku- 795
lung built a new temple, the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of 792
Erh-ku-lung offered them seven big trees and sent his intendant to attend the ceremony of the inauguration of the temple. The lamasery of Chu-erh, of the Yellow Sect, allowed the Red group to build a temple on its property. Even the intendant of one of its Living Buddhas was a Red lama. In 1915 I saw Red and Yellow lamas performing rites together at the Karwa of the Yellow Chao lama. It has been recorded that the Yellow lama, chief of the Li Karwa, alternately invited four lamas of the Yellow and of the Red Sects to perform the yearly usual rites at his Karwa.

Lamaseries of the Yellow Sect invite Red lamas to perform the rite intended to appease the avenging spirits of persons who have suffered injustices at the hand of the lamasery. The secretary of the Living Buddha Lu

[p. 74 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

of Yang-k'ou-erh, who belonged to the Yellow-Sect, 795
was a Red lama. Such anomalies happen because 792
family ties closely knit the members of both sects. The father of the intendant of the lamasery of Ch'ie bzan, which belongs to the Yellow Sect, was a Red lama, and the father of the novice of the intendant, also. I met four lamas of the Yellow Sect, pupils of a learned lama of the Red Sect, who boarded at his home.

At the monastery of Hsien-mi, the father of a young 175
lama of the lamasery, which belongs to the Yellow 795
Sect, was a Red lama. One night, in my presence, he unbosomed his grudge against the supreme chief of the lamasery who had refused permission for his Red Sect to build a temple on the property of the lamasery. "Our sect," he said, "is as the ear of the wheat plant, and the Yellow Sect is as its straw. We occupied the country and diffused our Sect long before the Yellow Sect was born. Our scriptures are so numerous that a man cannot finish reading them during a lifetime. The Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, of the Yung-lo period (1403–24), granted us extensive properties—and then came the Emperor K'ang-hsi, who protected the Yellow Sect and oppressed our Sect." These facts reveal the frame of mind of both sects, and their mutual behavior in Huang-chung.

Although the lamas of the Red Sect constitute a small minority, scattered over the country, and possess only two Living Buddhas, they exert an important influence and play a considerable part in the religious life of the Monguors.

THE RITE OF THE 108 SPRINGS

In order to give an insight into the real psychology of 792
the lamas of the Red Sect, and their attitude toward 795
magic, the Rite of the 108 Springs will be described. 789
It is performed in order to acquire magical power.

The lamas living north of the Hsining River practice the Rite of the 108 Springs at least once in their life. Those among them who have enacted it two or three times are considered by the Monguors as the most potent. It is said that very few lamas of the Yellow Sect are interested in the rite, although serious lamas of the Yellow Sect told me many times that the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu had enacted the rite together with a Red lama, after the Bumkhang he built seemed ineffective, and the troubles in his lamasery had upset him. I could hardly believe it, because the rite is not enacted to honor or to get the protection of spirits of the springs, but is thoroughly magical, and its aim, according to the lamas of both sects, is the increase of magical abilities. At any rate, because the lamas of the Red Sect all practiced it, and are said to be bound to enact the rite, it sheds a true light upon the fundamental character of the lamas of the Red group, who seem to be as fond of magic as the shamans.

Springs of water are situated mostly at the foot of [323]
mountains, in deep valleys, and in lonely spots which

[p.175(A)]

are supposed to be the favorite abodes of evil spirits. 792
The Red lamas go to these springs in order to meet 795
these demons, to frighten them, to combat them, or to 789
obtain their assistance. So goes the saying of the [273]
Monguors and the lamas of both sects.

The rite is a back-breaking work. It lasts for 129 days, more than four months. It is practiced by a single lama, never in a group. Usually a fervent Monguor accompanies the lama for some days, to carry his luggage and prepare his tea. I got the information from two such men and from people living in Waza, near a spring where the lama performed his rite.

Sometimes the lama has to wander a long way to reach a spring, and sometimes three or four springs are situated one next to the other. The rite is carried out in winter and starts with a retreat of seven days at home, during which the lama, three times during the day and three times during the night, prays and reads texts, rattling the drum made of two human skulls, blowing the trumpet made from a human femur, and ringing the bell. He is not allowed to get a long sleep or to stretch himself out on the ground. He has to sleep in a sitting position, is not allowed to undress during the 129 days, or to enter any home or cave.

I saw a Red lama who lived near the monastery of Hua-yen start his journey. All the neighbors, men, women, and children, accompanied him to the first spring. He carried on his back, in a light wooden frame of thin laths, the felt mat on which he would sleep at night, a book of texts, a picture of Padma sambhava, the chief saint of the sect, some flour, butter, tea, a cauldron, and a small tent made of white cotton cloth. If, on the way, he should happen to lose one of these items, he is not allowed to replace it. He wore a long red coat, lined with sheepskin; on his head a red hat and over his eyes a green shade, with fringes. In his right hand he held the double-skull drum, and in the left hand the trumpet. He is not allowed to speak during his wandering from one spring to another, but mutters prayers all the way along, beating the drum at the same time.

Upon reaching the first spring he puts the frame down, blows three times on the trumpet in the direction of heaven, then starts the ritual dance three times around the spring to the time of the rattling drum, describing ritual designs on the ground. He beats the ground with his heel to the time of the drum beats, then stands on one leg, completely immobile, for a long time. Thereafter he pitches the tent, displays the picture, and sits crosslegged in front of the tent reciting texts for a long time. In the meantime, the villagers had prepared tea, and he starts talking with them. People are not allowed to indicate the spot of the next spring or to ask in what direction he will move the next day. He eats the meal offered by them. He is not allowed to drink alcoholic beverages, eat garlic, [269]
leeks, or radishes. He eats only mutton. The remains of the meal offered to him are not allowed to be

[p.75 (B)]

carried home. Before sunset his meal has to be finished 792
and the people gone. At this first spring he stays for 795
seven days. 789

Twice a day he prepares tea and eats *tsamba* along the wayside. When people see a practicer of the rite passing near the village, they all follow him, prepare his tea and his evening meal. He enjoys the real veneration of all the Monguors and the Tibetans. He remains for seven days at the first spring, praying, dancing, three times during the day and three times during the night. It is said that during the night, the time of the demons, he summons all the demons of the country, wages his ritual war with them, subduing them, or making friends of them. At night he has a terrible time, exercising his magical abilities and increasing his magical capacities. The demons do not let him sleep a wink. All kinds of terrifying tales are spread in the country about his nightly experiences.[2]

At dawn he gathers stones and builds a small cairn; then he starts for the next springs, remaining only one day at each of them and performing the same rites. At the 54th spring he stays for seven days, as at the first one, then continues his pilgrimage until the 108th, where he again enacts seven-day rites. Then all the Red lamas of the country, the people of his village, the chiefs and elders of the neighboring villages come to meet him and lead him home in order to perform the final rite, which simulates the incineration of corpses and includes a recitation of texts together with all the lamas. Sitting on a throne in front of the ritual oven in which wood is burning, he pours boiling butter on the wood, acting like an officiant at a real incineration. After this rite he is heartily congratulated and receives some gifts: sheep, butter, tea, sugar, raisins. I never obtained an explanation of this last rite, or of its connection with the pilgrimage of the 108 springs.

Springs of water play an important part in the re- 792
ligious life of lamas and of the Monguors. It is not 795
unusual to see lamas of the Yellow Sect, even Living 789
Buddhas, sitting for hours in silence at the edge of a 823
spring, slowly beating its surface with a flat broad lath. It is said that this practice produces happiness and peace of mind.

On the fifth of the fifth month the Monguors honor 792
the spirit of the well from which they draw water. 795
They make a *Wei-sang*[3] near the well, plant a stick 789
to the top of which is affixed a bouquet, and prostrate themselves. The whole family wash their hands and faces with the water in the first bucket drawn, and rinse their mouths. Tea is prepared and all of them drink several cups, for it is said that this tea prevents all kind of diseases. At the same time they bury an urn near the well, thanking the spirit of the earth where

[2] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 126: also Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase*, 384, Paris, Payot, 1951.

[3] See Chap. VIII, note 2, p. 95. [p. 96 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the well bubbles, for providing them with water during the whole year. 792 795 789

HERMITS

In the region of Hsining there lived, around 1880–1895, only two hermits. One lived in the region of Waza in a cave in the mountains, and the other in the mountains around Hsien-mi. Both were strangers, who never divulged their names, or country of origin. They were not attached to any monastery and had no relations with the neighboring people. Each had a donkey which he used when he went to collect some flour and tea, for which they graciously thanked the donors and then returned to their caves. If some gifts were offered to them, they brought them to the monasteries and prostrated themselves before the closed doors of the temples for a whole day, and then returned to their caves without having said a single word to the lamas. The people said that they heard them reciting texts, ringing bells and beating drums the whole day long. Twice a day they built a fire and prepared their meals. They did not visit the people and did not like to have the people visit them; they refused all invitations to say prayers at the homes of the Monguors. During the terrible epizootics which decimated the cattle all over the country (1890–1893), they refused requests to pray for peace in the country. Their mysterious behavior intrigued the people, who could not get in touch with them. Then they disappeared, and nothing more was heard about them. They were not the kind of miracle workers so often described in records of travelers. 792 [343]

Monguors, talking about them, affirmed that in former times many lamas lived a sheltered life in caves, and possessed the art of working miracles. [789]

In 1723, at the time of the revolt of the lamas and the destruction of the monastery of Seerkok where 2,000 lamas lived, it is said that the General Nien Keng-yao destroyed more than 1,000 caves in that country.[4] Because lamas in former times received the same education as at present, and were as eager for wealth and worldly glory as those of today, one is inclined to doubt such a fantastic number of hermits. I am inclined to think that genuine hermits did not grow on every bush, and that all these wonders and miracles did not occur at every street corner.

VI. SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is not an investigation of the origin of shamanism or its philosophy and religious fundamentals. Rather it aims to be a description of the type of the Monguor shaman, his training in 1911–1921, the spirits 756

[4] Han, Ju-lin, *Pien-cheng kung-lün*, 3 (I) : 47. The text does not say that recluses lived in them.

[p. 76(B)]

he honored, and the rites he performed. It will afford 756
an opportunity to study a shamanism influenced by Taoism, honoring Taoist gods, but conserving its original character and living congenially with Taoism. The suppleness of shamanism which, according to the cir- [177]
cumstances, adapts itself as well to Lamaism as to Taoism, adopting heterodox doctrines and honoring alien gods,[1] challenges belief. However, it discloses the power of which it disposes, conserving its original rites which betray its origin and basic character. It is interesting to note how rites resist the wear of time better than doctrines.

The facts were all gathered during the ten years I lived among the Monguors, and were checked many times by shamans, chiefs and elders of villages, men and women, and children in the schools, all of whom had attended shamanist rites their whole life long. I at- [123]
tended their rites several times. Since I was best acquainted with the rites of the region situated north of the Hsining River, most of the facts concern that region.

The Mongols call the shamans *BÖ*, the Monguors call them *BÖ*, on account of the lack of the vowel Ö in [178]
their dialect. *BÖ* and *BÖ* seem to be a genuine Mongol term. The Chinese of Huang-chung call them *Fa-Shih*, "Master of Magic."

It is not easy to give a definition of shamanism and of shamans who live in a world beset with innumerable good and evil spirits with which the objective of their life is to deal.

The study of shamanism is still very confused, and 756
authors are even unable to find a definition with which 771
they will all agree. W. Schmidt defines the shaman as "a man who is supposed to have the power of making his own person a dwelling place for the spirits, who will speak out of him, but he keeps the power to dominate those spirits and to subdue them to his own will and wishes."[2]

Mircea Eliade, describing the shamanism of Asia, stresses primarily the phenomena of ecstasies and of trance, by means of which the shamans enter in communication with all kinds of spirits—originally with the Supreme Spirit of Heaven, who corresponds morpho- [176]
logically with the Supreme Spirits of the archaic religions—and with the souls of ancestors and the departed. This communication with spirits, residing in the three worlds (heaven, earth, underworld) is symbolized by ascensions to heaven of the shaman or descents into the underworld, the calling down of spirits along the rope or the ladder. The basic element of shamanism consists not of the incorporation of spirits

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[1] Walter Heissig, Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer im Küriye-Banner, *Folklore Studies*, Catholic University of Peking, 3: 1, 1944. This very interesting study reveals the way shamanism adapted itself to Lamaism.

[2] W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Freiburg in der Schweiz, Paulus Verlag, 9: 243, 1949.

[p. 17(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

by the shaman but of the ecstasy caused by the ascension or descent.[3] 756 771

Åke Ohlmarks considers arctic and subarctic shamanism. The arctic "genuine shamanism" is founded on a psycho-pathologic base, and originated in the arctic regions out of the hysteria peculiar to this region; the subarctic shamanism originated in primeval magic influenced by the arctic shamanism. The shaman, by means of ecstasy, provides communication between the three worlds, connected by means of an axis (tree, post, or rope) along which move spirits and souls, including those of the sacrificed victims.[4] [171]

In the course of this study reference will be made frequently to the Bön religion, because many facts relating to shamanism are encountered also in Bön, and even in Lamaism. A few words regarding Bön seem to be advisable.

According to Helmut Hoffman[5] the meaning of Bön is not known (p. 137). Bon is the old religion of the Tibetans which existed before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet in the seventh century (p. 135). It is the Tibetan form of a primitive animism that once spread all over Northern and Central Asia, this animism often being thoroughly blended with genuine shamanist principles (p. 208). At present, the systematized Bön religion is a composite. Its original nucleus was the belief in and fear of good and evil spirits (p. 135) and the worship of Heaven considered as a god of the universe, "Weltgott" (p. 156). Around this nucleus was built a façade made up of elements of the debased but more developed Buddhism (Lamaism) (p. 138), in which also animist-shamanist principles played and still play a prominent part (p. 197). Bön, in competing with Lamaism, adopted many of its rites and institutions and composed its literature according to the pattern of Lamaism.

In the primitive Bön, existing before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet, Heaven was worshipped not only as an impersonal power, but also as a personal God (p. 156). Hence communication between Heaven and earth was secured by means of a rope or ladder, the "way of the spirits" (p. 153), and by means of the post supposed to reach heaven.[6] Bön likes to emphasize

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[3] Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase*, 434, 439, Paris, Payot, 1951. See also the interesting review of this book by Dominic Shröder, in *Anthropos* **48** (3–4): 671, 1953.

[4] Åke Ohlmarks, *Studien zum Problem des Shamanismus*, 83, Kopenhagen, Gleerup, 1939. See also Horst Kichner, Ein archäologischer Beitrage zur Urgeschichte des Shamanismus, *Anthropos* **47** (1–2): 244, 1952. **47**: 1952, No. 1–2, 244. David F. Aberle, "Arctic hysteria" and Latah in Mongolia, *Trans. N. Y. Acad. Sci.*, ser. 2, **7**: 291, 1952.

[5] Helmut Hoffmann, Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon Religion, *Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur*, **4**, 1950.

[6] Edward Washburn Hopkins, *The religions of India*, 378, Boston, 1895. In early Hinduism there existed already "a festivity for Indra, extending over two days, and marked by the erection of a pole in honor of the god."

[p.171(B)]

the cosmic tree on the mount Meru. In addition the 756
whole series of good and evil spirits were both honored 771
and combatted in the effort to make them inoffensive. Hoffmann concludes that it is hard to trace a sharp dividing line between the old Bön and shamanism.

It is instructive to read the review of Helmut Hoffmann by R. A. Stein [7] in order to get an idea of the confusion still persisting regarding the subject. Stein holds that the definition of Bön, said to be the religion of the Tibetans before the introduction of Buddhism, is not easy to write down, because Bön as a religious system is only known in its later state of development when it seems to be a variant of Lamaism. Bön conserves more archaic traits of the old popular religion than Lamaism does, but it does not enjoy a monopoly (p. 98), because the facts relating to Bön are encountered in Lamaism as well as in shamanism. The problem of the Iranian origin of Bön is difficult to solve (p. 99). The fact that the Bön worshipped the spirit of Heaven as a personal Supreme Deity seems to have to be taken with cautiousness (p. 101).

Kawaguchi [8] notes that originally Bönism very much resembled Hinduism, but now in theory it is almost Buddhism. Shorn of its sacrifices, its toleration of marriage and use of intoxicants, it is only Buddhism under another name.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE MONGUOR SHAMANS WITHIN THE CLAN

The social conditions of the shamans are the same as 756
those of the commoners of the clan. They are not 554
exempted from land taxes and corvées, but no special corvées are imposed upon them by the chiefs of the villages. They receive remuneration for the performance of rites in behalf of the community. The shamans enjoy no privileges in the Monguor community as was the rule in the time of Chingis Khan.

The Monguor shamans do not live in monasteries, 756
where they might give spiritual help to the people; they live in various parts of the villages, each with his wife and children. Their economic mainstay is tilling the soil and breeding cattle; their subsidiary occupation is the performance of shamanistic rites either for the community of the village or for private families when invited by them. The margin of subsistence of most of the shamans is rather narrow.

No bonds tie them to the village where they are liv- [571]
ing; shamans of distant villages are invited by the villagers, and the shamans living in the village are frequently overlooked. Some shamans, celebrated all over the country for their proficiency in the art, are invited more often than others by village communities or private families.

The activities of the shamans are not limited by the

[7] R. A. Stein, *Journal Asiatique*, 1952: 97.

[8] Ekai Kawaguchi (Late rector of Gohyakurakan Monastery), *Three years in Tibet*, 131, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

[p. 78(A)]

boundaries of their clan. They are invited in every 756
clan indiscriminately, and even performed rites among Chinese and Tibetans outside the clans.

In some villages there are two or more shamans; in others only one, or none at all. The shamans are independent of each other and are not confederated in a guild. They have no chief to whom they are subjected, but all the shamans are enrolled as members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the Chinese city. The chief of that guild orders them to carry out in the city, in collaboration with them, the rites for saving the moon and the sun at the time of an eclipse. The chief of the guild is appointed by the Chinese officials for the [648] patching up of quarrels among the shamans. In the event that a shaman breaks the rules of the guild, a letter from the chief of the guild to the prefect of the city is sufficient to put the shaman in jail. The shamans have to contribute also toward defraying the expenses of the guild. This fact, as has been noted, is really abnormal and infringes upon the rights of the T'u-ssu. It will be explained later.

In comparing the actual social conditions of the shamans among the Monguors with those of the shamans among the Mongols in former times, it is manifest that shamanism has fallen into decay. "The forest clans often had at their head shaman magicians, who were reputed to have intercourse with the spirits. A shaman that was at the same time the leader of the clan or tribe, bore the title of 'Biki,' a title occasionally borne also by members of the steppe aristocracy."[9] Sha- [651] mans were, at that time, exempted from taxes and corvées.

It may be that these ancient conditions account for the tradition, prevalent among the Monguors, that in former times each village had its own shaman and only one; that the temple of the village was administered by the shaman and used for the cult of the spirits of the village, by the villagers only. At present the temple is the property of the village and administered by the community, but still only the villagers are allowed to enter their own temple. There is no admittance for strangers.

WHAT IS A SHAMAN ACCORDING TO THE MONGUORS AND ETHNOLOGISTS?

According to the Monguors, the shaman is a man who interposes between men and spirits, either as a

[9] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis khan*, 4, London, Routledge, 1930. See also Garma Sandschejew, Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Barjaten, *Anthropos* 23: 981, 1928; also S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organisation of the Manchus*, Royal Asiatic Society North China Branch Extra Vol. 3: 13, 154, Shanghai, 1924. Also the same author, *Psychomental complex of the Tungus*, 344, 346, 347, London, Trubner, 1935. See also the basic difference existing between the shamans among the Monguors and among the Manchus and Tungus concerning relations with and the position of the shamans in the clan. See also Walter Heissig, A Mongolian source for the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos* 48: 511, 1953.

[p. 78(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

friend of each, in case of good spirits or, as a protector 756
of men in case of evil spirits. He devotes himself, and gives himself up wholly to the service of certain definite spirits which take possession of him, and which he gathers in his drum. They sometimes speak by means of his mouth, help him to call up other spirits which he sees and hears talking in his drum, and with which he is able to speak. The spirits help him to arrange appointments with other spirits, bestowing blessings and boons, and helping him combat evil ones, which play havoc and work damage. According to the Monguors, he is a more powerful man than others, able to save the villagers when their happiness is imperiled and the world in a mess.

Why did the shaman devote himself to the service of his special spirits? In very old times one of his ancestors, according to the shamans, had been singled out and ordered by these special spirits to devote himself to their service. These spirits had ordered him to continue this service, generation after generation, and had promised to shower blessings on him, and to help him in averting troubles from his customers. These spirits taught the initial shaman the method of serving them, of beating drums, of performing rites, and today's shamans have to discipline their behavior according to these instructions. Thus every shaman is a descendant of an initial shaman chosen and compelled to serve certain definite spirits. The initial shaman now being in contact with these spirits still provides his descendant shamans with the means of communication with them, and secures their aid and support for the successful achievement of their duty. This seems to be the specific belief of the shamans themselves, and of the Monguors about the shamans.

According to the ethnologists, "the strongest evidence of the ingenuity of the shaman lies in the fact that the shaman possesses the power to take into himself spirits, which speak by means of his mouth, but which he controls and makes obedient to himself."[10] Ethnologists assert that, physically, shamans suffer from nervous diseases, and are easily excited.[11] They are unbalanced people with a marked disposition to all kinds of illusions and hallucinations.[12] Cases of epilepsy, idiocy, mental breakdown, and insanity have been noted among the shamans.[13] This record is not very flattering or inspiring.

SUCCESSION OF THE SHAMANS

The care and the protection shown by the spirits for their initial shaman and his successors are most effective. They interfere even with the choice of the boy who has to succeed to the incumbency of a shaman, by

[10] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 9: 243.

[11] Georg Nioradze, *Der Schamanismus bei den Siberischen Völkern*, 50, Stuttgart, Strecker und Schröder, 1925.

[12] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 977.

[13] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 3. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 7. [P, 79(A)]

guiding the father shaman to indicate which among his 756
sons fills the bill of requirements in the most appropriate way. The general belief among the Monguors is that the avocation of a shaman does not depend on the individual or on any other person, but on the spirits, who select the person who is to discharge the duty.

The succession, according to the Monguors, is necessarily inherited by one of the sons of a shaman. This is explained according to the Monguor mentality. It has been noted that, since the worshipping of a spirit once begun by a family should never be discontinued, for fear of calamities which would be sent by the abandoned spirit, the eldest son therefore has to perpetuate its cult. In a more imperative way, when the head of a family has dedicated himself to the cult of a spirit, the duty of a member of the same family to continue this dedication is far more urgent. Since it can never be neglected, one of the sons has to assume the duty.

When a shaman, however, has no sons, he indicates his successor among the sons of his brothers and adopts him. The boy will inherit his wealth and substance and become a shaman. If he did not adopt a son during his life, a family council convenes in order to indicate one of their boys to succeed to the deceased shaman, for the future of the whole family is at stake. The Monguors harbor a deep conviction that the whole family is responsible for the continuation of the dedication of a member to the cult of the spirits, and that the family would not be able to withstand the calamities entailed by such neglect.

The Monguors say that in former times, when the [462]
shaman had no sons, one of his daughters discharged the duty, but at present there are no more female shamans. Many times I received from the Monguors this explanation which, according to their trend of mind, seemed logical.

When I asked the shamans why they accepted only their sons or nephews as pupils, and never sons belonging to families in which there were no shamans, they always answered that such boys could not become shamans. They said their old ancestor had been chosen and ordered by the Twelve Tengris themselves to honor them; that the way of practicing their art had been taught to him by the Twelve Tengris themselves and that consequently their "family" had to discharge this duty. "We have to honor our shaman ancestors," they said, "because when we are fulfilling our duty their spirits come to us, helping us serve the tengris; they know the way of approaching the tengris; they live with them and know them, make them take possession of us, and make them help us in every way. Without the spirits of our ancestors we are unable to perform the rites, to call up our Tengris and to combat evil spirits. The spirits of our ancestors know us, and protect us, because we are their descendants, and so do the Twelve Tengris; but our ancestors will not help strangers and our Tengris recognize only our family as their servants;

[p. 79 (B)]

therefore a member of an alien family can never become 756
a shaman."

When I asked whether all the Monguor shamans served the twelve spirits, the answer was that they did, and then I objected, not understanding why, that the family names of the shamans were not the same. They answered that the spirits had chosen ancestors of different families to become shamans, but all these things had happened centuries ago. This explanation seemed to be full of holes.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF SHAMAN

BEHAVIOR AMONG SHAMANS AND BETWEEN SHAMANS AND MONGUORS

Shamans always said that in the mountains south of 756
the Hsining River were shamans serving only evil 628
spirits, who were therefore called "black shamans." 565
They dedicate themselves to the evil spirits, and to 754
Erlik Khan, their chief, and unleash them to harm the people. The "white shamans" must drive away the evil spirits and undo their harm; they serve only good spirits and are devoted to them in the same way the black shamans are devoted to the evil spirits.

White shamans never have friendly relations with black shamans and never give their daughters to their sons, or take brides for their sons from among them; one group despises the other. The white shamans always boast of their superior power, and the thorough efficacy of their good spirits over the evil spirits, and are convinced that their group existed long before the black shamans came into existence.

The Monguors are really afraid of the black shamans. They never give their daughters to them, and shun them because they know they are dangerous fellows. When a black shaman is traveling through the country and asks to stay for the night in a Monguor village, the horror-stricken Monguors never dare to refuse to comply with his demand, and so display the most gracious hospitality for fear he might unleash the evil spirits and harm the village. The black shamans know they are shunned and that they have no friends in the world. They are dominated by an inferiority complex. When they encounter anyone on the road, they retire to the wayside and allow the wayfarer to pass first.

This attitude toward the black shamans is understandable, but why it exists in the same way toward the white shamans is an enigma. The white shamans living in the village are always invited by private families and the communities to provide aid and support in all kind of troubles; they are said to be the servants of the good spirits. Notwithstanding this, the Monguors do not like to have friendly, intimate relations with them. The white shamans are never invited to dinners and feasts for births of children, marriages, or funerals. Ordinary people never either marry their girls to sons of white shamans or permit their boys to marry girls of white shamans. No white shaman is

allowed in the intimacy of the family; he is shunned. 754
He is also dominated by an inferiority complex, and ac- 756
customed to letting a wayfarer pass first on the road. 628
He knows that he does not belong at the top of society, 565
for during the empire, the Monguors say, no shaman was allowed to compete for literary degrees. Their profession was discredited in the same way as that of tailors, barbers, and comedians. The social standing of the shamans and the influence they wielded in former times are really beyond all comparison with their poor condition of today.

But do the Monguors never call the black shamans in [578]
order to perform their rites? A couple of facts will be recorded about Monguors who, in order to take vengeance on enemies, invited black shamans to cast spells upon them at night.

NO ENTHUSIASM AMONG THE MONGUORS FOR THE DUTY OF SHAMAN

It is a well-known fact all over the country that sha- 756
mans generally have an aversion to their office and do not like to carry out their functions, but, bound by the choice of their father shaman, and knowing that a refusal would be fraught with all kinds of evil consequences, they discharge their burdensome, non-remunerative duty. The Monguors say that in families where there are no shamans, permission would never be granted by the parents and the chiefs of the families for a member of the family to become a shaman.

In the Valley of Hung-nai there are no more shamans 756
at present. During the terrible Moslem rebellion, all 798
the shaman families were exterminated. The inhabitants of the valley, afraid of the burdens attached to this profession, no longer allow their sons to become shamans. They prefer to honor the more lenient deities of Lamaism and have their sons become lamas. They invite shamans of other villages to perform shamanistic rites in their village every year in the spring and at hail time; the other rites are all performed by lamas. Shamans, however, according to their own ideology, assert that no more shamans can arise among them.

Several times I heard the typical story, later attested 756
to by No Kuang-li, that when he was a boy a member of his family was ordered by his father shaman to succeed him. The unwilling boy was compelled to accompany his father at the performance of all kinds of rites, to learn the usual prayers, and to submit to the peculiar training. When his father died, the boy tried to get rid of the duty, but the family council decided that he had to comply with the choice made by his father. The boy's nerves were on edge and he went on a rampage; his health was impaired, his mind was seriously affected and he had a mental breakdown. He roamed for months in the mountains, shunning all kinds of people and finally was found hanging from a tree. After so many years this fact was still recorded and explained by the Monguors as being a punishment meted out by the spirit who had selected that boy as its

minister. Such recollected facts always sear the mind 756
of the Monguors, convincing them that the spirit is to be obeyed, and that it is a terrible spirit.

When we take stock of what has been said of the behavior of the Monguors toward the shamans, the inferiority complex of the shamans, the exacting requirements of the spirit, and the poor remuneration of the office, it is no wonder that the shamans do not enjoy their profession and meet their obligations with revulsion. What is more remarkable is that the same trend of mind exists among all the shamans all over Asia.[14]

DEDICATION AND TRAINING OF THE MONGUOR SHAMANS[15]

Usually the son succeeds the father, and the father is the trainer of his son; the father has no other apprentices. However, during the slack season of agricultural routine, it is not unusual to see sons of different shamans staying for a couple of months with a shaman relative, celebrated for the proficiency of his art. The boys recognize the shaman as their master.

The training of the shaman boy starts when he is 756
about ten years of age. At that time the father invites 968
the elders of his family and some shamans, he kills a sheep and performs the ceremony of the dedication. The boy kneels with incense sticks in his joined hands. The shamans beat drums, perform a dance before the picture of the twelve spirits especially honored by them, and before the staff placed before the picture. A shaman, holding the staff in his hands, then invites the spirits to descend into it. When the staff starts shaking, he makes the announcement to the spirits of the dedication of the boy to their service, and asks them whether or not they approve the dedication of the boy. The invited spirits make the staff shiver and shake more and more in the hands of the shaman. The shaman states that the boy is accepted and dedicated for his whole life to the Twelve Tengris; that they will help him, but will get him into serious trouble if he gives only lip service to them; that he is no longer his own master, but is linked to them by the dedication; then he describes the most terrible calamities which are in store for undutiful shamans, while the staff shakes feverishly in his hands. A dance is performed around the boy while drums are beaten and the ceremony is completed. The gamut of all kind of misfortunes and calamities visited on undutiful shamans will be dinned in his ears in all circumstances, so that the boy, living in an atmosphere of fear and apprehensions, will reach his manhood. Stress is to be put on the fact that the shaman is dedicated to the Twelve Tengris who descended into the staff.

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[14] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 977. Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 55–56. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 248–706.

[15] See also Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 249, *sq.*, for shamanism among the Daghor Mongols.

[p.81 (A)]

: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

 756 868

A small drum is prepared for the boy and the father teaches him to beat it in the right tempo; he teaches him the usual prayers. Every day in the morning and at evening he will sit cross-legged with his father in front of the picture and the staff, beating the drum, receiving instruction and asking for explanations. The father teaches him the pasting of flags and streamers with white, red, and yellow paper, the cutting of all kinds of paper designs; the kneading of all kind of dough figures used during the rites; the application on red paper of the usual seals. He also teaches him the different kinds of dancing, and how to attack imagined spirits or defend himself against them, with sword and spear; and how to use the whip, the staff, and the knife. Special stress is put on athletic exercises in order to strengthen and supple the muscles and bones, and also on all kinds of acrobatics, climbing up poles, jumping on tables, executing dangerous pirouettes. Because all the shamanist [535] rites are accompanied by dances, peculiar stress is put on moving with grace and elegance with measured steps to the beating of the drum. The best dancers among the shamans are very celebrated all over the country. All shamans are acrobats and fine dancers.

Most shamans are proficient in the art of producing tones and words without any motion of the mouth, so that the listeners are induced to refer the sound to spirits speaking in the drum and answering the questions proposed to them by the shaman. They are wonderful ventriloquists. This art is used at the time the spirits are called up in the drums, and long conversations are held between them and the shamans.

The apprentice, from the very beginning, accompanies his father in performing shamanist rites. He learns with enthusiasm and vigor, for the boy is eager to beat drums, play the acrobat, dance with the elders and imitate them, but at the same time he sees and hears his father conjuring the spirits, calling them up, attacking and chasing evil spirits. He sees the awful rictus of his mouth and jaws, the painful contortions of his whole body; he hears him, worked into a frenzy, predicting the future; and sees his eyes in a fixed stare. Hundreds of times he sees and hears the same rites performed for sick men, and hears the shaman talking to the villagers at the general rites of spring and autumn. Because the [796] same things are said and done over and over again, he remembers them all by heart. The novelty, however, of beating drums, wears off very fast, and unconsciously he starts living in a new world of spirits, acting and thinking in the way of the shamans. He believes his father and the other shamans, he becomes hypnotized by their words, gestures, and acts, and he starts seeing and hearing spirits himself. He gets the conviction that, protected by the twelve spirits to whom he is dedicated, he can also subdue evil spirits and act as the agent of good ones, and he becomes a shaman.

Helping his father and other shamans for years and having himself alone performed rites, eventually when

his father becomes old and retires, he accepts his incumbency. No more formalities are required, for he is not the shaman attached to the village and does not live at its expense. 756 868

INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS TRAINING OF THE APPRENTICES

The intellectual education of shamans is of a very low standard. Shamans are unable to read Mongol or Tibetan books. Their prayers are said in Chinese, but because the apprentices never attend schools, they are not able to read Chinese books or to write a letter. [211] The elders teach them to write a small number of Chinese characters, used on the few inscriptions pasted on the pole or on the doors and walls of the temples, but most of the time they print the inscriptions by means of engraved wooden blocks. They have, however, a few [212] small prayer books written in Chinese and copied by the most intelligent among them, or by Monguor friends. These prayer books are not printed. Monguors and shamans assured me that they did not possess any books explaining their doctrine. No wonder that the instruction differs, from teacher to teacher. It was always impossible to get a coherent explanation from the shamans about religious subjects. They do [779] not pore over books or rack their brains over theories or philosophical or religious problems. Their science is more one of fantasies, anecdotes, and miraculous tales concerning a number of spirits, told during the performance of the rites. I suppose the instruction of the apprentices would consist of being taught about the same items dealing with the spirits honored by the shamans [796] at the rites of spring and autumn. More will be said about the subject.

The conclusion seems to be that the intellectual and religious training of most of the shamans is neglected and only superficial, and that the physical training ranks first. Many apprentices, in order to perform their physical training and acrobatics, go for months to shamans celebrated in that field. Finally it is said that the education of the apprentices is carried on by accompanying the shamans; their eyes and ears are their real teachers. Some exceptions, however, seem to have existed always, even in these latter times.

Many times I heard the Monguors speaking about a famous old Lu shaman, who died around 1904. The old man went every year to the mountains of Waza with his own apprentice and the apprentices of other shamans. They lived in the caverns, fasting the whole time and sleeping only a few hours during the day. All night they were honoring their spirits, fondling and cajoling them and learning about fighting the evil spirits in the mountains, who every night attacked and combatted them. When they left the mountains, they were exhausted and emaciated from the exertion. The apprentices of the old Lu were said to be the best shamans in the country. Two among them are said to have died by jumping over a precipice in the mountains.

[P.82(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

A lot of anecdotes, overlaid with fabulous legends, 756
are told about powerful shamans who lived in former 538
times. A famous shaman of Too long was invited to cure a dying man. The man died before his arrival. The soul of the shaman, after the completion of certain rites, went to see Erlik Khan, the King of Hell, and examining the files he found that the man had died several years before his destined time. The soul of the shaman came back; he performed a set of new rites and the man came to life and lived for several more years. I wondered how such anecdotes, known all over Asia, were spread among the Monguors. The overall con- [868]
clusion, after all the talks about old famous shamans, was always: "We no longer have the stuff of which shamans are made, for the apprentices are no longer trained in the right way."

MONGUOR SHAMANS AND NEUROSIS

What about the general statement of the ethnologists 756
that shamans are victims of neurosis? It is said of the 158
brutal training of the apprentices among the nomads, in opposition to the most elementary principles of pedagogy, that nothing could have been devised, better calculated to unseat the reason and to form pitiable neurotics of them.

In former times, according to the Monguors, the training of the Monguor shamans must have been very similar. The recent cases of the two apprentices of the old Lu shaman seem to evidence this assumption. On the other hand, it is a known fact that among the hereditary diseases neurosis is the most frequently inherited. Because children of shamans must marry children of [582]
shamans, the danger of inheritance is increased and it creates a predisposition to produce more easily suggestions and hallucinations among the members of such families. The fact of the suicide of the boy No, unwilling to become a shaman, is suggestive. It seems, therefore, not too far fetched to suppose that the shamans and their apprentices easily get the conviction of seeing spirits and hearing them talk. Because they will see and hear them, they act accordingly, notwithstanding their actual superficial training. On the other hand, for neurosis, as for all diseases, the question of plus and minus is always open, but the morbid basis of the disease is always existent.

Some of the shamans performing the rites seem to act as though in a play, straining for effects. They give the profession a black eye, while others seem to mean business and to act as real shamans. After all, the fact remains that shamans never dare to quit the profession, notwithstanding that it is a poor means of livelihood.

SHAMAN DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS

DRESSES

The shaman when not performing rites for communi- 756
ties or private families, dresses in the same way as the 292
Monguors, but while acting as shaman he wears a special

[p.82(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

costume, as follows: a long Chinese gown of black cloth, 756
with a large flat collar, in the manner of the Taoist 292
priests, crossing over the chest and buttoned on the left side. Over the gown he wears a coat of silk, adorned with flowers or dragons, having large sleeves and reaching below the knees. The coat is similar to the one worn under the empire by distinguished Chinese. The black color of the gown is unusual in the country and is confined to the shamans. Stress should be put on the startling difference existing between the simple official dress of the Monguor shaman and the official dress of many shamans among the nomads, whose main article of costume consists of a large mantle adorned with superstitious paraphernalia and symbols. Clothed in the mantle the shamans feel themselves possessed by their spirits; without it, they cannot perform their rites. This mantle is said to be worn by the black shamans living in the mountains south of the Hsining River. No traditions are prevalent to the effect that the Monguor shamans used the mantle in former times, but it is always said that they never wore it.

CINCTURE

The long black gown is belted by a long strip of black 756
cotton, wrapped a couple of times around the waist, as 293
all lay people do. The shamanists among the Mongols of Ordos take off their girdle [16] four times a year, while performing their important rite by means of prostrations, facing the sun. Chingis having escaped with his life from pursuing brigands took off his girdle, put it around his neck, and facing the sun, prostrated nine times.[17] Among the Monguors the girdle has not the same importance. Monguor shamans and shamanists never take off the sash when they honor "Heaven and all the spirits" or perform rites.

The Mongols of Ordos, if the bridegroom happens to become sick on the day of the marriage, marry the bride with his belt.[18] The Monguors do not perform such marriages, but when a girl has relations with a traveling guest, she asks for his girdle and name. If she becomes pregnant, she ceremoniously marries the girdle, is called Mrs. so-and-so, according to the name of the guest, and her child is similarly named.[19]

CAPS [20]

The Monguor shamans use three kinds of caps, all 756
three black in color: the first is a kind of toque, a brim- 292
less pliable bonnet having a tassel of dog hair on top. 302
This cap is similar to that of the Chinese Taoist priests. On the top of the cap, next to the tassel of dog hair, a hole is left through which is seen a hairpin which holds

[16] A. Mostaert, *Dictionaire Ordos*, 84.

[17] P. Pelliot, *Œuvres posthumes, Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Chap. II, paragraph 103, Paris, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1949.

[18] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 176.

[19] L. Schram, *Mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, 130.

[20] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148.

[p.83(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the hair coiled inside the cap. All the shamans wear the pigtail, which they coil when performing rites. 756 292 302

Traditional pictures of Taoist saints show that these worthies were wont to wear their hair in a knot on the top of the head. The Manchu Tartars conquered China and compelled the people to adopt their coiffure and shave their heads except on the top, where it was allowed to grow long and be braided as a pigtail. The *sai kung*, like the whole nation, had to submit to this order, but with pious conservatism they have preserved the ancient orthodox fashion on behalf of their altar service; that is to say, while officiating they coil their hair into a knot upon their heads and cover the shaven part around it with a wig of braided human hair.[21] [175]

The Monguor shamans, however, do not wear the wig.

The Manchus not only preserved their traditional style of dress and haircut, they even compelled Chinese men during the period of invasion to adopt Manchu dress, shave their heads, and grow the queue. This enforced change was so bitterly resented by the Chinese that many times they chose rather to die, or lose their heads, than obey the Tartars in these ceremonies. The literary inquisition launched during the Ch'ien-lung period reveals that, in the eighteenth century, a Chinese who yearned for the old cap and garments was still considered a dangerous rebel.[22] [648]

The second headdress has the form of a sack, of black cloth, tightly bound around the head. A tail, three feet in length, is fixed on this cap. Plaited with red rope around a twisted black rope of cloth, the tail which is thin at the bottom and thick at the end, is rolled on the head, but released when the shaman is executing acrobatic evolutions.

The third one is a crown, in form like the *chod pon* of the lamas,[23] divided in front into five parts, bearing a crude picture of the god of the five roads, the Wu-tao-shen, whose disciples the shamans claim to be. (Shamans never wear a crown with the five Dhyani Buddhas; their antagonism toward Lamaism is too pronounced to do that; they never will perform rites in a Buddhist temple of the village.)[24]

THE DRUM

The drum is one of the important implements of a shaman. It is used to invoke the spirits during the performance of the rites; the spirits enter into it and ritual dances are performed in time with the beat. Every shaman has his own drum, and generally another in reserve. Upon the death of the shaman his drum is buried with him in the coffin, for it is a personal object. The boy apprentices receive a drum of smaller dimensions from their father, on the day of their dedication to the twelve spirits. Apprentices who receive part of their 756 534 [766]

[21] J. J. M. De Groot, *The religious systems of China* 6: Bk. II: 1267, 1910, Leiden, Brill.

[22] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 12, 1949. However, the Chinese were required to change to Manchu dress at the insistence of a Chinese official. See S. Cammann, *China's dragon robes*, 21, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[23] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 92, Paris, Plon, 1929.

[24] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148, Importance of the cap. [p. 83(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Apprentices who receive part of their training for a couple of years from another shaman, during the summer time, and who acknowledge him as their master, offer him a gown upon completion of their education. In return, they receive a drum from him. The rules of apprenticeship among the shamans are the same as those already noted for other apprentices, such as carpenters. 756 534 [874]

The overwhelming magical significance attached to the drum by the nomad shamans is lacking among the Monguor shamans. Among the nomads, when the apprentice, after completing his depressing training, beats the drum for the first time, he becomes hypnotized and tranced.[25] Although the Monguor shamans consider the drum a sacred magical object, the same overriding importance is not attached to it.

The drum is built in a primitive way. A handle is attached to an iron circle with iron rings, which produce noise when the drum is beaten. On the iron circle is stretched a piece of goatskin, which has been soaked in water and shaved. On its surface are often painted crude pictures of heaven, with the sun, moon, the big and the little dippers, stars and clouds. The drumstick is usually made from peachwood or strips of goat hide twisted together.

THE KNIFE

The shamans use a knife when driving away the evil spirits. The knife is twelve inches long and two inches wide, and pointed at the end. To the handle are attached noisemaking iron rings. Sometimes the Chinese knife used for cutting noodles is substituted. 756 413 293

THE MAGIC STAFF

The staff, which is of wood, seems to be an important tool.[26] To the top is affixed a copper mirror surmounted by a three-pronged iron fork to which tassels of red rope are attached. The staff ends in an iron point, so that it may be planted erect in the ground during the time when council with the spirit is asked for. The magic staff is a tool used by lamas and Taoists as well as by shamans. The staff of the lamas differs from that of the shamans in that the mirror is surmounted by a copper skull, while above the skull is the point of a spear. The staff of the Taoists has an octagonal shaft with an iron point on top.

Each time, before performing a rite, the shaman asks his spirits in the staff about the most fitting rite for the circumstance, the sacrifice to be offered. The answer is supplied by the twelve spirits making the arms of the shaman shiver, and so he knows how to conjure evil spirits who harm persons, families, or herds. It is always called *Yang-t'ou san-ch'iang*. (I could never get an explanation of this Chinese term.) The staff is used when the shamans go into private families in order 756 793

[25] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 79.

[26] Ugo Holmbergs, Siberian mythology, in *Mythology of all races* 4: 522, Boston, 1927.

[p.84(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to drive away evil spirits. It is not used during the ceremonies celebrated in the temple of the village. The staff is considered to be endowed with magical power and is planted before the picture of the Twelve Tengris honored by the shaman at his home. It is honored like an idol; the shaman burns incense and prostrates himself before it. 756 793

Every time a shaman uses his tools they have to be purified. By smoking them above a fire of cypress boughs. It is said that some laymen who honor a special spirit are able to use a staff and to call their spirit into it.

SPIRITS HONORED BY THE SHAMANS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans involves the very interesting question of how and to what extent shamanism and Taoism became mixed and interwoven among the Monguor shamans—a question which is all the more interesting because it has often been written that shamanism and Taoism are strongly linked together. In order to tackle the problem it is necessary to determine whether the spirits honored by shamans and Taoists are the same, whether the ways of worshipping them are similar, and what may have been the reason for the intermixture of the two religions. 756 177 171

SHAMANS, DISCIPLES OF THE TAOIST GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The most baffling and confusing fact in this respect is that all the Monguor shamans overtly claim to be disciples of the "god of the five roads," the Wu-tao-shen, who is a Taoist god. 756 776 171

When the chiefs of the villages invite a shaman to perform his rites of spring or autumn for the community, they send one of the elders with an official invitation written on a slip of red paper, "to [sir] Hsien-sheng so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads." During the Mongol dynasty the term *Hsien-sheng* was only used for Taoist priests. On New Year's the shamans send to the chiefs of the villages and to outstanding people a card reading, "Happy Congratulations of so-and-so, disciple of the god of the five roads." It has already been noted that the crown worn by the Monguor shamans represents the god of the Five Roads, that one of the caps worn during the performance of the rites is the cap of the Taoist priests, and that the pattern of their gown, except for its color, is the same as that of the Taoist priests. It has been noted that the Monguor shamans are members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the city. When a shaman dies he is buried wearing the crown of the god of the Five Roads. If one adds that many of the temples in the villages in which the shamans perform their rites are dedicated to the god of the Five Roads, and that at the same time more Taoist statues are honored in them, it gives the impression that the shamans are a kind of Taoist. Not only does the cult of the god of

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the Five Roads link them to Taoism, but also the cults 756
of Lung-wang (the Dragon King, provider of rain), 776
Niang-Niang (the Mother Goddess of children), Ho Hu 171
(provider of rain), Hsüan-t'an (guardian deity against hail), Ma-wang (the Horse King, protector of horses), and Ts'ai Shen (the god of wealth). During the performance of their rites these gods are called up, and are supposed to come to attend the gathering of the community. The dialogues between the shamans and the Taoist deities gave the illusion of attending a real Taoist assembly.

All these facts evidence the assumption that the shamans worship the gods of Taoism.

"GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS"

The Monguor shamans during the performance of 175
their rites in spring and autumn never fail to assert be- 776
fore the public that they are the real disciples of the 756
god of the five roads, who was created god by the emperors of the Chou dynasty (1122–256 B.C.) and that the General Chiang Tze-ya ordered them to worship him, teaching them the way of honoring him, and promising that he would provide his aid and support to them in the most trying and straightened circumstances, and would never falter.

This explanation, in crude Taoistic fashion, is a far cry from that of nomad shamans who assert that the good spirits had sent from heaven a shaman eagle to teach their ancestors the way of combatting the evil spirits,[27] and from the explanation given by the same Monguor shamans that their ancestors were chosen by the Twelve Tengris. These ambiguous and equivocal explanations seem really to cancel one another out. According to their own explanation their shamanism is ultimately founded on a mandate received from a Chinese general.[28]

The real history of the famous god of the Five Roads I never had the opportunity to find out. In some temples I read the two following inscriptions, "Duke Mu of Ch'in raised him by imperial patent to Wu-tao; prince Chuang of Ch'u gave him, by imperial grace, the title of General"; and "General Mountain before the carriage of King Chou: the spirit of T'ai mountain raised him to Wu-tao." These two inscriptions seem to be as apocryphal as the saying of the shamans, and assign to a period earlier than reliably recorded history the creation of the god. The cult of the god of the Five Roads, however, seems to be widespread along the northwestern borders of China. I met it from

[27] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 2–3.

[28] Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1658–1659, 1841, Ho Kien-fu, 1903. Chiang Tze-ya was traditionally the Shang general who became a counsellor to the founder of the Chou dynasty. He died in 1120 B.C.; twelve centuries later, during the Han dynasty, he became a very popular god of all kinds of pickled stuff. In 731, during the T'ang, he was created "war god" by the Taoist Emperor Huang-tsung, and an order was given to build temples to him.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Hsining across Ning-hsia to Sui-yuan, and Father W. Grootaers noted in the region of Wan-ch'üan (Kalgan), 109 temples of the Wu-tao shen,[29] most of them smaller than they had once been. The representations of the god of the Five Roads in the temples are all very similar. The reason for this similarity in temples so distant one from another may be that the Chinese painters used printed books in which they found the stereotypes and traditional representations of the whole series of spirits. They also used books containing all kinds of inscriptions appropriate to the different special spirits and to the spirits in general, and this explains the uniformity of the inscriptions and paintings encountered all over the country.[30]

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TEMPLES OF THE GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The abode of the god consists generally of three rooms (*chien*) situated on the north side of a mud or brick walled courtyard. On each side of the courtyard are another three or more rooms for storage of all kind of paraphernalia used for processions and for the kitchen. The entrance is in front of the abode of the god. According to the topography of the country the temple is sometimes built against a mountain without taking account of the points of the compass. In the middle of the three rooms of the front building there is always placed a sedan chair in which is the statue of a female deity clad with a more or less precious robe, or there is the statue of a male deity, such as Wu-tao or Lung-wang. The female deity usually represents the goddess, Niang Niang (mother goddess of children); seldom, Shui-mu, the goddess of the water. The statue seems to be the center of attention for the whole building. It is carried in procession when the people are praying for rain, or for protection against hail. Every year the statues of the goddesses of the temples of Sha-t'ang Valley are carried to the temple of the god Erh-lang,[31] locked up with the god for one night and brought back the next day. The god is said to enjoy the visits of all the goddesses. This curious custom will be discussed later.

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On the walls of the three rooms are frescoes depicting the god of the Five Roads, who is never alone, but associated with other gods. In the central panel the god sits on a large chair, represented in the customary fashion of a corpulent Chinese general, with long black beard, military cap, red coat over armor, large loose

756 776 346 532

[29] William A. Grootaers, Temples and history of Wan-ch'üan, *Monumenta Serica*, 13: 232, 1948. What is said in this very valuable study, in Chap. 2, on the Wu-tao temples, concerning the arrangements of the temples, the images and frescoes, even the inscriptions, tallies completely with my former notes. This is the first and only study made in China concerning all the temples built in a limited area, affording interesting data for the history of religion and the history of the country.

[30] *Ibid.*, 239.

[31] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 263. The identity of this spirit seems not to be the same in North and Middle China.

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belt at the waist, the legs sprawled apart, boots with 756
thick soles on the feet, and a sword in the hand. On 776
the eastern panel is painted another general, the god 346
of the Mountain (Shan Shen) in nearly the same pos- 532
ture. On the western panel is painted an older man with white beard, vest, a yellow robe, hands hidden in his large sleeves; he is the god of the Earth (T'u-ti Shen). Why these three gods are always placed together is a mystery.

In the foreground of the three images on the east is the god P'an-tze, the judge, holding in his hands the "register of the living and the dead" (Sheng-ssu p'u). On the west is a horned, black-faced devil with red skin, holding the "Tablet to hook souls" (K'u hun p'ai). It is a strange gathering of disparate gods whose association is a puzzle. The association of these gods in the same temple explains the fact that some shamans, when performing rites, wear a crown with only one image, that of the god of the Five Roads, while others wear a crown with three images (Wu-tao, Mountain god, Earth god), and some wear the crown with five images, adding P'an-tze and the black-faced devil. It is no wonder that one also sees in some temples of the god of the Five Roads the inscription: "Wu-tao, Mountain god, and Earth god, protect this village, that it may get peace." All these disconcerting anomalies do not bother either the shamans or the Monguors.

In temples, so far distant from one another, we find not only similarity in the representation of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, but even in the subjects painted on the frescoes on both the side walls of the temple. Father Grootaers calls the subject, "the pursuit of the evil ones," explaining that "the god honored in the temple is shown on horseback, engaged in a pursuit against the powers of evil, which he then brings back enchained."[33] What, however, may have been the original mystical or ascetic meaning is not known, but the subject seems wonderfully adapted to the circumstances of the country of Hsining and the mentality of the people. The region of Hsining is mountainous. The most terrible yearly scourges, dreaded by the people, are the summer hailstorms devastating their crops. They are supposed to be produced by evil spirits, who must be combatted and subdued. The specific means used by the shamans in order to protect the crops against that scourge will be recorded later.

On the eastern wall is painted the picture of a hail- 756
storm. The pictures in Hsining are more fantastic and 532
in better keeping with the imagination of a Chinese painter than the pictures seen by Father Grootaers. An old, wickedly shrewd Chinese woman with disheveled hair blows wind and storm by means of a pair of bellows. A fat Chinese, elaborately vested, extends his arms, and black, threatening clouds gush effusively out

[33] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 220. [p.86(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

of his large sleeves—he is the spirit of the clouds. Another corpulent Chinese god pours a torrent of rain out of the urn of the rainbow, which he holds in his hands. A Chinese girl, standing in the sky, flashes two metal mirrors producing terrific lightning. A spirit with athletic appearance, having a couple of long wings attached to his back, clashes a hammer and chisel together with fury, producing thunder. All over the scene big hailstones rattle down on crops and herds of fleeing sheep and cows and people with bleeding faces. Horses, cows, sheep, birds, serpents, and a couple of men lie dead on the ground. In the sky the three famous gods on horseback, with a whole retinue of dragon riders led by the devil, and the judge accompanied by a wolf and tiger, start the pursuit of the evil doers. It is a terrific picture for people who know by experience the havoc wrought on their crops by hailstorms. 756 532

In front of this awful picture on the western wall is displayed the pageant of the victorious return of the gods and their retinue, riding spirited horses, with banners on high, tiger and wolf with mouths and teeth red with blood from devouring the evil doers. The whole procession is proceeding toward the gate of a walled town where an immense crowd, on bended knees, waits to thank and congratulate the gods.

These two pictures are never lacking, either in the temples of the dragon gods of Ho-hu, Hsüan-T'an, or in those of the goddesses of children. This fact is really significant and reveals the people's dread of hailstorms.

The God of the Five Roads with his associates, over whom he seems to preside, is supposed to be a protector against hailstorms, so much dreaded by the people.

All these cumulative facts prove without question that the Monguor shamans have adopted the gods of Taoism and honor them. [177]

SHAMANS AND THEIR OWN TWELVE TENGRIS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans is not exhausted by the cult of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, since they still honor their own old spirits, calling them, "Our Twelve good Tengris, the most potent among the spirits." The young shamans are dedicated to the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads. Moreover, the shamans honor at home the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads. 756 776 532

Who are the Tengris? Most of the pictures I saw were very primitive and painted by shamans themselves; those painted by Chinese artists were better. The pictures represented four rows of three Chinese warriors riding horses and wearing bow and quiver; a man on foot, with bow and quiver, accompanied each of the soldiers. In the center of the picture there was painted a man, not a warrior, bigger in size than the others, dressed in black, with a black face and beard, riding a white tiger and holding in his hand a knotty staff. I was curious about them, and was told that the black tiger rider was the chieftain, the leader of the

[p.86(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

group, and also, that on old images painted before the Moslem rebellion, the twelve warriors and their servants were represented as Mongols, and not Chinese, and further, that a couple of modern shamans recently added to their pictures of the warriors, three Chinese girls riding on horseback, whom they called the "three small grandmothers," the *San Hsiao Niang Niang*. 756 776 532

The conviction existing among the Monguor shamans that the Twelve Tengris are their original and proper spirits is too general and too definite, and the behavior of the shamans toward them is too significant to be simply ignored or explained away. Further, the Monguors and the shamans know very well that shamans are not Taoist priests, and for that reason they call them *Bö* or *Fa shih*, "Masters of Magic," and not *Tao-shih*, "Masters of Tao," and they know very well that the rites performed by the shamans are not the same as those performed by Taoist priests in the country. Therefore, a rational explanation should exist.

CULT OF THE TWELVE TENGRIS TRACED

In the last month of the year the houses had to be cleansed and purified of all kinds of evil influences and spirits. At the palace of the prince a group of young boys, frightening and cursing the evil spirits hidden in the rooms, cried out that the "12 spirits" were on the way to hunt down and annihilate them; a group of 12 men, disguised as animals, led by the official exorcist (*Fang hsiang*) started pursuing the evil spirits.[33] 756 776 796

The eleventh on the list of the pursuing spirits was the "tiger," who was reputed the fiercest destroyer of all producers of calamities. Tigers are supposed to be the fiercest enemies of evil spirits . . . the tiger was the first dancer among the 12 performers of the rite.[34]

The tiger was the white tiger.[35]

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[33] Henri Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 246, Paris, Boccard, 1927.

[34] Marcel Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine antique*, 319, 299–320, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

[35] *Ibid.*, 306. Ch. de Harlez, *Le livre des esprits et des immortels*, 176, Bruxelles, F. Hayez, 1893: "The nature of the white tiger, according to the *Shen-hsien t'ung chien* (18th century) seems to be at least ambiguous . . . the tiger is the strongest expression of the *Yang* principle (principle of power); the tiger lives 1,000 years and becomes white only after 500 years; its claws and the powder obtained by the burning of its skin are the most powerful; the thunder is its voice, talismans; or is produced by the noise of walking heavenly tigers. . . . In the regions of the west, at Fung lung, lived a white tiger accustomed to drinking human blood; every year the people offered a human sacrifice to it in order that it might desist from killing men. Chang Tao-ling (patron of the Taoists) ordered it to desist from this practice; the tiger left the country and disappeared forever. . . ."

Owen Lattimore, The gold tribe 'Fishkin Tatars' of the lower Sungari, *Memoirs Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* 40: 62, 1933: " . . . spirits like the bear, and especially the tiger, seem to be extremely rare as familiars (of the shamans), though they appear sometimes as enemies in the course of 'great spirit' ceremonies . . . I have heard only once of a shaman who apparently had a tiger familiar; he was regarded as a person much to be dreaded." "Shamans rely on animal spirits, the eagle, sturgeon, weasel, the *ulki* (an animal of the squirrel family), and otter appear to be the commonest familiars [of the shamans]."

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On the doors, on New Year's, was pasted the image of the tiger.[36] 756 776

These texts excerpted from the book *Lün heng* written by Wang Ch'ung, who died in A.D. 80–100, record rites practiced during the centuries before our era, and reveal that the twelve spirits were supposed the most powerful in the matter of driving out evil spirits, and that among the twelve, the White Tiger was paramount. 796

The cult of the twelve spirits led by their chieftan (Fang hsiang) combatting evil spirits seems to have been very popular in China. It was very tenacious, for it was still performed during the Liao dynasty, A.D. 907–1125. Wittfogel and Feng note: " . . . at the end of the year, 12 shamans, led by a great 'Wu,' sang, shouted, rang bells, and walked (or danced) around the tents with arrows in their hands, fighting off the spirits. Then they retreated to special tents for seven days." [37]

The cult of the twelve spirits of the Monguor shamans seems to be related to the old cult of the twelve spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount, the whole group being led by a chieftain, the Fang hsiang. Although in their pictures twelve warriors are represented plus the black rider on a white tiger, they always call the picture "the picture of the Twelve Tengris," and not the picture of thirteen spirits, or the picture of the White Tiger. They assert that they are the servants of the twelve spirits, their apprentices are dedicated to the twelve spirits, and the Monguors who honor the picture at home as a protector of the family, always call it, "The picture of the Twelve Tengris." They no longer know that the twelve warriors represented, in old times, twelve spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount. However, all these facts seem to evidence that it is deeply ingrained in their consciousness that they honor Twelve Tengris, and no more, which are the enemies and destroyers of evil spirits. What is really astonishing is that, notwithstanding that the origin of the cult is completely lost, they continue to paint twelve warriors, and to put in the center of the picture a big white tiger mounted by a rider holding, not weapons, but a knotty staff in his hand. In this way the prominent role played in old times by the white tiger seems to be conserved, for a tiger occupies the center of the picture. What is even 756 776 [532]

W. Heissig, Schamanen im Kürye-Banner, *Folklore Studies* 3: 1: 44, Peking, 1944. The shaman in the Kürye-Banner wears an apron during the performances, representing the skin of a brown spotted tiger.

Doolittle, *Social life of the Chinese*, 229. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 146. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* 1: 344–352; 2: 144, 160, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

[36] Granet, *op. cit.*, 336.

[37] Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, (907–1125), *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 218, 1949. See also Eberhard, "Ich habe es für sehr wahrscheinlich dass die Tiertänze der No-Feste auf Turkestanischen fremde Einflüsse zuruck gehen," *Lokalkulturen, op. cit.* 1: 188.

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more astonishing is that the most potent rite performed 756
by the shamans against hail is called, all over the coun- 776
try, the Rite of the White Tiger, and that inside the mound built at that time is buried the effigy of the White Tiger with the black rider. Even today they still call the black rider the leader of the whole group, but nobody is able to explain why he is represented with a coat of black paint.

The three essential elements of the old cult are still represented in the picture, the twelve warriors representing the animals, the White Tiger being the most prominent, and the leader being the Fang hsiang of olden times.

Still another conclusion is to be drawn from the tradition that in former times, before the revolts of the Moslems, the twelve warriors were represented as Mongol warriors, and the fact that the twelve warriors are called *Tengris*, the Mongol term for a "heavenly being," and not *shen*, the Chinese term for a "spirit," notwithstanding that they call the other spirits by the Chinese name. Therefore, it seems obvious that the ancestors of the Monguor shamans must have belonged to the groups of Mongols who were settled in the country of Huang-chung by the Yüan dynasty, and that they came to Hsining bringing with them their Tengris from Mongolia. Monguor shamans seem to be of barbarian rather than Chinese stock.

Still another problem remains unsolved. The Mon- 756
guors are a fusion of two important groups, Mongols 184
and Shat'o Turks. We seem to be able to detect the [174]
share of the shamans of the Mongol group in the shamanism of the Monguors, but what has been the share of the Shat'o group? To be sure, the Shat'o were as shamanist as the other Turkish groups of Asia. Did they practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris before they settled in the country in 939? What kind of shamanism did they practice? It would be very interesting to know something about the cult of the Twelve Tengris and the role of the White Tiger among them in former times, but no data are available concerning their shamanism and at present the shamanist practices in the different groups of Monguors seem to be all the same.

We only know that the Shat'o who founded the dynasties of Hou T'ang and Hou Chin, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, honored the old Turkish "God of Heaven." After their conquest of North China the Hou Chin emperor, in 927, made offerings at the winter equinox, outside the city, to the "Barbarian God" at the hill of the White Marshal. When the emperor died, two of his best horses were sacrificed on the Western Mountain. The horse was the most important offering among all the Turkish tribes. Sacrifices were made on the tops of mountains. They liked to worship mountains. The Shat'o liked to visit the Buddhist caves of Lungmen. It is well known that the Turks had a cave myth and that with it was connected a cave

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cult—but in spite of these scanty facts our problem remains unsolved.[38] 756 184

MONGUOR SHAMANS—WU OF OLD CHINA—SHAMANS OF CENTRAL ASIA

The leader of the twelve spirits is, according to the texts, the Fang hsiang, an exorcist belonging to the class of sorcerers who were specialists in the art of neutralizing all kinds of harmful influences and used by the princes for that purpose.[39] "This group, called *Wu*, was an old priesthood of China, spontaneously produced by the animistic religion . . . it still bore supreme sway in the former Han dynasty" (202 B.C.–A.D. 8).[40] The Wu included the kinds of male and female shamans that are encountered all over Asia (Wu are recorded among the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C.).[41] They were proficient in exorcising spirits of evil and illness, calling down gods and human spirits, going into trances and being possessed, telling the future.[42] Later the Wu were recognized by the official priesthood, who used them in their official ceremonies for calling down spirits and regulating the seats of the gods at sacrifices.[43] 756

In the *Chou-li*, 1122–256 B.C., are recorded the duties performed at court by these *Wu* scorcerers many centuries before our era, in summoning good spirits in order to drive out evil ones.[44]

Wittfogel and Feng write:

> In our translation we have called the *wu*, shamans. This term is generally used to designate the religious functionaries of Inner and Northern Asia, whose status does not depend upon an officially institutionalized position but is derived from power received "directly from the spirits as a gift or grant." In Asia two types of shamans may be distinguished—the arctic and subarctic. The latter exhibit less ecstasy and only rarely have recourse to frenzy or trance in the performance of their magic and prayers. Among the Ch'i-tan, as among most Altaic peoples, shamanism was definitely "subarctic" and possession was more the exception than the rule.[45]

The Wu in China up to the present time act in the same way, using bells, drums, swords, scepter, whip, dagger, dancing, and the calling down of spirits.[46] At present they are called *Shih-kung* (masters). They represent themselves publicly as priests of Taoism.[47] Chinese law considers them as belonging to the wide class of secular Taoist priests.[48] The capacity of be- [171]

[38] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerers and rulers*, 92–95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[39] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 200.

[40] J. J. De Groot, *The religious system of China* 6: 1206, Leiden, Brill, 1910.

[41] *Ibid.*, 1201.

[42] *Ibid.*, 1190.

[43] *Ibid.*, 1191.

[44] Edouard Biot, *Le Tcheouli ou rites du Tcheou* 2: 102, 103, Paris, Duprat, 1851.

[45] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 217. See also page 291, note.

[46] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212.

[47] *Ibid.*, 1245.

[48] *Ibid.*, 1251. [p. 88 (B)]

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coming Shih-kung can hardly be obtained except by in- 756
heritance, from a line of able priestly ancestors. They adopt no pupil who is not the son of a colleague,[49] and they use Taoist gods for their own purpose.[50]

CULT OF THE TWELVE TENGRIS SPECIFICALLY SHAMANIST

The Monguor shamans seem to belong to the Altaic classification. The traditions concerning the antiquity of the cult of the Twelve Tengris and the preference of the Monguor shamans for the cult are not to be overlooked. An obvious reason for this preference may be found in the fact that the range of activities of the Tengris is more far reaching than that of the Wu tao shen, the god of the Five Roads, because the Tengris combat all kinds of evil spirits while the god of the Five Roads and his associates combat only the hail spirits.

However, the basic reason for the preference among 774
the shamans for the cult of the Twelve Tengris is 756
deeply rooted in the peculiar philosophy of shamanism as it exists in Asia. According to Dioszegi, there existed

> two notions, from the time Shamanism was still in formation, concerning the combats of the shamans with evil spirits: the first assumes that the shaman himself, having taken the shape of an animal, is engaged in the struggle; the second, that the guardian spirit of the shaman, having taken the shape of an animal, waged war.[51]

The Tungus tell of two shamans who changed themselves into bear and tiger, fighting in the presence of the people, and of shamans who assume one of the animal spirit forms to travel a long way.[52] Concerning this philosophy Shirokogoroff notes:

> . . . the group of spirits associated, at least by name, with animals is very numerous . . . by the Northern Tungus these are not considered as animals but manifestations assumed by the spirits; there are the tiger, bear, wolf, fox, snake, dragon, deer, roe-deer, dog, horse, carp, cuckoos, falcons, hawks, eagle, etc.[53]

The old specific shamanist concept concerning animal-like beings (spirits) waging war with evil spirits lies at the base of the Tengris cult. It was realized in the rite of the twelve animal spirits who, long before our era, drove the evil spirits out of the palace of the prince.

This peculiar old philosophy must have caused the ancestors of our Monguor shamans to choose for themselves the cult of the Twelve Tengris and to dedicate themselves to these animal-like Tengris. Today the Monguor shamans unconsciously continue to perform the same dedication and to practice the same cult. The

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[49] *Ibid.*, 1252.
[50] *Ibid.*, 1254.
[51] Dioszegi, Le combat sous forme d'animal des chamans, *Acta Orientalia* 2: 315, Budapest, 1952.
[52] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 371.
[53] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 174. [p.89 (A)]

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philosophy, therefore, explains the Rite of the White Tiger performed today by the Monguor shamans against hail, and the same principle (as we will see later) is applied in the rite of the "goat skin" and of the "wooden raven" against hail. The same philosophy is encountered in the facts previously related by Owen Lattimore among the Fishkin Tatars, by W. Heissig in the Kürye-Banner, and by Shirokogoroff among the Tungus. In all the studies concerning shamanism in Asia this philosophy is attested.[54]

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Therein lies the reason why the Monguor shamans practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris and why it must be said that the Monguor shamans are genuine shamans, belonging to the Altaic classification. No hints are available to suggest that the Twelve Tengris were not the initial spirits to which the ancestor of the Monguor shaman dedicated himself, and we have no hints to fix the time when their ancestor shaman lived. It may only be assumed that the Monguor shamans already served the Tengris at the time of the Yüan dynasty when they settled in Kansu, because their Tengris at that time were represented as Mongol warriors and because the shamans in Mongolia practiced for centuries the subarctic form of shamanism.

MONGUOR SHAMANS ENTER THE TAOIST GUILD

It is a well-known fact that among the

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> South Mongolian tribes of the Ordos, Tümed and Chahar regions as well as among the North Mongolian Khalkha . . . Shamanism and other "unorthodox creeds" had since been "outlawed" by the code of the Jassaktu Khan, by the religious proclamation of Altan Khan (1577) and the corresponding decree of the Siditü Gabcu in Khalkha (1587), [but that] certain undercurrents of a popular Chinese Taoist mysticism, known there under the name of *Bon-po* (Bö), had continued for some while, but at the death of Ligdan Khan (1634) the Yellow Sect was well established in these parts of Mongolia.[55]

"Outlawed" does not mean that these "unorthodox creeds," these Bon-po, etc., disappeared because of codes, proclamations, and decrees, for their existence is still attested; but they were persecuted or their activities were restrained.

The Red Sect, patronized by Mongol and Ming emperors and Mongol chiefs, fought a fierce battle against shamanism and Bön. The Yellow Sect fought against the Red Sects from 1558; to these former edicts may be added that of 1640, which had stipulations concerning the suppression of shamanism. "Forty-eight princes and chiefs of Mongol tribes convened in order to fix the so-called 'Mongol-Oirat regulations.'" Among them were Mongol princes of Khalkha, Jungaria, Kukunor (near Hsining) as well as of Siberia, and later two

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[54] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 94–98, 413.

[55] Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century. *Anthropos* 48: 493, 1953.

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more supplementary decrees of Galdan Hun-tai-ji were added to them.[56] 771 628

From 1558 until 1640, regulations of Mongol chiefs followed each other, aiming primarily at the destruction of shamanism. The Monguor shamans must have known these facts, for news spreads rapidly among barbarians. At the same time they saw the favors bestowed in the country on lamaseries, Karwas, and Nang-suos, by the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, and they saw Erh-ku-lung, at the height of its glory, founding successively its forty-two branches, each having celebrated lamas. Life or death was the question for the Monguor shamans of Hsining. 756 175 795 575

It is tempting to suppose that the shamans, living in the quasi-independent territories of the T'u-ssu, near cities in which lived Taoist priests who were organized in guilds officially recognized by the empire, might have sought refuge with the Taoists in order to save their institution and traditions and that they might willingly have entered the guild of the Taoists, whose gods they worshipped for centuries.

If the shamans themselves had been opposed to enrollment in the guild, which entailed pecuniary disadvantages for them and the performance of non-remunerative rites in the city, surely the T'u-ssu, whose subjects they were, could easily have prevented the infringement of the rights, since their Monguors were only responsible to them for corvées, and since their subjects were not enrolled in Chinese guilds. Precisely herein lies the stress of the assumption that without the willing cooperation of the shamans, shamans never could have entered the guild, and when they entered the guild it was through fear of persecution by the Yellow Sect. According to this assumption, the shamans could have entered the Taoist guilds before the revolt of the lamas in 1723 and the catastrophe which befell Lamaism. It is easy, therefore, to understand the reluctance of the shamans to perform any rites in the temples dedicated to deities of Lamaism or to wear the crown of the five Dhyani. On the other hand they willingly perform rites in all kinds of Taoist temples, except the temples of Kuan-ti (God of War). I never obtained an explanation of this; in the whole Monguor region no Kuan-ti temple exists, while all the temples of the Monguors, which are the centers of the religious life of the village, are Taoist temples, and most of the protectors of the families belong to Taoism. Monguors cannot miss their shamans who only perform rites in Taoist temples.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the Monguor shamans honor two kinds of spirits—one, spirits belonging to Taoism, and the other, spirits belonging to their shamanism proper; that the Monguor shamans are related to the group of old Wu priests 756 [776]

[56] V. A. Riasanovski, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buriats, Kalmuks)*, 29–35, 1929. [A 90(A)]

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existing in China from the dawn of history, who are 756
considered akin with the shamans of Central Asia; that the Monguor shamans probably entered the guild of the Taoist priests before the catastrophe which befell Lamaism in 1723 in order to save their institution, but that they still harbor the conviction that they are genuine shamans and not Taoist priests. The fact that during the performance of their rites they act as shamans, and not as Taoist priests, will give evidence for this assumption.

VII. THE KURTAIN

THE TYPE OF THE KURTAIN

Among the Monguors there is encountered still another type of possessed man whom they call a *Kurtain* (Tibetan, *Skurgdien*), and whom the Chinese call *Fa-la-shih* or *Ku-wai-tien*. He is found most frequently in genuine Monguor families, and plays an important role in the religious life of the Monguors.

A farmer, shepherd, or laborer—anybody, old or young, poor or rich, even a lama may become a Kurtain but well-to-do or rich men seldom do so. Several times I was told, by old Monguors, that in former times in San-ch'uan a woman subject of the Li T'u-ssu discharged that duty.

A Kurtain is a man who, all of a sudden, is seen to 756
be possessed by some spirit. It happens most often at 757
the time of a terrific storm, when he is helping combat the hail spirits, or at the feast in the spring when he sees a possessed shaman worked into a frenzy, or at night while attending the awful ceremonies which are performed to appease the avenging spirit of a suicide. Suddenly he starts speaking indistinctly, nervously gesticulating with his arms and hands, acting in an unusual way. Arriving at the temple supported and led by his companions, he declares himself to be possessed by so-and-so, a spirit who compels him to be his disciple. Such Kurtains, the Monguors told me, are usually the genuinely possessed. They always added, however, that they suspected the authenticity of Kurtains who become possessed by dint of weeks and weeks of exacting exercises in which they study how to imitate the behavior and trances of old Kurtains.

The "Kurtainship" is never inherited in the family. 756
The possessed is singled out by the spirit himself to be his disciple, and after his death, the spirit chooses another disciple in another family. Thus, no duty is imposed on the family to continue providing a successor to the Kurtain, and the honoring of this spirit. Kurtains are not like the shamans described above, whose families are bound to continue the service of the Twelve Tengris accepted by their ancestors. Shaman boys must receive a training by their masters in order to learn how to become possessed. Upon the genuine Kurtain, however, the possession is forced unexpectedly and then

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for the first time the Kurtain starts an exacting training 756
which lasts for several weeks. This consists of dancing, vaulting, fencing practices, for he has to be in top trim in order to appear on the stage. He must discipline himself to the rules of a possessed man, in order to acquire the required disposition favorable to ulterior possession by his spirit.

It is customary for spirits to have only one disciple in the village. When he dies another appears, usually after a short time, but occasionally even after a long time, to discharge the duty. When a Kurtain grows old, his spirit abandons him and chooses a younger man to take his place. Kurtains, according to the Monguors, are very often really savage and violent when they are in the full bloom of their youth. The people are more scared of them than of shamans. Later, as they grow older, they become more moderate and calm. The genuine Kurtains, according to the Monguors, have their nerves easily excited. They do not look straight at the interlocutor, shun the company of men, and are rather fond of not talking. I got the same impression. Monguors do not trust much those who brag and boast about their prodigious achievements. It is also said that many Kurtains have their nerves on edge and feel excited and anxious between the fifteenth and the twentieth of the month. They feel hysterical and terrified at the time of storms.

BY WHAT SPIRITS ARE KURTAINS POSSESSED?

The Kurtains, who are not very numerous, are said 756
to be mostly possessed by spirits of Taoism, never by 776
the Twelve Tengris of the shamans or by the Heavenly Spirit. It has already been said that many temples of the villages are dedicated to the "Wu-tao-shen," some to the dragon spirit, others to the spirit of horses, or the spirit of cows; a few to Ho-hu and to the Mother goddess, to the god of Riches and Wealth, but in all those temples there is always in evidence a nice sedan chair where the statue of the Mother goddess or the dragon god or Wu-tao is enthroned. The reason is that it is customary to have a sedan chair in each village to be carried in the processions. Most of the Monguors honor at home the picture of the same Taoist spirits, although some honor Lamaistic deities. It has been noted above that in a few villages there is also a Buddhist temple apart from the temple of the village, but these temples are never the center of the religious life of the village. No wonder that most of the Kurtains claim to be the disciples of Taoist spirits. A few Kurtains claim to be possessed by deities of Lamaism.

AUTHORIZATION OF TESTS OF THE KURTAINS

The Monguors, having found themselves tricked 756
many times, harbor a guarded and skeptical mood, and 571
distrust new Kurtains. Since they suspect the au-

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thenticity of their possession, the Kurtain has to provide 756
evidence of being possessed, which has to be tested and 571
checked by qualified men, before they can enjoy the benefit of a "diploma" showing their credentials. Not only the Monguors but the lamas ask for a serious test.

If the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a Lamaist 756
deity whose incarnation is living at the lamasery, the 787
test is provided by this Living Buddha himself, who 571
is the best qualified man for the examination. If there is no such incarnation at the lamasery, the Kurtain has to invite the Living Buddha, or a Fa-t'ai, to offer him a gift, and implore him to make the test. In case the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism, the chiefs of the village urge him to pass the test before a Living Buddha anyhow, for only the Living Buddhas are supposed to possess the required yardsticks *ad hoc*. Old Kurtains cannot test the authenticity of new Kurtains. In the event the Kurtain declares himself to be possessed by a deity of Lamaism, the community of the village defrays the expenses required for the test. If he declares himself to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism he has to defray the expenses himself.

The test of a Kurtain possessed by a Taoist spirit is 756
carried out as follows: the Living Buddha, who sits on 787
his throne under the porch of the main temple with all the lamas, while the temple yard is packed to capacity with a curious and interested crowd, orders the Kurtain to sit beneath the steps.

The Kurtain wears the usual gown worn by the Monguors (seldom a red one) bound round the waist with a sash of red cloth. On a piece of red cloth, covering his head, is fixed a small copper mirror, shining on his forehead; a large red ribbon encircles his head, on which are sewn a lot of small bells. If he happens to be possessed by the spirit Wu tao shen, the spirit of the five roads, he wears a crown of that spirit. Over a large "cloud collar,"[1] which comes down over his shoulders, passes a red rope to which is attached a bigger copper mirror adorned by red, yellow, green, and blue ribbons or *khata*, dangling on his chest. On his back are sewn a couple of red and green handkerchiefs.

He sits erect on a low Chinese table, his legs always [516]
sprawled apart, imitating the exact posture of the god of the Five Roads, even though he may be possessed by the dragon god. The representation of this Chinese warrior, his theatrical attitude seen everywhere in all the temples, must have impressed the Monguors to a very large extent. On the knees of the Kurtain is

[1] This collar seems to hint at a part of the garments worn by the old Mongol princes "Ils (les princes) ont encore une autre forme (l'habit): un collet nommé 'Jaqa' sur les épaules et sur le dos, et qui finit des deux cotés en pointe aigue; il ressemble à un echiquier. Ce bord pend sur les deux épaules. Il est toujours fait en brocart ou en peau de zibeline." H. Serruys, *Pei-lou fong-sou*, Les coûtumes des esclaves septentrionaux, *Monumenta Serica* **10**: 145, 1945. For the "cloud collar" (*Yün-chien*), see S. Cammann, The symbolism of the cloud collar motif, *Art Bull.*, March, 1951.

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placed a sword, and near him a dagger and a long whip. 756
He never uses the drum, which is the specific tool of 787
the shamans.

Shamans, Kurtains, and all kinds of people possessed by good spirits, are everywhere accustomed to assuming the duty of defending their customers against evil spirits. They are fighters and protectors and therefore use all the weapons befitting the job. The Kurtain, in his theatrical attitude, is most aggressive; in his acts he is violent and savage. Shamans, however, by means of their elegant dances, first try to soothe the ruffled feathers of the malignant spirits and to make their spirit protectors feel well disposed.

A fire of cypress twigs is lit before the Kurtain, who prays some version of Om Mani or the *swork'a* prayer of his spirit protector, inviting him to descend into him, while the lamas beat the drums. The Kurtain becomes excited and starts shaking his head, causing the small bells attached to his headdress to ring, making sounds like the bells on the bridle of a running horse. He shakes them more and more furiously, for a long time, becoming more and more excited, and is supposed to be possessed. The shaking of the head is the specific behavior of the Kurtain; hence the Chinese all over the country call him the "head shaking Kurtain"—*Yao t'eou fa-la-shih*. Then the Living Buddha starts asking him about the danger of hailstorms in the next summer, about the next harvest, the peace in the country, in the village, in the lamasery. Then, jumping up on his feet, he does a really furious dance. Bounding savagely, he works himself into a frenzy and starts playing with his sword, cutting and fencing against imagined spirits. He grabs the whip and beats it against the ground with deafening blows. Chasing and pursuing spirits, he jumps in all directions pretending to pierce with his dagger one enemy after another. Finally, dripping with sweat, having used all his weapons, one after another, he is ordered by the Living Buddha to sit down and keep quiet.

Then the Living Buddha asks him of whose spirit he is the disciple, and asks for explanations and the history of his spirit. In the event that the answers satisfy the Buddha and the dances are in conformity with the choreographic rules, the Buddha puts a *khatag* around his neck and declares that he is the genuine disciple of so-and-so (a spirit). Holding in his hands some ropes of cloth, dyed red, he blows on them several times, as Living Buddhas do when they bestow special blessings. He ties them around the neck of the dancer, takes a handful of barley and throws it on him, saying: "Spirit so-and-so is truly your spirit, act accordingly in order to honor him." The Kurtain is then declared officially to be the accredited disciple of the spirit, and all the evidence seems to substantiate the fact of his possession. Having succeeded in the test, the esteem of the people follows the Kurtain in the wake of his achievement. His prestige is enhanced, and surrounded with an aura of success; he will start a new career.

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However, if he does not satisfy the requirements, and 756
does not acquit himself creditably, if his answers are 787
wrong and his dances inadequate and inelegant, he fails abjectly. The angry Buddha, rebuking and snubbing him, pulls off one of his boots and throws it contemptuously and disdainfully at the head of the Kurtain, upbraiding his impudent audacity, saying: "You are not possessed by a spirit, but by an ox, go on." All hopes of the candidate are dashed forever; the trust of the people in him is uprooted. He goes away discomfited, dishonorably evicted, and the possession is finished. The Kurtain cannot withstand the verdict of a Buddha who blocks his way. Twice I attended such a test, once at the monastery of T'ien-t'ang and once at Ch'ie-bzan. I inquired about the fantastic tales current all over the country, concerning the fact that the authenticity of the Kurtains can be tested by making them lick white-hot iron, pierce their chest with a sword, walk and sit on thorns. Always the answers were that in olden times when the Kurtains were more potent, they could stand such tests, but the present Kurtains are not made of the same stuff as in olden times, and therefore these tests can no longer be made.

TESTS OF THE KURTAINS POSSESSED BY A LAMAIST DEITY

The Kurtains possessed by Lamaist deities seem to have possessions of a lower grade. The Kurtain of Seerkok was said to be possessed by the deity Kortong (?) whose incarnation was one of the minor Living Buddhas staying at the monastery. The Kurtain of Erh-ku-lung was possessed by the minor deity Nie-bturk bzan whose incarnation, of second or third rank, was living at the monastery. The pictures of both deities, which I saw at the Karwa of these incarnations, represented the familiar type of the hundreds of Buddhas quietly sitting crosslegged absorbed in meditation, but the men they possessed were none the less furious Kurtains. Learned lamas did not have any knowledge of Kurtains possessed by the so-called guardians of the faith, which are pictured as terrible, cruel warriors. They asserted that all the possessions were manifestations of minor deities, and they could not easily explain how furious Kurtains were possessed by peaceful deities. Concerning the question of the possession of a lama by a Lamaist deity, they deemed it possible, but did not remember such cases in the country.

I never had the opportunity to attend a test ceremony for the kind of Kurtains possessed by Lamaist deities, but the information acquired from Living Buddhas, [115]
lamas, and laymen, seemed to show that little difference existed between the tests of both kinds of Kurtains. The subjects, their avocation, and training are similar, as well as the theatrical performance in the court of the main temple. The Kurtain is attired in the same way and uses the same weapons in the same way, but he must wear on his head the crown of the five Dhyana

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Buddhas. The special *swork'a* or prayer honoring his deity is read by the lamas, and the Kurtain is proclaimed to be a genuinely possessed man. Then he is ordered to memorize his *swork'a* and to recite it before each performance, it being an invitation to his deity to descend into him. 756 787

Then follow the usual recommendations given to all Kurtains about continence on the day of a performance, not to act when his wife is giving birth and at mourning time, not to indulge in wine, to keep his weapons (sword, whip, and dagger) in a decent place and not to use them for other purposes; to give a performance at the monastery at the annual pageant time and in the families where his deity is specially honored, and always stress is put on the obligation to be loyal, honest, and dependable, so as not to cast a blight on the institution. Every time I heard this last recommendation, I remembered what the Monguors had said so many times, that among the Kurtains more dubious fellows are encountered than among the shamans, and for that reason the shamans are invited more by them than the Kurtains. They always added the story of the famous Kurtain of Toolong, which was seared in their mind. It seems really typical and sheds an unfavorable light on the institution. [844]

Many years ago, the Kurtain of Toolong used to predict whether there would be outbreaks of arson in autumn when the crops were heaped upon the threshing floor. In this way he earned a pretty good living, because the crops of the people who had invited him for the performance of his rites were preserved and those of the incredulous people were burned at night. The whole country was really disturbed. However, suspicions arose and the arsonist was taken redhanded one night. He turned out to be the old father of the Kurtain. The chief and the elders of the village hung the old man by his thumbs from a tree and he received a well-deserved lashing to make him reveal the instigator of the arson. Reeling with dizziness and pain, welts and bruises all over his body, the father accused his son, and the Kurtain was hung up and tortured. The infuriated villagers came within a hair of killing him. His mandate of disciple of the spirit was gone forever. Such events are very prejudicial to the Kurtains. They cast a blemish on their group and are commented on all over the country for years, and so the saying goes that there are few good genuine Kurtains, and for that reason all have to be tested.[2] 756 685 [627]

Some of the Kurtains not only upset the villagers once in a while, but even land the monasteries in serious trouble. A fact well known in the country runs, that on the fifteenth of the first moon in 1914, the lamas of the important lamasery of Seerkok invited their Kurtain, possessed by the deity Kortong, to the ceremony carried out in honor of the deity, with great pomp and display. 756 579

[2] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1238, notes a similar case of a *Wu* arsonist.

[p.93(A)]

The feast is celebrated all over the country. The 756
Kurtain is dressed by the lamas in a splendid, long green 579
gown with large sleeves, cut according to the style of the gown worn by Taoist priests. On his back are fixed a couple of small flags, and on his head he wears a helmet. He wears a sword, and holds in his hands a bow and three arrows. He is costumed like the warriors often seen in the theatrical exhibitions performed by Chinese actors.

The Living Buddha Kortong, incarnation of the deity, opened the pageant in the main temple, sitting on his throne presiding over the ceremony. The lamas, cross-legged, sat in a circle in the temple. The Kurtain sat on his low Chinese table in the center of the gathering of the monks with his legs sprawled wide apart. The throng crowded into the forecourt, following the display by looking through the open doors of the temple. The lamas started singing in unison the *swork'a*, and the Kurtain shook his head, ringing his small bells. Becoming excited, he danced his furious dance, worked himself into a frenzy, and played with his sword, whip, and dagger. Then he ran out of the temple, shot three arrows in the air, drank a draught of ox blood out of a bucket and spat it on some handfuls of barley which he threw in the direction of the audience, who tried to catch them in the skirts of their gowns. These grains are supposed to cure all kinds of illness and procure [342] fertility for the women. However, the grains once they fall on the ground lose their magical efficacy.

Then followed the customary questions. The Kurtain all of a sudden again became so mad and wild as to unsheath his sword, and killed an employee of the tribunal of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung, who was attending the show. The Kurtain fled after his savage exploit and disappeared. The lamasery was saddled with the trouble and had to pay a very substantial indemnity. This fact, well known all over the country, is always recalled when Monguors talk about the violence and ferocity of the possessed Kurtains. It is no wonder that, during the exhibitions of Kurtains in the village temples, some people are often frightened out of their wits, take to their heels in panic, and leave the temple.

It happens more often that the Kurtain troubles the 756
feast of the spring, performed by shamans in the village. 578
At the moment when the people are devoutly and happily listening to the prophesies of the shamans, concerning the auspicious prospects for the harvest, a Kurtain arises and furiously asserts that his spirit has revealed to him that terrible hailstorms will destroy the crops of the village. In the southern valley, in the village called "the Eleventh House of the Li T'u-ssu," in 1914, a serious fight started between the shamans and the Kurtain, who was carried away unconscious. The Kurtain brought suit against the shamans at the Chinese court. The prefect delegated the guild of the Taoist priests to settle this matter between religious people.

[p. 93 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The Kurtain was obliged to apologize to the shamans, 756
offering a sheep, and also had to offer a sheep to the 578
deity who protected the village.

During the exhibitions at Erh-ku-lung, the Kurtain 756
was decked in a splendid, long green gown, belonging 292
to the lamasery and fashioned according to that of the Taoist priests. He wore on his head the mitre of a Living Buddha. He did not wear his helmet or the sword; his appearance was less warrior-like and terrible than that of the Kurtain of Seerkok, although he seemed still to represent the type of Chinese theatrical general, with flags on his back, sitting with open sprawled legs, in spite of having had the Buddhist mitre on his head and the Buddhist staff in his hand when the exhibition started. Furthermore, the ceremonies were the same, with cypress fire, recital of the *swork'a*, drumbeating, head shaking with ringing bells, prophesying, whip, and dagger.

The lamaseries are glad to have a Kurtain, because 756
they enhance the interest at the annual pageant. These 571
yearly exhibitions seem to be the principal job of a Kurtain possessed by a lama deity. Once in a while, however, when troubles occur, when the lamasery is sued at court, he is invited to prophesy the issue of the case, but most of the time the lamas solve their own problems. His position at the lamasery seems to be of a very secondary order, according to what lamas say.

Later there will be described the role the Kurtain plays in the community of the village, and in the private life of the Monguors.

Among the Wu of the present time in China is en- 756
countered a category of possessed men and women who 771
seem to be of the same type as the Monguor Kurtains, who are not admitted into the group of the Wu (as the Kurtains are not admitted into the group of the shamans) because they did not pass the traditional tests of the Wu and did not receive the initiation.[2] It sometimes happens that some of them transfer their business to their sons.[3] Their original possession, their behavior during the possession, are very similar with those of the Kurtains,[4] sitting on a stool before an altar, drowsily staring, yawning, shaking the head, furiously playing with a sword, prophesying and expelling evil spirits.[5] They are called *fa chang*, "Chief of Magic," while the real Wu is called *shih kung*, "Master," or *fa shih*, "Master of magic."

My data, as given above, seem not to tally completely 114
with the very valuable study of F. Dominik Schröder in *Anthropos* **47**: 27–33, 237–248, 1952, but they are based on notes collected among the Monguors, and among lamas who lived over practically the whole region, and may contribute to an understanding of the subject.

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[3] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1263.
[4] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1274.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1276.

[p.94 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

VIII. PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS

Having explained the internal structure and organization of Lamaism and shamanism among the Monguors during the period of 1910–1920, and having characterized the ministers of both religions, Living Buddhas, lamas, shamans, and Kurtains, it remains to study in what ways these religions are practiced, and what is the frame of mind of the Monguors toward these religions. 128

After having explained the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live, first the public rites performed in their society will be dealt with, and then the private rites enacted by them. A chapter will deal with their death and burial customs. Another chapter will deal with the cult of "Heaven and all the Spirits."

The last chapter will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping to preserve the identity of the Monguors, maintaining their traditions and customs, and strengthening the social structure of the clans in order to prevent their absorption by the Chinese.

It should be borne in mind that among the Monguor clans of Hsining, some are of Turkish and some of Mongol origin, but that from the earliest times in Central Asia tribes mixed with tribes; tribes were torn to pieces and scattered over enormous distances, and absorbed by other tribes. On the other hand, it must be remembered that our Monguors, before they were converted to Lamaism, were religious groups who prayed. Among them sacrifices were offered by the heads of the families and of the tribes, and by the shamans. They had previously met peoples practicing Buddhism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism, and also Chinese Taoists, Confucianists, and Buddhists. Even after becoming professing Lamaists, they still remained shamanist, and preserved notions and practices originating from other religious sources. 771

It is a real paradox that Lamaism, contaminated with magic which is diametrically opposed to any religion, denying theoretically the existence of a soul and of God and spirits, has created among its adepts a new enthusiasm of fervor and religiosity. By means of stressing the principle of reversion of merits, it developed the notion of personal responsibility and of duty, by teaching that all good and bad events in this life depend on the performance in the present or former existences of good or bad deeds. Although, according to the fundamental doctrine of Buddhism, the bad acts are irreparable, means are provided to extenuate their inevitable consequences, and even to transfer acquired merits to others, and hence arose the doctrine of universal charity, the alluring physiognomy of Buddhism. 779

However, the Monguors and Tibetans of Huangchung, in a way that is even illogical, do not take account of the philosophical aspects of Lamaism. They do not care for the doctrinal discussions concerning the 829

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question of whether a substantial principle underlies the 829
soul or not, or whether *nirvana* could be a state of happiness without there being consciousness of it. They do not care for the philosophers who discuss the existence or the inexistence of this world, of their own being, and even of Buddha himself. They only approach Lamaism from the moral and the practical angles. They endeavor to practice the rites of Lamaism, to heap up merit as prescribed by Lamaism in order to be reborn after this life, which they greatly enjoy, in a paradise of felicity where Buddha, as benevolence incarnate, will make them more and more happy every day, for the duration of time. However, this seems to be only one side of the religious frame of mind of the Lamaist Monguors and Tibetans. The other side seems rooted in the practicality, so often found among uncivilized peoples, which, in order to make more sure of attainment of the religious goal, to enjoy more blessings in this life, and avoid calamities and miseries, leads them to practice shamanist rites and rites belonging to other religions at the same time. This seems to be the complicated frame of mind of the Monguors and Tibetans of Huang-chung who are deeply religious.

Since the objective of this study is the explanation of 114
the religious frame of mind of the Monguors, there will be noted along with the rites the questions ingenuously asked by the children in the schools concerning the topics, the considerations and impressions occasionally expressed by men and women, the dialogues of shamans with the spirits denoting the hopes and the fears of the attendants and their beliefs. All these minute details will help to raise the curtain which shrouds the religious mind.

THE WORLD OF RELIGION AND FEAR IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVE

The sense of religiosity is planted in the hearts of the 829
Monguors in early life, in the family circle. Its main 869
feature seems to be fear, rather than love. The children 782
every day see their mothers performing a lot of religious practices in order to avoid the displeasure or punishments of innumerable malignant spirits which beset them everywhere. Their mother's warnings are dinned into their ears, not to do this, not to do that, for fear of being unhappy, because the spirits are very touchy, and a trifle can upset them. In this way the dread and terror of malevolent spirits cut deep furrows in their hearts, and when a hailstorm is about to destroy the crops, the oil lamps on the house altar will be lit in a hurry and the children will fall on their knees invoking Heaven and all the spirits and praying Om Mani, for [789]
as long as the threat lasts. They imitate their elders who implore, on bended knees, and urge the gods with piteous pleas, saying innumerable Om Manis and "Heaven and all the spirits" for the protection of their crops. Children cannot forget to their dying day the

[p.95(A)]

anxious moments of the terrible events caused by evil 829
spirits, which the good spirits could not master. 369

Every day, in the early morning, they climb with 782
their grandfather to the top of the roof, or go into the courtyard before the *manikan*[1] to honor "Heaven and all the spirits," doing the Wei-sang,[2] and looking at the old man who prostrates himself devoutly, they invoke with him "Heaven and all the spirits" and recite Om Mani, in order to get blessings and protection against the alarming evil spirits. When somebody is smitten with a severe disease, they repeat after grandfather, "Heaven and all the spirits" save our mother, save our father, Om Mani, Om Mani. The children know that at home, the altar and the manikan are the most respected items; they know that spirits preside at the gate of the courtyard, at the well, at the stables, and that they protect the cattle. They know at what time and how they are to be honored, and what is to be done to avoid their wrath. The children live at home in an atmosphere of religion and fear, and when they grow up they are convinced that honoring the good spirits is a requisite for the reaping of good crops, the breeding of healthy cattle, the enjoying of the daily bread, and the protection from evil spirits on the prowl to hurt them.

A logical consequence of such a frame of mind is 777
that Monguors never perform any important act with-

[1] In the middle of the courtyard is built a circular manger in which is planted a tall post. On top of the post are often, the Lamaist designs of sun and moon and a circle; a flag is attached to the post printed with Tibetan texts and the "Wind Horse" (Chinese, *Lu-ma;* Tibetan, *rlung-rta*) carrying the jewel symbol (*Norbu*). It is called *manikan,* that is, "the mani post," because the popular "Om Mani" is printed on it.

[2] *Wei-sang* (fdzan garga): *Wei* is a Chinese word meaning "kindle"; *sang* is the Tibetan word *Bsang* meaning "cypress incense." It is the rite performed before sunrise, daily during the first and fourth moon, or only on the first, eighth, or fifteenth of the month, by the heads of Monguor families for "Heaven and all the spirits"; it is also enacted simultaneously with most of the important rites. Some straw is spread in a small oven, a few pinches of pounded cones and leaves of cypress are strewn upon it, and a few pinches of flour, of roasted wheat or spelt, and a few drops of pure water are sprinkled; then all is lit and the odoriferous cypress smoke billows up. It is an "odoriferous offering," not a purifying rite. To these three essential components some devout people like to add a pinch of the six usual pounded spices, dried flowers, red or white sugar, threads of five colors, a little butter or fat; some use wine instead of water, and blow the horn and prostrate themselves three times. Prayers are not said at that time. In performing the "big wei-sang" entire branches of cypress are burned. Lamas are fond of the rite, and even during shamanist rites it is observed. The oven wherein the rite is performed is constructed before the manikan or on the roof of the living room; sometimes it is performed on the edge of the manger. In time of epidemics, etc., the whole family never fails to enact the rite as a group. See also Schröder, Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor), *Anthropos* 47 (1): 43, 1952; 48: 222, 1953. The famous "Wind Horse" is said by some to bring wealth to the family. Others explain that the horses are offered to the roaming souls in the air (which everybody fears) in order that they might pass unmolested; also Eliade, *op. cit.*, 239–245; also W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* 6: 67.

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out having carefully inquired whether it is propitious 777
and whether it is a lucky day for such an action. They invite a lama of the Red or Yellow Sect, a Chinese Taoist priest, a shaman or Kurtain, to consult about the problem. Such information is required for the starting of agricultural activities, the building or repair of houses, the northern side of which would perhaps not be allowed to be repaired this year, and the southern side only next year, in order not to offend the spirits. These consultations have to be held for marriages, funerals, the starting of a journey, gelding of animals, vaccination against smallpox, even for the perforation of the ear lobes of a girl for wearing earrings.

A Monguor never starts a long journey without hav- 784
ing attached to his pigtail some copper coins of the [784]
Yüan dynasty to prevent the breaking of arms or legs in the event the horse should fall.[3] The girth of his saddle and the halter have to be made with white hair of cows or with wool; the girdle of the rider, however, requires black hair, to conform with the demands of the spirit of horses. The horseman never ties his horse to the door of a house, for the spirit of the door will hurt him. After finishing his devotion, in passing by an Obo, the horseman is not allowed to linger on top of the pass lest the spirit of the Obo punish him. If a horseman encounters some fresh water running down the road, or if he meets a woman carrying a bucket of water, these are good omens pointing to the favorable disposition of the spirits toward him.

While walking with the intendant at the lamasery of Seerkok, we met two donkeys carrying water. Immediately I received the congratulations of the intendant for the propitiousness of the spirits toward me, and he recounted the fact to the dignitaries of the monastery. However, when a woman carrying an empty basket sees a rider, she flees at full speed, in order to prevent mischief for the horseman. It is a bad sign to see a snake or hare crossing the road, and the traveler avoids encountering a nuptial procession. In carrying the clothes of a deceased at the monastery, the collar and sleeves of the clothes are put on the saddle in such a way as to hang on the left side; the collar and sleeves of clothes of a living man are hung on the right side lest the rider should die soon. Never say to a horseman that he is riding a poor animal, but congratulate him on his strong horse, for otherwise it is unlucky.

Never walk on a sheet of paper, or put your hat on 777
a book, for Buddha will punish you. Never talk about 784
possible calamities or they will certainly harm you. When a new gate is built to a courtyard, a rich man who has plenty of children and particularly boys, has to be invited to pass through the new gate first, in order

[3] The Ordos Mongol horse breakers never omit attaching to the whip a coin called *Wu chou* in order to prevent dangerous falls. The coin is called the "stirrup coin" because the old character for *Wu* (five) represents two stirrups, the upper parts of which are adjustable. (Communication of Father A. Mostaert.)

[p.96(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

that the family may become rich and be blessed with 777 children. If a beggar happens to go through first, the 784 gate has to be rebuilt. A guest never enters directly the home of a friend, lest he might harm the family. Never prepare a hare or chicken for dinner for a guest, because it would harm him. When two friends, having a long talk at night, see the black top of the lamp wick showing the shape of a flower, they congratulate each other, smiling, for the spirit promises to both a happy event in the family. If a crow caws on the roof, it has to be driven away immediately lest a member of the family die or get sick. A member of the family will certainly die soon if a parson crow (hooded crow) enters the door; a calamity is imminent if a magpie cries in the evening, even if, at night, foxes howl, horses neigh, and dogs bark. If a hen crows trouble will surely start in the family, the harvest will be bad, and maybe the Moslems will rebel.

A bride on her wedding day is not allowed to be put on the horse by a "half man," a widower or bachelor; her makeup is not to be done by a "half woman," a widow or a girl, for fear of becoming soon a "half woman." A person dreaming at night about unlucky events, spits for a long time in order that ominous events will not befall him. Never give things to children which are entire, for example, hold over a bit of the frosting of a cookie. The same rule is observed when something is given to a beggar, for fear the guardian spirit of your wealth, should wreak vengeance and the family be impoverished. When drinking tea or wine, or eating food, always throw a bit of it over your shoulder, or sprinkle a few drops, thereby feeding the hungry souls roaming all over the world, in order not to be harmed by them. Never urinate in a river, or facing the sun or the moon, or at night in front of the manikan. At night never appear completely naked before the manikan, or you will surely be harmed. All the taboos after childbirth and funerals are scrupulously observed.

These few facts give an insight into the mentality of [156] fear prevailing among the Monguors concerning the whole army of malignant spirits which surround them. No wonder that the whole day long they cast horoscopes in order to avoid all possible harm. These few facts will help to understand the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live and practice their religion.[4]

[4] The very valuable study of F. Johan Frick and F. Franz [113] Eichinger, Tiere in Volksleben, Museum of Oriental Ethnology, *Folklore Studies*, Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China), 125 sq., Charles E. Tuttle Co., Rutland, Vermont, U. S. A. (1925), concerning the region of Huan-Yüan, west of Hsining, inhabited by Tibetans and Chinese, neighbors of the Monguors, provides interesting and minute details related to this special field. Because Tibetans and Chinese are enrolled in the Monguor clans, many of those beliefs and practices are necessarily encountered among the Monguors. The study helps to shed light on the frame of mind and the world of fear in which the Monguors live. Similarly,

[p. 96 (B)]

IX. PUBLIC RITES

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN REGARD TO HAILSTORMS

In the mind of the Monguors is seared the belief in 782
an incredibly prodigious medley of gods, malignant 731
spirits, and ferocious ghosts, and consequently all events in life, happy or unhappy, must be approached from that angle.

In this chapter will be considered the calamity most [132]
dreaded by the Monguors, which does the most harm and ruins them most frequently. It is the scourge of hailstorms, which every year ruin the crops of many villages, reducing the already narrow margin of subsistence of the villagers to a minimum, and bringing many families to the verge of famine.

It is obvious that this calamity is supposedly caused 821
by malignant spirits and it is no wonder that the whole 829
religious energy of the people is bent on securing all available means and ways to avoid disaster. No wonder that the people, scared to death, seek refuge in religion against a scourge caused by evil spirits—first of all in the religion credited with the greatest potency, without refusing the help of others less potent, imploring the aid of good spirits, and engaging in a life and death struggle with the evil spirits.

In all their village temples, accordingly, one encoun- 782
ters the picture of the god of the Five Roads, the 796
Taoist combatant of hailstorms, amidst the awful 789
scenery, previously described, whether or not the temple is dedicated to it. The shaman is invited to perform his most efficient rites against hail because he is believed the most conspicuous for his great abilities in the field. All the Taoist spirits, to whom temples in the country are dedicated, are invited by the shaman to come down into the temple yard and to participate in the performance of the rite in spring. The shaman conveys to them the sympathy of the villagers and their gracious offer of hospitality, in order that they might help their village, and after the shamanist rites have been performed the villagers still indulge in Lamaist activities against hailstorms.

No wonder that, from New Year's on, the villagers are obsessed by the problem, and never fail where a Kurtain is possessed by the god of the Five Roads, to invite him on the third day of the year for an exhibition

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the study of F. Franz Eichinger, Kinderlosigkeit und ihre Be- [113]
kampfung in der Volksmedizin, *ibid.* 167 sq., is very instructive and unique. The author, during two years as member of the Chinese Health Committee in Ming-hsien, Lin t'ao, Ho-chou, and Labrang (East Kansu), traveled four months with the committee in the region of Hsining, Kung-ho, Hsing-hai (Monguor territory) and seized the exceptional opportunity to gather ethnological notes, which open vistas in this special field and give a better understanding of the frame of mind of the family concerning this capital topic; the care of children, the means of getting this blessing, the fear of being bereaved of them and the physical causes of this bereavement [p.97(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

attended by the whole community. Then he sits on his 782
low table, in theatrical military attitude, shaking his 796
head and ringing his bells. At the moment his spirit 789
possesses him, the cypress fire is increased. The whole attendance, kneeling, worships the spirit dwelling in him with incense sticks in their hands and prostrations. The chief of the village, on bended knees, asks humbly first of all, for protection against hail in the summer and for a prophecy concerning the peaceful reaping of the harvest. Then the spirit, by means of the Kurtain, promises a peaceful summer, or specifies what kind of rites have to be performed to achieve the benefit of peace.

In villages where there is no Kurtain, the chief of the village, with the elders and a member of each family, orders the statue to be carried in the sedan chair into the temple yard, while the whole audience kneels with incense sticks in their hands; the cypress fire is lit. The chief, kneeling, asks the spirit about the hail scourge. If the sedan chair becomes so heavy as to crush down the carriers, the prognostication seems awful, and the chief proposes to perform such or such a rite; if the sedan chair continues crushing the carriers, a propitiatory sacrifice is promised, the attendance craves for pardon, and the sedan chair is carried into the temple.

In the first days of the New Year, all over the country, the talk runs only on the predictions proferred in neighboring villages about hailstorms. In every family horoscopes are cast several times. It is a real obsession all over the country and nobody seems to be entirely assured, despite the reassuring answers of the spirits, for so many times the hopes have been illusory. Unfavorable predictions seldom mar the spirit of the festivities of the New Year. After New Year's the busy agricultural season begins with the carrying of fertilizer, plowing, and sowing. The fields turn greener and greener every day, and at the beginning of the fourth moon (May), immediately after the spring rites, performed in order to implore good crops, the preparations for the rites against hail are begun.

A month from now, all over the country, on mountains, or on hills, or on hillocks and knolls in the valleys there will be seen here a stretched goat skin, its legs spread out and pierced with daggers, the head erect with a dagger between the horns, impaled on a pole. There, a rudimentary manikin, its outstretched arms made with boughs, holding a bow and an arrow; next to the manikin a wooden hammer and raven all stuck on poles. These are the places where rites have been performed against hail, and inside some of the mounds dwells the spirit protector against hail, the celebrated White Tiger. Every Monguor village and nearly every Chinese village in the country have many such hills. The outlook for the country has become depressing for the Monguors. [p.97(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

RITE OF THE WHITE TIGER

The most important rite against hail is the one called the Rite of the White Tiger, performed by the shaman. Once in a while a Taoist priest and even a Red lama try to enact it. However, the following year a shaman is invited again by the distrustful villagers, for the rite belongs to the black magical art and is more in keeping with the attributions of the shaman. 798 756 [792] 789

It is performed in May, before the time of the hailstorms. The original and complete rite is not enacted every year, but certainly it will never be omitted the year after the crops have been destroyed. If a year passes peacefully, then the following year only a supplementary rite will be enacted, strengthening the original one. If for many years the crops have been preserved, the original rite will nevertheless be performed again, for fear the original magical power may have faded.

It will be noted that the shaman deposited, in the temple under the bushel, the bottle he used for capturing a human soul with which he nurtured the spirits. The seventh day after the performance of the spring rites, the chief of the village and the elders go to the temple to take the bottle and bushel away, and they ring the temple bell. A member of each family arrives carrying incense sticks; the sedan chair, with the statue inside, is moved into the middle of the courtyard of the temple. All those present, holding incense sticks, kneel before the sedan chair, and the chief of the village asks the god whether it is certain the crops will be reaped peacefully, and whether the hail will be certain not to play havoc. Despite the formal promises of the shaman seven days ago, suspicions are still harbored. Then according to the ceremony already noted (the sedan chair crushing the carriers, etc.) and according to the pointers given by the spirit, the chief of the village decides to invite the shaman. [774]

The shaman and three or four of his confreres examine the country and fix the place where the rite is to be performed. It is always within the boundaries of the village, on a hill or hillock, usually at the northwest corner, because hailstorms usually come from that direction. An auspicious day is chosen for the performance, and a list of all the required items for the rite is given by the shamans to the chief of the village. Here is what the list transmitted to the chief of the village of Toolong by the shaman contained: 20 black bowls; 15 wooden stakes, 2 feet in length; 15 tiles, 15 bricks, 15 eggs; 15 wooden planks, two feet long and 2 inches thick; 5 small hand mills, 5 axles and a cart wheel; an iron chain, which had been used to tie a dog, and a lock; 5 bell neckstraps with bells which had been used on horses; a mill stone, the corpse of a boy or baby, a living white dog and a white cock, water drawn from 10 different wells, 5 lions made of glazed pottery, used to adorn roofs; 6 earthen jars, among them 2 of bigger size, and a kettle; a pivot of a millstone, a pivot of threshing rolls, 2 threshing rolls, a plowshare, a harrow,

some iron taken from 4 city gates, some earth gathered 789
on four city walls, earth collected on 5 different moun- 796
tains, some earth taken in the prison of the city, 12 756
kinds of medicines; a small wooden white tiger, his rider painted black; 2 Buddha images, 2 mantles worn by statues in temples, bones of a dog, 2 skulls of a wolf and of a fox, a human skeleton, a pair of filthy trousers of a young woman, a living cat, a snake and a wooden raven. (Is it possible to imagine a more heterogeneous collection of items?)

On all these items are painted cabalistic designs, which are encircled with vermilion and painted with a brush dipped in the mixed blood of a white dog, cat, and cock.[1] All the items, in order to be effective, are to be stolen from other villages. Young folk are designated by the chief of the village to steal the required items, and if they do not succeed in the job, they have to buy the objects with their own money. If such thieves are accused at the court of the T'u-ssu, the community has to indemnify the defendant. At the times when these rites are performed, everybody in the country watches at night. All the stolen items are locked up in the temple and guarded at night by elder people, whose sleep is not so sound as that of young men. Deep secrecy is kept about the required items.

On the evening of the day fixed, the shamans arrive, clothed in the black gown; the chief of the shamans alone wears the flowery coat. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail. After sunset the villagers arrive and the temple is closed tightly. A hog and a sheep are offered, while the attendants prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks, and the shamans dance and beat drums. In the deepest silence, they go to the place prepared for the rite, holding banners. All the heterogeneous items required are loaded into a cart. A hole fifteen feet in depth has been dug beforehand. Its upper part is shaped in a circle, the middle part is square, and the lowest part triangular.

The chief of the shamans descends into the pit alone. His whole body is enveloped in red cloth; he wears a [292
cincture made of hemp, such as the people wear at 764]
funerals. Holding in his hands the whip and the ritual knife, he takes off his shoes and hose and puts on shoes made from hemp ropes. His pigtail is unplaited, and his hair disheveled. Some youngsters, their heads enveloped in a red cloth, descend with him into the pit. They communicate by signs and tokens, for it is forbidden to utter a single word inside the pit. The shamans beat the drums outside the pit.

In the center of the triangle one of the biggest jars 782
is deposited, inside of which are put the corpse of the 756
baby or boy, and the different sorts of earth. All items 796
are covered with a piece of red cloth and the kettle is 789
inverted over them. The chain is wrapped around the jar and fastened with the lock. The pair of trousers,

[1] Johann Frick, How blood is used in magic and medicine in Ch'inghai Province, *Anthropos* 46 (5–6): 954, 1951.

[p.98(B)]

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the skeleton, bones and skulls are deposited around the 756
jar, with the living snake enclosed in a basket. The 796
triangle is filled with earth, level with the base of the 782
square. Then five stakes are fixed in the earth, and 789
bowls, eggs, bricks, tiles, lions and hand mills are put around them. In the midst are erected the threshing rolls, on which is put the millstone, in the center of which is fixed a stake to support the cart wheel, to which the planks are nailed; the interspaces are filled with the remaining items. The whole is covered with boughs, and the pit is filled with earth level with the ground.

The attendants start howling like madmen, jumping and leaping around the pit in the pitch dark night, brandishing banners, while shamans dance, and beat drums and cymbals. The cart axle, sharpened to a stake, is fixed in the earth upon the pit; on it is written "Throne of the White Tiger." Some bowls placed upside down and bricks and tiles are put around the stake and the tiger; four more stakes are fixed in the ground according to the four points of the compass, and a mound is erected upon the pit. Next to the mound is placed a big wooden box containing the living white dog; a small mound is erected upon it so that the dog may see the light and breathe air through a hole. The dog will live for some days; it will howl and finally die.[2] On the other side of the big mound is erected a similar small mound, opposite the dog's mound, in which is

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[2] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 271, note 166, note that both [171]
the Liao (Khitan) and the Chin (Jurchen) sacrificed dogs. M. Granet, *Danses et légendes*, 527, records that in ancient China men used to pull the ears of a dog to make him bark, in order to drive away the bird-demon. W. Koppers, Der Hund in der Mythologie der Zirkumpazifischen Völker, *Wiener Beiträge*, 386, 1930, records that the Yao tribe buried a live dog, together with a live thief, in order that the spirit of the thief should stay in the grave; also 378, the cow used at the sacrifice for the dog ancestor of the Yao had to be stolen, in the same way that the Monguors have to steal the dog for the hail rite, and other items.

Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 92, a similar case of burying a dog alive is noted: "In case of some very bad disease the Manchus sometimes bury a live dog and cat near the entrance of the house. The dog and cat may move, which may be seen a certain time after the burial when the earth is reopened; it is considered as a very bad sign if they should go away together." He further notes, p. 92, that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat; p. 210, that dogs carry the souls in the lower world; p. 179, that dog blood, like dog skins, make the clan spirits run away; dog meat is tabooed. Doolittle, *op. cit.*, 231, notes in China a heavenly dog who devours small children and is combated by a giant, represented surrounded by children shooting arrows against a dog walking on the clouds. The barking of a dog at night frightens the evil spirits. De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 464, records that the crowing of the rooster frightens the spirits at night and in the morning. A wooden rooster is put above the entrance of the courtyard to frighten the evil spirits. A living rooster is attached to the coffin when it is carried to the grave, in order that it may frighten evil spirits. In time of epidemics a white living rooster is carried, fixed on top of a stick, in the processions. See also Eliade, *op. cit.*, 405; Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, *op. cit.* 1: 29, 38; the same, *Randvölker Chinas*, *op. cit.*, 38.

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entombed the living cock in a box. It will live and die under the same circumstances as the dog. 756 796

I was told by several reliable old men that years ago an old Chinese begger instead of a dog had been buried alive, and that once in a while a little child, stolen in a far-off village, is still buried if, for three or more years in succession, hail has struck the village. The shaman in such cases requires it. Mothers told me that the elders always enjoin them to watch the small children with special care during the time these rites are performed. 782 789

When the rite is completed all the participants face the northwest, the direction from which the hailstorms usually come, and throw stones at the evil spirits, howling like madmen, uttering the most obscene threats, and taking the wildest aggressive attitudes, while the shamans crack their whips and dance a threatening dance, conjuring the evil spirit in wild gyrations. The wild act is performed three times. On the spot a big fire is lit with cypress boughs, and all the attendants, shamans included, jump over it in order that the evil spirits may no longer follow them, and in order to get purified. After a last dance in the temple yard, the whole audience enjoy themselves, making fun, eating the pork and mutton, and drinking plenty of wine.

During the whole month, day and night, corvées are imposed by the chief of the village on different shifts of four young men, relieving one another, in order to watch the mound. A small cabin is built for the watchers. Nobody is allowed to approach the mound during the whole month.

This rite gives an insight into the power wielded by the shamans and their controlling influence upon the people, who even resort to human sacrifices, when required by them. The secret about these facts is strictly kept, men are enjoined not to talk about it with women and children, and only after years, and in general terms, do the facts incidentally leak out. Among the Twelve Tengris is the famous White Tiger, the dread and terror of evil spirits, and for that reason the rite is called the Rite of the White Tiger.

THE RITES OF THE TAOISTS AGAINST HAIL

The Taoists are mostly invited to perform their rite in neighboring villages inhabited by Chinese. Once in a while they are invited by Monguors who recanted their origin, but often, when the hail has struck these villages, the more efficient Monguor shaman with a greater reputation is invited the following year to try his rites, even by Chinese. 782 789

The Taoists use three kinds of rites: the rite of the spirit Wang-lin-kuan, of the goddess Niang-Niang, and of the five thunderbolts (wu-tien-cheng). Here, also, is a mystifying thing. Although the Taoists in the country do not overtly honor the White Tiger, they always write the name of the White Tiger on the stake

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buried in the mound, before the name of the spirits whom they officially use for combating hail. 782 789

Is it far fetched to suppose that the Taoists do this because it is universally recognized that the rite of the shamans, using the White Tiger, outranks their own, and that in order to succeed they must act in this way?[3]

A stunning fact also is that the Taoists, and lamas of the Red Sect in the country, when performing that kind of rite are very fond of using nearly the same group of disparate items to be buried in the pit, except for the white living dog and cock. Can the sacrifice of two living beings be too basically shamanist to be performed by pure Taoists?

STRENGTHENING OF THE OLD MOUNDS

In keeping with the basic principle of shamanism, the spirits after some time lose their powers and are subject to decay. Consequently, they have to be nurtured and strengthened in order that they may continue to help their followers effectively. The rite performed against hail, the pit with all its disparate items, and the famous rider and the White Tiger buried inside it are liable to lose their protectiveness, so every year more power has to be added to the mounds. In every village old mounds exist, built by the ancestors. According to the indication of the guardian spirit of the village, the building of a new mound is ordered from time to time because the last one has lost its power. However, the villagers believe that some effect can still be obtained from the old mounds, and in order not to lose that benefit, they strengthen every year the efficacy of all the old mounds built inside the boundaries of the village. The shaman is invited by the Monguors to do the job; the Taoist priest is invited in the Chinese villages, but seldom in Monguor villages. Both shaman and Taoist act in the same way. Small paper banners are prepared and wooden hammers and ravens, and also stakes with cabalistic designs and the inscription, "The Throne of the White Tiger god," and manikins made with boughs, holding bow and arrows. All these items are smoked by the shaman, over burning cypress boughs, before they are used. The rite takes a whole day. 782 796 [776]

A sheep is offered in the temple; water is poured in its ear to be sure the spirit agrees to the victim. The sheep is killed and offered, a dance and the beating of a drum is performed by the shaman. A "throne" (stake) is thrust in the ground in front of the temple

[3] F. W. Grootaers, in his very interesting monograph (*op. cit.*, 238), notes two inscriptions encountered on the frescoes of the temples of the god of the five roads in Wan-Ch'üan (Kalgan) "Holding bound the wolf and the tiger" and also, "Mountain general who holds bound the wolf and the tiger, *Wu-tao* god who catches the monsters" and he notes these inscriptions are, of course, not the products of the local imagination, but are copies by the local calligraphers from a popular anthology of "Inscriptions for all occasions." These calligraphers knew the history of the Twelve Tengris, among which is the White Tiger. But the wolf is unexplained.

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gate (throne of the White Tiger god) and a black bowl is put on the roof of the gate. 782 796

The parade starts on the left side of the village (shamans start on the left side and lamas on the right side), with banners at the head, and the horn (ox horn) is blown. On every mound the same rites are performed: a dance, a throne (stake) thrust into the mound, two black bowls buried near the throne, some paper banners planted, one hammer and one raven fixed on a stick, and the manikin, with bow and arrow pointing to the northwest. Some earth is added to the mound, which is put in good shape. The parade turns three times around the mound; on the third turn the whole group faces the northwest and howls three times, and then they start toward the next one.

When they return to the temple the shaman starts his dance, while the audience kneels and makes prostrations. Then the offered sheep is divided into as many parts as there are families in the village, and each receives a part. The tail and a hind leg are given to the shaman. On the most important mound, a plank is erected (it has to be stolen to be effective), on which a sealed statement is pasted, forbidding the pasturing of animals in the crops during three months and fixing fines for a horse, cow, or sheep caught straying in the crops. Pasturing of animals and chopping of fuel on the sacred mountain of the village are forbidden as is the felling of trees for three months and the singing of obscene songs in the village. The spirits must not be disturbed or offended, and liberty is not allowed to be taken with the conventional morals. The fines consist of a fixed amount of oil, incense sticks, paper, or cash, to be devoted to the upkeep of the temple.

MORE PRECAUTIONS AGAINST HAIL

LAMAS INVITED TO RECITE TEXTS

782 789

Despite the promises of the shamans on the feast of spring, the performance of shamanistic rites on a new hill, and the strengthening of the old hills by means of adding magical power to them, in the fourth month the chiefs of the villages invite two or more lamas to recite texts for a couple of days, on top of the highest mountain situated inside the village land. Maybe Buddha might lend a helping hand also, and in order to assume his protection they organize a procession with the 108 sacred books of the *Kanjur*.

PROCESSION WITH THE SACRED BOOKS

A chief is appointed for the performance of the rite. He goes, with 108 men of the village, to the lamasery to borrow the books. The village defrays the expenses of a collation of butter tea with *tsamba* for the lamas, and a fixed amount of butter to be burned in the lamps before the Buddha statues in the temple. The next morning the procession starts from the village temple with at least one member from each family [illegible]

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cypress offering. Wei-sang, is first performed in the 782
temple. A shaman, or lama of the Red Sect, summons 789
into his staff the spirits who predict the success and the opportuneness of the rite. He steps to the head of the procession with the spirit-laden staff, followed by a group of horn blowers and banner and drum bearers. Then come the statue of the temple, enthroned in the sedan chair, the table and stake gods, and the 108 bearers of the heavy books, one after another, while the music plays, and Om Mani prayers are devoutly recited the whole way. The procession tours around the limits of the extensive village lands, making stops on the highest mountains or most elevated spots, where the ritual cypress burning is done and where the whole group walks three times around the spot. When they return to the temple the ritual cypress offering closes the ceremony. The procession usually lasts for a whole day. The next day the books are returned to the monastery.

The procession involves the whole male population of the village. The bearing of Buddhist books is said to be very effective, as are the praying of Om Mani, the offering of tea to the lamas and of butter for the lamps, and the shamanist spirit-laden staff, the table and stake gods, and all the other Taoist statues of the temple which tour the village at the same time. All available heterogenous forces contribute to the success of this specifically Buddhist rite. Usually this procession with the books is performed every other year; in the intervening year it is performed without the books.[4]

THE GOAT SKIN RITE

After such displays of all kinds of religious rites, however, the Monguors, still unassured, perform the celebrated goat skin rite enacted by a shaman or a lama of the Red Sect, who is proficient in subduing the hail spirits in a direct way by magical power. The rite is enacted on the highest mou[illegible]n of the village—not on the sacred mountain. A h[illegible]e of cypress branches is kindled, which lasts during [illegible] entire time of the performance of the rite. The lama makes a big *torma*[5] and four smaller ones; then with *tsamba* and butter he kneads various crude figures of animals living in the water, birds of the air and of animals living on the earth.[6] Small pieces of meat are also prepared. The lama or shaman recites his awful incantations and ritual

[4] Schröder, *op. cit.*, Der Flur Umzug, *Anthropos* 47: 835, 1952. More details are available in this valuable study.

[5] *Torma:* a small pyramidal cake, round or triangular, made with *tsamba* and butter; often pieces of butter or gold or silver paper are fixed upon it. It seems to represent an evil spirit on which incantations and ritual curses are proferred, on which all kind of inauspicious and calamitous items, sins and spiritual impurities are supposed to be loaded. It is thrown far away after the ceremony, often with a display of hatred and contempt, and with it calamities seem to be removed. (See more in Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling, op. cit.*, chap. XIV.) [104]

[6] According to Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 138, the dough figures represent the spirits of the upper, middle, and underworld honored in the old Bon religion. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

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curses upon the *tormas*, which will be thrown to the evil 782
spirits—the big *torma* in the direction of the northwest, 789
and the small ones in the direction of the four points of the compass. In the meantime the goat is killed and skinned, the head and hoofs being left attached to the skin which is then stretched and fixed on a post. Magical daggers are attached to the feet and head. The goat in threatening attitude faces the northwest, where the hail spirits are supposed to dwell, and challenges them. Then horns are blown and *tormas* thrown and the goat will protect the crops against hail during the whole summer.[7] The Monguors assert that in former times they did not use the goat for this purpose, but the horse, and that a horse skin was fixed on the post.[8]

RITE ON THE HIGHEST MOUNTAIN OF THE VILLAGE

Since the village is still uncertain and disturbed after all these resources have been exhausted, it is customary that on an auspicious day, without the attendance of representatives of any religion, the chief of the village, with the elders and a member of each family of the village, go to the top of the highest mountain of the village. They go with banners, drums, cymbals, horn, in front, and carrying the god or goddess of the temple in the sedan chair, in order to implore, under the vast dome of the blue sky, the protection of "Heaven and all the spirits." In a primitive oven, built with superimposed stones, a bushel of cypress leaves, pounded and passed through a sieve, are burned with some butter and roasted spelt, colza, linseed, and wheat (the kinds of grain planted by the Monguors), and some water is sprinkled over it; 108 butter lamps made with dough are lit and prostrations are made nine times. The customary cry is howled to all the spirits, notifying them of the act of adoration for them all, and the god or goddess sitting in the sedan chair seems to implore "Heaven and all the spirits" with the villagers together. Finally, prostrations are given to the god or goddess in the chair, and

[7] According to Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 215, among the reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia on the grave, "a reindeer is killed, its skin is left together with the antlers and hoofs, fastened upon a bar horizontally fixed to two trees and left hanging there. This is the reindeer which will be used by the spirit (soul) of the deceased for going to the lower world. If there is no reindeer they use a horse and its skin in the same function and manner."

Owen Lattimore, The Gold tribe "Fishkin Tatars," *Memoirs Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* **40**: 57 and 379, 1933, notes that the Gold tribe, "Fishkin Tatars," use "two slender stakes or wands, on the top of which are impaled two wooden beast figures, with four legs and tail. The legs are made by sticks thrust through the body and protruding at both sides. They looked to be otters, perhaps weasels, or sables . . . There are two wands, one much more short and slender than the other, each impaling a Keku (cuckoo or wood-pigeon) . . . these divinities keep guard over the whole house and courtyard."

[8] See Schröder, *op. cit.*, *Die Pfahlziege*, 835, where a philosophical explanation of the rite is provided. For the horse sacrifice among the Buryat Mongols, see Jeremiah Curtin, *A journey in southern Siberia*, 44 *sqq.*, Boston, Little, Brown, 1909.

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the chief of the village asks him or her whether "Heaven and all the spirits" will really preserve the crops.

At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion.

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages situated in the Sha-t'ang Valley, which have a goddess in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death without wearing the Monguor skirt!" [9]

On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple and spend a night with him. The tradition requires that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.[10]

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[9] I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

[10] The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a

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The groups join each other on the way. Friendly 796
and high-spirited, they start early in the morning, with 782
banners, drum, and cymbals in the lead. The sedan chairs are put in a row at the foot of the high hill of the temple of the god Erh-lang. The stalwart fellows, with clubs clenched in their fists, are guards of honor of the goddesses, who stay next to their respective sedan chairs, waiting to climb the hill. The tradition runs that the crops of the village whose goddess first reaches the temple will be infallibly and positively protected against hail and prodigiously blessed. As soon as the cry for departure is howled out, the thirteen groups feverishly run to the top of the hill with their goddesses, howling, cursing, cutting their way, thrusting at one another, climbing by fits and starts, falling, leaping, jumping like savages, foaming at the mouth. The chair of the goddess who makes the mark is placed nearest the throne of the god. The door of the temple is closed. The fellows take their meal and rest in the side rooms of the temple.

They return home the next day. On the way back the villagers stand waiting on the road in order to learn whether their goddess won the race or not. On the trip to the temple the fellows were friendly to one another; on the return, however, the groups are excited, angry and seething with jealousy and frequently have a serious fight with clubs. In 1913 the sedan chair of the victorious goddess of the village of Wu-ch'i was smashed, but according to custom no suits are allowed [672] for smashed heads, broken noses, bleeding faces, and torn clothes. After the famous expedition, the villages start their rites against hail in the village.

The aim of the pilgrimage of the goddesses to the temple of the god Erh-lang is to obtain his protection from hail and special blessings upon the crops of the village. They are dressed in full attire and decked out in jewels. What is the reason for sending goddesses to call on the god Erh-lang and to try and court his favors? Why is the call not made to another god such as the god of the Five Roads, the recognized protector from hail?

All over the country, Erh-lang is said to be the god [776] of the River of Hsining, whose course he ordered, and to be interested in preserving the country from hail. He is said to have opened the rocks of Hsiao hsia (the

celebrated sacred spring. They carry with them the statue of [771] the god of the rain (the dragon king) from their village temple and put it in the cave, next to that of the goddess, for a whole night, in order that the goddess may sooth the ruffled feathers of the angered dragon king, and move him to pour down streams of rain to save the dying crops. Potanin, who traveled in Kansu in 1884–1886 [*Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina, tsentral'naya Mongoliya*, 334, 1893], notes a similar practice among the Monguors of San ch'uan, subjects of the Hsia-wu T'u-ssu, in order to obtain rain. Potanin, *ibid.*, 409, also notes the struggle against hail practiced among those Monguors by their shamans, but because his description fails to point to the building of mounds, the white tiger, Wu-tao-shen, etc., he seems not to have understood the core of the rites. (I am indebted to Father J. Spriet for the translation of these passages.)

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small rapids), 30 *li* east of Hsining, causing the region 796
of Hsining, which was a large lake in former times, to 782
dry up. He is said to have been a beautiful man, with strong classical features, taller than the men of today, and endowed with fabulous strength. He played with huge rocks as children play with marbles, and was very fond of two enormous dogs which he tied to the rocks of Hsiao hsia with chains so heavy that only he could move them. He is represented in the temple as a man of gigantic proportions, sitting on a large throne wearing yellow robes and cap, and the insignia of an official.

Father Grootaers [11] encountered this god in sixteen Erh-lang temples in Wan-Ch'üan, and notes that Erh-lang, son of Li Ping of the Han dynasty (A.D. 25–220) was famous for his works on dikes in Ssu-ch'uan Province, and became an object of the cult. However, he notes that another Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien of the Sung dynasty (beginning of the twelfth century A.D.) is also renowned for the same kind of work, and is represented with a dog at his feet. This detail, encountered in the temples of Wan ch'üan, enabled Father Grootaers, because of an inscription found on a fresco in the grottoes of P'u-fo ssu, to assume that the Erh-lang of Wan ch'üan must be the son of Yang Chien, object of a cult in Hopei Province. It seems possible that, on account of the popular tradition, the Erh-lang of Hsining with his enormous two dogs and heavy chains must also be Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien. However, how Erh-lang became the object of a cult in Hsining, and at what time, are facts shrouded in mystery. Anyway, Erh-lang, the beautiful god, is said to enjoy the annual visits of the fine goddesses of Sha t'ang Valley and to extend his protection from hail and blessings upon the crops in thanks for their gracious call.

The observance by the young people of twenty-one 821
days of continence and the restraint from indulgence in 782
wine and garlic and onions, the sending of the goddesses for a call on a god, and the custom of locking them up for a night in the temple in order to court the sympathy of the god and to reap the benefit of his protection, open up some chinks, letting in some light into the disturbed religious frame of mind of the people. Significant also is the extent of the fear of hail which makes them resort to all available means in order to get help and assistance against it.

OLD CUSTOM RECALLED

Old Monguors always recall that in former times, 789
when the shamans were still proficient in their art, it 756
was said they never failed to combat the hail. They threw stones stained with blood of white dogs in the direction of the hail spirits, shot with bloody arrows and moved stuffed horse skins. But now the shamans

[11] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 262–263. See *Folklore Studies Supplement No. 1*: 229, 1952, Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien is said to have buried two of the nine suns in the region of Kui-te (south of Hsining), and the hot wells existing in the region are thus explained. See Eberhard, *op. cit.*, *Lokalkulturen*, *Fuchs* 1: 40.

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no longer have the stuff of shamans, and the belief of the young folk in the gods is waning and fading away. 789 756

OFFER OF BONES TO THE SPIRITS OF HAIL

On the last night of the year, a group of youngsters is called by the chief of the village and ordered to gather sackfuls of bones and to carry them to the mountain top, from where devasting hailstorms usually come destroying the crops in summer. They are ordered to burn the bones to the "spirits of the hail" in order to thank them for their protection during the year and to beg them to extend their protection for the next year. Around New Year's, every family kills sheep or pigs, and bones are available everywhere. All kinds of bones are satisfactory, provided a full sack is secured. It is known that in the arctic culture the peculiar offer to heaven consisted of the offer of the skull and the long bones of animals (for bones contain marrow). It was the offer to the dispenser of life.[12] 782 789 796

Many times I asked for explanations about this rite, but nobody could give any. The answer always was the same: we are accustomed to do so in order that the crops may be protected against hail, and the hail spirits be propitious next year.

LAST REGULATIONS OF THE CHIEF OF THE VILLAGES

In the evening the shamans and the villagers return after having strengthened all the old mounds. The chief of the village makes a stereotyped speech: "In former times, the great emperor of all the Mongols divided his subjects into groups, attached to the service of the spirits of the temple. In keeping with that tradition of our ancestors we designate today groups of two men each who, day and night, will relieve one another and will stay at the temple in order to give warning of impending hailstorms. The two men who will be on duty during the next day, will sleep the night before in the temple, for continence is required of the watchers. When a storm appears in the northwest, they will beat the drums and cymbals, blow the horn, and ring the bell. Another group which we designate today will, when the bell rings, instantly leave their homes and run hurriedly to the principal ritual mound carrying with them the god of the temple in the sedan chair and all the other gods, the drums, cymbals and horn, and banners. They will take with them some black bowls, which will be placed upside down on the center of the mound. In the temple incense and cypress boughs will be offered, the throne (stake) of the god, erected in front of the temple gate, will be thrust deeper in the ground, and the bowls on top of the roof of the entrance will be turned upside down." The speech is finished. The other gods mentioned in the speech are stakes, octagonal in shape, the upper part of which represents a human head. (Taoists use octagonal stakes when they perform the rites against [622]

[12] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 3: 542. [p. 103(B)]

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hail.) A grim, ghastly mask and a piece of red cloth 782
are fixed on the head of the stake. A small Chinese 789
table, covered with strips of red cloth to which is at- 796
tached a copper mirror, is considered to be a spirit in the same way.

FIGHTING THE HAILSTORMS

When the hailstorm appears threatening and the evil 731
spirits are about to loose their avenging bolts, the 789
youngsters on the top of the hill wave banners, beat drums and cymbals, blow the horn, brandish aggressively the sedan chair with the god sitting inside, and the stake gods, in the direction of the storm, howl, curse the evil spirits by means of the most obscene vocabulary, and take obscene attitudes in order to frighten them. I saw such a scene in the village of T'ao chia chai, a Chinese village of which some people were Christians, and was told that the Monguors act in just the same way.

If the storm is avoided, incense is burned, prostrations are made, and the group comes back, proud and high spirited because their performance achieved victory. But if the storm breaks with lightning, lighting up the whole valley, and thunder rumbling terrifyingly, pouring down torrents of water and rattling hail, the whole group starts fleeing in confusion, with the sedan chair and all the gods, straight down the hill, through the fields and the rivers to the temple. It is said that when this happens the youngsters lose control over the gods they are carrying; that the gods, defeated by mightier ones, unable to withstand the struggle, abandon the battlefield and themselves flee, irresistibly pulling with them their carriers, without caring for roads, precipices, or rivers. The terror throws the village into confusion and consternation. The gods could not stand against the terrible evil spirits of the hail; hopes are frustrated and the crops destroyed. The prospect of bad times, with privations and sufferings, haunts every family.

SHAMANS AND STATUES OF THE TEMPLES

The statues in temples are assumed by the Monguors 778
to be the seat of the spirits. Several facts have already 532
been recorded, in keeping with that assumption. Statues 756
decide about the invitation of the shaman for the performance of the new rites against hail. They pull their carriers irresistibly over fields and precipices, or make themselves so heavy as to become immovable and crush the carriers under their weight. According to the Monguors, the unusual power residing in the statue is due to special rites performed by the shamans.

In the stomach of every statue is a square opening capable of being closed and opened. Every time a new statue is made, the shaman is invited to animate it by means of dancing, beating drums, and inserting in the hole a live snake, a live raven, a live frog, and the intestines of a sheep and a pig. All these items have to

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be purified by smoking over cypress boughs, and a 778
sacrifice of a sheep or a hog is required. Every three 532
years the stomach is opened and the decayed animating 756
items are removed. New ones must take their place, because after three years their power has faded away. The Monguors invite the shaman most proficient in this art to perform the rite, since magical efficacy does not seem to be the same among all shamans and for that reason statues are assumed to be the seats of the spirits.

The statues in Lamaist temples need, in the same way, magical bowels; however, the lamas put Tibetan texts inside the statues. The magical power of the statues lasts as long as the Tibetan texts are uninjured.

The role played by the snake in the therapy of debilitated spirits is noteworthy. It will be seen later that the old mountain spirit of the Obo, protector and proprietor of the valley of Sha-t'ang, was healed and rejuvenated by a lot of medicines, among which the snake ranked first.

The table often mentioned above is said to be the seat of the White Tiger, and is used everywhere. It is a low Chinese table, adorned with strips of red cloth or silk and a small copper mirror in front. The four legs represent the legs of the tiger, while on the underpart of the table are painted the intestines and genitalia. It must be animated by the shaman. Often used instead of the sedan chair, it is carried by four men whom it crushes beneath it, or pulls fore or aft when asked for a decision.

CONCLUSION

This chapter gives supporting evidence for the as- 821
sumption that in the fabric of the religious life of the 829
Monguors, the struggle against the hail spirits and the 771
means of avoiding harm from them are a real obsession and play an overwhelming part. All summer this fear troubles the peace of mind, and mars the happiness especially of older people and chiefs of families. No wonder that every day around noon Monguors start examining the northwest corner of the sky. Everybody, putting on a brave front, brags and boasts about the efficacy of the rites, trying to bolster their wavering courage, but telling beads and muttering "Om Mani," hoping that finally Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" will help them.

Another conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the shamanist White Tiger bears the brunt of the struggle against the evil spirits of hail, and that the Taoist god of the Five Roads and his associates who are magnificiently enthroned in all the village temples, on whose walls they score brilliant successes defeating the evil hail spirits, play a very modest secondary role in the rank and file of the other good spirits and Buddhist deities supposed to lend a hand in the struggle. The Monguors have remained as convinced shamanists as the Turco-Mongol tribes of former times.

The struggle against the hail spirits by an entire com-

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munity, obeying day and night the orders of the chief 821
of the village, pooling all its efforts and putting them 829
at his disposition, reveals the old clan spirit of nomads 771
united in the struggle against forces from abroad; it reveals that the entire community resorts unanimously to religious practices in order to preserve its means of subsistence and that religion in time of fear and distress is a means of securing the cohesion of the group. The civil and religious authority vested in the same chief make religion a constituent of the social organization. This note will be brought out several times further on, in the study of the religious life of the Monguors.[13]

X. VARIOUS PUBLIC RITES

PUBLIC RITES ON NEW YEAR'S

At midnight on New Year's the bell of the temple of 796
the village rings. A group of villagers, comprised of a member of each family, led by the chief of the village, the military commanders and the elders, arrive to honor "Heaven and all the spirits" in the courtyard of the temple, by lighting a big cypress fire, offering steamed bread, raisins, and butter, pouring a libation of wine, and prostrating themselves holding incense sticks in their hands. The chief of the village says: "Heaven and all the spirits, we thank you for all the blessings of the past year, bless us during this New Year, give us good crops, and guard us from hail." Then they return home in order to perform the traditional family rites of New Year's.

On the third, as already noted, the chief of the village, the elders, and a member of each family go to the temple of the village in order to learn the prophecy of the sedan chair or table god, about the events of the New Year. In villages where there is a Kurtain possessed by the spirit of the temple, he is invited for an exhibition, which is attended by the whole community. This New Year's exhibition is the only public office discharged by the Kurtain in the community. After the exhibition there follows the Rite of the Sacred Animal.

During the first month of the New Year, in the villages where there is a temple dedicated to a Lamaist deity, some lamas are usually invited by the community to say prayers for three to seven days, for the peace of the villagers.

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[13] Potanin, *op. cit.*, 397-399 *sqq.*, describes accurately the interesting elaborate rite performed by shamans, enthroning a new image of a Taoist deity (the dragon king), as the new family protector in a Monguor family (probably at the moment of the division of the family inheritance). The performance is a blend of shamanist and Taoist rites. The opening of the eyes of the image and its animation, etc., are performed in the genuine Taoist fashion. The shamanism of this group of Monguors seems to be more adulterated than that of the Monguors living on the northern side of the Hsining River; the deities they honor are all Taoist deities.

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RITE OF THE SACRED ANIMAL OF THE COMMUNITY

Almost every village has its own sacred animal, which 778
is always a male animal. The Monguors say that in the old days they used to consecrate a stallion, but at present they use mostly the bull or the he-goat, and very rarely the ram, stallion, or mule. The villages have only one sacred animal.

The preference of the Monguors for the bull is easy to understand, for their economy is actually agricultural. Their preference for the he-goat is explained by the fact that the animal is a noted symbol of reproduction and fecundity.[1]

Therefore the preference of the Monguors for the he-goat is not a mystery, for the aim of the rite consecrating an animal to the deity protector of the village and giving thanks for blessings received is to secure for the herds the blessings of fecundity.

The sacred animal of the community likes to come back to the temple of the village where a stable is built for it and where it is fed with peas, at the expense of the villagers. All day long it is free to mix with the herds of the village which it likes to follow.

The bull used is the Tibetan yak, for it produces a kind of hybrid cow, stronger than that bred in the country, and peculiarly fitted for farming. So it is easy to understand that the change in economy has been the reason why the bull has been preferred to the stallion, for farming depends on cows and oxen.

The bull is a troublesome animal, often roaming far away into the country. In summer, when the crops are growing in the fields, it does a lot of harm, but nobody dares to beat or to drive it away, for it is the sacred animal. After two or three years its savage instincts reappear and it may even pursue men. The hair of the he-goats and bulls is never clipped, so they are wild in appearance and everybody is afraid of them.

In 1914 the bull of the Naring Valley ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Long ta. The village of Naring Valley presented apologies, indemnifying the [262] family, killing the bull, and offering the meat to them, for villagers are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. The next New Year's another bull was consecrated.

Bulls and he-goats are always consecrated by the 796
chiefs of the communities in the temple yard of the 778
village, on the third day of the New Year, to the guardian deity of the village, never to "Heaven," for no temples are dedicated to heaven. The ceremony is attended by a member from each family. The animal is cleansed, smoked, washed and combed in the courtyard, then led before the open door of the temple in front of

[1] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 1925: 135. He writes: "The known fact that of old, the Mongols attributed a special significance to the he-goat is also related by Plano-Carpini, who notes that the Mongol chiefs always fed he-goats at home; that many people taught that the he-goat was related to fecundity, is a well-known fact."

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the statue or picture of the guardian deity of the village. 796
The chief of the village pours milk mixed with water, 778
while all the participants kneel, holding incense sticks in their hands. The animal shakes its head, and ribbons are attached and red paper is pasted on the horns.

Every year the animal must be presented to the deity in the temple on the third of the New Year. It is a quite dangerous and difficult job, assigned to the youngsters of the village, who wash and comb the savage bull.

The Tibetans in the country perform the Rite of the Sacred Animal in the same way.

The monasteries also feed a sacred animal. They never use a bull or he-goat, but the stallion and sometimes the mule. They never use their sacred animal for riding; it freely roams the country. The ceremonies of consecration are the same: washing, smoking, pouring of milk, prostrations, attachment of ribbons, but in the temple a special prayer is said by the lama community for the reproduction of the animals. Every year, on the third day of the New Year, their animal must be presented to the deity in the courtyard of the temple. The stallion must be saddled, for the deity is supposed to take a ride on the animal on that very day. The lamas say that it is difficult to saddle a savage stallion. I could never get any information about the deity to which their animal is consecrated.

SHAMANIST RITES OF SPRING

PREPARATIONS

The reaping of a rich harvest is the dream of the 796
Monguors. After sowing is done, a religious rite is 241
performed by the shamans, not by lamas, in order to gather fine crops in autumn. The rite is performed in every Monguor village, and many Chinese villages follow the same practice. From the second until the fourth month the shamans are very busy going from village to village. In autumn, when there is plenty of grain, preparations for the feast are started. In every family, according to its wealth, spelt is gathered for the distillation of wine; wheat collected for the making of noodles, rolls, and vegetable oil for the baking of bread. It is all put in the temple for safekeeping.

A few days before the feast, the chief of the village 796
with the elders impose corvées on the villagers ordering them to prepare all the required items. Reliable men and women are chosen, because it is important that nobody should eat a roll or drink a cup of wine before all items have been offered to the gods. Consequently, faithful adherents to the traditions are carefully chosen and they take an oath accordingly. Three big loaves, each three feet in diameter, are prepared; thirteen smaller ones, called cartwheels; a large number of steamed rolls, and baskets of smaller ones steamed or boiled in oil; one or two pigs are killed, poor villages kill a sheep; chore-men are sent to the city to buy paper, incense sticks, colors, firecrackers. All the items are locked up in the temple.

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The day before the feast, a couple of shamans arrive 796
with their apprentices, to paint and paste paper flags and streamers, print flower designs and inscriptions, and prepare the "thrones" of the spirits expected to attend the meeting. A "throne" is a sheet of red paper on which are printed the words, "throne of god so-and so." It is pasted on the wall of the courtyard of the temple. A large sheet, that is a big throne, is prepared for the souls of the last three generations of deceased villagers. In the middle of the courtyard the shamans erect a pole thirty feet high,[2] to the top of which is pasted a triangular banner made of red paper, trimmed with yellow paper strips. Under the banner is fixed a circle covered with yellow paper; a bit lower is hooked horizontally a two-pronged fork with two rolls impaled on the prongs, and nine streamers with flower designs and inscriptions pasted on its handle. Supplementary streamers, always attached to the pole, are offered in thanksgiving for a happy delivery or recovery from illness. In front of the pole a long table is prepared for the offerings. The statues of the gods honored in the temple and the god sitting in the sedan chair are set out in front of the table. Before the "throne of the souls of the deceased villagers" are placed the offerings of the community: tea, wine, rolls, raisins, noodles, meat. A long rope is fixed on the roof of the entrance gate, and is pulled to the top of the pole, from which it falls down on the long offering table. Halfway down the rope from the top of the pole, a long bag of cloth is attached containing nuts, peas, and jujubes, all made of dough. The rope is called the "highway rope" (*ma-lu-sheng*), the rope along which the spirits will come down and depart. It is made with hemp shackles and is supposed to be endowed with celebrated magical power, since the spirits walked on it. The shackles are very effective talismans for the protection of the sick and small children.

At midnight the two shamans and their apprentices [756]
honor "Heaven and all the spirits" in the courtyard. They offer on a plate small rolls in which are fixed candles made of paper imbued with oil. They also light some butter lamps, set off fire crackers, prostrate themselves and beat drums and cymbals. They take a meal and then go to rest.

The feast, organized in order to reap a good harvest, starts by honoring "Heaven and all the spirits" at night, under the twinkling stars, in the courtyard of the

[2] The pole and the rope play an important role in the ceremonies performed by the shamans in the village temple, and in those performed in private families in honor of their guardian deities. Pole and rope assured communication between the gods and man. Pole and rope must be planted and attached by the shamans in order to be efficacious. The manikan pole (see above, p. 95, n. 1), planted in the courtyard is said by many people to have the same meaning. Because the pole and rope rites are so unusually suggestive, they are enjoyed by the people, and their use is widely spread all over Asia by shamans. Shirokogoroff notes the rites among the Tungus (*Psychomental complex*, 336), etc. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 120, 368, 381.

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temple. Shamans devoted to the cult of evil spirits 796
would not perform that rite, say the Mönguors. Neither the chiefs of the village, the elders, nor the people attend this midnight rite. Around eight or nine o'clock the following morning, six or eight more shamans arrive. Drums are beaten, and the chief of the village and the elders arrive to greet them. All the villagers go to the temple. Most of them bring their private offerings of rolls, wine, incense sticks, paper, while some among them paste on the wall of the temple the throne of their own ancestors and place some offerings before it. The temple is crowded to capacity with people dressed in their festival best. The shamans finish their meal, drink wine, and start the rites with the invocation of the spirits.

FIRST DAY

INVOCATION OF THE SPIRITS

The shamans, wearing the black gown, flower-deco- 796
rated silk coat, and the crown of the god of the Five 756
Roads, stand erect before the pole and start beating the drums. The villagers prostrate themselves nine times toward the pole, in time with the command of the chief of the village, holding incense sticks in joined hands, and sit on their heels waiting. The elders sit in the first rows. The shamans start dancing before the pole, keeping time with the beating of the drums and cymbals; they become more and more excited, when all of a sudden their chief points at the rope fixed on top of the roof of the entrance gate and cries: "Here they are, the Twelve Tengris!" and continuing to point at the rope, he follows them with his finger and eyes, just as if he were seeing the spirits climbing along the rope that reaches to the top of the pole. He grasps the end of the rope lying on the table, and runs with it, straight to the throne (sheet of red paper on the wall) prepared for the Twelve Tengris and their leader. He holds reverently the end of the rope against the throne, so that the spirits may step unhurt onto the throne. The other shamans and the apprentices run to the throne and prostrate themselves; the whole audience prostrates itself with incense sticks in the hands and the chief shaman starts greeting the spirits: "We are so glad to honor you"—and the audience repeats each time the words of the shamans and prostrates itself—"You must be tired from the long journey. . . . It is kind of you to have come so far. . . . We are very happy to honor you. . . . Please sit down among us, the throne is a poor one, but be so kind as to excuse us. . . ." Then the shamans ask them about the coming of the other spirits, whether they have already started their journey. Suddenly he points again at the roof of the gate, and sees the God of the Five Roads with his four associates. Then one after another come the god of the highest Obo of the region, the dragon god, the dragons of the five lakes, of the four seas, of the nine rivers, of the eight streams, of the new rain; the goddesses of the nine heavens, the three girl goddesses, the heavenly gen-

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erals, the heavenly warriors, the god of the wind, the gods honored in the Monguor villages, then the spirits honored in the private families of the village, the souls of the last three generations of ancestors of the villagers.[8] Every guest is ushered to his throne, greeted, and congratulated in the same way. The shaman has a gentle talk with each of them, while the audience prostrates itself in reverential silence. Finally, drum and cymbals are beaten and the shamans dance with feverish gusto, the dance of thanksgiving for the arrival of all the guests, in order to make them happy. 796 756

ENTERTAINMENT OF THE SPIRITS

Then follows the next act—making the spirits propitious and well disposed (*nan shen*). The shamans and the apprentices kneel in rows before the pole, with incense sticks in their joined hands in the same way as the audience. It is the most important and enjoyed moment of the day. It reveals the peculiar, but typical, religious frame of mind of shamans and Monguors. In the deepest and most solemn silence, the chief of the shamans starts talking with the spirits. He gives a detailed account of all the offerings displayed on the table and before the thrones of the gods—sheep, pig. "All these offerings are brought by the people who are kneeling before you . . . notwithstanding the fact they all had a hard time this year, they enjoyed spending that money for you. If it were possible, they would have given more . . . please enjoy their offerings. . . . You are their superiors, their chiefs, your power is unlimited. . . . All these people trust in you and are confident of you. . . . You came from so far, climb[illegible] high mountains, crossing dangerous rivers . . . in order to sit down for a while with them in this poor courtyard.

[8] A couple of facts already encountered reveal two principles of the philosophy of the shamans concerning the duration of the existence of the spirits and the human souls. Spirits are not eternal; they weaken and become exhausted and old and consequently fade away. The famous White Tiger on the old mounds became old and had to receive new invigoration; a typical fact will be recorded of the great spirit of one of the five great Obos of the country, which had become old and had to be rejuvenated. Spirits are not eternal; even the spirits of the statues become completely exhausted after three years, and every three years the shaman has to replace the exhausted forces with brand new ones. [779 776]

The souls of the deceased of only the last three generations are honored and nurtured at the time of the rite of spring. When illness is ascribed to malignant souls of the deceased, the shaman, outside the courtyard, traces three small circles, and one more expansive; food is placed in the three small ones to nurture the souls of the deceased ancestors of the last three generations only; in the big circle is placed food for the roaming alien souls. These facts reveal an articulate belief that souls of the ancestors last three generations only, and also that hungry souls are dangerous beings. [775 765]

In old China the souls of the deceased kings after five generations, princes after three, nobles after one, lost their original protecting power and were relegated among those of the group to whom personal offerings were refused (H. Maspero, *Chine antique, op. cit.*, 186). They were already far on the way toward decaying and fading away.

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. . . These people are very happy and thankful for your kindness. . . they are happy to be so close to you, and they all hope you will be so kind as to preserve the peace of the village, protect the mountains and pastures, the crops and the herds against hail, and protect the children and the elders." 796 756

During the talk of the shaman, the people repeat his words while prostrating themselves. Some among the shamans really have the knack of saying things that go to the marrow of the bones. Such shamans are always invited, and are beloved by the people. Their talk is long or short, according to the inspiration of the moment and the circumstances, and at that moment the audience is in a really prayerful mood.

After the speech, all the shamans start their most gracious dance, honoring the kind spirits. Then for a long, long while the shamans sit down. They beat the drums softly, and the chief shaman, the whole time listening to his drum, makes the statement in stereotyped terms that "The gods just finished their council and have decided that during the three summer months, the crops will be protected against hail and the village will enjoy peace. The gods have decided that during the three winter months the people and the herds will enjoy peace and be preserved from illnesses. It has been decided by the gods and the decision is irreversible." The people prostrate themselves thankfully, repeating: "Irreversible." Then the gods decide that for the faithful, who are not remiss in the duty of burning incense every day during the four seasons, thieves will not find a way to come into their houses; that wolves, prowling to harm the herds, will no longer be able to open their mouths; that the swords of brigands, if they come, will bend and be useless; that childless women will enjoy this year the hope of giving birth to a boy.

After the promises of the gods, the souls of three generations of deceased villagers are honored. The shamans, standing erect before their throne, beat drums and prostrate several times, pouring wine before their throne, making the libation. Then the chief shaman gives them an account of all the offerings deposited before them by their descendants. He invites them to taste the offerings and to enjoy them, repeating several times that the descendants are happy to be in their presence and the attendants repeat his words. Finally a last dance is performed before the pole, prostrations are made, and the attendants leave the temple. By then the sun is setting, the gathering having lasted a whole day.

The shamans are very proficient in the art of predicting and promising the blessings really desired by the villagers. Although all the promises will not be implemented, the people leave the temple in a happy mood, hopeful and satisfied, for everybody likes the predictions concerning the fulfillment of his hopes and wishes. The children in the schools and the women remember very well the details of these talks, which

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have gone straight to their hearts. In order not to get a warped view of the talks of the shamans at these religious feasts, it must be said that the talks were not always sugary and sweet, adorned with delightful promises fitting the moods and feelings of the audience. Two unusual events happened, one in Too long in 1909, and the other in Hsin yüan-p'u in 1914 at the feast of spring. These were described to me several times by different Monguors and Chinese, because they were so well known for their unusualness and because they were fraught with terrible forebodings. 796 756

During the rites, at the moment when the people, kneeling in deep religious silence, were waiting for happy promises of the spirits, the shaman, listening to the spirits speaking in his drum, threw the attendance into confusion and terror, declaring the inauspicious disposition of the spirits, and foretelling threatening calamities in store for the villagers, such as hail, epizootics, diseases. The shaman saw in his drum the aversion in the hearts of the spirits and heard the bitter words on their tongues, because of the lack of fervor in the cult of the guardian spirit of the village; the disregard of the youth for them; the lasting feuds and discords among the families of the village, unwilling to overlook their petty differences.

The distressed audience was suddenly thrown into the throes of despair. All hope for blessings was dashed to the ground and crumbled in a heap. Everybody shuddered at the thought of hail and diseases. The audience, caught in a web of indecision, did not dare to laugh the threats to scorn. Predictions of impending calamities are never viewed in a light vein. The congregation was like a ship without a rudder, lashed by big waves of fear and apprehensions. Then the chief of the village said, "Let us prostrate ourselves and ask for forgiveness for our shortcomings and deficiencies," and he asked the shaman for a solution of the problem. In Hsin-yüan p'u the shamans agreed to attempt to propitiate the spirits, although, according to them, only a small hope remained. In desperation, trying to propitiate the angry spirits about to loose their avenging bolts, they danced their gentlest dances, listening to the drum, talking with the spirits, leaning towards the drums, flattering, cajoling, wheedling, apologizing, promising for the future, while the audience prostrated itself incessantly. Finally the chief of the shamans, with a glint of victory in his eyes, declared that the scales of mercy had been successfully weighted, but that an additional pig had to be offered. Breathing vows of deathless devotion, the audience was happy; solace had been brought to their sadness. Such scenes are recorded by the people to their dying day, with all the details.

In Too long, however, the angry spirits stuck by their decision. The shamans recommenced their dances, the people prostrated themselves, and the shamans, unsuccessful in pulling the heartstrings of the gods, de-

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clared that their power was too weak and unavailing, 796
that more shamans would have to be invited, and that a 756
big hog would have to be prepared. A few days later more shamans succeeded in the same way as in Hsin-yüan p'u.

This shamanist rite of the first day tallies wonderfully [171]
with that of the Wu among the Chinese and the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C. At the time of the state sacrifices, the Wu were ordered to call down the gods and human ancestors and to lead them to their "thrones," beating drums and dancing while a band of Chinese musicians played appropriate music. They pierced the future, knew the wishes of the gods and the ancestors, knew the desired sacrifices, and were proficient in predictions.[4]

Taoist priests in the country never perform such rites, 792
which are peculiar to the Monguor shamans, who after so many centuries have preserved them faithfully. They give an insight into what, centuries ago, was the religious practice of the Chinese and the surrounding barbarians, and what it is at present among the Monguors. The fantastic invitation and calling down of the spirits, their coming one after another along the rope, which the shaman pretends to see moving with his own eyes, with whom he talks, as if to persons in front of him, whom he greets cordially, is straight in the hallucinatory line specific to shamans. The best among the shamans go so far as to communicate their feelings by means of words and gestures to the well-disposed audience already believing in the reality of the rite and in the capacity of the shaman to see and communicate with gods and souls. They go so far as to make the 796
people feel happy to approach, face to face, the spirits and souls; to sit in their presence; to honor them, and trust entirely in them. To be sure, a religious feeling is awakened by the shamans at the meeting. All my [781]
Monguor informants asserted they were happy at that time and enjoyed the rite.

This is the only time during a whole year, when the community of a village prays and honors its gods and ancestors in a group. It was said that nobody would miss attending this rite. No wonder that the Monguors esteem and love their shamans, especially since the lamas never practice such a rite for a whole community.

RITES OF THE SECOND DAY

The second day is a busy one, since four rites are 796
performed: (1) possession by the White Tiger spirit, 756
(2) the greeting of the Goddess of Joy, (3) leave-taking of the spirits, and (4) the nurturing of the spirits of the temple.

POSSESSION BY THE WHITE TIGER

Very early in the morning, after breakfast, the shamans, beating drums and cymbals, sit around the pole

[4] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1188–1190; 1201–1208, 1247.

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in front of all the spirits invited the day before, talking with them and asking for their protection upon the village. The guardian of the temple, acting as representative of the whole village, kneels behind them with incense sticks in his joined hands, answering and repeating the prayers. The rite lasts for about an hour. 796 756

Around ten o'clock a lunch is served to the shamans and wine is poured in profusion. All the villagers, dressed in their festival best, flock to the temple to attend the ceremony of the possession of the chief of the shamans by the White Tiger spirit.

For a long time the shamans play and have fun. While the apprentices beat drums and cymbals, they start dancing; they get excited, display all kinds of acrobatics; dance on their knees holding their heels in their hands; dance on their heads; turn cartwheels; keep whirling; jostle one another. They are stimulated to compete with one another in accomplishing the queerest eccentricities. It is not unusual for a couple to get into a quarrel and start fighting and for one or another to fall down in a fainting fit. [535] [578]

When the excitement reaches fever pitch, the chief of the shamans exchanges his cap of the god of the Five Roads for the black cap with long tail. With his arm nude, the whip fixed into the collar, drum in hand, he starts a wild dance which lasts for a long time. He stops once in a while and cracks the whip. He takes threatening and aggressive attitudes, brawls loudly and indistinctly, and grins, distorting mouth and jaw bone. With his whole body writhing and supposed to be possessed by the White Tiger spirit, he cuts his arm with a razor, making it bleed. The women rush to the shaman and apply paper to the wound. These papers are efficacious talismans for the protection of children, and are sewn on their clothes by their mothers. In former times, old Monguors said, potent shamans pierced their cheeks with an arrow and bent the blade of a sword predicting the future with wonderful accuracy, but today shamans can no longer do that. These rites are in line with the activities of Wu and shamans.[5] [785]

GREETING OF THE GODDESS OF JOY

Around two o'clock the rite of *ying hsi-niang* is performed, the meeting with, and the greeting of, the Goddess of Joy. This rite is purely shamanistic. The Chinese perform a similar but more quiet rite, on New Year's day, meeting and greeting the "spirit" of joy. Monguor youngsters like to imitate the Chinese and enjoy the same merriment. However, the real Monguor rite is the following one performed by the shaman: [776]

On the large threshing floor of the village is placed a table with offerings. The villagers sit around the edges of the floor in order that the shaman may have room for the performance and the evolutions. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail, and keeping

[5] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212. [p. 109 (B)]

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time with the beating of drums and cymbals perform their wildest dances for a long time. Usually three or four among them seem to be possessed. All of a sudden the chief of the shamans becomes excited to fever pitch, and howls "go to the goddess." Then, followed by the other shamans, he grasps a chicken and, dancing with fury, bites its neck and jerks off its head in a wild movement. Grimacing with distorted face, and glittering eyes, he throws the bleeding chicken head in the supposed direction of the goddess, uttering dreary cries and indistinct sounds. After the rite is accomplished, the people go home for dinner. It is indeed a savage means of greeting "a goddess of joy," with a bleeding head and with such wild appearance. 796 756

The split-personality of the "good" shaman who the first day was so gentle, so kind, so considerate for the spirits, shows up more and more; he has to see blood and to offer bloody sacrifices.

LEAVE-TAKING OF THE SPIRITS

After sunset all the villagers come to the temple. In some villages the women are not allowed to attend the evening rites, but elders asserted that in former times the women were admitted everywhere. [562]

A hundred small lamps are prepared, the cup made with dough and the wick with twisted cotton wool. Into the cup is poured vegetable oil. The lamps are displayed in rows on the offering table in front of the pole and the statues. The shamans first perform the usual dance, keeping time to the beating of the drums. The leave taking of the guest spirits is called the "opening of the highway" (*k'ai ma-lu*). A bridge[6] is to be built over which the guests are supposed to pass. A big roll is put on each of the four corners of the table, and a larger one in the middle; a paper banner is placed on each of the five rolls. A lamp is lit near the banners and a plate put near each of them; on the middle plate is placed the head of a chicken. [354]

The chief of the shamans asks the shamans and the apprentices for the meaning of the five rolls. The five rolls mean the five mountains; the five lamps, the five lakes; the five wicks, the five dragons; the banners, the incense which billows up into the sky. Why is the head of a chicken put on the middle plate? In order to steady the *Yin-Yang* (male and female principle of the Taoists). The chief shaman writes, around the roll in the center, the eight Chinese cyclical characters and asks for the explanation of each of them. If one of the shamans or apprentices is unable to answer he is scolded and upbraided in front of the whole gathering.

A bridge is constructed for the spirits from one end of the table to the other by disposing two rows of rolls in which are planted brand new chopsticks; on both sides of the bridge are planted incense sticks in smaller rolls. The shaman asks again for explanations: Is there still another way existing above that bridge or not? An- [442]

[6] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 419. [p·110(A)]

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swer: the galaxy. Who walks on the milky way? Yu 796
Huang,[7] preceded by the green dragon and the White 756
Tiger. Under the bridge is there still another bridge
or not? The dangerous bridge leading to Hell, over [775]
which passes the king of Hell, Erlik, preceded by the spirit with the head of a cow and the spirit with the head of a horse, and where spirits are waiting, who devour passing souls. What is our bridge? The bridge of the spirits.

The building of the bridge of the spirits and the con- 796
fused explanations of the shamans, mixed with Taoist, 756
shamanist, and Bön principles, reveals, nevertheless, 772
the philosophy claiming the existence of three worlds: 779
the upper, middle, and lower worlds, each with its own population.[8] A hint has already been given of this philosophy, in describing the rite of the stretched goat skin and the molding of clay figures, etc. At any rate the bridge provides a wonderful opportunity for the shamans to display their philosophical abilities and their proficiency in the art of telling of the nine and more heavens, one more beautiful than the other; the eighteen hells, dark and terrifying; the severe judgments after death presided over by Erlik or the Chinese Yen wang; the explanation of the three souls; shamans flying on drums to heaven, are unique occasions for story-tellers, sparkling with wit, to reap big successes.

At that time, shamans never fail to explain the ap- 776
pointment of their ancestor shaman by Chiang Tze-ya 538
as servant of the god of the Five Roads; they never 544
fail to narrate captivating episodes from the epic of Gesar. All kinds of problems are dealt with, and a lot of fun is had. The most ridiculous answers are given to the most ridiculous questions. One shaman asks for the explanation of why in each wheat grain there is always a small groove? The answer is that in the beginning of the world there was no wheat. Tengri made a wheat grain, but it seemed to be too big; with the nail of his right thumb he parted the grain in two parts. Still it seemed to be too big, and so he parted it again and then a third time. The fourth time, just when he was about to cut the grain in two parts again, it appeared to be all right without cutting through it, so he left the grain only half cut through, and so all grains of wheat have a little groove in them. This story was told to me several times by children who attended the meeting and said that the shaman told them so.

Another story, which gives us a better insight into 796
the nature of that kind of meeting, is told when a sha- 756
man is asked at what time and why men started seducing 831
women, and women started eloping? An interesting 773
sociological and moral question! Tengri wanted to have men and women. After kneading red earth and water a whole day, he moulded seven men; then he

[7] The most popular god of modern China who received letters patent from the Emperor in A.D. 1017. Wieger, *Textes historiques, op. cit.*, 1846.

[8] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 138. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

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took straw, and with fine cord tied it in the shape of 796
seven women. The fourteen manikins were put in the 756
sun to dry into shape; the tengris went to sleep. Erlik, 831
chief of the underworld and antagonist of the Tengri, 773
made a terrific storm rage and one of the straw ladies finally blew away. When these thirteen figures came to life, one of the men was lacking a wife. Monguors enjoy this story and ask the shamans to tell it every year. Another of the big subjects dealt with at the meetings is that of bad dreams. Because the meetings often end in telling smutty and filthy stories, women in many villages do not attend the evening meetings. The shamans at that time compete with one another for winning the highest marks in that kind of virtuosity. Often the chiefs of the villages, when they invite the shamans, enjoin them not to go beyond certain limits.

When the meeting starts to drag, the chief of the 756
shamans makes preparations for the leave-taking of the 796
spirits. The shamans perform a dance, while the audience kneels. The shaman again enjoins the people to ask for benedictions. He has a last talk with the spirits, thanks them for the visit, reminding them of their promises, and invites them ceremoniously, one after another, to return to their splendid abodes calling them by the most pompous titles. Firecrackers are set off, and shamans dance; the people prostrate themselves and the spirits go back along the rope to their abodes.

While the shaman throws three handfuls of wheat and jujubes into the air, the people try to catch them, as they fall, in their skirts; they mix them with the seeds for next year. A hard pull on the rope fixed on the pole breaks the bag containing jujubes made with dough, coins, and peas. Everybody tries to grab a couple of them, for having been touched by the coming and going of the spirits they enjoy their celebrated magical power. Sick persons eat them in order to be healed, and women so as to become pregnant. The fork with the two rolls is unbalanced; the rolls fall and are picked up; they are reduced to crumbs and are panaceas against all kind of ailments.

NURTURING OF THE GODS OF THE TEMPLE

This rite is the last one and may be the most im- [776]
portant. The shamans explain that the spirits in the 796
temples are to be nurtured once a year, in order that 756
they may be able to protect the village against hail. 782
Here the split personality of the Monguor shamans shows up in its crudest reality.

The shamans explain, and the Monguors strongly believe their explanation, that in former times a human sacrifice was urged every year by the spirits. Other shamans say that the sacrifice was needed only every seven years, in order to ward off hail, epidemics, epizootics, etc.[9] The present rite takes the place of the

[9] This tradition, concerning the yearly human sacrifice demanded by the spirits, seems to point to the fact that in old

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former human sacrifices; consequently blood and the soul of a deceased person is needed for the nurturing of the spirits. 776 786 782

The rite is performed at night. The shamans and the young folk leave the temple in order to capture the soul of a deceased human being. Sometimes they go far away, according to the indication of their spirits. Five fortresses are built by means of incense sticks planted in the ground in the form of a square, one at each corner according to the points of the compass, and one in the center. Circles are drawn around each of them. Then follows the beating of the drums and cymbals, dances, and cracking of the whips on the ground. The chief of the shamans howls at the top of his voice, "Is the northern fortress already built?" All the shamans answer by howling in the same way; this is repeated for each of the fortresses. Nuts and dates are thrown by the chief of the shamans on the four corners, and on the center; he throws some of them into the air, to attract the roaming souls of deceased people. A bottle is planted in an inclined position in a bushel containing wheat, and is supported by burning incense sticks. The shamans start their wildest dance, drearily howling at the tops of their voices, and cracking whips, in the middle of the pitch-dark night. The burning incense sticks no longer support the bottle, and it falls flat; the chief of the shamans rushes to the bottle, grasps it, and runs as fast as possible to the temple, followed by the other shamans and the young folk.

The temple gate is shut tightly. A new wild dance follows, until all of a sudden the chief of the shamans grasps a chicken, jerks off its head, and gathers its blood in a pot. He cries again, asking the gathering three times, "Are the souls here?" and runs inside the temple rooms and presents the bottle containing the gathered souls at the mouth of each of the statues and the painted gods on the walls, cajoling, wheedling and caressing them saying, "Eat, eat please! Do you like it? It is a wonderful meal, eat some more, there is plenty." Then taking the pot with blood he performs the same ceremony, "Drink, drink!" The spirits are nurtured.

He takes the pot containing the horoscope sticks placed in the temple, throws them on the ground and

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times the White Tiger devoured a person every year, as mentioned above. There is a widespread belief in human sacrifices demanded by spirits in India and Tibet (A. David Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 207, Paris, Plon, 1929. L. A. Waddell, *op. cit.*, 516). It is noted by Helmut Hoffmann (*op. cit.*, 175), as practiced by the Hsienpi in Manchuria and Mongolia at the beginning of the year; it was well known in China in former times (De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 79. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, Index, Sacrifices Humains, 2164). Helmut Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 161–162, also notes spirits called *Sri* eagerly attacking small children, sucking their blood, and devouring them. Garma Sanschejew (*op. cit.*, 592), notes among the shamans belief in a kind of spirit eager to attack and devour the children; parents know that when children start crying suddenly such spirits are around. No wonder that this belief, spread all over Asia, is still very strong at present among the Monguors.

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examines their position. "All right!" he cries. "all 796
events will be all right this year, the village will enjoy 756
peace and thrive; this year you will be preserved from 782
hail!" A piece of red cloth is tied with a red rope on the bottle, which is put under the empty container inside the temple for seven days.

After all the rites have been accomplished, the villagers go home taking with them their own thrones of the ancestors and as many paper banners and streamers as possible, in order to place them with the deities honored at home. The shamans and the elders have a meal and plenty of wine for the whole night. The next morning the shamans leave; they came riding empty-handed on a donkey, and go back driving the donkey, laden with rolls and offerings, some wheat, and a meager payment in cash.

FEAR OF HUMAN SACRIFICES

During the second, third, and fourth months, the time 782
during which these rites are performed in one village 784
after another, everywhere children are encountered 789
wearing around their necks strips of filthy, stinking 751
cloth, with which the women had wrapped their feet (for they do not wear stockings). The heads of some children are covered with a handkerchief containing dog hair; the foreheads of some children are scratched and lightly wounded. Several times a day the children are enjoined not to eat jujubes or nuts lying along the way or in the temple yards, for fear that the spirits, avid for human sacrifices, might allure them and take their souls. Everywhere it is said that, notwithstanding the rites taking the place of the former human sacrifices, once in a while some of the spirits take a child. All these practices are used in order to frighten the spirits and to preserve the children desired by this kind of evil spirit. If, during these months, a child dies, everybody is convinced that his soul has been taken by the terrible spirits.

These practices give evidence that the belief in human 782
sacrifices required by spirits is deeply ingrained in the minds of the people. At that time, meeting children so [115]
arrayed affords a fine opportunity to collect details about the rites of spring, and the talks of the shamans, and to get an insight into the religious trend of mind of the people. These facts make it plain that the Monguor shamans, honoring Taoist spirits and performing most of the rites of the Wu of China and of the shamans living in the neighboring countries, have preserved their urge for human sacrifices. The Monguor shamans nurture the weakened, exhausted spirits in the temples with captured human souls. The burying of the Chinese beggar in the mound, in order to succeed in the struggle against the hail spirits, and the occasional capturing of a boy for the same purpose, facts attested by many trustworthy men, give evidence of the assumption. However, constraint is imposed [illegible]
upon them by a more civilized environment than that

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of Tibet. Chinese laws, and the presence of their 782
powerful enemies, the lamas, ready to harm their in- [B82]
stitution constrain them to act cautiously and to re-
strain their savage nature.

The rites against hail, performed after the rites just described, have been recorded in Chapter IX.

CULT OF THE MOUNTAINS

The cult of the mountains must be very old. It seems 795
not to have originated in Lamaism, and does not fit in the frame of its philosophy, but rather to have been accepted and ritualized by it to a very large extent.

Concerning the Monguors it has been noted, that the 175
Shat'o, like most of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, 795
made sacrifices on top of the mountains and that the horse was their most important offering.[10] It is a fact of common knowledge that in old times the Mongols also honored the gods of the mountains. Chingis Khan lived in this atmosphere. Temuchin (Chingis Khan), in order to avoid a band of Merkits, galloped away to Mount Burkan Kaldun. Having escaped alive, he exclaimed, lifting his face to the sky: "Mount Burkan has protected my miserable life; henceforward, I will ever sacrifice to it and bequeath to my sons and grandsons the duty of sacrificing to it." [11]

The Monguors explain the cult of the Obos and of 795
the sacred hill of the village by asserting that the coun- 776
try between the Ta-t'ung and Hsining Rivers belongs to five powerful spirits or deities who reside on the tops of the five highest mountains of the country, where celebrated Obos are built for them. These spirits claim the worship of the people living on their territory, grazing herds and farming. They are kind to their worshippers, protecting their herds and fields, but they punish the unbelievers. "It is our duty to honor them," say the Monguors earnestly, "for if we were remiss in our duty we would surely court disaster."

These five spirits do not possess the entire territory in a group, but each of them is supposed to wield power over the country surrounding its own mountain. Consequently it receives offerings and worship only from the people living within its supposed circumscription.

Besides these five important mountain spirits, other less important ones are honored, mostly on the passes or on higher mountains. Their cult is not general, but is practiced only by the people living near the passes and by travelers.

In connection with this peculiar mentality about the 795
territory having its proprietors is to be noted the cult of 778
the sacred hill honored in each Monguor village, for in

[10] Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers, op. cit.*, 91.

[11] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan, op. cit.*, 29. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The mountain of God*, A study in early religion and kingship, 7: 170, London, Bernard Quaritch, 1953: "Fundamentally the 'old Asiatic Religion' is the worship of the divinity of earth and its energies concentrated in some mountain and in the superhuman virtue of kingship." Reviewed by Clarence H. Hamilton in *Far Eastern Quart.* 13 (3): 370, 1954.

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the same way the territory of the village is supposed to 795
have its owner who also resides on the sacred hill, not 778
on the highest mountain of the village. This spirit lays the same claims to thorough ownership over the village's fields and obligatory worship from its inhabitants.

The Monguors and Shat'o, descendants of old nomads, who used to honor spirits residing on the tops of the highest mountains and to recognize them as the proprietors of the entire country, were unable to get rid of this old trend of mind. They must have applied the same religious notions to the sacred hill of their villages when they exchanged their nomadic economy for the agricultural, and so the change of economy not only brought about adaptations in the field of their social organizations, but also in the field of their religion and cults.

It is common knowledge that the notion and cult of 795
a spirit proprietor of the earth are very old and wide- [17]
spread all over China also.[12] From the earliest times on, this spirit used to be honored in rudimentary shrines built in the fields by each farmer, and in a temple in each village, but the Monguors, old nomads, had to have a sacred hill and to have this spirit residing on top of a hill. Therefore, besides the cult of the five spirits of the five highest mountains, they practice the cult of the proprietor of the village on the sacred hill of the village. However, because the proprietor resides on a hill, they build a small Obo and plant a pole like that on the Obos built for the five big spirits. Several times I was told by Monguors that the cult of the sacred hill is the same as the cult of the earth god (T'u-ti-yeh) of the Chinese, and not the cult of a mountain spirit; that their earth god is the goddess Etogon; further, that the sacred hill is not the highest mountain situated in the boundaries of the village, but a hill or a notable elevation. Many villages do not have mountains inside their boundaries.

OBLIGATIONS TOWARD THE MOUNTAIN GODS

The behavior of the Monguors regarding the moun- [776]
tains and village gods seems to suggest that this cult is based on the principle of the ownership, the dominion of the country, by a god, and on the principle of its lordship over the people living on its territory. This dominion and lordship of the god is to be recognized by means of sacrifices and offerings.

The same frame of mind and philosophy concerning
these gods is encountered all over Asia [13] Buddha once [17]
enjoined his followers in India never to omit making an offering to the god of the spot where they were dwelling.[14]

In every lamasery of Huang-chung, therefore, is encountered a temple dedicated to the god of the spot oc-

[12] Maspero, *La Chine antique*, *op. cit.*, 204.
[13] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 598.
[14] de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme: Opinions et croyances*, 351 Paris, Beauchesne, 1909.

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cupied by the monastery. In big lamaseries the cult of 795
this god resorts to the attributions of members of the college of rites.[15]

Every Monguor, together with his entire family in 795
their best clothes, who attends the ceremony of the start- 782
ing of the plowing of the fields, will honor in the fields [241]
the god of his fields, by burying an urn (called the precious bottle), making libations, burning incense, and offering bread. No Monguor will build a court yard, sheep or cow pen without burying an urn in the ground, thereby recognizing the lordship and dominion of the spirit of the spot, and obtaining his permission to occupy it. In the center of the courtyard, under the manikan and the manger, the Monguors used to bury five urns and invite a lama to recite texts for one, two or five days, sprinkling holy water and throwing spelt on them. This old rite has become a thoroughly Lamaist rite, to which each lama attaches his own mystical explanations.

However, frequently the Monguor invites a Chinese geomancer; he plants the manikan himself, buries the urn, and offers a sheep or a chicken. This principle is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of the Monguors that they will never proceed with the rite of the cremation of a corpse without having previously recognized the ownership of the god of the spot, and obtaining its permission by buying from it the spot required. Thus, the mountain and village gods seem to belong to the category of the earth gods for whom, in old China, victims and offerings were buried in the ground.[16] For that reason urns are buried for mountain and village gods as well as for earth gods.

The precious bottle (urn), the most important offering in the cult of the gods of the mountains, the village, and the earth, is usually prepared by a lama of the Yellow or the Red Sect, performing more or less elaborate rites, sometimes for days. He uses some [823] powder of gold, some silver, coral, turquoise, and copper coins of the K'ai-yüan (713–741) and T'ai-p'ing (1850) periods, things which are said to comprise the five precious materials. He gathers some grains of five kinds of cereals, threads of five colors, different kinds of medicines, incense sticks, and some tea leaves. All these substances are pounded for a long time with a pestle in a mortar and poured into a small urn, while the lama blows on them and recites texts. Finally molten butter is poured into the urn, level with the opening. Two pictures are pasted on the urn: one of a Lamaist deity and one of the dragon spirit. The urn is covered with a piece of red cloth. The use of the urn is known all over China; such urns can be bought in all pharmacies, in lamaseries, from Taoist priests, and from shamans. The contents of the urn are not always the same, for several kinds are said to be used. Lamas make a business out of the urns, for usually the slightest unhappinesses, illnesses, and calamities, are

[15] David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, *op. cit.*, 100.
[16] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 205.

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said to be caused by the offended god of the spot who must be propitiated by the offering of an urn. 795 782

Consequently, these proprietors and lords of the country and the villages are supposed to extend their protection to their worshippers, blessing their herds and crops and preserving the country against hail, epidemics, and epizootics and providing propitious rain. No wonder that the temples in many villages are dedicated to the god of the mountain, and that one can read on village temples the inscription, "[may] the God of the Five Roads, the gods of the mountain and the village, protect the village."

The cult of the five important mountain gods will be dealt with first, followed by that of the sacred hill of the village.

CULT OF THE OBO

A mountain god is honored by means of an Obo.[17] 795 On the top of the sacred mountain is planted a big pole 778 which secures communication between spirits and man, even as at the time of the shamanist feast of spring, and the planting of the manikan in the courtyards. Stones, mostly white ones, are piled in a big heap around the pole, enclosed with a wooden fence, painted white. Sticks, very often shaped as spears and long arrows, often painted red at the top and black at the bottom, with a tassel of red wool attached to them, are planted in the stone heap, as well as some twigs of cypress. On the top of the pole, and on most of the sticks, are fixed prayer flags, pieces of white cloth on which prayers are written with Tibetan characters, and with the "Wind Horse" printed on them. To white and black ropes (of which one end is bound to the pole and the other to small poles or sticks fixed in the ground), are attached some shoulder bones and various small bones of sheep, small prayer flags, pieces of red dyed wool. Often some small stone heaps are built around the Obo; bigger flat stones form an offering table in front of the heap. No irreverent or immodest acts are permitted in front of the pole. No information was available concerning either the way of building Obos, or the items buried inside under the pole, because I knew nobody who had met the builders of Obos.[18]

THE FIVE GREAT OBOS IN THE COUNTRY

These five chief spirits, owners of the country, are 778 not only honored on the tops of their respective moun- 782 tains. Because it is impossible to climb the mountain 795 every day, there is built for each of them, inside the monasteries of the Yellow Sect nearest the mountain, a small temple, in which lamas daily honor them. So, the temple of the spirit Amni Chokker of the Obo near the lamasery of Ch'u erh is built in that monastery. There is one exception: the small temple of the spirit

[17] Stress should be put on the correct meaning of the cult of the Obo so as not to identify it with the cult of Heaven, as so often happens in studies concerning the religion of the nomads.

[18] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 68–69.

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Amni Chialip of the Obo in Waza is built inside the courtyard of a rich Tibetan, Manguru. I was told by him that every day he lit a taper and burned incense. Women, and girls, even his wife or daughter-in-law, were never allowed to enter the small temple. The same prohibition existed for the women against visiting this kind of temple in the monasteries.

When and how are the five owners of the country honored? On an auspicious day fixed by a lama, usually of the Red Sect, at the end of the fifth moon, and usually during the sixth moon, five delegates from every village assumed to be situated in the circumscription of the territory of the spirit, are sent to the mountain. They carry a tent and drive some sheep which have been washed and combed, with red paper pasted on their horns and ribbons attached to their fleece, and a piece of red cloth eight feet long on each of their backs. The men also bring some spears and arrows painted red and black, miniature bows, firecrackers and the famous "precious bottle" (the urn).

The first day, at evening, all the representatives of the villages pitch their tents at the foot of the celebrated mountain and pass the night in merrymaking. The next day, being the auspicious day, in the early morning the chief and the elders of the village, with a large crowd of villagers, arrive to attend the rites to be celebrated on top of the mountain. Chinese merchants pitch tents and do business at the foot of the mountain.

After breakfast all the chiefs of the villages with the villagers go to the Obo. One group after another sets off firecrackers before the Obo, plants in the stone heap spears and arrows, and attaches new flags and pieces of wool and bones, and reverently bury their precious bottle in a deep hole. On the crude offering table, the killed sheep is offered, broth is thrown first toward "Heaven" and then to the four points of the compass for "all the spirits," the famous Wei-sang rite is performed and libation made, while the groups kneel and prostrate themselves. After the rites of each village are performed by the chiefs, a group of lamas, mostly of the Red Church, perform on behalf of the entire community a big Wei-sang rite, beating drums, blowing horns, and chanting some prayers; they all turn three times around the obo.

In the afternoon at the foot of the mountain an immense crowd of men and women enjoy the horseraces and the wrestling,[10] singing and drinking. At sunset most of the people leave, but groups of young folk pass the night around the tents, merrymaking. On the morning of the third day, the tents are rolled up, all the

[10] L. M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes mongoles*, 76, Gembloux, Duculot, 1947. Description of the horse races in the sixth moon at the Obo by the Mongols of Outchimts'in and wrestling (on p. 109), attended by the author; also Owen Lattimore, *Mongol journeys*, 274, New York, Doubleday, 1941, with interesting description of the festivities attended by the chiefs of the Banners, etc.

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people leave, and the spirit of the mountain enjoys in 795
undisturbed silence his ownership over the country. 796

Concerning the offering of sheep, Monguors assert that in former times their ancestors offered a horse on top of the mountains, but that at present, for lack of horses, a sheep is offered and not a pig, because the offer of a sheep is more convenient; a sheep can be driven to the top of the mountain, a pig has to be carried; the killing of a sheep takes less time and requires less utensils, which are not available on top of the mountain.

THE SICK OBO SPIRIT HEALED

The villages situated in the valley of Sha-t'ang, be- 782
longing to the circumscription of the big spirit of the 756
celebrated Obo Lung-wang, had poor crops, spoiled by very bad hailstorms, for three years in succession. The saying went that the vitality of the spirit was declining and that it could no longer prevent these terrific calamities. The shamans were invited to restore its debilitated strength. The chiefs and elders of all the villages together with the inhabitants went in a group to the Obo, with a group of shamans, headed by drums and flags. A big cypress fire was built; the people knelt around the Obo with incense sticks in their hands. The shamans, beating drums, danced in front of the Obo; the eldest among them, in pathetic terms, invited the sick spirit to sit down in the midst of its devoted worshippers. He spoke to the spirit in the sweetest way, just as if he was in its presence and was seeing it, caressing, consoling, and comforting the old spirit. He invited it to look at the kneeling worshippers, and protested that they really loved it, and the shamans would offer a dance in order to entertain the old spirit.

After the dance was performed, in the most gracious way, the sick spirit was supposed to be happy. The shaman, like a good mother, persuaded the spirit to take some medicines in the most affable way. He said that he had prepared for it the most efficient medicine, that it had never failed to restore the strength of Obo spirits. The shaman dug a deep hole near the Obo. The precious bottles of each village were put into it first, then a box containing seventy living snakes [20] of different kinds and colors. The shaman explained to the spirit the different kinds of ailments healed by the different kinds of snakes, and then the hole was filled up. Each village offered its sheep, firecrackers were set off, prostrations, libations and Wei-sang rites were conducted, and a last dance was performed by the shamans. Then the medical performance was closed. The spirit was supposed to be bursting with vitality again,

[20] Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex*, 182. The Tungus use the snakes for making poisonous bullets. The big snake is styled by the shamans the most important spirit who gives advice to the shaman, p. 246. See also Waddell, *op. cit.*, 368, *Snakes and Nagas*; also Heissig, *op. cit.*, 48, Spirits who cause diseases flee from the snakes.

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and the group then marched three times around the 782
Obo. I heard the details of this unusual rite from 756
Monguors who had attended the ceremony.

Just as women are not allowed to enter the temples of the spirits of the Obo, and are excluded from the rites performed at the top of the Obo in the sixth moon, they were also excluded from these rites of restoration of the forces of the spirit of the Sha-t'ang valley. It is [562] for this reason that the Obo festivities, horse races, wrestling, in the sixth moon, are performed at the foot of the mountain, so that women can attend. When women encounter an Obo on their way, they always avoid passing in front of it—the "front" being usually the south or southeast.

The mentality of the Monguors regarding the spirit of the Obo explains their reverence for them. A Monguor will always dismount from his horse when he passes an Obo. He will never fail to add some white stones to the heap, to cry at the top of his voice, honoring the spirit, to prostrate himself nine times, to throw some coins, some flour, a roll of bread on the stone heap, or to smear some butter on the offering table.[21]

It is not only the common people who act in this way. I saw the T'u-kuan Living Buddha, when passing the Obo of Sung-hua-ting, send some lamas ahead to perform the rite of Wei-sang.

CULT OF THE SACRED HILL OF THE VILLAGE

The cult of the sacred hill of the village is performed 795
like the cult of the Obos. A small Obo is built on 782
top of the hill, and a pole is erected. Under the pole is buried the "precious bottle" (urn), the specific offer to the earth god; ropes with flags are attached to the pole and spears planted in the stone heap piled around the pole. Obviously, the dimensions of this Obo are smaller than those of the Obos of the five mountain spirits, and perhaps because of this they are not called Obo, but the "sacred hill of the village."[22]

On New Year's each family sends a member to the sacred hill to enact the rite of Wei-sang and libation. On the fifteenth of the first moon the chiefs of the villages, with the elders and the inhabitants, officially go to the sacred hill, offering a sheep, performing Wei-sand, burying an urn, and making a libation. On the third of the fifth moon a similar group performs the same rites, in order to strengthen the vitality of the spirit of the sacred hill, which, according to the Monguors, must be in full strength in order to help avert hailstorms. Epidemics and epizootics are supposed to be caused by the outraged spirit of the sacred hill, [753] which must be propitiated by a sheep offering and Wei-sang rite, performed by the whole village.

Devout people go on the first and fifteenth of the month to perform Wei-sang and libation. Monguors

[21] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 63.

[22] R. Rahmann, Remarks on the sacrifice of Heaven of the Na-khi, *Monumenta Serica* 13: 406 *sqq.*, 1948.

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devoted to the practice of throwing in the wind slips 795
of paper on which are printed the Buddhist "flying 782
wind horses" are accustomed to performing this rite on the top of the sacred hill.

It is not permitted to cut wood, to graze animals, or to hunt on the sacred hill. In old China, the god of the earth was the tree itself, planted in a small forest.[23] The Monguors plant the Obo post in the hill, and do not allow the cutting of bushes growing on it, or the grazing of cattle. In every village the sacred hill is very conspicuous, because of the wealth of the bushes growing on it which seem to create the illusion of a small forest.

CONCLUSION

The worshipping of the mountain gods consists in the sacrifice of a sheep (or a horse), the burying of an urn, the planting of spears, the lighting of a cypress fire, prostrations, and marching three times around the Obo.

All these rites are performed by the villagers, led by the chiefs and elders. After these rites are performed, lamas start reciting texts, beating drums, and making *tormas*. This fact seems to reveal that the lama rites are additional rites of later times, that the cult of the mountain gods existed long before the lamas appeared in the country, and was performed by the communities without them. The cult preserves the old ritual used at the worshipping of the mountain gods.

The old philosophy concerning the nature of the [772]
mountain gods, their dominion over the country and control over its people, is still fresh and living. It is clearly manifested by the burying of an urn, the specific, grateful offer to a god who is regarded as owner of the earth, which contains the specimens of all the kinds of blessings and treasures provided by the earth. This philosophy places the mountain gods in the category of the earth gods. It is typical also that in every urn they never fail to put an offering of medicines, which reveals the philosophy concerning the decay of the gods whose lives have to be nursed and reinvigorated.

However, the Monguors could not explain the meaning of the planting of the spears near the pole. The explanations encountered in books relating to this puzzle seem to be unsatisfactory and arbitrary.

Taking account of this philosophy and the religious environment in which the Monguors live, claiming to have gods and Tengris as proprietors and dominators of the country, it seems easy to understand that little room is left for thinking about a God, Creator of the Universe, and that this notion is completely absent in their philosophy. Only once is the "Spirit of Heaven" recalled during the performance of the whole rite on top of the mountain—at the time the broth of mutton is ladled and thrown to the four points of the compass, honoring all the gods and spirits. However, the "Spirit of Heaven" is called first and the offering is made first

[23] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 168. [p. 116(A)]

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to it, in the way the Monguors are used to doing at the 795
time of the offering to the guardian deity of the family.[24] 782

RITES OF AUTUMN

THANKSGIVING RITE

The autumn feast, called by the Monguors "Thanks- 796
giving meeting," is intended as an act of thanksgiving for the harvest reaped.

In the ninth or the tenth month, when the harvest is reaped and threshed, the chief of the village convenes with the elders to agree upon the choice of the shamans who should be invited, and upon the manager and the helpers who should be appointed in order to prepare the feast. Usually small villages invite one shaman, [756] bigger villages two or four; the number of the shamans invited depends also on the abundance or meagerness of the harvest. The shamans are usually chosen from among those who performed the rites in spring or the rites against hail.

The appointed manager of the ceremonies goes, taking with him a bottle of wine, the ceremonial scarf, and an invitation written on red paper "to the master of magic, so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads"; he fixes with him the date for the ceremony, suiting his convenience. At that time the shamans are very busy performing the same rites in a number of villages. Because the rites of spring had been performed by shamans, shamans should be invited for the present rite and not lamas or Taoist priests.

Each family of the village contributes its part of the required wheat flour for the steaming of rolls, the needed barley for the distillation of wine, and cash for buying the sacrificial hog or sheep. Big villages sacrifice a hog, small villages a sheep. The appointed preparers of rolls and wine take the oath not to eat the rolls or to drink the wine before they have been offered to the spirits.

The evening before the feast day, the shamans and their apprentices arrive in order to prepare the pole and flag, to paste paper banners and streamers, and to print some Chinese inscriptions on red paper. The items are fixed and pasted on the walls and doors of the temple yard, the display of red and green and yellow paper banners turning the usual feeling of monotony and loneliness of the temple yard into one of joy and happiness.

The ceremony starts in the early morning at sunrise, with the erection of the pole. On top of the pole a white cloth flag is attached on which are printed Tibetan prayers or cabalistic designs. To the middle of the pole paper streamers are attached. While the pole is being put down into the hole of the big stone, designated for that purpose, the shamans beat the drums, build a fire in the yard, throw some cypress leaves into it, and sprinkle water on it. On windy days stones are heaped

[24] See Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 96, for the more elaborate Obo cult in the Narobanchin territory; 178, among the Chahar Mongols; 256, Dagor Mongols.

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around the base of the pole to steady it. The villagers 796
do not participate at the erection of the pole. After the shamans' breakfast, taken with some of the elders, the bell of the temple is rung and the drums are beaten to call the people for the ceremony.

A group of young folk had already been sent early in the morning to all the hills, situated within the boundaries of the village, where rites had been performed against hail, to remove the stakes, the raven, the hammers, manikins, and goat skin, planted by the shamans in the spring. All these items are stored in the side rooms of the temple. Although the shamans did not accompany the group removing the items, it is said that their presence is required in order to store them.

The long offering table is removed from the temple and placed in front of the pole. A big fire is built in front of the pole and the table, in the center of the temple yard; cypress boughs are thrown into the flames and water sprinkled on the fire. Shamans and helpers purify their hands and utensils in the smoke of the cypress boughs. In the early morning the hog is killed by cutting its throat. The blood is collected, the skin shaved, bowels cleansed, and blood mixed with flour and spices is stuffed into them, and they are exposed on the offering table. The victim is washed and smoked above the fire only. If a sheep is offered, water is poured into the ears, or milk is poured on its back (never done for a pig); the throat is cut and the blood collected and filled into the bowels in the same way. The sheep is skinned and put on the table upon the skin in its entirety, without the head; thirteen big rolls are deposited next to the victim (thirteen rolls are offered to spirits and shamans, and only twelve to the dead), at the time of burial, with a vase containing vegetable oil, a jar containing wine and two bushels with wheat, some peas, spelt, and linseed, the kind of crops reaped by the Monguors. All these offerings are the gifts of the community.

In the meantime, the villagers arrive at the temple: men, women and children, with their own offerings of rolls, meat, raisins, cookies, which they deposit on the table.

The shamans, wearing the flowery coat and the crown 796
of the god of the Five Roads, start the rite by a beating 756
of the drums. The audience kneels in a half circle around the fire, in front of the pole and the table. The chief and the elders of the village, in the first row, hold incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the village pours first a libation of milk and wine on the ground before the fire and throws several handfuls of pounded cypress cones and leaves on the fire and sprinkles water. When the smoke billows in the air, he kneels, and prostrating himself says, "Old Father Heaven you know that we thank you for the harvest," and the whole audience prostrates itself three times in deep silence. Then the shamans beat drums in a slow tempo and the thanksgiving ceremony is finished.

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A large part of the hog is instantly prepared for a collective dinner, the remainder being divided in as many parts as there are families in the village. Each family has to partake of the sacrifice and receive a piece of meat and one roll. The manager of the ceremony presides at the division, while shamans and apprentices each receive thirteen rolls and a piece of meat. 796 782

Planks are placed in rows in the temple yard and straw is spread on both sides of them. The audience sits down on the straw and starts dining and drinking. When the sun is about set and the dinner finished, the shamans beat the drums, the audience kneels, the chief of the village pours a last libation on the ground, throws some cypress leaves into the fire and sprinkles water. The pole is taken down while the audience prostrates three times. Paper banners and streamers and inscriptions, are burned in the fire. For that reason some Monguors call the rite "paper burning rite." The villagers go home and the next morning the shamans leave.

MEANING OF THE RITE

The rite is a genuine one of thanksgiving for the harvest reaped, striking in its simplicity. Thanks are given in the temple yard of the god who is the protector of the village—not to that god, but to "Old Father Heaven" only, as is said distinctly by the chief of the village. It has been noted before that "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored inside temples or inside rooms, but always in the open air, in courtyards, on top of the roofs, on high mountains. Here is a case where, during the whole rite, the protector god of the village is not even mentioned, although the rite is performed in its own temple yard. The performance of the rite is perfectly in line with the general worshipping of "Heaven and all the spirits" as practiced by the Monguors. 796 782 776

An amazing fact is that shamans are invited to the ceremony, but at the very moment of the performance of the rite the chief of the village himself acts as sacrificer, as the representative and chief of the community, in the same way as we already noted that the chief of the family gives thanks on the roof of his house to "Heaven and all the spirits," offering the reeking rolls, steamed with the flour of the very first reaped wheat. The role played by the shamans is, in fact, secondary, and seems to have no immediate connection with the rite, but rather with the rites of preventing hailstorms, which had been successful. The invitation to the shamans to participate at the rite appears, except for the fact of the planting and removal of the pole, to be an act of kindness and courtesy of the villagers toward the shamans for their happy achievement. The people give thanks themselves for the harvest reaped to "Old Father Heaven" alone, the "Old Father Heaven" who provided their subsistence. 796 782 [622] [756]

But is this formula not borrowed from the Chinese, who use it under the same circumstances in all their

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villages neighboring the Monguors? This assumption, it seems, should be considered because of the fact that so many Chinese who use the formula are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and that so many Monguors who have lost their identity to the extent of having lost their own language, and being ashamed to assert their Monguor origin, boast of being Chinese, and of belonging to a more civilized culture.[25]

XI. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITHOUT REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

SACRED ANIMALS IN PRIVATE FAMILIES

Monguors do not honor the "spirit of Heaven" as a family deity nor do they perform, at present, bloody or non-bloody sacrifices to Heaven. Non-bloody sacrifices, in which the animal is not killed but allowed to wander at will, are a real economic sacrifice because the animal cannot be sold or put to profitable use; but this practice does not really fit the frame of an agricultural economy because the sacred animals cause a lot of damage in the fields. It even happens, as has been noted, that persons are injured and killed by sacred bulls. No wonder that the Chinese, devoted to agriculture, do not practice this rite in China. The Monguors, however, are very fond of the rite, which originated in the nomadic economy, and this fact betrays the original economy in which their ancestors lived.

Almost every Monguor family has its own consecrated animal, which usually is a female sheep—seldom a ram.

On the third day of the New Year, the animal is led into the courtyard. The whole family is in a hustle and bustle washing the feet and the fleece of the animal, and devotedly combining the fleece. Never before has the animal enjoyed such a fine appearance. The sheep is led into the living room before the picture of the deity protector of the family. All the members of the family kneel devoutly with burning incense sticks in their joined hands. They look on with feverish anxiety as the chief of the family pours milk, mixed with water, first on the head of the animal, then into its ears. The sheep frantically shakes its head and at that very moment the whole family starts prostrating itself three times toward the picture of the deity and then toward the animal, smiling, crying with happy enjoyment *"ling liao"* ("the deity accepts our offer"). Thus, the animal is supposed to be consecrated. The family are in a happy mood, with a gleam in their eyes, for the deity will protect the cattle. The more frantically the sheep shakes its head, the better it augurs for the future.

The incense sticks are planted before the picture of the deity honored in the family and the chief of the family and all its members attach red and yellow ribbons

[25] Schröder, Das Herbst-Dankopfer der T'u-jen im Sining-Gebiet, *Anthropos* 37–40: 867, 1952.

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to the ears of the sheep and all over its fleece. Everybody endeavors to attach a couple of ribbons. 715 825

The sheep will join the herd as before; its wool will be sheared twice a year, as is done for the other sheep, but it will never be killed and will be allowed to die naturally. If it dies during the year, next New Year's another one will be consecrated and will take its place, for every family has to have its sacred animal. 231 [778]

But what if the sheep does not shake its head? This is conclusive proof that the deity is angry and ill disposed toward the family. Dread and terror instantly show upon their faces. All the members of the family, startled and panic stricken, look at one another distressed, dejected, and in deep gloom, for everybody feels that this fact bodes ill for the future. Bowing their heads to the ground and lifting their hearts in humble entreaty, they beg pardon and ask the deity to overlook their offences, to accept the offer. Then milk is poured again, and if the sheep still obstinately refuses to shake its head, it is finally removed. [787]

Then, in the living room, the situation is examined to be sure the predicament is of their own making. Maybe they had been too remiss in honoring the deity; maybe the spirit does not like the discord and resentment reigning in the family; maybe the deity wants a more valuable sacrifice? After renewed prostrations and promises for the future, the conclusion is always that the only hope remaining is to consecrate a more valuable animal, a young female mule, for they know that it is impossible to get around the spirit and defy it with impunity, and that anybody who tampers with its plans is riding for a fall.

The female mule is led into the courtyard and washed; tail and mane are combed. Two red hot stones are dropped in a utensil containing boiling water, which is adjusted under the nose of the animal so that the vapors may enter the nostrils, purifying the animal interiorly, as it has been cleansed exteriorly. The animal is led through the door of the living room, and in front of the picture of the deity. Milk, mixed with water, is poured on its head and in its ears—the head shakes. Ribbons are attached on mane and tail. The animal will be used in the same way as other animals, but never will it be sold. It is allowed to die a natural death.

The Monguors whom I asked for explanations always replied in the same way, that the rite is always performed only on the third of the New Year, by the head of the family, without Red or Yellow lamas or shamans; that the animal is always consecrated to the guardian deity of the family, inside the living room, in front of the picture of the guardian deity. Because the "spirit of Heaven" or "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored as family protectors, the animal is never consecrated to the "spirit of Heaven" or to "Heaven and all the spirits."

If it happens that the family spirits are the spirits of the mountains, the rite is always performed in the

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same way in the living room, never outside. They said that the aim of the rite is to obtain blessings upon the cattle and their reproduction, and that therefore gelded or old animals are never used. The custom excludes the use of donkeys, hogs, hens, and dogs. Custom does not allow the family to sell or to eat its sacred animal. They all said that the rite was never performed because persons in the family were smitten with severe diseases, or calamities had overcome the family, since other specific rites exist to obviate these miseries. The rite is only intended for the reproduction of animals and to give thanks for blessings upon them. They also said that the staff spirit was never consulted when a new animal had to take the place of the former. The shaking of the head of the animal, when milk mixed with water was poured upon its head and in its ears, was sufficient evidence that the animal was accepted by the family protector. These notes do not agree completely with those of Dom. Schröder in his very interesting article "Die Tierweihe." (*op. cit.*, 839). I write them down according to my notes which I checked many times, because the rite interested me very much.

According to the explanation of the Monguors the rite does not intend to make of the animal an "animal spirit"; the animal is not possessed by the spirit. The aim is to offer to the family protector an animal for which, if the spirit does not agree, a more valuable offer is substituted. When it agrees, however, they all cry: "The offer is accepted!" Because the animal is accepted by the spirit, it partakes of the respect of the family and prostrations are made to the spirit and to its animal. If the rite were a shamanistic rite, the shaman, who is always at hand, would certainly have been invited to perform it.[1]

Poor families must have their sacred animal also, and for this purpose they exceptionally use a rooster, very seldom a he-goat; the ritual for the consecration is the same. Every year, on the third of the New Year, the sacred animal is presented to the deity in the living room, washed, combed, and lavishly adorned with ribbons, while the family prostrates itself. If the sacred animal is a mule, it must be fed on that day with bread. Milk is poured on the animal only once, on the day of the consecration.

The rite must be very old, and must have belonged to a nomadic economy in which horses were offered. At present the rite continues to persist, but it is performed with other animals.[2]

Among the Mongols of Ordos, the rite of the sacred animal is well known and widely practiced today. The animal is consecrated to all kinds of deities, Chingis-

[1] Garma Sandschejew, Weltanschauung und Shamanismus der Alarèn Burjaten, *Anthropos* 23: 938, 1928.

[2] It is worth while to note that the rites of the sacred animals of the communities and of the private families are performed on the Chinese New Year (which usually occurs in February) at the time the lambs are born, the happy time of the harvest of the nomads.

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Khan included (for Chingis is a devoutly honored deity), to the fire and to the Obo. The rite is performed in private families by lamas. Stallions are consecrated besides other animals.[3] The tenets of the religion of the Mongols seem to be as confused as those of the religion of the Monguors.

The rite used to be performed by the Turks.[4] Marco Polo, traveling through Turkistan on the way to Peking, notes the rites of the sacred animal—in this case a sheep.[5]

This rite is not to be confused with the well-known rite of the aspersion with milk of mares after the summer solstice. On an auspicious day the mares are milked and the milk is immediately mixed with sour cow's milk, so that it will become sour after a few minutes. This sour milk is thrown to the four points of heaven, with a wooden ladle, while prayers are said. The rite is performed in honor of all kinds of deities of Lamaism; all kinds of gods of heaven; of Chingis, his wives, his sons, and companions; to the spirits of mountains.[6]

CULT OF THE FIRE

A very old element of the old religion of the Turco-Mongols is the cult of the fire, whose specific offer was butter.[7] This cult had already existed in the arctic culture, "wir gehen wohl nicht fehl wenn wir wenigstens die Wurzeln irgendeine religiösen Feuer Kultus schon in die arktischen Urkultur eingesenkt lassen."[8] Fire is supposed to carry the offerings to the supreme deity.[9] It is one of the essential elements of the old religion of the nomads.[10] Among the Ch'i-tan, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, received considerable attention during winter.[11] Among the Ch'i-tan, the burning of big fire-wood was originally

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[3] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore ordos, op. cit.*, 1 seq. Prof. Schuyler Cammann encountered in Ordos a sacred yearling camel wearing a necklace of sheep scapulas—it could never be ridden by man. *The land of the camel*, 167, New York, Ronald Press, 1951.

[4] Herman Vambery, *Das Turkenvolk*, 122, 1885.

[5] Yule-Cordier, **1**: 207, 1929.

[6] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 315–322, 331. Father Mostaert also notes (*Monumenta Serica* **1**: 335, n. 19, 1935) that among the Mongols this rite, which is performed by laymen, is not specifically for Heaven but for all the Burkhans, Tengris, etc. The koumis (mare's milk) is cast from a ladle toward the four points of heaven; there is not a ladle-full for Heaven alone. This rite follows the summer solstice, by which time the colts have been born. It seems to be a thanksgiving rite, a rite of first fruits, specifically enacted for the reproduction of the horses. The Monguors, no longer having herds of horses, lack this rite.

[7] W. Koppers, Die Indogermanenfrage in Lichte der historischen Volkerkunde, *Anthropos* **30**: 23, 1935; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* **10**: 70–76; **9**: 228–241, 534–535.

[8] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, **3**: 550.

[9] *Ibid.* **3**: 555.

[10] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 136, 1925.

[11] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *op. cit.*, 214 and 239.

[p. 119(B)]

part of the investiture ceremony of the emperor.[12] Dur- 372
ing the funeral ceremonies for the emperor, the new 776
emperor, facing the fire, made a libation and bowed thrice.[13] At the end of the year, in front of the hall (in open air), an offering of salt and sheep fat was made to the god of the fire by the shamans, and the emperor bowed twice before the fire.[14]

Butter was the original offering for the fire god among the Mongols and the Aryans.[15] Fire is worshipped among the Monguors in two ways: by fire in the open air, and fire on the hearth.

FIRE IN THE OPEN AIR

At marriages, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard 585
where the marriage rites are performed and the dinner 372
is served. The prostrations "to Heaven and to all the spirits" are made by the young couple in front of the fire. When the bride leaves the home of her parents a fire is built in the courtyard and speeches are made; the dinner is taken in front of the fire.[16]

During the celebration of the rite of the sixtieth birthday a big fire is built in the courtyard. First of all, at midnight on New Year's, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard and prostrations are given. The fire is not allowed to go out during the whole day, and this rite is performed before all the other rites.

In the temple yard of the village, the same rite is performed on New Year's in the same way. On the fifteenth of the first moon, a big cypress fire is kindled in the middle of the threshing floor, and small fires are built all around, over which men and women jump, singing, merrymaking, and making fun on stilts. During the whole performance of many rites enacted by lamas and shamans, very often a big cypress fire is kindled, as will be noted later.

MAGICAL POWER OF THE FIRE

Already the well-known Wei-sang has been noted, 372
which seems to be an offering diffusing fragrance in 789
honor of the spirits. It accompanies many rites. But fire is not only used to convey to the spirits the good feelings of the people, but often its magical power is expected to drive away evil spirits, even at the time of epidemics, epizootics, or when calamities intermittently harm the family.

When mourners return from funerals, they jump over [764]
a fire kindled at the entrance of the courtyard, so as not to be pursued and harmed by the souls of the deceased.

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[12] *Ibid.*, 223, 239, 274.

[13] *Ibid.*, 279.

[14] *Ibid.*, 267–317.

[15] Poppe, *op. cit.* 142. Edward Washburn Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 106, Agni, the fire god in old Hinduism, is a mediator between god and man, carrying to Heaven the offerings (p. 445). The ram is the sacred beast of Agni, who is seen riding a ram (p. 449). At New Year's festival on the second day is the celebration of Agni.

[16] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, *op. cit.*, 42–71.

[p.120(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

A widow who is remarrying, when she arrives at the door of her new husband's house, jumps over a fire kindled at the entrance of his courtyard, in order that the soul of her deceased husband will no longer follow and harm her. 372 789 [587]

Every time any utensil is supposed to have become impure, it is passed over a fire. The shamans and lamas, before using their religious paraphernalia, smoke them over a fire. [783]

Usually the lamas, at the time of epidemics, try first to cajole and placate these evil doers, hoping that they will stay their calamities, making the magnificent fire offering called *tao Huo-t'an*, "the pouring of a plain of fire." It consists of burning, on a limited surface, a pile of logs of different kinds of wood, reputed to be odoriferous or expensive, with all available kinds of fragrant herbs and spices, dried aromatic flowers, all kinds of grains. The fire is lit by sparks struck from a flint, or by the rays of the sun passing through a magnifying glass, for the fire must be pure also. The fire is kept up by the intermittent pouring of molten butter on it [illegible] lamas, who recite texts during seven days in order to [illegible] the hearts of the evil doers. They make several *tormas* and design *mandalas* [17] for the arranagement of the logs. The whole is accompanied by an unusual display of the most detailed rites, for which each lama has his own explanation and his own way of acting, ringing bells, beating drums, blowing horns, while the family prostrates itself. This is the famous pouring of fire on a huge surface "in order to gain the good graces of the malignant spirits by a magnificent fire offering." [18]

Some lamas resort, for the same reason, to a "white Wei-sang." One hundred logs of odoriferous wood are white-washed with lime-wash and kindled as described above. The aim of the rite is again to pull the heartstrings of the evil spirits by means of a pure fire offering and to invite them to stop the calamities.

However, when the two rites have proved unsuccessful, the lamas try the "black Wei-sang," using the magical power of the fire for dispelling the evil spirits. In a forlorn and remote spot, a pile of the most inexpensive and dirty wood is prepared with all kinds of smelly herbs and spoiled grain. The fire is kindled with dung and on top of the blazing pile is poured the urine of a black donkey; *tormas* are made with black spoiled flour. Condemning the evil spirits with such an abject fire offering, they hope they will leave the family, or the village, in order to avoid scorn and disdain, and that the magical power of the fire for repelling them will be more effective.

[17] *Mandalas* are so-called "magic circles" by which the divinities are coerced into assisting the votary to reach "the other shore." While they are being made, the makers recite charmed sentences (dharani) supposed to have been composed by several divinities, which are used as incantations for procuring their assistance in peril as well as in ordinary temporal affairs. L. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 144, second ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

[18] Schröder, Der Feuerguss, *op. cit.*, 860.

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If, however, black and white rites do not work, the Monguors call for the Taoist priest, who paints all the items used (the wood, etc.), with a coat of goat blood. He binds the logs in a bundle by means of goat guts, and sprinkles goat blood upon the burning fire. The rite is called the "red Wei-sang." 372 789

These facts give evidence of the importance attached by the Monguors to the fire for purifying from uncleanliness and preventing harm caused by evil spirits. They show their devotion for the fire by having a big cypress fire kindled during the performance of religious rites and the most important moments of life, as at marriages or the celebration of the sixtieth birthday. However, fire does not only play an important role in the life of the Monguors in the open air; its role is as important in the private life of the families where it is worshipped under the form of the "fire of the hearth," the "hearth god."

THE HEARTH FIRE

Among the Monguors, the Chinese, and the Tibetans, the cult of the hearth god belongs entirely to the department of the women. Everywhere, the temple of the hearth god is the kitchen. 795 776 372

No wonder that the hearth god is supposed to be interested in a special way in the fecundity of the wives and the protection of the children, and that it is honored at fixed times by its own ritual. [342]

FIRE AND FECUNDITY

When the Monguor bride arrives at the home of the bridegroom, she does not prostrate herself before her parents-in-law or before the guests, but is led straight to the kitchen. Here she worships the god of the hearth giving three prostrations, burning incense, offering a bottle of wine and her chopsticks, which she has brought with her. 585 354 776 372

It was noted in the first volume of this study that the youngest couple in the family always lives in the kitchen, where the god of the hearth is honored, because the Monguors say that in that way fecundity is assured. Women who have plenty of children and do not wish to have more will leave the kitchen and live in another room. It has been noted that, among the Mongols, the youngest son inherits his father's hearth, occupies his tent, and is called the prince of the fire. [428]

When poor people cannot afford the luxury of a lavish marriage, nor invite guests, they marry the young couple in the kitchen "before the god of the hearth." The makeup of the new bride is done before the god of the hearth and not in the living room.[19]

An unusual practice relates to the fecundity assumed to be bestowed on women by means of the cult of the spirit of the fire (and of the god of the hearth). On the fifteenth of the first moon, at night, on the edge of the big threshing floor of the village, a number of small heaps of cypress boughs are kindled. While musicians 842 372 776

[19] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, 39.

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beat drums and play mandolins, all the younger wives 842
and their husbands pursue each other, jumping over the 372
fire heaps, merrymaking. No wives or husbands would 776
miss this practice, for the tradition goes that it provides fecundity. However, the Yassa forbids jumping over the fire.[20]

Professor N. Poppe notes that among the Mongols the spirit of the fire is represented riding a he-goat, and that the he-goat is a symbol of fecundity, as Plano Carpini already noted.[21] This note of Professor Poppe evidences the existence of the fact that a relation existed between the fire god and fecundity in olden times. The Monguors seem not to know the existence of the god of the fire riding the he-goat, although they know that the hearth god secures fecundity. The hearth god also procures fecundity among the Buriats.[22]

FIRE AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE CHILDREN

The god of the hearth not only provides fecundity to 952
the daughters-in-law, but it protects their children. On 372
the second of the second moon is performed the rite of 776
consecration of the children to the god of the hearth. In the very early morning, before boiling water for washing and making tea, the mother roasts some handfuls of spelt in the cauldron and after them some handfuls of peas. Husband and wife spread them devoutly in the courtyard in front of the door. Then the elders clip some hair from the foreheads of the children under thirteen years of age, and cut the nails on their fingers. Hair and nail parings are carefully put in a cup and covered with a red cloth. The cup is placed before the picture of the hearth god and a copper coin placed on top of it. All members of the family prostrate themselves nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and the incense sticks are then fixed before the picture of the hearth god. On the twenty-fourth of the twelfth moon, at the time the god starts its journey to Heaven, the contents of the cup are burned in the hearth, together with the picture of the god. The Monguors explain this as the yearly rite of consecration of the children to the hearth god.

CULT OF THE HEARTH GOD

Rite at the End of the Year

The most important rites in honor of the spirit of 795
the hearth are performed at its departure for Heaven, 562
and at its coming back from Heaven, for so important 354
a benefactor must receive the highest honors possible, 776
and the most affectionate greetings. This is true all 782
over China. Men do not attend these rites.

The spirit of the hearth of the Chinese starts its journey to heaven on the twenty-third of the last moon of the year, on horseback or on a mule. The spirit of

[20] Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 73.

[21] Poppe, *op. cit.* **2**: 135. See also n. 15, above, for Agni, the Hindu god, riding a ram.

[22] *Ibid.*, 301.

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the Monguors starts its journey in the same way on the twenty-fourth of the same moon. Before that day, all daughters-in-law on holiday at their mothers' have to be back, for the cult of the spirit is entrusted to the women. This rule is kept most rigidly. 795 562 354 716 782

At evening, after supper, the women don their makeup and put on their best dresses, while the children are clad in their New Year's dresses. Grandmother and the daughters-in-law and the children kneel before the image of the spirit, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The grandmother presents and puts in front of the spirit a boiled chicken and twelve rolls of steamed bread, and kindles the oil lamp. Prostrations are made and paper is burned in the oven. Then the participants, sitting on the floor chatting, recall the events of the whole year. When the lamp is nearly burned out, the offerings are removed. Some straw is spread in the oven, on which the picture of the spirit is placed. Twelve small bundles of hay, some peas (horses are fed with peas in the country), and three or four rolls are placed on the image, as well as the cup containing hair and nail parings of the children. The straw is kindled. The participants prostrate themselves and bow. The grandmother says: "Good deity, you know all that has happened in the family during the year; you know our deficiencies and shortcomings. Please do not tell about them when you arrive in Heaven, but rather, speak about our pitiable living conditions, our miseries, our afflictions, our poor cattle. Please come back soon. Do not linger in Heaven for too long a time, as we need you very much; we will wait for you on the thirtieth at midnight. Bring with you children for my daughters-in-law—boys are preferable to girls. Bring health for all of us; bring riches and wealth, and blessings for the cattle." If some member of the family becomes ill at that time, or if one of the daughters-in-law is childless, all these facts are entrusted to the spirit and put on its knees with confidence. The fire in the oven is extinguished, and the good spirit is on the way, enjoying his ride to Heaven.

This is one of the most intimate prayers the Monguors say in a group in the family. The same rite is performed among the Chinese in the same affectionate way and almost in the same terms, and it may be that the Monguors borrowed it from them.

The spirit of the hearth seems to be the envoy of Heaven, whose duty appears to be the supervision of the doings of the families. It seems to be very potent, for it is able to obtain in Heaven all kinds of blessings in behalf of its protégés.

The next day the wall is whitewashed and the kitchen is cleansed. On the thirtieth, at evening, a new image is pasted on the wall, in front of which is placed a chicken, four rolls, a lamp and incense sticks. At midnight, after the fire is worshipped in the courtyard, Heaven and all the spirits are honored on the roof, and the guardian deity in the living room. The family pros-

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trates itself before the spirit of the hearth, congratulates it, and is happy, for the spirit is supposed to have come back at that very moment with a load of blessings. In the early morning the elders will honor it also. 795 562 354 776

Several times I asked the Monguors whom the spirit of the hearth was going to see in Heaven. The answer was always: "Our women claim, as do the Chinese, that the hearth god is going to see 'Old Father Heaven.' It is true that the spirits are everywhere, and the women know it; but on that night they say the same thing that the Chinese say." 782

Rites During the Year

Every time women prepare food, the first bowl is always offered devoutly to the hearth god. 782

On the fifth of the fifth moon, steamed rolls, shaped like flowers, are offered to the spirit of the hearth, and willow boughs adorn its image. Nobody could explain the connection between the willow and the spirit of the hearth. (Is it a Chinese custom?)

It has been noted above that steamed rolls, prepared with the flour of the spelt of the new harvest, and a lamp kindled with the new oil of the year, are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the fifteenth of the eighth moon, rolls and a chicken are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the eighth of the last moon of the year, a piece of ice is put before it. (Is this a Chinese custom?)

If a member of the family has been smitten with a severe disease, old people claim that the spirit of the hearth is angry and taking in ill grace the uncleanliness of the women for having let milk drip in the fire, or for having poured water on it and on the ashes, or for poking the fire with an iron rod. In that event, rolls, wine, and chicken are offered and prostrations are made. Sometimes a sheep is offered, and a lama is invited to pray in propitiation before the image of the spirit of the hearth.

When eyes are sore, or when there is trouble with scalp and hair, the spirit of the hearth has to play physician. Before the image, a red-hot stone is put in a pot of water in which aromatic leaves of wild mint are boiled. The sick man, after prostrating himself, bows over the pot and is steamed by the vapors and healed. The same rite is used to purify the sacred animal at New Year's.

It is noteworthy that the shaman is never invited by the Monguors to honor the fire or the spirit of the hearth, although once in a while a lama is invited to perform a propitiating rite. That department, like that of the sacred animal, seems to be foreign to them.

IMAGE OF THE HEARTH GOD

The old Monguors are accustomed to paste on the wall a sheet of white paper. In the middle of the paper is pasted vertically a short but wide yellow paper ribbon, under which is pasted, horizontally, a large red-fringed paper ribbon, said to be the skirt of the spirit. 776 354 372 562

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On both sides of the red skirt are pasted two small yellow ribbons, said to represent the handkerchiefs of the spirit. On the upper part of the sheet of paper is pasted, horizontally, a large red, fringed strip of paper.

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The skirt and the handkerchiefs are items belonging to women's dress, and consequently the spirit is supposed to be a female spirit. Some Monguors, when the whole primitive representation is finished, write on the yellow ribbon in the center: "Lord of the Hearth." Many Monguors no longer use this old representation of the spirit of the hearth, but instead, they buy a Chinese picture. After a few years it will be hard to find out to which sex their hearth god belonged.

According to the interesting study of Professor N. Poppe, based only on old fire prayers and hymns, the god of the fire among the Mongols is a female god, called "mother of the hearth," "mother of the fire," etc., but also "king of the fire," and even "mother king of the fire." The god of the fire possesses a big family consisting of seven girls and five boys and many servants. It is not clear why prayers and hymns are sung once for the king of the fire, and once for the lady.[23]

Among the Mongols, as among the Monguors, the most important act of honoring the god of the hearth takes place on the last days of the year. In the hymns, all kind of blessings are implored from the god of the hearth, who seems omnipotent.[24]

The Tibetans, from the oldest times on, also had their "god of the hearth" and their "queen hearth god." Both were very touchy concerning the smallest impurities thrown into the fire; a trifle could upset them.[25]

Among the Tungus, the spirit of the fire is an old woman, who stays in the fire of the family; fire is to be revered.[26]

It is interesting to record that, among the Chinese also, the sex of the god of the hearth is not definitely fixed. Father Doré, studying twenty-nine sources related to the subject, notes that eight describe it as female, while a few assert that the spirit is not a single person, but a real couple, husband and wife. The remainder claim the masculine sex for their spirit.[27]

In old China.

> *Chieh* was the spirit of the hearth, wearing red clothes and having the appearance of a beautiful woman. [*Chieh* means chignon.] It is strange that the spirit of the hearth has a female appearance. Confucius is reported to have said that the cult of the hearth is a cult of old ladies. There is a difference between the spirits of the hearth and of the fire: the last one is a male spirit, and the first a female, which is assimilated with the first woman cook.[28]

[23] N. Poppe, Zum Feuer Kultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major* 2: 133, 1925.

[24] *Ibid.*, 140.

[25] Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 169.

[26] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 128.

[27] H. Doré, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, Part 2, 2: 901, Shanghai, Sikawei. See also *Li-ki*, Couvreur, 1: 554. Ho Kien fu, 1899, Mission Catholique.

[28] M. Granet, *Danses et legendes de la Chine ancienne*, 308, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

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The bewilderment concerning the sex of the god of 776
the hearth and its social position is astonishing. Some- 354
times the god seems to be a married couple, sometimes 372
a single female, or a single male. The traditional pic- 562
ture made by the Monguor women themselves offers a definite solution concerning the sex of "their" hearth god. The traditions concerning the fecundity attached to it seem connected with the Mongol king of the fire riding a he-goat, nothwithstanding that the Monguors are unable to give any reason for this connection, and do not know anything about the existence of this he-goat rider. Maybe the solution of the puzzle is to be sought in the suggestion of Granet, that two spirits are involved, the spirit of the fire which is a male, and the god of the hearth which is a female.

OFFERING TO HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS

THE FAMILY OFFERING AFTER THE HARVEST 776

After the spelt is cut, some sheaves are immediately 782
carried home and threshed. The grain is ground on the 795
stone, which is cleansed carefully. The women steam thirteen rolls of bread made with the newly ground flour. All members of the family climb on top of the roof in their best dresses and kneel, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the family lifts up to Heaven the salver with the thirteen steaming rolls and shouts three times, at the top of his voice, the usual "*Mtchioo*" and "Heaven and all the spirits." The whole family prostrates itself thankfully for the new harvest. Crumbs of bread are thrown to the four points of the compass. The Monguors say that the crumbs must be thrown in this way in order to feed the roaming, hungry, malignant spirits of the deceased, who always are on the prowl to harm the people.

The family comes down and offers the same rolls to the guardian spirit of the family, and to the spirit of the hearth, and then the whole family eats the rolls steamed with the new flour of the year.

In autumn, when linseed and colza seed are cut and the new oil is pressed, the same rite is performed with the new oil. A lamp with the new oil is kindled on the roof of the house with the usual prostrations and shoutings, another is kindled for the guardian spirit of the family, and another for the spirit of the hearth. The Tibetans in the country perform the same rite and the Chinese do also, but the Chinese thank only the "Old Father Heaven" and not "Heaven and all the spirits."

THE OFFERING OF THE SHEEP

It has been noted above that whenever a sheep is offered to a deity in the family, first of all a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown in the court yard for "Heaven" separately, with shouts of "Heaven" and no more; that a second piece is cut and thrown in the same way, with a shout of "all the spirits," and that

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after this rite is performed the sheep is offered to the guardian deity of the family. The Ordos Mongols perform the same rite for "Heaven" only, when for a dinner a whole sheep is presented in its entirety to the guest.[29]

CALENDAR OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

At home, at midnight on New Year's, while the old parents are still sleeping, the family starts kindling a big fire, with wood and cypress boughs, in the courtyard before the sacred pole for "Heaven and all the spirits," and prostrates itself three times. The fire is not allowed to go out the whole day. On the roof of the living room, or in the courtyard before the pole, offerings are put on a small table: rolls of bread steamed or baked in oil, raisins, butter, wine. Holding Chinese incense sticks in their hands, the family prostrates itself nine times, crying: "Heaven and all the spirits protect us during the whole year." They sprinkle some wine to the cardinal points and throw out some crumbs of bread for hungry malignant souls. Then they bring the offerings down from the roof in order to perform the same rite with the same offerings before the guardian deity of the family, the spirits of the fire, the pole, the hearth, the gate, and the stables, and fix a Chinese incense stick before each of them. At dawn the elders, upon arising, enact the same rite in the courtyard for "Heaven and all the spirits." At evening, from the first until the fifteenth of the first month, a lantern is hung on the pole in the courtyard, sticks of incense are fixed at the door, and the whole family prostrates itself every day before the door and pole saying. "We prostrate ourselves for Heaven and all the spirits and the spirit of the door and of the pole.[30]

Before sunrise, several pieces of ice are put on top of the walls of the courtyard of the families in which no persons have died during the year.

After the elders finish their worshipping, they sit on the k'ang in order to receive the congratulations of the family. The eldest son presents them with a cup of wine, and the family prostrates itself nine times. The daughters-in-law make three prostrations to their husbands, and the youngest brothers and sisters prostrate themselves before the eldest three times, and then before each other in the same way. Then follows the traditional speech of the grandfather, well known over the country: "Rise early in the morning, work till late at night, tend the herds carefully, and spend your full energy on the fields, and all live peacefully together and forgive each other's shortcomings and deficiencies. I hope that Heaven and all the spirits will bless you, in order that you may build seven farm houses several stories high, may shear the wool of hundreds of sheep,

[29] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos*, 489: 590, Peiping, 1947 (Monograph 11 of *Monumenta Serica*).

[30] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 625, *Das Neujahrsfest*, gives more details about New Year's.

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may ride a hundred beautiful horses, and that your children and grandchildren may prosper as the waves of the sea rising with the tide, and be full of life and as exuberant as the rising flames of a fire into which oil is poured." 796

After breakfast the children in all the families collect some rolls and wine and go to congratulate the shepherds outside the village. They build a fire, warm up the wine, then pour a cup for each of them.

The youngsters go to the sacred hill to enact the Wei-sang for "Heaven and all the spirits," and throw into the air slips of paper on which is printed the picture of the "Wind Horse."

Back home the young folk enjoy performing the rite of Ying-hsi, the greeting of the goddess of Joy, after the manner of the Chinese. Sheep, horses adorned with ribbons, and cows are driven to a designated threshing floor, where a big fire is kindled, paper is burned, offerings of rolls and meat are given, and a libation is poured, while some bread is fed to the animals. Some say it is a rite honoring Lung-wang (the dragon king); others say it is a rite for the horse and cow spirits, in order that the cattle will be blessed. It is a very old rite, practiced in the entire province, from the time of the Chou (1122–256 B.C.).[31] Young folk at that time like to ride their best horses, have a race, and make fun.[32]

Back home with the animals, they go to congratulate relatives and friends, carrying with them some wine and six rolls; they honor first the guardian deity of the family they visit, and then prostrate themselves before the family. At evening, on the first and the second of New Year's, the eldest son kindles lamps and incense sticks for each of the spirits in the courtyard. He goes into all the rooms, putting a red hot stone into a pot of boiling water in order to purify the rooms.

On the morning of the third day, after performing the rite of the sacred animal, the male members of the family go to the cemetery to honor the dead, by means of libations, prostrations, burning paper, incense sticks, and offering rolls.

Some people, on the sixth, invite a lama to read texts in the family. From the sixth until the sixteenth, old people stay at home, and every evening the young folk gather on the largest threshing floor of the village, to sing, dance, and have fun.

On the fifteenth, in the morning, the Monguors kindle a large Wei-sang for "Heaven and all the spirits" on the highest mountain of the village; at evening, men and women jump over the fire heaps, which according to the Monguors is a rite promoting fecundity.

On the second of the second moon is enacted the rite of the guardian spirit of the village, who goes to pay a visit to all the families of the village. Its statue is placed in a sedan chair and carried by four youngsters, preceded by the guardian of the temple carrying an old

[31] Granet, *La Chine antique*, *op. cit.*, 166.
[32] Schröder, *Anthropos* 41–44: 185, 1946.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

bow and arrow and quiver. The members of each 796
family kneel at the door and prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. At the return of the spirit, the chief of the village and the elders wait for it in the temple yard and congratulate the spirit and thank it for its kindness and blessings. On a table are placed three triangular *torma,* five balls of dough, adorned with some butter, and a bottle of wine. The chief of the village rubs some butter on the face of the spirit, and on the faces of the carriers and the guardian. Then the faces of the carriers are powdered with flour, and a ball of dough is pressed into their mouths. Wine is drunk and the spirit re-enters the temple.

On the fifth of April the ancestors of the clan are worshipped in the old clan cemetery followed by races and the clan assembly. Three days before, they honor their ancestors in their private cemeteries. A few days later, in all the villages, is enacted the shamanist rite of spring, as has been noted, and the rites against hail.

The twenty-ninth of the fifth moon and the sixth and the twenty-ninth of the sixth moon are days for the young folk to make merry in most of the villages. There is singing and dancing and some villages have races and wrestling.

In the sixth moon the spirit of the Obo is honored, and at the foot of the mountain a big crowd enjoys races.

In the eighth moon the Monguors honor the moon just as the Chinese do.

In the ninth moon the thanksgiving rite for the harvest is performed in the temple. A few days later Chinese performers are invited to give a puppet show for several nights in the village. If the three festivals given at the lamaseries every year be added to these as well as the distractions afforded by marriages, funerals, the celebration of birthdays, and the worshipping of the goddess of the hearth at the end of the year, an idea can be gained of the calendar of religious activities and distractions during a whole year in the Monguor society.

XII. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

THE CULT OF FAMILY DEITIES

It is a fact of common knowledge that "the earliest 776
obtainable reports about the popular religion of the 342
Mongols invariably speak about the images of house gods, placed on stands at both sides of the entrances of their tents. They believed that these gods took care of their flocks . . . , that they were the protectors of the family and of its wealth." They were called "Ongghot."[1] This custom of honoring house gods was very old and general. The Monguors, when they settled in the country of Huang-chung, were addicted to this ancestral tradition and continued its practice, for today in

[1] W. Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos* 48: 511, 1953.

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every courtyard there is encountered a guardian deity 776 342
of the family.

SPIRITS HONORED IN THE FAMILIES—PECULIAR CONCEPT

The Monguor concept of the deities honored in the 776
families is very peculiar. Once a family starts wor- 428
shipping a deity, its cult must be continued forever in 782
that family, for fear that the deity, if evicted, might loose 592
its avenging bolts of calamities and disaster, and the long train of miseries would never stop.

According to this conception, at the time of dividing the paternal inheritance the eldest son inherits the cult of the deity previously honored by the father. The duty to continue the old family cult falls upon him. His younger brothers, however, are free to make a choice among all the available deities of Taoism, of Lamaism, even of the Twelve Tengris of the shamans, and to start their newly founded families with a new guardian deity. Every two ar three years all the brothers must still convene in the house of the eldest, to attend a rite celebrated for the old family deity and to contribute to the expenses of the celebration. The tie which binds them to the cult of the old family deity is so strong, that in the event a great calamity overcomes one of the brothers, notwithstanding the fact that he honors his own deity, he will invite all his brothers to worship the old family deity at the home of the eldest brother. The old family deity which had been honored for so many generations is still supposed to harbor in its heart a predilection for all those who honored it. The old Monguor, Li San-ming, told me this in Li chia t'an in 1914, the day after his brothers had worshipped the old family deity at his home.

The fervent cult of the guardian deity of the family is 688
a characteristic of the Monguor family. No Kuang-li 776
of Naring Valley told the story of a poor old widower, 592
Li ssu, living in the village of P'irke in 1908, who could hardly make both ends meet, and who had inherited from his father the picture of Twelve Tengris with the Black Tiger rider of the shamans, which he did not honor. Every time the villagers of P'irke took ill they went to the home of the old man, to honor and to propitiate the spirits, because a certain shaman had said that all the misfortunes occurring in the village were caused by these spirits, who took with bad grace the neglect of the old man. The extremely shy old man tried to make a living out of these circumstances and, stubborn as a mule, he would not allow anyone to honor the spirits in his home, as long as the villagers would not provide for his livelihood, for he knew the villagers were sick with apprehension. But the villagers, as stubborn as he, honored the spirit behind his house, burning incense there.

After his death, his only married daughter, living in the village of Li chia t'ai, inherited his poor house. The villagers of P'irke, having lived under the threat of

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the spirits for so long a time, urged her husband to take 633
with him the fateful picture. The villagers of Li chia 776
t'ai, however, did not allow him to introduce the ill- 592
boding spirits into their village. At night the son-in-law buried the picture in a deserted, ruined house in P'irke. After one or two years the fact became known. The wrath of the P'irke villagers was great enough to bring suit against Li ssu, but the court of Li T'u-ssu ordered the defendant to defray the expenses of inviting twelve shamans (for they honor the twelve spirits) in order to conciliate the spirits, to repair the outrage, and to offer a sheep, incense, and oil. After the preparations were performed, the shamans took with them the picture,[2] and firecrackers were set off. This fact illustrates the peculiar attitude of the Monguors concerning the duty of continuing the cult of the deities honored by the ancestors.

MOST SPIRITS ARE TAOIST

Since nearly every family has an uncle or a son who 771
is a lama, it would seem obvious that most of the deities 776
honored in the families should belong to Lamaism—all the more so because in nearly every valley there is a big or a small wealthy lamasery, and Lamaism reached the highest peak of glory with its celebrated Hutukhtus two centuries ago. However, it seems not to be so. The number of families honoring a Lamaist guardian deity is far smaller than of those honoring Taoist deities, and even the twelve spirits with their black tiger rider of the shamans. This astonishing fact requires an explanation.

The Monguors are a practical people. At the feast of spring, when the shamans invite spirits to come to the temple along the rope, no Lamaist deities are invited, and none arrive. The shamans honor their Tengris and the Taoist spirits, and combat the hail scourge by help from all of them. Honoring at home the same spirits which are honored in the temple of the village will provide more security for their worshippers against the dreaded hail, so most of the Monguors prefer at home the cult of these deities honored by the shamans, who are considered to be more powerful and more expert in this field than the lamas.

The reasons for the Monguor preference for non- 771
Lamaist protector deities, explain why they adopt Taoist 776
or shamanist spirits. It was always said that "Heaven" 592
is never honored as a family spirit. However, in the families, there are encountered the cults of the spirits of the mountain, the earth, the five roads, the dragon king, the mother gooddess, the horse king, and the cow king. The temples of the villages are dedicated to the same spirits. Some families honor the Twelve Tengris of the shamans with the tiger rider. However, most of the Monguors, at the time of the division of the extended family, when they have to choose a new family

[2] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 603. Among the Alar-Buryats, images of family deities must be removed by the shaman who honors the deity.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

guardian deity do not like the cult of the twelve Tengris, 771
although these are considered the most potent protectors 776
among the spirits. The reason alleged is that these 592
spirits are very touchy and do not allow any lukewarmness in their cult and frequently during the year they urge the offering of a sheep. Therefore, the families which honor them are all families which continue a cult initiated generations ago.

However, families whose children are weakly like to dedicate them for thirteen years to the Twelve Tengris, and after thirteen years perform the rite of liberation from the dedication, and nurture the rooster of longevity. (See Part I: 102–103.)

There still exists an unusual custom concerning the cult of the Twelve Tengris for which I never found an explanation. It is customary that the images of guardian deities should be hung on the northern wall in the living room. The image of the Twelve Tengris, however, is never hung, but is kept rolled up during the whole year and put on the offering table along the wall. Only on the first of the first moon, at New Year's, is it hung for three days, and all the members of the families who, before the division of the extended family group, honored these Twelve Tengris and at present honor other deities as their protectors, are bound to come during these three days to worship the Twelve Tengris of their ancestors.

Another emotional but important reason for preferring the cult of a Taoist deity is that the families enjoy more the rite celebrated by the shaman at home for a Taoist family deity, than the rite performed for a Lamaist family deity. The lamas do not in fact honor the ancestors. They recite texts for one or seven days, make a *torma*, and the monotonous and tedious rite is finished. Because an emotional element governs the choice of the family deity, an outline of the shamanist rite will best explain what is involved.

CULT OF THE FAMILY GUARDIAN DEITY

The biennial or triennial rite is performed in the 795
eleventh month. On the first day of the celebration, 756
the same preparations are made by the shamans and 782
their apprentices as at the feast of the spring in the 592
temple of the village, but on a more reduced scale, in- 776
cluding pasting of banners and streamers, planting of the pole, binding of the rope, baking and steaming of rolls, offering of sheep, thrones for the ancestors, the hearth god, spirits of the horses, the gate, and for the protector spirits of each of the families of the brothers.

At midnight "Heaven and all the spirits" are worshipped in the courtyard by the whole family. Firecrackers are set off. On the morning of the second day the spirits are invoked and come down along the rope. Among them are the gods of the hearth, the granaries, the stables, the doors, the grindstone, the fertilizers, the well, the horses, the cows, and the last three generations of ancestors. There are the usual prostrations, in-

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cense, and libation for the throne of the ancestors. The 795
spirits are greeted and the offerings enumerated. The 756
shaman holds a long dialogue with the ancestors, asking 782
whether they are happy and will protect the descendants, 592
and makes promises. The whole group enjoys sitting 776
before the gods and the ancestors. The rite of the greeting of the Goddess of Joy and all the performances connected with it are omitted, but at evening follow the lighting of the lamps, the making of the bridge, and the departure of the spirits.

The spirits remain only one day. At night no soul is taken outside the courtyard to nurture the spirits, but during a last wild dance the chief of the shamans jerks off the head of a chicken and the guardian deity of the family is nurtured with its reeking blood. The head of the chicken is put under a box for seven days, the pole is taken down, and jujubes are gathered. After the shamans leave the courtyard, the fire in the hearth is not allowed to die out for seven days, and for seven days no guests or friends are admitted. No food is given to anybody, not even to beggars, no items are loaned out, no animals are sold, and the animals sold before that time are not allowed to be led away. However, things from outside may be accepted and brought into the courtyard.

The real nature of the feast celebrated by the shaman in honor of the family deity consists, it is clear, in honoring the guardian deity of the family and all the spirits presiding over the various departments of the household, together with the ancestors. It seems to be a heterogeneous party in which spirits and ancestors and the members of the present generation participate. The climax of the feast, however, is the entertainment of the ancestors, who are believed to be present in the courtyard, happy to look upon their descendants and disposed to extend their protection over them. The shaman is believed to see the ancestors, hear them speaking, know their intimate feelings, their desires for offerings and their good dispositions, and his dialogue with them is so animated as to give the participants hallucinations and make them happy.

New Catholic converts, talking about this feast, al- 795
ways recognized that before their conversion they en- 776
joyed the entertainment with the ancestors very much, but they never alluded to the presence of the spirits at the feast. Children of new converts often had interesting discussions at school with children more proficient in the doctrine concerning the shaman who had seen their ancestors and heard them speaking, but they never spoke about the other spirits present at such times.

The feast of the family guardian deity seems in fact 592
to have become a feast honoring the ancestors at home. 776
This delight in the presence of the ancestors is not confined to the Monguors. It is interesting to note the similarity of the rite of the invocation of the spirits of departed heroes, which still delights the Ordos Mongols.

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In the Ordos region there is encountered a text which 769
is still recited at the festivities in honor of Khutuktai Setsen Kung Taiji, great-grandfather of Sanang Setsen, by a lay official called *djumu*, who presides over the sacrifices offered on the grave of the hero being worshipped. Father Mostaert has called my attention to the fact that such invocations always start with the invitation to come down and to rest for awhile in the midst of the congregation. The invitation is first to Chingis Khan, his wives, his sons, and ministers, and continues with the same invitation to the hero honored at the moment, followed by an invitation to his glorious descendants, the spirits of earth, and the four points of the compass. Then the spirits are invited to enjoy the offerings, which are enumerated, and to extend their protection over the worshippers. Such conventions of the Mongols of the Ordos take place, like those of the Monguors, in the presence of a great number of invited spirits and departed ancestors, who are supposed to descend among the worshippers.[8]

SPIRITS EXPELLED FROM THE FAMILIES

In order to avoid repetitious descriptions of practices 753
concerning the curing of ailments, prevention of diseases among children, and means to undo the harm wrought in families by evil spirits, which are encountered in all the books dealing with shamanism and Lamaism, and are nearly the same everywhere, only a few practices will here be recorded revealing the peculiar ways and psychology of the Monguors.

The Monguors, nominally fervent adherents of Lamaism, ought to ascribe ailments and all kinds of mischief and calamities to their own acts in some former life, according to the law of retribution. They should, therefore, wait peacefully for a happy recovery and for an end to the calamities. In fact, however, as soon as a member of the family takes ill, or some harm is done, without inquiring a bit about the possible natural causes of the disease or other trouble, they imagine themselves confronted by evil spirits, or having themselves stirred the spleen of some spirit. Accordingly, they do not invite a doctor and try medicines, or try to help themselves, but run in a hurry to the man who can withstand the evil spirits, conjure them and drive them away. Such men are always at hand—lamas of the Yellow and Red Sects, white or black shamans, and the Kurtain.

The first problem facing all these troubled people is 755
to detect the trouble-making spirit, and then to find the means either to placate the spirit, or to combat it and drive it away.

The theatrical Kurtain, possessed by his spirit, declares with his head shaking that in his trance he knows the culprit, and starts immediately with wild evolutions to combat it and drive it out of the house with his

[8] F. A. Mostaert, Ordosica, *Bull. Catholic Univ. of Peking*, Nov. 1934: 58. [p127 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

sword. A couple of devout old Monguors reverently 755
told me that on sick people the Kurtain practiced washing with boiling water, piercing his chest and that of the patient with his sword, putting in his mouth red-hot stones and vomiting them out again, but they themselves had never seen the Kurtain practicing these actions. All other Monguors, however, burst into peals of laughter when I inquired about these tales.[4]

White shamans get indications about the evil-doer by listening to their drum, wherein their Tengris reveal the culprit and the means of combatting it; or they use their staff, by means of which their Tengris inform them. The Red lamas use the staff into which descends the deity whom they peculiarly honor, in order to be able to undo the harm. They say that they invite not an unknown spirit but the deity to which they are devoted to enter the staff, for evil spirits could also possess the staff and lead them astray. The shaman, worked into a frenzy, combats and drives out the spirit with whip, spear, and sword (but he does not use the sword at the time of the spring rite). Red lamas read texts for some days and make *tormas,* and are as capable as the shaman is in practicing the rites of the scape-goat,[5] or that of the sedan chair, in which the evil spirit is carried away and buried in a pit;[6] or the torturing of the straw doll, or the cypress burning with plenty of aromatics, or the black, white, and red Wei-sang rite.[7] Shamans, when healing the sick, use the rope[8] along which the escaped souls of the patients are called back, captured in a bottle, and restored to them. Yellow lamas are invited by the Monguors to read texts and make *tormas* for seven days when things go wrong. They also practice the rite of the scape-goat and the burying of different kinds of urns[9] in order to conciliate the earth god.

All of them, shamans and lamas, perform upon the sick the practice, well known all over Asia, of applying over the entire body pieces of bread and paper soaked in water, and saying, "Those who came from the north, go back to the north and wait at a crossroad for other wayfarers." They repeat the same words for each of the points of the compass and then the used bread and paper are brought to a crossroad and thrown on it. A goat is killed and the head is thrown in the direction of the cemetery of the wicked people. Nobody dares to eat such heads. All the rites performed by shamans, Kurtains, and Red lamas are accompanied by terrible noisemaking and crying and theatrical evolutions. After all holes in the walls have been plugged and the doors closed and sealed, in order to prevent the evil

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[4] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 852, *Krankenwaschung.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 844, *Dämonengeleit.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 847, *Figurensanft.*
[7] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 860, *Der Feuerguss.*
[8] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 581. It is strange how all over Asia souls and spirits are supposed to walk on ropes.
[9] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 856, *Erdgott-urne.* [p. 128(A)]

spirit from escaping, the foe is searched for in all the 755
nooks and corners of the rooms and stables. A terrible struggle with it is engaged in with swords and whips. It is tortured and finally driven away to a crossroad at night, with the help of the neighbors firing guns. These rites have been described hundreds of times.

Some of the answers supplied by the spirits of the staff to shamans and lamas concerning the causes of mischief and calamity among the Monguors are worthy of notice.

The goddess, sitting in the imposing sedan chair in 776
the middle of the temple of the village, receiving the 755
worshipping villagers and smelling the incense smoke, is, none the less, in an ill mood and bad tempered, because, like many of her sex, being fond of a new piece of clothing, she wants a new mantle. The shaman says: "She has worn the mantle for five or more years; its color has faded; it has been mended so many times by the thrifty villagers, that really, she can hardly keep it on her shoulders; she is ashamed to be greeted and approached by people who are better clad than she. Give a fine new mantle to your goddess and the disease will vanish." Or it is said that the goddess, while visiting the god Erh-lang, had lost her earrings which must be replaced.

Once it was the deity honored by the family in the 755
living room which resented the family's neglect and disregard of it. An act of propitiation had to be performed and a sheep or goat offered in reparation. Once it was the shadow of a deceased member of the family which passed over the sick, eager to take with it another member of the family. Once it was the Twelve Tengris, weak and starving for lack of being nourished by a sacrifice during many months, who drastically urged a sacrifice. Once it was the case of a spell cast upon the sick by a fiendish neighbor. A solution has to be found for all such cases, using one of the means noted above.

The following should be noted for its philosophical interest. When the shadow of a deceased is supposed to have caused the disease, the shaman, having made a straw manikin and transfixed it with the dagger, and pulled it burning outside the courtyard, traces outside the gate three small circles and one bigger in size. He pours in each several cups of noodles and tea. The food in the three small circles is intended to feed the ancestors of the three immediate senior generations of the sick man, and the food in the big one is intended for the roaming alien souls. Ancestors of no more than three generations are fed, because those of older generations are supposed to have vanished. The same custom has been noted at the feast of the Spring.

SPIRITS EXPELLED FROM THE VILLAGES

Not only individual families are supposed to be 783
harmed by evil spirits. The entire village may be haunted by spirits, and so every year in wintertime the

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

evil spirits hidden in the village have to be expelled. 783
Usually the shaman is invited to drive them out. Sometimes a lama of the Red Sect is invited.

The shaman molds a small manikin with red earth 756
and straw. It is carried from house to house by four 783
young boys. Five boys, six years of age, run in front, each having half of his face blackened with soot and half whitened with flour. Carrying a bow, hammer, spear, and knife, they enter every courtyard, shouting at the top of their voices, leaping and gesticulating. Each member of the family rubs his face with a piece of a roll and red dyed cotton, and then puts these two items in a basket before the manikin. The whole group, with the shaman, then goes to the place reputed to be the abode of evil spirits. They light a big fire and burn the manikin and all the items. The shaman performs the dance which makes the evil spirits harmless, curses them and threatens to torture them if they dare to come again. This rite is also performed every time epidemics, such as measles, harm the village.

This rite to chase the evil spirits of the year, performed at the end of the year by the shaman, accompanied by boys six years of age whose faces are half blackened with soot and half whitened with flour, recalls the rite performed by the Wu shaman in old China. It is recorded as early as the Han dynasty (202 B.C.). The *fang hsiang* Wu led boys under the age of puberty, who were the principal performers of the rite. They beat drums, cursed and drove out the evil spirits. The boys did not wear a cap and gown of the same color, but a red cap and black gown.[10] It is strange how this old rite is still performed on the borders of Tibet after so many centuries, for the same purpose and at the same season, by the Monguor shaman, accompanied by immature boys, whose faces are bicolored as was the dress of the boys in ancient times.

In all the lamaseries in the country on the twenty- 783
ninth of the last moon, the lamas drive out the evil 792
spirits hidden in the monastery. Several *torma* are prepared, a big one painted with a coat of red paint. Texts, liturgical incantations and curses are recited by the lamas in the temple. The lamas, in a group, bring the ominous *torma* out of the monastery to a lonely, deep valley where a big fire is kindled. The *tormas* are burned with the same recitation of liturgical curses, and the lamas return at full speed without looking backward. At the same time, in most of the monasteries, there is pasted up an enormous head of a bull, made of paper, on which are written the names of the Chinese generals, Nien Keng-yao and Yueh Chung-ch'i, who in 1723 burned their lamaseries. They hope that the bull spirit may still molest their foes in their graves. In Kumbum the rite is performed after the festivities of the fifteenth of the first moon.

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[10] M. Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, 300-301.

[p. 129 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

SHAMANS AND BEWITCHMENT

The shaman is the recognized protector against all 756
kinds of evil influences and bewitching. Monguors are 755
scared to be in the neighborhood of very old trees and Obos. A very old tree, it is said, is about to become a spirit and even a man, because the essence of the tree has grown out of its perfection. Thus, the very old tree of the village of Lei-chia-p'u in the Sa-t'ang Valley, it is said, takes a walk at night and harms the people it encounters. It is also said that it is very dangerous for pregnant women to walk in the village at night. The same belief is prevalent about old statues and about Obos on small passes. The shaman is invited by the neighbors of these dangerous objects to preserve them against their baneful influences and to neutralize their ill-omened forces. Lamas are invited by the people living near such Obos to read texts and do Wei-sang, hoping they will not harm them.

Bewitchment is the last resource for avenging in- [691 578]
justice and outrages, which cannot be avenged by 754
legal and overt means, and for doing harm to an enemy by a hidden means. Such acts are considered by the Monguors to be a direct resort to black magic, and in order to neutralize or to perform a bewitchment, they usually invite a black shaman, but it is not exceptional to encounter a white shaman doing the job. Bewitchment is, most of the time, performed in case of lawsuits for properties that have been unjustly decided, in cases of eloped women who cannot be brought back home, for presumption of theft, in cases of jealousy and hatred between two wealthy families.

In 1918 a Monguor living in the Lu men cheng Valley was sued at the Chinese court by a rich Chinese, and jailed for a few months. When he was liberated, he invited a black shaman who prepared some small wooden planks, on which he painted cabalistic designs with the blood of a white dog. The Monguor buried them in the cemetery of the rich Chinese, according to the prescriptions of the shaman. During one year, three persons died in the family of the Chinese. The Chinese then invited a celebrated black shaman to neutralize the evil influences which were harming him and his family. It happened that the celebrated black shaman was the knave who had prepared the planks for the Monguor! He told the rich Chinese to be suspicious, for a foe of his might have buried bewitched planks in his cemetery. He received his salary and went home. The planks were found. The Chinese sued the Monguor at the court of the T'u-ssu, because mandarins do not care for such troubles. The Monguor was compelled to invite twelve shamans in order to undo the spell.

Another fact, well known over the country in 1914 because a whole village and a living Buddha were involved, casts light on this psychology of the Monguors. Tjaar tseen, the limping chief of the village of Ch'üe-lung-ku, was sued at the Chinese court by Chao, the

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old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Each claimed to be 754
the proprietor of a small mountain. The Living Buddha lost his suit and the limping Tjaar tseen became the most celebrated man in the country. The Buddha invited three black shamans to bewitch the limping Tjaar tseen, and accused him again. He lost the second lawsuit also. Raging, the Buddha invited three black shamans to cast more efficacious spells. The chief of the village did not care any more, and the villagers graze their herds on the mountain to the present day. This fact is interesting for us because a Living Buddha, on two occasions, invited black shamans.

Hu, a rich Monguor, compelled a poor Monguor to [583]
sell to him his beautiful and willing young wife. The poor Monguor, using his last resource, invited a black shaman to bewitch his wife. The black shaman prepared skulls of a dog and of a fox, and a horn of a black goat. Inside each he enclosed three slips of paper on which he had designed cabalistic signs with dog blood around the name of the wife. The three items were buried at night under the entrance door of the courtyard of Hu, with the mouth of the skulls facing his living room. The young wife became sick. Shamans were invited to discover the cause of the illness and to neutralize the evil influences, but to no avail. The wife died and the shaman, it was said, was powerless against a punishment of Heaven and the spirits. But there was no peace in the courtyard; at night, noises disturbed the rest. Black shamans were invited for three days and they found the skulls. The poor man was accused before the T'u-ssu, but the T'u-ssu did not pay any attention because the behavior of the rich Monguor was supposed to have been unjust. It is the usual trick of the black shamans to bury magical things under the lintels of doors or in cemeteries.

In countries where there are no newspapers, such 203
tales are spread like prairie fires, by peddlers, and 754
commented on and believed, especially when outstanding persons are involved. They create the trend of mind of the people and make them fear so much the black shamans living south of the Hsining River, who are said to use beads made from human bones, to blow a trumpet made from the bone of a young woman who committed suicide, to wear a girdle made from the skin of such a woman, to braid into the enormous pigtail, coiled around the head, the hair of such a woman, and to use drums made from skulls of young girls. The most terrifying tales are told about them and they are believed by the people.

RITES CONCERNING THE GUARDIAN SPIRITS OF THE WEALTH OF THE FAMILY

777
According to the Monguors, persons who commit 635
injustices are pursued by the guardian spirit of the 556
wealth of the victim of the injustice, who causes them

[p. 130(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to suffer from all kinds of mischief and misfortune.[11] 777
Persons guilty of injustices have the problem of finding 685
a means of appeasing that spirit and of remaining in 556
possession of the stolen wealth by faking restitution. Lamas of both sects are conversant with the practice. Lamas of the Yellow Sect perform the rite for those of the Red Sect, and *vice versa;* but never for a lama of the same sect.

Five lamas enact the rite, which lasts for seven days. 792
The first day, helped by a carpenter, they build a 685
rudimentary sedan chair with thin lathes, and paste on 782
it plenty of colored paper. Four flags are set up, one 556
on each of the four corners. In the sedan chair are deposited five small paper bags, each containing a handful of five kinds of grain, five kinds of thread of the five sacred colors, some packets of wool, some rolls, white and red sugar, raisins, dried apricots, some meat and some new garments of the very cheapest kind. The sedan chair is placed in the center of the living room. In front of it, in the courtyard, an enormous bull head made of paper and having two terrifying horns painted red is put in a large caldron. A lamp is lit before the caldron. A piece of black cloth about two feet wide is stretched in a square around the caldron and sedan chair and is supposed to represent the wall of a city. An opening is left where the cloth meets and is called the city gate. Outside the city walls are planted painted spears and swords, one next to the other. In front of the city gate a stake is planted on which cabalistic designs are written with red ink. The stake is supposed to be the seat of the spirit who is the avenger of injustices.

The lamas, twice every day, sit in front of the stake, ringing bells, rattling drums, manipulating the ritual daggers, and reciting texts. Absorbed in meditation, they stare for a long time at the stake. Finally, they start imploring the spirit not to release its avenging bolts, inviting it to take a look at the magnificent sedan chair upholstered with satin and brocade and adorned

[11] The notion of a guardian spirit of the family wealth among the Mongols seems to be general and old. "This housegod was commonly called, 'the very old grandmother.'" Kovalevski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français,* 215*b*, Kazan, 1844, gives a description of this deity which accords well with that of Yüan times: "gardien de la maison, de la famille et tous les biens. Chez les shamans on le fait des peaux de moutons et de différents torchons de toile." See also Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *op. cit.,* 511. According to Hoffman, *op. cit.,* 174, the fear of a spirit avenging injustices caused to families is familiar to the Tibetans too. The old Bön religion in Tibet honored a protector-spirit of the wealth of the individual, called *Nor-Lha.* Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Altaischen Völker,* 276, 1938. Many Turkish tribes believe each man has a special protector spirit, from the time of his birth, who protects him and his cattle. In the tents is encountered an image of this spirit and daily an offering is made for it. J. F. Rock, The Na-khi naga cult and related ceremonies, *Serie Orientale,* Roma, IV, Part I, 1952, The Naga spirits guard grains and riches. There are Naga spirits of cultivated fields, of villages, of the ground upon which houses are built, etc.

with silk flags, to look at the hundreds of measures of 792
grain put into the chair, the hundreds of pounds of 685
sugar and raisins, the hundreds of rich garments, and 782
the herd of sheep which follows the chair (for the few 556
pieces of meat are called a "herd of sheep"), and so on, for the other items. They implore it to look at the unusual prodigality of the customer, who is a fervent adherent of the faith. After the parody is played, the lamas have a good time visiting the neighbors. On the seventh day, at night, all the neighbors help escort the troublesome spirit outside the village, forming an imposing cortege with banners flying and drums, horns, and some rifles, and carrying the sedan chair, the caldron and bull head, the spears and swords. The lamas blow the trumpets made from a human femur. The bull head, spears, and swords are buried in a deep hole; a big fire is lit and the pit is filled, at full speed, flush with the ground. The stake is thrust into it; the whole group howls and curses the avenger, rifles are fired, trumpets blown, and the lamas return. The sedan chair is emptied by the neighbors. Restitution is thus made, the avenging spirit is appeased and thrust into the hole, and the thief remains possessor of his thievery.

A rich man, Lo san lao, who lived in Ha-la-chih 425
Valley, had succeeded in bringing to his home the fine 782
young lady of the poor Monguor Li sse of Naring 789
Valley. Calamities then troubled his family, and he invited Yellow lamas to perform the rite. They placed in the sedan chair a fine paper lady. The rite of the caldron and bull head was carried out, and the avenging spirit was thrust into the hole. Restitution was thus made by means of a paper lady, but he remained the possessor of the real one.

After many years this rite as performed by Red [792]
lamas, invited by the famous Sumpa Hutukhtu in order to compensate for the injustices perpetrated by his intendants, is still talked about in the country. The splendid sedan chair was on this occasion lavishly filled with precious items. A beautiful horse which followed the cortege was abandoned for the neighbors. After the bull head had been buried and the avenging spirit thrust into the hole, hundreds of people had tried to capture the horse.

The claims of justice are deeply embedded in the 181
consciousness of the people, and the necessity of restitution for injustices is always advocated by the lamas, although the magical rite of restitution seems to be a mockery of its real intent. Justice seems to rank first among the virtues.

In connection with this peculiar mentality concerning 776
the spirit who is the avenger of injustices is to be noted 425
the cult of the Sturlong spirit. This spirit is supposed to guard the wealth of the family with ruthless severity. It does not allow anything of value belonging to the family which honors it to be taken away. It is honored as a family deity, mostly among the Monguors of the

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Seerting group, but also among some families living in the Hung-nai and Ha-la-chih Valleys. It is said that long ago an old lama of Sung-chan-i (P'ing-fan hsien) introduced the cult of this spirit in the country. It has only one eye in front, and its image is honored not in the living room but behind the entrance gate of the courtyard. Many Monguors do not like to marry their daughters into families where this spirit is honored, and those who honor it are afraid to get rid of its cult, for fear of calamities. The spirit notices all visitors and watches to see whether some evil intent is not lurking behind the visit. It is said that when an undesired guest lingers waiting for dinner, Sturlong causes him tremendous intestinal troubles so that he has to run away. At the time when the dowry for a girl of the family is discussed, and the head of the family suggests that the part required by the lord of the family is not yet fixed, the go-betweens understand the hint and promise a goat for Sturlong. On the wedding day, a few moments before the bride will leave, a goat is set before Sturlong who avidly devours its prey and does not notice the bride leaving. At the time an animal is to be sold, its price is discussed not at the home of the proprietor but outside the courtyard, in order to avoid Sturlong knowing about it.

Still another spirit is honored, which steals in behalf of the families that honor it. Its cult is practiced especially in the Hung nai Valley. The Chinese call it *Mao-kui-shen* "cat spirit." It is a male spirit for which young women prepare a blanket at night, and which they "serve." On the tenth moon it steals grain and brings it to the granaries of its devotees. If guests arrive unexpectedly at noon and the food prepared is not sufficient, it is so potent that it can add food enough for all the guests by unknown means. When thieves come at night, it spirits away the things they intend to steal. However, it cannot steal Chinese coins, because Chinese characters are stamped on them; it cannot steal cloth in behalf of its devotees, because on both ends of a piece of cloth are printed the brands of the fabric. It cannot take things out of a closet which is tightly closed, but when the door is open it takes what it needs. It likes to drink liquor. A young woman poured liquor for it, one cup after another, until the cup remained full. In the blanket she found a drunken cat, which her husband killed. These tales resemble those recounted by the Mongols, concerning the well-known fox-spirit.[12]

[12] Here should be noted the very interesting study of F. A. Oberle, S.V.D., dealing with a similar frame of mind, with practices, some similar and some differing, encountered among the Tibetans of the region of Kui-te, 200 *li* south of Hsining on the right bank of the Yellow River, and among a group of Tibetans living 60 *li* west of Hsining called Chia-hsi-fan by the Chinese, i.e., Tibetans living in houses in contrast to the Tibetans living in tents. However, I never heard the Monguors explaining the rites performed against the avenger of the family wealth, suggesting the avenger having the appearance of a "Hundekopfdämon," an evil spirit with a dog head. See

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OM MANI DAYS AND BUMKHANG

It has been noted that in many villages an additional 796 temple besides the community temple, had been built 792 and dedicated by zealous villagers to a Buddhist deity. Every year, in summertime, some lamas, very often of the Red Sect, are invited to perform the rite of the Om Mani. Butter, flour of roasted spelt, and tea are collected among the villagers. The lamas prepare the *tormas*, the cups with water, spices and flowers, the 108 lamps, recite texts, beat drums, ring bells. After the texts are recited the villagers start to make the thousand circumambulations around the temple, saying "Om Mani," spinning the prayer wheels, and moving from east to west in the ritual way. Old and young are keenly interested in the practice and all help to perform the thousand turns. Three lamas sit on a woolen carpet outside the temple, noting the number of turns performed by each villager who comes to have his merits noted. It is a busy day for the lama accountants. It is an interesting rite, performed in high spirits by the whole community. Youngsters run around the temple, competing in speed, praying "Om Mani" while old people walk, absorbed in devotion.

Another quite different Om Mani rite is enacted six times a year by older people, mostly women, members of an Om Mani society, which has a small fund for securing tea and rolls for the devotees. It consists of circumambulations around a Bumkhang, and the turning of prayer wheels, but in a west to east direction. The number of circumambulations is not fixed. All day long the moving devotees go on continuously. At least one lady has to be on the way at all times saying "Om Mani." At the time of calamities the whole population performs the rite.

Bumkhang means "home of the 100,000." Outside 731 of many villages is built a small Lamaist construction 792 at the time calamities afflict the village: epidemics, epizootics, diseases, drought, too much rain. [946] According to the Monguor tradition these mischievous plottings of evil spirits have to be neutralized by magical means by lamas of the Red Sect. They are reputed to be more skilled than lamas of the Yellow Sect in indicating, by means of the deity whom they personally honor and invite to descend into their staff, the way along which these evils are approaching the village, and by what magical means the way can be blocked. Because the rite is thoroughly magical, the circumambulation is made from west to east, and the prayer wheels are turned in the same direction, the opposite way from that prescribed by the Yellow Sect.

Museum of Oriental Ethnology, *Folklore Studies*, Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China) 222 sq., 1952; also Der Hundekopfdämon im Volksglauben des Westtales under des Chinesichs Tibetischen Kontakgebietes im Osttales von Kuei-te in der Provinz Ch'inghai, 143, where the same belief is noted concerning the cat and the dog among the Tibetans of Penpa, neighbors of the Monguors. See also Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, Fuchs I, 40.

[p.132(A)]

Such constructions are never built inside the villages 731
or monasteries, but outside of them, maybe along a 792
road, or on a small elevation, but always close to the 316
village and on the spot indicated by the Red lama. In 1917 the young T'u Kuan Hutukhtu, advised by old devout lamas, decided to build such a temple along the main way leading to his monastery. At that time one lawsuit was succeeding another and calamities desolated his lamasery. He ordered each of his lamas to mold with red clay a fixed number of small flat rectangular Buddha images, called *Tsa-tsa*. They worked for weeks, for 100,000 images were needed. In the meantime mud bricks were prepared and carpenters invited for the building of the frame of a rectangular temple, having no doors but only a square hole on each side for the windows. At the same time five Red lamas, qualified for the job, were invited to build the home of the 100,000 Tsa-tsa according to the liturgical rules. To explain the shamanist rites against hail, the most incoherent and unimaginable items required by the shamans have been recorded, and the way the pit was dug and the items buried in it. The Red lamas required the intendant of the T'u kuan to prepare the same items (except for the corpse of a child, the living snake, rooster and dog), but all the things had to be stolen in order to be effective, and all were marked with cabalistic designs. Because the Red lamas do not use a corpse, a living snake, rooster, or dog, it has been said that their rite is not as effective against hail as that of the shamans.

On the auspicious night, the Red lamas, dressed in 731
their red clothes and barefooted, with a piece of red 782
cloth around their heads, descended into the pit to bury the items, in the same way that the shamans bury items at the time they build the mound against hail, and in the same kind of pit, communicating by signs. Meanwhile, all the lamas of the monastery circumambulated the pit from west to east, flying banners, beating drums, blowing shells, throwing stones, howling and cursing in the direction of the supposed fiend, and a big cypress fire was kept burning the whole night. Finally, after the pit had been filled flush with the ground, a stake was thrust into it on which cabalistic characters had been written with red earth and encircled with the blood of a white dove. What spirit the stake represented, which would block the influxes, was not told, but it was said that it was not the White Tiger. At dawn the carpenters erected upon the pit the consecrated frame of the building, and lamas started using mud bricks to build a wall inside the frame four or five feet high, the stake being in the middle of the building. Then a big Wei-sang was kindled, pounded cones and leaves of cypress were spread on the ground, and the lamas paved the floor with the clay images, one next to the other. Then followed a new layer of pounded cypress and a new layer of images, and so on, until the 100,000 images were disposed in layers inside the building.

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When the building of the walls was finished, the images 731
having been smoked beforehand, and blessed with 782
ritual water, and having had rice thrown upon them, were stored inside. Finally a roof covered the construction and a verandah with some prayer wheels was built around it, with an oven in front for Wei-sang. Each lama received from the Hutukhtu, as remuneration for the molding of images, a piece of cloth large enough to make a new lama costume.

When, at the time of epidemics, the Om Manis and cir- 731
cumambulations have seemed ineffective, the people 782
conclude that the Bumkhang has lost its energy, and a 789
new rite is enacted in order to strengthen its impaired capacities. The Red lamas are again invited. They read texts for seven days, and thrust a new stake in the ground before the Bumkhang, at night, while the people howl. They act exactly in the same way as the shamans who strengthen debilitated hail mounds. Because this act is not seldom performed for old Bumkhangs of villages, it seems to suggest that all the Bumkhangs in the country were built on the same pattern. This was the only Bumkhang built during my stay in the country, but old Monguors told me that all the Bumkhangs were constructed in the same way, not in order to be endowed with blessings, but in order to avert calamities plotted by evil spirits, and to block the way along which the bad influxes enter the village. The facts (1) of circumambulating in a counter-clockwise direction, (2) the way of building the Bumkhang, (3) the use of the heterogeneous items, (4) the thrusting of the stake god into it, and (5) the manner of strengthening the impaired magical power of the Bumkhang all over the country, seem to support the assumption that the Bumkhang built at Erh-ku-lung by order of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, a lama of the Yellow Sect, and all the other Bumkhangs follow thoroughly magical rites belonging to the same category as the rites performed on the hail mounds built by the shamans.

It is noteworthy that no urns are buried inside the Bumkhang and that no pole is set up inside of it, to represent the "pillar of Heaven." A couple of beams support the roof of the small building, but the magical stake god is thrust into the center of the building amidst the 100,000 clay Buddha figures.

This description does not tally with the interesting [114]
study of Dom. Schröder (p. 266). It is recorded according to my notes written at the time when the Bumkhang of Erh-ku-lung was built, and investigations were made concerning these buildings existing in the country.

FASTING RITES AMONG THE MONGUORS

Fasting is practiced in the country situated north of 785
the Hsining River by lamas of the Yellow and the Red 792
Sects and by laymen; shamans are not interested in fasting exercises. At Erh-ku-lung the rite is compulsory for all lamas. It starts on the twenty-ninth

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of the fifth month and lasts for 108 days. During the whole period, two lamas at a time are always fasting (taking one meal a day), while the others are free to indulge in food, but during the 108 days the use of meat, garlic, leeks, and radishes is prohibited for all the lamas. Lamas of the Red Sect north of the Hsining River do not perform fasting in a group of their own sect, but always some among them attend the fasting rites practiced by laymen. 785 792

The fast of laymen is an interesting custom, the consequences of which have an important bearing on the formation of the Buddhist frame of mind of the people. The aim of the rite is the purification of sins and happy rebirth in the paradise of one of the Buddhas. [783]

ORGANIZATION AND RULES

The rite is enacted in a group, in a few temples spread over the country, under the direction of a lama of the Yellow Sect, usually a Living Buddha or an old lama celebrated for his proficiency in oratory. At present the fasting exercises are only practiced in six localities, among which four are old Karwas (dating from the Ming period): Tsan-tsa, Pe-cha-erh-te, Marhtsang and Swor. The two others are Sumdo and T'u-kuan. The fasting exercises are never performed for laymen in monasteries. Each of the six groups has its committee which, long before the fixed time, tries to enroll fasters: Monguors, Tibetans, even Chinese, lamas of the Red Sect, men and women. In Sumdo the fasters usually number from twenty to eighty; in Pe-cha-erh-te from ten to thirty; in Marhtsang from ten to thirty; in Swor from twenty to seventy. In 1916 in Pe-cha-erh-te, I met seventeen fasters; in Marhtsang twenty-one. The Monguors of Wei-yüan-p'u and of the northern part of the Hung nai Valley are said to be the most fervent fasters. Always, a large number of men, even chiefs and elders of villages, attend the rite. 795 785 792

During the whole exercise, the fasters do not spend any money. The fast expenses are defrayed by the villagers of the locality where the exercises are held, and by the committee which has a small fund and collects some alms. To contribute to this rite is considered to be a very meritorious act. The day before the beginning of the fast, the chief of the village imposes corvées on some of the youngsters for the carrying of water, chopping of fuel, preparing cypress boughs, grinding flour, cooking, baking rolls and steaming bread, buying butter, tea, sugar, sweeping the floor. At Tsan tsa the fast starts on the fifteenth of the sixth month; at other places usually around the twenty-ninth of the third moon, and lasts for sixteen days. During the three days preceding the fast, the fasters are not allowed to eat garlic, leeks, radishes or meat, or to drink wine, or smoke tobacco, and continence is required. [622 651] [262 784]

The fasters arrive at night, drink tea, eat rolls baked in vegetable oil and go to rest. Men and women have separate rooms; they sleep on straw and cover them-

selves at night only with their own clothes. Before 795
dawn the conch shell trumpet is blown, and all arise and 785
wash their faces and hands. A youngster comes and 792
pours some water in their cupped hands, with which faces and hands are cleansed. The fingers pass across the hair and toilet is done. In the meantime, a big cypress fire is kindled in the courtyard and the fasters cause the smoke to enter their large sleeves and gowns, whereupon the body is supposed to be ritually purified.[13] The lama director, helped by Red lamas or laymen, kneads flour of roasted spelt with butter, makes three ritual *tormas* with the dough, and disposes them on the altar before the Buddha picture for two days. Then they are thrown away and three new ones take their place. In front of the picture, 108 butter lamps burn all day during the whole rite; 108 cups are displayed containing the ritual holy water and a flower, along with two high vessels, one of them containing pure water and the other sugar water. In the temple, men kneel behind the lama and the women behind the men. The lama starts reading the texts, which very few among the fasters are able to read with him, but it is said that the merits of devoutly listening to texts which are not understood are exactly the same. He explains the rules to be observed in order to obtain the merits of the rites. The fasting exercises are to be performed at least for two consecutive days; it would be better to perform them for more days, and it would be best of all to persevere to the end. Several fasters drop away after two days, others start again a few days later, many attend the exercises of the first and of the last two days, but all of them have to attend the meal at every noon, attend the lecture in the afternoon, and sleep in the temple every night. In the meantime, the absentees visit neighbors or bask in the sunshine.

On the days of silence, it is strictly forbidden to talk, lest all the merits of the fast be lost. Except at meal time, it is strictly forbidden to swallow anything, even saliva; the whole day the noise of spitting never stops. During the sixteen days, it is strictly forbidden to kill any living being. In the sunshine, whole rows of fasters are seen searching in their clothes for vermin and putting them on the ground with devotion. It is strictly forbidden to take a nap during the sixteen days, or to go home.

After the explanation of the rules, the exercises start. The director blesses the sugar water, and reads some texts; a servant pours a few drops of sugar water into the hands of each of the fasters, who swallow it devoutly. Holding in his hand a cypress bough dipped in pure water, the servant sprinkles some drops in their hands which they swallow and spit on the floor. It is called *chiap*, which means the ritual cleansing of the tongue and the mouth. Then follows a strict command against moving, and the servant pours milk tea,

[13] Granet, *Danses et légendes*, *op. cit.*, 383. Purification by smoke was well known in old China.

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with discretion, into the cup which every faster holds 795
hidden in his gown. Then follows a new chiap and 785
the mouth is purified. The first exercise is finished and 792
the fasters go into the courtyard to have a talk.

At nine o'clock there is a second meeting in the temple. Prayers are said by the lama, followed by 108 Om Mani said over the beads, with devotion, in a slow tempo. The recitation of the Om Manis constitutes the basis of every gathering. This time there is no instruction or preaching, but again the rite of sugar water and chiap is performed.

At eleven, the same exercise is held in the temple as at nine o'clock, and immediately thereafter they have the only meal of the day, which consists of milk tea and rolls boiled in oil, followed by the ritual chiap. According to the rules the meal has to be finished before noon.

At the three o'clock meeting in the temple, the director gives prayers and preaching which may last for two or more hours; there is no sugar water, and no chiap. Then the fasters go to the courtyard for a talk. When the sun has set, they gather in the temple. There are no more prayers, but sugar water and chiap, milk tea at discretion, again sugar water and chiap. At dusk the fasters enter their respective dormitories, and strict silence is observed.

The second day is one of strict silence. At dawn, they meet in the temple, for prayers and Om Manis. The sugar water on that day is not swallowed but rubbed on the hair. There is no chiap. After the meeting, the fasters bask in the sun, reciting Om Manis, or turning the prayer wheels. At nine o'clock the same performance is held as in the morning, and sugar water is rubbed on the hair. There is no chiap. At eleven, the same rites are held as at nine o'clock, and the same meal is held as on the first day. At the three o'clock meeting they have prayers and preaching, and put sugar water on the hair; at sunset the same rite is held as on the first evening.

On the third day, after the morning rites, it is permissable to speak, and the rites are the same as on the first day. At noon the menu is changed, and noodles and milk tea are served.

The rites on the fourth day are the same as those of the second day, with strict silence, and so on, for sixteen days. During the whole fasting time, Wei-sang is not practiced, but every morning a big cypress fire is built in order to smoke the body.

According to the fasters, the observance of the rules is very difficult. Although the Monguors are used to eating whenever they like, the whole day long, they say that the single meal is the least part of the problem; the worst parts are the terrible regularity of the schedule and the deadening silence. This is quite understandable, especially as the rites last for sixteen days. No wonder that young people are not fond of the rite, and that mostly older, devout, and religious-minded people, and

[p. 154 (B)]

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792

people who have taken the Buddhist vows, are the usual practitioners.

TOPICS OF THE INSTRUCTIONS

Each year I seized every opportunity to get information from fasters concerning that captivating subject, and asked the children in the schools about what grandpa or grandma had said about the lama director, the topics of the preachings, the anecdotes narrated, the number of fasters. Every time the fasters reported that they were happy to have performed the exercises, although they had had a hard time. They had prayed in a group innumerable Om Manis, which had caused them to have a real feeling of happiness, and they had enjoyed the preaching. They seemed to be better Lamaists than before, for they spoke with enthusiasm about their experiences. Without doubt the fast rites had helped buoy them up and had given them zest for life. 115 [124] 785

However, it was always said that the directors of the exercises were not all interesting talkers, that some were really boring men, but that they all loved Li, the old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Every year, at three places at least, he was invited, and the fasters urged that the date of the exercises be postponed, in order to enjoy the old man's direction since he had endeared himself to the hearts of the people. He was an intelligent old Living Buddha, a picture of benevolence, with a great kind face, molded on pontifical lines, and all set for hearty smiles. He was a wonderful storyteller, with sparkling wit and a fetching sense of humor, who had the knack of keeping the fasters listening for two and three hours every day. He expounded his doctrine by means of anecdotes and unusual comparisons, which his uncultivated listeners could grasp, remember, and tell to others. He was a fine teacher. [792] 785 869

The beloved topic of his talk was the life of Buddha, who fled from the luxurious palace of his illustrious parents; his terrifying mortifications and his endless charity, even for tigers and other animals, so that he had allowed himself to be devoured by the hungry tigress in order that she might nourish her cubs; his refusal to enter paradise, in order to remain in and save the world. Another topic was the paradise of Buddha and its oriental splendor where everybody hoped to go eventually; and also that of the eighteen hells, with all the terrifying torments used in the Orient. He used to put stress, in nearly every talk, on the omniscience of the terrible but equitable judge of death, who accepts no bribes, who knows all the merits and demerits of everyone; whose mill of justice grinds, in the most minute way, all our acts and intentions.

All the children knew that the poor in this world are people who are suffering, for their lack of charity in former existences, or for their covetousness or injustices. The topic of the punishments for injustices was one of those most elaborately developed by all the 785 829 869

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directors of the exercises, and their stock of punish- 785
ments for injustices never seemed to be exhausted. 829
People who committed injustices had to repair their 869
faults by being a servant, in their future life, of the person who had suffered on their account, or of being reborn as a donkey, a horse, or an ox, plowing their fields, carrying fertilizer, or harvesting. Even the slightest injustices are not overlooked by the terrible judge, for in order to repair the smallest injustices he makes men and women transmigrate into a hen, laying eggs for years, in behalf of the person who suffered because of them. The topic of reparation for injustices seemed to be an obsession of all the preachers, who seldom hinted at other questions of morals, and so the feeling concerning the widespread rite of repairing injustices, among laymen as well as lamas, and even Hutukhtus, becomes understandable. Never did they hint at the shamanist rites performed in private families.

The topic of the old Li, concerning gentle behavior 538
with animals, was the delight of the fasters, who every year asked him to tell again the marvelous anecdotes he had stored in his repertory concerning the subject, for in his lively telling even old chestnuts took on a new glow. The keen interest of nomads in their animals is a matter of common knowledge. Since the Monguors still love their animals in the way of their ancestors, it is no wonder that they asked for that topic, and that they adored the old Li, whose talks hit straight at their hearts. Below are some of his well-known examples.

In India, an old Living Buddha went every day to 539
preach in monasteries and explain texts. He rode an old elephant which, while the religious exercises of his master lasted, knelt devoutly, listening before the temple gate. The old Living Buddha loved all animals with effusion, and especially his faithful elephant. When the elephant died, the Living Buddha made it reincarnate in a strong boy belonging to a poor family. The heavy boy had the exact gait of an elephant, a big, oval long head, unusually long nose and ears, and an appetite as voracious as that of an elephant. No room was left for doubt; the elephant had reincarnated in a human being. The boy, at the age of seven, became the beloved apprentice of the old Living Buddha. After a few years, the master and his apprentice died at the same time. The reincarnation of the holy man was found in a boy endowed with the same characteristics as an elephant, but in addition he had on the palms of both hands and the soles of his feet the marks of the Buddhist "wheel of life," the characteristic of Living Buddhas. This boy was the genuine incarnation of the holy man who had loved the elephant to such an extent. The new Buddha became as celebrated over all India for his elephant features as for his universal charity, which extended not only to human beings, but even to all animals.

Also in India, a holy lama, very fond of animals, squatted under a tree from dawn to dusk, year after

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year, devoutly reciting sacred texts, and only a lovely 539
pigeon, perching on the lowest branch of the tree, was listening and enjoying the reading of the holy books, during all these years. The holy man loved the pigeon ardently and fed it every day. The pigeon died, and was reincarnated in a boy born into a poor family in the mountains, and on the very day of his birth he asked distinctly, three times, "Where is my master so-and-so?" The fact spread all over the country like a prairie fire; everybody came to look at the wonderful boy whose fingers and toes were webbed, whose hands were unusually beautiful and fine. As the boy grew he walked as upright as a pole, always his right foot first. Nobody had ever seen such a handsome, intelligent boy. Then the parents were told, by lamas, that the boy was the incarnation of the lovely pigeon, which during years had enjoyed the reading of the texts of the holy man whose name he pronounced three times at the very moment of birth. The boy became a celebrated learned lama, endowed with universal charity for animals. The congregation enjoyed the moralistic conclusion: be kind to animals, because Buddha loves such persons and blesses their families; their merits will be turned into more joy in paradise and the rebirth will be more happy and outstanding.

In Tibet, on the summit of a mountain, there lived in a cave a holy hermit, always praying in order that the animals might be happy, and preaching the love of animals. In his cave hung the picture of a Buddha, painted in a wonderful landscape, wherein a couple of cows grazed in a meadow. The holy man, practicing severe penance, received from the people some flour and tea leaves, and always he drank tea without milk or butter (which is one of the most tremendous kinds of penance for Tibetans). Once Buddha, delighted with the behavior of the holy hermit, suggested that he approach the picture hanging on the wall, and gave him the power to milk both the cows that were there depicted, and from that time on the holy man got milk in his tea. So great is the love of Buddha for those who love animals.

Another topic of the lectures concerned the necessity 538
of performing acts of charity, giving alms to the poor, and especially to the lamas, in order to get remission of sins and an easy entrance into paradise. The merits of good acts performed in behalf of holy lamas, Living Buddhas, and lamaseries are more important and valuable than those performed for less holy men, because lamas are the beloved of Buddha, and the good old Li supported his assumption by a lot of savory examples.

A certain old lama was the beloved of Buddha to such 539
an extent that several times, when he was praying in the temple, the lamas saw all the statues opening their eyes, moving their heads, and smiling wonderfully at him. Another was so holy that once, as he said his Om Mani over his beads, they became red hot from the glow of his love, and melted away. Another holy lama was preaching in a wealthy village. The chief of the

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village started ridiculing and deprecating him. Buddha 539
could not stand this, and made five tongues protrude out of the chief's mouth and made him fall dead on the spot, after which the village became a barren waste.

Another of the Living Buddha's topics, several times repeated to me, was that all the Monguor and Tibetan tribes would disappear, many families already being without male issue. The reason, he said, is that nearly all the departed already dwell in paradise and wait there for us, so that now the faster Monguors and Tibetans disappear, the sooner paradise will be furnished with happy inhabitants. "Make your sons become lamas," he would say, "for lamas surely arrive in paradise. However, among the dying, only those who, at the very moment of their death, trust in Buddha may hope to be reborn in a lotus near Buddha, where for thousands of years they will be happy, and where all the inhabitants will be taller and stronger and more beautiful than we are here."

Such are the topics of most of the preaching during 538
the fast exercises. Many times the fasters repeated that they loved the old Li because after every preaching he made them crave for pardon for all their sins, and because he could say the Om Manis over his beads with a wonderful unction. He had touched the hearts of the people.

IMPACT OF THE FASTING RITES UPON MONGUOR SOCIETY

Although these exercises were only attended by a 771
relatively small number of older people, their impact 785
upon the families cannot be overestimated, because the 869
old people repeated at home the topics of the lectures and the anecdotes, and because, since the authority with which the old people are vested in a patriarchal society is supreme, they cultivated in the orbit of the family the sense of religiosity; the habit of praying and of craving for pardon. Chiefs, and elders of villages who had attended the meetings, unconsciously and unwittingly were guided by these principles in the administration of the village and in the patching up of troubles. The impact was all the more important because, year after year, the exercises were repeated by the adored old Li, a man with an illustrious pedigree, a scion of the noble and wealthy family of the Li T'u-ssu. The old Li was a personality who provoked a revival of religious feeling in the country.

The anecdotes, ingenuously narrated in the schools by the children, had led me to make inquiries among the fasters themselves about the fast exercises, which before had seemed to me to be an unimportant institution, attended by old women without any bearing on the religious life of the communities. However, taking account of the overall number of the yearly participants in the six centers, and the number of men who attended them, even chiefs of villages and elders, and of the fact that in a patriarchal society the old people wield a supreme influence and also of the strong personality of

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the old Li, I understood that for a people endowed with 771
these religious convictions, Om Manis were the sheet 785
anchor when things got stormy, and that they could fall 869
on their knees and crave for pardon for their sins and pray, when hailstorms mistreated their means of subsistence.

Probably the fast exercises were, at that time, one of the mightiest means for promoting the religious feeling inherent in Lamaism. Although the lamas never preach for laymen, in the monasteries, and although a lama only has a talk with them once in a while about religion, and although there are no schools run by lamas, the people knew by means of these fasting exercises that an all-powerful being exists whom the lamas call Buddha, who is all benevolence and goodness, and ready to forgive and to help. They knew the difference between the good Buddhas and the spirits, among which some were really evil beings trying to harm them, and others were so touchy that a trifle could upset them. They knew that a terrible omniscient judge of death exists who controls heaven and the eighteen hells, who decides about their future, according to their acts. They knew that at death their existence was not finished.

However, if account be taken also of what the shamans say at the feasts of the communities and the magical performances enacted by them in behalf of the community and private families, their savage struggle with evil spirits, the ownership of the country and the villages by powerful spirits, the cult of the ancestors subject to decay, the importance of the hearth god and all the spirits who are considered to administer independently their own departments, with punishments or blessings, who are supposed to know the acts of the people and their feelings toward them, it is easy to understand also why a tremendous confusion should exist in their religious thought processes, and why they should act according to the circumstances in unforeseen and confusing ways.

PRODIGALITY OF THE MONGUORS CONCERNING CULT AND RELIGION

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792

In 1914 a strong group of four or five hundred lamas, clad in rags and dirt, passed through the city of Hsining on the way to Seerkok. They were lamas of the Yellow Sect, belonging to different lamaseries situated south of the Yellow River. The whole country was upset. Rumors were spread concerning an impending revolt, organized by the lamas against the newly established Chinese Republic. Spies were sent all over the country in order to discover clues. After a few days the officials announced that the group had been invited by Seerkok in order to pray for blessings upon the Republic.

The fear of the lamas turned after a few days into a reputation for fantastic sainthood, and Monguors and Tibetans ran to Seerkok in order to offer gifts. The richest families competed with each other to provide the expenses for entertaining for one day these saintly

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

lamas, whose prayers secured the remission of sins and 175
peace in the families, and assured entrance into the 792
paradise of Buddha. The ceremonies lasted for forty-five days and were attended by an immense crowd. All the expenses of the forty-five days were defrayed by rich families. Every day, the intendant told me, ten thousand butter lamps were lit; four hundred pounds of butter were required for the lamps and the meals of the lamas; ten bricks of tea were needed, fifteen sheep, sixty pounds of vegetable oil, flour of roasted spelt, raisins, and sugar for five hundred lamas. Moreover, every day each of them received alms of one dollar.

Their morning meal consisted of milk, tea, butter and *tsamba*.[14] At noon they received butter tea, and rolls baked in vegetable oil. At evening they were served noodles and meat or meat prepared with rice, sugar, and raisins. The entire community of Seerkok had a good time together with the saintly guests, and the monastery reaped valuable benefits. This fact gives an insight into the unusual prodigality displayed by the Monguors and Tibetans when cult and religion are concerned.

At the time of the big festivities celebrated at the monasteries in the country, the rich families are accustomed to compete with each other to defray the expenses, and to entertain the entire community of the lamas. Then the devoted donor, seated on a reviewing stand with his whole family and his relatives, enjoys the ritual representations and receives, before the faithful audience, the blessings of the Living Buddha, the red knotted ribbon on the neck, and the gracious touch of the rod to which a *khata* is attached, and the scarf of felicity put on his shoulders. Manguru, the rich Tibetan who had succeeded in winning his suit against the well-known Living Buddha Temma, the bridge builder, presiding over the ceremony, defrayed the expenses of such a festival at Erh-ku-lung immediately after his victory. He was admired and celebrated by the crowd.

Rich families, being really devoted to Lamaism, offer substantial alms to the monasteries and entertain the lamas lavishly with tea, *tsamba*, sheep, rice, sugar, and raisins, at the death of an elder member of the family, and several times during the year. This custom is not unusual because most of the families have relatives among the lamas, and the rich like to enjoy the reputation of being prodigal toward the monasteries.

CELEBRATION OF THE CYCLE OF AGE

GENERAL RITE

The Chinese, for many centuries, have been ac- 527
customed to having a celebration at the completion of their cycle of age, which is sixty years.[15] The Mon-

[14] *Tsamba*—parched barley flour, eaten in the form of dough made into balls, with butter tea.

[15] Yeh Te-lu, The celebration of the Emperor's Birthday during the T'ang dynasty *Fu-jen Hsueh-chih*, 125, 1939. A birthday was not considered an occasion for congratulations and rejoicing in ancient China. The celebration began only with

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guors and Tibetans of Hsining follow the Chinese custom, performing this celebration in their own way on their sixtieth birthdays. The cycle of age is celebrated according to the wealth of the people with more or less festivity, with a master of ceremony, dinners which, as at marriages, are served around a big fire, songs, Members of the family, relatives, chiefs of the village, friends, are invited and offer their congratulations. Poor people are happy to kill a sheep and to entertain fewer guests. Many Monguors and Tibetans are accustomed to add to this celebration a Lamaist religious rite, inviting a Living Buddha, and ostentatiously offering him substantial alms, receiving his blessings and assuming on that day the duty of observing more Lamaist prescriptions, by becoming a kind of lay-monk or lay-nun. Even poor people add this rite, but act in a more modest way. 527

The essence of the rite of the cycle of age among the Monguors consists in the required assistance of the maternal uncle of the subject of the feast. The latter's presence is so important that in case he has departed, a member of his family must take his place. The ceremony consists in a morning rite attended by all the guests, the honoring by the celebrant of "Heaven and all the spirits" in the open courtyard, with the setting off of firecrackers, immediately followed by his honoring the guardian deity of his family on the altar in the living room. The rich and the poor, and those who add the Lamaist rite, always are faithful to the two essential customs. The fact that at this time some invite a Living Buddha and become a lay-monk is accidental, because most of the Monguors enact the celebration without this Lamaist rite. [604]

The men celebrate their cycle of age in a more or less elaborate way, but the women usually celebrate it on a minor scale. The Lamaist rite is usually performed on the same day, so that the expenses of two feasts are avoided and a big attendance is secured, for the Monguors are afraid few people would arrive for the celebration of a Lamaist rite only. It happens that sometimes a man may enact the Lamaist rite before his sixtieth birthday. In fact no time is fixed for the performance of this rite, it can even be done after death. More men than women perform the Lamaist rite, but young people are not interested in it.

In the early morning of the birthday the guests arrive, the members of the family and the relatives offer the traditional scarf and the "ten breads of longevity" and two jars of wine; sons-in-law add three strings of cash. The subject of the feast, holding incense sticks in his joined hands, led by his maternal uncle, proceeds

the Ch'i-Liang dynasties (479–557) and came in vogue during the T'ang and the Sung. In 729 the imperial birthday was for the first time made a national festival. The institution of letting people join the Buddhist order as monk or nun on the imperial birthday dates from 767; the offering of felicitation to the emperor on his birthday dates from 820. On their birthdays, the T'ang Emperors used to fast, and hence the slaughter of animals was forbidden on these days; this institution dates from 837.

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toward the middle of the courtyard where a big fire 527
is built, which will not be allowed to go out the whole day. In the presence of all the guests, on the command of the master of the ceremonies, he prostrates himself devoutly three times, honoring "Heaven and all the spirits." Then, led by the maternal uncle and followed by the guests, he enters the living room, and on the command of the master of ceremonies prostrates himself again three times before the house altar, toward the picture of the guardian deity of his family, which usually is a Taoist spirit. Lamps are lit on the adorned altar during the whole day.

Then the celebrant receives congratulations as he sits [604]
on the k'ang, surrounded by the maternal uncle, the chief of the village and the elders, and the members of the family who belong to a higher generation than his own. On the command of the master of ceremonies, first come the members belonging to the generation above his own, bowing their heads and presenting the traditional scarfs. Then arrive the members belonging to his own generation who, in a group, bow their heads and hands nine times and present their scarfs. Then follow the members belonging to younger generations, sons, grandchildren, who, in groups, one after another, prostrate themselves nine times and offer their scarfs. Then the celebrant prostrates himself before his maternal uncle and presents him with a scarf, and all the guests perform the same rite. Finally all the women prostrate themselves in a group before the celebrant and the maternal uncle. Thereafter a cup of wine is presented to the celebrant by the master of ceremonies, who makes the traditional speech with plenty of congratulations. Then follows the breakfast in the courtyard where the guests are accommodated as for the big dinners of marriage and where the celebrated "noodles of longevity" are served.[16]

The noodles are made with white flour of wheat cut in long thin filaments. The celebrant, with the maternal uncle and the most outstanding guests, occupies the middle table in the center of the courtyard, on which, in front of him, are put two empty bowls. Wine is presented and congratulations offered by the master of ceremonies, and all the guests one after another take some noodles out of their bowls and put them in the empty bowls of the celebrant, wishing him a happy new cycle of years. The breakfast of the women is served after that of the men. In the afternoon starts the gala dinner like the dinners at the marriages, followed by merrymaking.

LAMAIST RITE

Those who add the Lamaist rite send some youngsters 527
of the village on good horses to the lamasery after 604
breakfast, in order to invite the Living Buddha, who 792
will arrive at noon. In the meantime, after breakfast, the maternal uncle, in the presence of the guests, starts inquiring about the alms the family has proposed to

[16] Schram, *op. cit.*, 42. [p. 138(8)]

offer to the Living Buddha, and being very exacting, 527
according to the custom, he urges that they should offer 604
five or more horses, two or three hundred sheep, two 792
or three hundred pounds of butter, five hundred dollars. This moment is the very important opportunity for the master of ceremonies to display his utmost oratorical proficiency in behalf of the celebrant who invited him, bringing the amount of required alms to a rational level (which has been fixed beforehand on both sides!). It is a means of making known all over the country the prodigality of the family toward the lamas.

The Living Buddha, with his two or four assistants, is greeted on the threshing floor by all the guests kneeling, holding in their joined hands the incense sticks, and is led to the living room in order to drink tea and rest for a while. Then he comes to sit in the courtyard where he receives the prostrations and scarf of the maternal uncle and of the celebrant, and blesses all the guests, touching each one's head with the ritual red silk tassel attached to a short wooden rod, while the assistants prepare the *torma*. He enters the living room; the celebrant kneels before him, having at his side the maternal uncle. He drinks a first draught of holy water, presented to him by the Living Buddha, and spits the second gulp upon the *torma* placed before him, and swallows a third one. All his sins are spit upon the *torma;* he is interiorly purified, and the *torma* is thrown outside the courtyard.

The Living Buddha, having blown three times upon some spelt, throws it upon him, and the celebrant is smoked with pounded cypress leaves and cones. Holy water is sprinkled upon him with the ritual peacock feathers. Ritual texts are read over him, and the Living Buddha explains before all the guests the obligations [784]
inherent in the blessings: to fast on the first and the fifteenth of the month and Wei-sang; to attend the fasting exercises held in the country every year; not to kill any living being, not drink alcohol, eat garlic, leeks, and radishes, nor eat birds and eggs; to abstain from the slightest injustices, to give alms, to pray more Om Mani. Finally a yellow scarf, previously blessed, is put by the Living Buddha on his left shoulder and bound under the right arm. The man has become a lay-monk. He will wear the scarf under or upon his cloths to his dying day, and hang it on the wall at night. Once in a while a very fervent lay-monk is encountered who has shaved his head like the lamas. However, it is reported that many of these lay-monks are not faithful to their obligations, because many perform the rite and invite a Living Buddha in order more to celebrate their cycle of age with greater display and pomp, than to perform an act of religion. Then follows the gala dinner in the courtyard, after which the Living Buddha retires into his private room and remains with the family overnight.

The next morning a breakfast of milk tea, rolls baked in oil, and mutton, is offered to the Living Buddha. While the family kneels in the room, an entire sheep is

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presented to the Living Buddha with the scarf. It is 527
the gift for outstanding persons. Then the master of 604
ceremonies makes his traditional speech. After having 792
thanked the Living Buddha, he starts his usual speech of apology: "We are ashamed to have treated the holy man so irreverently, the meat we prepared was tough and tasteless for it was meat of an old animal. The rolls were badly kneaded and hard, and boiled in rancid oil. The k'ang, on which the holy man slept was not heated enough. The holy man could not sleep a wink the whole night. Our k'ang is too short, the saintly man could not stretch out his noble legs. The felt spread on the k'ang was too thin, his holy limbs must be sore. We are a poor family and should like to offer a herd of sheep. We are ashamed to be only able to offer an old horse, saddled with a broken saddle. Our harvest this year was the worst we ever reaped, so we can afford only to offer a couple of sacks of rancid rolls. To add to our frustration, the wool of our sheep was so bad and short this year, that we can only offer a thin felt poorly prepared by an unskilled artisan. The butter we prepared for the lamas and the lamps is nearly all rancid. What we offer to you is more like a gift offered at a burial than a gift fit for these circumstances." Then the maternal uncle and the celebrant prostrate themselves, apologizing and presenting the scarf. The Living Buddha protests that he is very happy, and thanks the family for its prodigality, and promises his blessings.

At the moment of departure the family kneels with incense sticks in their joined hands at the gate of the courtyard; each of the assistant lamas receive two strings of cash, and the Living Buddha takes with him the packet of dollars. After him follow some youngsters with a beautiful horse, saddled with the finest saddle, and a precious rug upon it, with some animals carrying butter and tea for the lamas of the monastery, rolls, meat and sugar, and the news is spread all over the country that so and so offered such and such gifts with an unusual prodigality.

Poor families offer to the Living Buddha fifty strings of cash instead of a horse. The celebrant who belongs to a still poorer family goes at noon with his maternal uncle to the lamasery, in order to see a Living Buddha who performs the rites upon him and is presented with two strings of cash.[17]

This information was given me by several masters of ceremonies and Monguors who attended the rites [115] and had themselves performed them.

XIII. DEATH

In connection with the funeral customs of the Mon- 761
guors, a few words should be said about their notions concerning the souls, because these have an important bearing upon the funeral customs.

[17] Schröder, *op. cit.*, *Der Alters Segen*, 630.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

SOULS

The concept of the soul is one of the most confused all over Asia. Chinese claim to have two souls: the *p'o* and the *hun*. The p'o appears at the moment of conception, the hun at the time of birth. At death, they are separated; the p'o dwelling with the corpse, the hun going to Heaven, to the domain of Shang ti. Hungry p'o become malignant kuei. However, according to old theories, they live only for three years after death. In later times it was imagined that there was a place for the p'o similar to that of the hun. When the mourning period is finished, the deceased becomes an ancestor.[1]

Pure shamanism—i.e., shamanism before its contact with Lamaism,—had no conception of another world or a realm of death; but another realm to which only the shaman had admission, which became adorned with many attributes of the Lamaistic Hades, as appears later in the more recent shamanistic incantations. In pure shamanism, the ghost and spirits of the dead remained in this world at their burial sites. These sites developed into haunted places, and through fear were tabu to all but the shamans who have power over these ghosts and spirits.[2]

Johannes de Plano Carpini (1246–1247) claimed that the Mongols had no notion about heaven or hell, but asserted that they entered another world after death, where they could tend animals,[3] and that their deceased, under the form of dolls, were put on a wagon guarded by shamans and honored on certain days. Later on, good men became good spirits, and so the entire branch of Chingis Khan became good spirits. Owing to Tibetan Buddhist influences, souls were incarnated in other men.[4] A judgment after death was supposed to take place, and a heaven and a hell and even a kind of purgatory to exist.[5] Schmidt concludes his synthesis of the religion of the oldest Turks by saying, "Because the soul is thought to have the shape of a bird, and because death is called 'flying away,' it seems to point to a flight to Heaven," so that a heaven might haxe existed.[6] The souls of princes were probably thought to enter Heaven where they lived in the way they lived on earth.[7]

The Buriats speak in a very confused manner about three souls.[8] The Yakuts believe the shaman has three souls, "the air soul," "the earth soul," and "the mother soul." During his childhood the threefold soul is taken away by the spirits, and his mother soul takes the shape of a "fantastic female."[9] These facts suffice to give an idea about the confusion reigning in Central Asia about the soul, and they prepare us to expect the same confu-

[1] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 186.
[2] Heissig, *op. cit.*, 510.
[3] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 194, 195.
[4] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 105.
[5] *Ibid.*, 108–110.
[6] *Ibid.* 9: 65.
[7] *Ibid.*, 35.
[8] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, *Anthropos* 23: 578, 1928.
[9] Dioszegi, Le combat sous forme d'animal des chamans, *Acta Orientalia*, 316, 1952.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

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sion concerning this subject among the Monguors, who 171
assume that they have three souls.

THE FIRST SOUL

The Monguors used to talk about the soul of the 774
bones,[10] which seems to adhere to the bones in general, 775
not to a definite bone. When the bones are broken or split, the soul seems not to be affected. Consequently, when Monguors kill a sheep, they do not take care to avoid the breaking of the bones. The soul seems never to leave the bones, even during life or after death; it is said to be buried with the bones in the grave, and to remain there adhering to them, and to vanish when the bones vanish. Never is it said that this soul harms people, or is harmed in anyway. However, when the shaman calls back the souls of a sick man supposed to be [75]
harmed by malignant spirits, or by souls of the deceased, the bone soul is called back with the two others.

This peculiar feeling existing over all Asia concern- 761
ing the bones is noteworthy. The bones play a large 774
role in the beliefs of the Mongol and Turkish people, [171]
to which stock the Monguors belong. The Monguors, as well as the Mongols and Turks, when asking for the name of a man's clan, ask for the name of his "bone," and their saying goes that the bones come from the father and the flesh from the mother. This basic principle is so deeply ingrained in their consciousness that when you ask a man or a woman what their bones are, they will always answer by giving the name of the clan of their father and not that of their mother. Everybody is recognized as belonging to the clan of his father. If you ask for the name of the bone of their mother, they will answer by giving the name of their mother's father's clan and not of their mother's mother's clan, for the bones come from the father. This behavior fits perfectly in the frame of a patriarchal society.

However, it is not known at what time specific facts 604
caused the Monguors to go so far as to call their 774
maternal uncle the "master of the bones" of the children 764
of his sister, to acquiesce to his illogical usurpation of the most basic rights belonging to the family chief in a patriarchal society, to allow the maternal uncle to decide, in definite circumstances, about the life and death of these children, and to be their recognized avenger in case of suicide, caused by maltreatment, and to become the only man who can permit the burial of these children.[11] In all nomadic societies in Asia this intrusion is observed on a larger or smaller scale. Even in the Chinese society the maternal uncle plays an important role, presiding over the festivities at marriages and giving permission to bury the children of his sister. The Chinese saying is well known that, when the maternal uncle brings suit at court against the son of his sister, the father of the defendant cannot withstand it, and also the saying that as long as the mother's family (maternal uncle) does not permit burial, the de-

[10] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 2: 205.
[11] Schram, Part I: 91. [p. 140 (B)]

ceased cannot climb to heaven (the soul cannot leave the body).[12] Like the Monguors, they call a son *Ku-hsüeh,* "bone and blood," for his bones come from the father and blood from the mother. Relationship is called *Ku-jou,* "bones and flesh." The examination of the corpse by the maternal uncle before the funeral is called *Yen-ku,* "examining the bones." 604 774 764

However, the usurped rights of the maternal uncle concern only the children of his sister. He is not a chief of a clan, and in all clans men know very well that their clan chief is not a maternal uncle. 604

All the conditions set by the maternal uncle in order to permit burial find their explanation among Monguors and Chinese in the fear, which both harbor, of the harm which the deceased might cause in case he is not decently buried, and the desire to have a splendid burial for a member of their family, which will honor the family and flatter its pride. The Chinese are extravagantly demanding about precious clothes, a nice coffin, musicians, a big dinner, and a large number of Taoist priests. Monguors are also eager for grandeur, but, having no need for these items, put their unreasonable claims in the form of fantastically large alms for lama-series, three-fourths of which are never agreed upon. This mentality and these facts prove that religious feeling at that time plays a far lesser part in the discussions than the mania for display and worldly glory. Certainly there are devout Lamaists who, at the time of the death of a member of the family, really like to have prayers said for the deceased, spend a lot of money for entertaining lamas, giving alms, burning lamps. However, this is never done without ostentation and without advertising, and they make these claims on the day of the dinner in such a way that the whole gathering may spread the news. 764 604

THE SECOND SOUL

The concept of this soul is more confused than that of the first soul. The second soul is that which will join Buddha in his paradise, or will be condemned by the terrible judge after death to reincarnate, in order to repair injustices. The Monguors at present know perfectly well that after death this soul does not die, and that there is a reward or punishment meted out by the terrible judge. They know perfectly the eighteen hells, from having seen the pictures in the temples and having heard the lamas speak about them. It is one of the most important merits of Lamaism, that it has spread this doctrine to such an extent. The shamans, when performing the spring rites, tell about Erlik, as the lamas tell about the judge of death. The rite which is usually performed in reparation for injustices, so widely spread and practiced, supports the assumption that many 774 775 [772]

[12] This last saying of the Chinese has no meaning for the Monguors, because, immediately after death, the lama opens a way for the escape of the soul through the bregmatic fontanelle by pulling some hairs from the top of the head. The soul is thus already released before the maternal uncle arrives.

[p. 141 (A)]

new beliefs have entered their minds. However, for 774
how long a time will the existence of this soul last? 775
Even though the lamas speak of a quasi-endless paradise with Buddha, and of successive rebirths, the Monguors honor the souls of only three older generations at the feast of spring, at the celebration of the family guardian deity, and at the time when shamans expel evil spirits from sick men. After that the souls seem to be finished.

The second soul seems to be more independent of the 774
body than the first one, because, during sleep, dreaming, 775
and fainting fits, it may wander to far-off countries, and 761
later recall what it saw or heard, and how it acted in these countries. At the moment of death, the family, on the roof of the house, implores it not to leave them. The shaman, curing the sick, calls this soul back with the two others along the rope. Immediately after death, the lama releases this soul through the bregmatic fontenelle. Surely, threfore, this soul leaves the body after death.

However, its existence has always been precarious. During life it was subject to being harmed by nefarious spirits, and after death, lamas must say prayers to help it reach paradise safely, in order that vampires may not devour it on the way. In the same way, the shamans at the feast of spring tell about the dangerous crossing of the bridge after death, and about vampires waiting for these souls.[13]

Siberian shamans travel to heaven in order to bring [171]
back souls abducted by evil spirits.[14] The Tungus believe that the soul remains for a certain time near the body,[15] and then a dog carries it into the lower world;[16] that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat,[17] and that a raven looks for the souls traveling, after death, to the lower world and brings the news to the soul's owner.[18] The release of the soul is a very important function of the shamans.[19]

The Monguors do not say in which part of the body 774
the soul is located, or from where it originated. At the 775
feast of spring, however, the shamans, when making fun, tell in a jocular manner how Tengri made seven men and seven women. The Tungus believe that the souls are given by the spirit;[20] they also say that the death of a man results in the birth of a new soul in the other (upper) world, and that the soul may be sent to a newborn human being.[21] Among the Ch'i-tan is recorded a sacrifice offered by the emperor in the tenth month, to the god of the sacred Black Mountain, who cares for the souls of the populace.[22]

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[13] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 191, 192.
[14] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 179.
[15] Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex*, 215.
[16] *Ibid.*, 210.
[17] *Ibid.*, 92.
[18] *Ibid.*, 142.
[19] *Ibid.*, 276.
[20] *Ibid.*, 128.
[21] *Ibid.*, 297.
[22] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 204–214. [p.141(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

THE THIRD SOUL

The behavior of the Monguors toward this soul illustrates the basic approach prevailing all over Asia to the problem of the soul. The Monguors care more for this soul than for the other two because they are afraid of it. It becomes after death a kind of demon, ill-disposed toward its own family, harming its cattle and its wealth. This assumption is evidenced by their unkind attitude toward it, an attitude which shocks us. When the corpse is carried out of the courtyard, the lamas and the members of the family who are still in the courtyard, cry: "Do not come back and harm us, forget us forever and go to dwell elsewhere." The evening before the cremation, after all the guests have left, having said with devotion their Om Mani for a long time, the lamas immediately brutally chase the soul out of the courtyard and all the rooms. At the very moment of the cremation, the master of ceremonies makes the last traditional speech, before the oven, addressing the corpse: "We lavishly spent money and performed all the possible rites for your well-being, now go away and never come back to disturb us or to harm us.[23] Forget us forever; we will pray for you and make offerings." The fear of the departed is a real obsession. Most of the harm suffered is ascribed to them. Many of the deceased are supposed to be peculiarly fiendish and are buried in special cemeteries, where the shamans have to be invited to keep them quiet. They like to live in lonely spots and empty ruined houses, and have to be fed, because when they become hungry they are dangerous. 774 775 764

However, all the distinctions concerning the three souls, based on observed facts and customs, do not bother the average Monguors. They do not care for the nature of these three souls, how long they live, when they will vanish—all they know is that they leave the body at death. However, they are accustomed to feed the souls of three generations. They do not care to which, among the three souls, offerings are made at the time of the spring rites performed by the shaman, or at the time of the cult of the family deity, or on their own graves a few days before the worshipping of the ancestor of the clan. Even the lama or shaman, calling back the soul of a sick man, calls all three of them back.

CEMETERIES

Since the submission of the Monguors to the Ming dynasty (in 1368), the chief of each of the groups, receiving the title and duty of T'u-ssu, became the ancestor-founder of his group. Their pictures then began to occupy the center of the new ancestral hall. The family register began with their name, and their grave became the head mound, which today is seen in all the old cemeteries where the yearly worship of the ancestors is held. T'u-ssu never have been cremated.[24] 175 764

[23] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos, op. cit.*, 130. Louis M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes Mongols*, 211, Genbloux, Duculot, 1947.

[24] Schram, Part I: 59–70. [p. 142(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

On the death of the first T'u-ssu his eldest son succeeded, and the others became the founders of Junior "houses." Some of them immediately built their own cemetery, and others later. When cemeteries had no more room, some branches of noble families again built new cemeteries, and so on. The richest among the commoners followed the example set by the nobles, and buried the remains of the bones, after cremation, in their own cemetery. Many ceased to practice cremation. The Chinese enrolled in the clans had always buried their dead in their cemeteries, and now many Monguors have their own cemeteries. The poor among them bury the bones remaining after cremation in a corner of their fields, or in a lonely spot. Three days before the official ancestor worship in April, each group honors its dead in its own cemetery, according to the usual rite, with prostrations, libations, offerings, and a sacrificial meal. It is on that day that the bones remaining after cremation of the persons of their family who died during the year are buried in their cemeteries, and the names of the deceased are entered in the family register. 175 764

What happened to the dead of the Monguors during the Yüan period (1280–1368) is not at present known. Some people say that the dead were buried in lonely places, that cemeteries did not exist, and no further offerings were made for the dead, after burial. Later, during the Ming, only two clans, the Ch'i and the Lu, built inside their mansion garden a big mound with a spacious room where the coffins of the later T'u-ssu are conserved.[25]

The whole clan of the Li T'u-ssu never bury their dead in the third and the eighth months; these months are said to be fateful for them on account of Lu Men-cheng. I never could get an explanation either of this fact or of Lu Men-cheng. 764

DIFFERENT MODES OF DISPOSING OF THE DEAD

The enrollment of Chinese in the clans, the examples set by the T'u-ssu and the chiefs of the houses, the impact of the Chinese culture from which the Monguors became less and less insulated, and also the fact that cremation bears a tinge of dishonor among the Chinese (because it is only used for those who have caused harm to the family) led many Monguors to resort early to the burying of the dead. According to many Monguors, cremation had been introduced by the lamas, because it was a lucrative rite for them. Since in nearly every family there were lamas, the rite easily spread. However, according to other Monguors, incineration provides more benefits for the souls, while burying bears a tinge of dishonor. I was told of a Monguor woman who had abandoned her husband in order to live with another man in Hung nai Valley, the man died and she [766]

[25] However, as will be recorded in Part III, the Lu clan, according to its family chronicle, had an ancestral cemetery in Hsi Ta-t'ung during the Yüan period. [p.142(B)]

thereupon swallowed opium and also died. Because 764
this case had involved the village and caused a lot of [766]
trouble, the chief of the village, with the maternal uncles, decided that they were unworthy to be cremated and buried them in the same pit. In Part I, other similar cases have been recorded.

The old Turco-Mongols buried their dead;[26] the old [171]
Hsiung-nu buried their dead also, as did the Hsien-pi.[27] The Ch'itan did not bury the corpses, but placed them in trees for three years, and then removed the bones and buried them.[28] This custom is widely distributed in northern Eurasia from the Tungus to the Lapps.

Monguors follow the Chinese custom in disposing of children who have died during the first month of age. They burn them and bury them in the k'ang, for it is said to be harmful to bring such corpses out of the room. Children of less than ten years of age are enveloped in straw and thrown in a lonely spot and disposed of by dogs and rapacious animals. Children who die under fifteen years of age are usually cremated without any ceremony, and their bones are not cared for. Young people under twenty years of age, dying in the morning, are cremated at evening; those who die at night are cermated in the early morning. Unmarried youngsters are cremated without any ceremony, and prayers are not said for them; their bones are collected after the cremation and buried in the abode of the wicked people. In the Ordos these dead are supposed to become vampires and to cause many deaths.[29]

In the case of married people dying without children, [766]
the maternal uncle is invited, a lama says some prayers, the harmful souls are driven out of the home, and cremation is without ceremony. Their bones are buried in the same terrible abode. However, in case both are aged, prayers are said for several days. After cremation the bones are collected and buried in the family cemetery, at the request of the maternal uncle. According to the Monguors, the aged dead are no longer abandoned in valleys, on account of the density of the population, and the custom of cutting the dead into pieces to feed the vultures has never been practised.

DEATH

When a Monguor is dying, the women of the family, 763
from the roof of the house, call on his spirit not to abandon them, crying that they are preparing for it a delicious dish, apologizing for their shortcomings, and with tears and sighs giving assurance of their love, in a most pathetic way. If a child is dying, women on the roof cry and call his name, wave his best clothes and pretend that cookies and candies are waiting for him. This is an age-old custom practiced in China from the

[26] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* 2: 120–126. Parker, *A thousand years of the Tartars*, 86.
[27] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 15–86, 104.
[28] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 204. [p. 143(A)]
[29] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126.

earliest times.[20] If the sick man has a painful agony, 763
lamas are invited to pray for a fast departure or revival, according to the fate fixed for him; they beat drums and ring bells, around the sick man, making a terrible noise, and finally they help him to confide in Buddha. After the last breath has been drawn, they pull some hair out of the top of the head in order that his souls may escape through the bregmatic fontanelle. When death is approaching, his face and hands are washed, and he is shaved. Some Monguors undress him completely; others put his best clothes on him. It is said that in former times all the dying were undressed. In China it is a capital sin for a son to let his parents die without having dressed them in their best clothes. The Mongols, however, not only undress the dying person but bring him into the courtyard, for nobody is allowed to die in the home.[21]

Immediately after death, all the jewels are removed, 764
the hair unplaited, and some butter and tea leaves put into the mouth. Some Monguors add a "pill of immortality," bought in the Chinese pharmacies or in the lamaseries; some are fond of adding a precious stone or a piece of silver, as the Chinese used to do. The knees of the dead are drawn up under the chin, the hands placed on the chest and bound with a hemp rope, and a piece of white cloth is placed on the shoulders. Often the corpse is put into a sack of white cloth, and a gown and a scarf put upon it. Much has been written concerning the position of the dead, and many contradictory explanations offered by lamas, shamans, and laymen. A piece of yellow cloth is put on the shoulders of those who had become lay-monks or lay-nuns and burned with them. At that time most of the Monguors, old and young, who during their lifetime had not performed the rite to become a lay-monk, invite a lama who pours water on a mirror in which is reflected the face of the deceased, thus making him a lay monk.

The toilet is made by members of the deceased's own generation, except that sons care for their parents. During the laying out of the dead, the women start the lamentations on the roof, in the courtyard, or at the gate, so that the whole village knows of the death. A coffin is made by the carpenter, large enough to contain the corpse in a squatting position; it will be more or less elaborately decorated, according to the wealth of the family and the line of generation of the deceased. In the coffin is also placed a dough roll, according to the Chinese custom, for which contradictory Taoist explanations are given. A small coffin is prepared for the bones collected after the cremation. The corpse is put in the coffin as soon as it is ready, before which is placed a small table with twelve rolls and a lamp. Paper is burned, and at every meal a cup, with the same meal prepared for the family, is put before the deceased. Sons and relatives relieve each other day and night to keep watch, in order that rats and cats may not spoil the

[20] Couvreur, *Li-ki*, 1: 85–181, Ho-Kien-fu, 1927.
[21] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 635. Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126.

[p. 143 (B)]

corpse, so say the Monguors. All the neighbors offer 764
their services in order to help carry on the funeral activities, for during the mourning period the members of the family are not allowed to leave their home or to enter the homes of other people, even temples and lamaseries. The whole family of the deceased is tabu.

A capable master of ceremonies is invited to direct the activities of the entire funeral. He starts by inviting lamas, usually of the Red Sect, to indicate the place propitious for the cremation. The incineration of a corpse in the wrong place might seal the fate of a whole family, for, according to the philosophy of the Monguors, the soil belongs to the god of the village, who has to be recognized, and from whom a piece of land must be bought in order to enact this rite peacefully. On a place chosen by the staff-spirit of the lama, the lama spreads a brand new felt, upon which he stretches a piece of red cotton eight feet long. Then, squatting on the felt, he offers incense and throws blessed spelt, reciting texts, ringing bells, and beating the drum. In the meantime, the attendants throw copper coins one after another on the felt. The spot is supposed to be bought, the bargain concluded, and paid for on the nail. The lama arises and announces ceremoniously that the god approves the transaction and will protect the family, averting from them any harm on account of the cremation. He fixes four arrows at the four corner of the spot to indicate its limits, and enjoins the attendants to start the building of an oven.

Lamas of the Yellow Sect, more ritualistic than those of the Red Sect, indulge in designing mandalas for which each of them advances his own peculiar explanation.

Monguors never build an oven without having recognized the god-owner of the spot, but many Monguors prefer to invite a Taoist priest or a Chinese geomancer to perform the rite, which is enacted in nearly the same way by them.[32]

Then the master of ceremonies determines, with a lama of the Red Sect, the day propitious for the cremation. He invites Red or Yellow lamas to come to say prayers, together with the Living Buddha who will perform the cremation and will arrive the evening before the ceremony. The rite is performed usually on the seventh day after the death, very rarely on the twenty-first or the forty-ninth day. The master of ceremonies, at the time he invites the lamas, offers a gift to the lamasery in order that the community of lamas will say the prayers intended to lead the soul straight to paradise, and to help it avoid all kinds of troubles and vampires on this journey.

According to old Monguors, the most important duty [604]
of a master of ceremonies is to go himself to invite the maternal uncle in order to determine with him, in private, the amount of alms to be given to the lamas, and in order to know beforehand at what point he will lower

[32] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130; Kervyn, *op. cit.*, 212.

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his fantastic claims on the day of the funeral. The discussion finished, the traditional cup of wine is poured. 764 [604]

The married daughters with their husbands, if they were not present at the death of the father, arrive as soon as possible with the traditional offering of seven big rolls, each one foot in diameter (which must be burned before the deceased), a sheep, paper and incense sticks, and two strings of copper cash. The offerings are not the same in all villages and poor people present smaller rolls and a hen.

GUESTS AND THE MATERNAL UNCLE

The day before the cremation, all the relatives and friends arrive with the traditional twelve steamed rolls and two-hundred copper coins; they prostrate themselves three times, burning paper and incense sticks before the coffin, called the "sedan chair." All await the arrival of the maternal uncle, who goes directly to prostrate himself and burn paper before the coffin, while the women start with the lamentations. The same rite is observed by the Chinese.[28] Some women have a real knack of touching the deepest feelings of those assembled. Many times I listened to these real masterpieces of elegies: "Father, why did you leave us? We love you so much. Father, Father, did we offend you? Forgive us, we love you so much. Mother cries day and night; she does not eat any more. She loves you so much. Father, come back, for mother's sake, lest she die. Father, who will care for us now, care for mother, and for baby brother, etc., we miss you so much. Who will sow the fields and tend the animals, we do not know all these things. Father, why did you leave us? How will we live any more, you were so good to us when we were sick, etc." All these apostrophes were mixed with tears and heavy sighing. Certainly the origin of the elegiac style is to be sought in similar circumstances. 764 604

In the presence of the whole assembly, the pretended discussion concerning the alms begins between the maternal uncle and the master of ceremonies. Assurance is given of the love of the family for the deceased, and of the care taken of him during his sickness. Finally permission is given for the cremation. Wine is poured, and the whole family kneels and thanks the maternal uncle. The master of ceremonies offers him, as keepsake and remembrance, a nice piece of woolen felt, some of the best clothes of the deceased, and some pieces of his jewelry. However, the maternal uncle must by custom refuse the gifts. The maternal uncle goes, followed by the whole assembly, to prostrate himself before the corpse. The dinner follows, in the open courtyard, after which the whole group prays Om Mani.

Every evening at dusk, beginning on the day of the death, the villagers, with their children, come to say 764

[28] Johannes Ternay, Familienjustiz in Trauerhaus, Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz, *Folklore Studies*, Catholic University of Peking, 1: 103 *sqq.*, 1952.

[p. 144(B)]

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Om Mani. The rite may last for two or three hours, 764
during which time two servings of tea are drunk. After the rite is finished, noodles are offered to the assembly. It is really edifying to see the courtyard crowded with people, kneeling and squatting close together, and to hear them repeat in unison, slowly and with devotion, after the cavernous voice of the lama, innumerable monotone Om Manis. One feels at that time that the Monguors are a religious people.

The custom of gathering at night to pray for the deceased seems to have been practiced by nomads long before Lamaism was born. Parker, dealing with the funeral rites of the Hsien-pi as translated from the Chinese annals notes: "On the day of the funeral the relatives and the intimates assemble at night time and sit in a circle; two men pronounce an incantation so that [775] the soul may pass unmolested by the Ghouls to the red mountains." This fact is noted as having existed before our era, two thousand years ago. It is interesting to encounter at the same time of night a similar religious rite for the same purpose among the Monguors, who were formerly nomads. It is said by them that they are very fond of the rite.[34]

CREMATION [35]

During the six days preceding the cremation, three lamas (rich people invite five or seven) pray for the dead in a private room. On the sixth day a minor Living Buddha arrives with a couple of lama assistants. At night, after the departure of the guests, the lamas drive out the souls of the dead in the usual way, and throw the nefarious *torma* on a crossroad; the neighbors cry and shoot rifles. In the very early morning, the lamas pray before the corpse, beating drums and ringing bells, so that the awakened neighbors soon arrive. Tea is drunk, lamentations are made, and the sedan chair is carried at a fast pace to the place of cremation. It is not permitted to rest on the way, or to put down the sedan chair, lest the spirit of that spot be injured. At the moment of departure, the lamas adjure the souls not to come back.

Only among a few groups of Monguors are women, the daughters of the deceased, allowed to follow the [184 562 431] cortege lamenting, supported and steadied by other women. Arriving at the spot they are invited to go back home; they receive a piece of cloth, a pair of trousers, and a gown in order to return easily. On a spot indicated by a Red lama or a Taoist priest the neighbors have built, the day before, a rudimentary oven which has an opening on each of the four sides. The master of ceremonies for the last time adjures the dead not to come back or to harm the family. The corpse is put in a caldron in the oven. The wood of the sedan chair, broken into pieces, is put in the oven. A lama strikes fire with a flint and lights the oven. Twenty

[34] Parker, *op. cit.*, 86.
[35] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 42. [p. 145 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

pounds of butter boil in another caldron. The Living 764
Buddha, in full attire with the mitre of the five Dyhana [792]
Buddhas on his head, squats on a felt in front of a table, with dishes containing spelt, rice, spices, and holy water. He recites the prayers, with a curtain between him and the oven, lest the sight of the burning corpse might desecrate his eyes. He orders a lama to throw the blessed spelt and spices on the burning corpse and puts some butter into a small ladle held by the lama, who pours it on the corpse.

When the rite is finished the group prostrates itself 764
and cries to the smoking corpse for the last time, "Do 768
not harm the family," and returns. All of them jump over a fire built before the courtyard, wash their hands, and rub them over a long knife used to cut straw. Noodles without meat are prepared for all of them, and they say five-hundred Om Manis. The lama receives his alms (always in an odd number) and returns to the monastery. The horse of the deceased father or the valuable headdress of the deceased mother will be brought to the monastery with a couple of pieces of best clothes to be sold by the lamas, and to have prayers said according to the value of the sale of the items.[30] The clothes carried by the horse are to be put on the saddle with the collar and arms on the left side; a horse is mounted on the right side.

In the meantime, the sons and sons-in-law have 764
tended the oven and closed the four openings. After 765
three days the members of the family and relatives open the oven, pick out the bones with chopsticks and put them into the small coffin prepared for this. The remaining fragments of bones and ashes are gathered up in the skirts of the gown and scattered on the mountain. It is said that sheep are very fond of such bones. The cremation must not be performed in cultivated areas, it has to be done in deep valleys or lonely spots. Every [784]
year after the shamanist springtime feast, this prohibition is expressly announced. The sons and sons-in-law bury the small coffin in their fields or near the oven, and make a small tumulus. While the sons are kneeling before the tumulus, the sons-in-law and married and unmarried daughters bring some earth a couple of times in the skirts of their gowns, and spread it on top of the tumulus. Paper is burned, a lamp made of dough is lit, libations and prostrations are made and lamentations are uttered. The coffin will be dug up again the following April, on the feast of the worship of the ancestors buried in the family cemetery, and the name of the deceased will be noted on the genealogical register (see Part I: 71). After the tumulus rite is performed

[30] A similar custom is encountered among the Mongols: Serruys, *op. cit.*, 137. The barbarians (i.e., the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600) invited lamas to recite prayers for the dead for seven days. They gave to the lamas in remuneration the best horse, which the deceased loved most; his best clothes and his coat of armor, and all the oxen and horses which the family received from friends and relatives as mourning gifts. See also Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126, and Kervyn, *op. cit.*, 112.

[p. 145 (B)]

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the great mourning period is over, and the whole group prostrates itself and thanks the master of ceremonies, who will receive twelve rolls. 764 765

The incineration ceremonies for poor people are obviously less elaborate. The maternal uncle is invited, a Red lama prays for one day, drives away the souls of the deceased, and receives five-hundred copper coins and some rolls. The people themselves perform the incineration, bury the small coffin, and build the tumulus. [604 792]

MOURNING CUSTOMS

The Monguors today still call the mourning period the "black period." A son born after the death of his father is still called a "black son." The old custom of wearing black during the mourning period is still noticeable in the clothes worn by men and women, as will be noted. 765

It is interesting how the use of black as a mourning color has been so widespread in Central Asia among the nomads, even before our era, although in China white was the mourning color from the earliest times. During the Chou dynasty (1122–202 B.C.), while the family dressed in white mourning clothes, the inside of the coffin had to be upholstered with black silk.[37] In 626 B.C. black was already the mourning color for the barbarians living in north China.[38] The Scythians (Yüeh chih) in Samarkand, in A.D. 634, wore black clothes at the time of mourning.[39] In Tibet the head of the king was enveloped with a black turban in the coffin in order to preserve him against evil spirits.[40] The Liao officials (907–1125) blackened the bright parts of their hats for a few days in mourning for the deceased emperor.[41] The maternal uncle of Emperor K'ang hsi died in Wu-lan-pu-tung during the campaign against Galdan in 1695. His ashes were carried to Peking in a small coffin, put in a sedan chair upholstered with black satin, and in Peking the coffin was placed under a canopy of black satin.[42] Black is still the mourning color of the Mongols of the Ordos.[43] 765 171

The Monguors practice the great and small mourning. The great mourning consists of men wearing their coats inside out, not buttoned or fastened, girdling the waist with a hemp rope, and undoing their plaited hair and binding it on the neck with a small hemp rope. The women turn their skirts inside out and do not wear the traditional elaborate headdress. The members of the family of a lower generation than the deceased wear the mourning dress. The relatives, sons-in-law, their wives and children, members of a higher generation, do not 765

[37] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 184.

[38] Couvreur, *Tso Chuan* 1: 431. Zottoli, *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae* 4: 39.

[39] Wieger, *op. cit.*, 1569.

[40] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 191.

[41] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 283.

[42] De Mailla, *Histoire de la Chine* 4: 147, Paris, Clousier, 1778.

[43] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130. [p. 146(A)]

wear the mourning dress for members of a lower generation, nor the husband for his wife, and *vice versa*. 765

The great mourning begins at the moment of death and ends after the burying of the small coffin. During these days, it is not permitted to wash face and hands, comb the hair, shave, or leave the courtyard.

It is noteworthy that the Koryaks in Siberia put the clothes on the deceased inside out,[44] and so do the Tibetans.[45] The T'u-yü-hun had a funeral procession when burying the dead, but mourning clothes were removed when the ceremony was over.[46]

After the great mourning, the small mourning starts. Men remove the red fringes from the ceremonial hat. They change the more elaborate girdle for a simple black one, and the embroidered tobacco pouch for an unadorned black one. Women do not wear new clothes; they put aside red and green vestments, using black or dark blue garments instead. However, the piece of blue cloth which covers their headdress is changed to a white one; the red fringes on the headdress are removed and strips of black cloth take their place. Ear and finger rings and all jewelry are prohibited. They are forbidden to attend any festivities, to enter temples or monasteries.

Monguors, mourning their grandparents, wear the mourning dress for a year—in some places, however, only for one-hundred days. Brothers mourn their elder brother only forty-nine days. At that time a lama is invited to say some prayers for one or three days. The entire family goes to the tumulus to burn paper and incense sticks, to offer rolls and a leg of mutton, and to make libations, and prostrate themselves. The women lament, and the small mourning period is over.[47]

It is said that in former times all the Monguors had to follow the mourning rite for one-hundred days upon the death of their T'u-ssu or his lady. At present only the officials of the T'u-ssu observe this rite.[48] [622]

OMINOUS DEATHS AND THE ABODES OF EVIL SPIRITS

WOMEN WHO DIE IN CHILDBIRTH

A woman who dies in childbirth is said to be drowned in a lake of blood. It is a very bad omen for the family. Even a person dying in the courtyard during childbirth is seriously feared after death, and the souls have to be driven away more elaborately. A lama of the Red Sect is invited, and quite often a shaman, because they are more proficient in magic. The 766

[44] Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, *op. cit.*, 3: 421.

[45] David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens au Tibet*, *op. cit.*, 130.

[46] Parker, *op. cit.*, 109.

[47] Serruys, Pei-lou-fong-sou, *Monumenta Serica*, 10: 295, 1945. Among the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600, the mourning period lasted only for seven days. It consisted for the women in not wearing the headdress called Ku-Ku; for the men in removing the button from the hat.

[48] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130–131, notes the elaborate mourning rites and prescriptions at present still used by the Mongols of the Ordos.

[p 146(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

lama says special prayers, drives away the ominous 766
souls, makes *tormas* and a straw manikin, which is pierced with daggers, set on fire, and pulled burning out of the courtyard. The cremation is performed without ceremonies, the woman is carried away in the sedan-chair through a hole pierced in the wall of the courtyard, and the bones are buried in the abode of the evil spirits. The maternal uncle attends the rite; there is no dinner and no Om Mani prayers are said at night. The Mongols of the Ordos do not permit the deceased to be carried through the gate of the courtyard.[49] Neither do the nomads of Siberia.[50]

However, the Monguors prefer to invite at such times a Taoist priest, because his rite seems more efficient. He plants a post in the courtyard on top of which is the flag of the souls, *Hun-fan*. A rope leading from the top of the post is attached to the sedan chair in which the deceased woman has been placed in a squatting position. A rooster's head is cut off, and its blood gathered in a pot. The praying Taoist throws into the blood 360 coins, one after another, which the kneeling husband collects, one after another, each time calling the name of his wife. When the rite is finished the souls are supposed to be saved from the blood lake. Then follows the driving away of the souls, the carrying through the wall, the cremation performed by themselves and the burying of the bones in the abode of the wicked people.

SUICIDES

In Part I: 91 sqq., of this study the difficulties of obtaining permission for the incineration of a person who committed suicide have been described. After the permission has been obtained the shaman drives away the souls and the deceased is carried in the sedan-chair to the crematory. The collected bones are never buried in the family cemetery, but in the abode for ominous people, because it is said that these souls would harm the dead of the family buried next to them, and incite them to help wreak their vengeance.

In such ominous places are buried the bones of unmarried youngsters and adults who hated their family, thieves, murderers, persons who died from plague, people blind in both eyes, lame in both legs, deaf mutes. Every village has one or two places reputed to be the abode of evil spirits. They are situated outside the village and after sunset nobody dares to pass through such places. The souls of young women who suffered maltreatment from mothers or sisters-in-law gather in these places to wait for an opportunity to pay off an old grudge; souls of people who suffered injustices wait there to wreak vengeance.

Usually the shaman—very very seldom a Red lama—is invited to drive away and chastise these evil doers.

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[49] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, *op. cit.*, 129.

[50] Nioradze, *Der Schamanismus bei den Siberischen Völkern*, 25.

[p. 147 (A)]

Several times a year youngsters go with the shaman 766
to this place at night, and offer a goat to these dangerous souls, propitiating them in order that they may be peaceful. Often on a dark night youngsters with burning torches and whips go to these places. They throw down the head of a goat, and after making noises, throw away their torches and, in deep silence, run home swiftly along another way, in order to avoid being pursued by the souls, and to cheat them. This happens when a member of the family or an animal is taken ill and the possibility exists that the ailment is caused by such souls.

Black shamans, when board or lodging is refused [754]
them, blow their horn made from a human thigh bone in the direction of these places, calling up all these souls and spirits and ordering them to harm the village. The Monguors are scared to death of such vengeance, especially the vengeance of a young woman who has committed suicide. It is said that the souls of such women are not at peace until they have induced another woman to commit suicide. It is also said that souls of teenagers, for whom prayers have not been said, incite women to commit suicide.

If a suicide occurs, the chief of the village, on behalf of the whole village, invites the shaman, or often three of them, to prevent these additional calamities. For seven days the shamans go at night to the sinister cemetery and dwell there until the morning, beating drums and dancing. They call up these evil souls, talk with them the whole night, flatter, cajole, and comfort them, trying to pursuade them to change their avenging minds, and to exchange their ill dispositions for good ones. They snap their whips, and manipulate their knives to frighten them, and finally give them a goat every night, that they may have a good meal and a good time. When the meal is supposed to be finished, the shamans send the spirits back and return to the village.

This custom reveals a thoroughly shamanistic frame of mind, which fears the souls of the dead and imputes to the dead most of the mischiefs and misfortunes which overcome the family; only the shaman can master these foes of the Monguor society.

BURYING OF THE DEAD

More and more, the Monguors are adopting the cus- 764
tom of burying their deceased instead of cremating them. When the maternal uncle arrives, the deceased [604]
has already been put into a Chinese coffin. Before dying, the sick are washed, shaved, and dressed. Men wear an odd number of garments: three pairs of trousers, socks, three gowns, coats, even furs; women wear two sets, and always the traditional skirt of the Monguors which they never wore, but despised during their whole life, for it is said to be impossible to meet the ancestors without the traditional skirt. Some tea and butter are still put in the mouth (a souvenir of their nomadic origin) along with a "pill of longevity," silver,

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and jade. A pillow is placed under the head, which is 764
covered with a sheet of white paper and a piece of black cloth. The black cloth is a souvenir of former times, because the Chinese use a piece of red cloth.

A Taoist priest fixes the day for the burial. The master of ceremonies invites the maternal uncle (with [604]
the same discussion as at the incineration ceremonies). Finally, permission is granted for the burial, and the sons and grandsons of the deceased kneel before the maternal uncle, presenting the hammer and the wedges to fasten the cover of the coffin. The maternal uncle fastens one wedge, and allows the others to finish the job. Some among them still practice the Om Mani rite at night. The offering of the members of the family are still the Monguor offerings, as well as the lamentations. The next day the men follow the coffin on foot to the cemetery, and the women, crying and lamenting, sit on carts. On the third day there follows the ceremony of building the tumulus according to the Monguor custom.

It is not unusual that, at the request of the maternal uncle, some lamas are invited to say prayers at the same time with the Taoist priests. In that case, the lamas say their prayers in a private room next to that of the Taoist priests, since neither cares for the other.

CONFUCIANIST BURIAL OF MONGUORS

Some, among the rich and more educated Monguors, 765
follow the Confucianist rite of putting the coffin in the 766
courtyard with a red curtain hanging before it. The members of the family kneel before the coffin and a Chinese literatus, wearing a large red satin scarf on his shoulders, makes the sons kneel in the first row. While the musicians play a soft funeral tune, he reads the panegyric for the deceased whom he proposes as a model for the sons. He then places the panegyric before the coffin; next he goes to the row of daughters and then the row of grandchildren, and each time a new piece is read and deposited before the coffin.

The whole group then follows him in a silent procession to the kitchen, where each takes a cup of noodles and deposits it before the coffin, bowing and prostrating. He leads the whole group in procession behind the curtain. The literatus invites the deceased to take his meal. The whole group coughs one delicate cough, and disappears, tiptoeing into the room, in order not to disturb the deceased while dining. The literatus burns the panegyrics and retires.

The literatus, with some Taoist priests, goes to the nearest temple. Men follow him on foot while women sit on the carts and lament. He enters the temple with the priests only, reads a new panegyric, and makes the announcement of the death to the spirit and bows; then the group returns. It is amazing to see how these rude Monguors can behave with courtesy, like people "to the manner born," and how much they like the rite. Burial follows the next day.

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INCINERATION OF LAMAS

Lamas of the Yellow Sect are cremated after death. Often lamas of the Red Sect invite those of the Yellow Sect to perform the rite for them, but seldom do lamas of the Yellow Sect invite those of the Red Sect for the same purpose. Lamas are lowered into the crematory oven, while laymen are put into the oven through one of its side openings. Their bones are collected on the third day and spread on the mountain. The bones of the minor Living Buddhas are collected after incineration and put in a *chorten* built for this purpose. The corpses of the Hutukhtus usually are not cremated but are placed in salt, in a squatting, crosslegged position. The dried mummy decked out in its best clothes and a mitre with the five Dhyana Buddha images is enclosed in a chorten. But if they are incinerated, their bones and ashes are pounded and enclosed in a small silver chorten exposed in the temple.

At the death of the Lu chia Living Buddha, the Fa t'ai of the monastery of T'ien T'ang was invited to perform the cremation rites. For forty-nine days prayers were said at the lamasery. The tribes subject to the lamasery offered alms, and a delegation of each tribe attended the dinner. The intendancy sent alms to nine of the most important monasteries in order to have them say prayers and to entertain their communities. For forty-nine days the lamas of the lamasery of the deceased living Buddha were not allowed to ride a horse or to leave the monastery.

FUNERAL OF THE SHAMANS

Shamans are always buried in their own fields, in Chinese coffins. The shaman is dressed in his best ceremonial costume, gown, long flowery coat, and the crown of the Wu-tao-shen on his head. His drum, sword, dagger, whip, and staff are put into the coffin and buried with him. Chinese inscriptions with cabalistic signs are pasted on the coffin.

The shamans come from all over the country to perform their rites, along with all the apprentices who studied their art with the deceased. On the first day his courtyard is cleaned, paper flags are hung, and Chinese inscriptions with cabalistic designs are pasted on the doors. At night, in a group, they recite Chinese texts for a long time, using a written book of their own; they beat drums and dance around the coffin, which has been placed in the courtyard. On the second day five tables are superimposed one above the other the chief shaman, in full attire, climbs on the uppermost table and dances on it, in time with the beating of the drums. He swings two paper flags held in his hands, while the other shamans perform the most wild evolutions around the coffin. At night hundreds of lamps are lit in the courtyard and the shamans beat drums, dance, and recite texts.

In the early morning of the third day the coffin is

carried to the burying spot by the shamans, running at 766
a fast pace. Paper is burned with the flags and inscriptions, while the shamans prostrate themselves holding incense sticks in their joined hands. After the pit has been filled, each shaman carries three buckets of water and pours them on it. Then they build the small tumulus and return home, running without looking back at the tomb. They have a breakfast of noodles, without meat. All together they make a terrifying noise and drive the evil spirits out of the home. Except for the members of their own families and relatives, no other people attend the burial, because they are afraid of the magicians.

XIV. CULT OF HEAVEN

THE MEANING OF THE FORMULA "HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS"

Several times in the present study there has been 788
noted the stereotype formula, "Heaven and all the 772
spirits," used during the performance of religious rites. Monguors in their own language are accustomed to saying *"Tiengere uluon purgan"* meaning "Heaven and all the spirits," and even *"Sge Tiengere uluon purgan,"* that is "Great Heaven and all the spirits."

Because "Heaven" is always invoked in conjunction 772
with "all the spirits," it seems obvious that Heaven is 776
considered by them to be a being, belonging in the category of the living spirits, and that it is not supposed to be the material sky.[1]

At present, the Monguors call all the spirits Tengri or 776
purgan.[2] The shamans serve their Twelve Tengris and many families honor the Twelve Tengri as the family protectors. The Obo spirit, the earth goddess, Lung wang the dragon king, Wu tao, the goddess of children, are all called Purgan and Tengri. However, when speaking about a definite spirit, they call it by its proper name. The Obo spirit is called Yifula, the goddess of the earth, Etogen, the god of the rain, Lung

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[1] Professor N. Poppe, in reviewing W. Schmidt's *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Bd.* X in *Anthropos,* **48**: 328, 1953, notes: "Should tengri be understood as Heaven or God. . . . I think this question can be answered in favour of the word God." He adds: "No matter what the exact meaning was in the usage of the pagan Mongols of the 13th and 14th centuries," its equivalent in the official translation into the languages spoken by Christian peoples was "Deus" or "God." Schmidt, in reviewing N. Pallisen's *Die alte Religion des Mongolischen Volkes wahrend der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden* in *Anthropos* **48**: 623, 1953, notes: "Pallisen stellt fest, dass zunächst Gotthimmel als Eigenname bedeutete, dann aber zum Gattungnamen Gott wurde. . . . Zuverlässige Nachrichten über Himmel als Schöpfer in der Religion der Mongolen des 12 und 13 jhdt. liegen night vor." (The word *Purgan,* it should be noted, is the Monguor form of the word more familiar in its standard Mongol form, *Burkhan.*)

[2] Concerning the word Purgan, see Francis Woodman Cleaves, The Bodistw-a Cari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur of 1312 by Cosgi Odsir, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* **17**: 91, note 29; and 100, note 118, 1954. [p. 149(A)]

wang, the god who protects against hail, Wu tao. Al- 776
though they are accustomed to saying that all the spirits are Tengri and Purgan, they seem to prefer to use the term Tengri. *Purgan* seems to be a relatively recent term, introduced after Lamaism had been spread among them, for they seem to prefer "Purgan" when speaking about gods of Lamaism. However, they always say that *"uluon purgan"* means all the spirits, and not only the Lamaist deities.

Because in the formula *"Tiengere,"* often *"Sge Tiengere,"* "Heaven," "Great Heaven" are always used first, it is obvious that the "spirit of Heaven" seems to be prominent among the spirits in the mind of the Monguors. This prominence of Heaven is shown by the Monguors in a very conspicuous way at the time when a sheep is offered to the guardian spirit of the family, by the fact that, first of all, a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown toward Heaven in the courtyard, with the cry, "Heaven." Then a second piece is cut and thrown in the courtyard with the cry, "All the spirits," and finally the sheep is offered to the guardian deity. It is shown also at the time of the offering of a sheep to the Obo spirit on top of the mountain, when three ladles of broth are thrown in the air—first, for "Heaven," and then, consecutively, three ladles to each [823]
of the four points of the compass for all the spirits, *"Uluon purgan."*

However, is it permitted, on account of this striking 771/
prominence, to jump to the conclusion that the "spirit 776
of Heaven," or "Great Heaven" is a monotheos, and that the Monguors of 1910–1920 were monotheists? Monotheists are considered as worshipping but one God. People who worship and offer sacrifices to Heaven and all the spirits are consequently considered polytheists, no matter how prominent the "spirit of Heaven" may be.

Does this formula justify the conclusion that the "spirit of Heaven" is the chief of all the spirits, whom they all have to obey; that the "spirit of Heaven" alone administers the departments both blessings and punishments, and that the "spirit of Heaven" is omnipotent?[3]

When I asked the Monguors about the abode of the 772
spirits, they always pondered for a few moments, as if they did not understand the meaning of my question, and then they answered: "Of course the spirits are everywhere." Indeed it seemed obvious, in view of my European frame of mind, to interpret the expression, "Heaven and all the spirits" as meaning that all the spirits enjoyed happiness together in Heaven with their supreme chief, the great spirit of Heaven. However, the Monguors assured me that the spirits are independent of one another, and independent of the spirit called Heaven; that each of them administers its own department, and that they all know the intimate feelings and behavior of the people toward them and bless or punish accordingly. Therefore, the Monguors are afraid to [782]
offend any of them and propitiate the spirit they are

[3] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217. [p. 149 (B)]

supposed to have offended. It is for that reason that 772
during the rite of spring all the spirits are invited by 772
the shamans to come down along the rope to be honored by the villagers so that all of them may extend their protection.

In the Halachih Valley, among subjects of the Lu 776
T'u-ssu, I encountered the following case. At the time 428
of division of a parental inheritance, a son considered that the decision made by the elders of the village was unjust toward him, and at the very moment when he should have appended his signature, he ran into the courtyard, pencil in hand, crying toward the sky: "Twelve Tengris, protectors of our family, you know that the division is unjust, that I am compelled to apply my signature." Then he entered the room and signed. In such circumstances the ultimate recourse of every Chinese would inevitably be to invoke "Old Father Heaven" and never another spirit.

Carpenters, building a temple in Sumdoo, having 776
had trouble with the chief of the tribe, proposed to go 466
to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to take the oath before the statue of Buddha. The chief answered, "No need to go so far, take the oath here, Buddha is everywhere; he will know it."

The belief that all the spirits are everywhere, know 776
all things, bless and punish independently, and that they are just and equitable, is deeply ingrained in the minds of the Monguors of today. It is easy to understand that in a society in which each department is administered by a particular spirit, independent and omnipotent in its sphere, little room is left for the activities of the "spirit of Heaven"; that finally "Heaven," the "Great Heaven," occupies a role of honorary dimensions and nominal importance, and the characteristics and activities of the "spirit of Heaven" among the Monguors are hard to define.

Can "Heaven," which is unable to control the good spirits, control the evil spirits? According to the Monguors, no spirit can control the department of its neighbor, and so in case of interference of evil spirits, magical devices are contrived in order to drive away and combat the evildoers and make them harmless. The good spirits, however, are invited to participate in the struggle against them. When the spirits of hail threaten the village with devastation, magic devices are used by the shamans, and the spirit protectors of the village are carried to the battlefield, and Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" are invoked. If they are unable to match their opponents, they abandon the struggle, rushing with their carriers through rivers and precipices. Good spirits can lend a hand in the struggle, but they may lose the battle and—so much for "Heaven and all the spirits." Facts speak for themselves.

Is not this fierce struggle between good and evil 771
spirits, between representatives of two opposite worlds, reminiscent of Manichaeism, fervently practiced by Turkic peoples in Central Asia during the last centuries of the first millennium? [p. 150(A)]

Does the joke played during the spring feasts be- 771
tween the shamans, concerning the making of men and women by the good Tengris, and the storm caused by the nefarious Erlik in order to disturb the good actions of Tengris, not warrant also the same assumption? Or is the struggle between two opposite powers a specific characteristic of shamanism? If so, it is no wonder that shamanism was a field well prepared for the planting of Manichaeism, with its dualistic principle of light and darkness, whose powers were engaged in an endless struggle.

BEHAVIOR OF THE MONGUORS TOWARDS HEAVEN

The whole day long the Monguors, like their neigh- 772
bors the Chinese, use the word "Heaven" in their conversation. They use the Chinese expressions: "Heaven knows it," "Heaven sees all things," "It is impossible to cheat Heaven," "Heaven punishes him," "Heaven rejects him," "Heaven does not bless him," "Heaven determines destiny," "It was decided by Heaven"; even a child born out of wedlock or by a girl married with the pole, is called "born by Heaven."

One can easily be impressed by this fact and induced, 772
at first glance, to believe that the Monguors are very 788
dutiful toward Heaven, and harbor convictions that they 776
depend entirely on Heaven; that they trust in Heaven alone in all circumstances of life, and that Heaven is considered the omnipotent, omniscient, equitable regulator of the universe and its inhabitants. However, when a happy event is announced they clap their hands, and with a gleam in their eyes happily say, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when bad news is broken they say pitifully and sorrowfully, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when they are suffering with pain, or when a calamity is imminent, they will sigh imploringly, crying, "Om Mani, Om Mani . . . help us!" The first cry of the heart is never a cry toward "Heaven" but the Om Mani to Buddha, for everybody knows that Buddha, who knows all things, is the personification of benevolence, always willing to help.

What is the factual position of Heaven in the fabric 772
of the daily life of the Monguors? After the first surge 776
of emotion and the cry to the benevolent Buddha, the "practical" Monguors start reasoning about the causes of the mischief. Because their world is crowded with mischievous spirits, they try to detect the mischief-maker, or to determine whom among the spirits they have injured. When a member of the family is smitten [753]
with a severe disease, they suspect that they have offended the god who is the proprietor of the soil of their courtyard, the god of the hearth, the guardian deity of the family, or that they are the victims of the pranks of some evil spirit or of roaming souls which they had neglected to feed. Epizootics and epidemics, are supposed to be sent by the offended god who is the proprietor of the village or of the Obo. Lack of success

[p. 150 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

in business is ascribed to the spirit who is the guardian 772
of the wealth of some family, offended by the injustices 776
perpetrated by the unsuccessful businessman. When drought imperils the crops, they implore and propitiate the dragon god who cares for rain. They never envisage calamities or troubles as being a punishment of Heaven, and never try to propitiate Heaven, but they make recourse to the god who is supposed to administer the department in question, and try to conciliate him by inviting shamans or lamas. At that time Heaven and Buddha are overlooked. Exceptionally devout Buddhists will once in a while ascribe misfortunes to punishments sent by Buddha and invite lamas to pray for some days. However, such an act of religion is "never performed for Heaven."

PRAYERS AND OFFERINGS FOR HEAVEN

I have notice of only one occasion of a thanksgiving 776
rite for the reaped harvest of the year, performed by 776
the entire village. It is led by the chief and elders of the community, and an offering of a sheep or a pig is made on that occasion. The prayer is said and the offer made for "Old Father Heaven" alone, the stereotyped "all the spirits" being omitted.

This fact seems to be controversial because every family, giving thanks for the reaped harvest privately, makes its offering and says its prayers to "Heaven and all the spirits," and not according to the thanksgiving rite of the Chinese performed in the country for Heaven alone. The rite is the more controversial because, except in this case, offerings are never made, or prayers said by the Monguors, to Heaven alone. This exceptional rite appears to have been borrowed from the [177]
Chinese at the time when the Monguors in Hsining exchanged their pastoralism for an agricultural economy.

The fact that the rite of the sacred animal still per- 776
sists among the Monguors (see above, pp. 105, 118), 782
may be evidence that the rite after the reaping of the harvest, directed to Heaven alone, was borrowed by the Monguors from the Chinese in Hsining. The rite of the sacred animal, which is characteristic of nomads, is both for the purpose of securing for the herds the blessings of fecundity and, at the same time, a rite of the first fruits, since it comes in the spring after the nomad "harvest" of lambs (see above, p. 118). It thus corresponds to the agricultural rite after the autumn harvest, when the crops have been carried to the threshing floor. The rite of the sacred animal is performed by the Monguor community at the lunar New Year (usually in February). It is in honor of the guardian deity of the village, and is performed within the temple of the village and also in the living room of each family, before the altar of the guardian spirit of the family and in its honor. This rite of thanksgiving for the newborn livestock is never devoted, by the Monguors, to Heaven, nor is it performed outdoors, on the tops of mountains;

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

and this is also true among the Mongols[4] and the 796
Buriats.[5] If, then, the rite of the sacred animal, which 782
is specifically and characteristically an ancient nomad rite, is never directed to Heaven, one would not expect the harvest rite, if it were simply a later substitute for the rite of the sacred animal, to be directed to Heaven; but since this rite, uniquely and exceptionally among the Monguors, is in fact directed to Heaven, there is strong reason to infer that the harvest rite of the Monguors is a borrowing of the identical harvest rite of the Chinese of the Hsining region.

In all other circumstances, the "spirit of Heaven" is 796
honored in conjunction with "all the spirits" by means of a single rite performed for them in a group, and by means of the same offering. At the morning Wei-sang, made by the head of the family, a cry is uttered, "Heaven and all the spirits" (some Monguors add the name of the guardian deity of the family), and three prostrations are made for all of them, while the offering burns. On New Year's eve, the chief and elders of the village, after lighting a big fire in the temple yard, prostrate themselves three times for the group "Heaven and all the spirits."

In every family, on New Year's eve, a big fire is lit and the same rite performed. During the celebration of a sixtieth birthday a fire is lit in the courtyard and the hero of the feast performs this same rite. The last rite, in order to be preserved from hail, is performed by all the villagers on top of the highest mountain of the village, where all the statues of the temple are carried and a big Wei-sang performed, and there the protection of "Heaven and all the spirits" is implored. At [585]
marriages, the new couple prostrate themselves before a big fire in the courtyard, for "Heaven and all the spirits" in keeping with the command of the master of ceremonies.[6]

Two exceptions are to be recalled, which have already 776
been noted, concerning the rite on the Obo and the offering of a sheep to the guardian deity of the family. On these occasions the "spirit of Heaven" receives its part of the offer first, followed immediately by an identical offering for "all the spirits."

These two facts and that of the thanksgiving rite in the temple, to be sure, give evidence for the prominence of "Heaven" and apparently manifest its honorary position among the Monguors. Surely they help the Monguors remember this honorary prominence every time the formula, "Heaven and all the spirits," is used.

It is noteworthy that Heaven and all the spirits are always honored in the open air, in courtyards, on top of a roof, or on top of a mountain, never inside a temple or a living room. In old China, "all the spirits" were

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[4] See above, p. 119; also Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 90.

[5] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 240.

[6] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kan-sou*, 71, Changhai, Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932. The same rite is recorded among the Mongols, by Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 74, and among the Buriats, *ibid.*, 301.

[p. 151(B)]

honored in the open air temples being built only for 776
souls of the deceased.[7] Among the Monguors, temples are built for all kinds of spirits. Heaven, however, has no temples.

The Monguors have no special offering for "Heaven." In former times, according to their traditions, horses were offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." At present the sheep is the usual offering. It is offered to all kinds of spirits and on all occasions. Rich people, or large villages, often offer a pig.

The most important event in a Monguor community 241
is the rite performed in spring, in order to obtain 796
blessings upon the community and the crops during the year. All possible spirits are invited into the temple along the rope, except the lama deities. The feast starts at night, with offerings, dances, and drum beating by the shamans for "Heaven and all the spirits"—but nobody attends this night rite, not even the chief or elders of the village! And during the two days that the rite lasts, not a single mention is made of "Heaven"!

The appointment of the new Tu-ssu is announced, not 622
to "Heaven and all the spirits," but to the ancestors and to the protector deity of the clan, with an elaborate ceremonial, and their blessings are implored upon the T'u-ssu and the clan. (See Part I: 46.)

At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages, the image of the guardian deity of the clan is reverently carried to the villages and honored for three days. However, not a single rite is performed for Heaven by the chief of the clan, not even at the yearly cult of the ancestor of the clan, when the entire clan is assembled. (Part I: 37, 64.)

No Monguor hopes his soul will ascend to Heaven 775
and enjoy happiness together with the great "spirit of 772
Heaven," in a place of joy and felicity. The Mongols have no notion of such a place belonging to the "great Heaven"; they only know the luxurious paradise of Buddha, where they are told they will enjoy happiness with Buddha during the period of time preceding a new rebirth, about which they seem to have very little interest.

All these facts seem to prove that at present the Mon- 776
guors are very remiss in the cult of their undefined and 171
vague "spirit of Heaven," who is without departments of activities, having no power over good and evil spirits, and no omnipotence. The "great Heaven" is not the so-called "Hochgott," but a spirit enjoying an honorary prominence.

In connection with this problem, it should be kept in mind that the habit of ascribing prominence to one among the spirits seems to be very old in Asia: "In Babylon and Assyria [3,000 years ago] the principal god of the city which happened to dominate the entire nation, became the supreme god of the realm."[8] "Al-

[7] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 202.

[8] Albert Condamin, S.J., *La religion des Babyloniens et des Assyriens*, 692, Jos. Huby, Christus Beauchesne, Paris, 1923.

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though Babylonians and Assyrians had a trend toward monotheism, they never fulfilled it. They always preserved their monarchic polytheism with a prominent god, chief of an army of innumerable gods."[9] In Persia, at the time of the Achaemenians (688–333 B.C.), Ahura Mazda received the highest worship instead of the god of Heaven, and was assumed to be preeminent among the other deities.[10] It is interesting to encounter today the same trend of mind among the Buriats.

> In general all Buriat groups have their own supreme deities, either special to themselves or shared with the rest of the Buriat world; with these deities they stand in a relationship of direct descent and they invoke the deities in time of need. The supreme ancestor of a given group may be one to whom that group attributes the descent of all Buriats.[11]

In concluding this section it is appropriate to remember that it is a fact that the true concept of a creation *ex nihilo* has not been found in any philosophical system or religion except the Biblical revelation; even the specific concept of the transcendency of God has not been expressed by any philosophical system or religion except Christianity.

In order to understand the psychology of the Monguors regarding the "spirit of Heaven," it seems advantageous to recall first what is known about the subject among the old Turkic Mongol tribes, ancestors of the Monguors; second, to recall the religious experiences through which these tribes passed at the hand of foreign religions diffused in their countries. It will be well also to consider the impact of Nestorianism, especially upon the Mongols upon whom the Monguors depended, and the effects of this impact in relation to the idea of the "spirit of Heaven."

CULT OF HEAVEN AMONG THE TURKIC–MONGOLS

It is common knowledge that the Turkic-Mongol[12] tribes of Central Asia, according to historical data, rec-

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[9] *Ibid.*, 698.

[10] Albert Carnoy, *La religion des Perses*, 306, Jos. Huby Christus, Paris, Beauchesne, 1923.

[11] Professor Lawrence Krader, Buriat Religion and Society, *Southwestern Jour. Anthropology* 10 (3): 339, 1954.

[12] René Grousset, *Empire Mongol, Ire phase*, 1–3, De Boddard, Paris, 1941. Only on linguistic grounds can we vindicate the existence of an Altaic group including Turks, Tungus, and Mongols. Only from the sixth century A.D. was the term "Turk" used for one of the proto-Turkic tribes. In the twelfth century appeared the term "Mongols" as generic name of the proto-Mongol tribes. Earlier, however, the Hsiungnu tribes (third century B.C to second century A.D.), and T'opa tribes (who occupied North China in the fifth and sixth centuries) spoke Turkic languages; the Hsienpi (second century), the Juan-Juan in Mongolia, the Hephthalites in Turkestan (fifth century), and the Ch'i-tan (who occupied North China 907–1125) spoke Mongol languages. The Hsiungnu Turks dominated Central Asia until the second century, A.D., the Hsienpi Mongols dominated East Mongolia in the second century A.D.; T'opa Turkic tribes succeeded in the struggle for domination

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ognized "Heaven" as enjoying a position of prominence among the gods and spirits they worshipped. Did this recognition, however, entail an intensive cult of "Heaven" among these Altaic tribes, or was this prominence only one of purely honorary dimension, as among the Monguors? A substantial answer to this question seems to be the synthesis encountered in the study by W. Schmidt concerning the subject among the Turkic-Mongol tribes. In an account from the "oldest available texts," he concludes his study about the Hiungnu (the oldest Turkic group) by saying, "We are still uncertain whether the being called 'Heaven' is, in the strict sense of the word, the 'Highest Being'; and finally, the position and relation of this being toward the other higher beings are not explained." [13]

Concerning the problem of the offerings he remarks, "The position of the other higher beings is more prominent than that of the being called 'Heaven'." [14] In the texts, the formula, "Heaven and deities" is used by the old Turks, and beside it there is also the formula, "Ancestors, Heaven and Earth, Spirits and Deities," and several times "Heaven" alone.[15] According to these texts, the religious notions of the old Hiungnu seem to have been at least as confused as those of the Monguors of today.

The conclusion of W. Schmidt about the religious notions concerning "Heaven" among the T'u-kiue (A.D. 551–800), another Turkic group, is that the texts fail to make clear that the being called "Heaven" by the T'u-kiue is the "highest being" in the strict sense of the word, but their content seems to hint at the fact that

in North China with the Hsienpi, while the Juan-Juan Mongols succeeded in settling in the Gobi region. During the sixth century the "Turks" dominated in Mongolia and west Turkestan; and in the eighth century the Uigur (Turks) and in the ninth the Kirgiz (Turks). From 924 on, Mongol and Turkic tribes struggled for the domination of Mongolia until the thirteenth century, when the Mongols triumphed under Chingis Khan. During all these centuries the conquerors agglomerated, collecting into their groups the defeated tribes. The empires of the steppe were composites. Pastoralism and nomadism more than identity of language held the tribes together. Hence the confusion and amalgamation in the field of religion, cult, and customs. (While the distinction between proto Turkic-Mongol tribes is often based on a few controversial linguistic data, authors do not always agree upon the classification of some tribes into one or another of the two groups; for instance the Hsienpi and Ch'i-tan. Among the She-wei a tribe called Meng-wu (seventh–ninth century) is noted, which would be the first mention of the name of the Mongols.)

[13] Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* 9: 20. "So dass wir auch noch in Ungewissen bleiben, ob das Himmels-wesen ein volles Höchstes Wesen ist. Schliesslich bleibt auch sein Erhaltnis zu den übrigen höheren Wesen ungeklärt."

[14] *Ibid.*, 19. "Das Opfer ist etwas reichlicher bezeugt, und hier treten auch die übrigen höheren Wesen mehr in den Vordergrund, sogar stärker als das Himmelswesen."

[15] *Ibid.*, 13. "Dass der Grosskhan das Opfer darbrachte 'seinen Ahnen, dem Himmel und der Erde, den Geistern und Göttern' . . . ! Er opferte den Himmel und den Göttern! . . ." B. 10: "das var vom Himmel verfügt . . . der Himmel hat dich geschickt. . . . Der Himmel erzürnte sich . . . wenn der Himmel nicht seine Pläne mit dem Hiung nu hatte. . . ."

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such a notion existed in their minds.[16] His conclusions relating to the religious notions concerning "Heaven" among the Uigurs (745) who overthrew the T'u-kiue realm and the majority of whom were converted to Manicheism, are: "Since we have only a few fragmentary facts about their old religion it is impossible to get a clear idea about it."[17] This interesting study by Schmidt affords all the data available concerning the cult of "Heaven" among the old Turkic groups, which seems to have been as confused in former times as today among the Monguors.

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It would be interesting to read the syntheses of Schmidt concerning the corresponding cult among the proto-Mongols. However, only a study concerning the Altai Tatars is provided, based on data collected by Russian ethnologists since the latter half of the eighteenth century, which reflects very confused notions existing at that time.[18]

However, in the *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)* Wittfogel and Feng provide the most instructive material concerning the tribal religion of the Ch'i-tan, tribes belonging to the Mongol stock, living just before the time of Chingis (1162–1227).

> Their pantheon includes gods of Heaven, Earth, and Sun, of the *Mu-yeh* and of the Black Mountains, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, the gods of war and of metal, personified deities, supernatural powers thought to be immanent in trees, mountains, etc., an endless legion of souls of the dead, spirits of the two tribal ancestors appealed to at the temple seats; the souls of the general populace, which were protected by the gods of the Black Mountain. No explicit descriptions are encountered of the thereafter, but the funeral offers seem to imply a life after death with definite pastoral and military features. Heaven and Earth were usually appealed to together. Friendly supernatural powers had to ward off the danger of the evil ones.[19]
>
> Solemn announcements were made to Heaven, Earth and the Sun, sometimes with the aid of fire, or from the top of a mountain. Twice a year the two tribal ancestors were officially honored by sacrifices of horses or oxen. Sacrifices of horses, oxen, sheep or geese were performed to win the favor of the gods, and on the tenth month were enacted for the spirits of all the dead.[20]
>
> Tribal priests or shamans exercised political and religious power, non-official Wu had become guardians of a subsidiary religion.[21]

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[16] Ibid., 39, "So fehlet also noch viel, dass das Himmelswesen der T'u-kiue Religion als ein wirkliches und volles Höchstes Wesen erscheine, aber die für uns jetzt nur schwach ansetzenden spärlichen Linien seiner Charakterisierung scheinen in ihrer Verlängerung all auf ein solches Wesen hinaus zu laufen."

[17] *Ibid.*, 40, "Bei dieser verwirrten Geschichte seines stark gemischten Volkes, das dann so bald schon eine ganz andere Religion annahm, wird es verständlich, dass wir von ihrer alten Religion nur spärliche und fragmentarische Nachrichten besitzen aus denen man unmöglich ein irgendwie klares Gesamtbild gewinnen kann."

[18] *Ibid.* 9: 71.

[19] K. A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, reprint from the *Review of Religion*, May, 1948: 351.

[20] *Ibid.*, 358.

[21] *Ibid.*, 359.

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IMPACT OF FOREIGN RELIGIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA

In dealing with these subjects, serious account must be taken of the diffusion of Buddhism. At the beginning of our era, in A.D. 148 the first translators of Buddhist scriptures arrived in Liang Chou from the oases of Turkistan, and Liang Chou became the center of Buddhist activities (Chapter II). Among the Turkic T'opa Wei people, Buddhism was diffused on a large scale. From 399 to 557 they occupied northern China and extended their power as far as the Altai. In 538, in their two provinces of Chih-li and Shan-tung alone, are recorded thirty thousand temples and two million adherents to Buddhism.[22] The Turkic-Mongol tribes, settling or living as nomads along the western frontier of China from Turkistan to Manchuria, must have come in contact with Buddhism and felt its impact in different ways. The Chi'tan (of Mongol origin) who occupied northern China (907–1125) and extended their power over Inner and Outer Mongolia, professed Buddhism to the extent that in 942 the number of monks and nuns in Chih-li and Shan-tung swelled to 50,000 and in 1078, 360,000 are mentioned.[23]

However, from the seventh century on, new religious notions were also diffused in Central Asia among the nomadic tribes. In 762 the Uigurs had embraced Manicheism, and Nestorians were very numerous among them. The Kereits, a Turkic tribe living on Lake Baikal, were converted to Nestorianism in 1007. They were defeated by Chingis Khan, and submitted to him. The Öngüts, tribes of Shat'o origin who aided Chingis against the Chin in 1201, were Nestorians.[24] Around the end of the eleventh century Nestorian missionaries had already reached the Tatars living near the country which today is called Manchuria, because at least two of their chiefs bore Christian names, "Mark" and "John."[25] During the tenth and eleventh centuries many nomadic tribes in Central Asia were converted to Mohammedanism, among them the Qara-Khanides in 960, the Seljukides before 1043, and other Turkic tribes in 960 and 1043.[26]

IMPACT OF NESTORIANISM AMONG THE MONGOLS

The impact of these events must have been felt among the peoples of Central Asia on a larger or smaller scale and in different ways. At any rate, Nestorianism af-

[22] James R. Ware, Wei-shou on Buddhism, *T'oung Pao* 30: 179, 1933. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, *op. cit.*, 1433.

[23] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 291–296. It was under the Liao dynasty that Buddhism spread to the vast eastern expanses of Inner Asia.

[24] K. S. Latourette, *A history of Christian missions in China*, 63, N. Y., Macmillan, 1929.

[25] B. Louis Hambis, Deux noms chrétiens chez les Tatar au XIme siecle, *Journal Asiatique*, 1953: 475.

[26] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

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fected the imperial family of the founder of the new 795
Mongol nation in a peculiar way.

Chingis, building his new nation, resorted to al- 175
liances with neighboring tribes. He married his fourth 648
son, Tului, to the niece of Toghrul Ong Khan, chief of 643
the powerful Nestorian Kereit tribe. The Nestorian princess bore four sons, among whom was Mönke, the fourth leader of the nation, Khubilai, who became emperor of China, and Hulagu, the ruler of Persia, who also married a Nestorian Kereit princess, the granddaughter of the same Toghrul. The latter had a chapel attached to his camp.

Chingis married his own daughter, Alagai Beki, to Po-yao-ho, the son of the chief of the Nestorian Öngüts, who helped him conquer the Chin. Chingis was so fond of his son-in-law that he made him follow him, with Kulan the well-known favorite, in his conquest of West Turkistan and Khwarezm. The relations between the Nestorian Öngüts and the imperial family were very close. Güyük, the second successor of Chingis and leader of the nation, married his daughter to the son of Po-yao-ho, who had a Christian chapel before his tent. The emperor Khubilai married his daughter to the other son of Po-yao-ho.

No wonder that many Nestorian Kereits and Öngüts 177
occupied important administrative posts in the new na- 797
tion. Chingis himself appointed the Christians Chinkhai 643
and Khadak, and all imperial orders had to bear the signature of Chinkhai. Two chief ministers of Güyük were Christians, as were also the physicians at court. The principal minister of Mönke was the Christian Bolgai. Protection enjoyed by the 30,000 Nestorians in China in the construction of churches and monasteries was due to the emperor, whose mother was a Nestorian and who gave his daughter to a Nestorian prince. Even so, the diffusion of Catholicism by the first missionaries was also made possible and even encouraged by him. The impact of Nestorianism upon the imperial family seems at first sight to have been unusual, but it was in fact merely a veneer overlying a shamanist underground, for soon after Chingis, the Mongol emperors practiced Lamaism to the extent that Peking became a Lamaist city.[27] O. Franke writes about the "Rabies Buddhica" of the Mongol emperors.[28]

Vladimirtsov writes:

Chingis Khan introduced a definite religious idea into 797
the political conception of his own suzerainty and of that 175
of his clan . . . the shaman Kokchu announced that the 643
"Everlasting Blue Sky" favored Chingis who was its own pre-ordained envoy on earth. . . . "The 'Sky' has ordered me to govern all the peoples," Chingis said. . . .

[27] K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, 63–65. Henri Cordier, Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *T'oung Pao* **18**: 56–57, 197. P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extreme Orient, *T'oung Pao* **15**: 627, 1914. P. Pelliot, Les Mongols et la Papauté, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* **23**: 4 seq., 1922–1923; **24**: 46, 1924; **28**: 169, 193–4, 199, 1931–1932. Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

[28] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 522. [p. 154 (B)]

The White Banner was inhabited by the "guardian genius" 797
of Chingis, it would protect his troops and lead them to 175
victory; he would conquer all peoples, for the "Everlasting 643
Blue Sky" had so ordained.[29]

In the same way "Ahura Mazda, among the Achaemenians in Persia, [688–330 B.C.], was said to grant to the great kings their power over other peoples, and to bestow upon them victories."[30] In ancient China "Heaven" was believed either to give or withdraw the emperor's mandate.[31]

Chingis was not only religious, he was superstitious. 175
The need to know the will of "Everlasting Blue Sky" 643
and of "the guardian spirits" was a constant stimulus 771
for communing with "shamans," sorcerers, and divinators.[32] "He believed Kokchu could ascend the 'Sky' and had powerful protectors among the genii."[33] "He instituted the post of *beki* who was to be the state's chief priest, [a shaman], vested with power and officially recognized."[34] "He was fond of Ye-lü Ch'ü-tsai for he was a skillful astrologer."[35] "Chingis viewing all religions with equal favor remained himself a good shamanist, true to the traditions of his people."[36] "He remained a primitive shamanist nomad with a rudimentary sense of moral responsibility to the 'Everlasting Sky' and the 'guardian spirits' and with a fully developed instinct of acquisition."[37]

The impact of Nestorianism among the Mongols was 771
not profound. Professor N. Poppe, reviewing the study of W. Schmidt concerning the religion of the Mongols,[38] notes:

> According to the author the Mongols had monotheism and recognized Heaven as the Supreme power. Heaven was in their opinion, the lord of life and death, was eternal, immortal and omniscient (46–47). The statement about the recognition of that Supreme power by the ancient Mongols is corroborated by quotations of sayings mentioning Heaven and attributed by ancient authors to Chingis Khan, his son Ögedei, the emperors Güyük and Mönke and other historical persons. These sayings were however preserved in writings of various authors who wrote their works much later. Therefore, the question arises whether those sayings are authentic. It is possible that in a number of cases the mention of God as "the creator of the sky and earth" attributed by later writers to the Great Yasa and other documents, reflects ideas inspired in the authors by medieval European theologians, as Dr. Pallisen believes.[39]

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[29] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 65.

[30] Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 306.

[31] H. G. Creel, *Confucious the man and the myth*, 147, New York, John Day Company.

[32] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 81.

[33] *Ibid.*, 82.

[34] *Ibid.*, 77.

[35] *Ibid.*, 105.

[36] *Ibid.*, 109.

[37] *Ibid.*, 167.

[38] *Anthropos*, **48**: 327, 1953; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* **10**: 1952.

[39] Nicolaus Pallisen, Die alte Religon des mongolischen Volkes und die Geschichte des Verhältnisses der Mongolen zu anderen Religionen während der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden, 1949.

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We have to take into consideration also the fact that 175
many of the historians of this Mongol period, such as 771
Rashid ed-Din (1302), Djouwayni (1260), and others, were Moslems, who might easily have been influenced by the tenets of their own religion in this matter, and have reflected these ideas in their writings.

Besides the very serious doubts concerning the authenticity of the texts, there arise problems of the value of these texts in explaining the cult of Heaven as it existed before Chingis and before the imperial family professed (?) or protected Nestorianism, and also the question of the real impact of Nestorianism inside the imperial family through cult and rites, and upon the bulk of tribes which are called Mongol. P. Pelliot states that "Nestorianism was the religion of most Turkic tribes and perhaps of a few genuine Mongols." [40]

It is common knowledge, corroborated by the testimony of travelers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,[41] that the Mongols and Turks during the Yüan dynasty worshipped a host of spirits and Öngüts, and were as fervent addicts of shamanism as Chingis himself.

Professor Louis Hambis writes: "The Mongols at the time of Chingis did not honor a Supreme God, but they worshipped Heaven and Earth, and their formula for taking an oath started with an invocation to the god of heaven and to the deity of earth." [42]

René Grousset notes that: "When Chingis started with his campaign against the Naiman, he made solemn sacrifices to the Banner, in which the 'Sulde,' the protector spirits of his army, were supposed to reside." [43]

At present there exists the same confusion concerning the notion of Heaven among the Mongols of the Ordos as among the Monguors.[44] No wonder that after the overthrow of the Mongol dynasty, which had long since become thoroughly Buddhist, Nestorianism almost completely disappeared from among them.[45]

NESTORIANISM AMONG THE MONGUORS

Among the Monguors and the Chinese of the region 795
of Hsining, I never encountered any facts pointing to the possibility that Nestorianism had been practiced in former times. Yet Marco Polo (born in Venice in 1254), during his long stay in Kan chou in 1274, must have made an excursion to Hsining with his father Nicolo and his Uncle Matteo. Among many minute details concerning Hsining he records: "The population

[40] P. Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extreme Orient, op. cit.*, 643.

[41] A. Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, 231, 232, Puaracchi, Firensie, 1929.

[42] Pelliot and Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, 411, Leiden, Brill, 1951.

[43] Grousset, *Empire Mongol, Ire Phase, op. cit.*, 159.

[44] A Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos*, Peking, Catholic University, 1947.

[45] *Ibid.*, *Bull. Catholic University of Peking* 9, Nov. 1934; Ordosica; Les Erkut, descendants des Chrétiens médiévaux chez les Mongols Ordos.

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of the country consists chiefly of idolaters and some 175
Saracens, but there are some Christians also."[46] Because Marco Polo always noted very accurately the Nestorian churches he encountered on his way through Central Asia, and because he did not mention the existence of any Nestorian church in Hsining, it may be supposed that this Nestorian community must have been small, and probably consisted of some occasional traders.

Another fact led me to investigate the topic of 175
Nestorianism. According to Pelliot, tribes of Öngüts 795
(Shat'o) inhabited the Tenduc region, north of the great bend of the Yellow River. Some of these Öngüts migrated into south Kansu, in the region of Lin t'ao. They were taken prisoners by the Chin (1125–1235) and transplanted into mid-Manchuria at the beginning of the twelfth century. They were Nestorians. An apparition in a dream of the Chin emperor T'ai tsung (1125–1161) having been explained by means of images honored by these Öngüts, they were liberated and located in Ch'ing chou, north of the Yellow River.[47]

According to Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, 1: 26, the Öngüts had moved there in the twelfth century from northern Mongolia. Rashid ed-Din explains that the Öngüts, being in the service of the Chin, had been appointed as wardens of the Great Wall.

The problem is, the region of Lin T'ao being contiguous with that of Hsining,[48] whether there was intermingling between the Shat'o of Lin T'ao and those of Hsining, and whether the Hsining Shat'o as a consequence, ever professed Nestorianism.

The second Shat'o dynasty, that of the Hou Chin, (936–947), was conquered by the Liao dynasty (907–1125) in 947, and its imperial family (175 persons), banished into Huang lung, north of Mukden (Manchuria). However its harem, eunuchs, and servants entered the service of the Liao emperor.[49] Then the emperor decided to enroll in his army the defeated Hou Chin troops, and to use them as wardens of the southern marches of his enlarged empire. Their families were to be moved into north Shansi as hostages, and the troops were to be granted furlough from the marches every year to visit Shansi.[50]

It seems doubtful whether these provisions were ever carried out. Ho kien, an Uigur, loyal and devoted servant of both Shat'o dynasties, governor of the Tsin, Chieh, and Ch'eng chou regions, and of the marches of southeast Kansu (contiguous to Lin T'ao), in 947, immediately after the defeat of his emperor, offered the places and the region he governed to the Lord of the Kingdom of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan), and pledged his al-

[46] Yule-Cordier, *The book of Ser Marco Polo* 1: 274.

[47] P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extreme Orient, 630; Henri Cordier, Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *op. cit.*, 56.

[48] Franke, *op. cit.* 5: 113.

[49] *Ibid.* 4: 55.

[50] *Ibid.* 4: 57, 58.

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legiance to him.[51] War broke out and finally a new dynasty arose, the Hou Han, 947–950. 175 795

Did the defeated Shat'o troops of the Hou Chin join the faithful governor? Did they submit to the new Hou Han dynasty and remain in their own country? Did the Öngüts of the northern bend of the Yellow River come over to lend a hand? For how long did the Öngüts remain in that troubled country? At least the Öngüts of Lin T'ao were taken prisoners and transplanted to Manchuria, not by the Liao (907–1125) but by the Kin (1125–1235).

It is common knowledge that the Öngüts of both Shat'o dynasties (923–947) were fervent adherents of Buddhism, as were the Shat'o of Hsining, who built the imposing monastery of Ta-fo-ssu in the very center of the city of Hsining (1280–1368). (See Chap. II, p. 14.)

Even if we suppose that Nestorianism were diffused among the Hsining Shat'o, certainly it would not have been done by the Buddhist Shat'o dynasties, but by the Shat'o from the northern bend of the Yellow River, who immigrated into Lin T'ao, if at that time they were already Nestorians. Furthermore, can the apparitions in the vision of the emperor T'ai tsung definitely be explained as Nestorian images worshipped by the Lin T'ao Öngüts, or could they have been Buddhist or Manichean images? This question is still controversial.[52]

All that I can say in summing up is that I never could succeed in tracing any evidence that Nestorianism was ever professed by the Shat'o of Hsining.

CONCLUSION OF THE CHAPTER

If the Heaven beliefs of the Turkic-Mongol tribes are to be assessed in conjunction with what is known about the Monguors, whose ancestors settled in Huang-chung in 1227, at the time of the death of Chingis Khan, then taking into account the Monguor formula of "Heaven and all the spirits," the cult of an undefined Heaven, the host of honored spirits and the predilection for shamanism which survived the intensive indoctrination of Lamaism experienced by the Monguors in Huang-chung, it seems sound to assume that among other Mongol tribes "Heaven" must have occupied a similar position of honorary preeminence. 795 776 771

The tangled problem may be summarized as follows. In former times the old Turkic-Mongol tribes had no notion of a heaven or a hell where, after death, men would be rewarded for their merits or punished for their sins. They lacked the notion of an immortal soul. The soul, after having dwelt for a short while near the burial place, or in an undefined underworld, was supposed to vanish. Even at present the Monguors believe that their ancestors vanish after three generations. Their aspirations and hopes were, ac- 795 776 775 771

[51] *Idem.* 4: 68.

[52] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 308–309. [p. 156(B)]

cordingly, concentrated on the happiness and help needed during their actual lifetime here on earth. 795 776

However, they had populated the world with a host of good and evil spirits on which they thought they depended. They curried the favor of the good spirits and tried to secure their good disposition so that they would stay the hands of the evil spirits, and bless them during their lifetime here on earth. Among those spirits was the Spirit of Heaven, whose nature we have no means of distinguishing from that of the other spirits to whom more sacrifices were offered. (See above, p. 153.) 775 771

The shaman, whom they knew to have access to the world of spirits, was only engaged in providing them with the protection and benefits needed during their life. At present the activities of the shamans are still limited to that same sphere of action. The diffusion of Buddhism opened new vistas in the world of religious thought of the Turkic-Mongol peoples. A Buddha of benevolence appeared, enthroned in a paradise to which all people could have access and where all could enjoy happiness during the time preceding a new, happy rebirth. The concept of this intervening time became so endlessly long that the idea of rebirth was practically forgotten and put aside. However, a more concrete notion of the soul came to be developed. 756 776 771

In addition to the paradises, Buddhism revealed the existence of the eighteen hells and the presence of the terrible judge of the dead who decided about the future, according to acts morally good or bad. The shamans also told about Erlik Khan. However, the Turkic-Mongol tribes living on earth still hoped for blessings here, and were taught that the benevolent Buddha could secure them. Hence, next to the cult of the old spirits was the cult of Buddha, the throng of devotees invoking blessings and protection through the Om Mani. In this way the fervent shamanists became also fervent Lamaists. 775 771

We have no way of making sure what the impact of Nestorianism may have been upon the Turkic-Mongol tribes in later times, in promoting the development of a more concretely defined notion of the "spirit of Heaven," and its preeminence over the other spirits or even how long such an impact may have lasted. We do know, however, that Turkic-Mongol tribes honored Heaven and offered sacrifices to it, as well as to Buddha and all the spirits, and that consequently they were not monotheists.[53]

XV. RELIGION AND THE COHESION OF THE CLAN

The Monguor clans, from the time of their submission to the Chinese empire (1368), were friendly disposed toward the empire. Their chiefs received military titles and offices, and enjoyed the right to admin- 614 648

[53] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217, *et seq.* [p. 15) (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

ister their clans in territories assigned by the emperor. 614
They formed a genuine enclave in a border province of 648
China. It is an enigma how they could keep their social organization for five-hundred years, conserve their traditions, and withstand being absorbed in the Chinese nation.

The Monguor clans, at the time of their submission to China, were military institutions whose families were organized into groups of 10, 100, and 1,000, each under a chief. On account of the shift from pastoralism toward an agricultural economy, villages became units governed by a chief, two military commanders, and some elders appointed by the T'u-ssu, all belonging, in the beginning, to the nobility. Military service, taxes, and corvées were fixed, and troubles among the villagers were settled by those appointed chiefs in public meetings. Appeal was possible, however, to the higher authority of the T'u-ssu, and as a last resort to the Chinese authority (see Part I: 76). The Monguors thus lived their own lives in their own organized world, under powerful chiefs; their soldiers were always ready to defend the marches on the empire.

On account of the tremendous power and influence 792
radiating from the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and its three 614
celebrated Hutukhtus (who were personal friends of 175
the emperors and from whom they received territorial grants), between 1604 and 1723 many subjects of the T'u-ssu, lured by better conditions of tenantry, became subjects of the lamaseries, exempt from taxes and corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The clan chiefs willy-nilly had to comply with this situation and in order to retrieve their material assets, and to have tenants till their soil, and taxpayers and soldiers, they had to enroll Tibetans and Chinese in their clans.

The double damage wrought to the Monguor clans by 614
this situation became peculiarly conspicuous after the 177
revolt of 1723. Those Monguors who, lured by the 175
hope of better economic conditions, had become subjects of lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas and continued to live as Monguors, segregated from the Chinese, to wear their Monguor dress, keeping their family customs and traditions in marriage, burial, and other festivities, but under lama chiefs instead of clan chiefs. After 1723 their social conditions changed entirely. Becoming Chinese subjects, they could not be reintegrated in their old clans and found themselves isolated in a new world without cohesion or support, and burdened with taxes and corvées. They started to speak Chinese, adopt the Chinese style of dress, marry Chinese girls, be buried according to the Chinese rites. Such was the classical case of the thirteen villages of the Sha-t'ang Valley, which before 1723 depended on Erh-ku-lung. The bulk of the defections among the Monguors was caused by their first becoming subjects of lamaseries, and later being thrown into the hands of Chinese officials, where they lacked the support of their former chiefs and religion. These groups of Monguors re-

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canted their origin. They still know pretty well that 614
their ancestors were Monguors, however, and after two- 177
hundred years, the women, at death, still have to be 175
laid out in the coffin in the Monguor skirt. "Chinese" of such origin always remained addicted to shamanism and Lamaism, notwithstanding the fact that they also built Taoist temples and supported Taoist priests.

The second thing which turned the Monguor society upside down after 1723 was the improvement of material conditions. Peace and stability having been assured, and areas for expansion having been opened to agriculture, more Chinese moved into the country, commerce started to develop and flourish. New markets were opened by the Chamber of Commerce of Hsining, connected with those of the capital of the province. The Monguors, inpoverished by the previous chronic inroads of Mongols and Tibetans and the recent revolt, were now more prosperous. Many Monguor commoners became rich, even richer and more influential than many member of the nobility, and they began to be appointed chiefs of villages, military commanders, and elders. The nobility correspondingly lost influence and prestige. Because there were Chinese among the commoners, the way of thinking, settling troubles, and administering the villages became more and more Chinese.

The intercourse of the Monguors with the Chinese 177
became more intensive through commercial relations. 614
The richest Monguors started sending their boys to Chinese schools, marrying Chinese girls, who abhorred the dress of the Monguor women, and refused to speak the Monguor language. More and more Monguors, under the impact of Chinese culture, were ashamed of being called barbarians and preferred to claim to be Chinese. Long since, the chiefs of the clans, the T'u-ssu, had set the example by marrying Chinese girls, to such an extent that many among them were unable to speak the language of their subjects. Nationalism in language never having existed among them, the Chinese language began to be used indiscriminately at the village meetings and at the performance of religious rites by shamans and lamas. All official documents were written in Chinese, and so nearly all Monguors understood [191]
and spoke the Chinese language but used their Monguor language when conversing among themselves. However, they remained members of the Monguor clans, even though the Chinese officials did not prevent them from abandoning their clan chiefs with the same rigidity as in former times. They conserved their old customs and traditions and the old social organization.

What was the reason for these facts? On the one 771
hand, the economic benefits attached to the T'u-ssu in- 614
stitution are to be taken into serious consideration. However, on the other hand, the religious factor is not to be overlooked. The entire fabric of the Monguor social organization was woven in an atmosphere of religion which caused them to remember that they were

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not Chinese and which held them close together. First of all, stress is to be put on the old cult of the ancestors, deeply embedded in the consciousness of the Turco-Mongol tribes. Among the Hsien-pi is already noted the "ox cart with the images or tables of the ancestors"; it is noted among the Ch'i-tan [1] and recorded among the Mongols in the thirteenth century.[2] Among the oldest Turco-Mongols, in the formulas of invocation of spirits, "Ancestors, Heaven and earth spirits, and deities" are included, "ancestors" enjoying the preeminency.[3] Chingis Khan became an important deity among the Mongols. No wonder that the cult of the ancestor of each of the Monguor clans is vital. A new cemetery was built for the founding ancestor, and an ancestor hall, the register of genealogies started with him, and his cult is performed yearly, accompanied by brilliant festivities at the clan diet. It is the big holiday of the whole clan. The accession of the new T'u-ssu is announced to the clan ancestor, whose blessings are asked for every year at the ceremony of the opening of the seal.[4] All the officials of the clan have to honor the ancestor at that time. These observances are a great means of strengthening the cohesion of the clan. 771 614

Like the Mongol tribes who honored their ancestors on an ox cart before their tent, the Monguors never fail to honor their ancestors of the three senior generations of each family at the time of the most important religious rite performed in spring. The cult of the ancestors is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of every family, that the cult of its guardian deity has become that of the ancestors of the three immediate senior generations. 771 769

An interesting fact illustrates this frame of mind. Among the thirteen villages of Sha-t'ang Valley one is called the village of the Kan family. In 1914 fourteen families bearing the name of Kan were still living there. These families, according to their own traditions, are desecendants of the Third House of the Kan T'u-ssu [5] established in the region south of Nien-pei. Before 1723, on account of disturbances in the country and better living conditions in lamasery territory, they moved to Sha-t'ang and became subjects of the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung. After the revolt they became Chinese subjects, without bonds with their old clan.

In 1914 I happened to learn that still, every year, at the time of the worshipping of the ancestor of the Kan clan, a member of the Third House traveled to Mo-tou, the ancestral cemetery, three days distant, to attend the ceremony, to contribute to the expenses of the sacrifice, to bring a fixed amount of copper coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple (fifty coins per member of each of the families), to have the names of the members who

[1] Rolf Stein, *T'oung Pao* 35: 68-69, 1940.
[2] A. Van de Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* 1: 37, 1929.
[3] W. Schmidt, *op. cit.* 9: 13.
[4] L. Schram, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier*, Part I: 48.
[5] Schram, *op. cit.*, 32. [p. 158(B)]

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died during the year entered in the family register, and 771
to bring back a piece of pork pie for each of the families 769
in order that they might partake of the sacrificial meal offered to the ancestor at the cemetery. After more than two-hundred years, and notwithstanding the fact that no bonds bound them to the clan, the old ancestor cult still made them remember their origin and bound the clan tightly together.

The chief of the clan, at the time of his triennial 614-
visit to the villages, brings with him the picture of the 769
guardian deity of the clan in order that all the villagers may honor it in a group and feel united, putting their hope in the protection of the same deity. A temple is built for the guardian deity of the clan inside the mansion of the clan chief, where it is honored by a lama chaplain every day of the year in order that the clan may be blessed.

This study has made clear the role of the chiefs of the 614
villages in promoting the religious rites against the 771
scourges of hail, epidemics, and epizootics, fixing the rite of the sacred animal, imposing even continence, prohibiting indulgence in liquors and garlic by the performers of certain rites, forbidding the singing of obscene songs in the village during the time the crops are growing in the fields, and assessing every family a certain contribution to defray the cult expenses.

All these religious functions of the chiefs of the clans and the villages promote cohesion among the clan members and strengthen the social structure of the institution. The keen interest displayed by the clan and village chiefs in devising means to avert the harm caused by evil spirits and to provide blessings of the ancestors and all the spirits upon the clan members cannot but tie the entire clan group by closer bonds and make it feel solidarity with the chiefs, in the struggle for life.

The fact of each family having an uncle, son, or 593
nephew among the members of the lamaseries, even 769
Living Buddhas, necessarily welds the families together in a strong united group.

In the Monguor families, the cult of the ancestors participated in by all the members of the extended family at New Year's and on the three days preceeding the clan diet, the cult of its old guardian deity protector inherited in each generation by the eldest son, the celebration every year, with all the members of the extended family contributing toward defraying the expenses to honor it, and the gathering of the whole family before this deity every time a branch of the divided families gets into serious trouble—all these facts provide solidarity in the family by religious means. The family chief not only cares for the administration of the wealth and support of its members, but he is its religious chief who, every morning, honors "Heaven and all the spirits" by means of the Wei-sang in behalf of them, and is their representative at the performance of the public rites in the village. His authority is, in large

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part, based on religion and exercised in religious 593
matters. 769

In the same way, the chiefs of the villages and the elders not only determine taxes, impose corvées and settle troubles, but preside over and perform religious rites without representatives of religions, on the top of the Obo mountain, or the sacred hill of the village, in time of calamities, on top of the highest mountain of the village, in behalf of all the villagers. They are the priests of the clan, promoting at the clan meeting, during the mediation of troubles, the principles of justice and respect for elders. They defend the traditions and customs of the clan of which the religious rites are a part, and urge their performance. To sum up, of the routine events and observances of village life, eight-tenths are religious.

The religious world to which the Monguors are accustomed is compulsory, and entirely different from that of the Chinese. It makes them feel that they are not Chinese, that the meaning of their lives is not the same as that of the Chinese and therefore that they are tightly bound to the community of their clan. The performance of religious rites over the span of a whole year constitutes a part of their traditions and customs. It helps tremendously in holding them close together, and [186] prevents their absorption into the Chinese nation. 771

This fact is so striking that Monguors who, on account of political events, have become separated from their original communities, or who publicly have recanted their origin, still know perfectly well that they are Monguors. They always continue to indulge in some religious practices specific to the Monguors. Religion causes them to recall their origin.

XVI. CONCLUSION

The study of the diffusion of Lamaism among the 648
Monguors sheds some light on the policy adopted by 771
the emperors toward Lamaism.

POLICY OF CHINA TOWARD LAMAISM

It is common knowledge that the emperors promoted Lamaism. This policy has very often been explained as having been a device to debilitate the Mongol and Tibetan tribes, by encouraging enrollment in the monasteries of the largest possible number of the young, most turbulent elements of the tribes. Withdrawing the young from their tumultuous environment weakened the power of the tribes, who were always ready and poised to make inroads and work havoc in the marches on China. The entire history of the marches of China is replete with such tragic events. Alternatively, it has been suggested that this policy was founded on the hope that the barbarians would become peaceful and quiescent through contact with Lamaism.

The truth is that the Chinese were too conversant with their own history and too mindful of the harm

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wrought by barbarians in their country to indulge in 648
such utopian hopes. They knew too well that more or 771
less powerful tribes never had lived peaceably next to each other; that peace had reigned inside Mongolia and Tibet only as long as an all-powerful chief was able to subdue and to dominate the tribes, but that immediately after his death the tribes had always dispersed and began a new cycle of tribal wars. They knew too that barbarian conquerors had always tried to overcome China and had repeatedly succeeded in founding dynasties. In other circumstances Mongol and Tibetan tribes had only kept quiet along the Chinese frontiers so long as China had been able to wield sufficient military power to impose peace on them. The Chinese also knew very well that Lamaism had never changed the predatory instincts of the barbarians, and that the lamas in Tibet and Huang-chung had been just as savage warriors as the laymen. Once in a while Hutukhtus had tried to mediate the troubles among the tribes, but other influential chiefs of tribes and persons of standing had also tried, with comparable results of success or failure.

It is asserted that the Yellow Sect became an important power among the barbarians from the time when Gushi Khan, after conquering Tibet, installed the Dalai Lama as temporal chief of the country (1636), and that the Manchu dynasty recognized the fact. Before that time Lamaism was divided into sects, which supported the numerous political parties in the country fighting for supremacy. By mixing in politics and wars, and because of lack of unity, the influence of the sects was dissipated. The chiefs of the sects, however, craving titles and privileges, curried the favor of the emperors. The emperors were happy to comply with their requests, appreciating the asset of having friendly disposed influential chiefs in far-off countries, but always waited for an opportunity to use them to further the interests of the empire.

It was in this way that the Ming emperors (1368– 643
1643) favored the lamas in Huang-chung, whatever 648
their sect, by lavishly granting titles and privileges, and 792
contributing to the building of monasteries in order to populate the desolate country, and to keep the Mongol tribes quiet after the overthrow of the Yüan dynasty.

Later on, when Lamaism had become a real power, the Ch'ing dynasty engaged in war with the Kalmuks or Western Mongols. Well aware of the influence which the Yellow Sect wielded among the eastern and western Mongols and its questionable behavior toward the empire, the Ch'ing dynasty imposed its authority on Lhasa by means of its armies, but at the same time granted favors and privileges to the lamas.

The institution of the committee for the translation 814
into Mongol and the printing of Tibetan books dates 663
from the Manchu period. This was a remarkable 648
political provision. The most celebrated and learned lamas and Hutukhtus of the monasteries of Tibet,

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Huang-chung, and Mongolia were appointed members 814
of the committee. They were showered with honorific 663
titles and privileges, and summoned to reside at the 648
capital. The emperors lavishly provided for their expenses and those of their numerous disciples, and secured large temples and residences for their sojourn. The Mongol princes and the lamas of Tibet and Mongolia were elated with the generosity of the emperors and the keen interest and sympathy they displayed for their religion and for their spiritual chiefs. The emperors were happy too, realizing that it paid large dividends to have the most important and esteemed representatives of the lamaseries residing at the capital, in effect as honorable hostages, who had to ask the permission of the emperor every time they wanted to leave the capital.

However, these imperial generosities did not inter- 648
fere with the strong policy implemented by the court in dealing with Tibet and Mongolia. They did not hinder the court in banishing the seventh Dalai Lama to Ssu-ch'uan, or in refusing to comply with the request of the "specially honored" Changchia Hutukhtu, to return to the Dalai Lama the regions of Li t'ang and Ba t'ang. They did not prevent the court from drastically crushing the lama revolt in Huang-chung (1723), or from burning all the monasteries in the country, even those of the "specially honored" Changchia. Later, at the request of the "beloved" Changchia and T'u-kuan, the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok were allowed to be rebuilt. The emperor offered a contribution *ad hoc*, but two steles were to be erected recording the ungratefulness of the lamas and the new humiliating provisions for the lamas by decree of the court. The steles were erected, but built inside a wall and plastered by the lamas so that nobody could read the texts.

The policy of the emperors in promoting Lamaism has to be studied in the light of the facts. They were well aware of the predatory instincts and fickleness of the barbarians, and of the influence the lamas wielded among them. In order to further their own interests and to gain the sympathy of the barbarians, they lavished on the lamas the titles and privileges which they childishly craved; but they were not afraid to deal with the lamas and barbarians with draconian severity, whenever their behavoir was not in line with the imperial policy. An iron hand was in the velvet glove.

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO TRANSFORM THE MONGUOR SOCIETY

This study also sheds light on the failure of Lamaism 797
to transform the Monguor society into a genuine Bud- 771
dhist society. In view of the really amazing bloom of Lamaism of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung between 1600 and 1723, when more than forty monasteries were built in that relatively small country during that short span of time, and taking into account the tremendous number of lamas enrolled in them—one lama at least from every family—and the honors, titles, and privileges

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granted to the religious chiefs, one could easily suppose 777
that the entire population must have become fervent 771
Lamaists, and that an all-pervading energy radiating from Lamaism must have animated the entire social, family, and clan system. It is easy to suppose that Lamaism, controlling all the levers of power and wealth, and ruling over its own subjects, must have penetrated all the relations of life and colored all the institutions, producing uniformity in religious thinking, improving customs, and eliminating all kinds of unorthodox doctrines.

However, this is thinking in terms of what Christian- 771
ity performed in the Middle Ages when the corporations, the guilds, the feudal system, the monarchy, the social habits of the people, their studies, even their amusements all stemmed from the same ecclesiastical teaching, when the church was the very heart of Christianity. The present study reveals that Lamaism was far from being the center of the religious life in the Monguor society, and that it did not succeed in eliminating shamanism. Even the coloring of the old religious rites, performed by the chiefs of the villages or the chiefs of the families, though tinged with Lamaism, did not succeed in making the Monguors live in a genuine Lamaist atmosphere.

The most baffling fact, after so many centuries, is that the temple of the community in all the Monguor villages is not dedicated to a Lamaist deity, but to Taoist or shamanist deities. In many villages a Lamaist temple was built next to the community temple, but it was never the center of the official religious activities of the villagers. More astonishing is the fact that the religious activities conducted in the village temple on behalf of the community are never performed by lamas, but by shamans or by the chiefs of the villages.

The most important rite of the year is celebrated in the spring in the village temple, in order that the harvest will be blessed. It is attended by the entire community and is performed by "shamans" who invite Taoist and shamanist spirits, *with the exclusion of Lamaist deities,* to preside over the rite and to extend their protection over the harvest.

The elaborate rites devised to obtain protection against the terrible scourge of hailstorms are performed by shamans. The Lamaist rite of the procession with the 108 sacred books is merely added as an extra precaution.

The most important rite celebrated with devotion by each family for its guardian spirit is performed by shamans, because most of these spirits are Taoist or shamanist.

Lamaism not only met with dismal failure in its struggle for the eviction of these all-important shamanist rites, but it never succeeded in impressing a Lamaist interpretation on the old rites performed by the chiefs of the villages or the chiefs of the families.

The thanksgiving rites for the harvest, performed in

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the village temple by the chief of the village, and by each 771
family chief on the roof of his home, are not enacted with gratitude to Buddha. The presence of the shamans in the village temple on this occasion, does not seem to be related to the ceremony, as already explained. Nor did the lamas take over the rite of the sacred animals, so important to the Monguors. This rite is still performed by the chiefs of the villages, or the chiefs of families, who consecrate their herds to the protector spirits of their villages or of their families. Buddha is not substituted as protector of the herds.

The daily morning Wei-sang, an offering and invocation to "Heaven and all the spirits" performed by all the family chiefs, has never been changed into an offering and an invocation to Buddha, although some Om Manis are added, especially at times of trouble in the family.

After the cult of the Obo has been performed by the chiefs of the villages, some lamas chant texts in honor of the "Obo Spirits." Lamas do not interfere with the cult of the fire or the cult of the hearth god; neither do they pray for the blessings of Buddha upon marriages, nor have they endeavored to make the Monguors change the famous formula, "Heaven and all the spirits," into a formula invoking Buddha.

However, when troubles occur which disturb and frighten the families, the Monguors indiscriminately have recourse to lamas, shamans, or Kurtains, inviting those deemed to be the most potent in subduing evil spirits, or in propitiating the infuriated good spirits.

The only field reserved entirely for the activities of the lamas is that of the incineration of people who died peacefully. Shamans take care of the abodes of the wicked souls.

It is clear, therefore, that an all-pervading energy did not radiate from Lamaism to animate the entire social and family life. The cult of Lamaist deities, mixed with that of good and evil spirits, did not create an atmosphere in which Lamaism could produce uniformity in religious thinking and penetrate all the relations of life. If we add the fact that no churches existed where the Monguors could pray in groups and receive religious instruction, it is no wonder that the impact of Lamaism was not intensive.

However, the impact of the daily relations of the Monguors with their lama sons, uncles and relatives, the fast rites, is not to be overlooked, for it accounts for the fact that general Lamaist notions about the Buddhist heavens and their eighteen hells, the paradise of the benevolent Buddha, the terrible judgment of the acts of everybody after death, reincarnation, the sense of responsibility, did penetrate to a certain extent into Monguor society. The endless repetition of the Om Mani formula by lamas and their affirmation that salvation is only possible by recourse to the benevolent Buddha, who is always ready to forgive, to help, and to save anybody, account for the fantastic use of the Om Mani in the daily life of the Monguors, living in a world of fear

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and apprehension of evil spirits. The emotional factor inherent in Lamaism, stimulating the gratifying hope of salvation in the presence of Buddha in his paradise, is not deemed by them to be incompatible with the performance of shamanist rites and with the worshipping of shamanist and Taoist spirits. The various reincarnations of outstanding and minor Living Buddhas within the Monguor clans and the families of the clan chiefs, explain the fact that Lamaist deities have been chosen as guardian deities of the clans, and that a temple had been built for them in the mansion of the clan chief. However, this did not bother the clan chiefs in worshipping the clan ancestors, with a display of pomp and magnificence, with all their subjects.

In conclusion it must be said that Lamaism has not

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succeeded either in uprooting the shamanist and Taoist 771
rites practiced by the Monguors or in penetrating all the relations of life, but that by adding its new rites to the existing ones it did succeed in stimulating the element of religiousness among the Monguors, in laying stress upon new notions of responsibility, heaven and hell, in giving better moral guidance to the acts of daily life, and finally, in giving some meaning to life, which shamanism had never done. Lamaism did not attain its goal of transforming the Monguor society as did Christianity in the societies of the Middle Ages. More could hardly have been expected from Lamaism debased as it was by Tantrism, whose chiefs in Huang-chung themselves indulged in shamanist practices when they felt the pressure of an emergency.

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GLOSSARY

Karwa The word Karwa is used in the country to designate the residences inhabited by Living Buddhas in the lamaseries. It is also used to indicate a domain and subjects granted by the Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty to meritorious lamas as their "personal" property with "right of bequeathing" it to their lama successor. It does not mean a grant of domains and subjects bestowed on a community of lamas or a lamasery.

K'ang A small platform two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In the front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm.

Lamasery The lamasery is a place where people gather for a spiritual purpose which is void of any definite qualification; where no direction is provided in any way to the inmates, who are absolutely free to adhere to whatever doctrine they wish.

Except for the facts that the lamas observe celibacy and that the lamaseries possess corporate wealth, it is impossible to compare the lamaseries with Christian monasteries.

Living Buddha A Living Buddha is the incarnation of a Bodhisattva who, having attained the highest perfection, has potentially become a buddha. He renounces the blessedness of Nirvana and makes a vow to remain in this world in order to promote, by example and teaching, the salvation of as great a number of its creatures as possible. His vital essence thus passes

GLOSSARY

from body to body - because the body, like every material aggregate, is destined to dissolve - but it remains immaculate in its acquired unalterable purity and holiness.

Torma A small pyramidal cake, round or triangular, made with tsamba and butter; often pieces of butter or gold or silver paper are fixed upon it. It seems to represent an evil spirit on which incantations and ritual curses are proferred, on which all kind of inauspicious and calamitous items, sins and spiritual impurities are supposed to be loaded. It is thrown far away after the ceremony, often with a display of hatred and contempt, and with it calamities seem to be removed.

T'u kuan Eminent Monguor lama of Erh-kulung.

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[For information related to the organization of the lamaseries; internal social structure and its functions in Huang-chung, see category 116, pp. 37A-53B.]

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[For the materials on the social function of religion in Huang-chung, see category 116, pp. 157A-159B.]

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PART III. RECORDS OF THE MONGUOR CLANS

History of the Monguors in Huangchung and the Chronicles of the Lu Family

LOUIS M. J. SCHRAM, C.I.C.M.

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PREFACE

121 This third and last part of the study about the Monguors primarily intends to present the history of the Monguor clans in Huangchung during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, based on the *Annals* of Hsining and the *Annals* of Kansu.

In order to make the history understandable, it has had to be put in the historical framework of the Huangchung country in which it evolved during five centuries.

In Ming times it is mostly the history of inroads into the country by Tibetans and Mongols; during Ch'ing times it is the history of the revolts of Mongols, Tibetans and Mohammedans, which several times ruined the country. Revolts and invasions were fought by Chinese troops unequal to coping with the situation, aided by the Monguor troops.

Part III is the history of the Monguor t'u-ssu clans,[1] called not only to defend their own country in combination with the Chinese army, but also to participate with the Chinese armies in wars in the provinces of Liaotung, Shensi, Shansi, Szechwan, and Yunnan, in Mongolia proper, and in the Tunhuang regions in Turkistan.

The hardships the Monguors endured during these five centuries were terrific, but their faithfulness toward the empire stood as strong as a rock, and is nowhere equally encountered among tribes which had submitted and pledged allegiance to the empire. However, this is overlooked in the official history. The number of Monguor soldiers who died in the wars is not known, but it is known that in each of the Monguor clans one or more of the chiefs died on one or another field of battle. The glorious military achievements of the Monguors are many.

The history of these five centuries is also the history of the development of the country and its thorough Sinisization. The Monguors who had once controlled much of this country saw Chinese officials gradually take into their hands its civil and military administration, trying to relegate them to their own poor country. The Monguors felt that they were barbarians, but they admired the Chinese civilization and aspired to share its benefits. These five centuries are the time of the Sinisization of the Monguors, which started with their chiefs, as among all the nomads. The boys of the

[622 624] [1] A *t'u-ssu* was the "local chief" of a clan who had been appointed to his office by the sovereign state of which the Monguor clans were quasi-feudal frontier dependants. When the Ming dynasty invested a Monguor clan chief with the title of T'u-ssu he became a Chinese official while continuing to be also the chief of his clan. The institution of t'u-ssu was one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal groups on the frontier of the Empire. See Louis M. J. Schram, The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier. I. Their origin, history, and social organization, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 45–52, 1954 (hereafter referred to as Monguors I).

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t'u-ssu clans attended Chinese schools and many among 121
them obtained literary and military degrees, became Confucianists and officials in the Chinese administration. Meritorious t'u-ssu were rewarded with honorary titles, and the growing standard of civilization in the families of the t'u-ssu chiefs spread among the subjects.

This history also describes the amalgamation of many tribes of diverse origin, among themselves and with the few Chinese of the country, in a compound which constitutes a notable part of today's Huangchung population.

Long times of distress and suffering endured at the hands of a common enemy bring destitute people close together. Tribes come to shelter together, share each other's houses and land, try to talk together, marry, etc., and if the circumstances last for a long time, as was the case in Huangchung, the customs and languages become unified and an amalgamation takes place.

It is in order not to obliterate the different elements of the compound which constitutes the Huangchung population that the study starts with notes relating to the tribes which lived in Huangchung—T'u-fan, Tang- [563]
hsiang, Tibetans, Shat'o Turks, and several thousands of Uighurs—with notes about the time and the circumstances of their arrival, the country in which they were settled, and the part they played in the history of the country of Huangchung.

The notes have not only an ethnographical importance, but also a bearing on the administration of these people, the study of their customs and the religions they practiced.

The history of the Monguor clan of the Lu family, according to its family chronicles is discussed because the Lu clan is the only clan which has been able to keep its chronicles. The chronicles of all the other clans have disappeared during the revolts which ravaged the country many times. The chronicles of the Lu clan, however, shed light on the organization of the other clans, their administration, their relations with the empire, the process of Sinisization, the peculiar mentality of the families of the chiefs of the clans, etc., and complement our knowledge of the Monguor t'u-ssu families.

The history of the Lu family is significant also in 175x
the way it shows the interest of the emperor in the 121
Monguor clans which rendered so much help in the 648
time of the inroads of brigands and the wars with the 703
barbarians. This interest is displayed by the granting of titles and promotions; by inviting the chiefs to the capital, offering dinners and entertainments, making them admire the splendor of the palaces, gratifying them with honorary distinctions such as the peacock plume and the jade girdle, and with gifts of clothing, silks, satins, and porcelains; by ordering the civil authorities to build honorific arches in the cities to honor

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the eminent chiefs of the clan; and by delegating high officials to present official burials and sacrifices to the deceased chiefs and to read the sacrificial oration composed by the emperor himself as a farewell to the meritorious deceased.

These were some of the means used by the emperor to win the hearts of the Monguors and to make of them defenders of the empire.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge with the appearance of the last part of the study, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation and the American Philosophical Society for the grants which enabled me to complete the work, and to Professor and Mrs. Owen Lattimore for the help they rendered and for their assistance in the preparation of the study.

I cannot conclude without remembering with gratitude the special debt I owe to Miss Theresa A. Tims, and without expressing my sincerest appreciation of her considerable help, graciously rendered, in correcting and preparing the English draft and the editing of the publication with wonderful patience and good humor through long hours.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS

OWEN AND ELEANOR LATTIMORE

As the main significance of Father Schram's work is its presentation of historical and sociological material, no attempt has been made, in editing his text, to be over pedantic in the transliteration of Chinese and Mongol names of people, places, institutions or titles. We have adopted instead what we hope are rules of common sense.

For Chinese, the system of transliteration with the widest international acceptance is that of Wade, and we have used it except in the case of geographical names where there is a well-established English spelling. For instance the strict Wade transcription for the name of the city of Lanchow would be Lan Chou, but we use Lanchow because that form is internationally well established. Similarly we write Szechwan (the name of a province) instead of Ssu Ch'uan.

For transcribing Mongol (and Manchu) there is no widely accepted system, but fortunately the sounds of these languages can be indicated with reasonable accu-

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NOTE ON THE CHINESE SOURCES

In the pages that follow frequent reference is made to three Chinese compilations, the *Annals* of the *Fu* or Prefecture of Hsining, and of the Province of Kansu. The full titles of these three works are:

1. *Hsining fu hsin chih* (New annals of Hsining prefecture) in 12 volumes containing 40 *chuan* or chapters, compiled between 1755 and 1762 and probably published soon after 1762. The editor of these "new" Annals had before him the original edition of 1595 and a corrected edition of 1657. I have never had access to either of these older editions.

2. *Kansu hsin t'ung chih* (New collected annals of Kansu) in 100 *chuan*, printed in the Hsuan-t'ung period (1909–1911). The edition is called "new" because it is based on an older original the compilation of which was begun in 1728 and completed in 1736. The older edition has been inaccessible to me.

3. *Wu liang k'ao chih* (Annals of the prefecture of Liangchow), printed in 1749, including the Annals of the subprefecture of P'ing fan.

L. M. J. S.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS

Owen and Eleanor Lattimore

racy by the use of ordinary letters and without diacritical marks, as in the name Monguor itself. Monguor, Mongol, and Manchu names are therefore written in this straightforward way when they can be readily identified. There is however a special problem when names in these languages have come down through a Chinese phonetic transcription. The sounds of Chinese match those of Mongol and Manchu very badly, and it is therefore frequently difficult to restore the original. In such cases we have simply written out the name in its Chinese form, using the Wade system, with hyphens between the syllables. As an example of the choices that have to be made on an *ad hoc* basis, take the name (or title) that is usually written Jenghis or Genghis. A closer rendering of the Mongol sound and spelling is Chinggis. In Chinese this becomes Ch'eng-chi-ssu.

Titles, ranks, and names of offices are here rendered in the same rule of thumb way.

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I. HISTORY OF THE MONGUOR CLANS IN HUANGCHUNG

101 The Mongols, commanded by General Subudei, invaded the region of Huangchung in 1227 and invested the city of Hsining, which they conquered (*Annals* of Hsining 31B: 8a and *Annals* of Kansu 46: 20a).

In order to understand conditions in Huangchung at the time of the Mongol conquest it is necessary to take notice of the peculiar geographical conditions of the country, and to bear in mind the circumstances which had caused the presence in Huangchung in 1227 of the remnants of so many T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang tribes, of many thousands of Uighurs and of many Shat'o tribes. The social organization of this heterogeneous population and the ways in which it behaved will explain the policy adopted by the Mongol dynasty, followed by the Ming dynasty (1368), continued during the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) and even during more than ten years under the Republic (1911).

GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS

131 The Province of Kansu is divided geographically into three parts: West Kansu, Huangchung, and East Kansu, separated from one another by the range of the Southern Mountains (Nan Shan) and the Yellow River, both running in a northeasterly direction. The Nan Shan range separates West Kansu from Huangchung, and the Yellow River separates Huangchung from East Kansu.

X175 487 West Kansu, a long narrow strip, a corridor situated between the bases of the Nan Shan range and the Gobi desert, is of primary importance because through that country runs the old transcontinental silk trade road, already opened in the second century B.C.[1] and because

[1] Louis M. J. Schram, The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier. II. Their religious life, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 47 (1): 9, 1957 (hereafter referred to as Monguors II).

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I. HISTORY OF THE MONGUOR CLANS IN HUANGCHUNG

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this road was the only one which secured communication between the Chinese capital and its western colonies. Until 1882 Turkistan was a part of Kansu Province. Military colonies had been established along this long corridor between 140 and 86 B.C. in order to protect the communications against the turbulent Turkish barbarians of the Gobi and the savage Tibetans. Passes running through the Nan Shan secured communications between West Kansu and Huangchung.

175 x 101

In A.D. 872 Kanchow, one of the oldest colonies situated in the corridor, became the seat of the Uighur Khanate.[2] Uighur princes ruled in Kanchow until 1028. At that time their realm was conquered by the Hsi-hsia. The Mongols occupied the country in 1227.[3]

East Kansu is separated from Huangchung on the west by the Yellow River, on the east it is bounded by

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[2] James Russell Hamilton, *Les Ouighours a l'époque des Cinq Dynasties, Bibliothèque de L'institut des Hautes Études Chinoises* 10: 14, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1955. Uighurs (called Huei-hou, Hue-ho) of Hunnic origin belong to the group of the Tolos tribes (p. 1). Their empire in Mongolia, which lasted from 745 until 840, controlled the region from Manchuria to the Altai and the territory of the Karluk in the T'ien Shan; its capital (Karabalgason) was situated on the Orkhon River. At the time of the destruction of their empire at the hands of the Khirgiz, a group of Uighurs fled into the region situated between Ku Ch'a and Besbalik in Turkistan (p. 18). It offered its offices to the Chinese army (Kuei-yi-chun) of General Chang Yi-ch'ao, garrisoned in the prefecture of Sha Chou. It fought the Tibetans in combination with the Chinese (p. 13), and in 872 these Uighurs, allies of the Chinese, settled in Kanchow. Others settled in Shi Chou (Karakhadjo), and so the northern part of Turkistan had become an Uighur country (pp. 14, 15, 16). The Uighurs were converted to Manicheism in 762-763. They were the educators of the Turco-Mongol peoples from the ninth to the thirteenth century (p. 6).

[3] Edw. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao* 5: 215, 1904. O. Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches* 2: 493, 501, Leipzig, Verlag Von Walter De Gruyter, 1936.

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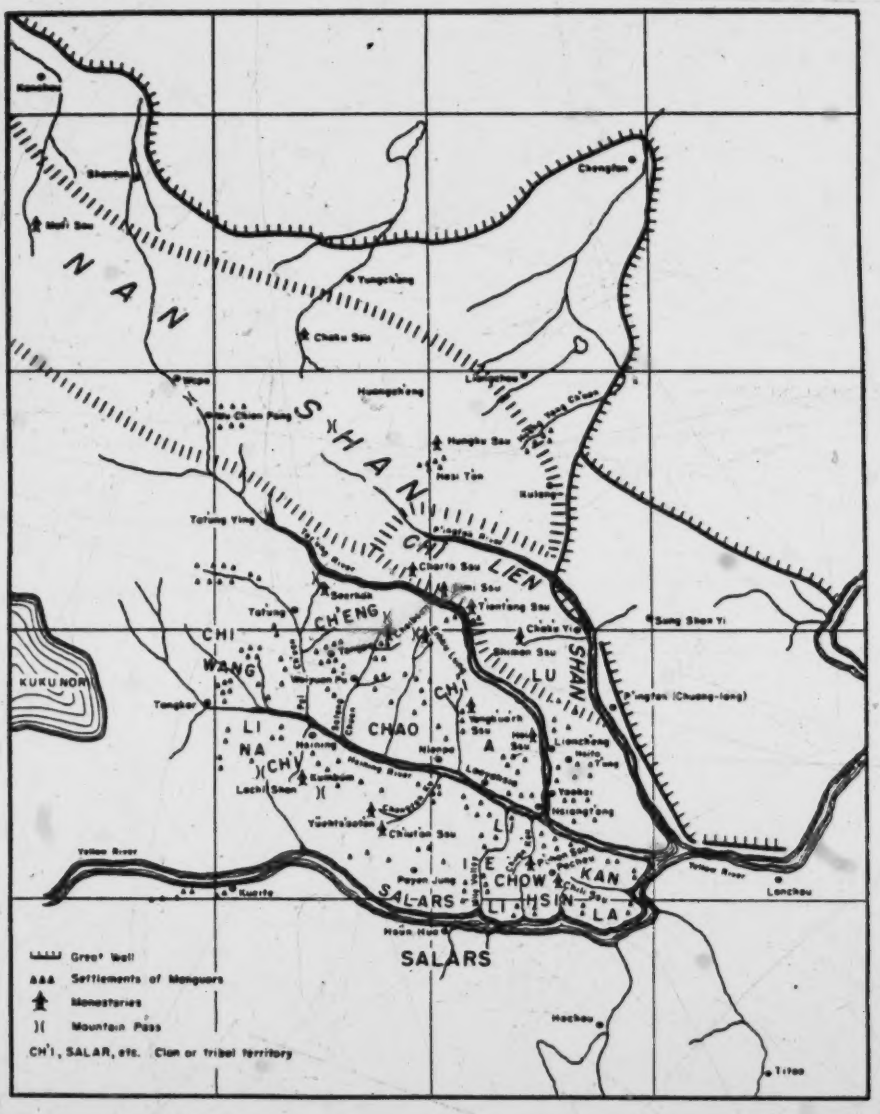

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MAP OF CHINA SHOWING MONGUOR REGION (INSET SQUARE) AND NEIGHBORING TERRITORIES AND PROVINCES.

[P. 8(A)]

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*175 the province of Shensi, and on the south by the province
101 of Szechwan. During the period of the Han Dynasties, 202 B.C. until A.D. 220, Ch'iang (Tibetan) tribes roamed with their herds in the northern part of Tibet and Kokonor, in large parts of Shensi Province and East Kansu, and on the borders of Szechwan, Hupei, and Shansi Provinces.[4]

East Kansu had always been a region of momentous military importance, on account of its proximity to the city of Sian, situated in Shensi Province, which many times had been the capital of the empire, and on account of the impending threat of invasions on the part of the Tang-hsiang (Tibetan) tribes, whose cradle was situated in Sung P'an in North Szechwan, along the southern boundary of Shensi, where practically no boundaries were defined. The forays of Tibetans used to pass through East Kansu. Today, a city still exists called

[4] Wolfram Eberhard, *Kultur und Siedlung der Randvölker Chinas*, 67, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

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x175 101 Ti Tao, which means "the way of the barbarians," and is a reminder of these fateful days.[5] It was in order to cope with this crucial problem that so many Chinese military colonies had been established in East Kansu during the Tang dynasty, the Wu Tai (or Five Dynas-
[711] ties), and the Sung and Ming dynasties, and that intermittently new colonies and fortresses had to be built in order to stem the invasions and revolts of Tang-hsiang, T'u-fan, Hsi Hsia, and Mongols.[6] The Mongols at the time of their conquest of China had a lot of trouble in East Kansu and West Shensi, subduing the Tibetan and Uighur tribes which during the previous dynasties had submitted to China but whose loyalty and dependence always remained questionable.

[5] See the remarkable study of Owen Lattimore, *The frontier in history*, X Congresso internazionale di Science Storiche, Roma, 4: 11, Settembre 1955. Relazioni 1: 106, Firenze, 1955.

[6] Franke, *op. cit.* 3: 22, 1937. *Annals* of Kansu 45: 12. In 1096 more than fifty forts and colonies had been built against the Hsi Hsia in one year.

[P. 8(C)]

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x175 101 133 Huangchung is bounded on the north by the Chi Lien Shan, a range of lower mountains which constitutes the northern end of the Nan Shan range. Being less high and abrupt, it provides an easy access to the countries of Ninghsia, Ordos, and Mongolia. In order to prevent the junction of the barbarians of Mongolia with those of Huangchung, the Chinese General Ho Ch'u-ping, in 116 B.C. (Monguors I: 19) established the first colonies in Huangchung. It was along the natural depressions in the Chi Lien range that the Tibetans many times invaded the country of the Ninghsia, Ordos, and Shansi borders, and that Mongols made inroads from Ordos into Huangchung and Kokonor. On the south side no high mountains or large rivers separate Huangchung from Kokonor and Tibet, through which many roads provide access to Central Asia.

Geographically, Huangchung, bounded by the large Yellow River on the south and east, by low mountains on the north, and spreading wide open toward the southwest facing Kokonor and Tibet, seems to be a peninsula of Kokonor and Tibet protruding into China. x175 648 Huangchung being more remote from the capital of the empire than East Kansu, the threat of inroads from the empire was apparently less imminent; and the importance of its trade being not comparable with that of the colonies situated in the corridor of West Kansu across the Nan Shan range, fewer colonies had been established there than in East Kansu. Every time rebellions or dynastic troubles occurred in China, the Tibetans of Kokonor helped their brothers of Huangchung destroy the colonies; however, as long as the empire was at peace and its military power intimidated the restless Tibetans, Chinese officials could proceed with collecting the tribute of horses from the tribes governed by their own chiefs, and the ways leading to Kokonor could be guarded.

[635] The whole of Kansu, populated by barbarians, was for centuries considered as a colony and not as a province proper. Only in 1665 was the province of Kansu established, and even up to the Republic (1911) Kansu was ruled together with Shensi by a viceroy. Only since 1928 has the province of Ch'inghai been established, encompassing Huangchung and a part of Kokonor.

THE POPULATION OF HUANGCHUNG AT THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST BY THE MONGOLS

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE TANG PERIOD

x175 162 In 1227 when the Mongols conquered Huangchung, the country was inhabited by depleted tribes of Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o, without cohesion among them. The country had passed through the ordeal of centuries of wars, and the Chinese colonies had long since vanished. x175 648 The Tang dynasty (620–906) had been unable to

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*175 648 cope with the turbulent empire of the T'u-fan contemporaneously founded in Lhasa, whose floods of untamed hordes had poured ceaselessly into the regions of Sung P'an in northwest Szechwan, and up into Kokonor, Shensi, and Kansu Provinces. Srong-btsan sgam-po, who had united the T'u-fan tribes into a nation, died in 650. He is credited with having initiated his subjects in Buddhism and in the Indian and Chinese civilizations.[7] Three times, in 730, 783, and 821, the Tang emperors had made treaties with the T'u-fan, fixing the limits of both empires.[8] The text of the last treaty, [131] chiseled on a slab, is still preserved in Lhasa.[9] In Huangchung, in the village of Topa, 60 li west of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 7) and northwest of the city of Tatung (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 17) still exist steles fixing the western limits of Huangchung. The texts are now indecipherable, except for a few characters.

*176 162 The T'u-fan hordes smote upon the region of Sung P'an, in northwest Szechwan, the cradle of the Tibetan Tang-hsiang tribes. In 627 two groups of Tang-hsiang tribes, for fear of the invaders, fled to East Kansu. One group, called Tung-shan-pu, settled in the region of the modern Ch'ing-yang fu in East Kansu; the other group, called P'ing-hsia-pu, settled in the region of Mi Chih, in northwest Shensi. The leading tribe of the last group was the Topa, formerly pressed by the T'u-fan, which had submitted to the T'u-yu-hun.[10]

*175 648 101 The P'ing-hsia-pu tribes of Shensi, during the revolt of Nan Lu Shan (756–764), had helped save the tottering throne of the Tang dynasty. Their chief had been rewarded with the name of the dynasty, Li, and the administration of some districts had been granted to the group. During the internal troubles which several times beset the empire, the P'ing-hsia-pu group had laid the foundation of its own Hsi Hsia Kingdom, and from 982 on it had considered itself strong enough to antagonize the Sung dynasty (960–1280), openly embarking on the conquest of Kansu and Shensi Provinces. The Hsi Hsia realm vanished at the hands of the Mongols in 1226.[11] Not only did these groups of Tang-hsiang tribes submit to China but, in A.D. 631, 300,000 more Tang-hsiang surrendered, pressed by the T'u-fan, and were settled in East Kansu and on the Shensi borders, where sixteen districts were established by the emperor in the countries assigned to them, garrisons established, and Chinese military officials appointed (*Annals* of Kansu 45: 53*a*).

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[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 373.

[8] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 437, 480, 484.

[9] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 484. Li Fan-koei. Inscription of the Sino-Tibetan treaty 821–822. *T'oung Pao* 64: 1 sq., 1956.

[10] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 132. R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia. *Bulletin École Française Extrême Orient* 64: 228, Paris, 1956. Peter Olbricht, Die Tanguten und ihre Geschichte bis zur Grundung von Si-hia. *Central Asiatic Journal* 2: 143. The T'opa founders of the Hsi Hsia might be of Sien-pi origin, 154.

[11] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 133, 134.

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In Kokonor T'u-fan hordes attacked the T'u-yu-hun in 634, and drove them out of the country in 672. The T'u-yu-hun, nomad tribes of Sien-pi origin, had been settled in Kokonor since A.D. 280 and, facing extermination after decades of savage wars with the T'u-fan, succeeded in being transplanted by the Chinese in 672 into the region of Ling Wu (Ninghsia) in Ming-sha hsien.[12]

Huangchung (Hsining region) was already invaded by T'u-fan in 629. The T'u-fan administered several crushing defeats to the Chinese troops on the Kokonor borders, in Huangchung and in East Kansu. After the resounding victory of the T'u-fan in 678, the Tang-hsiang tribes settled previously in East Kansu, despairing of the aid and protection of the emperor, submitted to the T'u-fan, and with them fought the Chinese troops, devastating the country. These disastrous events continued indefinitely. The emperor having fled from his capital in 756 on account of the rebellion of An Lu-shan, T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang of East Kansu combined, captured in 763 the capital of the empire, burned the palaces, and looted the city and the neighboring country. The whole of Kansu was lost. The Tsan-p'u of Lhasa appointed his T'u-fan officials and military commanders in Huangchung and East Kansu.[13] The rebellion of the Chinese governors against the emperor had started in 783 and lasted until 787. In 783 the thread of destruction hanging like a Damocles sword over the dynasty, the emperor concluded the negotiation of a treaty with the Tsan-p'u, already initiated in 780. The T'u-fan would help the emperor out of his difficulty and be rewarded with four more prefectures situated southeast of P'ing-liang in East Kansu. The T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang had helped recover the lost capital in 784, but the Chinese refused to give up the four prefectures. The enraged Tibetans furiously invaded the Wei Valley, occupied Yen and Hsia Chou in Shensi and the whole region inside the Yellow River bend, looting and laying waste the countryside. Adding to the frustration of the Chinese, Tibetan armies administered the most crushing defeat to them in Turkistan in 791. Except for Turfan, Turkistan was lost to the Chinese. In 822 there followed the humiliating treaty by which China renounced its rights over Turkistan, over the whole of Kansu and some parts of Shensi. However, forays by savage Tibetan tribes did not cease.[14]

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[12] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 397. Schram, Monguors I: 19. *Annals* of Kansu 45: 55a. R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. École Française d'Extrême Orient* 44: 223.

[13] The Tsan-p'u was the representative of the T'u-fan hierarchy; he presided over the tribes who had pledged allegiance or had been subdued; he was the arbiter of the frequently conflicting interests arising among them. The stronger the repute of the Tsan-p'u the richer the pillages to be expected, and the stronger were the bonds which tied the nation together.

[14] *Annals* of Kansu 45: 51, 62. Ch'u T'ang Shu, 146: 3–5. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 398, 399, 433, 439, 466, 469, 480, 484. *Annals* of Hsining 30: 25–30.

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x 175 In 842 the Tsan-p'u Ta-mo died without issue, where-
648 upon bitter feuds and sharp cleavages appeared among the T'u-fan governors and military commanders in East Kansu, Huangchung, and Tibet. The doom of the Tibetan nation was sealed, and the time seemed propitious to the Chinese for the recovery of East Kansu and Huangchung. But already in 842, Lun K'ung-jo, a T'u-fan military commander, proclaimed himself supreme chief of all the tribes settled in East Kansu and Huangchung. However, in Hsining there was a T'u-fan governor, Chang-pe-pe, appointed by the former Tsan-p'u. The two groups fought until 850. Chang-pe-pe, betrayed by some of his commanders, was forced to flee across Kanchow to Turkistan with 2,000 men of his group, pursued by Lun K'ung-jo and his 5,000 soldiers to Kua Chou. Before his flight, Chang-pe-pe had entrusted the defense of the city of Hsining to his faithful commander T'o-pa-huai-kuang. Lun K'ung-jo, hearing that the city of Hsining was occupied by T'o-pa-huai-kuang, hurried back and in a rage savagely laid waste the whole of Huangchung and eight cities and districts in East Kansu. After his brutal behavior his troops refused to follow him. He settled in Kuo Chou in Huangchung with the last 200 of his followers. He was beheaded in 866 by the T'u-fan commander of Hsining, T'o-pa-huai-kuang, who sent his head to the emperor. During these troubles Chinese troops had recovered nearly the whole of East Kansu and accepted the submission of the Tibetans of East Kansu (*Annals* of Kansu **45**: 65*a*, 66*b*. *Annals* of Hsining **30**: 30, 30*a*, 31*a*).

The *Annals* of Kansu record (**45**: 66*b*) that in 851 the independent Chinese commander Chang I-ch'ao received the appointment of military commander of the Chinese Kuei-i troops garrisoned in Sha Chou. Formerly he had occupied on his own account ten cities, and had sent his brother to offer them to the emperor. The *Annals* of Hsining (**30**: 30, 31*a*) record that Chang I-ch'ao pacified Hsining and Kuo Chou in 851 and in that way East Kansu and Huangchung were completely recovered after ninety years (763–852).[15] The *Annals* of Hsining (**30**: 30, 31*a*) also note that the Uighur commander Pukukun of Besbalik occupied the fateful city of Hsining in 866 and both *Annals* finally note: "at these times China was beset with many problems and its orders were not obeyed by the Kuei-i troops." The *Annals* of Kansu add: "in 872 the Uighurs captured Kanchow and many more districts." The history of Huangchung and Turkistan is very confused for this period.

x 175 The point of ruin and disintegration was reached among the Tibetan tribes, in East Kansu and Huangchung, after ten years of bloody fights between Lun K'ung-jo and Chang-pe-pe. The havoc savagely wrought among the tribes, tearing asunder their own tribes, transferring allegiance from one chief to another,

[15] Hamilton, *op. cit.* **10**: 13–16, 94–95, 128–129.

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*175 and systematically devastating the country in which they lived, explains a fact unique in history. The slaves possessed by the tribes (victims of wars apportioned to the chiefs) being without lords or depending on proprietors who could no longer control them or afford to nourish them, were able to abandon their chiefs and to establish a tribe of their own, called in history the Slave Tribe, "Hun-pu" or "Wu-mu." The slaves submitted in a group to the emperor in 862; they were settled in several districts of Kansu and even of Tunhuang, where they engaged in farming. A group of them was settled in Kuo Chou in Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu 45: 66*b*. *Annals* of Hsining 30: 30, 31*a*).[16]

*175 648 However, China was not able to pay much attention to East Kansu and Huangchung during the next twenty-five years (852–875). In 875 the terrible revolution of Huang Ch'ao started which lasted for nine years, followed by the disastrous armed competitions among the Chinese generals, and the end of the effete Tang dynasty in 906.

Then five insignificant dynasties, called Wu Tai, or the Five Dynasties, succeeded one another, accompanied by ruthless wars and destruction (907–960).[17]

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE WU TAI (FIVE DYNASTIES) PERIOD, 907–960

*175 Three important facts have to be recorded concerning Huangchung during the Five Dynasties (907–960). First, the presence in Huangchung in 939, in the country situated between Kanchow and Hsining, of Shat'o Chu-hsieh tribes belonging to the group of the founders of the petty Shat'o Hu Tang dynasty (923–936), attested in *Wu-tai shih-chi* (74: 10*b*, 11*a*). At what time or in what circumstances these tribes had settled in that part of Huangchung is not known (*Monguors*, I: 30). However, the powerful Monguor clan of the Li t'u-ssu originated later from among the Shat'o Chu-hsieh tribes of that country.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE SHAT'O NATION AND HUANGCHUNG AND EAST KANSU

*175 648 563 The second fact is the disintegration of the Shat'o nation. In 947 K'ai-p'ing fu the capital of the Shat'o Hu-tsin dynasty was taken by the Ch'i-tan. The Shat'o emperor and his family were deported to Huang Lung in northern Manchuria. The Ch'i-tan emperor, for fear of the revolting governor of Szechwan Province, had decided to garrison the numerous defeated Shat'o troops on the frontiers of Szechwan, and to send their wives and children into north Shansi as security for the fidelity of their husbands, promising to relieve them every year for a visit to their families.

Ho Chien, of Uighur origin, governor of the three districts of Chin, Chieh, and Ch'eng Chou in East

[16] Stein, *op. cit.* 44: 228.
[17] Hamilton, *op. cit.* 108, 128–129.

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Kansu, faithful retainer of the Shat'o dynasty, distrusting these promises and enraged on account of the ruthless behavior of the Ch'i-tan, refused to surrender his troops to them and to defend their frontiers. He offered his troops and the districts he controlled to the governor of Szechwan. During these fateful times of wars and slaughter, the petty Hu Han (947–950) and Hu Chu (951–960) dynasties had succeeded successively to the Hu Chin dynasty of the Shat'o, and in 955 the governor of Szechwan and the troops of Ho Chien were defeated by Emperor Shi Tsung of the Hu Chu dynasty.

Now was the propitious time for the Shat'o troops to vanish with their families in Kansu among the Tibetans, for east, north, and northwest China were troubled by wars. Kansu, during the time of the ephemeral Shat'o dynasties (923–947) had constituted an integral part of their empire, and the Shat'o officials were cognizant of the chiefs of the Tibetan tribes living in East Kansu and Huangchung. The poor and destitute Shat'o having no way to move, many individuals and minor and major groups among them must have been happy to enlist and to disappear among the Tibetan tribes, acknowledging the authority of the chieftains and accepting the name of their tribe. They must have preferred to flee to the most remote mountainous southern part of East Kansu. Incidentally, it is noted among the 520 tribes of the powerful Tibetan chief, the later t'u-ssu Yang settled in the remote T'ao Chou, a tribe called the Shat'o tribe (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 64). A group of Ongutt Shat'o had fled to remote Lin T'ao, the region of the Tibetans. "They were Nestorians, they were taken prisoners by the Chin (1125–1235) and settled in Manchuria in the beginning of the twelfth century."[18]

Many groups among them fled to Huangchung and settled in the region between Kanchow and Hsining, joining the Shat'o who were living there in 939 (Monguors I) for at the time the Monguors conquered Hsining the entire region 60 li north and northwest of Hsining was inhabited by Shat'o.

That in 947 the Shat'o easily dispersed among the Tibetans, acknowledging their chiefs as their own, is quite normal, for their national pride must have been at very low ebb. Their petty first dynasty (923–936) had been controlled by three emperors of three different families and by a fourth whose mother only was known. The second dynasty (936–946) had been controlled by a Shat'o commander who had usurped the imperial power. The protracted wars had exhausted the discontented tribes, who did not know for whom they were fighting. The family of the founding ancestor of the nation had been obliterated and its doom sealed.[19]

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[18] P. Pelliot, Chrêtiens d'Asie centrale and d'Extreme Orient, *T'oung Pao*, **13** (5): 630, 1914.

[19] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 42, 55, 58, 68, 1948.

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FIRST DATA ABOUT BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

M 175x 792

The third fact is the foundation in 940 of the monastery of Dantig (Sha-ch'ung) situated southeast of Hsining, on the northern bank of the Yellow River. It was founded by dGeba rab-gsal, a lama of the Zin-dpon hermitage, who had been ordained by three lamas who had fled from Tibet on account of the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa, and had arrived in Hsining, via Khotan, and the country of the Hor (Uighurs). At that time in the region of Dantig there already existed great hermitages. The three learned men of Tibet were buried in a temple at Hsining. In sPari (the region between the Tatung River and the Nan Shan to P'ing Fan), there exists a stone pillar with the names of the three men chiseled on it. Later six more celebrated lamas fled from Tibet to Hsining. Probably the building of these hermitages happened during the span of time between the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet by Sron-btsan sgam-po who died in 650 and its persecution in 841 and especially during the years 756 until 842, when the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the entire Huangchung and East Kansu and appointed his officials. Lamas must have followed the invading T'u-fan tribes and built the hermitages and the temple in Hsining.[20] However, we have to take stock of the very judicious remark of Professor Tucci that at that time Buddhism was spread by single lama hermits and not by groups of organized monks as was the case after the reform of Tsung Khapa, born in 1354.

HT 797 648

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE SUNG PERIOD, 960–1280

M 175x 648

The Sung dynasty succeeded the fateful Five Dynasties in 960. However, it could not interfere effectively with Huangchung before 1086. Its action was limited to granting titles to Tibetan chieftains. During one and one-half centuries (875–1036) Huangchung was a no-man's-land inhabited by depleted predatory tribes each of them obeying a chieftain and having troubles among themselves (*Annals* of Hsining 30: 1, 2). Several inroads were made by them on the frontiers. They used to lie athwart the trade roads, pillaging traders and ambassadors coming to court with wares and tribute, making them prisoners and selling them and their wares and tribute.[21] Nobody could cross their country without taking his life in his hands.

M [487 484]

The waxing power of the turbulent Hsi Hsia and their inroads into East Kansu and persistent threats of invasions in Huangchung after 982 must have seriously intimidated the scattered Tibetan tribes in Huangchung and East Kansu, facing extermination one after another,

[20] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 2 (1): 63, 1949. E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism* by Buston Rin-po-che, 2: 201, 1931. Monguors II: 12, 13.

[21] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 108.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Tibet AJ2

because in 1008 Wen-pu-ku,[22] chief of the important T'u-fan tribe of Mao-ch'uan (the actual subprefecture Nien-pe), went to court to surrender, leading forty-five other T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang tribes of Ho-shi.[23] However, perspicacious T'u-fan leaders should long since have considered a wrong policy the reliance upon the protection of the Sung dynasty, which had to contend with serious troubles from inside and to fight the empire of the Liao barbarians in north China and at the same time to repell the invasions of the turbulent Hsi Hsia in East Kansu and Shensi. Therefore some of them must have considered that the genuine solution of the problem would be not to rely upon China, but upon themselves, rebuilding a T'u-fan Kingdom and welding the tribes in a unit under the chieftainship of a descendant of the founder of the kingdom.

M 175 X 648

Ho-lang-yeh-hsien, T'u-fan chief of Ho Chou tribes in East Kansu, was by accident or design in Kao Ch'ang in 1008 as the guest of the T'u-fan tribes of the petty Mo-yu kingdom. There he met a handsome and intelligent boy of twelve years of age, called Chiossulo, a genuine offspring of the imperial Tsan-p'u family of Lhasa.[24] He invited the boy to Ho Chou. The lama Li Li-tsun, chief of the important tribe of Tsung K'o[25] and Wen-pu-ku the powerful chief of the tribes of Mao Ch'uan made an agreement with Ho Chou, and succeeded in moving the boy to Kuo Chou in Huangchung, acknowledging him as their chief. Confidence revived among the federated tribes in Huangchung and Ho Chou. Chiossulo was moved into the city of Tsung K'o and Li Lama appointed as minister. As cohesion among the tribes increased, the old predatory instinct was revived. In 1015 the lama, puffed up with pride, went plundering with the T'u-fan of Niku (region of the actual Lanchow) but was defeated by the Chinese general Ts'ao Wei in San-tu-ku and in the region of Hsi Liang. After these disastrous expeditions Chiossulo dismissed his minister, abhorred by the tribes. He left Tsung K'o, moved to Mao-ch'uan, and appointed Wen-pu-ku his minister.

M 175 X 648
HT 648

In 1016 Chiossulo deputed chiefs of his tribes to convey to the court excuses for the inroads made by Li Lama, presenting his submission and a gift of 583 horses. At the same time, on account of the persistent

[22] Stein, *op. cit.*, 232.

[23] *Sung Shih* 492: 8, 9, 10.

[24] "The T'u-fan dynasty founded in the 7th century by Srong-btsan sgam-po, consisted of tribes, not always on good terms with one another, welded into temporary unity. When king Lang-dharma started the persecution of Buddhism in 842 and was murdered the same year, the dynasty fell, never to rise again, and its military power vanished. However, the royal family was not wiped out with the end of the dynasty. Indeed Lang-dharma's descendants succeeded in founding some new petty kingdoms in the farthest regions of Tibet" (Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 3, Roma, 1949). The Mo-yu kingdom in Kao-ch'ang must have been a kingdom of the same pattern (*Sung Shih* 492: 2b).

[25] Tsung K'o is the region situated southwest of P'ing-jung-i which is located 80 li east of Hsining.

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Historical Tibet AJ2
Uigur AI4

inroads of Hsi Hsia on the Huangchung borders and in East Kansu, the deputation proposed to the emperor that he fight Hsi Hsia in combination with the 60,000 troops Chiossulo commanded. The proposition was hotly debated among the ministers. The emperor, afraid of the revival of a new and terrible Tsan-p'u power, and distrusting the inconstancy and predatoriness of the barbarians, refused the offer. Thereupon the embittered Chiossulo invaded Fu Ch'iang in South Kansu with his troops of Huangchung and Ho Chou, but suffered a striking defeat at the hand of General Ts'ao Wei (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 6*b*). The commander of the troops of Ho Chou abandoned Chiossulo and submitted to the emperor, enfeebling the position of Chiossulo. In 1028 Hsi Hsia, invading West Kansu, liquidated the kingdom of the Uighurs in Kanchow and so the threat of invasion became more imminent.

M 175x 648 HT 648

Chiossulo and his minister submitted to the emperor in 1032 and were bestowed with titles. However, the Minister Wen Pu Ku revolted against Chiossulo, who killed him and later moved to Hsining. Chiossulo having troubles in his own backyard, Li Yuan-hao, King of Hsi Hsia, seized the opportunity to invade Hsining in 1035, but Chiossulo administered a tremendous defeat. This victory rendered him the master of all of Huangchung.

M 175x 648

Li Yuen-hao conquered the districts of Su, Kua, and Sha Chou in West Kansu, commanding the trade roads to Central Asia, in 1036, and started moving T'u-fan and Uighur tribes into his kingdom of Hsi Hsia. Then many T'u-fan tribes, among them the tribes of Niku and several ten thousands of Uighurs preferred to flee to Chiossulo, pledge allegiance to him and settle in Huangchung. The scant population of Huangchung increased to the point where Chiossulo became the ruler of 600,000 subjects and Hsining started flourishing. The Uighurs, reputed traders, used to travel between Central Asia, China, and the Liao empire, and were familiar with the roads running from Hsining through Kokonor and the passes in the Nan Shan leading to Kao Ch'ang[26] and Central Asia. "The traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to Hsining." Hsining thrived with trade; wealth and riches poured into the country and at the same time agriculture developed.[27]

U 175 484

M 175x

SEVERAL TEN THOUSANDS OF UIGHURS FLED TO HUANGCHUNG

M U 167

Now the emperor was in a hurry to send an official to congratulate Chiossulo for his resounding victory over the Hsi Hsia, bringing him the titles of military governor of East Kansu and supreme chief of Mao-

648 M 175x U 175

[26] Kao Ch'ang is also called Turfan, Hsi Chou. In that region must have been the kingdom of Mo-yu where Chiossulo was born.

[27] *Sung Shih*, **492**: 8, 10, 11, 13. *Sung Shih* **251**: 13. *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 6, 7, 8. *Annals* of Hsining **30B**: 1, 2, 3; **33A-B**.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

ch'uan (i.e., of the entire Huangchung), a gift of 20,000 pieces of silk and a salary, making him understand that he was an official of the empire. At the same time he enjoined him to attack Hsi Hsia in Liangchow. Chiossulo judged his troops too feeble to risk the venture. Another official arrived with the same order. This time Chiossulo treated him very roughly. His behavior was not that of a subject treating with the emperor, but rather that of a nephew talking about an uncle,[28] because two Chinese princesses, Wen Ch'eng in 643 and Kin Ch'eng in 710, had been married to princes of the imperial Tsan-p'u house of Lhasa. The Chinese official readily understood the attitude of Chiossulo and informed the emperor (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 8*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 2*a*). During thirty years Chiossulo did not care for the empire which intermittently waged war with Hsi Hsia in East Kansu and Shensi with varied fortune, nor did he care for the Chinese officials whom the emperor tried to appoint in Huangchung; he cared only for his own kingdom, appointing his officials in Huangchung and on the East Kansu borders. Huangchung was the only country where people lived peacefully engrossed in agriculture and where trade boomed.

M U 167 648 M 175X U 175

HSINING IN THE HEYDAY OF ITS GLORY

Chiossulo was in the heyday of his glory. He rebuilt the city of Hsining. According to the notes recorded by a Chinese official who at that time had been sent to confer with Chiossulo,[29] the circumference of the city was 20 li. The city was protected by a strong, high wall dotted with towers, and eight gates secured access to the city. In the center of this enormous city was constructed a large fortress having four strong towers at the corners. This fortress must have corresponded to the actual city of Hsining and the enormous outer city must have been built to secure a refuge for the surrounding people and their herds at the time of inroads from invading tribes. Chiossulo resided in the fortress in a sumptuous palace, whose roofs were covered with glazed tiles. In this city was a large hall built on a terrace having eight steps and a sumptuous entrance supported by huge pillars. The administration buildings were constructed inside the city, two small palaces for the princesses of the Ch'i Tan and of the Hsi Hsia, and a splendid temple in which was throned a gilded Buddha statue, ten feet high, adorned with strings of pearls and a precious mantle.

M 175X 361 M [341] M [792 532]

[28] A. Rona Tas, Social terms in the list of grants of the Tibetan Tunhuang Chronicle, *Acta Orientalia*, V, 5: 266, 1955. Relationship between the Chinese emperor and the Tibetan king, of uncle and nephew on the maternal side, essentially reflects the Tibetan avuncular system; this relationship, which used to determine the mutual position of the two rulers, is rooted in social history.

[29] Enoki, *op. cit.*, 90, 91. Oshono kika keiryaku ni tsuite (On the *Hsi-ho ching-luch* of Wang Ch'ao) in Mokoga Huho, Tokyo (*Meng-ku hsueh-pao*,) I, Shuo fu, 15: 12 *a–b*.

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mantle. Trade was transacted in this city, where shops had been built and traders, artisans, and well-to-do people lived. In the outer city was a large terrace with three steps where every three years Heaven and Earth were worshipped, and also two smaller fortresses. More than one thousand houses were built in the outer city and many Buddhist temples with glazed tile roofs, and abodes for the lamas. Half of the buildings in the inner and outer cities were Buddhist buildings. Lamas presided at all the public ceremonies and participated at the councils of the chief. Five li outside the outer city, to the west, was built a very large lamasery with abodes for five hundred lamas and a splendid temple.

These notes written by the Chinese official prove that Chiossulo was fond of display and munificence, that his realm was flourishing and opulent and that he was a very fervent Buddhist, reigning over a Buddhist people and surrounded by lamas whom he revered. Hsining seems to have been a small Lhasa. Chiossulo was a descendant of princes who had lived in Lhasa, and the old traditions prevailing in Lhasa must have been fresh and living in his family and among his officials.

It is worth noticing that in the description of the opulent city written by the Chinese official, after many thousand Uighurs had surrendered and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo, not a single mention is recorded of a Manichean temple or Nestorian church. The Uighurs are known to have been professing Manicheans although many among them must also have been fervent Buddhists or shamanists or perhaps Nestorians. The Uighurs at the time of their arrival at Hsining must have been accompanied by their religious leaders and would normally have built some temples.

In the *Annals* of Hsining (15 : 2*b*), however, is noted a Pei-i-ssu the Temple of the White Clothes,[30] the stereotypical designation of Nestorian temples. This temple was situated north of the outer city and is the only Nestorian temple recorded in the *Annals*. The date of its construction is not recorded.

Chiossulo died in 1065 having had to defend twice more his independent kingdom against the Hsi Hsia, in 1058 and 1065 (*Annals* of Hsining 31B : 2*a–b*, 3*a*, 33*a*).

This history of Chiossulo is of overriding importance for the study of the Monguors. Unfortunately, I overlooked it at the time I prepared Part I of the study. It reveals how at the time of the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols (1227) and the Ming (1368), the population of the country had come to consist of T'u-fan tribes already mixed with Tang-hsiang tribes, a group of the Slave tribes and strong groups of Uighurs and Shat'o. It sheds light on names of tribes of Monguor commoners pointing to their Turkish and Tibetan origin. The fact that several thousand Uighur Turks had fled to Huangchung in 1038 from the corridor of West Kansu and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo,

[30] Referring to the white clothes worn at the time of baptism.

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seems to justify and to explain historically my former hypothesis: "It seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in the Monguor clans are Turks, but not all of them Shat'o Turks" (Monguors I: 54). "A majority of Turkish elements is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by the *t'u-ssu*" (Monguors I: 55). That many Uighur Turks are encountered in the clans of the Monguor Shat'o seems normal, for tribes of Turkish origin must have preferred to live together. The fact that all of Huangchung had been occupied by T'u-fan Tibetans since 629 explains that T'u-fan tribes preferred to join the T'u-fan of Hsining rather than to be moved among the Tang-hsiang tribes of Hsi Hsia. 175x 162 563 [167]

MOSLEM TRADERS IN HSINING

The history of Chiossulo points to the problem of the first appearance of Moslems in Huangchung. The *Sung Shih* (492: 13*a*) notes explicitly "that Hsining Uighurs went to Kao Ch'ang along Kokonor and that traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to do business." That the Hsining Uighurs were very well acquainted with those of Turkistan is no wonder, even as the T'u-fan of Hsining were acquainted with those of Kao Ch'ang, for Chiossulo was born in Kao Ch'ang. However, traders did not travel only from Hsining to the oasis east of Tarim, but they traveled also along Kokonor to the oasis of west Tarim, Khotan, Yarkand, etc., and further into India. This last route was already well known in the sixth century A.D.[31] and lamas fleeing the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa came over Khotan to Hsining. Since 943 the Karakhanids,[32] of Turkish origin, as were the Uighurs, had founded petty realms in the oasis of West Tarim. Their chief had been converted to Islam in 960 and forced his subjects to become Moslems. These Turks, being as sturdy traders as the Uighurs, were very cognizant of the booming trade of Hsining, through which territory they traveled bringing tribute to China,[33] and relations existed between Khotan and the house of Chiossulo itself, whose son Tung-chen had as a concubine a lady born in Khotan, and had adopted her son A li ku and appointed him as his successor in 1086. 175x 439 563 [487 484]

Traders, according to the time-honored custom practiced all over China, were federated in guilds, protected by the local officials. They had their own business quarters, their own caravansaries and their permanent agents caring for the interests of the trade. Most of them had their families with them, and it seems very probable that during the booming period of 1038–1086, Moslem traders from West Tarim appeared for the very first time in Huangchung. No wonder that Marco Polo two centuries later noted explicitly the presence of Moslems in Hsining during the Mongol period in [444]

[31] Chavannes, *op. cit.* 6: 333, 341.
[32] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 94, 95.
[33] *Sung Shih* 490: 7*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 501.

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1274 and also of Nestorians, probably traders as were the Moslems, originating from Kao Ch'ang. 175x 439 563

BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

The history of Chiossulo has an important bearing upon the history of Buddhism in Huangchung and upon the specific character of Shamanism in the country. 175x 795

In Part II (8–14) it is noted that, according to the *Annals* of Hsining, the first Buddhist temple in Hsining, the Ta Fo Ssu, had been built during the Yuan period (1280–1368). Since I was conversant with the history of Chiossulo, I suggested on page 12 that most probably during the occupation of Kansu by the Tsan p'u of Lhasa from 763 until 842, lamas would have followed the conquerors and spread Buddhism in Kansu. However, the first historical data are recorded in the *Blue Annals* translated by Roerich, where is noted the foundation of the monastery of Dantig in 940, on the northern borders of the Yellow River in Huangchung, and at the same time that in that country great hermitages already existed. These annals also note the existence in the city of Hsining of a Buddhist temple where Buddhist monks had been buried. These are the first historical data which prove that Buddhism was practiced in Huangchung before 940. Since the description of the city of Hsining during the reign of Chiossulo, who died in 1065, is available, we know that the city of Hsining was a Lhasa in miniature, where lamas stood at the helm, and that therefore, long before the Yuan period, Buddhism flourished on a very large scale.

SHAMANISM AND MANICHEISM

The Uighurs were converted to Manicheism in 762–763 and professed Buddhism and Nestorianism at the same time. At the time of their khanate in Kanchow in 872 their official religion was still Manicheism. Manicheism is based upon the doctrine of the existence of two distinct principles of good and evil, and of two distinct beings impersonating good and evil, both eternal, independent, and mutually antipathetic.

The shamanism of the Monguors (Monguors II: 94–97) has been explained on the one hand by the overwhelming fear of evil spirits existing among the shamanists, and on the other hand by the recognition of their dependence on good spirits in all the circumstances of life. The struggle between both groups of spirits has been recorded during the typical rite against hail. Then the people carry all their good spirits into the fields in the direction of the threatening clouds, and cry to them to fight the evil hail spirits, which they curse awfully. If it happens nonetheless that the crops are destroyed, the people sigh with despair saying: "the good spirits could not match the evil ones." 175x 795 756

Professor Wolfram Eberhard,[24] reviewing the chapter on shamanism, suggested judiciously that there

[24] Wolfram Eberhard, *Jour. Amer. Oriental Soc.* 4: 284, 1957.

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Uigur AZ4

might be reason to think seriously of the thesis of the influence of Iranian dualism upon the shamanism of the Monguors and upon that encountered in west China in a contact zone of Tibetan and Chinese populations. He notes that attention has already long ago been drawn to the Iranian elements in Central Asian shamanism. Since it is known that several ten thousands of Manichean Uighurs pledged allegiance to Chiossulo in 1036 and that they were settled in Huangchung and in East Kansu up to the borders of Szechwan, it is easy to agree with the suggestion. Without doubt Iranian elements had had time enough to influence the shamanism of Kansu, for my notes were recorded in 1910–1920, after these Manicheans had lived in the country for six centuries. Iranian influence upon the shamanism of Central Asia may be explained in the same way. The Uighur kingdom was liquidated in 840 by the Kirghiz, after the Uighurs had been converted to Manicheism eighty years earlier. Then they roamed in Turkistan and on the China borders carrying with them their Manicheism and came in contact with the shamanism of Central Asia.

M 175x 715 756

SETTLEMENT OF THE UIGHURS

M 175x 167 563 U 167 175

The arrival of thousands of Tibetans and several ten thousands of Uighurs all fleeing at the same time into Huangchung, driving before them their herds, carrying their belongings, etc., should have created a tremendous and delicate problem for Chiossulo to cope with. All these turbulent people had to be settled without hurting the feelings of the Tibetan tribes subject to him and already living in the country. This tremendous number of tribes must have upset the whole country, as many groups must have tried to occupy the territories which seemed fitting to them and have caused endless troubles.

M U [448] M 175x 167 563 U 175 167

The *Annals* of Hsining (4: 19*a*) dealing with the geography of the country note incidently that five thousand T'u-fan horsemen arrived at the well of Fu-t'i, and drove Uighurs who had settled there back to their own country. This well is situated near the well-known old fortress of Shih-pu-ch'eng (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 3*a–b*). This reveals how delicate a problem Chiossulo had to contend with, and indicates the attitude of the Tibetans toward the Uighurs intruding into their country.

It is impossible to find out which among the numerous tribe names recorded in the *Annals* for the first time in Ming times (1368) are Uighur, Tibetan, or Shat'o names, because all the tribes are generally recorded as being Tibetans.

What tribes were settled in Huangchung in 1008 when the twelve-year-old Chiossulo arrived in the country?

In Mao Ch'uan, the actual subprefecture of Nienpei, is recorded the presence of the important Tibetan

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Ulgur AI4

tribe, T'u-fan mixed with Tang-hsiang, controlled by Wenpuku; and another important tribe controlled by the lama Li Li-tsung settled in the region of Tsung K'o. A third group is also noted, the group of the Slaves (Wu-mu) who settled in Kuo Chou, 150 li south of Nienpei, in 862.

M 175x 167 563 U 175 167

To be sure, more insignificant tribes must have settled in Huangchung, but their names and the areas occupied are not recorded. Next to the Tibetan groups is recorded the Shat'o chu-hsieh tribe[35] living in a region 100 li south of Kanchow in 939, stretching from the Nan Shan to Hsining (Monguors I: 13*b*) and encompassing the region of the Tat'ung River. Many Shat'o, after the collapse of their dynasty in 955, had joined this group. These Shat'o were the southern neighbors of the Uighurs of Kanchow for two hundred years, who were a mixture of many tribes blended and fused into the compound that founded the Khanate of Kanchow in 872. Its predatoriness is attested in the history of Turkistan and Kansu.[36] Shat'o and Uighurs, according to the circumstances, had lived congenially together in former times, had combined their forces to fight a common enemy, but had fought against each other every time divergences of interest had arisen. What the relations had been between the Hsining Shat'o and the Kanchow Uighurs in 1036 is not known. The leading tribe among the Kanchow Uighurs was the Lung tribe.[37]

In what areas of Huangchung and east Kansu were these Uighurs and Tibetans settled by Chiossulo in 1036?

Scanning chapter 19 of the *Annals* of Hsining, dealing with the tribes settled in Huangchung in Ming times (1368) (three hundred years after their surrender to Chiossulo) one is amazed to read names of such tribes as Lung-pu, Lung-pen, Lung-wang, and To-lung. One thinks unwillingly that these names might point to tribes which had constituted the important Lung tribe of Kanchow, which might have divided into smaller tribes after the surrender to Chiossulo in 1036. One is surprised to read also that in 1071 the most powerful among the tribes depending on Hsining was the Lung-k'o tribe noted also as the Yu-lung-k'o tribe.[38] In the Lung k'o tribe there were numerous chiefs. The tribe was wealthy and opulent. It was settled in East

M 175x 563 167 619

[35] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 89, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[36] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 128–129.

[37] *Wu-tai-shih* 74: 4*a*. Stein, *op. cit.*, 256. The Lung is a branch of the Uighurs of Kanchow whose customs differ little from those of the other Uighurs. The Lung came from Karashar (Yen-ch'i). Lung was the name of the clan chiefs of Karashar. They had settled in Kansu and Yi Chou (region of Hami). Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 128.

[38] Biography of General Wang Ch'ao in *Sung Shih* 87: 20 *a–b*. *Annals* of Kansu 46: 10*b*. *Annals* of Hsining 31: 3*a*, and the important study of Enoki Kazuo, entitled *Osho no kika Keiryaku ni tsuite* (on the Hsi-ho ching-lueh of Wang Ch'ao) in Mokoga Huho, 1, Tokyo, (Meng-ku hsueh pao) 1: 88–167.

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Uigur AI4

Kansu, in Yen Ch'uan Chai, which is Chang Hsien, situated 50 li southwest of Kung Ch'ang (Enoki, 158). The tribe surrendered to General Wang Ch'ao in 1071 with its 120,000 people. The *Annals* of Kansu 97: 14, record that Wang Ch'ao notified the emperor about the submission of the Lung-k'o tribe and petitioned to reward it with the name Pao (thankful). The request was granted and the emperor added the word Shun to the name, Pao Shun (thankful-faithful). Enoki (p. 111) noted also a Lung-po tribe living in East Kansu in 1071. It had troubles with the Tibetan To-chih tribe. However, the Lung tribes recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining were settled in Huangehung. The Lung-pu, numbering two thousand families, divided into two tribes, was settled south of Hsining on the northern borders of the Yellow River. Its people lived mostly in tents (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 3 *a–b*). The Lung-pen tribe numbering 873 families was settled 60 li west of Hsining. Its people lived partly in a city (fortress), partly in tents. The tribe controlled the Pen-pa-erh[39] tribe numbering one hundred families settled in the Hsi-shih-hsia (Tsamalung) on the rapids of the Hsining River between Hsining and Don Kir (*Annals* of Hsining 1: 12*a*, 15*a*). The small Lung-wang and To-lung tribes numbering eighty families were settled 80 li east of the city of Tatung on the borders of the Tatung River (*Annals* of Hsining 19, 20*a*) in the region occupied by the Shat'o at the time of their surrender. This seems to suggest that this group was congenial with the Shat'o group.

M 175x 563 167 619
M [342]

UIGHURS AND SUBJECTS OF T'U-SSU

In discussing the commoners, the subjects of the Monguor t'u-ssu (Monguors I: 31–53), it has been noted that during the Mongol period (1280–1368), Ch[illegible]ung-k'o hsing-chi, a member of the imperial family, had been appointed guardian of the region situated 90 li south of Hsining. He discharged the office of myriarch and evidently controlled his own 10,000 soldiers and their families. However, it is recorded that he governed also eight tribes of Tung Ku and vicinity, descendants of western Ch'iang (western Tibetans). Tung Ku was situated between Hsining and the Ta-tung River, in the region of Tatung, where during the Five Dynasties (907–951) Shat'o tribes lived, joined by other groups of Shat'o after the collapse of their dynasty. These western Ch'iang seem to be Uighurs of the khanate of Kanchow who had settled there in 1036. The Uighurs of Kanchow had come from the west, from Turkistan, and so are called western Tibetans, for all the barbarians are called Tibetans in the *Annals*. For what reason these eight tribes had been moved and put under the control of the myriarch

M 175x 648
U 175 648

[39] *Anthropos* 52: 560 sq., 1957. Dominik Schroder writes a very interesting article: Uber die Chia-Fandse von Bengbar, Tsing-hai (the Pen-pa tribe), und ihre Hochzeitssitten.

[P. 16(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

is not recorded. Friction between Uighurs and Shat'o? Not room enough in Tung Ku for the herds? A device to increase the military power of the myriarch? M 175x 648 U 175 648

It is also noted that twelve Pai-tieh tribes and others were controlled by the three Shat'o officials Li, Na, and Chi, who guarded the country 30 li south and west of Hsining. To these three Shat'o chieftains who controlled their own Shat'o subjects, the Pai-tieh tribes and others had been entrusted by the Mongols. Probably they were Uighurs, for they were moved from the Tung-ku region also, and it is noted that their customs and clothes and adornments were the same as those of the western Ch'iangs of the myriarch. M 619 624 563 M [17]

It is further noted that the Shat'o official Li Nan-ko originally controlled the tribes of Tung Ku and the Hula tribes. Probably being a prominent and powerful chieftain, he had enrolled among his Shat'o subjects these Uighur tribes, at the time they fled from Kanchow. At the same time it is recorded that the t'u-ssu Ah, Chao, Yeh, Kan, and Chu controlled the Lu-erh-chia tribes and others, which were in the main similar in customs, clothing and adornments, according to the *Annals*. M [17]

It is noted (Monguors I: 56) that only one large group of Chinese is known to have enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans. The group bears the surname of Pao and is usually called the Yuan Pao group. They are subjects of the Lu t'u-ssu. We were at a loss to explain satisfactorily the name Yuan Pao. The fact had been noted above that the strong Lung K'o tribe, with its 120,000 people, had received, in 1071, from the Sung emperor the name Pao for its faithfulness toward the dynasty. Is it not possible that, during the period of troubles, which lasted for nearly two centuries, the clan disintegrated, that a group moved to Huangchung and lost its language, conserving the name Pao, but, knowing that they were Uighurs, that they preferred to be enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans, as so many Uighurs during the Yuan period? Because this had happened during the Yuan period, they are still called the Pao group of the Yuan time, Yuan Pao chia. M 175x 614 563

It seems conclusively that these tribes were Uighur tribes which, during the Mongol period, had been divided in small units and entrusted to these petty military officials, and appointed as guardians of definite territory and mountain passes in Huangchung in order that they might be able to defend the country more easily. M [624]

SETTLEMENT OF UIGHURS AND SHAT'O IN EAST KANSU

M 175x 614 563 648

The preceding notes explain the settlement of only a relatively small number of Uighurs. But where has the remainder of the several ten thousands of Uighurs been settled? Since the very important Lung K'o tribe was settled in East Kansu, and another Lung-po tribe is rooted in the same region, and on the map a U 175 167 648

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

Lung village is noted near Ming Chou in East Kansu, our investigations are turned in that direction. M 175x

From 1086 on, the entire population of Huangchung and parts of East Kansu controlled by the descendants of Chiossulo was intermittently involved in troubles with the Chinese empire, and in 1096 it arose as one man against the Sung empire, combining its forces with those of the Hsi Hsia. The cities of Huangchung were taken and retaken alternatively by Chinese troops and Tibetans, and the whole country was devastated and ruined. The flourishing empire founded by Chiossulo had lasted for only about fifty years. The fateful Huangchung was again controlled by the Sung emperor. After another period of fifty years, during which Chinese and Chin empires fought the Hsi Hsia and then fought among themselves, the Chin empire occupied Huangchung in 1131 and appointed Kuan Shih Ku to control the Ho Chou area and all of Huangchung (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 8*a*). 614 563 648 U 175 367 648

What happened to the Uighurs from 1086 until 1227? Having been settled in the territories of Chiossulo since 1036, mixed with the Tibetan tribes depending on him, and having pledged allegiance to him, inevitably they had endorsed the policy of the tribes of Huangchung and had a desperate time. During the fifty years of wars and destruction many of these Uighur tribes must have disintegrated and mixed with others. In 1369, at the time the Ming dynasty conquered Kansu, organized the country, and established the régime of the t'u-ssu, the disaster was wrought among the tribes, especially in East Kansu.

Tang-hsiang tribes, in which T'u-fan tribes had mixed, had been settled in East Kansu since 627. Shat'o groups, in 955, had scattered into the remotest southwestern parts of East Kansu, in the region of the upper T'ao River and near the borders of Szechwan. In 1036, in the same region, a large number of Uighurs must have been settled and at the débacle of the Mongol dynasty (1368) many Mongol groups also remained in these countries.

Scanning the list of the t'u-ssu established in that region in Ming times, one wonders to see in the *Annals* of Kansu the clear distinction established among the subjects of the t'u-ssu. Every time, their subject Tibetan tribes are accurately noted as Tibetans, and next to them their native subject tribes. This intended distinction seems to point at genuine Tibetan tribes and at the mixture of Shat'o Uighurs and Mongols qualified as natives. M 175x 563

SARO AND SHERA UIGHURS

In the remote country of the mountainous Ming Chou Hsien at the source of the T'ao River is recorded the T'u-ssu Ma Chin-tung, of Chinese origin, controlling 26 native tribes (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 27*a*). In the same region T'u-ssu Hu Ch'eng controlled 41 vil- M 175x 619 563 U 175 619

[P.17(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

lages of natives, inhabited by 440 families (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 29*b*). This means that the natives of Hu T'u-ssu were no longer organized in tribes as were the subjects of the first Ma T'u-ssu. Still, in the same Ming Chou T'u-ssu Chao Tang-chih-kuan-pu controlled three tribes of Tibetans and eight villages of natives, who later became Chinese (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 30*a*). Also in the same Ming Chou region, another *t'u-ssu*, Chao Cho-ssu-shieh, a chief of nomad Tibetans controlled 43 tribes of Tibetans and 48 tribes of natives. His subjects joined the revolt of the Yellow Tibetans (Uighurs),[40] their neighbors, during the Yung Cheng period (1723–1724). The t'u-ssu lost his office and his subjects were forced into the framework of the Chinese administration and became thoroughly Chinese (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 31*a*). This important text proves definitely the presence of groups of still autonomous Yellow Tibetan (Uighur) tribes controlled by their own chiefs, in whose revolt the forty-eight native tribes joined. It may be supposed that they also were Uighurs still organized in tribes but controlled by the t'u-ssu. In Ti Tao along the same T'ao River the Mongol T'u-ssu Chao T'o-t'ieh-mu-erh controls three tribes of Tibetans and fifteen tribes of natives. In Choni region situated on the same river, between T'ao Chou and Ming Chou, the well-known T'u-ssu Yang controls 520 tribes called Tibetans (*Annals* of Kansu

M 175x 619 563 U 175 619

[40] *T'oung Pao* 14, 1: 149, 1913, records "the Yogur tribes in Kansu are separated in two groups, whose languages are entirely different. The Saro Yogurs (Yellow Tibetans) are Turks, the Shera Yogurs (Black Tibetans) are Mongols. This note is written according to articles of G. F. Mannerheim: A visit to the Saro Yogurs (*Journal de la Société Fino Ougrienne* 28: 2, 1911, and to the article of S. E. Maloff: Restes de Chamanisme chez les Yogurs Jaunes (Saro Yogurs) en Russe, extract de la revue *Jivaia Starina*, 61–74, 1912. Concerning these two groups, the *Annals* of Kansu 42: 87*a*, 88, 89, record: 15 Hsi-la-ku-erh tribes called Huang-fan (Yellow Tibetans, Saro Yogurs) live in the southern mountains (Nan Shan), five in the district of Kanchow, eight in that of Suchow and two in that of Kao T'ai, and also seven T'ang-wu-t'e tribes called Hofan (Black Tibetans, Shera Yogurs). The proper name of the Yellow group is Tan-chih. Formerly it inhabited the commandery of Han-tung (Sha-chou) and is of Mongol origin. It was looted by T'ulufan and moved by Governor Wang Chih into the southern mountains of Kanchow in 1518; it is usually called the Yellow Mongol group. The sources of the Ho River are 100 li southwest of Kanchow. (The sources of the Ho River are far from the regions of the T'ao River, Ming Chou, Ling T'ao.) The west side of the river is entirely inhabited by Yellow Tibetans, the east side by Black Tibetans, also called people of the northern way. The Black Tibetans called T'ang-wu-t'e originated from the Hsi-ch'iang (Western Tibetans) of the Han time (200 B.C.–A.D. 200). In 1696 they were forced to follow Galdan. After the defeat of Galdan, those among them who were engaged in farming, surrendered. In 1698 they received hereditary titles, with official documents and seals, on which were written and engraved Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese characters. Six tribes inhabit Kanchow territory, one inhabits Kao T'ai. These notes, excerpted from the *Annals* of Kansu, deal only with tribes living in the Kanchow territory and in the Suchow area, not with those of Ming Chou.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

42: 32 *a–b*). Among these tribes one is called Shat'o tribe (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 64*a*) and several are called Black Tibetans (Uighurs) (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 67*a*). Also is noted a revolt of Black Tibetan tribes in 1712 in which the Black Tibetans of Yang T'u-ssu joined. The t'u-ssu helped subdue the revolt and titles were granted to thirty-seven tribes of these Black Tibetans (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 32*a*). There are only recorded the most important t'u-ssu. Finally two important groups of Yellow and Black Tibetan tribes (Uighurs) are recorded in that remote mountainous region, which during the Manchu dynasty still lived independently, controlled by their own chiefs, and to which joined the Yellow and Black Tibetans who had submitted to local chieftains.

M 175x 619 563 U 175 619

The Black Tibetans (Uighurs) living in the T'ao Chou district, depending on the Yang T'u-ssu of Choni, revolted during eleven years from 1868 to 1879.

Since 1822, the rebels of the old White Nenuphar groups, incessantly changing the name of their groups and moving from Szechwan Province, had invaded East Kansu and wrought tremendous havoc among the people of all of East Kansu for more than fifty years. The Tibetan, Uighur, and Shat'o tribes revolted at the same time. All the revolts were directed against the hated Manchu dynasty, a dynasty of barbarian origin which ruled China.

In 1868 the revolt of the Black Tibetans of Yang T'u-ssu had been more or less quelled. It broke out in full swing in 1879 again. According to the *Annals* of Kansu 46: 70*a*, a Black Tibetan, subject of the Yang t'u-ssu, called Cho-yang-jen-chieh, living in the Kua-tse-ku, was a shaman by profession. In 1879, during the devastating earthquake of the [illegible]th moon, his wife gave birth to a boy, whom he insid[illegible]ously had called to be a Living Buddha. The baby was brought to the monastery and the lamas with the shaman, intending to make money, spread the news. During the feast prepared to honor the Living Buddha, attended by a huge crowd making offerings, the shaman, a piece of red cotton rolled on his head and a sword in his girdle, performed the shamanistic rites. Enraptured in a wild trance, he disclosed what his spirit had just imparted to him: the Living Buddha was chosen, the spirit said, to become the emperor of China. All the Black Tibetans of the four tribes were enrolled in the army of the Buddha, weapons were prepared, and the Uighurs attacked the villages of Ah Ho T'an and Yung P'ing and others. At that time the revolt of the White Nenuphar, called by the Chinese the "Hairy brigands," was still raging in East Kansu. Troops soon arrived. The Black Tibetans were beaten and pursued.

M 175x 648 U 175 648

The Governor General Tso Tsung-t'ang sent more troops, ordering them to capture the chiefs of the revolt. The shaman, the Living Buddha, and twenty other men were captured and killed, and T'ao Chou district was

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AIH

at peace. This typical incident depicts the true mentality of the barbarian tribes at that time, and the impact of shamanism and Buddhism upon these old Manicheans. M 175* 648 U 175 648

MA-T'I SSU, THE HORSESHOE MONASTERY

M 792

In the southern mountains of the subprefecture of Yung Ch'ang, in 1912, Fathers Essens, Selosse, and I visited a small group of Uighurs, living in the Ma-t'i Ssu-ku, the valley of the monastery of the Horseshoe. We saw two temples built in the rock. The upper temple was administered by lamas, the lower one by a couple of Chinese monks.

M 173

In the red sandstone of the mountain was a deep cave, where the lamas pointed to a large horseshoe imprinted on the floor. It was said to be the print of the shoe of the horse mounted in time of war by the legendary Gesar, who later became a Chinese god of war. Maybe for that reason Chinese monks live there. An iron stake was also planted in the cave on which two heavy chains were attached, said to be the chains with which Gesar restrained his terrible mastiffs. Legends were told claiming that Gesar had lived in the valley and built the temples.

M 792

At present the temple is an affiliate of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung belonging to the Living Buddha T'u-kuan. In one of his previous existences he had bought some land in that country, the revenues from which were used for the support of the lamas and the payment of yearly interest on the capital invested by the Living Buddha. The lama director of the monastery is responsible for the administration of the monastery and is appointed by the Living Buddha (Monguors II: 52).

M 175* 648 U 175 648

The monastery of the Horseshoe seems to have existed long before the T'u-kuan Living Buddhas and the monastery of Erh-ku-long existed (1604), for we read in the *Annals* of Kansu 97: 37, that a lama from Tibet living in Ma-t'i Ssu, named Pa-shih-ha, was appointed by the Dalai Lama to collect from the Uighurs of the country the *t'ien-pa*, the yearly field tax, and to send it to Lhasa. It is noted also that the Uighurs of the country, every time they killed an ox or a sheep, had to offer to the lamas of Ma-t'i Ssu some meat or a skin for the support of the lamas. Did the Horseshoe monastery or hermitage already exist before the Khoshot Kushihhan had conquered Tibet and offered it to the Dalai Lama in 1642? It seems to be a very old hermitage on account of the legends claiming its origin date from the time of Gesar.

U 175

The *Annals* of Kansu claim also that the Uighurs living in the Horseshoe region were Yellow and Black Tibetans (shera saro Uighurs). When these Uighurs had settled in that country is unknown. They were engaged partly in farming but mostly in cattle breeding. Their daughters married Tibetan boys; their boys married Tibetan girls. The clothes of the women were

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

partly Tibetan and partly Mongol. In not too long a time they would have become thoroughly Tibetan.[41]

U 175

ETHNOGRAPHY OF HUANGCHUNG AND EAST KANSU

M 175x 648 167

The preceding notes have an important ethnographic bearing. It has been noted that in 625, for fear of invading T'u-fan of Tibet, several thousand Tang-hsiang from the region of Sung P'an in Szechwan had fled to East Kansu, submitted to China, and had been settled in East Kansu and Mi Chih in Shansi; also that T'u-fan hordes chased the T'u-ku-hun from Huangchung and the Kokonor region and settled in Huangchung in 629. From 763 until 842 the whole of Kansu had been lost to China; the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the country and appointed his officials. Consequently, the bulk of the population of East Kansu consisted of Tang-hsiang and T'u-fan subjects. In 955 the Shat'o nation disintegrated and many Shat'o groups were incorporated in the Tibetan tribes in East Kansu and many fled to Huangchung, joining the Shat'o group which was living there in 939. In 1036 tens of thousands of Uighurs surrendered to Chiossulo who settled them in Huangchung and in East Kansu. In 1368, in the Ming dynasty, some Uighur groups had still kept their tribal organization but, under the leadership of t'u-ssu, others had become mixed with Tibetans and Shat'o in village formations and two groups had conserved their autonomy under the leadership of their own chiefs. When in 1712–1723 these groups revolted against the Ch'ing dynasty, many small groups of Uighurs controlled by t'u-ssu followed the people of their race in the revolt. During the Mongol period (1280–1368) many groups of Mongols settled in East Kansu and Huangchung. After the collapse of their dynasty most of them submitted to the Ming and remained in the country. Some of their chiefs became t'u-ssu and other groups disintegrated and dispersed in the country.

M [563]

These notes explain what specific tribes constitute the base of the present population in Huangchung and East Kansu and at what time these tribes had arrived in Kansu. During centuries they lived one next to the other, feuding and blending with the few Chinese of the country, forming the compound called Kansu Chinese.

COLLAPSE OF THE T'U-FAN KINGDOM OF HUANGCHUNG

M 175x [595]

Chiossulo had three wives. The first, belonging to the Ch'iao family, bore one son, Tung-chan; the second, the daughter of the lama Li Li-tsun, the dismissed minister, bore two sons; no notes concern the third (*Annals*

[41] Mathias Hermann, S.V.D., Uiguren und ihre neuentdekten Nachkommen, *Anthropos*, 78–99, 1940–1941.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*a*. *Sung Shih* **492**: 14*a–b*). In 1065 Chiossulo appointed Tung Chan chief of the tribes. He governed 600,000 subjects. The emperor ratified the appointment in 1068, granted to the new chief the titles previously bestowed upon the father, and seized the opportunity to send Chinese officials to help him administer Huangchung. Tung Chan was a faithful defender of the empire. When the Hsi Hsia in 1070 invaded East Kansu, he attacked them, thus breaking the impact of the invasion. In 1081, 120,000 of his troops fought the Hsi Hsia at the side of the imperial armies. He and his wife were repeatedly bestowed with more and more honorific titles. The Hsi Hsia tried to persuade him to transfer his allegiance to them, but he refused the offer. Thereupon the Hsi Hsia invaded Huangchung and laid siege to his city of Mao-ch'uan. He raised the siege making peace with the Hsi Hsia against the orders of the emperor. He died in 1086 (*Annals* of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*b*. *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 11*b*. *Sung Shih* **492**: 16*b*).

Jealousy and hatred long smoldered among the wives of Chiossulo. At the death of the lama Li Li-tsun, the dismissed minister, Chiossulo, to humiliate his daughter, had moved her to Kuo Chou, and then a large number of tribes of the Li clan had seceded and moved to the southern part of East Kansu. In 1057, advised by her brother, she had left Kuo Chou and fled with her sons to the city of Tsun K'o, situated in the main territory of the Li clan. Chiossulo, in order to avoid more trouble with the powerful Li clan, appointed her sons as chiefs of the tribes of Ni-ku and T'ao and Ho-chou in East Kansu and the emperor granted them official titles.

However, hatred was already too deeply embedded in the hearts of the Li clan, and Mou Cheng, son of the second wife of Chiossulo, started trouble in East Kansu in 1064, conniving with the Hsi Hsia. The Hsi Hsia were defeated and Mou Cheng submitted to the emperor and received new important titles. At the death of Chiossulo in 1065, Mou Cheng, the leader of the opposition, followed by an important number of clans and in connivance with the Hsi Hsia, was again on the warpath in 1072 in East Kansu. More Chinese armies arrived, cities were taken and retaken, and the wife of Mou Cheng and his children were taken prisoner by General Wang Ch'ao. East Kansu was laid waste. Finally after two years of destruction, Mou Cheng with eighteen chiefs of tribes submitted to China. Again more new important titles were granted to him and even the name of the Sung dynasty, Chao, was bestowed (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 10, 12. *Annals* of Hsining **31B**: 33, 3, 4, 5. *Sung Shih* **492**: 14, 16).

The legitimate son of Tung Chan having died, he appointed in 1086 as his successor, A li ku, the son of his beloved concubine, a boy born in Khotan from an unknown father, causing forever the ruin of the T'u-fan kingdom built by Tung Chan. The emperor ratified

[P.20 (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

the appointment despite the memorial presented to the throne by minister Su Shih (*Annals* of Hsining 33B: 9, 10). The emperor preferred the time-honored policy of his predecessors sowing discord among tribes threatening the empire. He anticipated the annihilation of the tribes by themselves, and the easy recovery of East Kansu and Huangchung. The tribes in favor of the legitimate offspring of the second wife of Chiossulo started a murderous struggle with the tribes following A li ku, backed by Chinese troops. Again the savage propensity for self-destruction among the tribes was soon in full sway and tribes tore themselves to pieces. The emperor granted titles to A li ku and his son and also to the offspring of the second wife of Chiossulo. A war of destruction went on until the death of A li ku in 1096, who had appointed his son as his successor. The appointment was again ratified by the emperor. This time all the T'u-fan, Uighur, and Shat'o tribes revolted against the empire. A strong army of 100,000 invited Hsi Hsia troops came to rescue them in Mao Ch'uan. A tremendous blow was administered to the Chinese. Then the Chinese general, in desperate straits, made an offer of settlement and invited some T'u-fan chiefs to appoint the son of Mou Cheng as chief of the tribes because, he said, he was the genuine offspring of Chiossulo!

175x 643 648 [669]

But it was too late. The tribes did not abide by the decision of the chiefs and had become the irreconcilable enemies of China. Murderous fighting continued, the cities in Huangchung were taken and retaken several times and delivered to sack and slaughter by Chinese troops and then by the rebel tribes indulging in acts of gratuitous cruelty. Villages became clusters of ruined hovels. Many tribes disintegrating, groups of them fled to the southern part of East Kansu and to the borders of Kokonor, but the Chinese troops continued fighting against the Huangchung tribes associated with the Hsi Hsia until 1115, laying waste the whole country (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 1, 14; *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 6, 7). At that time, the Chin empire embarking upon the conquest of China, the Chinese troops were ordered to leave Huangchung. Chin armies peacefully occupied Huangchung in 1131. Huangchung had enjoyed a period of glory and unusual wealth during fifty years (10[illegible]–1086) followed by forty-five years of internecine wars among the tribes and savage destruction of the country (1086–1131).

175x 721 175x

From 1131 until the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols in 1227, the history of Huangchung is a blank page. The conquest of East Kansu and the war with China and the Hsi Hsia absorbed the whole forces of the Chin emperor. An official appointed in Ho Chou in East Kansu by the Chin cared for the uninteresting, exhausted, and depleted tribes of Huangchung, with its ruined cities and villages and starving T'u-fan, Tanghsiang, Uighur and Shat'o population. It may be assumed that in these circumstances the pitiful tribes

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2
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175x

started making a living, tilling the soil, tending their few animals, and hoping for a better future. These were the circumstances of the country and of the population which the Mongols encountered in Huangchung in 1227.

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE YUAN DYNASTY

M
175x
HM
643

General Subudei conquered Huangchung and occupied Hsining peacefully in the third moon of 1227 (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 20*a–b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 8*b*).

The choice of a new emperor after the death of Chingis Khan (1227) caused a lull in the military operations. The Mongols, according to the time-honored pattern prevailing among nomads, never overcame this hurdle without trouble and rivalry among the princes, and several times the dynasty would be on the brink of collapse at that fateful time.

Ogodei, third son of Chingis, having been appointed by him as his successor, became emperor in 1229, and from the first days of his reign he vigorously resumed the war with the Chin empire in East Kansu and middle China, and conquered the cities of East Kansu and Shensi occupied by the Chin. The laborious conquest of the Chin was achieved in 1234 and in 1235 Ogodei started with the conquest of the Chinese empire, while in the meantime Mongol armies were fighting in Korea, in Central Asia, and Persia. The turbulent Mongols, still eager for more and more conquests, did not spend much time on the organization of the conquered countries, and Yeh-lu Ch'u-ts'ai, their wise minister, had to remind them again and again that empires could be conquered, but not governed, on horseback.[42]

Again a lull was created in the military operations, this time by the death of Ogodei, December, 1241, for trouble arose in the imperial family regarding the succession to the throne. Ogodei had chosen as his successor his grandson Shiremon, son of his third son Ku-ch'u who had died in 1236. The widow of Ogodei, Toragana, taking the regency from 1242 until 1246, preferred to see elected her oldest son, Guyuk, despite the opposition of the family. Unfortunately, Emperor Guyuk died in 1248. This time, descendants of the first and fourth sons of Chingis in 1251 elected Mongka, oldest son of Tului, the fourth son of Chingis. Peace was seriously disturbed. Malcontents of the second and third branches were killed, among them the widow of Guyuk, Chiremon,[43] and seeds of discord and hatred were planted forever in the imperial family. In 1251 until his death in 1259, Mongka resumed vigorously the conquest of China, which had slackened since the death of Ogodei in 1241. Then his brothers, Kubilai and Arik-boga, were both elected emperors in 1260 by

[42] René Grousset, Histoire de L'extrême Orient, 431, Paris, Geuthner, 1929.

[43] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 441.

5:Schaam M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

M 175.X HM 643

their respective factions, Kubilai in China, Arik-boga in Mongolia. War started among these two brothers and the descendants of all the sons of Chingis, and even the offspring of the brothers of Chingis participated in the struggle. Kaidu, son of the fifth son of Ogodei, was the leader of the endless revolt; he conquered Central Asia and at the death of Kubilai in 1294 he was still in possession of both Turkistan and the part of Mongolia west of the Khanghai Mountains. After the death of Kaidu in 1301, his son continued the revolt during the reign of the grandson of Kubilai, until 1309. During these times of disorganization and hatred in the imperial family, several princes transferred their allegiance many times from one to another of the leading chiefs of the revolt, even brothers taking sides in opposite camps.

M 175.X HM 648

No wonder that very little was done relating to the organization of the conquered countries. During their reigns Ogodei (1229–1241), Guyuk (1246–1248), and Mongka (1251–1259) eagerly engaged in more and more conquest. Fortunately Kubilai, more cognizant of Chinese civilization than his predecessors, reigned thirty-four years (1260–1294). However, during all this time he had to face disastrous revolts against him inside the imperial family and at the same time lead the conquest of China, Japan, Indo-China, etc. Consequently, the first notes concerning Hsining and the united Kansu are encountered during the reign of Kubilai.

Yuan Shih 60: 27*b* records that from the beginning of the Yuan Hsining had been the assigned appanage of Chang Chi,[44] imperial son-in-law.

In 1275, Chang Chi and two other commanders were ordered to send their Mongol troops to Ao-lu-ch'ih,[45] the seventh son of Kubilai, Prince of Hsi P'ing,[46] who was engaged in a war with the T'u-fan. The country where the trouble occurred is not indicated (*Yuan Shih* 8: 20*b*; *Hsin Yuan Shih* 114: 7*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 32B: 8*a*). Chang Chi received a seal in 1282 (*Yuan Shih* 12: 2*b*) and money for his troops in 1283 (*Yuan Shih* 12: 13*b*).

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[44] Louis Hambis, Monographies du *T'oung Pao* 3: 108. *Yuan Shih* 1: 160–162, Brill, Leiden, 1954. He was the great-grandson of Ch'i-ku of the Konggirat, who had married Tumalun, daughter of Chingis and Bortai. Chang Chi married the Princess Mangkotai.

[45] Hambis, *Monographies du T'oung Pao Supplément*, 38: ch. 107 du Yuen shih, 114.

[46] The title of Prince of Hsi P'ing, and all similar titles, does not imply that the region of Hsi P'ing was appanaged to the prince, nor that he resided in Hsi P'ing. Hsi P'ing is Ling Wu near Ninghsia, and not Hsining. Chao Rao-chi, ruler of Hsi Hsia, having conquered Ling Wu in 1002, changed the name of Ling Wu into that of Hsi P'ing and established his capital there.

In 1013 his successor Chao Te-ming was appointed by the Chin emperor, Prince of Hsi P'ing, and in 1016 the Sung emperor Chen Tsung conferred upon him the same title. Hence the origin of the title. At the time the Mongols had conquered Hsi Hsia (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 5*b*, 6*a*), they granted the title of the conquered city to their own commanders.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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Sixty years after Huangchung had been conquered by Subudei (1227) the civil and military organization of the country was started. We do not know who cared for Huangchung before that time. Only *Hsin Yuan Shih* **48**: 5*a* records that for the first time, in 1269, after forty years, in Ho-chou (East Kansu) a bureau for the pacification of the T'u-fan (T'u-fan hsuan-wei-sse) had been established, and it may be presumed that Ho Chou kept an eye on Huangchung from that time on. However, Ao-lu-ch'ih controlled the Tibetans (*Annals* of Hsining **23**: 3*a*). Finally in 1286 Hsining was created a district (chou) depending on the military commandery (Tsung-kuan-fu) of the circuit (Lu) of I-chi-nai, situated 500 li northeast of Suchow in the Gobi. Regular civil and military officials were appointed (*Annals* of Hsining **22**: 5*a*) and the institution of the graneries established, from which we can infer that land taxes were imposed (*Annals* of Hsining **31B**, 8*b*; *Hsin Yuan Shih* **48**: 24*a*). In 1287 Chang Chi received the title of Prince of Ning P'u, prince of the second degree, with the duty of military commander and governor of Huangchung and with the order to garrison the country (*Annals* of Hsining **32B**: 8*b*; *Yuan Shih* **14**: 13*b*, 27, 60; *Ming Shih* **330**: 1*b*). This seems to indicate that Chang Chi, before that time, had not resided in his appanage and had not administered it, although he had been entitled to receive some revenues from it. He had been a simple commander of his own troops, always available to be sent by his superiors where emergencies arose. It was in that way that his troops had fought under the command of Ao-lu-ch'ih in 1275, that in 1288 he was ordered, in combination with other commanders, to fight Kaidu, who attacked the frontiers of Kansu (*Yuan Shih* **15**: 1*b*) and that in 1289 he helped to quell the revolt of Shiliemen (*Yuan Shih* **15**:14*a*). The date of the death of Chang Chi is not recorded. It is only noted that his wife received a title in 1317 and a gift in silver and cash (*Yuan Shih* **26**: 2*b*, 3*a*, 26).[47]

The fact that in 1286 the granary offices were established and land taxes imposed proves that in Huangchung land was tilled. Consequently, the country must have recovered more or less from the tremendous devastation wrought by the disastrous wars, which had lasted for forty-five years preceding the conquest of Huangchung by the Chin (1131) and during their peaceful occupation of the country, which lasted for a century (1131–1227). The depleted tribes of T'u-fan, Uighurs, and Shat'o, having lost most of their herds, would have been forced to concentrate on farming in order to earn a living, and to indulge in some trade and manufacture according to the circumstances. It may be supposed that, since the time of the conquest of Hsining by the Mongols (1227), troops, accompanied by their families as was the rule, occupied the country and practiced agriculture as did previous Chinese colonists, for no

[47] Hambis, *op. cit.* **108**: 160-162.

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granaries existed before 1286, and no officials to provide for the subsistence of the soldiers. Moreover, it is a fact of common knowledge that Kubilai ordered the Mongol troops to farm and to defend the country at the same time.[48] This is borne out also by the fact that at the time the Ming dynasty (1368) started establishing Chinese colonies in Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 55; *Annals* of Hsining 24: 14*b*, and Monguors I: 30, 33), the conquered Mongol troops had to leave the irrigated country around the cities and were relegated to side valleys. The memory of this fateful decision, made by the Ming, was still fresh among the Monguors in 1910, and their tradition went so far as to claim their ancestors as the initial diggers of the irrigation canals and the inaugurators of agriculture in the country.

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

We get the confirmation of this fact from the celebrated Marco Polo, who with his father Nicolo and his uncle Matteo, went to Hsining in 1274, on his way from Venice to Peking. He writes, "the population of this country consists chiefly of idolators (Shamanists, lamaists) but there are also some Mohammedans and Christians (Nestorians) . . . . the inhabitants employ themselves in trade and manufacturing. They have grain in abundance."[49]

M 175x 113 HM 175 113

Probably Marco Polo made this statement because the Mongol troops and the Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o farmed in Huangchung. This text proves also that probably during the century of peace preceding the conquest of Hsining by the Mongols, some Mohammedans and Nestorians from Turkistan had returned to Hsining, which they had known since the time of Chiossulo (1038), to engage in trade.

HM [244]

However, because the note of Marco Polo dates from 1274, we have to consider that during the campaigns of Chingis Khan in Turkistan, which had started in 1209, the Mongols had come in close contact with Mohammedans and Uighurs.[50] The influence exerted at court by the Mohammedan Yalavach is well known. It was so striking that Empress Toragana had to remove and demote him at the time he tried to impede the succession of Guyuk to Ogodei, planned by the empress.[51]

M 175x HM 175

According to H. F. Schurmann, in the early years of the Mongolian rule in North China a great number of Central Asiatic merchants had moved into China and organized in the corporation known as "Ortaq." Ortaq means "partner" or companion. These merchants were financial "partners" of members of the imperial family and nobility, from whom they received sizable amounts of silver as loans. This capital they used to expand their trade activities. In addition, many of them func-

HM [244]
M 175x 652 HM 175 652

[48] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 562.

[49] *The travels of Marco Polo*, translated and edited by W. Marsden, reedited by Thomas Right, 135–138, Everyman's Library, J. M. Dent, London, 1950.

[50] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 483.

[51] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 276, 306.

[P. 22(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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tioned as tax farmers who collected revenues and taxes from the appanages of their benefactors. The financial administration of the appanages prior to the year 1260 was in the hands of the feudatories and not in the hands of the imperial government. After 1260 the situation changed radically; the newly established central government by Kubilai took over the financial administration of all parts of the realm. The revenues of the feudatories from their appanages were collected by officials of the central government and then turned over to the feudatories.[52] Consequently, Mohammedans must have lived in Hsining since 1260, caring for the control of the appanage of Chang Chi, and it is quite possible that other Mohammedans and Uighur Nestorians would have moved to Huangchung to indulge in trade during the Mongol period, even long before 1260. Later it will be noted that during the Mongol period Mohammedan Salars and the clan of the later Yeh T'u-ssu moved into Huangchung.

M 175x [652] HM 175 [652]

In the *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 8*b*, is still noted the appointment in 1303 of the Prince of Hsining, Ch'u Pei,[53] as commander of all the troops of Kansu. However, no movement of troops is noted.

Also it is recorded in 1324 that Ch'u Pei rescued from famine the troops of the Prince of Hsi-p'ing (*Annals* of Hsining 31B: 8*b*). Ao-lu-ch'ih, Prince of Hsi-p'ing, had died soon after 1303 in Ninghsia, his son Pu-ti-ma-ti-chia had inherited the title of his father, and later in 1337 the grandson Kuan-pu-pa. Thus Pu-ti-ma-ti-chia received help from Hsining and his troops were garrisoned in Lan, Kuan, and Lingwu.[54]

The *Annals* of Hsining note that in 1329 to Sulaiman[55] was granted the title of Prince of Hsining (and not of Hsip'ing), and that in 1332 on account of his military achievements, the emperor created four appointments of "preceptor of the prince." A seal was cast and bestowed upon the prince by the emperor. However, Sulaiman never lived in Hsining.

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

Two names of pacifiers of T'u-fan are also mentioned in the *Annals* of Hsining 22: 3*b*, Chin-ch'a-t'ai[56] and Cho-chi-ssu-pan.

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[52] H. F. Schurmann, reviewing Herbert Franke's Geld and Wirtschaft in China der Mongolenherrschaft, in H.J.O.A.S., Vol. 15, June 25.

[53] *Yuan Shih* 21: 6*a*; Hambis, *op. cit.* 108: 113 and 107: 92, 8.

[54] *Hsin Yuan Shih* 114: 7*b*, 8*a*, *b*; Hambis, *op. cit.* 108: 141–143.

[55] *Yuan Shih* 36: 4*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 9*a*; Hambis, *op. cit.* 108: 103.

[56] Chin Ch'a-t'ai was the second son of Kochkar, great-grandson of Barchug, idukut (chief) of an Uighur tribe, which pledged allegiance to Chingis Khan in 1209 in Turkistan. The tribe remained faithful to the Mongol dynasty. Chin Ch'a-t'ai in 1318, refused the titles of Idukut and of prince of Kao Ch'ang, granted to his nephew T'ieh-mu-erh-pu-huo, who asked the emperor to bestow them upon his uncle (Hambis, *op. cit.* 8: 132, note 3; *Hsin Yuan Shih* 116: 7*b*).

Francis Woodman Cleaves, The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1372 in memory of Prince Hindu, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 12 (142): 1 sq., June, 1949.

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Historical Mongolia AH2

In Kuei Te, south of Hsining, on the bank of the Yellow River, a fortress had been built and a garrison established by the troops of Huangchung during the period Chih-yuan (between 1335 and 1340), in order to prevent inroads in Huangchung by T'u-fan or Tang-hsiang from East Kansu. Terrible famines, started in 1337, desolated East Kansu for years, and T'u-fan plundered East Kansu, pillaging more than two hundred cities and villages (*Annals* of Hsining 9: 11*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 21*b*). Another important fortress was built 140 li west of the city of Yung Nan, northwest of Hsining, called the triangle city (San-chiao-ch'eng) and a strong garrison established. It controlled the routes leading from Kokonor to Suchow, Kanchow and Liangchow, I-chi-nai and Ch'ih-chin (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 18*a–b*) and prevented inroads of T'u-fan and attacks of Mongols during the terrible revolt of Kaidu against Kubilai.

M 175x 648 [711] HM 175 648 [711]

In both *Annals* nothing is noted relating to lamas traveling through Huangchung troubling the people, as is noted concerning lamas traveling through East Kansu on their way from Lhasa to Peking. Maybe the lamas knew that the country was too poor and entirely devastated and so they preferred to travel through East Kansu.

M 175x [483+] HM 175 [484]

These are the poor records collected in the *Annals* of Hsining and of the province of Kansu, concerning the history of Huangchung during the period of the Yuan. No records are available, as is the case for the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, relating to the distribution and amount of land, salt, and mill taxes, or relating to the exchange of tea against horses, bureaus for which were established in East Kansu, in T'ao Chou and Kung-ch'ang (*Annals* of Hsining 17: 36). No records are available concerning the size of the population, the number of tribes living in the country, or the economic situation, or even the building of a single school or of Confucian or Taoist temples. There is only noted the existence of the Buddhist temple Ta Fo Ssu (*Annals* of Hsining 15: 1*b*) built by the ancestors of the Li t'u-ssu clan during the Yuan period (Monguors II: 14). However, in the *Annals* it is carefully recorded that the Ming started with the erection of schools, the building of cities and hotels for the officials (*Annals* of Hsining 14: 4*b*, 6*a*, 10*a*), and so we may conclude that during the last years of the Sung dynasty and the ravaging wars waged by tribes for forty-five years, enraged against the Chinese, taking and retaking and destroying cities, etc., few public institutions and buildings would have been left in the cities, and that nothing would have been done by the Yuan for the reconstruction of the country. The Mongol troops engaged in agriculture guarded the thinly populated country. That the country was thinly populated is borne out by the fact that the Ming rewarded lamas for alluring Tibetans to settle in the country (Monguors II: 16, 17), and also by the fact that two cities, situated

HM [161]
HM [34+]

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south of Nienpei, Kuo Chou and Mi Chou, had been disestablished (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 12, and 7: 14).

During the Yuan dynasty a military organization had been elaborated in Huangchung providing for the defense of the strategic and vulnerable points of the country. Only two Mongol officers had been sent with their troops to occupy the country: the myriarch Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi, who controlled 10,000 soldiers with their families, and Ch'i-T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, a Mongol officer, who commanded twenty tribes of Chi-pen Mongols. Surrendered tribal local chieftains were enlisted in the cadre of the regular army; they received a title, and were assigned other tribes as subjects, in order to strengthen their military power. Each of them had to defend a definite area and was responsible for the peace of the area. To be sure a high officer controlled this military organization, but only the name of Chang Chi is known, Governor of Huangchung. At the time of the collapse of the Yuan dynasty, this group of officers submitted to the Ming and all of them became t'u-ssu and the founders of the Monguor clans of Huangchung.

It is easy to understand that the troops of Huangchung submitted to the Ming dynasty, in view of the dissensions existing among the Mongol princes at that time, the pitiable flight of the emperor from his capital, the defeat of the Mongol forces and the disintegration of the Mongol nation—all things which were known in the minutest detail by the officials in Huangchung. All the more, what were the conditions in the homelands of the soldiers of Hsining, who long since had been enlisted in the Mongol armies and who had their families following them in Huangchung? They had no way to move. Guarding the country of Huangchung, they had practiced agriculture, and knew they could make a living remaining in the country. There seems to have been no alternative for them, except to wait for the arrival of the new lords of the empire, and then to make the best of a bad situation, offering to remain guardians of the country in behalf of the new masters, as defeated troops in the Orient often used to do for centuries. That the officers, originating from Huangchung, agreed with the decision is not difficult to understand.

CONQUEST OF HUANGCHUNG BY THE MING

CONQUEST OF KANSU

After the death of Emperor Ch'eng Tsung, grandson of Kubilai (1295–1307), no capable emperors succeeded to the throne of the Yuan. During the reign of Emperor Huei Tsung (1333–1368) the provinces situated south of the Yangtse River were lost in 1360 and occupied by several groups of rebels who looted the country of its wealth. Chou Yuan-chang, chief of a group of rebels, succeeded in establishing a provisional government. He defeated or received the alle-

[P.24(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

giance of one rebelling chief after another, and proceeded with his army for the conquest of the northern provinces of the empire. The emperor fled from the capital in 1368 toward Ying ch'ang, northwest of Jehol, and Su Ta, general of Chou Yuan-chang, occupied Peking in September, 1368. Chou Yuan-chang was proclaimed Emperor of the Ming dynasty. He established his capital in Nanking and adopted "Hung-wu" as the designation of his reign.[57] The last Mongol army, commanded by K'uo K'uo Timur, was defeated by General Su Ta and the province of Shansi was conquered. K'uo K'uo Timur fled to Kansu hoping to mobilize a new army, but Su Ta sent officials all over the country announcing the end of the Yuan dynasty and the accession of the Ming dynasty, and requesting submission (*Annals* of Hsining 31 : 9*a*). 175

SURRENDER OF MONGOL PRINCES AND OFFICIALS

According to the family chronicles of the Lu t'u-ssu clan of Lien-ch'eng (the country contiguous with Huangchung), T'o Huan, Prince of Anting, descendant of the fifth generation of Kolgan, sixth son of Chingis Khan, had arrived in Kansu, with a small retinue, on his way back from Peking. T'o Huan discharged the prominent office of P'ing-chang Cheng-shih. He had defended the capital with the imperial guard against the Ming troops, but had failed to accompany the fleeing imperial family. He had assisted in Peking at the lamentable collapse of the Yuan dynasty and the piteous flight of the imperial family. He understood the uselessness of any further resistance against the victorious armies of the Ming. Having received in 1369 the invitation of the Ming emperor, conveyed by General Teng Yu, to come and see him, he went to call on the emperor, and surrendered, complying with the proposition of his reappointment as chief of his tribes in the territory he had occupied at the time of the Yuan. He controlled 3,245 families, totalling 21,686 persons. T'o Huan knew very well that the transfer of allegiance to new lords entailed the duty to fight in their behalf. Consequently in the third moon of 1370, the chronicles of the Lu clan note his participation in the resounding victory of General Su Ta over K'uo K'uo Timur.[58]

The surrender of such a notorious Mongol prince, living in Kansu, an eyewitness of the collapse of the

[57] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 549–550. Grousset, *op. cit.*, 495–496.

[58] The problems of the origin and history of the Lu clan are discussed in the chapters dealing with the translation of the family chronicle of the clan. The name Lu was bestowed upon the clan by Emperor Ch'eng Tsung (Yung-lo) after his campaign (1410) against A-lu-t'ai, in which the son of T'o Huan, Kung-pu-shih-t'ieh, was killed. The Lu clan was a genuine Monguor clan and the close neighbor of the Monguor clans of Huangchung, speaking the same language, and called Monguor by the Monguor clans of Huangchung. Its history was closely connected with that of the Huangchung Monguors. Therefore it is included in the study.

[P.24(B)]

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dynasty, must have deeply impressed the other Kansu princes and officials, who had also received the same invitation to surrender. In the same year another Monguor prince of Huangchung, member of the imperial family, Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, surrendered. He had been appointed by the Yuan emperor guardian of the region 90 li south of Hsining, had discharged the office of myriarch with golden badge and purple tassel, was official of the Li-wen-so of the province of Kansu and enjoyed the title of duke. His subjects numbered 800 families organized in four tribes, scattered in many villages in the region south of Hsining, noted for the forays of savage and predatory Tibetans (Monguors I: 53; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 35). He was the first among the Monguor t'u-ssu of Huangchung who surrendered. 175x

In 1370, on the third moon, K'uo K'uo Timur attacked with a new army the Ming troops in the Lanchow region, but suffered a crushing defeat at Shen-erh-ku, at the hand of Su Ta. Here 1,800 princes and officials were taken prisoner and 80,000 soldiers died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 22*b*). General Li Wen-chung, moving from Peking in pursuit of the Yuan emperor, reached in the fifth moon of the same year, the imperial family in Yin-ch'ang, where the last emperor of the Yuan had died a month before. He took prisoner the grandson of the emperor, the empresses, and princesses, etc. Only the heir apparent to the throne escaped toward Karakorum. 175x 648 669

Su Ta seized the opportunity of his victory to send all over the country, Hsiu Yung-te, secretary general of the administrative organ of Shensi province, again inviting the officials to submit, while he continued the conquest of the cities and regions situated in the southeast of Kansu. Here the Yuan had established Hsuan-wei-sse (pacification commanderies) and many myriarchies and chyliarchies, with Mongol incumbents endowed with hereditary titles, commanding a thousand or ten thousand soldiers with their families. The administrative center of the country was Ho Chou (*Yuan Shih* 60: 10*a*,*b*; *Hsin Yuan Shih* 48: 8–11). 175x 648

The invitation to submission reached fruition, for in the sixth moon the Tibetan Suo-nan-pu, who had filled during the Yuan the important office of pacification commander and controlled forty-eight Tibetan tribes, arrived at the headquarters of General Teng Yu, offering the emblems and documents of his office, received from the Yuan. Later the name Ho was granted to him and the office of assistant commander of the commanderies of Ho Chou and Wei Chou. Together with the powerful Suo-nan-pu the Tibetan tribes living in the districts of Chi Ch'eng, T'ao Chou, and Min Chou, and the eighteen tribes of Chieh and Wen Chou surrendered.

In the same sixth moon, the Prince of Wu Ching, Bu Ma La, pacifier of the western regions, descendant of Ao-lu-ch'ih, the seventh son of Kubulai, following

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in the wake of the Lu and Ch'i princes, surrendered with all the Tibetan tribes subject to him.[59] 175x 68

In the eighth moon, after receiving the invitation conveyed by the "interpreter introducer" Kung-k'o So-nan, the prince of Kao Ch'ang, Huo Chang, and the prince of Ch'i, Sang Ko, and Dorjibal, surrendered with their subjects.[60]

In 1371, on the third moon, another conquered Mongol prince, T'o-li-pe-lai, was sent to the still unconquered Mongol officials in Kansu with summons to transfer their allegiance to the new Ming dynasty. The repeated sending of messengers with summons for peaceful surrender, and the ceaseless surrender of Mongol princes and officials in Kansu, point to the presence of the tremendous number of Mongols living in that province at that time, mixed with Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o, and at the number of officials who still seemed to "wait and see."

GENERAL SURRENDER OF THE MONGUOR OFFICIALS IN HUANGCHUNG

The Monguor officials in Huangchung still waited, despite the two summonses they had received in 1369 and 1370. To be sure an atmosphere of dark apprehension and portent must have hung over Huangchung after the flight of the imperial family, the capture of the capital, the creation of the new dynasty, the crushing defeats of the armies of K'uo K'uo Temur and the daily surrender of Mongol princes and officials east and west in their neighborhood. They must have realized that no peg remained on which to hang a last shred of hope for the restoration of their crumbled dynasty, and that a return toward Mongolia boded hopeless ills. In many councils there must have been discussed on the one hand all those fateful circumstances, and the presence at their very door of the victorious armies of Su Ta. On the other hand they must have appreciatively considered the fact of the reappointment in their former offices of the conquered officials. Then unexpectedly, in the third moon in 1371, was delivered the last summons to surrender, by the Mongol Prince T'o-li-pe-lai. This time the decision was readily taken; the officials would submit and remain the guardians of the country in behalf of the new emperor.

On the fifth moon the Mongol, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who controlled twenty tribes of Chi-pen Mongols composed of 700 families settled near Nien-pe in Ta-tse-

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[59] *Ming Shih*, 331, 1*b*; *Ming Hung-wu Shih-lu*, 53, 15.

[60] Huo Chang is a descendant in the eighth generation of the Uighur chief Barchuk, who submitted to Chingis Khan in Turkistan in 1209. From Nanuril, his descendant of the fourth generation, who died in 1318, and was the first Prince of Kao-ch'ang, the list of successions is confusing. The same is true of Sangko and Dorjibal. Sangko is noted as Prince of Kao-Ch'ang and Dorjibal as Prince of Ch'i!

Hambis, *op. cit.* **108**: 7, 50, 132, 133; *Hsin Yuan Shih* **116**: 5*b*, 7*a*, 9*b*; F. W. Cleaves, The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362, 25 sq., H.J.A.S., Vol. 1949, N. 1-2.

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wan (the bent of the Mongols), and who was assistant official of the administrative body of the province of Kansu, representing all the officials of Huangchung, went to court to surrender (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*b*). Together with him, Li Nan-ko, of Shat'o origin, vice-chairman of the administrative body of Hsining, surrendered with the officials of the entire district (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*), and all the officials received appointments.[61] T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, Li Nan-ko, and all the officials who had surrendered, became the founding ancestors of the t'u-ssu clans[62] in Huangchung (Monguors I: 31). To them is to be added Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, member of the imperial family who had surrendered in 1369. In that way all the officials of the region of Hsining and Nienpei had surrendered and in the next year, 1372, Hsining was created a commandery (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). In the first moon of 1373 the emperor sent the edict to T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh: 175x 648

> I govern the empire; with prominent people of all the world who love justice, I deal with courtesy, granting them offices, in order that they might have the opportunity to manifest their qualities. You, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who have lived long in the western country, have heard about our highly developed culture and have come to my court. I appreciate your intention. Now at the beginning of the establishment of the commandery of Hsining, I especially request your help. I hope you will devote yourself wholeheartedly to the submission of the tribes and the strict observance of the law, in order that the country may enjoy peace. I hope you will respond to my desire to give you this appointment. Have the title of Hsuan-wei chiang-chun (general who manifests his military qualities) and be commander of the commandery of Hsining. Edict, First moon, Sixth year, Hung Wu period. (*Annals* of Hsining 32: 16*a*.) 175x 671

The *Annals* note that he had received at the time of his surrender in 1371 the hereditary function of secretary commandant. The imperial edict of the first moon of 1373 granted him the function of commander of the commandery. The clan of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was rewarded in 1401 by the emperor with the name Ch'i, when his son Chuan Chou had died on the field of battle. [614 553]

WHO WERE THE OFFICIALS WHO SURRENDERED IN A GROUP IN 1371?

The Mongol T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh and his 700 families, the Shat'o Li Nan-ko with his 4,000 families, the Shat'o Li Wen nephew of Li Nan-ko, controlling 963 families, and the Shat'o chiefs Na-sha-mi and Chi 175x 622 614

[61] *Ming Shih* 330: 2*a*.

[62] I use the term "clan" to refer to a group sharing a common territory, a common surname, and a common chief. Monguor clans consist both of persons who recognize real or traditional kinship ties with the chief, and persons who do not recognize such ties but who have, nevertheless, adopted the surname of the chief and his kinsmen at the time they were integrated in the group.

[P.26(A)]

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Pao with their 150 and 90 families, respectively, all 175x surrendered. At the same time five clans surrendered 622 who were recorded in the *Annals* as Monguors: the 614 clans Wang, Kan, Chou, Hsin, and La, with 150, 300, 62, and 100 families, respectively. The Mongol clan Ah with its 150 families surrendered, whose chief discharged during the Yuan the office of secretary of the province of Kansu, and also the Yeh clan with 70 families, Mohammedans of Turkistan, recorded as being of Ch'an-t'ou origin (turbaned heads). The chief of the Yeh clan was secretary of the administrative organ of Kansu during the Yuan. These are the twelve clans which surrendered in a group in 1371.

The date at which the Ch'eng clan, with 150 families, 175x settled in Hsining during the Ming is not recorded. 614 Its clan chief is of Chinese extraction and originated from Shan Yang in Chiang Nan (Chiang Nan became later the Nan Huei and Kiangsu provinces), and its subjects are called "natives."[63] The date at which the Chao clan, 120 families, settled in Huangchung during the Ming also is not recorded. Its chief during the Yuan discharged the duty of myriarch of Chao Tsang, and is noted as being from Min Chou and of Mongol origin. Li Hua-no, an offshoot of the Li Nan-ko [622] branch, and so normally a Shat'o, received from the clan 100 families and became t'u-ssu only in 1645. To this list of 15 t'u-ssu clans is still to be added the clan of the Mongol Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi with his 800 families, who had been the first among the Huangchung t'u-ssu to surrender in 1369. Among them 13 clans [563] were settled in Huangchung in the beginning of the Yuan period in definite territories, and the mountain passes to be guarded by each of them had been indicated. This seems to suggest that all of them were large or minor groups of soldiers, with their chiefs, wardens of the country in behalf of the Yuan. They continued during the Ming, and later during the Ch'ing, to occupy the territories they had occupied during the Yuan, except the two cities of Hsining and Nienpei, and to be charged with the same duties, because the

[63] In Huangchung the subjects of the sixteen t'u-ssu clans living in the country are commonly called Monguors, by the Monguors themselves, whether they are of Mongol, Shat'o, Uighur, Tibetan, or Chinese extraction. The Chinese call them *t'u-jen*, i.e. "natives." Among these natives are people of Mongol, Shat'o, Uighur, and Tibetan stock and even some Chinese who entered the t'u-ssu clans. Tibetans settled in Huangchung, with their own tribal chiefs, are called Hsi-fan, and Mongols living outside Huangchung are called Ta-tse, Ta-ta, T'u-ta, Meng-ku, but never Monguors. The present study deals with the Monguors of Huangchung who speak a peculiar Mongol dialect, not understood by the other Mongols. In Ho Chou region lives a group of Mohammedan Mongols, whose language is very similar to that of the Monguors. However, the group is not called Monguor but Sant'a. The group of Mongols of the Lu t'u-ssu clan of Lien Ch'eng are genuine Monguors and recognized as such by the Monguors of Huangchung. In Chinese studies dealing with the natives of Huangchung, they are all indiscriminately called Meng-ku, Ta-tse, T'u-ta, Ta-ta, Hsi-fan, T'u-jen, and T'u-ming (Monguors I: 31, 32).

[P.26(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Ming fixed the number of both foot and horse each of them had to keep ready for emergencies and indicated the mountain passes they had to defend. 175x 614

An interesting fact is that all the subjects of the 16 *t'u-ssu* are called *t'u-min* or *t'u-jen* in the *Annals* and by the people. Soldiers in the Yuan time were accompanied by their families. At that time no Chinese lived in Huangchung. Huangchung was the land of the barbarian Monguors, controlled by Monguor chiefs. It is no wonder that when the Chinese started founding Chinese colonies in Huangchung, the colonists called the Monguors natives, and called Hsi-fan the few uninteresting small Tibetan tribes having their own petty chiefs, for their language and customs differed entirely from those of the Monguors. [70]

Still in Huangchung, on the borders of the Yellow River, but not in the prefecture of Hsining, are encountered two groups of Salars (Muslim Turks of Samarkand) who lived in Huangchung during the Yuan time, having no or few relations with the Monguors. They had already surrendered to the Ming on their own account in 1370, and their two chiefs had received an incumbency. The clan chief Han Pao-yuan had received the office of centurion. He controlled the four upper Salar clans (Kung) who had adopted the surname Han and inhabited the region west of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*a*). The clan chief Han Shan-pa had also received the office of centurion. He controlled the four lower Salar clans, which had adopted the surname Ma, and inhabited the region east of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). The four upper and four lower Salar clans are called the eight inner Salar clans (Nei Pa-kung). There still remain five outer Salar clans (Wai Pa-kung) depending on and controlled by the subprefecture of Pa-yen-jung (Monguors I: 22, 23). 175x 563 648

It is not known at what time the Salars settled in Huangchung. A legend is still spread among them relating to their arrival in the country during the Tang dynasty, 620–905. Anyway, the Salars were settled in Huangchung during the Yuan time (1280–1368) and surrendered to the Ming in 1370.[44] Consequently, in the fifth moon of 1371 the entire population of Huangchung with its chiefs had surrendered to the Ming. 175x 563

MING POLICY TOWARD SURRENDERING TRIBES

The policy adopted by the Ming in Kansu, in order to promote the surrender of the numerous groups of Mongol officials living in that country who still commanded a fair number of soldiers and tribes of Tibetans with soldiers subject to them, which was to appoint the Mongol officials and tribal chiefs officials of the newly established dynasty, retaining control over their 175x 648

[44] William Woodville Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892*, 80, Smithsonian Institution, 1894.

[P.27(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

own troops, seems at first sight to have been a dangerous one. The Mings must have known that many armed groups of Mongols had fled to Mongolia; they must have surmised that the heir apparent of the Mongol nation would try to invade China and recover his lost empire, and that in such circumstances the faithfulness of the surrendered Mongol officials in Kansu still commanding their own troops would have been questionable. However, without hesitation and apprehension they went ahead, using from the very beginning the surrendered officials to induce other Mongol officials and Tibetan tribes to surrender. Even from the very beginning they ordered their troops to follow the imperial armies fighting unconquered or revolting tribes of Mongol officials, even ordering their troops to fight Mongol armies at the side of the Chinese armies in expeditions to Mongolia. Several t'u-ssu and hundreds of their soldiers died on the fields of battle; even t'u-ssu were sent with their troops to other provinces to quell revolts. But after every military achievement the emperors never omitted to bestow upon the t'u-ssu awards and titles of which they were unusually fond. In Kansu the number of Mongol officials who rebelled after their surrender was small. Many t'u-ssu later on, remaining chiefs of their clans, at the same time entered the framework of the civil and military Chinese officials and fulfilled their duties in Chinese territory, receiving the rewards or punishments proper to the office. It may be said that the policy of the Ming in Kansu promoting the surrender of Mongol officers and tribal chiefs was successful and of enormous profit to the dynasty.

175x 648 [469]

ANCESTORS OF THE LI T'U-SSU CLAN

The tradition all over the country and confirmed by both the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 38*a*, 46*b*) and the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 9*a*–*b*), claims the Li t'u-ssu clans to be the descendants of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung, who had received from the Tang emperor the name Li and been created Prince of Chin in 895. At the time the Tang dynasty had run its course, the Shat'o founded in China, successively, two ephemeral dynasties: Hu Tang (923–936) and Hu Chin (936–947) (Monguors I: 131 appendix, the Shat'o Turks). Among the t'u-ssu in Huangchung are encountered two Li branches: that of Li Nan-ko, to whose son, Li Yin, had been granted in 1425 the title of Earl of Huei Ning, and that of Li Wen, son of Li Shang-ko, on whom had been bestowed the title of Earl of Kaoyang in 1459. During the Yuan, the Li Nan-ko branch guarded the territory of San Ch'uan Valley (since 1930, called the subprefecture of Ming Huo) situated 120 li southeast of Nienpei, and controlled more than 4,000 families, scattered in many villages. The Li Wen clan controlled 963 families scattered in 48 villages and guarded the territory 30 li south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 39*a*, 48*a*). During the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties both branches still occupied and guarded the same territories.

173 614

[P.27(B)]

On account of the fact that the original family chronicles were lost during the troubles which beset the Ming dynasty, the most fantastic legends have come to be spread among the Li Monguors and even among their t'u-ssu, relating to the history of the clan ancestors preceding the Ming period (1368). Some of them circulating among the Li Wen clan have been noted in Monguors I: 26, 27. Concerning the Li Nan-ko branch we possess two recent documents of 1937 and 1941 which Chinese scholars obtained, one from the Li t'u-ssu himself, and one from a clan member. 173 614

The first document, *Studies on Frontier Areas of Kansu, Ch'ing-hai, and Tibet*, by Ma Ho-t'ien[65] records, on page 179, the personal visit of Ma Ho-t'ien to the residence of the Li t'u-ssu in the subprefecture of Ming Hua and his trip to the ancestral cemetery at Hsiang T'ang.[66] [113]

The Li t'u-ssu was so kind as to show the chronicle of his clan. The size of the chronicle is two feet square, the image of the ancestor is depicted on the first page. On the next page is elaborated his history, and so on for each of the ancestors. However, the only trustworthy part of the chronicle is that starting with the surrender of Li Nan-ko to the Ming and relating the succession of the t'u-ssu from 1371 until the present time. The entire text concerning the history of the ancestors preceding Li Nan-ko is unreliable. Then we left the t'u-ssu and went to the ancestral cemetery of the Li Nan-ko branch at Hsiang T'ang.

On page 180:

The cemetery occupies a terrain as large as six acres, enclosed by a mud wall. The central alley, bordered by stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay, leads to a big stele, behind which is said to be the tomb of Li Nan-ko, and in front of which is built a stone table for the offerings to the dead. On the stele are engraved the text of the ratification by the Ch'ing emperor, of the appointment granted by the previous Ming emperor to the incumbent to the office of t'u-ssu, the text of a funeral oration granted by an emperor at the death of a t'u-ssu, also the glorious achievements of the clan and the names of the t'u-ssu who died on the field of battle. On both sides of the avenue are erected the steles of the t'u-ssu of the Li Nan-ko clan dating from the Ming and Ch'ing periods, the most recent dating from the Kuang-su period (1875–1909). Outside the enclosure, at the entrance of the cemetery, are erected two big steles, "the spirit way steles." On the one erected on the eighth moon of 1427 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Nan-ko), who posthumously received the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Pen-chun tu-tu. He is a descendant of Li K'o-yung, whose original name was T'o-pa, to whom was granted the name Li by the Tang emperor. During the Yuan dynasty, Li Shang-ko was functionary at the offices of the prince of Ch'i. To him succeeded consecutively Li Mei-chi-lu, Li Kuan-chi-lu and Li Nan-ko who was T'ung-chih (vice-chairman) of the district of Hsining. He received during the Hung-wu period of the Ming the hereditary duty of Tu-chih-huei-shih (High Commandant). To his son Yin was granted, on account of his merits, the title of Earl of Huei Ning, 173 764 614 [324]

[65] *Kan, Ch'ing-hai, Tsang pien-ch'ü K'ao-ch'a-chi*, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1947.

[66] Hsiang T'ang is the name of the locality where the cemetery is situated, and means the Hall of Sacrifice, the room where the corpse is laid out.

[P.28(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

and posthumously were bestowed (upon Li Nan-ko) the titles of his son: Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Tso-chun tu-tu-fu. On the second spirit way stele erected on the third moon of 1475 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Li Yin) to whom was granted the title "official who sincerely manifested military achievements" to whom were bestowed, in a special way, the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Chou-kuo Huei Ning-pei (Earl of Huei Ning, pillar of the empire). 173 614 764

The second document is encountered in Shuo-wen-yueh-k'an 3, 10, 1942 (Ch'ung-ch'ing Sh[illegible]wen Yueh-k'an shih). There we meet with the article "Genealogical record of the tribe of the descendants of Li K'o-yung" by Wei Chu-hsien, who passed through the subprefecture of Ming Hua (San Ch'uan Valley) in October 1941. He visited Li Pao-ch'ing, a clan member of the old Li Nan-ko branch, who told him that during the Shun-chih period (1644–1661) a genealogical chronicle had been composed based on all available sources, by Yueh-Nai, secretary of the t'u-ssu for fifteen years, well read in the history of the clan, and that Yueh Nai was a contemporary of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu.[67] 173 614 [113]

I copied the present part of the chronicle composed by Yueh Nai. The original name of the Shato tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-yeh. The Tang emperor granted him the name Li and the title of Prince of Chin (895). He saved the Tang dynasty during the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao. Li Ssu-kung moved into Hsi Hsia, Li Chi-feng followed the Sung dynasty, offering the four districts of Yin, Hsia, Suei, Ning.[68] From the Sung until the Yuan, during generations, they lived in Hsi Hsia and were renowned for their military presentations. At the time of the Yuan, Li Shang-ko was T'ung-chih tu-tu-chih (Vice-Chairman of the protectorate office) in Hsining. Then the Li clan divided into six sub-clans, each having its t'u-ssu. The most important among them was the Li Nan-ko clan. During the Ming, Li Nan-ko surrendered with the officials of Huangchung. Then follow the names of the descendants of Li Nan-ko who fulfilled successively the duty of t'u-ssu during the Ming. Finally a genealogical scheme is elaborated, starting with Li Shang-ko, succeeded by his son Li Mei-chi-lu, his grandson Li Kuan-chi-lu, who had two sons Li Nan-ko and Ch'a han Timur. The son of Li Nan-ko was Li Yin, the son of Ch'a Han Timur was Kuan Yin-pao. The son of Li Yin was Li Ch'ang, the son of Kuan Yin-pao was Li Wen. Further the names of the successors of Li 175x [B48] 614 622

[67] The shift of the Ming dynasty to that of the Manchu was preceded by a period of troubles. The rebels in Huangchung looted the country of its wealth. T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, still faithful to the Ming, tried to restore order in his territory. In 1644 his wife, concubine, two brothers, and three hundred of his subjects were killed. He himself was taken prisoner by rebels and sent to Sian to the Manchu court. He was accredited in his former duty of t'u-ssu and died as a faithful official of the Manchus (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 2*b*. *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47*b*).

[68] *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 3*b*, happened in 982.

[P.28(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Ch'ang and Li Wen correspond with the names encountered in the lists of the *Annals* of Hsining and Kansu. 175x 614 622

Li Shang-ko
|
Li Mei-chi-lu
|
Li Kuan-chi-lu

Li Nan-ko	Ch'ahan Timur
Li Yin	Kuan-yin-pao
Li Ch'ang	Li Wen

[60]

HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE DOCUMENTS

114 175x 614

Both important documents manifest the confusion existing in the minds of the Li t'u-ssu and their subjects during and at the end of the Ming dynasty. Both Li clans claim (1) their first ancestor to have been Li K'o-yung, (2) who had received the name of Li, and (3) had been created prince of Chin by the Tang emperor. However, on the spirit way stele in the cemetery, erected in 1427, is chiseled that the original name of the Li K'o-yung clan was Topa, while the genealogical chronicle composed by Yueh Nai around 1644 records that the original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-hsieh.

The Topa tribe was the leading tribe among one of the two Tibetan Tang-hsiang groups which had fled to Kansu in 627 from Sung P'an-ting (northwest Szechwan), for fear of invading T'u-fan. This group, called P'ing-hsia-p'u, was settled by the Tang emperor in the region of the present Mi Chih Hsien (northwest of Shensi). The group, during the troubles which beset the Tang empire, had founded its own Hsi Hsia kingdom, and from 982 on waged war with the Sung empire. 175x 614

In 808 Shat'o, belonging to the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks, eluded the pursuit of Tibetans and fled from Kanchow through Huangchung and East Kansu to submit to China. They were settled in Ling Chou (Ninghsia), later in Yen Chou and still later eastward through Shansi. They were faithful warriors, who often saved the Tang dynasty. Later they founded their own ephemeral Shat'o dynasties (923–947), whose first emperor originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe.

Yueh Nai, author of the chronicle, writes that the Li clan originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks. He should have known that Li K'o-yung was a Shat'o Turk, that the Shat'o group differed from the Tibetan Hsi Hsia group, and was settled in its own country granted by the emperor, and had its own history. Nonetheless he makes them move into Hsi Hsia, he records two Hsi Hsia leaders, Li Sse-kung and Li Chi-feng, as being ancestors of the Turk Li Nan-ko, and records the offering of four Hsi Hsia districts to the Sung (982) as being an act of his Shat'o ancestor.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Possibly the fact chiseled on the stele, stating that the Li clan had originated from the Topa Hsi Hsia tribe, induced Yueh Nai, who was not conversant with Chinese history, to find a solution combining two impossible data. However, how could the tradition of the origin of the clan have been obliterated to such an extent if stock were taken of the fact that the grandson of Li Nan-ko, Li Kung, who obtained the literary degree of Chin-shih in 1481 and later was promoted minister of the Shang-pao-ssu, certainly must have known all about the Shat'o and the Hsi Hsia history?

It is interesting to compare the two documents. Both stele and chronicle start with the same ancestor Li Shang-ko, his son Mei-chi-lu, his grandson Kuan-chi-lu, his great-grandson Li Nan-ko whose son was Li Yin and grandson Li Ch'ang.

However, on the stele the brother of Li Nan-ko, Ch'ahan Timur, and his son and grandson Li Wen, are not mentioned. It has to be kept in mind that the stele is erected in Hsiang T'ang, in the cemetery of the Li Nan-ko branch, and so it is normal that the members of the Li Nan-ko branch only should be recorded on the stele in this cemetery. The Li Wen branch has its own cemetery situated ten li north of Hsining, with its own steles, etc. But it is normal that in the genealogical chronicle of the entire Li clan, composed by Yueh Nai in 1644, the Li Wen branch should be recorded next to that of Li Nan-ko.

Who was Li Shang-ko? On the stele he is noted as having been an official of the Prince of Ch'i, during the Yuan dynasty (1280–1367). His son Li Mei-chi-lu and his grandson Li Kuan-chi-lu are recorded as having held the same office.

The Ch'i princes had been appanaged by the emperor in East Kansu in Feng-hsiang-fu. Among them was the Prince T'o-t'o-nu-erh Fu-ma [89] who was the younger brother of Chang Chi to whom, at the beginning of the Yuan dynasty, Huangchung had been assigned as appanage, and who in 1287 had been ordered by the emperor to reside in Huangchung. Chang Chi must have known the Li clan pretty well.

In the biography of Li Wen, son of Li Shang-ko, in the *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*b*, it is noted that in the Hsuan Te period (1426–1436), Li Wen held the office of Tu chih-huei chien-shih (secretary High Commandant) at the Hsin-tu-ssu in Shensi province. Does this not seem to point to an incumbency near the same Princes of Ch'i? However this seems impossible, because, in 1429 according to the same *Annals* (27: 11), Li Wen and all the t'u-ssu of Huangchung participated in the expedition in Nan Ting and Ch'u Hsien, conducted by Li Yin, and according to the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 38*a*) this expedition started in 1425.

However, according to the genealogical register of Yueh Nai, Li Shang-ko was T'ung-chih tu hu-chih (vice-chairman of the protectorate office) in Hsining

[89] Hambis, *op. cit.*, 108, 49.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

under the Yuan; he therefore lived in Huangchung and not in East Kansu in Feng-Hsiang Fu in the appanage of the Ch'i prince. It was also at that time that the Li clan parted in six branches. But the Li clan never parted in six branches because only two Li clans have existed in Huangchung and not six. 175x 614

The *Annals* of Kansu (42: 38), according to "original" documents, record that Li Wen was the son of the first wife of Li Shang-ko and that the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 2*b*, 10*a*), which printed that Li Yin was the uncle of Li Wen are to be amended. Li Wen and Li Yin were first cousins, Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko were brothers. However, the *Annals* do not tell who was the father of Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko.

[60]

Li Shang-ko — Li Nan-ko

Li Wen (first cousins) — Li Yin

During the Yuan dynasty, Li Wen discharged the office of Ta chih-huei t'ung-chih (Vice-chairman High Commandant) (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38*a*) and then submitted to the Ming with the officials of Huangchung in a group in 1371. The *Annals* do not note at what time Li Shang-ko died. However the fact, that Li Wen went to submit as chief of the clan means that his father had died before 1371. Because he submitted to the Ming, he and not Li Shang-ko had been granted the office of t'u-ssu. He is considered the founding ancestor of the clan and with him starts the clan cemetery. In this clan cemetery his mound is the principal and highest one. When all the subjects of the clan come yearly to honor him and the later clan ancestors, offerings and libations are first made before his mound and then before the graves of the later ancestors. Li Shang-ko, his father, is not buried in the clan cemetery.

At what time did the Li clan part into two clans? It is certain that before the submission of Li Wen before 1371, the division of the paternal inheritance had long since been accomplished between the two brothers, Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko (or between former clan chiefs), because both clans, in the Yuan dynasty, controlled definite territories, were ordered to guard definite passes and keep always ready a definite number of foot and horse (for all the t'u-ssu were in the Yuan times groups of Mongol soldiers or groups of surrendered tribes enrolled as defenders of the country). Because it is said that during the Ming and Ch'ing times they continued to occupy and defend the same territories and passes, it would seem that before the Li Nan-ko and Li Shang-ko time the division of the clan must have been achieved.

Anyway the problem of the exact time at which the partition of the clans had been achieved is not an easy one to solve, and also the problem concerning Li Wen

[P.30(A)]

himself. We know for sure that 1371 was the year of his submission to the Ming, and also the time of his death is historically fixed at 1488. It is hard to explain how this man has been clever enough to be an official during 117 years! 175x 614

THE SPIRIT WAY STELES

In the first document it is noted that the first spirit way stele was erected in 1427 in honor of Li Nan-ko, the first t'u-ssu and founding ancestor of the clan. According to the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 46*b*), Li Nan-ko died in 1407, his son Li Yin received in 1427 the title of Earl of Huei Ning, and the title granted to the son was posthumously bestowed at the same time upon the father (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 10*a*. Annals of Kansu 42: 47). This distinction which, according to the Chinese mentality, primarily honored the father who had reared so glorious a son, obviously seems to have been the cause of the erection of the spirit way stele at the entrance of the clan cemetery in honor of Li Nan-ko in 1427 by Li Yin himself. 175x 764 324

The second spirit way stele was erected in 1475 in honor of Li Yin. Li Yin probably died a few years after 1437. His son, Li Ch'ang, succeeded to his father only in 1457, on account of the discredit weighing upon the clan. Li Ch'ang died in 1493 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 10). Emperor Hsien Tsung only in 1475 promoted Li Ch'ang, and he honored him in a special way at his death, sending splendid funeral gifts and a funeral oration (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 2*b*) written by himself, containing the glorification of the virtues of the deceased. This oration had to be burned before the coffin as a last farewell of the emperor to his faithful subject. The distinguished promotion received from the emperor in 1475 seems to have been the reason for the erection of the spirit way stele by Li Ch'ang to his father Li Yin in 1475, the father upon whom redounded the imperial attention bestowed upon his eminent son. [645]

THE CEMETERY OF HSIANG T'ANG

The cemetery of Hsiang T'ang is definitely the most elaborate cemetery built in the country and it is said to have been erected to glorify the entire Li clan. I trusted this tradition accepted by prominent scholars and officials in the country, who founded their statement on an erroneous text of the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 2*a*) claiming that both Li clans were the descendants of Li Nan-ko (Monguors I: 70, 71). However, not a single stele is encountered in the cemetery pointing to members of the Li Wen clan, which has its own ancestral cemetery at the foot of the Han P'ing mountain, situated ten li north of the city of Hsining, with steles and inscriptions (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 8*a*). This cemetery is not as elaborate as the one of the Li Nan-ko branch with its spirit way steles, etc., but 175x 614 764

[P. 30 (B)]

its central avenue is also bordered with stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay (Monguors I: 71, note 57), and every year ceremonies are performed in it by the entire clan, in honor of the founding ancestor Li Wen, Earl of Kao Yang, and all the subsequent t'u-ssu of his clan. The Hsiang T'ang cemetery is definitely the cemetery of the Li Nan-ko clan. 175x 614 764

In the Hsiang T'ang cemetery is seen a mound, said to be that of Li Nan-ko, who died in 1407. However, a striking puzzle is the fact that his son, the celebrated Li Yin, Earl of Huei Ning, who died soon after 1437, is buried not in Hsiang T'ang cemetery, but in the forlorn village of Hai Shi Wan, southeast of Nienpei, where a small stele with an inscription is erected, and next to his tomb is the tomb of his son Li Ch'ang, who received promotions in 1475 and the glorifying attention from the emperor at the time of his death in 1493. Still more puzzling is the fact that Li Kung, the eminent great-grandson of Li Nan-ko, the son of Li Ch'ang, who obtained the literary degree of Chin-shih in 1481 and was later promoted minister of the Shang Pao Sse, is buried in the village of Pa-chu-yuan situated southeast of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 17*a*; 27: 10–11; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*, 47*a*). [648]

The fact that these three most eminent t'u-ssu of the clan were not buried in the ancestral cemetery where two spirit way steles were erected seems to suggest that the present elaborate cemetery might have been built in later times. [622]

No notes are available relating to the ancestors of the other chiefs of the Monguor clans.

HISTORY OF HUANGCHUNG AND THE T'U-SSU DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1644)

This chapter reveals on the one hand the tremendous role played by the Huangchung Monguors in the struggle waged by the Ming dynasty against the Mongols during the nearly three centuries of its existence, which several times shook the foundations of the empire. The help they rendered to the dynasty is unprecedented in history. 175x 648

On the other hand, the chapter reveals the weakness of the Ming administration in Huangchung and the ordeal the loyal and dependent Monguors had to undergo to remain faithful to it amidst the wicked and ruthless depredations against their country, disastrous forays of brigands, hunger, disease, and poverty.

T'u-ssu Li Nan-ko, after his surrender with the officials of Hsining in a group in 1371 and his summons to court, was ordered to return to Hsining and to assume the administration of Huangchung. He controlled the country, calling on more tribes to surrender; repaired roads and bridges; organized the system of relays and the communications with the central administration; amassed grain in the public graneries, etc. The same year he defeated and took prisoner a rebel- 175x 648 622

[P. 31(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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ling chieftain, Ho Chang-tsa (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9–10).

M 175x 648 622

The commandery of Hsining was created in 1372 (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). This means that Chinese officials arrived accompanied by some troops to organize the country along the Chinese pattern and to enlist the t'u-ssu in their service.

The Ch'i t'u-ssu, Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, who had surrendered in 1368, was sent in 1372 to the country of the salt lake in Kokonor, where the tribal chief I-lin-chen-pen had revolted. He defeated the turbulent chief and pacified and controlled the country. He induced the Mongol chief Ch'i-chih-sun to surrender (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*a*).

M 175x 648

The heir apparent of the Yuan, Ai-ya-shih-li-ta-la, escaping from Ying Ch'ang in 1370, had arrived at Karakorum and been proclaimed emperor. During 1371 he mustered all available troops in order to recover his lost empire. In 1372 the Ming emperor, informed about the military preparations of the Mongols, dispatched three armies, with the order to deal a decisive blow to the Mongol forces in the very heart of their domain. Troops of three t'u-ssu from Huangchung joined the second army commanded by General Feng Sheng: the troops of the Lu t'u-ssu from Lien Ch'eng, and of the T'u-ssu T'ö-erh-chih-shih-chieh and the T'u-ssu Wang Nam-mu-ko, both from Hsining. This army administered a crushing defeat in Liangchow to the forces of the Mongol commander Shih-la-han, and in Yung Ch'ang in Ma Hu Shan, to those of T'o-erh-chih-pa, who had revolted after his surrender and from whom 300 soldiers and 400 horses were captured. Then the troops delivered a severe defeat to the Mongol commander Pu-hua and captured 8,000 families. They went to I-chi-nai-lu (in the Gobi) where they defeated the Mongol Prince Pao Tsang and pursued fleeing Mongols until Kua and Sha Chou. The t'u-ssu troops returned to Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*–44*b*; Ming Shih, Biography Fu Yu-te 129: 8; Pokotilov, 7–8).[70]

HM 175 648

HM [723]

The expedition of General Feng Sheng in 1372, with his enlisted t'u-ssu troops, was the first attempt by the Ming to conquer the region of the corridor stretching from Liang and Kan Chou to Turkistan. The corridor, bordered on the north by the Gobi desert, the homeland of the nomads, was exposed to recurrent invasions of Mongols from the desert waste, and during three centuries the t'u-ssu of Huangchung would be ordered to repel their forays.

M 175x 648

In 1373 the Mongol Prince Pu-yen-pu-hua, endowed with the title of Prince of Ning by the Mongol emperors, had been appointed by them administrator of the region of An-ting (Turkistan). In 1370 he had re-

[70] D. Pokotilov, *The history of the Eastern Mongols during the Ming from 1368–1634*, translated from the Russian by Rudolf Loewenthal, Chengtu, China, West China University, 1947.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

ceived from the Ming emperor the invitation to surrender. In 1373 he had not yet answered the summons, and the prominent T'u-ssu T'o-erh chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce him to submit. In 1374 his delegates arrived at court with the submission. The following year the emperor created the two commanderies of An-ting and A-tuan, and to Pu-yen-pu-hua was granted the title of Prince of An-ting (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 23*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). 175x 648

In 1374 the T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce the barbarians dispersed all over the country of Huangchung to submit to the Ming emperor (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*).

In 1375 T'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of General Pu Yin against the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa in Liangchow, to whose army a severe blow was administered. The rebel managed to escape. The emperor invited T'u-ssu Lu to call at Nanking to receive the imperial congratulations. On account of illness he was prevented from moving to the capital.

In 1376 Hsining T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to participate in another expedition of General Feng Sheng in Liangchow region against the Mongols, plundering the country. Shih-chi-ku, Nan-t'ai and others surrendered with 1,000 men, and also the Mongol T'o-lin, with his 2,200 subjects (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*).

In 1377 T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to join the expedition of General Pu Yin against the Tartar chief Yeh-su-t'o-huo and others who again plundered the Liangchow country. They suffered a severe blow and 1,000 of their brigands were killed. Then T'u-ssu Wang followed the expedition of General Feng Sheng in Kanchow and Suchow where 1,890 families surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*).

In 1378 T'u-ssu Lu Ah-shih-t'u, oldest son of T'o Huan, fought and took prisoner Ta-kuan-tieh-chih, a chief of plundering Tibetans, living in the mountains between Ku Lang and Liangchow.

General Teng Yu in 1370 had pacified the country of Kui Te situated 220 li south of Hsining, on the southern borders of the Yellow River. In 1376 he had founded the So of Kui Te, leaving a garrison of 500 horse troops and 500 colonists, ordering them to till the soil and provide the subsistence of the garrison (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 15*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 57: 2*a*). In 1378 Kui Te was attacked and plundered by the Tibetan Ha la kui (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 25*b*), who also devastated the Kokonor region. T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to fight the brigands (Monguors I: 34).

BUREAU FOR EXCHANGE OF TEA AGAINST HORSES

175x 647 231 437 272

The year 1378 was very important on account of the establishment of the bureau for the exchange of tea against horses. Each year 3,500 horses would be exchanged in the city: first-class horses exchanged for

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

120 pounds of tea, second-class horses for 70 pounds of tea, and third-class horses for 50 pounds of tea. Every tribe under submission was taxed a definite number of horses to be exchanged at the bureau.[71] 175x 647 231 437

The very first bureau had been established in 1376 in Ch'in Chou in East Kansu, but on account of the distance between Ch'in Chou and An-ting and A-tuan, and the inconvenience of travel through the provinces, a bureau had later been established in Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 17: 3*b*). 272

The importance of the trading of tea for horses cannot be overrated. On the one hand, it was a means for the nomads to get rid of their horses and secure tea. Tibetans as well as Mongols cannot do without tea, and the stronger the concoction the more delightful it is to them. Even when traveling or indulging in hunting parties where tea could not be prepared, they chewed the tea leaves. The craving for tea among the nomads may be compared with the craving for opium among addicts. On the other hand, the trade was very beneficial to the Chinese. First of all, the cavalry got its badly needed horses in an easy way, and the officials of the bureau also benefitted. They evaluated the quality of the horses according to the gratuity offered by the nomad, cheating in the quality of the tea, and putting the transaction off indefinitely, making the customers wait for weeks on end, or helping them immediately, according to the gratuity presented. Squeeze was the rule in the bureau. 175x 443 231 272

The first benefitters were the traders. The exchange of horses was a boon for the city. Traders from all over Szechwan and Shensi provinces moved into the city with the wares the nomads needed, in addition to the tea they brought with them. The nomads were allowed to bring more horses than the number taxed, and they carried wool, skins, musk, etc., to be exchanged for wares. The exchange of horses for tea was the yearly opportunity for the nomads to make a trip to the city and to provide for the needs of the family. 175x 443

This institution was also an effective means of attracting the nomads to surrender, for only surrendered tribes were allowed to enter the city and transact business. After two years the institution reached fruition. It was an attraction, especially during the troubled times which were ahead, when the tribes, indulging in plundering each other, had to get rid of the stolen horses. It was an attraction also because the surrendered tribes enjoyed the protection of the empire. 175x 443 648

In 1379 both Hsining Wang and Chao t'u-ssu were ordered to participate in the expedition of General Mu Yin, sent to quell the revolt of the turbulent eighteen tribes in T'ao Chou (Tibetans? Uighurs? Shat'o?) where the chief San Fu Shih was taken prisoner. Then T'u-ssu Chao was enjoined to follow the expedition of General Fu Yu-te against rebel Mongols in Yunnan 175x 648

[71] Huang Ming su-i k'ao, Wen tien ko shu-chuang, Peiping, Chiang-fu-ssu chieh, 1937.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

province, and T'u-ssu Wang to accompany General Mu Yin to Kan and Su Chou to fight the unfaithful Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa. Two hundred of his soldiers were taken prisoner. Then the army proceeded to Ch'ih Chin in the Gobi where the Mongol Prince I-lien-cheng, his seal and tribes, were captured (*Annals* of Kansu ?: 42*a–b*, 40*a*, 48*b*). 175 648 619

T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh induced the Tibetan chiliarch A-pu to surrender, and in the fourth moon he fought the Tibetan chief I-lin-cheng-pen (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 10*b*).

At the death of the Mongol emperor in 1378, T'o ku-ssu had succeeded to the throne in Mongolia. He was soon on the warpath, mustering two armies in order to invade China, one in the Gobi at Karakorum, and one-in North China at Yin Ch'ang. The army at Karakorum suffered a severe defeat at the hand of General Mu Yin in 1380, but the army of Yin Ch'ang was making inroads in Liaotung province.[72]

In 1380 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was called to court and ordered to arrive at Peking with his troops to stem the forays of the Ying Ch'ang brigands of the emperor. At the same time he was granted the title of Hsuan-wei general and the hereditary office of Chih Huei ch'ien shih in Hsining. He fought the brigands at Chin Shan Ssu, at Huo Ho, Yung P'ing, Su Chou, etc. His troops were victorious everywhere. He came back to Hsining after the capture of Na ha ch'u in 1387 (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*b*).

SURRENDER OF TRIBES IN HUANGCHUNG

Two years after the establishment of the exchange bureau the submission of nine Tibetan tribes is recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining, chapter 16. It is hard to find out which among them were Tibetan, Shat'o, or Uighur tribes. At the time of the surrender of Li Nan-ko with the officials of Hsining in 1371, only thirteen tribes had submitted (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 1*b*), and the names of the tribes are not recorded. It may be assumed that the reiterated invitations conveyed by the t'u-ssu to the chiefs of tribes by order of the emperor during eight years had reaped small success. Now, however, the fascination of the profits attached to the tea market had stimulated the tribes to surrender. [563]

In the northern part of Hsining the submission of two tribes is noted.

The Pa sha tribe lived in tents on a territory larger than 500 square li, situated more than 100 li north of Hsining on the borders of the Tat'ung River. It controlled the Tsan-tsa tribes, the Ssu-erh-ssu-ko and many small tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 7*b*).

The Pa Wa tribe were also nomads, living next to the Pa sha tribe on the borders of the Tat'ung River. This tribe must have been smaller than the Pa sha tribe (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 10*a*).

[72] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 10-11.

At that time the expansive country 40 li north of Hsining was inhabited by nomads and had no cities, villages, or farms. Only after the victory of the Manchus over the lamas and Tibetans in 1723 was colonization immediately started on a large scale, and the cities of Tat'ung and Mao Pei Shen were built. 175x 619 648 [631]

West of Hsining, the *Annals* record in 1380 the submission of three tribes. The Si-na tribe lived 60 li west of Hsining on the northwest borders of the Hsining River. In its territory are tents, houses, and fortified villages. Its people practiced farming and cattle breeding. The tribe had a temple and a lama with the title of Kuo-shih (Master of the Kingdom), a silver seal, and an ivory stamp. The tribe numbered 500 families and was taxed 300 horses every year. It controlled the tribe called little Si-na which lived in Ku Shan, southeast of Nienpei, and it was taxed 30 horses. It also controlled the Ssu-ta-la-ma tribe and the Hsieh-erh-chih-kang temple, which were taxed 50 horses (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 8*b*). [361 346 651]

The Chia-erh-chi tribe inhabited the territory situated north of the Si-na tribe. The part of the tribe living inside the wall lived in houses and fortified villages; the part living outside the wall practiced cattle breeding and lived in tents. At the time of disturbances caused by brigands they moved inside the wall. The chief of the tribe was a lama who had the title of Chih-hui. Every year the tribe was taxed 130 horses. The tribe controlled the Lung-pa tribe numbering 100 families which was taxed 150 horses. [345]

In the region west of Hsining, stretching as far as 40 to 60 li, only farming, combined with cattle breeding, seems to have been practiced in 1380 by Tibetan tribes. After 1723 the region beyond was developed. The title of master of the kingdom was probably granted after the surrender of the tribe ruled by the lama. It was the policy during the Hung-wu and the whole Ming period to grant titles to lamas who induced tribes to surrender (Monguors II: 16). The title of Chih-hui borne by the chief is a title of the Ming time. The walls noted in the references were built only after 1546 (*Annals* of Hsining 13: 15). The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 seems to have mixed circumstances existing only after 1546 with those of 1380. [241 233]

Still west of Hsining the nomad Shen-tsang tribe surrendered in 1380. It inhabited a territory situated near Kokonor. At the time of the invasion of the Mongols in 1509 and their occupation of Kokonor, the tribe disappeared (*Annals* of Hsining ?: 5*b*).

In the region of the southern mountains of Hsining, between Hsining and the Yellow River, stretching in an east-west direction as far as Lao Ya Ch'eng, three more tribes surrendered in 1380, all of them living near the northern borders of the Yellow River.

The Tsan-tsa tribe lived in tents and its territory was situated south of the present subprefecture of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*).

The Ko-tsa tribe, also a tribe of tent-dwellers, lived east of the Tsan-tsa tribe, and southwest of the city of Ku Shan. The tribe numbered 400 families (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*). 175x 619

The Ssu-kuo-mi tribe, also tent dwellers, lived in a territory situated 150 li south of Hsining, on the borders of the Yellow River. It was divided into two tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 5*b*).

1386 MARKS A NEW ERA IN HUANGCHUNG 175x

According to the *Annals* of Hsining 25: 1*a*; 9: 15*b*, Keng Ping-wen was sent to build the city of Hsining with appropriate circumvallations, using troops from all the commanderies of Shensi. The size of the city had to be reduced to half of its former size, with four watch towers on the corners, nineteen more on the walls, and four gates. The note concerning the use of troops of all the commanderies of the province of Shensi seems to point to the fact that few troops and laborers were available in Huangchung in 1386, and that the former city was too extensive, inconvenient for defense, and probably in bad condition. Keng Ping-wen was ordered to build seven relay stations where official couriers could find horses ready to forward the orders without delay to the upper administration, and also five storehouses for provisions, drill fields for the soldiers, and administrative buildings. Four relay stations were built in an eastern direction covering a distance of 220 li, connecting Hsining with the northeastern part of Kansu. One relay was built in Ku Shan, 160 li south of Nien-Pei in the region of the three tribes which had surrendered in 1380. He also built the fortified city of Nien Pei with a Ch'eng-huang temple (spirit protector of the city) (*Annals* of Hsining 14: 16*a*). A Wen Miao (temple for Confucius) had been built in Hsining and a temple for the spirit protector of the city, for the emperor had already, in 1370, ordered these temples to be built in all the cities of the empire. 653 701 331

These few data suggest that the Monguors saw the situation changing in Huangchung after they had surrendered in 1371. In 1372 Hsining had been created a commandery and consequently Chinese officials had been appointed very soon. Without indicating the date of the appointments, the annals (*Annals* of Hsining 23: 5*b*), note that the administration of Huangchung was controlled by two major officials, a civil and a military. The Fen-chou-tao, who resided not in the unimportant Hsining, but in Liangchow, controlled a large area, and the Feng-hsiun-tao who resided in Kanchow controlled the six granaries, the irrigation canals, the finances of the administrative organs and the farming colonies for the whole of Kansu. Only in 1488, a hundred years later, was the civil and military governor of Huangchung Ping-pi-tao appointed with residence in Hsining. Chapter 24, 14*a* records without 175x 648 [624]

[P. 34(A)]

noting a date that on account of the small population 175x
and the extent of the uncultivated land, the Monguors 648
had been ordered to abandon the cultivated land around the cities and fortresses, which would be assigned to artisans and traders and soldiers, and to move to the uncultivated areas they controlled during the Yuan time.

This important note hints at the purpose of the Ming [701]
to found Chinese colonies, and suggests that the soldiers had to till the soil and provide for their subsistence. This is the time honored policy of China, practiced since 118 B.C. by Ho Ch'u-ping in Hsining.

Necessarily more civil and military officials had ar- 175x
rived and new administrative organs had to be created, 633
since the establishment in 1378 of the exchange bureau of tea against horses. More troops, traders, and artisans had flooded into the city, and in 1380 more Tibetan tribes had surrendered. Houses and shops had to be built, caravansaries for Tibetans, arsenals and barracks. Taxes had to be collected, disturbances prevented, justice dispensed, and the city defended. It was plain that Hsining had been chosen to become the pivot of the civil and military administration of entire Huangchung.

In 1387 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, after his 175x
return from the expedition in Liaotung, induced the 648
rebel chiliarch A-pu-ti to surrender, and T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o hsing-ch'i again induced the Tibetan I-lin-cheng-pen (*Annals of Hsining* **31**: 10*b*) and the turbulent Ch'i Chih-hsun to surrender. However, he must not have succeeded in his efforts with Ch'i Chih-hsun because the turbulent Mongol, in 1392, participated in the troubles in Han Tun (Tunhuang) (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 25*b*).

In 1388 at the time the army of the Mongol Emperor T'o-ku ssu had been defeated by the Ming, 200,000 of his soldiers had surrendered and only 40,000 had fled in various directions with the emperor, whose power was completely discredited in the eyes of his officers. He was strangled by one of them in 1388.[73]

In 1391 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was sent to the commandery of Kanchow and was soon called back to Hsining to fight the Tibetan A-li-ta-ah-su. T'u-ssu Kan was ordered to join the expedition of General Sung Sheng at Ha mu li (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 2*b*; **42**: 50*b*).

T'u-ssu T'o erh-chih-shih-chieh died in 1392. He had accumulated thirteen merits during his lifetime and died discharging his office. His son Tuan Chou succeeded his father in 1396 (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 10*b*; **27**: 9*b*; **24**: 7*b*; **27**: 9*b*; *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*b*).

In 1392, t'u-ssu Wang was ordered to follow General Lan Yu, pursuing the turbulent Ch'i Chih-hsun, who at that time was in the region of Han Tun (Tunhuang). On the arrival of Lan Yu most of his tribes fled and were pursued as far as the region of Kokonor. Many were captured with a large number of their cattle.

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[73] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 13.

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FIRST LAMASERY BUILT BY EMPEROR— CREATION OF BOARD OF LAMAS

175x 643 792

The lama San la of Hsining wrote a letter to the tribes of Han Tun to induce them to surrender and some tribes did so. The Annals of Hsining 15: 12*a*, note the surrender of the tribes, the tribute of horses offered by them, the appointment of Lama San la as chief of the surrendered tribes, the building of a lamasery south of Nien Pei, the name of Ch'u T'an bestowed upon the lamasery by the emperor, the first creation of the Board of Lamas in Hsining, and the appointment of San la as its director (Monguors II: 16–17). The example set by the emperor encouraged many lamas to act in the way of San la, attracting tribes to move into Huangchung, etc. So nan chi li ssu, the chief of the Han Tun tribes which did not follow the exhortations of San la, surrendered later, in 1397, and their chief was appointed Chih huei ch'ien shih in Han Tun. In the *Annals* of Hsining 15: 1*b*, is noted an inscription "appeased Tibetans" bestowed by the emperor upon the temple Ta-fu-ssu, built in Hsining during the Yuan by the ancestors of the Shat'o Li Nan-ko (Monguors II: 14), and there is recorded the building of the temple Kung-t'ung ssu in the city (*Annals* of Hsining 15: 2*a*). At the end of the same year T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to join the expedition of General Lan Yu against the rebel Mongol Yueh Lu Timur in Chien Ch'ang in Szechwan province. The rebel was captured and killed (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*a*; 46: 25*b*).

DEATH OF EMPEROR T'AI TSUNG (HUNG-WU), 1398

175x [6] 648

T'ai Tsung, the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, died in 1398.

Since 1371, the date of the submission of the t'u-ssu of Huangchung, the circumstances of the country had changed entirely, the economy had developed, the population had increased, and the influence of lamaism had extended, thanks to the granting of titles and domains to lamas and the founding of peculiar institutions for those among them who induced tribes to submit and to move into the country (Monguors II: 16–18). However, the most important increase of the population was caused by the moving into Huangchung of 7,200 families of Chinese soldiers, numbering 15,854 persons, during the Hung Wu period, to start the first military colonies (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 15*a*). The civil and military administration of the country had progressively been organized and the conquest of Huangchung stabilized. During the Hung Wu period the Monguor t'u-ssu had proved their faithfulness to the Ming dynasty. They had promoted the stabilization of the country and fought for the empire in the farflung provinces of Liaotung, Yunnan, Szechwan, and Turkistan, and the prominent T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh had

[P.35 (A)]

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discharged his office with distinction until his dying day. The faithfulness of the Monguor t'u-ssu will become more and more manifest during the reigns of the subsequent Ming emperors.

M 175x 648

MONGUORS OF HUANGCHUNG DURING THE REIGN OF EMPEROR CH'ENG TSUNG (YUNG LO), 1403–1424

M 175x [578] 643

T'ai Tsung, first emperor of the Ming, had appointed as successor his grandson, Huei Ti, an inexperienced young boy. His uncle, the Prince of Yen, youngest son of the emperor, revolted and defeated his nephew in a four year struggle.[74] He ascended the throne in 1403. He was called by the name of the period of his reign, Yung Lo.

M 175x 648 614 553

Yung Lo, who must have known T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who during 1380–1387 had fought the brigands of the Mongol Emperor T'o ku ssu in Liao-tung, had called the Kansu troops to join his army. T'u-ssu Tuan Chou, who had succeeded his deceased father, went with his troops to rescue Yung Lo in 1399. He died on the field of battle. Yung Lo rewarded the faithful t'u-ssu, granting to his clan the name of Ch'i and giving to the clan chief a mansion in the city of Hsining, and posthumously bestowing upon him the title of Piao-ch'i chiang-chun (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 13*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 44*b*).

M 175x 648

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yi also had taken the side of Yung Lo in his revolt against Huei Ti. He was rewarded with the office of Chih-huei t'ung-chih in Lu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*). During this period more troubles occurred in Huangchung. Lu T'u-ssu Kung Pu shih chieh repelled the invasion of the Mongol Pu Yen ta shih in 1402, who looted the region of Liang-chow. The t'u-ssu offered to Emperor Yung Lo in 1403 the captured prisoners and a tribute of horses. He was promoted to centurion in Chuang Lang.

The same year, 1402, the turbulent I lin sheng pen revolted again in Kokonor and looted the region of Kui Te and the southern valley of Hsining. T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i went to fight the rebel and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 12*b*). The troubled conditions in Huangchung at that time seem to have been the reason why no more t'u-ssu participated in the struggle of Yung Lo against Huei Ti.

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

The new emperor had to contend with the tremendous problem of the Mongols, and this dangerous prospect was not bright. During the reign of his father (1368–1398) nine expeditions had to be launched against them. A constant struggle against the empire and endless dissension of the different tribes among themselves was to be expected. The struggle between

[74] In Monguors II: 16, 21, 22, are recorded the history of the foundation of the monastery of Ch'u T'an by San la, and the wonderful legends circulating among the lamas related to the mysterious disappearance of Emperor Huei Ti, who became lama in the monastery of Ch'u T'an, settled there and died.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

the eastern and western (Oirat and Kalmuk) Mongols would become especially desperate and obstinate, and Yung Lo would have to launch five campaigns personally into barren Mongolia, and die in that fateful country at the time that the troops from his fifth campaign were on their way back to Peking. During these times of alarming confusion and disorganization in Mongolia, the Monguors of Huangchung had to participate in the expeditions, defend their own country, and die on the fields of battle.[75]

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

The strangled Mongol Emperor T'o-ku-ssu was succeeded by Elbek, who was murdered in 1399 by Ugetch'i, chief of Kirghiz tribes, who tried to establish his hegemony over the Mongol tribes. He was defeated by A-lu-t'ai, chief of the Asods[76] and Ma-ha-mu, chief of the Oirats. In 1403, the eastern Mongols proclaimed as emperor Pen-chia-shih-li, son of Elbek, who was joined by A-lu-t'ai.

In 1403 T'u-ssu Ch'eng under the command of General Chang Fu, was ordered to fight groups of eastern Mongols, subjects of Pen-chia-shih-li, who came from the Gobi desert into the country of Kan and Liangchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37a). T'u-ssu Chao joined the same expedition and fought in Yung Ch'ang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*); Ch'eng and T'u-ssu Na fought the same groups in Cheng Fan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*a*; 42: 39*b*). T'u-ssu Wang was sent to I-chi-nai and Pu-yen-mu, north of Kan and Liangchow, to induce Pa tu Timur to surrender (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 41*a*). In the same first year of his reign, Yung Lo, in order to stabilize the conquest of Huangchung, organized military colonies, apportioned land to the colonists, and provided them with grain and oxen and farm implements (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 2*a*).

M [36]

In 1404 T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu chih chieh, was ordered to garrison Cheng Fan and Mao Mu Ch'eng.

M 175x 648

In 1409 T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu shih chieh, was sent to I-chi-nai to care for and organize the surrendered Mongol tribes.

628 HM 175 648

In 1410 Pen-chia-shih-li had offended the Chinese emperor by not caring for his subjects invading the frontiers of Liang and Kanchow. He killed the ambassador who conveyed the protest of the emperor. The emperor retaliated forthwith, granting titles to the Oirat chiefs, the foes of Pen-chia-shih-li. A conflict broke out between the two groups, and to Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai was administered a severe blow at the hand of the Oirat Ma-ha-mu. The emperor took advantage of their reverse and equipped an expedition

[703]

[75] Chinese and Mongol sources are very confusing relating to the history of these times. Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, Wolfgang Franke, Yung Lo's Mongolei-Feldzuge, *Sinologische Arbeiten* 3: 1–54, Peking, Deutschland Institut, 1914. Louis Hambis, *La Haute Asie*, 58–104, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1953. Henry Serruys, Notes on a few Mongolian rulers of the 15th century, *Jour. Orient. Soc.* 76 (2): 82–89, 1956.

[76] Asod-Alains: originating in the Caucasus, their faithful troops had been enlisted in the imperial guard and had followed the defeated Mongols fleeing toward Mongolia.

[P. 36(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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against them, under the command of General Ch'u Fu, who blindly rushed into an ambush where his troops were annihilated. The emperor, in order to avenge the failure and redeem the honor of the empire, himself led an expedition against Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai on March 15, 1410. Pen-chia-shih-li suffered a crushing defeat and escaped with a few soldiers, and a severe blow was then administered to A-lu-t'ai.[77] The emperor was back in Peking September 15, 1410. He had ordered the Monguor t'u-ssu to join the expedition.

M 175x 648 628 HM 175 648

T'u-ssu Li Yin, son of the late Li Nan-ko mustered the t'u-ssu and their troops. They participated in the expedition under his command. Among them are noted T'u-ssu A (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51*a*), T'u-ssu Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*a*), T'u-ssu Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 50*b*), and T'u-ssu Lu. The entire group fought in both battles against Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai. T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu shih chieh, died on the field of battle fighting A-lu-t'ai. On that occasion to the clan of T'o Huan, prince of An Ting, was granted the name of Lu by the emperor, as reward for its devotion to the dynasty.

M [24]

In 1411 T'u-ssu Lu Hsien joined the expedition commanded by the eunuch Wang An against Mongol tribes roaming in the region of Hsi Liang (north Kansu). The years 1411 and 1412 were times of intermittent forays by splinter groups of the defeated Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai erupting from Mongolia in the Liangchow and Kanchow regions. In 1412 two Chinese commanders, Sung Hu and Li Lin, had been appointed to repel the invasions and several t'u-ssu lent a hand: Li Yin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51*b*), Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*a*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*a*), Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 53*b*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 41*a*), and Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 39*b*). The invading groups were those of Lao ti han,[78] of Ho lo ch'ih, Pa erh ssu and T'olot'ai. A severe blow was administered to them in Sha Chin Ch'eng (region of Liangchow) and they were pursued to T'ao-lai ch'uan (on the Tat'ong River) where 360 of their brigands were captured with their chiefs. The same year T'u-ssu Lu with commander Ch'eng hai took as prisoners Palima, chief of a group of invaders, and Shih T'ai, chief of another group in the region of Sung Shan I.

M 175x 648 [24] HM 175 648

In the same year the Oirat chief Ma-ha-mu killed Pen-chia-shi-li and proclaimed as emperor of the Mongols, Delbek son of Pen-chia-shih-li. A-lu-t'ai, his foe, immediately tried to befriend the Chinese and received the title of Prince of Karakorum. The granting of this title was as a red rag before a bull. Thereupon the enraged Oirat chief mustered his troops to invade China. The emperor himself decided to launch an expedition against the Oirat Ma-ha-mu. It was the age-

HM [643]

[77] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 28; Franke, *op. cit.*, 5–6.
[78] A descendant of Aoluch'ih. Hambis, *op. cit.* 107: 122, 7.

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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old imperial policy to sow strife among the tribes, making them destroy each other. Yung Lo was as frightened of a Mongol power under the leadership of an offspring of the old Chingis Khan family as of one under the leadership of a rising new and tremendous Oirat group. He decided to launch a campaign against the Oirat Ma-ha-mu. M 175x 648 HM 175 648

On April 6, 1414, the emperor himself led the campaign and administered a blow to Ma-ha-mu who escaped in the desert. The emperor was back in Peking on August 15. The Monguor troops of Huangchung had again been called to participate in the expedition. In the following years Alut'ai administered a defeat to the weakened Ma-ha-mu, who died in 1416. Then the emperor recognized the succession of Togon to his father Ma-ha-mu, as chief of the Oirats, and bestowed upon him the title of his father. The flames of hatred of A-lu-t'ai were fanned again against the Oirats and China. In the meantime A-lu-t'ai had secured the help of the Urianghai tribes living on the northern borders of China, which had transferred their allegiance from China to him. He had considered himself strong enough to antagonize China openly. M [643] HM [54]

On April 12, 1422, the emperor started on a third campaign in Mongolia, this time against A-lu-t'ai, and called the Monguor troops. On the arrival of the strong Chinese army, A-lu-t'ai escaped in the desert waste, and the frustrated emperor vented his rage upon the unfaithful Urianghai tribes. The Monguors fought on the borders of the Wu-lang River in Liao-tung and in the Toyen district under command of T'u-ssu Li Yin. T'u-ssu Lu, having captured the Mongol chief Alahan on the Han t'an River, was rewarded with titles, silver, and silk clothes (family chronicle). M [643] M HM [703]

In 1423 the emperor resolved to finish definitely with A-lu-t'ai and started personally with a fourth expedition, calling the Huangchung troops. T'u-ssu Lu, on his way to the north, passed through the country of Ho-lan-shan and encountered the Mongol Prince Chung T'ung and troops of Yeh-hsien, which he captured. Just at the time the expedition was on the move, the Oirat chief Togon administered a blow to A-lu-t'ai, who escaped in the Gobi. The emperor understood that the expedition was doomed. He returned to Peking on December 9.

In 1424 A-lu-t'ai, despite the defeats he had suffered, was still strong enough to plunder the borders of the empire. The frustrated and enraged emperor decided to equip and lead a fifth expedition. All available troops were mustered and the expedition moved the second of May. A-lu-t'ai again vanished in the desert. The Mongols proved once more not to be easy game. The despondent emperor died on his way back to Peking, in Yu-mu-ch'uan, on August 18.[79]

In 1423 a Tibetan lama, Chang ta lama, was living in Hsining, appointed by Emperor Yung Lo as a translator of Tibetan texts. His morals were dissolute. He M 175x 648

[79] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 28-32; Franke, *op. cit.*, 5-12.

appropriated the tributes brought by chiefs of Tibetan tribes, protected and hid people prosecuted by the courts of justice, and for more than ten years had fostered subversive influences. T'u-ssu Li Yin, discharged at that time the duty of Chi-hui ch'ien-shih in Hsining, conversant with these facts, killed the lama and his family. The country again enjoyed peace (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 10*a*). 175x 648

During the Yung Lo period (1403–1425) the military colonies of Huangchung did not increase in number. The same 7,200 families are recorded as at the end of the Hung-wu period. However, the number of persons constituting these families had decreased by 3,000 (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 15*a*). During the same period four more temples had been built in Huangchung: Yung-hsing-ssu, situated five li north of the city of Hsining, 1410; Hua-tsang-ssu situated south of the city, 1410; Tsang-chin-ssu situated in the southwestern corner of the city, and Kuang-fu-kuan in the northwestern corner of the city, 1426 (*Annals* of Kansu 30: 45*b*, 46*a*). Emperor Yung Lo had established in the valley of Sha t'ang, 80 li northeast of Hsining, controlled by the Li t'u-ssu, some pasturage for cavalry horses. In 1378 after the institution of the exchange bureau of tea against horses, 3,500 horses were acquired for the cavalry every year, and had to be fed on pasture. 175x 161 592 [792] [233]

T'U-SSU LI YIN

In 1426 Li Yin again was ordered to muster the Monguor troops, and to equip an expedition with the Chih-hui K'ang Chou, against the tribes of Anting and Ch'u Hsien (the old Tunhuang region), in which country the Chinese ambassadors Ch'iao Li-sse and Teng Ch'eng had been plundered and murdered on their way to Turkistan. The Monguor t'u-ssu who participated in the expedition under the command of Li Yin were Li Wen (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*), t'u-ssu Lu, t'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 29*b*), t'u-ssu Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), t'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*b*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 41*a*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*b*), Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*a*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 28: 13*a*). T'u-ssu Chou died on the field of battle during the expedition. Li Yin knew from first-hand information that the commanders of Anting, Ah-san-hsun-san-ho, and San-chi-ssu of Ch'u Hsien were the murderers. He led the army straight to their countries. The murderers fled with their tribes. Li Yin pursued them to the K'unlun mountains, and continued the pursuit several hundred li more, to the Ya-lin pass. There he administered a crushing defeat to them, capturing 1,100 men and 140,000 head of cattle. The brigands of Ch'u Hsien fled further on, but the Prince of Anting, Sang-erh-chia shih-lan, scared to death, went to court to confess his fault. 175x 648

The emperor praised the military prestation of Li

[P. 37(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The emperor praised the military prestation of Li
Yin and sent delegates from Peking with laudatory 175x
letters and with the order to come to Peking, the ex- 648
penses to be defrayed by the empire. He received the [703]
promotion of Yu-fu tso-tu-tu and rich gifts. The next
year he was honored with the title of Duke of Hui
Ning, and received an emolument every year of 1,100
tan of grain. At the same time the emperor, with [554]
delicate attention, bestowed upon his deceased father, Li
Nan-ko, the same title of Duke of Hui Ning (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

Li Yin seemed to have reached the summit of a 175x
glorious career. However, a more eminent honor was 554
in store for him. His merits would be chiseled on a stele in a temple built by himself to remind future generations of the imperial dignities bestowed upon him.

In the Kuang-fu-kuan, a temple built in 1426 in the 175x
northeast corner of the city of Hsining, the following is chiseled on a stele (*Annals* of Kansu 30: 45*a–b*; *Annals* of Hsining 35: 6*a–b*):

In 1422 in the eighth moon, Emperor Yung Lo, on his 175x
way back from an expedition in the desert took a breath in 211
Yu-lin (Shensi) and called to his tent the officials who had 539
won the most distinguished merits during the expedition. [703]
He granted Li Yin the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Pillar of
the Empire and Duke of Hui Ning. Then the duke asked
the emperor for permission to build in Hsining a temple
in honor of the god of the war, in order to show gratitude [776]
for the blessings bestowed upon the empire and the people,
and to secure more blessings in the future. The emperor
agreed. Back home, Li Yin ordered, a few days later, the
building of the temple. In the tenth moon of 1426 he
informed the emperor about the completion of the construction. The emperor granted to the temple the name "Kuang-
fu-kuan" (Taoist temple of glory and felicity), and ap- [795]
pointed five Taoist priests for the performance of the
sacrifices and worship in the temple.

One evening Li Yin was dreaming: he heard a man saying to him, "The God of War will appear." Instantly he dressed and adjusted his hat. Another man arrived carrying a tray with fine dishes. He invited Li Yin to come to his home to enjoy the dishes. Li Yin could not understand the circumstances of such an invitation. He thought it should be a spirit. Then he invited this man to come to his home. They were about to start with the dinner when all of a sudden the man said, "The spirit is there." Li Yin opened the door. He saw a man perfectly dressed, riding a white horse with a beautiful saddle and escorted by a numerous retinue. The man was like a king. The Taoist priest Ho Chao-tsung accompanied him, dressed in Taoist fashion, holding a book in his hands. He asked Li Yin: "The god will go first to the temple of the King Li. Is that correct?" Li Yin answered that he would first call at the Ning-fan Ssu (the temple of the appeased Tibetans). The entire group left. The sky was bright. On the way they passed a beautiful high building, enclosed by a high wall. They said, "The man who is living here does not belong to the lower range of society." They arrived at the gate of the temple. Li Yin dismounted from his horse. He was terrified. This happened on the eighth day of the seventh moon in 1423. In the winter of the same year the Duke was invited to see the emperor in Peking. He received his titles and precious gifts and returned to Hsining. What the Duke saw in his dream was the appearance of the god of war. It was a reward for his

[P. 38(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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devotion to the empire. Emperor Yung Lo whom he had served in the expeditions in the desert had given him a precious sword and a famous horse. In 1425 Li Yin had fought the brigands in Anting and at the head of his soldiers had attacked the brigands and himself had killed many among them. He had captured a booty of 130,000 cattle. The emperor had sent minister Yang Yung to congratulate him. His merits were unusual and therefore he received in his dream a visit from the god of war . . . all these circumstances we have recorded on the stele, etc.

M 175x 211 539 [703]

Without doubt the titles received by Li Yin, the building of the temple and the name given to it by the emperor himself, the stele, and the wonderful dreams went straight to the heart of the clan members and strengthened the cohesion of the Li clan. All these circumstances normally seem to have been conducive at that time to the building of an elaborate clan cemetery and to the erection in 1426 of the famous "spirit way stele" in honor of Li Nan-ko, the founder of the clan, father of Li Yin.

M 175x 614 626

However, the behavior of Li Yin, puffed up with pride, had changed after he had been honored so magnificently by the emperor. The Governor of Ninghsia, Shih Chao, who had previously been Governor of Hsining, accused him of fostering subversive intentions. Li Yin could disprove the accusation. In Hsining he had assembled 700 families, fugitives from justice, whom he protected. He had settled them in the country and had given them land to till. But they harmed their neighbors, stealing and upsetting the country. Again complaints were lodged with the board of military justice, and Li Yin was ordered to turn over his tenants to the civil authority. In 1432 Ch'i Ch'eng, descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, was his father's lawful successor to the office of t'u-ssu. The bold Li Yin, not bothering to offend the prominent Ch'i t'u-ssu clan, supported as successor to the t'u-ssu office Chien Tsang, the nephew of Ch'i Ch'eng, who was the son of his sister. He appointed murderers to kill Ch'i Ch'eng. He was accused again. This time the military judges rolled all the accusations into one, condemned him to prison, to the revocation of his titles and honors and to capital punishment. In 1437 the emperor pardoned him, allowing him a small emolument. Soon thereafter he died (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

M 175x 648 M [578] M [698] M [626]

HUANGCHUNG T'U-SSU UNDER THE SUBSEQUENT EMPERORS

After the death of Yung Lo, (1424) the alarming confusion and struggle continued unabated among the eastern and western Mongols, both groups appointing their own Khans, who were merely nominal supreme chiefs and actually blind tools in the hands of Togon and A-lu-t'ai who controlled the two groups. A-lu-t'ai, weakened after many encounters with the Chinese and Oirat troops; was finally defeated and killed by the Oirat, Togon, in 1434; and the hegemony of the Oirats

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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was achieved. It would reach the summit of its power again under the son of Togon, Esen, who was assassinated in 1455. Then the hegemony would be recovered by the eastern Mongols in 1470, after internal troubles had arisen among the Oirat tribes themselves.

After the death of A-lu-t'ai in 1434 his tribes separated: one group under the leadership of the Khan At'ai settled in I-chi-nai (500 li north of Kanchow), and one group, controlled by T'o-erh-chih-pa, settled in Yeh-k'o-lin-sha-erh-t'an, west of Liangchow. These groups would be the scourge of the countries of northwest Kansu for many years to come. A-lu-t'ai had already made forays in Liangchow in 1428. T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*) and Chi (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 42*a*) had been ordered to fight his turbulent tribes in I-pu-la-shan. In 1433, on account of the insecurity in the country, the commandery of Hsining had been reorganized in Chun-ming chih-huei-shih, six *so* had been established and the villages grouped in four *li*.

In 1435 T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*a*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 41*b*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*), and Lu had been ordered to join the expedition of Commander Wang Kui against the tribes of At'ai and T'o-erh-chih-pa in Chengfan, Tsing-shih-shan, and Ho-shan. In 1436 a new expedition was launched against the same Mongol tribes, in which T'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*b*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*b*), and Wang participated (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 41*b*). Then the tribes of At'ai invaded the country of Chuang-lang (P'ing-fan) but were beaten by T'u-ssu Lu, who pursued them to I-pu-la-shan.

In 1437 the same turbulent Mongol groups invaded Liangchow and Chuang-lang again, they were beaten by T'u-ssu Lu and Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*) in Tu-pei-ku and Mi-ho-ch'uan and 1,000 of their horses were captured. In 1438 the same brigands suffered a severe blow in Wei-yun, Pei-ya-wu, and I-pu-la-shan, at the hands of T'u-ssu Lu and Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*).

The Monguors during these times were the faithful defenders not only of northwest Kansu but also of the most western Chinese frontiers, in the commanderies of Han Tung, Ch'u Shien, An Ting, and Ah Tuan. After the successful expedition of Li Yin in 1426, in combination with all the Monguor t'u-ssu, the petty tribes living in this area sustained themselves by pillage and robbery.

In 1429 the Governor of Hsining, Shih Chao, was ordered to prepare an expedition against the Chu-shien and Anting tribes whose chiefs still intercepted and plundered envoys bringing tribute to court. T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*a*), Li Wen (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 11*b*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38*a*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 41*b*), and Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 45*a*) joined the expedition. The fleeing tribes were pursued, severely beaten and 340 of their

[P.39(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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brigands captured. The army returned with a booty of 300,000 camels, horses, sheep, and cows (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 26*b*, 27*a*).

M 175x 648 [726]

Se-ngo-ko, chief of a Tibetan tribe, was accustomed to stealing horses of neighboring tribes. The commander of Hsining, Mu Su, could not apprehend him. Later the thief arrived at Hsining to sell horses. The commander seized the horses, convinced they were stolen ones, but they were his own. The tribes were upset and about to start a revolt. Li Wen accused the imprudent commander, and the tribes were pacified. Li Wen was promoted (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 12*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38*a*).

HM 175 648 [685]

In 1442 T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 13*a*) was ordered to garrison the commanderies of Ah-tuan and Ch'u-hsien, to protect Anting, and to induce the scattered tribes to come back to their lands and surrender. In 1445 the Oirat chief Esen, who had succeeded his father Togon, who had died in 1439, attacked and occupied Hami. In 1447 Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 45*a*; *Annals* of Hsining **31**: 12*b*), t'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*), and t'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of commander Jen I in Sha Chou. In 1448 Wa lo, chief of the Tibetan Pa-sha tribes started plundering Huangchung. T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien was ordered to fight Wa lo. He succeeded in killing the chief. These tribes had submitted in 1380, their chief controlled 30 or more tribes, which inhabited a country as large as 500 li, starting 60 li north of Hsining and running to the borders of the Ta-t'ung River. Pa Sha was ill-famed for its predatoriness (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 13*a*; **19**: 7*b*). In 1450 T'u-ssu Chao and T'u-ssu Lu repelled Mongol invaders in Kao-ssu-yuan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*). In 1452 T'u-ssu Ch'eng followed commander Su Chieh, fighting Mongols who were plundering Nan-chuan. They pursued them to Su-wu-shan and captured their chiefs (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*).

During the Cheng T'ung period (1436–50) at the time the northwestern part of Kansu was riven by inroads of Mongols and the t'u-ssu were fighting the Mongols in Kansu and in Turkistan, Liu Ch'uan, commander in Kuei Te (situated south of Hsining on the southern borders of the Yellow River), induced 72 tribes of Tibetans to surrender, promoted cultivation and farming among them, established a tea bureau and every year exchanged 1,740 horses for tea, protected the traders and the communications in the country, built a route and relays connecting the important city of Ho Chou with Kuei Te. The country of Kuei Te was at peace and the people enjoyed the trustful and honest commander (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 16*a*).

M [437 491]

The chronicles of the Lu t'u-ssu clan note that during 1450–1464 raids had to be intermittently repelled along the Liangchow and Kanchow borders, perpetrated by the same eastern Mongol groups and some Oirat groups, which ventured to lay waste and devastate even

M 175x 579 HM 175 579

[P. 39 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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Chuang-lang, Ch'ing-yang, and East Kansu. The raids furnished to the invaders a considerable amount of loot and fostered their predatory instincts. The example set by the Mongols whetted the appetite for plunder among the Tibetan tribes also. The people lived in desperate conditions, and the t'u-ssu troops had always to be ready to comply with the orders of military commanders.

M 175x [579] HM 175 [579] M [511]

This note, recorded in the Lu chronicles, is quite acceptable for the reason that during just these years a tremendous confusion reigned in Mongolia, and the Mongol tribes located along the Kanchow and Liang-chow borders had nobody to care for them, for the Oirats, now at the summit of their power, had thought themselves strong enough to challenge the Chinese empire.

HEIGHT OF OIRAT HEGEMONY

M 175x HM 175 M HM 622 648 [662] 668

To Esen, the powerful Oirat chief, had been promised an imperial princess by the eunuch Wang Chen, the favorite of the emperor. He had not notified the emperor of this promise and when the envoys of Esen arrived at court with the nuptial presents they were refused. In the autumn of 1449 the humiliated Esen began raids on the empire frontiers and approached Ta-t'ung. An army of half a million men was raised in a hurry, and sent against the Oirats. The emperor accompanied the army. His troops were routed, the emperor was taken prisoner, the remnants of the army tumbled back to Peking, and the capital was in jeopardy. Ching Ti, the brother of Emperor Ying Tsung, ascended the throne in 1450. The Oirats were unable to seize the capital. After endless deliberations, the released imperial prisoner reentered Peking in the eighth moon, after an absence of one year.

Esen, swollen with pride after his resounding victory over the empire, his ambition soaring to the throne, proclaimed himself emperor of the Mongols in 1454; but two of his commanders revolted against him in 1455, he fled and was killed the same year. For the time being the balance of political power of the Oirats shifted to the eastern Mongols who struggled again for the hegemony. One of the commanders who had killed Esen was killed by Polai, a tribal chieftain of the Ta-tan Mongols. Po-lai enthroned a new Khan, Markorgis, the son of T'o-to-pu-hua, known under the name of Hsiao-wang-tsu, the little king, and began with raids on the frontiers of the empire.[80]

In 1457 Emperor Ching Ti fell ill, the secluded Yin Tsung ascended the throne for the second time and thereafter his brother died.

T'U-SSU LI WEN

M 175x 648

The same year T'u-ssu Li Wen arrived at Peking from Hsining with his army, to congratulate Yin Tsung

[80] H. Serruys, *op. cit.*, 85; Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 58-60.

[P. 40(A)]

on his second ascension to the throne, and to present his offices in these times of troubles which beset the empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and somewhat later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them. The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and devastating the country. The officials in the capital grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his troops to move. He was committed to prison and deliberation concerning capital punishment was held. The emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportunity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the Mongols in the regions of Yenan and Suei-te (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*b*).

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of Li Wen?

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450–1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs and the most prominent officials, some of them friends and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions seethed with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals. Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung.

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching Ti the capital beseiged by Esen in 1449. During the illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot preparing the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthronement of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his rivals and seven executions of the most prominent officials followed. He was bestowed with the title of Pilar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky. It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, proclaimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung. The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poisoned himself. His father was committed to jail and ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta-

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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The officials of Ta-t'ung were promoted. However, Li Wen was bypassed. Deeming that he had provided the judges with the most important data, he could not stand being ignored and waited for an opportunity to avenge himself on the promoted officials. Consequently he did not fight in 1460, giving them the opportunity to show their gratefulness and abilities to the emperor. Later in Yenan and in Suei-te he succeeded in fighting the Mongols and was promoted to tutu T'ung chih. During the period Ch'eng hua (1465–1488) he was sent to Hami with Commander Liu Wen. The expedition was unsuccessful. He died during the first years of the Hung-chih period (1488–1506) and was rehabilitated with the title of Duke of Kao Yang in the first years of the Cheng-te period (1506–1521) (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*a*). In 1468, during the time Li Wen was participating in the unsuccessful expedition in Hami, his young son Li Yung had been promoted to centurion and thereafter Chih-huei ch'ien-shih (*Annals* of Hsining 24: 8*b*). This seems to suggest that after the punishment of Li Wen, the emperor must have been informed about the way in which he had acted, and have forgotten about it.

M 175x 648

In a former chapter have been related the promotion of T'u-ssu Li Yin, as Duke of Huei Ning, his dishonorable behavior, his punishment, his death soon after 1437, and the promotion of his son Li Ch'ang in 1457. For twenty years the clan had been discredited on account of the behavior of Li Yin. But in 1457 Li Wen, the cousin of Li Yin, went to Peking with his army to congratulate Emperor Yin Tsung on being enthroned for the second time. The delighted emperor promoted him twice and Li Wen may have seized this opportunity to recommend Li Ch'ang, the son of his cousin Li Yin, and to remind the emperor of the merits of his grandfather Li Nan-ko, who had induced the t'u-ssu of Huangchung to surrender in 1371. Li Wen and Li Yin were the sons of the brothers of Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko. The emperor at that time was in high spirits, enjoying the jubilations of the entire population of the capital. Moreover ascensions to the throne were customarily accompanied by a general amnesty and this seems to explain why the son of Li Yin, just at that time (1457), started receiving distinguished promotions one after another, and after his death in 1493 an imperial funeral oration. In that way the honor of the entire clan was redeemed in Huangchung, and Li Ch'ang erected the spirit way stele for his father Li Yin in 1475.

M [554]
M [554]

HEGEMONY OF THE WESTERN MONGOLS

HM 175 [578] 648

After the death of Esen in 1455, whose empire reached from Lake Balkash to the Great Wall of China, conflicts arose among the eastern and western Mongols and among the eastern groups themselves. The Ta-t'an (Tatars) Po-lai and Mao-li-hai tried to control the eastern Mongols, who grew more and more independ-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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ent. They secured the help of the Urianghai tribes whose chief was Tolohan. They appointed their Khan (Hsiao-wang-tze) and incessantly made inroads on the borders of the empire, seizing rich booty. Po-lai killed Hsiao-wang-tze and Mao-li-hai killed Po-lai. The Ordos Mongols appointed the Khan Mantulu who defeated Tolohan and Mao-li-hai. The latter died on the battlefield and dissension continued unabated. In 1470 the widow of Mantulu secured the proclamation of Dayan as sovereign of the Mongols and controlled the tribes herself. Dayan, a boy seven years of age, was the only descendant of the house of Kubilai. He married in 1481 and was proclaimed Khan of the Great Yuan (1470–1543). He united and laboriously grouped the tribes in right and left wings and divided and appanaged them among his sons. The eastern Mongols seemed united, but each time at the death of the father, the appanage was divided among the sons and so the power of the appanages and tribes diminished after each division, and sons and cousins were torn with inner conflicts. At the time of the Manchu dynasty (1644) the tribes had become an easy prey for the new rulers of China.

HM 175 648
HM [422]

In 1450 the eastern Mongols under the leadership of the chieftain Ah-lo-ch'u had started settling in Ordos and in 1457 were firmly established there.[81] From Ordos they could more easily make inroads into Huangchung, Shansi, Shensi, etc. Desperate times were to be expected for Huangchung. However, the Monguor t'u-ssu and their subjects stood faithful and loyal as a rock, defending the dynasty for two more centuries.

M 175 x 648
HM 175 648

The strong Tibetan Pa Sha tribe of Huangchung, which lived in tents between the Tatung River and the city of Tatung, had surrendered in 1380, and whose chief had been killed by Ch'i Hsien during his raid in 1448, started a raid in 1457 on a large scale, just at the time the Ta-t'an Po-lai, chief of the western Mongols, invaded the frontiers of Ninghsia (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 28*a*). They raided the countries of Liangchow, Yung Ch'ang and Chuang Lang, and on their way home devastated and plundered the country of Huangchung, killing Chinese officials and capturing a huge number of cattle of the surrendered Tibetan tribes. Finally the Chinese troops from the commanderies of Kansu arrived, and administered a crushing defeat, killing 7,700 Pa Sha brigands (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 7*a–b*; 31: 12*b*). The Lu t'u-ssu had defended Chuang Lang and the other t'u-ssu had defended their own villages.

In 1461 Po-lai with an army of more than 10,000 Mongols arrived at Chuang Lang and made forays in Liangchow. The Chinese army was defeated, but more troops arrived and beat Po-lai who sent envoys suing for peace. Every year he sent tribute, but continued his raids. T'u-ssu Lu (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 28*a*), t'u-ssu Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), and t'u-ssu

HM [723]

[81] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 72.

[P. 41 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*) had fought with the Chinese army. M 175x 648

In 1463 the Pa Sha tribe made a foray again in the Sa-t'ang Valley but was repelled (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 12*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 28*a*). HM 175 648

In 1464 again the Pa Sha tribe raided Huangchung. This time the Chinese army entered their country and exterminated some of their tribes (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 28*b*).

T'u-ssu Lu followed the commanders Liu Yu and Shih Hsiang-chung in 1468, repelling the brigand Manssu in Ku Yuan. He fled to his fortress Shih-ch'eng. The army, having lost many soldiers, finally captured the fortress; the brigand was captured, sent to Peking, and killed (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 29*a*).

In 1470 T'ing Chang built more schools in Hsining. Shih Chao had built the first schools in 1428 (*Annals* of Kansu 31: 12*b*). M [371]

In 1472 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to help repel the Ordos Mongols making raids in Yenan and Suei-te. At the same time incursive Mongol tribes made forays in the regions of Chin-pien-i (Ku-lang). T'u-ssu Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*a*), T'u-ssu Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), followed the Chinese troops, beat the brigands and pursued them as far as Hua-ling-erh.

T'u-ssu Li Wen and Commander Liu Wen were sent to Hami in 1473 to investigate the troubled conditions prevailing in the country. Having secured the promise of help from the Ch'ih-chin and Han Tun tribes, they sent an army to Hami in 1474. Upon the arrival of the army both tribes refused to move. Li Wen, deeming his forces too feeble to fight the enemy, returned to Kansu.

In 1475 Emperor Hsien Tsung ordered the local officials to erect an honorific arch in front of the mansion of the T'u-ssu Lu Chien, granting the inscription "*During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and probity, incessantly he exercised fidelity and zeal.*" M 175x 648 703

It has been noted that the erection of the spirit way stele in honor of Li Yin happened in the very same year, 1475.

In 1480 T'u-ssu Lu Chien was promoted lieutenant colonel in Hsining.

In 1482 the tribes of Ch'ih-chin and Han Tun with the help of Chinese troops and T'u-ssu Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*a*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), attacked and conquered Hami.

In 1488, ninety years after the surrender of the *t'u-ssu* in a group in Huangchung (1371), there was appointed a military and administrative tao t'ai (ping pi tao), a governor, vested with civil and military powers (*Annals* of Hsining 22: 5*b*; 23: 4*a–b*) with residence in the city of Hsining. There was also established a bureau of customs, and a bureau of colonization. In the city of Nienpei, in the strongholds of Chinghai, Kuei Te was appointed a major, in the fortress in the M 175x 727

[P. 42(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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northern valley, and Ku Shan and San Ch'uan second captains.[5] In the city of Hsining there were appointed a secretary commandant, a high commandant, seven assistant commandants, seven secretary commandants (among them are noted many t'u-ssu) a director of education, and a secretary. In Nienpei was appointed a Chiliarch with seven under-chiliarchs, nine centurions, twenty-nine second centurions. In Hsining a general director was appointed in each of the departments: for graneries, feed for horses, taxes, and exchange bureaus, in each of the seven relays. These regulations seem to suggest that Huangchung was no more a depopulated and uninteresting country. However, the appointment of the overwhelming number of military officials seems to suggest that the authority did not deem the peace prospects to be very bright, and that more troubles had to be expected.

M 175 x 727

In 1484 the Ordos Mongols made a raid in Yung Ch'ang. T'u-ssu Lu defended the country and, was beseiged in the city for several days. He made sallies one after another and succeeded in escaping. More raids were made in Liangchow and P'ing Liang in 1497 and in Kanchow in 1498 by Hsiao Wang-tze. T'u-ssu Lu, T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35), and T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38) helped the Chinese commander administer a severe blow to the raider.

M 175 x 648 HM 175 648

T'u-ssu Lu participated in an expedition in 1499 against the eighteen tribes (Uighur Shat'o) of Chieh Chou in south Kansu, and sent prisoners to the capital. In the same year T'su-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35*b*) and T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38) participated in the expedition against Ordos brigands in Pei-ta-ch'uan (Ling Chou).

T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to chase the Mongols who obstructed the communications along the route leading from Yung-ch'ang to Kanchow and Suchow. Ch'i T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35), back from the expedition in Pei-ta-ch'uan in 1499, was ordered to accompany the Governor Yin Ch'ing, investing in Hami the Prince Chung Shun, Shenpa, as chief of the country (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 12*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35). In 1500 the turbulent Hsiao Wang-tze settled in Ordos, from where he continued his forays. In 1504 he raided Shuei-ts'ao-ku and Hung-ch'eng-tze and was repelled.

In 1507 Mongol brigands, passing through Ming-shuei-ku in the P'ing-liang region, were defeated by General Wu Ch'i and T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35; **42**: 44).

RUIN OF HUANGCHUNG

M 175 x 648

The year 1507 was fateful in the history of Huangchung and all of Kansu. It marked the ruin of the whole country for a century. Until that time Huangchung and Kansu had suffered only from intermittent, transient, but disastrous raids from incursive Mongols whose aim did not reach beyond plunder. Dayan, the ambitious young Hsiao Wang-tze, who was laboriously

[P.42(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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striving for the unification and the subjection of the tribes under his leadership, had appointed one of his sons commander of tribes. He was killed by his subjects. The rebelling chief I-pu-la, apprehensive of the vengeance of Dayan, seceded and fled with his tribes to Liangchow. He asked the commander of Liangchow to allot a territory to him and promised to live in peace with the empire. The petition was refused. The Mongols, incensed by the refusal, for ten days wreaked their vengeance, devastating and laying waste the country. On their way westward they plundered the tribes of the Prince of Anting and stole his seals and diplomas. They reached Kokonor in 1509 and occupied the territory (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 13*a–b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 31*a*).

M 175x 648

Kokonor at that time was the country of the Tibetans. The behavior of the savage Mongols was unusually ruthless. On their arrival they murdered Tibetans, reduced the young folk to the level of slaves, stole their wives and cattle. Cowed by their truculent manner, some Tibetan tribes fled to Tibet, some to East Kansu and Huangchung. The destitution of the fleeing tribes was tragic. On their way they plundered the country and Kansu was upset. But some tribes returned to Kokonor and submitted to the invaders. Being conversant with Kansu, they accompanied and led the Mongol forays and plundered in combination with them. The Tibetan tribes submitted to China and East Kansu and Huangchung were plundered. Despairing of the help of China, their ingrained predatory nature soon asserted itself and they revolted and went plundering on their own account. Every time Mongol tribes in Mongolia had a score to settle with Dayan, they seceded and fled to Kokonor adding strength to the Kokonor group.

M 175x 648 HM HT 175 648

Huangchung and East Kansu, which during the previous centuries had been laid waste and destroyed so many times, had to pass again through the ordeals of war and destruction at the hands of Mongols and rebel Tibetans for a whole century, and to have their economic life disrupted and shattered.

In 1510 T'u-ssu Lu, Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38*a*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*), Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*), and t'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*a*) under command of the Lieutenant Colonel of Chuang-lang administered a blow at Hsiao Wang-tze in Huei-huei-mu and captured a considerable number of his oxen and horses. Hsiao Wang-tze pursued the seceding tribe of I-pu-la. Having met defeat at Huei-huei-mu, he was pursued to Yenan and beaten again in Shih-p'eng-ku, P'o shan-ku and T'ung-ssu-p'u.

In 1511 the Kokonor brigand I-pu-la made a raid in Yung-ch'ang and Cheng-fan, but suffered a defeat. Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*b*), Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), Yeh t'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*b*) participated in the punitive expedition. From now

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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on recurrent raids of Kokonor brigands will be recorded incessantly. The hardships doled out by the Monguors and t'u-ssu during a century will be tremendous.

M 175x 648

In the fifth moon the Kokonor brigands invaded the northern valley of Hsining and were repelled. All the *t'u-ssu* of Hsining under command of Wang Yung helped in the action. The son of T'u-ssu Li died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38*a*), in Ta-la-tu-ch'uan. T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 45), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 22) and Kan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 50*b*) pursued the retreating raiders and slaughtered many among them in Hung-yang t'an.

HM HT 175 648

In 1514 Tibetan tribes from around Kokonor, in combination with Mongol brigands, invaded the southern valleys of Hsining and Nienpei. All the t'u-ssu of Hsining helped Commander Chin Mao repel the invaders. However, they were severely beaten, and T'u-ssu Ch'eng died in the battle of Pieh-tu-ling (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*).

The situation drifted to a critical point and then finally a Chinese army of 10,000 men was equipped to chase the brigands from Kokonor. The brigands, informed about the serious military preparations, left Kokonor, passed the Yellow River at Ho Chou, plundered and slaughtered savagely the subject Tibetan tribes, in the commanderies of T'ao and Ming Chou, and invaded Sung P'an and Mao Chou in Szechwan Province. When they were informed that the Chinese army had left Kokonor, they returned to Kokonor.

At that time the Hsiao Wang-tze invited I-pu-la etc., to return to their original country. Complying with the invitation, he moved his tribes to the north, but soon news was broken about the intention of Hsiao Wang-tze to kill him. He returned to Kokonor (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 13*a–b*).

In 1515 Tibetan tribes living in the mountains between Liangchow and P'ing-fan had plundered envoys from Turkistan bringing tribute to the emperor. T'u-ssu Lu was sent to punish them. He killed many of them in Sha-chin-ku and Ho-shih-ku.

The next year a group of Ordos brigands invaded and devastated Ku-yuen and P'ing-liang. T'u-ssu Wang (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 40*b*), T'u-ssu Na (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 39*b*), and T'u-ssu Lu were ordered to help in the punitive expedition.

In 1517 many Tibetan tribes who suffered on account of the brigands felt their old predatory instinct reviving. The conditions in Huangchung grew worse every day. The chief of the Lung-pu and Wu-ssu-pa-erh tribes (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 13*a–b*), controlling 2,000 families, nomadizing on a territory 200 li wide between Hsining and Kokonor, revolted. The Chinese Chiliarch Li Wen quelled the revolt. Then the tribes revolted on a large scale, defeated and killed the Chiliarch. Finally the lama of the Ta-ming temple succeeded in inducing them to surrender (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 31; *Annals* of Hsining **31**: 14*a*).

HT 175 669

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Tibet AJ2

In the same year the Ko-tsa Tibetan tribe which had surrendered in 1380, whose chief controlled 400 families and nomadized southwest of Ku Shan along the northern borders of the Yellow River, plundered the lamasery of Hung-hua. Captains Kao Hsien and Yang Yu with T'u-ssu Lu (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 4; 31: 14) pursued and defeated the rebels in the mountains of Pa-yen-jung (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 31*a*).

HT 175 648

In 1520–1521 T'u-ssu Lu twice repelled Ordos brigands invading Ku Yuan and Chuang Lang.

M 113

The very first *Annals* of Hsining composed by the scholar Chang Chih were printed in 1520 (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 15*a*).

The Chinese army revolted in Kanchow in 1522. The Tibetan tribes in Huangchung seized the opportunity to plunder the country (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 14*a*). Governor Cheng Yang could not control the situation. At the same time 20,000 Ordos brigands invaded Ku Yuan, P'ing Liang, Chin Chou, killed the military officials Yang Hung and Liu Tuan, terribly devastated the country and killed and captured more than 10,000 people (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 31*b*).

M 175x 648 HT 175 648

In 1525 Pu-erh-hai, a Mongol chief, had a score to settle with Dayan. In order to avoid his vengeance he joined the I-pu-la group. On his way to Kokonor he plundered the country. He was defeated by Yang Chung aided by T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38*a*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*a*) and T'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 32*b*). The next year T'u-ssu Lu was impeached by the officials of Cheng-fan and Hsining. He was removed from office (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 14*a–b*; 27: 15).

After the officials had lost control over Huangchung in 1522 they convened to discuss these disastrous circumstances and find a solution. There was complete absence of direction and the officials were at loggerheads with one another. One group among them stubbornly defended the policy of Tuan Ying who, seventeen centuries earlier, had exterminated the Tibetans in order to pacify the country. At present, they said, the conditions are favorable, the Kokonor brigands control only two or three thousand Mongol horse and foot; from the moment the troops are moved the Tibetan tribes will abandon them. The other group obstinately advocated the policy of Chao Ch'ung-kuo who, also, seventeen centuries before, won over the Tibetan tribes, granting titles to the chiefs, opening markets, etc. They said, "Because their army at present is in poor shape and money is lacking, this policy is the only one possible." The third group was as stubborn as the other two: Tuan Ying had exterminated the Tibetans and won only a barren worthless country, void of people. Chao Ch'ung-kuo had fooled himself, and after a couple of years the country had been out of control. Both generals had applied their policy to the utmost and failed. The right way is a middle way, the way of wise moderation; whoever

M 175x 648 723

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

is fighting must be fought, but always at the same time the tribes should be induced to surrender peacefully. The debates lasted for seven years and nothing was done (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 10*b*, 11*a*). Finally in 1530 the Tibetan tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou started plundering the country. The tribes had fled from Kokonor for fear of the Mongols. Their destitution was tragic. Commander Liu Wen-yu, protagonist of the third group, left with his army, but at the same time sent officials to induce the tribes to surrender, promising them help. Among them only twenty-one tribes decided to revolt, the Lung-po (Uighur) tribe being the leader of the group. The commander defeated two tribes, killed 360 rebels and then started peace talks. He succeeded, receiving the surrender of seventy or more tribes. He returned with the army. The regions of T'ao and Ming Chou were at peace. 175x 648 723

The same year, while the tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou, situated south of the Yellow River, were pacified, the Tsantsa tribes, living on the northern bank of the Tatung River, plundered the region of Nienpei, but were defeated in the T'u-ku-hung valley. Splinter groups of Mongols raided Chengfan, and small groups of Kokonor brigands invaded Hsining and were pursued.

In 1534, amidst all these troubles, the Ming dynasty was still interested in education and instruction. More schools were built in several small fortresses, and in Hsining the Hall of the Faithful and Meritorious officials was constructed. On the stele erected inside the hall, we read among the names of the celebrated personalities those of four Monguor t'u-ssu: Li Nan-ko, Li Yin, the Duke of Huei-ming, his son, T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih, and T'u-ssu Li Ch'ang, son of Li Yin (*Annals* of Hsining 35: 9*b*, 10*a*). 175x 871 211

The situation grew worse every day and all of Huangchung was upset. Liu T'ien-ho, vice-president of the ministry of war, was sent in 1536 to direct the military operations in Kansu and Shensi. The third son of Dayan, Barsa Bolot, with his son, the Jinong had settled in Ordos. The turbulent Jinong made raids in Ninghsia, Liang and Kanchow. T'u-ssu Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40), Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49), Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 54), were ordered to help stem the forays. T'u-ssu Hsin died on the field of battle. The Jinong invaded Hsining and hit a severe blow. T'u-ssu Lu and Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52) helped the commander beat the Jinong. 175x 648 [845]

The next year the Kokonor brigands made a raid in Hsining and were severely beaten, twice, at the temple T'ieh-fu, 50 li north of the city.

General Liu T'ien-ho, having studied the situation of the country, ordered first the repair of the walls and towers of the eighteen existing small fortresses and villages and cities, and to start immediately with the building of seventeen new fortified villages. He promoted agriculture around the fortresses, dug irrigation 175x 712 [802 312]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

canals, helped the people with grain and oxen, etc. He built the two large cities of Pa-yien-jung and San-ch'uan, south of Nienpei, and established there two strong garrisons, in order to control the whole region north of the Yellow River, reaching from the south of Hsining to Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu **24**: 18; **23**: 16). At that time the only fortified villages were near the mansions of the t'u-ssu, where in time of troubles the people found shelter with their cattle and helped to defend the fortress, and from which they attacked and pursued brigands. Only near these fortresses were living and farming possible. No wonder that the helpless scattered tribes incessantly revolted, plundered on their own account, or joined the invaders after having been plundered. 175x 712 [502 312]

In 1537 groups of Ordos brigands raided the fortress of Cheng-ch'iang-I, situated between Liangchow and Lanchow. T'u-ssu Yeh defended the fortress heroically and died in the battle. The people esteemed his brave conduct and erected a stele in commemoration inside the village. 175x 648 [211]

In 1541 the Jinong from Ordos raided Hsia-ch'uan-ku in Huangchung; a crushing defeat was administered to him by General Liu T'ien-ho in Ho-shuei-wan. His son Chin-shao was killed in the battle. T'u-ssu Lu, Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 40), Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 45) participated in the action. Groups belonging to the Tsa tsa tribes of Huangchung plundered San-ch'uan and were chased by T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 45), and Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38).

In 1543 the turbulent Jinong, leading a strong army, arrived at Kokonor, where he defeated I-pu-la, and captured half of his followers. I-pu-la fled to Mongolia plundering the Liangchow country on his way back. The Jinong was the grandson of Dayan and had a score to settle with I-pu-la, who, seceding with his tribes, had offended his grandfather Dayan. I-pu-la had raided and plundered Huangchung, had scattered or subdued and ruined the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor during thirty-four years (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 15*b*; **20**: 12*a*). Pu-erh-hai, a Mongol chieftain who had joined I-pu-la in 1525, had already abandoned I-pu-la, and had hidden in the mountains to avoid the Jinong. Previously he had manifested his intention to submit to China and was better disposed toward the Tibetans. Many tribes returned to Kokonor hoping to enjoy a precarious peace for some years (*Annals* of Hsining **20**: 12*b*). The same year T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to lead his troops to Tatung in Shansi province to help chase the invading Mongols.

In 1546 the emperor ordered the officials to erect an Honorific Arch glorifying the merits of T'u-ssu Lu. [211]

Until 1549 the students in Hsining had been unable to pass the literary examination and acquire titles. This year, on account of the new regulations, diplomas were granted in Hsining. 175x 871

[P. 45 (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

REVOLT OF TIBETAN TRIBES IN HUANGCHUNG

175x
563
579

Really desperate times were still in store for the population of Huangchung, for a half-century to come. This time the troubles were caused by the Tibetan tribes from Huangchung itself. After the restless Pa sha tribes had been defeated in 1516 by the Chinese army, some of their sub-tribes were exterminated or disintegrated. The chief of the Tsan-tsa tribe, one of the sub-tribes of Pa sha, succeeded in gathering some tribes under his leadership and in controlling 1,500 families. Other tribes living in the northwest of Hsining joined the group. Among them was the strong Tibetan Erh-chia-ting tribe. They beseiged the city of Nienpei in 1550 and laid waste the country. Commander T'ang Yung beat the brigands. However, the brigands, using the time-honored ruse of a feigned retreat, killed the commander in an ambuscade.

In 1551 all the tribes northeast of Hsining plundered the Hung-nai valley. They administered to the Chinese army a crushing defeat; three officers and two thousand soldiers died on the field of battle. T'u-ssu Ch'i, Li, Hsin, and Wang participated in the battle (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 15, 16; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 34).

The next year small groups of Kokonor brigands made raids in Yen-mei-ch'uan, north of Hsining, but were chased away (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 16).

In 1553 Tsan-tsa tribes with those of Erh-chia-ting again plundered the villages north of Hsining and Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 16; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 34).

In 1554 Kokonor brigands plundered Sa-t'ang valley and were beaten. They fled toward the southern valleys of Hsining, where they plundered for five days. On the arrival of the army they fled to the western valley of Hsining, but were put to flight (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 34; *Annals* of Hsining **31**: 16).

Tsan-tsa and Erh-chia-ting tribes in 1557 again raided the valleys south of Nienpei and plundered the lamasery of Ch'u-t'an-sse. Pursued by the army they plundered the valleys situated north of the Hsining River. More Tibetan tribes had joined the group, the Hung-mao, the La-tsa, the Ko-tsa, etc. The depredation in the country was wicked and ruthless. The t'u-ssu had to defend their own fortresses and villages. In the meantime Altan, the brother of Jinong beseiged the city of Kanchow calling all the Mongol brigands of the country, and went with his new army to Peking, plundering on the way the villages and cities of Shan-tan, Yung-ch'ang and Liangchow (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 16; **19**: *7a; Annals* of Kansu **42**: 34, 35) in Kansu.

The raids of Kokonor brigands and Tibetans raged unchecked during 1558 in all of Huangchung. The situation was out of control, the plight was desperate. T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47), and Yeh (*An-*

[P.45(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

nals of Kansu 42: 52) had died in recent actions, and the troops suffered many reverses. Most of the armies, most of the time, did not fight, but liked better to stay at bay behind walls and barricade themselves in the cities. There were very few pitched battles on a large scale. In the meantime, the brigandage grew with the passing of the years, for it proved to be beneficial to the brigands, who at the same time revenged themselves on their former oppressors, murdering anyone who made a stand. The confidence in the empire, among the population beset with starvation and abject poverty, was shaken, and there was nothing to relieve the dreariness of life. The outlook remained gloomy and no new troops arrived in the country. 175x 563 579

One can hardly understand why, in such critical circumstances, no more troops should have been sent to Huangchung and Kansu by the emperor, to save the starved and pillaged people and prevent the total ruin of the country. However, the troubles which beset Kansu were not the only ones with which the empire had to cope. During the entire reign of Emperor Cheng Te (1605–1622) the borders of the empire from Kansu up to Peking itself had been exposed to persistent and incessant attacks of Mongols, under the command of Dayan. In 1516 two groups, one of seventy, the other of fifty thousand Mongols, invaded Hsuan-hua-fu in Shansi Province. The conditions were similar during the reign of Chia Ching (1522–1567). In 1532 Hsiao Wang-tze with 100,000 men invaded the empire. In 1536 Chi Nang controlled 100,000 soldiers and raided Ninghsia, Tatung, and Hsuan-hua, and in 1544 the country around the capital was devastated and looted of its wealth. In 1550 the Mongols administered a crushing defeat to the Chinese armies and reached the northern gate of the capital where for eight days they laid waste the country and returned to the desert carrying with them a huge amount of booty. The raids, whetting the appetite for plunder, were resumed every year in the northern country. In 1561 they camped again under the walls of the capital. The raids continued unabated until finally in 1570 peace was granted to Altan (Dayan's grandson), who had sued for peace since 1542. Then markets were opened for his tribes and the title of Shun-i-wang bestowed upon him. The Obedient and Righteous Prince! 175x 648 175x 579

These circumstances explain why the brigands in Kansu had been fought in a nearly desultory fashion for half a century. They explain also the danger looming over the Ming dynasty, on account of the still strong savage Mongol forces and the lack of discipline and direction in the army. 175x 648

The same conditions continued for more than a half century for the same reasons, lack of discipline and direction on the part of the army, and unity among the Mongols, strengthened by the benefits to be expected from the amount of loot furnished by the forays. Even when later the Mongols divided in two groups, each

[P. 46 (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

of them remained united and strong because of the benefits derived from brigandage and loot. 175x 648

Altan, who controlled all the Mongols, was in 1559 making forays and harrassing China. For a long time he had been conversant with the fertile Kokonor country, the El Dorado of peoples engaged in cattle breeding, and also with the weakness of the Chinese forces which defended the country, and the helplessness of the disunited Tibetan tribes. Being eager to occupy Kokonor he sent to the country his two sons Pin-tu and Ping-tu with several thousands of Mongols. In 1561 Pin-tu occupied and looted the country of Sung-shan-i, situated between Chuang Lang and Ordos. Ping-tu went to Kokonor, plundering and looting East Kansu (*Annals* of Hsining **20**: 12). He defeated the Chinese army sent against him. The Li T'u-ssu died in the battle (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*a*). In 1568, however, he was severely beaten around Kuei Te and lost many of his people (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*a*). In the meantime the Tibetan Tsan-tsa and Ko-tsa tribes had invaded the Ma-ha-la valley in Hsining but were chased away. Mongol groups of Pin-tu made raids from Sung Shan, in the Pa-yen-jung region (Hsining) and were beaten (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 17). Again the military authority ordered walls and small fortresses built [712] on the mountain passes and on the routes used by the brigands to invade the country (*Annals* of Hsining **13**: 9, 10).

In Hsining the bureau for the administration of the [647] military colonies was erected in 1567 (*Annals* of Hsining **23**: 5).

In 1568 the emperor ordered the officials of Hsining 175x to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining for the 211 meritorious T'u-ssu Li Kung, grandson of Li Yin, who in 1481 had passed the literary examination of *chin shih* and fulfilled the office of minister in the Chang-pao-sse. The arch was built on the great street of the eastern gate of the city, and still exists. The emperor granted the honorific inscription chiseled in the arch: Ch'ing Yun (clearing clouds)—meaning bright sky, and thus bright intelligence.

In 1569 the Tibetan Ssu-erh-ko and Hung-mao tribes 175x raided Hsining and were administered a blow. Two 648 chiefs of Ssu-erh-ko were taken prisoner, but a Chinese commander was killed by the Hung-mao tribe (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 17). The commander succeeded in inducing the Ssu-erh-ko tribes to surrender and titles were bestowed upon the chieftains of their twelve tribes. They aided in inducing the Hung-mao tribes to surrender and both groups agreed to combat the Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in combination with the Chinese armies (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 19*b*). The Mongol brigand Ping-tu raided the Ta-erh-wan valley in Huangchung from Kokonor and was repelled by the army which lost its commander (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*b*).

Altan surrendered in 1570 and concluded peace with

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China; markets were accorded to his tribes and he was created "the Obedient and Righteous Prince"! However, the perspicacious Governor Wang Ch'ung-ku asked for a declaration of submission from other chieftains, such as Chinang and T'uman. T'uman refused boldly.[82] Apparently groups of Mongols, dissatisfied with the peace concluded by Altan, had already decided to gather under the banner of T'uman, liking better their adventurous life of looting and plundering than the submission to China. The group was strong and numerous, and administered, during the following years, many crushing defeats to China. Altan, however, endeavored to make his people desist from raids,[83] but he did not succeed in controlling his sons, nephews, and other relatives in Kansu and Huangchung. Since in 1559 Altan had sent his sons to occupy Kokonor and Sung-shan many Mongol chieftains, mostly nephews and cousins had followed them. They had forced the Tibetans to recognize their lordship, bring tribute and help them in the raids made in Kansu. They wrought tremendous havoc among the Tibetan tribes. The Chinese troops fought many losing battles and lost many officers and soldiers. Pin-tu and Ping-tu groups were the scourge of Kansu province. Altan was succeeded by his son Huang-t'ai-chi in 1583, and by his grandson Ch'ih-li-ko in 1587, who was unable to control his people. The emperor, in 1591, ordered the suspension of trade with his tribes (Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 141). From the death of Altan on, Huangchung suffered tremendously for years, on account of the savage raids of the relatives of Altan, whose real nature immediately asserted itself in all its crudity and brutality.

175x 648 175x 579 648

In 1572 the Tibetan Erh-chia-ting tribes again plundered Hsining country. Their chief was captured and killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

In 1573 General Ta Yun rebuilt and fortified the city of Nienpei exposed to the recurrent raids from the Tibetan tribes living north of the cities of Hsining and Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

The fortifications of the city of Hsining were again overhauled and improved in 1575, and the city was enlarged in the prospect of troubles on account of the building of the temple in Kokonor, the opening of markets and the incessant arrival of more Mongols (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*).

[712 346]

Altan arrived at Kokonor in 1577 to meet the great lama (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*). The *Annals* of Hsining record (20: 14) that a lama of Wu-sse-tsang (on the borders of Szechwan Province) was proclaimed Living Buddha. The shrewd Ping-tu, knowing the religiosity of the Tibetans, proposed to build two temples, one in Kokonor and one in Chia-yu-kuan and to invite the Living Buddha. He intended to secure the support of the Tibetans by pretending to be fond of Buddhism. The question was vividly discussed in

175x 648 662 579

[82] Pokotilov, 129.
[83] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 137–141.

[P.47(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Peking, and the emperor agreed. Ping-tu forced the tribes to build a road to Wu-ssu-tsang in order to meet the lama. The entire Szechwan province was upset for fear of invasion by the savage Kokonor brigands. The governor wrote Altan to order his sons to desist from plundering the country. Altan answered that the only reason for the behavior of his sons was the lack of any markets where they could fill their needs. In 1574 markets were opened for Pin-tu and Ping-tu and the emperor granted to the temple of Kokonor the name Yin-hua-sse and the title of vice-commander to Ping-tu. However, the sons and cousins and nephews of Altan plundered as before. Again the officials asked Altan to reprimand them. Altan arrived with his army feigning to meet the lama; however he had an axe to grind with Oirats, his old foes. Coming back, he asked the governor to allow all the Mongol chieftains to attend a meeting with the lama in Kokonor. The Tibetans, taken with panic at the sight of the demonstration of power and magnificence, fled in all directions. Altan returned to the north (1577) but Ho-lo-ch'ih and Yung-chao-pu, his nephew and cousin, and others refused to leave Kokonor, and Ping-tu started plundering the Tibetans again. The officials immediately asked the emperor to close the markets. Altan reprimanded his son and urged him to return the stolen people and cattle. However, Ho-lo-ch'ih continued looting (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 13, 14).[84]

175x 648 662 579 [437 647] [437 647]

In 1579 the governor of Hsining was engaged in developing agriculture in Huangchung. He gathered the destitute people who had fled with fear of the Mongol brigands, located them in villages, provided them with grain and oxen, dug irrigation canals, etc. In each village he opened a school. He gathered more than 100,000 families, and more uncultivated land was tilled. When Altan left the country in 1577 he had asked him to leave peacefully and to protect the country against more raids by his people (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20).

175x 241 652 [313]

Ha-tsa, a Tibetan tribe of Kokonor, raided the western valley of Hsining in 1580, but was repelled. Two

175x 579 648

[84] René Grousset, *Empire des Steppes*, 592, Paris, Payot: The Ordos Mongols started professing the lamaism of the Yellow Church from 1566 on. The *jinong* Khutukh Setsen Hung-t'ai-chi of the Uchin banner, coming back from an expedition in Tibet in 1566, had invited lamas to accompany him to Ordos and convert the Mongols to lamaism. The fervent *jinong* succeeded in converting his grand-uncle Altan who at that time was in the heyday of his power (1576). Altan and his grand-nephew invited the chief of the Yellow Church, the great lama bSod-nams rgya-mtso to come to Kokonor. The Mongols met him magnificently and opened with him an official convention at which was laid the foundation of the Yellow Church among the Mongols (1577), and Altan honored the great lama with the title of Dalai Lama, which title is still borne at present by his successors. The Dalai Lama, returning to Lhasa, appointed the Living Buddha Dongkur Manjucri in Kukuhoto the residence of Altan. The Dalai Lama left Lhasa again to travel to Ordos in 1586 for the performance of the cremation ceremonies of Altan who had died in 1583.

[P. 47(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

centurions pursued them to Kokonor and perished in an ambuscade (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 15*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 35*b*). 175x 579 GHB

In the autumn of 1583 Chulit'u, a Mongol chieftain of the group of Pin-tu from Sung Shan, in combination with the chieftain Yung Chao-pu of Kokonor, nephew of Altan, invaded the Sa-t'ang valley in Hsining with 8,000 horses. They killed and wounded more than 1,200 Tibetans, men and women, and drove away with them more than 4,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*).

In 1585 the Kotsa tribe invaded the valleys south of Hsining and was repelled (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*).

In 1586, in the sixth moon, the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih of Kokonor with Tibetans subject to him, numbering 10,000 horses, invaded Hsining, killed 500 surrendered Tibetans and stole 4,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*). At the same time Chuang T'u-lai from Kokonor raided Nienpei plundering many villages, while the brigands of Pin-tu and Sung Shan invaded the Yen-meich'uan valley, north of Hsining. They were repelled by the commander Wang Shih-te helped by the *t'u-ssu*. T'u-ssu Na was killed pursuing the brigands to Pien-Tu-Ku (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*; 31: 18).

The next year the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih in combination with Hung-mao tribes invaded the western valleys of Hsining, killed few people but stole 3,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33, 28*b*).

The Oirat Wa-la-t'a-pu-nmang, who had joined the Kokonor brigands with 5,000 Tibetans, invaded the valleys south of Hsining in 1588. He stole 1,400 cattle and 700 horses from the Chinese army. The Chinese army suffered a crushing defeat. Three t'u-ssu, Li, Ch'eng, and Chao were killed and 800 soldiers, among them 40 centurions (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*a*; 33: 29*a*).

In 1589 the Tibetan Ha-tsa tribes raided San-ch'uan south of Nienpei. The centurion Liu Ts'ung-jen repelled them and was killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*a*). At the same time the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih of Kokonor invaded the valleys south of Hsining and Nienpei with 500 horses, joined Chineng, the grand-nephew of Altan, and Tsaisengfu and Mangko-tsu, belonging to the Pin-tu group of Sung Shan with [79a] 4,000 horses. They beseiged the monastery of Ch'u-t'an-sse for seven days, killing many people and burning the houses. The monastery offered them some hundreds of oxen and horses and they left. T'u-ssu Yeh and Wang pursued them and were killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19; 33: 19*a*).

In 1590 the Tibetan Tsantsa tribes plundered Sa T'ang valley and were repelled but a centurion was killed. Ch'ih-li-ko, who in 1587 had received the title of Obedient and Righteous Prince and was the second successor of Altan, accompanied the Dalai Lama with his army on his way back to Lhasa after the perform-

[P. 48(A)]

ance of the ceremonies for Altan. After having lingered 175x
for a while in Kokonor, he assisted on his way back 579
home in the plundering of the cities and the regions of 648
T'ao and Ming Chou by the Mongols. The same year the brigands Tsai-Seng-fu and Achihtu of the Pin-tu group of Sung Shan plundered the Lungpu tribes southwest of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 19). Tibetan tribes from Szechwan came to finish the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou and were repelled. Then the turbulent Ho-lo-ch'ih looted Lin-T'ao region (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 36).

HELP SENT BY THE EMPEROR

The situation in East Kansu and Huangchung in 175x
1590 was completely out of control. The country was 648
entirely laid waste and devastated, the Mongol brigands 727
and the Tibetans had incessantly overrun the country, the Chinese forces could not contravene their strength. Many surrendered Tibetan tribes had disintegrated. had disappeared, had been exterminated; the cattle were stolen; many young women had been abducted and many had fled and hidden in the mountains. The depredation of the country was wicked and ruthless and the destitution of the people was tragic.

A note in the *Annals* of Hsining (**33**: 19*a*) records to what extent and in what way the Mongol brigands of Kokonor had terrorized, and subjected, reduced to the level of slaves the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor, East Kansu and Huangchung. The chieftain Yung-chao-pu, nephew of Altan, controlled at the time of his arrival in the Kokonor only 1,000 subjects: at present he controlled more than 10,000. The chief Sang-ehr-huang t'ai-chi formerly controlled 800 subjects but now 3,000. The chieftains Kosina and Lashala formerly controlled 4,000 people each but now each of them controlled 10,000 and more. The number of the subjects controlled by the other chiefs is not known.

Finally in 1590 the emperor sent Cheng Lo, presi- 175x
dent of the ministry of war, to cope with the situation 648
(*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 18*b*; *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 36). [645]

On the first moon of the following year Cheng Lo sent Colonel Shih Chia with the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Te, to call the Tibetan tribes to surrender; 165 tribes numbering 74,710 persons surrendered (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 18*b*; **25**: 20*a–b*; **33**: 16*b*). Among the surrendered tribes in Huangchung are noted the Hung-mao tribes (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 7*a*), the Lapu-erh tribes (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 7*a*), the Lungpu tribes led by their lama Sonanchintso (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 3*a–b*), the 29 Tsan-tsa tribes (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 4*b*), and the Sukomi tribes (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 5*b*).

In the ninth moon he sent the brigade General Wang Shih-te, the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Lu Kuang-tsu and groups of surrendered Tibetan tribes, seething with hatred against the Mongol brigands and eager to avenge all the sufferings they had endured, to fight the Mon-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

gols in Kokonor and burn the temple built by Altan. 175x
They returned in a flush of triumph with 1,200 cap- 648
tured families. The number of brigands they killed is not known. The Brigadier General Chiao Chi defeated tribes of Ho-lo-ch'ih with the help of Tibetans and beheaded 120 of his men (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 36*b*; *Annals* of Hsining **31**: 18*b*).

The energic Cheng Lo must have commanded at the time of his arrival in Huangchung a fair number of fresh troops. Otherwise the shaken confidence in the empire among the Tibetan tribes would not have been restored so quickly. In two years time the outlook had changed and become bright and full of hope for the people, beset for ten years with starvation, squalor and misery, and anxious uncertainty.

The same year the markets, opened for the Mongols [647
in Kansu, were closed on account of their incessant 437]
raids and brigandage. The Obedient and Righteous Prince Ch'ih-li-k'o who had assisted at the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou, sent back the abducted people and stolen cattle and presented excuses to the emperor (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 20*a–b*).

In 1594 orders were given to repair and improve 175x
again the fortifications of the city of Hsining. More 579
villages and military colonies were built. Maybe the [712]
officials had seen some new straws in the wind (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 19*a*). A strong group of Kokonor brigands arrived to plunder the valleys south of Hsining. The Chinese generals Liu Mei-Kuan, Ta Yun, T'ien Yueh had called all the t'u-ssu of Huangchung and captured groups of Tibetans to defend the country. They used flanking movements, skillfully settled ambuscades, and administered a crushing defeat to the raiders, 680 of whom were beheaded. A few months later the brigands came back with all the brigands of Nalu, to loot the valleys west of Hsining. The same generals, t'u-ssu, and Tibetans obtained a resounding victory and killed 700 and more brigands, among them some chieftains (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 37*b*; *Annals* of Hsining **31**: 19*a*).

These two victories were the most important ever 175x
won in Huangchung. In the report relating the mili- 648
tary presentation are encountered the names of the most 703
meritorious military and civil officials who had contributed to the success. We encounter among them the names of T'u-ssu Lu Kuang-tsu, Li Yu-mao, Li Hsien-hua, Ch'eng San-chi, Ch'i Ping-chung and Ch'i Te (*Annals* of Hsining **33**: 23*a–b*). A delegate of the ministry of war was sent with titles and gifts to reward the meritorious officials.

Immediately after the victories, in 1596, orders were 175x
sent to the military officials to build more walls espe- 712
cially along the roads used by the invaders of Kokonor and Sung Shan, to build fortresses at strategic points and more villages in the valleys for the farmers. The officials expected that the brigands would not take these blows lying down but would avenge themselves by means of new raids. In Cheng-hai-pu in the western

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valley of Hsining, 60 li distant from the city on the way to Kokonor, a strong fortified city was built and a strong garrison appointed. The place controlled the western valley and the raids from Kokonor. In Chung-tsai in the Sa-t'ang valley, which so many times had been looted by invading Tibetans, a strong fortress was also built and a garrison appointed. The same dispositions were taken to improve the strength of the cities of Pa-yen-jung and San Ch'uan against brigands of Sung Shan and Ordos. For the first time troops were available to occupy permanently the strategic points in the country and from the t'u-ssu were required good soldiers to share with the Chinese troops the burden of the defense of the strongholds (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 29*b*, 30*a*). General Liu Mei-kuan started with the exploitation of iron ore in the mountains north of Hsining, three foundries were built and blacksmiths started preparing weapons to be distributed among the subdued tribes. To the nineteen tribes of Komi numbering 7,000 people, reputed first-rate warriors, were sent military instructors with weapons, to drill them. The director of colonization reported that 80,000 acres of uncultivated land were still available to farmers. To destitute Tibetans of Kokonor and East Kansu, pouring into the country every day, were given land to till and grain and oxen. Orders were sent to promote education, build schools in each village and improve existing ones (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*b*; 25: 23*b*; 35: 24).

175x 712 175x 701 [327] 175x 708 659

In a report sent by General T'ien Yueh is encountered an interesting note relating to the education given to the people of north Kansu and Huangchung in these desperate times. In each of the schools of the city of Kanchow, sixty or seventy students attend the lessons of three teachers. In each of the schools of the cities of Kao T'ai, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, Liangchow, Cheng Fan and Chuang Lang are encountered only thirty or forty students, in the smallest of these cities only twenty or thirty students. In each of the schools are two teachers. Then follows an exhortation to promote education (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 20*a*).

175x 871

In the same year, 1596, after the brilliant victories, the country seeming radiant and everywhere walls and fortresses being built, the lamas of Ta-erh-sse (Kumbum) (situated 40 li south of Hsining) decided to build a wall around the hermitages existing at that time. In 1560 some cells had been built for ten monks and, in 1577, a small temple next to a tower whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree, the glory of Kumbum (Monguors II: 25 sq.).

175x 712 346

The same year the brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih, feeling insecure in Kokonor, intending to leave the country and to return to Ordos, asked to pass through Huangchung. The request was refused. He passed the Yellow River, looted T'ao and Ho Chou and was pursued in his flight to the Ordos (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*).

175x 721 648

The La-pu-erh tribe boldly repelled alone an attack of Kokonor brigands, killing fifteen brigands and cap-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

turing thirty horses (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*). 175x
The Wa-la tribes, afraid of the Chinese army, moved to 721
a salt lake deeper into Kokonor. 648

In 1597, however, Kokonor brigands still raided surrendered Tibetan tribes in the Hsining region. They were vigorously repelled from the Mang-la valley (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52). Chih-li-ko, Ordos brigand, raided the borders of Huangchung; 60 of his brigands were killed and 3,300 surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*).

The same year Liu Mei-kuan and Lung-yin finished 175x
the editing of a set of new *Annals*. However, a note 213
is added, no woodblocks had been carved, only a few texts existed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*; 27: 14, 15), and most of them were indecipherable.

In 1598 the Ordos Mongol Ch'ih-li-ko intended to 175x
reoccupy and to pasture in Sung Shan. He was re- 648
pelled and suffered a defeat in Liu Ko Chin. In the fifth moon he plundered the Wolanko region and was repelled again. In the fifth moon one of his tribes, the Shao-hai-hai tribe, surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*). In the seventh moon Generals T'ien Yueh and Ta Yun definitely cleared the Sung Shan region of brigands. The chieftains Pin-tu, A-shih-tu, Tsai-cheng. Chih-li-ko had long infested the Huangchung and East Kansu countries. This time the brigands were chased as far as 500 li (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*). In the eleventh month the Mongol Hao-erh-ch'i occupied Sung Shan. The Chinese Commander Li Wen and surrendered Tibetan tribes repelled them and administered a severe blow. They built a wall as long as 400 li, indicating that Sung Shan belonged to China [712] proper and was no longer the country of the barbarians (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 3*b*).

In 1600 Sung Shan, the country from which during many years many raids had been perpetrated, was cleared of brigands and integrated into China. No more raids are recorded of Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in Huangchung. For some time the Ordos brigands tried to recover Sung Shan and make forays in East Kansu, T'ao and Ming Chou, Liangchow, Chengfan, Ninghsia, but Huangchung enjoyed relative and temporary peace.

Kokonor brigands having lost many tribes previously subject to them, raided T'ao and Ming Chou to subdue Tibetan tribes not yet surrendered to China. They suffered a severe blow and 5,000 Tibetans surrendered to China (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*).

The year 1604 is important in the history of lamaism 175x
in Huangchung. On the northwest of the so many 792
times devastated Sa-t'ang valley, on the borders of one 795
of the small affluents of the Sa-t'ang River, a Tibetan lama Diasai, belonging to the Saskya sect, started the building of the humble hermitage of Erh-ku-lung. The hermitage developed to the point that it became the first lamasery of Huangchung for many centuries and founded all over the country forty daughter monasteries. Its Living Buddhas, Chang Chia, T'u Kuan

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

175x 792 795

and Sung Pa, were learned men and enjoyed prestige in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet (Monguors II: 27, sq.).

175x 648

In 1607 the Brigadier General, T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chai, with his troops, was ordered to help General Ta Yun repel the raids of Kokonor brigands who in combination with Ordos brigands invaded and looted Chengfan and Liangchow. They repelled them, administering a severe blow (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 39).

175x 703 211

In 1612 the emperor ordered an honorific arch built to the meritorious Brigadier General Ch'i Teh, and sent the inscription to be chiseled on it: "Honorably favored by Heavenly Grace." The arch was built on the west street of the city of Hsining and still exists. Ch'i Teh is a descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i-Kung-ko-hsing-chi, who during the Yuan period fulfilled the duty of myriarch, with golden badge and purple tassel, in the region 90 li south of Hsining. The Ch'i t'u-ssu clan should have been well acquainted with the Tibetan tribes living south of Hsining. No wonder the Ch'i Teh T'u-ssu was called upon by minister of war Cheng Lo in 1591, together with Colonel Shih Chia, to induce the Tibetan tribes to surrender. His successful efforts must have been the reason for the imperial distinction (*Annals* of Hsining 10: 4*b*; 27: 28).

175x 648

In 1616 the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Ping-chung (descendant of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh) appointed at Yung Ch'ang, saw the Mongol Yin-ting-ssu-ts'ing arriving with 1,000 horses to besiege the city. He controlled only 300 men but fought for two days and nights, defending the city. He himself killed three Mongol brigands. When auxiliary troops arrived he himself immediately pursued the enemy and saved all the people and cattle captured by the Mongols. The grateful people of Yung-ch'ang erected in the city a stele in commemoration of his heroic behavior. The stele still exists. Commended by his superiors for his leadership and energy, he was ordered, in 1621, to move with his troops to Liaotung Province (north of Peking) to defend the region of the Pu River. When he arrived, Liao Yang was already captured. Ten thousand more soldiers were put under his command. He remained in Liao-tung for two more years. Later he encountered at P'ing-yang the Manchu troops invading China. In a pitched battle he was wounded by two sword cuts and three arrow hits. He was helped on his horse by his soldiers but died on the way. On account of his meritorious achievements, the emperor bestowed upon him the title of "T'ai-tze-t'ai-pao" "Junior guardian of the heir apparent," and an imperial oration was granted at his funeral and an order given to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining with the inscription: "Served the country, manifested loyalty." The arch still exists. It was built in the large south street of the city (*Annals* of Hsining 10: 4*b*; 27: 21*a–b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*a–b*).

[334 211] [211 703]

175x

A very important date in the history of Kokonor, Tibet and lamaism is 1636. Ku-Shih-han, chieftain of

[P. 50(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

the Khoshot tribes (Oirats) went to Kokonor with his armies. He conquered Kokonor, Tsaidam and East Tibet, defeated the enemies of the Dalai Lama, occupied Lhasa and proclaimed in 1642 the Dalai Lama Nag-dbang bLo-bzang temporal and spiritual sovereign of Central Tibet.[65] 175x

From 1597 until 1642 no events are recorded in either *Annals* concerning Huangchung. The country enjoyed a relative peace, while its borderlands still suffered raids from the same Mongols.

THE MONGUORS AND THE FALL OF THE MING DYNASTY 175x 648

Desperate times were still in store for the Monguors and their t'u-ssu, and tremendous sacrifices were still requested from them to save the tottering dynasty, but the Monguors with their t'u-ssu stood loyal as a rock to the end.

The restless Mongol tribes had, during two and a half centuries, harrassed the dynasty, administering many crushing defeats to the armies, devastating the border provinces of the empire, and the neighborhood of the capital, causing the ruin and the revolt of the Tibetans, draining the resources of the empire and weakening the discipline of the armies and administrations. This sword of Damocles was still hanging over the dynasty when another ominous plague threatened the empire, the plague of brigands from inside the empire. The Ming dynasty was so effete her fall was imminent.

During the T'ien-ch'i period (1621–1627) Chinese brigands led by Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung ruthlessly murdered the people and savagely devastated the cities and villages, to the point that the exasperated Chinese population hoped for new rulers.[66]

According to the Lu chronicles, in 1628 a severe famine desolated the region of Yenan and Suei-te (Shensi), so many times plundered by Mongols during two and one-half centuries. Wang Chia-yun, a native of Fu-ku, stirred the starving people to band together and go plundering through the country. Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung, planning a revolution against the dynasty, seized the opportunity to organize the already plundering groups of brigands and realize their plan. 175x 579 668

During 1628–1640 the revolution raged unchecked. The rumors spread like a prairie fire in Huangchung and North Kansu, and the population was frightened out of its wits, when the brigands poured from Hsi-an through the Kuan-chung pass toward Kansu. 175x 669

In 1641 the old Hsining t'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien (descendant of the Myriarch Kung-k'o-hsin-chi, founder of the Ch'i clan) and his two sons, Hsing-chu and P'ing-chu, invited to a secret convention to discuss

[65] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 603.

[66] Erich Hauer, Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung, Ein Beitrag zum Ende der Ming Dynasty, *Asia Major*, Vol. secundum fasc. 3/4: 436 sq., 1925.

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

the situation, the official Hu Lien-ch'i, the t'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang from Lien-ch'eng, the t'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu from Nienpei (descendant of Li Nan-ko, founder of the clan), and others, including Wang Chung, chief of the strong Tibetan tribe of Cheng Chung. They decided to defend the country, chose Hu Lien-ch'i their own lieutenant colonel, drank blood, and swore to die for the dynasty (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 1). 175x 669

In the spring of 1642 the Tibetan tribes of Hsining revolted. The military commander Ma Kuang quelled the revolt, killing more than 700 rebels. Then he accepted the submission of 38 tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 42*a*).

In the autumn Li Tze-ch'eng sent to Huangchung and North Kansu his commander Huo Chin, with a strong army. He attacked the city of Hsining. The Hsining troops administered a crushing blow and he went to North Kansu to conquer the cities of Suchow, Kanchow, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, and Liangchow. Suchow was taken, devastated and 4,700 people and troops were killed (*Annals* of Kansu 56: 38*b*); then the other cities surrendered one after another without fighting (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 43*b*).

In the autumn of 1643 Huo Chin returned from Kanchow to avenge the previous defeat suffered in Hsining. He went along with Hsi Ta-tung. He was conversant with the dissensions existing among the subjects of the Lu t'u-ssu clan, part of whom considered the resistance useless, after more than half of China was lost at the hands of the brigands. One of the influential members of the clan, Lu Wen-lin, had sown strife in the clan and even led an army of brigands to occupy Chuang-lang. However, the stubborn T'u-ssu Lu fought back nine attacks of the army of Huo Chin in Hsi-Ta-tung. Both armies suffered many losses, and finally the t'u-ssu retreated with his outnumbered troops into his fortified city of Lien-ch'eng. The city was taken and the t'u-ssu tied in front of the gate of the city. He refused obstinately to surrender, swore and insulted the brigands. He was put to the sword with many of his soldiers. His son, a young boy, and his daughter were abducted. This happened in February, 1644 (Lu Chronicles, *Annals* of Hsining 28: 15, 16).

In 1644 Huo Chin went with his army to conquer Hsining, and met the Hsining army. The defenders of Hsining, conversant with the strength of the enemy army and in order to check the advance of the enemy, had used Tibetans set in ambush on the way the brigands had to pass, stretching ropes and digging holes in the ground. The enemy horse was unaware of the traps laid for them and rushed furiously on the Hsining army which was waiting behind the ambushes in a resolute array. More than a thousand brigands were killed, among them their commander Huo Chin. [725]

The brigand vice-commander, Hsin Wei-chung, mustered the troops and went immediately to attack

[P.51(B)]

Hsining city. The city was carried by storm and delivered to sack and slaughter: for the soldiers there was but death. The brigands knew that the t'u-ssu had stirred the people to resist the brigands, and they wreaked ruin on them. The old T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 1*a–b*), and the T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 2*a*), were taken prisoner. The T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuen (of the old Li Wen branch) was killed with his wife and 120 members of his family (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21; 28: 15; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 43*b*). The wife of Li T'ien-yu, the concubine, the two brothers, and 300 persons of his family and servants were killed. The same year the T'u-ssu Yeh kuo-chi, who had been called by the emperor early in 1643 to fight the brigands in Ch'ang p'ing in Liaotung, died on the field of battle in 1643 (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 15). All these t'u-ssu with their families laid down their lives defending the dynasty. 175X 669

Then the brigands went down into the country devastating, burning villages, murdering anyone who made a stand, abducting women, stealing livestock, etc. A group of them went to Kokonor, where all the chiefs surrendered.

The brigands knew that the old T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien had been the promoter of the resistance and had killed their chief Huo Chin. They decided to kill him. His son Hsing-chu spent the entire family fortune, buying 100 fine horses. He went to see the chief of the brigands in P'ing-Jung-i, hoping to redeem his father. The chief not only refused to accept the horses, but told him straight to his face that his father was to be killed. Then his brother Ping-chu protested, saying that his father had not killed Huo Chin, but that he himself was the murderer. The chief looked at him a long time and finally said, you are a filial son. He ordered the father to be bound to a car and to leave for Hsi-an. Hsing-chu cried the whole way home. However, his father was not killed (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 19*a*). 175X 577 593

His father was sent to Hsi-an, together with Li T'ien-yu. In T'ung Kuan they met the Manchu Prince Ah-Ki-Ko (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). Both submitted to the newly established dynasty and were released. The Governor General Meng Ch'iao-fang, sent by the Ch'ing dynasty to pacify Kansu, had already arrived in 1645. He rehabilitated both t'u-ssu in their former office of commander of the clan, enjoining them to pacify the t'u-ssu of Hsining and Ho-hsi, to induce the Tibetans to be submissive, to abstain from revolts and to capture the rebel Tibetan Chao Chin-chung (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 2*a–b*; 31: 21; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 44*b*). To the T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuen who had perished with his wife and 120 members of his family the emperor later ordered built an honorific arch in Hsining with the inscription "Loyal servant and faithful wife, glory of the noble clan" (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 15*b*). 175X [211 703]

[P.52(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

While the t'u-ssu and their subjects were fighting and suffering and dying in Hsining, the despairing Ming emperor, on April 25, 1644, had hanged himself in the Wan Sui Shan in Peking. On June 6, 1644, the troops of the new Ch'ing dynasty entered Peking and started at full speed with destruction of the troops of Li Tze-ch'eng who had already proclaimed himself emperor. On October 7, 1644, he ended his life by hanging himself.[87] 175x [643 762]

The t'u-ssu and their subjects served the Ch'ing dynasty with the same faithfulness they had served the Ming dynasty. 175x 648 727

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started with the occupation of Huangchung, this was an insecure colony of China, which during the previous dynasties had been lost several times and recovered. The Ming organized the country, providing a civil and military administration on the Chinese pattern. In Huangchung they started with the founding of military colonies, induced the Tibetan tribes to submit to them, established the exchange bureau of tea for horses, favored and protected the arrival of traders from inside China, and promoted agriculture and commerce. They attracted Chinese to settle in the country, built schools, promoted education, and repelled forays of Tibetans and Mongols from outside the Huangchung borders. Huangchung was at peace. [647 437]

However, in the fateful year 1509 the first group of Mongols arrived and settled in Kokonor, followed by one after another, which ruined and cowed into submission the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor. At the same time the population of Huangchung and East Kansu, from 1509 to 1597, succumbed to the recurrent onslaught of avid, restless and predatory Mongols. The Tibetan tribes, robbed of their cattle, having seen their women and young folk abducted, beset with starvation and abject poverty, started raiding, devastating, and laying waste Huangchung and East Kansu. The army could not deter the forces of destruction. Raids prevailed over the entire northwestern borders of the empire, and the emperor gave the Huangchung officers insufficient reinforcements. It was only in 1590 that the energetic Minister of War, Cheng Lo, commanding new forces, succeeded in defeating the brigands. In the meantime the administration had incessantly built cities, villages, schools, walls, and fortresses all over the country. The aspect of the country had changed completely, despite the desperate times. The country had been organized and the administration established. [658 657 658]

During these times, when raids and destruction raged unchecked, Chinese and Shat'o and Uighurs, Tibetans and Monguors had suffered together, helped and sheltered each other, and blended and fused in the compound called the Huangchung population. 175x 563 571

In 1644 when the Ch'ing dynasty occupied Huangchung it was no longer the depopulated unorganized 175x

[87] Erich Hauer, *op. cit.*, 488, 494, 497.

[P. 52 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

colony which the Mongols had handed down to the Ming. 175x

HUANGCHUNG MONGUORS AND THEIR T'U-SSU DURING THE CH'ING DYNASTY (1644–1911)

175x 648

The establishment of a new dynasty in China used to entail desperate times for a long period. The faithful Monguors with their t'u-ssu, after having defended the Ming dynasty to the end, pledged allegiance to, and cast their lot with the new Ch'ing dynasty, and again would prove their faithfulness. This time they had to fight at the side of the Manchu troops against the rebel Chinese officials of Kansu and all China, even though the power of the new dynasty was still problematical, but all of them remained heroically loyal and dependable to the end, suffering hardship and dying for the dynasty. Their faithfulness in such trying and tragic circumstances cannot but be admired. The history of the Monguors is a shining example of faithfulness seldom recorded in history. 175x 577 648

The people in the northern provinces of China had, for many years, had a desperate time on account of the brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng and the invading groups of Manchus looting the country of its wealth. The despairing Ming emperor had hanged himself on April 25, 1644, and Li Tzu-ch'eng had entered the capital and proclaimed himself emperor. The Ming general Wu San-kuei defended the northern part of the great wall of the empire and the pass of Shanhaikuan against invading Manchu plunderers. Considering that the very existence of the empire was at stake and abhorring and loathing the savage brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng, Wu San-kuei invited Manchu troops to come over to annihilate the brigands and save the dynasty. However he had little thought that in making this compact he was sealing the fate of the Chinese empire. He opened the pass, and his troops in combination with those of the Manchus rushed to the capital which they entered on June 6, 1644. The brigand emperor Li Tzu-ch'eng had fled, but the Manchus proclaimed their own emperor and inaugurated their Ch'ing dynasty. On October 7 Li Tzu-ch'eng died. Jealousies and dissensions arose among the chiefs of the brigands and their impact was broken. Immediately Wu-San-kuei, leading his troops in concert with the Manchu army, pursued the brigands and achieved the surrender of the Chinese provinces. 175x 648 [443]

At the end of 1645, T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien and Li T'ien-yu surrendered in T'ung Kuan to the Manchu Prince A-ki-ko, came back to Kansu, and called on General Meng Ch'iao-fang. They were rehabilitated and ordered to induce the surrender of the Monguor t'u-ssu. All the t'u-ssu submitted to the new dynasty (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*a*). Meng Ch'iao-fang immediately sent to Hsining Commanders Chiang San-chih (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 3*b*) and Chang Chi-yao [424]

[P. 53(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

with troops (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 6*b*) who, in con- 175x
cert with the t'u-ssu troops, exterminated the groups 648
of brigands still roaming in the country without chiefs, and they induced the rebel Tibetan tribes to surrender. The commanders started repairing the cities, villages and fortresses in Huangchung.

In 1646 T'u-ssu Ch'eng was appointed commander in Chuang Lang by the Manchu Prince Su and given the title of Piao-ch'i Chiang-chun. At that time groups of brigands plundered the country of Sung Shan I north of Chuang Lang. The son of T'u-ssu Ch'eng pursued and exterminated them and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*).

However, the Chinese abhorred and hated the uncouth Manchu barbarians. Many among the governors [578]
and commanders could not resist the temptation of espousing the cause of the crumbled dynasty. The opposition would last for eighteen years before the entire empire would be conquered by the Manchus. Several times their empire met precarious circumstances, but party intrigues and jealousies among the Chinese divided them, and never could they offer a permanent united front against the conquerors.

The whereabouts of the heir apparent to the Ming 175x
throne being unknown, several princes of the imperial 669
family arose in the provinces and tried to restore the dynasty. Prince Kuei succeeded in the formation in Kiangsi Province of a coalition of governors and military commanders, and the news spread like a prairie fire over the entire empire. Several governors and commanders in north China who had surrendered at the arrival of the Manchu troops, waited for the signal of the general uprising. A storm was brewing even in the remote northern region of Kanchow, Liangchow, etc. Two chiefs of the Mohammedan colony of Kanchow, Ting Kuo-tung and Milayin, started the revolt against the Ch'ing dynasty (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*). They joined the group of Chou Shih-chuan, a scion of the Ming princes, and enrolled as many Tibetans and brigands of Li Tze-ch'eng as possible. The Chinese officials of Kanchow and Liangchow followed in their wake.[88]

At the end of the Ming dynasty in North Kansu, 175x
Huangchung, and East Kansu, in nearly all the impor- 162
tant cities and villages along the trade routes, colonies 795
of Mohammedans were established, having their mosques and religious leaders who were obeyed and honored by their people. Meng Ch'iao-fang, conversant with this situation, informed the emperor about his apprehensions concerning the participation of the Mohammedans in the revolt. He wrote that an order issued by their religious chiefs would suffice to enroll all the Mohammedans of Kansu in the insurrection, and then he indicated the cities and villages in Kansu where the most important groups of Mohammedans existed (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 1*a–b;* 34: 1*b*, 2*b*).

[88] E. H. Parker, Kansu Mussulmans, *China Review* 16: 335, 1887.

[P. 53(B)]

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General Meng Ch'iao-fang seems to have trusted the faithfulness of the Monguor t'u-ssu of Huangchung and therefore decided to stabilize his position first in Hsining before attacking Kanchow, Liangchow, etc., notwithstanding that in Hsining a strong Mohammedan colony existed. Therefore, in 1645 he sent two commanders to Hsining, and at the end of 1646 he sent another commander with troops, Ma Ju-shin, probably foreseeing imminent troubles. 175x 795

In 1647 the rebels of Kanchow aimed to join the already revolting Mohammedan groups in East Kansu. Dissension seems to have existed among the Mohammedan colonies of Hsining and those of Kanchow, Liangchow, etc. Anyway the rebel Mohammedans, Chinese, and Tibetans united, led by the two Mohammedan chiefs Ting Kuo-tung and Milayin, and marched their troops first towards Hsining in order to compel the Mohammedan colony and the whole region of Huangchung to follow in their wake. On the borders of the Tatung River, north of Hsining, a ruthless battle was fought by the Manchu commanders of Hsining, supported by all the Huangchung troops of the t'u-ssu and a resounding victory was obtained (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*a*). The Hsining Mohammedans refused to mix in the revolt, maybe for fear of the overwhelming Manchu and Monguor forces guarding the country. Anyway, the victory secured a temporary peace in the country of Huangchung. 175x 669

In 1648, after this victory, Meng Ch'iao-fang started attacking the cities of North Kansu. The cities of Liangchow and Yung Ch'ang surrendered, but Major Ma Hu-ya resisted in Kanchow. The city was carried by storm, the commander, eighteen officials, and eighty others were killed. The resistance of the rebels of Suchow was more serious. The city suffered tremendously, the commander and many people were killed (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 1, 3). T'u-ssu Li fought in Kanchow and Suchow with 500 soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*), helped by Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 54), Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*a*), and Ch'i t'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*). Meng Ch'iao-fang, informed that the rebels (*Annals* of Kansu 56: 40*a*) had proposed to move to East Kansu after the defeat on the Tatung River, had appointed t'u-ssu to guard the passes and the roads leading to East Kansu. T'u-ssu Ch'i Pei-chai (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*b*) fought the rebels in Chin Pien I, T'u-ssu Ch'i Ta-hsun (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*) in Ta Tsing, T'u-ssu Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36) and T'u-ssu Lu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 59*b*) fought them in Wu Chao Lin. T'u-ssu Kan with three hundred of his soldiers guarded the ferry on the Yellow River. However, the rebels managed to reach East Kansu and succeeded in capturing within a few months the cities of Lanchow, Ho Chou, T'ao Chou, Lin T'ao, and Kuei Te, and beseiged the city of Kung Ch'ang.

In 1649 Meng Ch'iao-fang led his army and all the troops of the t'u-ssu to East Kansu, in order to re- 175x 648

[P. 54(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

capture the cities lost at the hands of the revolting Ming commanders. He recovered all the cities, one after the other, Lanchow, Ho Chou, T'ao Chou, Lin T'ao and Kuei Te, and saved the beseiged city of Kung Ch'ang. The brother of T'u-ssu Lu was killed in the fight at Ho-ya-lung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 60). In a little more than three years Meng Ch'iao-fang had recovered one hundred and more cities and fortified villages (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 1, 2). T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 2) and T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 3) fought at Kuei Te. After these arduous campaigns the Monguor troops were released, and could start repairing the tremendous havoc wrought by the Mongol brigands of Kokonor and Sung Shan I, and by the rebel Tibetans, during the last 150 years of the Ming regime. In the meantime the Manchu armies conquered more provinces in the empire and still had intermittent revolts to quell in the very south of East Kansu and on the Szechwan borders. 175x 648

In 1660 a revolt is recorded of the Mohammedan Ta Erh-han, a member of the Yeh t'u-ssu, who induced Tibetans of Kokonor to help plunder the valley of Milaku, the region situated on the northern borders of the Yellow River south of Nienpei. The guard of the Milaku region had been entrusted to the Yeh t'u-ssu since the Yuan and Ming times. The faithful T'u-ssu Yeh killed the rebel and nine of his men, and captured two others whom he delivered to Hsining. The invaders fled to Kokonor. The Yeh t'u-ssu was a clan of Mohammedans from Turkistan which was settled in Milaku in Yuan times (Monguors I: 32; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*b*). Later, at the time of the revolt of Wu San-kuei in 1673, a group of the Yeh clan started following the rebels. The faithful t'u-ssu again succeeded in quelling the revolt, killing many of them. He was promoted to secretary commander as a reward for his faithfulness (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*b*). 175x 579

In 1665 Huai Erh-lai, a Tibetan from Kokonor, with his two brothers and their tribes, looted the country along the trade road between Kanchow and Liang-chow. Wang Chin-pao, the commander of Hsining, repulsed the brigands (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 46*a*). T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*b*) and T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*) helped him.

The tremendous rebellion of W San-kuei, the first benefactor of the Ch'ing dynasty, who had put the Manchus in possession of the empire started at the end of the year 1673. The revolt spread through eleven of the eighteen provinces of the empire, and required eight years for its suppression. East Kansu was soon lost to the Manchus and the cities of Lanchow, Ho Chou, T'aochow, Lin T'ao, Kung Ch'ang, etc. were taken by the rebels. The bridge of Lanchow, which secured the communication between East and West Kansu, was broken up. In that way no armies along West Kansu could come to the rescue of East Kansu. However, General Wang Chin-pao of Hsining rushed to Lanchow with his army and all the Monguor troops under com- 175x 648 579

[P.54(B)]

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mand of T'u-ssu Ch'i Pei-chai (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 3; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). The Monguors, familiar with the customs of the country, prepared fifty or more rafts of sheep and ox skins, and crossed the river at night in the locality of Chang Chia Wan. In the morning they unexpectedly met a large group of rebels in Hsin Ch'eng and administered a crushing defeat to them. They arrived at Lanchow which was unprepared to meet the enemy, and the city was recovered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a–b*). T'u-ssu Ch'i was appointed defender of the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). Then the Hsining troops of Wang Chin-pao and the Monguor troops helped recover, one after another, all the cities of East Kansu, with other Manchu troops. T'u-ssu Li commanded 1,000 of his Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*b*), and T'u-ssu Kan and Ah 300 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 50, 51). Then the t'u-ssu participated in the seige and the recovering of the city of P'ing Liang, and the capture of the rebel governor Wang Fu-ch'eng. The Lu t'u-ssu sent 400 *tan* of wheat to the hungry Monguor soldiers beseiging P'ing Liang, which was recovered in 1678. Wu San-kuei died August 17, 1678. After a campaign of six years the t'u-ssu returned to Huangchung with their troops. 175x 648 579

In 1677 groups of Tibetans, in combination with Uighurs, had attacked Salar villages. Probably during the insurrection of Wu San-kuei, Salar brigands had plundered them. The Manchu army had put them to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 50*a–b*). In 1681 they returned to avenge the previously unsuccessful attack. Under the leadership of the Tibetan Huang La T'aichi they attacked the village of Su Chih and killed many Salars. The Manchu commander at night attacked the camp of the aggressors and killed many of them. They fled toward the Lao Ya pass and occupied it, blocking the communications. Troops had to come from Liangchow to repel and pursue them (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 51). 175x 628

In 1689 a tremendous famine desolated East Kansu. It was followed by revolts of hungry people. In 1691 the revolt, led by a Taoist priest, had spread over the entire country. Troops of all the commanderies of Kansu were summoned. the revolt lasted until 1693 (*Annals* of Kansu 56: 45*b*). The Monguor t'u-ssu did not move into East Kansu. They had to protect their own country against inroads of poor and destitute people and forestall uprisings of the army in Huangchung, which was lacking food and was restless, for the crops in Huangchung had been bad also. In 1702, 50,000 *tan* of rice were sent from Sian to Huangchung for the troops (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*b*). 175x [731] 795] 579

In 1693 T'u-ssu Li Hsia, assistant commander in Hsining, informed the emperor concerning the situation in the Pe-ta region, in the northern valley of Hsining. In 1647, after the rebel Mohammedans and Chinese of Kanchow had tried to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to revolt but had hit a severe blow on the border of the Tatung River, the Chinese who had fol-

lowed them dared not return to Kanchow, for fear of 175x
severe punishments. They liked better to settle in the 579
region of Pe-ta, situated 120 li north of Hsining, outside the jurisdiction of the prefecture, and belonging to the Mongols. They tilled the soil and built houses. 175x
More people had joined their group which already 648
numbered 10,000 families in 1693. They brought the regulatory *t'ien pa* (land) taxes to the Mongols. T'u-ssu Li, having investigated the circumstances with other commanders, reported that the Pe-ta region had become a favorite thoroughfare along which Mongols and Tibetans traveled, spying on Huangchung. The group of settlers conversant with the Chinese regions where they constantly traveled also supplied them with information. Lamas traveled the whole year long on their way to Tibet without regulatory passes, etc. The t'u-ssu proposed to compel the entire group of settlers to return to their original countries, for the offense of having revolted had long since been forgiven, and to forbid the bringing of the *t'ien pa* taxes to the Mongol princes, according to the regulations issued by the Manchu emperor in 1658. He proposed to forbid lamas to travel to Tibet through the Pe-ta region, but to travel with passports secured on fixed passes. If serious measures were not taken, sooner or later troubles would arise, all the more since Tibet is for the moment seriously troubled and Galdan is disturbing the empire. Nobody knows what would be in store in the future. If the Mongol princes and settlers would not comply with the regulations, the army should be used to compel them to obey (*Annals* of Hsining **34**: 5*a*).

T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai, brother of T'u-ssu Ch'i [702]
Pe-chai, having graduated from the military academy and in 1673 fought the rebel Wu San-kuei in combination with all the Monguor t'u-ssu, had been promoted to second captain in Wei Yuan Pu. He had also fought rebels in Chin Chou and Li Hsien in East Kansu, had been promoted to major and transferred with his troops to Chang Chia Ku north of Peking in Chihli Province, to participate in the war the emperor was waging against the Jungar (Oirat) chief Galdan. After the death of the Oirat chief Yeh Hsien, who had captured the Ming emperor and proclaimed himself emperor of all the Mongols and had been killed in 1455, the Oirats had divided into four groups. Galdan, chief of the Choros group and the Jungar tribes, dreamed of building a new Jungar empire and expelling the Manchus from China.

Galdan, having already conquered Kashgaria, Turfan and Hami, and been ruling over Central Asia, had still to win the four Khalkha groups in order to control the united Mongol race. In 1688 he invaded their territory. The Khalkhas fled to Tumet and asked the emperor for protection. In 1690 Galdan had struck a severe blow at Kalgan. In 1696 the emperor, himself leading one of his three armies, went to meet Galdan in the Kerulen region. T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai

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(*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a*) with his troops accompanied the emperor. Galdan fled but was met by the army of General Fei Yang-ku who completely annihilated his army at Chao Mu To. The Khalkhas reoccupied their country. 175x 648

In 1697 the emperor went with his armies to Ninghsia in order to destroy entirely the Jungar forces. Again T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai with his troops followed the imperial army. However Galdan died May 3, 1697, and the emperor returned to Peking. The t'u-ssu was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the Ho Pa division in Shansi, then brigadier general in Chin Hua in Chekiang Province. In 1713, upon his retirement, he fulfilled the duty of assistant commander of his clan. At his death the emperor honored him with a funeral oration.[89] [703]

In 1703 the Khoshot Mongols of Kokonor submitted to the empire. The emperor conferred on the descendants of Ku Shih Khan, bLo-bzang tanchin, and others the titles of Prince, Pei-le, Pei-tse, Kung, T'aichi (*Annals* of Kansu 64: 52*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 22*a*).

This record points to the troubles in Lhasa which had long threatened Huangchung and the Monguors. Ku Shih Khan, chief of a Khoshot group (one of the four Oirat groups), had invaded and conquered Kokonor, Tsaidam, and Kham in 1636, and had been invited by the fifth Dalai Lama, Nag dzang bLo bzang, chief of the Yellow Sect, to help him in the struggle against a Tibetan prince, fanatic adherent of the old Red Sect, who had occupied Lhasa. He defeated the prince, installed the Dalai in Lhasa, proclaimed him Sovereign of Central Tibet and assumed the duty of protector of the Yellow Church.[90] Ku Shih Khan had been under the Manchu suzerainty since 1637. He died in 1656. His son Dayan, his grandson Dalai, and his great-grandson La tsang assumed the same duty. The Dalai entrusted the temporal administration of his kingdom to an official called a *desi*. In 1670 the *desi* revolted. On the request of the Dalai Lama, Dayan quelled the revolt and committed the *desi* to prison. Sangs rgyas rgya mcho was appointed to the *desi* office. The Dalai died in 1680–1681. The *desi*, with the Panchen Lama, appointed as reincarnation of the Dalai Lama a boy born a year after his death, called Chang Yang bLo bzang, the sixth Dalai Lama. The Tibetans and lamas 175x 795 648 [775]

[89] *Annals* of Hsining 28: 4*a*. *Annals* of Kansu 42: 45b. Réné Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 607, 610, Paris, Payot, 1935.

[90] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 59–70, Roma, La Liberia della Stato., 1949. The Dalai Lama who died in 1680–1681 had built up a mighty kingdom and the supremacy of the Yellow Sect over all Tibet, leaning on the power of the Mongols, who were foreigners, arousing the suspicions of the Tibetans and the jealousy of the other sects and the old nobility. At the same time he had laid the foundation of the ruin of his kingdom, having recognized the right of some Mongol tribes to act as patrons over his lands, being bound in that way to the vicissitudes of political events. He had to take side with his protectors, later the Jungars, in their struggle with the Chinese empire.

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should have been cognizant of the fact and have considered the boy as the legitimate successor of Nag Dzang. However, the shrewd *desi*, offended by the growing interference of the emperor and of the Khoshot prince in Tibetan affairs, kept secret from the outer world both the death of the Dalai Nag dzang and the appointment of the reincarnation. He himself planned to rule the kingdom politically. Galdan who had been lama in Lhasa had been the friend of the Dalai and the *desi*, who at the time of his struggle with the Khalkhas had imprudently spoken in his favor near the emperor. In 1689 the distrusting emperor started inquiring into the matter and knew that the old Dalai had died in 1680–1681. He suspected connivance between the *desi* and the Jungars. After the crushing defeat administered to Galdan in 1696, the emperor learned that Galdan would fly to Tibet to build a new army. The emperor back in Peking immediately sent to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor the order to apprehend Galdan, his family and followers in order to check their faithfulness to the empire. However, Galdan had fled to the west and died in 1697. The princes of Kokonor, in order to dispel the suspicion of the emperor concerning their faithfulness, gathered in a group of thirty-one presided over by an eminent lama and swore allegiance to the empire. It seems that on account of the unanimous testimony of faithfulness sent to the emperor, the princes, being all descendants of Ku Shih Khan, were awarded titles.[91]

However, the *Annals* of Hsining present another version: the emperor, preoccupied with the troubled situation in Tibet and Kokonor, ordered the lama Chang Nan to *erh chih* (induce to submission) the princes of Kokonor. Having obeyed, the emperor granted titles to the descendants of Ku Shih Khan: to Blo bzang tan chin, the title of prince, to the others the titles of *Pei-le, Pei-tse, Kung, T'aichi*. A yearly allowance in silver was also granted. They were requested to bring tribute to the capital. As long as the lama was in Hsining the princes were loyal and dependable. Later Chinese officials were appointed to care for them (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 16*b*).

In the *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52, is recorded in 1708 a serious revolt of Hsi Ku Tibetans, in the region of Wen Hsien in the farthest southern corner of East Kansu. The Hsi Ku tribes are the Hsi La Ku tribes, the Shera Uighurs, the Yellow Tibetans, already noted (pp. 17, 18). They were still autonomous in 1708 and had their own chiefs, and joined in the revolt. They depended upon the Yang t'u-ssu, and their chiefs were granted titles after the revolt by the emperor, thanks to the intercession of the Yang t'u-ssu.

In 1718 the Board of Agriculture of Hsining announced that 14,678 acres of uncultivated land were still available for culture.

[91] Maurice Courant, *L'Asie centrale au XVII et XVIII siècles, Empire Kalmouk ou Empire Mantchou*, 62, 72, 73, Paris, Picard, 1912.

still available for culture. More troops had arrived in Hsining on account of the troubles in Tibet and those in Turkistan caused by the Jungars. Troops had to be fed and more grain was required (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*a*). 175x

The period of troubles and calamities originating from Kokonor and already long present in Huangchung started in 1723.

Tsewang Rabdan, nephew of the late Galdan, had succeeded his uncle as chief of the Jungars (1697). He was as hostile to the emperor as his uncle, and was as good a friend of the *desi* Sangs rgyas as his uncle. The sixth Dalai Lama, appointed by the *desi* and the Panchen Lama and enthroned in 1697, had proved to be a debauched man. In 1701 the Kokonor Prince La Tsang, protector of the Yellow Church, the Jungar chief Tsewang Rabdan and a delegate of the emperor compelled him to resign. He obeyed but, backed by the *desi*, he reserved for himself the temporal rights of his kingdom. Prince La Tsang confined the *desi* to prison and killed him. The emperor appointed La Tsang to the office of *desi* and ordered him to bring to Peking the dethroned Dalai Lama. However, many lamas and Tibetans still favored him and objected strongly. Finally the unpopular La Tsang succeeded in 1706 in moving the escort to Peking. The caravan was attacked on the way by lamas and Tibetans, and the Dalai was killed. La Tsang, in concert with the Panchen lama, appointed as sixth reincarnation, the lama Yeches, but he was taken in ill grace by lamas and Tibetans. All the more rumors were spread that in Li T'ang the genuine reincarnation was born. The emperor, to nip in the bud all these rumors, confined the Li T'ang reincarnation and his parents in the lamasery of Kumbum in Hsining. Despite the protestations of lamas, and even of many of the princes of Kokonor, the enthroning of the sixth Dalai Lama Yeches was ordered by the emperor and performed in 1710. 175x 648 795

The Jungar chief Tsewang Rabdan was incensed by the repeated intrusions of the emperor in the affairs of Tibet, conversant with the animosity instilled in the hearts of the lamas of the entire Yellow Church and of the Tibetan tribes against the Chinese empire, conscious of the hatred fostered in the whole nation against the Khoshot La Tsang, who had dethroned their Dalai Lama and was told to have him murdered on the way to Peking. Well informed about the anti-Chinese dispositions of even the princes of Kokonor, Rabdan considered the time ripe to take possession of Tibet and Kokonor, and to rule the Yellow Church. He resolved to pose as the savior of the religion, leading his armies to Hsining to bring to Lhasa the Dalai Lama, the idol of the nation, together with lamas and the princes of Kokonor. His first army marching on Hsining was defeated, but the second, commanded by his brother Tsereng Dondoub, reached Lhasa in 1717, defended by Prince La Tsang. Treacherously, a city gate was 175x 579 795

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175x
795
579

opened and for three days the wild Jungars destroyed and looted the temples and the city, killing many people. La Tsang was killed.

175x
648

The emperor could not take this affront lying down. However, his first punitive expedition to Lhasa was defeated in 1718. The second in 1720 parted in two columns, one leaving Szechwan Province, the other starting from Hsining. On the way both encountered Jungar troops which were defeated, fled and left Tibet. T'u-ssu Lu T'i-sin was taken ill at that time and sent his son Lu Hua-lin, commanding his troops, to participate in the expedition. Back in Huangchung he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel in the Hsining army, and later colonel in Liangchow and brigadier general in Kanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The emperor, cognizant of the growing animosity of the lamas and the people against his appointed Dalai Lama Yeches, and of the aversion aroused in the hearts of the lamas and the Tibetans against the savage Jungars who had looted their temples and carried away the riches of the nation and killed many people, conversant with their eagerness to see enthroned in Lhasa the Dalai Lama secluded in Kumbum, resolved to send the lama to Lhasa with the Hsining army and to enthrone him as a new sixth Dalai Lama. The decision seemed to him apt to reconquer the sympathy of the Tibetans and the lamas, and to plant in their hearts aversion for the Jungars, who were waging war with him in Central Asia with an eye on Tibet.

175x
662
643
648
795

The emperor, averred politician, in order to assure the success of his plan, ordered the Monguor Living Buddha, T'u Kuan, chief of the renowned Monguor monastery of Erh Ku Lung in Hsining, a learned man of high repute in Tibet and Mongolia, to convey the Kumbum Lama to Lhasa in the capacity of imperial envoy. He bestowed him with the title of Huthukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas, in order to dignify his position. He gave him letters and unusual gifts to bring to the Panchen Lama and to the heads of the most important monasteries in Tibet, his former teachers and friends. The Kumbum Dalai Lama, brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence and enthroned in 1720, was enthusiastically congratulated by the lamas and the Tibetans. This act put an end to the autonomy of Tibet and of the Yellow Church. The Monguors were proud of their Huthukhtu (Monguors II: 31). The sixth Dalai Lama Yeches was dethroned and called to Peking in order to prevent possible complications.[92]

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[92] Maurice Courant, *op. cit.*, 76–77. W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China 1644–1908, *T'oung-pao*, 1–92, 1910. E. Haenich, Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas unter der Gegenwärtigen Dynasty, *T'oung-pao*, 197–235, 375–424, 1911. Réné Grousset, *op. cit.* Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ching Period*, Washington, 1943. L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century*, Lieden, Brill, 1950. H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, I, *passim*.

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REVOLT OF 1723–1724

After the successful enthronement of the Dalai Lama in Lhasa in 1720, it seems that a period of peace was to be expected. However Huangchung had to go through a new tremendous ordeal of destruction, ruin, and ruthless murder, caused by the revolt of the Khoshot Prince of Kokonor, bLo-bzang tan-chin, a grandson of Ku Shih Khan.

175X 648 579

All the princes of Kokonor had participated in the Lhasa expedition in 1720 and had seen their wishes fulfilled by the enthronement of their beloved Dalai Lama. On account of the troubles in Lhasa which had lasted for so many years, related to the enthronements and the depositions of Dalai Lamas and the interference of the Chinese emperor in Tibetan affairs, the princes must have shared for a long time the grudge and the hatred of the lamas and the Tibetans against the Chinese empire.

Back in Kokonor the ambitious Prince bLo-bzang tan-chin had started dreaming about the unification under his command of all the Kokonor tribes, and at the rebuilding of the nation of his ancestor Ku Shih Khan. He enticed the Kokonor princes and the chiefs at a convention in Ch'a han t'o lo hai to swear to renounce the titles previously granted to them by the emperor. He started calling himself Dalai hun t'aichi in order to induce them to follow his example. It was an act of rebellion against the empire. However two princes Ch'a han tan-chin and Ah-erh-te-mi refused to follow his injunctions; they compelled their troops to abandon him. A fight was about to start between them but, deeming their forces too inferior to those of bLo bzang, Ch'a han tan-chin, first sent his wife and 140 of his people to the pass of Lao Ya Kuan outside the great wall of the city of Ho Chou. Ch'ang Chou vice-president of the administrative organ of Hsining invited him to move his people into the city of Ho Chou, and ordered him to leave the defense of the pass to his troops. bLo bzang prepared to cross the Yellow River to fight. This happened in the eighth moon of 1723 (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 52*a–b*).

But Nien Keng-yao, Governor General of Szechwan and Shensi provinces, and Yueh Chung-ch'i, commander in chief of the troops of Szechwan, had already arrived from Szechwan Province with their troops to quell the revolt. The Chinese had long since had first-hand information concerning the unrest brewing in Kokonor. They knew that Ch'a-han nomenhan, appointed by Lhasa as chief of the lamasery of Kumbum, had pledged allegiance to bLo-bzang, that princes of Kokonor in combination with all the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor depending upon bLo-bzang, and those of Hsining, subjects of the monasteries, and others were ready to revolt with the lamas of Huangchung.

In the tenth moon the revolt burst forth like a pent-up stream; 200,000 rebels invaded Hsining, stealing cattle, burning villages, and fighting with the troops.

[P. 58 (A)]

The situation was very serious, because the revolt spread over the whole country of Huangchung and was general. In the northern part of Huangchung, the monastery of Erh Ku Lung alone controlled forty daughter monasteries. Each monastery was a center of revolt, situated in a tortuous valley, guarded by towering mountains, for Huangchung is a mountainous country with poor means of communication, with almost impassable trails, and passes hard to overcome and control. 175x 648 579 [792]

However, Nien Keng-yao was equal to the situation and extensive powers had been granted to him. He had called from Szechwan, Shensi, and Kansu provinces combat troops inured to hardships, and had chosen capable officers whom he appointed to jobs that gave them full scope for their abilities. He called the Monguor t'u-ssu and ordered 2,000 of their troops, conversant with the intricate geography of the country and conversant with the chiefs of the tribes who lived in their neighborhood. He called all available resources into play.

Everywhere the lamas, the Kokonor Mongols and the Tibetans were the most furious fighters. This seems to point to the fact that they seethed with the greatest hatred against the empire, despite all the favors the lamas had received from the emperors. Nien Keng-yao understood that he had to fight savage and enraged enemies. He went about the job with draconian severity and acted without let-up and with incredible speed.

In the tenth moon the northern, western, and southern valleys of Hsining were cleared by three armies and the besieged fortresses saved. Many, many rebels were slaughtered. In the eleventh moon one army cleared the region of Chuang Lang and defeated Tibetan tribes. Another had to return to the Tatung valley, north of Hsining, to finish drastically the new rebellion.

bLo-bzang, considering the overwhelming forces marshalled against him and their ruthless behavior, asked to surrender. This was refused. More troops arrived at the rebelling monastery of Ch'i Chia Sse where 500 lamas and 1,000 Tibetans were mercilessly killed in the fight.

In the twelfth moon, Mongol Khoshot princes surrendered with more than 100,000 of their followers, while the army still defeated the rebelling Tibetans in the region of Kuei Te, where the monasteries were burned down.

In the first moon of 1724 the armies had to fight the monasteries of Erh Ku Lung, Kuo Mang (Seerkok), and Ch'ieh bzang, the most important centers of resistance. The lamas of Erh Ku Lung had called to arms all their subjects, who awaited the army in resolute array; 13,000 of their subjects were killed in the action. The number of lamas killed is not noted, but it is recorded that they fought furiously, that 700 lamas were killed in Seerkok alone (Monguors II: 34–37). 175x 792 579

[P.58(B)]

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The three biggest monasteries in the country were burned to the ground, also 7,000 houses and 17 villages of the subjects of the monastery of Erh Ku Lung. The whole country was a ruin. 175x 792 579

In the second moon a crushing defeat was administered to bLo-bzang in Kokonor by General Yueh Chung-ch'i; 8,000 of his troops were killed in several encounters, and 10,000 surrendered. bLo-bzang fled riding a white camel. Another army led by Nien Keng-yao, consisting mostly of Monguor soldiers, burned the monastery of Shih Men Sse, where 600 lamas and Tibetans were killed and a huge quantity of weapons was found hidden.

In the third moon Yueh Chung-ch'i went again to Kokonor in pursuit of bLo-bzang, clearing the country of the scattered rebels. Arriving at their central camp unawares, he captured the mother of bLo-bzang, his sister-in-law, and a large number of people and horses. Eight princes submitted. The Kokonor troops had been dashed into rout and ruin.

In the fourth moon the T'ieh Pu tribes from the region of Ho Chou, depending upon bLo-bzang, had started plundering while the troops were fighting in Kokonor. General Nien destroyed 41 of their villages and received the surrender of 37. Two thousand Tibetans had been killed and many had been captured with a number of cattle.

In the fifth moon General Yueh cleared the region between Chuang Lang and Liangchow from where the troops had incessantly been attacked. The Tibetan tribes and the lamas were defeated, several thousands of Tibetans captured, and the monasteries Chu Kung, Chiarto, Hoki, Nan Ch'ung, Simi and T'ien T'ang destroyed or burned. Then the army cleared the region of Cho Tze Shan. Most of the Monguor troops had participated in the punitive expedition.

In the tenth moon bLo-bzang was still not captured. An army was sent again to find him. Only one of his important officers and his wife were captured, but 33 princes submitted.[93]

It is hard to understand the reticence concerning the destruction of the entire monastery of Kumbum and the killing of eight of their most prominent lamas, for whom eight stupas were later erected. Now the Chinese call Kumbum the "monastery of the eight stupas." Nothing is said either, in the *Annals* of Kansu, concerning the beheading of two Living Buddhas (Monguors I: 34–37; II: 25, 26). 175x 792

THE T'U-SSU HAD PARTICIPATED IN QUELLING THE REVOLT

175x 624

T'u-ssu Ch'i Tsai-hsuan in 1723 had guarded the Ta Hsia rapids with his troops, in order to impede fleeing lamas and Tibetans from spreading the revolt

[93] *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52–58; 42: 24*a*. *Annals* of Hsining 16*a–b*. bLo-bzang had fled to the Jungars, where his friend Tsewang Rabdan protected him.

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in the eastern countries. In 1724 he had participated in the destruction of the monastery of Erh Ku Lung, and the defeat of the savage lamas and their subjects. With General Yueh Chung-ch'i he fought in Cho Tze Shan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 46*a*) and escorted the food transport for the troops, which was incessantly attacked by the rebels in the mountains. 175x 624

T'u-ssu Li Shen-ch'eng in 1723, with 300 of his troops, guarded the passes in the Shih Ta mountains, and defeated several groups of Tibetans. In 1724 he administered several blows to the Tibetans in the Cho Tze Shan region, who attacked the food transport escort (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47*a*). The Chiliarch Li Hung-tsung, uncle of T'u-ssu Li Shen-ch'eng, and Li Wen-p'eng, uncle of T'u-ssu Li Yao-ch'eng, fought the rebels in the southern valleys of Hsining, in 1723 in the eleventh moon, and died in action with 14 of their Monguor soldiers (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 18*b*).

T'u-ssu Chao in 1724 fought in Cho Tze Shan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 49*a*).

T'u-ssu Kan Kuo-cheng guarded the ferry on the Yellow River in 1723 (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*a*).

T'u-ssu Yeh Yao-ch'eng guarded the passes in the Shih Ta mountains in 1723 and fought the Tibetans in Pa P'an Shan and in Cho Tze Shan. He escorted the food transport as far as T'ien T'ang Ssu along impassable trails. He helped in the destruction of the T'ien T'ang monastery (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 53).

In 1723 T'u-ssu Li Yao-ch'eng guarded the passes in Shih Ta Shan and fought in Cho Tze Shan and at the T'ien T'ang monastery (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 53*a*).

The participation of T'u-ssu Lu Hua-lin in the Lhasa expedition has been noted.

T'u-ssu Lu Chan, in 1723, guarded the Lao Ya Hsia with T'u-ssu Ch'i Tsai-hsuan. In 1724 he fought with his nephew Lu Wei-fan in Cho Tze Shan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 58*b*).

The Salar T'u-ssu Han Ta-yung quelled the revolt of Tibetans in the Hsun Hua region in 1723. In 1724 he followed General Yueh Chung-ch'i in the expedition to Cho Tze Shan, participated in the destruction of the Monastery of Simi, and fought the Tibetan tribe Hsieh Erh Ssu (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 28*b*).

The revolt, quelled with draconian severity in less than a year, had been the ruin of Huangchung. Not a single valley in the country was encountered through which the troops did not pass, fighting or pursuing the enemy. The number of villages destroyed and burned, and the number of stolen cattle were countless. The number of Tibetans, Mongols and lamas killed rates terribly high. The war was one of the bloodiest. All who made a stand were killed. All the provisions and properties of the people had disappeared. All the lama-series were destroyed or burned down. The depredation of the country was wicked and ruthless, the destitution of the people tragic. Huangchung, which during the previous centuries had so many times suffered 175x 727

[P. 59(B)]

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from wars and revolts, never had suffered as much as in 1723–1724. 175x 727

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS

After relating the successful repression by General Nien Keng-yao of the terrible revolt of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas in 1723–1724 in Huangchung, something should be said concerning two Manchu princes, accused by the general before Emperor Yung Cheng, of having contributed of their own money to the building of a Catholic church in Hsining in 1723–1724. 175x 798

This is the first document concerning the existence of a Catholic church in Hsining and consequently of a Catholic community. It seems unusual to see a general make such an accusation directly to the emperor, at a time when the conjunctures of war absorbed all his forces and energies (July 1, 1724). [795]

Emperor K'ang Hsi died on December 20, 1722. His fourth son, Yung Cheng, ascended the throne in 1723. According to the time-honored custom, some of the brothers of the new emperor assumed an attitude of menacing hostility toward him. The Emperor Yung Cheng suspected his ninth brother, Sessaka, of being the chief of the discontented faction and sent him (April 15, 1723) far away to Hsining to fight the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas under the command of General Nien Keng-yao. Together with Sessaka two sons of the Manchu Prince Surniana were also sent, the sixth, Lessihin, and the twelfth.[94] [643]

Surniana, a brother of the late Emperor K'ang Hsi, member of the oldest branch of the Manchu dynasty, had been a notorious governor in Liaotung province and was the chief of one of the eight Manchu banners. He was suspected by Emperor Yung Cheng of being a sympathizer and supporter of the Sessaka group. He and his entire family were banished to Yu Wei, on the northern outskirts of the empire. His properties were confiscated, his three hundred servants and slaves taken away, all his dignities removed, and he and his family reduced to the state of subjects. The wealthy Surniana had thirteen sons and sixteen daughters. Most of the these princes and princesses were Catholics. The sixth son, Lessihin, was baptized before he left for Hsining and the twelfth son when he arrived at Hsining. They were confined in separate houses and guarded by soldiers. 175x 798 578

The reason for these troubles were the accusations sent September 7, 1723, by the Viceroy of Chekiang and Fukien provinces to the tribunal of rites, concerning the building of Catholic churches in the provinces, the customs observed by the Catholics, the large number of priests in the country, etc. The viceroy favored a

[94] The charge seems to have been based on slander. Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses 3: 366–465, Paris, Paul Daffis, 7 rue Guenegaud, 1877. Histoire Generale de la Chine, De Mailla. 11: 373–408, Paris, Clousier, rue Saint Jacques, 1880.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

prompt prosecution and quick forwarding of the accusations to the emperor. The emperor sanctioned the accusations January 1, 1724. An edict was sent throughout the provinces on February 11, 1724. Probably on account of this edict and the connections of the Surniana family with the Sessaka faction, General Nien Keng-Yao accused both sons of Surniana on July 1, 1724. In February, 1725, both sons were ordered to join their family, already banished to Yu Wei. In June, 1725, both were carried from Yu Wei to Peking, bound in chains, and condemned to die in prison. The twelfth son died in prison after two years of suffering, and the sixth son died in prison a couple of years later. These are the conjunctures of the accusations against the sons of the Surniana in 1724 by General Nien Keng-yao. They reveal the existence of a Catholic community and the building of a church in Hsining.[94a] 175x 798 578

Recently in Volume 18 (1959) of *Monumenta Serica*, I encountered the very interesting article, "The Description and Map of Kansu by Giovanni Battista Maoletti De Serravalle," by Professor B. Szczeniak, Notre Dame University, dealing with the same subject. 175x 113

Maoletti was born in Serravalle, near Milan, in 1669. He entered the order of the Franciscans in 1689. In 1705 he arrived in Canton and went from Sian (Shensi) to Lanchow (Kansu) in 1710. He was chased from there by bonzes in 1713, and moved to Liangchow and Hsining (Kansu) where he worked until 1716. He had been appointed Administrator of the vicariate of Hukwang, but left China during the persecution in 1724. He died on the way to Canton on January 14, 1725. The report had been written by Maoletti in Hsining, where he lived from 1713 to 1716. Maoletti's map was made four to five years before the *K'ang Hsi* or Jesuit Atlas was printed in 1719. It is not a studied piece of cartography, but a sketch-map to illustrate a mission report.

The map and the description of Kansu and Kokonor at this date is the more significant, for only a short time later great changes were brought about by the Jungar invasion of Tibet (1717), and again by the terrible revolt in 1723–1724 of Mongols and Tibetans of Kokonor and Huang-chung, and Lamas. The report is interesting for it deals with many details about places and people and the products of the country,—rhubarb, musk, and coal, silver and gold mines. (*Monumenta Serica* 18: 294–298, 1959.)

Professor B. Szczesniak, in his very interesting article, also notes the work of F. Dehergne, S.J., "Les Missions du Nord de la Chine vers 1700," Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu 24, 1955. Both sources help to give a view of the mission work in remote Kansu during the period of revolts.

The Maoletti report, following the map, is alive with interest in the Tartars (Mongols) who figure so prominently on the map, with the eagerness to further mission work among them, and with details about places and people. Maoletti's interest for the conversion of the Mongols is manifest in many places of the report. He is pleased to note that north of Topa sits a prince who is lord of Topa— 175x 797

[94a] *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses* 2: 366–465, Paris, Paul Daffis, 7 rue Guenegaud, 1877. De Mailla, *Histoire Generale de la Chine* 11: 373–408, Paris, Clousier, Rue Saint Jacques, 1880.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

"an acquaintance of mine." East of Lake Kokonor, on the west side of the Yellow River, is a prince who "wants to become a Christian." West of where the great wall protrudes around Chengfan (Liangchow) is a Christian outpost conducted by the governor of Yung-ning-p'u. Here "I preached at the tents of the Mongols." Today there are Christians there. North of this settlement is a prince of 20,000 families. In the extreme north sits a Mongol prince whose wife is the daughter of the Emperor of China. He rules over 40,000 families. (This text points to the Prince of Alashan.) 175* 797

The Khan, bKrasis Batur, second son of Gushri, the Khoshot, who conquered Kokonor and Tibet (1635) died in 1714. The Queen Mother of the successor accompanied the bier. The cremated bones of the Khan were carried for burial to the tomb of the Mongol kings situated on the borders of his kingdom between Chuang Lang and Hsining[94b] in steep mountains. I have sent an Armenian and one of my catechists to present the Queen Mother with a handkerchief and a snuff box filled with European tobacco. She has sent one of her major domos to thank me and to hear about the holy law.

Maoletti awaited the return of the Queen in the Church of the Armenians in Topa.

Maoletti worked for about fifteen years in Shensi, Kansu and Ili (Turkistan) and mentions nine places with churches or oratories (three of them with two) and fifteen or sixteen other Christian communities, some larger, some consisting of only a handful of converts; some of the congregations had been founded by the Jesuits, others by zealous laymen, but the bulk of the achievement was doubtless due to the pioneering effort of Maoletti. One may speculate that to some extent the ground had been prepared for the work of the Catholic missionaries by the Nestorians who were strong in these regions. (*Monum. Serica*, 298–303.) [195]

In Hsining, which at that time was an emporium of China with a garrison of six thousand soldiers, seven or eight adults had been baptized in 1706 by the Jesuit, Father Dehergne. The city had been visited several times in 1708–1709 by the Jesuits Jartoux and Regis, preparing the map of Kansu and Tibet on the order of the Emperor K'ang Hsi. In 1713 Maoletti bought a small church in Hsining which he dedicated to St. Gregory, the Armenian, and entrusted to the care of a fervent Armenian Catholic living in Topa. Later, the community having developed, Hsining had two churches, one of Our Lady of Angels for the men, and the other for the women. Later both had come under litigation [probably after the accusation by General Nien Keng-yao of the sons of Surniana].

At that time Topa, 60 li north of Hsining, was a stronghold, subject to a Mongol prince who was tributary to the Mongol Khan. Topa was the trading place of the foreigners, Mongols, Tibetans, Lamas, Indians, Persians, Turks, Armenians, and Muscovites. Fifteen different languages were spoken here. In this Babylon is an oratory or small church built by Armenians at my insistence. [191]

Cheng-hai-p'u, with a garrison of one thousand soldiers, a village near Topa, and at the great Gate of the Foreigners, had a very large church, which had a literate merchant as head of the congregation of the Chinese as well as the neighboring Tibetans.

[94b] Between Chuang Lang and Hsining are the tombs of the Li and the Lu t'ussu in Siangt'ang and Lien ch'eng, but I suppose no connections exist between these three cemeteries and both t'ussu and Khoshots.

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Two days east of Hsining, at the junction of the Hsining and Tatung Rivers, in Chang Ch'uan Ku, was a Catholic community. These seem to have been the four communities existing in the region of Hsining in 1715. 175x 797

In most of the important cities in the northern part of Kansu Catholic communities existed in 1716, with churches or oratories. Lanchow had two churches since 1699, depending on the Tung t'ang of Peking (Dehergne p. 287). Kanchow had its church since 1660. In Suchow was a group of worshippers of the Cross. Maoletti, before 1713, during his stay in Liangchow, founded fifteen communities (two churches in Liangchow and one in Yung Ning P'u).

In the eastern part of Kansu, in many of the important cities, Christian communities were also encountered, with or without churches, in 1716.

Dehergne, p. 282, notes that in the middle of the seventeenth century the Jesuit missions flourished in Shensi and numbered 12,000 Christians. In 1683 Christians were in twenty-three cities of the province.

In the five prefectures of Shensi there were Christians in 1700. In 1699 there were five residences of fathers and sixteen Jesuit churches (Dehergne, p. 275).

In Turkistan in 1708, there were some Christians in Ili and Hami (Dehergne, p. 287, No. 89). During the Ch'ien Lung period, 1776–1796, many Catholics were relegated to Ili for the sake of religion (Dehergne, p. 287, 288) and also to Hsi Tatung, four days distant from Hsining (Dehergne, 289, 293).

This is a sketch of the conjectures in Shensi, Shansi, Huangchung, and Kansu concerning the mission work around 1700, according to the report of Maoletti and Dehergne.

HUANGCHUNG REORGANIZED

Nien Keng-yao, the pacification of the country having come to a successful close, presented to the throne a memorandum in thirteen articles, on the methods of pacifying the Mongols, Tibetans, and the lamas. The first article was radical. All the revolts originated on account of the too extensive power of the chiefs. The Tibetan tribes, depending upon the authority of the Supreme Khoshot Chief, have to be withdrawn from him and organized in independent units, living in their own territories allotted by the emperor, ruled by their own chiefs appointed by and responsible only to the Chinese administration. The Khoshot and other Mongol tribes, who at present depend upon the authority of one single supreme chief, have to be divided into single independent units. Titles have to be granted to each of the chieftains, and territories have to be allotted to them by the Chinese administration. Each tribal chief is to be responsible for the administration of his tribe under the supervision of the Chinese authority. The entire administrative physiognomy of Kokonor changed at once, and Kokonor was annexed to the empire. 175x 648

The power of the lamas consisted in the number of their subject tribes and their expansive territorial possessions. Their properties were confiscated, and their subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials, liable to their corvees, and subject to their land taxes. The revolt had ruined forever the power of the lamas. Then followed a lot more regulations (Monguors II: 34, 49). 175x [66]

However, nothing was changed in the regime of the Monguor institution. Their extensive properties remained intact, and their subjects continued under the administration of their t'u-ssu, because they had been faithful for centuries to the empire, and because this time their support had been of untold value to the army. Even T'u-ssu Lu was especially rewarded for his services, and received more new subjects: the 8 Tibetan villages in the Cho Tzu Shan region, which had belonged to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor, numbering 453 families, totaling 2,365 persons (Monguors I: 33).

This terrible revolt, which had threatened the very existence of Huangchung as part of Kansu Province and the empire, ended with the annexation of Kokonor to the empire, the ruin of the lama institution in Huangchung, and the stabilization of the regime of the t'u-ssu and Monguors in Huangchung. Thanks to the connivance of the Huangchung lamas and Tibetans with the Kokonor Khoshots, all of them seethed with hatred against the empire. [795]

In 1725, the revolt having been quelled, the commandery of Hsining became a prefecture and the So of Nienpei a subprefecture. According to one of the thirteen articles in the memorandum, presented to the throne by the Governor General, Nien Keng-yao, the building was started of three cities in the northern valley of Hsining, in Tatung, in Pe-ta, and in Yung Nan, which countries formerly belonged to the Kokonor Khoshots. Garrisons were appointed in order to forestall inroads of nomads and Jungars, and to provide easy communications between the two cities of Kanchow and Hsining. Tatung became a commandery (*Annals* of Hsining 1: 21*b*). 175x 631

It had been noted that in 1647 after the defeat of the Mohammedans of Kanchow on the Tatung River, trying to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to follow them in the revolt, Chinese of Kanchow who had participated in the expedition dared not return to their original countries, but settled in the extensive pastures of Tatung and Pe-ta, recognized the lordship of the Mongol proprietors and started farming and building houses. It has been noted also that in 1693, after fifty years, the assistant commander of Hsining, T'u-ssu Li Hsia, had reported that already more than 10,000 families were living there. The census of 1730 noted that the population of these settlements, started in 1647, was composed of Chinese, Monguors, Mohammedans, and Tibetans, living in twenty-two villages. The population of two villages was entirely composed of Chinese, 175x 631 162

[P.62(A)]

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one entirely of Tibetans, four completely of Monguors, 175x
one entirely of Mohammedans originating from Liang- 631
chow, one entirely of Mohammedans from Ho Chou, 162
three occupied by Chinese and Mohammedans together, two by Chinese and Tibetans together, four by Chinese and Monguors, and four by Chinese, Mohammedans and Tibetans (*Annals* of Hsining 22: 15*a–b*).

During these ninety years all these people had abandoned their original homes hoping to enjoy more peace in this lonely country. They had developed the country and made possible the building of the two cities of Tatung and Pe-ta. Before that time the northern valley of Hsining was cultivated only as far as the fortress of Hsin Ch'eng, situated 70 li north of Hsining, where a great wall marked the boundaries between Hsining and Kokonor.

In 1726 the newly appointed Governor of Kokonor, 175x
Ta Ting, started with a big retinue of officials and sol- 648
diers to visit all the Tibetan tribes of Huangchung, 631
East Kansu, and Kokonor, depending upon the Khoshot princes and the lamas, taking the census of the people and the herds of each tribe, appointing in each tribe the chief they desired, notifying them that they depended from now on upon the Chinese officials. He fixed the tribute each tribe was to pay yearly, and in- [651]
formed them that all the taxes formerly paid to the princes and lamas, the *t'ien pa* tax, and the incense offering required yearly by the Dalai Lama in Lhasa were abolished. He allotted to each tribe a territory clearly defined, and handed it the deed officially sealed.

Now an idea can be had about the power of the 175x
princes of Kokonor. The governor had to travel as far 648
at Tatung, Kuei Te, Ho Chou, and T'ao Chou in East Kansu, and to Chuang Lang and Liangchow where Tibetan tribes lived, depending upon the princes. The Khoshot Ku Shih-han in 1636 had conquered Kokonor and all the Tibetan tribes of that country, and those formerly dependent upon the Mongols, which later had fled far away from them. They pursued them as far as T'ao Chou and Ho Chou and so they became their subjects again. This had happened at the end of the Ming dynasty and during the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty when China could not care for these countries on account of the troubled conditions. However, Ku Shih-han had been recognized by the Manchu dynasty as chief of Kokonor. In 1642–1644 Ku Shih-han conquered Tibet and offered it to the Dalai Lama who [651]
immediately sent lamas to collect *t'ien pa* and incense offerings from the tribes, which normally had to pay a tax to the princes also. During these times the Khoshots had even been able to receive the submission of Tibetan tribes living as far as Cho Tze Shan, situated inside the prefecture of Chuang Lang, and of the tribes living in the mountains south of Ku Lang, Liangchow, and Yung Ch'ang. This gives an idea about the number of people and warriors they had been able to call to arms in 1723–1724 (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*b*).

[P.62(B)]

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Then the governor notified the lamas about the confiscation of their territories and subjects, and informed them about the revocation of the titles of Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih granted to the most prominent among them by the Ming emperors, and an order was given to hand to the Chinese officials the diploma of the promotion granted to them by the emperor. 175x 648 [334]

Most of these titles had been granted to lamas who had induced tribes to submit, and to move into the depopulated Huangchung, especially in the first century and a half of the Ming. At that time these lamas belonged to the Red sect, were married, and lived among the tribes they had induced to submit, but not in monasteries. They had received personally large proprietaries from the emperor, with a document written in their name, and a title. This had been the origin of the Karwas and Nang so (Monguors II: 18, 19). The son of the lama succeeding to the father, inherited the property and the title and was considered to be a lama. This institution lasted until 1723–1724. The entire lama family during all these years had earned a wealthy living, free from taxes and corvees, and received some taxes from the tribesmen. The *Annals* of Hsining noting this fact, and the confiscation of the territories and subjects of the lamas, adds jubilantly, "and so in one day these unjust conditions, existing for centuries, were abolished" (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 22*b*). 175x 792

In the same year, for the very first time in history, officials were appointed by the Szechwan and Kansu provinces to fix the boundaries of both provinces in the Kokonor region, and to designate which among the Tibetan tribes should depend upon each of the provinces (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 13*a*). 175x 624

During the years 1733–1745 orders were repeatedly issued for the building of more graneries in the cities and most important strongholds all over the country, for the amount of grain formerly collected by the lamas and the Khoshot princes was now collected by the officials and had to be stored (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 23*b*, 25*a*). [344 251]

In 1745 the Hsining *Annals* were printed by Yang Yin-ch'u. The first *Annals*, only two small volumes, contained many errors which were amended. 175x 653

In 1759 there was famine in the prefecture of Chuang Lang. Grain was loaned to T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng to help his subjects. The next year also was one of bad crops. Again grain was loaned for distribution to each of the Monguor families of the t'u-ssu for which restitution was to be made after three years (*Annals* of Kansu 2: 29*b*).

The commanderies of Tatung and Kuei Te became subprefectures in 1761 with complete civil and military administrations (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 4, 11*b*, 14). In Pe-ta and Yung nan a brigadier general and a lieutenant colonel with strong garrisons had already been appointed in 1725, after the revolt of bLo-bzang tan-chin (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 71*a*). 175x

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Huangchung and the Monguors, after the troubles of 1723–1724, enjoyed peace for sixty years. All that time they assisted in the complete change of the administration and of the country, caused by the confiscation of the large properties and Tibetan tribes which belonged to the lamas. They assisted in the rebuilding of cities, villages and fortifications, schools and granaries, and rebuilt and overhauled their own properties. Every day new regulations were issued to which everybody had to comply, and everywhere Chinese officials and bureaus were encountered. The Chinese officials played the capital role in the country. A large army occupied the country. The influence the t'u-ssu had enjoyed during centuries was waning rapidly. 175x

FIRST MOHAMMEDAN REVOLT—WAHHABISM

All of a sudden in 1781 the terrible revolt broke out among the Mohammedans in Kansu. It portended ominous events. 175x 795 579

The Salars, Turks, originating from Turkistan (Samarkand, according to the traditions) inhabited during the Yuan time both borders of the Yellow River, in the region of Hsun Hua T'ing in East Kansu, and in the regions of Pa Yen Jung in southern Huangchung. The time of their arrival in Kansu is unknown, but certainly they lived in that region at the end of the Yuan because two of their chiefs had already surrendered to the Ming in 1370, and received the office of t'u-ssu. The Salars live in thirteen groups called *kong*. The four upper and the four lower groups are called the eight inside Salar *kong* and are controlled by their t'u-ssu. The remaining five groups, called the outside Salar *kong*, are controlled by the subprefecture of Pa Yen Jung (Monguors I: 22, 23). Han Pao-yuan, t'u-ssu of the four upper Salar groups, lives with his subjects in the region of Hsun Hua. His subjects adopted the surname of Han. Han Sha-pa, t'u-ssu of the four lower Salar groups, inhabits the region east of Hsun Hua. His subjects adopted the surname of Ma (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Both t'u-ssu are the founders of the two Salar groups. The Salars profess Islam, but all over the country among their neighbors are many Chinese Mohammedans. 648

Wahhabism, a sect founded by Ibn Abd-al-Wahhab who died in 1787, aimed at the revival of the primitive orthodoxy of Islam and the abolition of the innovations contrary to the Sunni. He reacted violently against, at that time, the more and more popular cult of the Saints, Prophets, and the Graves.[95]

It happened that in 1762 a Mohammedan from Anting in Kansu, called Ma Ming-hsin, arrived back in Hsun Hua from a pilgrimage (to Mecca?). On his way he had been captivated by the violent discussions, at that time in full swing, relating to the new sect of the

[95] Henri Masse, *L'Islam*, 208–209, Paris, Armand Colin, 1930.

[P.63(B)]

Wahhabits, and had witnessed the fanaticism and the successes reaped by its promoters. He was enthusiastic about the idea of a return to the original orthodoxy. On his arrival, he posed in the Hsun Hua community as the possessor of the genuine doctrine and the champion of the religion founded by Mohammed and his companions. In the services in the mosques he urged the recitation of prayers with a loud voice, for it was the rite practiced in the new sect. It tremendously shocked the other Mohammedan communities, used to reciting the texts in a low voice, so that they accused the disturbers of the religion to the officials. The Salar, Su Forty-three, with other Salars, invited Ma Ming-hsin as teacher and head of all the Mohammedan communities of Hsun Hua. Bitter discussions arose between the two groups, and forty adherents of the old religion were killed. An accusation was dispatched to the governor in Lanchow, who immediately sent two military officials with their troops to Hsun Hua to quell the revolt. However, the new religious group had already grown so fast and become so numerous, that Su Forty-three was able to beat the troops, kill the officials, and occupy the city of Ho Chou. New troops which arrived did not dare go to Ho Chou and they garrisoned in Ti-tao. Then the new religious rebels ran to Lanchow. They defeated the 800 poor troops of Lanchow, besieged the city, occupied the western corner of the city, and broke up the bridge over the Yellow River. New troops came from Kanchow and Szechwan. In the meantime, the officials of Anting had captured Ma Ming-hsin, the fomenter of the revolt in the city and sent him to the prison of Lanchow. The rebels requested their leader. From upon the city wall, the official made him exhort the rebels to keep quiet and return home. It did not work. Then Ma Ming-hsin was killed with his son.

Just at that time T'u-ssu Lu Fan, from Lien Ch'eng, had arrived with 300 Monguor troops and was attacked by the rebels. His troops were nearly all killed and the t'u-ssu was wounded. Then the rebels retired to the nearby Hua Lin mountains and prepared entrenchments. General A Kuei was called from Szechwan to quell the revolt. The army dared not attack the fanatic rebels in the mountains. The Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu, leading his Salar Mohammedan troops of the old religion, was first to attack and enter the mountains. He was very successful. Later he recovered the city of Ho Chou. More troops arrived from Szechwan and Mongol troops from Alashan. In the mountainous country they administered a crushing defeat to the rebels who fled to the Hua Lin temple. It was burned down with the rebels inside. Few escaped, among them Su Forty-three, who was captured and killed. The revolt was quelled. Then followed the murdering of the entire families of hundreds of the adherents to the sect, forbidden to pray with a loud voice, to collect money and alms, etc.

Where were the Monguor t'u-ssu during the revolt? 175x
The defeat of the troops of T'u-ssu Lu Fan has been 709
related. He was rewarded later by the honor of wear- 624
ing the double peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57).

The five outer Salar groups, adherents of the new 175x
religion, inhabited Pa Yen Jung situated south of Nien- 648
pei. The danger of inroads on and the plundering of [795]
these groups had to be forestalled. Lu Chen-hsien, member of the t'u-ssu clan, guarded with the troops the region of Hsiang T'ang and Huei Ho Tung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 60).

T'u-ssu Kan San Yuen-pao guarded the city of Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Chou Lin guarded the passes of Ch'i Shih near Pa Yen Jung and Feng T'ai Shan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51). T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the city of Nienpei and was later called to Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai helped guard the city of Ti-tao in East Kansu with 200 Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the Hsiao Hsia pass near Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu who had fought in Lan- [703]
chow and recovered Ho Chou, was rewarded by the honor to wear the Blue Plume or Crow feather, and received the button of the second degree, worn on the cap (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*).

The Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Lanchow and was rewarded with the same honor as the former Salar t'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*a*).

Huangchung had been spared from inroads and devastation.

YEN CH'A HUI REVOLT

After the death of Ma Ming-hsin in Lanchow in 175x
1781, T'ien Wu, a fanatic *ahong*, leader of the new sect 795
in Fu Ch'iang in East Kansu, was proclaimed chief of 648
the new sect. At that time the Chinese officials were 579
brutally murdering the entire families of the rebels, and 798
rumors were spread that all the Mohammedans of the old and new sects were to be killed. Already in 1782, in Shih Feng Pao, in the T'ung Wei district, T'ien Wu had started digging entrenchments and moving the wives and children to strongholds in the mountains, weapons had been prepared and flags, etc. Around Ku Yuen and Fu Ch'iang encounters continued unabated between the army and the rebels, who grew stronger and stronger by the accrual of countless adherents of the old sect. In 1784 T'ien Wu was wounded in a fight in Fu Ch'iang and died. The rebels, beaten in many encounters, fled to the Shin Feng Pao mountains where they finally were exterminated, and 3,000 wives and children brutally murdered. The revolt was quelled.

During the revolt T'u-ssu Lu Fan had helped guard 175x
the city of Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*) and 579

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T'u-ssu Lu yin, member of the Lu clan, guarded the Yang-chia temple region (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 58). 175x 579

T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the Ping Ku pass near Lien Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuen guarded the Lu P'an Shan region and was later called to guard Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai with 300 Monguors guarded the Kuan Miao T'an in Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). T'u-ssu Chao Huai-peh guarded the Ping Ku pass with Kan T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the bridge in Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu fought in Fu Ch'iang and was rewarded with the title of lieutenant colonel (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Fu Ch'iang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*).

Huangchung again had escaped devastation, but East Kansu for the second time had to bear the brunt of the revolt. The country and the people suffered tremendously for the officials were determined to annihilate completely the adherents of the sect and their families.[96]

NEW SECT IN HSINING

However, the sect of the new religion was already rooted too deep in the minds of the Kansu Mohammedans to get rid of it by crushing two revolts and killing many people. In 1789 a small group of adherents to the sect were discovered among the Mohammedans in Hsining by the officials. They held meetings and created disturbances in the Mohammedan colony. They were captured, a number of them killed with their families, the rest exiled to Ho Lun Chiang by order of the emperor.[97] 174x 745 [798]

The sect of the White Lotus religion had already spread in five provinces in 1796. It would still last seven years before it would be quelled. In 1798 a strong group of 12,000 rebels invaded East Kansu in the third moon, parted in two groups and started devastating and plundering the country. All available troops were ordered to come to the rescue of the Shensi and Kansu troops. T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun went with 300 Monguor soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu went with his soldiers of the old religion (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu also went to the rescue and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*a*). The remaining t'u-ssu protected the borders of Huangchung along the Yellow River. 175x 795 579 648

In the seventh moon of 1800 the country was at peace (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 59–61). Huangchung 175x 579

[96] Both revolts are summarized according to *Annals* of Kansu 47: 1–3. J. J. M. De Groot, *Sectarianism and religious persecution in China*, 311–327, sq., Amsterdam, Muller, 1903. Commandant d'Ollone, *Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois*, 229, sq., Paris, Leroux, 1911.

[97] J. J. M. De Groot, *op. cit.*, 327.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

again had escaped devastation, but East Kansu had borne for the third time the brunt of the revolt.[98] 175x 579

In 1806 tremendous rains ruined the districts of Chang Hsien, Ming Chou, and Leang Tang. Inundations of the Yellow River followed in the southern part of East Kansu. Cattle were drowned, many villages no longer existed, and the poor and destitute Tibetan tribes started plundering the country. T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-ming was sent in 1807 to Ch'i Chia Chai to guard the banks of the Yellow River where the people were used to crossing it, in order to prevent inroads of starving, pillaging people into Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 46*a–b*).

TIBETAN REVENGE UPON THE MONGOLS OF KOKONOR

In 1822 a revolt of twenty-three Tibetan tribes broke out in the regions of Hsun Hua and Kuei Te. The Mongols in 1509 had invaded Kokonor, the pasture grounds of the Tibetans. They had occupied the best pastures and relegated the Tibetans to poor and small pastures, or annihilated them entirely. This situation had lasted until 1726 when each tribe became the proprietor of the grounds it occupied, but the Khoshots were favored by the fact that they remained the proprietors of the large and best pastures stolen from the Tibetans in 1509. The glorious period of the Khoshots was at a very low ebb and the Tibetans deemed the opportunity at hand to recover their old pastures, to chase the hated, enfeebled Mongols and to occupy the pastures on the northern borders of the Yellow River which were in the hands of the Khoshots. 175x 628

A long period of devastation and murder succeeded. The Tibetan lama Chaghan Nom-un Khan was one of the leaders of the revolt. Many Khoshots left the country. The revolt spread rapidly. Many Tibetan tribes of the Kanchow and Yung Ch'ang and Liangchow regions joined the revolt and plundered the lands of the Mongols. Those of Liangchow attacked Mongol tribes in Sung Shan and stole 4,000 cattle, those of Kanchow plundered the Uighur tribes in the vicinity of the city, etc. The whole country was upset: the army was in a hurry. Except for an inroad in Tatung and one in Hsiao Hsia, Huangchung was not devastated. The officials removed from the lama the tribes he controlled. The revolt was not quelled until 1854, after thirty years. No notes are recorded concerning the movement of Monguor troops against the revolting Tibetans (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 62*a–b*).

The empire had a bad time, for in the meantime revolts raged unchecked in the provinces of middle and north China. A new uprising of the White Lotus sect had started in 1831. The sect continued its ravages and destruction under new names. The revolt was followed in 1850 by the insurrection of the Taiping, which 175x 579 795

[98] J. J. De Groot, *op. cit.*, 363, sq.

[P. 65(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

lasted until 1864, during which 20 million people of Kiangsu province were killed. Simultaneously the Nien Fei sect (mounted brigands) started its ravages in 1850. This revolt ended in 1868, having devastated the same provinces of the empire. 175x 795 579

In Turkistan the Mohammedan Chang Ko Erh revolted in 1826. He conquered Turkistan and in 1828 the city of Suchow in North Kansu, situated along the well-known trade road to Central Asia. The regular troops of Liangchow, Kanchow, and Hsining were moved in a hurry to cope with the invasion which threatened to overrun Kansu. The Monguor troops had not been called to come to the rescue of the army. However, T'u-ssu Lu had sent grain to Suchow to feed the hungry troops. He was rewarded with the button of the second degree worn on the cap (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The long exhausting war of China with the Jungars ended in 1857 and a new Mohammedan uprising broke out in Turkistan in 1864. It lasted until 1876 and conquered the entire region of the Tarim basin. 175x 648 [703] [579]

REVOLT OF THE EAST KANSU AND HUANGCHUNG MOHAMMEDANS, 1860–1873

The revolt is summarized according to the *Annals* of Kansu 47: 4 sq. 175x 795

In 1859 the Mohammedan Ma-ha-pu-tu revolted in the eastern suburb of the city of Ho Chou in East Kansu. The revolt was soon quelled. The reason for the revolt is not noted. 579 628

In 1860 the Salars of Hsun Hua in East Kansu and those of Pa Yen Jung in Huangchung revolted in combination with the Mohammedans of the Shensi province, far more numerous than the Salars. A group started plundering in the Ho Chou region, and a group (that of the Salars of Pa Yen Jung who lived in Huangchung south of the subprefecture of Nienpei, north of the Yellow River) invaded the southern valleys of Hsining.

In 1861 these groups, drawing near Hsining, were put to flight by the commander Chao Erh-hsun, but they popped up in the eastern valley of Hsining, burning, destroying villages, and killing many people. The local militia could not withstand their fierce attacks.

In 1862 the rebels having no aim beyond plunder and the satisfaction of seeing their hatred against the Chinese fulfilled, roamed in strong groups all over Huangchung and East Kansu. Every day more Mohammedans of Kansu joined their groups. The lamas, Nangso, and Tibetans fought with the army. Some groups were victorious; some suffered hard reverses. The Salar t'u-ssu of the four upper and lower groups submitted with the Shensi Mohammedans in Tsa Pa Ch'eng. The suspicious officials nonetheless accepted their surrender, because the Nien Fei and Fa Fei brigands roamed in the vicinity of T'ungkuan, and they

[P. 66(A)]

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were afraid these brigands would join the rebel Mohammedans. 175 795

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Hsing-nan was ordered to join the troops of General Fan Pei-lin and guard the passes of Cha Ssu Kuan and Ch'ing Ling nao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). T'u-ssu Ch'i Ch'eng-kao joined the army, fighting the rebels on the passes (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a*). T'u-ssu Chao Yung-li guarded the passes in Pa Yen Jung country, and was rewarded with the two-eyed peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). 579 628 [703]

T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun, having the title of brigadier general, fought with 500 of his troops around Hsining. He was helped by his nephew Lu Su-chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57, 60).

In 1863 the revolt was growing more intensive every day. East Kansu suffered tremendously.

In the tenth moon rebels of the district of Ninghsia, led by Ma Hua-lung [99] took the important city of Ninghsia by storm. The city was devastated. Many fires were set and tens of thousands of Chinese were killed. Thereafter Ma Hua-lung besieged and captured the city of Ling Chou where he killed 20,000 Chinese.

In the tenth moon Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining. For a long time dissension concerning the old and the new religion divided the Hsining Mohammedans into two camps. Governor Yu T'ung invited the Mohammedan chief Ma Wen-i to patch up the trouble and to make them desist from plundering the country. Both parties consented but a strong group of Salars and Shensi Mohammedans arrived, besieged the city, and then plundered the country. During the year 1863 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to garrison in Sheng T'ang and Ch'i-li-pu, and guard the western highway *Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*b*). [798]

In 1864 the revolt raged unchecked in East Kansu, and the city of Hsun Hua was taken by storm, followed by a tremendous massacre of the Chinese population. Another Mohammedan group attacked the city of Donkir west of Hsining, but was beaten. It invaded the Sina valley and was put to flight. Long before the attack of the city, dissension among the Mohammedans concerning the two religions had divided them into two groups. The old group was called the great group (*ta hueï*), the adherents of the new religion, the group of the flowered temple (*hua sse*). The first group disapproved of the attack on the city and called into the city 1,000 of its members from outside. The Chinese population of [563]

[99] The Moslem Ma Hua-lung, back from Turkistan, had founded a new sect in Chin Chi Pu in the prefecture of Ninghsia. He claimed to have received revelations from Allah. The people honored him as an equal of Mohammed. He was to be succeeded by his descendant after his death as chief of the sect. However, after his death, his son-in-law and his grandson struggled for the succession, and the sect parted in two groups. He did not proscribe attendance at the mosques, but he recommended praying at home, two or three families together, praying in a loud voice, with the palms of the hands turned upward. The sect spread even as far as Szechwan and Yunnan provinces (d'Ollone, *op. cit.*, 374).

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the city was grateful and ready to help them. The second group called three thousand outsiders. However, the attackers were beaten by the old group, the local militia of the Chinese population. 175x 795 579 628

In 1865 the depredation of the cities of Ku Lang, Yung Ch'ang, Shan Tan, and Kanchow, situated on the trade road to Turkistan, was wicked and ruthless. The rebels carried by storm the city of Suchow, and a terrible massacre of the population took place; 10,000 Chinese were killed. The pass of Chia Yu Kuan was captured by the rebels. At the time the rebels passed Liangchow, many Mohammedans from the vicinity fled into the city for shelter. The official, unable to put reliance on them and suspecting their connivance with the rebels, massacred them all in the city.

In the third moon the city of Hsining was besieged for a second time. The rebels were put to flight. Then they attacked the city of Donkir again. They were chased and looted several villages. At that time the dissension among the two groups had subsided. Mohammedans of Hsining attacked the city of Lao Ya Ch'eng but were beaten.

T'u-ssu Ah helped defend the city (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 49*a*). T'u-ssu Chou Hsieh-chi died on the field of battle defending the city (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*a*). T'u-ssu Hsin, after the defense of the city, disappeared in the mountains and returned only in 1886 (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 53*b*). During the whole year the Mohammedans had devastated East Kansu and Huangchung.

During 1866–1867 the attacks continued, and the army resisted in the same desultory fashion. The power of the Mohammedans was too strong and that of the army too feeble and uncoordinated. All these expeditions were in the nature of pillaging parties, which were murdering and kidnapping people, and carrying away all the valuables they could find. They stirred the bitter hatred which burned in the hearts of the Chinese against the Mohammedans, and that of the Mohammedans against the Chinese.

In 1868 the Mohammedans of Hsining again looted the Donkir region and were defeated in Shen Chung. Their chief Ah Wu was captured and killed with 1,300 of his brigands.

In the tenth moon, the new governor general of Shensi-Kansu, Tso Tsung-t'ang, appointed in 1866, arrived with his troops to quell the revolt.

In 1869–1870 the general first attacked the most important center of the uprising. He quelled the revolt of Ma Hua-lung and cleared the Ninghsia district of rebels. He acted as ruthlessly with the Mohammedans as they had behaved with the Chinese. The massacre [798] of the Mohammedans was tremendous. The stronghold of Chin Chi Pu, the center of the revolt, was burned to the ground with the defenders of the city who fought with the courage of despair. Nothing was heard of them any more. Ling Wu was taken in the same way and few defenders escaped.

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The Mohammedan population of Ninghsia was very dense. It inhabited many important villages. One village after another was destroyed but a few Mohammedans managed to escape toward Shensi or Huangchung. The army commanders of Ninghsia and the local militia, which had suffered so many reverses and lost many soldiers at the hands of the Mohammedans, were in high spirits and revenged themselves against their former oppressors. In the meantime the revolt went on in the other prefectures of Kansu-Shensi. 175x 795 579 628

In 1871 Ma Hua-lung, who had surrendered the previous year, was killed with his father, his son, brothers, and the commander of his troops. The revolt was quelled in the prefecture of Ninghsia.

In the third moon the city of Lien Ch'eng, the stronghold of the Lu t'u-ssu, was attacked by the rebels. The attack failed and the rebels were put to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*b*).

In 1872, in the third moon, Tso Tsung-t'ang, leading his army, went to Hsining. The Mohammedans of Hsining, in combination with Salars and Shensi rebels, were at that time plundering the country, killing people, and converting their villages into fortresses, in expectation of attacks from the Chinese army. Tso Tsung-t'ang followed the tactics he had successfully used in Ninghsia, and before long he had the situation in hand. In combination with the Hsining troops he cleared the country, destroying the villages of Mohammedans one after another, and killing all the Mohammedans he could lay hand on. The figure of those killed ran into the ten thousands. More than 100 villages had been destroyed. The Mohammedan population of the Hsining country was very dense. This fact gives an insight into the power of the Mohammedans in the country, and the difficulty for small armies assigned to defend definite countries, and, without coordination among them to cope with the situation. [798]

In the seventh moon the general moved to Lanchow to recommence the same tactics, annihilating the strongholds, killing and demoralizing the rebels.

In the eleventh moon several thousand Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining again. Among them were Salars of the two Salar t'u-ssu from Hsun Hua, the four upper and lower kungs, Mohammedans from Shensi province and from the suburbs of Hsining. The situation in Hsining seems to have been critical, for troops were sent by General Tso Tsung-t'ang from Lanchow. The troops could not cross the Tat'ung River, the boats having been burned by the rebels. The T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng, living on the borders of the river, immediately called his people to prepare a floating bridge, and the troops arrived on time in Hsining. The army administered a crushing defeat to the rebels, destroyed the Mohammedan suburb of Hsining, and the massacre followed. Then the local Mohammedans sued for peace and surrender in concert with the Salars. The officials suspected their faithfulness. They retired

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and started plundering again. They were pursued, and 175K
3,000 among them were killed. The remaining Salars 795
fled to Pa Yien Jung and the surrender of the Hsining 579
Mohammedans was accepted. The Hsining revolt was 628
quelled. The Mohammedans had suffered tremendous losses.

In 1873, in the first moon, the troops recovered the subprefecture of Tat'ung and cleared the country in the same ruthless way. For many months the army had tried to recover the city of Suchow, situated on the trade road to Turkistan. In the Suchow area the Mohammedan population was very dense. Troops were sent from Lanchow and Hsining, but did not succeed in the action. Finally, in October, Tso Tsung-t'ang himself arrived with more troops from Lanchow. In November the city was recovered, the country cleared, and the Mohammedan population of the whole country massacred.

The same year the cities of Hsun Hua and Ho Chou were recovered and the country cleared. The number of the slaughtered Mohammedans in the cities and the surrounding villages was tremendous. Huangchung and East Kansu were pacified. Both Chinese and Mohammedans had borne the brunt of the revolt, and suffered equally.

During this last revolt, 1860–1873, a relatively few [624] number of notes are encountered concerning the role played by the t'u-ssu and their troops. The fact is quite understandable. Mohammedan groups were running all over the whole country, and the forces of the regular army were insufficient to cope with the situation on a large scale. The t'u-ssu had to protect their own strongholds and fortified villages which sheltered their subjects, in the way the officials had to protect the cities with their population. Huangchung had suffered terribly and the destroyed villages and cities told the tale. The Monguors had had a bad time, but comparatively few had lost their lives, having hid and resisted the rebels in the strongholds of their t'u-ssu. The loss of cattle, houses, etc., was tremendous.

For the second time dissension concerning the old and new religion had caused a terrible revolt. The fanatic Salars, as well as the Chinese Mohammedans, had been responsible for all the harm suffered in Kansu and Shensi. However, every time their revolt had been on the brink of disaster, both groups forgot their dissension about religion and together fought fanatically their common enemy, the army of the hated Chinese.

REVOLT OF MOHAMMEDANS IN 1895–1896

During the revolt of the Mohammedans in 1860–1873, many cities and villages of Huangchung had been devastated and many, many thousands of Chinese and Mohammedans killed. During the following twenty-two years, the country had more or less recovered from the disaster, when a new revolt of the Mohammedans

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broke out, as terrible as the preceding, and forecasting anew many days and nights of black despair. The news of a revolt of the Mohammedans was enough to cause a feeling of awe all over the country. 175x 795 579 628

This time the revolt started in Hsun Hua in East Kansu where, in 1762, Ma Ming-hsin, coming back from a pilgrimage, had founded his new religion. It was caused by dissension among the Mohammedans of Hsun Hua concerning the old and new religions. Han Mu-li was the leader of the old religion group, and Han Ssu the leader of the new religion group. Fifty thousand Salars prepared to join the revolt. In Hsun Hua, at that time, there was a garrison of only five to six thousand soldiers.

The viceroy of the provinces of Shen Kan Yang, Ch'ang-chun, was informed. Immediately he ordered the commanders of Kanchow, Hsining, and Turkistan to move their troops around the Hsun Hua region, in order to encircle the revolt (*Annals* of Kansu 47: 63*b*, 64*a*). The troops arrived too late, the city of Hsun Hua was already besieged by Han Mu-li and the Salars, the Mohammedans of Ho Chou, Hai Ch'eng, and Pa Yen Jung, Nienpei had already joined the revolt (*Annals* of Kansu 5: 49, 58*a–b*).

But there is another version of the cause of the revolt. The troubles arose in Hsun Hua from the dissensions related to the old and new religions, in the first moon of 1895. Then the viceroy sent Commander Lei Cheng-kuan immediately to garrison with his troops in the city of Ho Chou, in order to prevent the spread of the revolt. However, the whole region was upset on account of the misconduct of the troops of Ho Chou. Two Mohammedan leaders of Hsun Hua went to see the commander in Ho Chou, asking to put his troops in order. He killed the two leaders and then the revolt started and spread like a prairie fire. Hsun Hua was besieged by Salars, Ho Chou and Hai Ch'eng joined the revolt.

Later, the investigations of the conduct of Commander Lei Cheng-kuan disclosed that the reason for the misconduct of the soldiers of his troops had been the overdue payment of his soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 5: 42*a–b*, 43*a*).

Then followed many reverses and small successes of the Chinese troops, the flight of the besiegers of Hsun Hua in the fifth moon, and the spread of the revolt in Huangchung. In the sixth moon the Mohammedans of Hsining revolted, and with them all the Mohammedans of the whole country: Tatung and Pe-ta were besieged and captured. The Chinese troops were unable to cope with the revolt.

General Teng Tsen of Hsining asked for permission to order the enrollment of 200 soldiers of each of the tribes in the country (*Annals* of Kansu 47: 64).[100]

This note seems to point to the enrollment of the Monguor troops and their t'u-ssu, besides that of the

[100] d'Ollone, *op. cit.* 21: 299.

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Tibetan tribes. However, nowhere is recorded in this section the name of a t'u-ssu. Records about the t'u-ssu do not reach as far as 1895. 175x 795 579 628

Here we must close the chapter of the history of the Monguors during the Ch'ing dynasty, but a few words more will help one to understand the terrible devastation wrought in Huangchung during this revolt.

In the tenth moon, when the situation was completely out of hand, General Tung Fu-hsiang arrived with a strong army from Turkistan. He first went to Ho Chou and Hsun Hua, the centers of the revolt, ruthlessly murdering the Mohammedans in the way they had behaved with the Chinese. Then he pacified the Salars of Pa Yen Jung and the entire region south of Nienpei, along the northern borders of the Yellow River, all in the same bloody way. He went to Tat'ung and Pe-ta, and reached all the strongholds and fortified villages of the Mohammedans north, south, and east of Hsining, one after another, devastating the country and slaughtering the people.

In the second moon of 1896 the revolt was quelled. The remaining Mohammedans, having no way to live, fled toward Kokonor. The Tibetans and Mongols in Kokonor had been prevented from keeping in readiness to exterminate the rebels, pursued by the army. Small groups of them fled to Turkistan across the southern mountain range and submitted to the officials of Turkistan; most of them died from starvation and cold in the middle of the winter.

In 1920, traveling in the country, one encountered ruined villages and cities which told the story of both terrible Mohammedan revolts and this made it easy to understand the hatred which today still smolders in the hearts of Chinese and Mohammedans against each other in Kansu province. 175x

This first part of the book sheds light on the hopeless situation on the frontier regions during the Ming time. 175x 105

On the one hand, the uncouth Mongols were unable to organize a united front for the recovery of their lost empire: they were divided and subdivided in groups, fighting each other under the leadership of chieftains, seething with hatred and killing one another. They tumbled back into barbarism, invading the frontier regions, plundering, ravaging the country, abducting and killing the people. In Huangchung, East Kansu, and Kokonor they ruined and scattered the Tibetan tribes, reducing them to the level of slaves.

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On the other hand, the few demoralized Chinese 175x
troops, unable to cope with the situation, tried only to 105
defend the few cities and strongholds, barricading themselves behind the walls, looking at the destruction wrought around them. Their forces were too feeble to pursue mighty bands of invaders. They were afraid to enter into the barren unknown Mongolian and Tibetan countries, exposed to ambushes of enemies, to lack of food and provisions, and to extermination. The defenders of the cities had little or no communications between them as the country was too extensive. They did not muster their scattered forces to fight in pitched battles and liked better to take it easy behind the fortified walls.

All the imperial orders issued to the officers during 175x
the Ming time, as will also be read in the second section 648
of the Chronicles, enjoined them to obey their superior 105
officers and not to act independently; to send messengers to keep contact with each other; to muster troops and fight in pitched battles; not to be lazy, sitting with a wait-and-see attitude behind fortified walls; and always with threats of severe punishment for high as well as for low officers, who did not comply with the orders.

Very seldom was a new strong army sent to save a critical situation. When this happened the invaders fled, but they returned after the departure of the troops.

In these circumstances it is easy to understand that a lot of abuses must have existed among the troops garrisoned for long times in the frontier regions.

The imperial orders constantly enjoined the officers not to mix with the affairs of the civil administration, not to oppress the people, or impose taxes, exactions, etc. The people during the Ming dynasty suffered during two centuries from the inroads of barbarians, the oppression of the troops, and the maladministration of a dynasty becoming more and more effete.

In the Ch'ing dynasty the invasions of Mongols subsided a little until 1723, when bLo-bzang tan-chin launched his terrible revolt which might have caused the loss of Huangchung. Fortunately it was quelled with troops of Szechwan commanded by chiefs equal to the situation.

Then the revolts of the Mohammedans, more ruthless than those of the Mongols wrought terrible havoc, and a tremendous number of Chinese, as well as Mohammedans, lost their lives.

The Monguors had a hard time during these centuries, but remained faithful defenders of the empire.

[P. 69(B)]

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II. THE CHRONICLES OF THE LU CLAN

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Chronicles of families are important historical documents, for they record trustworthy facts not included in the official histories. 175x

In the present chronicle of the Lu clan are recorded the origin of the clan, its relations with the empire, the military art of the time, the civil and military administration, the laws of succession in the t'u-ssu family, the history of the inroads of barbarians and brigands in the country, etc.

I was happy to come into possession of these Chronicles in 1916, thanks to the kindness of General Ma K'o-ch'eng of Hsining. At that time rumors were persistently spread about the abolition of the t'u-ssu institution by the new Republic (1911). The widow of T'u-ssu Lu, a Mongol Khoshot lady, daughter of the Prince of Alashan, administered the tribe, keeping the seal, and caring for her young son. In order to ensure the succession of her son to the office of his father, she had traveled to Hsining to solicit the help of the powerful general by inviting him to be so kind as to become the boy's adoptive father, and at the same time offering him precious gifts. The general accepted the offer, and a few days later the boy arrived at Hsining to recognize the general as his father and to prostrate himself three times before him. Knowing this fact, I asked my friend the general to obtain the Chronicles for me, and so they came into my possession. [114] [597]

NATURE OF THE CHRONICLES

The Chronicles, written in Chinese, consist of two small xylographic volumes. The first one consists of two sections. The first section, only 2 pages, contains a preface and the lists of the genealogies of the chiefs of the tribe to the fifteenth generation. The second section, 52 pages, starts with a preface followed by the records concerning the imperial orders sent to the clan chiefs, the titles and promotions received by them, the inroads of barbarians and brigands into their country, and the wars in which they participated until 1850. 175x 114

The second volume, 20 pages, the third section of the Chronicles, starts with a preface and presents the biographies of the fifteen t'u-ssu who successively controlled the clan until 1850.

Both volumes start with the accession of the Ming dynasty in 1368 and end in 1850 on the death of the fifteenth ancestor of the clan. To each of the two volumes are added two pages, written in Chinese with a pencil, relating facts from 1851 to 1896 and adding the biographies of the sixteenth and seventeenth ancestors. The Chronicles of the Lu Clan given on page 74 seq. are a translation from the Chinese of the two xylographic volumes referred to above.

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II. THE CHRONICLES OF THE LU CLAN

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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AUTHORS OF THE CHRONICLES AND THE TIME OF THEIR COMPOSITION

The preface of the first section of the first volume starts: (this is) "the genealogical register RECOMPOSED by Lu Chi-hsun, descendant of the fifteenth generation fulfilling the hereditary office of commandant, with the possession of the seal, commanding the Monguor officers and the soldiers in the commandery of Chuang Lang."

Lu Chi-hsun succeeded his father in 1792, at the age of fifteen (Vol. I, section 2, 48) and died in 1850 (Vol. I, section 2, 52). Consequently the present genealogical register must have been recomposed between 1792 and 1850.

But an earlier Chronicle had been composed. Who was its author and at what time was it composed?

In the biography of the eighth ancestor, Lu Kuang-tsu, it is said that he returned to Lien Ch'eng in 1602, retiring on account of illness from the office he held in Nanking, that he composed in Lien Ch'eng the Chronicle of the family, in three sections: he started with the imperial orders, then he continued with the biographies of the ancestors, the correspondence with the court, and then he added some things of interest, particularly about the family. He died in 1607 in his mansion of Lien Ch'eng (Vol. I, sect. 2, 42; Vol. II, sect. 3, 10). Consequently the first Chronicles were composed between 1602 and 1607 in Lien Ch'eng, by Lu Kuang-tsu, and the second, by Lu Chi-hsun, were a continuation and perhaps a revision of the former ones.

In 1644 T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang, ancestor of the ninth generation and successor of Lu Kuang-tsu, was killed in Lien Ch'eng by brigands. Lien Ch'eng was destroyed, the palace burned down, and the wooden blocks used for the printing of the Chronicles disappeared in the flames (Vol. II, sect. 3, 52). After the recomposition of the Chronicles by Lu Chi-hsun wooden blocks must have been carved, if not during his lifetime, certainly during and before the end of the incumbency of his successor Ju Kao (1852–1893), because the biography of Ju Kao is not printed in the Chronicle, but is added, written in pencil, after 1850.

NOTE ABOUT THE AUTHORS OF THE CHRONICLES

Who was Lu Kuang-tsu? He succeeded to the office of t'u-ssu after the death of his brother Lu Kuang-hsien, who died without issue. Before that time, having no hope of becoming t'u-ssu, he devoted himself passionately to the study of the Chinese classics and nurtured this passion through his later lifetime. People of an inferior civilization admire the higher civilizations and endeavor to assimilate them. Nomads who conquered

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China tried to become Chinese, and the process of sinisization was always started by the chiefs. In the t'u-ssu clans of Huangchung eminent scholars are noted. Lu Kuang-tsu was of Mongol origin and adored the Chinese civilization, becoming more Confucian than the Chinese scholars themselves. In the seven biographies composed by him, an abnormal stress is laid upon the examples of filial piety, faithfulness toward the empire, and the austerity and nobility of the ladies displayed in the family of his ancestors. The examples are noted with great care and love. He was enthusiastic about the cult of the ancestors, built an ancestral hall in 1602 in Lien Ch'eng according to the principles of the Chinese scholars and fixed the rites which should be observed in the hall at the sacrifices for the ancestors. He fervently promoted the cult of ancestors among the subjects. 175x 114

No wonder that he composed a family Chronicle as a means to promote his ideal, hoping it would be read by the subjects and stimulate them to become more civilized according to the Chinese pattern. In his Chronicle nothing is noted concerning shamanism or lamaism, which were ardently practiced by the subjects. Reading the Chronicle it is useful to be conversant with the mentality of the author.

Who was Lu Chi-hsun, the author of the recomposed Chronicle? He also was a scholar, a thorough Confucianist, eager promoter and admirer of filial piety and faithfulness toward the emperor. In the biography of his father written by him, his mentality is displayed candidly and typically. He was not only a Confucianist, he was at the same time a fervent frequenter of high society. He made day and night trips to Peking to see the emperor and the splendor of the palaces. He made friendships with high officials, and was a lover of luxury, fine clothing, dinners, and songs. He had inherited these qualities from his father.

In the prefaces of the second and third sections of the Chronicles he develops the principles he recognized for their recomposition: to inform future generations about their ancestors, their glorious achievements and Confucianist virtues, in order that they might honor them and offer sacrifices to them according to the right principles; to check all the facts in order to provide posterity with authentic and genuine data; and to help the future historians with data not noted in the official history, but worth being noted.

What was the religion of Lu Chi-hsun? Was he Confucianist as well as shamanist and lamaist? Anyway he must have believed in the Living Buddhahood of his second son who controlled the monastery of Tung Erh Ku Lung which belonged to the t'u-ssu of Lien Ch'eng, and was inhabited by 500 lamas. Two other monasteries also belonged to the t'u-ssu, the Si Erh Ku Lung with 200 lamas and the Pao Nan Sse (*Annals* of P'ing fan 25a). In the city of Lien Ch'eng was a very renowned Buddhist temple belonging to the t'u-

[P. 71 (A)]

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ssu, to which was attached a lama chaplain, who every day offered incense in the temple and also in the ancestor hall to the ancestors of the Lu family. 175x 114

T'O HUAN, FOUNDING ANCESTOR OF THE CLAN

According to the Chronicles of the clan, T'o Huan is its founding ancestor. He was a member of the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty, with the title of Prince of An Ting, since 1313 (Section 1, Preface. Section 3, Biography of T'o Huan, *Yuan Shih*, Chapter 108, 3rd section 24, 27*a–b*). 175x 614

In 1368 the Ming emperor entered the capital of the Yuan, whose emperor had fled to Ying Ch'ang with the imperial family. T'o Huan, prevented from accompanying the emperor, arrived in Kansu in 1369. At the end of 1369 or the beginning of 1370, General Teng Yu was sent to invite him to see the emperor. He submitted to the Ming, and was ordered to muster his troops, and he followed General Su Ta in the war against K'uo-k'uo Timur, the last general of the Yuan. In 1375 he helped General Pu Yin to beat the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa (Dorjibal). He was invited to court to receive the congratulations of the emperor, but on account of illness he could not obey the order. He died in 1376 (Section 3, biography of T'o Huan, Section 2 and beginning of Section 3, biography of Lu Yung ch'ang and letter of concubine Yang to the emperor).

His oldest son Ah-shih-t'u succeeded him, became blind, and died in 1377. His second son, Kung-pu shih-tieh succeeded in 1378, and is recorded as the ancestor of the second generation. He fought brigands in 1403 and followed the expedition of the emperor against Ah lu t'ai in 1410, and died on the field of battle.

His oldest son Shih-chia succeeded him in 1412 and is recorded as the ancestor of the third generation, with the name Hsien. In 1414 he received from the emperor the name Lu. From that time on, the clan was called Lu clan (T'o Huan was a Mongol belonging to the Borjigin clan of Chingis, he had no family name).

The Chronicle records the history of T'o Huan, the founding ancestor of the clan, and that of the ancestors who succeeded him as chiefs of the clans. It does not pay attention to the other t'u-ssu of the clan, or to groups which branched off, even by sons of T'o Huan, or by members of the principal or lateral branches.

T'o Huan is recorded as having been appointed by the emperor chief of his tribes and controller of the territory he occupied during the Yuan time. [648 624]

The *Annals* of P'ing Fan (1739) record only the title of P'ing-chang cheng-shih of T'o Huan, without noting the title, Prince of An Ting, granted to him by the emperor, although this important fact should have been known among the Lu Monguors. Lu Kuang-tsu, renowned scholar, had already composed his Chronicles between 1602 and 1607 in Lien Ch'eng. The *Annals* bypass Ah-shih-t'u who had succeeded T'o Huan in 1377 and died in the same year, and record Kung- [114]

 [Text continues on P.72(B)]

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ANCESTORS OF T'O HUAN

Kolgan

Hu Ch'a

Hulut'ai

Yeh Pu Kan | Papala | Yeh Mei Kan

T'o Huan

Pa Chih Han | Ah Shih T'u | Kung Pu Shih Tieh

(T'o Erh Chih P'an)

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pu-shih-tieh, his younger brother, as the ancestor of the second generation without noting that he had died in 1410 on the field of battle, accompanying the emperor on an expedition in Mongolia. The *Annals* note Shih Chia as the ancestor of the third generation without recording his name Hsien, and without noting that he was given the name of Lu on account of the death of his father on the field of battle, but seem to suggest that he had been granted the name of Lu on account of his own merits. Anyway Kung-pu-shih-tieh is the ancestor of the second generation and T'o Huan is the founding ancestor of the clan.

The *Annals* of Kansu 42: 55, start with Kung-pu-shih-tieh, a member of the imperial family who led his sons and tribes to submit in 1371, and received the title of Pei fu-chang from the emperor and was ordered to settle in Lien Ch'eng. He received the title of centurion and died in 1410 on the battlefield. However, the *Annals* record that his father was T'o Huan bearing the titles of P'ing-chang Cheng-shih and the dignity of Prince of Wu Ting. In the official *Annals* of the Yuan, Pen chi 24, 27, T'o Huan is not noted on the list of princes of Wu Ting but on those of the princes of An Ting. Not Kung-pu-shih-tieh but T'o Huan according to the Chronicles of the Lu clan, submitted with his sons and tribes, at the end of 1369 or beginning of 1370. T'o Huan fought with the Ming armies in 1370 and 1375 and died in 1376. He acted as chief of the submitted clan. Kung-pu-shih-tieh succeeded only in 1378 and could not have led the tribes to submit in 1371. In the *Annals* it is not noted either that Kung-pu-shih-tieh was the ancestor of the second generation nor the founding ancestor of the clan. In the Kansu *Annals* in the articles concerning the Monguor clan is never noted the number of the ancestors who succeeded each other. Anyway Kung-pu-shih-tieh was

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a member of the imperial family of the Yuan and the son of T'o Huan.

M 175x 614

KOLGAN

T'o Huan, Prince of An Ting, is a descendant of Chingis Khan (who died in 1227), by his sixth son Kolgan, according to the Chinese sources.[1]

HM 173 643

Kolgan was the sixth son of Chingis, by his fourth wife Kulan, a Merkit beauty offered by the Merkit chief after Chingis had attacked and crushed the tribe.[2] She bore a son Kolgan. He participated in the conquest of Kipchack (Central Russia) with the Mongol princes of all the branches, under the command of Batu, and besieged the city of Ban (Riazan?) in the autumn of 1237. They stormed the city of Iga (?) where Kolgan was mortally wounded.[3]

M 175x 614

K'o Chao-Ming in *Hsin Yuan Shih* 110, 8*a*, writes: Kulan was the favorite of Chingis, who loved her son Kolgan as much as those of the Empress Borte. Kolgan is recorded as the sixth among the sons of Chingis immediately after the five sons of Empress Borte (*Yuan Shih* 107, 6*a*). Chingis, in fixing the maintenance of his sons, fixed Kolgan's share nearly equal to those of the five sons of Borte (*Yuan Shih* 95, 5). However,

[1] For the study of the study of the descendants of Kolgan, we follow the Magisterial Study of Louis Hambis, *Le Chapitre CVIII du Yüan che* (64–70) avec notes supplementaires par Paul Pelliot. Supplement au Volume 38 du *T'oung Pao*, Leiden, Brill, 1945. And also *Chapitre CVII du Yüan che* par L. Hambis. Monographies du *T'oung Pao*, 3, Tome I, Leiden, Brill, 1954. There the texts recorded in the official history of the Yuan (1369) concerning the ancestors are discussed relating to Meng wu erh shih chi by Tu Chi (1911), the Cho Keng Lu (1366), the two recent sources composed during the Republic, and the Mohammedan histories by Rashid-ed-Din and Khondemir.

[2] George Vernadski, *The Mongols and Russia*, 26, 1953.

[3] E. Bretschneider, *Médieval Recherches* 1: 315, London, 1910.

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nothing is recorded in the *Yuan Shih* relating to the appanage of Kolgan. Kolgan accompanied Chingis on the expedition in Central Asia and probably died in 1237.

HU CH'A

The son of Kolgan was Hu Ch'a, according to the unanimous testimony of all Chinese and Mohammedan sources.

On the panel recording the princes of Ho Chien, the name of Hu Ch'a is encountered (*Yuan Shih* 107, 6*a*). However, his name is not written on the list of the appanaged princes, but there the name of his son Hulut'ai is written. The date of his promotion as Prince of Ho Chien is not given either, but it is noted on the list of the sustenances and subjects allotted to the Prince of Ho Chien.

Hu Ch'a probably died in 1264.

HULUT'AI

All the Chinese sources unanimously call Hulut'ai the son of Hu Ch'a. Hulut'ai was Prince of Ho Chien, but the Mohammedan sources do not mention it. The history of the Yuan calls him "great prince" (107, 6*b*), and also Prince of Ho Chien and notes the date of his promotion (108, 4). Consequently, he was really Prince of Ho Chien, as his father Hu Ch'a had been. The name of Hulut'ai is written in Chinese in different ways and the same name is encountered among many offspring of the second son of Chingis, Chagatai (Hambis, note 60, 3).

When Kubilai was proclaimed emperor in 1260, his brother Arikboga opposed him, was proclaimed emperor also, and was followed by nearly all the princes of the East and the West. The revolt lasted for more than fifty years.

Hulut'ai received from Emperor Kubilai in 1265 the seal of Prince of Ho Chien and a gift of a thousand *tan* of grain for his destitute subjects, probably to keep him from mixing in the revolt. However, in 1277, at the time Haitu fought Kubilai, Hulut'ai, living among rebel princes, followed Haitu, but in the eighth month he left the rebels and clung again to the faction of Kubilai (*Yuan Shih* 9, 20*b*).

In the history of the Yuan neither the death nor the date of the death of Hulut'ai is noted, but he died before 1287.

THE SONS OF HULUT'AI

All the sources concerning the three first generations of the ancestors of T'o Huan, agree that Kolgan was the primordial ancestor, succeeded by his son Hu Ch'a, and grandson Hulut'ai, who was the son of Hu Ch'a. The confusion in the list of succession starts with the sons of Hulut'ai.

The oldest lists, corroborated by the Mohammedan lists and that of 1911, mention three sons: Yeh Pu Kan,

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Papala, and Yeh Mei Kan. The lists in both recent histories mention four sons: Yeh Pu Kan, Papa, Pei Ta Han, and Yeh Mei Kan. The old lists note Papa to be the son of Yeh Pu Kan. The recent lists note Papa as the brother of Yeh Pu Kan and Papala the son of Yeh Mei Kan and not his brother.

T'o Huan in the three old lists belongs to the fifth generation, in the recent lists to the sixth generation, but in all these lists T'o Huan is recorded as the son of Papala. Anyway T'o Huan is noted as a descendant of Kolgan, whether his father was the son or the grandson of Hulut'ai.

YEH PU KAN

Yeh Pu Kan succeeded to his father Hulut'ai. On all lists he is noted as the son of Hulut'ai.

To Yeh Pu Kan seems to have been granted the dignity of Prince of Ho Chien which had been bestowed upon his grandfather Hu Ch'a and his father Hulut'ai and the reason is that in the history of the Yuan (14, 17*b*) is recorded that his appanage of Ho Chien and his title of Ta lu hua ch'ih had been removed from him in 1287. It thus seems that he had inherited the title from his father and that his father had died before 1287. However, his name is not recorded in the lists of the princes with title (108, 4*a*) but only in those called "great princes" (107, 6*b*).

Also, his grandfather Hu Ch'a (107, 5*a*) is recorded Prince of Ho Chien in the official history and also in the list of the sustenance given to the princes (95, 5*a*). However, his name is not mentioned in the list of Princes of Ho Chien (108, 4*a*). Also, his father Hulut'ai is noted only as "great prince" in 107, 6*b*, but in the principal *Annals* he is recorded as Prince of Ho Chien (6, 2), with the date of the granting of the title and the seal, and also in 108, 4*a*, he is noted as Prince of Ho Chien. Does this fact suggest that only the grandfather and the father had enjoyed the title of Prince of Ho Chien and that after the death of Hulut'ai, the title had no longer been granted to Yeh Pu Kan and later successors? Or is it possible that it had already been removed from Hulut'ai after his revolt in 1277?

Anyway, Yeh Pu Kan's appanage and title were removed from him in 1287 after he had participated in the revolt against Kubilai, in which Hai Tu had lured Na Yen, descendant of Hasar, the fourth brother of Chingis, appanaged in Manchuria.

Marco Polo, at that time at the court of Kubilai, tells that Na Yen was a baptized Nestorian Christian, who in the battle against Kubilai bore a cross, but that this did not avail, because he had revolted against his lord.[4]

Before his revolt Yeh Pu Kan in 1284 had accompanied the imperial Prince Namuhan in the region of Kobdo, to inquire about the line of action of the rebellious and turbulent Mongol princes.

Many hypotheses have been suggested related to the

[4] de Mailla, *Histoire générale de la Chine* 9: 432.

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place the appanage of Yeh Pu Kan was really situated. It seems to have been north of the Altai Mountains, and north of the appanage of the descendants of Chagatai, the second son of Chingis.

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Yeh Pu Kan died in 1288.

YEH MEI KAN, PAPALA, PEITAHAN, AND PAPA

In all the lists of the descendants of Kolgan, Yeh Mei Kan is recorded as the son of Hulut'ai, except in the list of the Cho Keng Lu where he is entirely obliterated. In the history of the Yuan are encountered many Yeh Pu Kan and Yeh Mei Kan and it is not always easy to distinguish them.

In the history of the Yuan (20, 7*a*) Yeh Mei Kan the son of Hulut'ai, having simply the title of prince, is recorded as having received a silver gilded seal in 1300 and having died in 1301, and his son Papala as having succeeded him (20, 13). Hambis encounters in the same history two texts concerning Papala: one of 1286 related to an imperial gift for his destitute people, another recorded the granting of the title of "great prince" in 1314 (108, 6*b*). On p. 66 Hambis explains the discrepancies between these texts and those related to Yeh Mei Kan, and concludes peremptorily that Papala must have been the brother of Yeh Mei Kan, and not his son, but the son of Hulut'ai. In the Mohammedan lists and in *Yuan Shih hsin pien* he is also noted to be the brother.

The Cho keng lu not only notes Papala as the son of Yeh Mei Kan, but substitutes for him Peitahan, as brother of Yeh Mei Kan. However Peitahan does not belong to the group of the descendants of Hulut'ai, but to that of Chagatai, the second son of Chingis (Hambis, p. 66).

It has been noted that all the old lists of the descendants of Hulut'ai record only three sons. However, the two most recent histories printed after 1911 note four sons: Yeh Pu Kan, Papa, Peitahan, Yeh Mei Kan. Papa noted as the son of Yeh Pu Kan in all the other lists, is noted in both recent works as the brother of Yeh Pu Kan. In all the lists of the descendants of Hulut'ai, Papa is noted as having two sons: Hapin Timur and Wu T'u-sse Timur. Hambis, in his magisterial study, proves conclusively that Papa belongs to the group of the descendants of Chagatai, in which lists he is consigned with his two sons, bearing names entirely the same as those recorded in the Kolgan lists.

The Cho keng lu, in order to make the question more intricate, records the two sons of Papa not to be the sons of Papa, but of T'o Huan! In the family Chronicles, however, these names are not encountered.

T'O HUAN

All the sources, together with the family Chronicles of the Lu clan, unanimously attest T'o Huan to be the son of Papala and descendant of Kolgan in the fifth

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generation. The two most recent studies, however, claim him to be the descendant in the sixth generation, Papala being the son of Yeh Mei Kan and grandson of Hulut'ai. Anyway, T'o Huan is a member of the imperial family of the Yuan by the Kolgan branch.

It is interesting to conclude with the note that Papala had lived and died in Lien Ch'eng. In the *Annals* of Kansu and P'ing Fan, and in the Chronicles of the Lu clan, it is noted that T'o Huan, after his submission, was ordered to reoccupy the old country he had occupied during the Yuan dynasty. In the biography of T'o Huan (3rd section) it is recorded that he and his wife were buried in the ancestral cemetery of Hsi Ta-tung. Because it is called the ancestral cemetery, ancestors must have been buried there.

THE SONS OF T'O HUAN

The Chronicles of the Lu family note only two sons, Ah-shih-t'u the oldest, and Kung-pu-shih-tieh the second. The *Annals* of P'in Fan and those of Kansu, however, claim Pa chih han to be the first son of T'o Huan. In the study are noted the disastrous consequences of the submissions by T'o Huan, his first son, at the moment of the appointment of his successor as chief of the clan. In the history are noted three more sons: Hapin Timur, Wu T'u-ssu Timur and T'o-erh-chih-pa. Hapin Timur and Wu T'u-ssu Timur are proved by Hambis to belong to the line of Chagatai. T'o-erh-chih-pa (Dorjibal) is noted in Cho Kung lu as son of Pei Ta Han, in the Mohammedan sources. However, in the official history of the Yuan and the two recent historical works, he is claimed to be the son of T'o Huan. In the official history he is recorded as Prince of An Ting, without notice of the date of appointment. It is impossible that a son could have borne the title of his father during the lifetime of the father. T'o Huan died in 1376 and was still Prince of An Ting at the time he submitted to the Ming in 1368–1369. In the family Chronicle, however, are only noted the sons who succeeded to the office of supreme chiefs of the clan. It is not impossible that T'o Huan had had more sons, but that Dorjibal should have been one among them is not proved. In the family Chronicle it is noted that in 1375 T'o Huan helped General Pu Yin to beat the rebel Mongol Dorjibal, who can therefore hardly have been his son. Anyway, he did not succeed T'o Huan.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER OF THE FAMILY LU

PREFACE

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The genealogical register was composed by Lu Chi-hsun, descendant of the fifteenth generation, who filled the hereditary office of commander, with the possession

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of the seal, controlling the Monguor officials and troops of Chuang Lang. 175x 614

Families have genealogical registers as kingdoms have histories. In olden times during the Chou and Ch'in dynasties, the one hundred-twenty kingdoms each had precious books. When Ssu-Ma Ch'ien composed the Shih-chi (history) he took these books as models. The coordination of the work seemed to be so clear that future genealogical registers were built according to that model. 114

Ssu Ma-ch'ien composed the genealogical registers of the San Tai period (Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties, 2205–250 B.C.). However, from Huang Ti on, the number of generations is hard to determine, and because of this and of the length of time elapsed the registers are contradictory and not entirely reliable. The same problem exists with the genealogical list of Ou-Yang Hsiu and of Su Shih, which were highly esteemed at that time. From Hsun on, Ou-Yang records only five generations for a period of 300 years, and from Tsung on, he records eighteen generations for a period of only 140 years. Checking the list of Su, one notes the omission of Chang Shih from Chou, but we see him go as far upward as Lu-Chung and Kun-wu, and we feel once more its vagueness. It is difficult to rely entirely upon them. 175x 114

The Lu family originates from the imperial family of the Yuan. However, their genealogical register does not go back that far. It reads: "(Reverentially) we dare not to look at the emperor as our ancestor. Our family name Lu started with Lu Hsien, the ancestor of the third generation. However, our first ancestor was Prince of An Ting during the Yuan. This is recorded in the genealogical lists of the Yuan dynasty, and so there is no need to investigate it again. Those who recorded the original name would not have noted it without having proof."[5]

We start with the first section of the genealogical register.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER 175x

Primordial Ancestor	T'o Huan 601
Second generation	Kung-pu-shih-tieh 614
Two sons: Ah-shih-tu succeeded, died soon, Kung-pu-shih-tieh succeeded	
Third generation	Hsien
Fourth generation	Chien
Fifth generation	Lin
Sixth generation	Chin
Seventh generation	Tung
Two sons: Tan succeeded, died soon, Tung succeeded	
Eighth generation	Kuang-tsu
Cheng-wu son of Tan succeeded, died soon. Tung three more sons: Kuang-tsu, Kuang-hsien, Kuang-kuo; Kuang-tsu succeeded	

[5] Yuan Shih, 107, 3*b*, 6*a–b*, 24, 27*b*, 113.

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Ninth generation	Yung Ch'ang 175x
Tenth generation	Hung 601
Eleventh generation	Ti Hsin 614
Two sons: Ti Ch'eng succeeded, died soon, Ti Hsin succeeded	
Twelfth generation	Hua Lin
Thirteenth generation	Feng Chu
Fourteenth generation	Fan
Fifteenth generation	Chi Hsun
Sixteenth generation	Cho
Seventeenth generation	Ju Kao

CHRONOLOGICAL BIOGRAPHIES

PREFACE

In former times Huang Li-chou (Huang Tsung-hsi) always said that the science of the composition of chronological biographies is a distinctive branch (of history). 175x

Li Wen-chien composed the chronological biographies of Sires Fan, Han, Fu, Wu Yang, Ssu Ma, and the three Su's. The later generations admired their completeness and correctness. These men had been renowned ministers and eminent scholars.

Kingdoms have official histories. Families have chronological biographies in which men are the warp and years the woof. If the biographies cover only a few years, the collection of the material is easy. In 1643 our family met with the insurrection of Huo Chin during which (our) archives, books, law registers, and official deeds, were consumed by fires set by the brigands. A dynasty is only a fraction of the history, a single man a fraction of a generation, and an event only a fraction of the life of a single man. Weaving with the warp of men and the woof of years, collected over periods of hundreds of years, and then trying to put the events of several hundred years in a one-foot roll is difficult.

Now I summarily coordinate all the events, I record our submission (to the empire) in order to conform with the will of Heaven, I record our military successes, in order to recall the glorious achievements of the ancestors, I note the dates of the birth and the death of the ancestors, the place of their interment, in order that the ulterior generations will remember to make sacrifices to them. I eliminate all doubtful events and avoid writing unchecked facts, in order not to mislead posterity. Facts which have to be believed and are important have to be recorded and insignificant ones omitted. This is the rule of the Ch'un-ch'iu. The dates of the period of the reigns of the emperors are noted with the first day of the moon.

Now we proceed to the second section, the chronological biographies.

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CHRONOLOGICAL BIOGRAPHIES

175X

PRIMORDIAL CLAN ANCESTOR: T'O HUAN

1368. First year of the period Hung Wu. Emperor T'ai Tsung on the eighth moon enters the capital of the Yuan.

1369. The Ming captured K'ai P'ing. The Yuan emperor fled northward.

1370. In the fifth moon Su Ta captures Hsing Yuan. Teng Yu was sent to inform the tribes in the western countries about the new conditions in the empire, and to call them to submit. The ancestor T'o Huan submitted, accompanied Su Ta, conquering the northern countries and fighting K'uo-k'uo Timur in Cheng Erh Yu.

1371. Sire T'o Huan followed Su Ta, Li Wen-cheng, Feng Chen and others to fight K'uo k'uo Timur.

1375. Sire T'o Huan followed Pu Yin to fight T'o-erh-chih-pa,[8] a chief in Ho Hsi (Liangchow) and defeated him. He was invited to court. On account of illness he could not go.

1376. Sire T'o Huan died. His oldest son Ah-shih-t'u succeeded him.

SECOND GENERATION: LU KUNG-PU-SHIH-TIEH

1377. Sire Ah-shih-t'u was transferred from the commandery of Lanchow to that of Chuang Lang, with the title of centurion.

1378. Sire Ah-shih-t'u captured the rebel Tibetan chief Ta-kuan-tieh-chih and killed him. He became blind and soon died. The ancestor of the second generation Kung-pu-shih-tieh succeeded him. The imperial order he received read:

> I govern the empire, to talented men who love justice I give official duties. Kung-pu-shih-tieh, for a long time you have lived in the western country, you are able to devote yourself to the submission of the people. I appreciate your intention, I give you the title of Chao-hsin Chiao-wei and the title of centurion in charge of the troops of the commandery of Chi Ning. You will devote yourself to obeying the law and controlling the people with kindness. I hope you will respond to my desire in the office I entrust to you. Devote yourself to it.

1390. By imperial order was granted to him the use of the Ma-fu-yen (the half of a tablet having the form of a horse, the other half being deposed in the bureau of the administration; the presentation of the tablet permitted free entrance and right to call on the superior).

1402. Kung-pu-shih-tieh fought Ta-ming-pu-yen-to-shih on the territory of Liangchow. He defeated him and captured many of his followers. He went to the capital to offer captives. Emperor Ch'eng Tsung (Yung

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[8] D. Pokotilof, *History of the eastern Mongols during the Ming dynasty from 1368 to 1634*, 7, translation by Rudolf Loewenthal, Chengtu, China, West China Union University, 1947.

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Lo) ascended to the throne. He was promoted centurion in the commandery of Chuang Lang. 173

1404. Kung-pu-shih-tieh was transferred and promoted to the defense of Cheng Fan and other places.

1405. He was entrusted with the defense of Mo mo ch'eng and other places.

1409. He was ordered to move to I-chi-nai to induce the Mongols to submission.

1410. He followed the emperor on the expedition in the northern countries. He died on the battlefield in Ho-la-ho.

1411. He was buried in Ch'ing Shih Shan.

THE THIRD GENERATION: LU HSIEN

1412. Sire Hsien with the high commandant Ch'eng Huai fought the rebel Mongols Yang-ku-erh and others and captured many at Pa-li-ma. In winter he fought with commandant Liu Mu the rebel Mongol Shih T'ai in Sung Shan and killed the chief.

1414. Sire Hsien was transferred to defend Hsuan Fu and was promoted secretary commandant. On the second of the twelfth moon an imperial order arrived for the commandant of Chuang Lang to choose from the tribe 200 soldiers inured to war, to be commanded by the Lu chiliarch.

When the imperial order arrives they must leave for Hsuan Fu and await orders there. You must care for the provisions of the soldiers and the animals yourself and act according to the order.

1419. On the seventh of the third moon we received the imperial order:

I govern the empire making no distinction between subjects living inside or outside the empire. It is the old rule of the empire. You, Sire Lu, since long ago, have lived in the western country. You serve the emperor reverentially. How old are your faithfulness and sincerity, and how reliable and strong! Since I ascended the throne you have received many promotions. At present I promote you Ming Wei general and secretary commandant in the commandery of Chuang Lang. Try always to be good and to care for your subjects with more zeal. Instill in yourself the feeling of a great love in order to improve your faithfulness and zeal and to enjoy peace eternally. Pay respect to this order.

1421. Sire Hsien was transferred to the defense of Ho Chou. The twenty-ninth of the eighth moon the imperial order was received with respect.

Commander of Chuang Lang, choose in your circumscription the soldiers of the tribes, the people of the tribes and the Chinese capable of fighting as many as possible, and entrust them to the commandant Lu Hsien. Each of them must carry his weapons. On the passes along the way provisions must be delivered for the men and the animals. The first of the second moon they must reach Peking. Obey and act according to the order.

1422. Sire Lu Hsien followed the emperor on the expedition against the northern rebels. On the seventh moon he arrived at the river Han T'an and captured

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the rebel chief Ao la han. He was granted money and flowered silk. In the tenth moon he fought in T'ien Ch'eng and was again granted money. 175x

1423. The thirtieth of the seventh moon the imperial order was received:

High commander of Chuang Lang chose instantly 300 men among the soldiers, the Monguor subjects and the Chinese, to be commanded by Lu Hsien. They first have to march to Ninghsia, and there they have to accompany Duke Ning Yang, Brigadier General Ch'eng Yao, and the eunuch Wang Nan on a hunting party. Obey and act according to the order.

Sire Hsien entered the Alashan country and entrapped the Chung Yung prince, Yeh Hsien t'u-ch'ien and captured many prisoners.

In the twelfth moon the imperial order was received:

Lu Hsien, Monguor official in the commandery of Chuang Lang; immediately upon the arrival of the order you must command soldiers of the regular army; each of them must carry his weapons and ride his horse; provisions must be delivered to men and animals on the passes on the way; and on the third moon in 1424 they must arrive at Peking. Obey and act according to the order.

1424. Sire Hsien followed the emperor on the expedition against the rebels. In the seventh moon the army camped at T'u Mu Ch'uan. The emperor died. Jen Tsung ascended the throne.

1425. The fifth of the second moon Lu Hsien personally received the imperial order:

Monguor official commandant Lu Hsien, of the commandery of Chuang Lang, on the arrival of the order take immediately 260 officers and soldiers chosen from among those you formerly commanded. First go to Hsining and then together with the High Commandant Li Yin, the commandant K'ang Shu and others, go to the three wei of Han Tung, Chu Hsien, An Ting (Turkistan) and inquire about the case of the audacious brigands who plundered and killed the ambassadors on the road to Wu Sse Tsang (on the Szechwan and Tibetan borders). Inquire to what tribes they belong and order their chiefs to capture and conduct them to the capital. Be careful not to be deceived when they incriminate each other. This is the aim of the order.

In the fifth moon the emperor Jen Tsung died, and Hsuan Tsung ascended the throne.

In the seventh moon Lu Hsien participated in the expedition in Chu Hsien and other places. He killed and captured many brigands. He induced Prince Wu Ting, Sang-erh shih-chia to submit. He was promoted high secretary commandant with the promise that three generations would enjoy the favor of this title.

On the fourth of the eighth moon an imperial order arrived informing Lu Hsien, Monguor commandant in the commandery of Chuang lang:

You served reverentially my ancestor T'ai Tsung, displayed faithfulness, exercised your sincerity, zealously and intelligently expended your forces. Many times you became illustrious by glorious achievements. Successively, dignities and gifts were bestowed upon you. You received

from my late father Jen Tsung, whose tablet is honored in the ancestral temple on the place Chao and whose succession I received, an imperial order relating to the affair of the brigands of An Ting and other places who had plundered and killed the imperial ambassadors, to lead your troops to exterminate them, to bring peace in that country, and put an end to the miseries of the people. You have capably complied with the order of the emperor. Acting with zeal and courage, you led your strong troops into the den of the brigands, killing and capturing more than 1,000 men and capturing booty of 130,000 camels, horses, cows, and sheep, suppressing even the vestiges of the brigands, rendering peace to the people, so that the communications (with central Asia) might start again and no more troubles occur (on the highway). I praise your faithfulness and zeal. When I ascended the throne I appointed generals to keep peace in the frontier regions. If all of them will expend their forces in that way, peace can easily be enjoyed and great success achieved. Who among the generals of former times are equal to you? 175x

Now by special favor I send Yang Yun, chief of the ministry of civil appointments, to congratulate you.

The captives, camels, and horses have to be sent to the capital, cows and sheep have to be distributed among the officers and troops who participated in the expedition. You will soon come to court, the expenses defrayed by the empire, in order to comply with my sentiments. [23]

On the eleventh moon he obeyed and went to the capital. He received silver, flowered silk, precious trinkets, and paper money. [703]

1426. On the eleventh of the first moon the imperial order arrived at the quarters of the commandant of Chuang Lang, to choose 260 officers and soldiers who formerly served in the cavalry and put them under the command of high secretary Commandant Lu Hsien to receive training in the defense of the frontiers. They may expect to be transferred soon. Obey and act according to the order.

1427. The chief of the Tibetan Erh-chia tribe revolted but the revolt was quelled by Lu Hsien.

On the twentieth of the twelfth moon the imperial order was received:

We informed the Prince of An Ting, I p'an tan, of the An Ting commandery, the secretary commandant Ah la ch'i pa and others, concerning the mission of the eunuch Hu Hsien and others to Wu-sse-tsang. Order your 3,000 officers and soldiers to protect the ambassadors, under command of high secretary-commandant Lu Hsien and the chiliarch Li Pao-tung. They have to wait for the ambassadors on Sse ha erh ma yang. They have to encounter the ambassadors in a group. Do not disobey the order or commit errors. It is the aim of the order.

1428. The ambassadors, protected on the way, arrived at Ao Chieh Ch'uan. The Lama Cheng nan ho pa of the Erh-chia tribe had moved far away. Lu Hsien treated his troops well on the way.

The imperial order of the twentieth of the eleventh moon informed the high commandant Lu Hsien and the quarters of the commandery of Chuang Lang, to call immediately the troops which have received training.

Each of them must carry his weapons and ride his horse, provisions will be delivered at the passes. Lu Hsien will

command them. These troops and others will obey the orders of Duke Hui Ning, Li Yin of Hsining, and be at Peking for the fifteenth of the second moon (1429). On the way the behavior of the troops must be strict. Those who disobey will be punished severely. Obey and act according to the order. 175x

1429. Lu Hsien, obeying the orders went to Peking.

1430. Lu Hsien led an expedition and quelled the revolt of Ho-sse-san Chi-sse.

1434. In the ninth moon Lu Hsien fought and defeated the Mongol Wan Chih Timur. The eighteenth of the twelfth moon an imperial order is received:

Lu Hsien, first captain commandant of Shensi province, you are becoming old. During long years you expended your forces with zeal. Your name is engraved in the heart of the emperor. Now I promote you, by especial favor, assistant Tu-tu at the headquarters of the Tu-tu. You will obey the orders of the brigadier general defender of the country. You will practice more faithfulness and sincerity in order to manifest your gratefulness. Try to respond to the affectionate solicitude of the emperor. Receive this order with reverence.

1435. Emperor Hsuan Tsung died in the first moon. Emperor Yin Tsung ascended the throne.

Lu Hsien fought and defeated the rebel Pai pe ta li ma.

In the eleventh moon Lu Hsien fought Ho Shan-erh in Kanchow, beheaded the chief and captured his baggage.

1436. Lu Hsien participated in the expedition of the brigadier general Jen Li, in I-pu-la-shan. He pursued and defeated the brigands. In concert with the brigadier general Chao Nan he participated in the expedition in Ho Yun Sse. In the tenth moon the Mongol Ah t'ai t'o erh chih-pa invaded Chuang Lang. He was pursued by Lu Hsien. Nai lai-wa, one of the chiefs of the brigands was killed.

1437. Lu Hsien put to flight Tu so lo in Mi la ch'uan, captured the chiefs Pa tu so lo and Mi li ku, and more than 1,000 brigands.

1438. Lu Hsien put to flight and beat Pe ya wu in I-pu-la-shan. He was promoted to high commandment.

1445. On the second moon Lu Hsien was promoted to Piao ch'i general, and secretary commandant at the headquarters of the left army. He sent his son Chien to offer a tribute of horses at the capital. His son was promoted to Centurion.

1447. In the twelfth moon Lu Hsien, the Piao ch'i general, died. Chien, the ancestor of the fourth generation succeeded the father.

THE FOURTH GENERATION: LU CHIEN

1448. Chien defeated the Mongol brigands at Ch'a nan wu la, and was promoted to commandant.

1449. Emperor Ying Tsung was captured by the Mongols in T'u mu. Chin Ti ascended the throne.

1450. Imperial order of the twenty-sixth of the seventh moon:

Lu Chien commandant in the commandery of Chuang Lang, 175x
I order you to have strict discipline among the Monguor officers and soldiers and to defend the country with the 400 soldiers in combination with the commandant Kao and others. Train the troops continually and be kind toward them. Where troubles arise move the troops to the danger spots. Do not consider your troops as being your own, imposing on them corvées on your personal behalf, and so provoke trouble among the subjects by taxes and exactions, exciting their antipathy and neglecting the defense of the country. If you disobey you will be accused. I hope you will obey the order, be careful.

(Did a reason exist for this order and had accusations been made against him?)

1457. Emperor Chin Ti died. Emperor Ying (the liberated emperor) ascended the throne again. Lu Chien pursued and beat Mongol brigands in Chuang Lang. He was promoted to secretary high commandant.

1458. Imperial order of the twenty-fourth of the third moon, informing Lu Chien the secretary commandant:

I, emperor, consider that Hung Ch'eng situated between Lanchow and Chuang Lang, is an important place on account of the passing ambassadors, travelers and traders, and the transportation of grains. You, commandant of Monguor troops, used to defeat and kill brigands and extend your faithfulness, you enjoy the sympathy of your subjects. I order you to choose two groups of soldiers from among the Monguor troops you command or from among the Chinese troops of Chuang Lang, and to move them to Hung Ch'eng, to exercise the cavalry and defend the country. If alarmist rumors are spread, take council with the other commandants. Combine your plans and act accordingly. You will obey the orders of the brigadier general, defender of the country and of other commandants. Try by all means to be honest and just and to become more and more perfect in order to be able to control the subjects better. It is not allowed to bother the inferiors or to use the troops in your personal behalf, be provident in defending the country. If you disobey you will be punished severely. I hope you will obey the order with reverence. This is the purpose of this order.

1459. Lu Chien attacked the Mongol brigands at Wu Chao Lin, killed and captured many. He was promoted to assistant commandant. Imperial order of the twenty-fourth of the fourth moon:

Lu Chien, secretary commandant defender of Hung Ch'eng, Mongol brigands incessantly invade the country. You are capable of combining plans and killing them, your faithfulness and zeal are worth praises and admiration. By special favor I promote you to assistant commandant. As before, you will defend the country with zeal, in order to display your gratefulness and make the country peaceful. This is the aim of this order.

1461. Wang Pai made an inroad in the country of Liangchow. Lu Chien with his troops beat him and put him to flight.

1463. The Tibetan Huang-tu-erh tribe revolted. Lu Chien quelled the revolt and pacified the country.

Imperial order of the fifth of the twelfth moon:

Lu Chien assistant commandant and defender of Hung Ch'eng, as before Tibetans incessantly make inroads and

plunder. The eunuch Meng T'ai, General Wei yin, Wu Cheng, and others assembled to devise means either to induce them to submission or to exterminate them. I received the report of Meng T'ai. You will inquire which among the tribes causes troubles, and how many horse troops will be required for an expedition against it. You will submit your plan with the minutest details. At the arrival of the imperial order you will immediately choose and move the troops in full number, prepare the weapons and provisions. Each of the commandants will have to assume his responsibilities. Have council with them, related to the date to start the expedition, the way to follow, and the place where they will fight. You will wait until the arrival of the fixed date and move according to orders you will receive from Meng T'ai, Wei yin, Wu Cheng, and others. Expend your forces unanimously, pursuing the Tibetan brigands either to exterminate them or to induce them to submission and pacify the country. It is strictly forbidden to have discordances among you, and to let slip away favorable opportunities. I hope you will endeavor to obey the order. This is the aim of the order. 175×

Emperor Ying Tsung died. Hsien Tsung ascended the throne.

Imperial order of the twenty-eighth of the second moon to Lu Chien, assistant commandant and second captain in Hung Ch'eng:

At the beginning of my accession I consider your zeal and fulfillment of your office. I have to be generous according favors. I hope you will respond to my grand sentiments, exercising more and more your faithfulness and sincerity in the office I entrust to you. This is the aim of the order.

The emperor sent a gift of 200 taels and the lining and facing of silk gowns. [703]

In the winter the Tibetan Huang-tu-erh tribe revolted again. Lu Chien quelled the revolt and pacified the country.

1465. Lu Chien on account of his merits was promoted to high commandant, piao-ch'i general, Shu-tu-tu Ch'ien-shih with the function of lieutenant colonel of the left, defender of Chuang Lang.

Imperial order of the twenty-eighth of the fifth moon:

Lu Chien, high commandant, according to the decision of my councilors you are capable of combining plans and you are courageous and you have already defended Chuang Lang. Immediately at the arrival of the order, with 400 officers and soldiers you commanded before, foot and horse, Monguors and Chinese, move to Chuang Lang to defend the country, exercise the troops, repair the city walls to prevent attacks of the brigands. If alarms are reported, act according to the conditions. As formerly you will have to obey the orders of the commandant in chief of Kansu. Each time you will have to discuss the circumstances and together with the high commandant Chao Yin arrive at a decision before moving. Do not obstinately cling to your own ideas, resisting stubbornly and harming the country. Be honest and just, amend your shortcomings in order to control better your inferiors. It is not allowed to use officers and troops by imposing corvées in your own interest, and so neglect their military training and the defense of the country. It is not permitted to indulge in your whims toward your inferiors and disturb the people by taxes and exactions. If you disobey these rules you will not be forgiven. I hope you will obey reverentially. This is the aim of the imperial order.

In the eighth moon, three moons later, the imperial 175x order was sent:

Lu Chien, high commandant and defender of Chuang Lang, today reports have been sent by official defenders of Shensi province, informing that the brigand Liu Ming-hai mustering his troops invaded the country to a large extent, plundering and ravaging Ku Yuan and P'ing Liang districts. This brigand formerly has been the scourge of the country, intermittently making inroads starting from Ho T'ao. I ordered the eunuch P'ai Tang and the officials Yang Sui and Kung Chung and others to exterminate his group. Now he has become more and more audacious. Troops have to be mobilized to attack him in combination and exterminate him. Already orders are issued to the defenders of the frontiers in Yenan, Sui Te and Ninghsia to have ready horse and foot troops, to inquire about the way the brigand will take to return to his den, to organize among the commanders a communication service by means of flying couriers and to devise plans to intercept his escape route and kill him.

Receiving the imperial order, you must instantly mobilize foot and horse troops. Some among you must guard the borders of the Yellow River, separated in groups, in order to impede his crossing the river. The others have to set ambushes at strategic points obstructing his course and kill him. If you can devise other strategems it is permitted to discuss them together and put them in operation. I have been informed that the brigand disposes of 10,000 reserve troops, which in Ho T'ao block the way to the Oirats. Because elders and children follow the troops, their movements could be hampered and you may seize this opportunity to act. Care for my orders and obey. This is the aim of the order.

One moon later on the sixth of the ninth moon was received the order:

Lu Chien, high commandant and defender of Chuang Lang: the autumn is quickly passing, grass and bushes are dry, it is the suitable time to burn them and lay naked the country in order to observe better from afar the movements of the enemy.

When you receive the order, immediately dispatch groups of intelligent officers and soldiers, who according to the old customs set on fire the country outside the frontiers, when the wind blows suitably. Burn entirely naked the country along which the invasions are usually made in order to hamper the hiding of the enemy in the bushes and the setting of ambushes. Send intelligent scouts to the four corners of the country to spy on the movements of the enemy. If some rumors are heard, move instantly and act according to the conditions. Be extremely careful to avoid errors, note the burned areas, and the number of officers and soldiers entrusted with the task and send a report. I hope my order will be executed with the utmost care. This is the aim of the imperial order.

1468. Lu Chien put to flight and exterminated the brigands of Man Ssu in Ku Yuan. Imperial order of the sixth of the eighth moon:

Lu Chien, assistant chairman at the military headquarters, I order you to defend the country of Chuang Lang as before, to train the Monguor and Chinese foot and horse officers and soldiers, repair the walls of the city, to be kind to the officers and soldiers, to prevent invasion. If alarms are reported, act after deliberation with the commanders. You will continue to obey the orders of the commandant in chief and other defenders of the country. In command-

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ing soldiers do not indulge in whims, impose corvées, taxes, and exactions and provoke their antipathy. If you do not obey, the fault will not easily be forgiven. I hope you will receive the order with reverence and not be remiss. This is the aim of the order. 175*

Imperial order of the twenty-first of the eighth moon:

Lu Chien, commandant in chief and defender of Chuang Lang: the burning of dry grass and bushes is of the utmost importance to defend the country. Recently it was reported that my orders had not been executed carefully. The Mongol brigands are able to approach the frontiers, feigning to graze their herds. They may easily make inroads and ruin the people. At present I will not press for more investigations. However, the autumn is progressing, the grass and bushes are dry. It is the suitable time to burn them to have a wide view. On arrival of the order correct your remission, think of the security of the country and the invasions of the brigands. Choose some armed troops, send them outside the frontiers, conducted by centurions, chiliarchs, and commandants. Use scouts to inquire about the movements of the cavalry of the brigands, and their invasion routes. Along the routes burn naked the country when the wind blows suitably, as far as three to five days distant. Carefully burn the country at the passes and around the garrisons. When this has been executed report the name of the officers and soldiers who were charged with the duty. It is not permitted to disobey and to be remiss.

1472. Po Lu Hu and Pei Chia Sse Lan invaded the country. Lu Chien defended Yenan and Sui Te, and beat and pursued the brigands on the way to An Ting. On the way back he put to flight brigands at Huan Hsien and Ch'ing Yang Fu.

Imperial order of the fourteenth of the second moon:

Lu Chien, defender of Chuang Lang: Recently the Mongols Po Lu Hu and Pei Chia Sse Lan, who live in Ho T'ao and who made several inroads in the frontier regions, plundered the region again. In order to end this calamity and save the lives of the people, troops must be mobilized and the brigands exterminated. Immediately, deliberate with the commandant-in-chief and chairman of the military headquarters and other officials. In Chuang Lang choose 1,500 horsemen of the imperial army and 2,000 among those who are not in service at present. You yourself must command them, to control their number and weapons, to train them according to the military art and follow the orders of Wang Yueh, supreme commandant of the expedition. Move to the fixed place in groups or all together, and, uniting your forces, try to be victorious. It is not permitted to hesitate, to disobey orders, to be remiss. It is not permitted to not dare to advance, to draw back and let slip suitable opportunities. I hope you will endeavor to obey.

1474. Imperial order of the sixteenth of the first moon:

Lu Chien, commandant-in-chief and defender of Chuang Lang, the high commandant Hsuan Yü reports: According to the saying of the people who came back from the Mongols, Man Tu Lu and Po Lu Hu cross the river in the east, Pei Chia Sse Lan will cross in the north. Pei Chia Sse Lan is a shrewd brigand of the northwest. In case he crosses and goes northward, be sure he will ravage your country.

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At the moment you receive the order, organize and muster your cavalry instantly, watch the strategic points, block the roads of the brigands, and kill them. Do not hesitate a moment or let slip a favorable opportunity. If you disobey you will be punished. I hope you will look at the order with reverence. This is the reason for the order. 175X

Imperial order of the fifteenth of the eleventh moon:

Lu Chien, assistant chairman at the military headquarters (a title) and defender of Chuang Lang: the high commandant Hsuan Yu reports news of the commanders of the six commanderies of Tat'ung: the ninth of the eleventh moon, seven Mongol horsemen destroyed the great wall and crossed the frontier, shot arrows and wounded soldiers. From Pien Ti Ku it is announced that since the sixth of the tenth moon, much smoke and many tents are seen in the far distance in the northwestern direction. It seems that Pei Chia Sse Lan mustered his troops and is camping near the frontiers in order to invade and plunder the country. We have to be ready to resist the brigands. The New Year is not far away. I fear that some commandants might be remiss in their duty on account of the New Year festivities, that some might impose corvées on the soldiers, send them outside the frontiers to collect fuel, and have hunting parties to provide meat for New Year's, thereby tempting the brigands to make a sudden inroad. The losses suffered would be heavy.

I order you to control strictly the troops, to enforce the day and night watches, to keep the troops in full strength, to sharpen the weapons just as if the enemy were in front of you. When the enemy starts the invasion, inform the commandants and act according to the circumstances, attack the enemy, or consolidate the city walls, or burn the surrounding country to dispel amongst the enemy the temptation to make inroads. Try to resist the enemy and to insure the peace. I hope you will carry out your duty, remembering that peace cannot be enjoyed by taking it easy. To be entrapped in the snares of the enemy will not be forgiven. Use prudence. This is the reason for the order.

1475. An imperial order enjoins the local officials to build an honorific arch in front of the mansion of Lu Chien. The emperor sent the inscription to manifest his affection toward him. It reads: "During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and sincerity, incessantly he exercised devotedness and zeal." [703 211]

1480. Lu Chien was promoted to lieutenant colonel and defender of Hsining. Imperial order of the thirteenth of the fifth moon:

Lu Chien, assistant chairman at the military headquarters (a title not a function), I order you to fulfill the function of lieutenant colonel. You will still care for the defense of Chuang Lang and assume at the same time the defense of the country of Hsining.

You will train Chinese and Monguor foot and horse, repair the city walls, deal with officers and soldiers with kindness, prevent inroads of brigands. In time of alarm act according to the circumstances. You will still obey the orders of the commandant in chief and the Governor of Kansu. You will be honest and just, amend your shortcomings in order to command more effectively your inferiors. Do not use troops for your own interests, imposing corvées for your private use, impeding the military training and the defense of the country. Do not indulge in whims in commanding inferiors, imposing taxes and ex-

actions in order to avoid complaints. In case you disobey, the fault will not easily be forgiven. I hope you will receive the order with reverence and be attentive. This is the aim of the order. 175x

1481. To Lu Chien was granted a piece of red silk woven with red colored silk thread, also a piece of satin with dragon designs to make a gown, facing and lining included. He was promoted to vice-commander in chief of the left.

1483. An imperial order informed Lu Chien:

Today I, by special favor, promote you to be vice-commandant in chief of the left in Kansu. I received reports of the defenders, officials of Yenan and Sui Te. On the tenth moon they had spied on the Yu Yang valley at the foot of the Ching mountains and the vicinity. On the northern borders of the river numerous rows of tents and smoke were seen. To be sure, Mongol brigands are camping there. Now the river is frozen and may be crossed everywhere; it is difficult to believe that they will not invade the T'ao (Ordos) country. The report was sent to the ministry of war which, after deliberation, ordered him to notify the officials residing along the river, and especially those near the Ho T'ao regions, to mobilize the troops for the defense of the country.

After receiving the order of the ministry of war, send a report concerning your proposed execution of the order and then act according to the next order. Organize the troops under your command, train foot and horse, defend vigorously the cities and passes and the watchtowers situated along the roads from which dangers are signaled. The troops, day and night, must keep watch intensively. If brigands cross the river then the commandants will inform each other by means of flying couriers. According to the circumstances, take the offensive or stay on the defense and send a report by couriers. It is allowed to move troops according to the circumstances which develop. It is not permitted to sit, wait and see, and let favorable opportunities slip away. Offensive or defensive actions depend upon the officers of the frontiers, but plans have to be discussed before the invasion of the brigands in order to be ready to put to flight and kill the enemy and pacify the country. I know you are capable of doing that. This is my desire. I hope you will receive with reverence the order.

On the first of the seventh moon was received the order:

Centurion Lu Lin, by special favor I order you to command the officers and soldiers in Chuang Lang, in the way of your ancestors. Your ancestors controlled the country and enjoyed the sympathy of the people. Deal with the people with kindness, train the troops, repress the brigands. At the time of alarm you must obey the orders of the defenders of Kansu province and then move the troops. Later, when you have merited it, I will promote you according to the rules. You must not consider the troops as belonging to you personally (and not to the empire), impose corvées and trouble the people, indulge in whims, retain the salary of the troops, be unjust, alienate the sympathy of the people, or neglect the defense of the country. If you disobey, it will be easy to know who is responsible. Receive with reverence my order. Be not remiss. This is the aim.

1484. Imperial order of the third of the second moon:

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Lu Chien, vice-lieutenant colonel, assistant chairman of the military headquarters of Kansu, I ordered Fan Chin to act as lieutenant colonel and defender of the country. Always act in concert with him, devise plans together, and act after they have been fixed. Never be stubborn as to your own ideas or waste opportunities. I inform you in a special way to keep the seals for the time being, and the tablets (which allow free entrance at court) which Wang Yu has received before. On the arrival of Fan Chin deliver them to him. This is the reason for the order. Your son, the centurion Lu Lin, has received promotion as commandant of the Monguor troops. 175x

1486. Lu Chien was promoted Pacificator General of the Mongols and vice-chairman at the military headquarters of the left army.

Imperial order of the seventh of the third moon:

Information for the vice-chairman at the military headquarters of the left army, Lu Chien. Today I deliver to you the seal of general pacificator of the Mongols (a mere title) and the function of commandant in chief for the defense of the country of Yenan and Sui Te. Defend vigorously the cities, train the troops. In case of alarm, according to the circumstances, exterminate the brigands. The vice-lieutenant colonel, the lieutenant colonel, and others will obey you. Defend the country and the officers and soldiers will obey your orders.

Imperial order received the nineteenth of the fifth moon:

Lu Chien commandant in chief of Yenan, and Sui Te, vice-chairman at the military headquarters. I received from the defending officials of Tat'ung the report: two divisions of Mongol brigands numbering probably 10,000 men have been seen in the region of Wei-Ning and Hai Hsi. South of T'o La Ch'eng the brigands advance, plundering, forming a line as long as 70 li. They probably passed as far as 10 li from the garrisons on both sides of the Ta Ho River. I sent the report to the ministry of war and received the answer that already orders have been delivered to all the officials to mobilize the troops and to be ready strongly to resist the invaders. When we consider that these brigands had decided in Yen San Wei, to make an invasion at the time the new grass is growing, and that now they are camping near the frontiers, we may more or less guess their intention. However, it is hard to see through their duplicity. They claim they will invade the east and plunder the west, so we have to order each frontier region to keep ready.

When the order arrives, transmit instantly to your inferiors, the instructions received, prepare sufficient provisions in each village and city, instruct the vice-commandant in chief, the lieutenant-colonel and other commandants to choose troops inured to war, to feed the horses so they will be fat and strong, and examine the quality and number of the weapons. Strictly order the soldiers caring for the watchtowers to send the signals on time. Use intelligent scouts, teaching them to inquire day and night about the conditions of the country, and if they really see the brigands move their tents and approach the frontiers and seeming to prepare for an invasion, according to the news, immediately deliberate with the commandants, devise plans, dispose the troops, intercept the route of the invaders and kill them. At that time the commandants must be with their troops directing the operations and disposing the battle. The plans and the orders must be kept strictly secret. Make the victory sweeping and complete. Press the preparations. Such

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tremendous responsibility is entrusted to you by the court. Receive the imperial order with reverence. This is the aim. 175x

Imperial order of the seventeenth of the seventh moon: the same textually as those of 1466 and 1470 concerning the burning of grass and bushes.

Imperial order of the eigtheenth of the tenth moon:

Lu Chien: Today it is reported from Hsuan Fu that in the region of Yu Wei the brigands plunder the people, that six divisions of horsemen of T'o-lao-han-chih-t'o, marching in the western direction, move to the Chin Shan regions to camp. It is also reported that the troops of Hsiao Wang-tse have left the sand dunes moving toward Hsing Ho in a western direction. From Kansu it is reported that Wa la ha prepared a big army, and that Prince Ti ha li ku to wu and their scouts spy on the frontier regions. The five Tat'ung armies, according to the orders, will have to defend vigorously the passes in Ninghsia, Yenan, and Sui Te. Now the weather is cold, the ground frozen, the horses fat and strong. It is time for the brigands to make inroads. Our troops have to be vigilant, all the more because the New Year's festivities are not far off. Some among them like the New Year's festivities. Some use the troops for hunting parties and for collecting fuel, and in that way tempt the brigands to make inroads. Then the suffering of the people will be tremendous. At this time troops have to be commanded with severity, day and night they have to watch just as if the brigands were in front of them. They have to receive training and sharpen the weapons. As long as the brigands are few in number, try to put them to flight and beat them. When the group is important immediately send couriers with the news to each other, block their roads and kill them, or set ambushes and attack them. You are allowed to send troops where the danger is imminent to help each other. I hope you will fulfill your duty carefully and will not hope to gain victories barricading the city gates, sitting at ease protected by the city wall. If the country is ravaged then we will find out the culprits. This is the aim of the order.

Imperial order of the thirteenth of the eleventh moon:

Lu Chien, today I received the report of several commandants of Kansu that several groups of brigands commanded by Wa-la are camping around Hami and plan an invasion in the frontiers, and also that Uighurs (Yellow Mongols) have stolen cattle and killed people in Ch'ih Chin region and are moving eastwards. The Mongol brigands deceived us many times and their inroads are intermittent. Every year when the river is frozen they invade the country of the three commanderies. Several times they made unexpected invasions in Ho T'ao, parted into several groups, and plundered. All our precautions to defend the country have been useless most of the time. When you receive the imperial order, act according to the orders issued in former times, discuss together plans and attack together and beat the brigands. Lu Chien, send your orders to the vice-commandant in chief, the lieutenant colonel, and the commandants who share the defense of the country to muster the troops, and to prepare the weapons. Use scouts to spy in the country day and night and send to each other news about the movements of the brigands. According to the circumstances prepare to combat them in concert, to resist and kill them. If beating their vanguard you obtain a small victory, do not permit your troops to come home and let slip the opportunity to

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obtain a complete victory. I hope you will endeavor to the utmost to comply with the orders. 175×

Your son has been promoted to be secretary high-commandant on account of his merits.

1487. Imperial order of the sixteenth of the first moon:

Lu Chien, I received today the report of the eunuch Ao Hsien and other defenders of Shensi announcing that Mongols from Kokonor invaded the country of Ho Chou and Lanchow and are still camping in the Chuang Lang region. I ordered Brigadier General Peh Wang to intercept their route and kill them. Ao Hsien is on the way to clear the situation. Yenan and Sui Te are very near to the invaded countries. According to the imperial orders enjoin the vice-brigadier general, the lieutenant colonel, and other commandants to muster their troops and proceed in full haste where the brigands are plundering, to help Peh Wang and other commandants. Discuss the plan of concentrating the forces. Frighten the brigands, inflict on them a crushing defeat and make them flee back to their country. You are capable of doing that. In case you hesitate and let slip the suitable opportunity, the law is there (to punish you). Receive the imperial order with reverence. This is the aim of the order.

1488. Lu Chien begged permission to retire. The retirement was accorded. The favor was granted to honor posthumously his ancestors of three preceding generations with titles bestowed upon him.

FIFTH GENERATION: LU LIN

1489. Imperial order of the sixth of the fourth moon:

Secretary high commandant Lu Lin, by special favor I granted this promotion, more important than the previous one. You will control all the Monguor families in Chuang Lang. Since your ancestors successively have controlled the country the people have been happy. Try to deal with the people with more kindness and make them happier. Try to acquire more perfectly the military arts in order to stem better the inroads of the brigands and make the people suffer less. When alarms are reported, you have to obey the orders of the official defenders of Kansu and accordingly mobilize your troops and kill the brigands. Do not indulge in stubbornness and laziness. Consider that the troops belong to the empire. Do not impose upon them corvées and taxes in your behalf, avoid exactions, do not indulge in whims or retain the salary of the troops. Avoid injustices. Do not provoke the antipathy of the people and neglect the defense of the country. If you disobey, the culprit will easily be detected. I hope you will receive the order with reverence. This is the aim.

1490. Imperial order of the twelfth of the second moon informing Lu Lin about his transfer to Hung Ch'eng: the same text as that of 1458.

1491. Lu Lin was promoted to assistant commandant in Hung Ch'eng Tae.

1494. Lu Lin was promoted to *Yu Chi* general, to put to flight the brigands in Yung Ch'ang. Imperial order of the eleventh of the second moon:

Lu Lin, I order you to become *Yu Chi* General in Kansu, command the officers, choose 2,000 soldiers, examine their

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number, horses and weapons, camp in Yung ch'ang on the western highway (to Turkistan), train the troops and stimulate their morale. When the brigands invade the country confer with the vice-commandant in chief, Lieutenant Colonel Yen Yu about intercepting the brigands and killing them, and the pacification of the country. It is forbidden to flee with fear, causing calamities in the frontiers. Since you received this promotion by special favor, you have to be more honest than before and perfect yourself in order to deal with your inferiors with humanity, to be more courageous fighting the brigands, and to be equal to the duty entrusted to you. For all questions related to fighting and defense of the country obey as before the orders of the governor. In case you are obstinate in your ideas and do not command the troops according to the rules, and lack severity and neglect the condition of the frontiers, the fault will be ascribed to you. I hope you will endeavor to obey. This is the aim of the order. 175x

1496. Lu Lin loaned his troops to Liangchow officials to put to flight and defeat the Mongols at the foot of the Chin mountains.

1499. In combination with Liu Sheng, Lu Lin made the expedition in Chieh Chou. He captured prisoners and sent them to the capital. He received the reward of the official Man p'ao dress (with dragon designs).

1500. Lu Lin was promoted to be lieutenant colonel and defender of Chuang Lang. Imperial order of the eighth of the fifth moon:

Lu Lin, assistant high commandant, I order you to fulfill the duty of lieutenant colonel of the left and to defend Chuang Lang and other places, train Chinese and Monguor foot soldiers and cavalry, repair the city walls and prevent the inroads of brigands. At the time of alarms, according to the circumstances, take the offense or stay on the defense and pacify the country, in order that the people might attend to their duties. You are capable to do that. In all military matters obey as before the orders of the commandant in chief, the governor and defenders of Kansu, and after that mobilize your troops, avoid being obstinate in your ideas and resisting your superiors. Do not be lazy and provoke calamities in the country. Be honest and just; perfect your shortcomings in order to be more capable of commanding inferiors. Do not use the troops in your own interests and hinder their training and the defense of the country.

In case of disobedience your fault will not easily be forgiven. Receive the order with reverence. This is the aim of the order.

I promote you to be vice-commandant in chief of the left, and order you to defend Chuang Lang.

Imperial order of the twenty-sixth of the twelfth moon:

By a special favor I promote you to be vice-commandant in chief of the left and defender of the country of Kansu. Especially you will protect the highway between Kanchow, Suchow, Shan Tan, and Yung Ch'ang. In case of alarm go to the rescue, order the troops to repair the cities, the walls, and the passes, prevent and resist invasions, control Tibetans and barbarians with kindness. All military affairs concerning barbarians have to be discussed with the commandant in chief, the governor, and other commandants of the country, and then executed. Do not be obstinate, quarrel among yourselves, and act contrary to the decisions.

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Be honest, just, considerate, and accommodating in dealing 175x
with the affairs of the frontiers. I hope you will fulfill the assignment correctly. Avoid the imposition of taxes and exactions, and the complaints of the people. Receive the imperial order with reverence. This is the aim of the order.

1501. Lu Lin put brigands to flight and defeated them in Wei Chou. His son Lu Chin was promoted to be centurion.

1502. Sire Lu Chien died. When his death was announced he was awarded posthumously the title of Yung-lu Ta-fu, pillar of the empire, and chairman of the left at the military headquarters. By special favor Li Shih, the treasurer of the province of Shensi, was dispatched. The funeral oration at the sacrifice, sent by the emperor, reads:

You received from your ancestors the favor to fulfill military duties; several times you gained merits on the battlefields; incessantly you pacified the frontier regions, and eventually obtained the office of chairman of the military headquarters. By special favor, on account of illness, you were permitted to retire and care for your health.

It is normal to enjoy the happiness of an old age. How did you leave us all of a sudden? This announcement coming from so far grieves us cruelly. On account of your merits we accord you official burial and sacrifices. In case your spirit is still conscious and able to breathe the fragrance of the sacrifices, accept and enjoy them.

Imperial order of the eighth of the fourth moon: he was granted the official burial. The imperial oration at the sacrifice reads:

You have fulfilled the duty of commandant in chief and have been a first rank officer. The luster of your heroic achievements has long glittered. How is it possible that after a short illness you died so fast? The time is fleeting, the time of the burial already has arrived. By special favor we dispatch an official to preside at the sacrifices, as ever our solicitude is beneficial. If your spirits are still conscious, they may enjoy the sacrifices.

On the thirteenth of the sixth moon the hundred mourning days were completed.

1503. The thirtieth of the third moon was the anniversary of the death.

Imperial order of the tenth of the tenth moon:

Lu Lin, assistant high commandant, vice-commandant in chief of the left army, engrossed in the defense of Kansu. I examined your report, reading that your father Lu Chien, dying from illness, had left a great number of troops he commanded and families he controlled. I am fearful that the troops and the families will disperse. You report that your son Lu Chin has received an office very recently, that he is an inexperienced man and incapable of controlling the troops and the families effectively and peacefully. You implore permission to stay temporarily in Chuang Lang to control and pacify the tribes. Your solicitation is urgent. I grant you the request. I order you to stay temporarily in Chuang Lang, to command the officers and soldiers and control the families. Deal with them with kindness and provide them with what they need. Train the troops zealously, resist the brigands. In case of alarm you are permitted to mobilize the troops and kill the brigands as before. Take care of the education of your

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son so that he may become capable to succeed to the office, 175x acquire some more experience, and become a capable man enjoying the sympathy of the people. I order you to take his place. For long your reputation has been unimpeachable, your achievements on the frontiers are numerous. Later I will promote you to another function. I hope you will receive this order with reverence. This is the aim of the order.

1504. The thirteenth of the fifth moon is the third anniversary of the death of Lu Chien. The mourning is finished. A sacrifice is offered.

The sixth of the tenth moon the imperial order was received:

Lu Chin, having the function of vice-chiliarch, by special favor I order you to command the Monguor officers and soldiers of Chuang Lang as before, and to control the tribes. Your ancestors have administered the country and enjoyed the sympathy of the people. Endeavor to deal with the people with kindness, resist and suppress the brigands. When alarms are reported always obey the orders of the defenders of Kansu and then mobilize the troops. Later, according to your merits and to rules, I will promote you. It is not permitted to consider the troops as being your own. . . . [Then follow the usual recommendations.]

1505. On the fifth moon Emperor Hsiao Tsung died and Emperor Wu Tsung ascended the throne. Imperial order of the fourth of the ninth moon:

Lu Lin, assistant high commandant, and vice-commandant in chief of the left army, I have received information concerning the intermittent inroads of Mongol brigands in Chuang Lang country. The appointed defender, Lieutenant Colonel Su T'ai, is not sympathetic with the people and many affairs are neglected. I appoint the vice-commandant in chief, Pa Tsung, to the function of defender. Your whole life long, since the time of your ancestors, you have considered the defense of the frontiers as the most important duty. The capacities of your son Lu Chin have increased with the years, his education is achieved, it is time for him to gain merits, defend the empire, and continue the traditions of the family. Every time you meet incursion of the brigands, feeling in the same way as Pa Tsung, join your forces and combine together the plans. Order your son and the reliable chiefs of the tribes to command and mobilize the troops and to attack the brigands in combination with Pa Tsung, or to stay on the defense according to the circumstances, and make the people enjoy peace. The day he will have gained merits, promotions will be granted generously. Let him not sit and wait and see, avoid moving and neglect the duty entrusted to him. This is the aim of the order.

1506. When the death of Lu Lin was announced, the posthumous title of secretary chairman of the military headquarters of the left army was granted to him. The provincial treasurer of Shensi, Lieutenant Colonel Chu Tsai, was delegated with the favor of three sacrifices, according to the rites.

SIXTH GENERATION: LU CHIN

Lu Chin succeeded. He repelled the brigands in Hung Ch'eng Tse.

1507. Lu Chin was promoted to be secretary chairman of the military headquarters and received the seal of Chao Yung Chiang-chun. 175x

Imperial order of the twelfth of the fourth moon:

Lu Chin, secretary high commandant, after the death of your grandfather Lu Chien, you commanded the Monguor troops of Chuang Lang and controlled the tribes. The people were sympathetic to you during the lifetime of your father, you replaced him to command the troops with the title of vice-chiliarch. Now you succeed to the duty of your father with the title of high commandant. Because your title is of the same degree as that of the officers of the tribe, and because you accompanied your father in the expeditions in Ninghsia and other places, killed many brigands and accumulated many merits on the battlefields, I promote you. You will, as before, command the same officers, soldiers, and tribes. Endeavor to console and help the people, incessantly repel the brigands, and train the soldiers. For important affairs and mobilization of troops, obey the orders of Chang Hsun and other commandants of Kansu. Later I will be generous, rewarding your merits. Respond to the special favors granted to you, and increase the luster of faithfulness and zeal specific to your family. Be honest and just and devoted to the empire. Do not consider the troops as belonging to you, do not impose corvées and taxes, urge discipline among the officers. Do not be exacting with the people and alienate them from you. Do not neglect the defense of the empire. If you disobey, the fault will be punished. I hope you will comply with the orders with reverence. This is the aim of this order.

In the seventh moon in concert with Lieutenant Colonel Wu Yun, Lu Chin defeated the brigands in Ming Shui Hu and was promoted to be assistant high commandant.

1508. Imperial order of the twenty-ninth of the twelfth moon:

Lu Chin, assistant high commandant, succeeding to your grandfather, you commanded in his place the Monguor troops of Chuang Lang, and controlled the tribes. You received promotions on account of your merits. Now on account of your merit in Ming Shui-hu, attested by the military inspector, I confirm your previous promotion. [Then follow textually the same recommendation as in 1507.]

1509. Imperial order of the nineteenth of the fourth moon: Lu Chin reports that Mongol brigands plundered and ravaged Hui Hui Mu, that he attacked and repelled them and captured a huge booty of cows, horses and weapons.

1510. Imperial order:

Lu Chin, I received your report together with that of the eunuch Sung Lin and the defenders of Kansu, informing me that on the twelfth and the following days of the first moon, Mongol brigands invaded P'o Shan Ku, that together you attacked and beat them, beheaded 158, captured a booty of 160 camels and horses, flags and many weapons. For many years we have not met such a big victory. It proves that you have been courageous and that the Monguors obeyed the orders of their chiefs. Inquire about the merits of the officers and soldiers, about the wounded and the dead, and according to the rules reward them. I give an imperial order, praising and stimulating

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your zeal. I hope you will endeavor to. . . . This is the aim of the order. 175x

In the sixth moon he repelled the brigands at T'ung Yuen P'u.

1511. Lu Chin was promoted to be lieutenant colonel of the left army, and entrusted with the defense of Chuang Lang.

Imperial order of the twelfth of the third moon:

I promote you lieutenant colonel of the left army and defender of Chuang Lang. Train the soldiers, etc. [Textually the same recommendations concerning the behavior of the commandants follow.]

1512. The Mongols (I pu la of Kokonor) invaded the Hsining region again. Lu Chin defeated them in Ma Ch'ang Ku. He received the title of secretary chairman at the military headquarters, the official dress adorned with dragon designs, the jade cincture.

In the ninth moon he defeated the brigands in Pei Shih Ch'uan.

1514. He defeated brigands at Shih erh Miao.

1515. Tibetans in Ch'a K'u I plundered the imperial ambassadors. Lu Chin pursued and defeated them at Sha Chin Ku, and recovered the tribute stolen from the ambassadors. He received the title of assistant chairman of the military headquarters and defender of Chuang Lang and Hsining.

In the winter the Tibetans of the Huang-t'u-erh tribes plundered the tribute brought to the emperor. Lu Chin beheaded their chief at Hua Shih Ku, captured horses and came back.

1517. Lu Chin repelled Mongol brigands at Ma T'u Ho and was granted silver and pieces of silk.

1519. The emperor sent the eunuch Chao Lin with gifts, among them the Ta Ming Hui Tien and Ming Lien Ta Tien, also a gown adorned with dragon designs, jade cincture, the equipment of a horse, and a golden box containing precious stones.

1520. Mongol brigands invaded La Shan Shui Ku. Lu Chin repelled them and captured a great number of camels and horses.

1521. Mongols invaded the Chuang Lang region. Lu Chin's son Tan repelled them. In the fourth moon Emperor Wu Tsung died and Shih Tsung ascended the throne. Lu Chin because of illness implored for permission to retire. The court refused and ordered him to defend, as before, Chuang Lang and Hsining, with the titles of assistant chairman of the military headquarters and vice-commandant in chief.

1522. Imperial order of the twenty-first of the first moon:

Lu Chin, by special favor, I order you to fulfill the duty of vice-commandant in chief and defender of Chuang Lang and other places. The second captains of Hsining and Hung Ch'eng Tse must obey our orders. In time of peace train the Chinese and Monguor soldiers, repair cities, etc. Then follow the same injunctions concerning the conduct of the chief. At the end of the order we read: taxes,

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revenue affairs, and lawsuits are to be dealt with by the civil officials and not by you. [This phrase seems to open a whole horizon upon the abuses existing in the country at that time.] 175

He received the title of Yung-lu Ta-fu, assistant chairman of the military headquarters of the vanguard troops. His son Tan was promoted to be vice-centurion.

1524. Imperial order of the fourteenth of the tenth moon:

Lu Chin, assistant chairman of the military headquarters and vice-commandant in chief, defender of Chuang Lang and Hsining, and other places, at present the Mohammedan brigands revolt at Suchow. By special order I sent an eminent official to defeat and exterminate them. I ordered you to choose and mobilize troops and designate the officer commandants of the vanguard. Now I have received your report imploring permission to retire, on account of a petty illness. Considering that during your whole life you practiced faithfulness and justice, that you are renowned for courage and the combination of stratagems, I must use you in these troubled times. How do you dare to seek retirement for a petty illness? I order you to fight the brigands with all your energy, to gain merits and make the country enjoy peace and happiness. This means, comply with the important duty I entrusted to you. An imperial order has been sent to the governor to use Li Yi whom you recommended before. Liu Chia and Chang Wu approved his enrollment in the army. Having merits, he will receive his former duty. I hope you will comply with the orders with reverence. This is the aim of the order.

1525. Imperial order of the seventeenth of the third moon:

Lu Chin, today I received your report that your illness is incurable, that you are unable to command troops, and that you wish retirement. You implore the favor of the appointment of your son as chief of the clan tribes, and of a courageous and capable official to take his place for the defense of the country. All this is a proof that during your whole life you have been devoted to the defense of the country. However, considering your merits and the sympathy of the people toward you, considering that in the Chuang Lang mountains the Mongol brigands of the T'ao, feigning to graze their herds, incessantly make inroads, and that the troops have intermittently to be mobilized to protect the country, how is it possible to want retirement? By special order I praise, stimulate, and honor your devotedness. You must double your energy, faithfulness and zeal, to pacify the country and make the people happy. I hope that, considering the importance of the duty which is entrusted to you, you will comply with the order with reverence. This is the aim of the order.

Lu Chin asked to retire again and to be relieved of the defense of the country.

1527. His son Tan was ordered to control the country with the function of vice-chiliarch.

Imperial order of the twenty-sixth of the tenth moon:

Lu Tan, by special favor I permit you to command the Monguor officers and troops and administer the clan tribes. Your ancestors have, one after another, controlled the country, enjoying the sympathy of the people. Now you

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will fulfill this duty. Try to console and help the people in such a way that all of them may engage in their businesses. Train the troops incessantly; endeavor to study the military arts; prevent and repel brigandage; do not allow the people to suffer. At the time of alarms obey the order of the commandant-defenders of Kansu; mobilize the troops and kill the brigands; be obedient and do not indulge in laziness. The troops are not yours; do not impose taxes and oppress the people; urge strict discipline among the officers and soldiers; do not neglect the defense of the frontiers. If you disobey you will be punished. I hope you will comply with the order with reverence. This is the aim of the order. 175x

Imperial order of the eleventh of the twelfth moon (Lu Chin, despite the fact he had been permitted to retire, was called again to defend the country):

Lu Chin, assistant chairman of the military headquarters, I order you to defend the country of Shensi, together with the eunuch Yen Yun; to train the troops, console and help the people enjoy peace, repair the city walls, prevent and repel the brigands. For all kinds of military questions combine the plans with the eunuch Yen Yun, the intendant of the circuit, and the military inspector; and execute them after deliberation. Each of the participants at the council has to share his responsibility. At the moment of the execution it is not permitted to cling obstinately to personal views. Lu Chin, I entrust you with the duty to be honest, just, amend your shortcomings, and stabilize peace in the country. Do not indulge in greed for riches and behave unrestrainedly. I hope you will comply with the order. This is the aim of the order.

1529. Mongols invaded Chuang Lang. Lu Tan beat and put them to flight. He was promoted to be secretary chairman at the military headquarters.

1532. Imperial order of the twenty-sixth of the seventh moon:

Lu Tan, assistant commandant: I allow you by special favor to command the Monguor officers and soldiers and to control the tribes. [Then follow the typical injunctions to chief commandants.]

1533. Mongols invaded Ta La T'u Ch'uan and were defeated by Lu Tan.

1535. Lu Tan was promoted to be second captain in Shan Tan. At that time the Mongols moved southward. He asked to move to Chuang Lang.

1536. Imperial order of the thirteenth of the first moon:

To Lu Tan is granted the permission to move to Chuang Lang, command his troops and control the tribes. [Then follow textually the same injunctions given to chief commandants.]

1542. Lu Tan died. He was succeeded by Chang Wu.

1543. Imperial order of the twenty-ninth of the third moon:

Lu Chin, assistant chairman of the military headquarters in Shansi province; I ordered the vice-director and inspector of the ministry of war to cope with the problem. However nobody is able to understand the mentality of the

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Mongols and their stratagems. The conditions bode ill. 175X
You are an old general of the western frontiers and are conversant with the customs of the barbarians. Your reputation is well known among them, they fear you, you are respected on account of your faithfulness and justice. The troops of Chuang Lang are known for their courage and vigor. I order you to appeal to the governor and obey his orders. Mobilize 3,000 experienced Monguor and Chinese troops of Chuang Lang. The governor general will inspect and care for their helmets, armor, horses and weapons, salaries and provisions. Comply with this order with faithfulness. I will be generous with promotions. Do not pretend illness and miss the opportunity to gain merit. I hope you will comply with the order with respect.

1544. Lu Chin received the order to control the Monguor troops as before. Imperial order of the seventeenth of the tenth moon:

Lu Chin, I have examined your request to retire on account of illness. Already I have ordered your son Tan to command the troops. You beg again to retire. The favor I accorded to your grandfather Lu Chien to command the Monguor troops and control the tribes, I accord to you. Try to console and make happy your subjects, incessantly train the troops, make them understand the military arts, to be capable to resist, capture and kill brigands. In case of alerts you are allowed to mobilize the troops. Do not impose taxes, oppress the people, alienate their sympathy. Care for the education of your son and grandsons, make them understand what is faithfulness, in order that they may succeed you and command the tribes. Your merits on the frontiers are highly celebrated. Care for your health. Later I hope to promote you to another office.

1546. An order was sent to the local authorities to [211]
build an honorific arch in order to glorify his merits.
1556. Lu Chin died. His son Tung succeeded him.

SEVENTH GENERATION: LU TUNG

1556. On the third moon, Wang Kuang-tsu, member of the provincial treasury administration of Hsining, was sent with the imperial oration to be read at the sacrifice of Lu Chin.

Lu Chin, you inherited the office of your ancestors and succeeded them. Your talents as general of the troops were well known, and frightened the enemies. You were promoted to be lieutenant colonel. Your zeal and merits were highly celebrated. You were promoted to be first captain in the Chinese army. You begged permission to retire on account of illness. Thereafter I called you to return to defend the country. Your incessant merits caused the country to be at peace. Just at the time I was about to entrust to you important duties, your death was announced. In order to manifest my beneficent affection I grant you sacrifices and official burial. I hope your spirits in the outer world will still be able to enjoy this benefit.

On the twenty-sixth of the third moon, on the return after the burial, a sacrifice was offered.

On the fifteenth of the sixth moon, 100 days after the burial, another sacrifice was offered.

1557. On the fifth of the third moon, a year after the death, a sacrifice was offered again.

1558. On the fifth of the third moon, at the end of 175x the mourning period, a sacrifice was offered.

The treasury administration of Hsining sent Wang Kuang-tsu, with the formula of the imperial oration.

During your life you practiced faithfulness and zeal. You have been promoted to high offices. Your achievements have long been celebrated. How did you die all of a sudden? The time is fleeting, already the time of the interment had arrived. We celebrate your glorious achievements. To the former orations is added a new one and a sacrifice. I hope your spirit is still conscious and able to enjoy them and be consoled.

1560. Imperial order of the second of the eleventh moon:

Lu Tung, assistant high commandant, since your ancestors received the duty to command the troops and administer the clan tribes, the entire country has received the benefit of their protection. You succeeded your father. I order you, according to the rule used by your father, to command the Monguor troops and administer the tribes. [Then follows the same injunctions given to chiefs for the fulfillment of their duties.]

1561. The Mongols made an inroad in the west, and were repelled by Lu Tung.

1563. Mongols invaded the K'ai Ch'eng country. Lu Tung went to the rescue and beat and repelled them.

1564. In the twelfth moon Emperor Shih Tsung died and Mu Tsung ascended the throne.

1568. Imperial order of the seventeenth of the eighth moon:

Lu Tung is promoted to be high commandant. The governor, reporting about the *t'u-ssu* official of Chuang Lang, asked to apply the rules used for the ancestors and to issue an imperial order granting permission to administer the clan tribes, and to help defend the Chuang Lang country with the lieutenant colonel. Each of you must have his administrative bureau for the control of his troops. You will command the Monguor foot and horse troops, and train them unceasingly. In case of alerts, you will, according to the conditions, repel and kill the brigands. According to your merits and to the rules, you will receive promotions and rewards. Relating to the problems involving the lieutenant colonel, you will deliberate with him and make the decision, without clinging obstinately to your views and resisting stubbornly. You will obey the orders of the governor general. Relating to your subjects, provide them with what they need. Relating to the troops, remember they are not yours. Urge discipline among them. Do not impose taxes. Relating to the Tibetan problems, try to solve them yourself. Relating to major Tibetan problems, deliberate with the military administrator and act according to the law. In case of alerts do not sit down with a wait-and-see attitude and let the brigands ravage the country. If you disobey, according to the reports received from your superiors, you will be punished. Receive this order with reverence.

1569. Lu Tung in combination with Lieutenant Colonel Li Shih-wei defeated the brigands at Ho Shih Ku, and a second time at Sse Yen Chin, killing and capturing many.

1572. Emperor Mu Tsung died. Chen Tsung ascended the throne.

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1578. Lu Tung, because of illness, asked for retirement. The emperor ordered Kuang Hsien to succeed him. Kuang Hsien soon died. 175x

Imperial order of the second of the seventh moon:

Lu Kuang Hsien, commandant in Chuang Lang, from the time your ancestor administered the troops and the tribes, the entire country enjoyed the benefit of his protection. [Here again follow the injunctions given to chiefs.]

EIGHTH GENERATION: LU KUANG-TSU

Kuang-tsu pacified the Kokonor and was promoted to be secretary chairman at the military headquarters.

1583. Lu Tung died.

1584. Imperial order:

Lu Kuang-tsu, commandant of Chuang Lang, you succeeded your ancestor according to the rules applied to Lu Chin. Command the troops, administer the tribes, make the subjects happy. Our last deliberation orders you to choose among the troops 1,000 Monguor soldiers. Deliberate always with the lieutenant colonel of Chuang Lang. Train the troops. Affairs of marriage, and lawsuits related to land, among the Monguors, may be coped with by you. The appointments of officers of your troops are to be discussed by the military superiors. [Then follows again the usual injunctions given to chiefs.]

1586. Kuang-tsu was promoted to be high commandant and vice-defender of Chuang Lang. Imperial order of the thirteenth of the eighth moon:

Lu Kuang-tsu, from the time you took office the people enjoyed the benefits of your protection. After his inspection of the frontier regions, the inspector recommended that you be given the title of "assistant protector of the Chuang Lang region," in order to insure better the repression of the brigands. The ministry of war approved. By special favor, command your troops as high commandant, care for your 1,000 soldiers. The lieutenant colonel and you will have your own administrative bureau. [Then follows again the usual injunctions to chiefs.]

1587. Imperial order of the nineteenth of the seventh moon: repetition of the order of 1586.

1590. Lu Kuang-tsu was promoted to be lieutenant colonel, and cared for Hsining.

Imperial order of the twenty-sixth of the seventh moon:

Lu Kuang-tsu, vice-secretary high commandant, by special favor you will fulfill the duty of lieutenant colonel, in the capacity of major general, defender of Hsining. Repair the city walls, train the troops, be kind to the Tibetans and Mongols of Kokonor, but watch for the inroads of the northern Mongols whom, according to the circumstances, you must repel. Always cooperate with your superiors and execute their decisions.

Take with you 600 Monguor troops, go to Hsining, and in cooperation with the local troops participate in punitive expeditions and exterminate the brigands. You will be rewarded according to the reports received from your superiors. Be grateful for the distinction received, exercise your faithfulness.

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1591. Lu Kuang-tsu was promoted to vice-commandant in chief, and defender of Chuang Lang. 175x

Imperial order of the eighth of the seventh moon:

Lu Kuang-tsu, secretary high commandant, I order you to the office of vice-commandant in chief and defender of Chuang Lang. The questions relating to finances, taxes, lawsuits, and administration of the army belong to the superior officers and the officials directly appointed to collect the taxes and revenues. Do not mix in their sphere of action. [Then follow the same injunctions given to chiefs.]

1592. Lu Kuang-tsu was promoted to vice-commandant in chief of the right, and defender of Liangchow.

Imperial order of the twenty-fifth of the tenth moon:

Lu Kuang-tsu, by special favor, you are promoted to be vice-commandant of the right, and defender of Liangchow. [Then follow the typical injunctions given to the chiefs.]

Peh Pai and Peh Ch'eng-nan, father and son, invaded Ninghsia. Lu Kuang-tsu repelled them. Then in cooperation with Governor Li Yu-jen he participated in the expedition against Peh Pai. The rebels were entrapped in ambushes and killed.

1596. Lu Kuang-tsu received the office of assistant defender of Liangchow.

Imperial order of the twenty-sixth of the third moon:

Lu Kuang-tsu, secretary chairman of the military headquarters, by special favor, I order you, having the title of vice-commandant in chief of the right, to the office of lieutenant colonel and assistant defender of Liangchow. In time of peace, repair the city walls and train the troops, stimulate their ardor, cope with the affairs of the Tibetans and barbarians. In time of alerts, combine plans, fight vigorously and kill the brigands. Do not fear them. Obey the orders of the general-in-chief and the governor, do not mix with the affairs of civil officials relating to finances, taxes, lawsuits and administration of the country. Be honest, just, observe the laws, perfect yourself in order to be better able to command your inferiors. Do not be greedy about riches, impose taxes or corvées, oppress the people, or provoke their complaints. If you disobey, you will be severely punished. Be careful and attentive to the order.

1598. Lu Kuang-tsu, having the title of vice-commandant in chief, I order you to defend T'ao and Ming Chou in Shensi province.

Imperial order of the twenty-sixth of the eighth moon:

Lu Kuang-tsu, secretary chairman of the military headquarters, by special favor, fulfill the duty of vice-commandant in chief and defender of T'ao and Ming Chou, and garrison in T'ao Chou. You are allowed to transfer from one place to another the second captains of T'ao and Ming Chou, train the troops, repair the city walls and the passes. In time of alerts, according to the circumstances, fight and exterminate the brigands. If Mongols of Kokonor invade the country, call to the rescue the troops of Ming Chou and Kung Ch'ang Fu, order the second captains to unite their troops and to fight in cooperation, attacking and exterminating the brigands. After the invaders have been beaten and put to flight, send the troops

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back to their garrisons. Do not allow them to stay inactive, waste the salaries and the provisions. Deliberate with the chief commandant of the frontiers of Shensi. The lieutenant colonel and the second captains of Chieh and Wen Chou will obey your orders, and you obey the orders of the commandant in chief of Lin T'ao. At the time of alerts, you are allowed to mobilize the troops on your own account, and repel the brigands. If precautions are required for the defense of the river and the autumn conditions, help the officials of Ho Chou, Hui Hsien and An Ting. Lawsuits between the troops and the people are to be dealt with by the civil authorities. Be honest, just, observe the law, stimulate the ardor of the troops, do not be greedy and unrestrained. Your faults will be severely punished. 175x

1600. Lu Kuang-tsu was promoted to provincial commandant in chief, for the military preparations against Japan, and the training fields of the military headquarters in Nanking.

Imperial order of the seventeenth of the third moon:

Lu Kuang-tsu, secretary chairman of the military headquarters, today by special favor, I order you to be zealous in controlling the military headquarters of the left, and to fulfill the office of commandant in chief of the training fields. You will control conditions in behalf of that ministry and obey its orders. You will command the land and sea forces of the left and control the preparations against Japan. In peace time you will command the officers, stimulate the ardor of officers and soldiers, teach the military arts, make them conversant with battles on the sea, and keep the discipline strict. In time of war, you will command and mobilize according to the circumstances, the troops of Hsi Kiang and the two newly prepared land and sea divisions. According to the rules you will have deliberations with chiefs, and make known the orders to your inferiors. In cooperation with them you will fight the enemy and defend the empire. The army has to be dealt with according to the old rules. Be honest, just, faithful, and courageous in the fulfillment of the office. If you refuse the office, or are remiss, the fault will not be forgiven.

1602. Lu Kuang-tsu begged for permission to retire. It was accorded. Secretary commandant Lu Yung-ch'ang succeeded him and commanded the troops.

NINTH GENERATION: LU YUNG-CH'ANG

1607. Lu Kuang-tsu died on the fourth moon. When his death was announced he received posthumously the title of Kuang-lu-ta-fu and was granted official sacrifices and burial.

1620. Emperor Cheng Tsung died on the eighth moon. Kuang Tsung ascended the throne.

1627. Emperor Hsi Tsung died. Emperor Ch'ung Tsung ascended the throne.

1636. Lu Yung-ch'ang was promoted to lieutenant colonel and assistant defender of Chuang Lang.

1637. Lu Yung-ch'ang was promoted to commandant in chief and defender of Hsining.

1640. Lu Yung-ch'ang defended Hsining acting as vice-commandant in chief. According to his merits, he was promoted assistant chairman at the military

headquarters, and received the official dress with dragon 175x
designs, and the jade cincture.

1644. The brigand Huo Chin invaded Ho Hsi. Lu Yung Ch'ang fought the brigands, but was defeated. He retreated to Lien Ch'eng and was killed, offering his life for the empire. His son was captured and abducted.

1645. Prince Yin called to submission the people of the two rivers. On account of the faithfulness of Lu Yung Ch'ang, his nephew An was ordered to control the tribes and to command the troops ad interim.

TENTH GENERATION: LU HUNG

1645. On the sixth moon Yang, the concubine of Lu Yung Ch'ang, sent to the emperor the report:

According to the genealogical register the name of our first ancestor is not recorded, by reverence for the emperor. Our first ancestor, T'o Huan, originated from the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty. It is noted that he was Prince of An Ting, and fulfilled the duty of P'ing-chang cheng-shih. On account of the victorious armies of the great Ming dynasty, the ancestor leading his tribe retreated in Ho Hsi. He submitted and received the name of Lu and was appointed hereditary defender of Chuang Lang. This blessing, which has lasted 300 years, thanks to the protection of the ancestors, has been passed on to their descendants. Our desires to be grateful to them have not yet had the opportunity to materialize.

Unexpectedly the brigand Li Tse-ch'eng revolted, occupied the pass of T'ungkuan in Shensi and plundered and ravaged Ho Hsi for the second time. My husband Lu Yung-ch'ang, devoted to the defense of the empire, had resisted the savage brigands valiantly, and had secretly deliberated with the Monguor commandants Ch'i T'ing-chien, Li T'ien-yu and others, to unite their troops and fight the rebels. Who could have guessed that traitors, belonging to eminent families of our tribe, had joined the brigands to steal our patrimony? Cooperating with the brigands, they led them to the country and the country was ravaged. My husband died, killed by the brigands. The son of his first wife was captured and led to Sian as prisoner. To this day we do not know whether he is still living or dead. The subjects of our tribe have been divided among the traitors (just as a melon, sliced in pieces) and our properties usurped. Considering the circumstances in which the brigands have been led here, the people of the city slaughtered, my husband killed, my son abducted, I understand that they aimed at the suppression of the sacrifices for the ancestors, the seizure of our patrimony, and the usurpation of the hereditary lordship over the tribes, which they have appropriated until today.

Fortunately we have met the victorious armies of the emperor, who saves the poor and the destitute people. My husband is killed, my son abducted and the sacrifices to the ancestors completely lack incense. Humbly I dare to think of Lu An, the nephew of the first lady. On account of his youth, nobody among the lamas and laymen of the tribe is sympathetic to him.

I implore the emperor to have sympathy for the faithfulness displayed by my husband, killed by the brigands, to think of the hopelessness of the spirits of the ancestors without support, to permit Lu An to administer effectively the tribe ad interim, to restore the prosperity of our old patrimony, and to offer incense to the ancestors. After Lu Hung has been discovered and comes home, I shall

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humbly dare to send another supplication. I hope this will be beneficial to the living and provide peace to the dead. The frontier regions again will have faithful defenders, the sacrifices to the ancestors will not be offered by unauthorized men, and will not be rescinded. The genealogical register of the Lu family will not be disturbed. 175×

1648. Imperial order of the twenty-seventh of the fourth moon:

Lu An, commandant of the commandery of Chuang Lang, when the t'u-ssu submitted to the empire during the former dynasties they were promoted to be officials, commanded their Monguor troops and administered their tribes. Lu Yung-ch'ang has been killed by the brigands. It has been proven that you, Lu An, are the nephew of the first lady of Yung Ch'ang; you have implored the court to succeed. By special favor, according to the former rules, I order you to succeed to the hereditary office, to command the Monguor officers and troops, lamas, and the families of the tribes. Receive with reverence the special favor of the new dynasty. Try to comfort and bring peace to the people, to provide them with what they need. Bring concord into the tribe, repel and capture the brigands. When alerts are reported, you are allowed to mobilize your troops and kill the brigands. In major military actions, obey the orders of the governor and general of Kansu. I will promote and reward you according to the rules applied to the Chinese. Try to expend your energy with faithfulness and zeal and be grateful for the favor. Do not consider the troops as belonging to you, do not impose taxes, urge strict discipline among the troops, do not oppress the people and alienate their sympathy. Disobedience will be punished severely. This is the purpose of the order.

1650. Lu Hung returned from Wu Ch'ang.

1659. On the ninth moon Lu Hung succeeded.

1673. Lu Hung died on the eleventh of the third moon. His son Ti Ch'eng succeeded.

ELEVENTH GENERATION: LU TI-HSIN

1674. The revolt of the three ministers shook the country of the two rivers. It was the time of the revolt of Wu San-Kuei. The city of Lanchow was recovered by Chang Yun. The widow of Lu Hung, originating from the Wang family, carried grain to the troops and offered horses. She sent troops to the general in chief of the Hsining troops engaged in quelling the revolt of Hsieh-erh-so. The fact having been reported, the widow received a laudatory imperial order.

1688. Ti Ch'eng, still young and without issue, died on the twenty-first of the first moon. The nephew of Hung, Ti Hsin, succeeded.

1699. Ti Hsin, commanding his troops, beat and put to flight the Jungar brigands.

1718. Ti Hsin asked for retirement. On the ninth moon his son Hua Lin succeeded.

TWELFTH GENERATION: LU HUA-LIN

1719. Revolt in Kokonor of the Tibetan Ta-wa-chien shan pa, Hua Lin participated in the expedition and was promoted lieutenant colonel.

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1721. Hua Lin participated in the expedition against the Kuo Mi tribes and saved the garrison of Je Yueh Shan. 175x

1723. Hua Lin, under command of General Nien Keng-yao, quelled the revolt of the Hsieh-erh-so tribes in the region of Chuang Lang. He captured the chief, Ho Mu Shan, and six others, attacked and captured their city of Shih Pao Ch'eng, killed hundreds of brigands and captured sixty. He attacked the Ao Lo tribes and others and accepted their surrender.

1724. In the spring, Hua Lin garrisoned with his troops in Ta Ying Wan; the country was at peace. In the fourth moon under command of General Yueh Chung-ch'i, he captured the remnants of the Tibetan rebels and killed many. In the fifth moon, the revolt of Tibetans was quelled. In the fifth moon by imperial order, the eight Tibetan Hsieh-erh-so tribes were granted to him as his subjects.

In the seventh moon he participated in the expedition with General Yueh Chung-ch'i, against bLo-bzang tan-chin, and was granted silver and pieces of silk.

1730. By imperial order, Hua Lin sent half of his troops to colonize the region of Ch'ih Chin.

1731. On the first moon Hua Lin, on account of his merits, received the emoluments of lieutenant colonel, the peacock plume, the *man p'ao* (dress with dragon designs) and the office of major of the right division of the regular troops in Hsining.

1732. Feng Chu, son of Hua Lin, received the title of lieutenant colonel and colonized the country of Pu Lung Chi and others.

1736. Hua Lin went to the capital. He received the imperial order to fulfill the duty of lieutenant colonel of the cannonier division at Sian. Then he was transferred to Kanchow, with the function of lieutenant colonel of the division for the defense of the city.

1739. Hua Lin received the office of general in chief in Yung Ch'ang, and commandant in chief in Liangchow.

1742. Hua Lin finished the question of the tributes, offered by the barbarians of the Suchow regions.

THIRTEENTH GENERATION: LU FENG CHU

1744. In the twelfth moon his son Feng Chu succeeded.

1764. The permission to succeed his father was renewed.

FOURTEENTH GENERATION: LU FAN

1765. Fan received with reverence the official diploma of his succession.

1781. On the fourth moon, the Mohammedans of Ho Chou revolted and besieged Lanchow. Fan, commanding his troops, fought in Luan Ku Tung P'ing and was severely wounded. However, he was able to move his troops to Sha Mi Shan, and to block the retreat of the

rebels. After the revolt was quelled, he received a laudatory imperial order, the peacock plume with coral button on the cap, pieces of silk and satin, and silver. 175x [203]

1784. On the fourth moon revolt of the Yen Ch'a Hui (Mohammedans) Fan again defended Lanchow, the capital of the province. After the revolt was quelled he received gifts from the emperor, and money to be distributed among the soldiers.

1785. Fan asked for permission to call on the emperor at the capital. The permission was granted. On account of illness he could not move. Again he received silk and satin.

1786. On the tenth of the eleventh moon he called on the emperor. On the twenty-first of the twelfth moon he saw the emperor at the Ying Hua Tien, and was granted the peacock plume and coral button, dresses, and precious trinkets.

1787. On the fifteenth of the eleventh moon, Fan died. His son Chi Hsun being too young to succeed, his mother the noble dame Sun kept the seals (administered the tribes).

1791. The Chinese army fought the Kokonor rebel K'uo Erh K'o. The widow sent a million pounds of fuel for the troops in Donkir.

1792. On the seventh of the first moon an imperial order was received, which reported a letter written by the widow to the emperor.

The Lady Lu Sun, caring for the seals of the t'u-ssu of Chuang Lang, reports: Learning that the army was quelling the revolt of K'uo Erh K'o, I was happy to send a million pounds of fuel for the army. The young t'u-ssu carried the fuel to Donkir. T'u-ssu Lu Fan of Chuang Lang during his life expended his forces participating in punitive expeditions. After the revolt of the Mohammedans was quelled, I rewarded him with the peacock plume. Now the lady Lu Sun, his wife, learning that the troops were fighting the rebel K'uo Erh K'o, prepared and sent a million pounds of fuel to the army. The t'u-ssu lady of the frontiers, understood faithfulness and justice. She is to be praised. I reward her with two pieces of satin. To her son, Chi Hsun, though he is only fifteen years of age, I give permission to succeed to the hereditary office of t'u-ssu, with the title of commandant, and reward him with the peacock plume in order to manifest my beneficial commendation toward you. Receive with reverence this imperial order.

FIFTEENTH GENERATION: LU CHI-HSUN

1797. On the seventh of the eleventh moon, my father was buried in Shang Hsiang T'ang.

1799. On the twentieth of the second moon the noble dame Sun died. She was buried next to her husband in Shang Hsiang T'ang, on the fifteenth of the tenth moon.

1801. On the nineteenth of the first moon was born Chou, the oldest son of the first lady.

1809. Chi Hsun asked through his superior, permission to go and congratulate the emperor at the capital, on the anniversary of his fiftieth birthday. He received

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the report of Huo Tu-t'ung, Governor of Shensi and Kansu provinces. 175x

I received the imperial order, reading "for anniversaries of the fiftieth birthday, the rule of felicitating is not used." No need for him to come to the capital to display his solicitude. Later when the rules of felicitating will be performed, the t'u-ssu may send his supplication to come to the capital, through your hands. Then you will report again, and after deliberation the permission will be accorded. Receive the order with respect.

1819. Imperial order of the seventeenth of the first moon:

Lu Chi Hsun, t'u-ssu of Chuang Lang, asks for permission to come to the capital to present his congratulations, for my anniversary of sixty years of age. It is the proper time and the t'u-ssu desires to come. I agree. According to the rules in former times, the trip of the t'u-ssu to the capital was defrayed by the empire. He will come along the way of the couriers, but notice that I do not order the t'u-ssu and others to come to the capital. I order the t'u-ssu to travel with the T'u-lu-fan, Mohammedan prince of the second degree, and with the Mohammedan prince of the second degree of Hami. They will arrive at Je Ho Erh, on the first of the eighth moon. After having called the emperor, having done the prostrations and presented the congratulations, they will return to Kansu. Receive this order with reverence.

On the nineteenth of the fifth moon Chi Hsun left. On the tenth of the eighth moon he arrived in Je Ho Erh. On the twelfth he met the emperor in the lion garden. He was granted slices of dry deer meat, spiced with pepper and ginger. On the thirteenth, the emperor was so kind as to accept his two beautiful horses and the products of the country. He accepted them all. Chi Hsun was rewarded with the peacock plume and coral button, the official straw hat, the collar (worn by officials of the fifth degree), the long coat adorned with embroidered breast plates, the dress adorned with dragon designs, silk cinctures, an embroidered purse, a dagger worn at the cincture, a small coat, a long brocade dress, carpets, a horse saddle, and other things. 175x 703 431 [262]

On the fourteenth he was invited to dinner and to the comedy. He received again a collar made with silk from Ch'ang Chou in Fukien, a purse, a dagger, fringes fixed on the hats, tea, and dry fruit.

On the sixteenth he was again invited to dinner and the comedy, and received a clock and snuff box. On the seventeenth, dinner again and attendance at the comedy, and at the fireworks at night. On the nineteenth he thanked the emperor, and received two pieces of brocade, two pieces of silk from Ch'ang Chou, and six pieces of satin and a piece of dry deer meat. On the twentieth he bade farewell to the emperor. The next day he left for Kansu, with permits from the ministry of war to travel at the expense of the empire, permits for the soldiers of his retinue, and another for the passage of his cars free of toll and taxes. He was back in Lien Ch'eng on the fourth of the eleventh moon.

1824. The Mongol Khoshot, daughter of the Prince 175x

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of Alashan, arrived to marry, as first lady, Chou, the son of Chi Hsun. Chou was born in 1801. 175X

1826. The Mohammedan Chang Ko Erh revolted in Turkistan and captured four cities. The rebel was captured and brought to the capital.

1828. Imperial order:

> Lu Chi Hsun, t'u-ssu of Chuang Lang, enobled with the third degree and peacock plume, our troops have been victorious and you fulfilled many duties imposed by the army. You went to the country of Chung Wei to buy camels for the army, you acted carefully and very quickly, the order was executed with accuracy. This means devotedness to the empire. Lu Chi Hsun, I reward you with the button of the second degree, to manifest my praise and appreciation. Receive the order with reverence.

1829. A revolt broke out in Turkistan again. Lu Chi Hsun was ordered by the viceroy of Shensi and Kansu provinces, and by the bureau of provisions for the army, to buy camels and lead them as fast as possible to the troops fighting in Turkistan. On the ninth moon the revolt was quelled. Lu Chi Hsun asked for permission to go to the capital to thank the emperor. The viceroy requested the permission for him. The emperor agreed. On the twenty-sixth of the tenth moon he started on the trip. On the nineteenth of the twelfth moon he arrived at Peking. On the twenty-third he called on the emperor. From the twenty-fourth until the twenty-ninth he enjoyed dinners with the emperor and attended the comedies. He received food from the emperor.

1830. On New Year's he congratulated the emperor in the T'ai Ho Tien, had dinner, assisted at the ceremonies, and at night enjoyed the comedy on the ice in Ying T'ai. On the fifteenth he enjoyed the illumination at the Yuan Ming Yuan, and was rewarded with the peacock plume, clothes, porcelains, and foodstuffs. [703]

On the nineteenth he thanked the emperor and bade farewell.

On the twenty-eighth he moved back home, with permits from the ministry of war to travel at the expense of the empire, free from taxes and tolls for him and his retinue. On the fifth of the fourth moon he arrived at Lien Ch'eng.

On the twenty-third of the twelfth moon a grandson, Ju Kao, was born to the first lady.

1835. On the twenty-eighth of the ninth moon his oldest son, Chou, died.

SIXTEENTH GENERATION: LU K'UNG-CHAO (CHO)

Cho never succeeded his father and was never a t'u-ssu. There is no reason to call him ancestor of the sixteenth generation. He was born in 1801, married a Khoshot princess from Alashan in 1824, and died in 1835, leaving a son Ju Kao, born in 1830. At that time his father Chi Hsun controlled the troops and administered the tribes, and remained t'u-ssu until his death in 1850.

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Then the son of Cho succeeded in 1852. Nothing 175x needing to be said about Cho's achievements, an elegy in high literary style, written by his father, laments his unusual talents and virtues, which had not had the opportunity to be displayed and unfolded.

The style name of Cho was K'ung-chao. He was innately considerate and generous, his hands and face were beautiful, his eyes and eyelashes were as those painted in pictures, he was a blossom of an orchid, a bud of a cinnamon tree. He was a son of a family in which every generation had enjoyed dignities, but did not have the bad habits of sons of rich families. His parents loved him affectionately and severely watched his studies and education. They desired that he should perfect himself by means of literary studies. His desires were not limited by being a pious son only. Growing up he was strict with himself, mortifying himself. He endeavored as Shen Sheng [7] to guard his repute untarnished.

Alas he did not reach maturity, he was a flower not producing fruit (died without having produced achievements).

He was as the flower of the Canna Indica, which all of a sudden appears (and vanishes). Is it not the very nature of the jade tree (tree of science) of his former existence, which forboded that?

Alas, among the weeds (medicinal herbs), which grow all over the world, it is difficult to find (one) which makes you live again.

In some places there are cries of cuckoos (who cry upon the death of their young), but none (among these) are equal to the cries of our grieved heart.

The outer world is confusing, life is uncertain.

It is a pity that my child, as the child Wu of Tse Yun (a precocious child that died at a tender age, lamented by his father Tse Yun), had been a child which lived unhappily until the age of six, but if he had lived, he would have carried on the family lineage and would have carried on great weighty achievements (and have been happy).

He possessed, between his eyes, the horn of Rhinoceros (protuberant bone between the eyes is a token of a bright intelligence, so the child was intelligent). The plumes of the phoenix, who lives near the pool, grow slowly (is said of a child whose literary talents surpass those of his father, so he should have been more intelligent than his father). The rain wanted for the flowers makes them grow in the spring, the shadow of the trees is heavy in the summer, those who have no shelter do not worry on the way (and can sit in the shadow). Creeping plants are capable of protecting their roots. (When we have a son, he may grow (spring), the parents in the middle of their lives (summer) take advantage (of the son), even those who have no shelter (who have no sustenance) do not trouble, for they have a son who will work for them, for the son protects the parents as the creeping plants protect their roots).

This child was an unusual one. At the moment of its birth, men wondered that the color of its afterbirth was purple (token of bright intelligence). When an honorable family has a son, everbody admires the yellowness of his eye brows. Now if we put together all the military and literary dignities of today, and put them all on this child, and think that (such) a child would have continued the line of the family, in which every generation had enjoyed

[7] Shen Sheng, son of Prince Hsien Kung of Chin, was falsely accused by the beloved concubine of his father of having poisoned him. He committed suicide, avoiding having to accuse the concubine and hurt his father, protecting his reputation. Couvreur-Ch'un ch'iu and Tso chuan 1: 267-268.

[P.92(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

honors, how could it be possible to console such a limitless sorrow? 175x

You, Ju Kao, his son, exert yourself and make great efforts.

1844. Ju Kao married a Khoshot princess of Alashan.

1848. During three generations, the Lu t'u-ssu family married princesses of the Prince of Alashan, prince of the first degree. The wife of Ju Kao was the niece of his mother. After a short time she died during childbirth and her younger sister succeeded as wife to Ju Kao. Both sisters were as flowers blossoming on the parterre of the mirror of Jade.

1850. On the second of the sixth moon Lu Chi Hsun died. He was buried in Hsia Hsiang T'ang on the twelfth of the tenth moon, four months after his death.

1851. On the seventh of the second moon, the wife of Lu Chi Hsun died. She was buried in Hsia Hsiang T'ang.

Here end the printed chronological biographies. Two pages in handwriting have been added, written by the son of Ju Kao, Shu, born to one of his concubines.

SEVENTEENTH GENERATION: LU WAN-CH'ING

1852. Ju Kao ancestor of the seventeenth generation, succeeded on the third of the eleventh moon.

1857. In Lanchow the capital of the province was started with the building of the mint. Ju Kao offered the wood for the construction, and contributed to the building expenses for one year. The viceroy of the province informed the emperor about his generosity. Ju Kao received a laudatory imperial order and the peacock plume of the second degree. On the eighteenth of the eighth moon, the mother of Ju Kao died (the wife of Cho).

1862. The Salar Mohammedans of Pa Yen Jung revolted. Ju Kao was ordered to choose 500 Monguor and Tibetan soldiers and officers, to join the regular army in quelling the revolt of the rebels.

On the eleventh moon the revolt was quelled. An imperial order was sent to the judicial commissioner Yang, to make known to the t'u-ssu officers and soldiers the praises manifested by the emperor for their successful achievement.

1863. Ju Kao was ordered to protect the safety on the routes to the west, and to exterminate the brigands. He was ordered to choose 500 Monguor and Tibetan officers and soldiers and to garrison them in Shan T'an Ch'i Li Ho. Ju Kao was delighted to hear the praises of the military inspectors concerning the high spirits of his troops, their good behavior and regularity, the care for the tents, kettles, weapons, salt, tea, and provisions.

1873. The rebel Mohammedans of Ho Chou and Hsining besieged the city of Hsining. The circumstances were critical. The governor of the province Liu Chin-ch'ing went to the rescue of the city. The

b:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

river of Tatung was so swollen that boats and rafts could not cross. Ju Kao spent more than 1,000 taels, calling artisans to build a floating bridge with his own wood. The army could reach Hsining in time to save the city. 175x

1874. When the revolt was quelled he was favored by a report sent to the emperor by the viceroy, explaining the circumstances of the rescue of Hsining and the recovering of the subprefecture of Tatung. Ju Kao received a laudatory imperial order and the titles of provincial commandant-in-chief, and of Courageous Patulu.

1876. On the twenty-second of the fifth moon Shu was born to a concubine of Ju Kao. Shu later succeeded as *t'u-ssu*, the first lady having no issue.

1883. Imperial order of the twelfth moon:

Lu Ju Kao, high commandant of Chuang Lang, since the t'u-ssu submitted to the empire, they have unceasingly received official duties, have commanded their troops and administered their tribes. You are the grandson of Lu Chi Hsun. According to the former rules, I order you to succeed to the hereditary office, to command the troops and administer the tribes. (Lu Chi Hsun, his father, had died in 1851. It had been said that Ju Kao succeeded in 1852, but now he received in 1883 the official nomination.) Receive with reverence this unusual favor. Try to comfort your subjects, make them happy, provide for their needs, control your subjects, prevent inroads of brigands. [Then the injunctions continue the same as the previous ones.]

1893. On the twenty-first of the third moon Ju Kao died. My father's style name was Wan Ch'ing, his posthumous title Chen Wei. He is buried in the cemetery of Shang Hsiang T'ang. (Thanks to this text we know that the writer of the additional two pages was Shu, the son of the concubine of Ju Kao who later fulfilled the t'u-ssu office.)

The wife of Ju Kao kept the seals.

1895. The twentieth of the fourth moon Shu succeeded. The wife of Ju Kao died on the eighteenth of the ninth moon.

1897. The eighteenth of the twelfth moon the noble lady was buried at Shang Hsiang T'ang (after two years).

BIOGRAPHIES (LIEH CHUAN)

PREFACE

The name Lieh Chuan started (to be used) with Ssu-Ma Ch'ien. Biographies constitute historical material. Authors in the past did not write biographies for private individuals. 175x 114

During the Tang dynasty, Han (Yu) Ch'ang-li composed the biographies of Lu Chih and Yang Ch'eng, which were incorporated in the Hsun-tsung-shih-lu. Liu Tsung-yuan composed the biography of Tuan T'ai-wei. He did not call it "chuan" but "chuang" (memoir). Li Ao composed the Chuan of Lu T'an, but Fang Pao scorned him.

[P.93(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Since the historians had lost their original profession, 175x
those appointed in the bureau of the archives became 114
the disciples of T'an Pai-lu (and no longer composed biographies). From that time on the people were compelled to compose their family biographies themselves, to fill this want. Then, among the vulgar were people who liked to spend money to glorify their ancestors (by means of biographies). Those, among those scholars, who liked to profit from their wealth, tucked up their sleeves to write. They filled pages with falsities and errors, so that their writings were untrustworthy.

In our family, from the Ming time on, each generation took up arms to defend the frontiers, our women and girls ardently practiced love for the country and justice in order to glorify (the country). However, the official history of the Ming did not record their deeds.

In what was recorded in our family history some events were confusing. Again we added (new facts) and eliminated (others). We followed the rules of the biographies in order to provide secure material to the official historians in the future. We dared not add (falsities), embellish (the facts), or deceive (the people), in order not to defile the glory of the anterior generations, and provide the descendants a text whose veracity may be checked.

We start with the third section which contains biographies.

SIRE T'O HUAN, THE ORIGINAL ANCESTOR 175x

Sire T'o Huan was a member of the imperial family of the Yuan.

In 1313 Emperor Jen Tsung bestowed upon him the dignity of Prince of An Ting. Successively, he served several emperors and was renowned for his faithfulness and zeal. During the Chih-yuan period (1335–1341) brigands arose (as numerous) as insects. At the time of the Ming Emperor T'ai Tsung, the brigands of Kansu entered the valley of the Huai. After a few years their bands were exterminated and pacified.

In 1368 Emperor T'ai Tsung sent Su Ta, Ch'ang Yu-chuan, and other commanders, to pacify the north with the army. Wherever they arrived the people met them and surrendered. Sire T'o Huan was grieved, cried and said, "The empire is lost." At that time, orders of the empire were not obeyed beyond some hundred li of both capitals. The army was inferior in number (to that of the enemy) and enfeebled, incapable of taking the offensive or of staying on the defensive. Sire T'o Huan, in cooperation with officers of the imperial guard commanding exhausted troops, day and night fortified and guarded the capital. Besides the famine and lack of food in the city, there was no hope of getting provisions or rescue. The officers stimulated the courage (of the troops) by means of the example of their faithfulness and fidelity. Everybody was happy to expend his forces.

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However, the armies of the enemy more and more distressed the troops. They pressed around the capital. Emperor Shun, the heir apparent, and the imperial grandsons fled at midnight, giving up the empire. Sire T'o Huan with some ten cavaliers, unable to follow the imperial group, roamed the country and finally arrived in Ho Hsi (Kansu). Every time he told about the former empire he cried bitterly, striking his breast. 175x

The Ming Emperor T'ai Tsung having heard about it, thought he was a faithful man, and sent a messenger to invite him to come to the place where he sojourned. When T'o Huan entered, the emperor informed him about his intentions. He consoled him several times, and said he would grant him an official office. Our ancestor bowed his head and answered: a servant of a lost empire is unworthy to receive the favors of your dynasty. The emperor (hearing that) appraised him more and ordered him to muster his tribes and control the country (he previously administered).

In 1370 K'uo-k'uo-t'ieh-mu-erh attacked Cheng-erh-yu. The ancestor followed Su Ta and defeated him. K'uo-k'uo-t'ieh-mu-erh fled to Karakorum.

In 1375 T'o-erh-chih-pa, chieftain of Ho Hsi, revolted. The ancestor, with General Pu Yin, fought and defeated his army. Only Chih Pa escaped with his life. The army returned and rewards were distributed. The ancestor was ordered to come to court. On account of illness the ancestor could not obey the order. At the end of the year he died.

His wife, the noble Lady Ma, was earnest, intelligent, and strong minded. The Tibetan Ta-kuan tieh-chih was a clever and courageous man, who could catch a galloping horse with his hands and throw arrows, hitting the target, as well with his right hand as with his left. With his younger brother he induced the Tibetans to occupy Lo Pe mountains, for robbing purposes. He killed imperial ambassadors, robbed travelers and traders. The highway was closed. The noble lady insidiously made him come over to her mansion. When he arrived a tent was pitched, red felt rugs were spread on the ground, and several maid servants clad in gauze dresses, wearing golden bracelets, playing p'i p'a and singing songs of the country, entertained the guests. When they were drunk, copper kettles were beaten and some strong hidden troops jumped out and with iron chains tied the chief, his servant, and seven more men. Awakening a little, they started moving arms and legs. The soldiers beat them half to death, cut off their heads, stuck them on poles and planted them along the Wu Chao Lin highway to make examples of them to the country. The Tibetans were frightened. The young brother of the brigand cut his throat. The lady sent troops (of the clan) to exterminate the tribes and accept the surrender of those who submitted. The country of Liangchow was at peace.

The emperor, having been informed, sent to the lady one thousand ounces of silver, precious golden trinkets,

complete sets of hairpins and earrings, four pieces of flowered silk, and ordered a mansion to be built in Lien Ch'eng, and a house of seven rooms. An inscription was sent: "she displayed fidelity." In the country of Chung-ku-erh 305 hectares of land were granted to provide for her toilette expenses. 175×

The lady died at ninety years of age and was buried in the ancestral cemetery of Hsi Ta-t'ung, next to the ancestor T'o Huan.

KUNG-PU-SHIH-TIEH, OF THE SECOND GENERATION

Kung-pu-shih-tieh was the second son of Sire T'o Huan. At the death of Sire T'o Huan, his oldest son Ah-shih-tu succeeded to the office. Having killed the brigand Ta-kuan tieh-chih, he was promoted to be first chiliarch. Soon he lost his sight and died. Sire Shih-tieh took over the office. He was a strong-minded and severe man, endowed with the qualities of his father.

In 1403 the Mongol Pu-yen Ta-shih revolted and was about to invade the country of Chuang Lang. The indignant Shih Tieh said, "This wicked wretch who inhabits the country surrendered a long time ago, and he is about to become the scourge of the country. He prepares his own ruin." The ancestor, leading more than one hundred of his tribesmen, went to the territory of Wu Wei to attack him. He beat him severely and captured seventy-two of his brigands.

At that time Emperor Ch'eng Tsung ascended the throne. It was the first year of the Yung Lo period (1403). The ancestor went to the capital to offer a tribute of horses and the captured brigands. In the eighth moon he was promoted to be centurion in the commandery of Chuang Lang, commander of his troops and administrator of his subjects. Then he was charged with the defense of Cheng Fan and Mo Mo Ch'eng, and with inducement to submission of the I Chi Nai people. Everywhere, the rewards he granted and the punishments he inflicted were severe but just. The people were afraid of him but were sympathetic toward him.

In 1410 Emperor Ch'eng Tsung himself made an expedition in the northern Gobi and ordered the ancestor to accompany him. At that time the noble Lady Ma, his mother, was old, and had also been taken ill. The ancestor could not resolve to abandon her and to leave. The lady said: "You are an official in the frontier regions. Each (of our) generation has received important favors from the emperor. How will you, preferring a private interest, harm the public interest? What is more, death and life are fixed beforehand. Shall I live because you stay with me? Shall I die because you leave me? Go! Son, you may be successful in this important affair. If I die I shall close my eyes in peace. The ancestor wiped his tears and accepted the lesson."

On the fourth moon the army camped in Wei Lu

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Cheng. The weather was hot and the camels carried water for the soldiers to drink. Pen Ya Shih Li fled. In the fifth moon he returned and camped at Yin Ma Ho. The emperor commanded the army to move to another place to fight A-lu-ti. Then it rained tremendously, the noses of the horses disappeared in the mud, and the troops were exhausted. A-lu-tai feigned to submit. The emperor commanded the ancestor to dispose the army in strict battle array and to wait. Then A-lu-tai attacked with his whole army. The ancestor courageously fought a bloody battle. His arrows killed ten or more men. The enemy encircled him, and the arrows came down on him as the rain. The ancestor, from the time he had followed the expedition until his death, during months, had not removed his cuirass and helmet. Rust was seen on the visor of the helmet, grains had germinated to grass in it. It was unusual. In the sand dunes the soldiers found the left arm of the ancestor on a finger of which adhered a jade sheath, and so it was possible to identify the ancestor. 175*

His wife was the noble Lady Li, daughter of the Hui Ning Pe, Li Yi. She arranged the burial of the noble Lady Ma. The obsequies were performed according to the rites. She remained a widow to care for the education of the orphan son. All the time she stimulated him to practice faithfulness and filial piety. Thanks to her, Sire Hsien, the ancestor, having the title of governor, could make the family illustrious.

PIAO-CH'I CHIANG-CHUN, SIRE HSIEN OF THE THIRD GENERATION

Piao-ch'i chiang-chun, Sire Hsien, was the oldest son of Shih Tieh. First he was called Shih Chia. Later, the family name having been granted (by the emperor), he changed his first name Shih Chia to Shih Tieh. At a tender age he was remarkable, fostering high aspirations. Faithfulness and sincerity were inborn in him. Not having studied military arts, his science, his combination of plans and stratagems accorded with those of this art.

In 1411, following the eunuch Wang Nan, he fought the rebel Mongols in Hsi Liang, capturing and killing many of them. On account of his merits he was promoted to be second chiliarch. In succession, he served meritoriously four emperors, Ch'eng, Jen, Hsuan, and Ying Tsung, and was promoted from secretary commandant, to assistant commandant, to secretary high commandant, to assistant high commandant, and to high commandant. He received the titles of Piao-ch'i chiang-chün, and secretary of the military headquarters of the left army. He participated in ten battles and never suffered a defeat. He was conversant with the frontier regions, his troops obeyed him and, therefore, he was successful in his actions.

In 1414 he followed the emperor in his expedition against A-lu-tai. His troops, on the river Kan-t'an, captured the rebel chieftain Ah-la-han.

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The emperor's esteem and affection for him increasing, the emperor said: 175x

In former times Tan, Duke of Chou, had made distant expeditions in the Yen Hsi countries. Prince Ch'eng appanaged him with the country of Lu. Your family submitted to the empire a long time ago. In expeditions in remote countries it gathered merits. Your brilliant achievements may be compared with those of the Duke of Chou. For these reasons I grant you the name of Lu, so that your descendants in each generation may be protectors of the frontiers and consolidate my empire.

The ancestor prostrated himself twice and obeyed.

In olden times the family names were determined by the sounds of musical tubes, in order to make them correspond with the five tones of the gamut. An appanage was granted and a name. The emperor presided at the ceremony. Later, the names of the clans became so confused that the people forgot their origin. At present some of the names are identical with those of the kingdoms. The people say that the names of the families originated from those of the kingdoms, and they do not know that they are wrong.

The name of Hsia originated from Chao Hsi of the Ch'eng kingdom, and not from the name of the Duke of Hsia. The name of Ch'i originated from Ch'i no of the Wei kingdom, and not from the name Ch'i of the Ch'i kingdom. Ch'in Chin-fu does not originate from the name of the Ch'in kingdom. The name Ti does not originate from the name Ti of Ti Ssu mi. The names in olden times originated from posthumous names, or from style names, or from names of cities, or from fulfilled incumbencies. To be sure, when people fled to another kingdom, the name of the kingdom of their origin became their name. This happened with Ch'en Ching-chung of the kingdom of Ch'i, and with Sung Ch'ao of the kingdom of Wei.

I write with the minutest details the way in which our family received its name. I will prevent later generations from misinterpreting the meaning and circumstances in which it was granted and I hope that they will be grateful for the favor bestowed by the emperor and increase the luster of the merits of the ancestors. How should we not be attentive for all eternity (not to tarnish such a glorious past) and endeavor (to be worthy of it).

During the reign of T'ai Tsung of the Ming, the Mongol academician Huo-mi-ch'ih was gratified with the name of Huo Chuang, Pa-tu-t'ieh-mu-erh with the name of Wu, Lun-tu-erh-hui with the name Ts'ai, and Pa-chou with that of Yang. They had submitted at the same time and had received varied favors. This proves the love nurtured by the emperor toward his subjects living in the remote countries, and proves that our ancestors had acquired merits for our family.

The ancestor was a nice tall man. Every time he fought the enemies his beard and mustache bristled fiercely.

His wife, the noble dame Li, was the daughter of the

Hui-ming-pe, Li Yin. She was intelligent and her needle work and cooking showed her skill. She was proficient in weaving baskets and cups, in which were poured the grains offered to the spirits. The baskets and cups were elegant and gracious and can still be seen. They are conserved and admired as benefits from her hands. 175x

The ancestor died in 1447 in the twelfth moon. When the death was announced, the court was troubled and mourned. Lang Kai was sent and ordered by the emperor to make the sacrifice. He was buried in the ancestral cemetery. To the widow was granted a fine dress, sent by the emperor.

CHIEN, SIRE CHING LU, OF THE FOURTH GENERATION

The style name of Chien, Sire Ching Lu, was K'o Ming. He was the oldest son of Hsien. In 1445 he offered a tribute of horses to the capital, and received the title of chiliarch. In 1447 he succeeded to the office (of his father who had died in 1447) with the title of assistant commandant. At the end of the year, bands of Mongol brigands gathered outside the pass of Chia Yu, in the regions of Kua and Sha Chou, and seized the opportunity (the country was poorly defended) to make inroads. Sire Ching Lu said to the eunuch Liu Yung-chou, guardian and defender of the country: "The brigands just arrived from far away. I seize the opportunity to beat them when they are tired, and shall gain a complete victory. If I wait until they have spied the conditions of our army, it would be difficult to be sure either of the victory or the defeat." The eunuch agreed. Then our troops, 1,500 in number, arrived at Ch'a-han wu-la and administered a crushing defeat. Prisoners and killed were numerous. On account of his merits, Sire Ching Lu was promoted commandant. Sire was courageous, valiant, fearless, and enterprising.

During the periods Chin T'ai and T'ien Shun (1450–1464), the signals (fires) in the watchtowers on the great wall many times announced alarm. Brigadier General Su Ching and Wei Yin, Duke of Hsuan Cheng, and others, received orders to have the troops ready. Wherever the drums were beaten the ancestor with his troops constituted the vanguard. In every battle they preceded the troops and attacked fiercely, flourishing their swords and howling ferociously. Wherever the ancestor fought he was victorious. When in the enemy army there were violent savage types, he jumped on his horse and rushed to kill them in the midst of their troops. The troops called him the fleeing general. With few troops he could beat large bands of brigands, and every time he managed to be victorious. The brigands who opposed him flew away as birds, or escaped in groves as wild animals. They were frightened of him as of a spirit.

In that way he defeated Wang Pe in Liangchow, Man Sse in Ku Yuen, and fought Pe-lo-hu and Pe-chia

sse-lu in Ho T'ao. All these victories were gained, 175x
thanks to the ancestor. The emperor relied on him as on the Great Wall.

In 1475 an order was given to build an honorific arch in front of his mansion, in commemoration of his merits. In 1486 he received the seal of General Pacifier of the Mongols. He had inborn kindness and considerateness toward the people, and did not pride himself on his merits. Upon receiving gifts he instantly shared them with his officers and his soldiers. He was especially devoted to stimulating and promoting education, and to honoring and revering scholars. He glorified our family. Starting by fulfilling humble duties, he accumulated merits to the point of being promoted General Defender of Chuang Lang, mandarin-at-large, in Huan Ch'ing, and Military Governor of Yen Chou and Sui Te. His fame lasted for more than forty years, until his death. Though this might have happened because of good fortune, his faithfulness and sincerity however have also been its cause.

In 1488, at the accession of Emperor Hsiao Tsung, he asked for retirement. In 1494 his son Chin was appointed major in Kanchow and Suchow. Because nobody was able to command the Monguor troops except the ancestor, the emperor especially ordered him (to emerge from retirement) to command them. The ancestor presented at court a memoir of several thousand words, in four articles, concerning the problems of the frontier regions relating to defense and the organization. Many times the memoir was discussed and used.

He died in 1502 from an old sore which had opened again. When his death was announced, the titles of Yung-lu Ta-fu, of pillar of the empire, and of chief of the military headquarters of the left troops were granted to him posthumously. Li Shih, councilor (of the supreme council), was sent to offer three sacrifices.

His wife was the daughter of Li Wen, Duke of Kao Yang. She was chaste and peaceful; she knew the art of educating children; she died five years before the ancestor. She received titles according to the customs (in accordance with those bestowed upon the husband). She had a daughter married to Wang Hsu, second captain in Kanchow. During the Cheng Te period (1506–1521) the almighty eunuch, who knew that she was nice and attractive, praised her beauty within hearing of Emperor Wu Tsung, who sent a special order to the eunuch Chao Lun to prepare the ritual gifts and to escort her to court. The girl refused, and said, "An unsightly girl from the frontier regions is unworthy to receive orders from the emperor. All the more the decision of a wife of the common people is not to change the husband she married. I desire you will inform the emperor that I cannot avoid the capital punishment (I prefer to die)." The eunuch answered, "The order of the emperor is strict and cannot be eluded." The girl surreptitiously took a knife and cut her throat. She

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

was grieved not to be dead. The eunuch ordered the family to guard her closely day and night. One day she seized the opportunity to burn her face with absinthe and died after many days. 175x

Alas, the father was a distinguished officer, the daughter a chaste wife. This event is significant in that it is a lesson related to the three Kang (observance of the three relations between prince and subjects, father and sons, husband and wife), and related to the five Ch'ang (the five virtues of charity, justice, urbanity, prudence, and sincerity). In that way this event is not only painful for our family (but also glorious because our family provided a model of the three Kang and five Ch'ang). I record this fact because it has to be inserted in the chapter of the glorious wives in the official history of the Ming dynasty.[8]

LIN, SIRE THE GOVERNOR, OF THE FIFTH GENERATION

The style name of Lin, sire the governor, was Shih Hsiang. He was the oldest son of Chien. He was brave, strong and had the qualities of his father.

In 1484, the ancestor Ching Lu was military governor of Yen Chou and Sui Te. The troops of his clan had no chief (to care for them, Yen Chou and Sui Te were too far from Chuang Lang). Lin was promoted centurion with golden badge, chief of the troops of the clan. At that time the Mongol brigands from Liangchow, Yung Ch'ang, Kanchow, and Suchow intermittently made inroads. The ancestor moved his troops to rescue the countries where the danger arose. Always he was victorious and his fame was well known in distant countries.

After a year there was great famine in Kuan Chung (Shensi). Along the roads the people sat looking at each other (not knowing what to do). The ancestor Lin carried 600 *tan* of grain to relieve the miseries of the people east of the Yellow River. He saved the lives of some thousands of people. The court was appraised

[8] In Huangchung are encountered two Li clans. Li Nan-ko is the founding ancestor of the first clan and Li Wen, Duke of Kao Yang, the founding ancestor of the second clan. Both clans have their own cemetery, in which the cult of the ancestors starts with their respective founding ancestor.

Li Nan-ko had a brother Li Chang-ko, who died during the Yüan dynasty. In that way he is not recognized as the founding ancestor of the clan, but his son Li Wen who submitted to the Ming dynasty together with his uncle Li Nan-ko, is considered the founding ancestor of the second clan.

Li Nan-ko had a son Li Yin, Duke of Hui Ning, who was the cousin of Li Wen, son of Li Chang-ko.

The ancestor of the second generation of the Lu clan was the father of the ancestor of the third generation of the Lu clan. Both father and son married daughters of Li Yin, Duke of Hui Ning. According to the Chinese rules of marriage, such marriage is highly unbecoming, especially among eminent people.

The ancestor of the fifth generation of the Lu clan married the daughter of Li Wen, Duke of Kao Yang, who was a cousin of the daughters of Li Yin, Duke of Hui Ning. Again this marriage was very shocking for the Chinese, who used to call the Monguors barbarians.

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of the fact and he was promoted to be commandant. 175x
After one year more, together with Lieutenant Colonel T'ien Kuang, he put to flight the brigands in Ch'ing Shih Hsia. In the autumn in the ninth moon, he put to flight and defeated them again on the river Fu Tung Erh. He was promoted to be high secretary commandant.

In 1488 his father Chien asked for his retirement. The emperor agreed and in 1489 the ancestor Lin succeeded his father. In 1494 Mongol brigands invaded the Yung Ch'ang region. The ancestor leading his troops rescued the country and fought in Liu Yuan. The brigands retreated a little, but soon they besieged Yung Ch'ang with more bands. Because his troops were inferior in number, he fortified the city and did not fight. The siege and attacks became more impetuous, arrows fell as rain; officers and soldiers used saddles to protect themselves. In three days they were reduced to the utmost point. T'ao Cheng, the lieutenant colonel of Liangchow, without coming to the rescue, waited for the issue of the battle. The ancestor implored the aid of Heaven, stimulating the courage of his troops. Ten times or more they had already fought bloody battles when Heaven made a tremendous wind blow and sand and pebbles flew in the air. He made a vigorous sally and fled out of the city. The court, learning of the defeat, inflicted on the ancestor the punishment of defending the frontiers, and did not allow him to leave them. The ancestor wrote a report of the battle accusing T'ao Cheng. The imperial censor was ordered to investigate the case. T'ao Cheng was punished, and the ancestor condoned. However his title was lowered one degree. Having captured brigands in the twelfth moon of the same year, 1499, he was promoted to be lieutenant colonel and defender of Chuang Lang, and after a few days more, was promoted to be second brigadier general and military governor of Kanchow.

In 1501 Mongols invaded the Hsi Hsia region. The ancestor went to rescue the country. When he arrived at Wei Chou, the brigands had already entered deeply into the country. He sent the high commandant Yang Lun, who encountered the Mongols at Kung-pa-ku, and could not dispose his troops in battle array. His frightened soldiers and officers took to their heels and fled, pursued by the enemy. It was a disastrous defeat. The ancestor was terribly indignant. With his son Chin, he led some hundreds of wounded soldiers to fight the brigands. His vanguard again retreated. Then Chin himself killed some among them, and went to fight in the first rank, ahead of the soldiers, followed by his father, ancestor Lin. All the soldiers followed him with fierceness. Each of them was worth a hundred soldiers and their savage battle cries shook heaven and earth. The Mongols fled in disorder. The high commanders affixed their seals to an accusation against the ancestor Lin, for having spoiled the battle. The

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

ancestor wrote a defense, Yang Lun was punished, the ancestor was condoned, but his salary was withheld for two months. 175x

At that time the father of Lin, sire Chin Lu, was old, and his son Chin was young and unable to command the army. The ancestor asked to resume his office. Liu Ta-hsia told the emperor, who agreed. Emperor Wu Tsung ascended the throne (1506). Su t'ai, lieutenant colonel of Chuang Lang was not sympathetic to the people and caused many troubles. The court ordered the sub-lieutenant to take over the duty ad interim. The ancestor Chien, of good repute in the frontier region, implored the emperor to grant to Lin help in the military and civil administration. Pi Heng told the emperor, who agreed.

Lin died in the third moon of 1506, receiving posthumously the title of secretary general of the left army. The emperor sent Chou Tsai councillor (of the supreme council) with the favor of official sacrifices and burial according to the rites.

His first wife was the noble Lady Wang, daughter of Wang Yin, high commandant of Yu Lin. She died early without issue. The second wife was the noble Lady Wang, daughter of Wang Chang, *tu tien* of Yu Lin. The ancestor Chin was her son.

CHIN, SIRE PACIFIER OF THE MONGOLS, OF THE SIXTH GENERATION

Chin, Sire pacifier of the Mongols, had the style name of Yuan Ch'ang, and the literary name Hsi K'un. He was the oldest son of Lin.

In 1501, following the general, his father, he defeated the brigands in Wei Chou and was promoted to be centurion. In 1504 he defeated brigands in Shui Ts'ao Ku, and was promoted to be secretary commandant with golden badge. In 1506 his father Lin died and he succeeded him. The court, considering that he had accumulated many merits on the [illegible] front, by especial favor granted him the title of secretary commandant, defender of Chuang Lang, with the seal of Chao Yung general. His gratitude and zeal increased. In 1508 he defeated the brigands at the lake Ming Shui and was promoted to high assistant commandant. In 1510 the Mongols invaded Chuang Lang territory. He pursued and defeated them at Shih P'en Ku, killing and capturing many of them. In 1512 the Mongols invaded Chuang Lang again. He pursued and defeated them at T'ung Wei P'u, killing and capturing many. In the same year the Mongols invaded Hsining. He pursued and defeated them at Ma Ch'ang Ku killing and capturing many.

Then the most important officials affixed their seal to a report to the emperor, praising and exalting his merits. The emperor granted him the *mang p'ao* (official dress adorned with dragons) and the jade cincture and especially promoted him to be secretary governor, lieutenant colonel of the left wing, and defender of

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Chuang Lang. In 1515 the tribes of Ch'a K'u I stole 175x the tribute brought to the emperor, and the tribes of Huang T'u Erh stole the tribute of horses. The court ordered the ancestor to punish and capture the robbers. The ancestor succeeding in capturing the stolen tribute and offered it to the emperor. He was promoted to be assistant governor and defender of Chuang Lang and Hsining. Emperor Wu Tsung died and Shih Tsung ascended the throne (1522). Chin asked to retire. Su Feng-hsiang, governor of the province, said to the emperor, "Chin has been officer during his whole life, he is courageous in war time, his fame is known among the barbarians. At present the circumstances of the empire are critical and it is not the time to permit him to retire." The emperor himself wrote a letter in order to console him and keep him in charge. He sent an official to manifest his sympathy, sent him precious gifts, promoted him to be second brigadier general, and enjoined him to help in the administration as before.

In 1525 he was promoted to be brigadier general in Yen Chou and Sui Te and received the seal of general pacifier of the Mongols. The scholar Yang I-ch'ing said to the emperor, "Chin has administered Chuang Lang twenty or more years and accumulated many merits. He alone is capable of controlling the Monguor troops. Chang Feng his whole life long has been brigadier general in Yen Chou and Sui Te. If you would remove Chang Feng from Yen Chou and Sui Te and appoint Chin, then we could be assured of keeping the country at peace by means of the army, and the western regions would no longer cause anxiety." The emperor agreed, and immediately ordered Chin to move to Yen Chou.

In 1542 the Mongols invaded Yung Ch'ang at Shang Ku. Repeated reports claimed the circumstances to be alarming. The court ordered the chief of the ministry of war to appoint an official to rescue the region. Just at midnight the emperor sent a eunuch with a decree to the ministry of war.

> I consider that Lu Chin of Chuang Lang is a courageous general who controls troops inured to war. I think him equal to meeting the alarming situation, and demand that the decree written by my hand be brought instantly, by the chiliarch Liu Kang ordering him to move.

Just at that time the ancestor suffered an attack of rheumatism, and he limped. Upon receiving the order, doing himself violence, he chose 3,000 of his best soldiers. Obeying the order they arrived at Suchow. The Mongols, conversant with the fame of the ancestor, retreated. The court praised his faithfulness and sincerity and congratulated him again and again. After delivering a gift of silver the messenger returned.

Three years later the governor of the province Ch'eng Chiu-ch'ou was ordered to build two honorific arches with the inscriptions "unceasingly he practiced faithfulness and justice for a long time, and was known for his dignity and fame."

Tan, the oldest son of Sire Chin, died some time ago. 175
He ordered his second son Tung to take over the office. He retired to one of his properties in Hsi Tat'ung. After more than ten years he died in 1556 in the third moon. He received the posthumous titles of Yung-lu Ta-fu, pillar of the empire, governor of the military government of the right wing. He was honored with three sacrifices.

His wife, the noble Lady Wang, was the daughter of Duke Ch'ing Yuan from Hsining. She was a serious and model lady. In 1517 the court, in consideration of the merits of her husband, sent a eunuch with the robe adorned with dragons, the cincture of jade, precious stones, golden bracelets, pieces of very thin silk and satin, and other objects. The gifts were unusually rich and numerous. She died in 1526, in the tenth moon before Sire Chin.

TUNG, SIRE CHAO I, OF THE SEVENTH GENERATION

Tung, Sire Chao I, with the style name Tsung Chou, and the literary name Shih Feng, was the second son of Chin. His oldest brother Tan had gained merits accompanying his father, sire Chin Lu, on expeditions, and had received the promotion of second chiliarch. In 1527 his father had obtained the decree permitting him to retire. The court ordered Tan to control the country and to succeed to his father. Having gained merits he was promoted secretary commandant and second captain in Shan Tan.

In 1535 his father, Sire Chin Lu, presented a memorial to the emperor: "Always the ancestors of your subject have controlled this country (Chuang Lang). At present I am retired and my son Tan is moved to another commandery of the frontiers. The troops of the clan are upset and are not willing to obey another. If, on account of this fact, troubles arise they will cause the ruin of the patrimony of the ancestors, and we will be ungrateful for the blessings received from the ancestors. Your subject implores you to permit my son to control the old patrimony." The court agreed and ordered Tan to move to Chuang Lang. In 1543 Tan died, his son Cheng Wu succeeded him and died also.

At that time Sire Chin Lu was old. Considering that the empire had to cope with many difficulties and that his troops had nobody to control them, he implored permission for his second son Chao I to succeed him.

Tung, Sire Chao I, was endowed with the appearance and distinction of a scholar, and with inborn faithfulness and filial piety. When his father, Sire Chin Lu, was sick, he burned incense and begged to die in his place. He cut a piece of his thigh to heal the disease. Ch'en Pi, governor of the province, asked the court to glorify this gesture of filial piety. Every time he went to fight brigands, he knelt down before his father, asking him for instructions related to the art of war.

In 1561 big bands of Mongols invaded the country.

The frontier regions were upset. Sire Chao I led his 175x
troops against them. The brigands dared not invade Chuang Lang. He defeated them in K'ai Ch'eng and in Shih T'u Ku and Pe Shih Ch'uan. Everywhere he was victorious.

In 1568 he was promoted to be high commandant and prefect in Chuang Lang. He helped the lieutenant colonel Li Shih-wei in military affairs. Chuang Lang enjoyed peace.

The disease of his father became more and more deep rooted, his legs and arms were crippled, and for ten years he could not move. In 1578 Sire Chao I implored the emperor for permission to retire. The court ordered Kuang Hsien his oldest son to take over the office, but soon Kuang Hsien died. Sire Tung asked permission for his second son Kuang Tsu to succeed to the hereditary office. In 1584 Sire Chao I died, and received posthumously the title of Chao Yu chiang-chun.

His first wife belonged to the Li family, the second to the Ts'ao family. Both received the title of honorable Lady (title accorded to wives of officers of the third degree). Sires Kuang Lu and Kuang Tsu were sons of the honorable Lady Li.

KUANG TSU, SIRE KUANG LU OF THE EIGHTH GENERATION

Kuang Tsu, Sire Kuang Lu, whose style name was Pe Hsien, was the second son of Tung, Sire Chao I. He was born and grew up in a family in every generation of which were officials. He was diligent in the study of the classics and calligraphy. In his youth he was registered on the roster of the students of the military school of the commandery of his country. He decided to glorify the family by obtaining literary degrees. Soon his oldest brother Kuang Hsien died. Sire Kuang Lu, being the next in age, succeeded. However, until his death he did not enjoy the office. In his disorderly room, next to long guns and spears, were disposed maps, books, and sacrificial vases. Having some spare time, he burned incense and sat motionless studying old books, relaxing his spirit, and enjoying quietness. Those who saw him did not think he was a military officer.

From commandant in Chuang Lang he was promoted colonel in Hsining. On account of his expeditions in Kokonor, he was promoted to be brigadier general in Liangchow. Having defeated P'u Pai, he was promoted to be brigadier general in T'ao and Ming Chou.

In 1600 he was promoted to be commandant-in-chief, in Nan Ching at the military headquarters of the right, and director of the training fields, in preparation against Japan.

Sire Kuang Lu was unassuming, loyal, mild, intelligent, and helpful toward the underlings. Those who inhabited the capital, a noisy city, indulged in pleasures and dissoluteness, rearing dogs and horses. The promi-

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nent people pursued the satisfaction of their desires. It was easy to incriminate them. Sire Kuang Lu used his salary only to buy books. The hundreds of books he bought were all pencil marked and filled with notes. When the administrative affairs allowed him some spare time, he invited eminent scholars, composed poems, and drank wine. He visited the ford at T'ao Yeh and the barrow of Sian and he inquired about the old lanes and green brooks and the long bridge in Wu I. He very much enjoyed the strolls he made when he was a public official. 175x [57]

After a short time, on account of illness, he asked for retirement. It was accorded and the costs of the journey were defrayed by the empire.

Back home he delighted in strolling in the woods and on the banks of the rivers. He composed the family chronicles in three sections. He started with the imperial decrees. He wrote the biographies and the correspondence with the empire, and finally the things interesting the family from the first ancestor on. According to the Chia Li composed by Chu Hsi (Chu Hsi, 1130–1200) he built a temple east of his mansion for the ancestors, with five niches inside. In the center niche sacrifices were offered to the first ancestor, in the other four sacrifices to the great-great-grandfather, the great-grandfather, the grandfather, and to the father according to the rite Chao Mu. Sacrifices at the time of the four seasons were fixed on the first day of each of them. The tablet of the first ancestor was never allowed to be moved, the other four, however, had to be removed according to the rites (to allow a seat for the recently deceased). He emphasized the importance of the sacrifices and the rites.

In former times the morals and customs in our village were rough and savage, today the people start knowing the prime ancestor and honor him. That is what the ancestor taught us to do. Now from the time I was a small boy I felt with my hands, the gifts made by the hands of the ancestors. I felt deeply impressed. I feel gratitude for having received this tradition (of honoring the ancestors in the family).

Sire Kuang Tsu died in his mansion in the village in 1607. The death being announced at court, he received posthumously the title of Kuang Lu-ta-fu and sacrifices and burial according to the rites.

His wife, the noble Lady Chang, was intelligent, and quick to understand. She had much erudition and a noble character. She controlled her home with severity and regularity. She had a son, Yung Ch'ang, who died in the service for the empire during the Ming dynasty. This is quite sufficient for her to illustrate our glorious family.

YUNG CH'ANG, SIRE CHUNG TI OF THE NINTH GENERATION

Yung Ch'ang, Sire Chung Ti, whose style name was Ch'eng Pu, his literary name Chung T'ai. He was

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the son of Kuang Tsu, Sire Kuang Lu. In 1602 Sire Kuang Lu retired. Sire Chung Ti inherited the office of secretary-commandant and the control of the Monguor troops. Chung Ti was an eminent man with high aspirations. He would not be limited by the offices and titles his ancestors had received (he aspired for more). He was fully devoted to the affairs of the frontiers, was self-sacrificing and loved the empire. In 1628 there was famine in Yen Chou and Sui Te. Wang Chia-yun, in Fu Ku, called the people to organize and plunder. The followers of Chang Hsien-chung and Li Tzu-ch'eng waited for the opportunity to revolt. Sire Chung Ti knew that the situation was changing. He used his troops with foresight to defend Ho Hsi. 175×

In 1636 he was promoted to be lieutenant colonel and prefect in Chuang Lang. After a year he was promoted to be brigadier general and guardian of Hsining. Then on account of his merits he was promoted assistant in the military government of the left army. The *mang pao* was granted (robe with dragons) and the jade cincture. In 1643 the rebels broke through the T'ung Kuan pass; Ch'ing Yang and Kung Ch'ang were imperiled. Sire Chung Ti knew that Lanchow was an isolated city in danger, whose defense was problematical. Several times he reported asking to send Su Fan past the river to protect the cities of Ninghsia, Liangchow, Kanchow, and Su Chou in order to combine plans for the recovering of the country. He did not receive an answer.

In 1644, in the spring, the brigand general Huo Chin invaded Ho Hsi. Liangchow and Chuang Lang looked at what other cities did, and surrendered. Sire Chung Ti was raging. He distributed his wealth to the officers and the soldiers and led his troops to attack and fight the brigands in Hsi Tatung. The fame of the Monguor troops frightened the brigands, and they retreated a little. Among the tribesmen of the ancestor, some submitted to the brigands claiming that the troops were outnumbered, that no rescue was to be expected. The courage of the brigands grew. Sire Chung Ti, because his troops were outnumbered, retreated and defended his city of Lien Ch'eng. The brigands attacked the city and it was captured. Sire Chung Ti was tied before the gate of the city. He was called to surrender. He refused. They summoned him to give his wealth. He refused again. They threatened to kill him with the sword. He mocked and cursed them. While he was dying he did not desist from cursing them.

It was the sixteenth day of the first moon of 1644. The brigands abducted his son and his daughter, stole all his wealth, and went westward. Hung, the son of Chung Ti was only a few years old when he fell into the hands of the brigands. The brigands divided the tribes of Chung Ti among the members of the family who had submitted to them. The noble lady Kan, the first wife, overwhelmed with grief wished to kill herself. Among those who consoled her, some said: your

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son is abducted, your wealth is stolen, to commit suicide is useless. Then the noble lady dressed and took her meals as before. 175x

In 1645 Prince Yin of the Ch'ing dynasty called the people of the two rivers to submit and ordered the concubine of Sire Chung Ti, the noble Lady Yang, to write with her blood a report to the emperor expounding the facts from the beginning to the end, with the minutest details. The emperor ordered the ministers to deliberate and send him their advice. He ordered the nephew of Chung Ti, An, to succeed ad interim, to command the troops and control the subjects.

For two hundred years the descendants have conserved the patrimony of the ancestors, thanks to the endeavor of both noble ladies, and thanks to the loyal spirit of Sire Chung Ti, who from the outer world has been able to arrange events.

COMMANDANT SIRE HUNG OF THE TENTH GENERATION

The Commandant Sire Hung had the style name of Yu Hu. He was the son of Yung Ch'ang, Sire Chung Ti. During the troubles of Huo Chin he had been captured, brought to Chung Chou (Honan Fu) and later to Wuch'ang. In 1645 the court, having been informed about the circumstances of the death of Sire Chung Ti, ordered An to succeed in the interim. In 1648 he received the decree of his appointment and the seal to fulfill his office. At that time the revolt had subsided a little. The noble Lady Kan had sent men in all directions in search of information (about the captive). Every night she burned incense and implored Heaven. In 1650 she obtained certain news from traders, and sent men with money to bring back the captive. Back home son and mother embraced each other and cried with joy. The subjects also cried with joy and skipped at having met their true tribe chief. However, those among the family who had submitted to the brigands had already submitted to the newly established Ch'ing dynasty and their chief had received the office of lieutenant colonel. He intended to occupy the grounds of the tribes, to control the subjects, and to seize the patrimony of Hung.

What is more, at the time Sire Chung Ti had been killed, the chief of the surrendered clan men had effectively beheaded Chung Ti with the sword. Now he feared that the recovery of the chieftainship of the tribe by Sire Hung would be ominous to him. Astutely using the revelation made by the shaman Wan Lang, whom he had invited, he confused the mind of the subjects (while in trances, the shaman must have said that the returned captive was not the son of Chung Ti). Even using money he tried to make Hung change his decision (to succeed to Chung Ti) but the decision of Hung to buttress his position grew all the stronger. From then on, the most malevolent rumors were spread. The most intelligent among the subjects were paid to testify

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to the veracity (of the revelation of the shaman). Sire Hung was brought before the tribunal of the governor of the province. Inhumanly treated he did not die. Put in jail, suffering ruthlessly, he still did not die. After ten years, the truth became evident and the abuse was cleared up. 175x

He succeeded in 1659 at the time the empire was at peace inside and outside. Tibetans and barbarians offered tribute. Sire Hung did not obtain merits in war. He consolidated the patrimony of the ancestors, controlled his subjects and troops with kindness, and the subversive intentions of the traitors dissolved.

The ulterior generations are beholden to Sire Hung for the blessings of the peace they enjoyed. Heaven has been merciful to him. He succeeded for fifteen years and died in 1673 on the twelfth of the third moon at the age of forty.

His wife, the noble Lady Wang, was upright, severe, and determined. After the death of her husband she remained a widow caring for the education of the orphan son.

In 1674 Chang, Kung, and Keng (Ministers of the Ming dynasty who had submitted to the Ch'ing) revolted. The people of the two rivers were upset. Chang Yung captured Lanchow. The widow sent grain and horses to the soldiers and sent the Monguor troops to be commanded by the brigadier general of Hsining. After the revolt of Hsi Erh Su was quelled, she received a laudatory decree. She died in 1707 on the fourteenth of the third moon. She received posthumously the title of Shu jen and was buried in the ancestral cemetery of Ch'ing Yang Shan next to her husband, Sire the commandant.

TI HSIN, KAO-TSU CHAO YUNG, THE GREAT-GREAT-GRANDFATHER[9] OF THE ELEVENTH GENERATION

Ti Hsin, the Sire Chao Yung Kao-tsu had as his style name Chien Tsai. He was the adopted son of Sire the Commandant Hung. Before the troubles for the succession of Sire Commandant arose, the noble Lady

[9] Lu Chi-hsun, ancestor of the fifteenth generation, author of the Chronicles, starts calling the ancestor of the eleventh generation the (his) great-great grandfather, the ancestor of the twelfth generation, the (his) great grandfather, and so down till the ancestor of the fourteenth generation who is called the (his) father.

I suppose the reason for the process is that, according to the rules fixed by Chu Hsi, in the Hall of the ancestors, only five tablets of ancestors are to be honored.

The tablet of the founding ancestor occupies the center and is never to be removed. On both its sides are seen two tablets, one the tablet of the great-great grandfather of the actual living t'u-ssu, the second that of his great grandfather, the third that of his grandfather, the fourth that of his father.

Every time a t'u-ssu dies his tablet occupies the lowest place, and that of the great-great grandfather is removed. Only five ancestors are supposed to be honored and to be capable of enjoying the fragrance of the offerings, and also to be capable of protecting their descendants.

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Wang cared for Ti Hsin, still in swaddling clothes and loved him as her own son. Later she bore Shu Kao-tsu whose name was Ti Ch'eng. At the death of Sire the Commandant Hung, Sire Chao-yung, Ti Hsin, and his brother Shu (Ti Ch'eng) were still young. The noble lady kept care of the seal (controlled the tribe). In 1685 there was announced by decree the succession of Ti Ch'eng (the genuine son of Lady Wang). He received with reverence the decree and fulfilled the duty. His name was inscribed on the roster of the students of the director of the school of the commandery (Chuang Lang). After three years he died without issue. Sire Ti Hsin (the adopted) succeeded in the capacity of second son. He was intelligent and capable, he understood the core of the problems. Despite the fact that he was not born of the noble Lady Wang, his filial piety and care for her never decreased. After the death of the commandant the orphan and the lady endured vexations at the hands of powerful and audacious people, as well as in private and in administrative affairs. Sire Ti Hsin succeeded before the age of twenty-one. He examined thoroughly all the questions with intelligence. His mildness and sincerity were on a par. The non-brilliant conditions of the family improved, thanks to Sire Ti Hsin. 175*

In 1699 the Jungar group tried to hinder the submission of the tribes (to the empire). Sire Ti Hsin prepared at his own expense the provisions for his troops and left for the expedition in the western regions. The brigand fled. The Kokonor Mongols invaded the frontiers. The emperor sent troops to fight them, but the river of Tatung was swollen to the point that boats and rafts could not cross. Sire Ti Hsin spent thousands of taels, used his own wood, hired carpenters and built a floating bridge. The troops arrived at the destination on time, and Hsining was saved.

Sire Ti Hsin was engrossed in military affairs outside, but every time he had spare moments he went to sit down with the noble Lady Wang, to tell wonderful stories and enjoy and relax her. The noble lady took ill. He prepared medicines himself and during months did not take rest. At the time of the interment she had grown so lean that the bones protruded on the body. Troops and subjects were compassionate, impressed. Her sincerity at home and in public were on a par.

At fifty years of age Ti Hsin asked for retirement (1718). The deceased mother of Ti Hsin, the noble Dame Yueh, was the niece of Yueh Cheng-lung, Duke Ming Su, Governor of Szechwan province. She was the sister of the father of Yueh Chung-ch'i, Duke Wei Hsin. The lady was reared in a family of officials. She liked calmness, studied painting, music, and books in her spare time. She dressed in the way of the common people. People who saw her never thought she was reared in a family of officials.

Ti Hsin died in 1735. He was posthumously granted the title of Chao Yung-chiang-chun. The wife of Ti

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Hsin died in 1702. The title of Fu-jen was granted to her. She was buried with her husband in Hsi Hsiang T'ang. 175

HUA LIN, SIRE WU KUNG, THE GREAT-GRANDFATHER (TSENG-TSU), OF THE TWELFTH GENERATION

Hua Lin, Sire Wu Kung, great grandfather, had the style name Chiu Ju. He was the oldest son of Ti Hsin, Sire Chao-yung. He was remarkable and surpassed common people. In 1718 retirement was granted to Sire Chao-yung. Sire Hua Lin received the decree in the ninth moon and succeeded his father.

In 1719 Ta wa chien shanpa revolted in Kokonor and the imperial army went to fight him. At that time Yueh Chung-ch'i Duke Wei Hsin's troops fought as vanguard. Knowing that he could use the Sire Hua Lin, he ordered him to lead his troops and protect the provisions of their troops. San Pa Ch'iao was the first dangerous pass on the way to Kokonor. It was guarded by Tibetans and impossible to go through. The troops of the Sire, all speaking Tibetan, running as fast as the wind (around the pass), reached the place of Lo Lung Tsung and captured some tens of Tibetans. The Tibetans fled pursued by the army and the pass was open. In the eighth moon Kokonor was pacified. Sire Hua Lin was promoted lieutenant colonel on account of his merits. In 1721 the Tibetan Kuo-mi tribes impelled to revolt by bLo-bzang tan-chin, made inroads and plundered. Sire Hua Lin leading some hundreds of troops went to garrison in Je Yueh Shan to protect the provisions of the army. The brigands failed to enter the place. In 1723 bLo-bzang tan-chin invaded the Hsining region and the countries east and west of the Chuang Lang mountains. The tribes of Hsieh-erh-su, Sa-Ma-chien, shan-pa, Chao Ma-chien, and others revolted at the same time. General Nien Keng-yao ordered Duke Wei Hsin to pacify Kokonor and ordered the Sire Hua Lin to quell the revolt of Chuang Lang. Sire Hua Lin setting ambushes captured the chief of the revolt, Ho Mu-shan, and six others, and seized the opportunity to attack the Cho Tse Shan region. The ferocious howling of his troops made heaven and earth shake. The defeated brigands fled to Shih Pao Ch'eng. From the T'o-na valley he besieged the city five days and nights without success. Then Hua Lin ordered some courageous soldiers to cross the Tatung River on rafts, to climb to the source of a small river in order to reach the brigands from the rear. Hua Lin himself conducted a full attack with his whole army. The battle started. Cannons bombarded the city, the army attacked from the front and from the rear, the brigands were defeated, the number killed and captured was great, and the rebels of the Ah Lo tribe were exterminated or captured. The mountainous eastern country was pacified. The rebels in the western part, appraised of the defeat, lost courage. Sire Hua Lin went to fight them. After

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destroying the monastery of Shih Men, he attacked the den of the brigands and captured the chiefs. The others fled. 175x

In 1724 Hua Lin, presuming that the rebels would plunder again in the spring, garrisoned troops in Ta Ying Wan. The people were no longer anxious (and the revolt was forestalled).

Kokonor was pacified in the fourth moon, and Duke Yueh Wei-hsin came with his troops, clearing the remaining groups of rebels in the region of both mountains. Hua Lin called 1,000 of his soldiers and ordered a chiliarch to clear the country of Hsin Shan with 500 soldiers. He himself went with 500 soldiers into the P'ai Lu valley. He killed 500 brigands and captured 100. He also captured a tremendous number of cows, horses, and weapons.

At that time the commandery of Chuang Lang was converted in the subprefecture of P'ing Fan. Then a report was sent to the emperor imploring him to assign as subjects to the Lu family, the eight tribes of Hsieh Erh Su.

bLo-bzang tan-chin, clad in the dress of a Tibetan woman, had fled to Ko Erh Shun. In the seventh moon Hua Lin pursued him with 200 soldiers to Hua Hai Tse, following General Yueh. Then looking at the red earth reaching to heaven, and the sand dunes seeming to be as waves of the sea, and deeming it impossible to continue the pursuit, they gave up.

In 1730 he loaned half of his troops to colonize the Ch'ih Chin region.

In 1731 he received the salary of lieutenant colonel, was granted the peacock plume, the official robe adorned with dragons, and many pieces of satin. He was promoted to be major in Hsining.

In 1736 at the time of the celebration of the victory, he went to call on the emperor. He received the title of lieutenant colonel of the Huo Ch'i Ying in Sian. Successively he was transferred to Kanchow as defender of the city and as assistant general to Yung Ch'ang, both charges depending on the brigadier general of Liangchow.

The empire was at peace, the armies at rest. Sire Hua Lin, wherever he went, praised the favors and virtues of the emperor and taught the necessity of faithfulness and filial piety. He developed education. Officers had confidence in him, as in a tender mother. He delighted in the rites and the schools. In his spare time he liked to sing songs with scholars and eminent people. When he was transferred to a place and left the country, the elders, leaning on their sticks, pulled his sleeves to keep him, and presented a cup of wine honoring him. They accompanied him as far as several li. The picture representing the people hanging on the pole of his coach, impeding it from moving, portrays a genuine reality.

The noble Lady Wang, the wife of the Tseng Tsu (great-grandfather), was the daughter of Wang Ch'eng,

S:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

the brigadier general in Wu Lu Cheng in Yunan province. She was zealous, mild, and considerate. Her virtues were on a par with those of her husband. 175x

Sire Hua Lin died in 1736, the nineteenth of the second moon, at the age of sixty-eight. Posthumously he received the title of Wu-kung. The Lady Wang died in 1768, the fifteenth of the eleventh moon, at the age of seventy-eight. She was granted the title of Fu-jen. She was buried in the Hsi Hsiang T'ang cemetery.

FENG CHU, SIRE WU I, THE GRANDFATHER OF THE THIRTEENTH GENERATION

Grandfather Feng Chu, Sire Wu I, style name Hsiu Lin, was the oldest son of the great-grandfather Chiu Ju. The great-grandfather, for ten years, fulfilled official duties outside. He ordered Sire Wu I to care for the private and public affairs at home. Sire was well talented and dealt easily with affairs, just as he would place things in the right place. All things were done as they should be done. Every time he considered the kernel of the matter and did not waste his time examining minute details. For that reason those who worked with him feared him and loved him.

In 1732, having the title of lieutenant, he went through the pass with 600 soldiers to carry on the job of the colonization of Ch'ih Chin, Pu Lung Ku, and other places. He himself worked hard, examining the quality of the ground for cereals. The crops he gathered were always double that of others. After three years the work was done and he returned to his garrison (Lien Ch'eng). The high officials praised his capacities.

In 1744 the great-grandfather Chiu Ju asked to retire. Sire Wu I received the official decree and succeeded. The great-grandfather had a peaceful and quiet temperament. He liked to sit in a lonely room, boil his tea, burn incense, and did not inquire about outside things. Sire Wu I inquired about the health of the elder, cared for his food, and asked for orders in every circumstance. He never neglected the precepts of filial piety.

In 1756 the great grandfather died. Sire Wu I mourned him and buried him according to the rites. At that time the great-grandmother Wang was old. Sire Wu I afraid to grieve her, took his meals with her and behaved as always, but when he was alone he cried as a child. He succeeded in making the great-grandmother happy. Thanks to him the elders, for more than ten years, had been able to walk in the woods and at the sources of the rivers, and the great-grandmother had reached the age of seventy-eight. This had been possible because the filial piety of Sire Wu I had reached such a point of perfection.

The empire was at peace. On the frontiers no more fires were lit in the watch towers of the great wall announcing alarm, the troops and the people enjoyed happiness, and the virtue of humanity was practiced.

S:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The people lived until an old age. Our grandfather Sire Wu I fulfilled his official office and controlled his subjects. According to the seasons he stimulated and taught agriculture and the culture of mulberry trees. In his spare time he planted flowers and trees, but first of all he was engrossed in calligraphy, writing according to the principles of the eminent scholars of the Chin and T'ang dynasties. He was able to write big characters by holding the pencil in such a way that a hollow could be seen between his thumb and index finger. Symmetrical sentences and inscriptions in our mansions, summer houses and at the waterpool were mostly written by him. They are remainders originating from his pencil and are admired as benefits of his hand and his artistic virtuosity. 175* [241 248 247]

Sire Wu I died in 1762, the tenth of the eleventh moon, at the age of fifty-one. He was granted the title of Wu I Ta-fu.

His wife, the noble Lady Wang, was the niece of our great-grandmother. She died before our grandfather in 1759, the fifth of the ninth moon, at the age of forty-seven. She received posthumously the title of Shu-jen. Both were buried in the cemetery of Hsi Hsiang T'ang.

FAN, SIRE WU-KUNG, THE FATHER OF THE FOURTEENTH GENERATION

When I was young I met with piteous misfortunes. I lost my father at seven years of age and my mother at twenty-two. Not being on a par with my parents I nonetheless inherited their patrimony. When looking upward I am grateful for the benefits received from the emperor for having fed and educated me, when looking down I think of what my parents expect from me, and I am afraid. Therefore, I chastise my body and amend my behavior, hoping the blessings received from my parents might endure. This, my intention, is beholden to the inspiration received from my parents' spirits, living in the outer world.

I dipped my pencil in blood and wrote summarily (the facts), to instruct the descendants and to provide material for the use of the historians of the future.

My late father's name was Fan, his style name Yung Ch'i. He was the oldest son of my grandfather Wu I. In his youth he was regal, he did not care much for the wealth of the family. He was a tall strong man, intelligent and perspicaceous.

In 1762 my grandfather Wu I died and my father received the decree for the succession. At that time the empire enjoyed peace. Eminent people liked the companionship of my father. He liked to invite people to dinner and sing songs. Wherever he went the guests were always in full number. He treated his officers and troops cordially. At every meal there was plenty of wine and food, noise and drinking. To people who suffered from the cold he offered clothes, not caring for the cost. This was the reason why the people were devoted to him until his death.

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In 1781 the Mohammedans of Ho Chou revolted and approached the city of Lanchow, which was in critical circumstances. Father was ordered to rescue the city. Having crossed the river he fought in Luan Ku Tu P'ing. The rebels were beaten and scattered, the city was saved. However, many of his soldiers had been wounded and killed. Father also had been badly wounded. When the fact was known at court, he received congratulations, the coral button on the cap, the peacock plume, money, and several pieces of satin. 175

In 1784 the Mohammedan revolt, the Yen Ch'a Hui, broke out. The ancestor was ordered to move again to Lanchow. Day and night he guarded the capital of the province. After three months the revolt was quelled and he was given money to be distributed among his troops.

In 1785, having been recommended to the emperor by high officials, he was invited to call at Peking. On account of illness he could not move. He thanked the emperor and received some pieces of satin.

In 1786 he again received the call. The twenty-first of the twelfth moon (1788) he called on the emperor at the Hsi Hua Men, and later saw him at Ying T'ai. He assisted in the archery exercises in Cheng Yien Kung, and was invited to dinner in Ch'ung Hua Hung and to another dinner in Pao Hua Tien. On New Year's he congratulated the emperor in T'ai Hua Tien and was invited to dinner in T'sai Kuang Ko. He assisted at a literary convention in Ying Hua Tien, at the fireworks in Yuan Ming Yuan, and at the illumination and the fireworks again in Yuan Ming Yuan. On the nineteenth of the first moon while walking with the emperor in the T'ing Lo Yuan, he asked the emperor's permission to leave. The forty gifts he received from the emperor consisted mostly of food, clothes, satin, table services, dishes, etc. He was back in Chuang Lang on the eleventh of the third moon. The next year he died.

My mother originated from the Suan family of Liangchow, a noble family honored for generations by eminent scholars and officials. When she was nubile she entered our family. She was dutiful, zealous, intelligent, considerate, and the sound of her voice had never been heard outside our home. My father was very regal. He used money just as if it were earth. My mother tried to make him spend less money and to act more orderly. At the death of father, bad members of the family vexed the widow and the orphan and aimed at our wealth. The noble lady controlled the military and administrative affairs outside, and directed the family affairs inside. In her spare time she cared for my education. Those who intended our ruin did not succeed "in making us be blown away by wind," thanks to the merits of my mother.

In 1792 the imperial armies fought the Kokonor chieftain K'uo-erh-k'o. The winter was very cold, and the troops suffered. My mother carried to Donkir one million pounds of fuel for the troops. The emperor

congratulated her, sent several pieces of satin, and the peacock plume for her son Chi Hsun. In the fourth moon he received the decree for the succession of the office. Then I hoped that mother, being free from cares, would enjoy a happy old age in harmony with the decisions of Heaven, and that I would have the opportunity to manifest my filial piety. Alas, after a few years she died. It is a punishment for my faults against filial piety. The punishment came fast. 175*

Our family has defended the frontiers since the Ming dynasty. It is easy to become conversant with the faithfulness and justice with which our family has become illustrious. During the Ch'ing dynasty we have inhabited its territory and have been nourished during two hundred years. Tibetans and barbarians have been induced to submission. Although the blessings received are enormous, we did not show the smallest gratitude (big as a grain of sand or a small river). Our men fulfilled petty duties on the frontiers, and our ladies at home, but all of them received praises and honors from the emperor. The gifts granted by him are piled up in our homes. We have even been allowed to have dinner with the emperor.

Now I am a small man, one of those who, rubbing his body is ashamed to see he is growing fat (without having been grateful to the emperor), who is ashamed to see that he is becoming old and growing long teeth (as the horses), and that to all the benefits received from the emperor is added the blessing of old age (without still having been grateful to the emperor).

My father died in 1788, the fifteenth of the eleventh moon, at the age of forty-six. He was granted the posthumous title of Wu-kung Ta-fu. My mother died in 1799 on the twentieth of the second moon. They were buried in the cemetery of Ho Tung Hsiang T'ang.

CHI HSUN OF THE FIFTEENTH GENERATION

Sire Chi Hsun's style name was Tan Jen. He was the son of the first wife of Yung Ch'i originating from the Suan family. At the death of Yung Ch'i, Tan Jen was twelve years of age. His mother guarded the seal (acted as chief of the clan).

In 1791 the imperial army fought the rebel K'uo-erh-k'o and the widow sent one million pounds of fuel for the army. The emperor congratulated her and sent several pieces of satin, and to her son the peacock plume, and the decree to succeed his father the next year. It was an unusual benefit. Sire Chi Hsun was intelligent and perspicacious, tall and straight as jade; in trading he was zealous and economical. He was a model man. He liked nice clothes and horses, was gracious and talkative. He adhered strictly to the customs of a family which had reared officials for generations.

In 1796 the crops in Kansu were bad. According to the law, the Monguors in Kansu could not get help

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

from the empire. Sire Chi Hsun sent a report through the hands of high officials. The emperor loaned seeds and food and later excused him from returning the loan. This proves that the emperor loves his subjects without making distinction between Chinese and non-Chinese. However, without the earnest supplication of Sire Chi Hsun the benefit would not have been granted.

At that time the Pe Lien Chiao brigands had spread in Hu Kuang, Nan Hui, and Szechwan provinces. Sire Chi Hsun asked to be permitted to help quell the revolt. He sent 300 of his troops to be enrolled in the expedition army of Kansu. The wounded and killed among his troops received the same compensations as the Manchu and Chinese troops. The very sensitive Heliotrope (subject) turns toward the sun (the emperor) and in that way is able to see its splendor (the virtue of the emperor).

In 1819, at the time of the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the emperor, Chi Hsun asked the favor of presenting his felicitations. It was accorded and the journey was defrayed by the empire. He went to call at Jehol. When dinners and ceremonies had taken place, he received the favor of precious clothes and food. In 1826 during the revolt in Turkistan, he was ordered to buy camels and to lead them to Suchow. After the revolt was quelled, he received with reverence the title of the second degree, the coral button on the cap, and the peacock plume. The next year he asked to be permitted to thank the emperor for the favor received. It was accorded and the costs were defrayed by the empire.

In 1830 on New Year's he congratulated the emperor at the T'ai Ho Tien, assisted at the illumination and fireworks, and the comedies on the ice. After dinners and ceremonies were over he received more gifts than on the former visit. During the reign of the emperor the empire was at peace. Drums were no longer beaten, no more alarm signals in the watchtowers on the Great Wall. Sire Chi Hsun had been favored to see the emperor many times, to admire the splendor of the palaces, and to enjoy the varied delights of the capital. He had cultivated friendships with ministers and high officials, and listened to fine singers. He delighted in the association with distinguished people, elegance in dress, beautiful furs, etc.

He was innately intelligent and courageous. Past sixty, every day after washing, rinsing his mouth, and putting his beard in a sack, he covered his hat and adjusted his dress. Leaning on cushions he sat erect, and his intelligence was more alert. All his movements were regulated like those of Chou Ke-liang. It is said that Ma Fu-po, when he was old, descended from his horse and stood straight, along side of it. When he had to ride the horse he grabbed the saddle and jumped on quickly. He looked straight ahead with open eyes, in order to show that he could still serve the emperor. The emperor enjoyed his vigor. Sire Chi Hsun re-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

sembled these people. He died in 1850 at the age of seventy-three. 175x

His wife was a Khoshot Mongol, the daughter of Duke Wang of Alashan, prince of the first degree, imperial son-in-law. She arrived at our mansion at the age of twenty. She studied the classics and was conversant with the rites. She was considerate and strong minded, and understood the core of problems. She was kind toward the people, subjects and troops feared and loved her, nobody dared to disregard her. She controlled her household for fifty years, cutting what was superfluous and adding what was needed. She was a big support to Sire Chi Hsun. She died in 1851 at the age of seventy, in the seventh of the second moon. She bore two sons: Cho, the oldest, died prematurely in the middle of his life. The lady was very grieved. The second son, K'anpu-mei-erh-kung-pu-chih-k'ao, was a Living Buddha. He administered the monastery of Tung Erh Ku Lung. He was strict and severe. She had a grandson, Ju Kao, who succeeded to his father Chi Hsun with the title of secretary commandant. She had a granddaughter not yet married on account of her tender age. There were two more sons from a concubine.

[This section of the biographies ended with the fifteenth. Later a sixteenth and seventeenth were added, written with pencil. The sixteenth biography is the only one in the series of biographies of Lu clan chiefs, of a man who did not succeed as chief of the clan. It is irregular to call this biography the sixteenth.

In the fifteenth and seventeenth biographies it is said that the grandson Ju Kao succeeded to his grandfather Chi Hsun. However, in the same seventeenth biography it is said that Chi Hsun was the great-grandfather of Ju Kao and his mother the great-grandmother Fu-jen!]

K'UNG-CHAO OF THE SIXTEENTH GENERATION

Sire Cho's style name was K'ung Chao. He was the son of the wife of Tan Jen (Chi Hsun) born to the Mongol Khoshot lady. He was naturally faithful and kind, had a nice face, fine hands, and his eyelashes and eyes were like those seen in pictures. He was loved very much by his parents who severely watched his education and studies. He hoped to become a model of filial piety and aspired to obtain literary degrees. However, his career was ended before he had reached the goal (he was a grain that did not mature). He died in 1835.

His wife was a nice charming Khoshot girl who joined him at the age she became nubile. She was kind, amiable, and possessed all the required qualities of a good wife. At the time of the death of her husband she remained a widow to care for the education of her son. She was quiet and strongminded. The son Ju Kao, born in 1830, succeeded his grandfather Chi Hsun as chief of the clan. In 1857 she died and was buried in the cemetery of Shang Hsiang T'ang.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

WAN CH'ING, THE CHENG-WEI CHIANG-CHUN OF THE SEVENTEENTH GENERATION

175X

Sire Ju Kao's style name was Wan Ch'ing. He was the (great) grandson of Tan Jen (Chi Hsun) born of the wife of Cho. At the death of his father K'ung Chao (1835) his age was only six years. His grandfather Chi Hsun (who lived until 1850) cared for his education. He devotedly served his (great) grandfather, always praising the wine and food he presented to him (in order to make him better enjoy the food). He tried to make the old man happy. The grandfather lived until seventy years of age and his spiritual forces remained bright and strong, thanks to the filial piety and the care of Ju Kao. In 1850 Chi Hsun died and Ju Kao received the decree to the succession.

He was a strong, tall, distinguished man having high aspirations. He liked to ride horses and exercise with the bow. He honored the tradition of a military family. He was intelligent, went straight to the core of affairs and did not spend his time in minute details.

In 1857 the mint was to be built in Lanchow. Ju Kao offered wood and paid the building expenses for one year. He received from the emperor the button of the second degree, and the peacock plume.

In 1864 the Mohammedans of Ho Chou and Hsining revolted. One village after another was captured and destroyed. Sire Ju Kao protected the destitute people.

In 1871 the Shensi Mohammedans attacked Lien Ch'eng at night (the stronghold of the clan). Sire Ju Kao, day and night, defended the lonely city which resisted the attacks of the rebels, thanks to the exertion of the Sire.

In 1872 the Mohammedans of Hsining and Ho Chou attacked the city of Hsining. The governor of the province, Liu Chin-ch'ing, went with the army to the rescue of the city. At Lien Ch'eng the Tatung River was so swollen that no boats or rafts could cross. Ju Kao spent more than a thousand dollars and used his own wood to build a floating bridge. The troops crossed the river and arrived in time to save the city. Although the city had been saved by the army, Ju Kao had helped to save it by building the bridge.

In 1874 the revolt was quelled, and a report at court noted the circumstances of the salvation of Hsining, the recovery of the subprefecture of Tatung, and the help of Ju Kao by building the bridge. He received the title of Pa-tu-lu.

The governor general of the provinces of Shensi and Kansu, Tso Tsung-t'ang, was ordered to build a school in Lanchow for candidates to literary degrees. The institution having a bearing on the formation of eminent scholars and administrative officials, Ju Kao was happy to contribute. He liked to spend his own money and to collect money among his subjects. He offered 2,000 taels and a great number of trees to the officials who arrived to buy trees. The construction being achieved, the governor went to Suchow and stopped on his way in

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Chuang Lang. Ju Kao went to call on him. He was 175x invited to dinner, and highly praised by the governor.

The empire was at peace, the troops at rest. Ju Kao executed the orders of his superiors, and controlled his subjects according to the law. According to the seasons he examined farming and the culture of mulberry trees. In his spare time he planted flowers and bamboos and studied calligraphy, in the clerical style, [35] according to the principles of the scholars of the Chin and T'ang dynasties. He was able to write letters as big as the elbow. Most of the inscriptions in our mansions, temples, monasteries, and shops are products of his pencil and admired as gifts of his hand and his artistic talent.

He died in 1891 at the age of sixty-four and received posthumously the title of Cheng-wei-chiang-chun. His wife, the noble Khoshot lady, guarded the seals. She cared for the orphan and controlled the clan. She was intelligent and strong minded.

In 1896 the Mohammedans of Ho Chou and Hsining revolted again. Destitute people fled to Lien Ch'eng. The lady provided them with board and lodging and distributed alms and repaired the city walls. She was clever and was feared and loved by the subjects. Nobody dared to vex her.

She had no children. However, there were three boys of concubines. The first one, Tan Tseng, became a lama, the second one, Yang, died at the time he was adult, the third, Shu, succeeded to the hereditary duty. The lady died at forty-six years of age and received the title of tseng (great-grandmother) Fujen. She was buried at Shang Hsiang T'ang.[10]

FOUNDATION OF A SECOND CLAN WITHIN THE LU CLAN

175x 614

To the study of the Genealogical Register, the biographies and history of the Lu clan, is to be added a note about the founding of a second clan within the Lu clan.

T'o Huan, at the time of his submission to the Ming dynasty, was ordered to settle with his subjects in the country of Chuang Lang, which he had occupied during the Yuan dynasty. Accordingly, he was the recognized

[10] According to the Chronicles of the Lu clan Ju Kao, born in 1830, succeeded as t'u-ssu in 1850 or 1852 and received the diploma of his incumbency only in 1883. He died in 1891 or in 1893.

His wife, a Khoshot lady, died without issue in 1895.

Ju Kao had three sons born by concubines. The third son, Shu, born in 1876 succeeded his father in 1897. Here end the Chronicles.

In 1916 the widow of Shu, also a Khoshot lady, arrived at Hsining imploring General Ma K'o-ch'eng to accept the "dry fatherhood" of her son. A few days later the boy arrived at Hsining to acknowledge his "dry father," his protector. Certainly Shu had died before 1916, leaving a son. The wife of Shu, the Khoshot lady, hoping to see the son succeed her late husband as t'u-ssu, made a trip to Hsining to secure the protection of General Ma K'o-ch'eng, and the realization of her desire.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

proprietor of the country and the chief of his subjects, 175* who were not allowed to abandon him. The same principle prevailed among the t'u-ssu in Huangchung, and 614 the first appointed t'u-ssu was considered the founding ancestor of the clan, proprietor of the territory, and chief of the subjects. Regularly he was succeeded by his oldest son. Among the Monguors the founding ancestor distributed among his sons a part of the territory with some villages, to provide their sustenance, but he remained the supreme chief of the territory and the subjects. He was always free to dispense some territories to meritorious members of the clan. The sons of the founding ancestor and their descendants constitute the group of the nobles of the clan, forming as many branches as there were sons. Each branch was free to divide among its members the villages, and the land taxes, furnished by the commoners who tilled the soil of their properties and villages. In Huangchung, in time of war, each branch of the nobles was ordered to send a fixed number of soldiers to the t'u-ssu chief of the clan (Monguors I: 41, 42).

In the Genealogical Register and the Biographies of the Lu clan are noted only two sons of T'o Huan: Ah-shih-tu, the oldest, who succeeded and died after a year, and Kung-pu-shih-tieh, the second son, who succeeded from 1378 until 1410, and is recorded as the chief of the clan of the second generation.

In the genealogical records are noted only the t'u-ssu who succeeded to each other, and nothing is recorded about their brothers and sons who were not affiliated with the government of the clan.

Incidentally, there are encountered in the *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 55, and in the *Annals* of Chuang Lang **36**, some more interesting details related to the Lu clan and its history.

In both *Annals* it is recorded that the oldest son of T'o Huan was not Ah-shih-t'u, but Pa-chih-han. The text reads:

Pa-chih-han, the oldest son of the Prince of Wu Ting, member of the imperial family of the Yuan, fulfilling the duty of P'ing-chang-cheng-shih, submitted with his father to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was promoted secretary commandant. Later the name of Lu was granted to the clan by the emperor. The successive chiefs of the branch of Pa-chih-han fulfilled the hereditary duty of t'u-ssu.

What could have been the reason for the creation of a second t'u-ssu clan at the very beginning, when the Lu clan submitted to the Ming dynasty? By analogy with what happened in the Li clan in 1655, as described in Mongours I: 42, we may suppose that it was due to a quarrel within the ruling family of the clan and that similar troubles between Pa-chih-han and his father T'o Huan or his brothers caused the establishment of a second clan in the Lu clan from the very beginning.

No hints are encountered of troubles in the Lu family

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

at that time, either in the Lu chronicles or in the *Annals* of Kansu 42: 56, and Chuang Lang 36, but both *Annals* record that, at the time Pa-chih-han was appointed t'u-ssu by the emperor with the title of "secretary commandant with seal," T'o Huan offered him some territories and fourteen villages. Nothing is noted about the number of families they contained. T'o Huan at that time controlled ten tribes of Monguors, numbering 3,245 families with 21,686 persons, and the most extensive territories allotted by the emperor to any t'u-ssu in Huangchung. 175x 614

T'u-ssu T'o Huan was entitled "Commandant with Seal" and controlled 300 regular Monguor soldiers, 500 irregular soldiers, and 200 regular Tibetan soldiers. He obeyed the orders of the Chinese General of Hsining in time of war but had himself to provide the equipment (horses, weapons) and sustenance to his soldiers, who were not paid for their military services. He did not pay taxes to the Chinese officials. He received a salary of 76.6 taels.

As "secretary commandant with seal," Pa-chih-han also controlled territories offered "by the clan" but only fifty regular Monguor soldiers. He also obeyed the order of the Chinese general of Hsining in time of war, provided the equipment and sustenance to his soldiers, and paid no taxes to the Chinese officials, but he received an annual salary of only 48.96 taels.[11]

The enormous difference between the poor territories and fourteen villages offered to Pa-chih-han by his father and the extensive territories and cities and villages his father controlled must have opened his eyes to the fact that his right of succession as an eldest son had been by-passed by his father, and he must have felt this as an open insult which could never be forgotten and which sooner or later must be revenged.

Even though we encounter no hints in the family chronicles and in the *Annals* concerning troubles in the Lu family, these circumstances lead us to surmise that something must have been wrong between Pa-chih-han and his father, which might well have caused the formation of a second clan within the Lu clan.

THE PA-CHIH-HAN CLAN

During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) the successors of T'u-ssu Pa-chih-han, endowed with the office of "T'u-ssu secretary commandant with seal," defended the country against the recurrent forays and invasions of Mongols and Tibetans, according to the orders of the general of Hsining. In 1644, at the end of the dynasty, the incumbent T'u-ssu of the Pa-chih-han clan was the secretary commandant Lu Tien, who fought the brigand Li Tze-ch'eng in Huangchung and Kansu. He fought the brigands with his Monguor troops in the same way T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang, "commandant with seal" of the T'o Huan clan, fought them with 175x

[11] *Annals* of Chuang Lang 36*a–b*.

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his Monguors. However, neither t'u-ssu helped the other during the entire expedition. 175x

In 1646 T'u-ssu Lu Tien's army, in combination with the troops of the Ch'ing dynasty, fought the brigands Huo and Wu in the Hsiang Shan mountains of Ninghsia and the seventeen rebel tribes of Tibetans from the Chuang Lang region, thus accumulating merit.

In 1648 the Mohammedan Milayin revolted in Kanchow. Lu Tien helped the Manchu troops and those of the other t'u-ssu to recover the cities of Kanchow and Liangchow. He was promoted to "major of the Cheng-hai division." Some of the members of eminent families of the T'o Huan clan had mustered troops, on their own account, and lent a hand in the recovering of the cities. From then on their troops participated in all the subsequent fights against brigands.

In 1661 Lu Tien received officially the "hereditary incumbency of secretary commandant with seal" with the offices of "assistant chairman of the military headquarters" and of "vice-commandant in chief of the commandery of Ching Yuan." He died in 1667.[13]

During the Ch'ing dynasty the successors of the t'u-ssu of the Pa-chih-han clan were always at war (one of them, T'u-ssu Su Chou died on the battle field) with the other t'u-ssu of Huangchung and the seceders of the T'o Huan clan. They had helped quell all revolts of Chinese, Mongols, Tibetans, and Mohammedans in Huangchung.

All the successors of T'u-ssu Lu Tien were endowed with the incumbency of "secretary commandant with seal." They received annually a salary of 48.96 taels. They controlled fourteen villages and some territories and subjects granted to them by the founding ancestor T'o Huan. They did not pay taxes to the Chinese government. They commanded fifty regular Monguor soldiers.

THE T'O HUAN CLAN ON THE BRINK OF DISASTER

In the second moon of 1644, T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang of the T'o Huan clan, after several defeats suffered at the hands of the brigands of Li Tze-ch'eng, retreated with his troops into the city of Lien Ch'eng. The city was taken, T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang was killed and his only son, his legitimate successor, abducted by the brigands. The t'u-ssu had been betrayed by eminent members of the clan who had refused to fight. For three or four years news had been spread across the country that the dynasty was effete and its fall imminent. Long since at the clan meetings, chiefs and members of the most eminent families of the clan had had heated discussions among themselves and with the t'u-ssu, claiming that already three-fourths of China had been lost to the brigands and the Manchus, that fighting and dying for the Ming were useless, and that

[13] *Annals* of Kansu 42: 58–59; *Annals* of Chuang Lang 36*a–b*.

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the surrender to the Ch'ing dynasty was the only solution. 175x

The clan was convulsed by internal discord and on the brink of dislocation. The confusion and discord had grown after the death of T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang, the abduction of his legitimate successor, and the arrival in the country of the appointed governor of Shensi and Kansu provinces, Meng Ch'iao-fang, sent by the new Manchu dynasty.

Throughout 1644 vehement debates aggravated the confusion, and in 1645 members of the eminent families of the T'o Huan clan, advised by T'u-ssu Lu Tien, decided to follow his example, and to be introduced by him to the newly arrived governor Meng Ch'iao-fang.

The governor appraised the behavior of Lu Tien and appointed him "major of the Cheng-hai division," with orders to fight the brigands in combination with the Manchu army.

The whole country was upset. The Lu clan, the most important among the t'u-ssu clans, was without chief, and rent by internal discords. The governor was in a hurry to pacify the country and to use everyone who was able to give some help with troops. He was happy to meet the t'u-ssu in Huangchung who controlled troops and were ready to lend a hand. He was not averse even to accepting the help of members of eminent families of the T'o Huan clan who during the Ming dynasty had gained distinctions for military achievements and were able to muster troops on their own account from among their groups of relatives. He needed troops badly to cope with the situation.

However, the policy of the governor was destructive to the t'u-ssu clans. The power of the authority of a t'u-ssu is based on his ability to keep the subjects, nobles and commoners, submissive. During the Ming dynasty, when the use of the t'u-ssu troops was very urgent and the t'u-ssu accused at court subjects intending to secede from the clan, the Chinese officials were ready to protect the t'u-ssu and punish the seceders. Secession of groups of clan members caused the ruin of many clans among the nomads.

FIRST GROUP OF SECEDERS FROM THE T'O HUAN CLAN IN 1645

Who were the members of eminent families of the T'o Huan Clan who caused disunion in the clan?

The chief of the first group of seceders from the Lu clan was Lu P'ei-tso who, in 1645, was led by T'u-ssu Lu Tien to surrender to the new Ch'ing dynasty.

Lu P'ei-tso was a descendant of Lu Fu, the second son of Lu Chien, who had been one of the most famous t'u-ssu of the clan. During forty years (1444–1488) he had successfully fought Mongol and Tibetan invaders. In 1475 the emperor had honored him with an Honorific Arch with the inscription: "During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and sincerity; in-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

cessantly he exercised devotedness and zeal." Lu Fu, 175X the second son of Lu Chien, had accompanied his father on the expeditions and had been named by the emperor "secretary commandant" of the city of Chuang Lang in 1519. The son of Lu Fu, Nen, died on the battlefield fighting Tibetans. His grandson was made "assistant commandant." His great-grandson died with the rank of second captain of the garrison of Hung Ch'eng. The group of the descendants of Lu Fu was one of the most prominent defenders of the Ming dynasty.

In 1648 the Mohammedan Milayin revolted in Kanchow. Lu P'ei-tso with his own army accompanied Lu Tien and other t'u-ssu to quell the revolt and recover the cities of Kanchow and Liangchow. He was given the original title of the family, that of "Assistant Commandant."

His descendants fought in 1723–1724 in Huangchung against the rebel Mongols of Kokonor. In 1781 they fought the Salar revolt and in 1784 the Yen Ch'a revolt of the Mohammedans.

During the whole Ch'ing dynasty the descendants of Lu P'ei-tso, in concert with Manchu and t'u-ssu troops of Huangchung and troops of seceders of the T'o Huan clan, quelled revolts and defended the country. Each in succession received the hereditary title of "Assistant Commandant" and an annual salary of 53.4 taels. The Lu P'ei-tso group lived in the country of Hsi Tat'ung and controlled the valleys of Ma Chuang and Yang Fang. It did not control subjects and had no regular soldiers but in time of war its chiefs called on the descendants of the Lu Fu group. It did not have to pay taxes to the Chinese government.[13]

SOCIAL STATUS OF CHIEFS OF GROUPS OF SECEDERS FROM THE CLAN

175X 622

T'u-ssu are possessors of territories and subjects allotted to them by the emperor, and as beneficiaries of territories, and also the appointed defenders of them have the right to make legal claims against illegal appropriators of their territories. Since subjects are allocated to the t'u-ssu to provide them with defenders of their territories, each t'u-ssu is listed as having a fixed number of regular soldiers. A soldier is not allowed to abandon his chief, a Monguor is not allowed to abandon the t'u-ssu, and it is because the t'u-ssu has to equip his own troops that he is exempt from [65] paying taxes.

By the same reasoning, one who, with his followers, [626] seceds from his t'u-ssu is not legally entitled to either territory or subjects, and ought to be liable to prosecution. Even if he is not prosecuted, he and his group are not exempt from the payment of taxes, because he does not hold a recognized territory, with its attached duties and costs of defense.

[13] *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 60a–b.

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The emperor himself appoints t'u-ssu and grants their seals and diploma. No officials, even governors, are allowed to appoint t'u-ssu. As an exception, when a new clan splits off from a large clan, a part of the territories and subjects of the clan are granted to the new t'u-ssu by the "old t'u-ssu and the clan chiefs," but in such cases accreditation by the emperor must follow. These facts in the Li and Lu clan have been previously noted. Also every time a new t'u-ssu succeeds to an old one his office must be confirmed by the emperor, with seal and diploma. 175x 622

It is clear then that the status of a chief of a group of seceders from a Monguor clan is that of a military official, obeying the orders of a Chinese military official, who unlawfully enlisted him and granted him the titles and promotions granted to Chinese officials in the Chinese army; it is not the status of a t'u-ssu. Such a seceding chief and his followers, continuing to live in the territories of the clan, among the loyal subjects of the t'u-ssu, are legally still subject to him, although they have ceased to recognize his authority. 175x 614 622 701

How is it possible for two groups of people to live peacefully together on the territory of a chief, whose authority one of them refuses to recognize? How is it possible to have Chinese officials who do not defend the rights of their subjects to secede from the clan? This paradox was realized in 1645, when the seceders of the T'o Huan clan led by T'u-ssu Lu Tien surrendered to Governor Meng Ch'iao-fang, and had their situation "regularized" by the Governor. A look at the chronicles of the Lu clan helps to clarify this confusing problem.[14]

SECEDERS FROM THE LU CLAN IN 1645 175x

In 1645 Prince Yin of the Ch'ing dynasty arrived to call the people of the two rivers to surrender. He himself, a Manchu, well conversant with the mentality and the social institutions of the Mongols and nomadic peoples, and familiar with conditions in the Lu clan, was so shocked by the disorganization and hatred among the eminent families of the clan, that he ordered the noble Lady Yang, concubine of the killed T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang in Lien Ch'eng, to write to the emperor a detailed report with "her blood," concerning the disaster of Lien Ch'eng. The report reads: "The subjects of our clan have been divided among traitors, belonging to eminent families of our tribes, our clan properties have been seized and the hereditary lordship over our tribes usurped."[15]

This report is an eye-opener concerning the events of 1644, the confusion existing in the clan and the hatred among the subjects. Reading the report the first impression is that the Lu P'ei-tso group must be rated among the "traitors belonging to the most eminent families of our tribes" and that the territories

[14] See pp. 89, 101.
[15] See p. 89.

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of Ma Chuang and Yang Fang had been stolen from the clan, with the people who lived on them. Such were the conditions existing in 1645, the year in which the noble Lady Yang reported to the emperor. 175X

In the accusation sent by Lady Yang to the emperor it is recorded also that T'u-ssu Lu Tien of the Pa-chih-han clan stirred hatred and discord among the eminent families of the T'o Huan clan. Instead of helping save the clan, he aimed at its destruction, at the division of territories and subjects among the eminent families, and the absorption into his clan of more and more territories and subjects, and the patrimony of the abducted legitimate successor of the killed t'u-ssu, Sire Hung.

The resentment against the T'o Huan clan, caused by the forming of the clan of Pa-chih-han and nurtured in the hearts of the successors of the clan t'u-ssu for three centuries, brought the opportunity to take a long awaited revenge. Lu Tien used his influence with Governor Meng Ch'iao-fang to discredit the T'o Huan clan, to secure promotions for the chiefs of the seceding groups, to sow discord in the clan and accelerate its destruction.

At present it is easy to guess that one of the causes of all these troubles was the wrong done by T'o Huan in passing over his oldest son at the time he had appointed his second son as successor and chief of the tribes, and it is easy to believe that this old feud, which had flared up in the period of 1645 and brought the clan to the brink of disaster, is still smoldering in the hearts of the members of both clans.

SECOND GROUP OF SECEDERS

The second group of seceders were members of the same tribe of Lu Chien, the most prominent among the t'u-ssu of the T'o Huan clan. The chief of this second group was Lu Yung. It is noted that, like Lu Fu, he belonged to the nobility of the clan, being a descendant of the founder of the Yuan dynasty. During the Ming dynasty, Lu Chien, Pacificator of the Mongols, achieved his most brilliant successes in his wars against the Mongols in the region of Yu Lin (1448–1488), where his second son Lu Fu and Lu Yung acquired their awards. Lu Yung obtained the title of "general ensign," his son Lu Yu was given the title of "centurion" and during four generations the office of centurion was transmitted to his descendants.

In 1645 Lu Ta-kao, descendant of the seventh generation of Lu Yung, submitted to the Ch'ing and seceded from the clan. The hereditary office of centurion granted to him by the Ming was acknowledged by the Ch'ing. In 1648 he fought the rebel Milayin and in 1675 the rebels Wu San-kuei and Governor Wang Fu-ch'eng, and received the title of major and later that of secretary commandant. Having made an offer of grain to the army, he was made assistant commandant with the hereditary title of commandant. Then during

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eight generations some members of the group were 175
dignified with the title of commandant and some with that of secretary commandant. During the Ming dynasty the group had never obtained such prominent titles. The group lived in Ku Ch'eng, an annual salary of 73.44 taels was granted to the chief of the group, and the group paid taxes to the government. It controlled seven villages, but no subjects. In time of war the members of the Lu Yung group were used.

A comparison between the social conditions of both groups of seseders is instructive. In group one, during the Ming dynasty, are recorded: one award of secretary commandant, two of assistant commandant, one of captain; in the second group: one of general ensign and six of centurion. According to these titles the social status of group one seems to have been more important during the Ming dynasty than that of group two. During the Ch'ing dynasty in the first group are recorded nine awards of assistant commandant, in the second group are noted the awards of one secretary commandant, of one assistant commandant and of eight commandants. Again the titles of the first group have been more honorable. However, the salary of the chiefs of the second group was 73.44 taels, that of the first group only 53.4 taels. A big difference is that the first group did not have to pay taxes to the government but that the second group had to pay them. It is not easy to find an explanation of the fact that a group of members with higher offices received a smaller salary than members of a group with lower offices. Group one controlled the territories and villages of two valleys, group two controlled seven villages. Neither group controlled subjects but used descendants of their groups in time of war.[16]

It must be noted that during the Ming dynasty both groups of Lu Fu and Lu Yung were submissive and obedient subjects of the dynasty and their t'u-ssu, and that the secession of the first group started in 1645 with the surrender of Lu P'ei-tso to the Ch'ing and that of the second group with the surrender of Lu Ta-kao in 1645. It is worth noting that after the secession from the clan, both groups are recognized by the emperor as its devoted subjects and defenders, notwithstanding that secession is not allowed by the law, and also that t'u-ssu alone are exempt from payment of taxes to the government, and not groups of seceders. There remains the puzzle of how to equip a valuable army without controlling subjects, using only descendants of the founder of the group. Notwithstanding these anomalies, during centuries the "institution" has continued.

GROUP OF LU CHIH-TING, THIRD GROUP OF SECEDERS

Lu Chih-ting belongs to the same tribe of Lu Tien (Pa-chih-han). During the Ming dynasty the office of commandant was granted to him, though it is not

[16] *Annals* of Kansu 42: 59a–b.

[111(A)]

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noted in what circumstances or for what reason. However, it was at the very end of the Ming that he formed his group, and that, in 1645, he followed Lu Tien to surrender to the Ch'ing. 175X

In 1648 at the time of the revolt of Milayin he fought the rebel together with Lu Tien and the groups of Lu Fu and Lu Yung and helped recover the lost cities of Kanchow and Liangchow "using his subjects as soldiers." In 1651 his appointment as commandant received from the Ming, was acknowledged by the Ch'ing dynasty.

In 1675 Lu Wen-tu, son of Lu Chih-ting, at the time of the revolts of General Wu San-kuei and Governor Wang Fu-ch'eng, helped recover the lost cities of Lanchow, Ti Tao, etc., in combination with the troops of General Wang of Hsining and those of Lu Ta-kao, of the Lu Yung group, using "his subjects as his troops." In 1677 he was appointed commandant, the same position as that of his father, and eight members of eight generations successively received the same appointment.

The group lived in Ta Yin Wan, and all the chiefs of the group received the honorable title of commandant and a salary of 73.44 taels; however, they had to pay taxes to the government and controlled nine villages.[17] It is not noted that the group controlled subjects, but two times it is noted that it used its own "subjects" as troops, fighting rebels. These are the only times such "innocent" notices are recorded.

The group of Lu Chih-ting seems to have been formed at the very end of the Ming dynasty, at the time he was promoted commandant and so his ancestors are not recorded as chiefs of the group, nor is it recorded that he belonged to the nobility of the Yuan dynasty. However, he is a descendant of Pa-chih-han, eldest son of T'o Huan, who did belong to the nobility.

He is recorded as controlling nine villages, but it is sure that he did not receive the villages from Lu Tien, because Lu Tien possessed only the fourteen villages granted to his ancestor by T'o Huan in 1371. He seceded from the Lu Tien clan and because all the seceders, according to the report of Lady Yang to the emperor, stole subjects and territories from the T'o Huan clan, it is reasonable to suppose that he followed the other seceders in stealing the nine villages from the T'o Huan clan with their subjects.

GROUP OF LU KUO YIN, THE FOURTH GROUP

Lu Kuo-yin is recorded as belonging to the nobility of the Yuan, without a single detail more.

During the Ming dynasty, Lu Kuo-yin, his son and grandson Lu Ta-mu, bore the title of first chiliarch. In 1645, following Lu Tien, he surrendered to the Ch'ing with his group. In 1648 his grandson Lu Ta-mu died on the field of battle, fighting the rebel Milayin.

[17] *Annals* of Kansu 42: 59*b*, 60*a*. *Annals* of Chuang Lang 37*a*.

[111(B)]

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In 1675 Lu Ta-mu's son Lu Ching-ch'eng, in combination with Major Lu Ta-kao of the Lu Yung group, fought the rebel Wu San-kuei and Wang Fu-ch'eng and recovered Lanchow and other cities and received the hereditary title of first chiliarch. Then members of seven successive generations received the same title during the Ch'ing dynasty. 175×

The group lived in Ku Ch'eng, the chief received a salary of 42.84 taels, controlled the region of Hung Sha Ch'uan but controlled no subjects and at time of war the members of the group were used as soldiers. The group did not pay taxes to the government.

How did the group control the region of Hung Sha Ch'uan and what about the people who lived in the region?

At the time members of the "eminent" families stole territories and subjects from the clan, according to the report of Lady Yang. It is not abnormal, therefore, to encounter members of "less eminent families" belonging to the nobility of the Yuan following their example. The words "members of the nobility of the Yuan" seem to explain the behavior of the founders of groups of seceders.[18]

GROUP OF LU SAN-CH'I, THE FIFTH GROUP

The fifth group of seceders, the group of Lu San-ch'i, is noted as belonging to the imperial family of the Yuan, and to the clan of Tu-ssu Lu Tien.

It is recorded that the father of Lu San-ch'i was Lu P'ang-hsun, who during the Ming had been given the rank of second chiliarch.

In 1645 Lu San-ch'i went to surrender to the Ch'ing with Lu Tien, "to whose tribe he belonged." In 1648 in combination with Lu Tien and others he recovered the cities of Kanchow and Liangchow, occupied by the rebel Milayin. In 1652 his hereditary office of Second Chiliarch granted by the Ming was acknowledged by the Ch'ing. He died in 1671. Then nine members of successive generations received the hereditary office.

The group lived in Ma Chun P'u, controlled no subjects, received an annual grant of 32.64 taels, and did not pay taxes to the government. The descendants of the group fought in time of war.[19]

The group of Lu San-ch'i was the second among the seceders who belonged to the clan of T'u-ssu Lu Tien. Its social status must have been more modest than that of Lu Chih-ting, chief of the first group, because its chiefs had only the rank of second chiliarch while the chiefs of Lu Chih-ting's group held the rank of commandant. This "less eminent" clan family must well have expected to enjoy the same rights enjoyed by the "very eminent" one, and to partake of the division of territories and subjects of the T'o Huan clan, be-

[18] *Annals* of Kansu 42: 60*b*. *Annals* of Chuang Lang, 37*b*.
[19] *Annals* of Kansu 42: 60*b*.

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cause it belonged to the same imperial Yuan house as the "very eminent" ones. 175x

There also remains to be mentioned the eminent family of Lu Ch'a-pei who held the rank of centurion, which rank four members of successive generations held during the Ming dynasty. During the Ch'ing dynasty only three members held this rank. However, it is not noted that the group surrendered to the Ch'ing dynasty in 1645 and nothing is said about the relations of the group with the clan of T'u-ssu Lu Tien or with the clan of T'o Huan. It is only said that in 1738 Lu Chou, son of Lu Yuen-ning, asked to succeed his father but that it was refused. After that there are no more records, so this group of seceders need not be taken into consideration.[20]

The conclusions seem to be that among the five groups of eminent families of the Lu Clans three seceded from the T'o Huan clan and two from the clan of T'u-ssu Lu Tien; that the seceders had been accused by Lady Yang to the emperor in 1645, of having stolen territories and subjects of the T'o Huan clan; that in the records concerning these events the names of the stolen villages and territories are duly noted, but it is positively denied that the five groups controlled subjects. However, it is accidentally noted that the Lu Chih-ting group fought rebels in behalf of the emperor, using genuine soldiers from among his subjects.

THE DISINTEGRATED LU CLAN

In 1645 the Manchu Prince Yin had been so shocked at the sight of the disorganization of the Lu clan and the disgusting hatred among the eminent families of so prominent a clan, that he had ordered Lady Yang to send to the emperor the report "written with her blood" about the conditions existing inside the clan.

What was the answer of the emperor to the report of Lady Yang? What was the redress ordered by the emperor for the injustices endured by the clan?

In 1648, after three full years during which no chief administered the clan and the gap of hatred and aversion between the clan members had deepened appallingly, Lu An, nephew of the killed T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang, received, with the title of commandant, the decree of appointment and the seal of t'u-ssu ad interim, for so long as the abducted legitimate successor was not discovered. Unfortunately, the t'u-ssu was looked at askance by most of the prominent members of the clan because he was too young.[21]

In the same year the revolt of the Mohammedan Milayin began in Kanchow, cities were lost, troops were hurried to recover the cities and quell the revolt. In the meantime T'u-ssu An waited quietly for the outcome of the revolt.

In 1650 T'u-ssu An was happy at the unexpected arrival at Chuang Lang of Sire Hung, the legitimate

[20] *Annals* of Kansu 42: 62a. *Annals* of Chuang Lang 37a.
[21] See pp. 89, 101.

[112(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

successor to the incumbency, and he left the distressed city as fast as possible.

From the day of his arrival, misfortunes and hardships awaited Sire Hung; still a boy of sixteen or seventeen years of age. The existence of two factions was instantly manifest: first, the illegal appropriators of clan territories and subjects, who were worried about whether or not they would be allowed to retain possession of the stolen territories and subjects; and second, the loyal and dependable members of the clan. Heated discussions and disturbances between the groups were everywhere evident. It will never be known how many visits were made, or what gifts were offered by each of the groups to the military and civil officials during the discussion of the problem of the conservation or the restitution of the territories and subjects, but after a few weeks the powerful seceders had succeeded in having Sire Hung put in jail for ten years, pouring streams of abuse upon the poor boy, accusing him of not being the genuine son of T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang. In 1659, after ten years of suffering and humiliation, thanks to the generous efforts of the loyal and dependable members of the clan, the truth became evident and Sire Hung received the appointment and seal of t'u-ssu of a clan rent by discords and hatred for more than twenty years.[22] Sire Hung died after fifteen years, in 1673, at the age of forty.

During the imprisonment of Sire Hung, his wife, Lady Wang, adopted a boy, Ti Hsin, and later bore a boy, Ti Ch'eng. At the death of Sire Hung, both boys being too young, Lady Wang retained the seal and controlled the clan. She had a hard time, suffering humiliation and contemptuous treatment every day from the group of the seceders who called her incapable of controlling the clan.

In 1674 the terrible revolt of the three ministers started, and the city of Lanchow was lost. The clever Lady Wang, hoping for help from powerful officials, sent grain and horses to help the troops and 300 of her soldiers to fight under the command of the general of Hsining. She received a laudatory letter.

In 1683 her son Ti Ch'eng succeeded to the office of t'u-ssu but he died after three years. In 1685 her adopted son Ti Hsin succeeded him.[23] Again the widow and her son endured very painful contumely at the hands of powerful and audacious clan members, as well in private as in administrative matters. This was the more harmful because the financial conditions of the family were at that time less brilliant. The lady had to adapt to her environment as well she could, and bear with fortitude the sad vicissitudes of the time.

In 1699 the Jungar group disturbed the country, and Ti Hsin sent troops to quell the revolt, and grain to groups of troops. Then the Kokonor Mongols invaded the country. Troops arrived from Lanchow

[22] See p. 101.
[23] See p. 102.

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to rescue the troops of Hsining, but just at that time the river of Tatung was swollen and the troops were blocked in Lien Ch'eng. Ti Hsin spent thousands of taels to hire carpenters, and using his own wood, he built a floating bridge so that the troops could arrive to save the city of Hsining. 175

In 1718, at fifty years of age, Ti Hsin asked for retirement and his son Hua Lin succeeded him.[24]

At that time more troops arrived in Huangchung on account of the troubles in Tibet and Turkistan. A Chinese army had been defeated in Tibet and Lhasa taken by the Jungars. In 1720 a new Chinese army marched to Lhasa. Hua Lin, the son of Ti Hsin, leading a strong army, participated in the expedition. The Jungars fled and the new Talai, who had been relegated to Kumbum, was enthroned in Lhasa. Lu Hua Lin, accredited with exceptional achievements, was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of Hsining. The future of the clan seemed to become hopeful.

More troops arrived from Szechwan, commanded by Governor Nien Keng-yao and General Yueh Chung-ch'i, to quell the revolt of the Khoshot Mongols of Kokonor and the lamas and Tibetans of Huangchung. Both officials, not conversant with the countries of Kokonor and Huangchung and the people and tribes, started engaging all the troops of the Monguor t'u-ssu clans of Huangchung.

It happened that the mother of the retired T'u-ssu Ti Hsin, the adopted son of the late Sire Hung, was the noble Dame Yueh, the sister of the father of General Yueh Chung-ch'i. Needless to say, Ti Hsin and his son Hua Lin and the entire family were happy to meet the prominent general and that this happy news was swept across the country among the t'u-ssu.

The general, after a few days, knowing the circumstances of the Lu family, was ready to try to help it out. However, the seceders of the clan still seethed with hatred and avoided contacting the general.

The troops of Lu Hua Lin fought during 1723 and 1724, several times successfully, in combination with the troops of the governor and the general. Hua Lin was promoted colonel in Liangchow. All the t'u-ssu were stimulated to compete with each other in quelling the revolts, and the concord and congeniality among the t'u-ssu and the good understanding with the high officials was unusual.

The eight brutal Tibetan tribes of Hsieh Erh So, living in Cho Tze Shan, the mountainous country of Chuang Lang, had revolted in 1723 and their revolt had been quelled by General Yueh Chung-ch'i after a heavy struggle which had lasted many weeks, and the large country pacified. The many conspicuous achievements of Lu Hua-lin having been reported to the emperor, the emperor awarded him the tribes as subjects. They numbered 453 families totaling 2,365 persons.[25]

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[24] See p. 102.
[25] See pp. 103, 113.

[113(B)]

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175X

At the time of the celebration of the victory in Peking, Lu Hua Lin was invited to the capitol to call on the emperor. He received the title of Lieutenant Colonel of Huo Ch'i Ying in Sian, the capital of the Shensi province, and was later transferred to Kanchow as defender of the city and assistant general in Yung Ch'ang.

The Lu clan was flourishing, its honor redeemed, and the clan was again at the crest of its glory. Lu Hua Lin died in 1736.[28]

THE CLAN MEMBERS AND THE SECEDERS

The Lu clan had lost its seceders, but had been granted by the emperor the eight tribes of Hsieh Erh So. But what about the seceders from the clan?

It is a shame that notwithstanding suits lasting during many years, none of the territories and subjects stolen by the seceders had been restored to the clan, and none among the seceders had been punished, nor had any of them come back to the clan. However, after the glorious achievements of Lu Hua Lin, his distinguished promotions, the influence of the honorable family of Yueh Chung-ch'i and the more intimate concord of the Lu clan with all the t'u-ssu of Huangchung, the influence and prestige of the clan had reached its former prominent status in the t'u-ssu society and in that of Chinese officialdom.

The social status of the seceders had decreased in proportion as the social status of the Lu clan had increased. The prestige of a clan depends on the titles and promotions of the clan chiefs, and never had the titles of the seceders been on a par with those of the clan chiefs, even though the troops of the seceders had continued to help quell the revolts in Huangchung. However, the hatred against the Lu clan continued to persist among them with the same bitterness and rancor, and was always ready to flare up at every opportunity, even after so many years.

In the biography of T'u-ssu Fan (t'u-ssu of the fourteenth generation) who died in 1787 after having called on the emperor in 1786, it is noted that his widow and orphan boy suffered vexations and contemptuous treatment from the old foes of the clan. The son being too young to succeed his father, his mother was in a hurry to have the boy appointed in order to avoid difficulties in the succession. In the winter of 1792 she sent a million pounds of fuel to the army which was defending the city of Donkir, and received a fine letter of congratulations and the decree for the succession of the boy to the office of t'u-ssu. That was an old trick used in the clan every time troubles were brewing and the good offices of the emperor were needed.

The same trick was used against the same foes when, in 1826, the clan bought camels for the army fighting in Suchow; in 1857, when the Mint was built and a valuable sum of money was offered to prevent troubles

[28] See p. 103.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

with the same foes; and again in 1872, at the time of the revolt of the Mohammedans, when the clan built a floating bridge to pass the Tatung River, for the army had to reach Hsining and was blocked at Lien Ch'eng. 175x

The conclusion seems to be that a sword of Damocles swayed above the clan for as long a time as the seceders were alive and assuming an attitude of menacing hostility every time an opportunity would occur.

CONCLUSION

The study ends with the biographies of the ancestors of the most prominent among the clans, the Lu clan, which shed light on the family life of the t'u-ssu and the process of Sinicization in the center of the family. 175x 622 565

This section of the Biographies shows the mentality of the chiefs of the clans and their entire families. All the chiefs of the Monguor clans at the beginning of the Ming dynasty were uncouth barbarians, admiring the Chinese civilization, feeling themselves humiliated in the presence of the Chinese. Hence the eagerness in the families of the chiefs of all the clans to learn the Chinese language, to adopt Chinese customs, to have in the family members honored with literary degrees, to see their chiefs dignified with Chinese military titles and promotions. The Chinese knew very well these dispositions and fostered them, granting military titles one after another, even bestowing upon some among them, the title of Duke of Hui Ning and Duke of Kao Yang. 156 177

The chiefs of the clans married girls of prominent Chinese officials, and married their girls to important Chinese officials and prominent Chinese families. After a couple of generations the mentality and customs in the family had completely changed. Dinners had become Chinese dinners, clothing Chinese clothing, jewelry Chinese jewelry, furniture in the houses Chinese furniture, and the walls were adorned with Chinese inscriptions and paintings. A hall to the ancestors had been built in the mansion of the chief of the clan where sacrifices were offered according to the Chinese pattern, and rich Monguors liked to display luxury in the Chinese fashion. The introduction of Chinese women into the families of the chiefs of the clan had changed entirely the mind of the family and stimulated its Sinicization. But in China the corners are never wholly square. These Sinicized Monguors profess a Confucianism that allows them to practice, even fervently, lamaism and shamanism, that allows them to burn down and rebuild monasteries, to be proprietors of monasteries and to have sons who become lamas and even Living Buddhas. 175x 177 [582]

The family chronicles of the Lu clan are a great help for the comprehension of the social life of the Monguor clans and also of the attitude of the Chinese administration, related to the policy adopted toward the Mongol and Tibetan brigands on the frontiers. 114

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In the texts of the imperial orders sent to the t'u-ssu concerning the way of waging war with the Mongol brigands who incessantly for five centuries invaded and plundered the frontiers, abducted and killed people, are encountered continually the words "mobilize the troops and kill the brigands," "exterminate the brigands," "you are capable of doing that," "intercept their roads and kill them," "block their ways and kill them," etc., etc. The rage against and the exasperation caused by the Mongol brigands were uppermost in the minds of the Chinese officials and the frontier people. 175x 648

It is a pity that the family chronicles of the other t'u-ssu clans are lost, so we miss the texts of the imperial pronouncements at official burials with the three sacrifices and the imperial oration read before the coffin by a high official delegated by the emperor. The first sacrifice was offered and the oration read on the day of the burial. On the anniversary of the death was offered the second sacrifice and there was read a second oration. After the third year, at the end of the mourning period, followed the last sacrifice and the oration. These orations consisted in the glorification of the deceased, of his virtues and merits, and described what the emperor considered to be the virtues and the merits of the officials he used. They always ended with stereotype phrase, "in case your spirits are still conscious and capable to enjoy and breathe the fragrancy of the sacrifice, accept and enjoy it." This last courtesy of the emperor toward the meritorious t'u-ssu, read by a high official, in the presence of the entire clan, created a special atmosphere of devotion among the Monguors toward the emperor. The texts of these orations are always very interesting and instructive. [703]

THE GLORY OF THE T'U-SSU CLANS OF HUANGCHUNG

175x 614

We have to close the study of the Huangchung Monguors with the list of the names of the Monguor t'u-ssu who died on the field of battle sacrificing their lives for the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties.

This is the most glorious page in the history of the Monguors.

DIED ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE

In 1402 T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi
In 1403 T'u-ssu Ch'i Tuan-chou
In 1410 T'u-ssu Lu Kung-pu-shih-tieh
In 1426 T'u-ssu Chou-yung
In 1511 T'u-ssu Li Ch'eng's son
In 1536 T'u-ssu Hsin Pao
In 1537 T'u-ssu Yeh Luan
In 1559 T'u-ssu Li Ming-mao
In 1586 T'u-ssu Na Wei-liang
In 1588 T'u-ssu Li Chih-hsien
T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih-kang
T'u-ssu Chao and Wu. With these two t'u-ssu 800 soldiers died.

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175x
614

T'u-ssu Yeh Wei-chien
T'u-ssu Wang Chao
In 1643 T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang
In 1644 T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuan, his wife and 120 members of his family.
Wife of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, his concubine, two brothers, three hundred members of the family.
T'u-ssu Yeh Kuo-chi
In 1646 T'u-ssu Ch'eng Kuang-hsien's son
In 1798 T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu
In 1864 T'u-ssu Chou Hsieh-chi

No record existed relating to the number of all the Monguor soldiers who died on the fields of battle during these five centuries.

HONORIFIC ARCHES AND INSCRIPTIONS

175x
211
703

Honorific Arch was built and inscription sent by the emperor:

In 1475 for T'u-ssu Lu Chien "During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and probity, incessantly exercised fidelity and zeal."
In 1546 for T'u-ssu Lu Chin "Incessantly practiced faithfulness and justice and was illustrious for his dignity and fame."
In 1568 for T'u-ssu Li Kung "Ch'ing Yun, 'Blue Clouds,' means Bright Intelligence. He was an eminent scholar."
In 1612 for T'u-ssu Ch'i Teh "Honorably favored by Heavenly Grace."
In 1616 for T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chung "Served the country, manifested loyalty."
In 1644 for T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuan "Loyal servant and faithful wife, glory of the noble clan."

In 1534 in the city of Hsining was built the HALL OF THE FAITHFUL AND MERITORIOUS OFFICIALS OF HUANGCHUNG.

Four names of t'u-ssu are recorded in the list of these glorious officials. They are:

Li Nan-ko
Li Yin
Ch'eng Chih
Li Ch'ang

IMPERIAL DISTINCTION

After the Hsining troops, seething with hatred against the Mongol brigands of Kokonor, and the son, nephew, and relatives of Altan, had brilliantly demolished the temple in Kokonor, where Altan had met the Dalai Lama, and after two resounding victories had been obtained against these brigands in 1594, reports were sent to the emperor with the names of the meritorious military and civil officials who had contributed to these successful achievements. A delegate of the ministry of war was sent with titles and gifts to reward these

[115(B)]

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officials. Among the names of these meritorious officials we read these of the Monguor t'u-ssu: 175x 211 703

Lu Kuang-tsu
Li Yu-mao
Li Hsien-hua
Ch'eng San-chi
Ch'i Ping-chung
Ch'i Teh

STELES ERECTED BY THANKFUL PEOPLE FOR MERITORIOUS T'U-SSU

In 1537 T'u-ssu Yeh Luan pacified the region of Cheng-ch'iang-i and was besieged in the fortress by several groups of Mongol brigands. He fought bravely. Nearly all his soldiers were killed, but he still fought with the courage of despair. Finally he was killed. The thankful people of the country erected a stele in Cheng-ch'iang-i in commemoration of his heroic achievement. The stele still exists.

In 1616 T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chung, appointed in Yung-ch'ang, was besieged by the Mongol Yin-ting-ssu-ts'ing and his 1,000 troops. Controlling only 300 soldiers, he fought during two days and nights. When the auxiliary troops arrived, instantly Ch'i Ping-chung pursued the enemy and recaptured the abducted people and stolen animals. The thankful people erected a stele in the city of Yung-ch'ang in commemoration of his glorious performance.

[116(A)]

During five centuries the Monguors bore with fortitude the vicissitudes of very hard times, fighting inroads of brigands and revolts of tribes, always on the warpath in their own country and in far-off provinces. A strong factor in buoying their courage was the tie of the clan, which bound them close together in one family, with a t'u-ssu as head of the family. 175x

The appreciation and estimation of their heroic achievements by the emperor and local high officials, the building of Honorific Arches, the favor of official burials and sacrifices, the granting of titles, the names of their chiefs recorded in the City Hall of faithful and meritorious officials, the reports sent to the emperor about their valorous performances, the thankfulness of the Chinese who erected steles to glorify them, were so many stimuli for the Monguors which made life worth living and brought happiness in the clan and in the families. 182

The last news we have about the Huangchung Monguors is that the Monguor clans are broken up, the t'u-ssu regime is abolished, the ladies are forbidden to wear their distinctive clothes and headdress, the use of their language is prohibited, in every village a school is organized with teachers of the new ideology. Monguors and their wives are enlisted with the Chinese men and women in working groups. The aim is to obliterate the Monguor nation and mix it in the Chinese nation. In a few years from now the Monguors will have disappeared. 178

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[For historical data, see category 116, pp. 3-4, 6-116.]

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[For additional information on t'u-ssu, see category 116, pp. 72-114.]

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[For the information related to the relationship of Monguors with Chinese emperors, see category 116, pp. 72-114.]

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and her children. (3) Importance of the mother, daughter-in-law, children, maternal clan. (4) The practice of husband-sons-in-law.

A. Present-day Patriarchal State System of the Large Family

121 In order to be able to understand a large part of the marriage rites and customs which we have described in this study, one must necessarily admit the hypothesis of a former matriarchate among the T'ou-jen.

596 Indeed, a large part of the marriage customs is unexplainable in the strictly patriarchal organization in which the T'ou-jen live today. Their family organization is that of the "large family." The grandfather is head of the family. His sons and grandsons after marriage continue to live under his authority, in the same courtyard, as long as life together is more or less possible. The grandfather has the community property at his disposals; he makes the sales, the purchases, the borrowings, etc. All that which is acquired by the sons or the grandsons goes back into the collective patrimony, and none of them is an owner with personal title. The grandfather has at his disposal not only the property but even the persons who constitute the family in the sense that he assigns to each one of them his daily /150/ occupations and his mode of life. The children belong neither to the mother nor the father but to the grandfather alone who will make of them monks, farmers, merchants, men of letters, as seems fitting to him. The grandfather alone is responsible before the T'ou-jen headmen for the conduct of all the members of the family. Succession in the family is regularly from father to son; at the death of the head of the family, the sons alone inherit the community property to the exclusion of the daughters. Conclusion: In such a patriarchal system the women and the maternal clan do not count at all.

121 But it has been said with much logic: "Scientific hypotheses are not true, they are convenient." Let us try, then, in order to be

/150 cont'd/

121 able to leave hypothesis and move on the ground of truth, to prove by the vestiges met with in the daily customs the existence of the matriarchate among the T'ou-jen in a former period.

121 The thesis is all the more interesting because it concerns former
177 nomads formerly occupied with the raising of large animals, nomads of Mongol and Cha-t'ouo origin, speaking today the Monguor language, a Mongol dialect.

The matriarchal institution in the Mongol branch of the T'ou-jen must be anterior by a good deal to their immigration to Kansu, which dates from the time of either the Yüan or the Ming dynasty; for, in those times, the Mongols practiced the patriarchate. As for the social institutions of the Cha-t'ouo branch at the time of its settlement in Kansu, we have no certain data.

121 To prove the thesis I shall make use of materials which will be found explained more at length in other subsequent studies, as well as those met in the present monograph.

/151/ B. Ancient Matriarchate

1. Double Burial

764 In comparative ethnology double burial is considered as a specific element of the matriarchate. (1) Now the T'ou-jen groups

1. Anthropos, 1930, p. 992. "Die Frage des Mutterrechts," by W. Koppers: In the light of comparative ethnology, the double funeral appears to be a peculiarity of pronounced mother-right culture. /Cited in German./

[177] which have undergone the influence of Chinese civilization for so many centuries still practice this custom nowadays in the following

/171 cont'd/

L 582 591 P. 161: Thus it is at least when children are married at the age of 16 or 18 years. Unfortunately, the Lo-lo P'o also have the detestable habit of marrying their children from the age of ten or 12 years and /172/ even often earlier, from the age of four or six years. In this case, the children do not sleep together after the marriage. Generally even, the girl returns to her parents in the evening. About the age of 16 years they will have the girl come back. It is a rare thing for her to come back to have relations with her husband; on the average 98 out of 100 girls thus married do not want their husbands and seek a lover. The girl stays at her husband's home, and it is at his home that her lover comes each night, while the husband goes to spend the night with another woman. And note it well, although the wife works with her husband and eats at the same table, under no circumstances would she have relations with him.

L 595 In most of the Lo-lo tribes in Yunnan, polygamy is not practiced (exception made for the t'ou-se), except in the very rare cases where the first wife is sterile. In this case the husband, together with his first wife, chooses a second one.

/173/ Conclusion

The Principal Rite of Marriage

After studying marriage among the T'ou-jen, it is wholly natural to wonder what is the principal rite of marriage.

Mo [101] 121 Since the T'ou-jen with whom we deal are an amalgamation of true Mongols and of Mongolized Cha-t'ouo, it seems that to solve this problem it is necessary to compare the marriage ceremonies practiced among the T'ou-jen with those in use among the Mongols or the groups of Mongolized peoples; and that, moreover, one must take into account the civilizations of the neighboring peoples, which have been able to change or influence ways and customs either in the past or in the present. Thus one can hope to discover a ceremony practiced by all the groups in all marriages from the most solemn to the simplest.

2: Schram--19 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

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It was in order to make the T'ou-jen matrimonial ritual better understood that we have had recourse to the notes concerning the Mongols (1), concerning the northern and southern Tungus among

1. The Mongol problem is very complex. Indeed, as Mr. Shirokogoroff says ("New Contribution to the Problem of the Origin of the Chinese Culture," Anthropos, 1931, p. 221): "Yet we have a very confused idea as to the early Mongols, especially their ancestors and their relationship with the Palaeasiatic groups. In fact amongst the Mongols, one may observe different anthropological types and especially type A, and a very numerous type B, the latter of which forms the great majority among the Palaeasiatics. There are many other reasons which incline me to the idea that the Palaeasiatic factor must not be omitted from one's sight when the origin and formation of the Mongols and the Mongol complex are considered." /Cited in English./ This is why we have taken advantage of the judicious, comprehensive study of Dr. Herb. Koenig, Das Eherecht der Polarvoelker, in the course of this work.

Deniker (Les races et les peuples de la terre /The Races and Peoples of the Earth/, 1926, p. 460) recognizes three great divisions among the Mongols: A) that of the western Mongols, or Kalmouk, B) that of the eastern Mongols, C) that of the Buriats.

A. Mostaert, "The Mongols of Kansu and their Language," Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking (Dec. 1931),

/173 cont'd/

NM 113 pp. 1, 2, 3, gives by his bibliography an idea of the present state of the Mongol philological problem.

M ●121 whom all degrees of Mongolization are found, /174/ and then to those concerning the Miao and the Lo-lo P'o.

M 585 When one studies the T'ou-jen matrimonial ritual all alone without taking into account the rituals of the other groups, it is an eminently solemn rite which immediately impresses one and which shows itself to be the high moment of the whole wedding. It is indeed the moment when the bride and groom, kneeling one beside the other in the presence of the whole assemblage, standing and silent, of the guests of the two families, give together the three great ritual prostrations "to heaven and to the multifarious spirits," then to the parents and to all the assemblage, while "the old man who blesses" pronounces the good wishes, which say clearly what is meant by the union of the two persons on whom every eye is fixed. When the good wishes are pronounced and the prostrations made, the bride's veil is removed and she is taken to the nuptial chamber as if to signify the end of the great act. If there is a solemn moment in the T'ou-jen wedding, it is certainly this one.

Now we find this rite in all T'ou-jen weddings: in the marriage without ceremony of poor girls, in that of widows without support, and even in the abnormal marriages to the prayer poles and the belt. When all the other rites are missing, the prostration to heaven or to the spirits made by the bride and groom is never omitted. This leads one to believe that in the eyes of the T'ou-jen this rite is by far the most important.

M 585 171 Now, shall we find a similar rite in the other groups? Among the Mongols one meets a scene nearly identical to the one seen among the T'ou-jen; but one is very surprised not to see the groom take part in it beside the kneeling bride. Indeed, the bride alone is brought into the father-in-law's home where the parents and friends of the future wife are gathered; ritual prayers are read; three prostrations are given by the bride to the fire, to the father and mother, to the bride's parents; all give her their blessings aloud. /175/ (Cf. page 81)

[8 cont]

114 Scheutvelder missionaries had again given up their Kansu region,
[797] which they left to the Steyler missionaries. After their departure the investigation of the Tujen again came to a halt. The language was already fairly well understood, but records of the rich folk literature and a comparison with the other Tujen dialects in Kansu were lacking. A good foundation had likewise been laid for the sociology. The other spheres, however, had not yet been considered, above all the religion and material culture (economy, clothing).

121 When the author came to this region in 1946, he intended
[177] to begin with precisely these points. The Tujen were already Sinicized to a considerable extent, but in their language, religion, and dress they were able to maintain much of their individuality until the most recent times. Therefore, in particular the legends and songs were taken down, the religious customs studied, and the dress of the Tujen women described. What seemed most interesting to the author was the religion, which is to be dealt with in the following work. The presentation is not definitive, as will become clear repeatedly below, but it does provide the fundamentals and essentials.

115 Since there are almost no written reports on this subject,
123 the author had to utilize the living sources that were available to him during his three-year stay (until 1949), in addition to his own observations. The principal one was an outstanding Tujen man, a living book concerning his people's traditions, and a Tujen singer with an enormous treasure of legends, fairy tales, and songs.

128 The work falls into two parts. The first is a critical presentation of the facts gained from the sources, and by way of introduction the chief source itself (the informant) is to be characterized. The second part presents the theoretical results derived from these facts, namely, the attempt to draw a total picture of the religion and to show the layers out of which it is formed. Hence it is not simply an offhand field report, but is also a systematic survey of the religious situation and its explanation. It is to be regretted that this work had to be
114 broken off at the site because of the suddenly erupting unrest;

3: Schröder--309 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

Conclusion*

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*For the first part of this work, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 1-79, 620-658, 822-870 [the "First Part" above in the HRAF translation]. A supplement to the bibliography there, pp. 2-4 [see foreign text; the bibliography was not reproduced for the translation], will be found at the end of this article; see below p. 259 [see foreign text].

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Second Part: Analysis

An all-round picture of the Tujen religion can only be drawn within the frame of a broader cultural view, for which the other records from the rich treasure of legends and songs are also utilized. Over and above this, a judgment concerning the cultural and religious historical-relationships requires a comparison [171] with the neighboring Chinese, Tangut, Mongols, and Yugur (1).

[174]

1. A comparison with both the eastern part of north China (Tungus) and the southwest would also be very informative. The tradition of the Tujen speaks of an eastern origin, and the peoples upon whom they are superimposed in the present-day Amdo originally belonged to the Ch'iang, of whom large parts migrated toward the south into present-day Kham, Szechwan, and Yunnan. This conception has been advocated for a long time by the Chinese; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder: Die Fandse, pp. 1 f. It has now been confirmed by Professor Doctor J. F. Rock for the Na-khi. A comparison

[202 cont.]

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with their religion is justified all the more since it has preserved the pre-Buddhistic form in a much less corrupted state than the religion of the mother country, which lies within the effective range of the Yellow Church (Kumbum); see below, pp. 390 ff. In addition the Na-khi possess a religious literature in which the old customs are unequivocally fixed, and which J.F.Rock has worked over and published; for this whole subject, cf. J.F.Rock, Na-khi Kingdom; id., Naga Cult, I, pp. 2 f., and Muan Bpö, p. 7. Unfortunately, these works, which represent a treasure trove for knowledge of the pre-Buddhist belief in the Chinese-Tibetan border region, could not be adequately quoted here.

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It is true that in the notes of the first part extensive consideration was given to this, so that now it is already established that the religion of the Tujen and of their Lamaistic neighbors do not differ from each other in many ways. A further analysis and summary of the question, however, [203] would grow into a series of special essays that would go too far beyond this work, which, after all, is primarily intended to be a survey.

The present material, however, is ample enough to characterize the basic features of the religious framework, which even a later and more precise treatment will scarcely change. This characterization will be attempted in a cross- and longitudinal section. The one offers a total picture of the religious world-view; the other shows the more or less interpenetrating layers of the religion.

[234 cont.]

777 god of good fortune. It seems that further reminders of these
776 times still echo in the Tujen songs: of the fate of the Mongols,
171 which is based on good fortune; or of the sülde of the khan, which invisibly protects his subjects (UdG., loc. cit.). -- Whatever the connections may be, neither according to Uno Harva nor according to Banzarov-Schmidt nor in the conception of the Tujen themselves is there a fate or good fortune that is independent of the rule of heaven.

772 Summary. -- Everything that has been said about heaven
776 proves it to be an independent deity existing for itself, sharply separated from all other gods, ruling them and dominating the entire world. Its name is "heaven," not in the physical but in the personal sense. Everything pantheistic and animistic and every mana concept remains far removed from it. To be sure, it is not one god [monotheism] in the strict sense, but an authentic supreme god, a towering unique phenomenon among all the other deities. Because of this uniqueness the statement of A. Tafel about the Tujen can now be repeated in its correct interpretation: "Many say they have only one single god in which they believe."

[235] 2. Shamanism

121 Whereas the discussion of the belief in a supreme god
756 could be confined to the region of the Tujen themselves and the corresponding sources, this is not possible for shamanism, for which reason a detailed presentation would not be suitable for this work. It is reserved for a special study. Here the ground-plan can only be drawn in a sketchy fashion, merely representing a theory, because the detailed proofs must be omitted here. The question runs: Of what type is Tujen shamanism and where is it to be classified from the religio-historical standpoint? -- Three types are found among the Tujen: bö-shamanism (drum-shamans), gurtum-shamanism (warrior-shamans), and idol-shamanism (with the spear-soothsayer).

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PREFACE

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The origin, history, and social organization of the Monguors were studied in Part I,[1] together with the family and economic life. Their religious life is here dealt with as Part II of the same study.

It is common knowledge that the private and public religious life of the Monguors is intensive, and that the Monguors are as fervently Lamaist as shamanist, and also practise rites belonging to neither of these religions.

In dealing with the Lamaism of the Monguors, the purpose is not to study the origin, the history, and the philosophy of Lamaism in general in Tibet and Mongolia; instead, in the first part of the study, emphasis is put on the historical frame within which Lamaism was diffused in the limited region of Huang-chung.

The study is based on local chronicles, the Chinese histories, and all available sources, and also on the experience of a long stay among the people. The author hopes that he has thus attained insight into the history of the introduction, growth, flourishing, and crises of Lamaism, depending on peculiar circumstances of persons, events, and times.

The part played by the Chinese emperors in the diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung will be noted, the reasons of the imperial policy explained, and the peculiar legal institutions that were established to promote Lamaism will be recorded.

Local history will provide the data regarding the times, the places, and the peculiar circumstances in which monasteries were founded, and will point to the outstanding position occupied by the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung, situated in the heart of the Monguor country north of the Hsining River. Erh-ku-lung surpassed all the lamaseries of the country for a century. Animated with prodigious activity it founded forty-two daughter lamaseries, enrolling a tremendous number of the Monguor male population in its institutions.

The local history will reveal also that some of the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung were learned authors of books, and directors of the imperial committee for the translation of the Kanjur and Tanjur from Tibetan into Mongol and that important diplomatic missions in Tibet were entrusted to them by the emperors who appointed them as spiritual directors of the Mongol princes, and from whom they received honorary offices at the capital.

Their influence reached as far as Peking, Mongolia, and Tibet. The colleges of Erh-ku-lung were attended by lamas from Kansu, Mongolia, and Tibet who, upon returning to their own countries, founded monasteries on the pattern of Erh-ku-lung.

These historical facts will explain the influence exerted by the Monguor lamas upon Lamaism, and upon

[1] Louis M. J. Schram, The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part 1, Their origin, history, and social organization, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1), 1954.

[P 1(A)]

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771 175 121 the population of Huang-chung. Note must be taken of these historical facts in order to explain the actual religious mentality of the people of Huang-chung.

In the same way historical events will explain the tremendous crises which affected Lamaism in Huang-chung, and the actual position it occupies in the Hsining country.

A chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung, their material, educational, and religious aspects; their means of subsistence; the subjects of the lamaseries, branch monasteries, lamas, and living Buddhas. In this chapter, details of the numerical strength of lamas, in proportion to the population as a whole, are given. These figures throw light on a subject which has been somewhat distorted by past estimates. They show that the proportion of lamas to the total population is much lower than we have been led to expect. These figures are probably more reliable than those of past estimates; certainly they are more circumstantial.

[795] The inferior position of the Lamaism of the Red Sect in the region will also be better understood when put in its historical frame.

Similarly, the shamanism of the Monguors is approached from the angles of its peculiar connections with Taoism, the conservation of its ritual proper, and its historical connections with the "wuism" of old China and the shamanism of Central Asia. Emphasis is put also on its overwhelming importance in the religious life of the Monguors.

The second part of the study is devoted to the practical aspects of the religious life of the Monguors, its environment of fear and apprehension, and the role occupied in the fabric of daily life respectively by Lamaism and shamanism, and the various rites alien to both religions.

[114] The describing of monasteries, Lamaist monuments, iconography, programs of studies in colleges, theatrical exhibitions by lamas, festivities, and shamanist rites, has been avoided in this part, since all are encountered hundreds of times in books dealing with the subject. Instead, emphasis is put on the specific Monguor aspects of the religious life and rites that are peculiar to them, in order to understand the religious mentality of the representatives of the religions.

A chapter will deal with the death and burial customs, and still another with the cult of "Heaven and all the spirits."

The last chapter of the study will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping the Monguors to keep their identity, traditions and customs, strengthening the social structure of the clans, and preventing their absorption in the Chinese nation. [p. 1(B)]

friends of a lady Seerting was "visiting." He was 175
found the next morning hanging from a beam in his 792
palace. The loss of face had been too tremendous. 627
Erh-ku-lung had become a place of unrelieved misery. 762
The year 1890 was one of the most fateful in the history of Erh-ku-lung.

After the withdrawal of Chang-chia Hutukhtu and 175
Sumpa Hutukhtu, T'u-kuan became the actual omnipo- 792
tent chief of the monastery, and acted and was recognized as such. Because it is customary to hush up dishonorable facts deliberately, Chang-chia and Sumpa were very seldom spoken about. It was a long time before I knew they had been the honored co-founders of the monastery.

The former glorious days of Erh-ku-lung vanished. There were no longer learned men at the monastery, which for a century had been the most celebrated center of learning in Huang-chung. Its renown for science passed to the now flourishing monastery of Labrang. The tragic departure of two of its glorious founders put a blight on it, and left a leaden atmosphere of gloom hovering over it. Troubles had succeeded each other. Kumbum, in the meantime, had made great strides, and became the most celebrated monastery of Huang-chung. It was visited by caravans of pilgrims from Mongolia and Tibet, which no longer cared for, or even paid a visit to Erh-ku-lung. Once at the top of the Lamaist world, Erh-ku-lung became a dim shadow of its former self, a second-rate monastery.

III. THE LAMASERIES IN HUANG-CHUNG

THE YELLOW SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG 792

This chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung. The forty-two monasteries and branches situated north of the Hsining River were built according to the pattern of the old mother monastery of Erh-ku-lung. It seems obvious, therefore, to base the study on this initial institution, the most renowned and flourishing in former times. Because all the lamaseries of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung have been organized on the same pattern, a general view of Lamaist institutions can thus be obtained.

The study is founded on facts collected during a 121
stay of many years among the Monguors; which may give a better insight into the matter and reveal the trend of mind of the actors.

THE LAMASERIES OF HUANG-CHUNG INDEPENDENT OF LHASA

All the lamaseries in Huang-chung are autonomous 175
units, independent of Lhasa both in matters of admin- 792
istration and appointment of superiors, even in matters of doctrine. The Achia Lama defended the autonomy of Kumbum against the illegal interference of the Dalai Lama in 1908 by committing suicide. This energetic

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PREFACE

121 This third and last part of the study about the Monguors primarily intends to present the history of the Monguor clans in Huangchung during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, based on the *Annals* of Hsining and the *Annals* of Kansu.

In order to make the history understandable, it has had to be put in the historical framework of the Huangchung country in which it evolved during five centuries.

In Ming times it is mostly the history of inroads into the country by Tibetans and Mongols; during Ch'ing times it is the history of the revolts of Mongols, Tibetans and Mohammedans, which several times ruined the country. Revolts and invasions were fought by Chinese troops unequal to coping with the situation, aided by the Monguor troops.

Part III is the history of the Monguor t'u-ssu clans,[1] called not only to defend their own country in combination with the Chinese army, but also to participate with the Chinese armies in wars in the provinces of Liaotung, Shensi, Shansi, Szechwan, and Yunnan, in Mongolia proper, and in the Tunhuang regions in Turkistan.

The hardships the Monguors endured during these five centuries were terrific, but their faithfulness toward the empire stood as strong as a rock, and is nowhere equally encountered among tribes which had submitted and pledged allegiance to the empire. However, this is overlooked in the official history. The number of Monguor soldiers who died in the wars is not known, but it is known that in each of the Monguor clans one or more of the chiefs died on one or another field of battle. The glorious military achievements of the Monguors are many.

The history of these five centuries is also the history of the development of the country and its thorough Sinisization. The Monguors who had once controlled much of this country saw Chinese officials gradually take into their hands its civil and military administration, trying to relegate them to their own poor country. The Monguors felt that they were barbarians, but they admired the Chinese civilization and aspired to share its benefits. These five centuries are the time of the Sinisization of the Monguors, which started with their chiefs, as among all the nomads. The boys of the

[622 624]

[1] A *t'u-ssu* was the "local chief" of a clan who had been appointed to his office by the sovereign state of which the Monguor clans were quasi-feudal frontier dependants. When the Ming dynasty invested a Monguor clan chief with the title of T'u-ssu he became a Chinese official while continuing to be also the chief of his clan. The institution of t'u-ssu was one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal groups on the frontier of the Empire. See Louis M. J. Schram, The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier. I. Their origin, history, and social organization, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 45–52, 1954 (hereafter referred to as Monguors I).

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t'u-ssu clans attended Chinese schools and many among 121
them obtained literary and military degrees, became Confucianists and officials in the Chinese administration. Meritorious t'u-ssu were rewarded with honorary titles, and the growing standard of civilization in the families of the t'u-ssu chiefs spread among the subjects.

This history also describes the amalgamation of many tribes of diverse origin, among themselves and with the few Chinese of the country, in a compound which constitutes a notable part of today's Huangchung population.

Long times of distress and suffering endured at the hands of a common enemy bring destitute people close together. Tribes come to shelter together, share each other's houses and land, try to talk together, marry, etc., and if the circumstances last for a long time, as was the case in Huangchung, the customs and languages become unified and an amalgamation takes place.

It is in order not to obliterate the different elements of the compound which constitutes the Huangchung population that the study starts with notes relating to the tribes which lived in Huangchung—T'u-fan, Tang- [563]
hsiang, Tibetans, Shat'o Turks, and several thousands of Uighurs—with notes about the time and the circumstances of their arrival, the country in which they were settled, and the part they played in the history of the country of Huangchung.

The notes have not only an ethnographical importance, but also a bearing on the administration of these people, the study of their customs and the religions they practiced.

The history of the Monguor clan of the Lu family, according to its family chronicles is discussed because the Lu clan is the only clan which has been able to keep its chronicles. The chronicles of all the other clans have disappeared during the revolts which ravaged the country many times. The chronicles of the Lu clan, however, shed light on the organization of the other clans, their administration, their relations with the empire, the process of Sinisization, the peculiar mentality of the families of the chiefs of the clans, etc., and complement our knowledge of the Monguor t'u-ssu families.

The history of the Lu family is significant also in 175x
the way it shows the interest of the emperor in the 121
Monguor clans which rendered so much help in the 648
time of the inroads of brigands and the wars with the 703
barbarians. This interest is displayed by the granting of titles and promotions; by inviting the chiefs to the capital, offering dinners and entertainments, making them admire the splendor of the palaces, gratifying them with honorary distinctions such as the peacock plume and the jade girdle, and with gifts of clothing, silks, satins, and porcelains; by ordering the civil authorities to build honorific arches in the cities to honor

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175 the eminent chiefs of the clan; and by delegating high
121 officials to present official burials and sacrifices to the
648 deceased chiefs and to read the sacrificial oration com-
703 posed by the emperor himself as a farewell to the meritorious deceased.

These were some of the means used by the emperor to win the hearts of the Monguors and to make of them defenders of the empire.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge with the appearance of the last part of the study, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation and the American Philosophical Society for the grants which enabled me to complete the work, and to Professor and Mrs. Owen Lattimore for the help they rendered and for their assistance in the preparation of the study.

I cannot conclude without remembering with gratitude the special debt I owe to Miss Theresa A. Tims, and without expressing my sincerest appreciation of her considerable help, graciously rendered, in correcting and preparing the English draft and the editing of the publication with wonderful patience and good humor through long hours.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS

OWEN AND ELEANOR LATTIMORE

114 As the main significance of Father Schram's work is its presentation of historical and sociological material, no attempt has been made, in editing his text, to be over pedantic in the transliteration of Chinese and Mongol names of people, places, institutions or titles. We have adopted instead what we hope are rules of common sense.

For Chinese, the system of transliteration with the widest international acceptance is that of Wade, and we have used it except in the case of geographical names where there is a well-established English spelling. For instance the strict Wade transcription for the name of the city of Lanchow would be Lan Chou, but we use Lanchow because that form is internationally well established. Similarly we write Szechwan (the name of a province) instead of Ssu Ch'uan.

For transcribing Mongol (and Manchu) there is no widely accepted system, but fortunately the sounds of these languages can be indicated with reasonable accu-

[P. 4(A)]

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122 It is a pleasure to acknowledge with the appearance of the second part of the study, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation and the American Philosophical Society for the grants which enabled me to complete the work, to Mr. Owen Lattimore and his colleagues of the Page School of International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University, and Professor Schuyler Cammann for assistance in the final editing.

000 I owe a special debt of gratitude to Miss Theresa A. Tims, and wish to express my sincerest appreciation for

NOTE ON THE

114 In the pages that follow frequent reference is made to two Chinese compilations, the *Annals* of the *Fu* or Prefecture of Hsining, and of the Province of Kansu. The full titles of these two works are:

1. *Hsining fu hsin chih, New annals of Hsining prefecture,* in 12 volumes containing 40 *chuan* or chapters, compiled between 1755 and 1762 and probably published soon after 1762. The editor of these

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PREFACE

114 During the years from 1911 to 1922 I lived as a missionary in the frontier region of Hsining in Northwest China. Among the peoples living in the region there were Chinese, Tibetans, Turkish-speaking Salars, Chinese-speaking Muslims, and a people who call themselves Monguors, and are called by the Chinese *T'u-jen,* a name that means "autochthones." Of these, I was most interested in the Monguors. The present study is drawn from notes written down at that time as well as from information in the local Chinese annals of the cities of the region and the annals of the Province of Kansu. During the years that I lived in the region, Hsining was the most important city of the Tibetan frontier of the Province of Kansu. It was only in 1928 that the vast frontier district was detached and formed into the new Province of Ch'inghai, with Hsining as its capital. (The Chinese name Ch'inghai is a translation of the Mongol name Kuke Nuur, Blue Lake, also rendered as Kukunor or Kokonor, the name of one of the outstanding geographical features of the region.)

It was in the winter of 1909 that I arrived in Kansu Province. This was the first year of the period of Hsüan T'ung when the "boy Emperor" P'u I, last of the Manchu sovereigns, ascended the throne. The Empire still had an external appearance of power and grandeur, but in less than three years it collapsed, the Emperor was forced to abdicate, and there began a long period of trouble and civil war. In 1911, the year of the Chinese Revolution, I was assigned to Hsining and studied Tibetan for half a year in the famous lamasery of Kumbum. I was then sent to a mission stationed in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, forty-five miles east of Hsining, where I continued the study of Tibetan for four years.

The Monguor people, with whom I came in contact in the course of my work as a missionary, seemed to me to be more interesting than the Tibetan tribes. All kinds of conflicting and incredible tales were current about their mysterious origin and their social organization, and very little was known about them. Having studied the history of religions and anthropology at the University of Louvain, and having studied the religions of China and taken the courses in Chinese at the University of Leiden in Holland, from 1908 to 1909, I was predisposed to be fascinated by the problem of the Monguors.

114 Later I was transferred to the mission station of Hsining, where I was in charge of more than thirty small mission stations scattered all over the prefecture. I was in daily contact with Chinese, Monguors, and Tibetans, and had an opportunity to jot down notes from first hand observations. Some of the Christians were subjects of Monguor *T'u-ssu* or "native chiefs," and lived in Monguor villages. As a missionary, moreover, I had a certain amount of medical work to do, and in the course of this kind of work one gains the heart and confidence of the people and becomes conversant with their most inti-

• 123

114 mate personal and family problems. It so happened that during this period I was teaching geometry and algebra
• 123 to the son of the highest-ranking Chinese city official of the prefecture, and thus had an opportunity to become well acquainted with all the Chinese officials and scholars of the city. As a consequence, I was often asked by village headmen, by Tibetan and Monguor *T'u-ssu*, and by the heads of lamaseries, to help them by explaining their problems to the Chinese officials and acting as a friendly intermediary on their behalf.

Thus for a period of years my associations with Monguors were close and cordial and it was possible for me to learn something about them. On account of the pressure of my daily work, however, it was not possible at that time for me to prepare my material for publication. All that I could do was to make notes from my daily observations and scan the Chinese annals of the region. In 1922 I was transferred to the mission of Ninghsia on the borders of the Alashan Mongol Territory. In 1927–28 I went to Europe to recover from a debility caused by malaria. Returning to China, I spent the years from 1928 to 1947 in charge of different mission stations in the Hou-t'ao region on the northern edge of the Ordos Mongol territory, and could not be released to prepare publications, because of the shortage of missionaries and the trying times in which we were living. More than once I had to bury my notes and photographs, along with my other possessions, for fear of local bandits and, in later years, for fear of Japanese raids. Finally in March 1948 I arrived in Peking, hoping to prepare my material for publication. On the way, the train carrying my papers was looted by Chinese Communists in T'u-mu. One-third of the cases disappeared. Fortunately most of my notes were saved, though most of the photographs were lost.

008 In November 1948, the political and military situation in Peking having become much worse, I came to Washington in order to finish the preparation of my material and to continue research work, making use of Chinese sources in the Library of Congress. In 1949–50 Mr. Owen Lattimore invited me to take part in the program of research on the Mongol region under his direction at the Page School of International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University, under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. In the following academic year 1950–51 I received a grant from the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia to enable me to complete my work. It is a pleasure to be able to acknowledge, with the appearance of this publication, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation, the American Philosophical Society, my American and Mongol colleagues at the Johns Hopkins, and especially the time and care which Mr. H. H. Vreeland 3rd devoted to helping me in the preparation of the manuscript, and Mr. Lattimore's assistance in the final editing.

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114 Scheutvelder missionaries had again given up their Kansu region,
[797] which they left to the Steyler missionaries. After their departure the investigation of the Tujen again came to a halt. The language was already fairly well understood, but records of the rich folk literature and a comparison with the other Tujen dialects in Kansu were lacking. A good foundation had likewise been laid for the sociology. The other spheres, however, had not yet been considered, above all the religion and material culture (economy, clothing).

When the author came to this region in 1946, he intended
121 to begin with precisely these points. The Tujen were already
[177] Sinicized to a considerable extent, but in their language, religion, and dress they were able to maintain much of their individuality until the most recent times. Therefore, in particular the legends and songs were taken down, the religious customs studied, and the dress of the Tujen women described. What seemed most interesting to the author was the religion, which is to be dealt with in the following work. The presentation is not definitive, as will become clear repeatedly below, but it does provide the fundamentals and essentials.

115 Since there are almost no written reports on this subject, the author had to utilize the living sources that were available
123 to him during his three-year stay (until 1949), in addition to his own observations. The principal one was an outstanding Tujen man, a living book concerning his people's traditions, and a Tujen singer with an enormous treasure of legends, fairy tales, and songs.

128 The work falls into two parts. The first is a critical presentation of the facts gained from the sources, and by way of introduction the chief source itself (the informant) is to be characterized. The second part presents the theoretical results derived from these facts, namely, the attempt to draw a total picture of the religion and to show the layers out of which it is formed. Hence it is not simply an offhand field report, but is also a systematic survey of the religious situation and its explanation. It is to be regretted that this work had to be
114 broken off at the site because of the suddenly erupting unrest;

[11 cont.]

114 leave of these dear people, for only a few weeks, we thought.
[115] In actual fact, however, I was not to see them again. In the autumn of the same year old Tuo died and with him a portion of ancient knowledge sank into the grave.

My reports concerning the life of the Tujen are therefore incomplete, because prematurely broken off. Also, the work of
124 collecting did not proceed in order. At one time the two dictated only songs. At another time the old man told me about the customs; then I would have to be gone for a number of weeks; then again the work in the fields was so pressing that they stayed away for months. In the meantime I was able to observe a number of things myself and to check on the reports, or I met other Tujen and had them tell me things.

115 Time and again I found that the reports of the old man
124 were the most precise, the most ample, and the most reliable. Once, when I was able to observe a part of the puberty rite, the old man asked me immediately: "Well, how was it? Is it not true that I related everything correctly?" He took the position: "As an old man I do not lie anymore." Occasionally he would also say: "What I say is true; what I do not know, I do not say. Everything I tell you, I myself have experienced, led, and seen at home. Ask the others." He would also warn me about others: "What that one says is not quite accurate, he exaggerates; he is still a young man." Even among his compatriots old Tuo was regarded as an honest man; his classmate in particular emphasized his reliability. He even expressed his opinion to me whenever I said I had seen something in such and such a way: "Father, you have made a mistake." Glossing anything over for my sake was scarcely to be observed.

115 [12] Once, when he was gravely ill and unable to get up
123 for several months, I said in front of others: "What a pity if old Tuo were to die; he is such an honest, good man." This was later reported to him and it pleased him greatly. As I was once able to observe from my room without being noticed, it confirmed him in his sense of honor: "What? The Father says that I am an honest man. I owe it to myself to speak the truth."

The chief inhibition on his part consisted of the fear of ridicule. It was a long time before he was certain that I

[12 cont.]

115 respected their customs and did not condemn them or brand them
123 as backward superstitions. In this respect one cannot in the long run disguise his feelings. With a sure sense the natives noticed whether one meets them with good will and respect or regards himself as superior to them. Since the old man was no dolt and had also read many a Chinese book, he knew, for example, that the Chinese tend to dismiss the peoples on their borders as
[181] barbarians. He also knew how the Chinese nearby laugh at the Tujen as backward "natives." And finally he had heard that the Christians designate as superstition much that is dear and sacred to the Tujen and the Chinese. Thus it is understandable that occasionally he would say: "Father, do not be surprised when I tell you such and such. We believe in it." Or: "Please do not laugh at it when we do something in such a way." On his part, this inhibition was extensively bridged by the genuinely tolerant
[829] attitude of the Asiatic: "All religions are good. The goal is the same, only the ways are different." On my part, the decisive attitude was that every person's conviction is to be respected if he means it honestly, even though, objectively speaking, he may be on the wrong road. The same applies to religion. And when I told the old man, "I believe such and such, you believe such and such, but I am not therefore better than you; it depends upon the conscience," he gladly agreed. Nor was any attempt ever made to influence him in his religion. He knew little about Christianity, but neither did he regard it as mystery-mongering when he inquired about it among my people. They always stressed to him: "You can hear and see everything that we do. We have no secret religion. We tell you everything. If you want to read our books, you may have them." One day he came with the question: "Should I not become a Christian?" I told him: "That depends on you. The heart of a man cannot be forced. Everyone should act according to his insight."

115 It greatly cheered his openheartedness to find many a
171 similarity between the Christian and Tujen ceremonies. Thus he was quite surprised at the fire ceremony on Easter eve. In the church he saw altars, saints' images, an oil lamp. He saw how the Christians fell on their knees. He knew: We, too,

[12 cont.]

115 sacrifice bread and wine, we, too, had a lord of heaven, we, too,
171 had a holy mother; we, too, burned incense, had consecrated water, blessed houses and cattle; we, too, prayed for the sick and anointed them with oil; we, too, had a baptism; we, too, had a procession through the meadow and prayed for the blessings of good weather; [13] we, too, had a redeemer similar to their Geser; we, too, had temples with solemn prayer and divine service; we, too, had monks and nuns; we, too, had good angels and evil demons.

115 Thus the old man felt more and more at home in our surroundings, even though he no longer spoke of becoming a Christian. In the end his judgment was: "Your religion is better. You help man."

•123 As a result of our mutual genuine respect, the old man put me in the right light in his circle of acquaintances, above all among the lamas. They regarded me as one who has religion himself and does not make fun of their gods and monks. Accordingly I was invited one day by a Tujen family to serve as "prayer-sayer" for a funeral service, which, however, I declined. When I entered the Tujen lamasery, the monks assigned me a clean room for the Mass. They understood when I requested pure water for the "sacrifice," and when I preferred not to be interrupted. Then I placed a cross before the images of the Lamaist deities and in the presence of the curious but silent lamas I celebrated the Mass. And just as I never expected the people to kneel, for instance, or to give any other signs of reverence, so they never expected a similar courtesy from us.

[609] By the way, certain travelers report how they had their fortunes-told or how they were blessed by this or that hutukhtu, and the like, this makes little impression upon the populace, aside from the fact that the people see through such conduct and often regard it merely as a superfluous gesture of courtesy.

115 In spite of the fact that as the result of this highly satis-
123 factory relationship I was able to see and hear all kinds of things, I am well aware that I by no means learned everything. No one likes to tell a foreigner about all the darker sides of his people or ticklish things. Nor was anything else to be expected in

[13 cont.]

123 view of the highly developed sense of honor of the old man.
115 For instance, he could not be persuaded to dictate the well-
[888] known mountain songs which often contain quite crude observations. On such occasions he would say: "For an old man like me this is not fitting, nor is it for you. Yes, when I was younger . . . "Actually, younger people are freer in this respect. But even then they will ask: "Are there no women nearby?" It is not to be overlooked that the old man knew very well that my notations were also to go abroad. He told me about the informant of Father De Smedt, who helped the latter to write books and had even been far away in Mongolia. -- Ordinary uneducated farmers are easily satisfied with the observation: "If you came to Europe, would you not ask what they eat and drink there and what peculiar customs they have? What kind of songs they sing, what gods they worship?" And in fact one can often hear the people say: K'an i-ko jê-nao, k'an i-ko hsi-ch'a, that is, "Let us take a look at the excitement and see what is extraordinary." In view of the ethnic and religious mixture in Tsinghai, the people are in this respect much more generous.

The old man immediately understood that my notations would form a book. And he was proud of helping with it: "You Europeans are to be admired. We Tujen do nothing [14] to preserve our history for our descendants. In some ten years we will have become Chinese; then nothing more will be known of our language, our customs, our religion. And you want to write down everything now so that nothing will be forgotten; your service is great."

115 Another obstacle in taking notes was the informant's age.
124 He tired very easily, made digressions, and at times would interrupt the most interesting narrative by suddenly asking: "Is your father still alive? How old is he? Are you going to Koko Nor shortly?" -- and then everything would lapse into a purposeless digressive conversation. Or he would suddenly feel unwell, would want to go to sleep at once, etc. Apparently he had the following attitude: I am the guest here of a good acquaintance, just as with my kin group; we talk about this and that, go home when we want, and come back... Accordingly, it also happened that he showed up when I was not at home, merely to visit the

[639 cont.]

764 782 792 The official prayer-service is undertaken by a lama, if possible by a hutukhtu. He is given a room of his own in the house of mourning, which ordinarily immediately adjoins the room in which the corpse is laid out, so that he can remain on the kang when he recites the office of the dead. A lama never prays directly before the corpse. A hutukhtu visits the house of mourning only on the day before the cremation, and stays there only one night. He also always undertakes the ceremonial cremation with the fire-pouring. Other lamas, on the other hand, may perform services in the house of mourning several days before.

[177] In recent times the Tujen also invite Chinese bonzes for the prayers. They adhere to their own rites. It also happens that bonzes and lamas are invited at the same time. Then the prayer rite is mixed. A cremation, however, is never carried out without some religious officiant first giving the prayers for the dead (12). Lamas of lower rank, who may not undertake the

[123] 12. [Foreign text p. 654.] The Tujen have no difficulties in inviting representatives of various religions for prayers. I was even requested once to give the Christian office of the dead. -- On the other hand, the Chinese Buddhists also invite the lamas to give prayers for the dead.

fire-pouring, or bonzes do not go along to the place of cremation, but remain in the house of mourning.

764 782 792 465 [604] For the prayer, the relatives, lamas, and bonzes receive a corresponding honorarium which is usually fixed by the mother's brother on the occasion of the demand for an accounting during the last mourning meal. The Chinese bonzes, to be sure, demand a fixed fee immediately upon being invited; otherwise they do not come at all. The other persons who say prayers, assistants at the cremation, etc. receive compensation in the form of alms on the eve of the cremation or on the morning after the cremation.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

gram of studies, elaborately built up and highly vaunted, 792
and the knowledge and education sometimes attributed 873
to the lamas in Tibet and Mongolia. My opinions seem 794
to be justified by the opinions of other authors, who have lived for years among the lamas, knowing their language and being themselves Buddhists.

The learned Buddhist, Mme Alexandra David-Neel, 792
who lived in the lamaseries of Tibet and Huang-chung 157
for many years, knew the language very well and was 829
always sympathetic to the lamas, giving "philosophical" justifications for much questionable behavior, but she confesses:

> At the morning exercise are intermixed subtle philosophy with commercialism, high spirituality with feverish pursuit of vile satisfactions, which are impossible to separate from each other; novices, educated in this whirlpool of contrary influences, follow one or another of them, according to their nature and the direction given to them by their master.[14] In Tibet the clerical education has produced only a "small number" of selected literary men, a "large number" of slothful brutes, joyous, gay fellows, and picturesque blusterers, and all these various characteristics, if they do not show up in every lama, are at least "simultaneously deeply ingrained in the nature of all of them."[15]

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist monk, who went to Lhasa to study Lamaism in the learned centers of Tibet, states that they graduate from the college after having studied for twenty-one years; they study especially the Buddhist Catechism and philosophy. They are from thirty to thirty-six years of age when they graduate.[16] It may safely be said that their purpose in entering the priesthood is only to procure the largest possible amount of fortune as well as the highest possible fame in that entirely secluded world of theirs. They do not seek religious truths or practice religious austerities for the work of delivering men and leading them to salvation, but they study to acquire fame, wealth, and influence, and there is nothing deep in their religious life, and 999 out of 1,000 have no conception of the problems of future life.[17] He states also that their faith is a veritable mass of superstition.[18]

These two learned Buddhists seem to confirm my suspicions and to reveal the philosophy and the behavior of the lama institutions. They corroborate my [123] ●
own observations, made at various institutions during the same span of time. A single fact may account only for the mentality of a single man; a multitude of facts, however, reveal the mentality of an entire corporation.[19]

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[14] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 95.

[15] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 96.

[16] Ekai Kawaguchi, *Three years in Tibet*, 291, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

[17] *Ibid.*, 348.

[18] *Ibid.*, 560.

[19] Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 108, *sq.*, gives interesting comparative data concerning the lamas and their behavior in the lamaseries situated in the Gobi Desert in the Narobanchin territory.

[p. 65(B)]

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he honored, and the rites he performed. It will afford 756
an opportunity to study a shamanism influenced by Taoism, honoring Taoist gods, but conserving its original character and living congenially with Taoism. The suppleness of shamanism which, according to the cir- [177]
cumstances, adapts itself as well to Lamaism as to Taoism, adopting heterodox doctrines and honoring alien gods,[1] challenges belief. However, it discloses the power of which it disposes, conserving its original rites which betray its origin and basic character. It is interesting to note how rites resist the wear of time better than doctrines.

The facts were all gathered during the ten years I lived among the Monguors, and were checked many times by shamans, chiefs and elders of villages, men and women, and children in the schools, all of whom had attended shamanist rites their whole life long. I at- [123]
tended their rites several times. Since I was best acquainted with the rites of the region situated north of the Hsining River, most of the facts concern that region.

The Mongols call the shamans *BÖ*, the Monguors call them *BÖ*, on account of the lack of the vowel Ö in [178]
their dialect. *BÖ* and *BÖ* seem to be a genuine Mongol term. The Chinese of Huang-chung call them *Fa-Shih*, "Master of Magic."

It is not easy to give a definition of shamanism and of shamans who live in a world beset with innumerable good and evil spirits with which the objective of their life is to deal.

The study of shamanism is still very confused, and 756
authors are even unable to find a definition with which 771
they will all agree. W. Schmidt defines the shaman as "a man who is supposed to have the power of making his own person a dwelling place for the spirits, who will speak out of him, but he keeps the power to dominate those spirits and to subdue them to his own will and wishes."[2]

Mircea Eliade, describing the shamanism of Asia, stresses primarily the phenomena of ecstasies and of trance, by means of which the shamans enter in communication with all kinds of spirits—originally with the Supreme Spirit of Heaven, who corresponds morphologically with the Supreme Spirits of the archaic re- [176]
ligions—and with the souls of ancestors and the departed. This communication with spirits, residing in the three worlds (heaven, earth, underworld) is symbolized by ascensions to heaven of the shaman or descents into the underworld, the calling down of spirits along the rope or the ladder. The basic element of shamanism consists not of the incorporation of spirits

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[1] Walter Heissig, Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer im Küriye-Banner, *Folklore Studies*, Catholic University of Peking, 3: 1, 1944. This very interesting study reveals the way shamanism adapted itself to Lamaism.

[2] W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Freiburg in der Schweiz, Paulus Verlag, 9: 243, 1949.

[p.ח(A)]

[9 cont.]

115 that is, mountain spirit, because he was consecrated to the mountain spirit when he was named. He was born under the sign [776] of the sheep, that is, in the second month; according to [553] European reckoning, this would be March, 1883.

[805] Like all Tujen, the old man is a Lamaist and adheres [771] to the faith and the customs of his fathers. He is known throughout the vicinity as one of the few who are still very well versed in the traditional customs. For that reason he is asked to perform everywhere as master of ceremonies, festive speaker, overseer of sacrifices, and singer. If anyone in that region is asked about usages and customs, the usual answer is: "Go to old Tuo, he knows it best."

115 In addition he has the advantage, rare among the Tujen, of having completed the Chinese classical school. He can read 212 and write very well, better than most of his Chinese neighbors. [871] He understands without difficulty history books, classical authors, local chronicles, etc., which in part are written in the literary [191] language. He does not have a sufficient command of the Fandse language to be able to speak it fluently, but he knows the terms of the lamas and is able to distinguish fairly well as to whether a word is a genuine Tujen word or a Fandse word. He himself in his youth took down in Chinese characters a considerable number of Fandse songs, which he can translate and explain, as well as some legends and speeches. He claims that formerly the Tujen language was also written and that the script has simply been lost. -- He does not speak the language of the Koko 115 Nor Mongols, but he claims that it could be understood if neces- 191 sary. Of course the Tujen live too far away from the Mongols; [648] only those in the vicinity of Huchu have a loose connection with the Mongols on the Tai-t'ung River beyond the Monastery Kuo-mang-szu.

124 [10] In the beginning it was not easy to persuade the old man, who for 20 years had not even been in nearby Sining, to visit me at the mission station at Kan-chia-pu, although the way there was only a two-hour ride. In the late fall of 1946 he came once for only a day. At that time I questioned him about the harvest thank-offering; the result was an article which appeared in Anthropos, 37/40. The old man could not imagine what I

[10 cont.]

124 had in mind. Besides, I had not treated him respectfully enough and made the mistake of not offering him enough brandy. After all, at that time I was still unacquainted with the proverb of the Chinese: t'u-jen chien chiu, chia-la chien liu; freely translated, "The Tujen are as fond of brandy as goats are of greens."

[181] [273]

Only after a year did I again get in touch with him. At that time I was celebrating a festival in a neighboring community and invited the old man by messenger to a mutton feast. He received the place of honor next to me, ate his fill of the meat, and was challenged by one person after another to the drinking game, during which he consumed an ample amount. In this state of uplift an old Chinese, his former classmate, negotiated with him and obtained his consent to live with me for a few days in the station. When he appeared in January, 1947, he was received in the friendliest manner. He sat at the table with me and received as much barley wine as he liked, and he could take a sizeable quantity of it. Upon his departure in the afternoon I presented him with sugar, currants, baked goods, sausage, and cigars, things that are not common there, with which, as he said, he demonstrated at home the generosity of the European who had treated him as a complete and equal human being. When, in addition, I made it possible for him and his wife to receive medical treatment without cost from the mission sisters, his distrust disappeared; from then on he always showed up at my place for a number of days, and precisely on the date agreed upon, which is astonishing among these people.

[273] [262]

To the old man's credit, let it be said at this point that afterwards he made absolutely no demands. He valued his honor and wanted to be taken seriously. For the rest, he lived in the same room with the employees of the mission station, slept on the same kang, and ate the same food, even though I offered him a room of his own and a special diet. He stated: "That does not suit an old farmer like me; I want to be with your people so that I have company." Only on certain days, for instance, at festivals or when there were visitors, did he have to have a substantial drink. This strongly stimulated him to tell stories, during which my attention was drawn to

[10 cont.]

124 all kinds of things that I noted in order to learn more about them later.

The old man received no fixed salary. He said: "We two are now used to each other like friends. If now and then you give me a piece of cloth for clothing, it will be all right." It was simply a matter of face. Accordingly, he now and then received cloth for himself and his grandchildren or, when he was ill, some medications. Or I gave him a few scrolls at the harvest festival, bought inks and paper, sent him a little jug of wine now and then, etc. On his part, he made ceremonious [431] calls on me on the customary festive days or sent baked goods, [572] a piece of meat, [11] some milk, as is customary between good acquaintances. Whenever his trips happened to bring him past my station, he would come in briefly to inquire about me. His relatives, too, frequently dismounted when they brought their sacks to the water mill in the valley, especially if the old man happened to be there. Thus a considerable number of Tujen, men, women, and children, gathered at times in the yard and were treated as guests. They told stories, sang, and laughed, and in exchange for some wheat I had to photograph them. In this fashion I was soon well known among them in the mountains.

One day the old man brought a young man to me and said: "Here is the husband of one of my daughters; he knows all the Tujen songs by heart and knows many legends. If you want him to, he will dictate everything. He can also draw pictures." Naturally I wanted him to. I was able to put down on paper a whole series of songs, fairy tales, and myths, among them the Geser saga. In addition he drew a series of pictures for [126] me and with inexhaustible patience sang the different melodies until I could render them on the flute and transcribe them. When we sat together over a jug of wine in the evening, the two men sang their song and I played the flute in accompaniment. Then they felt at ease and said: "Soon we shall all come here, men, women, boys and girls; you kill a sheep and provide the barley wine, and we shall dance and sing."

114 Unfortunately that never happened! The events of the
115 time made a longer stay impossible. On July 1, 1949, I took

[11 cont.]

114 leave of these dear people, for only a few weeks, we thought.
[115] In actual fact, however, I was not to see them again. In the autumn of the same year old Tuo died and with him a portion of ancient knowledge sank into the grave.

My reports concerning the life of the Tujen are therefore incomplete, because prematurely broken off. Also, the work of
• 124 collecting did not proceed in order. At one time the two dictated only songs. At another time the old man told me about the customs; then I would have to be gone for a number of weeks; then again the work in the fields was so pressing that they stayed away for months. In the meantime I was able to observe a number of things myself and to check on the reports, or I met other Tujen and had them tell me things.

115 Time and again I found that the reports of the old man
124 were the most precise, the most ample, and the most reliable. Once, when I was able to observe a part of the puberty rite, the old man asked me immediately: "Well, how was it? Is it not true that I related everything correctly?" He took the position: "As an old man I do not lie anymore." Occasionally he would also say: "What I say is true; what I do not know, I do not say. Everything I tell you, I myself have experienced, led, and seen at home. Ask the others." He would also warn me about others: "What that one says is not quite accurate, he exaggerates; he is still a young man." Even among his compatriots old Tuo was regarded as an honest man; his classmate in particular emphasized his reliability. He even expressed his opinion to me whenever I said I had seen something in such and such a way: "Father, you have made a mistake." Glossing anything over for my sake was scarcely to be observed.

115 [12] Once, when he was gravely ill and unable to get up
123 for several months, I said in front of others: "What a pity if old Tuo were to die; he is such an honest, good man." This was later reported to him and it pleased him greatly. As I was once able to observe from my room without being noticed, it confirmed him in his sense of honor: "What? The Father says that I am an honest man. I owe it to myself to speak the truth."

The chief inhibition on his part consisted of the fear of ridicule. It was a long time before he was certain that I

[13 cont.]

123 view of the highly developed sense of honor of the old man.
115 For instance, he could not be persuaded to dictate the well-
[888] known mountain songs which often contain quite crude observations. On such occasions he would say: "For an old man like me this is not fitting, nor is it for you. Yes, when I was younger . . . "Actually, younger people are freer in this respect. But even then they will ask: "Are there no women nearby?" It is not to be overlooked that the old man knew very well that my notations were also to go abroad. He told me about the informant of Father De Smedt, who helped the latter to write books and had even been far away in Mongolia. -- Ordinary uneducated farmers are easily satisfied with the observation: "If you came to Europe, would you not ask what they eat and drink there and what peculiar customs they have? What kind of songs they sing, what gods they worship?" And in fact one can often hear the people say: K'an i-ko jê-nao, k'an i-ko hsi-ch'a, that is, "Let us take a look at the excitement and see what is extraordinary." In view of the ethnic and religious mixture in Tsinghai, the people are in this respect much more generous.

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115 Another obstacle in taking notes was the informant's age.
124 He tired very easily, made digressions, and at times would interrupt the most interesting narrative by suddenly asking: "Is your father still alive? How old is he? Are you going to Koko Nor shortly?" -- and then everything would lapse into a purposeless digressive conversation. Or he would suddenly feel unwell, would want to go to sleep at once, etc. Apparently he had the following attitude: I am the guest here of a good acquaintance, just as with my kin group; we talk about this and that, go home when we want, and come back... Accordingly, it also happened that he showed up when I was not at home, merely to visit the

[14 cont.]

115 people with whom he was so well acquainted. As a kin-group
124 father, he was accustomed to a free life as his own master, and all compulsion was hateful to him.

Finally it should be taken into account that for a native it is not easy to pick out what seems worth knowing to the stranger. Everything is self-evident to him. And even the stranger cannot exhaustively inquire into all the details at one time, or even at the third or fourth time. But even in this respect the old man assisted me as much as possible.

5. The Taking of Notes

124 The conversations and questioning always took place in
191 Chinese, a language which all Tujen men and almost all Tujen women speak, except when they are among themselves. Now-
[871] adays there are schools in most of the villages, in which Chinese is the prescribed language of instruction. Since I was still on the point of learning the Tujen language, Chinese was the only one possible, and in view of our mutual familiarity with this language the possibility of a misunderstanding was very slight. In case of obscurities in the dialect, the old man was always able to give the corresponding Chinese signs; he then explained the meaning by various circumlocutions.

The old man proceeded from the assumption that I
124 wanted to learn the Tujen language. He therefore dictated to
126 me brief sentences about a certain object, which I took down; for instance, "The lama is coming. They are sweeping the house. They are burning incense. Lamps are placed on the table, etc. ..." Unfortunately I did not keep these sentences. Afterwards he repeated the sense for me in Chinese; some explanations of words were added. That was the first report each time. I immediately wrote this down in German. Sometimes it was very brief, sometimes somewhat longer. In every case, however, the course of an action, the peculiarity of a ceremony, etc. were briefly and concisely summarized. Since I was actually not primarily concerned with the language, but rather with the content, I asked for supplementary details after each report, at times immediately following, and at times only in

[14 cont.]

124 the course of the day or even after several days, so far as my
126 professional work permitted. [15] I added these details to the first report under the corresponding key words. At the beginning I also left the Tujen words in the text, but later I placed them under the heading "Expressions" at the end of each chapter. Naturally, the old man soon realized that I was primarily concerned with the facts and not with the words. He surprised me one day with the following remark, which provided the basis for the arrangement of the whole: "So, now I will first tell you what we do for the good fortune of the family, for the good fortune of the individual persons, for the good fortune of the herds and fields."

124 I added my own observations to the reports that I had taken
128 down, questioned others, occasionally compared the customs of the neighboring groups, at times found an observation in the literature, and added these supplementary items to each section as special notes provided with numbers.

Accordingly, each chapter has two parts. The first part
114 first of all presents a brief report, then under certain key words
128 the details are added, and finally the word list. The source for this part is exclusively the informant. The second part, namely, the numbered notes, is by the author himself. They are based almost entirely upon his own observations or other sources, which in each case are indicated. [In the translation, the numbered notes are incorporated as numbered footnotes. The remarks made by the author as footnotes are indicated by an asterisk.]

124 It is not to be inferred, however, that the first, reporting part is literal dictation which relieved the writer of any further trouble. Rather, he had to work out everything from an ethnological point of view with the old man through questions repeatedly returning to the same subject, as is reflected in the key words. At the same time, the simple and clear manner of expression used by the old man was to be preserved as far as possible. Again and again, I read aloud to him the individual chapters in Chinese with the aid of my German stenogram: "Listen! Now I shall read to you what you have said." Whenever I had rendered something incorrectly, he would say immediately: "I did not say that; the matter is such and such."

[15 cont.]

124 Sometimes he would come back after a few days and ask: "May I hear once more what you have taken down? Something else has occurred to me, add this and that." In each case he would know exactly on which sheet the passage was, although he could not read any of it, proof of his attentiveness and his good memory.

128 Sometimes it may appear as though the linguistic dress
192 of this first part excessively conveys my European technical
177 terms and not the simple language of the informant. This is not the case, however, for such technical terms are found in both Chinese and the Tujen language. Chinese and Tujen have their own words for trance, meditation, offering, libation, prayer, etc. They distinguish between slaughtering and offering a sacrifice, between monk and layman, etc. These are, after all, the conceptions of a people who has not only been extensively influenced by Lamaism with its abundant religious forms, but also has active intercourse with Chinese culture. It should therefore be emphasized that all the words at the end of a chapter under the heading "Word List" come from the informant, including the indication of a possible Tibetan [16] or
[198] Chinese origin (3). It is not surprising that so many Tibetan

3. [Foreign text p. 18.] Mr. Unkrig had the kindness to check the word lists. In the process it turned out that the informant was quite reliable with his information concerning the Tibetan equivalents. Where it seemed necessary (not always), these equivalents have been added to the individual chapters in the univocal form of the written language (Tib. and Mong.), with the entry (Unkrig). I am further indebted to Mr. Unkrig for many another linguistic suggestion and above all for the inspection of the lexicons and Lamaist literature that otherwise was not available.

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people who have taken the Buddhist vows, are the usual practitioners. 795 785 792

TOPICS OF THE INSTRUCTIONS

Each year I seized every opportunity to get information from fasters concerning that captivating subject, and asked the children in the schools about what grandpa or grandma had said about the lama director, the topics of the preachings, the anecdotes narrated, the number of fasters. Every time the fasters reported that they were happy to have performed the exercises, although they had had a hard time. They had prayed in a group innumerable Om Manis, which had caused them to have a real feeling of happiness, and they had enjoyed the preaching. They seemed to be better Lamaists than before, for they spoke with enthusiasm about their experiences. Without doubt the fast rites had helped buoy them up and had given them zest for life. 115 [124] 785

However, it was always said that the directors of the exercises were not all interesting talkers, that some were really boring men, but that they all loved Li, the old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Every year, at three places at least, he was invited, and the fasters urged that the date of the exercises be postponed, in order to enjoy the old man's direction since he had endeared himself to the hearts of the people. He was an intelligent old Living Buddha, a picture of benevolence, with a great kind face, molded on pontifical lines, and all set for hearty smiles. He was a wonderful storyteller, with sparkling wit and a fetching sense of humor, who had the knack of keeping the fasters listening for two and three hours every day. He expounded his doctrine by means of anecdotes and unusual comparisons, which his uncultivated listeners could grasp, remember, and tell to others. He was a fine teacher. [792] 785 869

The beloved topic of his talk was the life of Buddha, who fled from the luxurious palace of his illustrious parents; his terrifying mortifications and his endless charity, even for tigers and other animals, so that he had allowed himself to be devoured by the hungry tigress in order that she might nourish her cubs; his refusal to enter paradise, in order to remain in and save the world. Another topic was the paradise of Buddha and its oriental splendor where everybody hoped to go eventually; and also that of the eighteen hells, with all the terrifying torments used in the Orient. He used to put stress, in nearly every talk, on the omniscience of the terrible but equitable judge of death, who accepts no bribes, who knows all the merits and demerits of everyone; whose mill of justice grinds, in the most minute way, all our acts and intentions.

All the children knew that the poor in this world are people who are suffering, for their lack of charity in former existences, or for their covetousness or injustices. The topic of the punishments for injustices was one of those most elaborately developed by all the 785 829 869

[p. 135(A)]

[10 cont.]

124 all kinds of things that I noted in order to learn more about them later.

The old man received no fixed salary. He said: "We two are now used to each other like friends. If now and then you give me a piece of cloth for clothing, it will be all right." It was simply a matter of face. Accordingly, he now and then received cloth for himself and his grandchildren or, when he was ill, some medications. Or I gave him a few scrolls at the harvest festival, bought inks and paper, sent him a little jug of wine now and then, etc. On his part, he made ceremonious [431] calls on me on the customary festive days or sent baked goods, [572] a piece of meat, [11] some milk, as is customary between good acquaintances. Whenever his trips happened to bring him past my station, he would come in briefly to inquire about me. His relatives, too, frequently dismounted when they brought their sacks to the water mill in the valley, especially if the old man happened to be there. Thus a considerable number of Tujen, men, women, and children, gathered at times in the yard and were treated as guests. They told stories, sang, and laughed, and in exchange for some wheat I had to photograph them. In this fashion I was soon well known among them in the mountains.

One day the old man brought a young man to me and said: "Here is the husband of one of my daughters; he knows all the Tujen songs by heart and knows many legends. If you want him to, he will dictate everything. He can also draw pictures." Naturally I wanted him to. I was able to put down on paper a whole series of songs, fairy tales, and myths, among them the Geser saga. In addition he drew a series of pictures for [126] me and with inexhaustible patience sang the different melodies until I could render them on the flute and transcribe them. When we sat together over a jug of wine in the evening, the two men sang their song and I played the flute in accompaniment. Then they felt at ease and said: "Soon we shall all come here, men, women, boys and girls; you kill a sheep and provide the barley wine, and we shall dance and sing."

114 Unfortunately that never happened! The events of the
115 time made a longer stay impossible. On July 1, 1949, I took

[14 cont.]

115 people with whom he was so well acquainted. As a kin-group
124 father, he was accustomed to a free life as his own master, and all compulsion was hateful to him.

Finally it should be taken into account that for a native it is not easy to pick out what seems worth knowing to the stranger. Everything is self-evident to him. And even the stranger cannot exhaustively inquire into all the details at one time, or even at the third or fourth time. But even in this respect the old man assisted me as much as possible.

5. The Taking of Notes

124 The conversations and questioning always took place in
191 Chinese, a language which all Tujen men and almost all Tujen women speak, except when they are among themselves. Now-
[871] adays there are schools in most of the villages, in which Chinese is the prescribed language of instruction. Since I was still on the point of learning the Tujen language, Chinese was the only one possible, and in view of our mutual familiarity with this language the possibility of a misunderstanding was very slight. In case of obscurities in the dialect, the old man was always able to give the corresponding Chinese signs; he then explained the meaning by various circumlocutions.

The old man proceeded from the assumption that I
124 wanted to learn the Tujen language. He therefore dictated to
126 me brief sentences about a certain object, which I took down; for instance, "The lama is coming. They are sweeping the house. They are burning incense. Lamps are placed on the table, etc. ..." Unfortunately I did not keep these sentences. Afterwards he repeated the sense for me in Chinese; some explanations of words were added. That was the first report each time. I immediately wrote this down in German. Sometimes it was very brief, sometimes somewhat longer. In every case, however, the course of an action, the peculiarity of a ceremony, etc. were briefly and concisely summarized. Since I was actually not primarily concerned with the language, but rather with the content, I asked for supplementary details after each report, at times immediately following, and at times only in

[14 cont.]

124 the course of the day or even after several days, so far as my
126 professional work permitted. [15] I added these details to the first report under the corresponding key words. At the beginning I also left the Tujen words in the text, but later I placed them under the heading "Expressions" at the end of each chapter. Naturally, the old man soon realized that I was primarily concerned with the facts and not with the words. He surprised me one day with the following remark, which provided the basis for the arrangement of the whole: "So, now I will first tell you what we do for the good fortune of the family, for the good fortune of the individual persons, for the good fortune of the herds and fields."

124 I added my own observations to the reports that I had taken
128 down, questioned others, occasionally compared the customs of the neighboring groups, at times found an observation in the literature, and added these supplementary items to each section as special notes provided with numbers.

114 Accordingly, each chapter has two parts. The first part
128 first of all presents a brief report, then under certain key words the details are added, and finally the word list. The source for this part is exclusively the informant. The second part, namely, the numbered notes, is by the author himself. They are based almost entirely upon his own observations or other sources, which in each case are indicated. [In the translation, the numbered notes are incorporated as numbered footnotes. The remarks made by the author as footnotes are indicated by an asterisk.]

124 It is not to be inferred, however, that the first, reporting part is literal dictation which relieved the writer of any further trouble. Rather, he had to work out everything from an ethnological point of view with the old man through questions repeatedly returning to the same subject, as is reflected in the key words. At the same time, the simple and clear manner of expression used by the old man was to be preserved as far as possible. Again and again, I read aloud to him the individual chapters in Chinese with the aid of my German stenogram: "Listen! Now I shall read to you what you have said." Whenever I had rendered something incorrectly, he would say immediately: "I did not say that; the matter is such and such."

[8 cont]

114 Scheutvelder missionaries had again given up their Kansu region,
[197] which they left to the Steyler missionaries. After their departure the investigation of the Tujen again came to a halt. The language was already fairly well understood, but records of the rich folk literature and a comparison with the other Tujen dialects in Kansu were lacking. A good foundation had likewise been laid for the sociology. The other spheres, however, had not yet been considered, above all the religion and material culture (economy, clothing).

121 When the author came to this region in 1946, he intended
[177] to begin with precisely these points. The Tujen were already Sinicized to a considerable extent, but in their language, religion, and dress they were able to maintain much of their individuality until the most recent times. Therefore, in particular the legends and songs were taken down, the religious customs studied, and the dress of the Tujen women described. What seemed most interesting to the author was the religion, which is to be dealt with in the following work. The presentation is not definitive, as will become clear repeatedly below, but it does provide the fundamentals and essentials.

115 Since there are almost no written reports on this subject,
123 the author had to utilize the living sources that were available to him during his three-year stay (until 1949), in addition to his own observations. The principal one was an outstanding Tujen man, a living book concerning his people's traditions, and a Tujen singer with an enormous treasure of legends, fairy tales, and songs.

• 128 The work falls into two parts. The first is a critical presentation of the facts gained from the sources, and by way of introduction the chief source itself (the informant) is to be characterized. The second part presents the theoretical results derived from these facts, namely, the attempt to draw a total picture of the religion and to show the layers out of which it is formed. Hence it is not simply an offhand field report, but is also a systematic survey of the religious situation and its explanation. It is to be regretted that this work had to be
114 broken off at the site because of the suddenly erupting unrest;

[14 cont.]

124 the course of the day or even after several days, so far as my
126 professional work permitted. [15] I added these details to the first report under the corresponding key words. At the beginning I also left the Tujen words in the text, but later I placed them under the heading "Expressions" at the end of each chapter. Naturally, the old man soon realized that I was primarily concerned with the facts and not with the words. He surprised me one day with the following remark, which provided the basis for the arrangement of the whole: "So, now I will first tell you what we do for the good fortune of the family, for the good fortune of the individual persons, *for the good fortune of the herds and* fields."

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128 down, questioned others, occasionally compared the customs of the neighboring groups, at times found an observation in the literature, and added these supplementary items to each section as special notes provided with numbers.

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124 It is not to be inferred, however, that the first, reporting part is literal dictation which relieved the writer of any further trouble. Rather, he had to work out everything from an ethnological point of view with the old man through questions repeatedly returning to the same subject, as is reflected in the key words. At the same time, the simple and clear manner of expression used by the old man was to be preserved as far as possible. Again and again, I read aloud to him the individual chapters in Chinese with the aid of my German stenogram: "Listen! Now I shall read to you what you have said." Whenever I had rendered something incorrectly, he would say immediately: "I did not say that; the matter is such and such."

[15 cont.]

124 Sometimes he would come back after a few days and ask: "May I hear once more what you have taken down? Something else has occurred to me, add this and that." In each case he would know exactly on which sheet the passage was, although he could not read any of it, proof of his attentiveness and his good memory.

128 192 177 Sometimes it may appear as though the linguistic dress of this first part excessively conveys my European technical terms and not the simple language of the informant. This is not the case, however, for such technical terms are found in both Chinese and the Tujen language. Chinese and Tujen have their own words for trance, meditation, offering, libation, prayer, etc. They distinguish between slaughtering and offering a sacrifice, between monk and layman, etc. These are, after all, the conceptions of a people who has not only been extensively influenced by Lamaism with its abundant religious forms, but also has active intercourse with Chinese culture. It should therefore be emphasized that all the words at the end of a chapter under the heading "Word List" come from the informant, including the indication of a possible Tibetan [16] or [198] Chinese origin (3). It is not surprising that so many Tibetan

3. [Foreign text p. 18.] Mr. Unkrig had the kindness to check the word lists. In the process it turned out that the informant was quite reliable with his information concerning the Tibetan equivalents. Where it seemed necessary (not always), these equivalents have been added to the individual chapters in the univocal form of the written language (Tib. and Mong.), with the entry (Unkrig). I am further indebted to Mr. Unkrig for many another linguistic suggestion and above all for the inspection of the lexicons and Lamaist literature that otherwise was not available.

[16 cont.]
128 loanwords are cited, for Tibetan is the official language of
192 Lamaism, which occupies such a large place in the life of the
177 people. Here it should be mentioned that the old man desig-
[198] nated the expressions from Tibetan or Mongolic as "higher lan-
[186] guage" or "literary language," a value that he did not accord Chinese.

Finally a note with regard to the peculiar nature of this
114 work. It presents a popular religion, and that of a certain group.
[184] This means in the first place that not everything can be gen-
[779] eralized for the Koko Nor region, not even for all the Tujen. Secondly, one will find no accounts about the dogma, the official rites, or the secret practices of monastic Lamaism and the higher Bon religion. The Tibetan and Mongolic writings give this information. Also, it was unnecessary to cite the basic literature on this subject, at least not to any considerable extent. To be sure, this is not infrequently done, but only when it seemed to be required for an understanding of the popular customs. In such cases it was preferable to start from linguistic considerations. On the other hand, a presentation of the popular religion as practiced is a help for knowledge of the
[177] official religion. The popular belief, with its various customs, casts new light on the multiformity of monastic Lamaism, which has adopted so many pre-Buddhistic traits from the conceptual realm of Central Asia.

6. The Transcription of the Tujen Language

104

The transcription of the Tujen words and the Tibetan-Mongolic loanwords is based on the orthography of the DMF. For practical reasons, however, the large letters were replaced by small ones and the diacritical marks simplified. The following table presents first the orthography used here (S), under it the one used by P. A. Mostaert in the DMF (M), and under that the phonetic values of the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[217 cont.]

771 Now, concerning the elements which make up these
174 customs, they fall almost entirely into four groups, each of which constitutes a special layer. These four layers are: the belief in a supreme god, shamanism, the Bon religion, and Lamaism. The layers, however, cannot simply be taken out of the whole structure, freed from all the extra features, and connected with a larger pervading stratum of the Central Asiatic religions. This is only possible in a larger context and would go beyond the bounds of this work, for the parts in question are of considerable temporal depth and embrace many peoples. In addition these layers have interpenetrated one another in that in each case the later one has absorbed the elements of the preceding ones. Thus, Lamaism, in spite of its original enmity toward the Bon religion, has nonetheless adopted much from it. The Bon faith, on the other hand, in turn has a strong shamanistic base, and an old sky-cult runs through all the layers.

771 A discussion of the two high religions, of the Bon and of
128 Lamaism, in their connection with the belief of the Tujen would go too far. Shamanism can more readily be delimited, but it
756 cannot be exhaustively presented either. So there remains the old sky-cult as a belief in a supreme god. This will be dealt with quite extensively in the following, whereas in the case of shamanism the presentation must be limited to a theoretical sketch. A special work will deal with it in detail for the whole western Chinese border region. The Bon religion and Lamaism will only be touched upon briefly.

II. The Layers of the Tujen Religion

114 771

1. The Belief in a Supreme God

In this section it is necessary to refer not only to the customs but also to the other sources and the scanty literature. Aside from the DMF and Mariage (by Schram), which offer a sparse yield for the religion, the other sources are still unpublished.
[538] They are available in the original texts, however. These are the Geser legend, the agriculture legend, the Moschus deer (the first part of the song cycle known under the name xoni, sheep), and a series of other songs and fairy tales, of which the wedding songs are appearing (Folklore Studies, Tokyo, 1952).

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

VIII. PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS

Having explained the internal structure and organization of Lamaism and shamanism among the Monguors during the period of 1910–1920, and having characterized the ministers of both religions, Living Buddhas, lamas, shamans, and Kurtains, it remains to study in what ways these religions are practiced, and what is the frame of mind of the Monguors toward these religions. 128

After having explained the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live, first the public rites performed in their society will be dealt with, and then the private rites enacted by them. A chapter will deal with their death and burial customs. Another chapter will deal with the cult of "Heaven and all the Spirits."

The last chapter will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping to preserve the identity of the Monguors, maintaining their traditions and customs, and strengthening the social structure of the clans in order to prevent their absorption by the Chinese.

It should be borne in mind that among the Monguor clans of Hsining, some are of Turkish and some of Mongol origin, but that from the earliest times in Central Asia tribes mixed with tribes; tribes were torn to pieces and scattered over enormous distances, and absorbed by other tribes. On the other hand, it must be remembered that our Monguors, before they were converted to Lamaism, were religious groups who prayed. Among them sacrifices were offered by the heads of the families and of the tribes, and by the shamans. They had previously met peoples practicing Buddhism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism, and also Chinese Taoists, Confucianists, and Buddhists. Even after becoming professing Lamaists, they still remained shamanist, and preserved notions and practices originating from other religious sources. 771

It is a real paradox that Lamaism, contaminated with magic which is diametrically opposed to any religion, denying theoretically the existence of a soul and of God and spirits, has created among its adepts a new enthusiasm of fervor and religiosity. By means of stressing the principle of reversion of merits, it developed the notion of personal responsibility and of duty, by teaching that all good and bad events in this life depend on the performance in the present or former existences of good or bad deeds. Although, according to the fundamental doctrine of Buddhism, the bad acts are irreparable, means are provided to extenuate their inevitable consequences, and even to transfer acquired merits to others, and hence arose the doctrine of universal charity, the alluring physiognomy of Buddhism. 779

However, the Monguors and Tibetans of Huangchung, in a way that is even illogical, do not take account of the philosophical aspects of Lamaism. They do not care for the doctrinal discussions concerning the 829

[p.94(B)]

N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [191] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

N *563 M 301 [888] Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 769 614 a. Ancestor worship

Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

THE LAND IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVE

•131 631

The Province of Ch'inghai was established only in 1928. Until then, including the entire time during which I lived there and made my field studies of the Monguors, the present Province of Ch'inghai constituted the Tibetan frontier district of the Province of Kansu. It was divided into seven sub-prefectures. This study is based on the old administrative organization and takes no account of several new sub-prefectures that have since been added. It should be noted that the structure of prefectures and sub-prefectures is that of the Chinese population. Large Tibetan and Mongol groups lived outside of this organization (Kukunor, Tsaidam), and to a large extent administered their own affairs, under

[45] The "lesser inscription" to Kül Tegin, 7 and 8, in Malov, as cited.

[46] The "greater inscription," 6 and 7, in Malov, as cited.

[P. 17c]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

131 the supervision of a governor, appointed by the Chinese authorities, who bore the Manchu title of Amban.

THE COUNTRY

133 The mountainous region of Hsining [according to the great French explorer and geographer, Fernand Grenard] belongs to the range of the Nan-shan [southern mountains] whose passes have an average height of 12,900 feet, whose peaks are 14,700 feet high, and whose highest point reaches 18,000 feet. The range of the Nanshan is made up of seven almost parallel stretches of mountains running in an east-west direction, becoming lower and lower toward the eastern end.

The Nanshan range is covered by several feet of loess; the mountain slopes are overspread with pebbles, stone debris, and red deposits of the Gobi, reaching to an altitude of 1500 feet. Between the seven mountain ranges, valleys form several vast corridors, several miles wide; in the

[P. 17d]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

•131

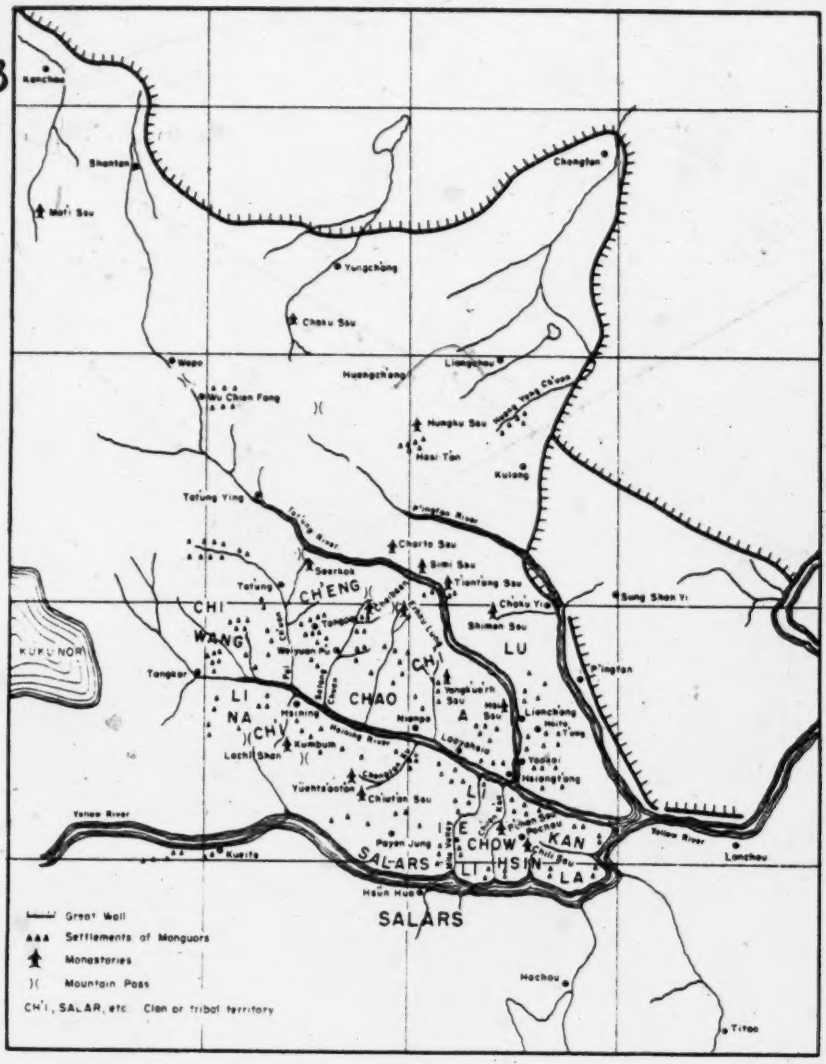
MAP OF CHINA SHOWING MONGUOR REGION (INSET SQUARE) AND NEIGHBORING TERRITORIES AND PROVINCES

MAP 1

[p. 18a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

131
563



MAP 2

[p.20]

618 9. The Hsin clan, of Monguor stock, comprised 100 families, settled with the Kan seventy-five miles south-
175 east of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42,
162 p. 54). The name of the T'u-ssu was later erased from the list of T'u-ssu.

10. The La clan, a small group of Monguor stock. The number of families is not recorded. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was settled seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei, near the Kan clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54).

618 These are the sixteen groups recorded in the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, and in the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24.
177 They were all living in the country under the Mongol dynasty, and submitted to the Ming. The Ch'eng and Chi groups, in the prefecture of Hsining, and the Chao, Yeh, and Hsin groups, in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, have now "become Chinese," and their chiefs have been erased from the lists of the T'u-ssu.

The chiefs of these Shat'o and Monguor groups still bore Mongol names when they submitted to the Ming. After having held the office of T'u-ssu for two or three generations, the chiefs adopted Chinese surnames and each group then adopted the Chinese surname of its chief.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, and especially after 1723, single Tibetan families or small Tibetan groups were enrolled in nearly all the groups. Still later, Chinese families were accepted in the same way; but the Chinese did not adopt the surname of the chief of the group.

• 131 The foregoing data show that the habitat of the Monguors is not limited to the district of Hsining. In addi-
[101] tion, it may be noted that the mansion of Lu T'u-ssu, of Monguor extraction, is located at Liench'eng, forty-five miles west of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. This large group call themselves Monguor and the Chinese call them T'u-jen; they are neighbors of the Monguors
624 of Nienpei. In this one group there are no less than seven T'u-ssu, all claiming descent from the imperial family of the founder of the Mongol dynasty. The T'u-ssu of Liench'eng is the head of the whole group. He alone is regarded as the ruler of the subject people and possessor of the territory assigned to them by the Ming
[651] dynasty. The other six T'u-ssu hold only the title, without the powers of chieftainship. In time of war they are bound to obey the order of the senior T'u-ssu; and for revenue each of them is allowed to collect land taxes from a fixed number of villages.

624 The seven T'u-ssu of this group represent seven lines of descent from either the brothers or the sons of the
175 prince of Nanting (the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 50, pp. 55–57, incorrectly name him prince of Wu-ting). His ancestor was Kolgan, son of Chingis Khan by his favorite beauty, Kulan.[21] The prince who was living in the country at the end of the Mongol dynasty submitted

[21] The family chronicles of this clan, which I am preparing for publication, are referred to above. [P. 32-b]

[5 cont.]

101 word "Dalden" from the Mongolic "Golot," with which the Mongols designate the Tujen; cf. Mostaert, The Mongols of Kansu, p. 84; DMF, p. II (1).

The Tujen refer to themselves as Moṅġol kun (Mongolic people) or tsiġan Moṅġol (White Mongols) in contrast to the other Koko Nor Mongols, whom they call xara Moṅġol (Black Mongols). The name Monguor, introduced by P.A. Mostaert, goes back to this self-designation; the dialectal variant set down by him pronounces the l like r and has a slight u sound before the open o. The neighboring Tangut use the name Karlaṅ for the Tujen, which evidently is of Tibetan origin. In the geography of the sMin-'Gyur (Min-chu)-Hutuktu, written in Tibetan, the Tujen tribe is called rGya-Hor, pronounced Dyahor, which is thus the same designation as that used by Huc and Gabet. Even today this expression is still in use among the people, who render it with the crude Chinese word tsa-chung (mixed seed), bastard.

All these names have given rise to various explanatory theories, which do not belong here. No designation is entirely unambiguous. The nearest to this might be Chiahor and Monguor, but since Tujen is the commonest, this name will be used here. The most suitable, however, would be to adopt the self-designation of the Tujen: White Mongols.

2. The Distribution of the Tujen

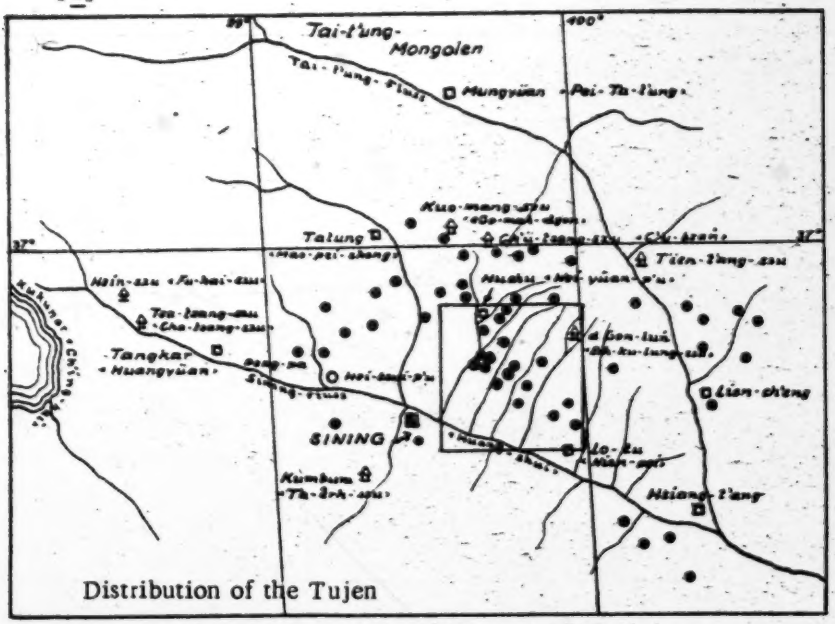
131 The principal area of distribution of the Tujen in the present Tsinghai Province lies south of the Richthofen Mountains, that is, in the triangle formed by the Sining and Taitung rivers. The heart of this triangle is formed by the northern side valleys of the Sining River, namely, the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan, the Ha-la-chih-kou, the Hung-nai-tzu-kou, and the Shui-mo-kou. Almost the entire region belongs to the town Huchu, which is located in the upper reaches of the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan. Aside from the county of Huchu, the Tujen are settled predominantly in the county of Minho, and in smaller groups in the counties of Lotu, Tatung, and Kungho. The Tujen themselves call the [101] area they inhabit Amdo (Tibetan). Their total number cannot

000

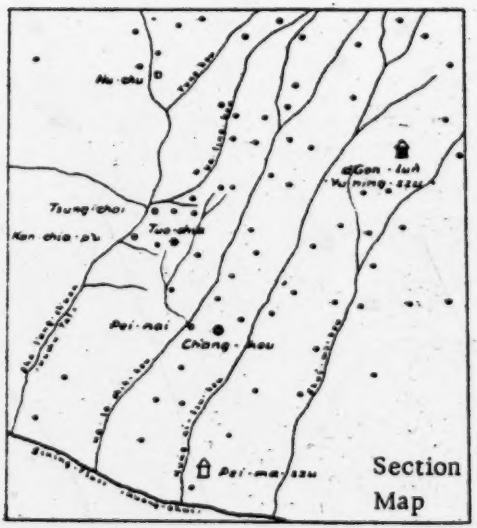
3:Schröder--4 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[6]

102
131
133
361
792



From a map in Anthropos, 24, 1929, pp. 144-45.



- Monastery
- Chinese towns
- Chinese villages
- Tu-jen settlements
- Tuo-chia, the home of the informant
- Ch'ang-kou, the home of the present T'u-kuan Hutuktu, allegedly also of the lCaṅ-sKaya-Hu-tuktu
- dGon-luṅ, Erh-ku-lung-szu or Yu-ning-szu, the Tujen monastery Rëgulõṅ (Rgulõṅ).

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

PAGE

Piao-ch'i Chiang chun, Sire Hsien of the third generation 95
Chien, Sire Ching Lu of the fourth generation .. 96
Lin, Sire the Governor of the fifth generation .. 97
Chin, Sire Pacifier of the Mongols, of the sixth generation 98
Tung, Sire Chao I of the seventh generation 99
Kuang Tsu, Sire Kuang Lu of the eighth generation 99
Yung Ch'ang, Sire Chung Ti of the ninth generation 100
Commandant Sire Hung of the tenth generation 101
Ti-hsin, Kao-tsu Chao-yung, the great-great-grandfather of the eleventh generation 101
Hua-lin, Sire Wu Kung, the great-grandfather (tseng-tsu) of the twelfth generation 102
Feng-chu, Sire Wu I, the grandfather of the thirteenth generation 103
Fan, Sire Wu Kung, the father of the fourteenth generation .....

I. HISTORY OF THE MONGUOR CLANS IN HUANGCHUNG

The Mongols, commanded by General Subudei, invaded the region of Huangchung in 1227 and invested the city of Hsining, which they conquered (*Annals* of Hsining 31B: 8a and *Annals* of Kansu 46: 20a).

In order to understand conditions in Huangchung at the time of the Mongol conquest it is necessary to take notice of the peculiar geographical conditions of the country, and to bear in mind the circumstances which had caused the presence in Huangchung in 1227 of the remnants of so many T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang tribes, of many thousands of Uighurs and of many Shat'o tribes. The social organization of this heterogeneous population and the ways in which it behaved will explain the policy adopted by the Mongol dynasty, followed by the Ming dynasty (1368), continued during the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) and even during more than ten years under the Republic (1911).

GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS

The Province of Kansu is divided geographically into three parts: West Kansu, Huangchung, and East Kansu, separated from one another by the range of the Southern Mountains (Nan Shan) and the Yellow River, both running in a northeasterly direction. The Nan Shan range separates West Kansu from Huangchung, and the Yellow River separates Huangchung from East Kansu.

West Kansu, a long narrow strip, a corridor situated between the bases of the Nan Shan range and the Gobi desert, is of primary importance because through that country runs the old transcontinental silk trade road, already opened in the second century B.C.[1] and because

[1] Louis M. J. Schram, The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier. II. Their religious life, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 47 (1): 9, 1957 (hereafter referred to as Monguors II).

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

x 175 648 cope with the turbulent empire of the T'u-fan contemporaneously founded in Lhasa, whose floods of untamed hordes had poured ceaselessly into the regions of Sung P'an in northwest Szechwan, and up into Kokonor, Shensi, and Kansu Provinces. Srong-btsan sgam-po, who had united the T'u-fan tribes into a nation, died in 650. He is credited with having initiated his subjects in Buddhism and in the Indian and Chinese civilizations.[7] Three times, in 730, 783, and 821, the Tang emperors had made treaties with the T'u-fan, fixing the limits of both empires.[8] The text of the last treaty, [131] chiseled on a slab, is still preserved in Lhasa.[9] In Huangchung, in the village of Topa, 60 li west of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 7) and northwest of the city of Tatung (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 17) still exist steles fixing the western limits of Huangchung. The texts are now indecipherable, except for a few characters.

x 175 162 The T'u-fan hordes smote upon the region of Sung P'an, in northwest Szechwan, the cradle of the Tibetan Tang-hsiang tribes. In 627 two groups of Tang-hsiang tribes, for fear of the invaders, fled to East Kansu. One group, called Tung-shan-pu, settled in the region of the modern Ch'ing-yang fu in East Kansu; the other group, called P'ing-hsia-pu, settled in the region of Mi Chih, in northwest Shensi. The leading tribe of the last group was the Topa, formerly pressed by the T'u-fan, which had submitted to the T'u-yu-hun.[10]

x 175 648 101 The P'ing-hsia-pu tribes of Shensi, during the revolt of Nan Lu Shan (756–764), had helped save the tottering throne of the Tang dynasty. Their chief had been rewarded with the name of the dynasty, Li, and the administration of some districts had been granted to the group. During the internal troubles which several times beset the empire, the P'ing-hsia-pu group had laid the foundation of its own Hsi Hsia Kingdom, and from 982 on it had considered itself strong enough to antagonize the Sung dynasty (960–1280), openly embarking on the conquest of Kansu and Shensi Provinces. The Hsi Hsia realm vanished at the hands of the Mongols in 1226.[11] Not only did these groups of Tang-hsiang tribes submit to China but, in A.D. 631, 300,000 more Tang-hsiang surrendered, pressed by the T'u-fan, and were settled in East Kansu and on the Shensi borders, where sixteen districts were established by the emperor in the countries assigned to them, garrisons established, and Chinese military officials appointed (*Annals* of Kansu 45: 53*a*).

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[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 373.

[8] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 437, 480, 484.

[9] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 484. Li Fan-koei. Inscription of the Sino-Tibetan treaty 821–822. *T'oung Pao* 64: 1 sq., 1956.

[10] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 132. R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia. *Bulletin Ecole Française Extrême Orient* 64: 228, Paris, 1956. Peter Olbricht, Die Tanguten und ihre Geschichte bis zur Grundung von Si-hia. *Central Asiatic Journal* 2: 143. The T'opa founders of the Hsi Hsia might be of Sien-pi origin, 154.

[11] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 133, 134.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2
Monguor AE9

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 4. Work and leisure

The division of labor between men and women is like that of the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing and dance and otherwise enjoy themselves. Because of their hard life, their songs carry a meloncholy quality, and their dance is simple.

M 462 533 535 [191]

It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their expert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horseback. There are three which may be played by all ages. One, similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep." Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

S 563 K 526

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

N *563 F. The Mongours

M 131 361 311 1. The people

The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were formerly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

N *563 M 614 622 [175]

The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers. One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols; another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-

N *563 M 144 174

134 1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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133 if the Chinese system of fertilization with human manure is used. The western part of the region is colder than
[132] the eastern part, being higher and more exposed to northwestern winds, but in spite of the small climatic difference, spelt wheat, a small amount of millet, and large crops of linseed and colza are grown nearly everywhere. On the colder, western side, the earth has to be "warmed" by plowing and cultivation; when new fields are opened to agriculture, various kinds of crops have to be grown for the first seven years; only then does the earth become warm enough to grow wheat.

137 The northern slopes of the highest mountains are covered in many places with a fair growth of timber, principally spruce, and brush; poplars, willows, and sometimes birch are plentiful in the lower valleys. The
311 economic life of the country during the period covered by this study was principally agricultural and only secondarily pastoral, although pastoralism prevails in the highest, coldest, part of the country.

[P. 18c]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

IX. PUBLIC RITES

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN REGARD TO HAILSTORMS

In the mind of the Monguors is seared the belief in an incredibly prodigious medley of gods, malignant spirits, and ferocious ghosts, and consequently all events in life, happy or unhappy, must be approached from that angle. 732 731

In this chapter will be considered the calamity most dreaded by the Monguors, which does the most harm and ruins them most frequently. It is the scourge of hailstorms, which every year ruin the crops of many villages, reducing the already narrow margin of subsistence of the villagers to a minimum, and bringing many families to the verge of famine. [12]

It is obvious that this calamity is supposedly caused by malignant spirits and it is no wonder that the whole religious energy of the people is bent on securing all available means and ways to avoid disaster. No wonder that the people, scared to death, seek refuge in religion against a scourge caused by evil spirits—first of all in the religion credited with the greatest potency, without refusing the help of others less potent, imploring the aid of good spirits, and engaging in a life and death struggle with the evil spirits. 821 829

In all their village temples, accordingly, one encounters the picture of the god of the Five Roads, the Taoist combatant of hailstorms, amidst the awful scenery previously described, whether or not the temple is dedicated to it. The shaman is invited to perform his most efficient rites against hail because he is believed the most conspicuous for his great abilities in the field. All the Taoist spirits, to whom temples in the country are dedicated, are invited by the shaman to come down into the temple yard and to participate in the performance of the rite in spring. The shaman conveys to them the sympathy of the villagers and their gracious offer of hospitality, in order that they might help their village, and after the shamanist rites have been performed the villagers still indulge in Lamaist activities against hailstorms. 782 796 789

No wonder that, from New Year's on, the villagers are obsessed by the problem, and never fail where a Kurtain is possessed by the god of the Five Roads, to invite him on the third day of the year for an exhibition

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the study of F. Franz Eichinger, Kinderlosigkeit und ihre Bekampfung in der Volksmedizin, *ibid.* 167 sq., is very instructive and unique. The author, during two years as member of the Chinese Health Committee in Ming-hsien, Lin t'ao, Ho-chou, and Labrang (East Kansu), traveled four months with the committee in the region of Hsining, Kung-ho, Hsing-hai (Monguor territory) and seized the exceptional opportunity to gather ethnological notes, which open vistas in this special field and give a better understanding of the frame of mind of the family concerning this capital topic; the care of children, the means of getting this blessing, the fear of being bereaved of them and the physical causes of this bereavement [10]

[p.97(A)]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

131 the supervision of a governor, appointed by the Chinese
631 authorities, who bore the Manchu title of Amban.

THE COUNTRY

133 The mountainous region of Hsining [according to the great French explorer and geographer, Fernand Grenard] belongs to the range of the Nan-shan [southern mountains] whose passes have an average height of 12,900 feet, whose peaks are 14,700 feet high, and whose highest point reaches 18,000 feet. The range of the Nanshan is made up of seven almost parallel stretches of mountains running in an east-west direction, becoming lower and lower toward the eastern end.

The Nanshan range is covered by several feet of loess; the mountain slopes are overspread with pebbles, stone debris, and red deposits of the Gobi, reaching to an altitude of 1500 feet. Between the seven mountain ranges, valleys form several vast corridors, several miles wide; in the

[p. 17d]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

133 central parts, where the soil flattens out, pebbles, sand, dunes, pastures, and swamps appear.[1]

133 Two major tributaries of the Yellow River, the
311 Hsining and the Ta-t'ung, run through the northern part of the Nanshan from northwest to east. It is in the region of these two rivers, and the northern part of the Yellow River, that the Monguors live. The country is one that is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, the mountains not being too high, while the valleys and some extensive plains afford excellent pasture, favored by a suitable rainfall. Most of the plains and the
134 largest of the valleys have, however, been opened to
133 cultivation. The larger valleys and plains, buried several
241 feet deep in loess which has been washed down from the mountains, assure good harvests year after year if crops are rotated, if streams are available for irrigation, and

[1] Fernand Grenard, "Haute Asie," in *Géographie Universelle* 7, 361. Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1929.

[p. 18-b]

134 1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

241

133 if the Chinese system of fertilization with human manure is used. The western part of the region is colder than the eastern part, being higher and more exposed to northwestern winds, but in spite of the small climatic difference, spelt wheat, a small amount of millet, and large crops of linseed and colza are grown nearly everywhere. On the colder, western side, the earth has to be "warmed" by plowing and cultivation; when new fields are opened to agriculture, various kinds of crops have to be grown for the first seven years; only then does the earth become warm enough to grow wheat.

137 The northern slopes of the highest mountains are covered in many places with a fair growth of timber, principally spruce, and brush; poplars, willows, and sometimes birch are plentiful in the lower valleys. The economic life of the country during the period covered by this study was principally agricultural and only secondarily pastoral, although pastoralism prevails in

311

the highest, coldest, part of the country.

[p. 18c]

2: Schram--202 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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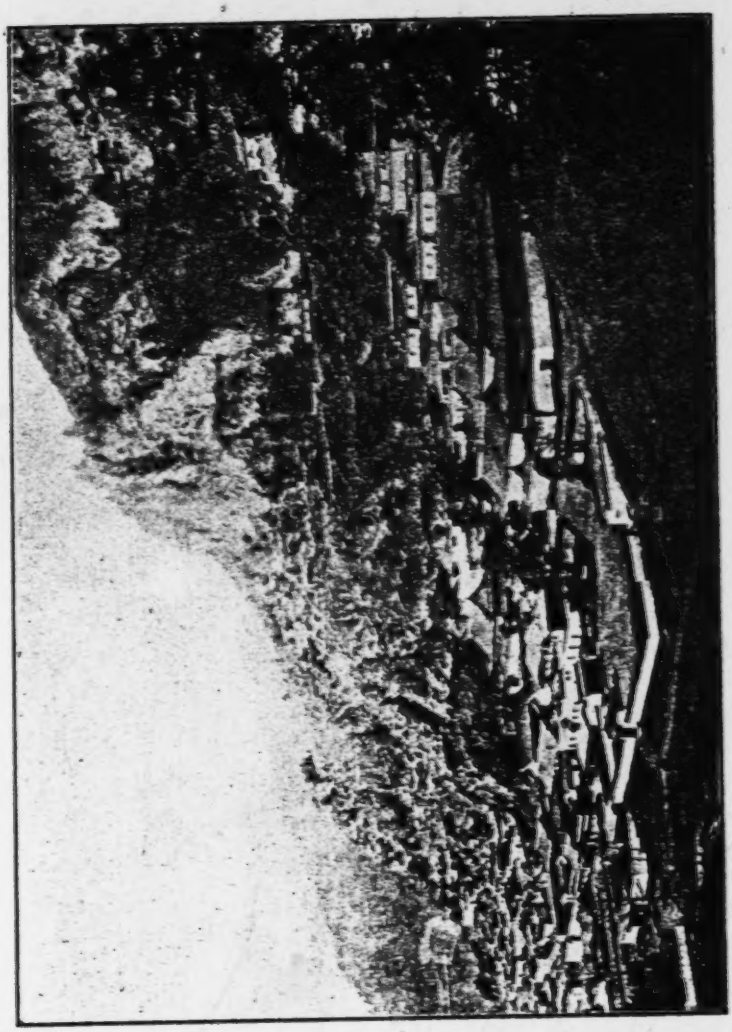

Lamasery of the yellow lamas of Bul-kon-long (Gonchen, Sining). With few exceptions, all the lamas are T'ou-jen.

3:Schröder--4 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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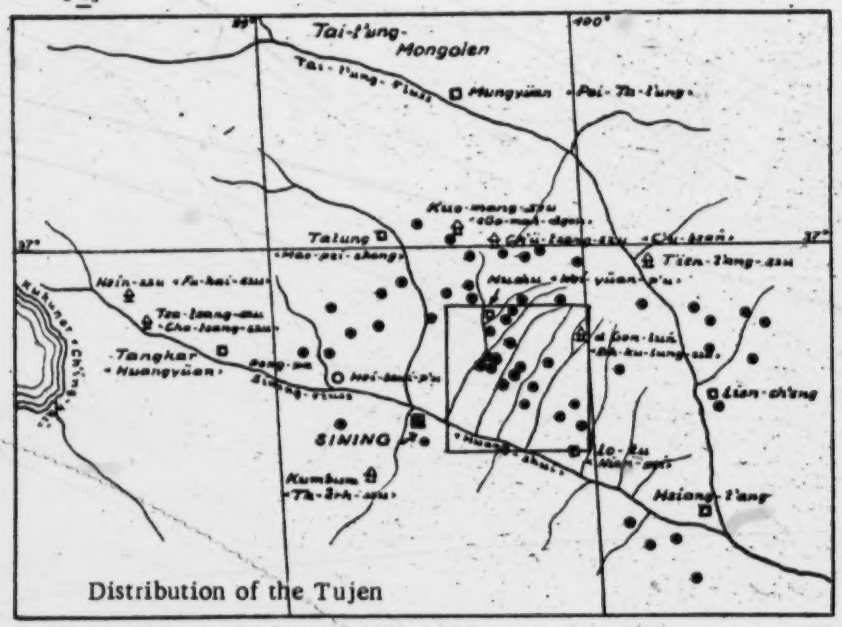
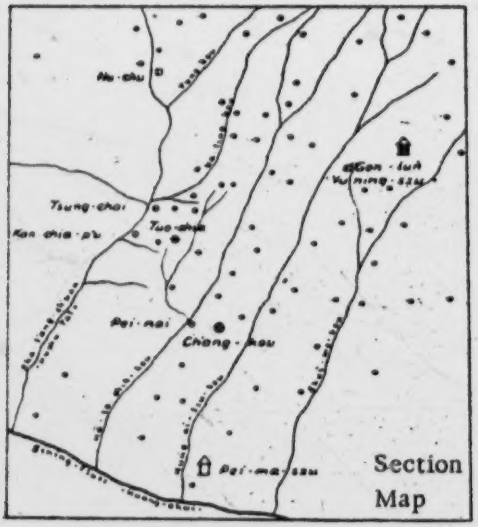


Distribution of the Tujen

From a map in Anthropos, 24, 1929, pp. 144-45.



- Monastery
- Chinese towns
- Chinese villages
- Tu-jen settlements
- Tuo-chia, the home of the informant
- Ch'ang-kou, the home of the present T'u-kuan Hutuktu, allegedly also of the lCan-sKaya-Hu-tuktu
- dGon-lun, Erh-ku-lung-szu or Yu-ning-szu, the Tujen monastery Rëgulõn (Rgulõn).

3: Schröder--395 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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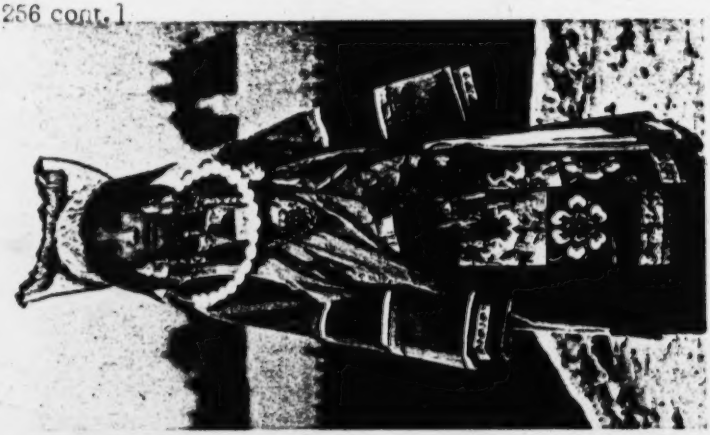

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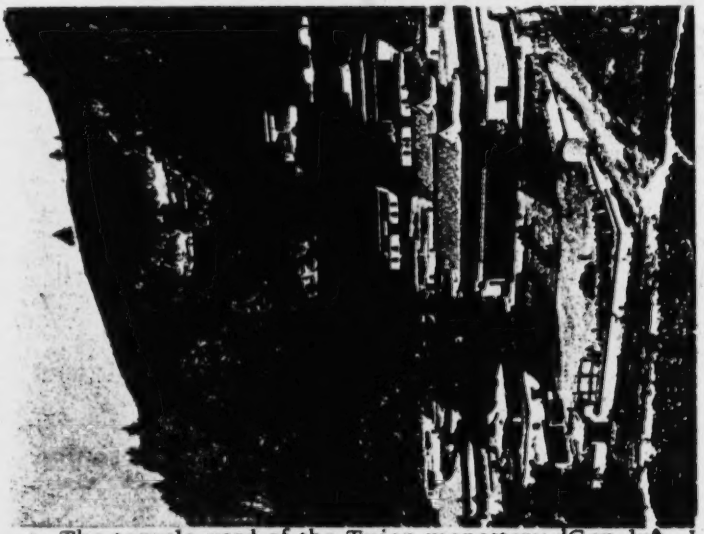

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a: The temple yard of the Tujen monastery dGon-luñ. Left, the gable of the Tuguãn palace, Tuguãn-larõñ. In the background the foothill of the Tuguãn mountain, Tuguãn-ula. (Photo. Jos. Trippner.) b: Young Tujen woman in ancient dress. Characteristic are: the high headdress, niudar, now prohibited; the neck ring; the wide sleeve rings; the wide embroidered cloth bands over the skirt. The pattern was the garb of a Tujen princess. (Photo. Mission Archives, Sining.)

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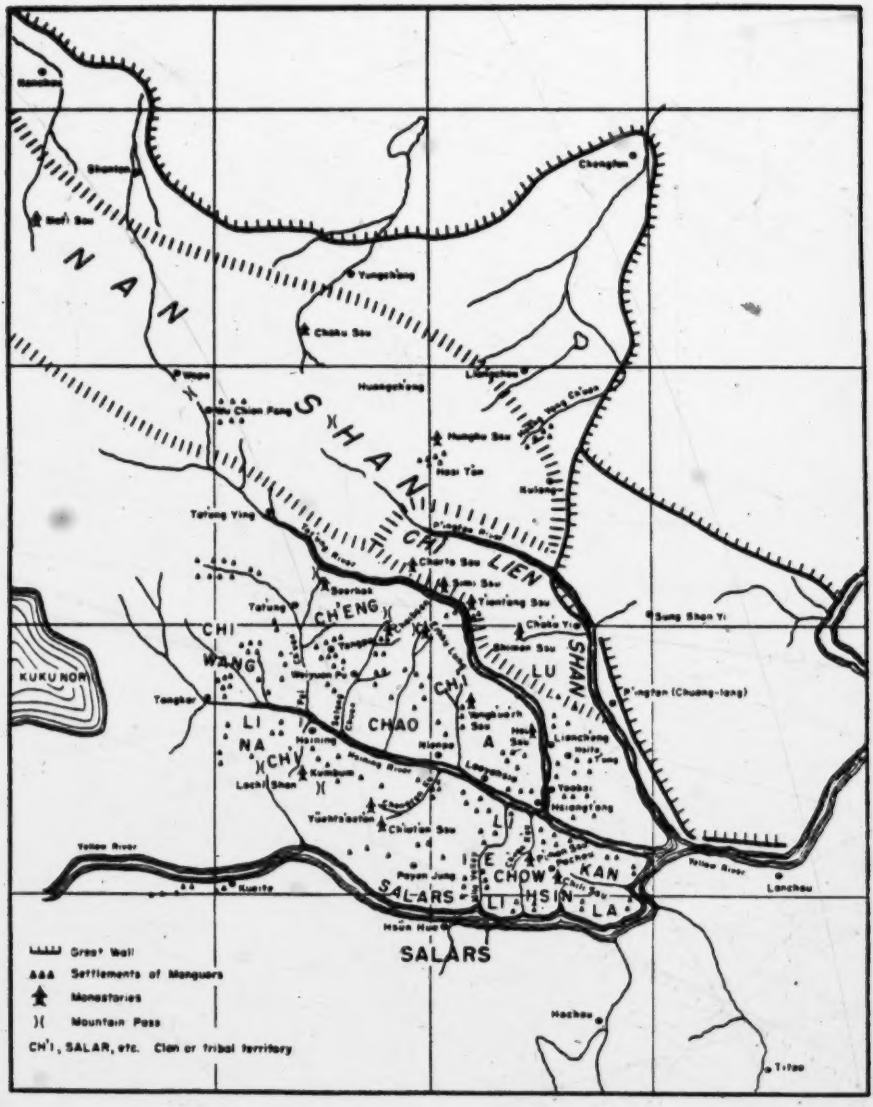

[P. 7]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

x175 101 133 Huangchung is bounded on the north by the Chi Lien Shan, a range of lower mountains which constitutes the northern end of the Nan Shan range. Being less high and abrupt, it provides an easy access to the countries of Ninghsia, Ordos, and Mongolia. In order to prevent the junction of the barbarians of Mongolia with those of Huangchung, the Chinese General Ho Ch'u-ping, in 116 B.C. (Monguors I: 19) established the first colonies in Huangchung. It was along the natural depressions in the Chi Lien range that the Tibetans many times invaded the country of the Ninghsia, Ordos, and Shansi borders, and that Mongols made inroads from Ordos into Huangchung and Kokonor. On the south side no high mountains or large rivers separate Huangchung from Kokonôr and Tibet, through which many roads provide access to Central Asia.

Geographically, Huangchung, bounded by the large Yellow River on the south and east, by low mountains on the north, and spreading wide open toward the southwest facing Kokonor and Tibet, seems to be a peninsula of Kokonor and Tibet protruding into China. x175 648 Huangchung being more remote from the capital of the empire than East Kansu, the threat of inroads from the empire was apparently less imminent; and the importance of its trade being not comparable with that of the colonies situated in the corridor of West Kansu across the Nan Shan range, fewer colonies had been established there than in East Kansu. Every time rebellions or dynastic troubles occurred in China, the Tibetans of Kokonor helped their brothers of Huangchung destroy the colonies; however, as long as the empire was at peace and its military power intimidated the restless Tibetans, Chinese officials could proceed with collecting the tribute of horses from the tribes governed by their own chiefs, and the ways leading to Kokonor could be guarded.

[635] The whole of Kansu, populated by barbarians, was for centuries considered as a colony and not as a province proper. Only in 1665 was the province of Kansu established, and even up to the Republic (1911) Kansu was ruled together with Shensi by a viceroy. Only since 1928 has the province of Ch'inghai been established, encompassing Huangchung and a part of Kokonor.

THE POPULATION OF HUANGCHUNG AT THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST BY THE MONGOLS

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE TANG PERIOD

x175 162 In 1227 when the Mongols conquered Huangchung, the country was inhabited by depleted tribes of Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o, without cohesion among them. The country had passed through the ordeal of centuries of wars, and the Chinese colonies had long since vanished. x175 648

The Tang dynasty (620–906) had been unable to

[P. 9(A)]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

133 central parts, where the soil flattens out, pebbles, sand, dunes, pastures, and swamps appear.[3]

133 Two major tributaries of the Yellow River, the
311 Hsining and the Ta-t'ung, run through the northern part of the Nanshan from northwest to east. It is in the region of these two rivers, and the northern part of the Yellow River, that the Monguors live. The country is one that is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, the mountains not being too high, while the valleys and some extensive plains afford excellent pasture, favored by a suitable rainfall. Most of the plains and the
● 134 largest of the valleys have, however, been opened to
133 cultivation. The larger valleys and plains, buried several
241 feet deep in loess which has been washed down from the mountains, assure good harvests year after year if crops are rotated, if streams are available for irrigation, and

[3] Fernand Grenard, "Haute Asie," in *Géographie Universelle* 7, 361, Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1929.

[p. 18-b]

134 1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

241

133 if the Chinese system of fertilization with human manure is used. The western part of the region is colder than

[133] the eastern part, being higher and more exposed to northwestern winds, but in spite of the small climatic difference, spelt wheat, a small amount of millet, and large crops of linseed and colza are grown nearly everywhere. On the colder, western side, the earth has to be "warmed" by plowing and cultivation; when new fields are opened to agriculture, various kinds of crops have to be grown for the first seven years; only then does the earth become warm enough to grow wheat.

137 The northern slopes of the highest mountains are covered in many places with a fair growth of timber, principally spruce, and brush; poplars, willows, and sometimes birch are plentiful in the lower valleys. The

311 economic life of the country during the period covered by this study was principally agricultural and only secondarily pastoral, although pastoralism prevails in the highest, coldest, part of the country.

[p. 18c]

231 animals entrusted to them and the skill and devotion
463 needed if the animals are to get the best pasture and to multiply rapidly. Skill is required especially in the lambing season. A shepherd is treated like a member of the family. At each meal one of the daughters-in-law presents him with his bowl of food, with both hands, with the same respect that is shown to the head of the family, and the shepherd's food is as good as that of the head of the family.

231 When there is not enough rain and the pasture is
648 poor, the Monguors will go with a present to the chief of one of the nomad tribes of Tibetans or Mongols, asking permission to graze their stock on his land during the summer. The nomads are always very generous and helpful at such times.

231 The Monguors will never sell an animal, or allow an animal already sold to leave their home, on the first or fifteenth of the moon for fear that prosperity and luck might leave the family. Other beliefs in connection with cattle breeding will be discussed in my later work on the religious life of the Monguors.

231 An old Monguor of some sixty years once told me that
251 during his lifetime he remembered four different occasions on which the cattle herds had been devastated by epizootics. When such a disaster happens, the flesh of the animals who have died of sickness is cut in long, thin strips which are dried in the sun and for the following year the Monguors have tough beef to chew at every meal.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 The Monguors hunt with the gun and with traps and
136 poison, but because the region has become too thickly populated to support a great deal of game there is no hunting on a large scale. The animals hunted are foxes, wolves, musk-deer, hares, and pheasants, while boys like to shoot marmots with matchlock guns. Foxes and wolves are killed sometimes with the gun, but more usually with strychnine bought from the Chinese. First the tracks of the animal to be poisoned are studied in order to determine its habits. Then for several days meat, taken from hares and birds that have been killed by the hunter, is laid out in order to accustom the animal to this kind of feeding. The poison is then set out. Sometimes the strychnine is put inside a ball of meat, but more usually it is put in the hollow of a long, thin bone, the ends of which are sealed with wax. The fox or wolf dies near the place where it has cracked and swallowed such a bone, while strychnine placed in a ball of meat is slower to act and the animal may travel so far that it is difficult to track. Foxes are also taken with iron traps bought from Chinese smiths. The animal to be trapped is first watched carefully for a number of days in order to learn its habits. Then roasted flour is set out for it to feed on, so that it becomes unwary, and finally the trap is baited and set.

The most valuable game is the musk-deer, which is

[p. 113a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

224 136 hunted in the forests of Hsimi. This animal has the habit of making and following a small beaten trail along which it goes always to the same place to drop its dung—which is done regularly at the same time of day—and to rub itself against small trees. When such a trail has been found the hunter studies it carefully to determine the best place to attach a running noose to a small tree, which is then bent over and attached to a stake in such a manner that when the deer, going along the trail, puts its head in the noose, the stake is knocked aside, the tree springs up, and the more the deer struggles the more quickly it is strangled. The hunter lies hidden watching the trap and the moment the deer is caught he rushes out with a knife to cut out the precious musk pod, which is on the surface of the stomach, near the genitalia. It is believed that the pod must be cut out immediately because otherwise the blood inside the pod will be absorbed into the body of the animal, and the "virtue" of the musk will be lost.

224 137

The musk-deer hunters admit that adulteration of this valuable commodity begins the moment that the animal is caught. Musk pods are sold by weight, and therefore as soon as he has cut out the pod the hunter stuffs it with blood and shredded liver from the deer in order to increase the weight. It is seldom that one can buy unadulterated musk in the shops of the Chinese dealers, because in addition to what is done by the hunters themselves to increase the weight, no one knows what the dealers add.

226 648 Although the lamas and most (though not all) Mongols abhor the eating of fish, considering that taking the lives of the fish is a sin that will affect the sinner's next incarnation, the Monguors do engage in considerable fishing in Kukunor.[7] As soon as the lake has frozen in winter, small expeditions go from the Monguor country to the lake. Such an expedition lasts for about two months, and the Monguors are back by New Year's Eve of the lunar calendar, which comes usually toward the end of February or the beginning of March. The Monguors go first to see the chief of the Mongol or

[7] Kukunor, the "Azure Lake," is 230 miles in circumference, at an altitude of 10,900 feet above sea level. (W. W. Rockhill, *The land of the lamas*, 120, New York, Century, 1891.) The water is salty. Two rivers run into the lake, the bottom of which is covered with sand and small stones. One big island rises out of the water and is inhabited by a few lamas, who only in wintertime, when the lake is frozen, can come ashore, since no boats are used on the lake. At that time the Tibetans drive horses and sheep to the island in order that they may graze and breed; colts and lambs bred on the island are assumed to be a blessing for the herds. The famous *Ch'ien-li-ma* (horses which are reputed to run 1,000 *li* or approximately 300 miles in one day) celebrated as long ago as the Han dynasty, are said to be bred on the island, whose grass is reputed wonderfully nutritive for animals. There are three kinds of fishes in the lake, where fish are plentiful: *schizopygopsis przewalskii*, *schizopygopsis leptocephalus*, and *schizopygopsis gracilis*. They weigh from three to five and seven pounds (Przewalskii, *Reisen in der Mongolei, in das Gebiet der Tanguten und den Wüsten Nordtibets*, 140, Jena, 1873).

[p. 113b]

134 1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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133 if the Chinese system of fertilization with human manure is used. The western part of the region is colder than [133] the eastern part, being higher and more exposed to northwestern winds, but in spite of the small climatic difference, spelt wheat, a small amount of millet, and large crops of linseed and colza are grown nearly everywhere. On the colder, western side, the earth has to be "warmed" by plowing and cultivation; when new fields are opened to agriculture, various kinds of crops have to be grown for the first seven years; only then does the earth become warm enough to grow wheat.

137 The northern slopes of the highest mountains are covered in many places with a fair growth of timber, principally spruce, and brush; poplars, willows, and sometimes birch are plentiful in the lower valleys. The 311 economic life of the country during the period covered by this study was principally agricultural and only secondarily pastoral, although pastoralism prevails in the highest, coldest, part of the country.

[P. 18 c]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

224 136 hunted in the forests of Hsimi. This animal has the habit of making and following a small beaten trail along which it goes always to the same place to drop its dung—which is done regularly at the same time of day—and to rub itself against small trees. When such a trail has been found the hunter studies it carefully to determine the best place to attach a running noose to a small tree, which is then bent over and attached to a stake in such a manner that when the deer, going along the trail, puts its head in the noose, the stake is knocked aside, the tree springs up, and the more the deer struggles the more quickly it is strangled. The hunter lies hidden 224 137 watching the trap and the moment the deer is caught he rushes out with a knife to cut out the precious musk pod, which is on the surface of the stomach, near the genitalia. It is believed that the pod must be cut out immediately because otherwise the blood inside the pod will be absorbed into the body of the animal, and the "virtue" of the musk will be lost.

The musk-deer hunters admit that adulteration of this valuable commodity begins the moment that the animal is caught. Musk pods are sold by weight, and therefore as soon as he has cut out the pod the hunter stuffs it with blood and shredded liver from the deer in order to increase the weight. It is seldom that one can buy unadulterated musk in the shops of the Chinese dealers, because in addition to what is done by the hunters themselves to increase the weight, no one knows what the dealers add.

226 648 Although the lamas and most (though not all) Mongols abhor the eating of fish, considering that taking the lives of the fish is a sin that will affect the sinner's next incarnation, the Monguors do engage in considerable fishing in Kukunor.[7] As soon as the lake has frozen in winter, small expeditions go from the Monguor country to the lake. Such an expedition lasts for about two months, and the Monguors are back by New Year's Eve of the lunar calendar, which comes usually toward the end of February or the beginning of March. The Monguors go first to see the chief of the Mongol or

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[7] Kukunor, the "Azure Lake," is 230 miles in circumference, at an altitude of 10,900 feet above sea level. (W. W. Rockhill, *The land of the lamas*, 120, New York, Century, 1891.) The water is salty. Two rivers run into the lake, the bottom of which is covered with sand and small stones. One big island rises out of the water and is inhabited by a few lamas, who only in wintertime, when the lake is frozen, can come ashore, since no boats are used on the lake. At that time the Tibetans drive horses and sheep to the island in order that they may graze and breed; colts and lambs bred on the island are assumed to be a blessing for the herds. The famous *Ch'ien-li-ma* (horses which are reputed to run 1,000 *li* or approximately 300 miles in one day) celebrated as long ago as the Han dynasty, are said to be bred on the island, whose grass is reputed wonderfully nutritive for animals. There are three kinds of fishes in the lake, where fish are plentiful: *schizopygopsis przewalskii*, *schizopygopsis leptocephalus*, and *schizopygopsis gracilis*. They weigh from three to five and seven pounds (Przewalskii, *Reisen in der Mongolei, in das Gebiet der Tanguten und den Wüsten Nordtibets*, 140, Jena, 1873). [p. 113 b]

3: Schröder--86 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate 2

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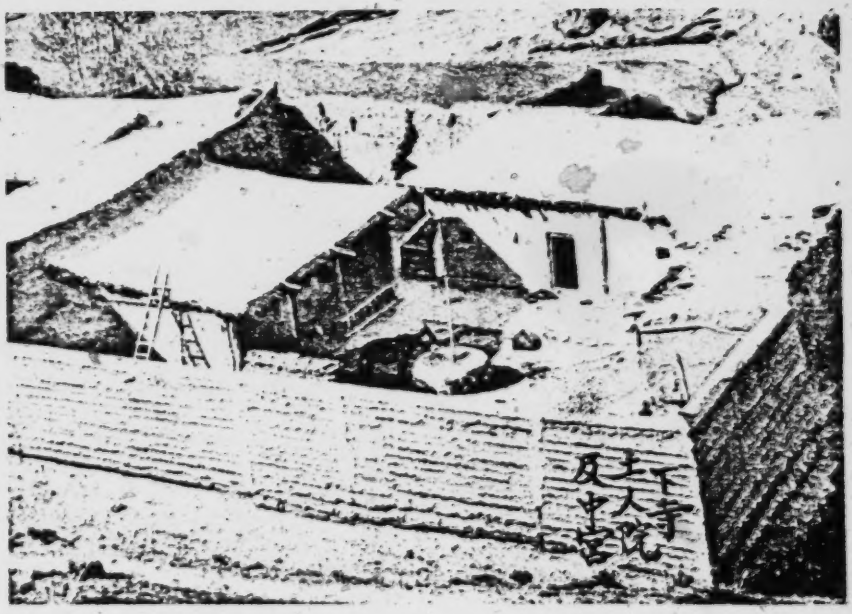

(Caption on following page.)

3: Schröder--87 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Caption for Plate 2 between pp. 48 and 49.]

*778 [137] [291] a: Mani-tree on a house roof in the village T'a-erh-wan west of Tangkar in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

b: An old Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai on the way to the obo of the Sha-pa-kou, 1949. In his right hand a poplar branch with flocks of wool, in his left and imitation spear with a flock of wool and painted spiral. In front of him on the ground: a [782] bundle of straw for the incense fire, a saddle bag with white stones that will be thrown on the obo, a jug of barley wine for the libation, and behind it a little bag with cypress needles (incense). (To accompany the chapter: "The Obo.")

[342] [351] [417] c: A Tujen yard of the settlement Ha-szu (Hsia-szu) on the way from Na-ling-kou to Yang-chüan. In the center of the yard, the central fort with the mani-tree. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

000 [50] 2. The Arrow of Good Fortune*

*See "Notes," pp. 52-55 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

353 *778 In every good Tujen house there is an arrow. The tip is stuck in an urn of grain, in a crevice in the wall, or in a slit in a beam. Hadas, colorful ribbons, sheep wool, hair, etc. are [792] attached to the arrow. The arrow is consecrated by a lama or a Bon priest, and on this occasion it is venerated in the house. Later, however, it is not venerated any more. The arrow is [777] not the seat of a spirit, but rather guarantees good fortune and wealth in the family.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The support and protection of the Mongols and of the emperors of China saved and established the Yellow Sect, which was on a foundation of rock. In 1717–1719 the Jungar Mongols persecuted the Red Sects and destroyed 550 of their monasteries.[60]

175 648 771 [789]

KUMBUM [61]

The insecurity in Huang-chung and the struggle in Tibet among the sects provide an explanation for the late date assigned to the founding of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum. One and a half centuries after the death (1419) of Tsong khapa, the lama Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, in 1560, built some "cells" for himself and his ten monks (hermitage). Later, twenty more cells were added. In 1577, seventeen years later, a temple was built close to the "tower," whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree which at that time must have been 220 years old (1357–1577), and a statue of Maitreya was honored in the temple.[62] According to this tradition and the customs of Buddhist India, a tower must have first been built on the spot of the birth of Tsong khapa to commemorate the event. It is not known when this tower was built.

175 792 346

[60] L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 44, 71, Leiden, Brill, 1950.

[61] Kumbum, the lamasery of the 100,000 images is, at present, the most celebrated lamasery of Huang-chung, because of its precious trees, which are lilacs (Philadelphus, coronarius; see Rockhill, W., *Land of the lamas*, 67). The main tree sprang from the placenta of Tsong khapa (1357) and is said to have 100,000 images of Buddhas growing on its leaves. Much has been written about the tree. On May 6 and October 3, 1912, and on October 10, 1914, Father J. Essens and I read on the leaves only the two letters *Pa*, the thirteenth letter of the alphabet and *Ya*, the twenty-fourth letter, repeated indefinitely, written more or less correctly where the leaves were easy to reach. They were written with the red earth, which Chinese and Tibetan teachers use to correct the compositions of pupils. The sacred leaves are a wonderful panacea, healing all kinds of diseases of men, women, and children. It has been recorded that in Ch'ü-t'an and in Hung-shan-ssu the same kind of miraculous trees are encountered.

It is worth noting what is written regarding the tree (here called a "White Sandalwood") in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomunkhan of Amdo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1887, Part I, No. I, p. 28: "On the birthplace of Tsong khapa there exists a white Sandalwood tree, on every leaf of which, at the time of the reformer's birth, there appeared a picture of the Buddha Senge naro, supernaturally inscribed. Hence, from the circumstance of a 'hundred thousand images of Buddha' having appeared on the leaves, the town and the monastery is called Kumbum. Even at the present age, images are occasionally said to be seen divinely inscribed on the leaves of the Chandan tree and Sugpa trees of the grove. The enemies of the Gelugpa say that the said images are secretly drawn with pins and needles by the Gelugpa monks." The Chinese call Kumbum-T'a-erh-ssu, that is, "the lamasery of the [eight] stupas," because at its entrance there are eight stupas said to contain the ashes of eight Living Buddhas killed by General Nien Keng-yao at the time of the revolt of the Kumbum lamas in 1723. Filchner (*Dschamba-ling*, 160) notes: "They were built at the time of the 31st mK'ampo of Kumbus [date not given] by the chief of Roko, native of Amdo, after eight lamas had been killed by a Chinese prince, ruler of the country."

[62] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 29.

792 137 755

[p. 25(A)]

2: Schram--197 M-4, 5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Young T'ou-jen woman, given in marriage to a Tibetan family.
The father-in-law is riding the richly accoutered horse and the mother-in-law has the baby in her arms. The whole group wears Tibetan costume.

2: Schram--199 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Young T'ou-jen married woman in festive dress, an enormous headdress on her head. She wears the costume peculiar to the T'ou-jen.

2: Schram--201 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Young T'ou-jen married woman in festive dress, T'ou-jen costume.

2: Schram--203 M-4, 5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Left, a T'ou-jen lama wearing the dress of the yellow lamas.
Center, his superior, T'ou-jen lama in Chinese dress.
Right, a lay T'ou-jen, their servant.

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2: Schram--204 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

T'ou-jen widow with her two daughters, in T'ou-jen dress.

Note the hair style. There are nine kinds of them. Li Kin-wang, ancestor of the Li clan had nine wives and each of them had her special hair style; from that the nine T'ou-jen hair styles still seen today!

2: Schram--205 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Two girls belonging to a Tibetanized T'ou-jen family. They wear the dress of the girls of Hoa-ri (northern Sining). The older one is spinning with the distaff and carries at the nape of the neck the stick to which she fastens the thread; the little one pulls out the wool.

2: Schram--206 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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A T'ou-jen with his son; they wear Chinese clothes (country of Nien-pei, Sining).

2: Schram--207 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 . AE9 Monguor AE9

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Rich T'ou-jen widow, no longer speaking her language, wearing no longer the costume of her race. Type of completely Sinicized T'ou-jen, even having the little Chinese feet. However, at her death she will be dressed in the T'ou-jen style for her last toilette!

3: Schröder--84 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate I

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142
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c

d

(Caption on following page.)

[46 cont.]

000 [Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

115

● [145] a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling
[291] in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autumn
[302] of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer,
792 1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the
796 conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the
[534] monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guämbasoma) in the vicinity
[292] of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense
[782] Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In
[778] front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the
756 background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan. Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof; this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand
* [778] the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching
[292] line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter: "The Gurtum.")

[256 cont.]

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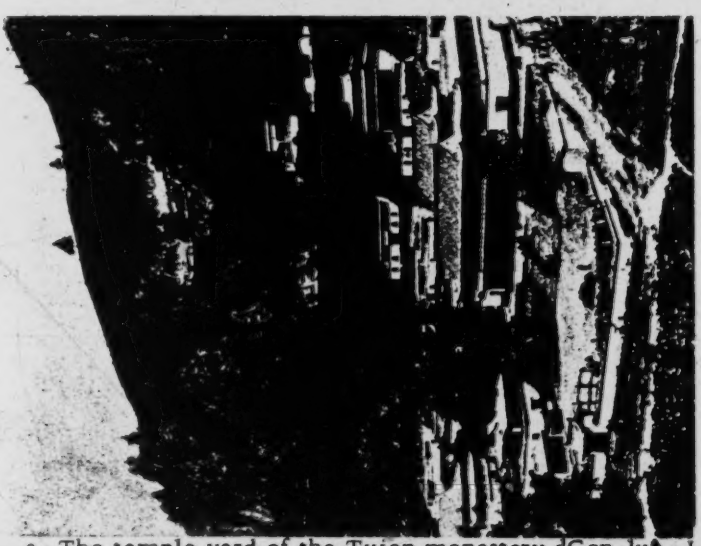

a: The temple yard of the Tujen monastery dGon-luñ. Left, the gable of the Tuguän palace, Tuguän-larõñ. In the background the foothill of the Tuguän mountain, Tuguän-ula. (Photo. Jos. Trippner.) b: Young Tujen woman in ancient dress. Characteristic are: the high headdress, niudar, now prohibited; the neck ring; the wide sleeve rings; the wide embroidered cloth bands over the skirt. The pattern was the garb of a Tujen princess. (Photo. Mission Archives, Sining.)

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3: Schröder--298 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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b

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[171]

c

d

(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
752 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[754] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
[292] shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
[534] village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[778] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-
[142] pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip
with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the
gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest
Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The
Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
[171] graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical.
Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs
concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his
percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his
instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the follow-
ing day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless
one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing
to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed.
[333] The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

N *563 *[175] M [175] peacefully, stimulating both agriculture and commerce. Development of the country was dependent on control of the neighbouring tribes."

b. language

M [197] The language of the Mongours is completely different from Western or Eastern Mongolian. There is no communication between the Mongours and Torguts or Ölöts, etc.

c. clan divisions

N *563 M 614 According to Father Schram there exist six Mongour clans in the Hsi-ning district and ten in the district of Nien-pei. (He uses the term "clan" to designate a group who share a common territory, a common surname and a common chief.) The names of the clans are: (1) Ch'i, whose chief is said to be an offspring of Chingis Khan; (2) Ch'eng; (3) Li; (4) Na; (5) Wang, and (6) Chi. The names of the Nien-pei clans are: (1) Ch'i; (2) Li Nan-ko; (3) Li Hua-nao; (4) Chao; (5) Ah; (6) Kan; (7) Chou; (8) Yeh; (9) Hsin; (10) La. As the names indicate, Chinese influence was strong.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, Tibetan and Chinese frequently were absorbed by the Mongour clans. Mannerheim reports that the Shera Yögur (another subgroup of the Mongours) have preserved their old Mongolian clan names, like Tokshu, Orge, Sultus, Turgush, Kargos, Arlat, Kong, Lantshak, Socka, Kongrott, Temyrt or Temurtshin, Jaglakyr, Tshungsa, Tshangban, Rkomdjuk, Glan, Kyrgyz, Andjan, Tuman and Uirot. There is a strict observance of clan exogamy.

2. Physical characteristics

N *563 M 142 [144] Since the Mongours are either of Mongolian, Turkish (Sha-to), Tibetan, or Chinese extraction, their physical appearance is not at all uniform. Mannerheim's description shows this variety of physical features: The Shera Yögurs are of medium height and not badly built. They have well-formed hands and feet and narrow wrists and ankles. There is nothing about them of the coarse and vulgar appearance which distinguishes the Kalmucks. Stout people are never seen - many of them are even remarkably thin. Their faces are neither exceptionally long and narrow nor short and broad. Though some have pronounced cheekbones, wide cheekbones are rare, and in many individuals they are not at all protruding. The mouth is normal, with neither thin nor thick lips, the nose straight and of a good shape. Some, however, have wide turned-up noses, with very little bridge to them. Among the majority, the distance between the eyes was rather wide. It is overgrown by the eyelid in childhood, but with age, this peculiarity almost disappears. Their eyes are black or dark, with slight changes in them, but no blue eyes were observed by Mannerheim. Their hair is black or quite dark, sometimes curly, the children often having brown hair. The men are never bald, but often become very gray and, judging by the women, the growth of hair is not particularly good. They

/Kansu Monguors/

N *563 M 142 have very scanty beards, and there is seldom any growth of hair on the body.

e. economic activities

N *563 M [241] [233] [433] The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

M [291] [177] [171] Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to wear only Chinese clothing.

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Olots and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours now belong to Chinghai Province. Very little is known about the N [177] Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokonor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian N [233] language. They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölots and the Torguts of Sinkiang.

2. Hordes

N *563 619 361 *[175] When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai area he found the following groups of Mongols:

(1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;

(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;

(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;

(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;

(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.

(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.

(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;

[323 cont.]

T 142 look in their earliest childhood, which is then lost when they get older.

34. Mongolian woman from the Ra lo tribe near Tchü tsang se, Ta tung hiän, with pronounced Mongoloid features, consisting of strong zygomatic arches, Mongolian fold, deep-saddled button shaped nose, flat face and high forehead.

M Figures 25-39. Tu jen (Monguor or Dolden)

● 142 302 301 291 35. Two women from the Dung kou near Hu chu; the man beside them is a Turk. In the women the Mongolian features are quite pronounced. The Monguor are Old Mongolians, who parted at an early date from the present Mongolians. In contrast to them the Turk with his profiled face and the heavy growth of beard shows the European stamp of the Old Form [Altform] like Figures 14 and 45. The Tu jen wear the most varied forms of fantastic head ornamentation, made of cloth and twisted strings, and they like bright-colored, gay clothes with pretty embroidery. Noteworthy are the stuffed animals (made of cloth) as decoration: rabbit and lamb on the woman on the right; horse and crab on the woman in the middle.

36. Forty-year old woman from the vicinity of Hu chu with a string of mussel shells on her breast.

37. Tu jen woman with a trident headdress from the vicinity of Lo tu. She shows the long-faced Mongoloid type.

38. Eighteen-year old Tu jen bride from the Ho ngä dse kou. The Mongolian fold is missing; the nose is higher.

T 142 301 39. Thirty-five year old Angar woman from the Ba ya ta wan tribe near Kan chow in Nän shän. By language the Angar are Old Mongolians like the Tu jen. The women has a strikingly thin and narrow nose with a bent tip. The open eye has no Mongolian fold. The face is long and narrow and of a Europid strain. Typical for the Angar women are the braid-covers made of metal rings with stones and enamel.

[324]

T 142 Figures 40-54 Mixed types.

40. Twenty-two year old agricultural Tibetan woman from the vicinity of Tchü tsang se, Ta tung hiän. The long narrow nose, the long lower part of the face and the open eyes show

[324 cont.]

T 142 [291 301] European character and childish features. The gaily colored clothes and the rich ornamentation betray Tibeto-Mongolian admixture. The rectangular and round amulet caskets on the breast and the palettes on the beautifully stitched stola-like bands are fine silver work. The lengths of cloth that are suspended from the hips have mussel-shell ornaments and are a characteristic decoration of the Amdo agricultural Tibetan women.

41. Tibeto-Mongolian mixed type with strong Mongoloid components. Thirty-year old women from Tchü tsang tän, Ta tung.

42. Sino-Tibetan mixed type from Wu dschung near Rong bu; a military colony of the Sung period took Tibetan women as wives. This type might well stem from Eastern Europe or Russia.

M 142 291 276 43. Tu jen man from the Ha la dsie kou, Hu chu hiän. The nose is Europid. On the clothing one sees the high collar, a sharp contrast to the Chinese fashion. In his hand he holds a snuff box carved of yak horn, which is kept in a finely embroidered cloth bag.

U 142 44. Uigur man from the Ya la ker tribe near Kao tai, with a Europid character, with a large, narrow nose and larger earlobes.

T 142 45. A Turk whose ancestors emigrated centuries ago from East Turkestan to Kan su and later to Tsing hai; he is of the Old Form [Altform] type like figures 14 and 54. The high fleshy nose has distended alae. The filter is absent. The skin fold of the upper lid is, to be sure, very strong, but the Mongolian fold is missing. The lips are thin. The face is wide and coarse. The beard-growth is heavy (cf. Figure 3).

46. Northwestern Chinese type: the upper lid falls away sharply, but forms no Mongolian fold. The nose is narrow and large. The face is long and narrow. The zygomatic arches are only slightly pronounced. The forehead recedes slightly.

47. Five-year old nomad boy from the Ra gya A rig tribe. Since the nose is now so clearly defined, it will later become big (cf. the remarks on children under Figure 33). His clothing is a sheepskin worn next to the bare body.

T [29]

7: Hermanns--834 E. 5 (1935-1945) 1948 - AJ1 Tibet
Monguor AE9

142
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301
302

35) Tu jen (Dung kou)

36) Tu jen (Dung kou)

7: Hermanns--335 E, 5 (1935-1945) 1948 AJ1 Tibet
Menguer AE9

37) Tu jen
(Lo tu)

38) Tu jen
(Ho nä dse)

2: Schram--1 M-4,5 (1915, 1929, 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

/1/

Introduction

101 This study deals with marriage among the T'ou-jen /T'u-jen/ of Kansu. The T'ou-jen in question occupy the north side of Sining River, in the prefecture of Sining and the subprefecture of P'ing-fan (Lien-tch'eng).

114 We hope to have this monograph followed by others, which will deal with the history of the T'ou-jen, their religious, social, and political life. Our sources for the history of this people are the great history of China, the chronicles of the towns of Kansu, and the family chronicles of one of the most powerful T'ou-jen groups, which extend over a period of more than five hundred years; our sources for the ethnology are the notes collected during the course of about ten years spent in T'ou-jen country.

144 162 Of the T'ou-jen of whom we write one group is very probably of Turkish race, and the other, without doubt, as of Mongol race. The first, of the clan of Li t'ou-se, are said to be /2/ originally Cha-t'ouo /Sha-t'o/ (1) who immigrated to the region in the T'ang period

1. Aur. Stein, Serindia, Vol. 2, p. 1129: Kao-chu-hui, when describing the journey along this border, of the Chinese mission which started from Khotan in 938, tells us: Kan-chow is the camping place of the Hui-ho (Uigurs). The mountains which are about 100 li to the south (direction of Si-ning; the principal habitat of the T'ou-jen is four days from Kan-chow /Kan-tcheou/) are the territory where in the time of the Han dynasty there resided the ancient people called the little Yueh-chih. There is a race different from this people called Cha-t'ouo from the mountains of the deer forest. They are said to be descended from the Ch'u yueh race (ex. Rémusat, Ville de Khotan /City of Khotan/;

/2 cont'd/

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162

Chavannes, Turcs Occidentaux /Western Turks/). The Cha-t'ouo to whom Kao-chu-hui's relation refers here, were a tribe of the western Turcs first settled in early times to the east of Barkoul, and after A.D. 808 transferred to the northern borders of Kan-sou, for the sake of protecting them from inroads. /Cited in English, with one interpolation in French indicated by underline./

(620-905); the chronicles of Sining confirm this tradition. The last group came to live in the area either in the Yüan period (1280-1368) or the Ming (1368-1644).

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These two groups speak the same language today, called Monguor by them. The language is very archaic; it reflects the Mongolian of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Let us call to

[113]

the attention of those who are interested in the question of the T'ou-jen language the study of Fathers Mostaert and De Smedt published in Anthropos, XXIV-XXV, "Le dialecte monguor, parlé par les Mongols du Kan-sou occidental /The Monguor Dialect, spoken by the Mongols of Western Kansu/." The grammar and the dictionary are in press.

The Cha-t'ouo of whom we speak are then Mongolized today. It should be pointed out that the notions of race and language are subject to caution.

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The T'ou-jen, subject to China, have kept their autonomy under chiefs of their race, recognized by China and called t'ou-se. The Chinese Republic, from its beginning, has shown itself hostile to this autonomous administration and has tried to treat the T'ou-jen as Chinese, subject to the jurisdiction of the mandarins of the place.

177

The ways and customs of the T'ou-jen, although influenced by the proximity of the Chinese and the Tibetans, have remained relatively pure. They reveal many a secret of their former social organization and of their nomadic life of yesteryear.

N *563 /Kansu Monguors/
*[175] peacefully, stimulating both agriculture and commerce. Develop-
M [175] ment of the country was dependent on control of the neighbouring tribes."

b. language

M [197] The language of the Mongours is completely different from Western or Eastern Mongolian. There is no communication between the Mongours and Torguts or Ölöts, etc.

c. clan divisions

N *563 According to Father Schram there exist six Mongour clans in
M 674 the Hsi-ning district and ten in the district of Nien-pei. (He uses the term "clan" to designate a group who share a common territory, a common surname and a common chief.) The names of the clans are: (1) Ch'i, whose chief is said to be an offspring of Chingis Khan; (2) Ch'eng; (3) Li; (4) Na; (5) Wang, and (6) Chi. The names of the Nien-pei clans are: (1) Ch'i; (2) Li Nan-ko; (3) Li Hua-nao; (4) Chao; (5) Ah; (6) Kan; (7) Chou; (8) Yeh; (9) Hsin; (10) La. As the names indicate, Chinese influence was strong.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, Tibetan and Chinese frequently were absorbed by the Mongour clans. Mannerheim reports that the Shera Yögur (another subgroup of the Mongours) have preserved their old Mongolian clan names, like Tokshu, Orge, Sultus, Turgush, Kargos, Arlat, Kong, Lantshak, Socka, Kongrott, Temyrt or Temurtshin, Jaglakyr, Tshungsa, Tshangban, Rkomdjuk, Glan, Kyrgyz, Andjan, Tuman and Uirot. There is a strict observance of clan exogamy.

N *563 2. Physical characteristics

M 142 Since the Mongours are either of Mongolian, Turkish (Sha-to),
[144] Tibetan, or Chinese extraction, their physical appearance is not at all uniform. Mannerheim's description shows this variety of physical features: The Shera Yögurs are of medium height and not badly built. They have well-formed hands and feet and narrow wrists and ankles. There is nothing about them of the coarse and vulgar appearance which distinguishes the Kalmucks. Stout people are never seen - many of them are even remarkably thin. Their faces are neither exceptionally long and narrow nor short and broad. Though some have pronounced cheekbones, wide cheekbones are rare, and in many individuals they are not at all protruding. The mouth is normal, with neither thin nor thick lips, the nose straight and of a good shape. Some, however, have wide turned-up noses, with very little bridge to them. Among the majority, the distance between the eyes was rather wide. It is overgrown by the eyelid in childhood, but with age, this peculiarity almost disappears. Their eyes are black or dark, with slight changes in them, but no blue eyes were observed by Mannerheim. Their hair is black or quite dark, sometimes curly, the children often having brown hair. The men are never bald, but often become very gray and, judging by the women, the growth of hair is not particularly good. They

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2
Monguor AE9

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 K 462 533 535 [191]

4. Work and leisure

The division of labor between men and women is like that of the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing and dance and otherwise enjoy themselves. Because of their hard life, their songs carry a meloncholy quality, and their dance is simple.

It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their expert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horseback. There are three which may be played by all ages. One, similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep." Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

S 563 K 526

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

N *563 M 131 361 311

F. The Mongours

1. The people

The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were formerly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

N *563 M 614 622 [195]

The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers. One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols; another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-

N *563 M 144 174

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 144 174 sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsining region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, N *563 M 648 175 311 meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

N *563 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342 The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351] The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables M [343] and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The M [231] Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [592] [594] The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies M [354] the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up [352] most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N *563 The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest M 342 corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the 594 592 "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-

7: Hermanns--338 E, 5 (1935-1945) 1948 AJ1 Tibet
Mongour AE7
Uigur AI4

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43) Tu jen (man)

44) Uigur (man)

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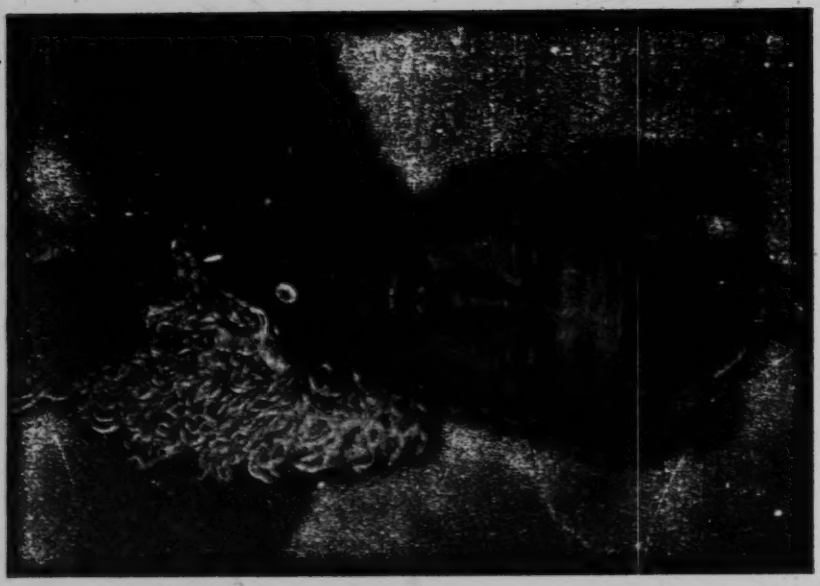

[638 cont.]

764
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[354]
[171]

[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] on the oil. This is to prevent the wick from burning too far down into the bowl; in order to save oil, the lower half is filled with water. -- The Chinese dough-lamp of long life, ch'ang-ming teng, has nothing to do with this lamp; it is unknown to the Tujen.

the deceased's own family must present these gifts. A so-called paper-bowl also stands on the floor next to the bread and the water-lamp. After each meal some tea, soup, or milk is poured into it, and little pieces of meat, bread, vegetable, etc. [264] are thrown in, according to what the family has just eaten. Until the day of cremation the dead is always supposed to partake of the meals of the household. The paper-bowl is an ordinary earthen bowl; it gets its name from the fact that after the paper-burning the charred leaves are thrown in it (11). Along with the

[171]

11. [Foreign text p. 654.] The paper-burning is typically Chinese.

water-lamp it is emptied in front of the gate on the last day, when the death-box leaves the compound for cremation. It is not broken, but may be used again for other purposes.

764 On the third day after the death, the oldest married daughter of the household appears with 12 loaves of bread. Then 782 the family loaves before the death-box are replaced by the 593 daughter's loaves. This is called "bread exchange." This takes place each time a person makes an offering of loaves. The oldest daughter is followed in order by the younger ones, whether or not the corpse has already been put in the box. Unmarried [589] daughters of the household do not make offerings. Every time [152] someone offers loaves, he also burns white paper and weeps aloud; the men, it is true, do not weep (24).

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

his bag and returned to Labrang. The master of the well-known bridge-builder, Temna, convinced that his pupil was not of the stuff of which philosophers are made, saddled his horse and went back home. It seems that such instances often occur. 792 875

Bit by bit, I pieced together the interesting curriculum of T'u-kuan. At seven years of age he entered the intendancy of Erh-ku-lung; at nine years of age he was sent to Labrang (two weeks riding on horseback) to study with a couple of young Living Buddhas there; at twelve he was back in Erh-ku-lung, at thirteen he went to Peking, and congratulated the Emperor at New Year's; at only sixteen years of age he was back at Erh-ku-lung; at seventeen he returned to Labrang for study; at nineteen he went back to Erh-ku-lung and went on a vacation with his family for four months. 792 871 484

After that he went with an expedition collecting alms among the Uigurs of Kan-chou and Su-chou, and on a second one to Mongolia, which took three and one-half years. His studies lasted over a period of seven or eight years, with intermissions of several years. It is said that the masters of the Living Buddhas never leave their pupils; they accompany them on the journeys and are said to teach philosophy and metaphysics while riding horseback during the whole of the journey. Most of the Living Buddhas and Lamas, however, go through life with only a sketchy background in Lamaist learning. [875]

What about the frame of mind and the religious formation, the interior spiritual life, the meditations and contemplations of Living Buddhas who, from the prime of life, are fed on unwholesome values by a master, swelling their pride, flaunting their superiority above others, and inflating their self-importance? What of the consequences to the minds and hearts of these teenagers of basking continually in the adulation of a group of flattering admirers, who feign to have for them a feeling that is little short of idolatrous, being always wrapped in a shining coat of adoration, wearing a look of portentous solemnity, as if the face wore a mask? Without doubt some of them are carried away with their own play-acting and like to move in this misty land of Utopia. Probably for many of them the scales will, one day or another, weigh down their eyes and bear evidence of their loss of touch with reality. 792 156

An old teacher of Living Buddhas once revealed to me that the biggest problem for teachers is to keep young men, for whom studies have not the slightest appeal, occupied all day long. They are bored by their dull and uneventful life and, upon coming of age, strike out for themselves. They have outgrown the time when corporal punishment could be inflicted. They fritter the time away on trifles, on investigating all the vices of life among the servants and former novices of their previous incarnations. They play chess and cards, and, lazing the time away, they prepare their own ruin. A large number of them are buds that will never bloom. 792 875

[p. 69(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

that the family may become rich and be blessed with children. If a beggar happens to go through first, the gate has to be rebuilt. A guest never enters directly the home of a friend, lest he might harm the family. Never prepare a hare or chicken for dinner for a guest, because it would harm him. When two friends, having a long talk at night, see the black top of the lamp wick showing the shape of a flower, they congratulate each other, smiling, for the spirit promises to both a happy event in the family. If a crow caws on the roof, it has to be driven away immediately lest a member of the family die or get sick. A member of the family will certainly die soon if a parson crow (hooded crow) enters the door; a calamity is imminent if a magpie cries in the evening, even if, at night, foxes howl, horses neigh, and dogs bark. If a hen crows trouble will surely start in the family, the harvest will be bad, and maybe the Moslems will rebel. 777 784

A bride on her wedding day is not allowed to be put on the horse by a "half man," a widower or bachelor; her makeup is not to be done by a "half woman," a widow or a girl, for fear of becoming soon a "half woman." A person dreaming at night about unlucky events, spits for a long time in order that ominous events will not befall him. Never give things to children which are entire, for example, hold over a bit of the frosting of a cookie. The same rule is observed when something is given to a beggar, for fear the guardian spirit of your wealth, should wreak vengeance and the family be impoverished. When drinking tea or wine, or eating food, always throw a bit of it over your shoulder, or sprinkle a few drops, thereby feeding the hungry souls roaming all over the world, in order not to be harmed by them. Never urinate in a river, or facing the sun or the moon, or at night in front of the manikan. At night never appear completely naked before the manikan, or you will surely be harmed. All the taboos after childbirth and funerals are scrupulously observed.

These few facts give an insight into the mentality of fear prevailing among the Monguors concerning the whole army of malignant spirits which surround them. No wonder that the whole day long they cast horoscopes in order to avoid all possible harm. These few facts will help to understand the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live and practice their religion.[4] [154]

[4] The very valuable study of F. Johan Frick and F. Franz Eichinger, Tiere in Volksleben, Museum of Oriental Ethnology, *Folklore Studies*, Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China), 125 sq., Charles E. Tuttle Co., Rutland, Vermont, U. S. A. (1925), concerning the region of Huan-Yüan, west of Hsining, inhabited by Tibetans and Chinese, neighbors of the Monguors, provides interesting and minute details related to this special field. Because Tibetans and Chinese are enrolled in the Monguor clans, many of those beliefs and practices are necessarily encountered among the Monguors. The study helps to shed light on the frame of mind and the world of fear in which the Monguors live. Similarly, [113]

[p. 96 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

with the same foes; and again in 1872, at the time of the revolt of the Mohammedans, when the clan built a floating bridge to pass the Tatung River, for the army had to reach Hsining and was blocked at Lien Ch'eng. 175x

The conclusion seems to be that a sword of Damocles swayed above the clan for as long a time as the seceders were alive and assuming an attitude of menacing hostility every time an opportunity would occur.

CONCLUSION

The study ends with the biographies of the ancestors of the most prominent among the clans, the Lu clan, which shed light on the family life of the t'u-ssu and the process of Sinicization in the center of the family. 175x 622 565

This section of the Biographies shows the mentality of the chiefs of the clans and their entire families. All the chiefs of the Monguor clans at the beginning of the Ming dynasty were uncouth barbarians, admiring the Chinese civilization, feeling themselves humiliated in the presence of the Chinese. Hence the eagerness in the families of the chiefs of all the clans to learn the Chinese language, to adopt Chinese customs, to have in the family members honored with literary degrees, to see their chiefs dignified with Chinese military titles and promotions. The Chinese knew very well these dispositions and fostered them, granting military titles one after another, even bestowing upon some among them, the title of Duke of Hui Ning and Duke of Kao Yang. 156 177

The chiefs of the clans married girls of prominent Chinese officials, and married their girls to important Chinese officials and prominent Chinese families. After a couple of generations the mentality and customs in the family had completely changed. Dinners had become Chinese dinners, clothing Chinese clothing, jewelry Chinese jewelry, furniture in the houses Chinese furniture, and the walls were adorned with Chinese inscriptions and paintings. A hall to the ancestors had been built in the mansion of the chief of the clan where sacrifices were offered according to the Chinese pattern, and rich Monguors liked to display luxury in the Chinese fashion. The introduction of Chinese women into the families of the chiefs of the clan had changed entirely the mind of the family and stimulated its Sinicization. But in China the corners are never wholly square. These Sinicized Monguors profess a Confucianism that allows them to practice, even fervently, lamaism and shamanism, that allows them to burn down and rebuild monasteries, to be proprietors of monasteries and to have sons who become lamas and even Living Buddhas. 175x 177 [582]

The family chronicles of the Lu clan are a great help for the comprehension of the social life of the Monguor clans and also of the attitude of the Chinese administration, related to the policy adopted toward the Mongol and Tibetan brigands on the frontiers. 114

Even this kind of trouble is mild enough. It is more serious when the pupil accuses his master in the Chinese court, alleging that living with his master is impossible, and demanding a part of his wealth. Such impudent acts of audacity happen from time to time. I asked the subprefects of Tat'ung and Nien-pei, and the Amban, about the reasons given for such accusations. All three told me, "Father, you do not know the secrets of the monasteries. The alleged reasons are always, in the long run, the same as those used by the daughters-in-law when they accuse their fathers-in-law."

A lama cannot stand having such accusations put on public display by an unscrupulous pupil who aims at getting hold of his wealth, for even if he wins the suit, his entire wealth has vanished. The pupil knows perfectly well how much his master is worth, and tells the officials and the underlings of the court how much they can expect to benefit. Such a suit makes the court happy. An intelligent lama, therefore, always tries to invite influential people to mediate the quarrel and to work out an agreement, consenting to give up a part of his fortune and to separate from the pupil. The lama can then begin again with another pupil, while he still has something to his name.

The life of a lama is not a bed of roses. Even if he should be an affluent individual, insecurity over the attitude of his uneducated pupil, fears of having the pupil accuse him at the Chinese courts, and the possibility of losing his fortune, must always hover in the background.

The life of the pupil is not a bed of roses either.[8] Not having received any real religious education, having no serious occupation, living a lazy life, the prospect of having to serve, who knows for how many years, a master who is becoming old and has many weaknesses and imperfections, is not alluring. On the other hand, being in the prime of life, used to engaging in domestic duties, enjoying the company of young people of dubious behavior, the pupil is not disposed to dedicate all his energy to study and devote himself entirely to a perfect monastic life.

These seemed to be the conditions prevailing between masters and pupils in the monasteries of Huang-chung in 1910–1920, which became evident after observing the lama life at close quarters for several years.

THE IDEAL MONGUOR LAMA IN HUANG-CHUNG

It was always very interesting to inquire, among well-acquainted, serious lamas, and among young pupils, how a "good" lama behaved the whole day long. The answers given are summed up in the following statement, bearing evidences of a long-standing tradition and of a general uniformity in the concept of a "model," or "ideal" lama.

In the very early morning the master awakens his

[8] Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 129, 130, 131.

[p. 59(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

pupil, who prepares tea. He presents a cup of tea to his master and enjoys one with him. In the winter he kindles the brazier. Then he sweeps the courtyard while his master rises. He brings him a basin of hot water, so that he may wash his face. He wipes the dust from the house altar and the furniture, and prepares the ritual tea to be offered before the Buddha image (a yellow powder consisting of several kinds of pounded roots mixed with water). The master fills the brass cups, displayed in a row before the image, taking care not to spill a single drop outside the cup. Master and pupil recite the ritual prayer, prostrating themselves as long as the prayer lasts. Fervent lamas are accustomed to make 108 prostrations with their pupil. Everyone assured me that this is really hard work, especially in wintertime. 792 157

After the ritual the pupil empties the brass cups, pouring out the ritual tea in the courtyard in a place assumed to be clean, and cleans the cups. About this time the conches are blown and the drums beaten in the central assembly hall, and master and pupil go to attend the morning ceremony. They then come back to their quarters, and, after driving the oxen and horses to pasture, the pupil places the text book on the lap of his master and then with his back turned to the master recites the lesson indicated for that day. If he fails, the master inflicts corporal punishment and fixes the lesson for the next day. The pupil then prepares breakfast, after which he goes out to collect fuel. He is back at noon in order to serve tea and tsamba to his master. The ritual tea is offered again before the images, with prostrations, and the pupil, free for the whole afternoon, is then allowed to relax with his friends outside the monastery. He has to be back by the time the sun is as high as two posts, in order to prepare the evening meal of noodles and tea, which the master enjoys sitting on the k'ang while his pupil squats on the floor. After the kitchen chores are finished and the animals tended, the pupil starts memorizing texts for the next morning. When it is time to go to bed, a last and third ritual tea is offered, with prostrations, before the image on the house altar, and master and pupil sleep next to each other on the k'ang. A pupil is never allowed to go to bed before his master.

During the long winter nights, in order to have an [805] idea of the time, the good lamas fix three sticks of incense, end to end. To the third stick is attached a thread with copper coins. This device is suspended above a basin. When the third stick has burned down, the thread with the coins falls into the basin. The lama awakes and kindles a new series of three sticks of incense. He repeats this process a third time. When the coins fall for the third time the pupil is awakened and he starts the day's chores as before. If it happens that, when master and pupil are ready to attend the morning ceremony, the dawn is still some way off, they return to their slumbers; but if it is at hand they must, ac-

[p. 59 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

cording to the rules, occupy the time in meditation or prayer. 792 157

A good lama should daily, once in the morning and once in the afternoon, walk around the monastery saying his beads and prostrating himself at the small shrines along the ritual way. In the fourth moon he makes the same round, prostrating himself the whole way along. This is said to be really exhausting work.

Every year a good lama enters a retreat at home for two weeks. He does not leave his room, talks with no one, and cancels all appointments with visitors. He prays and reads texts the whole day and offers the ritual tea four times daily before the image. A good lama never sits on a bench or chair, but always squats [516] cross-legged on the floor or the k'ang, barefooted, his clothes adjusted decently. He eats only mutton, beef, or pork, never the meat of the horse, donkey, hare, or [262] chicken, or fish or eggs. Lamas are not allowed to raise sheep, goats, pigs, chickens, or donkeys. A model lama lives in retirement, avoiding mixing with the groups of lamas who play chess and cards all night, or indulge in endless gossip, or tell smutty jokes and indecent stories, for the saying goes that "nothing is dirtier than the tongue of a lama." A good lama deals with books with reverence, putting them, wrapped in a yellow silk scarf, before the Buddha statues, carrying them on his back when traveling. A good lama does not even go to say prayers at private homes, when invited by the people; he does not leave the monastery.

These notes, given by older lamas and young Wendees, reveal what lamas think about an ideal lama and what sort of ideal is held up before young lamas. However, in order to be able to become an "ideal lama" some wealth is required, or at least an honorable competency, and it is precisely the lack of this primary condition which provides the clue to most of the miseries of individual lamas and the ruin of many monasteries.

HOW LAMAS PROVIDE FOR THEIR SUBSISTENCE

792

Lamas have to earn a living, because support furnished by the monastery is insufficient. Poor lamas try to find a full-time job in the several intendancies of the monastery or with the minor Living Buddhas, or by accompanying expeditions to collect alms, or by working in the printing offices. Many find a part-time [466] job carrying water every day for several rich lamas, driving animals to the pasture grounds and then back home again, selling cow dung and fuel. Lamas like to be hired, by a lama whose pupil has abandoned him, to search for and bring back the strayed pupil. Lamas try to buy a young, nicely built horse or mule, and are happy to hire young lamas who will work every day at breaking it to the saddle, in order that they will be able to sell it in the cities or in Lhasa, where such animals command a good price. Lamas

[p.60(A)]

gram of studies, elaborately built up and highly vaunted, 792
and the knowledge and education sometimes attributed 873
to the lamas in Tibet and Mongolia. My opinions seem 794
to be justified by the opinions of other authors, who have lived for years among the lamas, knowing their language and being themselves Buddhists.

The learned Buddhist, Mme Alexandra David-Neel, 792
who lived in the lamaseries of Tibet and Huang-chung 157
for many years, knew the language very well and was 829
always sympathetic to the lamas, giving "philosophical" justifications for much questionable behavior, but she confesses:

> At the morning exercise are intermixed subtle philosophy with commercialism, high spirituality with feverish pursuit of vile satisfactions, which are impossible to separate from each other; novices, educated in this whirlpool of contrary influences, follow one or another of them, according to their nature and the direction given to them by their master.[14] In Tibet the clerical education has produced only a "small number" of selected literary men; a "large number" of slothful brutes, joyous, gay fellows, and picturesque blusterers, and all these various characteristics, if they do not show up in every lama, are at least "simultaneously deeply ingrained in the nature of all of them."[15]

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist monk, who went to Lhasa to study Lamaism in the learned centers of Tibet, states that they graduate from the college after having studied for twenty-one years; they study especially the Buddhist Catechism and philosophy. They are from thirty to thirty-six years of age when they graduate.[16] It may safely be said that their purpose in entering the priesthood is only to procure the largest possible amount of fortune as well as the highest possible fame in that entirely secluded world of theirs. They do not seek religious truths or practice religious austerities for the work of delivering men and leading them to salvation, but they study to acquire fame, wealth, and influence, and there is nothing deep in their religious life, and 999 out of 1,000 have no conception of the problems of future life.[17] He states also that their faith is a veritable mass of superstition.[18]

These two learned Buddhists seem to confirm my suspicions and to reveal the philosophy and the behavior of the lama institutions. They corroborate my [123]
own observations, made at various institutions during the same span of time. A single fact may account only for the mentality of a single man; a multitude of facts, however, reveal the mentality of an entire corporation.[19]

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[14] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 95.

[15] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 96.

[16] Ekai Kawaguchi, *Three years in Tibet*, 291, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

[17] *Ibid.*, 348.

[18] *Ibid.*, 560.

[19] Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 108, *sq.*, gives interesting comparative data concerning the lamas and their behavior in the lamaseries situated in the Gobi Desert in the Narobanchin territory.

[p. 65(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

even minor Living Buddhas live in luxurious residences, 792
with a private chapel and servants. Admittance to the 871
Living Buddha is very complicated; no one is even al- [811]
lowed to enter the kitchen, at the entrance of which, [784]
when the Living Buddha is present, is a high stone, whitewashed and covered with a ceremonial scarf.

The first duty of the intendant is to acquire for his 792
new master two lama teachers of good repute and ex- 871
tensive learning, in order to provide for the education 554
of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the 292
boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity.

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks 792
before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after 554
months and months the exercises always have to be 869
repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and 868
the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.[25]

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, 157
particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training.

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and 792
writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before 875
his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he [876]
fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary lamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-ku-lung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed

[25] Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

[p. 68(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

BEHAVIOR OF THE LIVING BUDDHAS OF HUANG-CHUNG

Some facts will explain this matter better than philosophical considerations. 792

In 1916 the Living Buddha of the monastery of Sha-ku-ssu (Yung ch'ang hsien), an old branch of Erh-ku-lung, was an inveterate opium addict and had ruined his monastery. In order to retrieve his financial position in an easy way, he called on the Living Buddha of the monastery of Nan-ying (Liang chou), saying that he remembered in all the minutest detail having loaned, five generations ago, to his honorable confrere of Nan-ying, three herds of horses, five of sheep, three of cows, and 300 taels, and that this debt had never been paid; because he was poor and his confrere rich he would like to have his confrere take care of the matter. 276 691 157

The answer of the equally shrewd confrere was that he did not at all remember such an enormous debt, although he remembered in all possible detail the events that had happened during five generations. Thereupon the living Buddha of Sha-ku-ssu brought suit against his confrere at the Court of Justice in Liang-chou, claiming that his confrere knew all about the question, but that his pathological craving for money made him throttle his conscience and commit this crying injustice. The confrere reciprocated along the same line, exposing the opium addict before the interested audience; but because in China a rich man must always give up some of his rights in favor of the poor, the rich Living Buddha was ordered to give ten horses, and his poor confrere was able to continue smoking his opium for some time. [696]

The reason alleged by the opium smoker should be well known among lamas and Living Buddhas. It was the same that was used by the Dalai Lama at Kumbum in 1909. In autumn he arrived at Kumbum with the traditional splendor of an Oriental potentate. Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese ran to Kumbum to honor him. The Dalai Lama and his retinue were savage and arrogant; their animals were turned loose among the crops in the fields. Every day troubles arose over the sheep and flour offered by the mandarins, and the Dalai Lama, swayed by foolish pride and insolence, insisted on transferring three lama officials of Kumbum. Achia, defending his rights, denied the Dalai Lama permission to interfere with his administration of the lamasery. 792 157 578

The reason alleged by the Dalai Lama was that in one of his previous existences he remembered having been an incarnation of Achia and supreme chief of Kumbum. But Achia, without losing his balance, flatly denied the fact because he did not remember such an incarnation. Furthermore, he pointed out that the Dalai Lama was the incarnation of Tsong khapa, who was the incarnation of Chen-resig, while he himself was the incarnation of Tsong-khapa's father. He wondered how a son could behave so insolently and impudently

[P.69(B)]

toward his father, and he could not understand how the 792
same individual could happen to be the incarnation of 157
the father and the son. Then Achia talked to him like 578
a father, telling him to be more circumspect and to behave more decently, for many tales were already spreading about his behavior with Tibetan women. Liberties of that kind, he said, outraging the Lamaist conventions, were not allowed at Kumbum. The lamas of Kumbum, breathing fire and brimstone, prepared their weapons and called together lamas of neighboring monasteries. The officials of Hsining (the Amban, the General, the tao-t'ai, and the prefect) were in a hurry, and went to Kumbum with troops in order to prevent a clash. Finally, in order to get rid of the Dalai Lama as fast as possible, they decided to let him appoint three lama officials and then to depose them after his departure. The Dalai Lama left, and the three appointed officials also left as quickly as possible for fear of being killed by the Kumbum lamas. The deposed officials assumed their jobs again, but Achia, deeming that he had irretrievably lost face, cut his throat. Several times I [762] heard this tragic story, told by the Amban himself and by the officials at Kumbum.

The Dalai Lama cut a sorry figure in Hsining in 792
1909. The residence of Achia, destroyed by fire in 157
1895, was still not rebuilt in 1914, although all the materials for the reconstruction had been ready since 1909. The wood had been offered by the Tibetan Chief, Kach-htjir, and a contract had been written by the intendancy, promising Kach-htjir and his relatives the privilege of always staying at the residence, whenever they visited Kumbum.

Chao, the Living Buddha of Sia-mar, was a most celebrated man all over the country for his skill in patching up troubles, his unusual eloquence, proficiency in using the double-edged sword, of menaces and threats, soft words and blandishments. However, his influence lay in his cultivated acquaintance with the Chinese officials, to whom he paid visits and offered lavish gifts, and whom in due time he would use and provide with lawsuits that would benefit them. He was credited with having marvelous abilities and of being a powerful man. The saying went around that his special [828] kind of intelligence weighed so heavily on one side of his body, that the soles of a new pair of shoes, after a few days, were always run down on the same side—the side where his intelligence was pressing the most.

He had obtained the office of chiliarch, the old privilege of judging the numerous tribes formerly subjected to his predecessors. He started abolishing, among his subjects, the smoking and planting of opium, with Draconian severity, and flogging and fining addicts of alcohol. He compelled the Chinese, to whom his subjects had transferred lands, to return the fields. Wherever there happened to be a festival, he pitched his tent and waited to render justice. Young women who had eloped and had been brought back by his retinue of

[p.90 (A)]

twenty Tibetan soldiers, were flogged on such occasions 792
in order to make a drastic example of them. Whenever 157
people had a serious conflict, this Living Buddha was invited as arbitrator. He extended his zeal with prodigality, indulging his greedy fondness for display, and cultivating his reputation for knowing how to straighten out problems that seemed to be in a hopeless muddle. These activities absorbed all of his time and energy.

Cha-ik Hutukhtu followed in the wake of the Living Buddha of Siamar, building up his influence among the Chinese officials by means of gifts and visits, and by obtaining of the illustrious title Hutukhtu. He was never at home.

The Living Buddha Pu of Seerkok was fond of beau- [526]
tiful and fast horses. Every three days he participated in the morning races in the city of Hsining, riding his own horses in competition with the Moslems, who raised the best horses in the country. He was a better success at riding horses and breeding them than in philosophy and metaphysics; he was never seen in the temple.

The supreme chief of Seerkok, incarnation of the celebrated and learned Min-chu-erh, had a job at Nanking in the Bureau of Tibetan and Mongol affairs, but spent all of his spare time in Shanghai, indulging in expensive distractions and sorely depleting the funds of his intendancy. Back in Hsining, the community of the lamas stirred up trouble by not allowing him to return to the monastery, and preparing to bring suit against him at court, claiming that he was not the genuine incarnation. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu told me in Man hui, Hou-t'ao, in 1940 that he had sent his intendant to Seerkok in order to avoid scandal and to smooth the ruffled feathers of the lamas, and that after several weeks, Min-chu-erh, his behavior having been on display in the city of Hsining, had succeeded in returning to Seerkok, protected by a retinue of thirty Moslem soldiers loaned by General Ma Erh-hsiang.

It was delightful to encounter once in a while a good Living Buddha, who was really loved by the people. In Hsien mi monastery the Goomang Buddha, an old man, was engaged all year long in making up packages containing medicine, on which he blew his blessings and which he distributed gratis to people who come from far away to receive them. It was a panacea, which [757]
healed all kind of diseases of men, women, and children.

Dealing with fasting rites for laymen, there will be recorded the example of a really outstanding Living Buddha, the old Li. Modest and unassuming, adored by the people, his preaching developed and revived the sense of religiosity and of justice and humanity. His beneficent influence radiated far beyond the circle of fasters, into families and the administration of villages. He was at that time, among the Living Buddhas, the only educator of the Monguors, a benefactor of the Monguor society. [p.70(B)]

[29 cont.]

756 Soothsaying: In the common form of soothsaying, the
787 petitioner kowtows to the shaman in the trance and presents his request. He may also let an experienced man do the asking. The soothsayer then holds his breast-shield flat on his left hand, takes barley kernels from a little plate with the tip of the sword, and scatters them on the shield. From the pattern of the kernels he now gives his answer. Often he also moves in a violent trance and mumbles all kinds of disjointed words which a practiced man quickly writes down on paper and which afterwards are interpreted. In the trance, the soothsayer may speak any language, Tibetan, Chinese, Tujen, Mongolic, even if he has not learned it.

This soothsaying also precedes all the other ceremonies that he performs during the trance, such as exorcising demons, healing the sick, etc.

Calling: The shamans are always men. When someone
[562] thinks that he has the ability to go into a trance, he goes to a quiet, remote spot and experiments with a staff, a sword, etc. In time he becomes proficient. He also becomes aware of which spirit takes possession of him. Frequently the people in
[792] the village propose to a young man that he should try it once.
* [778] If he then succeeds, they suggest that he have himself consecrated in the lamic monastery. -- Most shamans take up this
756 calling of their own accord. Those who receive the art from
[158] their fathers are not common. The shamans are always healthy, normal men; they are only more easily excitable (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 32.] They do not form an organization of their own. True, I have been repeatedly told that in the sixth month on the first (?) or fifteenth day the shamans of the Hsi-ch'uan gather in a village near Tuopa (west of Hei-tsuei-p'u) and organize a kind of trance competition for an entire day. This custom, however, is supposedly recent.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

A lot of anecdotes, overlaid with fabulous legends, 756
are told about powerful shamans who lived in former 538
times. A famous shaman of Too long was invited to cure a dying man. The man died before his arrival. The soul of the shaman, after the completion of certain rites, went to see Erlik Khan, the King of Hell, and examining the files he found that the man had died several years before his destined time. The soul of the shaman came back; he performed a set of new rites and the man came to life and lived for several more years. I wondered how such anecdotes, known all over Asia, were spread among the Monguors. The overall con- [868]
clusion, after all the talks about old famous shamans, was always: "We no longer have the stuff of which shamans are made, for the apprentices are no longer trained in the right way."

MONGUOR SHAMANS AND NEUROSIS

What about the general statement of the ethnologists 756
that shamans are victims of neurosis? It is said of the 158
brutal training of the apprentices among the nomads, in opposition to the most elementary principles of pedagogy, that nothing could have been devised, better calculated to unseat the reason and to form pitiable neurotics of them.

In former times, according to the Monguors, the training of the Monguor shamans must have been very similar. The recent cases of the two apprentices of the old Lu shaman seem to evidence this assumption. On the other hand, it is a known fact that among the hereditary diseases neurosis is the most frequently inherited. Because children of shamans must marry children of [582]
shamans, the danger of inheritance is increased and it creates a predisposition to produce more easily suggestions and hallucinations among the members of such families. The fact of the suicide of the boy No, unwilling to become a shaman, is suggestive. It seems, therefore, not too far fetched to suppose that the shamans and their apprentices easily get the conviction of seeing spirits and hearing them talk. Because they will see and hear them, they act accordingly, notwithstanding their actual superficial training. On the other hand, for neurosis, as for all diseases, the question of plus and minus is always open, but the morbid basis of the disease is always existent.

Some of the shamans performing the rites seem to act as though in a play, straining for effects. They give the profession a black eye, while others seem to mean business and to act as real shamans. After all, the fact remains that shamans never dare to quit the profession, notwithstanding that it is a poor means of livelihood.

SHAMAN DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS

DRESSES

The shaman when not performing rites for communi- 756
ties or private families, dresses in the same way as the 292
Monguors, but while acting as shaman he wears a special

[p.82(B)]

1: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

dynasty could not completely check the Tibetans, who were referred to in the Chinese annals of this period as T'uyü. In 672 the T'uian defeated the T'uyühun and began to dominate this part of the Chinese frontier. They were eventually defeated in 800 not by the T'ang Chinese but by the Uighur tribes, Turkish people of Central Asia, who settled in Huang Chung and offered a nominal allegiance to China. The next period, that of the Five Dynasties from 907 to 960, was again a time of troubles and disunity in China. The Shat'o clans which are one of the components of the Monguor people of today claim their descent from the Shat'o tribes which sought refuge in China in 808 and later founded the dynasties of the Hou T'ang or Later T'ang (923–936) and Hou Chin or later Chin (936–947). During the next period, from 960 to 1280, China south of the Yangtze was ruled by the Sung dynasty; but though culturally this was one of the greatest periods in China, the Sung dynasty lost control of North China to successive barbarian invaders. Northwest China and the modern provinces of Kansu and Ningshia, together with the Ordos region, were dominated by the Chin and by a people of Tibetan origin referred to in the Chinese annals as Hsi Hsia (Western Hsia) or Tang-hsiang. (The Northern Tibetans are still referred to by the Mongols as Tangud or Tangot, a plural of "Tang.") In the course of the great Mongol conquests of the thirteenth century, the Tangud of Huang Chung were defeated and driven back into Tibet. The ancient frontier region of Huang Chung was depopulated, and to replace those who had fled a number of Mongol commanders and their followers were moved into the region. Their descendants constitute the majority group within the present Monguor people.

The Mongol dynasty, overthrown by the revolt of its Chinese subjects, was replaced by the Ming dynasty (1380–1644) which renewed once more the process of establishing Chinese military frontier colonies in Huang Chung; but recurring inroads of both Tibetan and Mongol tribes kept the Ming frontier power in this region weak. The frontier was not stabilized again until after the Manchu conquest, under the Ch'ing dynasty of 1644–1911. It was in the long period of stable rule under the Ch'ing dynasty that spreading agriculture and increasing trade began first definitely to change the lives of the originally nomadic Monguor people and then to submerge them in a flood of Chinese acculturation.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTRY

[161] From 1911 to 1922, when I lived in this region, the city of Hsining, with a Chinese population of about 60,000 inhabitants, was the seat of a Chinese civil administrator who had authority over the Chinese of the city and the region. Law and order were assured by a local army commanded by a Chinese Muslim general. The formerly turbulent Mongol and Tibetan tribes of

624 175 to the Ming dynasty in 1371 as "founding ancestor" of the present line, and received the most extensive territory of all the Monguor T'u-ssu. The group numbered, according to the *Annals* of 1909, 3,245 families totalling 21,086 persons, and was divided administratively into ten banners. After the historic revolt of the Kukunor Mongols, Tibetans, and lamas, in 1723, the T'u-ssu was rewarded for his military services with the territory and inhabitants of thirteen Tibetan villages, which had belonged to a Mongol chief of Kukunor. These thirteen villages numbered 453 families, totalling 2,365 persons, at a rate of 5.2 persons per family (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 87). This group is the most outstanding among the Monguor people. Many members of these T'u-ssu families were prominent military commanders and civil officials. They wielded the largest influence in the country among the Chinese officials, and were favorably regarded by the emperors of both the Ming and Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasties.

MONGUOR POPULATION FIGURES

•161 The Manguor population data at the time of the Ming, taken from the *Annals* of Kansu, printed in 1909, may be summarized as follows:

Total of families ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu, 11,000

Families of Monguors belonging to 9 Mongol T'u-ssu, 5,627

Families of Shat'o Monguors belonging to the 5 Shat'o T'u-ssu, 5,303

Families of Ch'ant'ou extraction belonging to one Ch'ant'ou T'u-ssu, 70

The number of families belonging to the Monguor La T'u-ssu is not recorded. Taking a rate of five members per family, which seems not to be too high, the number of Monguors living in Old Huang Chung would be 55,000. Adding the 471 Tibetan families ruled by the Lu T'u-ssu and Wang T'u-ssu gives a total of 57,365 ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu.

162 Striking differences in importance and strength among the clans are to be noted: the Lu clan alone ruled 3,699 families (3,246 Monguor, 453 Tibetan), and the three Shat'o Li T'u-ssu ruled 4,963 families. Then there is a sharp drop to the two Ch'i clans with 700 families each, and the remaining clans are insignificant.

It has already been noted that in each of the Monguor clans there are a few Chinese and Tibetan families, which were enrolled at different times.

EXPANSION OF THE MONGUORS OVER THE COUNTRY

175 According to the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 55, and the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24, p. 14*b*, the population of Hsining was very thin at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. The fields around the towns, irrigated by canals, were assigned to the Chinese military colonists.

[p. 33a]

[5 cont.] Their total number Cannot
161 be given with any precision since the official statistics are unreliable. An estimate in a Tsinghai chronicle (1943) sets [6] [map appears here] [7] their total number for Tsinghai at approximately 27,000-30,000; cf. Hsü Kung-wu: Ch'ing-hai chih-lüeh. I have lost the other most recent statistics, especially those of the periodical Hsi-pei-t'ung-hsün. The figure cited by P. M. Hermanns seems to me to be too low; see Hermanns, Nomaden, p. 30.

792 The religious and spiritual center of the Tujen in the county of Huchu is the monastery dGon-luṅ, called Rëgulõṅ (Rgulõṅ) in the Tujen language (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 17.] The common Chinese name is Erh-ku-lung szu, more rarely, Yuning szu. Concerning the history and significance of this monastery and its Tulkus [Living Buddhas] (Ch'ang-chia and T'ukuan Hutukhtu), cf. the discussion at the conclusion of the second part.

3. Status and Task of the Investigation

114 648 There is little to report concerning research on the Tujen. European science did not become aware of this ethnic group until the second half of the last century, after the French missionaries Huc and Gabet traveled through the Koko Nor region on their Tibetan journey (1844-46) and also skirted the homeland of their guide, who was a former Tujen lama; cf. M. Huc, Travels, p. 281. After them other explorers came in contact with the Tujen, for example, Przewalski (1873), Potanin (1884), Rockhill (1891/92). D'Ollone visited a related group in southern Kansu (1906), but not the Tujen of Tsinghai. Similarly, Mannerheim stayed only among the Shera-Yögur, with whom there is an inclination to relate the Tujen. A. Tafel made his Tibetan journey in 1905-1908 and briefly visited the Tujen in the region of the present Huchu. Filchner has not been in the region of the Tujen during his

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

FIRST LAMASERY BUILT BY EMPEROR— CREATION OF BOARD OF LAMAS

175x 648 772

The lama San la of Hsining wrote a letter to the tribes of Han Tun to induce them to surrender and some tribes did so. The Annals of Hsining 15: 12*a*, note the surrender of the tribes, the tribute of horses offered by them, the appointment of Lama San la as chief of the surrendered tribes, the building of a lamasery south of Nien Pei, the name of Ch'u T'an bestowed upon the lamasery by the emperor, the first creation of the Board of Lamas in Hsining, and the appointment of San la as its director (Monguors II: 16–17). The example set by the emperor encouraged many lamas to act in the way of San la, attracting tribes to move into Huangchung, etc. So nan chi li ssu, the chief of the Han Tun tribes which did not follow the exhortations of San la, surrendered later, in 1397, and their chief was appointed Chih huei ch'ien shih in Han Tun. In the *Annals* of Hsining 15: 1*b*, is noted an inscription "appeased Tibetans" bestowed by the emperor upon the temple Ta-fu-ssu, built in Hsining during the Yuan by the ancestors of the Shat'o Li Nan-ko (Monguors II: 14), and there is recorded the building of the temple Kung-t'ung ssu in the city (*Annals* of Hsining 15: 2*a*). At the end of the same year T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to join the expedition of General Lan Yu against the rebel Mongol Yueh Lu Timur in Chien Ch'ang in Szechwan province. The rebel was captured and killed (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*a*; 46: 25*b*).

DEATH OF EMPEROR T'AI TSUNG (HUNG-WU), 1398

T'ai Tsung, the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, died in 1398.

175x [6] 648

Since 1371, the date of the submission of the t'u-ssu of Huangchung, the circumstances of the country had changed entirely, the economy had developed, the population had increased, and the influence of lamaism had extended, thanks to the granting of titles and domains to lamas and the founding of peculiar institutions for those among them who induced tribes to submit and to move into the country (Monguors II: 16–18). However, the most important increase of the population was caused by the moving into Huangchung of 7,200 families of Chinese soldiers, numbering 15,854 persons, during the Hung Wu period, to start the first military colonies (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 15*a*). The civil and military administration of the country had progressively been organized and the conquest of Huangchung stabilized. During the Hung Wu period the Monguor t'u-ssu had proved their faithfulness to the Ming dynasty. They had promoted the stabilization of the country and fought for the empire in the farflung provinces of Liaotung, Yunnan, Szechwan, and Turkistan, and the prominent T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh had

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

appropriated the tributes brought by chiefs of Tibetan tribes, protected and hid people prosecuted by the courts of justice, and for more than ten years had fostered subversive influences. T'u-ssu Li Yin, discharged at that time the duty of Chi-hui ch'ien-shih in Hsining, conversant with these facts, killed the lama and his family. The country again enjoyed peace (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 10*a*). 175x 648

During the Yung Lo period (1403–1425) the military colonies of Huangchung did not increase in number. The same 7,200 families are recorded as at the end of the Hung-wu period. However, the number of persons constituting these families had decreased by 3,000 (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 15*a*). During the same period four more temples had been built in Huangchung: Yung-hsing-ssu, situated five li north of the city of Hsining, 1410; Hua-tsang-ssu situated south of the city, 1410; Tsang-chin-ssu situated in the southwestern corner of the city, and Kuang-fu-kuan in the northwestern corner of the city, 1426 (*Annals* of Kansu 30: 45*b*, 46*a*). Emperor Yung Lo had established in the valley of Sha t'ang, 80 li northeast of Hsining, controlled by the Li t'u-ssu, some pasturage for cavalry horses. In 1378 after the institution of the exchange bureau of tea against horses, 3,500 horses were acquired for the cavalry every year, and had to be fed on pasture. 175x 16 592 [792] [233]

T'U-SSU LI YIN

In 1426 Li Yin again was ordered to muster the Monguor troops, and to equip an expedition with the Chih-hui K'ang Chou, against the tribes of Anting and Ch'u Hsien (the old Tunhuang region), in which country the Chinese ambassadors Ch'iao Li-sse and Teng Ch'eng had been plundered and murdered on their way to Turkistan. The Monguor t'u-ssu who participated in the expedition under the command of Li Yin were Li Wen (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*), t'u-ssu Lu, t'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 29*b*), t'u-ssu Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), t'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*b*); Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 41*a*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*b*), Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*a*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 28: 13*a*). T'u-ssu Chou died on the field of battle during the expedition. Li Yin knew from first-hand information that the commanders of Anting, Ah-san-hsun-san-ho, and San-chi-ssu of Ch'u Hsien were the murderers. He led the army straight to their countries. The murderers fled with their tribes. Li Yin pursued them to the K'unlun mountains, and continued the pursuit several hundred li more, to the Ya-lin pass. There he administered a crushing defeat to them, capturing 1,100 men and 140,000 head of cattle. The brigands of Ch'u Hsien fled further on, but the Prince of Anting, Sang-erh-chia shih-lan, scared to death, went to court to confess his fault. 175x 648

The emperor praised the military prestation of Li

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 put the rebels down by military force. He increased the harshness of the laws and exiled thousands of peasants to the barren region in order to glorify himself.[18]

This was the historical frame when the Monguor clans settled in the region of Hsining during the Yuan dynasty and when they submitted to the Ming dynasty as defenders of the marches in conjunction with the military colonists, their chiefs becoming Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu, in a country open to the forays and inroads of hostile tribes. In these conditions the Ming proposed to colonize the country.

SETTLEMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF MONGUOR CLANS IN KANSU

618 I use the term "clan" here to refer to a group sharing a common territory, a common surname, and a common chief. Monguor clans consist both of persons who recognize real or traditional kinship ties with the chief, and persons who do not recognize such ties but who have nevertheless adopted the surname of the chief and his kinsmen during the time that they were integrated into the group.

The current saying in the prefecture of Hsining and the sub-prefecture of Nienpei is that there are sixteen clans of Monguors. According to the *Annals* of Kansu, there are six clans in the prefecture of Hsining, and ten in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei.

618 1. The Ch'i clan, whose chief is recorded as being a
175 true descendant of the imperial family of the Mongol dynasty.[19] Under this dynasty the Chief of the Ch'i
•162 clan was always an important official in Kansu, and on the fall of the dynasty the Ch'i T'u-ssu was the first of all the T'u-ssu to submit to the Ming dynasty in 1368, the year of its establishment.

At that time the Ch'i clan numbered eight hundred families of Monguor stock, divided into four sub-clans. In 1644, on the fall of the Ming dynasty, this clan submitted to the Manchu dynasty. It then numbered only seven hundred families, divided into eight sub-clans (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 35*a*–*b*, 36*a*). The territory assigned to them was situated thirty-five miles south of Hsining and they lived in numerous villages.

2. The Ch'eng clan. The T'u-ssu of this clan is the only one of Chinese extraction, the founding ancestor having been born in Shanyang in the province of Chiangnan.[20] His father, who had been an official under the Mongol dynasty, joined the Chinese popular rising against the Mongols. The son, who followed in his father's footsteps, was rewarded with the title and office of T'u-ssu in 1374 and received 120 Monguor families as his subjects. The territory assigned to his clan is

[18] Homer H. Dubs. Wang Mang and his economic reforms, *T'oung-pao* 35: 230–231, Leiden. E. J. Brill. 1940.

[19] Ch'i is the Chinese clan name (*hsing*) adopted by the descendants of the Kiyut, a sept of the Borjigit, the clan of Chingis Khan.—O. L.

[20] Now the two provinces of Anhui and Kiangsu.—O. L.

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1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

618 seventeen miles north of Hsining and includes seven villages (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 26*b*, 37*a–b*).

175 3. The Li clan. The T'u-ssu of this clan is of Shat'o stock. The founding ancestor, a prominent official in Hsining under the Mongol dynasty, submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. As a faithful official of the Ming dynasty, he was granted the title of Earl of Kaoyang (Kaoyang Po), the third rank of nobility, for military services rendered to the empire. One of his successors, the T'u-ssu Li Shih-hsien, died in 1427 fighting against Mongol invaders. In 1643 the T'u-ssu Li Hung-hsien, his wife, and 120 men of his family were killed when they refused to surrender to the Chinese peasant rebels whose insurrection opened the way to the Manchu conquest of China.

162

This clan numbered 963 families originally, living in forty-eight villages, ten miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 38*b*, 39*a–b*).

4. The Na clan. The Na T'u-ssu is said to be of Shat'o stock. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming in 1371. The clan numbered only 150 families of Shat'o (Monguors), living in 8 villages three miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 39*b*, 40*a*).

5. The Wang clan. The Wang T'u-ssu, of Monguor stock, submitted to the Ming in 1371. This clan numbered 130 families of Monguor extraction and 18 Tibetan families, living ten miles west of Hsining scattered in eleven villages (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 40*b*, 41*a–b*).

6. The Chi clan. Said to be of Shat'o extraction. The founding ancestor submitted in 1371. The clan included 90 families, living twenty miles west of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 42). About 1875 the T'u-ssu was impeached by his subjects. The Chinese authorities erased his name from the list of T'u-ssu, and the clan passed under direct Chinese administration. The *Annals* do not record this fact.

In the sub-prefecture of Nienpei live ten clans:

1. The Ch'i clan. This clan is not the same as the clan of the same name in Hsining. Its chief is not a descendant of the Mongol imperial family of the Yuan, but is of Monguor stock. His ancestors were among the most influential frontier officials during the Mongol dynasty. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. This clan numbered 700 families of Monguor extraction. The chief lives one mile and a half north of the city of Nienpei. His subjects are scattered in many villages at varying distances from Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 44*b*, 45, 46).

2. The Li Nan-ko clan, of Shat'o stock. In the *Annals* the T'u-ssu is said to be a descendant of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin, whose son founded the dynasty of the Hou T'ang. His son in turn, Li Wen, is recorded as the T'u-ssu of Hsining. This clan numbered 4,000 families of Shat'o stock, living in eight villages or valleys forty miles southeast of Nienpei. Huc

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

618 and Gabet, Potanin, and Rockhill visited Sanch'uan
175 where the mansion of the chief of the clan is located.
The son of Li Nan-ko, Li Ying, was granted the title
of Earl of Huining (Huining Po), the third rank of
• 162 nobility, as a reward for military services (*Annals* of
Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 47, 48). This and the following clan
are independent of each other. Each has its own T'u-ssu, and both were recognized under the Manchu dynasty as separate units.

3. The Li Hua-nao clan, also of Shat'o extraction, comprising only 100 families in 1655. The T'u-ssu lives in the city of Nienpei, and his subjects are scattered in villages to the south (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 53). The founding ancestor of this line was made a T'u-ssu only in 1655, in the early years of the Manchu dynasty, and was an offshoot of the line of Li Nan-ko. For some reason not noted in the *Annals* he received from his father or his brother 100 out of the 4,000 families of the original clan and was made a T'u-ssu.

4. The Chao T'u-ssu clan, which submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1370. This clan is of Monguor extraction. Under the Mongol dynasty it moved to Nienpei, after having lived in Mingchou, and was settled fifteen miles north of the city. The clan numbered 120 families, scattered along the valley (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 48–49). At an unknown date and for an unknown reason the T'u-ssu was erased from the list of the T'u-ssu and his subjects passed under ordinary Chinese administration. The *Annals* do not mention the fact.

5. The Ah clan, of Monguor stock, numbered 150 families, and lives seventeen miles east of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 49–50).

6. The Kan clan, of Monguor stock, numbered 300 families. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. The clan is settled 75 miles southeast of Nienpei in the valley of Mo Tou (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*b*–52).

7. The Chou clan, of Monguor stock, numbered only 62 families. It adjoins the Kan clan, living seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*b*, 52).

8. The Yeh clan, a small clan of Muslim families of Turkish stock originating from Sinkiang. The Chinese called them Ch'ant'ou or Turbaned Heads. (See above, p. 34.) They settled in the country under the Mongol dynasty. As a military commander the founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371, together with the other T'u-ssu. The T'u-ssu of this line were eager defenders of the Ming frontier; two of them died in battle, one in 1570, one in 1638. They were settled in the Mila valley forty miles southeast of Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 52, 53). About 1890 the name of the T'u-ssu was erased from the list of T'u-ssu and his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects. The fact is not mentioned in the *Annals*.

[P. 32a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

618 9. The Hsin clan, of Monguor stock, comprised 100
175 families, settled with the Kan seventy-five miles south-
east of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to
the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42,
• 162 p. 54). The name of the T'u-ssu was later erased from
the list of T'u-ssu.

10. The La clan, a small group of Monguor stock. The number of families is not recorded. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was settled seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei, near the Kan clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54).

618 These are the sixteen groups recorded in the *Annals*
of Kansu, ch. 42, and in the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24.
177 They were all living in the country under the Mongol
dynasty, and submitted to the Ming. The Ch'eng and
Chi groups, in the prefecture of Hsining, and the Chao,
Yeh, and Hsin groups, in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei,
have now "become Chinese," and their chiefs have been
erased from the lists of the T'u-ssu.

The chiefs of these Shat'o and Monguor groups still bore Mongol names when they submitted to the Ming. After having held the office of T'u-ssu for two or three generations, the chiefs adopted Chinese surnames and each group then adopted the Chinese surname of its chief.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, and especially after 1723, single Tibetan families or small Tibetan groups were enrolled in nearly all the groups. Still later, Chinese families were accepted in the same way; but the Chinese did not adopt the surname of the chief of the group.

131 The foregoing data show that the habitat of the Mon-
guors is not limited to the district of Hsining. In addi-
tion, it may be noted that the mansion of Lu T'u-ssu,
[101] of Monguor extraction, is located at Liench'eng, forty-
five miles west of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. This
large group call themselves Monguor and the Chinese
call them T'u-jen; they are neighbors of the Monguors
of Nienpei. In this one group there are no less than
624 seven T'u-ssu, all claiming descent from the imperial
family of the founder of the Mongol dynasty. The T'u-
ssu of Liench'eng is the head of the whole group. He
alone is regarded as the ruler of the subject people and
possessor of the territory assigned to them by the Ming
[651] dynasty. The other six T'u-ssu hold only the title,
without the powers of chieftainship. In time of war
they are bound to obey the order of the senior T'u-ssu;
and for revenue each of them is allowed to collect land
taxes from a fixed number of villages.

624 The seven T'u-ssu of this group represent seven lines
of descent from either the brothers or the sons of the
175 prince of Nanting (the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 50, pp.
55–57, incorrectly name him prince of Wu-ting). His
ancestor was Kolgan, son of Chingis Khan by his fa-
vorite beauty, Kulan.[21] The prince who was living in
the country at the end of the Mongol dynasty submitted

[21] The family chronicles of this clan, which I am preparing for publication, are referred to above.

[P. 32-b]

624 to the Ming dynasty in 1371 as "founding ancestor" of
175 the present line, and received the most extensive territory of all the Monguor T'u-ssu. The group numbered, according to the *Annals* of 1909, 3,245 families totalling 21,086 persons, and was divided administratively into ten banners. After the historic revolt of the Kukunor Mongols, Tibetans, and lamas, in 1723, the T'u-ssu was rewarded for his military services with the territory and inhabitants of thirteen Tibetan villages, which had belonged to a Mongol chief of Kukunor. These thirteen villages numbered 453 families, totalling 2,365 persons, at a rate of 5.2 persons per family (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 87). This group is the most outstanding among the Monguor people. Many members of these T'u-ssu families were prominent military commanders and civil officials. They wielded the largest influence in the country among the Chinese officials, and were favorably regarded by the emperors of both the Ming and Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasties.

MONGUOR POPULATION FIGURES

161 The Manguor population data at the time of the Ming, taken from the *Annals* of Kansu, printed in 1909, may be summarized as follows.

Total of families ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu, 11,000

Families of Monguors belonging to 9 Mongol T'u-ssu, 5,627

Families of Shat'o Monguors belonging to the 5 Shat'o T'u-ssu, 5,303

Families of Ch'ant'ou extraction belonging to one Ch'ant'ou T'u-ssu, 70

The number of families belonging to the Monguor La T'u-ssu is not recorded. Taking a rate of five members per family, which seems not to be too high, the number of Monguors living in Old Huang Chung would be 55,000. Adding the 471 Tibetan families ruled by the Lu T'u-ssu and Wang T'u-ssu gives a total of 57,365 ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu.

162 Striking differences in importance and strength among the clans are to be noted: the Lu clan alone ruled 3,699 families (3,246 Monguor, 453 Tibetan), and the three Shat'o Li T'u-ssu ruled 4,963 families. Then there is a sharp drop to the two Ch'i clans with 700 families each, and the remaining clans are insignificant.

It has already been noted that in each of the Monguor clans there are a few Chinese and Tibetan families, which were enrolled at different times.

EXPANSION OF THE MONGUORS OVER THE COUNTRY

175 According to the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 55, and the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24, p. 14*b*, the population of Hsining was very thin at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. The fields around the towns, irrigated by canals, were assigned to the Chinese military colonists.

[P. 33a]

/1/

Introduction

101 This study deals with marriage among the T'ou-jen /T'u-jen/ of Kansu. The T'ou-jen in question occupy the north side of Sining River, in the prefecture of Sining and the subprefecture of P'ing-fan (Lien-tch'eng).

114 We hope to have this monograph followed by others, which will deal with the history of the T'ou-jen, their religious, social, and political life. Our sources for the history of this people are the great history of China, the chronicles of the towns of Kansu, and the family chronicles of one of the most powerful T'ou-jen groups, which extend over a period of more than five hundred years; our sources for the ethnology are the notes collected during the course of about ten years spent in T'ou-jen country.

144 162 Of the T'ou-jen of whom we write one group is very probably of Turkish race, and the other, without doubt, as of Mongol race. The first, of the clan of Li t'ou-se, are said to be /2/ originally Cha-t'ouo /Sha-t'o/ (1) who immigrated to the region in the T'ang period

1. Aur. Stein, Serindia, Vol. 2, p. 1129: Kao-chu-hui, when describing the journey along this border, of the Chinese mission which started from Khotan in 938, tells us: Kan-chow is the camping place of the Hui-ho (Uigurs). The mountains which are about 100 li to the south (direction of Si-ning; the principal habitat of the T'ou-jen is four days from Kan-chow /Kan-tcheou/) are the territory where in the time of the Han dynasty there resided the ancient people called the little Yueh-chih. There is a race different from this people called Cha-t'ouo from the mountains of the deer forest. They are said to be descended from the Ch'u yueh race (ex. Rémusat, Ville de Khotan /City of Khotan/;

/2 cont'd/

144 162 Chavannes, Turcs Occidentaux /Western Turks/). The Cha-t'ouo to whom Kao-chu-hui's relation refers here, were a tribe of the western Turcs first settled in early times to the east of Barkoul, and after A.D. 808 transferred to the northern borders of Kan-sou, for the sake of protecting them from inroads. /Cited in English, with one interpolation in French indicated by underline./

(620-905); the chronicles of Sining confirm this tradition. The last group came to live in the area either in the Yüan period (1280-1368) or the Ming (1368-1644).

101 197 These two groups speak the same language today, called Monguor by them. The language is very archaic; it reflects the Mongolian of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Let us call to [113] the attention of those who are interested in the question of the T'ou-jen language the study of Fathers Mostaert and De Smedt published in Anthropos, XXIV-XXV, "Le dialecte monguor, parlé par les Mongols du Kan-sou occidental /The Monguor Dialect, spoken by the Mongols of Western Kansu/." The grammar and the dictionary are in press.

The Cha-t'ouo of whom we speak are then Mongolized today. It should be pointed out that the notions of race and language are subject to caution.

622 648 The T'ou-jen, subject to China, have kept their autonomy under chiefs of their race, recognized by China and called t'ou-se. The Chinese Republic, from its beginning, has shown itself hostile to this autonomous administration and has tried to treat the T'ou-jen as Chinese, subject to the jurisdiction of the mandarins of the place.

177 The ways and customs of the T'ou-jen, although influenced by the proximity of the Chinese and the Tibetans, have remained relatively pure. They reveal many a secret of their former social organization and of their nomadic life of yesteryear.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

NUMBER OF LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

Fantastic figures concerning the number of lamas are encountered in publications on the subject.[1a] Concerning Huang-chung, we possess a census of lamas and lamaseries (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, pp. 6, 9, 10, 12) existing between 1729 and 1735. Although the census returns used are largely mere estimates, they seem to have at least a general reliability. However, because there is no comparable census of the secular population, it is impossible to determine the proportion of lamas to the male population at that time. 175 792 162

After the revolt of 1723, each lama was to be given a certain amount of wheat yearly, for his subsistence.[2] At the same time, the number of lamas to be allowed in the big monasteries was fixed at 300, and in the small monasteries at 10 or more. A register was kept by the official containing the name and age of each lama. Lamaseries which had more than the allotted number of lamas could only get support for 300 of them. Certainly Kumbum with 3,000 and Seerkok with 700, surpassed the quota, if not in 1730, without doubt later on. It may be supposed that in this period those of the larger lamaseries that were short of the number of lamas allowed made provision (through bribery) to have the largest possible number recorded. The total figure noted, according to the census, is 5,543 lamas, living in the four subprefectures of Hsining, Nien-pei, Ta-t'ung, and Kui-te, scattered among 77 lamaseries.

According to the situation in 1910 very few of the large monasteries reached the quota of 300 lamas, except Kumbum which is said to have had 3,000. Therefore, if we suppose that the total number of lamas in the four subprefectures reached 10,000, our estimate would certainly be sufficient. Regarding the excessive number of lamas in one lamasery, it must be borne in mind that the lamas are always prone to exaggerate; for instance, the number 3,000 for Kumbum is not the number of lamas dwelling in the monastery, but the number of parts or "shares" into which the gifts distributed to the lamas are divided. The distribution differs in each monastery. In Kumbum for instance, at each distribution each of the Living Buddhas receives 50 parts, as do the five Fa-t'ais; other officials receive 20, 10, and 5 parts, etc. In this way the actual number of lamas is reduced to 2,000. [431]

At the time I lived at Kumbum the number of lamas

[1a] W. W. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 215, cites with approval a Chinese estimate that for every family in Tibet there were three lamas.

[2] The census (1729–1735) records in the prefecture of Hsining 2,611 lamas. Each lama received yearly 1.6 *tan* of wheat; each of the 961 lamas of the subprefecture of Nien-pei received yearly 1.7 *tan* of wheat; each of the 1,331 lamas of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung received yearly 2.7 *tan* of barley; each of the 690 lamas of the subprefecture of Kuei-te received only 0.24 *tan* of barley. The 5,543 recorded lamas of the four subprefectures of Hsining received subsistence grants of 9,040 *tan* of grain as compensation for the taxes the 77 lamaseries were no longer allowed to collect after the revolt of 1723. *Annals* of Hsining 16: 6*b*, 9*a*, 10*a*, 12*a*.

[p. 55 (A)]

who attended the morning ceremonies in the central hall never exceeded 800 or 900, although all the inmates of the monastery had to attend the exercise. This fact led me to make inquiries, and this was the explanation given by the officials of the monastery, and confirmed by officials of other monasteries where the same rule exists. In 1779, only fifty years after the destruction of the lamaseries in Huang-chung and the fixing of the official census, the Panchen Lama on the way to Peking, where he died from smallpox, remained for a few months at Kumbum. "In Amdo were 50,000 lamas in all the monasteries whom he entertained with food, besides distributing alms of one 'san' to each monk."[3] To people conversant with the geography and history of the country, this number seems fantastic.

The most recent and reliable data concerning the figures of the lamas in the province of Ch'ing-hai were secured by Mr. Wang Wen-han in 1948.[4] He made his inquiries on the basis of the recent official census provided by the Min-cheng t'ing or "people's (local) government office." Since the establishment in 1928 of the province of Ch'ing-hai, which encompasses the whole of Kukunor, Yu-shu, and large territories around Kui-te and Ta-t'ung hsien, formerly considered as barbarian regions, 13 subprefectures have been established, in which there are 235 lamaseries having 26,534 lamas. In the remote barbarian Yu-shu only there are 99 lamaseries with 10,665 lamas. The entire population of the new province being 1,346,320 inhabitants of which 683,802 are males and 662,518 females, the proportion of lamas should be one for every 26 males. However, the computation is very confused, because of the lack of figures for the lama population in minor lamaseries and the addition of new territories, and it is impossible to find out the number of lamas in the former prefecture of Hsining, on which my own computation was based. The article by Mr. Wang gives a better insight into the number of lamas and their proportion in relation to the entire male population of the province, and one which is notably smaller than the proportion usually cited by travelers. Although all census returns are always an estimate, especially in the Orient, the study by Mr. Wang is very interesting, because for the very first time in history we have an approximate census of the population and of the lamas in 1948.

CENTERS FOR RECRUITING LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

San-ch'uan, the fertile territory assigned to the Li T'u-ssu during the Ming period, is renowned for the recruiting of lamas. A saying goes: *"Shan-hsi ti k'o-wu, San-ch'uan ti lama"* meaning, "Shan-hsi [province] is the most prolific in merchants, and San-ch'uan

[3] Sarat Chandra Dass, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 28, 1882.

[4] Wang Wen-han, Ch'ing-hai Meng-Tsang jen-ming chih tsung-chiao hsin-yang, in the review *Pien-chiang t'ung-hsun*, No. 1 : 1 and 2, 1948.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

x175 101 133 Huangchung is bounded on the north by the Chi Lien Shan, a range of lower mountains which constitutes the northern end of the Nan Shan range. Being less high and abrupt, it provides an easy access to the countries of Ninghsia, Ordos, and Mongolia. In order to prevent the junction of the barbarians of Mongolia with those of Huangchung, the Chinese General Ho Ch'u-ping, in 116 B.C. (Monguors I: 19) established the first colonies in Huangchung. It was along the natural depressions in the Chi Lien range that the Tibetans many times invaded the country of the Ninghsia, Ordos, and Shansi borders, and that Mongols made inroads from Ordos into Huangchung and Kokonor. On the south side no high mountains or large rivers separate Huangchung from Kokonor and Tibet, through which many roads provide access to Central Asia.

Geographically, Huangchung, bounded by the large Yellow River on the south and east, by low mountains on the north, and spreading wide open toward the southwest facing Kokonor and Tibet, seems to be a peninsula of Kokonor and Tibet protruding into China. x175 648 Huangchung being more remote from the capital of the empire than East Kansu, the threat of inroads from the empire was apparently less imminent; and the importance of its trade being not comparable with that of the colonies situated in the corridor of West Kansu across the Nan Shan range, fewer colonies had been established there than in East Kansu. Every time rebellions or dynastic troubles occurred in China, the Tibetans of Kokonor helped their brothers of Huangchung destroy the colonies; however, as long as the empire was at peace and its military power intimidated the restless Tibetans, Chinese officials could proceed with collecting the tribute of horses from the tribes governed by their own chiefs, and the ways leading to Kokonor could be guarded.

[635] The whole of Kansu, populated by barbarians, was for centuries considered as a colony and not as a province proper. Only in 1665 was the province of Kansu established, and even up to the Republic (1911) Kansu was ruled together with Shensi by a viceroy. Only since 1928 has the province of Ch'inghai been established, encompassing Huangchung and a part of Kokonor.

THE POPULATION OF HUANGCHUNG AT THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST BY THE MONGOLS

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE TANG PERIOD

x175 162 In 1227 when the Mongols conquered Huangchung, the country was inhabited by depleted tribes of Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o, without cohesion among them. The country had passed through the ordeal of centuries of wars, and the Chinese colonies had long since vanished. x175 648

The Tang dynasty (620–906) had been unable to

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x 175 648 cope with the turbulent empire of the T'u-fan contemporaneously founded in Lhasa, whose floods of untamed hordes had poured ceaselessly into the regions of Sung P'an in northwest Szechwan, and up into Kokonor, Shensi, and Kansu Provinces. Srong-btsan sgam-po, who had united the T'u-fan tribes into a nation, died in 650. He is credited with having initiated his subjects in Buddhism and in the Indian and Chinese civilizations.[7] Three times, in 730, 783, and 821, the Tang emperors had made treaties with the T'u-fan, fixing the limits of both empires.[8] The text of the last treaty, [131] chiseled on a slab, is still preserved in Lhasa.[9] In Huangchung, in the village of Topa, 60 li west of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 7) and northwest of the city of Tatung (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 17) still exist steles fixing the western limits of Huangchung. The texts are now indecipherable, except for a few characters.

x 176 162 The T'u-fan hordes smote upon the region of Sung P'an, in northwest Szechwan, the cradle of the Tibetan Tang-hsiang tribes. In 627 two groups of Tang-hsiang tribes, for fear of the invaders, fled to East Kansu. One group, called Tung-shan-pu, settled in the region of the modern Ch'ing-yang fu in East Kansu; the other group, called P'ing-hsia-pu, settled in the region of Mi Chih, in northwest Shensi. The leading tribe of the last group was the Topa, formerly pressed by the T'u-fan, which had submitted to the T'u-yu-hun.[10]

x 175 648 101 The P'ing-hsia-pu tribes of Shensi, during the revolt of Nan Lu Shan (756–764), had helped save the tottering throne of the Tang dynasty. Their chief had been rewarded with the name of the dynasty, Li, and the administration of some districts had been granted to the group. During the internal troubles which several times beset the empire, the P'ing-hsia-pu group had laid the foundation of its own Hsi Hsia Kingdom, and from 982 on it had considered itself strong enough to antagonize the Sung dynasty (960–1280), openly embarking on the conquest of Kansu and Shensi Provinces. The Hsi Hsia realm vanished at the hands of the Mongols in 1226.[11] Not only did these groups of Tang-hsiang tribes submit to China but, in A.D. 631, 300,000 more Tang-hsiang surrendered, pressed by the T'u-fan, and were settled in East Kansu and on the Shensi borders, where sixteen districts were established by the emperor in the countries assigned to them, garrisons established, and Chinese military officials appointed (*Annals* of Kansu 45: 53*a*).

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[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 373.

[8] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 437, 480, 484.

[9] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 484. Li Fan-koei. Inscription of the Sino-Tibetan treaty 821–822. *T'oung Pao* 64: 1 sq., 1956.

[10] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 132. R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia. *Bulletin Ecole Française Extrême Orient* 64: 228. Paris, 1956. Peter Olbricht, Die Tanguten und ihre Geschichte bis zur Grundung von Si-hia. *Central Asiatic Journal* 2: 143. The T'opa founders of the Hsi Hsia might be of Sien-pi origin. 154.

[11] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 133, 134.

[P. 9(B)]

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mantle. Trade was transacted in this city, where shops had been built and traders, artisans, and well-to-do people lived. In the outer city was a large terrace with three steps where every three years Heaven and Earth were worshipped, and also two smaller fortresses. More than one thousand houses were built in the outer city and many Buddhist temples with glazed tile roofs, and abodes for the lamas. Half of the buildings in the inner and outer cities were Buddhist buildings. Lamas presided at all the public ceremonies and participated at the councils of the chief. Five li outside the outer city, to the west, was built a very large lamasery with abodes for five hundred lamas and a splendid temple.

These notes written by the Chinese official prove that Chiossulo was fond of display and munificence, that his realm was flourishing and opulent and that he was a very fervent Buddhist, reigning over a Buddhist people and surrounded by lamas whom he revered. Hsining seems to have been a small Lhasa. Chiossulo was a descendant of princes who had lived in Lhasa, and the old traditions prevailing in Lhasa must have been fresh and living in his family and among his officials.

It is worth noticing that in the description of the opulent city written by the Chinese official, after many thousand Uighurs had surrendered and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo, not a single mention is recorded of a Manichean temple or Nestorian church. The Uighurs are known to have been professing Manicheans although many among them must also have been fervent Buddhists or shamanists or perhaps Nestorians. The Uighurs at the time of their arrival at Hsining must have been accompanied by their religious leaders and would normally have built some temples.

In the *Annals* of Hsining (15: 2*b*), however, is noted a Pei-i-ssu the Temple of the White Clothes,[30] the stereotypical designation of Nestorian temples. This temple was situated north of the outer city and is the only Nestorian temple recorded in the *Annals*. The date of its construction is not recorded.

Chiossulo died in 1065 having had to defend twice more his independent kingdom against the Hsi Hsia, in 1058 and 1065 (*Annals* of Hsining 31B: 2*a–b*, 3*a*, 33*a*).

This history of Chiossulo is of overriding importance for the study of the Monguors. Unfortunately, I overlooked it at the time I prepared Part I of the study. It reveals how at the time of the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols (1227) and the Ming (1368), the population of the country had come to consist of T'u-fan tribes already mixed with Tang-hsiang tribes, a group of the Slave tribes and strong groups of Uighurs and Shat'o. It sheds light on names of tribes of Monguor commoners pointing to their Turkish and Tibetan origin. The fact that several thousand Uighur Turks had fled to Huangchung in 1038 from the corridor of West Kansu and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo,

[30] Referring to the white clothes worn at the time of baptism.

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seems to justify and to explain historically my former hypothesis: "It seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in the Monguor clans are Turks, but not all of them Shat'o Turks" (Monguors I: 54). "A majority of Turkish elements is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by the *t'u-ssu*" (Monguors I: 55). That many Uighur Turks are encountered in the clans of the Monguor Shat'o seems normal, for tribes of Turkish origin must have preferred to live together. The fact that all of Huangchung had been occupied by T'u-fan Tibetans since 629 explains that T'u-fan tribes preferred to join the T'u-fan of Hsining rather than to be moved among the Tang-hsiang tribes of Hsi Hsia.

MOSLEM TRADERS IN HSINING

The history of Chiossulo points to the problem of the first appearance of Moslems in Huangchung. The *Sung Shih* (492: 13*a*) notes explicitly "that Hsining Uighurs went to Kao Ch'ang along Kokonor and that traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to do business." That the Hsining Uighurs were very well acquainted with those of Turkistan is no wonder, even as the T'u-fan of Hsining were acquainted with those of Kao Ch'ang, for Chiossulo was born in Kao Ch'ang. However, traders did not travel only from Hsining to the oasis east of Tarim, but they traveled also along Kokonor to the oasis of west Tarim, Khotan, Yarkand, etc., and further into India. This last route was already well known in the sixth century A.D.[31] and lamas fleeing the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa came over Khotan to Hsining. Since 943 the Karakhanids,[32] of Turkish origin, as were the Uighurs, had founded petty realms in the oasis of West Tarim. Their chief had been converted to Islam in 960 and forced his subjects to become Moslems. These Turks, being as sturdy traders as the Uighurs, were very cognizant of the booming trade of Hsining, through which territory they traveled bringing tribute to China,[33] and relations existed between Khotan and the house of Chiossulo itself, whose son Tung-chen had as a concubine a lady born in Khotan, and had adopted her son A li-ku and appointed him as his successor in 1086.

Traders, according to the time-honored custom practiced all over China, were federated in guilds, protected by the local officials. They had their own business quarters, their own caravansaries and their permanent agents caring for the interests of the trade. Most of them had their families with them, and it seems very probable that during the booming period of 1038–1086, Moslem traders from West Tarim appeared for the very first time in Huangchung. No wonder that Marco Polo two centuries later noted explicitly the presence of Moslems in Hsining during the Mongol period in

[31] Chavannes, *op. cit.* 6: 333, 341.
[32] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 94, 95.
[33] *Sung Shih* 490: 7*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 501.

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with troops (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 6*b*) who, in concert with the t'u-ssu troops, exterminated the groups of brigands still roaming in the country without chiefs, and they induced the rebel Tibetan tribes to surrender. The commanders started repairing the cities, villages and fortresses in Huangchung. 175x 648

In 1646 T'u-ssu Ch'eng was appointed commander in Chuang Lang by the Manchu Prince Su and given the title of Piao-ch'i Chiang-chun. At that time groups of brigands plundered the country of Sung Shan I north of Chuang Lang. The son of T'u-ssu Ch'eng pursued and exterminated them and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*).

However, the Chinese abhorred and hated the uncouth Manchu barbarians. Many among the governors and commanders could not resist the temptation of espousing the cause of the crumbled dynasty. The opposition would last for eighteen years before the entire empire would be conquered by the Manchus. Several times their empire met precarious circumstances, but party intrigues and jealousies among the Chinese divided them, and never could they offer a permanent united front against the conquerors. [578]

The whereabouts of the heir apparent to the Ming throne being unknown, several princes of the imperial family arose in the provinces and tried to restore the dynasty. Prince Kuei succeeded in the formation in Kiangsi Province of a coalition of governors and military commanders, and the news spread like a prairie fire over the entire empire. Several governors and commanders in north China who had surrendered at the arrival of the Manchu troops, waited for the signal of the general uprising. A storm was brewing even in the remote northern region of Kanchow, Liangchow, etc. Two chiefs of the Mohammedan colony of Kanchow, Ting Kuo-tung and Milayin, started the revolt against the Ch'ing dynasty (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*). They joined the group of Chou Shih-chuan, a scion of the Ming princes, and enrolled as many Tibetans and brigands of Li Tze-ch'eng as possible. The Chinese officials of Kanchow and Liangchow followed in their wake.[88] 175x 669

At the end of the Ming dynasty in North Kansu, Huangchung, and East Kansu, in nearly all the important cities and villages along the trade routes, colonies of Mohammedans were established, having their mosques and religious leaders who were obeyed and honored by their people. Meng Ch'iao-fang, conversant with this situation, informed the emperor about his apprehensions concerning the participation of the Mohammedans in the revolt. He wrote that an order issued by their religious chiefs would suffice to enroll all the Mohammedans of Kansu in the insurrection, and then he indicated the cities and villages in Kansu where the most important groups of Mohammedans existed (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 1*a–b*; 34: 1*b*, 2*b*). 175x 162● 795

[88] E. H. Parker, Kansu Mussulmans, *China Review* 16: 335, 1887.

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The power of the lamas consisted in the number of their subject tribes and their expansive territorial possessions. Their properties were confiscated, and their subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials, liable to their corvees, and subject to their land taxes. The revolt had ruined forever the power of the lamas. Then followed a lot more regulations (Monguors II: 34, 49). 175x [66]

However, nothing was changed in the regime of the Monguor institution. Their extensive properties remained intact, and their subjects continued under the administration of their t'u-ssu, because they had been faithful for centuries to the empire, and because this time their support had been of untold value to the army. Even T'u-ssu Lu was especially rewarded for his services, and received more new subjects: the 8 Tibetan villages in the Cho Tzu Shan region, which had belonged to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor, numbering 453 families, totaling 2,365 persons (Monguors I: 33).

This terrible revolt, which had threatened the very existence of Huangchung as part of Kansu Province and the empire, ended with the annexation of Kokonor to the empire, the ruin of the lama institution in Huangchung, and the stabilization of the regime of the t'u-ssu and Monguors in Huangchung. Thanks to the connivance of the Huangchung lamas and Tibetans with the Kokonor Khoshots, all of them seethed with hatred against the empire. [795]

In 1725, the revolt having been quelled, the commandery of Hsining became a prefecture and the So of Nienpei a subprefecture. According to one of the thirteen articles in the memorandum, presented to the throne by the Governor General, Nien Keng-yao, the building was started of three cities in the northern valley of Hsining, in Tatung, in Pe-ta, and in Yung Nan, which countries formerly belonged to the Kokonor Khoshots. Garrisons were appointed in order to forestall inroads of nomads and Jungars, and to provide easy communications between the two cities of Kanchow and Hsining. Tatung became a commandery (*Annals* of Hsining 1: 21*b*). 175x 631

It had been noted that in 1647 after the defeat of the Mohammedans of Kanchow on the Tatung River, trying to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to follow them in the revolt, Chinese of Kanchow who had participated in the expedition dared not return to their original countries, but settled in the extensive pastures of Tatung and Pe-ta, recognized the lordship of the Mongol proprietors and started farming and building houses. It has been noted also that in 1693, after fifty years, the assistant commander of Hsining, T'u-ssu Li Hsia, had reported that already more than 10,000 families were living there. The census of 1730 noted that the population of these settlements, started in 1647, was composed of Chinese, Monguors, Mohammedans, and Tibetans, living in twenty-two villages. The population of two villages was entirely composed of Chinese, 175x 631 162

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one entirely of Tibetans, four completely of Monguors, 175x
one entirely of Mohammedans originating from Liang- 631
chow, one entirely of Mohammedans from Ho Chou, 162
three occupied by Chinese and Mohammedans together, two by Chinese and Tibetans together, four by Chinese and Monguors, and four by Chinese, Mohammedans and Tibetans (*Annals* of Hsining 22: 15*a–b*).

During these ninety years all these people had abandoned their original homes hoping to enjoy more peace in this lonely country. They had developed the country and made possible the building of the two cities of Tatung and Pe-ta. Before that time the northern valley of Hsining was cultivated only as far as the fortress of Hsin Ch'eng, situated 70 li north of Hsining, where a great wall marked the boundaries between Hsining and Kokonor.

In 1726 the newly appointed Governor of Kokonor, 175x
Ta Ting, started with a big retinue of officials and sol- 648
diers to visit all the Tibetan tribes of Huangchung, 631
East Kansu, and Kokonor, depending upon the Khoshot princes and the lamas, taking the census of the people and the herds of each tribe, appointing in each tribe the chief they desired, notifying them that they depended from now on upon the Chinese officials. He fixed the tribute each tribe was to pay yearly, and in- [651]
formed them that all the taxes formerly paid to the princes and lamas, the *t'ien pa* tax, and the incense offering required yearly by the Dalai Lama in Lhasa were abolished. He allotted to each tribe a territory clearly defined, and handed it the deed officially sealed.

Now an idea can be had about the power of the 175x
princes of Kokonor. The governor had to travel as far 648
at Tatung, Kuei Te, Ho Chou, and T'ao Chou in East Kansu, and to Chuang Lang and Liangchow where Tibetan tribes lived, depending upon the princes. The Khoshot Ku Shih-han in 1636 had conquered Kokonor and all the Tibetan tribes of that country, and those formerly dependent upon the Mongols, which later had fled far away from them. They pursued them as far as T'ao Chou and Ho Chou and so they became their subjects again. This had happened at the end of the Ming dynasty and during the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty when China could not care for these countries on account of the troubled conditions. However, Ku Shih-han had been recognized by the Manchu dynasty as chief of Kokonor. In 1642–1644 Ku Shih-han conquered Tibet and offered it to the Dalai Lama who [651]
immediately sent lamas to collect *t'ien pa* and incense offerings from the tribes, which normally had to pay a tax to the princes also. During these times the Khoshots had even been able to receive the submission of Tibetan tribes living as far as Cho Tze Shan, situated inside the prefecture of Chuang Lang, and of the tribes living in the mountains south of Ku Lang, Liangchow, and Yung Ch'ang. This gives an idea about the number of people and warriors they had been able to call to arms in 1723–1724 (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*b*).

[P.62(B)]

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843 society are naturally reflected in popular religion. Spe-
562 cial deities in the lama monasteries are supposed to be interested in these affairs of mankind. The Monguors often invite lamas to help them with prayers, make vows to go on pilgrimages to far distant monasteries if they
842 are granted a son, and give alms lavishly. Their religious interpretation is that lack of sons is a punishment for sins of the parents in previous incarnations. The condition of a childless woman is pitiable—she is always despondent and dejected and drags out a miserable existence. Not having a son means having no stake in the family and society in which she lives. Her life is lonely, for it is not easy for a childless woman to make friends. I have often had a mother come to me with her childless daughter-in-law, kneeling, weeping, and begging for medicine that will make the girl bear a child, repeating over and over again "Father, the ancestors will have no one to sacrifice to them, the family will have no posterity." Such pitiful scenes gave me an understanding of the social outlook of the people among whom I lived; I could even understand why they indulged in polygamy.

Childlessness is not common among the Monguors, however. On the contrary, a Monguor woman will frequently have six or more surviving children—an astonishingly large number, considering the great amount of hard work that the mother has to do and the fact that, owing to ignorance of the most elementary rules of hygiene, lack of doctors, and miscarriages, fully a third of the children die in early infancy. The Monguors are in fact much more prolific than their kinsmen who are still nomads. One reason for this may be the fact that they live in houses while the children of nomads living in tents
842 are more exposed to variations of temperature. Prob-
164 ably a more important reason is that there is less venereal disease among the Monguors than among nomads. The lamas, most of whom are promiscuous in spite of their vows, and great carriers of venereal disease, have less opportunity to indulge themselves in the crowded and public dwellings of the Monguors than they do among the scattered tents of the nomads.[24] The neighboring Tibetans have a very high opinion of the prolificness of the Monguors. When they are childless, they prefer to adopt a Monguor boy rather than one of their own stock, and they like to marry Monguor girls because they bear
597 more children. The Monguors have no objection to giving a girl to a Tibetan family, especially if it is a rich family.

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[24] In view of the fact that venereal disease is much less common, and families much larger, among the settled agricultural Mongols of southern and eastern Inner Mongolia than among the nomad Mongols, it is also probable that the transition from nomadism to agriculture among the Monguors has led to a stricter morality. When land becomes the principal form of property, the man who owns land wants to make sure that the son who inherits it is his legitimate son, whereas among pastoral Mongols a son, regardless of legitimacy, is a new herdsman, making it possible to look after an increased number of stock.—O. L.

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who attended the morning ceremonies in the central hall never exceeded 800 or 900, although all the inmates of the monastery had to attend the exercise. This fact led me to make inquiries, and this was the explanation given by the officials of the monastery, and confirmed by officials of other monasteries where the same rule exists. In 1779, only fifty years after the destruction of the lamaseries in Huang-chung and the fixing of the official census, the Panchen Lama on the way to Peking, where he died from smallpox, remained for a few months at Kumbum. "In Amdo were 50,000 lamas in all the monasteries whom he entertained with food, besides distributing alms of one 'san' to each monk."[3] To people conversant with the geography and history of the country, this number seems fantastic.

The most recent and reliable data concerning the figures of the lamas in the province of Ch'ing-hai were secured by Mr. Wang Wen-han in 1948.[4] He made his inquiries on the basis of the recent official census provided by the Min-cheng t'ing or "people's (local) government office." Since the establishment in 1928 of the province of Ch'ing-hai, which encompasses the whole of Kukunor, Yu-shu, and large territories around Kui-te and Ta-t'ung hsien, formerly considered as barbarian regions, 13 subprefectures have been established, in which there are 235 lamaseries having 26,534 lamas. In the remote barbarian Yu-shu only there are 99 lamaseries with 10,665 lamas. The entire population of the new province being 1,346,320 inhabitants of which 683,802 are males and 662,518 females, the proportion of lamas should be one for every 26 males. However, the computation is very confused, because of the lack of figures for the lama population in minor lamaseries and the addition of new territories, and it is impossible to find out the number of lamas in the former prefecture of Hsining, on which my own computation was based. The article by Mr. Wang gives a better insight into the number of lamas and their proportion in relation to the entire male population of the province, and one which is notably smaller than the proportion usually cited by travelers. Although all census returns are always an estimate, especially in the Orient, the study by Mr. Wang is very interesting, because for the very first time in history we have an approximate census of the population and of the lamas in 1948.

CENTERS FOR RECRUITING LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

San-ch'uan, the fertile territory assigned to the Li T'u-ssu during the Ming period, is renowned for the recruiting of lamas. A saying goes: *"Shan-hsi ti k'o-wa, San-ch'uan ti lama"* meaning, "Shan-hsi [province] is the most prolific in merchants, and San-ch'uan

[3] Sarat Chandra Dass, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 28, 1882.

[4] Wang Wen-han, Ch'ing-hai Meng-Tsang jen-ming chih tsung-chiao hsin-yang, in the review *Pien-chiang t'ung-hsun*, No. 1: 1 and 2, 1948.

[8 cont.]

114 the author owes the safety of the materials collected entirely to the helpfulness of his confreres. In addition to the Fathers Eichinger and Grünewald, S.V.D., I should like to mention here particularly Father Richard Haas, S.V.D., who shortly thereafter was overtaken by a violent death in the Koko Nor steppe.

4. The Sources (the Informant)

115 The informant came from Tuo-chia, that is, "Tuo home," about one kilometer east of Chi-chia-ling, which lies along the mountain route from Kan-chia-pu (in the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) to Pai-nai (in the Ha-la-chih-kou). Tuo-chia gets its name from [103] the informant's kin group [Sippe] and formerly embraced perhaps four farmsteads, [9] of which, however, a part has been destroyed by an avalanche. Today only two farms and the temple remain. The Tuo have not always resided here. They [166] come from the vicinity of the Tujen monastery Rgulõn, where [423] a hundred years ago they owned two large horse pastures. Later one of the ancestors moved to the vicinity of Chi-chia-ling and cultivated the fairly extensive upland which paid tribute to the monastery, but which today is the private property of the Tuo family and pays taxes to the county of Huchu. It consists of about 200 Chinese morgen.

114 The report applies primarily to this region, namely, to the Tujen villages Chi-chia-ling, Ta-yang-chüan, Hsiao-
101 yangchüan, and Sha-pa-kou, up into the Na-ling-kou. Since, however, according to my own observations and the statements of the informant, the customs in the county of Huchu are quite uniform, the area to which it is applicable can be extended farther to include the villages between Huchu and Rgulõn. These [628] villages carry on a very lively traffic with one another and are extensively interrelated. As regards numbers, this report covers approximately one quarter of all the Tujen of the Sining region, an area generally regarded as their population center.

115 The old Tuo is kin-group elder and has two younger brothers, who live with him, his sons, his sons' wives, and [776] [553] grandchildren's families. By his first name he is called yifula,

The Chin dynasty, which started in A.D. 265, had 175
been unable to control its empire, which was invaded by the northern barbarians. The governors of the distant Liang-chou, according to the circumstances, recognized the authority of either the empire or one of the nearest new barbarian kingdoms (Chao, Ch'ing, Wei), or both at the same time, or even declared themselves independent, founding their own kingdoms and expanding their power and influence as far as Turkistan and Huang-chung (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, pp. 14–17).

From 345 until 439 Liang-chou was not only the 175
most important emporium of the West but also the most 771
active cultural center of Buddhism.

The kings of Ch'ien-Liang (345–385) promoted and protected Buddhism.[18] The kings of Hou-Liang (385–401) were as fervent protectors of Buddhism as the kings of Ch'ien-Liang.[19] However, Buddhism reached its highest degree of intellectual activity during the period of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün of Pei Liang (401–439), who controlled Turkistan and nearly the entire east of modern Kansu.[20] His counselor was the celebrated Dharmaksema.[21] One is easily tempted to suppose that Buddhism was diffused on a large scale in the countries subjected to unusually fervent Buddhist rulers—and all the more since during the period of 401–439, two [167]
thousand families from Liang-chou were transported to Huang-chung (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, p. 176), three thousand from Yung-ch'ang (ch. 30, p. 18*a*), and five thousand from Ho-chou (ch. 30, p. 18*b*). It seems to be an axiom that in Asia, and especially among

Because China at that time was involved in endless wars, many Chinese from Ho-pei, allured by the prospects of peaceful living and profitable trading, moved into Liang-chou. The acquisition of the wealthy and rich emporium of Liang-chou had also been the motive for the expedition of the T'o-pa and the destruction of Pei Liang. The Chinese population of Liang-chou, according to the custom during these ages, were then taken slaves to populate the realm of the T'o-pa.

[18] They built the big monastery and superb tower in the city of Liang-chou, the first grottos of *Sha-chou* (Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1185), and supported Chih-shih-lün, an Upsaka of the country of the Yüeh-chih, who translated in Liang-chou four volumes of Buddhist texts (*A catalogue of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, App. II, No. 35, p. 398, Bunyiu Nanjio, 1930), and the Chinese *Sramana* Chu Fu-nien who translated 12 works (Catalogue . . . App. II, No. 58, p. 405).

[19] The king's counselor was the Indian monk, Kumarajiva, who translated the 200 and more volumes of the Sutralankara (*Nanjio catalogue*, App. II, No. 59, p. 407) in Liang-chou. They built a tower and a monastery in the city, said to contain the relics of the monk (*Annals* of Liang-chou, 30*a*); the monk was very proficient in foretelling the future (*ibid.*, 34*b*, 35*a*.)

[20] *The Bunyiu Nanjio catalogue of Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka* mentions no less than nine names of learned foreign monks working in Liang-chou, supported by the king, translating 82 works from Indian and Sanskrit into Chinese (App. II, p. 410, No. 61, pp. 64–72). Nan-yang-hu, the nephew of the king was a translator (App. II, No. 83). Walter Fuchs, Zür technischen Organisation der Übersetzungen buddhistischer Schriften in Chinesische, *Asia Major* 6: 84, 1930.

[21] *Annals* of Liang-chou, 34*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 196. Ware, *op. cit.* 2: 133.

[p. 11 (A)]

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Historical Tibet AJR
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inroads of Hsi Hsia on the Huangchung borders and in East Kansu, the deputation proposed to the emperor that he fight Hsi Hsia in combination with the 60,000 troops Chiossulo commanded. The proposition was hotly debated among the ministers. The emperor, afraid of the revival of a new and terrible Tsan-p'u power, and distrusting the inconstancy and predatoriness of the barbarians, refused the offer. Thereupon the embittered Chiossulo invaded Fu Ch'iang in South Kansu with his troops of Huangchung and Ho Chou, but suffered a striking defeat at the hand of General Ts'ao Wei (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 6*b*). The commander of the troops of Ho Chou abandoned Chiossulo and submitted to the emperor, enfeebling the position of Chiossulo. In 1028 Hsi Hsia, invading West Kansu, liquidated the kingdom of the Uighurs in Kanchow and so the threat of invasion became more imminent.

M 175x 648 HT 648

Chiossulo and his minister submitted to the emperor in 1032 and were bestowed with titles. However, the Minister Wen Pu Ku revolted against Chiossulo, who killed him and later moved to Hsining. Chiossulo having troubles in his own backyard, Li Yuan-hao, King of Hsi Hsia, seized the opportunity to invade Hsining in 1035, but Chiossulo administered a tremendous defeat. This victory rendered him the master of all of Huangchung.

M 175x 648

Li Yuen-hao conquered the districts of Su, Kua, and Sha Chou in West Kansu, commanding the trade roads to Central Asia, in 1036, and started moving T'u-fan and Uighur tribes into his kingdom of Hsi Hsia. Then many T'u-fan tribes, among them the tribes of Niku and several ten thousands of Uighurs preferred to flee to Chiossulo, pledge allegiance to him and settle in Huangchung. The scant population of Huangchung increased to the point where Chiossulo became the ruler of 600,000 subjects and Hsining started flourishing. The Uighurs, reputed traders, used to travel between Central Asia, China, and the Liao empire, and were familiar with the roads running from Hsining through Kokonor and the passes in the Nan Shan leading to Kao Ch'ang[26] and Central Asia. "The traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to Hsining." Hsining thrived with trade; wealth and riches poured into the country and at the same time agriculture developed.[27]

U 175 484
M 175x

SEVERAL TEN THOUSANDS OF UIGHURS FLED TO HUANGCHUNG

M U 167 648

Now the emperor was in a hurry to send an official to congratulate Chiossulo for his resounding victory over the Hsi Hsia, bringing him the titles of military governor of East Kansu and supreme chief of Mao-

M 175x U 175

[26] Kao Ch'ang is also called Turfan, Hsi Chou. In that region must have been the kingdom of Mo-yu where Chiossulo was born.

[27] *Sung Shih*, **492**: 8, 10, 11, 13. *Sung Shih* **251**: 13. *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 6, 7, 8. *Annals* of Hsining **30B**: 1, 2, 3; **33A-B**.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

ch'uan (i.e., of the entire Huangchung), a gift of 20,000 pieces of silk and a salary, making him understand that he was an official of the empire. At the same time he enjoined him to attack Hsi Hsia in Liangchow. Chiossulo judged his troops too feeble to risk the venture. Another official arrived with the same order. This time Chiossulo treated him very roughly. His behavior was not that of a subject treating with the emperor, but rather that of a nephew talking about an uncle,[28] because two Chinese princesses, Wen Ch'eng in 643 and Kin Ch'eng in 710, had been married to princes of the imperial Tsan-p'u house of Lhasa. The Chinese official readily understood the attitude of Chiossulo and informed the emperor (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 8*a*; *Annals* of Hsining **31B**: 2*a*). During thirty years Chiossulo did not care for the empire which intermittently waged war with Hsi Hsia in East Kansu and Shensi with varied fortune, nor did he care for the Chinese officials whom the emperor tried to appoint in Huangchung; he cared only for his own kingdom, appointing his officials in Huangchung and on the East Kansu borders. Huangchung was the only country where people lived peacefully engrossed in agriculture and where trade boomed.

M U 167 648 M 175x U 175

HSINING IN THE HEYDAY OF ITS GLORY

Chiossulo was in the heyday of his glory. He rebuilt the city of Hsining. According to the notes recorded by a Chinese official who at that time had been sent to confer with Chiossulo,[29] the circumference of the city was 20 li. The city was protected by a strong, high wall dotted with towers, and eight gates secured access to the city. In the center of this enormous city was constructed a large fortress having four strong towers at the corners. This fortress must have corresponded to the actual city of Hsining and the enormous outer city must have been built to secure a refuge for the surrounding people and their herds at the time of inroads from invading tribes. Chiossulo resided in the fortress in a sumptuous palace, whose roofs were covered with glazed tiles. In this city was a large hall built on a terrace having eight steps and a sumptuous entrance supported by huge pillars. The administration buildings were constructed inside the city, two small palaces for the princesses of the Ch'i Tan and of the Hsi Hsia, and a splendid temple in which was throned a gilded Buddha statue, ten feet high, adorned with strings of pearls and a precious mantle.

M 175x 361 M [34] M [792 532]

[28] A. Rona Tas, Social terms in the list of grants of the Tibetan Tunhuang Chronicle, *Acta Orientalia*, V, 5: 266. 1955. Relationship between the Chinese emperor and the Tibetan king, of uncle and nephew on the maternal side, essentially reflects the Tibetan avuncular system; this relationship, which used to determine the mutual position of the two rulers, is rooted in social history.

[29] Enoki, *op. cit.*, 90, 91. Oshono kika keiryaku ni tsuite (On the *Hsi-ho ching-luch* of Wang Ch'ao) in Mokoga Huho, Tokyo (*Meng-ku hsueh-pao*,) 1, Shuo fu, **15**: 12 *a-b*.

seems to justify and to explain historically my former hypothesis: "It seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in the Monguor clans are Turks, but not all of them Shat'o Turks" (Monguors I: 54). "A majority of Turkish elements is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by the *t'u-ssu*" (Monguors I: 55). That many Uighur Turks are encountered in the clans of the Monguor Shat'o seems normal, for tribes of Turkish origin must have preferred to live together. The fact that all of Huangchung had been occupied by T'u-fan Tibetans since 629 explains that T'u-fan tribes preferred to join the T'u-fan of Hsining rather than to be moved among the Tang-hsiang tribes of Hsi Hsia. 175x 162 563 [167]

MOSLEM TRADERS IN HSINING

The history of Chiossulo points to the problem of the first appearance of Moslems in Huangchung. The *Sung Shih* (492: 13*a*) notes explicitly "that Hsining Uighurs went to Kao Ch'ang along Kokonor and that traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to do business." That the Hsining Uighurs were very well acquainted with those of Turkistan is no wonder, even as the T'u-fan of Hsining were acquainted with those of Kao Ch'ang, for Chiossulo was born in Kao Ch'ang. However, traders did not travel only from Hsining to the oasis east of Tarim, but they traveled also along Kokonor to the oasis of west Tarim, Khotan, Yarkand, etc., and further into India. This last route was already well known in the sixth century A.D.[31] and lamas fleeing the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa came over Khotan to Hsining. Since 943 the Karakhanids,[32] of Turkish origin, as were the Uighurs, had founded petty realms in the oasis of West Tarim. Their chief had been converted to Islam in 960 and forced his subjects to become Moslems. These Turks, being as sturdy traders as the Uighurs, were very cognizant of the booming trade of Hsining, through which territory they traveled bringing tribute to China,[33] and relations existed between Khotan and the house of Chiossulo itself, whose son Tung-chen had as a concubine a lady born in Khotan, and had adopted her son A li ku and appointed him as his successor in 1086. 175x 439 563 [487 484]

Traders, according to the time-honored custom practiced all over China, were federated in guilds, protected by the local officials. They had their own business quarters, their own caravansaries and their permanent agents caring for the interests of the trade. Most of them had their families with them, and it seems very probable that during the booming period of 1038–1086, Moslem traders from West Tarim appeared for the very first time in Huangchung. No wonder that Marco Polo two centuries later noted explicitly the presence of Moslems in Hsining during the Mongol period in [441]

[31] Chavannes, *op. cit.* 6: 333, 341.
[32] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 94, 95.
[33] *Sung Shih* 490: 7*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 501.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Mónguor AE9
Uigur AI4

might be reason to think seriously of the thesis of the influence of Iranian dualism upon the shamanism of the Monguors and upon that encountered in west China in a contact zone of Tibetan and Chinese populations. He notes that attention has already long ago been drawn to the Iranian elements in Central Asian shamanism. Since it is known that several ten thousands of Manichean Uighurs pledged allegiance to Chiossulo in 1036 and that they were settled in Huangchung and in East Kansu up to the borders of Szechwan, it is easy to agree with the suggestion. Without doubt Iranian elements had had time enough to influence the shamanism of Kansu, for my notes were recorded in 1910–1920, after these Manicheans had lived in the country for six centuries. Iranian influence upon the shamanism of Central Asia may be explained in the same way. The Uighur kingdom was liquidated in 840 by the Kirghiz, after the Uighurs had been converted to Manicheism eighty years earlier. Then they roamed in Turkistan and on the China borders carrying with them their Manicheism and came in contact with the shamanism of Central Asia.

M 175x 745 756

SETTLEMENT OF THE UIGHURS

M 175x 167● 563 U 167 175

The arrival of thousands of Tibetans and several ten thousands of Uighurs all fleeing at the same time into Huangchung, driving before them their herds, carrying their belongings, etc., should have created a tremendous and delicate problem for Chiossulo to cope with. All these turbulent people had to be settled without hurting the feelings of the Tibetan tribes subject to him and already living in the country. This tremendous number of tribes must have upset the whole country, as many groups must have tried to occupy the territories which seemed fitting to them and have caused endless troubles.

M U [448] M 175x 167 563 U 175 167

The *Annals* of Hsining (4: 19*a*) dealing with the geography of the country note incidently that five thousand T'u-fan horsemen arrived at the well of Fu-t'i, and drove Uighurs who had settled there back to their own country. This well is situated near the well-known old fortress of Shih-pu-ch'eng (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 3*a–b*). This reveals how delicate a problem Chiossulo had to contend with, and indicates the attitude of the Tibetans toward the Uighurs intruding into their country.

It is impossible to find out which among the numerous tribe names recorded in the *Annals* for the first time in Ming times (1368) are Uighur, Tibetan, or Shat'o names, because all the tribes are generally recorded as being Tibetans.

What tribes were settled in Huangchung in 1008 when the twelve-year-old Chiossulo arrived in the country?

In Mao Ch'uan, the actual subprefecture of Nienpei, is recorded the presence of the important Tibetan

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

tribe, T'u-fan mixed with Tang-hsiang, controlled by Wenpuku; and another important tribe controlled by the lama Li Li-tsung settled in the region of Tsung K'o. A third group is also noted, the group of the Slaves (Wu-mu) who settled in Kuo Chou, 150 li south of Nienpei, in 862.

M 175x 167 563 U 175 167

To be sure, more insignificant tribes must have settled in Huangchung, but their names and the areas occupied are not recorded. Next to the Tibetan groups is recorded the Shat'o chu-hsieh tribe[35] living in a region 100 li south of Kanchow in 939, stretching from the Nan Shan to Hsining (Monguors I: 13*b*) and encompassing the region of the Tat'ung River. Many Shat'o, after the collapse of their dynasty in 955, had joined this group. These Shat'o were the southern neighbors of the Uighurs of Kanchow for two hundred years, who were a mixture of many tribes blended and fused into the compound that founded the Khanate of Kanchow in 872. Its predatoriness is attested in the history of Turkistan and Kansu.[36] Shat'o and Uighurs, according to the circumstances, had lived congenially together in former times, had combined their forces to fight a common enemy, but had fought against each other every time divergences of interest had arisen. What the relations had been between the Hsining Shat'o and the Kanchow Uighurs in 1036 is not known. The leading tribe among the Kanchow Uighurs was the Lung tribe.[37]

In what areas of Huangchung and east Kansu were these Uighurs and Tibetans settled by Chiossulo in 1036?

Scanning chapter 19 of the *Annals* of Hsining, dealing with the tribes settled in Huangchung in Ming times (1368) (three hundred years after their surrender to Chiossulo) one is amazed to read names of such tribes as Lung-pu, Lung-pen, Lung-wang, and To-lung. One thinks unwillingly that these names might point to tribes which had constituted the important Lung tribe of Kanchow, which might have divided into smaller tribes after the surrender to Chiossulo in 1036. One is surprised to read also that in 1071 the most powerful among the tribes depending on Hsining was the Lung-k'o tribe noted also as the Yu-lung-k'o tribe.[38] In the Lung k'o tribe there were numerous chiefs. The tribe was wealthy and opulent. It was settled in East

M 175x 563 167 619

[35] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 89, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[36] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 128–129.

[37] *Wu-tai-shih* **74**: 4*a*. Stein, *op. cit.*, 256. The Lung is a branch of the Uighurs of Kanchow whose customs differ little from those of the other Uighurs. The Lung came from Karashar (Yen-ch'i). Lung was the name of the clan chiefs of Karashar. They had settled in Kansu and Yi Chou (region of Hami). Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 128.

[38] Biography of General Wang Ch'ao in *Sung Shih* **87**: 20 *a–b*. *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 10*b*. *Annals* of Hsining **31**: 3*a*, and the important study of Enoki Kazuo, entitled *Osho no kika Keiryaku ni tsuite* (on the Hsi-ho ching-lueh of Wang Ch'ao) in Mokoga Huho, 1, Tokyo, (Meng-ku hsueh pao) **1**: 88–167.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

Kansu, in Yen Ch'uan Chai, which is Chang Hsien, situated 50 li southwest of Kung Ch'ang (Enoki, 158). The tribe surrendered to General Wang Ch'ao in 1071 with its 120,000 people. The *Annals* of Kansu 97: 14, record that Wang Ch'ao notified the emperor about the submission of the Lung-k'o tribe and petitioned to reward it with the name Pao (thankful). The request was granted and the emperor added the word Shun to the name, Pao Shun (thankful-faithful). Enoki (p. 111) noted also a Lung-po tribe living in East Kansu in 1071. It had troubles with the Tibetan To-chih tribe. However, the Lung tribes recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining were settled in Huangchung. The Lung-pu, numbering two thousand families, divided into two tribes, was settled south of Hsining on the northern borders of the Yellow River. Its people lived mostly in tents (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 3 *a–b*). The Lung-pen tribe numbering 873 families was settled 60 li west of Hsining. Its people lived partly in a city (fortress), partly in tents. The tribe controlled the Pen-pa-erh[39] tribe numbering one hundred families settled in the Hsi-shih-hsia (Tsamalung) on the rapids of the Hsining River between Hsining and Don Kir (*Annals* of Hsining 1: 12*a*, 15*a*). The small Lung-wang and To-lung tribes numbering eighty families were settled 80 li east of the city of Tatung on the borders of the Tatung River (*Annals* of Hsining 19, 20*a*) in the region occupied by the Shat'o at the time of their surrender. This seems to suggest that this group was congenial with the Shat'o group.

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M [345]

UIGHURS AND SUBJECTS OF T'U-SSU

In discussing the commoners, the subjects of the Monguor t'u-ssu (Monguors I: 31–53), it has been noted that during the Mongol period (1280–1368), Ch'i Kung-k'o hsing-chi, a member of the imperial family, had been appointed guardian of the region situated 90 li south of Hsining. He discharged the office of myriarch and evidently controlled his own 10,000 soldiers and their families. However, it is recorded that he governed also eight tribes of Tung Ku and vicinity, descendants of western Ch'iang (western Tibetans). Tung Ku was situated between Hsining and the Ta-tung River, in the region of Tatung, where during the Five Dynasties (907–951) Shat'o tribes lived, joined by other groups of Shat'o after the collapse of their dynasty. These western Ch'iang seem to be Uighurs of the khanate of Kanchow who had settled there in 1036. The Uighurs of Kanchow had come from the west, from Turkistan, and so are called western Tibetans, for all the barbarians are called Tibetans in the *Annals*. For what reason these eight tribes had been moved and put under the control of the myriarch

M 175x 648
V 175 648

[39] *Anthropos* 52: 560 sq., 1957. Dominik Schroder writes a very interesting article: Uber die Chia-Fandse von Bengbar, Tsing-hai (the Pen-pa tribe), und ihre Hochzeitssitten.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

partly Tibetan and partly Mongol. In not too long a time they would have become thoroughly Tibetan.[41]

ETHNOGRAPHY OF HUANGCHUNG AND EAST KANSU

The preceding notes have an important ethnographic bearing. It has been noted that in 625, for fear of invading T'u-fan of Tibet, several thousand Tang-hsiang from the region of Sung P'an in Szechwan had fled to East Kansu, submitted to China, and had been settled in East Kansu and Mi Chih in Shansi; also that T'u-fan hordes chased the T'u-ku-hun from Huangchung and the Kokonor region and settled in Huangchung in 629. From 763 until 842 the whole of Kansu had been lost to China; the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the country and appointed his officials. Consequently, the bulk of the population of East Kansu consisted of Tang-hsiang and T'u-fan subjects. In 955 the Shat'o nation disintegrated and many Shat'o groups were incorporated in the Tibetan tribes in East Kansu and many fled to Huangchung, joining the Shat'o group which was living there in 939. In 1036 tens of thousands of Uighurs surrendered to Chiossulo who settled them in Huangchung and in East Kansu. In 1368, in the Ming dynasty, some Uighur groups had still kept their tribal organization but, under the leadership of t'u-ssu, others had become mixed with Tibetans and Shat'o in village formations and two groups had conserved their autonomy under the leadership of their own chiefs. When in 1712–1723 these groups revolted against the Ch'ing dynasty, many small groups of Uighurs controlled by t'u-ssu followed the people of their race in the revolt. During the Mongol period (1280–1368) many groups of Mongols settled in East Kansu and Huangchung. After the collapse of their dynasty most of them submitted to the Ming and remained in the country. Some of their chiefs became t'u-ssu and other groups disintegrated and dispersed in the country.

These notes explain what specific tribes constitute the base of the present population in Huangchung and East Kansu and at what time these tribes had arrived in Kansu. During centuries they lived one next to the other, feuding and blending with the few Chinese of the country, forming the compound called Kansu Chinese.

COLLAPSE OF THE T'U-FAN KINGDOM OF HUANGCHUNG

Chiossulo had three wives. The first, belonging to the Ch'iao family, bore one son, Tung-chan; the second, the daughter of the lama Li Li-tsun, the dismissed minister, bore two sons; no notes concern the third (*Annals*

[41] Mathias Hermann, S.V.D., Uiguren und ihre neuentdekten Nachkommen, *Anthropos*, 78–99, 1940–1941.

S 563 141 142 body skin is brownish or yellowish and brachycephalism is found in more than 92%. They have high cheek bones, the nose is flat and the eyes show the typical Mongoloid eyefold. The eyes are either black or brown, sometimes even light brown. The hair is also black or dark brown, coarse and straight. Hair growth is sparse. The average height is about 1670 mm. The trunk is strongly built and the legs are rather short in comparison to those of the Uzbeks or Tajiks.

S 563 3. Relations with non-Mongols

There is no animosity between the various Mongol tribes, but there is a definite antagonism between the Mongols and the Kazakhs and between the Mongols and the Chinese.

S 563 175 S [167] 4. History

The Western Mongols are direct descendants from the Oirats of the great Mongolian conquest. At least, since 600 A.D. they have lived in this area. Some of the Torguts are recent immigrants or, more accurately, returnees. They left Russia in 1771 and returned to their homeland, Dzungaria.

S 563 As far as social organization is concerned, the Oirats are said to represent the old Mongolian pattern. Tribal leaders inherit their political positions, and property is considered in terms of pastures and cattle.

S 563 631 5. The leagues

The Mongols of Sinkiang were organized into three leagues:
(1) the Unen Susuqtu League, consisting of ten banners of Torguts
(2) the Batu Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts
(3) the Ching Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts and seven banners of Uriangkhai.

B. The Mongols of Kansu

N *563 101 M [101] 1. The Mongours

a. history

The Mongours are the most important Mongolian tribe living in Kansu. They are known under various names. Potanin called them Shirongols, the Chinese call them Tu-jen, the Olots and Torguts call them Dalda or Doldo, the Tanguts call the Chahor, but the Mongours themselves use only the latter term. The Mongours N *563 *175 [167] have been studied by Father Schram who states that the Mongours came to Kansu in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century and that furthermore the Mongours were already M 175 [167] settled in the Hsi-ning area when the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) was founded. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) "benefitting by the experience of the Ming succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighbouring tribes of Kokonor, assigning definite territories to each of them and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes they were able to develop the country

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

LAMASERIES AS ADMINISTRATIVE CENTERS OF THE COUNTRY AND CONDITIONS OF THE SUBJECTS BEFORE 1723

792 175

The study of the material aspects of the administration of the monasteries and the status of their subjects in 1910–1920, which are the consequences of the revolt of 1723, provides many facts pointing to the situation as it existed before 1723, and makes possible a reconstruction of the conditions in which the lamaseries flourished and their subjects lived before that fateful date.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) had succeeded in driving the Mongols out of China, there existed in Huang-chung only the two cities of Hsining and Nien pei, and some fortified walled places which were garrisons established in former times to assure the occupation of the always disturbed country. The Ming started anew the colonization of the depopulated country by transplanting from central China 7,200 Chinese families (Part I: p. 30), accepting the submission of the Monguors, and assigning to each of their groups a definite territory, making them wardens of the country and their chiefs officials of the empire, with the prerogatives of the office of T'u-ssu (Part I: 46 sq.). The city of Hsining was more a military than a civil administrative center.

In order to repopulate the country, the Ming adopted the policy of attracting lamas and settling them in the region with the subjects they induced to submit to the empire. It granted them territories and made the lamas the hereditary chieftains of the groups they had brought in. They were responsible for the tribute to be offered to the emperor and had complete jurisdiction over their subjects. Hence the flourishing of lamaseries, Nang-suos, Karwas. The protection bestowed upon the lamas and the immunity granted to them by the emperor made the dissatisfied Chinese officials keep quiet and swallow their national pride. [168 646]

Consequently, large territories were assigned to the Monguor clans and larger or smaller ones to the lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas, whose inhabitants were completely withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials. Besides these autonomous groups there lived, scattered over the country, some small groups of petty Tibetan tribes, remnants of tribes which had fled from Kukunor or Tibet, depending directly upon the Chinese administration. From among those groups, from among the Monguor clans, and from their own subjects, the lama institutions recruited and increased the number of their lamas.

The chiefs of the lama institutions accredited by the emperor lived in their seigniories like princes, surrounded by a large or small retinue, occupying a more or less elaborate residence built within a compound of temples, the quarters of the lamas, and large granaries. They appointed the staffs of lama officials for administering justice among the subjects (officially appointed 792 175 692 [643]

[p.49(A)]

M /12 cont'd/
582 The general rule which governs the unions of T'ou-jen young people is very simple. It requires only that the husband and wife not bear the same name, therefore that they belong to different families. There are no exceptions to this rule. Moreover, it is the M [171] same rule which exists among the Chinese and the Turco-Mongolian peoples.

M Now the T'ou-jen claim that formerly all the people of the 551 same t'ou-se were called by the name of the t'ou-se; a chief and his people thus constituted a clan. This is possible and even probable, for among the Mongols, who are racial brothers of the T'ou-jen, members of the same clan have the same name. (1) Today,

M 551 171 HM 551 614

1. The Life of Ghingis Khan, by Prof. Vladimirtsov, p. 5: The habit of minor tribes of adopting the appellation of some powerful and related neighbour even though they might be in hostile relations with the latter, is reported by the ethnologists of various parts of the world, e.g. from the Caucasus, the Altai, and contemporary Mongolia.

As the Tartar tribe was numerous, and had by the twelfth century acquired considerable importance, members of the other Mongol clans often adopted the famous name of Tartar, so that their own tribal name ceased to be known except to their nearest neighbours. /Cited in English./

P. 64: Temuchin after having brought all the tribes of Mongolia into subjection is proclaimed Ghingis Khan in 1206 at the sources of the Onon. "The Borjigin clan had once more revived the greatness and the glory of the Mongol name, and all the peoples of their race would henceforward be designated as Mongols. All the

/12 cont'd/

M 551 171 HM 551 614

Noyans, Bagaturs, Beks and Tegins, all the aristocracy now became the Vassals of the clan of Mongol and accepted its name. For the first time the united nation had a common name and the name soon became so glorious that every nomad was proud to call himself a Mongol. /Cited in English./

A similar custom existed among the T'ou-jen. Indeed, we know the case of a group of more than a hundred families under the Iang t'ou-se of Tchouo-ni-tse who came to live in the Choei-mouo-keou of Sining belonging to the Li t'ou-se. The whole group changed its name from Iang to Li and acknowledged Li t'ou-se as its chief.

M 551 /13/ however, due to historic events which we shall relate in their place, families under the same t'ou-se no longer bear the same name.

M 582 178 Hence, in this case, formerly the prohibition against marriage between young people bearing the same name corresponded to that forbidding marriage between members of the same tribe or clan. This prohibition makes us think of the great law of exogamy in all its breadth; an exogamy affecting not only the family but also the clan, since here the two merge. Whatever may have been the case in the past, the law of exogamy today bears only on the single family.

M 551 613 The T'ou-jen consider that the notion of name is exactly equivalent to that of family. All those who do not bear the same name, even though they are descended directly from the same ancestor, are foreigners /i.e., outsiders/ to the family. Here is a conception laden with consequences: daughters given in marriage and, taking the name of their husbands, will consequently leave the family and will become outsiders; they will no longer be buried in the family cemetery; since their children bear a different name, they will also be foreigners to the family of the mother. It follows from this that since they do not bear the same name, there is no obstacle to the marriage of the children of the two families. Thus one regularly sees

M [614] M 582 605 171

Mo /13 cont'd/
582 unions between the children of brothers and sisters. Moreover, it is
605 the same practice which exists among the Mongols.
171

A similar custom is found among the Chinese; however, the principle "another name, another family" is not pushed to the extreme. Actually, in China one sees marriages between the sons of a sister and the daughters of her brothers, but not the other way around, between the sons of brothers and the daughters of their sisters.

Another kind of alliance much sought after among the T'ou-jen is that contracted between the sons and daughters of two sisters. Two sisters married into two different families bear different names: consequently, their children are free to intermarry. /14/ The same practice is found among the Chinese.

Mo Let us point out still another kind of alliance very frequent
582 nowadays among this people; it consists in the exchange of daughters.
171 Family A gives its daughter in marriage to the son of family B, and family B at the same time offers its daughter in marriage to the son of family A. This custom is also very frequent among the Chinese and the Manchu. (1)

Ma 1. Some notes collected in Mr. Shirokogoroff's
144 excellent study, Social Organisation of the
551 Manchus, Shanghai, 1924, will broaden our horizon. Since the T'ou-jen whom we are discussing are Mongols and Mongolized Cha-t'ouo, it is instructive to compare their customs with those of the Manchu, who, says Mr. Shirokogoroff, p. 168, "do not understand their name as an original ethnical name, but merely as a name of the power that includes different political and ethnical groups (the Mongols and others) into a new political unit." P. 167: "a) Klaproth asserted that the
Ma Manchu language is an amalgamation of the
197 Tungus and the Mongol languages influenced above all by Turkic. b) He has shown the
Ma intercourse and assimilation of different groups,
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Ma 144

/14 cont'd/

Korean, Tungus, Mongols, and so on. c) I have expounded ... that the Manchus are an amalgamation from the physical standpoint, and that in general the so-called "Mongol race" is merely hypothesis insufficiently based on the superficial impression of the travellers." P. 11: "The Manchus recognize the following three groups, viz., 1) the ancient Manchus, 2) the modern (new) Manchus, 3) the Mongol-Manchus." /Cited in English./ These notes on the subject of the Manchu enter therefore within the framework of our subject. In spite of the enormous distance which separates Kansu from Manchuria, and the total absence of relations between the Manchu and the T'ou-jen, we find that many practices are absolutely identical among the two peoples; others, in the course of centuries, have undergone changes, which were different in the two camps, due to the presence of neighboring peoples with customs different from theirs; in more than one case, it is enough to look at corresponding customs in order to understand their alteration or, evolution.

Ma Mo 171

Ma Mo 582

"Up to the present time the practice of exchange of women is one of the preferred ways to get a wife (among the Manchus). Among some other Tungus groups this is the only practical way of marrying." Shirokogoroff, p. 69. /Cited in English, with interpolation in French, indicated by parentheses./

Mo 582 605

/15/ When the sister's daughter marries one of the sons of her maternal uncles, this union is called tao-t'sin, which means "returning the marriage" in this sense (1) "that formerly you /16/ gave us

/24 cont'd/

583 herself, the marriage is therefore set. No longer is it kept from any-
584 one; on the contrary, they are careful to make the news known. But if, for example, before this formal visit of the future mother-in-law, the fiancée's family has changed its mind, the gifts would be left intact on the table, they would talk amiably about the weather, the girl would not appear, no allusion to the projected marriage would be made, the gifts would be politely returned at the time of departure, and the alliance would be given up. Only after these formalities have been completed, will the family of the future bridegroom secure a go-between.

171 /25/ This second formal visit by the mother then is definitely
584 binding. This custom is abnormal in a patriarchal economy. (1)

1. The bride's father, according to the customs refuses the proposals, but they do not take as serious this answer, and some time later they send to the bride's father the match-makers who propose for his daughter some price (kalin). If the two families are already connected by the matrimonial relations, the "kalin" is only a formality....

Usually the bride's father consults his wife; if he decides the question without consulting her, she can protest, but her protest is not taken in consideration. Then her husband's youngest brother intervenes, and advises the bride's mother to accept her husband's decision. After this formality is completed, she must agree to the inevitable thing. But if they address the demand to the bride's mother, her words have the same value as that of the bride's father and never can be changed. If they address the

171 /25 cont'd/
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demand to the bride's father's youngest brother (it is supposed the father is dead), he does not answer without consulting the bride's mother and usually he acts according to her wish. Shirokogoroff, pp. 72, 73. /Cited in English./

584 5. Discussion of the Bride Price and Deciding on the Wedding Gifts

Contrary to Chinese practice which requires two go-betweens, a T'ou-jen ordinarily engages only one, a friend of the family.

One is in no hurry to get a go-between. When the girl is only four or five years old, one waits two or three years more, indeed even longer, before giving this invitation. The promise of marriage having been made to the mother-in-law, there is no longer anything to fear; only at each New Year and at the festival of the fifteenth [431] day of the eighth moon, they call on each other, exchange small gifts, and call each other Guda, "relatives by alliance," all this in order to refresh the memory.

In exceptional cases, where the girl has reached marriageable age at the time of the marriage proposal, they do not delay in making use of the services of a go-between.

584 After choosing an auspicious day for this important matter, the go-between leaves with the traditional gifts: a small jug of gin [777 431] corked with a red (a color /26/ which brings good luck) lozenge and a strand of sheep's wool tied around the neck. Upon his arrival he puts his gift on the small table on the k'ang and pompously greets the fiancée's family with bows. They understand one another without saying a word; they drink tea, they smoke a pipe, and the go-between broaches his subject after pouring the gin for everyone present. "Now," he says, "since you have decided between yourselves on the marriage of your children, kindly set the day to decide on the gifts and discuss the traditional formalities. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, p. 73: The negotiations are always followed by

Mo 583 584 171

/26 cont'd/

a dinner with moderate libations, which made the bride's father more yielding on the question of the dimensions of the "kalin" (earnest). The final conditions are elaborated usually in the state of profound drunkenness. The "kalin" must be definitely fixed during these negotiations. It consists usually of pigs, from two to eight, always in pairs, which must be given after the match-making, some years later and just before the wedding. The pigs can also be commuted by money. Moreover they give yearly $10 (or Russian roubles) for the bride's clothing and also yearly, namely in the last month of the year, they give $1 - 5 for artificial flowers and paints....In general all calculations concerning the "kalin" payments are made in pigs. The Manchus never calculate it in horse or cattle units.

Mo 583 171

The Mongols use as unit the horse, the reindeer. Tungus, the reindeer. It is interesting to note that the Dahurs who live in very close neighborhood with the Manchus, Mongols and Tungus, for this purpose use as unit clothing. -- (as do the T'ou-jen and the Miao of Yunnan, Kweichow.) /Cited in English, with two interpolations in French, indicated by underline./

HM 584

Timkovski, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 307: Among the Mongols the marriage proposal is made through outsiders. The consent having been given, the father

/44 cont'd/

585 maneuver busily. Having no napkin, one ends by licking one's
262 fingers at first, then rubs /45/ them on one's boots to soften the
264 leather. A bowl of bouillon finishes the meal. Gin is poured, and
[527] the table is cleared. This is the famous feast called susen by the T'ou-jen and ts'iuen iang si by the Chinese, "the dinner with the sheep served whole." It is the largest dinner given in the region.

585 It must be admitted that for such a dinner the dishes are neither
261 large in number nor dainty, and that the culinary art has not reached
[252] the heights; but this does not keep the good stomach and the T'ou-jen spirit from being at their zenith. Everything is relative in this world below.

171 This dinner, these hosts, this scene make one think of dinner
264 among nomads on the steppe. There, the dinner is served in a spacious tent; among the T'ou-jen it is given in the courtyard covered with cloth; there, all are seated on the ground on pieces of felt or on straw, here the same; there, rudimentary plates and dishes, here the same; there, the main dish of the grand feasts is sheep served whole, here also. Why don't the T'ou-jen put on a feast like the Chinese, putting some ten tables in a courtyard, each one for eight guests? It is because among the T'ou-jen the old customs of the nomads live again at the important moments of life. Once and for
585 all let us call attention to the vestiges of the ancient nomadic organi-
262 zation of the T'ou-jen, met with on the occasion of a wedding. In the olden times they busied themselves with the raising of large
585 animals (oxen, sheep, horses). The proof of it is that all the presents
431 given in former times and recalled on the occasion of wedding feasts
231 consisted either of horses or oxen; the bride's family used to give an ox to her maternal uncle, a horse to the maternal uncle of the groom, and another horse to the groom himself; the groom's family used to give an ox to the maternal uncle of the bride; they still require a mare as earnest for the girl; the meat at the dinner is invariably
[262] mutton; again it is mutton which is offered at various times, according to matrimonial custom, and it is mutton which is given to the guests at the moment of /46/ departure.

231 Nowhere is pork mentioned as being offered as a gift, although at present the T'ou-jen are occupied principally with the raising of

/53 cont'd/

539 body without succeeding. The fire goes out continually. She takes
831 her big hairpin and throws it into the fire. The fire flares up and bites the corpse for a moment, then goes out again. She throws on it in turn the copper cup attached to her headdress, her ring, her eardrops; then, taking off all her clothes, she throws them one by one into the fire, and each time the fire burns the corpse a little more. Finally, she jumps into the fire. The fire shoots up, glowing, at once and consumes the two lovers. A tree is seen to come out of the ground at the spot; it has two branches which intertwine but separate above. The husband of the dead wife, in a transport of rage, runs up with his axe to separate the two branches....O, marvel, two wonderful birds fly away from the knot. They were the Chong-[illegible]. (1)

[17]

1. This very old legend is found all over Asia in many various forms. Etudes asiatiques /Asiatic Studies/, published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Far-Eastern School, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 35, "The Peacocks Flew Away"... third-century Chinese poem by d'Aurouseau, and Vol. 1, p. 189, notes 1 and 2, Annamite poem, translated and annotated by G. Cordier.

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533 Another song which the T'ou-jen never fail to sing at a wedding dinner is a Tibetan song. It is enjoyed all the more because it is
539 accompanied by dancing and gestures. It lends itself to a very expressive mimicry. It tells the story of a T'ou-jen Judith. In the T'ou-jen region of Lien-tch'eng the brigand Wang-mang had been terrorizing the region for years. In spite of the magnificent rewards promised by the emperor of China to anyone who could catch him, nobody /54/ was succeeding in taking or killing him; for he was vulnerable only under the armpit. The wife of a T'ou-jen military man by the name of Lou, known in the country for her marvelous beauty, succeeds in seducing Wang-mang, and at night in his tent

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585 A member of the family says aloud, "The sheep will be divided into five parts. The first will be for the maternal uncle, the second for the father, the third and fourth for each of the two singers, and the fifth for the master of ceremonies. Then the guests tackle the legs of mutton, the sausages, etc. After this appetizer the guests of the bride's family are invited to enter the courtyard. The placement of the tables for the feast inside the courtyard is the same as at the bride's home on the day of the dinner.

[604 262] The bride's maternal uncle and the go-between are invited to be seated in the place of honor. Tea is poured, and loaves of bread cooked in steam are served hot. As soon as the tea is drunk, the two singers from before appear, holding in their hands a teapot whose spout is coated with butter. They pour the buttered tea for all those present, who understand by this rite that they are asked to give up their places to the guests of the bridegroom's family, who will be served tea and bread like them. The bridegroom's family has treated its own guests in the same way as the bride's family treated its guests: introduction into a side room, presentation of gifts, notation in the register....(1)

[71]

1. Shirokogoroff, pp. 82, 83, 84: Every guest is obliged to give some present which cannot be less than $1 in value, or in money. They have a special book in which they inscribe all guests' names and presents. The guests whose presents are of value are inscribed in a red paper, which is fixed near the front door. Finally the bride and bridegroom arrive, they descend from the carriage outside the yard. The women who arrived with them conduct the bride and bridegroom by the hands to the screen. /Cited in English./

/73 cont'd/

16. Opening of the Daughter-in-law's Mouth

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Until now the wife has not yet opened her mouth; her head has always been enveloped in the veil until the end of the marriage ceremony. On no pretext has she been able to say a word since her departure from her home. All the guests have had their /74/ eyes fixed upon her; uttering a single word would be considered one of the most fatal omens for the future. She is even forbidden to satisfy her natural needs, and in anticipation of that she has abstained from drinking the day before.

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Her mouth must be opened by the mother-in-law in person.

Led back into the nuptial chamber after the marriage ceremony, she has been served tea and bread still in silence. Then comes the mother-in-law, who sits down on the k'ang and tells her point-blank, "Starting from today you are forbidden to divulge anything that goes on in the family, and anything that will happen in the future. You will not repeat within the family what you will hear outside. A daughter-in-law's mouth must be 'hard' (do not tell anything) with respect to people outside, it must be 'flexible' toward her relatives."

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The daughter-in-law answers affirmatively, her mouth is opened. They talk again together for several minutes. Henceforward the wife is permitted to talk with her maid of honor in the nuptial chamber; the women who are at the festivity go to wish her good day.

17. The Dinner

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The guests of the two families have taken their places at the tables prepared for the dinner. (1) The maternal uncle, the go-

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 84: (A dinner is served in the Chinese style. A master of ceremonies conducts the proceedings.) The clan people and especially the family members eat after the guests. When the meal approaches its end, they bring to the bride's place the ritual meal

585 /74 cont'd/
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of 6 cups and 6 plates. The bride is sitting now dressed as a married woman and turning her face to the wall (like the Chinese). The bridegroom arrives with a boy and without seeing the bride's face, eats his first meal in the presence of his future wife. The bridegroom repeats his visits to the bride during this day six times. /Cited in English with interpolations in French, indicated by parentheses./

between, and all the daughter-in-law's family occupy the first places.

585 This is the big dinner with the whole sheep. They always be-
262 gin by offering gin. First the elders of the son-in-law's family /75/
264 pour it three times for the daughter-in-law's family; then the new husband's father and mother themselves present three cups to the new relatives; next comes the son-in-law, who also in his turn offers gin to his new family. The dinner proceeds as at the daughter-in-law's home.

585 18. Gifts of the Son-in-law's Family to the Daughter-in-law's Family
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They begin by distributing to each guest a piece of raw meat of the weight of a leg of mutton. The guest puts it in his carpetbag. The guests cannot go back home with empty hands; that would be a great affront to them. One can judge the quantity of meat necessary
[262] for such a wedding. That again breathes of the nomad, who lives on herds and with whom meat constitutes the basic food.

After this distribution of meat, the son-in-law enters the courtyard, leading a horse; he has attached a piece of red cloth to its mane. At the same time several cows, sheep, donkeys, and goats are led into the same courtyard where the guests are.

/84 cont'd/

593 make her life more bearable, make difficulties with the family of
574 the parents-in-law, and instead of doing good to their daughter they make her situation more and more difficult.

422 Besides these abnormal visits, it is necessary to point out a
58 custom completely singular in a patriarchal organization, with the system of the "large family," in which the daughter-in-law and all that belongs to her is the property of her husband and his family. This custom is that the young married woman keeps her jewels, her ornaments, her best clothes, and all that is dear to her not at the home of her husband but at her own mother's. There she has two or three trunks which her parents take care of but whose keys she keeps. On festive occasions the married woman herself goes to her parents' home to get her best clothes, or she sends someone to get them. Yet at her husband's home /85/ she also has one or two trunks in which she keeps her less important things and those of her children. This general custom offends neither the husband nor his family; all the same it may be the occasion of many disagreeable consequences. Indeed, it is thanks to this "strongbox" that dishonest women find a place to conceal things unfairly acquired in the family of the parents-in-law; again it is there that the presents offered by a too assiduous lover repose, etc. The T'ou-jen all recognize that this custom is not ideal, but they are powerless to make it disappear. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, p. 61: The adoption of a woman by the new clan is symbolised by a prayer addressed to the spirits of her husband's clan and a visit to the tomb of her husband's ancestors. Besides, in the course of the marriage ceremony she must execute some other rites symbolising her adoption by her husband's clan.

Among the northern Tungus the woman, after she is married, is not so closely bound at her husband's clan, and she is always considered as belonging to her mother's clan.

Mo /85 cont'd/
●171

In her husband's clan, she keeps her own spirits and sho /sic/ can never be relatively to the new spirits equal to the persons born in her husband's clan. /Cited in English./

b) Relations of the son-in-law with the family of his parents-in-law.

Mo 606

The son-in-law addresses the members of his wife's family in the same way that he addresses those of his own family, but adding the term gadin in speaking of them to a third person.

There are two official visits to be made each year to his parents-in-law; the first at the new year and the second on the fifteenth of the eighth moon. In addition, it is his duty to go to ask about the health of his parents-in-law when they are sick. Likewise he will take part in the festivities which are given at their home on the occasion of a marriage, upon the birth of a first-born child, ...and he will never be absent from the mournings of the family.

It is to be noted that he will always take an active part in festivities and mournings; he does not mix with the guests, he does not have his place at dinner with the guests; but being considered as a member of the family, he will help with the preparations, he will receive the /86/ guests upon their arrival, and he will dine in the kitchen with the members of the family of his parents-in-law. Again it is his duty to lend a hand to his parents-in-law when they have to use force to defend their rights, as, for example, on the occasion of the suicide or the repudiation of one of his wife's sisters. However, the adage says that relationships must not be too intimate with a related family, and that one must avoid all kinds of commercial transactions. (1)

Mo [762]

Mi Mo 585

1. I summarize in this note, according to l'Histoire des Miao /The History of the Miao/ by Savina, 2nd ed. (1930), pp. 226-229, several resemblances

/86 cont'd/ [MIAO]

Mi 585 [262]

eaten first while drinking alcohol; it is only at the end that the corn meal is brought.... Each guest presents a coin upon his arrival. At the end of the evening meal the newly married man makes the ritual prostrations to the ancestors in the presence of all the assembled relatives, and without pronouncing a single word. He is assisted by his best man, who makes the same prostrations as he, and by an old man who enumerates aloud all the duties he will have to carry out henceforth in the tribe. Then they count the money contributed by the guests, and they take an inventory of the young wife's trousseau. This trousseau consists of clothes, skirts, turbans, belts, puttees, pieces of cloth, etc. Men and women examine...and admire the embroideries. The young wife in a corner weeps and sings to her companions the naive song of the bride...which recalls the elegy of the T'ou-jen bride on the road. At the departure of the guests the door is barricaded with a fagot to prevent the newly married wife from leaving. She watches her relatives leave through the slits of the partition.

Mi [583]

Mo [585 [171]]

We have spoken in the course of this work, following the notes of Father Schotter, of the girls who accompany the bride to the bridegroom's home.

Mi 582

Monogamy and exogamy seem to have always existed among the Miao. There exists also a law, or rather a custom which

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Mo 583 848

if the girl before the wedding becomes pregnant. In such a case she can be taken by capture and neither feast nor wedding are celebrated. The capture is usually effected by the bridegroom himself helped by 5 - 6 young men of his clan. The act of capture is always followed by insults and violations towards the bride. If she cries and prays to defend her, her relatives do not venture to intervene.

This is a sole case when the Manchus use "marriage by capture." Any other customs connected directly or indirectly, or survivals of them cannot be mentioned among the Manchus. /Cited in English, with interpolation in French in parentheses./

Mo 583

I think, however, I have to explain by abduction the rite according to which they cover, only for an instant, the bride's head with a piece of red silk taken away as quickly as possible by the bridegroom. Likewise I see a vestige of abduction in the fact that the bridegroom and his band find the door of the bride's house shut when they go to get her. Without invoking abduction it is impossible to explain the custom which requires that they carry the bride away with haste and throw her into the wagon, that in addition they only half harness the animals to leave as quickly as possible, and stop outside to arrange the harnesses, etc.

582 583 171

Schotter, "Notes sur les tribus du Koei-Tcheou," Anthropos, 6th year,

/98 cont'd/

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p. 320: There are (among the Hé-miao) abductions with tacit consent. It is then to avoid all expense. P. 342: One likewise finds vestiges of abduction among the Song-kia-tse.

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit. /"Das Recht der Polarvoelker (The Law of the Polar Peoples)," Anthropos, 1928-29/, pp. 119-120, 121. Marriage by Capture and Elopement. As in the Old Australian Culture according to Graebner, marriage by capture should, according to him (Schmidt, Koppers), be a normal legal institution among the pastoral peoples and also the polar peoples among them, whom he includes in the northern group. Now it is true that the procurement of women by force for marriage is found among almost all polar peoples, and it is not at all uncommon. Once upon a time, however, (marriage by capture) supposedly was a legal custom, at least in former times. /Cited in English./

583 some which taken separately admit of another explanation. But is it not rational to explain them in this sense when, on the one hand, abduction is still practiced today for widows, and when, on the [587] other hand, some /details/ are found among them which are certainly not explainable without admitting abduction? Thus one can be tempted to explain the following of the bride by the girls of the village as being one step in conducting their friend. But then why do they take the horse's bridle and try to prevent his departure, and why is this ceremony called "pursuit of the lady?" One can find fault again with the fact that the bride's own brothers /99/ carry her out of the room, and with this other that a member of the family

/101 cont'd/

Ma 595 842

sterility. In such case both wives are called "grand wife" in opposition to the concubines called "secret (to be hidden) young wife." /Cited in English./

Mo 595 842

exception.

Therefore in well-off families polygamy will often be seen where there are only one or two daughters; and at the same time one will not always meet two wives in rich families where there are very few children. How can one explain these facts?

Mo 593 171

It is that polygamy among the T'ou-jen remains in practice a very delicate and complex problem. In the family circle the T'ou-jen wife occupies a position much more important than the one which the Chinese wife occupies; in addition T'ou-jen family /102/ life is more intimate than Chinese family life. It proceeds from there that the T'ou-jen wife has more influence on the husband than her Chinese sister has. As schools are rare and intellectual formation among the men is almost nil, the wife will not be inferior to men in that direction. Let us suppose now that she has been able to make herself more or less appreciated by her husband, or let us suppose that having one or two children she is categorically opposed to the introduction of a second wife into the home; or let us suppose that she has won over to her side her /his?/ own parents and that they show themselves displeased with the project; or let us suppose that the wife suggests the word suicide... and then how many suppositions are still possible when one knows that the heart of a jealous woman is an inexhaustible source of expedients... and we shall understand that in practice polygamy bristles with numberless difficulties. As a general rule, if there are no serious motives which enter into it, like sterility or one of the causes explained below: a simple stray impulse, a desire of the lower instinct, even wealthiness, these alone are not enough for practicing polygamy.

Mo 595 589

b) The second category of polygamists: widows, or the levirate.

000 /109 cont'd/
595 and in part that of polygamy. We wish to speak /110/ of the custom
587 which says that widows upon the death of their husbands should not leave the husband's family but be remarried, either to the dead man's brother or to his paternal uncle.

595 We cannot attach too much importance to this institution,
587 first because of its universality, then because of its great age and
171 the length of its existence. Indeed, this practice has been in force among all the nomadic peoples who have wandered in the immense steppes of northern and southern Asia, as Chinese history attests. (1)

1. Parker, A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 2nd ed., p. 4: A universal custom, which as we shall see, extended for a thousand years over the whole of Tartary, was for the son to take over his deceased father's wives (with exception of his own natural mother) and for younger brothers to take over the widows of their elder brethren. It does not appear quite certain whether the son or the brother had first choice; perhaps the brother only took when there was no son, possible vice-versa. /Cited in English./ Parker, p. 19, cites this practice among the Hiung-nu; p. 85, among the Wu hwan and Sien-pi; p. 109, among the T'u-yu-hun. Barthold cites it among the Ouigour and Mongols, cf. note, p. 104.

587 As a consequence of this fact it is not a question of speaking in any way of widow marriage for all this period of history. Widows used to simply pass to other members of the same family. From that

/110 cont'd/

587 come the incoherences we have been able to establish in the present-day rites of the marriage of widows. Neither should the existence of the practice of abduction of widows be supposed for this period. It is therefore natural to conclude that, for all this period, the marriage of girls is to be considered as the only and true marriage, and that the practice of abduction existed only for them. This fact has its importance again in the question of polygamy among the T'ou-jen, because it explains a special category of polygamy still practiced nowadays. The T'ou-jen, no longer having any recollection of this institution which existed among his ancestors, today seeks an arbitrary explanation for this problem.

- - -

101 /111/ Northern and central Asia has been the theater of numerous migrations, peaceful and otherwise, in historic and prehistoric times, of peoples having extremely varied social organizations. From this come the analogies and the ethnological borrowings ascertained among the peoples on both sides of the Bering Strait, and among the "middle and western Eurasians."

114 I summarize in this place the monumenta ethnographica which shed a new light on the chapter on "marriage by purchase" among the T'ou-jen, whose ancestors, Mongols and Cha-t'ou, were nomads.

For this purpose I use the judicious inclusive study of Dr. Herbert König, "Das Recht der Polarvölker, IV. Das Eherecht der Polarvölker," Anthropos (1928-29).

583 Anthropos, 1929, p. 101, Bride Price /Brautkauf/ among
171 the Central and Western Eurasians ... Bride-price marriage coincides in distribution almost exactly with the peoples in the polar region who have an aristocratic social organization. It is specifically reported and described in detail for the Tungus, Jakut, Samojed, Ostjak, and Lapps, and, to be sure, as a unique way of concluding marriage. Page 104. The picture

/123 cont'd/

Mo 675 606 466 583

be duped all down the line. As a matter of fact, as soon as the girl is 15 and is married, she, like her husband, will want to be more free. She will let him persuade her that one can work everywhere and that there is nothing more to be gained in the home of the parents-in-law. One day there is an argument in the family, and the couple disappears. Now at this moment the family of the parents-in-law will already have profited by at least several years of work by the son-in-law. It rarely happens that the son-in-law is faithful to his pledges to the end. It is then a frail alliance.

Mo 608 606 583 171

The present case is the usual case of husband-sons-in-law. It enjoys a very wide diffusion all over Asia, among the Turkish, Mongol, and Manchu peoples and among the peoples of northern Asia (1),

Ma 606 608 583

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: There is also a very interesting custom of getting a wife by personal work in the house of the future father-in-law. A poor man who cannot pay "kalim" through the intermediary of some person asks the bride's father to give him his daughter against his personal work in the house of his future father-in-law. The minimum period of this is three years and the maximum ten years. The future son-in-law lives in the house of his future father-in-law, but he always has his separated spirits and goes to his clan's meetings and sacrifices. After the fixed period is expired, they make a very modest wedding and the young husband brings his wife to his own house or lives in the house of his wife's father as a workman at a fixed salary. Sometimes the father-in-law gives the

/123 cont'd/

Mo 606 608 583

young couple some means to start an independent household. This custom is very broadly practised by the Manchus who consider it as one of the most ancient and purely national institutions. /Cited in English./

Mo [584]

Dr. Herbert Koenig, op. cit., pp. 109-110: The essence of this way of concluding a marriage lies in the fact that the bridegroom thereby begins his wooing, that he performs the most menial work for his future father-in-law, who treats him almost like a slave.... In this case, too, an intermediary sometimes is involved, usually the father, some other close relative, or even a friend, who asks the father of the bride whether the suitor can begin his service for the girl. Page 656: Thus, bride service in all likelihood is limited to the Asiatic side of the Bering Strait and the Aleutians and is lacking among the Eskimo. /Cited in German./

Mo 608 606 583 171

and everywhere they seem to hold this practice in respect. /124/ Among the T'ou-jen, according to what one can see, it creates a good many disagreeable situations; thus it is not surprising to hear the elders declare that this custom is practiced much less nowadays than in the good old days. This custom is still found rather often among the Chinese of Kansu.

3. Purchase of a Girl and Search for a Son-in-law Who Will Serve Their Parents-in-law until Death

Mo 608 583

Another still more risky combination is one often found in reasonably well-to-do families which have no child. They buy a girl,

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1. Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 140: Guest Prostitution. Guest prostitution, which is found among the polar peoples, also belongs in the same category. It is the custom of giving guests not only accommodations and lodgings, but in addition putting the wife or daughter at their disposal for sexual relations. It is very widespread among the polar peoples, although it is not characteristic. I have found no report of it among the central North Asiatics, with the exception of the Tungus. /Cited in German./

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This kind of marriage is practiced more where there is /131/ no son, but only a nubile daughter who has not yet been given in marriage. These are therefore very rare cases. This custom is again a way for the parents to keep their daughter with them; the daughter can in this way know the advantages of motherhood while taking care of her parents; the latter on their part will not have to be exposed to the ricks inherent in the practice of husband-sons-in-law. This is the explanation given by the T'ou-jen.

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When the father offers his daughter to some passing guest, the latter must give his belt in exchange and leave it with the girl. The importance attached to the belt has never been explained. We have met the belt twice before in the marriage of widows. The guest goes away in the morning and will perhaps never come back; but if the girl is found pregnant, they make her new clothes as well as a married woman's hat; they comb her hair in the bride's style, they invite several neighbors, they put the belt on red felt spread out on the ground. The girl kneels and makes the great prostration to the belt, to her parents, and to those present, saying that she is the wife of the guest. Later, she will give her child the name of the guest and will herself be called by the same name by all the neighbors, although perhaps she will never see this passing traveler again. The

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604 sister's children. Note that even if the father had been living, the procedure would have been the same.

The maternal uncle plays the principal role in the parleys on [762] the occasion of the suicide of his sister's children. Third series of facts: A young woman, an unbearable scold, had abandoned her poor husband to follow a lover in easier circumstances. After two or three years, since she no longer got along with him either, the woman came back to her family, who wanted to return her to her legitimate husband. Fearing that at the least quarrel she might swallow opium and ruin his family, he required the maternal uncle of the shrew to constitute himself guarantor that there would not be any action on the part of his family in case the woman committed suicide. There was a family council, and the maternal uncle signed a contract in the sense indicated after making strongly virulent admonitions to his niece. The maternal uncle had to make the pledge, and not her own father. I met an absolutely similar case among the Chinese of Kansu.

These three series of facts prove the maternal uncle's rights of life and death over his sister's children. They are all of relatively recent date. In none of these cases was the maternal uncle charged at law. This is therefore proof that present-day custom still accepts these rights.

604 /153/ In China also, moreover, the rights of the maternal
171 uncle are very extensive even today; the Chinese proverb says enough about it, "kieou-fou kao wai-cheng, iang lao tse k'eng pou hia," i.e., "when the maternal uncle makes a charge at law against one of his sister's children, the children's own father can do nothing to defend them." (1) The maternal uncle has the right to punish his

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 144: If the mother should accuse her son, intervention to stop the execution in this case can be made by the mother's brother, who can take the guilty man under his charge....In the intervention

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of the mother's brother, we can see some survival of an ancient form of the Manchu society which was organised on the principle of materline filiation, in which the mother's clan was a natural protector of its members. It is clear that the part of protector was executed by the mother's brother. Even now the mother's brother ... is generally charged with the moral control over his sister's children (as among the Chinese). Therefore he sometimes is obliged to help his sister's children. He is in very peculiar terms with them ... is much beloved by them ... he helps them in matrimonial affairs, he may also intervene in the education of them ... P. 154: The clan organisation in its institutions, as for example, the woman chieftainship, the peculiar rights and duties of the mother's brother, the mother's privilege to prevent her daughter although she is already married, and several others, retains traces of a great influence of the women and their relatives, which show that the Manchus in former times had another system of social organisation. /Cited in English./

P. 91: During the life of a married couple, the wife's mother's clan has no important part, except in the case of divorce, but relations and high consideration of this clan are always strictly maintained. /Cited in English. /

nephews in China.

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Ma 574 593

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 90-91: The second long visit of the newly married wife in her mother's house may be also understood as a survival of the customs that prescribed to the newly married wife to keep her place in her mother's house. Furthermore the Manchus never say "the wife's father's clan" but "the wife's mother's clan." At the same time they say " he husband's clan" and "the husband's father's clan." Thus all these facts cannot be explained without a supposition of the materline clan system in the past. /Cited in English./

Mo 562 421 593 574 her finest clothes, her ornaments, her jewels, and everything that is dear to her. One keeps one's treasures at one's home; now, the home of the daughter-in-law does not seem to be near her husband. This last custom, which still effectively recognizes that the wife today has certain property rights, does not belong to a patriarchal organization; furthermore, we saw in the speech of the master of ceremonies that formerly the daughter enjoyed property rights since in her own family she inherited half of a son's share.

e) Festivities at the birth of daughters.

Mo 527 844 We shall describe elsewhere the extraordinary noisy festivities in which the whole village takes part, given on the occasion of the birth of the first child of a daughter-in-law, whether this child be a son or daughter, the celebration is equally solemn. Now such a festivity upon the birth of a daughter is again absolutely abnormal in a patriarchal system, where only the male descendant counts. We must Mo note that already in many T'ou-jen families this festivity is celebrated ●[171] only upon the birth of the first son. This celebration is absolutely inconceivable to a Chinese mind.

f) Wedding dinner at the bride's home.

Mo 585 562 In a patriarchal system how does one justify the dinner given at the bride's home for the members of her family alone on the eve of

Mo /157 cont'd/
585 her departure? The wedding festivity takes place in the patriarchal
562 system in the bridegroom's family on the same day as the marriage.
Mo The departure of the daughter cannot be considered as a reason for
171] rejoicing; also this custom is not found in China. Is it not also a custom of olden times, when one celebrated the arrival of the son-in-law and his entry into the family?

4. Husband-sons-in-law

Mo We have described above the different forms taken by the
608 husband-sons-in-law practice. The great frequency of this practice
591 in spite of all the troubles it entails, /158/ again brings us back to the
606 former matriarchate. (1) But let us put aside the "fact itself" of this

> 1. I know only one single case in which a T'ou-jen woman governed her clan. It is that of the widow of the Lou t'ou-se. It is an isolated case, completely acci-
> Mo 542] dental and recent. I see in it no relation whatever with the matriarchate which formerly existed among the T'ou-jen.

institution which is essentially matriarchal in order to explain some strange vestiges still met with today relative to this practice.

Formerly, the husband-son-in-law, living in his wife's family, had necessarily to be considered as an intimate member of the family. Now can one not see a vestige of this position of the son-in-law in the fact that at the time of celebrations and of mourning, the son-in-law does not have his place at the dinner among the guests? On the contrary, even today, he is relegated to the kitchen among the intimates of the family. Celebrations and mournings are not a time of rejoicing for him, of feasting and of drinking bouts, but a time during which work is required of him which is considerable and very disagreeable.

Ma We have seen that among the Manchu, when the son-in-law
606 comes to get his bride, he honors first the spirits of that family, then

Ma /158 cont'd/
606 he is made to sit at the bottom of the k'ang on a little bench during the dinner which precedes the departure, while the drivers of the cart take their places at the table. The bridegroom is not treated as a guest there either.

Mo In the same series of facts must again be classed the presence
601 required of the son-in-law at the home of the parents-in-law when
606 the latter have to defend their rights by force, for example, on the occasion of a suicide or the repudiation of one of their daughters.

The fact that the son-in-law calls all the members of his wife's family by the same name that he calls respectively those of his own family, adding gadin, which means "relative by marriage," is rather significant in itself.

Mo All these facts taken together prove not only the existence of
60 the matriarchate among the T'ou-jen at a /159/ previous period, but they even give the illusion, both by their number and by their diversity, that the T'ou-jen still live under this system today. Now that is not true. Their social economy is indubitably patriarchal. The explanation of this fact must be found in this: that they practice these matriarchal rites and customs without understanding them any more, because their ancestors practiced them, because they still continue to
Mo be part of the body of custom. They do not find it strange that the
[604] maternal uncle is called the "master of the bones of his sister's children," that he gives permission to bury the dead, that he presides at weddings, etc. It seems completely natural to them that it is he who enjoys these prerogatives and not the grandfather, solely because he has always enjoyed them. T'ou-jen men of letters, imbued with
Mo Confucianist principles, do not examine this question either, for,
[171] they say, our T'ou-jen ways have always differed from Chinese ways....., and for them all is accounted for.

Thus it is that one understands the coexistence of two systems diametrically opposed to each other and the extreme slowness with which one passes from one social system to another among these peoples. This is also what explains the great diversity one encounters in the ways and customs of the T'ou-jen when one considers them in detail.

/173 cont'd/

NM 113 pp. 1, 2, 3, gives by his bibliography an idea of the present state of the Mongol philological problem.

M 121 whom all degrees of Mongolization are found, /174/ and then to those concerning the Miao and the Lo-lo P'o.

M 585 When one studies the T'ou-jen matrimonial ritual all alone without taking into account the rituals of the other groups, it is an eminently solemn rite which immediately impresses one and which shows itself to be the high moment of the whole wedding. It is indeed the moment when the bride and groom, kneeling one beside the other in the presence of the whole assemblage, standing and silent, of the guests of the two families, give together the three great ritual prostrations "to heaven and to the multifarious spirits," then to the parents and to all the assemblage, while "the old man who blesses" pronounces the good wishes, which say clearly what is meant by the union of the two persons on whom every eye is fixed. When the good wishes are pronounced and the prostrations made, the bride's veil is removed and she is taken to the nuptial chamber as if to signify the end of the great act. If there is a solemn moment in the T'ou-jen wedding, it is certainly this one.

Now we find this rite in all T'ou-jen weddings: in the marriage without ceremony of poor girls, in that of widows without support, and even in the abnormal marriages to the prayer poles and the belt. When all the other rites are missing, the prostration to heaven or to the spirits made by the bride and groom is never omitted. This leads one to believe that in the eyes of the T'ou-jen this rite is by far the most important.

M 585 ● 171 Now, shall we find a similar rite in the other groups? Among the Mongols one meets a scene nearly identical to the one seen among the T'ou-jen; but one is very surprised not to see the groom take part in it beside the kneeling bride. Indeed, the bride alone is brought into the father-in-law's home where the parents and friends of the future wife are gathered; ritual prayers are read; three prostrations are given by the bride to the fire, to the father and mother, to the bride's parents; all give her their blessings aloud. /175/ (Cf. page 81)

/175 cont'd/

585 171 Among the Tungus of the northern group and especially among those of Transbaikalia, the bridal couple come together "to bow to" the guests seated around the fire; the latter kiss the bride's hand and mouth ... a shaman meanwhile intones good wishes for them. (Cf. page 183.) (The author notes Russian influence expressly for this group.)

Among the nomads of the same group, the bride alone is taken in before the father-in-law and kneels before him and the elders of the clan, others throw offerings into the fire.... (Cf. p. 184.)

Among the Tungus of the southern group, especially among the Manchu, the bridal couple kneel together upon their arrival in the husband's courtyard and make three prostrations to heaven and earth and burn incense. (Cf. p. 81.)

Among the Miao it is the groom alone who makes the ritual prostrations in the presence of the relatives gathered together, and an old man enumerates all the duties which he will have to perform henceforward in the tribe. (Cf. p. 99.)

Among the Lo-lo P'o the bride alone makes the prostrations in the kitchen to the god of the hearth. (Cf. page 190.)

Therefore it can be established that one finds only among the T'ou-jen and Manchu the ritual prostrations to the spirits, etc., "made together by the bridal couple"; however, among the Manchu the ceremony is carried out with much less solemnity than among the T'ou-jen.

585 177 Now on the one hand these two peoples are the most Sinicized of all the peoples in question, and on the other hand, it is precisely among the Chinese that one sees practiced the rite of ritual prostrations "made together by the bridal couple" to heaven and earth and to the spirits. One would thus be led to suppose that we are dealing here with a Chinese rite which the T'ou-jen and Manchu have adopted and which the T'ou-jen especially have /176/ admirably thrown into relief in a setting of Mongol origin. Besides, one would be led to make the not-at-all commonplace observation that a rite attributed to the neighbors constitutes today, among the T'ou-jen at least, the high moment of the wedding for the reason that this rite must have responded singularly well to the natural and religious aspirations of the people. But let us undeceive ourselves. This fact is not so Chinese as it may seem

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585 on first sight. The base of it is Mongol; what is Chinese is only acci-
177 dental; this is the presence of the groom beside the bride and the part he takes in a ceremony which already used to exist.

Certainly it is hard for us to understand a wedding in which the two parties do not carry out some rite together, or at least where the two parties are not present. This, nevertheless, is what we have seen among all these peoples except the T'ou-jen and the Manchu.

585 What is the high point of the wedding among these peoples?
171 It seems to me that it is still when the bride is brought in before her parents-in-law, the members of her bridegroom's clan, and all the guests to make all alone the ritual prostrations, to pay her respects and recognize her subjection. It is precisely then that among the Mongol "the ritual prayers are read... and all give her their blessings" (cf. p. 81), that among the Tungus of Transbaikalia "a shaman meanwhile intones good wishes" (cf. p. 183), that among the Miao "while the groom is on his knees, an old man enumerates all the duties he will have to carry out." (Cf. p. 96.)

It would be very interesting for us to know these "ritual prayers and blessings given by all," these "wishes intoned by the shaman," and these "duties enumerated by the old man," for I think it is just at that moment, and at that moment alone, that the true meaning of the festive event is revealed by the wishes made and the blessings implored and wished. And from whom are these blessings awaited? Who will bring about these wishes? These wishes must present a good deal of resemblance with those /177/ made among the T'ou-jen in similar circumstances, and I cannot keep from supposing that this moment of the festival must be just as impressive and just as important in these groups as among the T'ou-jen.

585 I allow myself therefore to insist on this ceremony, all the more
114 because it is especially with respect to it that we have the fewest details and that it is often passed by unnoticed in the things relative to marriage.

585 If one turns up one's nose at this rite, then marriage simply loses its meaning among these peoples, since it is reduced to the simple acquisition by purchase of a new member on the part of the bridegroom's family, to the discussions about the price of the girl, to

[12 cont.]

115 respected their customs and did not condemn them or brand them
123 as backward superstitions. In this respect one cannot in the long run disguise his feelings. With a sure sense the natives noticed whether one meets them with good will and respect or regards himself as superior to them. Since the old man was no dolt and had also read many a Chinese book, he knew, for example, that the Chinese tend to dismiss the peoples on their borders as
[181] barbarians. He also knew how the Chinese nearby laugh at the Tujen as backward "natives." And finally he had heard that the Christians designate as superstition much that is dear and sacred to the Tujen and the Chinese. Thus it is understandable that occasionally he would say: "Father, do not be surprised when I tell you such and such. We believe in it." Or: "Please do not laugh at it when we do something in such a way." On his part, this inhibition was extensively bridged by the genuinely tolerant
[829] attitude of the Asiatic: "All religions are good. The goal is the same, only the ways are different." On my part, the decisive attitude was that every person's conviction is to be respected if he means it honestly, even though, objectively speaking, he may be on the wrong road. The same applies to religion. And when I told the old man, "I believe such and such, you believe such and such, but I am not therefore better than you; it depends upon the conscience," he gladly agreed. Nor was any attempt ever made to influence him in his religion. He knew little about Christianity, but neither did he regard it as mystery-mongering when he inquired about it among my people. They always stressed to him: "You can hear and see everything that we do. We have no secret religion. We tell you everything. If you want to read our books, you may have them." One day he came with the question: "Should I not become a Christian?" I told him: "That depends on you. The heart of a man cannot be forced. Everyone should act according to his insight."

115 It greatly cheered his openheartedness to find many a
● 171 similarity between the Christian and Tujen ceremonies. Thus he was quite surprised at the fire ceremony on Easter eve. In the church he saw altars, saints' images, an oil lamp. He saw how the Christians fell on their knees. He knew: We, too,

[12 cont.]

115 sacrifice bread and wine, we, too, had a lord of heaven, we, too,
171 had a holy mother; we, too, burned incense; had consecrated water, blessed houses and cattle; we, too, prayed for the sick and anointed them with oil; we, too, had a baptism; we, too, had a procession through the meadow and prayed for the blessings of good weather; [13] we, too, had a redeemer similar to their Geser; we, too, had temples with solemn prayer and divine service; we, too, had monks and nuns; we, too, had good angels and evil demons.

115 Thus the old man felt more and more at home in our surroundings, even though he no longer spoke of becoming a Christian. In the end his judgment was: "Your religion is better. You help man."

123 As a result of our mutual genuine respect, the old man put me in the right light in his circle of acquaintances, above all among the lamas. They regarded me as one who has religion himself and does not make fun of their gods and monks. Accordingly I was invited one day by a Tujen family to serve as "prayer-sayer" for a funeral service, which, however, I declined. When I entered the Tujen lamasery, the monks assigned me a clean room for the Mass. They understood when I requested pure water for the "sacrifice," and when I preferred not to be interrupted. Then I placed a cross before the images of the Lamaist deities and in the presence of the curious but silent lamas I celebrated the Mass. And just as I never expected the people to kneel, for instance, or to give any other signs of reverence, so they never expected a similar courtesy from us.

[609] By the way, certain travelers report how they had their fortunes told or how they were blessed by this or that hutukhtu, and the like, this makes little impression upon the populace, aside from the fact that the people see through such conduct and often regard it merely as a superfluous gesture of courtesy.

115 In spite of the fact that as the result of this highly satis-
123 factory relationship I was able to see and hear all kinds of things, I am well aware that I by no means learned everything. No one likes to tell a foreigner about all the darker sides of his people or ticklish things. Nor was anything else to be expected in

[22 cont.]

346 must have its own door to the outside. The chapel may not be
*778 constructed in such a way that it can also be reached through another room that is occupied. It must be located in the main
[783] house. In order to avoid any danger of pollution, the chapel is preferably erected on the roof of the main house. The sooth-
[791] sayer determines in what part or on what side of the main house it should be. Aside from silence, the reason for this strict sep-
[783] aration from the other rooms is that in crossing other rooms one may become unclean, especially if the rooms are accessible to the women.

783 Prescriptions for purity: Ordinarily, any man or boy may
*[778] touch the spear, fetch it, and take it away. They may also enter the chapel at will. Women, however, may never touch
[572] the spear or visit the chapel. They are always regarded as unclean. There are also certain taboos, however, for the men.

The man's wife or any other woman in the family may not be in confinement. Not until ten days after the conclusion
[846] of the confinement, that is, 40 days after the birth, is the man pure again. If he has visited another family in which there is a woman in childbed, he is pure immediately after the conclusion of the confinement, that is, 30 days after the birth.

Those in mourning are unclean for 49 days, if they are
[765] members of the dead person's own family. If the parents have died, the children are regarded as unclean for 100 days. If someone participated in the obsequies of another family, he is unclean for only three days.

[791] These prescriptions for purity also apply to the soothsayer.
*[778] He may not enter the chapel during this time, and especially may not touch the spear or even practice soothsaying. When this period has elapsed, the men are automatically pure again; there is no special purification ceremony (1).

●[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 26.] The prescriptions for purification are the same as among the Chinese in Tsinghai; they apply for all religious activities and temple visits. The Chinese also have

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.]
special sayings concerning this, which the Tujen lack.

Word List

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To prophesy: purgandë sila = the spirit to question (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 23.]
This expression applies both to the people who question the god and to the soothsayer who calls down the spirit. The Chinese say for this ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, "to invite the Buddha-Father." This expression is applied primarily to the soothsayer himself; in an extended sense it signifies every questioning by means of a deity, soothsaying, oracle.

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Spear-soothsayer: šdiendzën; šdien (Tib.) – the consecrated, the sacred (4).
dzën (Tib. loanword) = to contain, to hold.

4. [Foreign text pp. 23-24.]
šdien is the name both for the consecrated spear with bands attached and for the consecration band (or bands) itself, but primarily for the bands after the consecration and detached from the spear. The consecrated bands on the spear, according to the informant, are called by the Tibetan names xuon (silk cloth)

[27 cont.]

756 The sword-shamans heal the sick, drive away demons, and
[789] practice soothsaying. In so doing, they wound themselves and
the sick with the sword and burn themselves with fire, but if
[787] they are true shamans, this does not harm them.

Details

756 Dress: The shamans wear an ordinary long garment. Some-
292 times they also put on a robe similar to that of the Chinese
293 bonze, except that it is red. They girdle themselves with a
*778 red belt. On the chest they wear an amulet with a god's figure
or a little bag with the hada [scarf-like ceremonial cloth] that
●[171] the lama has given them at the consecration. It is their
tutelary spirit. They throw the wide shoulder-collar over it,
which falls with the points over the chest, back, and shoulders.
It is of various colors and often beautifully cut. They hang the
breast-mirror on a red string over the shoulder collar. Formerly
[325] this was made of gold; now it is made of copper. The shaman
rubs it to a shine with incense ashes. The mirror is round and
has a diameter of 15 to 20 centimeters. In the middle it has
a round protuberance, on which the tutelary deity's name is
sometimes inscribed in Tibetan signs. Several colorful hada-
cloths are suspended from the two eyelets of the mirror. --
756 On their heads the shamans wear a red headcloth. It is about
292 50 to 80 centimeters square. One tip is cut off to a breadth
of about 20 centimeters; at these cut ends there are two red
bands; the cloth looks like an irregular pentagon. They sew
five small copper horse-rattles on the cut edge. The cloth is
thrown over the head in such a fashion that the edge with the
little bells runs across the forehead and the other tips fall down
over the ears and shoulders. They fasten the cloth on the
back of the head with the bands. -- Over this headcloth they
then tie a five-part crown similar to that of the lamas (4).

*[778] 4. [Foreign text p. 32.] The headcloth
is not always of this kind. There are also
cloths that are larger and that have no
bells. In this case the shaman ties on a

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.] Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot be imagined without tsamba. They roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.), that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain, and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-grain flour is eaten exactly as among the Tibetans (Fandse). After the consumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48] kneaded into a dry dough in the tea bowl with the remainder of the tea and the butter floating on it, and it is then eaten in the form of little pellets or little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used for the incense offering, however, may not be kept with the ordinary tsamba. Every family has a special little box for it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf. Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further details.

[262] [252] [171] [264]

[783] never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the [263] sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color; therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than the white.

The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant [439] addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop. [824] They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

[192] 4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loan-word, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.]
"trumpet." Judging by the sign, however, this la-pa is itself a Chinese imitation of a foreign word. The Tsinghai Chinese have the designation pi-li for the shell-horn, but this evidently comes from the Tujen verb pilie (to blow), for instance, dõngë pilie = to blow the conch. The Chinese say ch'uei pi-li for this. Otherwise, the Chinese name for the Triton horn is simply luo (lo), and the conch-goddess taken over from Buddhism (Tib. Duṅ-ma, Sanskr. Mangala śankha) is called pao-lo t'ien-nü, "heavenly elf of the preciousness-conch"; cf. Pander-Grünwedel, Pantheon, p. 105, No. 294; p. 115.

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The shell-horn and its cultic use is old and widespread in India and the South Seas and has been taken over into Buddhism. The function of the conch in the Lamaist cult naturally cannot be explored further here. For an understanding of the Tujen custom, however, the following should be noted. The blowing of the conch brings harmony into the universe and [49] can release the hunger-spirits (Preta) and lead them into the paradise of joys (Tushita); cf. Pander-Grünwedel, loc. cit. Shells whose spirals do not run from right to left, as is usual, but the opposite way are especially valuable; cf. Ch. Das (p. 628): duṅ-dkar gyas 'k'il (Sanskr. dakṣiṇā varta śankha). The sound of such a conch cures sickness, and, if it is kept in the house, it pacifies quarrels and disturbances and guarantees harmony in the family. That

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[50 cont.]

Details

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*778 The arrow: Originally the people used a genuine arrow (2).

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2. [Foreign text p. 52.] According to the reports of the old people, the Tujen arrows are exactly like those of the Fandse and Mongols in Tsinghai. These arrows can be seen in great numbers in every lamasery. Their average length is about one meter. Their feathering is usually radial and made of eagle feathers (ying-mao). The forms of the arrow tips are exceedingly manifold. The material is always iron. -- The children's bows and arrows are simple, crude toys, as in Europe. Nowadays the bow and arrow have disappeared from the life of the Tujen.

[178]

They are rare nowadays, since the Tujen no longer have the bow and arrow as weapons. The arrows were very manifold, however. Today, only a simple arrow shaft without tip and feathering is used for the most part. There are no prescriptions for its manufacture.

The urn: An ordinary clay urn or wide vase is used, such as can be obtained anywhere. Sometimes the urn is fitted up like the treasure-urn of the earth-god. In that case, however, not several scrolls, but only one is put in it. Also, fluid butter is not poured over the grain. The following kinds of grain are contained in it: wheat, black and white barley, light and dark Tibetan barley, but never beans, peas, etc. The urn may be of any color. It is not required for the arrow of good fortune, however. Sometimes the latter is simply stuck in a measure of grain or in a wooden cylinder, or no container at all is used and the arrow is stuck anywhere in the beams of the wall,

[51 cont.]

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5. [Foreign text p. 53.] The informant firmly insisted upon this statement, although the consecration, beribboning, mirror, and bells seem to argue that the arrow is a seat of the spirit.

777 house, namely, during the wedding. While the bride, amidst
*778 the weeping and wailing of the women, is led out to the thresh-
585 ing floor and mounts the riding animal, the father takes the arrow of good fortune and runs back and forth with it behind the bride, calling out the name of his daughter, who is led on the riding animal three times around the threshing floor before she rides off. The father wants to keep back the good fortune.

[52] The arrow holds together the good fortune and well-
[171] being of the household, as do the god of wealth and the treasure-
[432] urn among the Chinese. For that reason something is held back as "seed" and "root" from everything that is sold and attached to the arrow or added to the urn (6). With her marriage, the

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6. [Foreign text pp. 53-55.] One receives differing information among the people concerning the word yãṅsdzia. Some say yãṅ means "good fortune," whereas the informant subscribes more to the meaning "germ," root, seed, guarantee of good fortune." In the region of Bengbar (Hsi-ch'uan) the arrow is called yãṅbō. The ... bō could not be explained by anyone. The people derived the yãṅ from the Tibetan and said it meant "good fortune." Undoubtedly it is identical with the Tibetan g.yaṅ. The Chinese word ying-pao mentioned by F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 139) is phonetically very reminiscent of the designation yãṅbō. The Tujen have a third expression for

[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
with the arrow of good fortune and calls out her name. Meanwhile the attendants sing a song in which they conjure everything that the bride takes with her onto the arrow as a "germ," so that it might stay behind. -- The urn that holds the grain brought by the bride-fetchers is a similar matter. This urn is called g, yaṅ-bum in Tibetan and its meaning corresponds with that given by Ch. Das (p. 1150). It contains treasures: gold, silver, money, ornaments, etc. The arrow of good fortune and the urn of good fortune thus carry the germs and vital power of all the blessings of good fortune of the kin group [Sippe], be they animals, human beings, [54] treasures, or seed. They not only carry them, but also guarantee their preservation and increase. This conception, however, is not only found among the Tujen.

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The shepherd-nomads have a custom similar to that of the Tujen and the agricultural Fandse with their arrow of good fortune. When they sell animals, they tie some of the wool or hair to the tent post or to a string inside the tent. (G. Montell, p. 49, illustration, reports something similar from the Mongols.) This post or string has a special relationship to heaven. Among the agriculturalists the urn appears in accordance with the importance of the agricultural products. Thus, the Chinese likewise have a pao-p'ing, "treasure-vase"; similarly, the Lolo have an ancestral chest in which

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
they keep the ornaments and mementos of the kin group in order to have a guarantee for the good fortune and wealth of the family; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa: I chia. Above all, the arrow of good fortune seems to be of great importance among the Bon; cf. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 190, 184, 178. It plays a special role in the wedding customs of the Bon, as H. Francke has described them in the wedding songs. The wedding customs of the Tujen and their songs show a certain relationship with these Bon customs, which in itself is not surprising since up to the most recent times the Bon religion in Amdo had a strong influence. The conception of the tribal animals, mother-animals, mother-treasures, to which all other earthly animals, treasures, etc. go back, however, belongs to the world-view of the Bon; cf. H. Francke; Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 8 ff. The tribal animals are also celebrated in song by the Tujen in a song-cycle bearing the name xoni, "sheep." This song-cycle actually stems from the Amdo-Fandse, among whom it is called g, yaṅ-dkar, "white good-fortune," or g, yaṅ-dkar lug, "sheep of the white good-fortune." Although various animals are celebrated in song, the sheep stands in the center as the supreme blessing of good fortune.

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If one ties these conceptions together, it may be stated of the yãṅsdzia: It bears within it the germs and origins of the gifts of fortune of this world. Living beings are allied more with heaven (are

[57 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.] on a raised terrace with a beautiful incense oven in front of it. Frequently a mani-pole with a fluttering pennant also stands in the center of the obo. The most beautiful and largest mani-trees are found in front of the entrance gates of the Living Buddhas in the lamaseries; they are up to 15 meters long and bear flags up to five or eight meters long which are printed all over with Tibetan texts. -- Mani-poles are found even among the Chinese, although rarely.

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The tip (4): The tip is cut out of a wooden board as thick

4. [Foreign text p. 60.] This tip also occurs again and again on chorten, temple roofs, coffins, in symbols, etc. -- The large mani-trees mentioned above in front of the yard of the Living Buddhas, however, usually have a golden ball in place of the sun-moon tip.

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as a thumb, in the shape of a sun resting on a half-moon. A small semicircle sits on the sun, and the moon has a handle with which the tip is set on the end of the pole. Everything, sun, half-moon, and handle, is cut out of one piece. This tip, however, does not sit directly on the pole, but instead is stuck through a round wooden plate-sized disk that comes to rest vertically on the end of the pole (5). The sun with its attached

5. [Foreign text p. 60.] The old man knew of no name for the round disk through which the handle of the moon sickle is stuck. He thought

[57 cont.]

*778 attached to the tree along the long side. On the average the length is 150 to 200 centimeters. The master of the household first takes this bolt of cloth to a lamic monastery where it is [782] printed with prayers and the picture of an air-horse in the monastery press, only on one side, however. About three-quarters of the flag is covered with prayers, and the lowest quarter with the air-horse. At home the man or the woman then sews a row of strings on one long side, with which the flag is tied to the pole. [58]. The other long side, fluttering in the breeze, is [822] provided with five tabs of cloth in the five sacred colors. The length depends on the flag. Usually they are about two fingers wide and a finger long. They may be quadrangular or triangular. The flag is likewise fumigated and placed next to the cover on the household altar. For these tabs, too, there are no regulations concerning the origin and nature of the material (7).

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7. [Foreign text p. 61.] The mani-flag has various names; cf. below, Note 10. All these names apply in the first place to the horse-image, then to the flag, and finally to the entire tree. The image is the most important, especially when one considers that paper images are also in use.

*778 796 782

On every flag or every image there are the most varied sayings and representations, in Tibetan or Chinese or Mongolic. Sometimes the horse also bears on its back the sign of good fortune, nuru. These paper horses play

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an important role in the ceremony of releasing the horses, which is performed by the Tujen as well as by the Chinese and Tibetans. This ceremony is practiced at certain times of the year, for instance, in the month of the

[59 cont.]

357 *778 [527] [171]

festive banquet; the people sing and dance around the new central fort (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 61.] The round manger is also commonly erected by the Chinese. The farther east one goes, however, the rarer it becomes. In any case, among the Chinese the mani-pole in the round manger is lacking, and sometimes even the structure, in other words, the manger itself. For them it is important only that an urn be buried in the center of the yard, and the construction of every compound practically begins with this burial of the urn. This spot or the round manger is called chung-kung, that is, central fort, or yüan-ts'ao, that is, round manger. The ceremony is performed by the lay bonze or by a Tao-shih, temple bonze, but usually the geomancer indicates the spot where the urn (or the urns) is to be buried. This is connected, however, with the geomantic determination of the whole compound.

*778 539

Song: After the erection of the central fort or the mani-tree, the following song is popularly sung: "If one steps through the large gate, what then is round? If one steps through the large gate, then the round manger is round; half-yaks, mules, horses form a circle, and in the middle rises the mani-tree. If one steps into the kitchen, what then is round? If one steps into the kitchen, the kettle and lid are round; cups, bowls, and dishes form a round herd, the wooden spoon rises up in the middle. If one steps into the main house, what then is round? If one steps into the main house, the fire basin is round. Relatives and friends sit around it, and in the middle the wine jar rises up."

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[Note on foreign text pp. 62-63 cont.] Concerning its meaning as "fate," cf. Part Two, II, 1, c. -- Perhaps the Chinese lung-ma is also only a phonetic imitation of this Tibetan rluṅ (air), which perhaps came about because the dragon-horse, which likewise is called lung-ma, appears in legends and tales as a wonder horse. In the Sining chronicle, in the chapter on the Koko Nor Lake, there is a passage concerning this dragon-horse. In certain times the T'u-yü-hun were supposed to drive their horses (quite bad ones, too) into the lake, and they would then couple with the dragon. The horses descended from them were supposed to be able to cover thousands of miles in a day.

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For the paper prints of the air-horses the Chinese usually say lu-ma (good-luck horses). They claim that the above-mentioned "releasing" of these horses, fang lu-ma, is an old Chinese custom, whereas the Tujen, Fandse, and lamas claim it as their own tradition. -- In addition, the Chinese have gold-yellow paper leaves attached to house gates, ... animals, etc., which they burn on various occasions. They are called chih-ma [63] (paper-horses) or piao-ma (leaf-horses). Although there is no horse-image on it, many people derive the ...ma from "horse."

The ta-ch'iu is a Chinese literary botching of dardzioġ; one hears this expression mostly in the region of Tangkar. dardzioġ corresponds to the Tibetan dar lcog (DMF, p. 44); according to Ch. Das

[63 cont.]

Report

*778 On the mountains in the vicinity of the villages, the Tujen like to erect an obo. This is a large stonepile over a pit in which all kinds of things are buried. On these stonepiles stands a large square wooden frame, in which all kinds of weapons, tree twigs, and mani-flags are placed. Frequently several smaller stonepiles run from the obo to the four points of the compass; there will be at least one row in the direction of the mountain ridge.

*778 782 [776] [792] [791] The obo is dedicated to the mountain-spirit. It protects the village and the individual family. The obo is venerated three times each month with an incense offering. Sheep sacrifices also often take place at the obo. On special occasions a lama or Bon priest is invited to pray before the obo. When air-horses are released, it is done preferably from the peak on which an obo stands. -- Every year a large folk festival takes place near the obo.

Details

*778 [621] [628] Place: The obo is always erected on a mountain height. A place by a pass is preferred. It need not be the highest mountain in the area. Each village may have its own obo, or several villages may erect an obo together. In the latter case they agree upon a favorable place between the villages (1).

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1. [Foreign text p. 68.] The obo need not always be on a mountain. In other regions around Sining one finds obos on the plain, for instance, near Fandse and Chiafandse settlements. Even here, however, trees are almost always present. Nevertheless, the Tujen maintain that they would never build an obo on the plain, for, according to them, an obo belongs to the mountain-spirit and must

[66 cont.]

782 Sitting before the obo, the lama gives the appropriate
[533] prayers, accompanying them on his hourglass drum and the bell. At the same time the people burn incense at several places, kowtow, and blow the conch. This service may sometimes last the entire day. When the lama is finished with the prayer, he takes the torma to a stone on the obo, sprinkles the obo with holy water, and casts barley on it, over which he lightly blows with his mouth. The people then take something from offerings that stand in front of the obo, pluck something off, and throw some of this into the incense fire and on the obo. The flowers are all thrown on the mound. Meanwhile others have already placed the spears, twigs, and mani-flags on the obo and have thrown the votive gifts on it, as at the month offering. Then all of them circle around the obo, throwing the white stones and praying the obo call. At this point all of them once more make a threefold kowtow, drink tea, and go home.

The prayer service may also last several days. Then people set up tents on the mountain and live and eat there.

527 The obo festival: Every year on the sixth day in the sixth
782 month an obo festival takes place. At these festivals the obo is venerated in the morning, as it is at the month offering. A sheep offering and the prayer service of the lama may also be connected with it.

527 All the people from the neighborhood, men and women, old and young, gather at the obo. If the obo terrain is too
[541] difficult and not level enough, they gather at the foot of the mountain or on a meadow. There the men hold horse races,
[533] people sit around the fire and drink and sing; they eat and
[439] dance and laugh. Chinese traders appear, set up their booths, and peddle their wares. -- Formerly, when the old weapons
[526] were still used, the horse races were followed by archery, spear throwing, and sword fights. Wrestling matches were especially
[178] popular. Nowadays this is no longer the case. Only the horse
[541] racing and the singing contests are still held. The mountain-
[533] spirit rejoices when the people are so gay (3).

[171] 3. [Foreign text p. 69.] The obo festival is also celebrated by the

[66 cont.]

527 [171]

[Note on foreign text p. 69 cont.]
Mongols and Tangut. According to the informant, a day in the sixth month is always chosen, but it does not always have to be the sixth day. It is the time at which formerly the obos were erected, and it seems to be a matter of the yearly return. -- Nowadays these festivals have more or less degenerated into a Chinese commercial racket, as has, for instance, the festival in the New Year's month at Wei-yüan-pu (Huchu), which is really a Tujen festival. Only the horse racing and the singing of songs have remained from olden times.

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*778 776 Obo and mountain-spirit: The obo is the dwelling of the mountain-spirit. Everything that grows on the earth, grass, trees, flowers, the wild animals, and human beings, belongs to him. From the obo he guards the welfare of the tribe (ayil) and protects animal and man. The wild and tame animals are his herd and the wolves his dogs. For that reason an offering is made to the mountain-spirit before the obo whenever the wolves become too destructive. He can keep them in check.

[782] [825]

The silk (cloths or bands) on the obo signifies the clothes of the mountain spirit; the white color of the obo wall, his eminence and his good fortune.

The obo is the armory of the village and of the mountain-spirit. In olden times it was from here that the men fetched their weapons for battle and for athletic contests. [67] And they brought them back here. Nowadays the Tujen are peaceful farmers; they no longer use their weapons. Therefore they surrender them to the mountain-spirit.

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The mountain-spirit is given something from everything that is valuable: gold, silver, silk, etc. All the good fortune, the wealth, and the preservation of the village are guaranteed through him. The mountain-spirit provides the descendants;

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*778 and incense, as an obo is. On these occasions new clay cones
346 are thrown into it through the gaps. Usually this is on the first,
782 eighth, and fifteenth day of the month. At other times, too, however, in case of emergency and misfortune, the people venerate the chorten chamber. The procession always goes from west to east, in other words, not in the direction of the course of the sun.

*778 Meaning: The chorten chamber is connected with the
[776] mountain-spirit and earth-god. The column establishes the
[772] connection with the sky. The chamber holds down the hostile
[751] earth-influences. Thus it protects against misfortune and illness (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 79.] The urn, the mountain, and the tree are essential for the beṅkaṅ. Therefore it belongs in the same conceptual
[772] realm as the central fort in the yard, namely, the widespread myth of heaven and earth, joined (or separated) by the world-tree. In this connection, in the case of the central fort the mani-flag might be Lamaist-secondary, and in the case of the chorten chamber the sasa-mountain, which consists of the mani-cones, as they are sometimes called. -- Now that a house is built over it, it is probably quite secondary. It evidently only has the function of protection and no inner relationship to its contents. It is striking that the sky column likewise is not erected as the bearer of the ridge-piece; it is freestanding and does not extend to the beam. Also, in the case of the customs

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[Note on foreign text p. 79 cont.] connected with the erection of the chamber no inner relationship to the content finds expression. These are the same customs that are practiced in connection with all housebuilding by the Tsinghai Chinese.

Word List

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Chorten chamber: bẽnkãn (Tib. loanword) = countless chamber (house) (1) [see Note 1 above].
ger-kãn, ger (Tuj.) = house, kãn = chamber.
ma-ni lou (Chin.) = mani-house (high house).

Sky column: sõn-sin (Tib. loanword) - protective tree (wood) (7).
t'ung-t'ien chu (Chin.) = to connect sky column.

7. [Foreign text p. 79.] sõn sin: Tibetan skyon = to preserve, protect, sin = wood. -- sasa: Tibetan ts'a ts'a = little conical clay cones. -- sena: Tibetan sna = group, category. -- šder: Tibetan gser = gold. -- wsirẽ: Tibetan byi-ru (pronounced šuru) = coral. -- sõdãn: could come from the Chinese (?). ts'u-t'ang - vinegar-pool. -- sguora: Tibetan skor ba = to circle around. -- rẽduombẽn: Tibetan rdõ = stone, 'bum = 100,000 (Unkrig).

Clay chorten, clay cone: sasa (Tib. loanword), tza-tza (4) [see Note 4 above].

[621 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 622 cont.]
the father or grandfather or someone else in the family was just fifty years old, but the mother's family has no influence on such names. For boys, instead of mdzuo (full) one says serañ, that is, roughly "sublime." Other names are, for example, wadma sdzig, that is, lotus flower, for girls; or wadma sdzia, that is, dedicated to the lotus, for boys. -- The Chinese, too, have a similar custom. They, for example, take a boy to the temple of the black tiger and then call him "dedicated to the black tiger," hei-hu-pao; or "dedicated to the mother," niang-niang-pao, when they have put the child under the protection of the mother-goddess in the temple. The Chinese pao and the sdzia of the Tujen have the same meaning.

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5. [Foreign text p. 622.] sĕrañ: Tibetan sran (?) = dwelling, settlement (Unkrig).

553 child to eat; he likewise offers it tea. It is not the child, how-
791 ever, but the mother who eats the gifts. Then everyone makes a threefold kowtow in the house to the soothsayer and the Buddha image, and outside to the sky.

If the spear-spirit desires that the family elder should
[592] give the name, the latter performs the same ceremonies, but the soothsayer supervises the performance with the trembling spear. Also, the kowtow is then made to the family elder. --
553 This ceremony is usually undertaken by the grandfather or
592 father, or by the man who is the master in the family (4). It
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[621 cont.]

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4. [Foreign text p. 622.] A lama can also perform the ceremony. This is rarely done, however. Usually the father or kin-group elder does it.

is never a woman or a relative from the family of the woman in childbed.

Following the name-giving or in the course of the day, the mother with the child in her arms must kowtow to all the guests; for this she receives a small gift of money for the child. -- Towards noon the family holds a general feast, for men and women separately. On this occasion much barley wine is drunk, and there is singing and dancing.

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[273]
[562]

852 Reception of the shepherd: Towards evening, when the animals are expected back from the pasture, the father or the mother takes the infant in his arms and takes it out in front of the gate of the yard, where they meet the homecoming herd. The shepherd must give the child some money, and in return the father gives him a loaf of bread which he must eat immediately. This custom is called "to welcome the shepherd"; the Chinese say "to welcome the sheep" (2). -- The guests

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2. [Foreign text p. 622.] The reception of the shepherd is also found among the Chinese, just as the termination of the confinement generally is almost the same among them. In the region of Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) I learned from the missionary there, P. Frick, that the people place the child in the manger so that it may later own many herds and become a good horseman. This custom could not be confirmed for the Tujen.

[689]

Details

852
787 The oracle: On the morning of the anniversary of the birth, the father brings the child into the main house or into the kitchen and sets it on the kang. He places a kang table with three little baked loaves of bread, five steamed loaves of bread, and a cup of tea in front of it. Next to it, for a boy, he puts a span-long bow with a small arrow, brush, paper, and money; for a girl, these are needle, yarn, ell, scissors, knife. The three little baked loaves signify the three Buddhistic world-
[776] spirits (2). The five steamed loaves symbolize the five blessings

2. [Foreign text p. 624.] It could not be ascertained which three names are individually involved. sãṅrēdzi (Illuminated One) is the title for the Tulkus; cf. section, "The Lama-reception," and Note 6 below.

[777] of good fortune: age, wealth, health, virtue, blessed death (1).
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1. [Foreign text pp. 623.] Chinese and Tibetan conceptions are mixed in the explanation of these loaves, for the Chinese also have this birthday ceremony. The Chinese proverb, wu fu p'eng shou, the five good-fortune-[624] (signs) hold up the age-(sign). A custom at New Year's: The sign shou is written in the center of a red paper, and in a circle around it the five signs for good fortune, fu.

The parents give the child some of the bread to eat and let it drink tea, or the mother suckles it. Then they ask it to grasp at the things on the kang table. If the boy grasps
[778] money, he will be an industrious tradesman; if he seizes bow

[623 cont.]

852 and arrow, he will be a strong warrior; if he grasps brush and
787 paper, he will be a learned scholar. It is similar for the girl.
778 The object that is chosen by the child is hung on the arrow of good fortune (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 624.] Concerning the arrow of good fortune, cf. the appropriate section. Tying the object grasped by the child to the arrow is supposed to preserve the child's strength so it will develop in the direction indicated. On the arrow of good fortune in the yard of my informant, I saw a large number of miniature bows, arrows, and balls of hair of his children and grandchildren.

302 The haircut: The child still has downy hair because it
852 has not been shorn since birth. Now the father or some other man takes it in his arms and takes it into the yard. There another man shaves its head, regardless of whether it is a boy or a girl. One or two tufts of hair remain standing on the back of
[778] the head (4). The father twists the hair between the palms of

4. [Foreign text p. 624.] The tufts of hair that are left were probably intended as beginnings for the later hairdress (queue). It could not be determined whether they might perhaps have something to do with a consecrated Buddha-tuft, as, for example, among the Lolo; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa, I-chia. In any case the tufts of hair are nowadays shaved off again. Probably the tufts, like the custom as a whole, were taken over from the Chinese. The Chinese call these children's hair-tufts tsung-chiao

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[62[redacted] cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 624 cont.]
(roughly = little head horn). To what extent they thereby characterize childhood is shown by the expression tsung-chiao chih chiao, friendship since childhood (literally, little head horn connection).

[778] his hands into a little roll and twirls one thread out of it with which he ties it to the arrow of good fortune. Formerly these strands were drawn through a coin with a hole in it, and this, together with the ball of hair, was hung on the arrow. The hair of the children thus remain on the arrow of good fortune throughout their lives.

852 Then the father goes with the child and the arrow of good
[782] fortune into the yard and makes the great incense offering. On this occasion the child kowtows to the sky for the first time. After the offering the arrow is taken back to its original place (5).

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5. [Foreign text pp. 624-625.]
The first birthday celebration was evidently taken over from the Chinese there. An example of how it is practiced elsewhere in China, taken from J. Doolittle, Social Life (p. 90), will be presented here for the sake of clarity: "On the first birthday the mother is presented with another thank-offering, and other gifts of clothing and food are received by the grandmother on the maternal side. If it is a boy, a pair of shoes and a cap are found among other items of clothing; if it is a girl, then arm bands and head ornaments are also found among other articles of clothing. The preparations for the thank-offering

[623 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.]
are carried out by the grandmother on the maternal side ..." etc. "Before this festival is celebrated, a large bamboo sieve, such as the farmers use for screening the grain, is placed on the table before the ancestral tablets, where incense and candles have already been lighted. On this sieve are placed a series of coins, a pair of scissors, an ell measure, a copper mirror, brush, inks, paper, inkstone, one or two books, the abacus, a gold or silver ornamental object or some other implement, fruit, etc. The child wears the new clothes which it has just been given and is put on the sieve amidst the objects. Now it is a question of what the child grasps first, holds, and plays with. This moment has an exceedingly great fascination for the parents and assembled friends. It is said that the object the child seizes first indicates its later activities, profession, character, and position in the world. If the child is a boy and seizes a book or an object that has something to do with literature, such as a brush or ink, then one assumes that he will be a great scholar. If he grasps the money or [625] gold and silver objects, then he will be famous on account of his wealth and skill in acquiring money. Once in the Sung dynasty a girl, when she was a year old and had been set on the sieve, first grasped two little miniature weapons with one hand and with the other two vessels such as are used for certain offerings on state occasions. After a few minutes she laid these things

[623 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.]
down again and grasped a seal. She then no longer paid any attention to the things that lay before her. And now the result: this girl became chancellor of an imperial realm." -- The oracle at this birthday celebration corresponds essentially with that of the Tujen.

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The Tujen celebrate birthdays otherwise, too, both men and women, but only from the forty-fifth year on. A feast is held, at which all the relatives take part. As presents, nine loaves of bread are customary. Eight steamed loaves signify the eight genii, pa-hsien, and one loaf represents the god of age, shou-hsing (star of age). Towards sundown, all go outside to the graves and give the ancestral offering. Then they go home and drink and dance into the night. -- As the names show, this custom is also borrowed from the Chinese. The Tujen originally had no ancestral offering; to the Chinese, on the other hand, the arrow of good fortune and the dance with song are foreign.

[769]

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Word List

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[844] To give birth: tōrō-.

[527] Birthday: tōrōdzān udur; or contracted, tōrōdzūdur.

To celebrate the birthday: tōrōdzūdur noġdzi-.

That woman has given birth: nie bieri tōrōdzia.

When were you born? tsini kidzie tōrōwa?

Yes, I am really celebrating: noġdzidza ligunadzi.

192 [623 cont.]
776 The three world-spirits: dier xsēm sañrēdzi (6) (Tib. manner of speaking).

6. [Foreign text p. 625.] dier xsēm sañrēdzi: xsēm = Tib. gsum = three; sañrēdzi = Tib. sañs -rgyas = widespread splendor = Buddhistic title for incarnation. -- dier cannot be identified; it must be Tibetan, however, and mean the same as "region, world." I would like to connect it with the three worlds of the Bon; cf. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], p. 139; Francke, Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 5 ff. -- This tripartition is also familiar to the Chinese; one has only to think of the Taoistic san-ching or the Buddhistic san-chieh.

192
777 The five blessings of good fortune: wu-fu (Chin.).

[Pages 623-625 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[625] 3. The New Year's Festival*

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* See "Notes," pp. 628-629 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[171] The New Year is celebrated by the Tujen at the same time
[574] as by the Chinese. In the first days they rest from all work,

[626 cont.]

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[783]
[789]

[Note on foreign text p. 628 cont.] The fumigating with the red-hot stone is supposed to purify the house and drive away the demons, like the exploding of rockets.

Then a second offering follows. The master of the household takes little sticks of incense, one for each member of the family, and lights them in the room above the lamp. Then he goes out around the mani-pole and, with all the members of the family, makes a threefold kowtow to the sky, facing the main house. He puts the little sticks in the incense oven on the round manger. Then the same ceremony is repeated in the house before the household altar, where the new little sticks continue to smolder in the incense basin. During the entire ceremony rockets [789] and cannons are fired in order to scare away the demons. Together with the incense, yellow paper is also burned, exactly as [171] among the Chinese (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 629.] As among the Chinese, the hearth-god is also carried off and on New Year's morning is again festively carried in. I was unable to learn anything concerning an original Tujen ceremony with respect to the hearth fire. Since time immemorial an incense offering has been made to the hearth-god, but it is uncertain whether on this occasion cypress twigs were thrown into the fire. Nowadays little sticks of incense are generally put on the wall behind the hearth, precisely as among the Chinese.

[776]
[372]

Another fire ceremony takes place in the first full-moon night of the year from the fourteenth to the fifteenth day. Young people light a series of little straw fires (10 to 15) on the path or on

[372]
[783]

[626 cont.]

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[372]
[783]
[171]

[Note on foreign text p. 629 cont.]
the threshing floor and jump over them. It is said that this is done in order to become pure; others say it is only for fun. The Chinese there, who also have this custom, maintain that it is an old Chinese practice. They also tell a legend about it, which I have forgotten. It has something to do with a battle ruse of old heroes whose memory one wants to celebrate. -- For the purificatory fire, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 9.

[177]

It is precisely in the New Year's practices that the strong mixture with Chinese customs appears, so that in individual instances it is impossible to say definitely what originally belonged to the Tujen. One can safely ascribe to them, however, the ying-hsi ceremony, renewal of the animal consecration, and above all the dancing and singing of songs, which the Chinese do not know.

[821]

The dances with song point to a close connection with the waxing moon, since they are usually performed at night on the fifteenth day, even throughout the night. It is almost as though the New Year's festival applies primarily to the new moon. After the first full moon, everything is quite suddenly broken off.

Once the incense ceremony is over, the master of the household places a table in the yard before the round manger. On it are put trays with five steamed loaves, five oil-loaves, three tagur loaves, and all kinds of baked goods (3) [see Note 3 above]. Then a bowl of barley wine is poured out and a

[626 cont.]
527 threefold kowtow is again made to the sky. The same ceremony
782 is repeated before the household altar for the other gods.

[627] Gratulation: Meanwhile, the old people of the
527 household have also arisen. Now they, too, pay their New Year's
888 reverence to the sky and the countless spirits. Then they sit
576 down on the kang with the master of the household and the family elder for tea and receive the kowtow from their sons and daughters. Then the general breakfast takes place. The children kowtow before their parents, the younger siblings before the older siblings, the younger cousins before the older cousins, etc. The old ones give younger ones some money.

171
527 The welcoming of joy: Towards midday the welcoming
[776] of the god of joy takes place. For this one drives the animals onto the threshing floor, makes an offering of bread and wine, burns incense, waters the animals, and again drives them home. This practice is exactly the same as among the Chinese (7).

[787]

7. [Foreign text p. 629.] At New Year's the Tujen also question all kinds of oracles in a way similar to that of the Chinese, for example, the feed oracle, in connection with which one feeds the animals with various kinds of bread in order to prophesy concerning the harvest (cf. Schröder, "Ying-hsi, and Note 3 above). Another oracle is the ice-breaking. Young boys and men go to the river, take a sheet of ice, and break it apart. In the break lines pictures of species of grain are recognizable; the species that appear most clearly may be expected to have the best harvest during the year. This oracle is also found among the Chinese.

[627 cont.]

527 cannot sing or sings incorrectly, his opponent cuts a piece from
533 the lappet. Thus one can sing away his whole garment in an evening.

Above all, the young people meet on the threshing floor and in a circle sing all kinds of songs. This lasts the entire
[883] night, especially at the first [628] full moon. Only towards morning do they stop. Boys and girls mingle freely in the circle. Small boys dressed in reversed hides represent demons and beat on pieces of wood; others imitate Chinese traders, play all kinds of tricks, etc. (5).

[535]
[171]

5. [Foreign text pp. 628-629.] These round dances are exactly like those among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiafandse. Men and women and boys and girls form [629] a circle. One person leads the song and also indicates the dance movement. The others sing the refrain and repeat the movement together. They also dance in twos to the rhythm of the song. These dances are also performed generally at entertainments, for example, at a wedding, upon the arrival of the lama, etc. There are many kinds of the songs. They are divided into two groups: family songs, which are decent and are sung in the house; wild songs, whose content, taken from love-life, is usually quite crude. The melodies to a great ex-
[171] tent are the same as among the Fandse. Besides Tujen songs Chinese and Tibetan songs are also sung. The song
[539] given here is Tibetan in its original
[883] text. -- At these moonlight dances the young people spend the entire night out in the open, and more than

[636 cont.]

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764

[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.] figures (Chin. t'ao-t'ieh) and the underworld. Professor C. Hentze in his most recent works has extensively revealed these connections, and one is referred to them here. -- I learned nothing concerning the conception that the dead must be placed in a sleeping position, although it is known that the nomads there on the Koko Nor sleep in this position, which can sometimes also be observed among Chinese and Tujen during the day.

764 the arms bent, the hands are put with the palms together and pressed upright against the chest so that they touch the chin. The thumbs are not crossed. The wrists are tied together with a hemp string and this is placed around the neck so that the hands stay together and cannot fall forward. Then the thighs are pressed firmly against the chest and arms and the calves against the thighs, so that the feet and seat rest in one plane. The feet are wound with a hemp string so that they will stay in position (4). Now one takes a quadrangular piece of cloth,

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4. [Foreign text p. 652.] The binding of the corpse is not regarded as tying down the dead person to prevent him from returning, as is the intention among the Chinese with the tying together of the feet. The informant claims that the binding has only the purpose of making the crouching position secure.

In view of the otherwise common use of sheep wool, it is striking that only hemp strings are taken. As a reason the people say that if one took wool, the dead would be reborn as an

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[636 cont.]

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[775]

[Note on foreign text p. 652 cont.]
animal with wool. In the case of hemp this is impossible, for one is not transformed into a plant.

[789]

The informant claimed to know nothing about hemp as a means of frightening off demons, as, for example, in the case of the hemp whip of the shamans. It may be that Chinese influence makes itself felt here, for the Chinese, too, use only hemp in connection with the dead, and it also plays an important role in the mourning costume (hemp belt, hair string, hemp veil, etc.). Strict mourning is therefore called simply "hemp mourning," ma-hsiao, among the Chinese.

764 about two ells square, cuts a round hole in the middle, and throws it over the dead person's head in such a way that the tips fall over the chest, back, and shoulders. This cloth is called "death garment." It is yellow for persons who have received the age-consecration, white for young people. It does not matter what kind of cloth it is made of (5). -- All

[766]

5. [Foreign text pp. 652-653.]
The shoulder-throw is strongly reminiscent of the shoulder-collars of the shamans. A connection could not be discovered. The Tujen maintain that the cloth is usually taken off before cremation: later one uses it as an amulet, since it has great healing and protective power. With regard to this, the informant observed that one could indeed take off the white shoulder-cloth before cremation, but that it had no magical power and was used for profane purposes. The

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[636 cont.]

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[766]

[Note on foreign text pp. 652-653 cont.] yellow shoulder-cloth, on the other hand, which a dead person with age-consecration wears, must be burned with the corpse, just like the sash that he received at that time.

this must be done while the corpse is still flexible. Once it is rigid, it maintains its position virtually unchanged.

The death-box. The death-box is made either long be-
[171] fore death or not until death has taken place, as among the Chinese where the coffin is sometimes ready decades before-
[735] hand. Only poor people do not make the death-box until after the death. The box is always made of wood, but it does not matter what kind of wood it is made of; after all, it is not buried, as is the coffin among the Chinese, but is burned with the dead person. The box has the height of a litter or sedan chair; the dead person fits exactly into it. The bottom of the box extends into four carrying beams, [637] similar to a
[532] flat litter. The box [illustration appears here], however is not a simple wooden chest, but represents a small temple with roof
[171] and doors and often very rich carving, similar to death-box of the Chinese bonze (6). Unlike the latter, however, it has a sun

6. [Foreign text p. 653.] in the case of the coffin of the Taoshih the sun-moon attachment, the movable back wall, and the carrying pole are lacking. The corpse is usually put inside through the front door or from above, because the roof piece is removable.

and moon in the center of the roof, similar to the tip of a mani-pole; this is generally regarded as necessary. The box
[556] is painted and decorated according to the wealth, piety, and affection of the relatives.
[324]

There are no definite ritual prescriptions for the prep-
[465] aration of the box. The carpenter receives the usual fee for

[638 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.] the declared opponent of the white tiger. -- Furthermore, the white tiger is powerless against anything that comes from the dead or is connected with the dead; he fears coffins, death-boxes, burials, etc. For that reason coffin-making is the best opportunity for making a rolling pin, and therefore the rolling pin is propped against the death-box. The relationship of the tiger to the rolling pin is thereby neutralized. -- People very rarely have a rolling pin made other than at the time of a burial; the carpenter must then plane the pole on a threshing roller, the enemy of the white tiger. The millstone also has an effect similar to that of the threshing roller, for it crushes the provider of the "white," that is, the grain from which the flour comes.

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764 all. As in the case of the crouching corpse, a small kang table with the gifts to the dead is also placed before the death-box. 171 Men and women kowtow before it, burn white paper, like the [782] Chinese, and weep aloud (9).

9. [Foreign text p. 653.] Aside from the bone-casket I once saw a small wooden casket of coffin-like form beside a death-box. The people said a small manlike doll lay in it. It was supposed to keep misfortune and death away from the house. The informant had not yet seen that and thought that this custom had come from

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[638 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.] the Chinese. Among the Chinese I learned the following: If someone died on an unlucky day -- which the geomancer determines -- there is danger that he will take someone else from the family with him into the beyond. In order to prevent this, the family provides a substitute at the interment. They lay a human figure made of apricot or peach wood, which the demons particularly fear, in a miniature coffin. At the interment this miniature coffin is buried at the base of the grave and the actual coffin is put on top of it. -- The Tujen bury the miniature coffin under the bone-chest. The Chinese name for this custom is ch'ung-sang, that is, double interment. One would do better to translate it as "accompanying interment." It clearly has nothing to do with an escort for the dead and the double interment in the usual sense. A kind of after-consumer [Nachzehrer] is involved here.

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Gifts for the dead: The Tujen make an offering of 12 loaves of bread and a water-lamp before the dead (10). First,

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10. [Foreign text p. 654.] Death-gifts and offering regulations correspond with those of the Chinese. The water-lamp, shui-teng, is an earthen bowl which is half-filled with water, beans are usually also added. A layer of oil is poured on the water. A little wooden plate, into which a wick is stuck, floats

[638 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] on the oil. This is to prevent the wick from burning too far down into the bowl; in order to save oil, the lower half is filled with water. -- The Chinese dough-lamp of long life, ch'ang-ming teng, has nothing to do with this lamp; it is unknown to the Tujen.

the deceased's own family must present these gifts. A so-called paper-bowl also stands on the floor next to the bread and the water-lamp. After each meal some tea, soup, or milk is poured into it, and little pieces of meat, bread, vegetable, etc. [264] are thrown in, according to what the family has just eaten. Until the day of cremation the dead is always supposed to partake of the meals of the household. The paper-bowl is an ordinary earthen bowl; it gets its name from the fact that after the paper-burning the charred leaves are thrown in it (11). Along with the

[171]

11. [Foreign text p. 654.] The paper-burning is typically Chinese.

water-lamp it is emptied in front of the gate on the last day, when the death-box leaves the compound for cremation. It is not broken, but may be used again for other purposes.

764 On the third day after the death, the oldest married daughter of the household appears with 12 loaves of bread. Then 782 the family loaves before the death-box are replaced by the 593 daughter's loaves. This is called "bread exchange." This takes place each time a person makes an offering of loaves. The oldest daughter is followed in order by the younger ones, whether or not the corpse has already been put in the box. Unmarried [589] daughters of the household do not make offerings. Every time [152] someone offers loaves, he also burns white paper and weeps aloud; the men, it is true, do not weep (24).

[638 cont.]

292 765 [171] Mourning dress: Mourning is worn immediately after the death. It does not consist of a special white garb, as among the Chinese, but only of a change of dress.

During the period of mourning the men remove their colorful vests and take everything colored off their clothing, such as neck bands, sleeve edging, etc. Their long cloak is turned and worn with the lining, or in winter with the fur, on the outside. [302] They do not cut their hair, and they let the beard grow. The red or green trouser belt made of cloth is replaced by [639] a white or black one. Instead of the clothes-belt they wear a thick hemp string.

Like the men, the women also remove the colorful sleeve strips, trouser trimming, and shoe and boot ornamentation, especially everything red. The red or green skirt over the trousers is not worn at all. Instead of the colorful clothes, the woman puts on only a simple upper garment of one color. She takes off the ear pendants, arm bands, and the neck band, and [301] removes from her headdress all lace, tassels, and hanging strings, as well as the silver hair cap [Haarschale] and the little copper plates. She keeps only the simple, rigid frame of the headdress and covers its colorful strips uniformly by sticking green paper on them. She puts a blue cloth made of coarse linen over this as a head veil. She replaces her broad and colorful belt with a hemp string.

[602] [593] All the close relatives are required to wear mourning dress, those who also must give the death-offering. The only exception is the husband upon the death of his wife. He may not wear mourning.

764 782 [602] Prayer service: The prayer service is called "prayer tea." The relatives on the father's side assemble daily in the house of mourning; toward evening they sit on the kang around the open fire in the kitchen and pray the mani for the dead on their mani-string. When they are finished, they receive noodle soup and go home. This prayer service lasts until the day of cremation. One need not sit around the kang fire, however, but can also perform these prayers before the death-box itself.

[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] hsiao-tzu in Chinese, who are the male descendants and relatives of the first and second degree, for example, younger brothers, younger cousins, grandsons.

on the mother's side do not appear in the house of mourning until the eve of the cremation.

764 They must be informed, however, immediately after the death; this is called "death announcement." The master of
602 ceremonies, with a small bottle of liquor, goes to the mother's
604 brother to announce the death of the latter's nephew or niece (14).

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14. [Foreign text p. 654.] In recent times the Tujen announce the death to the mother's brother by means of a written communication, like the Chinese. The original practice, however, is the announcement with the liquor-jug, to which is tied a flock of wool.

[792] The two now consult as to how the funeral solemnities are to
[465] be arranged, how many monks are to be invited to pray, how large the fees are to be, etc. The mother's brother is intent upon setting demands as high as possible, whereas the master of ceremonies sets lower ones. Once they have agreed upon
[273] the approximate level, they drink the little jug of liquor together. If they do not agree, the master of ceremonies returns home with the liquor and he receives new instructions from the bereaved family. Sometimes this happens two or three times. A final arrangement is not made until the last day at the accounting in the house of mourning.

On the eve of the cremation, the mother's brother, and with him all the male relatives on the mother's side, appears in the yard of the bereaved. The women among the maternal

764 [640 cont.]
[602] relatives do not come (15). The mother's brother is solemnly
[604]

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15. [Foreign text pp. 654-655.] Three groups of relatives are to be distinguished, which correspond to the kinship divisions of the Chinese there: 1. One's own family, dzienani kudë, Chin. pen-chia. To this belong the descendants in a direct line, son, grandson, grandchildren, even the daughters who are already married outside. They live together in one compound. 2. Cousinhood, dzienani šăni, Chin. tang-chia-tzu. These are the father's brothers and cousins, in practice all the relatives with the same family name. -- This group is obligated to provide for the interment, while one's own family (even the daughters) wear mourning dress and are subject to the strict mourning taboos. As soon as the daughters return to their husband's family, however, they take off the mourning. 3. Affinity by marriage, urog, Chin. ch'in-chia, ch'in-ch'i. Since among the Tujen here the Chinese expressions are now in use, the following names should be distinguished: ch'in-chia in the strict sense is the relationship of the sons-in-law with whom the daughters have married. They have another family name, wai-hsing. The family from which the mother comes is called wai-chia; here the brother of the mother is the person of respect who represents her interests. The family from which the mother of the father comes is called wei-chia; here, too, for the

[649 cont.]

792 an actual corpse were present. On the day set this sheet of paper
766 is burned in the field, but quite simply, without any oven and without a lama. No one bothers with the ashes. The lama writes
[212] the name on a second sheet, however, and this is put in the bone-chest, which is buried at the place of the burning (23) until the

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23. [Foreign text p. 657.] The neighboring Chinese have a similar custom. They place the ancestral tablet of the dead person in a little coffin and bury it in the cemetery. This interment has legal force; when it is undertaken, it is regarded as proof that the person is actually dead. A parallel is found among the Chinese in the proxy wedding with a stuffed straw-man.

[212] transfer to the kin-group cemetery takes place at the grave festi-val. -- The signs that the lama writes are Tibetan.

Word List

192
764 Cremation: ġaldë awu- = to put in the fire.

To die: ugei (guei) wōldzia = he has passed away.

He died sitting: sōwa guei wōldzia; tsuo-hua (Chin.) = transformed sitting.

Death of a bonze: niesā sdzia = he has flown away. yū-hua (Chin.) = feathered transformed.

Death of a lama: siaġladzia = he has turned to nothing.

[775] He is reborn: härga (xara) rēdzia = he has come back; sdziewa.

One has put him in the crouching position: ndāñlalġadzia = he has been put in equilibrium.

The dead person: guei woldzān kun = departed person.

Death clothing (shoulder hanging): bōw-la (Tib. loanword) = white garment.

Death lament: dō tedzi ula.

[828 cont.]

241 The veneration of the pole-goat: During the summer the
789 farmers appear singly or together before the pole-goat, make an
791 offering, pray, burn incense, and kowtow in order to protect the
782 seed from hail. The Bon priest also comes often to pray. In former times he even pitched his tent for a longer period of time and remained there in order to be constantly on hand for the weather conjuration in case of storms. This is no longer the case today. The weather conjuration is now done by the soothsayer, usually the spirit-soothsayer.

Taking down the pole-goat: After the fifteenth day in the eighth lunar month, when the harvest has been cut, the pole-goat is again taken away. One no longer has the soothsayer determine the day, but instead acts according to the circumstances. The Bon priest is again invited; he again makes the tormas and prays. Usually a sheep is sacrificed.

241 Interpretations: The pole-goat is supposed to banish
789 bad weather and protect the harvest. The custom occurs only
776 among farmers, even among the agricultural Fandse. The goat has special protective power because its head serves as an
825 anvil for the god Dăntsien Sãñ. He is the smith in the weather
821 ministry (5). During storms he hammers his iron between the horns,

[171]

5. [Foreign text pp. 829-830.] The conception of the storm ministry bears a resemblance to the Chinese lei-pu (thunder division). It is uncertain, however, whether borrowings are involved. At any rate, in the popular tradition of the Tujen the Bon priest has a special connection with weather magic (cf. also Tafel, Tibetreise). -- Concerning the storm-god Dăntsăñ (Dăntsien Sañ) the informant knew nothing other than that there is an image of

[791]

[828 cont.]

241 during which lightning flashes and glowing hailstones fall to
789 earth. Through this the evil demons are killed, so no misfortune
821 befalls the seed and human beings (6).

[825]
[776]
[171]

6. [Foreign text p. 830.]
Weather magic plays an important role in all of Tsinghai. A pure Bon ceremony is involved here. Neither the Chinese nor the lamas practice it. And if it is correct that the nomads do not have it, this is an indication of the close connection of the Bon with agriculture. -- The Chinese engage in their weather magic through other shamans or through lay bonzes, exorcists, etc., never through a Bon priest. -- Only in very isolated instances does one find the pole-goat among the Chinese, and then it is along the border of the Tujen or Fandse region. I frequently saw one in a valley along the Pei-ch'uan river south of Hsin-t'ien-p'u, where there was a Chinese village; here they departed from the rule that it must be erected on a mountain.

[778]

Other types of weather conjurations are undertaken with help of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, the spirit-litter, and with thunderbolts. All these things are the seat of deities. As soon as bad weather approaches, the corresponding bearers fetch these seats of the deities, summon the spirit, and station themselves out in the open facing the storm. Further details concerning these ceremonies in another place. The entire

[833 cont.]

241 782 171 Distribution: The mountain sheep-offering is practiced everywhere there are Tujen, even among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiahsifan (5). In some regions it is also

5. [Foreign text pp. 834-835.]

241 782 231 The ritual of slaughter and offering described here is typical for all slaughtered offerings. In the case of goats and pigs the procedure is the same. Because the pig squeals too much when slaughtered (it is not unconscious), its mouth is tightly tied together. The pouring with milk is omitted for pigs. The sheep's mouth is likewise held shut. Perhaps this is a survival from a suffocation sacrifice.

241 782 In the case of longer festivals the slaughtered animal is not cut up immediately, but is tied to a longish table or frame after the skinning and the removal of the entrails, and in its natural position with the legs spread apart, if possible standing and with head raised. It is placed before the deity or the temple entrance in this fashion. Only at the conclusion of the festival is it cut up and boiled. Sometimes the cut-up uncooked parts are also presented before the deity.

The distribution of the sacrificial meat is usually done in the form indicated after the cooking as a meal. The hide is usually given back to the owner; the [835] head is received by the seedmaster or the officiating supervisor. Bon priests, lamas, shamans, etc. who

[833 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 834-835 cont.]
have been invited often receive a loin, jou-fang-tzu (Chin.), that is, "meat square," or a thigh, etc. These are not cooked, but are laid aside for this purpose.

For the rest, there are always minor variations, but always the following sequence: purification (washing), slaughtering, offering, meal. Slaughtering, offering, and meal may sometimes be distributed over various days.

[171] the custom among Chinese, but not generally. The Chinese, however, do not go on the mountains for this purpose, but make the offering in the local temple.

Word List

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To sacrifice a sheep on the mountain: uladë xoni šënlie- (šënlie-)
Offering throw: dziarin uġuo = to give throwing away.
p'ao-ts'an (Chin.) = to throw away.
Own area: dzienani satsia.
Empty utensils: huodzën sawa;
k'ung chia-shih (Chin.).

[Pages 834-835 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[835]

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4. The Procession around the Field*

*See "Notes," pp. 838-839 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[835 cont.]

241 782 procession moves from the temple directly to the nearest mountain and along the ridges across all the mountains of the entire village area. On each height the customary incense offering is burned by the two men, while the procession itself moves on. Towards midday, however, a halt is made on a height especially designated for this purpose. After the incense offering refreshments [264] are taken. The people bring bread, tea, and soup here in advance. Then the procession marches on. Not until evening does one return to the temple. On the following day the people take the books back to the lama monastery.

[836] **Details**

[562] Persons: Only male persons may take part in the procession, regardless of whether they are adults or boys, so long as they are strong enough to carry the heavy book and can pray the mani. The seed-supervisor determines how many persons each family must provide to make up the number of 108 book-bearers. If there are not enough people in one village, help is brought in from the neighborhood. Chinese are also admitted. -- In fetching and taking the books back to the monastery the number does not matter, so one person may carry two books. The Tibetan books are, to be sure, very large and heavy, since they are bound between two boards.

241 782 624 794 The seed-supervisor is changed every year at the harvest thanksgiving offering. He is charged with taking care of all the religious celebrations of the year. He is not the village mayor, however. Because his main concern is the seed, he is called seed-supervisor. The supervisor of the past year helps him (2).

[171] [797] 2. [Foreign text p. 838.] The Chinese, too, have such a religious supervisor who is chosen annually. Usually he is simply called t'ou-jen, that is, head man, or he is also called huei-t'ou, that is, meeting (festival) head; ch'ing-miao t'ou is also used,

[836 cont.]

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624
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[171]
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[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.]
but only for the period of the sowing festival with the cult dances. -- The Christian missionaries have taken over this arrangement for their ecclesiastical celebrations and folk festivals. Thus, besides the community mayors there are also special supervisors who, for instance, organize the festival for processions or at Easter, accommodate the guests, slaughter the festival sheep, etc.

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It is not absolutely necessary for there to be several soothsayers. If a village has several, however, they must all appear. If it has none at all, then it invites at least one from outside. A lama or a Bon priest is never invited.

Time: The time for the procession around the field is determined by the soothsayer at the pole-goat offering in the spring (aradziãn) on the thirteenth day in the fifth month. The
241 procession itself must always be in the seventh month, when the
782 seed is developing ears, because the greatest danger for the coming harvest is precisely at this time on account of the many and big storms during this month (3). The time is also often

3. [Foreign text p. 838.] Cf. the sections, "Mountain Sheep-offering" and "Pole-goat."

determined in the lamasery. Since, of course, there are many villages that want to hold the procession, it may happen that two villages set the same time. Therefore the seed-supervisor goes to the monastery a month in advance and inquires when the books are available. The day is determined accordingly. -- It is usually calculated that the ceremony will last three days, one day for fetching the books, one for the procession, and one for

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.]
soothsaying, for instance, a cock offering, grain or bread offering, etc., as I was able to observe.

Meaning: The purpose of the procession is to honor the gods so that they will protect the seed and provide an abundant harvest. [778] The sacred books have a special power. Above all, however, the gods that are taken along are supposed to spare the fields from hail and storms. -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have [171] this procession. The Chinese do not have it in this form (5).

5. [Foreign text pp. 838-839.]
The Chinese have the procession in two stages. Once, when the seed comes up. Then the driving in of the thunderbolts in the weather forts on the mountain peaks takes place. They move with music and flags and the god-litter onto the mountain and take along the wooden wedges inscribed with magical formulas. They call this ch'a-p'ai, that is, "to drive in pegs." -- A second procession takes place later in the summer, and every 14 days, on the first and fifteenth day of each month. They call this procession chuan shan, that is, to march around (on the) mountains. On these occasions only flags or musical instruments are taken along. Formerly the conch trumpet was blown on these occasions, which otherwise is not used among the Chinese.

[177] As the informant related, the Tujen today have already to a great

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.]
extent taken over this ch'a-p'ai, in other words, the procession with the driving in of thunderbolts, in place of the former aradziãn (pole-goat), and for the reason that there are hardly any Bon priests. The chuan-shan of the Chinese, however, is not the same as their procession around the fields, sguora. To be sure, it also took place in the summer, but every 14 days, whereas they would hold their field procession only once. Nowadays, however, when the Tujen are already half-Chinese, they would also do it more simply, but therefore more frequently, just like the Chinese.

It is difficult to say what is earlier. It appears that a Lamaistic custom is not involved, for one never invites a lama, and even the Buddhist books are unnecessary. There must always be a soothsayer, however, with the spirit invoked. It is therefore possible that this procession [839] is connected with the original shamanistic weather conjuration as it is still practiced today, and that the Buddhist books did not come in until later.

The Chinese field procession, on the other hand, makes an impoverished impression. Only flags and musical instruments are taken along. The people participate only very poorly, and the procession lasts only three to four hours. Formerly the conch was blown on these occasions, but no longer now. The conch, however, is a peculiar feature of the Tujen and Fandse, not of the Chinese. Furthermore, the field procession

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.] is no longer held in many places. And this seems to be all the more the case the farther eastward one goes, in other words, into Chinese territory.

Thus it may be asserted with some degree of probability that the field procession is of neither Chinese nor Lamaistic origin. With the Sinicization of the Tujen, and the Fandse in particular, it was still practiced initially, then fell into disuse more and more, and finally was completely lost. -- On the other hand, non-original elements have been added, such as the Buddhist books and the Chinese musical instruments, probably also the god-litter, which almost always shelters the Chinese Niang-niang, the mother deity, and finally also the Chinese incense and the offering paper.

The Chinese thunderbolt procession will be described in more detail in a separate work. Here it should merely be noted that it is connected with the weather forts. These are found only in Tsinghai and its border region to southern Kansu. They might well belong to a shamanistic cycle of ideas.

[838] Word List

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Procession around the field: sguora (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 839.] sguora: Tibetan skor = to circle around (Unkrig).

[841 cont.]

778 Regardless of how the animal[1] lost its life, its flesh may never be
825 eaten.

Furthermore such animals may not be sold or given away,
[262] for they belong to the god. One may give it to a monastery
[432] where it is cared for and protected until its death. -- An animal may not be acquired for the consecration with money; it must always be given as a gift.

There is no special watch over the consecrated animals, so that they can freely mount one another. The offspring are
[422] then counted as profane animals and fall to the original owner.

Whether the animal is pleasing to the god is manifested
[787] when the milk is poured over it. If it does not shake itself, one immediately fetches another; the ceremonies are then repeated. Every healthy animal shakes itself. If there is no milk, one dissolves tsamba or white flour in pure water so that it looks like milk. Some people take only clear water. This is not proper.

There are gods who ride the animals, for instance,
[776] Amtsiensa rides [842] on a wool-goat and Lamusa on a mule (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 843.] In the monastery Rgulõh each month (on the first or fifteenth day) consecrated riding animals are magnificently saddled and led onto the colonnade of the chief temple immediately in front of the entrance. There they are offered to the god (Fo-yeh) for riding; then one lets them
[792] run. -- Perhaps it is worth mentioning in this connection that the Tulkus (incarnation) of the lamic monasteries may ride only white horses, which otherwise are not regarded as superior.

It could not be discovered which
[171] gods are the riding gods. The Amtsiensa corresponds to the Chinese Tan-chiao hao-hua, and the Lamusa to the Chinese Lo-tzu t'ien-wang, that is, the heavenly mule-king.

[1] [Lie - a consecrated animal - See cat. 116, pp 248-249- ANALYST]

[842 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 843-844 cont.]

The second name is šdier; šdier corresponds to the Mongolic seter; cf. DMF, p. 335, "sdier, ribbon or piece of material attached to the tail or to the mane of an animal consecrated to the deities running free. Cf. Mong. seter, ord. se't'er id." [translated from French]. -- The Tujen designate both the consecration band and the consecrated animal with šdier. This likewise agrees with Mongolic linguistic usage. According to W.A. Unkrig (communication), seter is a [844] band that is tied in the animal's mane or tail. seter also refers to the animal itself and the rite by which it is consecrated. For seter, Kovalevskij (1346) gives the Tibetan equivalents bsruṅ rtags. According to Jäschke (594 and 212) this means: tutelary-spirit sign, through which it is clear that the animal belongs to the tutelary spirit. Neither Jäschke nor Das have the word combination bsruṅ rtags.

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Renewal of the consecration: Usually the renewal takes place in the local temple. The soothsayer determines which day between the new and the full moon. This day of renewal must then be maintained for the life of the animal.

One may also choose the original place of consecration. -- Consecration-master, consecration-god, and consecration-animal must always remain the same. Only if an animal no longer shakes itself when the milk is poured over it is another one taken.

[211]

Also, old lost bands are not replaced at the renewal, but every year a new band is added, so the years of consecration can be determined by the number of bands.

[171]

Distribution: The animal-consecration is practiced wherever Tujen live. The Chinese do not know it; only in

[842 cont.]

778 171 isolated instances do they copy it from the Tujen, where they live with them. The Fandse (Tangut) and also the lamic monasteries do have the animal-consecration. There it is much more solemn (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 844.]
The animal-consecration among the neighboring Chiahsifan in Benbar (Hsi-ch'uan) is similar to the one described here. There, however, one only takes animals capable of reproduction, but no asses. The preferred colors are chestnut-colored hide with black mane and black tail (hung-tsao-liu) and eggshell-colored hide with black mane and black tail (yin-k'uo). In place of a band of material one takes small hand-sized rags (cut in the form of streamers) in the five sacred colors and ties them together. Usually they are tied in the mane. -- The consecration is not performed by private persons, but by the lama, shamans, or Bon priests. A one-day prayer service is connected with it. -- The animals are usually kept for use in the house, and even ridden, but a saddle that a woman has used may never be put on them. The renewal takes place every year on the same day of the first consecration.

One sees many riders with such beribboned animals.

[846 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 847.] There are similar spirit-releasings in many variations both among the Tujen and among the Chinese. The basic feature is the same everywhere: one releases the demon with many gifts so that it will not return. The ceremonial driving away of the mBarma demon in Kumbum is nothing other than such a releasing, only with a more complicated ritual and with the expenditure of enormous sums of money. The demon is represented there by his mother's brother, a selected man, while his image is burned together with the thread (mdos) towers. In the neighboring Huchu valley, for instance, in Kanchiapu, he is represented by the dough image and then is beaten to pieces by the children and eaten; in Tsungchai he is conjured into a kind of "town fortress" (tu-ch'eng) and this is burned; farther up in Kao-ch'iang-p'u he is put, with his belongings, on a little boat and allowed to float away.

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Interpretation: The demon who disturbs the compound must be led away with all the gifts and conveniences imaginable so that he will not think back on his old location. The prayers of the lama and also the torma depend upon the demon. Regardless of whether it is a great or little exorcism, the effect is the same. Only the wealthy can afford large animals, and usually today it is only the lamic monasteries that undertake such an expensive ceremony.

[848 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether the horse's skull represents the riding animal of the spirit could not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another torma is also made.

789 [849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day
[787] the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books
[791] the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away.
[533] They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum, sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the torma.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the torma is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen.
[782] The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long
[171] migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this custom.

[755]

4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This ceremony is very similar to the figure-conjuration of the shamans

[850 cont.]

Details

755 778 532 [171] [789] The figures: Nine kinds of things are needed for the figure-conjuration. 1. Five little paper men (2). They are

2. [Foreign text p. 851.] The Chinese, too, have these paper figures at their demon exorcisms; they call them wu-tao shen. Among them, however, it is not clear whether five or only one demon is involved. They are mentioned once in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien as wu-tao lei-shen, that is, five-way thunder-spirits, which punish human beings through wind, rain, water, fire, and epidemics.

about 10 to 20 centimeters high and of the type of the Chinese paper figures that are burned at the burial. Only here they wear Tujen dress, which depends on whether male or female demons are involved. One can also simply cut them out of a piece of strong paper, but usually they are stuck together in the form of a figure with the help of stalks of grass. 2. Five little tsamba men. They are not colored, but retain the characteristic tsamba color. Also, they wear no clothing and are represented as sexless. 3. A pig made of tsamba. 4. A hen or a cock made of tsamba. 5. A dog made of tsamba. 6. A sheep made of tsamba. 7. A goat of tsamba. 8. A cow of tsamba. 9. A horse of tsamba. These figures [756] are made by shamans with the help of a skillful man, in a way similar to the figures of the figure-litter.

755 782 Then they are put on a tray with the following accompanying gifts: a piece of raw pork, beef, or mutton, some pieces of cloth and threads in the five sacred colors for the five little men, and bread and money. The tray is set before the household altar, and a burning dough-lamp and a basin with cypress incense or a number of incense sticks are put in front of it.

[850 cont.]

755 The conjuration: As soon as it is dark the gurtum goes
756 into a trance in the usual fashion before the household altar.
[787] Then he rises, fights [851] the demons with his sword in the air, and goes to the sick person. The tray is brought after him. With his one free hand he takes one figure after another from the tray, touches the affected places on the patient with them while constantly swinging the sword and murmuring magic words, and puts them back on the tray (5).

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[789]

5. [Foreign text p. 852.] The custom of transferring sickness to animals or animal figures is also reported of Siberian shamans elsewhere. In this case, however, the similarity with the above-described Bon custom is to be noted. Originally actual animals might have been sacrificed. It was Buddhism that first combated these sacrifices and abolished them. Then substitute figures arose for them. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 176 and 263, writes in this connection: "...prohibits for the hated rivals the sacrifice of animals. In this connection the interesting fact is mentioned that the Bon-po were forced to make images of yaks and sheep out of grain mush, as well as wooden deer heads with wide horns, which henceforth had to serve as substitutes at the sacrificial ceremonies. The first-mentioned dough figures, made by means of wooden molds, are still found today, it is worthy of note, even in the rites of the Lamaists"; cf. loc. cit., where the literature is also cited.

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[854 cont.]

Details

755 789 [416] Things: Seven things are needed for the exorcism: 1. A torch. It consists of a stick wrapped with straw and soaked in oil. At least one torch is needed, but usually there are several. 2. A measure of small pebbles of any color. 3. An oil-pan. This is usually only a large iron spoon that is filled with oil and glowing coals to make a strong flame. 4. Bow and arrow. The arrow is wrapped with wadding at the tip; it is soaked in oil and lighted. 5. A hemp whip. It is usually very long, up to two meters. To make it, three tapering strands of hemp are plaited into a braid that is so thick at one end that it can just be held in the hand, whereas the other end tapers to a fine point so that it will crack well. 6. A live hen of any color or sex. 7. A straw man (3). It is very simple. One takes a long

[778] [171]

3. [Foreign text 855.] The Chinese, too, often use these straw dolls, which they throw on the field or on crossroads, likewise without shamans. -- In the Tujen monastery of the Yellow Sect, Rgulõn, I once also saw Bon priests who had been invited by the monastery to undertake a demon-conjuration on the fifteenth day of each month. They also made a straw man and said that the Namśri was conjured into it by their prayers. On the last morning, before sunrise, they tied this straw doll to a manipole and hacked it to pieces with their knives.

smooth wisp of straw, bends it in the middle, ties off the upper third with pieces of straw so that a head is formed, and transversely through this third draws a smaller wisp which represents the arms. -- All these things are provided by the people themselves.

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
silk wrapping, etc. is transferred into the urn; in other cases without this deity, as, for instance, the urns accompanying the central urn in the chorten chamber and central fort, or, as in the preceding section, alone. In this case it is to be conceived as a representation of the earth with its vital and germinating forces and its treasures, as was shown above in the section on the arrow of good fortune. In the other case the earth-god takes his seat in his realm (urn). The urn is simply a part of the representation of the world-picture (mandala), as the realm of the earth-god.

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What these earth deities are is unclear. In any case the ġlu (Tib. klu) or Nagas belong among them. In addition, however, another earth-deity is venerated among the Tujen, which perhaps is of Chinese origin, for like the Chinese they also have a pig offering in honor of the earth-god and certain ceremonies for pardon that are connected with a grain offering. They are performed especially in connection with digging, housebuilding, etc., or when someone suffers harm while digging. Unfortunately I was no longer able to record these ceremonies. It cannot be definitely determined whether this earth-spirit is male or female.

[171]

Another group to be considered is sman. A part of the filling is called ġlu-smän (Tib. klu-sman); cf. the chapter above, "The Incense Offering," Note 11. According to H. Hoffmann,

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.] Quellen (pp. 160 ff.), no clarification can be obtained concerning the Sman: "We can only conclude from the places at which they are mentioned, that earth-spirits or local spirits are involved." -- G. Tucci, Tib. Painted Scrolls (pp. 720 ff.), regards the Sman as the feminine counterparts of the gods and explains the connection between medicine and femininity in the following manner: "sman means either medicine or women. The connection between the two meanings is perhaps given by the implication that these sman were witches and that they were supposed to be possessed of the healing power with which, in shamanism, women are not rarely endowed" [cited in English]. And further below: "... but nothing prevents us from understanding 'lha and their wives' ..." [cited in English]. -- Therefore in the case of the treasure urn we would be dealing with the klu and their feminine counterparts, the sman.

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The burying of the treasure urn is often equated by the Chinese with the burying of other vessels. These are two different things, however. Chinese and Tujen often put tea bowls, vessels, and the like, with the opening [860] downward, into the ground in order to exorcise and hold down the demons. This custom, however, originates from shamanistic practices, such as the Taoists also have. Thus the shamans there throw tea bowls in the air or on the ground so that the demons will be capped (this is done when the bowl falls with the opening down),

[858 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
for instance, at the erection of the weather fort, in the case of knife-climbing, disease exorcism, etc.

Word List

Earth-god: glu (glë).
Earth-god urn: sënog-der; sënog (Tib.) = to meditate; der (Tib.) = urn, bottle.
To buy an urn: sënog-der bula; bula = to buy; but used only for the consecrated urn, otherwise "to buy" is called awu-.

Contents of the urn: rdzë (Tib.) (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 860.]
Concerning rdzë, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 4. These additions are for the greater part designated by the Chinese as yao (yüo) and are not to be thought of merely in the sense of medicine. Everything possible that has a special effect falls under yao: minerals, powder, spices, little pieces of shell, gold, and silver, and the filling of the treasure urn. Lamas from Kumbum and Bengbar told me that there are about 30 to 40 types of treasure urns with different fillings. One of the most valuable is the one that contains mani-ruru (little balls). These little balls multiply, they "cast young," as the people say, and fill up the entire urn; cf. section, "Customs concerning the Dead," Note 2. Ch. Das (p. 874) calls the urn additions bum rdsas: "twenty-five articles (comprising

[862 cont.]

778 of the ceremonies. -- The three tormas are left standing until
782 three days after the fire-pouring and then are eaten by the members of the family. They may also be given to the domestic animals. In summer, however, they are often already so moldy that they are only fit for dogs. The names of the three tormas
[171] agree with the names of the gods that they represent. This is similar to the ancestral tables of the Chinese, which are likewise set up and venerated. -- 3. On the afternoon of the sixth day a fifth torma is made. It is smaller than the others and represents the earth- or mountain-spirit, for which reason it is also called earth-spirit (mountain-spirit) torma. The lama puts it on the place selected for the fire-pouring. In front of it, as votive gifts, there are: three bowls of water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of tea, a butter-lamp, and three sticks of incense. The lama sprinkles the torma with holy water from
[792] the wumba can, while the master of the household burns incense in front of it. Then the lama settles down on a felt mat and says a votive prayer in which he requests the earth-spirit to free the burning-place for the fire-pouring. After the prayer the torma is put on a wall or thrown away in the field so that the birds will eat it. The color of this torma is white. 4. Finally a sixth torma is made on the morning of the seventh day. It is not made of tsamba mixed with butter like the other tormas, but of pure butter alone. It represents the fire-god and is therefore colored a fiery red. Before the fire-pouring it is placed on the ground-drawing and afterwards burned with the rest.

782 The burnt offerings: For the actual fire-pouring the
824 following things are needed: 1. Firewood and twigs from the tree of life. They are supplied by the gift-master (that is, of the particular family). The firewood is an ell long. Formerly only fir wood was used; nowadays the wood of the white poplar is popular. One takes branch- and knot-free pieces as thick as an arm, which are split lengthwise. The length and being free of branch-knots are prescribed. 2. Butter, which is melted for the fire-pouring and poured into the fire. It must not be too old.

[864 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp.867-868 cont.] soldered into the ladling spoon for the liquid butter. -- The significance of the peonies corresponds to the custom of the lamaseries and of the Chinese, among whom peony shrubs of various colors are planted in the yard. Tujen and Chinese believe that a wealthy, affluent man always has a peony shrub before his door. -- Instead of the peony, lotus blossoms are painted in the case of the ground-drawing of the crematory. These represent the lotus on which the Buddha supposedly sat and from which the flames of transformation emanate. Cf. the chapter on cremation.

782 Now the men build a low wall with clay bricks on one
792 side of the figure, while the lama says his prayers. This wall is terrace-shaped. The lower layer consists of two rows of
[333] bricks laid lengthwise; the second layer takes half the brick, and the third layer has only one brick. The whole wall, in other words, is six clay bricks high. The front and back side is coated with clay and lime and whitewashed. The vertical terraces remain free. With his pattern the lama again draws
[532] a thunderbolt on each of them, in other words, five thunderbolts altogether. This wall is to protect the lama from the fire, since at the pouring he is seated on level ground or only very slightly elevated (5). After the drawing, the lama again

[333]

5. [Foreign text p. 868.] There are also walls with four to six steps. According to the statements of others, the wall also bears the color of the fire-pouring concerned, and the ground-drawing likewise.

withdraws into the house for prayer.

3: Schröder--298 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[864]

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a

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[171]

c

d

(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
75 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[754] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
[292] shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
[534] village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
[778] val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[142] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
[171] graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical. Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the following day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
[333] the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed. The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 868-869 cont.] chief of all fire-sacrificials" [cited in English]. -- The DMF, p. 73, likewise has the expression dzuntsiog and writes: "name of certain libations and offerings" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. t'sogs, "sacrificial offering" [cited in English]. Then it presents the expression lama dzuntsiog fudzuruna (= surina) and writes: "the lama performs the libations" [translated from French]. There can be no question of a libation here, and the ... tsiog (ts'og) is also not the Tibetan ts'ogs, which, according to Ch. Das (pp. 1032, 1033), means "accumulation," and, in connection with 'k'or, "offering in a circle (mandala)." Although the informant did not primarily emphasize the fire-offering, he nonetheless translated the dzuntsiog with the Chinese tao huo-t'an = literally, to pour on the fire surface = to undertake the fire-pouring. F. Lessing (p. 150) has for this the expression huo-t'an-i-kuei, roughly, rite of the fire-terrace.

782 just as important as the fire-ceremony. -- The fire-pouring is
792 widespread among the Tujen and Fandse. It is also undertaken
[171] in the lamic monasteries.

Word List (8)

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8.[Foreign text pp. 869-870.] In addition to the names mentioned here, I also learned in the Mongol lamasery Tsa-tsang-szu and in the neighboring monastery Fu-hai szu or Hsin-szu (Guăm-basoma) west

3: Schröder--309 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

Conclusion*

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* For the first part of this work, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 1-79, 620-658, 822-870 [the "First Part" above in the HRAF translation]. A supplement to the bibliography there, pp. 2-4 [see foreign text; the bibliography was not reproduced for the translation], will be found at the end of this article; see below p. 259 [see foreign text].

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Second Part: Analysis

An all-round picture of the Tujen religion can only be drawn within the frame of a broader cultural view, for which the other records from the rich treasure of legends and songs are also utilized. Over and above this, a judgment concerning the cultural and religious historical-relationships requires a comparison [171] with the neighboring Chinese, Tangut, Mongols, and Yugur (1).

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1. A comparison with both the eastern part of north China (Tungus) and the southwest would also be very informative. The tradition of the Tujen speaks of an eastern origin, and the peoples upon whom they are superimposed in the present-day Amdo originally belonged to the Ch'iang, of whom large parts migrated toward the south into present-day Kham, Szechwan, and Yunnan. This conception has been advocated for a long time by the Chinese; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder: Die Fandse, pp. 1 f. It has now been confirmed by Professor Doctor J. F. Rock for the Na-khi. A comparison

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with their religion is justified all the more since it has preserved the pre-Buddhistic form in a much less corrupted state than the religion of the mother country, which lies within the effective range of the Yellow Church (Kumbum); see below, pp. 390 ff. In addition the Na-khi possess a religious literature in which the old customs are unequivocally fixed, and which J.F.Rock has worked over and published; for this whole subject, cf. J.F.Rock, Na-khi Kingdom; id., Naga Cult, I, pp. 2 f., and Muan Bpö, p. 7. Unfortunately, these works, which represent a treasure trove for knowledge of the pre-Buddhist belief in the Chinese-Tibetan border region, could not be adequately quoted here.

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It is true that in the notes of the first part extensive consideration was given to this, so that now it is already established that the religion of the Tujen and of their Lamaistic neighbors do not differ from each other in many ways. A further analysis and summary of the question, however, [203] would grow into a series of special essays that would go too far beyond this work, which, after all, is primarily intended to be a survey.

The present material, however, is ample enough to characterize the basic features of the religious framework, which even a later and more precise treatment will scarcely change. This characterization will be attempted in a cross- and longitudinal section. The one offers a total picture of the religious world-view; the other shows the more or less interpenetrating layers of the religion.

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774 Unequivocal statements concerning the conceptions of the soul among the Tujen could not be secured. It is true that several souls can be inferred from the death customs described, but the naming and peculiar nature of these souls remain vague.

192 Two designations for "soul" come into consideration:
774 namsü (namšë) and suniedzë. The word namsü is seldom used. According to the DMF (256), it corresponds to the Tibetan ñams-su. This independent connection cannot be confirmed in Ch. Das, but ñams alone is found there, p. 476, with the meaning: "...the soul, mind, spirit as an entity" [cited in English]. The su could at most still be an instrumental particle. One will probably not go wrong, therefore, if he equates namsü not with ñams-su, but with the Tibetan rnam šes, pronounced nam-še. Ch. Das (762) translates it with: "...the mind, knowledge, intellect, memory" [cited in English]. H.A.Jäschke, on the other hand, has for it the explanation (315): "3. in popular language: soul, e.g. of the departed..." [cited in English]. The much more frequently used word suniedzë has the same meaning. It is the equivalent of the Mongolic sünesün. Both namsü and suniedzë signify nothing uniform, for there are three souls: nigë
774 kundu ǵuran namsü-i, or nigë kundu suniedzë ǵuran-i, that is:
775 "There are three souls to a human being"; cf. DMF 256. And of what kind are these souls? toroñ yesë saǵdzini, ǵuordani sdziewa awura sdzini, ǵurandani iliedu furani (cf. DMF 361), that is, "The first guards the bones, the second assumes the rebirth, the third transforms itself into a demon." Mostaert, op. cit., refers to Sanžeev, "Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten [World-view and shamanism of the Alar-Burjat]," Anthropos, 22, 1927, p. 585. The conception of the tripartition,
[171] however, is much more widespread; at any rate in Lamaistically influenced Asia it is found almost everywhere. Even the Tsinghai Chinese know of three souls: one goes into the underworld, one stays with the corpse (bones), one wanders around in the world. What is common to these three souls is that they can separate themselves from the body.

775 The bone-soul remains with the skeleton after death, at
764 least until the rite of the bäda has been completed, whereby it
604 is satisfied and becomes free. Its agent in this ritual and the

[206 cont.]

775 practically no ancestor cult and therefore know of no ancestor
614 spirit like the Tungusic Mongoldai Nakču. Unconsciously, how-
604 ever, forgotten conceptions might still have an effect. At any
764 rate, a custom that is often explained as thirst for honor and
[769] avarice would in this way find a suitable explanation. In the case of the bāda the principal demands of the mother's brother are directed at the inviolability of the corpse (= no violent death) and a costly death-box, as well as splendid prayers for the dead. When, in connection with the underworld custom of the Tungus, one assumes that the dead person will reach the clan-master of the underworld in an honorable, fine condition and contented, then the care of the earthly clan-master for his clan members is thereby also documented, and the clan has a good reputation in the beyond. Father W. Schmidt sought to interpret similar conditions among other peoples meaningfully, and, to be sure, in connection with the double interment of the matriarchal agrarian culture. In the latter the fleshly parts are allowed to fall to destruction. They are of no significance for the further existence of the human being. The bones, however, which are carefully cleaned and then finally interred or supplied for the cult, are important. Moon-mythological ideas lie at the bottom of this procedure. The waning moon becomes thinner and thinner, until finally only [207] a "bone" remains, but the latter gradually clothes itself again with "flesh" and grows to become the full moon, a mirror image of the perishing and becoming of man. According to this conception, the skeleton is the "essential," the support; see UdG, X, pp. 742 f. If this meaning of the bones is so harmoniously a part of the moon-mythological matriarchal agricultural culture, then the striking arrangement among the Tujen, bones -- mother's clan -- mother's brother, is also explained. -- The sociological side of this custom will not be dealt with here.

775 The second soul goes to the western paradise (Tushita)
171 and waits there for a new rebirth. The incarnation into lower forms is regarded as punishment for a vicious and evil life, exactly in the sense of the Buddhist-Lamaist wheel of life. These conceptions, however, do not have much force among

[207 cont.]

775 the Tujen. For instance, one hears little about a Buddhist hell,
171 which plays a much more important role among the neighboring Chinese and is quite graphically portrayed in many temples. It is true that the Tujen like to consider the misfortune in this world as punishment for earlier transgressions. This soul, which
775 one could call "incarnation soul" or "private soul" -- in con-
764 trast to the clan soul -- becomes free for the incarnation through the transforming lotus fire at the cremation. The informant, at any rate, interpreted the lotus-mandala and the fire at the cremation in this sense and ascribed to them a transforming power. This does not mean that this soul remains in the body as long as, say, in an animated corpse. Rather, at the death of the person, the lamas are supposed "to open the way" through prayer, so that the soul may reach Tushita. To what extent such explana-
[171] tions correspond with the orthodox Buddhist doctrine will be left undecided. Any any rate, the conceptions of the people are vague.

775 Even more unclear are the conceptions about the third
776 soul, which is supposed to transform itself into a demon. Nothing is known about its fate and about the cause of such a transformation. Such a soul is feared, however. Perhaps it is this soul that in case of dissatisfaction after the bäda disturbs the
[764] human beings at the command of the clan soul, haunts the
[782] house and yard, and causes sickness and misfortune. At any rate, a great part of the offerings and prayers at the death rites is given out of fear of this soul. The constantly expressed wish to the dead person runs: "Forget us, be content, do not come
775 back." A natural discontent and a kind of missing of life's goal
776 are connected with the soul of unmarried adult girls. It be-
589 comes a demon who is so dangerous that even other demons flee from it, for which reason the Bon priests take the material for
[765] their bone flutes, their whip, etc. from the corpses of such girls. The discontent and non-fulfillment can only be accounted for in this case by the unmarried state, which, according to Tujen conceptions, goes against every natural ordinance for a female person. One may suspect that this soul-belief also has a strong
[588] effect on the custom that the Tujen call "to arrange the heavenly

[207 cont.]
775 hairdress," through which a girl is wedded to heaven and is no
776 longer burdened with the contempt suffered by unmarried women
[589] (see above). The fear of the female demon-souls [208] is also
[588] widespread among the Chinese, and there is only one way of
[171] being safe from them: the cremation. In the customs of the Tsinghai Chinese, this fear and contempt have their basis in the Buddhist conception that a woman is an unclean being and that this uncleanness is only removed through the man and his descendants. This attitude is strengthened through the fervent desire for sons and grandsons, which again is connected with the ancestor cult. These Buddhistic motives are certainly also decisive in part among the Tujen. Among them, too, the
[562] woman is regarded as unclean, even if not so harshly as among
[783] the Chinese. The veneration of the ancestors plays scarcely any role. Nonetheless, uncleanness and demonism are closely
[841] connected. A very common expression runs: pudaǵ ilie, unclean demon; a woman is also pudaǵ during her period.

The demon soul therefore seems to stand in a special relationship with the female principle. This suggests the surmise that it represents the flesh-(body)-soul in the human being, which stands in contrast to the bone-soul. In northeastern Tibet and elsewhere one encounters the conception that the bones of a person come from the man and the flesh from the woman. Among the Tujen, however, this relationship is difficult to determine
[614] because it is precisely the bone-soul that is related so closely to the mother's clan. This does not, it is true, exclude an individual assignment to the man (father), but it does not permit it to make its appearance through this unquestionably matriarchal trait.

775 From everything, one can see that the Tujen are little concerned about the after-life of the soul and the beyond. To them it is enough if they are left in peace on earth. The Buddhist conceptions are more theoretical. In actuality one not infrequently encounters a this-worldly fatalism which expresses itself in the saying: "Our life does not have much meaning"
[171] (literally: we have lived in vain). Even if the conception of the
[769] soul has much similarity to that of the Chinese, the Tujen

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171] are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
[769] ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
[764] stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
[782] the deceased would remain among the living and would need to partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
[513] even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
[753] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
[756] for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
[755] soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This catching of the soul is called: suniedzë xura-. It is unclear from this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru (rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun, moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals. Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the underworld and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the chorten-chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-drawing (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

3: Schröder--322 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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with it (3).

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3. The arrow of good fortune, in other words, occupies the place of the tree of life, to which men, animals, and plants owe their existence and their development; cf. Uno Holmberg, Der Baum des Lebens [The Tree of Life], p. 69 f. Among the Na-khi this tree of life is the juniper tree (Juniperus). The well-being, wealth, and the unfolding of life of human beings are ascribed to it; cf. J.F.Rock, Muan Bpö, pp. 21, 42, 94. As the wood of life, the arrow of good fortune in the house also represents the world axis, similar to the central column in temples, chortens, god-figures (human spinal column), which is designated by the Tibetan name srog šiṅ, that is, the wood of life. H.A.Jäschke (Dictionary, p. 585) translates the expression with "axle, axle tree" [cited in English]. As a supplement, let it be mentioned that this srog šiṅ is probably also the equivalent for the Tujen name of the sky-column (sõṅ-siṅ) in the chorten chamber; cf. Anthropos 47, 1952, pp. 76, 78, 79 [pp. 143, 137, 143, in the HRAF translation]. (Personal suggestion from Professor Doctor R. Stein).

The conception of the arrow of good fortune as a personification of the god of life is no longer vital among the Tujen. That it may have this significance is proved by the Na-khi in southwestern China. Instead of the treasure urn with

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the arrow of good fortune of the Tujen, they have a basket. In it, among other things, there is a miniature tower; it represents the god of life, called Ssu, Tibetan srog lha. The basket is his home. The miniature tower (t'a, "pagoda") may also be replaced by an arrow, so that this represents the god of life; cf. J. F. Rock, Naga Cult, pp. 146, 250, 251 (according to a personal communication). The significance of the god of life and his home agrees with the significance of the arrow of good fortune and the treasure urn. -- S. Hummel has also pointed to the arrow as the bearer of reproductive power and of the cosmic vital force; cf. Geheimnisse tibetischer Malereien [Secret Tibetan Paintings], pp. 8-14 passim.

Very ancient and widespread representations are involved here. The connection of god of life and ancestor and his seat in an urn or basket, etc. can be followed all the way to Indochina; and in the burial urns and Shang bronzes in ancient China are probably to be seen the forerunners of the pagoda as seat of the god of life or ancestors, whose modern modification is the ancestral tablet, and in a certain sense also the hearth-god tsao-chün, which is also called ssu-ming (director of life). This as a brief reference.

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A special work concerning the

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gurtum [illegible]ans will go into the ideology underlying the whole (god of life, god of war, god of wealth, Pekar, tree of life, arrow of good fortune, spear, ancestral tablets, etc.); cf. also below, pp. 363-388.

[773] [211] The origin of the world is unfortunately recorded only in scanty documents. According to the Geser legend and the aphoristic wisdom of the people, the earth arose through a churning in the water like butter (cream) in milk. It floats on top and is held by a wooden post which one day will start to grow and develop leaves. Then the earth will tip over and bring on the end of the world. The physical sky floats over the earth on a golden peg (nail); in this connection, cf. DMF, p. 115 and p. 445. Here there are conceptions that at first glance contradict those described above, but they can nevertheless be connected with them indirectly. They are recently elaborated [171] variants from Indian cosmology (churning with the world-column; turtle as earth-bearer) and are linked with Mongolic peculiarities (heavenly bell on a golden nail); in this connection, cf. W. Lüdtke, Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans [The Veneration of Genghis Khan]. Concerning the polar star as beacon, see further below, p. 383. Over against the earth with the wooden peg (modë ġadasë) stands heaven with the golden peg (xaldan ġadasë). [821] Among the Tujeń, however, the polar star is called xaldan ġadasë; xaldan because of its shining color; ġadasë because of its similarity to a nail head. Actually ġadasë means post, peg, nail, tack. The polar star, to be sure, is otherwise conceived as the axle of the sky. Thus, the greening world-tree (earth-wood) and sky-axle (star-gold) correspond with each other. Here, too, the comparison of two parts of the world that are supposed to correspond is suggested: the sky above, the earth below. The conception of the tilting and finally falling earth may go back to the observation that the polar star, the sky-axle, is not in the zenith, but in the north. The way the [533] world-tree and stars belong together is poetically rendered in

[211 cont.]

772 the many riddle-songs of the Tujen, when they sing of the tree,
[533] which bears the sun, moon, and stars in its crown; cf., for example, Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder," loc. cit., Song I and II.
[171] Further connections will be passed over here. Only the great similarity of these songs to the wedding songs of western Tibet will be mentioned; see Francke, Tibetische Hochzeitslieder [Tibetan Wedding Songs].

772 With this harmonious conception of the world and its
779 close connection with human beings, one would also expect a projection of the macrocosm into the microcosm. In Lamaism, of course, these correspondences are carried through to the smallest detail and find their symbolic representation in the well-known syllable-monogram, the ṛnam bču dbaṅ idan; in this connection, cf. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, pp. 160 f. These minute correspondences of the Lamaist monks, however, are too artificial for the people. They know nothing about them. Security in the great cosmos in which they literally build suffices for them. This world-feeling does not enter into sophisticated speculations.

[212] 3. The Religious Cult

a) The Basic Psychic Attitude

771 The inner attitude of the people toward the good spirits
776 is the consciousness of dependence upon them. They determine the well-being in this world, which, after all, is the focal point of thought, for one does not think much about the beyond. Hence the first thing a person does when misfortune or an unusual situation surprises him is to turn to a spirit, a mightier being, which can help here. How much this attitude dominates the common man is apparent from the above-mentioned basic thoughts of the informant, which provided the articulation of all the customs: "... now I shall tell you first what we do for the good fortune of the family, etc."; cf. "Introduction," Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 15 [p. 16 above in the HRAF translation]. Everything is thereby subordinated to the religious

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782 The slaughtered offering, together with the animal-
[778] consecration, forms the group of animal offerings, of which one is bloody, the other unbloody. The bloody [213] animal-
[574] offering is carried out in three steps which are clearly differentiated by the people: slaughtering, presentation, sacrificial meal. The classic example is described above as the mountain sheep-offering. The actual presentation, usually in the form of the offering-throw, is designated by the term "offering." Often there is an interval of a whole day between slaughtering and presentation and the meal.

[787] The slaughtering is preceded by the washing and the
[778] milk-oracle, as well as the releasing and recapturing of the animal. It almost has the appearance of an abbreviated animal-consecration, at which the animal is likewise released.

The presentation may be done in two ways. Either the skinned whole animal is set up before the deity, or it is cut up immediately, boiled, and then the pieces of meat with the broth are thrown to the deity. It also happens that the thoroughly cooked pieces are put on plates in front of the altar, like bread or wine. Putting up the pole-goat is probably a remnant of
[171] Central Asiatic form, analogous to the hanging up of the hide of sacrificial animals among the Siberian peoples. Among the Tujen, however, no attention whatever is paid to the skeleton, since, of course, the animal is cut up and boiled with the bones.

782 The sacrificial meal is consumed by all the people, by
574 men, women, and children. I do not know of any sacrificial animals that are reserved for only certain groups. To be sure certain parts are reserved for certain persons as especially tasty, such as the loins, the head, etc. The sacrificial meal is not regarded as a profane act. It is regarded as part of the offering, there is the unequivocal expression for it: "This is a part of our offering."

782 A peculiarity of these offerings is still to be emphasized:
826 the fear of blood. The blood is not spilled but caught during the slaughtering and poured into the intestines. The blood belongs to the animal and is sacrificed and eaten with it. Traces of blood on the ground are immediately covered with earth and wiped away.

[222 cont.]

782 it was surmised that a primitial offering might likewise be involved, for it is the first offering of the day, in which man gives to heaven something of all things important to life. Arguing against the primitial offering, however, is the simple form of the incense offering, which consists essentially of the burning of fragrant things, of cypress twigs (4), flowers, etc. These,

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4. When the popular word cypress is used here, the Thuja tree in the botanical sense is always meant; cf. Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 46 [p. 72 above in the HRAF translation]. The Tujen name šgua (= Tibetan šug-pa) has several meanings. Among the Tujen the Thuja tree always represents the cypress, and above all the juniper (Juniperus), which in their region of cultivation occurs only infrequently and at most is encountered in the mountains. The difference is purely material; in the religion the Thuja tree takes over the position of the juniper and the cypress. Professor Doctor J.F.Rock, as a botanical expert, no longer found any cypress north of Minchow (Kansu), but he did still find ten species of juniper (personal communication).

however, are no longer foodstuffs if one disregards the water with which the fuel for the fire is sprinkled in order to purify it.

782 539 [171] [223] This simple form of the incense offering seems at the outset to have been reserved exclusively for heaven and is of great antiquity. It is also attested to among the Mongols as a heaven-offering, and among the Tujen it is found in numerous songs. Several citations will confirm this, first from the Geser legend. In Verses 1-6 the customs of the first human

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782 as a combination of a primitial offering with the matutinal in-
174 cense offering. Even these gifts, however, may not have a bad odor, which wholly corresponds with the original meaning of the incense offering. 2. The incense offering, according to these texts, is already very ancient. Even if the legends are distressingly embellished from Lamaism, they nonetheless go back to pre-Buddhist conditions. This applies especially to the [773] Geser legend. Lamaistic monks in Kumbum emphasize that the legend has nothing to do with their religion. In similar
782 fashion this type of incense offering is declared to be pre-
174 Buddhistic in western Tibet; cf. A. H. Francke, Tibetische
171 Hochzeitslieder, pp. 25 f. (Darmstadt, 1923). The pre-Buddhistic occurrence among the ancient Mongols has already been mentioned. The Tujen are of Mongolic derivation, and they also have religious links with the pre-Buddhist Tibetans, as is shown in the wedding customs and songs (6). -- How far the

6. For the distribution of the incense offering, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 49 [pp. 80-81 above in the HRAF translation]. Its occurrence in ancient China also argues in favor of its being pre-Buddhist in character; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder, Die Fandse, p. 183, where the ancient Chinese burnt offering is equated with the incense offering of the Fandse. The Na-khi juniper incense offering, whose great similarity with the incense offering of the Tujen and the Tibetans cannot be denied, is also pre-Buddhist; cf. the descriptions by J. F. Rock, Naga Cult, pp. 230 ff., and Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 34.

782 incense offering goes back is indicated by the hunting song cycle.
174 It was probably already practiced in the early period of a hunting
[538] culture and from there passed into the herding culture. It is

[228 cont.]
776 the people, and they do not want to be without it in the legend.
[773] The Sdenlatsien San has no significance in the customs.

The position with respect to the mountain-spirit and the earth-god. -- In the chapter concerning the obo, the incense offering, and in other places mention was made of a tripartition of the deities, namely, in the sequence: heaven, mountain-spirit and earth-god, countless gods. Since the mountain-spirit and earth-god are not included under the Buddhistic concept purgan, a pre-Buddhistic age is automatically suggested. In addition, the mountain-spirit has tasks that one could ascribe to heaven. What is the relationship to it?

776 The Tujen call the mountain-spirit yifula. A Tibetan
551 equivalent would be the word already mentioned earlier, ri-bo
192 lha (mountain-spirit). The informant, who himself bore this name, translated it, however, with the Chinese Shan-shen pao (mountain-spirit protection). (Concerning the name-giving, cf. above, "The Conclusion of the Confinement.") This leads, however, to a Mongolic analysis of the word. According to W.A.Unkrig, this is found in the combination: ibel (protection) and ula (mountain); cf. Koval., p. 282. The interpretation corresponds to the Chinese translation. Yifula thus would be appropriately rendered with "protector of the mountains."
776 Without settling the origin of the name, it can nevertheless be
171 maintained that the cult of the mountain-spirit in the obo festival is a Mongolic peculiarity from ancient times that is repeatedly reported in the literature. Among the Tujen, too -- as among the neighboring Tangut -- the obo festival occupied an important position; cf. "The Obo," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

776 [229] The mountain-spirit is not a terror-god, but a mild, providing father, the lord of the animals, who watches over the welfare of the herds, who cares for plants and trees, and who is concerned about the increase of human beings. He is the guardian of the ayil (village, tribe) and guards its weapons. The people gather around him for playing and dancing,
[171] prayer and offering. Although the mountain-spirit is thus

[229 cont.]

776 concerned about the well-being of the people, it is striking that
171 he is not linked with the protection of seed and harvest. Otherwise, however, his tasks correspond to those of heaven, even if he is primarily a nature god who shares his character with the lord of the animals and forests of many Siberian peoples.

776 Nonetheless there is a difference between him and heaven. First of all heaven is given precedence, even in connection with all offerings to the mountain-spirit, for instance, the obo offering. Whereas the mountain-spirit has a fixed residence in the obo, his fort, and therefore is tied to the place, heaven retains its freedom with regard to locality. The mountain-spirit can also be a tutelary spirit of the human beings who are named after him; as assisting spirit he may enter into the shaman and take possession of him in the trance. This is altogether out of the question for heaven. People are surprised if one even asks about it. There are pictures and flags of the mountain spirit; he can animate a spirit-spear. Heaven is formless, imageless; no one knows what it looks like. -- Heaven has an exalted uniqueness even in contrast to the mountain-spirit.

[553] [756] [787]

174 Besides the mountain-spirit the earth-deity has its seat
776 in the obo, and, to be sure, in the layer of earth. Its name
[192] glu is doubtless the Tibetan klu, Naga, dragon. In Mongolic the word for it is lu, which is also much in use in the Tujen language. It corresponds to the Chinese lung (dragon). The customs with the earth-god urn show the earth deity of the Tujen more in the Bonistic realm of the Naga cult than in the Mongolic. It is quite possible that two types have mixed here or that the ancient Mongolic has been covered by the later Bonistic-Lamaistic. According to Pallisen (op. cit., pp. 159 f.), the ancient Mongols practiced a cult of the earth-deity, who is probably to be thought of as female. There it bears the name itoga or, in the prevocalic version, etügen, and is conceived as the tutelary deity of the homeland earth. The characteristics that are attributed to this deity correspond to those of the mountain-spirit. It is also to be surmised that this deity is to be associated with the female shamans, who call themselves udugan

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776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieńgëre dardzia, heaven has
[192] punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolgue dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair. (Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.) Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness: "We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge tieńgërni amudadzi, nigë nisëni dzawa dañlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram, op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). --
[831] The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzün tieńgërde fdzë bölgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

[283 cont.]

776 Even less can be determined of any creative activity of
773 heaven with respect to the individual human being. To be sure, a current Tujen saying runs: suniedzëne tieńgëre xuradzia, heaven has taken the soul (DMF 361), but this expresses only the rulership of heaven over life and death. There is no mention of a creation of the soul. The Chinese also know a similar phrase: t'ien shou-la t'a-ti ling-hun.

777 Heaven and fate. -- A question suggested in connection
776 with the ancient Mongolic meaning of fate or good fortune,
192 which has had its greatest elaboration in the sülde cult, is
171 whether something similar is to be found among the Tujen, say, that there might be a fate standing over heaven. -- The Tujen know three expressions for "fate": dzieyan, šdiemdžël, kimori.

dzieyan is used predominantly in the sense of favorable conditions of life, for instance, when one says: "The girl has experienced a favorable fate," meaning that she has married into a good, wealthy family. The Tujen word corresponds to the Mongolic jayagan, but does not have the latter's essential content. The significance seems, rather, to have been transferred from the original jayagan to the Tujen expression šdiemdzël.

šdiemdzël, peculiarly enough, is now found not so much in everyday language as in song. Thus the Tujen songs popular-
[533] ly end with the verse: moŋgol kuni lõnsda (or kimori) darlagu, šdiemdžëlgë rëdziglaya, in order to erect the air-horse of the Mongols, let (us) lay (= build) a good-fortune foundation. This conception is linked with the image of the central fort. The air-horse is grounded in the central fort. Accordingly the šdiemdžël would correspond to the basis for fate, which is symbolized in the air-horse. Evidently, ancient conceptions are mixed here with more recent Buddhistic ones, whereby in connection with the Hayagriva figure, fate and horse are brought together. Linguistically the word šdiemdžël cannot be understood unequivocally. The second syllable ... džël, however,

[233 cont.]

777 is undoubtedly to be equated with the Mongolic dsol (dzol). Ac-
776 cording to Koval. (2386), it means: good fortune, salvation.
192 Koval. gives the Tibetan equivalent stes for it. When one notes
that the Tujen always insert an i before an e in Tibetan loan-
171 words, then the first syllable šdie(m) might be this Tibetan stes,
whose final s is silent. The m would then be inserted in
assimilation to the following dental. As regards its meaning,
the Tujen translate šdiemdžël [234] with the Chinese yün-ch'i or
t'ien-ming. They also, however, render kimori in the same
way. It is thereby stated that fate is under the power of heaven,
which Uno Harva also stresses for the Altaians and Mongols
(Vorstellungen, pp. 144-145). In other words these Altaic-
Mongolic conceptions can easily be linked with the kimori and
šdiemdžël of the Tujen. According to Uno Harva, in the case
of the guarantors of good fortune, the tutelary spirit of man,
called zajači, is involved in the form of a double: "If a person
is wealthy in his lifetime, zajači is also well-dressed, rides on a
horse, and is gay" ... When the person dies, zajači disappears
into heaven where he lives in the company of the gods" (op.
cit., pp. 276 f.). The Lamaistic air-horse of the Tujen like-
777 wise bears on its back the guarantor of good fortune, the wish-
776 ing jewel, by virtue of which the human being obtains all that
seems desirable to him, in other words, good fortune. It has
171 almost the effect of an amulet. Now, according to Uno Harva,
when the tutelary lord of good fortune seems to be oriented
more toward the individual person, then in the case of the sülde
of the Mongols he is acting for the entire people, and, to be
sure, through the khan; meanwhile, the historical development
among the Chinggisiden made nine Tengri of good fortune out
of it. Father W. Schmidt, in conjunction with Banzarov,
characterizes the sülde in the following manner (UdG., X,
p. 78): "Heaven guides the world like the khan and possesses
its sülde ... The sülde of the khan is a reflection of the sülde of
heaven ... The nine sülde-tengri, according to their character,
are always there in order to protect. They are represented in
warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone,
in the manner of riders ..." etc. Here, too, it is the riding

[234 cont.]

777 god of good fortune. It seems that further reminders of these
776 times still echo in the Tujen songs: of the fate of the Mongols,
171 which is based on good fortune; or of the sülde of the khan, which invisibly protects his subjects (UdG., loc. cit.). -- Whatever the connections may be, neither according to Uno Harva nor according to Banzarov-Schmidt nor in the conception of the Tujen themselves is there a fate or good fortune that is independent of the rule of heaven.

772 Summary. -- Everything that has been said about heaven
776 proves it to be an independent deity existing for itself, sharply separated from all other gods, ruling them and dominating the entire world. Its name is "heaven," not in the physical but in the personal sense. Everything pantheistic and animistic and every mana concept remains far removed from it. To be sure, it is not one god [monotheism] in the strict sense, but an authentic supreme god, a towering unique phenomenon among all the other deities. Because of this uniqueness the statement of A. Tafel about the Tujen can now be repeated in its correct interpretation: "Many say they have only one single god in which they believe."

[235] 2. Shamanism

121 Whereas the discussion of the belief in a supreme god
756 could be confined to the region of the Tujen themselves and the corresponding sources, this is not possible for shamanism, for which reason a detailed presentation would not be suitable for this work. It is reserved for a special study. Here the ground-plan can only be drawn in a sketchy fashion, merely representing a theory, because the detailed proofs must be omitted here. The question runs: Of what type is Tujen shamanism and where is it to be classified from the religio-historical standpoint? -- Three types are found among the Tujen: bö-shamanism (drum-shamans), gurtum-shamanism (warrior-shamans), and idol-shamanism (with the spear-soothsayer).

[The bō or Drum-Shamans]

[235 cont.]

756 and, depending upon the region, various local spirits. These
[776] gods predominantly come from the Taoist pantheon.

[789] [236] Activity. -- Their principal task is the weather
[241] conjuration, the sowing and harvest festivals, and curing sick-
[755] nesses.

756 Peculiarity. -- The bō or fa-shih are differentiated from
787 the other shamans by the fact that they have no trance. If one questions the people about it, one always receives the same answer: "fa-shih pu fa shen (the fashih do not go into ectascy)." Now that is not entirely correct. Namely, at the conclusion of the sowing or harvest festival, one of them attempts an imitation of the trance and wounds himself with the knife. This is called: "fa ta-shen (to produce a great trance)." It is not a trance at all, but at most a relic suggesting it; I was able to observe it several times. Thus the people are basically right when they do not accord ecstasy to them. -- The people sum up the main
756 characteristic, however, in the saying: "fa-shih ch'uei ku, t'iao
535 shen (the fashih beat the drum and perform spirit dances)." Drum and dance are the most outstanding. They always dance in groups before the image of the great mother in order to please her, or also before the sacrificial pig. These are not shamanistic individual dances in order to induce a trance, but are cultic group-dances that follow a definite ritual. One can therefore designate them as drum- or dance-shamans, although true shamanistic features are scarcely present any more.

Classification

171 Relationship to the more recent Siberian shamanism.
756 -- There are few similarities with Siberian shamanism. One could regard the drum as the most important continuation from Siberian shamanism. The relationship with the Tungusic and Mongolic-Manchurian shamanism is stronger. The drum has almost exactly the same execution and the same appendages as, for example, among the Mongols of the Kürie-Banner. (Cf.

[236 cont.]
171 Heissig, "Shamanen," Folklore Studies, 3, 1944, p. 72, Figs. 1-
756 7; likewise Shirokogorov, Psychomental Complex, pp. 297 f.) The absence of the trance seems to fit in least of all with Siberian shamanism.

The relationship to China. -- First the distribution must be considered. According to personal observations and various reports by the Chinese and missionaries, the fashih type is spread over all of Kansu and Shansi and into the interior of the coastal provinces Hopeh and Shantung. In the Amdo region he is found wherever there are Chinese settlements, especially in the vicinity of Sining and Kweiteh (on the Yellow River). In type he fits in well with an agricultural people, precisely through the emphasis of the harvest ceremony and of the female appearance.

Almost all the origin reports that I was able to gather attest to the descent of the fashih from a woman, a first shamaness. She was brought to life from a female skeleton through a magic incantation by T'ai-shang lao-chün (a title of Lao-tzu) and received from him her shamanistic powers. In southern Hopeh today the fashih are still predominantly women. -- Furthermore, the fashih are always associated with the spirits of the dead and ancestors, which likewise agrees with the Chinese mentality.

[237] The origin legends and the deities also point to a close connection with Wuism or Taoism. (Cf. De Groot, Religious System, Vol. VI, Part II, 1187 ff.) The god-litter with the niang-niang is almost the same as the one pictured there. The Taoists, sworn enemies of the fashih, claim that the latter split off from them as a false sect. Whereas the Taoists represented an official and respected religion, the fashih, as bearers of the shen-chiao (spirit religion), led a despised existence up to the most recent times.

174 The position in Tsinghai. -- Apparently this Chinese
756 shamanism also came to Amdo with the Chinese settlers. There it has adopted various elements, diluted its original shamanistic character, and fostered the cultic group-dance. Since the

[238 cont.]

757 that acts, speaks, and thinks in him. This, however, is nothing
[192] other than an express possession-shamanism reduced to a simple Busshistic formula. The gurtum represents a deity.

757 Whether one may appeal to the gurtum in the "classical" sense as a shaman ~~is a~~ question that can only be answered with
171 the final clarification of the shaman concept. In the investigation of shamanism up to now there has been too much concern with its Siberian form and special emphasis on the flight of the soul into the beyond as a "classical" characteristic, especially with the "bird type" of shaman (9). This is not the place to

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9. The one-sided preference for Siberian shamanism is also unfortunately found in the excellent work by Mircea Eliade, Le Chamanisme, in which, to be sure, there are comparisons with other parts of the earth, and the "southern" and Buddhist influences are also taken into consideration, but they are dealt with only as secondary and unimportant; above all, however, the so characteristic stamp of Lamaistic shamanism in the figure of the gurtum is completely passed over.

go into this question in greater detail, which is reserved for later [239] treatment. It should nonetheless be stated in advance that the gurtum is a true shaman of the same shamanistic rank as the Siberian. Anyone who has had an opportunity to observe a gurtum will not regard him simply as one possessed. The gurtum is likewise as bound to the ritual requirements and forms as, say, his Siberian colleague: call (vision), tutelary spirit, testing, dress and equipment, ecstasy, etc. In addition, there is much to indicate that formerly he was also familiar with the flight of the soul.

[239 cont.]
756 the spirit in the shaman; he is actually the warrior, the sooth-
[787] sayer, the healer. His presence is essential. Therefore the
people also fall down before the gurtum and venerate him like
[782] a god. Finally, even the shaman himself has the duty of venerating
his tutelary spirit; he must burn incense for it, make offerings,
and pray to it. -- This religious character of the gurtum, how-
ever, by no means excludes all magic. His special position
suggests [240] that he also engages in magical practices, but
then not in his character as a shaman but as a human being
whom one especially trusts since he is in communication with
the spirit world; cf. above, p. 330.

Classification

•171 Present-day Chinese shamanism in the form of the fashih,
756 wushih, or shihkung, as well as the earlier Wuism, has no direct
connection with the gurtum. The Chinese shamans are female
oriented, directed toward agriculture, and pass down their office
within the kin group; they have the dance and the drum, the
trance has become vestigial, and the rites are overlaid with
Taoistic elements. None of this applies to the gurtum. He is
the type of the manly warrior, knows no drum but weapons, and
no dance but battle. He cannot pass down his office, but re-
ceives it through individual calling. A certain enmity between
him and the fashih has already been indicated.

The present-day Siberian shaman likewise has a differ-
ent appearance. He, too, knows the drum and for the most part
practices a kind of dance. The shaman costume is not the uni-
form type like that of the gurtum and is hung with all kinds of
things, iron, feathers, figures, etc. In ecstasy he imitates the
[787] ascent to heaven or the journey of the soul which I could not
find in the case of the gurtum, even though Lessing (Mongolen,
p. 148) indicates such. Furthermore, there exists between this
type of shaman, who in Mongolic is called bö (böge) and in
Tujen bö, and the gurtum a conscious contrast which Lessing,

[240 cont.]

171 loc. cit., also emphasizes. W. Heissig, too, has encountered
756 the difference between these two groups among the East Mongols; cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," p. 40. There the gurtum are also called "Lajing." Exactly like the Tujen, the Chinese, too, differentiate between the bö (fashih) and the gurtum (fa-la-tzu or ku-erh-tien).

Beyond doubt, therefore, the gurtum in his present form
[779] is affiliated with Lamaism. First of all his area of distribution coincides with that of Lamaism. One finds the gurtum in Tibet, Amdo, and Mongolia. To designate him as specifically Mongolic, as is done occasionally in the expression "the Mongolic gurtum," is misleading. To be sure he was described predominantly by travelers in the Mongolic region, but detailed studies concerning him were hitherto lacking. There is no original Mongolic name for the gurtum, and the general term bö (böge, bügü) for shaman is not applicable to him. All names are Tibetan.

756 But what position does the gurtum occupy in Lamaism?
776 His main task seems to be exhausted in the representation of the tutelary gods who constitute a special conceptual realm.
779 The three aspects that are included under the word sku have
174 already been indicated "gurtum." The Lamaistic tutelary deities also bear the collective name "the five bodies," along with the other name, "the five kings" (Mongolic: tabun xaǵan) or "the protectors of the [241] doctrine" (Tibetan: c'os skyoń). R. Bleichsteiner in his article "Srog-bdag, the lord of life" (Archiv für Völkerkunde, Vienna, V, 1950, pp. 104-138) has indicated the relationships between the three aspects, the directions and world-guardians, who to be sure correspond to the five tutelary lords. Evidently elements of various origins have been combined here in the speculative melting pot of Buddhism through the popular paralleling of microcosm and macrocosm. The presence of these figures and the cultic utilization are accomplished through the gurtum or, as he is also called as presenter of the tutelary deities, the sruń-ba (ma). In the case of the people's gurtum this relationship likewise makes itself apparent through the use of the wu-tao-shen cut in paper in various colors, which were mentioned earlier. It seems, however, that this relationship is more

174 [244 cont.]
756 namely, the connections between bird and shaman (p. 199 f.).

756 Warrior-shaman and tutelary-spirit heroes. -- In shaman-
776 ism the tutelary or helping spirits play a decisive role. In the case of the possession-shaman, and therefore also in the case of the warrior-shaman, these spirits are at the same time the possessor-spirits. What is most important about the warrior-figures of the tutelary spirits of the temple-shamans has already been said, when mention was made of the five kings, especially Pekar and dGra-lha.

171 The dGra-lha of the Tibetans has a counterpart in the
756 good-fortune tutelary lord of the Mongols as he has already been
776 described above in the section on the cult of heaven (p. 359), and to be sure in the figure of the dsayači and its extension in the sülde. The warlike character of the sülde tengri has been described in detail by the Mongol Dordschi Banzarov in his "Černaja vjera ili šamanstvo u Mongolov" (1846). Only a characteristic quotation from the version of Father W. Schmidt (UdG, X, p. 79) is to be given here: "The nine sülde-tengri, according to their character, are always there in order to protect us. They are represented in a warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone, in the manner of riders, dressed in armor, wearing helmets on their heads, armed with swords and spears, holding a knout in one hand, a flag in the other. They are accompanied by falcons, as well as by a lion, a panther, bears and dogs." Father W. Schmidt notes in connection with this description: "Banzarow, as he states, has taken this presentation from Volume IV of the work by Mergen Diyanči; he wrote the book concerning the offerings presented to these genii." (UdG, loc. cit.) Concerning the relationship of the dGra-lha to the sülde or to the Mongolic good-fortune tengri and their warlike character, as well as their representation in the banner and on flags (jusun-sülde), Lüdtke has given a report, referring to Potanin, Waddel, Grünwedel, and other Russian as well as Mongolic sources; [245] See Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ...," op. cit., pp. 110-115. A supernatural double of the human being, who is conceived as a warlike tutelary lord and who shares and influences the weal and woe

[245 cont.]

171 of his protégé, is involved here; in this connection cf. also
756 Bleichsteiner (or Hoffmann), "Srog-bdag," pp. 118 f. It is not
776 possible to give here all the models and possible archetypes of these warlike doubles and "alter egos." They are very widely distributed in space and time, as is the belief in tutelary spirits generally, and extend back over the archaic high cultures into still earlier times (Megalithic); cf. Dominik Wölfel, Die Religionen des vorindogermanischen Europa. A special development is represented by the sülde banner of the Mongolic khans, which also attests to the fact that in the case of these tutelary spirits true localizations and seizure are involved.

174 That these tutelary spirits are connected with ancestors,
756 and in part identical with them, can likewise be amply documented, as it is repeatedly emphasized in the shamanism. One
776 special feature is still to be pointed out: the shamanistic use of armor and weapons. My informant told me that the Tujen
[523] formerly had brought the weapons and equipment of famous popular heroes into the temple where they were stored. Then
[787] when a shaman who had been called put on this equipment, the powers and the spirit of the hero descended upon him. The shift of an old popular custom into Lamaism is evident here, for prior to this the protector and guardian of the ayil (tribe) was the mountain-spirit in the obo; he watched over the weapons, and in former times arms were also buried in the obo; cf. above, pp. 351 f., and the chapter on the obo, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation]. Just as the popular festivals were later transferred from the obo to the Lamaistic temple, this also happened with the weapons and equipment and the associated donning of them by the shaman. This also explains the especially close connection of the people's gurtum with the mountain-spirit and obo and his warlike character still today. It is well-known that the obo has a special connection with the tribal lord and the latter's descendants. Likewise it is told of Geser, who, to be sure, according to the
[773] Tujen version, was also the ancestor of the Tujen, how he donned the supernatural armor which is kept in readiness for the special task of the battle against the ills of mankind in heaven.

[245 cont.]

171 Heissig reports similarly of the East Mongols: "In the
756 monasteries, according to tradition, weapons, helmet, and
war harnesses of famous, perhaps legendary Mongolic heroes are
776 preserved... These heroes and their arms bear the name Coyjing (lit. coyijung). Once or twice every month, after previous praying and fasting, a number of lama-monks in the Küriye-Banner are supposed to clothe themselves with the armor of the Coyijing and seize the weapons belonging to them. The spirits and powers of the heroes immediately come over their bearers and equipment. The lamas go into ecstasy..."; cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," op. cit., p. 41. Coyjing, of course, refers to the Tibetan co's-skyoṅ. Here, too, however, the old conception
[523] continues to have its effect of preserving the powers of the old heroes for the succeeding generations by preserving the equipment and weapons.

756 [246] One could call this custom a shamanistic preserva-
tion of antiquities. At any rate, every visitor of Lamaistic
523 temples and shrines is struck by the ample store of weapons, banners, etc. Perhaps the Tujen custom of presenting the clothing of the deceased to the monastery also goes back to this conception, even though today they are merely thought of as a bosë, a prayer fee. When a monastery lacks a shaman who can don the armor, an artificial figure is dressed in it. I once saw such a statue equipped with ancient weapons and exhibited in a sitting position in the gate of the soothsayer-temple at dGon-luṅ, just as the gurtum at the beginning of his trance is seated in the temple facing the image of his tutelary spirit. The people moved past this image and gave it the appropriate veneration. This figure is likewise called sgurdien.

171 The warrior-shaman is widespread, and was even in pre-
Lamaistic times. B. Laufer presents clear evidence for its
756 presence in ancient China in his book, Chinese Clay Figures. He presents several illustrations of excavated statuettes and dates these back to the Chou period, to an "archaic period" [cited in English]); cf. the legend for Plate XVII. Laufer describes these figures expressly as shamans "in the act of throwing a spear during a struggle with demons" [cited in English]. On

[246 cont.]

171 page 277, he goes into greater detail regarding the interpretation
756 of these figures: "In the grim faces ... the demoniacal power of these armored knights ... is well represented. The helmet-mask is formed by a bird's head with a strong flavor of the Indian Garuda ... a shawl is elegantly draped around the shoulders, and tied in a knot over the chest, the two iron breastplates being visible beneath it" [cited in English]. -- In other words, the same type of warrior as in the case of the gurtum is involved: with helmet, weapons, shoulder hanging, demon battle, etc. -- Certainly further evidence for ancient China could be cited, say, in conjunction with the recent publications of C. Hentze. -- Likewise such types may be demonstrable for India, Indonesia, and the ancient Near East in connection with the ancient Iranian warrior gods and the corresponding figures in Hinduism, Indra, Shiva, etc.; in this connection cf. R. Bleichstein (based on Grünwedel), op. cit., pp. 111-124.

174 Warrior shaman and bird. -- The connections between
756 bird and shamanism are stressed often enough in the literature. The bird type of shaman is one of the basic types. Usually,
825 the original ancestor of the shaman, or the first shaman, is a bird or incarnated in a bird. The heroes of the folktales, how-
[773] ever, are also often linked with a bird ancestor. For instance, the Geser of the Tujen is supposed to have been sent to earth as a cuckoo. If this relationship applies generally, then the warrior-shaman in particular can be linked with the bird figure. There has been an attempt to show that his armor goes back to the feather armor, in other words, to the shaman attire of the bird type. I cannot go further into the sources here. The feather helmet of the ancient Chinese shaman mentioned by B. Laufer and the feather-ornamented helmet of the gNas-c'un gurtum, as well as the report by Georgi in his "Alphabetum Tibetanum," point in this direction.

174 [247] This connection between warrior and bird only
756 becomes meaningful if one understands it as a solarization of the ancestor hero. Both the mythologies of the most ancient Chinese excavations (cf. the works by C. Hentze) and the

[248 cont.]

756 it is true, must have the special ability to "activate" the spear
791 and to interpret its movements in order to learn what the spirit in the spear wants, but he himself is not inwardly filled by it.

756 On the other hand, the relationship between spirit and
791 spear is much closer. It is the seat of the spirit and is treated as such. Like a shaman it receives a consecration, is clothed
778 with an "official garb": with bands, little bells, and mirrors. The people venerate it like a god that is present. In order to enter actively into a relationship with the world of men through soothsaying, healing, and exorcising evil, or in order to have an active effect on the outside world, this spear-idol needs a middleman who takes it in his hand and to whom it "speaks." This is the "idol-holder," the sdiendzẽn, rten 'dsin. He is not called a shaman, for it is not he, the soothsayer, but the possessed spear that is actually the shaman. The soothsayer is, as it were, merely a living extension of the idol, its loud-speaker.

778 How is the spear to be classified? As the spear is now used, it is to be regarded as a special kind of idol, as its name as spirit seat already suggests. The Tibetan compound rten-mduñ is not found in Ch. Das. However, analogous to the name sku-rten (gurtum) and corresponding to the character of the spear, the rten can here mean nothing other than container or visible representation of the deity: a weapon as seat of the deity. This suggests the question: Was the spirit-spear independent from the outset, or is it merely the tool of a shaman?

171 The spirit-spear as independent idol, in other words,
778 not as equipment of the shaman, is distributed throughout the Tujen and agricultural region of eastern Amdo. [249] One finds it frequently in temples and in family chapels, even among the Chinese. To what extent the Tangut nomads there possess it is beyond my knowledge. The spear must have had an
[174] independent significance in Lamaism even in early times, however, for one frequently encounters it in Lamic monasteries, and usually in conjunction with other standards (banners). The Geography of the Minchu-Hutukhtu is able to report: "In

[249 cont.]

171 778 Nanggardse there is a fearful chapel of the Gur, and in it there is a lance (mduñ) which is said by the worshipers to be sacred and is called 'remover of the thirteen enemies of the religion'"; according to W. Unkrig, Ms, p. 14. R. Bleichsteiner writes of a similar banner: "Another narrative reports on the victorious campaign of a barbarian prince across China, Hor and Grug-gug, during which he used a magical flag into which rNam-sras, the world guardian of the north, and eight companions had been conjured" ("Srog-bdag," p. 111).

The spirit-spear can easily be linked with other similar idols, such as Stabongonen, carriage axles, weather clubs, and noodle rollers among the Tujen, all of which are beribboned and hung with little bells and little metal disks. They, too, are used by a soothsayer in exactly the same way as the spirit-spear. This shows that it is merely one among the many shamanistic idols. That such stick-idols are very widespread not only in the Koko Nor region but also in other places in Tibet is shown from a remark by Jäschke: "... the local lha are not always represented by figures resembling human beings, but even by sticks, stones and similar fetishes" [cited in English], p. 599. And on page 7 he speaks of the Pekar idol, also cited by Bleichsteiner, and notes: "... consisting like most of the popular idols in those countries of a wooden stick or log decked with rags ..."; cf. also Bleichsteiner, op. cit., p. 112. Jäschke adds that this idol is certainly pre-Buddhistic. Such idols can be shown for all of northern Asia as far to the east as the Inao of the Ainu; for example, cf. Joseph Haekel, Idolkult und Dualsystem bei den Ugriern. The shamanistic use, however, seems nowhere to be so well attested to as in the case of the spirit-spear of the Tujen.

A second link can be established from the spirit-spear to the standard, flag, or banner. The spear as standard is an anciently known article, as are its sacredness and its veneration in the flag or standard cult. This cult was practiced above all by the Mongols in the form of the sülde veneration. Now it is well possible that this very sülde cult was "co-converted" [174] to Lamaism along with the conversion of the Mongols, especially

[249 cont.]

171 since the Buddhists in their victory banner, the rgyal-mtsan, had
778 similar conceptions. The Mongolic Tujen would naturally also
have taken part in this change. Probably the spear-standard was
[174] at the same time also regarded as ancestor spear or clan idol; this
[614] fact is established beyond doubt for the nine-tipped sülde of
Genghis Khan. His spirit and his force have their seat in this
sülde; further details and relationships unfortunately cannot be
presented here; for that, cf., for example, the descriptions by
W. Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ...," in Archiv
für Religionswissenschaft, 25, 1927, pp. 110-115. In any case,
[614] it is striking how [250] each ayil (clan settlement) of the Tujen
is intent upon possessing a spirit-spear. Similar ideas can also
be shown elsewhere. For example, the Bhil in India are
acquainted with the clan spear at religious functions; see
W. Koppers, "Die Bhil ...," pp. 182 ff. Even more clearly
does the similarity with the spirit-spear and the connection
with the clan appear in the case of the clan standard of the
Chewsur [Khevsur]. The form of this standard with its bands,
the little bells, the ball-knob, etc. can scarcely be distin-
guished from the spirit-spear of the Tujen. Also, their clan
priest is practically a shamanistic soothsayer who works with
the spear standard. In view of the great significance that the
standards had among the Turks and Mongols (tuq-banner) and
in view of the lively history of these peoples, influences and
relics in the Caucasus are to be assumed from the first; cf.
Radde, The Chewsuren, pp. 100 ff., and Nioradze, Begräbnis,
pp. 10 ff. -- Sacral spears are abundantly known in Africa,
as are the gods' standards in the ancient Orient. The hitherto
not properly explainable Scythian pole appendages with their
hooks and prongs, perhaps for little bells and other hangings,
may also belong here. It is altogether possible that all these
standards are not simply representations and localizations of
deities, but were also used shamanistically in the manner of
the spirit-spear or the clan standard of the Chewsur.

Further connections also seem to exist between the
spirit-spear and the world-tree or the world-axle. One should
think for instance, of the cosmic significance of the jewel-
spear in the Japanese creation mythology, where it has a

[250 cont.]

171 778 function similar to the cosmic twirling pole in the milky original ocean of the South Asiatic world myth; see F. Numazawa, Weltanfänge [Original World], p. 345. Mention was made earlier of the world-pole among the Tujen; cf. above, pp. 319 ff. The conceptions connected with it are an ancient Mongolic heritage among them. The "golden nail" representing the world-pole, from which the dome of heaven is suspended, is interpreted among the Olöt Mongols as a banner that stands on the world-mountain Sumeru, and around which all the stars revolve. The same conception is found among the Ordos Mongols, where the golden nail or polar star is called 'the golden banner of the mountain Sumeru.' Among the Chalcha [Khalkha] Mongols this polar-star pole, like the jewel-spear among the Japanese, becomes the twirler with which one beats kumiss; see Lüdtke, op. cit., pp. 115, 118. Lüdtke would like to put the transformation of the world-pole into a banner in a later period, when the Mongols already possessed an extensively developed military organization. The Japanese jewel-spear, however, indicates that the basis of this conception goes back far beyond the Mongolic era (11). Accordingly, Lüdtke's view should perhaps be

11. The significance of the lance among the Ngadju Dajak [Dyak] in Borneo should be briefly pointed out here. The connection of lance, flag, tree of life, and "total deity" is still much more apparent and conscious there than in Central Asia and Tibet. Even the shamanistic priests as representatives of the "total deity" are much more strikingly involved in this conception than, for instance, the gurtum as representative of the god of life; cf. H. Schärer, Die Gottesidee, pp. 29 ff., 87, 148 ff.

corrected: "I would not want [251] to derive this whole

[251 cont.]

171 conceptual cycle from China either; there, too, to be sure, there
778 is a determining constellation called a 'standard,' not on the pole, however, but rather on the ecliptic" (op. cit., p. 117). At any rate, the astral spear or the standard is not merely the property of the Mongols (12). Here the similarity with the

12. The military flag cult of the Chinese in its well-known form is too recent to permit any ancient mythological conclusions; cf., for instance, Doolittle, Social Life, pp. 287 f.

cosmically conceived arrow of good fortune that was dealt with earlier should also be pointed out; see above, p. 321. -- After these references, which refer more or less to the spear alone, its significance in shamanism is easier to understand.

Spirit-spear and shaman. -- The spirit-spear stands in a
756 two-fold relationship with the shaman, once as world-tree and
778 as weapon, and then as something independent and representative of the shaman.

In the case of Siberian shamanism, for which the sym-
171 bolism of the journey to heaven is so important, the shaman
756 climbs up on the ladder, the tree, the pole, the bridge, etc.
778 into the world beyond. In the rite, therefore, the most varied representations of this earth-heaven connection appear. What, then, is more obvious than that the spear with its symbolism as world-tree or peak of the world-mountain should be drawn into it? Unfortunately, the evidence for a ritual use of the spear as heaven-ladder (bridge, bow) among the Central Asiatic peoples seems to be difficult to obtain. It must be all the more surprising that among the remote Australians the spear fulfills this function. M. Eliade cites Pettazzoni in this connection and says in his excellent work, Le Chamanisme, pp. 426 f.: "The bow being unknown in Australia, its place in the myth is taken by a lance which bears a long piece of material; the

[251 cont.]
756 lance having been implanted in the celestial vault, the hero
778 climbs all the way up with the help of the pennant" [translated
[171] from French].

Howeyer frequently the spirit-spear is used independently of a true shaman among the Tujen, it nonetheless is frequently enough part of the equipment of the gurtum. In his hand it is an important weapon. Just as the weapons and the armor of the ancient hero-ancestors endow him with special powers, so doubtless also does the ancestor spear. In the already-cited Geser
[773] legend of the Tujen, Geser takes the heavenly weapons for himself, which are all provided with the adjective sdier, for instance, sdier lëmu, sdier sëmu, etc., sacred arrow and bow. The things designated with sdier, however, are all adorned in a manner similar to the spirit-spear, above all with the colorful bands. This is supposed to express a consecration, a sacral
174 character. -- Now, however, when there is no true shaman, nothing remains but to make the spirit-spear independent.

756 It must represent the shaman and accordingly receives
778 a perfected outfit and an additional consecration, whereby,
791 as original weapon, it becomes an independent idol. It becomes tutelary-spirit possessed. As seat of the sülde it is from the outset already especially fitted for this. Since, however, it is not alive and cannot appear as a human being, [252] a man is appointed for it, the soothsayer. The latter takes over part of the operations of a true shaman, but without becoming the seat of a spirit himself. There takes place, as it were, a distribution of shamanistic functions: the essential, inner ones are peculiar to the spear; the unessential, outer ones to the soothsayer (13).

756
778

13. The shaman attire in other regions also has great similarity with the spear as spirit seat and effective unity with the shaman. It is "saturated" by spirits, who give signs of life by trembling, moving, etc.; cf. Eliade (Shirokogorov), Le Chamanisme, p. 143. Even though the spear as shaman equipment shares this property with the attire, this alone

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

by the shaman but of the ecstasy caused by the ascension or descent.[3] 756 771

Åke Ohlmarks considers arctic and subarctic shamanism. The arctic "genuine shamanism" is founded on a psycho-pathologic base, and originated in the arctic regions out of the hysteria peculiar to this region; the subarctic shamanism originated in primeval magic influenced by the arctic shamanism. The shaman, by means of ecstasy, provides communication between the three worlds, connected by means of an axis (tree, post, or rope) along which move spirits and souls, including those of the sacrificed victims.[4] [171]

In the course of this study reference will be made frequently to the Bön religion, because many facts relating to shamanism are encountered also in Bön, and even in Lamaism. A few words regarding Bön seem to be advisable.

According to Helmut Hoffman[5] the meaning of Bön is not known (p. 137). Bon is the old religion of the Tibetans which existed before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet in the seventh century (p. 135). It is the Tibetan form of a primitive animism that once spread all over Northern and Central Asia, this animism often being thoroughly blended with genuine shamanist principles (p. 208). At present, the systematized Bön religion is a composite. Its original nucleus was the belief in and fear of good and evil spirits (p. 135) and the worship of Heaven considered as a god of the universe, "Weltgott" (p. 156). Around this nucleus was built a façade made up of elements of the debased but more developed Buddhism (Lamaism) (p. 138), in which also animist-shamanist principles played and still play a prominent part (p. 197). Bön, in competing with Lamaism, adopted many of its rites and institutions and composed its literature according to the pattern of Lamaism.

In the primitive Bön, existing before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet, Heaven was worshipped not only as an impersonal power, but also as a personal God (p. 156). Hence communication between Heaven and earth was secured by means of a rope or ladder, the "way of the spirits" (p. 153), and by means of the post supposed to reach heaven.[6] Bön likes to emphasize

[3] Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase*, 434, 439, Paris, Payot, 1951. See also the interesting review of this book by Dominic Shröder, in *Anthropos* **48** (3–4): 671, 1953.

[4] Åke Ohlmarks, *Studien zum Problem des Shamanismus*, 83, Kopenhagen, Gleerup, 1939. See also Horst Kichner, Ein archäologischer Beitrage zur Urgeschichte des Shamanismus, *Anthropos* **47** (1–2): 244, 1952. **47**: 1952, No. 1–2, 244. David F. Aberle, "Arctic hysteria" and Latah in Mongolia, *Trans. N. Y. Acad. Sci.*, ser. 2, **7**: 291, 1952.

[5] Helmut Hoffmann, Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon Religion, *Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur*, 4, 1950.

[6] Edward Washburn Hopkins, *The religions of India*, 378, Boston, 1895. In early Hinduism there existed already "a festivity for Indra, extending over two days, and marked by the erection of a pole in honor of the god."

[p. 177 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to drive away evil spirits. It is not used during the ceremonies celebrated in the temple of the village. The staff is considered to be endowed with magical power and is planted before the picture of the Twelve Tengris honored by the shaman at his home. It is honored like an idol; the shaman burns incense and prostrates himself before it. 756 793

Every time a shaman uses his tools they have to be purified. By smoking them above a fire of cypress boughs. It is said that some laymen who honor a special spirit are able to use a staff and to call their spirit into it.

SPIRITS HONORED BY THE SHAMANS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans involves the very interesting question of how and to what extent shamanism and Taoism became mixed and interwoven among the Monguor shamans—a question which is all the more interesting because it has often been written that shamanism and Taoism are strongly linked together. In order to tackle the problem it is necessary to determine whether the spirits honored by shamans and Taoists are the same, whether the ways of worshipping them are similar, and what may have been the reason for the intermixture of the two religions. 756 177 171

SHAMANS, DISCIPLES OF THE TAOIST GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The most baffling and confusing fact in this respect is that all the Monguor shamans overtly claim to be disciples of the "god of the five roads," the Wu-tao-shen, who is a Taoist god. 756 776 171

When the chiefs of the villages invite a shaman to perform his rites of spring or autumn for the community, they send one of the elders with an official invitation written on a slip of red paper, "to [sir] Hsien-sheng so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads." During the Mongol dynasty the term *Hsien-sheng* was only used for Taoist priests. On New Year's the shamans send to the chiefs of the villages and to outstanding people a card reading, "Happy Congratulations of so-and-so, disciple of the god of the five roads." It has already been noted that the crown worn by the Monguor shamans represents the god of the Five Roads, that one of the caps worn during the performance of the rites is the cap of the Taoist priests, and that the pattern of their gown, except for its color, is the same as that of the Taoist priests. It has been noted that the Monguor shamans are members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the city. When a shaman dies he is buried wearing the crown of the god of the Five Roads. If one adds that many of the temples in the villages in which the shamans perform their rites are dedicated to the god of the Five Roads, and that at the same time more Taoist statues are honored in them, it gives the impression that the shamans are a kind of Taoist. Not only does the cult of the god of

[p. 84 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the Five Roads link them to Taoism, but also the cults of Lung-wang (the Dragon King, provider of rain), Niang-Niang (the Mother Goddess of children), Ho Hu (provider of rain), Hsüan-t'an (guardian deity against hail), Ma-wang (the Horse King, protector of horses), and Ts'ai Shen (the god of wealth). During the performance of their rites these gods are called up, and are supposed to come to attend the gathering of the community. The dialogues between the shamans and the Taoist deities gave the illusion of attending a real Taoist assembly. 756 776 171

All these facts evidence the assumption that the shamans worship the gods of Taoism.

"GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS"

The Monguor shamans during the performance of their rites in spring and autumn never fail to assert before the public that they are the real disciples of the god of the five roads, who was created god by the emperors of the Chou dynasty (1122–256 B.C.) and that the General Chiang Tze-ya ordered them to worship him, teaching them the way of honoring him, and promising that he would provide his aid and support to them in the most trying and straightened circumstances, and would never falter. 175 776 756

This explanation, in crude Taoistic fashion, is a far cry from that of nomad shamans who assert that the good spirits had sent from heaven a shaman eagle to teach their ancestors the way of combatting the evil spirits,[27] and from the explanation given by the same Monguor shamans that their ancestors were chosen by the Twelve Tengris. These ambiguous and equivocal explanations seem really to cancel one another out. According to their own explanation their shamanism is ultimately founded on a mandate received from a Chinese general.[28]

The real history of the famous god of the Five Roads I never had the opportunity to find out. In some temples I read the two following inscriptions, "Duke Mu of Ch'in raised him by imperial patent to Wu-tao; prince Chuang of Ch'u gave him, by imperial grace, the title of General"; and "General Mountain before the carriage of King Chou: the spirit of T'ai mountain raised him to Wu-tao." These two inscriptions seem to be as apocryphal as the saying of the shamans, and assign to a period earlier than reliably recorded history the creation of the god. The cult of the god of the Five Roads, however, seems to be widespread along the northwestern borders of China. I met it from

[27] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 2–3.

[28] Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1658–1659, 1841, Ho Kien-fu, 1903. Chiang Tze-ya was traditionally the Shang general who became a counsellor to the founder of the Chou dynasty. He died in 1120 B.C.; twelve centuries later, during the Han dynasty, he became a very popular god of all kinds of pickled stuff. In 731, during the T'ang, he was created "war god" by the Taoist Emperor Huang-tsung, and an order was given to build temples to him.

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cult—but in spite of these scanty facts our problem remains unsolved.[38] 756 184

MONGUOR SHAMANS—WU OF OLD CHINA—SHAMANS OF CENTRAL ASIA

The leader of the twelve spirits is, according to the texts, the Fang hsiang, an exorcist belonging to the class of sorcerers who were specialists in the art of neutralizing all kinds of harmful influences and used by the princes for that purpose.[39] "This group, called *Wu*, was an old priesthood of China, spontaneously produced by the animistic religion . . . it still bore supreme sway in the former Han dynasty" (202 B.C.–A.D. 8).[40] The Wu included the kinds of male and female shamans that are encountered all over Asia (Wu are recorded among the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C.).[41] They were proficient in exorcising spirits of evil and illness, calling down gods and human spirits, going into trances and being possessed, telling the future.[42] Later the Wu were recognized by the official priesthood, who used them in their official ceremonies for calling down spirits and regulating the seats of the gods at sacrifices.[43] 756

In the *Chou-li*, 1122–256 B.C., are recorded the duties performed at court by these *Wu* scorcerers many centuries before our era, in summoning good spirits in order to drive out evil ones.[44]

Wittfogel and Feng write:

> In our translation we have called the *wu*, shamans. This term is generally used to designate the religious functionaries of Inner and Northern Asia, whose status does not depend upon an officially institutionalized position but is derived from power received "directly from the spirits as a gift or grant." In Asia two types of shamans may be distinguished—the arctic and subarctic. The latter exhibit less ecstasy and only rarely have recourse to frenzy or trance in the performance of their magic and prayers. Among the Ch'i-tan, as among most Altaic peoples, shamanism was definitely "subarctic" and possession was more the exception than the rule.[45]

The Wu in China up to the present time act in the same way, using bells, drums, swords, scepter, whip, dagger, dancing, and the calling down of spirits.[46] At present they are called *Shih-kung* (masters). They represent themselves publicly as priests of Taoism.[47] Chinese law considers them as belonging to the wide class of secular Taoist priests.[48] The capacity of be- [171]

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[38] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerers and rulers*, 92–95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[39] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 200.

[40] J. J. De Groot, *The religious system of China* 6: 1206, Leiden, Brill, 1910.

[41] *Ibid.*, 1201.

[42] *Ibid.*, 1190.

[43] *Ibid.*, 1191.

[44] Edouard Biot, *Le Tcheouli ou rites du Tcheou* 2: 102, 103, Paris, Duprat, 1851.

[45] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 217. See also page 291, note.

[46] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212.

[47] *Ibid.*, 1245.

[48] *Ibid.*, 1251. [p.88 (B)]

philosophy, therefore, explains the Rite of the White Tiger performed today by the Monguor shamans against hail, and the same principle (as we will see later) is applied in the rite of the "goat skin" and of the "wooden raven" against hail. The same philosophy is encountered in the facts previously related by Owen Lattimore among the Fishkin Tatars, by W. Heissig in the Kürye-Banner, and by Shirokogoroff among the Tungus. In all the studies concerning shamanism in Asia this philosophy is attested.[54]

Therein lies the reason why the Monguor shamans practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris and why it must be said that the Monguor shamans are genuine shamans, belonging to the Altaic classification. No hints are available to suggest that the Twelve Tengris were not the initial spirits to which the ancestor of the Monguor shaman dedicated himself, and we have no hints to fix the time when their ancestor shaman lived. It may only be assumed that the Monguor shamans already served the Tengris at the time of the Yüan dynasty when they settled in Kansu, because their Tengris at that time were represented as Mongol warriors and because the shamans in Mongolia practiced for centuries the subarctic form of shamanism.

MONGUOR SHAMANS ENTER THE TAOIST GUILD

It is a well-known fact that among the

> South Mongolian tribes of the Ordos, Tümed and Chahar regions as well as among the North Mongolian Khalkha . . . Shamanism and other "unorthodox creeds" had since been "outlawed" by the code of the Jassaktu Khan, by the religious proclamation of Altan Khan (1577) and the corresponding decree of the Siditü Gabcu in Khalkha (1587), [but that] certain undercurrents of a popular Chinese Taoist mysticism, known there under the name of *Bon-po* (Bö), had continued for some while, but at the death of Ligdan Khan (1634) the Yellow Sect was well established in these parts of Mongolia.[55]

"Outlawed" does not mean that these "unorthodox creeds," these Bon-po, etc., disappeared because of codes, proclamations, and decrees, for their existence is still attested; but they were persecuted or their activities were restrained.

The Red Sect, patronized by Mongol and Ming emperors and Mongol chiefs, fought a fierce battle against shamanism and Bön. The Yellow Sect fought against the Red Sects from 1558; to these former edicts may be added that of 1640, which had stipulations concerning the suppression of shamanism. "Forty-eight princes and chiefs of Mongol tribes convened in order to fix the so-called 'Mongol-Oirat regulations.'" Among them were Mongol princes of Khalkha, Jungaria, Kukunor (near Hsining) as well as of Siberia, and later two

[54] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 94-98, 413.

[55] Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century. *Anthropos* 48: 493, 1953.

[p.89 (B)]

The Kurtain was obliged to apologize to the shamans, 756
offering a sheep, and also had to offer a sheep to the 578
deity who protected the village.

During the exhibitions at Erh-ku-lung, the Kurtain 756
was decked in a splendid, long green gown, belonging 292
to the lamasery and fashioned according to that of the Taoist priests. He wore on his head the mitre of a Living Buddha. He did not wear his helmet or the sword; his appearance was less warrior-like and terrible than that of the Kurtain of Seerkok, although he seemed still to represent the type of Chinese theatrical general, with flags on his back, sitting with open sprawled legs, in spite of having had the Buddhist mitre on his head and the Buddhist staff in his hand when the exhibition started. Furthermore, the ceremonies were the same, with cypress fire, recital of the *swork'a*, drumbeating, head shaking with ringing bells, prophesying, whip, and dagger.

The lamaseries are glad to have a Kurtain, because 756
they enhance the interest at the annual pageant. These 571
yearly exhibitions seem to be the principal job of a Kurtain possessed by a lama deity. Once in a while, however, when troubles occur, when the lamasery is sued at court, he is invited to prophesy the issue of the case, but most of the time the lamas solve their own problems. His position at the lamasery seems to be of a very secondary order, according to what lamas say.

Later there will be described the role the Kurtain plays in the community of the village, and in the private life of the Monguors.

Among the Wu of the present time in China is en- 756
countered a category of possessed men and women who 171
seem to be of the same type as the Monguor Kurtains, who are not admitted into the group of the Wu (as the Kurtains are not admitted into the group of the shamans) because they did not pass the traditional tests of the Wu and did not receive the initiation. It sometimes happens that some of them transfer their business to their sons.[3] Their original possession, their behavior during the possession, are very similar with those of the Kurtains,[4] sitting on a stool before an altar, drowsily staring, yawning, shaking the head, furiously playing with a sword, prophesying and expelling evil spirits.[5] They are called *fa chang*, "Chief of Magic," while the real Wu is called *shih kung*, "Master," or *fa shih*, "Master of magic."

My data, as given above, seem not to tally completely 114
with the very valuable study of F. Dominik Schröder in *Anthropos* **47**: 27–33, 237–248, 1952, but they are based on notes collected among the Monguors, and among lamas who lived over practically the whole region, and may contribute to an understanding of the subject.

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[3] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1263.
[4] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1274.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1276.

[p.94 (A)]

the skeleton, bones and skulls are deposited around the 756
jar, with the living snake enclosed in a basket. The 796
triangle is filled with earth, level with the base of the 782
square. Then five stakes are fixed in the earth, and 789
bowls, eggs, bricks, tiles, lions and hand mills are put around them. In the midst are erected the threshing rolls, on which is put the millstone, in the center of which is fixed a stake to support the cart wheel, to which the planks are nailed; the interspaces are filled with the remaining items. The whole is covered with boughs, and the pit is filled with earth level with the ground.

The attendants start howling like madmen, jumping and leaping around the pit in the pitch dark night, brandishing banners, while shamans dance, and beat drums and cymbals. The cart axle, sharpened to a stake, is fixed in the earth upon the pit; on it is written "Throne of the White Tiger." Some bowls placed upside down and bricks and tiles are put around the stake and the tiger; four more stakes are fixed in the ground according to the four points of the compass, and a mound is erected upon the pit. Next to the mound is placed a big wooden box containing the living white dog; a small mound is erected upon it so that the dog may see the light and breathe air through a hole. The dog will live for some days; it will howl and finally die.[2] On the other side of the big mound is erected a similar small mound, opposite the dog's mound, in which is

[2] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 271, note 166, note that both the Liao (Khitan) and the Chin (Jurchen) sacrificed dogs. [171] ●
M. Granet, *Danses et légendes*, 527, records that in ancient China men used to pull the ears of a dog to make him bark, in order to drive away the bird-demon. W. Koppers, Der Hund in der Mythologie der Zirkumpazifischen Völker, *Wiener Beiträge*, 386, 1930, records that the Yao tribe buried a live dog, together with a live thief, in order that the spirit of the thief should stay in the grave; also 378, the cow used at the sacrifice for the dog ancestor of the Yao had to be stolen, in the same way that the Monguors have to steal the dog for the hail rite, and other items.

Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 92, a similar case of burying a dog alive is noted: "In case of some very bad disease the Manchus sometimes bury a live dog and cat near the entrance of the house. The dog and cat may move, which may be seen a certain time after the burial when the earth is reopened; it is considered as a very bad sign if they should go away together." He further notes, p. 92, that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat; p. 210, that dogs carry the souls in the lower world; p. 179, that dog blood, like dog skins, make the clan spirits run away; dog meat is tabooed. Doolittle, *op. cit.*, 231, notes in China a heavenly dog who devours small children and is combated by a giant, represented surrounded by children shooting arrows against a dog walking on the clouds. The barking of a dog at night frightens the evil spirits. De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 464, records that the crowing of the rooster frightens the spirits at night and in the morning. A wooden rooster is put above the entrance of the courtyard to frighten the evil spirits. A living rooster is attached to the coffin when it is carried to the grave, in order that it may frighten evil spirits. In time of epidemics a white living rooster is carried, fixed on top of a stick, in the processions. See also Eliade, *op. cit.*, 405; Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, *op. cit.* 1: 29, 38; the same, *Randvölker Chinas*, *op. cit.*, 38.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the chief of the village asks him or her whether "Heaven and all the spirits" will really preserve the crops. 782 789

At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion. [791]

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages situated in the Sha-t'ang Valley, which have a goddess in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death, without wearing the Monguor skirt!" [9] 175 177

On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple and spend a night with him. The tradition requires that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.[10] [792] 796 782 [784]

[9] I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

[10] The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a [791]

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The groups join each other on the way. Friendly 796
and high-spirited, they start early in the morning, with 782
banners, drum, and cymbals in the lead. The sedan chairs are put in a row at the foot of the high hill of the temple of the god Erh-lang. The stalwart fellows, with clubs clenched in their fists, are guards of honor of the goddesses, who stay next to their respective sedan chairs, waiting to climb the hill. The tradition runs that the crops of the village whose goddess first reaches the temple will be infallibly and positively protected against hail and prodigiously blessed. As soon as the cry for departure is howled out, the thirteen groups feverishly run to the top of the hill with their goddesses, howling, cursing, cutting their way, thrusting at one another, climbing by fits and starts, falling, leaping, jumping like savages, foaming at the mouth. The chair of the goddess who makes the mark is placed nearest the throne of the god. The door of the temple is closed. The fellows take their meal and rest in the side rooms of the temple.

They return home the next day. On the way back the villagers stand waiting on the road in order to learn whether their goddess won the race or not. On the trip to the temple the fellows were friendly to one another; on the return, however, the groups are excited, angry and seething with jealousy and frequently have a serious fight with clubs. In 1913 the sedan chair of the victorious goddess of the village of Wu-ch'i was smashed, but according to custom no suits are allowed [672] for smashed heads, broken noses, bleeding faces, and torn clothes. After the famous expedition, the villages start their rites against hail in the village.

The aim of the pilgrimage of the goddesses to the temple of the god Erh-lang is to obtain his protection from hail and special blessings upon the crops of the village. They are dressed in full attire and decked out in jewels. What is the reason for sending goddesses to call on the god Erh-lang and to try and court his favors? Why is the call not made to another god such as the god of the Five Roads, the recognized protector from hail?

All over the country, Erh-lang is said to be the god [776] of the River of Hsining, whose course he ordered, and to be interested in preserving the country from hail. He is said to have opened the rocks of Hsiao hsia (the

celebrated sacred spring. They carry with them the statue of [771] the god of the rain (the dragon king) from their village temple and put it in the cave, next to that of the goddess, for a whole night, in order that the goddess may sooth the ruffled feathers of the angered dragon king, and move him to pour down streams of rain to save the dying crops. Potanin, who traveled in Kansu in 1884–1886 [*Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina, tsentral'naya Mongoliya*, 334, 1893], notes a similar practice among the Monguors of San ch'uan, subjects of the Hsia-wu T'u-ssu, in order to obtain rain. Potanin, *ibid.*, 409, also notes the struggle against hail practiced among those Monguors by their shamans, but because his description fails to point to the building of mounds, the white tiger, Wu-tao-shen, etc., he seems not to have understood the core of the rites. (I am indebted to Father J. Spriet for the translation of these passages.)

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clared that their power was too weak and unavailing, 796
that more shamans would have to be invited, and that a 756
big hog would have to be prepared. A few days later more shamans succeeded in the same way as in Hsin-yüan p'u.

This shamanist rite of the first day tallies wonderfully [171]
with that of the Wu among the Chinese and the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C. At the time of the state sacrifices, the Wu were ordered to call down the gods and human ancestors and to lead them to their "thrones," beating drums and dancing while a band of Chinese musicians played appropriate music. They pierced the future, knew the wishes of the gods and the ancestors, knew the desired sacrifices, and were proficient in predictions.[4]

Taoist priests in the country never perform such rites, 792
which are peculiar to the Monguor shamans, who after so many centuries have preserved them faithfully. They give an insight into what, centuries ago, was the religious practice of the Chinese and the surrounding barbarians, and what it is at present among the Monguors. The fantastic invitation and calling down of the spirits, their coming one after another along the rope, which the shaman pretends to see moving with his own eyes, with whom he talks, as if to persons in front of him, whom he greets cordially, is straight in the hallucinatory line specific to shamans. The best among the shamans go so far as to communicate their feelings by means of words and gestures to the well-disposed audience already believing in the reality of the rite and in the capacity of the shaman to see and communicate with gods and souls. They go so far as to make the 796
people feel happy to approach, face to face, the spirits and souls; to sit in their presence; to honor them, and trust entirely in them. To be sure, a religious feeling is awakened by the shamans at the meeting. All my [781]
Monguor informants asserted they were happy at that time and enjoyed the rite.

This is the only time during a whole year, when the community of a village prays and honors its gods and ancestors in a group. It was said that nobody would miss attending this rite. No wonder that the Monguors esteem and love their shamans, especially since the lamas never practice such a rite for a whole community.

RITES OF THE SECOND DAY

The second day is a busy one, since four rites are 796
performed: (1) possession by the White Tiger spirit, 756
(2) the greeting of the Goddess of Joy, (3) leave-taking of the spirits, and (4) the nurturing of the spirits of the temple.

POSSESSION BY THE WHITE TIGER

Very early in the morning, after breakfast, the shamans, beating drums and cymbals, sit around the pole

[4] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1188–1190; 1201–1208, 1247.

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the same way the territory of the village is supposed to 795
have its owner who also resides on the sacred hill, not 778
on the highest mountain of the village. This spirit lays the same claims to thorough ownership over the village's fields and obligatory worship from its inhabitants.

The Monguors and Shat'o, descendants of old nomads, who used to honor spirits residing on the tops of the highest mountains and to recognize them as the proprietors of the entire country, were unable to get rid of this old trend of mind. They must have applied the same religious notions to the sacred hill of their villages when they exchanged their nomadic economy for the agricultural, and so the change of economy not only brought about adaptations in the field of their social organizations, but also in the field of their religion and cults.

It is common knowledge that the notion and cult of 795
a spirit proprietor of the earth are very old and wide- [17]
spread all over China also.[12] From the earliest times on, this spirit used to be honored in rudimentary shrines built in the fields by each farmer, and in a temple in each village, but the Monguors, old nomads, had to have a sacred hill and to have this spirit residing on top of a hill. Therefore, besides the cult of the five spirits of the five highest mountains, they practice the cult of the proprietor of the village on the sacred hill of the village. However, because the proprietor resides on a hill, they build a small Obo and plant a pole like that on the Obos built for the five big spirits. Several times I was told by Monguors that the cult of the sacred hill is the same as the cult of the earth god (T'u-ti-yeh) of the Chinese, and not the cult of a mountain spirit; that their earth god is the goddess Etogon; further, that the sacred hill is not the highest mountain situated in the boundaries of the village, but a hill or a notable elevation. Many villages do not have mountains inside their boundaries.

OBLIGATIONS TOWARD THE MOUNTAIN GODS

The behavior of the Monguors regarding the moun- [776]
tains and village gods seems to suggest that this cult is based on the principle of the ownership, the dominion of the country, by a god, and on the principle of its lordship over the people living on its territory. This dominion and lordship of the god is to be recognized by means of sacrifices and offerings.

The same frame of mind and philosophy concerning
these gods is encountered all over Asia.[13] Buddha once [17]
enjoined his followers in India never to omit making an offering to the god of the spot where they were dwelling.[14]

In every lamasery of Huang-chung, therefore, is encountered a temple dedicated to the god of the spot oc-

[12] Maspero, *La Chine antique*, *op. cit.*, 204.
[13] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 598.
[14] de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme: Opinions et croyances*, 351 Paris, Beauchesne, 1909.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Khan included (for Chingis is a devoutly honored deity), to the fire and to the Obo. The rite is performed in private families by lamas. Stallions are consecrated besides other animals.[3] The tenets of the religion of the Mongols seem to be as confused as those of the religion of the Monguors.

The rite used to be performed by the Turks.[4] Marco Polo, traveling through Turkistan on the way to Peking, notes the rites of the sacred animal—in this case a sheep.[5]

This rite is not to be confused with the well-known rite of the aspersion with milk of mares after the summer solstice. On an auspicious day the mares are milked and the milk is immediately mixed with sour cow's milk, so that it will become sour after a few minutes. This sour milk is thrown to the four points of heaven, with a wooden ladle, while prayers are said. The rite is performed in honor of all kinds of deities of Lamaism; all kinds of gods of heaven; of Chingis, his wives, his sons, and companions; to the spirits of mountains.[6]

CULT OF THE FIRE

A very old element of the old religion of the Turco-Mongols is the cult of the fire, whose specific offer was butter.[7] This cult had already existed in the arctic culture, "wir gehen wohl nicht fehl wenn wir wenigstens die Wurzeln irgendeine religiösen Feuer Kultus schon in die arktischen Urkultur eingesenkt lassen."[8] Fire is supposed to carry the offerings to the supreme deity.[9] It is one of the essential elements of the old religion of the nomads.[10] Among the Ch'i-tan, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, received considerable attention during winter.[11] Among the Ch'i-tan, the burning of big fire-wood was originally

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[3] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore ordos, op. cit.*, 1 seq. Prof. Schuyler Cammann encountered in Ordos a sacred yearling camel wearing a necklace of sheep scapulas—it could never be ridden by man. *The land of the camel*, 167, New York, Ronald Press, 1951.

[4] Herman Vambery, *Das Turkenvolk*, 122, 1885.

[5] Yule-Cordier, **1**: 207, 1929.

[6] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 315–322, 331. Father Mostaert also notes (*Monumenta Serica* **1**: 335, n. 19, 1935) that among the Mongols this rite, which is performed by laymen, is not specifically for Heaven but for all the Burkhans, Tengris, etc. The koumis (mare's milk) is cast from a ladle toward the four points of heaven; there is not a ladle-full for Heaven alone. This rite follows the summer solstice, by which time the colts have been born. It seems to be a thanksgiving rite, a rite of first fruits, specifically enacted for the reproduction of the horses. The Monguors, no longer having herds of horses, lack this rite.

[7] W. Koppers, Die Indogermanenfrage in Lichte der historischen Volkerkunde, *Anthropos* **30**: 23, 1935; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* **10**: 70–76; **9**: 228–241, 534–535.

[8] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, **3**: 550.

[9] *Ibid.* **3**: 555.

[10] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 136, 1925.

[11] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *op. cit.*, 214 and 239.

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Seerting group, but also among some families living in the Hung-nai and Ha-la-chih Valleys. It is said that long ago an old lama of Sung-chan-i (P'ing-fan hsien) introduced the cult of this spirit in the country. It has only one eye in front, and its image is honored not in the living room but behind the entrance gate of the courtyard. Many Monguors do not like to marry their daughters into families where this spirit is honored, and those who honor it are afraid to get rid of its cult, for fear of calamities. The spirit notices all visitors and watches to see whether some evil intent is not lurking behind the visit. It is said that when an undesired guest lingers waiting for dinner, Sturlong causes him tremendous intestinal troubles so that he has to run away. At the time when the dowry for a girl of the family is discussed, and the head of the family suggests that the part required by the lord of the family is not yet fixed, the go-betweens understand the hint and promise a goat for Sturlong. On the wedding day, a few moments before the bride will leave, a goat is set before Sturlong who avidly devours its prey and does not notice the bride leaving. At the time an animal is to be sold, its price is discussed not at the home of the proprietor but outside the courtyard, in order to avoid Sturlong knowing about it.

Still another spirit is honored, which steals in behalf of the families that honor it. Its cult is practiced especially in the Hung nai Valley. The Chinese call it *Mao-kui-shen* "cat spirit." It is a male spirit for which young women prepare a blanket at night, and which they "serve." On the tenth moon it steals grain and brings it to the granaries of its devotees. If guests arrive unexpectedly at noon and the food prepared is not sufficient, it is so potent that it can add food enough for all the guests by unknown means. When thieves come at night, it spirits away the things they intend to steal. However, it cannot steal Chinese coins, because Chinese characters are stamped on them; it cannot steal cloth in behalf of its devotees, because on both ends of a piece of cloth are printed the brands of the fabric. It cannot take things out of a closet which is tightly closed, but when the door is open it takes what it needs. It likes to drink liquor. A young woman poured liquor for it, one cup after another, until the cup remained full. In the blanket she found a drunken cat, which her husband killed. These tales resemble those recounted by the Mongols, concerning the well-known fox-spirit.[12]

[12] Here should be noted the very interesting study of F. A. Oberle, S.V.D., dealing with a similar frame of mind, with practices, some similar and some differing, encountered among the Tibetans of the region of Kui-te, 200 *li* south of Hsining on the right bank of the Yellow River, and among a group of Tibetans living 60 *li* west of Hsining called Chia-hsi-fan by the Chinese, i.e., Tibetans living in houses in contrast to the Tibetans living in tents. However, I never heard the Monguors explaining the rites performed against the avenger of the family wealth, suggesting the avenger having the appearance of a "Hundekopfdamon," an evil spirit with a dog head. See

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SOULS

The concept of the soul is one of the most confused all over Asia. Chinese claim to have two souls: the *p'o* and the *hun*. The p'o appears at the moment of conception, the hun at the time of birth. At death, they are separated; the p'o dwelling with the corpse, the hun going to Heaven, to the domain of Shang ti. Hungry p'o become malignant dead. However, according to old theories, they live only for three years after death. In later times it was imagined that there was a place for the p'o similar to that of the hun. When the mourning period is finished, the deceased becomes an ancestor.[1]

Pure shamanism—i.e., shamanism before its contact with Lamaism,—had no conception of another world or a realm of death; but another realm to which only the shaman had admission, which became adorned with many attributes of the Lamaistic Hades, as appears later in the more recent shamanistic incantations. In pure shamanism, the ghost and spirits of the dead remained in this world at their burial sites. These sites developed into haunted places, and through fear were tabu to all but the shamans who have power over these ghosts and spirits.[2]

Johannes de Plano Carpini (1246–1247) claimed that the Mongols had no notion about heaven or hell, but asserted that they entered another world after death, where they could tend animals,[3] and that their deceased, under the form of dolls, were put on a wagon guarded by shamans and honored on certain days. Later on, good men became good spirits, and so the entire branch of Chingis Khan became good spirits. Owing to Tibetan Buddhist influences, souls were incarnated in other men.[4] A judgment after death was supposed to take place, and a heaven and a hell and even a kind of purgatory to exist.[5] Schmidt concludes his synthesis of the religion of the oldest Turks by saying, "Because the soul is thought to have the shape of a bird, and because death is called 'flying away,' it seems to point to a flight to Heaven," so that a heaven might have existed. The souls of princes were probably thought to enter Heaven where they lived in the way they lived on earth.[6]

The Buriats speak in a very confused manner about three souls.[8] The Yakuts believe the shaman has three souls, "the air soul," "the earth soul," and "the mother soul." During his childhood the threefold soul is taken away by the spirits, and his mother soul takes the shape of a "fantastic female."[9] These facts suffice to give an idea about the confusion reigning in Central Asia about the soul, and they prepare us to expect the same confu-

[1] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 186.
[2] Heissig, *op. cit.*, 510.
[3] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 194, 1195.
[4] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 105.
[5] *Ibid.*, 108–110.
[6] *Ibid.* 9: 65.
[7] *Ibid.*, 35.
[8] Sandschejew, *op. citit.*, *Anthropos* 23: 578, 1928.
[9] Dioszegi, Le combaat sous forme d'animal des chamans, *Acta Orientalia*, 316, 19952.

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sion concerning this subject among the Monguors, who assume that they have three souls.

THE FIRST SOUL

The Monguors used to talk about the "soul of the bones,"[10] which seems to adhere to the bones in general, not to a definite bone. When the bones are broken or split, the soul seems not to be affected. Consequently, when Monguors kill a sheep, they do not take care to avoid the breaking of the bones. The soul seems never to leave the bones, even during life or after death; it is said to be buried with the bones in the grave, and to remain there adhering to them, and to vanish when the bones vanish. Never is it said that this soul harms people, or is harmed in anyway. However, when the shaman calls back the souls of a sick man supposed to be harmed by malignant spirits, or by souls of the deceased, the bone soul is called back with the two others.

This peculiar feeling existing over all Asia concerning the bones is noteworthy. The bones play a large role in the beliefs of the Mongol and Turkish people, to which stock the Monguors belong. The Monguors, as well as the Mongols and Turks, when asking for the name of a man's clan, ask for the name of his "bone," and their saying goes that the bones come from the father and the flesh from the mother. This basic principle is so deeply ingrained in their consciousness that when you ask a man or a woman what their bones are, they will always answer by giving the name of the clan of their father and not that of their mother. Everybody is recognized as belonging to the clan of his father. If you ask for the name of the bone of their mother, they will answer by giving the name of their mother's father's clan and not of their mother's mother's clan, for the bones come from the father. This behavior fits perfectly in the frame of a patriarchal society.

However, it is not known at what time specific facts caused the Monguors to go so far as to call their maternal uncle the "master of the bones" of the children of his sister, to acquiesce to his illegal usurpation of the most basic rights belonging to the family chief in a patriarchal society, to allow the maternal uncle to decide, in definite circumstances, about the life and death of these children, and to be their recognized avenger in case of suicide, caused by maltreatment, and to become the only man who can permit the burial of these children.[11] In all matriarchal societies in Asia this intrusion is observed on a larger or smaller scale. Even in the Chinese society the maternal uncle plays an important role, presiding over the festivities at marriages and giving permission to bury the children of his sister. The Chinese saying is well known that, when the maternal uncle brings suit at court against the son of his sister, the father of the defendant cannot withstand it, and also the saying that as long as the mother's family (maternal uncle) does not permit burial, the de-

[10] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 2: 205.
[11] Schram, Part I: 91.

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new beliefs have entered their minds. However, for how long a time will the existence of this soul last? Even though the lamas speak of a quasi-endless paradise with Buddha, and of successive rebirths, the Mongours honor the souls of only three older generations at the feast of spring, at the celebration of the family guardian deity, and at the time when shamans expel evil spirits from sick men. After that the souls seem to be finished.

The second soul seems to be more independent of the body than the first one, because, during sleep, dreaming, and fainting fits, it may wander to far-off countries, and later recall what it saw or heard, and how it acted in these countries. At the moment of death, the family, on the roof of the house, implores it not to leave them. The shaman, curing the sick, calls this soul back with the two others along the rope. Immediately after death, the lama releases this soul through the bregmatic fontenelle. Surely, therefore, this soul leaves the body after death.

However, its existence has always been precarious. During life it was subject to being harmed by nefarious spirits, and after death, lamas must say prayers to help it reach paradise safely, in order that vampires may not devour it on the way. In the same way, the shamans at the feast of spring tell about the dangerous crossing of the bridge after death, and about vampires waiting for these souls.[18]

Siberian shamans travel to heaven in order to bring back souls abducted by evil spirits.[19] The Tungus believe that the soul remains for a certain time near the body,[20] and then a dog carries it into the lower world;[21] that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat,[22] and that a raven looks for the souls traveling, after death, to the lower world and brings the news to the soul's owner.[23] The release of the soul is a very important function of the shaman.[24]

The Mongours do not say in which part of the body the soul is located, or from where it originated. At the feast of spring, however, the shamans, when making fire, tell in a peculiar manner how Tengri made seven men and seven women. The Tungus believe that the souls are given by the spirit,[25] they also say that the death of a man results in the birth of a new soul in the other (upper) world, and that the soul may be sent to a newborn human being.[26] Among the Chi-tan is recorded a sacrifice offered by the emperor in the tenth month, to the god of the sacred Black Mountain, who cares for the souls of the populace.[27]

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[18] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 191, 192.
[19] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 179.
[20] Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex*, 215.
[21] *Ibid.*, 210.
[22] *Ibid.*, 92.
[23] *Ibid.*, 142.
[24] *Ibid.*, 276.
[25] *Ibid.*, 128.
[26] *Ibid.*, 297.
[27] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 204-214. [p.141(B)]

thereupon swallowed opium and also died. Because this case had involved the village and caused a lot of trouble, the chief of the village, with the maternal uncle, decided that they were unworthy to be cremated and buried them in the same pit. In Part I, other similar cases have been recorded.

The old Turco-Mongols buried their dead;[26] the old Hsiung-nu buried their dead also, as did the Hsien-pi.[27] The Ch'iang did not bury the corpses, but placed them in trees for three years, and then removed the bones and buried them.[28] This custom is widely distributed in northern Eurasia from the Tungus to the Lappe.

Mongours follow the Chinese custom in disposing of children who have died during the first month of age. They burn them and bury them in the k'ang, for it is said to be harmful to bring such corpses out of the room. Children of less than ten years of age are enveloped in straw and thrown in a lonely spot and disposed of by dogs and rapacious animals. Children who die under fifteen years of age are usually cremated without any ceremony, and their bones are not cared for. Young people under twenty years of age, dying in the morning, are cremated at evening; those who die at night are cremated in the early morning. Unmarried youngsters are cremated without any ceremony, and prayers are not said for them; their bones are collected after the cremation and buried in the abode of the wicked people. In the Ordos these dead are supposed to become vampires and to cause many deaths.[29]

In the case of married people dying without children, the maternal uncle is invited, a lama says some prayers, the harmful souls are driven out of the home, and cremation is without ceremony. Their bones are buried in the same terrible abode. However, in case both are aged, prayers are said for several days. After cremation the bones are collected and buried in the family cemetery, at the request of the maternal uncle. According to the Mongours, the aged dead are no longer abandoned in valleys, on account of the density of the population, and the custom of cutting the dead into pieces to feed the vultures has never been practiced.

DEATH

When a Mongour is dying, the women of the family, from the roof of the house, call on his spirit not to abandon them, crying that they are preparing for it a delicious dish, apologizing for their shortcomings, and with tears and sighs giving assurance of their love, in a most pathetic way. If a child is dying, women on the roof cry and call his name, wave his best clothes and pretend that cookies and candies are waiting for him. This is an age-old custom practiced in China from the

[26] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* 2: 120–126. Parker, *A thousand years of the Tartars*, 86.
[27] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 15–86, 104.
[28] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 204.
[29] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126.

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the great mourning period is over, and the whole group 764
prostrates itself and thanks the master of ceremonies, 765
who will receive twelve rolls.

The incineration ceremonies for poor people are obviously less elaborate. The maternal uncle is invited, a Red lama prays for one day, drives away the souls of 764
the deceased, and receives five-hundred copper coins and 765
some rolls. The people themselves perform the incineration, bury the small coffin, and build the tumulus.

MOURNING CUSTOMS

The Mongours today still call the mourning period 765
the "black period."[37] A son born after the death of his father is still called a "black son." The old custom of wearing black during the mourning period is still noticeable in the clothes worn by men and women, as will be noted.

It is interesting how the use of black as a mourning 765
color has been so widespread in Central Asia among the 171
nomads, even before our era, although in China white was the mourning color from the earliest times. During the Chou dynasty (1122–202 B.C.), while the family dressed in white mourning clothes, the inside of the coffin had to be upholstered with black silk.[37] In 626 B.C. black was already the mourning color for the barbarians living in north China.[38] The Scythians (Yüeh chih) in Samarkand, in A.D. 634, wore black clothes at the time of mourning.[39] In Tibet the head of the king was enveloped with a black turban in the coffin in order to preserve him against evil spirits.[40] The Liao officials (907–1125) blackened the bright parts of their hats for a few days in mourning for the deceased emperor.[41] The maternal uncle of Emperor K'ang hsi died in Wu-lan-pu-tung during the campaign against Galdan in 1696. His ashes were carried to Peking in a small coffin, put in a sedan chair upholstered with black satin, and in Peking the coffin was placed under a canopy of black satin.[42] Black is still the mourning color of the Mongols of the Ordos.[43]

The Mongours practice the great and small mourning. 765
The great mourning consists of men wearing their coats inside out, not buttoned or fastened, girding the waist with a hemp rope, and unbinding their plaited hair and binding it on the neck with a small hemp rope. The women turn their skirts inside out and do not wear the traditional elaborate headdress. The members of the family of a lower generation than the deceased wear the mourning dress. The relatives, sons-in-law, their wives and children, members of a higher generation, do not

[37] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 184.
[38] Couvreur, *Tso Chuan* 1: 431. Zottoli, *Cursus Litterarum Sinicae* 4: 39.
[39] Wieger, *op. cit.*, 1569.
[40] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 191.
[41] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 283.
[42] De Mailla, *Histoire de la Chine* 4: 147, Paris, Clousier, 1778.
[43] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130. [p. 146(A)]

honored in the open air temples being built only for 776
souls of the deceased." Among the Mongours, temples are built for all kinds of spirits. Heaven, however, has no temples.

The Mongours have no special offering for "Heaven." In former times, according to their traditions, horses were offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." At present the sheep is the usual offering. It is offered to all kinds of spirits and on all occasions. Rich people, or large villages, often offer a pig.

The most important event in a Mongour community 244
is the rite performed in spring, in order to obtain 776
blessings upon the community and the crops during the year. All possible spirits are invited into the temple along the rope, except the lama deities. The feast starts at night, with offerings, dances, and drum beating by the shamans for "Heaven and all the spirits"—but nobody attends this night rite, not even the chief or elders of the village! And during the two days that the rite lasts, not a single mention is made of "Heaven"!

The appointment of the new Tu-ssu is announced, not 622
to "Heaven and all the spirits," but to the ancestors and to the protector deity of the clan, with an elaborate ceremonial, and their blessings are implored upon the T'u-ssu and the clan. (See Part I: 46.)

At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages, the image of the guardian deity of the clan is reverently carried to the villages and honored for three days. However, not a single rite is performed for Heaven by the chief of the clan, not even at the yearly cult of the ancestor of the clan, when the entire clan is assembled. (Part I: 37, 64.)

No Mongour hopes his soul will ascend to Heaven 775
and enjoy happiness together with the great "spirit of 776
Heaven," in a place of joy and felicity. The Mongols have no notion of such a place belonging to the "great Heaven"; they only know the luxurious paradise of Buddha, where they are told they will enjoy happiness with Buddha during his period of time, preceding a new rebirth, about which they seem to have very little interest.

All these facts seem to prove that at present the Mon- 776
gours are very remiss in the cult of their undefined and 170
vague "spirit of Heaven," who is without departments of activities, having no power over good and evil spirits, and no omnipotence. The "great Heaven" is not the so-called "Huchgot," but a spirit enjoying an honorary prominence.

In connection with this problem, it should be kept in mind that the habit of ascribing prominence to one among the spirits seems to be very old in Asia: "In Babylon and Assyria [3,000 years ago] the principal god of the city which happened to dominate the entire nation, became the supreme god of the realm."[8] "Al-

[7] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 202.

[8] Albert Condamin, S.J., *La religion des Babyloniens et des Assyriens*, 692, Jos. Huby, Christus Beauchesne, Paris, 1923.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

though Babylonians and Assyrians had a trend toward monotheism, they never fulfilled it. They always preserved their monarchic polytheism with a prominent god, chief of an army of innumerable gods."[9] In Persia, at the time of the Achaemenians (688–333 B.C.), Ahura Mazda received the highest worship instead of the god of Heaven, and was assumed to be preeminent among the other deities.[10] It is interesting to encounter today the same trend of mind among the Buriats. 776 171

In general all Buriat groups have their own supreme deities, either special to themselves or shared with the rest of the Buriat world; with these deities they stand in a relationship of direct descent and they invoke the deities in time of need. The supreme ancestor of a given group may be one to whom that group attributes the descent of all Buriats.[11]

In concluding this section it is appropriate to remember that it is a fact that the true concept of a creation *ex nihilo* has not been found in any philosophical system or religion except the Biblical revelation; even the specific concept of the transcendency of God has not been expressed by any philosophical system or religion except Christianity. [776] 171

In order to understand the psychology of the Monguors regarding the "spirit of Heaven," it seems advantageous to recall first what is known about the subject among the old Turkic Mongol tribes, ancestors of the Monguors; second, to recall the religious experiences through which these tribes passed at the hand of foreign religions diffused in their countries. It will be well also to consider the impact of Nestorianism, especially upon the Mongols upon whom the Monguors depended, and the effects of this impact in relation to the idea of the "spirit of Heaven."

CULT OF HEAVEN AMONG THE TURKIC-MONGOLS

It is common knowledge that the Turkic-Mongol[12] tribes of Central Asia, according to historical data, rec- 776 171

[9] *Ibid.*, 698.

[10] Albert Carnoy, *La religion des Perses*, 306, Jos. Huby Christus, Paris, Beauchesne, 1923.

[11] Professor Lawrence Krader, Buriat Religion and Society, *Southwestern Jour. Anthropology* 10 (3): 339, 1954.

[12] René Grousset, *Empire Mongol, Ire phase*, 1–3, De Boddard, Paris, 1941. Only on linguistic grounds can we vindicate the existence of an Altaic group including Turks, Tungus, and Mongols. Only from the sixth century A.D. was the term "Turk" used for one of the proto-Turkic tribes. In the twelfth century appeared the term "Mongols" as generic name of the proto-Mongol tribes. Earlier, however, the Hsiungnu tribes (third century B.C to second century A.D.), and T'opa tribes (who occupied North China in the fifth and sixth centuries) spoke Turkic languages; the Hsienpi (second century), the Juan-Juan in Mongolia, the Hephthalites in Turkestan (fifth century), and the Ch'i-tan (who occupied North China 907–1125) spoke Mongol languages. The Hsiungnu Turks dominated Central Asia until the second century, A.D., the Hsienpi Mongols dominated East Mongolia in the second century A.D.; T'opa Turkic tribes succeeded in the struggle for domination

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

ognized "Heaven" as enjoying a position of prominence among the gods and spirits they worshipped. Did this recognition, however, entail an intensive cult of "Heaven" among these Altaic tribes, or was this prominence only one of purely honorary dimension, as among the Monguors? A substantial answer to this question seems to be the synthesis encountered in the study by W. Schmidt concerning the subject among the Turkic-Mongol tribes. In an account from the "oldest available texts," he concludes his study about the Hiungnu (the oldest Turkic group) by saying, "We are still uncertain whether the being called 'Heaven' is, in the strict sense of the word, the 'Highest Being'; and finally, the position and relation of this being toward the other higher beings are not explained." [13]

Concerning the problem of the offerings he remarks, "The position of the other higher beings is more prominent than that of the being called 'Heaven'." [14] In the texts, the formula, "Heaven and deities" is used by the old Turks, and beside it there is also the formula, "Ancestors, Heaven and Earth, Spirits and Deities," and several times "Heaven" alone.[15] According to these texts, the religious notions of the old Hiungnu seem to have been at least as confused as those of the Monguors of today.

The conclusion of W. Schmidt about the religious notions concerning "Heaven" among the T'u-kiue (A.D. 551–800), another Turkic group, is that the texts fail to make clear that the being called "Heaven" by the T'u-kiue is the "highest being" in the strict sense of the word, but their content seems to hint at the fact that

in North China with the Hsienpi, while the Juan-Juan Mongols succeeded in settling in the Gobi region. During the sixth century the "Turks" dominated in Mongolia and west Turkestan; and in the eighth century the Uigur (Turks) and in the ninth the Kirgiz (Turks). From 924 on, Mongol and Turkic tribes struggled for the domination of Mongolia until the thirteenth century, when the Mongols triumphed under Chingis Khan. During all these centuries the conquerors agglomerated, collecting into their groups the defeated tribes. The empires of the steppe were composites. Pastoralism and nomadism more than identity of language held the tribes together. Hence the confusion and amalgamation in the field of religion, cult, and customs. (While the distinction between proto Turkic-Mongol tribes is often based on a few controversial linguistic data, authors do not always agree upon the classification of some tribes into one or another of the two groups; for instance the Hsienpi and Ch'i-tan. Among the She-wei a tribe called Meng-wu (seventh–ninth century) is noted, which would be the first mention of the name of the Mongols.)

[13] Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* 9: 20. "So dass wir auch noch in Ungewissen bleiben, ob das Himmels-wesen ein volles Höchstes Wesen ist. Schliesslich bleibt auch sein Erhaltnis zu den übrigen höheren Wesen ungeklärt."

[14] *Ibid.*, 19. "Das Opfer ist etwas reichlicher bezeugt, und hier treten auch die übrigen höheren Wesen mehr in den Vordergrund, sogar stärker als das Himmelswesen."

[15] *Ibid.*, 13. "Dass der Grosskhan das Opfer darbrachte 'seinen Ahnen, dem Himmel und der Erde, den Geistern und Göttern' . . . ! Er opferte den Himmel und den Göttern! . . ." B. 10: "das var vom Himmel verfügt . . . der Himmel hat dich geschickt. . . . Der Himmel erzürnte sich . . . wenn der Himmel nicht seine Pläne mit dem Hiung nu hatte. . . ."

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such a notion existed in their minds.[16] His conclusions relating to the religious notions concerning "Heaven" among the Uigurs (745) who overthrew the T'u-kiue realm and the majority of whom were converted to Manicheism, are: "Since we have only a few fragmentary facts about their old religion it is impossible to get a clear idea about it."[17] This interesting study by Schmidt affords all the data available concerning the cult of "Heaven" among the old Turkic groups, which seems to have been as confused in former times as today among the Monguors.

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It would be interesting to read the syntheses of Schmidt concerning the corresponding cult among the proto-Mongols. However, only a study concerning the Altai Tatars is provided, based on data collected by Russian ethnologists since the latter half of the eighteenth century, which reflects very confused notions existing at that time.[18]

However, in the *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)* Wittfogel and Feng provide the most instructive material concerning the tribal religion of the Ch'i-tan, tribes belonging to the Mongol stock, living just before the time of Chingis (1162–1227).

Their pantheon includes gods of Heaven, Earth, and Sun, of the *Mu-yeh* and of the Black Mountains, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, the gods of war and of metal, personified deities, supernatural powers thought to be immanent in trees, mountains, etc., an endless legion of souls of the dead, spirits of the two tribal ancestors appealed to at the temple seats; the souls of the general populace, which were protected by the gods of the Black Mountain. No explicit descriptions are encountered of the thereafter, but the funeral offers seem to imply a life after death with definite pastoral and military features. Heaven and Earth were usually appealed to together. Friendly supernatural powers had to ward off the danger of the evil ones.[19]

Solemn announcements were made to Heaven, Earth and the Sun, sometimes with the aid of fire, or from the top of a mountain. Twice a year the two tribal ancestors were officially honored by sacrifices of horses or oxen. Sacrifices of horses, oxen, sheep or geese were performed to win the favor of the gods, and on the tenth month were enacted for the spirits of all the dead.[20]

Tribal priests or shamans exercised political and religious power, non-official Wu had become guardians of a subsidiary religion.[21]

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[16] Ibid., 39, "So fehlet also noch viel, dass das Himmelswesen der T'u-kiue Religion als ein wirkliches und volles Höchstes Wesen erscheine, aber die für uns jetzt nur schwach ansetzenden spärlichen Linien seiner Charakterisierung scheinen in ihrer Verlängerung all auf ein solches Wesen hinaus zu laufen."

[17] *Ibid.*, 40, "Bei dieser verwirrten Geschichte seines stark gemischten Volkes, das dann so bald schon eine ganz andere Religion annahm, wird es verständlich, dass wir von ihrer alten Religion nur spärliche und fragmentarische Nachrichten besitzen aus denen man unmöglich ein irgendwie klares Gesamtbild gewinnen kann."

[18] *Ibid.* 9: 71.

[19] K. A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, reprint from the *Review of Religion*, May, 1948: 351.

[20] *Ibid.*, 358.

[21] *Ibid.*, 359.

[p. 153(B)]

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Uigur AI4

is not recorded. Friction between Uighurs and Shat'o? Not room enough in Tung Ku for the herds? A device to increase the military power of the myriarch?

It is also noted that twelve Pai-tieh tribes and others were controlled by the three Shat'o officials Li, Na, and Chi, who guarded the country 30 li south and west of Hsining. To these three Shat'o chieftains who controlled their own Shat'o subjects, the Pai-tieh tribes and others had been entrusted by the Mongols. Probably they were Uighurs, for they were moved from the Tung-ku region also, and it is noted that their customs and clothes and adornments were the same as those of the western Ch'iangs of the myriarch.

It is further noted that the Shat'o official Li Nan-ko originally controlled the tribes of Tung Ku and the Hula tribes. Probably being a prominent and powerful chieftain, he had enrolled among his Shat'o subjects these Uighur tribes, at the time they fled from Kanchow. At the same time it is recorded that the t'u-ssu Ah, Chao, Yeh, Kan, and Chu controlled the Lu-erh-chia tribes and others, which were in the main similar in customs, clothing and adornments, according to the *Annals*.

It is noted (Monguors I: 56) that only one large group of Chinese is known to have enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans. The group bears the surname of Pao and is usually called the Yuan Pao group. They are subjects of the Lu t'u-ssu. We were at a loss to explain satisfactorily the name Yuan Pao. The fact had been noted above that the strong Lung K'o tribe, with its 120,000 people, had received, in 1071, from the Sung emperor the name Pao for its faithfulness toward the dynasty. Is it not possible that, during the period of troubles, which lasted for nearly two centuries, the clan disintegrated, that a group moved to Huangchung and lost its language, conserving the name Pao, but, knowing that they were Uighurs, that they preferred to be enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans, as so many Uighurs during the Yuan period? Because this had happened during the Yuan period, they are still called the Pao group of the Yuan time, Yuan Pao chia.

It seems conclusively that these tribes were Uighur tribes which, during the Mongol period, had been divided in small units and entrusted to these petty military officials, and appointed as guardians of definite territory and mountain passes in Huangchung in order that they might be able to defend the country more easily.

SETTLEMENT OF UIGHURS AND SHAT'O IN EAST KANSU

The preceding notes explain the settlement of only a relatively small number of Uighurs. But where has the remainder of the several ten thousands of Uighurs been settled? Since the very important Lung K'o tribe was settled in East Kansu, and another Lung-po tribe is rooted in the same region, and on the map a

N 563 on, when the Monguors gave up the nomadic way of life and
M 614 became sedentary, the connection with the Chinese became
622 closer and closer and closer until the Monguors finally came
178 under Chinese rule. As the best means of maintaining control
179 over the "frontier barbarians" the Chinese permitted them a certain amount of local self-government; at this time the clan chieftain became a Chinese official, a so-called T'u-ssu or "local chief."

The Monguors were no exception to the rule that all minorities, militarily powerless in comparison with the ruling Chinese, succumbed to the new culture, which, in the minds of the minorities, had always been superior and therefore worthy of imitation. As soon as the minorities were militarily defeated or went into submission voluntarily and deliberately,
M [171] their chieftains proudly received the insignia and title of a Chinese office. This is true of the Khans of the Mongols, the Beks of the Turks, the rgyal-pos of the Tibetans.

While the Turkic chieftains received the title of Shang-lao (Bek), the Mongolian tribal leaders became Wangs, and the Monguor clan chieftains received the title of T'u-ssu. This institution was installed by the Chinese to administer minority tribes at the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. The
N 563 T'ang annals already report that the Chinese Emperor made
175 hereditary chieftains of frontier territories heads of the Chi-mi-
M chou, (the predecessor of the T'u-ssu institution). The Yüan
175 dynasty already called this office by its present name - T'u-
179 ssu. The Ming dynasty continued to confer this title on Mongol
614 clan chieftains whose clans were by this time mixed with
622 Tibetans, Turks, and Chinese. The Manchu dynasty,(who favored minorities for obvious reasons: (1) the Manchus themselves constituted a minority and (2) maintenance of political equilibrium and balance of power in regard to minorities and indigenous Chinese) extended this system in a way that the various clans gained a limited measure of self-determination and autonomy. However, the ties to the Imperial court and its administrative institutions were, and remained close. Finally, the office of the T'u-ssu remained under the same name during the Republican period of China. In other frontier areas, e.g. in Sinkiang, the names of these offices were different, but they differed only slightly functionally. Father Schram describes the institution as follows: "...the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal non-Chinese peoples attached to, but not yet absorbed into, the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that ofChina as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native Chief" and as Chinese official."

N *563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren.
M 592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually
554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N *563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional
M part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the
581 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon-
562 gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an-
[769] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered
[171] a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their live-
stock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently
*563 the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con-
M siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen
584 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage
583 age for boys is between 14-16.
582 Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab-
N solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is
*563 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob-
M served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage
614 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the
582 weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re-
565 garded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it
has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy
rules need not be observed as strictly.

N Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but
*563 does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a
M sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different
582 clan.

M A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family,
[587] usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband.
However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance
and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she
wants.

N Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from
*563 the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage
M to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan,
588 but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patri-
lineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as
members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the
belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has
relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be
"married" if she becomes pregnant.

N The relationship between two families connected by marriage
*563 is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being
M part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence
604

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 276 [372] men make their own pipes from the leg bone of a sheep. The smoking kit, a small pouch holding tobacco, a pinch of tinder and some small flints, hangs on the belt at the waist. The light is obtained by striking tinder against the flint.

c. Clothing

N *563 M 291 [177] The Mongours have always been proud of their national costume, though since the enrollment of some Chinese into their clans, a few communities have adopted Chinese clothing. During the rule of the Chinese Nationalist government, most of the Mongours kept their own costume. According to Father Schram, M [668] [177] who made a thorough investigation of the people, they were not allowed to wear the national costume after the Communists conquered their country in 1949. It is not known whether the Communists are continuing their policy of obliterating the distinct costumes and traditions of the small minorities.

M [171] The clothing of the Mongours is not greatly different from that of the Mongols. Traditionally, the men dress much less elaborately than the women. A man ordinarily wears a dark blue cotton gown, similar to that of the Chinese, that opens on the right side and hangs a little below the knees. The upper part of the gown is loose and a sash or belt is worn at the waist, making a copious pocket in which the man carries his eating bowl and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown of roughly woven white wool. Festival gowns of the rich are of silk or satin, and a vest or sleeveless jacket is worn over the gown. The ordinary man wears a cotton gown and jacket for festive occasions, with a plain silk or cotton sash.

In the old days, men wore trousers only when they went to town. Now they regularly wear blue cotton trousers cut in the Chinese style, with the legs stuffed into their cloth-topped knee boots. The tops of dress boots are sometimes embroidered. In winter, leather boots are worn. Few Mongours wear underclothing, and neither men nor women wear stockings.

M [301] Almost every young man wears a silver-plated bracelet carved with Chinese designs, and most men wear finger rings set with coral or turquoise.

The woman's gown is very full, has wide sleeves, and hangs to her heels. It overlaps in front, and buttons down the left side. An outer gown of coarse, unwashed wool is used as a working garment. Because of the natural oil in the wool, the gown sheds water well. A sash or girdle holds both gowns at the waist. Generally the poor do not wear trousers, the two gowns being their only garments.

N *563 M 292 Well-to-do women have elaborate and gaily colored festival dresses, fancy trousers and false sleeves. Like the Mongol women, they wear fancy headdresses and boots for dress occasions. At such times the outer gown is left off and the inner

N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [191] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

N *563 M 301 [888] Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 769 614 a. Ancestor worship

Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-

N *563 first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.
M 562 852 [553]

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.
M [203] [604] [603] [553]

Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.
M [184]

j. Beard-growing

N *563 A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.
M 302 [593] [888]

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.
M 764 [171] [177]

4. Popular beliefs

N *563 Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.
M 843 562

If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.
N *563 M 553 777 789

769 over China. The festival, calculated according to the
618 lunar calendar, usually falls about the beginning of April. The assembly of the clan is concerned with three matters: the veneration of ancestors, a great feast, and an assize at which all topics concerning the clan are open for discussion.

MONGUOR CEMETERIES

764 It is plain from the descriptions that have already been given that the burial customs of the Monguors in recent
● 172 times have been heavily overlaid with Chinese borrowings. There are, however, indications of more ancient customs. People told that in 1906, after very heavy rains, a wall near the village of Hsinyuanp'u on the spur of a mountain in the valley of Shat'ang collapsed and a big vaulted burial chamber was revealed. It had been built with very large bricks. It contained a coffin, which had rotted away, in which there was the skeleton of a man. His clothes had rotted, but the remains of a bow, arrows, and quiver were found. Before the coffin there lay the skeleton of a horse. The saddle had also rotted,

[P. 69-b]

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764 but it could be seen that the materials of the saddle had included copper and iron. As this discovery was made
•172 six years before I arrived in the country, I was unable to gather more details from the local people, who were totally uninterested in archaeological discoveries. The bricks of the tomb were said to have been carried away and used by the villagers, and the place could no longer be identified.

We know from numerous archaeological excavations that such tombs were built by the Turkish and Mongol tribes of Inner Asia and Northern Mongolia from ancient down to medieval times. These tombs are related in design to the tombs of the ancient Chou kings in China in the first millennium B.C. They consist essentially of an excavated chamber, its walls shored up either with timber or, in China, with bricks, and a great tumulus heaped up over the grave.[56] In the grave were placed horses and sometimes wives and servants who had been sacrificed to be buried with the deceased. Does the horse-burial tomb in the Monguor country belong to this tradition? This question I cannot answer, as I was unable to inspect the tomb.

At present there exist only two ancestral burial mounds which, according to Monguor tradition, contain such burial chambers. One is that of the Ch'i clan in Nienpei built in the garden of the mansion, in which are buried the more recent ancestors of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, and the other that of the Lu clan in Liench'eng. For other clans, there are conflicting traditions. Some say that in former times a number of clans had similar ancestral mounds, but that they were destroyed by Muslims. This tradition is not supported by such evidence as the ruins of burial places of this kind; on the other hand, in all the oldest cemeteries there is merely a big mound over the grave of the founding ancestor, without burial chambers, and therefore graves with such chambers are not only exceptional but of late construction.

173 As for the valley in which the horse-burial was dis-
172 covered, it is said that it was once inhabited by the Li clan, which is of Shat'o Turkish origin. Near the place where the burial-chamber was found there are still the ruins of an old fortress which is said locally to have been built by the famous Li, Prince of Chin. Although it is quite probable that the Shat'o Turks once occupied this valley, it is certain that the famous Prince Li never lived there. It is possible that his name has been attached in folk tradition to some other once-famous Shat'o chief; but it does not seem likely that this chief, whoever he was, was a direct ancestor of the present clan, because the Li clan holds its assembly in the valley of Hanp'ingshan, five miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 4, p. 3).

764 The Sanch'uan branch of the same clan, south of Nienpei, holds its diet at Hsiangt'ang, at the junction of the Tat'ung and Hsining Rivers. Here stands the most elaborate cemetery in the whole country. It seems to

[56] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* 2: 121, Liepzig, 1893. [p. 70a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

114 (Mongols of the lower land) (p. 375). ("Santan
101 Dzhimba" is, of course, Potanin's version of the famous "Samdadchiemba" who had previously accompanied Huc and Gabet.)

Potanin refers further to the opinion of Uspenski, who disproves the theory of Prjevalski concerning the "Daldy" or "Talat," and claims that the Daldy are the people called by the Chinese Huang Fan and who are the Shera-Uighurs. Potanin supposes that the Shirongols probably belong to the same stock as the Shera-Uighurs who live in the Nanshan range north of Kanchou and Suchou and are called Huang Fan or "Yellow barbarians" by the Chinese. He notes that according to the *Annals* of Suchou, the names of the Princes of the "Yellow Barbarians" are Mongol names, and raises the question whether the Shirongols or Monguors may not be simply a group of these Uighurs (Yellow Uighurs) who were first Mongolized and later strongly influenced
114 by the Chinese culture (p. 382). Potanin notes a tra-
• 173 dition which he himself heard several times and which was also heard by Prjevalski that the Shirongols came to the Tibetan frontier from the Ordos. In connection with the fact that they are sometimes called Daldy, or Talat, he cites from Prjevalski the fact that one of the Ordos banners is called Talat. Potanin also notes a tradition that the Shirongols were sent by Chingis Khan himself to take possession of the Tibetan frontier. On the question of the precise time of their arrival, Potanin draws attention to three migrations from the Ordos region to the Tibetan frontier. The first of these was in the fourth century A.D., when a large group of the Sienpi tribe of Eastern Mongolia passed through the Ordos and migrated as far as Northern Tibet. The second, according to the Mongol historian, Sagang Setsen, was in the thirteenth century, when Dorda and Godan, brothers of Kublai Khan, were ordered by their mother to migrate to Shera-tala (Yellow Plain) northwest of Hsining. (According to a communication from Father Mostaert, this story was not written by Sagang Sètsen, but added by Schmidt, his translator.) The third migration was in the fifteenth century when a large group of Ölöt or western Mongols came to the Kukunor region from the north. He suggests that the Shirongols may be the result of the mingling of the descendants of these groups, or perhaps only of the two groups that migrated, in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries (p. 280).

Potanin notes a tradition according to which the Shirongols had built a large realm, the capital of which was at Lanchou (capital of the province of Kansu); after three mighty emperors had governed the realm in succession it was destroyed by Ghesar (the mythical Tibetan hero). One of these emperors was Horbende. Potanin adds that in the Mongol chronicle *Altan Tobchi* (Russian translation, p. 196) it is said that: "Sain Altan Khagan destroyed the Sharegols of Amdo who lived between Tibet and Tangut" and he supposes that the

[p.24b]

114 Sharegols are the Shirongols, or that the Shirongols are their descendants (p. 375).

173 Potanin notes also another tradition that the founder of all the families of Monguor T'u-ssu, or chieftains, was Li, prince of Chin; according to this tradition the present T'u-ssu family of Li represents the direct line of descent, while the other T'u-ssu families are collateral descendants. Li, Prince of Chin (an ancient name for the northern part of what is now the Province of Shansi; a region frequently held by Turkish tribes during the early middle ages), was a high official at the court of one of the T'ang emperors. For misbehavior at an imperial dinner he was exiled to the region of Hsining. He brought Chinese to this region to develop agriculture, and built a city which became the capital of a powerful kingdom. According to some variants of the legend, the mythical Tibetan hero, Ghesar, destroyed the kingdom of the Shirongols, but according to other variants it was Li who was the founder of the Kingdom. The ancient grave of Li, Prince of Chin, is to be seen near Shandan (an old name for the city of Hsining). The stone slab set before the grave is reputed to have medicinal powers, for which reason people chip off pieces of the stone. Only about one-third of the stone still exists. Stones carved in the form of sheep are set out in rows before the grave (pp. 380–381).

114 177 Potanin goes on to state that there are many groups of the Shirongols, some of whom live in communities of their own while others live in mixed communities. Among the Shirongols of San Ch'uan there are families of Tibetan and Chinese origin, while on the other hand some of the Shirongols have become Tibetanized. In the succession to the chieftainship, he says, the eldest son inherits, while his brothers sink into the rank of commoners. In some groups there is no chief, the people, after accusing the chief of imposing too heavy land taxes and feudal services, having become ordinary Chinese subjects. Potanin was not able to find out how many of the original eighteen groups of Shirongols still existed in his time. According to his information, the Shirongols were allowed to sell their fields to members of the same group, if they had the permission of their chief.[4]

000 *W. W. Rockhill* writes of the Monguors:

> In western Kan-su these Tu-jen alone use cave dwellings; such dwellings are found among all these people, and also, I have heard said, among the Tibetan tribes living west of Sung-p'an-t'ing. The question suggests itself whether these tribes did not teach the Chinese to make such dwellings and furthermore whether these people, these Tu-jen, are not of the same stock as the now extinct Man-tzu cave makers of western Sze-ch'uan (pp. 72–74). Their language is as I thought about eight-tenths Mongol.

[4] G. N. Potanin, *Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina Kitaya i tsentral'naya Mongoliya (The Tangut-Tibetan frontier of China and Central Mongolia)*, 1893 (in Russian). An abridged edition was published in 1950 (Moscow, State Publishers), and is the source which I have used here. The passages cited were kindly translated for me by F. J. Spriet, pp. 374, 380–384.

[p. 25a]

114 *Reginald Farrer*, who was in the country in 1915, writes that "Here and there all over China occur these queer little outcrops of dying races from of old," and
101 that the "Turan," or "Children of Earth," pervade just this one small spot on the face of China, a curious race, wholly unlike the Chinese, the Mongols, the Tibetans and the Mohamedans, if only in the fact that they are very dark and very dense with curly black hair." [11]

Frederick Wulsin wrote of the Monguors that "Some have suggested that the T'u-run (speech) is very old Mongol and others that it is based on the Shat'o Turkish dialect. The present To-run might be descended from immigrants belonging to one or the other of these races. The information now at hand does not justify me in expressing an opinion." [12]

This last citation may be taken as an appropriate summing up of the fact that the Monguors have always been an enigma to foreign travelers.

THE MONGUORS AN ENIGMA TO THE LOCAL PEOPLE

101 The Monguors have, however, been as much an
173 enigma to their Chinese neighbors as they have been to foreigners. The Chinese name T'u-jen means, as has already been explained, "autochthones" or "aborigines," and under the influence of this term the popular explanation of the Chinese of the region is that the Monguors are descendants of the first inhabitants of the country who built the oldest villages and cities, occupied the most fertile valleys, dug the irrigation canals and then were conquered and subjugated by the Chinese at some very early historical period.

Another Chinese tradition, however, is that the Monguors are of Mongol stock and settled in the region where they now live, during the Mongol dynasty, between 1260 and 1368. Still another tradition is that they are Mongols who were settled as garrisons in Yunnan Province, under the Mongol dynasty, but on the fall of that dynasty were moved to Hsining and settled there at the orders of the Ming dynasty. Yet another Chinese tradition is that the Monguors are all of Shat'o Turkish stock and arrived in the Hsining region during the T'ang dynasty (618–906); but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming dynasty. While living in the region, I also heard it said by learned Chinese who had won literary honors under the Manchu Empire that the Monguors were not a homogeneous people, but included descendants of the T'ulufan of Turkistan, remnants of the medieval T'uyühun (Sienpi) tribes, and even fragments of old Ch'iang (Tibetan) tribes. Such Chinese were prone to say in addi-
173 tion that the T'u-ssu or hereditary local chiefs were not of the same origin as any of their subjects, but that they

[11] Reginald Farrer, *The rainbow bridge*, 75, London, Arnold, 1921.

[12] Frederick Wulsin, Non-Chinese inhabitants of the province of Kan-su, China. *Amer. Jour. Physical Anthropol.* 8: 316, 1925.

[P. 26a]

were all of Chinese extraction and did not understand the language of their subjects.

According to this tradition the founding ancestor of the Li line of T'u-ssu chiefs was not in fact of Shat'o extraction and not the son of Li K'o-yung, Prince of Chin, but a wealthy and prominent Chinese living in Hsining. At the time of the fall of the Mongol dynasty and the founding of the Ming dynasty, Tibetan tribes were making destructive forays along the Hsining frontier, and this Chinese named Li asked them to submit to the new dynasty. When they refused he went to Lanchow, asked for Chinese troops, and also called on the Monguors of the region to lend a hand in crushing the turbulent Tibetans. The marauders were defeated and fled to the Tsaidam marshes and other parts of the Tibetan plateau, the Monguors and all the other frontier people were grateful to Li for saving their lives and their wealth, and he was rewarded by the Emperor with the office of T'u-ssu and chieftainship over the Monguors.

As against this semi-literary tradition, however, both Monguors and Chinese of the valley of Shat'ang, northeast of Hsining, maintain that the Li T'u-ssu line is in fact descended from the Shat'o prince of Chin and as proof they claim that the Shat'ang valley was formerly called the Shat'o valley and that the original Li mansion was built in the village of Hsinyuänp'u, where its ruins can still be seen. They say that the founding ancestor of the Li line, at the head of his Shat'o troops, crushed insurrections led by Huang Ch'ao (875 A.D.) and saved the tottering throne of the T'ang dynasty; but that, disgusted by the intrigues of jealous Chinese ministers, he retired to Hsinyuänp'u, where in addition to the ruins of his mansion there are pointed out the ruins of another mansion, said to have been built by his "prime minister." In the same valley, near a village called Hsitsantze, the ruins of an old city are huddled at the foot of the mountains. This city is called Hsinch'eng, the "New City." Linked with this ruined city are the ruins of an old frontier "Great Wall," and both city and wall are attributed by local tradition to the founding ancestor of the Li line.

The descendants of this prince are credited by the same local tradition with having been at one time the rulers of Hsining, and it is said that the ruined Buddhist monastery of Tafu, situated near the administrative buildings of the governor of the province, in the city of Hsining, was once their ancestral temple. This tradition of the origin of the ruined temple is in fact spread all over the country.

In 1913 I received a call from the then Li T'u-ssu, who proposed to sell me the ruined monastery and the site on which it stood. When asked for his land deeds, he replied that they had been lost during some previous insurrection or time of trouble, but that the tradition of his clan, supported by the belief of all the inhabitants of the region, ought to suffice in place of legal title deeds.

[P. 26-b]

173 This Li T'u-ssu gave me the following account of his ancestry, as preserved in the tradition of the clan itself. During the T'ang dynasty, he said, in the realm of Hsi Liang,[13] a boy was born in the harem and cast away in the street. A butcher picked him up and gave him the name of Hsueh Ping-kuei. When the butcher died, the boy became a beggar. Then Wang Pao-ch'üan, minister of the King of Western Liang, whose daughter had reached marriageable age, made a public announcement that on the second day of the second moon he would throw a ball wrapped in red silk from the roof of his house; and that the lad who could catch it would become his son-in-law. It was the young beggar who had the good luck to catch the precious ball, but the minister refused him and sent him away. The daughter, however, smitten with love by the sight of the handsome beggar boy, fled from her father's mansion and joined him. The beggar then became a soldier.

One day his father-in-law and his wife's two brothers seized him and tied him on a spirited horse. The horse bolted into the palace of the King, where the Princess T'ai-shan, astonished by his handsome appearance, married him. After eighteen years he remembered his first wife and fled and rejoined her. During all this time she had been waiting for him suffering innumerable privations and hardships. In the meantime the Princess had set out in pursuit of her beloved, accompanied by a troop of soldiers. She rested at night under a plum tree, where she gave birth to a boy. The boy was given the surname of Li ("Plum tree"). This was the boy who grew up to be Li K'o-yung, Prince of Chin, born of the Princess T'ai-shan under the plum tree, and destined to become the founder of the Li T'u-ssu line.

This legend accords exactly with the celebrated Chinese comedy "Ping-kuei hui yao," "Ping-kuei returns to the cavern." The significant thing about the legend in this form is that it portrays the founding ancestor of the Li line not as a descendant of the "barbarian" Shat'o tribe, but as the son of a princess belonging to the ephemeral Chinese kingdom of Hsi Liang. It probably reflects an attempt on the part of the nobility of the Monguors to deny their "barbarous" origin. The capital of Hsi Liang was at Tunhuang, in the zone of deserts and oases between the regions now administratively known as Kansu and Sinkiang, and stands at the point where a valley coming down from the northern rim of the Tibetan plateau opens into the low-lying deserts. The legend does violence to history, because the kingdom of Hsi Liang lasted from A.D. 400 to 421, and the T'ang dynasty was founded only in A.D. 620. The founder of the T'ang dynasty, Li Yuan, was a descendant in the seventh generation of the last king of Hsi Liang, and the legend, by bridging the gap, attempts to connect the founding ancestor of the Li line both with the founder of the T'ang dynasty and with his remote ancestor in the oasis kingdom of Tun-huang.

[P. 27a]

[13] See chap. 1, p. 19.

/13

It should be pointed out that there is a whole complex of traditions and legends in the Hsining region referring to the famous Li, Prince of Chao. According to one of them, he used to send his cavalry horses into the valley of Sha-t'ang for summer pasture, in the care of the tribes living in that valley, and it was in this way that the Shat'o came to settle in the region.[14]

Concerning the very important Lu T'u-ssu line there are comparable legends and traditions, and in this case it is true that the T'u-ssu or chiefs do not speak the language of their subjects. According to some, the founding ancestor of this line was of Chinese extraction, having been sent in former times by the emperor of China to govern the "barbarian" people of the frontier. Others say that both this tribe and its clan of chiefs were Mongols who had been part of the garrison of Yunnan Province under the Mongol dynasty and were then moved by the Chinese, under the Ming dynasty, to the Province of Kansu to garrison the Tibetan frontier. According to still another version, the Lu clan is assigned an even more ancient origin; the story is that the chief of this tribe was responsible for capturing the terrible usurper Wang Mang, who was responsible for the interregnum between the first Han dynasty, ending in A.D. 9, and the second Han dynasty, beginning in A.D. 23. The privileges of the Lu clan chiefs are said to date from this time. To this day two human hands, shrunken, dry, and blackened, reputed to be the hands of Wang Mang, are preserved in the temple of the protecting deity of the Lu clan. I have myself seen them more than once, tied on a stick and covered with a "scarf of felicity" (*khatag*).

According to yet another legend, however, the founding ancestor of the Lu clan was a kinsman of Chingis Khan, and the whole group was originally assigned to this region by Chingis Khan himself.

Concerning the Ch'i line of T'u-ssu, it is said that the founding ancestor of this line was sent by a Mongol emperor to drive away the Tibetans, and that his first mansion was built as Hsiaoch'aoyang, where the ruins can still be seen. Later he built a new fortress north of Weiyuanp'u in Pei-nai, and a monastery in Tung-ying. The old graveyard of this clan is in T'angpa.

An old Monguor, the Lama Li Ming, superintendent of the establishment of the Living Buddha T'ukuan of the monastery of Erhkulung, gave me the following tradition which is probably colored by lamaistic teaching: the Monguors, he said, are all of Uighur origin.[14a] In former times they lived near the monastery of Mat'i, in Yungch'ang, a sub-prefecture of Liangchou. A small group of Uighurs still lives at this place. There were

[14] This tradition seems to be related to the fact that during the Yung-lo period (1403–1425), horses of the Chinese government were raised in the pastures of Shat'ang valley (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 4: 15*b*).

[14a] See also Matthias Hermanns, S.V.D., *Uiguren und ihre neuentdeckten Nachkommen*, *Anthropos*, Vienna, **35–36** (1–3): 78 sqq., 1940–1941.

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173 Originally three brothers: Hor, also known as Korlen, Kerser, and Kersur. The eldest took his subjects and went into Mongolia, where they became Mongols; the second and his followers went to Tibet and became Tibetans; the third and his subjects went to Hsining, where they became the Monguors.

Another story has it that in former times the country was always troubled by forays both from Mongolia and from Tibet, and that the Chinese commanders who succeeded in defeating and conquering some of the frontier tribes were appointed by the Chinese emperor to be the chiefs of these tribes, so that all of the chiefs of the Monguors are to be regarded as of Chinese origin.

According to still another story, an emperor of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589–620), having defeated the T'uyühun (Sienpi) near Hsining, drove most of them into Tibet; but several tribes submitted to this emperor and were assigned a territory by him in which they settled down and became the Monguors of today.

The overall conclusion seems to be that as far as tradition and legend are concerned, the problem of the origin of the Monguors is about as confused as it can be, and remains an enigma not only for Westerners but for the Chinese and for the Monguors themselves. Verbal tradition certainly provides no conclusive answer. A new trail can be blazed only by turning to the literary documents.

It was after more than three years of residence in the country that I had the good luck to obtain the 1747 edition of the *Annals* or chronicles of the prefecture of Hsining. The first edition, printed in 1595, was not available to me. I also secured the *Annals* of the province of Kansu, printed in 1909, and still later I had the very great good fortune to come into possession of a copy of the family chronicles of the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu, edited and printed from wood blocks in 1600 and then continued in manuscript in 1897. These materials enabled me to set out on a new attempt to clarify the origin and early history of the Monguors.

THE NAME OF THE MONGUORS

101 The name T'u-jen is not only used by the people of Hsining when speaking of the Monguors but is also encountered in the *Annals* of the prefecture of Hsining and of the province. According to the Chinese dictionaries, T'u-jen means "Native"; it can mean either the people pertaining by birth to a certain place, or the original inhabitants of a country. In Chinese books the word T'u-jen is never used to indicate Chinese inhabiting any place in China. The word has in general usage a derogatory meaning similar to that of the English word "native," and is used for "barbarians," non-civilized peoples subjected to the civilized Chinese, such as the Miao-tze, Lolo, and other tribes.

T'u-jen, however, has a specific meaning for the Chinese of Hsining, who use it only for the Monguors and Shat'o, perhaps because the Monguors and Shat'o speak

[P. 28a]

624 should be held to account for the murder of any traveler on these roads. Under the Yung Cheng reign of the Manchu dynasty, the important monastery of Erhkulung,
175 in the territory of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, joined in the great
648 insurrection of 1723. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was punished for failing to control the insurgent monks. His subjects were taken away from him and inscribed on the register of Chinese subjects under direct Chinese administration, his territory was confiscated, and he was deprived of his rank. A large number of his subjects, however, revolted against the Chinese and joined the insurrection which was still going on. The Chinese authorities therefore compromised. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was asked to summon his subjects back to their allegiance, and was promised that his forfeited rights and privileges would be restored if he succeeded. The promise was carried out and he was in fact reinstated as T'u-ssu when he contributed to the suppression of the insurrection by bringing his subjects back under control.

651 In connection with this recorded historical incident
648 there may be cited a tradition concerning an ancestor of the T'u-ssu of the Li clan, who was condemned to have his head cut off, his territory confiscated, and his
173 subjects brought under direct Chinese jurisdiction, for
624 failing to crush a revolt. Other T'u-ssu intervened on his behalf, however, because of the meritorious services rendered to the empire by his ancestors, capital punishment was commuted, and he and his descendants were instead to be required to pay in perpetuity a tax called *ch'iu liang*, "the tax of supplication." After one or two years, however, according to the tradition, the humiliating word "supplication" was replaced by the Chinese character meaning "autumn" which is also pronounced *ch'iu*, as a "face-saving" concession. The tradition is supported by the statement in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 16, p. 5*a*) that a special "autumnal tax" was yearly collected from the Li T'u-ssu, but the Li T'u-ssu and his subjects explain away the whole matter by saying that at some time in the past, when the Chinese officials were in difficulties because of insurrections, and were short of grain and flour, the Li T'u-ssu of that time, recalling the favors bestowed on his ancestors for centuries past, magnanimously and voluntarily offered to pay this perpetual "autumn tax." Thus the clan has its own "face-saving" version of the tradition.

EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

651 The emperor, as overlord, had a special interest in
648 the fact that the Monguor troops required neither pay, provisions, nor weapons, but were maintained completely at the expense of their own clans. As compensa-
624 tion, the Chinese officials were not allowed to impose
701 land taxes on the Monguors or to requisition labor services from them. The Monguor soldier, since he was considered to be perpetually on frontier duty, could not also be requisitioned for labor; nor could he be drafted

[p. 50-b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

563 the suppression of the big Mongol and Tibetan frontier revolt in 1723.

177 As for these large groups, it is to be noted that they are enrolled in two of the most outstanding clans, the Li and the Ch'i. The Ch'i clan descends from the imperial family of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan has always been the strongest of all the Monguor clans. 173 Under the Mongol dynasty members of this clan held the most important administrative posts in Hsining. 177 A tradition runs in these clans that the Tibetans enrolled 563 on their lists were already living in the country under the Mongol dynasty and at that time had already separated from their original tribes and submitted to the ancestors of the Li and Ch'i clans. This tradition seems quite credible. More is not known about these Tibetans, and nothing about the 18 families under the Wang T'u-ssu. Besides these groups of Tibetans, many single Tibetan families enrolled at different times in most of the clans and live scattered among the Monguors.

177 Owing to the enrollment of Tibetans and to marriages between Monguors and Tibetans there are in Monguor social life many practices proper to the matriarchal family system. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese, many Monguors have lost their own language, repudiated their Monguor origin, and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook.

When Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors. They were no longer under the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials in respect to taxes or military service. On the other hand they could not renounce their allegiance to the T'u-ssu, or leave his territory without his permission.

The question whether there are still other "Monguor" clans in other parts of Kansu may be answered as follows: the clans called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsining region are the only seventeen clans that constitute the subject of the present study. It is known that at the time these clans submitted to the Ming dynasty and their chiefs were made T'u-ssu, other groups of Mongols lived in the southeastern part of Kansu, in the regions of Titao, Hochou, and Minchou. Their chiefs, like those of the Monguors, were made T'u-ssu, had territories assigned to them, and acted as "wardens of the marches" (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 12, *passim*). They did not, however, form part of the same community as the Monguors. The chiefs and nobles of one of these groups, living east of Hochou, claim to be descendants of the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty (*Annals, ibid.*). They became Muslims, and speak a language akin to Mongol.[35] Another group, also near Hochou, are called Sant'a [36] or "Muslims"; they became Muslims during the Ch'ien Lung period (1736–1796), in order to save their lives at a time when the region was dominated by rebellious Muslims. The famous Muslim gen-

[35] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng-Tsang Chuangk'uang*, 200–202.
[36] From the Chinese transcription of "Sart."—O. L.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

624 as the seat of authority that is the true center of administration. The tour through his territory seems to recall the older nomad society in its reassertion of personal control over the subjects, securing the cohesion of the clan and binding the subjects to the territory. The procedure may be compared with that of the Mongols, among whom every three years the register of the population is brought up to date and a large meeting of the Banner is held.[53] Among the Manchus, the general meeting of the clan is usually held once a year and never less frequently than once in three years.[54] Among the Monguors, it is to be noted that the T'u-ssu, in addition to his triennial tour, presides once a year over the meeting of the whole clan on the day of the veneration of the ancestors.

THE T'U-SSU LORD OF THE NOBLES

173 At the seat of the T'u-ssu is kept the register of all the noble families and their members. Even the girls are
618 noted and the families into which they marry. The difference between this register and the book of genealogies of the nobles lies in the fact that in the book of genealogies the birth of children, whether boys or girls, is not noted. A noble is entered in the book of genealogies as of the day of his death, on which date are noted the day of his birth and the name of his wife. The names of unmarried sons are not inscribed because they have not produced sons for the clan; the names of girls are omitted because they are "outsiders," taking the name of a different clan as soon as they are married. The register of the noble families is more elaborate, because each member of the family, boys and girls alike, is assessed a levy of 50 coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple.

THE TRIENNAL VISIT

624 At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu among the nobles, the register is brought up to date. Because the nobles
574 live scattered in the villages among the commoners and the members of the same House do not necessarily live in the same village, the visit of the T'u-ssu is so ordered that he visits the Houses one after another on fixed days. All members of a House must gather at the home of some one member. They are expected to invite the T'u-ssu and to send horses for his retinue. The picture of the guardian deity of the clan accompanies the T'u-ssu, and a reception is held during which the members of the generation senior to the T'u-ssu bow to him, while members of junior generations prostrate themselves. The hosts must provide a dinner at which the T'u-ssu presides as chief over all his noble kinsmen. Topics of
[431] interest to the nobles are discussed, and though they offer him no money, they present him with a piece of cloth.

[53] E. Timkovskii, *Voyage en Chine par la Mongolie en 1820 et 1821*, I, 113, 321, Paris, 1827.

[54] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit*, 51.

[P. 66-b]

R: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

764 but it could be seen that the materials of the saddle had
172 included copper and iron. As this discovery was made six years before I arrived in the country, I was unable to gather more details from the local people, who were totally uninterested in archaeological discoveries. The bricks of the tomb were said to have been carried away and used by the villagers, and the place could no longer be identified.

We know from numerous archaeological excavations that such tombs were built by the Turkish and Mongol tribes of Inner Asia and Northern Mongolia from ancient down to medieval times. These tombs are related in design to the tombs of the ancient Chou kings in China in the first millennium B.C. They consist essentially of an excavated chamber, its walls shored up either with timber or, in China, with bricks, and a great tumulus heaped up over the grave.[56] In the grave were placed horses and sometimes wives and servants who had been sacrificed to be buried with the deceased. Does the horse-burial tomb in the Monguor country belong to this tradition? This question I cannot answer, as I was unable to inspect the tomb.

At present there exist only two ancestral burial mounds which, according to Monguor tradition, contain such burial chambers. One is that of the Ch'i clan in Nienpei built in the garden of the mansion, in which are buried the more recent ancestors of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, and the other that of the Lu clan in Liench'eng. For other clans, there are conflicting traditions. Some say that in former times a number of clans had similar ancestral mounds, but that they were destroyed by Muslims. This tradition is not supported by such evidence as the ruins of burial places of this kind; on the other hand, in all the oldest cemeteries there is merely a big mound over the grave of the founding ancestor, without burial chambers, and therefore graves with such chambers are not only exceptional but of late construction.

• 173 As for the valley in which the horse-burial was dis-
172 covered, it is said that it was once inhabited by the Li clan, which is of Shat'o Turkish origin. Near the place where the burial-chamber was found there are still the ruins of an old fortress which is said locally to have been built by the famous Li, Prince of Chin. Although it is quite probable that the Shat'o Turks once occupied this valley, it is certain that the famous Prince Li never lived there. It is possible that his name has been attached in folk tradition to some other once-famous Shat'o chief; but it does not seem likely that this chief, whoever he was, was a direct ancestor of the present clan, because the Li clan holds its assembly in the valley of Hanp'ingshan, five miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 4, p. 3).

764 The Sanch'uan branch of the same clan, south of Nienpei, holds its diet at Hsiangt'ang, at the junction of the Tat'ung and Hsining Rivers. Here stands the most elaborate cemetery in the whole country. It seems to

[56] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* 2: 121, Liepzig, 1893. [p. 70a]

769 stand erect with arms stretched at the side. This was followed by an order to "worship the spirit of the earth." On this order the T'u-ssu, alone, went straight to the offering table before the central mound, prostrated himself, knelt and bowed nine times before the stele, and poured wine on the ground as a libation to the spirit of the earth. At the next order, "worship the ancestors!" the T'u-ssu, still alone, knelt and prostrated himself nine times before the stele, pouring the ritual libation of wine on the stone table, and performed the same rite at each end of the stone tables in front of the smaller mounds. A libation of tea was then poured in the same way, paper was burned, and incense sticks fixed on every small mound and on the central table in front of the great mound.

Again hats and clothes were adjusted, and at the order of the master of ceremonies the members of the oldest living generation lined up before the stele, and taking their time from his commands bowed, prostrated themselves, and knelt nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and so on. The rites performed by each group of the nobles and by the commoners have already been related above (pp. 60 sq.) as has also the sacrificial communion with the founding ancestor. At each distribution of pie and bread, the oldest generation received its portion first. Later the carcass of the pig was divided in the same way, and portions of the pie and the pork were reserved to be sent to noble members of the clan who had been unable to attend the assembly.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER

173 The ceremony of veneration is followed by bringing
769 up to date the genealogical register of the descendants of the founding ancestor, in the presence of the T'u-ssu and the whole noble group. In noble families, when a father, mother, or some other member of a family dies, the Monguors write the name of the deceased, the names of his parents, and the hour and day of his birth and death on a slip of red paper. This slip is impaled on a chopstick, which is planted in a bowl containing wheat, placed reverently before the picture of the Lama Buddhist or Taoist deity particularly honored in that family. The slip of paper is later removed, brought to the annual assembly, and presented to the T'u-ssu by the kneeling son of the deceased, who holds incense sticks in his joined hands. The name of the deceased is then entered in the register. After the book has been wrapped again in its yellow silk, the son first arises from his kneeling position and then prostrates himself three times. Unmarried persons are not noted in the book. In cases of adoption, the fact of adoption is recorded.

764 After these ceremonies the care of the cemetery is entrusted to one of the nobles for the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions, offerings, and the making of repairs. After a short deliberation to determine the selection, a bowl of bread is put in a

562 deserted, but his widow "was a woman of wisdom and decision. She assembled the small number of men that had remained loyal, raised the banner with the signs of Yesugei Bagatur, and started in pursuit of the seceders. She succeeded even in making part of them return . . . "[10] and though she failed in the end, her courage has remained a Mongol legend. Similarly, Shirokogoroff notes of the Khingan Tungus in Manchuria that "even the women maintain the clan honor and fight if necessary."[11]

562 173 The women of the Monguors have legends that are in this tradition. I have recorded one of them in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, describing the captivating song sung at Monguor marriages and at all festivals, recalling the daring exploit of the wife of the chief of the Lu clan, who killed a brigand chief and was rewarded by the emperor. The story goes that the country between Liangchou and P'ingfan was infested by the brigand Ta Kuan-ch'ün[12] and his followers and all communications between the two cities were cut. In this crisis, the wife of the Lu T'u-ssu lured the bandits into an ambush. She pitched a tent, spread red felt rugs out on the ground, and dressed some of her maids in transparent gowns. Wearing golden bracelets, playing musical instruments, and singing local songs, they "welcomed" the bandits. When the bandits were drunk, the maids beat copper cooking cauldrons as a signal and the soldiers who had been lying in ambush rushed out and loaded the chief of the bandits, his lieutenants, and seven others with chains. When the captives recovered from their drunken stupor and began to struggle, the soldiers flogged them to death, cut off their heads, and set them up on posts along the highway of Wuchaoling. The brother of the brigand chief, when he heard the news, cut his own throat. The brave wife of the T'u-ssu then sent troops to exterminate the rest of the brigands or force them to submit.

When the emperor heard of this exploit, he presented the noble lady with a thousand ounces of silver, precious golden ornaments, a complete set of hairpins and ear-

[10] B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan*, 14–15, English translation, London, Routledge, 1930.

[11] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the northern Tungus*, 196.

[12] There is a possibility that this name is a corruption of the Chinese expression *kuang-kun* prefixed by the Chinese word *ta*, "big." In H. A. Giles, *A Chinese-English dictionary*, second edition, Shanghai and London, Kelley and Walsh, Bernard Quaritch, 1912, under number 6389, *kuang-kun* is given as "a bare pole—a swindler; a scoundrel." In the north China vernacular, however, the expression has the meaning "a tough," "a gangster," and in this meaning it has passed into more than one of the frontier languages of China. Father A. Mostaert, in his *Dictionnaire Ordos* 1: 292*a*, records it in the form *gauggun* with the meanings "vaurien, trompeur; qui se conduit mal, volage, leger de conduit; libertinage," and also records a verb formed from the noun. C. P. Skrine, *Chinese Central Asia*, 212–214, London, Methuen, 1926, records it in the form "Gangung" as part of the name of a swashbuckler, with the meaning of "brigand," in a Turki ballad from Kashgar.—O. L.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

562 rings and four pieces of flowered silk. He ordered his
173 officials to build her a seven-storied mansion at Lien-ch'eng. She was also presented with an inscription reading "She displayed faithfulness," and given a grant of fifty *ch'ing* of land, the revenues of which were to provide her with "toilet expenses," the Chinese expression equivalent to the English "pin money." The grant of land, according to the family chronicle of the Lu T'u-ssu, was in the country of *chun ku erh*.[13] There are also legends of the bravery of the Monguor women during the great Muslim rebellion who joined in the battle just as their husbands were beginning to retreat, and thus turned defeat into victory. According to popular tradition, it was for this exploit that the emperor himself designed the costume that Monguor women wear on ceremonial occasions, including a sleeveless "military" jacket, military skirt, and a miniature shield and spear as part of the headdress.

562 In spite of all these legendary tributes to their ability, however, Monguor women do not play a conspicuous part in politics or administration; with the exception, already noted, that when a T'u-ssu dies leaving a son who has not come of age, the boy's mother acts as regent.

THE MATERNAL UNCLE

604 The relationship between two families connected by marriage is most clearly seen in the role of the maternal uncle, who while not a part of the family of his sister's child exerts, nevertheless, a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

In discussing the role of the maternal uncle, I shall divide my remarks into two parts, dealing first with the most striking aspects of his role, and secondly with the context in which these prominent aspects occur. Since the facts which are to be presented have considerable theoretical importance for the problem of possible matriarchal survivals in a patriarchal kinship system, I shall conclude my observations with a short theoretical analysis.

604 Among the Monguors the special rights of the maternal
764 uncle were most vividly manifest in three circumstances: (1) at the natural death of his sister's children (2) in the event of their having been murdered or having committed suicide, and (3) in situations where they were subject to punishment.

[13] These three Chinese syllables are one of the regular transcriptions of the Mongol term *jun gar*, "left hand" or "left wing." This expression reflects the usual Mongol practice of dividing territories and military organizations into a left (east) and a right (west) wing (the south being "front" and the north "back"). This expression is the origin of the name of the Jungar Mongols, who were the "left wing" of the confederation of Western Mongols in the region of the Altai mountains and the northern part of Sinkiang Province which is therefore still known, in the Western literature, as Jungaria or Zungaria. In this case, however, the reference may be to land taken from some of the Jungar Mongols who eventually migrated into the pastures of the Tibetan plateau near the country of the Monguors.—O. L.

[P. 91a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

291 The gown is of dark blue cotton cloth, cut from the neck down and across under the right arm, and buttoned under the arm and down the side. A woman's gown opens on the left side instead of the right, and is worn hanging down to the heels. Men wear a sash or belt, keeping the hem of the gown hanging just a little below the knees, and loosening up the breast of the gown so that it provides a capacious pocket into which they stuff their eating bowls and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown roughly woven of white wool. A woman's working gown is woven of black and brown wool. Rich people wear a gown woven of Tibetan wool serge (*p'u-lu*). The ends of the men's sashes are seldom embroidered and on holidays they wear a vest or sleeveless jacket which is much less ornamented than that worn by women.

Men shave the front of the head and grow the hair at the back of the crown long so that it can be braided into a "pigtail" which is lengthened with green strings with tassels at the ends. They wear small, round felt hats.

302 [858] A boy's head is not shaved until he is seven or eight, at which time he begins to braid his hair in a "pigtail." A boy's costume is in general just like that of a man, but with few ornaments.

A man is not allowed to grow a beard as long as his parents are living. A man may begin to grow a beard when he is about the age of thirty if his parents died when he was relatively young. The growing of the beard is started on the first day of either the first or second moon of the new year. Some old men shave their heads clean when they reach the age of about sixty, and women of sixty also frequently cut off their long hair. Both men and women when they do this take vows like those taken by lamas and devote the rest of their lives to prayer in order to provide for a happy rebirth.

306 The only men who wear earrings are those who, described in the chapter on children, have received the "flower of longevity" from a maternal uncle in childhood. Later this "flower of longevity" is replaced by a single large silver earring.

Many men are fond of wearing a bracelet, but only on one wrist. It is usually a heavy copper ring, silver plated and carved with Chinese designs. Nearly all young people wear a bracelet on each wrist, resembling the single bracelet of a grown man. A man also hangs from his belt or sash a sheath containing a knife and chopsticks. Some of these are beautifully carved and ornamented with coral and turquoise.

A man's finger ring is made of two thin, small rings with a broad ring soldered outside them. A piece of coral or turquoise is set in this ring.

173 291 562 The national legends and traditions of the Monguors are associated much more with the striking costumes of the women than with the comparatively simple costumes of the men. Some of these legends have already been mentioned. Another concerns the Li clan of Shat'o Turkish origin which claims as its ancestor the

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

173 Prince of Chin. According to the legend this prince,
291 "blessed by heaven and all the spirits," begat thirteen
562 sons from his nine wives. Because he was fond of magnificence and display, he designed a different costume for each wife, and this is supposed to be the origin of the nine main designs of Monguor women's costume to this day.

177 The significance of the Monguor national costume even
648 in recent times is illustrated by the following story, which stirred up interest throughout the Monguor country. In 1913 the Living Buddha of the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu [10] forbade the Monguor women living in his territory to wear their national costume and ordered them to adopt the Tibetan style of dress. Passions ran high against this order. Although the Monguors had for centuries supported the monastery with their offerings, they ceased to appear at the monastery festivals and began to make their offerings to other monasteries. Even the lamas of Monguor origin left the monastery and enrolled in other monasteries. The result was that the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu began to enroll Chinese novices and the whole spirit of the institution was changed.

291 The costumes of the Monguor women are much more
292 elaborate and distinctive than those of the men. Like the
562 men, however, the women do not wear underclothes, nor do they have nightgowns. Their bed is a piece of felt spread on the sleeping platform; there are no sheets or pillowcases, and at night they simply undress and cover themselves with roughly woven blankets or sheepskins.

291 A woman's trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and
562 are fastened around the waist with a rope twisted of sheep's wool. On the legs of the trousers, just below the knee, there is a hem of white cotton cloth. To this hem is sewn the lower leg of the trousers which can easily be removed and replaced, when the women go to festivals, with a leg of finer cloth or of silk or satin, embroidered in red. Ordinarily, the legs of the trousers are stuffed into the tops of the boots, but the ornamental trouser leg can be worn outside the boot. As with men's trousers, the cut is that of Chinese trousers, and the tradition is that in older times trousers were not used at all. The Monguor women of the villages north of the valleys of Weiyüanp'u and Hungnaitze wear trousers only on the coldest winter days and when they go to festivals.

462 Monguor women make their own boots. The sole is
294 made of alternating layers of blue and white cotton cloth pasted together and then stitched, the foot of the boot is made of dark blue cotton cloth, sometimes beautifully embroidered, and the legs are ornamented with patches of dark leather. The foot of the boot may also be made of black cotton cloth, adorned with green

[10] For references to this monastery, see Reginald Farrar, *On the eaves of the world* and *The rainbow bridge*, London, Arnold, 1917 and 1921.

[P. 119a]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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at peace. This typical incident depicts the true mentality of the barbarian tribes at that time, and the impact of shamanism and Buddhism upon these old Manicheans.

M 175* 648 U 175 648

MA-T'I SSU, THE HORSESHOE MONASTERY

M 792

In the southern mountains of the subprefecture of Yung Ch'ang, in 1912, Fathers Essens, Selosse, and I visited a small group of Uighurs, living in the Ma-t'i Ssu-ku, the valley of the monastery of the Horseshoe. We saw two temples built in the rock. The upper temple was administered by lamas, the lower one by a couple of Chinese monks.

M 173

In the red sandstone of the mountain was a deep cave, where the lamas pointed to a large horseshoe imprinted on the floor. It was said to be the print of the shoe of the horse mounted in time of war by the legendary Gesar, who later became a Chinese god of war. Maybe for that reason Chinese monks live there. An iron stake was also planted in the cave on which two heavy chains were attached, said to be the chains with which Gesar restrained his terrible mastiffs. Legends were told claiming that Gesar had lived in the valley and built the temples.

M 792

At present the temple is an affiliate of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung belonging to the Living Buddha T'u-kuan. In one of his previous existences he had bought some land in that country, the revenues from which were used for the support of the lamas and the payment of yearly interest on the capital invested by the Living Buddha. The lama director of the monastery is responsible for the administration of the monastery and is appointed by the Living Buddha (Monguors II: 52).

M 175* 648 U 175 648

The monastery of the Horseshoe seems to have existed long before the T'u-kuan Living Buddhas and the monastery of Erh-ku-long existed (1604), for we read in the *Annals* of Kansu 97: 37, that a lama from Tibet living in Ma-t'i Ssu, named Pa-shih-ha, was appointed by the Dalai Lama to collect from the Uighurs of the country the *t'ien-pa*, the yearly field tax, and to send it to Lhasa. It is noted also that the Uighurs of the country, every time they killed an ox or a sheep, had to offer to the lamas of Ma-t'i Ssu some meat or a skin for the support of the lamas. Did the Horseshoe monastery or hermitage already exist before the Khoshot Kushihhan had conquered Tibet and offered it to the Dalai Lama in 1642? It seems to be a very old hermitage on account of the legends claiming its origin date from the time of Gesar.

U 175

The *Annals* of Kansu claim also that the Uighurs living in the Horseshoe region were Yellow and Black Tibetans (shera saro Uighurs). When these Uighurs had settled in that country is unknown. They were engaged partly in farming but mostly in cattle breeding. Their daughters married Tibetan boys; their boys married Tibetan girls. The clothes of the women were

own troops, seems at first sight to have been a dangerous one. The Mings must have known that many armed groups of Mongols had fled to Mongolia; they must have surmised that the heir apparent of the Mongol nation would try to invade China and recover his lost empire, and that in such circumstances the faithfulness of the surrendered Mongol officials in Kansu still commanding their own troops would have been questionable. However, without hesitation and apprehension they went ahead, using from the very beginning the surrendered officials to induce other Mongol officials and Tibetan tribes to surrender. Even from the very beginning they ordered their troops to follow the imperial armies fighting unconquered or revolting tribes of Mongol officials, even ordering their troops to fight Mongol armies at the side of the Chinese armies in expeditions to Mongolia. Several t'u-ssu and hundreds of their soldiers died on the fields of battle; even t'u-ssu were sent with their troops to other provinces to quell revolts. But after every military achievement the emperors never omitted to bestow upon the t'u-ssu awards and titles of which they were unusually fond. In Kansu the number of Mongol officials who rebelled after their surrender was small. Many t'u-ssu later on, remaining chiefs of their clans, at the same time entered the framework of the civil and military Chinese officials and fulfilled their duties in Chinese territory, receiving the rewards or punishments proper to the office. It may be said that the policy of the Ming in Kansu promoting the surrender of Mongol officers and tribal chiefs was successful and of enormous profit to the dynasty.

ANCESTORS OF THE LI T'U-SSU CLAN

The tradition all over the country and confirmed by both the *Annals* of Kansu (**42**: 38*a*, 46*b*) and the *Annals* of Hsining (**27**: 9*a*–*b*), claims the Li t'u-ssu clans to be the descendants of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung, who had received from the Tang emperor the name Li and been created Prince of Chin in 895. At the time the Tang dynasty had run its course, the Shat'o founded in China, successively, two ephemeral dynasties: Hu Tang (923–936) and Hu Chin (936–947) (Monguors I: 131 appendix, the Shat'o Turks). Among the t'u-ssu in Huangchung are encountered two Li branches: that of Li Nan-ko, to whose son, Li Yin, had been granted in 1425 the title of Earl of Huei Ning, and that of Li Wen, son of Li Shang-ko, on whom had been bestowed the title of Earl of Kaoyang in 1459. During the Yuan, the Li Nan-ko branch guarded the territory of San Ch'uan Valley (since 1930, called the subprefecture of Ming Huo) situated 120 li southeast of Nienpei, and controlled more than 4,000 families, scattered in many villages. The Li Wen clan controlled 963 families scattered in 48 villages and guarded the territory 30 li south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 39*a*, 48*a*). During the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties both branches still occupied and guarded the same territories.

On account of the fact that the original family chronicles were lost during the troubles which beset the Ming dynasty, the most fantastic legends have come to be spread among the Li Monguors and even among their t'u-ssu, relating to the history of the clan ancestors preceding the Ming period (1368). Some of them circulating among the Li Wen clan have been noted in Monguors I: 26, 27. Concerning the Li Nan-ko branch we possess two recent documents of 1937 and 1941 which Chinese scholars obtained, one from the Li t'u-ssu himself, and one from a clan member. 173 64

The first document, *Studies on Frontier Areas of Kansu, Ch'ing-hai, and Tibet,* by Ma Ho-t'ien[65] records, on page 179, the personal visit of Ma Ho-t'ien to the residence of the Li t'u-ssu in the subprefecture of Ming Hua and his trip to the ancestral cemetery at Hsiang T'ang.[66] [113]

The Li t'u-ssu was so kind as to show the chronicle of his clan. The size of the chronicle is two feet square, the image of the ancestor is depicted on the first page. On the next page is elaborated his history, and so on for each of the ancestors. However, the only trustworthy part of the chronicle is that starting with the surrender of Li Nan-ko to the Ming and relating the succession of the t'u-ssu from 1371 until the present time. The entire text concerning the history of the ancestors preceding Li Nan-ko is unreliable. Then we left the t'u-ssu and went to the ancestral cemetery of the Li Nan-ko branch at Hsiang T'ang.

On page 180:

The cemetery occupies a terrain as large as six acres, enclosed by a mud wall. The central alley, bordered by stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay, leads to a big stele, behind which is said to be the tomb of Li Nan-ko, and in front of which is built a stone table for the offerings to the dead. On the stele are engraved the text of the ratification by the Ch'ing emperor, of the appointment granted by the previous Ming emperor to the incumbent to the office of t'u-ssu, the text of a funeral oration granted by an emperor at the death of a t'u-ssu, also the glorious achievements of the clan and the names of the t'u-ssu who died on the field of battle. On both sides of the avenue are erected the steles of the t'u-ssu of the Li Nan-ko clan dating from the Ming and Ch'ing periods, the most recent dating from the Kuang-su period (1875–1909). Outside the enclosure, at the entrance of the cemetery, are erected two big steles, "the spirit way steles." On the one erected on the eighth moon of 1427 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Nan-ko), who posthumously received the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Pen-chun tu-tu. He is a descendant of Li K'o-yung, whose original name was T'o-pa, to whom was granted the name Li by the Tang emperor. During the Yuan dynasty, Li Shang-ko was functionary at the offices of the prince of Ch'i. To him succeeded consecutively Li Mei-chi-lu, Li Kuan-chi-lu and Li Nan-ko who was T'ung-chih (vice-chairman) of the district of Hsining. He received during the Hung-wu period of the Ming the hereditary duty of Tu-chih-huei-shih (High Commandant). To his son Yin was granted, on account of his merits, the title of Earl of Huei Ning, 173 764 614 [324]

[65] *Kan, Ch'ing-hai, Tsang pien-ch'ü K'ao-ch'a-chi,* Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1947.

[66] Hsiang T'ang is the name of the locality where the cemetery is situated, and means the Hall of Sacrifice, the room where the corpse is laid out.

[P.28(A)]

and posthumously were bestowed (upon Li Nan-ko) the titles of his son: Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Tso-chun tu-tu-fu. On the second spirit way stele erected on the third moon of 1475 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Li Yin) to whom was granted the title "official who sincerely manifested military achievements" to whom were bestowed, in a special way, the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Chou-kuo Huei Ning-pei (Earl of Huei Ning, pillar of the empire). 173 614 764

The second document is encountered in Shuo-wen-yueh-k'an 3, 10, 1942 (Ch'ung-ch'ing Shuo-wen Yueh-k'an shih). There we meet with the article "Genealogical record of the tribe of the descendants of Li K'o-yung" by Wei Chu-hsien, who passed through the subprefecture of Ming Hua (San Ch'uan Valley) in October 1941. He visited Li Pao-ch'ing, a clan member of the old Li Nan-ko branch, who told him that during the Shun-chih period (1644–1661) a genealogical chronicle had been composed based on all available sources, by Yueh-Nai, secretary of the t'u-ssu for fifteen years, well read in the history of the clan, and that Yueh Nai was a contemporary of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu.[67] 173 614 [113]

I copied the present part of the chronicle composed by Yueh Nai. The original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-yeh. The Tang emperor granted him the name Li and the title of Prince of Chin (895). He saved the Tang dynasty during the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao. Li Ssu-kung moved into Hsi Hsia, Li Chi-feng followed the Sung dynasty, offering the four districts of Yin, Hsia, Suei, Ning.[68] From the Sung until the Yuan, during generations, they lived in Hsi Hsia and were renowned for their military presentations. At the time of the Yuan, Li Shang-ko was T'ung-chih tu-tu-chih (Vice-Chairman of the protectorate office) in Hsining. Then the Li clan divided into six sub-clans, each having its t'u-ssu. The most important among them was the Li Nan-ko clan. During the Ming, Li Nan-ko surrendered with the officials of Huangchung. Then follow the names of the descendants of Li Nan-ko who fulfilled successively the duty of t'u-ssu during the Ming. Finally a genealogical scheme is elaborated, starting with Li Shang-ko, succeeded by his son Li Mei-chi-lu, his grandson Li Kuan-chi-lu, who had two sons Li Nan-ko and Ch'a han Timur. The son of Li Nan-ko was Li Yin, the son of Ch'a Han Timur was Kuan Yin-pao. The son of Li Yin was Li Ch'ang, the son of Kuan Yin-pao was Li Wen. Further the names of the successors of Li 175x [148] 614 622

[67] The shift of the Ming dynasty to that of the Manchu was preceded by a period of troubles. The rebels in Huangchung looted the country of its wealth. T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, still faithful to the Ming, tried to restore order in his territory. In 1644 his wife, concubine, two brothers, and three hundred of his subjects were killed. He himself was taken prisoner by rebels and sent to Sian to the Manchu court. He was accredited in his former duty of t'u-ssu and died as a faithful official of the Manchus (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 2*b*. *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47*b*).

[68] *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 3*b*, happened in 982.

[P.28(B)]

N *563 621 241 fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.

Within the household, the composition is similar to that of the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on and a higher frequency of joint-family occupancy. Should the family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

N *563 592 [595]

N [768]

C. The Mongours

At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in Monguor social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

N *563 M 173 565

Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops depending on the size of the territory and the population of which he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Monguor social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol rule. Generally speaking, the Monguor commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Monguor clans and four general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

N *563 M 565 [701] M [614]

Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Monguor social organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.

N *563 M 614 554 M [428]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

648 ginger. On the thirteenth, the emperor graciously accepted the T'u-ssu's presents, consisting of two beautiful
624 horses and samples of the products of the Monguor country. The T'u-ssu received a peacock plume with button, a straw hat, a collar of the design worn by officials of the fifth rank, a long coat with an embroidered medallion on the chest and back, and an official robe embroidered with dragons; together with a silk girdle, a purse, a knife to be hung from the girdle, a short and long coat of brocade, some small carpets, a splendid saddle rug, tea, and dried fruit. On the fourteenth, after a banquet and theatrical performance, he received a clock and a snuff-box. On the seventeenth, after another banquet, dinner and theatrical display, he received foodstuffs. On the eighteenth still another banquet and the theater again, and at night fire-works. On the nineteenth he went to offer his thanks to the emperor and received two pieces of brocade, two of silk, six of satin, and a piece of dried venison. On the twentieth he bade farewell to the emperor and left on the twenty-first. (Extracts from the family chronicles of Lu.)

These records give an idea of the pomp of such visits under the empire. The visit to the emperor and the honor of seeing him were the dream of a T'u-ssu and the summit of his glory; and the subjects who accompanied him liked to talk about the splendor of the imperial palace, the majesty of the emperor, and his graciousness toward their chief.

THE COMMONERS

•174 Having elucidated the questions of the chiefs of the Monguor clans, their function as clan chiefs, the historical position of the first clan chief, the rules of succession and installation, and having explained the new kind of position that was acquired by becoming a Chinese official, with the title and duty of T'u-ssu, there remain the many fascinatmg problems of the origin and social evolution of the commoners.

To what original tribes did the commoners of the seventeen Monguor clans belong?

MONGOLS

I frequently inquired among both commoners and nobles about the names of the tribes to which they had belonged in time past, but to no avail. Not a single definite answer could be obtained. But since Potanin and Prjevalsku assert that they heard Monguors say that they were of "Chzhahor," or White Mongol, or Karluk origin, and since Father A. De Smedt heard some rare Monguors say that they were of Karluk origin, it is possible that among the commoners there still exist traceable descendants of these tribes. Failing an established tradition among the people themselves, is it possible to trace historically the origin of the commoners given as subjects to the Monguor clan chiefs by the Mongol emperors? The authors of the *Annals* of the prefecture of Hsining and of the province of Kansu,

[p. 52-b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

who seem to be reliable for dates and other facts, use the Chinese terms "T'u-jen, T'u-min" (aborigines), "Fan-min and Hsi-fan" (Tibetans), and "Mongol" so undiscriminatingly that it is impossible to identify the origin and the race of the commoners, as well of most of the nobles, except for the Ch'i and Lu clan, whose nobles are said to be members of the imperial family of the Yuan; one of the Ch'i clans whose nobles are said to be of Mongol origin; and the nobles of the Li clans, who are said to be of Shat'o origin and descendants of Li K'o-yung. The same confusion is obvious in the Ch'ing *Shih Kao*, Section *Lichchuan*, T'u-ssu *chuan*, VI, whose author seems to have extracted his material from the *Annals*.

Fortunately, more is available in the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u*, Chapter V. According to the introduction, this book was printed in 1751 and was compiled under the auspices of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung who ordered the governors of the provinces in which lived non-Chinese tribes that had submitted to the Manchus to send in reports about these tribes and to help artists, sent from Peking, to draw pictures showing the characteristics and costumes of each tribe. Although the material thus collected is limited, superficial, and reduced in most cases to the simple citation of the names of tribes, without noting the sources of quotations, and frequently includes no more than a vague description of the costumes worn by the tribesmen, it does offer some valuable data. This work, however, like others, confuses the origin both of "aboriginal" tribes and of Tibetans and Mongols. Those who made the report seem not to have cared about the origins of despised barbarians.

SHAT'O, TURKISH ORIGIN

In reading the texts related to our subject, it must be borne in mind that the tradition about the Shat'o origin of the Li clan is corroborated by the *Annals*, that in Chinese histories Shat'o tribes are noted as living between Hsining and Kanchou in 939, and that the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* confirms (or repeats) the data of Chinese history, the *Annals*, and tradition. The supposition that tribes of Turkish origin, bearing Turkish names, still live in the country is therefore not unreasonable.

In the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* our subject is twice mentioned:

I. Chapter V, pp. 46–47. The heading of the notice runs: "The tribes of Tungkou vicinity governed by the Tuchihhui Ch'i Hsien-pang of Hsining *hsien*." Two figures are represented, of a man and a woman, described as "Tibetans" (*Fan*).

> The Tibetans [*Fan min*] of the eight tribes of Tungkou and vicinity, descendants of the Western Ch'iang, living 70 *li* and more from Hsining *hsien*, at the time of the Yuan dynasty were governed by Chi Kungk'ohsingchi, who held the incumbency of Li-wen [legal secretary]. In the beginning of the Ming dynasty he received the title of Chihhui Chihshih and governed the Tibetans. The Ch'ing dynasty recognized the former incumbency. . . . The Ti-

[p. 53a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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betans of the twelve Paitieh tribes and others governed by the Tuchihhui t'ungchih Li Ch'eng-t'ang, by the Chienshih Natsai, Chi Ying-k'ui, all use the same kind of clothes and adornments.

II. Chapter V, p. 55. The heading of the notice runs: "The tribes of Tungkou and other places governed by the Tuchihhui t'ungchih Li Kuo-tung of Nienpei." Two figures are represented, described as "T'u people" (*T'u min*, "natives").

The Chihhui t'ungchih of Nienpei, Li Kuo-tung, is a descendant of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung of the T'ang dynasty. At the time of the Yuan dynasty Li Nan-ko held the incumbency of T'ungchih of Hsining *chou;* for generations they [the Li family] protected the western country; during the Ming dynasty, conducting his people, he submitted and received the office of Chihhui t'ungchih. The Ch'ing dynasty, because of his merits in summoning to submission Tibetan tribes and T'u people [natives], confirmed him [Li Kuo-tung] in his hereditary incumbency. The big village of Tungkou which he governed and the Hula tribes of T'u ["native"] stock which the Peihou Li Kuo-ting governed are the tribes they originally governed. . . . The tribes of T'u stock, Luerhchia and others, which are governed by the Tuchihhui t'ungchih Ah Cheng and Chao Wei-sung, the Chienchih Yeh Sun-yang, Kan Lin-chih, and Chu Sun-lin are in the main similar in customs, clothes and adornments.

In these two passages are mentioned the names of twelve Paitieh tribes who are called Tibetans, and of tribes named Hula and Luerhchia, described simply as "natives." All three tribal names are certainly not Chinese.

The Hula are probably of Turkish stock. Hola has been noted as a Turkish tribal name,[25] and the difference between Hula and Hola need not be significant, as the names of barbarian tribes are transcribed in Chinese in widely differing forms. Were these Turkish tribes who joined the Shat'o when the Shat'o were founding the Later T'ang dynasty in the tenth century, and did small groups of them take refuge in the Hsining country on the fall of that dynasty? Nothing is said about the time or circumstances of the Hula joining the Shat'o tribes. All that we know for sure is that the Monguors who are subjects of the Li T'u-ssu are of Shat'o Turkish stock, that Hola has been noted as a Turkish name, and that people whose name is rendered by the Chinese in the very similar form of Hula are described as subjects of the Li T'u-ssu. To this may be added the fact that the illustrations of the Chinese text under discussion show the people described as "natives" and those described as "Tibetans" as different from each other.

I have not been able to find any reference to the Luerhchia. Since the Luerhchia and the Hula are the only tribes described in the passage under discussion as T'u rather than Tibetan, and since reasons have been given for believing that the Hula may be of Turkish derivation, it may be also that the Luerhchia should be taken as a group of Turkish stock, subjects of various Monguor

[25] P. A. Boodberg, Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier, in *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 1: 305, n. 77. 1936.

[P. 53b]

•174 T'u-ssu. The group must have been large, because its members are said to be subjects in many clans.[26]

As for the twelve Paitieh tribes, described as *Fan* or Tibetans, I have not been able to trace their name among either Tibetan, Turkish, or Mongol tribes. An interesting fact, however, is that in the tax registers these tribes are listed with the first character of the Chinese transcription reading *Chieh*, so as to give a tribal name of Chiehtieh rather than Paitieh. Yet the Monguors use the pronunciation, Paitieh; the village where the Chi T'u-ssu lives is called Paitiehchuang, "Paitieh village," and the name of the valley, which it was the frontier duty of the Chi T'u-ssu to defend, is also Paitieh. Father A. Mostaert calls my attention to the fact that the character *chieh* should according to Pelliot be read *pai* and not *chieh*, as in the dictionaries.[27] It is remarkable that the Monguors should have preserved the correct pronunciation.[28]

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[26] Father Hermanns, in a book received in this country after Father Schram had completed his work (Matthias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, 29, Vienna, Herold, 1949) in a list of nomad tribes in the region near the Monguor territory, has the two names Ra gya- and Hor- (the hyphens indicating that they are used in compounding tribal names), in immediate juxtaposition. The appearance of these names, reinforced by the fact that they are in juxtaposition, strongly suggests that they underlie not only the Chinese transcriptions, Luerhchia and Hula, but two transcriptions cited by Father Schram above (pp. 15, 17) which may be held to combine Luerhchia and Hula: Dschiahour, from Huc and Gabet, and Chzhahor, from Potanin, with the explanation that it is a Tibetan name for the Mongols, from Cha = "Chinese" and Hor = "the Tibetan name for the nomadic tribes of North Tibet." Rockhill, *Land of the lamas*, previously cited, p. 44, supports Potanin, giving Jya [= Rgya] as "China," and Jya Hor as "the Tibetans along the Kansu [i.e., Chinese] border."

For Luerhchia as a Chinese transcription of Tibetan Rgya (Ra gya—in Hermanns, as above), the initial *L* may seem somewhat unexpected, in view of the tendency of vernacular Chinese to put a vowel in front of an initial *r* in foreign words, so that "Erhchia" might seem more probable than "Luerhchia" as an "unscientific" rendering of Rgya. For the rendering of an initial *r* by an initial *l*, however, see *Loch'a*, for Rossiya, which the Chinese used until, influenced by the Mongol pronunciation Oros, they adopted Êlossu as the Chinese form of "Russia, the Russians."

As for Hor = Hula, Laufer many years ago identified Hor as a Tibetan name for "Turks" (B. Laufer, Was Odoric of Pordenone ever in Tibet? *T'oung Pao* 15: 411, 1914). It would seem that Hor (and Hula as a transcription of Hor) must reflect the same original non-Chinese word or name as *Hu*, one of the most ancient Chinese names for "northern barbarians."

To sum up: this complicated nomenclature results from processes as the result of which, at varying times, groups of frontier Chinese absorbed among the Tibetans could be known "tribally" as Rgya; Hor tribesmen, possibly or probably of Turkish or mixed Turkish derivation, could adhere to Monguor clans; and a term like Rgya-Hor, with a meaning translateable approximately as "Altaic-speaking Chinese" (i.e., "people who speak neither Tibetan nor Chinese, but administratively are identified with China rather than Tibet"), could be used by frontiersmen in an attempt to describe the Monguors to French and Russian travelers at the end of the nineteenth century.—O. L.

[27] P. Pelliot, Les caractères de transcription *two* ou *twa* et *pai*, *T'oung Pao* 37: 125–134, 1944.

[28] It should be pointed out that there is a possibility that Paitieh is from Bait (Bayit, Bayid, "Wealthy"), an established Mon-

[P. 54a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

The suggestion has been made that still another tribal name for people under the rule of the Li T'u-ssu may be concealed under the place name, Tungkou. The written form is unmistakably the Chinese for "Eastern Valley." Rockhill, however, suggested that *-kou* might stand for the first syllable of the name of the Karluk Turks, so that "Eastern *kou*" might stand for "Eastern Kar[luk]."[29] That *-kou* might be related to Kololu or Hololu, two Chinese renderings of the name of the Karluk Turks, seems doubtful, especially as there is no other mention of "Eastern" Karluks. On the other hand Tungkou, "Eastern Valley," is natural in the context, where we find "tribes of the Eastern Valley and adjacent places" and "Tibetans of the eight tribes of the Eastern Valley and vicinity" in the Chinese source that has been quoted above.

That among the subjects of Turkish descent of the Li T'u-ssu and other clans there were Karluks is not impossible, however, and perhaps probable, because travelers and Father De Smedt have heard Monguors say that they were of Karluk stock; but the Chinese text here cited does not mention the fact, and the author says explicitly that the eight tribes of the Eastern Valley are Fan min or Tibetans, descendants of the Western Ch'iang. When this author mentions the Luerhchia, the Hula, and the twelve Paitieh tribes he writes out his versions of their names in full. If he had thought that Tungkou meant "Eastern Karluks," one would expect him to have written it out also in full, as "Tung Kololu" or "Tung Hololu." All of these considerations seem to point to "Eastern Valley" and not "Eastern Karluks" as the meaning of Tungkou.

In conclusion, it seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in Monguor clans are Turks, but not Shat'o Turks, by descent, and that in this context the author of the Chinese text cited means tribes of Turkish descent when he writes of T'u "natives." It will be seen later that the author of this text does not confuse either Mongols or Tibetans with T'u.

These tentative conclusions suggest that there is an important problem yet to be solved. Fathers A. Mostaert and A. De Smedt, authors of the *Dictionnaire Monguor-Français* which has been frequently cited in these pages, and of scholarly studies of the phonetics and morphology of the Monguor language, have established the fact that it is an archaic Mongol dialect with, at present, few Turkish elements. How is it possible that these tribes, if they were in fact largely Turkish to begin with, lost their original idiom to such an extent? Father Mostaert finds a language change of this kind not unusual. Indeed, who can prove at what time these tribes lost their language? Could they not already

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gol tribal name; or it may reflect a Mongol (or Turkish) name, Baitik; *cf.* Baitik (or Baitak) Bogda, "the Holy Baitik [mountains]" between Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang. I have not been able to discover the meaning of this name.—O. L.

[29] Rockhill, *Land of the lamas*, as cited, 43.

174 have lost their old language before they appeared on the frontiers of Kansu? Further, the impact of the Mongol culture in Asia is generally underestimated: the appeal of the Mongol culture to the nomadic tribes in the thirteenth century in fact was overwhelming, and Mongol was then the language of the rulers of Central Asia, Mongolia, and Manchuria. Many tribes of Turkish origin exchanged their language for the different but closely related Mongol language. This assumption is evidenced by the fact that among the Mongols of today are encountered many names of clans of Turkish origin. Whole groups, such as the Onguts of the Yin Shan who were of the same Shat'o origin as the Monguors, and had fled together with them to China in A.D. 808, became Mongols, speaking only Mongol. The descendants of the Nestorians of the Ordos, who were probably of Turkish stock, are today thorough Mongols.

On page 57 of the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* is the last note related to the subject of the Monguors:

> The Ch'i T'u-ssu of Nienpei is a descendant of Mongols of the Yuan period, but he does not belong to the imperial family. . . . The 20 tribes he governs in the locality called Tatzewan are the tribes he originally governed.

The names of these tribes are not given, however. These tribes were certainly Mongols, as is indicated by the place name Tatzewan. "Ta-tze," originally the Chinese transcription of "Tatar," is to this day commonly used in Chinese instead of "Mongol," especially in the frontier regions, and often with a condescending or belittling connotation. *Wan* is a "bend" in a valley; hence Tatzewan is "Tatar Bend" or "Mongol Bend." Concerning these Monguors the Chinese author notes that their houses, food, and customs are similar to those of the neighboring people, by whom the Chinese are meant, as the context indicates, as are their customs connected with marriages and funerals, and then goes on to state that they also observe many Tibetan customs. He thus seems to make a clear distinction between these Monguor commoners and those ruled by the various T'u-ssu whom he has previously mentioned, and this distinction seems to strengthen the hypothesis of a difference of origin between these two groups of commoners. These are the only sources available for solving the problem of the ethnic origin of the Monguor commoners. A majority of Turkish element is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by T'u-ssu.

CHINESE

175 In the seventeen Monguor and Shat'o clans, in addition to the original stock who came with their chiefs
177 from Mongolia to settle as wardens of the marches, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned above, there were also Chinese and Tibetan families who enrolled in these clans during the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier. There are no records of the earliest enrollment of Chinese, but it does not seem likely that "many" Chinese were enrolled before

3: Schröder--309 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[202]

Conclusion*

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* For the first part of this work, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 1-79, 620-658, 822-870 [the "First Part" above in the HRAF translation]. A supplement to the bibliogtaphy there, pp. 2-4 [see foreign text; the bibliography was not reproduced for the translation], will be found at the end of this article; see below p. 259 [see foreign text].

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Second Part: Analysis

An all-round picture of the Tujen religion can only be drawn within the frame of a broader cultural view, for which the other records from the rich treasure of legends and songs are also utilized. Over and above this, a judgment concerning the cultural and religious historical-relationships requires a comparison [171] with the neighboring Chinese, Tangut, Mongols, and Yugur (1).

•[174]

1. A comparison with both the eastern part of north China (Fungus) and the southwest would also be very informative. The tradition of the Tujen speaks of an eastern origin, and the peoples upon whom they are superimposed in the present-day Amdo originally belonged to the Ch'iang, of whom large parts migrated toward the south into present-day Kham, Szechwan, and Yunnan. This conception has been advocated for a long time by the Chinese; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder: Die Fandse, pp. 1 f. It has now been confirmed by Professor Doctor J. F. Rock for the Na-khi. A comparison

[202 cont.]

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with their religion is justified all the more since it has preserved the pre-Buddhistic form in a much less corrupted state than the religion of the mother country, which lies within the effective range of the Yellow Church (Kumbum); see below, pp. 390 ff. In addition the Na-khi possess a religious literature in which the old customs are unequivocally fixed, and which J.F.Rock has worked over and published; for this whole subject, cf. J.F.Rock, Na-khi Kingdom; id., Naga Cult, I, pp. 2 f., and Muan Bpö, p. 7. Unfortunately, these works, which represent a treasure trove for knowledge of the pre-Buddhist belief in the Chinese-Tibetan border region, could not be adequately quoted here.

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It is true that in the notes of the first part extensive consideration was given to this, so that now it is already established that the religion of the Tujen and of their Lamaistic neighbors do not differ from each other in many ways. A further analysis and summary of the question, however, [203] would grow into a series of special essays that would go too far beyond this work, which, after all, is primarily intended to be a survey.

The present material, however, is ample enough to characterize the basic features of the religious framework, which even a later and more precise treatment will scarcely change. This characterization will be attempted in a cross- and longitudinal section. The one offers a total picture of the religious world-view; the other shows the more or less interpenetrating layers of the religion.

[212 cont.]

771 utilitarian idea. The Tujen give their offerings and prayers in
776 order to make the spirit world favorably inclined toward them
for the purpose of earthly well-being. They are not so submis-
[782] sive to the harmful demons, however, but instead face them
[789] with greater hostility and try to vanquish them with the help
of the good spirits or through magic.

b) The Offering

The Types of Offering

782 The Tujen distinguish the following types according to what is offered: the incense offering, food and drink offering, slaughtered offering, animal-consecration. -- Aside from the incense offering and the animal-consecration, they have a
[192] common name for the offering, namely, šeńlie, which corresponds to the Chinese hsien. Thus, they say, for instance, šdimie šeńlie-, to offer bread; tsidzig šeńlie-, to offer flowers; xonini šeńlie-, to offer a sheep (cf. DMF 376). This expression šeńlie may not be used for anything else.

The incense offering, which originally was an aromatic offering, has now been greatly extended by all kinds of additions, such as butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, silk threads. Here, too, however, the rule against giving anything that smells unpleasant is maintained. The use of butter and
[174] tsamba, which are the staple foods of the nomads there, implies an old pastoral custom. Concerning the original incense offering, cf. the chapter further below, "The Belief in a Supreme God."

The food offering principally includes bread, wine, butter, tsamba. One puts them down before the spirit, for instance, before the household altar, the obo, the mani-tree, the god's image, etc. When they are taken away and consumed, some is thrown to the deity concerned. Liquids are poured on the ground or squirted into the air. The custom of
[264] throwing something to the spirits before each meal belongs here, too.

[214 cont.]

782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types of prayer under the expression yandzila-, to implore, to request, and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer, however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which
[463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the
[792] lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people
[791] connect praying with these professions is shown by the common designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the
[192] Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen, that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom mosë, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching. In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer, something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of
[791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests, Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely linked.

5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

771
174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

[215 cont.]

771 structure that has developed in the course of centuries. It is
174 similar to the religion of the Mongols generally, which Pallisen in his dissertation would like to designate as syncretism. This is found even more among the Kansu Mongols, the Tujen. This syncretism is understandable for two reasons, one psychological and one historical.

Viewed psychologically, the East Asian, including the Mongol, is inclined to negotiation, to compromise, and to understanding toleration. The informant has formulated this accurately: "All religions are good. The goal is the same, only the paths are different" (cf. "Introduction," Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 12)[p. 12 above in the HRAF translation]. One does not want to bind himself exclusively to one particular way, but wants to examine everything from a practical utilitarian viewpoint to see what is conducive to his happiness and well-being. One tries this with all the gods and is gladly prepared to take up into his heaven any useful spirit. Even Christianity in China would [216] long ago have fallen victim to this inclination, if it were not so decisively intent on a dogmatic and ritual separation. Otherwise one could soon rediscover it with its figures of saints, doctrines, and rites, say, in Lamaism, just as in actual fact such an influence is assumed from early Christian times.

The history and distribution of the Tujen has greatly favored this spiritual readiness and has brought them into close contact with the various religions. Whoever the original Tujen may be, all those who have reported about them are agreed that they have an active history of migration behind them and that their basic stock is Mongolic. Aside from their migrations, perhaps for several centuries in their present location, even if they have maintained their linguistic and racial peculiarities, they have had active intercourse with the most varied peoples, such as the Tangut, the former rulers of Amdo, with the Mongols of the various waves of invasion, and finally with the Chinese pressing in after them. Probably their original faith in pre-Lamaistic times was determined extensively by the Bon doctrine of the Tangut, until the Yellow Church from neighboring Kumbum then brought all Amdo under its influence. Finally,

[216 cont.]

771 Chinese civilization, which with agriculture also brought corre-
174 sponding religious customs with it, passed over them, even if it has only slightly penetrated into the religion.

This peculiar position, conditioned by history and en-
771 vironment, makes the religion of the Tujen a significant subject
792 in the religious history of Amdo and of the Chinese border region
174 generally, so that it is actually no longer simply a matter of the religion of the Tujen alone. The Tujen monks seem to have been aware of this advantageous position and have actively taken part in the investigation of the forms of belief of the border land, especially that of Lamaism. Through this they have won a certain learned and religio-political influence. An example of this is given by Cybikov in his introduction to the "Lam rim c'en po" (pp. XVI-XVII, translated by W.A.Unkrig), where he speaks of the Ch'ang-chia hutukhtu, who, as is known, comes from the Tujen lamasery Erh-ku-lung: "But whatever the situation may be. The home of the Ch'ang-ch'a hutukhtus occupies such a position between China, Mongolia, the East Tibetans, the Tangut, and formerly also the Uigur, that it had to serve as an arena for the contact between these peoples and for the formation of a tribe in which is embodied the traits of all four of these peoples. If one takes a look at the present-day situation exclusively, without historical considerations, according to our view it has contributed greatly to the fact that these lamas had to gain enormous influence on Tibetan and Mongolic affairs and on the relationship of these peoples to the Manchu dynasty." I found this confirmed when I visited the lamasery there. If we also disregard the observation of Cybikov concerning the ethnic formation of the Tujen, it must nevertheless be admitted that this people has taken over many religious traits from its neighbors. It is therefore also no accident that it was precisely a Tulku (Tuguän
[538] hutukhtu) from the Tujen monastery [217] who in the eighteenth century wrote the only known Tibetan book about all the Tibetan sects, including the Bon. He had the most varied forms constantly and directly before his eyes, just as even today the religious customs of the Tujen still represent a living catalogue of patterns in this respect.

[217 cont.]

771 Now, concerning the elements which make up these
• 174 customs, they fall almost entirely into four groups, each of which constitutes a special layer. These four layers are: the belief in a supreme god, shamanism, the Bon religion, and Lamaism. The layers, however, cannot simply be taken out of the whole structure, freed from all the extra features, and connected with a larger pervading stratum of the Central Asiatic religions. This is only possible in a larger context and would go beyond the bounds of this work, for the parts in question are of considerable temporal depth and embrace many peoples. In addition these layers have interpenetrated one another in that in each case the later one has absorbed the elements of the preceding ones. Thus, Lamaism, in spite of its original enmity toward the Bon religion, has nonetheless adopted much from it. The Bon faith, on the other hand, in turn has a strong shamanistic base, and an old sky-cult runs through all the layers.

771 A discussion of the two high religions, of the Bon and of
128 Lamaism, in their connection with the belief of the Tujen would
756 go too far. Shamanism can more readily be delimited, but it cannot be exhaustively presented either. So there remains the old sky-cult as a belief in a supreme god. This will be dealt with quite extensively in the following, whereas in the case of shamanism the presentation must be limited to a theoretical sketch. A special work will deal with it in detail for the whole western Chinese border region. The Bon religion and Lamaism will only be touched upon briefly.

II. The Layers of the Tujen Religion

114 771

1. The Belief in a Supreme God

In this section it is necessary to refer not only to the customs but also to the other sources and the scanty literature. Aside from the DMF and Mariage (by Schram), which offer a sparse yield for the religion, the other sources are still unpublished.
[538] They are available in the original texts, however. These are the Geser legend, the agriculture legend, the Moschus deer (the first part of the song cycle known under the name xoni, sheep), and a series of other songs and fairy tales, of which the wedding songs are appearing (Folklore Studies, Tokyo, 1952).

[219 cont.]

772 the heavens, even purely sensibly, stand in the consciousness of
776 the Tujen as something important, exalted, as that immeasurable
192 space of light embracing the world, in which the natural events
821 that so impress the simple human being take place. It is not the word rëguo that arouses this consciousness in them, but the word tieńgëre. Evidently, it is one of the oldest words that they, along with the other Altaic peoples, among whom it is charged with the same content, have inherited from hoary prehistory. It cannot be further analyzed etymologically.

772 For this reason, this very expression is excellently suitable
776 for designating what we call "God." Where the Tujen, who are,
192 after all, a branch of the Mongols, acquired the link between
174 the name tieńgëre and the concept "God" is not to be dealt with here. That belongs in the history of the religion of the Mongols or of the Altaic peoples generally. Father W. Schmidt has made it seem probable that it is not a matter of equating the highest being with the material heaven, but only of a transference of the name "heaven" to the supreme god; this must have happened at the time of the transition to herding in the great steppes where "they have before them the huge dome of the heavens unobscured in its entire extent and with all natural phenomena taking place in the sky"; cf. Schmidt, Religionsgeschichte [History of Religion], p. 256, UdG, X, pp. 128 ff. The question arises here: Does this also apply to the Tujen and in what way? How is the name tieńgëre used, as a generic or proper name? Does it actually signify God?

One must first of all go back to the general Mongolic conceptions, which, to be sure, know the same name. Pallisen in this connection comes to the following conclusion (op. cit., p. 126): "One can therefore say that in this stage of development Tengri meant something like 'God Heaven' as a proper name, not 'heaven god' and not 'god in heaven' or 'god of heaven,' as some researchers maintain.... Gradually, however, Tengri was used to designate the God of the Christians and of the Mohammedans, and finally, with the adoption of Buddhism, this word became equivalent to the Sanskritic Deva, and numerous deities of the Lamaistic pantheon, which in part were taken into it from the old folk-belief, were [220] then also called

[220 cont.]

772 Tengri, with the addition of a definite proper name (especially
776 the 33 tengri: ghutschin ghurban Tengri)." "In other words, for
192 the interpreters and for the numerous strangers generally who
174 stayed at the court of the great Khan and among whom many priests of all religions were also represented, the significance of Tengri as a generic name for 'god' was already familiar and clear" (op.cit., p. 127). -- Later, according to Pallisen, along with Buddhism there came the term burxan, which is supposed to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word for Buddha and among the Mongols is supposed to have taken on the meaning of "idol, deity, spirit, god's image." (Concerning the origin of the word Burchan or purġan, cf. above.)

Among the Tujen this development is difficult to determine. I have often asked people how many tieńgĕre there are. I always received the answer; only one. Only once did my informant observe that there were also other gods called tieńgĕre. When he was then to name these gods, he did not know a single one. This is a sign of how secondary the significance of tieńgĕre as a generic name must have been among the Tujen, since it could disappear from linguistic usage so completely without a trace, if it was ever present. Perhaps the above-mentioned observation of A. Tafel concerning a "single god" is to be traced back to a similar piece of information. The tieńgĕre of the Tujen, in other words, does not entirely correspond with the tengri of the Mongols. Only the word purġan, which corresponds to the Mongolic burxan, has taken over the function of a generic name; purġan signifies not only the native gods, spirits, gods' images, but generally all the deities of the various religions. At times it may also designate a demon. It is used in a way similar to the Chinese fo-yeh, though to be sure never for a Tulku. The conception of a plurality, which, of course, is essential for a generic concept, is always connected with the word purġan.

772 According to all the information and on the basis of the
776 customs recorded, tieńgĕre alone is reserved as the proper name
192 of the god-heaven. The bilingual Tujen generally translate it with the Chinese t'ien (heaven) or lao-t'ien (old heaven) or

[223 cont.]

782 539 Further evidence is also found in the first part of the animal song cycle, the "Moschus deer." Verses 191-201 describe the incense offering in the following manner: "There is a procedure for catching the Moschus deer. Climb the north side (of the mountain)and pick green juniper twigs. Climb the sunny side and gather white känba flowers. Go down to the flat plain and gather yellow känba flowers. Go to the bank [224] of the river and burn great incense. Venerate the great heaven, implore the countless gods." (Šge fdzaṅbeṅ ġarġaya, šge tieṅgëre amudadzi, uluon purġan yaṅdzilaya.)

[533] Now one more example from the wedding song, "The Bird Pair." The pair, shepherd and shepherdess, sing alternately: "When the sun rises shining, we pick green cypress twigs. Climbing up the shady side, we gather white känba flowers. Descending to the flat plain, we scoop up clear water. Climbing up the high mountain, we burn great incense, and burning the great incense it is a good job when we are a pair." (Šge fdzaṅni ġarġaya; šge fdzaṅni ġarġadza, tsiari ġuori sguren-wa.)

782 174 These examples from the popular literature can be multiplied at will. The passages cited, however, suffice to secure the following conclusions: 1. The original form of the incense offering was extremely simple. Juniper twigs, flowers, and purification water belong with it. The offering was purely an aromatic offering. Although fire is naturally necessary also, it is nowhere mentioned. Not even the expression "to set afire" is used. The usual word "ġarġa" is the causative of "ġari-" (to generate, to produce, to rise) and refers here to the smoke. No foodstuffs are offered. The other additions, spices, etc., can be explained from Lamaism (5). Whatever in the way of

5. J.F.Rock also establishes for the Na-khi an original simple form, juniper twigs and butter; the other additions were not added until later; see Naga Cult, pp. 231 f.

foodstuffs is still offered in the present form should be conceived

[224 cont.]

782 as a combination of a primitial offering with the matutinal in-
174 cense offering. Even these gifts, however, may not have a bad odor, which wholly corresponds with the original meaning of the incense offering. 2. The incense offering, according to these texts, is already very ancient. Even if the legends are distressingly embellished from Lamaism, they nonetheless go
[773] back to pre-Buddhist conditions. This applies especially to the Geser legend. Lamaistic monks in Kumbum emphasize that the legend has nothing to do with their religion. In similar
782 fashion this type of incense offering is declared to be pre-
174 Buddhistic in western Tibet; cf. A.H.Francke, Tibetische
171 Hochzeitslieder, pp. 25 f. (Darmstadt, 1923). The pre-Buddhistic occurrence among the ancient Mongols has already been mentioned. The Tujen are of Mongolic derivation, and they also have religious links with the pre-Buddhist Tibetans, as is shown in the wedding customs and songs (6). -- How far the

6. For the distribution of the incense offering, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 49 [pp. 80-81 above in the HRAF translation]. Its occurrence in ancient China also argues in favor of its being pre-Buddhist in character; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder, Die Fandse, p. 183, where the ancient Chinese burnt offering is equated with the incense offering of the Fandse. The Na-khi juniper incense offering, whose great similarity with the incense offering of the Tujen and the Tibetans cannot be denied, is also pre-Buddhist; cf. the descriptions by J. F. Rock, Naga Cult, pp. 230 ff., and Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 34.

782 incense offering goes back is indicated by the hunting song cycle.
174 It was probably already practiced in the early period of a hunting
[538] culture and from there passed into the herding culture. It is

[224 cont.]

782 striking [225] that the agriculture myth does not mention the in-
174 cense offering. The conditions of the environment -- mountain pasture, forest, wild flowers, etc. -- do not fit in with agriculture (7). -- Here it may be asked whether the incense offering is

[824 773]

7. The ancient nature of the incense offering is to be explained in the final analysis by the ancient nature of the juniper tree, which as world- and life-tree stands at the beginning of time; cf. J.F.Rock, Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 20, 21, 132, 143. Since it is the first tree of the world, even the first emperor (Geser legend) could burn only these twigs in honor of heaven. The incense offering therefore belongs in the world of the religious archetypes which became standard for the later human beings, just as the archetypes of the first human being, of the world-mountain and the tree of life, of heaven and earth, of the first obo, etc. extend back into that legendary period.

older than the primitial offering. In common with the latter it is mentioned in the legends before all other offerings. The first emperor already knows both offerings; the wedding song and the hunting song mention the incense offering, the agriculture myth only the primitial offering. The relationship of the two offerings to each other cannot be determined. 3. The incense
782 offering is always given either to heaven alone or to it in the first place. It is a true heaven-offering. It is only rarely directed to the other spirits, which, according to their collec-
[776] tive name, are called purgan and therefore are only of later Buddhist origin. Mountain heights seem to have been preferred
[823] in order to be closer to heaven. Even today this is still done. The Tujen are aware of this and give as the reason that it is

[225 cont.]

782 thanksgiving festivals. (Cf. D. Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer
241 [Harvest Thank-offering]," Anthropos 37-40, 1942-45, pp. 867-874.)

That a true heaven-offering is involved is clearly expressed, loc. cit.: "It is already apparent from the entire offering performance and the words spoken in connection with it that it is an offering to heaven. To the question, 'You are therefore making an offering to the gods in the temple?' the old man responded: 'No, [226] we are making an offering to heaven... This offering is a veneration of heaven... I have already said it; we are thanking heaven for the yield of the year. He cares for seed and man and livestock'..." (Anthropos, op. cit., p. 873). The same statement must also apply to the sowing festival at which the ceremonies are almost the same.

782 Now it is striking that it is precisely in an agricultural
241 rite, sowing and harvest festivals, that a sheep offering takes
174 place. I was later able to visit many such festivals and to determine the actual form, which is more in keeping with the character of agriculture and shamans. In the valleys, namely, in the Chinese area of settlement, no sheep, but -- at least preferably -- a pig is offered. This pig is surrounded with many rites, among which a regular procession with the sacrificed pig takes place. The shamans accompany this procession with drum-beating and prayers. I observed it thus for instance in Tsung-chai and environs. In the mountains, on the other hand, among the Tujen, a sheep is sacrificed preferably, although the Tujen also keep pigs. There remains, therefore, only the one explanation that the original form of these agricultural festivals is connected with a pig offering and that the sheep offering of the Tujen has replaced this as a foreign body. The reason for this lies close at hand. The Tujen, according to their tradition, were once shepherds, and many elements of a herding culture can still be seen among them. With the transition to agriculture, the spring festival of the shepherds evidently became connected with the sowing festival, and the autumn festival of the shepherds with the harvest festival of the agriculturalists. Since, however, the sheep was a sacrificial animal that they were devoted to,

[226 cont.]

782 the Tujen did not want to give up the sheep offering at these
241 festivals. In the description of the festival it is, to be sure, very
174 strongly emphasized that the entire sacrificial rite in the narrower sense (slaughtering, etc.) has nothing to do with the shamans. The offerers are the elders, in other words, laymen. The shaman rite, mainly prayer service and dance, runs alongside it.

Therefore, in the harvest thank-offering and the sowing offering of the Tujen we have before us an old heaven-offering which is consciously fostered by the people and unequivocally applied to heaven.

2) The Prayer

782 What was said above about the spontaneous, unformulated,
788 and freely formulated prayer also applies to the prayer to heaven. Every person can express his need, his request, his gratitude, his feelings to the heavens, just as they come to him. One thing in particular, however, must be noted here. While the formulated prayer, the prayer service, is generally reserved for special professions and the offering more for the people, this does not wholly apply in the case of the prayer to heaven. I was unable to confirm that there are any actual prayers by religious officiants that apply only to heaven. Therefore, concerning the offering and prayer, there is no special class in relation to heaven. Both are the concern of the laymen, of the people, of the masters of the household or of individual persons.

Aside from my own observations, the personal prayer to [227] heaven is sufficiently attested to by the passages that were cited for the incense offering. There is almost always a prayer in connection with it, a supplication (yaṅdzi-) to heaven. And until now a prayer is also always connected with each offering, each kowtow to heaven, at least an inner one. (Cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-1945, p. 872.) The only prayer formulas of the people in the Tujen language are addressed to heaven, namely: tieṅgëre mudie (heaven knows); and tieṅgëre
[174] tsiad sadni wari (heaven, you hold justice). The formula tieṅgëre

[227 cont.]

782 mudie is already known from the early period of the Mongols, and
788 it attests to what an ancient heritage the veneration of heaven is
[174] among the Mongolic basic stock of the Tujen. There is usually a three-fold kowtow also connected with the prayer, whereby the person also wishes to indicate purely outwardly in a formal ceremony his submissiveness before the god-heaven.

c) The Nature and Characteristics of Heaven

Uniqueness

772 The discussion of the name has already indicated that the
776 designation tieńgëre is reserved for heaven alone. It does not share this name as a title with any other deity, even, say, by adding a proper name of a certain deity to it. This unique position of heaven becomes even clearer when one considers it in relation to the other deities.

776 The position with respect to the gods in general. -- The offering, the many texts from the songs, and the other customs everywhere acknowledge heaven as the first. This is acknowledged briefly and concisely in the constantly recurring expression šge tieńgëre, uluon purǵan (the great heaven, the countless spirits). Heaven is the great one. It is especially set apart from the many other spirits. As the first it has a share in all offerings, for it -- before all other gods -- the first kowtow is made, the first dedication of the day. The Tujen express this: What would the gods be without heaven, he is their lord"; cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873. -- Heaven also has this position of pre-eminence over those deities who it might seem share the honor with him, for which reason they are to be mentioned briefly in the following.

773 The position with respect to the heaven-emperor of the
776 Geser legend. -- The Geser legend mentions three lords of heaven, among whom Šdeńglatsien Sań is the highest. He lives with them in the immeasurable space of heaven, likewise

[229 cont.]

776 concerned about the well-being of the people, it is striking that
171 he is not linked with the protection of seed and harvest. Otherwise, however, his tasks correspond to those of heaven, even if he is primarily a nature god who shares his character with the lord of the animals and forests of many Siberian peoples.

776 Nonetheless there is a difference between him and heaven. First of all heaven is given precedence, even in connection with all offerings to the mountain-spirit, for instance, the obo offering. Whereas the mountain-spirit has a fixed residence in the obo, his fort, and therefore is tied to the place, heaven retains its freedom with regard to locality. The mountain-spirit can also be a tutelary spirit of the human beings who are named after him; as assisting spirit he may enter into the shaman and take possession of him in the trance. This is altogether out of the question for heaven. People are surprised if one even asks about it. There are pictures and flags of the mountain spirit; he can animate a spirit-spear. Heaven is formless, imageless; no one knows what it looks like. -- Heaven has an exalted uniqueness even in contrast to the mountain-spirit.

[553] [756] [787]

174 Besides the mountain-spirit the earth-deity has its seat
776 in the obo, and, to be sure, in the layer of earth. Its name
[192] glu is doubtless the Tibetan klu, Naga, dragon. In Mongolic the word for it is lu, which is also much in use in the Tujen language. It corresponds to the Chinese lung (dragon). The customs with the earth-god urn show the earth deity of the Tujen more in the Bonistic realm of the Naga cult than in the Mongolic. It is quite possible that two types have mixed here or that the ancient Mongolic has been covered by the later Bonistic-Lamaistic. According to Pallisen (op. cit., pp. 159 f.), the ancient Mongols practiced a cult of the earth-deity, who is probably to be thought of as female. There it bears the name itoga or, in the prevocalic version, etügen, and is conceived as the tutelary deity of the homeland earth. The characteristics that are attributed to this deity correspond to those of the mountain-spirit. It is also to be surmised that this deity is to be associated with the female shamans, who call themselves udugan

[229 cont.]

•174 (udagan, idugan). (Cf. Koval., p. 386; Uno Harva, Die religiösen
776 Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker [The Religious Conceptions of the Altaic Peoples], p. 450.) As the ceremonies of the earth-god urn indicate, this deity has something to do with butter and silk (silk wrapping, butter-pouring), as well as with grain (barley filling). Something similar applies to the etügen, which, as a female deity, is endowed with the attribute "fat-faced" and "silk-faced." (Cf. N. N. Poppe, "Schaman. Handschriften [Shamanistic Manuscripts]," Vol. I, 196-197, Manuscript XI; statement according to W. A. Unkrig.) Further indications of the connection of the earth-deity with the origin of agriculture and corresponding Tujen myths must be omitted here.

776 [230] Now regardless of where the earth-deity of the Tujen came from, it, heaven, and the mountain-spirit form an ancient trinity which has divided up the world. According to the [821] general conception of the Tujen, heaven rules over the air space, the clouds, wind, lightning, sun, moon, and stars. The mountain-spirit rules over the surface of the earth; animals, human [823] beings, birds, forests, pastures, and mountains. The earth-deity rules over the interior of the earth: metals, rocks, treasures, the snakes and the worms, as well as the seed that slumbers in the earth. This division, however, does not exclude heaven from the other two realms. After all that has been said, he continues to be the lord of the gods and men. If he appears here as coadministrator of the layers of the world, he only seemingly surrenders his partial domains. One might better think of a splitting off of certain activities of heaven and their being made independent, as P. W. Schmidt assumes for similar cases among other Asiatic peoples.

The Knowledge of Heaven

776 After the preceding discussions, the further characteris-
782 tics of heaven automatically present themselves. Among these characteristics knowledge appear most clearly. Concerning this knowledge the informant gave the following information (Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873): "At the

[236 cont.]
171 Heissig, "Shamanen," Folklore Studies, 3, 1944, p. 72, Figs. 1-
756 7; likewise Shirokogorov, Psychomental Complex, pp. 297 f.) The absence of the trance seems to fit in least of all with Siberian shamanism.

The relationship to China. -- First the distribution must be considered. According to personal observations and various reports by the Chinese and missionaries, the fashih type is spread over all of Kansu and Shansi and into the interior of the coastal provinces Hopeh and Shantung. In the Amdo region he is found wherever there are Chinese settlements, especially in the vicinity of Sining and Kweiteh (on the Yellow River). In type he fits in well with an agricultural people, precisely through the emphasis of the harvest ceremony and of the female appearance.

Almost all the origin reports that I was able to gather attest to the descent of the fashih from a woman, a first shamaness. She was brought to life from a female skeleton through a magic incantation by T'ai-shang lao-chün (a title of Lao-tzu) and received from him her shamanistic powers. In southern Hopeh today the fashih are still predominantly women. -- Furthermore, the fashih are always associated with the spirits of the dead and ancestors, which likewise agrees with the Chinese mentality.

[237] The origin legends and the deities also point to a close connection with Wuism or Taoism. (Cf. De Groot, Religious System, Vol. VI, Part II, 1187 ff.) The god-litter with the niang-niang is almost the same as the one pictured there. The Taoists, sworn enemies of the fashih, claim that the latter split off from them as a false sect. Whereas the Taoists represented an official and respected religion, the fashih, as bearers of the shen-chiao (spirit religion), led a despised existence up to the most recent times.

174 The position in Tsinghai. -- Apparently this Chinese
756 shamanism also came to Amdo with the Chinese settlers. There it has adopted various elements, diluted its original shamanistic character, and fostered the cultic group-dance. Since the

[237 cont.]

174 weather conjuration from the Bon was much practiced there, it
756 also took this over, which, indeed, was close to it in type. Probably the weather-conjuring Bon were absorbed by them.

The Tujen have likewise permitted their Mongolic shamanism to flow into this fashih shamanism and have transferred to it the original name, bō. A Tujen bō once said: "We have a common root with the Mongolic shamans." This shamanism has remained remote from Lamaism, as well as from the gurtum; a certain rivalry exists between it and them.

The question of the bō or fa-shih demands an extensive presentation of Chinese shamanism generally, which has already been undertaken.

b) The Gurtum or Warrior-shamans

Characterization

756 Appearance. -- Among the Tujen the gurtum wears a
292 red cloak that is held together with a cloth belt, a shoulder collar, a chest mirror, a Lamaistic amulet or a hada (ceremonial cloth) in the chest bag, a headcloth that covers the eyes, a garland of bells around his forehead, and on top of it the five-part Lamaistic crown. The most important piece of his equipment is the sword, without which he does not shamanize at all, so that really one should call the Tujen gurtum a "sword-shaman." He also uses other weapons, however, such as the spirit-spear and the knife. At major ceremonies he also works with sieve, winnowing-fan, and five little paper men called wu-tao shen in Chinese, which could be translated as "five-direction spirits."

The whole type of the gurtum is that of a warrior who exorcises misfortune in the demon battle. Aside from this popular image of his appearance, which is fairly complete, there are also simple, degenerated types who wear only the most necessary equipment, say, the headcloth, the chest
[177] mirror, and the sword, even over a modern European suit. At solemn sword battles, however, they also appear in full regalia.

[240 cont.]

171 loc. cit., also emphasizes. W. Heissig, too, has encountered
756 the difference between these two groups among the East Mongols; cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," p. 40. There the gurtum are also called "Lajing." Exactly like the Tujen, the Chinese, too, differentiate between the bö (fashih) and the gurtum (fa-la-tzu or ku-erh-tien).

Beyond doubt, therefore, the gurtum in his present form
[779] is affiliated with Lamaism. First of all his area of distribution coincides with that of Lamaism. One finds the gurtum in Tibet, Amdo, and Mongolia. To designate him as specifically Mongolic, as is done occasionally in the expression "the Mongolic gurtum," is misleading. To be sure he was described predominantly by travelers in the Mongolic region, but detailed studies concerning him were hitherto lacking. There is no original Mongolic name for the gurtum, and the general term bö (böge, bügü) for shaman is not applicable to him. All names are Tibetan.

756 But what position does the gurtum occupy in Lamaism?
776 His main task seems to be exhausted in the representation of the tutelary gods who constitute a special conceptual realm.
779 The three aspects that are included under the word sku have
• 174 already been indicated "gurtum." The Lamaistic tutelary deities also bear the collective name "the five bodies," along with the other name, "the five kings" (Mongolic: tabun xaǵan) or "the protectors of the [241] doctrine" (Tibetan: c'os skyoń). R. Bleichsteiner in his article "Srog-bdag, the lord of life" (Archiv für Völkerkunde, Vienna, V, 1950, pp. 104-138) has indicated the relationships between the three aspects, the directions and world-guardians, who to be sure correspond to the five tutelary lords. Evidently elements of various origins have been combined here in the speculative melting pot of Buddhism through the popular paralleling of microcosm and macrocosm. The presence of these figures and the cultic utilization are accomplished through the gurtum or, as he is also called as presenter of the tutelary deities, the sruń-ba (ma). In the case of the people's gurtum this relationship likewise makes itself apparent through the use of the wu-tao-shen cut in paper in various colors, which were mentioned earlier. It seems, however, that this relationship is more

174 [241 cont.]
756 external and applies to the actual temple-gurtum, whereas the
779 people's gurtum is more strongly connected with the mountain-
[776] spirit and obo.

The foreign character of the gurtum in Lamaism. -- Even though the present-day figure of the gurtum, as was just stressed, belongs to Lamaism according to his appearance, his name, and his conceptual realm, this affiliation is not as close as it might seem.

In the first place the shamanistic basis of the gurtum points away from Lamaism. To be sure, tantristic Lamaism has its special presuppositions for the vivifying and presenting of deities; in this connection cf. Glasenapp, in ZDMG, 90, 1936, p. 552 (cited from Hoffmann, Quellen, p. 206), and H. Findeisen, Eine Erscheinung Yamantakas [An Appearance of Yamantaka], pp. 2 f. The enveiling of the gods' idols also lies in this direction. These presuppositions, however, are not decisive for the shaman-nature of the gurtum. The religious character of the gurtum shuns these magically colored rites. His calling and his power are independent of Lamaism. The shaman is a layman. The same is confirmed by W. Heissig (op. cit., p. 40): "The Layičing, however, belongs to no spiritual community,but is a layman." Only when he has become a shaman does he receive his confirmation in the monastery and Lamaistic instruction. The customs described in the first part concerning the gurtum and the helplessness of the monasteries in the search for a temple-shaman illuminate this
[792] fact sufficiently. This naturally does not exclude the possibility that in individual cases a shaman's calling may fall to a lama. This is not the rule, however, as the great number of people's gurtums outside the monastery proves, at least in the Koko Nor region.

Furthermore, the tutelary gods represented in the
174 gurtum do not seem to be at home in Lamaism; in the case of
756 the people's gurtum with his link to the popular mountain-spirit,
776 this is to be expected from the outset, but it is no less true for
779 the c'os-skyon, for where is the boundary line between the

174 756 776 779

[241 cont.]
original and the borrowed to be drawn in Lamaism? Bleichsteiner (op. cit., p. 111) writes: "The relationships of Pekar and the five kings generally are so manifold and complicated that an unravelling seems to be enormously difficult." This one fact, however, is probably firmly established: two of these kings, Pekar and dGra-lha, come from the pre-Buddhist realm.

[242] Even the name Pekar, of the possessor-spirit of that famous state-oracle of gNas-c'un, in its many forms has no satisfactory Lamaistic explanation. Although Tucci may have recently confirmed the view of Grünwedel, who in agreement with Schiefner derives the name dPe-kar from the Sanskrit word vihara (= monastery), this explanation nonetheless gives too much the impression of an "ad hoc" one, because Pekar is just moved up as monastery protector. Bleichsteiner, unconvinced by this interpretation, increases the explanations of the name by one new one and derives the word Pekar from the Iranian; cf. A. Grünwedel, Mythologie, p. 182, Note 2; R. Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 107 and 111 f.

Even more decisively than the name Pekar, Bleichsteiner designates the figure of Pekar as foreign: "With the exception of the legend ..., according to which the great magician Padmasambhava is supposed to have brought the demon Pehar or Pekar from the Indian monastery Odantapuri to the monastery founded by him, bSam-yas, as guardian and treasure protector, the sources concerning his origin from East Turkistan are fairly well in agreement." By way of confirmation he further cites Tucci: "The last-named investigator regards Pekar as a foreign tribal god that was later introduced into Tibet and converted to Buddhism by Padmasambhava." Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 110, 111; cf. also H. Hoffmann, Quellen, p. 163.

Just as Pekar is the most important representative of the five world-guardians, or of the five c'os-skyon, so dGra-lha is the main figure among the five personal tutelary spirits, who with Srog-bdag also has been moved up among the cosmic world-guardians. Here, too, the co-ordination of microcosm and macrocosm and their mutual interpenetration are to be emphasized. dGra-lha, who like Pekar appears as warrior, belongs

[242 cont.]

174 in the pre-Buddhist Bon layer. There can be no doubt about this
756 after the expositions of Bleichsteiner, who bases himself on
776 Hoffman; cf. Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 108 and 118 f.;
779 Hoffmann, Quellen, pp. 171 f. Here let it be noted that among the Tsinghai Chinese these personal tutelary spirits are found in a Buddhist transformation, and to be sure in the so-called "golden lamps" which every man carries unseen on his body, and two of them on his shoulders.

It is unnecessary here to discuss the other figures of the five kings, since at this point no clarity concerning them can be obtained. The world-picture to which they belong, in spite of all the Buddhistic features, has such a broad base that it extends from Central Asia to India and into the ancient Orient, for even the world-mountain conception and the world-directions arrangement with corresponding guardians does not come from Buddhism in the final analysis, even though -- taken over and reinterpreted by it -- it may have been brought as on a "vessel" over extensive parts of the Orient.

The mountain-spirit, the principal tutelary spirit of the people's gurtum, is so evidently pre-Buddhist that it need not be discussed further here. It will be referred to again in the description of the weather forts in Tsinghai. Hoffmann (Quellen, pp. 159 and 166) has given a report concerning the mountain-spirits, with references to the pertinent literature. He classifies them as pre-Buddhist [243] gods under the type of the rGyal-po, to which the c'os-skyoṅ also belong. The picture of the mountain-god Kangchendzönga permits one to see a certain similarity with the gurtum (pp. 166-167).

The position of the gurtum within Lamaism thus shows that he was not there originally. Both his being a shaman as such and the possessor-spirits represented by him come from earlier, non-Buddhist layers. Only the adaptation and
174 serviceability for the Buddhist community as its tutelary lord
756 (monastery), the speculative classification under the "aspects,"
779 the ritual embellishments during the testing and functioning of the gurtum, certain prayers, and finally the assimilation to the dress of the Buddhist deities are Lamaist, in other words,

[243 cont.]
756 all more or less unimportant elements. The type of the pro-
174 tective warrior, however, goes uniformly through the various
[779] representations. Thus the question of the origin of the gurtum becomes the question of the origin of the warrior-shaman.

The Origin of the Warrior-shaman

This question cannot be exhaustively dealt with here within the framework of a presentation of the Tujen religion, since it is closely connected with the origin of shamanism in general. The following points are therefore to be regarded merely as sketchy hints for a later investigation.

Warrior-shamans and Bon religion. H. Hoffmann writes in his book (Quellen, p. 194) of the gNas c'uñ oracle: "He is, therefore, a living relic of the Bon religion in Lamaism, and to be sure of that side of the Bon religion that is extremely close to the shamanism of the Siberian peoples ..." On page 205 he comes back to the same observation after he has set forth in the same chapter the shamanistic elements in the Bon religion. The type of the Bon shaman pictured there, however, does not correspond to the type of the gurtum or warrior-shaman. The clothing is different, and the Bon shaman works with the hoop drum covered on one side (cf. op. cit., p. 201). A kind of kettledrum is also used. On his drum the Bon-pa rides heavenward in ecstasy. Hoffman quite correctly links this type of shaman with the present-day Siberian form of shamanism (pp. 202 f.). Two important elements, the hoop drum
[774] and the flight of the soul, do not appear with the warrior-shaman. To be sure, in the temple, as I was able to observe in Kumbum and Kuomang-szu, large, double-sided drums were likewise beaten as the gurtum was transported into the trance, but only by the assisting lamas, and to be sure they were the drums that are otherwise used at the religious service. The hoop drum, however, of which Hoffman (op. cit., p. 203) gives an illustration, is not used. In the case of the gurtum the
[787] necessary connection between the drum and the ascent to

[243 cont.]

174 heaven is completely lacking. The type of Bon shamanism described here seems rather to have its vestiges among the fashih in the Chinese Koko Nor region, whose close connection to the Bon religion was already surmised above, especially since these fashih (or bö) [244] are very frequently represented precisely in the region of Kuei-tê on the same river where today the Bon religion is still fairly strong. -- It is not to be disputed in any way that the type of the gNas-c'uñ oracle is a survival from the Bon religion. However, just as the Bon religion generally is not a homogeneous structure, so the shamanism contained in it would also not have been of a uniform type. And precisely if the gNas-c'uñ oracle is a survival from the Bon religion, this proves that here, too, as elsewhere, at least two shaman types were present: the Siberian drum-shamans and the warrior-shamans (10). An element that Hoffmann clearly characterizes,

10. The gurtum type of the gNas-c'uñ oracle can be linked much better to Gšen-rab itself or to the Dto-mba Shi-lo of the Na-khi, the founder of Bon shamanism. The sign for Dto-mba Shi-lo is Ssu, in other words, the ancestor, tutelary god, and in the final analysis the god of life of the Na-khi family; cf. J.F. Rock, "Dto-mba Shi-lo," p. 45, Note 2. This establishes the connection with the basic figures of the other possessor-spirits of the gurtum, who, to be sure, finally manifest themselves likewise as god of life. -- Furthermore, the Dto-mbas with their swords and demon battles ("sham battles" [cited in English]) resemble the gurtum; cf. J.F. Rock, op. cit., p. 77, Pl. 12.

however, must be considered in the case of the warrior-shaman,

174 [244 cont.]
756 namely, the connections between bird and shaman (p. 199 f.).

756 Warrior-shaman and tutelary-spirit heroes. -- In shaman-
776 ism the tutelary or helping spirits play a decisive role. In the case of the possession-shaman, and therefore also in the case of the warrior-shaman, these spirits are at the same time the possessor-spirits. What is most important about the warrior-figures of the tutelary spirits of the temple-shamans has already been said, when mention was made of the five kings, especially Pekar and dGra-lha.

171 The dGra-lha of the Tibetans has a counterpart in the
756 good-fortune tutelary lord of the Mongols as he has already been described above in the section on the cult of heaven (p. 359),
776 and to be sure in the figure of the dsayači and its extension in the sülde. The warlike character of the sülde tengri has been described in detail by the Mongol Dordschi Banzarov in his "Černaja vjera ili šamanstvo u Mongolov" (1846). Only a characteristic quotation from the version of Father W. Schmidt (UdG, X, p. 79) is to be given here: "The nine sülde-tengri, according to their character, are always there in order to protect us. They are represented in a warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone, in the manner of riders, dressed in armor, wearing helmets on their heads, armed with swords and spears, holding a knout in one hand, a flag in the other. They are accompanied by falcons, as well as by a lion, a panther, bears and dogs." Father W. Schmidt notes in connection with this description: "Banzarow, as he states, has taken this presentation from Volume IV of the work by Mergen Diyanči; he wrote the book concerning the offerings presented to these genii." (UdG, loc. cit.) Concerning the relationship of the dGra-lha to the sülde or to the Mongolic good-fortune tengri and their warlike character, as well as their representation in the banner and on flags (jusun-sülde), Lüdtke has given a report, referring to Potanin, Waddel, Grünwedel, and other Russian as well as Mongolic sources; [245] See Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ...," op. cit., pp. 110-115. A supernatural double of the human being, who is conceived as a warlike tutelary lord and who shares and influences the weal and woe

[245 cont.]

171 of his protégé, is involved here; in this connection cf. also
756 Bleichsteiner (or Hoffmann), "Srog-bdag," pp. 118 f. It is not
776 possible to give here all the models and possible archetypes of these warlike doubles and "alter egos." They are very widely distributed in space and time, as is the belief in tutelary spirits generally, and extend back over the archaic high cultures into still earlier times (Megalithic); cf. Dominik Wölfel, Die Religionen des vorindogermanischen Europa. A special development is represented by the sülde banner of the Mongolic khans, which also attests to the fact that in the case of these tutelary spirits true localizations and seizure are involved.

174 That these tutelary spirits are connected with ancestors,
756 and in part identical with them, can likewise be amply docu-
776 mented, as it is repeatedly emphasized in the shamanism. One special feature is still to be pointed out: the shamanistic use of armor and weapons. My informant told me that the Tujen
[523] formerly had brought the weapons and equipment of famous popular heroes into the temple where they were stored. Then
[787] when a shaman who had been called put on this equipment, the powers and the spirit of the hero descended upon him. The shift of an old popular custom into Lamaism is evident here, for prior to this the protector and guardian of the ayil (tribe) was the mountain-spirit in the obo; he watched over the weapons, and in former times arms were also buried in the obo; cf. above, pp. 351 f., and the chapter on the obo, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation]. Just as the popular festivals were later transferred from the obo to the Lamaistic temple, this also happened with the weapons and equipment and the associated donning of them by the shaman. This also explains the especially close connection of the people's gurtum with the mountain-spirit and obo and his warlike character still today. It is well-known that the obo has a special connection with the tribal lord and the latter's descendants. Like-
[773] wise it is told of Geser, who, to be sure, according to the Tujen version, was also the ancestor of the Tujen, how he donned the supernatural armor which is kept in readiness for the special task of the battle against the ills of mankind in heaven.

[246 cont.]

171 756 page 277, he goes into greater detail regarding the interpretation of these figures: "In the grim faces ... the demoniacal power of these armored knights ... is well represented. The helmet-mask is formed by a bird's head with a strong flavor of the Indian Garuda ... a shawl is elegantly draped around the shoulders, and tied in a knot over the chest, the two iron breastplates being visible beneath it" [cited in English]. -- In other words, the same type of warrior as in the case of the gurtum is involved: with helmet, weapons, shoulder hanging, demon battle, etc. -- Certainly further evidence for ancient China could be cited, say, in conjunction with the recent publications of C. Hentze. -- Likewise such types may be demonstrable for India, Indonesia, and the ancient Near East in connection with the ancient Iranian warrior gods and the corresponding figures in Hinduism, Indra, Shiva, etc.; in this connection cf. R. Bleichstein (based on Grünwedel), op. cit., pp. 111-124.

174 756 825 Warrior shaman and bird. -- The connections between bird and shamanism are stressed often enough in the literature. The bird type of shaman is one of the basic types. Usually, the original ancestor of the shaman, or the first shaman, is a bird or incarnated in a bird. The heroes of the folktales, how-[773] ever, are also often linked with a bird ancestor. For instance, the Geser of the Tujen is supposed to have been sent to earth as a cuckoo. If this relationship applies generally, then the warrior-shaman in particular can be linked with the bird figure. There has been an attempt to show that his armor goes back to the feather armor, in other words, to the shaman attire of the bird type. I cannot go further into the sources here. The feather helmet of the ancient Chinese shaman mentioned by B. Laufer and the feather-ornamented helmet of the gNas-c'un gurtum, as well as the report by Georgi in his "Alphabetum Tibetanum," point in this direction.

174 756 [247] This connection between warrior and bird only becomes meaningful if one understands it as a solarization of the ancestor hero. Both the mythologies of the most ancient Chinese excavations (cf. the works by C. Hentze) and the

[247 cont.]

174 Indic -- Ancient-Oriental conceptions show the bird (the Indian
756 Garuda) as a symbol of light in contrast to darkness which is popularly conceived as a snake (Garuda -- snake). The winged sun is a well-known phenomenon in Chinese antiquity, in the archaic cultures of the Near East, and in the religion of the Central American high cultures, as is the equating of sun bird and king or hero in Egypt. This motif of light battling against darkness, of the bird of light against the snake of darkness, is also so widespread in America that recently Paul Radin has set it up as a fundamental life-interpretation of the peoples; cf. Radin, "The Basic Myth of the American Indians," Eranos, 1949.

The warrior-shaman in the final analysis is none other than the mythical first bird that stands in a special relationship with the human ancestors and battles the forces of darkness, the evil in the world. He is thus drawn into the very ancient mythology of mankind and the very ancient experience of the battle between light and darkness as it has been formulated, say, by Von Ow for the life-interpretation of the Avesta: "The Eranic religion penetrated deeply into private life. According to the Avesta, the principal task was: to battle against the forces of darkness. This idea is supposedly symbolized by the clothing of the Eranian, which is regarded as armor" (Ow, Hom, pp. 142 f.).

The bird symbolism of shamanism is ambiguous. In Siberian shamanism the characteristic of flight comes more to the fore, in gurtum-shamanism more the characteristic of light. Finally, it is common to both that the shaman is defender of life. Light is life and stands in contrast to darkness and death. Therefore the shaman as representative of light and of life is necessarily also fighter and warrior.

c) Summary

174 Thus the circle closes around the Lamaistic gurtum.
756 The Lamaistic gurtum arose from two components, one pre-Lamaistic and one Lamaistic. The pre-Lamaistic component
779 is the warrior-shaman. This in turn has two components; a special one, the development of the outward appearance from the fighting light-bird; and a general

[247 cont.]

174 one, the shaman as representative of the god of life (characterized by the tree of life, etc.).

756 Among the people Buddhism found in the warrior-shaman

779 a type which could be "converted" especially easily. It connected the tutelary figures of its religion with this popular shaman. It had been especially prepared for this type of possession-shamanism through the tantrist-magical realizations so that it could easily absorb it. What then remained of other shaman types was branded and fought as xara nom, black belief, by the new "orthodox" shamanism with the spread of Lamaism. This [248] opposition, dealt with much in the literature, is aptly characterized by Lessing in a conversation with his teacher: "... 'Then is a gurtum not a shaman?' I asked him. 'By no means, something much higher. What he invokes, those are the authentic spirits, not the unclean ones of the Bö (written in Mong. böge, shaman)' ..." (Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143).

d) Idol-shamanism

756 In what follows the justification for speaking of idol-

791 shamanism as a special matter will automatically appear. One

[778] could also call it simply "thing-shamanism," because a thing represents the person as shaman. Among the shamanistic idols the spirit-spear of the Tujen occupies a favored position.

The Spirit-spear

The relationship of soothsayer and spear. -- Here the difference in the shamanizing of a gurtum and that of a spear-soothsayer should be recalled (cf. the appropriate chapters in the first part, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 18-33 [pp. 21-50 above in the HRAF translation]. Whereas the gurtum is completely

[787] possessed and in this state psychically closes himself off from the outside world, the spear-soothsayer remains in control of himself and awake. He does not go into ecstasy; only the spear is possessed by the spirit and affects the soothsayer. The soothsayer,

[248 cont.]

757 it is true, must have the special ability to "activate" the spear
791 and to interpret its movements in order to learn what the spirit in the spear wants, but he himself is not inwardly filled by it.

756 On the other hand, the relationship between spirit and
791 spear is much closer. It is the seat of the spirit and is treated as such. Like a shaman it receives a consecration, is clothed
778 with an "official garb": with bands, little bells, and mirrors. The people venerate it like a god that is present. In order to enter actively into a relationship with the world of men through soothsaying, healing, and exorcising evil, or in order to have an active effect on the outside world, this spear-idol needs a middleman who takes it in his hand and to whom it "speaks." This is the "idol-holder," the sdiendzẽn, rten 'dsin. He is not called a shaman, for it is not he, the soothsayer, but the possessed spear that is actually the shaman. The soothsayer is, as it were, merely a living extension of the idol, its loud-speaker.

778 How is the spear to be classified? As the spear is now used, it is to be regarded as a special kind of idol, as its name as spirit seat already suggests. The Tibetan compound rten-mduñ is not found in Ch. Das. However, analogous to the name sku-rten (gurtum) and corresponding to the character of the spear, the rten can here mean nothing other than container or visible representation of the deity: a weapon as seat of the deity. This suggests the question: Was the spirit-spear independent from the outset, or is it merely the tool of a shaman?

171 The spirit-spear as independent idol, in other words,
778 not as equipment of the shaman, is distributed throughout the Tujen and agricultural region of eastern Amdo. [249] One finds it frequently in temples and in family chapels, even among the Chinese. To what extent the Tangut nomads there possess it is beyond my knowledge. The spear must have had an
[174] independent significance in Lamaism even in early times, however, for one frequently encounters it in Lamic monasteries, and usually in conjunction with other standards (banners). The Geography of the Minchu-Hutukhtu is able to report: "In

[249 cont.]

171 Nanggardse there is a fearful chapel of the Gur, and in it there
778 is a lance (mdun) which is said by the worshipers to be sacred and is called 'remover of the thirteen enemies of the religion'"; according to W. Unkrig, Ms, p. 14. R. Bleichsteiner writes of a similar banner: "Another narrative reports on the victorious campaign of a barbarian prince across China, Hor and Grug-gug, during which he used a magical flag into which rNam-sras, the world guardian of the north, and eight companions had been conjured" ("Srog-bdag," p. 111).

The spirit-spear can easily be linked with other similar idols, such as Stabongonen, carriage axles, weather clubs, and noodle rollers among the Tujen, all of which are beribboned and hung with little bells and little metal disks. They, too, are used by a soothsayer in exactly the same way as the spirit-spear. This shows that it is merely one among the many shamanistic idols. That such stick-idols are very widespread not only in the Koko Nor region but also in other places in Tibet is shown from a remark by Jäschke: "... the local lha are not always represented by figures resembling human beings, but even by sticks, stones and similar fetishes" [cited in English], p. 599. And on page 7 he speaks of the Pekar idol, also cited by Bleichsteiner, and notes: "... consisting like most of the popular idols in those countries of a wooden stick or log decked with rags ..."; cf. also Bleichsteiner, op. cit., p. 112. Jäschke adds that this idol is certainly pre-Buddhistic. Such idols can be shown for all of northern Asia as far to the east as the Inao of the Ainu; for example, cf. Joseph Haekel, Idolkult und Dualsystem bei den Ugriern. The shamanistic use, however, seems nowhere to be so well attested to as in the case of the spirit-spear of the Tujen.

A second link can be established from the spirit-spear to the standard, flag, or banner. The spear as standard is an anciently known article, as are its sacredness and its veneration in the flag or standard cult. This cult was practiced above all by the Mongols in the form of the sülde veneration. Now
[174] it is well possible that this very sülde cult was "co-converted" to Lamaism along with the conversion of the Mongols, especially

[249 cont.]

171 since the Buddhists in their victory banner, the rgyal-mtsan, had
778 similar conceptions. The Mongolic Tujen would naturally also
have taken part in this change. Probably the spear-standard was
[174] at the same time also regarded as ancestor spear or clan idol; this
[614] fact is established beyond doubt for the nine-tipped sülde of
Genghis Khan. His spirit and his force have their seat in this
sülde; further details and relationships unfortunately cannot be
presented here; for that, cf., for example, the descriptions by
W. Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ...," in Archiv
für Religionswissenschaft, 25, 1927, pp. 110-115. In any case,
[614] it is striking how [250] each ayil (clan settlement) of the Tujen
is intent upon possessing a spirit-spear. Similar ideas can also
be shown elsewhere. For example, the Bhil in India are
acquainted with the clan spear at religious functions; see
W. Koppers, "Die Bhil ...," pp. 182 ff. Even more clearly
does the similarity with the spirit-spear and the connection
with the clan appear in the case of the clan standard of the
Chewsur [Khevsur]. The form of this standard with its bands,
the little bells, the ball-knob, etc. can scarcely be distin-
guished from the spirit-spear of the Tujen. Also, their clan
priest is practically a shamanistic soothsayer who works with
the spear standard. In view of the great significance that the
standards had among the Turks and Mongols (tuq-banner) and
in view of the lively history of these peoples, influences and
relics in the Caucasus are to be assumed from the first; cf.
Radde, The Chewsuren, pp. 100 ff., and Nioradze, Begräbnis,
pp. 10 ff. -- Sacral spears are abundantly known in Africa,
as are the gods' standards in the ancient Orient. The hitherto
not properly explainable Scythian pole appendages with their
hooks and prongs, perhaps for little bells and other hangings,
may also belong here. It is altogether possible that all these
standards are not simply representations and localizations of
deities, but were also used shamanistically in the manner of
the spirit-spear or the clan standard of the Chewsur.

Further connections also seem to exist between the
spirit-spear and the world-tree or the world-axle. One should
think for instance, of the cosmic significance of the jewel-
spear in the Japanese creation mythology, where it has a

[251 cont.]
756 lance having been implanted in the celestial vault, the hero
778 climbs all the way up with the help of the pennant" [translated
[171] from French].

However frequently the spirit-spear is used independently of a true shaman among the Tujen, it nonetheless is frequently enough part of the equipment of the gurtum. In his hand it is an important weapon. Just as the weapons and the armor of the ancient hero-ancestors endow him with special powers, so doubtless also does the ancestor spear. In the already-cited Geser
[773] legend of the Tujen, Geser takes the heavenly weapons for himself, which are all provided with the adjective sdier, for instance, sdier lëmu, sdier sëmu, etc., sacred arrow and bow. The things designated with sdier, however, are all adorned in a manner similar to the spirit-spear, above all with the colorful bands. This is supposed to express a consecration, a sacral
174 character. -- Now, however, when there is no true shaman, nothing remains but to make the spirit-spear independent.
756 It must represent the shaman and accordingly receives
778 a perfected outfit and an additional consecration, whereby,
791 as original weapon, it becomes an independent idol. It becomes tutelary-spirit possessed. As seat of the sülde it is from the outset already especially fitted for this. Since, however, it is not alive and cannot appear as a human being, [252] a man is appointed for it, the soothsayer. The latter takes over part of the operations of a true shaman, but without becoming the seat of a spirit himself. There takes place, as it were, a distribution of shamanistic functions: the essential, inner ones are peculiar to the spear; the unessential, outer ones to the soothsayer (13).

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13. The shaman attire in other regions also has great similarity with the spear as spirit seat and effective unity with the shaman. It is "saturated" by spirits, who give signs of life by trembling, moving, etc.; cf. Eliade (Shirokogorov), Le Chamanisme, p. 143. Even though the spear as shaman equipment shares this property with the attire, this alone

[253 cont.]

791 is a purely popular one, and nothing about the inner relationship
779 of these groups to one another is indicated by it; they are probably not essentially different. The farmer-Bon have become most superficial and degenerate. They still wear as their sole distinguishing mark only the artificial brush garland, in order thus to imitate the massive braided turban of the shepherd-Bon; they have practically died out. -- The most important cultic
[765] implements of the Bon are taken from the human corpse: the
[534] double skull-drum covered with human skin, the whip plaited out of human skin (and probably with a bone handle), the thigh-bone flute, and the bone dagger. These implements are supposed to be taken from the corpse of an unmarried adult female
[174] person. By the special relationship to skeleton and corpse alone, the Bon might acknowledge an ancient Tibetan home, which, to be sure, is not only called the "snow land," but also the "land of corpses."

[989] Even though the Bon have much in common with the lamas, there is a series of ceremonies reserved for them, especially the various types of demon exorcism. They are even invited into the monastery by the lamas on the first and fifteenth day of every month, where they undertake these rites. Nothing more about a former opposition between
178 Buddhism and the Bon religion is to be noted here. It shares
791 with Lamaism the fate of gradual disappearance; indeed, in
779 its official form it has already preceded it in this. It is a striking fact that both the Bon religion and Lamaism wane as Chinese agriculture expands, although precisely the sedentary life [254] of the lamas in the large monasteries and the performance of the weather conjuration of the Bon should be especially appropriate for an agricultural culture. The reasons are certainly not religious in nature.

174 The Tujen, however, have probably preserved much
791 more of the Bon tradition than is recognizable at first glance.
779 The marriage customs and the popular poetry probably contain a great deal that would make this ancient layer clear and permit it to be followed deep into Tibet. It is difficult, however, to free everything from the Lamaistic embellishments.

[258 cont.]

771 Minchu Hutukhtu wrote a hundred years ago in his "Geography
792 of Tibet" has already become true: "This home of the second
177 Victorious Tsongkhapa was at one time famous in all Tibet ... Now, however, it is not only under the pressure of the deluded Chinese and Mussulmanic doctrine, but there approaches the time when Tibetans and Mongols will believe the Kung-tzu, Lao-tzu, or the teacher Naniku of Ssei"; MS, loc. cit. If one thinks of the most recent events, even in that remote area, then one sees even this melancholy prophecy surpassed, for even the doctrines of a K'ung-tzu and Lao-tzu will no longer draw the Tujen into their jurisdiction. They, too, already belong to the past.

Conclusion

174 In the course of the work it became increasingly clear
771 that the religion of the Tujen no longer represents anything uniform and independent. Rather, it grew from roots of various origins into a colorful composite that is based on the varied past of the Tujen and their present-day homeland which lies in the middle between various peoples. In particular, however, Lamaism
[779] has fostered these international connections, even to Lhasa and Peking, and has contributed decisively to religious assimilation. In this respect, the Tujen share their fate with the neighboring peoples insofar as they are not Chinese. Their belief is linked to a common layer, which, as Lamaistic popular religion, extends over the entire area of influence of the Yellow Church. Thus, the principal questions raised earlier concerning shamanism, the Bon religion, the cult of heaven, etc. are not questions that can be resolved from the point of view of the Tujen alone. Their religion has a much more general significance. To be sure, a number of special characteristics can be established. These do not suffice, however, for drawing definite conclusions concerning the origin and ethnic affiliation of the people. And even less do they permit the delimitation of any individual Tujen groups, which certainly are present. As sources for such cultural-historical and ethnic relationships, almost

[258 cont.]

174 only the language with the folk literature still remains, perhaps
771 also the dress, but above all the tradition and the written history, which are chiefly contained in Chinese reports. This does not mean that the religion and ethnology are not to be considered; rather, they must be drawn upon in a complementary and explanatory fashion. [259] It is too late, however, to arrive at clear results in a purely folkloristic or ethnological way. That might still have been possible perhaps 50 years ago.

174 Now, however, the Sinicization of the Tujen approaches
177 its conclusion. For a long time with respect to religion they had
771 a strong support in the Lamaistic world and defied the Chinese influence, although they had taken over their agriculture many generations ago. Today, however, they have detached themselves from this support; indeed, the support itself has already become very decayed. The reasons for this cannot be discussed here. The Tujen are giving up themselves, their language, their religion. When their children have become grandparents, Chinese culture will again have incorporated into itself a new domain which will be differentiated from the other provinces only insofar as the Chinese proverb can be applied: "At ten miles the language is different, at a hundred the custom." -- And yet all are "Chinese." [The supplement to the bibliography appears here; see foreign text.]

[636 cont.]

764 As soon as no sign of life can be seen from the dead person, he is immediately put in a crouching position, before the corpse becomes rigid, on the kang on which he died (3). With

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3. [Foreign text pp. 651-652.] The conceptions of the people vary concerning the crouch-box and the crouch-seat. Nothing concerning an ancient origin is known to them. Some believe that the corpse is put in a crouching position only because otherwise it would not fit in the death-box; in this case the box is viewed as primary and more important. The informant says to this that formerly the Tujen were unacquainted with cremation and did not have any death-boxes either. This was first introduced by the lamas. The dead were exposed on the mountains for the animals to devour, as the Fandse do today. He himself would prefer to be buried in Chinese fashion; he feared being tied up and cremated.

[177]

Others maintain that the Tujen buried their dead in coffins in former times. As proof they cite the case of an old Tujen village in Yungchwan where coffins were exposed by a mountain slide; these stemmed at least from the early Ming period. This evidence, however, indicates little when one considers that as early as the Han period Chinese military expeditions took place in the nearby Huchu valley.

Even without cremation, however, the death-box is found in Tsinghai, for instance, in the Bengbar Valley, a branch

[636 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.]
valley in Hsi-ch'uan. The so-called Chia Hsifan (Village Fandse), who originally were Mongols and are Sinicized today, live there. They, too, exactly like the Tujen, put the dead in a crouching position in the crouch-box, although they do not cremate them, but bury them.

Furthermore, the Taoist monks and people who died in a sitting position are buried sitting in the crouch-box. There is an interesting corresponding expression for the death of such people, sōwā guei wōldzia, he has departed sitting, in Chinese tsuo-hua, that is, to be transformed sitting. The word sō- can mean "to sit" as well as "to contemplate." Such people are regarded as saints who, in contemplation, pass into another world. A death in this position is also regarded as especially honorable. A chorten is usually erected on the graves of these people. -- For the Taoist sitting burial, cf. the picture. This photograph was posed. The Taoist priest of Kanchiapu was happy to have himself photographed in his death-box and showed how he would be placed in the box. He kept this box standing in his temple and with pride showed each visitor this beautifully painted piece of carving. A very fine picture is also to be found in F. Dransmann, T'aishan-Küfu Guide, p. 19. It is the mummy of the Taoist priest Suin, who at the time of Kanghsi worked for 60 years on the T'aishan and, crouching in the death-box, [652] was buried there in the "Grotto of the Immortal" (hsien-

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[636 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.]
jen tung). -- For the sitting burial in eastern Tibet, cf. Tafel, Tibetreise, I, 236-237, with drawing.

It is known everywhere that Tulkus and other lamas are cremated. In this connection cf. the description in Filchner, Kumbum, pp. 240-242. In the case of the sitting position of the lamas, the Taoist monks, and those who died in contemplation, however, the position is that of a sitting Buddha, with legs folded under and the hands at rest, whereas the position among the Tujen and the Chiafandse is quite different, namely, the fetal position.

Other explanations of the Tujen, perhaps the most widespread, say that the human being rests in this position in the mother's womb and is born so; naked and in the same position he then again goes back into the womb of rebirth, just as he came (reversed, to be sure). In this comparison, the earth or fire as the symbol of motherhood thrusts itself upon one, and the death-box (or among other peoples the sack or coffin) as symbolic womb. -- This explanation of the people has the most to it. It is grounded in very ancient religio-cosmogonic thought processes which closely connect birth and death. Skeletons in a crouching position occur from many cultures, and people in a fetal crouching position are repeatedly represented in the archaic high cultures, and to be sure in connection with the devouring

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[636 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.] figures (Chin. t'ao-t'ieh) and the underworld. Professor C. Hentze in his most recent works has extensively revealed these connections, and one is referred to them here. -- I learned nothing concerning the conception that the dead must be placed in a sleeping position, although it is known that the nomads there on the Koko Nor sleep in this position, which can sometimes also be observed among Chinese and Tujen during the day.

764 the arms bent, the hands are put with the palms together and pressed upright against the chest so that they touch the chin. The thumbs are not crossed. The wrists are tied together with a hemp string and this is placed around the neck so that the hands stay together and cannot fall forward. Then the thighs are pressed firmly against the chest and arms and the calves against the thighs, so that the feet and seat rest in one plane. The feet are wound with a hemp string so that they will stay in position (4). Now one takes a quadrangular piece of cloth,

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4. [Foreign text p. 652.] The binding of the corpse is not regarded as tying down the dead person to prevent him from returning, as is the intention among the Chinese with the tying together of the feet. The informant claims that the binding has only the purpose of making the crouching position secure.

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In view of the otherwise common use of sheep wool, it is striking that only hemp strings are taken. As a reason the people say that if one took wool, the dead would be reborn as an

[833 cont.]

241 782 [791] Offering: The seed-master takes the first bowl and throws its contents toward the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then the other bowls for the mountain-spirit and the other spirits follow. At each offering throw, the men kowtow in the appropriate direction. No one may pick up the little pieces of meat or so much as eat them. Dogs are kept away, at least until the end of the offering.

[264] Meal: After this offering the meat is taken from the kettle and divided among the men. They sit in a circle, drink tea, eat bread, converse, and laugh. After the meal all go home. Everyone takes his things with him.

Meaning: The offering is made for the protection of the seeds (4).

241 782 174 776

4. [Foreign text p. 834.] The meaning is no longer unambiguous now. The protection of the seeds is certainly involved, but whether the offering is primarily for the mountain-spirit or for the weather-spirits or for the sky is unclear. The mountain-height and the obo argue in favor of the mountain-spirit. The sky is always considered first, however. -- The old man said that in former times they had made the offering for the protection of the animals.

It is possible that originally a pure mountain-spirit or sky offering was involved, but that later, with agriculture, the weather-gods moved into the foreground, for hail and storms are feared primarily by farmers and not so much by shepherds.

[856 cont.]
782 indicates precisely to the foot the spot where the urn is to be
[791] buried; he likewise determines the depth. Usually this is one
[787] to two ells. A few cypress twigs are put on the floor of the pit. Over them the soothsayer scatters a few barley kernels with the tip of the spear, and one or more flat white stones, depending on how many urns there are, are put on the whole, and the urn is put on it. Then on top of the urn is put a flat white stone, like a lid. Finally the space between the urn and wall is stuffed all around with cypress twigs, and everything is filled with earth, stamped down, and made level. Then the men burn cypress incense and kowtow in front of the urn thus buried.
[792] The lama remains seated on his mat in front of it for some time yet and finishes his prayers. Then all go home.

Details

782 The urn: The urn is an ordinary clay vessel such as is
415 baked in Tsinghai. Usually they are of whitish-yellow color, about 20 to 30 centimeters high, with a thick belly and a narrow neck. The urn for the earth-spirit must be uncolored and unglazed, at least on the outside, and must have a flat bottom. The master of the household buys the urn himself, washes it
[386] [857] thoroughly, and paints it on the outside with gypsum or lime water, for only white urns are given to the earth-spirit. At the conclusion, it is fumigated and ready for use by the lama.

782 Contents of the urn: There are five kinds of grain in the urn, namely: blue Tibetan barley, red wheat, white barley,
824 white rice (2), and yellow rape. The spices are the same as at

2. [Foreign text p. 858.] Why white is used twice here, white barley and white rice, is unclear. Otherwise rice is never used among the five kinds of grain and is not even present in Tsinghai. Perhaps this is an indication of a southern origin of the urn.

[174]

more astonishing is that the most potent rite performed 756
by the shamans against hail is called, all over the coun- 776
try, the Rite of the White Tiger, and that inside the mound built at that time is buried the effigy of the White Tiger with the black rider. Even today they still call the black rider the leader of the whole group, but nobody is able to explain why he is represented with a coat of black paint.

The three essential elements of the old cult are still represented in the picture, the twelve warriors representing the animals, the White Tiger being the most prominent, and the leader being the Fang hsiang of olden times.

Still another conclusion is to be drawn from the tradition that in former times, before the revolts of the Moslems, the twelve warriors were represented as Mongol warriors, and the fact that the twelve warriors are called *Tengris*, the Mongol term for a "heavenly being," and not *shen*, the Chinese term for a "spirit," notwithstanding that they call the other spirits by the Chinese name. Therefore, it seems obvious that the ancestors of the Monguor shamans must have belonged to the groups of Mongols who were settled in the country of Huang-chung by the Yüan dynasty, and that they came to Hsining bringing with them their Tengris from Mongolia. Monguor shamans seem to be of barbarian rather than Chinese stock.

Still another problem remains unsolved. The Mon- 756
guors are a fusion of two important groups, Mongols 184
and Shat'o Turks. We seem to be able to detect the [174]
share of the shamans of the Mongol group in the shamanism of the Monguors, but what has been the share of the Shat'o group? To be sure, the Shat'o were as shamanist as the other Turkish groups of Asia. Did they practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris before they settled in the country in 939? What kind of shamanism did they practice? It would be very interesting to know something about the cult of the Twelve Tengris and the role of the White Tiger among them in former times, but no data are available concerning their shamanism and at present the shamanist practices in the different groups of Monguors seem to be all the same.

We only know that the Shat'o who founded the dynasties of Hou T'ang and Hou Chin, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, honored the old Turkish "God of Heaven." After their conquest of North China the Hou Chin emperor, in 927, made offerings at the winter equinox, outside the city, to the "Barbarian God" at the hill of the White Marshal. When the emperor died, two of his best horses were sacrificed on the Western Mountain. The horse was the most important offering among all the Turkish tribes. Sacrifices were made on the tops of mountains. They liked to worship mountains. The Shat'o liked to visit the Buddhist caves of Lungmen. It is well known that the Turks had a cave myth and that with it was connected a cave

[p.88(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

villages neighboring the Monguors? This assumption, 796
it seems, should be considered because of the fact that 782
so many Chinese who use the formula are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and that so many Monguors who have lost their identity to the extent of having lost their own language, and being ashamed to assert their Monguor origin, boast of being Chinese, and of belonging to a more civilized culture.[25]

XI. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITHOUT REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

SACRED ANIMALS IN PRIVATE FAMILIES

Monguors do not honor the "spirit of Heaven" as a 795
family deity nor do they perform, at present, bloody or 231
non-bloody sacrifices to Heaven. Non-bloody sacrifices, 825
in which the animal is not killed but allowed to wander at will, are a real economic sacrifice because the animal cannot be sold or put to profitable use; but this practice does not really fit the frame of an agricultural economy because the sacred animals cause a lot of damage in the fields. It even happens, as has been noted, that persons are injured and killed by sacred bulls. No wonder that the Chinese, devoted to agriculture, do not practice this rite in China. The Monguors, however, are very [p. 114] fond of the rite, which originated in the nomadic economy, and this fact betrays the original economy in which their ancestors lived.

Almost every Monguor family has its own consecrated animal, which usually is a female sheep—seldom a ram.

On the third day of the New Year, the animal is led into the courtyard. The whole family is in a hustle and bustle washing the feet and the fleece of the animal, and devotedly combining the fleece. Never before has the animal enjoyed such a fine appearance. The sheep is led into the living room before the picture of the deity protector of the family. All the members of the family kneel devoutly with burning incense sticks in their joined hands. They look on with feverish anxiety as the chief of the family pours milk, mixed with water, first on the head of the animal, then into its ears. The sheep frantically shakes its head and at that very moment the whole family starts prostrating itself three times toward the picture of the deity and then toward the animal, smiling, crying with happy enjoyment *"ling liao"* ("the deity accepts our offer"). Thus, the animal is supposed to be consecrated. The family are in a happy mood, with a gleam in their eyes, for the deity will protect the cattle. The more frantically the sheep shakes its head, the better it augurs for the future.

The incense sticks are planted before the picture of the deity honored in the family and the chief of the family and all its members attach red and yellow ribbons

[25] Schröder, Das Herbst-Dankopfer der T'u-jen im Sining-Gebiet, *Anthropos* 37–40: 867, 1952.

[p. 118(A)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 565 554 [466] into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punishment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.

The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 M 614 217 565 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealogies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

N *563 M 174 565 M [554] When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 M 621 622 565 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 M 596 [421] [561] [595] M [428] Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patrilocal family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four generation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property.

M [182] [168] [428] The breakdown of the extended family usually takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2
Monguor AE9

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 4. Work and leisure

The division of labor between men and women is like that of the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing and dance and otherwise enjoy themselves. Because of their hard life, their songs carry a meloncholy quality, and their dance is simple.

N 462 533 535 [191]

It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their expert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horseback. There are three which may be played by all ages. One, similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep." Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

S 563 K 526

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

N *563 F. The Mongours

M 131 36 311 1. The people

The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were formerly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

N *563 M 614 622 [195]

The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers. One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols; another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-

N *563 M 144 174

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 144 174 sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsining region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 648 175 311 The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

N *563 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342 The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351] The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables

M [343] and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The

M [231] Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [592] [594] The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies

M [354] [352] the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N *563 M 342 591 592 The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

000 the highest, coldest, part of the country. Coal was
316 exploited and mined in a primitive way in one of the valleys north of Hsining and near the junction of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers. According to the local *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 20*a*), iron was exploited during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644); but the deposits must have been exhausted, because during the period of my stay iron was carried all the way from the Province of Szech'uan on donkeys and mules.

In the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, and some of their small tributaries, gold was panned at irregular intervals; south of the Hsining River and in the upper reaches of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, thirty-one auriferous placers were regularly exploited, mostly by Muslims.

487 The system of communications was primitive. Ox
492 carts could travel on the roads near the larger towns and villages, but most transportation depended on pack-
505 animals, including donkeys, mules, and horses. It was only subsequent to the period covered by this study that a highway was built connecting Lanchou, the capital of the Province of Kansu, with Hsining, the capital of Ch'inghai. The Hsining River was, therefore, the biggest transport asset of the country. From the Hsining River to the Yellow River, which flows by the city of Lanchou, cargoes of grain, wool, skins, vegetable oils, and alcohol were carried on rafts made either of wood or of inflated ox skins as far as the city of Paot'ou, in the Province of Suiyüan, where they were unloaded
[463] and carried on by rail to the seaport of Tientsin. Most
[563] of this transportation business was in the hands of Chinese Muslims.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

• 175 In the oldest Chinese historical references, the country between the Tat'ung, Hsining, and Yellow Rivers was called Huang Chung and was inhabited by tribes called Ch'iang. The Chinese ideograph for this name indicated that it had the meaning "herders of sheep." The name is one that has never disappeared from Chinese usage in referring to the peoples of the edge of the Tibetan plateau; it is in use to this day. In 202 B.C. the Hsiao Yuehchih, who were probably speakers of an eastern Iranian, Indo-European language, fled from the Hsiung-nu, the principal tribe of the northern Chinese frontier, settled among the Ch'iang tribes, and were absorbed by them.

In 116 B.C. Ho Ch'ü-ping, one of the most famous frontier commanders in Chinese history, came to Huang Chung and founded the first Chinese colonies among the Ch'iang tribes. In A.D. 4 more Chinese colonies were established in the region of Kukunor, but were lost after a few years. This was, in fact, a precarious frontier. For three hundred and sixty years the frontier colonies were often in danger of annihilation, being subject to frequent tribal attack and without support from China proper, because the Later Han dynasty of the first and second centuries A.D. was troubled with chronic dynastic

[P. 19a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

crises and revolts. During the anarchic period of the Three Kingdoms of the third century A.D., during which the population of China was reduced by something like three-fifths, no aid and support were available from within China, and the frontier colonies were overwhelmed.

The next period, from 265 to 589, also was a time of troubles. Different parts of North China were invaded and conquered by different nomad tribes. To some extent the invaders were absorbed by the Chinese; but to some extent also the northern Chinese were "barbarized." The main Chinese cultural area became the country south of the Yangtze.

Northern Kansu was at the same time turned upside down by nomadic tribes. Sienpi [2] tribes from northern China settled in the beginning of the second century A.D. in the region between Kueite and the Gobi, between the upper reaches of the Wei and Yellow Rivers. They fixed their capital near Lanchou, and their kingdom was called Hsi Ch'in (Western Ch'in). Lu Kuang, of Tangut origin, created at Liangchou a kingdom of Hou Liang (Later Liang). T'ufa tribes, a branch of the Sienpi, established the kingdom of Nan Liang (Southern Liang) between Hsining and Lanchou. Menghsün tribes, a branch of the Hsiungnu, founded a Pei Liang (Northern Liang) kingdom between Liangchou and Suchou (Hsüchou). Li Kao, a Chinese of western origin, created a kingdom of Hsi Liang (Western Liang) between Anhsi and Tunhuang. All of these kingdoms either annihilated each other or were eventually subjected to the Chin dynasty (Western and Eastern Chin, 265–419) or the Toba Wei dynasty (386–534). Parallel with these events, part of the border region of Hsining and Kukunor was occupied from 280 to 673 by a frontier state founded by Tuyühun tribes, also of Sienpi origin.

The next period of unification in China began under the Sui dynasty of 589–620, under which Chinese colonies were again established in Huang Chung and Kukunor in order to hold back the incursions of the Tibetans. The next dynasty, that of the T'ang, from 618 to 906, was even stronger; but even the T'ang

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[2] The data in this paragraph are based on O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches* 2: 111–114, Leipzig, de Gruyter, 1936. In 3: 250, 1937 of the same work, citing B. Laufer, article in *T'oung Pao*, 2nd ser. 9: 449, n. 3, 1908. Franke has the following to say on the ethnic composition of these tribes: "Laufer hat zweifellos Recht, wenn er meint, dass 'sicher türkische und tungusische Stämme und jedenfalls auch ein alteinheimisches Element (?) zur Bildung der Mongolen beigetragen haben.' Was hat es unter solchen Umständen für eine Bedeutung, wenn man die Sien-pi für 'Mongolen' erklärt, auch wenn zur T'ang-Zeit der Name Méng-wu als Bezeichnung eines Stammes der Schi-wei vorkommt und die Schi-wei—was ganz unsicher is—die Nachkommen der Sien-pi sein sollten? Dass aus ihnen, wie aus den Wu-huan, Hiung-nu, den K'iang und vielen anderen Völkern die 'Mongolen' der späteren Zeit zusammengesetzt worden sind, kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, aber irgend welche Bedeutung für die alten etnischen Verhältnisse hat dies nicht."

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•175 dynasty could not completely check the Tibetans, who were referred to in the Chinese annals of this period as T'ufan. In 672 the T'ufan defeated the T'uyühun and began to dominate this part of the Chinese frontier. They were eventually defeated in 866 not by the T'ang Chinese but by the Uighur tribes, Turkish people of Central Asia, who settled in Huang Chung and offered a nominal allegiance to China. The next period, that of the Five Dynasties from 907 to 960, was again a time of troubles and disunity in China. The Shat'o clans which are one of the components of the Monguor people of today claim their descent from the Shat'o tribes which sought refuge in China in 808 and later founded the dynasties of the Hou T'ang or Later T'ang (923–936) and Hou Chin or later Chin (936–947). During the next period, from 960 to 1280, China south of the Yangtze was ruled by the Sung dynasty; but though culturally this was one of the greatest periods in China, the Sung dynasty lost control of North China to successive barbarian invaders. Northwest China and the modern provinces of Kansu and Ningshia, together with the Ordos region, were dominated by the Chin and by a people of Tibetan origin referred to in the Chinese annals as Hsi Hsia (Western Hsia) or Tanghsiang. (The Northern Tibetans are still referred to by the Mongols as Tangud or Tangot, a plural of "Tang.") In the course of the great Mongol conquests of the thirteenth century, the Tangud of Huang Chung were defeated and driven back into Tibet. The ancient frontier region of Huang Chung was depopulated, and to replace those who had fled a number of Mongol commanders and their followers were moved into the region. Their descendants constitute the majority group within the present Monguor people.

The Mongol dynasty, overthrown by the revolt of its Chinese subjects, was replaced by the Ming dynasty (1380–1644) which renewed once more the process of establishing Chinese military frontier colonies in Huang Chung; but recurring inroads of both Tibetan and Mongol tribes kept the Ming frontier power in this region weak. The frontier was not stabilized again until after the Manchu conquest, under the Ch'ing dynasty of 1644–1911. It was in the long period of stable rule under the Ch'ing dynasty that spreading agriculture and increasing trade began first definitely to change the lives of the originally nomadic Monguor people and then to submerge them in a flood of Chinese acculturation.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTRY

[161] From 1911 to 1922, when I lived in this region, the city of Hsining, with a Chinese population of about 60,000 inhabitants, was the seat of a Chinese civil administrator who had authority over the Chinese of the city and the region. Law and order were assured by a local army commanded by a Chinese Muslim general. The formerly turbulent Mongol and Tibetan tribes of

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175 the region came under the jurisdiction of an official with the Manchu title of Amban.

According to the *Annals of Hsining*, ch. 16, pp. 12 *a* and *b*, the tribal jurisdiction of the Amban derived from a meeting that had been held in 1732 between the provinces of Szech'uan and Shen-Kan (or "Shensi and Kansu," but embracing the territories not only of the present provinces of Shensi and Kansu but of the later-established provinces of Ningshia and Ch'inghai as well). At this meeting each tribe was assigned a fixed territory for the first time in history. The tribes allocated to the Amban of Hsining included twenty-eight banners of the Mongols of Kukunor and one banner of Mongols located in Tibet proper; the Tibetan tribes of the Kukunor frontier were reorganized at that time and for that purpose into eight major tribal groups; twenty-five Tibetan tribes of the frontier district of Yüshu, each under a chief with the title of T'u-ssu; and the very independent and warlike Tibetan tribe of the Ngoloks. By 1918, when a census was taken, the eight major Tibetan tribal groups just mentioned were reported to number 8,443 families, totaling 39,390 people.[2a]

The territory inhabited by a settled farming population was divided into the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining, Nienpei, Tat'ung, Kueite, Donkir, Payenjung, and Hsünhua. The fields around the cities and big villages were tilled by Chinese, but in outlying districts Tibetans and Monguors were to be met, wearing their distinctive, non-Chinese costumes and speaking their own languages. On the southern, western, and northern fringes of the land settled by Chinese were sedentary Tibetans who farmed and also raised sheep and cattle. In enclaves within the Chinese population lived the Monguors, in well-defined valleys where there was little Chinese population. Scattered here and there were villages of Chinese-speaking Muslims. On the southern edge of the district lived the Turkish-speaking Salar Muslims.

TIBETANS

563 From the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, pp. 11–20, the names of sixty-six Tibetan tribes can be counted, and in addition the names of fifty-two villages inhabited by Tibetans in the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining. These village Tibetans were called by the Chinese "tame" in contrast with the "wild" nomad Tibetans in the Kukunor frontier district. According to the *Annals*, the village Tibetans numbered 10,683 families, totaling 42,732 people. The exact average of four persons per family suggests that these figures are more schematic than accurate. The large number of tribes given for the "tame" Tibetans can be taken only as a general guide. It is characteristic of Tibetan tribes that they very easily subdivide into new tribes, and often a group of no more than ten or twenty families will call itself a tribe. The tribal Tibetans close

[2a] Yao Ming-hui, *Yüshu tiaoch'a chi* 1, 1–24, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1920.

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1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

563 to Hsining are the remnants of the once much more powerful tribes that withdrew at the beginning of the Mongol dynasty to the Kukunor region. Those who stayed behind submitted to the jurisdiction of the officials of the settled districts. There is little cohesion among them. Those who call themselves a tribe are rarely under the control of a single chief. Tribal matters are more usually disposed of by the elders of the group. The religion of all these Tibetans is Lama Buddhism. The prevailing sect is that of the Yellow Hats or reformed sect, but in the southern districts there is a fairly strong survival of the older Red Hat sect. Shamanism also continues to flourish among the Tibetans, in spite of Buddhism; their shamans are reputed to be the most powerful in the country. There are a few Tibetans living near Hsünhua who have become Muslims.

MONGUORS

563 In the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining there were
175 then living sixteen clans of Monguors, to which should
618 be added the Liench'eng clan, living in the territory of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. The word "clan" has been used in many senses in the literature of the social sciences. It is here used in a special sense, and for lack of a more precise term, to describe a group of people ruled by the same chief, all people born into the clan bearing the same surname as the chief of the clan and living on territory belonging to the chief. The Monguor clans (excepting the Shat'o groups) trace their presence in the Hsining district as far back as the period of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty (1260–1368). On the overthrow of this dynasty they submitted to the Ming dynasty. A fixed territory was then assigned to the chief of each clan. The Tibetans of the Hsining district were assigned territories in the same way at the same time. While the Tibetans were subject to the direct administration of the Chinese sub-prefecture officials, however, the Monguors, in spite of the fact that their territories formed enclaves within the sub-prefectures, were directly administered by their own clan chiefs under a peculiar kind of local autonomy.

MUSLIMS

563 The Hsining district is also an important Muslim stronghold. There are three Muslim groups, of which two still speak a Turkish dialect while one speaks Chinese. According to their own tradition, the Chinese-speaking Muslims are of Turkish origin, but while clinging to their religion they have adopted the Chinese language and many Chinese customs. From the Chinese point of view, however, they remain foreigners and barbarians, and there is cordial mutual dislike between Chinese and Chinese-speaking Muslims. In the Chinese *Annals* I have not been able to find any reference to the date of their earliest settlement in this region, although according to popular tradition they arrived either during

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175 We may now summarize the general history of this area. From 116 B.C. to A.D. 1280, military colonies were intermittently established in Hsining and the country was "officially" divided into sub-prefectures; these disappeared several times and their existence was always precarious, because of the inroads of nomadic tribes; in fact the population of the country appears to have changed many times. During the Mongol dynasty (1260–1368), the entire Hsining region was for the first time firmly annexed to China by the Mongol conquerors. The Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started off with an improvement in the organization of the country, following the Chinese pattern, but was not very successful in this undertaking because of inability to prevent inroads by nomads. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1911), benefiting by the experience of the Ming, succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighboring tribes of Kukunor, assigning definite territories to each of them, and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes, they were able to develop the country peacefully, stimulating both agriculture and commerce. Development of the country was dependent on control of the neighboring tribes.

II. THE MONGUORS

The origin of the Monguor clans, of the name "Monguor," and of the Monguor language has been a puzzle for both foreigners and local people. After presenting the enigma, I shall present some data about the name of the Monguors and the solution of the language problem. I shall then deal with the historical solution of the Monguor enigma, revealing successively the origin of the Monguor clans and the time of their first settlement in Kansu, the nature of this settlement and the distribution of the Monguor clans, population figures, and the expansion of the Monguors throughout the country.

THE MONGUORS AN ENIGMA TO FOREIGNERS

114 *Huc and Gabet*, in their famous journey to Lhasa (1844–1846), record their passage through the country of the Monguors of the Three Valleys (San-ch'uan), called Dschiahours by the Tibetans and T'u-jen by the Chinese. Their traveling companion, Samdadchiemba, was himself a Monguor, a subject of the T'u-ssu of the Ch'i clan of the Three Valleys. Huc and Gabet describe the people as appearing to be of "Tartar" origin and their language as seeming to be a mixture of Mongol, Chinese, and Tibetan.[1]

Prjevalski, who traveled in the region in 1873, calls the Monguors "Daldy," describes them as more like the

[1] Huc and Gabet, *Souvenir d'un voyage dans la Tartarie et le Tibet, 1844–1846*, 2: 36–37, Paris, edition of 1878.

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1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

197 The Monguor morphology also differs from that of the Mongol dialects.

The Monguor dialect borrowed a large number of words both from the Tibetan and mostly from the Chinese languages; the words borrowed from Turkish are less numerous.

These facts secure to the Monguor dialect a peculiar aspect, and make it so extremely different from other Mongol dialects, that Monguors are unable to converse either with eastern or with western Mongols, and in order to speak with them they have to use another language.

HISTORICAL SOLUTION OF THE ENIGMA

•175 The grouping of Mongol and Shat'o tribes which resulted in the formation of the Monguor people was effected in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century. In 1226 Subudei, one of Chingis Khan's greatest commanders, invaded Hsining on his way to Lan-chou.[10] In 1275, according to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 7*a*), a Mongol army was sent to fight the turbulent T'ufan (Tibetans) whose nomad pastures

[10] H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan*, 290, 291, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950. This work contains a valuable discussion of this campaign.

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1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 were in the Kukunor region. This expedition was based on Hsining. During this half-century of war, most of the population of the Hsining country, which had consisted of small Tibetan tribes, had fled and the country was laid open for the Mongols. Only in 1287, however, was Chang-chi, a son-in-law of Chingis Khan, appointed as governor of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 7*b*) and an embryonic organization started; but during the whole period of the Mongol dynasty no census is recorded. The scanty records include only such events as a movement of troops in 1302 and a famine in 1324.

During the whole Mongol period we find no references in the *Annals* concerning the presence of the Monguors in Hsining; the first historical data available are encountered during the Ming (1368–1643) and they prove that the Monguor groups were already living in Hsining during the Mongol period, under the ancestors of their later T'u-ssu.

Both the *Annals* of Kansu (ch. 42, *passim*) and the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 24, *passim*) record that the Monguors were already settled in the Hsining region when the Ming dynasty was founded in 1368. Both

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•175 *Annals* also record the tradition that the Li group is of Shat'o extraction. The version of these *Annals* is confirmed in (or perhaps drawn from) the *History of the Five Dynasties* (Wu tai shih chi, ch. 74, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*; Ponapen edition), where it is recorded that the Shat'o lived in the mountainous country between Kanchou and Hsining (where the Li group still lives) in A.D. 939; and these Shat'o are described as belonging to the Chuhsieh tribe, from which came the famous Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin. The living tradition, the documentary records of the *Annals*, and the general history of China support each other. The Chuhsieh tribe fled to China in A.D. 808, in order to be protected by the T'ang emperors. They were settled in the country of Lingwu, Ninghsia, and received the surname of Li from the emperor. The other Monguor groups, according to the *Annals* of Kansu (ch. 42, p. 43), are of Mongol origin, except for one small group of seventy families belonging to the Yeh T'u-ssu who are of Ch'ant'ou [17] origin and who submitted to the Ming at the same time as the Monguors. All the Monguors are described as having been posted along these frontiers by the Ming and their chiefs as having received the title and function of T'u-ssu during the very first years of the dynasty.

According to the *Annals*, all the chiefs of the Monguor and Shat'o clans belong to their own clan and are of the same extraction, except the Ch'eng T'u-ssu who is Chinese by origin, the "founding ancestor" of his house having been born in Chiangnan province. Taking after his father, he fought the Mongols and was rewarded with the hereditary office of Chihhuishih and the administration of 120 Mongol families, who became his subjects (*Annals* of the Province, ch. 42, p. 36).

It was at the time of the submission of the Monguor clans that the Ming Dynasty started the establishment of new Chinese colonies which, together with the Monguors, were supposed to defend the country.

The first census in the *Annals* of Hsining concerning these colonies is recorded at the opening of the Ming Dynasty (ch. 16, p. 15*a*). It lists 7,200 Chinese families totalling only 15,854 persons, described as "officials and soldiers." The indicated average of less than three persons per family strengthens the probablity that there were as yet no agricultural colonists. We know from earlier records that during the Han and Sui dynasties Chinese colonies had been established. It is probable, from what we know of the general character of Chinese history, that when colonies disappeared and the country was reoccupied by nomads, some of the Chinese were killed, some fled back to areas with a more numerous agricultural population and strong walled cities, and some were absorbed by the nomads and became barbarians. Thus when the first military Ming garrisons

[17] Ch'ant'ou, "Turbaned Heads," is the vulgar Chinese term for the Turkish-speaking agricultural and town-dwelling people of Sinkiang, for whom in recent years the medieval tribal name of Uighur has, with partial historical justification, been revived. —O. L.

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• 175 were established, it is probable that there were no villages in the country and no "natives" whom the newcomers called "aborigines," except the Monguor groups and a very few small Tibetan groups.

Among the Chinese inhabitants of Hsining, after so many centuries, the tradition is still fresh and living that their ancestors were poor farmers of the province of Chiangsu (Kiangsu) who had been picked up at random in their home villages and sent as conscripts to garrison the Hsining frontier. The tradition is specific that they left their homes unwillingly. Every year in April at Ch'ing Ming, the spring festival when ancestors are venerated, the Chinese of Hsining first burn paper and incense and prostrate themselves in the direction of their ancient homeland before they honor their more recent ancestors. On the last day of the year they again burn paper and prostrate themselves before midnight on the main street, in the direction of Nanking on the lower Yangtze, honoring their remote ancestors who perhaps have no worshippers in their original homeland. At betrothals a packet of fine tea leaves is always offered and this is described as a custom brought from the ancestral province and loyally preserved. In the temple of the guardian deity of the city of Hsining (Ch'eng-huang Miao) a large room is reserved for three small statues of Buddha which are said to have been brought by the first Ming Chinese on their way to exile, and on the fifteenth of the first moon nobody fails to honor them. Every year a festival is organized and traditional theatricals are presented in their honor. In 1917 the statues were gilded anew and the small temple received a new coat of paint. History and tradition seem to tally, therefore, in recognizing these military colonists as the pioneers of the present Chinese population of the Hsining region.

The Chinese of Hsining always stress the fact that their ancestors were forced to leave their native province and had been exiled to the country of the barbarians. The stealing of a single melon from the fields was a crime great enough to cause exile of the whole family. Of old the Chinese people were reluctant to go to the military colonies, and prisoners from all over China had to be sent.

A living picture of the sending of colonists to Hsining by Wang-Mang, the usurper of the throne of the Han emperors in A.D. 7, is related in Chinese history.

> Wang Mang sent an emissary to Kukunor (and) induced a Ch'iang chieftain to come to court and present his grasslands to China, offering, in speech flattering to Wang Mang, to remove his people to less fertile lands and guard the frontiers. . . . When Kukunor had been accepted, Chinese settlers found it unattractive and would not move there. Wang Mang solved that problem quickly; 50 laws were added to the code, and violators were exiled to Kukunor. Thousands and tens of thousands of people were transported to this inhospitable terrain. Wang Mang would not allow the welfare of the people to interfere with his glory. The Ch'iang had not expected such mass immigration and attacked the settlers. Wang Mang had to

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175 put the rebels down by military force. He increased the harshness of the laws and exiled thousands of peasants to the barren region in order to glorify himself.[18]

This was the historical frame when the Monguor clans settled in the region of Hsining during the Yuan dynasty and when they submitted to the Ming dynasty as defenders of the marches in conjunction with the military colonists, their chiefs becoming Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu, in a country open to the forays and inroads of hostile tribes. In these conditions the Ming proposed to colonize the country.

SETTLEMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF MONGUOR CLANS IN KANSU

618 I use the term "clan" here to refer to a group sharing a common territory, a common surname, and a common chief. Monguor clans consist both of persons who recognize real or traditional kinship ties with the chief, and persons who do not recognize such ties but who have nevertheless adopted the surname of the chief and his kinsmen during the time that they were integrated into the group.

The current saying in the prefecture of Hsining and the sub-prefecture of Nienpei is that there are sixteen clans of Monguors. According to the *Annals* of Kansu, there are six clans in the prefecture of Hsining, and ten in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei.

618 1. The Ch'i clan, whose chief is recorded as being a
175 true descendant of the imperial family of the Mongol dynasty.[19] Under this dynasty the Chief of the Ch'i
162 clan was always an important official in Kansu, and on the fall of the dynasty the Ch'i T'u-ssu was the first of all the T'u-ssu to submit to the Ming dynasty in 1368, the year of its establishment.

At that time the Ch'i clan numbered eight hundred families of Monguor stock, divided into four sub-clans. In 1644, on the fall of the Ming dynasty, this clan submitted to the Manchu dynasty. It then numbered only seven hundred families, divided into eight sub-clans (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 35*a*–*b*, 36*a*). The territory assigned to them was situated thirty-five miles south of Hsining and they lived in numerous villages.

2. The Ch'eng clan. The T'u-ssu of this clan is the only one of Chinese extraction, the founding ancestor having been born in Shanyang in the province of Chiangnan.[20] His father, who had been an official under the Mongol dynasty, joined the Chinese popular rising against the Mongols. The son, who followed in his father's footsteps, was rewarded with the title and office of T'u-ssu in 1374 and received 120 Monguor families as his subjects. The territory assigned to his clan is

[18] Homer H. Dubs, Wang Mang and his economic reforms, *T'oung-pao* 35: 230–231, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1940.

[19] Ch'i is the Chinese clan name (*hsing*) adopted by the descendants of the Kiyut, a sept of the Borjigit, the clan of Chingis Khan.—O. L.

[20] Now the two provinces of Anhui and Kiangsu.—O. L.

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618 seventeen miles north of Hsining and includes seven villages (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 26*b*, 37*a–b*).

175 3. The Li clan. The T'u-ssu of this clan is of Shat'o stock. The founding ancestor, a prominent official in Hsining under the Mongol dynasty, submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. As a faithful official of the Ming dynasty, he was granted the title of Earl of Kaoyang (Kaoyang Po), the third rank of nobility, for military services rendered to the empire. One of his successors, the T'u-ssu Li Shih-hsien, died in 1427 fighting against Mongol invaders. In 1643 the T'u-ssu Li Hung-hsien, his wife, and 120 men of his family were killed when they refused to surrender to the Chinese peasant rebels whose insurrection opened the way to the Manchu conquest of China.

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This clan numbered 963 families originally, living in forty-eight villages, ten miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 38*b*, 39*a–b*).

4. The Na clan. The Na T'u-ssu is said to be of Shat'o stock. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming in 1371. The clan numbered only 150 families of Shat'o (Monguors), living in 8 villages three miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 39*b*, 40*a*).

5. The Wang clan. The Wang T'u-ssu, of Monguor stock, submitted to the Ming in 1371. This clan numbered 130 families of Monguor extraction and 18 Tibetan families, living ten miles west of Hsining scattered in eleven villages (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 40*b*, 41*a–b*).

6. The Chi clan. Said to be of Shat'o extraction. The founding ancestor submitted in 1371. The clan included 90 families, living twenty miles west of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 42). About 1875 the T'u-ssu was impeached by his subjects. The Chinese authorities erased his name from the list of T'u-ssu, and the clan passed under direct Chinese administration. The *Annals* do not record this fact.

In the sub-prefecture of Nienpei live ten clans:

1. The Ch'i clan. This clan is not the same as the clan of the same name in Hsining. Its chief is not a descendant of the Mongol imperial family of the Yuän, but is of Monguor stock. His ancestors were among the most influential frontier officials during the Mongol dynasty. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. This clan numbered 700 families of Monguor extraction. The chief lives one mile and a half north of the city of Nienpei. His subjects are scattered in many villages at varying distances from Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 44*b*, 45, 46).

2. The Li Nan-ko clan, of Shat'o stock. In the *Annals* the T'u-ssu is said to be a descendant of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin, whose son founded the dynasty of the Hou T'ang. His son in turn, Li Wen, is recorded as the T'u-ssu of Hsining. This clan numbered 4,000 families of Shat'o stock, living in eight villages or valleys forty miles southeast of Nienpei. Huc

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618 and Gabet, Potanin, and Rockhill visited Sanch'uan
175 where the mansion of the chief of the clan is located.
162 The son of Li Nan-ko, Li Ying, was granted the title of Earl of Huining (Huining Po), the third rank of nobility, as a reward for military services (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 47, 48). This and the following clan are independent of each other. Each has its own T'u-ssu, and both were recognized under the Manchu dynasty as separate units.

3. The Li Hua-nao clan, also of Shat'o extraction, comprising only 100 families in 1655. The T'u-ssu lives in the city of Nienpei, and his subjects are scattered in villages to the south (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 53). The founding ancestor of this line was made a T'u-ssu only in 1655, in the early years of the Manchu dynasty, and was an offshoot of the line of Li Nan-ko. For some reason not noted in the *Annals* he received from his father or his brother 100 out of the 4,000 families of the original clan and was made a T'u-ssu.

4. The Chao T'u-ssu clan, which submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1370. This clan is of Monguor extraction. Under the Mongol dynasty it moved to Nienpei, after having lived in Mingchou, and was settled fifteen miles north of the city. The clan numbered 120 families, scattered along the valley (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 48–49). At an unknown date and for an unknown reason the T'u-ssu was erased from the list of the T'u-ssu and his subjects passed under ordinary Chinese administration. The *Annals* do not mention the fact.

5. The Ah clan, of Monguor stock, numbered 150 families, and lives seventeen miles east of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 49–50).

6. The Kan clan, of Monguor stock, numbered 300 families. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. The clan is settled 75 miles southeast of Nienpei in the valley of Mo Tou (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*b*–52).

7. The Chou clan, of Monguor stock, numbered only 62 families. It adjoins the Kan clan, living seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*b*, 52).

8. The Yeh clan, a small clan of 70 Muslim families of Turkish stock originating from Sinkiang. The Chinese called them Ch'ant'ou or Turbaned Heads. (See above, p. 34.) They settled in the country under the Mongol dynasty. As a military commander the founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371, together with the other T'u-ssu. The T'u-ssu of this line were eager defenders of the Ming frontier; two of them died in battle, one in 1570, one in 1638. They were settled in the Mila valley forty miles southeast of Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 52, 53). About 1890 the name of the T'u-ssu was erased from the list of T'u-ssu and his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects. The fact is not mentioned in the *Annals*.

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618 9. The Hsin clan, of Monguor stock, comprised 100
175 families, settled with the Kan seventy-five miles south-
162 east of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54). The name of the T'u-ssu was later erased from the list of T'u-ssu.

10. The La clan, a small group of Monguor stock. The number of families is not recorded. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was settled seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei, near the Kan clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54).

618 These are the sixteen groups recorded in the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, and in the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24.
177 They were all living in the country under the Mongol dynasty, and submitted to the Ming. The Ch'eng and Chi groups, in the prefecture of Hsining, and the Chao, Yeh, and Hsin groups, in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, have now "become Chinese," and their chiefs have been erased from the lists of the T'u-ssu.

The chiefs of these Shat'o and Monguor groups still bore Mongol names when they submitted to the Ming. After having held the office of T'u-ssu for two or three generations, the chiefs adopted Chinese surnames and each group then adopted the Chinese surname of its chief.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, and especially after 1723, single Tibetan families or small Tibetan groups were enrolled in nearly all the groups. Still later, Chinese families were accepted in the same way; but the Chinese did not adopt the surname of the chief of the group.

131 The foregoing data show that the habitat of the Monguors is not limited to the district of Hsining. In addi-
[101] tion, it may be noted that the mansion of Lu T'u-ssu, of Monguor extraction, is located at Lienchʼeng, forty-five miles west of the sub-prefecture of P'ingían. This large group call themselves Monguor and the Chinese call them T'u-jen; they are neighbors of the Monguors
624 of Nienpei. In this one group there are no less than seven T'u-ssu, all claiming descent from the imperial family of the founder of the Mongol dynasty. The T'u-ssu of Lienchʼeng is the head of the whole group. He alone is regarded as the ruler of the subject people and possessor of the territory assigned to them by the Ming
[651] dynasty. The other six T'u-ssu hold only the title, without the powers of chieftainship. In time of war they are bound to obey the order of the senior T'u-ssu; and for revenue each of them is allowed to collect land taxes from a fixed number of villages.

624 The seven T'u-ssu of this group represent seven lines of descent from either the brothers or the sons of the
175 prince of Nanting (the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 50, pp. 55–57, incorrectly name him prince of Wu-ting). His ancestor was Kolgan, son of Chingis Khan by his favorite beauty, Kulan.[21] The prince who was living in the country at the end of the Mongol dynasty submitted

[21] The family chronicles of this clan, which I am preparing for publication, are referred to above.

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624 to the Ming dynasty in 1371 as "founding ancestor" of the present line, and received the most extensive territory of all the Monguor T'u-ssu. The group numbered, according to the *Annals* of 1909, 3,245 families totalling 21,086 persons, and was divided administratively into ten banners. After the historic revolt of the Kukunor Mongols, Tibetans, and lamas, in 1723, the T'u-ssu was rewarded for his military services with the territory and inhabitants of thirteen Tibetan villages, which had belonged to a Mongol chief of Kukunor. These thirteen villages numbered 453 families, totalling 2,365 persons, at a rate of 5.2 persons per family (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 87). This group is the most outstanding among the Monguor people. Many members of these T'u-ssu families were prominent military commanders and civil officials. They wielded the largest influence in the country among the Chinese officials, and were favorably regarded by the emperors of both the Ming and Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasties.

MONGUOR POPULATION FIGURES

161 The Manguor population data at the time of the Ming, taken from the *Annals* of Kansu, printed in 1909, may be summarized as follows:

- Total of families ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu, 11,000
- Families of Monguors belonging to 9 Mongol T'u-ssu, 5,627
- Families of Shat'o Monguors belonging to the 5 Shat'o T'u-ssu, 5,303
- Families of Ch'ant'ou extraction belonging to one Ch'ant'ou T'u-ssu, 70

The number of families belonging to the Monguor Lu T'u-ssu is not recorded. Taking a rate of five members per family, which seems not to be too high, the number of Monguors living in Old Huang Chung would be 55,000. Adding the 471 Tibetan families ruled by the Lu T'u-ssu and Wang T'u-ssu gives a total of 57,365 ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu.

162 Striking differences in importance and strength among the clans are to be noted: the Lu clan alone ruled 3,699 families (3,246 Monguor, 453 Tibetan), and the three Shat'o Li T'u-ssu ruled 4,963 families. Then there is a sharp drop to the two Ch'i clans with 700 families each, and the remaining clans are insignificant.

It has already been noted that in each of the Monguor clans there are a few Chinese and Tibetan families, which were enrolled at different times.

EXPANSION OF THE MONGUORS OVER THE COUNTRY

175 According to the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 55, and the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24, p. 14b, the population of Hsining was very thin at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. The fields around the towns, irrigated by canals, were assigned to the Chinese military colonists,

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•175 and grasslands in the extensive side valleys were assigned to each of the T'u-ssu groups for the pasturing of their herds and for the cultivation of cereals, without irrigation. The Monguors, in other words, were relegated to the side valleys after having been forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields. The account may be interpreted both as meaning that the Monguors had already begun to practice farming, and as meaning that they were able to fall back on a pastoral economy which they had not wholly abandoned.

At the beginning of the Ming dynasty it may be assumed that each T'u-ssu lived with his subjects grouped around him in the country assigned to him, since the T'u-ssu were the appointed defenders of the frontiers, the guardians of the mountain passes and of the traditional ways followed by invading nomads. Later it is said that renewed forays of Tibetans and the Mongols of Kukunor had the effect of dispersing the Monguors. Certainly the plain fact is that at present a great many of the subjects of nearly every T'u-ssu live in territories which do not belong to the T'u-ssu to whom they are subject. In order to understand the scattering of the Monguors, however, exclusive emphasis should not be put on the factor of frontier inroads and revolts. The economic factor was also important, especially the development of agriculture and the opening to cultivation of extensive valleys, notably between 1644 and 1723, when there was relatively little frontier warfare. Indeed, after frontier disturbances a population that has fled usually comes back to its original homeland, but when the people disperse and spread in order to engage in new, profitable occupations, they settle and do not return.

There is evidence for the importance of population shifts in association with economic change in the fact that according to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 16, pp. 5*a*–*b*) 81,707 "pieces" of land in the prefecture of Hsining were opened to cultivation for the first time during the first hundred years of the Ch'ing dynasty. In addition, 6,243 "pieces" of new land were opened in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei (ch. 16, p. 9*b*) and 10,499 in the Shuo, the newly organized administrative unit of Kucite (ch. 16, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*). All of this land is referred to as grassland, meaning land opened to cultivation but not irrigated by means of canals. These figures are convincing evidence of the importance of the spread of agriculture in bringing about the dispersal of the Monguors.

The establishment of the new sub-prefecture of Tat'ung, dependent on Hsining, was also a phase of this great economic transformation. After the general revolt of the Mongols of Kukunor, the frontier Tibetans, and the lamas of the whole region had been crushed in 1723–24, the military district (*wei*) of Tat'ung, forty miles north of Hsining, was reorganized as a sub-prefecture in 1761. Chinese and Muslims, in addition to Monguors, joined in the land-rush to cultivate these

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grasslands, because attractive terms had been offered for payment for the land after three years, with loans for seed and the use of oxen.[22] The population of Tat'ung climbed from 5,862 inhabitants in 1723–35 to 11,830 between 1736–96 (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, pp. 16*a–b*) and a number of new villages were established.

Among these villages four were entirely inhabited by Monguors; three were equally divided between Monguors and Chinese, and in two the Monguors numbered 30 per cent of the population (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 12, pp. 15*a–b*). After 1796 another four villages were built for Monguors by the Living Buddha Sumpa of the monastery of Erhkulung. All the Monguors who migrated to Tat'ung in this period were subjects of the sixteen T'u-ssu settled in the region of Hsining.

Contemporary with the expansion of agriculture into the Tat'ung sub-prefecture was the opening of the splendid large plain of Weiyuanp'u, northeast of Hsining. Here again there was a land-rush, including the subjects of various T'u-ssu, who settled in scattered groups all over the plain.

The agricultural development of the region of Kueite, after the Manchus crushingly defeated the Mongols of the Kukunor plateau in 1723, is to be explained in the same way. In 1644 the population of the Kueite region numbered 2,000; in 1746, it numbered 11,560. A previous attempt had been made in 1380, early in the Ming dynasty, to use Mongols from around Hochou to colonize this region. I have often met, in Hsining, Monguors from Kueite, visiting their relatives in their old country. They told me that more than 300 Monguor families of Hsining origin were living around Kueite, scattered among Tibetans and Chinese. Their tradition was that their ancestors had left Hsining in order to make a better living.

HISTORICAL FRAME IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVED

In order to gain a clearer insight into the economy of the Monguors, including the shift from the pastoral to the agricultural; the expansion of many small Monguor groups from their original assigned territories and chiefs, and the building of new villages in other places; the many changes in the social organization of the clans and in the relations between chiefs and subjects; and, finally, changes in the means of living and the influence of Lamaism, among the Monguors, it is advantageous to know the historical frame in which the Monguors lived under the Ming dynasty and during the first decades of the Ch'ing dynasty. The historical data will explain the failure of the Ming policy of colonizing the country by means of the Monguor clans and of Chinese military colonies. The failure of colonization is plainly evidenced by the census of 1573–1620, which

[22] *Tung Hua Lu* ("records" of the Manchu dynasty), Yung Cheng period (1723–1735), ch. 4, p. 39.

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 records only 440 families of Chinese civilians in addition to the 2,560 families of officials and military colonists. These figures show that after two centuries there was only a tiny Chinese population while the military colony or garrison had decreased by two-thirds. This decline was due to inroads by Mongols and rebellions of Tibetans.[23]

After the downfall of the Yuan dynasty in 1368 the power of the descendants of Chingis Khan as rulers of all the Mongols had been overthrown by the Oirats or Western Mongols. Under Dayan Khan (1479–1523) the Eastern Mongols recovered under a descendant of Chingis for a brief period. In 1457 the Mongols had occupied the Ordos under the leadership of Aruktai; in 1509, dissatisfied with Dayan Khan, the tribe of (the chief) Ipula in conjunction with the tribes of Aerht'ussu after having killed the son of Dayan, fled to Kukunor, where they arrived in 1509 (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 13, pp. 13–14).[24] They subjugated the Hsi-fan tribes who had been occupying this territory and making inroads in the Hsining region for thirty-four years. Other Mongols who were dissatisfied with the power of Dayan and his successors joined the following of Ipula (Ibiri), hoping to find freedom and independence in far-away Kukunor. Chinese armies were sent to Hsining when the local military colonists and the Monguors could no longer cope with the situation, but the Kukunor Mongols, nevertheless, expanded their territory from Kukunor to Alashan" (Pokotilov, p. 102).

In 1554 (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 13, p. 15*b*), Altan, the grandson of Dayan, came from the Ordos to Kukunor and the murderers of his uncle fled. In 1575 Altan welcomed the grand lama of Lhasa in Kukunor, gave him the title of Dalai Lama, built a temple, and proclaimed the religion of the Yellow sect as the religion of his subjects, but his son continued the inroads against Hsining and South Kansu and Szechuan. In 1635 the

[23] In this period there was close contact between Tibet and the strong Mongol power created in the Ordos-Suiyuan region by Altan Khan of the Tumets, while south of the Tibet-Ordos line of contact, the Chinese agricultural country was ravaged by the Chinese rebel Li Ch'uang-wang, a native of Yenan in Shensi, who eventually sacked Peking in 1643, causing the last Ming emperor to commit suicide. Thus the Ming Empire was cut off from, and, practically powerless in, the northwestern Kansu-Hsining hinterland.—O. L.

[24] See also D. Pokotilov, *History of the eastern Mongols during the Ming dynasty from 1368 to 1634*, Part I, trans. by Rudolph Löwenthal, *Studia Serica monographs, series* A, No. 1, Chengtu, Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute, 1947. See also the brief summary of the chaotic wars among the Mongols in this period in Chapter 2, "The period of feudal wars in Mongolia," in N. N. Poppe, *Khalkha-Mongol'skii geroicheskii epos* (*The Khalkha Mongol heroic epos*), Moscow-Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, 1937. From these sources the Chinese transcriptions Ipula and Aert'ussu may be identified with the Mongol originals Ibiri (name of a Khan) and Ordos, a tribal federation, while "Aloch'u" appears to be a rendering of part of the name of Mandulai Agulkhu, an ally of Ibiri. See also I. J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, 191, St. Petersburg, 1829.—O. L.

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175 Olots under their chief Gushi Khan drove out the Mongols of Kukunor and established themselves in the region, and now a period of ruin and destruction began. The *Annals* (ch. 13, pp. 13–21) from 1543 to 1642 (i.e., until the eve of the establishment of the Ch'ing dynasty), list eleven forays of Mongols coming from the Ordos, besides intermittent revolts of Tibetan tribes in the region of Hsining, or on its fringes.

Gushi, hoping to stay on good terms with the new Manchu dynasty, kept quiet in Kukunor, and there were no more forays of Mongols or Tibetans until 1723; but in 1642 the city of Hsining was besieged and taken by the followers of the Chinese rebel, Li Tze-ch'eng (Li Ch'uang-wang), and in 1648 the region of Tat'ung was disturbed by a Muslim revolt which started in the Kanchou oasis.

These facts explain the decrease of the population of the country. At the dawn of the Manchu dynasty the first census records only 13,680 persons, 2,200 fewer Chinese inhabitants than when the Ming occupied Hsining and began military colonization.

Under the Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty, however, the unfortunate region of Hsining revived and began to flourish. In the *Annals* (ch. 13, p. 15), it is noted that by the Ch'ien Lung period (1736–1796) the population had jumped to the figure of 70,470. While the strong armies of the Ch'ing assured peace in the country, and agriculture developed because outlets were provided for its products and commerce, another factor must also be taken into account. Hsining was the most important gateway into Tibet. Its prosperity depended on trade with Tibet, without which Hsining was doomed to be a dead city. Gushi Khan, chief of the Olots, was the protector of Tibet and the defender of the Dalai Lama. His armies and officials were always traveling between Kukunor and Lhasa and assured the security of the roads. We must remember also that during the long period of troubles in Hsining, the roads between Lhasa and Kukunor, Lhasa and Turkestan, and Lhasa and India had always remained open. Mongol princes and tribesmen made pilgrimages to Lhasa, the capital of Lamaism, the sons of Mongol princes went to Lhasa for study, and lamas and living Buddhas traveled through the Hsining and Kukunor region to Mongolia and China, from the time of the conversion of Altan Khan, and the merchants of India and Turkestan continued their business. During the period of Gushi Khan these relations with Lhasa became even closer, and Lhasa became, and thereafter remained, the religious center of the Mongol world. Its influence was already so strong that forty-four princes could convene with three Hutukhtus to draw up the so-called Mongol-Oirat code of 1640 and plan the persecution of Shamanism among the Mongols.[25]

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[25] V. A. Riasanovsky, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buryats, Kalmuks)*, 73, Harbin, Artistic Printing House, 1929; also the same, *Fundamental principles of Mongol*

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175 It is not surprising that when peace was restored in Hsining the commerce with Tibet and India, which had never been completely cut off, was increasingly funnelled through Hsining toward China, bringing about a great revival of prosperity in Hsining. Interesting contemporary evidence of this prosperity is to be found in the account given by two Jesuit Fathers, Grueber and Dorville, who passed through Hsining in 1661 on the way from Peking to Lhasa.[26] They describe the town as "large and populous, and from its situation near the Great Wall of special significance, it being the first gate where the Indian traders have to wait for permission to enter the Middle Kingdom." A little later Ysbrandt Ides, of Dutch origin, an agent of the Russian Tsar, traveling from Moscow to Peking and via Hsining and Tibet to India, wrote about Hsining in 1692:

> This province borders on the upper principality of Tibet, which extends to the territories of the great Mogul, from whose dominions great number of merchants come to the vast trading city of Zunning (Hsining) in the kingdom of Xiensi (Shensi), and the door of commerce being for some time opened here and liberty granted to them as well as Muscovites and Tartars to trade here, they have with their wares and trade introduced the Mohammedan religion.

He adds that the people of Gambay (Gujarat), Bengal "and other subordinate countries" are those who chiefly resort to Zunning, bringing there diamonds, jewels, elephants' teeth, wax, etc.[27]

Ysbrandts Ides' reference to Mohammedans is corroborated by a text of the *Huàng Ch'ing Chih kung t'u*, part V, p. 49, "in the beginning of the Ming, Ch'an T'ou [Turks] came from Turkistan [Hsi Yü] to trade; they settled at a place 40 *li* from Hsining and married there." The reference is probably to the place called Topa, of which Father Regis speaks in the following quotation, and where there is still a strong settlement of Mohammedans. This place was the headquarters of the Mohammedan rebels who besieged Hsining in the Mohammedan rebellion of 1868–1872. The ruins of its double walls reveal that it must once have been an important place. The only word still readable on a stele preserved there is the Chinese character "T'ang," which must refer to the claim that the place was founded during the T'ang dynasty (618–906). It is well known that from the early middle ages, the Turks, especially the Uighurs, were the traders who with their caravans traveled to Russia, Asia Minor, Mongolia, Manchuria, and China,

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law, 92 *sqq.*, Tientsin, Telberg, 1937. (N. N. Poppe, however, in his work on the Khalkha Mongol heroic epos already cited, quite rightly notes (p. 36) that while the first part of this Code constituted a "peculiar 'pact of mutual non-aggression'" between Oirats (Ölöts) and Khalkha Mongols, "in fact it was never observed by anyone."—O. L.)

[26] C. Wessels, S.J., *Early Jesuit travellers in Central Asia, 1603–1721*, 179, The Hague, Nijhoff, 1924.

[27] E. Ysbrandts Ides, *The three years' land travels of his excellency E. Ysbrandts Ides from Moscow to China*, 126, 195, London, 1705.

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and that Chingis used them as guides for his military expeditions.

The Jesuit Father Regis, who by order of the emperor K'ang Hsi was engaged in mapping the Hsining region in 1708–09, "encountered at Topa, a locality 40 *li* west of Hsining, three or four Catholic Armenians having a concern dealing with beautiful skins, which they bought among the Tartars." It is clear from Father Regis' account that Topa must have been a place of considerable size, for he wrote that in it "you can find all that you want in the way of foreign as well as Chinese merchandise, all kinds of drugs, dates, coffee, and so on." [28]

Another text, encountered in Courant,[29] gives interesting data about commercial and agricultural activities in Central Asia. A Russian delegate, Ivan Unkovskii, who arrived among the Jungars, reported that

> during the last thirty years, the Jungars have developed their agriculture, cultivating all kind of cereals and grits and raising all kinds of animals; they manufacture leather and cloth and iron wares, and by means of their commerce they have relations with India, Tibet, Russia, and China.[30]

At that time the Jungars were at the zenith of their glory and their realm covered the territories between Tashkent and Turfan and between Lake Zaisan and Tibet.

These facts support the assumption that the revival of commerce and trade which had never been cut off outside of Hsining began in Hsining as soon as the Ch'ing dynasty was established. The commerce with Tibet, and India, dealt mainly with luxury articles, as these texts prove; the bulk trade in wool, sheep, and lambskins is of relatively recent date. The revival of trade encouraged not only local industries but agriculture, for the supplying of caravans.

Later in this study reference will be made repeatedly to the year 1723, when there occurred the last general revolt of the Mongols, Tibetans, and lamas of the Hsining and Kukunor region, after which, with the restoration of the Manchu emperor's authority, there were important changes in the status of tribes, monasteries, and lamas. This revolt in 1723 was the outcome of a century of Tibetan history. About 1630, in the time of troubles when the Ming dynasty was collapsing and the Manchus had not yet conquered China, the Deshi (prime minister) of the province of Tsang captured Lhasa, dethroned the King of Tibet, and assumed sovereignty over

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[28] P. J. B. Du Halde, *Description de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise*, 48, La Haye, 1736.

[29] Maurice Courant, *L'Asie centrale au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles, empire kalmouk ou empire mantchou*, Lyon-Paris, *Annales de l'Université de Lyon*, N.S. 2 (26): 68, 1912.

[30] The original text is in N. I. Veselovskii, Posol'stvo k dzhungarskomu Khun-taidji Tsevan Rabtanu kapitana ot artillerii Ivana Unkovskogo i putevoi zhurnal ego na 1722–24, dokumenty, izdannye s predislovom i primechaniyami (The mission to the Jungar Khong Taiji Tsevan Rabtan of captain of artillery Ivan Unkovskii and his travel journal for 1722–24, documents, published with an introduction and notes), *Zapiski* of the Russian Geographical Society, Division of Ethnography, 10 (2), St. Petersburg, 1887.—O. L.

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all Tibet. As an adherent of the Red Hat sect of Lamaism, he was hostile to the Yellow sect. Gushi,[31] Khan of the Ölöts, took possession of Kukunor in 1636, driving from Kukunor the Khalkha Mongols who were adherents of the Red Hat sect. After an expedition into Khamdo in 1638, he answered the call of the Dalai Lama invaded Tibet and in 1641 defeated the Desi. Gushi Khan retained only the command of his troops of occupation. He transferred civil authority to the Fifth Dalai Lama, Lobsang Gyats'o, who became King of Tibet, took possession of the royal palace of the King, began the building of the Potala, and created the Panch'an, the second great "incarnation" of Tibet.

The Dalai Lama died in 1680. The Manchus were by then well established in China, and the emperor K'ang Hsi had long suspected the Dalai Lama and his prime minister of being in favor both of the Chinese rebel Wu San-kuei and of Galdan, the Khan of the Jungar Mongols. The prime minister[32] kept secret the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama for fourteen years, and the Sixth Dalai Lama began to take an active part in government only in 1696.

The great-grandson of Gushi, Latsang,[33] succeeded about 1700 to the position of Mongol overlord of Tibet that had been created by Gushi Khan. The new Dalai Lama, who was fond of pleasure, wine, and women, "renounced his spiritual prerogatives, although still maintaining his temporal rights and his suzerainty over Tibet," in 1702.[34] In 1705 Latsang Khan put to death the powerful Deshi or prime minister, and in 1706 he deposed the Dalai Lama and sent him to Peking. He died on the way; possibly but not certainly by foul play. A new incarnation of the Dalai Lama was then installed, who was reputed to be Latsang's natural son. In 1708, a rival "incarnation" appeared in Eastern Tibet, who soon received support among important Mongol princes of the Kukunor region.[35] It was in these developments that the great revolt of 1723 originated. The political forces at work in these intrigues may be summarized as follows: hegemony among the Ölöts, Oirats, or Western Mongols had passed to Tsevan Rabdan, of the Jungars, whose seat of power was in the Ili valley, in what is now Sinkiang province. His growing power alarmed the Manchu dynasty in China, which by supporting the Khalkhas against the Western Mongols had already acquired suzerainty over Outer Mongolia, but had not yet been able to conquer Sinkiang. Latsang Khan, in Tibet, himself a Western Mongol, did not want to submit to the overlordship of Tsevan Rabdan and the Jungars.

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[31] Referred to as Gušri, Khan of the Qóšots (Hoshuts, one of the tribes of the Ölöt federation) by L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early eighteenth century*, 8, Leiden, Brill, 1950.—O. L.

[32] He was the natural son of the Fifth Dalai Lama (Petech, *op. cit.*, 9).—O. L.

[33] Lha-bzan in Petech, *loc. cit.*—O. L.

[34] Petech, *loc. cit.*

[35] For the foregoing summary, see Petech, *op. cit.*, 12 *sqq.*—O. L.

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175 He therefore sought the patronage of the Emperor of China, K'ang Hsi. Among the Kukunor Mongols, on the edge of Tibet, the most powerful princes were pro-Jungar and therefore hostile to Latsang Khan in Tibet and a potential danger to the Manchu power in China. Latsang Khan's nominee for recognition as Dalai Lama was therefore favored by K'ang Hsi against the nominee supported by the Kukunor Mongols; but at the same time he succeeded in having the rival infant Dalai Lama brought to the monastery of Kumbum, within reach of his military power, which would enable him to change his policy whenever it became expedient to do so.[28]

In 1717, two Jungar armies reached Lhasa and Kumbum (near Hsining); Latsang was killed, the Potala sacked, its priceless treasures looted, and the shrine of the revered Lobsang Gyats'o demolished.[29] With the death of Latsang Khan, the Manchu emperor changed his whole policy. Many of the Tibetans, especially in certain powerful lamaseries, had at first welcomed the Jungars; but the conduct of the Jungars had been so savage that there was soon a willingness to resist them. In 1718 the Manchu-Chinese forces moved into Tibet. After a severe defeat in 1718, they took Lhasa in 1720, with little fighting, the Jungar forces having been concentrated to meet forces coming from China on another line of march. As part of their new policy, the Manchus had recognized the "alternative" Dalai Lama (who was in the eyes of most Tibetans the legitimist claimant), and they now installed him in Lhasa.[30]

Tibet was now completely a Chinese protectorate. Manchu military efforts shifted away from Tibet toward the Jungar homeland in Sinkiang. As part of the new policy in Tibet, no effort was made to restore the former overlord position in Tibet of the ruling family of the Hoshut Mongols, the descendants of Gushi Khan.

In 1722 the emperor K'ang Hsi died. His successor, reigning under the style of Yung Cheng, attempted a policy of military and financial retrenchment. In 1723, in an attempt to take advantage of the situation, a rebellion was started among the Kukunor Mongols, led by Lobsang Dantsin (Blo-bzan-bstan-adsin in Petech, *op. cit.*), chief of the Kuknor branch of the Hoshuts and son of the second son of Gushi Khan, and therefore an uncle of the deceased Latsang Khan. His rebellion was supported by important monasteries and ecclesiastical dignitaries in the Hsining region. As it would, if successful, have cut the Hsining route from China to Lhasa and opened the way to a return of the Jungars, both the Manchu-Chinese and the Lhasa authorities reacted vigorously, especially the forces under General Nien Keng-

[28] Petech, *op. cit.*, 15-18.—O. L.

[29] The raid on Kumbum failed in its primary objective, which was to get hold of the person of the "alternative" Dalai Lama. Petech, *op. cit.*, 35.—O. L.

[30] Petech, *op. cit.*, 58-61. See also W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of Tibet, *T'oung Pao* 11, Leiden, Brill, 1910.

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175 yao, whose office was that of "warden of the marches." Monasteries in Hsining were pillaged and burned, nobles and ecclesiastical dignitaries were degraded in rank, and the administration of the Kukunor-Hsining region brought under tighter control. Throughout the region, administrative units and the local distribution of Mongols and Tibetans, lasting until the end of the Manchu dynasty, date from the measures taken at this time.[39]

The Monguors, however, retained their political status, for it is said in the *Huang Ch'ing Fanpu Yao Lüeh* (ch. 11, p. 7*a*), that "their troops under the command of the T'itu Yueh Chung-ch'i, the right hand of general Nien Keng-yao, fought in the repression of the lamaseries and of the Tibetans and Mongols." It was as reward for his outstanding services that the Lu T'u-ssu received a group of thirteen Tibetan villages as his subjects.

A memorable date in the history of Hsining is 1723; from that time on it was effectively organized on the pattern of a Chinese prefecture, peace was restored, and both agriculture and trade began to flourish.

This year was also a turning point in the history of the Monguor clans; the Monguors became definitely stabilized in their agricultural economy and expanded all over the country, many of them leaving their chiefs; new means of living were available, and consequently many changes occurred in their social organization.

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE MONGUOR CLAN

COMPOSITION OF THE CLAN

769 In 1913 the festival of Ch'ing Ming, one of the most important all over China for the veneration of ancestors, fell on April 5. On that day I attended the famous yearly diet of the Ch'i clan, held in T'angpa at the graveyard of the founding ancestor of the clan. This diet was celebrated throughout the region for its display of pomp and grandeur; but that year all who attended were afraid that this might be the last such diet to be held. The atmosphere was heavy with depression and dejection, for rumors were current that the institution of T'u-ssu might be abolished by the Chinese Republic which two years before had replaced the Manchu Empire. The other clans had cancelled their celebrations, and in fact this proved to be the last such assembly ever held with the old magnificence and splendor.

The diet was a real revelation for me, a veritable seminar in ethnology. It was divided into three phases: the

[39] Petech, *op. cit.*, 82–88. It is characteristic of China, with its vast extent and poor communications, that regions and regional history are strongly marked. Often a region, especially a frontier region, is more strongly affected by some great local event than by much greater, but more distant events that merely threw a shadow in passing. Thus the Lobsang Dantsin revolt, though of minor importance in the histories of either China or Tibet, was of major importance in its effects and lasting consequences in the region of Hsining and in the destiny of the Monguors.—O. L.

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618 582 In a clan structure grouped under a single clan name, the principle of exogamy is in theory supposed to be strict, but the practice varies somewhat from the theory, again indicating that the nominal clan includes a true genealogical clan together with families that have been assimilated to the clan. In a Monguor clan it is, for example, permitted for Monguor men to marry girls of families of known Chinese or Tibetan origin who have enrolled in the clan. I have also been told that among some groups of the commoners in the Li and Lu clans, Monguor boys marry Monguor girls of the same clan. They claim that in permitting such marriages they follow the practice of the Chinese, who allow marriages between families bearing the same surname (especially if it is one of the very common surnames), if the two clans are considered to be descended in fact from different original ancestors. Exogamy is, however, strictly observed among the noble or elite families who do claim true genealogical descent from a common ancestor; but once in a while a poor noble marries the daughter of a commoner of his clan.

If we may accept it as proved that the commoners are of different descent from the nobles, we are still faced with the problem of determining the real origin of the commoners. The Monguors, when asked about the difference between nobles and commoners, say that "things have always been that way." It is not surprising to find among the nobles, however, vestiges of a tradition explaining how they acquired their subject commoners. I have been told by no less than three T'u-ssu—the Ch'i, Li, and Ah—that the commoners are descendants of tribes which had been conquered by the ancestors of the T'u-ssu.

PROCESS OF CLAN FORMATION AT THE TIME OF CHINGIS KHAN

618 175 For a comparison we may turn to the record of what is known about the way that Chingis Khan allocated territories and subjects to his sons, brothers, and leading generals. Vladimirtsov has described how Chingis assigned territories to the nobility that he created as a result of his conquests, and how he gave them sometimes whole tribes and sometimes fragments of tribes to live in these territories and be ruled by them.[4] The result was a social structure in which—as we see in miniature in the surviving Monguor society—the nobility were quite clear about their claims of descent, either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors," while the subject population, of diverse origin, were less clear about their genealogies but closely associated with their rulers in a manner that remained partly tribal but had become partly feudal. Under this system, there was a protocol which nominally required each ruling prince or noble to furnish to his sovereign a

ing the name of their suzerain clan, under the orders of the latter."

[4] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 124, 125, 127. [p. 396]

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618 definite number of troops, whenever required, according to the size of his territory and the numbers of the population. Such appanages could be under the rule not only of families descended from the imperial clan, but of families whose "founding ancestors" were antrustions.[5] The origin and social condition of the commoners among the Monguor clans are clearly to be explained in this manner.

It appears probable that the Monguor groups began to form in this way as early as the rule of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty. At the very beginning of the Ming dynasty we find the chiefs of all the Monguor groups submitting to Chinese rule, but we do not find any record of groups of the Monguor type being actually created by the Ming emperors. We may therefore suppose that generally speaking the Monguor commoners of today are the descendants of families who were already subject commoners in the Mongol period before the Ming dynasty, with the later addition of a number of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. As to the manner in which such later additions could be made, I have already mentioned the fact that the Lu T'u-ssu received from the Manchu emperor thirteen Tibetan villages, numbering 2,365 persons to be his commoners and subjects, as a reward for military services rendered during the historical revolt of 1723 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 87).

175 The processes of clan formation thus resulted in the evolution of four kinds of clan chiefs:

618 1. Chiefs who, with their related nobles, claimed descent from the Mongol imperial family of the Yuan;

624 2. Commoners who became chiefs of clans and founded their own noble families;

3. Antrustions, individual warriors, who became chiefs of clans and founded their own noble families;

4. Chiefs of clans who submitted voluntarily to the Yuan dynasty with their nobles and commoners.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHIEFS AND NOBLES IN THE MONGUOR CLANS

175 Among the seventeen Monguor clans, two are recorded in the *Annals* of Kansu as being descended from
624 the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty: the Ch'i clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 35) and the Lu clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 55). The family chronicles of the Lu clan, as already mentioned, are in my possession and I am planning to edit and publish them.

[5] This term, taken from early European feudalism, is used in the French translation of Vladimirtsov for the Russian term *druzhinnik* which Vladimirtsov uses to translate the Mongol term *nukur*, literally "friend." In the simplest terms, a *nukur* was a free warrior who voluntarily attached himself to the leader of a war-band, establishing a relationship of personal loyalty transcending all clan and other obligations. Some of the greatest commanders who served Chingis Khan began as *nukur*. Mongol *nukur*, Russian *drug*, "friend," whence *druzhinnik*, and Greek ξένος, "guest-friend," all have a root meaning of "other," "foreign" (to my own clan); institutionally they share with Latin *comes*, whence the title "count," the meaning of an association formed personally, not by circumstance of birth.—O. L.

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175 The Shat'o Turkish clans were already settled in the country before the invasion of the Mongols, and submitted to them when the Mongols founded the Yuan dynasty.[6]

There are no historical references available for the origin of the chiefs and the nobles of the other Monguor clans nor was I ever able to find any surviving traditions on the subject.[7]

They may have been founded by military commanders who were commoners by birth and perhaps antrustions by career. Such founders of clans would be given subject families in reward for their services; and, as the reward would be proportionate to the services rendered, the number of families thus allocated would be larger or smaller. Since commanders had to recruit their troops among their own subjects, the number of families allocated to them as subjects was determined by their military rank. According to this reasoning the military rank of the chiefs of the smaller Monguor clans must have been low. It may be that the small clans were small at the time when they submitted to the Yuan dynasty, and that their chiefs were accordingly made military commanders of small units.

175 The influence wielded by the Shat'o group in Hsining during the Yuan dynasty must have been very important, for at the time of their submission to the Ming, Li Nan-ko held one of the highest civil offices in Hsining, that of T'ungchih, while his nephew held the office of Tutu chihhuei t'ungchih. What could have been the reason for the extraordinarily friendly feelings of the Mongols toward the Shat'o Turks?

The son of Li-K'o-yung, the famous prince of Chin, founded in China the ephemeral dynasty of the Hou T'ang, which lasted only from 923 to 936. After the overthrow of this dynasty one branch of the Shat'o fled to the Yin-shan range, south of Suiyuan, and was later entrusted with the protection of the northwest frontiers of the Chin empire (1115–1260). These Shat'o were called the Wang-ku (Ongut) of the Yin-shan. A second branch fled to Lin-t'ao, in southern Kansu, where they were known as the Wang-ku of Lin-t'ao. These Shat'o were later transferred by the Chin to Liao-tung (Manchuria). At the beginning of the thirteenth century Alakush Tegin, chief of the Onguts of the Yin-shan, betrayed the Chin emperor and followed and aided Chingis Khan, with whom he entered into alliance in 1206. In 1209 Chingis gave his daughter Alaghi Beki to the eldest son of this Ongut chief. Ongut troops aided the Mongol general Mukhali in subduing China.[8]

[6] *Cf. Wu tai shih chi*, ch. 74, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*; Ponapen edition.

[7] For the founding in Kansu province of a noble family of Uighur origin, under the Yuan dynasty, see F. W. Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 in memory of prince Hindu," *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Stud.* 12 (1 & 2): 1949.—O. L.

[8] P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'extrême orient, *T'oung Pao* 15: 630, 1914. A. J. H. Charignon, *Le livre de Marco Polo* 1: 247–248, Peking, Nachbauer, 1924. H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan and his conquest of North China*, 114–133–139, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950.

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175 But the third branch of the Shat'o[9] was at that time grazing its herds in the country of Huang Chung between Hsining and Kanchou. It may well be that the Mongol invaders were glad to join hands with them in 1226, and to entrust high offices on the Tibetan frontier to their chiefs. Although these Shat'o Turks held high civil offices under the Yuan, however, nothing is known about the military appointments that they held during this period.

DEVELOPMENT OF CLAN STRUCTURE

175 624 While each of the Monguor and Shat'o clans settled in Kansu before the founding of the Ming dynasty, the present rank of the "T'u-ssu" in each clan traces back to an appointment early in the Ming dynasty; and on the date of this appointment depends, in turn, the division of the descendants of the first T'u-ssu into Houses, each with its own property.

THE POSITION OF THE T'U-SSU

The genealogical register of each clan accordingly starts with the appointment of the first T'u-ssu. The family chronicles of the Lu T'u-ssu line start with T'o-Huan (Tógon), who was granted the title of Prince of Nanting under the Mongol emperor, but was first appointed T'u-ssu of the clan by the Ming. In the register of his genealogy are recorded only his descendants; his brothers, kinsmen, and even his parents are not mentioned. In this way he and not his father was established as the founding ancestor of the new clan. It was to him that the Ming Emperor assigned a territory; he was confirmed by the Emperor in the "possession" of his subjects, who were by the imperial decree forbidden to abandon him.

The brothers of such a founding ancestor could not lay any claim either to the possession of any piece of land inside his territory or to any group of his subjects; if they were allowed to live on his territory and received some subjects, it was merely by an act of grace on his part.

Not only does the genealogical register of each clan start with the first T'u-ssu, but at his death the Monguors started building a new cemetery in which the mound of the first T'u-ssu occupied the prominent site, thus indicating the beginning of a new order; at the mound of this founding ancestor, in the "old graveyard," as it is now called, the ancestors are venerated on the day of the yearly diet of the clan. Similarly, the image of the first T'u-ssu occupies the central place in the temple of the ancestors of the clan. All of these facts confirm that the first T'u-ssu is regarded as the founding chief and real origin of the clan.

The T'u-ssu forms a unit with his offspring who are classified as being of his "bone." The Monguor family

[9] According to *Wu Tai shihchi*, ch. 74, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*, Fonapen edition

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175 624 being based on the agnatic principle, the oldest son inherits the leadership of the clan, after the death of his father.

By the beginning of the present century (1911–1922), however, the T'u-ssu was no longer living in one group with his noble kinsmen; he was not the provider of all their needs, including food and clothing; he and his nobles no longer constituted a large family; and T'u-ssu and nobles were no longer living entirely at the expense of the commoners.

The nobles were by this time living in separate and distinct families, each forming an independent economic unit. Consequently some were poor and some rich. In this economic aspect, there was no longer a distinction between nobles and commoners. Noble families bought and sold land, cattle, and grain to each other and to commoners in exactly the same way, and the rise or fall of a family's fortunes depended on the industry or laziness, the good or bad fortune, of its members.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NOBLE HOUSES

175 618 In the inheritance of wealth among nobles, however, there is a peculiar institution to be considered. In each clan the nobles are divided into branches, called "houses." In some clans there are three houses, in others four or five; in the Li clan there are thirteen. Each noble family knows the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called "the great House," the second is called the second House, and so on. Each house comprises the descendants of one of the sons of the founding ancestor of the clan who was appointed T'u-ssu at or soon after the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368. During his life, the wealth, grain, cattle, cultivated land, and money of the founding ancestor were divided among his sons. If there were three sons, the eldest by right of being the first born succeeded his father as T'u-ssu and chief of the clan; but the property of the founding ancestor was divided in three parts. The new T'u-ssu and his two brothers each inherited one part, with only the distinction that the eldest son received a somewhat larger portion of fields and cattle. The privilege of a large portion was passed on to the eldest son in each succeeding generation.[10]

The number of houses established according to the number of the sons of the founding ancestor has continued ever since as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify each other by houses, saying "I belong to" or "he belongs to the third House." In principle, also, the patrimony of each house was permanently established at this first division. In practice, however, if the descendants of either the great House or one of the junior houses

[10] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 224. "the Mongol feudal seigneur . . . usually received his fief by inheritance and transmitted it to his son. Mongol seigneurs apportioned inheritances to their sons during their own lifetime, reserving the essential part of the heritage to the eldest son, after their death." The old custom of preserving the principal fief of the father for the youngest son had disappeared by the time of the Yuan dynasty.

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618 175 grew numerous they could subdivide the patrimony; the new subdivisions would then continue as independent households or families responsible to each other in vicissitudes of wealth or poverty.

In Monguor society since the Ming, only the T'u-ssu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of the commoners. None of the houses disposed of commoners as subjects. It is quite clear, however, that in former times among the nomads each group of nobles was a real possessor of subjects. Subjects and territory were regarded as assigned to the clan by the emperor and were understood to belong to the whole clan and not to the chief alone. Accordingly, when a noble was at odds with the clan, he could leave it, taking with him his portion of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or found a new clan. In this way it often happened that when clans were at war with each other, there would be subgroups in each of them that belonged to the same "bone," although they were engaged in killing each other.[11]

The idea of the collective "ownership," by the blood-related noble families, of the subject commoners persists more strongly under a nomad economy, for obvious reasons, than it does under an agricultural economy, but memories of it persist among nomads who have become farmers. This concept seems to have prevailed among the Shat'o, who before the Ming dynasty were already divided into two groups, one of 4,000 families and one of 963 families. The chiefs of each of these groups were made T'u-ssu. Later, at the end of the Ming dynasty, the T'u-ssu Li Hua-lung of the line of Li Nan-ko died without issue and troubles broke out over the succession. The Manchu empire appointed a claimant named Li T'ien-yu as T'u-ssu, but allowed the troublesome pretender Li Hua-nao to take 100 families from the 4,000-family group, and granted him a separate title of T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24, p. 8).

Trouble among the noble families of the Lu clan seems also to have been the reason why six members of this clan were created T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 52, pp. 58–59). The craving for subjects, based on the old custom, seems to have been the cause of these troubles, although the *Annals* gloss over the matter, as is often done in Chinese chronicles to "save face," by allowing it to be understood that each of the six new T'u-ssu had deserved his appointment through meritorious service on the Tibetan frontier.

624 175 The same lingering tradition that the nobles had or ought to have a right to dispose of a number of subjects may account for the fact that, in lieu of a division of subject commoners among the sons of a founding ancestor, each of the houses was assigned the land tax revenue of a fixed number of villages of commoners. This meant that when the patrimony of the founding ancestor was divided, the land taxes of the villages followed the division of the inheritance. Here again the

[11] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 79.

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624 eldest son, succeeding as the new T'u-ssu by right of being the first born, had a distinguishing privilege. The
175 land taxes due to him (in the form of grain) had to be brought to his mansion, while the junior houses had themselves to collect the taxes from the villages assigned to them.

624 At the beginning of the Ming dynasty, when the houses were first established, the tax revenues must have
651 provided a comfortable living for each house, and it is probable that they needed no other income to live at
175 leisure, at the expense of the commoners. After a few generations, however, as the descendants of each house
578 became more and more numerous, the collection of taxes became increasingly a problem. Divided and subdivided claims to a share of the revenue became insufficient to maintain the claimant families, and were inevitably the cause of quarrels and feuds. In the end, claims to the right to collect subdivided fractions of the land tax became chronic sources of trouble not only among the families constituting the house, but between them and the commoners from whom the revenue was collected.

624 In some houses the constituent families agree with each other to take turns collecting the available revenue,
651 but this leads to disputes every year and sometimes to fierce fighting. It is not unknown for two or three
578 families to go to the villages, trying to collect the land taxes in competition with each other. When this happens, the villagers are angered and demand that the families who lay claim to revenue patch up their quarrels and adjust their claims before the villagers open their granaries. Those who claim a right to collect revenue, on the other hand, resort to various kinds of deceit in trying to extort more from the villages and to get more than the legal or customary amount. In such problems and quarrels the T'u-ssu himself is involved because by tradition it is he and not the houses who fixes the rates at which levies are collected.

624 The sources of income of a T'u-ssu are more varied than those of a noble house. The T'u-ssu collects the
651 land taxes in the villages which form the portion of his
563 own house, and in addition collects a number of special taxes which provide his personal revenue. Most of these taxes are collected from Chinese living or trading within his territory. When Monguors who belong to his clan buy livestock, wool, skins, or grain they do not pay a tax on the transaction. On such transactions the Chinese, however, do pay a tax, and so do Monguors of other clans when they engage in such transactions within the territory of the T'u-ssu. Chinese shopkeepers, blacksmiths, and innkeepers living within the clan territory pay taxes. Imposts are levied on rafts and boats on rivers running through the clan territory. At the diets or clan assemblies, and at festivals at Lama monasteries in the clan territory, taxes are collected from Chinese merchants. Payments must also be made for the registration of title deeds to land and houses, and

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618 578 611 eldest son chosen and appointed. In one such case, in the clan of the Na T'u-ssu, four T'u-ssu of other clans were invited in to arbitrate, and after discussions which lasted many days the son of a rich man, the third brother of the T'u-ssu who had just died, was agreed on and appointed by the clan.

●175 618 578 611 According to the *Annals of Hsining* (ch. 24, p. 8) the last T'u-ssu of the Ming period in the clan of Li, of the line founded by Li Nan-ko, was a man named Li Hua-lung, who died without issue. Li T'ien-yu, the first cousin of Li Hua-lung who had just died, belonging to the same generation in order of descent from the clan ancestor, and of the same house, laid claim to the succession. In order to put an end to trouble within the family, one hundred families of commoners out of the four thousand belonging to the T'u-ssu were given to the contending claimant Li Hua-nao, and consenting to a petition from the nobles who were his relatives in the clan, the Manchu Emperor bestowed on him the title of T'u-ssu. Thus Li Hua-nao became the "founding ancestor" of a new clan, with one hundred families of commoners as subjects.

618 Thus while the historical material seems to show that in most cases the choice and appointment of a new chief of the clan are a mere formality, there are also instances that seem to prove that the rule of succession is not always clear-cut, especially when the T'u-ssu dies without male issue. In any case, a daughter never succeeds because the clans are built on a strictly patrilineal family system with male chieftaincy. In this respect, as will be seen below in the chapter dealing with family organization, the rules of ordinary family succession tally with those that govern the succession of the chief of the clan, and the head of the family presides over religious cult practices within the family as the chief presides within the clan.

[562] [428]

In case the succeeding son is still a minor, however, his mother is appointed regent by the sovereign state, formerly the Empire and later the Republic. This custom seems to prove that the senior son, even if still a minor, has a specific claim to succeed his father.

There is a discrepancy between the Monguor rule of succession as far as it can be checked by historical documents and an ancient Mongol custom that prevailed up to the time of Chingis Khan, under which the eldest son received his portion of the inheritance while his parents were still living and moved away to live as the head of his own family; the next son, in due course, similarly left the parental camp, and finally the youngest son was left to care for his parents in their old age and to receive the residual inheritance. Under this custom, the original tent, camp, and herds remained with the youngest son, while the most distant related camp was that of his eldest brother, who had moved away first and farthest. Barthold, commenting on this custom, notes that Chingis Khan, during his lifetime, endowed his sons and other relations with appanages, and that Juchi,

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796 the clan. The whole clan, he says, is happy to express
618 its obedience and its willingness to help and serve him; the clan hopes that he may be as glorious a chief as his ancestors of old in defending the clan and its component families.

The new clan chief first kneels down and bows nine times to his maternal uncle; then the noble members of the clan of generations senior to that of the new chief stand in line before him, salute him reverently three times, and join hands. The new chief, at the command of the master of ceremonies, then kneels down and bows nine times to them, touching the earth with his forehead at each bow.

The noble clan members who are of the same generation as the new chief then line up, kneel down, and (again at the command of the master of ceremonies) reverently bow their heads nine times to the earth before their new chief, after which the new chief acknowledges their homage by greeting them in the same way. Finally, the members of generations younger than that of the new chief perform the ceremony, but this time the new chief makes acknowledgment only by a standing bow, not by kneeling and bowing his head to the earth. Finally the whole group of commoners and officials kneel down and bow nine times to the bowing T'u-ssu. The whole group then goes to the hall of the ancestors, where paper and incense are burned by the newly appointed chief. Those present bow their heads reverently while standing in rows according to their rank and generation, in time with the command of the master of ceremonies. The ancestors are thus supposed to have received the announcement of the appointment of the new chief. Then all go to the temple of the guardian deity of the clan.

As I shall discuss the importance of the maternal uncle in Monguor society in a later chapter, I shall here make only a brief comment on the fact that at this significant moment when, in a society organized on the patrilineal family system, the eldest son of the first wife succeeds to office as the chief of the clan, it is his maternal uncle who has the place of honor. The occasion being one in which ancient customs are likely to be preserved, we are entitled to assume that the importance of the maternal uncle goes very far back in the history of Monguor society.

THE CLAN CHIEF BECOMES A CHINESE OFFICIAL

624 The chief of the clan must next be considered in his
175 function as T'u-ssu, an office that he holds by the ap-
618 pointment of the sovereign state of which the Monguor clans are quasi-feudal frontier dependents. Under the Mongol Empire, the Monguors were entitled to consider themselves kinsmen of the Mongol rulers of China. When the Mongol Empire fell and the Chinese Ming dynasty was established, the Monguor chiefs who submitted to it did so as the result of a decision of supreme importance; by adhering to the Ming dynasty they renounced the alternative of retreating into Inner Asia

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624 with other Mongol tribes, denounced in effect their ties
175 of tribal loyalty to other Mongols, and declared their willingness to serve as feudal subordinates guarding the Chinese frontier against the inroads of Mongols,
618 Tibetans, or other "outer barbarians." When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-ssu, they ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were modified by their duty to the Chinese emperor.

THE T'U-SSU INSTITUTION

The institution of T'u-ssu or "local chief" was one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal groups on the frontier of the Empire. The first historical record of an institution comparable to that of T'u-ssu is to be found in the institution of the Chimichou, under the T'ang dynasty (618–906). Under this institution the T'ang dynasty organized "barbarian" subject tribes in "circumscriptions" ruled by hereditary native chiefs who received investiture from the emperor.[16] The institution of T'u-ssu was known under the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, was reorganized and given its definite form under the Ming dynasty, and was continued under the Manchu dynasty. It survived under the Chinese Republic.

As an institution, the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal, non-Chinese peoples, attached to but not yet absorbed into the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that of China as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native chief" and as Chinese official.

CHOICE OF CLAN CHIEF RATIFIED BY EMPEROR

624 The choosing of a new chief by the clan itself has
648 already been described. This choice had then to be ratified. This was done through the administrative office of the T'u-ssu, acting as a bureaucratic office and not as the personal office of the T'u-ssu, which sent an official notice of the death of the previous T'u-ssu to the governor of the Province, to be forwarded to the capital at Peking, giving the day, hour, and circumstance of the death of the T'u-ssu. At the same time a petition was sent, through the same channels, imploring the emperor to appoint to the office of T'u-ssu the man whom the clan had selected as its new chief. In the event that the new chief of the clan was a minor, the petition requested that his mother be appointed regent. The emperor, granting the petition, then appointed the new clan chief to the office of T'u-ssu (or, if the son were a minor, appointed his mother as regent). The mother's regency ended when the son married or when he reached the age

[16] P. Pelliot, *Bulletin de l'école Française d'extrême Orient*, 1125, 1904. Leng Shun-Sheng, T'u-ssu chi tu, in *Frontier affairs* (*Pien cheng Kunglün*) 3 (2): 11–12, 1944. [p. 46a]

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The "locking" and "opening" of the seal emphasized its ritual importance. Every year, as the year drew to an end, on an auspicious day chosen about the twentieth of the twelfth month, it used to be the custom to "lock up" the seals of all Chinese officials. This signified that the officials were taking a vacation and that administrative matters would not be acted on again until after the New Year. The Monguors took over this practice. At the "locking up" of the seal, they invited their officials for dinner, and then all went home.

Soon after the fifteenth of the first moon, an auspicious day was chosen for the "opening of the seal." All officials under the T'u-ssu were required to attend the ceremony, together with the chiefs of villages and the most prominent members of the clan. Disposed in rows, they made the ceremonial prostration nine times before the seal and went to the ancestral temple and the temple of the guardian deity to honor them and to invoke their protection during the new year. An important meeting then followed at which administrative matters were discussed, and this meeting was in turn followed by a dinner. Ordinary routine was then resumed. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, as described by Father Mostaert,[22] a still great reverence is attached to the seal. It is treated as a cult object held in veneration throughout the year, locked in a special ornamented case in the palace of the prince of the Banner, with a lamp burning before it day and night. The opening of the seal is carried out in a more ceremonial manner than among the Monguors. A traditional speech is given by one of the most distinguished officials before the ceremony of veneration is carried out by those present.

ROLE OF CLAN CHIEF AS CHINESE OFFICIAL

WARDEN OF THE MARCHES

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As a vassal of the overlord state in China, the T'u-ssu has the function of a warden of the marches. When the Mongol dynasty fell in 1368, it was already rotten at the core and torn apart by struggles between internal factions. Knowing that all hope for the restoration of a Mongol dynasty was lost, most of the chiefs of Mongol tribes living in Kansu submitted to the Chinese generals who led the Ming armies into this strategic province bordering on Tibet, Central Asia, and Mongolia. The Chinese, for their part, resorted to the policy, familiar to them for some two thousand years, of using barbarian vassals along the frontier as a screen against more remote barbarians.[23] They accordingly granted titles to the chiefs of the tribes that submitted, in order to make use of them in defense against the still hostile

[22] A. Mostaert, "L'ouverture du sceau" et les adresses chez les Ordos. *Monumenta Serica* 1, Fasc. 2: 315, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1935.

[23] The relationship between "inner frontier" and "outer frontier" has been described by Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 86, 238–251, 2nd ed., New York, American Geog. Soc., 1951.

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175 Mongol and Tibetan tribes on the northern, western, and southern borders of Kansu.

The most important chiefs who were granted the title of T'u-ssu at this time were those of the Ch'i and Lu clans, who were scions of the Imperial House of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan of the Shat'o Turks. These three had been among the highest officials in Hsining under the Mongol dynasty. Because of their local influence, backed by troops of their powerful clans, they were delegated to negotiate with neighboring Mongol and Tibetan tribes, still hostile to the new rulers of China, with whom they had friendly relations, to urge them to submit to the Ming dynasty. Most of the chiefs of the region submitted. Those who held out were subjected in campaigns carried out either by Monguor troops alone or by Monguor and Chinese troops working together. The *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, pp. 10–12) record sixteen successful campaigns of this kind in the first years of the dynasty.

From this time on the Monguors remained faithful defenders of the frontiers, first under the Ming dynasty and then under the Manchu dynasty. A number of T'u-ssu fell in battle against invading Mongols and Tibetans, and Monguor troops fought as far afield as Sinkiang in Central Asia, Tat'ung on the Inner Mongolian frontier of Shansi Province, and Yülin on the frontier between Shensi Province and the Ordos. The military system of the T'u-ssu vassals was geographically based on control of the passes on the routes of trade and possible invasion in the mountainous frontier country. Most Tibetan and Mongol forays threatening the region that is now the province of Ch'inghai were launched from the south and southwest. In order to reach the city of Hsining, these invaders had to cross the passes of the mountain range called Lachi Shan, which runs almost parallel with the upper Yellow River and is the watershed between the Yellow River and the Hsining River. The two powerful clans of Ch'i (800 families) and Li (963 families) were, therefore, settled at the approaches to these passes. To them were added the 150 families of the Na clan. In time of peace they farmed and herded cattle. Whenever there was a raid they mobilized to fight the invaders. All through the year a few soldiers were kept on duty to watch the passes. There were 69 villages of these three clans along this part of the frontier (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 36*b*, 37, 40). In the dangerous valley to the north of Hsining the two vulnerable passes of Lungku and Yenwangku were guarded by the T'u-ssu of the Ch'eng clan, with 120 families living in seven villages near the pass (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 37). In the valley west of Hsining there were two dangerous passes, Haitzeku and Paitiehku, which were guarded by the Wang and Chi T'u-ssu with 220 families (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 42*a–b*). Where the celebrated Chinese general, Ho Ch'ü-ping, had settled the oldest colonies of which there is any record, in 116 B.C., the T'u-ssu of the Li

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175 clan with his four thousand families were stationed to guard the mountain passes between the Yellow River and the Hsining River, with the T'u-ssu of the Ah clan and his 150 families to the east of them (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 48*a*–50*b*). On the southern side between the mountains and the Yellow River there were six T'u-ssu, those of the Wang, Chou, Yeh, Li Hua-nao, Hsin, and La clans, with a total of 632 families, guarding several passes and the boat ferry across the Yellow River (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*a*, 52–54, 57). In the mountains on the north of Nienpei the Ch'i and Chao T'u-ssu with a total of 820 families guarded four important passes (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 46*b*, 49*b*).

The country thus described forms a strategic triangle between P'ingfan, Lanchou, and Nienpei which is the key to the frontier between Kansu province and the Mongolian plateau, through the natural depression which separated the Nan Shan from the Yin Shan. Its importance was recognized as early as the first Han dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 8), when the Chinese occupied it in order to prevent the Hsiungnu in Mongolia, the ancestors of the Huns, from joining hands with the Ch'iang or early Tibetan tribes in Kansu. During the Ming dynasty, Mongol tribes from Alashan and the Ordos, invading Tibet by way of Kukunor, usually forced their passage through this country. Because the ancestors of the T'u-ssu of the Lu clan had already settled in this country under the Mongol dynasty, the Ming dynasty assigned it to the Lu clan, which with its 3,245 families became the guardian of the eight passes in the mountain range called Chitzeshan and the ferry passage across the important Tat'ung River. Their villages were scattered throughout this territory (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 58*a*).

While the Monguors were thus allocated to the valleys leading up to the frontier passes, the Chinese planted colonies of their own people in the vicinity of the main towns. Thus the situation was one in which the Chinese colonies depended for their safety on the loyalty of the Monguors, and the authorities accordingly treated the Monguor T'u-ssu as important people and favored subjects.

GUARDIAN OF THE PEACE IN HIS TERRITORY

624 The T'u-ssu, though a subordinate official of the
175 Chinese overlord state, was treated as a petty sovereign
in his own territory, not to be interfered with by Chinese
648 officials in the administration of his hereditary subjects. Except for capital punishment, the T'u-ssu governed his people according to Monguor custom. His vassal status, however, was shown by the fact that he could be called to account if his administration was unsatisfactory. The T'u-ssu was responsible for maintenance of his own troops, and was expected not only to take the initiative in stopping raids from across the border, but to suppress banditry. He was responsible for the security of the roads passing through his territory and

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624 could be held to account for the murder of any traveler
175 on these roads. Under the Yung Cheng reign of the
648 Manchu dynasty, the important monastery of Erhkulung, in the territory of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, joined in the great insurrection of 1723. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was punished for failing to control the insurgent monks. His subjects were taken away from him and inscribed on the register of Chinese subjects under direct Chinese administration, his territory was confiscated, and he was deprived of his rank. A large number of his subjects, however, revolted against the Chinese and joined the insurrection which was still going on. The Chinese authorities therefore compromised. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was asked to summon his subjects back to their allegiance, and was promised that his forfeited rights and privileges would be restored if he succeeded. The promise was carried out and he was in fact reinstated as T'u-ssu when he contributed to the suppression of the insurrection by bringing his subjects back under control.

651 In connection with this recorded historical incident
648 there may be cited a tradition concerning an ancestor of the T'u-ssu of the Li clan, who was condemned to
173 have his head cut off, his territory confiscated, and his subjects brought under direct Chinese jurisdiction, for
624 failing to crush a revolt. Other T'u-ssu intervened on his behalf, however, because of the meritorious services rendered to the empire by his ancestors, capital punishment was commuted, and he and his descendants were instead to be required to pay in perpetuity a tax called *ch'iu liang*, "the tax of supplication." After one or two years, however, according to the tradition, the humiliating word "supplication" was replaced by the Chinese character meaning "autumn" which is also pronounced *ch'iu*, as a "face-saving" concession. The tradition is supported by the statement in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 16, p. 5*a*) that a special "autumnal tax" was yearly collected from the Li T'u-ssu, but the Li T'u-ssu and his subjects explain away the whole matter by saying that at some time in the past, when the Chinese officials were in difficulties because of insurrections, and were short of grain and flour, the Li T'u-ssu of that time, recalling the favors bestowed on his ancestors for centuries past, magnanimously and voluntarily offered to pay this perpetual "autumn tax." Thus the clan has its own "face-saving" version of the tradition.

EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

651 The emperor, as overlord, had a special interest in
648 the fact that the Monguor troops required neither pay, provisions, nor weapons, but were maintained com-
624 pletely at the expense of their own clans. As compensation, the Chinese officials were not allowed to impose
701 land taxes on the Monguors or to requisition labor services from them. The Monguor soldier, since he was considered to be perpetually on frontier duty, could not also be requisitioned for labor; nor could he be drafted

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174 have lost their old language before they appeared on the frontiers of Kansu? Further, the impact of the Mongol culture in Asia is generally underestimated: the appeal of the Mongol culture to the nomadic tribes in the thirteenth century, in fact was overwhelming, and Mongol was then the language of the rulers of Central Asia, Mongolia, and Manchuria. Many tribes of Turkish origin exchanged their language for the different but closely related Mongol language. This assumption is evidenced by the fact that among the Mongols of today are encountered many names of clans of Turkish origin. Whole groups, such as the Onguts of the Yin Shan who were of the same Shat'o origin as the Monguors, and had fled together with them to China in A.D. 808, became Mongols, speaking only Mongol. The descendants of the Nestorians of the Ordos, who were probably of Turkish stock, are today thorough Mongols.

On page 57 of the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* is the last note related to the subject of the Monguors:

> The Chi T'u-ssu or Nienpei is a descendant of Mongols of the Yuan period, but he does not belong to the imperial family. . . . The 20 tribes he governs in the locality called Tatzewan are the tribes he originally governed.

The names of these tribes are not given, however. These tribes were certainly Mongols, as is indicated by the place name Tatzewan. "Ta-tze," originally the Chinese transcription of "Tatar," is to this day commonly used in Chinese instead of "Mongol," especially in the frontier regions, and often with a condescending or belittling connotation. *Wan* is a "bend" in a valley whence Tatzewan is "Tatar Bend" or "Mongol Bend." Concerning these Monguors the Chinese author notes that their houses, food, and customs are similar to those of the neighboring people, by whom the Chinese are meant, as the context indicates, as are their customs connected with marriages and funerals, and then goes on to state that they also observe many Tibetan customs. He thus seems to make a clear distinction between these Monguor commoners and those ruled by the various T'u-ssu whom he has previously mentioned, and this distinction seems to strengthen the hypothesis of a difference of origin between these two groups of commoners. These are the only sources available for solving the problem of the ethnic origin of the Monguor commoners. A majority of Turkish element is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by T'u-ssu.

CHINESE

175 177 In the seventeen Monguor and Shat'o clans, in addition to the original stock who came with their chiefs from Mongolia to settle as wardens of the marches, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned above, there were also Chinese and Tibetan families who enrolled in these clans during the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier. There are no records of the earliest enrollment of Chinese, but it does not seem likely that "many" Chinese were enrolled before

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the beginning of the Ming dynasty in 1368, because the census recorded in the *Annals* for 1573–1620, which has already been cited, notes only 440 Chinese civilians in the Hsining region.

It has also been pointed out that for nearly a century and a half at the end of the Ming dynasty, and most of a century at the beginning of the Manchu dynasty between 1509 and 1723, the country never enjoyed real peace for long at a time, because of intermittent Mongol and Tibetan forays and revolts, and that only after 1723 did agriculture begin to develop and the region to flourish. From then on it may be assumed that many Chinese immigrated and settled in the country, engaging in both farming and commerce.

The Chinese have always looked down on the Monguors and Shat'o with real contempt, as barbarians. I have often heard the story, well known over the Monguor country, of the enrollment of the first two Chinese in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu. This was during the Yung-lo period, 1403–1424, when two young Chinese soldiers deserted from the military colony of Hsining, fled to the Narin valley in autumn and worked for Shat'o farmers in the fields. These two boys came from Nanking and were named Pen and Pei. They married Shat'o girls, remained in Narin,[80] and enrolled in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, where their numerous descendants are still living and well acquainted with the story of their ancestors. Even after five centuries the whole group kneel together facing in the direction of Nanking on the last day of the twelfth moon and burn paper and incense sticks to honor them. On the day of the general veneration of ancestors, in April, they again burn paper and incense, first for their old ancestors in Nanking and then for their more recent ancestors.

It was probably similar stray Chinese without families who enrolled in Monguor clans during the period from 1368 to 1723. Later, in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who enrolled in the clans. The most numerous enrollments were after the disastrous intermittent Muslim rebellions, when many Chinese lost all their wealth, families were broken up, and individuals fled to the Monguors to begin life anew.

After the great rebellion of the Muslims between 1868 and 1875, the whole province of Kansu was ruined. The population was reduced from seventeen million to eleven million. The impoverished T'u-ssu, wanting to revive their revenues, were eager to allow poor Chinese to settle in their territories. The Chinese came in as refugees in the most pitiable condition. They began by working for Monguor farmers. Then the men married Monguor girls and were glad to become owners of land, which was less expensive than in the country under direct Chinese administration. They were well aware of the lighter Monguor taxes and corvées, and as they be-

[80] This place name is from Monguor *narin guor* (Mongol *narin goul* or *narin gol*), "narrow valley." See De Smedt and Mostaert, *Dictionnaire*, as cited, 125.—O. L.

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175 177 came accustomed to Monguor life they willingly became subjects of the T'u-ssu, assuming the obligations and duties imposed on commoners. These Chinese did not drop their surnames to adopt that of the T'u-ssu, and are, therefore, different in surname from the rest of the clan; but they mingled with the Monguors, living in the same hamlets and villages. There are very few hamlets in which only Chinese live. Very few of them adopted the Monguor dress, and few learned the language. Some of the formerly poor Chinese, growing wealthy, have become outstanding people in the clan, pushing themselves forward and getting jobs in the T'u-ssu administration, where the pattern was the same as that of China, with all its assets and drawbacks and squeeze and bribery.

While the Monguors have absorbed or partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture to be lower than that of the Chinese. Many of them are ashamed of their "barbarian" origin, repudiate their Monguor or Shat'o descent, and claim to be of Chinese origin; they dress like Chinese and speak only Chinese.

It is not easy to give even an approximate figure for the number of Chinese enrolled in Monguor clans, partly because so many Shat'o and Monguors claim to be of Chinese extraction. For that reason it is possible that the number of regularly enrolled Chinese families is not as large as it seems to be. In every clan, however, real Chinese are numerous. The general rule seems to be that they are descended from individuals and single families, not from groups which joined the Monguors in considerable numbers at any one time. However, a large group of Chinese bearing the surname of Pao lives in Pient'an and is enrolled in the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu.

175 177 551 Professor Lattimore draws my attention to the fact that Chinese with the clan name of Pao (which may be written in several different ways) frequently if not usually claim to be descended from the Mongol imperial clan of Borjigid. This suggestion raises problems in connection with Monguors who use the name of Pao. On the one hand, this group is often referred to in ordinary speech as "Yuan Pao," which might be held to suggest "Pao of the Yuan [dynasty]," and hence descent from the Borjigid clan. On the other hand, there is no written record that identifies the Pao as "Yuan" Pao. On the contrary, the Pao families under the Lu T'u-ssu are listed as commoners, and as such have to pay taxes and are subject to corvée and military service; whereas the Lu T'u-ssu and his noble relatives claim descent from the imperial clan of the Mongol (Yuan) dynasty through Kölgen, son of the celebrated favorite of Chingis Khan, Kulan. If, therefore, the Pao families were really of Mongol descent, how could they have become commoners under a T'u-ssu also descended from the imperial family?[31]

[31] Pao is also used by Mongols descended from Khabtu Hasar, brother of Chingis Khan. The possibility should, therefore, be

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175 177 551 Father A. Mostaert tells me that Taiji (i.e. descendants of the imperial line of Chingis Khan) of the Otok Banner of the Ordos Mongols, when they have much to do with the Chinese and need to use a clan name in the Chinese style, take the name of Pao, from the first syllable of Borjigid. The Taiji of the Ushin Banner of the Ordos Mongols, however, prefer to take as a Chinese clan name Ch'i, from the first syllable of Kiyut (Kiyat), which is well known as the sept or subdivision of the clan of Borjigid to which belonged Yesugei, father of Chingis Khan.[32] Possibly the explanation may be that among the Monguors noble families with the name of Ch'i descend from Chingis Khan, while families of commoners with the name of Pao have only a vaguer, undocumented claim to descent from the larger Borjigid clan of which the sept of Kiyut (Kiyat) was a particular line.

In this connection it is worth noting that, among all the seventeen Monguor clans, the general rule is that the use of a Chinese surname begins only with the third or fourth generation from the founding ancestor, with the exception of the clan of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where the Chinese form Ch'i is found from the very beginning, with the supporting statement, in both the *Annals* of Hsining and the *Annals* of Kansu that the Ch'i line was descended from the line of Chingis Khan.

175 551 The clan name of the Lu T'u-ssu is also of special interest. This line expressly claims Mongol imperial descent, yet its Chinese clan name is neither Pao nor Ch'i. The explanation is provided in the family chronicles of the Lu T'u-ssu. In 1410 a Chinese army suffered a disastrous defeat on the river Kerulen, in Outer Mongolia, and among those who perished was the son and successor of the founding ancestor of the Lu line, who as a frontier feudatory had been summoned to take part in the Chinese expedition into Outer Mongolia.

To erase the memory of this disaster the Ming ordered that the Chinese name for the Kerulen River be changed from Luch'ü to Yinma.[33] At this point the family chronicles of the Lu clan (which, as already mentioned above, I am now preparing for publication) chime in with official history. In these records, the biography of the third T'u-ssu of the line, son of the T'u-ssu who died in battle on the Kerulen River, says that in 1414 he was ordered with his troops from Kansu to Hsüanhuafu, on the frontier between North China and Inner Mongolia, and that in a battle on the river Kant'an he made prisoner a Mongol general.

The emperor then said: In former times Tan, duke of Chu, made a punitive expedition into the region of Yenhsi. The King of Ch'eng gave him, as appanage, the

taken into account that in the Monguor usage lineal descendants of Chingis Khan, if they used the clan name Pao, were distinguished as "imperial" Pao, while collateral descendants were considered commoners.—O. L.

[32] The Mongol terms are *omog* (*obog*) for the main clan, and *yasu(n)* or "bone" for the sept or subdivision.—O. L.

[33] Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols*, as cited, 28.

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country of Lu. Your family submitted [to the Ming dynasty] long ago, and has fought bravely in many expeditions in far-off regions; your glorious achievements may be compared with those of the duke of Chu, and I therefore bestow on you the name of Lu. From that time, says the chronicle, the line [that is now] Lu changed its clan name to Lu. Unfortunately, however, the chronicle does not say whether the clan name was previously Pao or Ch'i.

There remains to be mentioned the use of double names called in Chinese "*shu hsing*," borne by a very few Monguor families. I noted only 5 such names: Ho-Li chia, Pao-Ma chia, Chang-Li chia, Yuan-Pao chia. The *Pai hsing* lists, the traditional list of Chinese clan or family names, records 408 single and 30 double names, and the few double names encountered among the Monguors are not included among the 30. What may account for the Monguor double names has always been a mystery to me. I was never able to determine whether the few families of commoners bearing these names were genuine Chinese, or sinicized Monguors, or Tibetans.

TIBETANS

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In addition to the Chinese there are in some clans large numbers of Tibetans but they appear to have joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese.

In the Li clan there are 20 Tibetan families living in the Narin valley and 60 families, still wearing Tibetan dress but speaking Monguor, in Hsiatsantze ("Lower station"). These 80 families are scattered remnants of the Tibetan K'eelurk tribe. In Tseilin[34] valley lives a group of 40 Tibetan families, and another group in Shuinokou ("Water-mill valley") of more than 100 Tibetan families who speak Monguor, but still dress in the Tibetan fashion, who once belonged to the famous Wang T'u-ssu of Choni monastery in T'aochou prefecture. They adopted the name Li.

In the Ch'i clan there are 32 Tibetan families speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, in Tungtsantze ("Eastern station"). They belonged originally to the two Tibetan tribes of Kairtsen and Nguertsa. In Chungtsantze ("Central station") are 40 Tibetan families also speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, who formerly belonged to the tribes of Mach'i and Ch'iaok'o.

In the clan of the Wang T'u-ssu there are 18 Tibetan families.

In the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu there are 453 Tibetan families, scattered in 13 villages numbering 2,365 persons. For this big group, there are historical data. They are descended from families granted to the T'u-ssu by the emperor as a reward for his strong support in

[34] This place name, especially as the second syllable is written with the Chinese character for "grove, wood," may be a Chinese form from Monguor *dziori*, given in the *Dictionnaire*, as cited above, as "bois sacre," with a suggested possible further derivation from Tibetan *t'sal*, "bois."—O. L.

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177 erals, Ma Fu-hsiang, Ma Hung-k'uei, Ma Hung-pin, and other military leaders all belong to this group.

In the course of the Ming dynasty a few small groups of Mongols who had at first been hostile submitted to the Ming and were settled in Kansu. In the region of Paonan, near Kueite, there still live five groups of these Mongols, whose curious fate it was to become Muslim in religion and Tibetan in language; they are called the Wut'ung [37] Mongols.

All of these groups the Chinese of Hsining call Mongols and not T'u-jen, and the seventeen Monguor clans discussed in this book are unable, because of the peculiar evolution of their own language, to talk with these Mongols in the dialects they speak; they know that they are Mongols, but say that they do not belong to the same stock. A comparative study of the social organization and the language of these groups would be interesting and important, but I have never had the opportunity to undertake it.

THE T'U-SSU AND HIS SUBJECTS

624 Up to this point both nobles and commoners have been referred to as "subjects" of the T'u-ssu. The relation is in fact somewhat complex, involving not only the relations between T'u-ssu and nobles, but those between nobles and commoners.

The T'u-ssu, in the nature of the origin of the T'u-ssu institution, was formerly the ruler of the clan with the support of and by the appointment of the emperor. Although he is of the same "bone" as the nobles, the authority and prestige that set him apart and above the nobles are unlimited. From the point of view of the overlord state, the entire authority in the clan, civil and military, is embodied in him alone, and nobles as well as commoners are his subjects. The only limit on his power is that he cannot inflict capital punishment. He also represents the leadership and prestige of the sacred founding ancestor of the clan.

T'U-SSU ULTIMATE OWNER OF THE CLAN TERRITORY

From the emperor, the T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan. These territories were originally assigned, according to a military plan, to screen the frontier, at a time when the Monguors were still nomads, and it may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories. We must, however, beware of the idea that "nomads" are concerned only with cattle-breeding. Travelers in Mongolia, medieval and modern, have noted—often with astonishment—the wide distribution of farming practiced by nomads. It is true that the farming done by nomads is rudimentary and crude compared with intensive Chinese farming, but it is also true that nomads always attempt a little auxiliary farming wherever climate and soil permit. The Monguors must, at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, have

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[37] Possibly from a mistaken Chinese transcription of Mongol *khotong*, "a Muslim."—O. L.

[P. 58a]

311 been nomads who already knew something about farming.[38]

175 The historical picture, which includes traces of ancient
241 irrigation before the settling of the Monguors, and new Chinese agricultural colonies introduced under the Ming, indicates that the Monguors increasingly adapted themselves to an environment in which farming was possible and profitable. It is possible that with the growth of population there was no longer room for a preponderantly pastoral economy, and possible also that constant border warfare resulted in severe losses of cattle. Whatever the reason for the shift from pastoralism to agriculture, however, it brought with it important social problems, because the economic system of a people determines the rules under which property is held.

311 The nomad economy is extensive, and requires room
241 for migration between winter and summer pasture. Farming—even non-irrigated farming—is intensive compared with pastoralism, and brings with it a shift of values from the wide, windswept pastures to the small, sheltered, cultivable plot of land.[39]

The farmer's year of toil is centered on a definite piece of land. If he is a free farmer and not a mere serf, his property interest is identified with that land, and with his right to dispose of it by sale or legacy. This interest is different in kind from that of the nomad in mobile livestock. We may, therefore, well expect changes in the social psychology of the Monguors to accompany the shift from a predominance of pastoralism to a predominance of agriculture, even though the Monguors never became as exclusively agricultural as the Chinese.

423 In the Monguor society there is an adaptation between the principle of the absolute ownership of the territory by the T'u ssŭ and the principle of private property among members of the clan. The principle of the T'u-ssu's absolute ownership being recognized by the over-

[38] L. Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie: Turcs et Mongols des origines à 1405*, 49–50, Paris, 1896, sums up the matter in the words: "It is possible that there may have existed nomads limiting themselves exclusively to meat, milk, and the wool of their herds; but no such nomads have ever been known in historical times." Owen Lattimore, The geographical factor in Mongol history, *Geographical Jour.*, London, Jan 1936, writes (p. 5) that "the history of the steppe peoples is not independent of the history of agricultural communities," and also draws attention (p. 14) to the agriculture of the Orkhon Turks in Northern Mongolia in the middle ages. He again refers repeatedly to semi-nomads and marginal nomads in his *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 2nd ed., New York, Amer. Geog. Soc., 1951. K. A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-seng, in *History of Chinese society: Liao, Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* **36**: 120–121, 1949, recapitulate the views of a number of writers, but make the mistake of assuming that when William of Rubruck, in the thirteenth century, speaks of "villages in the south" from which Mongol lords drew tribute of millet and flour, he means villages of Mongol farmers. It is clear from the context that the reference is to tributary, sedentary, non-Mongol peoples.

[39] For the "extensive-intensive" range between hunting, steppe pastoralism, rainfall agriculture, and irrigated agriculture, see Lattimore, The geographical factor in Mongol history, as cited above, 6.

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701 651 ten horses. The farmers brought a suit against the sixth House in the Chinese court. The case dragged on for many years, during which both sides spent a great deal of money, and finally the farmers were compelled to give four *tan* of peas. But during the subsequent Muslim rebellion of 1891–1895 the sixth House absconded and the farmers were compelled to provide ten soldiers and horses, together with fodder and equipment. After the rebellion new complaints followed one after another and finally in 1918 the stubborn villagers refused to recognize any military burden.

701 The small scale of traditional frontier warfare is shown by the fact that only one T'u-ssu was called upon to furnish as many as 300 soldiers, 100 of them mounted. The contingent of another T'u-ssu was 150, including 50 mounted men; two others had to furnish 100 men each, 5 of them mounted (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42; *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 18, pp. 3*a*, 4*a*). Among these figures I have not been able to find those for the contingent of the Lu T'u-ssu. If his contingent numbered 300, like that of the Li T'u-ssu, the total for all the Monguors would be only 1,275 men. But it is said that he disposed of 700 Monguor soldiers and 300 lama soldiers.[50] The Monguor troops, except for those hired by their own villages, received no pay, but when they were on active service the imperial commissary provided them with salt, tea, and flour. The troops were, however, entitled to any booty that they could capture. In the Ming dynasty, according to the *Annals* of the Province, ch. 42, p. 47*a*, an expedition was sent to Turkistan (Sinkiang) to punish the tribes of Hantung and Chiuhsien in 1423. This expedition was commanded by Li Ying, who had the title of Count (Po) of Hui-ning. His forces consisted mostly of Monguors, and they returned with a booty of more than 140,000 cattle. More recently, in 1918, a group of Monguor soldiers participated as volunteers in an expedition against the Ngolok Tibetans of Kukunor. They returned after half a year, each man with a booty of nine cows

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[50] In time of war, however, it is evident that some T'u-ssu, at least, were able to raise more troops than the number required of them according to the formal lists. Thus in the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 the Chinese general Yueh Chung-ch'i enrolled 2,000 Monguor troops for the defense of the passes, according to the *Tung Hua Lu*, a Manchu imperial chronicle, 3rd vol. of the reign of Yung Cheng, 1st year, p. 29; a thousand Monguors of the Lu T'u-ssu fought at Chitzeshan, according to the *Ch'ing Shih-lu*, an archive of materials collected for the writing of a formal history of the Manchu dynasty, Bk. 144, ch. 13, p. 8; Monguors (number not given) commanded by Chiang Tung destroyed the monastery of Shihmen and killed seven hundred lamas and Tibetans according to the same source, Bk. 145, ch. 16, p. 28, and others helped to quell the revolt in the region of Kueite, according to the *Huang Ch'ing Fan-pu Yao-lüeh*, an imperial publication dealing with "barbarian" affairs, ch. 11, p. 7*a*. Previous to this, in 1720, Monguor troops of the Li T'u-ssu had accompanied the Manchu-Chinese expedition sent to drive the Jungar Mongols out of Lhasa, according to the *Wei Tsang T'ung-chih* (*Annals* of Central Tibet, ch. 13, p. 2*b*), and *Annals* of the Province of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 38*b*.

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705 and twenty sheep, and loaded with kettles, ropes, felt
175 coverings for tents, lamb skins, and wool.

714 The Monguor soldier wore a turban of blue or black cotton cloth. The distinctive part of his uniform was a sleeveless jacket of red cotton cloth, with yellow trimmings and a circular patch of white on the chest and back. On these circles were written three Chinese characters reading "Monguor soldier" and the clan name of his T'u-ssu. These white circles on the red jacket made bright targets for the enemy. The soldier was expected to report for duty with an old musket and a sword. For every unit of ten men the village had to provide a tent, a kettle, and one pack horse, in addition to riding horses for the mounted men. The horses are shod only on the forefeet, as in medieval Europe.

651 As has already been described, each T'u-ssu formerly had the responsibility for guarding certain passes leading to the Tibetan plateau. At these passes detachments of Monguor troops were stationed even in times of peace, and at these posts they had the right to collect taxes from caravans. Other traditional taxes and levies were also for the maintenance of troops. Up until recent times, for instance, the Lu T'u-ssu had the right to tax all rafts going down the Tat'ung River past his town of Liench'eng. This tax was collected according to the number of steering sweeps on each raft. The Lu T'u-ssu's soldiers also collected taxes from Chinese traders buying horses, mules, cows, sheep and pigs in
527 his territory. The Monguors were exempted from
651 these taxes. Twice every year the Lu T'u-ssu inspected all his troops in the valley of Kuch'eng ("Old City"). These occasions were celebrated with horse races and wrestling matches, and there was a large market attended by an enormous crowd. The troops collected taxes from merchants attending this market.

701 Soldiers were also required for peace-time duty at
651 the mansion of the T'u-ssu, as sentries, body guards, and official messengers. They also maintained order among the crowds at the great religious celebrations at the monasteries built in the territory of the T'u-ssu, and at the time of the annual clan meeting. On such occasions they also collected taxes from Chinese merchants.

TRIENNIAL INSPECTION

624 According to protocol, a T'u-ssu should make an inspection visit every three years (in some cases, every two years) to all the villages of his subjects. This visit is called the "descent among the subjects," and in the course of the visit the T'u-ssu should make a count of the number of his subjects and check on the administration of the villages, in order to make a report to the Chinese officials representing the overlord state. This triennial tour is one of the main sources of income of a T'u-ssu.

The tour begins on an auspicious day fixed by a lama. Monguor soldiers from the first village to be visited on the tour come to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, with some

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•175 was acting as regent of the most powerful of all the Monguor clans, the Lu clan, went so far as to send valuable presents to the Muslim general, Ma K'o-ch'eng, in Hsining, who was the all-powerful warlord of the region, imploring him to become the "dry father"—that is to say, the adoptive father and protector—of her adopted son of eleven years of age. The general accepted and the boy and his mother traveled the long distance from Lieneh'eng to Hsining in order to perform the filial rites symbolizing the "dry fatherhood."

618 769 It was in these circumstances that I had the great good fortune to attend probably the last gathering of a clan that was held with the pomp and splendor of former days. This was the clan of the Ch'i T'u-ssu which carried out the ceremony of venerating the founding ancestor at the old cemetery, called Ch'i-chia fenyuan, or "cemetery of the Ch'i family," at T'angpa. According to the old custom, such an assembly should be held every year at the grave of the founding ancestor, on the Chinese festival of Ch'ing Ming, when ancestors are honored all

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834used to sing and to dance. It is not at such times that regrettable things happen; but at night, when the festivities are over and most of the people have returned home, it is not unusual to see young couples scatter into the surrounding countryside, into valleys in retired places, and to hear them sing the whole night long, answering each other's songs, each couple hidden in its own place. Allowance seems to be made for such customs at such times; but necessarily these groups are not numerous, for mothers with children have to go home and to take care for them, and all Monguors have children. The morality of the Monguors, who live in villages and are occupied with farming, is undoubtedly on a higher standard than that of the nomad Mongols. Monguor families on the average seemed to me to be happy families that worked hard but enjoyed life.

VI. MONGUOR ECONOMIC LIFE

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An analysis of the economic life of the Monguors must begin by taking into account the shift from pastoral nomadism to settled farming. The shift probably began gradually when the Mongol conquests in 1275 drove the Tibetans back along the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, and the ancestors of the Monguors occupied the country and began to amalgamate with the Shat'o Turks who were already there. Specific historical data for the Mongol period are scarce, though we know that in 1287 a son-in-law of Chingis Khan, whose Chinese name was Chang Ch'i, was made governor of the region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 8*b*). We know also that the ancestors of the Monguors began to submit to the new Chinese Ming dynasty in 1368–1373, that each T'u-ssu and his clan were then allotted a fixed territory, and that, between 1368 and 1399, 7,200 Chinese families were sent as military colonists to this frontier (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, p. 15*a*).

THE HISTORICAL SHIFT FROM PASTORALISM TO FARMING

The next important date is 1509 when the Mongols of the Kukunor plateau of Tibet began to disturb the frontier with their inroads. From then on all through the period of decline of the Ming dynasty and the wars and disturbances that attended the founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644 and right up to the great Tibetan uprising of 1723 this frontier country was never long at peace. It was during this long and troubled period that walled towns and villages were built for better defense. We may well assume that it was during this period that the number of livestock decreased, partly because of the border raids and partly because of the difficulty of maintaining large herds in the relatively small side valleys inhabited by the Monguors, with the consequence that the Monguors became more and more dependent on the farms adjacent to their fortified villages.

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In 1723, therefore, when a long period of peace and stability began, the Monguors on the one hand had become farmers rather than herdsmen though they still owned far more livestock than Chinese farmers, and on the other hand communications opened up and trade began to flourish. The great city of Lanchou in Kansu provided a market for grain grown by the Monguors, which could be floated down the Hsining River into the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou. At the same time, with the pacification of Tibet, another market opened up for grain carried by caravan into the high plateau. The population increased, new villages were founded, and the land tax became the main source of revenue of the Monguor T'u-ssu.

The transition was so complete that the Monguors have no longing for a return to the nomadic life. In this they are different from the border Tibetans, among whom the nomadic life still carries more social prestige than settled village life.[1] The Monguors, however, appear to confirm the rule that peoples of Mongol origin, like the Turks, make the shift from pastoralism to agriculture only under the compulsion of events.[2]

FARMING

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Their farming having developed in contact with the Chinese culture, the Monguors used the farming implements of the Chinese (and not, for instance, those of the Turkish-speaking oasis farmers of Chinese Inner Asia). They buy their plowshares, spades, and other iron tools from Chinese smiths, but make the wooden parts themselves. Their farming is, however, inferior in technique to that of the Chinese. The region is too high and cold for the most intensive kind of Chinese farming, and, therefore both Chinese and Monguor farmers in the highest parts never grow the same crop on the same field for two consecutive years and try to leave each field completely fallow for a year after it has been harvested.

For fields near the villages, composted stable manure is used as a fertilizer. Every other day the women go out and bring in earth in baskets on their backs which they empty in the stables. The animals trample their dung and urine into this earth, and the floor-level of the stalls and the cow and sheep pens is gradually built up. At the end of a year, when the planting season begins, this composted manure is dug out and carried by the pack animals to the fields.

Farther away from the village ashes provide the only fertilizer. In the seventh or eighth moon, after the ground has been softened by a day or two of summer rain, a piece of land is selected and all the livestock are driven out to it and kept there, trampling the sticky earth for a whole day. The next day this top soil is

[1] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, Chicago, Univ of Chicago Press, 1939, especially pp. 76–79.

[2] Hermann Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, 176, Leipzig, 1885.

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177 by the caravans. Only the guilds of large towns, like
369 Hsining, had connections with the guilds of other cities
441 and could afford the cost of sending boats and rafts to
467 Lanchou, the capital of Kansu. In this way the entire economy was dominated by the city merchants. The fair and festival centers never grew to the extent of themselves becoming important cities, because they were unable to attract permanent merchants, since the attendance of the people was only seasonal and there was no permanent security. These local fairs merely provided the farmers at certain dates with their peculiar usual necessities of life.

177 Merchant activity provoked deep repercussions in the
369 Monguor society, whose nobles and commoners, during
441 centuries of disorder, had lived a rather precarious ex-
651 existence, their economy being limited by the boundaries of their clans and the production only of necessities within their own small groups. Both the economic and the political organization of the Monguor clans had been founded exclusively on the possession of territory. Taxes, corvées, military service, and the administration of justice had been rooted in the ownership of territory by the T'u-ssu, the commoners being affected in a peculiar and disadvantageous way. The collection of the taxes of certain villages by the "houses" of the nobles had, however, been reduced to negligible significance after four centuries, and the financial conditions of nobles and commoners had become more equal. Some of the commoners, who were more numerous than the nobles, had become richer than the best of the nobles, and rivals in wealth even of the T'u-ssu. Since wealth and riches are equated, in Asia, with prestige and authority, it is no wonder that members of the commoner group were easily accepted to fulfill the offices of chiefs and elders in the villages, and that the administration of the villages passed into their hands. In this way the new economic conditions tended to equalize, and perhaps even to reverse, the original social inequality between nobles and commoners. Under the peace and order of the Manchu dynasty, the city merchants were protected. Headstrong and daring young men followed the caravans to Lhasa and made money by selling mules and horses. Monguors could open small shops in the countryside, and invest capital, in association with the Chinese merchants, in oil and flour mills. Fishermen could venture to Kukunor, and others to burn charcoal in the mountains or saw planks to sell in the city. Peace provided the opportunities for taking risks in commerce, and the focus of these opportunities, which transformed both the economic and the social life of the Monguors, was the city.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

624 At the end of this study of the origin and organization
175 of the Monguor clans, their constituent elements, their chiefs, their internal rights and obligations and the actual administration and family and economic life, it is perti-

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nent to review the political character of the T'u-ssu institution, and the reasons for its decay.

There can be no doubt that the T'u-ssu institution was regarded by the rulers of the Empire, whether they were Chinese or Manchu emperors, as a makeshift. The institution of the T'u-ssu as "wardens of the marches," as it had existed under the Mongols, was elaborately established under the Ming dynasty, after 1368, when the main forces of the previous rulers, the Mongols, had been driven out of China but were still dangerous enemies beyond the frontier. The new Chinese rulers were only too glad to accept the submission of the chiefs of small frontier tribes who were willing, in exchange for the continuation of their local powers and privileges, to defend the frontier against their own kinsmen, the Mongols, and against the Tibetans. The device was one familiar to the Chinese tradition of "using barbarians to control barbarians."

Although the Monguors repeatedly proved themselves loyal defenders of the frontier, they had thereafter to contend against a counter-process. Any empire, in exact proportion to the efficiency of its centralized administration, prefers to exercise direct control of its frontiers rather than to depend on vassals who have some degree of local autonomy. Consequently, whenever the central power in China was strong, it tended to take advantage of local dissensions among its frontier vassals in order to deprive them of their privileges and to bring them under direct administration.

The policy of the Chinese empire on its frontiers had always been to absorb barbarians and to make Chinese of them if it could. Until 221 B.C. when the famous Ch'in Shih-Huang unified China for the first time, both Chinese and barbarians lived in tribes under a feudal regime. Ch'in Shih-Huang abolished this regime and organized China under *Chün* and *Hsien*. This was the first radical administrative revolution in China bringing "provincial" subdivisions under a "metropolitan" central administration. People living in the *Chün* and *Hsien* were considered to be Chinese. People still living under a tribal regime were considered to be "barbarians." At the beginning of the Han dynasty, in 202 B.C., the *Hsien* in which Chinese and barbarians lived together, governed by the same Chinese officials, were called *Tao*. Wu-Ti, emperor of the Han dynasty from 140–86 B.C., after his conquests which brought many new barbarian frontier tribes under Chinese rule, tried to make Chinese of them and to include them within the Chinese administrative regime of *Chün* and *Hsien*. His system did not work for long. Intermittent dynastic revolutions, and the numerous and bloody changes of dynasties which lasted for seven centuries, enabled the barbarians to reestablish their old feudal regimes along the northern frontiers. Under the T'ang dynasty, from A.D. 618 to 906, administrative units called Chi-mi Hsien were organized, in which the tribal chiefs served as Chinese officials but were allowed at the same time to administer their tribes

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According to their old customs. They received official appointments from the emperor, and had to bring tribute to him every year or three years, and were granted titles to indicate their feudatory status. The Yuan or Mongol dynasty (1280–1368) allowed non-Chinese "barbarians" to govern themselves according to their own tribal customs. The Ming (1368–1644) at first followed this precedent, appointing tribal chiefs and allowing them to govern their own tribes; but Chinese officials were sent to examine the tribal chiefs and their administration, troops, taxes and corvée systems from time to time. Later they appointed Chinese civil officials, whenever possible, attaching them to the tribal leader who held military command. Among remote tribes this mixed system did not work well, but the next step was to abolish the regime of the hereditary chiefs, hoping by this means to bring division in the tribe and to enfeeble it with every appointment of a new chief. Finally, when this system also did not work well, a ministerial order was given to avoid the word "hereditary" in the official request for the appointment of the new chief. By this device a son was prevented from succeeding his father, unless he presented a fixed sum to the high officials in order that they might overlook the formally enacted law. The Ch'ing dynasty continued the policy of the Ming.[1]

It is clear from this historical sketch that the Chinese empire, whenever it was strong and enjoyed internal peace, tried to absorb autonomous barbarian territorial units and frontier chieftains. It tolerated them only when and where it was unable to absorb them. The T'u-ssu institution may, therefore, certainly be regarded as a device that the Chinese of the Ming dynasty adopted for the defense of the frontier only because they had to. Not confident of their ability to establish direct Chinese rule and administration in Mongolia, their intention was to build up a buffer between themselves and the Inner Asian world of Tibet, Turkistan, and Mongolia. They were content, therefore, to accept the submission of individual frontier tribes which were unable to combine with each other in a strength sufficient to threaten China, but were able to supply small, separate contingents of good warriors to screen and defend the frontiers. The chiefs of such tribes they were willing to reward with honors and military titles; they were equally ready, however, when no danger threatened from beyond the frontier, to depose these border chieftains, to bring their lands under direct Chinese taxation, and their subjects under immediate Chinese jurisdiction.

It is a remarkable fact that the institution should have survived for six centuries. The reason must be that the Ming dynasty was weak along the frontiers during its first decades, and again in the period from 1509 to its fall in 1644, and had to depend on auxiliaries. Under the Manchu dynasty the T'u-ssu were valuable to the

[1] Lung Shun-sheng, Article in Chinese on the T'u-ssu institution, in *Frontier Affairs* 2 (11–12), printed in Chungking during the war, 32nd year of the Republic, 1943.

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Manchu policy, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of preventing unity among the Eastern, Northern, and Western Mongols. In the nineteenth century, as the dynasty became less Manchu and more Chinese in its characteristics, the T'u-ssu were honored by the court in distant Peking, and were kept loyal and complacent by gifts and grants of honors—a policy ancient and widespread in the Orient.

Practically, the main factor in prolonging the survival of the institution was the feudal right of the T'u-ssu to prevent their subjects from leaving their territories, aided by the fact that because Chinese officials were unable to levy direct taxes on Monguors, life was on the whole somewhat better in Monguor territory than in territory under Chinese administration. As these factors later came to be equalized by the combination of the decreasing power of the T'u-ssu and their increasing exactions from their subjects, the most obvious phenomenon of the breakup of the T'u-ssu institution was the ability of subject Monguors to abandon their T'u-ssu with impunity and move into territory under direct Chinese control.

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Among the disruptive factors within the Monguor society the most powerful was the enrollment of Chinese and Tibetans in the Monguor clans. The Tibetans were culturally more akin to the Monguors than the Chinese, and easily adopted the Monguor costume, traditions, and language; but their matrilineal kinship system undermined the patriarchal clan structure of the Monguors. The Chinese, on the other hand, penetrated the Monguor society without being absorbed by it. When a Chinese asked for the protection of a Monguor T'u-ssu and enrolled in a Monguor clan, it was for the deliberate purpose of making the best of two worlds. His object was not to become a Monguor, but to escape both the taxes that he had to pay to the Chinese authorities and the taxes that, as a Chinese resident or trading in the Monguor community, he had to pay to the Monguor T'u-ssu. With their strong Chinese devotion to their own clans and clan ancestors, such Chinese were unwilling to go so far as to accept the clan name of the T'u-ssu. They tended to continue to regard the Monguors as barbarians, and to resist the adoption of the Monguor costume and language. At the same time they pushed themselves forward in the administration of the villages in which they lived and the clans to which they had become attached, and in so doing their influence was naturally in the direction of the Chinese way of doing things and the Chinese way of thinking.

The infiltration of the Chinese trend of mind into the Monguor family system and social structure was promoted most by those Chinese who became elders and chiefs of villages and officials and secretaries living in the immediate surrounding of the T'u-ssu, drafting and executing his orders to his subjects and discussing administrative topics with him. All official documents were written in Chinese, and in all administrative discussions and meetings the Chinese language prevailed.

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177 563 ing neighboring tribes and making Chinese of them seems still to linger in Chinese minds, no matter what the official ideology may be. It will not be long before all the Monguor clans will have been "sinized," leading to their disappearance as a distinct people, and in the future very little will be available about the origins, institutions, traditions, and customs of the Monguors.

There remains an aspect of the life of the Monguors with which I have not here dealt, which is quite as interesting and peculiar as the social, family, and economic aspects; this is the religious life. Lamaism, shamanism, and practices and beliefs which seem not to belong to either of these two religions played a part of overwhelming importance both in the life of private families and in community life. In a later volume I shall deal with these aspects and their social impact on the Monguors.

APPENDIX

THE SHAT'O TURKS

175 Although a Shat'o Turkish stock is an important component of the Monguor people, a survey of their history will help to clarify the differences, as well as the similarities, between Turks and Mongols.

About 540 the Juan-juan, identified by Pelliot with the Avars and considered by him to have been, in their language at least, early Mongols rather than Turks,[1] controlled the vast sweep of country from the western fringe of what is now Manchuria to Turfan, in Sinkiang, and from the Great Wall of China to the Orkhon River in Outer Mongolia and the southern tip of Lake Balkhash in Turkistan. The tribes of Turkish stock called by the Chinese T'uchüeh were then subject to the Juan-juan. "T'uchüeh" probably represents a plural form of the Juan-juan name for these people: Türküt. The habitat of these Turks centered on the Altai Mountains, and they were well known for their metal working. The Kaochü, who have been identified with the Tölös, were their strongest tribe.

The Juan-juan were weakened by a feud between their ruler, whose name has come down in the Chinese sources as Anakui, and his uncle P'olomen. After several revolts, beginning in 508, the T'uchüeh overthrew the Juan-juan in 552. The Juan-juan retreated to the frontier of North China, where they took service under one of the short-lived dynasties that preceded the founding of the great T'ang dynasty in 618.

The name of the successful T'uchüeh leader has come down in the Chinese transcription as T'umen, but its Turkish form appears to have been Bumin. His success was due to the support of another Chinese frontier dynasty, that of the Toba Wei, itself of barbarian and probably Turkish origin. He died almost as soon as the

[1] The following summary is based on René Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 124 *sqq.*, Paris, Payot, 1939. Grousset drew on the original researches of Pelliot, Chavannes, Thomsen, F. W. K. Müller, Marquart, Shiratori, and others.

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victory was won and this led to a partitioning of the new Turkish domains between his son, Muhan, who received what is now Mongolia, and his younger brother, Istämi (Shihtiehmi in Chinese transcription), who received the territory to the west and south of the Altai. This was the origin of the Eastern and Western Turkish Khaganates. In good nomad style, wars continued both within these khaganates and between them.

Among the Western Turks the most important tribes were the Tölös, who have been identified with Kaochü and have also been identified as the ancestors of the Uighurs; the Syr-Tardush, and the Karluks; less important were the Ch'umi tribes on the Manas River in Sinkiang, the Ch'uyueh tribes west of Lake Barköl and the small Chuhsieh tribes who were called Shat'o because they lived in the desert (*shat'o*, "sandy slopes").[2]

There are a number of errors and confusions in the standard Chinese histories dealing with this period, the Old T'ang *History*, the New T'ang *History*, and the Old *History* of the Wu Tai or Five Dynasties (the period of disruption and war that followed the fall of the great T'ang dynasty in 906). I therefore translate here a short commentary by Ou-Yang Hsiu, devoted to the Shat'o, which is to be found in ch. 4, pp. 10 *sqq.* of the Ponapen edition of the *Wu Tai Shihchi*, a supplement to the *History* of the Five Dynasties, of which he was the principal compiler:

Those who for generations have lost their history are numerous. Is that the fault only of the official historians? The ancestors of the Li family originated among the Western Turks. Their proper designation is Chuhsieh. Later generations changed this to Shat'o, but they used Chuhsieh as their surname and [recognized] Panyehku[3] as their ancestor. The authors in their own preface say that Shat'o is the desert of Peit'ing [Beshbalik; the region of Urumchi or Tihua in Sinkiang]. When T'ai Tsung [627–649] of the T'ang dynasty broke up the tribes of the Western Turks, he assigned the people of T'unglop'uku to that desert and established there the *fu* [administrative district] of Shat'o and made their ancestor Panyehku Tutu [governor]; and he passed this office to his offspring for many generations. They were all Tutu of Shat'o. For that reason later generations adopted this designation.

When I examine the history, all these sayings are wrong. The barbarians I and Ti [traditional Chinese classifications of "barbarians"] have no surnames [clan names]. The designation Chuhsieh is a tribal name. Panyehku was a man contemporaneous with the Chuhsieh and he was not the ancestor of the Shat'o. During the reign of T'ai Tsung there never existed a *fu* of Shat'o. When T'ang T'ai Tsung broke up the Western Turks and reorganized their tribes, he established thirteen *chou* [administrative districts] and appointed T'unglo to be Tutufu of Ch'iulin, P'uku to be Tutufu of Chinwei, Panyehku to be Tutufu of Yulu. There never existed a *fu* of Shat'o.

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[2] Such, at least, is the clear traditional Chinese explanation of the name. For the possibility that "Shat'o" represents the name "Sart," see Mr. Lattimore's Introduction.

[3] E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, Collected works of the Orkhon expedition, 352, St. Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, 1903, suggests that this is probably not the name of a man but that of a tribe, the Yer-Bayirkou.—O. L.

175 At that time among the western tribes the Ashihna of the Yent'o tribe of the Tölös were the most important. Among the other tribes there were the tribes of T'unglo, P'uku, Panyehku and others; these, more than ten in number, were smaller than the tribe of Ashihna, and there were also the tribes of Ch'uyueh and Ch'umi which were still smaller. Chuhsieh was the name of another division of the Ch'uyueh tribe; in 648 it has submitted to Panyehku.

In 649 Holu of the Ashihna revolted.[4] In 651 the Ch'uyueh and Chuhsieh tribes, having been left to one side looking on at the rebellion, followed Holu in revolt and fought on the Old Mountain and were defeated by the general Ch'ipiho. Thereafter they vanished and did not appear again. After 150 or 160 years, during the reign of the emperor Hsien Tsung [806–820] there were Chinchung and his son Chihi of the Chuhsieh tribe who presented themselves to China and called themselves by the [tribal] name Shat'o, having the surname of Chuhsieh. Shat'o is the name of a desert, south of the mountain Chinsha and east of the lake Barkol. Because the Chuhsieh of old lived in that desert they were called Shat'o Turks; but because the barbarians have no script for recording and because the Chuhsieh were a small tribe unworthy of record, later generations lost their history. When the grandson of Chinchung received the gift of the [T'ang dynasty imperial clan] surname Li and the family of Li later became famous, then the barbarians regarded the Shat'o as a noble race.

Such is Ou-Yang Hsiu's rectification of the record of the identity of the Shat'o, their origin, and their former habitation.

The next question is when and why the Shat'o came to China and submitted to the T'ang empire. The following is the account given in the *Wu Tai Shihchi*, Ponapen edition, ch. 4, p. 1:

During the reign of the emperor Te Tsung [780–804] Chinchung of the Chuhsieh tribe lived in the *chou* Chinnan near Beshbalik. During the period Cheng Yuan [785–804; part of the reign of Te Tsung] the T'ufan [Tibetan] Tsanpu [possibly a Chinese transcription of Tibetan *gyalpo*, "king,"—O. L.] attacked and took Beshbalik [in 790]. He transferred Chinchung to Kanchou, using him to hold that city. Later Tsanpu was defeated by the Uighurs. Chinchung with his son Chihi went eastward. Tsanpu, angrily pursuing them, caught up with them at the Stone Gate Pass. Chinchung fought and died, and Chihi alone went on to submit to the T'ang, who quartered

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[4] In Grousset, *op. cit.*, 150, this chieftain is called "a khan of the Tulu," and the passage dealing with him is referred to E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, cited above, 32–38, translating passages from the Old T'ang *History*; but in fact the passages cited by Chavannes support the source here translated by Father Schram. In Grousset, the name of the general who defeated Holu is given as Su Ting-fang (adjusting the French transcription to the usual English transcription); but reference to Chavannes supports the "Ch'i-piho" (see below) of Father Schram's source. The discrepancies are explained by the fact that Grousset's text is a condensation. There was a khan called Tulu, but Holu was not "a khan of the Tulu"; there was, as in Father Schram's source, a general named Ch'ipiho (given by Chavannes, *op. cit.*, 34, as K'i-pi Ho-li), who was in the service of the Chinese, though he was a Turk; Chavannes gives K'i-pi (Father Schram's Ch'i-pi) as his tribal name; and there was, finally, a general named Su Ting-fang, as given by Grousset, but he appeared later in the story.—O. L.

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him at Yenchou [the modern Yenan] under the command of Fan Hsi-ch'ao, the Tiehtushih of Hohsi ["West of the River"; i.e. west of the north-south course of the Yellow River, where it separates the present provinces of Shensi and Shansi,—O. L.]

It was Chihhsin, the son of this Chihi, who received from the T'ang emperor the grant of the surname of Li, with the personal name of K'o-chang. His son, in turn, was the famous Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin, whose son Li Ts'un-tsui founded the ephemeral dynasty of the Later T'ang (923–936).

In the New T'ang *History*, ch. 143, pp. 1*b* and 2*a* of the Ponapen edition, more details are given of the flight of Chinchung from Kanchou and the arrival of his son Chihi in Yenchou. This account first narrates how the Uighurs plundered the Kanchou region and made it insecure, and how the distressed Shat'o tried to evade them, and continues:

During the period Cheng Yuan [785–804] the Shat'o tribe, of seven thousand tents, joined the T'ufan and with them marauded against Beshbalik and took the city. The T'ufan transferred the Shat'o to Kanchou, using Chinchung as their leading military advisor. When the T'ufan pillaged the frontier regions of China, they always used the Shat'o as vanguard troops. Some time previously the Uighurs had taken Liangchou, and the T'ufan, suspecting Chinchung of ambiguous behavior (for he had not helped to prevent the capture of the city), decided to transfer the Shat'o to the outer side of the river.[5] The whole Shat'o tribe was distressed and frightened. Chinchung of the Chuhsieh tribe, conferring with [his son] Chihi, said: We have, for generations been officials of the T'ang emperors, and unfortunately we have fallen into the present difficult situation [by dealing with the Tibetans instead of acting as frontier defenders of the T'ang empire in China]. If we went to the frontier gate of Suchou [Hsüchou] and submitted ourselves to the emperor there would be no danger of our race being exterminated. This, said Chinchung, is the right way. In 808 the whole group, consisting of thirty thousand people, set out, going by way of the Wutehchien [Utuken] mountains and then to the east. The T'ufan pursued them. They fought as they went, along the river T'ao. As they advanced toward the Stone Gate they fought without respite. The tribe was nearly exterminated. Chinchung died there. Chihi, gathering together the wounded soldiers, who numbered only two thousand, and seven hundred animals and a thousand camels, arrived at the frontier at Lingchou. When the Tiehtushih Fan Hsi-ch'ao heard the news of their arrival, he ordered that their tribe be settled in Yenchou.

A glance at the geography of Kansu is enough to reveal an ambiguity, if not a serious contradiction, in the accounts that have come down to us about this migration of the Shat'o.

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[5] Kanchou, at this time held by the Shat'o, stands to the northwest of Liangchou, and therefore should have served to shield Liangchou from the attacks of Uighurs coming from still farther to the northwest, in the present Sinkiang province. Kanchou stands, moreover, just to the east of several headwater streams of the Etsin Gol, which flows northward into Mongolia. The penalty proposed by the Tibetans, of moving the Shat'o to the "outside" of this water barrier, meant that they would thus be made more exposed to any raids by hostile Turkish kinsmen of theirs from Central Asia.—O. L.

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175 According to the New T'ang *History*, Chinchung suggests to Chihi "if we went . . . to Suchou." This would have meant going northwest from Kanchou. It would have brought the Sha'to to a point on the upper course of the Etsin Gol. At this point they could, as suggested in the account, have made themselves useful to the T'ang dynasty as guardians of a critical frontier point on the classical trade route leading to Turkistan; or, turning to the northeast along the Etsin Gol, they could have set out for the Utuken mountains [6] in Mongolia—and most historians have taken it for granted that this is what they did; or—and this conforms most nearly to the text—they could have started northeast toward the Utuken mountains and then, swinging to the east and again to the southeast (not mentioned in the text), have reached Lingchou, in the great Ninghsia oasis on the Yellow River.

Against this group of alternative possibilities there is the fact that by starting first in the direction of Suchou they would have directly challenged the Uighurs, by whom they were already menaced. Still more contradictory of a migration route through Suchou is the mention, in the same account, of the Sha'to fighting their way "along the river T'ao," which is exactly in the opposite direction from Kanchou, i.e., far to the southeast. The identity of the T'ao is unmistakable, in both medieval and modern times. It flows from the Tibetan plateau on the southern frontier of Kansu, flows past the important cities of Old and New T'aochou, and then turns north to flow into the Yellow River. Both historical accounts (New T'ang *History* and Ou-Yang Hsiu) also mention a Stone Gate; and there is a celebrated pass in the T'aochou region that still goes by that name. If the Shat'o migration went through T'aochou, the logical route would have been from Kanchou south into the Nanshan ranges, by what is still the main caravan route, which I myself have traveled many times, through Pientuku and over the Obo pass,[7] traversing the territory of the ancient Little Yüehchih where, as we shall see below, Shat'o were mentioned as living in 939, and southeast past Hsining to T'aochou. Then, following the course of the T'ao River back to the Yellow River, they would have reached Lingchou.

Although this route would have involved a detour to the south, its general course would have been east, since Lingchou is east and only a little to the south of Kanchou; and this southern detour would have been much less out of the way than the northern detour through Mongolia. In support of the view that the actual route of migration was that over the mountains to the T'ao River it can be argued that this route would have taken

[6] Paul Pelliot, Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie centrale; III: Le mont Yu-t'ou-kin (Utukän) des anciens Turcs, *T'oung Pao* 26: 201, 1929. The name of these mountains in its present Mongol form is Otkhan Tengri, "Fire-lord Divinity."

[7] For stage-by-stage accounts of routes in this region, see Eric Teichman, *Travels of a consular officer in north-west China*, Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1921.—O. L.

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them away from the Uighurs, whom they were trying to evade, and that they would know the route well because of the recorded fact that they had served as vanguard troops of their Tibetan overlords in raiding Chinese territory. For thirteen years, from 792 to 805, as recorded in the Old T'ang *History*, ch. 146, pp. 11–12, they had pillaged most of the cities and important villages between T'aochou and the region of Lingchou, Ninghsia, and Yenchou, driving off cattle, stealing women and girls, and making themselves a scourge.

The foregoing analysis was written before the publication of Eberhard's valuable study of the structure of "conquest dynasties" in China, which contains an important chapter on the Shat'o Turks.[8] Eberhard adheres to what may be called the orthodox acceptance of the Utuken migration of the Shat'o; but, as will be seen below, there are considerations that make it possible to reconcile to a certain extent the Utuken version and the T'aochou version of the Shat'o migration, as recorded in the chronicles.

The next mention of the presence of the Shat'o, not as migrants but as living in the very country in which their Monguor-amalgamated descendants now live, is also to be found in the *Wu Tai Shihchi*, ch. 74, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*. In 938, after the fall of the T'ang dynasty, the king of Khotan in Chinese Turkistan (the present Sinkiang) sent to the emperor of the Later Chin, an ephemeral dynasty of Shat'o Turkish origin in North China (as will be seen below), a delegation with "tribute," consisting of products of his country. The emperor in return sent a mission of three ambassadors of whom one, Kao Chin-hui, wrote an account of his journey. The mission left Lingchou in January, 939, and was back in China by the winter of 942. In the desert between Lingchou and Liangchou he passed a night at the tent of a chief of the Yüehchih tribe. The mention of this tribal name is in itself remarkable, as the Yüehchih, a powerful tribe in the time of the Earlier Han dynasty, 202 B.C.–A.D. 8, had after that time virtually vanished from the pages of Chinese history.

Arriving then at Kanchou, he wrote:

> The Uighurs occupy the country. A [few] hundred *li* distant in the Nanshan [south] of Kanchou is the old country occupied during the Han dynasty by the Little Yüehchih; here there live other tribes, called Shat'o of the Luchüehshan [mountains], and they are said to be descendants of the Chuhsieh tribe.

Kao Chin-hui's note in passing is extremely important, because it establishes the presence, in the tenth century, of Shat'o Turks in the very region where their Monguor descendants now live, maintaining the tradition that their ancestors came to this region in the T'ang dynasty and that their chiefs are descended from Li K'o-yung. The text is one that has frequently been

[8] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers: social forces in medieval China*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1952.

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175 noted. Rémusat translated it *in extenso*.[9] Stein emphasized its geographical and archaeological importance in relation to the ancient trade routes of Central Asia.[10] Chavannes also noted the importance of surviving remnants of the Little Yüehchih,[11] but his frame of reference did not call for comment on the Shat'o.

For the purpose of a study of the historical origins of the Shat'o element among the Monguors, however, this text is of primary importance. It is indeed remarkable, in view of the attention that has been paid to other Shat'o groups, that so little note has been taken of the group here mentioned and geographically identified.

If there were Shat'o Turks in the region between Hsining and Kanchou in 939, how long had they been there and how are we to suppose that they got there?

We may take, as a point of departure, the fact that after the fall of the T'ang dynasty in 906 Northwest China was for a brief time under the control of two successive dynasties of Shat'o Turkish origin, the Later T'ang, 923–936, founded by the son of the Shat'o warrior Li K'o-yung, and the Later Chin, 936–946.[12] During this period contingents of Shat'o tribesmen might well have been sent to the Hsining country; it was known to be splendid pasture country, and the Shat'o knew of it from their own tribal history. There is moreover a lingering tradition among the Shat'o-Monguors that Shat'o tribesmen had been sent to this region by Li K'o-yung to take care of the breeding horses for the cavalry of the dynasty which, through his son, he was about to found. The tradition is reasonable in view of the fact that Chinese dynasties always set aside special pastures for the breeding of cavalry mounts—usually frontier pastures, because of the lack of pasture land where Chinese agriculture flourished.

After the opening of the tenth century, China, and especially North China, passed through a "time of troubles" that endured for three and a half centuries. It is true that from 960 to 1260 (in North China, or part of North China) or 1280 (in South China) the great Sung dynasty flourished; but even at the height of its power barbarians ravaged the Great Wall frontier, and

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[9] A. Rémusat, Histoire de la ville de Khotan, Paris, 1820.

[10] M. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan* 1: 178, London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1907; the same, *Serindia* 3: 1129, n. 15, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1921, with references to E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue*, and to Ritter, *Asien* 2: 212, 1822–1859, who in turn cites Antoine Gaubil, Suite de l'abrégé de l'histoire chinoise de la grande dynastie T'ang, *Mémoires concernant l'histoire des chinois, par les missionaires de Pékin* 16: 156, Paris, 1779–1814.

[11] E. Chavannes, Les pays d'occident d'après le Wei-lio, *T'oung Pao* 6: 519, 1905.

[12] Eberhard, *op. cit.*, 90–91, stresses a point that is important for the understanding of such short-lived dynasties founded by military adventurers: Li K'o-yung commanded not more than 10,000 soldiers, from which Eberhard reasons that "the whole Shat'o population could not have been much more than 100,000 men." This minority, he continues, "reigned over 19,000,000 Chinese families or 53,000,000 people; the Shat'o were not even two per cent of the population!"

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most of the time the Sung were really a Yangtze and south of the Yangtze dynasty. It would not be impossible that the Hsining Shat'o horse-breeding nomads were able to maintain themselves all through this period of turmoil in their relatively out-of-the-way pastures.

A second possible hypothesis would be that the Hsining Shat'o mentioned in 939 had not in fact been stationed there by Li K'o-yung at or just before the founding of the Later T'ang dynasty, but were remnants who had only recently fled there after the fall of that dynasty. If this view should be correct, it would mean that the "Li K'o-yung" tradition of the Monguor-Shat'o is a later invention—of a kind with many parallels in the histories of migrating peoples. On the other hand a strong argument against this hypothesis is that if the Shat'o had only recently come to the Hsining region where Kao Chin-hui found them in 939 he would have been likely, representing as he did another Shat'o dynasty, that of the Later Chin, to mention the fact.

Still a third hypothesis may be suggested. It lacks the support of any continuing legend or tradition among the Monguor-Shat'o themselves, but it is wholly in the line of the history of nomads. The Shat'o were a loose federation of tribes. At the time that they fled from Kanchou in 808, some of them may have given up and surrendered to the pursuing T'ufan Tsanpu, who allowed them to settle in the Hsining region, while the main body broke through to the T'ao River and from there made their way to Lingchou on the Yellow River. On the whole this hypothesis is the most reasonable one, because it would also allow for the corollary possibility that some of the Shat'o also broke away in the opposite direction, reaching first the Utuken Mountains and eventually Lingchou. This supposition would allow us to reconcile the conflicting mention of an Utuken line of migration and a T'ao River line of migration for the flight of the Shat'o from Kanchou.

We have next to account for the relationship between the Shat'o and the Mongols who conquered China in the thirteenth century. We have no explicit records mentioning the Shat'o between 939 and the expulsion of the Mongols from China and the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368. We do have, however, in the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 46, the explicit statement concerning the first outstanding Shat'o group that

> Li Nan-ko, a Hsifan [a term for barbarians on the border of Tibet], descendant of Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin of the T'ang dynasty, holding the office of T'ungchih in the *chou* of Hsining [under the Yuan], submitted at the beginning of the Hung Wu period [1368–1398] and was granted the hereditary office of Chihhui chienshih.

Concerning the second major Shat'o group it is recorded in the same source (ch. 42, p. 38) that

> Li wen, [nephew of Li Nan-ko], held the office of Tutu chihhui t'ungchih under the Yuan dynasty. He submitted at the beginning of the Hung Wu period and was granted [the continuation of] his former office.

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175 From these notices the inference is clear that the Shat'o chiefs had been held in high esteem by the Yuan or Mongol dynasty and had been granted important frontier offices. There are moreover clear reasons for a benevolent attitude toward the Shat'o on the part of the Mongol rulers.

Although there is such a long gap in the record of the Hsining Shat'o, we have records of two other Shat'o groups. After the fall of the two Shat'o military dynasties in the tenth century, the Later T'ang and the Later Chin, one group of Shat'o remained in the north of the present Suiyuan province, in the Yinshan range on the edge of Inner Mongolia. Another settled in the south of Kansu province, on the T'ao River. At the beginning of the twelfth century these Shat'o were transferred to Manchuria by the Chin dynasty, barbarians from Manchuria who conquered North China, and later were allowed to join the Yinshan Shat'o. This whole Shat'o group later became known as Onguts, a tribal name from *ong*, Mongol corruption of the Chinese *wang*, "prince."

Pelliot established that both the T'ao River Shat'o-Onguts and those of the Yinshan were Nestorian Christians.[13] Lattimore discovered a ruined city in Inner Mongolia, just north of the Yin-shan, with archaeological evidence of Nestorian occupation.[14] Martin, exploring this site, also found other Ongut cemeteries,[15] and commenting on these Ch'en Yuan noted that one of the tomb tablets established for the first time that a member of the famous noble clan of Yeh-lü, of the Khitans, had been the administrator of these Nestorians.[16] Still more cemeteries in the same region were then discovered by Henning Haslung-Christensen, the Danish explorer, and Grønbech, a member of his expedition, showed that the inscriptions on the tombstones were in the Turkish language of the Onguts, written in Syriac script.[17] In this connection it is worth noting that there is no trace of Nestorianism among the Shat'o-Monguors of the Hsining region. The cemeteries of the ancestors of the T'ussu are on the Chinese pattern, and the tombstone inscriptions are in Chinese only. It is true that there are records of Nestorians in Hsining;[18] but the Shat'o of this region were fervent Buddhists. It was they who built the Ta Fo Ssu (Great Buddha Temple) in the city of Hsining, the only building of a temple or monastery

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[13] Paul Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'extrême orient, *T'oung Pao* 15: 623–644, 1914.

[14] Owen Lattimore, A ruined Nestorian city in Inner Mongolia, *Geographical Jour.* **85**: 481–497, London, 1934.

[15] H. Desmond Martin, Preliminary report on Nestorian remains north of Kueihua, Suiyuan, *Monumenta Serica* **3**: 232–249, Peiping, 1938.

[16] Ch'en Yuan, On the damaged tablets discovered by Mr. H. D. Martin in Inner Mongolia, *Monumenta Serica* **3**: 250–296, 1938.

[17] K. Grønbech, Turkish inscriptions of Inner Mongolia, *Monumenta Serica* **4**: 305 *sqq.*, 1939.

[18] H. Cordier, Le christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale sous les Mongols, *T'oung Pao* **18**: 59, 1917.

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175 in Hsining recorded during the period of Mongol rule.

The history of the Hsining Shat'o and those of Inner Mongolia can be joined up in the following manner. In 1201, when the ruler of the Naimans, in the present Outer Mongolia, was organizing a coalition against Chingis Khan, the chief of the Onguts of the Yinshan, Alakush Tegin, although a vassal of the Chin dynasty, warned Chingis of the coalition and offered to march with him against the Naimans. In gratitude, Chingis Khan sent him a present of 500 horses and 1,000 sheep. The Naimans were defeated in 1204, and in 1206 Chingis made Alakush a prince of the new empire he was founding and also gave his daughter, Alaghi Beki, in marriage to Poyaoho, son of Alakush. In 1219, when Chingis invaded Khorezm, he was accompanied by Poyaoho.[19] From then on for at least three generations princesses of the Mongol imperial line were given in marriage to the descendants of Alakush. A grandson of Alakush, the Prince George, was converted from the Nestorian heresy by John of Montecorvino.[20]

We are thus entitled to assume that when Subudei, one of Chingis' greatest commanders, invaded Hsining in the course of the campaign in which he took Lanchou in 1226,[21] he was delighted to find there kinsmen of the Shat'o-Onguts who were already allies and vassals of the Mongols, and that it was easy to take over the Hsining Shat'o as favored vassals of the Mongol dynasty on the Tibetan frontier.

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF LAMA BUDDHISM

Since completing the writing of this volume and while preparing the material for the subsequent volume on the place of religion in Monguor life I have realized that certain aspects of the history of the establishment and diffusion of Buddhism in the Monguor region should have been mentioned in this volume, as they explain why rapid economic development and growth of population in this region began only after the suppression of the revolt of Lobsang Dantsin and the Lamas in 1723.

Until 1723 this region, called Huang Chung, had been unsuccessfully colonized several times by Chinese settlers as an adjunct to Chinese garrisons. These attempts had failed because of tribal wars and frontier inroads. The population had remained thin, and its components had frequently changed and moved. The Ming dynasty, beginning in 1368, had settled Chinese colonies and posted Chinese garrisons in only a few localities, controlling the rest of the region by accepting the allegiance of the Monguors under their various T'u-ssu.

792 175 In order to promote the adherence of non-Chinese tribes and the allocation of them to permanent terri-

[19] Summarized from H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan and his conquest of north China*, 85, 101, 133, 237. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950.

[20] Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale, as cited, especially p. 631.

[21] Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan*, as cited, 290–291.

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tories, the Ming authorities granted special favors to Lamas who encouraged the tribes to submit to China. Most of these Lamas at that time belonged to the Red sects and were married, and could be granted hereditary titles and domains. They were also encouraged to found monasteries which had special functions in administering the tribes and collecting the tribute that symbolized Chinese rule. In my subsequent volume the names of the Lamas and tribes will be established from the Chinese sources.

Under this Imperial patronage Lamaism flourished luxuriantly under the Ming dynasty and continued to expand under the Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty. The monastery of Erh-ku-lung, founded in 1604, established forty-two subordinate institutions during the ensuing 119 years, and the monasteries of Sha-ch'ung and Kumbum followed the same pattern. North of the Hsining River the number of Lamas was very large in proportion to the thin frontier population. By 1723 Erh-ku-lung was inhabited by 2,500 Lamas. Of its satellite monasteries, Seerkōk had 2,000; Chiebsang 800; Ch'i-chia-ssu 700; T'ien-t'ang-ssu 700, and Shih-men-ssu 700, while smaller satellites had from 10 to over 100. South of the Hsining River the monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, founded under imperial patronage at the very beginning of the Ming period, had more than 950 Lamas in the main monastery and its satellites. The figures for Kumbum are not recorded for that period, but must have been of much the same order, because 300 Kumbum Lamas were beheaded in 1723.

The absorption of a high proportion of the male population by these monasteries had a serious effect on the productivity of the region which should be taken into account in addition to the losses caused by frontier insecurity. Men who became Lamas were not only withdrawn from production but had to be fed by the depleted population. We may look also to this loss of manpower as an explanation of the eagerness of the T'u-ssu to enroll in their clans Tibetans and Chinese to till their domains, found new families, and above all pay the land taxes.

At the same time the influence and power of the lama-series competed destructively with the authority and

[p. 136a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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wealth of the T'u-ssu, whose subjects frequently moved in large numbers to become "disciples" tilling the land of lamaseries which offered them more favorable terms of tenantry. Such considerations helped to explain why in 1723 the T'u-ssu so willingly helped the Chinese military expedition which crushed the revolt of the Lamas. Even before this, in 1591, T'u-ssu forces had taken part in the burning of the famous temple built in Kukunor by Altan Khan in 1576 at the time of his meeting with the Dalai Lama.

Nor is it surprising to learn from the Chinese sources that the Chinese officials exulted over the crushing of the revolt and the promulgation of new imperial regulations curtailing the excessive power and influence of the Lamas. Hints can be found that the local Chinese officials held a grudge against the "barbarian" Living Buddhas whom they despised but whom it had been the policy of Peking to honor and favor, and against the lamaseries which had become possessors of large domains whose tenants were exempt from compulsory services and whose rents were exempt from taxation. There is no doubt that a dangerous situation had developed in the ranks of the impoverished T'u-ssu and the discontented Chinese officials.

Economically, the wealth that flowed into the granaries and treasuries of the monasteries was removed from circulation and did not provide surpluses for trade; it was either consumed, or hoarded, or used to found new Lama communities, and was not even used for charitable grants to the lay population. At the same time, the rest of the community suffered from lack of labor to expand agriculture and production. The economy inevitably shrank until it produced scarcely enough for its own consumption; there was no surplus left to stimulate trade and the growth of cities.

Thus the sociological and economic history of Lamaism in the Monguor region can be summarized by saying that under political patronage its growth was artificially stimulated, with the result that it expanded so fast that it disrupted both the economic system and the social structure of the country, making improvement and progress impossible.

[p. 136 b]

[254 cont.]

792 a closed building, but rather as a whole settlement with temples,
[346] halls, dwelling yards, chortens, chapels, little mani-houses,
and obos. To the Tujen there dGon-luń is simply the monastery.
[103] The official full name, however, is dGon-luń byams-pa gliń,
just as the full name of Kumbum is sKu 'bum byams pa gliń. Ac-
cording to B. Laufer, byams pa gliń means "temple of the
Maitreya"; see Filchner, Kumbum, p. V. Not [255] every
monastery has such a temple, and for this reason people always
like to mention it along with the monastery. The main temple
792 of dGon-luń contains such a gigantic image of the Maitreya
778 painted on silk, over ten meters long and several meters wide.
796 It is rolled up from the temple roof and allowed to hang down
over the front into the yard usually twice a year, namely, in
the first month after the tscham dances and on the sixth day of
the sixth month. The ceremony is called dšamba sguni dielgē,
that is, to hang out the Maitreya image; dšamba or šamba is the
Tujen pronunciation of byams-pa. The Chinese call the rite
simply shai Fuoeyeh, that is, to sun the Buddha. For the be-
[788] lieving populace it is the high point of the feast days; the
people make pilgrimages to the place in great crowds in order
to venerate the image with kowtows.

792 There is no Tujen name for the monastery; their desig-
nation Rgulõń (Rēgulõń) is only a corruption of dGon-luń. Even
103 the Chinese êrh-ku-lung is nothing more than a derivation from
the Tibetan. Some people would like the êrh to be understood
as the Chinese "two," since it is supposedly the second monastery,
which was built anew after the destruction of the first; in fact,
one also often hears the name Ku-lung without this êrh. The
designation Yu-ning-szu, monastery for the protection of Sining,
has not prevailed among the people. It is used almost exclusively
in books and official documents.

792 The monastery corresponds to the Buddhistic require-
ments in exemplary fashion, for it lies at the exit of a lonely
[361] forested valley and has been built up in part along its northern
[346] ridge, which bears the name Tuguān-ula, Tuguān mountain
[103] (Chin. T'u-kuan shan). A gigantic obo crowns its peak. Neither
oral nor written information concerning the founding of the
[175]

[255 cont.]

792 monastery could be obtained on account of the brevity of the visit.
175 The Sining chronicle reports nothing about it. Originally it seems to have been a Tibetan establishment. Until its destruction dGon-luṅ possessed great importance in Ambo. Then it was overshadowed by other monasteries. The patriotic monks in the first year of Emperor Yung-cheng had put themselves on the side of the Mongolic Koko Nor prince (ch'en-wang) bLo-bzan bsTan-'dsin. The consequence of this was that dGon-luṅ was destroyed by a Chinese punitive expedition in the year 1723 along with several other monasteries, among which was also sGo-maṅ-dgon (gSer-k'og-dgon-pa). Upon the request of the Tuguān Hutukhtu, who at that time resided in Peking, the emperor permitted the monastery to be rebuilt in 1733, as well as sGo-maṅ-dgon; cf. Hsü Kung-wu, pp. 113, 115; Schulemann, p. 179; Sining-Chronicle. After this reconstruction dGon-luṅ received the official name Yu-ning-szu and a memorial stone on which these events were noted. The text of this stone is reprinted in the Sining chronicle. One cannot see the stone itself. The lamas have immured it in order to be rid of the honorable but unpleasant memory. About 60 years ago the new monastery had to endure the Dunganen rebellion, which claimed the lives of many Tujen. It never again reached its old dimensions, of which an isolated remnant still remains, namely, the temple with the gurtum-deity dPekar and the spirit-spear of the monastery soothsayer.

[256] Today the monastery is under the county government of Huchu. Formerly it was independent with its lands,
792 [657] forests, and pastures and controlled many taxable Tujen villages. It numbers about 300 monks and several Tulkus, who are almost all Tujen. As affiliates under the supreme Tulku, the Tuguān Hutukhtu, its administrator mentioned to me also the following lamaseries: Man-t'ou-szu, a few kilometers northwest; Chin(g)-kang-ta-szu, 20 kilometers to the north; Chang-chia-szu, 65 kilometers southeast near Lotu; Hua-yüan-szu, 12 kilometers to the south, a Bon monastery; Hung-ku-szu, in the Lianchow region (Kansu); Ma-t'i(eh)-szu, in the Kanchow region (Kansu). These connections indicate how far the significance of the monastery must have extended. From the beginning it has been

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

PREFACE

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The origin, history, and social organization of the Monguors were studied in Part I,[1] together with the family and economic life. Their religious life is here dealt with as Part II of the same study.

It is common knowledge that the private and public religious life of the Monguors is intensive, and that the Monguors are as fervently Lamaist as shamanist, and also practise rites belonging to neither of these religions.

In dealing with the Lamaism of the Monguors, the purpose is not to study the origin, the history, and the philosophy of Lamaism in general in Tibet and Mongolia; instead, in the first part of the study, emphasis is put on the historical frame within which Lamaism was diffused in the limited region of Huang-chung.

The study is based on local chronicles, the Chinese histories, and all available sources, and also on the experience of a long stay among the people. The author hopes that he has thus attained insight into the history of the introduction, growth, flourishing, and crises of Lamaism, depending on peculiar circumstances of persons, events, and times.

The part played by the Chinese emperors in the diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung will be noted, the reasons of the imperial policy explained, and the peculiar legal institutions that were established to promote Lamaism will be recorded.

Local history will provide the data regarding the times, the places, and the peculiar circumstances in which monasteries were founded, and will point to the outstanding position occupied by the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung, situated in the heart of the Monguor country north of the Hsining River. Erh-ku-lung surpassed all the lamaseries of the country for a century. Animated with prodigious activity it founded forty-two daughter lamaseries, enrolling a tremendous number of the Monguor male population in its institutions.

The local history will reveal also that some of the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung were learned authors of books, and directors of the imperial committee for the translation of the Kanjur and Tanjur from Tibetan into Mongol and that important diplomatic missions in Tibet were entrusted to them by the emperors who appointed them as spiritual directors of the Mongol princes, and from whom they received honorary offices at the capital.

Their influence reached as far as Peking, Mongolia, and Tibet. The colleges of Erh-ku-lung were attended by lamas from Kansu, Mongolia, and Tibet who, upon returning to their own countries, founded monasteries on the pattern of Erh-ku-lung.

These historical facts will explain the influence exerted by the Monguor lamas upon Lamaism, and upon

[1] Louis M. J. Schram, The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part 1, Their origin, history, and social organization, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1), 1954.

[P 1 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

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the population of Huang-chung. Note must be taken of these historical facts in order to explain the actual religious mentality of the people of Huang-chung.

In the same way historical events will explain the tremendous crises which affected Lamaism in Huang-chung, and the actual position it occupies in the Hsining country.

A chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung, their material, educational, and religious aspects; their means of subsistence; the subjects of the lamaseries, branch monasteries, lamas, and living Buddhas. In this chapter, details of the numerical strength of lamas, in proportion to the population as a whole, are given. These figures throw light on a subject which has been somewhat distorted by past estimates. They show that the proportion of lamas to the total population is much lower than we have been led to expect. These figures are probably more reliable than those of past estimates; certainly they are more circumstantial.

[795]

The inferior position of the Lamaism of the Red Sect in the region will also be better understood when put in its historical frame.

Similarly, the shamanism of the Monguors is approached from the angles of its peculiar connections with Taoism, the conservation of its ritual proper, and its historical connections with the "wuism" of old China and the shamanism of Central Asia. Emphasis is put also on its overwhelming importance in the religious life of the Monguors.

The second part of the study is devoted to the practical aspects of the religious life of the Monguors, its environment of fear and apprehension, and the role occupied in the fabric of daily life respectively by Lamaism and shamanism, and the various rites alien to both religions.

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The describing of monasteries, Lamaist monuments, iconography, programs of studies in colleges, theatrical exhibitions by lamas, festivities, and shamanist rites, has been avoided in this part, since all are encountered hundreds of times in books dealing with the subject. Instead, emphasis is put on the specific Monguor aspects of the religious life and rites that are peculiar to them, in order to understand the religious mentality of the representatives of the religions.

A chapter will deal with the death and burial customs, and still another with the cult of "Heaven and all the spirits."

The last chapter of the study will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping the Monguors to keep their identity, traditions and customs, strengthening the social structure of the clans, and preventing their absorption in the Chinese nation. [A. 1(B)]

shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion. 771 754 756 [795 793]

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual. 779 792

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas." 602 792 614 175 [796]

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not 829 771

[P G(B)]

Confidence in the power of the shaman is so strong among the Monguors and over the whole country, that even Sinicized Mongours and neighboring Chinese from outside the clans never fail to invite the shaman to their homes, even though they have long since abandoned the lamas. Before Buddhism and Lamaism were diffused in central Asia and Tibet, these countries were entirely shamanist. There is much evidence today to show that shamanism still occupies a prominent place in the religious life of these peoples. Mme David-Neel assumes that in spite of the fact that the Tibetans are considered to be Lamaists, most of them, except the learned lamas, are shamanists.[4]

II. INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM AND LAMAISM IN HSINING (HUANG-CHUNG)

NO HISTORICAL DATA BEFORE 1227 IN THE ANNALS OF HSINING

OLD OCCUPANTS OF HUANG-CHUNG WERE NOT BUDDHISTS

The *Annals* of Hsining do not record a single fact concerning either the time or the way Buddhism first was introduced in what is now the Hsining region. Dealing with the temples and monasteries built in the country, the author of the *Annals*, in concluding ch. 15, p. 13*a* incidentally notes: ". . . the country of Huang-chung [Hsining], being properly the region of the Hsiao Yüeh-chih [Indo European Scythians], which had been lost several times at the hands of the Tibetans and the barbarians, it is no wonder that [there] Buddhists are numerous and Taoists are few in number." The author seems to suppose that these Scythians and Tibetans were Buddhist at that early time, but in ch. 30, pp. 1–12 (the only pages concerned with these early Scythians and Tibetans), he does not record any fact concerning Buddhism in regard to either these Scythians or these Tibetans.

No evidence can be offered concerning these Scythians to support the assertion of the profession of Buddhism by that "small branch of Hsining Hsiao Yüeh-chih."[1] However, the main branch of the Yüeh-chih

[4] Alexandra David-Neel, *Au Pays des brigands gentils-hommes* 101, Paris, Plon, 1933.

[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30. According to the *Annals*, the Hsiung-nu Khan, Mao Tun, having killed the king of the Scythians (202–201 B.C.), a small and feeble branch among them settled in the mountains and mixed with the Tibetans (p. 1*b*). They submitted to the Chinese General Ho Ch'ü-ping (121–119 B.C.) and lived among the Chinese (colonists). They lived in seven groups, numbering in all 9000 or more soldiers, spread over the region of Huang-chung to Ling-chü (colony near Kukunor) (p. 2*a*). During the period Hung-Yüan (A.D. 89–105), refusing to revolt with the Tibetan Mi-T'ang tribes, they helped the Chinese General Tung Hsün crush the revolt. Tung-Hsün gave them the title of *I-Ts'ung-Ch'iang*, and *I-Ts'ung-Hu* (loyally following Tibetans and barbarians, re-

tribes, chased from Mongolia and Turkistan by the Hsiung-nu between 176 and 165 B.C., finally became unified, and founded the realm of Kushana (between Iran and India), in the first half of our era.[2] When that branch adopted Buddhism is not known, but its third king, Kanishka (A.D. 80–11–, or A.D. 120–162), was a fervent protector of Buddhism. 175 771

The Tibetans of Huang-chung, in those early times, were still buried in barbaric darkness. It was much later, around A.D. 630–650, that Buddhism was first spread among them, and even then it had little appeal for the people on account of the strong opposition of the native *Bön* religion. The second attempt at diffusion by Padmasambhava a century later (775–788 or 797), was more successful.[3] Conclusively, Buddhism had not been spread during this period among these Scythians or the Tibetans. [77]

FIRST TEMPLE BUILT IN HUANG-CHUNG

Buddhism "seems," however, to have been spread into the country in the first centuries of our era, because the author of the *Annals* (ch. 15, p. 2*b*) mentions the "monastery" Pei Ch'an-ssu, and notes: ". . . the 'monastery' is situated five *li* outside the northern gate of the city of Hsining, at the foot of the 'Earth Tower Mountain' "; it is the very oldest monastery of which Han-yin tells: ". . . north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the monastery of the 'Earth Tower.' " 175 792

According to the Chinese "Dictionary of Famous Men of China," (*Chung-kuo ming-jen ts'e tien*) Han-yin was a native of Tun-Huang (Nan hsi-chou) who fulfilled important functions on behalf of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün (A.D. 401–439), the king of the ephemeral realm of Pei Liang. Han-yin was the author of several books, among them *The Annals of the Thirteen Chou*. In these *Annals* (p. 8), we read:

the *Shui-ching-chu* records: north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the 'Earth Tower' temple, (*shen-ssu*); according to the *Shui-ching-chu* the river Huang, turning to the east, passes on the southern side of the 'Earth Tower'; the tower on the northern side leans against the mountain, the original crest being 300 feet high, and looks steep, as if it were artificially cut; at the foot of the tower are the remainders of old walls and of carved walls of the temple (or temples).

spectively), which titles are recorded on pp. 6*a*–11*b*. Every time they took sides with the Chinese in quelling the intermittent revolts of Tibetans. In A.D. 184 (p. 11*b*) during the revolt of the Yellow Turbans, which accelerated the fall of the later Han dynasty (A.D. 220), the Scythians revolted with the Tibetan Hsien-lin tribes, and from that time on, their name disappears from the *Annals*; nothing more seems to be known about them.

Ed. Chavannes, Les Pays d'occident d'après Le Wei Lio, *T'oung Pao*, 6: 527–528, 1905.

[2] René Grousset, *Histoire de l'extrême Orient*, 60, 61, 64, Paris, Geuthner, 1929.

[3] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 361. Bacot, Jacques, Le Mariage chinois du roi Tibetain Sron-bcan-sgan-po, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, 7, Juillet, Louvain, Istas, 1935.

"The Tibetan chronicles show that in the IXth century, Buddhism had only passed the frontiers of Tibet without having either affected the mind of the people or even the court."

[p. 8(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

According to this text, Han-yin does not report hav- 175
ing seen the temple between 401 and 439. He notes 792
only the text of the *Shui-ching-chu*, an earlier geographical work, probably completed before A.D. 265, by an unknown author and largely commented and expanded by Li Tao-Yüan on the basis of his own studies and observations. He died in 527.[4] Han-yin consequently used the original edition of the *Shui-ching-chu* and thus the fact of the existence of the vestiges of the ruined temple (or temples) of the "Earth Tower" before A.D. 265 is evidenced. The *Shui-ching-chu* of Li Tao-Yüan notes *verbatim* the same text (p. 24*b*), adding: ". . . when Han-yin says, 'on the northern side of Hsi-p'ing is the temple of the "Earth Tower,"' he refers to this temple."

NOT A BUDDHIST TEMPLE

The original *Shui-ching-chu* in mentioning, "the temple of the 'Earth Tower' uses the term *Shen-ssu* for "temple." This term is not specific for temples devoted to the worship of Buddha, but rather is used to designate temples devoted to sacrifices to ancestors or to the spirits in general. The text notes that the vestiges of the "temple" were still existing in 265.

The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 notes the existence of the *Pei Ch'an-ssu*, "the northern temple of contemplation," also called *Yung-hsing-ssu*, "temple of eternal inspiration," situated five *li* outside the northern gate of the city at the foot of the "Earth Tower Mountain." The name of "Earth Tower Mountain," situated five *li* north of the city, was still well known in 1912; the temple was still called *Pei Ch'an-ssu*, which eliminates any doubt concerning the identity of the location of the temple called by these three names.[5] In 1912 a steep winding path led to the temple, which was a deep cavern, and some smaller ones, dug half way up the mountain side. A large, elaborate veranda constituted the entrance. Inside the cavern were statues of Lu tung-ping, Ho-hu-yeh, Ma-wang, and Niu-wang. It is certain that the temple was a Taoist temple. An old Taoist, living in one of its small rooms, took care of it, collecting some grain in autumn from the neighboring farmers and enjoying his job.

IT IS ACTUALLY CALLED PEI CH'AN-SSU

Ch'an-ssu suggests that the builders of the temple belonged to the Dhyana sect, diffused in China by Buddhidharma, an Indian or Iranian Buddhist missionary, who arrived only in A.D. 520 (?) and died in 535.[6] The

[4] A. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period* 2: 970 sq., note by Dr. Hu Shih and *passim* the references concerning the *Shui-ching-chu* in Vols. 1–11 (see "Index of Books," in Hummel, *op. cit.*).

[5] *Yüan huo Chün-hsien chih*, ch. 39, p. 16*a*, erroneously notes: "130 *li* west of the city of Hsi-p'ing is the mountain of the Earth-tower, at its base is the temple (*Shen-ssu*) of the Earth-tower."

[6] O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches* 2: 299–300, Leipzig, Verlag Von Walter De Gruyter, 1936.

[p. 9(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

temple must indeed have been devoted to the worship of Buddha at some time; otherwise the name *Pei Ch'an-ssu* would remain inexplicable. These facts seem to lead to the supposition that the original temple, already ruined in A.D. 265, must have been built by the early Chinese frontier colonists; and because it was not then called by the term *ssu*, the specific appellation for Buddhist temples, but *shen-ssu*, it must have been devoted to the worship of the spirits (of the locality), in the old Chinese manner. Later, after A.D. 520, the ruined original temple must have been converted into a Buddhist temple of the Dhyana sect. From that time on the people must have started calling it *Pei Ch'an-ssu*. Later still the temple, after having been changed to the cult of Taoist spirits, seems to have retained the Buddhist appellation, and the author of the *Annals* seems to have supposed erroneously that the temple was originally a Buddhist temple.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY COLONISTS OR BY MONKS FROM TURKISTAN?

Buddhism was introduced in China "officially" between A.D. 64 and 67 by way of Turkistan,[7] before the time of King Kanishka of Kushana (80–110 or 120–162), whose realm was situated on the celebrated commercial road connecting the Roman Empire with India and China.[8] Buddhism had been diffused into the petty realms of central Asia, with which the Chinese generals waged war for two centuries (121 B.C.–A.D. 101).[9] The first translators of Buddhist scriptures, mostly of Iranian and Scythian origin, came to China from Turkistan in A.D. 148.[10] All these missionaries, on their way to China, passed through Liang-chou which at that time was one of the most important emporiums in west China. Here lived businessmen from remote countries, subjects of the Roman Empire.[11]

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[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 1: 410, " . . . nothing is known for sure about the way or the time Buddhism was first diffused in China." However, Franke wrote earlier, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12: 217, 1909, " . . . Buddhism was firmly established in China in the second half of the first century A.D.; it made big strides during the middle of the second century, and rode the crest of the waves during the second half of the fourth century." Grousset, *op. cit.*, 244: "In 65 A.D. there existed sporadically in Kiangsu Buddhist communities, protected by the brother of Emperor Ming-ti. The diffusion of Buddhism seems only to have started on some large scale during the middle of the second century, A.D. . . ."

[8] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 55: " . . . the transcontinental silk trade road, running through Kashgaria (Turkistan) and Iran, was already open in the second century, B.C."

[9] O. Franke, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, " . . . during the three first centuries of our era, Buddhism must have been diffused from Gandhara and Kashmir into Turkistan."

[10] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 245.

[11] Peter Boodberg, Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 1: 289, Cambridge, November, 1936, "Besides the two 'Aryan' colonies in Shensi, there are reasons to believe that there existed on the Chinese

[A 9 (B)]

The colonization of Huang-chung started between 121 and 119 B.C. with the transportation of Chinese families from central China, and criminals released from jail (*Annals* of Hsining. ch. 30, p. 2*b*). In A.D. 9 the colonization system was developed on a larger scale in the same way. In A.D. 132 (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9) after five new colonies were established, the total number reached only ten. Intermittently, new families and criminals had to be sent to replace those who died or ran away (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9*b*). In A.D. 220, after three centuries, the originally walled, small garrison of Hsining was expanded by the building of three new cities, on three sides of it (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 13*a*). For the first time, Hsining started to become a real city, the only one in the whole country. 175 [633]

It is tempting to suppose that, at the time of the expansion of the city, the temple of the "Earth Tower" might have been built, for it could easily have been protected by the garrison troops who farmed the fields around it. On the other hand, it is an historical fact that Buddhism already had a firm toehold in China in the second half of the second century A.D. It seems possible that among these colonists some might have been professing Buddhists when they arrived in Huang-chung, because Buddhism was the religion of the people. If so, Buddhism might have been imported by the colonists and practiced among them during the second century A.D. However, another possibility is not precluded. Monks who were attendants for the early translators of Buddhist texts (A.D. 148) might have settled in the emporium of Liang-chou, diffusing Buddhism as monks used to do in the oasis cities of Turkistan. Some among them might have tried to go to Hsining to spread Buddhism, after the city had been built and relative security provided. However, no historical data are available to support either of these two suppositions. 175 771 [792]

More can hardly be said about the diffusion of Buddhism in Huang-chung during the first three centuries of our era, because of the lack of historical data.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY HSIEN-PI TRIBES?

The region of Huang-chung, and its neighboring countries, upset during the second and third centuries by three noticeable invasions of Hsien-pi tribes which settled in the country, driving out the larger Tibetan

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border a third colony from the 'Far West,' this time located in modern Kansu. In the list of Hsien dependent on the prefecture of Chang-Yeh we have Li-Chien-Hsien. . . . It is tempting to see in the name of this administrative subdivision of a western Chinese province a variant transcription . . . which is one of the names under which the Roman Orient was known to the Chinese of the Han dynasty. . . . The name of the little Chinese city on the desert road to the West, would indicate that an important Western community must have sent out its sons to the distant land of the Seres to imprint the name of the metropolis on an outpost of the Han Empire." See also M. Medard, Ta-Ts'in, Province romaine en Asie, *Journal de Pékin*, 141 *et. sq.*, 1936. [113]

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tribes [12] and assimilating the smaller ones, changed the whole of the population. This raises the question whether Buddhism was spread into the country by these Hsien-pi tribes. It could hardly have been spread by the group of nomadic Hsien-pi tribes called *T'u-fa* which, coming along the Yin-Shan, settled in the region between Lan-chou and Hsining during the second century A.D.[13] No historical data exist concerning the diffusion of Buddhism along the Yin-Shan at that time. Consequently, these Hsien-pi tribes did not spread Buddhism in Huang-chung at the time of their arrival.[14] Two centuries later they founded an ephemeral realm called "Nan-liang," having its capital in Hsining (339–414). For the same reason, Buddhism cannot have been spread at the time of the arrival of the second group of Hsien-pi, called the Ch'i-fu tribes, which in the third century A.D. came from the northern desert, where they lived as nomads along the same Yin-Shan, and then settled in the country of the T'ao River, south of Hsining. They founded the ephemeral realm of Hsi Ch'ing (385–431) with its capital in Ho-chou.[15] Nor can Buddhism, again for the same reason, have been spread at the time of the arrival of a third strong group of Hsien-pi, the T'u-yü-hun tribes which, living as nomads along the same Yin-Shan, settled in A.D. 280 in the neighboring region of Hsining and in Kukunor, and founded a realm which lasted until 672. At the time of the invasions by these Hsien-pi tribes in the country of Huang-chung, they were still buried in barbaric darkness.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY THE BUDDHIST KINGS OF LIANG-CHOU?

This interesting problem will be approached from geographical and historical aspects. The countries of Huang-chung and Liang-chou are separated by the Nan-Shan (southern mountain range), across which many low passes facilitate communication. During the Hou-Han dynasty Huang-chung depended on Liang-chou.[16] Later on, it was conquered and governed successively by the kings of the ephemeral realms of Ch'ien-Liang, Hou-Liang, and Pei Liang, who resided at the important emporium of Liang-chou.[17]

[12] Wieger, *Textes historiques* 2: 1207–1208, Ho-chien Fu, Imprimerie de Hien-hien, 1904.

[13] O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches, op. cit.* 2: 112.

[14] James A. Ware, Wei-shou on Buddhism, *T'oung Pao* 30: 126, 1933. "Before the Wei had established their realm in the north. . . . They had not yet heard of Buddha, or if they had, they had not yet put their trust in him." Wei, alias Yüan Wei, ruled over varying portions of North China from 386.

[15] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 85.

[16] *Yüan hao Chün-hsien chih*, ch. 29, p. 15.

[17] Wolfram Eberhard, *Das Toba Reich in Nord China*, 180, Leiden, Brill. In 439 T'o-pa Wei conquered Pei Liang, the last of the petty realms which had successively settled in Liang-chou from 345 on. These realms had so monopolized the entire trade of Central Asia that Liang-chou became the most important colony of foreign traders, whose caravans arrived incessantly.

[p. 10(B)]

4: Schram M-6 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The Chin dynasty, which started in A.D. 265, had been unable to control its empire, which was invaded by the northern barbarians. The governors of the distant Liang-chou, according to the circumstances, recognized the authority of either the empire or one of the nearest new barbarian kingdoms (Chao, Ch'ing, Wei), or both at the same time, or even declared themselves independent, founding their own kingdoms and expanding their power and influence as far as Turkistan and Huang-chung (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, pp. 14–17). 175

From 345 until 439 Liang-chou was not only the most important emporium of the West but also the most active cultural center of Buddhism. 175 771

The kings of Ch'ien-Liang (345–385) promoted and protected Buddhism.[18] The kings of Hou-Liang (385–401) were as fervent protectors of Buddhism as the kings of Ch'ien-Liang.[19] However, Buddhism reached its highest degree of intellectual activity during the period of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün of Pei Liang (401–439), who controlled Turkistan and nearly the entire east of modern Kansu.[20] His counselor was the celebrated Dharmaksema.[21] One is easily tempted to suppose that Buddhism was diffused on a large scale in the countries subjected to unusually fervent Buddhist rulers—and all the more since during the period of 401–439, two thousand families from Liang-chou were transported to Huang-chung (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, p. 176), three thousand from Yung-ch'ang (ch. 30, p. 18*a*), and five thousand from Ho-chou (ch. 30, p. 18*b*). It seems to be an axiom that in Asia, and especially among [167]

Because China at that time was involved in endless wars, many Chinese from Ho-pei, allured by the prospects of peaceful living and profitable trading, moved into Liang-chou. The acquisition of the wealthy and rich emporium of Liang-chou had also been the motive for the expedition of the T'o-pa and the destruction of Pei Liang. The Chinese population of Liang-chou, according to the custom during these ages, were then taken slaves to populate the realm of the T'o-pa.

[18] They built the big monastery and superb tower in the city of Liang-chou, the first grottos of *Sha-chou* (Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1185), and supported Chih-shih-lün, an Upsaka of the country of the Yüeh-chih, who translated in Liang-chou four volumes of Buddhist texts (*A catalogue of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, App. II, No. 35, p. 398, Bunyiu Nanjio, 1930), and the Chinese *Sramana* Chu Fu-nien who translated 12 works (Catalogue . . . App. II, No. 58, p. 405).

[19] The king's counselor was the Indian monk, Kumarajiva, who translated the 200 and more volumes of the Sutralankara (*Nanjio catalogue*, App. II, No. 59, p. 407) in Liang-chou. They built a tower and a monastery in the city, said to contain the relics of the monk (*Annals* of Liang-chou, 30*a*); the monk was very proficient in foretelling the future (*ibid.*, 34*b*, 35*a*.)

[20] *The Bunyiu Nanjio catalogue of Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka* mentions no less than nine names of learned foreign monks working in Liang-chou, supported by the king, translating 82 works from Indian and Sanskrit into Chinese (App. II, p. 410, No. 61, pp. 64–72). Nan-yang-hu, the nephew of the king was a translator (App. II, No. 83). Walter Fuchs, Zür technischen Organisation der Übersetzungen buddhistischer Schriften in Chinesische, *Asia Major* 6: 84, 1930.

[21] *Annals* of Liang-chou, 34*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 196. Ware, *op. cit.* 2: 133.

[p. 11 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the nomadic tribes, subjects adopted the religion professed by their kings or chiefs. Even in Europe there existed the sayings: *Regis ad exemplar* ("Subjects follow the pattern set by the king"), *cujus regio ejus religio* ("Let the religion of each state follow that of its prince"). However, not a single fact is recorded in the *Annals* concerning the building of Buddhist temples or monasteries in Huang-chung during this century of intensive cultural Buddhist activity promoted by the conquerers and rulers of Huang-chung in their capital of Liang-chou. This fact seems to challenge belief. Possibly the insecurity in the country on account of the military actions accompanying the conquest, carried on by the three successive rulers in the span of a century (345–439), and the disturbances following the transportation of such important groups of families, afford the explanation. Perhaps the Buddhist cultural activities did not appeal so much to the people, as to the court and the administrative centers of the capital, and so the impact of Buddhism remained confined to the area of the capital.

The T'o-pa Wei conquered the kingdom of Pei Liang in 439, but at the time it was involved in a serious persecution of Buddhism (438–452).[22] From 445 until 635 endless troubles occurred in Huang-chung, on account of the intermittent inroads of the T'u-yü-hun from Kukunor, and the T'o-pa, Sui, and T'ang dynasties successively had to wage war with them. (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 20*b*–24*b*). In 663 there started the intermittent inroads of the T'u-fan until 866 (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 25*a*–31*a*). During the Wu-tai period (907–960) China was unable to control Huang-chung. The Sung dynasty (920–1227) was powerless against the Hsi-Hsia and Chin, which successively occupied Huang-chung, but which themselves had trouble with the T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang (*Annals*, ch. 31, pp. 1*a*–8*b*). Finally, the Mongols conquered Huang-chung in 1227 and brought peace into the country. No wonder, during these eight centuries of intermittent troubles and change in the population, Buddhist activities were very limited, and the few existing institutions in depopulated Huang-chung were of minor importance.

HISTORICAL DATA ACCORDING TO TIBETAN SOURCES

However, the lack of information in the *Annals* of Hsining relating to this period is compensated for by data provided by the Tibetan *Blue Annals* of 'Gos lo-tsa-la composed between A.D. 1476 and 1478.[23]

[22] Ware, *op. cit.*, 135, " . . . when in the period T'ai-yen (435–440) the province of Liang was conquered and its population moved to the capital, the monks and Buddhist paraphernalia all came East, and the counterfeit teaching increased far and wide. Presently, owing to the large number of Sramanas, an Imperial order was given to unfrock those under 50 years of age."

[23] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1949: 1; 1953: 11. *The Blue Annals* and the *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston Rin-po-

Buddhism, introduced in Tibet during the reign of King Sron-btsan sgam-po, who died in A.D. 650 or 698, was persecuted by King Lang Darma in either 841 or 901. The persecution lasted for 70 or 108 years. However, the doctrine continued to exist in Western Tibet (mNa-ris). 175 771 [798]

In Book II of the *Blue Annals* (pp. 65–66) it is stated that:

dGe-ba rab-gsal started his religious life at the hermitage of Zin-dpon. Three hermits [24] had fled via Khotan, to the country of Hor (Uigur kingdom), during the persecution and proceeding to Amdo met with dGe-ba rab-gsal, born in 892 in the village of Jya-zur situated north of Hsün-hua on the northern bank of the Yellow River. One of these "Three Learned Men of Tibet" ordained dGe-ba rab-sgal who went to Kan-chou (Kansu) for study but could not enter Tibet on account of the famine. In a vision he saw "Asuras" known as the "Nine Brother Dwarfs" residing in the neighborhood of Mount Dantig, who invited him to go to their place where there are great hermitages "promising to become his lay supporters."

In order to combat certain Yogis existing there, he laid the foundation of the monastery of Dantig, disciples joined him; he resided there for 35 years and died at 84 (975). Other celebrated fugitives of Tibet, called "The Six Men from *dbUs* and *gTsan*," who inaugurated the revival of Buddhism in Tibet, had met with dGe-ba rab-sgal, and had their ordination ceremony presided over by his disciple.

The text of the *Blue Annals* presents evidences of the existence of the hermitage of Zin-dpon and the founding of a hermitage at Mount Dantig by dGe-ba rab-gsal in the country where, during that period, there existed "great hermitages."

The text (*Blue Annals*, 65) fixing the location of Mount Dantig notes: "Ri Dantig is situated on the bank of the rMa-chu or Huang-ho, southeast of Kum-'bum and north of Hsün-hua." In the Introduction (p. 17), the author notes that "dGe-ba rab-gsal was born in 892 in Tsong-ka bDe-khams" (north Amdo; according to a local tradition his native village was Jya-zur, situated on the northern bank of the rMa-chu, north of Hsün-hua).

The location of Mount Dantig on which dGe-ba rab-gsal built his hermitage in A.D. 940, southeast of Hsining on the northern bank of the Yellow River, seems to correspond perfectly with that of the Mount Ami ch'ü-lu situated 140 *li* southeast of Hsining on which is built the actually still existing picturesque monastery of Sha-ch'ung. In 1910 its origin had been lost, but various surviving traditions attributed its origin to the Yüan

che composed in 1322, partly translated by E. Obermiller, 1931, are the main sources of information for all later historical compilations in Tibet. *Ibid.*, Introduction, 1.

[24] *Idem*, 63, cites Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism*. Obermiller, *Blue annals*, 2: 201. The three men are called *Bodhi-kyi mkhas-pa mi-gsum* or The Three Learned Men of Tibet. They are buried in a temple at Hsining. In dPari, north of Hsining, there exists a stone pillar with the names of three men mentioned on it (verbal communication of Rev. dGe-dun Chos-'phel). I never heard about such facts during my sojourn in the country.

[p. 12(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

period (1280–1368). The site of the hermitage of Zin-dpon being less picturesque, it is hard to identify it with the monastery of Goorong bzan which is a neighbor of Sha-ch'ung.[25]

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[25] R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* 44: 229, 1951, identifies Sha-ch'ung (Sha-ch'ung of the Hsining *Annals*) with the monastery of the Rock of Bya-k'yun, below the city of Kui-te, south of Hsining, in the region of the Tibetans situated behind Tsong-ko. He gives details (p. 230) concerning the region of Tsong-ko situated between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng, where he notes the river of Tsong running in the valley between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng. The *Annals* of Hsining provide more details; "the River Tsong is east of the city (subprefecture of Nien-pei) (ch. 4, p. 15*a*). The valley of Tsong is situated 30 *li* west of the Great Rapids" (ch. 4, p. 10*b*), which are *circa* 30 *li* east of Nien-pei. "The River Tsong-ko which is north of the old city of Tsong-ko is [also known as] the River of Hsining [Huang-shui]; when the river reaches the city of Tsong-ko it is then called Tsong-ko River. The river changes its name according to the places [through which it flows] (ch. 4, p. 17*a*). South of the subprefecture of Nien-pei, there exists a city of Tsong-ko." The Sung *Annals* note: "The city of Lung-chih, which is the old city of Tsong-ko, depended on the Chou of Hsining. Concerning old Lung-chih there are three: at the time of the Han dynasties the city was situated west of the actual Ning-I [Hsining] in the *Chün* of the western Sea (Kukunor); at the time of the Sui and T'ang dynasties Lung-chih was situated to the southwest of the actual Nien-pei near the Yellow River; at the time of the Sung dynasty it was located to the south of Nien-pei; therefore, it is an error to say indiscriminately that the old city of Tsong-ko was only one city."

Shih-ch'eng (ch. 7, p. 13*a*) "is situated south of Nien-pei near the Yellow River," But ch. 7, p. 14 notes: "south of Nien-pei is the old city of Hua-ch'eng, which is properly the city of Shih-ch'eng established by the Hu-Wei; because in that region there was a Hua-lung valley, its name was changed to that of Hua-ch'eng hsien in 568 and in 712 the T'ang emperor adopted this appellation." (See also article *K'uo-chou*, *Annals*, ch. 7, pp. 12*a* and *b*.) However, ch. 4, p. 10 notes: "To the northwest of Hsining (region of the Kukunor) is a river running eastward (River of Hsining) passing south of Shih-ch'eng, which joins the river of the northern valley." This text and the former one concerning Tsong-ko seem to point to the strange fact that there have existed in the region of Kukunor a Tsong-ko and a Shih-ch'eng, before two cities called by the same names were established in the region south of Nien-pei.

In modern times the region south of Nien-pei near the Yellow River was separated from Nien-pei by the Ch'ing dynasty and organized as the T'ing of Pa-yen-jung. The Chinese Republic changed the name of Pa-yen-jung to Hua-lung hsien in honor of the old Hua-ch'eng hsien of 568, which at that time had taken over the place called Shih-ch'eng.

Conclusively, the former Tsong River joined the river of Hsining *circa* 10 *li* below Nien-pei; the region of Tsong-ko, Shih ch'eng in later times, was situated in the country south of Nien-pei and constitutes now, completely or at least for its largest part, the territory of Hua-lung hsien, near southwest of Nien-pei and really behind Tsong-ko as Stein notes: " . . . and southwest in Hua-lung hsien near the Yellow River is Sha-ch'ung."

More is available concerning the Tibetan tribes of Tsong-ko and the neighborhood from 1006 on (ch. 31, p. 1 *sq.*) fighting against and exterminating each other in the nomadic pattern; also about the Tsong-ko lama Li li-tsun, who married his daughter to the powerful Tibetan chief Kio-sse-louo, etc., which point to the fact that at that time these lamas belonged to the group of the Red Sect which was permitted marriage (ch.

[p. 12(B)]

Thus, in 940 dGeba rab-gsal, who had started his religious life in the monastery of Zin-dpon, built a monastery in Dantig. At that time there existed in that region "great hermitages" and a temple in Hsining, where the three learned men from Tibet were buried. Later their names were chiseled on a stone pillar in dPari (the region between the Ta t'ung River and Nanshan, reaching to P'ing fan). At what time were the "great hermitages," the monastery of Zin-dpon, and the temple at Hsining built? Were there at that time hermitages in dPari? 175 792

The *Annals of Kansu* 45, 65–66, and the *Annals of Hsining* 30A, 30 a, b, record that during the span of time from the period of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet (some years before 650 or 696), until its persecution (in 841 or 901), the T'ufan occupied Huang chung and Lungyu from 756 until 842, under the leadership of successive descendants of the imperial T'ufan family (Tsanpu), who appointed their own officials in the country without interference by the Chinese empire. It seems appropriate to assume that Tibetan lamas would at that time have followed the T'ufan tribes in Huang chung, and have built the "great hermitages" and the temple in Hsining, being encouraged by the Tsanpu leaders, the promoters of Buddhism. Thus Buddhism would have been diffused in Huang chung between 756–842 by lamas from Tibet and that is why "great hermitages" and the temple in Hsining existed before 940. 175 [792]

The minor importance of these institutions founded in troubled times, the loss of traditions concerning their origin, and the minor interest of the Chinese scholars for Lamaism, explain the lack of records in the Chinese *Annals*.

Conclusively, from the very beginning of the Chinese colonization of Huang chung until its conquest by the Mongols in 1227, the foundation of the hermitage of Dantig in 940, and the existence at that time, of "great hermitages" in that region, and of a Buddhist temple in the city of Hsining, are the only Lamaist institutions concerning which historical records exist. 175 771

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE YÜAN DYNASTY (1280–1367)

When the Mongols conquered Huang-chung, the country was nearly depopulated. They found a few 175

31, p. 2*b*). Also, more is available concerning the subject in *Kansu chüan shen Hsin-t'ung-chih*, 1909, ch. 46, pp. 6*b*, 7*a* and 7*b*. See also Wolfram Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* 1: 20, Brill, Leiden, 1942, Shih ch'eng, alte Hsiung-nu Gebiet.

Incidentally, I encountered in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1887, Pt. 1, No. 1, p. 28: "The north of Machhu is occupied by Chinese, Tibetans, Hor, Mohammedans [this seems to be the region of Pa-yen Jung], in the east of this tract lie the districts called Tantig and Yantig in which Tantig Shelgi is a sacred place." The location seems to be the region directly south of Nien pei. However, in 1910 no monastery existed in that region. [103]

[p. 13 (A)]

Tibetan tribes, remnants of important ones which had 175
fled to Kukunor or Tibet. Mongol troops, divided into small units, were settled with their families under the leadership of clan chiefs at strategic points, in order to prevent possible inroads of hostile neighboring tribes. [563]
A group of Shat'o living in the country since 936 joined the conquerers and was enlisted among the frontier defenders. The descendants of these groups constitute the Monguors to whom this study is devoted. Later there came also groups of Salars, Turks of Samarkand, to whom territories were assigned. More Moslems also settled in the country.[26]

GODAN

The Yüan dynasty is well known for its devotion to 175
Lamaism. In Tibetan and Mongol literature, Godan, 797
the brother of Güyük (the Emperor T'ing tsung, 1246–1251) is celebrated as the first ardent Buddhist Mongol prince who invited to his residence in Hsi-Liang the Sa-Skya Pandita, Chief Abbot of the Sa-Skya sect.

The holy man accepted the invitation and started his "apostolic" journey. He remained seven years in Hsi-Liang successfully diffusing the religion over the entire country.[27]

According to history, the troops of Godan had de- 175
feated the Tibetans northwest of Lhasa in 1239 and 648
destroyed a monastery. The Tibetans asked for negotiations in order to end the war. Godan urged a Tibetan delegate to come to his residence, and Sa-Skya Pandita, to whom this task had been assigned, started his "apostolic" journey on "command" from Godan, in order to avoid the worst. He delivered Tibet into the hands of the Mongol Prince, received a "gold patent," became an official under Godan, and Vice-regent of Tibet. His successors inherited this office.[28] Discontent among the Tibetans over the surrender of Tibet caused a new Mongol expedition to be sent in 1251. More rivalries and discontent had to be crushed again by the Mongol troops in 1267, 1277, 1281, and 1290.[29]

The Mongol emperors, hoping to keep the Tibetans [781]
and Mongols in submission by manifesting reverence for the lamas and promoting their religion, lavishly showered favors and privileges on the lamas and became Lamaists themselves. Emperors and empresses received Lamaist initiation, and the Sa-Skya lama Phagspa, chaplain at court, was allowed to sit next to 175
the emperor.[30] The court of the Mongols was sincerely 771

[26] Louis M. J. Schram, C.I.C.M., The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 23–57, 1954.

[27] Huth, *Geschichte der Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, 130, 1896.

[28] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 8, *et seq.* It is the merit [113]
of Professor Tucci to have shed true light on this old myth about the ardent Buddhist Godan, his invitation to the Sa-Skya Pandita, and the political status of Tibet during the Yüan dynasty. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217–91, 578.

[29] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 18. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217.

[30] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 510–517–522.

[p. 13(8)]

Buddhist, and Peking was a Buddhist city. However, the Mongols also favored all religions—shamanism, Nestorianism, Catholicism.

The impact of Lamaism during the Yüan dynasty was limited to Peking. The number of conversions to Lamaism in Mongolia, and the number of monasteries, were insignificant, since when Altan, Khan of T'umed in 1578, proclaimed the Yellow Church the official religion of the Mongols, the Red Church was very nearly extinct. Possibly the appeal of Lamaism to the Mongols at that time was very limited because the marvels performed by the Red lamas (such as making rain, dispelling hail, predicting the future, rising in the air, subduing evil spirits, protecting the herds by sorcery) had already been performed by their own old shamans for centuries. So, for them, Lamaism could have seemed but another form of their own shamanism.

TA-FO-SSU

In the long list of monasteries and temples recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining, there is mention only of the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the heart of the city, with the note: " . . . it is an old monastery built by the Mongols, to which was granted during the Hung-wu period of the Ming (1368–99), the inscription 'Pacified Tibetans' " (*Annals* ch. 15, p. 1*b*). The temple complex in 1915, although in a state of total dilapidation, gave evidence that it must have constituted a fine monastery in former times. The main temple (two stories high) contained three huge statues of Buddhas, nine meters in height. The ruins of four smaller temples were still in existence, as well as a great number of small rooms, the habitations of former lamas. This temple was built by the ancestors of the Li T'u-ssu who fulfilled in Hsining the important office of Yu-ch'eng at the end of the Yüan dynasty. The clan of the Li T'u-ssu belonged to the Ch'u-yüeh tribe of the Shat'o group which founded the Later T'ang and the Later Chin dynasties (923–947). The Shat'o were Buddhists, and the emperors of their dynasties liked to visit the caves of Lung-men where they prayed for rain and snow.[31] They honored especially the Buddhist deity, Pishamen (*Vaisrayana*), one of the "Four Heavenly Kings," guardians of the four directions.[32] This devotion must have been old, because it is said that "Li K'o-yung as a youth once prayed in the temple of Vaisrayana."[33] No wonder then that the Li clan built the celebrated Ta-fo-ssu. However, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, the Shat'o had two religions. Besides Buddhism, the old Turkish "God of Heaven" was still worshipped by them. After the conquest of North China, the Shat'o also worshipped the gods of the Chinese official religion.[34]

[31] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.
[32] *Ibid.*, 96.
[33] *Ibid.*, 92.
[34] *Ibid.*, 94. Schram, *op. cit.*, 30.

[P. 14(A)]

At the beginning of the Chinese Republic (1911), 175 rumors upset the country for a long time, according to 114 which all the temples were to be confiscated and con- 792 verted into schools. The Li T'u-ssu, afraid of having his family monastery confiscated, and being squeezed to the wall, chose the lesser of the two evils. He reluctantly resolved to make some money from it and suggested that I buy it. Hoping to get more information about the history of the monastery, I asked for deeds and about the circumstances under which the Yüan officials had granted to his ancestors, in the heart of the city, the grounds on which the monastery had been built. "Father," he said, "No deeds exist, but is the secular tradition, well known all over the country, not sufficient to allow me to sell the family monastery?" Later, Goorongbzan, the most influential Living Buddha of the Red Sect, was in search of an opportunity to retrieve the old glory of his sect, which had been declining and waning on account of the protection and privileges accorded by the emperors of the Ch'ing dynasty to the Yellow Sect. As he was the sworn brother of the Moslem military commander of Hsining, Ma K'o-ch'en, who was at that time omnipotent, Goorongbzan called on his "brother" to obtain the necessary permission to restore the old monastery, which had been administered for centuries by lamas of his sect. A vehement protest by all the Living Buddhas of the Yellow Sect in the country was sent to the amban and to Ma K'o-ch'en. Eventually the officials confiscated the monastery, and thus ended the Ta-fo-ssu.

SHA-CH'UNG

Traditions still fresh and living, concerning mon- 175 asteries built during the Yüan period, linger among the 792 lamas of the Red and Yellow Sects. A tradition, well known all over the country, asserts that the oldest monastery in the country is that of Sha-ch'ung, situated on the left bank of the Yellow River, 140 *li* southeast of Hsining. It affirms that its founder was Karmabakshi (1203–1282),[35] the lamas belonged to the Karmapa, and that the celebrated Tsong khapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, started his religious career at Sha-ch'ung which went over to the Yellow Sect.

In 1918 I was a guest at Sha-ch'ung, a beautiful 792 lamasery. The temple, in the center of the complex of [346] buildings, had a gilt tiled roof. It was situated on the Ami ch'ü-lu Mountain, commanding a wonderful outlook over the Yellow River and the surrounding moun-

[35] Gunther Schuleman, *Geschichte der Dalai Lama*, Heidelberg, 1911. At the time of Güyük and Mönke most of the lamas on duty at the court were of Tangut origin and adherents of the Karmapa sect, spread from Tsang to Kukunor. They were proficient in magic, and rivals of the Sa-skya (p. 51). At the end of the Yüan dynasty their chief received an imperial diploma and seal (p. 56). During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) the most prominent among the bearers of the title of *Ta-pao-fa-wang*, "Great King of the precious law," was the chief of the Karmapa sect (p. 57).

[p. 14(B)]

tainous country. It was inhabited by two or three 792
hundred lamas of Tibetan origin, and had four colleges. The Abbot told me the monastery had been founded by a lama of Amdo, called Don dub. During the Yüan dynasty he had studied in Tibet. He was a learned man. The Abbot pointed to a stupa built on [346]
top of the temple and said it contained the relics of the founder. He went on to explain that Don dub had been the Teacher of Tsong khapa (born in 1357, ten years before the end of the Yüan dynasty) who started his religious career at Sha-ch'üng, and that the teacher brought his pupil to Lhasa when he was sixteen years of age. Then the Abbot led me to a nice building claiming it was there Tsong khapa had lived.[36]

It is not known what kind of monastery Sha-ch'ung 175 ●
was in the beginning; whether it was a small hermitage 792
where a few unmarried Red lamas lived together or only a temple where some married Red lamas gathered at fixed times. The latter, depending more or less on a chief chosen from among them, scattered over the country, their pupils living with them, farming or raising cattle and performing cultural rites when invited by the people to do so. Important lamaseries could hardly have existed at that time, because of the disturbed circumstances. Even if Sha-ch'ung was not the hermitage of Dantig, built in 940 by dGe-ba rab-gsal, it certainly existed at the end of the Yüan dynasty. Two facts seem to support the tradition.

Sha-ch'ung in 1916 was a neighbor of the most im- 792
portant monastery of the Red Sect, whose Living 578
Buddha, Goorongbzan, presided over a group of more than two hundred lamas of his sect. The same year both lamaseries claimed to be possessors of a strip of intervening pasture, and had a fight at close quarters. Many lamas on both sides were wounded. Ma k'o-ch'en, the Moslem commander of Hsining, and sworn brother of Goorongbzan, put an end to the feud which had lasted for centuries. He adjudicated the possession [691]
of the debatable pasture to Goorong, who produced deeds dating from the period of the Yüan, but which the former officials would never recognize because of the influence wielded by the Yellow Sect. This fact supports the evidence of the tradition according to which both lamaseries had existed during the Yüan. The old feud was rooted in the fact that Sha-ch'ung, which belonged to the Red Sect, later went over to the Yellow Sect, while the monastery of Goorong clung to its original Red Sect.

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[36] E. Obermiller, Tsunkhaba le Pandit, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 2: 321, Louvain, Istas, 1934–1935. L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 2nd ed., 59, W. Heffer, Cambridge, 1934. Wilhelm Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling*, 175, Leipzig, 1933. The confirmation of this tradition is found in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo, translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Pt. I, 1: 27, "Chya Khyung, the seat of Chhoije Tondub Rinchhen, contains his tomb as well as the residence of Tsong khapa."

[p. 15(A)]

A second fact is encountered in a publication of Ma Fu-hsiang.[37] For many years he was the most prominent official of Hsining engaged with Tibetan and Mongol affairs. Later, he became governor of Suiyüan Province and a member of the Meng-Tsang Yüan in Nanking. The passage from the publication states: 792 578

> More than 100 *li* southeast of Hsining, on the territory of the 'Ten Tribes,' is the Ami chü-lü mountain upon which was built the monastery of Sha-ch'ung which had more than 1,000 lamas. It was there that Tsong khapa had his hair clipped [entered religion], and remained for more than 10 years, starting his studies and religious life, before he went to Tibet (p. 198).

In 1906 the Chinese started digging for gold in the sacred mountain. The lamas, opposed to the digging, fought and two men were killed. The governor of the province ordered punishment to be imposed upon the lamasery with ruthless severity. Ma Fu-hsiang, being acquainted with the Tibetans, sought to settle the question amicably and went to Sha-ch'ung. The rebelling lamas and 1,000 soldiers of the "Ten Tribes" were determined to fight the Chinese troops. During the long period of discussion, the head of the lamasery repeated over and over that the lamasery and the mountain were hallowed places, because it was there that the founder of the Yellow Church had clipped his hair and remained for more than ten years. He protested that by digging at these spots the "artery" of the Yellow Church would be damaged, and the ruin of its religion be made inevitable (p. 190). Finally, as always in the Orient, a way was found to settle the case, by promising that no more digging would be done on the Sacred Mountain; but on the territory of the "Ten Tribes" digging would be allowed (p. 193). This fact gives evidence of the deep-seated conviction among the Tibetans about the veracity of the tradition and infers the existence of the lamasery at the time of the Yüan period (1280–1367). More traditions exist about monasteries having been built during the Yüan period, as related by the lamas, but they are vague and no names or specific places are indicated nor do ruins exist. However, it is not impossible that the traditions point to the hermitages noted in the *Blue Annals*. The building of the big monastery of Ta fo-ssu by one of the important T'u-ssu clans reveals the fact that Lamaism was a living entity among the T'u-ssu and their Monguors. Is it not too far-fetched to suppose that among the T'u-ssu only the Li T'u-ssu were Lamaist, since it is well known that the Ch'i and Lu T'u-ssu in 1644 were proprietors of monasteries constructed by them, although we do not know when they were constructed.[38] Besides, the facts that the monastery of Goorongbzan existed near Sha-ch'ung, and that in the beginning of the Ming a board of lamas was established, suggest the assumption that in Huang-chung during the Yüan period there probably must

792 627 175 771 792 622 624

[37] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng Tsang Chuang-k'uang*, Nanking, Chung-Hua yin-shu kung-ssu, 1931.

[38] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 34, p. 3a.

[p115(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

have existed more insignificant hermitages, scattered over the country. The lack of historical data does not permit further assertion about the diffusion of Lamaism during the Yüan period. 175 771 792

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1643)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE MING

The emperors of the Ming dynasty followed in the wake of those of the Yüan dynasty, protecting and promoting Lamaism among the Tibetans and the Mongols, in order to hold in subjection the turbulent tribes living in remote countries. This policy indeed was less expensive than that of venturesome military expeditions. 175 662 771

The perspicacious Chinese Ming emperors from the very beginning grasped the capital flaw inherent in the policy of the Yüan, in regard to Tibet. Khubilai must have known that the Tibet of the thirteenth century was not the Tibet of the seventh and eighth centuries, when the Tibetan tribes, united by powerful chiefs and allured by the prospect of plundering, marauded over the western and southern frontiers of China, and in 763 even plundered the capital of China with 200,000 men. Tibet of the thirteenth century was a disintegrated country, divided among antagonistic aristocratic families, each claiming to be the protector and defender of its preferred lama sect and powerful lamasery. The armed struggles between these families had involved, necessarily, the sects they protected, and caused the sects to fight on the side of their protectors and to ruin each other. Thus the doctrinal divergences between the sects seem not to have been the capital cause of the fierce hostility among them.[39]

The appointment of the Sa-Skya great lama as Viceregent of Tibet at the time Godan had fanned the flame of the long-standing animosity and hatred among the aristocratic families and sects, to the extent that five times Mongol armies had to be sent to quell the revolts. Notwithstanding this initial political blunder, Khubilai and his successors continued to extend their special protection to the Sa-Skya sect and to lavish on it the highest possible marks of honor at court.

However, at the end of the Mongol dynasty the powerful aBrigumpa sect had succeeded in overthrowing the Sa-Skya. Therefore, from the very beginning, the Ming dynasty avoided having to back and restore the supremacy of the decaying Sa-Skya or to patronize the most powerful aBrigumpa. It lavishly granted the same titles and favors to chiefs and influential lamas of different sects, using them for its political purposes. On the one hand, all the rival Lamaist sects had to stand on the same footing, and had to curry favors with the emperors, but, on the other hand, more and more favors had to be granted, and Lamaism reached a very high degree in Huang-chung.

[39] Tucci, *op. cit.*, 39, *et seq.* [p. 16(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The author of the *Annals*, dealing with the diffusion 175 of Lamaism in Huang-chung, seems to have neglected 771 completely even the existence of Lamaism before the 114 Ming (1368). He seems very articulate concerning the problem, claiming that its diffusion had really started during the first years of the Ming and that, in fact, by the foundation of monasteries, the granting of titles to lamas, the institution of Nang-suo, Karwa, and Ch'an-shih chia, the outlook of the entire country was changed and the possession and population of Huang-chung assured.

PECULIAR POLICY IN HUANG-CHUNG

Founding of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an 175

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 13*a*, 648 13*b*) that 662

At the beginning of the Ming dynasty San-la, a Tibetan lama of Hsining, wrote a letter to induce the tribes of Han-tung to submit,[40] and built a monastery south of Nien-pei and settled there. He went to court and brought a tribute of horses, and he begged for a rescript to administer the monastery and the tribes, and for the favor of an inscription for the monastery. The Emperor T'ai-tsu (1368–1399), granted his request and favored him with an inscription reading: "Ch'ü-t'an." The Emperor established a board of lamas in Hsining and named San-la the director of the board. From that time on his pupils emulated him in building monasteries; the Emperor bestowed glorious names upon them, and in addition gave rescripts for administering them. Consequently, land and power became monopolized by the barbarian lamas. During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) there were bestowed, piecemeal, on the lamas, the titles of "Ch'an-shih" (Master in Dhyana), "Kuan-ting" (one whose head had been anointed), "Kuo-shih" (master of the empire); some were even given the title of "Ta-Kuo-shih" (great master or teacher of the empire), "Hsi T'ien Fo Tzu" (Buddha of the western Paradise; Amitabha). To all he gave seals and diplomas, and allowed [their dignities] to be transmitted, and they were ordered to bring, once every year, a tribute to the court.

Because the lamas were held in high esteem among the 175 barbarians, the government took advantage of them in 792 order to keep the barbarians in submission. The people of 622 the frontiers considered the dignity of the lamas as most glorious. For that reason, Tibetans and Monguors who had two sons, were certain to have one of them become a lama. Some even preferred not to have an heir, but ordered their sons to enter religious life. Tibetans and Monguors bequeathed their wealth to the monastery with a request for prayers, leaving their descendants destitute. Thus the barbarians became poorer and the monasteries richer. In each tribe there were people who submitted themselves to monasteries and became like a tribe, the subjects of the monastery [Shabinar].[41] The Chinese officials also entrusted the Tibetan monks with the duty of exchanging tea for horses.

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[40] E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches* 2: 218. Han tung "was situated in the land, which in the days of the Han constituted all the district of Tun-Huang."

[41] Shabinar disciples. Shabinars are the supporters of the lamas, giving them material sustenance. At first some disciples performed this task. By extension, it came to mean lay adjuncts of the lamasery, and at present it means the subjects of the lamasery.

[p. 16(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

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The first Ming emperor was delighted with the good will and efforts of San-la in bringing the Tibetan tribes into submission; he aimed to set an example of his high appreciation for the achievement, by rewarding San-la in an unusual way, thereby encouraging other lamas to follow his example. San-la appears to have been the first lama to act in this way, which explains the emphasis on his career in the *Annals* and the mention of him also in the general history of the Ming dynasty (ch. 300, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is further recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a* of the *Annals*, concerning the appreciation of the Ming emperors for San-la and his brothers that:

> . . . in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) an imperial rescript was sent to build a monastery [presumably with a large sum of money]; two lamas of the group received the distinction of Kuo-shih ["teacher of the empire"], three received that of Master in Dhyana; a vast territory was granted; a gold and a silver seal were bestowed, each being 14 inches in circumference; one square jade seal, two ivory ones, and the inscription for a stele. During the Hung-hsi and Hsüan-te periods (1425–35) two texts, composed by the emperors, were again granted for two more steles.

This last text, encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining, is excerpted from the *Ming shih* (ch. 330, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is very informative concerning the pro-Lamaist policy of the Ming, and the position of Lamaism in the country of Hsining at that time. According to the text, the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) was the beginning of the granting of titles to "influential lamas," which explains why no title is recorded for the meritorious San-la who received the chieftainship of the tribes and of the lamasery in the beginning of the Hung-wu period (1368–1399). The same practice concerning the granting of titles, found in the *Ming-shih* (ch. 330, p. 4*a*), mentions that in 1426 the additional title of "great teacher of the empire" and the honor of the fourth official grade had been bestowed on five lamas of note, to whom the title of "teacher of the empire" had previously been granted (1403–1424), because of their merits in helping to quell the revolts. The title "Master in Dhyana" and the honor of the sixth official grade had been granted probably for similar reasons.[42]

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[42] The granting of titles, however, did not start with the Ming; the *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih, Chüan chou* (p. 27*a*) records: "Kubilai [1280–1295] in the beginning [of his reign] granted the title of Ta-kuo-shih great teacher of the empire, to the Sa-Skya lama, Phagspa, and later bestowed on him the title of 'great king of the precious law,' *Ta-pao-fa-wang*. When he spoke to him he called him, honorably, *Ti-shih*, 'teacher of the emperor'; at the same time to lama Tan-pa was granted the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and the number of those upon whom this title had been bestowed was not restricted to one. During the Hung-wu period [1368–1398] the titles of 'teacher of the empire' and 'great teacher of the empire' were only granted to four or five lamas. During the Yung-lo period [1403–1424] the title of 'king of the law' had been granted to two lamas, and that of 'Buddha of the western Paradise' to two

[p. 17(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 792 554 662

The texts are very informative concerning the reason why, and the circumstances in which, titles were granted to lamas, and how Lamaism was as a consequence diffused in the country of Hsining and gained its tremendous influence and power.

The Ming dynasty in 1368 faced a double problem.[43] On the one hand, it had to take possession of the country and to protect it against inroads from turbulent nomadic tribes. On the other hand, the country having been depopulated during the disorders at the end of the previous dynasty, it had to find permanent trustworthy settlers and to attach them to the soil. The first problem was solved by accepting the submission of the groups of Monguors, making their chiefs T'u-ssu, Chinese officials, and wardens of the region and the passes, which they had guarded during the Yüan dynasty, and by means of sending a Chinese army of colonists and released prisoners. The second problem was tackled by favoring lamas, by attracting groups of families subject to them or tribes belonging to them or willing to submit to the empire, and assigning to them vast territories. Lamas were appointed chiefs of the tribes, granted honorable titles and privileges which could be transmitted to their successors. They encouraged the building of monasteries. Mongol tribes from Ordos which invaded Kukunor, driving out or subduing the Tibetan tribes of that country, provided a favorable opportunity to use the influence of the lamas to accept and settle the fleeing Tibetan tribes without territory, who were marauding over the country.

[622]

The evidence for this policy is to be found in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 19, p. 3*b*): "The Tibetan Lung-pu tribe (2,000 families) devastated the country several times. The Chinese armies were unable to make them surrender. Finally the Chinese General Tung-lo invited So-nan-chien-tso, a lama of the monastery of Ta-ming, in order to exhort them to submit." He was successful in his attempt. The author naïvely notes that in the tribe there were "two masters of the empire."

Page 6*a*: "The Lung-pen tribe, administered by a lama, came to settle in the country [and to submit]. Its chief received the title of 'teacher of the empire' and the duty of *Chih-hui*."

Page 6*a*: "The Sina tribe [still governed by a Living Buddha] had a lama with the title of 'teacher of the empire' (because he submitted with his tribe)."

Page 6*a*: "The lama chief of the Ch'ia-erh-chih tribe

other lamas; but to 18 lamas had been granted the titles of *Kuan-ting* or *Ta-kuo-shih*, or both. During the Ching-t'ai period (1450–1456) the titles were granted so profusely that we lose count." P. Pelliot, Les "kouo-cheu ou Maitres du Royaume" dans le Bouddhisme chinois *T'oung Pao* 12: 671, 1911. The title of "teacher of the empire" was used in China at the time of the northern Chi (550–557); the title is also encountered in north-west India in A.D. 500 and was already known in Central Asia in A.D. 382.

[43] Schram, *op. cit.*, 34.

[p. 17(B)]

bore the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and fulfilled the duty of *Chih-hui*," for the same reason. 792 554

Page 8*b*: "The Ssu-hou-mi tribe had a lama 'teacher of the empire' who had been granted a golden seal." (This unusual favor must have been granted for the same sort of reason.) 662 175

Page 10*b*: "The Ssu-ngo-ssu-ko tribe, always revolting and plundering, submitted after a lama had settled among them; also the Hsiao-cha-erh tribe (p. 11*a*) settled inside the wall and submitted after a lama living in the western mountains of Su-chou had been sent from Tibet for that purpose. The Pen-la tribe submitted after a lama coming from the south had settled among them." Three more tribes governed by lamas submitted; the Na-erh-pu (p. 5*a*), the Yeh-ch'ü (p. 6*a*), and the Nan-ta (p. 6*b*).

The submission of tribes induced by lamas started at the very beginning of the Ming (1368), and continued during the entire Ming period. The country thus became populated by tribes which professed the Lamaism of the Red Sect. The strong appeal to submit was, on the one hand, the insecurity in the region of Kukunor and, on the other hand, the benefits which attached to submission.

THREE PECULIAR INSTITUTIONS FOR LAMAS

From the very beginning the Ming created in Huang-chung for these lama chiefs three peculiar institutions: the Nang-suo,[44] the Karwa, and the Ch'an shih chia. Nang-suo and Karwa consisted basically of the granting of a territory, the fixing of a yearly tribute, the recognition of the chieftainship of the lama who had brought in the tribe, and of the heritability of that chieftainship. The Ch'an shih chia also enjoyed the privilege of heredity and a yearly allowance of wheat-flour, but no territories were granted to them. 175 792 554 793

This peculiar characteristic of heredity for lamas is explained by the fact that at that time they must have belonged to the Red Sect, and have been married. Red lamas living in the same tribe must have had a chieftain among them who had been granted the privilege of having the chieftainship transferred upon his death to his son. The difference between Nang-suo and Karwa chiefs was that the Nang-suo chief was the leader of a group or community of lamas, so constituted that the entire group was interested in his privileges and benefits. The Karwa chief was a single lama presiding over a small group of subjects. His privileges included only his own family and private interests. The Ch'an shih chia's privileges applied only to him personally. Another important difference between Nang-suo and Karwa was that later, when a group of Red lamas adhered to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privileges of their chief lama were transferred to the intendancy of the monastery, while the privileges of a Karwa chief

[44] Mathias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, 262, Wien. Herold, 1949.

[p. 18(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

of the Yellow Sect were transmitted to his apprentice (usually his nephew) and remained as before a private interest. 175 792 554 793

Nang-suo

Until 1723 there were eighteen Nang-suo in the country of Hsining. Sixteen of them were abolished after the revolt of that year. Only two managed to survive: the Nang-suo of Editsa, which had sent its allegiance to the Chinese General Nien Keng-yao before the troubles started, and the despised Sina Nang-suo which had been implicated in the revolt but changed its mind after the revolt appeared to be about to fail.[45] This explanation afforded by the Amban of Hsining and the history tallies well with what is told by the Monguors and the lamas all over the country, who disdainfully recall the sayings: *Chien pu kuo Editsa Nang-suo,* "no slyer creature than the Editsa Nang-suo," and *Sina Nang suo chiao ts'ai liang chia,* "The Sina Nang-suo plants his feet in two boats [is untrustworthy]." The Editsa Nang-suo having gone over to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privilege was inherited by the intendancy of the monastery. Editsa was still flourishing in 1910–1920; Sina, however, had passed through a bad period.

According to the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, pp. 6*a* and 6*b*;

> Sina was a group which submitted in 1380 and lived inside the wall, grazing its animals 60 *li* north of Hsining [region of T'o-pa], having a city and houses, and engaging in agriculture; it possessed a Buddhist temple, and its lama had received the title of "Master of the Empire," with silver and ivory seals. It was a group of 500 families, comprising more than 1,500 persons. It offered a yearly tribute of more than 300 horses. One of its subtribes was called the Small Sina tribe and lived in Ku-shan; its tribute was 30 or more horses. Its other subtribe was the Ssu-ta-lama tribe, and lived near the temple of Hsieh-erh-kang-chin; its tribute was 50 or more horses.

After the revolt, troubles did not cease within the Sina tribes, whose subjects had been compelled to participate in the rebellion at the beginning by the Nang-

[45] *Tung-hua-lu,* First year of Yung-cheng period, 3: 23*a*, 25. *Ming-shih-lu,* Yung-cheng period, *Chuan* 12, [illegible] 27. In 1707 Father Regis, S.J., was sent by the emperor, during the period K'ang Hsi, to draw the map of the empire (Henri Cordier, *Histoire de la Chine,* 3: 333, Paris, Geuthner, 1920). He remained in Hsining for a month, visited T'o-pa and writes: "This village is not administered by Chinese officials, but depends on a lama, always chosen from the same family which belongs to this country. This family is the most outstanding one in the country. The lama administers these Tibetans (*Hsifan*) and punishes misbehavior. This people, not wholly subject to China, are rarely summoned by the Chinese officials, and seldom obey their orders. The lama chief does not seem to trouble the subjects very much, providing they honor him and fulfill their obligations toward Buddha, which seem not to be too burdensome. The three or four Armenians who were trading furs in T'o-pa, seemed very pleased with the chief lama, and praised his administration." (J. B. DuHalde, *Description géographique de la Chine,* 49–50, 1736.) Schram, *op. cit.,* 36.

[p. 18(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

suo chief, and had suffered enormously. Finally they refused to deliver taxes to the Nang-suo and asked the Chinese officials to accept them as Chinese subjects. The request was readily granted, and an arrangement was made between the Chinese officials and the Nang-suo by which every year the subprefect of Hsining was to pay 1,500 strings of cash to the Nang-suo; the Nang-suo could only collect the rents, and his subjects were henceforth considered Chinese subjects. This happened after 1755, because the *Annals* (ch. 19, 15*a*), say that "in 1755 the chief of the Sina tribe, which numbered 1,379 persons, resided in the village of the upper Sina lamasery." In 1910 most of its fields had been sold by the Sina intendancy, which had adhered to the Yellow Sect. Its resources were so depleted that the seals of the former Nang-suo had been mortgaged to the lamasery of Kumbum, which thereby acquired the authority to collect the rents from the remaining properties.

175 792 554 793

The Lung pen Nang-suo is often spoken about in the country. It lived on both sides of the wall in former times and submitted in 1380, together with its neighbors, the Sina tribe, and then moved inside the wall. It numbered 130 families. Its lama chief had received the title of "Master of the empire" and the official rank of Chih-hui. Its subtribe, the Pen-pa-erh had one hundred or more families (*Annals*, ch. 19, p. 15*a*). In 1916 the impoverished chief was still called Nang-suo lama locally. He lived in the Naring Valley. He told me that his lamasery had been destroyed in 1723 and that the lamas had disappeared. His subjects, who had become subjects of the Chinese officials, lived in Ta-Hsiao-Kang-ch'eng. His predecessors had sold nearly all the fields and he could not collect the rents on the remaining fields. His neighbors said that his predecessors had mortgaged his seals to the intendancy of Sina. In early times they had two temples, Lung pen kui ssu and Lung hua ssu, which were destroyed during the revolt. Only one side of one of the temples had been rebuilt and the lama still collected some alms among his former 373 families. Often recalled also in local tradition are the Nang-suos of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, abolished after 1723. They were important in former times.

Karwa [46]

According to a tradition well known all over the region, thirteen Karwa were established north of the Hsining River during the Ming dynasty. In 1912 seven of them still existed, Li-ch'i, Ch'ien-tsun-urgon, Pei-cha-erh-ti, Sia-mer, Tsan-tsa, Chao-chia, and Huo-puo. There are no records of Karwa south of the

[46] The word *Karwa* is used in the country to designate the residences inhabited by Living Buddhas in the lamaseries; it is also used to indicate a domain and subjects granted by the Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty to meritorious lamas as their "personal" property with "right of bequeathing" it to their lama successor. It does not mean a grant of domains and subjects bestowed on a community of lamas or a lamasery.

[p. 19(A)]

Hsining River. A Karwa is a kind of mediaeval seig- 175
niory presided over by a lama. Granted by the em- 792
peror, it is a more or less vast domain in which usually 554
forty to fifty families live. Pei-cha-erh-ti Karwa had 793
152 families (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, p. 16*a*). The tenants had in former times been subjects of the lama. There is a temple on the domain, and next to it is the residence of the lama seignior, with granaries. The domain is the personal property of the lama lord who is completely independent of any Living Buddha or monastery. The three lordship lamas I have met told me that the Ming emperors had granted this privilege to their ancestor lamas, each of whom belonged at that time to the Red Sect and was married. Each of these lamas had been granted a Karwa because he had submitted to the Ming with his small tribe, or had induced a neighboring tribe to submit to the emperor or had rendered service to the Chinese army, giving secret information to the officers fighting the revolted Tibetans. They explained the disappearance of the six Karwa which no longer existed by the fact that these lamas did not follow the Yellow Sect and remained married. They said that theoretically among the lamas of the Red Sect one son should succeed the father as lama of the sect, but in reality when the father died his sons divided among them the property and the subjects, and the Karwa vanished, with the result that the temple became the property of the village. The seigniors who went over to the Yellow Sect, however, managed to survive by the fact that the lama lord of every generation adopted only one apprentice lama, to whom he bequeathed the domain. The apprentice was usually one of his nephews, and so the Karwa continued its existence, the lama collecting rents from the tenants and imposing some corvées. After the revolt of 1723 the domains of the Karwa were not confiscated but the subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials. Only rents, not taxes, were allowed to be collected and corvées continued to be imposed.

The lama seignior of the Li-ch'i Karwa (who is a 792
member of the powerful Li T'u-ssu clan) fulfills, of his 796
own free will, an important function at the monastery of Chie-bzang, but he remains the proprietor of his Karwa and has one apprentice who will inherit the domain. Every year on the tenth of the tenth moon, he invites to his small temple four lamas, alternatively, of the Yellow and the Red Sects, to pray from sunrise to sunset for blessings upon his "subjects," who bring a contribution of twenty pounds of butter and five sheep. The lord provides tea and noodles. The subjects all enjoy attending the religious ceremony and the annual dinner, and are used to the custom of going home at sunrise the next day. The Pei-cha-erh ti Karwa is still celebrated for the fasting rites held at its temple, about which more will be said.

The lord of the Tsan-tsa Karwa, feeling lonely in his 792 554
estate, married a young girl in 1914. All the members 428

[p. 19(B)]

of his family assembled and protested, urging that a 792
boy, a nephew of the family, be adopted by the lord 554
as his apprentice, and that a testament should be writ- 428
ten and signed by the officials of the village, in order to make sure that after the death of the lord, the domain and his private property (sheep, cows, horses) would be bequeathed to the apprentice. The apprentice would first have to be sent to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to receive a serious religious education. Not long after the birth of a child to the lord and his wife, the lord died. His wife received a small field and some cattle, but the Karwa was inherited by the apprentice. The domain passes at every generation to a member of the same family (from uncle to nephew). The family retains the right to keep an eye on the regular succession, and so in the country a Karwa is considered to be the property of the Karwa lama and his family. This fact reveals a social tradition existing throughout the country, and the pride of the old families to whose lama a Karwa had been granted by the emperors in former times.

This pride appears to be the reason why, when a lama lord dies without having adopted an apprentice, the whole family convenes and decides to offer the domain to a lama member of the family. However, when there is not such a lama, the members of the family divide among them the domain and private property of the deceased, and the Karwa vanishes.

Ch'an-shih-chia ("Master in Dhyana" families) 175

This institution, dating from the Ming, seems to be 792
in the line of the Karwa. In Huang-chung there was 554
attached to the title of Ch'an-shih ("Master in Dhy- [651]
ana"), the privilege of receiving every year from the Chinese administration a fixed quantity of wheat. At the same time, if the lama happened to acquire some fields on which to build a grain or oil mill, his fields and mills were exempt from taxes. The title of Ch'an-shih appears to have been hereditary. This seems to be the reason why the people always talk of Master in Dhyana "families" and seldom of Master in Dhyana lamas. In the country north of the Hsining River, with which I was best acquainted, there were still several Masters in Dhyana, independent of any monastery, living next to their relatives and each having a small temple of his own. The family tried to provide a nephew as an apprentice, for such a lama would upon the death of his master become Master in Dhyana by the transfer of the original seal and the original patent letters.

Most of these Masters in Dhyana lived in opulence, 554
their families being exempted from land taxes because 428
they were supposed to till the fields of the lama. In Suo-pu-t'an I encountered the Shih-hu Ch'an-shih-chia, a layman, who enjoyed, with his family, the privileges of a Ch'an-shih lama. Since there had been no lama in the family to succeed the previous master he had in-

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The prin-

ciples on which succession by reincarnation are founded had existed for centuries, but had not yet been generally applied. The next prominent lama to whom the principles were applied was the Panchen lama of Tashilhumpo. In the next two centuries succession by reincarnation, inaugurated by the Yellow Sect in 1475, spread to such an extent that every monastery, including less important ones, of whatever sect, had its own Living Buddha. Some of them had several in the same monastery.[48] Even the superior of the convent of nuns, situated on the shore of Lake Yandok, having defended her convent against the invading Mongols in 1716, became the incarnation of Palden Lhamo, celebrated all over Tibet and Mongolia, and the potent protector of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas and Lhasa.

In the first Part of this study it was noted that Palden Lhamo is the protectress of the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, which honors her in a peculiar way.[49] Her picture is carried by the T'u-ssu on his triennial visit to the Monguor villages in order that all the clansmen and the subjects may perform their obeisance before the image. In Huang-chung the passion for Living Buddhas went so far as to declare the father of Tsong khapa a reincarnation, called Achia Bsan, which is the proprietor and grand chief of the Kumbum monastery. Even this was not enough. Tsong khapa's mother was also declared a reincaration, but her reincarnation always appears in a boy, who is the Living Buddha of the monastery of Rardscha, on the upper reaches of the Yellow River. However, according to Lamaist doctrine and rites, the father's reincarnation takes precedence over the mother's. Each reincarnation has a residence in Kumbum, but the father, being the grand chief of the monastery, has his own headquarters.[50]

TEMPLES BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY

In analyzing the Ming policy concerning Lamaism in Huang-chung, it is of interest to know how many monasteries were built in Huang-chung during this period.

Included in the long list of temples found in the *Annals* of Hsining there are recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a*, the temple of Ch'ü-t'an, as having been built in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424); ch. 15, p. 2, the small temple of Hung-t'ung-ssu in the city of Hsining in 1390; ch. 15, pp. 4*b* and 5*a*, the famous monastery of Kumbum, adding that only in 1596 were negotiations begun to enlarge its buildings and to construct a big monastery; in ch. 31, p. 14*a*, in the account of revolts of Tibetans and the inroads by Mongols from Kukunor, it is incidentally noted that the monastery of Hung-shan-ssu, 60 *li* south of Ch'ü-t'an, had been looted and destroyed in 1519, as well as

[48] Maraini, Fosco, *Secret Tibet*, 144, translated from the Italian by Eric Mosbacher, New York, Viking, 1952.
[49] Schram, *op. cit.*, 65.
[50] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 237.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the temple of T'ieh-fu-ssu, 40 *li* west of Hsining in 1537 (ch. 31, p. 15*a*). 175 792 346

The information in the *Annals* is restricted to these five poor items. Huth notes[51] that the Third Dalai Lama, Sod-nam, on his way to Ordos in 1582, went from Kukunor to Kumbum and established a college there for the explanation of sacred texts. From Kumbum he went to Ribo-nan-tig (probably the hermitage of Dantig noted on pp. 31 *sq.*), to take a long rest; then, after visiting many big lamaseries, he arrived in the Ordos. I am unable to identify the names of the lamaseries noted here, and am very sceptical about these "big" monasteries, because no ruins, vestiges or traditions of them are preserved. The big monasteries of Huang-chung which have to be studied, were all built in more recent times. The historical data are again very scanty.

CH'Ü-T'AN-SSU, FIRST LAMASERY BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY

The first lamasery built during the Ming, according to the *Annals* (ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a*), is the famous monastery of Ch'ü-t'an.[52] The history of this first lamasery, built by the Ming emperors, is preserved in broad strokes in the text (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 32, pp. 16–20) of three steles, now demolished. All three give evidence of the high consideration of the emperors for Lamaism.

The first text was granted by Emperor T'ai-tsung (Ch'eng-tsu) of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424), and concerns a "golden" (bronze) statue offered to the lamasery by the emperor. The text notes that the artisans, not succeeding in preparing the mold for the statue, went to eat their meal. While they were gone the mold grew into perfect shape of its own accord. The statue was cast from it and exuded a wonderful perfume.

The second text was granted by Emperor Jen-tsung of the Hung-hsi period (1425). It recalls the merits of Emperor T'ai-tsu of the Hung-wu period (1368–1399), who founded the monastery, ordered the building of a temple, and granted the name of "Ch'ü-t'an," and of Emperor T'ai-tsung who ordered the construction of a second temple.

The third text, granted by Emperor Hsüan-tsung of the Hsüan-te period (1426–1436), ordered the construction of a third temple, after recalling summarily the history of the lama, San-la, and his tribe, and the grant of the monastery and its title.

Legends

The origin of the celebrated monastery is overlaid with a wonderful legend, believed and enjoyed by the people. It should first be remembered that Emperor 538

[51] Huth, *op. cit.* 2: 227.

[52] Ch'ü-t'an-Gautama, a name of Shakyamuni, means "most victorious on earth."

[p.21(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Yao-ts'ao-t'ai ("the terrace of medicinal herbs"), Hung-shan-ssu, and three smaller ones. Yao-ts'ao-t'ai was the vast pasture ground for the herds of the monastery and of the lamas. According to the abbots, it soon developed to the extent of having 200 lamas. Hung-shan-ssu soon had more than 150 lamas and received from the emperor a special grant of 500 taels every year (the reason is not known; *Annals*, ch. 15, p. 8*a*). In 1747 the allocation was still provided by the officials. The Living Buddhas of the three monasteries told me that because most of their lamas were of Monguor origin, their monasteries declined after Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung had been built, and the Monguor lamas had gone over to these lamaseries. However, there are other reasons which caused the decline of the flourishing monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, which at present is in a state of indescribable dilapidation. 792 346 175 792 346

In 1509 the Tibetans of Kukunor, driven from their pastures by the Mongol, I-pu-la, made inroads in Huang-chung. They looted and ruined the branch monastery of Hung-shan-ssu in 1519 (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 14*a*). In 1558 the Mongols of Kukunor looted and sacked Ch'ü-t'an (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 16*b*) and the neighboring country; probably Yao-ts'ao-t'ai also. The Moslems, in 1862–1872, wrought terrible havoc on the temples and the palaces of the Living Buddhas, and burned the printing blocks of the library. In 1895 the temple was again looted by the revolting Moslems. Material damage and ruins, however, are reparable, but damage and ruin caused from within the lama institution itself are not.

The troubles started between the mother monastery of Ch'ü-t'an and the branch of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, which is situated on the rich pasture grounds and forests included in the initial domain of the old monastery granted by the emperors. Very early, a couple of small temples and homes for lamas had been built on the spot, and a superior appointed. Around 1660, according to the abbots, more than 200 lamas lived at the subsidiary and more temples had been built. Its superior, a very learned and holy man, died and was reincarnated. His reincarnation was called Karang bzang and settled at the subsidiary monastery. (At that time the vogue for reincarnations was in full swing.) Very soon the mother monastery had its own reincarnation, the Living Buddha Mei, and four small Living Buddhas. The branch also provided a small Buddha called the Liang-chou fo-yeh. 175 792 578 [775]

With both monasteries having Living Buddhas, friction started between them and lasted for more than two centuries. Jealousy and hatred became deep-rooted. Both monasteries behaved like ducks, appearing calm and unruffled on the surface, but paddling like devils underneath it. The eternal question of the corvées imposed by the mother monastery on its subsidiaries and the demand for land rents kept open festering wounds, and the yearly disputes grew more and more acute.

[p.23(B)]

Finally, in 1885 the branch declared its independence 175
and claimed to be possessor of the pasture and farm 792
grounds and the forests formerly entrusted to its care 578
by the mother monastery. A serious fight at close quarters occurred in the mother lamasery.

Ch'ü-t'an sued the branch to vindicate its rights of 691
proprietor of all the domains of Ch'ü-t'an. The lawsuit 792
was carried to the Court of Justice of the Subprefecture 662
of Nien-pe and lasted for two years. The Chinese officials, lavishly bribed by both groups, finally sent the lawsuit to the Court of the Prefecture of Hsining in order that their friends and superiors might have the opportunity to acquire some wealth and promote the cause of justice. Again, the lamas stubbornly spent their money for two years. Still unwilling to accept the verdict of the judges, the suit was sent to the Supreme Court of the capital of the province. Here the Chinese officials were very happy to meet the interested customers, and the gullible lamas started immediately to sow again, seeds of wealth and happiness in the gardens of the highest officials. For sixteen years the clever officials kept the wheels turning, encouraging both groups, exciting passions and stubbornness, promising to both sides a successful conclusion. The gullible lamas spent money, and the officials milked the meek cows dry. Finally, the wealth of the mother lamasery was exhausted first, so that the branch lamasery won the suit. The branch, during all the trouble, relied on the forests, sold wood, and was in a more advantageous position to "defend its rights." Throughout this long period the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung tried several times to spread oil on the troubled waters and settle the question amicably, but to no avail.

The loss of face for the mother monastery was too 627
humiliating. At night its lamas went to Yao-ts'ao-t'ai 579
and burned its temples; the next day the lamas of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai went at noon to Ch'ü-t'an and burned the palaces of the Living Buddha and killed two lamas. In 1905 the two groups, both bled white, agreed to have the question settled by Living Buddhas. An indemnity was fixed for the two lamas who had been killed, and because the damage caused by the fires was considered to be equal, the problem was settled.

In 1915 there were 285 lamas at Yao-ts'ao-t'ai: at the mother monastery there were only fifty or sixty, most of them children. Five hundred and fifty lamas had left the mother monastery, with four minor Living Buddhas, because they had been compelled to contribute to the expenses caused by the suit, and to fulfill the corvées imposed in connection with it. The administration of the mother monastery, in former times so flourishing and wealthy, was reduced to a minimum. One lama administered the property, a precentor led the prayers in the temple, and all the other duties were fulfilled by the Living Buddha himself. The homes formerly occupied by the six hundred lamas were inhabited by Monguor, Tibetan, and Chinese families.

[p. 24(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Ch'ü-t'an was the only monastery in Huang-chung where laymen and lamas lived in the same compound. This fact reveals the mentality of the lamas and the customs of that time. These details were obtained from Living Buddhas and old lamas of Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, and in Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung, and among chiefs of the villages near these places. 792 342

STAGNATION IN THE DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM

The building of the splendid monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, the exceptionally favorable disposition of the emperors toward Lamaism, the lavish granting of titles and privileges to lamas who induced Tibetans to submit, all seemed to augur a period of intensive diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung. However, for two centuries Ch'ü-t'an remained the only important monastery in the whole country. Two reasons seem to account for this: the insecurity in the region of Huang-chung, and the violent struggle in Tibet between the sects, which depleted the forces of expansion of Lamaism abroad. 175 [771 797] 792 175

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, pp. 12*b*–19*a*) that during the period 1448–1600 there were thirty-seven inroads of Mongols from Kukunor, the Ordos, neighboring Tibetan tribes, or revolts of Tibetans. Fortunately, the construction of Ch'ü-t'an was completed (1426–1436) before the troubles started. Certainly troubled times are not propitious for the building of big monasteries, so Nang-suos and Karwas necessarily remained humble institutions.

Conditions in Tibet were just as unfavorable: Tsong khapa died in 1419. The five biggest monasteries of his sect were built before 1437. The rival Red Sects were still so aggressive as to dare to build their monasteries close to those of the Yellow Sect, and were even able to hinder the lamas of the Yellow Sect from attending (1498–1518) the famous sMon lam New Year religious festival, instituted by Tsong khapa himself.[55] In 1537 eighteen monasteries of the Yellow Sect were destroyed. In 1553 a war broke out with the Galdan monastery.[56] In 1621–1631 Mongols were called in by the Dalai Lama to rescue his sect,[57] but the Mongol Nairamdahu, an adherent of the Red Sect, fled from Mongolia to Kukunor in 1633 and persecuted the Yellow Sect which had spread.[58] Finally, in 1642, Tibet was conquered by the Ölöt Mongols whose chief, Gushi, offered it to the Dalai Lama. Although it is recognized that the effective power of the Dalai began with the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam (1542–1587), his political power was still scanty and questionable; it only began to develop with the Fifth Dalai Lama, Nag-dban Blo bzang (1617–1682), when Gushi Khan renewed in his favor the endowment conferred by Khubilai on the Sa-Skya.[59] 175 771

[55] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 39.
[56] *Ibid.*, 40.
[57] *Ibid.*, 58.
[58] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 132; also Huth, *op. cit.*, 51, 248–253.
[59] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 48.

[p24(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The support and protection of the Mongols and of the emperors of China saved and established the Yellow Sect, which was on a foundation of rock. In 1717–1719 the Jungar Mongols persecuted the Red Sects and destroyed 550 of their monasteries.[60] 175 648 771 [789]

KUMBUM [61]

The insecurity in Huang-chung and the struggle in Tibet among the sects provide an explanation for the late date assigned to the founding of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum. One and a half centuries after the death (1419) of Tsong khapa, the lama Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, in 1560, built some "cells" for himself and his ten monks (hermitage). Later, twenty more cells were added. In 1577, seventeen years later, a temple was built close to the "tower," whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree which at that time must have been 220 years old (1357–1577), and a statue of Maitreya was honored in the temple.[62] According to this tradition and the customs of Buddhist India, a tower must have first been built on the spot of the birth of Tsong khapa to commemorate the event. It is not known when this tower was built. 175 792 346

[60] L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 44, 71, Leiden, Brill, 1950.

[61] Kumbum, the lamasery of the 100,000 images is, at present, the most celebrated lamasery of Huang-chung, because of its precious trees, which are lilacs (Philadelphus, coronarius; see Rockhill, W., *Land of the lamas*, 67). The main tree sprang from the placenta of Tsong khapa (1357) and is said to have 100,000 images of Buddhas growing on its leaves. Much has been written about the tree. On May 6 and October 3, 1912, and on October 10, 1914, Father J. Essens and I read on the leaves only the two letters *Pa*, the thirteenth letter of the alphabet and *Ya*, the twenty-fourth letter, repeated indefinitely, written more or less correctly where the leaves were easy to reach. They were written with the red earth, which Chinese and Tibetan teachers use to correct the compositions of pupils. The sacred leaves are a wonderful panacea, healing all kinds of diseases of men, women, and children. It has been recorded that in Ch'ü-t'an and in Hung-shan-ssu the same kind of miraculous trees are encountered. [792 137 755]

It is worth noting what is written regarding the tree (here called a "White Sandalwood") in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomunkhan of Amdo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1887, Part I, No. I, p. 28: "On the birthplace of Tsong khapa there exists a white Sandalwood tree, on every leaf of which, at the time of the reformer's birth, there appeared a picture of the Buddha Senge naro, supernaturally inscribed. Hence, from the circumstance of a 'hundred thousand images of Buddha' having appeared on the leaves, the town and the monastery is called Kumbum. Even at the present age, images are occasionally said to be seen divinely inscribed on the leaves of the Chandan tree and Sugpa trees of the grove. The enemies of the Gelugpa say that the said images are secretly drawn with pins and needles by the Gelugpa monks." The Chinese call Kumbum T'a-erh-ssu, that is, "the lamasery of the [eight] stupas," because at its entrance there are eight stupas said to contain the ashes of eight Living Buddhas killed by General Nien Keng-yao at the time of the revolt of the Kumbum lamas in 1723. Filchner (*Dschamba-ling*, 160) notes: "They were built at the time of the 31st mK'ampo of Kumbus [date not given] by the chief of Roko, native of Amdo, after eight lamas had been killed by a Chinese prince, ruler of the country."

[62] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 29.

[p.25(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

In 1578, a year after the building of the first temple, the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam, had his historical meeting with Altan Khan of the T'umed, at which the Yellow Sect was proclaimed the religion of the Mongols. It is amazing that neither of them, during their long stay at Kukunor, visited Kumbum (only three days distant), the birthplace of the founder of the sect, or called on Achia, incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa, or took a glance at the first Yellow Sect temple and the miraculous tree. Possibly the temple had not yet been built nor the legend of the tree spread, nor the incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa recognized. However, four years later, in 1582, the Dalai, on his way to the Ordos, visited Kumbum where he founded a school for the explanation of the sacred texts (the school only started in 1600 or 1612) and then went for a long rest, not to Kumbum where the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father must have been, but to the monastery of Ribo Nantig (Huth, 227). Perhaps it was not convenient for the Dalai Lama to take a rest at the insignificant monastery of Kumbum, where neither a school nor the incarnation of Achia yet existed.

175 792 346 771

In 1600 the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan, on his way to Lhasa for his enthronement, passed through Kukunor, where he remained for three months without even paying a visit to Kumbum and the precious tree or to Achia, the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father! (Huth, 238). In 1652 the Fifth Dalai Lama on his way to Peking did not visit Kumbum. Was Kumbum still so insignificant at that time?[63] According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 4*b* and 5*a*), the decision to build a monastery on a large scale was made only in 1596. This decision does not seem impossible when it is connected with the fact that in 1593 new Chinese troops and colonists arrived in Huang-chung, making the peace prospects seem even brighter (ch. 31 p. 19*a*). At any rate, the monastery of Kumbum appears to have developed very slowly. Its first Tsan njid temple was erected in 1600 or 1612,[64] the Sutra temple of Mysticism in 1649,[65] the palace for the Khampo in 1687,[66] the Pakar-temple in 1692,[67] Duinkhor Kalacakra College in 1825,[68] College of Medicine in 1850,[69] and the celebrated gilt tiled roof was put on the temple in 1883.[70] Ac-

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[63] W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung Pao* 11: 14, 1910. Huth, *op. cit.*, 268.

[64] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 93.

[65] *Ibid.*, 124.

[66] *Ibid.*, 237.

[67] *Ibid.*, 230.

[68] *Ibid.*, 137.

[69] *Ibid.*, 65.

[70] *Ibid.*, 28. Because so much has been written about Kumbum, this study has been confined to the points relating to our subject. The major part of the lama population of Kumbum in 1910–1920 consisted of lamas of Monguor and Tibetan origin from Huang-chung; lamas of Mongolia have always been numerous, while lamas of Tibet constituted a minor group. Since the troubles in Kumbum in 1908–1909, between the Dalai Lama and Achia Hutukhtu, the proprietor of the monastery—reincarnation of the father of Tsong khapa—which ended with

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tually, Achia Bsan, reincarnation of the father of Tsong 175
khapa, is the proprietor and chief of Kumbum. 792

The *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* [71] notes that the series 346
of his incarnations began in 1417 (two years before the death of his son, Tsong khapa!). It says that for fifteen incarnations Achia administered the monastery 775
of Kumbum and was recognized as its chief and proprietor by the five tribes and the inhabitants of the seven valleys, and that he possessed a piece of pasture ground in Chahar. However, it notes also that, in 1746, the name of Achia Hutukhtu (his sixteenth incarnation) was drawn from the celebrated urn in Peking, and that an order was given to write the deeds of a pasture ground in Chahar. This text is a model of ambiguity and full of holes; it suggests that in 1746 Achia received for the very first time the title of Hutukhtu and that his name was registered on the roster of the Living Buddhas in the Mongolian Superintendency, although the process of reincarnation had begun in Lhasa only in 1475. Since deeds were then written, this implies also that at that time pasture grounds were granted to him for the first time. Thus, previous to 1746, no Achia reincarnation, chief of Kumbum, existed.

These assumptions seem to be supported by the fact 175
that it was not in 1417, but in 1560, that some poor 792
cells were built for the first time in Kumbum by lama 346
Rintschen Dson dui tschamtso and his ten monks and also by the facts that in 1719 the emperor ordered Skal bzan rgyamts'o, chief of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu to administer the monastery,[72] and that in 1723 mK'ampo Nomun-khan, head of the monastery of Kumbum and nephew of bLo Blzan bstan dsin, stirred the lamas to revolt and was made prisoner and the monastery was burned.[73] Until that time, not a single mention is made of Achia who, as head of the monastery and Hutukhtu, must have been the man responsible in such circumstances. However, the name of the real founder of the monastery is well known, as well known as the two other later heads and chiefs of the monastery.

It is a fact that Achia, created Hutukhtu only in 175
1746, had to remain in Peking, attached to the com- 214
mittee for the printing and translating of Tibetan books 814
into Mongol, which was presided over by the second incarnation of the Chang chia. "In the last half of the 18th century it seems to have been the vogue for translators to ask Achia for a postscript to their translations. Many works printed at that time bear a postscript 'by

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the suicide of Achia, there are no more lamas of Tibet in Kumbum. In 1746 the reincarnation of Achia received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor. From that time on, according to the abbots, the prominent lamas of Kumbum have always been Monguors.

[71] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih. History of the Buddhist religion in Mongolia and Tibet* 2: 143, 1935.

[72] Han Ju-lin, *Pien cheng kung lun, (Frontier Affairs)* 3 (5): 15, 1944.

[73] *Yung-cheng Shih-lu, ts'e* 145, *Chuan* 14: 10.

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Achia.'"[74] However, the myth of his previous existences was deeply rooted. "In 1686, a previous existence of Achia, the 16th, is said to have resided in the Yung-ho-kung temple of Peking, which had only been made a monastery in 1743. The roster of famous workers on the committee of translators at that time does not contain the name Achia."[75] 175 214 814

The emperor, after having drastically quelled the lama revolt, permitted the rebuilding of the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, giving them the text of a less honorable stele to be carved, and imposing on Erh-ku-lung the new name of Yu-ning-ssu, and on Seerkok that of Kuang-hui-ssu. The chief of the monastery of Seerkok (Chie bsan rimpoche) having been beheaded, the Dalai lama in 1727 sent to Peking a learned lama, Tsanpo of Amdo, whom he himself had previously honored by the title of Nomun-kan. In order to rebuild Seerkok, the emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu[76] and he became Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the new chief and proprietor of Seerkok. Since the chiefs of Erh-ku-lung had not plotted in the revolt, they were left undisturbed. Is it far-fetched to suppose that after the disappearance of mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the request of the Dalai Lama, Achia became the new chief and proprietor of Kumbum in 1746 in the same way that Min chu-erh had become chief of Seerkok? It would have been a fine political gesture for the emperor to ennoble the father of Tsong khapa, chief of the Yellow Church, in order to regain the sympathy of the lamas of the whole Yellow Sect whose group in Hsining he had punished so severely for their irresponsible behavior. It is probably a unique case in the history of Lamaist reincarnations that a layman then became reincarnated as a Living Buddha. 175 662 792

ERH-KU-LUNG

While Kumbum was outgrowing its infantile period, there occurred the humble beginning of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung (1604), on the northern side of the 175 792 346

[74] Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistische Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, 109, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1954.

[75] *Ibid.*, 110.

[76] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 2: 125. However, Tsampo Nomun-khan of Amdo writes about himself in his well-known Geographical work, 29: "North of Ssi ling is the great monastery of Gahdan Tam Chhoi ling (seat of lama Tsampo Nomun-khan) in ancient times called Amdo Gomang gonpa; at present known as Serkhang gonpa." Sarat Chandra Das adds: "The author is an incarnation of an eminent lama named Tag tse chove, who was invited to be the abbot of the monastery. There are 2,000 monks, many know the Tshan nid philosophy." The work of Tsampo has to be read cautiously. Before 1723 there were 2,000 lamas; at the time of his arrival Seerkok was destroyed. On pages 29 and 30 he gives the names of 18 monasteries built north of Erh-ku-lung and says: "The monasteries are mostly subordinate to the Kumbum and Tsampopa [himself] abbots, in consequence of which those under Je gampo and Phagden have been converted in Gelugpa institutions." However, these institutions had been founded by Erh-ku-lung and nine of them by Seerkok, which abbots had always belonged to the Gelugpa or Yellow Sect.

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Hsining River in the main country of the Monguors. 175
Its Tibetan name is *dGon lung*. *"dGon"* means a her- 792
mitage, hence a monastery; *"lung"* means valley—the 346
hermitage of the valley. In Chinese literature it is called *Ku-lung;* the Chinese and Monguors call it *Erh-ku-lung*. It is situated at the entrance of a valley on the northern side of the T'u-Kuan Mountains. Erh-ku-lung is the mother monastery of all those situated north of the Hsining River. Its lamas in 1911 were mostly of Monguor origin, or Mongols from Mongolia, together with Tibetans of Huang-chung. Its administration was Monguor and its prominent Living Buddhas had always been reincarnations born in Kansu or Kukunor.

Legends

The origin of Erh-ku-lung is overlaid with legends. 792
The saying goes that during the Yüan period (1280– 539
1368) a Buddha appeared to a holy lama of the Sa-skya Sect, called Diasai, absorbed in profound meditation, and ordered him to build a monastery in Huang-chung on a site he designated. The next day the lama started his journey. He wandered many years in order to find the indicated site. Finally, he recognized it at Erh-ku-lung and the Monguors started building a hermitage. A handsome, very intelligent young man of Erh-ku-lung, called Sumpa, asked the lama to accept him as his apprentice and to instruct him. The happy holy man devoted his energy and marvelous ability to educating the young man. More young recruits arrived. The holy lama returned to Tibet with two of the most intelligent novices, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan. He entrusted the task of caring for the monastery in the meantime to the young Sumpa. The lama died in Tibet and the two novices, after brilliantly completing their studies in Tibet and writing learned books, returned to Erh-ku-lung, performed miracles, and died at the same time as Sumpa. All three were reincarnated and became the celebrated three Living Buddhas, who are the co-proprietors and chiefs of Erh-ku-lung.

At that time a lama of Erh-ku-lung, born in the neighborhood of Chie-bzan, enjoyed the reputation of holiness. After his death he was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung and was called the Living Buddha Chie-bzan. Another holy lama, born in Har-ch'in (Liao tung), called Wang, died and was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung as the Living Buddha Wang. These two smaller incarnations, in conjunction with the three former incarnations who received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor, constitute the board of the monastery, called "wu-ta-nang," which is still in existence. A residence was built by them for Diasai, the holy founder of the monastery, but the holy man failed to return from Tibet. At present, however, two lamas are still appointed to keep the home ready for the eventual return of the departed saint. They enjoy the nominal privilege

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of receiving eighty shares at the time of distribution of alms to the lamas. 792 539

A second legend explains in another way the origin of the monastery, and its peculiar administration by five Living Buddhas. One of the first Dalai Lamas lay dying on his bed in Lhasa from a terrible abscess on his thigh, which was greatly swollen. It would not yield to medical attention. Finally, the state oracle of Lhasa received in his trances notification that five Living Buddhas were confined in the tumor, and had to be released before the abscess would respond to medication. Lamas were sent all over the world to find an enormous sandalwood tree, recently uprooted by a big storm, in which the five Buddhas were confined. A whole army of lamas started in search of the life-saving tree. They eventually found it in the country of Erh-ku-lung. In the presence of an enormous crowd they started sawing the trunk of the fabulous sandalwood tree. Suddenly the teeth of the saw scratched on something which seemed hard as stone, and five statues of Buddhas escaped in the air. With the instinct of homing pigeons they fell on the very spot where a monastery was to be built. This is the origin of the temple and its "Wu-ta-nang." It is said the statues are locked in a closet in the temple, but no one is allowed to see them, the key being kept by the Chang-chia Hutukhtu.

History of the Lamasery

The origin of Erh-ku-lung seems, however, to have been less miraculous. The construction of the monastery started in 1604, after the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan (1598–1616), sent the lama, Don Yod Choskyi rgyamtso, from Lhasa to the region of Erh-ku-lung, to invite and encourage the people to build a lamasery. 175 792

The first great lama was Sumpa Danchos rgyamtso, born in Sumpa close to Erh-ku-lung.[77] He started with a small community, but attracted more and more novices. It was he who laid the foundation for the monastery.[78] Nothing more is known about this lama [79] except that twice he fulfilled the office of *Fa-t'ai* (see p. 61) of Erh-ku-lung, once in 1621 and again in 1649. These facts seem to support the supposition that the newly founded monastery soon flourished, all the more since a branch had been established at RGyud pagrva, the later monastery of Hsien mi-ssu, from the very beginning.[80] Two lamas, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan,[81] must have been members of

[77] R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. Ecole française d'Extrême Orient* 14: 253, 1951. Sumpa possibly originated from the ancient Tibetan (Mi-nag) Sumpa tribe, which had submitted to the king of Tibet. At the time of K'ri sron bde btsan (eighth century) the tribe had been appointed warden of the Sino-Tibetan frontiers of the country of Mi-nag.

[78] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 45.

[79] *Idem* 3 (5): 19.

[80] *Idem* 3 (1): 45.

[81] Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1882: 1 and 5. In Tibet all great personages are called after the name of their birthplace, also sects; *Sa-Skya, Jonanpa, Shanpa, Digun*

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the original community. Chang-chia died (1641?), and was reincarnated for the first time in 1642 near the end of the Ming dynasty, (1643) and became the first Chang-chia Living Buddha.[82] T'u-kuan, a lama born during the Ming dynasty, was chosen Fa-t'ai of Erh-ku-lung in 1672. He died and was reincarnated in 1680[83] and became the first T'u-kuan Living Buddha. 175 792

LAMAISM AT THE END OF THE MING DYNASTY

At the very end of the Ming dynasty (1643), Ch'ü-t'an with more than 600 lamas, having branches with more than 350 lamas, was the leading monastery of Huang-chung. Kumbum began in 1560, and in 1644 was still in its period of development. Nothing is known about Sha-ch'ung, though it must still have existed. The hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, founded in 1604, had developed very fast. It had a Living Buddha boy, the Chang-chia, born in 1642. It expanded rapidly and founded hermitages for its lamas, which must have been numerous. Several Nang-suos, Karwas, and Master in Dhyana institutions existed in the country. Domains were given to many lamas who had induced Tibetans to submit to the empire. A small temple may have been built by them, and probably a few small groups of wandering lamas existed all over the country. This seems to have been the situation of Lamaism in Huang-chung at the end of the Ming dynasty.

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE CH'ING DYNASTY (1644–1911)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE CH'ING

The Ch'ing dynasty continued the policy of the Ming, protecting and promoting Lamaism. Its first act was to recognize the *status quo* of Tibet which emerged after conquest by the Ölöts during the troubled period preceding its accession to power. The Ch'ing dynasty, engaged in a terrible struggle with the western Mongols, the Jungars, which lasted for more than a century, from the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century, understood the need for a pro-Lamaist policy. Lamaism had a firm hold on the western Mongols as well as on the eastern Mongols and in Tibet. The struggle was so fierce as to induce Maurice Courant to include in the title of his book *L'Asie centrale aux XVIIme et XVIIIme siècles,* the question, *"Empire kalmouk ou empire mantchou?"*[84] It is easy to understand that in such conditions the favorable disposition of Tibet toward the dynasty would 175 648

Pa are designated after the names of localities where they were taught and originated. *Karmapa, Bulugpa,* were taken from the names of their respective teachers. *Kahdampa, Dso-gchyenpa, Chhyay Chhempa,* and *Shi chhyepa* were named after their respective rituals and external *Kriya.*

[82] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (4) : 12.

[83] *Idem* 3 (5) : 12.

[84] *Annales de l'université de Lyon,* n.s., 2, fasc. 24, Lyon, 1912.

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be an immense asset for its policy in Central Asia and in the neighboring countries of China.[85]

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LAMAISM DIFFUSED BY MONGUOR LAMAS OF ERH-KU-LUNG

During the Ch'ing dynasty, Lamaism reached its highest level of influence and power. Four Living Buddhas dominated this period: (1) the Dalai Lama, (2) the Panchen Lama, (3) the rJe-btsun dam-pa of Urga, and (4) the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the Monguor of Erh-ku-lung. The Chang-chia reincarnations were towering personalities. During this period they dominated the Lamaist world of Mongolia, Peking, and Huang-chung, and wielded an important influence in Tibet.

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Next to Chang-chia came the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu and the great Sumpa, as celebrated as Chang-chia for their science, learned works and influence at court. Later on, Min-chu-erh, known as Tsanpo Nomun khan,[86] a learned man and chief of the monastery of Seerkok, an old branch of Erh-ku-lung, followed in the wake of the three preceding Hutukhtus. If the names of the chiefs of the celebrated monastery of Labrang, founded in 1708, who were intimately connected with T'u-kuan, and who obtained imperial favors for them and the title of *Erdeni Nomun han* (Huth, p. 332) are added to the glittering list of prominent personalities of Erh-ku-lung, one is not amazed to read in the relations of the Franciscan Fathers written in 1730 in Tibet:

> In my time nearly all the lecturers and lamas of the universities, masters of the Supreme Lama and of the Grand Lamas, who have been born again, came from Amdo, a province from which they do not draw soldiers, (p. 313). . . . Tibetans are generally intelligent, although not equal to the people of the state of Amdo, who are extremely quick (p. 218).[87]

Without a doubt the monastery of Erh-ku-lung profited by the names of its prominent and learned chiefs and lamas. For a long time it surpassed all the other monasteries of Huang-chung. The number of its lamas reached 2,500 in 1723. Its prodigious activity was responsible for the foundation of all the monasteries north of the Hsining River. Since Lamaism, among the Monguors and their clan chiefs, is intimately connected with the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, whose Living Buddhas were mostly born in their country, it is necessary to study Lamaism among them, in the atmosphere of their beloved monastery. In order to gain an insight into the tremendous influence exerted by the

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[85] Schram, *op. cit.*, 36, 37.

[86] *Nom-un khan*—"King of the Law." This title was given for the first time to Gushi. See Cammann, *Trade through the Himalayas*, 92, note 45, Princeton, N. J., 1951.

[87] Clement R. Markham, *Narratives of the mission of G. Bogle to Tibet*, App. 309, London, 1876; also *Brief account of the Kingdom of Tibet* by Fra Francesco Orazio della Penna di Billi, Klaproth, 1730, from the autograph manuscript of the author.

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monastery of Erh-ku-lung in the Lamaist world, the three personalities who are keystones of its institutions, will be briefly described. 175 792

Chang-chia Hutukhtu

In 1642 a boy was born in the village of I-k'o. He was recognized as the reincarnation of a lama of Erh-ku-lung born into the Chang family (hence his name *Chang-chia*) in the Hung nai Valley, sixty *li* northeast of Hsining.[88] He started his religious career at the age of five at the small hermitage belonging to Erh-ku-lung called T'an rim tarpa. He entered the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in 1651. In 1661 he was sent by Sumpa to Tibet where he studied for twenty years in the most celebrated colleges, knitting friendly relations with the most renowned lamas of Tibet, and teaching and preaching in the colleges. He returned to Erh-ku-lung. In 1682 his beloved teacher, the great lama of Galdan, was invited by the emperor to Peking. Chang-chia, having scored successes in Tibet, seething with ambition, and eager to rub elbows with the rich and the great of the world, hurried off to meet his teacher in Kukunor. He obtained permission from his teacher to follow him on his trip to Peking as a "humble member of his retinue" (Huth, 276). In Peking the teacher recommended his learned pupil to the emperor.[89]

After being chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1687, [554] the emperor called him to Peking in 1693. Sumpa, leading a big retinue, brought him to the capital. The

[88] Ting Chih-ts'un, Li tai Chang-chia Hutukhtu, *Pien-cheng kung-lün* 6 (4): 4.

[89] Ting Chih-ts'un, Li tai Chang-chia Hutukhtu, *Pien-cheng kung-lün* 6 (4): 4, 1947. Much confusion has existed concerning the origin of the Chang-chia reincarnation. Mayers, *Chinese government*, Hong Kong, Kelly & Walsh, 1896, 3rd ed., No. 598 says: "The metropolitan Chang-chia, re-embodiment of a Hutukhtu, dispatched under the same title, to represent him near the Chinese court toward the close of the 17th century, by the Dalai Lama of that period, received with profound respect by K'anghsi, was assigned a residence at Dolon nor; by decree of Ch'ienlung, the successor of the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, removed his residence from Dolon nor to the Yung-ho-kung, where state services were performed under direction of the Metropolitan who it is said wielded supreme religious sway."

Baron A. von-Stael-Holstein, Remarks on an XVIIIth century Lamaist document, Kuo-hsueh chi-k'an, 401, 1923, says: "K'ang hsi invited the 5th Dalai Lama to Peking, who refused, and Nag-dban blo-bzan cos-ldan (Chang-chia XIV) took the Dalai's place. He is supposed to be the incarnation of Mkhyen-rab-grags-pa hodzer, born in Chang-chia village, Kansu-Kukunor, hence the name Chang-chia."

Walter Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos*, 48: 499, 1953: says that according to a Mongol source the 5th Dalai Lama sent a lama, Che-sen Chorji to the Manchu emperor T'ai-tsung, with letters and presents. He was delegate to the city of Mukden in 1637. T'ai-tsung appointed the lama envoy to be his own chaplain, praising him as Chang-chia Hutukhtu. Heissig notes (note 132, p. 500) that the Mongol text about the appointment of the envoy as Chang-chia is wrong, because Chang-chia came first to the Manchu court at Peking in 1687.

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emperor appointed him to the office of Jassak Great Lama, the highest office entrusted to lamas in Peking; he bestowed on him the dignity and diploma of Hutukhtu, and a golden seal, together with the eulogistic title, "entirely virtuous, vastly compassionate, great state teacher, one whose head is annointed."[90] He was vested with powers of spiritual control over the Mongols of Chahar. 175 792

The bolt of fame had struck the ambitious Chang-chia. Inner Mongolian, and Khalkha princes and nobles gathered at Dolon nor to adore the great living Buddha.

In 1696–1697, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, already raised to a high pitch of fame in Mongolia and Peking, was delegated by the emperor to go to Lhasa to bring to the recently enthroned sixth Dalai Lama a seal and diploma, and to convey imperial gifts to the Panchen and the chief lamas of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends. This diplomatic mission immensely enhanced the prestige of Chang-chia in the Lamaist world of Tibet. Back in Peking, he was showered with gifts by the emperor. 175 792 648 554

In 1709, when he was on a vacation in Erh-ku-lung, the Monguors, exulting with pride, had a feeling for him that was a little short of idolatrous. He reformed the program of studies at Erh-ku-lung and appointed eminent teachers. It is not amazing that the lamas dreamed up an illustrious pedigree for their distinguished Hutukhtu, the favorite of the emperor and idol of the people, and that they imagined thirteen reincarnations preceding the reigning one. The first was no less than Chan dana, a contemporary and disciple of the Buddha himself. As for these thirteen fabulous reincarnations, it is enough to say that the so-called thirteenth rebirth was that of a boy born in Chang-chia village, who became a simple lama and about whom nothing more is known. During the administration of Sumpa he was a simple lama at Erh-ku-lung. After his death a boy born in I-k'o in 1642 was considered to be his reincarnation and consequently was called the fourteenth Chang-chia. This "fourteenth reincarnation," actually the first, recommended by his teacher to the emperor, was the lucky founder of the glorious series.

Chang-chia Rolpa dorje, the fifteenth reincarnation (1717–1786), in fact the second, was brought to Peking at the age of seven. Considered as a miracle child endowed with an illustrious pedigree, he was the playmate and intimate friend of the imperial princes. In 1734, at the age of seventeen, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Szech' uan (mGar t'ar), with an order to accompany, as imperial envoy, the banished seventh Dalai Lama on his reinstallation in Lhasa. (The Dalai Lama had been banished in 1728.[91]) This second diplomatic mission surrounded the Chang-chia

[90] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, ti 5 p'ien,* 93.
[91] Petech, *op. cit.,* 157.

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reincarnations with an aura of glory. At Lhasa the lamas paid enthusiastic adoration to him. Their devotion went so far as to make them struggle and compete for the drinking of a draught of the water Chang-chia had used for his toilet.[92] Back in Peking, Chang-chia asked the emperor to return to the Dalai Lama the confiscated districts of Lit'ang and Batang, and to grant him a subsidy. Only a subsidy of 5,000 taels was allowed.[93]

Rolpa dorje was also a learned man. His appointment by the emperor as chief of the commission for the revision of the translation into Mongol of the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*,[94] enhanced his prestige in the learned world, even as his learned works were studied in the colleges of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung (Huth, 291). In 1725 the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama received imperial envoys, presenting them with a complete set of the *Kanjur*, together with its supplements, and the complete works of Tsong khapa and the first Chang-chia Hutukhtu.[95]

The Monguor Chang-chia Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung, conspicuous for their great abilities, extensive learning, high position at the Peking court, and former diplomatic missions, wielded an enormous influence in the highest Lamaist circles in Tibet. The appointment by the emperor of the regent Gyal ts'ab in Tibet, during the reign of the eighth Dalai Lama (1759–1804) was obtained by the influence of the Chang-chia II.[96] The influence which the Panchen Lama exercised over the temporal affairs of Tibet and the interest he enjoyed at the Peking court through his friend, Chang-chia, the lama primate, made the emperor, Ch'ien-lung, invite him to Peking, where he arrived in 1780 and died of smallpox.[97]

George Bogle in 1774–1775 was trying to get an agreement from the well-disposed Panchen Lama for Indian trade with Tibet. Even more important than the Panchen's promise to send envoys was his assurance to Bogle that he had written the Grand Lama at Peking, who had great influence with the emperor, informing him that the English were now masters of Bengal, that

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[92] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 99.

[93] Petech, *op. cit.*, 162.

[94] Walter Heissig, Die Mongolischen Publication und Ubersetzungs Wesen der Mandjuzeit, *Sinologica* 3 (3): 205, 1953. Translations of Vols. 1 to 22 of the *Kanjur* by learned Mongol lamas already existed at the time of Ligdan Khan 1604–1634; the translation of 1717–1720 is almost textually the same as the former. The duty of Chang-chia, head of the committee, consisted in supervising the dogmatical genuineness of the translation. The Mongol translation of Dharani was published in 1759. More than 200 translations of Tibetan works still exist in Mongol.

[95] Petech, *op. cit.*, 9. One of the works of the second Chang-chia Hutukhtu is known in Europe through the translation of Eugen Pander, *Das Pantheon des Tschang tscha Hutukhtu*, Berlin, 1890.

[96] Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 46.

[97] *Ibid.*, 47. Schuyler Cammann, The Panchen Lama's visit to China in 1780, *Far Eastern Quart.* 9 (1): 6–18, 1949.

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Hastings, their chief, had shown him great favor, and that the English allowed everyone to follow his religion unmolested. He closed with the suggestion that the Grand Lama send some people from China to call on Hastings and to visit the principal temples of Bengal.[98] An interesting note encountered in Gunther Schuleman's work tells that the Chang-chia Hutukhtu asked the emperor to allow the Cossacks, prisoners of war interned in a camp at Albazin on the Amur, to invite a priest or pope, and to build a chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas.[99]

The subsequent Chang-chia incarnations until the present one, the nineteenth, enjoyed the same position of eminence, privileges, and titles in Peking under the Empire and the Republic. At the beginning of the Republic, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu was sent to Mongolia to exhort the princes to recognize the newly founded Republic. He was nominated honorary president of the Committee of Mongol and Tibetan Affairs.[100] All these facts seem to bear out the assertion that the Chang-chia Hutukhtus of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung were towering personalities in the Lamaist world during the Ch'ing dynasty and under the Republic, and that they enhanced the prestige of Lamaism among the Monguors and the Tibetans of Huang-chung. When the Chinese Government fled to Formosa for fear of the Communists, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu accompanied it, and at present is living there.[101]

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[98] Schuyler Cammann, *Trade through the Himalayas*, 49.

[99] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 178.

[100] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 11. von Stael-Holstein, *op. cit.*, 401, says: "During the Republic the titles of Chang-chia on his visiting card, support the evidence of the high favors bestowed upon him, 'High class adviser at the president's office; inspector of the Lamaist religious establishments in Peking, Inner Mongolia, Chahar, Wü-T'ai-Shan, Jehol, and Dolon nor,'" 1923.

[101] After completing the present study, I had the opportunity to read a most valuable work by Professor Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistischen Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1954. It contains many complementary data concerning the Chang-chia incarnations, and their literary productions, excerpted from Mongol and Tibetan sources, making it possible to complement the information drawn from Chinese sources.

Chang-chia I (1642–1714), by order of Emperor Sheng tsu (K'ang-hsi period 1662–1722) came to Peking in 1693 with an imposing array of fifteen lama scholars, headed by Sumpa, chief of Erh-ku-lung. The emperor granted Sumpa the title of Jassak lama. (At that time Sumpa must have been Sumpa II, a minor Living Buddha.) Each of the fifteen other lamas was granted the title of Sula Blama. Chang-chia asked the emperor for this title as a favor to Sumpa (18). Chang-chia supervised the revision of the Kanjur (19), which had already been started in 1604–1634 by 40 scholars. He was ordered to instruct the Khalkha lamas in Dolon nor and the Mongol princes who attended his lectures, so he wielded a great influence among the princes and lamas in Mongolia (p. 20). In 1710 the emperor contributed to the foundation of the Tantra college in Erh-ku-lung (p. 28). Chang-chia I, a prolific author, died in 1714. The complete works of Chang-chia, written in Tibetan, were translated into Mongol and published in seven volumes in Peking in 1720 (pp. 58, 59). In 1729 there was published in

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T'u-kuan Hutukhtu

At the time when Chang-chia was at the height of his glory, T'u-kuan, another eminent Monguor lama of Erh-ku-lung, was on the way to becoming his equal. With Sumpa and Chang-chia he was considered the

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Peking a biography of Chang-chia which had been translated into Mongol, in four volumes, by one of his most intimate pupils (p. 63).

Chang-chia II (1717–1786) was still a boy, living in Huang chung, at the time of the revolt of the lamas (1723). The emperor, in order to save the life of the new Chang-chia incarnation, forbade the army commanders to kill boys under fifteen years of age. Chang-chia was brought to Peking at the age of nine (1724). He studied Chinese, Mongol, Manchu, etc., with the son of the emperor, the future emperor Kao tsung (Ch'ien lung period, 1736–1796), and the twelfth prince, who became his friends (64). In the friendship which existed between Chang-chia, the future emperor, and the Manchu prince lies the explanation for the tremendous influence wielded by Chang-chia in Mongolia and Tibet. It also explains the prodigious activity displayed by the board for the translation of Tibetan books and the printing of Mongol books, of which Chang-chia was the chief. The Mongol lamas were elated by the publication of lamaist literature in Mongol, and the Mongol princes offered donations for its printing. Under the leadership of Chang-chia II, 99 lamaist works were printed in Mongol in Peking (p. 72). Chang-chia used his influence to change the trend of thinking of Mongol lamas, who were very fond of writing biographies of saints according to the pattern of the Geser epos (of Tibetan origin). He did not even allow the lamas to read or preserve the epos. It had not been reprinted in Peking since 1716 (87). However, he promoted the fusion (already started during the K'ang hsi period, p. 36) of the legendary Geser with Kuan ti, the Chinese god of war, and also their cult, making of them protectors of the country, to be worshipped by the Chinese military officials (p. 148). Chang-chia laid stress on the production of works in the dogmatic line (p. 106). The revision of the Kanjur was finished in 1720 (during the boyhood of Chang-chia II). From 1741 on, Chang-chia II, with a strong group of scholars, prepared the revision of the Tanjur which was finished in 1749 (p. 85). In 1780 the Panchen Lama attending the celebration of the seventieth birthday of the emperor in Jehol, composed a biography and eulogy in Tibetan of the fifteenth preexistences of Chang-chia II. It was translated into Mongol and was very popular in Mongolia and Tibet (p. 142), as was the biography of Chang-chia I, written by T'u-kuan Hutukhtu I (1737–1802) (p. 158).

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The prodigious literary activity displayed during the lives of both Chang-chia I and II seems to have been notably reduced from the time of Chang-chia III on (1789–1846). In the meantime the Emperor Kao tsung, personal friend and protector of Chang-chia II died (1795); the Mongol princes had become less interested in offerings for the printing of books, and only a few lamas of Alashan continued to indulge in literary productions (165). In Heissig, not a name of a single author of Kumbum is noted during or after the period of this prodigious literary activity. Only ten new productions are noted during the nineteenth century, together with a few reprints of former books (p. 159). After the death of Chang-chia III (1846) his biography was written, starting with those of his previous existences (p. 168). Heissig notes that he does not understand why, in the historical sketch of the life of Chang-chia I, the biography of Chang-chia I written by T'u-kuan I of Erh-ku-lung is omitted (p. 167). He wonders also why the famous *History of the diffusion of Lamaism in Mongolia* written by T'u-kuan II was not printed in Peking (p. 3) during the time Chang-chia II was the chief of the imperial committee. The explanation for these pertinent questions will be

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co-proprietor and chief of Erh-ku-lung. The figures of these three men throw a lengthening shadow over the glorious monastery of Erh-ku-lung, and over the Lamaist world in Tibet, Mongolia, Peking, and Huang-chung, during the Ch'ing dynasty. 175 792

A boy born in T'u-kuan, located at the foot of the T'u-kuan Mountains close to Erh-ku-lung, became a lama at the former hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, which had rapidly grown under the administration of Sumpa. The boy was born in the Wang chia tribe, subject to the Li T'u-ssu, and is said to have belonged to the Li T'u-ssu clan. It is also told that he was born in the Sina tribe in the Ch'ing-yang-ch'uan, in the village of T'u-kuan. The date of his birth is not recorded. However, it is noted that he fulfilled the office of Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1672, at the time when Chang-chia was studying at Lhasa.[102]

A boy born in 1680 was said to be the reincarnation of this T'u-kuan Lama and was called the Living Buddha T'u-kuan Nag dban C'osky rgyamts'o. The series of the T'u-kuan reincarnations started with him. Upon completing his studies in Tibet, he was chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1705. He founded a hermitage at C'os bzan, where he lived in retired seclusion with seven lamas, meditating and teaching.[103] He was the teacher of the young fifteenth Chang-chia incarnation and the famous Sumpa. He became the equal of Chang-chia when the Emperor K'ang Hsi called him to Peking in 1715, and bestowed on him gifts, the title of Hutukhtu and a seal. He enjoyed the high esteem of the emperor who, in 1719, ordered the lama, Skal-bzan rgya-mts'o, administrator of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu in order to have him administer his monastery.[104] (Something wrong may have happened at Kumbum.) [775] [534]

In 1720 the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was sent on a diplomatic mission to greet the seventh Dalai Lama on the upper reaches of the Yangtse River on his way to Lhasa.[105] The Dalai Lama had been confined at Kumbum for five years. He was brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence. T'u-kuan, in his capacity of imperial envoy, was granted the title of Hutukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas. He assisted at the enthusiastic enthronement of the Dalai Lama and brought letters and imperial gifts to 175 792 648

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provided by the subsequent troubled history of Erh-ku-lung (see below, p. 36).

Summarizing the literary activities of the Chang-chia incarnations, as chiefs of the imperial committee for the printing of Mongol books in Peking, they had printed in Mongol, during a period of 261 years (1650–1911), 108 volumes of the Kanjur, 226 of the Tanjur and 220 other works (2).

These facts afford conclusive evidence of the very important role played by the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung in the diffusion of Lamaism in their own country, and in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet.

[102] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 12.

[103] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283.

[104] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 15.

[105] Petech, *op. cit.*, 60.

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the Panchen Lama and the heads of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends.[106] He enjoyed a tremendous surge of popularity in Tibet and was honored in the same way as Chang-chia. 175 792 648

The fame of Erh-ku-lung thus rose higher and higher. In Huang-chung the Monguors were elated and proud of their glorious monastery and their eminent lamas. Back in Dolon nor, the Mongol and Khalkha princes paid him their adoration with the same devotion they had given to Chang-chia. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu received new titles from the emperor and was showered with favors. A permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He obtained for the Great Lama of the monastery of Labrang the title of Erdeni Nomun khan.[107] While on vacation at Erh-ku-lung, he died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri which belonged to Erh-ku-lung. [554]

His next incarnation was T'u-kuan Blo-bzan C'oskyi Nima, born in 1737. He was a celebrated teacher, well known in the Lamaist world for his proficiency in logic and philosophy. He wrote his famous *History of the Doctrines of the Yellow Sects,* which he finished a year before his death in 1802. According to Baradijn, this work, in twelve chapters, is the only Tibetan study dealing with all the Tibetan sects, including those of India, China, and the old Bön.[108] He received from the emperor the same titles as his predecessor and was granted the same favors and the same permanent duty at Peking. In 1790 he built the temple of Hung-ku-ssu, to which the emperor granted the name of Yen-hsi-ssu.[109] He died in 1802. The subsequent incarnations followed in the steps of their predecessors, enjoying the same titles and privileges during the Empire and under the Republic. [114]

Sumpa Hutukhtu

Sumpa Hutukhtu is so called by Sarat Chandra Dass, the celebrated historiographer and chronologist of Tibet. Born in 1704, he is said to be the first reincarnation of the founder of Erh-ku-lung. However, because Erh-ku-lung was founded in 1604, the first Sumpa was supposed to have been a man about twenty or thirty years of age. So it would seem that a second Sumpa was intercalated between them. Sumpa II must have been the reincarnation of Sumpa I; otherwise the denomination of Sumpa is hard to explain. This supposition does not seem to be unusual if we take account of the process used for the first reincarnations of Chang-chia 175 792

[106] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283; Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 178–9.

[107] Huth, *op. cit.*, 287.

[108] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 442, Notes 655 and 656, p. 182. The work has been translated by Sarat Chandra Dass in his Contributions on the religion and history, etc. of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* 50 and 51, 1881–1882. I was surprised to read in it much data about Taoism and Confucianism with which he was very well acquainted.

[109] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5): 12; *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 148–149.

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and T'u-kuan, and the obsession for reincarnations which was in full swing at that time. Sumpa II must have been one of the countless so-called "minor" Living Buddhas who were not listed on the register of Buddhas in Peking, and to whom the title of Hutukhtu had not been granted, but only the title of Jassak Lama. In the same way the minor Living Buddha Sumpa II must have headed the big retinue which brought the "minor" Living Buddha Chang-chia to Peking in 1693, who, only after his arrival at Peking, received his title and became the great Chang-chia Hutukhtu. Until that time Sumpa II, Chang-chia, and T'u-kuan were all "minor" Living Buddhas, living at Erh-ku-lung.

Sumpa III, still a minor Living Buddha, underwent a stiff course of instruction at Erh-ku-lung, under the direction of the celebrated T'u-kuan, after which he was sent for further study to Tibet. The young Sumpa must have been a very intelligent and studious pupil, for in 1726 he had already been appointed mK'ampo of the very celebrated SGoman College in aBras-spuns.[110] At the same time he must have been an unusually strong personality, a man of solidly set opinions, a special individual, a law unto himself, stern and uncompromising, for, in the teeth of strong opposition on the part of the lamas when civil war violently agitated the country, he ordered his lamas to keep quiet and to keep the strictest neutrality because, according to the principles of Buddhism, it is not allowed for anyone, particularly the lamas, to fight and kill.[111] The example was followed by the other monasteries.

Back in Huang-chung in 1730, he founded the monastery of Bshad-sgrab with eighty lamas, and admitted fifteen more from the monastery (hermitage) of Bsam gtang. He was called to Peking in 1737, and appointed by the emperor as spiritual guide of all the princes and chiefs of Mongolia. His prestige in Peking and Mongolia and the consideration the emperor had for him were extraordinary. The emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu, but he declined the offer, objecting that it was only fit for religious men aspiring to worldly glory. The amazed emperor answered, "You are a genuine religious man." In Peking he revised all the Tibetan books existent in China, and was rewarded by the emperor with the title of Erdeni Pandita.

In 1745 he was appointed the head of Erh-ku-lung. There, his first step was to scale down the splendor of his environment and to simplify his retinue. Sumpa was a learned man. He wrote the famous *History of the Rise and Downfall of Buddhism in India and Tibet*.[112]

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[110] Petech, *op. cit.*, 121.

[111] *Ibid.*

[112] Sarat Chandra Dass, Contribution to the history and religion of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 58, 1889. This study is preceded by the translation of the biography of Sumpa.

Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 147, after giving the content of the work of Sumpa, concludes: ". . . the work is composed with a wise and discriminating choice of older sources, pointing out for

The Monguor Sumpa was a prolific author, who wrote about all the important subjects related to the curriculum of the studies of lamas. In the official records in Peking, preserved in the Li-fan-Yüan (1793), concerning the subsequent reincarnations of Sumpa, it is said they are indistinct and vague; that maybe they are recorded in Lhasa at the office of the Dalai Lama.[113] 175 792

The two Living Buddhas, Chie bzan and Wang, members of the board of five of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, led a sheltered life in their residences and nothing is recorded concerning them.

SUBSIDIARY LAMASERIES FOUNDED BY ERH-KU-LUNG

The influence exerted upon the country of Huang-chung, and especially upon the country north of the Hsining River, by the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and its three celebrated personalities was tremendous. The whole country, void of monasteries before 1600, became dotted with institutions of the Yellow Sect, depending on Erh-ku-lung. This unusual fervor for the diffusion of Lamaism seems to account for the disappearance of nearly all the small institutions of the Red Sect in that country, and their absorption into the fold of the Yellow Sect. The forces of expansion radiating from Ch'ü-t'an, Sha-ch'ung, and Kumbum situated south of the Hsining River, never before 1723 matched those radiating from Erh-ku-lung. The reason might be the lack of celebrated, learned, influential monks enjoying the favors of the emperors. This seems to account for the fact that at present a number of small Red communities and two important monasteries of the Red Sect still exist in the country south of the Hsining River. 175 771 792

Sumpa Damchos, the first administrator of Erh-ku-lung, must have been a very capable and intelligent man, devoted to the diffusion of Lamaism. He built his monastery on a solid foundation to prepare learned and pious men. He sent the best of his novices to Tibet to study, and organized studies at home. In the very beginning (1604) he founded the hermitage of Rgyud pagrva,[114] the monastery of Hsien-mi-ssu. In 1915 it was inhabited by 4 Living Buddhas and 160 lamas; it also established two colleges. He founded the hermitage of T'an-rim tarpa, where the young Chang-chia, at the age of five, started his religious life.[115] In 1651, when Chang-chia and T'u-kuan were still children, he sent the vice-administrator of Erh-ku-lung, Dongrub rgyamat'so, of Mongol origin, to Ta- 175 792

each subject the main works. He intended to write an encyclopedia from which an idea could be had of the formation and spread of Buddhist thought. . . . It is a rich encyclopedia; harmonious composition is missing. Its value: it purports to be a *summa* of Tibetan historical traditions in which chronicles, myths, saints' lives, political changes, religious doctrines are met, in whose harmony the fortunes of the sacred doctrine of Tsong khapa become a reality and are developed."

[113] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (4): 16.

[114] *Idem* 1: 45.

[115] Huth, *op. cit.*, 272.

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t'ung wei, in order to build the later famous monastery of Seerkok, Gadan Ch'osling, also called Kou-mang-ssu, and Kuang-hui-ssu.[116] 175 792

The new daughter monastery flourished so fast as to have, before the revolt of 1723, two thousand lamas, and three colleges, among which the Teh'an-njid College was very renowned. Probably very soon Seerkok became an autonomous monastery. It developed to such an extent as to administer nine branches of its own and to have eighteen Living Buddhas within its walls.

Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the head of the lamasery, [554] celebrated for his *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia*, is known as the Tsanpo Nomun-khan of Amdo.[117] In 1727 he was sent by the Dalai Lama to court and received from the emperor the title of Hutukhtu. He was showered with gifts and a permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He became one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung.[118]

In 1693 the hermitage of Byan-c'ub existed, dependent on Erh-ku-lung. It was here that Chang-chia retired.[119] In 1705 T'u-kuan established the hermitage of C'os bzan where he retired with seven lamas.[120] He died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri, also dependent on Erh-ku-lung.[121] In 1711 the learned lama, Zabsdrun of Temma, near Erh-ku-lung, having been appointed teacher by Chang-chia[122] at the College of Tantras in Erh-ku-lung, founded a branch in Kan-ch'an-ssu which in 1915, had two hundred lamas and two Living Buddhas.

In 1730 the Great Sumpa, on his return from Tibet, immediately founded the monastery of Bshad sgrub with eighty lamas and fifteen from Bsam gtang glin.[123] From 1604 until 1730 the building of hermitages and bigger monasteries was a real obsession among the prominent lamas and chiefs of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung and its branches. The records of the havoc wrought during the crushing revolt of 1723 by the Chinese army reveal more names of sacked and destroyed monasteries: Chie-Bzan with eight hundred lamas, the monasteries of Hsia, Yao, Ku, Chu-erh, Kan-chu-erh, and more than one thousand grottoes in the mountains; also the monastery of Shih-men-ssu with two hundred lamas and two Living Buddhas; Ch'i-chia-ssu with two subsidiaries[124]; T'ien T'ang-ssu with two hundred lamas, three Living Buddhas,

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[116] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 45: 3 (4) 10; 5: 13*a*.

[117] Sarat Chandra Dass, Brief account of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1 and 27, 1887. This work was translated into Russian in 1895.

[118] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*, *op. cit.*, 123.

[119] Huth, *op. cit.* 277.

[120] *Ibid.*, 283.

[121] *Ibid.*, 288.

[122] *Ibid.*, 279.

[123] Sarat Chandra Dass, Life of Sumpa khampo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 198, 1889.

[124] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 46*b* and 47*a*.

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three colleges, and Chiar-too-ssu. Forty lamaseries established north of the Hsining River and in the prefectures of P'ing fan, Liang-chou, Kan-chou and Su-chou, originated from Erh-ku-lung or its subsidiaries and were built between 1604 and 1723. 175 772

The prodigious activity in Huang-chung and the flourishing of the monasteries are, beyond doubt, indebted to the position of eminence enjoyed at court by the three learned Monguor lamas and their reincarnations, and to the initial impulse given to Erh-ku-lung by its first Sumpas. Not only Huang-chung, but the whole Yellow Church derived benefits from the zeal of these fervent Monguors. Their influence was also tremendous upon the chiefs of Outer and Inner Mongolia. In Mongolia the fervor of the converted old adherents of the Red Sect to the Yellow Sect can be ascribed in great part to the influence of the Monguor lamas appointed by the emperor as their spiritual guides. This fact also accounts for the large number of Mongol lamas living in the monasteries of Huang-chung. The Mongol monasteries are also indebted to them for the development and organization of their studies on a serious basis. Their learned books were among those used in the Mongol colleges. Most of their teachers had been pupils of these eminent lamas who had studied at Erh-ku-lung, noted as the highest center of learning at that time. Back in their country they vied in building monasteries.[125]

The position of these learned scholars in Peking and the patronage of the Manchu emperors contributed to the development of that copious production, of encyclopedic and compilatory character, which marks the 18th century in Tibetan literary history.[126] [212]

REVOLT OF BLO-BZAN BSTAN-DSIN AND THE LAMAS

The year 1723 marks a turning point in the history of Lamaism in Huang-chung, and ends with one of those tragedies with which history is replete. At the time, Lamaism rode the crest of the wave of glory and success, monasteries and their affiliates dotted the country of Hsining, especially north of the river and far into the Nan-shan. The number of lamas was countless, the people paid enthusiastic adoration to their Living Buddhas. Each family offered one or more of its sons to the service of Buddha. Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662–1722) lavishly bestowed his favors upon Huang-chung, promoting Chang-chia to be the first lama in rank in Peking, and T'u-kuan to be the second. He invested them with diplomatic missions in Tibet and promoted them as the spiritual guides of the Mongol princes. 175 771

The country was at peace and the future filled with the greatest promise, when suddenly, like a colossus on feet of clay, the luxurious Lamaist institution crumbled and collapsed. The lamasery of Erh-ku-lung with 175 579 771

[125] Huth, *op. cit.*, 372–374.
[126] Petech, *op. cit.*, 242. [p. 34(A)]

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its 2,500 lamas, from which had radiated a prodigious 175
force of expansion for 120 years, had all its temples, 579
stupas, and homes of lamas burned to the ground; 17 771
villages and 7,000 houses were destroyed. Full scale fighting erupted between the lamas and the subjects of the monastery, against the emperor's army; 6,000 were killed. At Seerkok, the branch of Erh-ku-lung having 2,000 lamas, not a single temple, stupa, or home was left; 700 lamas and 2,000 of its fighting subjects were killed. The chief of the monastery, Chie-bzan Rimpoche, was beheaded. Ch'i-chia-ssu, with its two branches, was leveled to the ground; 500 fighting lamas and 1,000 subjects were killed. The monastery of Chie-bzan vanished in flames; 800 lamas perished or fled. The monastery of Shih-men, a center of revolt, disappeared in a blaze and 700 fighting lamas and subjects were killed. All the lamaseries and important branches situated north of the river were completely ruined; their lamas were either killed or they had fled. At the monastery of Kumbum 300 lamas were beheaded, fled, or were killed. All the temples and homes of lamas were burned, except the head temple.

Nien Keng-yao, commanding the imperial army, said that because of the furious armed resistance displayed by the lamas he had to punish them.[127] The head of the monastery, the mK'ampo, surrendered. The Chinese general informed the emperor about his prisoner. He suggested that by no means should clemency be shown toward him, for he had been the cause of all the trouble, stirring the lamas and the people to revolt. Since nothing more is said about him in the *Shih-lu*, the *Tung-hua-lu* or the *Sheng-wu-chi*, it can be supposed that he was beheaded.[128] During the revolt, two more prominent Living Buddhas were beheaded, Temma grutchen and Nga-ch'i T'u-men-han.[129]

Nothing is recorded about the famous monastery of [792]
Ch'ü-t'an, and I have found it impossible to get any information whether or not it participated in the troubles. Lamas like to keep secret in their fold this dishonorable page of their history. This sudden disaster, which ruined all the institutions of Lamaism in Huang-chung, had more far-reaching harmful consequences in the future, from which Lamaism never recovered.

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[127] *Shih-lu*, *Yung-cheng*, ts'e 145, Chüan 14, 10.

[128] These facts are far from the legend as spread by Filchner; that the Ch'i-T'u-ssu was guarantee for Kumbum, that he was the protector of the monastery and that the amban himself could not interfere with the problem of Kumbum. In reminiscence of this fact, the grateful lamas knelt in greeting to the Ch'i T'u-ssu when he attended the festivals at the lamasery. In fact it was customary for the lamas to greet in corps all the T'u-ssu who attended the festivals with their retinue. The same honor was displayed for the Li T'u-ssu and for the Ch'i T'u-ssu at Erh-ku-lung. All the T'u-ssu who fought on the side of the Chinese at that time were intelligent enough to understand that it was not the time to interfere with the problem.

[129] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 46–48, who relies on *Tung-hua-lu*, *Shih-lu*, *Shen-wu-chi* for the period of Yung-cheng. *Annals* of the province, ch. 46; 55*b*–56*a*, 56*b*.

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WHAT WERE THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THESE CALAMITIES?

The troubles in Lhasa at the beginning of the eighteenth century ruined the influence and power of the Qoshot Mongols in Tibet who had founded the realm of the Dalai Lama.[130] bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, the grandson of Gushi, devising the unification of the Qoshots and the revival in his person of the imperial dream of Gushi, assumed the title of Dalai Hung-T'aichi, and broke into open rebellion against China in the eighth month (September, 1723).[131] His rebellion did not have much appeal for the divided Qoshots, and his power was greatly enfeebled. However, having obtained the tremendous support of the mK'ampo Nomun-khan, superior and chief of Kumbum and his nephew, who called all the lamas and Tibetans of Huang-chung to take sides with him, Bstan-dsin started invading the Chinese frontier and Huang-chung. 175 ●

Since it was feared that Bstan-dsin would perturb Tibet, the Chinese authorities acted with great promptness.[132] Nien Keng-Yao, marshal for the pacification of the distant countries, and General Yüeh Chung-ch'i were provided with strict instructions to furnish a drastic example for the government which had so lavishly bestowed unusual favors on the lamas of Huang-chung. Nien Keng-yao disposed of 900,000 soldiers,[133] of whom 3,000 were soldiers of the Monguor T'u-ssu. He crushed the revolt by March, 1724, and made Bstan-dsin flee with but a few men. The example was drastic. The revolted lamas and tribes were severely punished, and the monasteries destroyed. In the reports of General Funingga, concerning the quelling of the revolt of bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, written in the Manchu language, and sent to the emperor from Hsining, not a single word is encountered about the part played by the Hsining lamas in the revolt or of the drastic repression by Nien Keng-yao, although Funingga three times had defeated the Moslems and Tibetans who helped bLo-bzan. It is not easy to guess the reason for this reticence.[134] 175 579

WHERE WERE THE THREE CELEBRITIES OF ERH-KU-LUNG AT THAT TIME?

The Chang-chia of that time, the second, was still a boy seven years of age. The lamas of Erh-ku-lung had hidden him at the monastery of Chiar-too. Nien Keng-yao, according to orders of Peking, brought the boy there. The whereabouts of T'u-kuan seem mysterious. In 1720 he was in Lhasa, vested with a diplomatic mis- 175

[130] Here the consequences of the revolt relative to Lamaism are exposed. The political aspects are dealt with in Schram, *op. cit.*, 36–37.

[131] Petech, *op. cit.*, 82.

[132] *Ibid.*

[133] *Tung-hua-lu, Yung-cheng* 3: 29.

[134] *Berichte des Generals Funingga*, 18 *Jahrhundert*, 104–114, 1953.

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sion, but he seems to have been back in Peking before 1723. Perhaps he remained at the capital, because Huth [125] tells us that the emperor told him that he was worried about the events in Huang-chung. However, Schuleman says [126] that having been "condoned" he was "brought" to Peking and, a few years later (1729), thanks to his counsel and influence, the emperor allowed the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok to be rebuilt and he contributed to their reconstruction.[127] At that time Sumpa was still a minor Living Buddha, studying at Lhasa. In his later works Sumpa came to the fore with stern uncompromising character in the cause of principles, condemning the acts of lamas who killed human beings. In caustic and cutting terms he frankly put all the blame of these tragic events on the mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the chiefs of the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, and on the lamas who caused the ruin of all the monasteries, the destruction of their property, and the death of their subjects, whom they had forced to take their side in the trouble. He defended the line of action and the policy of the emperor and did not put a shadow of blame on the drastic means used by the Chinese officers to crush the revolt.[128]

CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLT

The regulations governing Lamaism in Huang-chung after the repression of the revolt were as drastic as the repression itself. They show that the emperor was bursting with indignation, at the appalling ingratitude of the monasteries, for he resolved in dead earnest to use an iron policy in handling the turbulent lamas. All the titles and seals of "teachers of the empire" (*kuo-shih*) and "Masters in Dhyana" (*Ch'an-shih*), granted to outstanding and meritorious lamas during the Ming dynasty, were recalled. The complement of lamas was not to exceed three hundred men for the big monasteries, and ten or more for the small monasteries. Lamas were not allowed to have more than one disciple.

Twice a year the Chinese officials were to investigate the monasteries for observance of regulations for which the abbots had been made responsible, to check the number of lamas, and to prevent the concealing of weapons. All the subjects of the lamaseries had to become subjects of the Chinese administration, and the land taxes accruing to the lamas had to be collected by Chinese officials. The subjects of monasteries became liable to corvées imposed by the Chinese for building cities, digging canals, and for the army. Trials and suits were brought under the jurisdiction of the Chinese courts. Every year the Chinese officials had to grant

[125] Huth, *op. cit.*, 285.
[126] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 179.
[127] Petech, *op. cit.*, 87.
[128] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 47.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

each lama a certain amount of wheat and a fixed sum of silver as compensation for the withdrawn taxes.[139] 175 792

The revolt of 1723 ruined the former wealth and prestige of the lamaseries. The Chinese officials, who before 1723 had acted reluctantly as humble servants of the chiefs of the lamaseries for fear of the emperor, became their superiors. They acted as such especially in courts of justice, when monasteries and lamas accused each other, or when Chinese brought suit against monasteries. In the minds of the Chinese officials the prestige of Chang-chia and other Hutukhtus of Huang-chung had slipped down many rungs of the ladder of glory. Hutukhtus had to remain in Peking where an honorable office was assigned to them, principally in order to make hostages of them and to prevent new revolts of lamas. Their powers were reduced to honorary dimensions. (The iron hand in the velvet glove!) 579

Regardless of the fact that titles and distinctions had been granted to the lamas, these drastic regulations were never revoked. Before 1723 the lamas were in the lap of luxury; they collected taxes on their fields which were tilled by their subjects. Now, this primary source of wealth vanished, and their land became of less value.

The boundaries of the extensive properties granted them by the emperors had never been accurately drawn. For the most part, monasteries had simply occupied land adjacent to their property, for at that time they were omnipotent. For more than a century, suits followed concerning the delimitation of the boundaries, which continually shrank, the Chinese officials being eager to sell land to Chinese.

The official revenues of the lamas were restricted to the collection of rents and to a pitifully small amount of wheat and a little silver granted to them yearly.[140] The officials soon substituted poor, cheaper barley for the wheat, and the weight of the grain received was below the official weight; silver was converted into cash and the profit on the exchange went into the pockets of the officials. The subjects of the lamaseries were now subject to the Chinese officials, under whose jurisdiction they were liable to corvée. They were thus withdrawn from the influence of the lamaseries. The once powerful lamas swallowed the bitter pill; evil times had befallen them. The consequences of the revolt of 1723, which had brought Lamaism to such a pass, still prevailed under the Republic.

CONDITIONS OF ERH-KU-LUNG IN 1910–1920

The number of lamas had shrunk from 2,500 in 1723 to 270. Only two of the four former colleges still existed. Eleven minor Living Buddhas inhabited the monastery. The temples, homes for lamas and Living Buddhas, and administrative buildings, had been re- 175 792

[139] *Shen-wu-chi*, ch. 5, p. 12; *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 525; *Fan-pu*, 1, p. 7a; *Tung-hua-lu*, *Yung cheng*, *op. cit.* 4: 34–36.
[140] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, p. 12a.

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constructed after 1723, and rebuilt a second time after the revolt of the Moslems in 1872 (at which time the monastery had been abandoned for three years). The internal organization of the formerly flourishing monastery was affected by dissensions among the triumvirate, and peace within its walls was disturbed by the divided lamas, who had taken opposite sides in the conflict. The Chang-chia Hutukhtu left Erh-ku-lung, and more than one hundred lamas followed him. It was a severe blow to the mother monastery. He rebuilt one of his branches, called Ch'ie-bzan, to be his abode on the very rare occasions of his short returns from Peking to the country. He never again visited Erh-ku-lung. The seeds of a callous hostility between Erh-ku-lung and Ch'ie-bzan were planted and their relations cut off. 175 792

The three founders, however, were and remained the co-proprietors of the initial domain, monastery, and branches of Erh-ku-lung. However, each of them, by means of gifts and domains offered to them individually, had built up his own fortune. They hoarded their revenues or used them to found their own branches. In 1910 T'u-kuan Hutukhtu personally was the proprietor of seven branches. He possessed expansive properties on which he built seven villages. He also possessed eighteen oil or wheat mills. His herds of sheep and horses grazed in the Alashan territory and on the domains of T'ien-t'ang-ssu, his former branch, which by 1910 had become an independent monastery. Chang-chia had six branches of his own, eleven villages, nine mills, and very expansive domains. Sumpa had five branches of his own, and wider territories than T'u-kuan and Chang-chia.

The troubles had started not on questions of doctrine or liturgy, but on matters of finance and property. Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa clashed on the question of a territory belonging to the original domain, the status of which T'u-kuan and Sumpa maintained. Chang-chia, however, claimed it to be his property. Finally, the debatable domain was recognized to be the property of the initial domain. 175 792 578

Chang-chia never forgot this loss of face. The money granted by the emperor for the reconstruction of Erh-ku-lung in 1729 was insufficient. Nevertheless, Chang-chia urged that a part of it be used for the rebuilding of his own Ch'ie-bzan. This was refused by the other two and the rift between the triumvirate became wider and wider. T'u-kuan, however, used a large part of his own wealth for the reconstruction of Erh-ku-lung, which lasted for decades. Sumpa, with his own money, built the two colleges, their temples and palaces for Fa-t'ai. Chang-chia refused to make any contribution. After the revolt of 1872 and the destruction of Erh-ku-lung by the Moslems, T'u-kuan and Sumpa rebuilt the monastery. Chang-chia again declined to help.[141] Instead, he rebuilt his own monas- 175 792 578 346

[141] It is not surprising that Chang-chia did not print the works of T'u-kuan (see above, p. 31).

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tery in the most luxurious style. The head temple, with its gilt tiled roof, which had been preserved, was embellished and other temples rebuilt. He rebuilt a splendid palace for himself patterned after the most luxurious palaces in Peking. Chang-chia's Ch'ie-bzan was the wealthiest monastery in the country, with 150 lamas, 2 colleges, and 4 minor Living Buddhas. Most of its wealth was provided by Mongols, among whom the influence and prestige of Chang-chia was proverbial. 175 792 346

Every year, lama expeditions of Ch'ie-bzan traveled in Mongolia in order to collect alms. Chang-chia's prestige was so great that the Queen of the Torgots came to Ch'ie-bzan in 1913, to invite the intendant of the monastery to send an expedition among her tribesmen, for it had been a long time since an expedition had reached her country. I happened to be at Ch'ie-bzan in 1914 when the expedition returned. It had collected 3,000 sheep, 400 horses, and 280 camels, which were loaded with wool and skins. 175 794 648

The breach between T'u-kuan and Sumpa, which occurred in 1890, was more tragic. During the rebellion of the Moslems, Sumpa (born in 1854) had fled among the Mongols and Tibetans, north of Kukunor. He met with a Mongol girl, whom he had moved to his branch monastery called Sumpa-ssu. The lama community of Erh-ku-lung, after some years, could no longer stand the disrepute brought on the monastery. It brought suit against Sumpa before the Amban in the prefectural city of Hsining, claiming he was not a genuine reincarnation. The lama community urged that he be erased from the list of Buddhas, and insisted on the right to search for the genuine reincarnation. For several months the lamas disturbed the whole city with the scandal, and spent money. The Chinese enjoyed all the incidents of the trial. Sumpa lost his face and honor irretrievably. Sumpa, however, was rich and the Amban venal. The Amban finally proposed that Sumpa leave Erh-ku-lung and move to one of his affiliates. This reincarnation (the third) of the illustrious Sumpa, having cut a sorry figure, never returned to Erh-ku-lung, but lived at his branch where, in 1916, his two girls delighted the old age of their father, who was sixty. His eldest daughter had married the son of the chief of the Aruk tribe. In 1916 the old man made a pilgrimage to Lhasa, and the lamas said he was atoning for his sins. No wonder that the Li-fan yüan records lacked information concerning the subsequent reincarnations of the Great Sumpa. 175 578 792 [691]

The Living Buddha Ch'ie-bzan of Erh-ku-lung having a branch monastery of his own, moved into it, appearing at Erh-ku-lung only to attend the festivals. The Living Buddha Wang lived in retired seclusion. Soon after the trial of Sumpa, the minor Living Buddha Tsung-tsa, one of the eleven, followed in the steps of Sumpa and established a family in Tsung-tsa. In the winter of the same year, the minor Living Buddha Seerting was taken and beaten at night by the husband and 175 792 627 762

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

friends of a lady Seerting was "visiting." He was 175
found the next morning hanging from a beam in his 792
palace. The loss of face had been too tremendous. 627
Erh-ku-lung had become a place of unrelieved misery. 762
The year 1890 was one of the most fateful in the history of Erh-ku-lung.

After the withdrawal of Chang-chia Hutukhtu and 175
Sumpa Hutukhtu, T'u-kuan became the actual omnipo- 792
tent chief of the monastery, and acted and was recognized as such. Because it is customary to hush up dishonorable facts deliberately, Chang-chia and Sumpa were very seldom spoken about. It was a long time before I knew they had been the honored co-founders of the monastery.

The former glorious days of Erh-ku-lung vanished. There were no longer learned men at the monastery, which for a century had been the most celebrated center of learning in Huang-chung. Its renown for science passed to the now flourishing monastery of Labrang. The tragic departure of two of its glorious founders put a blight on it, and left a leaden atmosphere of gloom hovering over it. Troubles had succeeded each other. Kumbum, in the meantime, had made great strides, and became the most celebrated monastery of Huang-chung. It was visited by caravans of pilgrims from Mongolia and Tibet, which no longer cared for, or even paid a visit to Erh-ku-lung. Once at the top of the Lamaist world, Erh-ku-lung became a dim shadow of its former self, a second-rate monastery.

III. THE LAMASERIES IN HUANG-CHUNG

THE YELLOW SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG 792

This chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung. The forty-two monasteries and branches situated north of the Hsining River were built according to the pattern of the old mother monastery of Erh-ku-lung. It seems obvious, therefore, to base the study on this initial institution, the most renowned and flourishing in former times. Because all the lamaseries of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung have been organized on the same pattern, a general view of Lamaist institutions can thus be obtained.

The study is founded on facts collected during a 121
stay of many years among the Monguors; which may give a better insight into the matter and reveal the trend of mind of the actors.

THE LAMASERIES OF HUANG-CHUNG INDEPENDENT OF LHASA

All the lamaseries in Huang-chung are autonomous 175
units, independent of Lhasa both in matters of admin- 792
istration and appointment of superiors, even in matters of doctrine. The Achia Lama defended the autonomy of Kumbum against the illegal interference of the Dalai Lama in 1908 by committing suicide. This energetic

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revindication of the autonomy of Kumbum by Achia 175
sharply confirms the trend of mind of the Monguor 792
lamas concerning the autonomy of their monasteries.

Not a single lamasery in Huang-chung was founded by the Dalai Lama. Kumbum was founded in 1560 by the lama, Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, and his ten disciples of their own accord. The fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan, sent a lama to invite the Monguors of Erh-ku-lung to be so kind as to build a monastery in their country.

Seerkok had been ruined and burned to the ground. The chief lama was beheaded in 1723. Seerkok having no more leaders, the Dalai Lama sent the learned lama, Tsanpo, who was studying at Lhasa, to rebuild the monastery. He bestowed upon Tsanpo the title of Nomum-khan, and recommended him to the emperor. The emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu. Lhasa no longer cared for Seerkok because it was autonomous, having its own chief.

The other monasteries throughout the whole region were institutions of the Red Sect, such as Ch'ü-t'an, which was founded by the lama San La. Most of them later adhered to the Yellow Sect but maintained their independence. However, some small ties seem to link the lamaseries of Huang-chung to Lhasa. Upon the death of the Hutukhtus of Huang-chung, Lhasa is asked to designate three names to be placed in the golden urn at Peking. One name is drawn from the golden urn thereby determining the new incarnation. However, the three names required for the new incarnation of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu are supplied by his friend, the grand lama of Labrang. The recognition of the incarnation of all the other Living Buddhas of Huang-chung who do not enjoy the title of Hutukhtu is attested to by the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung. Confirmation of this recognition by a minor Living Buddha is sufficient to establish the Living-Buddhahood of lamas deemed by their confreres to fulfill the requirements *ad hoc*.

For more than a century (1600 to 1723) the relations between the monasteries of Huang-chung and Lhasa had been really important, because of the imposing array of learned scholars of Erh-ku-lung who taught in the most important lamaseries of Lhasa, the lamas of Huang-chung who performed their studies at Lhasa, and the several diplomatic missions of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus sent by the emperors to the Dalai Lamas.

It is not hard to understand why Lhasa displayed so little interest in the monastery of Kumbum. The reason is that Kumbum was autonomous. The Third Dalai Lama paid a short visit to Kumbum for the first time in 1583. He insisted on the founding of a school for the explanation of the sacred texts. In 1723 the chief lama of Kumbum was the fateful mK'ampo Nomun-Khan, nephew of bLo Blzan bstan dsin. He received his title of Nomun-Khan from the Dalai Lama.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

From 1715 until 1720 the Seventh Dalai Lama was confined at Kumbum by the emperor. Several visits to Kumbum, made by the Dalai Lama or the Pan-chen Lama on their way to Peking, have to be added in order to complete the scheme of the relations between the two monasteries. 175 792

These facts suffice to prove that the relations between the lamaseries of Huang-chung and the Dalai Lama were of courtesy, friendship, and helpfulness, not those of subordinates with superiors. The independence from Lhasa of the lamaseries of Huang-chung is evidenced by their independence in managing their affairs. Each had its supreme chief, who was the recognized proprietor.

THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE LAMASERIES

Each monastery has a supreme chief who is the recognized proprietor of the lamasery and the initial territory granted by the emperor or T'u-ssu for the establishment of the monastery. He is the proprietor of the temples and buildings built by him or his previous incarnations, and of the alms offered to it. In Huang-chung the supreme chiefs of monasteries are all Living Buddhas. At present some of them are minor, others major Living Buddhas. In Kumbum, Achia Hutukhtu is the supreme chief of the monastery; in Seerkok, Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu. In Erh-ku-lung there are three supreme chiefs, Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa, but actually T'u-kuan Hutukhtu alone governs the whole monastery because of the historical circumstances already recorded. Minor Living Buddhas are Buddhas who do not enjoy the title of Hutukhtu, granted by the emperor, and whose name, usually, is not recorded in the files of the Li Fan Yüan in Peking. Minor Living Buddhas, in order to live inside the walls of the great monastery and to build a palace, must obtain the permission of the supreme chief; they are considered as guests of the lamasery. 792

The supreme chief is responsible before the Chinese administration for his subjects' crimes or murders committed in his monastery, or in his domain. He appoints the superiors of the various institutions established inside the monastery and in the branches. In time of trouble between the various institutions he tries to mediate. The extent to which he interferes with subordinates depends not on institutional regulations, but simply on whether he is personally a meddlesome character.

In monasteries the "community of the lamas" is a recognized autonomous unit, with its own wealth, properties (herds, fields, subjects, etc.), administration. It has its own right to bring suit in the Chinese courts, and to establish subsidiaries, whose administrators depend upon it and not upon the supreme chief. The community of Erh-ku-lung has three such subsidiaries: Ta-ssu, Hsiao-ssu, and Hsiao Erh-ku-lung. It was the

[p. 38(B)]

Concerning Seerkok, the former subsidiary of Erh-ku-lung, it is recorded that it disposed of a property 45 miles (150 *li*) in length and 10 miles (30 *li*) wide.[4] Achia Hutukhtu of Kumbum collected taxes and rents from five tribes of farming Tibetans and the inhabitants of seven valleys.[5] The country for 200 *li* around Kumbum belongs to the monastery; several thousand "tame" barbarians are its subjects.[6] Achia Hutukhtu received from the emperor an extensive region for grazing his herds in Chahar (Inner Mongolia). The contract was written by order of the emperor in 1766.[7] Erh-ku-lung received land from the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where a lot of its subjects farmed. After the revolt of 1723, the Ch'i T'u-ssu responsible for the revolt of Erh-ku-lung lost his title and the subjects who farmed his land. Later he was given a chance to regain his title and subjects, if he could bring those who had revolted to submission. He succeeded, and recovered title and subjects, as described in Part I (p. 50).

It has been recorded that Ch'ü-t'an, which was the first lamasery founded by the Ming emperors, received wide domains so that it was able to build the two large branches of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and Hung Shan-ssu (*Annals* of Hsining. ch. 15, p. 13). During the Ming dynasty large domains had also been granted to the Karwa and Nang-suo institutions, as noted above. Most of the minor Living Buddhas also possessed domains granted by T'u-ssu or wealthy people, or which they purchased themselves.

If account is taken of all these facts, it is easy to understand why the Chinese officials, who before 1723 could not collect taxes on all these vast domains, harbored an enormous jealousy, and why they exulted after the revolt when the emperor assigned the collection of these taxes to them. The text of the author of the *Annals* of Hsining records (chap. 31, p. 22) that " . . . in 1727, by decree, the emperor in one day, put an end to calamities lasting hundreds of years." This text, on the one hand, proves the rejoicing of the Chinese officials at that time; on the other hand, the loss of these enormous revenues impoverished the monasteries tremendously. The lamas, however, were very proficient in finding a means to cushion the shock to some extent.[8]

RENTS

After the revolt, the lamas could only receive the rent of their tenants in the way in which a rich landowner received them; but it was customary that the government receive the taxes, not directly from the tenants.

[4] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 5: 123.
[5] *Ibid.*, 143.
[6] *Ibid.*, 11.
[7] *Ibid.*, 143.
[8] In 1948 according to the official data provided by the Bureau of the actual province of Ch'ing-hai (Hsining), only 177 of the 235 lamaseries, owned collectively about 500,000 *mou* (acres) of land and 5,000 to 6,000 head of livestock. Wang Wen-han, *Pien-chiang tung-hsin* 1: 1–7, 1948.

The oil trade is a very important and lucrative business. Flour is sold in Hsining. The taxes imposed on the mills are very heavy, but the monasteries still enjoy the old privilege granted before 1723, and are exempted from these taxes. Even families in which a Living Buddha has been born enjoy the same privilege, for instance, the Lan family living in Hung nai tzu Valley. Every year, however, the family has to offer 10 pounds of oil at Erh-ku-lung to the intendancy of its Buddha, deceased a century ago. The lamas claim the privilege, which was granted during the Yung lo period (1403–1424), because oil is consumed in the lamps of the temples before the Buddhas, and flour is used by the lamas, the servants of Buddha. 792 [438] 434 651

FORESTS

Only two monasteries possess extensive forests—Seerkok and T'ien-T'ang. Because wood is very scarce in the northern part of the province, forests are an important source of revenue. 792 434 314

TOLL ON BRIDGES

The history of the famous bridge of T'ien T'ang has been recorded. For many years it was a source of large revenue, which finally caused its ruin. 792 434 [494]

The monastery of Kan-ch'an, belonging to the famous Tenma, receives toll on a raft, which ferries passengers across the Ta-t'ung River. Tenma is a very well-known man in the country. His first incarnation, a learned man, was appointed Fa-t'ai in Erh-ku-lung by the first Chang-chia (Huth, p. 279). It is related that he caused the ruin of Erh-ku-lung. In 1723 bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, chief of the revolt, was a prisoner in Hsining, and about to be executed. He heard that Tenma was in the city. Through the guardians of the jail, he implored him to write a letter to the Chinese generals in order to save his life. Tenma, unaware of the consequences of such an act, wrote the letter. The generals got the impression that Erh-ku-lung was mixed up with the revolt, and they destroyed the monastery. This is a fine story, manufactured on the ground out of whole cloth, in order to free the old mother monastery from blame, but why was the blame put on Tenma? 505 175

For many years during the period of my stay, the young Tenma, swelling with ambition, was the most talked-of man in the country for his audacious plan to construct a European suspension bridge over the river, like those in photographs he had seen in magazines. He started buying all the available iron in the country, felling all the big trees growing on the domain of the monastery, and building a large brickyard. Blacksmiths, carpenters, and bricklayers worked for four years. He built four great towers, two on each side of the river. The blacksmiths made enormous iron chains, too heavy to manipulate or to move. He exhausted the entire treasure of the monastery. Troubles started 792 334

[p.45(A)]

LAMASERIES AS ADMINISTRATIVE CENTERS OF THE COUNTRY AND CONDITIONS OF THE SUBJECTS BEFORE 1723

792 175

The study of the material aspects of the administration of the monasteries and the status of their subjects in 1910–1920, which are the consequences of the revolt of 1723, provides many facts pointing to the situation as it existed before 1723, and makes possible a reconstruction of the conditions in which the lamaseries flourished and their subjects lived before that fateful date.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) had succeeded in driving the Mongols out of China, there existed in Huang-chung only the two cities of Hsining and Nien pei, and some fortified walled places which were garrisons established in former times to assure the occupation of the always disturbed country. The Ming started anew the colonization of the depopulated country by transplanting from central China 7,200 Chinese families (Part I: p. 30), accepting the submission of the Monguors, and assigning to each of their groups a definite territory, making them wardens of the country and their chiefs officials of the empire, with the prerogatives of the office of T'u-ssu (Part I: 46 sq.). The city of Hsining was more a military than a civil administrative center.

In order to repopulate the country, the Ming adopted the policy of attracting lamas and settling them in the region with the subjects they induced to submit to the empire. It granted them territories and made the lamas the hereditary chieftains of the groups they had brought in. They were responsible for the tribute to be offered to the emperor and had complete jurisdiction over their subjects. Hence the flourishing of lamaseries, Nang-suos, Karwas. The protection bestowed upon the lamas and the immunity granted to them by the emperor made the dissatisfied Chinese officials keep quiet and swallow their national pride. [168 646]

Consequently, large territories were assigned to the Monguor clans and larger or smaller ones to the lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas, whose inhabitants were completely withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials. Besides these autonomous groups there lived, scattered over the country, some small groups of petty Tibetan tribes, remnants of tribes which had fled from Kukunor or Tibet, depending directly upon the Chinese administration. From among those groups, from among the Monguor clans, and from their own subjects, the lama institutions recruited and increased the number of their lamas.

The chiefs of the lama institutions accredited by the emperor lived in their seigniories like princes, surrounded by a large or small retinue, occupying a more or less elaborate residence built within a compound of temples, the quarters of the lamas, and large granaries. They appointed the staffs of lama officials for administering justice among the subjects (officially appointed 792 175 692 [643]

[p.49(A)]

chiliarchs still exist in Kumbum, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok), meting out punishments (instruments of torture are still displayed at lama courts), and imprisonment (the prison of Seerkok still exists); caring for the preservation of peace and order in the territories assigned to them, inquiring about travelers passing through it; administering the distribution of fields, the imposition and collection of taxes, the imposition of tolls on bridges (the bridge of T'ien t'ang and raft of Kan ch'an), and the imposition of corvées. 792 175 692

At the time of the inroads of marauding Mongol and Tibetan tribes, the revolts of Moslems, and the lama revolt against China in 1723, the subjects were compelled by the lamas to take sides with them in combat and in defending the lamaseries and their territories. In short, the privileges bestowed upon the chiefs of the lama institutions before 1723 were far-reaching. They were units, scattered over the country, administering their subjects according to their own rules and customs, entirely free from the interference of Chinese officials.

The lamaseries were the administrative centers of the groups subordinated to them. All the country's wealth flowed into their granaries and treasuries. Moreover, the lamas tended herds of cows, sheep, and horses, built oil and grain mills, and received donations. The lamaseries were the only places where huge sums of money could be borrowed (Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu borrowed money from them by mortgaging parts of their properties). They removed the wealth of the country from circulation and hoarded it or used it to found new lama communities (the tremendous branching out of monasteries between 1600 and 1723). They did not even use it for charitable institutions for the people of the country. 792 175 425 426

The lamaseries, originally built in lonely places and in remote valleys, in order that the monks would not be disturbed in their meditations and studies by the tumult of the world, were in olden times the most animated places of the country. In autumn the subjects carried taxes and rents on long caravans of donkeys to their granaries. The measuring of grain went on, as it did all over Asia, with rumbling noise and cries, bursting with activity for weeks in succession. At the time of exchanging tea for horses all the subjects were interested in the assessment of the horses. The tumult and discussions on the grounds of the monastery lasted for days and days. The selection of the horses for tribute to the emperor was conducted with like tumult and confusion, and often for the same length of time. Two or three times a year large festivals were held at the monasteries. They were attended by all the people of the country interested in horse racing, wrestling, singing, dancing, and in the big fairs held at that time. Chinese traders came from the city, pitched their tents, paid toll to the lamas, and sold their wares. The Monguors and Tibetans also arrived with their homespun 792 175 651 427 [554 443]

[p. 49 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

products and animals for trading. All year long the 792
silence of the holy places was disturbed by the coming 175
and going of caravans of donkeys carrying grain to the 651
oil and grain mills, and returning with flour and oil 427
which was measured with the usual rumble of noise and cries. Throughout the year, groups of subjects never failed to become involved in trials, defending their rights by roaring and crying with vehemence and passion at the court of lamas. Punishments were meted out with ruthless severity, so that cries and screams could be heard throughout the entire monastery—whetting the curiosity and disturbing the meditation of the monks.

The interest of the subjects was centered only on the 175
monastery. There was no need for them to go to the 633
city, since the necessities of life could be secured at the 792
monastery fairs and nobody cared for the Chinese officials, the lamas being their legal officials. Many, many people had never seen or entered a city. The monasteries and their subjects lived their own life, in their own orbit, alien to the city, just as if Chinese officials did not exist.

These conditions changed after 1723 when the lamas lost their privileges and the country developed economically. From that time on the city became the center of the economic, civil, and administrative life; before that time, it had been primarily a military center, engrossed in the protection of the country.

What was the social position of the subjects of the 175
lama institutions before 1723? It seems that religion 792
must have been a subsidiary and not a primary motive 571
for becoming subjects of the lamas, because all of them were spurred by the hope of earning a better living under the lama regime than under the regimes of the Chinese officials or the Monguor T'u-ssu. Having been driven out of their territories by marauding Mongols, they may have hoped to find a peaceful country within the frontier zone of China, on the domains of the lamas. Being groups or tribes, or single families of destitute people, they were happy to submit to lama chiefs, and they were thankful to them for being accepted as their subjects. They did not lay claim to any rights, and the lamas did not consider that they were entitled to any, because they had achieved nothing that could have supported such claims. In this way the lamas strove to make their domains more and more productive, and were only concerned with the duties to be imposed on the subjects, without paying any attention whatever to rights they might have claimed.

The subjects were all on the same social level; there 175
was no more question of nobles and commoners among 565
them. They were all equally subject to taxes and cor- 792
vées, and all of them were tenants of the fields of the lamas. They enjoyed the rights to live, to till the soil, and to consume the surplus of their labor. Since the lamas never sold their fields, the subjects had no opportunity to become proprietors of the soil, as was the

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case with the subjects of the T'u-ssu, and so no out- 175
standing rich families could rise up among them. Since 565
the entire administration was carried on exclusively 792
by lamas, the subjects could hardly incur any important social prestige within their circle, or become leading personalities, and certainly not during the entire Ming period (1368–1644) when intermittent troubles and interruptions of trade curtailed the opportunity to become rich. Accordingly, the lamas effectively controlled the subjects and their domains.

As no written code of law existed, the lama officials 175
helped themselves with a house law on a grand scale, 792
by imposing taxes, corvées, and tribute, mediating 692
troubles in families, meting out punishments and imprisonments for crying injustices. The subjects, pinning their hope on a better living, were submissive and obedient, simply because the chief lama was their lord.

It is easy to understand that the subjects of the monasteries enjoyed no rights of their own, but they depended entirely on the administration of the chief of the monastery and his lama officials.

It may be supposed, however, that capital punish- [681]
ment of the subjects of the monasteries was reserved to the emperor, as it was in the case of subjects of the T'u-ssu. It is not known whether, before 1723, the right of recourse of the subjects to a higher Chinese court existed or not. If it did exist, it must have been nominal, as it is at present.

The living conditions of the subjects, however, must 175
have been for the most part bearable, as evidenced by 792
the fact that so many people applied to the lamaseries 571
to become subjects. Only after 1723 are a few cases known of subjects revolting against the chief lama and his officials, such as the case of Yang-kuo-erh-ssu, and that of the subjects of the Sina tribe, who preferred to become Chinese subjects rather than remain subjects of the lamas. On the other hand, the unbelievably large number of lamas from among the subjects, since every family had a son or an uncle lama, must have disposed the families favorably toward the monasteries and their chiefs, and made the subjects overlook the shortcomings and deficiencies inherent in any human institution.

The reasons why the privileged status of the monasteries lasted for so long in Huang-chung were, first, the insecurity of the country, especially after 1509, and then the influence of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus in Peking.

The chiefs of the monasteries were, at the same time, 175
the temporal and the spiritual chiefs of the subjects. 792
The subjects were compelled to invite the lamas on 794
whom they depended to recite texts in behalf of the families or of the communities, or to perform public or private ceremonies, to the exclusion of lamas of other communities, at such times as epidemics, epizootics, the burying of the dead. They had to make donations at fixed times, when their lamas, their chiefs, came touring for alms among them. Corvées were imposed at the time of celebrations and festivities at their lamaseries.

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However, no compulsory religious instruction was provided for adults or children in order to make the subjects more fervent, and no schools or charitable institutions existed. The subjects were never compelled to attend ceremonies in the temples, for only lamas recite texts in temples, and temples are not what we are accustomed to calling churches. Finally, the religious activities imposed on the subjects reflected more a material than a spiritual interest, and bound them closer to their chiefs. 175 792 794

If we take into account the period of incredibly rapid increase in the founding and branching out of monasteries, the number of lamas must have been tremendous. Certainly the revolt of 1723 and its drastic suppression largely prove this assertion. Necessarily, the absorption into the lama communities of a large proportion of the male population of the country must have adversely affected productivity. Men who became lamas were not only withdrawn from production, but had to be fed by the depleted population. It is easy to understand that in such circumstances trade and industry could by no means develop and flourish. The large groups of lamas did not produce anything; they merely consumed the production of the country and hoarded its wealth. Their economic role was simply that of consumers, and so the economy of the country was necessarily agricultural and limited to its needs. 175 792

The same conditions existed in the two cities of Huang-chung and in the garrisons. There the soldiers and the relatively feeble population consumed what the colonists could produce. Only later on, when peace was restored, communications with the capital of the province assured, and trade had become possible, could the cities and the whole country develop and emerge from the former limited agricultural economy—an outlet had been found for the products of the country. The farmer, assured of the possibility of selling as much as he could produce, started producing to the peak of his capacity. These conditions seem to explain the deadly stagnation prevailing in the country from 1368 to 1723.

These seem to have been the conditions of lama Buddhism between 1368 and 1723 in Huang-chung, the privileged legal position of the temporal and spiritual chiefs of large and small lama institutions, the important role played by the monasteries, Nang-suos and Karwas, centers of the public and private life of the country, the bursting activity displayed inside the walls of the monasteries, the conditions of the subjects of the monasteries and the economic consequences arising from the tremendous number of the male population which had become lamas.[9]

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[9]H. H. Vreeland, 3rd, Mongol community and kinship structure, *Human Relations Area Files*, New Haven, 1954. After the completion of the present study, there appeared this outstanding study dealing with the Khalkha Mongols of the Narobanchin territory, the Chahar Mongols of the Taibas pasture and the Dagor Mongols of the Nonni River valley. The study [13]

[p. 51(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

BRANCH LAMASERIES

175 792

It has been noted how at Erh-ku-lung there existed from the very beginning a real passion for the founding of hermitages, which began as affiliates and later became independent monasteries. Not only did the three founders of the monastery found their own branches next to those of the monastery, but the lesser Living Buddhas, the communities of lamas, and the colleges followed their example. According to the superiors of the monastery, and the general testimony in the country, forty-two branches proceeded from Erh-ku-lung. Several times prominent lamas told me that the founders of branches had a predilection for them at the time of their founding, but later they invariably became a burden.

ADMINISTRATION AND OFFICIALS

175 792 794

The first act of the founder of a branch was to appoint a rector, Nirwa (Nerpa), as chief of the new community. At the beginning, when the group of lamas was still small, he held the entire authority in his own hands. Later on a lama disciplinarian, Ge-ko, a precentor, Um-dse, and an adviser to the rector were added, and the administration was complete. For a very long time, the rector also had the function of procurator. The rector and the disciplinarian were appointed by the founder of the subsidiary for a three years' tenure of office. Later, precentor, adviser, and procurator were chosen by the community. The rector and the disciplinarian were invited to the mother house to receive their appointment. The whole community of the branch had to come to the mother house in order to invite and to acknowledge the new authorities by

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concerning the lamasery of Narobanchin, based on data provided to the author by the Dilowa Hutukhtu himself, co-proprietor of the institution, gives a unique insight into the nature of a lamasery, situated in the open Gobi desert, among nomadic tribes insulated from the impact of the Chinese civilization and culture, and in its adaptation to the tribal, social and economic environment. The history of the founders is noted, the way the banner princes granted territories, allowed their subjects to abandon them in order to become plain subjects of the lamasery, the legal status of the lamasery and its subjects, the rendering of justice by the lamas, the interesting administration of the temple wealth and property, the means of subsistence of the subjects, the levies, services, and corvées imposed by the lamasery, etc. This study sheds light on what the social and economic conditions of the subjects of the Monguor lamaseries must have been before the revolt of 1723, and is a perfect foil to the actually existing conditions of the subjects of the Monguor lamaseries. This study for a long time will remain a standard work in this special field. The study of shamanism among the Dagor Mongols (p. 250) is a very valuable contribution to the subject of shamanism among the Mongols; many new facts and peculiar conceptions concerning souls, death, and spirits are secured and their impact upon the family life exposed. The peculiar position and behavior of the shamans in the Dagor society is very instructive.

The chapters concerning the social organization, economic life, and kinship and property structure of these tribes are of equal importance, but they do not fit into the frame of this study.

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4; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

prostrations and by presentation of the ceremonial scarf. They escorted them to the branch where a sheep was killed and a dinner enjoyed. 175 792 794

DOMAINS AND REVENUES

An affiliate, in order to enjoy viability, had to possess a territorial domain. The mother house, where possible, assigned to it a part of its own domain; where this was not possible, the founder made arrangements to provide a domain. The T'u-kuan bought some ground for his affiliate of Ma-t'i-ssu. Every year the affiliate had to pay the interest of the capital thus invested, amounting to 60 taels or 36½ bricks of tea. The rector of the affiliate was bound to account for the material administration of his institution, receipt of rents, selling of trees, investment of the capital of the affiliate, and herds, and required a fixed sum to be sent out of the revenues to the intendancy of the founder. Finally, the intendant of the founder supervised the material administration of the subsidiary. When recalcitrant subjects refused obeisance, the rector and the disciplinarian sent them to the mother house, but such subjects would quit the monastery before they were summoned to see the founder. 175 792 571 794

OBLIGATION TO A FA-T'AI WHEN INVITED

When one of the members of the subsidiaries is invited to take the office of Fa-t'ai (Lob-pon) at the mother house, he is never allowed to decline the invitation, even after the subsidiary has become entirely independent, and even if the man thus summoned to officiate as invited Fa-t'ai is a Living Buddha or the supreme chief of the independent monastery. This custom seems to be general.

OBLIGATION TO JOIN THE RETINUE OF THE CHIEF OF THE LAMASERY

When the founder of the affiliate makes a long journey or accompanies an alms expedition to far-off countries, the branches must send lamas to make up his retinue. When the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu went to Peking to fulfill the assignment entrusted to him at the capital, even the independent old branches were kind enough to present a couple of lamas each to enhance his prestige. When he went to Peking for the last time, seventeen independent branches sent lamas. Lamas like to visit the capital, since it is a remunerative business. In the Orient a traveler always does some business on the way, especially an eminent personage such as T'u-kuan, traveling as a state official. He and his retinue enjoyed the privilege of going everywhere free of taxes. 175 792 484 [534]

AUTONOMY OF BRANCH LAMASERIES

How did the subsidiaries become independent? The tragic events which occurred at Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai have already been recorded. Although such 175 792 794 571

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tragic events seldom happen, independence is never acquired without friction between the daughter and mother houses. Usually the difficulties begin with the crucial problem of the delivery of the share of revenue required by the intendancies of the founders. The separation usually occurred, according to old lamas, at a time when the mother house was involved in inextricable difficulties and unable to assert its authority, or when the founder was still in the prime of life. 175 792 794 571

The obsession for having Living Buddhas started in Erh-ku-lung in the second half of the seventeenth century with the incarnations of the founders. Very soon some of the subsidiaries endowed themselves with their own Living Buddhas, partly for decorative reasons and partly in anticipation of a possible rupture with the founders. These Living Buddhas eventually seized a favorable opportunity provided by circumstances to declare their independence and take possession of the territory formerly allocated to the subsidiary. On the other hand, it is easy to understand that subsidiaries, which had developed to the point of having several hundred inmates, or two thousand as in Seerkok, split away (from the mother house) when they had capable authorities, or when the intendancies of the mother house were too exacting and greedy on the question of collecting a share of the revenues of the subsidiary. At such a time the veneer of filial devotion easily scales off.

This was the case with the affiliate of T'ien-T'ang with its seven hundred lamas, two Living Buddhas, and three colleges. Its founder, T'u-kuan, squeezed to the wall, understood the gravity of the situation and made the best of a bad bargain, granting independence after it had been declared, provided the duty was acknowledged of presenting a yearly allocation to the intendancy of one of the Living Buddhas of T'ien-T'ang, the teacher in a former incarnation of T'u-kuan (this was a delicate gesture), together with the right to graze his herds on the domain of the new monastery. The conditions were gratefully accepted and good relations between the former daughter and its mother house continued.

The branch of Ta-ssu, depending on the community of the lamas of Erh-ku-lung, had troubles with the intendancy of its founder concerning the crucial question of the exaction of revenues. It happened that one of the lamas of Ta-ssu, scion of the noble family of the Lu T'u-ssu, died. The shrewd lamas invited the supreme chief of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an in order to inquire whether the departed lama had or had not been of the stuff of which Living Buddhas are made. The intelligent Living Buddha of Ch'ü-t'an easily understood the meaning of the fervent lamas and declared that the noble lama was already reborn in the family of the Prince of Alashan, and it happened that the wife of the noble Lu T'u-ssu was a princess of Alashan. This was a double blessing sent by the Buddha! Independence was immediately declared, backed by the in-

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

fluential family of the Lu T'u-ssu and the Prince of Alashan, and a new monastery was born. The community of Erh-ku-lung was powerless. 175 792 794

It sometimes happens that a branch not having its own Living Buddha does not wait to declare its independence. Chai-ya, a small branch of forty lamas dependent on T'u-kuan, possessed some forests; the selling of trees was its primary source of revenues. The subprefect of P'ing-fan confiscated the forest in 1912. At the time, rumors were spread all over the country concerning the confiscation of the domains of all the monasteries. T'u-kuan, deeming it not the appropriate time to accuse the subprefect at the capital of the province, did not help the branch to recover the forest. The frustrated and infuriated branch boldly declared its independence and thereafter had no further relations with the founder. 571

Kalang, an old, independent affiliate of Labrang, founded its own branch, Pi-t'ang. Pi-t'ang flourished and Kalang declined. Pi-t'ang prepared to invite a Living Buddha to move into its establishment, but Kalang refused permission. The lamas of the lamaseries fought among themselves in 1912, and the Moslem General, Ma K'o-ch'en, sent troops to quell the troubles. In 1915 the country was troubled by the Pai Lang (White Wolf) brigands, and the old feud flared up again. Kalang accused Pi-t'ang at the subprefecture of Hsün-hua. Finally Kalang refused to accept the verdict of the subprefect and prepared to fight Pi-t'ang. The general, Ma K'o-ch'en of Hsining, sent his troops, and twenty-one fighting lamas of Kalang and seven Moslem soldiers were killed. Kalang had to pay an indemnity of $10,000 for the soldiers killed. The members of the intendancy were put into jail and Pi-t'ang was declared independent by the Moslem general. These facts give an insight into the problems of the subsidiaries, the very loose ties which knit mother and daughter houses, the reasons which cause a scission, and the ways in which their separation may be achieved and independence acquired. Very often the part played by the intendants is paramount in creating the breach between mother and daughter houses.

LAMA ARMY

At present, the lamaseries of Huang-chung no longer have a regular armed force of lamas who are maintained by the lamasery, as is still the rule in Tibet. The only record encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 28, p 13) concerning a lama army is a supplication sent to the emperor during Cheng-te period (1506–1521) by the Chinese officials of Hsining, asking that the farmers of Hsining be exempted from the burden of supporting the lama army. At that time there existed only the important lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an, with its subsidiaries, some Nang-suos and Karwas, and the lamasery of Shachün. From the relatively small number of lamas at that time, it may be assumed that the lama army con- 175 792 701

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sisted of lamas and the subjects of the monastery. However, during the revolt of 1723, the lamaseries were in full bloom, and must have had soldiers, because the Chinese General, Nien Keng-yao, blamed the lamas for fighting furiously, and the monasteries for being the depots of weapons. It may be assumed that after the revolt of 1723 the lamaseries were not allowed to have armies. However, during the revolt of the Moslems in 1895, the lamas of Kumbum attacked the stronghold of the rebels in To-pa as auxiliaries of the Chinese regular armies.[10] Nearly all the monasteries at that time except Kumbum were destroyed and burned.

INTERFERENCE OF THE EMPEROR AND T'U-SSU WITH THE LAMASERIES

In Europe during the Middle Ages, many monasteries and abbeys had a bad time. The princes and kings granted vast domains to religious orders to encourage them to branch out into their territories. The grants were gratefully accepted and abbeys built, but some among the gracious donors, in a surge of religiosity, went so far as to appoint an official for the collection of land taxes and the administration of the domains, whose duty it was to furnish the revenue to the abbots in order to free the monks of material troubles. Often these officials were relatives of the donors, and collected most of the taxes for themselves, and the monasteries, unable to make ends meet and to uphold and develop their institutions, had no means of protesting against the relative of the prince. Very often princes started interfering in the administration of the monasteries and claimed the right to appoint an abbot of their own, often a relative. After unworthy abbots were appointed the monasteries relaxed, with the consequences that might be expected.

I know of only two similar cases of interference in Huang-chung. The Lu T'u-ssu of Lien ch'eng had established three important lamaseries and granted vast domains to them. In 1727 the census records for the monastery of Ku-ch'eng show 140 lamas, for Lien-hua 100, and for Pao-nen-ssu 191, a total of 431 lamas. Next to them the T'u-ssu had founded two smaller monasteries, Hsi ssu and Kan-ch'an ssu, which received smaller domains from him. Two among these five monasteries had no Living Buddhas, so that the T'u-ssu appointed himself the intendant; and every three years, at appointment time, troubles arose.

The case of Ch'ü-t'an has been recorded. According to the legend the monk, Emperor Hui-ti, had appointed his relative hereditary administrator of the domains, and a tablet had been erected testifying to the appointment. The fact is, that the real emperor of the

[10] Susie Carson Rynhart, M.D., *With the Tibetans in tent and temple*, 92, London, Fleming Revell, 1902; see also M. S. Wellby, *Through unknown Tibet*, 281, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1898.

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Yung-cheng period, not the monk Emperor Hui-ti, had 643
appointed the administrator, who was killed. 175

Possibly the precarious position of the Li and Ch'i 792
T'u-ssu, their financial troubles, which compelled them 622
to mortgage parts of their domains to Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, enfeebled their influence and power, and prevented them from interfering with the administration of the monasteries which had received domains from them in former times. On the other hand, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, before 1723, had prominent Hutukhtus whose influence superseded that of the T'u-ssu. Only these two cases are known to me.

IV. ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAMA-SERIES: EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS 792

It seems necessary in dealing with the educational and religious aspects of a monastery, its rules, discipline, and colleges, to know beforehand to what kind of subjects the initiation into the monastic life and religious training is given. The subjects of the monastery are its main source of lamas.

LAMAS

LACK OF CANDIDATES

The superiors of all the monasteries complained bitterly about the want of religious candidates. In fact they declared that at this time (1911–1920) there existed in Huang-chung only two monasteries still having the four colleges (Kumbum and Sha-ch'ung), and the fact that so many monasteries were shadows of their former selves was the consequence of the lack of religious candidates.

CAUSES CONTRIBUTING TO LACK OF CANDIDATES

The situation in Huang-chung in 1910 was no longer 175
the same as that before 1723. After the crushing of the 177
revolt, the country had enjoyed peace, and developed and prospered tremendously. Chinese settled in great numbers in the thinly populated country, filled with hopes for a comfortable living. Chinese officials became more and more numerous. Chinese *literati* came to take the helm and to enforce on the uncivilized Monguors, Tibetans, and lamas admiration for the superior Chinese civilization.

First of all, the Monguors, not insulated against the impact of Chinese culture because a large number of Chinese had already been enrolled in their clans, and because their T'u-ssu were already far along in the process of Sinicization, underwent the process in differing degrees. In Huang-chung, even as in the northwest border countries of China, the first consequences of the process of Sinicization are a pride in being considered Chinese, and a scorn for lamas, whom they be-

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

gin to consider as barbarians. When a Monguor family 173
starts losing its identity, no more children become 177
lamas, relations with the monasteries vanish, and no more alms are offered. A lamasery situated in a Chinese environment cannot maintain itself. The schools [871]
with Chinese teachers, established in the country, exert a baneful influence on the recruiting; boys who attend Chinese schools no longer become lamas.

The bulk of the endless number of lamas was pro- 175
vided in former times by the Monguors and Tibetans 792
of Huang-chung. At the time Erh-ku-lung, Seerkok, and T'ien-t'ang ssu rode the crest of the wave of glory and learning, a respectable number of Mongols of Kukunor and Mongolia, and Tibetans of Kukunor, enrolled in the monasteries of Huang-chung, but this glorious time has long vanished. Kumbum, possessing very rich revenues, is now the only prosperous lamasery in the region; a number of Mongols and Tibetans from Kukunor are on its roster. Since the troubles with the Dalai Lama (1909) very few Tibetans from Tibet proper visit and live at Kumbum (1910–1920). At present, in most of the monasteries, the population consists of older lamas and young boys. At Seerkok, Ch'ü-t'an, and T'ien-t'ang a lot of Chinese or Sinicized Monguor lamas are enrolled, even Chinese boys, mostly children of poor Chinese families. The lamas of Erh-ku-lung asserted that these monasteries were on the way to losing the real monastic spirit. Seerkok in 1723 had two thousand lamas; in 1890, according to Rockhill,[1] it still had seven hundred lamas; in 1910 only about three hundred. Four hundred lamas deserted the monastery during the last twenty years, disgusted by the public misbehavior of the supreme chief of the monastery.

He was the second reincarnation of the glorious Min chu-erh Hutukhtu, author of the celebrated *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia,* well known in Europe. Seerkok, in order to retrieve its former position, managed to reincarnate two of its small Living Buddhas, one in Mongolia, the other in Tibet, pinning its hope on fresh recruits from Mongolia and Tibet. However, the Chinese element among the lamas was already too strong. Chinese lamas had forged ahead and were invested with the most important offices, which kept new recruits away. Without doubt, another cause contributing to the lack of candidates was the troubled situation existing in the monasteries of the country. One after another, they passed through harrowing experiences which caused their ruin. This predicament, of their own making, sets the tongues of the people wagging, brings disrepute on the institutions, and disgusts the parents to the extent they refuse their boys permission to join the lama corps. These seem to be the two important reasons causing the lack of candidates.

[1] W. W. Rockhill, *Land of the lamas,* 98, New York, Century, 1891.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

NUMBER OF LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

Fantastic figures concerning the number of lamas are encountered in publications on the subject.[1a] Concerning Huang-chung, we possess a census of lamas and lamaseries (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, pp. 6, 9, 10, 12) existing between 1729 and 1735. Although the census returns used are largely mere estimates, they seem to have at least a general reliability. However, because there is no comparable census of the secular population, it is impossible to determine the proportion of lamas to the male population at that time.

After the revolt of 1723, each lama was to be given a certain amount of wheat yearly, for his subsistence.[2] At the same time, the number of lamas to be allowed in the big monasteries was fixed at 300, and in the small monasteries at 10 or more. A register was kept by the official containing the name and age of each lama. Lamaseries which had more than the allotted number of lamas could only get support for 300 of them. Certainly Kumbum with 3,000 and Seerkok with 700, surpassed the quota, if not in 1730, without doubt later on. It may be supposed that in this period those of the larger lamaseries that were short of the number of lamas allowed made provision (through bribery) to have the largest possible number recorded. The total figure noted, according to the census, is 5,543 lamas, living in the four subprefectures of Hsining, Nien-pei, Ta-t'ung, and Kui-te, scattered among 77 lamaseries.

According to the situation in 1910 very few of the large monasteries reached the quota of 300 lamas, except Kumbum which is said to have had 3,000. Therefore, if we suppose that the total number of lamas in the four subprefectures reached 10,000, our estimate would certainly be sufficient. Regarding the excessive number of lamas in one lamasery, it must be borne in mind that the lamas are always prone to exaggerate; for instance, the number 3,000 for Kumbum is not the number of lamas dwelling in the monastery, but the number of parts or "shares" into which the gifts distributed to the lamas are divided. The distribution differs in each monastery. In Kumbum for instance, at each distribution each of the Living Buddhas receives 50 parts, as do the five Fa-t'ais; other officials receive 20, 10, and 5 parts, etc. In this way the actual number of lamas is reduced to 2,000.

At the time I lived at Kumbum the number of lamas

[1a] W. W. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 215, cites with approval a Chinese estimate that for every family in Tibet there were three lamas.

[2] The census (1729–1735) records in the prefecture of Hsining 2,611 lamas. Each lama received yearly 1.6 *tan* of wheat; each of the 961 lamas of the subprefecture of Nien-pei received yearly 1.7 *tan* of wheat; each of the 1,331 lamas of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung received yearly 2.7 *tan* of barley; each of the 690 lamas of the subprefecture of Kuei-te received only 0.24 *tan* of barley. The 5,543 recorded lamas of the four subprefectures of Hsining received subsistence grants of 9,040 *tan* of grain as compensation for the taxes the 77 lamaseries were no longer allowed to collect after the revolt of 1723. *Annals* of Hsining 16: 6*b*, 9*a*, 10*a*, 12*a*.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

who attended the morning ceremonies in the central hall never exceeded 800 or 900, although all the inmates of the monastery had to attend the exercise. This fact led me to make inquiries, and this was the explanation given by the officials of the monastery, and confirmed by officials of other monasteries where the same rule exists. In 1779, only fifty years after the destruction of the lamaseries in Huang-chung and the fixing of the official census, the Panchen Lama on the way to Peking, where he died from smallpox, remained for a few months at Kumbum. "In Amdo were 50,000 lamas in all the monasteries whom he entertained with food, besides distributing alms of one 'san' to each monk."[3] To people conversant with the geography and history of the country, this number seems fantastic.

The most recent and reliable data concerning the figures of the lamas in the province of Ch'ing-hai were secured by Mr. Wang Wen-han in 1948.[4] He made his inquiries on the basis of the recent official census provided by the Min-cheng t'ing or "people's (local) government office." Since the establishment in 1928 of the province of Ch'ing-hai, which encompasses the whole of Kukunor, Yü-shu, and large territories around Kui-te and Ta-t'ung hsien, formerly considered as barbarian regions, 13 subprefectures have been established, in which there are 235 lamaseries having 26,534 lamas. In the remote barbarian Yu-shu only there are 99 lamaseries with 10,665 lamas. The entire population of the new province being 1,346,320 inhabitants of which 683,802 are males and 662,518 females, the proportion of lamas should be one for every 26 males. However, the computation is very confused, because of the lack of figures for the lama population in minor lamaseries and the addition of new territories, and it is impossible to find out the number of lamas in the former prefecture of Hsining, on which my own computation was based. The article by Mr. Wang gives a better insight into the number of lamas and their proportion in relation to the entire male population of the province, and one which is notably smaller than the proportion usually cited by travelers. Although all census returns are always an estimate, especially in the Orient, the study by Mr. Wang is very interesting, because for the very first time in history we have an approximate census of the population and of the lamas in 1948.

CENTERS FOR RECRUITING LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

San-ch'uan, the fertile territory assigned to the Li T'u-ssu during the Ming period, is renowned for the recruiting of lamas. A saying goes: *"Shan-hsi ti k'o-wa, San-ch'uan ti lama"* meaning, "Shan-hsi [province] is the most prolific in merchants, and San-ch'uan

[3] Sarat Chandra Dass, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 28, 1882.

[4] Wang Wen-han, Ch'ing-hai Meng-Tsang jen-ming chih tsung-chiao hsin-yang, in the review *Pien-chiang t'ung-hsun*, No. 1: 1 and 2, 1948.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

is the most prolific in lamas." It is a known fact that of 175 old the clan of the Li T'u-ssu was fervently addicted to 792 Buddhism, and that the big monastery of Ta-Fo-ssu was built by the Li clan in Hsining during the Yüan dynasty. During the Ming dynasty a lama of the Li clan received the Karwa privilege, which still exists. The T'u kuan Hutukhtu was born in the Wang tribe, subjects of the Li clan. There are still two minor Li Living Buddhas at the monastery of Erh-ku-lung. In San-ch'uan there also live subjects of Ch'i, Na, and Kan T'u-ssu. Most of the San-ch'uan lamas like to enroll in Kumbum where the key offices are filled by them. It is a public secret that at various times friction and disputes have arisen in Kumbum between groups of [578] lamas competing for the possession of the lucrative offices. As the outcome of this kind of competition, the administration of Kumbum is completely in the hands of Monguor lamas.

The next center of recruitment is the Hung-nai-tzu Valley, the birthplace of the first incarnation of the famous Chang-chia Hutukhtu, and inhabited mostly by Monguors and Tibetans. It is customary among them to have only one of the brothers marry, while the others become lamas. Their devotion to having lamas in the family goes to the extent of buying a boy for the [608] monastery in case no male descendants are born. Several families have become extinct through lack of male descendants.

If account be taken of the number of monasteries and branches founded by Erh-ku-lung during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the fervor of the Monguors for becoming lamas must have been considerable. At present, this fervor has diminished to a large extent. Many families have not provided a lama for at least two generations; the ties which bound them to the lamaseries seem to have become looser.

WAYS AND MEANS OF RECRUITMENT

A lama, possessing some wealth, likes to have a disciple who will help and serve him to his dying day, and enable him to enjoy peacefully a ripe old age. A poor lama cannot afford the luxury of a disciple. According to the regulations of 1723, a lama is allowed to have only one disciple. However, when the rule is relaxed, rich lamas may have two or three; most of the Living Buddhas have two. The lama usually tries to choose his disciple from among his nephews or from among the children of well-to-do families, which later will help to support the disciple and indirectly his master.

The choice is made before the child has reached the age of seven. If the family agrees, the lama offers a ceremonial scarf to the father and a brick of tea to the mother. The agreement cannot thereafter be retracted. At the time the child is seven or eight years of age the mother prepares a lama costume for him. On an auspicious day he is led by his father to the lamasery.

[p. 56(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

Many parents with only one boy pass through a bad time when a lama friend comes to ask for him as his disciple. Once in a while the lamas are very exacting and do not hesitate to predict the most terrible calamities in case of refusal. In 1913 the old man Chao of Lu-men-chih Valley who was seventy years of age was, after twenty years, still under the influence of the prediction of calamities made by a lama of Erh-ku-lung in the event he should refuse to give up his son. 175 792

A rich old Tibetan named Pao, father of an only son of six years, told me how the Living Buddha of Hsien-mi-ssu came to ask for his boy. The old man had begged the Living Buddha, prostrated himself and cried with his wife before him, for days in succession, and proposed to offer his beautiful mule, the best in the whole country, but to no avail. On the one hand the promises of blessings, and on the other the prediction of calamities, caused him to make the painful decision to offer his son.

There are children smitten with severe disease who are dedicated by their parents to the service of Buddha in the event they should recover, and children sent to the monastery by parents of large families. Very often it is difficult for these parents to find a lama who will assume the duty of caring for them, and arrangements are made between the lama and the parents concerning the support and the upkeep of the child. The bonds which tie such pupils to their masters are looser, and when they are able to stand on their own feet they try to find a way of making their own living. These are the usual ways of getting pupils. In all these cases the parents, not the children, make the decision for them to enter the monastic life. No question of vocation or willingness to devote a lifetime to the service of Buddha is considered by the children. The vocation consists of the decision by the parents and the readiness of a lama to accept the child as a pupil.

Children who are physically deformed or disabled, or children of butchers or notorious thieves are not allowed to become pupils. It is also said that children who do not care when a raven comes and sits near them are not fit for the monastic life.

However, I met an exception in Chie-bzan in 1913. A Tibetan named La, after being married for two years, living uncongenially with his wife, sold his horse, cows, and sheep, and, leaving a couple of cows and calves to his wife, became a lama at Chie-bzan.

PUPIL AND MASTER

NOVICE

175 792 571

On an auspicious day, a father arrives at the monastery with his son. The boy presents to his master lama the traditional scarf of felicity, a couple of packets of Chinese noodles, and prostrates himself nine times. The boy receives the name of his master, for lamas are not supposed to have any family. The adoption is finished, master and novice constitute one family, and

[p.56(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the boy will obey his master as he obeyed his parents. 175
By this ceremony, which is a real adoption, the novice 792
is constituted the legal heir of the fortune of his master, 571
who usually possesses a home or a small courtyard inside the monastery, some animals, and money. The novice will stay with and serve his master his whole life, the master caring for his subsistence, keep, and education.

FIRST VOWS

After a few days, on a new auspicious day, the cere- 792
mony of the taking of the first vows is performed. In [782]
the early morning, the master himself shaves the head of his pupil. It is said that a layman is not allowed to be present at that moment. Five Gelüng [5] lamas arrive; one of them sits against the wall of the k'ang, and the other four, in pairs, sit opposite each other. The kneeling novice holds incense sticks in his hands and the Gelüng starts the ceremonial prayers, reciting the thirteen traditional vows which the novice repeats after him. Nine prostrations are given before a picture of some Buddha, and the chief of the Gelüngs makes a speech. The boy thanks the Gelüng and his master by prostrations, and the vows are taken. From that time on the boy is called *Wendee*.[6] In some monasteries only two Gelüngs preside over the ceremony; at Seerkok, only one. The master then enters the name of his pupil in the roster of inmates of the monastery. The master alone is the judge of the aptitude and religious vocation of his pupil.

The master starts the education of his pupil by teach- 792
ing him how to arrange the house altar, sweep and 874
keep the house clean, care for the stables, collect cow dung for fuel, draw water, milk the cows, tend the animals, graze the cattle, prepare food and tea. The novice is the genuine servant of his master, a cheap laborer. However, when the novice is not engaged in domestic duties, he receives religious education from his master, which starts with the study of the alphabet and reading of texts, and at the same time he repeats daily after the master and commits to memory the texts recited in the head temple. When he has learned them he is allowed to attend the morning ceremonies and to share the benefit of hot tea every day, to partake of the many meals, fixed according to the calendar of the monastery, and participate in the distribution of the alms.

Memorizing is the most important point in the program of studies. Later on, the master helps his pupil to read and to commit to memory the texts used at funerals, for diseases, to protect the herds, the harvest, etc., because these texts will help him to make a living in the future. Every morning the pupil recites the prepared texts before his master. During his spare time, when he is not engaged in domestic duties, he has to

[5] L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*, 2nd Ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

[6] *Ibid.*, 171, Ge-nen-Bandi-Rab-brun—Gelüng.

ripe old age, with the result that they turn out to be 792
steady and sound business men, wearing religious clothes. Necessarily, the precepts and rules of the monastic life come more often to be honored in the breach than in the observance, and so the lamas drag each other down hill.

COMMUNITY OF LAMAS

How does a lamasery control its members and provide for their education? This is done through two organizations, the community of the lamas and the colleges or faculties.

Lamaseries have to control their lamas because they are responsible to the Chinese Government for the crimes and injustices caused by their members. Many lamas not dependent on any lamasery live in the country dressed as lamas and earn their own living, and do not involve any lamasery in the troubles they might cause.

In order to become a member of a lamasery, the name of the applicant must be entered on the roll of the organic community of the lamas. This carries with it permission to live in the monastery, to share its benefits and support, and to become a member of any college. The organic community of the lamas administers the entire lamasery; it fixes the rules observed by all the lamas of the institution; it sees to their observance and inflicts punishment for infractions. The community of the lamas is the hub around which the entire lamasery revolves. It possesses its own wealth and has its independent administration, as has been explained (p. [42]
38). The main temple of the lamasery is its property and in it all the lamas have to convene in the early morning to read texts. Every time the main temple is destroyed (as by revolts or fire), the organic community of the lamas must rebuild it.

In December, 1912, the vast temple of Kumbum dis- 175 ●
appeared in a furious blaze after the morning conven- 792
tion of the lamas. The adjacent temple, containing the [42]
dried trunk of the fabulous tree, was preserved, but the entire precious library, splendid old tapestries, precious embroidered streamers, paintings, the large Buddha painting, 21 meters in length and 15 meters in width, which was hung every year on the mountain at the festival, two enormous butter lamps of massive silver, the entire wardrobe and masks used in the theatrical performances, silver *chortens* containing the ashes of celebrated Living Buddhas, disappeared in the blaze. The guardians of the temple disappeared at full speed. Devoted old lamas testified that Tsong-khapa had punished Kumbum whose old fervor had decayed. I saw the whole community, old and young, devoutly carrying the ashes of the temple on their backs into an enclosure, because it was stated that the ashes, hallowed by the prayers said in the temple, must not be allowed to be desecrated. The intendants of the community of the lamas toured the Tibetan and Mongol countries

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for the next two years collecting alms; Seerkok offered a thousand big trees, Labrang $6,000, Erh-ku-lung $1,000. After three years the temple was rebuilt. 175 792

In 1910 the same thing happened at the monastery of Chu erh under similar circumstances.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE LAMAS

FA-T'AI, CALLED "MASTER OF THE DOCTRINE" ("LOB-PON" OR "MK'AMPO")

792 794 554

The supreme chief of this independent institution is the Fa-t'ai. His office is the most honorable one a lama may fill. Fa-t'ais are chosen from among respectable lamas with a blameless record, celebrated for their knowledge. Not only lamas are invited to that office, but even Living Buddhas. Most of the eminent lamas in the country have been Fa-t'ais in nearly all the big lamaseries in Huang-chung. It has been recorded that a lama, even a Living Buddha, who is a member of an affiliate, never declines the invitation to fill this office at the mother house. Each college also has its own Fa-t'ai.

The office of Fa-t'ai is held for a term of three years only. The intendancy proposes to the supreme chief of the lamasery the name of the desired lama, and, on obtaining the consent of the supreme chief, sends lamas with the invitations. The Fa-t'ai lives in a beautiful residence and has as many lama servants as he desires. He is supposed to be the spiritual director of the institution which invited him, and to possess the power to reform the behavior of the lamas and to urge even stricter observance of the rules. It has been recorded how the stubborn Sumpa of Erh-ku-lung demanded in Lhasa the complete neutrality of the lamas of his community at the time when all the lamas of Lhasa prepared to participate in the civil war, and that finally the example set by him was followed by all the lamaseries of Lhasa. The same thing happened in Kumbum in 1895 at the time of the rebellion of the Moslems. The Fa-t'ai (m'Kampo) was the Living Buddha Mina, [669] a quiet and peaceful man, who ordered the lamas to prepare only to defend the lamasery in case of attack. However, Shertoch, another Living Buddha of Kumbum, more turbulent and still recalling the destruction of the monastery except for the temple containing the celebrated tree during the revolt of 1862–1874, stirred the lamas to attack the enemy in the Moslem stronghold of T'opa, fighting on the side of the Chinese Army. After the first attacks had been unsuccessful, and several lamas had been killed, the war party grew bitter against Mina, who had to resign the post of Fa-t'ai and for some time was in fear of his life.[10] Achia, the chief and proprietor of Kumbum must have been an irresolute man, for he did not interfere even in such critical circumstances.

[10] Wellby, *op. cit.*, 281. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 72, 92.

[p. 61 (B)]

The horoscope concerning the incarnation of Chang-chia was on one occasion extremely vague. "Reborn in the province of Shan-hsi," it said; nothing more. Lamas, after looking for six years, did not find the boy. Tired and despondent, they entered a Chinese inn, at the same time that a boy seven years old was returning from school. He looked at the lamas, and never having seen lamas before he started laughing. His mother immediately said, "It is the very first time I ever saw my boy laughing that way." Suspicion arose in the hearts of the lamas. They asked the lady for lodging for the night, but she flatly refused. The boy implored his mother again and again to allow them to stay. Then the lamas understood, the boy was the incarnation. They knelt before him, offering the ceremonial scarf of yellow satin, and acknowledging him as their Living Buddha. The boy smiled in the most happy way. They presented the traditional scarf to the Chinese parents, who refused to let the boy go because he was their only son. Finally, when 5,000 taels of silver were promised, the parents agreed. The lamas bought two fine mules and a cart, and returned with their Living Buddha to Erh-ku-lung. 175 775 792 787

The young Living Buddha Li had been dead five years, and the horoscope revealed he would reincarnate this time in a certain family Li. On the twenty-fourth of the fourth month, in the village of Li-chia-t'ai in the Naring Valley, there was a festival at the San-pao temple. The old Li Living Buddha, a venerable old man, adored in the country, attended the festival, as he had done for many years. All the children fled upon his arrival. Squatting on the ground in front of a big tent, he talked with the crowd. A poor boy, clothed in rags, ingenuously came close to the old man, whose beads he twisted around his tiny arms. Finally he sat in the old man's lap, and the old man understood and placed a red ribbon around his neck.

When he got back home, the intendancy decided that the genuine incarnation had been found. Lamas were sent to congratulate the parents, and to offer the ceremonial scarf. The Li T'u-ssu, the elders of the village, and the maternal uncle of the boy were invited to make preparations for the installation of the new Living Buddha. The intendancy prepared a dinner and the guests decided that 500 taels should be offered to the parents; a silk gown and velvet boots to the grandfather; a long coat to the maternal uncle; a long coat in flowered silk to the Li T'u-ssu, chief of the clan; a mare and a Peking saddle to the father; a beautiful cow to the mother, and 30 ounces of tea to each of the other members of the family. [431]

The next day the village offered a dinner. Thirty lamas arrived on horseback to lead the boy to his intendancy. On the way, two small groups of lamas on horseback were waiting to congratulate the boy, offering the scarf and prostrating themselves. The next day, before the dinner prepared by the intendancy, the boy was led to the temple where texts were read and the 175 775 792

[p. 67 (B)]

whole community lavishly entertained. The guests 175
were entertained at the intendancy. After dinner, 400 795
taels instead of 500 taels were presented to the parents. 792
Then the guests, bursting with righteous indignation, started cursing the intendancy and a feverish discussion broke up in a violent wrangle. In the scurry and confusion and unexpected hurly burly, all the lamas of the monastery and the intendants arrived to patch up the trouble. The 500 taels were paid. After ten years I heard the people of Li-chia-t'ai still cursing the intendancy.

In 1894 the intendancy of T'u-kuan got into trouble over its last incarnation. A lama boy, seven years of age, who lived at the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng which belonged to the Lu T'u-ssu, was recognized as the incarnation of T'u-kuan. Lu T'u-ssu, the lamas of Ku-ch'eng, the family of the boy, and the entire village objected, and did not allow the boy to abandon the monastery without having the intendancy pay 5,000 [431] taels to the family. The most influential mediators were invited by Erh-ku-lung in order to find a compromise. Sheep and cows were killed every day, plenty of wine distilled, and lamas and the whole village had a wonderful time enjoying dinners and drinks for ten days. Finally the compromise was reached that 3,600 taels should be paid to the family and various gifts offered to the T'u-ssu, the intendancy of Ku-ch'eng, the members of the family, and the mediators. The intendancy of T'u-kuan, which was known all over the country to be rich and wealthy, the lamas, the whole of Ku-ch'eng, and the family of the new incarnation, thus seized the opportunity to share in their own way a part of the honor befallen to Erh-ku-lung by discovery of the reincarnation.

It happens, however, that once in a while the horoscope seems to be cast in the wrong way. A nephew of T'u-kuan, two years of age, was recognized to be the incarnation of the minor Living Buddha Kao of Ch'ie-bzan. At five years of age, upon the death of his parents, he was taken to the intendancy, but seemed to be an idiot. In 1918, at thirty years of age, he was still only allowed to leave the intendancy once a month, in order to climb the mountain to the Obo and to burn incense.

EDUCATION OF THE MONGUOR LIVING BUDDHAS

Usually at the age of seven or eight the new Living 792
Buddha is brought to the lamasery, led by a splendid 871
procession of lamas, and installed in the luxurious intendancy, where a group of lama servants scrape and fawn in his presence, cater to his whims, and do his bidding.

The Orient is the country of decorum; the traditional splendor of the oriental courts is proverbial. The Liv- [511]
ing Buddhas of all the sects are extremely fond of decorum, and try to impress the uncivilized people by a display of munificence and wealth. For this reason

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villagers, who also did not permit such liberties to Living Buddhas. Feeling the stigma attached to his exposure, he committed suicide. It also seems to be evidenced by the fact that penalties are still inflicted upon lamas, in the crudest forms, for infraction of this rule. This stigma is still attached to those who fail to meet their moral obligations. 772 831 [762]

The reform by means of serious study, however, seems to be a failure among the Monguor lamas of the present times. Among so many Monguor Living Buddhas and lamas, only the Living Buddha Chao-hsi of Kumbum enjoyed some repute, but in order to cause the lamas to attend his instructions, special benefits had to be provided for them. Very few among the Living Buddhas and lamas are interested in study at the present time, and, having nothing to occupy them all day, become involved in vice. Army officers and directors of schools are aware of the necessity of keeping young folk busy the whole day long, alternating fixed jobs with recreation. The lamas, however, except for attendance at the morning convention, which lasts only an hour, have to kill time making their own living. [185] 792 461

In the whole region of Hsining not a single school has been established by the rich monasteries, in order to promote the instruction of the Monguors and the Tibetans. Even at present in the lamaseries not a single elementary school exists for the lama boys, and no religious education is given to them. Not a single lama takes care of the spiritual needs and instruction of the adherents to their religion who live in a given area. Not a single hospital has been founded in order to assuage the pains and sufferings of the sick Monguors and Tibetans. The universal charity of Lamaism does not consist in love for one's neighbor, but in a platonic compassion for the universal sufferings of humanity and of all living things and for the impermanence of all existing beings. Lamas are not sisters of charity; they pass the sick draped in their cloak of indifference.[29] 772 871

[29] Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, 373, notes: "Among Buddhist believers there has been scarcely anyone who has ever given any thought to social problems. The priests of ancient times were generally recluses who paid no attention whatever to the application of their religion to the needs of the practical world or to making the principles of true Buddhism as distinct as possible." [792] [771] [175]

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist, conversant with the Tibetan language and literature, went to Tibet to study Lamaism, and wrote an instructive note on Lamaism (p. 410). "I confine myself only to a popular exposition of the subject. Lamaism is constituted by two main branches; the older, the 'red cap sect' subdivided into many branches, and the later, the 'yellow cap sect.' They all agree upon cardinal points and in the formula for attaining perfection. The founder of the old sect was a Tantric priest, 'Lobon Padma Chungne' born in Cabul. He enjoined on his disciples the practices of flesh-eating, marriage, and drinking liquors, in order to attain Buddhahood . . . details I cannot give, for they are full of obscenity. The old sect, extremely popular in Tibet, has undergone considerable modification by lamas. . . . I note the reaction against the old sect by Atisha [from India, eleventh century], later by Tsong Khapa [fifteenth century]. The principle of Tsong Khapa was that priesthood must stand on asceticism. Therefore he urged

[p.72 (B)]

More has been done by the chiefs and elders of the villages in promoting justice, creating respect for elders, restoring peace in families, defending the position of the women, preventing adultery, punishing the faults of the youngsters, and making the families happy than by the lamas. 792 626 888

I felt really happy to encounter among this tremendous number of lamas the single exception of the old Living Buddha Li, who in the fasting exercises taught the older people to crave pardon for their faults and to pray, and to hear them say that they were happy to have heard comforting words from the mouth of the old man.

V. THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

GENERAL ASPECTS AND FORMER CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG 795 792 175

In Huang-chung, there are not only lamas of the Yellow Sect, the reformed sect of Tsong khapa, but also of the Red Sect, which still adheres to the rules observed before the reform. The red lamas marry, and live, scattered over the country, with their wives and children. They till their fields and raise cattle, indulge in wine and tobacco, eat garlic and nearly all kinds of meat. They perform their rites when invited by the people and live under the direction of a superior, who has far less power over them than the superior of the yellow lamas has over his subjects.

At home they wear the dress of the lay people; when performing rites they wear the usual lama dress—a red gown, the red hat, and a shade before the eyes, adorned with fringes of the five ritual colors. They use the same ritual paraphernalia as the lamas of the Yellow Sect, but they like to use a drum made of two skulls, and to blow a trumpet made of a human thigh bone; they recite their own texts. They seem to lay stress on the cult of water springs. All of them have the duty to perform the Rite of the 108 Springs, which lasts for 129 days, at least once in their lifetime. Some among them perform this rite two or three times. Well versed in magic, they are capable of performing not only the rites performed by the Yellow lamas, but also many other rites prohibited for the Yellow lamas. [292] [534]

All the lamas of Huang-chung belonged to the Red Sect in former times. The lamas of Ch'ü-t'an, the Nang-suo, Karwa lamas, the Dhyana family lamas, the lamas belonging to small monasteries or hermitages,

abstinence from carnal desires, liquor, and he enforced the rules of moral discipline. However, he did not denounce the images worshipped by the old sect, representing men and women in offensive postures, but gave to them a new interpretation of an abstract nature. . . . Externally the two sects do not differ much from each other." And on p. 434: "I am compelled to say that Lamaism has fallen, and that it has assumed a form quite contrary to that to which its great reformer Tsong Khapa elevated it, and I am sincerely sorry for this degeneration." 792 771 175

[p. 73(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the lamas living secluded in the mountains, all indulged in magic. It is not known when most of them went over to the Yellow Sect, perhaps between 1600 and 1723; nor is it known when the first lamas of the Yellow Sect penetrated the country, diffusing the reform. If account were taken of the date 1560, when a small hermitage of ten Yellow lamas started at Kumbum, and developed slowly; and the date of 1604 when Erh-ku-lung humbly began, it may be presumed that until that time the Red Sect was the only one prevalent in Huang-chung, living a precarious existence owing to the intermittent inroads and revolts in the country. Only after Gushi Khan had conquered Tibet in 1636 and offered it to the Dalai Lama and after the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) had established the supremacy of the Yellow Sect, and the hated rival sects had been enfeebled, can it be assumed that the Yellow Sect entered a period of success in Huang-chung.

It was often said that, after the encounter of Altan Khan with the Dalai Lama in Kukunor (1577), where Altan proclaimed the Yellow Sect the official religion of the Mongols, and built a temple, the sect started diffusing on a large scale in Huang-chung. This assumption is hard to prove on account of the hatred fostered against the invading Mongols, and the disturbances in the country, for in 1591 the Monguor troops with the Chinese Army burned to the ground the temple built by Altan fifteen years before,[1] and the Mongol, Nairamdahu, persecuted the Yellow Sect in Kukunor in 1633.

PRESENT CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

The conditions under which the Red lamas lived during the Ming period, in the always disturbed country, seem to have been akin with those under which they now live in the region north of the Hsining River. A small number of them are encountered in villages there. Lamas of several villages, constituting a small group, choose from among them a chief, who holds the position for one year. They possess their own small temple where, four times a year, they gather for seven days in order to read their texts, perform their rites, and discuss their own topics with their chief. Some of them have a pupil who receives training from his master. Each of them tries to be invited by the people to perform rites that are paid for. Not having a monastery or a Living Buddha, the institution lacks a backbone.

After 1642, when the Yellow Sect started the practice of Living Buddhas in Huang-chung and developed its strong organization, two of the most important Red groups south of the Hsining River, where the Red lamas were more numerous, managed to have their own Living Buddhas. In the group of Goorong bzan near

[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, 18*b*.

Sha-ch'ung, and the group of Kan-cha Valley which had living Buddhas, the original temple yard became a monastery, and the loose group thus got a chief invested with authority over his subjects and wielding influence in the country. 175 795

The small groups of Red lamas north of the Hsining River, however, had no Living Buddha. Twice a year they invited the Living Buddha of Kan-cha, and four times a year went to Kan-cha, in order to attend their rites, but for a long time now the Living Buddha has only been invited every two or three years, and the lamas seldom go to Kan-cha—all the more since Kan-cha, being in a state of dilapidation, has lost its attractiveness. It had been destroyed by the Moslems in 1868–1872, and its important library of printing blocks was burned; it has not yet been restored.

The monastery of Goorong bzan, however, is flourishing. The Living Buddha is a strong personality bristling with activity. Acknowledged as the most learned Living Buddha, all over the country, even by the lamas of the Yellow Sect, he is trying to restore the former glory of the Red Sect. His difficulties with the lamasery of Sha-ch'ung, and his intentions to restore and occupy the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the center of the city of Hsining, have been recorded. His monastery is in fine shape, the temples are as beautiful as most of the temples of the Yellow Sect. Four times a year more than two hundred of his red lamas convene for seven days, for the reading and explanation of texts, and the performance of their rites. Goorong and the dignitaries of the monastery preside over the convention in the same way as those of the Yellow Sect. [792]

Tibetans like to make pilgrimages to his lamasery and offer their donations. It is a well-known fact in Huang-chung that among the Red lamas there are more learned men than among the Yellow lamas. However, the bulk of them are only versed in the recitation of the texts used at the performance of their rites, and possess only a smattering of knowledge in their religion. They attach an unusual importance to the strictest observance of all the rites during their performances. Their religious training seems to be directed in that way, for they claim that the slightest omission or error in the rites and in the recitation of the texts completely spoils the efficacy of the rite. [648]

The subject of the different kinds of Red Sects and the deities honored in their temples may be passed over here, because it has been dealt with by many authors. The peculiar feature of the Red lamas' institution in Huang-chung is the only subject of our study. 795 792

Among the Red Living Buddhas, the son succeeds the father, as the Living Buddha. Goorong, a tall, upright man of immense strength, hard as nails, begot nine sons from his two wives. Four of his sons are Living Buddhas, three of them in Red monasteries south of the Yellow River. Goorong is called the father of the Living Buddhas. He is a modern man, who has visited

[p. 74(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

of Yang-k'ou-erh, who belonged to the Yellow-Sect, 795
was a Red lama. Such anomalies happen because 792
family ties closely knit the members of both sects. The father of the intendant of the lamasery of Ch'ie bzan, which belongs to the Yellow Sect, was a Red lama, and the father of the novice of the intendant, also. I met four lamas of the Yellow Sect, pupils of a learned lama of the Red Sect, who boarded at his home.

At the monastery of Hsien-mi, the father of a young 175
lama of the lamasery, which belongs to the Yellow 795
Sect, was a Red lama. One night, in my presence, he unbosomed his grudge against the supreme chief of the lamasery who had refused permission for his Red Sect to build a temple on the property of the lamasery. "Our sect," he said, "is as the ear of the wheat plant, and the Yellow Sect is as its straw. We occupied the country and diffused our Sect long before the Yellow Sect was born. Our scriptures are so numerous that a man cannot finish reading them during a lifetime. The Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, of the Yung-lo period (1403–24), granted us extensive properties—and then came the Emperor K'ang-hsi, who protected the Yellow Sect and oppressed our Sect." These facts reveal the frame of mind of both sects, and their mutual behavior in Huang-chung.

Although the lamas of the Red Sect constitute a small minority, scattered over the country, and possess only two Living Buddhas, they exert an important influence and play a considerable part in the religious life of the Monguors.

THE RITE OF THE 108 SPRINGS

In order to give an insight into the real psychology of 792
the lamas of the Red Sect, and their attitude toward 795
magic, the Rite of the 108 Springs will be described. 789
It is performed in order to acquire magical power.

The lamas living north of the Hsining River practice the Rite of the 108 Springs at least once in their life. Those among them who have enacted it two or three times are considered by the Monguors as the most potent. It is said that very few lamas of the Yellow Sect are interested in the rite, although serious lamas of the Yellow Sect told me many times that the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu had enacted the rite together with a Red lama, after the Bumkhang he built seemed ineffective, and the troubles in his lamasery had upset him. I could hardly believe it, because the rite is not enacted to honor or to get the protection of spirits of the springs, but is thoroughly magical, and its aim, according to the lamas of both sects, is the increase of magical abilities. At any rate, because the lamas of the Red Sect all practiced it, and are said to be bound to enact the rite, it sheds a true light upon the fundamental character of the lamas of the Red group, who seem to be as fond of magic as the shamans.

Springs of water are situated mostly at the foot of [823]
mountains, in deep valleys, and in lonely spots which

[p.175(A)]

the hair coiled inside the cap. All the shamans wear the pigtail, which they coil when performing rites. 756 292 302

Traditional pictures of Taoist saints show that these worthies were wont to wear their hair in a knot on the top of the head. The Manchu Tartars conquered China and compelled the people to adopt their coiffure and shave their heads except on the top, where it was allowed to grow long and be braided as a pigtail. The *sai kung*, like the whole nation, had to submit to this order, but with pious conservatism they have preserved the ancient orthodox fashion on behalf of their altar service; that is to say, while officiating they coil their hair into a knot upon their heads and cover the shaven part around it with a wig of braided human hair.[21] [175]

The Monguor shamans, however, do not wear the wig.

The Manchus not only preserved their traditional style of dress and haircut, they even compelled Chinese men during the period of invasion to adopt Manchu dress, shave their heads, and grow the queue. This enforced change was so bitterly resented by the Chinese that many times they chose rather to die, or lose their heads, than obey the Tartars in these ceremonies. The literary inquisition launched during the Ch'ien-lung period reveals that, in the eighteenth century, a Chinese who yearned for the old cap and garments was still considered a dangerous rebel.[22] [648]

The second headdress has the form of a sack, of black cloth, tightly bound around the head. A tail, three feet in length, is fixed on this cap. Plaited with red rope around a twisted black rope of cloth, the tail which is thin at the bottom and thick at the end, is rolled on the head, but released when the shaman is executing acrobatic evolutions.

The third one is a crown, in form like the *chod pon* of the lamas,[23] divided in front into five parts, bearing a crude picture of the god of the five roads, the Wu-tao-shen, whose disciples the shamans claim to be. (Shamans never wear a crown with the five Dhyani Buddhas; their antagonism toward Lamaism is too pronounced to do that; they never will perform rites in a Buddhist temple of the village.)[24]

THE DRUM

The drum is one of the important implements of a shaman. It is used to invoke the spirits during the performance of the rites; the spirits enter into it and ritual dances are performed in time with the beat. Every shaman has his own drum, and generally another in reserve. Upon the death of the shaman his drum is buried with him in the coffin, for it is a personal object. The boy apprentices receive a drum of smaller dimensions from their father, on the day of their dedication to the twelve spirits. Apprentices who receive part of their 756 534 [766]

[21] J. J. M. De Groot, *The religious systems of China* 6: Bk. II: 1267, 1910, Leiden, Brill.

[22] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 12, 1949. However, the Chinese were required to change to Manchu dress at the insistence of a Chinese official. See S. Cammann, *China's dragon robes;* 21, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[23] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 92, Paris, Plon, 1929.

[24] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148, Importance of the cap. [p.83(B)]

the Five Roads link them to Taoism, but also the cults of Lung-wang (the Dragon King, provider of rain), Niang-Niang (the Mother Goddess of children), Ho Hu (provider of rain), Hsüan-t'an (guardian deity against hail), Ma-wang (the Horse King, protector of horses), and Ts'ai Shen (the god of wealth). During the performance of their rites these gods are called up, and are supposed to come to attend the gathering of the community. The dialogues between the shamans and the Taoist deities gave the illusion of attending a real Taoist assembly. 756 776 171

All these facts evidence the assumption that the shamans worship the gods of Taoism.

"GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS"

The Monguor shamans during the performance of their rites in spring and autumn never fail to assert before the public that they are the real disciples of the god of the five roads, who was created god by the emperors of the Chou dynasty (1122–256 B.C.) and that the General Chiang Tze-ya ordered them to worship him, teaching them the way of honoring him, and promising that he would provide his aid and support to them in the most trying and straightened circumstances, and would never falter. 175 776 756

This explanation, in crude Taoistic fashion, is a far cry from that of nomad shamans who assert that the good spirits had sent from heaven a shaman eagle to teach their ancestors the way of combatting the evil spirits,[27] and from the explanation given by the same Monguor shamans that their ancestors were chosen by the Twelve Tengris. These ambiguous and equivocal explanations seem really to cancel one another out. According to their own explanation their shamanism is ultimately founded on a mandate received from a Chinese general.[28]

The real history of the famous god of the Five Roads I never had the opportunity to find out. In some temples I read the two following inscriptions, "Duke Mu of Ch'in raised him by imperial patent to Wu-tao; prince Chuang of Ch'u gave him, by imperial grace, the title of General"; and "General Mountain before the carriage of King Chou: the spirit of T'ai mountain raised him to Wu-tao." These two inscriptions seem to be as apocryphal as the saying of the shamans, and assign to a period earlier than reliably recorded history the creation of the god. The cult of the god of the Five Roads, however, seems to be widespread along the northwestern borders of China. I met it from

[27] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 2–3.

[28] Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1658–1659, 1841, Ho Kien-fu, 1903. Chiang Tze-ya was traditionally the Shang general who became a counsellor to the founder of the Chou dynasty. He died in 1120 B.C.; twelve centuries later, during the Han dynasty, he became a very popular god of all kinds of pickled stuff. In 731, during the T'ang, he was created "war god" by the Taoist Emperor Huang-tsung, and an order was given to build temples to him.

[p. 85(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Hsining across Ning-hsia to Sui-yuan, and Father W. Grootaers noted in the region of Wan-ch'üan (Kalgan), 109 temples of the Wu-tao shen,[79] most of them smaller than they had once been. The representations of the god of the Five Roads in the temples are all very similar. The reason for this similarity in temples so distant one from another may be that the Chinese painters used printed books in which they found the stereotypes and traditional representations of the whole series of spirits. They also used books containing all kinds of inscriptions appropriate to the different special spirits and to the spirits in general, and this explains the uniformity of the inscriptions and paintings encountered all over the country.[80]

776 756 175

TEMPLES OF THE GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The abode of the god consists generally of three rooms (*chien*) situated on the north side of a mud or brick walled courtyard. On each side of the courtyard are another three or more rooms for storage of all kind of paraphernalia used for processions and for the kitchen. The entrance is in front of the abode of the god. According to the topography of the country the temple is sometimes built against a mountain without taking account of the points of the compass. In the middle of the three rooms of the front building there is always placed a sedan chair in which is the statue of a female deity clad with a more or less precious robe, or there is the statue of a male deity, such as Wu-tao or Lung-wang. The female deity usually represents the goddess, Niang Niang (mother goddess of children); seldom, Shui-mu, the goddess of the water. The statue seems to be the center of attention for the whole building. It is carried in procession when the people are praying for rain, or for protection against hail. Every year the statues of the goddesses of the temples of Sha-t'ang Valley are carried to the temple of the god Erh-lang,[81] locked up with the god for one night and brought back the next day. The god is said to enjoy the visits of all the goddesses. This curious custom will be discussed later.

756 778 776 346 532

On the walls of the three rooms are frescoes depicting the god of the Five Roads, who is never alone, but associated with other gods. In the central panel the god sits on a large chair, represented in the customary fashion of a corpulent Chinese general, with long black beard, military cap, red coat over armor, large loose

756 776 346 532

[79] William A. Grootaers, Temples and history of Wan-ch'üan, *Monumenta Serica*, 13: 232, 1948. What is said in this very valuable study, in Chap. 2, on the Wu-tao temples, concerning the arrangements of the temples, the images and frescoes, even the inscriptions, tallies completely with my former notes. This is the first and only study made in China concerning all the temples built in a limited area, affording interesting data for the history of religion and the history of the country.

[80] *Ibid.*, 239.

[81] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 263. The identity of this spirit seems not to be the same in North and Middle China.

[p.85(B)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

more supplementary decrees of Galdan Hun-tai-ji were added to them.[56] 771 628

From 1558 until 1640, regulations of Mongol chiefs followed each other, aiming primarily at the destruction of shamanism. The Monguor shamans must have known these facts, for news spreads rapidly among barbarians. At the same time they saw the favors bestowed in the country on lamaseries, Karwas, and Nang-suos, by the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, and they saw Erh-ku-lung, at the height of its glory, founding successively its forty-two branches, each having celebrated lamas. Life or death was the question for the Monguor shamans of Hsining. 756 175 795 575

It is tempting to suppose that the shamans, living in the quasi-independent territories of the T'u-ssu, near cities in which lived Taoist priests who were organized in guilds officially recognized by the empire, might have sought refuge with the Taoists in order to save their institution and traditions and that they might willingly have entered the guild of the Taoists, whose gods they worshipped for centuries.

If the shamans themselves had been opposed to enrollment in the guild, which entailed pecuniary disadvantages for them and the performance of non-remunerative rites in the city, surely the T'u-ssu, whose subjects they were, could easily have prevented the infringement of the rights, since their Monguors were only responsible to them for corvées, and since their subjects were not enrolled in Chinese guilds. Precisely herein lies the stress of the assumption that without the willing cooperation of the shamans, shamans never could have entered the guild, and when they entered the guild it was through fear of persecution by the Yellow Sect. According to this assumption, the shamans could have entered the Taoist guilds before the revolt of the lamas in 1723 and the catastrophe which befell Lamaism. It is easy, therefore, to understand the reluctance of the shamans to perform any rites in the temples dedicated to deities of Lamaism or to wear the crown of the five Dhyani. On the other hand they willingly perform rites in all kinds of Taoist temples, except the temples of Kuan-ti (God of War). I never obtained an explanation of this; in the whole Monguor region no Kuan-ti temple exists, while all the temples of the Monguors, which are the centers of the religious life of the village, are Taoist temples, and most of the protectors of the families belong to Taoism. Monguors cannot miss their shamans who only perform rites in Taoist temples.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the Monguor shamans honor two kinds of spirits—one, spirits belonging to Taoism, and the other, spirits belonging to their shamanism proper; that the Monguor shamans are related to the group of old Wu priests 756 [776]

[56] V. A. Rissanovski, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buriats, Kalmuks)*, 29–35, 1929. [P 90(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the chief of the village asks him or her whether "Heaven and all the spirits" will really preserve the crops. 782 789

At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion. [791]

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages situated in the Sha-t'ang Valley, which have a goddess in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death, without wearing the Monguor skirt!"[9] 175 177

On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple and spend a night with him. The tradition requires that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.[10] [792] 796 782 [784]

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[9] I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

[10] The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a [171]

[p102(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

of Tibet. Chinese laws, and the presence of their 782
powerful enemies, the lamas, ready to harm their in- [882]
stitution constrain them to act cautiously and to re-
strain their savage nature.

The rites against hail, performed after the rites just described, have been recorded in Chapter IX.

CULT OF THE MOUNTAINS

The cult of the mountains must be very old. It seems 795
not to have originated in Lamaism, and does not fit in the frame of its philosophy, but rather to have been accepted and ritualized by it to a very large extent.

Concerning the Monguors it has been noted, that the 175
Shat'o, like most of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, 795
made sacrifices on top of the mountains and that the horse was their most important offering.[10] It is a fact of common knowledge that in old times the Mongols also honored the gods of the mountains. Chingis Khan lived in this atmosphere. Temuchin (Chingis Khan), in order to avoid a band of Merkits, galloped away to Mount Burkan Kaldun. Having escaped alive, he exclaimed, lifting his face to the sky: "Mount Burkan has protected my miserable life; henceforward, I will ever sacrifice to it and bequeath to my sons and grandsons the duty of sacrificing to it."[11]

The Monguors explain the cult of the Obos and of 795
the sacred hill of the village by asserting that the coun- 776
try between the Ta-t'ung and Hsining Rivers belongs to five powerful spirits or deities who reside on the tops of the five highest mountains of the country, where celebrated Obos are built for them. These spirits claim the worship of the people living on their territory, grazing herds and farming. They are kind to their worshippers, protecting their herds and fields, but they punish the unbelievers. "It is our duty to honor them," say the Monguors earnestly, "for if we were remiss in our duty we would surely court disaster."

These five spirits do not possess the entire territory in a group, but each of them is supposed to wield power over the country surrounding its own mountain. Consequently it receives offerings and worship only from the people living within its supposed circumscription.

Besides these five important mountain spirits, other less important ones are honored, mostly on the passes or on higher mountains. Their cult is not general, but is practiced only by the people living near the passes and by travelers.

In connection with this peculiar mentality about the 795
territory having its proprietors is to be noted the cult of 778
the sacred hill honored in each Monguor village, for in

[10] Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, *op. cit.*, 91.

[11] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan*, *op. cit.*, 29. H.-G. Quaritch Wales, *The mountain of God*, A study in early religion and kingship, 7: 170, London, Bernard Quaritch, 1953: "Fundamentally the 'old Asiatic Religion' is the worship of the divinity of earth and its energies concentrated in some mountain and in the superhuman virtue of kingship." Reviewed by Clarence H. Hamilton in *Far Eastern Quart.* 13 (3): 3[illegible] 1954.

[p. 112 (B)]

the old Li, I understood that for a people endowed with 771
these religious convictions, Om Manis were the sheet 785
anchor when things got stormy, and that they could fall 869
on their knees and crave for pardon for their sins and pray, when hailstorms mistreated their means of subsistence.

Probably the fast exercises were, at that time, one of the mightiest means for promoting the religious feeling inherent in Lamaism. Although the lamas never preach for laymen, in the monasteries, and although a lama only has a talk with them once in a while about religion, and although there are no schools run by lamas, the people knew by means of these fasting exercises that an all-powerful being exists whom the lamas call Buddha, who is all benevolence and goodness, and ready to forgive and to help. They knew the difference between the good Buddhas and the spirits, among which some were really evil beings trying to harm them, and others were so touchy that a trifle could upset them. They knew that a terrible omniscient judge of death exists who contrpls heaven and the eighteen hells, who decides about their future, according to their acts. They knew that at death their existence was not finished.

However, if account be taken also of what the shamans say at the feasts of the communities and the magical performances enacted by them in behalf of the community and private families, their savage struggle with evil spirits, the ownership of the country and the villages by powerful spirits, the cult of the ancestors subject to decay, the importance of the hearth god and all the spirits who are considered to administer independently their own departments, with punishments or blessings, who are supposed to know the acts of the people and their feelings toward them, it is easy to understand also why a tremendous confusion should exist in their religious thought processes, and why they should act according to the circumstances in unforeseen and confusing ways.

PRODIGALITY OF THE MONGUORS CONCERNING CULT AND RELIGION

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In 1914 a strong group of four or five hundred lamas, clad in rags and dirt, passed through the city of Hsining on the way to Seerkok. They were lamas of the Yellow Sect, belonging to different lamaseries situated south of the Yellow River. The whole country was upset. Rumors were spread concerning an impending revolt, organized by the lamas against the newly established Chinese Republic. Spies were sent all over the country in order to discover clues. After a few days the officials announced that the group had been invited by Seerkok in order to pray for blessings upon the Republic.

The fear of the lamas turned after a few days into a reputation for fantastic sainthood, and Monguors and Tibetans ran to Seerkok in order to offer gifts. The richest families competed with each other to provide the expenses for entertaining for one day these saintly

[p. 13D(A)]

lamas, whose prayers secured the remission of sins and 175
peace in the families, and assured entrance into the 792
paradise of Buddha. The ceremonies lasted for forty-five days and were attended by an immense crowd. All the expenses of the forty-five days were defrayed by rich families. Every day, the intendant told me, ten thousand butter lamps were lit; four hundred pounds of butter were required for the lamps and the meals of the lamas; ten bricks of tea were needed, fifteen sheep, sixty pounds of vegetable oil, flour of roasted spelt, raisins, and sugar for five hundred lamas. Moreover, every day each of them received alms of one dollar.

Their morning meal consisted of milk, tea, butter and *tsamba*.[14] At noon they received butter tea, and rolls baked in vegetable oil. At evening they were served noodles and meat or meat prepared with rice, sugar, and raisins. The entire community of Seerkok had a good time together with the saintly guests, and the monastery reaped valuable benefits. This fact gives an insight into the unusual prodigality displayed by the Monguors and Tibetans when cult and religion are concerned.

At the time of the big festivities celebrated at the monasteries in the country, the rich families are accustomed to compete with each other to defray the expenses, and to entertain the entire community of the lamas. Then the devoted donor, seated on a reviewing stand with his whole family and his relatives, enjoys the ritual representations and receives, before the faithful audience, the blessings of the Living Buddha, the red knotted ribbon on his neck, and the gracious touch of the rod to which a *khata* is attached, and the scarf of felicity put on his shoulders. Manguru, the rich Tibetan who had succeeded in winning his suit against the well-known Living Buddha Temma, the bridge builder, presiding over the ceremony, defrayed the expenses of such a festival at Erh-ku-lung immediately after his victory. He was admired and celebrated by the crowd.

Rich families, being really devoted to Lamaism, offer substantial alms to the monasteries and entertain the lamas lavishly with tea, *tsamba*, sheep, rice, sugar, and raisins, at the death of an elder member of the family, and several times during the year. This custom is not unusual because most of the families have relatives among the lamas, and the rich like to enjoy the reputation of being prodigal toward the monasteries.

CELEBRATION OF THE CYCLE OF AGE

GENERAL RITE

The Chinese, for many centuries, have been ac- 527
customed to having a celebration at the completion of their cycle of age, which is sixty years.[15] The Mon-

[14] *Tsamba*—parched barley flour, eaten in the form of dough made into balls, with butter tea.

[15] Yeh Te-lu, The celebration of the Emperor's Birthday during the T'ang dynasty *Fu-jen Hsueh-chih*, 125, 1939. A birthday was not considered an occasion for congratulations and rejoicing in ancient China. The celebration began only with

[p. 137 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

THE THIRD SOUL

The behavior of the Monguors toward this soul illustrates the basic approach prevailing all over Asia to the problem of the soul. The Monguors care more for this soul than for the other two because they are afraid of it. It becomes after death a kind of demon, ill-disposed toward its own family, harming its cattle and its wealth. This assumption is evidenced by their unkind attitude toward it, an attitude which shocks us. When the corpse is carried out of the courtyard, the lamas and the members of the family who are still in the courtyard, cry: "Do not come back and harm us, forget us forever and go to dwell elsewhere." The evening before the cremation, after all the guests have left, having said with devotion their Om Mani for a long time, the lamas immediately brutally chase the soul out of the courtyard and all the rooms. At the very moment of the cremation, the master of ceremonies makes the last traditional speech, before the oven, addressing the corpse: "We lavishly spent money and performed all the possible rites for your well-being, now go away and never come back to disturb us or to harm us.[23] Forget us forever; we will pray for you and make offerings." The fear of the departed is a real obsession. Most of the harm suffered is ascribed to them. Many of the deceased are supposed to be peculiarly fiendish and are buried in special cemeteries, where the shamans have to be invited to keep them quiet. They like to live in lonely spots and empty ruined houses, and have to be fed, because when they become hungry they are dangerous.

However, all the distinctions concerning the three souls, based on observed facts and customs, do not bother the average Monguors. They do not care for the nature of these three souls, how long they live, when they will vanish—all they know is that they leave the body at death. However, they are accustomed to feed the souls of three generations. They do not care to which, among the three souls, offerings are made at the time of the spring rites performed by the shaman, or at the time of the cult of the family deity, or on their own graves a few days before the worshipping of the ancestor of the clan. Even the lama or shaman, calling back the soul of a sick man, calls all three of them back.

CEMETERIES

Since the submission of the Monguors to the Ming dynasty (in 1368), the chief of each of the groups, receiving the title and duty of T'u-ssu, became the ancestor-founder of his group. Their pictures then began to occupy the center of the new ancestral hall. The family register began with their name, and their grave became the head mound, which today is seen in all the old cemeteries where the yearly worship of the ancestors is held. T'u-ssu never have been cremated.[24]

[23] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, *op. cit.*, 130. Louis M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes Mongols*, 211, Genbloux, Duculot, 1947.

[24] Schram, Part I: 59–70.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

On the death of the first T'u-ssu his eldest son succeeded, and the others became the founders of Junior "houses." Some of them immediately built their own cemetery, and others later. When cemeteries had no more room, some branches of noble families again built new cemeteries, and so on. The richest among the commoners followed the example set by the nobles, and buried the remains of the bones, after cremation, in their own cemetery. Many ceased to practice cremation. The Chinese enrolled in the clans had always buried their dead in their cemeteries, and now many Monguors have their own cemeteries. The poor among them bury the bones remaining after cremation in a corner of their fields, or in a lonely spot. Three days before the official ancestor worship in April, each group honors its dead in its own cemetery, according to the usual rite, with prostrations, libations, offerings, and a sacrificial meal. It is on that day that the bones remaining after cremation of the persons of their family who died during the year are buried in their cemeteries, and the names of the deceased are entered in the family register. 175 764

What happened to the dead of the Monguors during the Yüan period (1280–1368) is not at present known. Some people say that the dead were buried in lonely places, that cemeteries did not exist, and no further offerings were made for the dead, after burial. Later, during the Ming, only two clans, the Ch'i and the Lu, built inside their mansion garden a big mound with a spacious room where the coffins of the later T'u-ssu are conserved.[25]

The whole clan of the Li T'u-ssu never bury their dead in the third and the eighth months; these months are said to be fateful for them on account of Lu Men-cheng. I never could get an explanation either of this fact or of Lu Men-cheng. 764

DIFFERENT MODES OF DISPOSING OF THE DEAD

The enrollment of Chinese in the clans, the examples set by the T'u-ssu and the chiefs of the houses, the impact of the Chinese culture from which the Monguors became less and less insulated, and also the fact that cremation bears a tinge of dishonor among the Chinese (because it is only used for those who have caused harm to the family) led many Monguors to resort early to the burying of the dead. According to many Monguors, cremation had been introduced by the lamas, because it was a lucrative rite for them. Since in nearly every family there were lamas, the rite easily spread. However, according to other Monguors, incineration provides more benefits for the souls, while burying bears a tinge of dishonor. I was told of a Monguor woman who had abandoned her husband in order to live with another man in Hung nai Valley, the man died and she [766]

[25] However, as will be recorded in Part III, the Lu clan, according to its family chronicle, had an ancestral cemetery in Hsi Ta-t'ung during the Yüan period. [p.142(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

IMPACT OF FOREIGN RELIGIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA

In dealing with these subjects, serious account must be taken of the diffusion of Buddhism. At the beginning of our era, in A.D. 148 the first translators of Buddhist scriptures arrived in Liang Chou from the oases of Turkistan, and Liang Chou became the center of Buddhist activities (Chapter II). Among the Turkic T'opa Wei people, Buddhism was diffused on a large scale. From 399 to 557 they occupied northern China and extended their power as far as the Altai. In 538, in their two provinces of Chih-li and Shan-tung alone, are recorded thirty thousand temples and two million adherents to Buddhism.[22] The Turkic-Mongol tribes, settling or living as nomads along the western frontier of China from Turkistan to Manchuria, must have come in contact with Buddhism and felt its impact in different ways. The Chi'tan (of Mongol origin) who occupied northern China (907–1125) and extended their power over Inner and Outer Mongolia, professed Buddhism to the extent that in 942 the number of monks and nuns in Chih-li and Shan-tung swelled to 50,000 and in 1078, 360,000 are mentioned.[23]

However, from the seventh century on, new religious notions were also diffused in Central Asia among the nomadic tribes. In 762 the Uigurs had embraced Manicheism, and Nestorians were very numerous among them. The Kereits, a Turkic tribe living on Lake Baikal, were converted to Nestorianism in 1007. They were defeated by Chingis Khan, and submitted to him. The Öngüts, tribes of Shat'o origin who aided Chingis against the Chin in 1201, were Nestorians.[24] Around the end of the eleventh century Nestorian missionaries had already reached the Tatars living near the country which today is called Manchuria, because at least two of their chiefs bore Christian names, "Mark" and "John."[25] During the tenth and eleventh centuries many nomadic tribes in Central Asia were converted to Mohammedanism, among them the Qara-Khanides in 960, the Seljukides before 1043, and other Turkic tribes in 960 and 1043.[26]

IMPACT OF NESTORIANISM AMONG THE MONGOLS

The impact of these events must have been felt among the peoples of Central Asia on a larger or smaller scale and in different ways. At any rate, Nestorianism af-

[22] James R. Ware, Wei-shou on Buddhism, *T'oung Pao* 30: 179, 1933. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, *op. cit.*, 1433.

[23] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 291–296. It was under the Liao dynasty that Buddhism spread to the vast eastern expanses of Inner Asia.

[24] K. S. Latourette, *A history of Christian missions in China*, 63, N. Y., Macmillan, 1929.

[25] B. Louis Hambis, Deux noms chrétiens chez les Tatar au XIme siecle, *Journal Asiatique*, 1953: 475.

[26] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

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fected the imperial family of the founder of the new 795
Mongol nation in a peculiar way.

Chingis, building his new nation, resorted to al- 175
liances with neighboring tribes. He married his fourth 648
son, Tului, to the niece of Toghrul Ong Khan, chief of 643
the powerful Nestorian Kereit tribe. The Nestorian princess bore four sons, among whom was Mönke, the fourth leader of the nation, Khubilai, who became emperor of China, and Hulagu, the ruler of Persia, who also married a Nestorian Kereit princess, the granddaughter of the same Toghrul. The latter had a chapel attached to his camp.

Chingis married his own daughter, Alagai Beki, to Po-yao-ho, the son of the chief of the Nestorian Öngüts, who helped him conquer the Chin. Chingis was so fond of his son-in-law that he made him follow him, with Kulan the well-known favorite, in his conquest of West Turkistan and Khwarezm. The relations between the Nestorian Öngüts and the imperial family were very close. Güyük, the second successor of Chingis and leader of the nation, married his daughter to the son of Po-yao-ho, who had a Christian chapel before his tent. The emperor Khubilai married his daughter to the other son of Po-yao-ho.

No wonder that many Nestorian Kereits and Öngüts 177
occupied important administrative posts in the new na- 797
tion. Chingis himself appointed the Christians Chinkhai 643
and Khadak, and all imperial orders had to bear the signature of Chinkhai. Two chief ministers of Güyük were Christians, as were also the physicians at court. The principal minister of Mönke was the Christian Bolgai. Protection enjoyed by the 30,000 Nestorians in China in the construction of churches and monasteries was due to the emperor, whose mother was a Nestorian and who gave his daughter to a Nestorian prince. Even so, the diffusion of Catholicism by the first missionaries was also made possible and even encouraged by him. The impact of Nestorianism upon the imperial family seems at first sight to have been unusual, but it was in fact merely a veneer overlying a shamanist underground, for soon after Chingis, the Mongol emperors practiced Lamaism to the extent that Peking became a Lamaist city.[27] O. Franke writes about the "Rabies Buddhica" of the Mongol emperors.[28]

Vladimirtsov writes:

Chingis Khan introduced a definite religious idea into 797
the political conception of his own suzerainty and of that 175
of his clan . . . the shaman Kokchu announced that the 643
"Everlasting Blue Sky" favored Chingis who was its own pre-ordained envoy on earth. . . . "The 'Sky' has ordered me to govern all the peoples," Chingis said. . . .

[27] K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, 63–65. Henri Cordier, Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *T'oung Pao* **18**: 56–57, 197. P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extreme Orient, *T'oung Pao* **15**: 627, 1914. P. Pelliot, Les Mongols et la Papauté, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* **23**: 4 seq., 1922–1923; **24**: 46, 1924; **28**: 169, 193–4, 199, 1931–1932. Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

[28] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 522. [p. 154 (B)]

The White Banner was inhabited by the "guardian genius" of Chingis, it would protect his troops and lead them to victory; he would conquer all peoples, for the "Everlasting Blue Sky" had so ordained.[29] 797 175 643

In the same way "Ahura Mazda, among the Achaemenians in Persia, [688–330 B.C.], was said to grant to the great kings their power over other peoples, and to bestow upon them victories."[30] In ancient China "Heaven" was believed either to give or withdraw the emperor's mandate.[31]

Chingis was not only religious, he was superstitious. The need to know the will of "Everlasting Blue Sky" and of "the guardian spirits" was a constant stimulus for communing with "shamans," sorcerers, and divinators.[32] "He believed Kokchu could ascend the 'Sky' and had powerful protectors among the genii."[33] "He instituted the post of *beki* who was to be the state's chief priest, [a shaman], vested with power and officially recognized."[34] "He was fond of Ye-lü Ch'ü-tsai for he was a skillful astrologer."[35] "Chingis viewing all religions with equal favor remained himself a good shamanist, true to the traditions of his people."[36] "He remained a primitive shamanist nomad with a rudimentary sense of moral responsibility to the 'Everlasting Sky' and the 'guardian spirits' and with a fully developed instinct of acquisition."[37] 175 643 771

The impact of Nestorianism among the Mongols was not profound. Professor N. Poppe, reviewing the study of W. Schmidt concerning the religion of the Mongols,[38] notes: 771

> According to the author the Mongols had monotheism and recognized Heaven as the Supreme power. Heaven was in their opinion, the lord of life and death, was eternal, immortal and omniscient (46–47). The statement about the recognition of that Supreme power by the ancient Mongols is corroborated by quotations of sayings mentioning Heaven and attributed by ancient authors to Chingis Khan, his son Ögedei, the emperors Güyük and Mönke and other historical persons. These sayings were however preserved in writings of various authors who wrote their works much later. Therefore, the question arises whether those sayings are authentic. It is possible that in a number of cases the mention of God as "the creator of the sky and earth" attributed by later writers to the Great Yasa and other documents, reflects ideas inspired in the authors by medieval European theologians, as Dr. Pallisen believes.[39]

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[29] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 65.

[30] Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 306.

[31] H. G. Creel, *Confucious the man and the myth*, 147, New York, John Day Company.

[32] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 81.

[33] *Ibid.*, 82.

[34] *Ibid.*, 77.

[35] *Ibid.*, 105.

[36] *Ibid.*, 109.

[37] *Ibid.*, 167.

[38] *Anthropos* **48**: 327, 1953; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* **10**: 1952.

[39] Nicolaus Pallisen, Die alte Religon des mongolischen Volkes und die Geschichte des Verhältnisses der Mongolen zu anderen Religionen während der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden, 1949.

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We have to take into consideration also the fact that 175 many of the historians of this Mongol period, such as 771 Rashid ed-Din (1302), Djouwayni (1260), and others, were Moslems, who might easily have been influenced by the tenets of their own religion in this matter, and have reflected these ideas in their writings.

Besides the very serious doubts concerning the authenticity of the texts, there arise problems of the value of these texts in explaining the cult of Heaven as it existed before Chingis and before the imperial family professed (?) or protected Nestorianism, and also the question of the real impact of Nestorianism inside the imperial family through cult and rites, and upon the bulk of tribes which are called Mongol. P. Pelliot states that "Nestorianism was the religion of most Turkic tribes and perhaps of a few genuine Mongols." [40]

It is common knowledge, corroborated by the testimony of travelers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,[41] that the Mongols and Turks during the Yüan dynasty worshipped a host of spirits and Öngüts, and were as fervent addicts of shamanism as Chingis himself.

Professor Louis Hambis writes: "The Mongols at the time of Chingis did not honor a Supreme God, but they worshipped Heaven and Earth, and their formula for taking an oath started with an invocation to the god of heaven and to the deity of earth." [42]

René Grousset notes that: "When Chingis started with his campaign against the Naiman, he made solemn sacrifices to the Banner, in which the 'Sulde,' the protector spirits of his army, were supposed to reside." [43]

At present there exists the same confusion concerning the notion of Heaven among the Mongols of the Ordos as among the Monguors.[44] No wonder that after the overthrow of the Mongol dynasty, which had long since become thoroughly Buddhist, Nestorianism almost completely disappeared from among them.[45]

NESTORIANISM AMONG THE MONGUORS

Among the Monguors and the Chinese of the region 795 of Hsining, I never encountered any facts pointing to the possibility that Nestorianism had been practiced in former times. Yet Marco Polo (born in Venice in 1254), during his long stay in Kan chou in 1274, must have made an excursion to Hsining with his father Nicolo and his Uncle Matteo. Among many minute details concerning Hsining he records: "The population

[40] P. Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extreme Orient, op. cit.*, 643.

[41] A. Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, 231, 232, Puaracchi, Firensie, 1929.

[42] Pelliot and Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, 411, Leiden, Brill, 1951.

[43] Grousset, *Empire Mongol, Ire Phase, op. cit.*, 159.

[44] A Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos*, Peking, Catholic University, 1947.

[45] *Ibid.*, *Bull. Catholic University of Peking* 9, Nov. 1934; Ordosica; Les Erkut, descendants des Chrétiens médiévaux chez les Mongols Ordos.

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of the country consists chiefly of idolaters and some Saracens, but there are some Christians also."[46] Because Marco Polo always noted very accurately the Nestorian churches he encountered on his way through Central Asia, and because he did not mention the existence of any Nestorian church in Hsining, it may be supposed that this Nestorian community must have been small, and probably consisted of some occasional traders. 175

Another fact led me to investigate the topic of Nestorianism. According to Pelliot, tribes of Öngüts (Shat'o) inhabited the Tenduc region, north of the great bend of the Yellow River. Some of these Öngüts migrated into south Kansu, in the region of Lin t'ao. They were taken prisoners by the Chin (1125–1235) and transplanted into mid-Manchuria at the beginning of the twelfth century. They were Nestorians. An apparition in a dream of the Chin emperor T'ai tsung (1125–1161) having been explained by means of images honored by these Öngüts, they were liberated and located in Ch'ing chou, north of the Yellow River.[47] 175 795

According to Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, 1: 26, the Öngüts had moved there in the twelfth century from northern Mongolia. Rashid ed-Din explains that the Öngüts, being in the service of the Chin, had been appointed as wardens of the Great Wall.

The problem is, the region of Lin T'ao being contiguous with that of Hsining,[48] whether there was intermingling between the Shat'o of Lin T'ao and those of Hsining, and whether the Hsining Shat'o as a consequence, ever professed Nestorianism.

The second Shat'o dynasty, that of the Hou Chin, (936–947), was conquered by the Liao dynasty (907–1125) in 947, and its imperial family (175 persons), banished into Huang lung, north of Mukden (Manchuria). However its harem, eunuchs, and servants entered the service of the Liao emperor.[49] Then the emperor decided to enroll in his army the defeated Hou Chin troops, and to use them as wardens of the southern marches of his enlarged empire. Their families were to be moved into north Shansi as hostages, and the troops were to be granted furlough from the marches every year to visit Shansi.[50]

It seems doubtful whether these provisions were ever carried out. Ho kien, an Uigur, loyal and devoted servant of both Shat'o dynasties, governor of the Tsin, Chieh, and Ch'eng chou regions, and of the marches of southeast Kansu (contiguous to Lin T'ao), in 947, immediately after the defeat of his emperor, offered the places and the region he governed to the Lord of the Kingdom of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan), and pledged his al-

[46] Yule-Cordier, *The book of Ser Marco Polo* 1: 274.

[47] P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extreme Orient, 630; Henri Cordier, Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *op. cit.*, 56.

[48] Franke, *op. cit.* 5: 113.

[49] *Ibid.* 4: 55.

[50] *Ibid.* 4: 57, 58.

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legiance to him.[51] War broke out and finally a new 175 795
dynasty arose, the Hou Han, 947–950.

Did the defeated Shat'o troops of the Hou Chin join the faithful governor? Did they submit to the new Hou Han dynasty and remain in their own country? Did the Öngüts of the northern bend of the Yellow River come over to lend a hand? For how long did the Öngüts remain in that troubled country? At least the Öngüts of Lin T'ao were taken prisoners and transplanted to Manchuria, not by the Liao (907–1125) but by the Kin (1125–1235).

It is common knowledge that the Öngüts of both Shat'o dynasties (923–947) were fervent adherents of Buddhism, as were the Shat'o of Hsining, who built the imposing monastery of Ta-fo-ssu in the very center of the city of Hsining (1280–1368). (See Chap. II, p. 14.)

Even if we suppose that Nestorianism were diffused among the Hsining Shat'o, certainly it would not have been done by the Buddhist Shat'o dynasties, but by the Shat'o from the northern bend of the Yellow River, who immigrated into Lin T'ao, if at that time they were already Nestorians. Furthermore, can the apparitions in the vision of the emperor T'ai tsung definitely be explained as Nestorian images worshipped by the Lin T'ao Öngüts, or could they have been Buddhist or Manichean images? This question is still controversial.[52]

All that I can say in summing up is that I never could succeed in tracing any evidence that Nestorianism was ever professed by the Shat'o of Hsining.

CONCLUSION OF THE CHAPTER

If the Heaven beliefs of the Turkic-Mongol tribes 795
are to be assessed in conjunction with what is known 776
about the Monguors, whose ancestors settled in Huang- 771
chung in 1227, at the time of the death of Chingis Khan, then taking into account the Monguor formula of "Heaven and all the spirits," the cult of an undefined Heaven, the host of honored spirits and the predilection for shamanism which survived the intensive indoctrination of Lamaism experienced by the Monguors in Huang-chung, it seems sound to assume that among other Mongol tribes "Heaven" must have occupied a similar position of honorary preeminence.

The tangled problem may be summarized as follows. 795
In former times the old Turkic-Mongol tribes had no 776
notion of a heaven or a hell where, after death, men 775
would be rewarded for their merits or punished for 771
their sins. They lacked the notion of an immortal soul. The soul, after having dwelt for a short while near the burial place, or in an undefined underworld, was supposed to vanish. Even at present the Monguors believe that their ancestors vanish after three generations. Their aspirations and hopes were, ac-

[51] *Idem.* 4: 68.

[52] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 308–309. [p. 156(B)]

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ister their clans in territories assigned by the emperor. 614
They formed a genuine enclave in a border province of 648
China. It is an enigma how they could keep their social organization for five-hundred years, conserve their traditions, and withstand being absorbed in the Chinese nation.

The Monguor clans, at the time of their submission to China, were military institutions whose families were organized into groups of 10, 100, and 1,000, each under a chief. On account of the shift from pastoralism toward an agricultural economy, villages became units governed by a chief, two military commanders, and some elders appointed by the T'u-ssu, all belonging, in the beginning, to the nobility. Military service, taxes, and corveés were fixed, and troubles among the villagers were settled by those appointed chiefs in public meetings. Appeal was possible, however, to the higher authority of the T'u-ssu, and as a last resort to the Chinese authority (see Part I: 76). The Monguors thus lived their own lives in their own organized world, under powerful chiefs; their soldiers were always ready to defend the marches on the empire.

On account of the tremendous power and influence 792
radiating from the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and its three 614
celebrated Hutukhtus (who were personal friends of 175
the emperors and from whom they received territorial grants), between 1604 and 1723 many subjects of the T'u-ssu, lured by better conditions of tenantry, became subjects of the lamaseries, exempt from taxes and corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The clan chiefs willy-nilly had to comply with this situation and in order to retrieve their material assets, and to have tenants till their soil, and taxpayers and soldiers, they had to enroll Tibetans and Chinese in their clans.

The double damage wrought to the Monguor clans by 614
this situation became peculiarly conspicuous after the 177
revolt of 1723. Those Monguors who, lured by the 175
hope of better economic conditions, had become subjects of lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas and continued to live as Monguors, segregated from the Chinese, to wear their Monguor dress, keeping their family customs and traditions in marriage, burial, and other festivities, but under lama chiefs instead of clan chiefs. After 1723 their social conditions changed entirely. Becoming Chinese subjects, they could not be reintegrated in their old clans and found themselves isolated in a new world without cohesion or support, and burdened with taxes and corvées. They started to speak Chinese, adopt the Chinese style of dress, marry Chinese girls, be buried according to the Chinese rites. Such was the classical case of the thirteen villages of the Sha-t'ang Valley, which before 1723 depended on Erh-ku-lung. The bulk of the defections among the Monguors was caused by their first becoming subjects of lamaseries, and later being thrown into the hands of Chinese officials, where they lacked the support of their former chiefs and religion. These groups of Monguors re-

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canted their origin. They still know pretty well that 614
their ancestors were Monguors, however, and after two- 177
hundred years, the women, at death, still have to be 175
laid out in the coffin in the Monguor skirt. "Chinese" of such origin always remained addicted to shamanism and Lamaism, notwithstanding the fact that they also built Taoist temples and supported Taoist priests.

The second thing which turned the Monguor society upside down after 1723 was the improvement of material conditions. Peace and stability having been assured, and areas for expansion having been opened to agriculture, more Chinese moved into the country, commerce started to develop and flourish. New markets were opened by the Chamber of Commerce of Hsining, connected with those of the capital of the province. The Monguors, inpoverished by the previous chronic inroads of Mongols and Tibetans and the recent revolt, were now more prosperous. Many Monguor commoners became rich, even richer and more influential than many member of the nobility, and they began to be appointed chiefs of villages, military commanders, and elders. The nobility correspondingly lost influence and prestige. Because there were Chinese among the commoners, the way of thinking, settling troubles, and administering the villages became more and more Chinese.

The intercourse of the Monguors with the Chinese 177
became more intensive through commercial relations. 614
The richest Monguors started sending their boys to Chinese schools, marrying Chinese girls, who abhorred the dress of the Monguor women, and refused to speak the Monguor language. More and more Monguors, under the impact of Chinese culture, were ashamed of being called barbarians and preferred to claim to be Chinese. Long since, the chiefs of the clans, the T'u-ssu, had set the example by marrying Chinese girls, to such an extent that many among them were unable to speak the language of their subjects. Nationalism in language never having existed among them, the Chinese language began to be used indiscriminately at the village meetings and at the performance of religious rites by shamans and lamas. All official documents were written in Chinese, and so nearly all Monguors understood [191]
and spoke the Chinese language but used their Monguor language when conversing among themselves. However, they remained members of the Monguor clans, even though the Chinese officials did not prevent them from abandoning their clan chiefs with the same rigidity as in former times. They conserved their old customs and traditions and the old social organization.

What was the reason for these facts? On the one 771
hand, the economic benefits attached to the T'u-ssu in- 614
stitution are to be taken into serious consideration. However, on the other hand, the religious factor is not to be overlooked. The entire fabric of the Monguor social organization was woven in an atmosphere of religion which caused them to remember that they were

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[For historical data, see category 116, pp. 3-4, 6-116.]

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province, and T'u-ssu Wang to accompany General Mu Yin to Kan and Su Chou to fight the unfaithful Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa. Two hundred of his soldiers were taken prisoner. Then the army proceeded to Ch'ih Chin in the Gobi where the Mongol Prince I-lien-cheng, his seal and tribes, were captured (*Annals* of Kansu ?: 42*a–b*, 40*a*, 48*b*).

T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh induced the Tibetan chiliarch A-pu to surrender, and in the fourth moon he fought the Tibetan chief I-lin-cheng-pen (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 10*b*).

At the death of the Mongol emperor in 1378, T'o ku-ssu had succeeded to the throne in Mongolia. He was soon on the warpath, mustering two armies in order to invade China, one in the Gobi at Karakorum, and one in North China at Yin Ch'ang. The army at Karakorum suffered a severe defeat at the hand of General Mu Yin in 1380, but the army of Yin Ch'ang was making inroads in Liaotung province.[72]

In 1380 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was called to court and ordered to arrive at Peking with his troops to stem the forays of the Ying Ch'ang brigands of the emperor. At the same time he was granted the title of Hsuan-wei general and the hereditary office of Chih Huei ch'ien shih in Hsining. He fought the brigands at Chin Shan Ssu, at Huo Ho, Yung P'ing, Su Chou, etc. His troops were victorious everywhere. He came back to Hsining after the capture of Na ha ch'u in 1387 (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*b*).

SURRENDER OF TRIBES IN HUANGCHUNG

Two years after the establishment of the exchange bureau the submission of nine Tibetan tribes is recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining, chapter 16. It is hard to find out which among them were Tibetan, Shat'o, or Uighur tribes. At the time of the surrender of Li Nan-ko with the officials of Hsining in 1371, only thirteen tribes had submitted (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 1*b*), and the names of the tribes are not recorded. It may be assumed that the reiterated invitations conveyed by the t'u-ssu to the chiefs of tribes by order of the emperor during eight years had reaped small success. Now, however, the fascination of the profits attached to the tea market had stimulated the tribes to surrender.

In the northern part of Hsining the submission of two tribes is noted.

The Pa sha tribe lived in tents on a territory larger than 500 square li, situated more than 100 li north of Hsining on the borders of the Tat'ung River. It controlled the Tsan-tsa tribes, the Ssu-erh-ssu-ko and many small tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 7*b*).

The Pa Wa tribe were also nomads, living next to the Pa sha tribe on the borders of the Tat'ung River. This tribe must have been smaller than the Pa sha tribe (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 10*a*).

[72] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 10–11.

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on his second ascension to the throne, and to present his offices in these times of troubles which beset the empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and somewhat later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them. The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and devastating the country. The officials in the capital grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his troops to move. He was committed to prison and deliberation concerning capital punishment was held. The emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportunity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the Mongols in the regions of Yenan and Suei-te (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*b*).

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of Li Wen?

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450–1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs and the most prominent officials, some of them friends and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions seethed with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals. Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung.

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching Ti the capital beseiged by Esen in 1449. During the illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot preparing the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthronement of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his rivals and seven executions of the most prominent officials followed. He was bestowed with the title of Pilar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky. It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, proclaimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung. The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poisoned himself. His father was committed to jail and ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta-

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place the appanage of Yeh Pu Kan was really situated. It seems to have been north of the Altai Mountains, and north of the appanage of the descendants of Chagatai, the second son of Chingis.

Yeh Pu Kan died in 1288.

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YEH MEI KAN, PAPALA, PEITAHAN, AND PAPA

In all the lists of the descendants of Kolgan, Yeh Mei Kan is recorded as the son of Hulut'ai, except in the list of the Cho Keng Lu where he is entirely obliterated. In the history of the Yuan are encountered many Yeh Pu Kan and Yeh Mei Kan and it is not always easy to distinguish them.

In the history of the Yuan (20, 7a) Yeh Mei Kan the son of Hulut'ai, having simply the title of prince, is recorded as having received a silver gilded seal in 1300 and having died in 1301, and his son Papala as having succeeded him (20, 13). Hambis encounters in the same history two texts concerning Papala: one of 1286 related to an imperial gift for his destitute people, another recorded the granting of the title of "great prince" in 1314 (108, 6b): On p. 66 Hambis explains the discrepancies between these texts and those related to Yeh Mei Kan, and concludes peremptorily that Papala must have been the brother of Yeh Mei Kan, and not his son, but the son of Hulut'ai. In the Mohammedan lists and in *Yüan Shih hsin pien* he is also noted to be the brother.

The Cho keng lu not only notes Papala as the son of Yeh Mei Kan, but substitutes for him Peitahan, as brother of Yeh Mei Kan. However Peitahan does not belong to the group of the descendants of Hulut'ai, but to that of Chagatai, the second son of Chingis (Hambis, p. 66).

It has been noted that all the old lists of the descendants of Hulut'ai record only three sons. However, the two most recent histories printed after 1911 note four sons: Yeh Pu Kan, Papa, Peitahan, Yeh Mei Kan. Papa noted as the son of Yeh Pu Kan in all the other lists, is noted in both recent works as the brother of Yeh Pu Kan. In all the lists of the descendants of Hulut'ai, Papa is noted as having two sons: Hapin Timur and Wu T'u-ase Timur. Hambis, in his magisterial study, proves conclusively that Papa belongs to the group of the descendants of Chagatai, in which lists he is consigned with his two sons, bearing names entirely the same as those recorded in the Kolgan lists.

The Cho keng lu, in order to make the question more intricate, records the two sons of Papa not to be the sons of Papa, but of T'o Huan! In the family Chronicles, however, these names are not encountered.

T'O HUAN

All the sources, together with the family Chronicles of the Lu clan, unanimously attest T'o Huan to be the son of Papala and descendant of Kolgan in the fifth

8:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

HM 173 643 M 175 614

generation. The two most recent studies, however, claim him to be the descendant in the sixth generation, Papala being the son of Yeh Mei Kan and grandson of Hulut'ai. Anyway, T'o Huan is a member of the imperial family of the Yuan by the Kolgan branch.

It is interesting to conclude with the note that Papala had lived and died in Lien Ch'eng. In the *Annals* of Kansu and P'ing Fan, and in the Chronicles of the Lu clan, it is noted that T'o Huan, after his submission, was ordered to reoccupy the old country he had occupied during the Yuan dynasty. In the biography of T'o Huan (3rd section) it is recorded that he and his wife were buried in the ancestral cemetery of Hsi Ta-tung. Because it is called the ancestral cemetery, ancestors must have been buried there.

THE SONS OF T'O HUAN

The Chronicles of the Lu family note only two sons, Ah-shih-t'u the oldest, and Kung-pu-shih-tieh the second. The *Annals* of P'in Fan and those of Kansu, however, claim Pa chih han to be the first son of T'o Huan. In the study are noted the disastrous consequences of the submissions by T'o Huan, his first son, at the moment of the appointment of his successor as chief of the clan. In the history are noted three more sons: Hapin Timur, Wu T'u-ssu Timur and T'o-erh-chih-pa. Hapin Timur and Wu T'u-ssu Timur are proved by Hambis to belong to the line of Chagatai. T'o-erh-chih-pa (Dorjibal) is noted in Cho Kung lu as son of Pei Ta Han, in the Mohammedan sources. However, in the official history of the Yüan and the two recent historical works, he is claimed to be the son of T'o Huan. In the official history he is recorded as Prince of An Ting, without notice of the date of appointment. It is impossible that a son could have borne the title of his father during the lifetime of the father. T'o Huan died in 1370 and was still Prince of An Ting at the time he submitted to the Ming in 1368–1369. In the family Chronicle, however, are only noted the sons who succeeded to the office of supreme chiefs of the clan. It is not impossible that T'o Huan had had more sons, but that Dorjibal should have been one among them is not proved. In the family Chronicle it is noted that in 1375 T'o Huan helped General Pu Yin to beat the rebel Mongol Dorjibal, who can therefore hardly have been his son. Anyway, he did not succeed T'o Huan.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER OF THE FAMILY LU

PREFACE

The genealogical register was composed by Lu Chi-hsun, descendant of the fifteenth generation, who filled the hereditary office of commander, with the possession

M 175x 614 114

[P. 74(B)]

N 563 M 614 622 128 177 on, when the Monguors gave up the nomadic way of life and became sedentary, the connection with the Chinese became closer and closer and closer until the Monguors finally came under Chinese rule. As the best means of maintaining control over the "frontier barbarians" the Chinese permitted them a certain amount of local self-government; at this time the clan chieftain became a Chinese official, a so-called T'u-ssu or "local chief."

The Monguors were no exception to the rule that all minorities, militarily powerless in comparison with the ruling Chinese, succumbed to the new culture, which, in the minds of the minorities, had always been superior and therefore worthy of imitation. As soon as the minorities were militarily defeated or went into submission voluntarily and deliberately, their chieftains proudly received the insignia and title of a M [171] Chinese office. This is true of the Khans of the Mongols, the Bilks of the Turks, the rgyal-pos of the Tibetans.

While the Turkic chieftains received the title of Shang-lao (Bilk), the Mongolian tribal leaders became Wangs, and the Monguor clan chieftains received the title of T'u-ssu. This institution was installed by the Chinese to administer minority tribes at the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. The T'ang annals already report that the Chinese Emperor made N 563 hereditary chieftains of frontier territories heads of the Chi-mi-175 chou, (the predecessor of the T'u-ssu institution). The Yüan M 125 dynasty already called this office by its present name - T'u-177 ssu. The Ming dynasty continued to confer this title on Mongol 614 clan chieftains whose clans were by this time mixed with 622 Tibetans, Turks, and Chinese. The Manchu dynasty,(who favored minorities for obvious reasons: (1) the Manchus themselves constituted a minority and (2) maintenance of political equilibrium and balance of power in regard to minorities and indigenous Chinese) extended this system in a way that the various clans gained a limited measure of self-determination and autonomy. However, the ties to the Imperial court and its administrative institutions were, and remained close. Finally, the office of the T'u-ssu remained under the same name during the Republican period of China. In other frontier areas, e.g. in Sinkiang, the names of these offices were different, but they differed only slightly functionally. Father Schram describes the institution as follows: "...the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal non-Chinese peoples attached to, but not yet absorbed into, the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that ofChina as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native Chief" and as Chinese official."

S 563 141 142 body skin is brownish or yellowish and brachycephalism is found in more than 92%. They have high cheek bones, the nose is flat and the eyes show the typical Mongoloid eyefold. The eyes are either black or brown, sometimes even light brown. The hair is also black or dark brown, coarse and straight. Hair growth is sparse. The average height is about 1670 mm. The trunk is strongly built and the legs are rather short in comparison to those of the Uzbeks or Tajiks.

S 563 3. Relations with non-Mongols

There is no animosity between the various Mongol tribes, but there is a definite antagonism between the Mongols and the Kazakhs and between the Mongols and the Chinese.

S 563 175 [167] 4. History

The Western Mongols are direct descendants from the Oirats of the great Mongolian conquest. At least, since 600 A.D. they have lived in this area. Some of the Torguts are recent immigrants or, more accurately, returnees. They left Russia in 1771 and returned to their homeland, Dzungaria.

S 563 As far as social organization is concerned, the Oirats are said to represent the old Mongolian pattern. Tribal leaders inherit their political positions, and property is considered in terms of pastures and cattle.

S 563 631 5. The leagues

The Mongols of Sinkiang were organized into three leagues:
(1) the Unen Susuqtu League, consisting of ten banners of Torguts
(2) the Batu Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts
(3) the Ching Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts and seven banners of Uriangkhai.

B. The Mongols of Kansu

N *563 101 M [101] 1. The Mongours

a. history

The Mongours are the most important Mongolian tribe living in Kansu. They are known under various names. Potanin called them Shirongols, the Chinese call them Tu-jen, the Olots and Torguts call them Dalda or Doldo, the Tanguts call them Cha-hor, but the Mongours themselves use only the latter term. The Mongours N *563 *175 [167] have been studied by Father Schram who states that the Mongours came to Kansu in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century and that furthermore the Mongours were already settled in the Hsi-ning area when the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) M 175 [167] was founded. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) "benefitting by the experience of the Ming succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighbouring tribes of Kokonor, assigning definite territories to each of them and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes they were able to develop the country

N
*563 /Kansu Monguors/
*[175] peacefully, stimulating both agriculture and commerce. Development of the country was dependent on control of the neighbouring
M
• [175] tribes."

b. language

M
[197] The language of the Mongours is completely different from Western or Eastern Mongolian. There is no communication between the Mongours and Torguts or Ölöts, etc.

c. clan divisions

N
*563 According to Father Schram there exist six Mongour clans in
M the Hsi-ning district and ten in the district of Nien-pei. (He uses
614 the term "clan" to designate a group who share a common territory, a common surname and a common chief.) The names of the clans are: (1) Ch'i, whose chief is said to be an offspring of Chingis Khan; (2) Ch'eng; (3) Li; (4) Na; (5) Wang, and (6) Chi. The names of the Nien-pei clans are: (1) Ch'i; (2) Li Nan-ko; (3) Li Hua-nao; (4) Chao; (5) Ah; (6) Kan; (7) Chou; (8) Yeh; (9) Hsin; (10) La. As the names indicate, Chinese influence was strong.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, Tibetan and Chinese frequently were absorbed by the Mongour clans. Mannerheim reports that the Shera Yögur (another subgroup of the Mongours) have preserved their old Mongolian clan names, like Tokshu, Orge, Sultus, Turgush, Kargos, Arlat, Kong, Lantshak, Socka, Kongrott, Temyrt or Temurtshin, Jaglakyr, Tshungsa, Tshangban, Rkomdjuk, Glan, Kyrgyz, Andjan, Tuman and Uirot. There is a strict observance of clan exogamy.

N.
*563 2. Physical characteristics

Since the Mongours are either of Mongolian, Turkish (Sha-to),
M Tibetan, or Chinese extraction, their physical appearance is not at
42 all uniform. Mannerheim's description shows this variety of phys-
[144] ical features: The Shera Yögurs are of medium height and not badly built. They have well-formed hands and feet and narrow wrists and ankles. There is nothing about them of the coarse and vulgar appearance which distinguishes the Kalmucks. Stout people are never seen - many of them are even remarkably thin. Their faces are neither exceptionally long and narrow nor short and broad. Though some have pronounced cheekbones, wide cheekbones are rare, and in many individuals they are not at all protruding. The mouth is normal, with neither thin nor thick lips, the nose straight and of a good shape. Some, however, have wide turned-up noses, with very little bridge to them. Among the majority, the distance between the eyes was rather wide. It is overgrown by the eyelid in childhood, but with age, this peculiarity almost disappears. Their eyes are black or dark, with slight changes in them, but no blue eyes were observed by Mannerheim. Their hair is black or quite dark, sometimes curly, the children often having brown hair. The men are never bald, but often become very gray and, judging by the women, the growth of hair is not particularly good. They

N *563 M 614 554 565 leadership after his father's death. It is noteworthy that by the beginning of the present century, the T'u-ssu was no longer living with his noble kinsmen, but was living in a separate and distinct family, each of which formed an independent economic unit. Therefore, some T'u-ssu were rich, others poor, and the status differentiation, that previously had been determined by wealth disappeared. Thereafter, noble families functioned economically in the same manner as their subject families. In each clan the nobles were subdivided into small units called "houses." Some clans have three houses, some four or five, some as many as thirteen. Each noble family recognizes the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called the Great House, the second is called the Second House, and so on.

The number of houses that had been established according to the number of sons of the "founding" ancestor has been retained as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify themselves, for example, by referring to what "house" they belong. Since Ming times, the T'u-ssu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of subject commoners. In former times each group of nobles collectively was the "possessor" of the subjects. Subjects and territory were assumed to have been assigned by the emperor to the clan as a whole. If a noble was at odds with his clan, he could either leave the clan, taking with him a proportionate number of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or he could found a new clan.

Collective ownership of subject commoners by consanguinial noble families is logically stronger in a nomadic economic structure than in an agricultural one. Memories of this concept, however, persist among nomads who have become farmers.

M [428] The rules of succession to the office of clan chief did not allow for competition. However, there are, in fact, elements of inheritance, of choice or selection, of the consent of the governed, and of appointment by the overlord. Any chief succeeds to office according to definite clan rules, namely, he must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestors." When a T'u-ssu dies, all heads of the clan's noble families together with the heads of prominent commoner families convene to choose a successor. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles, that should prove difficult to eliminate completely.

N *563 M 614 554 648 175 When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-sse, the headmen ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became instead Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were modified by their duty to the Chinese rulers. The institution of T'u-ssu or "local chief" was really one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 554 648 175 groups on the frontier of the Empire. The T'u-ssu thus had a double role, he functioned as a "native chief" and as a Chinese official.

The most important clan chiefs who were granted the title of T'u-ssu in Ming times were those of the Ch'i and Lu clans, who were descendants of the Imperial House of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan of the Shato Turks. From this time on the Monguours remained faithful defenders of the frontiers, first under the Ming dynasty and later under the Manchu dynasty. The Shato origin of the Li clan is corroborated by the Chinese Annals. Shato tribes are noted to have lived between Hsi-ning and Kan-chou as early as 939. The supposition that tribes of Turkish origin, bearing Turkish names, still live in the country is therefore not unreasonable.

N *563 M 614 175 648 177 During the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Chinese and Tibetan families enrolled in the seventeen Monguor and Shato clans, in addition to the original Mongol stock, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned. It is very likely that especially in the period from 1368 to 1723, only stray Chinese families enrolled in Monguor clans. Later in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who joined Monguor clans. It must be said, however, that while the Monguors have absorbed or at least partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture is lower than that of the Chinese.

In addition to the Chinese, large numbers of Tibetans enrolled in Monguor clans. However, they have probably joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese. When Chinese M [565] or Tibetans enrolled in the Monguor clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors.

N *563 M 614 554 423 The T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan from the emperor. These territories were usually assigned, according to a military plan, as a buffer zone, at a time when the Monguors were still exclusively nomads. It may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories.

N *563 M 614 565 554 The distinctive mark of the commoner is bondage to his respective T'u-ssu. Commoners were subjects "granted" to a chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his command in time of war. The military importance of a T'u-ssu was therefore dependent on the number of his families of commoners. Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of slaves, as pointed out previously, the basic distinction between nobles and commoners still existed in recent times. The first duty of a subject was to never abandon his overlord. Ideally speaking, the T'u-ssu and their subjects were bound together for all time. The subjects could not leave their lord in order to pass

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 K 462 533 535 [171] 4. Work and leisure

The division of labor between men and women is like that of the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing and dance and otherwise enjoy themselves. Because of their hard life, their songs carry a melancholy quality, and their dance is simple.

It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their expert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horseback. There are three which may be played by all ages. One, similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep." Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

S 563 K 526

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

N *563 M 131 361 371 F. The Mongours

1. The people

The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were formerly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

N *563 M 614 622 [175]

The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers. One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols; another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-

N *563 M 144 174

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 144 174 sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsining region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, N *563 M 648 175 311 meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

N *563 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342 The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351] The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables M [343] and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The M [231] Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [592] [574] The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies M [354] the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up [352] most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N *563 M 342 591 592 The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-

114 Sharegols are the Shirongols, or that the Shirongols are their descendants (p. 375).

173 Potanin notes also another tradition that the founder of all the families of Monguor T'u-ssu, or chieftains, was Li, prince of Chin; according to this tradition the present T'u-ssu family of Li represents the direct line of descent, while the other T'u-ssu families are collateral descendants. Li, Prince of Chin (an ancient name for the northern part of what is now the Province of Shansi; a region frequently held by Turkish tribes during the early middle ages), was a high official at the court of one of the T'ang emperors. For misbehavior at an imperial dinner he was exiled to the region of Hsining. He brought Chinese to this region to develop agriculture, and built a city which became the capital of a powerful kingdom. According to some variants of the legend, the mythical Tibetan hero, Ghesar, destroyed the kingdom of the Shirongols, but according to other variants it was Li who was the founder of the Kingdom. The ancient grave of Li, Prince of Chin, is to be seen near Shandan (an old name for the city of Hsining). The stone slab set before the grave is reputed to have medicinal powers, for which reason people chip off pieces of the stone. Only about one-third of the stone still exists. Stones carved in the form of sheep are set out in rows before the grave (pp. 380–381).

114 Potanin goes on to state that there are many groups of the Shirongols, some of whom live in communities
•177 of their own while others live in mixed communities. Among the Shirongols of San Ch'uan there are families of Tibetan and Chinese origin, while on the other hand some of the Shirongols have become Tibetanized. In the succession to the chieftainship, he says, the eldest son inherits, while his brothers sink into the rank of commoners. In some groups there is no chief, the people, after accusing the chief of imposing too heavy land taxes and feudal services, having become ordinary Chinese subjects. Potanin was not able to find out how many of the original eighteen groups of Shirongols still existed in his time. According to his information, the Shirongols were allowed to sell their fields to members of the same group, if they had the permission of their chief.[4]

000 *W. W. Rockhill* writes of the Monguors:

> In western Kan-su these Tu-jen alone use cave dwellings; such dwellings are found among all these people, and also, I have heard said, among the Tibetan tribes living west of Sung-p'an-t'ing. The question suggests itself whether these tribes did not teach the Chinese to make such dwellings and furthermore whether these people, these Tu-jen, are not of the same stock as the now extinct Man-tzu cave makers of western Sze-ch'uan (pp. 72–74). Their language is as I thought about eight-tenths Mongol.

[4] G. N. Potanin, *Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina Kitaya i tsentral'naya Mongoliya* (*The Tangut-Tibetan frontier of China and Central Mongolia*), 1893 (in Russian). An abridged edition was published in 1950 (Moscow, State Publishers), and is the source which I have used here. The passages cited were kindly translated for me by F. J. Spriet, pp. 374, 380–384.

[p. 25a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

618 9. The Hsin clan, of Monguor stock, comprised 100 families, settled with the Kan seventy-five miles south-
175 east of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42,
162 p. 54). The name of the T'u-ssu was later erased from the list of T'u-ssu.

10. The La clan, a small group of Monguor stock. The number of families is not recorded. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was settled seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei, near the Kan clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54).

618 These are the sixteen groups recorded in the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, and in the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24.
•177 They were all living in the country under the Mongol dynasty, and submitted to the Ming. The Ch'eng and Chi groups, in the prefecture of Hsining, and the Chao, Yeh, and Hsin groups, in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, have now "become Chinese," and their chiefs have been erased from the lists of the T'u-ssu.

The chiefs of these Shat'o and Monguor groups still bore Mongol names when they submitted to the Ming. After having held the office of T'u-ssu for two or three generations, the chiefs adopted Chinese surnames and each group then adopted the Chinese surname of its chief.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, and especially after 1723, single Tibetan families or small Tibetan groups were enrolled in nearly all the groups. Still later, Chinese families were accepted in the same way; but the Chinese did not adopt the surname of the chief of the group.

131 The foregoing data show that the habitat of the Monguors is not limited to the district of Hsining. In addition, it may be noted that the mansion of Lu T'u-ssu,
[101] of Monguor extraction, is located at Liench'eng, forty-five miles west of the sub-prefecture of P'ing-an. This large group call themselves Monguor and the Chinese call them T'u-jen; they are neighbors of the Monguors
624 of Nienpei. In this one group there are no less than seven T'u-ssu, all claiming descent from the imperial family of the founder of the Mongol dynasty. The T'u-ssu of Lienchʼeng is the head of the whole group. He alone is regarded as the ruler of the subject people and possessor of the territory assigned to them by the Ming
[651] dynasty. The other six T'u-ssu hold only the title, without the powers of chieftainship. In time of war they are bound to obey the order of the senior T'u-ssu; and for revenue each of them is allowed to collect land taxes from a fixed number of villages.

624 The seven T'u-ssu of this group represent seven lines of descent from either the brothers or the sons of the
175 prince of Ning-ting (the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 50, pp. 55–57, incorrectly name him prince of Wu-ting). His ancestor was Kolgan, son of Chingis Khan by his favorite beauty, Kulan.[21] The prince who was living in the country at the end of the Mongol dynasty submitted

[21] The family chronicles of this clan, which I am preparing for publication, are referred to above.

[P. 32-b]

174 have lost their old language before they appeared on the frontiers of Kansu? Further, the impact of the Mongol culture in Asia is generally underestimated: the appeal of the Mongol culture to the nomadic tribes in the thirteenth century in fact was overwhelming, and Mongol was then the language of the rulers of Central Asia, Mongolia, and Manchuria. Many tribes of Turkish origin exchanged their language for the different but closely related Mongol language. This assumption is evidenced by the fact that among the Mongols of today are encountered many names of clans of Turkish origin. Whole groups, such as the Onguts of the Yin Shan who were of the same Shat'o origin as the Monguors, and had fled together with them to China in A.D. 808, became Mongols, speaking only Mongol. The descendants of the Nestorians of the Ordos, who were probably of Turkish stock, are today thorough Mongols.

On page 57 of the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* is the first note related to the subject of the Monguors:

> Ch'i T'u-ssu of Nienpei is a descendant of Mongols of the Yuan period. But he does not belong to the imperial family. . . . The 20 tribes he governs in the locality called Tatzewan are the tribes he originally governed.

The names of these tribes are not given, however. These tribes were certainly Mongols, as is indicated by the tribal name Tatzewan. "Ta-tze," originally the Chinese transcription of "Tatar," is to this day commonly used by Chinese instead of "Mongol," especially in the frontier regions, and often with a condescending or belittling connotation. *Wan* is a "bend" in a valley; hence Tatzewan is "Tatar Bend" or "Mongol Bend." Concerning the Monguors the Chinese author notes that their houses, food, and customs are similar to those of the neighboring people, by whom the Chinese are meant, as the context indicates, as are their customs connected with marriages and funerals, and then goes on to state that they also observe many Tibetan customs. He thus seems to make a clear distinction between these Monguor commoners and those ruled by the various T'u-ssu whom he has previously mentioned, and this distinction seems to strengthen the hypothesis of a difference of origin between these two groups of commoners. These are the only sources available for solving the problem of the ethnic origin of the Monguor commoners. A majority of Turkish element is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by T'u-ssu.

CHINESE

175 In the seventeen Monguor and Shat'o clans, in addition to the original stock who came with their chiefs
●177 from Mongolia to settle as wardens of the marches, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned above, there were also Chinese and Tibetan families who enrolled in these clans during the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier. There are no records of the earliest enrollment of Chinese, but it does not seem likely that "many" Chinese were enrolled before

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175 the beginning of the Ming dynasty in 1368, because the
census recorded in the *Annals* for 1573–1620, which has
•177 already been cited, notes only 440 Chinese civilians in
the Hsining region.

It has also been pointed out that for nearly a century and a half at the end of the Ming dynasty, and most of a century at the beginning of the Manchu dynasty between 1509 and 1723, the country never enjoyed real peace for long at a time, because of intermittent Mongol and Tibetan forays and revolts, and that only after 1723 did agriculture begin to develop and the region to flourish. From then on it may be assumed that many Chinese immigrated and settled in the country, engaging in both farming and commerce.

The Chinese have always looked down on the Monguors and Shat'o with real contempt, as barbarians. I have often heard the story, well known over the Monguor country, of the enrollment of the first two Chinese in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu. This was during the Yung-lo period, 1403–1424, when two young Chinese soldiers deserted from the military colony of Hsining, fled to the Narin valley in autumn and worked for Shat'o farmers in the fields. These two boys came from Nanking and were named Pen and Pei. They married Shat'o girls, remained in Narin,[30] and enrolled in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, where their numerous descendants are still living and well acquainted with the story of their ancestors. Even after five centuries the whole group kneel together facing in the direction of Nanking on the last day of the twelfth moon and burn paper and incense sticks to honor them. On the day of the general veneration of ancestors, in April, they again burn paper and incense, first for their old ancestors in Nanking and then for their more recent ancestors.

It was probably similar stray Chinese without families who enrolled in Monguor clans during the period from 1368 to 1723. Later, in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who enrolled in the clans. The most numerous enrollments were after the disastrous intermittent Muslim rebellions, when many Chinese lost all their wealth, families were broken up, and individuals fled to the Monguors to begin life anew.

After the great rebellion of the Muslims between 1868 and 1875, the whole province of Kansu was ruined. The population was reduced from seventeen million to eleven million. The impoverished T'u-ssu, wanting to revive their revenues, were eager to allow poor Chinese to settle in their territories. The Chinese came in as refugees in the most pitiable condition. They began by working for Monguor farmers. Then the men married Monguor girls and were glad to become owners of land, which was less expensive than in the country under direct Chinese administration. They were well aware of the lighter Monguor taxes and corvées, and as they be-

[30] This place name is from Monguor *narin guor* (Mongol *narin goul* or *narin gol*), "narrow valley." See De Smedt and Mostaert, *Dictionnaire*, as cited, 125.—O. L.

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175 177 came accustomed to Monguor life they willingly became subjects of the T'u-ssu, assuming the obligations and duties imposed on commoners. These Chinese did not drop their surnames to adopt that of the T'u-ssu, and are, therefore, different in surname from the rest of the clan; but they mingled with the Monguors, living in the same hamlets and villages. There are very few hamlets in which only Chinese live. Very few of them adopted the Monguor dress, and few learned the language. Some of the formerly poor Chinese, growing wealthy, have become outstanding people in the clan, pushing themselves forward and getting jobs in the T'u-ssu administration, where the pattern was the same as that of China, with all its assets and drawbacks and squeeze and bribery.

While the Monguors have absorbed or partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture to be lower than that of the Chinese. Many of them are ashamed of their "barbarian" origin, repudiate their Monguor or Shat'o descent, and claim to be of Chinese origin; they dress like Chinese and speak only Chinese.

It is not easy to give even an approximate figure for the number of Chinese enrolled in Monguor clans, partly because so many Shat'o and Monguors claim to be of Chinese extraction. For that reason it is possible that the number of regularly enrolled Chinese families is not as large as it seems to be. In every clan, however, real Chinese are numerous. The general rule seems to be that they are descended from individuals and single families, not from groups which joined the Monguors in considerable numbers at any one time. However, a large group of Chinese bearing the surname of Pao lives in Pient'an and is enrolled in the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu.

175 177 551 Professor Lattimore draws my attention to the fact that Chinese with the clan name of Pao (which may be written in several different ways) frequently if not usually claim to be descended from the Mongol imperial clan of Borjigid. This suggestion raises problems in connection with Monguors who use the name of Pao. On the one hand, this group is often referred to in ordinary speech as "Yuan Pao," which might be held to suggest "Pao of the Yuan [dynasty]," and hence descent from the Borjigid clan. On the other hand, there is no written record that identifies the Pao as "Yuan" Pao. On the contrary, the Pao families under the Lu T'u-ssu are listed as commoners, and as such have to pay taxes and are subject to corvée and military service; whereas the Lu T'u-ssu and his noble relatives claim descent from the imperial clan of the Mongol (Yuan) dynasty through Kölgen, son of the celebrated favorite of Chingis Khan, Kulan. If, therefore, the Pao families were really of Mongol descent, how could they have become commoners under a T'u-ssu also descended from the imperial family?[81]

[81] Pao is also used by Mongols descended from Khabtu Hasar, brother of Chingis Khan. The possibility should, therefore, be

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Father A. Mostaert tells me that Taiji (i.e. descendants of the imperial line of Chingis Khan) of the Otok Banner of the Ordos Mongols, when they have much to do with the Chinese and need to use a clan name in the Chinese style, take the name of Pao, from the first syllable of Borjigid. The Taiji of the Ushin Banner of the Ordos Mongols, however, prefer to take as a Chinese clan name Ch'i, from the first syllable of Kiyut (Kiyat), which is well known as the sept or subdivision of the clan of Borjigid to which belonged Yesugei, father of Chingis Khan.[32] Possibly the explanation may be that among the Monguors noble families with the name of Ch'i descend from Chingis Khan, while families of commoners with the name of Pao have only a vaguer, undocumented claim to descent from the larger Borjigid clan of which the sept of Kiyut (Kiyat) was a particular line.

In this connection it is worth noting that, among all the seventeen Monguor clans, the general rule is that the use of a Chinese surname begins only with the third or fourth generation from the founding ancestor, with the exception of the clan of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where the Chinese form Ch'i is found from the very beginning, with the supporting statement, in both the *Annals* of Hsining and the *Annals* of Kansu that the Ch'i line was descended from the line of Chingis Khan.

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The clan name of the Lu T'u-ssu is also of special interest. This line expressly claims Mongol imperial descent, yet its Chinese clan name is neither Pao nor Ch'i. The explanation is provided in the family chronicles of the Lu T'u-ssu. In 1410 a Chinese army suffered a disastrous defeat on the river Kerulen, in Outer Mongolia, and among those who perished was the son and successor of the founding ancestor of the Lu line, who as a frontier feudatory had been summoned to take part in the Chinese expedition into Outer Mongolia.

To erase the memory of this disaster the Ming ordered that the Chinese name for the Kerulen River be changed from Luch'ü to Yinma.[33] At this point the family chronicles of the Lu clan (which, as already mentioned above, I am now preparing for publication) chime in with official history. In these records, the biography of the third T'u-ssu of the line, son of the T'u-ssu who died in battle on the Kerulen River, says that in 1414 he was ordered with his troops from Kansu to Hsüanhuafu, on the frontier between North China and Inner Mongolia, and that in a battle on the river Kant'an he made prisoner a Mongol general.

The emperor then said: In former times Tan, duke of Chu, made a punitive expedition into the region of Yenhsi. The King of Ch'eng gave him, as appanage, the

taken into account that in the Monguor usage lineal descendants of Chingis Khan, if they used the clan name Pao, were distinguished as "imperial" Pao, while collateral descendants were considered commoners.—O. L.

[32] The Mongol terms are *omog* (*obog*) for the main clan, and *yasu(n)* or "bone" for the sept or subdivision.—O. L.

[33] Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols*, as cited, 28.

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country of Lu. Your family submitted [to the Ming dynasty] long ago, and has fought bravely in many expeditions in far-off regions; your glorious achievements may be compared with those of the duke of Chu, and I therefore bestow on you the name of Lu. From that time, says the chronicle, the line [that is now] Lu changed its clan name to Lu. Unfortunately, however, the chronicle does not say whether the clan name was previously Pao or Ch'i.

There remains to be mentioned the use of double names, called in Chinese "*fu hsing*," borne by a very few Monguor families. I noted only 5 such names: Ho-Li chia, Pao-Ma chia, Chang-Li chia, Yuan-Pao chia. The *Pai-chia hsing*, the traditional list of Chinese clan or family names, records 408 single and 30 double names, and the few double names encountered among the Monguors are not included among the 30. What may account for the Monguor double names has always been a mystery to me. I was never able to determine whether the few families of commoners bearing these names were genuine Chinese, or sinicized Monguors, or Tibetans.

TIBETANS

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In addition to the Chinese there are in some clans large numbers of Tibetans but they appear to have joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese.

In the Li clan there are 20 Tibetan families living in the Narin valley and 60 families, still wearing Tibetan dress but speaking Monguor, in Hsiatsantze ("Lower station"). These 80 families are scattered remnants of the Tibetan K'eelurk tribe. In Tseilin[24] valley lives a group of 40 Tibetan families, and another group in Shuimokou ("Water-mill valley") of more than 100 Tibetan families who speak Monguor, but still dress in the Tibetan fashion, who once belonged to the famous Wang T'u-ssu of Choni monastery in T'aochou prefecture. They adopted the name Li.

In the Ch'i clan there are 32 Tibetan families speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, in Tungtsantze ("Eastern station"). They belonged originally to the two Tibetan tribes of Kairtsen and Nguertsa. In Chungtsantze ("Central station") are 40 Tibetan families also speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, who formerly belonged to the tribes of Mach'i and Ch'iaok'o.

In the clan of the Wang T'u-ssu there are 18 Tibetan families.

In the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu there are 453 Tibetan families, scattered in 13 villages numbering 2,365 persons. For this big group, there are historical data. They are descended from families granted to the T'u-ssu by the emperor as a reward for his strong support in

[24] This place name, especially as the second syllable is written with the Chinese character for "grove, wood," may be a Chinese form from Monguor *dziari*, given in the *Dictionnaire*, as cited above, as "bois sacré," with a suggested possible further derivation from Tibetan *t'sal*, "bois."—O. L.

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563 the suppression of the big Mongol and Tibetan frontier revolt in 1723.

•177 As for these large groups, it is to be noted that they are enrolled in two of the most outstanding clans, the Li and the Ch'i. The Ch'i clan descends from the imperial family of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan has always been the strongest of all the Monguor clans. 173 Under the Mongol dynasty members of this clan held 177 the most important administrative posts in Hsining. A 563 tradition runs in these clans that the Tibetans enrolled on their lists were already living in the country under the Mongol dynasty and at that time had already separated from their original tribes and submitted to the ancestors of the Li and Ch'i clans. This tradition seems quite credible. More is not known about these Tibetans, and nothing about the 18 families under the Wang T'u-ssu. Besides these groups of Tibetans, many single Tibetan families enrolled at different times in most of the clans and live scattered among the Monguors.

177 Owing to the enrollment of Tibetans and to marriages between Monguors and Tibetans there are in Monguor social life many practices proper to the matriarchal family system. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese, many Monguors have lost their own language, repudiated their Monguor origin, and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook.

When Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors. They were no longer under the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials in respect to taxes or military service. On the other hand they could not renounce their allegiance to the T'u-ssu, or leave his territory without his permission.

The question whether there are still other "Monguor" clans in other parts of Kansu may be answered as follows: the clans called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsining region are the only seventeen clans that constitute the subject of the present study. It is known that at the time these clans submitted to the Ming dynasty and their chiefs were made T'u-ssu, other groups of Mongols lived in the southeastern part of Kansu, in the regions of Titao, Hochou, and Minchou. Their chiefs, like those of the Monguors, were made T'u-ssu, had territories assigned to them, and acted as "wardens of the marches" (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 12, *passim*). They did not, however, form part of the same community as the Monguors. The chiefs and nobles of one of these groups, living east of Hochou, claim to be descendants of the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty (*Annals*, *ibid.*). They became Muslims, and speak a language akin to Mongol.[35] Another group, also near Hochou, are called Sart'a [36] or "Muslims"; they became Muslims during the Ch'ien Lung period (1736–1796), in order to save their lives at a time when the region was dominated by rebellious Muslims. The famous Muslim gen-

[35] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng-Tsang Chuangk'wang*, 200–202.
[36] From the Chinese transcription of "Sart."—O. L.

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177 erals, Ma Fu-hsiang, Ma Hung-k'uei, Ma Hung-pin, and other military leaders all belong to this group.

In the course of the Ming dynasty a few small groups of Mongols who had at first been hostile submitted to the Ming and were settled in Kansu. In the region of Paonan, near Kueite, there still live five groups of these Mongols, whose curious fate it was to become Muslim in religion and Tibetan in language; they are called the Wut'ung [87] Mongols.

All of these groups the Chinese of Hsining call Mongols and not T'u-jen, and the seventeen Monguor clans discussed in this book are unable, because of the peculiar evolution of their own language, to talk with these Mongols in the dialects they speak; they know that they are Mongols, but say that they do not belong to the same stock. A comparative study of the social organization and the language of these groups would be interesting and important, but I have never had the opportunity to undertake it.

THE T'U-SSU AND HIS SUBJECTS

624 Up to this point both nobles and commoners have been referred to as "subjects" of the T'u-ssu. The relation is in fact somewhat complex, involving not only the relations between T'u-ssu and nobles, but those between nobles and commoners.

The T'u-ssu, in the nature of the origin of the T'u-ssu institution, was formerly the ruler of the clan with the support of and by the appointment of the emperor. Although he is of the same "bone" as the nobles, the authority and prestige that set him apart and above the nobles are unlimited. From the point of view of the overlord state, the entire authority in the clan, civil and military, is embodied in him alone, and nobles as well as commoners are his subjects. The only limit on his power is that he cannot inflict capital punishment. He also represents the leadership and prestige of the sacred founding ancestor of the clan.

T'U-SSU ULTIMATE OWNER OF THE CLAN TERRITORY

From the emperor, the T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan. These territories were originally assigned, according to a military plan, to screen the frontier, at a time when the Monguors were still nomads, and it may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories. We must, however, beware of the idea that "nomads" are concerned only with cattle-breeding. Travelers in Mongolia, medieval and modern, have noted—often with astonishment—the wide distribution of farming practiced by nomads. It is true that the farming done by nomads is rudimentary and crude compared with intensive Chinese farming, but it is also true that nomads always attempt a little auxiliary farming wherever climate and soil permit. The Monguors must, at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, have

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[87] Possibly from a mistaken Chinese transcription of Mongol *khotong*, "a Muslim."—O. L.

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624 of the elders of their village, to escort the T'u-ssu. They bring with them the required number of horses, finely equipped and well broken to the saddle, to be ridden by the T'u-ssu's retinue of ten or more officials and servants. The finest courtyard in the village is prepared for the sojourn of the T'u-ssu, who like a medieval seigneur enjoys the *droit de gîte* at each stopping place. The procession is headed by a soldier who carries, strapped diagonally across his back, a rolled-up painting on yellow cotton cloth of the guardian deity of the clan. This picture is to be venerated at each stopping place.

624 651 Outside the village the T'u-ssu is greeted by all the inhabitants, dressed in their best clothes and kneeling and bowing. Although the occasion costs them a great deal of money, their faces are alight with joy and exaltation, because receiving their feudal lord is traditionally a joyful festival.

One of the elders presents to the T'u-ssu a *katag* or ceremonial scarf, laying it across his outstretched hands, and another elder offers him two bottles of wine. A sheep is then led before the T'u-ssu, its horns decorated with red paper and a piece of red cotton cloth strapped on its back. At the same time he is presented with a gift of 30,000 copper coins on a dish. This offering is called the "gift of joyous entrance into the village." 527 264 In former days, the sheep was slaughtered, prepared for the dinner in the evening, and served before the guests as a whole carcass, on an enormous platter. This is the traditional dish for important guests. At the same time, the most delicate piece, the fat tail, together with 1,000 copper coins, is presented to the T'u-ssu on a special plate. In recent times the T'u-ssu sometimes accepts the sheep and orders it to be brought to his palace, together with the spices required for cooking it properly. This amounts to a double charge on the village, because another sheep must be slaughtered for the evening dinner.

624 796 When the T'u-ssu and his retinue reach the courtyard where the T'u-ssu is to stay, the picture of the guardian deity of the clan is displayed in the front room. An oil lamp is lighted and incense is burned before it as long as the T'u-ssu's visit lasts. The community as a group venerate the guardian deity, prostrating themselves; in the front row are the village elders, with sticks of incense in their joined hands. This custom of carrying the guardian deity on the triennial tour of the feudal lord of the clan, giving all the village communities an opportunity to worship it, seems to correspond with the custom of honoring the "spirits of the clan" among the Manchus, as described by Shirokogoroff.[51]

177 792 At present the guardian deities of all the Monguor clans have been taken over by Lamaism. Formerly one or two lamas served as house chaplains at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, praying and burning incense every day at the temple of the guardian deity. Since the destruc-

[51] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, Shanghai, North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924.

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tion of most of the T'u-ssu mansions during the Muslim rebellion, a small room serves as the temple, and there are no longer chaplains on permanent duty except in the three clans of Lu, Li, and Ch'i, where the original temple still exists. The lamaistic deity honored by the clan of the Li T'u-ssu as its guardian is Lhamo-tsang, represented as a black rider on a black mule, wearing a necklace of human skulls. The saddle is covered with a human skin. In her right hand the deity, who is female, grasps a sword, and in her left she holds a bowl made from a human skull. The mule is painted treading in blood. Lhamo is the only female among the eight "protector deities" of lamaism. She is said to be the reincarnation of the wife of Yama and the protector of Lhasa and of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas. Her paraphernalia is said to be provided for her by the gods in order to enable her to carry on her duties as protector.[52] I was unable to find out why, and at what time, the ancestor of the clan chose this monstrous deity as the protector of the clan. Nor is there any surviving tradition to explain what the clan spirits of the Monguors were like before they became modified by Lamaism.

After the veneration of the guardian deity, there is an official reception and congratulations are exchanged. The community then leaves the courtyard and two sentries are posted at the gate to prevent free approach to the T'u-ssu. In assuming this inaccessibility at this point in the protocol, the T'u-ssu marks a departure from the familiarity of the clan or tribe, and puts on the aloofness of a high Chinese official. People who have problems to present to the T'u-ssu must ask the sentries for an audience and explain to them the problem they want to discuss. Those who want to make a legal claim, or to complain against an injustice or against the administration, must put their request in writing, and the requests are then given by the sentry to a secretary who transmits them to the T'u-ssu. Those who write down and forward the request must receive a remuneration.

On the following day the T'u-ssu begins a series of meetings with the chief men of the community, the elders, and the military officials. The first item of business is the examination of the village register, which is kept up to date every year. If any subjects have left the territory of the clan, the reasons are discussed and the possibility of bringing them back is considered. Accounts must be rendered of the administration of the village and the division of taxes and corvées. The T'u-ssu is interested in the harvest of the past three years, and in the observance of the old clan customs and traditions, veneration of the ancestors, reverence towards nobles, marriages, divorces, the religious festivals in the spring and autumn, the state of morals in the village, singing of obscene songs in the village, hospitality toward

[52] A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und Mongolei*, 66, 76, 175, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1900 (guide to the Ukhtomskii Collection).

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623 fendants unwilling to abide by the decision of the elders may have recourse to the T'u-ssu; but his verdict very seldom differs from that of the elders.

577 184 From the foregoing it can be seen that the concepts of the Monguors seem to be based on custom, tradition, and what community opinion accepts as "just." Typical concepts are: wrongs are to be righted; injustices to be corrected; the rights of parents over their children, of husbands over their wives, and of widows to dispose of themselves, are to be asserted and defended; private property is to be protected; no one has the right to disturb the peace of the community. It is apparent also that among the Monguors the villagers in reality govern themselves. Although the elders are backed by the authority of the T'u-ssu, it is the villagers themselves who for the most part patch up their own quarrels, punish faults, right wrongs, and keep the peace.

The system is, in effect, one of democracy. It is only when these democratic practices do not work that recourse is had to the aid and protection of the T'u-ssu.

181 At the village meetings on the threshing floor, overwhelming stress is placed on faithful adherence to the old customs. One of the most important duties of village chiefs is to watch over their observance. The T'u-ssu, on his triennial visit, always makes inquiries on this subject, on which conservatism can be truly called hidebound. When Monguors, especially of the older generation, are heatedly discussing matters of the village, and the supreme argument of "old custom" is brought up, all opposition instantly subsides. The chiefs and elders of villages and the heads of families always urge the observance of traditions. They are firmly convinced that neglect of ancestral custom ruins the stability and prosperity of the clan. On every occasion the younger generation has this injuction dinned into its ears. The chiefs of the villages will curse other chiefs of villages, and T'u-ssu who are careless of old custom. The test of a good village chief or T'u-ssu is unshakable firmness in strict observance of the clan traditions as if they were as unyielding as the laws of nature.

177 When the Chinese Republic began in 1911, however, new ideas which had a baneful repercussion on the minds of young Monguors started to spread. It was almost a hopeless struggle for the elders to try to save the old customs. It then became apparent that the Monguors were in fact not sufficiently insulated from the pressure exerted by new ideas from outside their own society. Their social concepts had gradually been undermined and weakened by the enrollment of Chinese in their clans. Chinese concepts had, unnoticeably, long been seeping into their thought—Chinese had, it must be remembered, risen to be even village elders—and a situation had gradually been created in which the Chinese way of thinking, even if conservative in itself, was disruptive of the old Monguor concepts if it differed from Monguor concepts.

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604 562 mother, (7) the unusual fact that young boys worked for years or for a whole lifetime in the home of their father-in-law in order to marry his daughter. These leave no doubt that the patriarchal family system of the Monguors had been contaminated by many practices belonging to the matriarchal system.

604 562 177 What contact did the Monguors have with matriarchal systems?[20a] It is significant that the Monguors in Kansu were not only separated from other Mongols, but were living in the neighborhood of Tibetans and Chinese, and moreover had many of these people enrolled in their clans. Certain features of the Tibetan and Chinese social institutions appear to have been incorporated into the Monguor social organization. Among the Tibetans, the matriarchal system was in full bloom and marriages between Monguors and Tibetans opened the doors for admitting matriarchal customs into the daily routine of life to a very large extent.

The readiness of the Monguors to adopt a whole series of matriarchal traits from the Tibetans is even more understandable in view of the fact that the ancestors of the Mongols and Turks lived at the dawn of history in the neighborhood of peoples practicing the matriarchal system and their patriarchal family system was at that time already contaminated.[21]

Professor Eberhard, doubting the former existence of a "pure" and "original" patriarchal system among the Mongols and Turks, writes:

> I am forced to make the statement that nowhere did I encounter a culture corresponding perfectly to one of the cultures advocated by the theory of culture circles. . . . I harbor suspicions about the real existence of such cultures; for why do we always encounter mixing and mingling of cultures in all circles? How is it possible to prove the real existence of the culture of a circle, in the manner of the system of culture circles, by other than theoretical evidence?[22]

604 177 My overall conclusions therefore are as follows: first, that the role of the maternal uncle as "master of the bones" of his sister's children—i.e. his authority, in matters of life and death, to avenge or punish them—did not originate in the Monguor patrilineal system, but constitutes a usurpation of powers which belonged in another society to members of the same *bone*. Second,

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[20a] In this connection, see the outstanding study by Wilhelm Koppers, Die Frage des Mutterrechts und des Totemismus im alten China, *Anthropos* 8: 981 sqq., 1930.

[21] W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* 9, Part 3, Die Religionen der Hirtenvölker: 71, Münster, Aschendorf, 1949. W. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen im alten China*, 176, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

[22] W. Eberhard, *Kulturen und Siedlungen der Randvölker Chinas*, 414, Leiden, Brill, 1942. ". . . so habe ich doch feststellen müssen, dass nirgends in unseren Kulturen sich eine gefunden hat, in der die Kulture 'eines' Kulturkreises vollkommen und rein zutage tritt. . . . Ich habe aber doch Bedenken wenn, die Lage wirklich so ist. Wieso soll es immer nur Mischungen gegeben haben? Wodurch (ausser durch formallogische Schlüsse) ist es dann bewiesen, dass je die Kultur existiert hat, die ein solcher Kulturkreis umfasst?"

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

604 that the assumption of this role by the maternal uncle
177 was only one of several non-patriarchal features introduced into the Monguor system as a result of contact with matriarchal systems. Third, that the property, assistance, and respect relationships which existed between a brother and his sister and her children, as described above, were not specific to either the patriarchal or matriarchal systems, but were founded in human nature, in conditions common to both systems. Fourth, I would add that normally the sister and her children are respected and loved in the husband's family and go through life happily—more because the two families are really friendly and intimate than because of the maternal uncle's power to intervene. After all, the solid foundation of families is not fear and hatred but love, and the functions of the maternal uncle must be viewed with not only his emergency powers in mind, but this as well.

THE CHILD

858 Among the Monguors, as in most societies in Asia,
562 boys are preferred to girls. The description given by Father J. Van Oost of the favoritism shown toward boys among the Mongols of the Ordos might well have been written of the Monguors:

> He is surrounded with a kind of idolatry. His parents are proud of him; they cater to all his whims; they rush to dry his tears. A mother is always ready to suckle her son whenever he seems to want it, whether it be night or day. He is a petty tyrant who knows how to make himself obeyed, and his mother carries him around on her back when she is doing her household work. . . . If he gets sick, there is a major crisis. They think he is the victim of evil spirits. They resort to superstitious practices and go to fetch a lama who makes divinations, conjures away the spirits and prescribes remedies and talismans.[23]

843 When a woman is pregnant the whole village knows
562 about it, and all of the women and girls are eagerly interested. Every soothsayer passing through the village is invited to foretell the sex of the expected child, and all the young wives ask him to foretell also when they themselves may expect a similar blessed event. When a pregnant woman enters a doorway and steps over the threshold, the other women always watch to see which foot she puts forward first. They believe that if she regularly steps over a threshold with the right foot, the child will be a boy; if it is the left foot, it will be a girl. This is because they believe that a son lies on the left side of the womb and a daughter on the right; accordingly, if the left side is heavy the mother will instinctively raise her right foot when making a step upward.[23a]

The festivities for the birth of a first son are especially important, and among the ways of propitiating fate to provide a long life, the selection of a lucky name is particularly important. Matters of such importance in the

[23] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, as cited, 102.

[23a] Compare the Mongol expression *kul kundu*, "leg-heavy," for "pregnant."—O. L.

173 Prince of Chin. According to the legend this prince,
291 "blessed by heaven and all the spirits," begat thirteen
562 sons from his nine wives. Because he was fond of magnificence and display, he designed a different costume for each wife, and this is supposed to be the origin of the nine main designs of Monguor women's costume to this day.

•177 The significance of the Monguor national costume even
648 in recent times is illustrated by the following story, which stirred up interest throughout the Monguor country.[10] In 1913 the Living Buddha of the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu[10] forbade the Monguor women living in his territory to wear their national costume and ordered them to adopt the Tibetan style of dress. Passions ran high against this order. Although the Monguors had for centuries supported the monastery with their offerings, they ceased to appear at the monastery festivals and began to make their offerings to other monasteries. Even the lamas of Monguor origin left the monastery and enrolled in other monasteries. The result was that the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu began to enroll Chinese novices and the whole spirit of the institution was changed.

291 The costumes of the Monguor women are much more
292 elaborate and distinctive than those of the men. Like the
562 men, however, the women do not wear underclothes, nor do they have nightgowns. Their bed is a piece of felt spread on the sleeping platform; there are no sheets or pillowcases, and at night they simply undress and cover themselves with roughly woven blankets or sheepskins.

291 A woman's trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and
562 are fastened around the waist with a rope twisted of sheep's wool. On the legs of the trousers, just below the knee, there is a hem of white cotton cloth. To this hem is sewn the lower leg of the trousers which can easily be removed and replaced, when the women go to festivals, with a leg of finer cloth or of silk or satin, embroidered in red. Ordinarily, the legs of the trousers are stuffed into the tops of the boots, but the ornamental trouser leg can be worn outside the boot. As with men's trousers, the cut is that of Chinese trousers; and the tradition is that in older times trousers were not used at all. The Monguor women of the villages north of the valleys of Weiyuanp'u and Hungnaitze wear trousers only on the coldest winter days and when they go to festivals.

462 Monguor women make their own boots. The sole is
294 made of alternating layers of blue and white cotton cloth pasted together and then stitched, the foot of the boot is made of dark blue cotton cloth, sometimes beautifully embroidered, and the legs are ornamented with patches of dark leather. The foot of the boot may also be made of black cotton cloth, adorned with green

[10] For references to this monastery, see Reginald Farrar, *On the eaves of the world* and *The rainbow bridge*, London, Arnold, 1917 and 1921.

[P.119a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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FIG. 8. Spinning handicraft. Two girls of Monguor origin, whose parents had attached themselves to a group of Tibetans enrolled as subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu. They wear the Tibetan clothes typical of the Huari region north of Hsining. The elder girl is spinning thread, which passes over a hook at the end of the stick thrust into her collar at the back of the neck. She keeps a bundle of wool in the bosom of her gown and from it twists the yarn which is rolled on to the spindle which she holds in her left hand. The thread then passes over the hook of the stick, to stretch and straighten it. The younger sister is fluffing a bundle of wool to prepare it for her elder sister.

467 Monguor artisans engaged in such work must perforce
651 join the Chinese guilds when they are summoned to work on official buildings.

The shamans are also affected by the need for asso-
756 ciation with a guild. Whenever there is an eclipse of
177 the sun or moon the shamans are likely to be summoned to the nearest Chinese town to help, by their incantations,
467 with the "liberation" of the sun or moon. In this they are associated with the Chinese Taoist priests. I knew of one case in which there was a quarrel between the shamans of two Monguor villages. They brought their disagreement before the chief of the religious corporation, a Taoist priest, who settled the matter.

462 The question of the origin of specialized artisan crafts is an interesting problem. In the case of the Monguors, most work is done in the household and there is little need for specialized skills. When there is such a need, moreover, most people cannot afford to hire a skilled craftsman to come from a Chinese town. These con-

[P. 126 b]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

415 planks. Some of these planks are cut to the standard
313 measurements for making coffins, and sold in the towns. Another woodworking trade is the making of pack saddles for donkeys, mules, and oxen, which are sold either in the towns or at fairs.

THE CITY BECOMES THE CENTER OF ECONOMIC LIFE

177 At the end of this chapter it is interesting to consider
369 from what center originated the new economic life of the Monguors, how it developed, and what were the repercussions on the social organization of the Monguor clans, as they evolved away from pastoralism. For nearly four centuries the economic life of the Monguors was fraught with insecurity and calamities, and deprived of the peace that is the first requirement for social welfare. Indeed, the economic conditions of the Monguors and of the whole country improved only when the Ch'ing dynasty secured peace, and this improvement depended on the vitality of commerce. No trade of real importance had been able to coexist with insecurity on the roads, since trade requires normal and regular transportation facilities and a safe access to the outlets of commerce. For the center of a developed economy a city is required. In this case the city was Hsining, with its group of professional merchants from all over China, associated in guilds according to the Chinese custom.

177 The prefectural city of Hsining is advantageously situ-
369 ated on the river of the same name, a tributary of the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou, the capital of
632 the province. Hsining is also on the road from Peking to Lhasa and India. It was the seat of the political and
[487] military administration of the country, and the merchants settled there because it was a fortified and garrisoned city. Under the older order in China important concerns maintained their headquarters in major cities and sent their agents to less secure secondary towns and villages to open branch offices.

177 The merchants of the city monopolized the whole com-
369 merce of the country. They sent out their agents to buy up as much grain, oil, and wine (alcohol) as possible;
441 they bought the products collected by peddlers; their agents pitched their tents at lamasery fairs and festivals
467 and at clan diets, to provide people with groceries, cloth, silk, and hardware. The small shopkeepers scattered over the country bought their wares from the wholesale merchants in Hsining. The guilds enjoyed the privileges of trading with the nomad caravans, which had to stop and unload at their inns in order to sell their merchandise, and to buy through them the things they wanted, such as flour, oil, and cloth.

Farmers were not allowed to sell flour, oil, and other products directly to the caravans. They had to go through the guild of the *Hsieh chia*, those who controlled the "rest places." Thus the guild alone controlled the trade in the high-priced furs and other articles carried

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

177 by the caravans. Only the guilds of large towns, like
369 Hsining, had connections with the guilds of other cities
441 and could afford the cost of sending boats and rafts to
467 Lanchou, the capital of Kansu. In this way the entire economy was dominated by the city merchants. The fair and festival centers never grew to the extent of themselves becoming important cities, because they were unable to attract permanent merchants, since the attendance of the people was only seasonal and there was no permanent security. These local fairs merely provided the farmers at certain dates with their peculiar usual necessities of life.

179 Merchant activity provoked deep repercussions in the
369 Monguor society, whose nobles and commoners, during
441 centuries of disorder, had lived a rather precarious ex-
651 existence, their economy being limited by the boundaries of their clans and the production only of necessities within their own small groups. Both the economic and the political organization of the Monguor clans had been founded exclusively on the possession of territory. Taxes, corvées, military service, and the administration of justice had been rooted in the ownership of territory by the T'u-ssu, the commoners being affected in a peculiar and disadvantageous way. The collection of the taxes of certain villages by the "houses" of the nobles had, however, been reduced to negligible significance after four centuries, and the financial conditions of nobles and commoners had become more equal. Some of the commoners, who were more numerous than the nobles, had become richer than the best of the nobles, and rivals in wealth even of the T'u-ssu. Since wealth and riches are equated, in Asia, with prestige and authority, it is no wonder that members of the commoner group were easily accepted to fulfill the offices of chiefs and elders in the villages, and that the administration of the villages passed into their hands. In this way the new economic conditions tended to equalize, and perhaps even to reverse, the original social inequality between nobles and commoners. Under the peace and order of the Manchu dynasty, the city merchants were protected. Headstrong and daring young men followed the caravans to Lhasa and made money by selling mules and horses. Monguors could open small shops in the countryside, and invest capital, in association with the Chinese merchants, in oil and flour mills. Fishermen could venture to Kukunor, and others to burn charcoal in the mountains or saw planks to sell in the city. Peace provided the opportunities for taking risks in commerce, and the focus of these opportunities, which transformed both the economic and the social life of the Monguors, was the city.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

624 At the end of this study of the origin and organization
175 of the Monguor clans, their constituent elements, their chiefs, their internal rights and obligations and the actual administration and family and economic life, it is perti-

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175 624 Manchu policy, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of preventing unity among the Eastern, Northern, and Western Mongols. In the nineteenth century, as the dynasty became less Manchu and more Chinese in its characteristics, the T'u-ssu were honored by the court in distant Peking; and were kept loyal and complacent by gifts and grants of honors—a policy ancient and widespread in the Orient.

Practically, the main factor in prolonging the survival of the institution was the feudal right of the T'u-ssu to prevent their subjects from leaving their territories, aided by the fact that because Chinese officials were unable to levy direct taxes on Monguors, life was on the whole somewhat better in Monguor territory than in territory under Chinese administration. As these factors later came to be equalized by the combination of the decreasing power of the T'u-ssu and their increasing exactions from their subjects, the most obvious phenomenon of the breakup of the T'u-ssu institution was the ability of subject Monguors to abandon their T'u-ssu with impunity and move into territory under direct Chinese control.

•177 563 Among the disruptive factors within the Monguor society the most powerful was the enrollment of Chinese and Tibetans in the Monguor clans. The Tibetans were culturally more akin to the Monguors than the Chinese, and easily adopted the Monguor costume, traditions, and language; but their matrilineal kinship system undermined the patriarchal clan structure of the Monguors. The Chinese, on the other hand, penetrated the Monguor society without being absorbed by it. When a Chinese asked for the protection of a Monguor T'u-ssu and enrolled in a Monguor clan, it was for the deliberate purpose of making the best of two worlds. His object was not to become a Monguor, but to escape both the taxes that he had to pay to the Chinese authorities and the taxes that, as a Chinese resident or trading in the Monguor community, he had to pay to the Monguor T'u-ssu. With their strong Chinese devotion to their own clans and clan ancestors, such Chinese were unwilling to go so far as to accept the clan name of the T'u-ssu. They tended to continue to regard the Monguors as barbarians, and to resist the adoption of the Monguor costume and language. At the same time they pushed themselves forward in the administration of the villages in which they lived and the clans to which they had become attached, and in so doing their influence was naturally in the direction of the Chinese way of doing things and the Chinese way of thinking.

The infiltration of the Chinese trend of mind into the Monguor family system and social structure was promoted most by those Chinese who became elders and chiefs of villages and officials and secretaries living in the immediate surrounding of the T'u-ssu, drafting and executing his orders to his subjects and discussing administrative topics with him. All official documents were written in Chinese, and in all administrative discussions and meetings the Chinese language prevailed.

[p. 129b]

177 In cases where the Chinese authorities eventually deposed
563 a T'u-ssu and took his territory and its population under direct Chinese administration, Chinese who had long been domiciled among the Monguors naturally became prominent people under the new dispensation. Thus it is plain that even though the Chinese civil officials were appointed by the T'u-ssu themselves, and not by the higher Chinese authorities, their influence promoted the process of the absorption of the Monguors by Chinese culture.

In the disintegration of the old Monguor society the personal example of the T'u-ssu themselves had a great effect. In the long period of relative peace and stability along the froniter under Manchu rule, the T'u-ssu ceased to receive fresh increments of prestige in their old capacity as military commanders and "wardens of the marches." They, therefore, naturally began to turn toward the standards of prestige accepted in the settled Chinese population. It became usual for T'u-ssu to marry the daughters of rich Chinese officials, or the half-Chinese daughters of other T'u-ssu who had married Chinese. There was thus introduced into the households of the T'u-ssu a Chinese "fine lady" point of view; these ladies despised the costume of the Monguor women as barbarous, they did not learn the Monguor language, their children received a Chinese home education and were sent to Chinese schools, and it thus became more and more common to find T'u-ssu who were unable even to speak with their subjects in their own language. Following the fashion set by their chiefs, many Monguors married the daughters of Chinese domiciled in the clan or Chinese from outside, and as this custom spread a great many Monguors in all the clans came to be ashamed of their Monguor extraction, repudiated their origin, and professed to be of Chinese origin.

177 Still another disruptive factor was that many T'u-ssu,
563 by mortgaging parts of their territories to Chinese mer-
426 chants and to lamaseries, as security for loans, lost control over the revenue from land taxes. Under these conditions they still retained the power to requisition corvée labor services; but the exercise of this power emphasized the contrast between the privileges of the chiefs and the obligations of their subjects, and weakened the bonds of loyalty that had once united the nobility and the commoners.

624 In the meantime, the T'u-ssu institution was also be-
661 coming corrupt from within. As the administrative system of the clan was so closely geared to the institution of the corvée, or obligatory labor and services, and military power depended on unpaid conscription, only a few officials received allocations of land, the income from which served as salary. The majority of the minor officials depended on bribery for their cash income, there being unlimited opportunities for bribery in the collection of land and other taxes in the form of gifts from families and individuals who wanted to be excused from compulsory services. Since it was profitable to hold such

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624 661 an official position, there was bribery also in the competition for official appointments, and thus the whole administration of the Monguor clans became thoroughly corrupt. The taxable body came to be regarded as a melon to be sliced. Apart from what was absorbed in the lower ranks through corruption, all revenue collected was the perquisite of the T'u-ssu himself. Since nothing was done for public welfare, there were no schools, there was no budget for education, nor was there any expenditure for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of administrative buildings, because all such work was done through the levying of obligatory labor. Monguor carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans in addition to unskilled labor were available through the institution of obligatory labor services.

177 563 During the process of the disintegration of the Monguor society, it remained none the less a going concern up to a certain point. As long as the T'u-ssu retained more than a certain minimum of power and wealth, it was to the advantage of the Chinese officials to cooperate with them in certain ways. Up to this point, therefore, the individual Monguor, even though he suffered from the decay of the society of which he was a part, found it impossible to escape and strike out for himself. If he tried to leave his village and settle in Chinese territory, the Chinese officials would return him to the jurisdiction of his hereditary T'u-ssu. Once the wealth and influence of the T'u-ssu had declined below the minimum, however, it was no longer worth the while of Chinese officials to cooperate with them. At this point the Chinese began to abolish or override the privileges of the T'u-ssu, to take the Monguor districts under their direct administration, and to treat the Monguors in the same way as Chinese. An example of this changing attitude of the Chinese officials has already been referred to in the case of the impoverished Chao T'u-ssu who was unable to afford the expenses of investiture and promptly had his office discontinued. An earlier case was that of the Ch'en T'u-ssu, a supercilious and over-confident man who was so oppressive in his demands for taxes and corvées that he was impeached before the Chinese court by his own subjects, about the year 1875. His territory was confiscated, his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects, and he lost both the office and the title of T'u-ssu.

The Yeh T'u-ssu who did not fight the Muslim rebellion had his territory confiscated, was deposed, and he and his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects.

The latest news I have had from Hsining since the new Communist rulers of China have taken possession of that region is that the T'u-ssu institution has been abolished, that the Monguor women and men have been ordered to change their peculiar Monguor style of dressing and to adopt Chinese costume, and that orders have been given to establish schools in the Monguor villages under Chinese teachers devoted to the new ideology. The two-thousand-year-old Chinese instinct for absorb-

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

177 563 ing neighboring tribes and making Chinese of them seems still to linger in Chinese minds, no matter what the official ideology may be. It will not be long before all the Monguor clans will have been "sinized," leading to their disappearance as a distinct people, and in the future very little will be available about the origins, institutions, traditions, and customs of the Monguors.

There remains an aspect of the life of the Monguors with which I have not here dealt, which is quite as interesting and peculiar as the social, family, and economic aspects; this is the religious life. Lamaism, shamanism, and practices and beliefs which seem not to belong to either of these two religions played a part of overwhelming importance both in the life of private families and in community life. In a later volume I shall deal with these aspects and their social impact on the Monguors.

APPENDIX

THE SHAT'O TURKS

175 Although a Shat'o Turkish stock is an important component of the Monguor people, a survey of their history will help to clarify the differences, as well as the similarities, between Turks and Mongols.

About 540 the Juan-juan, identified by Pelliot with the Avars and considered by him to have been, in their language at least, early Mongols rather than Turks,[1] controlled the vast sweep of country from the western fringe of what is now Manchuria to Turfan, in Sinkiang, and from the Great Wall of China to the Orkhon River in Outer Mongolia and the southern tip of Lake Balkhash in Turkistan. The tribes of Turkish stock called by the Chinese T'uchüeh were then subject to the Juan-juan. "T'uchüeh" probably represents a plural form of the Juan-juan name for these people: Türküt. The habitat of these Turks centered on the Altai Mountains, and they were well known for their metal working. The Kaochü, who have been identified with the Tölös, were their strongest tribe.

The Juan-juan were weakened by a feud between their ruler, whose name has come down in the Chinese sources as Anakui, and his uncle P'olomen. After several revolts, beginning in 508, the T'uchüeh overthrew the Juan-juan in 552. The Juan-juan retreated to the frontier of North China, where they took service under one of the short-lived dynasties that preceded the founding of the great T'ang dynasty in 618.

The name of the successful T'uchüeh leader has come down in the Chinese transcription as T'umen, but its Turkish form appears to have been Bumin. His success was due to the support of another Chinese frontier dynasty, that of the Toba Wei, itself of barbarian and probably Turkish origin. He died almost as soon as the

[1] The following summary is based on René Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 124 *sqq.*, Paris, Payot, 1939. Grousset drew on the original researches of Pelliot, Chavannes, Thomsen, F. W. K. Müller, Marquart, Shiratori, and others. [P. 131a]

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Chavannes, Turcs Occidentaux /Western Turks/). The Cha-t'ouo to whom Kao-chu-hui's relation refers here, were a tribe of the western Turcs first settled in early times to the east of Barkoul, and after A.D. 808 transferred to the northern borders of Kan-sou, for the sake of protecting them from inroads. /Cited in English, with one interpolation in French indicated by underline./

(620-905); the chronicles of Sining confirm this tradition. The last group came to live in the area either in the Yüan period (1280-1368) or the Ming (1368-1644).

101 These two groups speak the same language today, called
197 Monguor by them. The language is very archaic; it reflects the Mongolian of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Let us call to
[113] the attention of those who are interested in the question of the T'ou-jen language the study of Fathers Mostaert and De Smedt published in Anthropos, XXIV-XXV, "Le dialecte monguor, parlé par les Mongols du Kan-sou occidental /The Monguor Dialect, spoken by the Mongols of Western Kansu/." The grammar and the dictionary are in press.

The Cha-t'ouo of whom we speak are then Mongolized today. It should be pointed out that the notions of race and language are subject to caution.

622 The T'ou-jen, subject to China, have kept their autonomy
148 under chiefs of their race, recognized by China and called t'ou-se. The Chinese Republic, from its beginning, has shown itself hostile to this autonomous administration and has tried to treat the T'ou-jen as Chinese, subject to the jurisdiction of the mandarins of the place.

177 The ways and customs of the T'ou-jen, although influenced by the proximity of the Chinese and the Tibetans, have remained relatively pure. They reveal many a secret of their former social organization and of their nomadic life of yesteryear.

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585 all until the next day, which is the day of the wedding dinner at the home of the son-in-law; we have seen that the number of guests invited to this dinner is prescribed. He will therefore have to politely send some away. To this end he comes to each person who will be sent away, without saying any more, bringing four loaves of bread and one or two pieces of raw meat. This is called pou fen tse, "to
583 431 complete the dinner." They understand and leave with many polite phrases.

585 574 /52/ The ones chosen for the feast the next day try to find lodging for the night, either with neighbors or in the home of the bride; some of them celebrate very late into the night and pass the time singing and drinking. This part of the festivity is often less attractive for us, since the girl spends its freshness. It has the disadvantage of sending to the wedding dinner the next day at the son-in-law's home many guests with heavy heads and in bad humor because of fatigue from a tiring trip and a night without refreshing sleep.

533 585 The T'ou-jen like to sing at weddings. Their own repertory in the language of the country is not very wide, so they ordinarily sing Tibetan songs. One of the very rare songs in the Monguor
[177] language is the one about the origin of the mythical bird Chong-nirwa. (1) It is very often sung at weddings.

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1. Chong is probably the Buddhist Garuda called K'yun in Tibetan. Grunwedel says in Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet u. der Mongolei /Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia/, p. 25: semidivine being, deadly enemy of the Naga, a mounted bird, the king of the feathered /tribe/ and his kinsmen.... P. 191, ... is always represented in Lamaism with a thick body, human arms, on which the wings are located, and the horned head of a bird. He is part of the company of the formidable gods and plays

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[292] the eardrops, as well as the large pin which fastens the headdress to the coil of hair.

The dinner is not delayed; a sheep is served whole, as well as a dish of noodles. Things are not dragged out. Let us note that the guests who have spent the night are at the dinner and are present at the farewell ceremonies.

/58/ The two companions rise, take out from their bags two new jugs of gin, and offer a round to everyone present, bidding them to help everything go off in good order, for the ceremonial hour designated for taking away the bride has struck. They open the second flask immediately, pour for everybody in the same way, "and now," they say, "is to invite you all to the wedding dinner, which will take place today at our place."

Then they proceed to the dressing of the bride. She is seated in
[77] a side room on a little Chinese table on which is unfolded a piece of red felt. The bridegroom is invited by the [illegible] to enter the room. The bride keeps her eyes lowered and does not even greet him. It is the bridegroom's task to undo the unmarried girl's braid of hair. There are always three red strings in the coil of hair; the bridegroom takes them out and puts one in his pocket. The two others will then be attached to the iang hstia (1) and kept in the family so that the

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1. The iang hstia is the family's good-luck talisman. It is an iron rod two to three feet long fixed in a bulky and wide wooden base. Attached to it are little strands of wool, hair from the tails of cows and pigs and from horse manes', red strings, ends of k'ata; on the base, carved in the shape of a saucer, are seen grains of wheat, millet, colza.... The iang hstia is held in honor by the family; it has its place beside the spirit which is honored there, and is itself honored. The T'ou-jen believe that

/91 cont'd/

587 widow-daughter only when the go-betweens have paid them ing ts'in ts'ien, i.e., "cash for cooperation in the marriage," ordinarily 12 strings of cash. This sum paid, no time is lost; they hurry to put the widow in the saddle, the band surrounds her and leaves post-haste, taking care to go a roundabout way in order to escape all risk and conduct her safe and sound to the home of her new husband.

On arrival she dismounts; a fire is lighted in great haste in front of the house, and the widow is presented with the paper which one burns for the dead. She kneels and burns it in memory of her dead husband; then she offers up a libation of gin for him. She stands and looks into space for several moments. /92/ This is the wang heou k'an /"taking the last look"/, the farewell look toward her [782 372] dead husband. She passes over the fire so that all the bad influences which could have attached themselves to her, or the bad spirits which could have followed her, will vanish. Having crossed the fire, she enters the house only after taking off her little felt hat and undoing her hair, which she rolls up carelessly and puts back under her hat. She will wear her hair in the style of the women of the clan or village to which she is henceforth deemed to belong.

The armed band is invited to a light meal composed of bread, meat, tea, and gin. The widow takes tea with the women of the family.

4. Settling of Accounts

587 583 177 The widow is not secure so long as the accounts are not settled and the contract is not signed; so they hurry first thing in the morning to finish the business. The go-betweens first pay secret sums to the grumblers, then accounts are settled with the parents-in-law and the widow. For this purpose they are asked to go, not to the home of the new husband, but to a friend's home or to a remote place. The price of a girl is paid in full, while that of a widow is subject to bold acts of stinginess. Only judge: 600 cash are worth 1,000; at present animals must be accepted in place of paying in silver, and they are evaluated at double their value. They give cloth which they claim

/92 cont'd/

587 is too expensive, then they tear a piece of cloth in two to make it
177 count for two pieces. It is the famous koa-fou ts'ien, i.e., "the
583 price of widows." It is a practice which the T'ou-jen learned from the Chinese, who are past masters in such matters.

587 But although custom admits these practices, it is not rare that
178 the settling of accounts degenerates into brawls. The contract is written and signed this same day, and the signers are /93/ reimbursed. The mother-in-law is offered the pieces of tea which were promised to her so that she would consent to the marriage, and the father receives his tchou hoen ts'ien.

5. Marriage of Widows

587 A marriage ceremony takes place the same day if possible or the next day. They invite to the home of the new son-in-law the father and mother, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters of the newly taken away widow. It is a little group of eight, ten, or 15 persons, among whom the go-betweens are counted.

Tea, bread, gin are served as usual; then the parents give their daughter a new long gown, and to the son-in-law a felt hat and a belt. Often they add a pair of shoes for the new mother-in-law, and a k'ata for the father-in-law.

A table is set up in front of a religious image. Two lighted lamps are placed on it; a rug is spread out in front of the table. The widow clothed in the new gown which she has just received from her parents and the son-in-law also wearing the new hat and belt make the great prostration in the Chinese manner, first to heaven and the multifarious spirits, then to their parents and the elders of the family, third to the family related through marriage and to the clan. The sacred shamanistic fire is absent.

The father-in-law then presents four strings of cash to his new son-in-law as a token of their alliance; the whole family together politely refuses them. Three strings of cash are given to those who wrote the contract and to the go-betweens; then a light meal is served. At the departure of the guests, they are not given meat to take away; the hosts are satisfied to offer several loaves of bread.

/103 cont'd/

Mo 587 595

brothers, but this marriage is considered as if she would marry a man of a foreign clan. Thus the custom known as the levirate as a matrimonia form is not practised among the Manchus. P. 70-71: The widow cannot be remarried if she has a son of age over 12. If a widower marry a widow, the marriage between their children born before their second marriage is strictly prohibited. /Cited in English./ This is not the case among the T'ou-jen.

Mo [582]

Mo [582]

Nevertheless, the Li t'ou-se, present head of one of the most important T'ou-jen clans, forbade marriages of widows of an elder brother to one of the younger brothers of the dead man either as official wife or as second wife. The Chinese disapprove of such unions, and the Li t'ou-se made this prohibition so as not to scandalize them. He made inquiries about marriages in his clan, and punished those who had disregarded his orders. The fine consisted of a pig to be offered to his ancestors; he wished by respect for his ancestors to protest his attachment to the old customs of the race.

Mo 582 587 177

Mo 582 587

/104/ The elders used to claim nevertheless that these unions were permitted by custom. (1) I believe it all the more willingly

1. Bartold, Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion, (1928), p. 390: The custom of marrying the father's widow was still maintained among the Uighurs, but has now disappeared among the Mongols under the influence of Buddhism. /Cited in English./

when I think of an old custom of the Mongols, brothers by race of the T'ou-jen, which permitted the sons to marry even the concubines of their dead father, with the exception of marrying their own mother; and I believe it also because this prohibition does not exist in the other T'ou-jen clans.

Mo 587 589 765 [177] [822] /105 cont'd/ then called, if it is a son, either, according to the Chinese custom, Hiao cheng tse, i.e., "/son/ born during the mourning period," or else, according to the T'ou-jen custom, xara khû, i.e., "black son," which again means "son of mourning" since black is the color of mourning among the T'ou-jen; they say "to wear black" for "to be in mourning." Black was formerly also the color of mourning among the Mongols. When widows who have not remarried bear children after two years, it happens that these children are abandoned or that they are drowned right-after birth, especially if they are girls. That happens when the family has many children, or when none of the neighbors wants to feed the poor being. When the newborn is a son, they will keep him, but he will not inherit family property, and as a general rule they will send him at about the age of nine or ten to a lamasery to remain a bachelor. This is the most practical solution for avoiding difficulties in the family later. (1)

Mo [847 848] Mo [792]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 77: The Manchus are very strict in killing illegitimate children, i.e. the children born by unmarried girls and widows.

The other Tungus groups consider girls who have children as the best for marriage, because these girls have the proof of their fecundity. /Cited in English./

Mo 595 c) The third category of polygamists is met in well-to-do families who lack workers.

Mo 461 462 595 We have seen that all the work, so to speak, is assigned to the wife; the household duties, the care of the livestock, and a large part of the work in the fields. A T'ou-jen wife actually kills herself with work. It is painful to us to look at these men with the nomadic instinct, do-nothings, idlers, spare themselves the least fatigue. It can happen, therefore, in families which have much

/120 cont'd/

361 place of origin. Now among the T'ou-jen of this area, a good many
331 have come to practice again the former custom of husband-sons-in-
law practiced by the Tibetans, their neighbors. As soon as they ar-
608 rive in the region they no longer give their daughters in marriage out-
184 side the house, but they seek a /121/ husband-son-in-law for them;
583 on the other hand, they send their sons to become husband-sons-in-
law in other families. Among many of these T'ou-jen, the sons no longer enjoy even the right of inheritance in their own family, where the daughters have become the sole heirs; in other families they continue to inherit beside their sisters. They are thus passing through a period of transition. One T'ou-jen family after the other adopts the customs of the Tibetans, at first some of the customs and only in part, and gradually they become Tibetanized. Besides, it is a fact that the Tibetan environment is not distasteful to them, and that T'ou-jen girls given in marriage to Tibetans quickly feel at home.

562 The T'ou-jen of the Sining region, speaking of their brothers
184 of Koei-té, say, laughing, that among the latter the wife is owner
177 and mistress of the home, niu-jen tang ts'ai, that the men do not count there, that there are women there who themselves send away their husbands, that women are found there who have more than one husband, and that the old men there are to be pitied. Thus Tibetan customs.

178 How must one explain the deformation of the practice of
608 husband-sons-in-law among the T'ou-jen?
[177]

First, it is necessary to know that the Mohammedan revolutions decimated the T'ou-jen population in Kansu. Some T'ou-jen, in order to remake their groups and get rents for their lands, accepted in their clans numerous heterogeneous Chinese and Tibetan elements; other T'ou-jen headmen never succeeded in rebuilding the ruins. Add to that the use of opium which especially undermined the families of the headmen and put them in debt and impoverished them; it is thus not surprising that the power and also the influence of the t'ou-
[622] se were decidedly impaired. The prime blow of all was more and more frequent recourse to Chinese magistrates on the part of the T'ou-jen. In the old days, say the elders, the t'ou-se alone was

Mo /143 cont'd/
437 nothing. Public opinion strongly disclaimed this practice and the
593 elders did not admit it. (1)
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1. David Macdonald, Moeurs et coutumes des Thibétains /Practices and Customs of the Tibetans/, p. 136: Another singular usage, but one which is practiced only in high circles, is that two men exchange their wives by mutual consent. The latter are consulted on the question, and their consent to the combination must be obtained.

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 137: Wife Exchange. 'It is also incorrect when Graebner says that it is precisely in the region of the Old Asiatic peoples that the custom flourishes most.... It is much more common generally among the Eskimo tribes known so far, and it is present among practically all of them, while among the Old Asiatics it is not known at all by the Korjak, far from it, and the Jukugir, too, have only a weak tendency toward it. /Cited in German./

Mo /144/ I think I must point out the influence of Tibetan practices
587 especially for this singular case. Indeed, each year one sees several
437 T'ou-jen of Hong-ngai-tse-keou go to Tibet to sell mules from the
593 Sining region. It would not be surprising if these T'ou-jen traders
177 learned about this custom in Tibet and practiced it later.

/150 cont'd/

121 able to leave hypothesis and move on the ground of truth, to prove by the vestiges met with in the daily customs the existence of the matriarchate among the T'ou-jen in a former period.

121 The thesis is all the more interesting because it concerns former
177 nomads formerly occupied with the raising of large animals, nomads of Mongol and Cha-t'ouo origin, speaking today the Monguor language, a Mongol dialect.

The matriarchal institution in the Mongol branch of the T'ou-jen must be anterior by a good deal to their immigration to Kansu, which dates from the time of either the Yüan or the Ming dynasty; for, in those times, the Mongols practiced the patriarchate. As for the social institutions of the Cha-t'ouo branch at the time of its settlement in Kansu, we have no certain data.

121 To prove the thesis I shall make use of materials which will be found explained more at length in other subsequent studies, as well as those met in the present monograph.

/151/ B. Ancient Matriarchate

1. Double Burial

764 In comparative ethnology double burial is considered as a specific element of the matriarchate. (1) Now the T'ou-jen groups

1. Anthropos, 1930, p. 992. "Die Frage des Mutterrechts," by W. Koppers: In the light of comparative ethnology, the double funeral appears to be a peculiarity of pronounced mother-right culture. /Cited in German./

[7 7] which have undergone the influence of Chinese civilization for so many centuries still practice this custom nowadays in the following

/175 cont'd/

585 171 Among the Tungus of the northern group and especially among those of Transbaikalia, the bridal couple come together "to bow to" the guests seated around the fire; the latter kiss the bride's hand and mouth ... a shaman meanwhile intones good wishes for them. (Cf. page 183.) (The author notes Russian influence expressly for this group.)

Among the nomads of the same group, the bride alone is taken in before the father-in-law and kneels before him and the elders of the clan, others throw offerings into the fire.... (Cf. p. 184.)

Among the Tungus of the southern group, especially among the Manchu, the bridal couple kneel together upon their arrival in the husband's courtyard and make three prostrations to heaven and earth and burn incense. (Cf. p. 81.)

Among the Miao it is the groom alone who makes the ritual prostrations in the presence of the relatives gathered together, and an old man enumerates all the duties which he will have to perform henceforward in the tribe. (Cf. p. 99.)

Among the Lo-lo P'o the bride alone makes the prostrations in the kitchen to the god of the hearth. (Cf. page 190.)

Therefore it can be established that one finds only among the T'ou-jen and Manchu the ritual prostrations to the spirits, etc., "made together by the bridal couple"; however, among the Manchu the ceremony is carried out with much less solemnity than among the T'ou-jen.

585 177 Now on the one hand these two peoples are the most Sinicized of all the peoples in question, and on the other hand, it is precisely among the Chinese that one sees practiced the rite of ritual prostrations "made together by the bridal couple" to heaven and earth and to the spirits. One would thus be led to suppose that we are dealing here with a Chinese rite which the T'ou-jen and Manchu have adopted and which the T'ou-jen especially have /176/ admirably thrown into relief in a setting of Mongol origin. Besides, one would be led to make the not-at-all commonplace observation that a rite attributed to the neighbors constitutes today, among the T'ou-jen at least, the high moment of the wedding for the reason that this rite must have responded singularly well to the natural and religious aspirations of the people. But let us undeceive ourselves. This fact is not so Chinese as it may seem

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585 on first sight. The base of it is Mongol; what is Chinese is only acci-
177 dental; this is the presence of the groom beside the bride and the part he takes in a ceremony which already used to exist.

Certainly it is hard for us to understand a wedding in which the two parties do not carry out some rite together, or at least where the two parties are not present. This, nevertheless, is what we have seen among all these peoples except the T'ou-jen and the Manchu.

585 What is the high point of the wedding among these peoples?
171 It seems to me that it is still when the bride is brought in before her parents-in-law, the members of her bridegroom's clan, and all the guests to make all alone the ritual prostrations, to pay her respects and recognize her subjection. It is precisely then that among the Mongol "the ritual prayers are read ... and all give her their blessings" (cf. p. 81), that among the Tungus of Transbaikalia "a shaman meanwhile intones good wishes" (cf. p. 183), that among the Miao "while the groom is on his knees, an old man enumerates all the duties he will have to carry out." (Cf. p. 99.)

It would be very interesting for us to know these "ritual prayers and blessings given by all," these "wishes intoned by the shaman," and these "duties enumerated by the old man," for I think it is just at that moment, and at that moment alone, that the true meaning of the festive event is revealed by the wishes made and the blessings implored and wished. And from whom are these blessings awaited? Who will bring about these wishes? These wishes must present a good deal of resemblance with those /177/ made among the T'ou-jen in similar circumstances, and I cannot keep from supposing that this moment of the festival must be just as impressive and just as important in these groups as among the T'ou-jen.

585 I allow myself therefore to insist on this ceremony, all the more
114 because it is especially with respect to it that we have the fewest details and that it is often passed by unnoticed in the things relative to marriage.

585 If one turns up one's nose at this rite, then marriage simply loses its meaning among these peoples, since it is reduced to the simple acquisition by purchase of a new member on the part of the bridegroom's family, to the discussions about the price of the girl, to

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2: Schram--197M4,5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

Young T'ou-jen woman, given in marriage to a Tibetan family.
The father-in-law is riding the richly accoutered horse and the mother-in-law has the baby in her arms. The whole group wears Tibetan costume.

2: Schram--198 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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An Ing-tang Sien-cheng Chinese, in fine array, in front of the door of his house. At the left his pupil-apprentice, in the background his old servant.

2: Schram--205 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Two girls belonging to a Tibetanized T'ou-jen family. They wear the dress of the girls of Hoa-ri (northern Sining). The older one is spinning with the distaff and carries at the nape of the neck the stick to which she fastens the thread; the little one pulls out the wool.

2: Schram--206 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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A T'ou-jen with his son; they wear Chinese clothes (country of Nien-pei, Sining).

[8 cont]

114 Scheutvelder missionaries had again given up their Kansu region,
[797] which they left to the Steyler missionaries. After their departure the investigation of the Tujen again came to a halt. The language was already fairly well understood, but records of the rich folk literature and a comparison with the other Tujen dialects in Kansu were lacking. A good foundation had likewise been laid for the sociology. The other spheres, however, had not yet been considered, above all the religion and material culture (economy, clothing).

121 When the author came to this region in 1946, he intended
[177] to begin with precisely these points. The Tujen were already Sinicized to a considerable extent, but in their language, religion, and dress they were able to maintain much of their individuality until the most recent times. Therefore, in particular the legends and songs were taken down, the religious customs studied, and the dress of the Tujen women described. What seemed most interesting to the author was the religion, which is to be dealt with in the following work. The presentation is not definitive, as will become clear repeatedly below, but it does provide the fundamentals and essentials.

115 Since there are almost no written reports on this subject,
123 the author had to utilize the living sources that were available to him during his three-year stay (until 1949), in addition to his own observations. The principal one was an outstanding Tujen man, a living book concerning his people's traditions, and a Tujen singer with an enormous treasure of legends, fairy tales, and songs.

128 The work falls into two parts. The first is a critical presentation of the facts gained from the sources, and by way of introduction the chief source itself (the informant) is to be characterized. The second part presents the theoretical results derived from these facts, namely, the attempt to draw a total picture of the religion and to show the layers out of which it is formed. Hence it is not simply an offhand field report, but is also a systematic survey of the religious situation and its explanation. It is to be regretted that this work had to be
114 broken off at the site because of the suddenly erupting unrest;

[15 cont.]

124 Sometimes he would come back after a few days and ask: "May I hear once more what you have taken down? Something else has occurred to me, add this and that." In each case he would know exactly on which sheet the passage was, although he could not read any of it, proof of his attentiveness and his good memory.

128 192 177 Sometimes it may appear as though the linguistic dress of this first part excessively conveys my European technical terms and not the simple language of the informant. This is not the case, however, for such technical terms are found in both Chinese and the Tujen language. Chinese and Tujen have their own words for trance, meditation, offering, libation, prayer, etc. They distinguish between slaughtering and offering a sacrifice, between monk and layman, etc. These are, after all, the conceptions of a people who has not only been extensively influenced by Lamaism with its abundant religious forms, but also has active intercourse with Chinese culture. It should therefore be emphasized that all the words at the end of a chapter under the heading "Word List" come from the informant, including the indication of a possible Tibetan [16] or [198] Chinese origin (3). It is not surprising that so many Tibetan

3. [Foreign text p. 18.] Mr. Unkrig had the kindness to check the word lists. In the process it turned out that the informant was quite reliable with his information concerning the Tibetan equivalents. Where it seemed necessary (not always), these equivalents have been added to the individual chapters in the univocal form of the written language (Tib. and Mong.), with the entry (Unkrig). I am further indebted to Mr. Unkrig for many another linguistic suggestion and above all for the inspection of the lexicons and Lamaist literature that otherwise was not available.

[16 cont.]
128 loanwords are cited, for Tibetan is the official language of
192 Lamaism, which occupies such a large place in the life of the
177 people. Here it should be mentioned that the old man desig-
[198] nated the expressions from Tibetan or Mongolic as "higher lan-
[186] guage" or "literary language," a value that he did not accord Chinese.

Finally a note with regard to the peculiar nature of this
114 work. It presents a popular religion, and that of a certain group.
[184] This means in the first place that not everything can be gen-
[179] eralized for the Koko Nor region, not even for all the Tujen. Secondly, one will find no accounts about the dogma, the official rites, or the secret practices of monastic Lamaism and the higher Bon religion. The Tibetan and Mongolic writings give this information. Also, it was unnecessary to cite the basic literature on this subject, at least not to any considerable extent. To be sure, this is not infrequently done, but only when it seemed to be required for an understanding of the popular customs. In such cases it was preferable to start from linguistic considerations. On the other hand, a presentation of the popular religion as practiced is a help for knowledge of the
[177] official religion. The popular belief, with its various customs, casts new light on the multiformity of monastic Lamaism, which has adopted so many pre-Buddhistic traits from the conceptual realm of Central Asia.

6. The Transcription of the Tujen Language

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The transcription of the Tujen words and the Tibetan-Mongolic loanwords is based on the orthography of the DMF. For practical reasons, however, the large letters were replaced by small ones and the diacritical marks simplified. The following table presents first the orthography used here (S), under it the one used by P. A. Mostaert in the DMF (M), and under that the phonetic values of the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[33 cont.]

791 farmers (1). The Bon priests of the nomads are now found only

[792]

1. [Foreign text p. 34.] There are also Bon priests who live in monasteries. Such a monastery is found near the Tujen monastery Rgulõn. The inmates of this monastery, however, do not wear any special garb, but are dressed like laymen. The lamas prefer to invite them for certain ceremonies to exorcise demons. -- The other farmer-Bon are only very rarely seen any more. They live like everyone else, marry, and work the fields.

among the Fandse, although formerly some were also Tujen. They have a very long, thick queue, which they wear wound around the head, and a long red garment with a red or yellow belt. -- The present-day Bon priests of the Tujen have almost died out; they are ordinary farmers and are distinguished from the other shamans or soothsayers as follows:

Details

791 Clothing: They wear ordinary garb: in winter a fur, and
292 in summer the long coat. They do not wear trousers (2). They
[177]

2. [Foreign text p. 35.] The fact that they do not wear trousers may indicate an origin from the Fandse, who formerly did not wear trousers, as is still customary for their women and lamas.

take off their shoes during prayer on the kang. They do not have any special official dress. [34] They only put a wreath of wild-pig bristles around the head (3), which are supposed to

3. [Foreign text p. 35.] The informant did not know why they have to be wild-pig bristles.

represent long hair.

[39 cont.]

792 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the reception. The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the gifts are brought after him on animals.

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[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers. They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

[465]

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Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the beginning of the performance may not enter the yard. On the other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as

[609]
[792]
[211]
[177]

7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

[534]

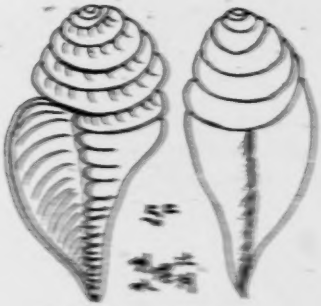

Fig. 6. Shells.

[531]

(Drawing of a Tuyen.)

351 [40 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] maintains that formerly the Tujen used no sieve and that they learned of it from the Chinese. Nowadays paper is commonly used when it is a matter of a taboo that is not connected with the prayer service. Thus the people stick a rectangular piece of red paper to the gate intrados, on the right when, for example, there is sickness in the compound, and on the left when a woman is in confinement there. White paper is used when someone has died, a custom that probably comes from the Chinese.

[574] [792] The taboo always lasts for several days, three, five, seven, always an odd number, and always as long as the lama is staying at the house, as well as two days afterwards. If, for example, the lama is there only one day, the taboo lasts three days; if he is there three days, it lasts five days, etc. If he is in the house for seven days, however, the taboo lasts for an entire week after his departure (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 42-43.] The taboo regulations mentioned here also apply to other religious ceremonies, even when no lama or Bon priest is invited. The taboo is then in force for only three days, however.-- Even the best friends are not admitted into the house, but are dealt with by the gate of the yard. For this reason they must first call out loudly so that someone will come out.

[43] Sometimes the people also say that in case of illness the yard is marked out out of fear of the spirits, but

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[43 cont.]

782 Time: The incense offering is to be given as early as possible, as soon as the morning twilight appears. One is not allowed to wait until the sun is high. Nowadays, even though [178] the families are no longer pious, [44] they will nonetheless give the incense offering at the least on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of the lunar month. On these three days small butter- or [778] oil-lamps are also lighted in the house in front of the Buddha images.

782 Place: The usual place for the morning offering is the 778 yard. One may also go into the local temple or in front of the obo. This is also usually done on the above-mentioned three days. In the yard itself the fireplace is the incense plate on the central fort in front of the mani-pole (2). If there is no

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[177]

2. [Foreign text p. 46.] The incense plate is called fdzañ tše = incense terrace. The Chinese call it sang lu-tzu = cypress-incense oven. In many instances, the Tujen have taken over the Chinese incense oven. It looks like a small temple. Frequently people also make do with a small clay niche. The incense plate on the edge of the round manger is either a stone plate, a brick (tile), or a smooth layer of clay.

incense plate, the master of the household burns the incense in the central fort (round manger) itself, or on the ground in front of it. Each time, however, the area must first be swept. Worship in front of the fire does not take place directly in front of it; instead people go around the round manger, so that the round manger with the mani-tree, then the fire, then the main house, and finally the mountains behind it are before one. The other persons are also there. No one may ever stand between the fire and the main house.

[44 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 47 cont.]
"evil spirit (?)" (p. 311), is misleading. Ch. Das (p. 1057) gives the meaning: "an article, thing, material, object" [cited in English], and further: de'i rdsas, "requisites for this purpose (sc., unclean matters); especially for sacrifices, sorceries, etc., hence also used as identical with magical agency" [cited in English]. This last signification is applicable to the accompanying gifts and offerings in connection with conjuring away demons; cf. rdzē in the chapters, "The Demon Escort," "The Figure Conjuring," etc. The explanation in the DMF (p. 311) is also in accord with this: "object that one releases with the aim of being freed from an evil (money or some other object is added to it), ransom" [translated from French]. rdzē, therefore, is to be understood in the very widest sense as outfit, utensils, provision of the gods (clothes, rings, viaticum), additions to the offering, etc., as is shown by the plethora of the incense gifts. These additions correspond extensively with the additions for the earth-god's urn (treasure urn), but they probably are to be traced back only to Lamaist influence, for in the Tujen songs that mention the incense offering they are never mentioned, in contrast to the tree of life, the water, and the flowers, which are never absent. The most important flower, mentioned again and again,

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[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.] may also be the reason why the Tujen always try to obtain such a conch and blow it in the morning at the incense offering in the yard.

For the rest, the conch in itself is made to order for the offering. It formerly served as an offering bowl; cf. Ch. Das (p. 627). Today it is regarded as the third of the eight offerings (mchod brgyad) or good-luck symbols (bkra śis rtags brgyad) as a sign of being turned in the right direction, sending out lovely sounds to the ten points of the compass; cf. Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, p. 21.

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All these objects that have been enumerated are part of a complete incense offering. Since a family only rarely has these accessories on hand, the offering is usually given in the simple form, that is, people content themselves with cypress twigs, tsamba, and water-sprinkling. Not even butter and milk have been available recently among the Tujen.

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Meaning: The incense offering is primarily to heaven, as is the first kowtow. In the second place, it is intended to honor the mountain and earth spirit, and in the third place all the other countless spirits. Oral prayers are not spoken, but one usually says or thinks: "Heaven knows it." The offering is a request for protection and pleases the spirits because of the distinguished gifts. Hence, the men give it at all religious ceremonies, for instance, at the sowing festival, at the veneration of the obo, at the sheep sacrifice, etc. It is left to burn for hours during the entire procedure. Since the Tujen have practiced the incense offering since time immemorial, it constantly recurs in the songs (8).

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[777]

8. [Foreign text p. 49.] The incense

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] offering is widespread everywhere among the nomads of Tsinghai and has been partially taken over by the Chinese. It is also practiced in all lamic monasteries. Even if it does not come from Buddhism, it has been taken up by it in the ritual and honored with "incense-sutras," which are recited during the burning of aromatic substances in honor of the gods. The additions superimposed on the original simple form also come from Lamaism. Concerning this original form, its origin and religious dedication to heaven, cf. Part Two.

783 The purification-fire: Aside from this incense offering, cypress incense is also burned on other occasions, but only for purification, for example, to fumigate the house to drive away the demons, to fumigate the sacrificial sheep, to fumigate the face and hands at religious ceremonies. This fire, however, is accorded no veneration; no kowtow is made before it; it is not sprinkled with water, and no butter or any kind of addition is put in it. It is not an offering. Should someone accidentally burn an actual incense offering, he can use even this for the purpose of purification (9).

372 [782] [789] [792]

9. [Foreign text p. 49.] On other occasions, too, the fire is used as a means of purification. For instance, according to an ancient custom, a Tujen widow, when she remarries, must step across a fire, just as among the Chia-Fandse the bride is led over fir-tree fire (sung-p'an). The fire-jumping in the night of the full moon after New Year's may have the same significance; cf. "The New Year's Festival," Note 6. Not only the fire has

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[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
they keep the ornaments and mementos of the kin group in order to have a guarantee for the good fortune and wealth of the family; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa: I chia. Above all, the arrow of good fortune seems to be of great importance among the Bon; cf. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 190, 184, 178. It plays a special role in the wedding customs of the Bon, as H. Francke has described them in the wedding songs. The wedding customs of the Tujen and their songs show a certain relationship with these Bon customs, which in itself is not surprising since up to the most recent times the Bon religion in Amdo had a strong influence. The conception of the tribal animals, mother-animals, mother-treasures, to which all other earthly animals, treasures, etc. go back, however, belongs to the world-view of the Bon; cf. H. Francke; Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 8 ff. The tribal animals are also celebrated in song by the Tujen in a song-cycle bearing the name xoni, "sheep." This song-cycle actually stems from the Amdo-Fandse, among whom it is called g, yaṅ-dkar, "white good-fortune," or g, yaṅ-dkar lug, "sheep of the white good-fortune." Although various animals are celebrated in song, the sheep stands in the center as the supreme blessing of good fortune.

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If one ties these conceptions together, it may be stated of the yãṅsdzia: It bears within it the germs and origins of the gifts of fortune of this world. Living beings are allied more with heaven (are

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[Note on foreign text p. 624 cont.]
(roughly = little head horn). To what extent they thereby characterize childhood is shown by the expression tsung-chiao chih chiao, friendship since childhood (literally, little head horn connection).

[778] his hands into a little roll and twirls one thread out of it with which he ties it to the arrow of good fortune. Formerly these strands were drawn through a coin with a hole in it, and this, together with the ball of hair, was hung on the arrow. The hair of the children thus remain on the arrow of good fortune throughout their lives.

852 [782] Then the father goes with the child and the arrow of good fortune into the yard and makes the great incense offering. On this occasion the child kowtows to the sky for the first time. After the offering the arrow is taken back to its original place (5).

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5. [Foreign text pp. 624-625.] The first birthday celebration was evidently taken over from the Chinese there. An example of how it is practiced elsewhere in China, taken from J. Doolittle, Social Life (p. 90), will be presented here for the sake of clarity: "On the first birthday the mother is presented with another thank-offering, and other gifts of clothing and food are received by the grandmother on the maternal side. If it is a boy, a pair of shoes and a cap are found among other items of clothing; if it is a girl, then arm bands and head ornaments are also found among other articles of clothing. The preparations for the thank-offering

[623 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.]
down again and grasped a seal. She then no longer paid any attention to the things that lay before her. And now the result: this girl became chancellor of an imperial realm." -- The oracle at this birthday celebration corresponds essentially with that of the Tujen.

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* The Tujen celebrate birthdays otherwise, too, both men and women, but only from the forty-fifth year on. A feast is held, at which all the relatives take part. As presents, nine loaves of bread are customary. Eight steamed loaves signify the eight genii, pa-hsien, and one loaf represents the god of age, shou-hsing (star of age). Towards sundown, all go outside to the graves and give the ancestral offering. Then they go home and drink and dance into the night. -- As the names show, this custom is also borrowed from the Chinese. The Tujen originally had no ancestral offering; to the Chinese, on the other hand, the arrow of good fortune and the dance with song are foreign.

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Word List

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[844] To give birth: tōrō-.
[527] Birthday: tōrōdzān udur; or contracted, tōrōdzūdur.
To celebrate the birthday: tōrōdzūdur noġdzi-.
That woman has given birth: nie bieri tōrōdzia.
When were you born? tsini kidzie tōrōwa?
Yes, I am really celebrating: noġdzidza ligunadzi.

[626 cont.]

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[354]

1. [Foreign text p. 628.] The lamps are large copper butter-lamps or the small copper bowls. -- If there is no mani-tree, the red lamp is hung on a roof slat in front of the door of the main house. This lamp is very likely copied from the Chinese celestial lantern. The Chinese, too, draw up such a lamp on a tall mast in the yard, like a flag, and let it burn every night. It is called t'ien-teng, that is, celestial lamp.

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[356] the window newly plastered. In recent times the Tujen also
[177] write vernal sayings on red paper, like the Chinese, and paste them to the door posts. This was formerly not the case.

[573] Night watch: During the night before New Year's Day sleeping is not allowed. The old people say: "Please do not sleep tonight, the gods want to be welcomed early tomorrow morning." Therefore the master of the household stays up with his whole family. They partake liberally of tea, liquor, and the New Year's food, sing and converse until dawn.

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[888] New Year's morning: At the first cockcrow after midnight even the last stragglers put on their best clothes. Only the very old in the family remain lying on the kang. The master of the household puts large, burning butter- or oil-lamps in the room on the household altar. In the yard he hangs a red paper lantern with a butter-lamp to the mani-tree (1) [see Note 1 above]. It is attached to a transverse strip on it. Then outside, with the entire family, he gives the great incense offering, and everyone makes a threefold kowtow to the sky out in the open. The same is repeated before the household altar for the countless other spirits. During this time a stone is made red-hot in the
[783] hearth fire, and with this glowing stone all the rooms of the compound are fumigated. At the same time the conch is blown. The fumigation may also be done by women (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 628.] The

[626 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 629 cont.]
the threshing floor and jump over them. It is said that this is done in order to become pure; others say it is only for fun. The Chinese there, who also have this custom, maintain that it is an old Chinese practice. They also tell a legend about it, which I have forgotten. It has something to do with a battle ruse of old heroes whose memory one wants to celebrate. -- For the purificatory fire, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 9.

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It is precisely in the New Year's practices that the strong mixture with Chinese customs appears, so that in individual instances it is impossible to say definitely what originally belonged to the Tujen. One can safely ascribe to them, however, the ying-hsi ceremony, renewal of the animal consecration, and above all the dancing and singing of songs, which the Chinese do not know.

[821]

The dances with song point to a close connection with the waxing moon, since they are usually performed at night on the fifteenth day, even throughout the night. It is almost as though the New Year's festival applies primarily to the new moon. After the first full moon, everything is quite suddenly broken off.

Once the incense ceremony is over, the master of the household places a table in the yard before the round manger. On it are put trays with five steamed loaves, five oil-loaves, three tağur loaves, and all kinds of baked goods (3) [see Note 3 above]. Then a bowl of barley wine is poured out and a

[636 cont.]

764 As soon as no sign of life can be seen from the dead person, he is immediately put in a crouching position, before the corpse becomes rigid, on the kang on which he died (3). With

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3. [Foreign text pp. 651-652.] The conceptions of the people vary concerning the crouch-box and the crouch-seat. Nothing concerning an ancient origin is known to them. Some believe that the corpse is put in a crouching position only because otherwise it would not fit in the death-box; in this case the box is viewed as primary and more important. The informant says to this that formerly the Tujen were unacquainted with cremation and did not have any death-boxes either. This was first introduced by the lamas. The dead were exposed on the mountains for the animals to devour, as the Fandse do today. He himself would prefer to be buried in Chinese fashion; he feared being tied up and cremated.

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Others maintain that the Tujen buried their dead in coffins in former times. As proof they cite the case of an old Tujen village in Yungchwan where coffins were exposed by a mountain slide; these stemmed at least from the early Ming period. This evidence, however, indicates little when one considers that as early as the Han period Chinese military expeditions took place in the nearby Huchu valley.

Even without cremation, however, the death-box is found in Tsinghai, for instance, in the Bengbar Valley, a branch

764 [637 cont.]
465 his work and, in addition, twelve
322 loaves of bread, two ells of white cloth, and a small measure of wheat (six pounds). After the work is done, this measure of wheat is put on the house-
[782] hold altar, and the carpenter puts his tools on it. The master of the household sticks a few burning incense-sticks among them and puts the loaves before them. Then everyone makes a three-
[532] fold kowtow (7). The carpenter does not receive the white cloth until the funeral meal.

Death-box
(Drawing of a Tujen)

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7. [Foreign text p. 653.] This ceremony actually has nothing to do with the death-box. It is customary after all carpentry work; it is done to honor the tutelary god of the carpenter, Lu-pan-yeh. It is a Chinese custom.

764 Lying in state: If the box is already available at death, the corpse is immediately put in it. If it is not yet ready, then the people put the dead in a crouching position on the kang or on the floor of the room in which he died. First, however, they lay down a white felt mat as a pad; straw is not used. No one may sleep or live in the same room with the dead, only in an adjoining room. A table with 12 loaves of bread, which come from the deceased's own family, and a water-lamp stand before the crouching corpse.

[462] Putting the corpse in the box is always done by men. The
[543] son puts his father and mother inside. The father, however, never puts his son in; that is taken care of by the young brothers or cousins.

[637 cont.]

764 cousins. Female persons are also put in the box by men. Then, after the corpse has been propped up with straw, a board is slid in at the back from above. The men then wash their hands. The box is put in a room and placed on four raised clay bricks, so that it will be easy to pick it up later to carry it. A white felt mat is usually spread out beforehand. The box of a deceased master of the household or his wife always stands in the main house; in other cases it is put in the room in which the dead person used to live.

Next to the box there is a small, coffin-like little casket whose lid is pegged down like those of the Chinese coffins. It is the little casket in which the bones that remain after cremation are kept. Usually a rolling pin (noodle roller), which was 412 made at the same time as the coffin or death-box, leans 764 against the box (8). [638] Other rolling pins are not used at [322] all.

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8. [Foreign text p. 653.] This custom, too, seems to have been borrowed from the Chinese. The rolling pin is called mien-kan or kan-ch'ang in Chinese. On the average it is one meter long and three to four centimeters thick. It is used principally to roll noodles. The rolling pin is also called pai-hu by the Chinese, that is, white tiger, because it can become the seat of the tiger god for soothsaying or shamanistic ceremonies, just as the spirit-spear becomes the seat of the spirit. The rolling pin is also handled in the following way: a man takes it with both hands and calls down the demon into it; then the roller shakes and trembles.

[778] [787] [776]

The enemy of the rolling pin is the threshing roller, lu-chu. It represents the dark (green) dragon, ch'ing-lung,

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24. [Foreign text p. 657.] A custom that is no longer practiced among the Tujen was the eating of oil-dishes on the eve of the cremation, bãn-sãń tsinani, that is, one cooks oil-dishes. The daughters and their girls (nieces) brought a measure of wheat flour and a jug of oil. Both would be roasted together in a kettle after the pai-ta and handed around. It was kneaded into dumplings like tsamba. -- Similar old Tujen customs have now been forgotten, according to the informant. The extensive customs of the Chinese are being adopted more and more, and in the foreseeable future the cremation of the dead will have yielded to the Chinese funeral celebration.

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Only after the corpse is in the box do the other relatives come, and the same rite is repeated. These are only the relatives on the father's side, however. The other acquaintances and friends also make an appearance with them. The relatives on the mother's side come only on the day before the cremation, regardless of whether the dead person is a man or a woman.

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With regard to the offerings for the dead, one must always distinguish whether a person of an older, a contemporary, or a younger generation is involved. The older generation never makes an offering to the younger, for example, the father never to the son. The man does make an offering to his wife, however, and vice versa. The man also makes an offering to his older sisters-in-law.

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Of the offering of 12 loaves of bread that each one brings, he gets two back; ten are used in the house of mourning and are eaten by the relatives or guests. The loaves that are returned are called "returned plate."

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764 782 792 The official prayer-service is undertaken by a lama, if possible by a hutukhtu. He is given a room of his own in the house of mourning, which ordinarily immediately adjoins the room in which the corpse is laid out, so that he can remain on the kang when he recites the office of the dead. A lama never prays directly before the corpse. A hutukhtu visits the house of mourning only on the day before the cremation, and stays there only one night. He also always undertakes the ceremonial cremation with the fire-pouring. Other lamas, on the other hand, may perform services in the house of mourning several days before.

[177] In recent times the Tujen also invite Chinese bonzes for the prayers. They adhere to their own rites. It also happens that bonzes and lamas are invited at the same time. Then the prayer rite is mixed. A cremation, however, is never carried out without some religious officiant first giving the prayers for the dead (12). Lamas of lower rank, who may not undertake the

[123] 12. [Foreign text p. 654.] The Tujen have no difficulties in inviting representatives of various religions for prayers. I was even requested once to give the Christian office of the dead. -- On the other hand, the Chinese Buddhists also invite the lamas to give prayers for the dead.

fire-pouring, or bonzes do not go along to the place of cremation, but remain in the house of mourning.

764 782 792 465 [604] For the prayer, the relatives, lamas, and bonzes receive a corresponding honorarium which is usually fixed by the mother's brother on the occasion of the demand for an accounting during the last mourning meal. The Chinese bonzes, to be sure, demand a fixed fee immediately upon being invited; otherwise they do not come at all. The other persons who say prayers, assistants at the cremation, etc. receive compensation in the form of alms on the eve of the cremation or on the morning after the cremation.

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764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
782 large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
792 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
465 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
[272] temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
[262] own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people
[788] buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the
[556] temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it.
[432] In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of
butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large
month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and
night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate
to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the
dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name
of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by
the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer
services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
602 Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain
a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

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13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

764 [640 cont.]
[602] relatives do not come (15). The mother's brother is solemnly
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15. [Foreign text pp. 654-655.] Three groups of relatives are to be distinguished, which correspond to the kinship divisions of the Chinese there: 1. One's own family, dzienani kudē, Chin. pen-chia. To this belong the descendants in a direct line, son, grandson, grandchildren, even the daughters who are already married outside. They live together in one compound. 2. Cousinhood, dzienani šāni, Chin. tang-chia-tzu. These are the father's brothers and cousins, in practice all the relatives with the same family name. -- This group is obligated to provide for the interment, while one's own family (even the daughters) wear mourning dress and are subject to the strict mourning taboos. As soon as the daughters return to their husband's family, however, they take off the mourning. 3. Affinity by marriage, uroġ, Chin. ch'in-chia, ch'in-ch'i. Since among the Tujen here the Chinese expressions are now in use, the following names should be distinguished: ch'in-chia in the strict sense is the relationship of the sons-in-law with whom the daughters have married. They have another family name, wai-hsing. The family from which the mother comes is called wai-chia; here the brother of the mother is the person of respect who represents her interests. The family from which the mother of the father comes is called wei-chia; here, too, for the

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[Note on foreign text pp. 654-655 cont.]
father his mother's brother is the person of respect, who in case of death demands an accounting. Wei-chia and wai-chia have the same signs; only the pronunciation is different. Literally translated it means [655] "the outside family," in other words, not belonging to the male line. Instead of wai-chia one also says niang-chia, which designates the family from which the mother comes. This expression is also used for the family of the lama, who, of course, is unmarried. -- The wai-chia or niang-chia does not appear until the day before the cremation.

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The mother's brother is solemnly
764 received by the master of ceremonies and led to the death-box.
602 There he and his retinue offer the 12 loaves, burn paper, and
604 kowtow. During this time all the relatives must express great
[782] bereavement and the women utter loud lamentations. The mother's brother also weeps. After this ceremony, the mother's brother is led into the house and onto the kang, where he is given tea and bread. He rests a little while. The other companions are given hospitality outside in the yard where everything is set up for the funeral meal and the ceremony of the accounting.

[641] The mother's brother is led into the yard and sits on a white felt mat which is spread out on the ground directly before the entrance of the main house. He sits with his back to the house, facing the mani-tree. A kang table is put in front of him. The other relatives on the maternal side sit on straw to the right and left of him in a semicircle. Boards which are supposed to represent tables are put in front of them. Now oil-baking, tea, and pastries are brought. The serving is done by the cousin-
[273] hood on the father's side (16). After the first bite, the guests are

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16. [Foreign text p. 655.] At the interment, the Tujen have the

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[Note on foreign text p. 655 cont.]
following offices: 1. The master of ceremonies. He takes care of everything connected with the customs concerning the dead and the cremation. He is called by the Chinese name sang-kuan, that is, leader of the interment, or hu-sang, that is, protector of the interment. He is usually picked from the cousinhood. 2. The gift-guardian. He takes the offering loaves and keeps them in a special room. In Chinese he is called k'u-kuan, that is, treasure-guardian. -- The Chinese also put a secretary at his disposal, who notes what the individual guests have given. The Tujen do not have this. 3. The host. He is there solely for the lama and provides for his entertainment, for his animals, for the things needed at the ceremony, for paper to burn, etc. The Tujen call him känguo. In his place the Chinese have an incense-manager. 4. The female cook, called dziemā nienie by the Tujen. -- With exception of the känguo and the dziemā nienie, the officiants seem to have been taken over from the Chinese.

764 given some liquor, and the bereaved on the father's side come
604 in the circle with the master of ceremonies and kneel on the
[602] ground before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies
[273] steps forward and invites the mother's brother to take a drink of
[537] liquor. He hands him a hada and a piece of white cloth and requests him to present his wishes for the dead and to release the corpse for the cremation.

[641 cont.]

764 604 537 [273] The mother's brother puts the hada over his shoulders, takes a swallow of liquor, and begins his speech. Usually he demands an accounting concerning the care of his protégé during the latter's illness and demands the small fees for the prayer service, saying that they should be ashamed of such avarice, the dead had always been a good person, the pride of his family, he deserved better; now at least one should give him a decent death-box and provide the most magnificent cremation possible; far too few lamas had been invited, but now they should recompense them with much money and rice and butter, etc.

[273] Every time that the mother's brother puts forward a wish or a complaint and pauses, the master of ceremonies has his liquor bowl refilled and calls upon him to drink. Then the master of ceremonies replies in the name of the paternal relatives, seeks to invalidate the reproaches, to lessen the demands, and to emphasize the efforts of the family. He says that the most expensive medicines were procured for the deceased during his illness, for how could one neglect such a virtuous person; moreover, everything that the family could do in his honor and for his soul would be done, but one should not demand the impossible; after all, one must die sometime; the times are bad, but they would gladly give the lama that and that, etc. -- So it goes back and forth between the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies, until a course is finally agreed upon and the mother's brother declares that now he is satisfied and will release the corpse. Now the mother's brother is invited to inspect the corpse, but he usually does not do this.

764 604 After this speech, the bereaved arise, kowtow three times before the mother's brother, and return to the deathwatch by the box. The mother's brother follows them and kowtows before the dead. Then alms are distributed to the guests, usually [431] coins. This is called "to do good," for it is advantageous for the deceased. Then the meal for the relatives on the mother's side [735] takes place in a large circle. Usually there is rice, but among poor people only noodle soup.

[775] [642] The ceremony of the demand for an accounting has the purpose of releasing the soul of the dead for the migration [177]

[642 cont.]

764 of the soul, according to the saying: if the mother's brother does
604 not open his mouth, the dead cannot migrate. When the soul has
775 no more demands to make on this world, then it leaves house and
177 home. Its demands are advocated by the mother's brother (17). --

17. [Foreign text pp. 655-656.] The people do not agree about the origin and meaning of this ceremony. The Chinese say that it was copied from them; the Tujen claim that it is an old custom of their ancestors. -- The Chinese also have the name bäda (pai-ta); they also say pai-wai for it. They have no special explanation for pai-ta; they interpret pai-wai as "to profit, to tain an advantage." There is no character for either word. This would not be so important, however, since there is a great number of dialectal expressions for which there are no characters. -- The informant believes that bäda is a Tujen word and means "to profit, to gain," exactly like the Chinese pai-wai. If this custom does not occur farther to the east, which would have to be investigated, then one could conceive of it as a borrowing from the Tujen.

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The pai-ta of the Chinese is somewhat more extensive. First there is the donning of the white mourning cap, tai-hsiao, then the viewing of the corpse, wang-ku, that is, to view the bones; the mother's brother in this role is called ku-chu, that is, bones-master, an expression that the Tujen also have. Then follows the speech of the mother's brother, pai-wai. And when the negotiations on this

[642 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 655-656 cont.]
occasion are concluded satisfactorily, then there follows first the kowtow with the offering for the dead before the corpse. Concerning the bone relationship, cf. Part 2, I, 2.

The speech of the mother's brother is somewhat different from that of the Tujen. He principally demands a magnificent coffin, elegant death-garments, and many bonzes for the interment. Indeed, he even reclaims things of the dead person, for instance, the cow that provided him with milk, as well as valuables that are desired as mementos, for, he says, since the beloved deceased no longer dwells among his relatives, one wants at least his personal objects out of affection. Everyone knows that this is done less out of affection than out of a desire for gain. [656] The quite un-Chinese demand for the milk cow is striking here, since the Chinese drink practically no milk.

Among the Tujen, the pai-ta makes a somewhat more selfless impression. The negotiations deal primarily with the lamas to be invited and their prayer fee, and this primarily so that the soul of the dead person will be satisfied and set out on its migration.

In the case of the pai-ta, therefore, a twofold viewpoint is to be differentiated, the social, which comes to the fore more among the Chinese, and the religious, which is of more concern among the Tujen. In the first case it is a matter of asserting the rights of the mother's family; in the second case, it is a matter of the conception

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[Note on foreign text pp. 655-656 cont.]
of the souls of the dead, who evidently are regarded as living corpses. This point is decisive in explaining the meaning. It is a matter of the peace and good fortune of the family, which are endangered by a restless soul if it is not satisfied and continues to wander about. This satisfaction is brought about by providing a decent interment (clothing, coffin) and the prayer of the lama. Then "the way is open" for the soul, as the Buddhists say; the significance of the above-mentioned proverb of the Chinese is shown here. How strongly this conception still affects even the Chinese is shown by the recast saying, wai-chia pu k'ai yen, wang-jen pu shang t'ien, that is, if the mother's family does not begin to speak, the dead will not ascend to heaven. -- With all this, however, it becomes clear how strong the rights of the mother's family are, and its concern for its members even beyond death.

If there is no actual mother's brother, then the one nearest to the mother's brother takes his place; this is the one who follows the mother's brother in the inheritance.

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Time of cremation: As soon as the dead person draws his last breath, a relative goes to the soothsayer or Bon priest and has the day of cremation determined by the spirits. He does not enter the compound of the soothsayer, however, but announces himself in front of the large gate of the yard, because since he comes from the house of a dead person, he may not appear before the gods. Aside from the spirit-spear, spirit-table, spirit-litter, and the Bon priest, one may also ask a Chinese lay bonze. Lamas and Taoist bonzes never determine the time. Only the day is given, not the hour. As

[642 cont.]

764 a rule, all young people under 20 years of age, whether male or
[766] female, are cremated in the evening at sundown. Persons over 20 years of age are cremated in the morning at sunrise. The place of cremation is prepared the day before.

Place of cremation: The place of cremation is usually chosen by the master of ceremonies after consultation with the members of the family. Only ground that belongs to the deceased's own family or to the relatives on the father's side is considered. A dead person may never be cremated on strange soil or on land that belongs to the maternal relatives. Special preference is given to a spot on a steep ridge between fields, because the fire for the oven can most easily be set there. In
241 choosing the spot, one must see to it that the smoke will not
764 blow across a sown field. Therefore, after the sowing festival in the spring, a remote place is chosen in a ravine or on a
178 mountain where there are no more fields. Aside from the fact that the seed would be trampled, the smoke of a burning corpse is harmful for the growth and the harvest. Therefore nowadays, when even the most remote little mountain patches are planted, cremation is increasingly on the wane, especially in the valleys, and the dead are buried in coffins (19).

[177] [Foreign text p. 656.] This may not be the most decisive reason for the disappearance of the custom, however, but rather the general Sinicization. In remote ravines everywhere a place can still be found for cremation, for even the Chinese in the valleys cremate their adult, unmarried daughters in such remote places.

764 If the fire-pouring is undertaken at the cremation, then
792 the lama himself goes out to the field the day before and chooses a suitable spot. For this purpose he kneads a large torma
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[646 cont.]

000 each and two ells of cloth.

765 At the next grave festival, which usually falls in the third
[769] lunar month, all the relatives gather at the kin-group cemetery for the offering to the dead; at that time the bone-chest is also transferred to it. A number of men go to the old burial spot at the place of cremation, dig up the chest, and bring [647] it to the cemetery without any ceremony. There they dig a small
[561] hole and put the chest in it. This is done only by men who are
[593] of the same generation as the dead person or of a lower generation. A father, for instance, would never bury his son, nor the uncle his nephew, etc.

765 As soon as the pit has been filled, the offering for the
769 dead takes place; the relatives burn paper and little sticks of incense, set down loaves of bread, meat, etc., pour out tea,
[782] liquor, and soup, and hold a little meal at the grave. Then everyone goes home. -- The transfer of the bones, however, need not be done at the next grave festival; sometimes one waits two or three years. The bones may not be interred, however, outside the period of the grave festival (21).

[192] 21. [Foreign text pp. 656-657.]
The Tujen word sēn-min̂ is evi-
• [177] dently merely a phonetic imitation of the Chinese ch'ing-ming. The informant said that the Tujen did not know about the grave festival in olden times, but that they have copied it from the Chinese, which indeed is confirmed by the precisely identical rites and the asserted former exposure of the corpse. -- The postponement [657] of a final interment of the bones until this feast, however, remains unexplained, especially since the Chinese usually bury their dead immediately in the cemetery. The
[777] informant observed in this connection that the Chinese inter their dead on

[647 cont.]

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[769]
[777]

[764]

[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days [177] memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown [782] and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowa- [178] days the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

765 Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day
784 after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they [574] want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even [796] more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to [262] undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

[837 cont.]

241 There are no rules about the musical instruments. [Illustra-
782 tion appears here.] Whatever one has is taken along. The temple
533 drum -- a barrel drum with a drumhead on both sides -- and the conch are always certain to be there. The drum is not very large and is carried on a belt in front of the chest so that it can be beaten on both sides. The conch shell is the same as that used at the incense offering. The trumpets are the [177] ordinary Chinese shawms (la-pa); the cymbals and the gong are also Chinese.

Flags such as are carried during the procession around the field. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

241 Among the flags there are black,
782 red, yellow, etc. Usually they are provided with colorful borders. There are also flags with pictures, for example, of the mountain-spirit. Many flags also have Chinese sayings sewed on them, usually in white. There are [532] no special Tujen names for the flags. The number is arbitrary.

Aside from the usual cypress incense the Chinese incense sticks are also popularly taken along; butter, water, tea, etc. are just as desirable as at other incense offerings. More recently yellow paper [177] is also burned in Chinese fashion.

The soothsayers must always carry along their soothsaying tokens, that is, the objects that are the seat of the spirit, in other words, [778] spear, litter, table, etc. During the entire procession, the spirit [791] remains in the object concerned, which is signified by the shaking and rattling of the bells and the movement of the bearers.

241 Soothsaying: At the soothsaying one tries to learn as precisely
782 as possible when and where the heaviest hail will come down and
787 how one should protect himself against it, whether by means of offerings or prayer or the mani-tree, and the like. At this time the [821] seed-master makes a brief speech to the spirit concerned, charging him with the duties that he must fulfill for a good harvest and telling him that he will be rewarded for his protection by an offering (4).

241 4. [Foreign text p. 838.] An offer-
782 ing is usually connected with the

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.]
soothsaying, for instance, a cock offering, grain or bread offering, etc., as I was able to observe.

Meaning: The purpose of the procession is to honor the gods so that they will protect the seed and provide an abundant harvest. [178] The sacred books have a special power. Above all, however, the gods that are taken along are supposed to spare the fields from hail and storms. -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have [171] this procession. The Chinese do not have it in this form (5).

5. [Foreign text pp. 838-839.]
The Chinese have the procession in two stages. Once, when the seed comes up. Then the driving in of the thunderbolts in the weather forts on the mountain peaks takes place. They move with music and flags and the god-litter onto the mountain and take along the wooden wedges inscribed with magical formulas. They call this ch'a-p'ai, that is, "to drive in pegs." -- A second procession takes place later in the summer, and every 14 days, on the first and fifteenth day of each month. They call this procession chuan shan, that is, to march around (on the) mountains. On these occasions only flags or musical instruments are taken along. Formerly the conch trumpet was blown on these occasions, which otherwise is not used among the Chinese.

[177] As the informant related, the Tujen today have already to a great

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.]
extent taken over this ch'a-p'ai, in other words, the procession with the driving in of thunderbolts, in place of the former aradziãn (pole-goat), and for the reason that there are hardly any Bon priests. The chuan-shan of the Chinese, however, is not the same as their procession around the fields, sguora. To be sure, it also took place in the summer, but every 14 days, whereas they would hold their field procession only once. Nowadays, however, when the Tujen are already half-Chinese, they would also do it more simply, but therefore more frequently, just like the Chinese.

It is difficult to say what is earlier. It appears that a Lamaistic custom is not involved, for one never invites a lama, and even the Buddhist books are unnecessary. There must always be a soothsayer, however, with the spirit invoked. It is therefore possible that this procession [839] is connected with the original shamanistic weather conjuration as it is still practiced today, and that the Buddhist books did not come in until later.

The Chinese field procession, on the other hand, makes an impoverished impression. Only flags and musical instruments are taken along. The people participate only very poorly, and the procession lasts only three to four hours. Formerly the conch was blown on these occasions, but no longer now. The conch, however, is a peculiar feature of the Tujen and Fandse, not of the Chinese. Furthermore, the field procession

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.] is no longer held in many places. And this seems to be all the more the case the farther eastward one goes, in other words, into Chinese territory.

Thus it may be asserted with some degree of probability that the field procession is of neither Chinese nor Lamaistic origin. With the Sinicization of the Tujen, and the Fandse in particular, it was still practiced initially, then fell into disuse more and more, and finally was completely lost. -- On the other hand, non-original elements have been added, such as the Buddhist books and the Chinese musical instruments, probably also the god-litter, which almost always shelters the Chinese Niang-niang, the mother deity, and finally also the Chinese incense and the offering paper.

The Chinese thunderbolt procession will be described in more detail in a separate work. Here it should merely be noted that it is connected with the weather forts. These are found only in Tsinghai and its border region to southern Kansu. They might well belong to a shamanistic cycle of ideas.

[838] Word List

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Procession around the field: sguora (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 839.] sguora: Tibetan skor = to circle around (Unkrig).

[203 cont.]

192 means "offering container." The chortens now usually shelter
778 the ashes of Buddhist saints or their relics and frequently also
776 bear their pictures on the front side. Thus the meaning of an idol is connected with the whole. The chortens or stupas or suburgans are therefore the seat of a spirit or of a deceased person. A deity is present in them. They are the same as [204] what the Mongols or Tujen imagine under the expression purġan. This conception is confirmed, furthermore, by the urn shape of the stupa. In Tibetan the lower part is called bum-ba, urn, pot. As has already been shown in the case of the earth-god urn and the beṅkaṅ, urns are frequently the seat of a deity. This conception is also found elsewhere, and one might also connect the urn with the throne of the gods, which will not be discussed here. In any case, the Tujen word purġan is late and Buddhistic in origin.

776 All the inhabitants of the Buddhist, Bonist, and Taoist pantheon fall within the group of these lower gods insofar as the Tujen have taken it over. A special position seems to be oc-
776 cupied by the fire-spirit as hearth-god or god of the shaman
372 fire, whom Schram so strongly emphasizes in his book concerning marriage among the Tujen. I could no longer confirm any special veneration of the shaman fire, however. If one disregards the fire offering, which is included as part of the rite of the Lamaistic fire-pouring, there remains to the people only the hearth-god, who, however, is venerated no more frequently than among the Chinese, for example. The use of fire for purifica-
[783] tion (widow marriage, leaping over fire, fumigation, red-hot stone, etc.) seems to have nothing to do with a god. It can be explained purely magically, because the demons fear the fire. They are, of course, always regarded as unclean, as the common phrase, pudaġ ilie, dirty demon, proves.

776 Of the other gods who deserve special mention, there
[791] are the shaman and soothsaying gods, who animate or temporarily
[787] take possession of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, and the divine images, for instance, the black and white tiger, the great mother, the dragon. Furthermore, an important role is
[177] played by the god of joy (at a wedding), who probably comes from the Chinese, the horse- and cattle-king, the world-directions spirits, and the gods of the weather ministry with the smith-god

[237 cont.]

174 weather conjuration from the Bon was much practiced there, it
756 also took this over, which, indeed, was close to it in type. Probably the weather-conjuring Bon were absorbed by them.

The Tujen have likewise permitted their Mongolic shamanism to flow into this fashih shamanism and have transferred to it the original name, bō. A Tujen bō once said: "We have a common root with the Mongolic shamans." This shamanism has remained remote from Lamaism, as well as from the gurtum; a certain rivalry exists between it and them.

The question of the bō or fa-shih demands an extensive presentation of Chinese shamanism generally, which has already been undertaken.

b) The Gurtum or Warrior-shamans

Characterization

756 Appearance. -- Among the Tujen the gurtum wears a
292 red cloak that is held together with a cloth belt, a shoulder collar, a chest mirror, a Lamaistic amulet or a hada (ceremonial cloth) in the chest bag, a headcloth that covers the eyes, a garland of bells around his forehead, and on top of it the five-part Lamaistic crown. The most important piece of his equipment is the sword, without which he does not shamanize at all, so that really one should call the Tujen gurtum a "sword-shaman." He also uses other weapons, however, such as the spirit-spear and the knife. At major ceremonies he also works with sieve, winnowing-fan, and five little paper men called wu-tao shen in Chinese, which could be translated as "five-direction spirits."

The whole type of the gurtum is that of a warrior who exorcises misfortune in the demon battle. Aside from this popular image of his appearance, which is fairly complete, there are also simple, degenerated types who wear only the most necessary equipment, say, the headcloth, the chest
[177] mirror, and the sword, even over a modern European suit. At solemn sword battles, however, they also appear in full regalia.

[257 cont.]

792 went there. Pander speaks (op. cit., p. 204) of Man-tzu or Chinese from Sining, who were accommodated in 13 temples in Peking (1889). These Man-tzu (= barbarians), however, could only have been Tujen, for the Chinese are not Lamaists, and the Tibetans (Fan-tzu) are specifically named by Pander. The monastery Sung-chu-szu is regarded expressly as a Tujen lamasery. Even today (at least up until 1948) almost all its monks come from the Sining region and are Tujen, as the monks from this monastery related during a visit home. To be sure the number has shrunk greatly.

771 These are all facts that must be taken into account in
792 judging the Lamaism of the Tujen. The people are proud of
[788] their famous monastery. It is their pilgrimage center. Young
[527] and old gather there at the festivals. They hold horse races
[796] and sing their old popular airs there. At the temple festivals
[778] with the magnificent dances the Lamist doctrine is deepened and clarified. In the venerable halls filled with incense they see their gods in magnificent statues, painted on silk, on walls and altars. There lie also the heavy sacred books of the Kandjur and Tandjur, which they bear on their backs around the sanctuary in order to free themselves from affliction or to fulfill a vow. In the temples and yards they watch the monks hold learned disputations, read the scriptures, recite the prayers. They invite them to undertake solemn religious services in their compounds, to give their children their names, to consecrate the old, [258] to bless the young, to pray for the dead, to cre-
[574] mate the corpses. The lama is a frequent and welcome guest in the family. Generally, the people seem to link themselves
[752] to the monastic life at the important stages of life. Even the
[778] shaman receives his consecration in the monastery. Every family was proud if one of its sons became a lama; indeed, it was even an unwritten law.

So it was, at least until the most recent times. Today,
771 however, the young people no longer want to know anything
792 about becoming a lama. They prefer to attend the Chinese
777 schools and are intent on the new education. They despise the old and do not take it seriously anymore. What the

[258 cont.]

777 Minchu Hutukhtu wrote a hundred years ago in his "Geography
792 of Tibet" has already become true: "This home of the second
Victorious Tsongkhapa was at one time famous in all Tibet ...
177 Now, however, it is not only under the pressure of the deluded Chinese and Mussulmanic doctrine, but there approaches the time when Tibetans and Mongols will believe the Kung-tzu, Lao-tzu, or the teacher Naniku of Ssei"; MS, loc. cit. If one thinks of the most recent events, even in that remote area, then one sees even this melancholy prophecy surpassed, for even the doctrines of a K'ung-tzu and Lao-tzu will no longer draw the Tujen into their jurisdiction. They, too, already belong to the past.

Conclusion

174 In the course of the work it became increasingly clear
771 that the religion of the Tujen no longer represents anything uniform and independent. Rather, it grew from roots of various origins into a colorful composite that is based on the varied past of the Tujen and their present-day homeland which lies in the middle between various peoples. In particular, however, Lamaism
[779] has fostered these international connections, even to Lhasa and Peking, and has contributed decisively to religious assimilation. In this respect, the Tujen share their fate with the neighboring peoples insofar as they are not Chinese. Their belief is linked to a common layer, which, as Lamaistic popular religion, extends over the entire area of influence of the Yellow Church. Thus, the principal questions raised earlier concerning shamanism, the Bon religion, the cult of heaven, etc. are not questions that can be resolved from the point of view of the Tujen alone. Their religion has a much more general significance. To be sure, a number of special characteristics can be established. These do not suffice, however, for drawing definite conclusions concerning the origin and ethnic affiliation of the people. And even less do they permit the delimitation of any individual Tujen groups, which certainly are present. As sources for such cultural-historical and ethnic relationships, almost

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174 only the language with the folk literature still remains, perhaps
771 also the dress, but above all the tradition and the written history, which are chiefly contained in Chinese reports. This does not mean that the religion and ethnology are not to be considered; rather, they must be drawn upon in a complementary and explanatory fashion. [259] It is too late, however, to arrive at clear results in a purely folkloristic or ethnological way. That might still have been possible perhaps 50 years ago.

174 Now, however, the Sinicization of the Tujen approaches
●177 its conclusion. For a long time with respect to religion they had
771 a strong support in the Lamaistic world and defied the Chinese influence, although they had taken over their agriculture many generations ago. Today, however, they have detached themselves from this support; indeed, the support itself has already become very decayed. The reasons for this cannot be discussed here. The Tujen are giving up themselves, their language, their religion. When their children have become grandparents, Chinese culture will again have incorporated into itself a new domain which will be differentiated from the other provinces only insofar as the Chinese proverb can be applied: "At ten miles the language is different, at a hundred the custom." -- And yet all are "Chinese." [The supplement to the bibliography appears here; see foreign text.]

tribes, chased from Mongolia and Turkistan by the 175
Hsiung-nu between 176 and 165 B.C., finally became 771
unified, and founded the realm of Kushana (between Iran and India), in the first half of our era.[2] When that branch adopted Buddhism is not known, but its third king, Kanishka (A.D. 80–11–, or A.D. 120–162), was a fervent protector of Buddhism.

The Tibetans of Huang-chung, in those early times, [177] ●
were still buried in barbaric darkness. It was much later, around A.D. 630–650, that Buddhism was first spread among them, and even then it had little appeal for the people on account of the strong opposition of the native *Bön* religion. The second attempt at diffusion by Padmasambhava a century later (775–788 or 797), was more successful.[3] Conclusively, Buddhism had not been spread during this period among these Scythians or the Tibetans.

FIRST TEMPLE BUILT IN HUANG-CHUNG

Buddhism "seems," however, to have been spread 175
into the country in the first centuries of our era, because 792
the author of the *Annals* (ch. 15, p. 2*b*) mentions the "monastery" Pei Ch'an-ssu, and notes: ". . . the 'monastery' is situated five *li* outside the northern gate of the city of Hsining, at the foot of the 'Earth Tower Mountain' "; it is the very oldest monastery of which Han-yin tells: ". . . north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the monastery of the 'Earth Tower.' "

According to the Chinese "Dictionary of Famous Men of China," (*Chung-kuo ming-jen ts'e tien*) Han-yin was a native of Tun-Huang (Nan hsi-chou) who fulfilled important functions on behalf of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün (A.D. 401–439), the king of the ephemeral realm of Pei Liang. Han-yin was the author of several books, among them *The Annals of the Thirteen Chou.* In these *Annals* (p. 8), we read:

the *Shui-ching-chu* records: north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the 'Earth Tower' temple, (*shen-ssu*); according to the *Shui-ching-chu* the river Huang, turning to the east, passes on the southern side of the 'Earth Tower'; the tower on the northern side leans against the mountain, the original crest being 300 feet high, and looks steep, as if it were artificially cut; at the foot of the tower are the remainders of old walls and of carved walls of the temple (or temples).

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spectively), which titles are recorded on pp. 6*a*–11*b*. Every time they took sides with the Chinese in quelling the intermittent revolts of Tibetans. In A.D. 184 (p. 11*b*) during the revolt of the Yellow Turbans, which accelerated the fall of the later Han dynasty (A.D. 220), the Scythians revolted with the Tibetan Hsien-lin tribes, and from that time on, their name disappears from the *Annals*; nothing more seems to be known about them.

Ed. Chavannes, Les Pays d'occident d'après Le Wei Lio, *T'oung Pao*, 6: 527–528, 1905.

[2] René Grousset, *Histoire de l'extrême Orient*, 60, 61, 64, Paris, Geuthner, 1929.

[3] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 361. Bacot, Jacques, Le Mariage chinois du roi Tibetain Sron-bcan-sgan-po, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, 7, Juillet, Louvain, Istas, 1935.

"The Tibetan chronicles show that in the IXth century, Buddhism had only passed the frontiers of Tibet without having either affected the mind of the people or even the court."

[p. 8(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Yung-cheng period, not the monk Emperor Hui-ti, had appointed the administrator, who was killed. 643 175

Possibly the precarious position of the Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu, their financial troubles, which compelled them to mortgage parts of their domains to Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, enfeebled their influence and power, and prevented them from interfering with the administration of the monasteries which had received domains from them in former times. On the other hand, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, before 1723, had prominent Hutukhtus whose influence superseded that of the T'u-ssu. Only these two cases are known to me. 792 622

IV. ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAMA-SERIES: EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS 792

It seems necessary in dealing with the educational and religious aspects of a monastery, its rules, discipline, and colleges, to know beforehand to what kind of subjects the initiation into the monastic life and religious training is given. The subjects of the monastery are its main source of lamas.

LAMAS

LACK OF CANDIDATES

The superiors of all the monasteries complained bitterly about the want of religious candidates. In fact they declared that at this time (1911–1920) there existed in Huang-chung only two monasteries still having the four colleges (Kumbum and Sha-ch'ung), and the fact that so many monasteries were shadows of their former selves was the consequence of the lack of religious candidates.

CAUSES CONTRIBUTING TO LACK OF CANDIDATES

The situation in Huang-chung in 1910 was no longer the same as that before 1723. After the crushing of the revolt, the country had enjoyed peace, and developed and prospered tremendously. Chinese settled in great numbers in the thinly populated country, filled with hopes for a comfortable living. Chinese officials became more and more numerous. Chinese *literati* came to take the helm and to enforce on the uncivilized Monguors, Tibetans, and lamas admiration for the superior Chinese civilization. 175 177

First of all, the Monguors, not insulated against the impact of Chinese culture because a large number of Chinese had already been enrolled in their clans, and because their T'u-ssu were already far along in the process of Sinicization, underwent the process in differing degrees. In Huang-chung, even as in the northwest border countries of China, the first consequences of the process of Sinicization are a pride in being considered Chinese, and a scorn for lamas, whom they be-

[p. 54(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

gin to consider as barbarians. When a Monguor family 173
starts losing its identity, no more children become 177
lamas, relations with the monasteries vanish, and no more alms are offered. A lamasery situated in a Chinese environment cannot maintain itself. The schools [871]
with Chinese teachers, established in the country, exert a baneful influence on the recruiting; boys who attend Chinese schools no longer become lamas.

The bulk of the endless number of lamas was pro- 175
vided in former times by the Monguors and Tibetans 792
of Huang-chung. At the time Erh-ku-lung, Seerkok, and T'ien-t'ang ssu rode the crest of the wave of glory and learning, a respectable number of Mongols of Kukunor and Mongolia, and Tibetans of Kukunor, enrolled in the monasteries of Huang-chung, but this glorious time has long vanished. Kumbum, possessing very rich revenues, is now the only prosperous lamasery in the region; a number of Mongols and Tibetans from Kukunor are on its roster. Since the troubles with the Dalai Lama (1909) very few Tibetans from Tibet proper visit and live at Kumbum (1910–1920). At present, in most of the monasteries, the population consists of older lamas and young boys. At Seerkok, Ch'ü-t'an, and T'ien-t'ang a lot of Chinese or Sinicized Monguor lamas are enrolled, even Chinese boys, mostly children of poor Chinese families. The lamas of Erh-ku-lung asserted that these monasteries were on the way to losing the real monastic spirit. Seerkok in 1723 had two thousand lamas; in 1890, according to Rockhill,[1] it still had seven hundred lamas; in 1910 only about three hundred. Four hundred lamas deserted the monastery during the last twenty years, disgusted by the public misbehavior of the supreme chief of the monastery.

He was the second reincarnation of the glorious Min chu-erh Hutukhtu, author of the celebrated *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia,* well known in Europe. Seerkok, in order to retrieve its former position, managed to reincarnate two of its small Living Buddhas, one in Mongolia, the other in Tibet, pinning its hope on fresh recruits from Mongolia and Tibet. However, the Chinese element among the lamas was already too strong. Chinese lamas had forged ahead and were invested with the most important offices, which kept new recruits away. Without doubt, another cause contributing to the lack of candidates was the troubled situation existing in the monasteries of the country. One after another, they passed through harrowing experiences which caused their ruin. This predicament, of their own making, sets the tongues of the people wagging, brings disrepute on the institutions, and disgusts the parents to the extent they refuse their boys permission to join the lama corps. These seem to be the two important reasons causing the lack of candidates.

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[1] W. W. Rockhill, *Land of the lamas,* 98, New York, Century, 1891.

[p.54 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

he honored, and the rites he performed. It will afford an opportunity to study a shamanism influenced by Taoism, honoring Taoist gods, but conserving its original character and living congenially with Taoism. The suppleness of shamanism which, according to the circumstances, adapts itself as well to Lamaism as to Taoism, adopting heterodox doctrines and honoring alien gods,[1] challenges belief. However, it discloses the power of which it disposes, conserving its original rites which betray its origin and basic character. It is interesting to note how rites resist the wear of time better than doctrines.

The facts were all gathered during the ten years I lived among the Monguors, and were checked many times by shamans, chiefs and elders of villages, men and women, and children in the schools, all of whom had attended shamanist rites their whole life long. I attended their rites several times. Since I was best acquainted with the rites of the region situated north of the Hsining River, most of the facts concern that region.

The Mongols call the shamans *BÖ*, the Monguors call them *BŌ*, on account of the lack of the vowel Ö in their dialect. *BÖ* and *BŌ* seem to be a genuine Mongol term. The Chinese of Huang-chung call them *Fa-Shih*, "Master of Magic."

It is not easy to give a definition of shamanism and of shamans who live in a world beset with innumerable good and evil spirits with which the objective of their life is to deal.

The study of shamanism is still very confused, and authors are even unable to find a definition with which they will all agree. W. Schmidt defines the shaman as "a man who is supposed to have the power of making his own person a dwelling place for the spirits, who will speak out of him, but he keeps the power to dominate those spirits and to subdue them to his own will and wishes."[2]

Mircea Eliade, describing the shamanism of Asia, stresses primarily the phenomena of ecstasies and of trance, by means of which the shamans enter in communication with all kinds of spirits—originally with the Supreme Spirit of Heaven, who corresponds morphologically with the Supreme Spirits of the archaic religions—and with the souls of ancestors and the departed. This communication with spirits, residing in the three worlds (heaven, earth, underworld) is symbolized by ascensions to heaven of the shaman or descents into the underworld, the calling down of spirits along the rope or the ladder. The basic element of shamanism consists not of the incorporation of spirits

[1] Walter Heissig, Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer im Küriye-Banner, *Folklore Studies*, Catholic University of Peking, 3: 1, 1944. This very interesting study reveals the way shamanism adapted itself to Lamaism.

[2] W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Freiburg in der Schweiz, Paulus Verlag, 9: 243, 1949.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to drive away evil spirits. It is not used during the ceremonies celebrated in the temple of the village. The staff is considered to be endowed with magical power and is planted before the picture of the Twelve Tengris honored by the shaman at his home. It is honored like an idol; the shaman burns incense and prostrates himself before it. 756 793

Every time a shaman uses his tools they have to be purified. By smoking them above a fire of cypress boughs. It is said that some laymen who honor a special spirit are able to use a staff and to call their spirit into it.

SPIRITS HONORED BY THE SHAMANS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans involves the very interesting question of how and to what extent shamanism and Taoism became mixed and interwoven among the Monguor shamans—a question which is all the more interesting because it has often been written that shamanism and Taoism are strongly linked together. In order to tackle the problem it is necessary to determine whether the spirits honored by shamans and Taoists are the same, whether the ways of worshipping them are similar, and what may have been the reason for the intermixture of the two religions. 756 177 171

SHAMANS, DISCIPLES OF THE TAOIST GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The most baffling and confusing fact in this respect is that all the Monguor shamans overtly claim to be disciples of the "god of the five roads," the Wu-tao-shen, who is a Taoist god. 756 776 171

When the chiefs of the villages invite a shaman to perform his rites of spring or autumn for the community, they send one of the elders with an official invitation written on a slip of red paper, "to [sir] Hsien-sheng so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads." During the Mongol dynasty the term *Hsien-sheng* was only used for Taoist priests. On New Year's the shamans send to the chiefs of the villages and to outstanding people a card reading, "Happy Congratulations of so-and-so, disciple of the god of the five roads." It has already been noted that the crown worn by the Monguor shamans represents the god of the Five Roads, that one of the caps worn during the performance of the rites is the cap of the Taoist priests, and that the pattern of their gown, except for its color, is the same as that of the Taoist priests. It has been noted that the Monguor shamans are members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the city. When a shaman dies he is buried wearing the crown of the god of the Five Roads. If one adds that many of the temples in the villages in which the shamans perform their rites are dedicated to the god of the Five Roads, and that at the same time more Taoist statues are honored in them, it gives the impression that the shamans are a kind of Taoist. Not only does the cult of the god of

of his large sleeves—he is the spirit of the clouds. Another corpulent Chinese god pours a torrent of rain out of the urn of the rainbow, which he holds in his hands. A Chinese girl, standing in the sky, flashes two metal mirrors producing terrific lightning. A spirit with athletic appearance, having a couple of long wings attached to his back, clashes a hammer and chisel together with fury, producing thunder. All over the scene big hailstones rattle down on crops and herds of fleeing sheep and cows and people with bleeding faces. Horses, cows, sheep, birds, serpents, and a couple of men lie dead on the ground. In the sky the three famous gods on horseback, with a whole retinue of dragon riders led by the devil, and the judge accompanied by a wolf and tiger, start the pursuit of the evil doers. It is a terrific picture for people who know by experience the havoc wrought on their crops by hailstorms. 756 532

In front of this awful picture on the western wall is displayed the pageant of the victorious return of the gods and their retinue, riding spirited horses, with banners on high, tiger and wolf with mouths and teeth red with blood from devouring the evil doers. The whole procession is proceeding toward the gate of a walled town where an immense crowd, on bended knees, waits to thank and congratulate the gods.

These two pictures are never lacking, either in the temples of the dragon gods of Ho-hu, Hsüan-T'an, or in those of the goddesses of children. This fact is really significant and reveals the people's dread of hailstorms.

The God of the Five Roads with his associates, over whom he seems to preside, is supposed to be a protector against hailstorms, so much dreaded by the people.

All these cumulative facts prove without question that the Monguor shamans have adopted the gods of Taoism and honor them. [177]

SHAMANS AND THEIR OWN TWELVE TENGRIS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans is not exhausted by the cult of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, since they still honor their own old spirits, calling them, "Our Twelve good Tengris, the most potent among the spirits." The young shamans are dedicated to the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads. Moreover, the shamans honor at home the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads. 756 776 532

Who are the Tengris? Most of the pictures I saw were very primitive and painted by shamans themselves; those painted by Chinese artists were better. The pictures represented four rows of three Chinese warriors riding horses and wearing bow and quiver; a man on foot, with bow and quiver, accompanied each of the soldiers. In the center of the picture there was painted a man, not a warrior, bigger in size than the others, dressed in black, with a black face and beard, riding a white tiger and holding in his hand a knotty staff. I was curious about them, and was told that the black tiger rider was the chieftain, the leader of the

[p.186(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the chief of the village asks him or her whether "Heaven and all the spirits" will really preserve the crops. 782 789

At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion. [731]

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages situated in the Sha-t'ang Valley, which have a goddess in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death, without wearing the Monguor skirt!" [9] 175 177

On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple and spend a night with him. The tradition requires that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.[10] [792] 796 782 [784]

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[9] I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

[10] The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a [771]

[A102(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

in business is ascribed to the spirit who is the guardian 772
of the wealth of some family, offended by the injustices 776
perpetrated by the unsuccessful businessman. When drought imperils the crops, they implore and propitiate the dragon god who cares for rain. They never envisage calamities or troubles as being a punishment of Heaven, and never try to propitiate Heaven, but they make recourse to the god who is supposed to administer the department in question, and try to conciliate him by inviting shamans or lamas. At that time Heaven and Buddha are overlooked. Exceptionally devout Buddhists will once in a while ascribe misfortunes to punishments sent by Buddha and invite lamas to pray for some days. However, such an act of religion is "never performed for Heaven."

PRAYERS AND OFFERINGS FOR HEAVEN

I have notice of only one occasion of a thanksgiving 776
rite for the reaped harvest of the year, performed by 776
the entire village. It is led by the chief and elders of the community, and an offering of a sheep or a pig is made on that occasion. The prayer is said and the offer made for "Old Father Heaven" alone, the stereotyped "all the spirits" being omitted.

This fact seems to be controversial because every family, giving thanks for the reaped harvest privately, makes its offering and says its prayers to "Heaven and all the spirits," and not according to the thanksgiving rite of the Chinese performed in the country for Heaven alone. The rite is the more controversial because, except in this case, offerings are never made, or prayers said by the Monguors, to Heaven alone. This exceptional rite appears to have been borrowed from the [177] ●
Chinese at the time when the Monguors in Hsining exchanged their pastoralism for an agricultural economy.

The fact that the rite of the sacred animal still per- 776
sists among the Monguors (see above, pp. 105, 118), 782
may be evidence that the rite after the reaping of the harvest, directed to Heaven alone, was borrowed by the Monguors from the Chinese in Hsining. The rite of the sacred animal, which is characteristic of nomads, is both for the purpose of securing for the herds the blessings of fecundity and, at the same time, a rite of the first fruits, since it comes in the spring after the nomad "harvest" of lambs (see above, p. 118). It thus corresponds to the agricultural rite after the autumn harvest, when the crops have been carried to the threshing floor. The rite of the sacred animal is performed by the Monguor community at the lunar New Year (usually in February). It is in honor of the guardian deity of the village, and is performed within the temple of the village and also in the living room of each family, before the altar of the guardian spirit of the family and in its honor. This rite of thanksgiving for the newborn livestock is never devoted, by the Monguors, to Heaven, nor is it performed outdoors, on the tops of mountains;

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fected the imperial family of the founder of the new 795
Mongol nation in a peculiar way.

Chingis, building his new nation, resorted to al- 175
liances with neighboring tribes. He married his fourth 648
son, Tului, to the niece of Toghrul Ong Khan, chief of 643
the powerful Nestorian Kereit tribe. The Nestorian princess bore four sons, among whom was Mönke, the fourth leader of the nation, Khubilai, who became emperor of China, and Hulagu, the ruler of Persia, who also married a Nestorian Kereit princess, the granddaughter of the same Toghrul. The latter had a chapel attached to his camp.

Chingis married his own daughter, Alagai Beki, to Po-yao-ho, the son of the chief of the Nestorian Öngüts, who helped him conquer the Chin. Chingis was so fond of his son-in-law that he made him follow him, with Kulan the well-known favorite, in his conquest of West Turkistan and Khwarezm. The relations between the Nestorian Öngüts and the imperial family were very close. Güyük, the second successor of Chingis and leader of the nation, married his daughter to the son of Po-yao-ho, who had a Christian chapel before his tent. The emperor Khubilai married his daughter to the other son of Po-yao-ho.

No wonder that many Nestorian Kereits and Öngüts 177
occupied important administrative posts in the new na- 797
tion. Chingis himself appointed the Christians Chinkhai 643
and Khadak, and all imperial orders had to bear the signature of Chinkhai. Two chief ministers of Güyük were Christians, as were also the physicians at court. The principal minister of Mönke was the Christian Bolgai. Protection enjoyed by the 30,000 Nestorians in China in the construction of churches and monasteries was due to the emperor, whose mother was a Nestorian and who gave his daughter to a Nestorian prince. Even so, the diffusion of Catholicism by the first missionaries was also made possible and even encouraged by him. The impact of Nestorianism upon the imperial family seems at first sight to have been unusual, but it was in fact merely a veneer overlying a shamanist underground, for soon after Chingis, the Mongol emperors practiced Lamaism to the extent that Peking became a Lamaist city.[27] O. Franke writes about the "Rabies Buddhica" of the Mongol emperors.[28]

Vladimirtsov writes:

Chingis Khan introduced a definite religious idea into 797
the political conception of his own suzerainty and of that 175
of his clan . . . the shaman Kokchu announced that the 643
"Everlasting Blue Sky" favored Chingis who was its own pre-ordained envoy on earth. . . . "The 'Sky' has ordered me to govern all the peoples," Chingis said. . . .

[27] K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, 63–65. Henri Cordier, Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *T'oung Pao* **18**: 56–57, 197. P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extreme Orient, *T'oung Pao* **15**: 627, 1914. P. Pelliot, Les Mongols et la Papauté, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* **23**: 4 seq., 1922–1923; **24**: 46, 1924; **28**: 169, 193–4, 199, 1931–1932. Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

[28] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 522. [p. 154 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

ister their clans in territories assigned by the emperor. 614
They formed a genuine enclave in a border province of 648
China. It is an enigma how they could keep their social organization for five-hundred years, conserve their traditions, and withstand being absorbed in the Chinese nation.

The Monguor clans, at the time of their submission to China, were military institutions whose families were organized into groups of 10, 100, and 1,000, each under a chief. On account of the shift from pastoralism toward an agricultural economy, villages became units governed by a chief, two military commanders, and some elders appointed by the T'u-ssu, all belonging, in the beginning, to the nobility. Military service, taxes, and corveés were fixed, and troubles among the villagers were settled by those appointed chiefs in public meetings. Appeal was possible, however, to the higher authority of the T'u-ssu, and as a last resort to the Chinese authority (see Part I: 76). The Monguors thus lived their own lives in their own organized world, under powerful chiefs; their soldiers were always ready to defend the marches on the empire.

On account of the tremendous power and influence 792
radiating from the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and its three 614
celebrated Hutukhtus (who were personal friends of 175
the emperors and from whom they received territorial grants), between 1604 and 1723 many subjects of the T'u-ssu, lured by better conditions of tenantry, became subjects of the lamaseries, exempt from taxes and corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The clan chiefs willy-nilly had to comply with this situation and in order to retrieve their material assets, and to have tenants till their soil, and taxpayers and soldiers, they had to enroll Tibetans and Chinese in their clans.

The double damage wrought to the Monguor clans by 614
this situation became peculiarly conspicuous after the 177
revolt of 1723. Those Monguors who, lured by the 175
hope of better economic conditions, had become subjects of lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas and continued to live as Monguors, segregated from the Chinese, to wear their Monguor dress, keeping their family customs and traditions in marriage, burial, and other festivities, but under lama chiefs instead of clan chiefs. After 1723 their social conditions changed entirely. Becoming Chinese subjects, they could not be reintegrated in their old clans and found themselves isolated in a new world without cohesion or support, and burdened with taxes and corvées. They started to speak Chinese, adopt the Chinese style of dress, marry Chinese girls, be buried according to the Chinese rites. Such was the classical case of the thirteen villages of the Sha-t'ang Valley, which before 1723 depended on Erh-ku-lung. The bulk of the defections among the Monguors was caused by their first becoming subjects of lamaseries, and later being thrown into the hands of Chinese officials, where they lacked the support of their former chiefs and religion. These groups of Monguors re-

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canted their origin. They still know pretty well that 614 their ancestors were Monguors, however, and after two- 177 hundred years, the women, at death, still have to be 175 laid out in the coffin in the Monguor skirt. "Chinese" of such origin always remained addicted to shamanism and Lamaism, notwithstanding the fact that they also built Taoist temples and supported Taoist priests.

The second thing which turned the Monguor society upside down after 1723 was the improvement of material conditions. Peace and stability having been assured, and areas for expansion having been opened to agriculture, more Chinese moved into the country, commerce started to develop and flourish. New markets were opened by the Chamber of Commerce of Hsining, connected with those of the capital of the province. The Monguors, inpoverished by the previous chronic inroads of Mongols and Tibetans and the recent revolt, were now more prosperous. Many Monguor commoners became rich, even richer and more influential than many member of the nobility, and they began to be appointed chiefs of villages, military commanders, and elders. The nobility correspondingly lost influence and prestige. Because there were Chinese among the commoners, the way of thinking, settling troubles, and administering the villages became more and more Chinese.

The intercourse of the Monguors with the Chinese 177 became more intensive through commercial relations. 614 The richest Monguors started sending their boys to Chinese schools, marrying Chinese girls, who abhorred the dress of the Monguor women, and refused to speak the Monguor language. More and more Monguors, under the impact of Chinese culture, were ashamed of being called barbarians and preferred to claim to be Chinese. Long since, the chiefs of the clans, the T'u-ssu, had set the example by marrying Chinese girls, to such an extent that many among them were unable to speak the language of their subjects. Nationalism in language never having existed among them, the Chinese language began to be used indiscriminately at the village meetings and at the performance of religious rites by shamans and lamas. All official documents were written in Chinese, and so nearly all Monguors understood [191] and spoke the Chinese language but used their Monguor language when conversing among themselves. However, they remained members of the Monguor clans, even though the Chinese officials did not prevent them from abandoning their clan chiefs with the same rigidity as in former times. They conserved their old customs and traditions and the old social organization.

What was the reason for these facts? On the one 771 hand, the economic benefits attached to the T'u-ssu in- 614 stitution are to be taken into serious consideration. However, on the other hand, the religious factor is not to be overlooked. The entire fabric of the Monguor social organization was woven in an atmosphere of religion which caused them to remember that they were

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with the same foes; and again in 1872, at the time of the revolt of the Mohammedans, when the clan built a floating bridge to pass the Tatung River, for the army had to reach Hsining and was blocked at Lien Ch'eng. 175x

The conclusion seems to be that a sword of Damocles swayed above the clan for as long a time as the seceders were alive and assuming an attitude of menacing hostility every time an opportunity would occur.

CONCLUSION

The study ends with the biographies of the ancestors of the most prominent among the clans, the Lu clan, which shed light on the family life of the t'u-ssu and the process of Sinicization in the center of the family. 175x 622 565

This section of the Biographies shows the mentality of the chiefs of the clans and their entire families. All the chiefs of the Monguor clans at the beginning of the Ming dynasty were uncouth barbarians, admiring the Chinese civilization, feeling themselves humiliated in the presence of the Chinese. Hence the eagerness in the families of the chiefs of all the clans to learn the Chinese language, to adopt Chinese customs, to have in the family members honored with literary degrees, to see their chiefs dignified with Chinese military titles and promotions. The Chinese knew very well these dispositions and fostered them, granting military titles one after another, even bestowing upon some among them, the title of Duke of Hui Ning and Duke of Kao Yang. 156 177

The chiefs of the clans married girls of prominent Chinese officials, and married their girls to important Chinese officials and prominent Chinese families. After a couple of generations the mentality and customs in the family had completely changed. Dinners had become Chinese dinners, clothing Chinese clothing, jewelry Chinese jewelry, furniture in the houses Chinese furniture, and the walls were adorned with Chinese inscriptions and paintings. A hall to the ancestors had been built in the mansion of the chief of the clan where sacrifices were offered according to the Chinese pattern, and rich Monguors liked to display luxury in the Chinese fashion. The introduction of Chinese women into the families of the chiefs of the clan had changed entirely the mind of the family and stimulated its Sinicization. But in China the corners are never wholly square. These Sinicized Monguors profess a Confucianism that allows them to practice, even fervently, lamaism and shamanism, that allows them to burn down and rebuild monasteries, to be proprietors of monasteries and to have sons who become lamas and even Living Buddhas. 175x 177 [582]

The family chronicles of the Lu clan are a great help for the comprehension of the social life of the Monguor clans and also of the attitude of the Chinese administration, related to the policy adopted toward the Mongol and Tibetan brigands on the frontiers. 114

N 563 194 preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. [195] Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' [596] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture [241] goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable [438] role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never [233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays [464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese S [422] farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, S sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is [592] the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly S [614] becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy S [192] exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [422] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N 563 The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and M 233 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, 241 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest 108 that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. [177] They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the N 563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as M the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, 231 mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred [554] only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the R 596 extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally [603] oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy [421] authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

N 663 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a M 614 Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the 622 head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he 177 directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of 178 the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

N 563 on, when the Monguors gave up the nomadic way of life and
M 614 became sedentary, the connection with the Chinese became
622 closer and closer and closer until the Monguors finally came
178 under Chinese rule. As the best means of maintaining control
177 over the "frontier barbarians" the Chinese permitted them a certain amount of local self-government; at this time the clan chieftain became a Chinese official, a so-called T'u-ssu or "local chief."

The Monguors were no exception to the rule that all minorities, militarily powerless in comparison with the ruling Chinese, succumbed to the new culture, which, in the minds of the minorities, had always been superior and therefore worthy of imitation. As soon as the minorities were militarily defeated or went into submission voluntarily and deliberately, their chieftains proudly received the insignia and title of a
M [171] Chinese office. This is true of the Khans of the Mongols, the Bäks of the Turks, the rgyal-pos of the Tibetans.

While the Turkic chieftains received the title of Shang-lao (Bäk), the Mongolian tribal leaders became Wangs, and the Monguor clan chieftains received the title of T'u-ssu. This institution was installed by the Chinese to administer minority tribes at the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. The
N 563 T'ang annals already report that the Chinese Emperor made
175 hereditary chieftains of frontier territories heads of the Chi-mi-
M 175 chou, (the predecessor of the T'u-ssu institution). The Yüan
177 dynasty already called this office by its present name - T'u-
614 ssu. The Ming dynasty continued to confer this title on Mongol
622 clan chieftains whose clans were by this time mixed with Tibetans, Turks, and Chinese. The Manchu dynasty,(who favored minorities for obvious reasons: (1) the Manchus themselves constituted a minority and (2) maintenance of political equilibrium and balance of power in regard to minorities and indigenous Chinese) extended this system in a way that the various clans gained a limited measure of self-determination and autonomy. However, the ties to the Imperial court and its administrative institutions were, and remained close. Finally, the office of the T'u-ssu remained under the same name during the Republican period of China. In other frontier areas, e.g. in Sinkiang, the names of these offices were different, but they differed only slightly functionally. Father Schram describes the institution as follows: "...the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal non-Chinese peoples attached to, but not yet absorbed into, the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that ofChina as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native Chief" and as Chinese official."

/Kansu Monguors/

N *563 M 142 have very scanty beards, and there is seldom any growth of hair on the body.

e. economic activities

N *563 M [241] [233] [433] The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

M [291] [177] [171] Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to wear only Chinese clothing.

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Olots and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours now belong to Chinghai Province. Very little is known about the N [177] Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokonor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian N [233] language. They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölots and the Torguts of Sinkiang.

2. Hordes

N *563 619 361 *[175] When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai area he found the following groups of Mongols:

(1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;

(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;

(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;

(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;

(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.

(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.

(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 554 648 175 groups on the frontier of the Empire. The T'u-ssu thus had a double role, he functioned as a "native chief" and as a Chinese official.

The most important clan chiefs who were granted the title of T'u-ssu in Ming times were those of the Ch'i and Lu clans, who were descendants of the Imperial House of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan of the Shato Turks. From this time on the Monguours remained faithful defenders of the frontiers, first under the Ming dynasty and later under the Manchu dynasty. The Shato origin of the Li clan is corroborated by the Chinese Annals. Shato tribes are noted to have lived between Hsi-ning and Kan-chou as early as 939. The supposition that tribes of Turkish origin, bearing Turkish names, still live in the country is therefore not unreasonable.

N *563 M 614 175 648 179 During the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Chinese and Tibetan families enrolled in the seventeen Monguor and Shato clans, in addition to the original Mongol stock, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned. It is very likely that, especially in the period from 1368 to 1723, only stray Chinese families enrolled in Monguor clans. Later in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who joined Monguor clans. It must be said, however, that while the Monguors have absorbed or at least partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture is lower than that of the Chinese.

In addition to the Chinese, large numbers of Tibetans enrolled in Monguor clans. However, they have probably joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese. When Chinese M [565] or Tibetans enrolled in the Monguor clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors.

N *563 M 614 554 423 The T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan from the emperor. These territories were usually assigned, according to a military plan, as a buffer zone, at a time when the Monguors were still exclusively nomads. It may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories.

The distinctive mark of the commoner is bondage to his respective T'u-ssu. Commoners were subjects "granted" to a N *563 chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his command in time of war. The military importance of a T'u-ssu was M 614 565 554 therefore dependent on the number of his families of commoners. Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of slaves, as pointed out previously, the basic distinction between nobles and commoners still existed in recent times. The first duty of a subject was to never abandon his overlord. Ideally speaking, the T'u-ssu and their subjects were bound together for all time. The subjects could not leave their lord in order to pass

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N *563 M 276 [372] men make their own pipes from the leg bone of a sheep. The smoking kit, a small pouch holding tobacco, a pinch of tinder and some small flints, hangs on the belt at the waist. The light is obtained by striking tinder against the flint.

c. Clothing

N *563 M 291 [177] The Mongours have always been proud of their national costume, though since the enrollment of some Chinese into their clans, a few communities have adopted Chinese clothing. During the rule of the Chinese Nationalist government, most of the Mongours kept their own costume. According to Father Schram, M [668] [177] who made a thorough investigation of the people, they were not allowed to wear the national costume after the Communists conquered their country in 1949. It is not known whether the Communists are continuing their policy of obliterating the distinct costumes and traditions of the small minorities.

M [171] The clothing of the Mongours is not greatly different from that of the Mongols. Traditionally, the men dress much less elaborately than the women. A man ordinarily wears a dark blue cotton gown, similar to that of the Chinese, that opens on the right side and hangs a little below the knees. The upper part of the gown is loose and a sash or belt is worn at the waist, making a copious pocket in which the man carries his eating bowl and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown of roughly woven white wool. Festival gowns of the rich are of silk or satin, and a vest or sleeveless jacket is worn over the gown. The ordinary man wears a cotton gown and jacket for festive occasions, with a plain silk or cotton sash.

In the old days, men wore trousers only when they went to town. Now they regularly wear blue cotton trousers cut in the Chinese style, with the legs stuffed into their cloth-topped knee boots. The tops of dress boots are sometimes embroidered. In winter, leather boots are worn. Few Mongours wear underclothing, and neither men nor women wear stockings.

M [301] Almost every young man wears a silver-plated bracelet carved with Chinese designs, and most men wear finger rings set with coral or turquoise.

The woman's gown is very full, has wide sleeves, and hangs to her heels. It overlaps in front, and buttons down the left side. An outer gown of coarse, unwashed wool is used as a working garment. Because of the natural oil in the wool, the gown sheds water well. A sash or girdle holds both gowns at the waist. Generally the poor do not wear trousers, the two gowns being their only garments.

N *563 M 292 Well-to-do women have elaborate and gaily colored festival dresses, fancy trousers and false sleeves. Like the Mongol women, they wear fancy headdresses and boots for dress occasions. At such times the outer gown is left off and the inner

N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [191] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still M [888] living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

N *563 M 301 Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 769 614 a. Ancestor worship

Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-

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N *563 M 621 183 178 The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is M [867] dinned into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-ssu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

N *563 M 621 183 177 178 During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

e. Stealing and gambling

N *563 M [685] [673] [525] [794] Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

N *563 M 587 A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

N *563 M 867 Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meeted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

N *563 M 576 264 603 According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge

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N *563 first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announce-
M 562 852 [553] ment of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elab-
M [203] [604] [603] [553] orate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

M [184] Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

N *563 j. Beard-growing

A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first
M 302 [593] [888] or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the con-
M 764 [191] [199] struction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

N *563 4. Popular beliefs

Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant
M 843 562 woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name
M 553 a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.

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000on the luckless family.

N *563 M 231 [772] The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

N *563 M 515 [784] Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

5. Occupations

N *563 M 24 233 433 The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

N *563 M 24 [177] [432] The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

N *563 M 231 554 [556] [184] Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

N *563 M 233 463 Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

566 621 ers still existed in 1911–1922, even though the chasm which in former times separated nobles from commoners had almost been bridged in ordinary social life. The commoners were still, however, not allowed to abandon their chiefs. The moment they became able to exercise that freedom, the clans were bound to fall asunder, the troops to disappear, and the T'u-ssu institution to wither away.

The first duty of a subject was never to abandon his lord.[45] The subjects and their descendants were chained with fetters which never could be removed. They could not even of their own decision leave their lord in order to pass into the service of another lord. Under pre-Monguor customary law the death penalty was stipulated for attempting to do so.[46] This conviction of being chained was deeply rooted in the social consciousness of the Monguors and was considered by them to be natural. It was enforced by the right of the T'u-ssu to request from the Chinese officials the extradition of any of his subjects who fled and hid among the Chinese.

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After the great rebellion of the Muslims (1868–1872), however, the military power of the Monguors gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time wielded any considerable influence. The Chinese officials, receiving fewer presents from the impoverished T'u-ssu, were not as willing as before to uphold their rights and privileges. Although there is no documentary evidence that the Chinese were following their traditional policy of unifying the administration by gradually abolishing the privileges of tribes that had become innocuous, perhaps there were secret orders from Peking to neglect the T'u-ssu. The T'u-ssu institution had in fact become obsolete and the imperial authorities must have been aware that this kind of defense of the frontiers was now useless.[47] In any event, less support was henceforth

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to live together with his clan; to help in the pastoral economy and in hunting. It was impossible for them to unbind the fetters which chained them to the suzerain, and so their descendants continued to be the vassals of his clan.

[45] There was a distinction in this respect between nobles and commoners. As shown by the recorded instances, notably in the Li clan (see above, p. 40), a kinsman of the T'u-ssu could, in certain circumstances, split away from the T'u-ssu and, by the decree of the overlord state, take some of the commoners, be allocated a territory, be created himself a T'u-ssu, and become the founder of a new line of nobles ruling over subject commoners. From this aspect the position of a T'u-ssu relative to his noble kinsmen may be described as *primus inter pares* and relative to his commoners as *princeps omnium*.—O. L.

[46] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 153.

[47] The T'u-ssu and the whole antiquated Manchu imperial system were unable to deal with the Muslim insurrection, which was eventually put down by the "new style" Chinese (not Manchu) generals in command of Chinese (not Manchu) troops, with Western arms. One consequence was that it became evident that such frontier feudatories as the Monguors were no longer either useful or dangerous. Even if there were secret orders from Peking to neglect them, therefore, there was no need for such orders. Another consequence was that the "new style" Chinese generals began to become superior in prestige to the Manchu imperial state, and became, in fact, the "founding ancestors" of

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extended to the T'u-ssu, their influence waned and dwindled, and they even became unable to insist on the extradition of fugitive subjects who preferred to become Chinese or to take a chance on earning a living elsewhere.

The cornerstone of the whole institution had always been the power to keep the subjects bound to the chief and to the territory. As this power decreased during the last fifty years of the Manchu dynasty, there were many defections. In the end the only ties still attaching the vassals to their lord were the benefits of living under his administration, because his taxes on his subjects were not as heavy as the taxes imposed on Chinese. If the subjects saw a chance to better themselves in some other way, however, or felt the fetters of the T'u-ssu too chafing, they would say goodbye to their lord and leave him.

A rich subject of the Lu T'u-ssu living in the Lumen Valley, an owner of large herds, left his lord and enrolled in a Tibetan tribe north of Weiyuanp'u, where he secured better pasturage for his flocks and enjoyed about the material advantages that he had enjoyed near his lord. He was soon on his way to becoming a Tibetan, and his Monguor lord could not impede his departure.

About 1890, several groups of Monguors, vassals of different T'u-ssu, enrolled in the Tibetan tribe called "the ten large clans" living in Hasit'an in the sub-prefecture of Kulang. They left their lords and ceased to recognize any kind of allegiance to them. Because this defection was on a large scale and damaging to their prestige, the T'u-ssu collectively sued for the extradition of their undutiful subjects at the Chinese courts at Xienpei, P'ingfan, and Hsining, and finally at Lanchou. Convinced of their inalienable rights, they persisted, but in 1914, after more than twenty years of unavailing litigation, no decision had been handed down. The disheartened lords swallowed the bitter pill. The breach had been opened in the fortress of their old institution, and it appeared to be doomed. In 1918 I saw the defecting Monguors in Hasit'an. Their womenfolk still wore the distinctive Monguor headgear and dress, and they still spoke the Monguor language, but after one or two generations they would become Tibetans.

Another group of Monguors belonging to the Li T'u-ssu left their lord, repudiated their allegiance to him, and went to live in the territory of the monastery of T'ient'ang. They got into trouble with the Living Buddha of the monastery, who ordered them to wear Tibetan costume.

The Living Buddha Sumpa of the monastery of Erhkulung had acquired a large territory belonging to Mongols living north of the sub-prefecture of Maopeisheng.[48]

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the warlords, the social class that dominated the next generation both within China and on the frontiers.—O. L.

[48] This place name is a Chinese rendering of the Mongol *mu baishing*, "ruined (lit. 'bad') building" (or "fortress"). The ancient word *baishing* is not listed as used by Monguors in De Smedt and Mostaert's *Dictionnaire*.—O. L.

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624 178 He gathered several groups of Monguors and founded four Monguor villages, naming them after the villages from which the settlers came. These Monguors still recognize their allegiance to their lords for corvées and other services, but not for land taxes, which they pay to the Buddha.

A colony of Monguors from Shangsukou emigrated to Cholok in Narinkou. They, too, continued to recognize their old lord.

These facts prove that the clan institution of the T'u-ssu was falling asunder by the end of the Manchu dynasty, and also indicate that the Monguors were so prolific that the territory assigned to them by the emperor in 1368 had become too narrow.

TAXES

651 The Monguor taxation system bespeaks the nomadic tradition. In former times the importance of a nomad chief was not appraised by the extent of his territory, but by the number of his vassals. The Monguor T'u-ssu still retain this outlook. Their neighbors, the Chinese, impose taxes on the fields, not on the people, but the T'u-ssu impose taxes on the vassals, not on the fields. The vassals, having become farmers, live in villages. The T'u-ssu taxes the village community according to the number and wealth of its families. The heads of families, together with the elders, grade the families in five classes according to their wealth and apportion the taxes among them. Rich people who are traders or have large herds but cultivate little land are more heavily taxed than poor people who cultivate more land. At the lowest level the commoner is taxed without consideration of the source of his income. At this lowest level, the amount of land cultivated necessarily becomes the sole base of taxation, and the nomadic principle of taxing the people is inevitably transformed into the agricultural principle of taxing the land.

It is easy to understand that the distribution of taxes is in many villages the source of troubles and quarrels which the T'u-ssu have to deal with on their triennial visits. Obviously, the system does not fit the framework of the present (1911–1921) economy of the Monguors. If the tax system were to fit the conditions, fields and herds and trade should be subject to differently calculated taxes; but both the Monguors and their T'u-ssu are still dominated by the nomadic tradition, and therefore accept the basic principle that it is the vassal and not the territory that should be taxed.

When the harvest has been reaped and threshed, the servants of the lord go to all the villages, exhorting the villagers to bring their taxes to the mansion of the T'u-ssu immediately. These taxes, levied in kind, constitute the principle income of the lord, who is therefore anxious to have them gathered into his granaries. The emissaries of the T'u-ssu also have their own customs and traditions. They know very well in which village they are entitled by custom to receive a sheep; in which village

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

624 noble or a group of nobles did not agree with the chief
565 of the clan, they were free to take those commoners who were directly subject to them and to join another clan or found a new clan. The Monguors do not remember that groups of nobles have ever left one clan to join another. The way in which, in the Li clan, a noble who did not agree to the appointment of his nephew as T'u-ssu was given 100 families and allowed to become a small independent T'u-ssu himself, has already been described. This case occurred, however, during the time of troubles when the Ming dynasty fell and the Manchu dynasty was set up. It may, therefore, be interpreted, perhaps, not as a real secession from the clan but rather as a compromise, in a time of uncertainty, to avoid dissension within the clan. Since the Monguor clans are small, and since the nobles do not have commoners who are their own direct subjects, secession from the clan is in fact practically impossible. A single family of nobles, not being able to take a following of commoners with it, would have no bargaining power in attempting to join another clan and could in fact join only if willing to accept commoner status instead of noble status. Thus it can be said that the device of granting to Houses only the right to collect taxes from certain villages, and not the direct "ownership" of the villages, has served to bind the Monguor nobles to their clan and to their territory.

WANING INFLUENCE OF NOBLES

178 The facts that have here been recited seem to justify
565 the general inference that the transition from a nomadic economy to an agricultural economy resulted in undermining the influence and power formerly wielded by the
624 nobles as a group. On the one hand, all forms of noble power have tended to become more nearly monopolized by the T'u-ssu; on the other hand increasing self-government by the villages and participation by commoners in both civil and military administration has tended to make the power of the T'u-ssu less absolute and more nominal. Farming led to the grouping of the commoners in villages and, therefore, inevitably to new forms of administration and control. Gradually, as it became customary to give village appointments to commoners who were energetic and able instead of to idle nobles who were content to live on their revenues, the nobles were squeezed out. Since the power to appoint chiefs and elders and military commanders remained with the T'u-ssu, his nominal power was increased but since this meant that the actual collection of revenue in the villages and the actual exercise of authority were in the hands of commoners, their real power increased.

[556] This development was probably favored on the one hand by the weakening cohesion of the nobles through their division into Houses, and on the other hand by the increasingly individualistic farming economy, which increased the local respect for families which were of non-noble origin but had become wealthy and influential.

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

565 Conversely, the nobles were weakened by the fact that
178 their unearned revenue decreased generation by generation, through inheritance and subdivision, so that more
558 and more, if a noble family were locally wealthy and
621 respected, it was not because of its share of taxes but because this particular family was able to produce and conserve wealth in the same manner as the leading commoner families. The ties of such a family with the rest of the nobility were weakened, and its ties with the local village community and its interests were strengthened.

NOBLES AND COMMONERS

565 We may summarize this aspect of the social history of
178 the Monguors by saying that when they first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, the social distance between commoners and nobles must have been very great. With settled life and the increasing domination of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their own ability to manage their own farms, and local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability and not primarily by class. Nobles could, in the conventional form of sale, "pass" their fields to commoners, and commoners to nobles. They bought cattle and grain from each other and sold them to each other. Nobles and commoners, if they had the money, joined together to invest in trade. Apart
565 from the important discrimination in favor of nobles in
178 immunity from taxes and corvées, and immunity from being flogged in court, the principal surviving distinc-
576 tions of the aristocracy are such things as their higher rank at important ceremonies, social precedence at dinners, marriages, funerals, and festivities (even though the noble were a poor man), the custom of calling the nobles "ta jen" (great man), and finally the old custom that when a commoner meets a noble on the road, he must dismount, remove his hat, and unroll his pigtail.

In my own experience, I know of a case of an old man named Chao, of Peiyahua, who, refusing to dismount in this manner, was brought before the T'u-ssu, made to apologize, and required to make an offering of a sheep with red paper pasted on its horns and a piece of red cotton cloth bound on its back, and to present incense and oil to the ancestral temple. It is to the disadvantage, not the advantage, of the nobles as a class that many of them show an overbearing pride. Such men are most conspicuous when, though known to be addicted to opium and gambling, they try to uphold their traditional "rights" by demanding deference from commoners.

THE CLAN ASSEMBLY

175 In the year 1913 the Monguors were entering on a period of trouble and decline. The T'u-ssu institution was threatened. Ever since the beginning of the Chinese Republic in 1911 there had been rumors that the Chinese officials would abolish the institution. The dowager who

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/12 cont'd/

M 551 171 HM 551 614

Noyans, Bagaturs, Beks and Tegins, all the aristocracy now became the Vassals of the clan of Mongol and accepted its name. For the first time the united nation had a common name and the name soon became so glorious that every nomad was proud to call himself a Mongol. /Cited in English./

A similar custom existed among the T'ou-jen. Indeed, we know the case of a group of more than a hundred families under the Iang t'ou-se of Tchouo-ni-tse who came to live in the Choei-mouo-keou of Sining belonging to the Li t'ou-se. The whole group changed its name from Iang to Li and acknowledged Li t'ou-se as its chief.

M 551 /13/ however, due to historic events which we shall relate in their place, families under the same t'ou-se no longer bear the same name.

M 582 178 Hence, in this case, formerly the prohibition against marriage between young people bearing the same name corresponded to that forbidding marriage between members of the same tribe or clan. This prohibition makes us think of the great law of exogamy in all its breadth; an exogamy affecting not only the family but also the clan, since here the two merge. Whatever may have been the case in the past, the law of exogamy today bears only on the single family.

M 551 613 The T'ou-jen consider that the notion of name is exactly equivalent to that of family. All those who do not bear the same name, even though they are descended directly from the same ancestor, are foreigners /i.e., outsiders/ to the family. Here is a conception laden with consequences: daughters given in marriage and, taking the name of their husbands, will consequently leave the family and will become outsiders; they will no longer be buried in the family cemetery; since their children bear a different name, they will also be foreigners to the family of the mother. It follows from this that since they do not bear the same name, there is no obstacle to the marriage of the children of the two families. Thus one regularly sees

M [614] M 582 605 171

/20 cont'd/

584 Custom requires that the engaged couple not have relations before marriage and that they avoid each other as much as possible.

[593] We are in the Orient. Parents are absolute masters of their children. They do not conceive of marriage as being their children's personal business. With them marriage is today a family matter, as it was formerly that of the whole group, or the community.

181 Nowadays the T'ou-jen family seeks its own advantages in it,
178 and the interested parties find it natural that the general welfare precedes the individual welfare, just as formerly their families, living in clans, in compact groups, found it natural that the welfare of their private families be subordinated to that of the whole group.

584 The evolution of the T'ou-jen individual today has not yet reached the point where his personal interest takes precedence over that of his family. Parents alone, then, decide the marriages of their children, and the latter find this custom rational and accept, with their fatalistic way of thinking, the often deplorable consequences of it.

/21/ However, it can happen, when a girl has not been sought in marriage at an early age, which is unusual, that the young people have talked about things other than the fine weather. In these cases it is natural that there are preferences and that the parents take them into account, provided they are not injurious to the interests of the family and especially those of the mother-in-law. But this case is the very great exception because the children are already betrothed before they have been able to make a choice.

3. When the Marriage Proposal Is Made

The marriage proposal is rarely made after the young people are old enough to understand the importance of this act and are capable of manifesting their preferences. Besides, nobody has ever thought of waiting until the children were old enough, for marriage is the task of the parents and not of the children. But such a case can occur upon the death of one of the betrothed persons toward the time of the marriage; again, it can occur in a family which was too

/35 cont'd/

584 goes to her home with the traditional presents: gin, eight or ten
[583] loaves of bread, four feet of red cloth. The go-between is not present.

This visit is ordinarily made toward the fifteenth day of the eighth moon, which is one of the great festivals of the year. After putting down her gifts, the visitor pretends to kneel to greet the family ceremoniously, but this is forestalled. Tea and bread are served. Then the visitor herself takes her jug and pours gin for those present, a sign that she comes on an important mission. After this, she speaks of the wedding and asks that the day for it be set.

Appearances require that the bride's family pretend to wish to put off the wedding. "They love the girl so much, she is so good to her parents, so devoted, they will never be able to separate themselves from her." They beg that she be left with them for two or three more years. The daughter, in the kitchen, must weep aloud meanwhile...finally they end up by yielding with tears in their eyes.

Several days afterward the groom's family invites a Chinese diviner or a red lama, two members of the bride's family, her parents, and the go-between. The auspicious day is chosen with all possible respect, for on the happy wedding day will depend in great measure the good fortune of the married couple. This choice is of greatest importance.

[585 178] In the family of the Li t'ou-se no weddings will be seen in the third and the ninth month of the year. In the old days the people whom he governs did the same; nowadays the people bother less and less with this custom.

[585] /36/ The wedding day being set, discussions are begun on the subject of the last arrangements. Well-to-do families make weddings the biggest festivity of their lives. The arrangements for this festivity are made by common agreement between the two families after a laborious discussion.

The bride's family: "I have then made the sacrifice of my daughter for a certain day, but have you arranged all that is necessary for the wedding? Have you prepared for my daughter a headdress of silver strips, skirts, clothes...."

Again, much is asked in order to obtain little. The mother-in-law makes excuses: We are poor, times are bad...but she protests

M 585 /61 cont'd/

[431 178] According to what they claim, in former times the bride's parents used to make the present of a handsome horse to the son-in-law at the moment of departure. The custom does not appear to exist any longer.

M [593] The bride's father and mother do not participate in the festivity, but her brothers, sisters, uncles, and aunts are all present.

When the bride is on the way, all the guests who stayed overnight follow in a group; the gift bearers wind up the procession. The bride laments all the way, leaning on the bag of straw placed on the horse's neck, her head always enveloped in the coarse veil. These tears, these sobs, constitute a real elegy. She addresses herself aloud to her parents, her brothers, her sisters; she has a good memory about each one of them; she calls to mind their goodness, the gifts; she recalls the animals in the stable, her paternal home... then she is M [606] afraid of the future, of her parents-in-law, whom she does not know; she is afraid of being cursed by her mother-in-law, afraid that the name of her mother will be used in order to curse her. Often in these elegies there are splendid sallies, very naive, very deeply felt; the M [607] girls also /62/ learn this kind of literature in their play; the sisters-in-law teach them, and they teach one another. It is an elegy based on life. Similarly touching ones are heard at burials. (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 309 and following. On the preceding day, two lamas go on behalf of the husband-to-be to find out from the parents of the bride whether any obstacles have arisen (German translation: The Mongols do not have the custom of going to get the bride. The evening before the departure they content themselves with sending two men for....). As the day nears, the wife-to-be pays visits to her closest relatives and spends at least one night at the home of each of them having a good time, going walking with her friends, who

/92 cont'd/

587 177 583 is too expensive, then they tear a piece of cloth in two to make it count for two pieces. It is the famous koa-fou ts'ien, i.e., "the price of widows." It is a practice which the T'ou-jen learned from the Chinese, who are past masters in such matters.

587 178 But although custom admits these practices, it is not rare that the settling of accounts degenerates into brawls. The contract is written and signed this same day, and the signers are /93/ reimbursed. The mother-in-law is offered the pieces of tea which were promised to her so that she would consent to the marriage, and the father receives his tchou hoen ts'ien.

5. Marriage of Widows

587 A marriage ceremony takes place the same day if possible or the next day. They invite to the home of the new son-in-law the father and mother, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters of the newly taken away widow. It is a little group of eight, ten, or 15 persons, among whom the go-betweens are counted.

Tea, bread, gin are served as usual; then the parents give their daughter a new long gown, and to the son-in-law a felt hat and a belt. Often they add a pair of shoes for the new mother-in-law, and a k'ata for the father-in-law.

A table is set up in front of a religious image. Two lighted lamps are placed on it; a rug is spread out in front of the table. The widow clothed in the new gown which she has just received from her parents and the son-in-law also wearing the new hat and belt make the great prostration in the Chinese manner, first to heaven and the multifarious spirits, then to their parents and the elders of the family, third to the family related through marriage and to the clan. The sacred shamanistic fire is absent.

The father-in-law then presents four strings of cash to his new son-in-law as a token of their alliance; the whole family together politely refuses them. Three strings of cash are given to those who wrote the contract and to the go-betweens; then a light meal is served. At the departure of the guests, they are not given meat to take away; the hosts are satisfied to offer several loaves of bread.

/120 cont'd/

361 place of origin. Now among the T'ou-jen of this area, a good many
831 have come to practice again the former custom of husband-sons-in-law practiced by the Tibetans, their neighbors. As soon as they ar-
608 rive in the region they no longer give their daughters in marriage out-
184 side the house, but they seek a /121/ husband-son-in-law for them;
583 on the other hand, they send their sons to become husband-sons-in-law in other families. Among many of these T'ou-jen, the sons no longer enjoy even the right of inheritance in their own family, where the daughters have become the sole heirs; in other families they continue to inherit beside their sisters. They are thus passing through a period of transition. One T'ou-jen family after the other adopts the customs of the Tibetans, at first some of the customs and only in part, and gradually they become Tibetanized. Besides, it is a fact that the Tibetan environment is not distasteful to them, and that T'ou-jen girls given in marriage to Tibetans quickly feel at home.

562 The T'ou-jen of the Sining region, speaking of their brothers
184 of Koei-tê, say, laughing, that among the latter the wife is owner
177 and mistress of the home, niu-jen tang ts'ai, that the men do not count there, that there are women there who themselves send away their husbands, that women are found there who have more than one husband, and that the old men there are to be pitied." Thus Tibetan customs.

178 How must one explain the deformation of the practice of
608 husband-sons-in-law among the T'ou-jen?
[177]

First, it is necessary to know that the Mohammedan revolutions decimated the T'ou-jen population in Kansu. Some T'ou-jen, in order to remake their groups and get rents for their lands, accepted in their clans numerous heterogeneous Chinese and Tibetan elements; other T'ou-jen headmen never succeeded in rebuilding the ruins. Add to that the use of opium which especially undermined the families of the headmen and put them in debt and impoverished them; it is thus not surprising that the power and also the influence of the t'ou-
[622] se were decidedly impaired. The prime blow of all was more and more frequent recourse to Chinese magistrates on the part of the T'ou-jen. In the old days, say the elders, the t'ou-se alone was

/121 cont'd/

608 178 our judge in case of litigation; nobody would have dared to address himself to the Chinese mandarins for fear of reprisals on the part of the t'ou-se. I believe we /122/ must look in this direction for the solution to our problem. As a matter of fact, the Chinese court [428] recognizes only the sons' right of inheritance and, lacking them, that of members of the paternal side. In case of litigation, the paternal side is always sure to win its case against an only daughter, and the brother husband-son-in-law, as long as adoption has not been practiced, can always hope to see his rights recognized in his original family. Several verdicts of this kind suffice to deform a custom and create a completely new attitude. In addition, a tested virtue is necessary to be able to resist such temptations!

2. Exchange of a Girl for Furnishing of Services for a Fixed Number of Years

583 565 466 Everyday experience having proved that the preceding solution is not practical, say the T'ou-jen, there are people who look for another, more psychological inactual fact. Indeed, the sight of the end of one's own troubles in a future relatively near at hand gives the courage to remain faithful to duty. A family of poor or even average means can promise to give their daughter to a poor young man provided that he binds himself to work five, eight, ten, or 12 years for them.

675 466 606 583 The contracts for these marriages are generally made by the parents themselves, with one or two individuals who act as guarantors for the son-in-law. While in the preceding case the girl can be nubile at the time when a husband is being found for her, in the present case the arrangement always takes place when the girl is only seven, eight, or ten years old at the most. As for the age of the son-in-law, there is nothing definite: he can be ten or 12 years old as well as 30 and even more. When the girl is 15, they will have a little festival, and she will wear her hair in the fashion of married women; then she is married.

Why this engagement when the girl is still a child? /123/ It it because they know one another in the country and do not want to

/128 cont'd/

858 same right as his cousins, sons of his mother's brothers. The reason
588 given for this is that the mother, at the time of her son's birth, was no longer a girl but quite married, since she was wearing her hair in the fashion of wives. But suppose that the young woman, as a result of difficulties with a sister-in-law or with her parents, or having simply found a match which she likes, marries again at a "second" wedding, then she can either take her son with her, and he loses
[128] ipso facto his rights to inheritance in his mother's family, and he must change his family name and inherit in the family of his new father (for by the change of name he falls into the category of adoptive children), or else the grandmother opposes the departure /129/ of her daughter's son, and he stays in his mother's family, keeping his rights.

848 It often happens that neither the grandmother nor the mother
792 keeps the child but that they entrust him to a lamasery. Lamas no
178 longer having the right of inheritance, these children disappear from public life. This category of children are sent to the lamasery probably to avoid difficulties which arise later at the time of the division of property, either on the part of the uncles or the nephews, just as when the mother takes the child to the home of her new husband and the latter adopts him as his son, which makes one suppose that these children's right to inherit is nowadays no longer very stable. One feels a period of transition in the custom. We are here in the presence of a practice which must have been more general in olden times and which has its roots in an organization which is not patriarchal.

562 These girl-mothers are received in all groups and are regarded
588 as virtuous women in spite of the fact that people know this custom is
593 considered abominable in the eyes of their Chinese neighbors. These women are recognized as being married; for, they say, their marriage took place in the manner of the marriage of girls, in the courtyard of the house, in front of the sacred fire. Their children are recognized as children of the clan, and they are given the name of their mother. In T'ou-jen families, when a brother dies, leaving only daughters, his brothers inherit his property; the daughters indeed do not inherit; but when this brother has a daughter of the category of which we

[43 cont.]

782 Time: The incense offering is to be given as early as possible, as soon as the morning twilight appears. One is not allowed to wait until the sun is high. Nowadays, even though [178] the families are no longer pious, [44] they will nonetheless give the incense offering at the least on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of the lunar month. On these three days small butter- or [177] oil-lamps are also lighted in the house in front of the Buddha images.

782 Place: The usual place for the morning offering is the 778 yard. One may also go into the local temple or in front of the obo. This is also usually done on the above-mentioned three days. In the yard itself the fireplace is the incense plate on the central fort in front of the mani-pole (2). If there is no

[192] 2. [Foreign text p. 46.] The incense plate is called fdzãṅ tše = incense terrace. The Chinese call it sang lu-tzu = cypress-incense oven. In many instances, [177] the Tujen have taken over the Chinese incense oven. It looks like a small temple. Frequently people also make do with a small clay niche. The incense plate on the edge of the round manger is either a stone plate, a brick (tile), or a smooth layer of clay.

incense plate, the master of the household burns the incense in the central fort (round manger) itself, or on the ground in front of it. Each time, however, the area must first be swept. Worship in front of the fire does not take place directly in front of it; instead people go around the round manger, so that the round manger with the mani-tree, then the fire, then the main house, and finally the mountains behind it are before one. The other persons are also there. No one may ever stand between the fire and the main house.

[50 cont.]

Details

777
*778 The arrow: Originally the people used a genuine arrow (2).

[411]
[171]

2. [Foreign text p. 52.] According to the reports of the old people, the Tujen arrows are exactly like those of the Fandse and Mongols in Tsinghai. These arrows can be seen in great numbers in every lamasery. Their average length is about one meter. Their feathering is usually radial and made of eagle feathers (ying-mao). The forms of the arrow tips are exceedingly manifold. The material is always iron. -- The children's bows and arrows are simple, crude toys, as in Europe. Nowadays the bow and arrow have disappeared from the life of the Tujen.

[178]

They are rare nowadays, since the Tujen no longer have the bow and arrow as weapons. The arrows were very manifold, however. Today, only a simple arrow shaft without tip and feathering is used for the most part. There are no prescriptions for its manufacture.

The urn: An ordinary clay urn or wide vase is used, such as can be obtained anywhere. Sometimes the urn is fitted up like the treasure-urn of the earth-god. In that case, however, not several scrolls, but only one is put in it. Also, fluid butter is not poured over the grain. The following kinds of grain are contained in it: wheat, black and white barley, light and dark Tibetan barley, but never beans, peas, etc. The urn may be of any color. It is not required for the arrow of good fortune, however. Sometimes the latter is simply stuck in a measure of grain or in a wooden cylinder, or no container at all is used and the arrow is stuck anywhere in the beams or the wall,

[63 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 68 cont.] therefore stand on a mountain. -- They take the sacred place quite seriously. Thus, it is striking that for all Tujen villages mountain terrain is set aside, a piece of grass land with forest, where no agriculture may be carried on. Where the Chinese intervene, however, these mountain groves disappear. From these sparse remains one can imagine what the now bare agricultural land looked like in former times.

[621]

*778 784 The mountain on which the obo stands may not be defiled. No fields may be laid out there; the trees may not be cut down; the grass may not be cut; the ground may not be turned up. The animals that live there, for instance, hares, foxes, birds, are not hunted or killed. Everything must be left just as it grows and thrives by nature; the cattle may not graze there at any time. This place, namely, belongs to the mountain-spirit and is called sacred mountain.

[231] [776]

*778 The obo pit: When the obo is erected, a pit is dug. All kinds of valuables are put in it, primarily treasure-urns (earth-god urns), as in the case of the central fort of the compound. The obo is erected by a lama or Bon priest. No [64] Tujen of the present generation has seen this ceremony. The present-day obos still stem from olden times and are more and more falling into disrepair. Therefore no one knows any more precisely what is buried in the obo.

[792] [791] [178]

The stone mound: The height of the mound varies, depending on the circumstances. First an outer wall is put in layers in circular form. A large number of little stones are put inside the circle up to the edge, and these are supposed to be white stones. At every obo veneration additional stones are

[64 cont.]

*778 always thrown in, so the pile constantly grows. The outer wall of the mound is covered with whitewash. The twelve small stonepiles are called "obo children." An urn is buried under each of them.

The obo frame: The frame that is set on the stone mound has four strong corner-posts connected by crossbeams as thick as an arm. There are no regulations for its construction, not even for its material. When this frame falls into disrepair, it is replaced by a new one and the remains of the old one are used in any way desired. Depending on the size of the obo, there are frames from one to three meters long at the sides and up to two meters high. The frame serves entirely for holding weapons, tree twigs, and poles.

*778 782 Votive offerings: In the obo frame are placed wooden weapons, such as spears, swords, arrows, bows, and pikes, recently even wooden rifles. Furthermore, tree twigs and mani-flags are stuck in between.

There are no regulations concerning the wood. Bunches of sheep wool are tied to both the weapons and the tree twigs. The spears are sometimes painted red and wound spirally with strips of black cloth. The swords are likewise painted black up to the handle. The flocks of wool on the spear tip are a substitute for the spear tassels, which on real spears consist of bundles of white yak tails colored red. The black color signifies iron. Formerly the spears were wound spirally with strips of tin.

[824] The tree twigs are usually from poplars, fir trees, and cypresses. Cypresses and fir trees are preferred. The leaves may be left on them. Smooth twigs with the bark removed may also replace the spears.

Other offerings, too, are thrown inside the frame on the stone mound, such as white stones, gold, silver, money, grain, sugar, butter, flowers, tea leaves, etc. Silk threads and hadas are tied to the obo frame; a silk string is drawn around the [178] frame. Formerly the obo was draped with valuable cloths, but

[64 cont.]

*778 nowadays the people are too poor. The silk threads and the long silk string are merely a substitute for them. Similarly, gold and silver are scarcely ever thrown on the obo any more.

782 [178] Sometimes a string with 12 mani-flags is also drawn across the nearby pass from the obo-frame or from the mani-pole. This string is of black wool and is called "wolf string." Another string, on which 12 mani-flags are hung, is frequently run from the obo to a tree. This string is white and is called "mani-string."

782 [796] [65] The month offering: Usually the obo is venerated on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of each lunar month (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 69.] There is no connection between obo and month. The days mentioned here are generally preferred for offering and cult, and for this the phases of the moon are decisive.

This is done usually by the master of the family. He goes to the obo very early in the morning with a spear or several twigs and all the other necessities.

First he gives the customary incense offering before it. Then he pours a bowl of barley wine on the ground before the incense fire. He places lances and twigs with bunches of wool on the obo, hangs silk threads on the frame, and throws his votive gifts on the mound, namely, butter, tea leaves, money, silver, etc., as much as he can afford. Then he goes around the obo three times from left to right, throws 108 small white [788] stones on it, and in doing so prays the om mani padme hum and in between calls out: "I throw at the white obo." Then he makes a threefold kowtow before the incense fire and facing the obo. During the entire ceremony the conch is blown by his companions. This is not necessary, however.

The sheep sacrifice: There are no definite prescriptions concerning the time of the sheep sacrifice. There are communal [621] sacrifices, at which the entire village participates for village

[66 cont.]

782 Sitting before the obo, the lama gives the appropriate
[533] prayers, accompanying them on his hourglass drum and the bell. At the same time the people burn incense at several places, kowtow, and blow the conch. This service may sometimes last the entire day. When the lama is finished with the prayer, he takes the torma to a stone on the obo, sprinkles the obo with holy water, and casts barley on it, over which he lightly blows with his mouth. The people then take something from offerings that stand in front of the obo, pluck something off, and throw some of this into the incense fire and on the obo. The flowers are all thrown on the mound. Meanwhile others have already placed the spears, twigs, and mani-flags on the obo and have thrown the votive gifts on it, as at the month offering. Then all of them circle around the obo, throwing the white stones and praying the obo call. At this point all of them once more make a threefold kowtow, drink tea, and go home.

The prayer service may also last several days. Then people set up tents on the mountain and live and eat there.

527 The obo festival: Every year on the sixth day in the sixth
782 month an obo festival takes place. At these festivals the obo is venerated in the morning, as it is at the month offering. A sheep offering and the prayer service of the lama may also be connected with it.

527 All the people from the neighborhood, men and women, old and young, gather at the obo. If the obo terrain is too
[541] difficult and not level enough, they gather at the foot of the mountain or on a meadow. There the men hold horse races,
[533] people sit around the fire and drink and sing; they eat and
[439] dance and laugh. Chinese traders appear, set up their booths, and peddle their wares. -- Formerly, when the old weapons
[526] were still used, the horse races were followed by archery, spear throwing, and sword fights. Wrestling matches were especially
[178] popular. Nowadays this is no longer the case. Only the horse
[541] racing and the singing contests are still held. The mountain-
[533] spirit rejoices when the people are so gay (3).

[171]

3. [Foreign text p. 69.] The obo festival is also celebrated by the

[66 cont.]

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[171]

[Note on foreign text p. 69 cont.]
Mongols and Tangut. According to the informant, a day in the sixth month is always chosen, but it does not always have to be the sixth day. It is the time at which formerly the obos were erected, and it seems to be a matter of the yearly return. -- Nowadays these festivals have more or less degenerated into a Chinese commercial racket, as has, for instance, the festival in the New Year's month at Wei-yüan-pu (Huchu), which is really a Tujen festival. Only the horse racing and the singing of songs have remained from olden times.

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Obo and mountain-spirit: The obo is the dwelling of the mountain-spirit. Everything that grows on the earth, grass, trees, flowers, the wild animals, and human beings, belongs to him. From the obo he guards the welfare of the tribe (ayil) and protects animal and man. The wild and tame animals are his herd and the wolves his dogs. For that reason an offering is made to the mountain-spirit before the obo whenever the wolves become too destructive. He can keep them in check.

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The silk (cloths or bands) on the obo signifies the clothes of the mountain spirit; the white color of the obo wall, his eminence and his good fortune.

The obo is the armory of the village and of the mountain-spirit. In olden times it was from here that the men fetched their weapons for battle and for athletic contests. [67] And they brought them back here. Nowadays the Tujen are peaceful farmers; they no longer use their weapons. Therefore they surrender them to the mountain-spirit.

[411]

The mountain-spirit is given something from everything that is valuable: gold, silver, silk, etc. All the good fortune, the wealth, and the preservation of the village are guaranteed through him. The mountain-spirit provides the descendants;

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[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] hsiao-tzu in Chinese, who are the male descendants and relatives of the first and second degree, for example, younger brothers, younger cousins, grandsons.

on the mother's side do not appear in the house of mourning until the eve of the cremation.

764 They must be informed, however, immediately after the death; this is called "death announcement." The master of
602 ceremonies, with a small bottle of liquor, goes to the mother's
604 brother to announce the death of the latter's nephew or niece (14).

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14. [Foreign text p. 654.] In recent times the Tujen announce the death to the mother's brother by means of a written communication, like the Chinese. The original practice, however, is the announcement with the liquor-jug, to which is tied a flock of wool.

[792] The two now consult as to how the funeral solemnities are to
[465] be arranged, how many monks are to be invited to pray, how large the fees are to be, etc. The mother's brother is intent upon setting demands as high as possible, whereas the master of ceremonies sets lower ones. Once they have agreed upon
[273] the approximate level, they drink the little jug of liquor together. If they do not agree, the master of ceremonies returns home with the liquor and he receives new instructions from the bereaved family. Sometimes this happens two or three times. A final arrangement is not made until the last day at the accounting in the house of mourning.

On the eve of the cremation, the mother's brother, and with him all the male relatives on the mother's side, appears in the yard of the bereaved. The women among the maternal

[642 cont.]

764 a rule, all young people under 20 years of age, whether male or
[766] female, are cremated in the evening at sundown. Persons over 20 years of age are cremated in the morning at sunrise. The place of cremation is prepared the day before.

Place of cremation: The place of cremation is usually chosen by the master of ceremonies after consultation with the members of the family. Only ground that belongs to the deceased's own family or to the relatives on the father's side is considered. A dead person may never be cremated on strange soil or on land that belongs to the maternal relatives. Special preference is given to a spot on a steep ridge between fields, because the fire for the oven can most easily be set there. In
241 choosing the spot, one must see to it that the smoke will not
764 blow across a sown field. Therefore, after the sowing festival in the spring, a remote place is chosen in a ravine or on a
178 mountain where there are no more fields. Aside from the fact that the seed would be trampled, the smoke of a burning corpse is harmful for the growth and the harvest. Therefore nowadays, when even the most remote little mountain patches are planted, cremation is increasingly on the wane, especially in the valleys, and the dead are buried in coffins (19).

[177] [Foreign text p. 656.] This may not be the most decisive reason for the disappearance of the custom, however, but rather the general Sinicization. In remote ravines everywhere a place can still be found for cremation, for even the Chinese in the valleys cremate their adult, unmarried daughters in such remote places.

764 If the fire-pouring is undertaken at the cremation, then
792 the lama himself goes out to the field the day before and
782 chooses a suitable spot. For this purpose he kneads a large torma

[644 cont.]

764 The lama now takes his place on the bed or the door,
792 over which a white mat has been spread, on the west side of the oven. His face is turned toward the east, facing that of the dead person. Before him stands a little kang table with his cult implements. Next to it lie two pieces of sacking, on which two white cloth runners have been spread; the little plates with the spices and the materials for the fire-pouring (cf. the appropriate section) stand on that. On the white cloth there is also a tray with a torma. The lama prepared it in the morning in the house of mourning and brought it along. This torma rep-
[778] resents a spirit that protects the dead person and leads him west-
[775] ward into the land of rebirth. -- The lama comes from the west, the land of the Buddhas, and goes to the east; therefore he is seated opposite the dead person.

764 The fire preparation: Now the iron kettle is put on three
372 stones and a great fire is kindled under it; it does not matter how this fire is made. Several lumps of butter are thrown into the kettle and allowed to melt. The men then make the
[792] lighting pole, while the lama begins the prayers for the dead.

The lighting pole is a stick two to three meters long. Any wood desired can be used for it. A thick strand of cotton wadding is wound on one end. The master of ceremonies now brings a paper lantern, in which there is a small butter-lamp. It must be a butter-lamp; an oil-lamp or a candle is not permitted. In olden times there were no butter-lamps either, but wooden splinters from the oil fir. This lamp may not be lighted with ordinary fire, for instance, with the fire from the butter-kettle. It must be new fire which is struck from the flint on the first blow. If the master of ceremonies does not get a spark the first time, he may not try it a second time with the same stone. For this reason he keeps a whole series of flint stones in readiness (18). Now if the spark has fallen on the

[178]

18. [Foreign text 656.] In recent times matches are also used instead of the flint stones. In this case, too,

[644 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
however, the match must burn at the first stroke; otherwise one throws it away and takes a second one.

tinder at the first blow and has ignited it, then the master of ceremonies takes a handful of straw, holds the glowing tinder in it, and blows the whole thing into a bright flame, with which he lights the butter-lamp. Then he soaks the lighting pole in the butter-kettle containing the fluid butter, holds it over the butter-lamp in the lantern until the head of cotton wadding flares up brightly, and lights the oven with it through the four fire holes. Meanwhile the lama proceeds with his prayers. As soon as the flames rise high, the master of ceremonies takes the soul-guide torma and throws it from above into the oven onto the corpse; it is burned with it. Then the lama undertakes the fire-pouring.

[792]

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Cremation and fire-pouring: The ceremony of the fire-pouring is the same as on other occasions. Only here the butter and the spices are thrown onto the [645] corpse in the oven, for which the lama holds the pouring-tube over the edge of the oven. The spices, however, are thrown into the flames by the master of ceremonies. The lama takes only a pinch each time and puts it on a [illustration appears here] little plate which the master of ceremonies holds in his hand. When the butter and the spices are used up, the lama ends his prayer and goes to the house. With him go the master of ceremonies, the sons-in-law, and the nephews.

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Only the two fire guards remain behind. They shatter the box, burn it with the corpse, and wait until the corpse is completely reduced to ashes. This takes several hours. Then they put the little bone-casket that was brought along in one of the fire holes without the bones and cover it with earth. They put boards over the still smoldering oven, which they weight with rocks and lumps of earth so that dogs and wolves cannot get in, and then they go home. They leave the oven alone. After three days the bones are stored.

[647 cont.]

765 [769] [777]

[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

[764]

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

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During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowadays the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

[782] [178]

765 784 [574] [796] [262]

Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

782 [822 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text p. 823 cont.]
detail, he gave the answer: "That was too much for one afternoon." Moreover, he had described the festival as it had taken place in his little village. It had always been celebrated very simply there; now he had let the festival [178] die out completely for his village, and they would go to the neighboring village of Chichialing, where it is much longer and larger.

Here, too, nothing is presented in detail about the individual parts, as in the other chapters, because the material is too extensive and forms a subject in itself, which is to be dealt with in connection with shamanism. It should be [756] stated in advance here, however, that they are probably not Tujen shamans, but Chinese shamans, who are found scattered over wide areas of western China.

Report

241 The sowing festival and the festival of the harvest thanks-
782 giving are completely identical. Only in the autumn people have more flour and meat to celebrate the festival. Both festivals last several days. A definite number of days is not pre-
[756] scribed. At the festival one differentiates between the offering
[535] and the dances of the shamans. The offering is undertaken by
[443] the seed-master or the village elder. The dances last for an entire day; usually a market is also connected with them.

241 The shamans erect a pole in the temple yard, pray
782 several days, send out sicknesses on the first evening, and from a distance kill children or cause them to become unconscious.
756 In the evening of the final day, before they take down the pole,
754 they take the sicknesses back; then the people struck by them become healthy again.

[824 cont.]

241 the soothsayer when the pole-goat is raised for the first time.
789 This spot is then always retained. A hole is dug there and covered
with a clod of earth or a rock so that it will not be destroyed by
778 the next year.

[791] The place is never taboo, regardless of whether the pole-goat stands there or not. One may pasture animals there, start a fire, etc. Women need not avoid it.

241 [825] Persons: Only a Bon priest may undertake the
789 performance, never a lama or a soothsayer. Nowadays the cus-
tom is scarcely ever practiced because the Bon priests have died
791 out. It is still found only in very remote mountain villages. The
[178] simple ceremony is performed by a Bon priest of the second class, the solemn ceremony by a Bon priest of the first class because
[292] he has special magical power. The costume is that of the ordinary people since the Bon priest is, of course, a farmer. He merely needs to wear the forehead wreath and a long garment.

In addition the following act with him: the seed-master and his helper, the village elders, and generally all men, all soothsayers. It is enough, however, if only one soothsayer is represented, for instance, a sword-shaman, a spirit-table soothsayer, etc. Women must not witness the ceremony, but
[562] little girls may watch.

241 The pole: It does not matter of what wood and amidst
789 which ceremonies the pole is made. Usually it is a slender
poplar tree ten meters long. The village itself is responsible
778 for this pole. It is used every year and kept in the family of the
[621] annually alternating seed-master. It may be burned, cut up, etc. when it has served its purpose for several years.

The goat: Ordinarily it is a wool goat; color, age, sex, size, etc. are unimportant. It is true that the people prefer horned goats over the hornless. No one cares about the origin of the goat; it may be purchased, be a gift, etc. After it has been taken down from the pole in the autumn, the hide belongs to the seed-master, but it is so dilapidated that it is not usable.

[841 cont.]

778 is never women, however. It is true that a single woman may
562 promise an animal, for example, but in such a case other men, such as the mother's brother, undertake the interrogation and consecration. This may be done in the house of the woman.

778 Animals: As consecration-animals the following are per-
825 missible: horses, mules, asses, cows, sheep, goats, and even
[783] hens; pigs or dogs are never taken because they are unclean. In the case of all these animals, age, color, sex, or castration plays no role. White or male animals are not especially pre-
[178] ferred. Large animals are no longer consecrated now, because the Tujen no longer have the large herds and are too poor. Usually one promises sheep and goats. Hens are frequently chosen because they are the cheapest (2).

2. [Foreign text pp. 842-843.] In the Tujen monastery Rgulõn the choice of animals is different. A lama and a shaman related: one never consecrates dogs, and no hens, [843] only cocks, but these in all colors. Of the horses one takes only stallions; they must be black with a white spot on the forehead or grey (ch'ing-ma) of black-white mixed color. Of the mules one takes only females, no male animals. Their color is a bright reddish-brown. Belly, mouth, and eye-rings should be light. Of ordinary cattle and yaks one takes only black steers that have a white spot on the forehead; similarly among the sheep only black rams, flawless and with circular or doubly curled horns. -- I also saw such animals there in the monastery. The consecrated mule was especially beautiful; it looked almost exactly like a wild

[841 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 842-843 cont.]
chiang. The rules mentioned here lead one to surmise that conceptions from lunar mythology (black-white, circular horns) are involved here. The preference for male animals, with the exception of the mules, is also striking. -- This rule is also decisive in profane life. People who have a high opinion of themselves ride only male horses (gelding), but female mules; the reddish-brown color with white mane and white tail is regarded as elegant. White eye-rings, belly covering, and white mouth are highly esteemed for all riding animals of whatever color and help to determine the price. -- It is also interesting that among the goats the lamas prefer not black, but reddish-brown bucks.

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The old man said that the ordinary people would not bother with these rules unless they gave the animal to the monastery. Otherwise the color, age, sex, castration, etc. were unimportant, so long as the animal had no physical defects.

The released animals usually stay with their own herd or in the house, for they are used to it. If they run away, nobody bothers about it. A family always keeps horses, mules, and cattle at home and uses them as before. This was not the case originally, however; it is a deviation from the old custom, brought about by poverty and work in the fields.

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A consecrated animal may never be killed. It must die a natural death. If it is eaten by a wolf, it need not be replaced. If an evildoer kills the consecrated animal, then the punishment of heaven or of the consecration-deity will strike him. Also, under no circumstances may one slaughter a consecrated animal for the offering; this would be tantamount to ordinary killing.

[688]
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[253 cont.]
791 is a purely popular one, and nothing about the inner relationship
779 of these groups to one another is indicated by it; they are probably not essentially different. The farmer-Bon have become most superficial and degenerate. They still wear as their sole distinguishing mark only the artificial brush garland, in order thus to imitate the massive braided turban of the shepherd-Bon; they have practically died out. -- The most important cultic
[765] implements of the Bon are taken from the human corpse: the
[534] double skull-drum covered with human skin, the whip plaited out of human skin (and probably with a bone handle), the thigh-bone flute, and the bone dagger. These implements are supposed to be taken from the corpse of an unmarried adult female person. By the special relationship to skeleton and corpse alone,
[174] the Bon might acknowledge an ancient Tibetan home, which, to be sure, is not only called the "snow land," but also the "land of corpses."

[989] Even though the Bon have much in common with the lamas, there is a series of ceremonies reserved for them, especially the various types of demon exorcism. They are even invited into the monastery by the lamas on the first and fifteenth day of every month, where they undertake these rites. Nothing more about a former opposition between
178 Buddhism and the Bon religion is to be noted here. It shares
791 with Lamaism the fate of gradual disappearance; indeed, in
779 its official form it has already preceded it in this. It is a striking fact that both the Bon religion and Lamaism wane as Chinese agriculture expands, although precisely the sedentary life [254] of the lamas in the large monasteries and the performance of the weather conjuration of the Bon should be especially appropriate for an agricultural culture. The reasons are certainly not religious in nature.

174 The Tujen, however, have probably preserved much
791 more of the Bon tradition than is recognizable at first glance.
779 The marriage customs and the popular poetry probably contain a great deal that would make this ancient layer clear and permit it to be followed deep into Tibet. It is difficult, however, to free everything from the Lamaistic embellishments.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

During five centuries the Monguors bore with fortitude the vicissitudes of very hard times, fighting inroads of brigands and revolts of tribes, always on the warpath in their own country and in far-off provinces. A strong factor in buoying their courage was the tie of the clan, which bound them close together in one family, with a t'u-ssu as head of the family. 175x

The appreciation and estimation of their heroic achievements by the emperor and local high officials, the building of Honorific Arches, the favor of official burials and sacrifices, the granting of titles, the names of their chiefs recorded in the City Hall of faithful and meritorious officials, the reports sent to the emperor about their valorous performances, the thankfulness of the Chinese who erected steles to glorify them, were so many stimuli for the Monguors which made life worth living and brought happiness in the clan and in the families. 182

The last news we have about the Huangchung Monguors is that the Monguor clans are broken up, the t'u-ssu regime is abolished, the ladies are forbidden to wear their distinctive clothes and headdress, the use of their language is prohibited, in every village a school is organized with teachers of the new ideology. Monguors and their wives are enlisted with the Chinese men and women in working groups. The aim is to obliterate the Monguor nation and mix it in the Chinese nation. In a few years from now the Monguors will have disappeared. 178

N 563 794 [795] [596] [241] [438] preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never [233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays [464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese S [422] farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, S [592] sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yügur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly S [614] becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy S [792] exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [422] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N 563 The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and M 233 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, 241 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest 198 that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. [177] They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the N 563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as M 231 the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, [554] mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 R 596 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally [603] oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy [421] authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

N 563 M 614 622 177 178 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

N 563 on, when the Monguors gave up the nomadic way of life and
M 614 became sedentary, the connection with the Chinese became
622 closer and closer and closer until the Monguors finally came
178 under Chinese rule. As the best means of maintaining control
177 over the "frontier barbarians" the Chinese permitted them a certain amount of local self-government; at this time the clan chieftain became a Chinese official, a so-called T'u-ssu or "local chief."

The Monguors were no exception to the rule that all minorities, militarily powerless in comparison with the ruling Chinese, succumbed to the new culture, which, in the minds of the minorities, had always been superior and therefore worthy of imitation. As soon as the minorities were militarily defeated or went into submission voluntarily and deliberately, their chieftains proudly received the insignia and title of a
M [171] Chinese office. This is true of the Khans of the Mongols, the Büks of the Turks, the rgyal-pos of the Tibetans.

While the Turkic chieftains received the title of Shang-lao (Bük), the Mongolian tribal leaders became Wangs, and the Monguor clan chieftains received the title of T'u-ssu. This institution was installed by the Chinese to administer minority tribes at the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. The T'ang annals already report that the Chinese Emperor made
N 563 hereditary chieftains of frontier territories heads of the Chi-mi-
175 chou, (the predecessor of the T'u-ssu institution). The Yüan
M 175 dynasty already called this office by its present name - T'u-
177 ssu. The Ming dynasty continued to confer this title on Mongol
614 clan chieftains whose clans were by this time mixed with
622 Tibetans, Turks, and Chinese. The Manchu dynasty, (who favored minorities for obvious reasons: (1) the Manchus themselves constituted a minority and (2) maintenance of political equilibrium and balance of power in regard to minorities and indigenous Chinese) extended this system in a way that the various clans gained a limited measure of self-determination and autonomy. However, the ties to the Imperial court and its administrative institutions were, and remained close. Finally, the office of the T'u-ssu remained under the same name during the Republican period of China. In other frontier areas, e.g. in Sinkiang, the names of these offices were different, but they differed only slightly functionally. Father Schram describes the institution as follows: "...the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal non-Chinese peoples attached to, but not yet absorbed into, the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that of China as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native Chief" and as Chinese official."

/The Mongours/

N *563 M 621 183 178 The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is M [867] dinned into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-ssu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

N *563 M 621 183 177 178 During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

e. Stealing and gambling

N *563 M [685] [673] [525] [794] Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

N *563 M 587 A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

N *563 M 867 Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meeted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

N *563 M 576 264 603 According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

623 fendants unwilling to abide by the decision of the elders may have recourse to the T'u-ssu; but his verdict very seldom differs from that of the elders.

577 From the foregoing it can be seen that the concepts of the Monguors seem to be based on custom, tradition, and
184 what community opinion accepts as "just." Typical concepts are: wrongs are to be righted; injustices to be corrected; the rights of parents over their children, of husbands over their wives, and of widows to dispose of themselves, are to be asserted and defended; private property is to be protected; no one has the right to disturb the peace of the community. It is apparent also that among the Monguors the villagers in reality govern themselves. Although the elders are backed by the authority of the T'u-ssu, it is the villagers themselves who for the most part patch up their own quarrels, punish faults, right wrongs, and keep the peace.

The system is, in effect, one of democracy. It is only when these democratic practices do not work that recourse is had to the aid and protection of the T'u-ssu.

•181 At the village meetings on the threshing floor, overwhelming stress is placed on faithful adherence to the old customs. One of the most important duties of village chiefs is to watch over their observance. The T'u-ssu, on his triennial visit, always makes inquiries on this subject, on which conservatism can be truly called hidebound. When Monguors, especially of the older generation, are heatedly discussing matters of the village, and the supreme argument of "old custom" is brought up, all opposition instantly subsides. The chiefs and elders of villages and the heads of families always urge the observance of traditions. They are firmly convinced that neglect of ancestral custom ruins the stability and prosperity of the clan. On every occasion the younger generation has this injuction dinned into its ears. The chiefs of the villages will curse other chiefs of villages, and T'u-ssu who are careless of old custom. The test of a good village chief or T'u-ssu is unshakable firmness in strict observance of the clan traditions as if they were as unyielding as the laws of nature.

177 When the Chinese Republic began in 1911, however, new ideas which had a baneful repercussion on the minds of young Monguors started to spread. It was almost a hopeless struggle for the elders to try to save the old customs. It then became apparent that the Monguors were in fact not sufficiently insulated from the pressure exerted by new ideas from outside their own society. Their social concepts had gradually been undermined and weakened by the enrollment of Chinese in their clans. Chinese concepts had, unnoticeably, long been seeping into their thought—Chinese had, it must be remembered, risen to be even village elders—and a situation had gradually been created in which the Chinese way of thinking, even if conservative in itself, was disruptive of the old Monguor concepts if it differed from Monguor concepts.

[P 80a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

562 chronic warfare among the ancient Mongols and Turks
581 required alliances as well as feuds.

Hence the institution, known to be very early, of "pairs" of clans, each regularly taking its wives from the other in a sort of marriage alliance.[5] An association of this kind was a natural basis for alliance in war, since each clan would not only be aiding an ally but contributing to the security of its own daughters.[6]

512 Among pastoral nomads the traditional life of the
181 man, especially the married man, is one of long periods of idleness, spent largely in gossip and visiting, alternating with short periods of intense activity—in former times, defensive and offensive warfare, and in modern times the periods of migration, especially spring and autumn migration, and the periods spent by a man when he is summoned for obligatory service under the clan or tribal chief. The Monguors, as descendants of nomads, have inherited this tradition. The Monguor men, however, because of the change to an agricultural economy, cannot be quite as lazy as pastoral nomads. Farming cannot be profitable unless the men do their share of the work; but in spite of the example of patient toil set them by their Chinese neighbors, the Monguor men are never as industrious as the Chinese.

512 In the home, the kitchen and all things concerning
462 food, the preparation of meals and cleaning up after meals are women's work. Women also collect the fuel, consisting chiefly of the droppings of cows, horses, and sheep, which after being collected have to be dried in the sun until they are combustible. In the early morning when the cocks are still crowing to announce the coming day the wives start working while their husbands go on sleeping. First the wife must go to the well with a wooden cask on her back to fetch water. Then she boils water in the iron cauldron, set in the hearth, to make tea. While she is making the tea she carries hot water to her husband for washing. While the husband is drinking his early morning tea the wife dresses and washes the children, prepares breakfast and carries a

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[5] Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols*, as cited, 58. "Les Mongols des XIe–XIIIe siècles devaient parfois aller chercher très loin leurs femmes, et s'accorder avec un clan éloigné. En effet, . . . les pâturages étaient distribuées de telle manière chez les anciens Mongols, que souvent on ne recontrait aux alentours aucun répresentant d'un clan étranger. . . . Ceci explique, les réminiscences anciennes aidant, la fréquence des rapts; les femmes etaient enlevées de force chaque fois que l'occasion favorable s'en présentait.

"On relève fréquemment l'usage pour un clan de choisir ses promises dans un autre clan, mais toujours le même. Les membres de ces clans s'accordent mutuellement le titre d' 'allié,' de parent par alliance, '*quda*.' Parfois l'échange des jeunes filles à marier donne lieu à des traités en règle entre clans." (Note that side by side with the word *quda* there is the word which in modern Mongol is *hadam* and in Monguor *gadim*—see the Monguor relationship terms as given above—which expresses "relationship with a woman married into my clan, or a man who has married a woman from my clan."—O. L.)

[6] It is possible that this kind of association also helps to account for the importance of the maternal uncle, as "the man who has interest in both clans."—O. L.

[P. 88 b]

/7 cont'd/

627 The argument of the judges, before the whole village and the
581 families in question, is very instructive for us. The young man, they
181 said, has not respected the customs of our race, furthermore, he has been unjust with respect to the girl's family; these are grave errors; after the principal accusers, tirades are heard on the necessity of marriage and the indigence of the unfortunate man; finally, he is excused by going back to the extreme obligation to marry. As for the girl, disobedience is censured and the rights of the parents are loudly proclaimed, but she was brave in offering the young man the chance to marry, for marriage is a duty.

We should scarcely admit such reasons; and so I remarked to my catechist and explained to him that in my opinion this was only the commonplace story of a couple who loved each other. "That is possible," he replied, "but it is certain that the young man thought above all of the duty of marriage, and it is poverty which induced him to leave with the girl; as for the girl, she was courageous." It was the same argument. I encountered therefore the same way of thinking in my catechist.

The case would probably be resolved in the same way in the West as in the East, that is to say the union would be legalized; but the motives which would be invoked would be completely different.

/8/ This fact was for me a revelation at the time, and I was able to verify it many times later; it made me acquainted with the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of the general necessity for marriage.

2. Necessity for Male Descendants

858 Another mental habit among the T'ou-jen is an excessive de-
562 sire to see children born, and especially male children.
181 In Europe one is not too concerned when a family has no chil-
581 dren or when there are only girls. Among the T'ou-jen the greatest of misfortunes is the absence of male children. It is necessary to be in the Orient to "live" the text of canon law: Matrimonii finis primarius est procreatio atque educatio prolis /"The primary purpose

/8 cont'd/

858 of marriage is the procreation and rearing of offspring"/. The son is
562 the dream of the Orient. One will resign oneself to poverty, but one
181 will never be consoled for not having a son; one will be consoled over
581 the death of a husband or wife, but one will continue to weep for the loss of an only son. The fact of having no son will be interpreted as a punishment of heaven for sins committed in former lives. One will disregard expenses required for good works and pilgrimages in the interest of producing a male child. Extraordinarily noisy celebrations will be given upon the birth of a first-born son, in which the whole village will take part. The greatest happiness of a T'ou-jen woman will be that of having many sons; so that when one lives in T'ou-jen country, one thinks involuntarily of the Roman mother of the Gracchi presenting her children to her friends, saying, "Here are my jewels." One rarely sees alms refused to the numerous religious and lay beggars; it is because the terrible curse they are accustomed to offer, "Be without descendants," is feared. On the contrary, after receiving alms, the beggar will thank the giver by wishing him a numerous male posterity.

181 We must therefore expect to see matrimonial customs strongly
595 influenced by this way of thinking. Thus, when the wife has no children or no sons, it seems natural /9/ to everyone to take a second wife and even a third. Every T'ou-jen, even the most upright, if means permit, will act in this way. He will not lose the esteem of his fellows in the least for doing so; all of them will even advise him to do so, the most religious man as well as the most pious woman. When the first wife has borne sons, and the husband takes a second, nothing shocking is seen in it, for the more sons one has, the better it is.

I always remember the discussions I had with T'ou-jen friends on the subject of polygamy. I admit that it seemed to me that my arguments did not convince them, even that they were not understood. The good fortune of having sons was for them too sublime an entity to be capable of being put on the same level with the family troubles which polygamy entails; if the bringing up of children of different mothers must leave something to be desired, this disadvantage is a negligible quantity in their eyes, even a quantity of lower order

/9 cont'd/

181 compared to the happiness of having descendants. This way of think-
595 ing has distant origins; the T'ou-jen inherited it from their ancestors, and they have kept it scrupulously for centuries. Let us not be surprised therefore that because of it certain customs which seem inadmissible and shocking to us appear reasonable and justifiable to the T'ou-jen.

We shall set forth in what follows the matrimonial customs of a people which is convinced of the duty of marrying, and which expects male descendants from marriage.

/10/ Division of the Study

583 Marriage is the legal union of a man and woman. But with the T'ou-jen the daughter being the property of the parents, in the true sense of the term, an indemnity is imposed on the one who wishes to marry her.

This indemnity is paid in two ways; either by purchase or by the furnishing of his person or his services for the benefit of the owner of the girl.

[587] The marriage of widows, which still often takes place nowadays in the ancient form of abduction, nevertheless falls in the category of marriage by purchase; for after having taken the widow to a safe place, a discussion is held about her price. Therefore, we shall deal successively with:

I. Marriage by purchase
II. Marriage by furnishing ones services or person
III. Abnormal marriages
IV. Divorce, repudiation, and exchange of wives
V. Runaway wives
VI. The matriarchate

/20 cont'd/

584 Custom requires that the engaged couple not have relations before marriage and that they avoid each other as much as possible.

[593] We are in the Orient. Parents are absolute masters of their children. They do not conceive of marriage as being their children's personal business. With them marriage is today a family matter, as it was formerly that of the whole group, or the community.

181 178 Nowadays the T'ou-jen family seeks its own advantages in it, and the interested parties find it natural that the general welfare precedes the individual welfare, just as formerly their families, living in clans, in compact groups, found it natural that the welfare of their private families be subordinated to that of the whole group.

584 The evolution of the T'ou-jen individual today has not yet reached the point where his personal interest takes precedence over that of his family. Parents alone, then, decide the marriages of their children, and the latter find this custom rational and accept, with their fatalistic way of thinking, the often deplorable consequences of it.

/21/ However, it can happen, when a girl has not been sought in marriage at an early age, which is unusual, that the young people have talked about things other than the fine weather. In these cases it is natural that there are preferences and that the parents take them into account, provided they are not injurious to the interests of the family and especially those of the mother-in-law. But this case is the very great exception because the children are already betrothed before they have been able to make a choice.

3. When the Marriage Proposal Is Made

The marriage proposal is rarely made after the young people are old enough to understand the importance of this act and are capable of manifesting their preferences. Besides, nobody has ever thought of waiting until the children were old enough, for marriage is the task of the parents and not of the children. But such a case can occur upon the death of one of the betrothed persons toward the time of the marriage; again, it can occur in a family which was too

HM 583 /70 cont'd/

apart from clothing and utensils, of a certain quantity of ewes and horses (among the Mongols).

/71/ 15. The Wedding

M 585 Then they proceed to the marriage ceremony as such. This most solemn ceremony of all recalls Biblical times to us, first because of its profoundly religious character, and then because of the old man officiating.

M 603 604 Actually, this office belongs by right to the grandfather in the bridegroom's family. When the grandfathers are dead, the maternal uncle takes their place. The name given to the old man who officiates is very characteristic: he is called šürödžin khun, which means literally "the man who gives the blessing." Indeed, it is the old man who orders the prostrations to be made to heaven, to the spirits, to the members of the family and clan, and it is he who pronounces the wishes for good fortune and prosperity, the bringing about of which is awaited from heaven and the spirits. Thus we are in the presence of a religious rite in the full force of the term, a rite which reveals the capital importance attached to marriage. Besides it leaves an unusual impression on the assemblage.

All those present are standing. The bridegroom is on his knees at the left of the bride, whose head is still enveloped in the red cloth; the maid of honor is on her knees behind the bride, likewise a young man behind the bridegroom. Then the grandfather advances and takes his place standing near the sacred fire; he orders in the midst of the greatest silence:

M 585 181 THAT THE FIRST PROSTRATION BE MADE TO HEAVEN AND TO THE MULTIFARIOUS SPIRITS.

Dë thurõŋ thorguë šge thiaŋgeri olon phurgán ñiandu murgu.

The bride and groom, the maid of honor and the young man make the great Chinese prostration: three genuflections and as many bows, touching the ground with the forehead. All is done solemnly and simultaneously.

/72/

585 THAT THE SECOND PROSTRATION BE MADE TO THE FATHER
181 AND MOTHER AND TO THE PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY.

Dē gōrda thorguē āni āwa khudugu ǩgesdu murgu.

THAT THE THIRD BE MADE TO THE PERSONS OF THE MOTHER'S CLAN AND TO THE WHOLE CLAN.

Dē gū'ānda thorguē urug tharug imag saru ñiandu murgu.

Then in the midst of the greatest silence he continues in a solemn voice:

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO BUILD SEVEN FARMS!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO BUILD HOUSES WITH A SECOND STORY AND A VERANDA!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO SHEAR SEVERAL HUNDRED SHEEP ANNUALLY!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO MOUNT HUNDREDS OF HORSES AND RAISE HERDS OF HUNDREDS OF OXEN!

MAY YOUR SONS BE NUMEROUS: SO THAT YOU MAY SEE YOUR GRANDSONS STILL MORE NUMEROUS!

MAY YOUR FAMILY BE FECUND AND OVERFLOWING WITH PROSPERITY LIKE THE SEA WHICH OVERFLOWS!

MAY YOU BE DURABLE AS IRON!

MAY YOU DAY BY DAY BECOME RICHER AND MORE POWERFUL LIKE FIRE ON WHICH OIL IS POURED!

585 Then the old men and the parents throw some cash on the felt at the feet of the young couple. The maid of honor removes the veil from the young wife and leads her into the nuptial chamber. The two lamps which burn on the table in the middle of the courtyard are taken away to be put before the religious image, where they will burn as long as there is any oil.

[793] Let us note the absence at this marriage ceremony of any religious personnel, shaman, lama, tao-jen /Taoist priest/; let us notice in addition that it does not take place in a temple, but that it is performed in the home, under the authority of the head of the family, in front of the ancient shamanistic sacred fire, and under the patronage of "heaven and the multifarious spirits." Marriage among the T'ou-jen is then, incontestably, /73/ something other than a simple union of the sexes. The wishes for prosperity enunciated

[10 cont.]

124 had in mind. Besides, I had not treated him respectfully enough and made the mistake of not offering him enough brandy. After all, at that time I was still unacquainted with the proverb of the Chinese: t'u-jen chien chiu, chia-la chien liu; freely translated, "The Tujen are as fond of brandy as goats are of greens." [181] [273]

Only after a year did I again get in touch with him. At that time I was celebrating a festival in a neighboring community and invited the old man by messenger to a mutton feast. He received the place of honor next to me, ate his fill of the meat, and was challenged by one person after another to the drinking game, during which he consumed an ample amount. In this state of uplift an old Chinese, his former classmate, negotiated with him and obtained his consent to live with me for a few days in the station. When he appeared in January, 1947, he was received in the friendliest manner. He sat at the table with me and received as much barley wine as he liked, and he could take a sizeable quantity of it. Upon his departure in the afternoon I presented him with sugar, currants, baked goods, sausage, and cigars, things that are not common there, with which, as he said, he demonstrated at home the generosity of the European who had treated him as a complete and equal human being. When, in addition, I made it possible for him and his wife to receive medical treatment without cost from the mission sisters, his distrust disappeared; from then on he always showed up at my place for a number of days, and precisely on the date agreed upon, which is astonishing among these people. [273] [262]

To the old man's credit, let it be said at this point that afterwards he made absolutely no demands. He valued his honor and wanted to be taken seriously. For the rest, he lived in the same room with the employees of the mission station, slept on the same kang, and ate the same food, even though I offered him a room of his own and a special diet. He stated: "That does not suit an old farmer like me; I want to be with your people so that I have company." Only on certain days, for instance, at festivals or when there were visitors, did he have to have a substantial drink. This strongly stimulated him to tell stories, during which my attention was drawn to

[12 cont.]

115 respected their customs and did not condemn them or brand them
123 as backward superstitions. In this respect one cannot in the long run disguise his feelings. With a sure sense the natives noticed whether one meets them with good will and respect or regards himself as superior to them. Since the old man was no dolt and had also read many a Chinese book, he knew, for example, that the Chinese tend to dismiss the peoples on their borders as
[181] barbarians. He also knew how the Chinese nearby laugh at the Tujen as backward "natives." And finally he had heard that the Christians designate as superstition much that is dear and sacred to the Tujen and the Chinese. Thus it is understandable that occasionally he would say: "Father, do not be surprised when I tell you such and such. We believe in it." Or: "Please do not laugh at it when we do something in such a way." On his part, this inhibition was extensively bridged by the genuinely tolerant
[829] attitude of the Asiatic: "All religions are good. The goal is the same, only the ways are different." On my part, the decisive attitude was that every person's conviction is to be respected if he means it honestly, even though, objectively speaking, he may be on the wrong road. The same applies to religion. And when I told the old man, "I believe such and such, you believe such and such, but I am not therefore better than you; it depends upon the conscience," he gladly agreed. Nor was any attempt ever made to influence him in his religion. He knew little about Christianity, but neither did he regard it as mystery-mongering when he inquired about it among my people. They always stressed to him: "You can hear and see everything that we do. We have no secret religion. We tell you everything. If you want to read our books, you may have them." One day he came with the question: "Should I not become a Christian?" I told him: "That depends on you. The heart of a man cannot be forced. Everyone should act according to his insight."

115 It greatly cheered his openheartedness to find many a
171 similarity between the Christian and Tujen ceremonies. Thus he was quite surprised at the fire ceremony on Easter eve. In the church he saw altars, saints' images, an oil lamp. He saw how the Christians fell on their knees. He knew: We, too,

with silk flags, to look at the hundreds of measures of 792
grain put into the chair, the hundreds of pounds of 685
sugar and raisins, the hundreds of rich garments, and 782
the herd of sheep which follows the chair (for the few 556
pieces of meat are called a "herd of sheep"), and so on, for the other items. They implore it to look at the unusual prodigality of the customer, who is a fervent adherent of the faith. After the parody is played, the lamas have a good time visiting the neighbors. On the seventh day, at night, all the neighbors help escort the troublesome spirit outside the village, forming an imposing cortege with banners flying and drums, horns, and some rifles, and carrying the sedan chair, the caldron and bull head, the spears and swords. The lamas blow the trumpets made from a human femur. The bull head, spears, and swords are buried in a deep hole; a big fire is lit and the pit is filled, at full speed, flush with the ground. The stake is thrust into it; the whole group howls and curses the avenger, rifles are fired, trumpets blown, and the lamas return. The sedan chair is emptied by the neighbors. Restitution is thus made, the avenging spirit is appeased and thrust into the hole, and the thief remains possessor of his thievery.

A rich man, Lo san lao, who lived in Ha-la-chih 425
Valley, had succeeded in bringing to his home the fine 782
young lady of the poor Monguor Li sse of Naring 789
Valley. Calamities then troubled his family, and he invited Yellow lamas to perform the rite. They placed in the sedan chair a fine paper lady. The rite of the caldron and bull head was carried out, and the avenging spirit was thrust into the hole. Restitution was thus made by means of a paper lady, but he remained the possessor of the real one.

After many years this rite as performed by Red [792]
lamas, invited by the famous Sumpa Hutukhtu in order to compensate for the injustices perpetrated by his intendants, is still talked about in the country. The splendid sedan chair was on this occasion lavishly filled with precious items. A beautiful horse which followed the cortege was abandoned for the neighbors. After the bull head had been buried and the avenging spirit thrust into the hole, hundreds of people had tried to capture the horse.

The claims of justice are deeply embedded in the 181 ●
consciousness of the people, and the necessity of restitution for injustices is always advocated by the lamas, although the magical rite of restitution seems to be a mockery of its real intent. Justice seems to rank first among the virtues.

In connection with this peculiar mentality concerning 776
the spirit who is the avenger of injustices is to be noted 425
the cult of the Sturlong spirit. This spirit is supposed to guard the wealth of the family with ruthless severity. It does not allow anything of value belonging to the family which honors it to be taken away. It is honored as a family deity, mostly among the Monguors of the

[p. 131(A)]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

291 of the *Z* is passed through the lobe of the ear and then
302 turned up to hook into the upper part. It is said that this is the primitive design of all Monguor earrings, and there is a tradition that such earrings were formerly made of bones. It almost seems that they might be a relic of the neolithic period before metal was used.

9. *Sogmu niudar* ("Mongol woman's") headdress, from the Tibetan *sogmu*, "a Mongol woman." This way of doing the hair, preserved among only one of nine Monguor groups, is that which most nearly resembles, in essentials, the Mongol style of hairdress. The hair is parted in the middle of the head and braided in two plaits which hang down in front of the shoulders on the chest. Each braid is wrapped in a sheath which reaches nearly to the knees, and the sheath is both held in by the sash and buttoned to the gown to keep it firm. The sheaths worn on holidays are embroidered. A small round felt hat goes with this headdress, which is used by the women of Patsasanch'eng and of the valley of Hualin.

302 Anthropologists often overlook the psychological im-
291 portance of customs and costumes. It seems to me that
182

[p. 124c]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

302
291
182

in spite of the poor materials used by the Monguors, the clumsiness of the headdresses, and certain childish aspects of the festivals at which these costumes are paraded, it is important to realize that all this display, pathetic though it may seem, brings happiness to the people, especially the women. Whenever I attended festivals in the Monguor country I could not but notice the atmosphere of joy and happiness, especially among the women. The holiday and the opportunity to display their costumes gave them psychologically a reinforcement of their self-esteem, and when they went home they were better able

FIG. 7. Sge Niudar, the "great" or "honorable" headdress. Back view of the costume shown in fig. 6, showing the historical shield and spear, the eight movable plates, the cushion forming the "heart of the hair," and the tassels and fringes.

[P. 125 a]

291 to cope with the routine of their ordinary lives as the
302 result of a day of real happiness. At the festival they had felt and acted as if they belonged to the most beautiful and happy people in the world. Proud as peacocks,
182 they had walked smiling through the throngs as if they were queens. They had listened with pleasure to the jingling of the strings of copper coins hanging from their sashes; they had been delighted by the fluttering of the silk and satin handkerchiefs hanging by the embroidered ends of their sashes. They had enjoyed the fragrance of the strong musk perfume on their garments, and they had been admired and congratulated.

291 Unmarried girls are not dressed as gaudily as the married women. They wear blue cotton trousers, the attached lower legs of which are made of red cloth. Their blue cotton boots are embroidered with Chinese designs, usually of flowers. They wear the long gown of violet, green, blue, or red cotton cloth, with an apron over it. The hem of the gown is decorated with red cotton stitching. The collar is always of red cotton, and is embroidered. The sash is a piece of red cotton cloth, without embroidery. The sleeveless jacket is of green, blue, or red cotton trimmed at the edges with red stitching. Unmarried girls wear their hair in a small "bun" on top of the head, bound with red cord and covered with a shell. The rest of their hair is braided in two plaits, bound together at the neck with red cord and covered with a short sheath decorated with shells. Unmarried girls never wear hats. In winter they cover their ears and the side of their foreheads with a strip of red cotton cloth.

301 Both married and unmarried women wear bracelets, sometimes three or four pairs, and silver rings on the fourth finger of each hand—sometimes three or four rings on the same finger. The rings are sometimes of plain silver and sometimes set with coral or turquoise. Unmarried girls wear only small, simple rings in their ears. The earlobe is pierced in the spring on the day of the festival of the ancestors.

Both men and women often wear a reliquary on the
778 chest, made like those worn by Mongols and Tibetans, often of silver, containing bits of writing from Tibetan scriptures, and sometimes miniature Buddhas.

HANDICRAFTS AND ORIGIN OF ARTISANS

463 There are, of course, no large scale industries among the Monguors. Most of their necessities can be bought either in the Chinese towns, or at the monastery festivals or the fairs that are held at the time of the clan assemblies. The handicrafts that are found among the Monguors themselves are limited to weaving, felt making, the making of fur coats, and the work of silversmiths. In addition there are a few carpenters and stone cutters.

286 The Monguors spin their own woolen yarn. Men, women, and older children spin when they have nothing else to do, drawing out the threads from a handful of

[P. 125 b]

During five centuries the Monguors bore with fortitude the vicissitudes of very hard times, fighting inroads of brigands and revolts of tribes, always on the warpath in their own country and in far-off provinces. A strong factor in buoying their courage was the tie of the clan, which bound them close together in one family, with a t'u-ssu as head of the family. 175x

The appreciation and estimation of their heroic achievements by the emperor and local high officials, the building of Honorific Arches, the favor of official burials and sacrifices, the granting of titles, the names of their chiefs recorded in the City Hall of faithful and meritorious officials, the reports sent to the emperor about their valorous performances, the thankfulness of the Chinese who erected steles to glorify them, were so many stimuli for the Monguors which made life worth living and brought happiness in the clan and in the families. 182 ●

The last news we have about the Huangchung Monguors is that the Monguor clans are broken up, the t'u-ssu regime is abolished, the ladies are forbidden to wear their distinctive clothes and headdress, the use of their language is prohibited, in every village a school is organized with teachers of the new ideology. Monguors and their wives are enlisted with the Chinese men and women in working groups. The aim is to obliterate the Monguor nation and mix it in the Chinese nation. In a few years from now the Monguors will have disappeared. 178

[116(B)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 565 554 [466] into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punishment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.

The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 M 614 217 565 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealogies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and N *563 M 174 565 began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local M [554] prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 M 621 622 565 The Mongbor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 M 596 [421] [561] [595] Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patrilocal family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four generation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of M [428] chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually M [182] [768] [428] takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

N *563 586 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

M 594 596 [611] [591] N *563 M [556]

A. The Family Organization

Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patrilineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family. In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines, and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

M [361] M [182] [252] M [342] M [264] [342]

The extended family has a common courtyard, around which the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus, the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

N *563 M 592 554 [169]

The family head is the religious chief, family administrator and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

/5/

Preliminary Notes

000 1) General necessity for marriage.

2) Necessity for male descendants.

It seems that two remarks are necessary for a good understanding of this study. It is evident that in order to judge a painting, one must not see it at night in the light of a candle, but during the day in the light desired by the artist; one must even be at the right spot to observe what the author wished to put in it; then only will one understand his work.

Now concerning marriage among the T'ou-jen, the ways of thinking of the East and the West differing completely, it is easy not to see the facts in their true light.

The ways and customs of a people find their explanation in its present-day or former ways of thinking and philosophy. Whether this philosophy be good or bad, we do not judge here, but we must see the facts while seeing through ourselves in order to understand them. To observers with different ways of thinking, the same facts may seem rational and honest to some and puerile and full of horror to others.

1. General Necessity for Marriage

581 589 We Europeans do not find it strange to meet people who are not married; we are not surprised to see bachelors in our offices, at our meetings, at our parties; the idea does not occur to us that being unmarried incriminates them; although deep down we feel that this situation is abnormal, we find, outside of religious principles, enough reasons, if not to justify being single, at least to excuse it.

/6/ Now such a point of view does not exist among the T'ou-jen. No T'ou-jen will understand that a man who is not a monk, who is not a lama, is not married unless he is physically incapable of it.

581 589 183 Also among the T'ou-jen it is polite to find out whether all the sons are already married; to satisfy this law of marriage, one will go

581 /6 cont'd/
589 as far as selling all that one possesses, one's lands, houses, and ani-
183 mals, and will live in indigence; at the death of the parents, the elder married sons, in the case where the possessions are about to be divided up, must, before all else, put aside the sums required for the marriage of the younger unmarried sons; the parents, at the approach of death, will feel the greatest relief in the fact that they have gotten all their sons married. In order to permit the poor to marry, recourse is had to all kinds of contrivances, which very often are only imposed by reason of their primordial goal, which is that of marriage, and which scorn many obligations which in "justice" would seem, at the least, to have to be taken into greater consideration. One will find decisions which will appear unjust, but when one studies this mental attitude, which gives proportion to everything, one will understand that among the T'ou-jen the other principles yield to it and are sacrificed.

554 Marriage, for the T'ou-jen people, is the great affair in life,
581 obligatory above all else. One is no longer an honorable man when one is not married; this is because they believe that man has the duty to live according to natural law, that is, to marry and procreate children.

623 One day one of my catechists was invited to sit with the elders
627 of the village to judge the case of a penniless young man who had
689 run off with a girl of good rank. They had been brought back after
588 an escapade of three years, with a child born during the flight.

The young man was on his knees, his hands tied behind his back, imploring the clemency of the judges and of the whole assembled village. /7/ Despairing, he was saying, of ever being able to marry because of his extreme poverty, he had believed it permissible to act in this way, in order to be able to do his duty and marry. "I have been unjust toward the girl's parents, but I submit myself in advance to make all the reparations possible that will be required of me...." The girl also cries for mercy. "I could have hoped for a better match," she admits, "but I followed this young man to be gracious; without me, he would never have been able to marry...."

681 After an important palaver the offending couple was punished, and the judges found a way to indemnify the injured family and to legalize this union.

/40 cont'd/

11. Farewell Dinner at the Bride's Home

584 The solemnities begin at the bride's home the day preceding
585 the wedding. They are often richer and noisier than the ones at the groom's home on the day of the wedding. They have a special character. No guest of the groom's family is present at this festivity; it is given solely in honor of the relatives of the bride's family and intimate friends. Nobody is invited. It is up to each one to judge whether his relations with the celebrating family permit his presence. The more influence the family has, the more numerous will be the intimate friends. With us, such an uncertainty about the number of guests would be very annoying for the service and would cause a good many surprises at the dinner. Here, this is the least of their worries, for the custom of bringing loaves of bread in the guise of gifts can provide for every eventuality.

585 In the first place, one notices among the guest the members
586 of the family of the bride's mother. They will never fail to be present at the festivity. They consider their presence not /41/ only a duty but a right; thus their absence would be unjustifiable. The elders of the mother's clan are always present. Truly odd way of thinking, they do not go to the festivity to enhance its solemnity nor to give evidence of their friendship to the family, but tanquam potestatem habentes /"as having authority"/. They see in the girl who is leaving the family their daughter who is leaving them; they wish to be present at her departure and show themselves her protectors. One feels in this the unity of the family, one sees in it a feeling of strong cohesiveness; it is the clan which is there at the dinner. They will absent themselves from the dinner at the groom's home, but never from the one at the bride's.

Among the guests are also seen the members of the paternal side of the girl, friends and neighbors. The members of the mother's family take precedence at the dinner.

585 The Orient is pre-eminently the land of ceremonies; at fes-
[183] tivities the guests require that they be rigorously observed; if not, although treated royally, they will not be satisfied and in the whole region criticisms will go about at a good round pace.

2: Schram--99 M-4,8(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Mongue: AE9
Miao AE5

/86 cont'd/

Mi 582

has the force of law, which requires taking a wife of one's own race.
Savina, Hist. des Miao, p. 284.

/87/ 8. Marriages of Widows as Official Wives

Mo 587 589

Summary. -- 1. Rights of widows, theory and practice. 2. Procedure for the purchase of a widow. 3. Departure of the widow. 4. Settling of accounts. 5. Marriage of widows. 6. Two typical abductions of widows. 7. Vestiges of marriage by abduction among the T'ou-jen.

1. Rights of Widows, Theory and Practice

When parents give a daughter in marriage, they say, "We have taken leave of our daughter," or "We have given our daughter," or even with a slight scorn "We have sold her"; which denotes clearly that a girl's marriage is not her own affair but definitely the business of her parents. On the other hand, when a widow marries, they say, "She has found a man," that is, that she herself has chosen her husband and that she has acted in complete freedom. Besides, the adage says, "Ts'ien kia yeou tié-niang, heou-kia yeou pen-jen;" i.e., the first marriage is arranged by the parents, subsequent marriages no longer depend on the parents but on the widow herself.

The terminology used to indicate these two kinds of marriages, as well as this adage, both throw light on the new situation of a woman in widowhood. Everything depends on her; she will remarry or not, and she will choose by herself the husband she wants. At least this is the theory. Yet in practice her right will be respected as long as her owners find no disadvantage in the decision taken by her. It may even happen that she is married off by force by her parents-in-law, and even that she is simply abducted by an unknown man. This is to say that everywhere praxis differs from speculations /"practice differs from theory"/. But /88/ let us remember this: in case of litigation, everywhere among the T'ou-jen, the rights of the widow

Mo [183]

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.] may also be the reason why the Tujen always try to obtain such a conch and blow it in the morning at the incense offering in the yard.

For the rest, the conch in itself is made to order for the offering. It formerly served as an offering bowl; cf. Ch. Das (p. 627). Today it is regarded as the third of the eight offerings (mc'od brgyad) or good-luck symbols (bkra śis rtags brgyad) as a sign of being turned in the right direction, sending out lovely sounds to the ten points of the compass; cf. Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, p. 21.

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183

All these objects that have been enumerated are part of a complete incense offering. Since a family only rarely has these accessories on hand, the offering is usually given in the simple form, that is, people content themselves with cypress twigs, tsamba, and water-sprinkling. Not even butter and milk have been available recently among the Tujen.

[262]

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[776]

Meaning: The incense offering is primarily to heaven, as is the first kowtow. In the second place, it is intended to honor the mountain and earth spirit, and in the third place all the other countless spirits. Oral prayers are not spoken, but one usually says or thinks: "Heaven knows it." The offering is a request for protection and pleases the spirits because of the distinguished gifts. Hence, the men give it at all religious ceremonies, for instance, at the sowing festival, at the veneration of the obo, at the sheep sacrifice, etc. It is left to burn for hours during the entire procedure. Since the Tujen have practiced the incense offering since time immemorial, it constantly recurs in the songs (8).

[177]

8. [Foreign text p. 49.] The incense

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 769 614 ginning of April according to the lunar calendar, in a festival similar to the Chinese Ch'ing-ming. On this occasion the clan assembles to venerate its ancestors, enjoy a great feast and reunion, and discuss matters of concern to the clan.

On the day of the assembly, the T'u-ssu, the chiefs and elders of the villages and all the family heads go to the graveyard immediately after breakfast, followed by all the other members of the clan. At the graveyard, offerings are made and rites are performed. Then food for the offerings is divided among the families, the oldest generations receiving their portions first.

M [182] [767] This annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of the Mongour clan. One of the family heads, usually of the nobility, is appointed to care for the graveyard during the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions and offerings, and the making of repairs. An assistant is assigned to help him with details.

b. Respect for elders and family heads

N *563 M 554 888 The Mongours once lived without chiefs, but never without village elders. Traditionally, the whole power of the clan was vested in the elders, who had the authority to appoint and dismiss chiefs. The village elders still take the most important part in local administration. Elders need not be rich or from noble stock, but they are men of good reputation from the more outstanding families.

N *563 M 554 592 Heads of families are also honored. At public meetings, all are allowed to express their views and defend their rights, but final decisions are made only after the heads of families have spoken.

c. Adultery

N *563 M 684 Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If caught, the guilty pair is flogged, the woman on her bare back, the man on bare buttocks and thighs, up to a hundred stripes. The man must confront the husband and make apologies, and present him with a sheep or a pig. A trial is held and fingerprints are taken. Then the pair is led through the village with drums beating while they make public confession of their sin, and they must secure an official statement of pardon.

d. Moral and legal concepts

N *563 M 183 M [593] [587] [421] Both moral and legal concepts of the Mongours seem to be based upon customs, tradition and what the community accepts as just. Some typical social values and concepts are: Wrongs must be righted and injustices corrected. Parents have authority over their children, and husbands over their wives. A widow has the right to remarry or to dispose of herself. Private property must be protected. No one has the right to disturb the peace of the community.

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 621 183 178 The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is M [867] dinned into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-ssu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

N *563 M 621 183 177 178 During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

e. Stealing and gambling

N *563 M [685] [673] [525] [794] Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

N *563 M 587 A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

N *563 M 867 Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meeted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

N *563 M 576 264 603 According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

342 in the center is the living room, and is used for the reception of guests and as the dining room. One of the two smaller rooms on either side of the living room is occupied by the chief of the family and his wife; the room opposite is occupied by the eldest son.

352 The largest part of each dwelling room is occupied by the *k'ang*—a small platform, two or three feet high,
354 built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm. In winter the *k'ang* is a wonderful invention. On it are spread felt rugs, and along the wall are folded and piled the covers and skins used at night. Three or four wooden cases along the wall contain the clothes of members of the family and the treasures of the mother (needle box, sewing materials, etc.), and there is also a small cupboard. Along
251 the wall, hung on pegs, are a gun, a stringed musical instrument, clothes, etc. In the corner of the room stands a jar containing fermenting pickled vegetables.
342 Part of the smoke of the oven escapes through a hole pierced in the window and the door is opened when the smoke is too heavy. Beams and rafters are like ebony, blackened by the oily smoke. Around New Year, the walls are whitewashed and two or three pictures of deities are placed on the walls. After a few days the whitewash turns brown and the walls are muddy again.

343 In the northeast corner of the courtyard is the kitchen and in this building the youngest of the married sons lives with his family—for in this blessed corner, according to the shaman, a large progeny is to be expected.[1] The two remaining corners are converted into stables—for these corners, again according to the shaman, are propitious for the reproduction of animals. Sheep and cows are fenced outside the courtyard.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

621 Since nobles and commoners live in the same kind of
184 house and earn their living by the same means, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated. Poor and rich, nobles and commoners, live in the same hamlets, help each other and go in and out of each

[1] This custom preserves the tradition that the youngest son is "guardian of the hearth." There are many evidences that in ancient Turco-Mongol society elder sons moved away at marriage and received at that time their share of the inheritance. The youngest son remained with the parents and received the residual inheritance. Hence, according to Vladmirtsov (*Régime social des Mongols*, 60), the term *otchigin* or *otjigin*, "prince of the fire," for the youngest son. P. Pelliot and L. Hambis (*Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan* 1: 176, Leiden. E. J. Brill, 1951) point out that *ot* is Turkish for "fire," while *chigin* is the medieval Mongol form of *tigin* (*tegin*), which though occurring in Turkish is in their opinion of Avar (old Mongol) origin. They point to another word for "youngest son," *otqan*, as "probably" deriving from ot-qan (khan), "sovereign of the fire."—O. L.

[p. 75a]

1; Schram M-5. (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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other's houses. Their children play together. In winter the women of noble and commoner families sit in each other's houses sewing clothes. In times of sickness or childbirth, the women of both classes help each other; they cradle and caress each other's children. When trouble breaks out between a mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law, all the neighboring women of both upper and lower classes come around to help patch up the quarrel. Rich and poor know each other's most intimate affairs and talk about them. They know all about each other's wealth or poverty, for the saying goes that the neighbor is the balance which weighs the neighbor's silver. The daily food of rich and poor is just about the same.

The intimacy in the daily family life which derived from the time when nobles and commoners migrated in small nomadic groups with their herds, pitching their tents one next the other, became more and more conventional when they settled down in small villages, and made it possible to bridge the chasm separating upper and lower classes in the official administrative hierarchy; but long before commoners were allowed to participate in the administration, the way had been prepared by the close familiarity in all the small hamlets between women of the two groups in the orbit of the family.

In such problems the overwhelming influence of the women and children is often overlooked. The first step in the leveling of social conditions between nobles and commoners was not set by any order of the T'u-ssu, but by the women and children in their daily familiar life.

The distance between rich and poor families in such a society as that of the Monguors is not so marked as in our society. The sons of the rich work in the fields just like the sons of the poor. They work side by side with the hired men. In the same way the daughters-in-law and daughters of the rich do all the household chores, and go to the fields to do the weeding and to bring in the harvest, as do the wives and daughters of the poor. Only on holidays are they better dressed and decked out with nicer jewelry.

Rich nobles and rich commoners alike hire four or five extra men to till their fields. They keep flocks of one hundred or two hundred sheep, herds of forty or fifty cows, and feed ten or more donkeys, two or three teams of mules, and one hundred or more horses, of which a couple are fast and handsome.

The man of ordinary standing hires one or two men, has fifty or one hundred sheep, ten or twenty cows, some donkeys, and a couple of mules and always has a fast, fine horse. Poor families working for the rich people earn some money and some grain and from some of the fields that they cultivate for the rich keep the harvests for themselves. With the herds of their employer they put a few sheep and a couple of cows or donkeys of their own. Sometimes they have a couple of days off to till their own small fields with the draft animals of their employer. They are dealt with in the

[P. 75-6]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

621 same way as members of the family, and the relations between employer and hired men are familiar and cordial.

184 In short there are among the nobles honorable families living in affluence, and among the commoners there are the same kind of fine families. There are among both nobles and commoners less honorable families and even dishonorable ones, addicted to opium, gambling, and the whole train of attendant vices that go with these depravities. Since most families are absorbed with the struggle for life, however, they have little time left to indulge in extravagant vices. Although the villages are not beds of roses, the sociability of life among the Monguors is an attractive feature of their society.

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIALS

621 The highest official in the village is the village chief or headman. Next come the two military commanders, called Ch'ien-tsong and Pa-tsong,[2] and finally the elders. The chief of the village is responsible to the T'u-ssu for his villagers. His powers are granted to him by the T'u-ssu, on the recommendation of the elders. The institution of the office of village chief dates from after the settling down of the Monguors under Ming rule. It was an innovation and an adaptation to a new economic and social status.

In the case of the two military ranks the tradition runs that in former times all the chiefs of villages were nobles who had been appointed as military commanders and who had jurisdiction over administrative as well as military matters. The clan institution having become during, and even before, the Mongol Empire a military institution, all subjects of the clan were enrolled in one or another military unit. No surviving tradition explains the present subordination of the military officers in the village to the village chief; but this subordination must have gone against the grain of the old Mongol military tradition—especially since the chief of the village may be a commoner, not a noble—and it may well be therefore that this subordination began under the Ming dynasty and was a mark of Chinese preference for civil authority over the Mongol tradition of military supremacy.

The institution of village elders may be regarded as a survival from the nomad past of the Monguors. Nomad clans once lived and thrived without chiefs, but never

[2] These two terms are local patois for the Chinese terms Ch'ien-chang and Pai-chang, "commander of a thousand" and "commander of a hundred," which in turn are translations of traditional Mongol terms. It should be noted that since the Monguor villages of recent times do not produce a thousand men at a time to place under a commander, we have here an illustration of the very common phenomenon of the degeneration of titles by stages which may be described as (*a*) high rank; (*b*) high-sounding rank; (*c*) humdrum rank, with no consciousness, in the minds of those who daily use the title, of its original significance. Mongol history is full of this degeneration of titles and honorifics, especially when they are borrowed Chinese terms.—O. L.

[P.76a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

622 701 represent the village in preparing and managing all celebrations held at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, such as the investiture, marriages, and funerals, the "opening of the seal," and the yearly diet or assembly. They also preside over the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages. Together with the elders they execute justice within the village, carry on the day-to-day administration, defend the rights of the villagers in their relations with the T'u-ssu, and of course oppose all enroachments on their own privileges.

623 The elders are appointed by the T'u-ssu himself, for an indefinite period of time. The T'u-ssu selects them from among the outstanding heads of families among nobles and commoners. Most of them are commoners; some are Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the clan. In former times they were granted by the T'u-ssu a copper button to be worn on top of the hat. All matters concerning administration of the village, the apportioning of taxes, and difficulties among the villagers are discussed between the elders, the chief of the village and the two military commanders. Of them all, it is the elders who carry the most weight.

The elders can delegate some of their powers by appointing young commoners to assist the chief of the village, to organize meetings, to summon the villagers, on necessity, and to collect taxes.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES

623 184 Meetings are the specific form of administration. The villagers are not administered by a small group of autocrats who hold themselves in aloof dignity. All topics of interest to the villagers are discussed in meetings attended by them. At these meetings everybody is allowed to express his views and to defend his rights. Very often the atmosphere of meetings is one of violent agitation and high excitement. It will be recalled that in the ancient form of pastoral nomad government under tribal elders, final decisions were made only after the heads of families had had their say at public meetings. The Monguors, in spite of the passage of many centuries, and after having adopted a sedentary farming economy, still conserve this tradition of their old administrative routine. The public meetings are part of the specific character of government in a Monguor village.

These meetings are not held in the central stronghold built by order of the Chinese, and very seldom in the courtyard of the temple of the village, but in the open air. Every village has its designated place of assembly. Some villagers hold their meetings on the large threshing floor of a particular hamlet of the village; others at a fixed spot in the main valley; others at the foot of a mountain, etc. This tradition of a customary place of assembly, as well as the form of administration, bespeaks the old nomadic customs of the Monguors.

623 fendants unwilling to abide by the decision of the elders may have recourse to the T'u-ssu; but his verdict very seldom differs from that of the elders.

577 From the foregoing it can be seen that the concepts of the Monguors seem to be based on custom, tradition, and •184 what community opinion accepts as "just." Typical concepts are: wrongs are to be righted; injustices to be corrected; the rights of parents over their children, of husbands over their wives, and of widows to dispose of themselves, are to be asserted and defended; private property is to be protected; no one has the right to disturb the peace of the community. It is apparent also that among the Monguors the villagers in reality govern themselves. Although the elders are backed by the authority of the T'u-ssu, it is the villagers themselves who for the most part patch up their own quarrels, punish faults, right wrongs, and keep the peace.

The system is, in effect, one of democracy. It is only when these democratic practices do not work that recourse is had to the aid and protection of the T'u-ssu.

181 At the village meetings on the threshing floor, overwhelming stress is placed on faithful adherence to the old customs. One of the most important duties of village chiefs is to watch over their observance. The T'u-ssu, on his triennial visit, always makes inquiries on this subject, on which conservatism can be truly called hidebound. When Monguors, especially of the older generation, are heatedly discussing matters of the village, and the supreme argument of "old custom" is brought up, all opposition instantly subsides. The chiefs and elders of villages and the heads of families always urge the observance of traditions. They are firmly convinced that neglect of ancestral custom ruins the stability and prosperity of the clan. On every occasion the younger generation has this injuction dinned into its ears. The chiefs of the villages will curse other chiefs of villages, and T'u-ssu who are careless of old custom. The test of a good village chief or T'u-ssu is unshakable firmness in strict observance of the clan traditions as if they were as unyielding as the laws of nature.

177 When the Chinese Republic began in 1911, however, new ideas which had a baneful repercussion on the minds of young Monguors started to spread. It was almost a hopeless struggle for the elders to try to save the old customs. It then became apparent that the Monguors were in fact not sufficiently insulated from the pressure exerted by new ideas from outside their own society. Their social concepts had gradually been undermined and weakened by the enrollment of Chinese in their clans. Chinese concepts had, unnoticeably, long been seeping into their thought—Chinese had, it must be remembered, risen to be even village elders—and a situation had gradually been created in which the Chinese way of thinking, even if conservative in itself, was disruptive of the old Monguor concepts if it differed from Monguor concepts. [p. 80a]

/16 cont'd/

582 605 the mother in marriage and now we give you back her daughter to marry your son." The Chinese do not have this expression, as a scholar pointed out to me with a touch of scorn. When the daughter of brothers marries the son of her paternal aunt, which frequently occurs among the Chinese and the T'ou-jen, it is said of this alliance "that the niece goes to join her aunt."

584 184 At any rate one should not conclude from the above that today among the T'ou-jen all marriages are contracted, from generation to generation, regularly and necessarily, between members of the same families; one must not infer that the daughters-in-law in one family are always cousins; neither should one believe that people do not become united with "foreign" families in our use of the word. Present-[605 day conditions are no longer those of former times; the truth is that 582] marriages between cousins (of brothers and sisters) are still very numerous. But since one family may be allied in this way to five or six others, and since one seeks avidly to remain always in the same circle of alliances, it is natural that unions between relatives will be more numerous than those between strictly "foreign" families.

582 This custom is of capital importance. Why does one seek and hold in such high honor these unions between families with which one already has former kin relations? This is an old and general custom. Why, above all, is the notion of tao ts'in, "returning the marriage," considered to be sacrosanct among the T'ou-jen? When a brother asks his sister for a daughter to marry his son, she cannot refuse under any pretext. Why? No one knows. Why does marriage generally remain circumscribed within a restricted circle of families? Why should a practice so generalized and deeply rooted in custom have to be recalled in the traditional short speech of the master of ceremonies of the bride's family on the wedding day at the bridegroom's house, even when the /17/ husband and wife belong to absolutely unrelated families? Even then it is supposed that they were related a long time ago, and that the present marriage renews the old relationships!

581 To understand this practice, should one not recall that all the T'ou-jen formerly lived in a nomadic state? These groups living in the immense steppes of Asia had necessarily to look for support from other nomadic groups, wandering like themselves and seeking support

/120 cont'd/

361 place of origin. Now among the T'ou-jen of this area, a good many
331 have come to practice again the former custom of husband-sons-in-
law practiced by the Tibetans, their neighbors. As soon as they ar-
608 rive in the region they no longer give their daughters in marriage out-
184 side the house, but they seek a /121/ husband-son-in-law for them;
583 on the other hand, they send their sons to become husband-sons-in-
law in other families. Among many of these T'ou-jen, the sons no longer enjoy even the right of inheritance in their own family, where the daughters have become the sole heirs; in other families they continue to inherit beside their sisters. They are thus passing through a period of transition. One T'ou-jen family after the other adopts the customs of the Tibetans, at first some of the customs and only in part, and gradually they become Tibetanized. Besides, it is a fact that the Tibetan environment is not distasteful to them, and that T'ou-jen girls given in marriage to Tibetans quickly feel at home.

562 The T'ou-jen of the Sining region, speaking of their brothers
184 of Koei-tê, say, laughing, that among the latter the wife is owner
177 and mistress of the home, niu-jen tang ts'ai, that the men do not count there, that there are women there who themselves send away their husbands, that women are found there who have more than one husband, and that the old men there are to be pitied. Thus Tibetan customs.

178 How must one explain the deformation of the practice of
608 husband-sons-in-law among the T'ou-jen?
[177]

First, it is necessary to know that the Mohammedan revolutions decimated the T'ou-jen population in Kansu. Some T'ou-jen, in order to remake their groups and get rents for their lands, accepted in their clans numerous heterogeneous Chinese and Tibetan elements; other T'ou-jen headmen never succeeded in rebuilding the ruins. Add to that the use of opium which especially undermined the families of the headmen and put them in debt and impoverished them; it is thus not surprising that the power and also the influence of the t'ou-
[622] se were decidedly impaired. The prime blow of all was more and more frequent recourse to Chinese magistrates on the part of the T'ou-jen. In the old days, say the elders, the t'ou-se alone was

/129 cont'd/

562 speak, and when she has a son, then the brothers of the deceased will
588 not have the right to demand his property for themselves. In addition,
593 these same brothers who would not permit their brother to bequeath his property to his daughter and a son-in-law not adopted into the clan recognize the right of inheritance of a niece married to a prayer pole and of her children.

As long as the girl-mother stays home with her children, it is rare that difficulties arise; but often the situation changes when the woman is married at a "second" wedding /130/ and her children are still young. Then the woman's uncles, if she has no brothers, or these brothers if she has any, try to make her take her children with her and have them adopted by the new husband. They want to secure the property of the brother for themselves; for the property of the clan cannot pass to another clan. If the sons of the girl-mother are married at the time when she marries for the second time, there is no longer anything to fear for their rights. Let us note again that for these women, when they later remarry someone of their choice, there is no festivity as at the marriage of girls; they are satisfied with inviting a few neighbors. The second marriage can, in a way, be compared to a widow's marriage; however, such a woman will never have to fear being abducted.

The present case then is very strange in a society which, today, has strictly paternal descent. The fact that these rights are universally recognized is a sign that they date from far back; also the T'ou-jen cannot explain their origin and simply admit the fact.

B. Marriages to a Belt

558 These marriages, although they are as abnormal as those of the
●184 preceding series, nevertheless seem to constitute a separate series.
574 First, they are practiced less than those we have just described, and
837 then their origin does not seem to be the same. They find their explanation in the custom of offering, for the night, a girl or a woman to a passing guest; in short, it is prostitution for the sake of hospitality. (1)

/132 cont'd/

588 Chinese of Honan, accompanied by an uncle of the lady formerly
593 married to the belt, accosted Hou Iu-leang and reproached him for having taken his wife. The latter no longer recognized the individual; but, since he had a witness, since the child was formerly called by his name and the mother had also born this name, the supposed husband felt himself very much within his rights and threatened Mr. Hou with a lawsuit.

/133/ Hou, fearing the heavy expenses of the Chinese courts and not sure of a fair verdict, preferred to settle the affair amicably. He called upon the heads of the village and those of his clan, and the conclusion was that Hou had to pay the unknown man 80 strings of cash and that the father who had sold his daughter had to offer him a sheep and make apologies to him. This story thus proves that this category of marriages is officially recognized among the T'ou-jen.

/134/ Chapter IV

Divorce, Repudiation, Exchange of Wives

586 One can expect divorces and repudiations, owing to the too
184 great freedom which exists between the sexes. These two forms of termination of marriage rarely occur when there are several children in the family. Repudiation occurs more rarely than divorce, and the latter is not so frequent as one might suppose at first sight. Let us still remember that divorce and repudiation, like all the great acts
[671] of life, marriage, adoption, etc., are effected without the intervention of law courts. As long as they can arrange things among themselves, they do not resort to the law; they call upon its help when all other means of conciliation are exhausted.

[16 cont.]
128 loanwords are cited, for Tibetan is the official language of
192 Lamaism, which occupies such a large place in the life of the
177 people. Here it should be mentioned that the old man desig-
[198] nated the expressions from Tibetan or Mongolic as "higher lan-
[186] guage" or "literary language," a value that he did not accord Chinese.

Finally a note with regard to the peculiar nature of this
114 work. It presents a popular religion, and that of a certain group.
[184] This means in the first place that not everything can be gen-
[179] eralized for the Koko Nor region, not even for all the Tujen. Secondly, one will find no accounts about the dogma, the official rites, or the secret practices of monastic Lamaism and the higher Bon religion. The Tibetan and Mongolic writings give this information. Also, it was unnecessary to cite the basic literature on this subject, at least not to any considerable extent. To be sure, this is not infrequently done, but only when it seemed to be required for an understanding of the popular customs. In such cases it was preferable to start from linguistic considerations. On the other hand, a presentation of the popular religion as practiced is a help for knowledge of the
[177] official religion. The popular belief, with its various customs, casts new light on the multiformity of monastic Lamaism, which has adopted so many pre-Buddhistic traits from the conceptual realm of Central Asia.

6. The Transcription of the Tujen Language

104

The transcription of the Tujen words and the Tibetan-Mongolic loanwords is based on the orthography of the DMF. For practical reasons, however, the large letters were replaced by small ones and the diacritical marks simplified. The following table presents first the orthography used here (S), under it the one used by P. A. Mostaert in the DMF (M), and under that the phonetic values of the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[29 cont.]

756 787 792 *778 [783]

before the [30] individual acts by inflicting wounds with the sword, piercing his chest, licking red-hot iron, etc. Along with this instruction, which is contained in certain Tibetan books, the lama says the prayer of consecration over him.

Then the shaman rises and washes his hands, face, and head with the water from the lama's holy can. He must likewise first rinse out his mouth. Then barley is thrown over him and he is fumigated with incense. The lama takes the hada that he had slung around his neck, makes a knot in it, folds it together, sticks it in a little rectangular red or yellow bag, and hangs this around the shaman; it is the amulet of his tutelary spirit and is called "protective fort" (8). In place of this hada,

8. [Foreign text p. 32.] It is unclear whether this hada is the seat of the tutelary spirit. In any case it is to be regarded as a protective amulet.

or together with this hada, the shaman may also wear on his chest a large case containing the figure of his tutelary spirit (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 32-33.] The consecration ceremony might lead one to believe that the shaman is only capable of performing his office by means of it. In itself it has nothing to do with shamanizing. It is merely an official confirmation of one's capabilities, and also the people desire it. There are also shamans, however, who have not been consecrated in the monastery, especially among the people mixed with Chinese.

[184]

The consecration appears to admit the shamans to the position of lay monks, for among the monks there are also those who act as shamans and have certain prescriptions. Thus on the route from Hei-tsuei-tzu

[846 cont.]

789
184
171
[782]

2. [Foreign text p. 847.] There are similar spirit-releasings in many variations both among the Tujen and among the Chinese. The basic feature is the same everywhere: one releases the demon with many gifts so that it will not return. The ceremonial driving away of the mBarma demon in Kumbum is nothing other than such a releasing, only with a more complicated ritual and with the expenditure of enormous sums of money. The demon is represented there by his mother's brother, a selected man, while his image is burned together with the thread (mdos) towers. In the neighboring Huchu valley, for instance, in Kanchiapu, he is represented by the dough image and then is beaten to pieces by the children and eaten; in Tsungchai he is conjured into a kind of "town fortress" (tu-ch'eng) and this is burned; farther up in Kao-ch'iang-p'u he is put, with his belongings, on a little boat and allowed to float away.

789
792
[776]
[782]
[556]

Interpretation: The demon who disturbs the compound must be led away with all the gifts and conveniences imaginable so that he will not think back on his old location. The prayers of the lama and also the torma depend upon the demon. Regardless of whether it is a great or little exorcism, the effect is the same. Only the wealthy can afford large animals, and usually today it is only the lamic monasteries that undertake such an expensive ceremony.

[865 cont.]

782 776 Types of fire-pouring: There is a whole series of different fire-pourings, depending upon the deity concerned. Usually the fire-pouring is undertaken to honor the following deities: the horse-god, the cattle-god, the lion-god, and the water-faced Buddha.

[822] [866] Other types depend upon the color of the gods. Thus there is a red, yellow, white, and black fire-pouring. The tormas are also colored according to the colors of these gods, which they represent. Likewise, a special kind of wood is used for the 782 individual colors: for the red, tamarisk wood; for the yellow, [824] white thorn; for the white, poplar wood; and for the black, black thorn. The ceremonies are the same for the first three fire-pourings; only the prayers vary. -- The black fire-pouring in particular, however, deviates from the others (6).

782 184 6. [Foreign text p. 868.] Lamas report that there are many different types of fire-pourings, the four mentioned here being only the four main types, and that they have extensive books concerning the rites. -- The description of these orthodox Lamaistic rites would require a special study. In this connection, cf. Lessing, Yung Ho Kung (pp. 150-161). Only one of the many types practiced in the monastery is described there, and also only the phases "which can be easily observed by the inexperienced visitor" (p. 150) [cited in English]. Without going into a comparison with the above-described form, let it merely be pointed out here that the basic features are identical. Of the four main types characterized by Lessing, only the color agrees with the account given by my informant; he knew nothing

[866 cont.]

782
184

[Note on foreign text p. 868 cont.]
about the various forms of the burning-place (mandala) and the Tibetan-Chinese names. Also, the addresses of the fire-pouring are different (p. 151); in addition, other burnt offerings are enumerated there.

It must be noted that among the Tujen a simple, popular form is involved, which varies according to location and the situation of the population. It is only too understandable that the ordinary people know nothing about the complicated and in part tantric symbolism. It is enough for them if through the ceremony the gods provide for their welfare and protection and if the demons remain far away.

782 The black fire-pouring: The persons are the same. The
[302] lama and his helper, however, smear their faces with soot. They
[792] also wear black clothes. All objects are black, the torma, the felt mat, the wall, the ground-drawing, etc.
[372] Instead of firewood one takes pig or camel dung. Black sticks are stuck around the black torma on the ground-drawing; the intestines of a black sheep are suspended on them in garland fashion. The intestines are not cleaned, but are full of dung. In place of the butter one takes black linseed oil, and the dung is soaked in it so that it will burn better.

The burnt offerings are: black barley, black linseed, the seed of the wild rape, wheat mixed with black earth, dark beans, glutenous rice colored black, herbs colored black, etc.

[778] As votive offerings for the black tormas, which represent the demons, one takes milk from a black sheep and urine from a black donkey served in a black bowl, and, as incense, pig dung.

the nomadic tribes, subjects adopted the religion professed by their kings or chiefs. Even in Europe there existed the sayings: *Regis ad exemplar* ("Subjects follow the pattern set by the king"), *cujus regio ejus religio* ("Let the religion of each state follow that of its prince"). However, not a single fact is recorded in the *Annals* concerning the building of Buddhist temples or monasteries in Huang-chung during this century of intensive cultural Buddhist activity promoted by the conquerers and rulers of Huang-chung in their capital of Liang-chou. This fact seems to challenge belief. Possibly the insecurity in the country on account of the military actions accompanying the conquest, carried on by the three successive rulers in the span of a century (345–439), and the disturbances following the transportation of such important groups of families, afford the explanation. Perhaps the Buddhist cultural activities did not appeal so much to the people, as to the court and the administrative centers of the capital, and so the impact of Buddhism remained confined to the area of the capital.

The T'o-pa Wei conquered the kingdom of Pei Liang in 439, but at the time it was involved in a serious persecution of Buddhism (438–452).[22] From 445 until 635 endless troubles occurred in Huang-chung, on account of the intermittent inroads of the T'u-yü-hun from Kukunor, and the T'o-pa, Sui, and T'ang dynasties successively had to wage war with them. (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 20*b*–24*b*). In 663 there started the intermittent inroads of the T'u-fan until 866 (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 25*a*–31*a*). During the Wu-tai period (907–960) China was unable to control Huang-chung. The Sung dynasty (920–1227) was powerless against the Hsi-Hsia and Chin, which successively occupied Huang-chung, but which themselves had trouble with the T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang (*Annals*, ch. 31, pp. 1*a*–8*b*). Finally, the Mongols conquered Huang-chung in 1227 and brought peace into the country. No wonder, during these eight centuries of intermittent troubles and change in the population, Buddhist activities were very limited, and the few existing institutions in depopulated Huang-chung were of minor importance.

HISTORICAL DATA ACCORDING TO TIBETAN SOURCES

However, the lack of information in the *Annals* of Hsining relating to this period is compensated for by data provided by the Tibetan *Blue Annals* of 'Gos lo-tsa-la composed between A.D. 1476 and 1478.[23]

[22] Ware, *op. cit.*, 135, " . . . when in the period T'ai-yen (435–440) the province of Liang was conquered and its population moved to the capital, the monks and Buddhist paraphernalia all came East, and the counterfeit teaching increased far and wide. Presently, owing to the large number of Sramanas, an Imperial order was given to unfrock those under 50 years of age."

[23] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1949: 1; 1953: 11. *The Blue Annals* and the *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston Rin-po-

Buddhist, and Peking was a Buddhist city. However, the Mongols also favored all religions—shamanism, Nestorianism, Catholicism. 175 771

The impact of Lamaism during the Yüan dynasty was limited to Peking. The number of conversions to Lamaism in Mongolia, and the number of monasteries, were insignificant, since when Altan, Khan of T'umed in 1578, proclaimed the Yellow Church the official religion of the Mongols, the Red Church was very nearly extinct. Possibly the appeal of Lamaism to the Mongols at that time was very limited because the marvels performed by the Red lamas (such as making rain, dispelling hail, predicting the future, rising in the air, subduing evil spirits, protecting the herds by sorcery) had already been performed by their own old shamans for centuries. So, for them, Lamaism could have seemed but another form of their own shamanism. [184]

TA-FO-SSU

In the long list of monasteries and temples recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining, there is mention only of the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the heart of the city, with the note: " . . . it is an old monastery built by the Mongols, to which was granted during the Hung-wu period of the Ming (1368–99), the inscription 'Pacified Tibetans' " (*Annals* ch. 15, p. 1*b*). The temple complex in 1915, although in a state of total dilapidation, gave evidence that it must have constituted a fine monastery in former times. The main temple (two stories high) contained three huge statues of Buddhas, nine meters in height. The ruins of four smaller temples were still in existence, as well as a great number of small rooms, the habitations of former lamas. This temple was built by the ancestors of the Li T'u-ssu who fulfilled in Hsining the important office of Yu-ch'eng at the end of the Yüan dynasty. The clan of the Li T'u-ssu belonged to the Ch'u-yüeh tribe of the Shat'o group which founded the Later T'ang and the Later Chin dynasties (923–947). The Shat'o were Buddhists, and the emperors of their dynasties liked to visit the caves of Lung-men where they prayed for rain and snow.[31] They honored especially the Buddhist deity, Pishamen (*Vaisrayana*), one of the "Four Heavenly Kings," guardians of the four directions.[32] This devotion must have been old, because it is said that "Li K'o-yung as a youth once prayed in the temple of Vaisrayana."[33] No wonder then that the Li clan built the celebrated Ta-fo-ssu. However, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, the Shat'o had two religions. Besides Buddhism, the old Turkish "God of Heaven" was still worshipped by them. After the conquest of North China, the Shat'o also worshipped the gods of the Chinese official religion.[34] 175 792 346 [771]

[31] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[32] *Ibid.*, 96.

[33] *Ibid.*, 92.

[34] *Ibid.*, 94. Schram, *op. cit.*, 30.

[p. 14(A)]

more astonishing is that the most potent rite performed 756
by the shamans against hail is called, all over the coun- 776
try, the Rite of the White Tiger, and that inside the mound built at that time is buried the effigy of the White Tiger with the black rider. Even today they still call the black rider the leader of the whole group, but nobody is able to explain why he is represented with a coat of black paint.

The three essential elements of the old cult are still represented in the picture, the twelve warriors representing the animals, the White Tiger being the most prominent, and the leader being the Fang hsiang of olden times.

Still another conclusion is to be drawn from the tradition that in former times, before the revolts of the Moslems, the twelve warriors were represented as Mongol warriors, and the fact that the twelve warriors are called *Tengris*, the Mongol term for a "heavenly being," and not *shen*, the Chinese term for a "spirit," notwithstanding that they call the other spirits by the Chinese name. Therefore, it seems obvious that the ancestors of the Monguor shamans must have belonged to the groups of Mongols who were settled in the country of Huang-chung by the Yüan dynasty, and that they came to Hsining bringing with them their Tengris from Mongolia. Monguor shamans seem to be of barbarian rather than Chinese stock.

Still another problem remains unsolved. The Mon- 756
guors are a fusion of two important groups, Mongols 184
and Shat'o Turks. We seem to be able to detect the [174]
share of the shamans of the Mongol group in the shamanism of the Monguors, but what has been the share of the Shat'o group? To be sure, the Shat'o were as shamanist as the other Turkish groups of Asia. Did they practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris before they settled in the country in 939? What kind of shamanism did they practice? It would be very interesting to know something about the cult of the Twelve Tengris and the role of the White Tiger among them in former times, but no data are available concerning their shamanism and at present the shamanist practices in the different groups of Monguors seem to be all the same.

We only know that the Shat'o who founded the dynasties of Hou T'ang and Hou Chin, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, honored the old Turkish "God of Heaven." After their conquest of North China the Hou Chin emperor, in 927, made offerings at the winter equinox, outside the city, to the "Barbarian God" at the hill of the White Marshal. When the emperor died, two of his best horses were sacrificed on the Western Mountain. The horse was the most important offering among all the Turkish tribes. Sacrifices were made on the tops of mountains. They liked to worship mountains. The Shat'o liked to visit the Buddhist caves of Lungmen. It is well known that the Turks had a cave myth and that with it was connected a cave

[p.88(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

cult—but in spite of these scanty facts our problem remains unsolved.[38] 756 184

MONGUOR SHAMANS—WU OF OLD CHINA—SHAMANS OF CENTRAL ASIA

The leader of the twelve spirits is, according to the texts, the Fang hsiang, an exorcist belonging to the class of sorcerers who were specialists in the art of neutralizing all kinds of harmful influences and used by the princes for that purpose.[39] "This group, called *Wu*, was an old priesthood of China, spontaneously produced by the animistic religion . . . it still bore supreme sway in the former Han dynasty" (202 B.C.–A.D. 8).[40] The Wu included the kinds of male and female shamans that are encountered all over Asia (Wu are recorded among the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C.).[41] They were proficient in exorcising spirits of evil and illness, calling down gods and human spirits, going into trances and being possessed, telling the future.[42] Later the Wu were recognized by the official priesthood, who used them in their official ceremonies for calling down spirits and regulating the seats of the gods at sacrifices.[43] 756

In the *Chou-li*, 1122–256 B.C., are recorded the duties performed at court by these *Wu* scorcerers many centuries before our era, in summoning good spirits in order to drive out evil ones.[44]

Wittfogel and Feng write:

> In our translation we have called the *wu*, shamans. This term is generally used to designate the religious functionaries of Inner and Northern Asia, whose status does not depend upon an officially institutionalized position but is derived from power received "directly from the spirits as a gift or grant." In Asia two types of shamans may be distinguished—the arctic and subarctic. The latter exhibit less ecstasy and only rarely have recourse to frenzy or trance in the performance of their magic and prayers. Among the Ch'i-tan, as among most Altaic peoples, shamanism was definitely "subarctic" and possession was more the exception than the rule.[45]

The Wu in China up to the present time act in the same way, using bells, drums, swords, scepter, whip, dagger, dancing, and the calling down of spirits.[46] At present they are called *Shih-kung* (masters). They represent themselves publicly as priests of Taoism.[47] Chinese law considers them as belonging to the wide class of secular Taoist priests.[48] The capacity of be- [171]

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[38] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerers and rulers*, 92–95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[39] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 200.

[40] J. J. De Groot, *The religious system of China* 6: 1206, Leiden, Brill, 1910.

[41] *Ibid.*, 1201.

[42] *Ibid.*, 1190.

[43] *Ibid.*, 1191.

[44] Edouard Biot, *Le Tcheouli ou rites du Tcheou* 2: 102, 103, Paris, Duprat, 1851.

[45] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 217. See also page 291, note.

[46] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212.

[47] *Ibid.*, 1245.

[48] *Ibid.*, 1251. [p. 88 (B)]

Om Mani. The rite may last for two or three hours, 764
during which time two servings of tea are drunk. After the rite is finished, noodles are offered to the assembly. It is really edifying to see the courtyard crowded with people, kneeling and squatting close together, and to hear them repeat in unison, slowly and with devotion, after the cavernous voice of the lama, innumerable monotone Om Manis. One feels at that time that the Monguors are a religious people.

The custom of gathering at night to pray for the deceased seems to have been practiced by nomads long before Lamaism was born. Parker, dealing with the funeral rites of the Hsien-pi as translated from the Chinese annals notes: "On the day of the funeral the relatives and the intimates assemble at night time and sit in a circle; two men pronounce an incantation so that [775] the soul may pass unmolested by the Ghouls to the red mountains." This fact is noted as having existed before our era, two thousand years ago. It is interesting to encounter at the same time of night a similar religious rite for the same purpose among the Monguors, who were formerly nomads. It is said by them that they are very fond of the rite.[34]

CREMATION [35]

During the six days preceding the cremation, three lamas (rich people invite five or seven) pray for the dead in a private room. On the sixth day a minor Living Buddha arrives with a couple of lama assistants. At night, after the departure of the guests, the lamas drive out the souls of the dead in the usual way, and throw the nefarious *torma* on a crossroad; the neighbors cry and shoot rifles. In the very early morning, the lamas pray before the corpse, beating drums and ringing bells, so that the awakened neighbors soon arrive. Tea is drunk, lamentations are made, and the sedan chair is carried at a fast pace to the place of cremation. It is not permitted to rest on the way, or to put down the sedan chair, lest the spirit of that spot be injured. At the moment of departure, the lamas adjure the souls not to come back.

Only among a few groups of Monguors are women, the daughters of the deceased, allowed to follow the [184] cortege lamenting, supported and steadied by other [562] women. Arriving at the spot they are invited to go [431] back home; they receive a piece of cloth, a pair of trousers, and a gown in order to return easily. On a spot indicated by a Red lama or a Taoist priest the neighbors have built, the day before, a rudimentary oven which has an opening on each of the four sides. The master of ceremonies for the last time adjures the dead not to come back or to harm the family. The corpse is put in a caldron in the oven. The wood of the sedan chair, broken into pieces, is put in the oven. A lama strikes fire with a flint and lights the oven. Twenty

[34] Parker, *op. cit.*, 86.
[35] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 42. [p.145 (A)]

/The Monguors/

000 on the luckless family.

N *563 M 231 [777] The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

N *563 M 515 [784] Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

5. Occupations

N *563 M 24 233 433 The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

N *563 M 24 [777] [432] The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

N *563 M 231 554 [556] [184] Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

N *563 M 233 463 Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society

N over his sister's children. His rights in this regard are manifested
*563 mainly in three cases: (1) upon the natural death of his sister's
M children, they cannot be buried without his permission. The
604 maternal uncle is considered "master of the bones" of the deceased, and has the right to permit the burial, to impede it or to prevent it. (2) If they have been murdered or have committed suicide, he is required to initiate and execute vengeance for the blood of his sister's child. (3) When they are subject to punishment for violating the society's rules, the maternal uncle must punish the children of his sister. Such punishment may range from capital to very minor forms.

N Divorce is extremely rare among the Mongours. So, too, are
*563 cases of repudiation or desertion by the husband. Schram does
M not mention the way in which a divorce is finalized, nor how long
586 a waiting period, if any, after divorce before remarriage is permitted.

N Cases of adultery are extremely rare in Mongour society.
*563 The people are engrossed constantly with the problem of making
M a living, and they have little time for complicated affairs. The
837 close physical proximity of life in an extended family makes it extremely difficult for anyone's lengthy absence or a stranger's presence in the home to go unnoticed. Schram concludes that

M "The morality of the Mongours who live in villages and are occu-
[577] pied with farming, is undoubtedly on a higher standard than that
[184] of the nomad Mongols. Mongour families on the average seemed
[114] to me to be happy families that work hard but enjoy life."

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 562 852 [553] first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

M [203] [604] [603] [553] The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

M [184] Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

N *563 M 302 [593] [888] j. Beard-growing

A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

N *563 M 764 [171] [177] k. Wedding, funeral and grave

The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

N *563 M 843 562 4. Popular beliefs

Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 777 789 If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.

with a burning ram's horn. He was carried outside the 792
monastery wall by lamas. Ashes were spread all the 627
way along in order to prevent his "spirit" from finding 684
the way back to harm the lamasery. A large group of 681
lamas followed. He was thrown on the ground, stripped
of all his garments, amid the shouts of the lamas and
the long blare of trumpets, and the group returned to
the monastery without looking back. A round mark [685]
is burned on thieves. It is impossible for those so
marked to enter any monastery.

At the time of the festival at Erh-ku-lung in 1912, 792
three young lamas molested a young lady, causing her 684
death. They fled the same night. The whole village 682
of Too-long accused the monastery at Hsining, which
was unable to trace the murderers and had to pay
an indemnity of 3,000 taels, after spending far more at
court. The whole country was bursting with righteous [627]
indignation. It was a tremendous loss of face for the
lamasery.

Lamas not only lack the vow of obedience, but also 792
the vow of poverty. It has been explained how lamas 511
retain their own wealth and the means they use for in-
creasing it.[27] Among the lamas are rich individuals
enjoying a happy life, possessing a beautiful courtyard,
clothed with silk and brocade, riding the finest horses
and mules of the country, served by as many lamas as
they wish, and there are poor individuals who have
trouble making both ends meet—ill fed, ill clothed,
working the whole day. Nobody takes care of them
because wealth is a personal matter, and no vow of
poverty exists. It has been explained how the lack of
the vow of poverty is responsible in a large part for
the loss of spirit in the monastic life, and how from
this lack originate most of the vices encountered among
the lamas and the ruination of monasteries.

Lamas lack the vow of chastity, for chastity reaches 792
farther than celibacy. The Buddhists know this very 831
well and the texts prove it.[28]

The reform of Tsong-khapa, the founder of the Yel- [185]
low Sect, aimed at return to the traditional monastic
life, based on celibacy and serious study. The sense
of the necessity of celibacy still seems to prevail among
the Monguor lamas. This assumption seems evidenced
by the facts that the communities of lamas bring suit at
Chinese courts against even supreme chiefs of lama-
series, and intendants who betray their vows, as was
the case with the Living Buddhas Sumpa, Lu-chia, and
Min-chu-erh, and even with Li, the intendant of the
T'u-kuan Hutukhtu. It was the same with the Living
Buddha Seerting who was caught red-handed by the

[27] The wealth possessed by a lama, his courtyard, etc. are inherited by his apprentice; in case he dies without having an apprentice, his wealth is sold by the intendancy; prayers are said by the lamas and alms given to them. If a lama who is proprietor of a courtyard marries, his courtyard is taken by the intendancy.

[28] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Morale bouddhique*, 79, Paris, Librairie Nationale, 1927.

[p.72(A)]

villagers, who also did not permit such liberties to Living Buddhas. Feeling the stigma attached to his exposure, he committed suicide. It also seems to be evidenced by the fact that penalties are still inflicted upon lamas, in the crudest forms, for infraction of this rule. This stigma is still attached to those who fail to meet their moral obligations. 792 831 [762]

The reform by means of serious study, however, seems to be a failure among the Monguor lamas of the present times. Among so many Monguor Living Buddhas and lamas, only the Living Buddha Chao-hsi of Kumbum enjoyed some repute, but in order to cause the lamas to attend his instructions, special benefits had to be provided for them. Very few among the Living Buddhas and lamas are interested in study at the present time, and, having nothing to occupy them all day, become involved in vice. Army officers and directors of schools are aware of the necessity of keeping young folk busy the whole day long, alternating fixed jobs with recreation. The lamas, however, except for attendance at the morning convention, which lasts only an hour, have to kill time making their own living. [185] 792 461

In the whole region of Hsining not a single school has been established by the rich monasteries, in order to promote the instruction of the Monguors and the Tibetans. Even at present in the lamaseries not a single elementary school exists for the lama boys, and no religious education is given to them. Not a single lama takes care of the spiritual needs and instruction of the adherents to their religion who live in a given area. Not a single hospital has been founded in order to assuage the pains and sufferings of the sick Monguors and Tibetans. The universal charity of Lamaism does not consist in love for one's neighbor, but in a platonic compassion for the universal sufferings of humanity and of all living things and for the impermanence of all existing beings. Lamas are not sisters of charity; they pass the sick draped in their cloak of indifference.[29] 792 871

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[29] Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, 373, notes: "Among Buddhist believers there has been scarcely anyone who has ever given any thought to social problems. The priests of ancient times were generally recluses who paid no attention whatever to the application of their religion to the needs of the practical world or to making the principles of true Buddhism as distinct as possible." [792 771 175]

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist, conversant with the Tibetan language and literature, went to Tibet to study Lamaism, and wrote an instructive note on Lamaism (p. 410). "I confine myself only to a popular exposition of the subject. Lamaism is constituted by two main branches; the older, the 'red cap sect' subdivided into many branches, and the later, the 'yellow cap sect.' They all agree upon cardinal points and in the formula for attaining perfection. The founder of the old sect was a Tantric priest, 'Lobon Padma Chungne' born in Cabul. He enjoined on his disciples the practices of flesh-eating, marriage, and drinking liquors, in order to attain Buddhahood . . . details I cannot give, for they are full of obscenity. The old sect, extremely popular in Tibet, has undergone considerable modification by lamas. . . . I note the reaction against the old sect by Atisha [from India, eleventh century], later by Tsong Khapa [fifteenth century]. The principle of Tsong Khapa was that priesthood must stand on asceticism. Therefore he urged

[p. 72 (8)]

[16 cont.]
128 loanwords are cited, for Tibetan is the official language of
192 Lamaism, which occupies such a large place in the life of the
177 people. Here it should be mentioned that the old man desig-
[198] nated the expressions from Tibetan or Mongolic as "higher lan-
[186] guage" or "literary language," a value that he did not accord Chinese.

Finally a note with regard to the peculiar nature of this
114 work. It presents a popular religion, and that of a certain group.
[184] This means in the first place that not everything can be gen-
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[179] Secondly, one will find no accounts about the dogma, the
official rites, or the secret practices of monastic Lamaism and the higher Bon religion. The Tibetan and Mongolic writings give this information. Also, it was unnecessary to cite the basic literature on this subject, at least not to any considerable extent. To be sure, this is not infrequently done, but only when it seemed to be required for an understanding of the popular customs. In such cases it was preferable to start from linguistic considerations. On the other hand, a presentation of the popular religion as practiced is a help for knowledge of the
[177] official religion. The popular belief, with its various customs, casts new light on the multiformity of monastic Lamaism, which has adopted so many pre-Buddhistic traits from the conceptual realm of Central Asia.

6. The Transcription of the Tujen Language

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The transcription of the Tujen words and the Tibetan-Mongolic loanwords is based on the orthography of the DMF. For practical reasons, however, the large letters were replaced by small ones and the diacritical marks simplified. The following table presents first the orthography used here (S), under it the one used by P.A. Mostaert in the DMF (M), and under that the phonetic values of the Anthropos alphabet (A).

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

part, based on religion and exercised in religious matters. 593 769

In the same way, the chiefs of the villages and the elders not only determine taxes, impose corvées and settle troubles, but preside over and perform religious rites without representatives of religions, on the top of the Obo mountain, or the sacred hill of the village, in time of calamities, on top of the highest mountain of the village, in behalf of all the villagers. They are the priests of the clan, promoting at the clan meeting, during the mediation of troubles, the principles of justice and respect for elders. They defend the traditions and customs of the clan of which the religious rites are a part, and urge their performance. To sum up, of the routine events and observances of village life, eight-tenths are religious.

The religious world to which the Monguors are accustomed is compulsory, and entirely different from that of the Chinese. It makes them feel that they are not Chinese, that the meaning of their lives is not the same as that of the Chinese and therefore that they are tightly bound to the community of their clan. The performance of religious rites over the span of a whole year constitutes a part of their traditions and customs. It helps tremendously in holding them close together, and prevents their absorption into the Chinese nation. 771 [186]

This fact is so striking that Monguors who, on account of political events, have become separated from their original communities, or who publicly have recanted their origin, still know perfectly well that they are Monguors. They always continue to indulge in some religious practices specific to the Monguors. Religion causes them to recall their origin.

XVI. CONCLUSION

The study of the diffusion of Lamaism among the Monguors sheds some light on the policy adopted by the emperors toward Lamaism. 648 771

POLICY OF CHINA TOWARD LAMAISM

It is common knowledge that the emperors promoted Lamaism. This policy has very often been explained as having been a device to debilitate the Mongol and Tibetan tribes, by encouraging enrollment in the monasteries of the largest possible number of the young, most turbulent elements of the tribes. Withdrawing the young from their tumultuous environment weakened the power of the tribes, who were always ready and poised to make inroads and work havoc in the marches on China. The entire history of the marches of China is replete with such tragic events. Alternatively, it has been suggested that this policy was founded on the hope that the barbarians would become peaceful and quiescent through contact with Lamaism.

The truth is that the Chinese were too conversant with their own history and too mindful of the harm

[p. 159(B)]

S
19 but before *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bičig "letter, writing"	bitšig (or bitšıg)
čimůgen "hammer"	tšimgn̥
čiraɣ "face"	tširə̄

5) The Common Mongolian *e became *ö in certain positions:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
ebůsůn "hay"	öwsn̥
ebůdůg "knee"	öwdᵊg
ebedčin "disease"	öwtšn̥
elgů- "to hang"	ölgᵊ

6) The Written Mongolian (old Mongolian) diphthongs have developed into long vowels in the Kalmuck language:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
dalbaɣai "large and flat"	dalwaɣā
duldui "iron rod"	duldū
gei "handle of an axe"	gē
moɣai "snake"	moɣā
alɣui "name of a plant"	alɣū

7) The Common Mongolian vowels have developed into front vowels before the Common Mongolian *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bari- "to seize"	bär-
qari- "to come back"	χär-
sayin "good"	sän

B. The Monguor Language

N
*563 One of the strangest Mongolian languages is Monguor, because
[197] it preserves still some Middle Mongolian peculiarities and also
M because it is under the influence of initial forms which are charac-
[197] teristic of Tibetan. Those Mongols who call themselves Monguors
live in the Chinese province of Kansu and practice nomadic animal
M breeding as well as some agriculture. The Chinese call them
[101] Tu-jen. The Mongols of the Mongolian People's Republic call
[361] them Dolot. The sub-group of San-chuan Mongols (Monguor)
live north of Kuan-ting. The Santa live south of the Yellow River
and east of Tao-ho. The sub-group of the Shera-Yogur live around
Kan-chou, Su-chou and Tun-huang. All these tribes are Buddhists
with the exception of the Santa, who have become converted to
Islam. Culturally the Monguors, at least partially, appear to be
mongolized Turks and Tibetans.

M The following observations may be made about the Monguor
19 language:

1) The Monguor language has preserved the Common Mongolian *p or *ɸ as *f and as *χ:

9

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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M
19

Common Mongolian	Mongolian	Monguor
*ǵon "year"	on	fǎn
*ǵodun "star"	odun	fōdi
*ǵarban "ten"	arban	χarwan
*ǵeki "head, beginning"	ekin	χǵgi
*ǵirů "to pray"	irůge	śurō-

(It must also be added that the Common Mongolian *p or *ǵ becomes ś in Monguor before the following *i, as seen in a previous example).

2) A special characteristic of Monguor is that in the very same word a Written Mongolian hard consonant (medially) becomes soft, but the Written Mongolian initial soft consonant becomes hard.

Mongolian	Monguor
ekin "head"	χǵgi
burčag "pea"	p'dźiag
bičig "letter"	p'udźig

3) The Written Mongolian consonant *t and *k were so strongly aspirated in Monguor that they became *tś:

Mongolian	Monguor
tata- "to pull"	tśida-
teǰiye- "to feed"	tśudźie-

4) Written Mongolian *o and *ȯ converged to *o; and written Mongolian *u and *ů converged to *u:

Mongolian	Monguor
ebůdůg "knee"	udig
bȯdȯne "quail"	bodono
ǵurban "three"	gurān
odun "star"	fōdi

5) Written Mongolian vowel *i after *b became *u:

Mongolian	Monguor
bičig "letter"	p'udźig
bí "I"	bu

N
19
*563

III. The Tibetan Dialect of the Chinghai Region

The Tibetan dialect of Chinghai has never been studied, although some , like Potanin, Prževalski, Hedin, Filchner, Rockhill, Tafel and Ekvall have made some brief remarks about it. The following statements are made on the basis of the few words and phrases reported in their diaries and articles.

1) The Tibetan Chinghai dialect, like Lhasa Tibetan is a monosyllabic tonal language presenting the typical phonological, morphological and syntactical features of the Tibetan-Burmese subgroup of the Indo-Chinese language family.

2) The Chinghai dialect may be subdivided into two branches: that of the sedentary Tibetans (rong-skad "valley speech") and

/3/

115 The speech extracts which appear in the present study have
191 been furnished by a T'ou-jen master of ceremonies who was accustomed to preside over the marriage ceremonies in the region. The fact that nearly all the T'ou-jen men speak Chinese more or less is what explains the use of this language, as well as the use of Chinese proverbs, in the course of the marriage ceremonies. Most of the philological notes in the present monograph were furnished by Fathers
104 Mostaert and De Smedt. The transcription of Monguor is the one used by the same Fathers, who adopted the general alphabet of Anthropos (Anthr. XXIV-V), but simplified. The transcription of the Chinese is the romanization adopted by the Variétés.

101 The term T'ou-jen is used by the Chinese of "Sining" to designate the people or peoples of the region who speak the Monguor
104 language and who are under the jurisdiction of a t'ou-se. The term T'ou-jen means "aboriginal."

Although the peoples in question are certainly not the first inhabitants of the country, we have nevertheless thought we should adopt this improper term because it is in current use "in the country" and is used there to designate only this people. The term T'ou-jen is therefore here a people's name. The Tibetans, the Mongols, and the Salar of the country are not T'ou-jen in the eyes of the inhabitants of Sining. Besides, the local chronicles, as well as those of Liang-tcheou and Lan-tcheou use the same term when they deal with this people.

[P.4 is blank]

[9 cont.]

115 that is, mountain spirit, because he was consecrated to the mountain spirit when he was named. He was born under the sign [776] of the sheep, that is, in the second month; according to [553] European reckoning, this would be March, 1883.

[805] Like all Tujen, the old man is a Lamaist and adheres [771] to the faith and the customs of his fathers. He is known throughout the vicinity as one of the few who are still very well versed in the traditional customs. For that reason he is asked to perform everywhere as master of ceremonies, festive speaker, overseer of sacrifices, and singer. If anyone in that region is asked about usages and customs, the usual answer is: "Go to old Tuo, he knows it best."

115 In addition he has the advantage, rare among the Tujen, of having completed the Chinese classical school. He can read 212 and write very well, better than most of his Chinese neighbors. [871] He understands without difficulty history books, classical authors, local chronicles, etc., which in part are written in the literary language. He does not have a sufficient command of the [191] Fandse language to be able to speak it fluently, but he knows the terms of the lamas and is able to distinguish fairly well as to whether a word is a genuine Tujen word or a Fandse word. He himself in his youth took down in Chinese characters a considerable number of Fandse songs, which he can translate and explain, as well as some legends and speeches. He claims that formerly the Tujen language was also written and that the script has simply been lost. -- He does not speak the language of the Koko 115 Nor Mongols, but he claims that it could be understood if necessary. 191 Of course the Tujen live too far away from the Mongols; [648] only those in the vicinity of Huchu have a loose connection with the Mongols on the Tai-t'ung River beyond the Monastery Kuo-mang-szu.

124 [10] In the beginning it was not easy to persuade the old man, who for 20 years had not even been in nearby Sining, to visit me at the mission station at Kan-chia-pu, although the way there was only a two-hour ride. In the late fall of 1946 he came once for only a day. At that time I questioned him about the harvest thank-offering; the result was an article which appeared in Anthropos, 37/40. The old man could not imagine what I

[14 cont.]

115 people with whom he was so well acquainted. As a kin-group
124 father, he was accustomed to a free life as his own master, and all compulsion was hateful to him.

Finally it should be taken into account that for a native it is not easy to pick out what seems worth knowing to the stranger. Everything is self-evident to him. And even the stranger cannot exhaustively inquire into all the details at one time, or even at the third or fourth time. But even in this respect the old man assisted me as much as possible.

5. The Taking of Notes

124 The conversations and questioning always took place in
●191 Chinese, a language which all Tujen men and almost all Tujen women speak, except when they are among themselves. Now-
[871] adays there are schools in most of the villages, in which Chinese is the prescribed language of instruction. Since I was still on the point of learning the Tujen language, Chinese was the only one possible, and in view of our mutual familiarity with this language the possibility of a misunderstanding was very slight. In case of obscurities in the dialect, the old man was always able to give the corresponding Chinese signs; he then explained the meaning by various circumlocutions.

124 The old man proceeded from the assumption that I
126 wanted to learn the Tujen language. He therefore dictated to me brief sentences about a certain object, which I took down; for instance, "The lama is coming. They are sweeping the house. They are burning incense. Lamps are placed on the table, etc. ..." Unfortunately I did not keep these sentences. Afterwards he repeated the sense for me in Chinese; some explanations of words were added. That was the first report each time. I immediately wrote this down in German. Sometimes it was very brief, sometimes somewhat longer. In every case, however, the course of an action, the peculiarity of a ceremony, etc. were briefly and concisely summarized. Since I was actually not primarily concerned with the language, but rather with the content, I asked for supplementary details after each report, at times immediately following, and at times only in

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

canted their origin. They still know pretty well that 614
their ancestors were Monguors, however, and after two- 177
hundred years, the women, at death, still have to be 175
laid out in the coffin in the Monguor skirt. "Chinese" of such origin always remained addicted to shamanism and Lamaism, notwithstanding the fact that they also built Taoist temples and supported Taoist priests.

The second thing which turned the Monguor society upside down after 1723 was the improvement of material conditions. Peace and stability having been assured, and areas for expansion having been opened to agriculture, more Chinese moved into the country, commerce started to develop and flourish. New markets were opened by the Chamber of Commerce of Hsining, connected with those of the capital of the province. The Monguors, inpoverished by the previous chronic inroads of Mongols and Tibetans and the recent revolt, were now more prosperous. Many Monguor commoners became rich, even richer and more influential than many member of the nobility, and they began to be appointed chiefs of villages, military commanders, and elders. The nobility correspondingly lost influence and prestige. Because there were Chinese among the commoners, the way of thinking, settling troubles, and administering the villages became more and more Chinese.

The intercourse of the Monguors with the Chinese 177
became more intensive through commercial relations. 614
The richest Monguors started sending their boys to Chinese schools, marrying Chinese girls, who abhorred the dress of the Monguor women, and refused to speak the Monguor language. More and more Monguors, under the impact of Chinese culture, were ashamed of being called barbarians and preferred to claim to be Chinese. Long since, the chiefs of the clans, the T'u-ssu, had set the example by marrying Chinese girls, to such an extent that many among them were unable to speak the language of their subjects. Nationalism in language never having existed among them, the Chinese language began to be used indiscriminately at the village meetings and at the performance of religious rites by shamans and lamas. All official documents were written in Chinese, and so nearly all Monguors understood [191]
and spoke the Chinese language but used their Monguor language when conversing among themselves. However, they remained members of the Monguor clans, even though the Chinese officials did not prevent them from abandoning their clan chiefs with the same rigidity as in former times. They conserved their old customs and traditions and the old social organization.

What was the reason for these facts? On the one 771
hand, the economic benefits attached to the T'u-ssu in- 614
stitution are to be taken into serious consideration. However, on the other hand, the religious factor is not to be overlooked. The entire fabric of the Monguor social organization was woven in an atmosphere of religion which caused them to remember that they were

[p. 158(A)]

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"an acquaintance of mine." East of Lake Kokonor, on the west side of the Yellow River, is a prince who "wants to become a Christian." West of where the great wall protrudes around Chengfan (Liangchow) is a Christian outpost conducted by the governor of Yung-ning-p'u. Here "I preached at the tents of the Mongols." Today there are Christians there. North of this settlement is a prince of 20,000 families. In the extreme north sits a Mongol prince whose wife is the daughter of the Emperor of China. He rules over 40,000 families. (This text points to the Prince of Alashan.) 175x 797

The Khan, bKrasis Batur, second son of Gushri, the Khoshot, who conquered Kokonor and Tibet (1635) died in 1714. The Queen Mother of the successor accompanied the bier. The cremated bones of the Khan were carried for burial to the tomb of the Mongol kings situated on the borders of his kingdom between Chuang Lang and Hsining[94b] in steep mountains. I have sent an Armenian and one of my catechists to present the Queen Mother with a handkerchief and a snuff box filled with European tobacco. She has sent one of her major domos to thank me and to hear about the holy law.

Maoletti awaited the return of the Queen in the Church of the Armenians in Topa.

Maoletti worked for about fifteen years in Shensi, Kansu and Ili (Turkistan) and mentions nine places with churches or oratories (three of them with two) and fifteen or sixteen other Christian communities, some larger, some consisting of only a handful of converts; some of the congregations had been founded by the Jesuits, others by zealous laymen, but the bulk of the achievement was doubtless due to the pioneering effort of Maoletti. One may speculate that to some extent the ground had been prepared for the work of the Catholic missionaries by the Nestorians who were strong in these regions. (*Monum. Serica*, 298–303.) [795]

In Hsining, which at that time was an emporium of China with a garrison of six thousand soldiers, seven or eight adults had been baptized in 1706 by the Jesuit, Father Dehergne. The city had been visited several times in 1708–1709 by the Jesuits Jartoux and Regis, preparing the map of Kansu and Tibet on the order of the Emperor K'ang Hsi. In 1713 Maoletti bought a small church in Hsining which he dedicated to St. Gregory, the Armenian, and entrusted to the care of a fervent Armenian Catholic living in Topa. Later, the community having developed, Hsining had two churches, one of Our Lady of Angels for the men, and the other for the women. Later both had come under litigation [probably after the accusation by General Nien Keng-yao of the sons of Surniana].

At that time Topa, 60 li north of Hsining, was a stronghold, subject to a Mongol prince who was tributary to the Mongol Khan. Topa was the trading place of the foreigners, Mongols, Tibetans, Lamas, Indians, Persians, Turks, Armenians, and Muscovites. Fifteen different languages were spoken here. In this Babylon is an oratory or small church built by Armenians at my insistence. [191]

Cheng-hai-p'u, with a garrison of one thousand soldiers, a village near Topa, and at the great Gate of the Foreigners, had a very large church, which had a literate merchant as head of the congregation of the Chinese as well as the neighboring Tibetans.

[94b] Between Chuang Lang and Hsining are the tombs of the Li and the Lu t'ussu in Siangt'ang and Lien ch'eng, but I suppose no connections exist between these three cemeteries and both t'ussu and Khoshots.

[15 cont.]

124 Sometimes he would come back after a few days and ask: "May I hear once more what you have taken down? Something else has occurred to me, add this and that." In each case he would know exactly on which sheet the passage was, although he could not read any of it, proof of his attentiveness and his good memory.

128 Sometimes it may appear as though the linguistic dress
●192 of this first part excessively conveys my European technical
177 terms and not the simple language of the informant. This is not the case, however, for such technical terms are found in both Chinese and the Tujen language. Chinese and Tujen have their own words for trance, meditation, offering, libation, prayer, etc. They distinguish between slaughtering and offering a sacrifice, between monk and layman, etc. These are, after all, the conceptions of a people who has not only been extensively influenced by Lamaism with its abundant religious forms, but also has active intercourse with Chinese culture. It should therefore be emphasized that all the words at the end of a chapter under the heading "Word List" come from the informant, including the indication of a possible Tibetan [16] or
[198] Chinese origin (3). It is not surprising that so many Tibetan

3. [Foreign text p. 18.] Mr. Unkrig had the kindness to check the word lists. In the process it turned out that the informant was quite reliable with his information concerning the Tibetan equivalents. Where it seemed necessary (not always), these equivalents have been added to the individual chapters in the univocal form of the written language (Tib. and Mong.), with the entry (Unkrig). I am further indebted to Mr. Unkrig for many another linguistic suggestion and above all for the inspection of the lexicons and Lamaist literature that otherwise was not available.

[16 cont.]
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[16 cont.]

104

Consonants

	Laryngals	Velars**	Mediogutturals**	Pregutturals	Palatals	Palatalized*
S	h	ġ x	g k	y	ž š dž tš	s dz ts
M	χ	Ꞡ ꞡ	G k'	y	Ꞡ ꞡ Dꞡ ꞡꞡ	ś Dꞡ tś'
A	h	ġ x	g kh	y	ž š dž tšh	š dž tš

	Dentals	Dentilabials	Labials**	Liquids	Nasals
S	d t s dz ts	f	b p w f	r l	ñ n m
M	D t' s DZ ts'	f	B p' w f	r l, r	ŋ n m
A	đ th s đz tsh	f	b ph w ff	r l	ñ, ŋ n m

* Only before the dipthongs ia, ie, iä, and before i.

** g, g, b have the voiceless mark "-" in the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[17] "g," "ġ," "b," "d" are always voiceless. Hence the voiceless mark (-) is superfluous. "p," "t," "k," "tš," "s," "tš," "k" are always aspirated, and therefore the aspirate "-h" is unnecessary. "d" and "t" are palatalized only in conjunction with "dz" and "ts," so that a palatalization sign is not necessary. The same applies to "s," "dz," "ts," "sdz," "sts," which are palatalized only before "i," "ia," "ie," "iä." For instance, in place of džia (according to the Anthropos alphabet), there is simply dzia.

104 197 Besides "l" and "r," the DMF has a hybrid sound which approximately corresponds to the English "r" that is trilled once, and "r" is always used for it. The dialect in the region of my informant does not have nearly so many examples of this intermediate sound. The people there almost always differentiate the "l" from the "r" and almost always in the sense of written Mongolic, as I was later able to establish. According to the [192] DMF, Ꞡar can mean "fire" and "hand"; supposedly there is no difference phonetically. My informants, on the other hand, quite clearly say ġal for "fire" and ġar for "hand."

[17 cont.]

104 The "f" is always bilabial before "u" and popularly acts as bilabial for the Tibetan initial "b" in loanwords, for example, fdzaṅ (incense) for the Tibetan bsaṅs. Furthermore, it is to be observed in the case of Tibetan loanwords that the silent consonants of the written language are usually pronounced.

104

Vowels

S	i	ü	ē	e̱	ẽ	ä	a	ō	o	u
M	i	ü	ē̱	e̱	e̱	ä	a	u̱	o	u
A	i	ü	e̱	e̱	e	a̱	a	o	o̱	u

The nasals are "ã," "ẽ," "õ," "ä̃." They usually occur in conjunction with "ñ." A line over a vowel indicates lengthening. The diphthongs "ie," "iä," "ia," "iu," "io" are always rising. There is only one falling diphthong, namely, "ou"; "ō" is always given for this because the "u" is scarcely audible. The murmured vowel "ë" represents a special case. In everyday speech it is often difficult to determine in the case of lightly accented syllables whether it is "i," "e," "u" etc., especially in case endings. Thus in the text this "ë" will occasionally be found for "i" and along with the univocal "i" of the nominative or accusative or for the "u" of the dative, etc., for example, morë along with mori (horse), or morinë along with morini (of the horse), or tieṅgërdë along with tieṅgërdu (to the sky), etc.

As the transcription for Chinese, that of Wade-Giles is used, for Tibetan that of Grünwedel with modifications, for Mongolic that of Unkrig.

[Pages 17-18 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.]
special sayings concerning this, which the Tujen lack.

Word List

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To prophesy: purgandë sila = the spirit to question (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 23.]
This expression applies both to the people who question the god and to the soothsayer who calls down the spirit. The Chinese say for this ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, "to invite the Buddha-Father." This expression is applied primarily to the soothsayer himself; in an extended sense it signifies every questioning by means of a deity, soothsaying, oracle.

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Spear-soothsayer: šdiendzën; šdien (Tib.) - the consecrated, the sacred (4).
dzën (Tib. loanword) = to contain, to hold.

4. [Foreign text pp. 23-24.]
šdien is the name both for the consecrated spear with bands attached and for the consecration band (or bands) itself, but primarily for the bands after the consecration and detached from the spear. The consecrated bands on the spear, according to the informant, are called by the Tibetan names xuon (silk cloth)

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 23-24 cont.]
and sënisial (silk threads). These Tibetan names are sacred, whereas in profane speech the silk is called turguo and the threads šdadzë. For the use of šdien, cf. also the chapter, "The Animal Consecration," Note 4.

To explain the Tibetan loanword šdien, the old man wrote the Chinese sign kung-fêng, "to worship, to consecrate." In order to consecrate an object, to set it aside for the gods and make it especially worthy of worship, one should tie a band to it. Later on, so he said, the whole object, the figure, etc., was called šdien, as well as the bands and thread which made the spear sacred. The DMF (p. 371) explains šdien: "piece of red or yellow material that is put on the idols to worship them, on men or on animals to consecrate them to the gods or to preserve their life" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. rten, "visible representation, symbol, seat of deity" (?)"[cited in English]. This explanation, which comes from another Tujen informant, agrees almost entirely with that of the old man. He only noted in connection with it that not only red or yellow bands, but also those of various colors could be used, [24] although one would not attach them to human beings. Red seems to be the most important color, however, as is apparent from the Chinese name hung-hung-tzu, "the red."

šdien is derived from the Tibetan rten; for further details see the following chapter, "The Gurtum," and Part Two. Here it

[22 cont.]

● 192
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[Note on foreign text p. 23-24 cont.] should only be noted that šdien (rten) in the narrow sense signifies "to contain, content," that is, seat of the spirit. In the broader sense one can accept the above explanation and translate it generally as "the consecrated, the sacred," etc.

dzën = Tib. 'dsin = "to hold, carrier." Ch. Das does not have the combination rten 'dsin, but on p. 1053 he gives similar compounds, for instance, rdo rje 'dsin: "the holder of the vajra" [cited in English]. šdiendzën has thus been rendered quite accurately by the informant as "carrier of the sacred; the one holding the consecrated."

192 Spirit-spear: šdiendoṅ (5); doṅ (Tib. loanword) = conch, sublime, white, pure.
*778
purgān = god, spirit, demon.
fo-yeh (chin.) = Buddha-Father (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 24.] When the informant here identifies the doṅ in šdiendoṅ with the Tibetan duṅ (conch), it is a rare case of an incorrect explanation by him. The phonetically similar doṅ, to be sure, has the meaning of "conch, pure, white, sublime" (cf. the chapter, "The Incense Offering"), but here it is none other than the Tibetan mduṅ, "lance, spear," in which the initial "m" is silent. Nasalized "u" is always changed into "o" among the Tujen. The Chinese tien-tung (spirit-spear), which likewise

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 24 cont.]
is copied from the Tibetan name, is phonetically less ambiguous. Otherwise the Chinese say simply mao-ch'iang (= to the Siningman, miao ch'iang), that is, spear, lance.

šdiendoṅ therefore must be rten mduṅ in Tibetan. This combination is not found in Ch. Das, but it cannot mean anything other than a spear which is the seat of a spirit. For further information, see Part Two.

[792] The word purgan is used not only for the spirits themselves, but also for everything that they choose as a seat, though never for a Tulku (Living Buddha). The Chinese, on the other hand, designate with fo-yeh not only the Buddhistic gods and their idols, but also the Tulkus, which they also call huo-fo (fuo), "Living Buddha."

The consecration bands: šdien, or xuon (Tib.), or sënisial (Tib.?) (4) [see Note 4 above].

Bells (rattles): xõṅguor (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 26.] xõṅguor: Mongolic xongxo, Manchurian honggon, probably comes from the Chinese chung = bell. -- dzändän: goes back to Sanskrit and signifies sandaltree (Unkrig).

Mirror: xaldan mälõṅ = gold-mirror.
xdzër (Tib.) mälõṅ = gold-mirror.

Sandalwood: dzändän mõdë = sandalwood (11) [see Note 11 above].

[824] Mountain ash: ṅgadani yärgë mõdë = the mountain's ash wood (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 25.] The botanical name of the yärgë was not definitely

[22 cont.]

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[824]

[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.] determined. According to the explanations of the people it is a rowan tree or mountain ash. According to others it could also be the tamarisk. The DMF likewise speaks of a mountain ash ("sorbier") and gives the Mongol. equivalent irgai, but then translates it with "chèvrefeuille" (honeysuckle) (p. 489). W.A. Unkrig (communication) gives the Mongolic xargai for it, with the meaning "larch, resinous tree, Pinus larix." The Chinese name, hsün-mu (hsün-tzu), is likewise indefinite.

Consecration prayer: rami (Tib.).
Chapel, temple: ṡdien kañ (Tib.) - holy house.
[23]
192 Prayer of invitation: ġsolkā (solkā) (Tib.).
782 ch'ing tsan (Chinese) = praise (3).
787

3. [Foreign text p. 23.] The prayer of invitation varies according to the spirits to be called down. ġsolka or solka is the Tibetan gsol k'a (cf. DMF, 354). Ch. Das (p. 1315) translates it as: "request, prayer" [cited in English]. It is a request to the spirit to descend. The Chinese expression ch'ing-tsan says literally "to pray, to praise." In point of fact these prayers of invitation are at the same time supposed to contain praise of the tutelary spirit concerned, similar to the shaman prayers.

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787 The spirit is there (sc., in the spear): purġān xärgēdzi kurdzia = the spirit, circling, arrived.

*798 [23 cont.]

● 192 Spear: sdzida (6).

[411]

6. [Foreign text p. 24.] The ordinary spears (sdzida) have disappeared from among the people. Only sporadically does one still see rough pikes which the farmers take with them into the mountains in order to keep the wolves away.

Spear tip: tolgue = head, tip (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 24.] The spirit-spears vary greatly in form and ornamentation. There are spears that are over two meters long, and some of only one meter. Most of them probably approach an average of two meters. Beautifully cut bands hang on a number of spears, for instance, on the temple-spear of the soothsayer of Êrh-ku-lung. On other spears they are attached in disorderly and random fashion. Of the spear forms mentioned above, the four-edged tip is the most common. The foot looks almost like the tip itself; it may be edged or round. Two-pronged tips also occur, but the informant does not consider them as effective as the other forms. -- If the spear breaks, the shaft is burned. The new shaft in turn receives the iron parts of the old one. If the iron parts break, they are worked again for another spear. The new

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 24 cont.]
spear must always be consecrated to the same deity as the old one.

Spear shaft: sdzida gändzë (Chin.) = spear shaft.
Spear foot: sdzida xuedë = spear end.
Two-edged tip: nieṅgän tolġue = flat tip.
Three-edged tip: ġuran bulõṅdë tolġue = three edges tip.
Four-edged tip: dieran bulõṅdë tolġue = four edges tip.
Trident tip: ġuran salä tolġue = three prongs tip.
The spear is shaking: šdien (purġan, šdiendõṅ) bõdzia (9).

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9. [Foreign text pp. 25-26.] The Tujen never say šdiendzën bõdzia, that is, the soothsayer is shaking. They do say sgurdien bõdzia, that is, the shaman is shaking. In the case of shamans they will never say purġan bõdzia, that is, the spirit is shaking. These distinctions are to be noted; bõ- is reserved for that which is in motion, that is, the spear and the shaman, in other words šdien (= šdiendõṅ or purġän) and sgurdien. bõ- actually means (come down, descend, begin, start work," and refers to the medium of the spirit, not to the spirit itself, for the latter's descent is designated by kur- (kuru-), that is, "to arrive." This differentiates the peculiarity of the trance from the activity of the soothsayer. The Chinese, too, express a clear differentiation here. For the trance they say fashen-tzu, that is, to bring the body to a state of excitement; for the calling of the spirit for soothsaying, they say ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, to invite the Buddha(father).

Indeed, the way the soothsayers work is easy to differentiate from that of the shaman. I was able to observe both

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.]
repeatedly. There are two kinds of communication with the spirit. In the case of spear-soothsaying the center of movement lies in the spear and stays there. The spear shakes and draws only the soothsayer's arms and a little of the upper part of his body into the movement. The body is still; there is only an autonomous movement of the spear. At the same time the soothsayer is wholly aware of his surroundings; he observes everything that goes on about him and hears everything, even when he bends down to the spear and seems to speak with the spirit in it. When he speaks in the name of the spirit, he does so in a light, normal voice. When he is done, he sets the spear aside the way a craftsman lays down his tool. There is no excitement in the whole affair. -- It is different in the case of the shaman trance. The shaman, too, has weapons, for instance, sword and spear. I was able to observe in the clouds of incense how first the spear tip began to tremble, then the shaft. From the shaft the shaking went over to the arm, then on the chest to the next arm, and finally to the head and the entire body. The center of movement then lies in the shaman himself. He becomes pale or quite red. The heavy, much-too-large helmet is placed on his head, but because of his swelling head it nonetheless sits firmly. He foams at the mouth and speaks disjointed words in various languages. He is entirely inwardly directed and takes no notice of his

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.]
surroundings. To him everything is in a state of excitement and trembling. After the trance he is exhausted and has to rest for several hours.

For the conclusion of the spear-soothsaying there is the expression šdien (šdiendõń) džuoladzia, that is, the spear is ready. For the cessation in the case of the [26] shaman one says sgurdien dõńladzia, that is, the shaman is finished. The actual meaning of dżuo- and dõń- has never been clear to me.

000 [Pages 23-26 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[27] 2. The Gurtum (Sword-shaman)*

* See "Notes," pp. 31-33 [of the original text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

756 The sword-shaman has as his most important weapon the
787 sword, with which he fights against the demons. He always per-
*[778] forms his ceremonies in a trance condition. Then his tutelary deity descends upon him and endows him with great powers.

Whether one becomes a shaman depends upon his ability to go into a trance. Some inherit it in the family. Many of them experiment in a lonely spot. As soon as one has learned
[792] how to do it, he goes to a lamić monastery. There he is tested to see if he is genuine. If he is genuine, he receives instruction and an amulet. Every year, however, he must return once to his teacher in order to train himself further.

[29 cont.]

756 Consecration: Once the young man has tested himself
787 and feels secure, he takes 12 loaves of steamed bread, three
792 loaves of baked bread, money, and a hada, and goes to the
*778 monastery. There he hands the gifts to a schooled lama with special praying power and requests the consecration.

First a test takes place. With the usual ceremonies, the shaman must put himself in a trance. He must indicate given objects; thorns are scattered on the floor and he is challenged to sit on them; whips are lashed in his direction, and in every possible way attempts are made to intimidate him. If he is a genuine shaman in a genuine trance, he is not afraid and is not injured. If his state is not genuine, he becomes frightened, backs away, or comes out of the trance.

At this point the presiding lama takes a hada (13),

•[192]

13. [Foreign text p. 33.] Hada, Tib. k'a btags, is a scarf-like ceremonial cloth.

slings it around the shaman's neck, and asks which tutelary spirit revealed itself to him. The shaman then pronounces the name, kneels, and receives from the lama the instructions concerning his duties as shaman. Among these are the taboo and purification prescriptions, for example: he may not officiate when he
[783] is in mourning or when his wife is in confinement; also during this time he may not worship his tutelary spirit; after sexual intercourse and after enjoyment of tobacco and a considerable amount of liquor, he is unclean (11), and he must purify himself

[273]

11. [Foreign text p. 33.] Actually, liquor is not prohibited for the shamans. Here a Buddhistic prescription seems to be in effect, but in a weakened form, for a moderate consumption of liquor does not make the shaman unclean, only drunkenness does, although in the eyes of the Tujen this by no means represents anything morally objectionable.

[31 cont.]

Word List

192
756 The sword-shaman: sgurdien; gurdien (Tib. Tujen) (10); ku-wai-tien (Chin.); fa-la-tzu (Chin.); fa-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); nañsuo (Tib.); Yao-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); shen-ti-tzu (Chin.) = spirit disciple.

10. [Foreign text p. 33.] The Tujen strictly differentiate the sgurdien from the bö̃, the Chinese fa-shih, drum-shaman. The Chinese also make this distinction. They call the gurtum ku-êrh-tien or ku-wai-tien, which is nothing other than a phonetic imitation of the word sgurdien, which in turn comes from the Tibetan sku-rten, "body container." The gurtum is regarded as the container, the carrier of his tutelary god. See the precise explanation of the name in Part Two, "The Shaman Character of the Gurtum."

[787] To go into a trance: sgurdien bödzia = the shaman has come down, (that is, he has begun to shake); fa-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to excite the body; yao-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to shake the body.

[782] The prayer of invitation (before the trance): ǵsolkā (Tib. loan-word); ch'ing-tsan (Chin.) = praise.

Consecration prayer of the lama over the shaman: guo ǵguē (Tib. and Tuj.).

[792] Great lama: ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.) = lama with great power for prayer and magic.

*[778] The table upon which the shaman goes into a trance: t'iao-chuo-tzu (Chin.) = long table.

[31 cont.]

●192 The shaman's sword: aradzi = two-edged sword; wadam (Tib.) (12); chien (Chin.).

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*[778]

12. [Foreign text p. 33.] wadam: Tibetan dpa-gdam = sword. -- sonkuor: Tibetan skyon = protection, 'k'or = little disks (Unkrig).

[776] The tutelary-spirit -- hada: šdien = the consecrated, as it is called before it is stuck in the bag; sonkuor (Tib. loanword) (12) [see note 12 above] = protective fort, as it is called when it is inside the bag; the amulet is also called this.

*[778] Chest-mirror: mälon (Tib. loanword); hu-hsin ching (Chin.) = the mirror protecting the heart.

Headcloth: tolgue banladzin = the head covering. pao-chin = packing cloth (Chin.).

Rattles: xonguor; ling-êrh (Chin.).

Plowshare: timur ndziesë; t'ieh-hua (Chin.).

Thorns: huang-ts'ê (Chin.).

[789] To banish devils: ilie sdzira; pudag sdzira = to banish filth.

Recompense for the shaman: hsiang-ch'ien = incense money.

[Pages 31-33 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[33] 3. The Bon Priest*

791

* See "Notes," pp. 34-35 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are two kinds of Bon priests: the nomads and the

[34 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 35 cont.] menstruated; others maintain the opposite. At any rate, she has to be an unmarried person. In this connection cf. what is said in the section concerning death customs and cremation: that they are demons and are especially feared by demons.

791 Activities: A special activity of the Bon priests is the
[789] erection of the pole-goat and conjuring away storms, as well as the making and conjuring of the figure-litter. Otherwise they have almost the same activities as the other soothsayers: they designate lucky days for housebuilding, traveling, etc.; they question fate concerning sickness and medicine, For soothsaying,
[787] however, they use no special instruments; instead they have books from which they take everything. There are also Bon
[755] priests who have learned to take the pulse and to prescribe medicines and are able to cure without magic. -- The Bon priests do not go into a trance, but only pray (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 35] The Bon are regarded with a kind of secret fear by the Tujen. They also have something to do with springs and mountains. It is said that they often dwell alone in tents in remote ravines and at wells throughout the summer. There they pray, conjure away storms, etc. Perhaps this seclusion contributes to the fact that all kinds of uncanny machinations are reported of them.

Word List

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Shepherd-Bon: sënoǧsa (snaǧsa) (7); ch'an-t'ou peng-po (Chin.) = Bon with queue wound up.

[34 cont.]

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7. [Foreign text p. 35.] dziliu: Tibetan dril bu = bell. -- kãṅgergẽ: Mongolic k'eng-gerge = drum. -- sẽnoġsa (snaġsa): Tibetan shags pa = sorcerer; shags bon = Bon priest. -- (n)duombora: Tibetan sdom = to bind, spu = hair, ra = wreath. -- šgãṅdõṅ: Tibetan rkaṅ = shinbone, duṅ = trumpet, snail. -- ndarẽ: probably a literary botching of the Sanskritic ḍamaru (Unkrig).

Farmer-Bon: xuändie; su-jen peng-po (Chin.) = Lay-Bon.
Bon priest (in general): peng-po-tzu (Chin.).
Hair wreath of the farmer-Bon: (n)duombōra (Tib. and Tujen) (7) [see Note 7 above].
[778] Bone flute: šgãṅ-dõṅ (Tib. and Tujen); chuo-pa (Chin.) = shinbone (7) [see Note 7 above].
[534] Hourglass drum: ndarẽ (Tib. loanword) (7) [see Note 7 above]; pa-lang-ku (Chin.).
Bell: dziliu (7) [see Note 7 above]; ling-tang (Chin.).
Whip: p'i-pien-tzu (Chin.) = skin-whip.
Big drum: ta-ku (Chin.); kãṅgärgẽ.

[Pages 34-35 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

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4. The Lama (Lama-Reception)*

*See "Notes," pp. 41-43 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are many ceremonies to which a lama is invited.

[38 cont.]
792 to the animals (2).
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[192]

2. [Foreign text p. 41.] Concerning sdorma, the DMF writes (p. 338): "pyramidal figures made of grilled dough and offered to the spirits to ward off their evil influences. Cf. Tib. gtor-ma, id. (Mong. turma, tuurma, turuma...)" [translated from French]. Ch. Das characterizes (p. 527) the expression gtor-ma, which in turn goes back to a Sanskrit word, as cast offering: "sacrificial objects, i.e., that which is strewn or scattered or given away" [cited in English]. They are said to consist mostly of dough (rice, barley, etc.), to have a pyramidal shape, and are supposed to ward off dangers, to pacify the spirits, etc. -- Much has been written concerning the meaning of the gtor-ma; in this connection cf. the accounts in Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, Ch. XIV. The Tujen conceive of the torma as the seat of a demon or of a god or as spirit food. It does not remain a permanent seat, however, but only during the time of the ceremonies. The spirit is conjured into it by the lama. I was unable to ascertain the name balih among them. As spirit food they call it by the Chinese word szu-shih, that is, offering food, but there is another interpretation, namely "corpse," which also has the form szu-shih. This is what they call the

351 [40 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text p. 43 cont.]
rather in order to give strangers a signal so that they will not be infected and will stay outside.

Word List

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792

Lama: lama; ho-shang (Chin.).
Lama of the Yellow Sect: gelõñba (Tib.); sira lama.
Lama of the Red Sect: fulan lama.
Great lama: šge lama; ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.).
Small lama: mula lama.
Hutukhtu (6): sãñ (10); šge sãñ = great H.; mula sãñ = small H.
huo-fuo (Chin.) = Living Buddha; fo-yeh = Buddha.

6. [Foreign text p. 42.] The common people know little about the hierarchy among the monks. They know great and small lamas. Among the great they count the hutukhtu, the tsũordzi and the kãnbõ. According to their conception, a great lama is especially learned, knows many magical practices, and therefore has special power. The small lamas have only a little learning and are able to perform only minor ceremonies, for instance, the obo prayer.

[775] The hutukhtus are regarded as Buddhic incarnations. In this the common people do not differentiate between Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Among them everything is fuo-yeh, that is, Buddha-Father. They use this Chinese name for everything that is the seat of the spirit or a spirit itself, in other words, also for the incarnations

[778]
[775]

[40 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] (Tulkus), the spirit-spear, gods' statues with souls. Sometimes, for the sake of clarity, they designate the incarnations as huo-fuo (Chinese), that is, Living Buddha. The Tujen name purgan is usually used only for the spirits and the spirit seats with souls. Sometimes one hears the expression sañ or sañrë-dzi. I have never encountered the names Tulku, Hutukhtu, or Gegen, which in the Tujen language has the same meaning as sañ, the enlightened one.

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10. [Foreign text p. 43.] sañrëdzi: Tibetan sañs = pure, rgyas = spread out. -- gdzo: Tibetan gzo = to remind, to bring to mind; dañwu: Tibetan dañ po = first time; niwa: Tibetan gñis pa = second time; gdzänba: Tibetan gsum pa = third time. -- simier: Tibetan ši = fortune, mar = butter. -- sidar: Tibetan ši = fortune, dar = silk cloth. -- sändzoñ: Tibetan ts'em bzañ = cloth good. -- doñsär: Tibetan bdun = seven, gser = golden; the seven golden ones. -- lamar: Tibetan la = wax (from the Chinese), mar = butter. -- dordzi: Tibetan rdo = stone, rje = master. -- bosë: perhaps from the Mongolic; püse = trade, business; cf. Chin. p'u-tzu. -- mäntsia: Tibetan mañ = ample, ja = tea (Unkrig).

[40 cont.]

992 Lama-reception: lama ndziala.

792 Lama blessing: ndziärgän (Tib.) - in rows.

First fetching: ġdzō dañwu (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note on preceding page].

796

574 Second fetching: ġdzō niwa (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Third fetching: ġdzō ġdzämba (Tib. loanword) 10 [see Note 10 on preceding page].

192 Tsamba bowl with buttered slices: simier (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

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796 Little plate with baked goods: sētoġ.

Sugar candy: ping-t'ang (Chin.).

Apple: hai-t'ang (Chin.).

Nuts: ho-t'ao (Chin.).

Dates: sa-tsao-êrh (Chin.).

Dry curds: tsüra (Tib., Tuj.).

Oil sticks: san-tzu (Chin.).

Filled loaves: taġur.

Oil pies: yü-pao-tzu (Chin.).

192 Speech hada: sidär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

796 Red cloth (which one presents to the lama): sändzõn (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Grain with money: mbō.

Loin of mutton (also the entire sheep): ndžuän.

[778] Torma: šdorma (Tib. loanword) (2) [see Note 2 above].

Little copper bowl with water, grain, etc.: dõnsär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Butter-lamp: lamar (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

[778] Holy water-can: wumbä (Tib. loanword).

Peacock's feather: k'un-ch'üo-mao (Chin.).

Thunderbolt: dordzi (Tib., Tuj.).

[41]

[534] Hourglass drum: ndarë.

Mani-string: mani.

[41 cont.]

192 Prayer fee: bosē (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

796 Tea provided in the lamic monastery: māntsia (māndzia) (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

[784] Taboo of the compound: udie dzilā-; chi-men (Chin.) = to forbid the door.

[357]

[Pages 41-43 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[43] III. Customs concerning the Dwelling and Settlement

000

1. The Incense Sacrifice*

*See "Notes," pp. 46-49 [of the foreign text]. In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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Every day at sunrise the house and yard are swept clean.

512 The housewife fans the family fire on the kang, around which

[356] young and old gather during the day. The master of the house

[783] washes his hands and face (1), takes some coals from the fire,

[515]

1. [Foreign text p. 46.] This ablution is undertaken for all religious activities, and it is also the common way of washing oneself in the morning. Since wash-bowls are unknown or have been used only recently, it is done in the following way: one takes a mouthful of water from a bowl and rinses the mouth; then he

[43 cont.]

782 Time: The incense offering is to be given as early as possible, as soon as the morning twilight appears. One is not allowed to wait until the sun is high. Nowadays, even though [178] the families are no longer pious, [44] they will nonetheless give the incense offering at the least on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of the lunar month. On these three days small butter- or [778] oil-lamps are also lighted in the house in front of the Buddha images.

782 Place: The usual place for the morning offering is the 778 yard. One may also go into the local temple or in front of the obo. This is also usually done on the above-mentioned three days. In the yard itself the fireplace is the incense plate on the central fort in front of the mani-pole (2). If there is no

[192] 2. [Foreign text p. 46.] The incense plate is called fdzãñ tše = incense terrace. The Chinese call it sang lu-tzu = cypress-incense oven. In many instances, [177] the Tujen have taken over the Chinese incense oven. It looks like a small temple. Frequently people also make do with a small clay niche. The incense plate on the edge of the round manger is either a stone plate, a brick (tile), or a smooth layer of clay.

incense plate, the master of the household burns the incense in the central fort (round manger) itself, or on the ground in front of it. Each time, however, the area must first be swept. Worship in front of the fire does not take place directly in front of it; instead people go around the round manger, so that the round manger with the mani-tree, then the fire, then the main house, and finally the mountains behind it are before one. The other persons are also there. No one may ever stand between the fire and the main house.

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.] Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot be imagined without tsamba. They roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.), that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain, and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-grain flour is eaten exactly as among the Tibetans (Fandse). After the consumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48] kneaded into a dry dough in the tea bowl with the remainder of the tea and the butter floating on it, and it is then eaten in the form of little pellets or little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used for the incense offering, however, may not be kept with the ordinary tsamba. Every family has a special little box for it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf. Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further details.

[262] [252] [171] [264]

[783] never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the [263] sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color; therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than the white.

The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant [439] addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop. [824] They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

[192] 4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loan-word, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

[44 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 47 cont.] "evil spirit (?)" (p. 311), is misleading. Ch. Das (p. 1057) gives the meaning: "an article, thing, material, object" [cited in English], and further: de'i rdsas, "requisites for this purpose (sc., unclean matters); especially for sacrifices, sorceries, etc., hence also used as identical with magical agency" [cited in English]. This last signification is applicable to the accompanying gifts and offerings in connection with conjuring away demons; cf. rdzē in the chapters, "The Demon Escort," "The Figure Conjuring," etc. The explanation in the DMF (p. 311) is also in accord with this: "object that one releases with the aim of being freed from an evil (money or some other object is added to it), ransom" [translated from French]. rdzē, therefore, is to be understood in the very widest sense as outfit, utensils, provision of the gods (clothes, rings, viaticum), additions to the offering, etc., as is shown by the plethora of the incense gifts. These additions correspond extensively with the additions for the earth-god's urn (treasure urn), but they probably are to be traced back only to Lamaist influence, for in the Tujen songs that mention the incense offering they are never mentioned, in contrast to the tree of life, the water, and the flowers, which are never absent. The most important flower, mentioned again and again,

[177]

[824]

[44 cont.]

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is the kanba; cf. Part Two, "The Incense Offering." This flower has a strong, very fragrant scent which can be perceived far and wide at the incense offering. The Tujen name corresponds with the Tibetan (Unkrig). Ch. Das (p. 140) translates k'am-pa as Tanacetum tomentosum and designates it as a "very aromatic plant growing in the high mountains of Tibet" [cited in English]. Dinand identifies the flower as the tansy, Tanacetum vulgare; cf. Handbuch der Heilpflanzen [Handbook of Medicinal Plants], p. 211, with illustration, Pl. XXIII, 2. According to G.A. Stuart, it belongs to the species Artemisia vulgaris, which is exceedingly aromatic. He distinguishes three kinds: Artemisia Indica, -- Sinensis (ai-hao), -- moxa; cf. Chinese materia medica, p. 52. -- From the use of the cypress and the flowers, one can conclude that from the outset the incense offering is to be conceived of, not as a burned offering, but as an aromatic offering. -- For further details concerning the incense offering, see Part Two. -- With respect to rdzē, cf. also the chapter, "The Earth-God Urn."

782 824 They are the same kinds as those the lama mixes in at the consecration of the wumba-water. The Tujen names have been lost. In Tibetan they are called "the good six." There are the following kinds: cloves, saffron, cardamom, marl (?), nutmeg, camphor.

782 Instead of the water, one can also squirt milk or barley wine into the fire. They are then no longer called milk or

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.]
this purificatory effect, however, but also the incense itself. This is shown by its name, "purity-wood," and by the use of bsañs as a verb, which, according to Ch. Das (p. 1316), means "to cleanse, to remove" [cited in English]. For this reason incense is also scattered in the water with the red-hot stone (ch'ü-t'an) that is used for cultic purification.

Word List

•192 Cypress tree: šgua sdziödzē (3) [see Note 3 above].
782 Cypress: šgua.
[824] Cypress incense: fdzañ (šdzañ, dzañ, sañ) (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba offering: fdzañ sdzam (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba (profane): talga (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 49.] talga: Tib. t'al ba or t'al k'a = powder, dust, ash; Mong. talxa = flour, rye flour, barley flour.

glu-smān: Tib. klu sman = the dragon medicine, bot. Angelica. There are four kinds, of which the black and the white are the best. The white Angelica is used against sickness from the earth-dragon. In Mongolic it is called luus-un em = dragon-medicine.

[824]
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snagsog: Tib. sna = many, and ts'ogs = kind. lisi = Tib. li-ši = Carophyllus. gušgum: Tib. gur-gum = saffron, crocus. sēsmiel: Tib. sug-smel (rmel) = cardamom; Chin. pai-tou kuan

[824]

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.]
(white bean-tressel). gagula: Tib. ka ko la = Amomum medium; Chin. ts'ao-kuo (straw-fruit). dzati: Tib. dsa tsi (Sanskr.) = nutmeg. ġawur: Tib. ga-bur (Sanskr.) = camphor (Unkrig).

Spices: ġlu (ġlo, ġlë) sëmän; ġlu (Tib. loanword) = earth-god;
sëmän (Tib. loanword) = medicine, spice (11) [see Note 11 above].

Känba flowers: känba.

Incense additions: rdzē (Tib. loanword) = additions, things.
snaġsoġ fdzäṅ rdzē (Tib. loanword) = many kinds of incense additions (4), (11) [see Notes 4 and 11 above].

Cloves: lisi (Tib.); ting hsiang (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Saffron: gušgum (Tib.); tsang hung-hua (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Cardamom: sësmiel (Tib.); i-chi-jen (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Marl: gagula (Tib); ts'ao-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Nutmeg: dzati (Tib.); jou-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Camphor: ġawur (Tib.); ping-p'ien (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

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Milk (profane): sun.

Libation: tsiab (tsiaw) (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 above].

[534] Conch: doṅ (Tib. loanword) = trumpet, horn (7) [see Note 7 above].

Heaven, you know it: tieṅgërë mudie.

[372] Purification-fire: sündur (Tib. loanword).

[51 cont.]

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5. [Foreign text p. 53.] The informant firmly insisted upon this statement, although the consecration, beribboning, mirror, and bells seem to argue that the arrow is a seat of the spirit.

777 house, namely, during the wedding. While the bride, amidst
*778 the weeping and wailing of the women, is led out to the thresh-
585 ing floor and mounts the riding animal, the father takes the arrow of good fortune and runs back and forth with it behind the bride, calling out the name of his daughter, who is led on the riding animal three times around the threshing floor before she rides off. The father wants to keep back the good fortune.

[52] The arrow holds together the good fortune and well-
[171] being of the household, as do the god of wealth and the treasure-
[432] urn among the Chinese. For that reason something is held back as "seed" and "root" from everything that is sold and attached to the arrow or added to the urn (6). With her marriage, the

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6. [Foreign text pp. 53-55.] One receives differing information among the people concerning the word yãṅsdzia. Some say yãṅ means "good fortune," whereas the informant subscribes more to the meaning "germ," root, seed, guarantee of good fortune." In the region of Bengbar (Hsi-ch'uan) the arrow is called yãṅbō. The ... bō could not be explained by anyone. The people derived the yãṅ from the Tibetan and said it meant "good fortune." Undoubtedly it is identical with the Tibetan g, yaṅ. The Chinese word ying-pao mentioned by F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 139) is phonetically very reminiscent of the designation yãṅbō. The Tujen have a third expression for

[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
the arrow of good fortune in the word yãṅdar. They interpret the yãṅ as "good fortune" and the dar as "to increase." The old man, however, would not let the dar be applied to the entire arrow, but only to the hada attached to it, and he is correct in this, for dar in Tibetan signifies "cloth, silk." He stated that the whole thing, including the urn, is always only called yãṅsdzia. It is unclear to me what the sdzia in this combination actually means. It is doubtful that it is a literary botching of mda', "arrow."

In order to determine the meaning of the arrow of good fortune in more detail, it is best to start from the Tib. word g, yaṅ. According to Ch. Das, the sense of wealth, fullness of life, treasures, state of well-being is connected with g, yaṅ. This is apparent from the corresponding combinations with g, yaṅ (cf. pp. 1149ff.). The very essence of good fortune, however, seems to be the sheep; metaphorically it is simply called g, yaṅ-dkar, "the white good-fortune." White is also the color of good fortune. But how, then, is the arrow of good fortune to be comprehended as the carrier of good fortune?

[822]

Its peculiar character becomes clearest at the wedding ceremony. When the bride departs from the parental house and is led three times around the threshing floor on horseback, the father of the bride runs behind the bride three times

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[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
or vital forces (rasayana, Tib. bcud len, Mong. sime, shime) of heaven and earth, sun and moon, rivers and lakes, trees and herbs" [cited in English]. This corresponds precisely to the above-mentioned wedding ceremony of the Tujen at the departure of the bride, where likewise "the germs, vital force" are conjured in song onto the arrow with which the father runs behind the bride.

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The Tujen word for this "germ, seed," etc. in the songs is furie; cf. Schröder, Hochzeitslieder" [Wedding Songs]. furie is the Mongolic ūre (DMF, p. 111) and in meaning corresponds, like sime, to the Tibetan bcud in bcud len. len signifies "to seize, to grasp, to gather" (Ch. Das, p. 1220), and bcud, "sap, moistness, essence, force," etc. (p. 394). The meaning that my informant gave for the word yān is identical with this; cf. above. With regard to the expression bcud-len, Ch. Das writes (p. 394): "the art of extracting essences for prolonging health and longevity, such essences as being of different kinds ..." [cited in English]. He also mentions in particular the earth-force: "sa-yi bcud, the essence of the earth, by which the produce of the field, medicinal plants and precious metals and stones, etc., are said by Tibetans to be produced; therefore this essence is the natural fecundity of the soil ..." [cited in English]. More about this in another place (in the myth about the origin of agriculture).

[585] bride leaves the family, but it is desired that good fortune and wealth should not leave the home with her. For that reason clothing and bits of hair are also preserved on the arrow.

[52 cont.]

Word List

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777 Arrow: sēmu.
Arrow tip: timurdē.
*778 Arrow feathering: sēmu fodie.
Arrow of good fortune: yãṅsdzia (1) (6) [see Note 6 above].

1. [Foreign text p. 52.] yãṅsdzia: Tib. g, yaṅ = good fortune, mda' = arrow. yãṅdźēw: Tib. g, yaṅ (the same), skyob = to protect. An offering to guarantee good fortune is designated by it. yãṅbo (-po): seems to be connected with the Tib. g, yaṅ-bum = urn of good fortune (Unkrig).

Urn: p'endzē (Chin.).
Urn with grain: yãṅ-dźēw = to fill with good-fortune seeds (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1 above].
To fill the urn: yãṅdzēwrē ġada = to fill up with seed stuffing.
Attachments: yãṅ rdzē = seed attachments (additions).
Hada: kadaġ (Tib.).
Cloth remnants: sdziedzē dzūldēgān = cloth remnants of all kinds.
Mane hairs: dzãṅgãṅ; tsung-kang (Chin.).
Black hairs: sul.
Ball of hair: fudzē sdzialaġ = downy-hair ball.
Sheep wool: ṅguasē.
Consecrating prayer: yãṅpo dgē (Tib. loanword) = arrow-of-good-fortune prayer (1) [see Note 1 above].
To prepare the arrow: ilieni yãṅsdziarē fuya = to tie everything to the arrow of good fortune.

[Pages 52-55 contain the notes given as numbered footnotes.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.] that this disk represented the wreath of rays of the stars. Sometimes one also hears that it represents the earth-disk. -- He designated the small round piece set on the sun as a star; accordingly, sun, moon, and stars would be on the tip. Nothing is known among the people about the other explanations of the Lamaistic occult interpretations, such as that of the sun as tilaka, of the moon sickle as bindu (drops), and of the attached piece as a flame-shaped nāda (sacrificial cry), etc. Cf. Note 9.

piece and the vertical disk are painted with a red color, for instance, red clay. The moon sickle is white. -- In place of this cut-out sun-moon tip, one can also tie a bundle of cypress twigs to the pole; this is also done later with the same ceremonies.

The cover: The cover, which covers the connection of the tip and the end of the pole, is sewed together out of five rings of cloth. Each ring has its own color. The cover is about 30 to 50 centimeters long and is adjusted according to the thickness of the tree. There are no regulations concerning the origin and nature of the material, but the cloth must be clean and whole. Both men and women may sew this cover, but usually the men do it. After the sewing, the cover is fumigated in the incense and placed on the household altar (6).

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6. [Foreign text pp. 60-61.] The name of the cover is apparently nothing but a literary botching of the Tibetan rgyal-mts'an (pronounced rdzial-), of the victory-ornament

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[Note on foreign text p. 60-61 cont.]
(cf. Filchner, Unkrig, p. 21) that is part of the eight offerings (mc'od brgyad). Ch. Das (p. 313) explains the rgyal-mts'an (Sanskritic dhvajā) as a war banner or victory sign of Buddhism; it is the official standard of the Buddhists. One often finds it as garment trimming in various colors or as a cloth cylinder on flagpoles or on a post. Sometimes it is made of brass or wood. Furthermore, Ch. Das cites 11 kinds of rgyal-mts'an in Tibetan Buddhism, which fight the demonic powers.

The Chinese translation san (screen) might be misleading and point to the first of the eight offerings, the white screen, gdugs dkar (Sanskritic chattra); cf. Ch. Das, p. 69 (bkra šis ...), and Filchner, Unkrig, p. 21. -- The Tujen do not differentiate precisely here.

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The multicolored cover is found in the most diverse varieties: [61] as column drapes in the temples, as gigantic cloth bells or screens, on ceremonial standards, on trident masts, as curtains, etc. In other words, it does not represent a peculiarity of the mani-tree. Because the rgyal-mts'an also occurs as garment trimming (cf. above), the colorful ring-trimming on the sleeves of the Tujen costume is probably connected with it, which, indeed, is often drawn on as a cloth funnel.

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The mani-flag: The flag consists of a long piece of white cloth. Usually it is cotton cloth, which can be bought in town. It should always be new and faultless. One leaves the original width of the cloth as it is, in other words, about 30 to 50 centimeters. The length depends on the mani-mast, for the flag is

[57 cont.]

*778 attached to the tree along the long side. On the average the length is 150 to 200 centimeters. The master of the household first takes this bolt of cloth to a lamic monastery where it is [782] printed with prayers and the picture of an air-horse in the monastery press, only on one side, however. About three-quarters of the flag is covered with prayers, and the lowest quarter with the air-horse. At home the man or the woman then sews a row of strings on one long side, with which the flag is tied to the pole. [58]. The other long side, fluttering in the breeze, is [822] provided with five tabs of cloth in the five sacred colors. The length depends on the flag. Usually they are about two fingers wide and a finger long. They may be quadrangular or triangular. The flag is likewise fumigated and placed next to the cover on the household altar. For these tabs, too, there are no regulations concerning the origin and nature of the material (7).

[192]

7. [Foreign text p. 61.] The mani-flag has various names; cf. below, Note 10. All these names apply in the first place to the horse-image, then to the flag, and finally to the entire tree. The image is the most important, especially when one considers that paper images are also in use.

*778 796 782 On every flag or every image there are the most varied sayings and representations, in Tibetan or Chinese or Mongolic. Sometimes the horse also bears on its back the sign of good fortune, nuru. These paper horses play [171] an important role in the ceremony of releasing the horses, which is performed by the Tujen as well as by the Chinese and Tibetans. This ceremony is practiced at certain times of the year, for instance, in the month of the

[59 cont.]

*778 Meaning: The mani-tree guarantees good fortune and
[777] peace for the household, yard, and people. The air-horse is a
symbol of fate. On its back it bears the precious stone of good
[772] fortune: nuru. The tree represents the world-mountain. Around
its peak circle sun, moon, and stars, and below lies the world
with the people, with house and yard and herds (9).

[351]

9. [Foreign text pp. 61-62.] This explanation by the informant indicates that only with the raising of the mani-pole is the compound complete, part of the world order, as is also expressed in other songs. It is based upon the Lamaistic conception of the world, according to which the world-mountain is in the center and everything else is situated around it. Among the lamas one always finds this interpretation, as it is presented symbolically in the monogram found everywhere, the nantšu wãńdãń. To be sure, the Tujen know nothing of the detailed interpretations of this monogram (cf. Note 3), nor of the parallel between this cosmic interpretation and the human body. -- Here it should also be noted that in this symbol the flat disk under the moon sickle is lacking, and furthermore that the colors are different; the small flame on the sun is green, the sun itself white, the moon-sickle red; cf. Unkrig in Filchner: Kumbum, pp. 160-161.

[192] [62] The word sdzi-ńkuor and the informant's translation, "center-round," phonetically and semantically give precisely the Tibetan word dkyil 'k'or; cf. DMF, p. 387, and Ch. Das, p. 56.

[59 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 61-62 cont.] The various meanings of dkyil 'k'or are given there, particularly as the equivalent of the Sanskritic word mandala, the magical circles and figures and representations of the divine dwellings, etc. (cf. the chapter, "The Pole-Goat"); furthermore, for the conception of the universe under consideration here, "According to the Buddhist cosmogony there are sa-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of earth, c'u-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of water, the ocean, rluṅ-gi dkyil 'k'or the atmosphere, me-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of fire; each forming a stratum over the other. The upper stratum, i.e. that which is beyond the atmosphere, is called the sphere of fire or light [cited in English] (Ch. Das, loc. cit.). If one puts this orthodox Lamaist explanation beside the old man's explanation, he sees how indigenous and alive this conception is among the Tujen, how it is literally built into the existential sphere.

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The air-horse does not really seem to belong in this conceptual picture, and it could not be learned from the informant what the air-horse, in other words, the mani-flag, has to do with the world mountain, why it is attached to it. He thought that it would hang high on it and could flutter well in the wind, and, with its prayer and magical formulas, it would be the same as a prayer-mill that is likewise turned by the wind on the roof. Other

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[Note on foreign text pp. 61-62 cont.] explanations do not connect the air-horse with the round manger, either. Thus, one can hear that the magical formulas and prayers are carried to heaven on the air-horse. Others, again, believe that the air-horses are ridden by the wandering restless spirits and souls of the dead; in this way they would find the right way and come to rest. According to them, this is also the reason why these paper horses are released in such large numbers. Then the spirits are appeased and would no longer visit and molest human beings.

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Word List

(Cf. the drawing)

The mani-tree (tree and flag together): dardzioǵ (Tib.).
The mast: dardzioǵ gändzē (Chin.); mani-kan-tzu (Chin.).
The sun: nara.
The moon: sara.
For the round disk and the piece on the sun there are no specified Tujen names.
The cover: rdziala ntsam (Tib.); san (Chin.) = screen (6) [see Note 6 above].
The flag: dardzioǵ (Tib.); ta-ch'iu (Chin.); ki mori = air horse;
loňšda (Tib.); lu-ma (Chin.) = horse of good fortune;
lung-ma (Chin.) = dragon-horse (10).

10. [Foreign text pp. 62-63.] loňšda is the Tibetan rluň rta, air-horse; ki-mori is the literal Tujen translation of it.

[59 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 62-63 cont.]

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Concerning its meaning as "fate," cf. Part Two, II, 1, c. -- Perhaps the Chinese lung-ma is also only a phonetic imitation of this Tibetan rluṅ (air), which perhaps came about because the dragon-horse, which likewise is called lung-ma, appears in legends and tales as a wonder horse. In the Sining chronicle, in the chapter on the Koko Nor Lake, there is a passage concerning this dragon-horse. In certain times the T'u-yü-hun were supposed to drive their horses (quite bad ones, too) into the lake, and they would then couple with the dragon. The horses descended from them were supposed to be able to cover thousands of miles in a day.

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[171]

For the paper prints of the air-horses the Chinese usually say lu-ma (good-luck horses). They claim that the above-mentioned "releasing" of these horses, fang lu-ma, is an old Chinese custom, whereas the Tujen, Fandse, and lamas claim it as their own tradition. -- In addition, the Chinese have gold-yellow paper leaves attached to house gates, animals, etc., which they burn on various occasions. They are called chih-ma [63] (paper-horses) or piao-ma (leaf-horses). Although there is no horse-image on it, many people derive the ...ma from "horse."

The ta-ch'iu is a Chinese literary botching of dardzioġ; one hears this expression mostly in the region of Tangkar. dardzioġ corresponds to the Tibetan dar lcog (DMF, p. 44); according to Ch. Das

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[Note on foreign text pp. 62-63 cont.]
this means "silk" and "tip" and is "a flag-staff about 10 or 12 feet high ... on house-tops, piles of stone, or on votive cairns" (p. 620) [cited in English].

The flag tabs: dardzioġ kilie = mani-flag tabs [Zungen, literally "tongues"].
Blue sky: kuguo tieṅgĕre.
White clouds: tsiġan uloṅ.
Yellow lama: sira lama.
Red lama: fulan lama.
Green earth: noġuon yāsē = green grass.
The round manger: yūān dzuor = round manger; yūan-ts'ao (Chin.) = round manger; sdziṅkuor (Tib.) = center-round (9) [see Note 9 above].
The incense plate: fdzaṅ tsē = incense-terrace.
The central urn (that is, central fort): lawum-ġluwum (Tib.) = spirit-urn -- earth-god-urn.
The four little urns: sēnog-der (snaġ-der) = magical urns (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 63.] sēnoġder: Tibetan snags = magical saying, spell formula, gter = treasure, storage chamber. Meaning: magical treasure chamber (Unkrig).

[Pages 60-63 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

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[63] The Obo*

* See "Notes," pp. 68-71 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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Word List

*778 Obō: laštdzē (lawdzē, ladzē) (Tib. loanword) (7).
mao-chi (Chin.);these are the signs for reed - good fortune.
Shan-shen (Chin.) = mountain-spirit (7).

[776]

7. [Foreign text p. 70.] The statement of the old man that the expression obō is unknown in his region was surprising to me. I found it confirmed; at least it is not used among the Tujen there, which is all the more surprising since the Chinese use the word obō the most. The Tujen almost exclusively use the Tibetan loanword laštdzē (or lawdzē). Farther away, to be sure, there are Tujen who are familiar with both designations; laštdzē is nothing other than the Tibetan la-rtse, "mountain top," according to Ch. Das (p. 1200): "the summit of a pass." The relationship to the cult of heights and the mountain-spirit is clear. -- Besides the foreign word obō (Mong. obuġa, DMF 296) the Chinese also have the name mao-chi.

The Chinese expression mao-chi has no logical meaning in itself. In the Tangkar chronicle I saw for it the sign for reeds (mao) and good fortune (chi); there are also other ways of writing it. This shows that a phonetic imitation of a foreign word is involved here. The original word for it, however, cannot be determined. In the region of the Chia-Hsifan around Kumbum the name shan-shen, that is, mountain-spirit, is used the most. With it the Chinese simply identify the obo with the spirit, which corresponds with the situation, since it is in fact the seat of the mountain spirit.

[776]

[67 cont.]

●192 Obo mountain: lawdzë ūla.

*778 To erect obo: lawdzë paġguni.

Obo pit: lawdzë nukuo.

Stone mound: tašë soġdō.

Obo frame: lawdzë dziadzë (Chin.).

Whitewashing: tsiġandë budë.

Contents of the obo pit: rdzë.

[782] Votive offerings for the obo: lawdzë šdodlōdzän ntsuomdzia = weapons placed on the obo.

Spear: dzida.

Sword: wōldë.

Tree twigs: sdziōdzë aralaġ = (poplar) twigs;
šgua aralaġ = cypress twigs;
tängëraġ aralaġ = fir branches.

Sheep wool: nġuasë.

Silk threads: torġuo šdadzë = silk threads.

Little white stones: mulġan (mula) tsiġan tašë.

Spear tassel: dzida män dzioġ.

[68]

Grain: dzūldë tara = all kinds of grain.

Sugar: ġarā.

Gold: xaldän.

Silver: miëngu.

Mani-string: lang-sheng (Chin.) = wolf string.
kimori bōdoġ = air-horse string.

Obo call: garu (Tib.) lawdzë yara (Tib.).
šdo-o-od = the white obo from below I throw at (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 71.]
mändzioġ: Tibetan lcog = pennant, pinnacle, peak. The män seems to come from the Chinese mang = pennant.
-- garu lawtsë yäre šdodla (obo call): Tibetan dkar (pronounced gar) = white,

[68 cont.]

• 192
*778

[Note on foreign text p. 71 cont.]
la rtse – obo, yar = upward, stod la = upward, to place on top. -- rēdziõñ: Tibetan žon = to ride. -- yifula: Tibetan ri bo = mountain, hill, lha = spirit. -- ndziġdien: Tibetan 'jig = transitoriness, rten = container. A Buddhistic mode of expression for the world: the ten containers of transitoriness (Unkrig).

Little stonepiles: lawdzē dzidziġa = obo chicks.
Obo sheep-offering: lawdzē tada xoni šēṅlie = to sacrifice a sheep before the obo.
[782] The lama prays before the obo: lama lawdzē tada mošguni.
The offerings: yilenē šēṅlie = total offerings.
To dwell at the obo: lawdze tada sō-.
To set up a tent: bekārge posġuo-.
[541] Horse racing: mori holilġa = to make horses race.
Whose horse is fast: kāni mori gurdā?
[526] Shooting competition: sēmu sēmuda- = to shoot arrows.
Whose skill with weapons is great: kāni xuawu šgewa?
The young people wrestle: mula kunsgē walde-.
Whose strength is great: kāni kudzi šgewa?
Large and small sing together: šge mulasgē nigē dōlā-.
Whose songs are many: kāni dō uluona?
[541] Obo horse-racing: lawdzē šda rēdziõñ (Tib. (8) [see Note 8 above].
[527] Obo festival: lawdzē šdodlō, mori holġani = to make the horses run pelting the obo.
[621] [757] The obo protects human beings: lawdzē ayili kun, ase, mulā-sēla, nasā, ġuosāni furõñlāni = the obo of the village (kin group) protects human beings, animals, little children, from epidemics and strife.
[776] The mountain-spirit: yifu la (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above].

[68 cont.]

192 *778 The game is cared for by the mountain-spirit: lawdzë udaġladzān sōwa (or fsūārēġwa) = birds (or game) are ruled by the obo.

The dog of the mountain-spirit (wolf): yifulani noxuę.
The old people relate legends: šdogu kunsgē xuęńge gulie-.
Whose legends are many: kāni xuę uluona?
Large and small drink barley wine: šge mulā dërasēńgë udzi-.
Today is good: niudurġuo dur sēna.
In conviviality let us sit together: suġdzieńge sōldeya!
One does not know today what tomorrow will be: niudurë malõńguni li mudien.
With death it is all over: fugugë bura dzia.
We come into the world for nothing: ndziġdienē (8) [see Note 8 above]) arāń nigë huę rëdziā- (nigë xue = once).

[Pages 68-71 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[71] 5. The Chorten Chamber*

*778 346

* See "Notes," pp. 77-79 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[621] [351] In each Tujen village and sometimes also in individual compounds there is a chorten chamber. The actual name is hundred-thousand-house. This chamber looks like a small temple without doors. In it there are several sacred urns, which are buried under 100,000 small clay cones. In this cone-mountain is stuck the column of the sky, which is covered with all kinds of blessing formulas.

[71 cont.]

346 The chorten chamber is erected by the entire village.
*778 Everyone must give a hand. The lama comes and prays for
[621] seven days, makes a series of tormas, and manufactures the
[792] urns. On the seventh day the chorten chamber is built. Only little windows are left in it. In front of the chorten chamber the men burn incense and move in a circle around the chamber as at the obo. Through the window holes they then again throw in little chorten.

[621] The chorten chamber protects the village and the family
[777] from misfortune. It represses the evil earth-influences. [Fig. 8 appears here.]

Details

[361] Place: The chorten chamber is always erected outside
[791] the compound and outside the village. No attention is paid to paths. The place is more precisely designated by the soothsayer, not by the lama.

[72] Form: The groundplan of the chorten chamber is rectangular. Its size varies greatly. There are small chambers as high as a man and large ones with beautiful tile roofs and columned porticoes. There is never a door in the wall. Only at head level are square peepholes left, an ell square. There is no sun-moon disk on the roof, such as is otherwise common on temples. Usually a beautiful incense oven stands before the chamber. -- There are many kinds of chorten chambers. The one here is the most common; it is called "house-chamber," for there are also some that are not roofed (1).

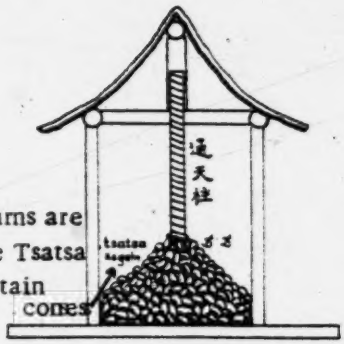
[192]

1. [Foreign text pp. 77-78.] According to the informant, bẽn designates the same thing as the Tibetan 'bum (in many places also pronounced bẽn), that is, 100,000. kãn is the Tibetan word for house, but it can also mean temple, for example, in the word sdienkãn.

[72 cont.]

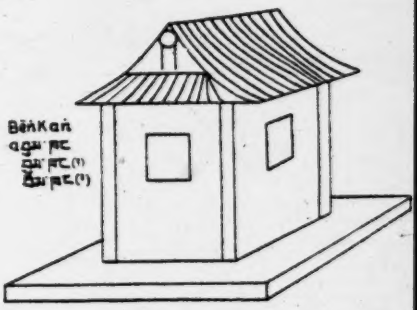
346
*778
192

[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.] Accordingly, beṅ-kaṅ would mean: the chamber of the 100,000, or more freely and with reference to the sasa contained in it, chamber of the countless sasa, chorten chamber. In the DMF biṅkaṅ stands for it, with the explanation: "small temple with four doors, where one puts the idols and religious objects that one no longer wants to keep in the house (it is usually built at the exit of a village or at a crossroads)" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. bank'aṅ, "store-room, treasury" [cited in English]. -- According to all the information available to me, the beṅkaṅ never has a door; the informant



a

The urns are in the Tsatsa Mountain cones



a: Chorten chamber inside; b. chorten chamber outside.

also definitely denies that superfluous cult objects that one no longer wants to keep at home are put in it. The name might better be derived from bum-k'aṅ, "urn-house." bum-k'aṅ, namely, is also the central part of a chorten, which, of course, is urn-shaped.

[72 cont.]

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*1778
192

[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.] According to W.A.Unkrig, the Mongolic rendering of it is bum-xan. In Mongolic linguistic usage this would be the same as cara-ĩngẽr, with which a cremation house is designated, literally, "house of the frying pan" (communication). But even this interpretation seems doubtful.

The informant is probably correct with his explanation: bẽṅ = 'bum = 100,000, countless; and bẽṅkãṅ = house of the countless (chorten). In the literature "Ts'a ts'a house" is used for it, for instance, A. Tafel, Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], II, p. 265. To be sure, Ch. Das, too, speaks not of a 'bum-k'aṅ, but of a ts'a-k'aṅ: "place, where ts'a-ts'a are kept" (p. 1017) [cited in English]. In general, these little clay cones are stored in huge quantities in chorten or dwellings, etc., and A. Tafel would like to connect this custom with the Bon religion; cf. op. cit., pp. 198, 265. At any rate, the popular belief of the Tujen ascribes great power to these ts'a-ts'a. Concerning the significance of the ts'a-ts'a in Buddhism proper, cf. the relevant works by Tucci.

Nothing specific, however, is designated by the name bẽṅkãṅ; it is only a generic concept. As the lamas in the Mongol lamasery Dsadsang near Tangkar and in Kumbum say, there are two groups of bẽṅkãṅ. First there are those without walls and roof, for example: log-log (a kind of stone pyramid); ndõṅ-ndõṅ; ser-wdziãl. Secondly, those with walls and

[72 cont.]

346
*778
●192

[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.]
a roof, such as dẑẽw-yi and ger-kãṅ. The kãṅ described here is this ger-kãṅ. Actually this name is a tautology, for ger is Mongolic and means house (tent), in other words, the same as the Tibetan kãṅ. Besides these names, there are other special designations for bẽṅkaṅ, such as mani bẽṅkãṅ, tsãla bẽṅkãṅ, dẑõma bẽṅkãṅ, maridzẽ bẽṅkãṅ. Unfortunately all these types could not be inquired into precisely [78], nor likewise the meaning of the name and the contents of the bẽṅkãṅ. The many rẽduombẽṅ (7) [see Note 7 below], pyramid-like stonepiles which hold down evil demons, as is also reported in the Tujen myth of the female man-eater Mãṅgudzẽ, probably also belong among the bẽṅkãṅ. For this function the Chinese have the expression pu mei-ch'i, that is, to plug up the (earth)veins' breath.

*778 Time: The chorten chamber may be erected at any time of the year, although the frost-free period is preferred because of the work on the walls. The soothsayer designates the specific [791] day and hour. -- The preparation, however, takes many weeks because the building material, the urns, and the clay cones must be manufactured. In addition, a small village festival [527] is always connected with the erection and for that reason the time after the harvest is preferred.

[621] Persons: All the persons of the village take part in the [476] preparations, men, women, and children. The leader divides the work among the individual families. At the erection and the [562] consecrating ceremonies, however, only men are active. Women [792] are kept away. -- The consecration of the urns and the service

[74 cont.]

*778

[Note on foreign text p. 78 cont.] noteworthy that at all times the orientation of the tree as it grew must be preserved. -- Nothing further was learned about the name soń-siń. The Chinese expression t'ung t'ien-chu, which is doubtless much more appropriate, is also used there for the center column in Lamaistic temples and for the center pole of the tent. In southern Kansu a large monolith bearing the same name stands somewhere in the mountains, as I was told by a missionary who was an eye-witness. This center pole plays a well-known role in the west of China, so nothing further need be said about it here.

[192]

The chorten: The chorten have the form of small clay cones and look like large eight-turreted chorten. The Chinese call them "red clay clods." Altogether there are supposed to be 100,000 little cones, but this number is not always adhered to, especially if the village is small. Three to four months beforehand, these little clay cones are poured into special wooden molds. The village elders apportion the number for each family.

[62]

The under-surfaces of the still damp little forms are tamped on Tibetan barley and incense which remain stuck to them as they dry. The average size is about the length of a finger; there are also larger ones (4). -- The finished chorten

[192]

4. [Foreign text p. 78.] With reference to the Fandse language, sasa is also pronounced dzadza (ts'a-ts'a). These clay cones not only have the shape (even if only roughly) of chorten, but they also frequently represent sacred figures which, according to the old man's

[76 cont.]

*778
171

[Note on foreign text p. 79 cont.] connected with the erection of the chamber no inner relationship to the content finds expression. These are the same customs that are practiced in connection with all housebuilding by the Tsinghai Chinese.

Word List

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*778

Chorten chamber: bẽṅkãṅ (Tib. loanword) = countless chamber (house) (1) [see Note 1 above]. ger-kãṅ, ger (Tuj.) = house, kãṅ = chamber. ma-ni lou (Chin.) = mani-house (high house).

Sky column: sõṅ-siṅ (Tib. loanword) - protective tree (wood) (7). t'ung-t'ien chu (Chin.) = to connect sky column.

7. [Foreign text p. 79.] sõṅ siṅ: Tibetan skyoṅ = to preserve, protect, siṅ = wood. -- sasa: Tibetan ts'a ts'a = little conical clay cones. -- sena: Tibetan sna = group, category. -- šder: Tibetan gser = gold. -- wsirẽ: Tibetan byi-ru (pronounced šuru) = coral. -- sõdãṅ: could ~~come~~ from the Chinese (?). ts'u-t'ang - vinegar-pool. -- sguora: Tibetan skor ba = to circle around. -- rẽduombẽṅ: Tibetan rdõ = stone, 'bum = 100,000 (Unkrig).

Clay chorten, clay cone: sasa (Tib. loanword), tza-tza (4) [see Note 4 above].

[76 cont.]

792 hung ni-tan-tzu (Chin.) = red clay clods.

*778 Gaps in the wall: tsiäṅguäṅ = windows.

The great urn: lha-wum (Tib.) = spirit urn (receptacle).

ġlo-wum (Tib.) = earth-god urn.

ġlo-wum gõṅluo (Tuj.) = earth-god urn receptacle.

The small urns: snoġ dẽr (Tib. loanword) = magic-urn.

Contents of the receptacle: rdzẽ (Tib.).

yang-wu (Chin.) = things.

Mountain-earth: sa-sena (Tib.) (7) [see Note 7 above]; siru = earth.

Water: tsũ-sena (Tib.); fdzẽ = water.

Wood: siṅ sena (Tib.); mõdẽ = wood.

Buddha gold: ǰdzer (7) [see Note 7 above]; sädoġ (Tib.).

Mother of pearl ? wsirẽ (Tib.) (7) [see Note 7 above]; shan-hu (Chin.) = coral.

Precious stone: mädoġ (Tib.) = flower; chen-chu = jewel.

Earth-god spice: ġlo-smän (Tib. loanword).

Little water-bowl: dõṅsär (Tib. loanword).

Black incense: gukual

hei-hsiang (Chin.).

[782] Prayer of consecration: rami.

Red earth: fulan siru; huang-tan (Chin.) = yellow ocher.

[77]

[789] Magic formulas: snaġ (snoġ).

Mandala drawing: sdzi ṅkuor (Tib. loanword).

Ridge-piece: chung-leang (Chin.) = center beam.

Red-hot stone: ts'u-t'an, ch'ü-t'an (Chin.); sõdäṅ; sõdäṅ (7) [see Note 7 above].

Procession around the chorten chamber: sguora (Tib. loanword).

[Pages 77-79 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 79, and the next section begins on p. 620.]

[621 cont.]

852 take no further notice of this ceremony, but drink and dance
553 far into the night; then they gradually scatter. Only the closest relatives of the young mother stay until the next day.

[622]

Word List

192
846 To be in childbed: sara sōdzi = she sits out the month; tsuo yüeh (Chin.).

To terminate the confinement: sara durgeni = she terminates the month.

ch'u-yüeh (Chin.) = to step out of the month.

man-yüeh (Chin.) = to fulfill the month.

[852] Reception of the shepherd: asdzi dzēlie-; ying-yang (Chin.) = to welcome the sheep.

[Page 622 contains the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

852
527

2. The First Birthday*

* See "Notes," pp. 623-625 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[787] On the first birthday the father puts the child on the kang and places various things before it. From the object that the child
[302] grasps it can be seen what it will become in later life. After
[778] that its hair is cut and this is hung on the arrow of good fortune.

[623 cont.]

852 [Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.]
171 down again and grasped a seal. She then no longer paid any attention to the things that lay before her. And now the result: this girl became chancellor of an imperial realm." -- The oracle at this birthday celebration corresponds essentially with that of the Tujen.

527 The Tujen celebrate birthdays otherwise, too, both men and women, but only from the forty-fifth year on. A feast is held, at which all the relatives take part. As presents, nine loaves of bread are customary. Eight steamed loaves signify the eight genii, pa-hsien, and one loaf represents the god of age, shou-hsing (star of age). Towards sundown, all go outside to the graves and give the ancestral offering. Then they go home and drink and dance into the night. -- As the names show, this custom is also borrowed from the Chinese. The Tujen originally had no ancestral offering; to the Chinese, on the other hand, the arrow of good fortune and the dance with song are foreign.

[769]

[177]
[769]

• 192

Word List

[844] To give birth: tōrō-.
[527] Birthday: tōrōdzān udur; or contracted, tōrōdzūdur.
To celebrate the birthday: tōrōdzūdur noġdzi-.
That woman has given birth: nie bieri tōrōdzia.
When were you born? tsini kidzie tōrōwa?
Yes, I am really celebrating: noġdzidza ligunadzi.

192 776 [623 cont.]
The three world-spirits: dier xsēm sañrēdzi (6) (Tib. manner of speaking).

6. [Foreign text p. 625.]
dier xsēm sañrēdzi: xsēm = Tib. gsum = three; sañrēdzi = Tib. sañs -rgyas = widespread splendor = Buddhistic title for incarnation. -- dier cannot be identified; it must be Tibetan, however, and mean the same as "region, world." I would like to connect it with the three worlds of the Bon; cf. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], p. 139; Francke, Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 5 ff. -- This tripartition is also familiar to the Chinese; one has only to think of the Taoistic san-ching or the Buddhistic san-chieh.

192 777 The five blessings of good fortune: wu-fu (Chin.).

[Pages 623-625 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[625] 527 3. The New Year's Festival*

* See "Notes," pp. 628-629 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[171] [574] The New Year is celebrated by the Tujen at the same time as by the Chinese. In the first days they rest from all work,

[628 cont.]

527
[533]
[883]

[Note on foreign text pp. 628-629 cont.]
one couple is seen disappearing off to one side. Concerning the types of songs, cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder."

After the fifteenth day the common workaday life begins again. The many oil-loaves, however, are eaten for a long time.
[262]

[539]
[533]

Song: On New Year's the following song is popularly sung:

1. On New Year's one makes a kowtow to the sky, burns incense, and then one eats.
2. If you observe the laws of the emperor, in later life you will become a minister
3. If you do not forget the kind deeds of the parents, you will later live long.

•192
527

Word List

New Year: šeni sara = new month.
To celebrate the New Year: šeni sara nogdzini.
Last day of the old year: tsiafudzarē šēlõñ = of the thirtieth evening.
udurdza xuāmuo = day - late.
To slaughter pigs: xgeni ala-.
To bake oil-baking: tsiāñguor tsina-.
[252] To distill wine: dērasēñgē dzinlie-.
To roll thin noodles: narin šēlõñge dielge-.
To steam pastry: šēmieñge dzinlie-.
To bake Tachur bread: tagur šdimieñge sira-.
To celebrate the thirtieth when it grows dark: xara wolgu tsiafudzar nogdzi-.
Please do not sleep today, the gods are to be welcomed early tomorrow morning: niu šēlõñ bi ndēra, malõñ siernege purgan dzēliegu-.
To burn a little stick of incense: gudzi šda-; shao-hsiang (Chin.).
To burn paper: bio šda; shao huang piao (Chin.).

192 [628 cont.]
527 The welcoming of joy: ying hsi (Chin.).

[Pages 628-629 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[630] 4. The Age-blessing*

527
778
888

* See "Notes," pp. 634-635 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[792] Old people, men and women, invite the lama to bless and instruct them. This is a great family festival. It is prepared a long time in advance.

On a certain day acquaintances and relatives come and bring the old person presents and gratulate him. They are treated with tea and cake. There is singing and dancing and a [574] feast is held. The young people fetch the hutukhtu. When he arrives, the women of the village dance, and incense is burned in the yard. The hutukhtu blesses the guests at the feast and the old person.

In the afternoon the age-consecration is performed. The hutukhtu makes a number of tormas, which are carried off. Then the old person kneels on the felt mat before the hutukhtu, is blessed with holy water, receives instructions, and is girdled with a yellow sash. He then resembles a lay monk. The mother's [792] brother determines what compensation the hutukhtu is to receive. [465] The next morning the hutukhtu returns to his monastery.

The consecrated person must now observe special commandments, must withdraw on the first and fifteenth of the [785] month for meditation, and fast and pray. -- Not all people can afford this celebration, for it is very expensive.

[631 cont.]

527
778
888
792
[604]

[Note on foreign text p. 634 cont.] prominent position of the mother's brother is particularly striking.

Arrival of the lama: The day before or early in the morning, horsemen have ridden to the lamasery to fetch the hutukhtu. He comes towards midday and is led into the house with the usual ceremonies. On the threshing floor before the yard gate the women dance and sing with all their might. In the yard the incense offering is burned and the conch [632] is blown. The lama is led to the kang in the main house; there he rests and drinks tea.

[604] After a considerable time, the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies introduce themselves to him, give him a hada, and request him to bless the guests at the celebration. Outside, before the door of the main house, he sits down on a chair, and all pass by with bent heads, the mother's brother first. The hutukhtu touches the crown or the forehead of each one with his heavy prayer book. This is called the lama-blessing, from which the entire ceremony gets its name (2). --

[788]

2. [Foreign text p. 634.] Cf. chapter, "Reception of the Lama." I could ascertain no name other than lama ndziala; ndziala has a whole series of meanings, among others: to invite a hutukhtu. Because the age-consecration is the greatest familial religious event to which the hutukhtu is invited, it is simply called the "invitation." It is a ceremony in which a special relationship to monasticism is established through the consecration.

[192]

The person to be consecrated does not come, but waits until later.

[633 cont.]

798
796

[857]
[527]

[Note on foreign text pp. 634-635 cont.] The informant once mentioned a kind of baptism at which the dǯawdzi (Tib.) is prayed; in Chinese this prayer is called hsi-lien-ching, prayer of washing the face. Evidently the [635] ceremony observed by Filchner was such a boy's baptism; Om mani padme hum, loc. cit. Later there follows a second consecration for young people, which is called gãṅsgur (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 below] after the corresponding prayer, in Chinese san-hun ching, prayer of the three souls. So the informant told me. Unfortunately I could no longer record these ceremonies.

192

Word List

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Age-consecration: šge lama ndziala- = great lama-invitation.

Master of ceremonies: kãṅguo.

To fetch the hutukhtu: ǯdzõ niwa (twice) (or dãṅwu, if the first time).

[601]

Mother's brother: nẽgã; achiu (Chin.); ayãṅ.

Mother's brother's son: ku-chiu (Chin.).

[292]

Sash: gẽdzãn (Tib. loanword) (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 635.] gẽdzãn: Tibetan gazn = the yellow sash of the lama costume. -- gõṅsõn: Tib. dgoṅ = solitude, soṅ = to go away; meaning, "to go into solitude." -- gẽlõṅba: Tib. dge = virtue, sloṅ = to apply oneself, pa = belonging to; meaning, "one who applies himself to virtue." -- gesnien: Tib. dge = virtue, bsñen = to approach. -- gãṅsgur:

[785]

[633 cont.]

192
778
888
527

[Note on foreign text p. 635 cont.]
Tib. dbaṅ = force, bskur = to consecrate, to transfer. This is a ceremony of the transference of force, at which each lama receives a secret name (Unkrig).

To admit to lama standing with prayer: gēsnien dzĕwla-.
[785] To observe a day of meditation: pi-chai (Chin.); gõṅsõṅ (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Member of the Yellow Church: gēlõṅba (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Pages 634-635 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[635] 5. Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation*

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* See "Notes," pp. 650-658 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

763 If someone is close to death, his clothes are taken off,
764 if he is wearing any on the kang. He is washed, shaved, or in the case of a woman the hair is dressed, and tied in a crouching position immediately after the last breath. A piece of cloth is thrown over the shoulder, which is the sole garment of the dead.

764 Then he is put in a death-box, which looks like a portable house, and propped up with straw. The box is placed on the floor in a room, and the closest relatives hold a death-watch there. At each meal the people bring some of the food in front of the death-box, burn paper, and kowtow. Each

775 [636 cont.]
763
778
[278]
•[192]

[Note on foreign text pp.650-651]. conceptions, to be sure, it cannot ensoul the dead corpse again, but it nonetheless brings the dead to life in another rebirth. -- W. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, also mentions this pill on p. 400 under the name rilu, and in Note 1683 under the Tibetan way of writing it, ril bu. It is clear that the Tujen pronunciation reru (ruru) is merely a corruption of the Tibetan word. Ch. Das has two ways of writing it, ril po and ril bu (with the l silent); he translates both as "ball, globule," [cited in English], and for ril bu he also adds "pill" [cited in English], [651] without any further designations for them (pp. 1184-85). This ruru is to be distinguished from nuru, the Tib. nor bu or cintāmani, the Buddhistic wishing-jewel. -- According to the conception of the lamas and of the people, the ruru pill reproduces itself; cf. the chapter, "Earth-god Urn." Sometimes one meets lamas who firmly believe that Europeans, too, have this wonder pill of long life, which is why they live much longer than the Chinese and the Tibetans; they claim to know that there are people in Europe who are several hundred years old.

[648]

rebirth that he comes from a wealthy position and will again acquire gold and silver. Butter is the most superior daily food and is supposed to be that again in the later life.

[262]

[642 cont.]

764 604 775 177 of the soul, according to the saying: if the mother's brother does not open his mouth, the dead cannot migrate. When the soul has no more demands to make on this world, then it leaves house and home. Its demands are advocated by the mother's brother (17). --

17. [Foreign text pp. 655-656.] The people do not agree about the origin and meaning of this ceremony. The Chinese say that it was copied from them; the Tujen claim that it is an old custom of their ancestors. -- The Chinese also have the name bäda (pai-ta); they also say pai-wai for it. They have no special explanation for pai-ta; they interpret pai-wai as "to profit, to tain an advantage." There is no character for either word. This would not be so important, however, since there is a great number of dialectal expressions for which there are no characters. -- The informant believes that bäda is a Tujen word and means "to profit, to gain," exactly like the Chinese pai-wai. If this custom does not occur farther to the east, which would have to be investigated, then one could conceive of it as a borrowing from the Tujen.

[192]

The pai-ta of the Chinese is somewhat more extensive. First there is the donning of the white mourning cap, tai-hsiao, then the viewing of the corpse, wang-ku, that is, to view the bones; the mother's brother in this role is called ku-chu, that is, bones-master, an expression that the Tujen also have. Then follows the speech of the mother's brother, pai-wai. And when the negotiations on this

[646 cont.]
000 each and two ells of cloth.

765 At the next grave festival, which usually falls in the third
[769] lunar month, all the relatives gather at the kin-group cemetery for the offering to the dead; at that time the bone-chest is also transferred to it. A number of men go to the old burial spot at the place of cremation, dig up the chest, and bring [647] it to the cemetery without any ceremony. There they dig a small
[561] hole and put the chest in it. This is done only by men who are
[593] of the same generation as the dead person or of a lower generation. A father, for instance, would never bury his son, nor the uncle his nephew, etc.

765 As soon as the pit has been filled, the offering for the
769 dead takes place; the relatives burn paper and little sticks of incense, set down loaves of bread, meat, etc., pour out tea,
[782] liquor, and soup, and hold a little meal at the grave. Then everyone goes home. -- The transfer of the bones, however, need not be done at the next grave festival; sometimes one waits two or three years. The bones may not be interred, however, outside the period of the grave festival (21).

[192] 21. [Foreign text pp. 656-657.]
The Tujen word sěǹ-miǹ is evi-
[177] dently merely a phonetic imitation of the Chinese ch'ing-ming. The informant said that the Tujen did not know about the grave festival in olden times, but that they have copied it from the Chinese, which indeed is confirmed by the precisely identical rites and the asserted former exposure of the corpse. -- The postponement [657] of a final interment of the bones until this feast, however, remains unexplained, especially since the Chinese usually bury their dead immediately in the cemetery. The
[777] informant observed in this connection that the Chinese inter their dead on

[649 cont.]

792 an actual corpse were present. On the day set this sheet of paper
766 is burned in the field, but quite simply, without any oven and without a lama. No one bothers with the ashes. The lama writes
[212] the name on a second sheet, however, and this is put in the bone-chest, which is buried at the place of the burning (23) until the

[171]

23. [Foreign text p. 657.] The neighboring Chinese have a similar custom. They place the ancestral tablet of the dead person in a little coffin and bury it in the cemetery. This interment has legal force; when it is undertaken, it is regarded as proof that the person is actually dead. A parallel is found among the Chinese in the proxy wedding with a stuffed straw-man.

[212] transfer to the kin-group cemetery takes place at the grave festi-val. -- The signs that the lama writes are Tibetan.

Word List

• 192
764 Cremation: ġaldë awu- = to put in the fire.

To die: ugei (guei) wōldzia = he has passed away.

He died sitting: sōwa guei wōldzia; tsuo-hua (Chin.) = transformed sitting.

Death of a bonze: niesā sdzia = he has flown away. yū-hua (Chin.) = feathered transformed.

Death of a lama: siaġladzia = he has turned to nothing.

[775] He is reborn: härga (xara) rëdzia = he has come back; sdziewa.

One has put him in the crouching position: ndañlalġadzia = he has been put in equilibrium.

The dead person: guei woldzañ kun = departed person.

Death clothing (shoulder hanging): bōw-la (Tib. loanword) = white garment.

Death lament: dō tedzi ula.

192 [649 cont.]
764 Death box: odõṅ.
Bone-chest: mula odõṅ = little death-box.
[354] Water-lamp: fdzë dzülа.
Paper-bowl: tsialdzë pendzë.
To wear the clothing reversed: diela furula mõsë.
Prayer tea: rgë tsia.
[785] Prayer for the dead: xar(i)dzän kunë xuenuo mani sguorluo- = (to pray) in behalf of the deceased person afterwards the mani in the circle.
Prayer fee for the lama: mbõ (Tib. loanword).
Prayer alms: odõṅ dzied = death-box alms.
192 Own family: dzienäni kudë.
601 Relatives on the father's side: dzienani šäni = own relatives, those with the same family name.
Relatives on the mother's side, affinity through marriage: urog̃. Those with different family names.
[608] Artificial kinship: šäni funi = kinship-smoke. Neighbors and friends who take the place of relatives in performing services at the reception of guests, cremation, etc.

[650]
[764] Bone-master, mother's brother: tsiġän yesëni daxu = the owner of the white bones;
ku-chu (Chin.).
Mother's brother: nëġä; achiu (Chin.).
Nephew (sister's son): dzie; wai-sheng (Chin.).
Son-in-law: kurgien; nü-hsü (Chin.).
Sister: agü.
Daughter: fsdzün.
192 He died as a rider: tsürog morina bagaldilä sdzia fugudzia.
He died as a settler: sänrëdzi liela guei wõldzia.
764 Burned bones: xuodzën yäsë = dry bones.
Crematory: taw (tab) (Tib.).
Lighting pole: xuämbar.
Lay bonze: lao shih-fu (Chin.) = old master.
Demand for an accounting: bäda; pai-ta (Chin.).
769 Grave festival: ch'ing-ming (Chin.); sëṅ-miṅ (21) [see Note 21 above].
192

[650 cont.]

192 Western paradise: hsi-lo shih-chieh (Chin.) = world of joys.

[775] Oil fir: yu-sung mu (Chin.).

[262] Thin flat-bread made with flour: kan pin-ping (Chin.) = little dry cakes.

[Pages 650-658 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 658 and the next section begins on p. 822.]

782 [822]

241

114

V. Customs concerning Agriculture and Livestock

1. The Sowing and Harvest Thanksgiving Festivals * (1)

* See "Notes," p. 823 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[113]

1. [Foreign text p. 823.] For this subject, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Das Herbst-Dankopfer der Tujen im Sining-Gebiet [The Harvest Thank-offering of the Tujen in the Sining Region]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-45, 867-873. -- The report there presents only the offering from the harvest thanksgiving festival as the old man described it at that time. It is interesting to point out that he seized upon this offering as typical of the festival and mentioned the entire celebration only incidentally, always with the indication that the shamans actually had nothing to do with the offering. When I later asked him why he had not described the entire festival in

[828 cont.]

241 789 821

[Note on foreign text p. 830 cont.] weather conjuration of this region still seems to be an inheritance from the Bon. The conditions and customs connected with it are strongly reminiscent of the description given by A. Tafel for the Bon in eastern Tibet, Tibetreise, II, pp. 198 ff.

241 789 778 The first four tormas represent evil demons. They are driven away by the throwing. The extra features are given so that they will be content and will not return; they are things which one needs in daily life.

[782] The second torma, weather-torma, represents the spirits of the weather ministry. The extra features are an offering to make them favorably disposed.

The mountain-torma represents the world-mountain. Sun and moon circle around it. This mountain is the spirit paradise. It is put under the pole so that the spirits will withdraw into this paradise and leave the human beings.

The wedges represent the magic dagger of the smith-god and his subordinates. They are the chief weapons against demons. [791] The Bon priest is also a pupil and subordinate of this smith-god. He especially venerates him and likewise uses the three-edged magic dagger in conjuring away the demons. At the temple [535] dances (tscham dances) the subordinate spirits of the weather-smith-god also appear with the dagger. Lamas never use the dagger. The three notches form three knobs which are supposed to represent the human skull. The demons especially fear this, [765] like all things that come from the dead, such as the bone flute, the whip of human skin, and the skull drum.

● 192 [829] Word List

241 789 The pole-goat: aradziãn (Tib. loanword) = to stretch out the goat.

[778] ima rẽdziala (Tujen) = to stretch out the goat.

The goat: ima; chũ-la (Chin.); chia-la (Chin.).

[829 cont.]

192 Weather-prayer: dirĕdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword) (8).
241 lei-pu ching (Chin.) - weather ministry prayer.
789
[782]

8. [Foreign text p. 830.] xsertsien: Tibetan gser = golden, skyem = drink. It is the Mongolic altan umdagan, golden drink, poured out at the obo offering, the tea offering before the obo. An offering to the local gods. --guax: Tibetan skyeg (pronounced kag) = misfortune. --mpuru: Tibetan p'ur bu = nail, peg; can also be a god's name. --satsiog: Tibetan sa = place, skyon = to guard, to preserve; king, protector. --darnag: Tibetan dar = silk, nag = black (Unkrig).

[778] Misfortune-torma: guax (8) [see Note 8 above] sdor (Tib.).
Weather-torma: dirdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword)? cf. weather-prayer.
Mountain-torma: rira (Tib. loanword) = world-mountain, Sumeru, mandala.
Magic dagger: mpuru (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above]; ting-shen-chuang; spirit peg (Chin.).
To notch: nduodba (Tib.?).
Magic formulas: snag (sĕnog).
[791] Bon priest second class: xuāndie; sĕnogsa (snagsa) (Tib. loanword). peng-po (Chin.).
Weather conjuration: satsion (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above.]
The black hada (on the dagger): chao-t'ien p'a (Chin.) = the sky-covering veil.
darnag (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].
The black string: fsiasga (Tib. loanword) = lasso for capturing horses.
k'un-hsien sheng (Chin.): the genii-binding string.

[Pages 829-830 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[833 cont.]

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782

[Note on foreign text pp. 834-835 cont.] have been invited often receive a loin, jou-fang-tzu (Chin.), that is, "meat square," or a thigh, etc. These are not cooked, but are laid aside for this purpose.

For the rest, there are always minor variations, but always the following sequence: purification (washing), slaughtering, offering, meal. Slaughtering, offering, and meal may sometimes be distributed over various days.

[171] the custom among Chinese, but not generally. The Chinese, however, do not go on the mountains for this purpose, but make the offering in the local temple.

Word List

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782

To sacrifice a sheep on the mountain: uladë xoni šënlie- (šënlie-)
Offering throw: dziarin uguo = to give throwing away.
p'ao-ts'an (Chin.) = to throw away.
Own area: dzienani satsia.
Empty utensils: huodzën sawa;
k'ung chia-shih (Chin.).

[Pages 834-835 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[835]

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4. The Procession around the Field*

*See "Notes," pp. 838-839 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[837 cont.]

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177

[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.] is no longer held in many places. And this seems to be all the more the case the farther eastward one goes, in other words, into Chinese territory.

Thus it may be asserted with some degree of probability that the field procession is of neither Chinese nor Lamaistic origin. With the Sinicization of the Tujen, and the Fandse in particular, it was still practiced initially, then fell into disuse more and more, and finally was completely lost. -- On the other hand, non-original elements have been added, such as the Buddhist books and the Chinese musical instruments, probably also the god-litter, which almost always shelters the Chinese Niang-niang, the mother deity, and finally also the Chinese incense and the offering paper.

The Chinese thunderbolt procession will be described in more detail in a separate work. Here it should merely be noted that it is connected with the weather forts. These are found only in Tsinghai and its border region to southern Kansu. They might well belong to a shamanistic cycle of ideas.

[838] Word List

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782

Procession around the field: sguora (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 839.] sguora: Tibetan skor = to circle around (Unkrig).

192
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782
624
794
534

[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor:	tōrōdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.
Trumpet:	dōñ; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.
Cymbals:	nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rēbuoğē (?). ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.
Flags:	ch'i-tzu (Chin.).
Books:	luān = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.
Book-bearers:	luān rēgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

600

VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

* See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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825
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782
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791

When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

[842 cont.]

778 -- The name of the animals, however, is not taken from the
[825] deity concerned, but from the consecration band. Thus, the animals are called consecrated horse, consecrated sheep, etc. The Chinese say "sacred horse," "sacred sheep," etc.

Consecration bands: The bands are simply called "the consecrated." Although all the sacred colors are permissible, red or yellow is preferred for them. It does not matter where the band comes from or what material it is made of. Hada strips, pieces of clothing, wool or silk threads, anything is permitted. The size varies, but on the average it is an ell long and two fingers wide.

The band is supposed to be tied on the front part of the body and on the upper half of the animal, for instance, on the mane, forelock, or shoulder. In the case of hens one slings it around the neck. If the animal loses the band, it is not replaced. -- One can also tear off a band from the spirit-spear, from the spirit-litter, etc. In that case, however, it must later be replaced. Nevertheless these bands are not especially fumigated; they are already pure through their earlier designation (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 843-844.]
There are two names for the bands on the consecrated animal, which are valid both before the consecration and after the consecration. The one is the name šdien, exactly as
[192] for the bands on the consecrated spirit-seats (spirit-spear, -table, -litter). But whereas in that case one can call the object together with the bands šdien, here the animal together with the band is never called šdien,
[825] but only the band alone, an indication that the consecrated animal is not regarded as possessed by the spirit.

[842 cont.]

778
192

[Note on foreign text pp. 843-844 cont.]

The second name is šdier; šdier corresponds to the Mongolic seter; cf. DMF, p. 335, "sdier, ribbon or piece of material attached to the tail or to the mane of an animal consecrated to the deities running free. Cf. Mong. seter, ord. se't'er id." [translated from French]. -- The Tujen designate both the consecration band and the consecrated animal with šdier. This likewise agrees with Mongolic linguistic usage. According to W.A.Unkrig (communication), seter is a [844] band that is tied in the animal's mane or tail. seter also refers to the animal itself and the rite by which it is consecrated. For seter, Kovalevskij (1346) gives the Tibetan equivalents bsruṅ rtags. According to Jäschke (594 and 212) this means: tutelary-spirit sign, through which it is clear that the animal belongs to the tutelary spirit. Neither Jäschke nor Das have the word combination bsruṅ rtags.

778
[791] Renewal of the consecration: Usually the renewal takes place in the local temple. The soothsayer determines which day between the new and the full moon. This day of renewal must then be maintained for the life of the animal.

One may also choose the original place of consecration. -- Consecration-master, consecration-god, and consecration-animal must always remain the same. Only if an animal no longer shakes itself when the milk is poured over it is another one taken.

Also, old lost bands are not replaced at the renewal, but
[211] every year a new band is added, so the years of consecration can be determined by the number of bands.

[171] Distribution: The animal-consecration is practiced wherever Tujen live. The Chinese do not know it; only in

[842 cont.]

192

Word List

778 Consecration-band: šdier (Tib. loanword).
hung-tzu (Chin.) = the red.

To tie on the consecration-band: šdier fuya-.

[825] The consecration-animal: šdier.

Sacred horse: šdier mori; sheng ma (Chin.).

Sacred sheep: šdier xoni; sheng yang (Chin.).

Sacred goat: šdier ima; sheng chia-la (Chin.), etc.

[Pages 842-844 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[844]

000

2. The Demon-escort *

* See "Notes," pp. 846-847 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

789 The demon-escort consists of leading the harmful spirit
[791] out of the house and releasing it in the distance. It is done upon
[777] the command of the soothsayer in case of family misfortune.

On a set day one invites a lama to the house. He prays
[792] for six days with the usual ceremonies and makes several tormas
[778] with the appropriate additions, as on other occasions. The
[782] compound is taboo, and the master of the household makes the great incense offering three times a day.

In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes the actual
[778] demon-torma, which, with all kinds of provisions for travel, is
[792] placed on a table in front of the household altar.

On the seventh day one takes the torma, along with a
[825] riding animal carrying the travel provisions, outside the village

[846 cont.]

789 If an evildoer steals the animal or the things,[1] the
776 demon will punish him.
688

Word List

192 Demon escort: rēdzõnwa (Tib.?) ġarġani = one takes away
789 that which is to be taken away.
[778] The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].
Saddlebag: dadzē (Chin. loanword).
Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[847]

000 3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

751 Report
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789 . . . In order to protect the children from misfortune, one
791 invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then
[777] they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.
[778] On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter
[782] and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing. There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

1 [i.e - the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST.]

[849 cont.]

784
755

[Note on foreign text p. 850 cont.] and to the demon-escort. I could not ascertain from the notes whether the Bon priest touches the sick person with the figures and thus transfers the sickness to them, as is the case with the shamanistic figure-conjuration. Cf. the following chapter, Note 5.

Word List

192
789 Figure-litter: šergundi; made up of šē (Tib.) = demon, rēgun = nine (Tib.); ndi (Tib.?) = complete (3) (5).
[778]

3. [Foreign text p. 850.] This explanation by the informant is uncertain.

5. [Foreign text p. 850.] šergundi: Tibetan bse = demon, dgu = nine, k'ri (pronounced thi) = litter. Meaning: nine-demons' litter. -- šbawog: Tibetan sbal (pronounced bal) = toad, frog; nag = black (Unkrig).

[791] Bon priest: xuāndzie (xuāndie).
[778] Demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.).
[829] Sheep: xoni.
Goat: imā.
Hen: tagu.
Pig: xge.
Dog: nogue (noxue).
Snake: mogue.
Frog: šbawog (5) [see Note 5 above].
Horse: mori.
Cattle: ulā.

192 [849 cont.]
789 Raven's feather: kẽrie fõdẽ.
He has painted the demon on paper: tsialdzẽrẽ ilieni xuarladzia.
[778] Horse's skull: mori tolguẽ yãsẽ.
Little-bearer: ndi kurgẽdzin kun = men accompanying the whole (litter?) away.

[Pages 849-850 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[850]

000

4. The Figure-conjuration * (1)

* See "Notes," pp. 851-182 [of foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

755 [192] 1. [Foreign text p. 851.] I could not obtain any clarification concerning the actual name. It seems that the rdzõn in rdzõnwa is the same as in dzõnrẽ. The ceremony is quite similar to the one with the figure-litter.

[789]

Report

[756] In case of very severe illness one invites in a shaman who makes a series of figures, touches the sick person with them, and takes away the figures in the evening for burning.

[789] Afterwards he buries a series of objects in order to hold [357] down the sickness-demon. The compound remains taboo for all strangers during this time, three, five, seven, or nine days, [784] depending upon the sickness involved.

[851 cont.]

755 can no longer see where the things are buried.

[789 787 756] Now all go into the house. The shaman awakes from his trance.

Word List

192 755 Figure-conjuration: rdzõ̃ñwa (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1 above], (5) [see Note 5 above], (6)

6. [Foreign text p. 852] rdzõ̃ñwa or dzõ̃ñre: At the base of these two words lies the Tibetan stem rdsons = to take away (pronounced: dzon). sirmdzin: Mongolic sira modon = yellow-wood. It is an especially hard kind of wood, Phellodendron amurense (Unkrig).

[778] Figures (little men): rdzõ̃ñrë (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Raw meat: tõgõ maxa.

Black food-bowl: xara ïga.

Black vessel: xara pëndzë.

Knife: tsidëġuo.

Magic dagger: siral(dzin) (6) [see Note 6 above] mpuru = yellow-wood magic-dagger.

Chain: fsiasġa.

Iron from the town gate: badzër-udie timur.

000 [Pages 851-852 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[852] 5. The Washing of the Sick*

* See "Notes," p. 854 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation the notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[853 cont.]
755 in the hearth fire until the water boils and the cloth and barley
are thoroughly boiled. He hands this decoction to the sick person
756 who must drink it down immediately. With that the ceremony
is ended.

[854] The shaman rests from his exertions, eats his supper, and goes home.

192
755

Word List

Washing the sick:	ġuāndzi (xuāndzie) fdzē ʼsdani = the shaman boils water.
[756] Sword-shaman:	sgurdien.
Knife:	tsidiġuo.
Lock:	tsūrġuo.
Red-hot stone:	sōdaṅ; ts'u-t'an (ch'ü-t'an) (Chin.).
Barley liquor:	miṅ-liu dērasē.
Flowers:	tsidziġ.
Prayer texts:	dzayañ (1).

1. dzayañ: Mongolic ḍayaġan (pronounced ḍayan) = fortune, fate, etc.; meaning: prayer of fate (Unkrig).

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6. The House-purification *

* See "Notes," p. 855. [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

755 If someone is seriously ill, then the shaman, with the
789 men of the household, undertakes a house-purification. On this
756 occasion the demon is conjured out of the house in a straw doll,
[783] dragged out of the village, and burned.

[855 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.]
about himself with sword and lance,
hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up
a straw man, swung a winnowing
shovel and a sieve, danced, and
foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

•192

Word List

755 House-purification: rdzõ̀ňwa (rëdzõ̀ňwa).
789 The torch: huo-pa (Chin.).
[416] The stones: taše; sa-shih (Chin.).
Oil-basin: ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
Fire-arrow: ġal sëmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
Fire-bow: ġal lëmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
The hemp whip: uhuosë yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
The hen: tagū; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here = to live.
[778] The straw man: šdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

[856]

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7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 858 cont.]
fortune, which consists of several conchoidal eggs and is surrounded with flames, nuru. This is found very often in Lamaistic symbolism and is also borne by the air-horse. It is the cintāmani. Cf. above: "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation," Note 2.

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Persons: The urn can only be made by a lama who possesses special powers. One never fetches a Living Buddha for it. The latter, however, may make and consecrate them in his monastery. -- Since one can also order the urns in the monastery (they are not in stock), the master of the household may fetch it from there and bury it at home without a lama. [791] It must always be done with the assistance of a soothsayer, however, and in the presence of an invoked spirit -- If one wants to bury several urns, however, this must always be done by a lama even if the urns were bought in the monastery. -- If one wants to have several urns made at home, then he fetches [35] [784] several lamas at the same time (5). -- Regardless of whether the

5. [Foreign text pp. 858-859.]
As the lamas in Kumbum maintain, there is a great number of treasure urns, and special prayers are used for each type. [859] The urns are preferably buried in obos. -- In Kumbum the urns are usually called [192] benba, which seems to be the same as the Tibetan bum-ba, vessel. Another name is xdĕr-wĕm, which probably corresponds to the Tibetan gter-bum, treasure vessel, Chinese pao-p'ing. The expression sĕnoġ-dĕr (cf. section, "Mani-tree and Central Fort") perhaps [778]

[857 cont.]

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[778]
[192]
[784]
[357]

[Note on foreign text pp. 858-859 cont.] comes from the fact that the urn is consecrated with certain conjuration formulas, snags (dha-rani), in other words, represents a magic treasure. urn is buried by one or more lamas or by the master of the household, the compound is always taboo during this time.

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[778]

[858] Place: The place at which the urn is buried must always be chosen in such a way that no person or domestic animal can desecrate it. No one may run across such a place. For this reason roads and public places are avoided, for the place is, after all, not specially marked. Otherwise the urn may be buried anywhere, in the fields or in the pasture, in the yard or in the house. Indeed, one may even set it in yard and room walls and wall it up.

[776]
[777]

Significance: The contents of the urn are the treasures and yield of the earth, everything that belongs in the realm of the earth-god or of the mountain-spirit. One wants to please these two spirits through these valuables so that they will hold down the evil earth-influences and protect human beings from misfortune. It is as though gifts were being given to persons in office (6).

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6. [Foreign text pp. 859-860.] According to this explanation, an offering to the earth-god is involved. The interpretation, however, might not suffice. One must consider the urn in its wider context. It repeatedly occurs in Tujen usage, with the arrow of good fortune, with the round manger, in the obo, in the chorten chamber, and, to be sure, in twofold form: in the one case as the seat of a deity, which through the formula scroll,

[858 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
for instance, at the erection of the weather fort, in the case of knife-climbing, disease exorcism, etc.

Word List

Earth-god: ġlu (glē).
Earth-god urn: sēnoġ-der; sēnoġ (Tib.) = to meditate; der (Tib.) = urn, bottle.
To buy an urn: sēnoġ-der bula; bula = to buy; but used only for the consecrated urn, otherwise "to buy" is called awu-.

Contents of the urn: rdzē (Tib.) (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 860.]
Concerning rdzē, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 4. These additions are for the greater part designated by the Chinese as yao (yüo) and are not to be thought of merely in the sense of medicine. Everything possible that has a special effect falls under yao: minerals, powder, spices, little pieces of shell, gold, and silver, and the filling of the treasure urn. Lamas from Kumbum and Bengbar told me that there are about 30 to 40 types of treasure urns with different fillings. One of the most valuable is the one that contains mani-ruru (little balls). These little balls multiply, they "cast young," as the people say, and fill up the entire urn; cf. section, "Customs concerning the Dead," Note 2. Ch. Das (p. 874) calls the urn additions bum rdsas: "twenty-five articles (comprising

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 860 cont.] consecrated objects and various sorts of medicines) required to be kept in the sacred-pot which contains the sacred water" [cited in English]. In his case, however, the holy-water urn, bum pa, is involved. Cf. the chapter above, "The Incense Offering."

All kinds of filling:	yilẽ tawa ndzuomladzi = all kinds -- filling -- being complete.
Urn binding:	ama budzin = opening-binding.
Sealing wax:	latsia (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 860.] latsia: comes from the Chinese; la-cha = sealing wax. nuru: Tib. nor bu; also called yid-bžin = a treasure that one desires (Unkrig).

[778] Jewel of good fortune:	nuru (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].
Buddha gold:	fo-chin (Chin.).
Coral:	ßurẽ.
Mother-of-pearl:	mãdoǵ (Tib. loanword).
[824] White rice:	tsiǵan tudurǵa; no-mi (Chin.).
Yellow rape:	sira yãnsgar; shen-ts'ai-tzu (Chin.) = spirit-rape.

[Pages 858-860 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 868-869 cont.] chief of all fire-sacrificials" [cited in English]. -- The DMF, p. 73, likewise has the expression dzuntsioǵ and writes: "name of certain libations and offerings" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. t'sogs, "sacrificial offering" [cited in English]. Then it presents the expression lama dzuntsioǵ fudzuruna (= surina) and writes: "the lama performs the libations" [translated from French]. There can be no question of a libation here, and the ... tsioǵ (ts'og) is also not the Tibetan tsogs, which, according to Ch. Das (pp. 1032, 1033), means "accumulation," and, in connection with 'k'or, "offering in a circle (mandala)." Although the informant did not primarily emphasize the fire-offering, he nonetheless translated the dzuntsioǵ with the Chinese tao huo-t'an = literally, to pour on the fire surface = to undertake the fire-pouring. F. Lessing (p. 150) has for this the expression huo-t'an-i-kuei, roughly, rite of the fire-terrace.

782 just as important as the fire-ceremony. -- The fire-pouring is
792 widespread among the Tujen and Fandse. It is also undertaken
[17] in the lamic monasteries.

Word List (8)

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8.[Foreign text pp. 869-870.] In addition to the names mentioned here, I also learned in the Mongol lamasery Tsa-tsang-szu and in the neighboring monastery Fu-hai szu or Hsin-szu (Guăm-basoma) west

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]
of Tangkar the following details and variations:

Fire-pouring: żüin (yüin)-tsēǵ; cf. the Tujen corruption dzun-tsioǵ.

Ground-drawing (mandala): sdziṅkuor (Tib.).

Separation wall: lāmbān (Tib.). Cf. lāngaṅ (Tujen) and lan-kan (Chin.).

Pouring spoon: rgāṅ zār (Tib.).

Butter-spoon (for liquid butter): tombō (Tib.).

Firewood (which is placed in octagonal form on the burning-place): xsiǵ ǵa (Tib.).

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Consecration-wood (which is thrown with the spices into the fire): yām šēṅ (Tib.); cf. the Tujen word yiew siṅ.

Wood for the white fire-pouring: nia-rēx (Tib.) or, according to another pronunciation, niāw rsēǵ (Tib.); hsi-fan liu (Chin.) = Tibetan willow; chi-chua liu (Chin.) = hens-foot-willow.

Black thorn: tsērnaǵ (Tib.); or sdzirwa (Tib.); xara tsitsērnaǵ (Mongol.).

Wood for the red fire-pouring: uombō (Tib.); balaǵ (Mongol.); sa-liu (Chin.), probably the High Chinese sha-liu (= sand willow) is meant.

Tamarisk: sōgā. This word is Mongolic and Tujen in any case. The Chinese also say so-kai for it, evidently an approximation of the sound. I also heard this word from Tibetans. It is likewise used for the red fire-pouring. One prefers these switches for whip handles.

[866 cont.]

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[824]
[322]

[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]

Wood for the yellow fire-pouring: maġa (Tib.); dziãṅma (Mongol.); chien-yang liu (Chin.); the wood is used a great deal for mill wheels; it seems to be a kind of maple. I also saw it a great deal among carvers, who praise it as the best wood for carving.

[778]

Fire-torma: dãmbala (Tib.).

Yellow fire-pouring: sēru dżiwi ẓũin tseġ (Tib.).

Red fire-pouring: ġõngẽ dżiwi ẓũin tseġ (Tib.).

White fire pouring: siwi dżiwi ẓũin tseġ (Tib.).

Black fire-pouring: dẓoġguei dżiwi ẓũin tseġ (Tib.).

Burnt offerings: rdzẽ (Tib., Mongol.).

Butter: marku (Tib.); dasu (Mongol.).

[870]

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Grain: nie (Tib.); tara (Mongol.); the Mongols there designate Tibetan barley, ch'ing-k'o, with tara, which is simply grain.

Wheat: dʒõ (Tib.); budẽ (Mongol.).

Beans: tʂamã (Tib.); burdzieġ (Mongol.).

Barley: sõ (Tib.); sõtara (Mongol.); it is probably a combination of the Tibetan sõ and the Mongolic tara (grain).

White rape: yõṅgur (Tib., Mongol.); pei-ts'ai-tzu (Chin.).

Indian incense grass: gusia (Tib., Mongol.); wei-tzu ts'ao (Chin.); that is, reed. Evidently the kuśa grass designated by Filchner, Kumbum, p. 88 and Note 400, which supposedly stems from India, is involved here.

[866 cont.]

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[824]

[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]
Butter-tsamba: sŭosēn (Mongol.); a mixture to which other additions are added.
Blue flowers: dżēyāṅgē (Tib.); gōxu (according to another dialect, kōku) dzidzigē (Mongol.); lān-ts'ao (Chin.) = blue grass.
Individual additions: tsiawar rdzē (Tib.).
All kinds of additions: ondōṅ rdzē (Tib., Mongol.).

[824]

Monk's herb: durēwā (Tib., Mongol.); ping-ts'ao (Chin.) = ice herb; tao-seng-ts'ao (Chin.) = Taoist-Buddhist monk's herb; instead of seng (monk), the sign for sheng is also written; that may be false, however. It is unclear to me which herb is involved.

All the names have been written according to the dialect of the monks in Tsatsang-szu, who mostly come from the region of Dulān (Tsaidam).

Fire-pouring: dzuntsiog (Tib. loanword) (9), suri = to pour fire-pouring, DMF 73.

9. [Foreign text p. 870.] Tsŭordzi: Tibetan c'os = doctrine, rje = master. The representative of the monastery abbot is designated by it, teacher. -- Kānbō: Tibetan mk'an = master, po = particle. mk'an po = abbot of a monastery, professor, head of a lamasery. -- gāṅsār: Tibetan gaṅ sa? = tube. -- dziāṅgōn: probably arose from the Tibetan gTsaṅ = Tib. province, and sṅo = herb. -- ndoluwa: perhaps is connected with the Tibetan sgrol ba = the goddess Dolma, to

[824]

[866 cont.]

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[824]
[776]

[Note on foreign text p. 870 cont.]
help, to save; otherwise called Tārā. -- gusia: Tibetan ku ša (from the Sanskrit) = botanical Poa cynosuroides. -- sāndoṅmani: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words seṅ (Sanskrit. siṁha) = lion, gdoṅ = face, mani = jewel. It is a goddess. -- šda(m)tsēni: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words rta = horse, mgrin (pronounced din) = neck, also voice; in other words: the horse-necked one, or the horse-voiced one. -- logōṅ: Tibetan klu (pronounced lu) = dragon, and gdoṅ = face. Literally, therefore, dragon-face (Unkrig).

[372] Fire-place: taw (Tib. loanword) = oven, hearth.

[778] Misfortune-torma: ġuaġ dor (Tib.).
ġuaġ = misfortune; prayer said during the preparation of this torma.

Earth-spirit torma: ġlū-šdorma.
Mountain-spirit torma: yifula-šdorma.
Fire-torma: ġal šdorma.
Earth-god spices: ġlu smān (Tib.).
dalān dierān sāmba smān = 74 pieces of spices.

[867]

[532] Measuring string: šdag paġdzin bōdoġ = pattern-drawing string.
Pattern: arasē xuar = leather model; tsialdzē xuar = paper model.

Burning-place drawing (mandala): tawni xuar.

[333] Wall: lāṅgāṅ (Chin. loanword).
Pouring tube: šge gāṅsār (Tib. loanword) = large spoon.
Ladling spoon for butter: mula gāṅsār = little spoon.
Spoon (profane): dzieġliu (Tujen).

[372] Cloth fan: ki yīelwa = air-cloth.
rlōṅ yāg (Tib.).
Cloth (profane): bosē.

[867 cont.]

192 Lighting pole: xuāmbar.

782 Flint and steel: kidie.

[372] Fire struck with flint and steel: kidie ġal = flint-and-steel fire.

Ordinary fire: arāṅka ġal.

At the fire-pouring pouring there is no loss through bad weather: dsuntsioġ surēwa, dierdzia ṡdzūen uguei.

At the black fire-pouring pouring the demons flee: xara dzuntsioġ surewa, mō iliesgē xuoluode pusa sdzia (sdzim).

[372] Firewood: taw siṅ (Tib.) = oven-wood.

Consecration-wood: yiew (ziew) -siṅ (Tib.).

192 Tibet-herbs: dziāhgōṅ (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

782 tsang ts'ao (Chin.) = Tib. herb.

824 Tibet-flowers: kānba (Tib. loanword).

ta t'ou mao hsiang (Chin.).

White grass (from Tsinghai): ndoluwā (9) [see Note 9 above]; pai-ts'ao (Chin.).

Tibetan hard grass (reed): gusia (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

tsang hsi-chi (Chin.).

Tamarisk?: guānbō (xuānbo); sōgā.

Poplar wood: mōdē = wood.

White thorn: siraldzin = yellow thorn.

Black thorn: xara rēguodzē.

192 Horse-god: ṡdamtsēni (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

782 ma-wang (Chin.).

Cattle-god: ndigsier (Tib. loanword); niu-wang (Chin.).

776 Lion-god: sāndoṅmani (Tib. loanword); shih-wang (Chin.) (9) [see Note 9 above].

Water-faced Buddha: logon rēdziawu (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

shuei-lien p'usa (Chin.).

[Pages 867-870 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 870 of Vol. 47, and the next section begins on p. 202 of Vol. 48.]

[203 cont.]

I. The Total Religious Picture

776

1. The Deities

a) The Higher Deities

The higher deities are to be understood as those figures that do not belong among the so-called purġan, but are mentioned separately from these by their own names. These are heaven (tieńġëre), the mountain-spirit (yifula), and the earth-deity or earth-deities (ġlu; itoġa). They seem to be the older deities and will be dealt with later when the belief in a supreme god is discussed.

b) The Lower Deities

192 776 The lower deities can all be included under the generic name purġan. The word purġan is none other than the term customary in the literature, Burchan (Burkhan, Burkan), which, as is well known, stands for "god" in large parts of Central Asia. The origin of this name has not been clarified. Usually a connection with "Buddha" is assumed, and the word is derived from the compound Bud(dah)-Khan; see W. Schmidt, UdG, X, p. 573, with reference to the sources. This passage, which deals with the Tungus, emphasizes that there Burkan predominately refers to foreign deities, a situation that is quite close to that found among the Tujen. Another explanation connects the word with the Buddhistic grave-monument (oral communication from W. A. Unkrig), namely, purġan supposedly arose from the Mongolic suburġan. The word suburġan in turn is derived from the Tibetan spur-k'aṅ, house of corpses, cremation place. Since consonant clusters are avoided in Mongolic, a u was inserted between the s and the p for easier pronunciation, just as also happens in the case of other word derivations. Thus from spur, through the transformation of the p (which the Mongols do not have) to b, the word subur arose. The n in k'an is slurred into a simple n.

192 778 776 With suburġan (spur-k'aṅ) one designated the same thing as with the Tibetan mc'od-rten, chorten or stupa, which literally

[203 cont.]

192 means "offering container." The chortens now usually shelter
778 the ashes of Buddhist saints or their relics and frequently also
776 bear their pictures on the front side. Thus the meaning of an idol is connected with the whole. The chortens or stupas or suburgans are therefore the seat of a spirit or of a deceased person. A deity is present in them. They are the same as [204] what the Mongols or Tujen imagine under the expression purǧan. This conception is confirmed, furthermore, by the urn shape of the stupa. In Tibetan the lower part is called bum-ba, urn, pot. As has already been shown in the case of the earth-god urn and the beṅkaṅ, urns are frequently the seat of a deity. This conception is also found elsewhere, and one might also connect the urn with the throne of the gods, which will not be discussed here. In any case, the Tujen word purǧan is late and Buddhistic in origin.

776 All the inhabitants of the Buddhist, Bonist, and Taoist pantheon fall within the group of these lower gods insofar as the Tujen have taken it over. A special position seems to be oc-
776 cupied by the fire-spirit as hearth-god or god of the shaman
372 fire, whom Schram so strongly emphasizes in his book concerning marriage among the Tujen. I could no longer confirm any special veneration of the shaman fire, however. If one disregards the fire offering, which is included as part of the rite of the Lamaistic fire-pouring, there remains to the people only the hearth-god, who, however, is venerated no more frequently than among the Chinese, for example. The use of fire for purifica-
[783] tion (widow marriage, leaping over fire, fumigation, red-hot stone, etc.) seems to have nothing to do with a god. It can be explained purely magically, because the demons fear the fire. They are, of course, always regarded as unclean, as the common phrase, pudaǧ ilie, dirty demon, proves.

776 Of the other gods who deserve special mention, there
[791] are the shaman and soothsaying gods, who animate or temporarily
[787] take possession of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, and the divine images, for instance, the black and white tiger, the great mother, the dragon. Furthermore, an important role is
[177] played by the god of joy (at a wedding), who probably comes from the Chinese, the horse- and cattle-king, the world-directions spirits, and the gods of the weather ministry with the smith-god

[205 cont.]

774 Unequivocal statements concerning the conceptions of the soul among the Tujen could not be secured. It is true that several souls can be inferred from the death customs described, but the naming and peculiar nature of these souls remain vague.

•192 Two designations for "soul" come into consideration:
774 namsü (namšë) and suniedzë. The word namsü is seldom used. According to the DMF (256), it corresponds to the Tibetan ñams-su. This independent connection cannot be confirmed in Ch. Das, but ñams alone is found there, p. 476, with the meaning: "...the soul, mind, spirit as an entity" [cited in English]. The su could at most still be an instrumental particle. One will probably not go wrong, therefore, if he equates namsü not with ñams-su, but with the Tibetan rnam šes, pronounced nam-še. Ch. Das (762) translates it with: "...the mind, knowledge, intellect, memory" [cited in English]. H.A. Jäschke, on the other hand, has for it the explanation (315): "3. in popular language: soul, e.g. of the departed..." [cited in English]. The much more frequently used word suniedzë has the same meaning. It is the equivalent of the Mongolic sünesün. Both namsü and suniedzë signify nothing uniform, for there are three souls: nigë
774 kundu ġuran namsü-i, or nigë kundu suniedzë ġuran-i, that is:
775 "There are three souls to a human being"; cf. DMF 256. And of what kind are these souls? toroñ yesë saġdzini, ġuordani sdziewa awura sdzini, ġurandani iliedu furani (cf. DMF 361), that is, "The first guards the bones, the second assumes the rebirth, the third transforms itself into a demon." Mostaert, op. cit., refers to Sanžeev, "Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten [World-view and shamanism of the Alar-Burjat]," Anthropos, 22, 1927, p. 585. The conception of the tripartition,
[171] however, is much more widespread; at any rate in Lamaistically influenced Asia it is found almost everywhere. Even the Tsinghai Chinese know of three souls: one goes into the underworld, one stays with the corpse (bones), one wanders around in the world. What is common to these three souls is that they can separate themselves from the body.

775 The bone-soul remains with the skeleton after death, at
764 least until the rite of the bäda has been completed, whereby it
604 is satisfied and becomes free. Its agent in this ritual and the

[252 cont.]

771 utilitarian idea. The Tujen give their offerings and prayers in
776 order to make the spirit world favorably inclined toward them
for the purpose of earthly well-being. They are not so submis-
[782] sive to the harmful demons, however, but instead face them
[789] with greater hostility and try to vanquish them with the help
of the good spirits or through magic.

b) The Offering

The Types of Offering

782 The Tujen distinguish the following types according to what is offered: the incense offering, food and drink offering, slaughtered offering, animal-consecration. -- Aside from the incense offering and the animal-consecration, they have a
[192] common name for the offering, namely, šeńlie, which corresponds to the Chinese hsien. Thus, they say, for instance, šdimie šeńlie-, to offer bread; tsidzig šeńlie-, to offer flowers; xonini šeńlie-, to offer a sheep (cf. DMF 376). This expression šeńlie may not be used for anything else.

The incense offering, which originally was an aromatic offering, has now been greatly extended by all kinds of additions, such as butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, silk threads. Here, too, however, the rule against giving anything that smells unpleasant is maintained. The use of butter and
[174] tsamba, which are the staple foods of the nomads there, implies an old pastoral custom. Concerning the original incense offering, cf. the chapter further below, "The Belief in a Supreme God."

The food offering principally includes bread, wine, butter, tsamba. One puts them down before the spirit, for instance, before the household altar, the obo, the mani-tree, the god's image, etc. When they are taken away and consumed, some is thrown to the deity concerned. Liquids are poured on the ground or squirted into the air. The custom of
[264] throwing something to the spirits before each meal belongs here, too.

[214 cont.]

782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types of prayer under the expression yandzila-, to implore, to request, and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer, however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which
[463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the
[792] lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are
[791] invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people connect praying with these professions is shown by the common designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the
[192] Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen, that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom mosē, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching. In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer, something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of
[791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests, Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely linked.

5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

771
174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

[217 cont.]

771 776 The belief in a supreme god among the Tujen must have been known to the people themselves at an early date. Tafel noted in his fairly reliable chapter: "The Turen [sic] of Weiyüanpu are a very curious tribe. Many say that they have only one single god in which they believe. But they are, like the [218] Chinese, also Buddhists" (Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], I, p. 246). The author unfortunately does not tell who these "many" are. Probably they are the Tujen themselves. Tafel is right insofar as a true monotheism is unknown to the Tujen. On the other hand they do not share the same Buddhism with the Chinese. The Tujen are Lamaists, the Chinese, on the other hand, never or only as an exception. From the customs observed, it now appears incontestably that the so-called one god [821] of the Tujen is a supreme god who is venerated in the form of the heavens. One must, therefore, start from "heaven."

a) The Name "Heaven"

rëǧuo

772 For "heaven" the Tujen know two expressions, namely, 776 rëǧuo and tieńgëre. The word rëǧuo is little used and then only ● 192 in the sense of the physical sky, firmament. It agrees entirely with its Mongolic equivalent oktarǧui, which is to be equated [821] with the Tibetan mk'a or nam mk'a or gnam, and means: sky, empty space above the air, firmament, vault of the heavens, ether, atmosphere, air. Cf. Kovalevski, p. 430. Even among the following expressions that include oktarǧui, there is none in which oktarǧui is comprehended as a deity or spirit. Cf. op. cit., pp. 430-433. Thus it must be sharply distinguished from tengri (tieńgëre) and cannot be used synonymously with the latter. Only in the sense of the physical sky do they overlap. Among the Tujen, reǧuo is chiefly regarded as light-sky, bearer of brightness. One therefore likes to add the adjective kuǧuo (blue, light, bright), for instance, kuǧuo rëǧuo undurwa (the blue sky is high). The kuǧuo rëǧuo (light sky) stands in contrast to the [825] xara gadzier (dark earth). An appropriate bird is assigned to [539]

[218 cont.]

772 each of them as a symbol of brightness and of darkness. Thus,
776 in a wedding song it is said: xara gadzier mundzini xela; kuǧuo
192 rëǧuoni dzindzini xela (the black earth's dark bird calls; the
[825] light sky's light bird answers). Here, it is true, the rëǧuo has
[539] been drawn into the -- probably Tibetan -- mythology of light and darkness, but nothing concerning a possible significance of the rëǧuo as spirit or deity is expressed by it. (Cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder.") Even if the expression rëǧuo in its meaning as light-bearer corresponds approximately to the word tieńgëre, its deeper meaning is thereby exhausted and it will not be considered further.

tieńgëre

772 tieńgëre is the Tujen form of the written Mongolic
776 tengri or tngri. It may signify both the natural sky as well as
192 heaven as a deity. As natural sky it is provided with the same
821 adjectives as the word rëǧuo, in other words, with kuǧuo (blue), undur (high), etc. Like the latter, it also, as the daylight sky, stands in contrast to the dark earth. Our expression "heaven and earth" is always rendered among the Tujen by kuǧuo tieńgëre, xara gadzier (light sky, dark earth). They would never [219] simply say "heaven and earth." In this conception, the Tujen go hand in hand with their Altaic-Mongolic relatives. In his dissertation, Pallisen has presented the connection of light and heaven especially clearly: Among all Altaic peoples the sky is primarily perceived as the daylight sky. According to H. Vambéry and Barbier de Maynard, the concepts "the light," "brightness" in all Altaic languages belong to the same word family as tengri (Religion der Altmongolen [Religion of the Ancient Mongols], p. 123). Pallisen then appends the word lists for 13 languages, which are intended to illustrate this connection (op. cit., pp. 123 ff.).

The sky, however, is regarded not only as the embodiment of light, but it is also the bearer of the most important cosmic phenomena. This is expressed in many everyday phrases, for example: the sky rains; the sky is cold; the sky is hot; the sky thunders; the sky is cheerful, etc. Hence,

[219 cont.]

772 the heavens, even purely sensibly, stand in the consciousness of
776 the Tujen as something important, exalted, as that immeasurable
192 space of light embracing the world, in which the natural events
821 that so impress the simple human being take place. It is not the word rëguo that arouses this consciousness in them, but the word tieñgëre. Evidently, it is one of the oldest words that they, along with the other Altaic peoples, among whom it is charged with the same content, have inherited from hoary prehistory. It cannot be further analyzed etymologically.

772 For this reason, this very expression is excellently suitable
776 for designating what we call "God." Where the Tujen, who are,
192 after all, a branch of the Mongols, acquired the link between
174 the name tieñgëre and the concept "God" is not to be dealt with here. That belongs in the history of the religion of the Mongols or of the Altaic peoples generally. Father W. Schmidt has made it seem probable that it is not a matter of equating the highest being with the material heaven, but only of a transference of the name "heaven" to the supreme god; this must have happened at the time of the transition to herding in the great steppes where "they have before them the huge dome of the heavens unobscured in its entire extent and with all natural phenomena taking place in the sky"; cf. Schmidt, Religionsgeschichte [History of Religion], p. 256, UdG, X, pp. 128 ff. The question arises here: Does this also apply to the Tujen and in what way? How is the name tieñgëre used, as a generic or proper name? Does it actually signify God?

One must first of all go back to the general Mongolic conceptions, which, to be sure, know the same name. Pallisen in this connection comes to the following conclusion (op. cit., p. 126): "One can therefore say that in this stage of development Tengri meant something like 'God Heaven' as a proper name, not 'heaven god' and not 'god in heaven' or 'god of heaven,' as some researchers maintain.... Gradually, however, Tengri was used to designate the God of the Christians and of the Mohammedans, and finally, with the adoption of Buddhism, this word became equivalent to the Sanskritic Deva, and numerous deities of the Lamaistic pantheon, which in part were taken into it from the old folk-belief, were [220] then also called

[220 cont.]

772 Tengri, with the addition of a definite proper name (especially
776 the 33 tengri: ghutschin ghurban Tengri)." "In other words, for
the interpreters and for the numerous strangers generally who
● 192 stayed at the court of the great Khan and among whom many
174 priests of all religions were also represented, the significance of
Tengri as a generic name for 'god' was already familiar and
clear" (op.cit., p. 127). -- Later, according to Pallisen, along
with Buddhism there came the term burxan, which is supposed to
be a corruption of the Sanskrit word for Buddha and among the
Mongols is supposed to have taken on the meaning of "idol,
deity, spirit, god's image." (Concerning the origin of the word
Burchan or purġan, cf. above.)

Among the Tujen this development is difficult to determine. I have often asked people how many tieńgĕre there are. I always received the answer; only one. Only once did my informant observe that there were also other gods called tieńgĕre. When he was then to name these gods, he did not know a single one. This is a sign of how secondary the significance of tieńgĕre as a generic name must have been among the Tujen, since it could disappear from linguistic usage so completely without a trace, if it was ever present. Perhaps the above-mentioned observation of A. Tafel concerning a "single god" is to be traced back to a similar piece of information. The tieńgĕre of the Tujen, in other words, does not entirely correspond with the tengri of the Mongols. Only the word purġan, which corresponds to the Mongolic burxan, has taken over the function of a generic name; purġan signifies not only the native gods, spirits, gods' images, but generally all the deities of the various religions. At times it may also designate a demon. It is used in a way similar to the Chinese fo-yeh, though to be sure never for a Tulku. The conception of a plurality, which, of course, is essential for a generic concept, is always connected with the word purġan.

772 According to all the information and on the basis of the
776 customs recorded, tieńgĕre alone is reserved as the proper name
192 of the god-heaven. The bilingual Tujen generally translate it
with the Chinese t'ien (heaven) or lao-t'ien (old heaven) or

[220 cont.]

772 t'ien-yeh (father "heaven"). The fact that this tieñgĕre applies
776 exclusively to the heavenly being appears with special clarity
192 in the constantly used formula: šge tieñgĕre, uluon purgan (the great heaven, the many spirits). Quite consciously here uniqueness is placed over against multiplicity and at the same time it is expressed that heaven possesses at least as much honor as the purgan, in other words, is also a deity, or can be a higher spiritual being. What the content of this god-concept is now, whether it is really a heaven as supreme god, is to be made clear in the following, and, to be sure, first of all in connection with the heaven cult of the people.

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b) The Heaven Cult

After all that has been said up to now, it is established beyond doubt that the Tujen venerate the heavens. It can also be confirmed further from the popular literature, as will become clear below. Thus [221] here it is only a question of the what and how of the veneration of heaven (offering, prayer), insofar as it is appropriate to provide information concerning the god-concept and the conceptions linked with it, as well as the age and the position of the belief in a supreme god.

1) The Offering

782 As regards the form, the executers, and the sentiment of the offering, what is said generally about the offering applies. Here in first place the question arises: Are there offerings that in a special way are intended for heaven or that have a special relationship to it? This is quite generally the case with every offering insofar as it can be conceived as a primitial offering. In addition there are also other offerings which -- at least originally -- were reserved for heaven, among which the incense offering and sheep offering are the most important.

The Primitial Offering

[192] The Tujen do not know a special generic name for the primitial offering. They say, depending on the circumstances:

[221 cont.]

782 to throw the first (the first piece, the first drop, the first bowl,
192 etc.) to the heavens. For "first" they use the word toroñ. As a number it can be adjectival and substantival, in other words, "the first" or "firstling." In addition, it also signifies a blessing, an advantage, for example: kuni toroñ (the first of the people) is a man skilled in speech who can appear in public; or morini toroñ (the first among horses), an especially fast and strong horse. In exactly the same way the gift at the primitial offering is simply designated as toroñ. Whether a special blessing
782 is also to be indicated by it remains to be decided. I am not aware that especially good parts are taken for it; one does not take long to choose them, although care is always taken to see that they are not inferior, spoiled, or unclean. The primitial offering is always intended for heaven. Even where it is intended for several deities, heaven nonetheless stands in first place. Two kinds can be distinguished: the direct and the indirect.

782 The direct primitial offering is so generally widespread
264 among the Tujen that it strikes everyone who has ever observed the people at their meals. Usually it is done in the following
[826] way. In the case of beverages one dips the middle finger, which is the most superior one, into his drinking bowl, withdraws it again, and flicks the drop suspended from it into the air. This is done three times in succession. In the case of foods, for instance, bread or meat, a little piece is picked off and thrown high toward the heavens or backward over the shoulder. The direction in which one is seated does not matter. Sometimes it happens that one pours out a whole bowlful of the beverage. All confirm that they present this gift first to heaven before they themselves enjoy it. Only after heaven are they sometimes also thrown to other spirits.

782 The primitial offering is rooted deep in the consciousness of the Tujen. According to their view it must extend
773 back to the beginnings of humanity. Thus in the Geser legend
264 it is said of the first emperor Hamluo Siergän when he stopped on a [222] journey and boiled tea: "fulan tsiani sdzülgano, tsiani toroñni kuguo tieñgerdu tsiodlodzi" (when the red tea

[222 cont.]

782 boiled, he threw the first of the tea to the light heavens). The
773 firstling-offering is attested to even more clearly in the agricul-
264 ture myth (V. 680-690), when after long endeavor by the demiurge the first barley ripens and comes into the possession of human beings: "When after seven weeks they went to look, the barley was ripe. The head was bent over. With both hands they rubbed this (sc. the ear), which hung down like a whip. And when the kernels had come out, they wanted to make an offering to the light heavens. They offered that barley and bent their heads to the ground. But there was no way to eat." In other words, even before the people were able to make use of the blessing of the new food, they offered the firstling-gift to heaven.
[192] The word šenlie, that is, to offer in the true sense, appears in the original text.

782 The indirect primitial offering is directed at the heavens only by the roundabout way of another offering. It is found in connection with almost all the offerings to the good spirits. In the religious customs one will scarcely find an offering that is not first made to heaven. This is shown by the actual offering act, the presentation, and the show of respect connected with it, the kowt[illegible]. Thus, the offering at the erection of the pole-goat, for instance, or even the obo offering is certainly intended for the weather gods or the mountain-spirit, and yet heaven receives the first three bowls; the other spirits come after it. Just as the human being first gives some of his goods to heaven before he uses them, so is it also in the spirit world. One could call this a primitial offering of the offering. There are naturally exceptions to this practice, as, say, in the case of the fire-pouring, torma, hen offering, etc., which belong more in the domain of Lamaism and of the Bon religion. By and large, however, the indirect primitial offering is always practiced.

The Incense Offering

In the section concerning the incense offering (see "First Part," Anthropos 47, 1952, pp. 43 ff. [pp. 69 ff. above in the HRAF translation]), it was emphasized that it is offered to heaven first and afterwards to the other gods. In the "Notes"

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776 the people, and they do not want to be without it in the legend.
[773] The Šdenlatsien Saň has no significance in the customs.

The position with respect to the mountain-spirit and the earth-god. -- In the chapter concerning the obo, the incense offering, and in other places mention was made of a tripartition of the deities, namely, in the sequence: heaven, mountain-spirit and earth-god, countless gods. Since the mountain-spirit and earth-god are not included under the Buddhistic concept purgan, a pre-Buddhistic age is automatically suggested. In addition, the mountain-spirit has tasks that one could ascribe to heaven. What is the relationship to it?

776 The Tujen call the mountain-spirit yifula. A Tibetan
551 equivalent would be the word already mentioned earlier, ri-bo
192 lha (mountain-spirit). The informant, who himself bore this name, translated it, however, with the Chinese Shan-shen pao (mountain-spirit protection). (Concerning the name-giving, cf. above, "The Conclusion of the Confinement.") This leads, however, to a Mongolic analysis of the word. According to W.A.Unkrig, this is found in the combination: ibel (protection) and ula (mountain); cf. Koval., p. 282. The interpretation corresponds to the Chinese translation. Yifula thus would be appropriately rendered with "protector of the mountains."
776 Without settling the origin of the name, it can nevertheless be
171 maintained that the cult of the mountain-spirit in the obo festival is a Mongolic peculiarity from ancient times that is repeatedly reported in the literature. Among the Tujen, too -- as among the neighboring Tangut -- the obo festival occupied an important position; cf. "The Obo," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

776 [229] The mountain-spirit is not a terror-god, but a mild, providing father, the lord of the animals, who watches over the welfare of the herds, who cares for plants and trees, and who is concerned about the increase of human beings. He is the guardian of the ayil (village, tribe) and guards its weapons. The people gather around him for playing and dancing,
[171] prayer and offering. Although the mountain-spirit is thus

[229 cont.]

776 concerned about the well-being of the people, it is striking that
171 he is not linked with the protection of seed and harvest. Otherwise, however, his tasks correspond to those of heaven, even if he is primarily a nature god who shares his character with the lord of the animals and forests of many Siberian peoples.

776 Nonetheless there is a difference between him and heaven. First of all heaven is given precedence, even in connection with all offerings to the mountain-spirit, for instance, the obo offering. Whereas the mountain-spirit has a fixed residence in the obo, his fort, and therefore is tied to the place, heaven retains its freedom with regard to locality. The mountain-spirit can also be a tutelary spirit of the human beings who are named after him; as assisting spirit he may enter into the shaman and take possession of him in the trance. This is altogether out of the question for heaven. People are surprised if one even asks about it. There are pictures and flags of the mountain spirit; he can animate a spirit-spear. Heaven is formless, imageless; no one knows what it looks like. -- Heaven has an exalted uniqueness even in contrast to the mountain-spirit.

[553] [756] [787]

174 Besides the mountain-spirit the earth-deity has its seat
776 in the obo, and, to be sure, in the layer of earth. Its name
[192] glu is doubtless the Tibetan klu, Naga, dragon. In Mongolic the word for it is lu, which is also much in use in the Tujen language. It corresponds to the Chinese lung (dragon). The customs with the earth-god urn show the earth deity of the Tujen more in the Bonistic realm of the Naga cult than in the Mongolic. It is quite possible that two types have mixed here or that the ancient Mongolic has been covered by the later Bonistic-Lamaistic. According to Pallisen (op. cit., pp. 159 f.), the ancient Mongols practiced a cult of the earth-deity, who is probably to be thought of as female. There it bears the name itoga or, in the prevocalic version, etügen, and is conceived as the tutelary deity of the homeland earth. The characteristics that are attributed to this deity correspond to those of the mountain-spirit. It is also to be surmised that this deity is to be associated with the female shamans, who call themselves udugan

[231 cont.]

The Power of Heaven

776 Heaven as giver of all benefits. -- As repeatedly appears in the individual chapters, all benefits come from heaven. It [241] gives rain and sunshine, causes the seed to thrive, and protects [782] man and animal from sickness. Man acknowledges this in the offering, especially in the primitial offering and the harvest thank-offering. The grain, the barley, is ultimately traced back to heaven by man. (Cf. above under the primitial offering, agriculture myth, p. 340.) Man owes even his clothing [773] to heaven. Thus it is said at the beginning of the Geser legend: "Heaven provided the benefit of clothing; a boot fell down from heaven (tieńgëre dżoġ nañladzia; tieńgërdza perlõńgë bõdzi rëdzia)." (Verses 6-7.) -- That other gods are also called upon for various needs does not prejudice the fact that heaven is the cause of even these benefits. The case would only be otherwise if there were things which were ascribed to these spirits to the exclusion of heaven, which, however, cannot be demonstrated from the material available.

776 The moral power of heaven. -- The moral power of 577 heaven is expressed by the fact that man puts his conscience in 626 relation to heaven and acknowledges the latter as binding and entitled to sanction. For that which we would call conscience the Tujen simply uses the word heart (sgil); sgil is not the physi- [192] cal heart, but the inner attitude, heart in the figurative sense. Thus they say, for instance, sen sgil (good heart); tsini sgil diesẽn ugua (you do not have an honest attitude); tsini sgil ugua (you have no conscience). In these cases the Tujen translates the word sgil with the Chinese leang-hsin (conscience, honest spirit). (Cf. also DMF 348.) Now, as the two prayer formulas that were explained above demonstrate, heaven knows the inner attitude, it knows the heart of a man: "If I did evil to you, heaven knows it," "Heaven is not high, it knows it." Since these sentences are used as oath or vow formulas, it is not simply confirmation of heavenly knowledge that is given by them, but rather one tacitly also presupposes a sanction by

[231 cont.]

776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieńgëre dardzia, heaven has
punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means
[192] literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly
horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolgue dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike
a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard
before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first
place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the
Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without
burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as
concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is
sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and
shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair.
(Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.)
Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness:
"We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge
tieńgërni amudadzi, nigë nisëni dzawa dañlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is
regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram,
op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called
in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this
marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). --
The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to
[831] heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzūn
tieńgërde fdzë bōlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down
for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception
of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of
rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

[233 cont.]

776 Even less can be determined of any creative activity of
773 heaven with respect to the individual human being. To be sure, a current Tujen saying runs: suniedzēne tienġēre xuradzia, heaven has taken the soul (DMF 361), but this expresses only the rulership of heaven over life and death. There is no mention of a creation of the soul. The Chinese also know a similar phrase: t'ien shou-la t'a-ti ling-hun.

777 Heaven and fate. -- A question suggested in connection
776 with the ancient Mongolic meaning of fate or good fortune, which has had its greatest elaboration in the sūlde cult, is
•192 whether something similar is to be found among the Tujen, say,
171 that there might be a fate standing over heaven. -- The Tujen know three expressions for "fate": dzieyan, šdiemdžēl, kimori.

dzieyan is used predominantly in the sense of favorable conditions of life, for instance, when one says: "The girl has experienced a favorable fate," meaning that she has married into a good, wealthy family. The Tujen word corresponds to the Mongolic jayagan, but does not have the latter's essential content. The significance seems, rather, to have been transferred from the original jayagan to the Tujen expression šdiemdzël.

šdiemdzël, peculiarly enough, is now found not so much in everyday language as in song. Thus the Tujen songs popular-
[533] ly end with the verse: moṅġol kuni lõṅšda (or kimori) darlagu, šdiemdžëlgë rëdziġlaya, in order to erect the air-horse of the Mongols, let (us) lay (= build) a good-fortune foundation. This conception is linked with the image of the central fort. The air-horse is grounded in the central fort. Accordingly the šdiemdžël would correspond to the basis for fate, which is symbolized in the air-horse. Evidently, ancient conceptions are mixed here with more recent Buddhistic ones, whereby in connection with the Hayagriva figure, fate and horse are brought together. Linguistically the word šdiemdžël cannot be understood unequivocally. The second syllable ... džël, however,

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777 is undoubtedly to be equated with the Mongolic dsol (dzol). Ac-
776 cording to Koval. (2386), it means: good fortune, salvation;
192 Koval. gives the Tibetan equivalent stes for it. When one notes
191 that the Tujen always insert an i before an e in Tibetan loan-
words, then the first syllable šdie(m) might be this Tibetan stes, whose final s is silent. The m would then be inserted in assimilation to the following dental. As regards its meaning, the Tujen translate šdiemdžël [234] with the Chinese yün-ch'i or t'ien-ming. They also, however, render kimori in the same way. It is thereby stated that fate is under the power of heaven, which Uno Harva also stresses for the Altaians and Mongols (Vorstellungen, pp. 144-145). In other words these Altaic-Mongolic conceptions can easily be linked with the kimori and šdiemdžël of the Tujen. According to Uno Harva, in the case of the guarantors of good fortune, the tutelary spirit of man, called zajači, is involved in the form of a double: "If a person is wealthy in his lifetime, zajači is also well-dressed, rides on a horse, and is gay" ... When the person dies, zajači disappears into heaven where he lives in the company of the gods" (op. cit., pp. 276 f.). The Lamaistic air-horse of the Tujen like-
777 wise bears on its back the guarantor of good fortune, the wish-
776 ing jewel, by virtue of which the human being obtains all that
191 seems desirable to him, in other words, good fortune. It has almost the effect of an amulet. Now, according to Uno Harva, when the tutelary lord of good fortune seems to be oriented more toward the individual person, then in the case of the sülde of the Mongols he is acting for the entire people, and, to be sure, through the khan; meanwhile, the historical development among the Chinggisiden made nine Tengri of good fortune out of it. Father W. Schmidt, in conjunction with Banzarov, characterizes the sülde in the following manner (UdG., X, p. 78): "Heaven guides the world like the khan and possesses its sülde ... The sülde of the khan is a reflection of the sülde of heaven ... The nine sülde-tengri, according to their character, are always there in order to protect. They are represented in warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone, in the manner of riders ..." etc. Here, too, it is the riding

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a) The bō or Drum-shamans

Characterization

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The name: The Tujen name current throughout the land, bō, corresponds to the written Mongolic būge. Koval. (1242) gives for it the Chinese equivalent wu-jen, the Manchurian saman, the Tatar bugu, and the Tibetan lha-pa. The Russian expressions means: shaman, sorcerer; he translates it into French as: chaman, enchanteur. The Mongolic būge and all the other translations cited do not have any uniform meaning and can be used for the various types of shamans, exorcists, and even sorcerers.

The Chinese in the area and the Tujen translate bō with fashih, or somewhat contemptuously with shih-kung. The fa-shih call themselves only by this special name. According to communications (P.P. Eichinger, Bockwinkel), the name wu-shih is also in use in southern Kansu. It is important that all these designations are never permissible for the gurtum. The fa-shih are a special group that is to be clearly defined. (Space forbids going into an explanation of the names here.)

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Clothing and equipment. -- The fa-shih wear an old woman's costume without sleeves and usually patterned with pictures of dragons. Normally they have no head covering, but their hair is pinned up in the fashion of an old Chinese style for women, unless they are wearing an appropriate wig with hairknots, hair-bowl, and hairpin.. These are not always available, however. On special occasions, they don the well-known five-part Buddhistic crown called p'ai-tzu.

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Their essential equipment consists of the hoop drum, the hemp whip, and a three-pronged broad dagger. Other objects are added according to their functions.

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Gods. -- Their principal deity is the great mother (ta niang-niang), also called mother of the nine heavens (chiu t'ien nai-nai). In addition, they also venerate the black tiger

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756 The most distinguished form of the gurtum is undoubtedly
292 the Lamaistic temple-shaman. He appears in magnificent battle dress, with bow and arrow and [238] spirit-spear. On his back he carries little flags, like the former Chinese general, and thereby identifies himself as the leader of an army whose parts are represented precisely by these flags. When one sees these gurtum -- for instance, in Kumbum or Kuo-mang-szu -- one involuntarily thinks of the traditional heroes of the Chinese theater. On the other hand, in the rest of their equipment they remind one of the Lamaistic war gods who are regarded as protectors of the dogma. To be sure, in individual instances there are variations, but in general the type of these temple shamans remains the same, and they are designated in general by the same name as the people's gurtum.

756 Written Chinese also has the name hu-fa, which is a translation of c'os skyoṅ or Dharmapala. J. F. Rock also emphasizes their similarity to an army leader: "The Dharmapāla are demon-generals who execute the will of the tutelaries, or demon-kings. They are hideous and fierce-looking and each commands a horde of demons" [cited in English] (Na-khi Kingdom, I, p. 210, Note 26).

•192 The shaman character. -- The word "gurtum," in Tujen
756 sgurdien, in Chinese ku-erh-tien or ku-wai-tien, stems from Tibetan Lamaistic terminology. It comes from the word sku-rten, and not, as F. Lessing believes, from skur-bltams, body shakers (F. Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143). According to Ch. Das (536), rten signifies something that supports, bears, or contains something; sku-rten, according to him, means the same as: the bearer or the container of a person himself, an image of the gods or Buddha. On page 89 he gives sku-rten as an abbreviation of the three aspects sku, gsuṅ, t'ugs-rten. According to page 91, sku-gsuṅ-t'ugs are the body, speech, and thinking, in other words the three realms of human behavior or suffering: deed, word, thought. Concerning the cosmic mythological co-ordination of these aspects with the world directions and the five c'os skyoṅ, cf. further below. The expression sku-rten, in other words, signifies that the gurtum is the container of a deity

[238 cont.]

757 that acts, speaks, and thinks in him. This, however, is nothing
[192] other than an express possession-shamanism reduced to a simple Busshistic formula. The gurtum represents a deity.

757 Whether one may appeal to the gurtum in the "classical"
171 sense as a shaman is a question that can only be answered with the final clarification of the shaman concept. In the investigation of shamanism up to now there has been too much concern with its Siberian form and special emphasis on the flight of the soul into the beyond as a "classical" characteristic, especially with the "bird type" of shaman (9). This is not the place to

[114]

9. The one-sided preference for Siberian shamanism is also unfortunately found in the excellent work by Mircea Eliade, Le Chamanisme, in which, to be sure, there are comparisons with other parts of the earth, and the "southern" and Buddhist influences are also taken into consideration, but they are dealt with only as secondary and unimportant; above all, however, the so characteristic stamp of Lamaistic shamanism in the figure of the gurtum is completely passed over.

go into this question in greater detail, which is reserved for later [239] treatment. It should nonetheless be stated in advance that the gurtum is a true shaman of the same shamanistic rank as the Siberian. Anyone who has had an opportunity to observe a gurtum will not regard him simply as one possessed. The gurtum is likewise as bound to the ritual requirements and forms as, say, his Siberian colleague: call (vision), tutelary spirit, testing, dress and equipment, ecstasy, etc. In addition, there is much to indicate that formerly he was also familiar with the flight of the soul.

[254 cont.]

4. Lamaism

779 The preceding accounts have repeatedly demonstrated
792 how great an influence Lamaism exerts upon the people. As the latest form it has also most strongly penetrated the entire religious life; it offers the people a large number of gods and saints; it gives them the mani-trees, prayer mills, treasure urns, chorten chambers, central forts, and obos; they have it to thank for a considerable part of the world-view. To be sure, one must differentiate the ecclesiastical Lamaism of the monasteries and monks from the popular Lamaism, which in its watered-down customs remains unburdened by complicated doctrines and tantristic rites. This popular Lamaism, however, would be unimaginable without the strong support and the permanent effect of the monasteries, which are already so closely linked with the people because their community is constantly renewed from the families of the people. An important piece of the religi-
792 ous picture would therefore be lacking if one did not at least in hasty strokes characterize the monastery, which for the Tujen of that region is their spiritual center. -- The relationships to Kumbum will be passed over, although they are not to be underestimated. One merely needs to recall that it was a Chi-t'u-szu (prince) who at the beginning of the eighteenth century through his personal pledge preserved Kumbum from Chinese revenge and destruction, so that his clan until the most recent
[624] times enjoyed monastic protection and the princes (T'u-szu) themselves on their visits were received by the lamas on their knees; in this connection, cf. Schulemann, p. 179.

The name of the Tujen monastery dGon-luṅ is Tibetan.
[103] dgon (pronounced gon) means literally "solitude, hermitage." In the figurative sense it has become the established expression
[192] for "monastery" (vihāra), because a monastery must be at least 1,000 steps away from any human habitation; cf. Ch. Das, p. 275; luṅ means "valley, district." Thus, dGon-luṅ is best rendered as "monastery-valley" or "monastery-district" or simply
[346] "monastery," for a lama monastery should not be imagined as

he honored, and the rites he performed. It will afford 756
an opportunity to study a shamanism influenced by Taoism, honoring Taoist gods, but conserving its original character and living congenially with Taoism. The suppleness of shamanism which, according to the cir- [177]
cumstances, adapts itself as well to Lamaism as to Taoism, adopting heterodox doctrines and honoring alien gods,[1] challenges belief. However, it discloses the power of which it disposes, conserving its original rites which betray its origin and basic character. It is interesting to note how rites resist the wear of time better than doctrines.

The facts were all gathered during the ten years I lived among the Monguors, and were checked many times by shamans, chiefs and elders of villages, men and women, and children in the schools, all of whom had attended shamanist rites their whole life long. I at- [123]
tended their rites several times. Since I was best acquainted with the rites of the region situated north of the Hsining River, most of the facts concern that region.

The Mongols call the shamans *BÖ*, the Monguors call them *BÖ*, on account of the lack of the vowel Ö in [174] ●
their dialect. *BÖ* and *BÖ* seem to be a genuine Mongol term. The Chinese of Huang-chung call them *Fa-Shih*, "Master of Magic."

It is not easy to give a definition of shamanism and of shamans who live in a world beset with innumerable good and evil spirits with which the objective of their life is to deal.

The study of shamanism is still very confused, and 756
authors are even unable to find a definition with which 771
they will all agree. W. Schmidt defines the shaman as "a man who is supposed to have the power of making his own person a dwelling place for the spirits, who will speak out of him, but he keeps the power to dominate those spirits and to subdue them to his own will and wishes."[2]

Mircea Eliade, describing the shamanism of Asia, stresses primarily the phenomena of ecstasies and of trance, by means of which the shamans enter in communication with all kinds of spirits—originally with the Supreme Spirit of Heaven, who corresponds morphologically with the Supreme Spirits of the archaic re- [176]
ligions—and with the souls of ancestors and the departed. This communication with spirits, residing in the three worlds (heaven, earth, underworld) is symbolized by ascensions to heaven of the shaman or descents into the underworld, the calling down of spirits along the rope or the ladder. The basic element of shamanism consists not of the incorporation of spirits

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[1] Walter Heissig, Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer im Küriye-Banner, *Folklore Studies*, Catholic University of Peking, 3: 1, 1944. This very interesting study reveals the way shamanism adapted itself to Lamaism.

[2] W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Freiburg in der Schweiz, Paulus Verlag, 9: 243, 1949.

[p.77(A)]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

101 the same language, have the same customs, dress in the same way, live in the same country, have the same T'u-ssu organization and so generally are considered to be of the same stock.

The Chinese when speaking of Hsifan (Tibetans), or of other Mongols living in the country or in Kukunor, never use the term T'u-jen, but always the terms Hsifan, etc. The question, therefore, is whether the Chinese, in calling the Shat'o and the Monguors T'u-jen, mean a people belonging by birth to the country but whose ancestors migrated from other countries to Hsining, or the original inhabitants of the country. Because the term has this double meaning, it is certainly used in both meanings.

Huc and Gabet call the Monguors Dschiahour, interpreted as "sinised Mongols." This is the term used by the Tibetans of the country. Prjevalski and Father de Smedt heard Tibetans calling them K'arlong. Potanin calls them Shirongols. Father Mostaert heard Mongols in Mongolia referring to them as Dolot; Prjevalski calls them Daldy (the same word), and the Monguors call themselves Monguor. Potanin states that they are also called White Mongols, and Chzhahor. According to Father A. Mostaert the name Monguor is merely a variant of the name Mongol. In the Monguor language, words which in other Mongol dialects end with an *l*, end with an *r*. The written sources and the tradition, however, clearly establish the fact that not all of the Monguors are of Mongol origin. There are no data, however, to explain the process by which the Shat'o group lost its original Turkish language and adopted that of the Monguors. There is an ample historical record to demonstrate that the name T'u-jen, by which the Chinese call the Monguors, is incorrect since in ancient and medieval times the region now inhabited by the Monguors was intermittently and alternatingly occupied by various tribes. The explanation of the Chinese term is, however, sufficiently obvious. The Chinese military colonists transplanted to the region at the opening of the Ming dynasty must have assumed that the Monguor "natives" whom they found there were "aborigines" who had always been there.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE MONGUORS

197 The language of the Monguors has been studied by the Fathers A. Mostaert and A. de Smedt.[15] Father A. Mostaert writes me:

> The language spoken by the Monguors is a Mongol dialect, with peculiar archaic characteristics concerning both the phonetics and the vocabulary . . .

[15] A. De Smedt et A. Mostaert. *Le dialecte Monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kan-su occidental. Ire partie: Phonétique.* Anthropos. Vienna. Leo-Gesellschaft **24**: 145–164 et 801–815; **25**: 657–665 et 961–973; **26**: 253. *IIme partie: Grammaire.* Monumenta Serica Monograph **6**. Peking. Catholic Univ., 1945. *IIIme partie: Dictionnaire Monguor-Français.* Publication de l'Université Catholique de Pékin. Peiping. 1933. A. Mostaert. The Mongols of Kansu and their language. *Bull. Catholic Univ. of Peking* **8**. 1931.

[p. 286]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

197 The Monguor morphology also differs from that of the Mongol dialects.

The Monguor dialect borrowed a large number of words both from the Tibetan and mostly from the Chinese languages; the words borrowed from Turkish are less numerous.

These facts secure to the Monguor dialect a peculiar aspect, and make it so extremely different from other Mongol dialects, that Monguors are unable to converse either with eastern or with western Mongols, and in order to speak with them they have to use another language.

HISTORICAL SOLUTION OF THE ENIGMA

175 The grouping of Mongol and Shat'o tribes which resulted in the formation of the Monguor people was effected in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century. In 1226 Subudei, one of Chingis Khan's greatest commanders, invaded Hsining on his way to Lan-chou.[16] In 1275, according to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 7*a*), a Mongol army was sent to fight the turbulent T'ufan (Tibetans) whose nomad pastures

[16] H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan*, 290, 291, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950. This work contains a valuable discussion of this campaign.

[p. 29-b]

/2 cont'd/

144
162

Chavannes, Turcs Occidentaux /Western Turks/). The Cha-t'ouo to whom Kao-chu-hui's relation refers here, were a tribe of the western Turcs first settled in early times to the east of Barkoul, and after A.D. 808 transferred to the northern borders of Kan-sou, for the sake of protecting them from inroads. /Cited in English, with one interpolation in French indicated by underline./

(620-905); the chronicles of Sining confirm this tradition. The last group came to live in the area either in the Yüan period (1280-1368) or the Ming (1368-1644).

101 These two groups speak the same language today, called
●197 Monguor by them. The language is very archaic; it reflects the Mongolian of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Let us call to
[113] the attention of those who are interested in the question of the T'ou-jen language the study of Fathers Mostaert and De Smedt published in Anthropos, XXIV-XXV, "Le dialecte monguor, parlé par les Mongols du Kan-sou occidental /The Monguor Dialect, spoken by the Mongols of Western Kansu/." The grammar and the dictionary are in press.

The Cha-t'ouo of whom we speak are then Mongolized today. It should be pointed out that the notions of race and language are subject to caution.

622 The T'ou-jen, subject to China, have kept their autonomy
148 under chiefs of their race, recognized by China and called t'ou-se. The Chinese Republic, from its beginning, has shown itself hostile to this autonomous administration and has tried to treat the T'ou-jen as Chinese, subject to the jurisdiction of the mandarins of the place.

177 The ways and customs of the T'ou-jen, although influenced by the proximity of the Chinese and the Tibetans, have remained relatively pure. They reveal many a secret of their former social organization and of their nomadic life of yesteryear.

[16 cont.]

104

Consonants

	Laryngals	Velars**	Medio-gutturals**	Pre-gutturals	Palatals	Palatalized*
S	h	ġ x	g k	y	ž š dž tš	s dz ts
M	χ	ǤZ	G k'	y	Ʒ ʒ DZ ts	ś ʤ ts'
A	h	ġ x	g kh	y	ž š dž tšh	š dž tš

	Dentals	Dentilabials	Labials**	Liquids	Nasals
S	d t s dz ts	f	b p w f	r l	ñ n m
M	D t' s DZ ts'	f	B p' w f	r l, r	ŋ n m
A	đ th s đz tsh	f	b ph w ff	r l	ñ, ŋ n m

* Only before the dipthongs ia, ie, iä, and before i.

** g, g, b have the voiceless mark "-" in the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[17] "g," "ġ," "b," "d" are always voiceless. Hence the voiceless mark (-) is superfluous. "p," "t," "k," "ts," "s," "tš," "k" are always aspirated, and therefore the aspirate "-h" is unnecessary. "d" and "t" are palatalized only in conjunction with "dz" and "ts," so that a palatalization sign is not necessary. The same applies to "s," "dz," "ts," "sdz," "sts," which are palatalized only before "i," "ia," "ie," "iä." For instance, in place of dzia (according to the Anthropos alphabet), there is simply dzia.

104 197 Besides "l" and "r," the DMF has a hybrid sound which approximately corresponds to the English "r" that is trilled once, and "r" is always used for it. The dialect in the region of my informant does not have nearly so many examples of this intermediate sound. The people there almost always differentiate the "l" from the "r" and almost always in the sense of written Mongolic, as I was later able to establish. According to the [192] DMF, Ǥar can mean "fire" and "hand"; supposedly there is no difference phonetically. My informants, on the other hand, quite clearly say ġal for "fire" and ġar for "hand."

N
*563
*[175] /Kansu Monguors/
M
[175] peacefully, stimulating both agriculture and commerce. Development of the country was dependent on control of the neighbouring tribes."

b. language

M
[197] The language of the Mongours is completely different from Western or Eastern Mongolian. There is no communication between the Mongours and Torguts or Ölöts, etc.

c. clan divisions

N
*563
M
614 According to Father Schram there exist six Mongour clans in the Hsi-ning district and ten in the district of Nien-pei. (He uses the term "clan" to designate a group who share a common territory, a common surname and a common chief.) The names of the clans are: (1) Ch'i, whose chief is said to be an offspring of Chingis Khan; (2) Ch'eng; (3) Li; (4) Na; (5) Wang, and (6) Chi. The names of the Nien-pei clans are: (1) Ch'i; (2) Li Nan-ko; (3) Li Hua-nao; (4) Chao; (5) Ah; (6) Kan; (7) Chou; (8) Yeh; (9) Hsin; (10) La. As the names indicate, Chinese influence was strong.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, Tibetan and Chinese frequently were absorbed by the Mongour clans. Mannerheim reports that the Shera Yögur (another subgroup of the Mongours) have preserved their old Mongolian clan names, like Tokshu, Orge, Sultus, Turgush, Kargos, Arlat, Kong, Lantshak, Socka, Kongrott, Temyrt or Temurtshin, Jaglakyr, Tshungsa, Tshangban, Rkomdjuk, Glan, Kyrgyz, Andjan, Tuman and Uirot. There is a strict observance of clan exogamy.

N
*563 2. Physical characteristics

M
142
[144] Since the Mongours are either of Mongolian, Turkish (Sha-to), Tibetan, or Chinese extraction, their physical appearance is not at all uniform. Mannerheim's description shows this variety of physical features: The Shera Yögurs are of medium height and not badly built. They have well-formed hands and feet and narrow wrists and ankles. There is nothing about them of the coarse and vulgar appearance which distinguishes the Kalmucks. Stout people are never seen - many of them are even remarkably thin. Their faces are neither exceptionally long and narrow nor short and broad. Though some have pronounced cheekbones, wide cheekbones are rare, and in many individuals they are not at all protruding. The mouth is normal, with neither thin nor thick lips, the nose straight and of a good shape. Some, however, have wide turned-up noses, with very little bridge to them. Among the majority, the distance between the eyes was rather wide. It is overgrown by the eyelid in childhood, but with age, this peculiarity almost disappears. Their eyes are black or dark, with slight changes in them, but no blue eyes were observed by Mannerheim. Their hair is black or quite dark, sometimes curly, the children often having brown hair. The men are never bald, but often become very gray and, judging by the women, the growth of hair is not particularly good. They

5
19 but before *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bičig "letter, writing"	bitšig (or bitšig)
čimůgen "hammer"	tšimgn̥
čirai "face"	tširē

5) The Common Mongolian *e became *ö in certain positions:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
ebůsůn "hay"	öwsn̥
ebůdůg "knee"	öwd*g
ebedčin "disease"	öwtšn̥
elgů- "to hang"	ölg-

6) The Written Mongolian (old Mongolian) diphthongs have developed into long vowels in the Kalmuck language:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
dalbaγai "large and flat"	dalwaγā
duldui "iron rod"	duldū
gei "handle of an axe"	gē
moγai "snake"	moγā
alγui "name of a plant"	alγū

7) The Common Mongolian vowels have developed into front vowels before the Common Mongolian *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bari- "to seize"	bär-
qari- "to come back"	χär-
sayin "good"	sän

N B. The Monguor Language

+563 One of the strangest Mongolian languages is Monguor, because
[197] it preserves still some Middle Mongolian peculiarities and also
M because it is under the influence of initial forms which are charac-
[197] teristic of Tibetan. Those Mongols who call themselves Monguors
live in the Chinese province of Kansu and practice nomadic animal
M breeding as well as some agriculture. The Chinese call them
[101] Tu-jen. The Mongols of the Mongolian People's Republic call
[361] them Dolot. The sub-group of San-chuan Mongols (Monguor)
live north of Kuan-ting. The Santa live south of the Yellow River and east of Tao-ho. The sub-group of the Shera-Yogur live around Kan-chou, Su-chou and Tun-huang. All these tribes are Buddhists with the exception of the Santa, who have become converted to Islam. Culturally the Monguors, at least partially, appear to be mongolized Turks and Tibetans.

M The following observations may be made about the Monguor
19 language:

1) The Monguor language has preserved the Common Mongolian *p or *ɣ as *f and as *χ:

[15 cont.]

124 Sometimes he would come back after a few days and ask: "May I hear once more what you have taken down? Something else has occurred to me, add this and that." In each case he would know exactly on which sheet the passage was, although he could not read any of it, proof of his attentiveness and his good memory.

128 Sometimes it may appear as though the linguistic dress
192 of this first part excessively conveys my European technical
177 terms and not the simple language of the informant. This is not the case, however, for such technical terms are found in both Chinese and the Tujen language. Chinese and Tujen have their own words for trance, meditation, offering, libation, prayer, etc. They distinguish between slaughtering and offering a sacrifice, between monk and layman, etc. These are, after all, the conceptions of a people who has not only been extensively influenced by Lamaism with its abundant religious forms, but also has active intercourse with Chinese culture. It should therefore be emphasized that all the words at the end of a chapter under the heading "Word List" come from the informant, including the indication of a possible Tibetan [16] or
[198] Chinese origin (3). It is not surprising that so many Tibetan

3. [Foreign text p. 18.] Mr. Unkrig had the kindness to check the word lists. In the process it turned out that the informant was quite reliable with his information concerning the Tibetan equivalents. Where it seemed necessary (not always), these equivalents have been added to the individual chapters in the univocal form of the written language (Tib. and Mong.), with the entry (Unkrig). I am further indebted to Mr. Unkrig for many another linguistic suggestion and above all for the inspection of the lexicons and Lamaist literature that otherwise was not available.

[16 cont.]
128 loanwords are cited, for Tibetan is the official language of
192 Lamaism, which occupies such a large place in the life of the
177 people. Here it should be mentioned that the old man desig-
[198] nated the expressions from Tibetan or Mongolic as "higher lan-
[186] guage" or "literary language," a value that he did not accord Chinese.

Finally a note with regard to the peculiar nature of this
114 work. It presents a popular religion, and that of a certain group.
[184] This means in the first place that not everything can be gen-
[179] eralized for the Koko Nor region, not even for all the Tujen. Secondly, one will find no accounts about the dogma, the official rites, or the secret practices of monastic Lamaism and the higher Bon religion. The Tibetan and Mongolic writings give this information. Also, it was unnecessary to cite the basic literature on this subject, at least not to any considerable extent. To be sure, this is not infrequently done, but only when it seemed to be required for an understanding of the popular customs. In such cases it was preferable to start from linguistic considerations. On the other hand, a presentation of the popular religion as practiced is a help for knowledge of the
[177] official religion. The popular belief, with its various customs, casts new light on the multiformity of monastic Lamaism, which has adopted so many pre-Buddhistic traits from the conceptual realm of Central Asia.

6. The Transcription of the Tujen Language

104

The transcription of the Tujen words and the Tibetan-Mongolic loanwords is based on the orthography of the DMF. For practical reasons, however, the large letters were replaced by small ones and the diacritical marks simplified. The following table presents first the orthography used here (S), under it the one used by P. A. Mostaert in the DMF (M), and under that the phonetic values of the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[832 cont.]

241 Such families, however, must make their contribution. The
782 main thing is that the animal be healthy and without flaw. For
[829] instance, it may not be lame or blind. Also, ugly colors are
[621] avoided, for instance, a white animal with a black head, etc.

Objects used: For the offering one needs several iron kettles, several buckets of water, knives, ladling spoons, cords, blood basins, eating bowls, firewood, etc. In addition, one takes along all the equipment for the incense offering.

Slaughtering: The slaughtering is preceded by a great incense offering, which is maintained by the men throughout the ceremony. Anyone may repeatedly throw cypress twigs into it at will, offer barley wine, etc. At the same time the
[202] conch is steadily blown so that one can hear from afar that an offering is taking place on the mountain.

Young men bring the animal to the spot, untie it, and
241 wash it with their hands from head to tail. Then it is fumigated
782 with incense. Another places a white stone in the fire. When
783 it is hot, he scoops hot water out of a kettle with an iron spoon, puts the stone in the spoon, scatters pounded cypress leaves over it, and with it fumigates the sheep. All the men who helped with the slaughtering wash their hands and faces, rinse out their mouths, and fumigate themselves. All the implements are likewise washed and fumigated.

Now they form a circle around the sheep and pour milk
241 over its head and neck. It does not matter what kind of milk
782 it is. One may also use flour- or tsamba-water or even pure
787 water. A healthy sheep shakes itself at this pouring. This shaking is an indication that the sky accepts the animal. Then the men make a threefold kowtow in a circle around the sheep. After the milk has been poured over it, they let the sheep run free for a few steps and capture it again. In case the animal does not shake itself, they immediately fetch another.

The slaughtering is performed by the seed-master. His
241 helpers seize the sheep by its legs and horns, force it down on
782 the ground, and bend back its head so that the throat is tensed.
231

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

231 donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel rela-
441 tively well because they have not been confined and fed
in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open
[237] around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy
pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a
large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to
Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from
there to Europe and America for making brushes.

236 The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send
their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this
237 buying is done directly in the homes of families that
have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor
443 children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted
439 with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-
drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buy-
ing in small quantities is done by the peddlars, espe-
cially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by
women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth,
cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments,
[436] and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are
usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small
[203] quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for
Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place
to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to
the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining
is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of
the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as
they travel.

442 Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs.
Two or three times a year every important monastery
296 holds special religious performances, around which there
543 spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after
paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their
tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads
all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and
plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in
addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes
and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes,
wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack
[232] doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose dis-
eases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses,
cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

543 Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and at-
tract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable dis-
579 tances. In the afternoons there are horse races and
wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymak-
ing, and often, when there has been too much drinking,
fights between clans and villages.

463 A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-
distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the
439 medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy,
484 France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big
men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet
and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small
merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods,
attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan
lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Each claimed to be 754
the proprietor of a small mountain. The Living Buddha lost his suit and the limping Tjaar tseen became the most celebrated man in the country. The Buddha invited three black shamans to bewitch the limping Tjaar tseen, and accused him again. He lost the second lawsuit also. Raging, the Buddha invited three black shamans to cast more efficacious spells. The chief of the village did not care any more, and the villagers graze their herds on the mountain to the present day. This fact is interesting for us because a Living Buddha, on two occasions, invited black shamans.

Hu, a rich Monguor, compelled a poor Monguor to [583]
sell to him his beautiful and willing young wife. The poor Monguor, using his last resource, invited a black shaman to bewitch his wife. The black shaman prepared skulls of a dog and of a fox, and a horn of a black goat. Inside each he enclosed three slips of paper on which he had designed cabalistic signs with dog blood around the name of the wife. The three items were buried at night under the entrance door of the courtyard of Hu, with the mouth of the skulls facing his living room. The young wife became sick. Shamans were invited to discover the cause of the illness and to neutralize the evil influences, but to no avail. The wife died and the shaman, it was said, was powerless against a punishment of Heaven and the spirits. But there was no peace in the courtyard; at night, noises disturbed the rest. Black shamans were invited for three days and they found the skulls. The poor man was accused before the T'u-ssu, but the T'u-ssu did not pay any attention because the behavior of the rich Monguor was supposed to have been unjust. It is the usual trick of the black shamans to bury magical things under the lintels of doors or in cemeteries.

In countries where there are no newspapers, such 203
tales are spread like prairie fires, by peddlers, and 754
commented on and believed, especially when outstanding persons are involved. They create the trend of mind of the people and make them fear so much the black shamans living south of the Hsining River, who are said to use beads made from human bones, to blow a trumpet made from the bone of a young woman who committed suicide, to wear a girdle made from the skin of such a woman, to braid into the enormous pigtail, coiled around the head, the hair of such a woman, and to use drums made from skulls of young girls. The most terrifying tales are told about them and they are believed by the people.

RITES CONCERNING THE GUARDIAN SPIRITS OF THE WEALTH OF THE FAMILY

777
According to the Monguors, persons who commit 635
injustices are pursued by the guardian spirit of the 556
wealth of the victim of the injustice, who causes them

[p. 130(A)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 562 852 [553] first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal M [203] [604] [603] [553] uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, al- M [184] though the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

N *563 M 302 [593] [888] j. Beard-growing

A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

N *563 M 764 [171] [179] k. Wedding, funeral and grave

The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

N *563 M 843 562 4. Popular beliefs

Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 [77] 789 If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.

[39 cont.]

792 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the recep-
796 tion. The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the
574 gifts are brought after him on animals.

[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers. [465] They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

351
796 Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is
784 called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the be-
[609] ginning of the performance may not enter the yard. On the
[792] other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as
[211]
[177]

7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

[534]

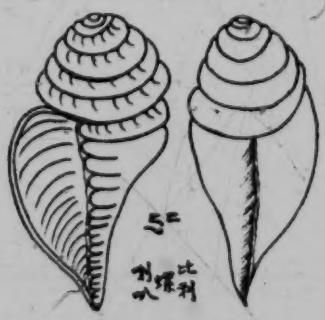

Fig. 6. Shells.

[532]

(Drawing of a Tujen.)

351 [40 cont.]
796
784
211
[177]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] maintains that formerly the Tujen used no sieve and that they learned of it from the Chinese. Nowadays paper is commonly used when it is a matter of a taboo that is not connected with the prayer service. Thus the people stick a rectangular piece of red paper to the gate intrados, on the right when, for example, there is sickness in the compound, and on the left when a woman is in confinement there. White paper is used when someone has died, a custom that probably comes from the Chinese.

[574] [792] The taboo always lasts for several days, three, five, seven, always an odd number, and always as long as the lama is staying at the house, as well as two days afterwards. If, for example, the lama is there only one day, the taboo lasts three days; if he is there three days, it lasts five days, etc. If he is in the house for seven days, however, the taboo lasts for an entire week after his departure (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 42-43.] The taboo regulations mentioned here also apply to other religious ceremonies, even when no lama or Bon priest is invited. The taboo is then in force for only three days, however. -- Even the best friends are not admitted into the house, but are dealt with by the gate of the yard. For this reason they must first call out loudly so that someone will come out.

[751] [43] Sometimes the people also say that in case of illness the yard is marked not out of fear of the spirits, but

351 [40 cont.]
796
784
211
751

[Note on foreign text p. 43 cont.]
rather in order to give strangers a signal so that they will not be infected and will stay outside.

Word List

192
792

Lama: lama; ho-shang (Chin.).
Lama of the Yellow Sect: gelõñba (Tib.); sira lama.
Lama of the Red Sect: fulan lama.
Great lama: šge lama; ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.).
Small lama: mula lama.
Hutukhtu (6): sañ (10); šge sañ = great H.; mula sañ = small H.
huo-fuo (Chin.) = Living Buddha; fo-yeh = Buddha.

6. [Foreign text p. 42.] The common people know little about the hierarchy among the monks. They know great and small lamas. Among the great they count the hutukhtu, the tsüordzi and the känbō. According to their conception, a great lama is especially learned, knows many magical practices, and therefore has special power. The small lamas have only a little learning and are able to perform only minor ceremonies, for instance, the obo prayer.

[775] The hutukhtus are regarded as Buddhic incarnations. In this the common people do not differentiate between Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Among them everything is fuo-yeh, that is, Buddha-Father. They use this Chinese name for everything that is the seat of the spirit or a spirit itself, in other words, also for the incarnations

[778]
[775]

[842 cont.]

778
192

[Note on foreign text pp. 843-844 cont.]

The second name is šdier; šdier corresponds to the Mongolic seter; cf. DMF, p. 335, "sdier, ribbon or piece of material attached to the tail or to the mane of an animal consecrated to the deities running free. Cf. Mong. seter, ord. se't'er id." [translated from French]. -- The Tujen designate both the consecration band and the consecrated animal with šdier. This likewise agrees with Mongolic linguistic usage. According to W.A.Unkrig (communication), seter is a [844] band that is tied in the animal's mane or tail. seter also refers to the animal itself and the rite by which it is consecrated. For seter, Kovalevskij (1346) gives the Tibetan equivalents bsruṅ rtags. According to Jäschke (594 and 212) this means: tutelary-spirit sign, through which it is clear that the animal belongs to the tutelary spirit. Neither Jäschke nor Das have the word combination bsruṅ rtags.

778 [791] Renewal of the consecration: Usually the renewal takes place in the local temple. The soothsayer determines which day between the new and the full moon. This day of renewal must then be maintained for the life of the animal.

One may also choose the original place of consecration. -- Consecration-master, consecration-god, and consecration-animal must always remain the same. Only if an animal no longer shakes itself when the milk is poured over it is another one taken.

Also, old lost bands are not replaced at the renewal, but [211] every year a new band is added, so the years of consecration can be determined by the number of bands.

[171] Distribution: The animal-consecration is practiced wherever Tujen live. The Chinese do not know it; only in

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The emperor praised the military prestation of Li Yin and sent delegates from Peking with laudatory letters and with the order to come to Peking, the expenses to be defrayed by the empire. He received the promotion of Yu-fu tso-tu-tu and rich gifts. The next year he was honored with the title of Duke of Hui Ning, and received an emolument every year of 1,100 *tan* of grain. At the same time, the emperor, with delicate attention, bestowed upon his deceased father, Li Nan-ko, the same title of Duke of Hui Ning (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

Li Yin seemed to have reached the summit of a glorious career. However, a more eminent honor was in store for him. His merits would be chiseled on a stele in a temple built by himself to remind future generations of the imperial dignities bestowed upon him.

In the Kuang-fu-kuan, a temple built in 1426 in the northeast corner of the city of Hsining, the following is chiseled on a stele (*Annals* of Kansu 30: 45*a–b*; *Annals* of Hsining 35: 6*a–b*):

In 1422 in the eighth moon, Emperor Yung Lo, on his way back from an expedition in the desert took a breath in Yu-lin (Shensi) and called to his tent the officials who had won the most distinguished merits during the expedition. He granted Li Yin the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Pillar of the Empire and Duke of Hui Ning. Then the duke asked the emperor for permission to build in Hsining a temple in honor of the god of the war, in order to show gratitude for the blessings bestowed upon the empire and the people, and to secure more blessings in the future. The emperor agreed. Back home, Li Yin ordered, a few days later, the building of the temple. In the tenth moon of 1426 he informed the emperor about the completion of the construction. The emperor granted to the temple the name "Kuang-fu-kuan" (Taoist temple of glory and felicity), and appointed five Taoist priests for the performance of the sacrifices and worship in the temple.

One evening Li Yin was dreaming: he heard a man saying to him, "The God of War will appear." Instantly he dressed and adjusted his hat. Another man arrived carrying a tray with fine dishes. He invited Li Yin to come to his home to enjoy the dishes. Li Yin could not understand the circumstances of such an invitation. He thought it should be a spirit. Then he invited this man to come to his home. They were about to start with the dinner when all of a sudden the man said, "The spirit is there." Li Yin opened the door. He saw a man perfectly dressed, riding a white horse with a beautiful saddle and escorted by a numerous retinue. The man was like a king. The Taoist priest Ho Chao-tsung accompanied him, dressed in Taoist fashion, holding a book in his hands. He asked Li Yin: "The god will go first to the temple of the King Li. Is that correct?" Li Yin answered that he would first call at the Ning-fan Ssu (the temple of the appeased Tibetans). The entire group left. The sky was bright. On the way they passed a beautiful high building, enclosed by a high wall. They said, "The man who is living here does not belong to the lower range of society." They arrived at the gate of the temple. Li Yin dismounted from his horse. He was terrified. This happened on the eighth day of the seventh moon in 1423. In the winter of the same year the Duke was invited to see the emperor in Peking. He received his titles and precious gifts and returned to Hsining. What the Duke saw in his dream was the appearance of the god of war. It was a reward for his

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devotion to the empire. Emperor Yung Lo whom he had served in the expeditions in the desert had given him a precious sword and a famous horse. In 1425 Li Yin had fought the brigands in Anting and at the head of his soldiers had attacked the brigands and himself had killed many among them. He had captured a booty of 130,000 cattle. The emperor had sent minister Yang Yung to congratulate him. His merits were unusual and therefore he received in his dream a visit from the god of war . . . all these circumstances we have recorded on the stele, etc.

Without doubt the titles received by Li Yin, the building of the temple and the name given to it by the emperor himself, the stele, and the wonderful dreams went straight to the heart of the clan members and strengthened the cohesion of the Li clan. All these circumstances normally seem to have been conducive at that time to the building of an elaborate clan cemetery and to the erection in 1426 of the famous "spirit way stele" in honor of Li Nan-ko, the founder of the clan, father of Li Yin.

However, the behavior of Li Yin, puffed up with pride, had changed after he had been honored so magnificently by the emperor. The Governor of Ninghsia, Shih Chao, who had previously been Governor of Hsining, accused him of fostering subversive intentions. Li Yin could disprove the accusation. In Hsining he had assembled 700 families, fugitives from justice, whom he protected. He had settled them in the country and had given them land to till. But they harmed their neighbors, stealing and upsetting the country. Again complaints were lodged with the board of military justice, and Li Yin was ordered to turn over his tenants to the civil authority. In 1432 Ch'i Ch'eng, descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, was his father's lawful successor to the office of t'u-ssu. The boy Li Yin, not bothering to offend the prominent Ch'i t'u-ssu clan, supported as successor to the t'u-ssu office Chien Tsang, the nephew of Ch'i Ch'eng, who was the son of his sister. He appointed murderers to kill Ch'i Ch'eng. He was accused again. This time the military judges rolled all the accusations into one, condemned him to prison, to the revocation of his titles and honors and to capital punishment. In 1437 the emperor pardoned him, allowing him a small emolument. Soon thereafter he died (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

HUANGCHUNG T'U-SSU UNDER THE SUBSEQUENT EMPERORS

After the death of Yung Lo, (1424) the alarming confusion and struggle continued unabated among the eastern and western Mongols, both groups appointing their own Khans, who were merely nominal supreme chiefs and actually blind tools in the hands of Togon and A-lu-t'ai who controlled the two groups. A-lu-t'ai, weakened after many encounters with the Chinese and Oirat troops; was finally defeated and killed by the Oirat, Togon, in 1434; and the hegemony of the Oirats

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is fighting must be fought, but always at the same time the tribes should be induced to surrender peacefully. The debates lasted for seven years and nothing was done (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 10*b*, 11*a*). Finally in 1530 the Tibetan tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou started plundering the country. The tribes had fled from Kokonor for fear of the Mongols. Their destitution was tragic. Commander Liu Wen-yu, protagonist of the third group, left with his army, but at the same time sent officials to induce the tribes to surrender, promising them help. Among them only twenty-one tribes decided to revolt, the Lung-po (Uighur) tribe being the leader of the group. The commander defeated two tribes, killed 360 rebels and then started peace talks. He succeeded, receiving the surrender of seventy or more tribes. He returned with the army. The regions of T'ao and Ming Chou were at peace. 175x 648 723

The same year, while the tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou, situated south of the Yellow River, were pacified, the Tsantsa tribes, living on the northern bank of the Tatung River, plundered the region of Nienpei, but were defeated in the T'u-ku-hung valley. Splinter groups of Mongols raided Chengfan, and small groups of Kokonor brigands invaded Hsining and were pursued.

In 1534, amidst all these troubles, the Ming dynasty was still interested in education and instruction. More schools were built in several small fortresses, and in Hsining the Hall of the Faithful and Meritorious officials was constructed. On the stele erected inside the hall, we read among the names of the celebrated personalities those of four Monguor t'u-ssu: Li Nan-ko, Li Yin, the Duke of Huei-ming, his son, T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih, and T'u-ssu Li Ch'ang, son of Li Yin (*Annals* of Hsining 35: 9*b*, 10*a*). 175x 871 211

The situation grew worse every day and all of Huangchung was upset. Liu T'ien-ho, vice-president of the ministry of war, was sent in 1536 to direct the military operations in Kansu and Shensi. The third son of Dayan, Barsa Bolot, with his son, the Jinong had settled in Ordos. The turbulent Jinong made raids in Ninghsia, Liang and Kanchow. T'u-ssu Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40), Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49), Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 54), were ordered to help stem the forays. T'u-ssu Hsin died on the field of battle. The Jinong invaded Hsining and hit a severe blow. T'u-ssu Lu and Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52) helped the commander beat the Jinong. 175x 648 [845]

The next year the Kokonor brigands made a raid in Hsining and were severely beaten, twice, at the temple T'ieh-fu, 50 li north of the city.

General Liu T'ien-ho, having studied the situation of the country, ordered first the repair of the walls and towers of the eighteen existing small fortresses and villages and cities, and to start immediately with the building of seventeen new fortified villages. He promoted agriculture around the fortresses, dug irrigation 175x 712 [502 312]

[P. 44 (B)]

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canals, helped the people with grain and oxen, etc. He built the two large cities of Pa-yien-jung and San-ch'uan, south of Nienpei, and established there two strong garrisons, in order to control the whole region north of the Yellow River, reaching from the south of Hsining to Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu 24: 18; 23: 16). At that time the only fortified villages were near the mansions of the t'u-ssu, where in time of troubles the people found shelter with their cattle and helped to defend the fortress, and from which they attacked and pursued brigands. Only near these fortresses were living and farming possible. No wonder that the helpless scattered tribes incessantly revolted, plundered on their own account, or joined the invaders after having been plundered. 175x 712 [582 312]

In 1537 groups of Ordos brigands raided the fortress of Cheng-ch'iang-I, situated between Liangchow and Lanchow. T'u-ssu Yeh defended the fortress heroically and died in the battle. The people esteemed his brave conduct and erected a stele in commemoration inside the village. 175x 648 [21]

In 1541 the Jinong from Ordos raided Hsia-ch'uan-ku in Huangchung; a crushing defeat was administered to him by General Liu T'ien-ho in Ho-shuei-wan. His son Chin-shao was killed in the battle. T'u-ssu Lu, Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40), Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45) participated in the action. Groups belonging to the Tsa tsa tribes of Huangchung plundered San-ch'uan and were chased by T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45), and Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38).

In 1543 the turbulent Jinong, leading a strong army, arrived at Kokonor, where he defeated I-pu-la, and captured half of his followers. I-pu-la fled to Mongolia plundering the Liangchow country on his way back. The Jinong was the grandson of Dayan and had a score to settle with I-pu-la, who, seceding with his tribes, had offended his grandfather Dayan. I-pu-la had raided and plundered Huangchung, had scattered or subdued and ruined the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor during thirty-four years (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 15*b*; 20: 12*a*). Pu-erh-hai, a Mongol chieftain who had joined I-pu-la in 1525, had already abandoned I-pu-la, and had hidden in the mountains to avoid the Jinong. Previously he had manifested his intention to submit to China and was better disposed toward the Tibetans. Many tribes returned to Kokonor hoping to enjoy a precarious peace for some years (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 12*b*). The same year T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to lead his troops to Tatung in Shansi province to help chase the invading Mongols.

In 1546 the emperor ordered the officials to erect an Honorific Arch glorifying the merits of T'u-ssu Lu. [21]

Until 1549 the students in Hsining had been unable to pass the literary examination and acquire titles. This year, on account of the new regulations, diplomas were granted in Hsining. 175x 871

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of them remained united and strong because of the benefits derived from brigandage and loot. 175x 648

Altan, who controlled all the Mongols, was in 1559 making forays and harrassing China. For a long time he had been conversant with the fertile Kokonor country, the El Dorado of peoples engaged in cattle breeding, and also with the weakness of the Chinese forces which defended the country, and the helplessness of the disunited Tibetan tribes. Being eager to occupy Kokonor he sent to the country his two sons Pin-tu and Ping-tu with several thousands of Mongols. In 1561 Pin-tu occupied and looted the country of Sung-shan-i, situated between Chuang Lang and Ordos. Ping-tu went to Kokonor, plundering and looting East Kansu (*Annals* of Hsining **20**: 12). He defeated the Chinese army sent against him. The Li T'u-ssu died in the battle (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*a*). In 1568, however, he was severely beaten around Kuei Te and lost many of his people (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*a*). In the meantime the Tibetan Tsan-tsa and Ko-tsa tribes had invaded the Ma-ha-la valley in Hsining but were chased away. Mongol groups of Pin-tu made raids from Sung Shan, in the Pa-yen-jung region (Hsining) and were beaten (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 17). Again the military authority ordered walls and small fortresses built on the mountain passes and on the routes used by the brigands to invade the country (*Annals* of Hsining **13**: 9, 10). [72]

In Hsining the bureau for the administration of the military colonies was erected in 1567 (*Annals* of Hsining **23**: 5). [47]

In 1568 the emperor ordered the officials of Hsining to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining for the meritorious T'u-ssu Li Kung, grandson of Li Yin, who in 1481 had passed the literary examination of *chin shih* and fulfilled the office of minister in the Chang-pao-sse. The arch was built on the great street of the eastern gate of the city, and still exists. The emperor granted the honorific inscription chiseled in the arch: Ch'ing Yun (clearing clouds)—meaning bright sky, and thus bright intelligence. 175x 211

In 1569 the Tibetan Ssu-erh-ko and Hung-mao tribes raided Hsining and were administered a blow. Two chiefs of Ssu-erh-ko were taken prisoner, but a Chinese commander was killed by the Hung-mao tribe (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 17). The commander succeeded in inducing the Ssu-erh-ko tribes to surrender and titles were bestowed upon the chieftains of their twelve tribes. They aided in inducing the Hung-mao tribes to surrender and both groups agreed to combat the Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in combination with the Chinese armies (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 19*b*). The Mongol brigand Ping-tu raided the Ta-erh-wan valley in Huangchung from Kokonor and was repelled by the army which lost its commander (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*b*). 175x 648

Altan surrendered in 1570 and concluded peace with

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and Sung Pa, were learned men and enjoyed prestige in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet (Monguors II: 27, sq.). 175x 792 795

In 1607 the Brigadier General, T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chai, with his troops, was ordered to help General Ta Yun repel the raids of Kokonor brigands who in combination with Ordos brigands invaded and looted Chengfan and Liangchow. They repelled them, administering a severe blow (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 39). 175x 648

In 1612 the emperor ordered an honorific arch built to the meritorious Brigadier General Ch'i Teh, and sent the inscription to be chiseled on it: "Honorably favored by Heavenly Grace." The arch was built on the west street of the city of Hsining and still exists. Ch'i Teh is a descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i-Kung-ko-hsing-chi, who during the Yuan period fulfilled the duty of myriarch, with golden badge and purple tassel, in the region 90 li south of Hsining. The Ch'i t'u-ssu clan should have been well acquainted with the Tibetan tribes living south of Hsining. No wonder the Ch'i Teh T'u-ssu was called upon by minister of war Cheng Lo in 1591, together with Colonel Shih Chia, to induce the Tibetan tribes to surrender. His successful efforts must have been the reason for the imperial distinction (*Annals* of Hsining 10: 4*b*; 27: 28). 175x 703 211

In 1616 the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Ping-chung (descendant of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh) appointed at Yung Ch'ang, saw the Mongol Yin-ting-ssu-ts'ing arriving with 1,000 horses to besiege the city. He controlled only 300 men but fought for two days and nights, defending the city. He himself killed three Mongol brigands. When auxiliary troops arrived he himself immediately pursued the enemy and saved all the people and cattle captured by the Mongols. The grateful people of Yung-ch'ang erected in the city a stele in commemoration of his heroic behavior. The stele still exists. Commended by his superiors for his leadership and energy, he was ordered, in 1621, to move with his troops to Liaotung Province (north of Peking) to defend the region of the Pu River. When he arrived, Liao Yang was already captured. Ten thousand more soldiers were put under his command. He remained in Liao tung for two more years. Later he encountered at P'ing-yang the Manchu troops invading China. In a pitched battle he was wounded by two sword cuts and three arrow hits. He was helped on his horse by his soldiers but died on the way. On account of his meritorious achievements, the emperor bestowed upon him the title of "T'ai-tze-t'ai-pao" "Junior guardian of the heir apparent," and an imperial oration was granted at his funeral and an order given to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining with the inscription: "Served the country, manifested loyalty." The arch still exists. It was built in the large south street of the city (*Annals* of Hsining 10: 4*b*; 27: 21*a–b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*a–b*). 175x 648 [334 211] [211 703]

A very important date in the history of Kokonor, Tibet and lamaism is 1636. Ku-Shih-han, chieftain of 175x

Hsining city. The city was carried by storm and delivered to sack and slaughter: for the soldiers there was but death. The brigands knew that the t'u-ssu had stirred the people to resist the brigands, and they wreaked ruin on them. The old T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 1*a–b*), and the T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 2*a*) were taken prisoner. The T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuen (of the old Li Wen branch) was killed with his wife and 120 members of his family (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21; 28: 15; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 43*b*). The wife of Li T'ien-yu, the concubine, the two brothers, and 300 persons of his family and servants were killed. The same year the T'u-ssu Yeh kuo-chi, who had been called by the emperor early in 1643 to fight the brigands in Ch'ang p'ing in Liaotung, died on the field of battle in 1643 (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 15). All these t'u-ssu with their families laid down their lives defending the dynasty. 175x 669

Then the brigands went down into the country devastating, burning villages, murdering anyone who made a stand, abducting women, stealing livestock, etc. A group of them went to Kokonor, where all the chiefs surrendered.

The brigands knew that the old T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien had been the promoter of the resistance and had killed their chief Huo Chin. They decided to kill him. His son Hsing-chu spent the entire family fortune, buying 100 fine horses. He went to see the chief of the brigands in P'ing-Jung-i, hoping to redeem his father. The chief not only refused to accept the horses, but told him straight to his face that his father was to be killed. Then his brother Ping-chu protested, saying that his father had not killed Huo Chin, but that he himself was the murderer. The chief looked at him a long time and finally said, you are a filial son. He ordered the father to be bound to a car and to leave for Hsi-an. Hsing-chu cried the whole way home. However, his father was not killed (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 19*a*). 175x 577 593

His father was sent to Hsi-an, together with Li T'ien-yu. In T'ung Kuan they met the Manchu Prince Ah-Ki-Ko (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). Both submitted to the newly established dynasty and were released. The Governor General Meng Ch'iao-fang, sent by the Ch'ing dynasty to pacify Kansu, had already arrived in 1645. He rehabilitated both t'u-ssu in their former office of commander of the clan, enjoining them to pacify the t'u-ssu of Hsining and Ho-hsi, to induce the Tibetans to be submissive, to abstain from revolts and to capture the rebel Tibetan Chao Chin-chung (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 2*a–b*; 31: 21; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 44*b*). To the T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuen who had perished with his wife and 120 members of his family the emperor later ordered built an honorific arch in Hsining with the inscription "Loyal servant and faithful wife, glory of the noble clan" (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 15*b*). 175x [211 703]

[P.52(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

At the moment you receive the order, organize and muster your cavalry instantly, watch the strategic points, block the roads of the brigands, and kill them. Do not hesitate a moment or let slip a favorable opportunity. If you disobey you will be punished. I hope you will look at the order with reverence. This is the reason for the order. 175X

Imperial order of the fifteenth of the eleventh moon:

Lu Chien, assistant chairman at the military headquarters (a title) and defender of Chuang Lang: the high commandant Hsuan Yu reports news of the commanders of the six commanderies of Tat'ung: the ninth of the eleventh moon, seven Mongol horsemen destroyed the great wall and crossed the frontier, shot arrows and wounded soldiers. From Pien Ti Ku it is announced that since the sixth of the tenth moon, much smoke and many tents are seen in the far distance in the northwestern direction. It seems that Pei Chia Sse Lan mustered his troops and is camping near the frontiers in order to invade and plunder the country. We have to be ready to resist the brigands. The New Year is not far away. I fear that some commandants might be remiss in their duty on account of the New Year festivities, that some might impose corvées on the soldiers, send them outside the frontiers to collect fuel, and have hunting parties to provide meat for New Year's, thereby tempting the brigands to make a sudden inroad. The losses suffered would be heavy.

I order you to control strictly the troops, to enforce the day and night watches, to keep the troops in full strength, to sharpen the weapons just as if the enemy were in front of you. When the enemy starts the invasion, inform the commandants and act according to the circumstances, attack the enemy, or consolidate the city walls, or burn the surrounding country to dispel amongst the enemy the temptation to make inroads. Try to resist the enemy and to insure the peace. I hope you will carry out your duty, remembering that peace cannot be enjoyed by taking it easy. To be entrapped in the snares of the enemy will not be forgiven. Use prudence. This is the reason for the order.

1475. An imperial order enjoins the local officials to build an honorific arch in front of the mansion of Lu Chien. The emperor sent the inscription to manifest his affection toward him. It reads: "During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and sincerity, incessantly he exercised devotedness and zeal." [703 211]

1480. Lu Chien was promoted to lieutenant colonel and defender of Hsining. Imperial order of the thirteenth of the fifth moon:

Lu Chien, assistant chairman at the military headquarters (a title not a function), I order you to fulfill the function of lieutenant colonel. You will still care for the defense of Chuang Lang and assume at the same time the defense of the country of Hsining.

You will train Chinese and Monguor foot and horse, repair the city walls, deal with officers and soldiers with kindness, prevent inroads of brigands. In time of alarm act according to the circumstances. You will still obey the orders of the commandant in chief and the Governor of Kansu. You will be honest and just, amend your shortcomings in order to command more effectively your inferiors. Do not use troops for your own interests, imposing corvées for your private use, impeding the military training and the defense of the country. Do not indulge in whims in commanding inferiors, imposing taxes and ex-

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Mongols and their stratagems. The conditions bode ill. 175X
You are an old general of the western frontiers and are conversant with the customs of the barbarians. Your reputation is well known among them, they fear you, you are respected on account of your faithfulness and justice. The troops of Chuang Lang are known for their courage and vigor. I order you to appeal to the governor and obey his orders. Mobilize 3,000 experienced Monguor and Chinese troops of Chuang Lang. The governor general will inspect and care for their helmets, armor, horses and weapons, salaries and provisions. Comply with this order with faithfulness. I will be generous with promotions. Do not pretend illness and miss the opportunity to gain merit. I hope you will comply with the order with respect.

1544. Lu Chin received the order to control the Monguor troops as before. Imperial order of the seventeenth of the tenth moon:

Lu Chin, I have examined your request to retire on account of illness. Already I have ordered your son Tan to command the troops. You beg again to retire. The favor I accorded to your grandfather Lu Chien to command the Monguor troops and control the tribes, I accord to you. Try to console and make happy your subjects, incessantly train the troops, make them understand the military arts, to be capable to resist, capture and kill brigands. In case of alerts you are allowed to mobilize the troops. Do not impose taxes, oppress the people, alienate their sympathy. Care for the education of your son and grandsons, make them understand what is faithfulness, in order that they may succeed you and command the tribes. Your merits on the frontiers are highly celebrated. Care for your health. Later I hope to promote you to another office.

1546. An order was sent to the local authorities to [211] build an honorific arch in order to glorify his merits.

1556. Lu Chin died. His son Tung succeeded him.

SEVENTH GENERATION: LU TUNG

1556. On the third moon, Wang Kuang-tsu, member of the provincial treasury administration of Hsining, was sent with the imperial oration to be read at the sacrifice of Lu Chin.

Lu Chin, you inherited the office of your ancestors and succeeded them. Your talents as general of the troops were well known, and frightened the enemies. You were promoted to be lieutenant colonel. Your zeal and merits were highly celebrated. You were promoted to be first captain in the Chinese army. You begged permission to retire on account of illness. Thereafter I called you to return to defend the country. Your incessant merits caused the country to be at peace. Just at the time I was about to entrust to you important duties, your death was announced. In order to manifest my beneficent affection I grant you sacrifices and official burial. I hope your spirits in the outer world will still be able to enjoy this benefit.

On the twenty-sixth of the third moon, on the return after the burial, a sacrifice was offered.

On the fifteenth of the sixth moon, 100 days after the burial, another sacrifice was offered.

1557. On the fifth of the third moon, a year after the death, a sacrifice was offered again.

[P. 86(B)]

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175x
614

T'u-ssu Yeh Wei-chien
T'u-ssu Wang Chao
In 1643 T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang
In 1644 T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuan, his wife and 120 members of his family.
Wife of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, his concubine, two brothers, three hundred members of the family.
T'u-ssu Yeh Kuo-chi
In 1646 T'u-ssu Ch'eng Kuang-hsien's son
In 1798 T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu
In 1864 T'u-ssu Chou Hsieh-chi

No record existed relating to the number of all the Monguor soldiers who died on the fields of battle during these five centuries.

HONORIFIC ARCHES AND INSCRIPTIONS

175x
211
703

Honorific Arch was built and inscription sent by the emperor:

In 1475 for T'u-ssu Lu Chien "During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and probity, incessantly exercised fidelity and zeal."
In 1546 for T'u-ssu Lu Chin "Incessantly practiced faithfulness and justice and was illustrious for his dignity and fame."
In 1568 for T'u-ssu Li Kung "Ch'ing Yun, 'Blue Clouds,' means Bright Intelligence. He was an eminent scholar."
In 1612 for T'u-ssu Ch'i Teh "Honorably favored by Heavenly Grace."
In 1616 for T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chung "Served the country, manifested loyalty."
In 1644 for T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuan "Loyal servant and faithful wife, glory of the noble clan."

In 1534 in the city of Hsining was built the HALL OF THE FAITHFUL AND MERITORIOUS OFFICIALS OF HUANGCHUNG.

Four names of t'u-ssu are recorded in the list of these glorious officials. They are:

Li Nan-ko
Li Yin
Ch'eng Chih
Li Ch'ang

IMPERIAL DISTINCTION

After the Hsining troops, seething with hatred against the Mongol brigands of Kokonor, and the son, nephew, and relatives of Altan, had brilliantly demolished the temple in Kokonor, where Altan had met the Dalai Lama, and after two resounding victories had been obtained against these brigands in 1594, reports were sent to the emperor with the names of the meritorious military and civil officials who had contributed to these successful achievements. A delegate of the ministry of war was sent with titles and gifts to reward these

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

officials. Among the names of these meritorious officials we read these of the Monguor t'u-ssu: 175x 211 703

Lu Kuang-tsu
Li Yu-mao
Li Hsien-hua
Ch'eng San-chi
Ch'i Ping-chung
Ch'i Teh

STELES ERECTED BY THANKFUL PEOPLE FOR MERITORIOUS T'U-SSU

In 1537 T'u-ssu Yeh Luan pacified the region of Cheng-ch'iang-i and was besieged in the fortress by several groups of Mongol brigands. He fought bravely. Nearly all his soldiers were killed, but he still fought with the courage of despair. Finally he was killed. The thankful people of the country erected a stele in Cheng-ch'iang-i in commemoration of his heroic achievement. The stele still exists.

In 1616 T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chung, appointed in Yung-ch'ang, was besieged by the Mongol Yin-ting-ssu-ts'ing and his 1,000 troops. Controlling only 300 soldiers, he fought during two days and nights. When the auxiliary troops arrived, instantly Ch'i Ping-chung pursued the enemy and recaptured the abducted people and stolen animals. The thankful people erected a stele in the city of Yung-ch'ang in commemoration of his glorious performance.

[116(A)]

[9 cont.]

115 that is, mountain spirit, because he was consecrated to the mountain spirit when he was named. He was born under the sign [776] of the sheep, that is, in the second month; according to [553] European reckoning, this would be March, 1883.

[805] Like all Tujen, the old man is a Lamaist and adheres [771] to the faith and the customs of his fathers. He is known throughout the vicinity as one of the few who are still very well versed in the traditional customs. For that reason he is asked to perform everywhere as master of ceremonies, festive speaker, overseer of sacrifices, and singer. If anyone in that region is asked about usages and customs, the usual answer is: "Go to old Tuo, he knows it best."

115 In addition he has the advantage, rare among the Tujen, of having completed the Chinese classical school. He can read ●212 and write very well, better than most of his Chinese neighbors. [871] He understands without difficulty history books, classical authors, local chronicles, etc., which in part are written in the literary [191] language. He does not have a sufficient command of the Fandse language to be able to speak it fluently, but he knows the terms of the lamas and is able to distinguish fairly well as to whether a word is a genuine Tujen word or a Fandse word. He himself in his youth took down in Chinese characters a considerable number of Fandse songs, which he can translate and explain, as well as some legends and speeches. He claims that formerly the Tujen language was also written and that the script has simply been lost. -- He does not speak the language of the Koko 115 Nor Mongols, but he claims that it could be understood if neces- 191 sary. Of course the Tujen live too far away from the Mongols; [648] only those in the vicinity of Huchu have a loose connection with the Mongols on the Tai-t'ung River beyond the Monastery Kuo-mang-szu.

124 [10] In the beginning it was not easy to persuade the old man, who for 20 years had not even been in nearby Sining, to visit me at the mission station at Kan-chia-pu, although the way there was only a two-hour ride. In the late fall of 1946 he came once for only a day. At that time I questioned him about the harvest thank-offering; the result was an article which appeared in Anthropos, 37/40. The old man could not imagine what I

[73 cont.]

*778 and go into the mountains to look for the tree. The tree must
[824] be a wild one, not one planted by human beings. It must not be taken from inhabited places or from the edge of a path. The wood should be superior, at least fir or cypress wood.

[783] Before the carpenter sets to work, he washes his hands and face and rinses out his mouth. Then he fumigates his head and hands. He proceeds in exactly the same fashion with his tools. First he indicates on the trunk the four points of the compass; then he fells it and smoothes the four sides corresponding to [74] these directions, which the tree must also retain in the chorten chamber. The tree may be only six ells long, no more and no less. The width is about ten centimeters.

The trunk is brought home and planed smooth in the compound where the lama is staying, while the lama prays and outside the incense offering is burned. Then the carpenter brings it into the house and lays it by the lama on the kang. The latter first gives a prayer over the trunk and then inscribes
[242] Tibetan sayings on it in red. He usually uses red clay dissolved in water for this. The trunk thus inscribed is then wrapped with a yellow cloth and a number of threads is wound around it. The points of the compass are written on the cloth. Then the tree is put between the urns on the household altar and placed upright, propped against the wall. The little oil-lamps and seven water-bowls are renewed, and while a new incense offering is given in the yard, the lama sprinkles the trunk and gives the votive prayer over it (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 78.] The construction of this sky column is very similar to the making of the spirit-spear. -- The trunk need not always be smoothed. In the case of partially decayed bẽṅkãṅ one can see little trunks sticking out of the sasa-mountain with all their bark and without any further preparation, which allows an even more natural connection with the world-tree. It is

[640 cont.]

764
602

[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] hsiao-tzu in Chinese, who are the male descendants and relatives of the first and second degree, for example, younger brothers, younger cousins, grandsons.

on the mother's side do not appear in the house of mourning until the eve of the cremation.

764 They must be informed, however, immediately after the death; this is called "death announcement." The master of
602 ceremonies, with a small bottle of liquor, goes to the mother's
604 brother to announce the death of the latter's nephew or niece (14).

[763]
[273]
[178]
[171]
[212]

14. [Foreign text p. 654.] In recent times the Tujen announce the death to the mother's brother by means of a written communication, like the Chinese. The original practice, however, is the announcement with the liquor-jug, to which is tied a flock of wool.

[792] The two now consult as to how the funeral solemnities are to
[465] be arranged, how many monks are to be invited to pray, how large the fees are to be, etc. The mother's brother is intent upon setting demands as high as possible, whereas the master of ceremonies sets lower ones. Once they have agreed upon
[273] the approximate level, they drink the little jug of liquor together. If they do not agree, the master of ceremonies returns home with the liquor and he receives new instructions from the bereaved family. Sometimes this happens two or three times. A final arrangement is not made until the last day at the accounting in the house of mourning.

On the eve of the cremation, the mother's brother, and with him all the male relatives on the mother's side, appears in the yard of the bereaved. The women among the maternal

[649 cont.]

792 an actual corpse were present. On the day set this sheet of paper
766 is burned in the field, but quite simply, without any oven and without a lama. No one bothers with the ashes. The lama writes
[212] the name on a second sheet, however, and this is put in the bone-chest, which is buried at the place of the burning (23) until the

[171]

23. [Foreign text p. 657.] The neighboring Chinese have a similar custom. They place the ancestral tablet of the dead person in a little coffin and bury it in the cemetery. This interment has legal force; when it is undertaken, it is regarded as proof that the person is actually dead. A parallel is found among the Chinese in the proxy wedding with a stuffed straw-man.

[212] transfer to the kin-group cemetery takes place at the grave festival. -- The signs that the lama writes are Tibetan.

Word List

192
764 Cremation: ġaldē awu- = to put in the fire.

To die: ugei (guei) wōldzia = he has passed away.

He died sitting: sōwa guei wōldzia; tsuo-hua (Chin.) = transformed sitting.

Death of a bonze: niesā sdzia = he has flown away. yū-hua (Chin.) = feathered transformed.

Death of a lama: siaġladzia = he has turned to nothing.

[775] He is reborn: härga (xara) rēdzia = he has come back; sdziewa.

One has put him in the crouching position: ndāñlalġadzia = he has been put in equilibrium.

The dead person: guei woldzān kun = departed person.

Death clothing (shoulder hanging): bōw-la (Tib. loanword) = white garment.

Death lament: dō tedzi ula.

[826 cont.]

241 The seed-master places these wedges on the table before
789 the Bon. The latter inscribes all three sides with Tibetan magic
778 formulas. For this purpose he uses Chinese ink and the brush or
791 the Tibetan bamboo pencil. The wedge that is intended for the
head of the goat [827] has a black hada slung around it at the
[212] head and a black string or a small chain in the middle.

Then some of the wool is cut from the pole-goat lying in front of the Bon, a few threads are twisted together, and with these the Bon priest ties on the wedges, one on each foot and one between the horns. All five wedges have the tip downward.
[788] He then sprinkles water from his holy-water can over goat and pole, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley, blows on it three times, and scatters it over the whole.

241 The erection of the pole-goat and the offering: The
789 men set the pole in the hole and wedge it tight with stones
and earth. The goat must face the northwest because storms
791 usually come from there. As soon as the pole is firmly set,
782 the Bon brings the weather-torma, together with the extra
[821] features, to the foot of the pole, sets it down, and immediately
returns to his place in order to continue the weather-prayer.
[823] Now he accompanies the prayer only with his drum and the bell. Again the men make a great incense offering amidst blowing on the conch.

241 The mountain-torma: Then the mountain-torma is
789 prepared. It has three steps, is round, and looks like a pyramid
with terraces about ten centimeters high. Altogether it is about
778 40 centimeters high. The torma is painted with soft butter colored red and is given the following extra features: on the first layer, water animals, frog, snake, fish, dragon, turtle, and, further, little stones, little lumps of earth, and finally a few squirts of water; on the second layer, mountain animals, deer, horse, yak, half-yak, sheep, goat, hare, fox, wolf, and a few little pieces of wood; on the third layer animals of the air, phoenix, eagle, peacock, magpie, dove, swallow, and, further, sun disk and moon sickle. On the uppermost tip are

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three colleges, and Chiar-too-ssu. Forty lamaseries established north of the Hsining River and in the prefectures of P'ing fan, Liang-chou, Kan-chou and Su-chou, originated from Erh-ku-lung or its subsidiaries and were built between 1604 and 1723. 175 772

The prodigious activity in Huang-chung and the flourishing of the monasteries are, beyond doubt, indebted to the position of eminence enjoyed at court by the three learned Monguor lamas and their reincarnations, and to the initial impulse given to Erh-ku-lung by its first Sumpas. Not only Huang-chung, but the whole Yellow Church derived benefits from the zeal of these fervent Monguors. Their influence was also tremendous upon the chiefs of Outer and Inner Mongolia. In Mongolia the fervor of the converted old adherents of the Red Sect to the Yellow Sect can be ascribed in great part to the influence of the Monguor lamas appointed by the emperor as their spiritual guides. This fact also accounts for the large number of Mongol lamas living in the monasteries of Huang-chung. The Mongol monasteries are also indebted to them for the development and organization of their studies on a serious basis. Their learned books were among those used in the Mongol colleges. Most of their teachers had been pupils of these eminent lamas who had studied at Erh-ku-lung, noted as the highest center of learning at that time. Back in their country they vied in building monasteries.[125]

The position of these learned scholars in Peking and the patronage of the Manchu emperors contributed to the development of that copious production, of encyclopedic and compilatory character, which marks the 18th century in Tibetan literary history.[126] [212]

REVOLT OF BLO-BZAN BSTAN-DSIN AND THE LAMAS

The year 1723 marks a turning point in the history of Lamaism in Huang-chung, and ends with one of those tragedies with which history is replete. At the time, Lamaism rode the crest of the wave of glory and success, monasteries and their affiliates dotted the country of Hsining, especially north of the river and far into the Nan-shan. The number of lamas was countless, the people paid enthusiastic adoration to their Living Buddhas. Each family offered one or more of its sons to the service of Buddha. Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662–1722) lavishly bestowed his favors upon Huang-chung, promoting Chang-chia to be the first lama in rank in Peking, and T'u-kuan to be the second. He invested them with diplomatic missions in Tibet and promoted them as the spiritual guides of the Mongol princes. 175 771

The country was at peace and the future filled with the greatest promise, when suddenly, like a colossus on feet of clay, the luxurious Lamaist institution crumbled and collapsed. The lamasery of Erh-ku-lung with 175 579 771

[125] Huth, *op. cit.*, 372–374.
[126] Petech, *op. cit.*, 242. [p. 34(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

his father becomes old and retires, he accepts his incumbency. No more formalities are required, for he is not the shaman attached to the village and does not live at its expense. 756 868

INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS TRAINING OF THE APPRENTICES

The intellectual education of shamans is of a very low standard. Shamans are unable to read Mongol or Tibetan books. Their prayers are said in Chinese, but because the apprentices never attend schools, they are not able to read Chinese books or to write a letter. The elders teach them to write a small number of Chinese characters, used on the few inscriptions pasted on the pole or on the doors and walls of the temples, but most of the time they print the inscriptions by means of engraved wooden blocks. They have, however, a few small prayer books written in Chinese and copied by the most intelligent among them, or by Monguor friends. These prayer books are not printed. Monguors and shamans assured me that they did not possess any books explaining their doctrine. No wonder that the instruction differs, from teacher to teacher. It was always impossible to get a coherent explanation from the shamans about religious subjects. They do not pore over books or rack their brains over theories or philosophical or religious problems. Their science is more one of fantasies, anecdotes, and miraculous tales concerning a number of spirits, told during the performance of the rites. I suppose the instruction of the apprentices would consist of being taught about the same items dealing with the spirits honored by the shamans at the rites of spring and autumn. More will be said about the subject. [212] [212] [779] [796]

The conclusion seems to be that the intellectual and religious training of most of the shamans is neglected and only superficial, and that the physical training ranks first. Many apprentices, in order to perform their physical training and acrobatics, go for months to shamans celebrated in that field. Finally it is said that the education of the apprentices is carried on by accompanying the shamans; their eyes and ears are their real teachers. Some exceptions, however, seem to have existed always, even in these latter times.

Many times I heard the Monguors speaking about a famous old Lu shaman, who died around 1904. The old man went every year to the mountains of Waza with his own apprentice and the apprentices of other shamans. They lived in the caverns, fasting the whole time and sleeping only a few hours during the day. All night they were honoring their spirits, fondling and cajoling them and learning about fighting the evil spirits in the mountains, who every night attacked and combatted them. When they left the mountains, they were exhausted and emaciated from the exertion. The apprentices of the old Lu were said to be the best shamans in the country. Two among them are said to have died by jumping over a precipice in the mountains.

[P.82(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

turing thirty horses (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*). 175x
The Wa-la tribes, afraid of the Chinese army, moved to 721
a salt lake deeper into Kokonor. 648

In 1597, however, Kokonor brigands still raided surrendered Tibetan tribes in the Hsining region. They were vigorously repelled from the Mang-la valley (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52). Chih-li-ko, Ordos brigand, raided the borders of Huangchung; 60 of his brigands were killed and 3,300 surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*).

The same year Liu Mei-kuan and Lung-yin finished 175x
the editing of a set of new *Annals*. However, a note 213
is added, no woodblocks had been carved, only a few texts existed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*; 27: 14, 15), and most of them were indecipherable.

In 1598 the Ordos Mongol Ch'ih-li-ko intended to 175x
reoccupy and to pasture in Sung Shan. He was re- 648
pelled and suffered a defeat in Liu Ko Chin. In the fifth moon he plundered the Wolanko region and was repelled again. In the fifth moon one of his tribes, the Shao-hai-hai tribe, surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*). In the seventh moon Generals T'ien Yueh and Ta Yun definitely cleared the Sung Shan region of brigands. The chieftains Pin-tu, A-shih-tu, Tsai-cheng, Chih-li-ko had long infested the Huangchung and East Kansu countries. This time the brigands were chased as far as 500 li (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*). In the eleventh month the Mongol Hao-erh-ch'i occupied Sung Shan. The Chinese Commander Li Wen and surrendered Tibetan tribes repelled them and administered a severe blow. They built a wall as long as 400 li, indicating that Sung Shan belonged to China [712]
proper and was no longer the country of the barbarians (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 3*b*).

In 1600 Sung Shan, the country from which during many years many raids had been perpetrated, was cleared of brigands and integrated into China. No more raids are recorded of Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in Huangchung. For some time the Ordos brigands tried to recover Sung Shan and make forays in East Kansu, T'ao and Ming Chou, Liangchow, Chengfan, Ninghsia, but Huangchung enjoyed relative and temporary peace.

Kokonor brigands having lost many tribes previously subject to them, raided T'ao and Ming Chou to subdue Tibetan tribes not yet surrendered to China. They suffered a severe blow and 5,000 Tibetans surrendered to China (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*).

The year 1604 is important in the history of lamaism 175x
in Huangchung. On the northwest of the so many 792
times devastated Sa-t'ang valley, on the borders of one 795
of the small affluents of the Sa-t'ang River, a Tibetan lama Diasai, belonging to the Saskya sect, started the building of the humble hermitage of Erh-ku-lung. The hermitage developed to the point that it became the first lamasery of Huangchung for many centuries and founded all over the country forty daughter monasteries. Its Living Buddhas, Chang Chia, T'u Kuan

[72 cont.]
*778 at the erection is undertaken only by a lama of higher rank.
[792]

The urns: Altogether there are ten urns, two large urns up to 40 centimeters high and eight small urns. Concerning the purchase, the purification of the urns, etc., the same regulations apply as in the case of the earth-god urn (cf. the relevant section).

The contents of the urns: The large urns contain two layers of filling; in addition, a bundle of five prayer scrolls is stuck in each layer, in other words, ten scrolls, five in each of the two bundles, in each large urn.

The manufacture of these bundles is done in the following fashion: The lama takes a little stick of clean wood about ten centimeters long and as thick as a little finger. Around this he wraps a layer of leaves of paper printed with Tibetan texts. He
[213] himself brings the wooden plates for the printing, since the texts vary according to the spirits represented by the scrolls. A very tight wrapping of silk thread in the five colors is put around this layer of paper, so that nothing can be seen of the texts. Then the lama takes five such scrolls and ties them together in such a way that the principal scroll is in the middle and the other four surround it symmetrically. Then a layer of silk or thin cloth, yellow or red in color, is put around this bundle, and finally the whole is once more wound tightly with silk thread in the five colors, like a thread-spool for spinning. -- Everything, the paper, the cloth, the threads, etc., are sprinkled each time with holy water and fumigated before use. -- Thus altogether four bundles are prepared.

[73] As extra features for the receptacle the following are used: mountain earth from sacred mountains (it must be taken from the peak); river water, pure spring water, which is sprinkled into the urn; wood from pure trees in the mountains, fir or cypress tops (foliage and bark from these trees are also permissible); grain, such as wheat, white beans, white rape, barley, and Tibetan barley (ch'ing-kuo); black and white sugar; Buddha gold, silver, little pieces of pearl, mother-of-pearl.

tually, Achia Bsan, reincarnation of the father of Tsong 175
khapa, is the proprietor and chief of Kumbum. 792

The *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* [71] notes that the series 346
of his incarnations began in 1417 (two years before the death of his son, Tsong khapa!). It says that for fifteen incarnations Achia administered the monastery 775
of Kumbum and was recognized as its chief and proprietor by the five tribes and the inhabitants of the seven valleys, and that he possessed a piece of pasture ground in Chahar. However, it notes also that, in 1746, the name of Achia Hutukhtu (his sixteenth incarnation) was drawn from the celebrated urn in Peking, and that an order was given to write the deeds of a pasture ground in Chahar. This text is a model of ambiguity and full of holes; it suggests that in 1746 Achia received for the very first time the title of Hutukhtu and that his name was registered on the roster of the Living Buddhas in the Mongolian Superintendency, although the process of reincarnation had begun in Lhasa only in 1475. Since deeds were then written, this implies also that at that time pasture grounds were granted to him for the first time. Thus, previous to 1746, no Achia reincarnation, chief of Kumbum, existed.

These assumptions seem to be supported by the fact 175
that it was not in 1417, but in 1560, that some poor 792
cells were built for the first time in Kumbum by lama 346
Rintschen Dson dui tschamtso and his ten monks and also by the facts that in 1719 the emperor ordered Skal bzan rgyamts'o, chief of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu to administer the monastery,[72] and that in 1723 mK'ampo Nomun-khan, head of the monastery of Kumbum and nephew of bLo Blzan bstan dsin, stirred the lamas to revolt and was made prisoner and the monastery was burned.[73] Until that time, not a single mention is made of Achia who, as head of the monastery and Hutukhtu, must have been the man responsible in such circumstances. However, the name of the real founder of the monastery is well known, as well known as the two other later heads and chiefs of the monastery.

It is a fact that Achia, created Hutukhtu only in 175
1746, had to remain in Peking, attached to the com- 214
mittee for the printing and translating of Tibetan books 814
into Mongol, which was presided over by the second incarnation of the Chang chia. "In the last half of the 18th century it seems to have been the vogue for translators to ask Achia for a postscript to their translations. Many works printed at [illegible] time bear a postscript 'by

the suicide of Achia, there are no more lamas of Tibet in Kumbum. In 1746 the reincarnation of Achia received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor. From that time on, according to the abbots, the prominent lamas of Kumbum have always been Monguors.

[71] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih. History of the Buddhist religion in Mongolia and Tibet* 2: 143, 1935.

[72] Han Ju-lin, *Pien cheng hung lun*, (*Frontier Affairs*) 3 (5): 15, 1944.

[73] *Yung-cheng Shih-lu, ts'e* 145, *Chuan* 14: 10.

[p.26(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Achia.'"[74] However, the myth of his previous existences was deeply rooted. "In 1686, a previous existence of Achia, the 16th, is said to have resided in the Yung-ho-kung temple of Peking, which had only been made a monastery in 1743. The roster of famous workers on the committee of translators at that time does not contain the name Achia."[75] 175 214 814

The emperor, after having drastically quelled the lama revolt, permitted the rebuilding of the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, giving them the text of a less honorable stele to be carved, and imposing on Erh-ku-lung the new name of Yu-ning-ssu, and on Seerkok that of Kuang-hui-ssu. The chief of the monastery of Seerkok (Chie bsan rimpoche) having been beheaded, the Dalai lama in 1727 sent to Peking a learned lama, Tsanpo of Amdo, whom he himself had previously honored by the title of Nomun-kan. In order to rebuild Seerkok, the emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu[76] and he became Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the new chief and proprietor of Seerkok. Since the chiefs of Erh-ku-lung had not plotted in the revolt, they were left undisturbed. Is it far-fetched to suppose that after the disappearance of mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the request of the Dalai Lama, Achia became the new chief and proprietor of Kumbum in 1746 in the same way that Min chu-erh had become chief of Seerkok? It would have been a fine political gesture for the emperor to ennoble the father of Tsong khapa, chief of the Yellow Church, in order to regain the sympathy of the lamas of the whole Yellow Sect whose group in Hsining he had punished so severely for their irresponsible behavior. It is probably a unique case in the history of Lamaist reincarnations that a layman then became reincarnated as a Living Buddha. 175 662 792

ERH-KU-LUNG

While Kumbum was outgrowing its infantile period, there occurred the humble beginning of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung (1604), on the northern side of the 175 792 346

[74] Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistische Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, 109, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1954.

[75] *Ibid.*, 110.

[76] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao Shih* 2: 125. However, Tsampo Nomun-khan of Amdo writes about himself in his well-known Geographical work, 29: "North of Ssi ling is the great monastery of Gahdan Tam Chhoi ling (seat of lama Tsampo Nomun-khan) in ancient times called Amdo Gomang gonpa; at present known as Serkhang gonpa." Sarat Chandra Das adds: "The author is an incarnation of an eminent lama named Tag tse chove, who was invited to be the abbot of the monastery. There are 2,000 monks, many know the Tshan nid philosophy." The work of Tsampo has to be read cautiously. Before 1723 there were 2,000 lamas; at the time of his arrival Seerkok was destroyed. On pages 29 and 30 he gives the names of 18 monasteries built north of Erh-ku-lung and says: "The monasteries are mostly subordinate to the Kumbum and Tsampopa [himself] abbots, in consequence of which those under Je gampo and Phagden have been converted in Gelugpa institutions." However, these institutions had been founded by Erh-ku-lung and nine of them by Seerkok, which abbots had always belonged to the Gelugpa or Yellow Sect.

[p. 26(B)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punish-
M 614 ment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-
565 1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually de-
554 clined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.
[466] The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they
M 614 marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealo-
219 gies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed,
565 because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and
N *563 began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and
M 174 the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agri-
565 culture, noble families, like commoner families, became increas-
M [554] ingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the
M 621 village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large
622 or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the
565 pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patri-local family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-
M 596 grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four gener-
[421] ation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority
[561] over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation.
[595] Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common court-yard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of
M [428] chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the com-
M [182] munity property. The breakdown of the extended family usually takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his
[168] surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son.
[428] More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

231 animals entrusted to them and the skill and devotion
463 needed if the animals are to get the best pasture and to multiply rapidly. Skill is required especially in the lambing season. A shepherd is treated like a member of the family. At each meal one of the daughters-in-law presents him with his bowl of food, with both hands, with the same respect that is shown to the head of the family, and the shepherd's food is as good as that of the head of the family.

231 When there is not enough rain and the pasture is
648 poor, the Monguors will go with a present to the chief of one of the nomad tribes of Tibetans or Mongols, asking permission to graze their stock on his land during the summer. The nomads are always very generous and helpful at such times.

231 The Monguors will never sell an animal, or allow an animal already sold to leave their home, on the first or fifteenth of the moon for fear that prosperity and luck might leave the family. Other beliefs in connection with cattle breeding will be discussed in my later work on the religious life of the Monguors.

231 An old Monguor of some sixty years once told me that
251 during his lifetime he remembered four different occasions on which the cattle herds had been devastated by epizootics. When such a disaster happens, the flesh of the animals who have died of sickness is cut in long, thin strips which are dried in the sun and for the following year the Monguors have tough beef to chew at every meal.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 The Monguors hunt with the gun and with traps and
136 poison, but because the region has become too thickly populated to support a great deal of game there is no hunting on a large scale. The animals hunted are foxes, wolves, musk-deer, hares, and pheasants, while boys like to shoot marmots with matchlock guns. Foxes and wolves are killed sometimes with the gun, but more usually with strychnine bought from the Chinese. First the tracks of the animal to be poisoned are studied in order to determine its habits. Then for several days meat, taken from hares and birds that have been killed by the hunter, is laid out in order to accustom the animal to this kind of feeding. The poison is then set out. Sometimes the strychnine is put inside a ball of meat, but more usually it is put in the hollow of a long, thin bone, the ends of which are sealed with wax. The fox or wolf dies near the place where it has cracked and swallowed such a bone, while strychnine placed in a ball of meat is slower to act and the animal may travel so far that it is difficult to track. Foxes are also taken with iron traps bought from Chinese smiths. The animal to be trapped is first watched carefully for a number of days in order to learn its habits. Then roasted flour is set out for it to feed on, so that it becomes unwary, and finally the trap is baited and set.

The most valuable game is the musk-deer, which is

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

224 hunted in the forests of Hsimi. This animal has the
136 habit of making and following a small beaten trail along which it goes always to the same place to drop its dung—which is done regularly at the same time of day—and to rub itself against small trees. When such a trail has been found the hunter studies it carefully to determine the best place to attach a running noose to a small tree, which is then bent over and attached to a stake in such a manner that when the deer, going along the trail, puts its head in the noose, the stake is knocked aside, the tree springs up, and the more the deer struggles the
224 more quickly it is strangled. The hunter lies hidden
137 watching the trap and the moment the deer is caught he rushes out with a knife to cut out the precious musk pod, which is on the surface of the stomach, near the genitalia. It is believed that the pod must be cut out immediately because otherwise the blood inside the pod will be absorbed into the body of the animal, and the "virtue" of the musk will be lost.

The musk-deer hunters admit that adulteration of this valuable commodity begins the moment that the animal is caught. Musk pods are sold by weight, and therefore as soon as he has cut out the pod the hunter stuffs it with blood and shredded liver from the deer in order to increase the weight. It is seldom that one can buy unadulterated musk in the shops of the Chinese dealers, because in addition to what is done by the hunters themselves to increase the weight, no one knows what the dealers add.

226 Although the lamas and most (though not all) Mon-
648 gols abhor the eating of fish, considering that taking the lives of the fish is a sin that will affect the sinner's next incarnation, the Monguors do engage in considerable fishing in Kukunor.[7] As soon as the lake has frozen in winter, small expeditions go from the Monguor country to the lake. Such an expedition lasts for about two months, and the Monguors are back by New Year's Eve of the lunar calendar, which comes usually toward the end of February or the beginning of March. The Monguors go first to see the chief of the Mongol or

[7] Kukunor, the "Azure Lake," is 230 miles in circumference, at an altitude of 10,900 feet above sea level. (W. W. Rockhill, *The land of the lamas*, 120, New York, Century, 1891.) The water is salty. Two rivers run into the lake, the bottom of which is covered with sand and small stones. One big island rises out of the water and is inhabited by a few lamas, who only in wintertime, when the lake is frozen, can come ashore, since no boats are used on the lake. At that time the Tibetans drive horses and sheep to the island in order that they may graze and breed; colts and lambs bred on the island are assumed to be a blessing for the herds. The famous *Ch'ien-li-ma* (horses which are reputed to run 1,000 *li* or approximately 300 miles in one day) celebrated as long ago as the Han dynasty, are said to be bred on the island, whose grass is reputed wonderfully nutritive for animals. There are three kinds of fishes in the lake, where fish are plentiful: *schizopygopsis przewalskii*, *schizopygopsis leptocephalus*, and *schizopygopsis gracilis*. They weigh from three to five and seven pounds (Przewalskii, *Reisen in der Mongolei, in das Gebiet der Tanguten und den Wüsten Nordtibets*, 140, Jena, 1873).

[p. 113 b]

N *563 M 233 463 [466] because of the value of the animals entrusted to them. They are skillful in breeding, and in finding the best pasture. A shepherd is treated as a member of his employer's family; he receives the same food, and the daughters-in-law must show him the same respect they accord to the head of the family.

The Mongours hunt foxes, hares, pheasants and musk deer, using guns, traps and poison. The fox skins are sold to Chinese N *563 M 224 439 merchants and the best skins, used for lining the winter garments of the rich, bring a handsome price. Musk deer are also valuable game. The precious musk glands, used as a special drug or as an essence in perfume, are sold by weight to Chinese dealers.

Fishing is important in Koko Nor, where the lake produces N *563 M 226 an abundant supply. Mongour expeditions go there as soon as the lake has frozen over each winter. They go first to the chief of the Mongol or Tibetan tribe on whose shore they plan to operate, and present gifts such as wine, tobacco, noodles and the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity in exchange for permission to fish and protection from the tribe. The fishermen usually go to the same territory every year, and become sworn brothers of the chief or some important local nomad. The expedition, which lasts about two months, involves hard work in the bitter cold, M [251] but the profits are sufficient reward. Preservation of the fish is no problem; they freeze immediately after they are caught. They are carried to the market in Hsi-ning, or sold to Moslem merchants who engage in caravan trade.

Mongours carry on their trade largely with Chinese and Chi- N *563 M 438 439 nese Moslem merchants. The Moslems are an energetic and enterprising people who drive caravans of pack mules from house to house in the Mongour country, exchanging cloth, needles and thread for wool, skins, eggs and grain. In the autumn they collect oxen and sheep and drive them in small herds to Hsi-ning. The Chinese merchants do business on a larger scale. They send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at lama monastery festivals and at the annual celebrations and meetings of the Mongour clans. During the fall, when the Chinese Moslems are buying up sheep and oxen, the Chinese butchers of the cities send their agents to the Mongour villages to buy hogs. Chinese merchants also send their buyers into Mongour country for wool and skins, going from home to home. There are also peddlers, who deal largely in items needed in the Mongour home, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, M [437] cheap jewelry, sugar and pipe tobacco. Business is always by barter, with the top-ranking woman of the Mongour household doing the bargaining. As the peddler travels a long distance, it is customary to provide him with a place to sleep. Before he leaves he presents the hostess with a small token of apprecia-

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

226 Tibetan tribe on the shore of the lake from whose ter-
648 ritory they plan to operate; making him a present of the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity and a cask of wine, some tobacco, and noodles. They are then given the chief's permission and the protection of the tribe.
[608] The men of each fishing expedition usually go to the same territory every year and become sworn brothers of the chief or of some important local nomad, in order to make sure that while they are camped by the lake they will be allowed to gather fuel and will have no animals stolen.

226 Each fisherman breaks a hole in the ice, and spreads a couple of sheep skins on which he sits crosslegged, a two-pronged fork in his hands, waiting for fish to come to the surface of the water. The fish is harpooned with the fork and thrown on the ice. The frozen fish are either carried to market, usually at the city of Hsining, by the Monguors themselves or sold to Muslim merchants who make up caravans of twenty or thirty mules or donkeys. These expeditions involve hard work and exposure to the bitter cold, but the business must be remunerative as many Monguors go year after year.

TRADE

463 In the territory inhabited by the Monguors trade,
transport, and small industries are mostly in the hands
563 of Chinese and Muslims. The Muslims are an ener-
441 getic and enterprising people, even more hard work-
ing and indefatigable than other Chinese. They will-
439 ingly engage in the arduous work of driving caravans of pack-mules and in running rafts and boats down the Hsining and Upper Yellow Rivers in all weathers. Most of the peddlars are also Muslims, who travel either with a pack on their backs or with a loaded donkey, wandering through the Monguor country from house to house, exchanging cloth, needles, thread, and other small wares for wool, skins, eggs, and grain. In the autumn, Muslim buyers collect sheep and oxen and drive them to Hsining in small herds.

There are very few Chinese peddlars, but the distilleries and flour and oil mills, which require money capital, are run by Chinese, and the Chinese monopolize the pork business, since the Muslims will have nothing to do with pigs. All through the year, and especially during the autumn, while the Muslims are buying up other livestock the Chinese butchers of the cities and towns send their agents into the Monguor villages to buy hogs. The Chinese merchants who do business on a bigger scale than the Muslim peddlars also send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at such large gatherings as the lama monastery festivals and the annual meetings of the Monguor clans.

441 Grain and oil seeds, being the main crops of the Monguors, are also the main commodities of trade. The conversion of grain into alcohol and of oil seeds into oil results in products of higher value in proportion to bulk and weight which can stand the cost of transporta-

[P 114 a]

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M [437]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

241 cold to grow wheat from the beginning and has first to
243 be loosened up and warmed by the sun.

The customs connected with weeding during the growing season are especially worth noting. Men and
241 women take part, the women going to the fields in their best clothes which they change for their working clothes
533 when the work begins. Men and women squat on their
584 heels and work along the furrows of grain, singing as they work. One group answers the songs sung by another group and from time to time all burst into laughter and giggles because these songs are licentious and full of sexual references. Sometimes a man or woman sings a solo, to which all reply in chorus. If a traveler should happen to pass, especially a woman, one of the workers who has a knack for making up a song impromptu will start to sing a description of the traveler, full of suggestive remarks about the supposed purpose of the traveler's journey, with endless lascivious verses about "the way of the lonely hind roaming in search of the stag," and so forth. Only the young people take part in this work, while their elders remain in the family courtyard.

This licentiousness is associated only with the weeding season. The Chinese of this region do not have a similar custom. There are comparable customs, however, in Tibet and also in Southeast Asia; and there were comparable customs among the ancient Sienpi and the ancient Turks. It is open to question whether the Shat'o brought the custom with them when they settled in the region or whether the Monguors learned it from the Tibetans[6] or the Sienpi.

241 The crops are either plucked by hand or harvested with a sickle, the work being done by both men and women. The threshing is done on the village threshing floor with a primitive stone roller pulled by oxen, horses, mules, or donkeys.

In addition to field agriculture there are small gardens close to each courtyard where the women plant vegetables such as onions, garlic, rape, leek, cabbage, pimento, spinach, watermelons, and cantaloupes.

PASTORAL ECONOMY

231 Livestock still rank as the second most important economic resource of the Monguors. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys, and pigs and wherever the pastures are sufficient they own as many sheep and cows as possible. Horses are important for prestige,

[6] For references to Southeast Asia (Annam, Cambodia, Laos, the White Tai, the Karens of Burma, the Angami Nagas of Assam, and the Miaos and Yaos of Southwest China), see Christopher Fürer-Haimendorff in *Anthropos* 30: 916, 1935. See also A. Lietard, *Les Lolo-p'o*, 152, Münster i. W., Aschendorfsche Verlag, 1913, and D. Doutreligne in *Anthropos* 25: 163, 1930; also F. M. Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, 224, Hong Kong, Imprimerie des missions étrangères, 1930. For ancient China see H. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 237, Paris, Boccard, 1927, and R. Granet, *La civilization chinoise* 1: 190, Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

[p. 112a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

231 and every well-to-do family keeps a fast, handsome horse with a good saddle and trappings. They will spend freely for the purchase of a showy "Peking" outfit—a saddle edged with brass and trimmed with cloisonné enamel with stirrups to match, and a bright saddle rug. When a horse is unsaddled his head must be pointing to the west. Women as well as men may saddle horses. The Monguor vocabulary for the colors of horses and cows is very rich. They prefer black horses and cows, it being a shamanistic belief that this color is a good omen for the owner and for the increase of the livestock.

232 The Monguors geld their own horses, many of them being very proficient at this operation. The stallion is thrown on the ground and the region of the operation washed with hot water to sterilize it. The cutting is done with the sharp edge of a piece of porcelain from a freshly broken cup. The scrotum is opened and the testicles taken out. Some wine is then poured in the wound, salt rubbed into it, and the wound stitched up with a large needle, which is first "sterilized" by being rubbed in the hair of the man who is to do the stitching. Three or four threads taken from a woman's needle box are twisted together to form a coarse thread for the purpose. Finally, salt is rubbed liberally over the outside of the wound. The horse is walked around the threshing floor during the day and tied to the pole at night, in order to prevent his lying down for a few days. There is seldom a mishap in performing this operation. Some lamas are skilful in performing the operation. Horses are seldom gelded by crushing of the testicles.

787 For this important operation a shaman chooses a day of good omen. Before the operation is performed, the head of the family burns incense and boughs of cypress, offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." For seven days after the operation no visitors are allowed to enter the courtyard, at the gate of which are hung a bough of cypress and a skein of wool as a sign that a horse has been gelded.[6a]

Rich people with large herds brand a mark on the left hip of horses and cows. Sheep are marked by cutting a rough design in the ear or by clipping out a piece of the ear. The Monguors are remarkably gifted at tracking lost animals. Chinese whose animals have strayed or been stolen always ask a Monguor to track them, and a tracker will follow the trail for many days.

231 462 It is women's work, except where shepherds are hired, to take care of the livestock in their stalls and pens and also to go out with them to pasture in the summer rainy season when the grass grows quickly.

231 463 Shepherds are the best paid among those Monguors who work for hire, because of the capital value of the

[6a] Note that the same emblems are used to mark the tabu of a room in which childbirth has taken place, as described above. They are, therefore, tabu marks which are not restricted to a single kind of tabu.—O. L.

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

231 animals entrusted to them and the skill and devotion
463 needed if the animals are to get the best pasture and to multiply rapidly. Skill is required especially in the lambing season. A shepherd is treated like a member of the family. At each meal one of the daughters-in-law presents him with his bowl of food, with both hands, with the same respect that is shown to the head of the family, and the shepherd's food is as good as that of the head of the family.

231 When there is not enough rain and the pasture is
648 poor, the Monguors will go with a present to the chief of one of the nomad tribes of Tibetans or Mongols, asking permission to graze their stock on his land during the summer. The nomads are always very generous and helpful at such times.

231 The Monguors will never sell an animal, or allow an animal already sold to leave their home, on the first or fifteenth of the moon for fear that prosperity and luck might leave the family. Other beliefs in connection with cattle breeding will be discussed in my later work on the religious life of the Monguors.

231 An old Monguor of some sixty years once told me that
251 during his lifetime he remembered four different occasions on which the cattle herds had been devastated by epizootics. When such a disaster happens, the flesh of the animals who have died of sickness is cut in long, thin strips which are dried in the sun and for the following year the Monguors have tough beef to chew at every meal.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 The Monguors hunt with the gun and with traps and
136 poison, but because the region has become too thickly populated to support a great deal of game there is no hunting on a large scale. The animals hunted are foxes, wolves, musk-deer, hares, and pheasants, while boys like to shoot marmots with matchlock guns. Foxes and wolves are killed sometimes with the gun, but more usually with strychnine bought from the Chinese. First the tracks of the animal to be poisoned are studied in order to determine its habits. Then for several days meat, taken from hares and birds that have been killed by the hunter, is laid out in order to accustom the animal to this kind of feeding. The poison is then set out. Sometimes the strychnine is put inside a ball of meat, but more usually it is put in the hollow of a long, thin bone, the ends of which are sealed with wax. The fox or wolf dies near the place where it has cracked and swallowed such a bone, while strychnine placed in a ball of meat is slower to act and the animal may travel so far that it is difficult to track. Foxes are also taken with iron traps bought from Chinese smiths. The animal to be trapped is first watched carefully for a number of days in order to learn its habits. Then roasted flour is set out for it to feed on, so that it becomes unwary, and finally the trap is baited and set.

The most valuable game is the musk-deer, which is

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441 tion to more distant markets that could not be reached by the unprocessed grain and seeds. These enterprises are, therefore, outlying Chinese businesses intermediate between the Monguor country and the Chinese-inhabited towns and cities. Wealthy Monguors, not confident of their own ability in trade, often invest their money in such Chinese enterprises; often, unfortunately, with the result that the Chinese partners get rich while the Monguors lose their money. Only a few Monguors, who are already well on the way toward becoming completely Chinese, venture into such enterprises as managing a small shop or buying and selling animals or wool and skins.

439 In the autumn the Chinese managers of distilleries and oil mills make contracts with the Monguor farmers, the farmers undertaking to plant an agreed acreage with the crop required by the Chinese, and to sell the harvest at an agreed price. On the strength of this agreement, [452] the Chinese buyer makes a cash advance to the Monguor farmer. Wheat that does not go to the distilleries is bought up by Muslim dealers. The wheat is measured at the Monguor farm with the buyers' own measure, draft animals are hired from the Monguors to bring the wheat to the river bank, and it is there loaded on rafts and floated down to Lanchow.

252 There are some mills that grind flour for local Monguor consumption, and for that of neighboring Mongol and Tibetan nomads, and Chinese cities. These mills are built along small streams. A vertical wooden wheel carries an endless chain of buckets. As the stream fills the lower buckets, the wheel turns; coming up over the wheel, the buckets empty into a chute, and the descending water turns the nether stone of the mill, while the upper stone remains fixed. The grindstones are so crudely grooved that the grain has to be milled three times. Professional grindstone makers cut the blue stone in the mountains, install the millstones at the mill, and visit the mills every month to cut fresh grooves in the stones. There are only a few mills with horizontal power-wheels.

23 In the profitable business of buying livestock to be
463 slaughtered in such cities as Hsining and Lanchou, the
563 Muslims have a virtual monopoly of buying cows and
441 oxen, the Chinese have a monopoly in buying pigs, and both Muslim and Chinese butchers buy sheep. The most important season is the autumn, when the animals are in the best condition. Sheep are herded slowly for a journey of ten days or more to Lanchou, in order to prevent them from going lame and losing weight. Pigs
23 are also driven slowly, each batch of pigs being handled
441 by three men, moving only six or eight miles a day and sometimes taking a month to reach market. Ahead of the pigs is a man on foot driving a donkey loaded with dried peas and a long basket. Every mile or two the donkey is halted, some of the peas are poured into the basket, and enough is fed to the pigs to whet their appetites and keep the fat animals waddling after the

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

231 441 [237] donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel relatively well because they have not been confined and fed in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from there to Europe and America for making brushes.

236 237 443 439 The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this buying is done directly in the homes of families that have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buying in small quantities is done by the peddlars, especially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments, [431] and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small [203] quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as they travel.

442 296 543 Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs. Two or three times a year every important monastery holds special religious performances, around which there spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes, wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack [232] doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose diseases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses, cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

543 579 Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and attract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable distances. In the afternoons there are horse races and wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymaking, and often, when there has been too much drinking, fights between clans and villages.

463 439 484 A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods, attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

[P H5a]

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FOOD, DRINK, AND NARCOTICS

262 The diet of the Monguors is frugal. Meat, which with
796 milk and milk products was the staple food of their nomad ancestors, has long been a luxury. Like the
527 Chinese, they now eat meat for half a month at the New Year, on the third of the third moon, the fifth of the fifth moon, the fifteenth of the eighth moon, and the eighth of the twelfth moon. Apart from these feasts, they eat meat only at weddings, when children have been born, at funeral feasts, or when they have distinguished guests. For such feasts, a sheep is killed. In the short summer rainy season it is also customary to kill a sheep when there is rain for several days, preventing them from going out to the fields; and it is also customary to slaughter a sheep when the harvest is carried in. Meat is always boiled. Roasted or broiled meat is very seldom eaten and is not considered tasty.

[462] Every family slaughters its own animals. The slaughtering is never done by women, who are expected
231 to produce life, not to destroy it. Most Monguor men cease to do any slaughtering when they become about fifty years old, owing to the lamaistic belief that it is not fitting for a man who is approaching the time of his own death to slaughter animals, for fear of being reincarnated as an animal.

Cows, oxen, and pigs are slaughtered by cutting the throat. Sheep are often choked. Another method of slaughtering sheep—the traditional Mongol method—is to turn the animal on its back with the head pointing west, stretching the skin tight over the breast. A slit is then cut in the skin, and the butcher slips in his hand, seizes the heart, and jerks it loose. The sheep dies instantly and no blood is shed outside the carcass.

The Monguors very seldom slaughter horses, mules, or donkeys. When these animals grow old they are either sold or allowed to live until they die a natural death.
[262] The meat of horses, mules, and donkeys is never eaten, nor do the Monguors allow the use of their cooking kettles for boiling such meat.

Chickens are usually killed either by cutting off the head or by thrusting a pin into the brain.

262 All Monguors abhor the meat of marmots. Marmot fat is used as a salve on the saddle sores of horses and mules, but as food the Monguors say, "Marmots are to us Monguors what pigs are to the Mohammedans."

[795] There is a small religious sect among the Monguors, known as "those who fast," the members of which never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

[272] In the morning the Monguors drink a cup of tea and eat a piece of bread when the sun has risen in the sky "to the height of a post." Salt is always put in the boiling tea. In many families only the parents and the oldest son drink tea; the other men, and all the women, drink only water with a little milk in it. (The Chinese, of course, do not use milk in tea or in any other way.)
[252] The bread is made from barley flour and is either steamed or baked. Ordinary people seldom eat wheat

[P. 117a]

/44 cont'd/

585 maneuver busily. Having no napkin, one ends by licking one's
262 fingers at first, then rubs /45/ them on one's boots to soften the
264 leather. A bowl of bouillon finishes the meal. Gin is poured, and
[527] the table is cleared. This is the famous feast called susen by the T'ou-jen and ts'iuen iang si by the Chinese, "the dinner with the sheep served whole." It is the largest dinner given in the region.

585 It must be admitted that for such a dinner the dishes are neither
261 large in number nor dainty, and that the culinary art has not reached
[252] the heights; but this does not keep the good stomach and the T'ou-jen spirit from being at their zenith. Everything is relative in this world below.

171 This dinner, these hosts, this scene make one think of dinner
264 among nomads on the steppe. There, the dinner is served in a spacious tent; among the T'ou-jen it is given in the courtyard covered with cloth; there, all are seated on the ground on pieces of felt or on straw, here the same; there, rudimentary plates and dishes, here the same; there, the main dish of the grand feasts is sheep served whole, here also. Why don't the T'ou-jen put on a feast like the Chinese, putting some ten tables in a courtyard, each one for eight guests? It is because among the T'ou-jen the old customs of the nomads live again at the important moments of life. Once and for
585 all let us call attention to the vestiges of the ancient nomadic organi-
262 zation of the T'ou-jen, met with on the occasion of a wedding. In the olden times they busied themselves with the raising of large
585 animals (oxen, sheep, horses). The proof of it is that all the presents
431 given in former times and recalled on the occasion of wedding feasts
231 consisted either of horses or oxen; the bride's family used to give an ox to her maternal uncle, a horse to the maternal uncle of the groom, and another horse to the groom himself; the groom's family used to give an ox to the maternal uncle of the bride; they still require a mare as earnest for the girl; the meat at the dinner is invariably
[262] mutton; again it is mutton which is offered at various times, according to matrimonial custom, and it is mutton which is given to the guests at the moment of /46/ departure.

231 Nowhere is pork mentioned as being offered as a gift, although at present the T'ou-jen are occupied principally with the raising of

2: Schram--49 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
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M 231

/46 cont'd/

pigs. With their tsao tchou, i.e., "pigs which live on plants," they are the great suppliers of pigs for the capital of the province.

M 585 431 583

We have arrived at the chief attraction of the wedding.

They begin by spreading out the presents the parents made to their girl and to the family of the bride /sic/. This display is presented on the doors laid out for the purpose in front of the shamanistic fire within the tables. For people of average means the gifts are usually composed of the following pieces:

For the girl:

1) three long garments of checked calico with lining, a green garment, another of red, a third violet
2) two long plain garments, blue and black
3) two skirts
4) one long padded garment
5) three plain trousers
6) three or four waistcoats (bolero type), blue, black, violet
7) one large hat for feast days
8) several belts each 12 feet long, parti-colored or embroidered
9) four or five pairs of sleeves in varied colors
10) five or six pairs of artistically embroidered sleeves
11) some ten pairs of leggings
12) a long garment of black sheep's wool
13) a belt of black sheep's wool (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 308: (among the Mongols) when everything is agreed upon, the parents of the bride are obligated to construct for her a yurt, provided with everything necessary for a household, /47/ so that she does not need to ask for anything from others. Then she is given all that concerns her toilette and even a saddled horse on which she is to go to her husband's home.

/55 cont'd/

Mo 585 231 492

The son-in-law always rides horseback on this occasion. If the distance is great, the two companions will also ride horseback; if it is short they will go on foot. They lead the horse which the bride will mount. This horse must be a mare or a stallion; if it is a mare, it cannot be pregnant. The horse's trappings are of no importance. They have been careful to put a bag full of straw on the horse's mane, on which the bride will lean during the whole trip; a rug or a piece of red felt covers the saddle; the horse wears small bells. The companions drag along a two-year-old sheep, which they will offer to the family upon their arrival. (1)

Ma 585

1. Shirokogoroff, Social Organization of the Manchus, p. 77: When the day of wedding is fixed, they send invitations written on red paper to all relatives and honorary guests....All acts concerning the wedding ceremonies, invitations of the guests, presents and so on must be registered in a special book and made according to the calendar and hours fixed in advance....

The day before the day of the wedding, they go to bring the bride to the bridegroom's father's house... in a special carriage.... As soon as the carriage is ready for the road, the bridegroom kneels down in front to "inbe" (wooden screen put in the yard) and several times touches the soil soundly with his forehead. They burn as incense the Chinese ajen hen, fixed in a cup with the black beans, that have generally a very important part during the wedding ceremony.... Usually they leave the bridegroom's house in the afternoon calculating to arrive at the bride's house before the

/75 cont'd/

585 431 The master of ceremonies of the son-in-law's family then takes the floor to distribute the traditional gifts to the daughter-in-law's family. The son-in-law remains kneeling, holding his horse by the bridle.

585 604 431 The master of ceremonies first addresses the maternal uncle of the daughter-in-law. The cupbearer bows to him and offers gin to him three times in a row. He begins with the saying, "Nan tch'ou wai kia, niu tch'ou niang kio," i.e., "the boy has the physique and the moral nature of his mother's family, and the girl those of her own relatives /parents/.

"Now you, maternal uncle, you are the representative of the family stock of our new daughter-in-law; it is fitting therefore to present to you, /76/ before doing so to all the others, our respectful compliments. We offer you the great ritual k'ata and a sheep. We should give you a cow according to tradition, but times have changed. Receive with good will." Formerly, the maternal uncle used to receive a cow on behalf of his mother's family; today he is given a sheep as at the home of the son-in-law. Next he addresses the go-between, for whom they pour the gin...."Formerly the go-between was given a complete costume, but times are no longer the same.... We present to you a string of cash, be satisfied...."

585 431 Then it is the turn of the bride's maid of honor; they pour gin for her. They give her a piece of cloth four feet long, a goat, 600 cash. But she hastens to protest with vehemence (it is the tradition), which provokes the laughter of the assemblage. She is given the traditional 800 cash.

The little page comes and receives 200 cash for riding the horse. The bearers of the boxes containing the bride's gifts receive 400 cash apiece; then all the members of the bride's family receive the k'ata. The master of ceremonies sits down, pretending to have finished his task.

585 431 231 But then comes what is called the suhuta, the final ceremony. In cauda venenum /"poison in the tail"/. The master of ceremonies from the daughter-in-law's family, as well as several elders of the family, stands up indignant; they manifest with vehemence the desire

/76 cont'd/

585 to see the old traditions observed and protest against innovations.
431 In this case it is a question of having themselves granted several
231 more head of livestock. The other side understands immediately that the festivity will not end peacefully without the giving of some animals. It is the moment for the master of ceremonies from the son-in-law's family to show eloquence and tact. He rises and proclaims that peace between the two families is more important than several animals. "We want a lasting and peaceful alliance," /77/ cries he. "We must have concord and harmony. We ask no better than to satisfy your wishes. Choose our best beasts, but leave us at least several old and thin animals, for we are poor, we still have to live. But peace above all, and also the welfare of the children. Do not forget that two animals are necessary for the plow and that if you take one of them, we shall no longer be able to work our lands; you will not be able to do any more with one single animal; then leave face also to your son-in-law. We know the traditions, but times are no longer the same, and customs also change a little."

During this speech one of the guests of the daughter-in-law's family has already detached the piece of red cloth from the horse's mane, which signifies that the horse is considered as secured, ready to be taken away. The son-in-law leads the horse out of the courtyard. Two or three members of the daughter-in-law's family who have gotten together in advance mark about ten animals with butter. The son-in-law's family is displeased...they get angry...they push
[604] one another...they shout.... Then the daughter-in-law's maternal uncle, the representative of the whole clan, rises and asks how many animals have been marked. "Ten," they answer him, for example. "Ah, good," says he, "we shall take these ten away." The owners complain...they beg...they do not let anything leave the courtyard...all the son-in-law's family kneel before the maternal uncle, imploring him. In the end they agree on two-thirds or on half of the animals already marked. The horse is taken away as well as another animal; the rest of the animals will be taken the next day.

It sometimes happens that the scene does not end so peaceably. Indeed, it is known that the son-in-law's family has hidden its best

585 /77 cont'd/
231 animals with neighbors or elsewhere; it allows only a few old nags
431 to be seen, which it does not even intend to give up.

It is at this moment that the little peculiarities of the race be-
[571 come apparent in all their crudeness. We have been able to notice
578] in all the phases of T'ou-jen marriage this mania for mutual exploi-
tation. /78/ At this hour one sees the two clans together, equally avid, and each of the two, under the pressure of the moment, feels itself united and strong. The voice of blood makes itself heard quickly, brutal, demanding. It is no longer a question of civilities and ceremonies, and it is not at all rare that the festivity degenerates into quarrels and scuffles.

585 In this moment one sees that marriage among the T'ou-jen is
614 not a disinterested affair but an affair of the clan, of the community, among whom the general good takes precedence over everything.

After such eventualities of a T'ou-jen wedding, it is natural enough when one meets those who are coming from a wedding to ask them whether all went well, or whether there wasn't some trouble!

Now one understands the importance attached to the role of master of ceremonies. It is he who must prevent these difficulties, who must judge when it is necessary to yield and how far the concession can go. He must have the required tact and the appropriate word which all will be pleased to hear. He will be listened to all the more if he is highly esteemed by both sides.

585 In two circumstances this cry of the blood among the T'ou-jen
578 is brutal and terrible: at the end of the ceremonies of a marriage,
571 and on the occasion of the negotiations after the suicide of a daughter-in-law.

The Pei family was giving a daughter in marriage to the Li family. The Pei grandfather, known for his extraordinary cupidity, had enjoined his master of ceremonies to demand the finest horse in the Li family's stable, a horse highly reputed in the region. When the moment came they demanded the horse, but the horse was not there. They looked in vain at the homes of the relatives and neighbors; the horse remained impossible to find. Coarse words were exchanged, and they came to blows. The festivity ended without any

[58 cont.]

*778 say, as roof board. When the mani-tree or the part concerned is replaced, everything is done with the same ceremonies as at a new raising.

[357] The small mani-flag: Instead of the large mani-tree, a small pole with an air-horse pennant is frequently raised on the yard gate of the outer yard. This pennant is about an ell square and is printed only with the picture of the air-horse, or at most with a few brief Tibetan sayings as well. This pennant is also made in the monastery. No lama and no soothsayer is invited to raise this flag, however. The soothsayer merely determines a lucky day and a favorable hour. Everything is done without special ceremonies, even without an incense offering. The yard, however, is taboo for a few days. Some farmers raise both the large mani-flag in the yard and the small mani-flag on the gate.

[792] [791] [357] [784]

357 The round manger: When a new compound is laid out, *778 a round manger or central fort is always dug in the middle of the yard, exactly in accordance with the soothsayer's directions. For this purpose, the lama makes five treasure-urns, which are set in the pit. The pit is covered level with the ground and over it is raised a round wall of about two meters in diameter and one meter high. The lower three layers are stones; the upper layers, air-dried bricks. This circle is filled with clay and stamped down. In the center there is a pole or a cart axle, to which the animals are tied [59] when they are sunned and fed there during the day. For that reason the whole structure is called "round manger." It is also called "central fort," for it is the center of the yard and the buried urns protect the compound. The central fort is complete only when the mani-pole is raised. On the edge of the round manger, facing the main house, is found the fumigating plate. -- The making and burying of the urns is done with the same ceremonies that are performed in connection with the treasure-urn or the raising of a beṅkaṅ (chorten chamber). -- The round manger is painted white. After the raising, the master of the household holds a

[791] [792] [231] [527]

[63 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 68 cont.] therefore stand on a mountain. -- They take the sacred place quite seriously. Thus, it is striking that for all Tujen villages mountain terrain is set aside, a piece of grass land with forest, where no agriculture may be carried on. Where the Chinese intervene, however, these mountain groves disappear. From these sparse remains one can imagine what the now bare agricultural land looked like in former times.

[621]

*778 784 The mountain on which the obo stands may not be defiled. No fields may be laid out there; the trees may not be cut down; the grass may not be cut; the ground may not be turned up. The animals that live there, for instance, hares, foxes, birds, are not hunted or killed. Everything must be left just as it grows [231] and thrives by nature; the cattle may not graze there at any [776] time. This place, namely, belongs to the mountain-spirit and is called sacred mountain.

*778 The obo pit: When the obo is erected, a pit is dug. All [792] kinds of valuables are put in it, primarily treasure-urns (earth-[791] god urns), as in the case of the central fort of the compound. [178] The obo is erected by a lama or Bon priest. No [64] Tujen of the present generation has seen this ceremony. The present-day obos still stem from olden times and are more and more falling into disrepair. Therefore no one knows any more precisely what is buried in the obo.

The stone mound: The height of the mound varies, depending on the circumstances. First an outer wall is put in layers in circular form. A large number of little stones are put inside the circle up to the edge, and these are supposed to be white stones. At every obo veneration additional stones are

[65 cont.]

782 concerns, and there are private sacrifices which the individual
[621] gives for his family.

The communal sacrifice is usually given in summer after the erection of the pole-goat for a good harvest. A private sacrifice is undertaken at any time of year according to time and circumstances, for instance, in case of an illness or before an important undertaking. Since one man alone cannot carry out everything for a sacrifice, he invites several other men to it, who help him and afterwards consume the sacrificial meat. The person who makes the offering must also pay the cost.

The sacrificial rite does not differ from that of the other
[231] sheep sacrifice. Thus, the sheep is washed, has milk poured over it, is fumigated, etc. Usually a soothsayer is present.
[791] After the sacrificial meat has been boiled, several bowls of broth
[252] are scooped out. The offering-casts are made with it in the directions indicated by the soothsayer. These are always the same. Three bowls are thrown towards the north for heaven, three bowls each to the east, south, west, and north for the countless spirits, three bowls to the left of the incense offering for the mountain-spirit in the obo, three bowls to the right of the incense offering for the earth-spirit. Then follow three more bowls on the obo, and finally three additional bowls are poured before the spirit-spear. Then follows the offering meal,
[574] at which all the meat is consumed.

Before the sheep offering the general obo-veneration is first undertaken, as at the month offering.

[792] The obo prayer: Frequently a lama or Bon priest is in-
[791] vited to pray before the obo. This may last one to seven days, depending upon the request. Here, too, either the entire
[621] village or an individual person is the petitioner. Everyone pays personally for the expenses arising from it.

The prayer service begins with an incense offering of the people. Meanwhile the lama makes a šdorma. Then the people place the following offerings before the obo: three baked loaves, 13 steamed loaves, a bowl [66] of barley wine, flowers in vases, small bowls with honey, a cup of tea, black and white sugar, a bowl of tsamba with butter-disks.

[67 cont.]

*778 the little stone mounds signify fertility (4).

776

4. [Foreign text p. 69.] The Tujen distinguish three great spirits: the sky, the mountain-spirit, and the earth-god. It should be emphasized that the characteristics of the mountain-spirit come fairly close to those of the sky (cf. Part 2). -- The special sacrificial animal for the mountain-spirit and the sky is the sheep. -- To the earth one sacrifices pigs, and always in the compound, whereas one sacrifices to the sky and the mountain-spirit usually in the open. -- The ritual for the pig sacrifice is the same as for the sheep sacrifice: washing, fumigating, milk pouring, etc., which makes a very strange impression in the case of this animal, an indication that the pig sacrifice was not adopted until a later time and was confused with the sheep-sacrifice rituals.

[231]

539 The first obo: According to the Tujen legend of the Geser
*778 xaan, the first obo was erected in the golden age of mankind by the first xaan on earth, the Hamluo siergän:

"Everything was very good. It was a time of honey and fat. At the beginning of the three summer months he erected a regieńguo obo on the peak of the Rira-ntumbo. Hamluo siergän sank into contemplation. Of (sc. the three) Gadbo Huala, Šdonšdog Sienba, Sasin Dadma, one went to break cypress twigs, one to buy spices, and one to gather white stones. He sat in contemplation for a week. When a week had passed, he erected the regieńguo obo. In the obo he placed the mother dog Tsila, on whose body he scattered spice-medicine. He wrapped silk around its body. Then he sprinkled holy water over it. He invited the regieńguo lama, who recited the consecrating

[832 cont.]

241 Such families, however, must make their contribution. The
782 main thing is that the animal be healthy and without flaw. For
[825] instance, it may not be lame or blind. Also, ugly colors are
[621] avoided, for instance, a white animal with a black head, etc.

Objects used: For the offering one needs several iron kettles, several buckets of water, knives, ladling spoons, cords, blood basins, eating bowls, firewood, etc. In addition, one takes along all the equipment for the incense offering.

Slaughtering: The slaughtering is preceded by a great incense offering, which is maintained by the men throughout the ceremony. Anyone may repeatedly throw cypress twigs into it at will, offer barley wine, etc. At the same time the
[202] conch is steadily blown so that one can hear from afar that an offering is taking place on the mountain.

Young men bring the animal to the spot, untie it, and
241 wash it with their hands from head to tail. Then it is fumigated
782 with incense. Another places a white stone in the fire. When
783 it is hot, he scoops hot water out of a kettle with an iron spoon, puts the stone in the spoon, scatters pounded cypress leaves over it, and with it fumigates the sheep. All the men who helped with the slaughtering wash their hands and faces, rinse out their mouths, and fumigate themselves. All the implements are likewise washed and fumigated.

Now they form a circle around the sheep and pour milk
241 over its head and neck. It does not matter what kind of milk
782 it is. One may also use flour- or tsamba-water or even pure
787 water. A healthy sheep shakes itself at this pouring. This shaking is an indication that the sky accepts the animal. Then the men make a threefold kowtow in a circle around the sheep. After the milk has been poured over it, they let the sheep run free for a few steps and capture it again. In case the animal does not shake itself, they immediately fetch another.

241 The slaughtering is performed by the seed-master. His
782 helpers seize the sheep by its legs and horns, force it down on
231 the ground, and bend back its head so that the throat is tensed.

[832 cont.]

241 The seed-master then cuts through the throat and arteries with
782 a powerful stroke, and the helpers catch the blood in the basin
with constant stirring. None of the blood is supposed to fall on
231 the ground. Any traces of blood are covered with earth. When
the sheep has ceased bleeding, it is skinned. Sometimes the
head remains attached to the hide, or it is cut off entirely with
the hide, and placed to one side on the hide.

241 Now one usually takes a broad board, places the sheep
on it, and eviscerates it. Excrement and unusable scraps are
782 put aside. The intestines are cleaned in warm water and filled
252 with blood and little bits of diced flesh from the scraps. The
eviscerated body [833] is rinsed out with water and cut apart.
The thighs are cut off, the loins and rib pieces are cut out,
and everything is finally cut into little pieces so that it can
be cooked more conveniently.

The cooking: In a kettle over a hole in the earth water is brought to a boil, in which the pieces of meat are cooked. Women may not help ~~with the~~ cooking. Spices, even salt, are prohibited for the sacrificial meat. The intestines filled with blood are also boiled.

During the cooking the men sit to one side, converse, pray their mani, or offer new incense. When the meat is done, it is taken out and cut into little slices on a board, including lungs, kidneys, liver, and heart. At the same time the ribs and other bones are broken. Now several bowlfuls are scooped from the broth in the kettle and some of the little pieces of meat are put in them. Then the soothsayer is called.

241 Soothsaying: The soothsayer invokes the spirit and indi-
782 cates in which direction the bowls must be emptied. He also
determines how many bowls must be offered in each case. There
791 is always an offering to the sky and to the mountain-spirit,
787 and usually also to the world-spirits; only the number of bowls
varies. If one wants to make an offering to still other spirits,
[776] this is especially requested by the soothsayer. The soothsayer
continues to officiate until the conclusion of the offering and
with the spirit invoked supervises the performance.

[833 cont.]

241 782 171 Distribution: The mountain sheep-offering is practiced everywhere there are Tujen, even among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiahsifan (5). In some regions it is also

241 782 231

5. [Foreign text pp. 834-835.] The ritual of slaughter and offering described here is typical for all slaughtered offerings. In the case of goats and pigs the procedure is the same. Because the pig squeals too much when slaughtered (it is not unconscious), its mouth is tightly tied together. The pouring with milk is omitted for pigs. The sheep's mouth is likewise held shut. Perhaps this is a survival from a suffocation sacrifice.

241 782

In the case of longer festivals the slaughtered animal is not cut up immediately, but is tied to a longish table or frame after the skinning and the removal of the entrails, and in its natural position with the legs spread apart, if possible standing and with head raised. It is placed before the deity or the temple entrance in this fashion. Only at the conclusion of the festival is it cut up and boiled. Sometimes the cut-up uncooked parts are also presented before the deity.

The distribution of the sacrificial meat is usually done in the form indicated after the cooking as a meal. The hide is usually given back to the owner; the [835] head is received by the seedmaster or the officiating supervisor. Bon priests, lamas, shamans, etc. who

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villages neighboring the Monguors? This assumption, it seems, should be considered because of the fact that so many Chinese who use the formula are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and that so many Monguors who have lost their identity to the extent of having lost their own language, and being ashamed to assert their Monguor origin, boast of being Chinese, and of belonging to a more civilized culture.[25]

XI. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITHOUT REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

SACRED ANIMALS IN PRIVATE FAMILIES

Monguors do not honor the "spirit of Heaven" as a family deity nor do they perform, at present, bloody or non-bloody sacrifices to Heaven. Non-bloody sacrifices, in which the animal is not killed but allowed to wander at will, are a real economic sacrifice because the animal cannot be sold or put to profitable use; but this practice does not really fit the frame of an agricultural economy because the sacred animals cause a lot of damage in the fields. It even happens, as has been noted, that persons are injured and killed by sacred bulls. No wonder that the Chinese, devoted to agriculture, do not practice this rite in China. The Monguors, however, are very fond of the rite, which originated in the nomadic economy, and this fact betrays the original economy in which their ancestors lived.

Almost every Monguor family has its own consecrated animal, which usually is a female sheep—seldom a ram.

On the third day of the New Year, the animal is led into the courtyard. The whole family is in a hustle and bustle washing the feet and the fleece of the animal, and devotedly combining the fleece. Never before has the animal enjoyed such a fine appearance. The sheep is led into the living room before the picture of the deity protector of the family. All the members of the family kneel devoutly with burning incense sticks in their joined hands. They look on with feverish anxiety as the chief of the family pours milk, mixed with water, first on the head of the animal, then into its ears. The sheep frantically shakes its head and at that very moment the whole family starts prostrating itself three times toward the picture of the deity and then toward the animal, smiling, crying with happy enjoyment *"ling liao"* ("the deity accepts our offer"). Thus, the animal is supposed to be consecrated. The family are in a happy mood, with a gleam in their eyes, for the deity will protect the cattle. The more frantically the sheep shakes its head, the better it augurs for the future.

The incense sticks are planted before the picture of the deity honored in the family and the chief of the family and all its members attach red and yellow ribbons

[25] Schröder, Das Herbst-Dankopfer der T'u-jen im Sining-Gebiet, *Anthropos* 37–40: 867, 1952.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to the ears of the sheep and all over its fleece. Everybody endeavors to attach a couple of ribbons. 795 825

The sheep will join the herd as before; its wool will be sheared twice a year, as is done for the other sheep, but it will never be killed and will be allowed to die naturally. If it dies during the year, next New Year's another one will be consecrated and will take its place, for every family has to have its sacred animal. 231 [778]

But what if the sheep does not shake its head? This is conclusive proof that the deity is angry and ill disposed toward the family. Dread and terror instantly show upon their faces. All the members of the family, startled and panic stricken, look at one another distressed, dejected, and in deep gloom, for everybody feels that this fact bodes ill for the future. Bowing their heads to the ground and lifting their hearts in humble entreaty, they beg pardon and ask the deity to overlook their offences, to accept the offer. Then milk is poured again, and if the sheep still obstinately refuses to shake its head, it is finally removed. [787]

Then, in the living room, the situation is examined to be sure the predicament is of their own making. Maybe they had been too remiss in honoring the deity; maybe the spirit does not like the discord and resentment reigning in the family; maybe the deity wants a more valuable sacrifice? After renewed prostrations and promises for the future, the conclusion is always that the only hope remaining is to consecrate a more valuable animal, a young female mule, for they know that it is impossible to get around the spirit and defy it with impunity, and that anybody who tampers with its plans is riding for a fall.

The female mule is led into the courtyard and washed; tail and mane are combed. Two red hot stones are dropped in a utensil containing boiling water, which is adjusted under the nose of the animal so that the vapors may enter the nostrils, purifying the animal interiorly, as it has been cleansed exteriorly. The animal is led through the door of the living room, and in front of the picture of the deity. Milk, mixed with water, is poured on its head and in its ears—the head shakes. Ribbons are attached on mane and tail. The animal will be used in the same way as other animals, but never will it be sold. It is allowed to die a natural death.

The Monguors whom I asked for explanations always replied in the same way, that the rite is always performed only on the third of the New Year, by the head of the family, without Red or Yellow lamas or shamans; that the animal is always consecrated to the guardian deity of the family, inside the living room, in front of the picture of the guardian deity. Because the "spirit of Heaven" or "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored as family protectors, the animal is never consecrated to the "spirit of Heaven" or to "Heaven and all the spirits."

If it happens that the family spirits are the spirits of the mountains, the rite is always performed in the

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same way in the living room, never outside. They said that the aim of the rite is to obtain blessings upon the cattle and their reproduction, and that therefore gelded or old animals are never used. The custom excludes the use of donkeys, hogs, hens, and dogs. Custom does not allow the family to sell or to eat its sacred animal. They all said that the rite was never performed because persons in the family were smitten with severe diseases, or calamities had overcome the family, since other specific rites exist to obviate these miseries. The rite is only intended for the reproduction of animals and to give thanks for blessings upon them. They also said that the staff spirit was never consulted when a new animal had to take the place of the former. The shaking of the head of the animal, when milk mixed with water was poured upon its head and in its ears, was sufficient evidence that the animal was accepted by the family protector. These notes do not agree completely with those of Dom. Schröder in his very interesting article "Die Tierweihe," (*op. cit.*, 839). I write them down according to my notes which I checked many times, because the rite interested me very much.

According to the explanation of the Monguors the rite does not intend to make of the animal an "animal spirit"; the animal is not possessed by the spirit. The aim is to offer to the family protector an animal for which, if the spirit does not agree, a more valuable offer is substituted. When it agrees, however, they all cry: "The offer is accepted!" Because the animal is accepted by the spirit, it partakes of the respect of the family and prostrations are made to the spirit and to its animal. If the rite were a shamanistic rite, the shaman, who is always at hand, would certainly have been invited to perform it.[1]

Poor families must have their sacred animal also, and for this purpose they exceptionally use a rooster, very seldom a he-goat; the ritual for the consecration is the same. Every year, on the third of the New Year, the sacred animal is presented to the deity in the living room, washed, combed, and lavishly adorned with ribbons, while the family prostrates itself. If the sacred animal is a mule, it must be fed on that day with bread. Milk is poured on the animal only once, on the day of the consecration.

The rite must be very old, and must have belonged to a nomadic economy in which horses were offered. At present the rite continues to persist, but it is performed with other animals.[2]

Among the Mongols of Ordos, the rite of the sacred animal is well known and widely practiced today. The animal is consecrated to all kinds of deities, Chingis-

[1] Garma Sandschejew, Weltanschauung und Shamanismus der Alaren Burjaten, *Anthropos* **23**: 938, 1928.

[2] It is worth while to note that the rites of the sacred animals of the communities and of the private families are performed on the Chinese New Year (which usually occurs in February) at the time the lambs are born, the happy time of the harvest of the nomads.

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Khan included (for Chingis is a devoutly honored deity), to the fire and to the Obo. The rite is performed in private families by lamas. Stallions are consecrated besides other animals.[3] The tenets of the religion of the Mongols seem to be as confused as those of the religion of the Monguors.

The rite used to be performed by the Turks.[4] Marco Polo, traveling through Turkistan on the way to Peking, notes the rites of the sacred animal—in this case a sheep.[5]

This rite is not to be confused with the well-known rite of the aspersion with milk of mares after the summer solstice. On an auspicious day the mares are milked and the milk is immediately mixed with sour cow's milk, so that it will become sour after a few minutes. This sour milk is thrown to the four points of heaven, with a wooden ladle, while prayers are said. The rite is performed in honor of all kinds of deities of Lamaism; all kinds of gods of heaven; of Chingis, his wives, his sons, and companions; to the spirits of mountains.[6]

CULT OF THE FIRE

A very old element of the old religion of the Turco-Mongols is the cult of the fire, whose specific offer was butter.[7] This cult had already existed in the arctic culture, "wir gehen wohl nicht fehl wenn wir wenigstens die Wurzeln irgendeine religiösen Feuer Kultus schon in die arktischen Urkultur eingesenkt lassen."[8] Fire is supposed to carry the offerings to the supreme deity.[9] It is one of the essential elements of the old religion of the nomads.[10] Among the Ch'i-tan, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, received considerable attention during winter.[11] Among the Ch'i-tan, the burning of big fire-wood was originally

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[3] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore ordos, op. cit.*, 1 seq. Prof. Schuyler Cammann encountered in Ordos a sacred yearling camel wearing a necklace of sheep scapulas—it could never be ridden by man. *The land of the camel*, 167, New York, Ronald Press, 1951.

[4] Herman Vambery, *Das Turkenvolk*, 122, 1885.

[5] Yule-Cordier, **1**: 207, 1929.

[6] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 315–322, 331. Father Mostaert also notes (*Monumenta Serica* **1**: 335, n. 19, 1935) that among the Mongols this rite, which is performed by laymen, is not specifically for Heaven but for all the Burkhans, Tengris, etc. The koumis (mare's milk) is cast from a ladle toward the four points of heaven; there is not a ladle-full for Heaven alone. This rite follows the summer solstice, by which time the colts have been born. It seems to be a thanksgiving rite, a rite of first fruits, specifically enacted for the reproduction of the horses. The Monguors, no longer having herds of horses, lack this rite.

[7] W. Koppers, Die Indogermanenfrage in Lichte der historischen Volkerkunde, *Anthropos* **30**: 23, 1935; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* **10**: 70–76; **9**: 228–241, 534–535.

[8] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, **3**: 550.

[9] *Ibid.* **3**: 555.

[10] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 136, 1925.

[11] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *op. cit.*, 214 and 239.

[p. 119(B)]

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ceived from the Ming emperor the invitation to surrender. In 1373 he had not yet answered the summons, and the prominent T'u-ssu T'o-erh chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce him to submit. In 1374 his delegates arrived at court with the submission. The following year the emperor created the two commanderies of An-ting and A-tuan, and to Pu-yen-pu-hua was granted the title of Prince of An-ting (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 23*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). 175x 648

In 1374 the T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce the barbarians dispersed all over the country of Huangchung to submit to the Ming emperor (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*).

In 1375 T'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of General Pu Yin against the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa in Liangchow, to whose army a severe blow was administered. The rebel managed to escape. The emperor invited T'u-ssu Lu to call at Nanking to receive the imperial congratulations. On account of illness he was prevented from moving to the capital.

In 1376 Hsining T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to participate in another expedition of General Feng Sheng in Liangchow region against the Mongols, plundering the country. Shih-chi-ku, Nan-t'ai and others surrendered with 1,000 men, and also the Mongol T'o-lin, with his 2,200 subjects (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*).

In 1377 T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to join the expedition of General Pu Yin against the Tartar chief Yeh-su-t'o-huo and others who again plundered the Liangchow country. They suffered a severe blow and 1,000 of their brigands were killed. Then T'u-ssu Wang followed the expedition of General Feng Sheng in Kanchow and Suchow where 1,890 families surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*).

In 1378 T'u-ssu Lu Ah-shih-t'u, oldest son of T'o Huan, fought and took prisoner Ta-kuan-tieh-chih, a chief of plundering Tibetans, living in the mountains between Ku Lang and Liangchow.

General Teng Yu in 1370 had pacified the country of Kui Te situated 220 li south of Hsining, on the southern borders of the Yellow River. In 1376 he had founded the So of Kui Te, leaving a garrison of 500 horse troops and 500 colonists, ordering them to till the soil and provide the subsistence of the garrison (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 15*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 57: 2*a*). In 1378 Kui Te was attacked and plundered by the Tibetan Ha la kui (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 25*b*), who also devastated the Kokonor region. T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to fight the brigands (Monguors I: 34).

BUREAU FOR EXCHANGE OF TEA AGAINST HORSES

175x 647 231 437 272

The year 1378 was very important on account of the establishment of the bureau for the exchange of tea against horses. Each year 3,500 horses would be exchanged in the city: first-class horses exchanged for

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120 pounds of tea, second-class horses for 70 pounds of tea, and third-class horses for 50 pounds of tea. Every tribe under submission was taxed a definite number of horses to be exchanged at the bureau.[71] 175x 647 231 437

The very first bureau had been established in 1376 in Ch'in Chou in East Kansu, but on account of the distance between Ch'in Chou and An-ting and A-tuan, and the inconvenience of travel through the provinces, a bureau had later been established in Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 17 : 3*b*). 272

The importance of the trading of tea for horses cannot be overrated. On the one hand, it was a means for the nomads to get rid of their horses and secure tea. Tibetans as well as Mongols cannot do without tea, and the stronger the concoction the more delightful it is to them. Even when traveling or indulging in hunting parties where tea could not be prepared, they chewed the tea leaves. The craving for tea among the nomads may be compared with the craving for opium among addicts. On the other hand, the trade was very beneficial to the Chinese. First of all, the cavalry got its badly needed horses in an easy way, and the officials of the bureau also benefitted. They evaluated the quality of the horses according to the gratuity offered by the nomad, cheating in the quality of the tea, and putting the transaction off indefinitely, making the customers wait for weeks on end, or helping them immediately, according to the gratuity presented. Squeeze was the rule in the bureau. 175x 443 231 272

The first benefitters were the traders. The exchange of horses was a boon for the city. Traders from all over Szechwan and Shensi provinces moved into the city with the wares the nomads needed, in addition to the tea they brought with them. The nomads were allowed to bring more horses than the number taxed, and they carried wool, skins, musk, etc., to be exchanged for wares. The exchange of horses for tea was the yearly opportunity for the nomads to make a trip to the city and to provide for the needs of the family. 175x 443

This institution was also an effective means of attracting the nomads to surrender, for only surrendered tribes were allowed to enter the city and transact business. After two years the institution reached fruition. It was an attraction, especially during the troubled times which were ahead, when the tribes, indulging in plundering each other, had to get rid of the stolen horses. It was an attraction also because the surrendered tribes enjoyed the protection of the empire. 175x 443 648

In 1379 both Hsining Wang and Chao t'u-ssu were ordered to participate in the expedition of General Mu Yin, sent to quell the revolt of the turbulent eighteen tribes in T'ao Chou (Tibetans? Uighurs? Shat'o?) where the chief San Fu Shih was taken prisoner. Then T'u-ssu Chao was enjoined to follow the expedition of General Fu Yu-te against rebel Mongols in Yunnan 175x 648

[71] Huang Ming su-i k'ao, Wen tien ko shu-chuang, Peiping, Chiang-fu-ssu chieh, 1937.

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from my late father Jen Tsung, whose tablet is honored in the ancestral temple on the place Chao and whose succession I received, an imperial order relating to the affair of the brigands of An Ting and other places who had plundered and killed the imperial ambassadors, to lead your troops to exterminate them, to bring peace in that country, and put an end to the miseries of the people. You have capably complied with the order of the emperor. Acting with zeal and courage, you led your strong troops into the den of the brigands, killing and capturing more than 1,000 men and capturing booty of 130,000 camels, horses, cows, and sheep, suppressing even the vestiges of the brigands, rendering peace to the people, so that the communications (with central Asia) might start again and no more troubles occur (on the highway). I praise your faithfulness and zeal. When I ascended the throne I appointed generals to keep peace in the frontier regions. If all of them will expend their forces in that way, peace can easily be enjoyed and great success achieved. Who among the generals of former times are equal to you? 175x

Now by special favor I send Yang Yun, chief of the ministry of civil appointments, to congratulate you.

The captives, camels, and horses have to be sent to the capital, cows and sheep have to be distributed among the officers and troops who participated in the expedition. You will soon come to court, the expenses defrayed by the empire, in order to comply with my sentiments. [23]

On the eleventh moon he obeyed and went to the capital. He received silver, flowered silk, precious trinkets, and paper money. [703]

1426. On the eleventh of the first moon the imperial order arrived at the quarters of the commandant of Chuang Lang, to choose 260 officers and soldiers who formerly served in the cavalry and put them under the command of high secretary Commandant Lu Hsien to receive training in the defense of the frontiers. They may expect to be transferred soon. Obey and act according to the order.

1427. The chief of the Tibetan Erh-chia tribe revolted but the revolt was quelled by Lu Hsien.

On the twentieth of the twelfth moon the imperial order was received:

We informed the Prince of An Ting, I p'an tan, of the An Ting commandery, the secretary commandant Ah la ch'i pa and others, concerning the mission of the eunuch Hu Hsien and others to Wu-sse-tsang. Order your 3,000 officers and soldiers to protect the ambassadors, under command of high secretary-commandant Lu Hsien and the chiliarch Li Pao-tung. They have to wait for the ambassadors on Sse ha erh ma yang. They have to encounter the ambassadors in a group. Do not disobey the order or commit errors. It is the aim of the order.

1428. The ambassadors, protected on the way, arrived at Ao Chieh Ch'uan. The Lama Cheng nan ho pa of the Erh-chia tribe had moved far away. Lu Hsien treated his troops well on the way.

The imperial order of the twentieth of the eleventh moon informed the high commandant Lu Hsien and the quarters of the commandery of Chuang Lang, to call immediately the troops which have received training.

Each of them must carry his weapons and ride his horse, provisions will be delivered at the passes. Lu Hsien will

N 563 194 preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. [795] Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' [596] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture [241] goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable [438] role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never [233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays [464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese S [422] farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, S [592] sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only ~~social unit,~~ is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly S [614] becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy S [792] exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [422] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N 563 The Monguors:

M 233 Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and 241 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, 198 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest [177] that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the N 563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as M 231 the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, [554] mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 M 596 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally [603] oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy [421] authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

N 563 M 614 622 177 178 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 144 174 sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsining region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 648 175 311 The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

N *563 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342 The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351] The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables

M [343] and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The

M [231] Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [592] [594] The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort

M [354] [352] of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N *563 M 342 591 592 The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside.

M [351] [182] [353] [352] Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations.

M [252] For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, mules or donkeys. A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

M [194] The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter and wheat flour are luxuries. Only the wealthy can afford fruit.

M [412] Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

N *563 M 264 475 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some

/The Monguors/

000 on the luckless family.

N *563 M 231 [777] The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

M [886] [775]

N *563 M 515 [784] Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

N *563 5. Occupations

M 24 233 433 The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

N *563 M 24 [777] [432] The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

N *563 M 231 554 [556] [184] Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

N *563 M 233 463 Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society

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231 and every well-to-do family keeps a fast, handsome horse with a good saddle and trappings. They will spend freely for the purchase of a showy "Peking" outfit—a saddle edged with brass and trimmed with cloisonné enamel with stirrups to match, and a bright saddle rug. When a horse is unsaddled his head must be pointing to the west. Women as well as men may saddle horses. The Monguor vocabulary for the colors of horses and cows is very rich. They prefer black horses and cows, it being a shamanistic belief that this color is a good omen for the owner and for the increase of the livestock.

•232 The Monguors geld their own horses, many of them being very proficient at this operation. The stallion is thrown on the ground and the region of the operation washed with hot water to sterilize it. The cutting is done with the sharp edge of a piece of porcelain from a freshly broken cup. The scrotum is opened and the testicles taken out. Some wine is then poured in the wound, salt rubbed into it, and the wound stitched up with a large needle, which is first "sterilized" by being rubbed in the hair of the man who is to do the stitching. Three or four threads taken from a woman's needle box are twisted together to form a coarse thread for the purpose. Finally, salt is rubbed liberally over the outside of the wound. The horse is walked around the threshing floor during the day and tied to the pole at night, in order to prevent his lying down for a few days. There is seldom a mishap in performing this operation. Some lamas are skilful in performing the operation. Horses are seldom gelded by crushing of the testicles.

787 For this important operation a shaman chooses a day of good omen. Before the operation is performed, the head of the family burns incense and boughs of cypress, offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." For seven days after the operation no visitors are allowed to enter the courtyard, at the gate of which are hung a bough of cypress and a skein of wool as a sign that a horse has been gelded.[64]

Rich people with large herds brand a mark on the left hip of horses and cows. Sheep are marked by cutting a rough design in the ear or by clipping out a piece of the ear. The Monguors are remarkably gifted at tracking lost animals. Chinese whose animals have strayed or been stolen always ask a Monguor to track them, and a tracker will follow the trail for many days.

231 462 It is women's work, except where shepherds are hired, to take care of the livestock in their stalls and pens and also to go out with them to pasture in the summer rainy season when the grass grows quickly.

231 463 Shepherds are the best paid among those Monguors who work for hire, because of the capital value of the

[64] Note that the same emblems are used to mark the tabu of a room in which childbirth has taken place, as described above. They are, therefore, tabu marks which are not restricted to a single kind of tabu.—O. L.

[P. 112 b]

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231 441 [237] donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel relatively well because they have not been confined and fed in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from there to Europe and America for making brushes.

236 237 443 439 The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this buying is done directly in the homes of families that have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buying in small quantities is done by the peddlars, especially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments, [431] and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for [203] Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as they travel.

442 296 543 Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs. Two or three times a year every important monastery holds special religious performances, around which there spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes, wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack [232] doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose diseases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses, cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

543 579 Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and attract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable distances. In the afternoons there are horse races and wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymaking, and often, when there has been too much drinking, fights between clans and villages.

443 439 484 A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods, attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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FIG. 3. The summer camp of Lu 65, a rich Monguor, subject of Lu T'u-ssu, who enrolled in the Tibetan tribe of Wasa. His T'u-ssu was unable to prevent his departure.

The author's small white tent is at the left. The whole family wore Tibetan clothes and were already speaking Tibetan. This Monguor had left the clan of his T'u-ssu because of troubles with the T'u-ssu's officials, and also because in the Monguor country the pasturage was insufficient for his big herds. It was remarkable how the whole family, in a very few years, had adapted itself so completely to the Tibetan pattern of life. (Picture taken in 1917.)

[p.69c]

512 bowl of food in to her husband, presenting it to him humbly with both hands. She then folds and stacks
462 along the rear wall of the *k'ang* the felts, skins, and quilts that serve as bedding, and sweeps out the house and courtyard.

462 It is also woman's work to feed the livestock, milk the cows, and go out to fetch earth, carried in a basket
233 on her back, to dump in the stables where the trampling of the animals mixes it with manure and urine which will eventually be carried out to put on the fields as fertilizer. If a cart is needed in the day's work, it is the wife who harnesses the horse or ox. When it is time to grind flour, it is she who does the grinding, either pounding a little at a time in a stone mortar or taking a larger quantity to a grindstone turned by animal power. When it rains, it is her duty to take the small herds of sheep, cows, and horses out to graze in the valley or on the hill slopes, while her husband, smoking his pipe, huddles by the brazier at home to keep warm or goes to visit his friends.

462 Women also work in the fields. On the field nearest home the Monguors use stable manure; on distant fields
241 they use a fertilizer made by burning clods of earth and grass. The wife carries the ashes in a basket on her back and spreads them on the field. Most husbands help their wives in this heavy work, but it seems not to be their duty to do so. Plowing and harrowing are the main agricultural work of the men, but even in this the women frequently help them. It is not unusual to see a woman plowing and harrowing. When the heavy preparatory work has been done, husband and wife together sow and later weed the fields. They also work together in reaping the harvest, carrying it to the threshing floor, and threshing it—though there are a few lazy men who will not work after the sowing and the weeding, leaving the harvesting, carrying, and threshing to the women.

462 Whenever a woman has a few minutes to spare she reaches for her sewing box. Sewing is work that
294 Monguor women love and at which they are very skillful. They can often be seen working at night by the light of a twisted wick spluttering in a saucer of vegetable oil, patching the clothes of the family. A housewife is expected to make all the new clothes for her husband, her children, and herself. Although she is always the first to get up in the morning and the last to go to bed at night, she has a little more spare time in the winter, when there is no work in the fields, and this is the season for sewing.

603 It is the grandmother who manages the whole female side of the community, supervising and allocating work
462 to the daughters-in-law and the older girls. A good
592 manager rotates the work so that each woman will have an opportunity to do needle work and so that pregnant
606 women get lighter work. It is the grandmother also who soothes the quarrels that inevitably break out in such a family, and endeavors to keep them from be-

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

but from the landowner who, in case the tenant disappeared or became insolvent, was responsible for the tax. In this way the lamas who were landowners had to collect the official taxes from their tenants, and accompany the endless caravans of their tenants' donkeys carrying grain to the official granaries. Before the journey to the granary started, however, each tenant had to measure the grain in the presence of the lamas and with the measure supplied by the lamas, the capacity of which was greater than the official one; this enabled the lamas to set aside a valuable surplus over the vast amount of official taxes. 792 427 651 434 [442] [804]

The properties of the lamaseries, consisting of extensive territories, contain a large part of waste and untilled land on which no taxes are imposed. The industrious intendants developed these properties by means of irrigation canals, and called in new farmers to till the new fields. The legal amount of taxes, however, has always remained the same as the initial amount, because the intendants, by means of collusion and bribery, easily succeed in gaining over the tax collectors. In this way the revenues of the intendancies are greatly increased, and they still receive surreptitiously a very large revenue. Moreover, they are able to store the surplus, which they can grind or sell when prices are highest. 792 423 651 [311 312] 434

HERDS

Sheep, cows, and horses constitute, for many intendancies, a source of revenue. Large herds are grazed in Kukunor or Mongolia where the pastures are larger, smaller herds in the country for local use. Mongol princes and Tibetan chiefs of tribes are always ready to help the monasteries. A contract is made with herdsmen by which the first calves, colts, and lambs belong to the owner, the second-born to the herdsman, and so on. Every three years a lama inspector of the intendancy examines the accounts of the herdsmen and settles with them the number of animals to be sold, and the herdsmen show the skins of the animals which died during the three-year period. If they cannot produce the skins of the dead animals it is assumed that they sold the animals and they must pay the owner of the herds. 792 434 233

OIL AND GRAIN MILLS

These mills are a large source of revenue. The monastery proper of Erh-ku-lung is owner of twenty-four oil and grain mills; the T'u-kuan himself has eighteen, Chang-chia nine. The mills are leased by Monguors or Chinese. The rent of oil mills is 300 pounds of oil for a season's use, besides which it must press the oil belonging to the monastery. The grain miller must grind the grain of the intendancy and at the New Year season give a pig weighing 120 pounds. Most of the oil which is not consumed in the kitchen in the preparation of food, or in the lamps in the temples and homes, is sent by raft to Lan-chou, the capital of the province. 792 434 256

[p.44 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

At that time the expansive country 40 li north of Hsining was inhabited by nomads and had no cities, villages, or farms. Only after the victory of the Manchus over the lamas and Tibetans in 1723 was colonization immediately started on a large scale, and the cities of Tat'ung and Mao Pei Shen were built.

West of Hsining, the *Annals* record in 1380 the submission of three tribes. The Si-na tribe lived 60 li west of Hsining on the northwest borders of the Hsining River. In its territory are tents, houses, and fortified villages. Its people practiced farming and cattle breeding. The tribe had a temple and a lama with the title of Kuo-shih (Master of the Kingdom), a silver seal, and an ivory stamp. The tribe numbered 500 families and was taxed 300 horses every year. It controlled the tribe called little Si-na which lived in Ku Shan, southeast of Nienpei, and it was taxed 30 horses. It also controlled the Ssu-ta-la-ma tribe and the Hsieh-erh-chih-kang temple, which were taxed 50 horses (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 8*b*).

The Chia-erh-chi tribe inhabited the territory situated north of the Si-na tribe. The part of the tribe living inside the wall lived in houses and fortified villages; the part living outside the wall practiced cattle breeding and lived in tents. At the time of disturbances caused by brigands they moved inside the wall. The chief of the tribe was a lama who had the title of Chih-hui. Every year the tribe was taxed 130 horses. The tribe controlled the Lung-pa tribe numbering 100 families which was taxed 150 horses.

In the region west of Hsining, stretching as far as 40 to 60 li, only farming, combined with cattle breeding, seems to have been practiced in 1380 by Tibetan tribes. After 1723 the region beyond was developed. The title of master of the kingdom was probably granted after the surrender of the tribe ruled by the lama. It was the policy during the Hung-wu and the whole Ming period to grant titles to lamas who induced tribes to surrender (Monguors II: 16). The title of Chih-hui borne by the chief is a title of the Ming time. The walls noted in the references were built only after 1546 (*Annals* of Hsining 13: 15). The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 seems to have mixed circumstances existing only after 1546 with those of 1380.

Still west of Hsining the nomad Shen-tsang tribe surrendered in 1380. It inhabited a territory situated near Kokonor. At the time of the invasion of the Mongols in 1509 and their occupation of Kokonor, the tribe disappeared (*Annals* of Hsining ?: 5*b*).

In the region of the southern mountains of Hsining, between Hsining and the Yellow River, stretching in an east-west direction as far as Lao Ya Ch'eng, three more tribes surrendered in 1380, all of them living near the northern borders of the Yellow River.

The Tsan-tsa tribe lived in tents and its territory was situated south of the present subprefecture of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*).

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

appropriated the tributes brought by chiefs of Tibetan tribes, protected and hid people prosecuted by the courts of justice, and for more than ten years had fostered subversive influences. T'u-ssu Li Yin, discharged at that time the duty of Chi-hui ch'ien-shih in Hsining, conversant with these facts, killed the lama and his family. The country again enjoyed peace (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 10*a*).

During the Yung Lo period (1403–1425) the military colonies of Huangchung did not increase in number. The same 7,200 families are recorded as at the end of the Hung-wu period. However, the number of persons constituting these families had decreased by 3,000 (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 15*a*). During the same period four more temples had been built in Huangchung: Yung-hsing-ssu, situated five li north of the city of Hsining, 1410; Hua-tsang-ssu situated south of the city, 1410; Tsang-chin-ssu situated in the southwestern corner of the city, and Kuang-fu-kuan in the northwestern corner of the city, 1426 (*Annals* of Kansu 30: 45*b*, 46*a*). Emperor Yung Lo had established in the valley of Sha t'ang, 80 li northeast of Hsining, controlled by the Li t'u-ssu, some pasturage for cavalry horses. In 1378 after the institution of the exchange bureau of tea against horses, 3,500 horses were acquired for the cavalry every year, and had to be fed on pasture.

T'U-SSU LI YIN

In 1426 Li Yin again was ordered to muster the Monguor troops, and to equip an expedition with the Chih-hui K'ang Chou, against the tribes of Anting and Ch'u Hsien (the old Tunhuang region), in which country the Chinese ambassadors Ch'iao Li-sse and Teng Ch'eng had been plundered and murdered on their way to Turkistan. The Monguor t'u-ssu who participated in the expedition under the command of Li Yin were Li Wen (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*), t'u-ssu Lu, t'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 29*b*), t'u-ssu Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), t'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*b*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 41*a*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*b*), Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*a*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 28: 13*a*). T'u-ssu Chou died on the field of battle during the expedition. Li Yin knew from first-hand information that the commanders of Anting, Ah-san-hsun-san-ho, and San-chi-ssu of Ch'u Hsien were the murderers. He led the army straight to their countries. The murderers fled with their tribes. Li Yin pursued them to the K'unlun mountains, and continued the pursuit several hundred li more, to the Ya-lin pass. There he administered a crushing defeat to them, capturing 1,100 men and 140,000 head of cattle. The brigands of Ch'u Hsien fled further on, but the Prince of Anting, Sang-erh-chia shih-lan, scared to death, went to court to confess his fault.

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/Kansu Monguors/

N *563 M 142 have very scanty beards, and there is seldom any growth of hair on the body.

e. economic activities

N *563 M [241] [233] [433] The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

M [291] [177] [771] Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to wear only Chinese clothing.

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Olots and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours now belong to Chinghai Province. Very little is known about the N [177] Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokonor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian N [233] language. They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölöts and the Torguts of Sinkiang.

2. Hordes

N *563 619 361 *[175] When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai area he found the following groups of Mongols:

(1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;

(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;

(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;

(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;

(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.

(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.

(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;

/The Monguors/

on the luckless family.

N *563 M 231 [177] The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

M [886] [175]

N *563 M 515 [184] Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

5. Occupations

N *563 M 24 233 433 The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

N *563 M 24 [177] [432] The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

N *563 M 231 554 [556] [184] Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

N *563 M 233 463 Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 233 463 [466] because of the value of the animals entrusted to them. They are skillful in breeding, and in finding the best pasture. A shepherd is treated as a member of his employer's family; he receives the same food, and the daughters-in-law must show him the same respect they accord to the head of the family.

The Mongours hunt foxes, hares, pheasants and musk deer, using guns, traps and poison. The fox skins are sold to Chinese merchants and the best skins, used for lining the winter garments of the rich, bring a handsome price. Musk deer are also valuable game. The precious musk glands, used as a special drug or as an essence in perfume, are sold by weight to Chinese dealers.

N *563 M 224 439

Fishing is important in Koko Nor, where the lake produces an abundant supply. Mongour expeditions go there as soon as the lake has frozen over each winter. They go first to the chief of the Mongol or Tibetan tribe on whose shore they plan to operate, and present gifts such as wine, tobacco, noodles and the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity in exchange for permission to fish and protection from the tribe. The fishermen usually go to the same territory every year, and become sworn brothers of the chief or some important local nomad. The expedition, which lasts about two months, involves hard work in the bitter cold, but the profits are sufficient reward. Preservation of the fish is no problem; they freeze immediately after they are caught. They are carried to the market in Hsi-ning, or sold to Moslem merchants who engage in caravan trade.

N *563 M 226 M [251]

Mongours carry on their trade largely with Chinese and Chinese Moslem merchants. The Moslems are an energetic and enterprising people who drive caravans of pack mules from house to house in the Mongour country, exchanging cloth, needles and thread for wool, skins, eggs and grain. In the autumn they collect oxen and sheep and drive them in small herds to Hsi-ning. The Chinese merchants do business on a larger scale. They send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at lama monastery festivals and at the annual celebrations and meetings of the Mongour clans. During the fall, when the Chinese Moslems are buying up sheep and oxen, the Chinese butchers of the cities send their agents to the Mongour villages to buy hogs. Chinese merchants also send their buyers into Mongour country for wool and skins, going from home to home. There are also peddlers, who deal largely in items needed in the Mongour home, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, sugar and pipe tobacco. Business is always by barter, with the top-ranking woman of the Mongour household doing the bargaining. As the peddler travels a long distance, it is customary to provide him with a place to sleep. Before he leaves he presents the hostess with a small token of apprecia-

N *563 M 438 439 M [437]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

231 441 [237] donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel relatively well because they have not been confined and fed in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from there to Europe and America for making brushes.

236 237 443 439 The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this buying is done directly in the homes of families that have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buying in small quantities is done by the peddlars, especially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments, [431] and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for [203] Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as they travel.

442 296 543 Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs. Two or three times a year every important monastery holds special religious performances, around which there spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes, wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack [232] doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose diseases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses, cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

543 579 Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and attract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable distances. In the afternoons there are horse races and wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymaking, and often, when there has been too much drinking, fights between clans and villages.

463 439 484 A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods, attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

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342 need only be noted here that few Monguors are rich enough to hire Chinese or Monguor bricklayers and carpenters. Most Monguors build their own houses.

342 Rich people lay a foundation of brick for the mud walls of their houses. Even poor people, though they 778 build their own houses, buy the frames for their doors and windows from Chinese carpenters. When a new house is built, the young people of the whole village come to help in putting up the mud walls of the enclosure. They ask no pay for this work, but are rewarded with a dinner. A peculiarity of all Monguor courtyards is that in the middle of the enclosure stands a pole from which flies a "prayer flag" on which prayers have been written in Tibetan. At the base of this pole there is a small oven for burnt offerings; but sometimes the oven is built on top of the roof of the living room.

352 The Monguors do not have much in the way of furni- ture. The living quarters of each nuclear family within 353 the extended family consist of only a single room. Wealthier people may have "*k'ang* tables"—low tables, with very short legs, set on the *k'ang*. These are of the right height for people sitting crosslegged. Poorer people may have, in front of the *k'ang*, a rough table with homemade benches. A plank, on wooden pegs driven into the wall, serves for bowls and dishes. For household work, the Monguors made their own brooms from millet straw or tamarisk twigs. Only rich people paint the woodwork of their houses. Even in a poor family, however, there hangs on the wall of the chief of the family a picture of the guardian deity of the family, and in front of this picture there is a low table with brass butter lamps and bowls for offerings.

372 The fuel used by the Monguors is chiefly the dung of horses, cows, and sheep, dried in the sun. The • 237 gathering of this fuel means constant hard work for the wives, who must always have some reserve in case 352 it is raining and dry fuel cannot be gathered. Sheep dung gives the most heat. It is dug out in bricks where it has accumulated and been trampled hard in the sheep pens. Straw and dry grass are also used in the little fireplaces that heat the *k'angs*. This fuel gives a quick, hot flame; though it does not last long, the sparks are drawn by the draft into the flues that run under the *k'ang*, where they set the accumulated soot smoldering, thus providing a low but relatively steady heat through the night.

352 During the winter the Monguor men, who work so much less than the women, spend most of the day sitting 372 on the *k'ang*, either at home or at a neighbor's house. 512 A primitive brazier is made by laying some bricks in a 462 circle in which earth is placed to hold the fire. On the earth is put a mixture of sheep dung, husks, and chaff. 521 This mixture burns slowly all day and is hot enough to boil tea. The men light their pipes from this glowing mixture, and sit all day long gossiping cheerfully in a haze of smoke.

[P. 116 6]

[50 cont.]
777 always inside the house. In such a case the arrow is not made or
*778 consecrated by a lama or Bon priest (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 52.] For the preparation of the urn, cf. the section: "The Earth-god Urn."

Attachments: Always and in all cases hadas and sheep wool are attached to the arrow. If the arrow is consecrated, a small copper mirror is usually also attached to it. -- When
[237] an animal is sold or given away, some of its hair is tied to the
[432] arrow, as in the case of horses, donkeys, and mules. The hair is taken from the mane or tail. Similarly, when a sheep is sold some wool is also tied on. Hog bristles, however, may never be tied to the arrow of good fortune. -- After a child's first haircut,
[302] on the first birthday, the downy hairs that have been cut off are
[852] rolled into a little ball, and a thread is drawn out of it, with which the ball is tied to the arrow; similarly the bow and arrow that the child seized as an oracle on this occasion is tied to it. -- When a daughter is married, a number of small strips of cloth
[585] are cut from the seam of her bridal [51] dress for the arrow. Also some hair of the bride, which was combed out during the hair-dressing and adornment on the eve of her being taken away, is carefully collected and attached to the arrow of good fortune (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 52-53.] The fact that sheep wool is always attached to the arrow, as to the obo, seems to be connected with the sheep of good fortune; cf. below. F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148) would like to connect the little balls of wool (cotton) with the thread figures (mdos), which hold fast the demons. -- Occasionally, silk threads in the five sacred colors are also added. Hair

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133 central parts, where the soil flattens out, pebbles, sand, dunes, pastures, and swamps appear.[1]

133 Two major tributaries of the Yellow River, the
311 Hsining and the Ta-t'ung, run through the northern part of the Nanshan from northwest to east. It is in the region of these two rivers, and the northern part of the Yellow River, that the Monguors live. The country is one that is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, the mountains not being too high, while the valleys and some extensive plains afford excellent pasture, favored by a suitable rainfall. Most of the plains and the
134 largest of the valleys have, however, been opened to
133 cultivation. The larger valleys and plains, buried several
241 feet deep in loess which has been washed down from the mountains, assure good harvests year after year if crops are rotated, if streams are available for irrigation, and

[1] Fernand Grenard, "Haute Asie," in *Géographie Universelle* 7, 361, Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1929.

[P. 18-b]

134 1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

•241

133 if the Chinese system of fertilization with human manure is used. The western part of the region is colder than [132] the eastern part, being higher and more exposed to northwestern winds, but in spite of the small climatic difference, spelt wheat, a small amount of millet, and large crops of linseed and colza are grown nearly everywhere. On the colder, western side, the earth has to be "warmed" by plowing and cultivation; when new fields are opened to agriculture, various kinds of crops have to be grown for the first seven years; only then does the earth become warm enough to grow wheat.

137 The northern slopes of the highest mountains are covered in many places with a fair growth of timber, principally spruce, and brush; poplars, willows, and sometimes birch are plentiful in the lower valleys. The 311 economic life of the country during the period covered by this study was principally agricultural and only secondarily pastoral, although pastoralism prevails in the highest, coldest, part of the country.

[p. 18c]

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177 erals, Ma Fu-hsiang, Ma Hung-k'uei, Ma Hung-pin, and other military leaders all belong to this group.

In the course of the Ming dynasty a few small groups of Mongols who had at first been hostile submitted to the Ming and were settled in Kansu. In the region of Paonan, near Kueite, there still live five groups of these Mongols, whose curious fate it was to become Muslim in religion and Tibetan in language; they are called the Wut'ung [87] Mongols.

All of these groups the Chinese of Hsining call Mongols and not T'u-jen, and the seventeen Monguor clans discussed in this book are unable, because of the peculiar evolution of their own language, to talk with these Mongols in the dialects they speak; they know that they are Mongols, but say that they do not belong to the same stock. A comparative study of the social organization and the language of these groups would be interesting and important, but I have never had the opportunity to undertake it.

THE T'U-SSU AND HIS SUBJECTS

624 Up to this point both nobles and commoners have been referred to as "subjects" of the T'u-ssu. The relation is in fact somewhat complex, involving not only the relations between T'u-ssu and nobles, but those between nobles and commoners.

The T'u-ssu, in the nature of the origin of the T'u-ssu institution, was formerly the ruler of the clan with the support of and by the appointment of the emperor. Although he is of the same "bone" as the nobles, the authority and prestige that set him apart and above the nobles are unlimited. From the point of view of the overlord state, the entire authority in the clan, civil and military, is embodied in him alone, and nobles as well as commoners are his subjects. The only limit on his power is that he cannot inflict capital punishment. He also represents the leadership and prestige of the sacred founding ancestor of the clan.

T'U-SSU ULTIMATE OWNER OF THE CLAN TERRITORY

From the emperor, the T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan. These territories were originally assigned, according to a military plan, to screen the frontier, at a time when the Monguors were still nomads, and it may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories. We must, however, beware of the idea that "nomads" are concerned only with cattle-breeding. Travelers in Mongolia, medieval and modern, have noted—often with astonishment—the wide distribution of farming practiced by nomads. It is true that the farming done by nomads is rudimentary and crude compared with intensive Chinese farming, but it is also true that nomads always attempt a little auxiliary farming wherever climate and soil permit. The Monguors must, at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, have

175 311 241

[87] Possibly from a mistaken Chinese transcription of Mongol *khotong*, "a Muslim."—O. L.

[p. 58a]

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311 been nomads who already knew something about farming.[38]

175 The historical picture, which includes traces of ancient irrigation before the settling of the Monguors, and new
• 241 Chinese agricultural colonies introduced under the Ming, indicates that the Monguors increasingly adapted themselves to an environment in which farming was possible and profitable. It is possible that with the growth of population there was no longer room for a preponderantly pastoral economy, and possible also that constant border warfare resulted in severe losses of cattle. Whatever the reason for the shift from pastoralism to agriculture, however, it brought with it important social problems, because the economic system of a people determines the rules under which property is held.

311 The nomad economy is extensive, and requires room for migration between winter and summer pasture.
241 Farming—even non-irrigated farming—is intensive compared with pastoralism, and brings with it a shift of values from the wide, windswept pastures to the small, sheltered, cultivable plot of land.[39]

The farmer's year of toil is centered on a definite piece of land. If he is a free farmer and not a mere serf, his property interest is identified with that land, and with his right to dispose of it by sale or legacy. This interest is different in kind from that of the nomad in mobile livestock. We may, therefore, well expect changes in the social psychology of the Monguors to accompany the shift from a predominance of pastoralism to a predominance of agriculture, even though the Monguors never became as exclusively agricultural as the Chinese.

423 In the Monguor society there is an adaptation between the principle of the absolute ownership of the territory by the T'u ssu and the principle of private property among members of the clan. The principle of the T'u-ssu's absolute ownership being recognized by the over-

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[38] L. Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie: Turcs et Mongols, des origines à 1405*, 49–50, Paris, 1896, sums up the matter in the words: "It is possible that there may have existed nomads limiting themselves exclusively to meat, milk, and the wool of their herds; but no such nomads have ever been known in historical times." Owen Lattimore, The geographical factor in Mongol history, *Geographical Jour.*, London, Jan. 1936, writes (p. 5) that "the history of the steppe peoples is not independent of the history of agricultural communities," and also draws attention (p. 14) to the agriculture of the Orkhon Turks in Northern Mongolia in the middle ages. He again refers repeatedly to semi-nomads and marginal nomads in his *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 2nd ed., New York, Amer. Geog. Soc., 1951. K. A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-seng, in *History of Chinese society: Liao, Trans. Amer Philos. Soc.* 36: 120–121, 1949, recapitulate the views of a number of writers, but make the mistake of assuming that when William of Rubruck, in the thirteenth century, speaks of "villages in the south" from which Mongol lords drew tribute of millet and flour, he means villages of Mongol farmers. It is clear from the context that the reference is to tributary, sedentary, non-Mongol peoples.

[39] For the "extensive-intensive" range between hunting, steppe pastoralism, rainfall agriculture, and irrigated agriculture, see Lattimore, The geographical factor in Mongol history, as cited above, 6.

[p. 58b]

512 bowl of food in to her husband, presenting it to him
462 humbly with both hands. She then folds and stacks along the rear wall of the *k'ang* the felts, skins, and quilts that serve as bedding, and sweeps out the house and courtyard.

462 It is also woman's work to feed the livestock, milk the cows, and go out to fetch earth, carried in a basket
233 on her back, to dump in the stables where the trampling of the animals mixes it with manure and urine which will eventually be carried out to put on the fields as fertilizer. If a cart is needed in the day's work, it is the wife who harnesses the horse or ox. When it is time to grind flour, it is she who does the grinding, either pounding a little at a time in a stone mortar or taking a larger quantity to a grindstone turned by animal power. When it rains, it is her duty to take the small herds of sheep, cows, and horses out to graze in the valley or on the hill slopes, while her husband, smoking his pipe, huddles by the brazier at home to keep warm or goes to visit his friends.

462 Women also work in the fields. On the field nearest home the Monguors use stable manure; on distant fields
241 they use a fertilizer made by burning clods of earth and grass. The wife carries the ashes in a basket on her back and spreads them on the field. Most husbands help their wives in this heavy work, but it seems not to be their duty to do so. Plowing and harrowing are the main agricultural work of the men, but even in this the women frequently help them. It is not unusual to see a woman plowing and harrowing. When the heavy preparatory work has been done, husband and wife together sow and later weed the fields. They also work together in reaping the harvest, carrying it to the threshing floor, and threshing it—though there are a few lazy men who will not work after the sowing and the weeding, leaving the harvesting, carrying, and threshing to the women.

462 Whenever a woman has a few minutes to spare she reaches for her sewing box. Sewing is work that
294 Monguor women love and at which they are very skillful. They can often be seen working at night by the light of a twisted wick spluttering in a saucer of vegetable oil, patching the clothes of the family. A housewife is expected to make all the new clothes for her husband, her children, and herself. Although she is always the first to get up in the morning and the last to go to bed at night, she has a little more spare time in the winter, when there is no work in the fields, and this is the season for sewing.

603 It is the grandmother who manages the whole female side of the community, supervising and allocating work
462 to the daughters-in-law and the older girls. A good
592 manager rotates the work so that each woman will have an opportunity to do needle work and so that pregnant
606 women get lighter work. It is the grandmother also who soothes the quarrels that inevitably break out in such a family, and endeavors to keep them from be-

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In 1723, therefore, when a long period of peace and stability began, the Monguors on the one hand had become farmers rather than herdsmen though they still owned far more livestock than Chinese farmers, and on the other hand communications opened up and trade began to flourish. The great city of Lanchou in Kansu provided a market for grain grown by the Monguors, which could be floated down the Hsining River into the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou. At the same time, with the pacification of Tibet, another market opened up for grain carried by caravan into the high plateau. The population increased, new villages were founded, and the land tax became the main source of revenue of the Monguor T'u-ssu.

The transition was so complete that the Monguors have no longing for a return to the nomadic life. In this they are different from the border Tibetans, among whom the nomadic life still carries more social prestige than settled village life.[1] The Monguors, however, appear to confirm the rule that peoples of Mongol origin, like the Turks, make the shift from pastoralism to agriculture only under the compulsion of events.[2]

FARMING

• 241

Their farming having developed in contact with the Chinese culture, the Monguors used the farming implements of the Chinese (and not, for instance, those of the Turkish-speaking oasis farmers of Chinese Inner Asia). They buy their plowshares, spades, and other iron tools from Chinese smiths, but make the wooden parts themselves. Their farming is, however, inferior in technique to that of the Chinese. The region is too high and cold for the most intensive kind of Chinese farming, and, therefore both Chinese and Monguor farmers in the highest parts never grow the same crop on the same field for two consecutive years and try to leave each field completely fallow for a year after it has been harvested.

For fields near the villages, composted stable manure is used as a fertilizer. Every other day the women go out and bring in earth in baskets on their backs which they empty in the stables. The animals trample their dung and urine into this earth, and the floor-level of the stalls and the cow and sheep pens is gradually built up. At the end of a year, when the planting season begins, this composted manure is dug out and carried by the pack animals to the fields.

Farther away from the village ashes provide the only fertilizer. In the seventh or eighth moon, after the ground has been softened by a day or two of summer rain, a piece of land is selected and all the livestock are driven out to it and kept there, trampling the sticky earth for a whole day. The next day this top soil is

[1] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, Chicago, Univ of Chicago Press, 1939, especially pp. 76–7[illegible]

[2] H[illegible]ann Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, 176, Leipzig, 1885.

[P. 111a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

241 dug out with spades in the form of large, rough bricks, which are set out in rows to dry. The next spring, before sowing, these bricks are built into a long oven. The outside is plastered with mud, and after incense and boughs of cypress have been burned to propitiate the Spirit of the Earth, a fire is built in the oven. After it has burned for two days the "bricks" have crumbled into ashes. Men and women carry these ashes in baskets on their backs and scatter them on the fields that are to be sown. In some places this heavy work is done by the women alone.

241 782 Plowing and sowing begin on the propitious day and at the appointed hour designated in the old Chinese lunar calendar. Strips of red paper inscribed with auspicious Chinese characters are pasted on all the farming implements and on the horns of the oxen. Red, in the symbolism of the Chinese, is the color for joy, fertility, and good fortune.[3]

At the appointed hour the whole family, all in their best clothes, go to the fields. The procession is led by the head of the family, guiding a plow drawn by a pair of oxen. He plows a furrow in a large circle and then a cross within the circle in such a manner that when the second stroke of the cross is completed the heads of the oxen are pointing in the direction from which, according to geomantic divination, happiness and prosperity are expected to emanate during the year. This direction may vary from year to year. The family then steps into the center of the circle, kneels, and burns incense and boughs of cypress. The head of the family offers to the Spirit of the Earth a large, flat circular loaf of bread in the center of which there is a hole in which he plants incense sticks. The family prostrate themselves while the head of the family pours a libation of wine on the ground and sprinkles wine toward the "six corners" of the universe.[4] The bread is then divided into small pieces and each member of the family, and also the two oxen, are given a piece to eat on the spot. The remainder is broken into crumbs and thrown on the field. All then return home except those who complete the plowing, and sowing begins as soon as the plowing is finished.

The Chinese in this region do not have this custom, and it is possible that the Monguors took it over from the Tibetans who have a similar ceremony of beginning the farming season by blessing the earth and asking the gods for a good harvest and for protection against hail.[5]

241 243 The Monguor field crops are barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp, and potatoes. Very little millet is grown. When the Monguors plow a virgin field, they plant barley for the first six years and wheat only the seventh year, because the earth of such fields is too

[3] White (which for the Chinese is the color of mourning) is the traditional auspicious and noble color of the Mongols.—O. L.

[4] The four quarters of the compass; upward (for the sky), and downward (for below the surface of the earth).—O. L.

[5] MacDonald, *Mœurs et coûtumes tibétaines*, 229, Paris, Payot, 1930.

[p. 111 b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

241 cold to grow wheat from the beginning and has first to
243 be loosened up and warmed by the sun.

The customs connected with weeding during the growing season are especially worth noting. Men and
241 women take part, the women going to the fields in their best clothes which they change for their working clothes
533 when the work begins. Men and women squat on their
584 heels and work along the furrows of grain, singing as they work. One group answers the songs sung by another group and from time to time all burst into laughter and giggles because these songs are licentious and full of sexual references. Sometimes a man or woman sings a solo, to which all reply in chorus. If a traveler should happen to pass, especially a woman, one of the workers who has a knack for making up a song impromptu will start to sing a description of the traveler, full of suggestive remarks about the supposed purpose of the traveler's journey, with endless lascivious verses about "the way of the lonely hind roaming in search of the stag," and so forth. Only the young people take part in this work, while their elders remain in the family courtyard.

This licentiousness is associated only with the weeding season. The Chinese of this region do not have a similar custom. There are comparable customs, however, in Tibet and also in Southeast Asia; and there were comparable customs among the ancient Sienpi and the ancient Turks. It is open to question whether the Shat'o brought the custom with them when they settled in the region or whether the Monguors learned it from the Tibetans [6] or the Sienpi.

241 The crops are either plucked by hand or harvested with a sickle, the work being done by both men and women. The threshing is done on the village threshing floor with a primitive stone roller pulled by oxen, horses, mules, or donkeys.

In addition to field agriculture there are small gardens close to each courtyard where the women plant vegetables such as onions, garlic, rape, leek, cabbage, pimento, spinach, watermelons, and cantaloupes.

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231 Livestock still rank as the second most important economic resource of the Monguors. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys, and pigs and wherever the pastures are sufficient they own as many sheep and cows as possible. Horses are important for prestige,

[6] For references to Southeast Asia (Annam, Cambodia, Laos, the White Tai, the Karens of Burma, the Angami Nagas of Assam, and the Miaos and Yaos of Southwest China), see Christopher Fürer-Haimendorff in *Anthropos* 30: 916, 1935. See also A. Lietard, *Les Lolo-p'o*, 152, Münster i. W., Achendorfsche Verlag, 1913, and D. Doutreligne in *Anthropos* 25: 163, 1930; also F. M. Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, 224, Hong Kong, Imprimerie des missions étrangères, 1930. For ancient China see H. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 237, Paris, Boccard, 1927, and R. Granet, *La civilization chinoise* 1: 190, Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

[p. 112 a]

[642 cont.]

764 a rule, all young people under 20 years of age, whether male or
[766] female, are cremated in the evening at sundown. Persons over 20 years of age are cremated in the morning at sunrise. The place of cremation is prepared the day before.

Place of cremation: The place of cremation is usually chosen by the master of ceremonies after consultation with the members of the family. Only ground that belongs to the deceased's own family or to the relatives on the father's side is considered. A dead person may never be cremated on strange soil or on land that belongs to the maternal relatives. Special preference is given to a spot on a steep ridge between fields, because the fire for the oven can most easily be set there. In
241 choosing the spot, one must see to it that the smoke will not
764 blow across a sown field. Therefore, after the sowing festival in the spring, a remote place is chosen in a ravine or on a
178 mountain where there are no more fields. Aside from the fact that the seed would be trampled, the smoke of a burning corpse is harmful for the growth and the harvest. Therefore nowadays, when even the most remote little mountain patches are planted, cremation is increasingly on the wane, especially in the valleys, and the dead are buried in coffins (19).

[177] [Foreign text p. 656.] This may not be the most decisive reason for the disappearance of the custom, however, but rather the general Sinicization. In remote ravines everywhere a place can still be found for cremation, for even the Chinese in the valleys cremate their adult, unmarried daughters in such remote places.

764 If the fire-pouring is undertaken at the cremation, then
792 the lama himself goes out to the field the day before and
782 chooses a suitable spot. For this purpose he kneads a large torma

[650 cont.]

192 Western paradise: hsi-lo shih-chieh (Chin.) = world of joys.

[775] Oil fir: yu-sung mu (Chin.).

[262] Thin flat-bread made with flour: kan pin-ping (Chin.) = little dry cakes.

[Pages 650-658 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 658 and the next section begins on p. 822.]

782 [822]

V. Customs concerning Agriculture and Livestock

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1. The Sowing and Harvest Thanksgiving Festivals * (1)

* See "Notes," p. 823 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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1. [Foreign text p. 823.] For this subject, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Das Herbst-Dankopfer der Tujen im Sining-Gebiet [The Harvest Thank-offering of the Tujen in the Sining Region]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-45, 867-873. -- The report there presents only the offering from the harvest thanksgiving festival as the old man described it at that time. It is interesting to point out that he seized upon this offering as typical of the festival and mentioned the entire celebration only incidentally, always with the indication that the shamans actually had nothing to do with the offering. When I later asked him why he had not described the entire festival in

782 [822 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 823 cont.]
detail, he gave the answer: "That was too much for one afternoon." Moreover, he had described the festival as it had taken place in his little village. It had always been celebrated very simply there; now he had let the festival die out completely for his village, and they would go to the neighboring village of Chichialing, where it is much longer and larger.

[178]

Here, too, nothing is presented in detail about the individual parts, as in the other chapters, because the material is too extensive and forms a subject in itself, which is to be dealt with in connection with shamanism. It should be stated in advance here, however, that they are probably not Tujen shamans, but Chinese shamans, who are found scattered over wide areas of western China.

[756]

Report

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The sowing festival and the festival of the harvest thanksgiving are completely identical. Only in the autumn people have more flour and meat to celebrate the festival. Both festivals last several days. A definite number of days is not prescribed. At the festival one differentiates between the offering and the dances of the shamans. The offering is undertaken by the seed-master or the village elder. The dances last for an entire day; usually a market is also connected with them.

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The shamans erect a pole in the temple yard, pray several days, send out sicknesses on the first evening, and from a distance kill children or cause them to become unconscious. In the evening of the final day, before they take down the pole, they take the sicknesses back; then the people struck by them become healthy again.

[822 cont.]

241 782 756 [292] The shamans are always men (2). They wear women's

2. [Foreign text p. 823.] The name for these shamans is bō, in other words, the typical Mongolic word. The Tujen strictly differentiate them from the other shamans and the Bon priests. They are the cult dancers designated by the Chinese as fa-shih, that is, sorcerer, or shih-kung, that is, teacher, whose chief goddess is the Niang-niang, that is, mother.

[776]

[534] clothes and a woman's hairdo. Their drum consists of an iron or wooden ring over which is stretched a sheepskin. They carry [535] the litter of the mother-goddess onto a threshing floor and dance before it. During the dance the drums are beaten. They do all [787] kinds of acrobatic feats, and one of them goes into a great trance and wounds himself.

241 782 The sowing festival takes place during the period from the third to the fifth month, the harvest festival in the ninth or tenth month. No village celebrates both festivals. There is no harvest festival where the sowing festival is held, and there is no sowing festival where there is a harvest festival.

[823] At the sowing festival one prays for protection against storms and for rain; at the harvest festival one expresses thanks for the harvest. [The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

600 2. The Pole-goat *

* See "Notes," pp. 829-830 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designation for them in the text.]

[823 cont.] 2. The Pole-goat

Report

241 789 791 778 When the seed has shot up in the early summer, one invites a Bon priest who prays on a mountain and erects the pole-goat. He comes to the seed-master on the day before, and on the following morning he goes with the men to the mountain. There they drink tea. The Bon priest sits on a felt mat. A low kang table is put before him so that he may place his cult objects upon it, and next to him is put an earthen vessel with tsamba, butter, and little gold leaves, as well as a bowl of water and red dye. He needs this for the torma. To this is added a little plate with barley and the holy-water can.

First the men make the great incense offering, which [782] is maintained throughout the performance. The Bon priest makes four little tormas, called "misfortune-tormas," which he places with all kinds of extra features on a tray. The seed-master goes in the four directions of the compass with the tray and each time throws away a torma.

[824] Then the Bon priest makes the "weather-torma." [825] Meanwhile the men slaughter a goat, stuff the hide, and put it on a tall pole. They lay this, together with the goat doll, before the Bon priest. He ties four little wooden wedges to its feet and a special wedge on the goat's forehead. He inscribes the wedges with Tibetan magical signs. Then the pole is set up, and the priest places the weather-torma, together with the extra features, before the pole. [782] A great incense offering and frequent kowtowing accompany this ceremony.

Then the priest goes to his place and makes the "mountain-torma." It has three layers and is the largest of all the tormas. He puts this behind the pole. Again incense is burned and all kowtow.

241 789 791 In the meantime other men have boiled the goat meat in the kettle. The seed-master now makes an offering of this meat to the gods. At the conclusion there is then a communal meal at which the remainder of the meat is consumed. Then [782] all go home, but there is no singing and drinking as on other occasions. [264]

[824 cont.]

241 789 791 [778] This is the ceremonial erection of the pole-goat. In the case of the simple type only one misfortune-torma is made, which represents the four others; there is also the weather-torma. The mountain-torma is omitted and no magical wedges are tied to the goat.

[782] [465] When one has undertaken the ceremonial erection, the Bon priest must come often during the summer and hold prayer services before the pole-goat. In the autumn, after the harvest, he receives from each family a certain measure of grain as compensation. In the case of the simple erection, without any summer prayer, only on the day itself is he given a large loaf of bread and a piece of meat from the loin of the goat.

Details

241 789 791 787 Time: The time of the erection is determined by the soothsayer, and in the local temple. It always falls in the period from the thirteenth day in the fifth lunar month to the sixth day in the sixth lunar month. One may also let the Bon priest determine the day. He uses three dice for this. He compares the numbers thrown with his soothsaying book and in this manner determines a day (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 829.] The time coincides with that in which the Chinese put their weather forts in order and drive in the thunderbolts (ch'a p'ai).

241 789 778 [621] [791] Place: The pole-goat is always erected on the highest mountain in the people's own local area, and only on one mountain and only one goat. Small hamlets or compounds may do it together; then the highest mountain of all these hamlets is chosen (1). -- The spot on the mountain itself is indicated by

1. [Foreign text p. 829.] If the mountain is too far away, one sets up a tent and lives there.

[824 cont.]

241 the soothsayer when the pole-goat is raised for the first time.
789 This spot is then always retained. A hole is dug there and covered
with a clod of earth or a rock so that it will not be destroyed by
778 the next year.
[791] The place is never taboo, regardless of whether the
pole-goat stands there or not. One may pasture animals there,
start a fire, etc. Women need not avoid it.

241 [825] Persons: Only a Bon priest may undertake the
789 performance, never a lama or a soothsayer. Nowadays the cus-
tom is scarcely ever practiced because the Bon priests have died
791 out. It is still found only in very remote mountain villages. The
[178] simple ceremony is performed by a Bon priest of the second class,
the solemn ceremony by a Bon priest of the first class because
[292] he has special magical power. The costume is that of the
ordinary people since the Bon priest is, of course, a farmer. He
merely needs to wear the forehead wreath and a long garment.

In addition the following act with him: the seed-master
and his helper, the village elders, and generally all men,
all soothsayers. It is enough, however, if only one soothsayer
is represented, for instance, a sword-shaman, a spirit-table
soothsayer, etc. Women must not witness the ceremony, but
[562] little girls may watch.

241 The pole: It does not matter of what wood and amidst
789 which ceremonies the pole is made. Usually it is a slender
poplar tree ten meters long. The village itself is responsible
778 for this pole. It is used every year and kept in the family of the
[621] annually alternating seed-master. It may be burned, cut up,
etc. when it has served its purpose for several years.

The goat: Ordinarily it is a wool goat; color, age, sex,
size, etc. are unimportant. It is true that the people prefer
horned goats over the hornless. No one cares about the origin
of the goat; it may be purchased, be a gift, etc. After it has
been taken down from the pole in the autumn, the hide belongs
to the seed-master, but it is so dilapidated that it is not usable.

[825 cont.]
241 It therefore, with the head, is left to be eaten by wolves and
789 dogs. The hide is not used for magic.
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[791] The misfortune-torma: The Bon priest washes his hands and face and makes a little torma of tsamba mixed with butter about ten centimeters high and three to four centimeters wide. He puts it on a tray or a wooden plate. As extra features he adds in very small quantities: raw mutton or pork, leeks, beets, breadcrumbs, white and black sheep's wool, five kinds of grain, tea leaves, money, silver, gold, five little pieces of cloth, five-colored threads, and black and white sugar and puts a dough-lamp with a burning cotton wick beside them. These extra features also apply to the three other tormas, in other words, to all four little misfortune-tormas.

The extra features, along with the tormas, are thrown
[533] in all four directions of the compass, while the seed-master,
[782] amidst blowing on the conch, makes the great incense offering
[791] and the Bon priest prays the appropriate spirit conjuration. For the first four tormas the Bon priest uses only the sounding plate and the bone flute, not the double drum and bell.

In the case of the simple ceremony with only one misfortune-torma, naturally only one direction of the compass can be considered. This one is indicated by the Bon priest himself.
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241 Making the pole-goat: The Bon priest does not concern
789 himself about the goat. The men fumigate and wash the goat
778 as usual and pour milk over it; while the goat shakes itself, they make [826] a threefold kowtow in a circle around it, because
825 the sky accepts the animal. Then the goat is slaughtered and
[787] the blood caught in a basin. In skinning it one does not slit open the belly side, but rather an incision is made below the tail which just suffices to pull off the hide from behind over the head. The head is cut off inside the hide so that it remains whole and unskinned within it. In the same fashion one cuts off the feet, leaving them in the hide. Only then is the skinned goat [illustration appears here] eviscerated and cut up, and the
[252] blood, with the scraps of meat, is stuffed into the cleaned intestines.

[826 cont.]

241 These intestines, together with the meat, are cooked in a kettle over
789 a hole in the ground.
778 The hide is tightly stuffed with any kind of straw in such a
[825] way that the head and legs stick out stiffly, and the pole is stuck
[252] in it from the rear up to the head. Thus the goat sits firmly upright on the pole and need not be tied on. Then the men fumigate goat and post with incense and lay it down before the Bon priest.

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[791] The weather-torma: The Bon priest meanwhile has finished the second torma, the weather-torma. It is exactly the same size as the first, that is, the four first tormas. With a prayer he puts it on a wooden tray with the following extra features: one to three butter-lamps, three little copper bowls with pure water, a little bowl of the barley wine, a little bowl of Tibetan barley or wheat, a little bowl of tea leaves, a little bowl of dough beans [Teigbohnen]. -- This torma also bears several colorful butter-flowers.

The raised pole-goa
(Drawing of a Tujen

[791] During its preparation the Bon priest prays a special weather-prayer.
[782] Sometimes he also pastes some paper money on the torma. [Illustration appears here.]

Magic dagger,
wooden peg, mpuru.
(From the drawing of a
Tujen.)

[826 cont.]

241 789 778 [791] The wedges: After making the torma the Bon priest inscribes the wedges. They are provided by the seed-master. They have the form of the Lamaistic magic dagger; they are three-edged, seven inches (23 centimeters) long, and one inch (3.3 centimeters) wide. Only the hardest wood is used; in that region there are only the three kinds: huang-san-tzu, hei-ts'u, hua-mu (7).

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7. [Foreign text p. 830.] The names could not be identified; huang-san-tzu seems to be black sandalwood; hua-mu is birch. In any case it is supposed to be the hardest wood that can be found. Among the kinds of wood there, birch is in fact regarded as one of the hardest; people even make wheel rims out of it.

It does not matter whether all of them are made from one of these kinds or whether all the kinds are used. There are five wedges in all. The head of the wedge is notched into three parts (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 829.] The shape of the magic dagger varies. The grip in particular varies, but usually it is three stepped death's-heads. The daggers that I saw were all of iron. I also heard, however, that formerly there were daggers of human bones. In this way the three-edged pointed shape and the bone knob could be easily explained; it would also fit in well with the skull drum, skin whip, bone flute, etc. -- The black color signifies iron.

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[826 cont.]

241 789 778 791 [217]

The seed-master places these wedges on the table before the Bon. The latter inscribes all three sides with Tibetan magic formulas. For this purpose he uses Chinese ink and the brush or the Tibetan bamboo pencil. The wedge that is intended for the head of the goat [827] has a black hada slung around it at the head and a black string or a small chain in the middle.

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Then some of the wool is cut from the pole-goat lying in front of the Bon, a few threads are twisted together, and with these the Bon priest ties on the wedges, one on each foot and one between the horns. All five wedges have the tip downward. He then sprinkles water from his holy-water can over goat and pole, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley, blows on it three times, and scatters it over the whole.

241 789 791 782 [821] [823]

The erection of the pole-goat and the offering: The men set the pole in the hole and wedge it tight with stones and earth. The goat must face the northwest because storms usually come from there. As soon as the pole is firmly set, the Bon brings the weather-torma, together with the extra features, to the foot of the pole, sets it down, and immediately returns to his place in order to continue the weather-prayer. Now he accompanies the prayer only with his drum and the bell. Again the men make a great incense offering amidst blowing on the conch.

241 789 778

The mountain-torma: Then the mountain-torma is prepared. It has three steps, is round, and looks like a pyramid with terraces about ten centimeters high. Altogether it is about 40 centimeters high. The torma is painted with soft butter colored red and is given the following extra features: on the first layer, water animals, frog, snake, fish, dragon, turtle, and, further, little stones, little lumps of earth, and finally a few squirts of water; on the second layer, mountain animals, deer, horse, yak, half-yak, sheep, goat, hare, fox, wolf, and a few little pieces of wood; on the third layer animals of the air, phoenix, eagle, peacock, magpie, dove, swallow, and, further, sun disk and moon sickle. On the uppermost tip are

[827 cont.]
241 placed various kinds of real flowers (3).

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3. [Foreign text p. 829.] This is a representation of the world with animals and stars, in other words, a mandala. It is interesting that the informant designates this torma as an offering, as well as all the extra features of the torma, whereas the two other tormas represent spirits.

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[791] These figures are all made in miniature from butter and tsamba by the Bon priest himself. He places the torma on the tray with exactly the same sacrificial extra features as in the case of the weather-torma. This torma is likewise brought to the foot of the pole, usually behind it and somewhat elevated. Lamps and little bowls are put in front of it. Thus, two tormas in all stand under the pole-goat. While the Bon priest goes back and continues his prayers, the men again burn incense.

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The goat offering: The goat offering consists of the throwing of sacrificial meat. While the Bon priest rests from his prayers, the spear-soothsayer (or another) indicates the direction in which the offering is to be made and, with the shaking spear, supervises the performance. The seed-master takes a bowl of the broth from the kettle and throws it in the air for the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then four throws in the four directions of the compass follow, and finally three throws toward the northwest for the weather-spirits. At each throw the men kneel down and make a three-fold kowtow.

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With that the actual ceremony is concluded. The men sit down [828] around the kettle, consume the remaining meat, and drink tea. Then all go home, including the Bon priest. -- The tormas are either burned in the fire or simply left standing.

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[828 cont.]

241 789 791 782 The veneration of the pole-goat: During the summer the farmers appear singly or together before the pole-goat, make an offering, pray, burn incense, and kowtow in order to protect the seed from hail. The Bon priest also comes often to pray. In former times he even pitched his tent for a longer period of time and remained there in order to be constantly on hand for the weather conjuration in case of storms. This is no longer the case today. The weather conjuration is now done by the soothsayer, usually the spirit-soothsayer.

Taking down the pole-goat: After the fifteenth day in the eighth lunar month, when the harvest has been cut, the pole-goat is again taken away. One no longer has the soothsayer determine the day, but instead acts according to the circumstances. The Bon priest is again invited; he again makes the tormas and prays. Usually a sheep is sacrificed.

241 789 776 825 821 Interpretations: The pole-goat is supposed to banish bad weather and protect the harvest. The custom occurs only among farmers, even among the agricultural Fandse. The goat has special protective power because its head serves as an anvil for the god Dăntsien Sañ. He is the smith in the weather ministry (5). During storms he hammers his iron between the horns,

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5. [Foreign text pp. 829-830.] The conception of the storm ministry bears a resemblance to the Chinese lei-pu (thunder division). It is uncertain, however, whether borrowings are involved. At any rate, in the popular tradition of the Tujen the Bon priest has a special connection with weather magic (cf. also Tafel, Tibetreise). -- Concerning the storm-god Dăntsăñ (Dăntsien Sañ) the informant knew nothing other than that there is an image of

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[828 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 829-830 cont.] him in the monastery Rgulõn and that he is a tutelary god of the Bon. Dăntsien is evidently a Tujen corruption of the Tibetan dam-can, "keeping a vow" (cf. Ch. Das, p. 618). This is only a general title which could be applied to many gods. According to Grünwedel (Mythologie, pp. 187 ff.), Ch. Das (p. 618), and others, however, it refers to the Lamaistic terror-god rDo-rje-legs (pa), who rides on a goat (ram) and [830] was elevated to the tutelary lord (Dharmapāla) of the doctrine. H. Hoffmann denies that he is a Tantristic god and wants to designate him as an old Bon god, in which he is correct,as the ceremony described here indicates. He then continues (Quellen [Sources], p. 164): "There is an interesting statement by Jäschke, as yet unconfirmed, according to which Rdor-legs ... was an honorable village smith. ... At any rate it is noteworthy that Waddell also speaks of a 'demon blacksmith' [cited in English]." These surmises can now be confirmed by the ceremony of the pole-goat and the tradition connected with it. The dam-can is a smith-god of the Bon and stands in a special relationship to the weather conjuration and to the goat cult which, after all, likewise belongs to the realm of the Bon or is at least pre-Buddhistic. (Cf. the old name of Lhasa, which was originally called Ra-sa, Goat-place, and had a temple of the same name.)

[828 cont.]

241 789 821 [825] [776] [171]

during which lightning flashes and glowing hailstones fall to earth. Through this the evil demons are killed, so no misfortune befalls the seed and human beings (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 830.] Weather magic plays an important role in all of Tsinghai. A pure Bon ceremony is involved here. Neither the Chinese nor the lamas practice it. And if it is correct that the nomads do not have it, this is an indication of the close connection of the Bon with agriculture. -- The Chinese engage in their weather magic through other shamans or through lay bonzes, exorcists, etc., never through a Bon priest. -- Only in very isolated instances does one find the pole-goat among the Chinese, and then it is along the border of the Tujen or Fandse region. I frequently saw one in a valley along the Pei-ch'uan river south of Hsin-t'ien-p'u, where there was a Chinese village; here they departed from the rule that it must be erected on a mountain.

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Other types of weather conjurations are undertaken with help of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, the spirit-litter, and with thunderbolts. All these things are the seat of deities. As soon as bad weather approaches, the corresponding bearers fetch these seats of the deities, summon the spirit, and station themselves out in the open facing the storm. Further details concerning these ceremonies in another place. The entire

[828 cont.]

241 789 821

[Note on foreign text p. 830 cont.]
weather conjuration of this region still seems to be an inheritance from the Bon. The conditions and customs connected with it are strongly reminiscent of the description given by A. Tafel for the Bon in eastern Tibet, Tibetreise, II, pp. 198 ff.

241 789 778 The first four tormas represent evil demons. They are driven away by the throwing. The extra features are given so that they will be content and will not return; they are things which one needs in daily life.

[782] The second torma, weather-torma, represents the spirits of the weather ministry. The extra features are an offering to make them favorably disposed.

The mountain-torma represents the world-mountain. Sun and moon circle around it. This mountain is the spirit paradise. It is put under the pole so that the spirits will withdraw into this paradise and leave the human beings.

The wedges represent the magic dagger of the smith-god and his subordinates. They are the chief weapons against demons. [791] The Bon priest is also a pupil and subordinate of this smith-god. He especially venerates him and likewise uses the three-edged magic dagger in conjuring away the demons. At the temple [535] dances (tscham dances) the subordinate spirits of the weather-smith-god also appear with the dagger. Lamas never use the dagger. The three notches form three knobs which are supposed to represent the human skull. The demons especially fear this, [765] like all things that come from the dead, such as the bone flute, the whip of human skin, and the skull drum.

192 [829] Word List

241 789 The pole-goat: aradziãn (Tib. loanword) = to stretch out the goat.

ima rẽdziala (Tujen) = to stretch out the goat.

[778] The goat: ima; chũ-la (Chin.); chia-la (Chin.).

[829 cont.]

192 Weather-prayer: dirëdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword) (8).
lei-pu ching (Chin.) - weather ministry prayer.

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[782]

8. [Foreign text p. 830.] xsertsien: Tibetan gser = golden, skyem = drink. It is the Mongolic altan umdagan, golden drink, poured out at the obo offering, the tea offering before the obo. An offering to the local gods. --guax: Tibetan skyeg (pronounced kag) = misfortune. --mpuru: Tibetan p'ur bu = nail, peg; can also be a god's name. --satsiog: Tibetan sa = place, skyon = to guard, to preserve; king, protector. --darnag: Tibetan dar = silk, nag = black (Unkrig).

[778] Misfortune-torma: guax (8) [see Note 8 above] sdor (Tib.).
Weather-torma: dirdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword)? cf. weather-prayer.
Mountain-torma: rira (Tib. loanword) = world-mountain, Sumeru, mandala.
Magic dagger: mpuru (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above]; ting-shen-chuang; spirit peg (Chin.).
To notch: nduodba (Tib.?).
Magic formulas: snag (sënog).
[791] Bon priest second class: xuändie; sënogsa (snagsa) (Tib. loanword). peng-po (Chin.).
Weather conjuration: satsion (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above.]
The black hada (on the dagger): chao-t'ien p'a (Chin.) = the sky-covering veil.
darnag (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].
The black string: fsiasga (Tib. loanword) = lasso for capturing horses.
k'un-hsien sheng (Chin.): the genii-binding string.

[Pages 829-830 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[831]

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3. The Mountain Sheep-offering*

* See "Notes," pp. 834-835 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

After the erection of the pole-goat up to the time of the harvest a sheep is usually offered on a mountain top. This is [621] an occasion for the entire village. The people do this to ask [776] heaven, the mountain-spirit, and the spirits of the four regions of the world to protect the seeds. The offering may be repeated frequently, but only one sheep is offered each time. The [264] sacrificial meat is eaten by the participants at the conclusion.

Details

241 Time: At the erection of the pole-goat the soothsayer
782 determines how frequently during the summer and on what day a
787 sheep is to be offered. He also indicates whether the spirits con-
[791] cerned want to have this offering every year; sometimes it is only once, and sometimes several years in succession. If there is no other occasion during this time, this soothsaying retains its validity. After this period has elapsed the soothsaying is done anew. -- If the village has erected a pole-goat, the offering always takes place in the period after it has been erected. If no pole-goat is present, then it may sometimes fall in the time of the erection of the pole-goat.

Place: The offering always takes place on the same mountain on which the pole-goat stands, and in front of the latter. Otherwise the soothsayer determines the spot. It must be kept for the time when the offering is due. For instance,

[831 cont.]

241 782 787

in the case of a three-year offering, one may not choose one mountain the first year and another the second year (3). Even

3. [Foreign text p. 834.] The mountain must always be located in the people's own area. Actually such heights are always present near the villages. For example, not far from the informant's compound there is a mountain that bears the name Sheep-offering Mountain, xoni šënliedzin ula, because the offering always took place there. Among the partially Sinicized population it has retained the name hsien-yang ling, that is, Sheep-offering Height, or sheng-shan, that is, Sacred Mountain. After the greater part of the village (yang-chüan) became Christian, a high cross was erected there, and in place of the sheep offering, the people now pray there for the weather blessing.

[103] [797] [778]

the place of the soothsaying is oriented accordingly. It is indicated where the next soothsaying will take place. It is always a mountain height, however, never a compound or a valley, as, for instance, in the case of private offerings (1).

241 782

1. [Foreign text p. 834.] The offering may also take place before an obo. It is to be differentiated from the obo offering, however. The obo is the seat of the mountain-spirit, and since the mountain sheep-offering is done especially for the mountain-spirit, the obo is preferred. Since, on

[831 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 834 cont.] the other hand, it is done for protection against bad weather, it is also popularly done before the pole-goat.

[562] Persons: As is the case for all religious ceremonies, the women are kept away. The participants are the seed-master, the village elders, and all other men and youths. Any kind of [791] soothsayer may appear on this occasion. It is important that at the actual offering some spirit is always summoned by the soothsayer and supervises the performance. -- Participation is also [784] prohibited to all who are in mourning and in whose compound there is a woman in childbed. -- People with empty utensils, for example, empty water pails, baskets, etc., may not come near. For this reason the gong is beaten before the offering, so that such persons will stay away (2).

[787]

[735]

2. [Foreign text p. 834.] The fear of an encounter with empty utensils is quite general in Tsinghai. It signifies poverty, vain endeavor, etc. Tujen express the wish, for example, before a journey: huodzẽn sawa bi pẽ̀ngẽ, that is, "may an empty vessel not appear." The Chinese, too, have similar expressions.

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Sacrificial animal: As sacrificial animal only a sheep is considered, no goat and especially no pig. The sheep may be of any color and sex, even castrated. It must be at least a year old, however. A sheep that is too young would be an insult to the gods, aside from the fact that the meat would not be sufficient for the participants. Usually the [832] sheep is [621] purchased jointly. Every family must provide grain or money for this purpose; the owner is always given compensation. To be [784] sure, the sheep may not come from a family that is taboo at the time, for instance, through bereavement, childbed, sickness, etc.

[832 cont.]

241 Such families, however, must make their contribution. The
782 main thing is that the animal be healthy and without flaw. For
[829] instance, it may not be lame or blind. Also, ugly colors are
[621] avoided, for instance, a white animal with a black head, etc.

Objects used: For the offering one needs several iron kettles, several buckets of water, knives, ladling spoons, cords, blood basins, eating bowls, firewood, etc. In addition, one takes along all the equipment for the incense offering.

Slaughtering: The slaughtering is preceded by a great incense offering, which is maintained by the men throughout the ceremony. Anyone may repeatedly throw cypress twigs into it at will, offer barley wine, etc. At the same time the
[202] conch is steadily blown so that one can hear from afar that an offering is taking place on the mountain.

Young men bring the animal to the spot, untie it, and
241 wash it with their hands from head to tail. Then it is fumigated
782 with incense. Another places a white stone in the fire. When
783 it is hot, he scoops hot water out of a kettle with an iron spoon, puts the stone in the spoon, scatters pounded cypress leaves over it, and with it fumigates the sheep. All the men who helped with the slaughtering wash their hands and faces, rinse out their mouths, and fumigate themselves. All the implements are likewise washed and fumigated.

Now they form a circle around the sheep and pour milk
241 over its head and neck. It does not matter what kind of milk
782 it is. One may also use flour- or tsamba-water or even pure
787 water. A healthy sheep shakes itself at this pouring. This shaking is an indication that the sky accepts the animal. Then the men make a threefold kowtow in a circle around the sheep. After the milk has been poured over it, they let the sheep run free for a few steps and capture it again. In case the animal does not shake itself, they immediately fetch another.

241 The slaughtering is performed by the seed-master. His
782 helpers seize the sheep by its legs and horns, force it down on
231 the ground, and bend back its head so that the throat is tensed.

[832 cont.]

241 The seed-master then cuts through the throat and arteries with
782 a powerful stroke, and the helpers catch the blood in the basin
231 with constant stirring. None of the blood is supposed to fall on the ground. Any traces of blood are covered with earth. When the sheep has ceased bleeding, it is skinned. Sometimes the head remains attached to the hide, or it is cut off entirely with the hide, and placed to one side on the hide.

241 Now one usually takes a broad board, places the sheep
782 on it, and eviscerates it. Excrement and unusable scraps are
252 put aside. The intestines are cleaned in warm water and filled with blood and little bits of diced flesh from the scraps. The eviscerated body [833] is rinsed out with water and cut apart. The thighs are cut off, the loins and rib pieces are cut out, and everything is finally cut into little pieces so that it can be cooked more conveniently.

The cooking; In a kettle over a hole in the earth water is brought to a boil, in which the pieces of meat are cooked. Women may not help with the cooking. Spices, even salt, are prohibited for the sacrificial meat. The intestines filled with blood are also boiled.

During the cooking the men sit to one side, converse, pray their mani, or offer new incense. When the meat is done, it is taken out and cut into little slices on a board, including lungs, kidneys, liver, and heart. At the same time the ribs and other bones are broken. Now several bowlfuls are scooped from the broth in the kettle and some of the little pieces of meat are put in them. Then the soothsayer is called.

241 Soothsaying: The soothsayer invokes the spirit and indi-
782 cates in which direction the bowls must be emptied. He also
791 determines how many bowls must be offered in each case. There is always an offering to the sky and to the mountain-spirit,
787 and usually also to the world-spirits; only the number of bowls
[776] varies. If one wants to make an offering to still other spirits, this is especially requested by the soothsayer. The soothsayer continues to officiate until the conclusion of the offering and with the spirit invoked supervises the performance.

[833 cont.]

241 782 [791] Offering: The seed-master takes the first bowl and throws its contents toward the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then the other bowls for the mountain-spirit and the other spirits follow. At each offering throw, the men kowtow in the appropriate direction. No one may pick up the little pieces of meat or so much as eat them. Dogs are kept away, at least until the end of the offering.

[264] Meal: After this offering the meat is taken from the kettle and divided among the men. They sit in a circle, drink tea, eat bread, converse, and laugh. After the meal all go home. Everyone takes his things with him.

Meaning: The offering is made for the protection of the seeds (4).

241 782 174 776

4. [Foreign text p. 834.] The meaning is no longer unambiguous now. The protection of the seeds is certainly involved, but whether the offering is primarily for the mountain-spirit or for the weather-spirits or for the sky is unclear. The mountain-height and the obo argue in favor of the mountain-spirit. The sky is always considered first, however. -- The old man said that in former times they had made the offering for the protection of the animals.

It is possible that originally a pure mountain-spirit or sky offering was involved, but that later, with agriculture, the weather-gods moved into the foreground, for hail and storms are feared primarily by farmers and not so much by shepherds.

[833 cont.]

241 782 171 Distribution: The mountain sheep-offering is practiced everywhere there are Tujen, even among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiahsifan (5). In some regions it is also

241 782 231

5. [Foreign text pp. 834-835.] The ritual of slaughter and offering described here is typical for all slaughtered offerings. In the case of goats and pigs the procedure is the same. Because the pig squeals too much when slaughtered (it is not unconscious), its mouth is tightly tied together. The pouring with milk is omitted for pigs. The sheep's mouth is likewise held shut. Perhaps this is a survival from a suffocation sacrifice.

241 782

In the case of longer festivals the slaughtered animal is not cut up immediately, but is tied to a longish table or frame after the skinning and the removal of the entrails, and in its natural position with the legs spread apart, if possible standing and with head raised. It is placed before the deity or the temple entrance in this fashion. Only at the conclusion of the festival is it cut up and boiled. Sometimes the cut-up uncooked parts are also presented before the deity.

The distribution of the sacrificial meat is usually done in the form indicated after the cooking as a meal. The hide is usually given back to the owner; the [835] head is received by the seedmaster or the officiating supervisor. Bon priests, lamas, shamans, etc. who

[833 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 834-835 cont.]
have been invited often receive a loin, jou-fang-tzu (Chin.), that is, "meat square," or a thigh, etc. These are not cooked, but are laid aside for this purpose.

For the rest, there are always minor variations, but always the following sequence: purification (washing), slaughtering, offering, meal. Slaughtering, offering, and meal may sometimes be distributed over various days.

[171] the custom among Chinese, but not generally. The Chinese, however, do not go on the mountains for this purpose, but make the offering in the local temple.

Word List

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To sacrifice a sheep on the mountain: uladë xoni šënlie- (šënlie-)
Offering throw: dziarin uguo = to give throwing away.
p'ao-ts'an (Chin.) = to throw away.
Own area: dzienani satsia.
Empty utensils: huodzën sawa;
k'ung chia-shih (Chin.).

[Pages 834-835 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[835]

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4. The Procession around the Field*

*See "Notes," pp. 838-839 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[835 cont.] 4. The Procession around the Field

Report

241 782 As soon as the seed develops ears in the summer, the procession around the field takes place. One hundred and eight [778] men of the village, with the seed-supervisor, set out on the way to the nearest lamasery and fetch the 108 sacred books. On this occasion they present a large kettle of tea to the lamas; before the Buddha images of the monastery they make an offering of butter for the lamps. The Tujen of this region go usually to the monastery Rgulõñ (1); the way there takes an entire day

1. [Foreign text p. 838.]
Concerning the monastery Rgulõñ,
cf. the introduction and Part 2, II, 4.

each time. The books are brought into the local temple.

The procession takes place on the following morning. All the men of the village and all soothsayers gather in the temple yard. First a great incense offering is made. Then all [791] the soothsayers do their soothsaying in succession, the spear-[787] soothsayer, the sword-shaman, the litter bearers, the table-god bearers. As many soothsayers as are there must appear. One wants to find out through them how the weather and the harvest will be during the course of the summer.

Once the soothsaying is over, the procession starts moving. At the head goes the spear-soothsayer with the spear, then follow the shamans, the god-litter, the spirit-table, and the 108 book-bearers, one after the other. In this procession [533] the drum beaters, trumpet and conch blowers, cymbal and gong beaters are in single file. Also, all the flags of the temple are taken along, and they are carried by the book-bearers, the flags over the left shoulder and the book on the back. Two men follow behind them, each with a large back-basket of straw, cypress leaves and incense additions, and a jug of pure water. Other men join on at will.

[788] During the entire procession the trumpets are blown, the drums beaten, and the Om mani padme hum prayed. The

[835 cont.]

241 782 procession moves from the temple directly to the nearest mountain and along the ridges across all the mountains of the entire village area. On each height the customary incense offering is burned by the two men, while the procession itself moves on. Towards midday, however, a halt is made on a height especially designated for this purpose. After the incense offering refreshments [264] are taken. The people bring bread, tea, and soup here in advance. Then the procession marches on. Not until evening does one return to the temple. On the following day the people take the books back to the lama monastery.

[836] **Details**

[562] Persons: Only male persons may take part in the procession, regardless of whether they are adults or boys, so long as they are strong enough to carry the heavy book and can pray the mani. The seed-supervisor determines how many persons each family must provide to make up the number of 108 book-bearers. If there are not enough people in one village, help is brought in from the neighborhood. Chinese are also admitted. -- In fetching and taking the books back to the monastery the number does not matter, so one person may carry two books. The Tibetan books are, to be sure, very large and heavy, since they are bound between two boards.

241 782 624 794 The seed-supervisor is changed every year at the harvest thanksgiving offering. He is charged with taking care of all the religious celebrations of the year. He is not the village mayor, however. Because his main concern is the seed, he is called seed-supervisor. The supervisor of the past year helps him (2).

[171 797] 2. [Foreign text p. 838.] The Chinese, too, have such a religious supervisor who is chosen annually. Usually he is simply called t'ou-jen, that is, head man, or he is also called huei-t'ou, that is, meeting (festival) head; ch'ing-miao t'ou is also used,

[836 cont.]

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[797]

[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.] but only for the period of the sowing festival with the cult dances. -- The Christian missionaries have taken over this arrangement for their ecclesiastical celebrations and folk festivals. Thus, besides the community mayors there are also special supervisors who, for instance, organize the festival for processions or at Easter, accommodate the guests, slaughter the festival sheep, etc.

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It is not absolutely necessary for there to be several soothsayers. If a village has several, however, they must all appear. If it has none at all, then it invites at least one from outside. A lama or a Bon priest is never invited.

Time: The time for the procession around the field is determined by the soothsayer at the pole-goat offering in the spring (aradziãñ) on the thirteenth day in the fifth month. The procession itself must always be in the seventh month, when the seed is developing ears, because the greatest danger for the coming harvest is precisely at this time on account of the many and big storms during this month (3). The time is also often

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3. [Foreign text p. 838.] Cf. the sections, "Mountain Sheep-offering" and "Pole-goat."

determined in the lamasery. Since, of course, there are many villages that want to hold the procession, it may happen that two villages set the same time. Therefore the seed-supervisor goes to the monastery a month in advance and inquires when the books are available. The day is determined accordingly. -- It is usually calculated that the ceremony will last three days, one day for fetching the books, one for the procession, and one for

[836 cont.]

241 taking them back. One day can be saved, however, if the books
782 are taken directly to the following neighboring community or fetched from there. In this case the monastery must be notified. The procession must begin at the first sign of dawn because otherwise one day would not be sufficient.

Place: Only one's own village area is considered for the
[628] procession.[1] It is not permitted, for instance, that two villages join together and hold only one procession in both areas. Also,
[346] the people always gather in the temple, for every village has at least one small temple; no soothsaying is done outside the temple
[787] or temple yard.

Objects: The books are not absolutely necessary. A book procession does not take place every year, but usually only every three years. In the other years the procession is held without books. The ceremonies [837] are the same, except that the monastery is not notified when the date is set; two days are saved that would have been necessary for the transportation of the books. Also, the number of participants need not be 108, al-
[801] though because of the sacred number it should be aimed at (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 839.] The book-carrying is a widespread custom in all lamic monasteries. In particular one can repeatedly see women who carry the heavy books, volume after volume like a rucksack on their backs, around the prayer halls of the temple, which often goes on for days, chuan miao (Chin.). Many Tujen women make such a vow in times of distress or sickness. -- It should also be recalled that a Tulku [Living Buddha] blesses the faithful by placing the book on their foreheads.

1 [ie - Procession around the field. - ANALYST]

[837 cont.]

241 782 533 There are no rules about the musical instruments. [Illustration appears here.] Whatever one has is taken along. The temple drum -- a barrel drum with a drumhead on both sides -- and the conch are always certain to be there. The drum is not very large and is carried on a belt in front of the chest so that it can be beaten on both sides. The conch shell is the same as that used at the incense offering. The trumpets are the [177] ordinary Chinese shawms (la-pa); the cymbals and the gong are also Chinese.

Flags such as are carried during the procession around the field. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

241 782 Among the flags there are black, red, yellow, etc. Usually they are provided with colorful borders. There are also flags with pictures, for example, of the mountain-spirit. Many flags also have Chinese sayings sewed on them, usually in white. There are [532] no special Tujen names for the flags. The number is arbitrary.

Aside from the usual cypress incense the Chinese incense sticks are also popularly taken along; butter, water, tea, etc. are just as desirable as at other incense offerings. More recently yellow paper [177] is also burned in Chinese fashion.

The soothsayers must always carry along their soothsaying tokens, that is, the objects that are the seat of the spirit, in other words, [778] spear, litter, table, etc. During the entire procession, the spirit [791] remains in the object concerned, which is signified by the shaking and rattling of the bells and the movement of the bearers.

241 782 787 Soothsaying: At the soothsaying one tries to learn as precisely as possible when and where the heaviest hail will come down and how one should protect himself against it, whether by means of offerings or prayer or the mani-tree, and the like. At this time the [821] seed-master makes a brief speech to the spirit concerned, charging him with the duties that he must fulfill for a good harvest and telling him that he will be rewarded for his protection by an offering (4).

241 782 4. [Foreign text p. 838.] An offering is usually connected with the

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.]
soothsaying, for instance, a cock offering, grain or bread offering, etc., as I was able to observe.

Meaning: The purpose of the procession is to honor the gods so that they will protect the seed and provide an abundant harvest. [778] The sacred books have a special power. Above all, however, the gods that are taken along are supposed to spare the fields from hail and storms. -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have [171] this procession. The Chinese do not have it in this form (5).

5. [Foreign text pp. 838-839.]
The Chinese have the procession in two stages. Once, when the seed comes up. Then the driving in of the thunderbolts in the weather forts on the mountain peaks takes place. They move with music and flags and the god-litter onto the mountain and take along the wooden wedges inscribed with magical formulas. They call this ch'a-p'ai, that is, "to drive in pegs." -- A second procession takes place later in the summer, and every 14 days, on the first and fifteenth day of each month. They call this procession chuan shan, that is, to march around (on the) mountains. On these occasions only flags or musical instruments are taken along. Formerly the conch trumpet was blown on these occasions, which otherwise is not used among the Chinese.

[177] As the informant related, the Tujen today have already to a great

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.]
extent taken over this ch'a-p'ai, in other words, the procession with the driving in of thunderbolts, in place of the former aradziãn (pole-goat), and for the reason that there are hardly any Bon priests. The chuan-shan of the Chinese, however, is not the same as their procession around the fields, sguora. To be sure, it also took place in the summer, but every 14 days, whereas they would hold their field procession only once. Nowadays, however, when the Tujen are already half-Chinese, they would also do it more simply, but therefore more frequently, just like the Chinese.

It is difficult to say what is earlier. It appears that a Lamaistic custom is not involved, for one never invites a lama, and even the Buddhist books are unnecessary. There must always be a soothsayer, however, with the spirit invoked. It is therefore possible that this procession [839] is connected with the original shamanistic weather conjuration as it is still practiced today, and that the Buddhist books did not come in until later.

The Chinese field procession, on the other hand, makes an impoverished impression. Only flags and musical instruments are taken along. The people participate only very poorly, and the procession lasts only three to four hours. Formerly the conch was blown on these occasions, but no longer now. The conch, however, is a peculiar feature of the Tujen and Fandse, not of the Chinese. Furthermore, the field procession

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.] is no longer held in many places. And this seems to be all the more the case the farther eastward one goes, in other words, into Chinese territory.

Thus it may be asserted with some degree of probability that the field procession is of neither Chinese nor Lamaistic origin. With the Sinicization of the Tujen, and the Fandse in particular, it was still practiced initially, then fell into disuse more and more, and finally was completely lost. -- On the other hand, non-original elements have been added, such as the Buddhist books and the Chinese musical instruments, probably also the god-litter, which almost always shelters the Chinese Niang-niang, the mother deity, and finally also the Chinese incense and the offering paper.

The Chinese thunderbolt procession will be described in more detail in a separate work. Here it should merely be noted that it is connected with the weather forts. These are found only in Tsinghai and its border region to southern Kansu. They might well belong to a shamanistic cycle of ideas.

[838] Word List

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Procession around the field: sguora (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 839.] sguora: Tibetan skor = to circle around (Unkrig).

3: Schröder--248 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

192
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782
624
794
534

[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor:	tõrõdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.
Trumpet:	dõñ; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.
Cymbals:	nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rẽbuoğẽ (?). ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.
Flags:	ch'i-tzu (Chin.).
Books:	luăn = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.
Book-bearers:	luăn rẽgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

600

VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

*See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

3; Schröder--298 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[864]

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534
778
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782
792
292
764
[171]

(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
757 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[757] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
292 village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
[534] val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[778] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-
[142] pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip
with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the
gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest
Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The
Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
[171] graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical.
Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs
concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his
percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his
instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the follow-
ing day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless
one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing
to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed.
[333] The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[225 cont.]

782 more suitable for heaven (8). The relationship to the supreme

[823]
[773]

8. Above all the rising smoke connects this offering to heaven; the expression ġarġa, to make rise, is especially to be noted here. The smoke is like a living column of heaven or a living road to heaven. The shamanistic significance of the incense offering comes from this; not only promotes the trance, but is at the same time the path and motive power of the journey to heaven. The first emperor of the Geser legend demands, for instance, that during his journey to heaven the incense offering not be interrupted; the rising smoke strikes against the gate of heaven and opens the entrance for him, and he shoots his incompetent companion on the tip of his arrow into the rising column of smoke, in which he descends to earth.

[756]

[773]

being is also expressed, for example, in the wedding songs from Khalatse (western Tibet). There, according to Francke, op. cit., pp. 25 f., it is said: "This blue smoke that rises upward signifies that no trouble will arise with brGya-byin, the lord of the gods."

The Sheep Offering

[825] The sheep as a sacrificial animal, according to the material available, is reserved in a special way for heaven and the mountain-spirit, even though it may also be offered to the other gods. It is never offered to the mountain-spirit alone without heaven, however. There are sheep offerings [241] that apply only to heaven, namely at the sowing and harvest

[225 cont.]

782 thanksgiving festivals. (Cf. D. Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer
241 [Harvest Thank-offering]," Anthropos 37-40, 1942-45, pp. 867-874.)

That a true heaven-offering is involved is clearly expressed, loc. cit.: "It is already apparent from the entire offering performance and the words spoken in connection with it that it is an offering to heaven. To the question, 'You are therefore making an offering to the gods in the temple?' the old man responded: 'No, [226] we are making an offering to heaven... This offering is a veneration of heaven... I have already said it; we are thanking heaven for the yield of the year. He cares for seed and man and livestock'..." (Anthropos, op. cit., p. 873). The same statement must also apply to the sowing festival at which the ceremonies are almost the same.

782 Now it is striking that it is precisely in an agricultural
241 rite, sowing and harvest festivals, that a sheep offering takes
174 place. I was later able to visit many such festivals and to determine the actual form, which is more in keeping with the character of agriculture and shamans. In the valleys, namely, in the Chinese area of settlement, no sheep, but -- at least preferably -- a pig is offered. This pig is surrounded with many rites, among which a regular procession with the sacrificed pig takes place. The shamans accompany this procession with drum-beating and prayers. I observed it thus for instance in Tsung-chai and environs. In the mountains, on the other hand, among the Tujen, a sheep is sacrificed preferably, although the Tujen also keep pigs. There remains, therefore, only the one explanation that the original form of these agricultural festivals is connected with a pig offering and that the sheep offering of the Tujen has replaced this as a foreign body. The reason for this lies close at hand. The Tujen, according to their tradition, were once shepherds, and many elements of a herding culture can still be seen among them. With the transition to agriculture, the spring festival of the shepherds evidently became connected with the sowing festival, and the autumn festival of the shepherds with the harvest festival of the agriculturalists. Since, however, the sheep was a sacrificial animal that they were devoted to,

[226 cont.]

782 the Tujen did not want to give up the sheep offering at these
241 festivals. In the description of the festival it is, to be sure, very
174 strongly emphasized that the entire sacrificial rite in the narrower sense (slaughtering, etc.) has nothing to do with the shamans. The offerers are the elders, in other words, laymen. The shaman rite, mainly prayer service and dance, runs alongside it.

Therefore, in the harvest thank-offering and the sowing offering of the Tujen we have before us an old heaven-offering which is consciously fostered by the people and unequivocally applied to heaven.

2) The Prayer

782 What was said above about the spontaneous, unformulated,
788 and freely formulated prayer also applies to the prayer to heaven. Every person can express his need, his request, his gratitude, his feelings to the heavens, just as they come to him. One thing in particular, however, must be noted here. While the formulated prayer, the prayer service, is generally reserved for special professions and the offering more for the people, this does not wholly apply in the case of the prayer to heaven. I was unable to confirm that there are any actual prayers by religious officiants that apply only to heaven. Therefore, concerning the offering and prayer, there is no special class in relation to heaven. Both are the concern of the laymen, of the people, of the masters of the household or of individual persons.

Aside from my own observations, the personal prayer to [227] heaven is sufficiently attested to by the passages that were cited for the incense offering. There is almost always a prayer in connection with it, a supplication (yańdzi-) to heaven. And until now a prayer is also always connected with each offering, each kowtow to heaven, at least an inner one. (Cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-1945, p. 872.) The only prayer formulas of the people in the Tujen language are addressed to heaven, namely: tieńgĕre mudie (heaven knows); and tieńgĕre
[174] tsiad sadni wari (heaven, you hold justice). The formula tieńgĕre

[231 cont.]

The Power of Heaven

776 Heaven as giver of all benefits. -- As repeatedly appears in the individual chapters, all benefits come from heaven. It [241] gives rain and sunshine, causes the seed to thrive, and protects [782] man and animal from sickness. Man acknowledges this in the offering, especially in the primitial offering and the harvest thank-offering. The grain, the barley, is ultimately traced back to heaven by man. (Cf. above under the primitial offering, agriculture myth, p. 340.) Man owes even his clothing [773] to heaven. Thus it is said at the beginning of the Geser legend: "Heaven provided the benefit of clothing; a boot fell down from heaven (tieńgëre dżoġ nañladzia; tieńgërdza perlõńgë bõdzi rëdzia)." (Verses 6-7.) -- That other gods are also called upon for various needs does not prejudice the fact that heaven is the cause of even these benefits. The case would only be otherwise if there were things which were ascribed to these spirits to the exclusion of heaven, which, however, cannot be demonstrated from the material available.

776 The moral power of heaven. -- The moral power of 577 heaven is expressed by the fact that man puts his conscience in 626 relation to heaven and acknowledges the latter as binding and entitled to sanction. For that which we would call conscience the Tujen simply uses the word heart (sgil); sgil is not the physi- [192] cal heart, but the inner attitude, heart in the figurative sense. Thus they say, for instance, sen sgil (good heart); tsini sgil diesën ugua (you do not have an honest attitude); tsini sgil ugua (you have no conscience). In these cases the Tujen translates the word sgil with the Chinese leang-hsin (conscience, honest spirit). (Cf. also DMF 348.) Now, as the two prayer formulas that were explained above demonstrate, heaven knows the inner attitude, it knows the heart of a man: "If I did evil to you, heaven knows it," "Heaven is not high, it knows it." Since these sentences are used as oath or vow formulas, it is not simply confirmation of heavenly knowledge that is given by them, but rather one tacitly also presupposes a sanction by

[232 cont.]

776
773 Heaven and creation. -- Even though the Tujen ascribe to heaven all the benefits of life, this still does not mean that they also derive from it the origin of the world. They do not concern themselves about it. "The old man gave no clear answer to the question as to whether heaven had also created the earth and human beings, where they came from: 'Who knows that? Who asks about it? No one says anything about that.'" (Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873.)

According to the Geser legend a world with living beings was present from the very beginning. In this world there lived the "lama existing by virtue of himself" (arãṅ sündẽ lama = B'an-ku). He is by no means God, for above him there already existed heaven, which threw down in a boot the first emperor, who was raised by this lama. It is then described how the earth became populated. Finally, there still exist original beings (original animals), and it is likewise not said where they come from. Here Buddhistic, Lamaistic, and ancient popular conceptions are intermingled and run side by side. Nowhere, however, is there mention of any creation; only the first emperor came from heaven.

The same is also found in the agriculture myth. This
[241] deals with the outfitting of the earth by a Buddhistically conceived demiurge. At the center of it is the creation of the food base through the bringing forth of barley from the magical vase and the introduction of agriculture. [233] This demiurge also comes down from heaven in three steps. There is no mention, however, of any creation of the world or human beings, only of an arrangement of the world into a habitable living space. The myth begins: "In the olden days of yore when the race of human beings had been produced, there was neither sun nor moon, and the race of human beings existed in darkness. There was no chance to live." Where the human beings came from remains unresolved. It says only, sẽmtsien kuni darladzia (the totality of human beings had been produced). One may assume, however, that heaven was involved, for the culture hero (who outfitted the earth) likewise comes from heaven, as does the first emperor of the human beings in the Geser legend, and later Geser himself.

[The bō or Drum-Shamans]

[235 cont.]

756 and, depending upon the region, various local spirits. These
[776] gods predominantly come from the Taoist pantheon.

[789]
[241] [236] Activity. -- Their principal task is the weather
[755] conjuration, the sowing and harvest festivals, and curing sicknesses.

756 Peculiarity. -- The bō or fa-shih are differentiated from
787 the other shamans by the fact that they have no trance. If one questions the people about it, one always receives the same answer: "fa-shih pu fa shen (the fashih do not go into ectascy)." Now that is not entirely correct. Namely, at the conclusion of the sowing or harvest festival, one of them attempts an imitation of the trance and wounds himself with the knife. This is called: "fa ta-shen (to produce a great trance)." It is not a trance at all, but at most a relic suggesting it; I was able to observe it several times. Thus the people are basically right when they do not accord ecstasy to them. -- The people sum up the main
756 characteristic, however, in the saying: "fa-shih ch'uei ku, t'iao
535 shen (the fashih beat the drum and perform spirit dances)." Drum and dance are the most outstanding. They always dance in groups before the image of the great mother in order to please her, or also before the sacrificial pig. These are not shamanistic individual dances in order to induce a trance, but are cultic group-dances that follow a definite ritual. One can therefore designate them as drum- or dance-shamans, although true shamanistic features are scarcely present any more.

Classification

171 Relationship to the more recent Siberian shamanism.
756 -- There are few similarities with Siberian shamanism. One could regard the drum as the most important continuation from Siberian shamanism. The relationship with the Tungusic and Mongolic-Manchurian shamanism is stronger. The drum has almost exactly the same execution and the same appendages as, for example, among the Mongols of the Kürie-Banner. (Cf.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the statue or picture of the guardian deity of the village. 796
The chief of the village pours milk mixed with water, 778
while all the participants kneel, holding incense sticks in their hands. The animal shakes its head, and ribbons are attached and red paper is pasted on the horns.

Every year the animal must be presented to the deity in the temple on the third of the New Year. It is a quite dangerous and difficult job, assigned to the youngsters of the village, who wash and comb the savage bull.

The Tibetans in the country perform the Rite of the Sacred Animal in the same way.

The monasteries also feed a sacred animal. They never use a bull or he-goat, but the stallion and sometimes the mule. They never use their sacred animal for riding; it freely roams the country. The ceremonies of consecration are the same: washing, smoking, pouring of milk, prostrations, attachment of ribbons, but in the temple a special prayer is said by the lama community for the reproduction of the animals. Every year, on the third day of the New Year their animal must be presented to the deity in the courtyard of the temple. The stallion must be saddled, for the deity is supposed to take a ride on the animal on that very day. The lamas say that it is difficult to saddle a savage stallion. I could never get any information about the deity to which their animal is consecrated.

SHAMANIST RITES OF SPRING

PREPARATIONS

The reaping of a rich harvest is the dream of the 796
Monguors. After sowing is done, a religious rite is 241
performed by the shamans, not by lamas, in order to gather fine crops in autumn. The rite is performed in every Monguor village, and many Chinese villages follow the same practice. From the second until the fourth month the shamans are very busy going from village to village. In autumn, when there is plenty of grain, preparations for the feast are started. In every family, according to its wealth, spelt is gathered for the distillation of wine; wheat collected for the making of noodles, rolls, and vegetable oil for the baking of bread. It is all put in the temple for safekeeping.

A few days before the feast, the chief of the village 796
with the elders impose corvées on the villagers ordering them to prepare all the required items. Reliable men and women are chosen, because it is important that nobody should eat a roll or drink a cup of wine before all items have been offered to the gods. Consequently, faithful adherents to the traditions are carefully chosen and they take an oath accordingly. Three big loaves, each three feet in diameter, are prepared; thirteen smaller ones, called cartwheels; a large number of steamed rolls, and baskets of smaller ones steamed or boiled in oil; one or two pigs are killed, poor villages kill a sheep; chore-men are sent to the city to buy paper, incense sticks, colors, firecrackers. All the items are locked up in the temple.

[p. 106(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

cupied by the monastery. In big lamaseries the cult of 795
this god resorts to the attributions of members of the college of rites.[15]

Every Monguor, together with his entire family in 795
their best clothes, who attends the ceremony of the start- 782
ing of the plowing of the fields, will honor in the fields [241]
the god of his fields, by burying an urn (called the precious bottle), making libations, burning incense, and offering bread. No Monguor will build a court yard, sheep or cow pen without burying an urn in the ground, thereby recognizing the lordship and dominion of the spirit of the spot, and obtaining his permission to occupy it. In the center of the courtyard, under the manikan and the manger, the Monguors used to bury five urns and invite a lama to recite texts for one, two or five days, sprinkling holy water and throwing spelt on them. This old rite has become a thoroughly Lamaist rite, to which each lama attaches his own mystical explanations.

However, frequently the Monguor invites a Chinese geomancer; he plants the manikan himself, buries the urn, and offers a sheep or a chicken. This principle is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of the Monguors that they will never proceed with the rite of the cremation of a corpse without having previously recognized the ownership of the god of the spot, and obtaining its permission by buying from it the spot required. Thus, the mountain and village gods seem to belong to the category of the earth gods for whom, in old China, victims and offerings were buried in the ground.[16] For that reason urns are buried for mountain and village gods as well as for earth gods.

The precious bottle (urn), the most important offering in the cult of the gods of the mountains, the village, and the earth, is usually prepared by a lama of the Yellow or the Red Sect, performing more or less elaborate rites, sometimes for days. He uses some [123] powder of gold, some silver, coral, turquoise, and copper coins of the K'ai-yüan (713–741) and T'ai-p'ing (1850) periods, things which are said to comprise the five precious materials. He gathers some grains of five kinds of cereals, threads of five colors, different kinds of medicines, incense sticks, and some tea leaves. All these substances are pounded for a long time with a pestle in a mortar and poured into a small urn, while the lama blows on them and recites texts. Finally molten butter is poured into the urn, level with the opening. Two pictures are pasted on the urn: one of a Lamaist deity and one of the dragon spirit. The urn is covered with a piece of red cloth. The use of the urn is known all over China; such urns can be bought in all pharmacies, in lamaseries, from Taoist priests, and from shamans. The contents of the urn are not always the same, for several kinds are said to be used. Lamas make a business out of the urns, for usually the slightest unhappinesses, illnesses, and calamities, are

[15] David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, *op. cit.*, 100.
[16] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 205.

[p. 113 (B)]

honored in the open air temples being built only for 776
souls of the deceased.[7] Among the Monguors, temples are built for all kinds of spirits. Heaven, however, has no temples.

The Monguors have no special offering for "Heaven." In former times, according to their traditions, horses were offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." At present the sheep is the usual offering. It is offered to all kinds of spirits and on all occasions. Rich people, or large villages, often offer a pig.

The most important event in a Monguor community 241
is the rite performed in spring, in order to obtain 796
blessings upon the community and the crops during the year. All possible spirits are invited into the temple along the rope, except the lama deities. The feast starts at night, with offerings, dances, and drum beating by the shamans for "Heaven and all the spirits"—but nobody attends this night rite, not even the chief or elders of the village! And during the two days that the rite lasts, not a single mention is made of "Heaven"!

The appointment of the new Tu-ssu is announced, not 622
to "Heaven and all the spirits," but to the ancestors and to the protector deity of the clan, with an elaborate ceremonial, and their blessings are implored upon the T'u-ssu and the clan. (See Part I: 46.)

At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages, the image of the guardian deity of the clan is reverently carried to the villages and honored for three days. However, not a single rite is performed for Heaven by the chief of the clan, not even at the yearly cult of the ancestor of the clan, when the entire clan is assembled. (Part I: 37, 64.)

No Monguor hopes his soul will ascend to Heaven 775
and enjoy happiness together with the great "spirit of 772
Heaven," in a place of joy and felicity. The Mongols have no notion of such a place belonging to the "great Heaven"; they only know the luxurious paradise of Buddha, where they are told they will enjoy happiness with Buddha during the period of time preceding a new rebirth, about which they seem to have very little interest.

All these facts seem to prove that at present the Mon- 776
guors are very remiss in the cult of their undefined and 171
vague "spirit of Heaven," who is without departments of activities, having no power over good and evil spirits, and no omnipotence. The "great Heaven" is not the so-called "Hochgott," but a spirit enjoying an honorary prominence.

In connection with this problem, it should be kept in mind that the habit of ascribing prominence to one among the spirits seems to be very old in Asia: "In Babylon and Assyria [3,000 years ago] the principal god of the city which happened to dominate the entire nation, became the supreme god of the realm."[8] "Al-

[7] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 202.

[8] Albert Condamin, S.J., *La religion des Babyloniens et des Assyriens*, 692, Jos. Huby, Christus Beauchesne, Paris, 1923.

[p. 152 (A)]

At that time the expansive country 40 li north of Hsining was inhabited by nomads and had no cities, villages, or farms. Only after the victory of the Manchus over the lamas and Tibetans in 1723 was colonization immediately started on a large scale, and the cities of Tat'ung and Mao Pei Shen were built. 175* 619 648 [631]

West of Hsining, the *Annals* record in 1380 the submission of three tribes. The Si-na tribe lived 60 li west of Hsining on the northwest borders of the Hsining River. In its territory are tents, houses, and fortified villages. Its people practiced farming and cattle breeding. The tribe had a temple and a lama with the title of Kuo-shih (Master of the Kingdom), a silver seal, and an ivory stamp. The tribe numbered 500 families and was taxed 300 horses every year. It controlled the tribe called little Si-na which lived in Ku Shan, southeast of Nienpei, and it was taxed 30 horses. It also controlled the Ssu-ta-la-ma tribe and the Hsieh-erh-chih-kang temple, which were taxed 50 horses (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 8*b*). [861 346 651]

The Chia-erh-chi tribe inhabited the territory situated north of the Si-na tribe. The part of the tribe living inside the wall lived in houses and fortified villages; the part living outside the wall practiced cattle breeding and lived in tents. At the time of disturbances caused by brigands they moved inside the wall. The chief of the tribe was a lama who had the title of Chih-hui. Every year the tribe was taxed 130 horses. The tribe controlled the Lung-pa tribe numbering 100 families which was taxed 150 horses. [345]

In the region west of Hsining, stretching as far as 40 to 60 li, only farming, combined with cattle breeding, seems to have been practiced in 1380 by Tibetan tribes. After 1723 the region beyond was developed. The title of master of the kingdom was probably granted after the surrender of the tribe ruled by the lama. It was the policy during the Hung-wu and the whole Ming period to grant titles to lamas who induced tribes to surrender (Monguors II: 16). The title of Chih-hui borne by the chief is a title of the Ming time. The walls noted in the references were built only after 1546 (*Annals* of Hsining 13: 15). The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 seems to have mixed circumstances existing only after 1546 with those of 1380. [341 233]

Still west of Hsining the nomad Shen-tsang tribe surrendered in 1380. It inhabited a territory situated near Kokonor. At the time of the invasion of the Mongols in 1509 and their occupation of Kokonor, the tribe disappeared (*Annals* of Hsining ?: 5*b*).

In the region of the southern mountains of Hsining, between Hsining and the Yellow River, stretching in an east-west direction as far as Lao Ya Ch'eng, three more tribes surrendered in 1380, all of them living near the northern borders of the Yellow River.

The Tsan-tsa tribe lived in tents and its territory was situated south of the present subprefecture of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*).

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Peking, and the emperor agreed. Ping-tu forced the tribes to build a road to Wu-ssu-tsang in order to meet the lama. The entire Szechwan province was upset for fear of invasion by the savage Kokonor brigands. The governor wrote Altan to order his sons to desist from plundering the country. Altan answered that the only reason for the behavior of his sons was the lack of any markets where they could fill their needs. In 1574 markets were opened for Pin-tu and Ping-tu and the emperor granted to the temple of Kokonor the name Yin-hua-sse and the title of vice-commander to Ping-tu. However, the sons and cousins and nephews of Altan plundered as before. Again the officials asked Altan to reprimand them. Altan arrived with his army feigning to meet the lama; however he had an axe to grind with Oirats, his old foes. Coming back, he asked the governor to allow all the Mongol chieftains to attend a meeting with the lama in Kokonor. The Tibetans, taken with panic at the sight of the demonstration of power and magnificence, fled in all directions. Altan returned to the north (1577) but Ho-lo-ch'ih and Yung-chao-pu, his nephew and cousin, and others refused to leave Kokonor, and Ping-tu started plundering the Tibetans again. The officials immediately asked the emperor to close the markets. Altan reprimanded his son and urged him to return the stolen people and cattle. However, Ho-lo-ch'ih continued looting (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 13, 14).[84]

175x 648 662 579 [437 647] [437 647]

In 1579 the governor of Hsining was engaged in developing agriculture in Huangchung. He gathered the destitute people who had fled with fear of the Mongol brigands, located them in villages, provided them with grain and oxen, dug irrigation canals, etc. In each village he opened a school. He gathered more than 100,000 families, and more uncultivated land was tilled. When Altan left the country in 1577 he had asked him to leave peacefully and to protect the country against more raids by his people (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20).

175x 241 652 [313]

Ha-tsa, a Tibetan tribe of Kokonor, raided the western valley of Hsining in 1580, but was repelled. Two

175x 579 648

[84] René Grousset, *Empire des Steppes*, 592, Paris, Payot: The Ordos Mongols started professing the lamaism of the Yellow Church from 1566 on. The *jinong* Khutukh Setsen Hung-t'ai-chi of the Uchin banner, coming back from an expedition in Tibet in 1566, had invited lamas to accompany him to Ordos and convert the Mongols to lamaism. The fervent *jinong* succeeded in converting his grand-uncle Altan who at that time was in the heyday of his power (1576). Altan and his grand-nephew invited the chief of the Yellow Church, the great lama bSod-nams rgya-mtso to come to Kokonor. The Mongols met him magnificently and opened with him an official convention at which was laid the foundation of the Yellow Church among the Mongols (1577), and Altan honored the great lama with the title of Dalai Lama, which title is still borne at present by his successors. The Dalai Lama, returning to Lhasa, appointed the Living Buddha Dongkur Manjucri in Kukuhoto the residence of Altan. The Dalai Lama left Lhasa again to travel to Ordos in 1586 for the performance of the cremation ceremonies of Altan who had died in 1583.

[P. 47(B)]

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The people lived until an old age. Our grandfather Sire Wu I fulfilled his official office and controlled his subjects. According to the seasons he stimulated and taught agriculture and the culture of mulberry trees. In his spare time he planted flowers and trees, but first of all he was engrossed in calligraphy, writing according to the principles of the eminent scholars of the Chin and T'ang dynasties. He was able to write big characters by holding the pencil in such a way that a hollow could be seen between his thumb and index finger. Symmetrical sentences and inscriptions in our mansions, summer houses and at the waterpool were mostly written by him. They are remainders originating from his pencil and are admired as benefits of his hand and his artistic virtuosity. 175* [244] [248] 247

Sire Wu I died in 1762, the tenth of the eleventh moon, at the age of fifty-one. He was granted the title of Wu I Ta-fu.

His wife, the noble Lady Wang, was the niece of our great-grandmother. She died before our grandfather in 1759, the fifth of the ninth moon, at the age of forty-seven. She received posthumously the title of Shu-jen. Both were buried in the cemetery of Hsi Hsiang T'ang.

FAN, SIRE WU-KUNG, THE FATHER OF THE FOURTEENTH GENERATION

When I was young I met with piteous misfortunes. I lost my father at seven years of age and my mother at twenty-two. Not being on a par with my parents I nonetheless inherited their patrimony. When looking upward I am grateful for the benefits received from the emperor for having fed and educated me, when looking down I think of what my parents expect from me, and I am afraid. Therefore, I chastise my body and amend my behavior, hoping the blessings received from my parents might endure. This, my intention, is beholden to the inspiration received from my parents' spirits, living in the outer world.

I dipped my pencil in blood and wrote summarily (the facts), to instruct the descendants and to provide material for the use of the historians of the future.

My late father's name was Fan, his style name Yung Ch'i. He was the oldest son of my grandfather Wu I. In his youth he was regal, he did not care much for the wealth of the family. He was a tall strong man, intelligent and perspicaceous.

In 1762 my grandfather Wu I died and my father received the decree for the succession. At that time the empire enjoyed peace. Eminent people liked the companionship of my father. He liked to invite people to dinner and sing songs. Wherever he went the guests were always in full number. He treated his officers and troops cordially. At every meal there was plenty of wine and food, noise and drinking. To people who suffered from the cold he offered clothes, not caring for the cost. This was the reason why the people were devoted to him until his death.

N 563 194 [795] [596] [241] [438] preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] [233] [464] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese S [422] farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, S [592] sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly S [614] becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy S [792] exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [422] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N 563 The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and M 233 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, 241 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest [98 that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. [177] They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the N 563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as M 231 the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred [554] only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the M 596 extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy [603] authority over all members of the family. Property is collect- [421] ively owned.

The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain N 563 whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a M 614 Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the 622 head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he 177 directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of 178 the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

N *563 M 142 have very scanty beards, and there is seldom any growth of hair on the body.

e. economic activities

N *563 The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is M [241] livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. [233] The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours [433] now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

M [291] Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to [177] wear only Chinese clothing. [171]

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Ölots and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours now belong to Chinghai Province. Very little is known about the N [177] Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokonor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian N [233] language. They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölots and the Torguts of Sinkiang.

2. Hordes

N *563 When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai 619 area he found the following groups of Mongols:

361 (1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, *[175] west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;

(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;

(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;

(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;

(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.

(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.

(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;

/The Monguors/

000 on the luckless family.

N *563 M 231 [177] The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

M [886] [715]

N *563 M 515 [184] Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

5. Occupations

N *563 M 24 233 433 The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

N *563 M 24 [177] [432] The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

N *563 M 231 554 [556] [184] Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

N *563 M 233 463 Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society

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241 dug out with spades in the form of large, rough bricks, which are set out in rows to dry. The next spring, before sowing, these bricks are built into a long oven. The outside is plastered with mud, and after incense and boughs of cypress have been burned to propitiate the Spirit of the Earth, a fire is built in the oven. After it has burned for two days the "bricks" have crumbled into ashes. Men and women carry these ashes in baskets on their backs and scatter them on the fields that are to be sown. In some places this heavy work is done by the women alone.

241 782 Plowing and sowing begin on the propitious day and at the appointed hour designated in the old Chinese lunar calendar. Strips of red paper inscribed with auspicious Chinese characters are pasted on all the farming implements and on the horns of the oxen. Red, in the symbolism of the Chinese, is the color for joy, fertility, and good fortune.[3]

At the appointed hour the whole family, all in their best clothes, go to the fields. The procession is led by the head of the family, guiding a plow drawn by a pair of oxen. He plows a furrow in a large circle and then a cross within the circle in such a manner that when the second stroke of the cross is completed the heads of the oxen are pointing in the direction from which, according to geomantic divination, happiness and prosperity are expected to emanate during the year. This direction may vary from year to year. The family then steps into the center of the circle, kneels, and burns incense and boughs of cypress. The head of the family offers to the Spirit of the Earth a large, flat circular loaf of bread in the center of which there is a hole in which he plants incense sticks. The family prostrate themselves while the head of the family pours a libation of wine on the ground and sprinkles wine toward the "six corners" of the universe.[4] The bread is then divided into small pieces and each member of the family, and also the two oxen, are given a piece to eat on the spot. The remainder is broken into crumbs and thrown on the field. All then return home except those who complete the plowing, and sowing begins as soon as the plowing is finished.

The Chinese in this region do not have this custom, and it is possible that the Monguors took it over from the Tibetans who have a similar ceremony of beginning the farming season by blessing the earth and asking the gods for a good harvest and for protection against hail.[5]

241 943 The Monguor field crops are barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp, and potatoes. Very little millet is grown. When the Monguors plow a virgin field, they plant barley for the first six years and wheat only the seventh year, because the earth of such fields is too

[3] White (which for the Chinese is the color of mourning) is the traditional auspicious and noble color of the Mongols.—O. L.

[4] The four quarters of the compass; upward (for the sky), and downward (for below the surface of the earth).—O. L.

[5] MacDonald, *Mœurs et coûtumes tibétaines*, 229, Paris, Payot, 1930.

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241 cold to grow wheat from the beginning and has first to
243 be loosened up and warmed by the sun.

The customs connected with weeding during the growing season are especially worth noting. Men and
241 women take part, the women going to the fields in their best clothes which they change for their working clothes
533 when the work begins. Men and women squat on their
584 heels and work along the furrows of grain, singing as they work. One group answers the songs sung by another group and from time to time all burst into laughter and giggles because these songs are licentious and full of sexual references. Sometimes a man or woman sings a solo, to which all reply in chorus. If a traveler should happen to pass, especially a woman, one of the workers who has a knack for making up a song impromptu will start to sing a description of the traveler, full of suggestive remarks about the supposed purpose of the traveler's journey, with endless lascivious verses about "the way of the lonely hind roaming in search of the stag," and so forth. Only the young people take part in this work, while their elders remain in the family courtyard.

This licentiousness is associated only with the weeding season. The Chinese of this region do not have a similar custom. There are comparable customs, however, in Tibet and also in Southeast Asia; and there were comparable customs among the ancient Sienpi and the ancient Turks. It is open to question whether the Shat'o brought the custom with them when they settled in the region or whether the Monguors learned it from the Tibetans[8] or the Sienpi.

241 The crops are either plucked by hand or harvested with a sickle, the work being done by both men and women. The threshing is done on the village threshing floor with a primitive stone roller pulled by oxen, horses, mules, or donkeys.

In addition to field agriculture there are small gardens close to each courtyard where the women plant vegetables such as onions, garlic, rape, leek, cabbage, pimento, spinach, watermelons, and cantaloupes.

PASTORAL ECONOMY

231 Livestock still rank as the second most important economic resource of the Monguors. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys, and pigs and wherever the pastures are sufficient they own as many sheep and cows as possible. Horses are important for prestige,

[8] For references to Southeast Asia (Annam, Cambodia, Laos, the White Tai, the Karens of Burma, the Angami Nagas of Assam, and the Miaos and Yaos of Southwest China), see Christopher Fürer-Haimendorff in *Anthropos* 30: 916, 1935. See also A. Lietard, *Les Lolo-p'o*, 152, Münster i. W., Aschendorfsche Verlag, 1913, and D. Doutreligne in *Anthropos* 25: 163, 1930; also F. M. Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, 224, Hong Kong, Imprimerie des missions étrangères, 1930. For ancient China see H. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 237, Paris, Boccard, 1927, and R. Granet, *La civilization chinoise* 1: 190, Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

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The people lived until an old age. Our grandfather Sire Wu I fulfilled his official office and controlled his subjects. According to the seasons he stimulated and taught agriculture and the culture of mulberry trees. In his spare time he planted flowers and trees, but first of all he was engrossed in calligraphy, writing according to the principles of the eminent scholars of the Chin and T'ang dynasties. He was able to write big characters by holding the pencil in such a way that a hollow could be seen between his thumb and index finger. Symmetrical sentences and inscriptions in our mansions, summer houses and at the waterpool were mostly written by him. They are remainders originating from his pencil and are admired as benefits of his hand and his artistic virtuosity. 175* [244] [248] 247

Sire Wu I died in 1762, the tenth of the eleventh moon, at the age of fifty-one. He was granted the title of Wu I Ta-fu.

His wife, the noble Lady Wang, was the niece of our great-grandmother. She died before our grandfather in 1759, the fifth of the ninth moon, at the age of forty-seven. She received posthumously the title of Shu-jen. Both were buried in the cemetery of Hsi Hsiang T'ang.

FAN, SIRE WU-KUNG, THE FATHER OF THE FOURTEENTH GENERATION

When I was young I met with piteous misfortunes. I lost my father at seven years of age and my mother at twenty-two. Not being on a par with my parents I nonetheless inherited their patrimony. When looking upward I am grateful for the benefits received from the emperor for having fed and educated me; when looking down I think of what my parents expect from me, and I am afraid. Therefore, I chastise my body and amend my behavior, hoping the blessings received from my parents might endure. This, my intention, is beholden to the inspiration received from my parents' spirits, living in the outer world.

I dipped my pencil in blood and wrote summarily (the facts), to instruct the descendants and to provide material for the use of the historians of the future.

My late father's name was Fan, his style name Yung Ch'i. He was the oldest son of my grandfather Wu I. In his youth he was regal, he did not care much for the wealth of the family. He was a tall strong man, intelligent and perspicaceous.

In 1762 my grandfather Wu I died and my father received the decree for the succession. At that time the empire enjoyed peace. Eminent people liked the companionship of my father. He liked to invite people to dinner and sing songs. Wherever he went the guests were always in full number. He treated his officers and troops cordially. At every meal there was plenty of wine and food, noise and drinking. To people who suffered from the cold he offered clothes, not caring for the cost. This was the reason why the people were devoted to him until his death.

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342 in the center is the living room, and is used for the reception of guests and as the dining room. One of the two smaller rooms on either side of the living room is occupied by the chief of the family and his wife; the room opposite is occupied by the eldest son.

352 The largest part of each dwelling room is occupied by the *k'ang*—a small platform, two or three feet high, 354 built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm. In winter the *k'ang* is a wonderful invention. On it are spread felt rugs, and along the wall are folded and piled the covers and skins used at night. Three or four wooden cases along the wall contain the clothes of members of the family and the treasures of the mother (needle box, sewing materials, etc.), and there is also a small cupboard. Along 358 231 the wall, hung on pegs, are a gun, a stringed musical instrument, clothes, etc. In the corner of the room stands a jar containing fermenting pickled vegetables. 342 Part of the smoke of the oven escapes through a hole pierced in the window and the door is opened when the smoke is too heavy. Beams and rafters are like ebony, blackened by the oily smoke. Around New Year, the walls are whitewashed and two or three pictures of deities are placed on the walls. After a few days the whitewash turns brown and the walls are muddy again.

343 In the northeast corner of the courtyard is the kitchen and in this building the youngest of the married sons lives with his family—for in this blessed corner, according to the shaman, a large progeny is to be expected.[1] The two remaining corners are converted into stables—for these corners, again according to the shaman, are propitious for the reproduction of animals. Sheep and cows are fenced outside the courtyard.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

621 Since nobles and commoners live in the same kind of 184 house and earn their living by the same means, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated. Poor and rich, nobles and commoners, live in the same hamlets, help each other and go in and out of each

[1] This custom preserves the tradition that the youngest son is "guardian of the hearth." There are many evidences that in ancient Turco-Mongol society elder sons moved away at marriage and received at that time their share of the inheritance. The youngest son remained with the parents and received the residual inheritance. Hence, according to Vladmirtsov (*Régime social des Mongols*, 60), the term *otchigin* or *otjigin*, "prince of the fire," for the youngest son. P. Pelliot and L. Hambis (*Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan* 1: 176, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1951) point out that *ot* is Turkish for "fire," while *chigin* is the medieval Mongol form of *tigin* (*tegin*), which though occurring in Turkish is in their opinion of Avar (old Mongol) origin. They point to another word for "youngest son," *otqan*, as "probably" deriving from ot-qan (khan), "sovereign of the fire."—O. L.

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231 animals entrusted to them and the skill and devotion
463 needed if the animals are to get the best pasture and to multiply rapidly. Skill is required especially in the lambing season. A shepherd is treated like a member of the family. At each meal one of the daughters-in-law presents him with his bowl of food, with both hands, with the same respect that is shown to the head of the family, and the shepherd's food is as good as that of the head of the family.

231 When there is not enough rain and the pasture is
648 poor, the Monguors will go with a present to the chief of one of the nomad tribes of Tibetans or Mongols, asking permission to graze their stock on his land during the summer. The nomads are always very generous and helpful at such times.

231 The Monguors will never sell an animal, or allow an animal already sold to leave their home, on the first or fifteenth of the moon for fear that prosperity and luck might leave the family. Other beliefs in connection with cattle breeding will be discussed in my later work on the religious life of the Monguors.

231 An old Monguor of some sixty years once told me that
251 during his lifetime he remembered four different occasions on which the cattle herds had been devastated by epizootics. When such a disaster happens, the flesh of the animals who have died of sickness is cut in long, thin strips which are dried in the sun and for the following year the Monguors have tough beef to chew at every meal.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 The Monguors hunt with the gun and with traps and
136 poison, but because the region has become too thickly populated to support a great deal of game there is no hunting on a large scale. The animals hunted are foxes, wolves, musk-deer, hares, and pheasants, while boys like to shoot marmots with matchlock guns. Foxes and wolves are killed sometimes with the gun, but more usually with strychnine bought from the Chinese. First the tracks of the animal to be poisoned are studied in order to determine its habits. Then for several days meat, taken from hares and birds that have been killed by the hunter, is laid out in order to accustom the animal to this kind of feeding. The poison is then set out. Sometimes the strychnine is put inside a ball of meat, but more usually it is put in the hollow of a long, thin bone, the ends of which are sealed with wax. The fox or wolf dies near the place where it has cracked and swallowed such a bone, while strychnine placed in a ball of meat is slower to act and the animal may travel so far that it is difficult to track. Foxes are also taken with iron traps bought from Chinese smiths. The animal to be trapped is first watched carefully for a number of days in order to learn its habits. Then roasted flour is set out for it to feed on, so that it becomes unwary, and finally the trap is baited and set.

The most valuable game is the musk-deer, which is

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Then the governor notified the lamas about the confiscation of their territories and subjects, and informed them about the revocation of the titles of Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih granted to the most prominent among them by the Ming emperors, and an order was given to hand to the Chinese officials the diploma of the promotion granted to them by the emperor. 175x 648 [334]

Most of these titles had been granted to lamas who had induced tribes to submit, and to move into the depopulated Huangchung, especially in the first century and a half of the Ming. At that time these lamas belonged to the Red sect, were married, and lived among the tribes they had induced to submit, but not in monasteries. They had received personally large proprietaries from the emperor, with a document written in their name, and a title. This had been the origin of the Karwas and Nang so (Monguors II: 18, 19). The son of the lama succeeding to the father, inherited the property and the title and was considered to be a lama. This institution lasted until 1723–1724. The entire lama family during all these years had earned a wealthy living, free from taxes and corvees, and received some taxes from the tribesmen. The *Annals* of Hsining noting this fact, and the confiscation of the territories and subjects of the lamas, adds jubilantly, "and so in one day these unjust conditions, existing for centuries, were abolished" (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 22*b*). 175x 742

In the same year, for the very first time in history, officials were appointed by the Szechwan and Kansu provinces to fix the boundaries of both provinces in the Kokonor region, and to designate which among the Tibetan tribes should depend upon each of the provinces (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 13*a*). 175x 624

During the years 1733–1745 orders were repeatedly issued for the building of more graneries in the cities and most important strongholds all over the country, for the amount of grain formerly collected by the lamas and the Khoshot princes was now collected by the officials and had to be stored (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 23*b*, 25*a*). [344 251]

In 1745 the Hsining *Annals* were printed by Yang Yin-ch'u. The first *Annals*, only two small volumes, contained many errors which were amended. 175x 653

In 1759 there was famine in the prefecture of Chuang Lang. Grain was loaned to T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng to help his subjects. The next year also was one of bad crops. Again grain was loaned for distribution to each of the Monguor families of the t'u-ssu for which restitution was to be made after three years (*Annals* of Kansu 2: 29*b*).

The commanderies of Tatung and Kuei Te became subprefectures in 1761 with complete civil and military administrations (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 4, 11*b*, 14). In Pe-ta and Yung nan a brigadier general and a lieutenant colonel with strong garrisons had already been appointed in 1725, after the revolt of bLo-bzang tan-chin (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 71*a*). 175x

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N *563 M 233 463 [466] because of the value of the animals entrusted to them. They are skillful in breeding, and in finding the best pasture. A shepherd is treated as a member of his employer's family; he receives the same food, and the daughters-in-law must show him the same respect they accord to the head of the family.

N *563 M 224 439 The Mongours hunt foxes, hares, pheasants and musk deer, using guns, traps and poison. The fox skins are sold to Chinese merchants and the best skins, used for lining the winter garments of the rich, bring a handsome price. Musk deer are also valuable game. The precious musk glands, used as a special drug or as an essence in perfume, are sold by weight to Chinese dealers.

N *563 M 226 Fishing is important in Koko Nor, where the lake produces an abundant supply. Mongour expeditions go there as soon as the lake has frozen over each winter. They go first to the chief of the Mongol or Tibetan tribe on whose shore they plan to operate, and present gifts such as wine, tobacco, noodles and the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity in exchange for permission to fish and protection from the tribe. The fishermen usually go to the same territory every year, and become sworn brothers of the chief or some important local nomad. The expedition, which lasts about two months, involves hard work in the bitter cold, but the profits are sufficient reward. Preservation of the fish is no problem; they freeze immediately after they are caught. They are carried to the market in Hsi-ning, or sold to Moslem merchants who engage in caravan trade.

M [251]

N *563 M 438 439 Mongours carry on their trade largely with Chinese and Chinese Moslem merchants. The Moslems are an energetic and enterprising people who drive caravans of pack mules from house to house in the Mongour country, exchanging cloth, needles and thread for wool, skins, eggs and grain. In the autumn they collect oxen and sheep and drive them in small herds to Hsi-ning. The Chinese merchants do business on a larger scale. They send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at lama monastery festivals and at the annual celebrations and meetings of the Mongour clans. During the fall, when the Chinese Moslems are buying up sheep and oxen, the Chinese butchers of the cities send their agents to the Mongour villages to buy hogs. Chinese merchants also send their buyers into Mongour country for wool and skins, going from home to home. There are also peddlers, who deal largely in items needed in the Mongour home, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, sugar and pipe tobacco. Business is always by barter, with the top-ranking woman of the Mongour household doing the bargaining. As the peddler travels a long distance, it is customary to provide him with a place to sleep. Before he leaves he presents the hostess with a small token of apprecia-

M [437]

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441 tion to more distant markets that could not be reached by the unprocessed grain and seeds. These enterprises are, therefore, outlying Chinese businesses intermediate between the Monguor country and the Chinese-inhabited towns and cities. Wealthy Monguors, not confident of their own ability in trade, often invest their money in such Chinese enterprises; often, unfortunately, with the result that the Chinese partners get rich while the Monguors lose their money. Only a few Monguors, who are already well on the way toward becoming completely Chinese, venture into such enterprises as managing a small shop or buying and selling animals or wool and skins.

439 In the autumn, the Chinese managers of distilleries and oil mills make contracts with the Monguor farmers, the farmers undertaking to plant an agreed acreage with the crop required by the Chinese, and to sell the harvest at an agreed price. On the strength of this agreement, [452] the Chinese buyer makes a cash advance to the Monguor farmer. Wheat that does not go to the distilleries is bought up by Muslim dealers. The wheat is measured at the Monguor farm with the buyers' own measure, draft animals are hired from the Monguors to bring the wheat to the river bank, and it is there loaded on rafts and floated down to Lanchow.

252 There are some mills that grind flour for local Monguor consumption, and for that of neighboring Mongol and Tibetan nomads, and Chinese cities. These mills are built along small streams. A vertical wooden wheel carries an endless chain of buckets. As the stream fills the lower buckets, the wheel turns; coming up over the wheel, the buckets empty into a chute, and the descending water turns the nether stone of the mill, while the upper stone remains fixed. The grindstones are so crudely grooved that the grain has to be milled three times. Professional grindstone makers cut the blue stone in the mountains, install the millstones at the mill, and visit the mills every month to cut fresh grooves in the stones. There are only a few mills with horizontal power-wheels.

531 In the profitable business of buying livestock to be 463 slaughtered in such cities as Hsining and Lanchou, the Muslims have a virtual monopoly of buying cows and 563 oxen, the Chinese have a monopoly in buying pigs, and 441 both Muslim and Chinese butchers buy sheep. The most important season is the autumn, when the animals are in the best condition. Sheep are herded slowly for a journey of ten days or more to Lanchou, in order to prevent them from going lame and losing weight. Pigs 531 are also driven slowly, each batch of pigs being handled 441 by three men, moving only six or eight miles a day and sometimes taking a month to reach market. Ahead of the pigs is a man on foot driving a donkey loaded with dried peas and a long basket. Every mile or two the donkey is halted, some of the peas are poured into the basket, and enough is fed to the pigs to whet their appetites and keep the fat animals waddling after the

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

FOOD, DRINK, AND NARCOTICS

262 796 527 The diet of the Monguors is frugal. Meat, which with milk and milk products was the staple food of their nomad ancestors, has long been a luxury. Like the Chinese, they now eat meat for half a month at the New Year, on the third of the third moon, the fifth of the fifth moon, the fifteenth of the eighth moon, and the eighth of the twelfth moon. Apart from these feasts, they eat meat only at weddings, when children have been born, at funeral feasts, or when they have distinguished guests. For such feasts, a sheep is killed. In the short summer rainy season it is also customary to kill a sheep when there is rain for several days, preventing them from going out to the fields; and it is also customary to slaughter a sheep when the harvest is carried in. Meat is always boiled. Roasted or broiled meat is very seldom eaten and is not considered tasty.

[462] 231 Every family slaughters its own animals. The slaughtering is never done by women, who are expected to produce life, not to destroy it. Most Monguor men cease to do any slaughtering when they become about fifty years old, owing to the lamaistic belief that it is not fitting for a man who is approaching the time of his own death to slaughter animals, for fear of being reincarnated as an animal.

Cows, oxen, and pigs are slaughtered by cutting the throat. Sheep are often choked. Another method of slaughtering sheep—the traditional Mongol method—is to turn the animal on its back with the head pointing west, stretching the skin tight over the breast. A slit is then cut in the skin, and the butcher slips in his hand, seizes the heart, and jerks it loose. The sheep dies instantly and no blood is shed outside the carcass.

The Monguors very seldom slaughter horses, mules, or donkeys. When these animals grow old they are either sold or allowed to live until they die a natural death. [262] The meat of horses, mules, and donkeys is never eaten, nor do the Monguors allow the use of their cooking kettles for boiling such meat.

Chickens are usually killed either by cutting off the head or by thrusting a pin into the brain.

262 All Monguors abhor the meat of marmots. Marmot fat is used as a salve on the saddle sores of horses and mules, but as food the Monguors say, "Marmots are to us Monguors what pigs are to the Mohammedans."

[795] There is a small religious sect among the Monguors, known as "those who fast," the members of which never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

[272] In the morning the Monguors drink a cup of tea and eat a piece of bread when the sun has risen in the sky "to the height of a post." Salt is always put in the boiling tea. In many families only the parents and the oldest son drink tea; the other men, and all the women, drink only water with a little milk in it. (The Chinese, of course, do not use milk in tea or in any other way.)

[252] The bread is made from barley flour and is either steamed or baked. Ordinary people seldom eat wheat

[P. 117a]

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262 flour. Noodles are also made with barley flour. Another way of preparing barley flour is to roast it in a pan. Not much millet is eaten. Linseed oil and colza oil are used in cooking. Each family has its own grindstone, mills its own flour and bakes its own bread.

[264] After the morning cup of tea and piece of bread a breakfast of noodles is eaten about nine o'clock. Tea and bread are taken again at noon. The main meal of the day is eaten in the evening. It is prepared by slowly stirring barley flour into boiling water, sometimes with the addition of potatoes and flour made from dried peas. A little oil is always added to this mixture. Vegetables are eaten as relishes or side dishes, usually after being fermented in a mixture of brine and a little vinegar. This method of pickling provides the salt in the diet and makes the salt (which is expensive because of local taxes) go further. Each family plants its own vegetables, but fruit has to be brought from the city or bought from peddlars.

252

A special sweet dish is made by gathering ears of barley in July, before they are fully ripe, and steaming them. Unlike the Chinese and in keeping with their Mongol traditions, Monguor women milk the cows and sheep and make butter; but because they do not have enough livestock, butter is a luxury and is eaten only by the elders. Another luxury dish is made by kneading sugar into dough, shaping the dough into small rolls, and cooking them in boiling oil. These sweet rolls are a luxury because the sugar has to be bought.

264 Although there is nothing complicated about Monguor cooking, men seldom prepare food and all work in the kitchen is done by the women. Cleanliness and neatness are prized. Women wash their hands every time they enter the kitchen and the elders are always reminding them to be clean lest the god of the hearth punish them and their children be deprived of blessings. The children eat from wooden bowls, each child having his own. Grown up people often use bowls made of earthenware or rough porcelain, but in many families the only bowls are those locally made of poplar wood. After each meal everybody licks his own bowl clean before it is taken back to the kitchen. Some people however, in the Mongol manner, always keep their wooden bowl with them in the breast of their gown, taking it out whenever they drink and eat. The bowls are never cleaned except by licking. Chopsticks are used, but there are no spoons, forks, dishes, or table knives. At dinner time it is amusing to see each mother urging everybody—especially her own children—to take more food and to see how a child will draw its finger across its throat as if cutting it, saying "Oh mother, by Buddha I can eat no more."

273 The Monguors distill liquor from both barley and wheat. Although there are commercial distilleries, as has already been mentioned, most families distill their own liquor. This liquor, though it is distilled and not merely fermented, is always called "wine." It is drunk

/44 cont'd/
585 maneuver busily. Having no napkin, one ends by licking one's
262 fingers at first, then rubs /45/ them on one's boots to soften the
264 leather. A bowl of bouillon finishes the meal. Gin is poured, and
[527] the table is cleared. This is the famous feast called susen by the T'ou-jen and ts'iuen iang si by the Chinese, "the dinner with the sheep served whole." It is the largest dinner given in the region.

585 It must be admitted that for such a dinner the dishes are neither
261 large in number nor dainty, and that the culinary art has not reached
[252] the heights; but this does not keep the good stomach and the T'ou-jen spirit from being at their zenith. Everything is relative in this world below.

171 This dinner, these hosts, this scene make one think of dinner
264 among nomads on the steppe. There, the dinner is served in a spacious tent; among the T'ou-jen it is given in the courtyard covered with cloth; there, all are seated on the ground on pieces of felt or on straw, here the same; there, rudimentary plates and dishes, here the same; there, the main dish of the grand feasts is sheep served whole, here also. Why don't the T'ou-jen put on a feast like the Chinese, putting some ten tables in a courtyard, each one for eight guests? It is because among the T'ou-jen the old customs of the nomads live again at the important moments of life. Once and for
585 all let us call attention to the vestiges of the ancient nomadic organi-
262 zation of the T'ou-jen, met with on the occasion of a wedding. In the olden times they busied themselves with the raising of large
585 animals (oxen, sheep, horses). The proof of it is that all the presents
431 given in former times and recalled on the occasion of wedding feasts
231 consisted either of horses or oxen; the bride's family used to give an ox to her maternal uncle, a horse to the maternal uncle of the groom, and another horse to the groom himself; the groom's family used to give an ox to the maternal uncle of the bride; they still require a mare as earnest for the girl; the meat at the dinner is invariably
[262] mutton; again it is mutton which is offered at various times, according to matrimonial custom, and it is mutton which is given to the guests at the moment of /46/ departure.

231 Nowhere is pork mentioned as being offered as a gift, although at present the T'ou-jen are occupied principally with the raising of

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but

[262] [252] [171] [264]

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.] Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot be imagined without tsamba. They roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.), that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain, and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-grain flour is eaten exactly as among the Tibetans (Fandse). After the consumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48] kneaded into a dry dough in the tea bowl with the remainder of the tea and the butter floating on it, and it is then eaten in the form of little pellets or little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used for the incense offering, however, may not be kept with the ordinary tsamba. Every family has a special little box for it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf. Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further details.

[783] [263] never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color; therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than the white.

[439] [824] The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop. They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

[192]

4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loan-word, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

[65 cont.]

782 concerns, and there are private sacrifices which the individual
[621] gives for his family.

The communal sacrifice is usually given in summer after the erection of the pole-goat for a good harvest. A private sacrifice is undertaken at any time of year according to time and circumstances, for instance, in case of an illness or before an important undertaking. Since one man alone cannot carry out everything for a sacrifice, he invites several other men to it, who help him and afterwards consume the sacrificial meat. The person who makes the offering must also pay the cost.

The sacrificial rite does not differ from that of the other
[231] sheep sacrifice. Thus, the sheep is washed, has milk poured over it, is fumigated, etc. Usually a soothsayer is present.
[791] After the sacrificial meat has been boiled, several bowls of broth
[252] are scooped out. The offering-casts are made with it in the directions indicated by the soothsayer. These are always the same. Three bowls are thrown towards the north for heaven, three bowls each to the east, south, west, and north for the countless spirits, three bowls to the left of the incense offering for the mountain-spirit in the obo, three bowls to the right of the incense offering for the earth-spirit. Then follow three more bowls on the obo, and finally three additional bowls are poured before the spirit-spear. Then follows the offering meal,
[574] at which all the meat is consumed.

Before the sheep offering the general obo-veneration is first undertaken, as at the month offering.

[792] The obo prayer: Frequently a lama or Bon priest is in-
[791] vited to pray before the obo. This may last one to seven days, depending upon the request. Here, too, either the entire
[621] village or an individual person is the petitioner. Everyone pays personally for the expenses arising from it.

The prayer service begins with an incense offering of the people. Meanwhile the lama makes a šdorma. Then the people place the following offerings before the obo: three baked loaves, 13 steamed loaves, a bowl [66] of barley wine, flowers in vases, small bowls with honey, a cup of tea, black and white sugar, a bowl of tsamba with butter-disks.

[628 cont.]

527 [533] [883]

[Note on foreign text pp. 628-629 cont.] one couple is seen disappearing off to one side. Concerning the types of songs, cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder."

After the fifteenth day the common workaday life begins again. The many oil-loaves, however, are eaten for a long time. [262]

[539] [533]

Song: On New Year's the following song is popularly sung:

1. On New Year's one makes a kowtow to the sky, burns incense, and then one eats.
2. If you observe the laws of the emperor, in later life you will become a minister
3. If you do not forget the kind deeds of the parents, you will later live long.

192 527

Word List

New Year: šeni sara = new month.
To celebrate the New Year: šeni sara nogdzini.
Last day of the old year: tsiafudzarē šēlōn = of the thirtieth evening.
udurdza xuänuo = day - late.
To slaughter pigs: xgeni ala-.
To bake oil-baking: tsiängguor tsina-. [252]
To distill wine: dërasëngë dzinlie-.
To roll thin noodles: narin šēlōnge dielge-.
To steam pastry: šëmienge dzinlie-.
To bake Tachur bread: tagur šdimienge sira-.
To celebrate the thirtieth when it grows dark: xara wolgu tsiafudzar nogdzi-.
Please do not sleep today, the gods are to be welcomed early tomorrow morning: niu šēlōn bi ndëra, malōn siernege purgan dzëliegu-.
To burn a little stick of incense: gudzi šda-; shao-hsiang (Chin.).
To burn paper: bio šda; shao huang piao (Chin.).

[825 cont.]
241 It therefore, with the head, is left to be eaten by wolves and
789 dogs. The hide is not used for magic.
778

The misfortune-torma: The Bon priest washes his hands
[791] and face and makes a little torma of tsamba mixed with butter about ten centimeters high and three to four centimeters wide. He puts it on a tray or a wooden plate. As extra features he adds in very small quantities: raw mutton or pork, leeks, beets, breadcrumbs, white and black sheep's wool, five kinds of grain, tea leaves, money, silver, gold, five little pieces of cloth, five-colored threads, and black and white sugar and puts a dough-lamp with a burning cotton wick beside them. These extra features also apply to the three other tormas, in other words, to all four little misfortune-tormas.

The extra features, along with the tormas, are thrown
[533] in all four directions of the compass, while the seed-master,
[782] amidst blowing on the conch, makes the great incense offering
[791] and the Bon priest prays the appropriate spirit conjuration. For the first four tormas the Bon priest uses only the sounding plate and the bone flute, not the double drum and bell.

In the case of the simple ceremony with only one misfortune-torma, naturally only one direction of the compass can be considered. This one is indicated by the Bon priest himself.
[791]

Making the pole-goat: The Bon priest does not concern
241 himself about the goat. The men fumigate and wash the goat
789 as usual and pour milk over it; while the goat shakes itself, they
778 make [826] a threefold kowtow in a circle around it, because
825 the sky accepts the animal. Then the goat is slaughtered and
[787] the blood caught in a basin. In skinning it one does not slit open the belly side, but rather an incision is made below the tail which just suffices to pull off the hide from behind over the head. The head is cut off inside the hide so that it remains whole and unskinned within it. In the same fashion one cuts off the feet, leaving them in the hide. Only then is the skinned goat [illustration appears here] eviscerated and cut up, and the
[252] blood, with the scraps of meat, is stuffed into the cleaned intestines.

[826 cont.]

241 These intestines, together with the meat, are cooked in a kettle over
789 a hole in the ground.

778 The hide is tightly stuffed with any kind of straw in such a
[825] way that the head and legs stick out stiffly, and the pole is stuck
[252] in it from the rear up to the head. Thus the goat sits firmly upright on the pole and need not be tied on. Then the men fumigate goat and post with incense and lay it down before the Bon priest.

The raised pole-goat. (Drawing of a Tujen.

[532] The weather-torma: The Bon priest
[791] meanwhile has finished the second torma, the weather-torma. It is exactly the same size as the first, that is, the four first tormas. With a prayer he puts it on a wooden tray with the following extra features: one to three butter-lamps, three little copper bowls with pure water, a little bowl of the barley wine, a little bowl of Tibetan barley or wheat, a little bowl of tea leaves, a little bowl of dough beans [Teigbohnen]. -- This torma also bears several colorful butter-flowers.

[791] During its preparation the Bon priest prays a special weather-prayer.
[782] Sometimes he also pastes some paper money on the torma. [Illustration appears here.]

Magic dagger, wooden peg, mpuru. (From the drawing of a Tujen.)

[832 cont.]

241 The seed-master then cuts through the throat and arteries with
782 a powerful stroke, and the helpers catch the blood in the basin
231 with constant stirring. None of the blood is supposed to fall on the ground. Any traces of blood are covered with earth. When the sheep has ceased bleeding, it is skinned. Sometimes the head remains attached to the hide, or it is cut off entirely with the hide, and placed to one side on the hide.

241 Now one usually takes a broad board, places the sheep
782 on it, and eviscerates it. Excrement and unusable scraps are
252 put aside. The intestines are cleaned in warm water and filled with blood and little bits of diced flesh from the scraps. The eviscerated body [833] is rinsed out with water and cut apart. The thighs are cut off, the loins and rib pieces are cut out, and everything is finally cut into little pieces so that it can be cooked more conveniently.

The cooking; In a kettle over a hole in the earth water is brought to a boil, in which the pieces of meat are cooked. Women may not help with the cooking. Spices, even salt, are prohibited for the sacrificial meat. The intestines filled with blood are also boiled.

During the cooking the men sit to one side, converse, pray their mani, or offer new incense. When the meat is done, it is taken out and cut into little slices on a board, including lungs, kidneys, liver, and heart. At the same time the ribs and other bones are broken. Now several bowlfuls are scooped from the broth in the kettle and some of the little pieces of meat are put in them. Then the soothsayer is called.

241 Soothsaying: The soothsayer invokes the spirit and indi-
782 cates in which direction the bowls must be emptied. He also
791 determines how many bowls must be offered in each case. There is always an offering to the sky and to the mountain-spirit,
787 and usually also to the world-spirits; only the number of bowls
[776] varies. If one wants to make an offering to still other spirits, this is especially requested by the soothsayer. The soothsayer continues to officiate until the conclusion of the offering and with the spirit invoked supervises the performance.

N *563 586 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

M 594 596 [611] [591] N *563 M [556] M [361] M [182] [252] M [342] M [364] [342] N *563 M 592 554 [169]

A. The Family Organization

Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patrilineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family. In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines, and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

The extended family has a common courtyard, around which the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus, the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

The family head is the religious chief, family administrator and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside. M [351] [182] [353] [352] Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations. M [252] For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, M [194] mules or donkeys. A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter M [412] and wheat flour are luxuries. Only the wealthy can afford fruit. Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

N *563 M 264 415 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some

I remarked that the performance of this rite, not kept 792
secret in the fold of the monastery but put completely 788
on public display, was not very honorable for the intendants. The lamas answered, "When squeezed to the wall and when all other rites have been of no avail, the rite has to be performed." Such facts, without stretching the point, are really informative, concerning the type of the intendants.

The overriding importance attached to the appointment of the intendant, who can make a monastery flourish or ruin it, may be explained by the enormous influence exerted in a monastery by them, which matches that of the supreme chief of the institutions, and the stumbling blocks encountered by the intendants, which endanger the correct fulfilling of their office. They serve also to gain a true insight into the frame of mind of the administrative world of the monasteries.

MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE OF THE LAMASERIES

DOMAINS

During the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties, large 792
domains were granted to the monasteries to provide 423
their means of subsistence. In former times it was 643
easy for the emperors to be lavish in such grants in a 434
sparsely populated country. I never had the opportunity to see the old deeds under which the vast domains of Erh-ku-lung and its flourishing subsidiaries had been granted. Its most important domain is that of the Fan-wu-pu, which it shares with its daughter monastery of Seerkok.[8]

The Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa Hutukhtus were the favorite Living Buddhas of the emperors. It seems an obvious assumption that private domains were also granted to each of them, because Chang-chia was able to found on his properties six branches and eleven villages. T'u-kuan founded seven villages and seven affiliates, while Sumpa founded five branches, and further it is said he disposed of more domains than both Chang-chia and T'u-kuan. The tax and rent revenues collected on their private properties must have been considerable because Chang-chia built nine oil and grain [256] mills and T'u-kuan eighteen, in order to dispose of their grain.

[8] The Fan-wu-pu (the five tribes of barbarians) are situated in the region of Wei-yüan-p'u. They are: (1) Pei-tsui-pu (Narin valley), (2) Tsan-tsa-pu (east and west Tsan-tsa), (3) Hsieh-tsa-pu, (4) Pu-tsa-pu (near the mountains), and (5) Kuang-hua-pu (west of Wei-Yüan-p'u). The people living in these vast territories were the subjects of these two lamaseries, to which they paid taxes and rent, and were liable for corvées. All the villages from Pei-tsui-pu eastward (Ha-la-chih and Hung nai valleys) belonged to Erh-ku-lung; those westward to Seerkok. In 1910 both lamaseries still collected the rent of these fields, enjoyed the privilege of traveling for alms among these former subjects, and vindicated the right of still being invited by them for the performance of public and private religious activities. In that region the monastery of Erh-ku-lung had built twenty-four oil and grain mills. These domains were administered in former times by the important T'u-kuan and Seerkok Nang suo. [p.43 (B)].

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but from the landowner who, in case the tenant disappeared or became insolvent, was responsible for the tax. In this way the lamas who were landowners had to collect the official taxes from their tenants, and accompany the endless caravans of their tenants' donkeys carrying grain to the official granaries. Before the journey to the granary started, however, each tenant had to measure the grain in the presence of the lamas and with the measure supplied by the lamas, the capacity of which was greater than the official one; this enabled the lamas to set aside a valuable surplus over the vast amount of official taxes. 792 427 651 434 [442] [804]

The properties of the lamaseries, consisting of extensive territories, contain a large part of waste and untilled land on which no taxes are imposed. The industrious intendants developed these properties by means of irrigation canals, and called in new farmers to till the new fields. The legal amount of taxes, however, has always remained the same as the initial amount, because the intendants, by means of collusion and bribery, easily succeed in gaining over the tax collectors. In this way the revenues of the intendancies are greatly increased, and they still receive surreptitiously a very large revenue. Moreover, they are able to store the surplus, which they can grind or sell when prices are highest. 792 423 651 [311 312] 434

HERDS

Sheep, cows, and horses constitute, for many intendancies, a source of revenue. Large herds are grazed in Kukunor or Mongolia where the pastures are larger, smaller herds in the country for local use. Mongol princes and Tibetan chiefs of tribes are always ready to help the monasteries. A contract is made with herdsmen by which the first calves, colts, and lambs belong to the owner, the second-born to the herdsman, and so on. Every three years a lama inspector of the intendancy examines the accounts of the herdsmen and settles with them the number of animals to be sold, and the herdsmen show the skins of the animals which died during the three-year period. If they cannot produce the skins of the dead animals it is assumed that they sold the animals and they must pay the owner of the herds. 792 434 233

OIL AND GRAIN MILLS

These mills are a large source of revenue. The monastery proper of Erh-ku-lung is owner of twenty-four oil and grain mills; the T'u-kuan himself has eighteen, Chang-chia nine. The mills are leased by Monguors or Chinese. The rent of oil mills is 300 pounds of oil for a season's use, besides which it must press the oil belonging to the monastery. The grain miller must grind the grain of the intendancy and at the New Year season give a pig weighing 120 pounds. Most of the oil which is not consumed in the kitchen in the preparation of food, or in the lamps in the temples and homes, is sent by raft to Lan-chou, the capital of the province. 792 434 256

[p.44 (B)]

/44 cont'd/

585 maneuver busily. Having no napkin, one ends by licking one's
262 fingers at first, then rubs /15/ them on one's boots to soften the
264 leather. A bowl of bouillon finishes the meal. Gin is poured, and
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[262] mutton; again it is mutton which is offered at various times, according to matrimonial custom, and it is mutton which is given to the guests at the moment of /46/ departure.

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

FOOD, DRINK, AND NARCOTICS

262 796 527 The diet of the Monguors is frugal. Meat, which with milk and milk products was the staple food of their nomad ancestors, has long been a luxury. Like the Chinese, they now eat meat for half a month at the New Year, on the third of the third moon, the fifth of the fifth moon, the fifteenth of the eighth moon, and the eighth of the twelfth moon. Apart from these feasts, they eat meat only at weddings, when children have been born, at funeral feasts, or when they have distinguished guests. For such feasts, a sheep is killed. In the short summer rainy season it is also customary to kill a sheep when there is rain for several days, preventing them from going out to the fields; and it is also customary to slaughter a sheep when the harvest is carried in. Meat is always boiled. Roasted or broiled meat is very seldom eaten and is not considered tasty.

[462] 231 Every family slaughters its own animals. The slaughtering is never done by women, who are expected to produce life, not to destroy it. Most Monguor men cease to do any slaughtering when they become about fifty years old, owing to the lamaistic belief that it is not fitting for a man who is approaching the time of his own death to slaughter animals, for fear of being reincarnated as an animal.

Cows, oxen, and pigs are slaughtered by cutting the throat. Sheep are often choked. Another method of slaughtering sheep—the traditional Mongôl method—is to turn the animal on its back with the head pointing west, stretching the skin tight over the breast. A slit is then cut in the skin, and the butcher slips in his hand, seizes the heart, and jerks it loose. The sheep dies instantly and no blood is shed outside the carcass.

The Monguors very seldom slaughter horses, mules, or donkeys. When these animals grow old they are either sold or allowed to live until they die a natural death. [262] The meat of horses, mules, and donkeys is never eaten, nor do the Monguors allow the use of their cooking kettles for boiling such meat.

Chickens are usually killed either by cutting off the head or by thrusting a pin into the brain.

262 All Monguors abhor the meat of marmots. Marmot fat is used as a salve on the saddle sores of horses and mules, but as food the Monguors say, "Marmots are to us Monguors what pigs are to the Mohammedans."

[715] There is a small religious sect among the Monguors, known as "those who fast," the members of which never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

[272] In the morning the Monguors drink a cup of tea and eat a piece of bread when the sun has risen in the sky "to the height of a post." Salt is always put in the boiling tea. In many families only the parents and the oldest son drink tea; the other men, and all the women, drink only water with a little milk in it. (The Chinese, of course, do not use milk in tea or in any other way.)

[252] The bread is made from barley flour and is either steamed or baked. Ordinary people seldom eat wheat

262 flour. Noodles are also made with barley flour. Another way of preparing barley flour is to roast it in a pan. Not much millet is eaten. Linseed oil and colza oil are used in cooking. Each family has its own grindstone, mills its own flour and bakes its own bread.

[264] After the morning cup of tea and piece of bread a breakfast of noodles is eaten about nine o'clock. Tea and bread are taken again at noon. The main meal of 252 the day is eaten in the evening. It is prepared by slowly stirring barley flour into boiling water, sometimes with the addition of potatoes and flour made from dried peas. A little oil is always added to this mixture. Vegetables are eaten as relishes or side dishes, usually after being fermented in a mixture of brine and a little vinegar. This method of pickling provides the salt in the diet and makes the salt (which is expensive because of local taxes) go further. Each family plants its own vegetables, but fruit has to be brought from the city or bought from peddlars.

A special sweet dish is made by gathering ears of barley in July, before they are fully ripe, and steaming them. Unlike the Chinese and in keeping with their Mongol traditions, Monguor women milk the cows and sheep and make butter; but because they do not have enough livestock, butter is a luxury and is eaten only by the elders. Another luxury dish is made by kneading sugar into dough, shaping the dough into small rolls, and cooking them in boiling oil. These sweet rolls are a luxury because the sugar has to be bought.

264 Although there is nothing complicated about Monguor cooking, men seldom prepare food and all work in the kitchen is done by the women. Cleanliness and neatness are prized. Women wash their hands every time they enter the kitchen and the elders are always reminding them to be clean lest the god of the hearth punish them and their children be deprived of blessings. The children eat from wooden bowls, each child having his own. Grown up people often use bowls made of earthenware or rough porcelain, but in many families the only bowls are those locally made of poplar wood. After each meal everybody licks his own bowl clean before it is taken back to the kitchen. Some people however, in the Mongol manner, always keep their wooden bowl with them in the breast of their gown, taking it out whenever they drink and eat. The bowls are never cleaned except by licking. Chopsticks are used, but there are no spoons, forks, dishes, or table knives. At dinner time it is amusing to see each mother urging everybody—especially her own children—to take more food and to see how a child will draw its finger across its throat as if cutting it, saying "Oh mother, by Buddha I can eat no more."

273 The Monguors distill liquor from both barley and wheat. Although there are commercial distilleries, as has already been mentioned, most families distill their own liquor. This liquor, though it is distilled and not merely fermented, is always called "wine." It is drunk

[P 117b]

/33 cont'd/

583 584 bow gravely, and without having opened their mouths go away to share the lozenges and the cash.

The go-between rises and says aloud: "The flower has just been presented, let us proceed to the recognition of the alliance of the two families and the exchange of wine."

The two fathers-in-law rise and go to kneel in the middle of the rug, after bowing to each other. The go-between puts in the hand of each a little cup of gin, which they exchange and drink.

584 788 539 The cups are filled four times in a row, and they exchange them four times; those present recite aloud one of the four following couplets:

Si che iang koang	May the feast be brilliant
man siu hoa	May flowers abound.
tse suen hoa	May the flowers which are the sons and grandsons
leang mien tch'a	Bloom on both sides (to the glory of the two families).
leang kia hi ngai	May the two families be happy
so ts'in kia	To be related to each other.
sin ts'in kia	May the new family by marriage
mou tan hoa	Be like a peony (emblem of good fortune).

584 [262] /34/ Then the two fathers-in-law rise and propose that all present drink in their turn. A light meal is served consisting of boiled mutton cut in pieces, bread, and noodles in the Chinese style....

The bride's family takes care to put into the father-in-law's carpetbag two strings of cash and several loaves of bread, always an even number; the other guests receive two loaves each. The jug is given back filled with gin.

/43 cont'd/

585 Each guest has settled himself, not without first having made many an excuse and salaam. All follow the gospel which advises taking the last place in order to see oneself forced to go up toward the first ones. It is a real contest of politeness in which the master of ceremonies is forced to intervene with much circumspection. The parents of the bride do not preside at the festivity.

535 At the table one is all the more at ease if there are fewer /44/
264 guests. The felt rugs and the litters of straw are very practical
285 "seats" at these wedding dinners, since they permit seating as many people as one wishes. The guests having taken their places, the meal is begun by serving tea with milk and dry bread. Because the interior of the rectangle remains free, the service is done briskly. Do not expect to see beautiful teapots, milk jugs, cups, saucers, plates of fine porcelain. The milk is already poured into the tea in the kitchen, the copper teapots are those of every day; the bread is put around in piles on the tables, the cup is made of white earthenware but without cracks.

585 After the tea, well-heated gin is served. It is poured into
273 about 20 small terra cotta cups, which each one passes to the other after drinking two or three swallows. The women drink the gin like
585 the men. They chatter, they smoke, while waiting for the main
262 dish, which consists of a sheep served whole and cooked to a turn.
264 The head and the saddle are detached but put back in place so as to give the illusion of one intact piece. Three sheep are served at a time. While the sheep are being admired, the servers distribute to
415 each guest a small wooden receptacle which has the shape of a saucer and in which vinegar is poured. Several wooden boxes con-
263 taining salt and pimento are in the center of the table. The T'ou-jen do not use forks or spoons; the fingers are the main means of eating, as they maneuver with a knife and the pair of chopsticks which each guest carries in a case attached to his belt. The servers take the meat with their fingers, cut it in pieces, and fill the saucers of the guests with it. The meat is eaten seasoned with salt, pimento,
263 and vinegar, and one adds to it a piece of bread. The bones are thrown on the table or on the ground. As soon as the mutton is tackled, complete silence reigns over the assemblage, all of whom

/44 cont'd/
585 maneuver busily. Having no napkin, one ends by licking one's
262 fingers at first, then rubs /45/ them on one's boots to soften the
264 leather. A bowl of bouillon finishes the meal. Gin is poured, and
[527] the table is cleared. This is the famous feast called susen by the T'ou-jen and ts'iuen iang si by the Chinese, "the dinner with the sheep served whole." It is the largest dinner given in the region.

585 It must be admitted that for such a dinner the dishes are neither
261 large in number nor dainty, and that the culinary art has not reached
[252] the heights; but this does not keep the good stomach and the T'ou-jen spirit from being at their zenith. Everything is relative in this world below.

171 This dinner, these hosts, this scene make one think of dinner
264 among nomads on the steppe. There, the dinner is served in a spacious tent; among the T'ou-jen it is given in the courtyard covered with cloth; there, all are seated on the ground on pieces of felt or on straw, here the same; there, rudimentary plates and dishes, here the same; there, the main dish of the grand feasts is sheep served whole, here also. Why don't the T'ou-jen put on a feast like the Chinese, putting some ten tables in a courtyard, each one for eight guests? It is because among the T'ou-jen the old customs of the nomads live again at the important moments of life. Once and for
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M /50 cont'd/
585 Why is the maternal uncle invited to stand near the girl during the
614 whole speech, and why does the maternal clan have precedence at
604 the festivity and at the dinner? Why is the paternal clan in the very background all this day, when it is nevertheless the one which is giving its daughter in marriage and which has the duty to defend her? Also abnormal is this custom which fixes only the gifts to be offered to the girl by the maternal aunts and uncles and not those to be given by her paternal uncles and aunts. Finally, why attach more im-
M portance to this festivity than to the one at the son-in-law's home?
585 Let us remember that this ceremony is held around a shamanistic
795 fire and not before an image of Buddha, although Buddhism is with-
771 out question the primary religion of the country, and that in spite of the fact that the whole clan includes numerous lamas among its
M members, shamanism is actually the old religion of the T'ou-jen.
585 Let us note again that the master of ceremonies, when he takes the floor, recalls the faraway past in which the daughter still inherited from her parents half as much as a son. One would say it was a history lesson.

We are here in the presence of a very old ceremony, one which is completely abnormal in a patriarchal organization.

After the speech and the girl's departure, the guests are in-
M vited to sit down; gin is served, and they play mora noisily; they
●[262] sing and smoke while waiting for the Chinese noodles to be served.
M /51/ The master of ceremonies arranges the gifts in chests,
585 and all the pieces are numbered, so that the next day at the dinner
583 at the son-in-law's home, when he again takes the floor, he can take them out without difficulty. (1)

HM
585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 308: (Mongols) As soon as the livestock has been delivered to the future wife's father (the German translation of the same work says that he himself comes to the future husband's home to get them), he gives a feast which is soon reciprocated by the husband-to-be for the relatives and

/59 cont'd/

585 And they continue to sing, "On the spot where the bride is seated, later will sit sons and grandsons.... On the ground she treads on you will find grain, money, wealth...."

585 292 The toilette is finished. A veil of coarse red cloth entirely envelops the bride's head and is tied around her neck with a red cord so that she cannot see anything any more. There are some areas where the veil is no longer tied around the neck.

585 [262] Meanwhile, the master of ceremonies has laid out before the religious image a table on which is noticed a cup of milk, a cypress branch to which is attached a strand of wool, a bushel measure containing wheat, with a prayer book in Tibetan characters on top of the grain, another lighted lamp, and a bundle of chopsticks. If there is a red lama in the house, he begins to intone the farewell prayers. The mother of the girl is seated alone on the ground in front of the table, facing the image. The door opens with a din. The bride, veiled and yelling, is carried seated on a piece of felt, either by four women or by a brother, who holds her in his arms. They run around the table, carrying the bride. They leave the room abruptly, and at the moment of leaving, one of the women carriers /60/ takes the chopsticks laid on the bushel of grain and throws them impetuously on the mother's knees. Everything is done with precipitation and abruptness. The singers continue their songs while the girl is carried outside. "When your daughter comes back, your courtyard will be full of horses and oxen, your house will be rebuilt with a second story and a veranda, the lintel of the door will have become one of gold." They continue their songs outside: "It is the auspicious time to mount on horseback; it is the auspicious time for the horsemen to mount in the saddle; it is time to take the great highway to the north (or to the south)."

The bride is put in the saddle by her brothers, and the singers do not stop singing while dancing in cadence and making their long white garments float. There are places where a man also mounts on horseback behind the bride and holds her in his arms. This rider is a member of the family but never one of her brothers.

The son-in-law and the go-between have gone ahead. The horse which the bride rides is led to the middle of the area in front

/65 cont'd/

585 Four bundles of straw burn at the four corners of the courtyard; it is hoped that the smoke will rise straight up. An oil lamp, in which [354] two wicks of equal length have been placed, is put in front of the religious image in the main building and is lighted as soon as the bride has entered the nuptial chamber. They look at the lamp attentively without touching it in order to see which of the two wicks, the one on the right side or the one on the left, will go out first. In this is seen an omen for the long life of the husband and wife; the right wick designates the girl, the left the boy.

The bride's maid of honor accepted the cup of gin presented to her when she dismounted. She dipped her finger in it and sprinkled some toward the four cardinal directions; then she touched the wine with her lips. She did the same for the bread and tea which were presented. Only after performing this rite did she follow the bride into the nuptial chamber, whose door was closed behind her. She is not given anything to eat or drink as long as the marriage rite is not finished.

As soon as the bride crossed the threshold of the door and entered the courtyard, the go-between took his place in the middle of it, [262] holding in his hands a cup of flour made from parched wheat; he ate some flour and drank some gin each time the bride passed through the courtyard, either going to the kitchen or returning to the nuptial chamber.

The other guests do not enter then but go toward the open area in front of the house. A little table has been placed /66/ in the middle of the area, and on it are seen a well-done sheep, several more legs of mutton, a pig's head, some sausages.... In front of the [262 604] table is spread out a piece of red felt on which is seated the bridegroom's maternal uncle. Here he seems to fill the post of head of the family as did the maternal uncle of the bride in his niece's family. Gin is being warmed over a small fire.

Upon the arrival of the guests the bridegroom's father has gone to meet them with the traditional k'ata on both hands. He greets each of them by putting the k'ata on their hands. This is the ceremony of welcome.

/66 cont'd/

585 A member of the family says aloud, "The sheep will be divided into five parts. The first will be for the maternal uncle, the second for the father, the third and fourth for each of the two singers, and the fifth for the master of ceremonies. Then the guests tackle the legs of mutton, the sausages, etc. After this appetizer the guests of the bride's family are invited to enter the courtyard. The placement of the tables for the feast inside the courtyard is the same as at the bride's home on the day of the dinner.

[604 262] The bride's maternal uncle and the go-between are invited to be seated in the place of honor. Tea is poured, and loaves of bread cooked in steam are served hot. As soon as the tea is drunk, the two singers from before appear, holding in their hands a teapot whose spout is coated with butter. They pour the buttered tea for all those present, who understand by this rite that they are asked to give up their places to the guests of the bridegroom's family, who will be served tea and bread like them. The bridegroom's family has treated its own guests in the same way as the bride's family treated its guests: introduction into a side room, presentation of gifts, notation in the register....(1)

[171]

1. Shirokogoroff, pp. 82, 83, 84: Every guest is obliged to give some present which cannot be less than $1 in value, or in money. They have a special book in which they inscribe all guests' names and presents. The guests whose presents are of value are inscribed in a red paper, which is fixed near the front door. Finally the bride and bridegroom arrive, they descend from the carriage outside the yard. The women who arrived with them conduct the bride and bridegroom by the hands to the screen. /Cited in English./

585 171 /74 cont'd/

of 6 cups and 6 plates. The bride is sitting now dressed as a married woman and turning her face to the wall (like the Chinese). The bridegroom arrives with a boy and without seeing the bride's face, eats his first meal in the presence of his future wife. The bridegroom repeats his visits to the bride during this day six times. /Cited in English with interpolations in French, indicated by parentheses./

between, and all the daughter-in-law's family occupy the first places.

585 262 264 This is the big dinner with the whole sheep. They always begin by offering gin. First the elders of the son-in-law's family /75/ pour it three times for the daughter-in-law's family; then the new husband's father and mother themselves present three cups to the new relatives; next comes the son-in-law, who also in his turn offers gin to his new family. The dinner proceeds as at the daughter-in-law's home.

585 431 18. Gifts of the Son-in-law's Family to the Daughter-in-law's Family

They begin by distributing to each guest a piece of raw meat of the weight of a leg of mutton. The guest puts it in his carpetbag. The guests cannot go back home with empty hands; that would be a great affront to them. One can judge the quantity of meat necessary [262] for such a wedding. That again breathes of the nomad, who lives on herds and with whom meat constitutes the basic food.

After this distribution of meat, the son-in-law enters the courtyard, leading a horse; he has attached a piece of red cloth to its mane. At the same time several cows, sheep, donkeys, and goats are led into the same courtyard where the guests are.

/81 cont'd/

Ma 585 The following night the proof of virginity is required. /Cited in English, with French interpolations indicated by parentheses./

Mo 585 /81/ maid of honor comes to arrange the hair-do of the young wife in the manner of the women of the place.

20. Visits after the Wedding

Mo 574 585 Mo [262] The third day after the wedding, the father and mother of the young wife come to make a visit to the newly related family. This visit is called "opening a new road," tying new relationships. They bring a jug of gin, loaves of bread, dry Chinese noodles, and come, they say, to invite the son-in-law to come to their home. It is customary that on this day the young wife prepares the dinner. They make her take a practical examination of her culinary knowledge. It is she also who serves the last dish of the dinner and clears the table. The guests praise her and throw several cash for her into the empty cups. In the evening the guests go home.

The next day the father-in-law, the son-in-law, and the young wife go, the three of them, to return the visit to the parents-in-law. They bring two jugs of gin and loaves of bread. The married couple make the great prostration to the members of the family who are of generations above their own. In the evening the father and the son-in-law go back home /82/ and leave the young wife with her parents for several days. After choosing an auspicious day, one of her brothers will take her back to her husband's home. (1)

HM 585 754

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 312: A month later the young wife sets out with her husband or with one of her close relatives to pay a visit to her parents, which she repeats several months or a year later. (German translation: and stays with them for several months, indeed often for a year.)

[10 cont.]

124 had in mind. Besides, I had not treated him respectfully enough and made the mistake of not offering him enough brandy. After [181] all, at that time I was still unacquainted with the proverb of [273] the Chinese: t'u-jen chien chiu, chia-la chien liu; freely translated, "The Tujen are as fond of brandy as goats are of greens."

Only after a year did I again get in touch with him. At that time I was celebrating a festival in a neighboring community and invited the old man by messenger to a mutton feast. He received the place of honor next to me, ate his fill of the meat, and was challenged by one person after another to the drinking game, during which he consumed an ample amount. In this state of uplift an old Chinese, his former classmate, negotiated with him and obtained his consent to live with me for a few days in the station. When he appeared in January, 1947, he was received in the friendliest manner. He sat at the table with [273] me and received as much barley wine as he liked, and he could take a sizeable quantity of it. Upon his departure in the [262] afternoon I presented him with sugar, currants, baked goods, sausage, and cigars, things that are not common there, with which, as he said, he demonstrated at home the generosity of the European who had treated him as a complete and equal human being. When, in addition, I made it possible for him and his wife to receive medical treatment without cost from the mission sisters, his distrust disappeared; from then on he always showed up at my place for a number of days, and precisely on the date agreed upon, which is astonishing among these people.

To the old man's credit, let it be said at this point that afterwards he made absolutely no demands. He valued his honor and wanted to be taken seriously. For the rest, he lived in the same room with the employees of the mission station, slept on the same kang, and ate the same food, even though I offered him a room of his own and a special diet. He stated: "That does not suit an old farmer like me; I want to be with your people so that I have company." Only on certain days, for instance, at festivals or when there were visitors, did he have to have a substantial drink. This strongly stimulated him to tell stories, during which my attention was drawn to

[36 cont.]

Fig. 3

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a. Torma; b. torma; c. wumba-can of the lama; d. thunderbolt
[532] (dordzi); e. bell. (Drawing by a Tujen.)

792 soothsaying the setting up of a mani-tree is supposed to take place
796 on the fifteenth day of a given month, then the lama must come
574 a week in advance because a prayer service of several days always precedes it. Only the higher lamas stay for just a day. The preparations are always carried out by the master of the household with the assistance of the mother's brother.

On the day before, the yard and all the rooms of the house are swept clean. The men fumigate all the rooms with the red-hot stone and the incense fire, so that no demons will carry on their mischief. For the lama, the host reserves the best room in the main house, which immediately adjoins the chapel or the household altar. He spreads one or two layers of white or red felt mats on the kang and places two beautiful saddle-blankets over them, one for the lama and one for his assistant. The place on which the lama is to sit is indicated by a hada. The latter is regarded as an honored memento and is later hung by the household altar.

Between the two blankets there is a fire basin with a large teakettle. Behind it there is a kang table with the food: a
[262] round wooden bowl of tsamba on which several pieces of buttered

[36 cont.]

792 bread have been placed in a pyramid and crowned with a red
796 date; a little box with tschürra (dry curds) for kneading tsamba;
574 a number of small [37] plates with black and white sugar, candy
[262] sugar, currants, and dates; a number of small plates of goods baked with sugar and oil. -- Later, when the lama performs his ceremonies, the things are cleared away so that an empty table is at his disposal.

Hutukhtus or higher lamas send ordinary, serving lamas to the people a few days in advance to prepare the room and the things needed for the ceremonies. They also help in the kitchen because they know best which dishes their hutukhtu prefers. They also see to it that the riding animals of the monastery are properly [492] accommodated.

The fetching of the lama: On the stipulated day the young men and boys of the village set out for the lamic monastery with the most beautiful and fastest horses. Some of them ride all the way to the monastery itself; some wait halfway. The hutukhtu [492] always rides on his own animal; it must be a white horse. The other lamas, on the other hand, may use any animals available.

When at the halfway point the lama meets the troop that has come to fetch him, the oldest man steps forward and hands the lama a hada. He accepts it and touches the kneeling man's forehead. Then the youngest with the fastest horses leap into the saddle and ride ahead at a wild gallop in order to announce the news of the lama's arrival in the village. The lama likewise tries to follow at a rapid pace. Only the old lamas take their time. This fetching is called single fetching. Sometimes the fetching is done in two or three stages; then it is called double or triple fetching. Each time the ceremonies of handing over the hada and of the blessing are repeated. In the case of the third troup, however, the fetchers are on foot, for they only go just outside the village.

Reception: As soon as the messengers come riding in, the entire village gathers in front of the house that has invited the lama. All are wearing their best clothes. On the threshing

[39 cont.]

792 lama, however, does not have his principal meal at noon, like
796 the other guests, but only in the late afternoon. In order to en-
465 tertain him men and women dance and sing in the yard. Only
[574] in the case of very high hutukhtus is there no dancing.

On the last day, after the lama's morning meal, but while
[535] he is still drinking tea on the kang, the master of gifts appears with the ceremonial helpers and with many words expresses his gratitude for the visit and the prayer. Then he hands him a tray with the gifts, over which a hada is spread, and the master of gifts announces what the lama is receiving for his services. This hada over the tray is called "speech hada." The things are put in front of the lama on the table and kowtows are made three times. The assistants, too, receive appropriate gifts.

The fee varies according to the wealth of the master of gifts, the position of the lama, and the ceremonies performed. Usually it consists of several back-baskets of bread (5), some

5. [Foreign text p. 42.] A back-basket holds 24 loaves. The red cloth is for the lama's clothing. Why only grain and money are thought of as a unity and designated by the same name, mbō, is unclear to me. According to the DMF, it comes from the Tibetan p'ogs, "fee."

pieces of mutton (4), silver money, and red cloth. Wealthy

[262]
[782]

4. [Foreign text p. 42.] Although Buddhism prohibits killing, the lamas, as well as the hutukhtus, eat flesh in all forms, as I repeatedly was able to observe. In the monastery Kuo-mang-szu I once noted that a sacrificial sheep, skinned and eviscerated, was set on a sacrificial table in front of the temple door. During

[39 cont.]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.]
the subsequent prayer ceremonies, the master of gifts, who had sacrificed this sheep, had the flesh cooked and a piece served to each of the monks in the temple during a pause in the prayer. It is therefore not surprising that the lama receives a loin of mutton for his fee. Since the Tujen, however, do not sacrifice a sheep in the presence of a lama (cf. the chapter, "The Mani-tree"), it seems to be a matter of not performing the killing itself before the eyes of the lama or in the same yard.

people give much more, for instance, beautiful horses, ornamental pendants, cloth, etc. When it is a matter of great occasions, a prayer service is even ordered for the monastery during the time that the lama stays with the master of gifts. During these days the master of gifts provides all the monks with rice, sugar, butter, and tea. Even pilgrims who stay in the monastery during these days and "stop in" to honor and to pray for the master of gifts are provided for and also receive alms for the journey.

The masters of gifts also usually donate the prayer tea for the entire monastery, which is drunk during the ceremonial in the prayer hall, for example, at funerals, etc. Often they also set up a great number of butter-lamps in the temple at this time, or at least they donate the butter for the lamps. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

Return: After the lama has received his gifts, he is ceremonially escorted out of the gate of the yard. An incense offering is again presented, but otherwise no further ceremonies take place. The white horse is brought up, a kang table with a felt mat is set up for mounting, and the lama is lifted into the saddle. Then the men escort him out of the village. There

[40 cont.]

192 Lama-reception: lama ndziala.

Lama blessing: ndziärgän (Tib.) - in rows.

792 First fetching: ġdzō dañwu (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note on preceding page].

796

574 Second fetching: ġdzō niwa (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Third fetching: ġdzō ġdzämba (Tib. loanword) 10 [see Note 10 on preceding page].

192 Tsamba bowl with buttered slices: simier (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

262

796 Little plate with baked goods: sētoġ.

Sugar candy: ping-t'ang (Chin.).

Apple: hai-t'ang (Chin.).

Nuts: ho-t'ao (Chin.).

Dates: sa-tsao-êrh (Chin.).

Dry curds: tsüra (Tib., Tuj.).

Oil sticks: san-tzu (Chin.).

Filled loaves: taġur.

Oil pies: yu-pao-tzu (Chin.).

192 Speech hada: sidär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

796

Red cloth (which one presents to the lama): sändzõn (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Grain with money: mbō.

Loin of mutton (also the entire sheep): ndžuän.

[778] Torma: šdorma (Tib. loanword) (2) [see Note 2 above].

Little copper bowl with water, grain, etc.: dõnsär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Butter-lamp: lamar (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

[778] Holy water-can: wumbā (Tib. loanword).

Peacock's feather: k'un-ch'üo-mao (Chin.).

Thunderbolt: dordzi (Tib., Tuj.).

[41]

[534] Hourglass drum: ndarë.

Mani-string: mani.

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.] Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot be imagined without tsamba. They roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.), that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain, and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-grain flour is eaten exactly as among the Tibetans (Fandse). After the consumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48] kneaded into a dry dough in the tea bowl with the remainder of the tea and the butter floating on it, and it is then eaten in the form of little pellets or little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used for the incense offering, however, may not be kept with the ordinary tsamba. Every family has a special little box for it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf. Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further details.

[262] [252] [171] [264]

783 never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color; therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than the white.

[263]

The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop. They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

[439] [824]

4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loan-word, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

[192]

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.]
may also be the reason why the Tujen always try to obtain such a conch and blow it in the morning at the incense offering in the yard.

For the rest, the conch in itself is made to order for the offering. It formerly served as an offering bowl; cf. Ch. Das (p. 627). Today it is regarded as the third of the eight offerings (mc'od brgyad) or good-luck symbols (bkra śis rtags brgyad) as a sign of being turned in the right direction, sending out lovely sounds to the ten points of the compass; cf. Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, p. 21.

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All these objects that have been enumerated are part of a complete incense offering. Since a family only rarely has these accessories on hand, the offering is usually given in the simple form, that is, people content themselves with cypress twigs, tsamba, and water-sprinkling. Not even butter and milk have been available recently among the Tujen.

[262]

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Meaning: The incense offering is primarily to heaven; as is the first kowtow. In the second place, it is intended to honor the mountain and earth spirit, and in the third place all the other countless spirits. Oral prayers are not spoken, but one usually says or thinks: "Heaven knows it." The offering is a request for protection and pleases the spirits because of the distinguished gifts. Hence, the men give it at all religious ceremonies, for instance, at the sowing festival, at the veneration of the obo, at the sheep sacrifice, etc. It is left to burn for hours during the entire procedure. Since the Tujen have practiced the incense offering since time immemorial, it constantly recurs in the songs (8).

[776]

[177]

8. [Foreign text p. 49.] The incense

[620]

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IV. Customs concerning the Human Being

* See "Notes," p. 622 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

846 Soon after the birth of a child one makes the happy event
[851] known to the family of the mother of the woman in childbed.
The mother then comes to visit her daughter. The other rela-
[431] tives, however, come only after one month. They bring gifts
and hold a feast. On the morning of this day the child is
[553] solemnly given a name, and in the evening it is brought before
the gate of the yard for the reception of the shepherd. Then
[527] there is singing and drinking and dancing into the night.
[852]

Details

Birth announcement: Three days after the birth of a
[851] boy or girl, the father-in-law of the woman in childbed takes
a little jug of liquor and some oil-baking and goes to the family
[273] of his daughter-in-law. It is immediately apparent why he has
come to visit, and he need only tell the day and the hour of
birth and whether it is a boy or girl. After they have drunk the
[593] liquor, the mother goes directly to her daughter in order to take
care of what needs to be done. She stays there a few days and
then often repeats her visit.

846 Conclusion of the confinement: Exactly 29 days after
431 the birth, in other words, on the thirtieth day, the parents and
nearest relatives of the woman in childbed appear at her
husband's house. They bring clothing for the child [621] and
[267] the woman (a long upper garment and shoes) and, further, four
large loaves of bread, oil-cakes, and other baked goods. The

[621 cont.]
846 loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter,
431 and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole
[262] in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

[858] Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts
[822] for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

553 Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-
791 soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the master of the household gives the great incense offering in the
[787] yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master
[592] of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the
[778] child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

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3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guãnbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guãmbo; ifulã sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sẽrãṅ (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; lǎsdze sẽrãṅ, pass-peak-palace; tuguãn ula, mountain of the Tuguãn. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

[625 cont.]

527 dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
[574] moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.

Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared.
During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
[782] day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an
[888] offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated, joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon

3. [Foreign text p. 628.]
[113] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.

relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.

From the second day on the people make New Year's
[628] visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

[533] gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
[262] are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
[273] a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
[356] house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

[628 cont.]

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[533]
[883]

[Note on foreign text pp. 628-629 cont.]
one couple is seen disappearing off to one side. Concerning the types of songs, cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder."

After the fifteenth day the common workaday life begins again. The many oil-loaves, however, are eaten for a long time. [262]

[539]
[533]

Song: On New Year's the following song is popularly sung:

1. On New Year's one makes a kowtow to the sky, burns incense, and then one eats.
2. If you observe the laws of the emperor, in later life you will become a minister
3. If you do not forget the kind deeds of the parents, you will later live long.

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Word List

New Year: šeni sara = new month.
To celebrate the New Year: šeni sara nogdzini.
Last day of the old year: tsiafudzarē šēlōn = of the thirtieth evening.
udurdza xuänuo = day - late.
To slaughter pigs: xgeni ala-.
To bake oil-baking: tsiänguor tsina-. [252]
To distill wine: dërasëngë dzinlie-.
To roll thin noodles: narin šëlōnge dielge-.
To steam pastry: šëmienge dzinlie-.
To bake Tachur bread: tagur šdimienge sira-.
To celebrate the thirtieth when it grows dark: xara wolgu tsiafudzar nogdzi-.
Please do not sleep today, the gods are to be welcomed early tomorrow morning: niu šëlōn bi ndëra, malōn siernege purgan dzëliegu-.
To burn a little stick of incense: gudzi šda-; shao-hsiang (Chin.).
To burn paper: bio šda; shao huang piao (Chin.).

[630 cont.]

Details

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The consecrated person: The person may be a woman or a man. He must be advanced in age; usually he is around sixty years old. At this age they are pious and reflective and are better able to observe the prescriptions. Young people are eager for life, violent, and uncontrolled. The consecration is done only by an incarnation, hutukhtu, not by an ordinary lama. [792]

Preparations: The preparations are carried out in consultation with the mother's brother. [604] He determines the day and the hutukhtu who is to be invited. [621] Since the whole village takes part in the celebration, money is saved a long time in advance. Sheep, pigs, or a cow are slaughtered; oil-baking, bread, and oil-sticks, san-tzu, are baked for provisions; the house and yard are put in order, liquor is distilled, new clothes are purchased, and the gifts for the hutukhtu are provided. [262] The latter, a few days in advance, sends one or several monks who put the room in order for him and prepare the kitchen, so that he may live and eat worthily.

Gratulation and reception of guests: On the day set, the person to be consecrated puts on his best clothes and stays in a clean side room. The visitors, relatives, and [631] guests come early in the forenoon. They gratulate the person to be consecrated and bring a gift; usually they wrap a hada around it, which they solemnly hand to the person. [431] The gifts are put on a chest in a room, usually in front of a household altar. Bread, oil-baking, cloth, hadas, silver money, etc. are given. A master of ceremonies is designated so that all may go according to custom and order.

Of the guests, the mother's brother is the person of greatest respect. [604] One goes toward him and hands him a hada. When he comes, the person to be consecrated steps down from the kang and receives him. [431] He then hands the gifts to him and is treated with tea and cake in the place of honor. Then everyone together drinks tea and liquor and breaks pieces of oil-sticks into the bowls. -- Aside from the mother's brother, the daughter's

[633 cont.]

527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
792 brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
[431] oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[465] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him. A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
[792] after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed
[766] by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
[262] longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation. This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[636 cont.]

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Before the dying person draws his last breath, someone puts a mani-ball, a piece of gold, a piece of silver, and a piece of butter in his mouth. The mani-ball guarantees him an advanced age after the later rebirth (2). Gold and silver testify at the

2. [Foreign text pp. 650-651.] According to the informant, in the case of the mani-ball, mani-ruru, the pill that the Chinese call chen-ling wan, that is, the soul-shaking pill, is involved. According to Taoistic reports in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien, spirit-mirror, this pill is made from the sap of the legendary fan-hun-shu, that is, the soul-restoring tree. This tree grows on the coast of the western ocean. It is of black wood. If one strikes it, it sounds like the growling of a bull. Its root is brewed into a thick brew, and out of this brew the pill is made. The pill has an exceedingly strong scent (the tree can also be smelled miles away). This scent is called fan-hun hsiang, that is, soul-restoring scent. If after someone dies he is touched with this pill within three days or it is burned before him so that the smoke passes over him, or if the pill is put in his mouth, then he comes to life again. Under the Han emperors this kind of incense was supplied as tribute from the Yüeh-chih and supposedly brought dead persons to life in the palace. This pill also plays an important role in the medicine of the lamas. It is the so-called pill of immortality. The Tujen buy this pill in the monasteries. Its color is red. According to their

775 [636 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text pp.650-651]. conceptions, to be sure, it cannot ensoul the dead corpse again, but it nonetheless brings the dead to life in another rebirth. -- W. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, also mentions this pill on p. 400 under the name rilu, and in Note 1688 under the Tibetan way of writing it, ril bu. It is clear that the Tujen pronunciation reru (ruru) is merely a corruption of the Tibetan word. Ch. Das has two ways of writing it, ril po and ril bu (with the l silent); he translates both as "ball, globule," [cited in English], and for ril bu he also adds "pill" [cited in English], [651] without any further designations for them (pp. 1184-85). This ruru is to be distinguished from nuru, the Tib. nor bu or cintāmani, the Buddhistic wishing-jewel. -- According to the conception of the lamas and of the people, the ruru pill reproduces itself; cf. the chapter, "Earth-god Urn." Sometimes one meets lamas who firmly believe that Europeans, too, have this wonder pill of long life, which is why they live much longer than the Chinese and the Tibetans; they claim to know that there are people in Europe who are several hundred years old.

[648]

rebirth that he comes from a wealthy position and will again acquire gold and silver. Butter is the most superior daily food and is supposed to be that again in the later life.

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[638 cont.]

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24. [Foreign text p. 657.] A custom that is no longer practiced among the Tujen was the eating of oil-dishes on the eve of the cremation, bän-sän tsinani, that is, one cooks oil-dishes. The daughters and their girls (nieces) brought a measure of wheat flour and a jug of oil. Both would be roasted together in a kettle after the pai-ta and handed around. It was kneaded into dumplings like tsamba. -- Similar old Tujen customs have now been forgotten, according to the informant. The extensive customs of the Chinese are being adopted more and more, and in the foreseeable future the cremation of the dead will have yielded to the Chinese funeral celebration.

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Only after the corpse is in the box do the other relatives come, and the same rite is repeated. These are only the relatives on the father's side, however. The other acquaintances and friends also make an appearance with them. The relatives on the mother's side come only on the day before the cremation, regardless of whether the dead person is a man or a woman.

With regard to the offerings for the dead, one must always distinguish whether a person of an older, a contemporary, or a younger generation is involved. The older generation never makes an offering to the younger, for example, the father never to the son. The man does make an offering to his wife, however, and vice versa. The man also makes an offering to his older sisters-in-law.

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Of the offering of 12 loaves of bread that each one brings, he gets two back; ten are used in the house of mourning and are eaten by the relatives or guests. The loaves that are returned are called "returned plate."

[640]

764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
782 large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
792 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
465 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
[272] temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
[262] own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people
buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the
temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it.
In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of
butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
[788] temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large
month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and
night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
[556] prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate
to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the
dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name
of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
[432] Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by
the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer
services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
602 Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain
a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

[177]

13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

[647 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

[764]

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

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During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowadays the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

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Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[262] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
[585] along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse; also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune
[783] to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not offici-
[796] ate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean, and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

[783] After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automatically lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had
[777] been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own
[791] family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved,
[782] it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul. One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[650 cont.]

192 Western paradise: hsi-lo shih-chieh (Chin.) = world of joys.

[775] Oil fir: yu-sung mu (Chin.).

[262] Thin flat-bread made with flour: kan pin-ping (Chin.) = little dry cakes.

[Pages 650-658 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 658 and the next section begins on p. 822.]

782 [822]

241

V. Customs concerning Agriculture and Livestock

114

1. The Sowing and Harvest Thanksgiving Festivals * (1)

* See "Notes," p. 823 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[113]

1. [Foreign text p. 823.] For this subject, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Das Herbst-Dankopfer der Tujen im Sining-Gebiet [The Harvest Thank-offering of the Tujen in the Sining Region]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-45, 867-873. -- The report there presents only the offering from the harvest thanksgiving festival as the old man described it at that time. It is interesting to point out that he seized upon this offering as typical of the festival and mentioned the entire celebration only incidentally, always with the indication that the shamans actually had nothing to do with the offering. When I later asked him why he had not described the entire festival in

[841 cont.]

778 Regardless of how the animal[1] lost its life, its flesh may never be
825 eaten.

Furthermore such animals may not be sold or given away,
[262] for they belong to the god. One may give it to a monastery
[432] where it is cared for and protected until its death. -- An animal may not be acquired for the consecration with money; it must always be given as a gift.

There is no special watch over the consecrated animals, so that they can freely mount one another. The offspring are
[422] then counted as profane animals and fall to the original owner.

Whether the animal is pleasing to the god is manifested
[787] when the milk is poured over it. If it does not shake itself, one immediately fetches another; the ceremonies are then repeated. Every healthy animal shakes itself. If there is no milk, one dissolves tsamba or white flour in pure water so that it looks like milk. Some people take only clear water. This is not proper.

There are gods who ride the animals, for instance,
[776] Amtsiensa rides [842] on a wool-goat and Lamusa on a mule (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 843.] In the monastery Rgulõh each month (on the first or fifteenth day) consecrated riding animals are magnificently saddled and led onto the colonnade of the chief temple immediately in front of the entrance. There they are offered to the god (Fo-yeh) for riding; then one lets them
[792] run. -- Perhaps it is worth mentioning in this connection that the Tulkus (incarnation) of the lamic monasteries may ride only white horses, which otherwise are not regarded as superior.

It could not be discovered which
[171] gods are the riding gods. The Amtsiensa corresponds to the Chinese Tan-chiao hao-hua, and the Lamusa to the Chinese Lo-tzu t'ien-wang, that is, the heavenly mule-king.

[1] [Lie - a consecrated animal - See cat. 116, pp 248-249 - ANALYST]

cording to the rules, occupy the time in meditation or prayer. 792 157

A good lama should daily, once in the morning and once in the afternoon, walk around the monastery saying his beads and prostrating himself at the small shrines along the ritual way. In the fourth moon he makes the same round, prostrating himself the whole way along. This is said to be really exhausting work.

Every year a good lama enters a retreat at home for two weeks. He does not leave his room, talks with no one, and cancels all appointments with visitors. He prays and reads texts the whole day and offers the ritual tea four times daily before the image. A good lama never sits on a bench or chair, but always squats [516] cross-legged on the floor or the k'ang, barefooted, his clothes adjusted decently. He eats only mutton, beef, or pork, never the meat of the horse, donkey, hare, or [262] chicken, or fish or eggs. Lamas are not allowed to raise sheep, goats, pigs, chickens, or donkeys. A model lama lives in retirement, avoiding mixing with the groups of lamas who play chess and cards all night, or indulge in endless gossip, or tell smutty jokes and indecent stories, for the saying goes that "nothing is dirtier than the tongue of a lama." A good lama deals with books with reverence, putting them, wrapped in a yellow silk scarf, before the Buddha statues, carrying them on his back when traveling. A good lama does not even go to say prayers at private homes, when invited by the people; he does not leave the monastery.

These notes, given by older lamas and young Wendees, reveal what lamas think about an ideal lama and what sort of ideal is held up before young lamas. However, in order to be able to become an "ideal lama" some wealth is required, or at least an honorable competency, and it is precisely the lack of this primary condition which provides the clue to most of the miseries of individual lamas and the ruin of many monasteries.

HOW LAMAS PROVIDE FOR THEIR SUBSISTENCE

792

Lamas have to earn a living, because support furnished by the monastery is insufficient. Poor lamas try to find a full-time job in the several intendancies of the monastery or with the minor Living Buddhas, or by accompanying expeditions to collect alms, or by working in the printing offices. Many find a part-time [466] job carrying water every day for several rich lamas, driving animals to the pasture grounds and then back home again, selling cow dung and fuel. Lamas like to be hired, by a lama whose pupil has abandoned him, to search for and bring back the strayed pupil. Lamas try to buy a young, nicely built horse or mule, and are happy to hire young lamas who will work every day at breaking it to the saddle, in order that they will be able to sell it in the cities or in Lhasa, where such animals command a good price. Lamas

[p.60(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The master starts with the explanation of the text 792
after the student has finished memorizing it, and so it 794
happens that, after some time, one pupil is studying a 873
second or a third book, while the others are still study- [876]
ing the first one. It is hard to teach pupils who have
not received the same educational preparation and who
progress at an unequal pace. The lack of elementary
schools and high schools compels the master to adapt [872]
his teaching to the capacity and enthusiasm of each of
the students, and inevitably the study loses its interest
for pupil and master.

It is no wonder that very few learned lamas are encountered at present among the lamas of Huang-chung. The Living Buddha Goorong bzan, of the Red Sect, was the only man celebrated for his learning all over the country during the period 1910–1920, and he enjoyed this reputation among lamas of the Yellow Sect as well as the Red Sect. In Kumbum there was also a learned Living Buddha, Chao-hsi, who was said to have given instruction in the lamasery of Galdan in Tibet. In June, 1920, he was invited by the community of lamas of Kumbum to give instruction for ten days, and Kumbum seized this opportunity to invite all the lamas of Huang-chung to attend the ceremony, remembering that each attendant should offer a ceremonial scarf to the preacher, and bring his food with him. Kumbum, however, would offer two butter-teas to the participants each day. I was at Hua-yüan, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, at that time, and the intendant, in order to have his lamas attend the instruction, himself offered to provide them with the food for twelve days; but only 12 among the 58 lamas went to Kumbum.

In 1914 I was told that among the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, 1,300 were members of the College of Philosophy, 350 of the College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, 200 each in the College of Medicine and the College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules. All these numbers have to be reduced according to the ratio previously noted for the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, but the proportion is the same for the members attending the colleges. Thus, among the 3,000 lamas 2,000 or two-thirds were enjoying a higher educational training in the colleges, and they remained members of the colleges for the whole of their lives. This was generally true for all of the colleges of Huang-chung.

The reason for the unusual attendance at the col- 792
leges is not that these institutions are centers of higher 554
education, but rather that they provide meals for their 873
members. The richest colleges, able to give the great- 814
est number and the choicest meals, are the best at- 262
tended, such as the College of Philosophy. Another
attraction of this very popular college, teaching the
most arduous of all the sciences, is the relaxation provided by the public disputations. The schedule of the
meals provided by the various colleges supports these
statements: [p. 64(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

1st month from 3rd to 18th, 3 cups of butter tea and tsamba, in all the colleges. 792
2nd month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only. 554 873
3rd month from 11th to 16th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges. 814 262
4th month from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges
5th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
6th month from 1st to 10th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
8th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
9th month from 15th to 19th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
10th month from 22nd to 29th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
11th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
12th monthly from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.

During the first, second, eighth, and eleventh months there is an exception. During each of these months, the philosophers four times enjoy two cups of rice, meat, and raisins. Rich pilgrims are accustomed to ask for special ceremonies and prayers more often in the College of Philosophy than in the other colleges, and each time they offer rice, meat, raisins, and alms. The philosophers thus enjoy more extra dinners than the members of other colleges, and receive greater shares at the distribution of alms. It is not amazing that a lama who can hardly make ends meet, but is endowed with a philosophical brain, considers it more educational to enroll in the College of Philosophy than in the others. Herein lies the practical attraction to the study of philosophy.

PREDILECTION FOR THE COLLEGE OF PHILOSOPHY, ITS CAUSES

The public disputations are the next attraction. 792
Among the huge numbers of members of the College 814
of Philosophy there are always some exceptions. Small 873
groups of students are encountered who are genuinely interested in study and under the direction of competent professors invited by them, they undergo a severe course of instruction. Two or three times every week they are engaged in public disputations, attended by all the members of the college. Students studying the same book form the center of a numerous audience, squatting on the ground of the courtyard in the open air. These disputation exercises have been described by many authors; it is sufficient to record that the same circles always enjoy the biggest attendance, not for the interest of the subject disputed, which is rather mild, but in order to enjoy the virtuosity of celebrated de-

[p. 64(B)]

are supposed to be the favorite abodes of evil spirits. 792
The Red lamas go to these springs in order to meet 795
these demons, to frighten them, to combat them, or to 789
obtain their assistance. So goes the saying of the [423]
Monguors and the lamas of both sects.

The rite is a back-breaking work. It lasts for 129 days, more than four months. It is practiced by a single lama, never in a group. Usually a fervent Monguor accompanies the lama for some days, to carry his luggage and prepare his tea. I got the information from two such men and from people living in Waza, near a spring where the lama performed his rite.

Sometimes the lama has to wander a long way to reach a spring, and sometimes three or four springs are situated one next to the other. The rite is carried out in winter and starts with a retreat of seven days at home, during which the lama, three times during the day and three times during the night, prays and reads texts, rattling the drum made of two human skulls, blowing the trumpet made from a human femur, and ringing the bell. He is not allowed to get a long sleep or to stretch himself out on the ground. He has to sleep in a sitting position, is not allowed to undress during the 129 days, or to enter any home or cave.

I saw a Red lama who lived near the monastery of Hua-yen start his journey. All the neighbors, men, women, and children, accompanied him to the first spring. He carried on his back, in a light wooden frame of thin laths, the felt mat on which he would sleep at night, a book of texts, a picture of Padma sambhava, the chief saint of the sect, some flour, butter, tea, a cauldron, and a small tent made of white cotton cloth. If, on the way, he should happen to lose one of these items, he is not allowed to replace it. He wore a long red coat, lined with sheepskin; on his head a red hat and over his eyes a green shade, with fringes. In his right hand he held the double-skull drum, and in the left hand the trumpet. He is not allowed to speak during his wandering from one spring to another, but mutters prayers all the way along, beating the drum at the same time.

Upon reaching the first spring he puts the frame down, blows three times on the trumpet in the direction of heaven, then starts the ritual dance three times around the spring to the time of the rattling drum, describing ritual designs on the ground. He beats the ground with his heel to the time of the drum beats, then stands on one leg, completely immobile, for a long time. Thereafter he pitches the tent, displays the picture, and sits crosslegged in front of the tent reciting texts for a long time. In the meantime, the villagers had prepared tea, and he starts talking with them. People are not allowed to indicate the spot of the next spring or to ask in what direction he will move the next day. He eats the meal offered by them. He is not allowed to drink alcoholic beverages, eat garlic, [262] ●
leeks, or radishes. He eats only mutton. The remains of the meal offered to him are not allowed to be

[p.75 (B)]

RITE OF THE SACRED ANIMAL OF THE COMMUNITY

Almost every village has its own sacred animal, which 778
is always a male animal. The Monguors say that in the old days they used to consecrate a stallion, but at present they use mostly the bull or the he-goat, and very rarely the ram, stallion, or mule. The villages have only one sacred animal.

The preference of the Monguors for the bull is easy to understand, for their economy is actually agricultural. Their preference for the he-goat is explained by the fact that the animal is a noted symbol of reproduction and fecundity.[1]

Therefore the preference of the Monguors for the he-goat is not a mystery, for the aim of the rite consecrating an animal to the deity protector of the village and giving thanks for blessings received is to secure for the herds the blessings of fecundity.

The sacred animal of the community likes to come back to the temple of the village where a stable is built for it and where it is fed with peas, at the expense of the villagers. All day long it is free to mix with the herds of the village which it likes to follow.

The bull used is the Tibetan yak, for it produces a kind of hybrid cow, stronger than that bred in the country, and peculiarly fitted for farming. So it is easy to understand that the change in economy has been the reason why the bull has been preferred to the stallion, for farming depends on cows and oxen.

The bull is a troublesome animal, often roaming far away into the country. In summer, when the crops are growing in the fields, it does a lot of harm, but nobody dares to beat or to drive it away, for it is the sacred animal. After two or three years its savage instincts reappear and it may even pursue men. The hair of the he-goats and bulls is never clipped, so they are wild in appearance and everybody is afraid of them.

In 1914 the bull of the Naring Valley ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Long ta. The village of Naring Valley presented apologies, indemnifying the [262]● family, killing the bull, and offering the meat to them, for villagers are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. The next New Year's another bull was consecrated.

Bulls and he-goats are always consecrated by the 796
chiefs of the communities in the temple yard of the 778
village, on the third day of the New Year, to the guardian deity of the village, never to "Heaven," for no temples are dedicated to heaven. The ceremony is attended by a member from each family. The animal is cleansed, smoked, washed and combed in the courtyard, then led before the open door of the temple in front of

[1] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 1925: 135. He writes: "The known fact that of old, the Mongols attributed a special significance to the he-goat is also related by Plano-Carpini, who notes that the Mongol chiefs always fed he-goats at home: that many people taught that the he-goat was related to fecundity, is a well-known fact."

[p. 105 (B)]

of the fifth month and lasts for 108 days. During the whole period, two lamas at a time are always fasting (taking one meal a day), while the others are free to indulge in food, but during the 108 days the use of meat, garlic, leeks, and radishes is prohibited for all the lamas. Lamas of the Red Sect north of the Hsining River do not perform fasting in a group of their own sect, but always some among them attend the fasting rites practiced by laymen. 785 792

The fast of laymen is an interesting custom, the consequences of which have an important bearing on the formation of the Buddhist frame of mind of the people. The aim of the rite is the purification of sins and happy rebirth in the paradise of one of the Buddhas. [783]

ORGANIZATION AND RULES

The rite is enacted in a group, in a few temples spread over the country, under the direction of a lama of the Yellow Sect, usually a Living Buddha or an old lama celebrated for his proficiency in oratory. At present the fasting exercises are only practiced in six localities, among which four are old Karwas (dating from the Ming period): Tsan-tsa, Pe-cha-erh-te, Marhtsang and Swor. The two others are Sumdo and T'u-kuan. The fasting exercises are never performed for laymen in monasteries. Each of the six groups has its committee which, long before the fixed time, tries to enroll fasters: Monguors, Tibetans, even Chinese, lamas of the Red Sect, men and women. In Sumdo the fasters usually number from twenty to eighty; in Pe-cha-erh-te from ten to thirty; in Marhtsang from ten to thirty; in Swor from twenty to seventy. In 1916 in Pe-cha-erh-te, I met seventeen fasters; in Marhtsang twenty-one. The Monguors of Wei-yüan-p'u and of the northern part of the Hung nai Valley are said to be the most fervent fasters. Always, a large number of men, even chiefs and elders of villages, attend the rite. 795 785 792

During the whole exercise, the fasters do not spend any money. The fast expenses are defrayed by the villagers of the locality where the exercises are held, and by the committee which has a small fund and collects some alms. To contribute to this rite is considered to be a very meritorious act. The day before the beginning of the fast, the chief of the village imposes corvées on some of the youngsters for the carrying of water, chopping of fuel, preparing cypress boughs, grinding flour, cooking, baking rolls and steaming bread, buying butter, tea, sugar, sweeping the floor. At Tsan tsa the fast starts on the fifteenth of the sixth month; at other places usually around the twenty-ninth of the third moon, and lasts for sixteen days. During the three days preceding the fast, the fasters are not allowed to eat garlic, leeks, radishes or meat, or to drink wine, or smoke tobacco, and continence is required. [622 651] [262 784]

The fasters arrive at night, drink tea, eat rolls baked in vegetable oil and go to rest. Men and women have separate rooms; they sleep on straw and cover them-

[p. 133(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

the report of Huo Tu-t'ung, Governor of Shensi and Kansu provinces. 175x

I received the imperial order, reading "for anniversaries of the fiftieth birthday, the rule of felicitating is not used." No need for him to come to the capital to display his solicitude. Later when the rules of felicitating will be performed, the t'u-ssu may send his supplication to come to the capital, through your hands. Then you will report again, and after deliberation the permission will be accorded. Receive the order with respect.

1819. Imperial order of the seventeenth of the first moon:

Lu Chi Hsun, t'u-ssu of Chuang Lang, asks for permission to come to the capital to present his congratulations, for my anniversary of sixty years of age. It is the proper time and the t'u-ssu desires to come. I agree. According to the rules in former times, the trip of the t'u-ssu to the capital was defrayed by the empire. He will come along the way of the couriers, but notice that I do not order the t'u-ssu and others to come to the capital. I order the t'u-ssu to travel with the T'u-lu-fan, Mohammedan prince of the second degree, and with the Mohammedan prince of the second degree of Hami. They will arrive at Je Ho Erh, on the first of the eighth moon. After having called the emperor, having done the prostrations and presented the congratulations, they will return to Kansu. Receive this order with reverence.

On the nineteenth of the fifth moon Chi Hsun left. On the tenth of the eighth moon he arrived in Je Ho Erh. On the twelfth he met the emperor in the lion garden. He was granted slices of dry deer meat, spiced with pepper and ginger. On the thirteenth, the emperor was so kind as to accept his two beautiful horses and the products of the country. He accepted them all. Chi Hsun was rewarded with the peacock plume and coral button, the official straw hat, the collar (worn by officials of the fifth degree), the long coat adorned with embroidered breast plates, the dress adorned with dragon designs, silk cinctures, an embroidered purse, a dagger worn at the cincture, a small coat, a long brocade dress, carpets, a horse saddle, and other things. 175x 703 431 [262]

On the fourteenth he was invited to dinner and to the comedy. He received again a collar made with silk from Ch'ang Chou in Fukien, a purse, a dagger, fringes fixed on the hats, tea, and dry fruit.

On the sixteenth he was again invited to dinner and the comedy, and received a clock and snuff box. On the seventeenth, dinner again and attendance at the comedy, and at the fireworks at night. On the nineteenth he thanked the emperor, and received two pieces of brocade, two pieces of silk from Ch'ang Chou, and six pieces of satin and a piece of dry deer meat. On the twentieth he bade farewell to the emperor. The next day he left for Kansu, with permits from the ministry of war to travel at the expense of the empire, permits for the soldiers of his retinue, and another for the passage of his cars free of toll and taxes. He was back in Lien Ch'eng on the fourth of the eleventh moon.

1824. The Mongol Khoshot, daughter of the Prince 175x

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside. M [351] [782] [353] [352] Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations. M [252] For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, M [794] mules or donkeys. A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter and wheat flour are luxuries. M [412] Only the wealthy can afford fruit. Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

N *563 M 264 415 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes ~~like to~~ drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some

/43 cont'd/

585 Each guest has settled himself, not without first having made many an excuse and salaam. All follow the gospel which advises taking the last place in order to see oneself forced to go up toward the first ones. It is a real contest of politeness in which the master of ceremonies is forced to intervene with much circumspection. The parents of the bride do not preside at the festivity.

585 At the table one is all the more at ease if there are fewer /44/
264 guests. The felt rugs and the litters of straw are very practical
285] "seats" at these wedding dinners, since they permit seating as many people as one wishes. The guests having taken their places, the meal is begun by serving tea with milk and dry bread. Because the interior of the rectangle remains free, the service is done briskly. Do not expect to see beautiful teapots, milk jugs, cups, saucers, plates of fine porcelain. The milk is already poured into the tea in the kitchen, the copper teapots are those of every day; the bread is put around in piles on the tables, the cup is made of white earthenware but without cracks.

585 After the tea, well-heated gin is served. It is poured into
273 about 20 small terra cotta cups, which each one passes to the other after drinking two or three swallows. The women drink the gin like
585 the men. They chatter, they smoke, while waiting for the main
262 dish, which consists of a sheep served whole and cooked to a turn.
264 The head and the saddle are detached but put back in place so as to give the illusion of one intact piece. Three sheep are served at a time. While the sheep are being admired, the servers distribute to
[41] each guest a small wooden receptacle which has the shape of a saucer and in which vinegar is poured. Several wooden boxes con-
[263] taining salt and pimento are in the center of the table. The T'ou-jen do not use forks or spoons; the fingers are the main means of eating, as they maneuver with a knife and the pair of chopsticks which each guest carries in a case attached to his belt. The servers take the meat with their fingers, cut it in pieces, and fill the saucers of the guests with it. The meat is eaten seasoned with salt, pimento,
[263] and vinegar, and one adds to it a piece of bread. The bones are thrown on the table or on the ground. As soon as the mutton is tackled, complete silence reigns over the assemblage, all of whom

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.] Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot be imagined without tsamba. They roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.), that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain, and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-grain flour is eaten exactly as among the Tibetans (Fandse). After the consumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48] kneaded into a dry dough in the tea bowl with the remainder of the tea and the butter floating on it, and it is then eaten in the form of little pellets or little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used for the incense offering, however, may not be kept with the ordinary tsamba. Every family has a special little box for it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf. Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further details.

[262] [252] [171] [264]

[783] never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the [263] sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color; therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than the white.

The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant [439] addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop. [824] They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

[192] 4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loan-word, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

624 of the elders of their village, to escort the T'u-ssu. They bring with them the required number of horses, finely equipped and well broken to the saddle, to be ridden by the T'u-ssu's retinue of ten or more officials and servants. The finest courtyard in the village is prepared for the sojourn of the T'u-ssu, who like a medieval seigneur enjoys the *droit de gîte* at each stopping place. The procession is headed by a soldier who carries, strapped diagonally across his back, a rolled-up painting on yellow cotton cloth of the guardian deity of the clan. This picture is to be venerated at each stopping place.

624 651 Outside the village the T'u-ssu is greeted by all the inhabitants, dressed in their best clothes and kneeling and bowing. Although the occasion costs them a great deal of money, their faces are alight with joy and exaltation, because receiving their feudal lord is traditionally a joyful festival.

One of the elders presents to the T'u-ssu a *katag* or ceremonial scarf, laying it across his outstretched hands, and another elder offers him two bottles of wine. A sheep is then led before the T'u-ssu, its horns decorated with red paper and a piece of red cotton cloth strapped on its back. At the same time he is presented with a gift of 30,000 copper coins on a dish. This offering is called the "gift of joyous entrance into the village." 527 In former days, the sheep was slaughtered, prepared ●264 for the dinner in the evening, and served before the guests as a whole carcass, on an enormous platter. This is the traditional dish for important guests. At the same time, the most delicate piece, the fat tail, together with 1,000 copper coins, is presented to the T'u-ssu on a special plate. In recent times the T'u-ssu sometimes accepts the sheep and orders it to be brought to his palace, together with the spices required for cooking it properly. This amounts to a double charge on the village, because another sheep must be slaughtered for the evening dinner.

624 796 When the T'u-ssu and his retinue reach the courtyard where the T'u-ssu is to stay, the picture of the guardian deity of the clan is displayed in the front room. An oil lamp is lighted and incense is burned before it as long as the T'u-ssu's visit lasts. The community as a group venerate the guardian deity, prostrating themselves; in the front row are the village elders, with sticks of incense in their joined hands. This custom of carrying the guardian deity on the triennial tour of the feudal lord of the clan, giving all the village communities an opportunity to worship it, seems to correspond with the custom of honoring the "spirits of the clan" among the Manchus, as described by Shirokogoroff.[51]

177 792 At present the guardian deities of all the Monguor clans have been taken over by Lamaism. Formerly one or two lamas served as house chaplains at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, praying and burning incense every day at the temple of the guardian deity. Since the destruc-

[51] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, Shanghai, North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924.

[P. 65a]

597 before him and was given the name "Tiger." The new father then led the boy to the family graveyard, taking with him some wine, steamed rolls, meat, paper, and sticks of incense. The boy knelt and honored the spirit of the earth with a libation of wine poured on the ground. He then honored his new ancestors, kneeling and prostrating himself and making a burnt offering of paper and incense. Returning home, the boy was congratulated by the guests who called him by his new name, and he in return honored all the guests as a group by prostrating himself nine times. The ceremonies concluded with a dinner for the guests. The boy was happy with his fine new clothes, and willing to stay with a family that was so much better off then the one into which he had been born. His father went home, driving a nice cow before him. The boy was to be considered not only as "belonging" to his new family, but as being descended from his new father's ancestors and as fully integrated into the family.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR IN THE FAMILY

596 The structure of a Monguor family can be clearly
576 seen when a guest is entertained at dinner. Grand-
father presides, sitting on the *k'ang* or heated sleeping-
•264 platform. Grandmother sits down only if invited by the guest to come up on the *k'ang*. If there is no guest, both grandfather and grandmother sit on the *k'ang*. The younger sons squat on their heels on the floor, in front of the *k'ang*, eating with chopsticks out of a bowl held in the left hand; the elder sons are allowed to sit on the edge of the *k'ang*. The staple of the meal is usually barley-flour noodles. Grandfather reaches out from the *k'ang* and puts some meat and vegetables in each bowl. Each, as he finishes his meal, licks his bowl clean and hands it to his wife to be washed. While the grandfather is sitting on the *k'ang*, none of the daughters-in-law may sit on the floor; they must remain standing.

576 It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a
guest. After the food has been eaten, tea is served in
272 the same bowl. Whether food or tea is served, the bowl must always be filled to the brim. Bowls or dishes must always be presented with both hands. Tea is poured with the right hand, while the left hand is held toward the guest, palm upward.

576 One must never step over a person who is sleeping or
lying down. Fathers and daughters-in-law must always
606 keep some distance between them. When there is a
quarrel in the family, the first reproach by a daughter-
291 in-law is always that "distance has not been kept." This standard of propriety is common to Monguors and Chinese. A daughter-in-law is not allowed to appear before the elder generation or guests bareheaded or without wearing either a long gown or a skirt covering her trousered legs. Only when a daughter-in-law is visiting her own mother's home may she go bare-headed. In her husband's home she must always wear a gown

[P. 86 b]

262 flour. Noodles are also made with barley flour. Another way of preparing barley flour is to roast it in a pan. Not much millet is eaten. Linseed oil and colza oil are used in cooking. Each family has its own grindstone, mills its own flour and bakes its own bread.

[264] After the morning cup of tea and piece of bread a breakfast of noodles is eaten about nine o'clock. Tea and bread are taken again at noon. The main meal of
252 the day is eaten in the evening. It is prepared by slowly stirring barley flour into boiling water, sometimes with the addition of potatoes and flour made from dried peas. A little oil is always added to this mixture. Vegetables are eaten as relishes or side dishes, usually after being fermented in a mixture of brine and a little vinegar. This method of pickling provides the salt in the diet and makes the salt (which is expensive because of local taxes) go further. Each family plants its own vegetables, but fruit has to be brought from the city or bought from peddlars.

A special sweet dish is made by gathering ears of barley in July, before they are fully ripe, and steaming them. Unlike the Chinese and in keeping with their Mongol traditions, Monguor women milk the cows and sheep and make butter; but because they do not have enough livestock, butter is a luxury and is eaten only by the elders. Another luxury dish is made by kneading sugar into dough, shaping the dough into small rolls, and cooking them in boiling oil. These sweet rolls are a luxury because the sugar has to be bought.

264 Although there is nothing complicated about Monguor cooking, men seldom prepare food and all work in the kitchen is done by the women. Cleanliness and neatness are prized. Women wash their hands every time they enter the kitchen and the elders are always reminding them to be clean lest the god of the hearth punish them and their children be deprived of blessings. The children eat from wooden bowls, each child having his own. Grown up people often use bowls made of earthenware or rough porcelain, but in many families the only bowls are those locally made of poplar wood. After each meal everybody licks his own bowl clean before it is taken back to the kitchen. Some people however, in the Mongol manner, always keep their wooden bowl with them in the breast of their gown, taking it out whenever they drink and eat. The bowls are never cleaned except by licking. Chopsticks are used, but there are no spoons, forks, dishes, or table knives. At dinner time it is amusing to see each mother urging everybody—especially her own children—to take more food and to see how a child will draw its finger across its throat as if cutting it, saying "Oh mother, by Buddha I can eat no more."

273 The Monguors distill liquor from both barley and wheat. Although there are commercial distilleries, as has already been mentioned, most families distill their own liquor. This liquor, though it is distilled and not merely fermented, is always called "wine." It is drunk

/43 cont'd/

585 Each guest has settled himself, not without first having made many an excuse and salaam. All follow the gospel which advises taking the last place in order to see oneself forced to go up toward the first ones. It is a real contest of politeness in which the master of ceremonies is forced to intervene with much circumspection. The parents of the bride do not preside at the festivity.

585 At the table one is all the more at ease if there are fewer /44/
264 guests. The felt rugs and the litters of straw are very practical
285] "seats" at these wedding dinners, since they permit seating as many people as one wishes. The guests having taken their places, the meal is begun by serving tea with milk and dry bread. Because the interior of the rectangle remains free, the service is done briskly. Do not expect to see beautiful teapots, milk jugs, cups, saucers, plates of fine porcelain. The milk is already poured into the tea in the kitchen, the copper teapots are those of every day; the bread is put around in piles on the tables, the cup is made of white earthenware but without stacks.

585 After the tea, well-heated gin is served. It is poured into
273 about 20 small terra cotta cups, which each one passes to the other after drinking two or three swallows. The women drink the gin like
585 the men. They chatter, they smoke, while waiting for the main
262 dish, which consists of a sheep served whole and cooked to a turn.
264 The head and the saddle are detached but put back in place so as to give the illusion of one intact piece. Three sheep are served at a time. While the sheep are being admired, the servers distribute to
[415] each guest a small wooden receptacle which has the shape of a saucer and in which vinegar is poured. Several wooden boxes con-
[265] taining salt and pimento are in the center of the table. The T'ou-ien do not use forks or spoons; the fingers are the main means of eating, as they maneuver with a knife and the pair of chopsticks which each guest carries in a case attached to his belt. The servers take the meat with their fingers, cut it in pieces, and fill the saucers of the guests with it. The meat is eaten seasoned with salt, pimento,
[263] and vinegar, and one adds to it a piece of bread. The bones are thrown on the table or on the ground. As soon as the mutton is tackled, complete silence reigns over the assemblage, all of whom

/44 conf'd/

585 maneuver busily. Having no napkin, one ends by licking one's
262 fingers at first, then rubs /45/ them on one's boots to soften the
264 leather. A bowl of bouillon finishes the meal. Gin is poured, and
[527] the table is cleared. This is the famous feast called susen by the T'ou-jen and ts'iuen iang si by the Chinese, "the dinner with the sheep served whole." It is the largest dinner given in the region.

585 It must be admitted that for such a dinner the dishes are neither
261 large in number nor dainty, and that the culinary art has not reached
[252] the heights; but this does not keep the good stomach and the T'ou-jen spirit from being at their zenith. Everything is relative in this world below.

171 This dinner, these hosts, this scene make one think of dinner
264 among nomads on the steppe. There, the dinner is served in a spacious tent; among the T'ou-jen it is given in the courtyard covered with cloth; there, all are seated on the ground on pieces of felt or on straw, here the same; there, rudimentary plates and dishes, here the same; there, the main dish of the grand feasts is sheep served whole, here also. Why don't the T'ou-jen put on a feast like the Chinese, putting some ten tables in a courtyard, each one for eight guests? It is because among the T'ou-jen the old customs of the nomads live again at the important moments of life. Once and for
585 all let us call attention to the vestiges of the ancient nomadic organi-
262 zation of the T'ou-jen, met with on the occasion of a wedding. In the olden times they buried themselves with the raising of large
585 animals (oxen, sheep, horses). The proof of it is that all the presents
431 given in former times and recalled on the occasion of wedding feasts
231 consisted either of horses or oxen; the bride's family used to give an ox to her maternal uncle, a horse to the maternal uncle of the groom, and another horse to the groom himself; the groom's family used to give an ox to the maternal uncle of the bride; they still require a mare as earnest for the girl; the meat at the dinner is invariably
[262] mutton; again it is mutton which is offered at various times, according to matrimonial custom, and it is mutton which is given to the guests at the moment of /46/ departure.

231 Nowhere is pork mentioned as being offered as a gift, although at present the T'ou-jen are occupied principally with the raising of

585 171 /74 cont'd/

of 6 cups and 6 plates. The bride is sitting now dressed as a married woman and turning her face to the wall (like the Chinese). The bridegroom arrives with a boy and without seeing the bride's face, eats his first meal in the presence of his future wife. The bridegroom repeats his visits to the bride during this day six times. /Cited in English with interpolations in French, indicated by parentheses./

between, and all the daughter-in-law's family occupy the first places.

585 262 264 This is the big dinner with the whole sheep. They always begin by offering gin. First the elders of the son-in-law's family /75/ pour it three times for the daughter-in-law's family; then the new husband's father and mother themselves present three cups to the new relatives; next comes the son-in-law, who also in his turn offers gin to his new family. The dinner proceeds as at the daughter-in-law's home.

585 431 18. Gifts of the Son-in-law's Family to the Daughter-in-law's Family

They begin by distributing to each guest a piece of raw meat of the weight of a leg of mutton. The guest puts it in his carpetbag. The guests cannot go back home with empty hands; that would be a great affront to them. One can judge the quantity of meat necessary [262] for such a wedding. That again breathes of the nomad, who lives on herds and with whom meat constitutes the basic food.

After this distribution of meat, the son-in-law enters the courtyard, leading a horse; he has attached a piece of red cloth to its mane. At the same time several cows, sheep, donkeys, and goats are led into the same courtyard where the guests are.

[18]

II. Customs concerning the Officiants

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1. The Spirit-spear Soothsayer*

*See "Notes," pp. 23-26 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

791 787 Like all other kinds of soothsaying through a deity, soothsaying with the spirit-spear is called "to question the spirit." It proceeds as follows:

A spirit-spear is fetched in case there is none in the family. Then the soothsayer is invited. He is offered tea and [264] bread. Meanwhile the yard and the place where the soothsaying is to take place are swept. The great incense offering is pre- [782] sented in the yard in the usual form, and it remains burning throughout the ceremony. The soothsayer dons a long cloak, takes [783] off his cap, washes his hands and face, and rinses out his mouth. Then he steps in front of the spear, which has either been planted [788] in the ground or is held by a man, and kowtows three times. He rises, seizes the spear with both hands in the middle of the shaft, and holds it vertically in front of him. In this position he says the prayer of invitation. During this prayer the spirit descends. The spear starts to tremble, and with it the soothsayer's arms; one hears the bells rattle. Now the suppliant presents his case and receives directions from the spirit in the spear as to what he should do. The will and the reply of the spirit are manifested by the movement of the spear, for example, by stamping, leaping up, shaking. The soothsayer, too, questions the spear-spirit and imparts its answer. When the soothsaying is over, the soothsayer says the farewell prayer. The spear becomes quiet and stands still. The spirit is gone, and the soothsayer puts the spear aside again and makes his kowtow three times.

Spear-soothsaying is almost always practiced at all ceremonies in order to call down the spirit as witness. The soothsaying is always done in the same fashion.

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.] Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot be imagined without tsamba. They roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.), that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain, and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-grain flour is eaten exactly as among the Tibetans (Fandse). After the consumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48] kneaded into a dry dough in the tea bowl with the remainder of the tea and the butter floating on it, and it is then eaten in the form of little pellets or little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used for the incense offering, however, may not be kept with the ordinary tsamba. Every family has a special little box for it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf. Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further details.

[262] [252] [171] [264]

783 never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color; therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than the white.

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The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop. They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

439 824

4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loan-word, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

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[631 cont.]
527 778 888 [431] husband and the daughter's children must give a hada and money to the person to be consecrated. In return they later receive greater remuneration when they depart.

[574] [562] Feast: The feast takes place in the yard, first for the men, then for the women. Three fields are divided off, right and left for guests, and in the center for the mother's brother with the two closest relatives. These three sit on a felt mat on even ground with their backs to the main door of the main house and have before them a low kang table with the dishes; they are served separately by the master of ceremonies. On the two fields to the right and left, straw is scattered in a square; heavy planks are put in front of it and sometimes also mats, which are to represent the tables. In the middle of each square there burns a fire in which tea and liquor are warmed.

[264] [574] The food is introduced with tsamba and tea, which is taken with butter and milk. Mutton or pork follows; the fatter it is, the better liked and more superior it is. A considerable amount is drunk. Rice follows as the main dish, which is mixed with butter and sugar and sweet roots. -- The women eat after the men. -- During the meal there are always some free, who sing and dance.

527 778 888 792 604 Settling the prayer fee: After the meal, the master of ceremonies pours out liquor for the mother's brother. The sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law kneel down before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies hands him a hada and starts the negotiations over the price. The mother's brother demands expensive gifts and much money for the lama; the master of ceremonies, through his rhetorical skill, must gradually lower the demands, until finally a suitable sum is agreed upon. Then the sons and daughters stand up, kowtow, thank the mother's brother, and go. This is similar to what is done at the pai-ta before the cremation (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 634.] For further details, see chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation." Here, too, the

[638 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] on the oil. This is to prevent the wick from burning too far down into the bowl; in order to save oil, the lower half is filled with water. -- The Chinese dough-lamp of long life, ch'ang-ming teng, has nothing to do with this lamp; it is unknown to the Tujen.

the deceased's own family must present these gifts. A so-called paper-bowl also stands on the floor next to the bread and the water-lamp. After each meal some tea, soup, or milk is poured into it, and little pieces of meat, bread, vegetable, etc. [264] are thrown in, according to what the family has just eaten. Until the day of cremation the dead is always supposed to partake of the meals of the household. The paper-bowl is an ordinary earthen bowl; it gets its name from the fact that after the paper-burning the charred leaves are thrown in it (11). Along with the

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11. [Foreign text p. 654.] The paper-burning is typically Chinese.

water-lamp it is emptied in front of the gate on the last day, when the death-box leaves the compound for cremation. It is not broken, but may be used again for other purposes.

764 On the third day after the death, the oldest married daughter of the household appears with 12 loaves of bread. Then 782 the family loaves before the death-box are replaced by the 593 daughter's loaves. This is called "bread exchange." This takes place each time a person makes an offering of loaves. The oldest daughter is followed in order by the younger ones, whether or not the corpse has already been put in the box. Unmarried [589] daughters of the household do not make offerings. Every time [152] someone offers loaves, he also burns white paper and weeps aloud; the men, it is true, do not weep (24).

[823 cont.] 2. The Pole-goat

Report

241 789 791 778 When the seed has shot up in the early summer, one invites a Bon priest who prays on a mountain and erects the pole-goat. He comes to the seed-master on the day before, and on the following morning he goes with the men to the mountain. There they drink tea. The Bon priest sits on a felt mat. A low kang table is put before him so that he may place his cult objects upon it, and next to him is put an earthen vessel with tsamba, butter, and little gold leaves, as well as a bowl of water and red dye. He needs this for the torma. To this is added a little plate with barley and the holy-water can.

First the men make the great incense offering, which [782] is maintained throughout the performance. The Bon priest makes four little tormas, called "misfortune-tormas," which he places with all kinds of extra features on a tray. The seed-master goes in the four directions of the compass with the tray and each time throws away a torma.

[824] Then the Bon priest makes the "weather-torma." [825] Meanwhile the men slaughter a goat, stuff the hide, and put it on a tall pole. They lay this, together with the goat doll, before the Bon priest. He ties four little wooden wedges to its feet and a special wedge on the goat's forehead. He inscribes the wedges with Tibetan magical signs. Then the pole is set up, and the priest places the weather-torma, together with the extra features, before the pole. A great incense offering and [782] frequent kowtowing accompany this ceremony.

Then the priest goes to his place and makes the "mountain-torma." It has three layers and is the largest of all the tormas. He puts this behind the pole. Again incense is burned and all kowtow.

241 789 791 In the meantime other men have boiled the goat meat in the kettle. The seed-master now makes an offering of this meat to the gods. At the conclusion there is then a communal meal at which the remainder of the meat is consumed. Then [782] all go home, but there is no singing and drinking as on other occasions. [264]

[831]

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3. The Mountain Sheep-offering*

* See "Notes," pp. 834-835 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

After the erection of the pole-goat up to the time of the harvest a sheep is usually offered on a mountain top. This is [621] an occasion for the entire village. The people do this to ask [776] heaven, the mountain-spirit, and the spirits of the four regions of the world to protect the seeds. The offering may be repeated frequently, but only one sheep is offered each time. The [264] sacrificial meat is eaten by the participants at the conclusion.

Details

241 Time: At the erection of the pole-goat the soothsayer 782 determines how frequently during the summer and on what day a sheep is to be offered. He also indicates whether the spirits con- 787 cerned want to have this offering every year; sometimes it is [791] only once, and sometimes several years in succession. If there is no other occasion during this time, this soothsaying retains its validity. After this period has elapsed the soothsaying is done anew. -- If the village has erected a pole-goat, the offering always takes place in the period after it has been erected. If no pole-goat is present, then it may sometimes fall in the time of the erection of the pole-goat.

Place: The offering always takes place on the same mountain on which the pole-goat stands, and in front of the latter. Otherwise the soothsayer determines the spot. It must be kept for the time when the offering is due. For instance,

[833 cont.]

241 782 [791] Offering: The seed-master takes the first bowl and throws its contents toward the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then the other bowls for the mountain-spirit and the other spirits follow. At each offering throw, the men kowtow in the appropriate direction. No one may pick up the little pieces of meat or so much as eat them. Dogs are kept away, at least until the end of the offering.

[264] Meal: After this offering the meat is taken from the kettle and divided among the men. They sit in a circle, drink tea, eat bread, converse, and laugh. After the meal all go home. Everyone takes his things with him.

Meaning: The offering is made for the protection of the seeds (4).

241 782 174 776

4. [Foreign text p. 834.] The meaning is no longer unambiguous now. The protection of the seeds is certainly involved, but whether the offering is primarily for the mountain-spirit or for the weather-spirits or for the sky is unclear. The mountain-height and the obo argue in favor of the mountain-spirit. The sky is always considered first, however. -- The old man said that in former times they had made the offering for the protection of the animals.

It is possible that originally a pure mountain-spirit or sky offering was involved, but that later, with agriculture, the weather-gods moved into the foreground, for hail and storms are feared primarily by farmers and not so much by shepherds.

[835 cont.]

241 782 procession moves from the temple directly to the nearest mountain and along the ridges across all the mountains of the entire village area. On each height the customary incense offering is burned by the two men, while the procession itself moves on. Towards midday, however, a halt is made on a height especially designated for this purpose. After the incense offering refreshments [264] are taken. The people bring bread, tea, and soup here in advance. Then the procession marches on. Not until evening does one return to the temple. On the following day the people take the books back to the lama monastery.

[836] **Details**

[562] Persons: Only male persons may take part in the procession, regardless of whether they are adults or boys, so long as they are strong enough to carry the heavy book and can pray the mani. The seed-supervisor determines how many persons each family must provide to make up the number of 108 book-bearers. If there are not enough people in one village, help is brought in from the neighborhood. Chinese are also admitted. -- In fetching and taking the books back to the monastery the number does not matter, so one person may carry two books. The Tibetan books are, to be sure, very large and heavy, since they are bound between two boards.

241 782 624 794 The seed-supervisor is changed every year at the harvest thanksgiving offering. He is charged with taking care of all the religious celebrations of the year. He is not the village mayor, however. Because his main concern is the seed, he is called seed-supervisor. The supervisor of the past year helps him (2).

[171 797] 2. [Foreign text p. 838.] The Chinese, too, have such a religious supervisor who is chosen annually. Usually he is simply called t'ou-jen, that is, head man, or he is also called huei-t'ou, that is, meeting (festival) head; ch'ing-miao t'ou is also used,

[212 cont.]

771 utilitarian idea. The Tujen give their offerings and prayers in
776 order to make the spirit world favorably inclined toward them
for the purpose of earthly well-being. They are not so submis-
[782] sive to the harmful demons, however, but instead face them
with greater hostility and try to vanquish them with the help
[789] of the good spirits or through magic.

b) The Offering

The Types of Offering

782 The Tujen distinguish the following types according to what is offered: the incense offering, food and drink offering, slaughtered offering, animal-consecration. -- Aside from the incense offering and the animal-consecration, they have a
[192] common name for the offering, namely, šeńlie, which corresponds to the Chinese hsien. Thus, they say, for instance, šdimie šeńlie-, to offer bread; tsidzig̊ šeńlie-, to offer flowers; xonini šeńlie-, to offer a sheep (cf. DMF 376). This expression šeńlie may not be used for anything else.

The incense offering, which originally was an aromatic offering, has now been greatly extended by all kinds of additions, such as butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, silk threads. Here, too, however, the rule against giving anything that smells unpleasant is maintained. The use of butter and
[174] tsamba, which are the staple foods of the nomads there, implies an old pastoral custom. Concerning the original incense offering, cf. the chapter further below, "The Belief in a Supreme God."

The food offering principally includes bread, wine, butter, tsamba. One puts them down before the spirit, for instance, before the household altar, the obo, the mani-tree, the god's image, etc. When they are taken away and consumed, some is thrown to the deity concerned. Liquids are poured on the ground or squirted into the air. The custom of
[264] throwing something to the spirits before each meal belongs here, too.

[221 cont.]

782 to throw the first (the first piece, the first drop, the first bowl,
192 etc.) to the heavens. For "first" they use the word torõṅ. As a number it can be adjectival and substantival, in other words, "the first" or "firstling." In addition, it also signifies a blessing, an advantage, for example: kuni torõṅ (the first of the people) is a man skilled in speech who can appear in public; or morini torõṅ (the first among horses), an especially fast and strong horse. In exactly the same way the gift at the primitial offering is simply designated as torõṅ. Whether a special blessing
782 is also to be indicated by it remains to be decided. I am not aware that especially good parts are taken for it; one does not take long to choose them, although care is always taken to see that they are not inferior, spoiled, or unclean. The primitial offering is always intended for heaven. Even where it is intended for several deities, heaven nonetheless stands in first place. Two kinds can be distinguished: the direct and the indirect.

782 The direct primitial offering is so generally widespread
264 among the Tujen that it strikes everyone who has ever observed the people at their meals. Usually it is done in the following
[826] way. In the case of beverages one dips the middle finger, which is the most superior one, into his drinking bowl, withdraws it again, and flicks the drop suspended from it into the air. This is done three times in succession. In the case of foods, for instance, bread or meat, a little piece is picked off and thrown high toward the heavens or backward over the shoulder. The direction in which one is seated does not matter. Sometimes it happens that one pours out a whole bowlful of the beverage. All confirm that they present this gift first to heaven before they themselves enjoy it. Only after heaven are they sometimes also thrown to other spirits.

782 The primitial offering is rooted deep in the consciousness of the Tujen. According to their view it must extend
773 back to the beginnings of humanity. Thus in the Geser legend
264 it is said of the first emperor Hamluo Siergãn when he stopped on a [222] journey and boiled tea: "fulan tsiani sdzũlġano, tsiani toroṅni kuġuo tieṅgërdu tsiodlodzi" (when the red tea

[222 cont.]

782 boiled, he threw the first of the tea to the light heavens). The
773 firstling-offering is attested to even more clearly in the agricul-
264 ture myth (V. 680-690), when after long endeavor by the demiurge the first barley ripens and comes into the possession of human beings: "When after seven weeks they went to look, the barley was ripe. The head was bent over. With both hands they rubbed this (sc. the ear), which hung down like a whip. And when the kernels had come out, they wanted to make an offering to the light heavens. They offered that barley and bent their heads to the ground. But there was no way to eat." In other words, even before the people were able to make use of the blessing of the new food, they offered the firstling-gift to heaven.
[192] The word šenlie, that is, to offer in the true sense, appears in the original text.

782 The indirect primitial offering is directed at the heavens only by the roundabout way of another offering. It is found in connection with almost all the offerings to the good spirits. In the religious customs one will scarcely find an offering that is not first made to heaven. This is shown by the actual offering act, the presentation, and the show of respect connected with it, the kowtow. Thus, the offering at the erection of the pole-goat, for instance, or even the obo offering is certainly intended for the weather gods or the mountain-spirit, and yet heaven receives the first three bowls; the other spirits come after it. Just as the human being first gives some of his goods to heaven before he uses them, so is it also in the spirit world. One could call this a primitial offering of the offering. There are naturally exceptions to this practice, as, say, in the case of the fire-pouring, torma, hen offering, etc., which belong more in the domain of Lamaism and of the Bon religion. By and large, however, the indirect primitial offering is always practiced.

The Incense Offering

In the section concerning the incense offering (see "First Part," Anthropos 47, 1952, pp. 43 ff. [pp. 69 ff. above in the HRAF translation]), it was emphasized that it is offered to heaven first and afterwards to the other gods. In the "Notes"

N *563 586 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

M 594 596 [611] [591] N *563 M [556]

A. The Family Organization

Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patrilineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family. In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines, and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

M [361]

The extended family has a common courtyard, around which the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus, the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

M [182] [252] M [342] M [264] [342]

N *563 M 592 554 [769]

The family head is the religious chief, family administrator and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside.

M [351] [782] [353] [352] Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations. For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is

M [252] always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, mules or donkeys. A small religious sect among them, known

M [794] as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, lineseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter and wheat flour are luxuries. Only the wealthy can afford fruit.

M [412] Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

N *563 M • 264 415 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 621 183 178 The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is M [867] dinned into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-ssu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

N *563 M 621 183 177 178 During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

e. Stealing and gambling

N *563 M [685] [673] [525] [794] Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

N *563 M 587 A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

N *563 M 867 Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meeted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

N *563 M 576 264 603 According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge

N *563 of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

M 576 The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank. [264] [603] [554]

The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little." [561]

M [574] It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

i. Celebrations and festivals

N *563 Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

M 614 996 N *563 M 614 527 273

Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is particularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms lavishly if only they are granted a son.. Thus the birth of the

N *563 M 562 [558] [852] [1182] [852]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

597 before him and was given the name "Tiger." The new father then led the boy to the family graveyard, taking with him some wine, steamed rolls, meat, paper, and sticks of incense. The boy knelt and honored the spirit of the earth with a libation of wine poured on the ground. He then honored his new ancestors, kneeling and prostrating himself and making a burnt offering of paper and incense. Returning home, the boy was congratulated by the guests who called him by his new name, and he in return honored all the guests as a group by prostrating himself nine times. The ceremonies concluded with a dinner for the guests. The boy was happy with his fine new clothes, and willing to stay with a family that was so much better off then the one into which he had been born. His father went home, driving a nice cow before him. The boy was to be considered not only as "belonging" to his new family, but as being descended from his new father's ancestors and as fully integrated into the family.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR IN THE FAMILY

596 The structure of a Monguor family can be clearly
576 seen when a guest is entertained at dinner. Grand-
father presides, sitting on the *k'ang* or heated sleeping-
264 platform. Grandmother sits down only if invited by the guest to come up on the *k'ang*. If there is no guest, both grandfather and grandmother sit on the *k'ang*. The younger sons squat on their heels on the floor, in front of the *k'ang*, eating with chopsticks out of a bowl held in the left hand; the elder sons are allowed to sit on the edge of the *k'ang*. The staple of the meal is usually barley-flour noodles. Grandfather reaches out from the *k'ang* and puts some meat and vegetables into each bowl. Each, as he finishes his meal, licks his bowl clean and hands it to his wife to be washed. While the grandfather is sitting on the *k'ang*, none of the daughters-in-law may sit on the floor; they must remain standing.

576 It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. After the food has been eaten, tea is served in
•272 the same bowl. Whether food or tea is served, the bowl must always be filled to the brim. Bowls or dishes must always be presented with both hands. Tea is poured with the right hand, while the left hand is held toward the guest, palm upward.

576 One must never step over a person who is sleeping or lying down. Fathers and daughters-in-law must always
606 keep some distance between them. When there is a quarrel in the family, the first reproach by a daughter-
291 in-law is always that "distance has not been kept." This standard of propriety is common to Monguors and Chinese. A daughter-in-law is not allowed to appear before the elder generation or guests bareheaded or without wearing either a long gown or a skirt covering her trousered legs. Only when a daughter-in-law is visiting her own mother's home may she go bare-headed. In her husband's home she must always wear a gown

[P. 86 b]

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FOOD, DRINK, AND NARCOTICS

262 796 527 The diet of the Monguors is frugal. Meat, which with milk and milk products was the staple food of their nomad ancestors, has long been a luxury. Like the Chinese, they now eat meat for half a month at the New Year, on the third of the third moon, the fifth of the fifth moon, the fifteenth of the eighth moon, and the eighth of the twelfth moon. Apart from these feasts, they eat meat only at weddings, when children have been born, at funeral feasts, or when they have distinguished guests. For such feasts, a sheep is killed. In the short summer rainy season it is also customary to kill a sheep when there is rain for several days, preventing them from going out to the fields; and it is also customary to slaughter a sheep when the harvest is carried in. Meat is always boiled. Roasted or broiled meat is very seldom eaten and is not considered tasty.

[462] 231 Every family slaughters its own animals. The slaughtering is never done by women, who are expected to produce life, not to destroy it. Most Monguor men cease to do any slaughtering when they become about fifty years old, owing to the lamaistic belief that it is not fitting for a man who is approaching the time of his own death to slaughter animals, for fear of being reincarnated as an animal.

Cows, oxen, and pigs are slaughtered by cutting the throat. Sheep are often choked. Another method of slaughtering sheep—the traditional Mongol method—is to turn the animal on its back with the head pointing west, stretching the skin tight over the breast. A slit is then cut in the skin, and the butcher slips in his hand, seizes the heart, and jerks it loose. The sheep dies instantly and no blood is shed outside the carcass.

The Monguors very seldom slaughter horses, mules, or donkeys. When these animals grow old they are either sold or allowed to live until they die a natural death. [262] The meat of horses, mules, and donkeys is never eaten, nor do the Monguors allow the use of their cooking kettles for boiling such meat.

Chickens are usually killed either by cutting off the head or by thrusting a pin into the brain.

262 All Monguors abhor the meat of marmots. Marmot fat is used as a salve on the saddle sores of horses and mules, but as food the Monguors say, "Marmots are to us Monguors what pigs are to the Mohammedans."

[795] There is a small religious sect among the Monguors, known as "those who fast," the members of which never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

• [272] In the morning the Monguors drink a cup of tea and eat a piece of bread when the sun has risen in the sky "to the height of a post." Salt is always put in the boiling tea. In many families only the parents and the oldest son drink tea; the other men, and all the women, drink only water with a little milk in it. (The Chinese, of course, do not use milk in tea or in any other way.) [252] The bread is made from barley flour and is either steamed or baked. Ordinary people seldom eat wheat

HM 583 584

/27 cont'd/

this object must naturally be very important; with poor people the bride price rarely exceeds 400 head of livestock of different kinds.

Schotter, Anthropos, notes on tribes...; p. 344: At their betrothal the Inag-hoang-miao barbarians give a horse as earnest.

Mo 584

This day is again a lucky day, chosen in advance. The day being set, leave is taken, and the go-between returns to the family of the son-in-law to congratulate it on the good intentions he believes he has found at the home of the bride's parents.

On the day agreed upon the go-between comes to get final instructions before going to the bride's home. At the bridegroom's home he finds two relatives of the family, who are good speakers and have been invited by the family to accompany him and help him in the discussion. Tea /27/ and gin are drunk, and the family earnestly begs the three friends to do their utmost to avoid big expenses for them.

Mo 272 273

Having arrived at the bride's home with the traditional small jug, they find two relatives of this family also, who have been invited to take the family's part in the discussions. They do not delay in beginning after the presentation of the gin. On both sides care has been taken to invite the best speakers. These discussions differ entirely from those of the Chinese.

When the T'ou-jen have the floor, they keep it for ten, fifteen minutes without being interrupted; they make real little speeches. They tell you the most ordinary things with imperturbable seriousness, and everyone present listens with the liveliest interest. One after the other starts over again from the beginning; there is no end to it. On the whole they know in advance on both sides, considering the circumstances of the family, where the discussion will end. But /28/ custom requires a brilliant contest in eloquence. One side demands the impossible, and the other offers a ridiculous minimum. Finally, they end up by following the customs which are the rule.

[39 cont.]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] the subsequent prayer ceremonies, the master of gifts, who had sacrificed this sheep, had the flesh cooked and a piece served to each of the monks in the temple during a pause in the prayer. It is therefore not surprising that the lama receives a loin of mutton for his fee. Since the Tujen, however, do not sacrifice a sheep in the presence of a lama (cf. the chapter, "The Mani-tree"), it seems to be a matter of not performing the killing itself before the eyes of the lama or in the same yard.

people give much more, for instance, beautiful horses, ornamental pendants, cloth, etc. When it is a matter of great occasions, a prayer service is even ordered for the monastery during the time that the lama stays with the master of gifts. During these days the master of gifts provides all the monks with rice, sugar, butter, and tea. Even pilgrims who stay in the monastery during these days and "stop in" to honor and to pray for the master of gifts are provided for and also receive alms for the journey.

The masters of gifts also usually donate the prayer tea for the entire monastery, which is drunk during the ceremonial in the prayer hall, for example, at funerals, etc. Often they also set up a great number of butter-lamps in the temple at this time, or at least they donate the butter for the lamps. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

Return: After the lama has received his gifts, he is ceremonially escorted out of the gate of the yard. An incense offering is again presented, but otherwise no further ceremonies take place. The white horse is brought up, a kang table with a felt mat is set up for mounting, and the lama is lifted into the saddle. Then the men escort him out of the village. There

[640]

764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
782 large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
792 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
465 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
[272] temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
[262] own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people
[788] buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the
[556] temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it.
[432] In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of
butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large
month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and
night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate
to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the
dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name
of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by
the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer
services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
602 Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain
a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

[177]

13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

ceived from the Ming emperor the invitation to surrender. In 1373 he had not yet answered the summons, and the prominent T'u-ssu T'o-erh chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce him to submit. In 1374 his delegates arrived at court with the submission. The following year the emperor created the two commanderies of An-ting and A-tuan, and to Pu-yen-pu-hua was granted the title of Prince of An-ting (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 23*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). 175x 648

In 1374 the T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce the barbarians dispersed all over the country of Huangchung to submit to the Ming emperor (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*).

In 1375 T'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of General Pu Yin against the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa in Liangchow, to whose army a severe blow was administered. The rebel managed to escape. The emperor invited T'u-ssu Lu to call at Nanking to receive the imperial congratulations. On account of illness he was prevented from moving to the capital.

In 1376 Hsining T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to participate in another expedition of General Feng Sheng in Liangchow region against the Mongols, plundering the country. Shih-chi-ku, Nan-t'ai and others surrendered with 1,000 men, and also the Mongol T'o-lin, with his 2,200 subjects (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*).

In 1377 T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to join the expedition of General Pu Yin against the Tartar chief Yeh-su-t'o-huo and others who again plundered the Liangchow country. They suffered a severe blow and 1,000 of their brigands were killed. Then T'u-ssu Wang followed the expedition of General Feng Sheng in Kanchow and Suchow where 1,890 families surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*).

In 1378 T'u-ssu Lu Ah-shih-t'u, oldest son of T'o Huan, fought and took prisoner Ta-kuan-tieh-chih, a chief of plundering Tibetans, living in the mountains between Ku Lang and Liangchow.

General Teng Yu in 1370 had pacified the country of Kui Te situated 220 li south of Hsining, on the southern borders of the Yellow River. In 1376 he had founded the So of Kui Te, leaving a garrison of 500 horse troops and 500 colonists, ordering them to till the soil and provide the subsistence of the garrison (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 15*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 57: 2*a*). In 1378 Kui Te was attacked and plundered by the Tibetan Ha la kui (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 25*b*), who also devastated the Kokonor region. T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to fight the brigands (Monguors I: 34).

BUREAU FOR EXCHANGE OF TEA AGAINST HORSES

175x 647 231 437 272

The year 1378 was very important on account of the establishment of the bureau for the exchange of tea against horses. Each year 3,500 horses would be exchanged in the city: first-class horses exchanged for

[P. 32(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

120 pounds of tea, second-class horses for 70 pounds of tea, and third-class horses for 50 pounds of tea. Every tribe under submission was taxed a definite number of horses to be exchanged at the bureau.[71] 175x 647 231 437

The very first bureau had been established in 1376 in Ch'in Chou in East Kansu, but on account of the distance between Ch'in Chou and An-ting and A-tuan, and the inconvenience of travel through the provinces, a bureau had later been established in Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 17: 3*b*). 272

The importance of the trading of tea for horses cannot be overrated. On the one hand, it was a means for the nomads to get rid of their horses and secure tea. Tibetans as well as Mongols cannot do without tea, and the stronger the concoction the more delightful it is to them. Even when traveling or indulging in hunting parties where tea could not be prepared, they chewed the tea leaves. The craving for tea among the nomads may be compared with the craving for opium among addicts. On the other hand, the trade was very beneficial to the Chinese. First of all, the cavalry got its badly needed horses in an easy way, and the officials of the bureau also benefitted. They evaluated the quality of the horses according to the gratuity offered by the nomad, cheating in the quality of the tea, and putting the transaction off indefinitely, making the customers wait for weeks on end, or helping them immediately, according to the gratuity presented. Squeeze was the rule in the bureau. 175x 443 231 272

The first benefitters were the traders. The exchange of horses was a boon for the city. Traders from all over Szechwan and Shensi provinces moved into the city with the wares the nomads needed, in addition to the tea they brought with them. The nomads were allowed to bring more horses than the number taxed, and they carried wool, skins, musk, etc., to be exchanged for wares. The exchange of horses for tea was the yearly opportunity for the nomads to make a trip to the city and to provide for the needs of the family. 175x 443

This institution was also an effective means of attracting the nomads to surrender, for only surrendered tribes were allowed to enter the city and transact business. After two years the institution reached fruition. It was an attraction, especially during the troubled times which were ahead, when the tribes, indulging in plundering each other, had to get rid of the stolen horses. It was an attraction also because the surrendered tribes enjoyed the protection of the empire. 175x 443 648

In 1379 both Hsining Wang and Chao t'u-ssu were ordered to participate in the expedition of General Mu Yin, sent to quell the revolt of the turbulent eighteen tribes in T'ao Chou (Tibetans? Uighurs? Shat'o?) where the chief San Fu Shih was taken prisoner. Then T'u-ssu Chao was enjoined to follow the expedition of General Fu Yu-te against rebel Mongols in Yunnan 175x 648

[71] Huang Ming su-i k'ao, Wen tien ko shu-chuang, Peiping, Chiang-fu-ssu chieh, 1937.

262 flour. Noodles are also made with barley flour. Another way of preparing barley flour is to roast it in a pan. Not much millet is eaten. Linseed oil and colza oil are used in cooking. Each family has its own grindstone, mills its own flour and bakes its own bread.

[264] After the morning cup of tea and piece of bread a breakfast of noodles is eaten about nine o'clock. Tea and bread are taken again at noon. The main meal of 252 the day is eaten in the evening. It is prepared by slowly stirring barley flour into boiling water, sometimes with the addition of potatoes and flour made from dried peas. A little oil is always added to this mixture. Vegetables are eaten as relishes or side dishes, usually after being fermented in a mixture of brine and a little vinegar. This method of pickling provides the salt in the diet and makes the salt (which is expensive because of local taxes) go further. Each family plants its own vegetables, but fruit has to be brought from the city or bought from peddlars.

A special sweet dish is made by gathering ears of barley in July, before they are fully ripe, and steaming them. Unlike the Chinese and in keeping with their Mongol traditions, Monguor women milk the cows and sheep and make butter; but because they do not have enough livestock, butter is a luxury and is eaten only by the elders. Another luxury dish is made by kneading sugar into dough, shaping the dough into small rolls, and cooking them in boiling oil. These sweet rolls are a luxury because the sugar has to be bought.

269 Although there is nothing complicated about Monguor cooking, men seldom prepare food and all work in the kitchen is done by the women. Cleanliness and neatness are prized. Women wash their hands every time they enter the kitchen and the elders are always reminding them to be clean lest the god of the hearth punish them and their children be deprived of blessings. The children eat from wooden bowls, each child having his own. Grown up people often use bowls made of earthenware or rough porcelain, but in many families the only bowls are those locally made of poplar wood. After each meal everybody licks his own bowl clean before it is taken back to the kitchen. Some people however, in the Mongol manner, always keep their wooden bowl with them in the breast of their gown, taking it out whenever they drink and eat. The bowls are never cleaned except by licking. Chopsticks are used, but there are no spoons, forks, dishes, or table knives. At dinner time it is amusing to see each mother urging everybody—especially her own children—to take more food and to see how a child will draw its finger across its throat as if cutting it, saying "Oh mother, by Buddha I can eat no more."

• 273 The Monguors distill liquor from both barley and wheat. Although there are commercial distilleries, as has already been mentioned, most families distill their own liquor. This liquor, though it is distilled and not merely fermented, is always called "wine." It is drunk

273 at New Year and at weddings, funerals, and other
[733] festivals. The women do the distilling. Drinking too much is a weakness of Monguor men, and the women also like to drink a cup. As the distilling is crude, the liquor is by no means a healthy drink. In order to avoid drunken fights at the great spring and autumn festivals, liquor is drunk only at the end of the festivities.

276 Monguor men smoke all day long, using Chinese tobacco and the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl holding less than a thimbleful of tobacco. Often, instead of buying a wooden pipe stem from a peddler, the men make them for themselves, using the leg bone of a sheep. The pipe is hung from the belt, balanced by a small pouch which contains tinder and some small flints and has a steel 'keel." To strike a light, a piece of flint and a pinch of tinder are held between forefinger and thumb and struck against the steel. Women seldom smoke.

733 The practice of smoking opium has to some extent spread from the Chinese to the Monguors, and wherever there is an opium addict the whole family is sure to be ruined. Some T'u-ssu allow their subjects to raise opium, while others forbid it.

CLOTHING AND HEADDRESSES

291 For centuries the Monguors have been proud of their national costume, though it is true that in some Monguor communities Chinese clothing had become commoner than the Monguor costume by 1922. The adoption of Chinese clothing is probably due to the fact that the Monguor costume was despised by the Chinese wives of chiefs of clans and rich men. The enrollment of Chinese families in the Monguor clans has also had an influence. In 1949 the Communists, when they overran the Monguor country, forbade the wearing of the national costume—presumably as part of a policy of obliterating the separate customs and traditions of small minorities.

The traditional men's costume is much less elaborate than that of the women. The trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and are cut in the Chinese style with a loose crotch and baggy seat. It is said that in former days the men did not wear trousers at all, and even today the old men living north of Weiyuanp'u do not wear trousers under their gowns unless they are going to town.[9] Monguor boots resemble Tibetan boots, having a "shoe" made like a moccasin and a cloth leg reaching
[274] to the knee. The legs of the trousers are stuffed into the boots. Sometimes the leg of the boot is embroidered. In winter some Monguors wear leather boots bought in the city.

[9] It is possible that the Monguor tradition on this subject is confused. Trousers have been part of the Mongol costume from ancient times. On the other hand, the Tibetans, especially the nomad Tibetans, do not wear trousers, and it is possible that the custom among some Monguors of not wearing trousers is due to Tibetan influence. On the subject see Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, Vienna, Verlag Herold, 1949, and Ekvall, *op. cit.*—O. L.

[P. 118a]

/27 cont'd/

HM 583 584

this object must naturally be very important; with poor people the bride price rarely exceeds 400 head of livestock of different kinds.

Schotter, Anthropos, notes on tribes...., p. 344: At their betrothal the Inag-hoang-miao barbarians give a horse as earnest.

MO 584 This day is again a lucky day, chosen in advance. The day being set, leave is taken, and the go-between returns to the family of the son-in-law to congratulate it on the good intentions he believes he has found at the home of the bride's parents.

On the day agreed upon the go-between comes to get final instructions before going to the bride's home. At the bridegroom's home he finds two relatives of the family, who are good speakers and have been invited by the family to accompany him and help him in the discussion. Tea /27/ and gin are drunk, and the family earnestly begs the three friends to do their utmost to avoid big expenses for them.

MO 572 273

Having arrived at the bride's home with the traditional small jug, they find two relatives of this family also, who have been invited to take the family's part in the discussions. They do not delay in beginning after the presentation of the gin. On both sides care has been taken to invite the best speakers. These discussions differ entirely from those of the Chinese.

When the T'ou-jen have the floor, they keep it for ten, fifteen minutes without being interrupted; they make real little speeches. They tell you the most ordinary things with imperturbable seriousness, and everyone present listens with the liveliest interest. One after the other starts over again from the beginning; there is no end to it. On the whole they know in advance on both sides, considering the circumstances of the family, where the discussion will end. But /28/ custom requires a brilliant contest in eloquence. One side demands the impossible, and the other offers a ridiculous minimum. Finally, they end up by following the customs which are the rule.

/36 cont'd/

584 the attentions with which she will surround the bride....Again, the go-between by means of eloquence must run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

[583 431] For people of average means, at this second settlement, they ordinarily end up by promising for the bride:

a headdress of copper strips,
eardrops of silver or silvered copper,
a cloth skirt,
cloth trousers,
a pair of leggings for boots,
a hat cover of red cloth for the wedding day and another of green cloth.

Rich families manage to give a hat of silver strips or silvered copper, one or two pairs of silver eardrops, and several silk garments. If the bridegroom's family is too accommodating, it will be well exploited.

After that they come to the negotiations about the dinner. The bride's family begins by asking for their guests a dinner of 80 to 100 places. New palavers...the go-between ends up by getting them to content themselves with about 40 places on their part. Among rich families a dinner of 100 places is required.

/37/ But what dinner will you give? We must have a Chinese dinner of 12 or 16 large bowls. We do not wish to lose face, it is the least that you can give us, we have continually made concessions for everything, on this point we cannot yield. New exploits of eloquence on the part of the go-between, -- "Until now I have been able to arrange everything to the satisfaction of both families, I hope you will let me keep face until the end. I have always succeeded in marriage discussions, and I hope that this time it will work again. Let us see; plates and dishes are necessary for a Chinese dinner; no way to find them in the whole country. An excellent cook is necessary, where is he? A room for the dinner is necessary, where is it to be found? And then, we are not Chinese. Let us follow the customs of our ancestors and give a big T'ou-jen dinner. [273] I insist upon gin of superior quality and in sufficient quantity, two

584
[273] /37 cont'd/
pounds per person; I demand big and fat sheep...," and everything is settled.

And to say that the two parties knew the conclusions of the discussion beforehand! Palavering is necessary, one must give oneself importance; then, speechifying and chattering are the principal and the most agreeable pastime of people who almost never work in their lives.

585 Most weddings take place after the work in the fields is over, in the months of October, November, and December. About this time the animals are fat, the barns full of grain, and there is something with which to distill, oneself, a kind of gin with spelt. However, one does see rich families who, to demonstrate abundance and well-being, celebrate the marriages of their children in the months of May, June, and July, which are called the "empty" months. (1)

584 1. Shirokogoroff, p. 76: Some time before the wedding they fix a happy day for the ceremony of wedding in accordance with Chinese manual...by Chinese sien-sheng. /Cited in English./

P. 74: Some time before the wedding, the representatives of the bridegroom's clan in a large number, and connected by friendship with the bride's clan people, call upon the bride's father or his substitute, to fix exactly the day of the wedding. But the bride's father refuses to do it. /38/ Then the bridegroom's representatives propose to him a supplementary "kalin". In the past time this consisted only of a pig, which was eaten during the wedding, but it has grown with time and at the present time it can be valued at $100 - 300 paid
583 in pigs or money or goods. Besides, the bridegroom's clan must give some silk

/43 cont'd/

585 Each guest has settled himself, not without first having made many an excuse and salaam. All follow the gospel which advises taking the last place in order to see oneself forced to go up toward the first ones. It is a real contest of politeness in which the master of ceremonies is forced to intervene with much circumspection. The parents of the bride do not preside at the festivity.

585 At the table one is all the more at ease if there are fewer /44/
264 guests. The felt rugs and the litters of straw are very practical
285] "seats" at these wedding dinners, since they permit seating as many people as one wishes. The guests having taken their places, the meal is begun by serving tea with milk and dry bread. Because the interior of the rectangle remains free, the service is done briskly. Do not expect to see beautiful teapots, milk jugs, cups, saucers, plates of fine porcelain. The milk is already poured into the tea in the kitchen, the copper teapots are those of every day; the bread is put around in piles on the tables, the cup is made of white earthenware but without cracks.

585 After the tea, well-heated gin is served. It is poured into
273 about 20 small terra cotta cups, which each one passes to the other after drinking two or three swallows. The women drink the gin like
585 the men. They chatter, they smoke, while waiting for the main
262 dish, which consists of a sheep served whole and cooked to a turn.
264 The head and the saddle are detached but put back in place so as to give the illusion of one intact piece. Three sheep are served at a time. While the sheep are being admired, the servers distribute to
[41] each guest a small wooden receptacle which has the shape of a saucer and in which vinegar is poured. Several wooden boxes con-
[263] taining salt and pimento are in the center of the table. The T'ou-jen do not use forks or spoons; the fingers are the main means of eating, as they maneuver with a knife and the pair of chopsticks which each guest carries in a case attached to his belt. The servers take the meat with their fingers, cut it in pieces, and fill the saucers of the guests with it. The meat is eaten seasoned with salt, pimento,
[263] and vinegar, and one adds to it a piece of bread. The bones are thrown on the table or on the ground. As soon as the mutton is tackled, complete silence reigns over the assemblage, all of whom

/79 cont'd/

19. Departure of the Guests

585 These wedding dinners always end in the evening. /80/ Most of the guests get ready to leave about this time. However, one always finds a group who will spend the night drinking and singing.

[273] As soon as they get ready to leave, they shut up the young bride in the room; the custom is that she does not say good-by to the guests. At the departure the young women of the family and the young neighbor women are at the door, provided with a jug of gin, to offer the stirrup cup. The departure itself constitutes a rejoicing. The women who have prepared flour of parched wheat try to smear the faces of those who are leaving. They shove each other, they chase one another; several women take the men while others daub them...they defend themselves.... The departure is always very noisy. They mount the drunkards on the horses, they go away and come back to take a last glass.... It goes without saying that drink takes many victims at these festivities. On these days one can determine the truth of the saying, "The camel, as soon as he sees the willow, can no longer be held back; the T'ou-jen, as soon as he sees gin, no longer is in control of himself." At nightfal the son-in-law enters the nuptial chamber where he finds his young wife and the maid of honor. Since the door of the room stays open, all the members of the family and the guests who have stayed late follow with their eyes the rite which takes place. The young married couple first make a prostration to the maid of honor, who wishes them all the good luck imaginable while presenting to them two cups of gin tied together with a red cord. The young couple must drink in concert. She pours for them three times in succession while the group on the outside makes the warmest wishes. The newly married couple make a second prostration to the maid of honor and to the whole group as thanks; the maid of honor leaves them, closing the door of the nuptial chamber. The lamp in the room must not go out for three nights. (1) The following morning the

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 86: (These rites are more complicated among the Manchu:)

[10 cont.]

124 had in mind. Besides, I had not treated him respectfully enough and made the mistake of not offering him enough brandy. After [181] all, at that time I was still unacquainted with the proverb of the Chinese: t'u-jen chien chiu, chia-la chien liu; freely trans- [273] lated, "The Tujen are as fond of brandy as goats are of greens."

Only after a year did I again get in touch with him. At that time I was celebrating a festival in a neighboring community and invited the old man by messenger to a mutton feast. He received the place of honor next to me, ate his fill of the meat, and was challenged by one person after another to the drinking game, during which he consumed an ample amount. In this state of uplift an old Chinese, his former classmate, negotiated with him and obtained his consent to live with me for a few days in the station. When he appeared in January, 1947, he was received in the friendliest manner. He sat at the table with [273] me and received as much barley wine as he liked, and he could take a sizeable quantity of it. Upon his departure in the [262] afternoon I presented him with sugar, currants, baked goods, sausage, and cigars, things that are not common there, with which, as he said, he demonstrated at home the generosity of the European who had treated him as a complete and equal human being. When, in addition, I made it possible for him and his wife to receive medical treatment without cost from the mission sisters, his distrust disappeared; from then on he always showed up at my place for a number of days, and precisely on the date agreed upon, which is astonishing among these people.

To the old man's credit, let it be said at this point that afterwards he made absolutely no demands. He valued his honor and wanted to be taken seriously. For the rest, he lived in the same room with the employees of the mission station, slept on the same kang, and ate the same food, even though I offered him a room of his own and a special diet. He stated: "That does not suit an old farmer like me; I want to be with your people so that I have company." Only on certain days, for instance, at festivals or when there were visitors, did he have to have a substantial drink. This strongly stimulated him to tell stories, during which my attention was drawn to

[21 cont.]

*778 front of the spear, the men in the room itself, the women in front of the door out in the open.

776 Only now can the spirit dwell in the spear. Which spirit
*778 it is depends entirely upon the owner of the spear. He tells this beforehand to hutukhtu who performs the consecration, and the latter gives an appropriate prayer of consecration. Only one spirit ever operates in a spear. The Tiengëre or the god of heaven never resides in the spear. The ones who do are always ordinary spirits, for instance, the mother-goddess, the tiger god, the mountain spirit, etc.

*778 After the consecration the hutukhtu stays in the house un-
[792] til the following morning and is then dismissed with an appropri-
ate remuneration. The master of the household, however, in-
[527] vites his friends and acquaintances in and celebrates the new
[273] event with them over barley wine and dances with song far into the night.

Storage of the spear: Since an entire village can have a spear consecrated, it frequently happens that it is simply kept
[346] in the communal temple of the place. This is also often the case with regard to private individuals, because the temple is regarded as the most eminent place. In the temple itself it stands in a wooden stand next to the other gods on one of the many altars. Sometimes it is simply propped against the wall in a god's niche.

[346] If somebody wants to keep the spear in his own yard, a special chapel is required. Most of the house chapels are constructed specifically for such a spear. Here, too, it may stand in a rack, lean against the wall, or be driven into the clay floor. All that matters is that the spear stand upright. For instance, one may never lay it flat on the altar. The master of the
[782] household often gives the little incense offering in front of the spear. It is not necessary that a spear be kept in the house of
[791] the [22] village soothsayer; indeed, many soothsayers have no spirit-spear themselves.

346 The room or the temple in which the spear stands is sim-
ply called "house of holies." It is usually only a room in the yard.
*778 It must be separated from all the other rooms by a wall and

[29 cont.]

756 Consecration: Once the young man has tested himself
787 and feels secure, he takes 12 loaves of steamed bread, three
792 loaves of baked bread, money, and a hada, and goes to the
*778 monastery. There he hands the gifts to a schooled lama with special praying power and requests the consecration.

First a test takes place. With the usual ceremonies, the shaman must put himself in a trance. He must indicate given objects; thorns are scattered on the floor and he is challenged to sit on them; whips are lashed in his direction, and in every possible way attempts are made to intimidate him. If he is a genuine shaman in a genuine trance, he is not afraid and is not injured. If his state is not genuine, he becomes frightened, backs away, or comes out of the trance.

At this point the presiding lama takes a hada (13),

[192] 13. [Foreign text p. 33.] Hada, Tib. k'a btags, is a scarf-like ceremonial cloth.

slings it around the shaman's neck, and asks which tutelary spirit revealed itself to him. The shaman then pronounces the name, kneels, and receives from the lama the instructions concerning his duties as shaman. Among these are the taboo and purification prescriptions, for example: he may not officiate when he
[783] is in mourning or when his wife is in confinement; also during this time he may not worship his tutelary spirit; after sexual intercourse and after enjoyment of tobacco and a considerable amount of liquor, he is unclean (11), and he must purify himself

[273] 11. [Foreign text p. 33.] Actually, liquor is not prohibited for the shamans. Here a Buddhistic prescription seems to be in effect, but in a weakened form, for a moderate consumption of liquor does not make the shaman unclean, only drunkenness does, although in the eyes of the Tujen this by no means represents anything morally objectionable.

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IV. Customs concerning the Human Being

* See "Notes," p. 622 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

846 Soon after the birth of a child one makes the happy event
[851] known to the family of the mother of the woman in childbed.
The mother then comes to visit her daughter. The other rela-
[431] tives, however, come only after one month. They bring gifts
and hold a feast. On the morning of this day the child is
[553] solemnly given a name, and in the evening it is brought before
the gate of the yard for the reception of the shepherd. Then
[527] there is singing and drinking and dancing into the night.
[852]

Details

Birth announcement: Three days after the birth of a
[851] boy or girl, the father-in-law of the woman in childbed takes
a little jug of liquor and some oil-baking and goes to the family
[273] of his daughter-in-law. It is immediately apparent why he has
come to visit, and he need only tell the day and the hour of
birth and whether it is a boy or girl. After they have drunk the
[593] liquor, the mother goes directly to her daughter in order to take
care of what needs to be done. She stays there a few days and
then often repeats her visit.

846 Conclusion of the confinement: Exactly 29 days after
431 the birth, in other words, on the thirtieth day, the parents and
nearest relatives of the woman in childbed appear at her
husband's house. They bring clothing for the child [621] and
[262] the woman (a long upper garment and shoes) and, further, four
large loaves of bread, oil-cakes, and other baked goods. The

[621 cont.]

553 [592] [792]

4. [Foreign text p. 622.] A lama can also perform the ceremony. This is rarely done, however. Usually the father or kin-group elder does it.

is never a woman or a relative from the family of the woman in childbed.

Following the name-giving or in the course of the day, the mother with the child in her arms must kowtow to all the guests; for this she receives a small gift of money for the child. -- Towards noon the family holds a general feast, for men and women separately. On this occasion much barley wine is drunk, and there is singing and dancing.

[431] [527] [273] [562]

852 Reception of the shepherd: Towards evening, when the animals are expected back from the pasture, the father or the mother takes the infant in his arms and takes it out in front of the gate of the yard, where they meet the homecoming herd. The shepherd must give the child some money, and in return the father gives him a loaf of bread which he must eat immediately. This custom is called "to welcome the shepherd"; the Chinese say "to welcome the sheep" (2). -- The guests

[431] [553]

[171] [846]

2. [Foreign text p. 622.] The reception of the shepherd is also found among the Chinese, just as the termination of the confinement generally is almost the same among them. In the region of Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) I learned from the missionary there, P. Frick, that the people place the child in the manger so that it may later own many herds and become a good horseman. This custom could not be confirmed for the Tujen.

[625 cont.]

527 dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
[574] moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.

Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared. During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
[782] day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an
[888] offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated, joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon

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3. [Foreign text p. 628.] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.

relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.

From the second day on the people make New Year's
[628] visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

[533] gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
[262] are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
[273] a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
[356] house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] hsiao-tzu in Chinese, who are the male descendants and relatives of the first and second degree, for example, younger brothers, younger cousins, grandsons.

on the mother's side do not appear in the house of mourning until the eve of the cremation.

764 They must be informed, however, immediately after the death; this is called "death announcement." The master of
602 ceremonies, with a small bottle of liquor, goes to the mother's
604 brother to announce the death of the latter's nephew or niece (14).

[763]
[273]
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14. [Foreign text p. 654.] In recent times the Tujen announce the death to the mother's brother by means of a written communication, like the Chinese. The original practice, however, is the announcement with the liquor-jug, to which is tied a flock of wool.

[792] The two now consult as to how the funeral solemnities are to
[465] be arranged, how many monks are to be invited to pray, how large the fees are to be, etc. The mother's brother is intent upon setting demands as high as possible, whereas the master of ceremonies sets lower ones. Once they have agreed upon
[273] the approximate level, they drink the little jug of liquor together. If they do not agree, the master of ceremonies returns home with the liquor and he receives new instructions from the bereaved family. Sometimes this happens two or three times. A final arrangement is not made until the last day at the accounting in the house of mourning.

On the eve of the cremation, the mother's brother, and with him all the male relatives on the mother's side, appears in the yard of the bereaved. The women among the maternal

[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 654-655 cont.] father his mother's brother is the person of respect, who in case of death demands an accounting. Wei-chia and wai-chia have the same signs; only the pronunciation is different. Literally translated it means [655] "the outside family," in other words, not belonging to the male line. Instead of wai-chia one also says niang-chia, which designates the family from which the mother comes. This expression is also used for the family of the lama, who, of course, is unmarried. -- The wai-chia or niang-chia does not appear until the day before the cremation.

[792]

The mother's brother is solemnly
764 received by the master of ceremonies and led to the death-box.
602 There he and his retinue offer the 12 loaves, burn paper, and
604 kowtow. During this time all the relatives must express great
[782] bereavement and the women utter loud lamentations. The mother's brother also weeps. After this ceremony, the mother's brother is led into the house and onto the kang, where he is given tea and bread. He rests a little while. The other companions are given hospitality outside in the yard where everything is set up for the funeral meal and the ceremony of the accounting.

[641] The mother's brother is led into the yard and sits on a white felt mat which is spread out on the ground directly before the entrance of the main house. He sits with his back to the house, facing the mani-tree. A kang table is put in front of him. The other relatives on the maternal side sit on straw to the right and left of him in a semicircle. Boards which are supposed to represent tables are put in front of them. Now oil-baking, tea, and pastries are brought. The serving is done by the cousin-
[273] hood on the father's side (16). After the first bite, the guests are

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16. [Foreign text p. 655.] At the interment, the Tujen have the

[641 cont.]

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[605]

[Note on foreign text p. 655 cont.] following offices: 1. The master of ceremonies. He takes care of everything connected with the customs concerning the dead and the cremation. He is called by the Chinese name sang-kuan, that is, leader of the interment, or hu-sang, that is, protector of the interment. He is usually picked from the cousinhood. 2. The gift-guardian. He takes the offering loaves and keeps them in a special room. In Chinese he is called k'u-kuan, that is, treasure-guardian. -- The Chinese also put a secretary at his disposal, who notes what the individual guests have given. The Tujen do not have this. 3. The host. He is there solely for the lama and provides for his entertainment, for his animals, for the things needed at the ceremony, for paper to burn, etc. The Tujen call him känguo. In his place the Chinese have an incense-manager. 4. The female cook, called dziemā nienie by the Tujen. -- With exception of the känguo and the dziemā nienie, the officiants seem to have been taken over from the Chinese.

764 given some liquor, and the bereaved on the father's side come
604 in the circle with the master of ceremonies and kneel on the
[602] ground before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies
[273] steps forward and invites the mother's brother to take a drink of
[537] liquor. He hands him a hada and a piece of white cloth and requests him to present his wishes for the dead and to release the corpse for the cremation.

[641 cont.]

764 604 537 [273] The mother's brother puts the hada over his shoulders, takes a swallow of liquor, and begins his speech. Usually he demands an accounting concerning the care of his protégé during the latter's illness and demands the small fees for the prayer service, saying that they should be ashamed of such avarice, the dead had always been a good person, the pride of his family, he deserved better; now at least one should give him a decent death-box and provide the most magnificent cremation possible; far too few lamas had been invited, but now they should recompense them with much money and rice and butter, etc.

[273] Every time that the mother's brother puts forward a wish or a complaint and pauses, the master of ceremonies has his liquor bowl refilled and calls upon him to drink. Then the master of ceremonies replies in the name of the paternal relatives, seeks to invalidate the reproaches, to lessen the demands, and to emphasize the efforts of the family. He says that the most expensive medicines were procured for the deceased during his illness, for how could one neglect such a virtuous person; moreover, everything that the family could do in his honor and for his soul would be done, but one should not demand the impossible; after all, one must die sometime; the times are bad, but they would gladly give the lama that and that, etc. -- So it goes back and forth between the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies, until a course is finally agreed upon and the mother's brother declares that now he is satisfied and will release the corpse. Now the mother's brother is invited to inspect the corpse, but he usually does not do this.

764 604 After this speech, the bereaved arise, kowtow three times before the mother's brother, and return to the deathwatch by the box. The mother's brother follows them and kowtows before the dead. Then alms are distributed to the guests, usually [431] coins. This is called "to do good," for it is advantageous for the deceased. Then the meal for the relatives on the mother's side [735] takes place in a large circle. Usually there is rice, but among poor people only noodle soup.

[775] [177] [642] The ceremony of the demand for an accounting has the purpose of releasing the soul of the dead for the migration

[853 cont.]

755 During this time a man heats the seven white stones in
756 the hearth fire until they are red-hot. Then he takes them out with an iron spoon and with it hands them to the shaman. The latter takes one stone after another in his mouth and spits them into the kettle. Then he throws the other things, the lock, the flowers, and the prayer texts, into the water and finally pours in the bowl of liquor. Now the sick person is completely disrobed, and the shaman washes him from top to bottom with his one free hand, scooping the boiling water out of the kettle with his hand. Then the sick person is put back on his kang in the house.

The water remains in the kettle, on the following two days, when the shaman has already gone, the people must repeat the washing. On the third day they pour out the water in front of the yard gate. They can use the things, the lock, knife, etc., again for ordinary purposes.

755 The fire-blowing: After the washing the shaman goes
372 into the room of the sick person. During this time the men in the yard start a strong fire with sheep dung and wood. They put
756 a plowshare in it and make it white-hot. A man puts a stick
[787] through the white-hot plowshare and takes it in to the shaman, who is still in a trance, but has given his sword to another man. Now he seizes the glowing plowshare with both hands with a hada that hangs from his breast-mirror, licks it with his bare tongue, takes a respectable mouthful of liquor, and turns to the sick person. He blows the alcohol out of his mouth over the
[273] plowshare in strong blasts, which each time makes a burst of fire shoot out toward the sick person. Then he takes the plowshare in front of the gate and places it at the foot of the yard wall. There the men immediately throw earth over it and wall it in.

755 The drink of the sick: Now the shaman again goes into
756 the room of the sick person. A man extends an iron spoon to him. He rips off a piece of the hada on his protective-mirror, places it in the spoon, and throws a few barley kernels in it. Then a man pours water into the spoon until it is full, holds it

[854 cont.]

755 789 [756] [787] Exorcism: Towards evening, when darkness begins to fall, the shaman goes into a trance before the household altar (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 855.] Before the exorcism the shaman divines, with barley on his protective mirror, which demon is involved.

During this time a man runs out of the village with the hen to a crossroads, twists or hacks off the hen's head, and with the fluttering [855] hen squirts the blood in all directions of the compass. [782] Then he throws away the hen as food for the demon and goes home. -- The straw man is put on the threshold of the main house or in the yard.

755 789 756 [787] [273] As soon as the shaman is in a trance, he jumps up and, running in wild leaps through all the rooms of the compound, performs the sword battle against the demon. The men follow him. Stones hail down on the ground. One circles around in the rooms with the torches. One man holds the oil-pan, takes mouthfuls of liquor, and blows it over the fire into the room, so that each time a red flash shoots out. Others crack the whip from room to room and shoot burning arrows at the floor. In this way the demon is driven into the straw doll. This is dragged by a hemp string or a straw rope out of the gate over the village street to the nearest crossroads, where the hen is lying. The shaman follows, fighting with his sword; stones, blows, fire-arrows, and flashes of fire rain down on the doll. It is left lying at the crossroads. The men pour the oil out of the pan over it, throw the torches, arrows, stones, etc. on it, and leave it smoldering (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 855.] This form of exorcism is the simplest of all. Usually all kinds of other ceremonies are connected with it. I once saw such a sword-shaman as he was trying to heal a child among the Chinese. He cast

for infractions of the rules, the reform of some mis- 792
behavior, the arrival of distinguished guests or pil- [626]
grims, the offer of important gifts, and special reli- 554
gious ceremonies asked for by devout people. Herein 794
consists the entire direction and instruction of the lamas, except for those who study in the colleges.

His role has been explained. He is the chief executive of the institution and administers its wealth. He has his own residence; his courtyard is his court of justice, where all the suits of the lamas and of the subjects are judged. All the officials of the institution receive his orders; he has one or two procurators helping him in the material administration, commanding a number of servants varying in accordance with the importance of the lamasery.

DISCIPLINARIANS

Their function is a really important element in the 792
government of hundreds of uncivilized lamas and turbu- 626
lent young folk living in the same lamasery, most of 794
whom wander correctly along the path of monastic life more from fear of severe corporal punishment than for pure love of Buddha. I never saw a master of discipline in the lamaseries wearing a delightful smile. More often they seemed to be the type of tormentors that might step out of a picture of the Eighteen Buddhist Hells. No wonder the lamas, especially the young folk, dread them.

Usually there are two disciplinarians appointed by the Fa-t'ai for a term of one year. Often they have been proposed for the position by the intendant and his councillors. The disciplinarian presides over a number of lictors. During ceremonies in the temple the disciplinarian maintains order among the older lamas and keeps a constant eye on the novices. A breach of silence or any irreverence is punished instantly by blows from his rawhide whip. He takes note of the presence and absence of lamas at the morning ceremonies, and must investigate to find out whether lamas, not enrolled in the monastery, or laymen, are remaining with their friends at night inside the lamasery, and is responsible in general for the observance of the rules of the monastery.

Permission is required from the intendancy to leave the lamasery for a long time. Business deals are not to be made too ostentatiously. At night lamas may gather with friends to relax, talk, play cards and chess, but are not allowed to make much noise or to disturb the sleep of their neighbors. Gambling is not allowed, [277]
nor is the drinking of liquor. At night, the discipli- [525]
narian with some of his lictors, armed with rawhide 784
whips, makes a tour of the lamasery. Lamas found brawling, quarrelling, or fighting are brought to the court of the intendant, where penalties are meted out in various brutal forms. The time of the festivities is a difficult one for the disciplinarians, when merchants pitch their tents, and lamas and people drive bargains.

[p. 62(B)]

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside.

M [35] [182] [353] [352] Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations.

M [252] For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, mules or donkeys.

M [184] A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter and wheat flour are luxuries. Only the wealthy can afford fruit.

M [412] Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

N *563 M 264 475 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them; in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some

N *563 of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

M 576 The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank. [264] [603] [554]

The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little." [561]

M [574] It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

N *563 i. Celebrations and festivals

Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent; some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

M 614 796 N *563 M 614 527 273

Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is particularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the

N *563 M 562 [558] [852] [782] [852]

273 [733] at New Year and at weddings, funerals, and other festivals. The women do the distilling. Drinking too much is a weakness of Monguor men, and the women also like to drink a cup. As the distilling is crude, the liquor is by no means a healthy drink. In order to avoid drunken fights at the great spring and autumn festivals, liquor is drunk only at the end of the festivities.

276 Monguor men smoke all day long, using Chinese tobacco and the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl holding less than a thimbleful of tobacco. Often, instead of buying a wooden pipe stem from a peddler, the men make them for themselves, using the leg bone of a sheep. The pipe is hung from the belt, balanced by a small pouch which contains tinder and some small flints and has a steel 'keel." To strike a light, a piece of flint and a pinch of tinder are held between forefinger and thumb and struck against the steel. Women seldom smoke.

733 The practice of smoking opium has to some extent spread from the Chinese to the Monguors, and wherever there is an opium addict the whole family is sure to be ruined. Some T'u-ssu allow their subjects to raise opium, while others forbid it.

CLOTHING AND HEADDRESSES

291 For centuries the Monguors have been proud of their national costume, though it is true that in some Monguor communities Chinese clothing had become commoner than the Monguor costume by 1922. The adoption of Chinese clothing is probably due to the fact that the Monguor costume was despised by the Chinese wives of chiefs of clans and rich men. The enrollment of Chinese families in the Monguor clans has also had an influence. In 1949 the Communists, when they overran the Monguor country, forbade the wearing of the national costume—presumably as part of a policy of obliterating the separate customs and traditions of small minorities.

The traditional men's costume is much less elaborate than that of the women. The trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and are cut in the Chinese style with a loose crotch and baggy seat. It is said that in former days the men did not wear trousers at all, and even today the old men living north of Weiyuanp'u do not wear trousers under their gowns unless they are going to town.[9] Monguor boots resemble Tibetan boots, having a "shoe" made like a moccasin and a cloth leg reaching [274] to the knee. The legs of the trousers are stuffed into the boots. Sometimes the leg of the boot is embroidered. In winter some Monguors wear leather boots bought in the city.

[9] It is possible that the Monguor tradition on this subject is confused. Trousers have been part of the Mongol costume from ancient times. On the other hand, the Tibetans, especially the nomad Tibetans, do not wear trousers, and it is possible that the custom among some Monguors of not wearing trousers is due to Tibetan influence. On the subject see Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, Vienna, Verlag Herold, 1949, and Ekvall, *op. cit.*—O. L.

[P. 118a]

Mo /109 cont'd/
595
534
422

Each of the two women has her chickens, which she has at her disposal as owner, as well as the eggs. The grain left on the flat area after the threshing and winnowing also goes into their pri-
Mo vate tills. At the time of the opium harvest, what adheres to the
[276] lining of the containers reverts to them also; each one therefore has her personal savings.

Mo 595 I cannot end the chapter on polygamy without concluding that monogamy is in fact the general rule and the moral order among the T'ou-jen, while polygamy constitutes an exception to the rule.

Indeed, one meets polygamy only in special cases, which are sterility, widowhood, and the shortage of workers. The fact that polygamists of the fourth category are by far the least numerous seems to prove the point. (1)

Ma 595

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64: Among the Manchus monogamy is the usual form of marriage. Polygamy if indeed it does occur, is a very exceptional form and can be considered as an incidental institution. According to the Manchus, polygamy is a modern fashion borrowed from the Chinese who especially the rich people use it very largely. The rich Manchus used to have 5, 6 wives until a new law limited the number of wives to two only. There is no restriction to taking two sisters as wives, but the Manchus do not like to give two daughters, because other unmarried people may be discontented by it. /Cited in English./

Mo 595 Conclusion. An ethnographic fact of prime important entirely dominates the question of the marriage of girls and widows, and in part that of polygamy.

BEHAVIOR OF THE LIVING BUDDHAS OF HUANG-CHUNG

Some facts will explain this matter better than philosophical considerations. 792

In 1916 the Living Buddha of the monastery of Sha-ku-ssu (Yung ch'ang hsien), an old branch of Erh-ku-lung, was an inveterate opium addict and had ruined his monastery. In order to retrieve his financial position in an easy way, he called on the Living Buddha of the monastery of Nan-ying (Liang chou), saying that he remembered in all the minutest detail having loaned, five generations ago, to his honorable confrere of Nan-ying, three herds of horses, five of sheep, three of cows, and 300 taels, and that this debt had never been paid; because he was poor and his confrere rich he would like to have his confrere take care of the matter. 276 691 157

The answer of the equally shrewd confrere was that he did not at all remember such an enormous debt, although he remembered in all possible detail the events that had happened during five generations. Thereupon the living Buddha of Sha-ku-ssu brought suit against his confrere at the Court of Justice in Liang-chou, claiming that his confrere knew all about the question, but that his pathological craving for money made him throttle his conscience and commit this crying injustice. The confrere reciprocated along the same line, exposing the opium addict before the interested audience; but because in China a rich man must always give up some of his rights in favor of the poor, the rich Living Buddha was ordered to give ten horses, and his poor confrere was able to continue smoking his opium for some time. [696]

The reason alleged by the opium smoker should be well known among lamas and Living Buddhas. It was the same that was used by the Dalai Lama at Kumbum in 1909. In autumn he arrived at Kumbum with the traditional splendor of an Oriental potentate. Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese ran to Kumbum to honor him. The Dalai Lama and his retinue were savage and arrogant; their animals were turned loose among the crops in the fields. Every day troubles arose over the sheep and flour offered by the mandarins, and the Dalai Lama, swayed by foolish pride and insolence, insisted on transferring three lama officials of Kumbum. Achia, defending his rights, denied the Dalai Lama permission to interfere with his administration of the lamasery. 792 157 578

The reason alleged by the Dalai Lama was that in one of his previous existences he remembered having been an incarnation of Achia and supreme chief of Kumbum. But Achia, without losing his balance, flatly denied the fact because he did not remember such an incarnation. Furthermore, he pointed out that the Dalai Lama was the incarnation of Tsong khapa, who was the incarnation of Chen-resig, while he himself was the incarnation of Tsong-khapa's father. He wondered how a son could behave so insolently and impudently

[P.69(B)]

[324 cont.]

T 142 [291 301]

European character and childish features. The gaily colored clothes and the rich ornamentation betray Tibeto-Mongolian admixture. The rectangular and round amulet caskets on the breast and the palettes on the beautifully stitched stola-like bands are fine silver work. The lengths of cloth that are suspended from the hips have mussel-shell ornaments and are a characteristic decoration of the Amdo agricultural Tibetan women.

41. Tibeto-Mongolian mixed type with strong Mongoloid components. Thirty-year old women from Tchü tsang tän, Ta tung.

42. Sino-Tibetan mixed type from Wu dschung near Rong bu; a military colony of the Sung period took Tibetan women as wives. This type might well stem from Eastern Europe or Russia.

M 142 291 276

43. Tu jen man from the Ha la dshe kou, Hu chu hiän. The nose is Europid. On the clothing one sees the high collar, a sharp contrast to the Chinese fashion. In his hand he holds a snuff box carved of yak horn, which is kept in a finely embroidered cloth bag.

U 142

44. Uigur man from the Ya la ker tribe near Kao tai, with a Europid character, with a large, narrow nose and larger earlobes.

T 142

45. A Turk whose ancestors emigrated centuries ago from East Turkestan to Kan su and later to Tsing hai; he is of the Old Form [Altform] type like figures 14 and 54. The high fleshy nose has distended alae. The filter is absent. The skin fold of the upper lid is, to be sure, very strong, but the Mongolian fold is missing. The lips are thin. The face is wide and coarse. The beard-growth is heavy (cf. Figure 3).

46. Northwestern Chinese type: the upper lid falls away sharply, but forms no Mongolian fold. The nose is narrow and large. The face is long and narrow. The zygomatic arches are only slightly pronounced. The forehead recedes slightly.

47. Five-year old nomad boy from the Ra gya A rig tribe. Since the nose is now so clearly defined, it will later become big (cf. the remarks on children under Figure 33). His clothing is a sheepskin worn next to the bare body.

T [29]

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

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/The Monguors/

N *563 M 276 [372] men make their own pipes from the leg bone of a sheep. The smoking kit, a small pouch holding tobacco, a pinch of tinder and some small flints, hangs on the belt at the waist. The light is obtained by striking tinder against the flint.

c. Clothing

N *563 M 291 [177] The Mongours have always been proud of their national costume, though since the enrollment of some Chinese into their clans, a few communities have adopted Chinese clothing. During the rule of the Chinese Nationalist government, most of the Mongours kept their own costume. According to Father Schram, M [668] [177] who made a thorough investigation of the people, they were not allowed to wear the national costume after the Communists conquered their country in 1949. It is not known whether the Communists are continuing their policy of obliterating the distinct costumes and traditions of the small minorities.

M [171] The clothing of the Mongours is not greatly different from that of the Mongols. Traditionally, the men dress much less elaborately than the women. A man ordinarily wears a dark blue cotton gown, similar to that of the Chinese, that opens on the right side and hangs a little below the knees. The upper part of the gown is loose and a sash or belt is worn at the waist, making a copious pocket in which the man carries his eating bowl and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown of roughly woven white wool. Festival gowns of the rich are of silk or satin, and a vest or sleeveless jacket is worn over the gown. The ordinary man wears a cotton gown and jacket for festive occasions, with a plain silk or cotton sash.

In the old days, men wore trousers only when they went to town. Now they regularly wear blue cotton trousers cut in the Chinese style, with the legs stuffed into their cloth-topped knee boots. The tops of dress boots are sometimes embroidered. In winter, leather boots are worn. Few Mongours wear underclothing, and neither men nor women wear stockings.

M [301] Almost every young man wears a silver-plated bracelet carved with Chinese designs, and most men wear finger rings set with coral or turquoise.

The woman's gown is very full, has wide sleeves, and hangs to her heels. It overlaps in front, and buttons down the left side. An outer gown of coarse, unwashed wool is used as a working garment. Because of the natural oil in the wool, the gown sheds water well. A sash or girdle holds both gowns at the waist. Generally the poor do not wear trousers, the two gowns being their only garments.

N *563 M 292 Well-to-do women have elaborate and gaily colored festival dresses, fancy trousers and false sleeves. Like the Mongol women, they wear fancy headdresses and boots for dress occasions. At such times the outer gown is left off and the inner

[636 cont.]

775 763 778 [262] [278]

Before the dying person draws his last breath, someone puts a mani-ball, a piece of gold, a piece of silver, and a piece of butter in his mouth. The mani-ball guarantees him an advanced age after the later rebirth (2). Gold and silver testify at the

2. [Foreign text pp. 650-651.] According to the informant, in the case of the mani-ball, mani-ruru, the pill that the Chinese call chen-ling wan, that is, the soul-shaking pill, is involved. According to Taoistic reports in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien, spirit-mirror, this pill is made from the sap of the legendary fan-hun-shu, that is, the soul-restoring tree. This tree grows on the coast of the western ocean. It is of black wood. If one strikes it, it sounds like the growling of a bull. Its root is brewed into a thick brew, and out of this brew the pill is made. The pill has an exceedingly strong scent (the tree can also be smelled miles away). This scent is called fan-hun hsiang, that is, soul-restoring scent. If after someone dies he is touched with this pill within three days or it is burned before him so that the smoke passes over him, or if the pill is put in his mouth, then he comes to life again. Under the Han emperors this kind of incense was supplied as tribute from the Yüeh-chih and supposedly brought dead persons to life in the palace. This pill also plays an important role in the medicine of the lamas. It is the so-called pill of immortality. The Tujen buy this pill in the monasteries. Its color is red. According to their

775 [636 cont.]
763
778
[278]
[192]

[Note on foreign text pp.650-651]. conceptions, to be sure, it cannot ensoul the dead corpse again, but it nonetheless brings the dead to life in another rebirth. -- W. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, also mentions this pill on p. 400 under the name rilu, and in Note 1683 under the Tibetan way of writing it, ril bu. It is clear that the Tujen pronunciation reru (ruru) is merely a corruption of the Tibetan word. Ch. Das has two ways of writing it, ril po and ril bu (with the l silent); he translates both as "ball, globule," [cited in English], and for ril bu he also adds "pill" [cited in English], [651] without any further designations for them (pp. 1184-85). This ruru is to be distinguished from nuru, the Tib. nor bu or cintāmani, the Buddhistic wishing-jewel. -- According to the conception of the lamas and of the people, the ruru pill reproduces itself; cf. the chapter, "Earth-god Urn." Sometimes one meets lamas who firmly believe that Europeans, too, have this wonder pill of long life, which is why they live much longer than the Chinese and the Tibetans; they claim to know that there are people in Europe who are several hundred years old.

[648]

rebirth that he comes from a wealthy position and will again acquire gold and silver. Butter is the most superior daily food and is supposed to be that again in the later life.

[262]

286 wool and spinning them with the aid of a clay spindle. Grown men spin while they are walking and boys while they are watching the herds at pasture.

The weaver is a professional who is invited to visit a household that has laid by a supply of yarn. He loads the pieces of his portable loom on a donkey, and works for a daily wage. He also makes sacks of goat hair. Sometimes he works in his own home, with yarn that is brought to him. For this kind of work, the yarn is weighed and the price is fixed according to the amount of yarn that is brought by the customer and the measurement of the cloth to be delivered. Since the yarns are spun by children and adults, at all times of the day, and are very irregular, the fabric produced from them is used to make working gowns and jackets for men and women and is extremely coarse and primitive. It sheds water well, since the wool has not been washed in hot water and the yarn retains its natural fat.

287 Felt making is also the work of professionals. For this a kind of screen is used, made of reeds. The screen is laid on the ground and the loose wool is piled on it. Each layer of wool is wetted down with hot water. The screen is then rolled up with the wool, and this bundle is then rolled back and forth for a long time in order to mat the fibers together. The felt is then dried in the sun and is ready for use. The same artisan makes, from fine selected wool, the round felt hats that the Monguors wear. When the round piece of felt has been made and is still wet, it is stretched over a mold to form the hat.

•281 The preparation of the furs used by the Monguors is a household industry. The sheep and goat skins are washed, the fat is scraped off, and the skins are dried. They are then steeped in an earthenware jar containing a mixture of salt, flour, and the yeast that is used for fermenting wine, in the proportions of one handful of salt, one pound of flour, and one brick of yeast for each skin. The steeping lasts for fourteen days in the summer or twenty-one days in winter. When the steeping has been completed, the skins are washed in the river, dried in the shade, and are then ready for use. Coats made of such skins are cut and sewn by a professional artisan at the home of the Monguor customer.

326 Silversmiths make earrings, bracelets, finger rings, and the plates, cups, and pins that are used for the headdresses. They also make the sheaths that hold knife and chopsticks. The work done by Monguor silversmiths can always be distinguished from that done by Chinese, but as their work is done for a small population, it is bound to remain on a very small scale.

467 In spite of the fact that the Monguors, as subjects of their own T'u-ssu, are exempt in general from Chinese
651 demands for corvée labor, in recent years carpenters and stonecutters who make millstones have been affected by these demands. The Chinese officials make their demands on the professional guilds; the individual worker is not paid for such work, and his guild must pay him when he has been summoned for unpaid official work.

[P. 126 a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

608 curing the opportunity to pasture his large flocks of sheep on the Tibetan grazing grounds. Similarly, a
648 Muslim will take the oath with a Monguor in order to increase and improve his wool and skin business by
[282] having, within the territory of the clan of his Monguor friend, a protector for his business and a home at which to stay. The Monguor benefits by being able to stay with his Muslim brother for several days at a time when making trips outside of Monguor territory.

Another special application of the institution of sworn brothers will be noted when we come to the description of the trading caravans that travel into and through Tibetan territory, and of the fishing engaged in by the Monguors in the waters of Kukunor lake.

608 In contrast to the tradition in the time of Chingis Khan that after the death of a sworn brother his son might appeal to the surviving sworn brother, among the Monguors the family of a sworn brother who has died has no continuing obligation. The oath may be taken for a limited period and for the achievement of a specific purpose, and be terminated when the purpose has been achieved. The oath may also be formally terminated under other conditions. Thus, in one case of which I knew, three young men in the district of Tolong took the oath together. Six months later they invited an old man to become their "sworn father." A goat was killed and the ceremony was carried out. For three years the three young men were faithful sworn brothers and showed toward their "sworn father" the devotion of true sons. The relationship was publicly known. After three years, however, gossip began to spread. People wondered why this oath had been taken when the district was at peace. It was suggested that perhaps they had subversive intentions of some kind and that harm might come to the whole community. Eventually the chief and elders of the village summoned both the sworn brothers and their sworn "father" before them and ordered them to abjure their relationship at a ceremony at the village temple, in the presence of the whole community.

Among Monguor women the equivalent or partial equivalent of "blood brotherhood" is to become "dry sisters." This relationship is only between two women; it is not extended to a group of more than two. The two who agree to be "dry sisters" do not swear an oath, but present each other with a piece of clothing and sit down to a meal together. They visit each other at New Year's, on the fifth day of the fifth month, and go to help each other in time of sickness. They invite each other to such celebrations as those for childbirth and marriage.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

428 The division of the inheritance is one of the most diffi-
596 cult of all problems in the extended family of the patrilineal Monguor society. It usually takes place when the grandfather dies and the sons decide to set up sepa-

[P. 107b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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FIG. 8. Spinning handicraft. Two girls of Monguor origin, whose parents had attached themselves to a group of Tibetans enrolled as subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu. They wear the Tibetan clothes typical of the Huari region north of Hsining. The elder girl is spinning thread, which passes over a hook at the end of the stick thrust into her collar at the back of the neck. She keeps a bundle of wool in the bosom of her gown and from it twists the yarn which is rolled on to the spindle which she holds in her left hand. The thread then passes over the hook of the stick, to stretch and straighten it. The younger sister is fluffing a bundle of wool to prepare it for her elder sister.

467 Monguor artisans engaged in such work must perforce
651 join the Chinese guilds when they are summoned to work on official buildings.

The shamans are also affected by the need for asso-
756 ciation with a guild. Whenever there is an eclipse of
177 the sun or moon the shamans are likely to be summoned to the nearest Chinese town to help, by their incantations,
467 with the "liberation" of the sun or moon. In this they are associated with the Chinese Taoist priests. I knew of one case in which there was a quarrel between the shamans of two Monguor villages. They brought their disagreement before the chief of the religious corporation, a Taoist priest, who settled the matter.

462 The question of the origin of specialized artisan crafts is an interesting problem. In the case of the Monguors, most work is done in the household and there is little need for specialized skills. When there is such a need, moreover, most people cannot afford to hire a skilled craftsman to come from a Chinese town. These con-

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585 Each guest has settled himself, not without first having made many an excuse and salaam. All follow the gospel which advises taking the last place in order to see oneself forced to go up toward the first ones. It is a real contest of politeness in which the master of ceremonies is forced to intervene with much circumspection. The parents of the bride do not preside at the festivity.

585 264 [285] At the table one is all the more at ease if there are fewer /44/ guests. The felt rugs and the litters of straw are very practical "seats" at these wedding dinners, since they permit seating as many people as one wishes. The guests having taken their places, the meal is begun by serving tea with milk and dry bread. Because the interior of the rectangle remains free, the service is done briskly. Do not expect to see beautiful teapots, milk jugs, cups, saucers, plates of fine porcelain. The milk is already poured into the tea in the kitchen, the copper teapots are those of every day; the bread is put around in piles on the tables, the cup is made of white earthenware but without cracks.

585 273 After the tea, well-heated gin is served. It is poured into about 20 small terra cotta cups, which each one passes to the other after drinking two or three swallows. The women drink the gin like the men. They chatter, they smoke, while waiting for the main 585 262 264 dish, which consists of a sheep served whole and cooked to a turn. The head and the saddle are detached but put back in place so as to give the illusion of one intact piece. Three sheep are served at a time. While the sheep are being admired, the servers distribute to [41] each guest a small wooden receptacle which has the shape of a saucer and in which vinegar is poured. Several wooden boxes con- [263] taining salt and pimento are in the center of the table. The T'ou-jen do not use forks or spoons; the fingers are the main means of eating, as they maneuver with a knife and the pair of chopsticks which each guest carries in a case attached to his belt. The servers take the meat with their fingers, cut it in pieces, and fill the saucers of the guests with it. The meat is eaten seasoned with salt, pimento, [263] and vinegar, and one adds to it a piece of bread. The bones are thrown on the table or on the ground. As soon as the mutton is tackled, complete silence reigns over the assemblage, all of whom

2: Schram--207 M-4, 8 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Rich T'ou-jen widow, no longer speaking her language, wearing no longer the costume of her race. Type of completely Sinicized T'ou-jen, even having the little Chinese feet. However, at her death she will be dressed in the T'ou-jen style for her last toilette!

291 to cope with the routine of their ordinary lives as the
302 result of a day of real happiness. At the festival they had felt and acted as if they belonged to the most beauti-
182 ful and happy people in the world. Proud as peacocks, they had walked smiling through the throngs as if they were queens. They had listened with pleasure to the jingling of the strings of copper coins hanging from their sashes; they had been delighted by the fluttering of the silk and satin handkerchiefs hanging by the embroidered ends of their sashes. They had enjoyed the fragrance of the strong musk perfume on their garments, and they had been admired and congratulated.

291 Unmarried girls are not dressed as gaudily as the married women. They wear blue cotton trousers, the attached lower legs of which are made of red cloth. Their blue cotton boots are embroidered with Chinese designs, usually of flowers. They wear the long gown of violet, green, blue, or red cotton cloth, with an apron over it. The hem of the gown is decorated with red cotton stitching. The collar is always of red cotton, and is embroidered. The sash is a piece of red cotton cloth, without embroidery. The sleeveless jacket is of green, blue, or red cotton trimmed at the edges with red stitching. Unmarried girls wear their hair in a small "bun" on top of the head, bound with red cord and covered with a shell. The rest of their hair is braided in two plaits, bound together at the neck with red cord and covered with a short sheath decorated with shells. Unmarried girls never wear hats. In winter they cover their ears and the side of their foreheads with a strip of red cotton cloth.

301 Both married and unmarried women wear bracelets, sometimes three or four pairs, and silver rings on the fourth finger of each hand—sometimes three or four rings on the same finger. The rings are sometimes of plain silver and sometimes set with coral or turquoise. Unmarried girls wear only small, simple rings in their ears. The earlobe is pierced in the spring on the day of the festival of the ancestors.

Both men and women often wear a reliquary on the
778 chest, made like those worn by Mongols and Tibetans, often of silver, containing bits of writing from Tibetan scriptures, and sometimes miniature Buddhas.

HANDICRAFTS AND ORIGIN OF ARTISANS

463 There are, of course, no large scale industries among the Monguors. Most of their necessities can be bought either in the Chinese towns, or at the monastery festivals or the fairs that are held at the time of the clan assemblies. The handicrafts that are found among the Monguors themselves are limited to weaving, felt making, the making of fur coats, and the work of silversmiths. In addition there are a few carpenters and stone cutters.

286 The Monguors spin their own woolen yarn. Men, women, and older children spin when they have nothing else to do, drawing out the threads from a handful of

[P. 125 b]

286 wool and spinning them with the aid of a clay spindle. Grown men spin while they are walking and boys while they are watching the herds at pasture.

The weaver is a professional who is invited to visit a household that has laid by a supply of yarn. He loads the pieces of his portable loom on a donkey, and works for a daily wage. He also makes sacks of goat hair. Sometimes he works in his own home, with yarn that is brought to him. For this kind of work, the yarn is weighed and the price is fixed according to the amount of yarn that is brought by the customer and the measurement of the cloth to be delivered. Since the yarns are spun by children and adults, at all times of the day, and are very irregular, the fabric produced from them is used to make working gowns and jackets for men and women and is extremely coarse and primitive. It sheds water well, since the wool has not been washed in hot water and the yarn retains its natural fat.

287 Felt making is also the work of professionals. For this a kind of screen is used, made of reeds. The screen is laid on the ground and the loose wool is piled on it. Each layer of wool is wetted down with hot water. The screen is then rolled up with the wool, and this bundle is then rolled back and forth for a long time in order to mat the fibers together. The felt is then dried in the sun and is ready for use. The same artisan makes, from fine selected wool, the round felt hats that the Monguors wear. When the round piece of felt has been made and is still wet, it is stretched over a mold to form the hat.

281 The preparation of the furs used by the Monguors is a household industry. The sheep and goat skins are washed, the fat is scraped off, and the skins are dried. They are then steeped in an earthenware jar containing a mixture of salt, flour, and the yeast that is used for fermenting wine, in the proportions of one handful of salt, one pound of flour, and one brick of yeast for each skin. The steeping lasts for fourteen days in the summer or twenty-one days in winter. When the steeping has been completed, the skins are washed in the river, dried in the shade, and are then ready for use. Coats made of such skins are cut and sewn by a professional artisan at the home of the Monguor customer.

326 Silversmiths make earrings, bracelets, finger rings, and the plates, cups, and pins that are used for the headdresses. They also make the sheaths that hold knife and chopsticks. The work done by Monguor silversmiths can always be distinguished from that done by Chinese, but as their work is done for a small population, it is bound to remain on a very small scale.

467 In spite of the fact that the Monguors, as subjects of
651 their own T'u-ssu, are exempt in general from Chinese demands for corvée labor, in recent years carpenters and stonecutters who make millstones have been affected by these demands. The Chinese officials make their demands on the professional guilds; the individual worker is not paid for such work, and his guild must pay him when he has been summoned for unpaid official work.

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585 For the son-in-law:
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1) Chinese cap
2) lined or plain garment of checked calico, blue in color
3) belt of red cloth 12 feet long
4) leggings or boots, never trousers
5) a big Tibetan k'ata, which will be put around his neck (1)

1. K'ata (Tibetan, khabtags) ... is a pale-blue silk scarf, very primitively woven; it is offered among the T'ou-jen to persons whom one wishes to honor or from whom one expects a service; it is even offered to the gods. Very pretty ones are found, blue or white, of first quality, very long, with Buddhist pictures; they are offered only on important occasions and to persons of note.

For the grandfather: a piece of felt
For the grandmother: a long, plain garment or a skirt
585 For the son-in-law's father: a piece of felt
431 For the son-in-law's mother: a long garment or a skirt
583 For the paternal uncles of son-in-law: a pillow
602 For the paternal aunts of the son-in-law: leggings
[287] For the son-in-law's brothers: leggings, pillow, or k'ata
For the little sisters of the son-in-law: two feet of white cloth serving as a handkerchief
For the big sisters of the son-in-law: a piece of red cloth four feet long
For the maternal uncle of the son-in-law: the gift of honor, a big k'ata, and a string of large cash strung on red cord with a strand of white wool
For the go-between: a pair of boots and a string of cash or six strings of cash and a pillow.

In rich families the fabrics will be of the best quality; in addition they will have a hat of silver strips, two or three pairs of ear-

576 and a felt hat which is a simpler edition of the ceremonial
606 hat with its additional ornament of a miniature spear
291 and shield.

MARRIAGE AND ITS REGULATION

581 Because of the veneration of ancestors and the neces-
858 sity for having male children in order to carry on the ancestral cult, marriage is not an optional but a necessary part of Monguor life, except of course for lamas. The poorest people will scrimp and save in order to be able to meet the expenses of getting a bride for a son. They will sell animals and land, and go into debt. When a paternal inheritance is divided, money must first be set aside to provide wives for the brothers who are not yet married. People will be consoled or resigned at the death of a husband or wife, but never for the death of an only son, and the sweetest consolation of an old man nearing death is to have married all his sons and to have cradled his grandsons. When two old Monguors meet for the first time, the polite greeting includes the question, "are all your sons married and do you have grandsons?"

582 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There is absolute prohibition against marrying a girl belonging to the same clan. Within the clan, therefore, there are no marriages between nobles and commoners, because all bear the same clan name. It has already been noted above, however, that there began to be exceptions to this rule among the commoners in the period of decay and breakdown of the Monguor society, partly because the commoners are in fact not the actual descendants of the ancestors of the noble clan but merely "assimilated" as a result of being the subjects of the noble clan, with the result that poor nobles began to marry their daughters to sons of commoners. It has also been noted that this loosening of the rules among the commoners was aided by the enrollment of Tibetans and Chinese in the Monguor clans; Tibetan and Chinese women were frequently married by Monguor commoners, and occasionally by the nobles.

The rule of exogamy makes impossible marriage between the children of two brothers, but marriages between the children of a brother and a sister are allowable and even frequent, because the sister married out of her brother's clan and her children and his children therefore have different clan names. Very often, also, when family *A* gives a girl to family *B*, family *B* reciprocates by giving a girl to be married to a boy of family *A*. In all marriages, however, boys and girls must be of the same generation—a custom which may be the result of Chinese influence.

581 The influence of wealth on marriage is of several
565 kinds. The fact that chiefs of clans and rich nobles and rich commoners are prone to marry girls from rich families, including Chinese families, has already been mentioned. The influence of wealth is also shown when

[P. 87a]

597 before him and was given the name "Tiger." The new father then led the boy to the family graveyard, taking with him some wine, steamed rolls, meat, paper, and sticks of incense. The boy knelt and honored the spirit of the earth with a libation of wine poured on the ground. He then honored his new ancestors, kneeling and prostrating himself and making a burnt offering of paper and incense. Returning home, the boy was congratulated by the guests who called him by his new name, and he in return honored all the guests as a group by prostrating himself nine times. The ceremonies concluded with a dinner for the guests. The boy was happy with his fine new clothes, and willing to stay with a family that was so much better off then the one into which he had been born. His father went home, driving a nice cow before him. The boy was to be considered not only as "belonging" to his new family, but as being descended from his new father's ancestors and as fully integrated into the family.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR IN THE FAMILY

596 The structure of a Monguor family can be clearly
576 seen when a guest is entertained at dinner. Grand-
father presides, sitting on the *k'ang* or heated sleeping-
264 platform. Grandmother sits down only if invited by the guest to come up on the *k'ang*. If there is no guest, both grandfather and grandmother sit on the *k'ang*. The younger sons squat on their heels on the floor, in front of the *k'ang*, eating with chopsticks out of a bowl held in the left hand; the elder sons are allowed to sit on the edge of the *k'ang*. The staple of the meal is usually barley-flour noodles. Grandfather reaches out from the *k'ang* and puts some meat and vegetables in each bowl. Each, as he finishes his meal, licks his bowl clean and hands it to his wife to be washed. While the grandfather is sitting on the *k'ang*, none of the daughters-in-law may sit on the floor; they must remain standing.

576 It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a
guest. After the food has been eaten, tea is served in
272 the same bowl. Whether food or tea is served, the bowl must always be filled to the brim. Bowls or dishes must always be presented with both hands. Tea is poured with the right hand, while the left hand is held toward the guest, palm upward.

576 One must never step over a person who is sleeping or
lying down. Fathers and daughters-in-law must always
606 keep some distance between them. When there is a
quarrel in the family, the first reproach by a daughter-
•291 in-law is always that "distance has not been kept." This standard of propriety is common to Monguors and Chinese. A daughter-in-law is not allowed to appear before the elder generation or guests bareheaded or without wearing either a long gown or a skirt covering her trousered legs. Only when a daughter-in-law is visiting her own mother's home may she go bare-headed. In her husband's home she must always wear a gown

273 at New Year and at weddings, funerals, and other
[733] festivals. The women do the distilling. Drinking too much is a weakness of Monguor men, and the women also like to drink a cup. As the distilling is crude, the liquor is by no means a healthy drink. In order to avoid drunken fights at the great spring and autumn festivals, liquor is drunk only at the end of the festivities.

276 Monguor men smoke all day long, using Chinese tobacco and the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl holding less than a thimbleful of tobacco. Often, instead of buying a wooden pipe stem from a peddler, the men make them for themselves, using the leg bone of a sheep. The pipe is hung from the belt, balanced by a small pouch which contains tinder and some small flints and has a steel 'keel." To strike a light, a piece of flint and a pinch of tinder are held between forefinger and thumb and struck against the steel. Women seldom smoke.

733 The practice of smoking opium has to some extent spread from the Chinese to the Monguors, and wherever there is an opium addict the whole family is sure to be ruined. Some T'u-ssu allow their subjects to raise opium, while others forbid it.

CLOTHING AND HEADDRESSES

291 For centuries the Monguors have been proud of their national costume, though it is true that in some Monguor communities Chinese clothing had become commoner than the Monguor costume by 1922. The adoption of Chinese clothing is probably due to the fact that the Monguor costume was despised by the Chinese wives of chiefs of clans and rich men. The enrollment of Chinese families in the Monguor clans has also had an influence. In 1949 the Communists, when they overran the Monguor country, forbade the wearing of the national costume—presumably as part of a policy of obliterating the separate customs and traditions of small minorities.

The traditional men's costume is much less elaborate than that of the women. The trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and are cut in the Chinese style with a loose crotch and baggy seat. It is said that in former days the men did not wear trousers at all, and even today the old men living north of Weiyuanp'u do not wear trousers under their gowns unless they are going to town.[9] Monguor boots resemble Tibetan boots, having a "shoe" made like a moccasin and a cloth leg reaching
[294] to the knee. The legs of the trousers are stuffed into the boots. Sometimes the leg of the boot is embroidered. In winter some Monguors wear leather boots bought in the city.

[9] It is possible that the Monguor tradition on this subject is confused. Trousers have been part of the Mongol costume from ancient times. On the other hand, the Tibetans, especially the nomad Tibetans, do not wear trousers, and it is possible that the custom among some Monguors of not wearing trousers is due to Tibetan influence. On the subject see Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, Vienna, Verlag Herold, 1949, and Ekvall, *op. cit.*—O. L.

[p. 118a]

291 The gown is of dark blue cotton cloth, cut from the neck down and across under the right arm, and buttoned under the arm and down the side. A woman's gown opens on the left side instead of the right, and is worn hanging down to the heels. Men wear a sash or belt, keeping the hem of the gown hanging just a little below the knees, and loosening up the breast of the gown so that it provides a capacious pocket into which they stuff their eating bowls and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown roughly woven of white wool. A woman's working gown is woven of black and brown wool. Rich people wear a gown woven of Tibetan wool serge (*p'u-lu*). The ends of the men's sashes are seldom embroidered and on holidays they wear a vest or sleeveless jacket which is much less ornamented than that worn by women.

Men shave the front of the head and grow the hair at the back of the crown long so that it can be braided into a "pigtail" which is lengthened with green strings with tassels at the ends. They wear small, round felt hats.

302 A boy's head is not shaved until he is seven or eight, [858] at which time he begins to braid his hair in a "pigtail." A boy's costume is in general just like that of a man, but with few ornaments.

A man is not allowed to grow a beard as long as his parents are living. A man may begin to grow a beard when he is about the age of thirty if his parents died when he was relatively young. The growing of the beard is started on the first day of either the first or second moon of the new year. Some old men shave their heads clean when they reach the age of about sixty, and women of sixty also frequently cut off their long hair. Both men and women when they do this take vows like those taken by lamas and devote the rest of their lives to prayer in order to provide for a happy rebirth.

306 The only men who wear earrings are those who, described in the chapter on children, have received the "flower of longevity" from a maternal uncle in childhood. Later this "flower of longevity" is replaced by a single large silver earring.

Many men are fond of wearing a bracelet, but only on one wrist. It is usually a heavy copper ring, silver plated and carved with Chinese designs. Nearly all young people wear a bracelet on each wrist, resembling the single bracelet of a grown man. A man also hangs from his belt or sash a sheath containing a knife and chopsticks. Some of these are beautifully carved and ornamented with coral and turquoise.

A man's finger ring is made of two thin, small rings with a broad ring soldered outside them. A piece of coral or turquoise is set in this ring.

173 The national legends and traditions of the Monguors 291 are associated much more with the striking costumes of the women than with the comparatively simple cos- 562 tumes of the men. Some of these legends have already been mentioned. Another concerns the Li clan of Shat'o Turkish origin which claims as its ancestor the

173 Prince of Chin. According to the legend this prince,
291 "blessed by heaven and all the spirits," begat thirteen
562 sons from his nine wives. Because he was fond of magnificence and display, he designed a different costume for each wife, and this is supposed to be the origin of the nine main designs of Monguor women's costume to this day.

177 The significance of the Monguor national costume even
648 in recent times is illustrated by the following story, which stirred up interest throughout the Monguor country. In 1913 the Living Buddha of the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu [10] forbade the Monguor women living in his territory to wear their national costume and ordered them to adopt the Tibetan style of dress. Passions ran high against this order. Although the Monguors had for centuries supported the monastery with their offerings, they ceased to appear at the monastery festivals and began to make their offerings to other monasteries. Even the lamas of Monguor origin left the monastery and enrolled in other monasteries. The result was that the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu began to enroll Chinese novices and the whole spirit of the institution was changed.

291 The costumes of the Monguor women are much more
292 elaborate and distinctive than those of the men. Like the
562 men, however, the women do not wear underclothes, nor do they have nightgowns. Their bed is a piece of felt spread on the sleeping platform; there are no sheets or pillowcases, and at night they simply undress and cover themselves with roughly woven blankets or sheepskins.

291 A woman's trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and
562 are fastened around the waist with a rope twisted of sheep's wool. On the legs of the trousers, just below the knee, there is a hem of white cotton cloth. To this hem is sewn the lower leg of the trousers which can easily be removed and replaced, when the women go to festivals, with a leg of finer cloth or of silk or satin, embroidered in red. Ordinarily, the legs of the trousers are stuffed into the tops of the boots, but the ornamental trouser leg can be worn outside the boot. As with men's trousers, the cut is that of Chinese trousers, and the tradition is that in older times trousers were not used at all. The Monguor women of the villages north of the valleys of Weiyüanp'u and Hungnaitze wear trousers only on the coldest winter days and when they go to festivals.

462 Monguor women make their own boots. The sole is
294 made of alternating layers of blue and white cotton cloth pasted together and then stitched, the foot of the boot is made of dark blue cotton cloth, sometimes beautifully embroidered, and the legs are ornamented with patches of dark leather. The foot of the boot may also be made of black cotton cloth, adorned with green

[10] For references to this monastery, see Reginald Farrar, *On the eaves of the world* and *The rainbow bridge*, London, Arnold, 1917 and 1921.

[p. 119a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

462 stitching. The leg of the boot is of dark blue cotton
294 cloth and reaches to the knee. Stockings are not worn. Some women pull their boots on over bare feet, others wrap their feet with long strips of cotton cloth. The designs embroidered on ornamental boots are Chinese —swastikas and other designs, and flowers such as violets, roses, or peonies.

554 The boots and the sash are important items in the
292 trousseau of a Monguor bride—they display her proficiency in embroidery. Months of work go into the preparation of them, and girls learn the art of embroidering from older women. A pair of fine boots, worn only on festive occasions, is expected to last a lifetime. At festivals, if it is rainy or muddy, women can be seen walking barefoot carrying their precious boots under their arms, laughing and chatting as they trudge through the mud and putting on their boots only at the last moment. At such gatherings, boots and sashes are the articles that women compare and admire or envy; often a fine pair of boots is taken off and passed around the admiring circle of women while the proud owner modestly watches from the corner of her eyes, gracefully accepting compliments and congratulations. After
291 the age of about forty, however, the woman puts aside her fancy foots and wears boots of a more simple style. An important part of the costume is a sort of apron which covers the chest and stomach. The upper part is of white cotton cloth, and the lower part of green cloth. The lower part is often beautifully embroidered with flowers, swastikas, or the Chinese characters signifying "longevity" and "happiness." On the lower part is sewed a large pocket in which women keep their needle cases, thread, and all kinds of odds and ends. The upper part of the apron hangs from a string around the neck, while the lower part is tied behind the back with laces.

Under her apron a woman wears a short shirt, reaching to the hips, made of red or green or violet cotton cloth. In winter this shirt is doubled and wadded with cotton or wool. Rich people wear shirts of satin or silk.

The woman's gown is a long, full robe, reaching to the heels, with wide sleeves. The front of the gown overlaps on the left side, and buttons under the left arm and down the side while the man's gown, as already described, buttons down the right side. Except for wealthy people, the gown is ordinarily of blue cotton cloth. Another gown of the same size and pattern is worn over the first gown. This outer gown is roughly woven from the wool of sheep or goats. As this wool has not been cleaned of its natural oil before being woven, it is heavy, warm, and sheds water well. In some places where the Monguor women, like Tibetan women, do not wear trousers, these two gowns are the only clothing. A girdle or sash holds both gowns in at the waist. For poor people, this is the only fastening of the gown; buttons are not used.

292 For festive dress the rough outer gown is not worn

292 hanging beside the ends of the sash now take the place of this flag, while the jingling of the strings of copper coins take the place of the rustling noise formerly made by the tasseled paper strips.

The following description of the costume of the Miao women of southern and southwest China shows many striking resemblances to Monguor costume:

> All the collars are usually so loaded with designs and embroidery in all shapes and all colors that it is difficult to see the color of the fabric. The sleeves, similarly, are covered with bands of fabric of different colors, sewn on in flounces from the wrist to the elbow. In some tribes the boys wear as many flounces as the girls. Among the White Miao the skirts have no ornamentation whatever except pleats, but in most of the other tribes they are hidden under embroidery done in colored thread, patterns made with wax [11] and a multiplicity of bits of fabric of various colors sewn on to the skirt. The Miao women make all these embroideries . . . they all know how to embroider, cut clothes, and sew . . .[12]

302 Even more important for a Monguor woman than her clothes are her hair and her headdress. Hair as black as ebony is the most admired. Many Monguors have a reddish tinge in their black hair, but women consider this a blemish. The way of doing the hair and the headdress are strictly ruled by tradition. When a girl marries out of her own group, she must adopt the coiffure of her husband's group.

There are a few exceptions to this rule. In the subprefecture of Maopeisheng there are groups of Monguors who settled as "colonists" from overcrowded regions. The tendency was for groups coming from the same region to settle together. When new brides go to these colonies, they are allowed to wear the coiffure of their group or origin for only three days—a sort of affectionate and touching farewell to the past—after which they must adopt the local fashion. Among the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, of Shat'o origin, where denationalization has gone farthest, sometimes as many as three different ways of doing the hair can be seen in the same family. I have heard Monguors of other clans criticizing the Li T'u-ssu for not doing his duty in keeping up the traditions of his clan in this respect.

291 292 Under the empire, Chinese women in this part of China never wore hats. Monguor married women, in contrast, always wear a hat, even at home. Not only do the elders insist on the observance of this tradition, but other people would laugh at a bareheaded woman. At home a small, round felt hat is worn and on holidays a special hat, different for each group. Only when a woman has left her husband's house for a visit at her parents' home is she allowed to go without a hat—a sentimental privilege giving her parents the illusion of seeing her again as she was before she was married. In contrast with this custom is the fact that a woman who

[11] This reference is to a method of making patterns, leaving part of the fabric exposed and covering part of it with wax to prevent the dye from reaching it.—O. L.

[12] Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, as cited.

[P. 121a]

291 has passed the age of forty and would not ordinarily
292 continue to wear her ceremonial hat on festive occasions will, if her parents are still alive, continue to wear it for a few more years in order to give her parents the feeling that they have not reached extreme old age. In such cases, the woman also wears for a few extra years her fancy extra sleeves and the other showy parts of her costume. After the death of her parents, however, all this finery is put away forever, and she wears only the small felt hat.

291 There are nine different styles of hairdress and hat,
302 each peculiar to one Monguor group. The spellings given below are taken, in simplified form, from the phonetic transcriptions in *Dictionnaire Monguor-français*, by A. De Smedt and A. Mostaert. The basic term for the Monguor woman's headdress is *niudar*, and according to these authorities its etymology appears to be obscure. It may be from an old word for "head," or from a word possibly meaning "bridle."

1. *rdziämu niudar*. This style is called "the Chinese style," from the Tibetan word *rgyami*, "Chinese." The Monguors explain that in early times this style was peculiar to the Monguors, but that it was adopted by the women of the first Chinese colonists who settled in the region. This explanation is reasonable enough, since nowhere in China do women arrange their hair in this way. The foundation of this headdress is made by cutting strips of black or dark blue cotton cloth six inches long and three inches wide, which are pasted together to make a stiff board a quarter of an inch thick. While this board is still wet and soft, it is stretched over a convex tile to give it a curved shape. A hole is cut in the middle of this board.

To dress the hair, a lock is first combed down from the forehead. The rest of the hair is combed straight back to the nape of the neck, twisted loosely, and tied with red string. The tress of hair from the back of the head is then brought up to the top of the head, twisted together with the lock of hair from the forehead, fastened with red string, and passed through the hole in the pasteboard "crown" and twisted into a "bun." Several pins three inches long are stuck through this "bun" to hold it. It should be noted here that Monguor women neither shave their forehead nor pluck their eyebrows as Chinese women used to do.

With this headdress there goes a pair of earrings which are made as follows: from the hole pierced in the ear there hangs a silver hook. To this is soldered a small plate representing the head of a tiger, from which hang five small chains. To these chains is soldered a plate with flower designs, from which hang seven small silver chains. The weight of the earring is held up by a string running back of the ear.

This headdress is used by the women of the valley of Lumen, near the sub-prefecture of Xienpei. The rest of the costume that goes with this headdress consists of

●291 302 a long blue gown reaching to the knees, a sleeveless jacket, blue or violet trousers, Chinese socks, and instead of boots a kind of shoe with long upcurving toes. The men of this group dress in the Chinese fashion but still wear the Monguor felt hat. The group contains subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu who still speak the Monguor language, but at the time that I was in the region they were rapidly being assimilated to the Chinese. It is worth noting that, although the women of this group do not wear the "military" skirt or the shield and spear described below, they are convinced that the way in which they do their hair is the original, ancestral style of the days of Chingis Khan.

2. The *Huari niudar* (or *Barbardzin niudar*, "crested hat"). This is the style worn by the women of the region of Huari, north of the Hsining River. First, a lock of hair is combed down from the forehead. The rest of the hair is parted in the middle, and made into two braids, one on each side of the head. The ends of these braids are tightly tied together with red string. A ribbon of black cotton is tied around the head. Another ribbon of the same material goes over the top of the head, and the forehead lock is tucked back into it. The rest of this headdress is made as follows:

A head is roughly molded of clay and strips ot cotton cloth are pasted on this mold, to form a pasteboard skull-

[p. 122b]

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FIG. 4. Huari Niudar. Front and back views of a poor Monguor widow with her two children. She wears the headdress called "Huari Niudar." Note details: shield, spear, disc, red strings, shells, corals, etc.

[p. 122a]

291/302 cap. A high, semicircular brim is pasted on the forehead of the cap. Strips of red, blue, green, and white cotton fabric are then pasted on the crown. A tassel of thin red strings is pasted in a semicircle across the crown of the cap, from side to side. Behind this tassel, small copper rods are set in semicircles. A hole is made in the crown of the cap; when the cap is set on the head, a ribbon is braided into the forehead tress, pulled back under the cap, brought up through this hole, and rolled into a small bun. Two long pins are pushed criss-cross through the bun, and the bun is then covered with an inverted copper cup, transfixed by a large horizontal pin. This cup and pin represent the shield and spear of the warrior. Thin red strings attached to the pins under the cup are looped up and attached to the "spear" pin. At the back of this headdress there is a disc, made by pasting pieces of cotton cloth together, trimmed around the edge with pieces of cloth of different colors and encrusted with shells, pearls, mother of pearl, corals, and turquoise, imitation and genuine. This disc is held firm to the skullcap by red strings.

The earrings that go with this headdress are large and heavy. To the hook that hangs from the ear is soldered a plate with a dragon, tiger, or flower design. From this plate hang silver sticks or pins. To prevent these heavy earrings from tearing the ears, their weight is held up

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by a ribbon which is attached to the ribbon going around the head, and each earring is attached to the other by a chain encrusted with coral or pearls which passes under the chin.

This headdress is worn by the women of the valleys of Hungnai, Shuimo, and Ch'angsha. At home, these women wear a hat representing only the upper part of the headdress, without the ornaments.

3. *T'oguäan niudar* (*T'ukuan niudar*). This headdress, worn only by the women of the region under the jurisdiction of the T'ukuan Living Buddha, is the same as the one just described, with the exception that instead of the semicircle on the forehead there is a three-pronged pasteboard fork. The earrings that go with this headdress are the same as those described above.

FIG. 5. Huari Niudar. A rich Monguor woman in home dress, wearing the Huari Niudar or "crested headdress," but without the encumbering disc on the back. She wears the winter jacket, wadded with wool or cotton, and is proud of her motherly sleeves.

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4. *Sge niudar* ("great" or "honorable" headdress). The mold or skullcap for this headdress is made as previously described. On the top of it is pasted a miniature winnowing basket, for which reason this headdress is also known as the "winnowing basket" headdress. In front, there are tassels of red thread, and at the sides are fringes of red thread. In the middle of the front of the headdress there are pieces of glass or porcelain and one or two rows of pieces of shell or coral. At the back are eight movable copper plates, which are taken off when at home. In the middle of these eight plates are the historic miniature shield and spear, from which hang red threads. Under the shield there is a small crescent shaped cushion, held by the ribbons which go around the head. This cushion is covered with black yak hair. Whenever a woman goes to a festival, she puts hemp oil on this cushion to make it shine. This cushion is called "the heart of the hair." As in numbers 2 and 3 described above, there is a strong ribbon going around the head and a central ribbon from the forehead to the nape of the neck. A small braid is plaited from the forehead lock, to be attached to the ribbon going over the top of the head, and the remainder of the hair is parted in the middle and combed over the ears in graceful waves. The ends of the hair falling over the ears are twisted together, tied with a ribbon to the forehead braid, and brought up through the hole in the skullcap to form a bun, which is covered with the "shield" and fixed with the "spear."

With this headdress is worn a collar woven of tamarisk twigs, covered with red cotton cloth to which are sewn shells and corals. The earrings are the same as those described under number 2. A red shirt is worn with this headdress. Instead of copper, rich people use a silver shield, 8 silver plates, silver pins, and silver earrings. Ordinarily, this headdress is given to a girl at the time of her marriage by her parents. It is worn up to the age of forty. To protect the headdress women always carry with them a large piece of cotton cloth to wrap around their heads in case of rain. When a woman dies, this headdress is offered to a monastery. It is sold by the monastery at public auction, and prayers are said for the dead woman according to the price at which the headdress has been auctioned.

This headdress weighs six or seven pounds (four or five Chinese *chin*), and the women who wear it walk like living statues; when they talk together, they move their heads slowly and majestically.

5. *Dzion niudar* ("needle headdress"). This headdress is like the one just described, except that the eight plates around the shield are smaller, and that a set of large copper pins forms a sort of halo around the shield. This headdress is worn by the Ximma women of Lungwu and the Tsanskwor region.

6. *Sgulong niudar* ("rain-spout" headdress). This headdress is the same as number 4, except that the "winnowing basket" is depressed between the two side-

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FIG. 6. Ser Nindir, the "great" or "honorable" headdress. The woman in the middle is of Tibetan origin but enrolled in a Monguor clan. She wears the simple Tibetan costume. The two on each side are Monguor, wearing the elaborate Monguor costume and the monumental "great" or "honorable" headdress. The photograph shows the pattern of the jacket, the double set of sleeves, the sash, the collar with shells and corals, and the enormous headdress described in the text.

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bunches of hair, and is level with the "shield." It is worn by the women of the region of Areche, west of Weiyüanp'u, by those of Ch'ichiarechu, and those of Machiarechu of T'assu, near Weiyüanp'u.

7. *Yu niudar* ("disc" headdress). This headdress is the same as number 4, except that the cushion covered with yak hair is replaced by a small disc adorned with pieces of shell and coral.

8. *Ndziäse niudar* ("plow" headdress). This headdress is again the same as number 4, except that its dimensions are smaller. The red fringes in front are longer. Formerly, the eight plates were worn at the back, but in recent times they have been replaced by a piece of red cotton cloth. The two tresses from the sides of the head and the small tress and ribbon from the forehead are fastened together at the nape of the neck around a small piece of wood, tied with red strings, and passed through the skullcap so that they hold it in place. The "shield" and "spear" are pinned to the knot of hair that comes through the skullcap.

Special earrings are worn with this headdress. They are made of silver in the shape of a *Z*. The lower part

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

291 302 of the Z is passed through the lobe of the ear and then turned up to hook into the upper part. It is said that this is the primitive design of all Monguor earrings, and there is a tradition that such earrings were formerly made of bones. It almost seems that they might be a relic of the neolithic period before metal was used.

9. *Sogmu nindar* ("Mongol woman's") headdress, from the Tibetan *sogmu*, "a Mongol woman." This way of doing the hair, preserved among only one of nine Monguor groups, is that which most nearly resembles, in essentials, the Mongol style of hairdress. The hair is parted in the middle of the head and braided in two plaits which hang down in front of the shoulders on the chest. Each braid is wrapped in a sheath which reaches nearly to the knees, and the sheath is both held in by the sash and buttoned to the gown to keep it firm. The sheaths worn on holidays are embroidered. A small round felt hat goes with this headdress, which is used by the women of Patsasanch'eng and of the valley of Hualin.

302 291 182 Anthropologists often overlook the psychological importance of customs and costumes. It seems to me that

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in spite of the poor materials used by the Monguors, the clumsiness of the headdresses, and certain childish aspects of the festivals at which these costumes are paraded, it is important to realize that all this display, pathetic though it may seem, brings happiness to the people, especially the women. Whenever I attended festivals in the Monguor country I could not but notice the atmosphere of joy and happiness, especially among the women. The holiday and the opportunity to display their costumes gave them psychologically a reinforcement of their self-esteem, and when they went home they were better able

FIG. 7. Sge Niudar, the "great" or "honorable" headdress. Back view of the costume shown in fig. 6, showing the historical shield and spear, the eight movable plates, the cushion forming the "heart of the hair," and the tassels and fringes.

[P. 125 a]

291 to cope with the routine of their ordinary lives as the
302 result of a day of real happiness. At the festival they
182 had felt and acted as if they belonged to the most beautiful and happy people in the world. Proud as peacocks, they had walked smiling through the throngs as if they were queens. They had listened with pleasure to the jingling of the strings of copper coins hanging from their sashes; they had been delighted by the fluttering of the silk and satin handkerchiefs hanging by the embroidered ends of their sashes. They had enjoyed the fragrance of the strong musk perfume on their garments, and they had been admired and congratulated.

291 Unmarried girls are not dressed as gaudily as the married women. They wear blue cotton trousers, the attached lower legs of which are made of red cloth. Their blue cotton boots are embroidered with Chinese designs, usually of flowers. They wear the long gown of violet, green, blue, or red cotton cloth, with an apron over it. The hem of the gown is decorated with red cotton stitching. The collar is always of red cotton, and is embroidered. The sash is a piece of red cotton cloth, without embroidery. The sleeveless jacket is of green, blue, or red cotton trimmed at the edges with red stitching. Unmarried girls wear their hair in a small "bun" on top of the head, bound with red cord and covered with a shell. The rest of their hair is braided in two plaits, bound together at the neck with red cord and covered with a short sheath decorated with shells. Unmarried girls never wear hats. In winter they cover their ears and the side of their foreheads with a strip of red cotton cloth.

301 Both married and unmarried women wear bracelets, sometimes three or four pairs, and silver rings on the fourth finger of each hand—sometimes three or four rings on the same finger. The rings are sometimes of plain silver and sometimes set with coral or turquoise. Unmarried girls wear only small, simple rings in their ears. The earlobe is pierced in the spring on the day of the festival of the ancestors.

Both men and women often wear a reliquary on the
778 chest, made like those worn by Mongols and Tibetans, often of silver, containing bits of writing from Tibetan scriptures, and sometimes miniature Buddhas.

HANDICRAFTS AND ORIGIN OF ARTISANS

463 There are, of course, no large scale industries among the Monguors. Most of their necessities can be bought either in the Chinese towns, or at the monastery festivals or the fairs that are held at the time of the clan assemblies. The handicrafts that are found among the Monguors themselves are limited to weaving, felt making, the making of fur coats, and the work of silversmiths. In addition there are a few carpenters and stone cutters.

286 The Monguors spin their own woolen yarn. Men, women, and older children spin when they have nothing else to do, drawing out the threads from a handful of

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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FIG. 8. Spinning handicraft. Two girls of Monguor origin, whose parents had attached themselves to a group of Tibetans enrolled as subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu. They wear the Tibetan clothes typical of the Huari region north of Hsining. The elder girl is spinning thread, which passes over a hook at the end of the stick thrust into her collar at the back of the neck. She keeps a bundle of wool in the bosom of her gown and from it twists the yarn which is rolled on to the spindle which she holds in her left hand. The thread then passes over the hook of the stick, to stretch and straighten it. The younger sister is fluffing a bundle of wool to prepare it for her elder sister.

467 Monguor artisans engaged in such work must perforce
651 join the Chinese guilds when they are summoned to work on official buildings.

The shamans are also affected by the need for asso-
756 ciation with a guild. Whenever there is an eclipse of
177 the sun or moon the shamans are likely to be summoned to the nearest Chinese town to help, by their incantations,
467 with the "liberation" of the sun or moon. In this they are associated with the Chinese Taoist priests. I knew of one case in which there was a quarrel between the shamans of two Monguor villages. They brought their disagreement before the chief of the religious corporation, a Taoist priest, who settled the matter.

462 The question of the origin of specialized artisan crafts is an interesting problem. In the case of the Monguors, most work is done in the household and there is little need for specialized skills. When there is such a need, moreover, most people cannot afford to hire a skilled craftsman to come from a Chinese town. These con-

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2: Schram--196 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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[illegible] Mongols of [illegible] Nor (Sining).

The young man in the center is a Sifan, tribal chief. He wears on his chest a Buddhist reliquary.

2: Schram--1971-4, 5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Young Tou-jen woman, given in marriage to a Tibetan family.

The father [illegible] riding the [illegible] and the [illegible] the baby in her arms. The whole group [illegible] Tibetan costume.

2: Schram--198 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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An Ing-tang Sien-cheng Chinese, in [illegible] in front of the door of his house. At the left his pupil-apprentice, in the background an old servant.

2: Schram--203 M-4, 5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Left, a T'ou-jen lama wearing the dress of the yellow lamas.
Center, his superior, T'ou-jen lama in Chinese dress.
Right, a lay T'ou-jen, their servant.

2: Schram--204 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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T'ou-jen widow with her two daughters, in T'ou-jen dress.

Note the hair style. There are nine kinds of them. Li Kin-wang, ancestor of the Li clan had nine wives and each of them had her special hair style; from that the nine T'ou-jen hair styles still seen today!

2: Schram--205 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Two girls belonging to a Tibetanized T'ou-jen family. They wear the dress of the girls of Hoa-ri (northern Sining). The older one is spinning with the distaff and carries at the nape of the neck the stick to which she fastens the thread; the little one pulls out the wool.

2: Schram--206 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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A T'ou-jen with his son; they wear Chinese clothes (country of Nien-pei, Sining).

2: Schram--207 M-4, 8(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Rich T'ou-jen widow, no longer speaking her language, wearing no longer the costume of her race. Type of completely Sinicized T'ou-jen, even having the little Chinese feet. However, at her death she will be dressed in the T'ou-jen style for her last toilette!

8: Schröder--84 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate I

115
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c

d

(Caption on following page.)

3: Schröder--85 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[46 cont.]

000 [Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

115
[14?] a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling
[241] in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autumn
[302] of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer,
792 1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the
796 conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the
[534] monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guämbasoma) in the vicinity
[292] of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense
[782] Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In
[778] front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the
756 background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan. Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof; this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand
* [778] the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching
[292] line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter: "The Gurtum.")

3: Schröder--86 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate 2

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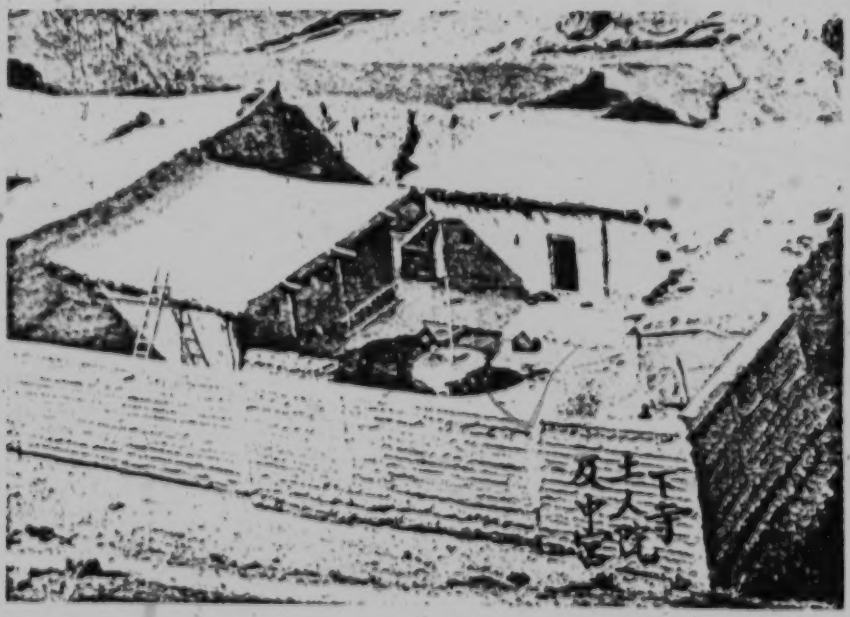

(Caption on following page.)

3: Schröder--87 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Caption for Plate 2 between pp. 48 and 49.]

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a: Mani-tree on a house roof in the village T'a-erh-wan west of Tangkar in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

b: An old Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai on the way to the obo of the Sha-pa-kou, 1949. In his right hand a poplar branch with flocks of wool, in his left and imitation spear with a flock of wool and painted spiral. In front of him on the ground: a [782] bundle of straw for the incense fire, a saddle bag with white stones that will be thrown on the obo, a jug of barley wine for the libation, and behind it a little bag with cypress needles (incense). (To accompany the chapter: "The Obo.")

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[417]

c: A Tujen yard of the settlement Ha-szu (Hsia-szu) on the way from Na-ling-kou to Yang-chüan. In the center of the yard, the central fort with the mani-tree. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

000 [50]

2. The Arrow of Good Fortune*

*See "Notes," pp. 52-55 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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In every good Tujen house there is an arrow. The tip is stuck in an urn of grain, in a crevice in the wall, or in a slit in a beam. Hadas, colorful ribbons, sheep wool, hair, etc. are [792] attached to the arrow. The arrow is consecrated by a lama or a Bon priest, and on this occasion it is venerated in the house. Later, however, it is not venerated any more. The arrow is [777] not the seat of a spirit, but rather guarantees good fortune and wealth in the family.

[57 cont.]

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192

[Note on foreign text p. 60-61 cont.]
(cf. Filchner, Unkrig, p. 21) that is part of the eight offerings (mc'od brgyad). Ch. Das (p. 313) explains the rgyal-mts'an (Sanskritic dhvajā) as a war banner or victory sign of Buddhism; it is the official standard of the Buddhists. One often finds it as garment trimming in various colors or as a cloth cylinder on flagpoles or on a post. Sometimes it is made of brass or wood. Furthermore, Ch. Das cites 11 kinds of rgyal-mts'an in Tibetan Buddhism, which fight the demonic powers.

The Chinese translation san (screen) might be misleading and point to the first of the eight offerings, the white screen, gdugs dkar (Sanskritic chattra); cf. Ch. Das, p. 69 (bkra šis ...), and Filchner, Unkrig, p. 21. -- The Tujen do not differentiate precisely here.

*778

The multicolored cover is found in the most diverse varieties: [61] as column drapes in the temples, as gigantic cloth bells or screens, on ceremonial standards, on trident masts, as curtains, etc. In other words, it does not represent a peculiarity of the mani-tree. Because the rgyal-mts'an also occurs as garment trimming (cf. above), the colorful ring-trimming on the sleeves of the Tujen costume is probably connected with it, which, indeed, is often drawn on as a cloth funnel.

•[291]

The mani-flag: The flag consists of a long piece of white cloth. Usually it is cotton cloth, which can be bought in town. It should always be new and faultless. One leaves the original width of the cloth as it is, in other words, about 30 to 50 centimeters. The length depends on the mani-mast, for the flag is

/Kansu Monguors/

N *563 M 142 have very scanty beards, and there is seldom any growth of hair on the body.

e. economic activities

N *563 M [241] [233] [433] The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

M [291] [177] [771] Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to wear only Chinese clothing.

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Olots and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours now belong to Chinghai Province. N [177] Very little is known about the Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokonor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian language. N [233] They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölots and the Torguts of Sinkiang.

2. Hordes

N *563 619 361 *[175] When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai area he found the following groups of Mongols:

(1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;

(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;

(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;

(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;

(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.

(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.

(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 276 [372] men make their own pipes from the leg bone of a sheep. The smoking kit, a small pouch holding tobacco, a pinch of tinder and some small flints, hangs on the belt at the waist. The light is obtained by striking tinder against the flint.

c. Clothing

N *563 M 291 [177] The Mongours have always been proud of their national costume, though since the enrollment of some Chinese into their clans, a few communities have adopted Chinese clothing. During the rule of the Chinese Nationalist government, most of the Mongours kept their own costume. According to Father Schram, M [668] [177] who made a thorough investigation of the people, they were not allowed to wear the national costume after the Communists conquered their country in 1949. It is not known whether the Communists are continuing their policy of obliterating the distinct costumes and traditions of the small minorities.

M [171] The clothing of the Mongours is not greatly different from that of the Mongols. Traditionally, the men dress much less elaborately than the women. A man ordinarily wears a dark blue cotton gown, similar to that of the Chinese, that opens on the right side and hangs a little below the knees. The upper part of the gown is loose and a sash or belt is worn at the waist, making a copious pocket in which the man carries his eating bowl and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown of roughly woven white wool. Festival gowns of the rich are of silk or satin, and a vest or sleeveless jacket is worn over the gown. The ordinary man wears a cotton gown and jacket for festive occasions, with a plain silk or cotton sash.

In the old days, men wore trousers only when they went to town. Now they regularly wear blue cotton trousers cut in the Chinese style, with the legs stuffed into their cloth-topped knee boots. The tops of dress boots are sometimes embroidered. In winter, leather boots are worn. Few Mongours wear undercloth-ing, and neither men nor women wear stockings.

M [301] Almost every young man wears a silver-plated bracelet carved with Chinese designs, and most men wear finger rings set with coral or turquoise.

The woman's gown is very full, has wide sleeves, and hangs to her heels. It overlaps in front, and buttons down the left side. An outer gown of coarse, unwashed wool is used as a working garment. Because of the natural oil in the wool, the gown sheds water well. A sash or girdle holds both gowns at the waist. Generally the poor do not wear trousers, the two gowns being their only garments.

N *563 M 292 Well-to-do women have elaborate and gaily colored festival dresses, fancy trousers and false sleeves. Like the Mongol women, they wear fancy headdresses and boots for dress occasions. At such times the outer gown is left off and the inner

N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [191] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still M [888] living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

N *563 M 301 Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 769 614 a. Ancestor worship

Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-

[323 cont.]

T 142 look in their earliest childhood, which is then lost when they get older.

34. Mongolian woman from the Ra lo tribe near Tchü tsang se, Ta tung hiän, with pronounced Mongoloid features, consisting of strong zygomatic arches, Mongolian fold, deep-saddled button shaped nose, flat face and high forehead.

M Figures 25-39. ~~Tu jen~~ (Monguor or Dolden)

142 302 301 291 35. Two women from the Dung kou near Hu chu; the man beside them is a Turk. In the women the Mongolian features are quite pronounced. The Monguor are Old Mongolians, who parted at an early date from the present Mongolians. In contrast to them the Turk with his profiled face and the heavy growth of beard shows the European stamp of the Old Form [Altform] like Figures 14 and 45. The Tu jen wear the most varied forms of fantastic head ornamentation, made of cloth and twisted strings, and they like bright-colored, gay clothes with pretty embroidery. Noteworthy are the stuffed animals (made of cloth) as decoration: rabbit and lamb on the woman on the right; horse and crab on the woman in the middle.

36. Forty-year old woman from the vicinity of Hu chu with a string of mussel shells on her breast.

37. Tu jen woman with a trident headdress from the vicinity of Lo tu. She shows the long-faced Mongoloid type.

38. Eighteen-year old Tu jen bride from the Ho ngä dse kou. The Mongolian fold is missing; the nose is higher.

T 142 301 39. Thirty-five year old Angar woman from the Ba ya ta wan tribe near Kan chow in Nän shän. By language the Angar are Old Mongolians like the Tu jen. The women has a strikingly thin and narrow nose with a bent tip. The open eye has no Mongolian fold. The face is long and narrow and of a Europid strain. Typical for the Angar women are the braid-covers made of metal rings with stones and enamel.

[324]

T Figures 40-54 Mixed types

142 40. Twenty-two year old agricultural Tibetan woman from the vicinity of Tchü tsang se, Ta tung hiän. The long narrow nose, the long lower part of the face and the open eyes show

[324 cont.]

T 142 [291 301]

European character and childish features. The gaily colored clothes and the rich ornamentation betray Tibeto-Mongolian admixture. The rectangular and round amulet caskets on the breast and the palettes on the beautifully stitched stola-like bands are fine silver work. The lengths of cloth that are suspended from the hips have mussel-shell ornaments and are a characteristic decoration of the Amdo agricultural Tibetan women.

41. Tibeto-Mongolian mixed type with strong Mongoloid components. Thirty-year old women from Tchü tsang tän, Ta tung.

42. Sino-Tibetan mixed type from Wu dschung near Rong bu; a military colony of the Sung period took Tibetan women as wives. This type might well stem from Eastern Europe or Russia.

M 142 291 276

43. Tu jen man from the Ha la dshe kou, Hu chu hiän. The nose is Europid. On the clothing one sees the high collar, a sharp contrast to the Chinese fashion. In his hand he holds a snuff box carved of yak horn, which is kept in a finely embroidered cloth bag.

U 142

44. Uigur man from the Ya la ker tribe near Kao tai, with a Europid character, with a large, narrow nose and larger earlobes.

T 142

45. A Turk whose ancestors emigrated centuries ago from East Turkestan to Kan su and later to Tsing hai; he is of the Old Form [Altform] type like figures 14 and 54. The high fleshy nose has distended alae. The filter is absent. The skin fold of the upper lid is, to be sure, very strong, but the Mongolian fold is missing. The lips are thin. The face is wide and coarse. The beard-growth is heavy (cf. Figure 3).

46. Northwestern Chinese type: the upper lid falls away sharply, but forms no Mongolian fold. The nose is narrow and large. The face is long and narrow. The zygomatic arches are only slightly pronounced. The forehead recedes slightly.

47. Five-year old nomad boy from the Ra gya A rig tribe. Since the nose is now so clearly defined, it will later become big (cf. the remarks on children under Figure 33). His clothing is a sheepskin worn next to the bare body.

T [291]

M
MA
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43) Tu jen (man)

44) Uigur (man)

U
142
144
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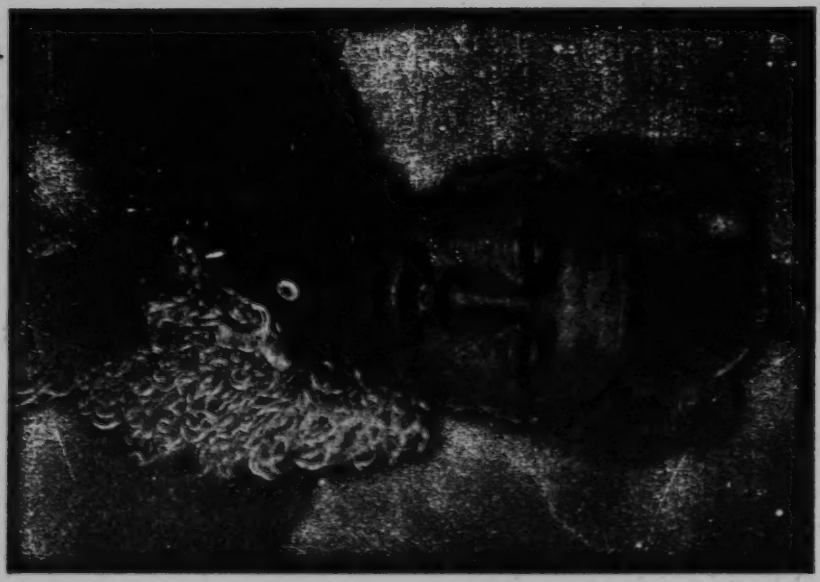
301



7: Hermanns--834 E.5 (1935-1945) 1948 AJ1 Tibet
Monguor AE9

142
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301
302

35) Tu jen (Dung kou)

36) [illegible]

7: Hermanns--335 E, 5 (1935-1945) 1948 AJ1 Tibet
Monguor AE9

142
291
301
302

37) Tu jen
(Lo tu)

38) Tu jen
(Ilo nä dse)

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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• 292

FIG. 2. Li T'u-ssu and his wife. Taken at his home in Hsining in 1914. According to Li T'u-ssu, he and his wife are wearing the costumes given to his ancestor by the Emperor Shih-Tsung (Yung Cheng period, 1723–35), of the Manchu dynasty, after the victorious campaign against Lobtsang Danzan in 1723, in which this ancestor took an active part on the side of the emperor. The costumes are reverently preserved in the family. It was customary, when a man received such a costume, to present his wife with a costume matching his in its symbols of rank and dignity.

624
648
7%

contribution, on loan, of kettles, bowls, chop sticks, and all kinds of utensils.[19]

A number of young folk, determined by protocol, were summoned from each village to pitch tents in the precincts of the T'u-ssu's mansion, to build small temporary kitchens, to slaughter animals, cook food, serve, grind wheat, chop wood, carry fuel and water, whitewash the whole mansion, and repair the walks and paths in the courtyards of the mansion. Everyone working was fed by his own village. The chiefs of the groups of nobles, and of the villages, were bound to supervise all the preliminary arrangements, and when the actual day of the investiture arrived, they had to attend the ceremony in full official dress and help to entertain the guests.

The Monguor troops were called out in full levy, clad in brand new uniforms which had been sewed by the village women and paid for by the villagers. In addition to neighboring T'u-ssu, the most important Chinese civil and military officials of the prefecture were invited to take part in the celebration. In the old days, before Hsining had become a separate province, a prominent official was sent from Lanchou, capital of the province

[19] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 148, notes the requisitioning of food from the common people for the nobles in Mongolia at and after the time of Chingis Khan. The term for these requisitions is *shi'üsün* (*shüsün*), meaning "ration," "provision." [p. 47a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

173 Prince of Chin. According to the legend this prince,
291 "blessed by heaven and all the spirits," begat thirteen
562 sons from his nine wives. Because he was fond of magnificence and display, he designed a different costume for each wife, and this is supposed to be the origin of the nine main designs of Monguor women's costume to this day.

177 The significance of the Monguor national costume even
648 in recent times is illustrated by the following story, which stirred up interest throughout the Monguor country. In 1913 the Living Buddha of the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu [10] forbade the Monguor women living in his territory to wear their national costume and ordered them to adopt the Tibetan style of dress. Passions ran high against this order. Although the Monguors had for centuries supported the monastery with their offerings, they ceased to appear at the monastery festivals and began to make their offerings to other monasteries. Even the lamas of Monguor origin left the monastery and enrolled in other monasteries. The result was that the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu began to enroll Chinese novices and the whole spirit of the institution was changed.

291 The costumes of the Monguor women are much more
292 elaborate and distinctive than those of the men. Like the
562 men, however, the women do not wear underclothes, nor do they have nightgowns. Their bed is a piece of felt spread on the sleeping platform; there are no sheets or pillowcases, and at night they simply undress and cover themselves with roughly woven blankets or sheepskins.

291 A woman's trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and
562 are fastened around the waist with a rope twisted of sheep's wool. On the legs of the trousers, just below the knee, there is a hem of white cotton cloth. To this hem is sewn the lower leg of the trousers which can easily be removed and replaced, when the women go to festivals, with a leg of finer cloth or of silk or satin, embroidered in red. Ordinarily, the legs of the trousers are stuffed into the tops of the boots, but the ornamental trouser leg can be worn outside the boot. As with men's trousers, the cut is that of Chinese trousers, and the tradition is that in older times trousers were not used at all. The Monguor women of the villages north of the valleys of Weiyüanp'u and Hungnaitze wear trousers only on the coldest winter days and when they go to festivals.

462 Monguor women make their own boots. The sole is
294 made of alternating layers of blue and white cotton cloth pasted together and then stitched, the foot of the boot is made of dark blue cotton cloth, sometimes beautifully embroidered, and the legs are ornamented with patches of dark leather. The foot of the boot may also be made of black cotton cloth, adorned with green

[10] For references to this monastery, see Reginald Farrar, *On the eaves of the world* and *The rainbow bridge*, London, Arnold, 1917 and 1921.

[P.119a]

462 stitching. The leg of the boot is of dark blue cotton
294 cloth and reaches to the knee. Stockings are not worn. Some women pull their boots on over bare feet, others wrap their feet with long strips of cotton cloth. The designs embroidered on ornamental boots are Chinese —swastikas and other designs, and flowers such as violets, roses, or peonies.

554 The boots and the sash are important items in the
292 trousseau of a Monguor bride—they display her proficiency in embroidery. Months of work go into the preparation of them, and girls learn the art of embroidering from older women. A pair of fine boots, worn only on festive occasions, is expected to last a lifetime. At festivals, if it is rainy or muddy, women can be seen walking barefoot carrying their precious boots under their arms, laughing and chatting as they trudge through the mud and putting on their boots only at the last moment. At such gatherings, boots and sashes are the articles that women compare and admire or envy; often a fine pair of boots is taken off and passed around the admiring circle of women while the proud owner modestly watches from the corner of her eyes, gracefully accepting compliments and congratulations. After
271 the age of about forty, however, the woman puts aside her fancy boots and wears boots of a more simple style. An important part of the costume is a sort of apron which covers the chest and stomach. The upper part is of white cotton cloth, and the lower part of green cloth. The lower part is often beautifully embroidered with flowers, swastikas, or the Chinese characters signifying "longevity" and "happiness." On the lower part is sewed a large pocket in which women keep their needle cases, thread, and all kinds of odds and ends. The upper part of the apron hangs from a string around the neck, while the lower part is tied behind the back with laces.

Under her apron a woman wears a short shirt, reaching to the hips, made of red or green or violet cotton cloth. In winter this shirt is doubled and wadded with cotton or wool. Rich people wear shirts of satin or silk.

The woman's gown is a long, full robe, reaching to the heels, with wide sleeves. The front of the gown overlaps on the left side, and buttons under the left arm and down the side while the man's gown, as already described, buttons down the right side. Except for wealthy people, the gown is ordinarily of blue cotton cloth. Another gown of the same size and pattern is worn over the first gown. This outer gown is roughly woven from the wool of sheep or goats. As this wool has not been cleaned of its natural oil before being woven, it is heavy, warm, and sheds water well. In some places where the Monguor women, like Tibetan women, do not wear trousers, these two gowns are the only clothing. A girdle or sash holds both gowns in at the waist. For poor people, this is the only fastening of the gown; buttons are not used.

292 For festive dress the rough outer gown is not worn

[P.1196]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

292 and the inside gown is exchanged for one made of finer cotton cloth, dyed dark blue, green, or violet, and long, wide extensions are sewn on to the regular sleeves. Often two or three sets of sleeves are worn, one over the other, to give the illusion that several gowns are being worn. In order to heighten this effect, each sleeve is slightly shorter than the one under it. These outer sleeves are made of three strips of cotton cloth of different colors, such as red, green, or violet. Each of these strips is separated from the other strips by narrow bands of cotton cloth of other colors, such as yellow, dark blue, or orange. To add to this display of color on the sleeves, a woman in her best clothes may wear a red embroidered collar, a pair of dark blue trousers, boots with red legs and black feet, embroidered. Under the bright blue sky of the Monguor country, and in the dry air and sparkling sunshine that prevail most of the year, this display of colors is not harsh or crude, but gives a wonderful feeling of life and happiness, especially in a large crowd gathered at a festival. When the sky is overcast, however, the display of color appears too garish; but almost anywhere in North China with its yellow loess earth, mud houses, and dust storms, the whole world appears monotonous and depressing in bad weather.

386 The old vegetable dyes formerly used by the Monguors have long been replaced by German aniline dyes, which is unfortunate because the colors rapidly fade in the bright sun. The colors also run when the clothes get wet, and consequently if a thunder shower breaks over a festival crowd there is bustle and confusion while the women take off their fine sleeves, the lower extensions of their trousers, their girdles, boots, and hats, wrap them in bundles, and run barefoot for shelter, wrapped only in their dark blue gowns. Women who have reached the age of about forty no longer wear the false outer sleeves, nor do they wear brilliant colors.

292 In festive dress, the Monguor woman also wears a skirt, of the pattern that used to be worn by soldiers under the empire. This skirt, which is handsomely embroidered, is of a pattern originally designed for horseback riding. It is slit both before and behind and hangs on the two sides of the body, swinging as the woman walks. The favorite color for festive dress is red, and the skirts of rich women are frequently made of embroidered satin or silk. At home, a woman usually wears a skirt of the same cut, but made of simple dark blue cotton cloth. While at home, a woman must wear either the gown or the skirt, and usually both; the members of the elder generation would never allow them to be seen dressed only in trousers and short jacket such as Chinese women wear.

The importance of the skirt as an ancient part of the costume is indicated by the fact that in former days all Monguor women, even those who during their lifetime wore Chinese costume, had at death to be dressed in a skirt to be laid in the coffin; the saying went that

[p. 120a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

• 292 "one who is not dressed in a skirt could not confront the ancestors in the next world." According to tradition, Monguor women were allowed to wear this skirt by special favor of the emperor in recognition of the glorious days of the past when women had fought beside their husbands defending the frontiers of the empire.

The sash, as has already been mentioned, is one of the most important details of the wardrobe. When women gather together on holidays, the sash is the first article of dress that is inspected; after that come the boots. [294] The embroidery on the sash is the proof of a woman's skill with the needle. Custom demands that every girl, before her marriage, should herself make the embroidery on both ends of her sash, working under the supervision of her mother and with the skilled advice of other older women. This sash is worn for the first time at the girl's wedding, and after that on holidays. The ordinary woman has only one such sash to last her all her life. At the age of forty she exchanges it for one more simple in design.

Basically, the sash is a strip of green cotton cloth eight inches wide and twelve or fifteen feet in length. It is wound around the waist so that either both ends hang down in front, or one in front and the other at the back. Only the ends are embroidered, sometimes with a mosaic design, sometimes with flowers, or symbolic Chinese designs, or the Chinese characters for "longevity" or "happiness." Satin or silk handkerchiefs, edged with embroidery, are attached to the sash so that they hang down beside both of the hanging ends. A string of the old pierced Chinese copper cash is also attached to the sash, where it jingles like the bells on a horse as the woman walks. At home, when she is wearing her blue cotton gown, the woman wears a sash of the same material and color, without embroidered ends. If she is wearing her overgown of wool, the sash is of black wool with fringes of brown wool on both ends.

In addition to her "military" skirt, a woman also wears a waistcoat or sleeveless jacket of the kind worn by soldiers under the empire, covering the chest and back and reaching to the waist. This jacket may be made of dark blue cotton cloth, edged with black or brown velvet, or of red cotton, edged with black velvet and embroidered with gold thread. Wealthy women may wear jackets of satin or silk. The jacket worn at home is of simple blue cotton without edging. When a woman goes out to work, carrying earth or bringing back dung for fuel in a basket slung on her back, she wears a woolen jacket. Women over forty do not wear fancy jackets.

This jacket is not an ancient part of the costume. In older times, a kind of overcoat was worn, buttoned in front and reaching to the knees, with fringes at the bottom edge. These fringes were made of paper rolled into thick, hollow sticks, with tassels of silk thread at the ends. On the back of this coat was attached a small flag, also adorned with fringes. The silk handkerchiefs

292 hanging beside the ends of the sash now take the place of this flag, while the jingling of the string of copper coins take the place of the rustling moss formerly made by the tasseled paper strips.

The following description of the costume of the Miao women of southern and southwest China shows many striking resemblances to Monguor costume.

> All the collars are usually so loaded with designs and embroidery in all shapes and all colors that it is difficult to see the color of the fabric. The sleeves, similarly, are covered with bands of fabric of different colors, sewn on, in flounces from the wrist to the elbow. In some tribes the boys wear as many flounces as the girls. Among the White Miao the skirts have no ornamentation whatever except pleats, but in most of the other tribes they are hidden under embroidery done in colored thread, patterns made with wax,[11] and a multiplicity of bits of fabric of various colors sewn on to the skirt. The Miao women make all these embroideries . . . they all know how to embroider, cut clothes, and sew . . .[12]

302 Even more important for a Monguor woman than her clothes are her hair and her headdress. Hair as black as ebony is the most admired. Many Monguors have a reddish tinge in their black hair, but women consider this a blemish. The way of doing the hair and the headdress are strictly ruled by tradition. When a girl marries out of her own group, she must adopt the coiffure of her husband's group.

There are a few exceptions to this rule. In the subprefecture of Maopeisheng there are groups of Monguors who settled as "colonists" from overcrowded regions. The tendency was for groups coming from the same region to settle together. When new brides go to these colonies, they are allowed to wear the coiffure of their group or origin for only three days—a sort of affectionate and touching farewell to the past—after which they must adopt the local fashion. Among the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, of Shat'o origin, where denationalization has gone farthest, sometimes as many as three different ways of doing the hair can be seen in the same family. I have heard Monguors of other clans criticizing the Li T'u-ssu for not doing his duty in keeping up the traditions of his clan in this respect.

291 Under the empire, Chinese women in this part of
292 China never wore hats. Monguor married women, in contrast, always wear a hat, even at home. Not only do the elders insist on the observance of this tradition, but other people would laugh at a bareheaded woman. At home a small, round felt hat is worn and on holidays a special hat, different for each group. Only when a woman has left her husband's house for a visit at her parents' home is she allowed to go without a hat—a sentimental privilege giving her parents the illusion of seeing her again as she was before she was married. In contrast with this custom is the fact that a woman who

[11] This reference is to a method of making patterns, leaving part of the fabric exposed and covering part of it with wax to prevent the dye from reaching it.—O. L.

[12] Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, as cited.

[P. 121a]

291 has passed the age of forty and would not ordinarily
292 continue to wear her ceremonial hat on festive occasions will, if her parents are still alive, continue to wear it for a few more years in order to give her parents the feeling that they have not reached extreme old age. In such cases, the woman also wears for a few extra years her fancy extra sleeves and the other showy parts of her costume. After the death of her parents, however, all this finery is put away forever, and she wears only the small felt hat.

291 There are nine different styles of hairdress and hat,
302 each peculiar to one Monguor group. The spellings given below are taken, in simplified form, from the phonetic transcriptions in *Dictionnaire Monguor-français*, by A. De Smedt and A. Mostaert. The basic term for the Monguor woman's headdress is *niudar*, and according to these authorities its etymology appears to be obscure. It may be from an old word for "head," or from a word possibly meaning "bridle."

1 *rdziämu niudar*. This style is called "the Chinese style," from the Tibetan word *rgyami*, "Chinese." The Monguors explain that in early times this style was peculiar to the Monguors, but that it was adopted by the women of the first Chinese colonists who settled in the region. This explanation is reasonable enough, since nowhere in China do women arrange their hair in this way. The foundation of this headdress is made by cutting strips of black or dark blue cotton cloth six inches long and three inches wide, which are pasted together to make a stiff board a quarter of an inch thick. While this board is still wet and soft, it is stretched over a convex tile to give it a curved shape. A hole is cut in the middle of this board.

To dress the hair, a lock is first combed down from the forehead. The rest of the hair is combed straight back to the nape of the neck, twisted loosely, and tied with red string. The tress of hair from the back of the head is then brought up to the top of the head, twisted together with the lock of hair from the forehead, fastened with red string, and passed through the hole in the pasteboard "crown," and twisted into a "bun." Several pins three inches long are stuck through this "bun" to hold it. It should be noted here that Monguor women neither shave their forehead nor pluck their eyebrows as Chinese women used to do.

With this headdress there goes a pair of earrings which are made as follows: from the hole pierced in the ear there hangs a silver hook. To this is soldered a small plate representing the head of a tiger, from which hang five small chains. To these chains is soldered a plate with flower designs, from which hang seven small silver chains. The weight of the earring is held up by a string running back of the ear.

This headdress is used by the women of the valley of Lumen, near the sub-prefecture of Xienpei. The rest of the costume that goes with this headdress consists of

I: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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FIG. 6. Sge Niudar, the "great" or "honorable" headdress. The woman in the middle is of Tibetan origin but enrolled in a Monguor clan. She wears the simple Tibetan costume. The two on each side are Monguor, wearing the elaborate Monguor costume and the monumental "great" or "honorable" headdress. The photograph shows the pattern of the jacket, the double set of sleeves, the sash, the collar with shells and corals, and the enormous headdress described in the text.

[P. 124a]

/54 cont'd/

539 she drives home the dagger under the armpit of Wang-mang, who is sleeping dead drunk beside her.

A flying courier carried the news of this exploit to Peking. The Judith saw herself bestowed with honorary titles, and her husband received the hereditary position of t'ou-se of Lien-tch'eng. This is the origin of the glory of the Lou clan.

In the lamasery at Lien-tch'eng are still kept two dried-up black hands, which are claimed to be those of Wang-mang. The T'ou-jen regard them with veneration. Unfortunately, they are two right hands! In addition, the origin of the function of t'ou-se of the Lou clan is entirely otherwise, as we shall see in the historical part of our work. The only fact to be retained from this legend is that there was in the region a robber named Wang-mang.

12. Getting the Bride

585 The Chinese diviner or the red lama has previously set the favorable hour at which the bride is to leave her paternal home. This departure can be set for any hour of the day or night. Therefore everything is prepared in order that the ceremonial be finished by the favorable hour of departure, which is called the mari funigu, or the hour when one mounts the saddle. The bridegroom goes to get his bride, with two companions well versed in the ways and cus-
585 toms and knowing how to sing well; often the go-between goes with
292 them. The son-in-law has put on his best /55/ clothes and wears the great ceremonial hat with red fringe (the one of the ancient dynasty of the Manchu); red cords are plaited into his hair. He carries a bow of olden times; on the end of the bow is attached a strand of red wool. A quiver worn on a strap over his shoulder con-
[441] tains four arrows. Upon his return home he will hang the bow above the window of the nuptial room where his wife will be brought, and the four arrows will be hung in each corner of the room. According to custom, the companions must wear a long, white garment of sheep's wool, a garment rarely worn by the men in the area.

Mi Lo 585

/57 cont'd/

1. Customs of the same kind in which women play an important role in similar circumstances are found among the Miao of Kweichow. Cf. Anthropos, 6th year, Schotter, "Notes ethnologiques sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou."

Likewise among the Lolo of Szechwan a custom is found that is absolutely identical to the one we have just described among the T'ou-jen. "Enquête sur les barbares du Liang-chan /Investigation of the Barbarians of Liang-chan/" in Politique de Péking, June 20, 1931: "When the bearers of the bride arrive at her house, the women of her family begin to sprinkle them with water either with pails or hand pumps. The bearers must let them do it, they are not permitted to avoid the sprinkling."

Mo 585 782

After they have tidied their clothes, the three or four visitors are ushered into the room. They kneel before the religious image hung on the wall opposite the entrance door and get ready to kneel before the members of the family who hasten to stop them. Out of a bag they take two big jugs of gin closed by a lozenge with the traditional strand of wool, and two legs of mutton. They present the legs and apologize, saying that in other days their ancestors offered two sheep to the women. Then turning to the men, they present the gin, saying that in the old days it was customary to offer two goatskin bottles; but times are no longer like that; anyway, what we present is given wholeheartedly. Then they spread a piece of red cloth two feet long on the table and put 12 loaves of bread on it, adding the veil of red or green cloth for the bride, a comb with an even number of teeth, the helmet of copper or silver with which she will cover her head, the red cords to plait into her hair,

Mo 582 292

585 /57 cont'd/
[292] the eardrops, as well as the large pin which fastens the headdress to the coil of hair.

The dinner is not delayed; a sheep is served whole, as well as a dish of noodles. Things are not dragged out. Let us note that the guests who have spent the night are at the dinner and are present at the farewell ceremonies.

/58/ The two companions rise, take out from their bags two new jugs of gin, and offer a round to everyone present, bidding them to help everything go off in good order, for the ceremonial hour designated for taking away the bride has struck. They open the second flask immediately, pour for everybody in the same way, "and this," they say, "is to invite you all to the wedding dinner, which will take place today at our place."

Then they proceed to the dressing of the bride. She is seated in
[77] a side room on a little Chinese table on which is unfolded a piece of red felt. The bridegroom is invited by the family to enter the room. The bride keeps her eyes lowered and does not even greet him. It is the bridegroom's task to undo the unmarried girl's braid of his bride. There are always three red strings in the coil of hair; the bridegroom takes them out and puts one in his pocket. The two others will then be attached to the iang hstia (1) and kept in the family so that the

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1. The iang hstia is the family's good-luck talisman. It is an iron rod two to three feet long fixed in a bulky and wide wooden base. Attached to it are little strands of wool, hair from the tails of cows and pigs and from horse manes', red strings, ends of k'ata; on the base, carved in the shape of a saucer, are seen grains of wheat, millet, colza.... The iang hstia is held in honor by the family; it has its place beside the spirit which is honored there, and is itself honored. The T'ou-jen believe that

/59 cont'd/

585 And they continue to sing, "On the spot where the bride is seated, later will sit sons and grandsons.... On the ground she treads on you will find grain, money, wealth...."

585 292 The toilette is finished. A veil of coarse red cloth entirely envelops the bride's head and is tied around her neck with a red cord so that she cannot see anything any more. There are some areas where the veil is no longer tied around the neck.

585 [262] Meanwhile, the master of ceremonies has laid out before the religious image a table on which is noticed a cup of milk, a cypress branch to which is attached a strand of wool, a bushel measure containing wheat, with a prayer book in Tibetan characters on top of the grain, another lighted lamp, and a bundle of chopsticks. If there is a red lama in the house, he begins to intone the farewell prayers. The mother of the girl is seated alone on the ground in front of the table, facing the image. The door opens with a din. The bride, veiled and yelling, is carried seated on a piece of felt, either by four women or by a brother, who holds her in his arms. They run around the table, carrying the bride. They leave the room abruptly, and at the moment of leaving, one of the women carriers /60/ takes the chopsticks laid on the bushel of grain and throws them impetuously on the mother's knees. Everything is done with precipitation and abruptness. The singers continue their songs while the girl is carried outside. "When your daughter comes back, your courtyard will be full of horses and oxen, your house will be rebuilt with a second story and a veranda, the lintel of the door will have become one of gold." They continue their songs outside: "It is the auspicious time to mount on horseback; it is the auspicious time for the horsemen to mount on the saddle; it is time to take the great highway to the north (or to the south)."

The bride is put in the saddle by her brothers, and the singers do not stop singing while dancing in cadence and making their long white garments float. There are places where a man also mounts on horseback behind the bride and holds her in his arms. This rider is a member of the family but never one of her brothers.

The son-in-law and the go-between have gone ahead. The horse which the bride rides is led to the middle of the area in front

2: Schram--199 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Young T'ou-jen married woman in festive dress, an enormous headdress on her head. She wears the costume peculiar to the T'ou-jen.

2: Schram--201 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Young T'ou-jen married woman in festive dress, T'ou-jen costume.

[27 cont.]

756 The sword-shamans heal the sick, drive away demons, and
[789] practice soothsaying. In so doing, they wound themselves and
the sick with the sword and burn themselves with fire, but if
[787] they are true shamans, this does not harm them.

Details

756 Dress: The shamans wear an ordinary long garment. Some-
• 292 times they also put on a robe similar to that of the Chinese
bonze, except that it is red. They girdle themselves with a
293 red belt. On the chest they wear an amulet with a god's figure
*778 or a little bag with the hada [scarf-like ceremonial cloth] that
[171] the lama has given them at the consecration. It is their
tutelary spirit. They throw the wide shoulder-collar over it,
which falls with the points over the chest, back, and shoulders.
It is of various colors and often beautifully cut. They hang the
breast-mirror on a red string over the shoulder collar. Formerly
[325] this was made of gold; now it is made of copper. The shaman
rubs it to a shine with incense ashes. The mirror is round and
has a diameter of 15 to 20 centimeters. In the middle it has
a round protuberance, on which the tutelary deity's name is
sometimes inscribed in Tibetan signs. Several colorful hada-
cloths are suspended from the two eyelets of the mirror. --
756 On their heads the shamans wear a red headcloth. It is about
292 50 to 80 centimeters square. One tip is cut off to a breadth
of about 20 centimeters; at these cut ends there are two red
bands; the cloth looks like an irregular pentagon. They sew
five small copper horse-rattles on the cut edge. The cloth is
thrown over the head in such a fashion that the edge with the
little bells runs across the forehead and the other tips fall down
over the ears and shoulders. They fasten the cloth on the
back of the head with the bands. -- Over this headcloth they
then tie a five-part crown similar to that of the lamas (4).

*[778] 4. [Foreign text p. 32.] The headcloth
is not always of this kind. There are also
cloths that are larger and that have no
bells. In this case the shaman ties on a

[27 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 32 cont.] special forehead-band with the little bells. -- The crown is not always necessary. The images found on the five prongs are supposed to be determined by the tutelary spirit. I have also seen crowns that bear no images, but only Tibetan signs.

The crown bears five Buddha images or five death's-heads or other signs. -- The articles of clothing are procured by the shaman himself. There are also certain prescriptions as to how they are to be treated.

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*778

[28] The equipment: The shaman must always have a sword. It is the seat of his tutelary spirit. The sword is usually two-edged. It has no colored bands. The handle is made of wood. The same rules apply for the making of the sword as for the spirit-spear. The sword is wrapped together with the crown inside the red headcloth and is placed upright in the house on his household altar. He burns incense and kowtows in front of it (1).

1. [Foreign text pp. 31-32.] In this kind of shamanism the sword seems to be essential.

It was impossible to find out in what way the sword is the seat of the tutelary spirit. It may be that it is constantly the seat of the spirit, but perhaps it is so only temporarily. The question is the same as in the case of the spirit-spear. The fact that the bands, the mirror, and the bells are often lacking argues against a permanent seat. On the other hand, one also finds swords that are provided with these. -- I once saw in a Chinese temple the sword of a deceased shaman, which

[33 cont.]

791 farmers (1). The Bon priests of the nomads are now found only

[792]

1. [Foreign text p. 34.] There are also Bon priests who live in monasteries. Such a monastery is found near the Tujen monastery Rgulõn. The inmates of this monastery, however, do not wear any special garb, but are dressed like laymen. The lamas prefer to invite them for certain ceremonies to exorcise demons. -- The other farmer-Bon are only very rarely seen any more. They live like everyone else, marry, and work the fields.

among the Fandse, although formerly some were also Tujen. They have a very long, thick queue, which they wear wound around the head, and a long red garment with a red or yellow belt. -- The present-day Bon priests of the Tujen have almost died out; they are ordinary farmers and are distinguished from the other shamans or soothsayers as follows:

Details

791 Clothing: They wear ordinary garb: in winter a fur, and
•292 in summer the long coat. They do not wear trousers (2). They
[177]

2. [Foreign text p. 35.] The fact that they do not wear trousers may indicate an origin from the Fandse, who formerly did not wear trousers, as is still customary for their women and lamas.

take off their shoes during prayer on the kang. They do not have any special official dress. [34] They only put a wreath of wild-pig bristles around the head (3), which are supposed to

3. [Foreign text p. 35.] The informant did not know why they have to be wild-pig bristles.

represent long hair.

3: Schröder--84 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate I

115
142
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a

b

792
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782
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*778

c

d

(Caption on following page.)

3: Schröder--85 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[46 cont.]

[Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

115
[142] a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling
[291] in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autumn
[302] of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer,
1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the
792 conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the
796 monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guāmbasoma) in the vicinity
[534] of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense
[292] Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In
[782] front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the
[778] background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-
szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-
reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan.
756 Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to
enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof;
this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand
* [778] the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching
[292] line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not
wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is
very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter:
"The Gurtum.")

[632 cont.]

527 candidate out into the yard and throw it away. The mother's
778 brother stays there, and after that only own children still appear.
888 They stand or kneel in the side room behind the person to be
792 consecrated and shut the door, because only a few people may be present. Only the person to be consecrated remains in the lama-room, kneeling before the kang.

The candidate for consecration now washes himself again in the manner described above, is again sprinkled with holy water, and has Tibetan barley thrown at him. The master of ceremonies takes an iron spoon, puts in it some of the red-hot material from the fire-basin of the lama, scatters pounded cypress incense on it, and the lama throws fragrant spices over
[783] it. The person to be consecrated is fumigated all around with this and is now completely pure. The hutukhtu gives the consecration prayer over him and instructs him regarding the com-
[785] mandments that he must observe from now on. These commandments relate to fasting, abstention, the prohibition against killing, prayer, etc. They vary somewhat for men and women. [633] The instruction is given in the Tujen language so that the candidate will understand it.

[292] Now follows the donning of the yellow sash. It is about a hand wide and four to five ells long. It is not supposed to be silk. Silk mixed with cotton is permitted, but usually it is cotton. The candidate must provide it himself. This sash lies before the hutukhtu on the kang table and is fumigated at the same time as the person to be consecrated. It is not sprinkled with holy water. The assisting lama places the sash over the candidate's left shoulder and ties it together under the right arm
[292] with a yellow string that has likewise been fumigated. The cloth has the same name as the loop of cloth that the lamas throw over the shoulder.

Since the consecration does not take place until late afternoon, it has meanwhile become evening. Only now does the hutukhtu partake of the main meal. In the yard, however, the guests gather around the fire, warm their liquor, and sing and dance into the night.

The next morning the hutukhtu performs his usual morn-
[465] ing prayers, drinks tea, and receives his prayer fee: several

[633 cont.]

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[857]
[527]

[Note on foreign text pp. 634-635 cont.] The informant once mentioned a kind of baptism at which the džawdzi (Tib.) is prayed; in Chinese this prayer is called hsi-lien-ching, prayer of washing the face. Evidently the [635] ceremony observed by Filchner was such a boy's baptism; Om mani padme hum, loc. cit. Later there follows a second consecration for young people, which is called gãṅsgur (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 below] after the corresponding prayer, in Chinese san-hun ching, prayer of the three souls. So the informant told me. Unfortunately I could no longer record these ceremonies.

Word List

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778 Age-consecration: šge lama ndziala- = great lama-invitation.
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527 Master of ceremonies: kãṅguo.
To fetch the hutukhtu: ġdzõ niwa (twice) (or dãṅwu, if the first time).
[601] Mother's brother: nēgã; achiu (Chin.); ayãṅ.
Mother's brother's son: ku-chiu (Chin.).
• [292] Sash: ġēdzãn (Tib. loanword) (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 635.] gēdzãn: Tibetan gazn = the yellow sash of the lama costume. -- gõṅsõn: Tib. dgoṅ = solitude, soṅ = to go away; meaning, "to go into solitude." -- gēlõṅba: Tib. dge = virtue, sloṅ = to apply oneself, pa = belonging to; meaning, "one who applies himself to virtue." -- gesnien: Tib. dge = virtue, bsñen = to approach. -- gãṅsgur:

[785]

[638 cont.]

292 765 [171] Mourning dress: Mourning is worn immediately after the death. It does not consist of a special white garb, as among the Chinese, but only of a change of dress.

During the period of mourning the men remove their colorful vests and take everything colored off their clothing, such as neck bands, sleeve edging, etc. Their long cloak is turned and worn with the lining, or in winter with the fur, on the outside. [302] They do not cut their hair, and they let the beard grow. The red or green trouser belt made of cloth is replaced by [639] a white or black one. Instead of the clothes-belt they wear a thick hemp-string.

Like the men, the women also remove the colorful sleeve strips, trouser trimming, and shoe and boot ornamentation, especially everything red. The red or green skirt over the trousers is not worn at all. Instead of the colorful clothes, the woman puts on only a simple upper garment of one color. She takes off the ear pendants, arm bands, and the neck band, and [301] removes from her headdress all lace, tassels, and hanging strings, as well as the silver hair cap [Haarschale] and the little copper plates. She keeps only the simple, rigid frame of the headdress and covers its colorful strips uniformly by sticking green paper on them. She puts a blue cloth made of coarse linen over this as a head veil. She replaces her broad and colorful belt with a hemp string.

[602] [593] All the close relatives are required to wear mourning dress, those who also must give the death-offering. The only exception is the husband upon the death of his wife. He may not wear mourning.

764 782 [602] Prayer service: The prayer service is called "prayer tea." The relatives on the father's side assemble daily in the house of mourning; toward evening they sit on the kang around the open fire in the kitchen and pray the mani for the dead on their mani-string. When they are finished, they receive noodle soup and go home. This prayer service lasts until the day of cremation. One need not sit around the kang fire, however, but can also perform these prayers before the death-box itself.

[822 cont.]

241 782 756 [292] The shamans are always men (2). They wear women's

2. [Foreign text p. 823.] The name for these shamans is bō, in other words, the typical Mongolic word. The Tujen strictly differentiate them from the other shamans and the Bon priests. They are the cult dancers designated by the Chinese as fa-shih, that is, sorcerer, or shih-kung, that is, teacher, whose chief goddess is the Niang-niang, that is, mother.

[776]

[534] clothes and a woman's hairdo. Their drum consists of an iron or wooden ring over which is stretched a sheepskin. They carry [535] the litter of the mother-goddess onto a threshing floor and dance before it. During the dance the drums are beaten. They do all [787] kinds of acrobatic feats, and one of them goes into a great trance and wounds himself.

241 782 The sowing festival takes place during the period from the third to the fifth month, the harvest festival in the ninth or tenth month. No village celebrates both festivals. There is no harvest festival where the sowing festival is held, and there is no sowing festival where there is a harvest festival.

[823] At the sowing festival one prays for protection against storms and for rain; at the harvest festival one expresses thanks for the harvest. [The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

600 2. The Pole-goat *

* See "Notes," pp. 829-830 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designation for them in the text.]

[824 cont.]

241 the soothsayer when the pole-goat is raised for the first time.
789 This spot is then always retained. A hole is dug there and covered
778 with a clod of earth or a rock so that it will not be destroyed by
[791] the next year.

The place is never taboo, regardless of whether the pole-goat stands there or not. One may pasture animals there, start a fire, etc. Women need not avoid it.

241 [825] Persons: Only a Bon priest may undertake the
789 performance, never a lama or a soothsayer. Nowadays the cus-
791 tom is scarcely ever practiced because the Bon priests have died
[178] out. It is still found only in very remote mountain villages. The simple ceremony is performed by a Bon priest of the second class, the solemn ceremony by a Bon priest of the first class because
[242] he has special magical power. The costume is that of the ordinary people since the Bon priest is, of course, a farmer. He merely needs to wear the forehead wreath and a long garment.

In addition the following act with him: the seed-master and his helper, the village elders, and generally all men, all soothsayers. It is enough, however, if only one soothsayer is represented, for instance, a sword-shaman, a spirit-table soothsayer, etc. Women must not witness the ceremony, but
[562] little girls may watch.

241 The pole: It does not matter of what wood and amidst
789 which ceremonies the pole is made. Usually it is a slender
778 poplar tree ten meters long. The village itself is responsible
[621] for this pole. It is used every year and kept in the family of the annually alternating seed-master. It may be burned, cut up, etc. when it has served its purpose for several years.

The goat: Ordinarily it is a wool goat; color, age, sex, size, etc. are unimportant. It is true that the people prefer horned goats over the hornless. No one cares about the origin of the goat; it may be purchased, be a gift, etc. After it has been taken down from the pole in the autumn, the hide belongs to the seed-master, but it is so dilapidated that it is not usable.

3: Schröder--298 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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534
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142

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764
[171]

d

(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
756 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[754] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
292 village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
[534] val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[778] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-
pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip
[142] with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the
gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
[171] graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical. Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the following day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed.
[333] The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[235 cont.]

a) The bō or Drum-shamans

Characterization

756
192 The name: The Tujen name current throughout the land, bō, corresponds to the written Mongolic būge. Koval. (1242) gives for it the Chinese equivalent wu-jen, the Manchurian saman, the Tatar bugu, and the Tibetan lha-pa. The Russian expressions means: shaman, sorcerer; he translates it into French as: chaman, enchanteur. The Mongolic būge and all the other translations cited do not have any uniform meaning and can be used for the various types of shamans, exorcists, and even sorcerers.

The Chinese in the area and the Tujen translate bō with fashih, or somewhat contemptuously with shih-kung. The fa-shih call themselves only by this special name. According to communications (P.P. Eichinger, Bockwinkel), the name wu-shih is also in use in southern Kansu. It is important that all these designations are never permissible for the gurtum. The fa-shih are a special group that is to be clearly defined. (Space forbids going into an explanation of the names here.)

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192 Clothing and equipment. -- The fa-shih wear an old woman's costume without sleeves and usually patterned with pictures of dragons. Normally they have no head covering, [531] but their hair is pinned up in the fashion of an old Chinese [302] style for women, unless they are wearing an appropriate wig with hairknots, hair-bowl, and hairpin. These are not always available, however. On special occasions, they don the well-known five-part Buddhistic crown called p'ai-tzu.

756 Their essential equipment consists of the hoop drum, the hemp whip, and a three-pronged broad dagger. Other objects are added according to their functions.

756
776 Gods. -- Their principal deity is the great mother (ta niang-niang), also called mother of the nine heavens (chiu t'ien nai-nai). In addition, they also venerate the black tiger

[237 cont.]

174 weather conjuration from the Bon was much practiced there, it
756 also took this over, which, indeed, was close to it in type. Probably the weather-conjuring Bon were absorbed by them.

The Tujen have likewise permitted their Mongolic shamanism to flow into this fashih shamanism and have transferred to it the original name, bō. A Tujen bō once said: "We have a common root with the Mongolic shamans." This shamanism has remained remote from Lamaism, as well as from the gurtum; a certain rivalry exists between it and them.

The question of the bō or fa-shih demands an extensive presentation of Chinese shamanism generally, which has already been undertaken.

b) The Gurtum or Warrior-shamans

Characterization

756 Appearance. -- Among the Tujen the gurtum wears a
292 red cloak that is held together with a cloth belt, a shoulder collar, a chest mirror, a Lamaistic amulet or a hada (ceremonial cloth) in the chest bag, a headcloth that covers the eyes, a garland of bells around his forehead, and on top of it the five-part Lamaistic crown. The most important piece of his equipment is the sword, without which he does not shamanize at all, so that really one should call the Tujen gurtum a "sword-shaman." He also uses other weapons, however, such as the spirit-spear and the knife. At major ceremonies he also works with sieve, winnowing-fan, and five little paper men called wu-tao shen in Chinese, which could be translated as "five-direction spirits."

The whole type of the gurtum is that of a warrior who exorcises misfortune in the demon battle. Aside from this popular image of his appearance, which is fairly complete, there are also simple, degenerated types who wear only the
[177] most necessary equipment, say, the headcloth, the chest mirror, and the sword, even over a modern European suit. At solemn sword battles, however, they also appear in full regalia.

[237 cont.]

756 The most distinguished form of the gurtum is undoubtedly the Lamaistic temple-shaman. He appears in magnificent battle
292 dress, with bow and arrow and [238] spirit-spear. On his back he carries little flags, like the former Chinese general, and thereby identifies himself as the leader of an army whose parts are represented precisely by these flags. When one sees these gurtum -- for instance, in Kumbum or Kuo-mang-szu -- one involuntarily thinks of the traditional heroes of the Chinese theater. On the other hand, in the rest of their equipment they remind one of the Lamaistic war gods who are regarded as protectors of the dogma. To be sure, in individual instances there are variations, but in general the type of these temple shamans remains the same, and they are designated in general by the same name as the people's gurtum.

756 Written Chinese also has the name hu-fa, which is a translation of c'os skyoṅ or Dharmapala. J. F. Rock also emphasizes their similarity to an army leader: "The Dharmapāla are demon-generals who execute the will of the tutelaries, or demon-kings. They are hideous and fierce-looking and each commands a horde of demons" [cited in English] (Na-khi Kingdom, I, p. 210, Note 26).

192 The shaman character. -- The word "gurtum," in Tujen
756 sgurdien, in Chinese ku-erh-tien or ku-wai-tien, stems from Tibetan Lamaistic terminology. It comes from the word sku-rten, and not, as F. Lessing believes, from skur-bltams, body shakers (F. Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143). According to Ch. Das (536), rten signifies something that supports, bears, or contains something; sku-rten, according to him, means the same as: the bearer or the container of a person himself, an image of the gods or Buddha. On page 89 he gives sku-rten as an abbreviation of the three aspects sku, gsuṅ, t'ugs-rten. According to page 91, sku-gsuṅ-t'ugs are the body, speech, and thinking, in other words the three realms of human behavior or suffering: deed, word, thought. Concerning the cosmic mythological co-ordination of these aspects with the world directions and the five c'os skyoṅ, cf. further below. The expression sku-rten, in other words, signifies that the gurtum is the container of a deity

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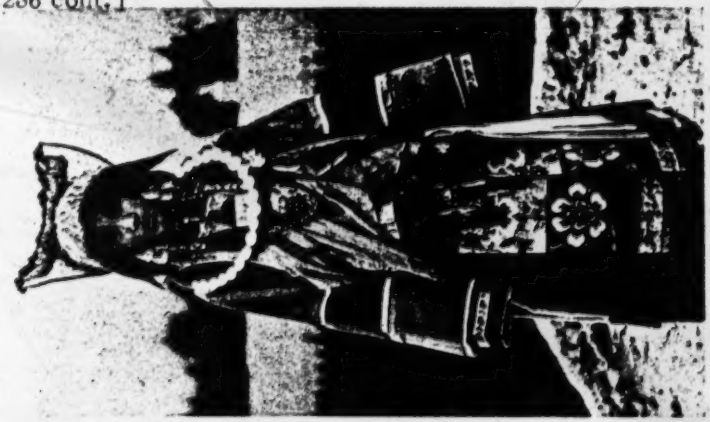

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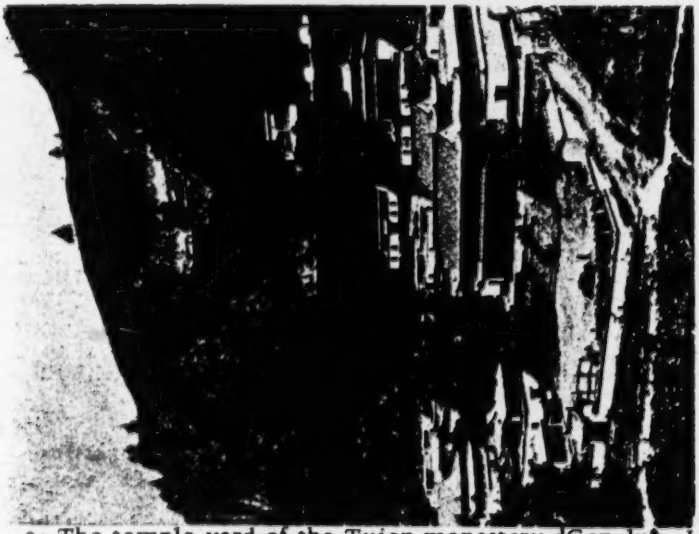

a: The temple yard of the Tujen monastery dGon-luñ. Left, the gable of the Tuguãn palace, Tuguãn-larõñ. In the background the foothill of the Tuguãn mountain, Tuguãn-ula. (Photo. Jos. Trippner.) b: Young Tujen woman in ancient dress. Characteristic are: the high headdress, niudar, now prohibited; the neck ring; the wide sleeve rings; the wide embroidered cloth bands over the skirt. The pattern was the garb of a Tujen princess. (Photo. Mission Archives, Sining.)

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

even minor Living Buddhas live in luxurious residences, with a private chapel and servants. Admittance to the Living Buddha is very complicated; no one is even allowed to enter the kitchen, at the entrance of which, when the Living Buddha is present, is a high stone, whitewashed and covered with a ceremonial scarf.

The first duty of the intendant is to acquire for his new master two lama teachers of good repute and extensive learning, in order to provide for the education of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity.

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after months and months the exercises always have to be repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.[25]

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training.

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary lamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-ku-lung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed

[25] Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

[p. 68(B)]

roll of the inmates and from that time on he becomes 792
a member of the community, and is able to reap the benefits of his membership. The same rule exists for admission to the colleges.

Nobody cares about the past of the newcomer, nobody inquires about the name of his country, his parents, or the reasons for his arrival. The lamas know very well that inquiries about these matters are of no avail, for if he were a dishonorable man he would certainly not reveal his past. Therefore, it suffices to say that you are coming to worship a certain Buddha honored at the lamasery, and that the period required to satisfy your devotion will probably be long, maybe a year, two years, or more. Then you have to try and find yourself a home in the lamasery, renting a room from a lama, or sharing a room. The proprietor of a courtyard has to report the names of the lamas living in his yard. In small institutions the control is easy, but in large ones, like Kumbum, it is impossible. Frequently, lamas assured me that there was always a number of non-registered lamas, mostly of the traveling businessman type, living at the homes of their friends.

Withdrawal from the lamasery is as easy. Every lama is free to abandon the lamasery forever, at any time. He has only to inform the intendancy of his departure. Only lamas who are guarantors for debts are not allowed to leave, as long as the business is unfinished. A lama is free to sell his courtyard to another lama, and to leave at any time. Usually, a number of lamas leave after the distribution of alms. Once a lama has left the monastery, it has no obligation to care for him any more, unless he has been a guarantor or has committed an injustice against the lamasery. The rector of Chiar-too-ssu, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, left the [292] ●
monastery, bought property adjacent to it, and without changing his lama dress for the clothes of a layman, lived with his wife unmolested. I encountered three or more lama doctors, celebrated for proficiency in their art, who lived with their wives, still wearing their religious garb. Even the son of one of them was dressed as a lama.

If a lama whose name is inscribed on the rolls should be informed by his friends of a charge made against him at the intendancy for moral reasons or theft, he leaves the lamasery in time to avoid the punishments which are meted out with ruthless severity, and moves to another lamasery. Most of the time, a lama would be advised to leave by the intendency itself, for intendancies are reluctant to inflict such punishments, in order to avoid scandal.

In Kumbum, in 1912, I saw a lama, accused by a 792
husband for visiting his wife, beaten unconscious before 627
the main temple, while the community read imprecations. 684
Half his face was blackened with soot; a paper 681
hat, half black, half white, was put on his head; and the traditional oval was impressed on both his cheeks

[p. 71 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

More has been done by the chiefs and elders of the villages in promoting justice, creating respect for elders, restoring peace in families, defending the position of the women, preventing adultery, punishing the faults of the youngsters, and making the families happy than by the lamas. 792 626 888

I felt really happy to encounter among this tremendous number of lamas the single exception of the old Living Buddha Li, who in the fasting exercises taught the older people to crave pardon for their faults and to pray, and to hear them say that they were happy to have heard comforting words from the mouth of the old man.

V. THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

GENERAL ASPECTS AND FORMER CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

795 792 175

In Huang-chung, there are not only lamas of the Yellow Sect, the reformed sect of Tsong khapa, but also of the Red Sect, which still adheres to the rules observed before the reform. The red lamas marry, and live, scattered over the country, with their wives and children. They till their fields and raise cattle, indulge in wine and tobacco, eat garlic and nearly all kinds of meat. They perform their rites when invited by the people and live under the direction of a superior, who has far less power over them than the superior of the yellow lamas has over his subjects.

At home they wear the dress of the lay people; when performing rites they wear the usual lama dress—a red gown, the red hat, and a shade before the eyes, adorned with fringes of the five ritual colors. They use the same ritual paraphernalia as the lamas of the Yellow Sect, but they like to use a drum made of two skulls, and to blow a trumpet made of a human thigh bone; they recite their own texts. They seem to lay stress on the cult of water springs. All of them have the duty to perform the Rite of the 108 Springs, which lasts for 129 days, at least once in their lifetime. Some among them perform this rite two or three times. Well versed in magic, they are capable of performing not only the rites performed by the Yellow lamas, but also many other rites prohibited for the Yellow lamas. [292] [534]

All the lamas of Huang-chung belonged to the Red Sect in former times. The lamas of Ch'ü-t'an, the Nang-suo, Karwa lamas, the Dhyana family lamas, the lamas belonging to small monasteries or hermitages,

abstinence from carnal desires, liquor, and he enforced the rules of moral discipline. However, he did not denounce the images worshipped by the old sect, representing men and women in offensive postures, but gave to them a new interpretation of an abstract nature. . . . Externally the two sects do not differ much from each other." And on p. 434: "I am compelled to say that Lamaism has fallen, and that it has assumed a form quite contrary to that to which its great reformer Tsong Khapa elevated it, and I am sincerely sorry for this degeneration." [792 771 175]

[p. 73(A)]

A lot of anecdotes, overlaid with fabulous legends, 756
are told about powerful shamans who lived in former 538
times. A famous shaman of Too long was invited to cure a dying man. The man died before his arrival. The soul of the shaman, after the completion of certain rites, went to see Erlik Khan, the King of Hell, and examining the files he found that the man had died several years before his destined time. The soul of the shaman came back; he performed a set of new rites and the man came to life and lived for several more years. I wondered how such anecdotes, known all over Asia, were spread among the Monguors. The overall con- [868]
clusion, after all the talks about old famous shamans, was always: "We no longer have the stuff of which shamans are made, for the apprentices are no longer trained in the right way."

MONGUOR SHAMANS AND NEUROSIS

What about the general statement of the ethnologists 756
that shamans are victims of neurosis? It is said of the 158
brutal training of the apprentices among the nomads, in opposition to the most elementary principles of pedagogy, that nothing could have been devised, better calculated to unseat the reason and to form pitiable neurotics of them.

In former times, according to the Monguors, the training of the Monguor shamans must have been very similar. The recent cases of the two apprentices of the old Lu shaman seem to evidence this assumption. On the other hand, it is a known fact that among the hereditary diseases neurosis is the most frequently inherited. Because children of shamans must marry children of [582]
shamans, the danger of inheritance is increased and it creates a predisposition to produce more easily suggestions and hallucinations among the members of such families. The fact of the suicide of the boy No, unwilling to become a shaman, is suggestive. It seems, therefore, not too far fetched to suppose that the shamans and their apprentices easily get the conviction of seeing spirits and hearing them talk. Because they will see and hear them, they act accordingly, notwithstanding their actual superficial training. On the other hand, for neurosis, as for all diseases, the question of plus and minus is always open, but the morbid basis of the disease is always existent.

Some of the shamans performing the rites seem to act as though in a play, straining for effects. They give the profession a black eye, while others seem to mean business and to act as real shamans. After all, the fact remains that shamans never dare to quit the profession, notwithstanding that it is a poor means of livelihood.

SHAMAN DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS

DRESSES

The shaman when not performing rites for communi- 756
ties or private families, dresses in the same way as the 292
Monguors, but while acting as shaman he wears a special

[P·82(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

costume, as follows: a long Chinese gown of black cloth, 756
with a large flat collar, in the manner of the Taoist 292
priests, crossing over the chest and buttoned on the left side. Over the gown he wears a coat of silk, adorned with flowers or dragons, having large sleeves and reaching below the knees. The coat is similar to the one worn under the empire by distinguished Chinese. The black color of the gown is unusual in the country and is confined to the shamans. Stress should be put on the startling difference existing between the simple official dress of the Monguor shaman and the official dress of many shamans among the nomads, whose main article of costume consists of a large mantle adorned with superstitious paraphernalia and symbols. Clothed in the mantle the shamans feel themselves possessed by their spirits; without it, they cannot perform their rites. This mantle is said to be worn by the black shamans living in the mountains south of the Hsining River. No traditions are prevalent to the effect that the Monguor shamans used the mantle in former times, but it is always said that they never wore it.

CINCTURE

The long black gown is belted by a long strip of black 756
cotton, wrapped a couple of times around the waist, as 293
all lay people do. The shamanists among the Mongols of Ordos take off their girdle [16] four times a year, while performing their important rite by means of prostrations, facing the sun. Chingis having escaped with his life from pursuing brigands took off his girdle, put it around his neck, and facing the sun, prostrated nine times.[17] Among the Monguors the girdle has not the same importance. Monguor shamans and shamanists never take off the sash when they honor "Heaven and all the spirits" or perform rites.

The Mongols of Ordos, if the bridegroom happens to become sick on the day of the marriage, marry the bride with his belt.[18] The Monguors do not perform such marriages, but when a girl has relations with a traveling guest, she asks for his girdle and name. If she becomes pregnant, she ceremoniously marries the girdle, is called Mrs. so-and-so, according to the name of the guest, and her child is similarly named.[19]

CAPS [20]

The Monguor shamans use three kinds of caps, all 756
three black in color: the first is a kind of toque, a brim- 292
less pliable bonnet having a tassel of dog hair on top. 302
This cap is similar to that of the Chinese Taoist priests. On the top of the cap, next to the tassel of dog hair, a hole is left through which is seen a hairpin which holds

[16] A. Mostaert, *Dictionaire Ordos*, 84.

[17] P. Pelliot, *Œuvres posthumes, Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Chap. II, paragraph 103, Paris, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1949.

[18] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 176.

[19] L. Schram, *Mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, 130.

[20] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148.

[p. 83(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the hair coiled inside the cap. All the shamans wear the pigtail, which they coil when performing rites. 756 292 302

Traditional pictures of Taoist saints show that these worthies were wont to wear their hair in a knot on the top of the head. The Manchu Tartars conquered China and compelled the people to adopt their coiffure and shave their heads except on the top, where it was allowed to grow long and be braided as a pigtail. The *sai kung*, like the whole nation, had to submit to this order, but with pious conservatism they have preserved the ancient orthodox fashion on behalf of their altar service; that is to say, while officiating they coil their hair into a knot upon their heads and cover the shaven part around it with a wig of braided human hair.[21] [175]

The Monguor shamans, however, do not wear the wig.

The Manchus not only preserved their traditional style of dress and haircut, they even compelled Chinese men during the period of invasion to adopt Manchu dress, shave their heads, and grow the queue. This enforced change was so bitterly resented by the Chinese that many times they chose rather to die, or lose their heads, than obey the Tartars in these ceremonies. The literary inquisition launched during the Ch'ien-lung period reveals that, in the eighteenth century, a Chinese who yearned for the old cap and garments was still considered a dangerous rebel.[22] [648]

The second headdress has the form of a sack, of black cloth, tightly bound around the head. A tail, three feet in length, is fixed on this cap. Plaited with red rope around a twisted black rope of cloth, the tail which is thin at the bottom and thick at the end, is rolled on the head, but released when the shaman is executing acrobatic evolutions.

The third one is a crown, in form like the *chod pon* of the lamas,[23] divided in front into five parts, bearing a crude picture of the god of the five roads, the Wu-tao-shen, whose disciples the shamans claim to be. (Shamans never wear a crown with the five Dhyani Buddhas; their antagonism toward Lamaism is too pronounced to do that; they never will perform rites in a Buddhist temple of the village.)[24]

THE DRUM

The drum is one of the important implements of a shaman. It is used to invoke the spirits during the performance of the rites; the spirits enter into it and ritual dances are performed in time with the beat. Every shaman has his own drum, and generally another in reserve. Upon the death of the shaman his drum is buried with him in the coffin, for it is a personal object. The boy apprentices receive a drum of smaller dimensions from their father, on the day of their dedication to the twelve spirits. Apprentices who receive part of their 756 534 [766]

[21] J. J. M. De Groot, *The religious systems of China* 6: Bk. II: 1267, 1910, Leiden, Brill.

[22] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 12, 1949. However, the Chinese were required to change to Manchu dress at the insistence of a Chinese official. See S. Cammann, *China's dragon robes*, 21, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[23] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 92, Paris, Plon, 1929.

[24] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148, Importance of the cap. [p. 83(B)]

The Kurtain was obliged to apologize to the shamans, offering a sheep, and also had to offer a sheep to the deity who protected the village. 756 578

During the exhibitions at Erh-ku-lung, the Kurtain was decked in a splendid, long green gown, belonging to the lamasery and fashioned according to that of the Taoist priests. He wore on his head the mitre of a Living Buddha. He did not wear his helmet or the sword; his appearance was less warrior-like and terrible than that of the Kurtain of Seerkok, although he seemed still to represent the type of Chinese theatrical general, with flags on his back, sitting with open sprawled legs, in spite of having had the Buddhist mitre on his head and the Buddhist staff in his hand when the exhibition started. Furthermore, the ceremonies were the same, with cypress fire, recital of the *swork'a*, drumbeating, head shaking with ringing bells, prophesying, whip, and dagger. 756 292

The lamaseries are glad to have a Kurtain, because they enhance the interest at the annual pageant. These yearly exhibitions seem to be the principal job of a Kurtain possessed by a lama deity. Once in a while, however, when troubles occur, when the lamasery is sued at court, he is invited to prophesy the issue of the case, but most of the time the lamas solve their own problems. His position at the lamasery seems to be of a very secondary order, according to what lamas say. 756 571

Later there will be described the role the Kurtain plays in the community of the village, and in the private life of the Monguors.

Among the Wu of the present time in China is encountered a category of possessed men and women who seem to be of the same type as the Monguor Kurtains, who are not admitted into the group of the Wu (as the Kurtains are not admitted into the group of the shamans) because they did not pass the traditional tests of the Wu and did not receive the initiation. It sometimes happens that some of them transfer their business to their sons.[3] Their original possession, their behavior during the possession, are very similar with those of the Kurtains,[4] sitting on a stool before an altar, drowsily staring, yawning, shaking the head, furiously playing with a sword, prophesying and expelling evil spirits.[5] They are called *fa chang*, "Chief of Magic," while the real Wu is called *shih kung*, "Master," or *fa shih*, "Master of magic." 756 171

My data, as given above, seem not to tally completely with the very valuable study of F. Dominik Schröder in *Anthropos* **47**: 27–33, 237–248, 1952, but they are based on notes collected among the Monguors, and among lamas who lived over practically the whole region, and may contribute to an understanding of the subject. 114

[3] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1263.
[4] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1274.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1276.

[p.94 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

some iron taken from 4 city gates, some earth gathered 789
on four city walls, earth collected on 5 different moun- 796
tains, some earth taken in the prison of the city, 12 756
kinds of medicines; a small wooden white tiger, his rider painted black; 2 Buddha images, 2 mantles worn by statues in temples, bones of a dog, 2 skulls of a wolf and of a fox, a human skeleton, a pair of filthy trousers of a young woman, a living cat, a snake and a wooden raven. (Is it possible to imagine a more heterogeneous collection of items?)

On all these items are painted cabalistic designs, which are encircled with vermilion and painted with a brush dipped in the mixed blood of a white dog, cat, and cock.[1] All the items, in order to be effective, are to be stolen from other villages. Young folk are designated by the chief of the village to steal the required items, and if they do not succeed in the job, they have to buy the objects with their own money. If such thieves are accused at the court of the T'u-ssu, the community has to indemnify the defendant. At the times when these rites are performed, everybody in the country watches at night. All the stolen items are locked up in the temple and guarded at night by elder people, whose sleep is not so sound as that of young men. Deep secrecy is kept about the required items.

On the evening of the day fixed, the shamans arrive, clothed in the black gown; the chief of the shamans alone wears the flowery coat. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail. After sunset the villagers arrive and the temple is closed tightly. A hog and a sheep are offered, while the attendants prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks, and the shamans dance and beat drums. In the deepest silence, they go to the place prepared for the rite, holding banners. All the heterogeneous items required are loaded into a cart. A hole fifteen feet in depth has been dug beforehand. Its upper part is shaped in a circle, the middle part is square, and the lowest part triangular.

The chief of the shamans descends into the pit alone. His whole body is enveloped in red cloth; he wears a [292
cincture made of hemp, such as the people wear at 764]
funerals. Holding in his hands the whip and the ritual knife, he takes off his shoes and hose and puts on shoes made from hemp ropes. His pigtail is unplaited, and his hair disheveled. Some youngsters, their heads enveloped in a red cloth, descend with him into the pit. They communicate by signs and tokens, for it is forbidden to utter a single word inside the pit. The shamans beat the drums outside the pit.

In the center of the triangle one of the biggest jars 782
is deposited, inside of which are put the corpse of the 756
baby or boy, and the different sorts of earth. All items 796
are covered with a piece of red cloth and the kettle is 789
inverted over them. The chain is wrapped around the jar and fastened with the lock. The pair of trousers,

[1] Johann Frick, How blood is used in magic and medicine in Ch'inghai Province, *Anthropos* 46 (5–6): 954, 1951.

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 276 [372] men make their own pipes from the leg bone of a sheep. The smoking kit, a small pouch holding tobacco, a pinch of tinder and some small flints, hangs on the belt at the waist. The light is obtained by striking tinder against the flint.

c. Clothing

N *563 M 291 [177] The Mongours have always been proud of their national costume, though since the enrollment of some Chinese into their clans, a few communities have adopted Chinese clothing. During the rule of the Chinese Nationalist government, most of the Mongours kept their own costume. According to Father Schram, M [668] [177] who made a thorough investigation of the people, they were not allowed to wear the national costume after the Communists conquered their country in 1949. It is not known whether the Communists are continuing their policy of obliterating the distinct costumes and traditions of the small minorities.

M [171] The clothing of the Mongours is not greatly different from that of the Mongols. Traditionally, the men dress much less elaborately than the women. A man ordinarily wears a dark blue cotton gown, similar to that of the Chinese, that opens on the right side and hangs a little below the knees. The upper part of the gown is loose and a sash or belt is worn at the waist, making a copious pocket in which the man carries his eating bowl and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown of roughly woven white wool. Festival gowns of the rich are of silk or satin, and a vest or sleeveless jacket is worn over the gown. The ordinary man wears a cotton gown and jacket for festive occasions, with a plain silk or cotton sash.

In the old days, men wore trousers only when they went to town. Now they regularly wear blue cotton trousers cut in the Chinese style, with the legs stuffed into their cloth-topped knee boots. The tops of dress boots are sometimes embroidered. In winter, leather boots are worn. Few Mongours wear underclothing, and neither men nor women wear stockings.

M [301] Almost every young man wears a silver-plated bracelet carved with Chinese designs, and most men wear finger rings set with coral or turquoise.

The woman's gown is very full, has wide sleeves, and hangs to her heels. It overlaps in front, and buttons down the left side. An outer gown of coarse, unwashed wool is used as a working garment. Because of the natural oil in the wool, the gown sheds water well. A sash or girdle holds both gowns at the waist. Generally the poor do not wear trousers, the two gowns being their only garments.

N *563 M 292 Well-to-do women have elaborate and gaily colored festival dresses, fancy trousers and false sleeves. Like the Mongol women, they wear fancy headdresses and boots for dress occasions. At such times the outer gown is left off and the inner

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [171] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still M [888] living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

N *563 M 301 Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 769 614 a. Ancestor worship

Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-

[27 cont.]

756 The sword-shamans heal the sick, drive away demons, and
[789] practice soothsaying. In so doing, they wound themselves and
[787] the sick with the sword and burn themselves with fire, but if they are true shamans, this does not harm them.

Details

756 Dress: The shamans wear an ordinary long garment. Some-
292 times they also put on a robe similar to that of the Chinese
● 293 bonze, except that it is red. They girdle themselves with a
*778 red belt. On the chest they wear an amulet with a god's figure
[171] or a little bag with the hada [scarf-like ceremonial cloth] that the lama has given them at the consecration. It is their tutelary spirit. They throw the wide shoulder-collar over it, which falls with the points over the chest, back, and shoulders. It is of various colors and often beautifully cut. They hang the
[325] breast-mirror on a red string over the shoulder collar. Formerly this was made of gold; now it is made of copper. The shaman rubs it to a shine with incense ashes. The mirror is round and has a diameter of 15 to 20 centimeters. In the middle it has a round protuberance, on which the tutelary deity's name is sometimes inscribed in Tibetan signs. Several colorful hada-cloths are suspended from the two eyelets of the mirror. --
756 On their heads the shamans wear a red headcloth. It is about
292 50 to 80 centimeters square. One tip is cut off to a breadth of about 20 centimeters; at these cut ends there are two red bands; the cloth looks like an irregular pentagon. They sew five small copper horse-rattles on the cut edge. The cloth is thrown over the head in such a fashion that the edge with the little bells runs across the forehead and the other tips fall down over the ears and shoulders. They fasten the cloth on the back of the head with the bands. -- Over this headcloth they then tie a five-part crown similar to that of the lamas (4).

*[778] 4. [Foreign text p. 32.] The headcloth is not always of this kind. There are also cloths that are larger and that have no bells. In this case the shaman ties on a

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

costume, as follows: a long Chinese gown of black cloth, 756
with a large flat collar, in the manner of the Taoist 292
priests, crossing over the chest and buttoned on the left side. Over the gown he wears a coat of silk, adorned with flowers or dragons, having large sleeves and reaching below the knees. The coat is similar to the one worn under the empire by distinguished Chinese. The black color of the gown is unusual in the country and is confined to the shamans. Stress should be put on the startling difference existing between the simple official dress of the Monguor shaman and the official dress of many shamans among the nomads, whose main article of costume consists of a large mantle adorned with superstitious paraphernalia and symbols. Clothed in the mantle the shamans feel themselves possessed by their spirits; without it, they cannot perform their rites. This mantle is said to be worn by the black shamans living in the mountains south of the Hsining River. No traditions are prevalent to the effect that the Monguor shamans used the mantle in former times, but it is always said that they never wore it.

CINCTURE

The long black gown is belted by a long strip of black 756
cotton, wrapped a couple of times around the waist, as 293
all lay people do. The shamanists among the Mongols of Ordos take off their girdle [16] four times a year, while performing their important rite by means of prostrations, facing the sun. Chingis having escaped with his life from pursuing brigands took off his girdle, put it around his neck, and facing the sun, prostrated nine times.[17] Among the Monguors the girdle has not the same importance. Monguor shamans and shamanists never take off the sash when they honor "Heaven and all the spirits" or perform rites.

The Mongols of Ordos, if the bridegroom happens to become sick on the day of the marriage, marry the bride with his belt.[18] The Monguors do not perform such marriages, but when a girl has relations with a traveling guest, she asks for his girdle and name. If she becomes pregnant, she ceremoniously marries the girdle, is called Mrs. so-and-so, according to the name of the guest, and her child is similarly named.[19]

CAPS [20]

The Monguor shamans use three kinds of caps, all 756
three black in color: the first is a kind of toque, a brim- 292
less pliable bonnet having a tassel of dog hair on top. 302
This cap is similar to that of the Chinese Taoist priests. On the top of the cap, next to the tassel of dog hair, a hole is left through which is seen a hairpin which holds

[16] A. Mostaert, *Dictionaire Ordos*, 84.

[17] P. Pelliot, *Œuvres posthumes, Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Chap. II, paragraph 103, Paris, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1949.

[18] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 176.

[19] L. Schram, *Mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, 130.

[20] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148.

[p.83(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Apprentices who receive part of their training for a couple of years from another shaman, during the summer time, and who acknowledge him as their master, offer him a gown upon completion of their education. In return, they receive a drum from him. The rules of apprenticeship among the shamans are the same as those already noted for other apprentices, such as carpenters. 756 534 [874]

The overwhelming magical significance attached to the drum by the nomad shamans is lacking among the Monguor shamans. Among the nomads, when the apprentice, after completing his depressing training, beats the drum for the first time, he becomes hypnotized and tranced.[25] Although the Monguor shamans consider the drum a sacred magical object, the same overriding importance is not attached to it.

The drum is built in a primitive way. A handle is attached to an iron circle with iron rings, which produce noise when the drum is beaten. On the iron circle is stretched a piece of goatskin, which has been soaked in water and shaved. On its surface are often painted crude pictures of heaven, with the sun, moon, the big and the little dippers, stars and clouds. The drumstick is usually made from peachwood or strips of goat hide twisted together.

THE KNIFE

The shamans use a knife when driving away the evil spirits. The knife is twelve inches long and two inches wide, and pointed at the end. To the handle are attached noisemaking iron rings. Sometimes the Chinese knife used for cutting noodles is substituted. 756 413 293

THE MAGIC STAFF

The staff, which is of wood, seems to be an important tool.[26] To the top is affixed a copper mirror surmounted by a three-pronged iron fork to which tassels of red rope are attached. The staff ends in an iron point, so that it may be planted erect in the ground during the time when council with the spirit is asked for. The magic staff is a tool used by lamas and Taoists as well as by shamans. The staff of the lamas differs from that of the shamans in that the mirror is surmounted by a copper skull, while above the skull is the point of a spear. The staff of the Taoists has an octagonal shaft with an iron point on top.

Each time, before performing a rite, the shaman asks his spirits in the staff about the most fitting rite for the circumstance, the sacrifice to be offered. The answer is supplied by the twelve spirits making the arms of the shaman shiver, and so he knows how to conjure evil spirits who harm persons, families, or herds. It is always called *Yang-t'ou san-ch'iang*. (I could never get an explanation of this Chinese term.) The staff is used when the shamans go into private families in order 756 793

[25] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 79.

[26] Ugo Holmbergs, Siberian mythology, in *Mythology of all races* 4: 522, Boston, 1927.

[p.84(A)]

512 bowl of food in to her husband, presenting it to him
462 humbly with both hands. She then folds and stacks along the rear wall of the *k'ang* the felts, skins, and quilts that serve as bedding, and sweeps out the house and courtyard.

462 It is also woman's work to feed the livestock, milk the cows, and go out to fetch earth, carried in a basket
233 on her back, to dump in the stables where the trampling of the animals mixes it with manure and urine which will eventually be carried out to put on the fields as fertilizer. If a cart is needed in the day's work, it is the wife who harnesses the horse or ox. When it is time to grind flour, it is she who does the grinding, either pounding a little at a time in a stone mortar or taking a larger quantity to a grindstone turned by animal power. When it rains, it is her duty to take the small herds of sheep, cows, and horses out to graze in the valley or on the hill slopes, while her husband, smoking his pipe, huddles by the brazier at home to keep warm or goes to visit his friends.

462 Women also work in the fields. On the field nearest home the Monguors use stable manure; on distant fields
241 they use a fertilizer made by burning clods of earth and grass. The wife carries the ashes in a basket on her back and spreads them on the field. Most husbands help their wives in this heavy work, but it seems not to be their duty to do so. Plowing and harrowing are the main agricultural work of the men, but even in this the women frequently help them. It is not unusual to see a woman plowing and harrowing. When the heavy preparatory work has been done, husband and wife together sow and later weed the fields. They also work together in reaping the harvest, carrying it to the threshing floor, and threshing it—though there are a few lazy men who will not work after the sowing and the weeding, leaving the harvesting, carrying, and threshing to the women.

462 Whenever a woman has a few minutes to spare she reaches for her sewing box. Sewing is work that
294 Monguor women love and at which they are very skillful. They can often be seen working at night by the light of a twisted wick spluttering in a saucer of vegetable oil, patching the clothes of the family. A housewife is expected to make all the new clothes for her husband, her children, and herself. Although she is always the first to get up in the morning and the last to go to bed at night, she has a little more spare time in the winter, when there is no work in the fields, and this is the season for sewing.

603 It is the grandmother who manages the whole female side of the community, supervising and allocating work
462 to the daughters-in-law and the older girls. A good
592 manager rotates the work so that each woman will have an opportunity to do needle work and so that pregnant
606 women get lighter work. It is the grandmother also who soothes the quarrels that inevitably break out in such a family, and endeavors to keep them from be-

[p. 89a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

273 at New Year and at weddings, funerals, and other
[733] festivals. The women do the distilling. Drinking too much is a weakness of Monguor men, and the women also like to drink a cup. As the distilling is crude, the liquor is by no means a healthy drink. In order to avoid drunken fights at the great spring and autumn festivals, liquor is drunk only at the end of the festivities.

276 Monguor men smoke all day long, using Chinese tobacco and the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl holding less than a thimbleful of tobacco. Often, instead of buying a wooden pipe stem from a peddler, the men make them for themselves, using the leg bone of a sheep. The pipe is hung from the belt, balanced by a small pouch which contains tinder and some small flints and has a steel 'keel." To strike a light, a piece of flint and a pinch of tinder are held between forefinger and thumb and struck against the steel. Women seldom smoke.

733 The practice of smoking opium has to some extent spread from the Chinese to the Monguors, and wherever there is an opium addict the whole family is sure to be ruined. Some T'u-ssu allow their subjects to raise opium, while others forbid it.

CLOTHING AND HEADDRESSES

291 For centuries the Monguors have been proud of their national costume, though it is true that in some Monguor communities Chinese clothing had become commoner than the Monguor costume by 1922. The adoption of Chinese clothing is probably due to the fact that the Monguor costume was despised by the Chinese wives of chiefs of clans and rich men. The enrollment of Chinese families in the Monguor clans has also had an influence. In 1949 the Communists, when they overran the Monguor country, forbade the wearing of the national costume—presumably as part of a policy of obliterating the separate customs and traditions of small minorities.

The traditional men's costume is much less elaborate than that of the women. The trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and are cut in the Chinese style with a loose crotch and baggy seat. It is said that in former days the men did not wear trousers at all, and even today the old men living north of Weiyuanp'u do not wear trousers under their gowns unless they are going to town.[9] Monguor boots resemble Tibetan boots, having a "shoe" made like a moccasin and a cloth leg reaching
[274] to the knee. The legs of the trousers are stuffed into the boots. Sometimes the leg of the boot is embroidered. In winter some Monguors wear leather boots bought in the city.

[9] It is possible that the Monguor tradition on this subject is confused. Trousers have been part of the Mongol costume from ancient times. On the other hand, the Tibetans, especially the nomad Tibetans, do not wear trousers, and it is possible that the custom among some Monguors of not wearing trousers is due to Tibetan influence. On the subject see Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, Vienna, Verlag Herold, 1949, and Ekvall, *op. cit.*—O. L.

[p. 118a]

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173 Prince of Chin. According to the legend this prince,
"blessed by heaven and all the spirits," begat thirteen
291 sons from his nine wives. Because he was fond of
562 magnificence and display, he designed a different costume for each wife, and this is supposed to be the origin of the nine main designs of Monguor women's costume to this day.

177 The significance of the Monguor national costume even
in recent times is illustrated by the following story, which
648 stirred up interest throughout the Monguor country. In 1913 the Living Buddha of the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu [10] forbade the Monguor women living in his territory to wear their national costume and ordered them to adopt the Tibetan style of dress. Passions ran high against this order. Although the Monguors had for centuries supported the monastery with their offerings, they ceased to appear at the monastery festivals and began to make their offerings to other monasteries. Even the lamas of Monguor origin left the monastery and enrolled in other monasteries. The result was that the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu began to enroll Chinese novices and the whole spirit of the institution was changed.

291 The costumes of the Monguor women are much more
elaborate and distinctive than those of the men. Like the
292 men, however, the women do not wear underclothes,
562 nor do they have nightgowns. Their bed is a piece of felt spread on the sleeping platform; there are no sheets or pillowcases, and at night they simply undress and cover themselves with roughly woven blankets or sheepskins.

291 A woman's trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and
are fastened around the waist with a rope twisted of
562 sheep's wool. On the legs of the trousers, just below the knee, there is a hem of white cotton cloth. To this hem is sewn the lower leg of the trousers which can easily be removed and replaced, when the women go to festivals, with a leg of finer cloth or of silk or satin, embroidered in red. Ordinarily, the legs of the trousers are stuffed into the tops of the boots, but the ornamental trouser leg can be worn outside the boot. As with men's trousers, the cut is that of Chinese trousers, and the tradition is that in older times trousers were not used at all. The Monguor women of the villages north of the valleys of Weiyüanp'u and Hungnaitze wear trousers only on the coldest winter days and when they go to festivals.

462 Monguor women make their own boots. The sole is
made of alternating layers of blue and white cotton
294 cloth pasted together and then stitched, the foot of the boot is made of dark blue cotton cloth, sometimes beautifully embroidered, and the legs are ornamented with patches of dark leather. The foot of the boot may also be made of black cotton cloth, adorned with green

[10] For references to this monastery, see Reginald Farrar, *On the eaves of the world* and *The rainbow bridge*, London, Arnold, 1917 and 1921.

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

462 stitching. The leg of the boot is of dark blue cotton
294 cloth and reaches to the knee. Stockings are not worn. Some women pull their boots on over bare feet, others wrap their feet with long strips of cotton cloth. The designs embroidered on ornamental boots are Chinese —swastikas and other designs, and flowers such as violets, roses, or peonies.

554 The boots and the sash are important items in the
292 trousseau of a Monguor bride—they display her proficiency in embroidery. Months of work go into the preparation of them, and girls learn the art of embroidering from older women. A pair of fine boots, worn only on festive occasions, is expected to last a lifetime. At festivals, if it is rainy or muddy, women can be seen walking barefoot carrying their precious boots under their arms, laughing and chatting as they trudge through the mud and putting on their boots only at the last moment. At such gatherings, boots and sashes are the articles that women compare and admire or envy; often a fine pair of boots is taken off and passed around the admiring circle of women while the proud owner modestly watches from the corner of her eyes, gracefully accepting compliments and congratulations. After
291 the age of about forty, however, the woman puts aside her fancy foots and wears boots of a more simple style. An important part of the costume is a sort of apron which covers the chest and stomach. The upper part is of white cotton cloth, and the lower part of green cloth. The lower part is often beautifully embroidered with flowers, swastikas, or the Chinese characters signifying "longevity" and "happiness." On the lower part is sewed a large pocket in which women keep their needle cases, thread, and all kinds of odds and ends. The upper part of the apron hangs from a string around the neck, while the lower part is tied behind the back with laces.

Under her apron a woman wears a short shirt, reaching to the hips, made of red or green or violet cotton cloth. In winter this shirt is doubled and wadded with cotton or wool. Rich people wear shirts of satin or silk.

The woman's gown is a long, full robe, reaching to the heels, with wide sleeves. The front of the gown overlaps on the left side, and buttons under the left arm and down the side while the man's gown, as already described, buttons down the right side. Except for wealthy people, the gown is ordinarily of blue cotton cloth. Another gown of the same size and pattern is worn over the first gown. This outer gown is roughly woven from the wool of sheep or goats. As this wool has not been cleaned of its natural oil before being woven, it is heavy, warm, and sheds water well. In some places where the Monguor women, like Tibetan women, do not wear trousers, these two gowns are the only clothing. A girdle or sash holds both gowns in at the waist. For poor people, this is the only fastening of the gown; buttons are not used.

292 For festive dress the rough outer gown is not worn

[P.1196]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

292 "one who is not dressed in a skirt could not confront the ancestors in the next world." According to tradition, Monguor women were allowed to wear this skirt by special favor of the emperor in recognition of the glorious days of the past when women had fought beside their husbands defending the frontiers of the empire.

The sash, as has already been mentioned, is one of the most important details of the wardrobe. When women gather together on holidays, the sash is the first article of dress that is inspected; after that come the boots. [294] The embroidery on the sash is the proof of a woman's skill with the needle. Custom demands that every girl, before her marriage, should herself make the embroidery on both ends of her sash, working under the supervision of her mother and with the skilled advice of other older women. This sash is worn for the first time at the girl's wedding, and after that on holidays. The ordinary woman has only one such sash to last her all her life. At the age of forty she exchanges it for one more simple in design.

Basically, the sash is a strip of green cotton cloth eight inches wide and twelve or fifteen feet in length. It is wound around the waist so that either both ends hang down in front, or one in front and the other at the back. Only the ends are embroidered, sometimes with a mosaic design, sometimes with flowers, or symbolic Chinese designs, or the Chinese characters for "longevity" or "happiness." Satin or silk handkerchiefs, edged with embroidery, are attached to the sash so that they hang down beside both of the hanging ends. A string of the old pierced Chinese copper cash is also attached to the sash, where it jingles like the bells on a horse as the woman walks. At home, when she is wearing her blue cotton gown, the woman wears a sash of the same material and color, without embroidered ends. If she is wearing her overgown of wool, the sash is of black wool with fringes of brown wool on both ends.

In addition to her "military" skirt, a woman also wears a waistcoat or sleeveless jacket of the kind worn by soldiers under the empire, covering the chest and back and reaching to the waist. This jacket may be made of dark blue cotton cloth, edged with black or brown velvet; or of red cotton, edged with black velvet and embroidered with gold thread. Wealthy women may wear jackets of satin or silk. The jacket worn at home is of simple blue cotton without edging. When a woman goes out to work, carrying earth or bringing back dung for fuel in a basket slung on her back, she wears a woolen jacket. Women over forty do not wear fancy jackets.

This jacket is not an ancient part of the costume. In older times, a kind of overcoat was worn, buttoned in front and reaching to the knees, with fringes at the bottom edge. These fringes were made of paper rolled into thick, hollow sticks, with tassels of silk thread at the ends. On the back of this coat was attached a small flag, also adorned with fringes. The silk handkerchiefs

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231 441 [237] donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel relatively well because they have not been confined and fed in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from there to Europe and America for making brushes.

236 237 443 439 The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this buying is done directly in the homes of families that have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buying in small quantities is done by the peddlars, especially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments, [436] and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small [203] quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as they travel.

442 296 543 Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs. Two or three times a year every important monastery holds special religious performances, around which there spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes, wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack [232] doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose diseases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses, cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

543 579 Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and attract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable distances. In the afternoons there are horse races and wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymaking, and often, when there has been too much drinking, fights between clans and villages.

463 439 484 A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods, attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

291 to cope with the routine of their ordinary lives as the
302 result of a day of real happiness. At the festival they had felt and acted as if they belonged to the most beautiful and happy people in the world. Proud as peacocks,
182 they had walked smiling through the throngs as if they were queens. They had listened with pleasure to the jingling of the strings of copper coins hanging from their sashes; they had been delighted by the fluttering of the silk and satin handkerchiefs hanging by the embroidered ends of their sashes. They had enjoyed the fragrance of the strong musk perfume on their garments, and they had been admired and congratulated.

291 Unmarried girls are not dressed as gaudily as the married women. They wear blue cotton trousers, the attached lower legs of which are made of red cloth. Their blue cotton boots are embroidered with Chinese designs, usually of flowers. They wear the long gown of violet, green, blue, or red cotton cloth, with an apron over it. The hem of the gown is decorated with red cotton stitching. The collar is always of red cotton, and is embroidered. The sash is a piece of red cotton cloth, without embroidery. The sleeveless jacket is of green, blue, or red cotton trimmed at the edges with red stitching. Unmarried girls wear their hair in a small "bun" on top of the head, bound with red cord and covered with a shell. The rest of their hair is braided in two plaits, bound together at the neck with red cord and covered with a short sheath decorated with shells. Unmarried girls never wear hats. In winter they cover their ears and the side of their foreheads with a strip of red cotton cloth.

•301 Both married and unmarried women wear bracelets, sometimes three or four pairs, and silver rings on the fourth finger of each hand—sometimes three or four rings on the same finger. The rings are sometimes of plain silver and sometimes set with coral or turquoise. Unmarried girls wear only small, simple rings in their ears. The earlobe is pierced in the spring on the day of the festival of the ancestors.

Both men and women often wear a reliquary on the
778 chest, made like those worn by Mongols and Tibetans, often of silver, containing bits of writing from Tibetan scriptures, and sometimes miniature Buddhas.

HANDICRAFTS AND ORIGIN OF ARTISANS

463 There are, of course, no large scale industries among the Monguors. Most of their necessities can be bought either in the Chinese towns, or at the monastery festivals or the fairs that are held at the time of the clan assemblies. The handicrafts that are found among the Monguors themselves are limited to weaving, felt making, the making of fur coats, and the work of silversmiths. In addition there are a few carpenters and stone cutters.

286 The Monguors spin their own woolen yarn. Men, women, and older children spin when they have nothing else to do, drawing out the threads from a handful of

/31 cont'd/

584 This mania for exploiting one another, which shows one small aspect of the race, is manifested at different times in the matrimonial customs; but this aspect being general, it does not offend any T'ou-jen.

583 b) How does one proceed to the delivery of the presents?

The go-between goes to the home of the bride, this time with two jugs of gin, stoppered with the lozenge and tied with the wool. The purpose of the visit is twofold: the first is to set the day of the ceremony, the second is to try to bargain again on what had been agreed upon to spend for the girl, "for the bridegroom's family is very poor, they have recently had misfortunes, losses of livestock, unforeseen expenses; in spite of all their good intentions they have not yet been able to buy the full number of required gifts, in short, it will be necessary to be generous this time and give ever so little 'face' to the go-between...."

583 584 It is good form to yield at least something. When they yield, they proceed by pairs, for example two strings of cash, two pieces of cloth.... The concessions made, the day of the ceremony is set.

584 If the daughter-in-law's family is poor and the son-in-law's wealthy, the go-between will propose to the latter that they invite the poor family to their home so that the ceremony can take place impressively. In this case, the earnest will be given at the groom's home in the presence of the go-between.

583 The delivery of the presents is generally not made without ceremony. It is the occasion of a little festival in the bride's family, in which the go-between, the groom's father, his maternal uncles, his older brothers, the advocates of a little while ago, in all seven or eight people, participate.

/32/ The go-between, taking the jug brought from the groom's home, offers to all the bride's family a tiny cup of gin; then he [301] spreads on a table the marriage gifts, to which have been added: two artificial flowers which will be stuck in the bride's hair, two bricks of rouge, a piece of black crepe which will serve as a veil, a pair of eardrops, a pair of artistically embroidered shoes.

/88 cont'd/

Ma 614 589

the Mokunda may decide if she shall be remarried or not, and usually he takes the widow's interest into consideration. /Cited in English, with French interpolation indicated by parentheses./

2. Procedure for the Purchase of a Widow

Mo 587 [765]

Let us suppose that a young widow has returned to her parents' home 49 days after the death of her husband. It is one of the facts of the day, known immediately throughout the whole region, all the more because everybody knows she is waiting for a match. The candidates who have already made inquiries ask through a go-between or even personally for an interview with the widow. This interview ordinarily takes place at the home of a neighbor or friend. If the /89/ negotiations have results, the two parties generally give each other a token; the widow gives her ring or her eardrops or her bracelet; the future husband invariably gives his belt. These tokens bestow the right to act with force in case of contest, of rivalry, or of resistance on the part of the widow's owners. Only a few days after the interview, for such marriages move with precipitation and in the greatest secrecy for fear that the widow will be abducted by a rival, the suitor sends to the widow's "own" parents two go-betweens. They present themselves with the traditional jug of gin and arrange for the earnest, which is here insignificant. It generally does not exceed about ten strings of cash. It is a pure formality. They leave from home, enjoining the greatest secrecy, to go to the home of the former parents-in-law of the widow in order to obtain their consent and to discuss the price. The parents-in-law are indeed the owners of the widow.

Mo [301]

Mo 587 606

When the parents-in-law are well disposed and willing to discuss in question, they are offered a jug of gin; in the opposite case the jug is taken away, and plans are made to abduct the widow by force and as quickly as possible. But when all goes well, the go-betweens come back the second day and begin by promising the

2: Schram--205 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Two girls belonging to a Tibetanized T'ou-jen family. They wear the dress of the girls of Hoa-ri (northern Sining). The older one is spinning with the distaff and carries at the nape of the neck the stick to which she fastens the thread; the little one pulls out the wool.

[638 cont.]

292 765 [171] Mourning dress: Mourning is worn immediately after the death. It does not consist of a special white garb, as among the Chinese, but only of a change of dress.

During the period of mourning the men remove their colorful vests and take everything colored off their clothing, such as neck bands, sleeve edging, etc. Their long cloak is turned and worn with the lining, or in winter with the fur, on the outside. [302] They do not cut their hair, and they let the beard grow. The red or green trouser belt made of cloth is replaced by [639] a white or black one. Instead of the clothes-belt they wear a thick hemp string.

Like the men, the women also remove the colorful sleeve strips, trouser trimming, and shoe and boot ornamentation, especially everything red. The red or green skirt over the trousers is not worn at all. Instead of the colorful clothes, the woman puts on only a simple upper garment of one color. She takes off the ear pendants, arm bands, and the neck band, and [301] removes from her headdress all lace, tassels, and hanging strings, as well as the silver hair cap [Haarschale] and the little copper plates. She keeps only the simple, rigid frame of the headdress and covers its colorful strips uniformly by sticking green paper on them. She puts a blue cloth made of coarse linen over this as a head veil. She replaces her broad and colorful belt with a hemp string.

[602] [593] All the close relatives are required to wear mourning dress, those who also must give the death-offering. The only exception is the husband upon the death of his wife. He may not wear mourning.

764 782 [602] Prayer service: The prayer service is called "prayer tea." The relatives on the father's side assemble daily in the house of mourning; toward evening they sit on the kang around the open fire in the kitchen and pray the mani for the dead on their mani-string. When they are finished, they receive noodle soup and go home. This prayer service lasts until the day of cremation. One need not sit around the kang fire, however, but can also perform these prayers before the death-box itself.

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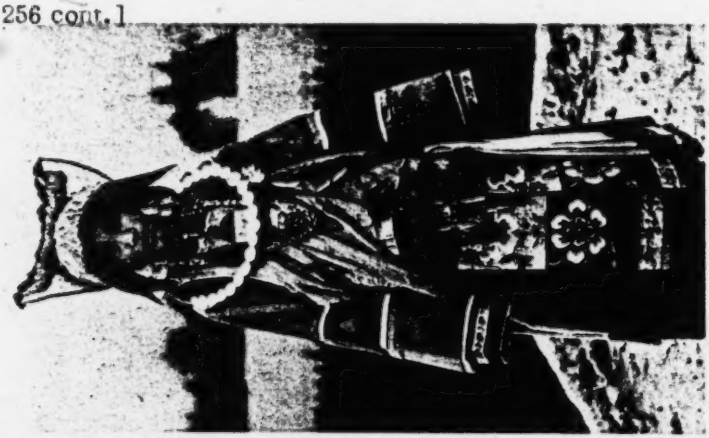

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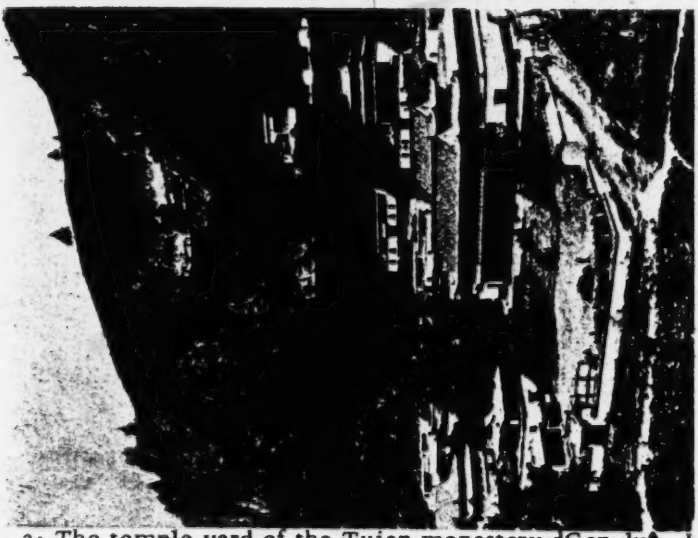

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a: The temple yard of the Tujen monastery dGon-luñ. Left, the gable of the Tuguãn palace, Tuguãn-larõñ. In the background the foothill of the Tuguãn mountain, Tuguãn-ula. (Photo. Jos. Trippner.) b: Young Tujen woman in ancient dress. Characteristic are: the high headdress, niudar, now prohibited; the neck ring; the wide sleeve rings; the wide embroidered cloth bands over the skirt. The pattern was the garb of a Tujen princess. (Photo. Mission Archives, Sining.)

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/The Monguors/

N *563 M 276 [372] men make their own pipes from the leg bone of a sheep. The smoking kit, a small pouch holding tobacco, a pinch of tinder and some small flints, hangs on the belt at the waist. The light is obtained by striking tinder against the flint.

c. Clothing

N *563 M 291 [177] The Mongours have always been proud of their national costume, though since the enrollment of some Chinese into their clans, a few communities have adopted Chinese clothing. During the rule of the Chinese Nationalist government, most of the Mongours kept their own costume. According to Father Schram, M [668] [177] who made a thorough investigation of the people, they were not allowed to wear the national costume after the Communists conquered their country in 1949. It is not known whether the Communists are continuing their policy of obliterating the distinct costumes and traditions of the small minorities.

M [171] The clothing of the Mongours is not greatly different from that of the Mongols. Traditionally, the men dress much less elaborately than the women. A man ordinarily wears a dark blue cotton gown, similar to that of the Chinese, that opens on the right side and hangs a little below the knees. The upper part of the gown is loose and a sash or belt is worn at the waist, making a copious pocket in which the man carries his eating bowl and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown of roughly woven white wool. Festival gowns of the rich are of silk or satin, and a vest or sleeveless jacket is worn over the gown. The ordinary man wears a cotton gown and jacket for festive occasions, with a plain silk or cotton sash.

In the old days, men wore trousers only when they went to town. Now they regularly wear blue cotton trousers cut in the Chinese style, with the legs stuffed into their cloth-topped knee boots. The tops of dress boots are sometimes embroidered. In winter, leather boots are worn. Few Mongours wear underclothing, and neither men nor women wear stockings.

M [301] Almost every young man wears a silver-plated bracelet carved with Chinese designs, and most men wear finger rings set with coral or turquoise.

The woman's gown is very full, has wide sleeves, and hangs to her heels. It overlaps in front, and buttons down the left side. An outer gown of coarse, unwashed wool is used as a working garment. Because of the natural oil in the wool, the gown sheds water well. A sash or girdle holds both gowns at the waist. Generally the poor do not wear trousers, the two gowns being their only garments.

N *563 M 292 Well-to-do women have elaborate and gaily colored festival dresses, fancy trousers and false sleeves. Like the Mongol women, they wear fancy headdresses and boots for dress occasions. At such times the outer gown is left off and the inner

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [171] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still M [888] living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

N *563 M 301 Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 769 614 a. Ancestor worship

Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-

[323 cont.]

T 142 look in their earliest childhood, which is then lost when they get older.

34. Mongolian woman from the Ra lo tribe near Tchü tsang se, Ta tung hiän, with pronounced Mongoloid features, consisting of strong zygomatic arches, Mongolian fold, deep-saddled button shaped nose, flat face and high forehead.

M Figures 25-39. Tu jen (Monguor or Dolden)

142 35. Two women from the Dung kou near Hu chu; the man beside them
302 is a Turk. In the women the Mongolian features are quite
301 pronounced. The Monguor are Old Mongolians, who parted
291 at an early date from the present Mongolians. In contrast to them the Turk with his profiled face and the heavy growth of beard shows the European stamp of the Old Form [Altform] like Figures 14 and 45. The Tu jen wear the most varied forms of fantastic head ornamentation, made of cloth and twisted strings, and they like bright-colored, gay clothes with pretty embroidery. Noteworthy are the stuffed animals (made of cloth) as decoration: rabbit and lamb on the woman on the right; horse and crab on the woman in the middle.

36. Forty-year old woman from the vicinity of Hu chu with a string of mussel shells on her breast.

37. Tu jen woman with a trident headdress from the vicinity of Lo tu. She shows the long-faced Mongoloid type.

38. Eighteen-year old Tu jen bride from the Ho ngä dse kou. The Mongolian fold is missing; the nose is higher.

T 142 39. Thirty-five year old Angar woman from the Ba ya ta wan tribe
301 near Kan chow in Nän shän. By language the Angar are Old Mongolians like the Tu jen. The women has a strikingly thin and narrow nose with a bent tip. The open eye has no Mongolian fold. The face is long and narrow and of a Europid strain. Typical for the Angar women are the braid-covers made of metal rings with stones and enamel.

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T Figures 40-54 Mixed types.

142 40. Twenty-two year old agricultural Tibetan woman from the vicinity of Tchü tsang se, Ta tung hiän. The long narrow nose, the long lower part of the face and the open eyes show

7: Hermanns--335 E, 5 (1935-1945) 1948 AJ1 Tibet
Monguor AE9

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37) Tu jen
(Lo tu)

38) Tu jen
(Ilo nä dse)

7: Hermanns--333 E, 5 (1935-1945) 1948 AJ1 Tibet
Mongour AE7
Ulgur AI4

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44) Uigur (man)

45) Tu jen (man)

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846 For a whole month after the birth of a child, most people will not enter the courtyard. This tabu applies not only to the room occupied by the woman and child, but to the whole courtyard and contact with the whole family. During this month the mother lives principally on a thin gruel of millet (*mi-t'ang*). The period of seclusion is twenty-nine days after the birth of a boy and thirty days after the birth of a girl. During this period the mother should not go outside of the courtyard to draw water from the well, and she is not allowed to touch religious objects. Among poor people, where the mother cannot afford to be completely idle for a whole month, she begins to do a little household work after three days.

Every three days the mother washes herself with a concoction of cypress twigs, a Tibetan custom, and the child with a concoction of pepper, which is a Chinese custom. The mother puts under the head of her child a small pillow stuffed with dried peas, in order that the child's head may grow perfectly round, and she rubs the child's head several times a day for the same reason. On [302] the twentieth day the child's head is shaved. The mother also constantly pulls the lobes of the child's ears in order that they may grow long and pendulous.[26] A round head, long ear lobes and small, fine hands are the most important criteria of beauty and an omen of good fortune in life.

On the third day after the birth of the child the father, dressed in his best and carrying a bottle of wine and a *khatag* or scarf of felicity goes to announce the happy news to his wife's family. When he enters their room, he asks for a cup, pours wine, and offers the cup t his wife's parents and her maternal uncles; he then bows, makes a prostration, and formally announces the sex of the child and the fact that mother and child are doing well, and invites his relatives-in-law to pay a visit. On the same day the mother-in-law comes to see her grandchild and to congratulate her daughter, bringing with her a present of some millet and some money. On the seventh day the father consults a lama of the Red Hat sect and asks him to foretell the fortune of the child by divination. On the twentieth day (the same day that the child's head is shaved), the father pays another visit to his wife's parents, again with wine and a scarf of felicity, and formally invites them and the maternal uncles to take part in festivities on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth day, according to the sex of the child.

NAME-GIVING

553 251 If the child is a boy, he is given his name on the twenty-ninth day, before the guests arrive. The father, in his best clothes, goes to the room of the grandfather

[26] In the most ancient Buddhist iconography Buddha as a young prince, before he turned to religion, was represented with heavy earrings that dragged down the lobes of his ears. In later representations of Buddha as a divinity, the ear rings have disappeared but the deformed lobes remain. Hence pendulous ear lobes are regarded as "Buddha-like."—O. L. [P. 100b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

291 The gown is of dark blue cotton cloth, cut from the neck down and across under the right arm, and buttoned under the arm and down the side. A woman's gown opens on the left side instead of the right, and is worn hanging down to the heels. Men wear a sash or belt, keeping the hem of the gown hanging just a little below the knees, and loosening up the breast of the gown so that it provides a capacious pocket into which they stuff their eating bowls and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown roughly woven of white wool. A woman's working gown is woven of black and brown wool. Rich people wear a gown woven of Tibetan wool serge (*p'u-lu*). The ends of the men's sashes are seldom embroidered and on holidays they wear a vest or sleeveless jacket which is much less ornamented than that worn by women.

Men shave the front of the head and grow the hair at the back of the crown long so that it can be braided into a "pigtail" which is lengthened with green strings with tassels at the ends. They wear small, round felt hats.

302 [858] A boy's head is not shaved until he is seven or eight, at which time he begins to braid his hair in a "pigtail." A boy's costume is in general just like that of a man, but with few ornaments.

A man is not allowed to grow a beard as long as his parents are living. A man may begin to grow a beard when he is about the age of thirty if his parents died when he was relatively young. The growing of the beard is started on the first day of either the first or second moon of the new year. Some old men shave their heads clean when they reach the age of about sixty, and women of sixty also frequently cut off their long hair. Both men and women when they do this take vows like those taken by lamas and devote the rest of their lives to prayer in order to provide for a happy rebirth.

306 The only men who wear earrings are those who, described in the chapter on children, have received the "flower of longevity" from a maternal uncle in childhood. Later this "flower of longevity" is replaced by a single large silver earring.

Many men are fond of wearing a bracelet, but only on one wrist. It is usually a heavy copper ring, silver plated and carved with Chinese designs. Nearly all young people wear a bracelet on each wrist, resembling the single bracelet of a grown man. A man also hangs from his belt or sash a sheath containing a knife and chopsticks. Some of these are beautifully carved and ornamented with coral and turquoise.

A man's finger ring is made of two thin, small rings with a broad ring soldered outside them. A piece of coral or turquoise is set in this ring.

173 291 512 The national legends and traditions of the Monguors are associated much more with the striking costumes of the women than with the comparatively simple costumes of the men. Some of these legends have already been mentioned. Another concerns the Li clan of Shat'o Turkish origin which claims as its ancestor the

[P. 118b]

1: Schran: M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AEP

292 hanging beside the ends of the sash now take the place of this flag, while the jingling of the string of copper coins take the place of the rustling noise formerly made by the tasseled paper strips.

The following description of the costume of the Miao women of southern and southwest China shows many striking resemblances to Monguor costume:

> All the collars are usually so loaded with designs and embroidery in all shapes and all colors that it is difficult to see the color of the fabric. The sleeves, similarly are covered with bands of fabric of different colors, sewn on in flounces from the wrist to the elbow. In some tribes the boys wear as many flounces as the girls. Among the White Miao the skirts have no ornamentation whatever except pleats, but in most of the other tribes they are hidden under embroidery done in colored thread, patterns made with wax [11] and a multiplicity of bits of fabric of various colors sewn on to the skirt. The Miao women make all these embroideries . . . they all know how to embroider, cut clothes, and sew . . .[12]

302 Even more important for a Monguor woman than her clothes are her hair and her headdress. Hair as black as ebony is the most admired. Many Monguors have a reddish tinge in their black hair, but women consider this a blemish. The way of doing the hair and the headdress are strictly ruled by tradition. When a girl marries out of her own group, she must adopt the coiffure of her husband's group.

There are a few exceptions to this rule. In the subprefecture of Maopeisheng there are groups of Monguors who settled as "colonists" from overcrowded regions. The tendency was for groups coming from the same region to settle together. When new brides go to these colonies, they are allowed to wear the coiffure of their group or origin for only three days—a sort of affectionate and touching farewell to the past—after which they must adopt the local fashion. Among the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, of Shat'o origin, where denationalization has gone farthest, sometimes as many as three different ways of doing the hair can be seen in the same family. I have heard Monguors of other clans criticizing the Li T'u-ssu for not doing his duty in keeping up the traditions of his clan in this respect.

291 292 Under the empire, Chinese women in this part of China never wore hats. Monguor married women, in contrast, always wear a hat, even at home. Not only do the elders insist on the observance of this tradition, but other people would laugh at a bareheaded woman. At home a small, round felt hat is worn and on holidays a special hat, different for each group. Only when a woman has left her husband's house for a visit at her parents' home is she allowed to go without a hat—a sentimental privilege giving her parents the illusion of seeing her again as she was before she was married. In contrast with this custom is the fact that a woman who

[11] This reference is to a method of making patterns, leaving part of the fabric exposed and covering part of it with wax to prevent the dye from reaching it.—O. L.

[12] Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, as cited.

[P. 121a]

291 has passed the age of forty and would not ordinarily
292 continue to wear her ceremonial hat on festive occasions will, if her parents are still alive, continue to wear it for a few more years in order to give her parents the feeling that they have not reached extreme old age. In such cases, the woman also wears for a few extra years her fancy extra sleeves and the other showy parts of her costume. After the death of her parents, however, all this finery is put away forever, and she wears only the small felt hat.

291 There are nine different styles of hairdress and hat,
302 each peculiar to one Monguor group. The spellings given below are taken, in simplified form, from the phonetic transcriptions in *Dictionnaire Monguor-français*, by A. De Smedt and A. Mostaert. The basic term for the Monguor woman's headdress is *niudar*, and according to these authorities its etymology appears to be obscure. It may be from an old word for "head," or from a word possibly meaning "bridle."

1. *rdziämu niudar*. This style is called "the Chinese style," from the Tibetan word *rgyami*, "Chinese." The Monguors explain that in early times this style was peculiar to the Monguors, but that it was adopted by the women of the first Chinese colonists who settled in the region. This explanation is reasonable enough, since nowhere in China do women arrange their hair in this way. The foundation of this headdress is made by cutting strips of black or dark blue cotton cloth six inches long and three inches wide, which are pasted together to make a stiff board a quarter of an inch thick. While this board is still wet and soft, it is stretched over a convex tile to give it a curved shape. A hole is cut in the middle of this board.

To dress the hair, a lock is first combed down from the forehead. The rest of the hair is combed straight back to the nape of the neck, twisted loosely, and tied with red string. The tress of hair from the back of the head is then brought up to the top of the head, twisted together with the lock of hair from the forehead, fastened with red string, and passed through the hole in the pasteboard "crown" and twisted into a "bun." Several pins three inches long are stuck through this "bun" to hold it. It should be noted here that Monguor women neither shave their forehead nor pluck their eyebrows as Chinese women used to do.

With this headdress there goes a pair of earrings which are made as follows: from the hole pierced in the ear there hangs a silver hook. To this is soldered a small plate representing the head of a tiger, from which hang five small chains. To these chains is soldered a plate with flower designs, from which hang seven small silver chains. The weight of the earring is held up by a string running back of the ear.

This headdress is used by the women of the valley of Lumen, near the sub-prefecture of Xienpei. The rest of the costume that goes with this headdress consists of

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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FIG. 4. Huari Niudar. Front and back views of a poor Monguor widow with her two children. She wears the headdress called "Huari Niudar." Note details: shield, spear, disc, red strings, shells, corals, etc.

[p. 122a]

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a long blue gown reaching to the knees, a sleeveless jacket, blue or violet trousers, Chinese socks, and instead of boots a kind of shoe with long upcurving toes. The men of this group dress in the Chinese fashion but still wear the Monguor felt hat. The group contains subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu who still speak the Monguor language, but at the time that I was in the region they were rapidly being assimilated to the Chinese. It is worth noting that, although the women of this group do not wear the "military" skirt or the shield and spear described below, they are convinced that the way in which they do their hair is the original, ancestral style of the days of Chingis Khan.

2. The *Huari niudar* (or *Barbardzin niudar*, "crested hat"). This is the style worn by the women of the region of Huari, north of the Hsining River. First, a lock of hair is combed down from the forehead. The rest of the hair is parted in the middle, and made into two braids, one on each side of the head. The ends of these braids are tightly tied together with red string. A ribbon of black cotton is tied around the head. Another ribbon of the same material goes over the top of the head, and the forehead lock is tucked back into it. The rest of this headdress is made as follows:

A head is roughly molded of clay and strips ot cotton cloth are pasted on this mold, to form a pasteboard skull-

[p. 122b]

291/302 cap. A high, semicircular brim is pasted on the forehead of the cap. Strips of red, blue, green, and white cotton fabric are then pasted on the crown. A tassel of thin red strings is pasted in a semicircle across the crown of the cap, from side to side. Behind this tassel, small copper rods are set in semicircles. A hole is made in the crown of the cap; when the cap is set on the head, a ribbon is braided into the forehead tress, pulled back under the cap, brought up through this hole, and rolled into a small bun. Two long pins are pushed criss-cross through the bun, and the bun is then covered with an inverted copper cup, transfixed by a large horizontal pin. This cup and pin represent the shield and spear of the warrior. Thin red strings attached to the pins under the cup are looped up and attached to the "spear" pin. At the back of this headdress there is a disc, made by pasting pieces of cotton cloth together, trimmed around the edge with pieces of cloth of different colors and encrusted with shells, pearls, mother of pearl, corals, and turquoise, imitation and genuine. This disc is held firm to the skullcap by red strings.

The earrings that go with this headdress are large and heavy. To the hook that hangs from the ear is soldered a plate with a dragon, tiger, or flower design. From this plate hang silver sticks or pins. To prevent these heavy earrings from tearing the ears, their weight is held up

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

291 302 by a ribbon which is attached to the ribbon going around the head, and each earring is attached to the other by a chain encrusted with coral or pearls which passes under the chin.

This headdress is worn by the women of the valleys of Hungnai, Shuimo, and Ch'angsha. At home, these women wear a hat representing only the upper part of the headdress, without the ornaments.

3. *T'oguäan niudar* (*T'ukuan niudar*). This headdress, worn only by the women of the region under the jurisdiction of the T'ukuan Living Buddha, is the same as the one just described, with the exception that instead of the semicircle on the forehead there is a three-pronged pasteboard fork. The earrings that go with this headdress are the same as those described above.

FIG. 5. Huari Niudar. A rich Monguor woman in home dress, wearing the Huari Niudar or "crested headdress," but without the encumbering disc on the back. She wears the winter jacket, wadded with wool or cotton, and is proud of her motherly sleeves.

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4. *Sge niudar* ("great" or "honorable" headdress). The mold or skullcap for this headdress is made as previously described. On the top of it is pasted a miniature winnowing basket, for which reason this headdress is also known as the "winnowing basket" headdress. In front, there are tassels of red thread, and at the sides are fringes of red thread. In the middle of the front of the headdress there are pieces of glass or porcelain and one or two rows of pieces of shell or coral. At the back are eight movable copper plates, which are taken off when at home. In the middle of these eight plates are the historic miniature shield and spear, from which hang red threads. Under the shield there is a small crescent shaped cushion, held by the ribbons which go around the head. This cushion is covered with black yak hair. Whenever a woman goes to a festival she puts hemp oil on this cushion to make it shine. This cushion is called "the heart of the hair." As in numbers 2 and 3 described above, there is a strong ribbon going around the head and a central ribbon from the forehead to the nape of the neck. A small braid is plaited from the forehead lock, to be attached to the ribbon going over the top of the head, and the remainder of the hair is parted in the middle and combed over the ears in graceful waves. The ends of the hair falling over the ears are twisted together, tied with a ribbon to the forehead braid, and brought up through the hole in the skullcap to form a bun, which is covered with the "shield" and fixed with the "spear."

With this headdress is worn a collar woven of tamarisk twigs, covered with red cotton cloth to which are sewn shells and corals. The earrings are the same as those described under number 2. A red shirt is worn with this headdress. Instead of copper, rich people use a silver shield, 8 silver plates, silver pins, and silver earrings. Ordinarily, this headdress is given to a girl at the time of her marriage by her parents. It is worn up to the age of forty. To protect the headdress women always carry with them a large piece of cotton cloth to wrap around their heads in case of rain. When a woman dies, this headdress is offered to a monastery. It is sold by the monastery at public auction, and prayers are said for the dead woman according to the price at which the headdress has been auctioned.

This headdress weighs six or seven pounds (four or five Chinese *chin*), and the women who wear it walk like living statues; when they talk together, they move their heads slowly and majestically.

5. *Dzion niudar* ("needle headdress"). This headdress is like the one just described, except that the eight plates around the shield are smaller, and that a set of large copper pins forms a sort of halo around the shield. This headdress is worn by the Nima women of Lungwu and the Tsanskwor region.

6. *Sgulong niudar* ("rain-spout" headdress). This headdress is the same as number 4, except that the "winnowing basket" is depressed between the two side

[p. 123 b]

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FIG. 6. Sge Niudar, the "great" or "honorable" headdress. The woman in the middle is of Tibetan origin but enrolled in a Monguor clan. She wears the simple Tibetan costume. The two on each side are Monguor, wearing the elaborate Monguor costume and the monumental "great" or "honorable" headdress. The photograph shows the pattern of the jacket, the double set of sleeves, the sash, the collar with shells and corals, and the enormous headdress described in the text.

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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bunches of hair, and is level with the "shield." It is worn by the women of the region of Areche, west of Weiyüanp'u, by those of Ch'ichiarechu, and those of Machiarechu of T'assu, near Weiyüanp'u.

7. *Yu niudar* ("disc" headdress). This headdress is the same as number 4, except that the cushion covered with yak hair is replaced by a small disc adorned with pieces of shell and coral.

8. *Ndziäse niudar* ("plow" headdress). This headdress is again the same as number 4, except that its dimensions are smaller. The red fringes in front are longer. Formerly, the eight plates were worn at the back, but in recent times they have been replaced by a piece of red cotton cloth. The two tresses from the sides of the head and the small tress and ribbon from the forehead are fastened together at the nape of the neck around a small piece of wood, tied with red strings, and passed through the skullcap so that they hold it in place. The "shield" and "spear" are pinned to the knot of hair that comes through the skullcap.

Special earrings are worn with this headdress. They are made of silver in the shape of a *Z*. The lower part

[P. 124 b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

291 of the *Z* is passed through the lobe of the ear and then turned up to hook into the upper part. It is said that
302 this is the primitive design of all Monguor earrings, and there is a tradition that such earrings were formerly made of bones. It almost seems that they might be a relic of the neolithic period before metal was used.

9. *Sogmu niudar* ("Mongol woman's") headdress, from the Tibetan *sogmu*, "a Mongol woman." This way of doing the hair, preserved among only one of nine Monguor groups, is that which most nearly resembles, in essentials, the Mongol style of hairdress. The hair is parted in the middle of the head and braided in two plaits which hang down in front of the shoulders on the chest. Each braid is wrapped in a sheath which reaches nearly to the knees, and the sheath is both held in by the sash and buttoned to the gown to keep it firm. The sheaths worn on holidays are embroidered. A small round felt hat goes with this headdress, which is used by the women of Patsasanch'eng and of the valley of Hualin.

302 Anthropologists often overlook the psychological im-
291 portance of customs and costumes. It seems to me that
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[p. 124c]

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in spite of the poor materials used by the Monguors, the clumsiness of the headdresses, and certain childish aspects of the festivals at which these costumes are paraded, it is important to realize that all this display, pathetic though it may seem, brings happiness to the people, especially the women. Whenever I attended festivals in the Monguor country I could not but notice the atmosphere of joy and happiness, especially among the women. The holiday and the opportunity to display their costumes gave them psychologically a reinforcement of their self-esteem, and when they went home they were better able

FIG. 7. Sge Niudar, the "great" or "honorable" headdress. Back view of the costume shown in fig. 6, showing the historical shield and spear, the eight movable plates, the cushion forming the "heart of the hair," and the tassels and fringes.

[P. 125a]

291 to cope with the routine of their ordinary lives as the result of a day of real happiness. At the festival they
302 had felt and acted as if they belonged to the most beautiful and happy people in the world. Proud as peacocks,
182 they had walked smiling through the throngs as if they were queens. They had listened with pleasure to the jingling of the strings of copper coins hanging from their sashes; they had been delighted by the fluttering of the silk and satin handkerchiefs hanging by the embroidered ends of their sashes. They had enjoyed the fragrance of the strong musk perfume on their garments, and they had been admired and congratulated.

291 Unmarried girls are not dressed as gaudily as the married women. They wear blue cotton trousers, the attached lower legs of which are made of red cloth. Their blue cotton boots are embroidered with Chinese designs, usually of flowers. They wear the long gown of violet, green, blue, or red cotton cloth, with an apron over it. The hem of the gown is decorated with red cotton stitching. The collar is always of red cotton, and is embroidered. The sash is a piece of red cotton cloth, without embroidery. The sleeveless jacket is of green, blue, or red cotton trimmed at the edges with red stitching. Unmarried girls wear their hair in a small "bun" on top of the head, bound with red cord and covered with a shell. The rest of their hair is braided in two plaits, bound together at the neck with red cord and covered with a short sheath decorated with shells. Unmarried girls never wear hats. In winter they cover their ears and the side of their foreheads with a strip of red cotton cloth.

301 Both married and unmarried women wear bracelets, sometimes three or four pairs, and silver rings on the fourth finger of each hand—sometimes three or four rings on the same finger. The rings are sometimes of plain silver and sometimes set with coral or turquoise. Unmarried girls wear only small, simple rings in their ears. The earlobe is pierced in the spring on the day of the festival of the ancestors.

Both men and women often wear a reliquary on the
778 chest, made like those worn by Mongols and Tibetans, often of silver, containing bits of writing from Tibetan scriptures, and sometimes miniature Buddhas.

HANDICRAFTS AND ORIGIN OF ARTISANS

463 There are, of course, no large scale industries among the Monguors. Most of their necessities can be bought either in the Chinese towns, or at the monastery festivals or the fairs that are held at the time of the clan assemblies. The handicrafts that are found among the Monguors themselves are limited to weaving, felt making, the making of fur coats, and the work of silversmiths. In addition there are a few carpenters and stone cutters.

286 The Monguors spin their own woolen yarn. Men, women, and older children spin when they have nothing else to do, drawing out the threads from a handful of

/32 cont'd/

583 The two parties both make excuses to the other: one for its poverty and the hard times, "I could not offer more, but what is offered is given wholeheartedly"; the other for its indigence, "I was forced to ask for much too much, but now I am more than satisfied with the gifts...."

584 Then when all have taken their places again, the go-between rises and proposes to the family that they present the "flower," that is, the little bride.

They hasten to spread out a red rug or piece of red felt in the middle of the room, and the little bride, chaperoned by a young girl, appears before the assemblage. The two girls hold each other by the hand.

[302] The bride has risen early in the morning, has washed with all kinds of soap, and her hair has been dressed by the most skillful woman in the neighborhood. She has put on her handsomest finery, she has beautiful flowers in her hair, and she is made up in such a way as to be longer recognizable. Her companion, a little girl like herself, has a more modest toilette; she has no flowers in her hair, she wears a black veil on her head. They are certainly "the amazon and the little white goose"; no chance of making a mistake who is the bride.

[516 576] They advance toward the middle of the rug, facing the future father-in-law, let go their hands, bow respectfully, kneel, bow their foreheads to the ground three times, rise, and begin the same prostration over again three times. This is the ancient Chinese greeting on grand occasions. Everything is done gravely and sedately. They are well-trained T'ou-jen girls! Also their childhood games are [524] only the apprenticeship /33/ for the ceremonial. All girls play at ceremonies; they adore them. This is characteristic of the Orient.

583 584 One sees that the "flower" is aware of her own important and that of the moment; she tries to make a good impression on the assemblage, and the future father-in-law smiles, becomes young again, throws on the rug with a generous gesture two or three handfuls of red lozenges and a handful of cash, emblems of good fortune and wealth. The guests do the same. The girls pick up everything,

/39 cont'd/

585 In the evening of the last day of the year, in the kitchen, in
302 front of the fireplace and before the image of the god of the hearth, they plait the bride's hair in the fashion of married women. The groom arrives, the whole family is together; the engaged couple kneel and bow three times to the god of the hearth. The marriage ceremony is completed! They prostrate themselves to their parents and to the whole family; a little extra is served at the meal, and they wish one another better days and a return of good fortune.

463 On the first days of the new year the parents invite the go-
465 between, they dine the best they can, they pour gin, and the young
58 couple prostrate themselves to him. Then they offer the go-between the usual present of the poor, either a string of cash or a string of cash and 400 cash. They make excuses for the little that they can offer, they thank him effusively, and then they have discharged their obligations.

585 When the bride's family is very poor, it happens that the groom's family (mother-in-law and go-between) take the girl to their home when she is only nine or ten years old or even younger. They keep her in the family as an unmarried girl until she has reached 15; /40/ then the last day of the year she is married as described above. Marriage without ceremonies is also practiced in the month of the year when there is a sudden death near the time of the wedding in one of the families of the engaged couple; the same would the girl's parents die; then the groom's family hastens to take the girl home to marry her when she is about 15.

765 Among the more Chinese T'ou-jen, upon the death of the
585 parents of one of the parties several days before the wedding, they follow the Chinese custom, which consists in celebrating the marriage without paying attention to the death. The festivities take place with the usual vigor. Only on the day after the wedding do the lamentations and the great mourning begin; the death is announced everywhere and preparations for the funeral are made.

583 /47 cont'd/
585 drops, silver rings....It even happens that rich people give their
431 daughter several /48/ arpents of land, which are called ngusge
602 gadiziar (ngusge, "rouge"; gadiziar, "land"), i.e., the land which
[425] procures the girl's rouge, with the condition that the husband must sow it and give the revenue from it to his wife. Thereafter, if the son-in-law's family is ever forced to sell these lands, the first offer will have to be made to the wife's family.

423 About 30 years ago, the Ma family of Na-lin-keou had re-
583 ceived in marriage a girl, Pao, who had received from her parents some "rouge lands." The Ma family became poor and mortaged these lands to the Pen family; later it sold them to the Heou family. The Pens, basing their right on the Chinese axiom, "He who holds a mortgage has prior right of purchase," brought an action against the Mas and demanded the turning over of the lands. But then the Pao family appeared and claimed these lands as being the "rouge lands" given to their aunt at the time of her marriage. The Chinese court recognized this custom and decided in their favor.

This same custom is still found among the Mongols. Recently, the king of Orat of the confederation of Qlantsh'ah, giving his daughter in marriage to the king of Hang King of the confederation of the Ortos, gave her on this occasion part of the lands of Sainnoor (30 li southwest of the Christendom of San-tao-k'iao, Mission of Ning-Hia).

585 As for the gifts of which I have spoken above, there are
583 numerous variants; I knew a case where the girl was given only six long garments; another where she was given ten; everything depends on the financial situation of the family.

The women in particular are very much interested in the gifts; they examine the fabrics and the finish of the embroideries, especially those on the sleeves and the two ends of the belts. Months and months of work are often put on these pieces. When the examination is finished, the bride is brought in.

She is carried on a small, low Chinese table, which has been covered /49/ previously with red felt. She is put down between the sacred fire and the display of presents. This is her first and only
[302] appearance at this festivity. She is bareheaded and wears the hair style of unmarried girls.

588 /126 cont'd/

A. To a prayer pole, a tree, a wall, a lion of baked clay, etc.

B. Marriages to a belt

Let us note that the marriages in the first series are also practiced by the Tibetans of Kansu, who live in a seminomadic and semi-agrarian state; they are not found among the Chinese of the region.

A. Marriages to a Prayer Pole, etc.

114 Let us first put forth the case, then let us justify the classification of this practice in the series of marriages.

One can read in the books which speak of the T'ou-jen that this people includes girls, unmarried all their lives, who, however, bear children just the same. The Chinese books especially try to disparage this people particularly because of this custom. Now, they are mistaken. These superficial observers have understood nothing about the customs of these regions. It is not by this custom that the morality of the T'ou-jen must be judged.

844 [302 554] To be able to bear a child honestly (for there is an honesty also among these peoples), custom /127/ requires, without any exception whatever, that the mother wear her hair in the style of married women; in other words, that is to say that it is necessary to be married to be able to become a mother.

Now it happens that girls not yet given in marriage are pregnant. 848 [847] Two solutions then present themselves: the first is to bring on an abortion or to wait until the child is born to make it disappear or to offer it to anyone who wants it; the second is to change the hair style of the girl, that is to say, to get her married.

588 [848] When the second solution is adopted, they invite three or four neighbors, who with the family are present at the "marriage." They have been careful to prepare the attire of the bride. She arrays herself with it and has her hair done in the style of married women. Two lamps are lighted, and the sacred fire placed in the middle of the courtyard is maintained by means of cypress branches. After spreading out pieces of red felt, they proceed to the marriage, which

Mo /148 cont'd/
586 children are accepted in the family to keep the daughter-in-law
593 home better, say the T'ou-jen, and to avoid a second escapade. Then, if later one wants to get rid of them, one will send the boys to the lamasery to devote themselves to the service of Buddha; as for the girls, they will be given in marriage. I confess I have not met polyandry among the T'ou-jen.

Mo Likewise, prostitution in the strict sense of the word is not
548 known. Although there are the series of prayer-post wives and belt wives, they cannot be classed in this category. Indeed, they consider themselves as being married, and they are considered as such, and furthermore they hardly ply the trade of prostitutes. (1)

Ma [548]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 152: Prostitution as a social phenomenon among the Manchus is unknown. /Cited in English./

Mo Celibacy is practiced solely by the lamas of the yellow sect,
589 and the T'ou-jen furnish a sizable contingent to this religious body.
793 They are the only bachelors among the T'ou-jen. There is no lamasery for women in the country; all the women without exception
Mo [302] practice marriage under one or the other of the forms we have described above. It happens at the very most that one meets widows or women of advanced age who shave their heads and devote themselves especially to prayer while staying at home.

/149/ Chapter VI

The Matriarchate

006 Summary: -- A. Present-day patriarchal state. System of the large family. B. Former matriarchate proved by: (1) Double burial. (2) The relations of the maternal uncle with the family of his sister

2: Schram--198 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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An Ing-iang Sien-cheng Chinese, in fine array, in front of the door of his house. At the left his pupil-apprentice, in the background his old servant.

2: Schram--199 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Young T'ou-jen married woman in festive dress, an enormous headdress on her head. She wears the costume peculiar to the T'ou-jen.

2: Schram--201 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Young T'ou-jen married woman in festive dress, T'ou-jen costume.

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T'ou-jen widow with her two daughters, in T'ou-jen dress.

Note the hair style. There are nine kinds of them. Li Kin-wang, ancestor of the Li clan had nine wives and each of them had her special hair style; from that the nine T'ou-jen hair styles still seen today!

2: Schram--205 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Two girls belonging to a Tibetanized T'ou-jen family. They wear the dress of the girls of Hoa-ri (northern Sining). The older one is spinning with the distaff and carries at the nape of the neck the stick to which she fastens the thread; the little one pulls out the wool.

2: Schram--207 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Rich T'ou-jen widow, no longer speaking her language, wearing no longer the costume of her race. Type of completely Sinicized T'ou-jen, even having the little Chinese feet. However, at her death she will be dressed in the T'ou-jen style for her last toilette!

3: Schröder--84 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate I

115
142
291
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792
796
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a

b

792
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782
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* 778

c

d

(Caption on following page.)

[46 cont.]

000 [Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

115
[142] a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling
[291] in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autumn
[302] of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer,
1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the
792 conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the
796 monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guāmbasoma) in the vicinity
[534] of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense
[292] Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In
front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the
[782] background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-
[778] szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-
reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan.
756 Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to
enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof;
this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand
* [778] the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching
[292] line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not
wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is
very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter:
"The Gurtum.")

[50 cont.]
777 always inside the house. In such a case the arrow is not made or
*778 consecrated by a lama or Bon priest (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 52.] For the preparation of the urn, cf. the section: "The Earth-god Urn."

Attachments: Always and in all cases hadas and sheep wool are attached to the arrow. If the arrow is consecrated, a small copper mirror is usually also attached to it. -- When
[237] an animal is sold or given away, some of its hair is tied to the
[432] arrow, as in the case of horses, donkeys, and mules. The hair is taken from the mane or tail. Similarly, when a sheep is sold some wool is also tied on. Hog bristles, however, may never be tied to the arrow of good fortune. -- After a child's first haircut,
[302] on the first birthday, the downy hairs that have been cut off are
[852] rolled into a little ball, and a thread is drawn out of it, with which the ball is tied to the arrow; similarly the bow and arrow that the child seized as an oracle on this occasion is tied to it. -- When a daughter is married, a number of small strips of cloth
[585] are cut from the seam of her bridal [51] dress for the arrow. Also some hair of the bride, which was combed out during the hair-dressing and adornment on the eve of her being taken away, is carefully collected and attached to the arrow of good fortune (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 52-53.] The fact that sheep wool is always attached to the arrow, as to the obo, seems to be connected with the sheep of good fortune; cf. below. F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148) would like to connect the little balls of wool (cotton) with the thread figures (mdos), which hold fast the demons. -- Occasionally, silk threads in the five sacred colors are also added. Hair

[621 cont.]

852 take no further notice of this ceremony, but drink and dance
553 far into the night; then they gradually scatter. Only the closest relatives of the young mother stay until the next day.

[622]

Word List

192
846 To be in childbed: sara sōdzi = she sits out the month; tsuo yüeh (Chin.).

To terminate the confinement: sara durgeni = she terminates the month.

ch'u-yüeh (Chin.) = to step out of the month.

man-yüeh (Chin.) = to fulfill the month.

[852] Reception of the shepherd: asdzi dzēlie-; ying-yang (Chin.) = to welcome the sheep.

[Page 622 contains the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

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527

2. The First Birthday*

* See "Notes," pp. 623-625 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[787] On the first birthday the father puts the child on the kang and places various things before it. From the object that the child
[302] grasps it can be seen what it will become in later life. After
[778] that its hair is cut and this is hung on the arrow of good fortune.

[623 cont.]

852 and arrow, he will be a strong warrior; if he grasps brush and
787 paper, he will be a learned scholar. It is similar for the girl.
778 The object that is chosen by the child is hung on the arrow of good fortune (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 624.] Concerning the arrow of good fortune, cf. the appropriate section. Tying the object grasped by the child to the arrow is supposed to preserve the child's strength so it will develop in the direction indicated. On the arrow of good fortune in the yard of my informant, I saw a large number of miniature bows, arrows, and balls of hair of his children and grandchildren.

302 The haircut: The child still has downy hair because it
852 has not been shorn since birth. Now the father or some other man takes it in his arms and takes it into the yard. There another man shaves its head, regardless of whether it is a boy or a girl. One or two tufts of hair remain standing on the back of
[778] the head (4). The father twists the hair between the palms of

4. [Foreign text p. 624.] The tufts of hair that are left were probably intended as beginnings for the later hairdress (queue). It could not be determined whether they might perhaps have something to do with a con-
[171] secrated Buddha-tuft, as, for example, among the Lolo; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa, I-chia. In any case the tufts of hair are nowadays shaved off again. Probably the tufts, like the custom as a whole, were taken over from the Chinese. The Chinese call these children's hair-tufts tsung-chiao

[628 cont.]

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852

[Note on foreign text p. 624 cont.] (roughly = little head horn). To what extent they thereby characterize childhood is shown by the expression tsung-chiao chih chiao, friendship since childhood (literally, little head horn connection).

[778] his hands into a little roll and twirls one thread out of it with which he ties it to the arrow of good fortune. Formerly these strands were drawn through a coin with a hole in it, and this, together with the ball of hair, was hung on the arrow. The hair of the children thus remain on the arrow of good fortune throughout their lives.

852 [782] Then the father goes with the child and the arrow of good fortune into the yard and makes the great incense offering. On this occasion the child kowtows to the sky for the first time. After the offering the arrow is taken back to its original place (5).

[527]
[177]
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5. [Foreign text pp. 624-625.] The first birthday celebration was evidently taken over from the Chinese there. An example of how it is practiced elsewhere in China, taken from J. Doolittle, Social Life (p. 90), will be presented here for the sake of clarity: "On the first birthday the mother is presented with another thank-offering, and other gifts of clothing and food are received by the grandmother on the maternal side. If it is a boy, a pair of shoes and a cap are found among other items of clothing; if it is a girl, then arm bands and head ornaments are also found among other articles of clothing. The preparations for the thank-offering

[638 cont.]

292 765 [171] Mourning dress: Mourning is worn immediately after the death. It does not consist of a special white garb, as among the Chinese, but only of a change of dress.

During the period of mourning the men remove their colorful vests and take everything colored off their clothing, such as neck bands, sleeve edging, etc. Their long cloak is turned and worn with the lining, or in winter with the fur, on the outside. [302] They do not cut their hair, and they let the beard grow. The red or green trouser belt made of cloth is replaced by [639] a white or black one. Instead of the clothes-belt they wear a thick hemp string.

Like the men, the women also remove the colorful sleeve strips, trouser trimming, and shoe and boot ornamentation, especially everything red. The red or green skirt over the trousers is not worn at all. Instead of the colorful clothes, the woman puts on only a simple upper garment of one color. She takes off the ear pendants, arm bands, and the neck band, and [301] removes from her headdress all lace, tassels, and hanging strings, as well as the silver hair cap [Haarschale] and the little copper plates. She keeps only the simple, rigid frame of the headdress and covers its colorful strips uniformly by sticking green paper on them. She puts a blue cloth made of coarse linen over this as a head veil. She replaces her broad and colorful belt with a hemp string.

[602] [593] All the close relatives are required to wear mourning dress, those who also must give the death-offering. The only exception is the husband upon the death of his wife. He may not wear mourning.

764 782 [602] Prayer service: The prayer service is called "prayer tea." The relatives on the father's side assemble daily in the house of mourning; toward evening they sit on the kang around the open fire in the kitchen and pray the mani for the dead on their mani-string. When they are finished, they receive noodle soup and go home. This prayer service lasts until the day of cremation. One need not sit around the kang fire, however, but can also perform these prayers before the death-box itself.

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 868 cont.] about the various forms of the burning-place (mandala) and the Tibetan-Chinese names. Also, the addresses of the fire-pouring are different (p. 151); in addition, other burnt offerings are enumerated there.

It must be noted that among the Tujen a simple, popular form is involved, which varies according to location and the situation of the population. It is only too understandable that the ordinary people know nothing about the complicated and in part tantric symbolism. It is enough for them if through the ceremony the gods provide for their welfare and protection and if the demons remain far away.

782 The black fire-pouring: The persons are the same. The [302] lama and his helper, however, smear their faces with soot. They [792] also wear black clothes. All objects are black, the torma, the felt mat, the wall, the ground-drawing, etc.

[372] Instead of firewood one takes pig or camel dung. Black sticks are stuck around the black torma on the ground-drawing; the intestines of a black sheep are suspended on them in garland fashion. The intestines are not cleaned, but are full of dung. In place of the butter one takes black linseed oil, and the dung is soaked in it so that it will burn better.

The burnt offerings are: black barley, black linseed, the seed of the wild rape, wheat mixed with black earth, dark beans, glutenous rice colored black, herbs colored black, etc.

[778] As votive offerings for the black tormas, which represent the demons, one takes milk from a black sheep and urine from a black donkey served in a black bowl, and, as incense, pig dung.

[213 cont.]

782 The pig offering proceeds like the sheep offering, however little appropriate the procedure is for this animal. -- The hen offering is done without much ceremony. The animal's head is cut or twisted off, the hen is swung around in a circle so that the blood squirts around, and then it is allowed to fly. I do not know whether the hen is consumed later. It certainly did not happen in several cases observed.

778 782 The animal-consecration is already unequivocally an offering in that the animal is given up by human beings as a voluntary gift to a god and normally may not be used any more.

I could confirm nothing about a human consecration, which Mostaert (DMF, p. 371 under sdien) mentions, unless the shaman consecration is meant, or the recommendation of a child to a tutelary spirit whose name it later bears. In any event the vow of virginity could be regarded as an offering to heaven, as a sign of which a girl lets her hair fall down freely; cf. DMF, p. 103. One can also include its counterpart, namely, the marriage of a girl with heaven, whose sign is the "heavenly hairdo"; cf. Schram, Mariage, pp. 127 ff.

[831 302 588]

[214] Recipients of the Offering

782 776 To what extent heaven has a share in all offerings and what offerings are reserved for it will be discussed below. The pig is inadmissible as an offering for the higher deities (except for the earth), and the hen likewise. They are the sacrificial animals for lower gods and demons.

Whether there is an actual offering to the demons is questionable. In the case of the ceremonies dealing with the evil spirits, for instance, the demon-escort, the figure-litter, the various tormas, etc., one regards the accompanying gifts, designated as rdzē, as things that the demon needs or likes, for example, the riding animal, the clothes, the money, the wool, etc. Furthermore, aside from the intent to appease and to satisfy, there is also a certain contempt for the demon connected with these gifts, in that raw flesh, leeks, beans, and unclean intestines are offered to it, as though to a wild bestial creature.

[231 cont.]
776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieńgëre dardzia, heaven has
[192] punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolgue dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair. (Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.) Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness: "We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge tieńgërni amudadzi, nigë nisëni dzawa dañlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram, op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). --
[831] The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzūn tieńgërde fdzë bōlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

[235 cont.]

a) The bö or Drum-shamans

Characterization

756
192 The name: The Tujen name current throughout the land, bö, corresponds to the written Mongolic büge. Koval. (1242) gives for it the Chinese equivalent wu-jen, the Manchurian saman, the Tatar bugu, and the Tibetan lha-pa. The Russian expressions means: shaman, sorcerer; he translates it into French as: chaman, enchanteur. The Mongolic büge and all the other translations cited do not have any uniform meaning and can be used for the various types of shamans, exorcists, and even sorcerers.

The Chinese in the area and the Tujen translate bö with fashih, or somewhat contemptuously with shih-kung. The fa-shih call themselves only by this special name. According to communications (P.P. Eichinger, Bockwinkel), the name wu-shih is also in use in southern Kansu. It is important that all these designations are never permissible for the gurtum. The fa-shih are a special group that is to be clearly defined. (Space forbids going into an explanation of the names here.)

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192 Clothing and equipment. -- The fa-shih wear an old woman's costume without sleeves and usually patterned with pictures of dragons. Normally they have no head covering, [531] but their hair is pinned up in the fashion of an old Chinese [302] style for women, unless they are wearing an appropriate wig with hairknots, hair-bowl, and hairpin. These are not always available, however. On special occasions, they don the well-known five-part Buddhistic crown called p'ai-tzu.

756 Their essential equipment consists of the hoop drum, the hemp whip, and a three-pronged broad dagger. Other objects are added according to their functions.

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776 Gods. -- Their principal deity is the great mother (ta niang-niang), also called mother of the nine heavens (chiu t'ien nai-nai). In addition, they also venerate the black tiger

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

costume, as follows: a long Chinese gown of black cloth, 756
with a large flat collar, in the manner of the Taoist 292
priests, crossing over the chest and buttoned on the left side. Over the gown he wears a coat of silk, adorned with flowers or dragons, having large sleeves and reaching below the knees. The coat is similar to the one worn under the empire by distinguished Chinese. The black color of the gown is unusual in the country and is confined to the shamans. Stress should be put on the startling difference existing between the simple official dress of the Monguor shaman and the official dress of many shamans among the nomads, whose main article of costume consists of a large mantle adorned with superstitious paraphernalia and symbols. Clothed in the mantle the shamans feel themselves possessed by their spirits; without it, they cannot perform their rites. This mantle is said to be worn by the black shamans living in the mountains south of the Hsining River. No traditions are prevalent to the effect that the Monguor shamans used the mantle in former times, but it is always said that they never wore it.

CINCTURE

The long black gown is belted by a long strip of black 756
cotton, wrapped a couple of times around the waist, as 293
all lay people do. The shamanists among the Mongols of Ordos take off their girdle [16] four times a year, while performing their important rite by means of prostrations, facing the sun. Chingis having escaped with his life from pursuing brigands took off his girdle, put it around his neck, and facing the sun, prostrated nine times.[17] Among the Monguors the girdle has not the same importance. Monguor shamans and shamanists never take off the sash when they honor "Heaven and all the spirits" or perform rites.

The Mongols of Ordos, if the bridegroom happens to become sick on the day of the marriage, marry the bride with his belt.[18] The Monguors do not perform such marriages, but when a girl has relations with a traveling guest, she asks for his girdle and name. If she becomes pregnant, she ceremoniously marries the girdle, is called Mrs. so-and-so, according to the name of the guest, and her child is similarly named.[19]

CAPS [20]

The Monguor shamans use three kinds of caps, all 756
three black in color: the first is a kind of toque, a brim- 292
less pliable bonnet having a tassel of dog hair on top. 302
This cap is similar to that of the Chinese Taoist priests. On the top of the cap, next to the tassel of dog hair, a hole is left through which is seen a hairpin which holds

[16] A. Mostaert, *Dictionaire Ordos*, 84.
[17] P. Pelliot, *Œuvres posthumes, Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Chap. II, paragraph 103, Paris, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1949.
[18] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 176.
[19] L. Schram, *Mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, 130.
[20] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148.

[p.83(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the hair coiled inside the cap. All the shamans wear the pigtail, which they coil when performing rites. 756 292 302

Traditional pictures of Taoist saints show that these worthies were wont to wear their hair in a knot on the top of the head. The Manchu Tartars conquered China and compelled the people to adopt their coiffure and shave their heads except on the top, where it was allowed to grow long and be braided as a pigtail. The *sai kung*, like the whole nation, had to submit to this order, but with pious conservatism they have preserved the ancient orthodox fashion on behalf of their altar service; that is to say, while officiating they coil their hair into a knot upon their heads and cover the shaven part around it with a wig of braided human hair.[21] [175]

The Monguor shamans, however, do not wear the wig.

The Manchus not only preserved their traditional style of dress and haircut, they even compelled Chinese men during the period of invasion to adopt Manchu dress, shave their heads, and grow the queue. This enforced change was so bitterly resented by the Chinese that many times they chose rather to die, or lose their heads, than obey the Tartars in these ceremonies. The literary inquisition launched during the Ch'ien-lung period reveals that, in the eighteenth century, a Chinese who yearned for the old cap and garments was still considered a dangerous rebel.[22] [648]

The second headdress has the form of a sack, of black cloth, tightly bound around the head. A tail, three feet in length, is fixed on this cap. Plaited with red rope around a twisted black rope of cloth, the tail which is thin at the bottom and thick at the end, is rolled on the head, but released when the shaman is executing acrobatic evolutions.

The third one is a crown, in form like the *chod pon* of the lamas,[23] divided in front into five parts, bearing a crude picture of the god of the five roads, the Wu-tao-shen, whose disciples the shamans claim to be. (Shamans never wear a crown with the five Dhyani Buddhas; their antagonism toward Lamaism is too pronounced to do that; they never will perform rites in a Buddhist temple of the village.)[24]

THE DRUM

The drum is one of the important implements of a shaman. It is used to invoke the spirits during the performance of the rites; the spirits enter into it and ritual dances are performed in time with the beat. Every shaman has his own drum, and generally another in reserve. Upon the death of the shaman his drum is buried with him in the coffin, for it is a personal object. The boy apprentices receive a drum of smaller dimensions from their father, on the day of their dedication to the twelve spirits. Apprentices who receive part of their 756 334 [766] 000

[21] J. J. M. De Groot, *The religious systems of China* 6: Bk. II: 1267, 1910, Leiden, Brill.

[22] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 12, 1949. However, the Chinese were required to change to Manchu dress at the insistence of a Chinese official. See S. Cammann, *China's dragon robes*, 21, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[23] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 92, Paris, Plon, 1929.

[24] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148, Importance of the cap. [p.83(B)]

N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [171] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still M [888] living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

N *563 M 301 Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 769 614 a. Ancestor worship

Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 562 852 [553] first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal M [203] [604] [603] [553] uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, al- M [184] though the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

j. Beard-growing

N *563 M 302 [593] [888] A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 M 764 [171] [179] The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

4. Popular beliefs

N *563 M 843 562 Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 777 789 If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.

[323 cont.]

T 142 look in their earliest childhood, which is then lost when they get older.

34. Mongolian woman from the Ra lo tribe near Tchü tsang se, Ta tung hiän, with pronounced Mongoloid features, consisting of strong zygomatic arches, Mongolian fold, deep-saddled button shaped nose, flat face and high forehead.

M Figures 25-39. Tu jen (Monguor or Dolden)

142 302 301 291 35. Two women from the Dung kou near Hu chu; the man beside them is a Turk. In the women the Mongolian features are quite pronounced. The Monguor are Old Mongolians, who parted at an early date from the present Mongolians. In contrast to them the Turk with his profiled face and the heavy growth of beard shows the European stamp of the Old Form [Altform] like Figures 14 and 45. The Tu jen wear the most varied forms of fantastic head ornamentation, made of cloth and twisted strings, and they like bright-colored, gay clothes with pretty embroidery. Noteworthy are the stuffed animals (made of cloth) as decoration: rabbit and lamb on the woman on the right; horse and crab on the woman in the middle.

36. Forty-year old woman from the vicinity of Hu chu with a string of mussel shells on her breast.

37. Tu jen woman with a trident headdress from the vicinity of Lo tu. She shows the long-faced Mongoloid type.

38. Eighteen-year old Tu jen bride from the Ho ngä dse kou. The Mongolian fold is missing; the nose is higher.

T 142 301 39. Thirty-five year old Angar woman from the Ba ya ta wan tribe near Kan chow in Nän shän. By language the Angar are Old Mongolians like the Tu jen. The women has a strikingly thin and narrow nose with a bent tip. The open eye has no Mongolian fold. The face is long and narrow and of a Europid strain. Typical for the Angar women are the braid-covers made of metal rings with stones and enamel.

[324]

T Figures 40-54 Mixed types.

142 40. Twenty-two year old agricultural Tibetan woman from the vicinity of Tchü tsang se, Ta tung hiän. The long narrow nose, the long lower part of the face and the open eyes show

7: Hermanns--334 E. 5 (1935-1945) 1948 AJ1 Tibet
Monguor AE9

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35) Tu jen (Dung kou)

36) Tu jen (Hu chu)

7: Hermanns--335 E, 5 (1935-1945) 1948 AJ1 Tibet
Menguor AE9

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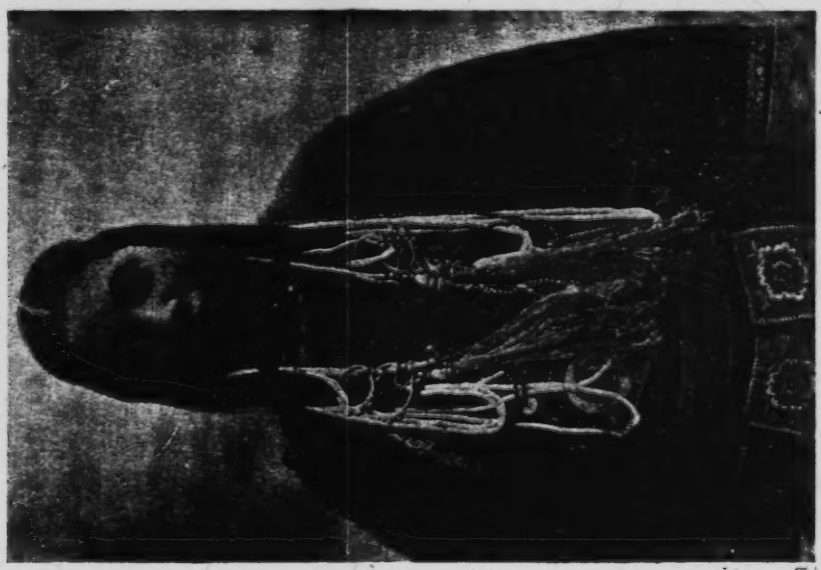
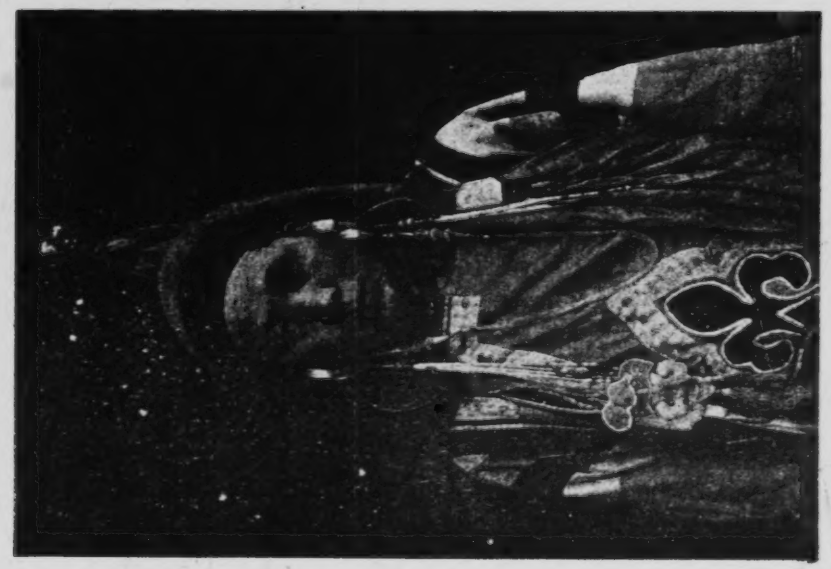


37) Tu jen
(Lo tu)

38) Tu jen
(Ho nü dse)



2: Schram--207 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Rich T'ou-jen widow, no longer speaking her language, wearing no longer the costume of her race. Type of completely Sinicized T'ou-jen, even having the little Chinese feet. However, at her death she will be dressed in the T'ou-jen style for her last toilette!

291 The gown is of dark blue cotton cloth, cut from the neck down and across under the right arm, and buttoned under the arm and down the side. A woman's gown opens on the left side instead of the right, and is worn hanging down to the heels. Men wear a sash or belt, keeping the hem of the gown hanging just a little below the knees, and loosening up the breast of the gown so that it provides a capacious pocket into which they stuff their eating bowls and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown roughly woven of white wool. A woman's working gown is woven of black and brown wool. Rich people wear a gown woven of Tibetan wool serge (*p'u-lu*). The ends of the men's sashes are seldom embroidered and on holidays they wear a vest or sleeveless jacket which is much less ornamented than that worn by women.

Men shave the front of the head and grow the hair at the back of the crown long so that it can be braided into a "pigtail" which is lengthened with green strings with tassels at the ends. They wear small, round felt hats.

302 [858] A boy's head is not shaved until he is seven or eight, at which time he begins to braid his hair in a "pigtail." A boy's costume is in general just like that of a man, but with few ornaments.

A man is not allowed to grow a beard as long as his parents are living. A man may begin to grow a beard when he is about the age of thirty if his parents died when he was relatively young. The growing of the beard is started on the first day of either the first or second moon of the new year. Some old men shave their heads clean when they reach the age of about sixty, and women of sixty also frequently cut off their long hair. Both men and women when they do this take vows like those taken by lamas and devote the rest of their lives to prayer in order to provide for a happy rebirth.

• 306 The only men who wear earrings are those who, described in the chapter on children, have received the "flower of longevity" from a maternal uncle in childhood. Later this "flower of longevity" is replaced by a single large silver earring.

Many men are fond of wearing a bracelet, but only on one wrist. It is usually a heavy copper ring, silver plated and carved with Chinese designs. Nearly all young people wear a bracelet on each wrist, resembling the single bracelet of a grown man. A man also hangs from his belt or sash a sheath containing a knife and chopsticks. Some of these are beautifully carved and ornamented with coral and turquoise.

A man's finger ring is made of two thin, small rings with a broad ring soldered outside them. A piece of coral or turquoise is set in this ring.

173 291 562 The national legends and traditions of the Monguors are associated much more with the striking costumes of the women than with the comparatively simple costumes of the men. Some of these legends have already been mentioned. Another concerns the Li clan of Shat'o Turkish origin which claims as its ancestor the

[P. 1186]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

133 central parts, where the soil flattens out, pebbles, sand, dunes, pastures, and swamps appear.[1]

133 Two major tributaries of the Yellow River, the Hsining and the Ta-t'ung, run through the northern part
● 311 of the Nanshan from northwest to east. It is in the region of these two rivers, and the northern part of the Yellow River, that the Monguors live. The country is one that is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, the mountains not being too high, while the valleys and some extensive plains afford excellent pasture, favored by a suitable rainfall. Most of the plains and the
134 largest of the valleys have, however, been opened to
133 cultivation. The larger valleys and plains, buried several
241 feet deep in loess which has been washed down from the mountains, assure good harvests year after year if crops are rotated, if streams are available for irrigation, and

[1] Fernand Grenard, "Haute Asie," in *Géographie Universelle* 7, 361, Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1929.

[p. 18-b]

134 1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9
241
133 if the Chinese system of fertilization with human manure
[132] is used. The western part of the region is colder than the eastern part, being higher and more exposed to northwestern winds, but in spite of the small climatic difference, spelt wheat, a small amount of millet, and large crops of linseed and colza are grown nearly everywhere. On the colder, western side, the earth has to be "warmed" by plowing and cultivation; when new fields are opened to agriculture, various kinds of crops have to be grown for the first seven years; only then does the earth become warm enough to grow wheat.

137 The northern slopes of the highest mountains are covered in many places with a fair growth of timber, principally spruce, and brush; poplars, willows, and sometimes birch are plentiful in the lower valleys. The
● 311 economic life of the country during the period covered by this study was principally agricultural and only secondarily pastoral, although pastoralism prevails in the highest, coldest, part of the country.

[P. 18 c]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

177 erals, Ma Fu-hsiang, Ma Hung-k'uei, Ma Hung-pin, and other military leaders all belong to this group.

In the course of the Ming dynasty a few small groups of Mongols who had at first been hostile submitted to the Ming and were settled in Kansu. In the region of Paonan, near Kueite, there still live five groups of these Mongols, whose curious fate it was to become Muslim in religion and Tibetan in language; they are called the Wut'ung [37] Mongols.

All of these groups the Chinese of Hsining call Mongols and not T'u-jen, and the seventeen Monguor clans discussed in this book are unable, because of the peculiar evolution of their own language, to talk with these Mongols in the dialects they speak; they know that they are Mongols, but say that they do not belong to the same stock. A comparative study of the social organization and the language of these groups would be interesting and important, but I have never had the opportunity to undertake it.

THE T'U-SSU AND HIS SUBJECTS

624 Up to this point both nobles and commoners have been referred to as "subjects" of the T'u-ssu. The relation is in fact somewhat complex, involving not only the relations between T'u-ssu and nobles, but those between nobles and commoners.

The T'u-ssu, in the nature of the origin of the T'u-ssu institution, was formerly the ruler of the clan with the support of and by the appointment of the emperor. Although he is of the same "bone" as the nobles, the authority and prestige that set him apart and above the nobles are unlimited. From the point of view of the overlord state, the entire authority in the clan, civil and military, is embodied in him alone, and nobles as well as commoners are his subjects. The only limit on his power is that he cannot inflict capital punishment. He also represents the leadership and prestige of the sacred founding ancestor of the clan.

T'U-SSU ULTIMATE OWNER OF THE CLAN TERRITORY

From the emperor, the T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan. These territories were originally assigned, according to a military plan, to screen the frontier, at a time when the Monguors were still nomads, and it may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories. We must, however, beware of the idea that "nomads" are concerned only with cattle-breeding. Travelers in Mongolia, medieval and modern, have noted—often with astonishment—the wide distribution of farming practiced by nomads. It is true that the farming done by nomads is rudimentary and crude compared with intensive Chinese farming, but it is also true that nomads always attempt a little auxiliary farming wherever climate and soil permit. The Monguors must, at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, have

175 311 41

[37] Possibly from a mistaken Chinese transcription of Mongol *khotong*, "a Muslim."—O. L.

[p. 58a]

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311 been nomads who already knew something about farming.[38]

175 The historical picture, which includes traces of ancient
241 irrigation before the settling of the Monguors, and new Chinese agricultural colonies introduced under the Ming, indicates that the Monguors increasingly adapted themselves to an environment in which farming was possible and profitable. It is possible that with the growth of population there was no longer room for a preponderantly pastoral economy, and possible also that constant border warfare resulted in severe losses of cattle. Whatever the reason for the shift from pastoralism to agriculture, however, it brought with it important social problems, because the economic system of a people determines the rules under which property is held.

311 The nomad economy is extensive, and requires room
241 for migration between winter and summer pasture. Farming—even non-irrigated farming—is intensive compared with pastoralism, and brings with it a shift of values from the wide, windswept pastures to the small, sheltered, cultivable plot of land.[39]

The farmer's year of toil is centered on a definite piece of land. If he is a free farmer and not a mere serf, his property interest is identified with that land, and with his right to dispose of it by sale or legacy. This interest is different in kind from that of the nomad in mobile livestock. We may, therefore, well expect changes in the social psychology of the Monguors to accompany the shift from a predominance of pastoralism to a predominance of agriculture, even though the Monguors never became as exclusively agricultural as the Chinese.

423 In the Monguor society there is an adaptation between the principle of the absolute ownership of the territory by the T'u ssu and the principle of private property among members of the clan. The principle of the T'u-ssu's absolute ownership being recognized by the over-

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[38] L. Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie: Turcs et Mongols, des origines à 1405*, 49–50, Paris, 1896, sums up the matter in the words: "It is possible that there may have existed nomads limiting themselves exclusively to meat, milk, and the wool of their herds; but no such nomads have ever been known in historical times." Owen Lattimore, The geographical factor in Mongol history, *Geographical Jour.*, London, Jan 1936, writes (p. 5) that "the history of the steppe peoples is not independent of the history of agricultural communities," and also draws attention (p. 14) to the agriculture of the Orkhon Turks in Northern Mongolia in the middle ages. He again refers repeatedly to semi-nomads and marginal nomads in his *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 2nd ed., New York, Amer. Geog. Soc., 1951. K. A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-seng, in *History of Chinese society: Liao, Trans. Amer Philos. Soc.* **36**: 120–121, 1949, recapitulate the views of a number of writers, but make the mistake of assuming that when William of Rubruck, in the thirteenth century, speaks of "villages in the south" from which Mongol lords drew tribute of millet and flour, he means villages of Mongol farmers. It is clear from the context that the reference is to tributary, sedentary, non-Mongol peoples.

[39] For the "extensive-intensive" range between hunting, steppe pastoralism, rainfall agriculture, and irrigated agriculture, see Lattimore, The geographical factor in Mongol history, as cited above, 6.

[P. 58b]

361 The Ming dynasty was strongest in the first century
621 and a half of its rule. After that, from 1509 to the
721 founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644, and from then until 1723, recurrent forays and revolts never left the country at peace. At one time, a Chinese army of a hundred thousand men had to be sent to garrison this frontier region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 13*b*). In 1537 orders were given to build more mud walled villages, and in 1595 orders came again to repair the old fortifications and to build more new fortified villages (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, pp. 15*a*, 19*a*). It is worth noting that Liench'eng, the seat of the Lu clan, means "associated cities," since in the region of Liench'eng thirteen strongholds were built by the T'u-ssu, most of them still extant.

[712] These notices in the *Annals* suggest that few fortified villages had previously existed, but that from this time the population began to group itself around small strongholds, the more important of which grew into fortified villages.

618 The Monguor clan was a military institution, originally
701 shaped on the Mongol nomadic pattern, with a decimal
361 system of groups of 10, 100, and 1,000 families and a
621 hierarchy of military command from the largest unit of 10,000 down to the smallest of 10. When the Monguors became farmers, the process of settling broke up these units, with the result that families that had once belonged to the same military unit were scattered among different farming groups. It then became necessary to make a new military grouping based on the distribution of villages. This led to a system of villages in which the head of the village was also the military chief, and in which the military interest of defense was coordinated with such community interests as the maintenance of irrigation canals. The transformation of villages in which some families were subject to mobilization under military units in other villages into a system in which the military unit coincided with the residential community seems to have been brought about not by planning but by a natural adjustment.

361 A Monguor village may be described as "loose," in contrast with the Chinese "compact" village. It is not a large place included between four strong, thick mud walls, with a small gate easy to defend, but a defined territory in which the people live on their farms, scattered in small groups, under the rule of the chief of the
• [311] territory. Each "village" has a share of pasture for the herds of the whole community and a valley for the cutting of wood and fuel by all members of the community.

It sometimes has a central stronghold in which live some twenty or thirty families. Sometimes, though not usually, the mansion of the T'u-ssu and the administrative buildings of the clan are also within the stronghold, together with a couple of shops, one of which is always the indispensable pharmacy with a Chinese "physician." Again in contrast with the Chinese pattern, there are rarely any "streets" laid out at right angles, for the

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834 used to sing and to dance. It is not at such times that regrettable things happen; but at night, when the festivities are over and most of the people have returned home, it is not unusual to see young couples scatter into the surrounding countryside, into valleys in retired places, and to hear them sing the whole night long, answering each other's songs, each couple hidden in its own place. Allowance seems to be made for such customs at such times, but necessarily these groups are not numerous, for mothers with children have to go home and to take care for them, and all Monguors have children. The morality of the Monguors, who live in villages and are occupied with farming, is undoubtedly on a higher standard than that of the nomad Mongols. Monguor families on the average seemed to me to be happy families that worked hard but enjoyed life.

VI. MONGUOR ECONOMIC LIFE

•311 175 An analysis of the economic life of the Monguors must begin by taking into account the shift from pastoral nomadism to settled farming. The shift probably began gradually when the Mongol conquests in 1275 drove the Tibetans back along the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, and the ancestors of the Monguors occupied the country and began to amalgamate with the Shat'o Turks who were already there. Specific historical data for the Mongol period are scarce, though we know that in 1287 a son-in-law of Chingis Khan, whose Chinese name was Chang Ch'i, was made governor of the region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 8*b*). We know also that the ancestors of the Monguors began to submit to the new Chinese Ming dynasty in 1368–1373, that each T'u-ssu and his clan were then allotted a fixed territory, and that, between 1368 and 1399, 7,200 Chinese families were sent as military colonists to this frontier (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, p. 15*a*).

THE HISTORICAL SHIFT FROM PASTORALISM TO FARMING

The next important date is 1509 when the Mongols of the Kukunor plateau of Tibet began to disturb the frontier with their inroads. From then on all through the period of decline of the Ming dynasty and the wars and disturbances that attended the founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644 and right up to the great Tibetan uprising of 1723 this frontier country was never long at peace. It was during this long and troubled period that walled towns and villages were built for better defense. We may well assume that it was during this period that the number of livestock decreased, partly because of the border raids and partly because of the difficulty of maintaining large herds in the relatively small side valleys inhabited by the Monguors, with the consequence that the Monguors became more and more dependent on the farms adjacent to their fortified villages.

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In 1723, therefore, when a long period of peace and stability began, the Monguors on the one hand had become farmers rather than herdsmen though they still owned far more livestock than Chinese farmers, and on the other hand communications opened up and trade began to flourish. The great city of Lanchou in Kansu provided a market for grain grown by the Monguors, which could be floated down the Hsining River into the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou. At the same time, with the pacification of Tibet, another market opened up for grain carried by caravan into the high plateau. The population increased, new villages were founded, and the land tax became the main source of revenue of the Monguor T'u-ssu.

The transition was so complete that the Monguors have no longing for a return to the nomadic life. In this they are different from the border Tibetans, among whom the nomadic life still carries more social prestige than settled village life.[1] The Monguors, however, appear to confirm the rule that peoples of Mongol origin, like the Turks, make the shift from pastoralism to agriculture only under the compulsion of events.[2]

FARMING

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Their farming having developed in contact with the Chinese culture, the Monguors used the farming implements of the Chinese (and not, for instance, those of the Turkish-speaking oasis farmers of Chinese Inner Asia). They buy their plowshares, spades, and other iron tools from Chinese smiths, but make the wooden parts themselves. Their farming is, however, inferior in technique to that of the Chinese. The region is too high and cold for the most intensive kind of Chinese farming, and, therefore both Chinese and Monguor farmers in the highest parts never grow the same crop on the same field for two consecutive years and try to leave each field completely fallow for a year after it has been harvested.

For fields near the villages, composted stable manure is used as a fertilizer. Every other day the women go out and bring in earth in baskets on their backs which they empty in the stables. The animals trample their dung and urine into this earth, and the floor-level of the stalls and the cow and sheep pens is gradually built up. At the end of a year, when the planting season begins, this composted manure is dug out and carried by the pack animals to the fields.

Farther away from the village ashes provide the only fertilizer. In the seventh or eighth moon, after the ground has been softened by a day or two of summer rain, a piece of land is selected and all the livestock are driven out to it and kept there, trampling the sticky earth for a whole day. The next day this top soil is

[1] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, Chicago, Univ of Chicago Press, 1939, especially pp. 76–79.

[2] Hermann Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, 176, Leipzig, 1885.

[P. 111a]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

but from the landowner who, in case the tenant dis- 792
appeared or became insolvent, was responsible for the 427
tax. In this way the lamas who were landowners had 651
to collect the official taxes from their tenants, and ac- 434
company the endless caravans of their tenants' donkeys
carrying grain to the official granaries. Before the [402]
journey to the granary started, however, each tenant
had to measure the grain in the presence of the lamas
and with the measure supplied by the lamas, the ca- [804]
pacity of which was greater than the official one; this
enabled the lamas to set aside a valuable surplus over
the vast amount of official taxes.

The properties of the lamaseries, consisting of ex- 792
tensive territories, contain a large part of waste and 423
untilled land on which no taxes are imposed. The 651
industrious intendants developed these properties by [311]
means of irrigation canals, and called in new farmers to
till the new fields. The legal amount of taxes, however, 312]
has always remained the same as the initial amount, be- 434
cause the intendants, by means of collusion and bribery,
easily succeed in gaining over the tax collectors. In
this way the revenues of the intendancies are greatly
increased, and they still receive surreptitiously a very
large revenue. Moreover, they are able to store the
surplus, which they can grind or sell when prices are
highest.

HERDS

Sheep, cows, and horses constitute, for many in- 792
tendancies, a source of revenue. Large herds are grazed 434
in Kukunor or Mongolia where the pastures are larger, 233
smaller herds in the country for local use. Mongol
princes and Tibetan chiefs of tribes are always ready to
help the monasteries. A contract is made with herds-
men by which the first calves, colts, and lambs belong
to the owner, the second-born to the herdsman, and so
on. Every three years a lama inspector of the in-
tendancy examines the accounts of the herdsmen and
settles with them the number of animals to be sold, and
the herdsmen show the skins of the animals which died
during the three-year period. If they cannot produce
the skins of the dead animals it is assumed that they
sold the animals and they must pay the owner of the
herds.

OIL AND GRAIN MILLS

These mills are a large source of revenue. The mon- 792
astery proper of Erh-ku-lung is owner of twenty-four 434
oil and grain mills; the T'u-kuan himself has eighteen, 256
Chang-chia nine. The mills are leased by Monguors or
Chinese. The rent of oil mills is 300 pounds of oil for
a season's use, besides which it must press the oil be-
longing to the monastery. The grain miller must grind
the grain of the intendancy and at the New Year sea-
son give a pig weighing 120 pounds. Most of the oil
which is not consumed in the kitchen in the preparation
of food, or in the lamps in the temples and homes, is
sent by raft to Lan-chou, the capital of the province.

[p.44 (B)]

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2
Monguor AE9

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 4. Work and leisure

The division of labor between men and women is like that of
K 462 the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing
533 and dance and otherwise enjoy themselves. Because of their
535 hard life, their songs carry a meloncholy quality, and their
[191] dance is simple.

It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their ex-
S 563 pert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horse-
K 526 back. There are three which may be played by all ages. One, similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep." Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

N *563 F. The Mongours

M 131 1. The people

The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north
361 bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to
• 311 cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were for-
N *563 merly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two
M 614 major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow
622 River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of
[195] people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

N *563 The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers.
M 144 One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols;
174 another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 144 174 sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsining region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, N *563 M 648 175 meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns • 311 in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

N *563 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342 The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351] The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables M [343] and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The M [231] Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [592] [574] The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies M [354] the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort [362] of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N *563 M 342 591 592 The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

623 651 The most important and delicate topic of discussion at meetings is always the subject of taxes. These taxes are decreed by the T'u-ssu as a lump sum imposed on the entire village. The villagers have then to group themselves by wealth in five classes and to pay more or less taxes according to this classification. The classification of families is a very difficult and delicate problem. In the discussion everybody asserts that he is, and proves himself to be, the poorest man in the village, deserving to be put in the lowest classification. The tax imposed on the village is compared with the taxes on other villages, and the chief of the village is criticized for not having defended the interests of his village. These meetings also fix the date on which the taxes have to be ready either to be carried by the villagers in a group to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, or to be ready for the nobles who come to collect them. Illegal and oppressive exactions by the officials of the T'u-ssu and difficulties with the collecting nobles are discussed, and entrusted to the chief of the village for redress or for conciliation with the T'u-ssu.

623 312 Another important topic is the digging or repairing of irrigation canals. The number of digging days required from each family is adjusted to the amount of land each family cultivates. Quarrels are patched up with families accused of having kept the water from the canal turned into their fields for longer than the allotted time. The proper time is calculated by the time taken to burn a certain number of incense sticks for the irrigation of a determined acreage of fields.

623 651 794 At these meetings the contributions of every family are fixed for the expenses of keeping the village temple in repair and payments to the shamans who perform the two important rites of spring and of protection against storms and hail, and of thanksgiving for the harvest.[4] An apportionment is also made of the liability of members for all kinds of corvées, or obligatory services, religious as well as administrative. The groups of youngsters must be ready day and night to stay in and even sleep in the temple in order to avert the danger of hail and storms in summer. Duties must be assigned also for taking care of the sacred animal of the village, and for preparing the performance of all kinds of religious rites carried out on behalf of the village. Villagers must also be designated for all kinds of corvée service at the mansion of the T'u-ssu.

622 627 The officials must also be prepared to deal with all kinds of problems in the private lives of the villagers (except family vengeance feuds). If a villager has got himself into difficulties or is burdened with troubles not of his own making he goes to the chief of the village, presents to him a scarf of felicity and a bottle of wine, and invites him to iron out the problem. The chief

[4] The religious aspects of Monguor life will be discussed in a second volume, now being prepared for publication.

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LIMITS OF AUTHORITY OF THE VILLAGE OFFICIALS

621 While the village officials are expected to deal with all possible disturbances of the peace, there are limits to their authority. The commoners, being the subjects of the T'u-ssu, who merely delegates his powers to the officials whom he appoints, have the right to appeal to him. The appeal, however, can be made only after punishment has been inflicted, in view of the fact that the commoner is also subject to the village authorities. The form of appeal to the higher authority of the T'u-ssu, therefore, is not "the village authorities *intend to be* unjust to me," but "they *have been* unjust to me." The remedy, therefore, calls not merely for preventing the carrying out of a sentence wrongly imposed, but for punishing the lower authority for a mistake made and executed. This view of the working of legal machinery is not peculiarly Monguor; it is Chinese, and indeed found in many Asian societies.

The jurisdiction of the chief of the village is, therefore, limited in two directions. He is circumscribed by custom in his authority over the villagers, and subordinate to the T'u-ssu. On his triennial visit the T'u-ssu always inquires into the administration of the officials, the suits that have been brought before them, and the way in which they have dealt with them. The outlook on these matters of Monguor society as a whole seems to be rooted in the blunt fact that the commoners are descendants of subjected tribes which might have been exterminated by their conquerors, and for which the price of survival was to become the "possessions" of the victors. The ordinary commoner, with only a confused idea about the history of his condition, knows only that he is completely subject to his T'u-ssu, to be ruled according to the customs of the clan.

In most matters the interests of each village are confined to its own territory, the payment of its own taxes, the support of its own quota of soldiers, the providing of its share of the additional levies for marriages and funerals in the T'u-ssu's family, and for the investiture of the T'u-ssu. If for any reason a village feels that it has a complaint to make, it makes its petition at the yearly assembly, or at the time of the ceremony of the opening of the seal, when all the chiefs of villages are gathered around the T'u-ssu.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VILLAGES

621 •312 To the extent that villages have few affairs in common, it is easy to be good neighbors. The most frequent cause of trouble between villages is dependence on the same irrigation canal, because villages using the same canal are jointly responsible for its yearly maintenance and for emergency repairs after floods.

Most village irrigation canals tap streams running from the mountains to the Hsining River or the Yellow River. The canals are divided into sections. In a typical case, the take-off section from the mountain

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

621 stream must be kept in repair by all the people using the water of the canal throughout its length. If section
•312 *B*, the middle section of the canal, is to be repaired, the people of section *A* are not concerned. The people of the villages along sections *B* and *C* must do all the work. If section *C* is damaged, the villagers of that section must do all the work alone. Yet there are times when most of the damage is along the lowest section, and the people, getting no help from their upstream neighbors, harbor resentment.

621 Each village is allotted a fixed number of days for the use of water for irrigation. In times of drought, villages
312 will open their outlets from the main canals at night when it is not their turn for water in order to steal
628 water from the section whose turn it is, pretending that the dams broke. It is not uncommon for fights to break out over water-stealing, giving rise to long-lasting and bitter feuds between villages. When there is trouble over water the chiefs and elders of villages not involved in the case are invited to act as arbiters. If the damage done is not too serious, a dinner is given by the offenders and apologies are made; but if the damage is too great, the offending village is required to pay part of the taxes due to the T'u-ssu from the plaintiff village. Even such a settlement, however, may become the beginning of a feud.

621 Minor causes of friction between villages are the stealing of sheaves from the autumn harvest by poor
628 people or, in the spring and summer, damage to the crops of one village by straying animals from another
778 village. The chiefs of the villages concerned patch up such petty troubles without need for arbitration. Every village raises a sacred animal, usually a Tibetan bull yak or a he-goat. These animals are allowed to roam freely and to trespass on fields, and nobody complains of the damage they cause to crops. After a few years, however, a bull begins to turn savage, and sometimes injures people. In 1914 the bull of the village of Narin ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Lungta, who was working in the fields. The village of Narin made apologies, indemnified the family, and killed the bull. The meat was offered to the village of the man who was killed, because the people of a village are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. No further trouble followed from this incident.

628 There is a strict custom that it is not allowed to sing
834 lascivious songs inside a village. The young people of villages that are not friendly sometimes sing such songs
533 in order to tease their neighbors, and fights break out; but if the chiefs of both villages concerned punish the youngsters, there are no further consequences.

628 In summary, it may be said that there are few serious quarrels between villages, except those over canals and irrigation water; in regions where irrigation is not used, in the so-called "dry land," serious quarrels never break out between villages.

[P. 81a]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

but from the landowner who, in case the tenant disappeared or became insolvent, was responsible for the tax. In this way the lamas who were landowners had to collect the official taxes from their tenants, and accompany the endless caravans of their tenants' donkeys carrying grain to the official granaries. Before the journey to the granary started, however, each tenant had to measure the grain in the presence of the lamas and with the measure supplied by the lamas, the capacity of which was greater than the official one; this enabled the lamas to set aside a valuable surplus over the vast amount of official taxes. 792 427 651 434 [402] [804]

The properties of the lamaseries, consisting of extensive territories, contain a large part of waste and untilled land on which no taxes are imposed. The industrious intendants developed these properties by means of irrigation canals, and called in new farmers to till the new fields. The legal amount of taxes, however, has always remained the same as the initial amount, because the intendants, by means of collusion and bribery, easily succeed in gaining over the tax collectors. In this way the revenues of the intendancies are greatly increased, and they still receive surreptitiously a very large revenue. Moreover, they are able to store the surplus, which they can grind or sell when prices are highest. 792 423 651 [311] 312 434

HERDS

Sheep, cows, and horses constitute, for many intendancies, a source of revenue. Large herds are grazed in Kukunor or Mongolia where the pastures are larger, smaller herds in the country for local use. Mongol princes and Tibetan chiefs of tribes are always ready to help the monasteries. A contract is made with herdsmen by which the first calves, colts, and lambs belong to the owner, the second-born to the herdsman, and so on. Every three years a lama inspector of the intendancy examines the accounts of the herdsmen and settles with them the number of animals to be sold, and the herdsmen show the skins of the animals which died during the three-year period. If they cannot produce the skins of the dead animals it is assumed that they sold the animals and they must pay the owner of the herds. 792 434 233

OIL AND GRAIN MILLS

These mills are a large source of revenue. The monastery proper of Erh-ku-lung is owner of twenty-four oil and grain mills; the T'u-kuan himself has eighteen, Chang-chia nine. The mills are leased by Monguors or Chinese. The rent of oil mills is 300 pounds of oil for a season's use, besides which it must press the oil belonging to the monastery. The grain miller must grind the grain of the intendancy and at the New Year season give a pig weighing 120 pounds. Most of the oil which is not consumed in the kitchen in the preparation of food, or in the lamps in the temples and homes, is sent by raft to Lan-chou, the capital of the province. 792 434 256

[p.44 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

is fighting must be fought, but always at the same time the tribes should be induced to surrender peacefully. The debates lasted for seven years and nothing was done (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 10*b*, 11*a*). Finally in 1530 the Tibetan tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou started plundering the country. The tribes had fled from Kokonor for fear of the Mongols. Their destitution was tragic. Commander Liu Wen-yu, protagonist of the third group, left with his army, but at the same time sent officials to induce the tribes to surrender, promising them help. Among them only twenty-one tribes decided to revolt, the Lung-po (Uighur) tribe being the leader of the group. The commander defeated two tribes, killed 360 rebels and then started peace talks. He succeeded, receiving the surrender of seventy or more tribes. He returned with the army. The regions of T'ao and Ming Chou were at peace. 175x 648 723

The same year, while the tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou, situated south of the Yellow River, were pacified, the Tsantsa tribes, living on the northern bank of the Tatung River, plundered the region of Nienpei, but were defeated in the T'u-ku-hung valley. Splinter groups of Mongols raided Chengfan, and small groups of Kokonor brigands invaded Hsining and were pursued.

In 1534, amidst all these troubles, the Ming dynasty was still interested in education and instruction. More schools were built in several small fortresses, and in Hsining the Hall of the Faithful and Meritorious officials was constructed. On the stele erected inside the hall, we read among the names of the celebrated personalities those of four Monguor t'u-ssu: Li Nan-ko, Li Yin, the Duke of Huei-ming, his son, T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih, and T'u-ssu Li Ch'ang, son of Li Yin (*Annals* of Hsining 35: 9*b*, 10*a*). 175x 871 211

The situation grew worse every day and all of Huangchung was upset. Liu T'ien-ho, vice-president of the ministry of war, was sent in 1536 to direct the military operations in Kansu and Shensi. The third son of Dayan, Barsa Bolot, with his son, the Jinong had settled in Ordos. The turbulent Jinong made raids in Ninghsia, Liang and Kanchow. T'u-ssu Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40), Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49), Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 54), were ordered to help stem the forays. T'u-ssu Hsin died on the field of battle. The Jinong invaded Hsining and hit a severe blow. T'u-ssu Lu and Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52) helped the commander beat the Jinong. 175x 648 [845]

The next year the Kokonor brigands made a raid in Hsining and were severely beaten, twice, at the temple T'ieh-fu, 50 li north of the city.

General Liu T'ien-ho, having studied the situation of the country, ordered first the repair of the walls and towers of the eighteen existing small fortresses and villages and cities, and to start immediately with the building of seventeen new fortified villages. He promoted agriculture around the fortresses, dug irrigation 175x 712 [502 312]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

canals, helped the people with grain and oxen, etc. 175x
He built the two large cities of Pa-yien-jung and San- 712
ch'uan, south of Nienpei, and established there two [502
strong garrisons, in order to control the whole region 312]
north of the Yellow River, reaching from the south of Hsining to Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu 24: 18; 23: 16). At that time the only fortified villages were near the mansions of the t'u-ssu, where in time of troubles the people found shelter with their cattle and helped to defend the fortress, and from which they attacked and pursued brigands. Only near these fortresses were living and farming possible. No wonder that the helpless scattered tribes incessantly revolted, plundered on their own account, or joined the invaders after having been plundered.

In 1537 groups of Ordos brigands raided the for- 175x
tress of Cheng-ch'iang-I, situated between Liangchow 648
and Lanchow. T'u-ssu Yeh defended the fortress heroically and died in the battle. The people esteemed his brave conduct and erected a stele in commemoration [21]
inside the village.

In 1541 the Jinong from Ordos raided Hsia-ch'uan-ku in Huangchung; a crushing defeat was administered to him by General Liu T'ien-ho in Ho-shuei-wan. His son Chin-shao was killed in the battle. T'u-ssu Lu, Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40), Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45) participated in the action. Groups belonging to the Tsa tsa tribes of Huangchung plundered San-ch'uan and were chased by T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45), and Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38).

In 1543 the turbulent Jinong, leading a strong army, arrived at Kokonor, where he defeated I-pu-la, and captured half of his followers. I-pu-la fled to Mongolia plundering the Liangchow country on his way back. The Jinong was the grandson of Dayan and had a score to settle with I-pu-la, who, seceding with his tribes, had offended his grandfather Dayan. I-pu-la had raided and plundered Huangchung, had scattered or subdued and ruined the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor during thirty-four years (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 15*b*; 20: 12*a*). Pu-erh-hai, a Mongol chieftain who had joined I-pu-la in 1525, had already abandoned I-pu-la, and had hidden in the mountains to avoid the Jinong. Previously he had manifested his intention to submit to China and was better disposed toward the Tibetans. Many tribes returned to Kokonor hoping to enjoy a precarious peace for some years (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 12*b*). The same year T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to lead his troops to Tatung in Shansi province to help chase the invading Mongols.

In 1546 the emperor ordered the officials to erect an [21]
Honorific Arch glorifying the merits of T'u-ssu Lu.

Until 1549 the students in Hsining had been unable 175x
to pass the literary examination and acquire titles. 871
This year, on account of the new regulations, diplomas were granted in Hsining.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Peking, and the emperor agreed. Ping-tu forced the tribes to build a road to Wu-ssu-tsang in order to meet the lama. The entire Szechwan province was upset for fear of invasion by the savage Kokonor brigands. The governor wrote Altan to order his sons to desist from plundering the country. Altan answered that the only reason for the behavior of his sons was the lack of any markets where they could fill their needs. In 1574 markets were opened for Pin-tu and Ping-tu and the emperor granted to the temple of Kokonor the name Yin-hua-sse and the title of vice-commander to Ping-tu. However, the sons and cousins and nephews of Altan plundered as before. Again the officials asked Altan to reprimand them. Altan arrived with his army feigning to meet the lama; however he had an axe to grind with Oirats, his old foes. Coming back, he asked the governor to allow all the Mongol chieftains to attend a meeting with the lama in Kokonor. The Tibetans, taken with panic at the sight of the demonstration of power and magnificence, fled in all directions. Altan returned to the north (1577) but Ho-lo-ch'ih and Yung-chao-pu, his nephew and cousin, and others refused to leave Kokonor, and Ping-tu started plundering the Tibetans again. The officials immediately asked the emperor to close the markets. Altan reprimanded his son and urged him to return the stolen people and cattle. However, Ho-lo-ch'ih continued looting (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 13, 14).[84]

175x 648 662 579 [437 647] [437 647]

In 1579 the governor of Hsining was engaged in developing agriculture in Huangchung. He gathered the destitute people who had fled with fear of the Mongol brigands, located them in villages, provided them with grain and oxen, dug irrigation canals, etc. In each village he opened a school. He gathered more than 100,000 families, and more uncultivated land was tilled. When Altan left the country in 1577 he had asked him to leave peacefully and to protect the country against more raids by his people (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20).

175x 241 652 [313]

Ha-tsa, a Tibetan tribe of Kokonor, raided the western valley of Hsining in 1580, but was repelled. Two

175x 579 648

[84] René Grousset, *Empire des Steppes*, 592, Paris, Payot: The Ordos Mongols started professing the lamaism of the Yellow Church from 1566 on. The *jinong* Khutukh Setsen Hung-t'ai-chi of the Uchin banner, coming back from an expedition in Tibet in 1566, had invited lamas to accompany him to Ordos and convert the Mongols to lamaism. The fervent *jinong* succeeded in converting his grand-uncle Altan who at that time was in the heyday of his power (1576). Altan and his grand-nephew invited the chief of the Yellow Church, the great lama bSod-nams rgya-mtso to come to Kokonor. The Mongols met him magnificently and opened with him an official convention at which was laid the foundation of the Yellow Church among the Mongols (1577), and Altan honored the great lama with the title of Dalai Lama, which title is still borne at present by his successors. The Dalai Lama, returning to Lhasa, appointed the Living Buddha Dongkur Manjucri in Kukuhoto the residence of Altan. The Dalai Lama left Lhasa again to travel to Ordos in 1586 for the performance of the cremation ceremonies of Altan who had died in 1583.

[P. 47(B)]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

462 ditions offer opportunities to the kind of man who is clever with his hands and with tools. As such a man usually works for people who live in the same village or are members of the same clan, what usually happens is that the "clever" friend is invited to come over to lend a helping hand. A large part of his reward is in the opportunity to show his superior skill. When the job has been done he is invited to dinner, or if he is a poor man he is given some grain. Such opportunities are not enough, however, to enable a man to become a full-time specialized artisan.

Two Monguor artisans, self-made men, gave me the clue to the answer to this problem. "If there were no rich people," they said, "and above all if there were no monasteries in our country, we could never have been able to make a living as artisans; we would never have been anything but helpers. Because of the monasteries and the rich people, however, we are able to work all the year round and to take on apprentices." For this kind of artisan employment, rich people and monasteries provide the materials and the artisan provides only the special skill in using the materials.

463 A youngster who is handy with tools and wants to be-
874 come an artisan invites two elders of his village to go with him at the New Year to see the artisan to whom he wants to apprentice himself. He presents the traditional "scarf of felicity" and two pieces of meat. The elders stand as surety for his obedience and honesty. He makes nine prostrations to the master artisan and promises obedience. A contract is then signed by the guarantors, the master artisan, and the boy. The period of apprenticeship is usually three years, during which the apprentice lives at the home of his master and in addition to learning his trade works, without pay, at all kinds of odd jobs, such as preparing his master's food, and working in his fields in the busy times of sowing and harvesting.

After three years, if the master is satisfied, the apprentice prepares a sheep and wine and invites his master, his two guarantors, and the former apprentices of his master to a feast. He presents his master with a gown or a pair of trousers or boots, prostrates himself nine times and receives from his master a set of the tools of his trade. He is then himself a master-artisan, and although he still has to work another year for his master, he is now paid for his work. For the rest of his life he feels indebted to his master and bound to help him whenever asked.

415 One of the minor industries engaged in by Monguors
•313 is the manufacture of wooden bowls and small wooden
[322] boxes. The wood used is poplar, which is turned on a lathe and then coated with oil. Another small-scale occupation is the making of charcoal. Monguors living near forests belonging to lamaseries pay the monastery for the right to cut trees from which they burn charcoal which they take to the towns to sell. Other Monguors buy trees as they stand in the forest, cut them, and saw

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

415 planks. Some of these planks are cut to the standard measurements for making coffins, and sold in the towns.
313 Another woodworking trade is the making of pack saddles for donkeys, mules, and oxen, which are sold either in the towns or at fairs.

THE CITY BECOMES THE CENTER OF ECONOMIC LIFE

177 At the end of this chapter it is interesting to consider from what center originated the new economic life of
369 the Monguors, how it developed, and what were the repercussions on the social organization of the Monguor clans, as they evolved away from pastoralism. For nearly four centuries the economic life of the Monguors was fraught with insecurity and calamities, and deprived of the peace that is the first requirement for social welfare. Indeed the economic conditions of the Monguors and of the whole country improved only when the Ch'ing dynasty secured peace, and this improvement depended on the vitality of commerce. No trade of real importance had been able to coexist with insecurity on the roads, since trade requires normal and regular transportation facilities and a safe access to the outlets of commerce. For the center of a developed economy a city is required. In this case the city was Hsining, with its group of professional merchants from all over China, associated in guilds according to the Chinese custom.

177 The prefectural city of Hsining is advantageously situated on the river of the same name, a tributary of the
369 Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou, the capital of the province. Hsining is also on the road from Peking
632 to Lhasa and India. It was the seat of the political and
[487] military administration of the country, and the merchants settled there because it was a fortified and garrisoned city. Under the older order in China important concerns maintained their headquarters in major cities and sent their agents to less secure secondary towns and villages to open branch offices.

177 The merchants of the city monopolized the whole com-
369 merce of the country. They sent out their agents to buy up as much grain, oil, and wine (alcohol) as possible;
441 they bought the products collected by peddlers; their agents pitched their tents at lamasery fairs and festivals
467 and at clan diets, to provide people with groceries, cloth, silk, and hardware. The small shopkeepers scattered over the country bought their wares from the wholesale merchants in Hsining. The guilds enjoyed the privileges of trading with the nomad caravans, which had to stop and unload at their inns in order to sell their merchandise, and to buy through them the things they wanted, such as flour, oil, and cloth.

Farmers were not allowed to sell flour, oil, and other products directly to the caravans. They had to go through the guild of the *Hsieh chia*, those who controlled the "rest places." Thus the guild alone controlled the trade in the high-priced furs and other articles carried

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The oil trade is a very important and lucrative business. Flour is sold in Hsining. The taxes imposed on the mills are very heavy, but the monasteries still enjoy the old privilege granted before 1723, and are exempted from these taxes. Even families in which a Living Buddha has been born enjoy the same privilege, for instance, the Lan family living in Hung nai tzu Valley. Every year, however, the family has to offer 10 pounds of oil at Erh-ku-lung to the intendancy of its Buddha, deceased a century ago. The lamas claim the privilege, which was granted during the Yung lo period (1403–1424), because oil is consumed in the lamps of the temples before the Buddhas, and flour is used by the lamas, the servants of Buddha. 792 [438] 434 551

FORESTS

Only two monasteries possess extensive forests—Seerkok and T'ien-T'ang. Because wood is very scarce in the northern part of the province, forests are an important source of revenue. 792 434 314

TOLL ON BRIDGES

The history of the famous bridge of T'ien T'ang has been recorded. For many years it was a source of large revenue, which finally caused its ruin. 792 434 [494]

The monastery of Kan-ch'an, belonging to the famous Tenma, receives toll on a raft, which ferries passengers across the Ta-t'ung River. Tenma is a very well-known man in the country. His first incarnation, a learned man, was appointed Fa-t'ai in Erh-ku-lung by the first Chang-chia (Huth, p. 279). It is related that he caused the ruin of Erh-ku-lung. In 1723 bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, chief of the revolt, was a prisoner in Hsining, and about to be executed. He heard that Tenma was in the city. Through the guardians of the jail, he implored him to write a letter to the Chinese generals in order to save his life. Tenma, unaware of the consequences of such an act, wrote the letter. The generals got the impression that Erh-ku-lung was mixed up with the revolt, and they destroyed the monastery. This is a fine story, manufactured on the ground out of whole cloth, in order to free the old mother monastery from blame, but why was the blame put on Tenma? 505 175

For many years during the period of my stay, the young Tenma, swelling with ambition, was the most talked-of man in the country for his audacious plan to construct a European suspension bridge over the river, like those in photographs he had seen in magazines. He started buying all the available iron in the country, felling all the big trees growing on the domain of the monastery, and building a large brickyard. Blacksmiths, carpenters, and bricklayers worked for four years. He built four great towers, two on each side of the river. The blacksmiths made enormous iron chains, too heavy to manipulate or to move. He exhausted the entire treasure of the monastery. Troubles started 792 334

[p.45(A)]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

000 the highest, coldest, part of the country. Coal was
316 exploited and mined in a primitive way in one of the valleys north of Hsining and near the junction of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers. According to the local *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 20*a*), iron was exploited during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644); but the deposits must have been exhausted, because during the period of my stay iron was carried all the way from the Province of Szech'uan on donkeys and mules.

In the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, and some of their small tributaries, gold was panned at irregular intervals; south of the Hsining River and in the upper reaches of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, thirty-one auriferous placers were regularly exploited, mostly by Muslims.

487 The system of communications was primitive. Ox
492 carts could travel on the roads near the larger towns
505 and villages, but most transportation depended on pack-animals, including donkeys, mules, and horses. It was only subsequent to the period covered by this study that a highway was built connecting Lanchou, the capital of the Province of Kansu, with Hsining, the capital of Ch'inghai. The Hsining River was, therefore, the biggest transport asset of the country. From the Hsining River to the Yellow River, which flows by the city of Lanchou, cargoes of grain, wool, skins, vegetable oils, and alcohol were carried on rafts made either of wood or of inflated ox skins as far as the city of Paot'ou, in the Province of Suiyüan, where they were unloaded
[463] and carried on by rail to the seaport of Tientsin. Most
[563] of this transportation business was in the hands of Chinese Muslims.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 In the oldest Chinese historical references, the country between the Tat'ung, Hsining, and Yellow Rivers was called Huang Chung and was inhabited by tribes called Ch'iang. The Chinese ideograph for this name indicated that it had the meaning "herders of sheep." The name is one that has never disappeared from Chinese usage in referring to the peoples of the edge of the Tibetan plateau; it is in use to this day. In 202 B.C. the Hsiao Yuehchih, who were probably speakers of an eastern Iranian, Indo-European language, fled from the Hsiung-nu, the principal tribe of the northern Chinese frontier, settled among the Ch'iang tribes, and were absorbed by them.

In 116 B.C. Ho Ch'ü-ping, one of the most famous frontier commanders in Chinese history, came to Huang Chung and founded the first Chinese colonies among the Ch'iang tribes. In A.D. 4 more Chinese colonies were established in the region of Kukunor, but were lost after a few years. This was, in fact, a precarious frontier. For three hundred and sixty years the frontier colonies were often in danger of annihilation, being subject to frequent tribal attack and without support from China proper, because the Later Han dynasty of the first and second centuries A.D. was troubled with chronic dynastic

[P. 19]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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After three years, if the master is satisfied, the apprentice prepares a sheep and wine and invites his master, his two guarantors, and the former apprentices of his master to a feast. He presents his master with a gown or a pair of trousers or boots, prostrates himself nine times and receives from his master a set of the tools of his trade. He is then himself a master-artisan, and although he still has to work another year for his master, he is now paid for his work. For the rest of his life he feels indebted to his master and bound to help him whenever asked.

415 313 [322] One of the minor industries engaged in by Monguors is the manufacture of wooden bowls and small wooden boxes. The wood used is poplar, which is turned on a lathe and then coated with oil. Another small-scale occupation is the making of charcoal. Monguors living near forests belonging to lamaseries pay the monastery for the right to cut trees from which they burn charcoal which they take to the towns to sell. Other Monguors buy trees as they stand in the forest, cut them, and saw

[20 cont.]

*778 [824] The making of the spear: The wood of the shaft must have grown wild. Wood that has been planted or wood from inhabited, settled regions may never be taken, for it is not pure. The wood is therefore sought in lonely forests and mountains. The most superior wood is sandalwood. Since this is rare, however, the mountain ash is usually used. -- The iron is usually wrought iron. There is no prescriptions concerning its origin. It may be bought, taken from old tools, etc.

Fig. 2

a. Spirit-table without bands (sirie purgan); b. spirit-table with bands (sirie purgan).

[422] Anyone may have a spirit-spear, and anyone may make it himself, but never women. If the owner wants to have a beautiful [562] spirit-spear, however, he will go to a skilled craftsman, carpenter, [463] and smith. It is required that before starting the work the craftsman rinse out his mouth, wash his face and hands, and hold the latter [783] over the smoke of a cypress fire. The tools are also thoroughly smoked. In addition, the smith casts some cypress incense into his [782] smithy fire.

The craftsman may work at home in his workshop or in with [322] the family of his client. The individual parts are made separately, [326] in other words, the shaft by the carpenter, the tip and foot by the smith. They bring the parts to the owner's house. The latter then [782] offers twelve steamed loaves (or baked loaves) on the shelf in front of the Buddha image, as well as a piece of red cloth and a measure of barley. The craftsmen place their instruments on the grain in [788] the bushel, and all of them kowtow in front of the Buddha image, [322] while the incense offering is presented outside. The carpenter [326] receives the barley; the smith receives the twelve loaves with the red cloth.

[636 cont.]

764
[766]

[Note on foreign text pp. 652-653 cont.] yellow shoulder-cloth, on the other hand, which a dead person with age-consecration wears, must be burned with the corpse, just like the sash that he received at that time.

this must be done while the corpse is still flexible. Once it is rigid, it maintains its position virtually unchanged.

The death-box. The death-box is made either long be-
[171] fore death or not until death has taken place, as among the Chinese where the coffin is sometimes ready decades before-
[735] hand. Only poor people do not make the death-box until after the death. The box is always made of wood, but it does not matter what kind of wood it is made of; after all, it is not buried, as is the coffin among the Chinese, but is burned with the dead person. The box has the height of a litter or sedan chair; the dead person fits exactly into it. The bottom of the box extends into four carrying beams, [637] similar to a
[532] flat litter. The box [illustration appears here], however is not a simple wooden chest, but represents a small temple with roof
[171] and doors and often very rich carving, similar to death-box of the Chinese bonze (6). Unlike the latter, however, it has a sun

6. [Foreign text p. 653.] in the case of the coffin of the Taoshih the sun-moon attachment, the movable back wall, and the carrying pole are lacking. The corpse is usually put inside through the front door or from above, because the roof piece is removable.

and moon in the center of the roof, similar to the tip of a mani-pole; this is generally regarded as necessary. The box
[556] is painted and decorated according to the wealth, piety, and
[322] affection of the relatives.

There are no definite ritual prescriptions for the prep-
[465] aration of the box. The carpenter receives the usual fee for

764 [637 cont.]
465 his work and, in addition, twelve
322 loaves of bread, two ells of white cloth, and a small measure of wheat (six pounds). After the work is done, this measure of wheat is put on the house-
[782] hold altar, and the carpenter puts his tools on it. The master of the household sticks a few burning incense-sticks among them and puts the loaves before them. Then everyone makes a three-
[532] fold kowtow (7). The carpenter does not receive the white cloth until the funeral meal.

Death-box
(Drawing of a Tujen)

[782]
[776]
[177]

7. [Foreign text p. 653.] This ceremony actually has nothing to do with the death-box. It is customary after all carpentry work; it is done to honor the tutelary god of the carpenter, Lu-pan-yeh. It is a Chinese custom.

764 Lying in state: If the box is already available at death, the corpse is immediately put in it. If it is not yet ready, then the people put the dead in a crouching position on the kang or on the floor of the room in which he died. First, however, they lay down a white felt mat as a pad; straw is not used. No one may sleep or live in the same room with the dead, only in an adjoining room. A table with 12 loaves of bread, which come from the deceased's own family, and a water-lamp stand before the crouching corpse.

[462] Putting the corpse in the box is always done by men. The
[543] son puts his father and mother inside. The father, however, never puts his son in: that is taken care of by the young brothers or cousins.

[637 cont.]

764 cousins. Female persons are also put in the box by men. Then, after the corpse has been propped up with straw, a board is slid in at the back from above. The men then wash their hands. The box is put in a room and placed on four raised clay bricks, so that it will be easy to pick it up later to carry it. A white felt mat is usually spread out beforehand. The box of a deceased master of the household or his wife always stands in the main house; in other cases it is put in the room in which the dead person used to live.

Next to the box there is a small, coffin-like little casket whose lid is pegged down like those of the Chinese coffins. It is the little casket in which the bones that remain after cremation are kept. Usually a rolling pin (noodle roller), which was 412 made at the same time as the coffin or death-box, leans 764 against the box (8). [638] Other rolling pins are not used at [322] all.

[177]

8. [Foreign text p. 653.] This custom, too, seems to have been borrowed from the Chinese. The rolling pin is called mien-kan or kan-ch'ang in Chinese. On the average it is one meter long and three to four centimeters thick. It is used principally to roll noodles. The rolling pin is also called pai-hu by the Chinese, that is, white tiger, because it can become the seat of the tiger god for soothsaying or shamanistic ceremonies, just as the spirit-spear becomes the seat of the spirit. The rolling pin is also handled in the following way: a man takes it with both hands and calls down the demon into it; then the roller shakes and trembles.

[778] [787] [776]

The enemy of the rolling pin is the threshing roller, lu-chu. It represents the dark (green) dragon, ch'ing-lung.

[776]

[638 cont.]

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[776]

[Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.] the declared opponent of the white tiger. -- Furthermore, the white tiger is powerless against anything that comes from the dead or is connected with the dead; he fears coffins, death-boxes, burials, etc. For that reason coffin-making is the best opportunity for making a rolling pin, and therefore the rolling pin is propped against the death-box. The relationship of the tiger to the rolling pin is thereby neutralized. -- People very rarely have a rolling pin made other than at the time of a burial; the carpenter must then plane the pole on a threshing roller, the enemy of the white tiger. The millstone also has an effect similar to that of the threshing roller, for it crushes the provider of the "white," that is, the grain from which the flour comes.

[322]

[322]

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[782]

all. As in the case of the crouching corpse, a small kang table with the gifts to the dead is also placed before the death-box. Men and women kowtow before it, burn white paper, like the Chinese, and weep aloud (9).

9. [Foreign text p. 653.] Aside from the bone-casket I once saw a small wooden casket of coffin-like form beside a death-box. The people said a small manlike doll lay in it. It was supposed to keep misfortune and death away from the house. The informant had not yet seen that and thought that this custom had come from

[789]

[866 cont.]

192
782
[824]
[322]

[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]

Wood for the yellow fire-pouring: maġa (Tib.); dziãṅma (Mongol.); chien-yang liu (Chin.); the wood is used a great deal for mill wheels; it seems to be a kind of maple. I also saw it a great deal among carvers, who praise it as the best wood for carving.

[778]

Fire-torma: dāmbala (Tib.).

Yellow fire-pouring: sēru dżiwi źūin tseġ (Tib.).

Red fire-pouring: ġõngē dżiwi źūin tseġ (Tib.).

White fire pouring: siwi dżiwi żūin tseġ (Tib.).

Black fire-pouring: dźoġguei dżiwi żūin tseġ (Tib.).

Burnt offerings: rdzē (Tib., Mongol.).

Butter: marku (Tib.); dasu (Mongol.).

[870]

192
782
824

Grain: nie (Tib.); [illegible]a (Mongol.); the Mongols there designate Tibetan barley, ch'ing-k'o, with tara, which is simply grain.

Wheat: dšō (Tib.); budē (Mongol.).

Beans: tšamā (Tib.); burdzieġ (Mongol.).

Barley: sō (Tib.); sōtara (Mongol.); it is probably a combination of the Tibetan sō and the Mongolic tara (grain).

White rape: yõṅgur (Tib., Mongol.); pei-ts'ai-tzu (Chin.).

Indian incense grass: gusia (Tib., Mongol.); wei-tzu ts'ao (Chin.); that is, reed. Evidently the kuśa grass designated by Filchner, Kumbum, p. 88 and Note 400, which supposedly stems from India, is involved here.

On account of the fact that the original family chronicles were lost during the troubles which beset the Ming dynasty, the most fantastic legends have come to be spread among the Li Monguors and even among their t'u-ssu, relating to the history of the clan ancestors preceding the Ming period (1368). Some of them circulating among the Li Wen clan have been noted in Monguors I: 26, 27. Concerning the Li Nan-ko branch we possess two recent documents of 1937 and 1941 which Chinese scholars obtained, one from the Li t'u-ssu himself, and one from a clan member. 173 614

The first document, *Studies on Frontier Areas of Kansu, Ch'ing-hai, and Tibet*, by Ma Ho-t'ien[65] records, on page 179, the personal visit of Ma Ho-t'ien to the residence of the Li t'u-ssu in the subprefecture of Ming Hua and his trip to the ancestral cemetery at Hsiang T'ang.[66] [113]

The Li t'u-ssu was so kind as to show the chronicle of his clan. The size of the chronicle is two feet square, the image of the ancestor is depicted on the first page. On the next page is elaborated his history, and so on for each of the ancestors. However, the only trustworthy part of the chronicle is that starting with the surrender of Li Nan-ko to the Ming and relating the succession of the t'u-ssu from 1371 until the present time. The entire text concerning the history of the ancestors preceding Li Nan-ko is unreliable. Then we left the t'u-ssu and went to the ancestral cemetery of the Li Nan-ko branch at Hsiang T'ang.

On page 180:

The cemetery occupies a terrain as large as six acres, enclosed by a mud wall. The central alley, bordered by stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay, leads to a big stele, behind which is said to be the tomb of Li Nan-ko, and in front of which is built a stone table for the offerings to the dead. On the stele are engraved the text of the ratification by the Ch'ing emperor, of the appointment granted by the previous Ming emperor to the incumbent to the office of t'u-ssu, the text of a funeral oration granted by an emperor at the death of a t'u-ssu, also the glorious achievements of the clan and the names of the t'u-ssu who died on the field of battle. On both sides of the avenue are erected the steles of the t'u-ssu of the Li Nan-ko clan dating from the Ming and Ch'ing periods, the most recent dating from the Kuang-su period (1875-1909). Outside the enclosure, at the entrance of the cemetery, are erected two big steles, "the spirit way steles." On the one erected on the eighth moon of 1427 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Nan-ko), who posthumously received the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Pen-chun tu-tu. He is a descendant of Li K'o-yung, whose original name was T'o-pa, to whom was granted the name Li by the Tang emperor. During the Yuan dynasty, Li Shang-ko was functionary at the offices of the prince of Ch'i. To him succeeded consecutively Li Mei-chi-lu, Li Kuan-chi-lu and Li Nan-ko who was T'ung-chih (vice-chairman) of the district of Hsining. He received during the Hung-wu period of the Ming the hereditary duty of Tu-chih-huei-shih (High Commandant). To his son Yin was granted, on account of his merits, the title of Earl of Huei Ning, 173 764 614 [324]

[65] *Kan, Ch'ing-hai, Tsang pien-ch'ü K'ao-ch'a-chi*, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1947.

[66] Hsiang T'ang is the name of the locality where the cemetery is situated, and means the Hall of Sacrifice, the room where the corpse is laid out.

[P.28(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

himself. We know for sure that 1371 was the year of his submission to the Ming, and also the time of his death is historically fixed at 1488. It is hard to explain how this man has been clever enough to be an official during 117 years! 175x 614

THE SPIRIT WAY STELES

In the first document it is noted that the first spirit way stele was erected in 1427 in honor of Li Nan-ko, the first t'ü-ssu and founding ancestor of the clan. According to the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 46*b*), Li Nan-ko died in 1407, his son Li Yin received in 1427 the title of Earl of Huei Ning, and the title granted to the son was posthumously bestowed at the same time upon the father (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 10*a*. Annals of Kansu 42: 47). This distinction which, according to the Chinese mentality, primarily honored the father who had reared so glorious a son, obviously seems to have been the cause of the erection of the spirit way stele at the entrance of the clan cemetery in honor of Li Nan-ko in 1427 by Li Yin himself. 175x 764 324

The second spirit way stele was erected in 1475 in honor of Li Yin. Li Yin probably died a few years after 1437. His son, Li Ch'ang succeeded to his father only in 1457, on account of the discredit weighing upon the clan. Li Ch'ang died in 1493 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 10). Emperor Hsien Tsung only in 1475 promoted Li Ch'ang, and he honored him in a special way at his death, sending splendid funeral gifts and a funeral oration (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 2*b*) written by himself, containing the glorification of the virtues of the deceased. This oration had to be burned before the coffin as a last farewell of the emperor to his faithful subject. The distinguished promotion received from the emperor in 1475 seems to have been the reason for the erection of the spirit way stele by Li Ch'ang to his father Li Yin in 1475, the father upon whom redounded the imperial attention bestowed upon his eminent son. [648]

THE CEMETERY OF HSIANG T'ANG

The cemetery of Hsiang T'ang is definitely the most elaborate cemetery built in the country and it is said to have been erected to glorify the entire Li clan. I trusted this tradition accepted by prominent scholars and officials in the country, who founded their statement on an erroneous text of the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 2*a*) claiming that both Li clans were the descendants of Li Nan-ko (Monguors I: 70, 71). However, not a single stele is encountered in the cemetery pointing to members of the Li Wen clan, which has its own ancestral cemetery at the foot of the Han P'ing mountain, situated ten li north of the city of Hsining, with steles and inscriptions (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 8*a*). This cemetery is not as elaborate as the one of the Li Nan-ko branch with its spirit way steles, etc., but 175x 614 764

[27 cont.]

756 The sword-shamans heal the sick, drive away demons, and
[789] practice soothsaying. In so doing, they wound themselves and
the sick with the sword and burn themselves with fire, but if
[787] they are true shamans, this does not harm them.

Details

756 Dress: The shamans wear an ordinary long garment. Some-
292 times they also put on a robe similar to that of the Chinese
bonze, except that it is red. They girdle themselves with a
293 red belt. On the chest they wear an amulet with a god's figure
*778 or a little bag with the hada [scarf-like ceremonial cloth] that
[171] the lama has given them at the consecration. It is their
tutelary spirit. They throw the wide shoulder-collar over it,
which falls with the points over the chest, back, and shoulders.
It is of various colors and often beautifully cut. They hang the
breast-mirror on a red string over the shoulder collar. Formerly
● [325] this was made of gold; now it is made of copper. The shaman
rubs it to a shine with incense ashes. The mirror is round and
has a diameter of 15 to 20 centimeters. In the middle it has
a round protuberance, on which the tutelary deity's name is
sometimes inscribed in Tibetan signs. Several colorful hada-
cloths are suspended from the two eyelets of the mirror. --
756 On their heads the shamans wear a red headcloth. It is about
292 50 to 80 centimeters square. One tip is cut off to a breadth
of about 20 centimeters; at these cut ends there are two red
bands; the cloth looks like an irregular pentagon. They sew
five small copper horse-rattles on the cut edge. The cloth is
thrown over the head in such a fashion that the edge with the
little bells runs across the forehead and the other tips fall down
over the ears and shoulders. They fasten the cloth on the
back of the head with the bands. -- Over this headcloth they
then tie a five-part crown similar to that of the lamas (4).

*[778] 4. [Foreign text p. 32.] The headcloth
is not always of this kind. There are also
cloths that are larger and that have no
bells. In this case the shaman ties on a

3: Schröder--294 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[864 cont.]

782 also draws two crossed thunderbolts in the center of the rectangle (4).

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4. [Foreign text pp. 867-868.] As other people and lamas relate, there is a great assortment of different ground-drawings which evidently merely represent variations of the mandala. My informant, for instance, had one of his relatives draw the above-described figure. He explained it in the following way [868] (see figure below): The thunderbolts represent the four principal directions and the four directions between them. The circle with the crossed thunderbolts signifies the foundation of the world-mountain rirā (Sumeru), for this rests on a golden disk. The thunderbolts signify the rest and stability and durability of the world's foundation. Originally they were supposedly made of gold as a sign of their indestructibility. The peonies are supposed to be the sumbol of the flourishing familial good fortune. The same meaning also underlies the thunderbolt that is

[772]

[824]

[325]

Mandala at the fire-pouring. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

[864 cont.]

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[325]
[357]
[171]

[Note on foreign text pp.867-868 cont.] soldered into the ladling spoon for the liquid butter. -- The significance of the peonies corresponds to the custom of the lamaseries and of the Chinese, among whom peony shrubs of various colors are planted in the yard. Tujen and Chinese believe that a wealthy, affluent man always has a peony shrub before his door. -- Instead of the peony, lotus blossoms are painted in the case of the ground-drawing of the crematory. These represent the lotus on which the Buddha supposedly sat and from which the flames of transformation emanate. Cf. the chapter on cremation.

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[532]

Now the men build a low wall with clay bricks on one side of the figure, while the lama says his prayers. This wall is terrace-shaped. The lower layer consists of two rows of bricks laid lengthwise; the second layer takes half the brick, and the third layer has only one brick. The whole wall, in other words, is six clay bricks high. The front and back side is coated with clay and lime and whitewashed. The vertical terraces remain free. With his pattern the lama again draws a thunderbolt on each of them, in other words, five thunderbolts altogether. This wall is to protect the lama from the fire, since at the pouring he is seated on level ground or only very slightly elevated (5). After the drawing, the lama again

[333]

5. [Foreign text p. 868.] There are also walls with four to six steps. According to the statements of others, the wall also bears the color of the fire-pouring concerned, and the ground-drawing likewise.

withdraws into the house for prayer.

286 wool and spinning them with the aid of a clay spindle. Grown men spin while they are walking and boys while they are watching the herds at pasture.

The weaver is a professional who is invited to visit a household that has laid by a supply of yarn. He loads the pieces of his portable loom on a donkey, and works for a daily wage. He also makes sacks of goat hair. Sometimes he works in his own home, with yarn that is brought to him. For this kind of work, the yarn is weighed and the price is fixed according to the amount of yarn that is brought by the customer and the measurement of the cloth to be delivered. Since the yarns are spun by children and adults, at all times of the day, and are very irregular, the fabric produced from them is used to make working gowns and jackets for men and women and is extremely coarse and primitive. It sheds water well, since the wool has not been washed in hot water and the yarn retains its natural fat.

287 Felt making is also the work of professionals. For this a kind of screen is used, made of reeds. The screen is laid on the ground and the loose wool is piled on it. Each layer of wool is wetted down with hot water. The screen is then rolled up with the wool, and this bundle is then rolled back and forth for a long time in order to mat the fibers together. The felt is then dried in the sun and is ready for use. The same artisan makes, from fine selected wool, the round felt hats that the Monguors wear. When the round piece of felt has been made and is still wet, it is stretched over a mold to form the hat.

281 The preparation of the furs used by the Monguors is a household industry. The sheep and goat skins are washed, the fat is scraped off, and the skins are dried. They are then steeped in an earthenware jar containing a mixture of salt, flour, and the yeast that is used for fermenting wine, in the proportions of one handful of salt, one pound of flour, and one brick of yeast for each skin. The steeping lasts for fourteen days in the summer or twenty-one days in winter. When the steeping has been completed, the skins are washed in the river, dried in the shade, and are then ready for use. Coats made of such skins are cut and sewn by a professional artisan at the home of the Monguor customer.

•326 Silversmiths make earrings, bracelets, finger rings, and the plates, cups, and pins that are used for the headdresses. They also make the sheaths that hold knife and chopsticks. The work done by Monguor silversmiths can always be distinguished from that done by Chinese, but as their work is done for a small population, it is bound to remain on a very small scale.

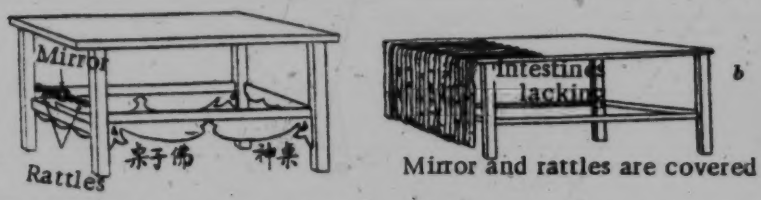
467 In spite of the fact that the Monguors, as subjects of their own T'u-ssu, are exempt in general from Chinese
651 demands for corvée labor, in recent years carpenters and stonecutters who make millstones have been affected by these demands. The Chinese officials make their demands on the professional guilds; the individual worker is not paid for such work, and his guild must pay him when he has been summoned for unpaid official work.

[P. 126 a]

[20 cont.]

*778 The making of the spear: The wood of the shaft must have
[824] grown wild. Wood that has been planted or wood from inhabited, settled regions may never be taken, for it is not pure. The wood is therefore sought in lonely forests and mountains. The most superior wood is sandalwood. Since this is rare, however, the mountain ash is usually used. -- The iron is usually wrought iron. There is no prescriptions concerning its origin. It may be bought, taken from old tools, etc.

Fig. 2



a. Spirit-table without bands (sirie purgan); b. spirit-table with bands (sirie purgan).

[422] Anyone may have a spirit-spear, and anyone may make
[562] it himself, but never women. If the owner wants to have a beautiful spirit-spear, however, he will go to a skilled craftsman, carpenter,
[463] and smith. It is required that before starting the work the craftsman rinse out his mouth, wash his face and hands, and hold the latter
[783] over the smoke of a cypress fire. The tools are also thoroughly
[782] smoked. In addition, the smith casts some cypress incense into his smithy fire.

The craftsman may work at home in his workshop or in with
[322] the family of his client. The individual parts are made separately,
[326] in other words, the shaft by the carpenter, the tip and foot by the smith. They bring the parts to the owner's house. The latter then
[782] offers twelve steamed loaves (or baked loaves) on the shelf in front of the Buddha image, as well as a piece of red cloth and a measure of barley. The craftsmen place their instruments on the grain in
[788] the bushel, and all of them kowtow in front of the Buddha image,
[322] while the incense offering is presented outside. The carpenter
[326] receives the barley; the smith receives the twelve loaves with the red cloth.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

valley of Hsining, 60 li distant from the city on the way to Kokonor, a strong fortified city was built and a strong garrison appointed. The place controlled the western valley and the raids from Kokonor. In Chung-tsai in the Sa-t'ang valley, which so many times had been looted by invading Tibetans, a strong fortress was also built and a garrison appointed. The same dispositions were taken to improve the strength of the cities of Pa-yen-jung and San Ch'uan against brigands of Sung Shan and Ordos. For the first time troops were available to occupy permanently the strategic points in the country and from the t'u-ssu were required good soldiers to share with the Chinese troops the burden of the defense of the strongholds (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 29*b*, 30*a*). General Liu Mei-kuan started with the exploitation of iron ore in the mountains north of Hsining, three foundries were built and blacksmiths started preparing weapons to be distributed among the subdued tribes. To the nineteen tribes of Komi numbering 7,000 people, reputed first-rate warriors, were sent military instructors with weapons, to drill them. The director of colonization reported that 80,000 acres of uncultivated land were still available to farmers. To destitute Tibetans of Kokonor and East Kansu, pouring into the country every day, were given land to till and grain and oxen. Orders were sent to promote education, build schools in each village and improve existing ones (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*b*; 25: 23*b*; 35: 24).

175x 712 175x 701 [327] 175x 708 659

In a report sent by General T'ien Yueh is encountered an interesting note relating to the education given to the people of north Kansu and Huangchung in these desperate times. In each of the schools of the city of Kanchow, sixty or seventy students attend the lessons of three teachers. In each of the schools of the cities of Kao T'ai, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, Liangchow, Cheng Fan and Chuang Lang are encountered only thirty or forty students, in the smallest of these cities only twenty or thirty students. In each of the schools are two teachers. Then follows an exhortation to promote education (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 20*a*).

175x 871

In the same year, 1596, after the brilliant victories, the country seeming radiant and everywhere walls and fortresses being built, the lamas of T'a-erh-sse (Kumbum) (situated 40 li south of Hsining) decided to build a wall around the hermitages existing at that time. In 1560 some cells had been built for ten monks and, in 1577, a small temple next to a tower whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree, the glory of Kumbum (Monguors II: 25 sq.).

175x 712 346

The same year the brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih, feeling insecure in Kokonor, intending to leave the country and to return to Ordos, asked to pass through Huangchung. The request was refused. He passed the Yellow River, looted T'ao and Ho Chou and was pursued in his flight to the Ordos (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*).

175x 721 648

The La-pu-erh tribe boldly repelled alone an attack of Kokonor brigands, killing fifteen brigands and cap-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The Ko-tsa tribe, also a tribe of tent-dwellers, lived east of the Tsan-tsa tribe, and southwest of the city of Ku Shan. The tribe numbered 400 families (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*). 175x 619

The Ssu-kuo-mi tribe, also tent dwellers, lived in a territory situated 150 li south of Hsining, on the borders of the Yellow River. It was divided into two tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 5*b*).

1386 MARKS A NEW ERA IN HUANGCHUNG 175x 653 701 331

According to the *Annals* of Hsining 25: 1*a*; 9: 15*b*, Keng Ping-wen was sent to build the city of Hsining with appropriate circumvallations, using troops from all the commanderies of Shensi. The size of the city had to be reduced to half of its former size, with four watch towers on the corners, nineteen more on the walls, and four gates. The note concerning the use of troops of all the commanderies of the province of Shensi seems to point to the fact that few troops and laborers were available in Huangchung in 1386, and that the former city was too extensive, inconvenient for defense, and probably in bad condition. Keng Ping-wen was ordered to build seven relay stations where official couriers could find horses ready to forward the orders without delay to the upper administration, and also five storehouses for provisions, drill fields for the soldiers, and administrative buildings. Four relay stations were built in an eastern direction covering a distance of 220 li, connecting Hsining with the northeastern part of Kansu. One relay was built in Ku Shan, 160 li south of Nien-Pei in the region of the three tribes which had surrendered in 1380. He also built the fortified city of Nien Pei with a Ch'eng-huang temple (spirit protector of the city) (*Annals* of Hsining 14: 16*a*). A Wen Miao (temple for Confucius) had been built in Hsining and a temple for the spirit protector of the city, for the emperor had already, in 1370, ordered these temples to be built in all the cities of the empire.

These few data suggest that the Monguors saw the situation changing in Huangchung after they had surrendered in 1371. In 1372 Hsining had been created a commandery and consequently Chinese officials had been appointed very soon. Without indicating the date of the appointments, the annals (*Annals* of Hsining 23: 5*b*), note that the administration of Huangchung was controlled by two major officials, a civil and a military. The Fen-chou-tao, who resided not in the unimportant Hsining, but in Liangchow, controlled a large area, and the Feng-hsiun-tao who resided in Kanchow controlled the six granaries, the irrigation canals, the finances of the administrative organs and the farming colonies for the whole of Kansu. Only in 1488, a hundred years later, was the civil and military governor of Huangchung Ping-pi-tao appointed with residence in Hsining. Chapter 24, 14a, records [illegible] 175x 648 [624]

[P. 34(A)]

[642 cont.]

764 in the house and takes the torma to the place where he wants the
792 crematory to be built. The incense offering is then made in
front of the torma, but without any extra features, except tsamba
782 and butter; the lama sprinkles the fire with holy water. While
he then prays on a white felt mat, the others kowtow. In this
[776] way the lama requests the place for the cremation from the
mountain-spirit; the incense and the torma are meant for the
mountain-spirit. In making the choice, the lama takes into
account the evenness of the ground, since for these ceremonies
he needs a suitable place for the table and the mat he sits on.

764 [643] Erection of the crematory: Now [illustration ap-
333 pears here] an oven is built out of clay bricks. The torma is set
to one side, and no further attention is paid to it. First the men
build a quadrangular base, about two ells high and two ells
wide; on this they erect the round crematory, about four ells
high. It looks like a barrel. On the west side a broad longi-
tudinal slit remains open, through which the corpse is set inside.
On each side of the base a large hole is left for the firing. The
oven is calked with clay and lime and then is painted white (25).

25. Foreign text pp. 657-658.] The
crematory may be made in various
forms. The one copied from the
crematory of the lamas (cf. the draw-
ing made by a Tujen) is regarded as the
most superior one. Similarities with the
understructure of the chorten cannot be
[778] denied. On graves of persons who died
sitting up, I saw chorten which repre-
sented an almost exact copy of the
crematory, only slightly more rounded.
-- When the fire-pouring is undertaken
[532] at the cremation, the ground-drawing
is naturally also made, and usually not
on the ground itself, [658] but rather
one puts down a large leaf of paper with

[643 cont.]

764
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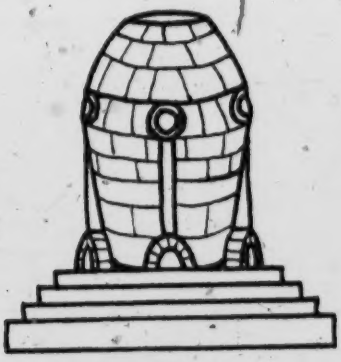

[532]

Crematory, tab.
(Drawing of a Tujen.)

[Note on foreign text pp. 657-658 cont.]
the drawing on it; then the base is built on it. Several sheets are often pasted together. The drawing is sometimes so wide that it sticks out under the base. The ground-drawing naturally also varies in the decoration, but the thunderbolts and the lotus flower are always there. The oven with the corpse is thought of as borne by the lotus flower, out of which come the flames of the transformation of life during the burning. In this connection cf. the section, "The Fire-pouring," Note 4. -- There are certainly connections between the crematory and the bum-pa of the chorten.

[532]

[775]

764 The funeral procession: On the morning of the day set, the mother's brother and all the relatives of the deceased burn white paper in front of the box; they kowtow three times and start a loud lamention. Four bearers take the box with the corpse up on

[604]

[864 cont.]

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[325]
[351]
[171]

[Note on foreign text pp.867-868 cont.] soldered into the ladling spoon for the liquid butter. -- The significance of the peonies corresponds to the custom of the lamaseries and of the Chinese, among whom peony shrubs of various colors are planted in the yard. Tujen and Chinese believe that a wealthy, affluent man always has a peony shrub before his door. -- Instead of the peony, lotus blossoms are painted in the case of the ground-drawing of the crematory. These represent the lotus on which the Buddha supposedly sat and from which the flames of transformation emanate. Cf. the chapter on cremation.

782 Now the men build a low wall with clay bricks on one
792 side of the figure, while the lama says his prayers. This wall
is terrace-shaped. The lower layer consists of two rows of
[333] bricks laid lengthwise; the second layer takes half the brick, and the third layer has only one brick. The whole wall, in other words, is six clay bricks high. The front and back side is coated with clay and lime and whitewashed. The vertical terraces remain free. With his pattern the lama again draws
[532] a thunderbolt on each of them, in other words, five thunderbolts altogether. This wall is to protect the lama from the fire, since at the pouring he is seated on level ground or only very slightly elevated (5). After the drawing, the lama again

[333]

5. [Foreign text p. 868.] There are also walls with four to six steps. According to the statements of others, the wall also bears the color of the fire-pouring concerned, and the ground-drawing likewise.

withdraws into the house for prayer.

[865 cont.]

782 kowtow, there to the lama, the lama sprinkles the pile of wood
792 with holy water and scatters barley kernels on it, over which he has breathed three times.

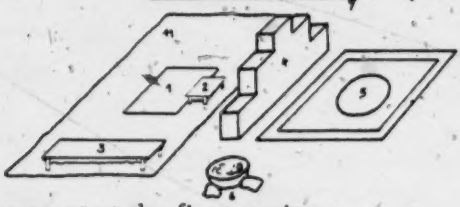
[372] Now the gift-master strikes a spark from the flint at the first blow, catches it with hemp tow, blows it to a small flame in a little bundle of straw, and lights the butter-lamp with it. Then the paper lantern lamp is lighted with the light of the butter-lamp. The ceremony and the rules are exactly the same as at the cremation. Now one hands the lama the lighting pole.

[372] He holds its head of tow over the butter-lamp until it flames up and sets fire to the pile of wood with it. As soon as the fire flames high, all those present fall on their knees and make a threefold kowtow. In case the fire does not burn immediately,

[372] the lama fans it with the cloth fan. Now the fire-pouring follows.

The lama places the cloth over his knees, takes the pouring tube, lays it with the outflow over the wall, holds the handle with his left hand, and with his right hand pours spoonfuls of liquid butter into the funnel, so that it flows in a stream into the fire and flames up violently. After he has done this a few times, one hands him the little plates with the burnt offerings. With the first three fingers of his right hand, he takes one of the two portions each time and with benedictions throws it into the fire. Then some pieces of wood follow, then again pourings of

(text continues on p. 299)



Arrangement at the fire-pouring.

[333] 1. Seat of the lama; 2. table for prayer books; 3. table for spoons; 4. protective wall; 5. place of burning (ground-drawing); 6. butter kettle; 7. board; 8. cloth runner; 9. tray with consecration wood; 10. plates of the accompanying gifts for the burning; 11. felt mat. (Drawing according to information from the informant.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
752 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[754] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
[292] shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
[534] village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
[778] val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[142] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-
pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip
with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the
gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest
Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The
Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
[171] graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical.
Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs
concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his
percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his
instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the follow-
ing day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless
one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing
to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed.
[333] The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[866 cont.]

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[824]
[776]

[Note on foreign text p. 870 cont.]
help, to save; otherwise called Tārā. -- gusia: Tibetan ku ša (from the Sanskrit) = botanical Poa cynosuroides. -- sāndoṅmani: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words seṅ (Sanskrit. siṁha) = lion, gdoṅ = face, mani = jewel. It is a goddess. -- šda(m)tsēni: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words rta = horse, mgrin (pronounced din) = neck, also voice; in other words: the horse-necked one, or the horse-voiced one. -- logoṅ: Tibetan klu (pronounced lu) = dragon, and gdoṅ = face. Literally, therefore, dragon-face (Unkrig).

[372] Fire-place: taw (Tib. loanword) = oven, hearth.

[778] Misfortune-torma: ġuaġ dor (Tib.).
ġuaġ = misfortune; prayer said during the preparation of this torma.

Earth-spirit torma: ġlū-šdorma.
Mountain-spirit torma: yifula-šdorma.
Fire-torma: ġal šdorma.
Earth-god spices: ġlu smāṅ (Tib.).
dalān dierān sāmba smāṅ = 74 pieces of spices.

[867]

[532] Measuring string: šdag paġdzin bōdoġ = pattern-drawing string.
Pattern: arasē xuar = leather model; tsialdzē xuar = paper model.

Burning-place drawing (mandala): tawni xuar.

[333] Wall: lāṅgāṅ (Chin. loanword).
Pouring tube: šge gāṅsār (Tib. loanword) = large spoon.
Ladling spoon for butter: mula gāṅsār = little spoon.
Spoon (profane): dzieġliu (Tujen).

[372] Cloth fan: ki yūelwa = air-cloth.
rloṅ yāg (Tib.).
Cloth (profane): bosē.

The oil trade is a very important and lucrative business. Flour is sold in Hsining. The taxes imposed on the mills are very heavy, but the monasteries still enjoy the old privilege granted before 1723, and are exempted from these taxes. Even families in which a Living Buddha has been born enjoy the same privilege, for instance, the Lan family living in Hung nai tzu Valley. Every year, however, the family has to offer 10 pounds of oil at Erh-ku-lung to the intendancy of its Buddha, deceased a century ago. The lamas claim the privilege, which was granted during the Yung lo period (1403–1424), because oil is consumed in the lamps of the temples before the Buddhas, and flour is used by the lamas, the servants of Buddha. 792 [438] 434 651

FORESTS

Only two monasteries possess extensive forests—Seerkok and T'ien-T'ang. Because wood is very scarce in the northern part of the province, forests are an important source of revenue. 792 434 314

TOLL ON BRIDGES

The history of the famous bridge of T'ien T'ang has been recorded. For many years it was a source of large revenue, which finally caused its ruin. 792 434 [494]

The monastery of Kan-ch'an, belonging to the famous Tenma, receives toll on a raft, which ferries passengers across the Ta-t'ung River. Tenma is a very well-known man in the country. His first incarnation, a learned man, was appointed Fa-t'ai in Erh-ku-lung by the first Chang-chia (Huth, p. 279). It is related that he caused the ruin of Erh-ku-lung. In 1723 bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, chief of the revolt, was a prisoner in Hsining, and about to be executed. He heard that Tenma was in the city. Through the guardians of the jail, he implored him to write a letter to the Chinese generals in order to save his life. Tenma, unaware of the consequences of such an act, wrote the letter. The generals got the impression that Erh-ku-lung was mixed up with the revolt, and they destroyed the monastery. This is a fine story, manufactured on the ground out of whole cloth, in order to free the old mother monastery from blame, but why was the blame put on Tenma? 505 175

For many years during the period of my stay, the young Tenma, swelling with ambition, was the most talked-of man in the country for his audacious plan to construct a European suspension bridge over the river, like those in photographs he had seen in magazines. He started buying all the available iron in the country, felling all the big trees growing on the domain of the monastery, and building a large brickyard. Blacksmiths, carpenters, and bricklayers worked for four years. He built four great towers, two on each side of the river. The blacksmiths made enormous iron chains, too heavy to manipulate or to move. He exhausted the entire treasure of the monastery. Troubles started 792 334

[p.45(A)]

among the intendancies and the impoverished lamas. 792
Saddled with debts, and his plans not working out, he 334
was compelled to give up his ambitious dreams and revert to the ancestral raft.

It is said that this holy man enjoyed the gift of bilocation. The people still state that many times many people saw him directing the shifts of blacksmiths and carpenters on the river, and at the same time saw him in ecstatic rapture in the temple.

It was after his financial collapse that he started the trouble with the disciple of his deceased intendant, which lasted for seven years, in order to retrieve his fortunes, only to land in jail in Seerkok. Finally, having debased his name and position of authority, he moved to one of his affiliates in the region of Kan-chou, where he was still living in 1920. Tenma was a typical figure in the world of Living Buddhas in 1910–1920.

COLLECTION OF ALMS IN FAR-OFF COUNTRIES

Expeditions to far-off countries are an important 792
source of revenue. They last for several months and 434
are organized by the various intendancies in their own 431
behalf. Sometimes the supreme chief of a monastery accompanies the expedition. In 1914 T'u-kuan went to the region of the Yellow Tibetans (Uigurs) living around Su-chou. He left on the second of the second moon and was back at Erh-ku-lung in the tenth moon, with 124 cows, 146 horses, 90 sheep, and 2,000 taels. He seemed to be very happy when I visited him after the trip. During the troubles in 1940, T'u-kuan went to Mongolia, among the Urats, and traveled for four years. He visited me at Man-huei in Hou T'ao. He had a lot of trouble entering Hsining with 300 horses and 200 loaded camels because he was suspected of having had connections with the revolting Mongol, Te wang.

When I was in Kumbum in 1912 I met a returning expedition from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 3,000 sheep, 260 horses, 140 cows, and loaded with butter, wool, skins, and yak hair. All the butchers from Hsining rushed to Kumbum to buy cheap cows and sheep. In December, 1914, I met a caravan of Kumbum returning from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 6,000 sheep, 150 horses, and 200 cows. On the way they had lost 40 horses. They went to Hsining in order to [427]
bring suit against the chief of the tribe on whose territory the horses had been lost. The Amban settled the trouble in one session. He ordered that a kettle containing boiling oil be brought to him. Then he ordered both groups to grasp a one dollar piece he had thrown in the boiling oil. The lamas prostrated, apologized and implored for mercy, but the Tibetan chief tucked up his sleeves and went straight to the kettle. The gesture was sufficient for the Amban. The lamas received two hundred lashes, and were put into jail until a fine of two hundred dollars was brought to the court. [p.45(B)]

[864]

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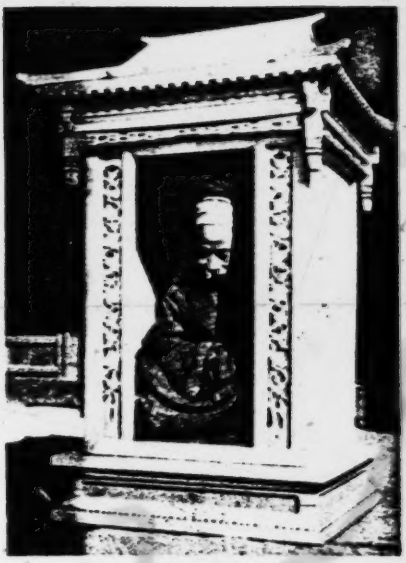

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(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

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[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
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5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

ch'uan (i.e., of the entire Huangchung), a gift of 20,000 pieces of silk and a salary, making him understand that he was an official of the empire. At the same time he enjoined him to attack Hsi Hsia in Liangchow. Chiossulo judged his troops too feeble to risk the venture. Another official arrived with the same order. This time Chiossulo treated him very roughly. His behavior was not that of a subject treating with the emperor, but rather that of a nephew talking about an uncle,[28] because two Chinese princesses, Wen Ch'eng in 643 and Kin Ch'eng in 710, had been married to princes of the imperial Tsan-p'u house of Lhasa. The Chinese official readily understood the attitude of Chiossulo and informed the emperor (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 8*a*; *Annals* of Hsining **31B**: 2*a*). During thirty years Chiossulo did not care for the empire which intermittently waged war with Hsi Hsia in East Kansu and Shensi with varied fortune, nor did he care for the Chinese officials whom the emperor tried to appoint in Huangchung; he cared only for his own kingdom, appointing his officials in Huangchung and on the East Kansu borders. Huangchung was the only country where people lived peacefully engrossed in agriculture and where trade boomed.

M U 167 648 M 175x U 175

HSINING IN THE HEYDAY OF ITS GLORY

Chiossulo was in the heyday of his glory. He rebuilt the city of Hsining. According to the notes recorded by a Chinese official who at that time had been sent to confer with Chiossulo,[29] the circumference of the city was 20 li. The city was protected by a strong, high wall dotted with towers, and eight gates secured access to the city. In the center of this enormous city was constructed a large fortress having four strong towers at the corners. This fortress must have corresponded to the actual city of Hsining and the enormous outer city must have been built to secure a refuge for the surrounding people and their herds at the time of inroads from invading tribes. Chiossulo resided in the fortress in a sumptuous palace, whose roofs were covered with glazed tiles. In this city was a large hall built on a terrace having eight steps and a sumptuous entrance supported by huge pillars. The administration buildings were constructed inside the city, two small palaces for the princesses of the Ch'i Tan and of the Hsi Hsia, and a splendid temple in which was throned a gilded Buddha statue, ten feet high, adorned with strings of pearls and a precious mantle.

M 175x 361 M [34] M [792 532]

[28] A. Rona Tas, Social terms in the list of grants of the Tibetan Tunhuang Chronicle, *Acta Orientalia*, V, 5: 266, 1955. Relationship between the Chinese emperor and the Tibetan king, of uncle and nephew on the maternal side, essentially reflects the Tibetan avuncular system; this relationship, which used to determine the mutual position of the two rulers, is rooted in social history.

[29] Enoki, *op. cit.*, 90, 91. Oshono kika keiryaku ni tsuite (On the *Hsi-ho ching-luch* of Wang Ch'ao) in Mokoga Huho, Tokyo (*Meng-ku hsueh-pao*,) I, Shuo fu, **15**: 12*a-b*.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

361 Monguors seem to have an inbred abhorrence for the straight line. Some strongholds are inhabited by one hundred or two hundred families, mostly poor people, and have more and larger shops. The central stronghold is not, socially, the center of the village except when the T'u-ssu lives there. Monguor farmers, owning more cattle than Chinese, do not like to live confined within walls. Even the village meetings are not held in the stronghold.

The principle determining the location of villages seems not to have been the size of the population or the extent of the territory, but rather the topography (good defense points) or natural centers of community interest, such as an irrigation canal. In some cases the origin of a village can be traced to the fact that, in order to avoid trouble, a group of families split away from its relatives and founded a new village. In other cases, splitting-off was in order to move within reach of new pastures and sources of wood-supply. For such reasons there is great variation in density of population and distances between the villages.

DWELLINGS

342 Since, according to tradition, the Monguors were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents, it is not surprising that when they settled in Kansu and began to build houses, they copied those used by the frontier Chinese, and so the houses of the Monguors are built on the Chinese pattern. Construction begins with the building of four outer walls, forming a square and facing south. The walls are formed in the following way: The earth is levelled for the foundation. Planks are set on edge, facing each other and braced by uprights. These determine the thickness of the wall. Earth is shovelled between the planks and then pounded tight by lifting and dropping a heavy wooden ram. When the space between the planks has been tightly packed, the planks are raised and the next course is packed in the same way. By adjusting the distance between the planks, the wall is made to taper slightly toward the top. Within the walls are built the mud-walled and thatch-roofed houses, with wooden rafters and beams. At the southwest corner of the enclosure there is a small gate, not wide enough to allow a cart to enter, because a small gate is easier to defend than a large one.

343 In the angles of the other three corners are built the stables and the kitchen, which is separate from the dwelling quarters. Under the windows, outside the buildings, are constructed mangers for the cattle. At night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals, horses, mules, and donkeys. The Monguors like to sleep amid the animals as their nomad ancestors did.

342 In the houses along the side walls live the younger sons, and in the same buildings are stored grain, skins, wool, farming implements, saddles, the grindstone, etc.

The chief of the family lives in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. A large room

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

342 in the center is the living room, and is used for the reception of guests and as the dining room. One of the two smaller rooms on either side of the living room is occupied by the chief of the family and his wife; the room opposite is occupied by the eldest son.

352 The largest part of each dwelling room is occupied by the *k'ang*—a small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps,
354 sits, talks, sews, etc. In front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm. In winter the *k'ang* is a wonderful invention. On it are spread felt rugs, and along the wall are folded and piled the covers and skins used at night. Three or four wooden cases along the wall contain the clothes of members of the family and the treasures of the mother (needle box, sewing mate-
353 rials, etc.), and there is also a small cupboard. Along
251 the wall, hung on pegs, are a gun, a stringed musical instrument, clothes, etc. In the corner of the room stands a jar containing fermenting pickled vegetables.
342 Part of the smoke of the oven escapes through a hole pierced in the window and the door is opened when the smoke is too heavy. Beams and rafters are like ebony, blackened by the oily smoke. Around New Year, the walls are whitewashed and two or three pictures of deities are placed on the walls. After a few days the whitewash turns brown and the walls are muddy again.

343 In the northeast corner of the courtyard is the kitchen and in this building the youngest of the married sons lives with his family—for in this blessed corner, according to the shaman, a large progeny is to be expected.[1] The two remaining corners are converted into stables—for these corners, again according to the shaman, are propitious for the reproduction of animals. Sheep and cows are fenced outside the courtyard.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

621 Since nobles and commoners live in the same kind of
184 house and earn their living by the same means, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated. Poor and rich, nobles and commoners, live in the same hamlets, help each other and go in and out of each

[1] This custom preserves the tradition that the youngest son is "guardian of the hearth." There are many evidences that in ancient Turco-Mongol society elder sons moved away at marriage and received at that time their share of the inheritance. The youngest son remained with the parents and received the residual inheritance. Hence, according to Vladmirtsov (*Régime social des Mongols*, 60), the term *otchigin* or *otjigin*, "prince of the fire," for the youngest son. P. Pelliot and L. Hambis (*Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan* 1: 176, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1951) point out that *ot* is Turkish for "fire," while *chigin* is the medieval Mongol form of *tigin* (*tegin*), which though occurring in Turkish is in their opinion of Avar (old Mongol) origin. They point to another word for "youngest son," *otqan*, as "probably" deriving from ot-qan (khan), "sovereign of the fire."—O. L.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

439 presents for this sworn brother, who then notifies his
484 tribe not to molest the caravan. The traditional presents
608 consist of bolts of satin and silk, or a load of cotton
651 textiles or sugar or Chinese vermicelli. The next day, when the caravan chief and his local sworn brother meet, the caravan chief asks politely whether he can help his brother by carrying some things for him on the way back. The local sworn brother just as politely names some purchases that he would like made for him in Hsining or Lhasa, for which he offers to pay. The two understand each other's meaning perfectly, and the following year the caravan leader will bring as presents the goods that have been indicated. Thus in fact the caravan takes its way through each territory by a form of taxation in the guise of presents.[8]

437 On the way back from Tibet the Monguors bring with
484 them *p'ulu*, a kind of woolen serge woven in Tibet in narrow bands, either dyed red or purple, or white with crosses of red or blue dyed in the fabric by the "tie and dye" method. This material, which sheds water, is greatly valued by both Tibetans and Monguors. The Monguors also bring back from Tibet incense, dates, and saffron, which they sell to Chinese, the saffron being used more for medicine than as a condiment. At the market in the frontier town of Dankar I once bought some dishes that had just been brought in from Lhasa with the Kuopa caravan. These dishes bore the trademark of "Regout, Maestricht, Holland" and had traveled from Europe to Calcutta, from Calcutta to Lhasa, and from Lhasa, loaded on yaks, to the frontier of China.

439 The young Monguors who have once worked with
484 the caravan seem to catch the fever of travel and want
583 to go back to Tibet again and again. The older people, with the wisdom of experience, explain the mystery. The reason is, they say, the ease—and variety—of getting temporarily married in Tibet. The traveler who wants to strike up a temporary relationship with a woman in Tibet shaves his head just before his caravan arrives at its destination. This makes him look like a lama, and a Tibetan girl will readily "marry" him, assuming that he has no permanent obligations to a wife at home. If he were to wear a "pig-tail," the girl might be a little more hesitant, fearing that the "marriage" would last only until he wanted to go home. When he does want to leave such a temporary wife, however, the rascally traveler simply grows his "pig-tail" again on the next stage of his journey. In this way, the enterprising caravan man can sample the joys of marriage in a number of places.

DWELLINGS

342 The construction and disposition of the houses of the Monguors having been described in Chapter IV, it

[8] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, as cited, 54, describes this form of the "sworn brother" relationship as a "guest-host" relationship, and gives valuable details on both Tibetan and Muslim caravan trade.—O. L.

[P. 116a]

342 need only be noted here that few Monguors are rich enough to hire Chinese or Monguor bricklayers and carpenters. Most Monguors build their own houses.

342 Rich people lay a foundation of brick for the mud
778 walls of their houses. Even poor people, though they build their own houses, buy the frames for their doors and windows from Chinese carpenters. When a new house is built, the young people of the whole village come to help in putting up the mud walls of the enclosure. They ask no pay for this work, but are rewarded with a dinner. A peculiarity of all Monguor courtyards is that in the middle of the enclosure stands a pole from which flies a "prayer flag" on which prayers have been written in Tibetan. At the base of this pole there is a small oven for burnt offerings; but sometimes the oven is built on top of the roof of the living room.

352 The Monguors do not have much in the way of furni-
353 ture. The living quarters of each nuclear family within the extended family consist of only a single room. Wealthier people may have "*k'ang* tables"—low tables, with very short legs, set on the *k'ang*. These are of the right height for people sitting crosslegged. Poorer people may have, in front of the *k'ang*, a rough table with homemade benches. A plank, on wooden pegs driven into the wall, serves for bowls and dishes. For household work, the Monguors made their own brooms from millet straw or tamarisk twigs. Only rich people paint the woodwork of their houses. Even in a poor family, however, there hangs on the wall of the chief of the family a picture of the guardian deity of the family, and in front of this picture there is a low table with brass butter lamps and bowls for offerings.

372 The fuel used by the Monguors is chiefly the dung
237 of horses, cows, and sheep, dried in the sun. The gathering of this fuel means constant hard work for the wives, who must always have some reserve in case
352 it is raining and dry fuel cannot be gathered. Sheep dung gives the most heat. It is dug out in bricks where it has accumulated and been trampled hard in the sheep pens. Straw and dry grass are also used in the little fireplaces that heat the *k'ângs*. This fuel gives a quick, hot flame; though it does not last long, the sparks are drawn by the draft into the flues that run under the *k'ang*, where they set the accumulated soot smoldering, thus providing a low but relatively steady heat through the night.

352 During the winter the Monguor men, who work so
372 much less than the women, spend most of the day sitting on the *k'ang*, either at home or at a neighbor's house.
512 A primitive brazier is made by laying some bricks in a
412 circle in which earth is placed to hold the fire. On the earth is put a mixture of sheep dung, husks, and chaff.
521 This mixture burns slowly all day and is hot enough to boil tea. The men light their pipes from this glowing mixture, and sit all day long gossiping cheerfully in a haze of smoke.

[P. 116 b]

/41 cont'd/

585 Care is taken to invite for the event a master of ceremonies (called Lordziwa, from the Tibetan Lo-rgyus, "narration," "speech"); he will be a man highly regarded in the region, eloquent and adroit. He will make all the necessary arrangements, will give orders, will smooth out all the difficulties which could arise, and will pronounce the traditional speeches at the desired moment. He will have at his disposal two well-trained men, whom he will have close at hand and who will serve the guests at the table.

[342 349] The courtyard is made ready for the festivity, for it is there that it will take place; whether it is freezing hard or pouring rain, no matter. Besides, the T'ou-jen houses have no room which could hold 40 or 50 guests. The courtyard usually being rectangular, they build several masonry supports 20 centimeters high, on which are laid planks which serve as tables. These tables are two feet wide. The planks are not fastened together, are not painted, are not /42/ even covered with tablecloths. Fitted together, they form a single piece and are arranged in a horseshoe. /See illustration 5./ The serving is done from inside the tables. The guests are seated on the outside, on pieces of felt spread out on the ground or on straw. Care is taken to hang cloths above the courtyard, which give the illusion of being seated in a vast tent. The decoration of the courtyard consists of some Chinese paper lanterns hung overhead and some red silk streamers, 30 to 40 centimeters wide, draped lengthwise of the courtyard. In a corner two or three Chinese musicians make a racket.

[372] In the middle of the rectangle of tables burns a large fire, the sacred fire of the shamanists. From time to time they throw cypress branches on the fire as incense. Several paces lower than the fire, in the posterior part of the rectangle, are laid out horizontally on two little walls two doors taken off their hinges; they serve as a table where the presents are displayed. Add a few hens which scratch about in the courtyard, several lambs which clutter up the open space, several children who run between one's legs, and that is pretty much the scene of the festivity.

2: Schram--196 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Three Mongols of Kuku Nor (Sining).
The young man in the center is a Beile, tribal chief. He wears on his chest a Buddhist reliquary.

2: Schram--200 M-4,5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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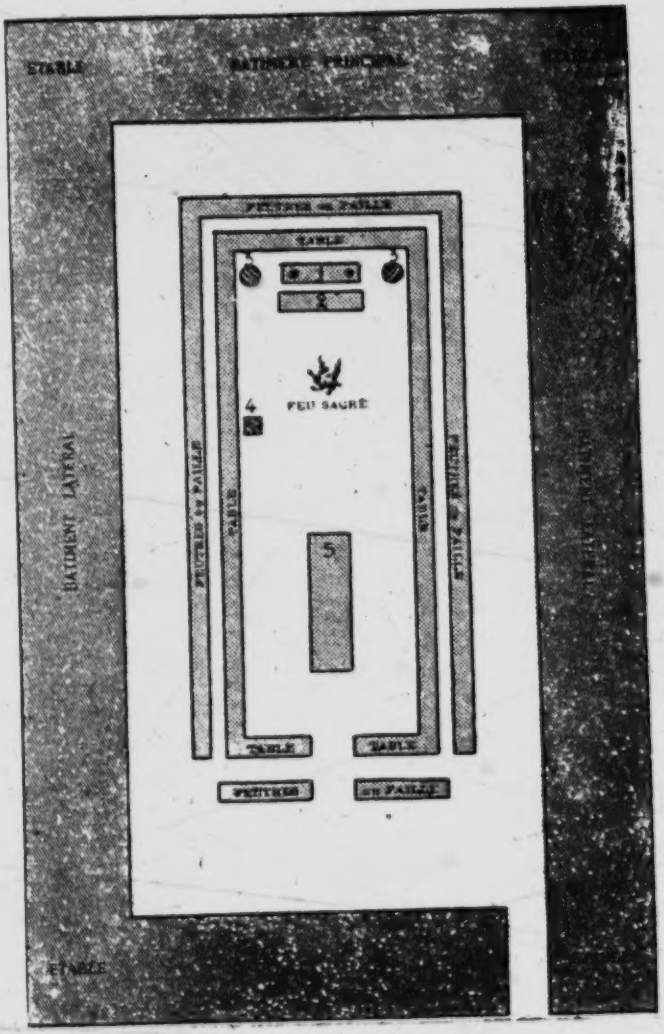

Plan of a T'ou-jen courtyard.

1. Table with the two lamps.
2. Red felt.
3. Place of the cupbearer.
4. Seat of the master of ceremonies.
5. Table where the gifts are spread out.

3; Schröder--86 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate 2

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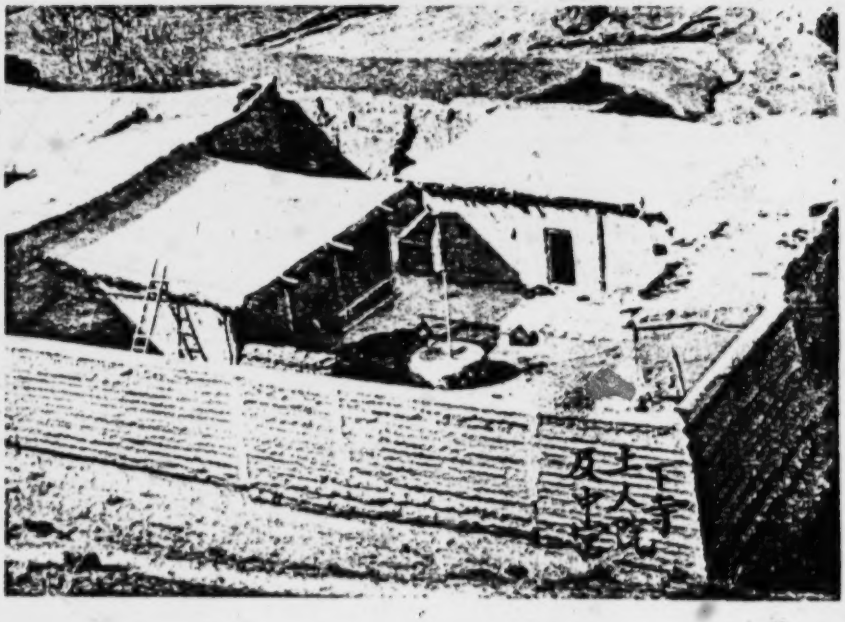

(Caption on following page.)

3: Schröder--87 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Caption for Plate 2 between pp. 48 and 49.]

*778
[137]
[291]

a: Mani-tree on a house roof in the village T'a-erh-wan west of Tangkar in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

b: An old Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai on the way to the obo of the Sha-pa-kou, 1949. In his right hand a poplar branch with flocks of wool, in his left and imitation spear with a flock of wool and painted spiral. In front of him on the ground: a [782] bundle of straw for the incense fire, a saddle bag with white stones that will be thrown on the obo, a jug of barley wine for the libation, and behind it a little bag with cypress needles (incense). (To accompany the chapter: "The Obo.")

[342]
[351]
[417]

c: A Tujen yard of the settlement Ha-szu (Hsia-szu) on the way from Na-ling-kou to Yang-chüan. In the center of the yard, the central fort with the mani-tree. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

000 [50]

2. The Arrow of Good Fortune*

*See "Notes," pp. 52-55 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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*778

In every good Tujen house there is an arrow. The tip is stuck in an urn of grain, in a crevice in the wall, or in a slit in a beam. Hadas, colorful ribbons, sheep wool, hair, etc. are [792] attached to the arrow. The arrow is consecrated by a lama or a Bon priest, and on this occasion it is venerated in the house. Later, however, it is not venerated any more. The arrow is [777] not the seat of a spirit, but rather guarantees good fortune and wealth in the family.

Ch'ü-t'an was the only monastery in Huang-chung where laymen and lamas lived in the same compound. This fact reveals the mentality of the lamas and the customs of that time. These details were obtained from Living Buddhas and old lamas of Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, and in Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung, and among chiefs of the villages near these places. 792 342

STAGNATION IN THE DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM

The building of the splendid monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, the exceptionally favorable disposition of the emperors toward Lamaism, the lavish granting of titles and privileges to lamas who induced Tibetans to submit, all seemed to augur a period of intensive diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung. However, for two centuries Ch'ü-t'an remained the only important monastery in the whole country. Two reasons seem to account for this: the insecurity in the region of Huang-chung, and the violent struggle in Tibet between the sects, which depleted the forces of expansion of Lamaism abroad. 175 [771 797] 792 175

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, pp. 12*b*–19*a*) that during the period 1448–1600 there were thirty-seven inroads of Mongols from Kukunor, the Ordos, neighboring Tibetan tribes, or revolts of Tibetans. Fortunately, the construction of Ch'ü-t'an was completed (1426–1436) before the troubles started. Certainly troubled times are not propitious for the building of big monasteries, so Nang-suos and Karwas necessarily remained humble institutions.

Conditions in Tibet were just as unfavorable: Tsong khapa died in 1419. The five biggest monasteries of his sect were built before 1437. The rival Red Sects were still so aggressive as to dare to build their monasteries close to those of the Yellow Sect, and were even able to hinder the lamas of the Yellow Sect from attending (1498–1518) the famous sMon lam New Year religious festival, instituted by Tsong khapa himself.[55] In 1537 eighteen monasteries of the Yellow Sect were destroyed. In 1553 a war broke out with the Galdan monastery.[56] In 1621–1631 Mongols were called in by the Dalai Lama to rescue his sect,[57] but the Mongol Nairamdahu, an adherent of the Red Sect, fled from Mongolia to Kukunor in 1633 and persecuted the Yellow Sect which had spread.[58] Finally, in 1642, Tibet was conquered by the Ölöt Mongols whose chief, Gushi, offered it to the Dalai Lama. Although it is recognized that the effective power of the Dalai began with the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam (1542–1587), his political power was still scanty and questionable; it only began to develop with the Fifth Dalai Lama, Nag-dban Blo bzang (1617–1682), when Gushi Khan renewed in his favor the endowment conferred by Khubilai on the Sa-Skya.[59] 175 771

[55] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 39.
[56] *Ibid.*, 40.
[57] *Ibid.*, 58.
[58] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 132; also Huth, *op. cit.*, 51, 248–253.
[59] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 48.

[p24(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

LIVING BUDDHAS

ABODE

Living Buddhas who are possessors of lamaseries, live in them; Living Buddhas who do not possess their own lamasery, ask permission of the supreme chief of a lamasery to live as a guest on his property and to build a residence. Usually this kind of poor Living Buddha tries to dwell in a rich and celebrated monastery, where pilgrim caravans come and plenty of alms are offered. By having a share in the alms it is easier for them to make a living. This is also the reason why lamas prefer to be entered on the rolls of these rich institutions. Many Living Buddhas who have monasteries of their own like to have another residence in a celebrated lamasery such as Kumbum or Labrang. 792 794 342

These buildings enhance the splendor of the lamasery and are usually built by the tribesmen of the Living Buddhas. A stele is erected in the courtyard, with the names of all the people who contributed to the building expenses engraved on it. Larger or smaller buildings are added in order to provide quarters for them when they visit the lamasery. All the important Living Buddhas in the country possess such more or less luxurious residences in the celebrated lamaseries, built by their intendancies. This kind of residence is called Karwa. In Kumbum there are 83, in Labrang 40, in Erh-ku-lung 14.

WHAT IS A LIVING BUDDHA? 792

A Living Buddha is the incarnation of a *Bodhisattva* who, having attained the highest perfection, has potentially become a Buddha. He renounces the blessedness of *Nirvana* and makes a vow to remain in this world in order to promote, by example and teaching, the salvation of as great a number of its creatures as possible. His vital essence thus passes from body to body—because the body, like every material aggregate, is destined to dissolve—but it remains immaculate in its acquired unalterable purity and holiness.[20]

APPLICATION OF THE SYSTEM IN HUANG-CHUNG

It has been recorded that the theory of succession by reincarnation only started in Lhasa in 1475. In Huang-chung, the first known Living Buddha was Chang-chia, born in 1642. No records exist concerning the appearance of the first Living Buddhas in Ch'ü-t'an, Kumbum, or Sha-ch'ung. However, it may be taken for granted that these lamaseries would not have had their Living Buddhas as early as 1642, but it was probably close to that time that they began to follow the example set by Erh-ku-lung, rather than suffer in competition with it. 792 75

At any rate it seems that succession by reincarnation must have started and been practiced on a large scale during the period from 1600 to 1723, when numerous hermitages and branches arose all over the country of

[20] Tucci-Ghersi, *Secrets of Tibet*, 38, London, 1935.

[p. 66(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the well bubbles, for providing them with water during the whole year. 792 795 789

HERMITS

In the region of Hsining there lived, around 1880–1895, only two hermits. One lived in the region of Waza in a cave in the mountains, and the other in the mountains around Hsien-mi. Both were strangers, who never divulged their names, or country of origin. They were not attached to any monastery and had no relations with the neighboring people. Each had a donkey which he used when he went to collect some flour and tea, for which they graciously thanked the donors and then returned to their caves. If some gifts were offered to them, they brought them to the monasteries and prostrated themselves before the closed doors of the temples for a whole day, and then returned to their caves without having said a single word to the lamas. The people said that they heard them reciting texts, ringing bells and beating drums the whole day long. Twice a day they built a fire and prepared their meals. They did not visit the people and did not like to have the people visit them; they refused all invitations to say prayers at the homes of the Monguors. During the terrible epizootics which decimated the cattle all over the country (1890–1893), they refused requests to pray for peace in the country. Their mysterious behavior intrigued the people, who could not get in touch with them. Then they disappeared, and nothing more was heard about them. They were not the kind of miracle workers so often described in records of travelers. 792 [342]

Monguors, talking about them, affirmed that in former times many lamas lived a sheltered life in caves, and possessed the art of working miracles. [789]

In 1723, at the time of the revolt of the lamas and the destruction of the monastery of Seerkok where 2,000 lamas lived, it is said that the General Nien Keng-yao destroyed more than 1,000 caves in that country.[4] Because lamas in former times received the same education as at present, and were as eager for wealth and worldly glory as those of today, one is inclined to doubt such a fantastic number of hermits. I am inclined to think that genuine hermits did not grow on every bush, and that all these wonders and miracles did not occur at every street corner.

VI. SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is not an investigation of the origin of shamanism or its philosophy and religious fundamentals. Rather it aims to be a description of the type of the Monguor shaman, his training in 1911–1921, the spirits 756

[4] Han, Ju-lin, *Pien-cheng kung-lün*, 3 (I) : 47. The text does not say that recluses lived in them. [p. 76(B)]

bow and arrow and quiver. The members of each 796
family kneel at the door and prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. At the return of the spirit, the chief of the village and the elders wait for it in the temple yard and congratulate the spirit and thank it for its kindness and blessings. On a table are placed three triangular *torma,* five balls of dough, adorned with some butter, and a bottle of wine. The chief of the village rubs some butter on the face of the spirit, and on the faces of the carriers and the guardian. Then the faces of the carriers are powdered with flour, and a ball of dough is pressed into their mouths. Wine is drunk and the spirit re-enters the temple.

On the fifth of April the ancestors of the clan are worshipped in the old clan cemetery followed by races and the clan assembly. Three days before, they honor their ancestors in their private cemeteries. A few days later, in all the villages, is enacted the shamanist rite of spring, as has been noted, and the rites against hail.

The twenty-ninth of the fifth moon and the sixth and the twenty-ninth of the sixth moon are days for the young folk to make merry in most of the villages. There is singing and dancing and some villages have races and wrestling.

In the sixth moon the spirit of the Obo is honored, and at the foot of the mountain a big crowd enjoys races.

In the eighth moon the Monguors honor the moon just as the Chinese do.

In the ninth moon the thanksgiving rite for the harvest is performed in the temple. A few days later Chinese performers are invited to give a puppet show for several nights in the village. If the three festivals given at the lamaseries every year be added to these as well as the distractions afforded by marriages, funerals, the celebration of birthdays, and the worshipping of the goddess of the hearth at the end of the year, an idea can be gained of the calendar of religious activities and distractions during a whole year in the Monguor society.

XII. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

THE CULT OF FAMILY DEITIES

It is a fact of common knowledge that "the earliest 776
obtainable reports about the popular religion of the 342
Mongols invariably speak about the images of house gods, placed on stands at both sides of the entrances of their tents. They believed that these gods took care of their flocks . . . , that they were the protectors of the family and of its wealth." They were called "Ongghot."[1] This custom of honoring house gods was very old and general. The Monguors, when they settled in the country of Huang-chung, were addicted to this ancestral tradition and continued its practice, for today in

[1] W. Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos* 48: 511, 1953.

[p. 125(A)]

every courtyard there is encountered a guardian deity of the family. 776 592

SPIRITS HONORED IN THE FAMILIES—PECULIAR CONCEPT

The Monguor concept of the deities honored in the families is very peculiar. Once a family starts worshipping a deity, its cult must be continued forever in that family, for fear that the deity, if evicted, might loose its avenging bolts of calamities and disaster, and the long train of miseries would never stop. 776 428 782 592

According to this conception, at the time of dividing the paternal inheritance the eldest son inherits the cult of the deity previously honored by the father. The duty to continue the old family cult falls upon him. His younger brothers, however, are free to make a choice among all the available deities of Taoism, of Lamaism, even of the Twelve Tengris of the shamans, and to start their newly founded families with a new guardian deity. Every two ar three years all the brothers must still convene in the house of the eldest, to attend a rite celebrated for the old family deity and to contribute to the expenses of the celebration. The tie which binds them to the cult of the old family deity is so strong, that in the event a great calamity overcomes one of the brothers, notwithstanding the fact that he honors his own deity, he will invite all his brothers to worship the old family deity at the home of the eldest brother. The old family deity which had been honored for so many generations is still supposed to harbor in its heart a predilection for all those who honored it. The old Monguor, Li San-ming, told me this in Li chia t'an in 1914, the day after his brothers had worshipped the old family deity at his home.

The fervent cult of the guardian deity of the family is a characteristic of the Monguor family. No Kuang-li of Naring Valley told the story of a poor old widower, Li ssu, living in the village of P'irke in 1908, who could hardly make both ends meet, and who had inherited from his father the picture of Twelve Tengris with the Black Tiger rider of the shamans, which he did not honor. Every time the villagers of P'irke took ill they went to the home of the old man, to honor and to propitiate the spirits, because a certain shaman had said that all the misfortunes occurring in the village were caused by these spirits, who took with bad grace the neglect of the old man. The extremely shy old man tried to make a living out of these circumstances and, stubborn as a mule, he would not allow anyone to honor the spirits in his home, as long as the villagers would not provide for his livelihood, for he knew the villagers were sick with apprehension. But the villagers, as stubborn as he, honored the spirit behind his house, burning incense there. 688 776 592

After his death, his only married daughter, living in the village of Li chia t'ai, inherited his poor house. The villagers of P'irke, having lived under the threat of

[p. 125(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

Kansu, in Yen Ch'uan Chai, which is Chang Hsien, situated 50 li southwest of Kung Ch'ang (Enoki, 158). The tribe surrendered to General Wang Ch'ao in 1071 with its 120,000 people. The *Annals* of Kansu 97: 14, record that Wang Ch'ao notified the emperor about the submission of the Lung-k'o tribe and petitioned to reward it with the name Pao (thankful). The request was granted and the emperor added the word Shun to the name, Pao Shun (thankful-faithful). Enoki (p. 111) noted also a Lung-po tribe living in East Kansu in 1071. It had troubles with the Tibetan To-chih tribe. However, the Lung tribes recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining were settled in Huangchung. The Lung-pu, numbering two thousand families, divided into two tribes, was settled south of Hsining on the northern borders of the Yellow River. Its people lived mostly in tents (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 3 *a–b*). The Lung-pen tribe numbering 873 families was settled 60 li west of Hsining. Its people lived partly in a city (fortress), partly in tents. The tribe controlled the Pen-pa-erh[39] tribe numbering one hundred families settled in the Hsi-shih-hsia (Tsamalung) on the rapids of the Hsining River between Hsining and Don Kir (*Annals* of Hsining 1: 12*a*, 15*a*). The small Lung-wang and To-lung tribes numbering eighty families were settled 80 li east of the city of Tatung on the borders of the Tatung River (*Annals* of Hsining 19, 20*a*) in the region occupied by the Shat'o at the time of their surrender. This seems to suggest that this group was congenial with the Shat'o group.

M 175x 563 167 619
M [342]

UIGHURS AND SUBJECTS OF T'U-SSU

In discussing the commoners, the subjects of the Monguor t'u-ssu (Monguors I: 31–53), it has been noted that during the Mongol period (1280–1368), Ch'i Kung-k'o hsing-chi, a member of the imperial family, had been appointed guardian of the region situated 90 li south of Hsining. He discharged the office of myriarch and evidently controlled his own 10,000 soldiers and their families. However, it is recorded that he governed also eight tribes of Tung Ku and vicinity, descendants of western Ch'iang (western Tibetans). Tung Ku was situated between Hsining and the Ta-tung River, in the region of Tatung, where during the Five Dynasties (907–951) Shat'o tribes lived, joined by other groups of Shat'o after the collapse of their dynasty. These western Ch'iang seem to be Uighurs of the khanate of Kanchow who had settled there in 1036. The Uighurs of Kanchow had come from the west, from Turkistan, and so are called western Tibetans, for all the barbarians are called Tibetans in the *Annals*. For what reason these eight tribes had been moved and put under the control of the myriarch

M 175x 648
U 175 648

[39] *Anthropos* **52**: 560 sq., 1957. Dominik Schroder writes a very interesting article: Uber die Chia-Fandse von Bengbar, Tsing-hai (the Pen-pa tribe), und ihre Hochzeitssitten.

[P. 16(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

At that time the expansive country 40 li north of Hsining was inhabited by nomads and had no cities, villages, or farms. Only after the victory of the Manchus over the lamas and Tibetans in 1723 was colonization immediately started on a large scale, and the cities of Tat'ung and Mao Pei Shen were built.

West of Hsining, the *Annals* record in 1380 the submission of three tribes. The Si-na tribe lived 60 li west of Hsining on the northwest borders of the Hsining River. In its territory are tents, houses, and fortified villages. Its people practiced farming and cattle breeding. The tribe had a temple and a lama with the title of Kuo-shih (Master of the Kingdom), a silver seal, and an ivory stamp. The tribe numbered 500 families and was taxed 300 horses every year. It controlled the tribe called little Si-na which lived in Ku Shan, southeast of Nienpei, and it was taxed 30 horses. It also controlled the Ssu-ta-la-ma tribe and the Hsieh-erh-chih-kang temple, which were taxed 50 horses (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 8*b*).

The Chia-erh-chi tribe inhabited the territory situated north of the Si-na tribe. The part of the tribe living inside the wall lived in houses and fortified villages; the part living outside the wall practiced cattle breeding and lived in tents. At the time of disturbances caused by brigands they moved inside the wall. The chief of the tribe was a lama who had the title of Chih-hui. Every year the tribe was taxed 130 horses. The tribe controlled the Lung-pa tribe numbering 100 families which was taxed 150 horses.

In the region west of Hsining, stretching as far as 40 to 60 li, only farming, combined with cattle breeding, seems to have been practiced in 1380 by Tibetan tribes. After 1723 the region beyond was developed. The title of master of the kingdom was probably granted after the surrender of the tribe ruled by the lama. It was the policy during the Hung-wu and the whole Ming period to grant titles to lamas who induced tribes to surrender (Monguors II: 16). The title of Chih-hui borne by the chief is a title of the Ming time. The walls noted in the references were built only after 1546 (*Annals* of Hsining 13: 15). The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 seems to have mixed circumstances existing only after 1546 with those of 1380.

Still west of Hsining the nomad Shen-tsang tribe surrendered in 1380. It inhabited a territory situated near Kokonor. At the time of the invasion of the Mongols in 1509 and their occupation of Kokonor, the tribe disappeared (*Annals* of Hsining ?: 5*b*).

In the region of the southern mountains of Hsining, between Hsining and the Yellow River, stretching in an east-west direction as far as Lao Ya Ch'eng, three more tribes surrendered in 1380, all of them living near the northern borders of the Yellow River.

The Tsan-tsa tribe lived in tents and its territory was situated south of the present subprefecture of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*).

N *563 586 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

M 594 596 A. The Family Organization

Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patrilineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed [611] of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family [591] consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The N *563 extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family. M [556] In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines, and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

The extended family has a common courtyard, around which M [361] the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus, M [182] the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its [252] nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are M well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by [342] the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. M After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended [264] [342] family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

The family head is the religious chief, family administrator N and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each *563 spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, M he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are 592 his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a 554 family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the [769] village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 144 174 sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsining region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 648 175 311 The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

N *563 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342 The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351] The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables

M [343] and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The

M [231] Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [592] [594] The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies

M [354] [352] the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N *563 M 342 591 592 The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside.

M [351] [782] [353] [352] Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations.

M [252] For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses,

M [794] mules or donkeys. A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter

M [412] and wheat flour are luxuries. Only the wealthy can afford fruit. Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

N *563 M 264 415 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some

361 Monguors seem to have an inbred abhorrence for the straight line. Some strongholds are inhabited by one hundred or two hundred families, mostly poor people, and have more and larger shops. The central stronghold is not, socially, the center of the village except when the T'u-ssu lives there. Monguor farmers, owning more cattle than Chinese, do not like to live confined within walls. Even the village meetings are not held in the stronghold.

The principle determining the location of villages seems not to have been the size of the population or the extent of the territory, but rather the topography (good defense points) or natural centers of community interest, such as an irrigation canal. In some cases the origin of a village can be traced to the fact that, in order to avoid trouble, a group of families split away from its relatives and founded a new village. In other cases, splitting-off was in order to move within reach of new pastures and sources of wood-supply. For such reasons there is great variation in density of population and distances between the villages.

DWELLINGS

342 Since, according to tradition, the Monguors were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents, it is not surprising that when they settled in Kansu and began to build houses, they copied those used by the frontier Chinese, and so the houses of the Monguors are built on the Chinese pattern. Construction begins with the building of four outer walls, forming a square and facing south. The walls are formed in the following way: The earth is levelled for the foundation. Planks are set on edge, facing each other and braced by uprights. These determine the thickness of the wall. Earth is shovelled between the planks and then pounded tight by lifting and dropping a heavy wooden ram. When the space between the planks has been tightly packed, the planks are raised and the next course is packed in the same way. By adjusting the distance between the planks, the wall is made to taper slightly toward the top. Within the walls are built the mud-walled and thatch-roofed houses, with wooden rafters and beams. At the southwest corner of the enclosure there is a small gate, not wide enough to allow a cart to enter, because a small gate is easier to defend than a large one.

343 In the angles of the other three corners are built the stables and the kitchen, which is separate from the dwelling quarters. Under the windows, outside the buildings, are constructed mangers for the cattle. At night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals, horses, mules, and donkeys. The Monguors like to sleep amid the animals as their nomad ancestors did.

342 In the houses along the side walls live the younger sons, and in the same buildings are stored grain, skins, wool, farming implements, saddles, the grindstone, etc.

The chief of the family lives in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. A large room

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

342 in the center is the living room, and is used for the reception of guests and as the dining room. One of the two smaller rooms on either side of the living room is occupied by the chief of the family and his wife; the room opposite is occupied by the eldest son.

352 The largest part of each dwelling room is occupied by the *k'ang*—a small platform, two or three feet high, 354 built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm. In winter the *k'ang* is a wonderful invention. On it are spread felt rugs, and along the wall are folded and piled the covers and skins used at night. Three or four wooden cases along the wall contain the clothes of members of the family and the treasures of the mother (needle box, sewing materials, etc.), and there is also a small cupboard. 353 Along 251 the wall, hung on pegs, are a gun, a stringed musical instrument, clothes, etc. In the corner of the room stands a jar containing fermenting pickled vegetables. 342 Part of the smoke of the oven escapes through a hole pierced in the window and the door is opened when the smoke is too heavy. Beams and rafters are like ebony, blackened by the oily smoke. Around New Year, the walls are whitewashed and two or three pictures of deities are placed on the walls. After a few days the whitewash turns brown and the walls are muddy again.

343 In the northeast corner of the courtyard is the kitchen and in this building the youngest of the married sons lives with his family—for in this blessed corner, according to the shaman, a large progeny is to be expected.[1] The two remaining corners are converted into stables—for these corners, again according to the shaman, are propitious for the reproduction of animals. Sheep and cows are fenced outside the courtyard.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

621 Since nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house and earn their living by the same means, their 184 substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated. Poor and rich, nobles and commoners, live in the same hamlets, help each other and go in and out of each

[1] This custom preserves the tradition that the youngest son is "guardian of the hearth." There are many evidences that in ancient Turco-Mongol society elder sons moved away at marriage and received at that time their share of the inheritance. The youngest son remained with the parents and received the residual inheritance. Hence, according to Vladmirtsov (*Régime social des Mongols*, 60), the term *otchigin* or *otjigin*, "prince of the fire," for the youngest son. P. Pelliot and L. Hambis (*Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan* 1: 176, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1951) point out that *ot* is Turkish for "fire," while *chigin* is the medieval Mongol form of *tigin* (*tegin*), which though occurring in Turkish is in their opinion of Avar (old Mongol) origin. They point to another word for "youngest son," *otqan*, as "probably" deriving from ot-qan (khan), "sovereign of the fire."—O. L.

[p. 75a]

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 144 174 sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsining region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 648 175 311 The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

N *563 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342 The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351] The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered M [343] at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The M [231] Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [592] [574] The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies M [354] the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up [352] most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N *563 M 342 591 592 The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Then the governor notified the lamas about the confiscation of their territories and subjects, and informed them about the revocation of the titles of Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih granted to the most prominent among them by the Ming emperors, and an order was given to hand to the Chinese officials the diploma of the promotion granted to them by the emperor. 175x 648 [534]

Most of these titles had been granted to lamas who had induced tribes to submit, and to move into the depopulated Huangchung, especially in the first century and a half of the Ming. At that time these lamas belonged to the Red sect, were married, and lived among the tribes they had induced to submit, but not in monasteries. They had received personally large proprietaries from the emperor, with a document written in their name, and a title. This had been the origin of the Karwas and Nang so (Monguors II: 18, 19). The son of the lama succeeding to the father, inherited the property and the title and was considered to be a lama. This institution lasted until 1723–1724. The entire lama family during all these years had earned a wealthy living, free from taxes and corvees, and received some taxes from the tribesmen. The *Annals* of Hsining noting this fact, and the confiscation of the territories and subjects of the lamas, adds jubilantly, "and so in one day these unjust conditions, existing for centuries, were abolished" (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 22*b*). 175x 792

In the same year, for the very first time in history, officials were appointed by the Szechwan and Kansu provinces to fix the boundaries of both provinces in the Kokonor region, and to designate which among the Tibetan tribes should depend upon each of the provinces (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 13*a*). 175x 624

During the years 1733–1745 orders were repeatedly issued for the building of more graneries in the cities and most important strongholds all over the country, for the amount of grain formerly collected by the lamas and the Khoshot princes was now collected by the officials and had to be stored (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 23*b*, 25*a*). [344 251]

In 1745 the Hsining *Annals* were printed by Yang Yin-ch'u. The first *Annals*, only two small volumes, contained many errors which were amended. 175x 653

In 1759 there was famine in the prefecture of Chuang Lang. Grain was loaned to T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng to help his subjects. The next year also was one of bad crops. Again grain was loaned for distribution to each of the Monguor families of the t'u-ssu for which restitution was to be made after three years (*Annals* of Kansu 2: 29*b*).

The commanderies of Tatung and Kuei Te became subprefectures in 1761 with complete civil and military administrations (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 4, 11*b*, 14). In Pe-ta and Yung nan a brigadier general and a lieutenant colonel with strong garrisons had already been appointed in 1725, after the revolt of bLo-bzang tan-chin (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 71*a*). 175x

2: Schram--202 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

792
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Lamasery of the yellow lamas of Hul-kou-long (Southern Sining). With few exceptions, all the lamas are T'ou-jen.

[21 cont.]
*778 front of the spear, the men in the room itself, the women in front of the door out in the open.

776 Only now can the spirit dwell in the spear. Which spirit
*778 it is depends entirely upon the owner of the spear. He tells this beforehand to hutukhtu who performs the consecration, and the latter gives an appropriate prayer of consecration. Only one spirit ever operates in a spear. The Tiengëre or the god of heaven never resides in the spear. The ones who do are always ordinary spirits, for instance, the mother-goddess, the tiger god, the mountain spirit, etc.

*778 After the consecration the hutukhtu stays in the house un-
[794] til the following morning and is then dismissed with an appropri-
ate remuneration. The master of the household, however, in-
[527] vites his friends and acquaintances in and celebrates the new
[273] event with them over barley wine and dances with song far into the night.

Storage of the spear: Since an entire village can have a spear consecrated, it frequently happens that it is simply kept
[346] in the communal temple of the place. This is also often the case with regard to private individuals, because the temple is regarded as the most eminent place. In the temple itself it stands in a wooden stand next to the other gods on one of the many altars. Sometimes it is simply propped against the wall in a god's niche.

[346] If somebody wants to keep the spear in his own yard, a special chapel is required. Most of the house chapels are constructed specifically for such a spear. Here, too, it may stand in a rack, lean against the wall, or be driven into the clay floor. All that matters is that the spear stand upright. For instance, one may never lay it flat on the altar. The master of the
[782] household often gives the little incense offering in front of the spear. It is not necessary that a spear be kept in the house of
[791] the [22] village soothsayer; indeed, many soothsayers have no spirit-spear themselves.

346 The room or the temple in which the spear stands is sim-
*778 ply called "house of holies." It is usually only a room in the yard. It must be separated from all the other rooms by a wall and

[22 cont.]

•346 must have its own door to the outside. The chapel may not be
*778 constructed in such a way that it can also be reached through another room that is occupied. It must be located in the main
[783] house. In order to avoid any danger of pollution, the chapel is preferably erected on the roof of the main house. The sooth-
[791] sayer determines in what part or on what side of the main house it should be. Aside from silence, the reason for this strict sep-
[783] aration from the other rooms is that in crossing other rooms one may become unclean, especially if the rooms are accessible to the women.

783 Prescriptions for purity: Ordinarily, any man or boy may
*[778] touch the spear, fetch it, and take it away. They may also enter the chapel at will. Women, however, may never touch
[562] the spear or visit the chapel. They are always regarded as unclean. There are also certain taboos, however, for the men.

The man's wife or any other woman in the family may not be in confinement. Not until ten days after the conclusion
[846] of the confinement, that is, 40 days after the birth, is the man pure again. If he has visited another family in which there is a woman in childbed, he is pure immediately after the conclusion of the confinement, that is, 30 days after the birth.

Those in mourning are unclean for 49 days, if they are
[765] members of the dead person's own family. If the parents have died, the children are regarded as unclean for 100 days. If someone participated in the obsequies of another family, he is unclean for only three days.

[791] These prescriptions for purity also apply to the soothsayer.
He may not enter the chapel during this time, and especially
*[778] may not touch the spear or even practice soothsaying. When this period has elapsed, the men are automatically pure again; there is no special purification ceremony (1).

[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 26.] The prescriptions for purification are the same as among the Chinese in Tsinghai; they apply for all religious activities and temple visits. The Chinese also have

[67 cont.]

539 *778 prayer. He prayed for seven days. On this obo they heaped white stones. Within the circle of the obo they piled large stones in layers. On the peak of the obo they stuck cypress twigs and tied wool from the white sheep to them. They covered the circle of the obo with white earth (5). They wrapped the obo with silk.

[822]

5. [Foreign text p. 69.] The white color is the lucky color of Lamaism. The white conch, the white earth-god urns, the white flocks of wool on the twigs of the tree of life are to be recalled. When someone starts a journey it is said: may your way be white. Among the Tulkus this is even symbolically expressed by scattering flour, chalk, etc. on the path. The monasteries are painted white, and the palace of the earth-spirit is supposed to be white.

[484]

[346]

In the days of the three summer months they threw at the obo, galloping on their horses. They threw white stones, they threw gold and silver, they threw grain and butter. And the life of man unfolded" (6).

6. [Foreign text pp. 69-70.] This passage is literally translated from the Tujen version of the Geser legend as it was dictated to me by a singer with the aid of the old man. It characteristically shows how closely the conception of the obo is connected with Buddhistic forms. Nothing is to be seen of the repeatedly asserted hostility between Buddhism and pre-Buddhistic cults. In lamic monasteries there are books concerning the erection of obos; I did not succeed in seeing such a book, however,

[68 cont.]

192 The game is cared for by the mountain-spirit: lawdzë
*778 udaġladzān sōwa (or fsūärëġwa) = birds (or game) are ruled by the obo.

The dog of the mountain-spirit (wolf): yifulani noxuę.
The old people relate legends: šdogu kunsgë xuęńge gulie-.
Whose legends are many: kāni xuę uluona?
Large and small drink barley wine: šge mulā dërasēńgë udzi-.
Today is good: niudurġuo dur sēna.
In conviviality let us sit together: suġdzieńge sōldeya!
One does not know today what tomorrow will be: niudurë malõńguni lī mudien.
With death it is all over: fugugë bura dzia.
We come into the world for nothing: ndziġdienë (8) [see Note 8 above]) arãń nigë huę rëdziā- (nigë xue = once).

[Pages 68-71 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[71] 5. The Chorten Chamber*

*778
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* See "Notes," pp. 77-79 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[621] [351] In each Tujen village and sometimes also in individual compounds there is a chorten chamber. The actual name is hundred-thousand-house. This chamber looks like a small temple without doors. In it there are several sacred urns, which are buried under 100,000 small clay cones. In this cone-mountain is stuck the column of the sky, which is covered with all kinds of blessing formulas.

[71 cont.]

346 *778 [621] [792] The chorten chamber is erected by the entire village. Everyone must give a hand. The lama comes and prays for seven days, makes a series of tormas, and manufactures the urns. On the seventh day the chorten chamber is built. Only little windows are left in it. In front of the chorten chamber the men burn incense and move in a circle around the chamber as at the obo. Through the window holes they then again throw in little chorten.

[621] [797] The chorten chamber protects the village and the family from misfortune. It represses the evil earth-influences. [Fig. 8 appears here.]

Details

[361] [791] Place: The chorten chamber is always erected outside the compound and outside the village. No attention is paid to paths. The place is more precisely designated by the soothsayer, not by the lama.

[72] Form: The groundplan of the chorten chamber is rectangular. Its size varies greatly. There are small chambers as high as a man and large ones with beautiful tile roofs and columned porticoes. There is never a door in the wall. Only at head level are square peepholes left, an ell square. There is no sun-moon disk on the roof, such as is otherwise common on temples. Usually a beautiful incense oven stands before the chamber. -- There are many kinds of chorten chambers. The one here is the most common; it is called "house-chamber," for there are also some that are not roofed (1).

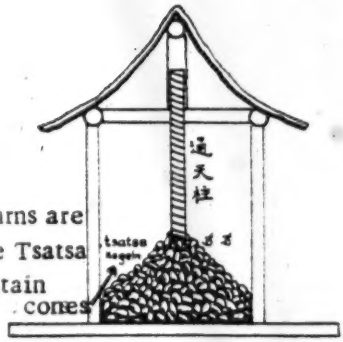
[192]

1. [Foreign text pp. 77-78.] According to the informant, bẽn designates the same thing as the Tibetan 'bum (in many places also pronounced bẽn), that is, 100,000. kãn is the Tibetan word for house, but it can also mean temple, for example, in the word sdienkãn.

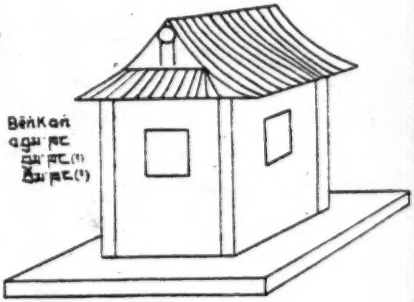
[72 cont.]

● 346
*778
192

[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.]
Accordingly, bẽṅ-kãṅ would mean: the chamber of the 100,000, or more freely and with reference to the sasa contained in it, chamber of the countless sasa, chorten chamber. In the DMF binkãṅ stands for it, with the explanation: "small temple with four doors, where one puts the idols and religious objects that one no longer wants to keep in the house (it is usually built at the exit of a village or at a crossroads)" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. bank'aṅ, "store-room, treasury" [cited in English]. -- According to all the information available to me, the bẽṅkãṅ never has a door; the informant



a
The urns are in the Tsatsa Mountain cones



a: Chorten chamber inside; b. chorten chamber outside.

also definitely denies that superfluous cult objects that one no longer wants to keep at home are put in it. The name might better be derived from bum-k'aṅ, "urn-house." bum-k'aṅ, namely, is also the central part of a chorten, which, of course, is urn-shaped.

[72 cont.]

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*1778
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[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.] According to W.A.Unkrig, the Mongolic rendering of it is bum-xan. In Mongolic linguistic usage this would be the same as cara-ïngër, with which a cremation house is designated, literally, "house of the frying pan" (communication). But even this interpretation seems doubtful.

The informant is probably correct with his explanation: beṅ = 'bum = 100,000, countless; and beṅkaṅ = house of the countless (chorten). In the literature "Ts'a ts'a house" is used for it, for instance, A. Tafel, Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], II, p. 265. To be sure, Ch. Das, too, speaks not of a 'bum-k'aṅ, but of a ts'a-k'aṅ: "place, where ts'a-ts'a are kept" (p. 1017) [cited in English]. In general, these little clay cones are stored in huge quantities in chorten or dwellings, etc., and A. Tafel would like to connect this custom with the Bon religion; cf. op. cit., pp. 198, 265. At any rate, the popular belief of the Tujen ascribes great power to these ts'a-ts'a. Concerning the significance of the ts'a-ts'a in Buddhism proper, cf. the relevant works by Tucci.

Nothing specific, however, is designated by the name beṅkaṅ; it is only a generic concept. As the lamas in the Mongol lamasery Dsadsang near Tangkar and in Kumbum say, there are two groups of beṅkaṅ. First there are those without walls and roof, for example: log-log (a kind of stone pyramid); ndoṅ-ndoṅ; serwdziäl. Secondly, those with walls and

[72 cont.]

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*778
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[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.]
a roof, such as dźëw-yi and ger-kãṅ. The kãṅ described here is this ger-kãṅ. Actually this name is a tautology, for ger is Mongolic and means house (tent), in other words, the same as the Tibetan kãṅ. Besides these names, there are other special designations for bẽṅkaṅ, such as mani bẽṅkãṅ, tsãla bẽṅkãṅ, dźōma bẽṅkaṅ, maridzë bẽṅkaṅ. Unfortunately all these types could not be inquired into precisely [78], nor likewise the meaning of the name and the contents of the bẽṅkãṅ. The many rëduombẽṅ (7) [see Note 7 below], pyramid-like stonepiles which hold down evil demons, as is also reported in the Tujen myth of the female man-eater Mãṅgudzë, probably also belong among the bẽṅkãṅ. For this function the Chinese have the expression pu mei-ch'i, that is, to plug up the (earth)veins' breath.

*778 Time: The chorten chamber may be erected at any time of the year, although the frost-free period is preferred because of the work on the walls. The soothsayer designates the specific [791] day and hour. -- The preparation, however, takes many weeks because the building material, the urns, and the clay cones must be manufactured. In addition, a small village festival [527] is always connected with the erection and for that reason the time after the harvest is preferred.

[621] Persons: All the persons of the village take part in the [496] preparations, men, women, and children. The leader divides the work among the individual families. At the erection and the [562] consecrating ceremonies, however, only men are active. Women [792] are kept away. -- The consecration of the urns and the service

[74 cont.]

*778

[Note on foreign text p. 78 cont.] assertion, are likewise placed in the chorten chamber. At any rate, they are to be distinguished from the tormas, which are never made of clay; cf. Ch. Das, p. 1019, and A. Tafel, I, 221, II, 331.

are carried in a pile into a temple hall or into a clean yard. On the last day before the construction the lama goes there, sprinkles them with holy water, and prays over them. Then he makes a torma on the spot, which is placed before the clay cones with the customary seven water-bowls. After everything has been fumigated with incense, he gives the votive prayer and then goes back to his host.

*778
346
[791]

The erection of the chorten chamber: On the seventh day the spear-soothsayer appears very early in the morning. He divines in the yard, under the questioning of the leader, when and where the chamber is to be erected. Then he goes out and with spear-shaking indicates the precise spot by driving the spear into the ground there. The lama meanwhile drinks his morning tea.

Now the people bring everything, stones, beams, chorten, clay, straw, urns, in short, all that is necessary. For the lama a white felt mat is spread out in an easterly direction, a small kang-table is placed on it, and a delegation is sent to invite him ceremoniously and escort him to this spot. He takes his seat on the mat and begins his prayer, accompanied by bell and drum.

The soothsayer now takes away the spear, and the men scatter twigs of the tree of life and barley grains over the place where it was driven into the ground. Then they place the first large urn precisely on the mark left by the spear, and [75] each of the four other small urns at the four points of the compass. Behind these the sky column with the four points of the compass indicated on it is set up. It is not driven into the ground, but

[75 cont.]

*778 346 is held by hand for the time being while the men in great haste pile up the clay cones, basketful after basketful, over the urns and around the base of the column until the latter remains standing by itself. Once the urns are covered to a certain level, all kinds of additions are once more scattered over them, the kinds of things that the urns already contain and which have been left over for the purpose. Now, with the same ceremonies, the second layer follows with the next four urns, which are grouped precisely around their large urn, the latter being placed directly over the large urn below. And again the clay chorten are piled over them until finally the urns are buried under a pyramid and only the upper part of the column remains visible. -- The column comes to stand on the side of the urns facing a mountain, which, in this mountainous terrain, can be seen immediately.

Before the column is buried by the many chorten, it is sprinkled once more with holy water and fumigated (5). During

[532]

5. [Foreign text p. 78,] As monks in Kumbum said, before the erection of sky column, a floor drawing or a leaf of paper with a drawing is first placed on the ground (mandala). The informant was of the opinion that this is not always the case. It is noteworthy that this drawing has exactly the same name as the central fort, namely, sdziñkuor. This would indicate that in both cases the same thought is involved.

the entire ceremony, from morning until evening, the great incense offering is burned in front of the spot or at several places in the vicinity. At the conclusion, even the lama himself makes the incense offering before the consecrated and fumigated chorten-mountain with the column, while everybody kowtows.

Afterwards he again sits down on his mat and proceeds with his prayers. Meanwhile the chamber is built with great haste. First the four corner posts are erected and connected

[75 cont.]

*778 with one another at the same height at the top. The leader
● 346 brings 12 loaves and some liquor and places them on a tray before the chorten-mountain. The carpenters lay the ridge-piece by it. Into it they have drilled a hole, filled it with grain and butter, and closed it again with a wooden cover. The leader binds an ell of red cloth around this place -- it is the middle. Then they burn incense and kowtow. At the same time the tools are put on a small measure of grain before the loaves.
[483] The carpenters now climb on the frame and draw up the ridge-piece by ropes. The leader then throws two loaves of bread up to them, which they throw back; likewise the liquor is handed up to them, which they drink. Only now do the carpenters put the ridge-piece on the supports, exactly above the sky column. The latter, however, does not touch the ridge-piece, but towers up in the center, not quite reaching the ridge. --
[783] The ridge-piece is likewise sprinkled with pure water beforehand and fumigated with incense and the red-hot stone.

Now the carpenters again climb down, and the men begin to erect the wall between the corner posts. When these have reached about 50 centimeters, so that the chorten can no longer roll out, they pause. Once again incense leaves are scattered over the chorten-mountain and then work is resumed, evenly on all four sides. At head level a gap is left on each side. They immediately continue to build the wall up to the roof and everything is immediately covered with clay mortar. The roof is also [76] immediately covered. When everything is dry, the outside is whitewashed. -- If it is not finished on the same day, work is continued on the next day.

Towards the end the lama once again makes a torma and places it in front of the chorten chamber. One again burns incense, blows the conch, and kowtows. Then everyone, even the women, go around the chamber, as around an obo. -- Frequently the lama once again sprinkles the new chorten chamber
[527] with holy water after the whitewashing; then all go home and celebrate the event with a feast, singing, dancing, and drinking.

[782] Veneration of the chorten chamber: Later the chorten chamber is venerated on certain days by a procession around it

[76 cont.]

*778 and incense, as an obo is. On these occasions new clay cones
● 346 are thrown into it through the gaps. Usually this is on the first,
eighth, and fifteenth day of the month. At other times, too,
782 however, in case of emergency and misfortune, the people
venerate the chorten chamber. The procession always goes
from west to east, in other words, not in the direction of the
course of the sun.

*778 Meaning: The chorten chamber is connected with the
[776] mountain-spirit and earth-god. The column establishes the
[772] connection with the sky. The chamber holds down the hostile
[751] earth-influences. Thus it protects against misfortune and ill-
ness (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 79.] The urn, the mountain, and the tree are essential for the bẽṅkãṅ. Therefore it belongs in the same conceptual
[772] realm as the central fort in the yard, namely, the widespread myth of heaven and earth, joined (or separated) by the world-tree. In this connection, in the case of the central fort the mani-flag might be Lamaist-secondary, and in the case of the chorten chamber the sasa-mountain, which consists of the mani-cones, as they are sometimes called. -- Now that a house is built over it, it is probably quite secondary. It evidently only has the function of protection and no inner relationship to its contents. It is striking that the sky column likewise is not erected as the bearer of the ridge-piece; it is freestanding and does not extend to the beam.
[171] Also, in the case of the customs

[836 cont.]

241 taking them back. One day can be saved, however, if the books
782 are taken directly to the following neighboring community or fetched from there. In this case the monastery must be notified. The procession must begin at the first sign of dawn because otherwise one day would not be sufficient.

Place: Only one's own village area is considered for the
[628] procession.[1] It is not permitted, for instance, that two villages join together and hold only one procession in both areas. Also,
[346] the people always gather in the temple, for every village has at
[787] least one small temple; no soothsaying is done outside the temple or temple yard.

Objects: The books are not absolutely necessary. A book procession does not take place every year, but usually only every three years. In the other years the procession is held without books. The ceremonies [837] are the same, except that the monastery is not notified when the date is set; two days are saved that would have been necessary for the transportation of the books. Also, the number of participants need not be 108, al-
[801] though because of the sacred number it should be aimed at (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 839.] The book-carrying is a widespread custom in all lamic monasteries. In particular one can repeatedly see women who carry the heavy books, volume after volume like a rucksack on their backs, around the prayer halls of the temple, which often goes on for days, chuan miao (Chin.). Many Tujen women make such a vow in times of distress or sickness. -- It should also be recalled that a Tulku [Living Buddha] blesses the faithful by placing the book on their foreheads.

[1] [ie - Procession around the field. - ANALYST]

[254 cont.]

4. Lamaism

779 The preceding accounts have repeatedly demonstrated
792 how great an influence Lamaism exerts upon the people. As the latest form it has also most strongly penetrated the entire religious life; it offers the people a large number of gods and saints; it gives them the mani-trees, prayer mills, treasure urns, chorten chambers, central forts, and obos; they have it to thank for a considerable part of the world-view. To be sure, one must differentiate the ecclesiastical Lamaism of the monasteries and monks from the popular Lamaism, which in its watered-down customs remains unburdened by complicated doctrines and tantristic rites. This popular Lamaism, however, would be unimaginable without the strong support and the permanent effect of the monasteries, which are already so closely linked with the people because their community is constantly renewed from the families of the people. An important piece of the religi-
792 ous picture would therefore be lacking if one did not at least in hasty strokes characterize the monastery, which for the Tujen of that region is their spiritual center. -- The relationships to Kumbum will be passed over, although they are not to be underestimated. One merely needs to recall that it was a Chi-t'u-szu (prince) who at the beginning of the eighteenth century through his personal pledge preserved Kumbum from Chinese revenge and destruction, so that his clan until the most recent
[624] times enjoyed monastic protection and the princes (T'u-szu) themselves on their visits were received by the lamas on their knees; in this connection, cf. Schulemann, p. 179.

The name of the Tujen monastery dGon-luṅ is Tibetan.
[103] dgon (pronounced gon) means literally "solitude, hermitage." In the figurative sense it has become the established expression
[192] for "monastery" (vihāra), because a monastery must be at least 1,000 steps away from any human habitation; cf. Ch. Das, p. 275; luṅ means "valley, district." Thus, dGon-luṅ is best rendered as "monastery-valley" or "monastery-district" or simply
[346] "monastery," for a lama monastery should not be imagined as

[254 cont.]

792 a closed building, but rather as a whole settlement with temples,
[346] halls, dwelling yards, chortens, chapels, little mani-houses,
and obos. To the Tujen there dGon-luń is simply the monastery.
[103] The official full name, however, is dGon-luń byams-pa gliń,
just as the full name of Kumbum is sKu 'bum byams pa gliń. Ac-
cording to B. Laufer, byams pa gliń means "temple of the
Maitreya"; see Filchner, Kumbum, p. V. Not [255] every
monastery has such a temple, and for this reason people always
like to mention it along with the monastery. The main temple
792 of dGon-luń contains such a gigantic image of the Maitreya
778 painted on silk, over ten meters long and several meters wide.
796 It is rolled up from the temple roof and allowed to hang down
over the front into the yard usually twice a year, namely, in
the first month after the tscham dances and on the sixth day of
the sixth month. The ceremony is called dšamba sguni dielgē,
that is, to hang out the Maitreya image; dšamba or šamba is the
Tujen pronunciation of byams-pa. The Chinese call the rite
simply shai Fuo-yeh, that is, to sun the Buddha. For the be-
[788] lieving populace it is the high point of the feast days; the
people make pilgrimages to the place in great crowds in order
to venerate the image with kowtows.

792 There is no Tujen name for the monastery; their desig-
nation Rgulõń (Rēgulõń) is only a corruption of dGon-luń. Even
103 the Chinese Êrh-ku-lung is nothing more than a derivation from
the Tibetan. Some people would like the êrh to be understood
as the Chinese "two," since it is supposedly the second monastery,
which was built anew after the destruction of the first; in fact,
one also often hears the name Ku-lung without this êrh. The
designation Yu-ning-szu, monastery for the protection of Sining,
has not prevailed among the people. It is used almost exclusively
in books and official documents.

792 The monastery corresponds to the Buddhistic require-
[361] ments in exemplary fashion, for it lies at the exit of a lonely
[346] forested valley and has been built up in part along its northern
[103] ridge, which bears the name Tuguän-ula, Tuguän mountain
[175] (Chin. T'u-kuan shan). A gigantic obo crowns its peak. Neither
oral nor written information concerning the founding of the

[256 cont.]

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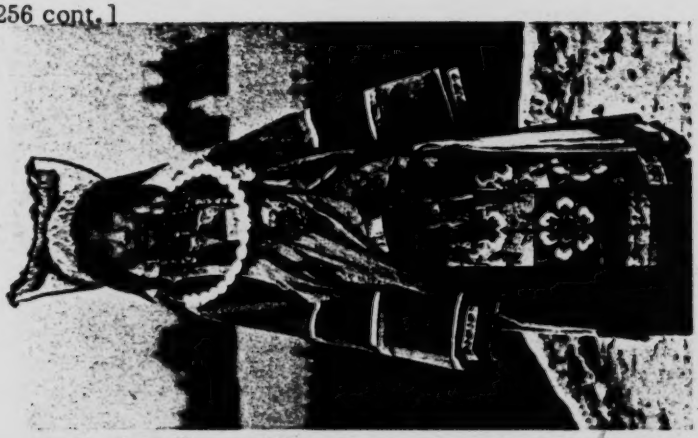

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a: The temple yard of the Tujen monastery dGon-luñ. Left, the gable of the Tuguãn palace, Tuguãn-larõñ. In the background the foothill of the Tuguãn mountain, Tuguãn-ula. (Photo. Jos. Trippner.) b: Young Tujen woman in ancient dress. Characteristic are: the high headdress, niudar, now prohibited; the neck ring; the wide sleeve rings; the wide embroidered cloth bands over the skirt. The pattern was the garb of a Tujen princess. (Photo. Mission Archives, Sining.)

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Buddhist, and Peking was a Buddhist city. However, the Mongols also favored all religions—shamanism, Nestorianism, Catholicism. 175 771

The impact of Lamaism during the Yüan dynasty was limited to Peking. The number of conversions to Lamaism in Mongolia, and the number of monasteries, were insignificant, since when Altan, Khan of T'umed in 1578, proclaimed the Yellow Church the official religion of the Mongols, the Red Church was very nearly extinct. Possibly the appeal of Lamaism to the Mongols at that time was very limited because the marvels performed by the Red lamas (such as making rain, dispelling hail, predicting the future, rising in the air, subduing evil spirits, protecting the herds by sorcery) had already been performed by their own old shamans for centuries. So, for them, Lamaism could have seemed but another form of their own shamanism. [184]

TA-FO-SSU

In the long list of monasteries and temples recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining, there is mention only of the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the heart of the city, with the note: " . . . it is an old monastery built by the Mongols, to which was granted during the Hung-wu period of the Ming (1368–99), the inscription 'Pacified Tibetans' " (*Annals* ch. 15, p. 1*b*). The temple complex in 1915, although in a state of total dilapidation, gave evidence that it must have constituted a fine monastery in former times. The main temple (two stories high) contained three huge statues of Buddhas, nine meters in height. The ruins of four smaller temples were still in existence, as well as a great number of small rooms, the habitations of former lamas. This temple was built by the ancestors of the Li T'u-ssu who fulfilled in Hsining the important office of Yu-ch'eng at the end of the Yüan dynasty. The clan of the Li T'u-ssu belonged to the Ch'u-yüeh tribe of the Shat'o group which founded the Later T'ang and the Later Chin dynasties (923–947). The Shat'o were Buddhists, and the emperors of their dynasties liked to visit the caves of Lung-men where they prayed for rain and snow.[31] They honored especially the Buddhist deity, Pishamen (*Vaisrayana*), one of the "Four Heavenly Kings," guardians of the four directions.[32] This devotion must have been old, because it is said that "Li K'o-yung as a youth once prayed in the temple of Vaisrayana."[33] No wonder then that the Li clan built the celebrated Ta-fo-ssu. However, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, the Shat'o had two religions. Besides Buddhism, the old Turkish "God of Heaven" was still worshipped by them. After the conquest of North China, the Shat'o also worshipped the gods of the Chinese official religion.[34] 175 792 346 [771]

[31] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[32] *Ibid.*, 96.

[33] *Ibid.*, 92.

[34] *Ibid.*, 94. Schram, *op. cit.*, 30.

[p. 14(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

At the beginning of the Chinese Republic (1911), 175 rumors upset the country for a long time, according to 114 which all the temples were to be confiscated and converted into schools. 792 The Li T'u-ssu, afraid of having his family monastery confiscated, and being squeezed to the wall, chose the lesser of the two evils. He reluctantly resolved to make some money from it and suggested that I buy it. Hoping to get more information about the history of the monastery, I asked for deeds and about the circumstances under which the Yüan officials had granted to his ancestors, in the heart of the city, the grounds on which the monastery had been built. "Father," he said, "No deeds exist, but is the secular tradition, well known all over the country, not sufficient to allow me to sell the family monastery?" Later, Goorongbzan, the most influential Living Buddha of the Red Sect, was in search of an opportunity to retrieve the old glory of his sect, which had been declining and waning on account of the protection and privileges accorded by the emperors of the Ch'ing dynasty to the Yellow Sect. As he was the sworn brother of the Moslem military commander of Hsining, Ma K'o-ch'en, who was at that time omnipotent, Goorongbzan called on his "brother" to obtain the necessary permission to restore the old monastery, which had been administered for centuries by lamas of his sect. A vehement protest by all the Living Buddhas of the Yellow Sect in the country was sent to the amban and to Ma K'o-ch'en. Eventually the officials confiscated the monastery, and thus ended the Ta-fo-ssu.

SHA-CH'UNG

Traditions still fresh and living, concerning mon- 175 asteries built during the Yüan period, linger among the 792 lamas of the Red and Yellow Sects. A tradition, well known all over the country, asserts that the oldest monastery in the country is that of Sha-ch'ung, situated on the left bank of the Yellow River, 140 *li* southeast of Hsining. It affirms that its founder was Karmabakshi (1203–1282),[25] the lamas belonged to the Karmapa, and that the celebrated Tsong khapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, started his religious career at Sha-ch'ung which went over to the Yellow Sect.

In 1918 I was a guest at Sha-ch'ung, a beautiful 792 lamasery. The temple, in the center of the complex of [346] buildings, had a gilt tiled roof. It was situated on the Ami ch'ü-lu Mountain, commanding a wonderful outlook over the Yellow River and the surrounding moun-

[25] Gunther Schuleman, *Geschichte der Dalai Lama*, Heidelberg, 1911. At the time of Güyük and Mönke most of the lamas on duty at the court were of Tangut origin and adherents of the Karmapa sect, spread from Tsang to Kukunor. They were proficient in magic, and rivals of the Sa-skya (p. 51). At the end of the Yüan dynasty their chief received an imperial diploma and seal (p. 56). During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) the most prominent among the bearers of the title of *Ta-pao-fa-wang*, "Great King of the precious law," was the chief of the Karmapa sect (p. 57).

[p. 14(B)]

tainous country. It was inhabited by two or three 792
hundred lamas of Tibetan origin, and had four colleges. The Abbot told me the monastery had been founded by a lama of Amdo, called Don dub. During the Yüan dynasty he had studied in Tibet. He was a learned man. The Abbot pointed to a stupa built on [916]
top of the temple and said it contained the relics of the founder. He went on to explain that Don dub had been the Teacher of Tsong khapa (born in 1357, ten years before the end of the Yüan dynasty) who started his religious career at Sha-ch'ünng, and that the teacher brought his pupil to Lhasa when he was sixteen years of age. Then the Abbot led me to a nice building claiming it was there Tsong khapa had lived.[36]

It is not known what kind of monastery Sha-ch'ung 175
was in the beginning; whether it was a small hermitage 792
where a few unmarried Red lamas lived together or only a temple where some married Red lamas gathered at fixed times. The latter, depending more or less on a chief chosen from among them, scattered over the country, their pupils living with them, farming or raising cattle and performing cultural rites when invited by the people to do so. Important lamaseries could hardly have existed at that time, because of the disturbed circumstances. Even if Sha-ch'ung was not the hermitage of Dantig, built in 940 by dGe-ba rab-gsal, it certainly existed at the end of the Yüan dynasty. Two facts seem to support the tradition.

Sha-ch'ung in 1916 was a neighbor of the most im- 792
portant monastery of the Red Sect, whose Living 578
Buddha, Goorongbzan, presided over a group of more than two hundred lamas of his sect. The same year both lamaseries claimed to be possessors of a strip of intervening pasture, and had a fight at close quarters. Many lamas on both sides were wounded. Ma k'o-ch'en, the Moslem commander of Hsining, and sworn brother of Goorongbzan, put an end to the feud which had lasted for centuries. He adjudicated the possession [491]
of the debatable pasture to Goorong, who produced deeds dating from the period of the Yüan, but which the former officials would never recognize because of the influence wielded by the Yellow Sect. This fact supports the evidence of the tradition according to which both lamaseries had existed during the Yüan. The old feud was rooted in the fact that Sha-ch'ung, which belonged to the Red Sect, later went over to the Yellow Sect, while the monastery of Goorong clung to its original Red Sect.

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[36] E. Obermiller, Tsunkhaba le Pandit, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 2: 321, Louvain, Istas, 1934-1935. L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 2nd ed., 59, W. Heffer, Cambridge, 1934. Wilhelm Filchner, *Kumbum Dschambu ling*, 175, Leipzig, 1933. The confirmation of this tradition is found in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo, translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Pt. 1, 1: 27, "Chya Khyung, the seat of Chhoije Tondub Rinchhen, contains his tomb as well as the residence of Tsong khapa."

[p. 15(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The prin-

ciples on which succession by reincarnation are founded had existed for centuries, but had not yet been generally applied. The next prominent lama to whom the principles were applied was the Panchen lama of Tashilhumpo. In the next two centuries succession by reincarnation, inaugurated by the Yellow Sect in 1475, spread to such an extent that every monastery, including less important ones, of whatever sect, had its own Living Buddha. Some of them had several in the same monastery.[48] Even the superior of the convent of nuns, situated on the shore of Lake Yandok, having defended her convent against the invading Mongols in 1716, became the incarnation of Palden Lhamo, celebrated all over Tibet and Mongolia, and the potent protector of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas and Lhasa.

In the first Part of this study it was noted that Palden Lhamo is the protectress of the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, which honors her in a peculiar way.[49] Her picture is carried by the T'u-ssu on his triennial visit to the Monguor villages in order that all the clansmen and the subjects may perform their obeisance before the image. In Huang-chung the passion for Living Buddhas went so far as to declare the father of Tsong khapa a reincarnation, called Achia Bsan, which is the proprietor and grand chief of the Kumbum monastery. Even this was not enough. Tsong khapa's mother was also declared a reincaration, but her reincarnation always appears in a boy, who is the Living Buddha of the monastery of Rardscha, on the upper reaches of the Yellow River. However, according to Lamaist doctrine and rites, the father's reincarnation takes precedence over the mother's. Each reincarnation has a residence in Kumbum, but the father, being the grand chief of the monastery, has his own headquarters.[50]

TEMPLES BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY

In analyzing the Ming policy concerning Lamaism in Huang-chung, it is of interest to know how many monasteries were built in Huang-chung during this period.

Included in the long list of temples found in the *Annals* of Hsining there are recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a*, the temple of Ch'ü-t'an, as having been built in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424); ch. 15, p. 2, the small temple of Hung-t'ung-ssu in the city of Hsining in 1390; ch. 15, pp. 4*b* and 5*a*, the famous monastery of Kumbum, adding that only in 1596 were negotiations begun to enlarge its buildings and to construct a big monastery; in ch. 31, p. 14*a*, in the account of revolts of Tibetans and the inroads by Mongols from Kukunor, it is incidentally noted that the monastery of Hung-shan-ssu, 60 *li* south of Ch'ü-t'an, had been looted and destroyed in 1519, as well as

[48] Maraini, Fosco, *Secret Tibet*, 144, translated from the Italian by Eric Mosbacher, New York, Viking, 1952.

[49] Schram, *op. cit.*, 65.

[50] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 237. [p.21(A)]

the temple of T'ieh-fu-ssu, 40 *li* west of Hsining in 1537 (ch. 31, p. 15*a*).

The information in the *Annals* is restricted to these five poor items. Huth notes[51] that the Third Dalai Lama, Sod-nam, on his way to Ordos in 1582, went from Kukunor to Kumbum and established a college there for the explanation of sacred texts. From Kumbum he went to Ribo-nan-tig (probably the hermitage of Dantig noted on pp. 31 *sq.*), to take a long rest; then, after visiting many big lamaseries, he arrived in the Ordos. I am unable to identify the names of the lamaseries noted here, and am very sceptical about these "big" monasteries, because no ruins, vestiges or traditions of them are preserved. The big monasteries of Huang-chung which have to be studied, were all built in more recent times. The historical data are again very scanty.

CH'Ü-T'AN-SSU, FIRST LAMASERY BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY

The first lamasery built during the Ming, according to the *Annals* (ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a*), is the famous monastery of Ch'ü-t'an.[52] The history of this first lamasery, built by the Ming emperors, is preserved in broad strokes in the text (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 32, pp. 16–20) of three steles, now demolished. All three give evidence of the high consideration of the emperors for Lamaism.

The first text was granted by Emperor T'ai-tsung (Ch'eng-tsu) of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424), and concerns a "golden" (bronze) statue offered to the lamasery by the emperor. The text notes that the artisans, not succeeding in preparing the mold for the statue, went to eat their meal. While they were gone the mold grew into perfect shape of its own accord. The statue was cast from it and exuded a wonderful perfume.

The second text was granted by Emperor Jen-tsung of the Hung-hsi period (1425). It recalls the merits of Emperor T'ai-tsu of the Hung-wu period (1368–1399), who founded the monastery, ordered the building of a temple, and granted the name of "Ch'ü-t'an," and of Emperor T'ai-tsung who ordered the construction of a second temple.

The third text, granted by Emperor Hsüan-tsung of the Hsüan-te period (1426–1436), ordered the construction of a third temple, after recalling summarily the history of the lama, San-la, and his tribe, and the grant of the monastery and its title.

Legends

The origin of the celebrated monastery is overlaid with a wonderful legend, believed and enjoyed by the people. It should first be remembered that Emperor

[51] Huth, *op. cit.* 2: 227.

[52] Ch'ü-t'an-Gautama, a name of Shakyamuni, means "most victorious on earth."

[p. 21(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

into the well and disappeared. Only his clothes were seen in the river with which the well was connected underground. The emperor ordered the well to be filled and had a beautiful tower built over it. The ruins of the tower are still shown to visitors. 539

There are displayed in the head temple three fine saddles of unusually large size, with stirrups twice as large as those used today, for in former times people of note were taller, bigger, and stronger. The saddles are said to have belonged to the emperor and his brothers. When the emperor died his two ministers, in fear of having their families exterminated, changed their names. The first adopted the name of Chen Lo-kang, and his descendants still live in the Kang-tse Valley near Nien-pei. The other adopted the name of Yang Kang-tsun; his descendants live in Chen fan Valley. 538

The emperor appointed a member of the imperial family to manage the lamasery. He was called T'ien-hu-chün, and his name was Chu, the name of the imperial family. The appointment was hereditary and the emperor had carved on a slab the provisions concerning the appointment. The descendant of Mr. Chu presided over the ceremony of theatrical representations on New Year's. Later on, a corrupt descendant, after using the revenues and land taxes of the monastery for himself, was killed by the lamas, and the slab was smashed. The plinth which supported the slab is still shown to visitors.

Inside the courtyard of the enormous temple are the ruins of four beautiful stupas built by the Emperor. At the base of each he had buried, at night, immense treasures. One of the previous incarnations of the Living Buddha dug up the treasure from one of the stupas at night and took it to his residential quarters; but within a few moments his palace vanished in a blaze. Since that time, no one has dared to try to remove the treasures.

Upon his death, the emperor was buried in the lamasery. However, the lamas of Hung-shan-ssu claim that the emperor died and was buried in their monastery, and they have the visitor admire their own ruined tower built over a well and their own old dry tree enclosed in their temple. These honored trees, enclosed by a temple, point to the tree of Kumbum which sprouted from the afterbirth of Tsong khapa buried in Kumbum, even as the small trees sprouted from the roots of the old dry one. The tower built on the well points to the stupa of Kumbum, said to be the first monument built at Kumbum. It is hard to say which of these legends is the oldest.[84]

Temples and History of the Lamasery

Inside an enormous rectangular courtyard are three temple halls built in a row; a wall encloses the court- 792 346

[84] In Kumbum in 1577 there was built a temple enclosing the celebrated tree which was at that time 223 years old.

[p.22(B)]

yard with a large veranda attached to it. On the long wall are depicted scenes of the life of Buddha, painted in Chinese style, similar to those seen in Chinese temples. 792 346

The chief temple hall (A), built on a high terrace, is the most conspicuous, thereby attracting the attention of visitors. It is larger in size and higher than the other two. It is built on the pattern of the luxurious Chinese temples, with a large porch in front and beautiful roofs; a large, magnificent staircase leads to the terrace, which is surrounded by a railing of carved red stone. It is said to have been built according to the pattern of the Temple of Heaven in Peking (built in 1420). Inside the chief temple hall, at its center, is an enormous carved white stone plinth, two meters square, which enthrones the big statue of Buddha, Jo-wo rin-po-che (the gem of majesty—Shakyamuni), gift of Emperor T'ai-tsung, according to the stele.

On either side of this central statue a copper Buddha statue is enthroned on a plinth of white stone, a little smaller in size than the central one. In front of the statues, three big white stone plinths support three huge brass cauldrons. One contains butter, one vegetable oil and wicks burning before the statues, and the third wheat, colza, and spelt, as an offering to the Buddha. It is said that at the bottom of this huge cauldron there are still a few grains dating from the time of Emperor Hui-ti, and consequently they are bigger than normal, just like the saddle and stirrups noted previously. [532] [782]

In these temples hang inscriptions, offerings of the emperors honoring the Buddhas, dating from the periods of Hung-wu, 1368–1398; Yung-lo, 1403–1425; Hung-hsi, 1425; Hsüan-te, 1426–1435; Wan-li, 1573–1619 and Ch'un cheng, 1628–1643.

In temple (B) called the Chü-k'ang, smaller red stone plinths support three copper Buddha statues, and three butter, oil, and grain cauldrons. In front of the central statue, still in the temple, is the famous dead sandalwood tree, adorned with scarves of felicity, its trunk overlaid by large copper plates in order to preserve and support it.

Temple (C), dedicated to Byams pa hlarang (Maitreya—the loving one) is built according to the same pattern, but has plinths of white stone supporting three statues, with two lamps and offering cauldrons.

The display of huge timbers in the construction of the temples reminds one of times past, when gigantic trees adorned the tops of the mountains. Special roads and carts were built to carry the massive plinths to the spot. The ruins of four stupas adorn the courtyard, one on each side of the chief temple, and one on each side of temple (C). Enormous white stone plinths carved in the shape of elephants, support four huge drums and two smashed steles on either side of the entrance.

Ch'ü-t'an, with more than six hundred lamas in the heyday of its glory, founded two large subsidiaries:

[p. 23(A)]

Yao-ts'ao-t'ai ("the terrace of medicinal herbs"), Hung-shan-ssu, and three smaller ones. Yao-ts'ao-t'ai was the vast pasture ground for the herds of the monastery and of the lamas. According to the abbots, it soon developed to the extent of having 200 lamas. Hung-shan-ssu soon had more than 150 lamas and received from the emperor a special grant of 500 taels every year (the reason is not known; *Annals*, ch. 15, p. 8*a*). In 1747 the allocation was still provided by the officials. The Living Buddhas of the three monasteries told me that because most of their lamas were of Monguor origin, their monasteries declined after Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung had been built, and the Monguor lamas had gone over to these lamaseries. However, there are other reasons which caused the decline of the flourishing monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, which at present is in a state of indescribable dilapidation. 792 346 175 792 346

In 1509 the Tibetans of Kukunor, driven from their pastures by the Mongol, I-pu-la, made inroads in Huang-chung. They looted and ruined the branch monastery of Hung-shan-ssu in 1519 (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 14*a*). In 1558 the Mongols of Kukunor looted and sacked Ch'ü-t'an (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 16*b*) and the neighboring country; probably Yao-ts'ao-t'ai also. The Moslems, in 1862–1872, wrought terrible havoc on the temples and the palaces of the Living Buddhas, and burned the printing blocks of the library. In 1895 the temple was again looted by the revolting Moslems. Material damage and ruins, however, are reparable, but damage and ruin caused from within the lama institution itself are not.

The troubles started between the mother monastery of Ch'ü-t'an and the branch of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, which is situated on the rich pasture grounds and forests included in the initial domain of the old monastery granted by the emperors. Very early, a couple of small temples and homes for lamas had been built on the spot, and a superior appointed. Around 1660, according to the abbots, more than 200 lamas lived at the subsidiary and more temples had been built. Its superior, a very learned and holy man, died and was reincarnated. His reincarnation was called Karang bzang and settled at the subsidiary monastery. (At that time the vogue for reincarnations was in full swing.) Very soon the mother monastery had its own reincarnation, the Living Buddha Mei, and four small Living Buddhas. The branch also provided a small Buddha called the Liang-chou fo-yeh. 175 792 578 [775]

With both monasteries having Living Buddhas, friction started between them and lasted for more than two centuries. Jealousy and hatred became deep-rooted. Both monasteries behaved like ducks, appearing calm and unruffled on the surface, but paddling like devils underneath it. The eternal question of the corvées imposed by the mother monastery on its subsidiaries and the demand for land rents kept open festering wounds, and the yearly disputes grew more and more acute.

[p.23(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The support and protection of the Mongols and of the emperors of China saved and established the Yellow Sect, which was on a foundation of rock. In 1717–1719 the Jungar Mongols persecuted the Red Sects and destroyed 550 of their monasteries.[60]

175 648 771 [789]

KUMBUM [61]

The insecurity in Huang-chung and the struggle in Tibet among the sects provide an explanation for the late date assigned to the founding of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum. One and a half centuries after the death (1419) of Tsong khapa, the lama Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, in 1560, built some "cells" for himself and his ten monks (hermitage). Later, twenty more cells were added. In 1577, seventeen years later, a temple was built close to the "tower," whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree which at that time must have been 220 years old (1357–1577), and a statue of Maitreya was honored in the temple.[62] According to this tradition and the customs of Buddhist India, a tower must have first been built on the spot of the birth of Tsong khapa to commemorate the event. It is not known when this tower was built.

175 792 346

[60] L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 44, 71, Leiden, Brill, 1950.

[61] Kumbum, the lamasery of the 100,000 images is, at present, the most celebrated lamasery of Huang-chung, because of its precious trees, which are lilacs (Philadelphus, coronarius; see Rockhill, W., *Land of the lamas*, 67). The main tree sprang from the placenta of Tsong khapa (1357) and is said to have 100,000 images of Buddhas growing on its leaves. Much has been written about the tree. On May 6 and October 3, 1912, and on October 10, 1914, Father J. Essens and I read on the leaves only the two letters *Pa*, the thirteenth letter of the alphabet and *Ya*, the twenty-fourth letter, repeated indefinitely, written more or less correctly where the leaves were easy to reach. They were written with the red earth, which Chinese and Tibetan teachers use to correct the compositions of pupils. The sacred leaves are a wonderful panacea, healing all kinds of diseases of men, women, and children. It has been recorded that in Ch'ü-t'an and in Hung-shan-ssu the same kind of miraculous trees are encountered.

[792 137 755]

It is worth noting what is written regarding the tree (here called a "White Sandalwood") in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomunkhan of Amdo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1887, Part I, No. I, p. 28: "On the birthplace of Tsong khapa there exists a white Sandalwood tree, on every leaf of which, at the time of the reformer's birth, there appeared a picture of the Buddha Senge naro, supernaturally inscribed. Hence, from the circumstance of a 'hundred thousand images of Buddha' having appeared on the leaves, the town and the monastery is called Kumbum. Even at the present age, images are occasionally said to be seen divinely inscribed on the leaves of the Chandan tree and Sugpa trees of the grove. The enemies of the Gelugpa say that the said images are secretly drawn with pins and needles by the Gelugpa monks." The Chinese call Kumbum T'a-erh-ssu, that is, "the lamasery of the [eight] stupas," because at its entrance there are eight stupas said to contain the ashes of eight Living Buddhas killed by General Nien Keng-yao at the time of the revolt of the Kumbum lamas in 1723. Filchner (*Dschamba-ling*, 160) notes: "They were built at the time of the 31st mK'ampo of Kumbus [date not given] by the chief of Roko, native of Amdo, after eight lamas had been killed by a Chinese prince, ruler of the country."

[62] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 29.

[p.25(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

In 1578, a year after the building of the first temple, the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam, had his historical meeting with Altan Khan of the T'umed, at which the Yellow Sect was proclaimed the religion of the Mongols. It is amazing that neither of them, during their long stay at Kukunor, visited Kumbum (only three days distant), the birthplace of the founder of the sect, or called on Achia, incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa, or took a glance at the first Yellow Sect temple and the miraculous tree. Possibly the temple had not yet been built nor the legend of the tree spread, nor the incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa recognized. However, four years later, in 1582, the Dalai, on his way to the Ordos, visited Kumbum where he founded a school for the explanation of the sacred texts (the school only started in 1600 or 1612) and then went for a long rest, not to Kumbum where the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father must have been, but to the monastery of Ribo Nantig (Huth, 227). Perhaps it was not convenient for the Dalai Lama to take a rest at the insignificant monastery of Kumbum, where neither a school nor the incarnation of Achia yet existed.

175 792 346 771

In 1600 the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan, on his way to Lhasa for his enthronement, passed through Kukunor, where he remained for three months without even paying a visit to Kumbum and the precious tree or to Achia, the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father! (Huth, 238). In 1652 the Fifth Dalai Lama on his way to Peking did not visit Kumbum. Was Kumbum still so insignificant at that time?[63] According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 4*b* and 5*a*), the decision to build a monastery on a large scale was made only in 1596. This decision does not seem impossible when it is connected with the fact that in 1593 new Chinese troops and colonists arrived in Huang-chung, making the peace prospects seem even brighter (ch. 31 p. 19*a*). At any rate, the monastery of Kumbum appears to have developed very slowly. Its first Tsan njid temple was erected in 1600 or 1612,[64] the Sutra temple of Mysticism in 1649,[65] the palace for the Khampo in 1687,[66] the Pakar temple in 1692,[67] Duinkhor Kalacakra College in 1825,[68] College of Medicine in 1850,[69] and the celebrated gilt tiled roof was put on the temple in 1883.[70] Ac-

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[63] W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung Pao* 11: 14, 1910. Huth, *op. cit.*, 268.

[64] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 93.

[65] *Ibid.*, 124.

[66] *Ibid.*, 237.

[67] *Ibid.*, 230.

[68] *Ibid.*, 137.

[69] *Ibid.*, 65.

[70] *Ibid.*, 28. Because so much has been written about Kumbum, this study has been confined to the points relating to our subject. The major part of the lama population of Kumbum in 1910–1920 consisted of lamas of Monguor and Tibetan origin from Huang-chung; lamas of Mongolia have always been numerous, while lamas of Tibet constituted a minor group. Since the troubles in Kumbum in 1908–1909, between the Dalai Lama and Achia Hutukhtu, the proprietor of the monastery—reincarnation of the father of Tsong khapa—which ended with

[p. 25(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

tually, Achia Bsan, reincarnation of the father of Tsong khapa, is the proprietor and chief of Kumbum. 175 792

The *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*[71] notes that the series of his incarnations began in 1417 (two years before the death of his son, Tsong khapa!). It says that for fifteen incarnations Achia administered the monastery of Kumbum and was recognized as its chief and proprietor by the five tribes and the inhabitants of the seven valleys, and that he possessed a piece of pasture ground in Chahar. However, it notes also that, in 1746, the name of Achia Hutukhtu (his sixteenth incarnation) was drawn from the celebrated urn in Peking, and that an order was given to write the deeds of a pasture ground in Chahar. This text is a model of ambiguity and full of holes; it suggests that in 1746 Achia received for the very first time the title of Hutukhtu and that his name was registered on the roster of the Living Buddhas in the Mongolian Superintendency, although the process of reincarnation had begun in Lhasa only in 1475. Since deeds were then written, this implies also that at that time pasture grounds were granted to him for the first time. Thus, previous to 1746, no Achia reincarnation, chief of Kumbum, existed. 346 775

These assumptions seem to be supported by the fact that it was not in 1417, but in 1560, that some poor cells were built for the first time in Kumbum by lama Rintschen Dson dui tschamtso and his ten monks and also by the facts that in 1719 the emperor ordered Skal bzan rgyamts'o, chief of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu to administer the monastery,[72] and that in 1723 mK'ampo Nomun-khan, head of the monastery of Kumbum and nephew of bLo Blzan bstan dsin, stirred the lamas to revolt and was made prisoner and the monastery was burned.[73] Until that time, not a single mention is made of Achia who, as head of the monastery and Hutukhtu, must have been the man responsible in such circumstances. However, the name of the real founder of the monastery is well known, as well known as the two other later heads and chiefs of the monastery. 175 792 346

It is a fact that Achia, created Hutukhtu only in 1746, had to remain in Peking, attached to the committee for the printing and translating of Tibetan books into Mongol, which was presided over by the second incarnation of the Chang chia. "In the last half of the 18th century it seems to have been the vogue for translators to ask Achia for a postscript to their translations. Many works printed at that time bear a postscript 'by 175 214 814

the suicide of Achia, there are no more lamas of Tibet in Kumbum. In 1746 the reincarnation of Achia received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor. From that time on, according to the abbots, the prominent lamas of Kumbum have always been Monguors.

[71] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih. History of the Buddhist religion in Mongolia and Tibet* 2: 143, 1935.

[72] Han Ju-lin, *Pien cheng kung lun*, (*Frontier Affairs*) 3 (5): 15, 1944.

[73] *Yung-cheng Shih-lu, ts'e* 145, *Chuan* 14: 10.

[p.26(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Achia.'"[74] However, the myth of his previous existences was deeply rooted. "In 1686, a previous existence of Achia, the 16th, is said to have resided in the Yung-ho-kung temple of Peking, which had only been made a monastery in 1743. The roster of famous workers on the committee of translators at that time does not contain the name Achia."[75] 175 214 814

The emperor, after having drastically quelled the lama revolt, permitted the rebuilding of the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, giving them the text of a less honorable stele to be carved, and imposing on Erh-ku-lung the new name of Yu-ning-ssu, and on Seerkok that of Kuang-hui-ssu. The chief of the monastery of Seerkok (Chie bsan rimpoche) having been beheaded, the Dalai lama in 1727 sent to Peking a learned lama, Tsanpo of Amdo, whom he himself had previously honored by the title of Nomun-kan. In order to rebuild Seerkok, the emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu[76] and he became Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the new chief and proprietor of Seerkok. Since the chiefs of Erh-ku-lung had not plotted in the revolt, they were left undisturbed. Is it far-fetched to suppose that after the disappearance of mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the request of the Dalai Lama, Achia became the new chief and proprietor of Kumbum in 1746 in the same way that Min chu-erh had become chief of Seerkok? It would have been a fine political gesture for the emperor to ennoble the father of Tsong khapa, chief of the Yellow Church, in order to regain the sympathy of the lamas of the whole Yellow Sect whose group in Hsining he had punished so severely for their irresponsible behavior. It is probably a unique case in the history of Lamaist reincarnations that a layman then became reincarnated as a Living Buddha. 175 662 792

ERH-KU-LUNG

While Kumbum was outgrowing its infantile period, there occurred the humble beginning of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung (1604), on the northern side of the 175 792 346

[74] Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistische Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, 109, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1954.

[75] *Ibid.*, 110.

[76] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 2: 125. However, Tsampo Nomun-khan of Amdo writes about himself in his well-known Geographical work, 29: "North of Ssi ling is the great monastery of Gahdan Tam Chhoi ling (seat of lama Tsampo Nomun-khan) in ancient times called Amdo Gomang gonpa; at present known as Serkhang gonpa." Sarat Chandra Das adds: "The author is an incarnation of an eminent lama named Tag tse chove, who was invited to be the abbot of the monastery. There are 2,000 monks, many know the Tshan nid philosophy." The work of Tsampo has to be read cautiously. Before 1723 there were 2,000 lamas; at the time of his arrival Seerkok was destroyed. On pages 29 and 30 he gives the names of 18 monasteries built north of Erh-ku-lung and says: "The monasteries are mostly subordinate to the Kumbum and Tsampopa [himself] abbots, in consequence of which those under Je gampo and Phagden have been converted in Gelugpa institutions." However, these institutions had been founded by Erh-ku-lung and nine of them by Seerkok, which abbots had always belonged to the Gelugpa or Yellow Sect.

[p. 26(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Hsining River in the main country of the Monguors. 175
Its Tibetan name is *dGon lung*. *"dGon"* means a her- 792
mitage, hence a monastery; *"lung"* means valley—the 346
hermitage of the valley. In Chinese literature it is called *Ku-lung;* the Chinese and Monguors call it *Erh-ku-lung*. It is situated at the entrance of a valley on the northern side of the T'u-Kuan Mountains. Erh-ku-lung is the mother monastery of all those situated north of the Hsining River. Its lamas in 1911 were mostly of Monguor origin, or Mongols from Mongolia, together with Tibetans of Huang-chung. Its administration was Monguor and its prominent Living Buddhas had always been reincarnations born in Kansu or Kukunor.

Legends

The origin of Erh-ku-lung is overlaid with legends. 792
The saying goes that during the Yüan period (1280- 539
1368) a Buddha appeared to a holy lama of the Sa-skya Sect, called Diasai, absorbed in profound meditation, and ordered him to build a monastery in Huang-chung on a site he designated. The next day the lama started his journey. He wandered many years in order to find the indicated site. Finally, he recognized it at Erh-ku-lung and the Monguors started building a hermitage. A handsome, very intelligent young man of Erh-ku-lung, called Sumpa, asked the lama to accept him as his apprentice and to instruct him. The happy holy man devoted his energy and marvelous ability to educating the young man. More young recruits arrived. The holy lama returned to Tibet with two of the most intelligent novices, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan. He entrusted the task of caring for the monastery in the meantime to the young Sumpa. The lama died in Tibet and the two novices, after brilliantly completing their studies in Tibet and writing learned books, returned to Erh-ku-lung, performed miracles, and died at the same time as Sumpa. All three were reincarnated and became the celebrated three Living Buddhas, who are the co-proprietors and chiefs of Erh-ku-lung.

At that time a lama of Erh-ku-lung, born in the neighborhood of Chie-bzan, enjoyed the reputation of holiness. After his death he was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung and was called the Living Buddha Chie-bzan. Another holy lama, born in Har-ch'in (Liao tung), called Wang, died and was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung as the Living Buddha Wang. These two smaller incarnations, in conjunction with the three former incarnations who received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor, constitute the board of the monastery, called "wu-ta-nang," which is still in existence. A residence was built by them for Diasai, the holy founder of the monastery, but the holy man failed to return from Tibet. At present, however, two lamas are still appointed to keep the home ready for the eventual return of the departed saint. They enjoy the nominal privilege

[p.27(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

and T'u-kuan, and the obsession for reincarnations which was in full swing at that time. Sumpa II must have been one of the countless so-called "minor" Living Buddhas who were not listed on the register of Buddhas in Peking, and to whom the title of Hutukhtu had not been granted, but only the title of Jassak Lama. In the same way the minor Living Buddha Sumpa II must have headed the big retinue which brought the "minor" Living Buddha Chang-chia to Peking in 1693, who, only after his arrival at Peking, received his title and became the great Chang-chia Hutukhtu. Until that time Sumpa II, Chang-chia, and T'u-kuan were all "minor" Living Buddhas, living at Erh-ku-lung.

Sumpa III, still a minor Living Buddha, underwent a stiff course of instruction at Erh-ku-lung, under the direction of the celebrated T'u-kuan, after which he was sent for further study to Tibet. The young Sumpa must have been a very intelligent and studious pupil, for in 1726 he had already been appointed mK'ampo of the very celebrated SGoman College in aBras-spuns.[110] At the same time he must have been an unusually strong personality, a man of solidly set opinions, a special individual, a law unto himself, stern and uncompromising, for, in the teeth of strong opposition on the part of the lamas when civil war violently agitated the country, he ordered his lamas to keep quiet and to keep the strictest neutrality because, according to the principles of Buddhism, it is not allowed for anyone, particularly the lamas, to fight and kill.[111] The example was followed by the other monasteries.

Back in Huang-chung in 1730, he founded the monastery of Bshad-sgrab with eighty lamas, and admitted fifteen more from the monastery (hermitage) of Bsam gtang. He was called to Peking in 1737, and appointed by the emperor as spiritual guide of all the princes and chiefs of Mongolia. His prestige in Peking and Mongolia and the consideration the emperor had for him were extraordinary. The emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu, but he declined the offer, objecting that it was only fit for religious men aspiring to worldly glory. The amazed emperor answered, "You are a genuine religious man." In Peking he revised all the Tibetan books existent in China, and was rewarded by the emperor with the title of Erdeni Pandita.

In 1745 he was appointed the head of Erh-ku-lung. There, his first step was to scale down the splendor of his environment and to simplify his retinue. Sumpa was a learned man. He wrote the famous *History of the Rise and Downfall of Buddhism in India and Tibet.*[112]

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[110] Petech, *op. cit.*, 121.

[111] *Ibid.*

[112] Sarat Chandra Dass, Contribution to the history and religion of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, **58**, 1889. This study is preceded by the translation of the biography of Sumpa.

Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 147, after giving the content of the work of Sumpa, concludes: ". . . the work is composed with a wise and discriminating choice of older sources, pointing out for

constructed after 1723, and rebuilt a second time after 175
the revolt of the Moslems in 1872 (at which time the 792
monastery had been abandoned for three years). The internal organization of the formerly flourishing monastery was affected by dissensions among the triumvirate, and peace within its walls was disturbed by the divided lamas, who had taken opposite sides in the conflict. The Chang-chia Hutukhtu left Erh-ku-lung, and more than one hundred lamas followed him. It was a severe blow to the mother monastery. He rebuilt one of his branches, called Ch'ie-bzan, to be his abode on the very rare occasions of his short returns from Peking to the country. He never again visited Erh-ku-lung. The seeds of a callous hostility between Erh-ku-lung and Ch'ie-bzan were planted and their relations cut off.

The three founders, however, were and remained the co-proprietors of the initial domain, monastery, and branches of Erh-ku-lung. However, each of them, by means of gifts and domains offered to them individually, had built up his own fortune. They hoarded their revenues or used them to found their own branches. In 1910 T'u-kuan Hutukhtu personally was the proprietor of seven branches. He possessed expansive properties on which he built seven villages. He also possessed eighteen oil or wheat mills. His herds of sheep and horses grazed in the Alashan territory and on the domains of T'ien-t'ang-ssu, his former branch, which by 1910 had become an independent monastery. Chang-chia had six branches of his own, eleven villages, nine mills, and very expansive domains. Sumpa had five branches of his own, and wider territories than T'u-kuan and Chang-chia.

The troubles had started not on questions of doctrine 175
or liturgy, but on matters of finance and property. 792
Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa clashed on the 578
question of a territory belonging to the original domain, the status of which T'u-kuan and Sumpa maintained. Chang-chia, however, claimed it to be his property. Finally, the debatable domain was recognized to be the property of the initial domain.

Chang-chia never forgot this loss of face. The 175
money granted by the emperor for the reconstruction 792
of Erh-ku-lung in 1729 was insufficient. Nevertheless, [578]
Chang-chia urged that a part of it be used for the re- 346
building of his own Ch'ie-bzan. This was refused by the other two and the rift between the triumvirate became wider and wider. T'u-kuan, however, used a large part of his own wealth for the reconstruction of Erh-ku-lung, which lasted for decades. Sumpa, with his own money, built the two colleges, their temples and palaces for Fa-t'ai. Chang-chia refused to make any contribution. After the revolt of 1872 and the destruction of Erh-ku-lung by the Moslems, T'u-kuan and Sumpa rebuilt the monastery. Chang-chia again declined to help.[141] Instead, he rebuilt his own monas-

[141] It is not surprising that Chang-chia did not print the works of T'u-kuan (see above, p. 31).

[P. 36 (B)]

tery in the most luxurious style. The head temple, with 175
its gilt tiled roof, which had been preserved, was em- 792
bellished and other temples rebuilt. He rebuilt a splen- 346
did palace for himself patterned after the most luxurious palaces in Peking. Chang-chia's Ch'ie-bzan was the wealthiest monastery in the country, with 150 lamas, 2 colleges, and 4 minor Living Buddhas. Most of its wealth was provided by Mongols, among whom the influence and prestige of Chang-chia was proverbial.

Every year, lama expeditions of Ch'ie-bzan traveled 175
in Mongolia in order to collect alms. Chang-chia's 794
prestige was so great that the Queen of the Torgots 648
came to Ch'ie-bzan in 1913, to invite the intendant of the monastery to send an expedition among her tribesmen, for it had been a long time since an expedition had reached her country. I happened to be at Ch'ie-bzan in 1914 when the expedition returned. It had collected 3,000 sheep, 400 horses, and 280 camels, which were loaded with wool and skins.

The breach between T'u-kuan and Sumpa, which oc- 175
curred in 1890, was more tragic. During the rebellion 578
of the Moslems, Sumpa (born in 1854) had fled among 792
the Mongols and Tibetans, north of Kukunor. He met with a Mongol girl, whom he had moved to his branch monastery called Sumpa-ssu. The lama community of Erh-ku-lung, after some years, could no longer stand the disrepute brought on the monastery. It brought [691]
suit against Sumpa before the Amban in the prefectural city of Hsining, claiming he was not a genuine reincarnation. The lama community urged that he be erased from the list of Buddhas, and insisted on the right to search for the genuine reincarnation. For several months the lamas disturbed the whole city with the scandal, and spent money. The Chinese enjoyed all the incidents of the trial. Sumpa lost his face and honor irretrievably. Sumpa, however, was rich and the Amban venal. The Amban finally proposed that Sumpa leave Erh-ku-lung and move to one of his affiliates. This reincarnation (the third) of the illustrious Sumpa, having cut a sorry figure, never returned to Erh-ku-lung, but lived at his branch where, in 1916, his two girls delighted the old age of their father, who was sixty. His eldest daughter had married the son of the chief of the Aruk tribe. In 1916 the old man made a pilgrimage to Lhasa, and the lamas said he was atoning for his sins. No wonder that the Li-fan yüan records lacked information concerning the subsequent reincarnations of the Great Sumpa.

The Living Buddha Ch'ie-bzan of Erh-ku-lung hav- 175
ing a branch monastery of his own, moved into it, 792
appearing at Erh-ku-lung only to attend the festivals. 627
The Living Buddha Wang lived in retired seclusion. 762
Soon after the trial of Sumpa, the minor Living Buddha Tsung-tsa, one of the eleven, followed in the steps of Sumpa and established a family in Tsung-tsa. In the winter of the same year, the minor Living Buddha Seerting was taken and beaten at night by the husband and

[p.37(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Hsining across Ning-hsia to Sui-yuan, and Father W. Grootaers noted in the region of Wan-ch'üan (Kalgan), 109 temples of the Wu-tao shen,[29] most of them smaller than they had once been. The representations of the god of the Five Roads in the temples are all very similar. The reason for this similarity in temples so distant one from another may be that the Chinese painters used printed books in which they found the stereotypes and traditional representations of the whole series of spirits. They also used books containing all kinds of inscriptions appropriate to the different special spirits and to the spirits in general, and this explains the uniformity of the inscriptions and paintings encountered all over the country.[30]

TEMPLES OF THE GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The abode of the god consists generally of three rooms (*chien*) situated on the north side of a mud or brick walled courtyard. On each side of the courtyard are another three or more rooms for storage of all kind of paraphernalia used for processions and for the kitchen. The entrance is in front of the abode of the god. According to the topography of the country the temple is sometimes built against a mountain without taking account of the points of the compass. In the middle of the three rooms of the front building there is always placed a sedan chair in which is the statue of a female deity clad with a more or less precious robe, or there is the statue of a male deity, such as Wu-tao or Lung-wang. The female deity usually represents the goddess, Niang Niang (mother goddess of children); seldom, Shui-mu, the goddess of the water. The statue seems to be the center of attention for the whole building. It is carried in procession when the people are praying for rain, or for protection against hail. Every year the statues of the goddesses of the temples of Sha-t'ang Valley are carried to the temple of the god Erh-lang,[31] locked up with the god for one night and brought back the next day. The god is said to enjoy the visits of all the goddesses. This curious custom will be discussed later.

On the walls of the three rooms are frescoes depicting the god of the Five Roads, who is never alone, but associated with other gods. In the central panel the god sits on a large chair, represented in the customary fashion of a corpulent Chinese general, with long black beard, military cap, red coat over armor, large loose

[29] William A. Grootaers, Temples and history of Wan-ch'üan, *Monumenta Serica*, 13: 232, 1948. What is said in this very valuable study, in Chap. 2, on the Wu-tao temples, concerning the arrangements of the temples, the images and frescoes, even the inscriptions, tallies completely with my former notes. This is the first and only study made in China concerning all the temples built in a limited area, affording interesting data for the history of religion and the history of the country.

[30] *Ibid.*, 239.

[31] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 263. The identity of this spirit seems not to be the same in North and Middle China.

[p.85(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

belt at the waist, the legs sprawled apart, boots with thick soles on the feet, and a sword in the hand. On the eastern panel is painted another general, the god of the Mountain (Shan Shen) in nearly the same posture. On the western panel is painted an older man with white beard, vest, a yellow robe, hands hidden in his large sleeves; he is the god of the Earth (T'u-ti Shen). Why these three gods are always placed together is a mystery. 756 776 346 532

In the foreground of the three images on the east is the god P'an-tze, the judge, holding in his hands the "register of the living and the dead" (Sheng-ssu p'u). On the west is a horned, black-faced devil with red skin, holding the "Tablet to hook souls" (K'u hun p'ai). It is a strange gathering of disparate gods whose association is a puzzle. The association of these gods in the same temple explains the fact that some shamans, when performing rites, wear a crown with only one image, that of the god of the Five Roads, while others wear a crown with three images (Wu-tao, Mountain god, Earth god), and some wear the crown with five images, adding P'an-tze and the black-faced devil. It is no wonder that one also sees in some temples of the god of the Five Roads the inscription: "Wu-tao, Mountain god, and Earth god, protect this village, that it may get peace." All these disconcerting anomalies do not bother either the shamans or the Monguors.

In temples, so far distant from one another, we find not only similarity in the representation of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, but even in the subjects painted on the frescoes on both the side walls of the temple. Father Grootaers calls the subject, "the pursuit of the evil ones," explaining that "the god honored in the temple is shown on horseback, engaged in a pursuit against the powers of evil, which he then brings back enchained."[32] What, however, may have been the original mystical or ascetic meaning is not known, but the subject seems wonderfully adapted to the circumstances of the country of Hsining and the mentality of the people. The region of Hsining is mountainous. The most terrible yearly scourges, dreaded by the people, are the summer hailstorms devastating their crops. They are supposed to be produced by evil spirits, who must be combatted and subdued. The specific means used by the shamans in order to protect the crops against that scourge will be recorded later.

On the eastern wall is painted the picture of a hailstorm. The pictures in Hsining are more fantastic and in better keeping with the imagination of a Chinese painter than the pictures seen by Father Grootaers. An old, wickedly shrewd Chinese woman with disheveled hair blows wind and storm by means of a pair of bellows. A fat Chinese, elaborately vested, extends his arms, and black, threatening clouds gush effusively out 756 532

[32] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 220. [p.86(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

OM MANI DAYS AND BUMKHANG

It has been noted that in many villages an additional 796 temple besides the community temple, had been built 792 and dedicated by zealous villagers to a Buddhist deity. Every year, in summertime, some lamas, very often of the Red Sect, are invited to perform the rite of the Om Mani. Butter, flour of roasted spelt, and tea are collected among the villagers. The lamas prepare the *tormas*, the cups with water, spices and flowers, the 108 lamps, recite texts, beat drums, ring bells. After the texts are recited the villagers start to make the thousand circumambulations around the temple, saying "Om Mani," spinning the prayer wheels, and moving from east to west in the ritual way. Old and young are keenly interested in the practice and all help to perform the thousand turns. Three lamas sit on a woolen carpet outside the temple, noting the number of turns performed by each villager who comes to have his merits noted. It is a busy day for the lama accountants. It is an interesting rite, performed in high spirits by the whole community. Youngsters run around the temple, competing in speed, praying "Om Mani" while old people walk, absorbed in devotion.

Another quite different Om Mani rite is enacted six times a year by older people, mostly women, members of an Om Mani society, which has a small fund for securing tea and rolls for the devotees. It consists of circumambulations around a Bumkhang, and the turning of prayer wheels, but in a west to east direction. The number of circumambulations is not fixed. All day long the moving devotees go on continuously. At least one lady has to be on the way at all times saying "Om Mani." At the time of calamities the whole population performs the rite.

Bumkhang means "home of the 100,000." Outside 731 of many villages is built a small Lamaist construction 792 at the time calamities afflict the village: epidemics, epi- [946] zootics, diseases, drought, too much rain. According to the Monguor tradition these mischievous plottings of evil spirits have to be neutralized by magical means by lamas of the Red Sect. They are reputed to be more skilled than lamas of the Yellow Sect in indicating, by means of the deity whom they personally honor and invite to descend into their staff, the way along which these evils are approaching the village, and by what magical means the way can be blocked. Because the rite is thoroughly magical, the circumambulation is made from west to east, and the prayer wheels are turned in the same direction, the opposite way from that prescribed by the Yellow Sect.

Museum of Oriental Ethnology, *Folklore Studies*, Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China) 222 sq., 1952; also Der Hundekopfdämon im Volksglauben des Westtales under des Chinesichs Tibetischen Kontakgebietes im Osttales von Kuei-te in der Provinz Ch'inghai, 143, where the same belief is noted concerning the cat and the dog among the Tibetans of Penpa, neighbors of the Monguors. See also Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, Fuchs I, 40.

[p.132(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Such constructions are never built inside the villages or monasteries, but outside of them, maybe along a road, or on a small elevation, but always close to the village and on the spot indicated by the Red lama. In 1917 the young T'u Kuan Hutukhtu, advised by old devout lamas, decided to build such a temple along the main way leading to his monastery. At that time one lawsuit was succeeding another and calamities desolated his lamasery. He ordered each of his lamas to mold with red clay a fixed number of small flat rectangular Buddha images, called *Tsa-tsa*. They worked for weeks, for 100,000 images were needed. In the meantime mud bricks were prepared and carpenters invited for the building of the frame of a rectangular temple, having no doors but only a square hole on each side for the windows. At the same time five Red lamas, qualified for the job, were invited to build the home of the 100,000 Tsa-tsa according to the liturgical rules. To explain the shamanist rites against hail, the most incoherent and unimaginable items required by the shamans have been recorded, and the way the pit was dug and the items buried in it. The Red lamas required the intendant of the T'u kuan to prepare the same items (except for the corpse of a child, the living snake, rooster and dog), but all the things had to be stolen in order to be effective, and all were marked with cabalistic designs. Because the Red lamas do not use a corpse, a living snake, rooster, or dog, it has been said that their rite is not as effective against hail as that of the shamans.

On the auspicious night, the Red lamas, dressed in their red clothes and barefooted, with a piece of red cloth around their heads, descended into the pit to bury the items, in the same way that the shamans bury items at the time they build the mound against hail, and in the same kind of pit, communicating by signs. Meanwhile, all the lamas of the monastery circumambulated the pit from west to east, flying banners, beating drums, blowing shells, throwing stones, howling and cursing in the direction of the supposed fiend, and a big cypress fire was kept burning the whole night. Finally, after the pit had been filled flush with the ground, a stake was thrust into it on which cabalistic characters had been written with red earth and encircled with the blood of a white dove. What spirit the stake represented, which would block the influxes, was not told, but it was said that it was not the White Tiger. At dawn the carpenters erected upon the pit the consecrated frame of the building, and lamas started using mud bricks to build a wall inside the frame four or five feet high, the stake being in the middle of the building. Then a big Wei-sang was kindled, pounded cones and leaves of cypress were spread on the ground, and the lamas paved the floor with the clay images, one next to the other. Then followed a new layer of pounded cypress and a new layer of images, and so on, until the 100,000 images were disposed in layers inside the building.

[p. 132(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

At that time the expansive country 40 li north of Hsining was inhabited by nomads and had no cities, villages, or farms. Only after the victory of the Manchus over the lamas and Tibetans in 1723 was colonization immediately started on a large scale, and the cities of Tat'ung and Mao Pei Shen were built.

West of Hsining, the *Annals* record in 1380 the submission of three tribes. The Si-na tribe lived 60 li west of Hsining on the northwest borders of the Hsining River. In its territory are tents, houses, and fortified villages. Its people practiced farming and cattle breeding. The tribe had a temple and a lama with the title of Kuo-shih (Master of the Kingdom), a silver seal, and an ivory stamp. The tribe numbered 500 families and was taxed 300 horses every year. It controlled the tribe called little Si-na which lived in Ku Shan, southeast of Nienpei, and it was taxed 30 horses. It also controlled the Ssu-ta-la-ma tribe and the Hsieh-erh-chih-kang temple, which were taxed 50 horses (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 8*b*).

The Chia-erh-chi tribe inhabited the territory situated north of the Si-na tribe. The part of the tribe living inside the wall lived in houses and fortified villages; the part living outside the wall practiced cattle breeding and lived in tents. At the time of disturbances caused by brigands they moved inside the wall. The chief of the tribe was a lama who had the title of Chih-hui. Every year the tribe was taxed 130 horses. The tribe controlled the Lung-pa tribe numbering 100 families which was taxed 150 horses.

In the region west of Hsining, stretching as far as 40 to 60 li, only farming, combined with cattle breeding, seems to have been practiced in 1380 by Tibetan tribes. After 1723 the region beyond was developed. The title of master of the kingdom was probably granted after the surrender of the tribe ruled by the lama. It was the policy during the Hung-wu and the whole Ming period to grant titles to lamas who induced tribes to surrender (Monguors II: 16). The title of Chih-hui borne by the chief is a title of the Ming time. The walls noted in the references were built only after 1546 (*Annals* of Hsining 13: 15). The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 seems to have mixed circumstances existing only after 1546 with those of 1380.

Still west of Hsining the nomad Shen-tsang tribe surrendered in 1380. It inhabited a territory situated near Kokonor. At the time of the invasion of the Mongols in 1509 and their occupation of Kokonor, the tribe disappeared (*Annals* of Hsining ?: 5*b*).

In the region of the southern mountains of Hsining, between Hsining and the Yellow River, stretching in an east-west direction as far as Lao Ya Ch'eng, three more tribes surrendered in 1380, all of them living near the northern borders of the Yellow River.

The Tsan-tsa tribe lived in tents and its territory was situated south of the present subprefecture of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*).

[3(B)]

China; markets were accorded to his tribes and he was created "the Obedient and Righteous Prince"! However, the perspicacious Governor Wang Ch'ung-ku asked for a declaration of submission from other chieftains, such as Chinang and T'uman. T'uman refused boldly.[82] Apparently groups of Mongols, dissatisfied with the peace concluded by Altan, had already decided to gather under the banner of T'uman, liking better their adventurous life of looting and plundering than the submission to China. The group was strong and numerous, and administered, during the following years, many crushing defeats to China. Altan, however, endeavored to make his people desist from raids,[83] but he did not succeed in controlling his sons, nephews, and other relatives in Kansu and Huangchung. Since in 1559 Altan had sent his sons to occupy Kokonor and Sung-shan many Mongol chieftains, mostly nephews and cousins had followed them. They had forced the Tibetans to recognize their lordship, bring tribute and help them in the raids made in Kansu. They wrought tremendous havoc among the Tibetan tribes. The Chinese troops fought many losing battles and lost many officers and soldiers. Pin-tu and Ping-tu groups were the scourge of Kansu province. Altan was succeeded by his son Huang-t'ai-chi in 1583, and by his grandson Ch'ih-k'o in 1587, who was unable to control his people. The emperor, in 1591, ordered the suspension of trade with his tribes (Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 141). From the death of Altan on, Huangchung suffered tremendously for years, on account of the savage raids of the relatives of Altan, whose real nature immediately asserted itself in all its crudity and brutality.

In 1572 the Tibetan Erh-chia-ting tribes again plundered Hsining country. Their chief was captured and killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

In 1573 General Ta Yun rebuilt and fortified the city of Nienpei exposed to the recurrent raids from the Tibetan tribes living north of the cities of Hsining and Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

The fortifications of the city of Hsining were again overhauled and improved in 1575, and the city was enlarged in the prospect of troubles on account of the building of the temple in Kokonor, the opening of markets and the incessant arrival of more Mongols (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*).

Altan arrived at Kokonor in 1577 to meet the great lama (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*). The *Annals* of Hsining record (20: 14) that a lama of Wu-sse-tsang (on the borders of Szechwan Province) was proclaimed Living Buddha. The shrewd Ping-tu, knowing the religiosity of the Tibetans, proposed to build two temples, one in Kokonor and one in Chia-yu-kuan and to invite the Living Buddha. He intended to secure the support of the Tibetans by pretending to be fond of Buddhism. The question was vividly discussed in

[82] Pokotilov, 129.
[83] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 137-141.

[P.47(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

valley of Hsining, 60 li distant from the city on the way to Kokonor, a strong fortified city was built and a strong garrison appointed. The place controlled the western valley and the raids from Kokonor. In Chung-tsai in the Sa-t'ang valley, which so many times had been looted by invading Tibetans, a strong fortress was also built and a garrison appointed. The same dispositions were taken to improve the strength of the cities of Pa-yen-jung and San Ch'uan against brigands of Sung Shan and Ordos. For the first time troops were available to occupy permanently the strategic points in the country and from the t'u-ssú were required good soldiers to share with the Chinese troops the burden of the defense of the strongholds (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 29*b*, 30*a*). General Liu Mei-kuan started with the exploitation of iron ore in the mountains north of Hsining, three foundries were built and blacksmiths started preparing weapons to be distributed among the subdued tribes. To the nineteen tribes of Komi numbering 7,000 people, reputed first-rate warriors, were sent military instructors with weapons, to drill them. The director of colonization reported that 80,000 acres of uncultivated land were still available to farmers. To destitute Tibetans of Kokonor and East Kansu, pouring into the country every day, were given land to till and grain and oxen. Orders were sent to promote education, build schools in each village and improve existing ones (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*b*; 25: 23*b*; 35: 24).

175x 712 175x 701 [327] 175x 708 659

In a report sent by General T'ien Yueh is encountered an interesting note relating to the education given to the people of north Kansu and Huangchung in these desperate times. In each of the schools of the city of Kanchow, sixty or seventy students attend the lessons of three teachers. In each of the schools of the cities of Kao T'ai, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, Liangchow, Cheng Fan and Chuang Lang are encountered only thirty or forty students, in the smallest of these cities only twenty or thirty students. In each of the schools are two teachers. Then follows an exhortation to promote education (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 20*a*).

175x 871

In the same year, 1596, after the brilliant victories, the country seeming radiant and everywhere walls and fortresses being built, the lamas of T'a-erh-sse (Kumbum) (situated 40 li south of Hsining) decided to build a wall around the hermitages existing at that time. In 1560 some cells had been built for ten monks and, in 1577, a small temple next to a tower whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree, the glory of Kumbum (Monguors II: 25 sq.).

175x 712 346

The same year the brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih, feeling insecure in Kokonor, intending to leave the country and to return to Ordos, asked to pass through Huangchung. The request was refused. He passed the Yellow River, looted T'ao and Ho Chou and was pursued in his flight to the Ordos (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*).

175x 721 648

The La-pu-erh tribe boldly repelled alone an attack of Kokonor brigands, killing fifteen brigands and cap-

[P.49(B)]

/41 cont'd/

585 Care is taken to invite for the event a master of ceremonies (called Lordziwa, from the Tibetan Lo-rgyus, "narration," "speech"); he will be a man highly regarded in the region, eloquent and adroit. He will make all the necessary arrangements, will give orders, will smooth out all the difficulties which could arise, and will pronounce the traditional speeches at the desired moment. He will have at his disposal two well-trained men, whom he will have close at hand and who will serve the guests at the table.

[342 347] The courtyard is made ready for the festivity, for it is there that it will take place; whether it is freezing hard or pouring rain, no matter. Besides, the T'ou-jen houses have no room which could hold 40 or 50 guests. The courtyard usually being rectangular, they build several masonry supports 30 centimeters high, on which are laid planks which serve as tables. These tables are two feet wide. The planks are not fastened together, are not painted, are not /42/ even covered with tablecloths. Fitted together, they form a single piece and are arranged in a horseshoe. /See illustration 5./ The serving is done from inside the tables. The guests are seated on the outside, on pieces of felt spread out on the ground or on straw. Care is taken to hang cloths above the courtyard, which give the illusion of being seated in a vast tent. The decoration of the courtyard consists of some Chinese paper lanterns hung overhead and some red silk streamers, 30 to 40 centimeters wide, draped lengthwise of the courtyard. In a corner two or three Chinese musicians make a racket.

[372] In the middle of the rectangle of tables burns a large fire, the sacred fire of the shamanists. From time to time they throw cypress branches on the fire as incense. Several paces lower than the fire, in the posterior part of the rectangle, are laid out horizontally on two little walls two doors taken off their hinges; they serve as a table where the presents are displayed. Add a few hens which scratch about in the courtyard, several lambs which clutter up the open space, several children who run between one's legs, and that is pretty much the scene of the festivity.

[39 cont.]

792 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the reception. The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the
796 gifts are brought after him on animals.
574

[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers. [465] They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

●351 Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of
796 the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is
784 called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the be-
[609] ginning of the performance may not enter the yard. On the
[792] other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning
[211] may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as
[177]

7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

[534]

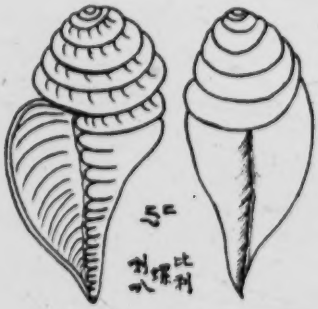


Fig. 6. Shells.

[532]

(Drawing of a Tujen.)

351 [40 cont.]
796
784
211
[177]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] maintains that formerly the Tujen used no sieve and that they learned of it from the Chinese. Nowadays paper is commonly used when it is a matter of a taboo that is not connected with the prayer service. Thus the people stick a rectangular piece of red paper to the gate intrados, on the right when, for example, there is sickness in the compound, and on the left when a woman is in confinement there. White paper is used when someone has died, a custom that probably comes from the Chinese.

[574] The taboo always lasts for several days, three, five, seven, always an odd number, and always as long as the lama is staying [792] at the house, as well as two days afterwards. If, for example, the lama is there only one day, the taboo lasts three days; if he is there three days, it lasts five days, etc. If he is in the house for seven days, however, the taboo lasts for an entire week after his departure (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 42-43.] The taboo regulations mentioned here also apply to other religious ceremonies, even when no lama or Bon priest is invited. The taboo is then in force for only three days, however. -- Even the best friends are not admitted into the house, but are dealt with by the gate of the yard. For this reason they must first call out loudly so that someone will come out.

[43] Sometimes the people also say that in case of illness the yard is [751] marked not out of fear of the spirits, but

351 [40 cont.]
796
784
211
751

[Note on foreign text p. 43 cont.]
rather in order to give strangers a signal so that they will not be infected and will stay outside.

Word List

192
792

Lama: lama; ho-shang (Chin.).
Lama of the Yellow Sect: gelõñba (Tib.); sira lama.
Lama of the Red Sect: fulan lama.
Great lama: šge lama; ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.).
Small lama: mula lama.
Hutukhtu (6): sañ (10); šge sañ = great H.; mula sañ = small H.
huo-fuo (Chin.) = Living Buddha; fo-yeh = Buddha.

6. [Foreign text p. 42.] The common people know little about the hierarchy among the monks. They know great and small lamas. Among the great they count the hutukhtu, the tsüordzi and the kānbō. According to their conception, a great lama is especially learned, knows many magical practices, and therefore has special power. The small lamas have only a little learning and are able to perform only minor ceremonies, for instance, the obo prayer.

[775] The hutukhtus are regarded as Buddhic incarnations. In this the common people do not differentiate between Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Among them everything is fuo-yeh, that is, Buddha-Father. They use this Chinese name for everything that is the seat of the spirit or a spirit itself, in other words, also for the incarnations

[778]
[775]

[41 cont.]

192 Prayer fee: bosë (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

196 Tea provided in the lamic monastery: mäntsia (mändzia) (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

[784] Taboo of the compound: udie dzilā-; chi-men (Chin.) = to forbid the door.

[357]

[Pages 41-43 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[43] III. Customs concerning the Dwelling and Settlement

000

1. The Incense Sacrifice*

*See "Notes," pp. 46-49 [of the foreign text]. In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

372

782

Every day at sunrise the house and yard are swept clean.

512 The housewife fans the family fire on the kang, around which

[356] young and old gather during the day. The master of the house

[783] washes his hands and face (1), takes some coals from the fire,

[515]

1. [Foreign text p. 46.] This ablution is undertaken for all religious activities, and it is also the common way of washing oneself in the morning. Since wash-bowls are unknown or have been used only recently, it is done in the following way: one takes a mouthful of water from a bowl and rinses the mouth; then he

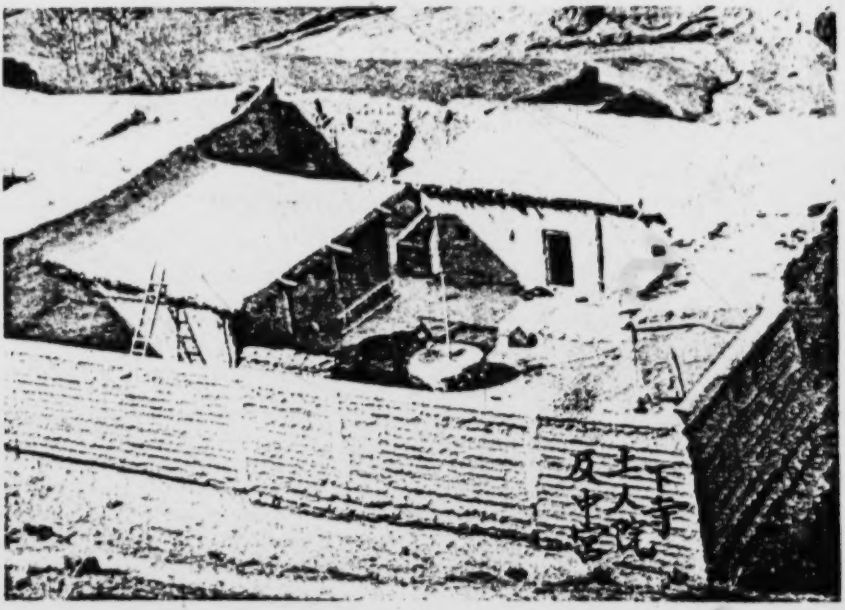
3: Schröder--86 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate 2

137
* 778
291
782

* 778
● 351
342
417



(Caption on following page.)

3: Schröder--87 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Caption for Plate 2 between pp. 48 and 49.]

*778
[137]
[291]
a: Mani-tree on a house roof in the village T'a-erh-wan west of Tangkar in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

b: An old Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai on the way to the obo of the Sha-pa-kou, 1949. In his right hand a poplar branch with flocks of wool, in his left and imitation spear with a flock of wool and painted spiral. In front of him on the ground: a [782] bundle of straw for the incense fire, a saddle bag with white stones that will be thrown on the obo, a jug of barley wine for the libation, and behind it a little bag with cypress needles (incense). (To accompany the chapter: "The Obo.")

[342]
[351]
[417]
c: A Tujen yard of the settlement Ha-szu (Hsia-szu) on the way from Na-ling-kou to Yang-chüan. In the center of the yard, the central fort with the mani-tree. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

000 [50] 2. The Arrow of Good Fortune*

*See "Notes," pp. 52-55 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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*778
In every good Tujen house there is an arrow. The tip is stuck in an urn of grain, in a crevice in the wall, or in a slit in a beam. Hadas, colorful ribbons, sheep wool, hair, etc. are [792] attached to the arrow. The arrow is consecrated by a lama or a Bon priest, and on this occasion it is venerated in the house. Later, however, it is not venerated any more. The arrow is [777] not the seat of a spirit, but rather guarantees good fortune and wealth in the family.

[55] 3. The Mani-tree and the Central Fort *

100

* See "Notes," pp. 60-63 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

*778 In almost every Tujen yard a mani-tree is set up in the [357] middle of the central fort [Mittelburg] or round manger [Rundkrippe]. The mani-tree need not be erected at the same time as this central fort; it can be done later. The time is [791] determined by the soothsayer.

The mani-tree consists of a wooden mast with a tip, which represents sun and moon. Below this tip a five-colored cover is drawn over the mast-end, and below this mast-end flies the white mani-flag.

This flag is printed in the lamic monastery. At the same [792] time the master of the household invites a lama to raise the tree. The lama prays several days and on the last day undertakes [78-] the raising. During these days the yard is taboo. The great [351] incense offering is presented three times daily.

At the raising, the mast is brought into the yard, placed [784] with its tip on the central fort, and the individual parts are attached to it. Once the pole has been set up, it is fumigated, [782] first with the red-hot stone and then with incense. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from a plate with the spear tip and throws them over the tree, and the master of the household [56] [Fig. 7 appears here] dabs the tree with butter. Then the men dig a narrow deep hole in the central fort down to the level of the ground. The soothsayer again throws some grains of barley into it with the spear, and the master of the household also strews a few incense leaves in it. Then the men set the tree in the hole and draw it up. In order to make it stand firmly, it is wedged in at the base with stones and clay. The entire operation is done under the constant supervision of the spear-god cited.

[58 cont.]

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[Foreign text p. 61 cont.]
New Year, very early in the morning, as I observed. On this occasion a great incense offering with a great many small dough-lamps are burned, bread, tea, and barley wine are offered, and finally a pack of paper horse-images with all kinds of inscriptions is thrown into the air and scattered in all directions by the wind. The entire ceremony takes place on a mountain. In case of misfortune anyone may undertake this ceremony at will.

*778 782 The sheep offering: When a lama has raised the mani-pole, then there remains the above-described offering of bread wine, flowers, etc. After that the lama withdraws into the [791] [787] house. In the yard the spear-soothsayer divines once more whether the spirits want another sheep offering or not. The soothsayer then announces the will of the spirit; sometimes the latter dispenses with a sheep offering; sometimes he wants to have it immediately, and sometimes only after a few days. [357] [784] [792] The yard must then remain taboo for that length of time. -- The sheep offering is never given in the presence of the lama, since it is, of course, always connected with the killing of the animal, and the lamas do not permit killing. The ritual of the sheep offering does not differ from the usual slaughter- and offering-ritual.

*778 Renewal of the mani-tree: If in the course of time the tree or the flag have suffered damage, they are renewed, that is, only the part that is damaged. The tattered flag is [372] burned, for instance, in the hearth or in a fire specially kindled for it, but always with pure firewood, never with the usual dry dung, for example. The unusable mani-tree is likewise burned. In no case may it be used for other purposes,

[58 cont.]
*778 say, as roof board. When the mani-tree or the part concerned is replaced, everything is done with the same ceremonies as at a new raising.

[357] The small mani-flag: Instead of the large mani-tree, a small pole with an air-horse pennant is frequently raised on the yard gate of the outer yard. This pennant is about an ell square and is printed only with the picture of the air-horse, or at most with a few brief Tibetan sayings as well. This pen-
[792] nant is also made in the monastery. No lama and no sooth-
[791] sayer is invited to raise this flag, however. The soothsayer merely determines a lucky day and a favorable hour. Every-
[357] thing is done without special ceremonies, even without an in-
[784] cense offering. The yard, however, is taboo for a few days. Some farmers raise both the large mani-flag in the yard and the small mani-flag on the gate.

357 The round manger: When a new compound is laid out,
*778 a round manger or central fort is always dug in the middle of the yard, exactly in accordance with the soothsayer's directions.
[791] For this purpose, the lama makes five treasure-urns, which
[792] are set in the pit. The pit is covered level with the ground and over it is raised a round wall of about two meters in diameter and one meter high. The lower three layers are stones; the upper layers, air-dried bricks. This circle is filled with clay and stamped down. In the center there is a pole or a cart axle,
[231] to which the animals are tied [59] when they are sunned and fed there during the day. For that reason the whole structure is called "round manger." It is also called "central fort," for it is the center of the yard and the buried urns protect the compound. The central fort is complete only when the mani-pole is raised. On the edge of the round manger, facing the main house, is found the fumigating plate. -- The making and burying of the urns is done with the same ceremonies that are performed in connection with the treasure-urn or the raising of a beńkań (chorten chamber). -- The round manger is painted
[527] white. After the raising, the master of the household holds a

[59 cont.]

●357 *778 [527] [171]

festive banquet; the people sing and dance around the new central fort (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 61.] The round manger is also commonly erected by the Chinese. The farther east one goes, however, the rarer it becomes. In any case, among the Chinese the mani-pole in the round manger is lacking, and sometimes even the structure, in other words, the manger itself. For them it is important only that an urn be buried in the center of the yard, and the construction of every compound practically begins with this burial of the urn. This spot or the round manger is called chung-kung, that is, central fort, or yüan-ts'ao, that is, round manger. The ceremony is performed by the lay bonze or by a Tao-shih, temple bonze, but usually the geomancer indicates the spot where the urn (or the urns) is to be buried. This is connected, however, with the geomantic determination of the whole compound.

*778 539

Song: After the erection of the central fort or the mani-tree, the following song is popularly sung: "If one steps through the large gate, what then is round? If one steps through the large gate, then the round manger is round; half-yaks, mules, horses form a circle, and in the middle rises the mani-tree. If one steps into the kitchen, what then is round? If one steps into the kitchen, the kettle and lid are round; cups, bowls, and dishes form a round herd, the wooden spoon rises up in the middle. If one steps into the main house, what then is round? If one steps into the main house, the fire basin is round. Relatives and friends sit around it, and in the middle the wine jar rises up."

[59 cont.]

*778 Meaning: The mani-tree guarantees good fortune and
[777] peace for the household, yard, and people. The air-horse is a
symbol of fate. On its back it bears the precious stone of good
[772] fortune: nuru. The tree represents the world-mountain. Around
its peak circle sun, moon, and stars, and below lies the world
with the people, with house and yard and herds (9).

•[351]

9. [Foreign text pp. 61-62.] This explanation by the informant indicates that only with the raising of the mani-pole is the compound complete, part of the world order, as is also expressed in other songs. It is based upon the Lamaistic conception of the world, according to which the world-mountain is in the center and everything else is situated around it. Among the lamas one always finds this interpretation, as it is presented symbolically in the monogram found everywhere, the nantšu wãńdãh̃. To be sure, the Tujen know nothing of the detailed interpretations of this monogram (cf. Note 3), nor of the parallel between this cosmic interpretation and the human body. -- Here it should also be noted that in this symbol the flat disk under the moon sickle is lacking, and furthermore that the colors are different; the small flame on the sun is green, the sun itself white, the moon sickle red; cf. Unkrig in Filchner: Kumbum, pp. 160-161.

[192] [62] The word sdzi-ńkuor and the informant's translation, "center-round," phonetically and semantically give precisely the Tibetan word dkyil 'k'or; cf. DMF, p. 387, and Ch. Das, p. 56.

[68 cont.]

192 *778 The game is cared for by the mountain-spirit: lawdzë udaġladzän sōwa (or fsüärëġwa) = birds (or game) are ruled by the obo.

The dog of the mountain-spirit (wolf): yifulani noxuę.
The old people relate legends: šdogu kunsgë xuęńge gulie-.
Whose legends are many: käni xuę uluona?
Large and small drink barley wine: šge mulā dërasēńgë udzi-.
Today is good: niudurġuo dur sēna.
In conviviality let us sit together: suġdzieńge sōldeya!
One does not know today what tomorrow will be: niudurë malõńguni li mudien.
With death it is all over: fugugë bura dzia.
We come into the world for nothing: ndziġdienë (8) [see Note 8 above]) arãń nigë huę rëdziā- (nigë xue = once).

[Pages 68-71 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[71] 5. The Chorten Chamber*

*778 346

* See "Notes," pp. 77-79 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[621] [351] In each Tujen village and sometimes also in individual compounds there is a chorten chamber. The actual name is hundred-thousand-house. This chamber looks like a small temple without doors. In it there are several sacred urns, which are buried under 100,000 small clay cones. In this cone-mountain is stuck the column of the sky, which is covered with all kinds of blessing formulas.

192 [849 cont.]
789 Raven's feather: kērie fōdē.
He has painted the demon on paper: tsialdzērē ilieni xuarladzia.
[778] Horse's skull: mori tolguē yāsē.
Little-bearer: ndi kurgēdzin kun = men accompanying the whole (litter?) away.

[Pages 849-850 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[850]
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4. The Figure-conjuration * (1)

* See "Notes," pp. 851-182 [of foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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[192]

1. [Foreign text p. 851.] I could not obtain any clarification concerning the actual name. It seems that the rdzõṅ in rdzõṅwa is the same as in dzõṅrē. The ceremony is quite similar to the one with the figure-litter.

[789]

Report

[756] In case of very severe illness one invites in a shaman who makes a series of figures, touches the sick person with them, and takes away the figures in the evening for burning.

[789] Afterwards he buries a series of objects in order to hold down the sickness-demon. The compound remains taboo for [357] all strangers during this time, three, five, seven, or nine days, [784] depending upon the sickness involved.

[852 cont.] 5. The Washing of the Sick

Report

755 The washing of the sick is undertaken by the sword-
[756] shaman at the coming of darkness. He puts himself in a trance
[787] as is customary during the incense offering, then throws a few kernels of Tibetan barley on his breast-mirror, which is held flat, and prophesies which illness is involved; then he undertakes the ceremonies. The taboo for the compound begins on
[357] the following day and, depending on the declaration of the
[784] shaman, may last three, five, or seven days.

The ceremony has three parts: the actual washing, fire-blowing, and the healing drink. The things needed for the washing are provided by the family itself.

Details

The washing of the sick: The washing takes place in the kitchen. The following things are needed for it: seven bowls of fresh water, an iron knife, a door lock, seven white stones, a bowl of liquor, some flowers, three, five, and seven pieces of paper with certain prayer texts, seven different things in all.

Now in the kitchen the hearth kettle is washed, fumi-
755 gated, and placed on the fire. The master of the household
756 lights the fire and throws [853] incense twigs into it. Now the
[787] shaman, already in a trance, comes out of the main house into the kitchen; in his right hand he holds his spirit-sword, while he keeps his left hand free for the various actions.

First the seven bowls of water are poured into the kettle, and the shaman throws incense twigs and Tibetan barley into it. Then he thrusts his sword through his clothes into his chest as
[783] proof of his power and in order to purify himself. No blood flows.

Meanwhile the sick person is brought into the kitchen. The shaman bares the chest of the patient and thrusts the above-mentioned knife midway into it. No blood may flow. If the
[787] sick person bleeds, then he will not be healed; if he does not bleed, he will be saved. The shaman plasters the wound with one of the prayer sheets; he throws the knife into the kettle.

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 858 cont.]
fortune, which consists of several conchoidal eggs and is surrounded with flames, nuru. This is found very often in Lamaistic symbolism and is also borne by the air-horse. It is the cintāmani. Cf. above: "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation," Note 2.

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Persons: The urn can only be made by a lama who possesses special powers. One never fetches a Living Buddha for it. The latter, however, may make and consecrate them in his monastery. -- Since one can also order the urns in the monastery (they are not in stock), the master of the household may fetch it from there and bury it at home without a lama. [791] It must always be done with the assistance of a soothsayer, however, and in the presence of an invoked spirit -- If one wants to bury several urns, however, this must always be done by a lama even if the urns were bought in the monastery. -- If one wants to have several urns made at home, then he fetches [357] [784] several lamas at the same time (5). -- Regardless of whether the

5. [Foreign text pp. 858-859.]
As the lamas in Kumbum maintain, there is a great number of treasure urns, and special prayers are used for each type. [859] The urns are preferably buried in obos. -- In Kumbum the urns are usually called [192] beṅba, which seems to be the same as the Tibetan bum-ba, vessel. Another name is xdër-wëm, which probably corresponds to the Tibetan gter-bum, treasure vessel, Chinese pao-p'ing. The expression sënoġ-dër (cf. section, [778] "Mani-tree and Central Fort") perhaps

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 858-859 cont.] comes from the fact that the urn is consecrated with certain conjuration formulas, snags (dha-rani), in other words, represents a magic treasure.

[784]
[357]

urn is buried by one or more lamas or by the master of the household, the compound is always taboo during this time.

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[858] Place: The place at which the urn is buried must always be chosen in such a way that no person or domestic animal can desecrate it. No one may run across such a place. For this reason roads and public places are avoided, for the place is, after all, not specially marked. Otherwise the urn may be buried anywhere, in the fields or in the pasture, in the yard or in the house. Indeed, one may even set it in yard and room walls and wall it up.

[776]
[777]

Significance: The contents of the urn are the treasures and yield of the earth, everything that belongs in the realm of the earth-god or of the mountain-spirit. One wants to please these two spirits through these valuables so that they will hold down the evil earth-influences and protect human beings from misfortune. It is as though gifts were being given to persons in office (6).

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6. [Foreign text pp. 859-860.] According to this explanation, an offering to the earth-god is involved. The interpretation, however, might not suffice. One must consider the urn in its wider context. It repeatedly occurs in Tujen usage, with the arrow of good fortune, with the round manger, in the obo, in the chorten chamber, and, to be sure, in twofold form: in the one case as the seat of a deity, which through the formula scroll,

[860]

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8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

782 In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in
792 the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions.
[777] They make a small torma which one takes out into the open and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by
[784] hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three
[351] large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar. The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying.
[791] One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual
[787] ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the burning at the fire-pouring.

[778] After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the master of the household undertakes the great incense offering in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the
[783] night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[861 cont.]

782 outside for the ceremony, and the lama makes another torma of
792 pure butter. He takes this outside and puts it on the drawing of the burning-place. Then the ceremony of the fire-pouring follows, at which all kinds of wood and spices are burned.

The lama continues to pray until evening. The following morning he receives his fee and is taken back to the monastery. Sometimes, however, one keeps him a few more days for prayers. -- After the fire-pouring the yard remains taboo for at least another week.

[784] [351]

Details

[756] Persons: The fire-pouring may not be undertaken by shamans, but only by lamas. These are not ordinary lamas, however. Only the three top classes are considered for it: the Hutukhtu, the Tsüordzi, and the Känpo. Usually three lamas are needed. It suffices if one of them belongs to the higher rank, but one often invites more (1).

[791]

1. [Foreign text p. 867.] Other Tujen claim that a Bon priest could also undertake the fire-pouring, which, after all, is to be expected, at least in the case of the black fire-pouring. The old informant, however, and other people, too, decidedly contest this. According to them, only a lama (gelõngba) is to be considered for this; the Bon priests, they claim, concern themselves only with demon exorcism.

782 The fire-pouring may be ordered by a private person (man or woman), by an individual family, or by the entire village. -- During the ceremony, the general avoidance pre-
[562] scriptions apply. Women may be present, but may not assist.

[861 cont.]

782 Place: Ordinarily the fire-pouring takes place in a compound. If the affair is organized by the village, then the temple yard is preferred. They may also go to a mountain, but not to its peak, only halfway up. -- The burning-place is always indicated in detail by a soothsayer. [791]

There are no further prescriptions concerning the location of the various types of fire-pourings, except for the black fire-pouring. It may never be undertaken in a yard, temple, or in the village. For it a very remote mountain region is sought and the people stay there in tents for several days.

[791] [792] Time: The soothsayer determines the date days or weeks ahead of time. If the lama cannot come on the day set, then he is asked to state the term, and the soothsayer then determines a day within this period. The ceremony always lasts seven days; the actual fire-pouring always takes place on the morning of the last day. There are no interdicted periods; it could also be undertaken when the family concerned is still in its period of mourning or when there is still a woman in childbed in the compound. In this case, the woman in childbed, for instance, would not be allowed to watch.

778 782 Tormas: Six tormas in all are made. 1. A small torma, as always in connection with lama-visits. This is the misfortune-torma, after whose removal the compound is taboo. 2. On the [792] morning of the second day three large tormas follow. One of them represents the god (Buddha), to whom the [862] fire-pouring is presented. The other two, which are slightly lower, symbolize his two subordinate companions. The color of these tormas varies according to which god is involved. The tormas are put before the household altar or in the household chapel, and they are elevated in a box that is covered with a cloth or a board so that no animal (for instance, a cat) can desecrate them. The votive gifts are put in a row in front of these tormas: seven bowls of pure water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of sugar, a bowl of dough beans, and several small butter-lamps. These little lamps remain burning day and night until the conclusion [351] [784]

[864 cont.]

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[325]
[357]
[171]

[Note on foreign text pp.867-868 cont.] soldered into the ladling spoon for the liquid butter. -- The significance of the peonies corresponds to the custom of the lamaseries and of the Chinese, among whom peony shrubs of various colors are planted in the yard. Tujen and Chinese believe that a wealthy, affluent man always has a peony shrub before his door. -- Instead of the peony, lotus blossoms are painted in the case of the ground-drawing of the crematory. These represent the lotus on which the Buddha supposedly sat and from which the flames of transformation emanate. Cf. the chapter on cremation.

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Now the men build a low wall with clay bricks on one side of the figure, while the lama says his prayers. This wall is terrace-shaped. The lower layer consists of two rows of bricks laid lengthwise; the second layer takes half the brick, and the third layer has only one brick. The whole wall, in other words, is six clay bricks high. The front and back side is coated with clay and lime and whitewashed. The vertical terraces remain free. With his pattern the lama again draws a thunderbolt on each of them, in other words, five thunderbolts altogether. This wall is to protect the lama from the fire, since at the pouring he is seated on level ground or only very slightly elevated (5). After the drawing, the lama again

[333]

5. [Foreign text p. 868.] There are also walls with four to six steps. According to the statements of others, the wall also bears the color of the fire-pouring concerned, and the ground-drawing likewise.

withdraws into the house for prayer.

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
752 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[757] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
[292] shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
[534] village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
[778] val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[142] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-
pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip
with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the
gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest
Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The
Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
[171] graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical.
Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs
concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his
percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his
instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the follow-
ing day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless
one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing
to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed.
[333] The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[209 cont.]

772 time, an inner significance cannot be denied to it. The air-
778 horse is the symbol and the guarantor of the destiny of the family,
of the kin group. Human destiny, however, is fitted into the
[614] course of the world, just as the kin-group compound occupies its
[351] place in the world-structure. According to Tujen conception, a
compound is not "complete" if the central fort and mani-tree
are lacking. Through them the living space of the kin group is
given conformity with the living space of the other living beings.

The world is no rigid schema, however; this is proved by the significance of the arrow of good fortune. In its way, the arrow of good fortune also represents the world: the [210] urn symbolizes the earth with its fruit; the arrow, the connecting column to the sky. Frequently four other arrows corresponding to the four directions of the compass are added to the central arrow. The vital force in the arrow of good fortune is new and not observable in the other world-representations (central fort, mandala, etc.). The germs of things, the force of increase and of life, are conjured into it. It guarantees wealth, good fortune, and a full life. The tufts of hair from the animals and the grain in the urn signify that these things will not be lost to the owner even when he has sold them. The oracle-toys of the children on the arrow guarantee the development of the young person in the corresponding direction; the hairs and threads of clothing from the bride insure that despite the loss of the daughter her good fortune will not escape. The dynamism of the world is expressed on the arrow of good fortune, whereas on the mandala (central fort, etc.), more the fixed order. Here, however, the cosmic force, the sap of life, and germinal base are not to be conceived as mana, but are to be derived from their connection with the superposed heaven. The astral, heavenly order is not only the model of its earthly mirror-image; it also imparts to the world its force, which permeates both. The references in the chapter on the arrow of good fortune already offer several indications of this. These conceptions can still be pursued much further. Their threads are quite tangled; they extend back to very early cultural forms and are linked with the oldest kind of communication between heaven and earth. Old forms of sacrifice and having the deities present are linked

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Chuang Lang. Ju Kao went to call on him. He was invited to dinner, and highly praised by the governor. 175x

The empire was at peace, the troops at rest. Ju Kao executed the orders of his superiors, and controlled his subjects according to the law. According to the seasons he examined farming and the culture of mulberry trees. In his spare time he planted flowers and bamboos and studied calligraphy, in the clerical style, [35] according to the principles of the scholars of the Chin and T'ang dynasties. He was able to write letters as big as the elbow. Most of the inscriptions in our mansions, temples, monasteries, and shops are products of his pencil and admired as gifts of his hand and his artistic talent.

He died in 1891 at the age of sixty-four and received posthumously the title of Cheng-wei-chiang-chun. His wife, the noble Khoshot lady, guarded the seals. She cared for the orphan and controlled the clan. She was intelligent and strong minded.

In 1896 the Mohammedans of Ho Chou and Hsining revolted again. Destitute people fled to Lien Ch'eng. The lady provided them with board and lodging and distributed alms and repaired the city walls. She was clever and was feared and loved by the subjects. Nobody dared to vex her.

She had no children. However, there were three boys of concubines. The first one, Tan Tseng, became a lama, the second one, Yang, died at the time he was adult, the third, Shu, succeeded to the hereditary duty. The lady died at forty-six years of age and received the title of tseng (great-grandmother) Fujen. She was buried at Shang Hsiang T'ang.[10]

FOUNDATION OF A SECOND CLAN WITHIN THE LU CLAN

175x 614

To the study of the Genealogical Register, the biographies and history of the Lu clan, is to be added a note about the founding of a second clan within the Lu clan.

T'o Huan, at the time of his submission to the Ming dynasty, was ordered to settle with his subjects in the country of Chuang Lang, which he had occupied during the Yuan dynasty. Accordingly, he was the recognized

[10] According to the Chronicles of the Lu clan Ju Kao, born in 1830, succeeded as t'u-ssu in 1850 or 1852 and received the diploma of his incumbency only in 1883. He died in 1891 or in 1893.

His wife, a Khoshot lady, died without issue in 1895.

Ju Kao had three sons born by concubines. The third son, Shu, born in 1876 succeeded his father in 1897. Here end the Chronicles.

In 1916 the widow of Shu, also a Khoshot lady, arrived at Hsining imploring General Ma K'o-ch'eng to accept the "dry fatherhood" of her son. A few days later the boy arrived at Hsining to acknowledge his "dry father," his protector. Certainly Shu had died before 1916, leaving a son. The wife of Shu, the Khoshot lady, hoping to see the son succeed her late husband as t'u-ssu, made a trip to Hsining to secure the protection of General Ma K'o-ch'eng, and the realization of her desire.

/The Monguors/

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2: Schram--198 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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● 352
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An Ing-tang Sien-cheng Chinese, in fine array, in front of the door of his house. At the left his pupil-apprentice, in the background his old servant.

2: Schram--206 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

142
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516
177
352

A T'ou-jen with his son; they wear Chinese clothes (country of Nien-pei, Sining).

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[p. 116 b]

[Caption for Plate 2 between pp. 48 and 49.]

*778
[137]
[291]

a: Mani-tree on a house roof in the village T'a-erh-wan west of Tangkar in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

b: An old Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai on the way to the obo of the Sha-pa-kou, 1949. In his right hand a poplar branch with flocks of wool, in his left and imitation spear with a flock of wool and painted spiral. In front of him on the ground: a
[782] bundle of straw for the incense fire, a saddle bag with white stones that will be thrown on the obo, a jug of barley wine for the libation, and behind it a little bag with cypress needles (incense). (To accompany the chapter: "The Obo.")

[342]
[351]
[417]

c: A Tujen yard of the settlement Ha-szu (Hsia-szu) on the way from Na-ling-kou to Yang-chüan. In the center of the yard, the central fort with the mani-tree. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

000 [50]

2. The Arrow of Good Fortune*

*See "Notes," pp. 52-55 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

•353
*778

In every good Tujen house there is an arrow. The tip is stuck in an urn of grain, in a crevice in the wall, or in a slit in a beam. Hadas, colorful ribbons, sheep wool, hair, etc. are
[792] attached to the arrow. The arrow is consecrated by a lama or a Bon priest, and on this occasion it is venerated in the house. Later, however, it is not venerated any more. The arrow is
[777] not the seat of a spirit, but rather guarantees good fortune and wealth in the family.

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The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses,

M [794] mules or donkeys. A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic or drink wine.

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter

M [412] and wheat flour are luxuries. Only the wealthy can afford fruit. Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

N *563 M 264 415 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some

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342 in the center is the living room, and is used for the reception of guests and as the dining room. One of the two smaller rooms on either side of the living room is occupied by the chief of the family and his wife; the room opposite is occupied by the eldest son.

352 The largest part of each dwelling room is occupied by the *k'ang*—a small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, ●354 sits, talks, sews, etc. In front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm. In winter the *k'ang* is a wonderful invention. On it are spread felt rugs, and along the wall are folded and piled the covers and skins used at night. Three or four wooden cases along the wall contain the clothes of members of the family and the treasures of the mother (needle box, sewing materials, etc.), and there is also a small cupboard. Along 353 251 the wall, hung on pegs, are a gun, a stringed musical instrument, clothes, etc. In the corner of the room stands a jar containing fermenting pickled vegetables. 342 Part of the smoke of the oven escapes through a hole pierced in the window and the door is opened when the smoke is too heavy. Beams and rafters are like ebony, blackened by the oily smoke. Around New Year, the walls are whitewashed and two or three pictures of deities are placed on the walls. After a few days the whitewash turns brown and the walls are muddy again.

343 In the northeast corner of the courtyard is the kitchen and in this building the youngest of the married sons lives with his family—for in this blessed corner, according to the shaman, a large progeny is to be expected.[1] The two remaining corners are converted into stables—for these corners, again according to the shaman, are propitious for the reproduction of animals. Sheep and cows are fenced outside the courtyard.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

621 Since nobles and commoners live in the same kind of 184 house and earn their living by the same means, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated. Poor and rich, nobles and commoners, live in the same hamlets, help each other and go in and out of each

[1] This custom preserves the tradition that the youngest son is "guardian of the hearth." There are many evidences that in ancient Turco-Mongol society elder sons moved away at marriage and received at that time their share of the inheritance. The youngest son remained with the parents and received the residual inheritance. Hence, according to Vladmirtsov (*Régime social des Mongols*, 60), the term *otchigin* or *otjigin*, "prince of the fire," for the youngest son. P. Pelliot and L. Hambis (*Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan* 1: 176, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1951) point out that *ot* is Turkish for "fire," while *chigin* is the medieval Mongol form of *tigin* (*tegin*), which though occurring in Turkish, is in their opinion of Avar (old Mongol) origin. They point to another word for "youngest son," *otqan*, as "probably" deriving from ot-qan (khan), "sovereign of the fire."—O. I.

[p. 75a]

/64 cont'd/

585 envelops the chopsticks. Then the son-in-law places himself on the left side of the bride, near enough to her so that his arm touches hers, and so that she knows when she must go ahead and stop. At the moment when they enter the courtyard, pieces of red felt are spread in their path one after the other. Cash, symbol of wealth, are thrown in front of them, and likewise wheat, symbol of fecundity. The couple is led straight to the kitchen where the T'ou-jen honor the god of the hearth. There the jug and the chopsticks which she held are taken from the bride, and these objects are put down before the god of the hearth, whom the bride salutes with three prostrations. (1)

1. "Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen /On Fire Worship among the Mongols/," by N. Poppe, Asia Major, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 141-142.

[776 782] As can be seen from the above, much depends on the fire god. It is no wonder, then, that the young bride, when she first steps across the threshold of the new house, must bow in front of the hearth. By this act she puts herself under the protection of the fire god, since this same figure is the guardian spirit of the family. /Cited in German./

/65/ We have seen that at the bride's departure chopsticks were thrown on her mother's lap. This gesture meant that she no longer belonged to the clan; here, as soon as she arrives, she is incorporated into the bridegroom's family by being offered another pair of chopsticks and presenting them to the god of the hearth. From the kitchen she is led to the nuptial chamber, her head still veiled. On the four corners of the k'ang (1) have been put several cash, two

[354] 1. K'ang: stove used in the north, on which the family spends the night.

packages of sugar, and some red lozenges.

/65 cont'd/

585 Four bundles of straw burn at the four corners of the courtyard; it is hoped that the smoke will rise straight up. An oil lamp, in which [354] two wicks of equal length have been placed, is put in front of the religious image in the main building and is lighted as soon as the bride has entered the nuptial chamber. They look at the lamp attentively without touching it in order to see which of the two wicks, the one on the right side or the one on the left, will go out first. In this is seen an omen for the long life of the husband and wife; the right wick designates the girl, the left the boy.

The bride's maid of honor accepted the cup of gin presented to her when she dismounted. She dipped her finger in it and sprinkled some toward the four cardinal directions; then she touched the wine with her lips. She did the same for the bread and tea which were presented. Only after performing this rite did she follow the bride into the nuptial chamber, whose door was closed behind her. She is not given anything to eat or drink as long as the marriage rite is not finished.

As soon as the bride crossed the threshold of the door and entered the courtyard, the go-between took his place in the middle of it, [262] holding in his hands a cup of flour made from parched wheat; he ate some flour and drank some gin each time the bride passed through the courtyard, either going to the kitchen or returning to the nuptial chamber.

The other guests do not enter then but go toward the open area in front of the house. A little table has been placed /66/ in the middle of the area, and on it are seen a well-done sheep, several more legs of mutton, a pig's head, some sausages.... In front of the [262 604] table is spread out a piece of red felt on which is seated the bridegroom's maternal uncle. Here he seems to fill the post of head of the family as did the maternal uncle of the bride in his niece's family. Gin is being warmed over a small fire.

Upon the arrival of the guests the bridegroom's father has gone to meet them with the traditional k'ata on both hands. He greets each of them by putting the k'ata on their hands. This is the ceremony of welcome.

[38 cont.]

792 Prayer service: Now he begins his prayer service. Before
796 each prayer service a few tormas are made; if he is a great
782 lama, his assistants see to it. The tormas vary and represent
778 offerings to the gods. In part they are left standing on the table, or they are taken to the household altar. Before that comes a series of little water bowls, grain bowls, liquor bowls (3),

3. [Foreign text p. 41.] There is a definite number and order for these little bowls. The water offering plays an important role in the monastic cult, cf. Kumbum, p. 251. The Tujen and Chia-Hsifan [Sifan] frequently present the water offering in the morning. Thus,

[534]
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[532]

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5

Fig. 4. Two hourglass drums. (Drawing of a Tujen.) Fig. 5. Butter-lamp.

I once saw how an old man got up in the morning, washed himself, burned incense, put a large copper bowl and 12 little bowls of water on the household altar, kowtowed three times in the courtyard, one of these in the direction of Kumbum, kowtowed three times in front of the household altar, and then emptied the water bowls.

and butter-lamps, which are always kept burning. Later these tormas are either taken away or eaten by the family, and sometimes thrown

[39 cont.]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.]
the subsequent prayer ceremonies, the master of gifts, who had sacrificed this sheep, had the flesh cooked and a piece served to each of the monks in the temple during a pause in the prayer. It is therefore not surprising that the lama receives a loin of mutton for his fee. Since the Tujen, however, do not sacrifice a sheep in the presence of a lama (cf. the chapter, "The Mani-tree"), it seems to be a matter of not performing the killing itself before the eyes of the lama or in the same yard.

people give much more, for instance, beautiful horses, ornamental pendants, cloth, etc. When it is a matter of great occasions, a prayer service is even ordered for the monastery during the time that the lama stays with the master of gifts. During these days the master of gifts provides all the monks with rice, sugar, butter, and tea. Even pilgrims who stay in the monastery during these days and "stop in" to honor and to pray for the master of gifts are provided for and also receive alms for the journey.

The masters of gifts also usually donate the prayer tea for the entire monastery, which is drunk during the ceremonial in the prayer hall, for example, at funerals, etc. Often they also set up a great number of butter-lamps in the temple at this time, or at least they donate the butter for the lamps. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

Return: After the lama has received his gifts, he is ceremonially escorted out of the gate of the yard. An incense offering is again presented, but otherwise no further ceremonies take place. The white horse is brought up, a kang table with a felt mat is set up for mounting, and the lama is lifted into the saddle. Then the men escort him out of the village. There

[626 cont.]

527 [354] [177]

1. [Foreign text p. 628.] The lamps are large copper butter-lamps or the small copper bowls. -- If there is no mani-tree, the red lamp is hung on a roof slat in front of the door of the main house. This lamp is very likely copied from the Chinese celestial lantern. The Chinese, too, draw up such a lamp on a tall mast in the yard, like a flag, and let it burn every night. It is called t'ien-teng, that is, celestial lamp.

[356] [177] the window newly plastered. In recent times the Tujen also write vernal sayings on red paper, like the Chinese, and paste them to the door posts. This was formerly not the case.

[573] Night watch: During the night before New Year's Day sleeping is not allowed. The old people say: "Please do not sleep tonight, the gods want to be welcomed early tomorrow morning." Therefore the master of the household stays up with his whole family. They partake liberally of tea, liquor, and the New Year's food, sing and converse until dawn.

527 782 [888] New Year's morning: At the first cockcrow after midnight even the last stragglers put on their best clothes. Only the very old in the family remain lying on the kang. The master of the household puts large, burning butter- or oil-lamps in the room on the household altar. In the yard he hangs a red paper lantern with a butter-lamp to the mani-tree (1) [see Note 1 above]. It is attached to a transverse strip on it. Then outside, with the entire family, he gives the great incense offering, and everyone makes a threefold kowtow to the sky out in the open. The same is repeated before the household altar for the countless other spirits. During this time a stone is made red-hot in the [783] hearth fire, and with this glowing stone all the rooms of the compound are fumigated. At the same time the conch is blown. The fumigation may also be done by women (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 628.] The

[638 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.]
the Chinese. Among the Chinese I learned the following: If someone died on an unlucky day -- which the geomancer determines -- there is danger that he will take someone else from the family with him into the beyond. In order to prevent this, the family provides a substitute at the interment. They lay a human figure made of apricot or peach wood, which the demons particularly fear, in a miniature coffin. At the interment this miniature coffin is buried at the base of the grave and the actual coffin is put on top of it. -- The Tujen bury the miniature coffin under the bone-chest. The Chinese name for this custom is ch'ung-sang, that is, double interment. One would do better to translate it as "accompanying interment." It clearly has nothing to do with an escort for the dead and the double interment in the usual sense. A kind of after-consumer [Nachzehrer] is involved here.

[789]

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Gifts for the dead: The Tujen make an offering of 12 loaves of bread and a water-lamp before the dead (10). First,

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[354]

10. [Foreign text p. 654.] Death-gifts and offering regulations correspond with those of the Chinese. The water-lamp, shui-teng, is an earthen bowl which is half-filled with water, beans are usually also added. A layer of oil is poured on the water. A little wooden plate, into which a wick is stuck, floats

[638 cont.]

764
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[354]
[171]

[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] on the oil. This is to prevent the wick from burning too far down into the bowl; in order to save oil, the lower half is filled with water. -- The Chinese dough-lamp of long life, ch'ang-ming teng, has nothing to do with this lamp; it is unknown to the Tujen.

the deceased's own family must present these gifts. A so-called paper-bowl also stands on the floor next to the bread and the water-lamp. After each meal some tea, soup, or milk is poured into it, and little pieces of meat, bread, vegetable, etc. [264] are thrown in, according to what the family has just eaten. Until the day of cremation the dead is always supposed to partake of the meals of the household. The paper-bowl is an ordinary earthen bowl; it gets its name from the fact that after the paper-burning the charred leaves are thrown in it (11). Along with the

[171]

11. [Foreign text p. 654.] The paper-burning is typically Chinese.

water-lamp it is emptied in front of the gate on the last day, when the death-box leaves the compound for cremation. It is not broken, but may be used again for other purposes.

764 On the third day after the death, the oldest married daughter of the household appears with 12 loaves of bread. Then 782 the family loaves before the death-box are replaced by the 593 daughter's loaves. This is called "bread exchange." This takes place each time a person makes an offering of loaves. The oldest daughter is followed in order by the younger ones, whether or not the corpse has already been put in the box. Unmarried [589] daughters of the household do not make offerings. Every time [152] someone offers loaves, he also burns white paper and weeps aloud; the men, it is true, do not weep (24).

192 [649 cont.]
764 Death box: odõṅ.
Bone-chest: mula odõṅ = little death-box.
[354] Water-lamp: fdzë dzüla.
Paper-bowl: tsialdzë pendzë.
To wear the clothing reversed: diela furula mõsë.
Prayer tea: rgē tsia.
[787] Prayer for the dead: xar(i)dzăn kunë xuenuo mani sguorluo- = (to pray) in behalf of the deceased person afterwards the mani in the circle.
Prayer fee for the lama: mbō (Tib. loanword).
Prayer alms: odõṅ dzied = death-box alms.
192 Own family: dzienāni kudë.
601 Relatives on the father's side: dzienani šāni = own relatives, those with the same family name.
Relatives on the mother's side, affinity through marriage: uroġ. Those with different family names.
[608] Artificial kinship: šāni funi = kinship-smoke. Neighbors and friends who take the place of relatives in performing services at the reception of guests, cremation, etc.

[650]
[764] Bone-master, mother's brother: tsiġăn yesëni daxu = the owner of the white bones;
ku-chu (Chin.).
Mother's brother: nëġä; achiu (Chin.).
Nephew (sister's son): dzie; wai-sheng (Chin.).
Son-in-law: kurgien; nü-hsü (Chin.).
Sister: agū.
Daughter: fsdzün.
192 He died as a rider: tsürog morina bagaldilā sdzia fugudzia.
764 He died as a settler: sañrëdzi liela guei wõldzia.
Burned bones: xuodzën yäsë = dry bones.
Crematory: taw (tab) (Tib.).
Lighting pole: xuāmbar.
Lay bonze: lao shih-fu (Chin.) = old master.
Demand for an accounting: bäda; pai-ta (Chin.).
769 Grave festival: ch'ing-ming (Chin.); sëṅ-miṅ (21) [see Note 21 above].
192

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the colossal amounts of butter that a monastery requires. In the temples of Erh-ku-lung eight butter lamps burn before the statues day and night. Each lamp consumes 180 pounds of butter every year, making 1,440 pounds for the eight lamps. The intendant told me that every year he had to provide a total of more than 3,000 pounds of butter for lamps, kitchen, and tea, and had to send lamas to Kukunor and Mongolia in order to collect this enormous amount. The intendant, in short, is the biggest cog in the wheel of administration. A visitor must inquire for him and pay him a visit, for it is he who cares for visitors and pilgrims of note.

It is easy to understand why it pays to have an experienced intendant, one who creates good relations with the outside Chinese world, acquires benefactors for the monastery, maintains control of the inside world of the monastery and has sufficient influence to be successful in the office, but these things cannot be realized in a few months.

The choice of an intendant who is capable is usually easy, but it is not so easy to find a lama who is, at the same time, capable and always loyal and dependable. Because so much power is vested in him it is not exceptional to encounter an intendant who is getting too big for his britches, stirring up trouble and acting as if none of the rules of the monastery existed for him. He disposes of so much wealth that it is almost impossible to control his financial transactions, and many intendants pile up their own comfortable fortune. They know all the liabilities and the debts of the monastery; they enjoy too much personal influence in Chinese administrative circles, and when things go wrong they can pull many wires in order to save themselves or even to harm the monastery. It is not easy to handle intendants, and it is more difficult to dismiss them, according to the sayings of experienced old lamas.

Next to the intendant comes the procurator (nirwa, in Tibetan; Takuan-chia, in Chinese). He also is appointed by the supreme chief of the monastery, in consultation with the intendant. The appointment is for three or five years, and may be renewed. The procurator supplies the personal needs of the Living Buddha, and under the supervision of the intendant he administers the internal affairs of the intendancy, including the board and jobs of servants, upkeep of buildings, stables, and equipment. He organizes the expeditions that go out to collect alms in Mongolia and Kukunor, keeps the accounts of the collection of revenues and of the corvées imposed on monastery subjects, and judges minor lawsuits. He discusses with the intendant the small loans granted to subjects or other people, dispenses the alms distributed to lamas. He is in fact the lieutenant and usually the protégé of the intendant, through whom he has obtained his appointment from the Living Buddha. If an intendant and his procurator are in collusion, they can easily dupe the supreme chief for a long time.

792 [354]

[p. 40(A)]

time with the beating of drums and cymbals perform their wildest dances for a long time. Usually three or four among them seem to be possessed. All of a sudden the chief of the shamans becomes excited to fever pitch, and howls "go to the goddess." Then, followed by the other shamans, he grasps a chicken and, dancing with fury, bites its neck and jerks off its head in a wild movement. Grimacing with distorted face, and glittering eyes, he throws the bleeding chicken head in the supposed direction of the goddess, uttering dreary cries and indistinct sounds. After the rite is accomplished, the people go home for dinner. It is indeed a savage means of greeting "a goddess of joy," with a bleeding head and with such wild appearance. 796 756

The split-personality of the "good" shaman who the first day was so gentle, so kind, so considerate for the spirits, shows up more and more; he has to see blood and to offer bloody sacrifices.

LEAVE-TAKING OF THE SPIRITS

After sunset all the villagers come to the temple. In some villages the women are not allowed to attend the evening rites, but elders asserted that in former times the women were admitted everywhere. [352]

A hundred small lamps are prepared, the cup made with dough and the wick with twisted cotton wool. Into the cup is poured vegetable oil. The lamps are displayed in rows on the offering table in front of the pole and the statues. The shamans first perform the usual dance, keeping time to the beating of the drums. The leave taking of the guest spirits is called the "opening of the highway" (*k'ai ma-lu*). A bridge* is to be built over which the guests are supposed to pass. A big roll is put on each of the four corners of the table, and a larger one in the middle; a paper banner is placed on each of the five rolls. A lamp is lit near the banners and a plate put near each of them; on the middle plate is placed the head of a chicken. [354]

The chief of the shamans asks the shamans and the apprentices for the meaning of the five rolls. The five rolls mean the five mountains; the five lamps, the five lakes; the five wicks, the five dragons; the banners, the incense which billows up into the sky. Why is the head of a chicken put on the middle plate? In order to steady the *Yin-Yang* (male and female principle of the Taoists). The chief shaman writes, around the roll in the center, the eight Chinese cyclical characters and asks for the explanation of each of them. If one of the shamans or apprentices is unable to answer he is scolded and upbraided in front of the whole gathering.

A bridge is constructed for the spirits from one end of the table to the other by disposing two rows of rolls in which are planted brand new chopsticks; on both sides of the bridge are planted incense sticks in smaller rolls. The shaman asks again for explanations: Is there still another way existing above that bridge or not? An- [412]

* Eliade, *op. cit.*, 419. [p. 110(A)]

If, however, black and white rites do not work, the Monguors call for the Taoist priest, who paints all the items used (the wood, etc.), with a coat of goat blood. He binds the logs in a bundle by means of goat guts, and sprinkles goat blood upon the burning fire. The rite is called the "red Wei-sang." 372 789

These facts give evidence of the importance attached by the Monguors to the fire for purifying from uncleanliness and preventing harm caused by evil spirits. They show their devotion for the fire by having a big cypress fire kindled during the performance of religious rites and the most important moments of life, as at marriages or the celebration of the sixtieth birthday. However, fire does not only play an important role in the life of the Monguors in the open air; its role is as important in the private life of the families where it is worshipped under the form of the "fire of the hearth," the "hearth god."

THE HEARTH FIRE

Among the Monguors, the Chinese, and the Tibetans, the cult of the hearth god belongs entirely to the department of the women. Everywhere, the temple of the hearth god is the kitchen. 715 776 372

No wonder that the hearth god is supposed to be interested in a special way in the fecundity of the wives and the protection of the children, and that it is honored at fixed times by its own ritual. [542]

FIRE AND FECUNDITY

When the Monguor bride arrives at the home of the bridegroom, she does not prostrate herself before her parents-in-law or before the guests, but is led straight to the kitchen. Here she worships the god of the hearth giving three prostrations, burning incense, offering a bottle of wine and her chopsticks, which she has brought with h[illegible] 585 354 776 372

It was note[illegible] the first volume of this study that the youngest co[illegible]le in the family always lives in the kitchen, where the god of the hearth is honored, because the Monguors say that in that way fecundity is assured. Women who have plenty of children and do not wish to have more will leave the kitchen and live in another room. It has been noted that, among the Mongols, the youngest son inherits his father's hearth, occupies his tent, and is called the prince of the fire. [428]

When poor people cannot afford the luxury of a lavish marriage, nor invite guests, they marry the young couple in the kitchen "before the god of the hearth." The makeup of the new bride is done before the god of the hearth and not in the living room.[19]

An unusual practice relates to the fecundity assumed to be bestowed on women by means of the cult of the spirit of the fire (and of the god of the hearth). On the fifteenth of the first moon, at night, on the edge of the big threshing floor of the village, a number of small heaps of cypress boughs are kindled. While musicians 842 372 776

[19] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, 39.

[p. 121 (A)]

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beat drums and play mandolins, all the younger wives and their husbands pursue each other, jumping over the fire heaps, merrymaking. No wives or husbands would miss this practice, for the tradition goes that it provides fecundity. However, the Yassa forbids jumping over the fire.[20] 842 372 776

Professor N. Poppe notes that among the Mongols the spirit of the fire is represented riding a he-goat, and that the he-goat is a symbol of fecundity, as Plano Carpini already noted.[21] This note of Professor Poppe evidences the existence of the fact that a relation existed between the fire god and fecundity in olden times. The Monguors seem not to know the existence of the god of the fire riding the he-goat, although they know that the hearth god secures fecundity. The hearth god also procures fecundity among the Buriats.[22]

FIRE AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE CHILDREN

The god of the hearth not only provides fecundity to the daughters-in-law, but it protects their children. On the second of the second moon is performed the rite of consecration of the children to the god of the hearth. In the very early morning, before boiling water for washing and making tea, the mother roasts some handfuls of spelt in the cauldron and after them some handfuls of peas. Husband and wife spread them devoutly in the courtyard in front of the door. Then the elders clip some hair from the foreheads of the children under thirteen years of age, and cut the nails on their fingers. Hair and nail parings are carefully put in a cup and covered with a red cloth. The cup is placed before the picture of the hearth god and a copper coin placed on top of it. All members of the family prostrate themselves nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and the incense sticks are then fixed before the picture of the hearth god. On the twenty-fourth of the twelfth moon, at the time the god starts its journey to Heaven, the contents of the cup are burned in the hearth, together with the picture of the god. The Monguors explain this as the yearly rite of consecration of the children to the hearth god. 952 372 776

CULT OF THE HEARTH GOD

Rite at the End of the Year

The most important rites in honor of the spirit of the hearth are performed at its departure for Heaven, and at its coming back from Heaven, for so important a benefactor must receive the highest honors possible, and the most affectionate greetings. This is true all over China. Men do not attend these rites. 795 562 354 776 782

The spirit of the hearth of the Chinese starts its journey to heaven on the twenty-third of the last moon of the year, on horseback or on a mule. The spirit of

[20] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 73.

[21] Poppe, *op. cit.* 2: 135. See also n. 15, above, for Agni, the Hindu god, riding a ram.

[22] *Ibid.*, 301.

[p. 121(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the Monguors starts its journey in the same way on the twenty-fourth of the same moon. Before that day, all daughters-in-law on holiday at their mothers' have to be back, for the cult of the spirit is entrusted to the women. This rule is kept most rigidly. 795 562 354 776 782

At evening, after supper, the women don their makeup and put on their best dresses, while the children are clad in their New Year's dresses. Grandmother and the daughters-in-law and the children kneel before the image of the spirit, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The grandmother presents and puts in front of the spirit a boiled chicken and twelve rolls of steamed bread, and kindles the oil lamp. Prostrations are made and paper is burned in the oven. Then the participants, sitting on the floor chatting, recall the events of the whole year. When the lamp is nearly burned out, the offerings are removed. Some straw is spread in the oven, on which the picture of the spirit is placed. Twelve small bundles of hay, some peas (horses are fed with peas in the country), and three or four rolls are placed on the image, as well as the cup containing hair and nail parings of the children. The straw is kindled. The participants prostrate themselves and bow. The grandmother says: "Good deity, you know all that has happened in the family during the year; you know our deficiencies and shortcomings. Please do not tell about them when you arrive in Heaven, but rather, speak about our pitiable living conditions, our miseries, our afflictions, our poor cattle. Please come back soon. Do not linger in Heaven for too long a time, as we need you very much; we will wait for you on the thirtieth at midnight. Bring with you children for my daughters-in-law—boys are preferable to girls. Bring health for all of us; bring riches and wealth, and blessings for the cattle." If some member of the family becomes ill at that time, or if one of the daughters-in-law is childless, all these facts are entrusted to the spirit and put on its knees with confidence. The fire in the oven is extinguished, and the good spirit is on the way, enjoying his ride to Heaven.

This is one of the most intimate prayers the Monguors say in a group in the family. The same rite is performed among the Chinese in the same affectionate way and almost in the same terms, and it may be that the Monguors borrowed it from them.

The spirit of the hearth seems to be the envoy of Heaven, whose duty appears to be the supervision of the doings of the families. It seems to be very potent, for it is able to obtain in Heaven all kinds of blessings in behalf of its protégés.

The next day the wall is whitewashed and the kitchen is cleansed. On the thirtieth, at evening, a new image is pasted on the wall, in front of which is placed a chicken, four rolls, a lamp and incense sticks. At midnight, after the fire is worshipped in the courtyard, Heaven and all the spirits are honored on the roof, and the guardian deity in the living room. The family pros-

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

trates itself before the spirit of the hearth, congratulates it, and is happy, for the spirit is supposed to have come back at that very moment with a load of blessings. In the early morning the elders will honor it also. 795 562 354 776

Several times I asked the Monguors whom the spirit of the hearth was going to see in Heaven. The answer was always: "Our women claim, as do the Chinese, that the hearth god is going to see 'Old Father Heaven.' It is true that the spirits are everywhere, and the women know it; but on that night they say the same thing that the Chinese say." 782

Rites During the Year

Every time women prepare food, the first bowl is always offered devoutly to the hearth god. 782

On the fifth of the fifth moon, steamed rolls, shaped like flowers, are offered to the spirit of the hearth, and willow boughs adorn its image. Nobody could explain the connection between the willow and the spirit of the hearth. (Is it a Chinese custom?)

It has been noted above that steamed rolls, prepared with the flour of the spelt of the new harvest, and a lamp kindled with the new oil of the year, are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the fifteenth of the eighth moon, rolls and a chicken are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the eighth of the last moon of the year, a piece of ice is put before it. (Is this a Chinese custom?)

If a member of the family has been smitten with a severe disease, old people claim that the spirit of the hearth is angry and taking in ill grace the uncleanliness of the women for having let milk drip in the fire, or for having poured water on it and on the ashes, or for poking the fire with an iron rod. In that event, rolls, wine, and chicken are offered and prostrations are made. Sometimes a sheep is offered, and a lama is invited to pray in propitiation before the image of the spirit of the hearth.

When eyes are sore, or when there is trouble with scalp and hair, the spirit of the hearth has to play physician. Before the image, a red-hot stone is put in a pot of water in which aromatic leaves of wild mint are boiled. The sick man, after prostrating himself, bows over the pot and is steamed by the vapors and healed. The same rite is used to purify the sacred animal at New Year's.

It is noteworthy that the shaman is never invited by the Monguors to honor the fire or the spirit of the hearth, although once in a while a lama is invited to perform a propitiating rite. That department, like that of the sacred animal, seems to be foreign to them.

IMAGE OF THE HEARTH GOD

The old Monguors are accustomed to paste on the wall a sheet of white paper. In the middle of the paper is pasted vertically a short but wide yellow paper ribbon, under which is pasted, horizontally, a large red-fringed paper ribbon, said to be the skirt of the spirit. 776 354 372 562

[p. 122 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

On both sides of the red skirt are pasted two small yellow ribbons, said to represent the handkerchiefs of the spirit. On the upper part of the sheet of paper is pasted, horizontally, a large red, fringed strip of paper.

776 354 372 562

The skirt and the handkerchiefs are items belonging to women's dress, and consequently the spirit is supposed to be a female spirit. Some Monguors, when the whole primitive representation is finished, write on the yellow ribbon in the center: "Lord of the Hearth." Many Monguors no longer use this old representation of the spirit of the hearth, but instead, they buy a Chinese picture. After a few years it will be hard to find out to which sex their hearth god belonged.

According to the interesting study of Professor N. Poppe, based only on old fire prayers and hymns, the god of the fire among the Mongols is a female god, called "mother of the hearth," "mother of the fire," etc., but also "king of the fire," and even "mother king of the fire." The god of the fire possesses a big family consisting of seven girls and five boys and many servants. It is not clear why prayers and hymns are sung once for the king of the fire, and once for the lady.[23]

Among the Mongols, as among the Monguors, the most important act of honoring the god of the hearth takes place on the last days of the year. In the hymns, all kind of blessings are implored from the god of the hearth, who seems omnipotent.[24]

The Tibetans, from the oldest times on, also had their "god of the hearth" and their "queen hearth god." Both were very touchy concerning the smallest impurities thrown into the fire; a trifle could upset them.[25]

Among the Tungus, the spirit of the fire is an old woman, who stays in the fire of the family; fire is to be revered.[26]

It is interesting to record that, among the Chinese also, the sex of the god of the hearth is not definitely fixed. Father Doré, studying twenty-nine sources related to the subject, notes that eight describe it as female, while a few assert that the spirit is not a single person, but a real couple, husband and wife. The remainder claim the masculine sex for their spirit.[27]

In old China,

> *Chieh* was the spirit of the hearth, wearing red clothes and having the appearance of a beautiful woman. [*Chieh* means chignon.] It is strange that the spirit of the hearth has a female appearance. Confucius is reported to have said that the cult of the hearth is a cult of old ladies. There is a difference between the spirits of the hearth and of the fire; the last one is a male spirit, and the first a female, which is assimilated with the first woman cook.[28]

[23] N. Poppe, Zum Feuer Kultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major* 2: 133, 1925.

[24] *Ibid.*, 140.

[25] Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 169.

[26] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 128.

[27] H. Doré, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, Part 2, 2: 901, Shanghai, Sikawei. See also *Li-ki*, Couvreur, 1: 554. Ho Kien fu, 1899, Mission Catholique.

[28] M. Granet, *Danses et legendes de la Chine ancienne*, 308, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

[p. 123(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The bewilderment concerning the sex of the god of the hearth and its social position is astonishing. Sometimes the god seems to be a married couple, sometimes a single female, or a single male. The traditional picture made by the Monguor women themselves offers a definite solution concerning the sex of "their" hearth god. The traditions concerning the fecundity attached to it seem connected with the Mongol king of the fire riding a he-goat, nothwithstanding that the Monguors are unable to give any reason for this connection, and do not know anything about the existence of this he-goat rider. Maybe the solution of the puzzle is to be sought in the suggestion of Granet, that two spirits are involved, the spirit of the fire which is a male, and the god of the hearth which is a female.

OFFERING TO HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS

THE FAMILY OFFERING AFTER THE HARVEST

After the spelt is cut, some sheaves are immediately carried home and threshed. The grain is ground on the stone, which is cleansed carefully. The women steam thirteen rolls of bread made with the newly ground flour. All members of the family climb on top of the roof in their best dresses and kneel, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the family lifts up to Heaven the salver with the thirteen steaming rolls and shouts three times, at the top of his voice, the usual "*Mtchioo*" and "Heaven and all the spirits." The whole family prostrates itself thankfully for the new harvest. Crumbs of bread are thrown to the four points of the compass. The Monguors say that the crumbs must be thrown in this way in order to feed the roaming, hungry, malignant spirits of the deceased, who always are on the prowl to harm the people.

The family comes down and offers the same rolls to the guardian spirit of the family, and to the spirit of the hearth, and then the whole family eats the rolls steamed with the new flour of the year.

In autumn, when linseed and colza seed are cut and the new oil is pressed, the same rite is performed with the new oil. A lamp with the new oil is kindled on the roof of the house with the usual prostrations and shoutings, another is kindled for the guardian spirit of the family, and another for the spirit of the hearth. The Tibetans in the country perform the same rite and the Chinese do also, but the Chinese thank only the "Old Father Heaven" and not "Heaven and all the spirits."

THE OFFERING OF THE SHEEP

It has been noted above that whenever a sheep is offered to a deity in the family, first of all a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown in the court yard for "Heaven" separately, with shouts of "Heaven" and no more; that a second piece is cut and thrown in the same way, with a shout of "all the spirits," and that

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 144 174 sider the Mongours [illegible] offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsi-ning region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 648 175 311 The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

N *563 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342 The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351] The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables

M [343] and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where

M [231] grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [592] [594] The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies

M [354] [352] the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N *563 M 342 591 592 The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-

[41 cont.]

192 Prayer fee: bosë (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

796 Tea provided in the lamic monastery: mäntsia (mändzia) (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

[784] Taboo of the compound: udie dzilä-chi-men (Chin.) = to forbid the door.

[357]

[Pages 41-43 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[43] III. Customs concerning the Dwelling and Settlement

000

1. The Incense Sacrifice*

*See "Notes," pp. 46-49 [of the foreign text]. In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

372 782 512 [356] [783] [575]

Every day at sunrise the house and yard are swept clean. The housewife fans the family fire on the kang, around which young and old gather during the day. The master of the house washes his hands and face (1), takes some coals from the fire,

1. [Foreign text p. 46.] This ablution is undertaken for all religious activities, and it is also the common way of washing oneself in the morning. Since wash-bowls are unknown or have been used only recently, it is done in the following way: one takes a mouthful of water from a bowl and rinses the mouth; then he

[625 cont.]

527 dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
[574] moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.

Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared. During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
[782] day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an
[888] offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated, joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon

[113] 3. [Foreign text p. 628.] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.

relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.

From the second day on the people make New Year's
[628] visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

[533] gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
[262] are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
[273] a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
[356] house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

[626 cont.]

527 [354] [177]

1. [Foreign text p. 628.] The lamps are large copper butter-lamps or the small copper bowls. -- If there is no mani-tree, the red lamp is hung on a roof slat in front of the door of the main house. This lamp is very likely copied from the Chinese celestial lantern. The Chinese, too, draw up such a lamp on a tall mast in the yard, like a flag, and let it burn every night. It is called t'ien-teng, that is, celestial lamp.

[356] [177] the window newly plastered. In recent times the Tujen also write vernal sayings on red paper, like the Chinese, and paste them to the door posts. This was formerly not the case.

[573] Night watch: During the night before New Year's Day sleeping is not allowed. The old people say: "Please do not sleep tonight, the gods want to be welcomed early tomorrow morning." Therefore the master of the household stays up with his whole family. They partake liberally of tea, liquor, and the New Year's food, sing and converse until dawn.

527 782 [888] New Year's morning: At the first cockcrow after midnight even the last stragglers put on their best clothes. Only the very old in the family remain lying on the kang. The master of the household puts large, burning butter- or oil-lamps in the room on the household altar. In the yard he hangs a red paper lantern with a butter-lamp to the mani-tree (1) [see Note 1 above]. It is attached to a transverse strip on it. Then outside, with the entire family, he gives the great incense offering, and everyone makes a threefold kowtow to the sky out in the open. The same is repeated before the household altar for the countless other spirits. During this time a stone is made red-hot in the [783] hearth fire, and with this glowing stone all the rooms of the compound are fumigated. At the same time the conch is blown. The fumigation may also be done by women (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 628.] The

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

618 is strictly kept, the prestige and authority of the lord are
624 inevitably increased.

In small clans, when the T'u-ssu is a haughty and supercilious man, or an opium addict and gambler exacting in his demands for corvées and greedy for the money of his subjects, he is easily criticized and despised because the distance between him and his subjects is reduced, and the commoners get into open arguments with him, and rebel and accuse him in the Chinese court. In the lack of distance between the T'u-ssu and subjects and the waning authority of the T'u-ssu lies the secret of the fact that it is in the small clans that commoners most easily leave their chiefs, giving the Chinese officials the opportunity to reduce both commoners and T'u-ssu to the rank of Chinese subjects and to confiscate their territory. It is no wonder that the clans which have disappeared are the small clans.

IV. THE VILLAGE

FORMATION OF THE VILLAGE

621 The Monguor village consists (1911–1922) of a
361 group of families living in a well defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the chief of the village. Since the villagers all till the soil and keep cattle, the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures.

Most farmers, however, live in small hamlets. The patrilineal family system seems to favor this kind of grouping. When the paternal inheritance is divided, the sons build small houses near the old one, bring new lands under cultivation, and small groups of related families, living close together, spring up all over the territory.

Wealthy Monguors hire poor people to cultivate their fields and herd their cattle, and build small houses for them near their own. Wealthy Monguors also give in to the desires of their wives and daughters-in-law and allow poor relatives to [illegible] small houses near their own. They lend them [illegible] to plow their fields, and as they prosper the group increases and the hamlet grows into a village.

361 A third factor promoting the grouping of families
621 was, in the past, the chronic insecurity of the country, ravaged by recurring inroads of Tibetans and Mongols.
721 According to tradition the Monguors, when they first came into this territory, still lived in tents. At that time it was easy to pick up the tent and move out of the path of invasion; but once they began to live in houses, the houses had to be defended. Wealthy people in the outlying territory built a high thick mud wall around their houses. To these enclosures the poor families fled in time of trouble, helping in the defense of the small community. Wealthy people, therefore, liked to see the hamlet increased by the addition of poor families, who provided more manpower for defense. All over the country numerous ruins of strongholds are the enduring witnesses of the bad old times. [p. 73-6]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

361 621 721 The Ming dynasty was strongest in the first century and a half of its rule. After that, from 1509 to the founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644, and from then until 1723, recurrent forays and revolts never left the country at peace. At one time, a Chinese army of a hundred thousand men had to be sent to garrison this frontier region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 13*b*). In 1537 orders were given to build more mud walled villages, and in 1595 orders came again to repair the old fortifications and to build more new fortified villages (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, pp. 15*a*, 19*a*). It is worth noting that Liench'eng, the seat of the Lu clan, means "associated cities," since in the region of Liench'eng thirteen strongholds were built by the T'u-ssu, most of them still extant.

[712] These notices in the *Annals* suggest that few fortified villages had previously existed, but that from this time the population began to group itself around small strongholds, the more important of which grew into fortified villages.

618 701 361 621 The Monguor clan was a military institution, originally shaped on the Mongol nomadic pattern, with a decimal system of groups of 10, 100, and 1,000 families and a hierarchy of military command from the largest unit of 10,000 down to the smallest of 10. When the Monguors became farmers, the process of settling broke up these units, with the result that families that had once belonged to the same military unit were scattered among different farming groups. It then became necessary to make a new military grouping based on the distribution of villages. This led to a system of villages in which the head of the village was also the military chief, and in which the military interest of defense was coordinated with such community interests as the maintenance of irrigation canals. The transformation of villages in which some families were subject to mobilization under military units in other villages into a system in which the military unit coincided with the residential community seems to have been brought about not by planning but by a natural adjustment.

361 A Monguor village may be described as "loose," in contrast with the Chinese "compact" village. It is not a large place included between four strong thick mud walls, with a small gate easy to defend, but a defined territory in which the people live on their farms, scattered in small groups, under the rule of the chief of the [311] territory. Each "village" has a share of pasture for the herds of the whole community and a valley for the cutting of wood and fuel by all members of the community.

It sometimes has a central stronghold in which live some twenty or thirty families. Sometimes, though not usually, the mansion of the T'u-ssu and the administrative buildings of the clan are also within the stronghold, together with a couple of shops, one of which is always the indispensable pharmacy with a Chinese "physician." Again in contrast with the Chinese pattern, there are rarely any "streets" laid out at right angles, for the

[P. 74a]

361 Monguors seem to have an inbred abhorrence for the straight line. Some strongholds are inhabited by one hundred or two hundred families, mostly poor people, and have more and larger shops. The central stronghold is not, socially, the center of the village except when the T'u-ssu lives there. Monguor farmers, owning more cattle than Chinese, do not like to live confined within walls. Even the village meetings are not held in the stronghold.

The principle determining the location of villages seems not to have been the size of the population or the extent of the territory, but rather the topography (good defense points) or natural centers of community interest, such as an irrigation canal. In some cases the origin of a village can be traced to the fact that, in order to avoid trouble, a group of families split away from its relatives and founded a new village. In other cases, splitting-off was in order to move within reach of new pastures and sources of wood-supply. For such reasons there is great variation in density of population and distances between the villages.

DWELLINGS

342 Since, according to tradition, the Monguors were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents, it is not surprising that when they settled in Kansu and began to build houses, they copied those used by the frontier Chinese, and so the houses of the Monguors are built on the Chinese pattern. Construction begins with the building of four outer walls, forming a square and facing south. The walls are formed in the following way: The earth is levelled for the foundation. Planks are set on edge, facing each other and braced by uprights. These determine the thickness of the wall. Earth is shovelled between the planks and then pounded tight by lifting and dropping a heavy wooden ram. When the space between the planks has been tightly packed, the planks are raised and the next course is packed in the same way. By adjusting the distance between the planks, the wall is made to taper slightly toward the top. Within the walls are built the mud-walled and thatch-roofed houses, with wooden rafters and beams. At the southwest corner of the enclosure there is a small gate, not wide enough to allow a cart to enter, because a small gate is easier to defend than a large one.

343 In the angles of the other three corners are built the stables and the kitchen, which is separate from the dwelling quarters. Under the windows, outside the buildings, are constructed mangers for the cattle. At night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals, horses, mules, and donkeys. The Monguors like to sleep amid the animals as their nomad ancestors did.

342 In the houses along the side walls live the younger sons, and in the same buildings are stored grain, skins, wool, farming implements, saddles, the grindstone, etc.

The chief of the family lives in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. A large room

/120 cont'd/

M 675 608 an attempt will be made to demand some kind of compensation from the son-in-law, and the affair will be ended.

The conclusion of the chapter will thus be that we are here in the presence of a deformation of the practice of spending a lifetime, on the part of the son-in-law, in the family of his parents-in-law, for the purpose of obtaining their daughter in marriage.

Mo HM 608 Have the T'ou-jen ever practiced this custom in all its fullness? In principle that is not impossible, since one still sees the Manchu practice it as such today, even while having a patriarchal system and paternal succession. In addition, we know that the Mongols, racial brothers of the T'ou-jen, formerly used to follow this custom and that they still practice it. (1) Next, it is very curious to ascertain how

HM [606]

1. Vladimirtsov, Life of Ghingis Khan, p. 87: (Yesugey with his son Temuchin (future Ghingis Khan) goes to ask in marriage for the latter Börte, daughter of Dai-se-chen.) The proposal was accepted, Yesugey presented Dai-se-chen with his remount horse, and left Temuchin to stay there in the quality of future son-in-law. This, according to the Mongol custom, definitely confirmed Yesugey's decision to become related to the house of Dai-se-chen /cited in English, with introductory sentence in French in parentheses/.

the T'ou-jen easily adopt it again in all its purity as soon as they find themselves again in a place where it is practiced.

M 361 831 The subprefecture of Koei-tê, situated two days' journey to the south of Sining on the shores of the Yellow River in the middle of Tibetan territory, forming there a prosperous Chinese-T'ou-jen oasis, has for a long time been the place of refuge for T'ou-jen who fled with someone else's wife with the intention of never returning to their

/120 cont'd/

361 place of origin. Now among the T'ou-jen of this area, a good many
831 have come to practice again the former custom of husband-sons-in-
law practiced by the Tibetans, their neighbors. As soon as they ar-
608 rive in the region they no longer give their daughters in marriage out-
184 side the house, but they seek a /121/ husband-son-in-law for them;
583 on the ~~other~~ hand, they send their sons to become husband-sons-in-
law in other families. Among many of these T'ou-jen, the sons no longer enjoy even the right of inheritance in their own family, where the daughters have become the sole heirs; in other families they continue to inherit beside their sisters. They are thus passing through a period of transition. One T'ou-jen family after the other adopts the customs of the Tibetans, at first some of the customs and only in part, and gradually they become Tibetanized. Besides, it is a fact that the Tibetan environment is not disagreeful to them, and that T'ou-jen girls given in marriage to Tibetans quickly feel at home.

562 The T'ou-jen of the Sining region, speaking of their brothers
184 of Koei-tê, say, laughing, that among the latter the wife is owner
177 and mistress of the home, nü-jen tang t'ai, that the men do not count there, that there are women there who themselves send away their husbands, that women are found there who have more than one husband, and that the old men there are to be pitied. Thus Tibetan customs.

178 How must one explain the deformation of the practice of
608 husband-sons-in-law among the T'ou-jen?
[177]

First, it is necessary to know that the Mohammedan revolutions decimated the T'ou-jen population in Kansu. Some T'ou-jen, in order to remake their groups and get rents for their lands, accepted in their clans numerous heterogeneous Chinese and Tibetan elements; other T'ou-jen headmen never succeeded in rebuilding the ruins. Add to that the use of opium which especially undermined the families of the headmen and put them in debt and impoverished them; it is thus not surprising that the power and also the influence of the t'ou-
[623] se were decidedly impaired. The prime blow of all was more and more frequent recourse to Chinese magistrates on the part of the T'ou-jen. In the old days, say the elders, the t'ou-se alone was

2: Schram--200 M-4.5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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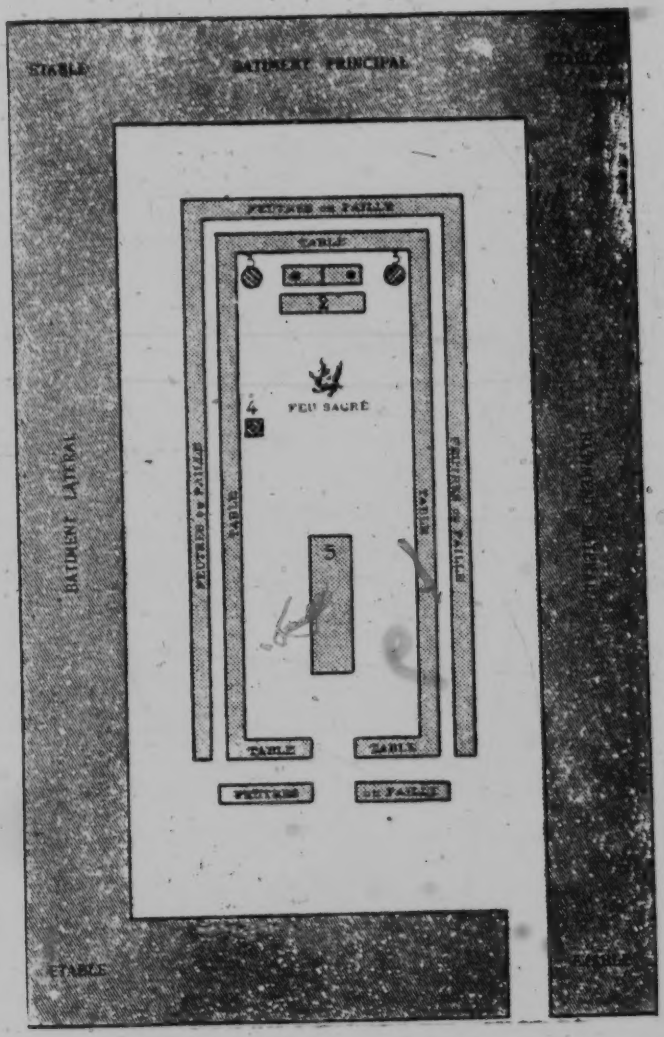

Plan of a T'ou-jen courtyard.

1. Table with the two lamps.
2. Red felt.
3. Place of the cupbearer.
4. Seat of the master of ceremonies.
5. Table where the gifts are spread out.

2: Schram--202 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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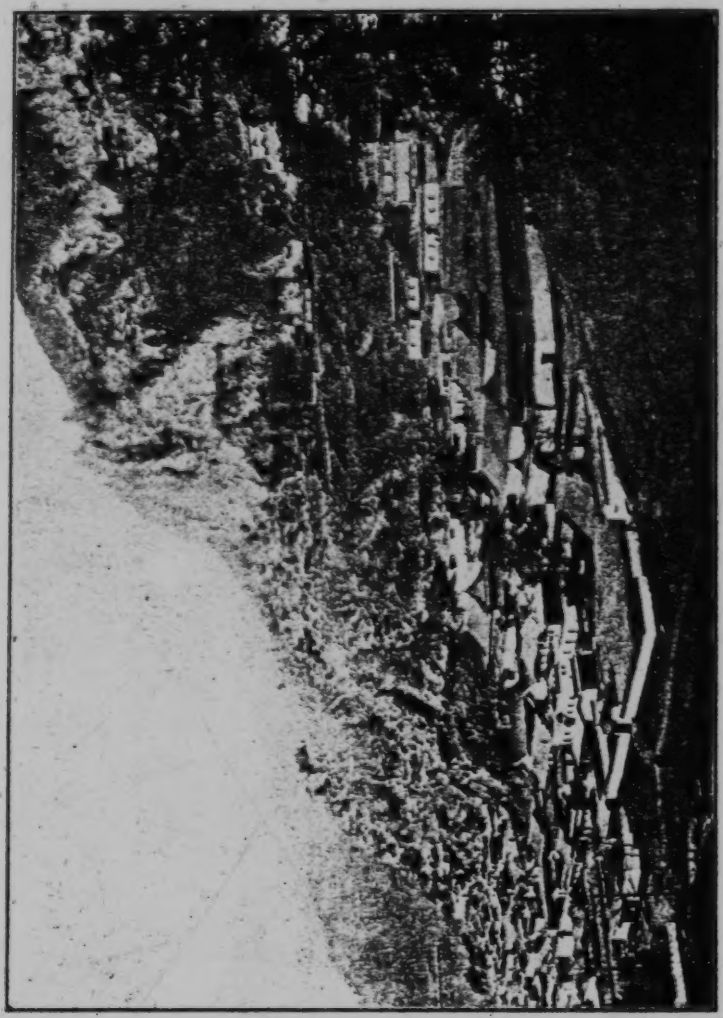

Lamasery of the yellow lamas of [illegible] ceptions, all the lamas are T'o[illegible]

3:Schröder--4 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[6]

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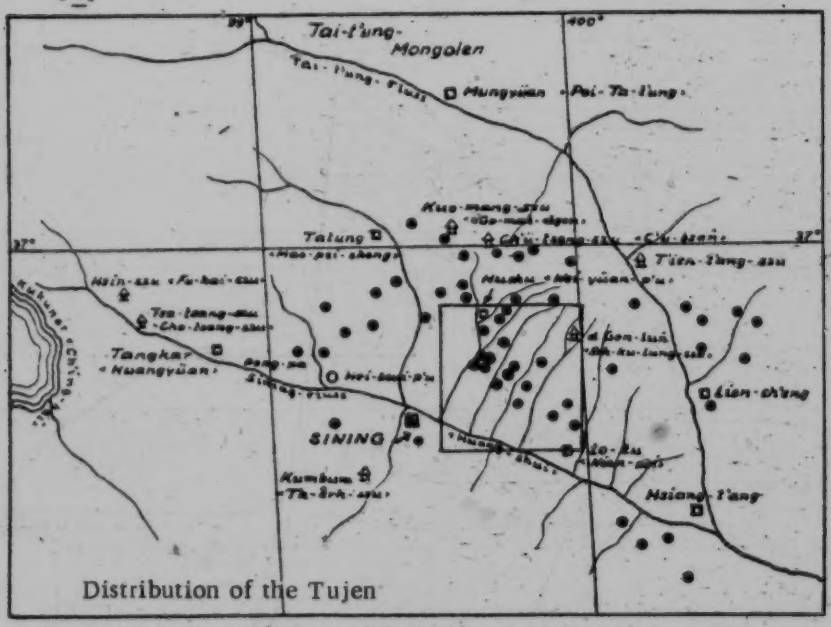
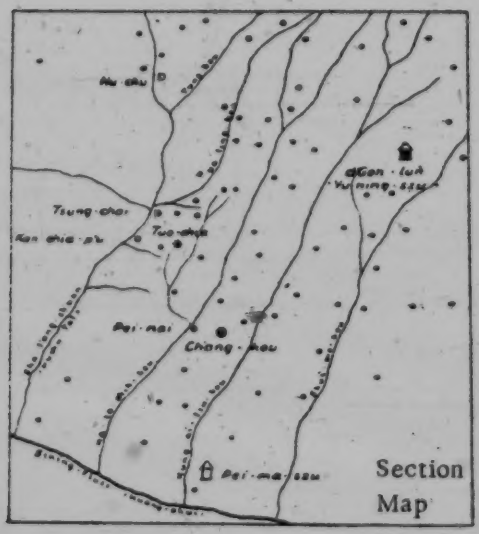


From a map in Anthropos, 24, 1929, pp. 144-45.



- Monastery
- Chinese towns
- Chinese villages
- Tu-jen settlements
- Tuo-chia, the home of the informant
- Ch'ang-kou, the home of the present T'u-kuan Hutuktu, allegedly also of the lCaṅ-sKaya-Hu-tuktu
- dGon-luṅ, Erh-ku-lung-szu or Yu-ning-szu, the Tujen monastery Rëgulõṅ (Rgulõṅ).

[71 cont.]

346 The chorten chamber is erected by the entire village.
*778 Everyone must give a hand. The lama comes and prays for
[621] seven days, makes a series of tormas, and manufactures the
[792] urns. On the seventh day the chorten chamber is built. Only little windows are left in it. In front of the chorten chamber the men burn incense and move in a circle around the chamber as at the obo. Through the window holes they then again throw in little chorten.

[621] The chorten chamber protects the village and the family
[777] from misfortune. It represses the evil earth-influences. [Fig. 8 appears here.]

Details

[361] Place: The chorten chamber is always erected outside
[791] the compound and outside the village. No attention is paid to paths. The place is more precisely designated by the soothsayer, not by the lama.

[72] Form: The groundplan of the chorten chamber is rectangular. Its size varies greatly. There are small chambers as high as a man and large ones with beautiful tile roofs and columned porticoes. There is never a door in the wall. Only at head level are square peepholes left, an ell square. There is no sun-moon disk on the roof, such as is otherwise common on temples. Usually a beautiful incense oven stands before the chamber. -- There are many kinds of chorten chambers. The one here is the most common; it is called "house-chamber," for there are also some that are not roofed (1).

[192] 1. [Foreign text pp. 77-78.] According to the informant, bẽṅ designates the same thing as the Tibetan 'bum (in many places also pronounced bẽṅ), that is, 100,000. kãṅ is the Tibetan word for house, but it can also mean temple, for example, in the word sdienkãṅ.

[254 cont.]

792 a closed building, but rather as a whole settlement with temples,
[346] halls, dwelling yards, chortens, chapels, little mani-houses,
and obos. To the Tujen there dGon-luń is simply the monastery.
[103] The official full name, however, is dGon-luń byams-pa gliń,
just as the full name of Kumbum is sKu 'bum byams pa gliń. According to B. Laufer, byams pa gliń means "temple of the Maitreya"; see Filchner, Kumbum, p. V. Not [255] every monastery has such a temple, and for this reason people always like to mention it along with the monastery. The main temple
792 of dGon-luń contains such a gigantic image of the Maitreya
778 painted on silk, over ten meters long and several meters wide.
796 It is rolled up from the temple roof and allowed to hang down over the front into the yard usually twice a year, namely, in the first month after the tscham dances and on the sixth day of the sixth month. The ceremony is called dšamba sguni dielgē, that is, to hang out the Maitreya image; dšamba or šamba is the Tujen pronunciation of byams-pa. The Chinese call the rite simply shai Fuo-yeh, that is, to sun the Buddha. For the be-
[788] lieving populace it is the high point of the feast days; the people make pilgrimages to the place in great crowds in order to venerate the image with kowtows.

792 There is no Tujen name for the monastery; their desig-
nation Rgulõń (Rēgulõń) is only a corruption of dGon-luń. Even
103 the Chinese Êrh-ku-lung is nothing more than a derivation from the Tibetan. Some people would like the êrh to be understood as the Chinese "two," since it is supposedly the second monastery, which was built anew after the destruction of the first; in fact, one also often hears the name Ku-lung without this êrh. The designation Yu-ning-szu, monastery for the protection of Sining, has not prevailed among the people. It is used almost exclusively in books and official documents.

792 The monastery corresponds to the Buddhistic require-
[361] ments in exemplary fashion, for it lies at the exit of a lonely
[346] forested valley and has been built up in part along its northern
[103] ridge, which bears the name Tuguān-ula, Tuguān mountain
(Chin. T'u-kuan shan). A gigantic obo crowns its peak. Neither
[175] oral nor written information concerning the founding of the

5: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

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5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

ch'uan (i.e., of the entire Huangchung), a gift of 20,000 pieces of silk and a salary, making him understand that he was an official of the empire. At the same time he enjoined him to attack Hsi Hsia in Liangchow. Chiossulo judged his troops too feeble to risk the venture. Another official arrived with the same order. This time Chiossulo treated him very roughly. His behavior was not that of a subject treating with the emperor, but rather that of a nephew talking about an uncle,[28] because two Chinese princesses, Wen Ch'eng in 643 and Kin Ch'eng in 710, had been married to princes of the imperial Tsan-p'u house of Lhasa. The Chinese official readily understood the attitude of Chiossulo and informed the emperor (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 8*a*; *Annals* of Hsining **31B**: 2*a*). During thirty years Chiossulo did not care for the empire which intermittently waged war with Hsi Hsia in East Kansu and Shensi with varied fortune, nor did he care for the Chinese officials whom the emperor tried to appoint in Huangchung; he cared only for his own kingdom, appointing his officials in Huangchung and on the East Kansu borders. Huangchung was the only country where people lived peacefully engrossed in agriculture and where trade boomed.

M U 167 648 M 175x. U 175

HSINING IN THE HEYDAY OF ITS GLORY

Chiossulo was in the heyday of his glory. He rebuilt the city of Hsining. According to the notes recorded by a Chinese official who at that time had been sent to confer with Chiossulo,[29] the circumference of the city was 20 li. The city was protected by a strong, high wall dotted with towers, and eight gates secured access to the city. In the center of this enormous city was constructed a large fortress having four strong towers at the corners. This fortress must have corresponded to the actual city of Hsining and the enormous outer city must have been built to secure a refuge for the surrounding people and their herds at the time of inroads from invading tribes. Chiossulo resided in the fortress in a sumptuous palace, whose roofs were covered with glazed tiles. In this city was a large hall built on a terrace having eight steps and a sumptuous entrance supported by huge pillars. The administration buildings were constructed inside the city, two small palaces for the princesses of the Ch'i Tan and of the Hsi Hsia, and a splendid temple in which was throned a gilded Buddha statue, ten feet high, adorned with strings of pearls and a precious mantle.

M 175x 361 M [341] M [792 532]

[28] A. Rona Tas, Social terms in the list of grants of the Tibetan Tunhuang Chronicle, *Acta Orientalia*, V, 5: 266. 1955. Relationship between the Chinese emperor and the Tibetan king, of uncle and nephew on the maternal side, essentially reflects the Tibetan avuncular system; this relationship, which used to determine the mutual position of the two rulers, is rooted in social history.

[29] Enoki, *op. cit.*, 90, 91. Oshono kika keiryaku ni tsuite (On the *Hsi-ho chiang-luch* of Wang Ch'ao) in Mokoga Huho, Tokyo (*Meng-ku hsueh-pao*,) I, Shuo fu, **15**: 12 *a–b*.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

mantle. Trade was transacted in this city, where shops had been built and traders, artisans, and well-to-do people lived. In the outer city was a large terrace with three steps where every three years Heaven and Earth were worshipped, and also two smaller fortresses. More than one thousand houses were built in the outer city and many Buddhist temples with glazed tile roofs, and abodes for the lamas. Half of the buildings in the inner and outer cities were Buddhist buildings. Lamas presided at all the public ceremonies and participated at the councils of the chief. Five li outside the outer city, to the west, was built a very large lamasery with abodes for five hundred lamas and a splendid temple.

These notes written by the Chinese official prove that Chiossulo was fond of display and munificence, that his realm was flourishing and opulent and that he was a very fervent Buddhist, reigning over a Buddhist people and surrounded by lamas whom he revered. Hsining seems to have been a small Lhasa. Chiossulo was a descendant of princes who had lived in Lhasa, and the old traditions prevailing in Lhasa must have been fresh and living in his family and among his officials.

It is worth noticing that in the description of the opulent city written by the Chinese official, after many thousand Uighurs had surrendered and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo, not a single mention is recorded of a Manichean temple or Nestorian church. The Uighurs are known to have been professing Manicheans although many among them must also have been fervent Buddhists or shamanists or perhaps Nestorians. The Uighurs at the time of their arrival at Hsining must have been accompanied by their religious leaders and would normally have built some temples.

In the *Annals* of Hsining (15 : 2*b*), however, is noted a Pei-i-ssu the Temple of the White Clothes,[30] the stereotypical designation of Nestorian temples. This temple was situated north of the outer city and is the only Nestorian temple recorded in the *Annals*. The date of its construction is not recorded.

Chiossulo died in 1065 having had to defend twice more his independent kingdom against the Hsi Hsia, in 1058 and 1065 (*Annals* of Hsining 31B : 2*a–b*, 3*a*, 33*a*).

This history of Chiossulo is of overriding importance for the study of the Monguors. Unfortunately, I overlooked it at the time I prepared Part I of the study. It reveals how at the time of the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols (1227) and the Ming (1368), the population of the country had come to consist of T'u-fan tribes already mixed with Tang-hsiang tribes, a group of the Slave tribes and strong groups of Uighurs and Shat'o. It sheds light on names of tribes of Monguor commoners pointing to their Turkish and Tibetan origin. The fact that several thousand Uighur Turks had fled to Huangchung in 1038 from the corridor of West Kansu and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo,

[30] Referring to the white clothes worn at the time of baptism.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

At that time the expansive country 40 li north of Hsining was inhabited by nomads and had no cities, villages, or farms. Only after the victory of the Manchus over the lamas and Tibetans in 1723 was colonization immediately started on a large scale, and the cities of Tat'ung and Mao Pei Shen were built.

West of Hsining, the *Annals* record in 1380 the submission of three tribes. The Si-na tribe lived 60 li west of Hsining on the northwest borders of the Hsining River. In its territory are tents, houses, and fortified villages. Its people practiced farming and cattle breeding. The tribe had a temple and a lama with the title of Kuo-shih (Master of the Kingdom), a silver seal, and an ivory stamp. The tribe numbered 500 families and was taxed 300 horses every year. It controlled the tribe called little Si-na which lived in Ku Shan, southeast of Nienpei, and it was taxed 30 horses. It also controlled the Ssu-ta-la-ma tribe and the Hsieh-erh-chih-kang temple, which were taxed 50 horses (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 8*b*).

The Chia-erh-chi tribe inhabited the territory situated north of the Si-na tribe. The part of the tribe living inside the wall lived in houses and fortified villages; the part living outside the wall practiced cattle breeding and lived in tents. At the time of disturbances caused by brigands they moved inside the wall. The chief of the tribe was a lama who had the title of Chih-hui. Every year the tribe was taxed 130 horses. The tribe controlled the Lung-pa tribe numbering 100 families which was taxed 150 horses.

In the region west of Hsining, stretching as far as 40 to 60 li, only farming, combined with cattle breeding, seems to have been practiced in 1380 by Tibetan tribes. After 1723 the region beyond was developed. The title of master of the kingdom was probably granted after the surrender of the tribe ruled by the lama. It was the policy during the Hung-wu and the whole Ming period to grant titles to lamas who induced tribes to surrender (Monguors II: 16). The title of Chih-hui borne by the chief is a title of the Ming time. The walls noted in the references were built only after 1546 (*Annals* of Hsining 13: 15). The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 seems to have mixed circumstances existing only after 1546 with those of 1380.

Still west of Hsining the nomad Shen-tsang tribe surrendered in 1380. It inhabited a territory situated near Kokonor. At the time of the invasion of the Mongols in 1509 and their occupation of Kokonor, the tribe disappeared (*Annals* of Hsining ?: 5*b*).

In the region of the southern mountains of Hsining, between Hsining and the Yellow River, stretching in an east-west direction as far as Lao Ya Ch'eng, three more tribes surrendered in 1380, all of them living near the northern borders of the Yellow River.

The Tsan-tsa tribe lived in tents and its territory was situated south of the present subprefecture of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*).

[p 33 (B)]

/Kansu Monguors/

N *563 M 142 have very scanty beards, and there is seldom any growth of hair on the body.

e. economic activities

N *563 M [241] [233] [433] The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

M [291] [177] [171] Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to wear only Chinese clothing.

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Ölöts and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

N [177] Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours now belong to Chinghai Province. Very little is known about the Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokonor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian

N [233] language. They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölöts and the Torguts of Sinkiang.

2. Hordes

N *563 619 • 361 *[175] When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai area he found the following groups of Mongols:

(1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;

(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;

(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;

(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;

(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.

(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.

(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
Monguor AE9

S
19 but before *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bičig "letter, writing"	bitšig (or bitšig)
čimůgen "hammer"	tšimgn̥
čiraχ "face"	tširē

5) The Common Mongolian *e became *ö in certain positions:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
ebůsůn "hay"	öwsn̥
ebůddg "knee"	öwdšg
ebedčin "disease"	öwtšn̥
elgů- "to hang"	ölgä-

6) The Written Mongolian (old Mongolian) diphthongs have developed into long vowels in the Kalmuck language:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
dalbaγai "large and flat"	dalwaγā
duldui "iron rod"	duldū
gei "handle of an axe"	gē
moγai "snake"	moγā
alγui "name of a plant"	alγū

7) The Common Mongolian vowels have developed into front vowels before the Common Mongolian *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bari- "to seize"	bär-
qari- "to come back"	χär-
sayin "good"	sän

B. The Monguor Language

N
*563 One of the strangest Mongolian languages is Monguor, because
[197] it preserves still some Middle Mongolian peculiarities and also
M because it is under the influence of initial forms which are charac-
[197] teristic of Tibetan. Those Mongols who call themselves Monguors
live in the Chinese province of Kansu and practice nomadic animal
M breeding as well as some agriculture. The Chinese call them
[101] Tu-jen. The Mongols of the Mongolian People's Republic call
[361] them Dolot. The sub-group of San-chuan Mongols (Monguor)
live north of Kuan-ting. The Santa live south of the Yellow River and east of Tao-ho. The sub-group of the Shera-Yogur live around Kan-chou, Su-chou and Tun-huang. All these tribes are Buddhists with the exception of the Santa, who have become converted to Islam. Culturally the Monguors, at least partially, appear to be mongolized Turks and Tibetans.

M
19 The following observations may be made about the Monguor language:

1) The Monguor language has preserved the Common Mongolian *p or *φ as *f and as *χ:

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2
Monguor AE9

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 4. Work and leisure

The division of labor between men and women is like that of the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing and dance and otherwise enjoy themselves. Because of their hard life, their songs carry a meloncholy quality, and their dance is simple.

K 462 533 535 [191]

It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their expert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horseback. There are three which may be played by all ages. One, similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep." Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

S 563 K 526

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

N *563 F. The Mongours

M 131 36 311

1. The people

The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were formerly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

N *563 M 614 622 [195]

The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers. One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols; another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-

N *563 M 144 174

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

415 planks. Some of these planks are cut to the standard
313 measurements for making coffins, and sold in the towns. Another woodworking trade is the making of pack saddles for donkeys, mules, and oxen, which are sold either in the towns or at fairs.

THE CITY BECOMES THE CENTER OF ECONOMIC LIFE

177 At the end of this chapter it is interesting to consider
369 from what center originated the new economic life of the Monguors, how it developed, and what were the repercussions on the social organization of the Monguor clans, as they evolved away from pastoralism. For nearly four centuries the economic life of the Monguors was fraught with insecurity and calamities, and deprived of the peace that is the first requirement for social welfare. Indeed the economic conditions of the Monguors and of the whole country improved only when the Ch'ing dynasty secured peace, and this improvement depended on the vitality of commerce. No trade of real importance had been able to coexist with insecurity on the roads, since trade requires normal and regular transportation facilities and a safe access to the outlets of commerce. For the center of a developed economy a city is required. In this case the city was Hsining, with its group of professional merchants from all over China, associated in guilds according to the Chinese custom.

177 The prefectural city of Hsining is advantageously situ-
369 ated on the river of the same name, a tributary of the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou, the capital of
632 the province. Hsining is also on the road from Peking to Lhasa and India. It was the seat of the political and
[487] military administration of the country, and the merchants settled there because it was a fortified and garrisoned city. Under the older order in China important concerns maintained their headquarters in major cities and sent their agents to less secure secondary towns and villages to open branch offices.

177 The merchants of the city monopolized the whole com-
369 merce of the country. They sent out their agents to buy up as much grain, oil, and wine (alcohol) as possible;
441 they bought the products collected by peddlers; their agents pitched their tents at lamasery fairs and festivals
467 and at clan diets, to provide people with groceries, cloth, silk, and hardware. The small shopkeepers scattered over the country bought their wares from the wholesale merchants in Hsining. The guilds enjoyed the privileges of trading with the nomad caravans, which had to stop and unload at their inns in order to sell their merchandise, and to buy through them the things they wanted, such as flour, oil, and cloth.

Farmers were not allowed to sell flour, oil, and other products directly to the caravans. They had to go through the guild of the *Hsieh chia*, those who controlled the "rest places." Thus the guild alone controlled the trade in the high-priced furs and other articles carried

[P. 1276]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

177 by the caravans. Only the guilds of large towns, like Hsining, had connections with the guilds of other cities
369 and could afford the cost of sending boats and rafts to
441 Lanchou, the capital of Kansu. In this way the entire economy was dominated by the city merchants. The
467 fair and festival centers never grew to the extent of themselves becoming important cities, because they were unable to attract permanent merchants, since the attendance of the people was only seasonal and there was no permanent security. These local fairs merely provided the farmers at certain dates with their peculiar usual necessities of life.

177 Merchant activity provoked deep repercussions in the Monguor society, whose nobles and commoners, during
369 centuries of disorder, had lived a rather precarious ex-
441 existence, their economy being limited by the boundaries of their clans and the production only of necessities
651 within their own small groups. Both the economic and the political organization of the Monguor clans had been founded exclusively on the possession of territory. Taxes, corvées, military service, and the administration of justice had been rooted in the ownership of territory by the T'u-ssu, the commoners being affected in a peculiar and disadvantageous way. The collection of the taxes of certain villages by the "houses" of the nobles had, however, been reduced to negligible significance after four centuries, and the financial conditions of nobles and commoners had become more equal. Some of the commoners, who were more numerous than the nobles, had become richer than the best of the nobles, and rivals in wealth even of the T'u-ssu. Since wealth and riches are equated, in Asia, with prestige and authority, it is no wonder that members of the commoner group were easily accepted to fulfill the offices of chiefs and elders in the villages, and that the administration of the villages passed into their hands. In this way the new economic conditions tended to equalize, and perhaps even to reverse, the original social inequality between nobles and commoners. Under the peace and order of the Manchu dynasty, the city merchants were protected. Headstrong and daring young men followed the caravans to Lhasa and made money by selling mules and horses. Monguors could open small shops in the countryside, and invest capital, in association with the Chinese merchants, in oil and flour mills. Fishermen could venture to Kukunor, and others to burn charcoal in the mountains or saw planks to sell in the city. Peace provided the opportunities for taking risks in commerce, and the focus of these opportunities, which transformed both the economic and the social life of the Monguors, was the city.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

624 At the end of this study of the origin and organization
175 of the Monguor clans, their constituent elements, their chiefs, their internal rights and obligations and the actual administration and family and economic life, it is perti-

342 need only be noted here that few Monguors are rich enough to hire Chinese or Monguor bricklayers and carpenters. Most Monguors build their own houses.

342 Rich people lay a foundation of brick for the mud
778 walls of their houses. Even poor people, though they build their own houses, buy the frames for their doors and windows from Chinese carpenters. When a new house is built, the young people of the whole village come to help in putting up the mud walls of the enclosure. They ask no pay for this work, but are rewarded with a dinner. A peculiarity of all Monguor courtyards is that in the middle of the enclosure stands a pole from which flies a "prayer flag" on which prayers have been written in Tibetan. At the base of this pole there is a small oven for burnt offerings; but sometimes the oven is built on top of the roof of the living room.

352 The Monguors do not have much in the way of furni-
353 ture. The living quarters of each nuclear family within the extended family consist of only a single room. Wealthier people may have "*k'ang* tables"—low tables, with very short legs, set on the *k'ang*. These are of the right height for people sitting crosslegged. Poorer people may have, in front of the *k'ang*, a rough table with homemade benches. A plank, on wooden pegs driven into the wall, serves for bowls and dishes. For household work, the Monguors made their own brooms from millet straw or tamarisk twigs. Only rich people paint the woodwork of their houses. Even in a poor family, however, there hangs on the wall of the chief of the family a picture of the guardian deity of the family, and in front of this picture there is a low table with brass butter lamps and bowls for offerings.

372 The fuel used by the Monguors is chiefly the dung
237 of horses, cows, and sheep, dried in the sun. The gathering of this fuel means constant hard work for the wives, who must always have some reserve in case
352 it is raining and dry fuel cannot be gathered. Sheep dung gives the most heat. It is dug out in bricks where it has accumulated and been trampled hard in the sheep pens. Straw and dry grass are also used in the little fireplaces that heat the *k'angs*. This fuel gives a quick, hot flame; though it does not last long, the sparks are drawn by the draft into the flues that run under the *k'ang*, where they set the accumulated soot smoldering, thus providing a low but relatively steady heat through the night.

352 During the winter the Monguor men, who work so
372 much less than the women, spend most of the day sitting on the *k'ang*, either at home or at a neighbor's house.
512 A primitive brazier is made by laying some bricks in a
462 circle in which earth is placed to hold the fire. On the earth is put a mixture of sheep dung, husks, and chaff.
521 This mixture burns slowly all day and is hot enough to boil tea. The men light their pipes from this glowing mixture, and sit all day long gossiping cheerfully in a haze of smoke.

[p. 116 6]

/41 cont'd/

585 Care is taken to invite for the event a master of ceremonies (called Lordziwa, from the Tibetan Lo-rgyus, "narration," "speech"); he will be a man highly regarded in the region, eloquent and adroit. He will make all the necessary arrangements, will give orders, will smooth out all the difficulties which could arise, and will pronounce the traditional speeches at the desired moment. He will have at his disposal two well-trained men, whom he will have close at hand and who will serve the guests at the table.

[342 343] The courtyard is made ready for the festivity, for it is there that it will take place; whether it is freezing hard or pouring rain, no matter. Besides, the T'ou-jen houses have no room which could hold 40 or 50 guests. The courtyard usually being rectangular, they build several masonry supports 30 centimeters high, on which are laid planks which serve as tables. These tables are two feet wide. The planks are not fastened together, are not painted, are not /42/ even covered with tablecloths. Fitted together, they form a single piece and are arranged in a horseshoe. /See illustration 5./ The serving is done from inside the tables. The guests are seated on the outside, on pieces of felt spread out on the ground or on straw. Care is taken to hang cloths above the courtyard, which give the illusion of being seated in a vast tent. The decoration of the courtyard consists of some Chinese paper lanterns hung overhead and some red silk streamers, 30 to 40 centimeters wide, draped lengthwise of the courtyard. In a corner two or three Chinese musicians make a racket.

[372] In the middle of the rectangle of tables burns a large fire, the sacred fire of the shamanists. From time to time they throw cypress branches on the fire as incense. Several paces lower than the fire, in the posterior part of the rectangle, are laid out horizontally on two little walls two doors taken off their hinges; they serve as a table where the presents are displayed. Add a few hens which scratch about in the courtyard, several lambs which clutter up the open space, several children who run between one's legs, and that is pretty much the scene of the festivity.

/91 cont'd/

587 widow-daughter only when the go-betweens have paid them ing ts'in ts'ien, i.e., "cash for cooperation in the marriage," ordinarily 12 strings of cash. This sum paid, no time is lost; they hurry to put the widow in the saddle, the band surrounds her and leaves post-haste, taking care to go a roundabout way in order to escape all risk and conduct her safe and sound to the home of her new husband.

On arrival she dismounts; a fire is lighted in great haste in front of the house, and the widow is presented with the paper which one burns for the dead. She kneels and burns it in memory of her dead husband; then she offers up a libation of gin for him. She stands and looks into space for several moments. /92/ This is the wang [782 heou k'an /"taking the last look"/, the farewell look toward her 372] dead husband. She passes over the fire so that all the bad influences which could have attached themselves to her, or the bad spirits which could have followed her, will vanish. Having crossed the fire, she enters the house only after taking off her little felt hat and undoing her hair, which she rolls up carelessly and puts back under her hat. She will wear her hair in the style of the women of the clan or village to which she is henceforth deemed to belong.

The armed band is invited to a light meal composed of bread, meat, tea, and gin. The widow takes tea with the women of the family.

4. Settling of Accounts

597 The widow is not secure so long as the accounts are not settled 583 and the contract is not signed; so they hurry first thing in the morning 177 to finish the business. The go-betweens first pay secret sums to the grumblers, then accounts are settled with the parents-in-law and the widow. For this purpose they are asked to go, not to the home of the new husband, but to a friend's home or to a remote place. The price of a girl is paid in full, while that of a widow is subject to bold acts of stinginess. Only judge: 600 cash are worth 1,000; at present, animals must be accepted in place of paying in silver, and they are evaluated at double their value. They give cloth which they claim

[41 cont.]

192 Prayer fee: bosë (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

796 Tea provided in the lamic monastery: mäntsia (mändzia) (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

[784] Taboo of the compound: ~~udie dzilā~~-; chi-men (Chin.) = to forbid the door.

[357]

[Pages 41-43 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[43] III. Customs concerning the Dwelling and Settlement

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1. The Incense Sacrifice*

*See "Notes," pp. 46-49 [of the foreign text]. In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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Every day at sunrise the house and yard are swept clean.

512 The housewife fans the family fire on the kang, around which

[356] young and old gather during the day. The master of the house

[783] washes his hands and face (1), takes some coals from the fire,

[515]

1. [Foreign text p. 46.] This ablution is undertaken for all religious activities, and it is also the common way of washing oneself in the morning. Since wash-bowls are unknown or have been used only recently, it is done in the following way: one takes a mouthful of water from a bowl and rinses the mouth; then he

372 [43 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text p. 46 cont.]
takes a second mouthful and lets it run out of the mouth over the cupped hands and washes them; the third mouthful, allowed to run into the hand in the same way, serves to wash the face. This is repeated as desired, until one is clean. In case someone has a washbowl, he may under no circumstances forget to rinse his mouth, because that is part of the purification for a religious ceremony.

and puts them on the incense plate under the mani-tree out in the yard. There he blows on the coals to make a large flame, throws cypress twigs, butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, tea leaves, sugar, and a number of colored threads into it, and finally sprinkles the fire with pure water. Then, when the smoke rises up, the conch is blown, and the master of the house, as well as all those standing by, makes a three-fold [788] kowtow three times in front of the fire. With this the morning offering is concluded, and all go to their daily work.

Details

782 Persons: Usually the master of the household presents the [592] incense offering. In his stead, however, another male member [562] of the family may perform the act, but never women, unless there is no male person in the house and the children are still too small. Women may be present and make the kowtow, just as they also sweep the yard, set the things in readiness, and even hand them over for the offering. The conch is usually blown by someone who does not perform the offering. If the master of the household making the offering does it himself, it is done before the kowtow.

[44 cont.]

782 Offerings: The fire need not be taken from the hearth or
372 from the kang. It may be freshly lighted in the yard. It is all the same no matter which device is used for starting the fire, matches, flint, etc. To feed the fire when kindling it, straw is most commonly used. Malodorous fuels, like coal, dried dung, etc., which otherwise prevail in profane use, are not allowed.

782 The twigs of the cypress tree serve as incense (3).
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3. [Foreign text pp. 46-47.] The cypress used for incense is the tuja tree, vulgar: tree of life. Everywhere in Tsinghai this tree is regarded as a superior tree, even among the Chinese, who prefer to use its wood for coffins. The Chinese name is pai-shu (pei-shu or pei-mu) = cedar, juniper, cypress. The Tujen word šgua is a contraction of the Tibetan šug-pa. šug-pa, as the juniper group is called, is native to Tibet: Juniperus excelsa, Juniperus squamosa, Juniperus communis. See Ch. Das, p. 1239 ff. saṅs šiṅ is given there as a synonym: wood of purity. saṅs, however, may also mean "to vaporize, to evaporate," etc.; cf. loc. cit., p. 1265: "evaporation" [cited in English]. Of the other synonyms, lha-yi šiṅ (gods-tree) should be mentioned because the informant, too, maintains that the tree is sacred to Lhamo. If genuine juniper is available, for instance, in wild mountain regions, it, with its berries, is preferred for the incense burning. The Tujen word fdzaṅ (šdzaṅ, saṅ), according to the informant, comes from the

[778]

[i.e the fire for the morning offering - ANALYST]

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] offering is widespread everywhere among the nomads of Tsinghai and has been partially taken over by the Chinese. It is also practiced in all lamic monasteries. Even if it does not come from Buddhism, it has been taken up by it in the ritual and honored with "incense-sutras," which are recited during the burning of aromatic substances in honor of the gods. The additions superimposed on the original simple form also come from Lamaism. Concerning this original form, its origin and religious dedication to heaven, cf. Part Two.

783 The purification-fire: Aside from this incense offering, cypress incense is also burned on other occasions, but only for purification, for example, to fumigate the house to drive away the demons, to fumigate the sacrificial sheep, to fumigate the face and hands at religious ceremonies. This fire, however, is accorded no veneration; no kowtow is made before it; it is not sprinkled with water, and no butter or any kind of addition is put in it. It is not an offering. Should someone accidentally burn an actual incense offering, he can use even this for the purpose of purification (9).

372 [782] [789] [792]

9. [Foreign text p. 49.] On other occasions, too, the fire is used as a means of purification. For instance, according to an ancient custom, a Tujen widow, when she remarries, must step across a fire, just as among the Chia-Fandse the bride is led over fir-tree fire (sung-p'an). The fire-jumping in the night of the full moon after New Year's may have the same significance; cf. "The New Year's Festival," Note 6. Not only the fire has

[587] [796] [782]

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.]
this purificatory effect, however, but also the incense itself. This is shown by its name, "purity-wood," and by the use of bsañs as a verb, which, according to Ch. Das (p. 1316), means "to cleanse, to remove" [cited in English]. For this reason incense is also scattered in the water with the red-hot stone (ch'ü-t'an) that is used for cultic purification.

Word List

192 Cypress tree: šgua sdziödzë (3) [see Note 3 above].
782 Cypress: šgua.
[824] Cypress incense: fdzañ (šdzañ, dzañ, sañ) (Tib. loanwords).
Tsamba offering: fdzañ šdzam (Tib. loanwords).
Tsamba (profane): talga (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 49.] talga: Tib. t'al ba or t'al k'a = powder, dust, ash; Mong. talxa = flour, rye flour, barley flour.

glu-smän: Tib. klu sman = the dragon medicine, bot. Angelica. There are four kinds, of which the black and the white are the best. The white Angelica is used against sickness from the earth-dragon. In Mongolic it is called luus-un em = dragon-medicine.

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[757]

snagsog: Tib. sna = many, and ts'ogs = kind. lisi = Tib. li-ši = Carophyllus. gušgum: Tib. gur-gum = saffron, crocus. sësmiel: Tib. sug-smel (rmel) = cardamom; Chin. pai-tou kuan

[824]

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.]
(white bean-tressel). gagula: Tib. ka ko la = Amomum medium; Chin. ts'ao-kuo (straw-fruit). dzati: Tib. dsa tsi (Sanskr.) = nutmeg. ġawur: Tib. ga-bur (Sanskr.) = camphor (Unkrig).

Spices: ġlu (ġlo, ġlē) sëmän; ġlu (Tib. loanword) = earth-god;
sëmän (Tib. loanword) = medicine, spice (11) [see Note 11 above].

Känba flowers: känba.

Incense additions: rdzē (Tib. loanword) = additions, things.
snaġsoġ fdzãṅ rdzē (Tib. loanword) = many kinds of incense additions (4), (11) [see Notes 4 and 11 above].

Cloves: lisi (Tib.); ting hsiang (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Saffron: gušgum (Tib.); tsang hung-hua (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Cardamom: sësmiel (Tib.); i-chi-jen (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Marl: gagula (Tib); ts'ao-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Nutmeg: dzati (Tib.); jou-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Camphor: ġawur (Tib.); ping-p'ien (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

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[46]

Milk (profane): sun.

Libation: tsiab (tsiaw) (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 above].

[534] Conch: doṅ (Tib. loanword) = trumpet, horn (7) [see Note 7 above].

Heaven, you know it: tieṅgërë mudie.

[372] Purification-fire: sündur (Tib. loanword).

[58 cont.]

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[Foreign text p. 61 cont.]
New Year, very early in the morning, as I observed. On this occasion a great incense offering with a great many small dough-lamps are burned, bread, tea, and barley wine are offered, and finally a pack of paper horse-images with all kinds of inscriptions is thrown into the air and scattered in all directions by the wind. The entire ceremony takes place on a mountain. In case of misfortune anyone may undertake this ceremony at will.

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The sheep offering: When a lama has raised the mani-pole, then there remains the above-described offering of bread wine, flowers, etc. After that the lama withdraws into the house. In the yard the spear-soothsayer divines once more whether the spirits want another sheep offering or not. The soothsayer then announces the will of the spirit; sometimes the latter dispenses with a sheep offering; sometimes he wants to have it immediately, and sometimes only after a few days. The yard must then remain taboo for that length of time. -- The sheep offering is never given in the presence of the lama, since it is, of course, always connected with the killing of the animal, and the lamas do not permit killing. The ritual of the sheep offering does not differ from the usual slaughter- and offering-ritual.

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[357]
[784]
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Renewal of the mani-tree: If in the course of time the tree or the flag have suffered damage, they are renewed, that is, only the part that is damaged. The tattered flag is burned, for instance, in the hearth or in a fire specially kindled for it, but always with pure firewood, never with the usual dry dung, for example. The unusable mani-tree is likewise burned. In no case may it be used for other purposes,

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[626 cont.]

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[783]
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[Note on foreign text p. 628 cont.] The fumigating with the red-hot stone is supposed to purify the house and drive away the demons, like the exploding of rockets.

Then a second offering follows. The master of the household takes little sticks of incense, one for each member of the family, and lights them in the room above the lamp. Then he goes out around the mani-pole and, with all the members of the family, makes a threefold kowtow to the sky, facing the main house. He puts the little sticks in the incense oven on the round manger. Then the same ceremony is repeated in the house before the household altar, where the new little sticks continue to smolder in the incense basin. During the entire ceremony rockets and cannons are fired in order to scare away the demons. Together with the incense, yellow paper is also burned, exactly as among the Chinese (8).

[789]
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8. [Foreign text p. 629.] As among the Chinese, the hearth-god is also carried off and on New Year's morning is again festively carried in. I was unable to learn anything concerning an original Tujen ceremony with respect to the hearth fire. Since time immemorial an incense offering has been made to the hearth-god, but it is uncertain whether on this occasion cypress twigs were thrown into the fire. Nowadays little sticks of incense are generally put on the wall behind the hearth, precisely as among the Chinese.

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Another fire ceremony takes place in the first full-moon night of the year from the fourteenth to the fifteenth day. Young people light a series of little straw fires (10 to 15) on the path or on

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[626 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 629 cont.]
the threshing floor and jump over them. It is said that this is done in order to become pure; others say it is only for fun. The Chinese there, who also have this custom, maintain that it is an old Chinese practice. They also tell a legend about it, which I have forgotten. It has something to do with a battle ruse of old heroes whose memory one wants to celebrate. -- For the purificatory fire, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 9.

[177]

It is precisely in the New Year's practices that the strong mixture with Chinese customs appears, so that in individual instances it is impossible to say definitely what originally belonged to the Tujen. One can safely ascribe to them, however, the ying-hsi ceremony, renewal of the animal consecration, and above all the dancing and singing of songs, which the Chinese do not know.

[821]

The dances with song point to a close connection with the waxing moon, since they are usually performed at night on the fifteenth day, even throughout the night. It is almost as though the New Year's festival applies primarily to the new moon. After the first full moon, everything is quite suddenly broken off.

Once the incense ceremony is over, the master of the household places a table in the yard before the round manger. On it are put trays with five steamed loaves, five oil-loaves, three tagur loaves, and all kinds of baked goods (3) [see Note 3 above]. Then a bowl of barley wine is poured out and a

[644 cont.]

764 The lama now takes his place on the bed or the door,
792 over which a white mat has been spread, on the west side of the oven. His face is turned toward the east, facing that of the dead person. Before him stands a little kang table with his cult implements. Next to it lie two pieces of sacking, on which two white cloth runners have been spread; the little plates with the spices and the materials for the fire-pouring (cf. the appropriate section) stand on that. On the white cloth there is also a tray with a torma. The lama prepared it in the morning
[778] in the house of mourning and brought it along. This torma rep-
[775] resents a spirit that protects the dead person and leads him westward into the land of rebirth. -- The lama comes from the west, the land of the Buddhas, and goes to the east; therefore he is seated opposite the dead person.

764 The fire preparation: Now the iron kettle is put on three
372 stones and a great fire is kindled under it; it does not matter how this fire is made. Several lumps of butter are thrown into the kettle and allowed to melt. The men then make the
[792] lighting pole, while the lama begins the prayers for the dead.

The lighting pole is a stick two to three meters long. Any wood desired can be used for it. A thick strand of cotton wadding is wound on one end. The master of ceremonies now brings a paper lantern, in which there is a small butter-lamp. It must be a butter-lamp; an oil-lamp or a candle is not permitted. In olden times there were no butter-lamps either, but wooden splinters from the oil fir. This lamp may not be lighted with ordinary fire, for instance, with the fire from the butter-kettle. It must be new fire which is struck from the flint on the first blow. If the master of ceremonies does not get a spark the first time, he may not try it a second time with the same stone. For this reason he keeps a whole series of flint stones in readiness (18). Now if the spark has fallen on the

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18. [Foreign text 656.] In recent times matches are also used instead of the flint stones. In this case, too,

[644 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
however, the match must burn at the first stroke; otherwise one throws it away and takes a second one.

tinder at the first blow and has ignited it, then the master of ceremonies takes a handful of straw, holds the glowing tinder in it, and blows the whole thing into a bright flame, with which he lights the butter-lamp. Then he soaks the lighting pole in the butter-kettle containing the fluid butter, holds it over the butter-lamp in the lantern until the head of cotton wadding flares up brightly, and lights the oven with it through the four fire holes. Meanwhile the lama proceeds with his prayers. As [792] soon as the flames rise high, the master of ceremonies takes the soul-guide torma and throws it from above into the oven onto the corpse; it is burned with it. Then the lama undertakes the fire-pouring.

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Cremation and fire-pouring: The ceremony of the fire-pouring is the same as on other occasions. Only here the butter and the spices are thrown onto the [645] corpse in the oven, for which the lama holds the pouring-tube over the edge of the oven. The spices, however, are thrown into the flames by the master of ceremonies. The lama takes only a pinch each time and puts it on a [illustration appears here] little plate which the master of ceremonies holds in his hand. When the butter and the spices are used up, the lama ends his prayer and goes to the house. With him go the master of ceremonies, the sons-in-law, and the nephews.

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Only the two fire guards remain behind. They shatter the box, burn it with the corpse, and wait until the corpse is completely reduced to ashes. This takes several hours. Then they put the little bone-casket that was brought along in one of the fire holes without the bones and cover it with earth. They put boards over the still smoldering oven, which they weight with rocks and lumps of earth so that dogs and wolves cannot get in, and then they go home. They leave the oven alone. After three days the bones are stored.

[645 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
back and forth, but in all probability it is to catch the mirror images of the boys who have been brought before the Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age, receive the age-consecration and become a member of the monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman, from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring [783] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purification for the dead, similar to baptism. [372]

764 Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed 766 with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of [792] ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of [372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is desirable, but not essential.

764 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three days for the bone storage. During these three days the members 602 of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there, kowtow, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea. Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the men and women of the deceased's own family and at least one man, but no women, of the related families, and furthermore the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the [782] oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea. After they have then kowtowed, men and women dig the bones 764 out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

[853 cont.]

755 During this time a man heats the seven white stones in
756 the hearth fire until they are red-hot. Then he takes them out with an iron spoon and with it hands them to the shaman. The latter takes one stone after another in his mouth and spits them into the kettle. Then he throws the other things, the lock, the flowers, and the prayer texts, into the water and finally pours in the bowl of liquor. Now the sick person is completely disrobed, and the shaman washes him from top to bottom with his one free hand, scooping the boiling water out of the kettle with his hand. Then the sick person is put back on his kang in the house.

The water remains in the kettle, on the following two days, when the shaman has already gone, the people must repeat the washing. On the third day they pour out the water in front of the yard gate. They can use the things, the lock, knife, etc., again for ordinary purposes.

755 The fire-blowing: After the washing the shaman goes
372 into the room of the sick person. During this time the men in the yard start a strong fire with sheep dung and wood. They put
756 a plowshare in it and make it white-hot. A man puts a stick
[787] through the white-hot plowshare and takes it in to the shaman, who is still in a trance, but has given his sword to another man. Now he seizes the glowing plowshare with both hands with a hada that hangs from his breast-mirror, licks it with his bare tongue, takes a respectable mouthful of liquor, and turns to the sick person. He blows the alcohol out of his mouth over the
[273] plowshare in strong blasts, which each time makes a burst of fire shoot out toward the sick person. Then he takes the plowshare in front of the gate and places it at the foot of the yard wall. There the men immediately throw earth over it and wall it in.

755 The drink of the sick: Now the shaman again goes into
756 the room of the sick person. A man extends an iron spoon to him. He rips off a piece of the hada on his protective-mirror, places it in the spoon, and throws a few barley kernels in it. Then a man pours water into the spoon until it is full, holds it

[864 cont.]

782 The fire-pouring: On the morning of the seventh day,
[792] immediately after sunrise, the lama says his morning prayer, drinks tea, and makes the fire-torma. Meanwhile, after the incense offering, everything is prepared outside for the fire ceremony.

Next to the burning-place a large iron kettle for melting the butter is put on three stones. A pile of firewood lies next to it. A felt mat for the lama is put to the west of the wall, for he always sits facing east. Sometimes a broad kang table is set up, which serves the lama as a seat. On it is put a piece of wide cloth, which during the fire-pouring he places over his knees for protection, so that [illustration appears here] no liquid butter will drip on his clothes. Next to the seat one places the fire fan
[372] consisting of a piece of white cloth that is provided with two little parallel sticks, so that the lama can grasp it with both
[783] hands. The fire is fanned with it because one may not pollute it with his breath.

In front of the lama-seat and the wall there is a small table for the cult implements, prayer book, bell, etc. To the right of the seat there stands a small table on which to put the pouring-tube and the spoon. To the left, next to the lama-seat, one puts a wide board or a door taken off its hinges, over which one spreads a sack, and over that a white cloth runner. [Illustrations a, b, c, and d appear here.] [865] The tray with the pieces of wood and the 12 little plates with the burning-spices are on top of that. Furthermore the following are kept
[372] in readiness: several flintstones or a box of matches, a butter-lamp, a paper lantern, and a lighting pole such as is also used at the cremation.

782 Now the lama comes out with the fire-torma and puts it
792 in the center of the ground-drawing on a layer of cypress twigs. Around this the men pile up the prescribed firewood in the shape of an octogon that tapers toward the top, leaving an empty space in the center around the torma. They then fill this space with cypress twigs. The gift-master then ceremoniously hands a hada to the lama and requests him to begin the ceremony. While he goes to the other side of the pile of wood and makes a threefold

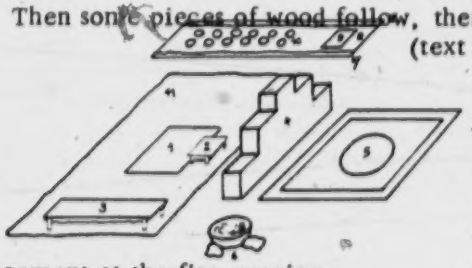
[866 cont.]

782 kowtow, there to the lama, the lama sprinkles the pile of wood
792 with holy water and scatters barley kernels on it, over which he has breathed three times.

[372] Now the gift-master strikes a spark from the flint at the first blow, catches it with hemp tow, blows it to a small flame in a little bundle of straw, and lights the butter-lamp with it. Then the paper lantern lamp is lighted with the light of the butter-lamp. The ceremony and the rules are exactly the same as at the cremation. Now one hands the lama the lighting pole.
[372] He holds its head of tow over the butter-lamp until it flames up and sets fire to the pile of wood with it. As soon as the fire flames high, all those present fall on their knees and make a threefold kowtow. In case the fire does not burn immediately,
[372] the lama fans it with the cloth fan. Now the fire-pouring follows.

The lama places the cloth over his knees, takes the pouring tube, lays it with the outflow over the wall, holds the handle with his left hand, and with his right hand pours spoonfuls of liquid butter into the funnel, so that it flows in a stream into the fire and flames up violently. After he has done this a few times, one hands him the little plates with the burnt offerings. With the first three fingers of his right hand, he takes one of the two portions each time and with benedictions throws it into the fire. Then some pieces of wood follow, then again pourings of

(text continues on p. 299)



Arrangement at the fire-pouring.

[333] 1. Seat of the lama; 2. table for prayer books; 3. table for spoons; 4. protective wall; 5. place of burning (ground-drawing); 6. butter kettle; 7. board; 8. cloth runner; 9. tray with consecration wood; 10. plates of the accompanying gifts for the burning; 11. felt mat. (Drawing according to information from the informant.)

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 868 cont.]
about the various forms of the burning-place (mandala) and the Tibetan-Chinese names. Also, the addresses of the fire-pouring are different (p. 151); in addition, other burnt offerings are enumerated there.

It must be noted that among the Tujen a simple, popular form is involved, which varies according to location and the situation of the population. It is only too understandable that the ordinary people know nothing about the complicated and in part tantric symbolism. It is enough for them if through the ceremony the gods provide for their welfare and protection and if the demons remain far away.

782 The black fire-pouring: The persons are the same. The [302] lama and his helper, however, smear their faces with soot. They also wear black clothes. All objects are black, the torma, the [792] felt mat, the wall, the ground-drawing, etc.

[372] Instead of firewood one takes pig or camel dung. Black sticks are stuck around the black torma on the ground-drawing; the intestines of a black sheep are suspended on them in garland fashion. The intestines are not cleaned, but are full of dung. In place of the butter one takes black linseed oil, and the dung is soaked in it so that it will burn better.

The burnt offerings are: black barley, black linseed, the seed of the wild rape, wheat mixed with black earth, dark beans, glutenous rice colored black, herbs colored black, etc.

[778] As votive offerings for the black tormas, which represent the demons, one takes milk from a black sheep and urine from a black donkey served in a black bowl, and, as incense, pig dung.

[866 cont.]

782 The place for the black fire-pouring is usually a remote
[792] ravine. One pitches black tents and lives there several days with the lama in solitude. In no case may one undertake the black fire-pouring in the vicinity of temples or human habitations.

[731] In case of epidemics, the black fire-pouring is used
[755] preferably, in order to annoy the demons of sickness and thus to
[777] drive them away, for with them the misfortune, too, disappears.
[776]

Meaning: The fire-pouring is an offering for the gods;
[792] through it they are supposed to be induced to turn away mis-
[755] fortune and sickness (7). The seven-day prayer of the lama is

782
372

7. [Foreign text pp. 868-869.] The whole gives very much the impression of a fire-offering. The informant, however, thought that it had nothing to do with it. According to him it was an offering to the appropriate
[776] Buddhas. The fire-god was also venerated with it, as the torma proved, but this was not the main thing. Nevertheless there is no doubt but that a fire-offering, Homa, is involved (cf. Lessing, loc. cit.). The Tujen name alone cannot be interpreted other than as a corruption of the Tibetan sbyin-sreg. sbyin is pronounced jin, which is very clearly to be seen in Note 8 (źüin-tsëġ). Ch. Das, p. 940, writes under sbyin-sreg: "burnt offerings as made by Tantrik Buddhists, ... sbyin-sreg-gi [869] rdzas clarified butter, articles necessary for burnt sacrifices. ... sbyin-sreg-gi yam-šiṅ ... first wood necessary for the offering" [cited in English]. (For yam-šiṅ, cf. the Tujen foreign word yiew-siṅ.) "Homa is the

[866 cont.]

782
372

[Note on foreign text pp. 868-869 cont.] chief of all fire-sacrificials" [cited in English]. -- The DMF, p. 73, likewise has the expression dzuntsiog and writes: "name of certain libations and offerings" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. t'sogs, "sacrificial offering" [cited in English]. Then it presents the expression lama dzuntsiog fudzuruna (= surina) and writes: "the lama performs the libations" [translated from French]. There can be no question of a libation here, and the ... tsiog (ts'og) is also not the Tibetan ts'ogs, which, according to Ch. Das (pp. 1032, 1033), means "accumulation," and, in connection with 'k'or, "offering in a circle (mandala)." Although the informant did not primarily emphasize the fire-offering, he nonetheless translated the dzuntsiog with the Chinese tao huo-t'an = literally, to pour on the fire surface = to undertake the fire-pouring. F. Lessing (p. 150) has for this the expression huo-t'an-i-kuei, roughly, rite of the fire-terrace.

782 just as important as the fire-ceremony. -- The fire-pouring is
792 widespread among the Tujen and Fandse. It is also undertaken
[17] in the lamic monasteries.

Word List (8)

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782

8.[Foreign text pp. 869-870.] In addition to the names mentioned here, I also learned in the Mongol lamasery Tsa-tsang-szu and in the neighboring monastery Fu-hai szu or Hsin-szu (Guăm-basoma) west

[866 cont.]

192
782
[824]
[776]

[Note on foreign text p. 870 cont.]
help, to save; otherwise called Tārā. -- gusia: Tibetan ku ša (from the Sanskrit) = botanical Poa cynosuroides. -- sāndoṅmani: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words seṅ (Sanskrit. siṁha) = lion, gdoṅ = face, mani = jewel. It is a goddess. -- šda(m)tsēni: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words rta = horse, mgrin (pronounced din) = neck, also voice; in other words: the horse-necked one, or the horse-voiced one. -- logōṅ: Tibetan klu (pronounced lu) = dragon, and gdoṅ = face. Literally, therefore, dragon-face (Unkrig).

[372] Fire-place: taw (Tib. loanword) = oven, hearth.

[778] Misfortune-torma: ġuaġ dor (Tib.).
ġuaġ = misfortune; prayer said during the preparation of this torma.

Earth-spirit torma: ġlū-šdorma.
Mountain-spirit torma: yifula-šdorma.
Fire-torma: ġal šdorma.
Earth-god spices: ġlu smān (Tib.).
dalān dierān sāmba smān = 74 pieces of spices.

[867]

[532] Measuring string: šdag paġdzin bōdoġ = pattern-drawing string.
Pattern: arasē xuar = leather model; tsialdzē xuar = paper model.

Burning-place drawing (mandala): tawni xuar.

[333] Wall: lāṅgāṅ (Chin. loanword).
Pouring tube: šge gaṅsār (Tib. loanword) = large spoon.
Ladling spoon for butter: mula gāṅsār = little spoon.
Spoon (profane): dzieġliu (Tujen).

[372] Cloth fan: ki yūelwa = air-cloth.
rlōṅ yāg (Tib.).
Cloth (profane): bosē.

[867 cont.]

192 Lighting pole: xuãmbar.

782 Flint and steel: kidie.

[372] Fire struck with flint and steel: kidie ġal = flint-and-steel fire.

Ordinary fire: arãṅka ġal.

At the fire-pouring pouring there is no loss through bad weather: dsuntsioġ surẽwa, dierdzia sdzüen uguei.

At the black fire-pouring pouring the demons flee: xara dzuntsioġ surewa, mõ iliesgẽ xuoluode pusa sdzia (sdzim).

[372] Firewood: taw siṅ (Tib.) = oven-wood.

Consecration-wood: yiew (ziew) -siṅ (Tib.).

192 Tibet-herbs: dziãṅgoṅ (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

782 tsang ts'ao (Chin.) = Tib. herb.

824 Tibet-flowers: kãnba (Tib. loanword).

ta t'ou mao hsiang (Chin.).

White grass (from Tsinghai): ndoluwã (9) [see Note 9 above]; pai-ts'ao (Chin.).

Tibetan hard grass (reed): gusia (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

tsang hsi-chi (Chin.).

Tamarisk?: guãnbõ (xuãnbo); sõgã.

Poplar wood: mõdẽ = wood.

White thorn: siraldzin = yellow thorn.

Black thorn: xara rẽguodzẽ.

192 Horse-god: šdamtsẽni (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

782 ma-wang (Chin.).

Cattle-god: ndigsier (Tib. loanword); niu-wang (Chin.).

776 Lion-god: sãndoṅmani (Tib. loanword); shih-wang (Chin.) (9) [see Note 9 above].

Water-faced Buddha: logon rẽdziawu (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

shuei-lien p'usa (Chin.).

[Pages 867-870 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 870 of Vol. 47, and the next section begins on p. 202 of Vol. 48.]

[203 cont.]

192 means "offering container." The chortens now usually shelter
778 the ashes of Buddhist saints or their relics and frequently also
bear their pictures on the front side. Thus the meaning of an
776 idol is connected with the whole. The chortens or stupas or
suburgans are therefore the seat of a spirit or of a deceased person. A deity is present in them. They are the same as [204] what the Mongols or Tujen imagine under the expression purǧan. This conception is confirmed, furthermore, by the urn shape of the stupa. In Tibetan the lower part is called bum-ba, urn, pot. As has already been shown in the case of the earth-god urn and the beṅkaṅ, urns are frequently the seat of a deity. This conception is also found elsewhere, and one might also connect the urn with the throne of the gods, which will not be discussed here. In any case, the Tujen word purǧan is late and Buddhistic in origin.

776 All the inhabitants of the Buddhist, Bonist, and Taoist pantheon fall within the group of these lower gods insofar as the Tujen have taken it over. A special position seems to be oc-
776 cupied by the fire-spirit as hearth-god or god of the shaman
●372 fire, whom Schram so strongly emphasizes in his book concerning marriage among the Tujen. I could no longer confirm any special veneration of the shaman fire, however. If one disregards the fire offering, which is included as part of the rite of the Lamaistic fire-pouring, there remains to the people only the hearth-god, who, however, is venerated no more frequently than among the Chinese, for example. The use of fire for purifica-
[783] tion (widow marriage, leaping over fire, fumigation, red-hot stone, etc.) seems to have nothing to do with a god. It can be explained purely magically, because the demons fear the fire. They are, of course, always regarded as unclean, as the common phrase, pudaǧ ilie, dirty demon, proves.

776 Of the other gods who deserve special mention, there
[791] are the shaman and soothsaying gods, who animate or temporarily
[787] take possession of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, and the divine images, for instance, the black and white tiger, the great mother, the dragon. Furthermore, an important role is
[177] played by the god of joy (at a wedding), who probably comes from the Chinese, the horse- and cattle-king, the world-directions spirits, and the gods of the weather ministry with the smith-god

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Khan included (for Chingis is a devoutly honored deity), to the fire and to the Obo. The rite is performed in private families by lamas. Stallions are consecrated besides other animals.[3] The tenets of the religion of the Mongols seem to be as confused as those of the religion of the Monguors.

The rite used to be performed by the Turks.[4] Marco Polo, traveling through Turkistan on the way to Peking, notes the rites of the sacred animal—in this case a sheep.[5]

This rite is not to be confused with the well-known rite of the aspersion with milk of mares after the summer solstice. On an auspicious day the mares are milked and the milk is immediately mixed with sour cow's milk, so that it will become sour after a few minutes. This sour milk is thrown to the four points of heaven, with a wooden ladle, while prayers are said. The rite is performed in honor of all kinds of deities of Lamaism; all kinds of gods of heaven; of Chingis, his wives, his sons, and companions; to the spirits of mountains.[6]

CULT OF THE FIRE

A very old element of the old religion of the Turco-Mongols is the cult of the fire, whose specific offer was butter.[7] This cult had already existed in the arctic culture, "wir gehen wohl nicht fehl wenn wir wenigstens die Wurzeln irgendeine religiösen Feuer Kultus schon in die arktischen Urkultur eingesenkt lassen."[8] Fire is supposed to carry the offerings to the supreme deity.[9] It is one of the essential elements of the old religion of the nomads.[10] Among the Ch'i-tan, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, received considerable attention during winter.[11] Among the Ch'i-tan, the burning of big fire-wood was originally

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[3] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore ordos, op. cit.*, 1 seq. Prof. Schuyler Cammann encountered in Ordos a sacred yearling camel wearing a necklace of sheep scapulas—it could never be ridden by man. *The land of the camel*, 167, New York, Ronald Press, 1951.

[4] Herman Vambery, *Das Turkenvolk*, 122, 1885.

[5] Yule-Cordier, 1: 207, 1929.

[6] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 315–322, 331. Father Mostaert also notes (*Monumenta Serica* 1: 335, n. 19, 1935) that among the Mongols this rite, which is performed by laymen, is not specifically for Heaven but for all the Burkhans, Tengris, etc. The koumis (mare's milk) is cast from a ladle toward the four points of heaven; there is not a ladle-full for Heaven alone. This rite follows the summer solstice, by which time the colts have been born. It seems to be a thanksgiving rite, a rite of first fruits, specifically enacted for the reproduction of the horses. The Monguors, no longer having herds of horses, lack this rite.

[7] W. Koppers, Die Indogermanenfrage in Lichte der historischen Volkerkunde, *Anthropos* 30: 23, 1935; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* 10: 70–76; 9: 228–241, 534–535.

[8] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 3: 550.

[9] *Ibid.* 3: 555.

[10] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 136, 1925.

[11] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *op. cit.*, 214 and 239.

[p. 119(B)]

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part of the investiture ceremony of the emperor.[12] Dur- 372
ing the funeral ceremonies for the emperor, the new 776
emperor, facing the fire, made a libation and bowed thrice.[13] At the end of the year, in front of the hall (in open air), an offering of salt and sheep fat was made to the god of the fire by the shamans, and the emperor bowed twice before the fire.[14]

Butter was the original offering for the fire god among the Mongols and the Aryans.[15] Fire is worshipped among the Monguors in two ways: by fire in the open air, and fire on the hearth.

FIRE IN THE OPEN AIR

At marriages, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard 585
where the marriage rites are performed and the dinner 372
is served. The prostrations "to Heaven and to all the spirits" are made by the young couple in front of the fire. When the bride leaves the home of her parents a fire is built in the courtyard and speeches are made; the dinner is taken in front of the fire.[16]

During the celebration of the rite of the sixtieth birthday a big fire is built in the courtyard. First of all, at midnight on New Year's, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard and prostrations are given. The fire is not allowed to go out during the whole day, and this rite is performed before all the other rites.

In the temple yard of the village, the same rite is performed on New Year's in the same way. On the fifteenth of the first moon, a big cypress fire is kindled in the middle of the threshing floor, and small fires are built all around, over which men and women jump, singing, merrymaking, and making fun on stilts. During the whole performance of many rites enacted by lamas and shamans, very often a big cypress fire is kindled, as will be noted later.

MAGICAL POWER OF THE FIRE

Already the well-known Wei-sang has been noted, 372
which seems to be an offering diffusing fragrance in 789
honor of the spirits. It accompanies many rites. But fire is not only used to convey to the spirits the good feelings of the people, but often its magical power is expected to drive away evil spirits, even at the time of epidemics, epizootics, or when calamities intermittently harm the family.

When mourners return from funerals, they jump over [764]
a fire kindled at the entrance of the courtyard, so as not to be pursued and harmed by the souls of the deceased.

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[12] *Ibid.*, 223, 239, 274.

[13] *Ibid.*, 279.

[14] *Ibid.*, 267–317.

[15] Poppe, *op. cit.* 142. Edward Washburn Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 106, Agni, the fire god in old Hinduism, is a mediator between god and man, carrying to Heaven the offerings (p. 445). The ram is the sacred beast of Agni, who is seen riding a ram (p. 449). At New Year's festival on the second day is the celebration of Agni.

[16] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, *op. cit.*, 42–71.

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A widow who is remarrying, when she arrives at the door of her new husband's house, jumps over a fire kindled at the entrance of his courtyard, in order that the soul of her deceased husband will no longer follow and harm her. 372 789 [587]

Every time any utensil is supposed to have become impure, it is passed over a fire. The shamans and lamas, before using their religious paraphernalia, smoke them over a fire. [783]

Usually the lamas, at the time of epidemics, try first to cajole and placate these evil doers, hoping that they will stay their calamities, making the magnificent fire offering called *tao Huo-t'an*, "the pouring of a plain of fire." It consists of burning, on a limited surface, a pile of logs of different kinds of wood, reputed to be odoriferous or expensive, with all available kinds of fragrant herbs and spices, dried aromatic flowers, all kinds of grains. The fire is lit by sparks struck from a flint, or by the rays of the sun passing through a magnifying glass, for the fire must be pure also. The fire is kept up by the intermittent pouring of molten butter on it by lamas, who recite texts during seven days in order to win the hearts of the evil doers. They make several *tormas* and design *mandalas* [17] for the arranagement of the logs. The whole is accompanied by an unusual display of the most detailed rites, for which each lama has his own explanation and his own way of acting, ringing bells, beating drums, blowing horns, while the family prostrates itself. This is the famous pouring of fire on a huge surface "in order to gain the good graces of the malignant spirits by a magnificent fire offering." [18]

Some lamas resort, for the same reason, to a "white Wei-sang." One hundred logs of odoriferous wood are white-washed with lime-wash and kindled as described above. The aim of the rite is again to pull the heartstrings of the evil spirits by means of a pure fire offering and to invite them to stop the calamities.

However, when the two rites have proved unsuccessful, the lamas try the "black Wei-sang," using the magical power of the fire for dispelling the evil spirits. In a forlorn and remote spot, a pile of the most inexpensive and dirty wood is prepared with all kinds of smelly herbs and spoiled grain. The fire is kindled with dung and on top of the blazing pile is poured the urine of a black donkey; *tormas* are made with black spoiled flour. Condemning the evil spirits with such an abject fire offering, they hope they will leave the family, or the village, in order to avoid scorn and disdain, and that the magical power of the fire for repelling them will be more effective.

[17] *Mandalas* are so-called "magic circles" by which the divinities are coerced into assisting the votary to reach "the other shore." While they are being made, the makers recite charmed sentences (dharani) supposed to have been composed by several divinities, which are used as incantations for procuring their assistance in peril as well as in ordinary temporal affairs. L. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 144, second ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

[18] Schröder, Der Feuerguss, *op. cit.*, 860.

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If, however, black and white rites do not work, the Monguors call for the Taoist priest, who paints all the items used (the wood, etc.), with a coat of goat blood. He binds the logs in a bundle by means of goat guts, and sprinkles goat blood upon the burning fire. The rite is called the "red Wei-sang." 372 789

These facts give evidence of the importance attached by the Monguors to the fire for purifying from uncleanliness and preventing harm caused by evil spirits. They show their devotion for the fire by having a big cypress fire kindled during the performance of religious rites and the most important moments of life, as at marriages or the celebration of the sixtieth birthday. However, fire does not only play an important role in the life of the Monguors in the open air; its role is as important in the private life of the families where it is worshipped under the form of the "fire of the hearth," the "hearth god."

THE HEARTH FIRE

Among the Monguors, the Chinese, and the Tibetans, the cult of the hearth god belongs entirely to the department of the women. Everywhere, the temple of the hearth god is the kitchen. 775 776 372

No wonder that the hearth god is supposed to be interested in a special way in the fecundity of the wives and the protection of the children, and that it is honored at fixed times by its own ritual. [842]

FIRE AND FECUNDITY

When the Monguor bride arrives at the home of the bridegroom, she does not prostrate herself before her parents-in-law or before the guests, but is led straight to the kitchen. Here she worships the god of the hearth giving three prostrations, burning incense, offering a bottle of wine and her chopsticks, which she has brought with her. 585 354 776 372

It was noted in the first volume of this study that the youngest couple in the family always lives in the kitchen, where the god of the hearth is honored, because the Monguors say that in that way fecundity is assured. Women who have plenty of children and do not wish to have more will leave the kitchen and live in another room. It has been noted that, among the Mongols, the youngest son inherits his father's hearth, occupies his tent, and is called the prince of the fire. [428]

When poor people cannot afford the luxury of a lavish marriage, nor invite guests, they marry the young couple in the kitchen "before the god of the hearth." The makeup of the new bride is done before the god of the hearth and not in the living room.[19]

An unusual practice relates to the fecundity assumed to be bestowed on women by means of the cult of the spirit of the fire (and of the god of the hearth). On the fifteenth of the first moon, at night, on the edge of the big threshing floor of the village, a number of small heaps of cypress boughs are kindled. While musicians 842 372 776

[19] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, 39.

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beat drums and play mandolins, all the younger wives 842
and their husbands pursue each other, jumping over the 372
fire heaps, merrymaking. No wives or husbands would 776
miss this practice, for the tradition goes that it provides fecundity. However, the Yassa forbids jumping over the fire.[20]

Professor N. Poppe notes that among the Mongols the spirit of the fire is represented riding a he-goat, and that the he-goat is a symbol of fecundity, as Plano Carpini already noted.[21] This note of Professor Poppe evidences the existence of the fact that a relation existed between the fire god and fecundity in olden times. The Monguors seem not to know the existence of the god of the fire riding the he-goat, although they know that the hearth god secures fecundity. The hearth god also procures fecundity among the Buriats.[22]

FIRE AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE CHILDREN

The god of the hearth not only provides fecundity to 952
the daughters-in-law, but it protects their children. On 372
the second of the second moon is performed the rite of 776
consecration of the children to the god of the hearth. In the very early morning, before boiling water for washing and making tea, the mother roasts some handfuls of spelt in the cauldron and after them some handfuls of peas. Husband and wife spread them devoutly in the courtyard in front of the door. Then the elders clip some hair from the foreheads of the children under thirteen years of age, and cut the nails on their fingers. Hair and nail parings are carefully put in a cup and covered with a red cloth. The cup is placed before the picture of the hearth god and a copper coin placed on top of it. All members of the family prostrate themselves nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and the incense sticks are then fixed before the picture of the hearth god. On the twenty-fourth of the twelfth moon, at the time the god starts its journey to Heaven, the contents of the cup are burned in the hearth, together with the picture of the god. The Monguors explain this as the yearly rite of consecration of the children to the hearth god.

CULT OF THE HEARTH GOD

Rite at the End of the Year

The most important rites in honor of the spirit of 795
the hearth are performed at its departure for Heaven, 562
and at its coming back from Heaven, for so important 354
a benefactor must receive the highest honors possible, 776
and the most affectionate greetings. This is true all 782
over China. Men do not attend these rites.

The spirit of the hearth of the Chinese starts its journey to heaven on the twenty-third of the last moon of the year, on horseback or on a mule. The spirit of

[20] Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 73.

[21] Poppe, *op. cit.* **2**: 135. See also n. 15, above, for Agni, the Hindu god, riding a ram.

[22] *Ibid.*, 301.

[p. 121(B)]

trates itself before the spirit of the hearth, congratulates it, and is happy, for the spirit is supposed to have come back at that very moment with a load of blessings. In the early morning the elders will honor it also. 795 562 354 776

Several times I asked the Monguors whom the spirit of the hearth was going to see in Heaven. The answer was always: "Our women claim, as do the Chinese, that the hearth god is going to see 'Old Father Heaven.' It is true that the spirits are everywhere, and the women know it; but on that night they say the same thing that the Chinese say." 782

Rites During the Year

Every time women prepare food, the first bowl is always offered devoutly to the hearth god. 782

On the fifth of the fifth moon, steamed rolls, shaped like flowers, are offered to the spirit of the hearth, and willow boughs adorn its image. Nobody could explain the connection between the willow and the spirit of the hearth. (Is it a Chinese custom?)

It has been noted above that steamed rolls, prepared with the flour of the spelt of the new harvest, and a lamp kindled with the new oil of the year, are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the fifteenth of the eighth moon, rolls and a chicken are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the eighth of the last moon of the year, a piece of ice is put before it. (Is this a Chinese custom?)

If a member of the family has been smitten with a severe disease, old people claim that the spirit of the hearth is angry and taking in ill grace the uncleanliness of the women for having let milk drip in the fire, or for having poured water on it and on the ashes, or for poking the fire with an iron rod. In that event, rolls, wine, and chicken are offered and prostrations are made. Sometimes a sheep is offered, and a lama is invited to pray in propitiation before the image of the spirit of the hearth.

When eyes are sore, or when there is trouble with scalp and hair, the spirit of the hearth has to play physician. Before the image, a red-hot stone is put in a pot of water in which aromatic leaves of wild mint are boiled. The sick man, after prostrating himself, bows over the pot and is steamed by the vapors and healed. The same rite is used to purify the sacred animal at New Year's.

It is noteworthy that the shaman is never invited by the Monguors to honor the fire or the spirit of the hearth, although once in a while a lama is invited to perform a propitiating rite. That department, like that of the sacred animal, seems to be foreign to them.

IMAGE OF THE HEARTH GOD

The old Monguors are accustomed to paste on the wall a sheet of white paper. In the middle of the paper is pasted vertically a short but wide yellow paper ribbon, under which is pasted, horizontally, a large red-fringed paper ribbon, said to be the skirt of the spirit. 776 354 372 562

[p. 122(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

On both sides of the red skirt are pasted two small yellow ribbons, said to represent the handkerchiefs of the spirit. On the upper part of the sheet of paper is pasted, horizontally, a large red, fringed strip of paper.

776 354 372 562

The skirt and the handkerchiefs are items belonging to women's dress, and consequently the spirit is supposed to be a female spirit. Some Monguors, when the whole primitive representation is finished, write on the yellow ribbon in the center: "Lord of the Hearth." Many Monguors no longer use this old representation of the spirit of the hearth, but instead, they buy a Chinese picture. After a few years it will be hard to find out to which sex their hearth god belonged.

According to the interesting study of Professor N. Poppe, based only on old fire prayers and hymns, the god of the fire among the Mongols is a female god, called "mother of the hearth," "mother of the fire," etc., but also "king of the fire," and even "mother king of the fire." The god of the fire possesses a big family consisting of seven girls and five boys and many servants. It is not clear why prayers and hymns are sung once for the king of the fire, and once for the lady.[23]

Among the Mongols, as among the Monguors, the most important act of honoring the god of the hearth takes place on the last days of the year. In the hymns, all kind of blessings are implored from the god of the hearth, who seems omnipotent.[24]

The Tibetans, from the oldest times on, also had their "god of the hearth" and their "queen hearth god." Both were very touchy concerning the smallest impurities thrown into the fire; a trifle could upset them.[25]

Among the Tungus, the spirit of the fire is an old woman, who stays in the fire of the family; fire is to be revered.[26]

It is interesting to record that, among the Chinese also, the sex of the god of the hearth is not definitely fixed. Father Doré, studying twenty-nine sources related to the subject, notes that eight describe it as female, while a few assert that the spirit is not a single person, but a real couple, husband and wife. The remainder claim the masculine sex for their spirit.[27]

In old China.

Chieh was the spirit of the hearth, wearing red clothes and having the appearance of a beautiful woman. [*Chieh* means chignon.] It is strange that the spirit of the hearth has a female appearance. Confucius is reported to have said that the cult of the hearth is a cult of old ladies. There is a difference between the spirits of the hearth and of the fire; the last one is a male spirit, and the first a female, which is assimilated with the first woman cook.[28]

[23] N. Poppe, Zum Feuer Kultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major* **2**: 133, 1925.

[24] *Ibid.*, 140.

[25] Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 169.

[26] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 128.

[27] H. Doré, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, Part 2, **2**: 901, Shanghai, Sikawei. See also *Li-ki*, Couvreur, **1**: 554. Ho Kien fu, 1899, Mission Catholique.

[28] M. Granet, *Danses et legendes de la Chine ancienne*, 308, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

[p. 123(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The bewilderment concerning the sex of the god of the hearth and its social position is astonishing. Sometimes the god seems to be a married couple, sometimes a single female, or a single male. The traditional picture made by the Monguor women themselves offers a definite solution concerning the sex of "their" hearth god. The traditions concerning the fecundity attached to it seem connected with the Mongol king of the fire riding a he-goat, nothwithstanding that the Monguors are unable to give any reason for this connection, and do not know anything about the existence of this he-goat rider. Maybe the solution of the puzzle is to be sought in the suggestion of Granet, that two spirits are involved, the spirit of the fire which is a male, and the god of the hearth which is a female.

OFFERING TO HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS

THE FAMILY OFFERING AFTER THE HARVEST

After the spelt is cut, some sheaves are immediately carried home and threshed. The grain is ground on the stone, which is cleansed carefully. The women steam thirteen rolls of bread made with the newly ground flour. All members of the family climb on top of the roof in their best dresses and kneel, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the family lifts up to Heaven the salver with the thirteen steaming rolls and shouts three times, at the top of his voice, the usual "*Michioo*" and "Heaven and all the spirits." The whole family prostrates itself thankfully for the new harvest. Crumbs of bread are thrown to the four points of the compass. The Monguors say that the crumbs must be thrown in this way in order to feed the roaming, hungry, malignant spirits of the deceased, who always are on the prowl to harm the people.

The family comes down and offers the same rolls to the guardian spirit of the family, and to the spirit of the hearth, and then the whole family eats the rolls steamed with the new flour of the year.

In autumn, when linseed and colza seed are cut and the new oil is pressed, the same rite is performed with the new oil. A lamp with the new oil is kindled on the roof of the house with the usual prostrations and shoutings, another is kindled for the guardian spirit of the family, and another for the spirit of the hearth. The Tibetans in the country perform the same rite and the Chinese do also, but the Chinese thank only the "Old Father Heaven" and not "Heaven and all the spirits."

THE OFFERING OF THE SHEEP

It has been noted above that whenever a sheep is offered to a deity in the family, first of all a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown in the court yard for "Heaven" separately, with shouts of "Heaven" and no more; that a second piece is cut and thrown in the same way, with a shout of "all the spirits," and that

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 276 [372] men make their own pipes from the leg bone of a sheep. The smoking kit, a small pouch holding tobacco, a pinch of tinder and some small flints, hangs on the belt at the waist. The light is obtained by striking tinder against the flint.

c. Clothing

N *563 M 291 [177] The Mongours have always been proud of their national costume, though since the enrollment of some Chinese into their clans, a few communities have adopted Chinese clothing. During the rule of the Chinese Nationalist government, most of the Mongours kept their own costume. According to Father Schram, M [668] [177] who made a thorough investigation of the people, they were not allowed to wear the national costume after the Communists conquered their country in 1949. It is not known whether the Communists are continuing their policy of obliterating the distinct costumes and traditions of the small minorities.

M [171] The clothing of the Mongours is not greatly different from that of the Mongols. Traditionally, the men dress much less elaborately than the women. A man ordinarily wears a dark blue cotton gown, similar to that of the Chinese, that opens on the right side and hangs a little below the knees. The upper part of the gown is loose and a sash or belt is worn at the waist, making a copious pocket in which the man carries his eating bowl and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown of roughly woven white wool. Festival gowns of the rich are of silk or satin, and a vest or sleeveless jacket is worn over the gown. The ordinary man wears a cotton gown and jacket for festive occasions, with a plain silk or cotton sash.

In the old days, men wore trousers only when they went to town. Now they regularly wear blue cotton trousers cut in the Chinese style, with the legs stuffed into their cloth-topped knee boots. The tops of dress boots are sometimes embroidered. In winter, leather boots are worn. Few Mongours wear underclothing, and neither men nor women wear stockings.

M [301] Almost every young man wears a silver-plated bracelet carved with Chinese designs, and most men wear finger rings set with coral or turquoise.

The woman's gown is very full, has wide sleeves, and hangs to her heels. It overlaps in front, and buttons down the left side. An outer gown of coarse, unwashed wool is used as a working garment. Because of the natural oil in the wool, the gown sheds water well. A sash or girdle holds both gowns at the waist. Generally the poor do not wear trousers, the two gowns being their only garments.

N *563 M 292 Well-to-do women have elaborate and gaily colored festival dresses, fancy trousers and false sleeves. Like the Mongol women, they wear fancy headdresses and boots for dress occasions. At such times the outer gown is left off and the inner

292 and the inside gown is exchanged for one made of finer cotton cloth, dyed dark blue, green, or violet, and long, wide extensions are sewn on to the regular sleeves. Often two or three sets of sleeves are worn, one over the other, to give the illusion that several gowns are being worn. In order to heighten this effect, each sleeve is slightly shorter than the one under it. These outer sleeves are made of three strips of cotton cloth of different colors, such as red, green, or violet. Each of these strips is separated from the other strips by narrow bands of cotton cloth of other colors, such as yellow, dark blue, or orange. To add to this display of color on the sleeves, a woman in her best clothes may wear a red embroidered collar, a pair of dark blue trousers, boots with red legs and black feet, embroidered. Under the bright blue sky of the Monguor country, and in the dry air and sparkling sunshine that prevail most of the year, this display of colors is not harsh or crude, but gives a wonderful feeling of life and happiness, especially in a large crowd gathered at a festival. When the sky is overcast, however, the display of color appears too garish; but almost anywhere in North China with its yellow loess earth, mud houses, and dust storms, the whole world appears monotonous and depressing in bad weather.

•386 The old vegetable dyes formerly used by the Monguors have long been replaced by German aniline dyes, which is unfortunate because the colors rapidly fade in the bright sun. The colors also run when the clothes get wet, and consequently if a thunder shower breaks over a festival crowd there is bustle and confusion while the women take off their fine sleeves, the lower extensions of their trousers, their girdles, boots, and hats, wrap them in bundles, and run barefoot for shelter, wrapped only in their dark blue gowns. Women who have reached the age of about forty no longer wear the false outer sleeves, nor do they wear brilliant colors.

292 In festive dress, the Monguor woman also wears a skirt, of the pattern that used to be worn by soldiers under the empire. This skirt, which is handsomely embroidered, is of a pattern originally designed for horseback riding. It is slit both before and behind and hangs on the two sides of the body, swinging as the woman walks. The favorite color for festive dress is red, and the skirts of rich women are frequently made of embroidered satin or silk. At home, a woman usually wears a skirt of the same cut, but made of simple dark blue cotton cloth. While at home, a woman must wear either the gown or the skirt, and usually both; the members of the elder generation would never allow them to be seen dressed only in trousers and short jacket such as Chinese women wear.

The importance of the skirt as an ancient part of the costume is indicated by the fact that in former days all Monguor women, even those who during their lifetime wore Chinese costume, had at death to be dressed in a skirt to be laid in the coffin; the saying went that

[p. 120a]

[856 cont.]
782 indicates precisely to the foot the spot where the urn is to be
[791] buried; he likewise determines the depth. Usually this is one
[787] to two ells. A few cypress twigs are put on the floor of the pit. Over them the soothsayer scatters a few barley kernels with the tip of the spear, and one or more flat white stones, depending on how many urns there are, are put on the whole, and the urn is put on it. Then on top of the urn is put a flat white stone, like a lid. Finally the space between the urn and wall is stuffed all around with cypress twigs, and everything is filled with earth, stamped down, and made level. Then the men burn cypress incense and kowtow in front of the urn thus buried.
[792] The lama remains seated on his mat in front of it for some time yet and finishes his prayers. Then all go home.

Details

782 The urn: The urn is an ordinary clay vessel such as is
415 baked in Tsinghai. Usually they are of whitish-yellow color, about 20 to 30 centimeters high, with a thick belly and a narrow neck. The urn for the earth-spirit must be uncolored and unglazed, at least on the outside, and must have a flat bottom. The master of the household buys the urn himself, washes it
[386] [857] thoroughly, and paints it on the outside with gypsum or lime water, for only white urns are given to the earth-spirit. At the conclusion, it is fumigated and ready for use by the lama.

782 Contents of the urn: There are five kinds of grain in the
824 urn, namely: blue Tibetan barley, red wheat, white barley, white rice (2), and yellow rape. The spices are the same as at

2. [Foreign text p. 858.] Why white is used twice here, white barley and white rice, is unclear. Otherwise rice is never used among the five kinds of grain and is not even present in Tsinghai. Perhaps this is an indication of a southern origin of the urn.

[174]

[857 cont.]

782 [824] the incense offering, the good six. To this are added little leaves of Buddha gold, little pieces of silver, corals, little pieces of mother-of-pearl, sometimes rare stones or water, and then five-colored silk threads, white and black sugar, tea leaves, and a few little balls of butter.

The filling: First a mortar with pestle, a large earthen vessel, and a clean iron kettle are provided. All these objects are thoroughly washed and fumigated in the incense fire. The spices are pounded to flour in the mortar and then poured by the lama into the vessel, where they are thoroughly mixed with the five kinds of grain. The quantity depends on the size of the urn. Meanwhile the master of the household melts a lump of butter in the iron kettle over the fire. The lama pours this melted butter into the grain and spice mixture with a spoon and thoroughly kneads everything together.

He puts this mixture into the urn, but only one-third of it. Over this first filling he puts a layer of the other additions, gold, silver, etc. Then the remaining two-thirds are added, almost up to the rim of the urn, and the liquid butter is poured on, almost to overflowing. The master of the household brings a yellow or red hada (or cloth), fumigates it, and hands it to the lama. He ties up the urn with it in three layers, in which the colors yellow and red may alternate. The thread that is wound around the cloth must also be yellow or red and is first fumigated. Once everything is thoroughly tied up, the knot is covered with sealing wax (3) and finally stamped with a seal

[439] 3. [Foreign text p. 858.] Latsia, as the sealing wax is called, is obtainable from Chinese traders.

that bears Tibetan signs. Afterwards the lama paints a nuru [778] jewel on the white urn with red pigment, usually red clay, which is to signify a treasure. This makes the urn distinguishable [386] as a treasure for the earth-god (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 858.] The Tujen call the symbol of good

Amni Chialip of the Obo in Waza is built inside the 778
courtyard of a rich Tibetan, Manguru. I was told by 782
him that every day he lit a taper and burned incense. 795
Women, and girls, even his wife or daughter-in-law, [562]
were never allowed to enter the small temple. The same prohibition existed for the women against visiting this kind of temple in the monasteries.

When and how are the five owners of the country 795
honored? On an auspicious day fixed by a lama, 796
usually of the Red Sect, at the end of the fifth moon, and usually during the sixth moon, five delegates from every village assumed to be situated in the circumscription of the territory of the spirit, are sent to the mountain. They carry a tent and drive some sheep which have been washed and combed, with red paper pasted on their horns and ribbons attached to their fleece, and a piece of red cloth eight feet long on each of their backs. The men also bring some spears and arrows painted red and black, miniature bows, firecrackers and the famous "precious bottle" (the urn).

The first day, at evening, all the representatives of the villages pitch their tents at the foot of the celebrated mountain and pass the night in merrymaking. The next day, being the auspicious day, in the early morning the chief and the elders of the village, with a large crowd of villagers, arrive to attend the rites to be celebrated on top of the mountain. Chinese merchants pitch tents and do business at the foot of the mountain.

After breakfast all the chiefs of the villages with the villagers go to the Obo. One group after another sets off firecrackers before the Obo, plants in the stone heap [389] spears and arrows, and attaches new flags and pieces of wool and bones, and reverently bury their precious bottle in a deep hole. On the crude offering table, the killed sheep is offered, broth is thrown first toward "Heaven" and then to the four points of the compass for "all the spirits," the famous Wei-sang rite is performed and libation made, while the groups kneel and prostrate themselves. After the rites of each village are performed by the chiefs, a group of lamas, mostly of the Red Church, perform on behalf of the entire community a big Wei-sang rite, beating drums, blowing horns, and chanting some prayers; they all turn three times around the obo.

In the afternoon at the foot of the mountain an immense crowd of men and women enjoy the horseraces and the wrestling,[19] singing and drinking. At sunset most of the people leave, but groups of young folk pass the night around the tents, merrymaking. On the morning of the third day, the tents are rolled up, all the

[19] L. M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes mongoles*, 76, Gembloux, Duculot, 1947. Description of the horse races in the sixth moon at the Obo by the Mongols of Outchimts'in and wrestling (on p. 109), attended by the author; also Owen Lattimore, *Mongol journeys*, 274, New York, Doubleday, 1941, with interesting description of the festivities attended by the chiefs of the Banners, etc.

[p. 114(B)]

2: Schram--207 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Rich T'ou-jen widow, no longer speaking her language, wearing no longer the costume of her race. Type of completely Sinicized T'ou-jen, even having the little Chinese feet. However, at her death she will be dressed in the T'ou-jen style for her last toilette!

/54 cont'd/

539 she drives home the dagger under the armpit of Wang-mang, who is sleeping dead drunk beside her.

A flying courier carried the news of this exploit to Peking. The Judith saw herself bestowed with honorary titles, and her husband received the hereditary position of t'ou-se of Lien-tch'eng. This is the origin of the glory of the Lou clan.

In the lamasery at Lien-tch'eng are still kept two dried-up black hands, which are claimed to be those of Wang-mang. The T'ou-jen regard them with veneration. Unfortunately, they are two right hands! In addition, the origin of the function of t'ou-se of the Lou clan is entirely otherwise, as we shall see in the historical part of our work. The only fact to be retained from this legend is that there was in the region a robber named Wang-mang.

12. Getting the Bride

585 The Chinese diviner or the red lama has previously set the favorable hour at which the bride is to leave her paternal home. This departure can be set for any hour of the day or night. Therefore everything is prepared in order that the ceremonial be finished by the favorable hour of departure, which is called the mari funigu, or the hour when one mounts the saddle. The bridegroom goes to get his bride, with two companions well versed in the ways and cus-
585 toms and knowing how to sing well; often the go-between goes with
292 them. The son-in-law has put on his best /55/ clothes and wears the great ceremonial hat with red fringe (the one of the ancient dynasty of the Manchu); red cords are plaited into his hair. He carries a bow of olden times; on the end of the bow is attached a strand of red wool. A quiver worn on a strap over his shoulder con-
[411] tains four arrows. Upon his return home he will hang the bow above the window of the nuptial room where his wife will be brought, and the four arrows will be hung in each corner of the room. According to custom, the companions must wear a long, white garment of sheep's wool, a garment rarely worn by the men in the area.

*778 [23 cont.]

192 Spear: sdzida (6).

[41]

6. [Foreign text p. 24.] The ordinary spears (sdzida) have disappeared from among the people. Only sporadically does one still see rough pikes which the farmers take with them into the mountains in order to keep the wolves away.

Spear tip: tolgue = head, tip (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 24.] The spirit-spears vary greatly in form and ornamentation. There are spears that are over two meters long, and some of only one meter. Most of them probably approach an average of two meters. Beautifully cut bands hang on a number of spears, for instance, on the temple-spear of the soothsayer of Erh-ku-lung. On other spears they are attached in disorderly and random fashion. Of the spear forms mentioned above, the four-edged tip is the most common. The foot looks almost like the tip itself; it may be edged or round. Two-pronged tips also occur, but the informant does not consider them as effective as the other forms. -- If the spear breaks, the shaft is burned. The new shaft in turn receives the iron parts of the old one. If the iron parts break, they are worked again for another spear. The new

[28 cont.]

756 rings at the end; the spirit-spear; the winnowing tray and the
*778 sieve (2).--He must make this equipment himself in accordance

2. [Foreign text p. 32.] In the case of one other temple shaman I also saw the bow and arrow as equipment. Incidentally, the shaman carries all the customary weapons. -- The spirit-sling is twisted out of hemp, wrapped in red cloth, and is about one meter long. The iron rings on it have a symbolic significance that I have forgotten. The Chinese, so far as I can recall, call the sling k'un-hsien-sheng, that is, spirit-binding string. In the accompanying photograph the shaman holds the sling with the ring in his left thumb.

[411]

with certain rules. He keeps it at home on the altar of his tutelary deity with the sword and the god's image.

756 The trance: The trance usually takes place in the house
787 in front of the altar. The shaman rinses out his mouth, washes
[783] his hands and face, presents an incense offering in the yard or
[782] before the altar, kowtows before the sword, and puts on his garb (3). The incense fire is maintained in the yard by other

3. [Foreign text p. 32.] He always puts on his costume with prayer.

men who also blow the conch (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 32.] Some claim that the shaman has to wash himself once more before the trance.

[576] Now a long, low table is placed in front of the altar, and the shaman sits on it in the Buddha position with his legs

[50 cont.]

Details

777
*778 The arrow: Originally the people used a genuine arrow (2).

[411]
[171]

2. [Foreign text p. 52.] According to the reports of the old people, the Tujen arrows are exactly like those of the Fandse and Mongols in Tsinghai. These arrows can be seen in great numbers in every lamasery. Their average length is about one meter. Their feathering is usually radial and made of eagle feathers (ying-mao). The forms of the arrow tips are exceedingly manifold. The material is always iron. -- The children's bows and arrows are simple, crude toys, as in Europe. Nowadays the bow and arrow have disappeared from the life of the Tujen.

[178]

They are rare nowadays, since the Tujen no longer have the bow and arrow as weapons. The arrows were very manifold, however. Today, only a simple arrow shaft without tip and feathering is used for the most part. There are no prescriptions for its manufacture.

The urn: An ordinary clay urn or wide vase is used, such as can be obtained anywhere. Sometimes the urn is fitted up like the treasure-urn of the earth-god. In that case, however, not several scrolls, but only one is put in it. Also, fluid butter is not poured over the grain. The following kinds of grain are contained in it: wheat, black and white barley, light and dark Tibetan barley, but never beans, peas, etc. The urn may be of any color. It is not required for the arrow of good fortune, however. Sometimes the latter is simply stuck in a measure of grain or in a wooden cylinder, or no container at all is used and the arrow is stuck anywhere in the beams or the wall,

[66 cont.]

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[171]

[Note on foreign text p. 69 cont.]
Mongols and Tangut. According to the informant, a day in the sixth month is always chosen, but it does not always have to be the sixth day. It is the time at which formerly the obos were erected, and it seems to be a matter of the yearly return. -- Nowadays these festivals have more or less degenerated into a Chinese commercial racket, as has, for instance, the festival in the New Year's month at Wei-yüan-pu (Huchu), which is really a Tujen festival. Only the horse racing and the singing of songs have remained from olden times.

[178]

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Obo and mountain-spirit: The obo is the dwelling of the mountain-spirit. Everything that grows on the earth, grass, trees, flowers, the wild animals, and human beings, belongs to him. From the obo he guards the welfare of the tribe (ayil) and protects animal and man. The wild and tame animals are his herd and the wolves his dogs. For that reason an offering is made to the mountain-spirit before the obo whenever the wolves become too destructive. He can keep them in check.

[782]
[825]

The silk (cloths or bands) on the obo signifies the clothes of the mountain spirit; the white color of the obo wall, his eminence and his good fortune.

The obo is the armory of the village and of the mountain-spirit. In olden times it was from here that the men fetched their weapons for battle and for athletic contests. [67] And they brought them back here. Nowadays the Tujen are peaceful farmers; they no longer use their weapons. Therefore they surrender them to the mountain-spirit.

[411]

The mountain-spirit is given something from everything that is valuable: gold, silver, silk, etc. All the good fortune, the wealth, and the preservation of the village are guaranteed through him. The mountain-spirit provides the descendants;

[782]

20) Fa yün

21) Dong chen

[637 cont.]

764 cousins. Female persons are also put in the box by men. Then, after the corpse has been propped up with straw, a board is slid in at the back from above. The men then wash their hands. The box is put in a room and placed on four raised clay bricks, so that it will be easy to pick it up later to carry it. A white felt mat is usually spread out beforehand. The box of a deceased master of the household or his wife always stands in the main house; in other cases it is put in the room in which the dead person used to live.

Next to the box there is a small, coffin-like little casket whose lid is pegged down like those of the Chinese coffins. It is the little casket in which the bones that remain after cremation are kept. Usually a rolling pin (noodle roller), which was •412 made at the same time as the coffin or death-box, leans 764 against the box (8). [638] Other rolling pins are not used at [322] all.

[177]

8. [Foreign text p. 653.] This custom, too, seems to have been borrowed from the Chinese. The rolling pin is called mien-kan or kan-ch'ang in Chinese. On the average it is one meter long and three to four centimeters thick. It is used principally to roll noodles. The rolling pin is also called pai-hu by the Chinese, that is, white tiger, because it can become the seat of the tiger god for soothsaying or shamanistic ceremonies, just as the spirit-spear becomes the seat of the spirit. The rolling pin is also handled in the following way: a man takes it with both hands and calls down the demon into it; then the roller shakes and trembles.

[778] [787] [776]

The enemy of the rolling pin is the threshing roller, lu-chu. It represents the dark (green) dragon, ch'ing-lung,

[776]

[638 cont.]

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[776]

[Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.] the declared opponent of the white tiger. -- Furthermore, the white tiger is powerless against anything that comes from the dead or is connected with the dead; he fears coffins, death-boxes, burials, etc. For that reason coffin-making is the best opportunity for making a rolling pin, and therefore the rolling pin is propped against the death-box. The relationship of the tiger to the rolling pin is thereby neutralized. -- People very rarely have a rolling pin made other than at the time of a burial; the carpenter must then plane the pole on a threshing roller, the enemy of the white tiger. The millstone also has an effect similar to that of the threshing roller, for it crushes the provider of the "white," that is, the grain from which the flour comes.

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[322]

764 all. As in the case of the crouching corpse, a small kang table with the gifts to the dead is also placed before the death-box.
171 Men and women kowtow before it, burn white paper, like the
[782] Chinese, and weep aloud (9).

9. [Foreign text p. 653.] Aside from the bone-casket I once saw a small wooden casket of coffin-like form beside a death-box. The people said a small manlike doll lay in it. It was supposed to keep misfortune and death away from the house. The informant had not yet seen that and thought that this custom had come from

[789]

time with the beating of drums and cymbals perform 796
their wildest dances for a long time. Usually three or 756
four among them seem to be possessed. All of a sudden the chief of the shamans becomes excited to fever pitch, and howls "go to the goddess." Then, followed by the other shamans, he grasps a chicken and, dancing with fury, bites its neck and jerks off its head in a wild movement. Grimacing with distorted face, and glittering eyes, he throws the bleeding chicken head in the supposed direction of the goddess, uttering dreary cries and indistinct sounds. After the rite is accomplished, the people go home for dinner. It is indeed a savage means of greeting "a goddess of joy," with a bleeding head and with such wild appearance.

The split-personality of the "good" shaman who the first day was so gentle, so kind, so considerate for the spirits, shows up more and more; he has to see blood and to offer bloody sacrifices.

LEAVE-TAKING OF THE SPIRITS

After sunset all the villagers come to the temple. In some villages the women are not allowed to attend the [342] evening rites, but elders asserted that in former times the women were admitted everywhere.

A hundred small lamps are prepared, the cup made with dough and the wick with twisted cotton wool. [354] Into the cup is poured vegetable oil. The lamps are displayed in rows on the offering table in front of the pole and the statues. The shamans first perform the usual dance, keeping time to the beating of the drums. The leave taking of the guest spirits is called the "opening of the highway" (*k'ai ma-lu*). A bridge[6] is to be built over which the guests are supposed to pass. A big roll is put on each of the four corners of the table, and a larger one in the middle; a paper banner is placed on each of the five rolls. A lamp is lit near the banners and a plate put near each of them; on the middle plate is placed the head of a chicken.

The chief of the shamans asks the shamans and the apprentices for the meaning of the five rolls. The five rolls mean the five mountains; the five lamps, the five lakes; the five wicks, the five dragons; the banners, the incense which billows up into the sky. Why is the head of a chicken put on the middle plate? In order to steady the *Yin-Yang* (male and female principle of the Taoists). The chief shaman writes, around the roll in the center, the eight Chinese cyclical characters and asks for the explanation of each of them. If one of the shamans or apprentices is unable to answer he is scolded and upbraided in front of the whole gathering.

A bridge is constructed for the spirits from one end of the table to the other by disposing two rows of rolls in which are planted brand new chopsticks; on both sides [442] of the bridge are planted incense sticks in smaller rolls. The shaman asks again for explanations: Is there still another way existing above that bridge or not? An-

[6] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 419. [p. 110(A)]

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside. M [351] [782] [353] [352] Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations. M [252] For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, M [794] mules or donkeys. A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter and wheat flour are luxuries. M [412] Only the wealthy can afford fruit. Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

N *563 M 264 415 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Apprentices who receive part of their training for a couple of years from another shaman, during the summer time, and who acknowledge him as their master, offer him a gown upon completion of their education. In return, they receive a drum from him. The rules of apprenticeship among the shamans are the same as those already noted for other apprentices, such as carpenters. 756 534 [874]

The overwhelming magical significance attached to the drum by the nomad shamans is lacking among the Monguor shamans. Among the nomads, when the apprentice, after completing his depressing training, beats the drum for the first time, he becomes hypnotized and tranced.[25] Although the Monguor shamans consider the drum a sacred magical object, the same overriding importance is not attached to it.

The drum is built in a primitive way. A handle is attached to an iron circle with iron rings, which produce noise when the drum is beaten. On the iron circle is stretched a piece of goatskin, which has been soaked in water and shaved. On its surface are often painted crude pictures of heaven, with the sun, moon, the big and the little dippers, stars and clouds. The drumstick is usually made from peachwood or strips of goat hide twisted together.

THE KNIFE

The shamans use a knife when driving away the evil spirits. The knife is twelve inches long and two inches wide, and pointed at the end. To the handle are attached noisemaking iron rings. Sometimes the Chinese knife used for cutting noodles is substituted. 756 413 293

THE MAGIC STAFF

The staff, which is of wood, seems to be an important tool.[26] To the top is affixed a copper mirror surmounted by a three-pronged iron fork to which tassels of red rope are attached. The staff ends in an iron point, so that it may be planted erect in the ground during the time when council with the spirit is asked for. The magic staff is a tool used by lamas and Taoists as well as by shamans. The staff of the lamas differs from that of the shamans in that the mirror is surmounted by a copper skull, while above the skull is the point of a spear. The staff of the Taoists has an octagonal shaft with an iron point on top.

Each time, before performing a rite, the shaman asks his spirits in the staff about the most fitting rite for the circumstance, the sacrifice to be offered. The answer is supplied by the twelve spirits making the arms of the shaman shiver, and so he knows how to conjure evil spirits who harm persons, families, or herds. It is always called *Yang-t'ou san-ch'iang*. (I could never get an explanation of this Chinese term.) The staff is used when the shamans go into private families in order 756 793

[25] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 79.

[26] Ugo Holmbergs, Siberian mythology, in *Mythology of all races* 4: 522, Boston, 1927.

[p.84(A)]

N 563 194 preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. [195] Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' [596] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture [241] goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable [438] role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never [233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays [464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese S [422] farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, S [592] sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

S The Shera Yögur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly S [614] becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy S [792] exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [422] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N 563 The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and M 233 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, 241 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest 198 that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. [177] They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the N 563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as M 231 the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, [554] mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 M 596 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally [603] oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy [421] authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

N 563 M 614 622 177 178 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 565 554 [466] into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punishment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.

The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 M 614 217 565 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealogies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

N *563 M 174 565 M [554] When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 M 621 622 565 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 M 596 [421] [561] [595] Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patrilocal family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four generation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of

M [428] chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually

M [182] [768] [428] takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

/The Monguors/

000 kitchens."

N *563 M 601 59 For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption of sons by childless couples is practiced.

N *563 M 565 582 614 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband. Relationship between two families connected by marriage is clearly seen in the special role of the maternal uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

N *563 M • 421 The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that, under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's share.

N *563 361 III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial characteristics but as to their function in the social organization. The counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or "directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the observance of government regulations. The larger villages have their own "family protective associations" and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such organization, but are recognized by the county administration as self-administering units.

N [170] N [241] N *563 621 [631] [622] N [701]

N *563 621 631 It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions as hsiang, chen and chü between the villages and the county organizations. It seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 769 614 ginning of April according to the lunar calendar, in a festival similar to the Chinese Ch'ing-ming. On this occasion the clan assembles to venerate its ancestors, enjoy a great feast and reunion, and discuss matters of concern to the clan.

On the day of the assembly, the T'u-ssu, the chiefs and elders of the villages and all the family heads go to the graveyard immediately after breakfast, followed by all the other members of the clan. At the graveyard, offerings are made and rites are performed. Then food for the offerings is divided among the families, the oldest generations receiving their portions first.

M [182] [767] This annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce *the group unity of the Mongour clan. One of the family heads,* usually of the nobility, is appointed to care for the graveyard during the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions and offerings, and the making of repairs. An assistant is assigned to help him with details.

b. Respect for elders and family heads

N *563 M 554 888 The Mongours once lived without chiefs, but never without village elders. Traditionally, the whole power of the clan was vested in the elders, who had the authority to appoint and dismiss chiefs. The village elders still take the most important part in local administration. Elders need not be rich or from noble stock, but they are men of good reputation from the more outstanding families.

N *563 M 554 592 Heads of families are also honored. At public meetings, all are allowed to express their views and defend their rights, but final decisions are made only after the heads of families have spoken.

c. Adultery

N *563 M 684 Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If caught, the guilty pair is flogged, the woman on her bare back, the man on bare buttocks and thighs, up to a hundred stripes. The man must confront the husband and make apologies, and present him with a sheep or a pig. A trial is held and fingerprints are taken. Then the pair is led through the village with drums beating while they make public confession of their sin, and they must secure an official statement of pardon.

d. Moral and legal concepts

N *563 M 183 M [593] [587] [421] Both moral and legal concepts of the Mongours seem to be based upon customs, tradition and what the community accepts as just. Some typical social values and concepts are: Wrongs must be righted and injustices corrected. Parents have authority over their children, and husbands over their wives. A widow has the right to remarry or to dispose of herself. Private property must be protected. No one has the right to disturb the peace of the community.

428 guor marriage there is a hint of a custom under which, at the division of the paternal inheritance, a daughter was entitled to a share amounting to half of the share received by a son. I now doubt very much whether this reference is really an echo of a formerly existing Monguor custom. On the one hand, it does not correspond to the clearly expressed principles of Monguor inheritance, and on the other hand it tallies exactly with the rules of inheritance of those Tibetans whom the Chinese call Hsifan, who are the nearest Tibetan neighbors of the Monguors. A large number of families of Tibetan origin are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and there are many marriages between Monguors and Tibetans. The Tibetan custom is well known to the Monguors, and since it is favorable to the woman it must be a topic of conversation among Monguor women and may through this channel have crept into the phraseology of the master of ceremonies as an expression that is flattering to the bride but has no legal validity for the ultimate division of the inheritance.

Among the Tibetans, if the inheritance is divided before the death of the parents, the parents receive four parts of all the money in the family, sons receive two parts, grandsons one part, and unmarried daughters also receive one part. This division corresponds exactly to the reference in the speech by the Monguor master of ceremonies at a marriage. (Tibetan granddaughters and married daughters receive nothing.)

In the division of grain, each person—parents, sons, and daughters—receives one part.[40] In the division of cattle, the parents receive three parts, the sons two parts, the grandsons one part, and the sons of unmarried girls also one part. This division tallies exactly with the Monguor custom of giving a share to the children of a daughter who "marries with the pole," suggesting that this form of marriage is influenced by the Tibetan custom under which a daughter may stay at home and bear children for her own family instead of marrying and going to her husband's family. In the division of livestock these unmarried girls do not receive horses, but they receive as many cows as their brothers receive horses.

When the inheritance is thus divided before the death of the father, the Tibetan father goes to live with one of the sons and the mother with another. The unmarried daughter who has a son must make her own living. If she later has another son, he must become a lama. If such a girl later marries, her inheritance belongs to her.

422 Certain kinds of property among the Monguors are recognized as personal and not subject to family inheritance. Each person owns his own clothes. A man who engages in hunting is the owner of his own gun. A man who does part time work as a silver smith or maker of knives is the owner of the tools of his trade.

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[40] This scale of division, not favoring either the parents or the sons, suggests that grain is a late addition to the Tibetan economy, and of secondary importance.—O. L. [p. 109a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Women also own personal property, including their clothes and jewelry, which are for the most part presents from the woman's own family. It has also been noted above that it is customary for a girl's maternal uncle to give her, before she is married, some land and calves, or to plant some trees for her, and to give her in addition, when she is married, some land and some more animals. The maternal uncle looks after this property for her. Similarly, sisters entrust their personal treasures to the care of a brother or brothers. Thus a married woman has a kind of insurance in the form of property that is partly in the care of a brother and partly in the care of one of her mother's brothers. (Among the circum-Polar peoples, including the Koryaks, Chukchis, and Lapps there is also "women's property": livestock belonging to a woman before marriage, or given her by her father at the time of marriage, remain her personal property.) [41]

A woman's property may continue to increase after her marriage. When she goes to visit her own family, they frequently give her presents of cotton cloth, clothes, or money. Monguor women have also adopted from Chinese women the practice of keeping chickens. In the extended family, each daughter-in-law has her own chickens, the eggs of which she collects herself and is allowed to sell. In addition, after the crops are threshed the gleanings on the threshing floor are collected and divided by the daughters-in-law. Similarly when opium is harvested the poppy juice is cooked until it becomes thick and gluey. Each individual family in the extended family cooks its own share of the harvest, which must be poured into the kettle of the head of the family; but each daughter-in-law may keep that part of the opium that sticks to the inside of her own kettle without being scraped off— a valuable saving.

Another perquisite is that when peddlers and traveling merchants come around selling sugar, fruit, candies, and cakes to the women and their children it is not unusual for a daughter-in-law to "steal" a little grain from the family granary, while the parents-in-law pretend not to notice, in order to pay for such purchases.

The jewelry and other little treasures that a woman keeps with her in her husband's family are carefully stored in a locked chest in the woman's own room.

CONCLUSIONS

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The general conclusions to be drawn from these data on family life seems to be that the children are the hub around which the whole Monguor family turns. The chief of the extended family is a happy man at home and is esteemed in the Monguor society only if he has grandchildren; the sons love their wives only when they bear children; the wives feel that they are important in the family only when they have children and sons. The children build up the morale of all the members of the

[41] Hubert Konig, *op. cit.*, 625.

[p. 109b]

/84 cont'd/

593 make her life more bearable, make difficulties with the family of
574 the parents-in-law, and instead of doing good to their daughter they make her situation more and more difficult.

● 42.2 Besides these abnormal visits, it is necessary to point out a
58 custom completely singular in a patriarchal organization, with the system of the "large family," in which the daughter-in-law and all that belongs to her is the property of her husband and his family. This custom is that the young married woman keeps her jewels, her ornaments, her best clothes, and all that is dear to her not at the home of her husband but at her own mother's. There she has two or three trunks which her parents take care of but whose keys she keeps. On festive occasions the married woman herself goes to her parents' home to get her best clothes, or she sends someone to get them. Yet at her husband's home /85/ she also has one or two trunks in which she keeps her less important things and those of her children. This general custom offends neither the husband nor his family; all the same it may be the occasion of many disagreeable consequences. Indeed, it is thanks to this "strongbox" that dishonest women find a place to conceal things unfairly acquired in the family of the parents-in-law; again it is there that the presents offered by a too assiduous lover repose, etc. The T'ou-jen all recognize that this custom is not ideal, but they are powerless to make it disappear. (1)

171

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 61: The adoption of a woman by the new clan is symbolised by a prayer addressed to the spirits of her husband's clan and a visit to the tomb of her husband's ancestors. Besides, in the course of the marriage ceremony she must execute some other rites symbolising her adoption by her husband's clan.

Among the northern Tungus the woman, after she is married, is not so closely bound at her husband's clan, and she is always considered as belonging to her mother's clan.

Mo 595 534 4-22 /109 cont'd/

Each of the two women has her chickens, which she has at her disposal as owner, as well as the eggs. The grain left on the flat area after the threshing and winnowing also goes into their private tills. At the time of the opium harvest, what adheres to the lining of the containers reverts to them also; each one therefore has her personal savings.

Mo [276]

Mo 595 I cannot end the chapter on polygamy without concluding that monogamy is in fact the general rule and the moral order among the T'ou-jen, while polygamy constitutes an exception to the rule.

Indeed, one meets polygamy only in special cases, which are sterility, widowhood, and the shortage of workers. The fact that polygamists of the fourth category are by far the least numerous seems to prove the point. (1)

Ma 595

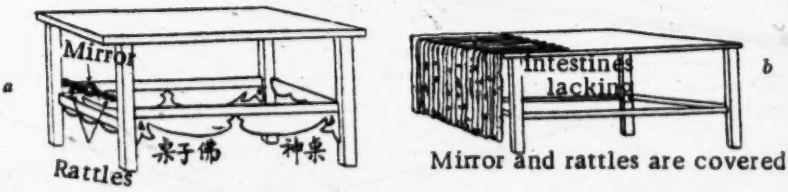
1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64: Among the Manchus monogamy is the usual form of marriage. Polygamy if indeed it does occur, is a very exceptional form and can be considered as an incidental institution. According to the Manchus, polygamy is a modern fashion borrowed from the Chinese who especially the rich people use it very largely. The rich Manchus used to have 5, 6 wives until a new law limited the number of wives to two only. There is no restriction to taking two sisters as wives, but the Manchus do not like to give two daughters, because other unmarried people may be discontented by it. /Cited in English./

Mo 595 Conclusion. An ethnographic fact of prime important entirely dominates the question of the marriage of girls and widows, and in part that of polygamy.

[20 cont.]

*778 [824] The making of the spear: The wood of the shaft must have grown wild. Wood that has been planted or wood from inhabited, settled regions may never be taken, for it is not pure. The wood is therefore sought in lonely forests and mountains. The most superior wood is sandalwood. Since this is rare, however, the mountain ash is usually used. -- The iron is usually wrought iron. There is no prescriptions concerning its origin. It may be bought, taken from old tools, etc.

Fig. 2



a. Spirit-table without bands (sirie purgan); b. spirit-table with bands (sirie purgan).

[422] Anyone may have a spirit-spear, and anyone may make it himself, but never women. If the owner wants to have a beautiful [562] spirit-spear, however, he will go to a skilled craftsman, carpenter, [463] and smith. It is required that before starting the work the craftsman rinse out his mouth, wash his face and hands, and hold the latter [783] over the smoke of a cypress fire. The tools are also thoroughly smoked. In addition, the smith casts some cypress incense into his [782] smithy fire.

The craftsman may work at home in his workshop or in with [322] the family of his client. The individual parts are made separately, [326] in other words, the shaft by the carpenter, the tip and foot by the smith. They bring the parts to the owner's house. The latter then [782] offers twelve steamed loaves (or baked loaves) on the shelf in front of the Buddha image, as well as a piece of red cloth and a measure of barley. The craftsmen place their instruments on the grain in [788] the bushel, and all of them kowtow in front of the Buddha image, [322] while the incense offering is presented outside. The carpenter [326] receives the barley; the smith receives the twelve loaves with the red cloth.

[841 cont.]

778 Regardless of how the animal[1] lost its life, its flesh may never be
825 eaten.

Furthermore such animals may not be sold or given away,
[262] for they belong to the god. One may give it to a monastery
[432] where it is cared for and protected until its death. -- An animal may not be acquired for the consecration with money; it must always be given as a gift.

There is no special watch over the consecrated animals, so that they can freely mount one another. The offspring are
[422] then counted as profane animals and fall to the original owner.

Whether the animal is pleasing to the god is manifested
[787] when the milk is poured over it. If it does not shake itself, one immediately fetches another; the ceremonies are then repeated. Every healthy animal shakes itself. If there is no milk, one dissolves tsamba or white flour in pure water so that it looks like milk. Some people take only clear water. This is not proper.

There are gods who ride the animals, for instance,
[776] Amtsiensa rides [842] on a wool-goat and Lamusa on a mule (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 843.] In the monastery Rgulõn each month (on the first or fifteenth day) consecrated riding animals are magnificently saddled and led onto the colonnade of the chief temple immediately in front of the entrance. There they are offered to the god (Fo-yeh) for riding; then one lets them
[792] run. -- Perhaps it is worth mentioning in this connection that the Tulkus (incarnation) of the lamic monasteries may ride only white horses, which otherwise are not regarded as superior.

It could not be discovered which
[171] gods are the riding gods. The Amtsiensa corresponds to the Chinese Tan-chiao hao-hua, and the Lamusa to the Chinese Lo-tzu t'ien-wang, that is, the heavenly mule-king.

[1] [Li'e - a consecrated animal - See cat. 116, pp 248-249- ANALYST]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

462 ditions offer opportunities to the kind of man who is clever with his hands and with tools. As such a man usually works for people who live in the same village or are members of the same clan, what usually happens is that the "clever" friend is invited to come over to lend a helping hand. A large part of his reward is in the opportunity to show his superior skill. When the job has been done he is invited to dinner, or if he is a poor man he is given some grain. Such opportunities are not enough, however, to enable a man to become a full-time specialized artisan.

Two Monguor artisans, self-made men, gave me the clue to the answer to this problem. "If there were no rich people," they said, "and above all if there were no monasteries in our country, we could never have been able to make a living as artisans; we would never have been anything but helpers. Because of the monasteries and the rich people, however, we are able to work all the year round and to take on apprentices." For this kind of artisan employment, rich people and monasteries provide the materials and the artisan provides only the special skill in using the materials.

463 874 A youngster who is handy with tools and wants to become an artisan invites two elders of his village to go with him at the New Year to see the artisan to whom he wants to apprentice himself. He presents the traditional "scarf of felicity" and two pieces of meat. The elders stand as surety for his obedience and honesty. He makes nine prostrations to the master artisan and promises obedience. A contract is then signed by the guarantors, the master artisan, and the boy. The period of apprenticeship is usually three years, during which the apprentice lives at the home of his master and in addition to learning his trade works, without pay, at all kinds of odd jobs, such as preparing his master's food, and working in his fields in the busy times of sowing and harvesting.

After three years, if the master is satisfied, the apprentice prepares a sheep and wine and invites his master, his two guarantors, and the former apprentices of his master to a feast. He presents his master with a gown or a pair of trousers or boots, prostrates himself nine times and receives from his master a set of the tools of his trade. He is then himself a master-artisan, and although he still has to work another year for his master, he is now paid for his work. For the rest of his life he feels indebted to his master and bound to help him whenever asked.

● 415 313 [322] One of the minor industries engaged in by Monguors is the manufacture of wooden bowls and small wooden boxes. The wood used is poplar, which is turned on a lathe and then coated with oil. Another small-scale occupation is the making of charcoal. Monguors living near forests belonging to lamaseries pay the monastery for the right to cut trees from which they burn charcoal which they take to the towns to sell. Other Monguors buy trees as they stand in the forest, cut them, and saw

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

•415 planks. Some of these planks are cut to the standard
313 measurements for making coffins, and sold in the towns. Another woodworking trade is the making of pack saddles for donkeys, mules, and oxen, which are sold either in the towns or at fairs.

THE CITY BECOMES THE CENTER OF ECONOMIC LIFE

177 At the end of this chapter it is interesting to consider
369 from what center originated the new economic life of the Monguors, how it developed, and what were the repercussions on the social organization of the Monguor clans, as they evolved away from pastoralism. For nearly four centuries the economic life of the Monguors was fraught with insecurity and calamities, and deprived of the peace that is the first requirement for social welfare. Indeed the economic conditions of the Monguors and of the whole country improved only when the Ch'ing dynasty secured peace, and this improvement depended on the vitality of commerce. No trade of real importance had been able to coexist with insecurity on the roads, since trade requires normal and regular transportation facilities and a safe access to the outlets of commerce. For the center of a developed economy a city is required. In this case the city was Hsining, with its group of professional merchants from all over China, associated in guilds according to the Chinese custom.

177 The prefectural city of Hsining is advantageously situ-
369 ated on the river of the same name, a tributary of the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou, the capital of
632 the province. Hsining is also on the road from Peking to Lhasa and India. It was the seat of the political and
[487] military administration of the country, and the merchants settled there because it was a fortified and garrisoned city. Under the older order in China important concerns maintained their headquarters in major cities and sent their agents to less secure secondary towns and villages to open branch offices.

177 The merchants of the city monopolized the whole com-
369 merce of the country. They sent out their agents to buy up as much grain, oil, and wine (alcohol) as possible;
441 they bought the products collected by peddlers; their agents pitched their tents at lamasery fairs and festivals
467 and at clan diets, to provide people with groceries, cloth, silk, and hardware. The small shopkeepers scattered over the country bought their wares from the wholesale merchants in Hsining. The guilds enjoyed the privileges of trading with the nomad caravans, which had to stop and unload at their inns in order to sell their merchandise, and to buy through them the things they wanted, such as flour, oil, and cloth.

Farmers were not allowed to sell flour, oil, and other products directly to the caravans. They had to go through the guild of the *Hsieh chia*, those who controlled the "rest places." Thus the guild alone controlled the trade in the high-priced furs and other articles carried

/43 cont'd/

585 Each guest has settled himself, not without first having made many an excuse and salaam. All follow the gospel which advises taking the last place in order to see oneself forced to go up toward the first ones. It is a real contest of politeness in which the master of ceremonies is forced to intervene with much circumspection. The parents of the bride do not preside at the festivity.

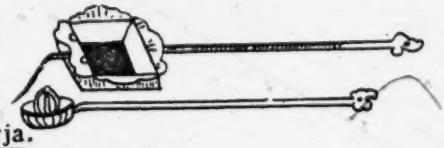
585 At the table one is all the more at ease if there are fewer /44/
264 guests. The felt rugs and the litters of straw are very practical
[285] "seats" at these wedding dinners, since they permit seating as many people as one wishes. The guests having taken their places, the meal is begun by serving tea with milk and dry bread. Because the interior of the rectangle remains free, the service is done briskly. Do not expect to see beautiful teapots, milk jugs, cups, saucers, plates of fine porcelain. The milk is already poured into the tea in the kitchen, the copper teapots are those of every day; the bread is put around in piles on the tables, the cup is made of white earthenware but without cracks.

585 After the tea, well-heated gin is served. It is poured into
273 about 20 small terra cotta cups, which each one passes to the other after drinking two or three swallows. The women drink the gin like
585 the men. They chatter, they smoke, while waiting for the main
262 dish, which consists of a sheep served whole and cooked to a turn.
264 The head and the saddle are detached but put back in place so as to give the illusion of one intact piece. Three sheep are served at a time. While the sheep are being admired, the servers distribute to
[415] each guest a small wooden receptacle which has the shape of a saucer and in which vinegar is poured. Several wooden boxes con-
[263] taining salt and pimento are in the center of the table. The T'ou-jen do not use forks or spoons; the fingers are the main means of eating, as they maneuver with a knife and the pair of chopsticks which each guest carries in a case attached to his belt. The servers take the meat with their fingers, cut it in pieces, and fill the saucers of the guests with it. The meat is eaten seasoned with salt, pimento,
[263] and vinegar, and one adds to it a piece of bread. The bones are thrown on the table or on the ground. As soon as the mutton is tackled, complete silence reigns over the assemblage, all of whom

[645 cont.]

764 All who participated at the cremation wash their hands
[783] and fumigate them in a great incense fire in front of the yard
[792] gate. Then they drink tea and hold a funeral meal. The lama usually returns to his monastery on the same day.

[415] Ladling spoon and pouring tube.
In the spoon, the thunderbolt, rdo-rja.
[532] (Drawing of a Tujen.]



764 The fire-pouring is undertaken only in the case of those
795 persons who have received a Buddhist baptism. Old people in addition also receive the age-consecration and are regarded as lay
792 monks. If someone has died without the Buddhist baptism, it
[778] is performed after death. This is done by the lama with the help of a chest mirror. Since no water may flow over the dead person, the lama holds the chest shield in front of him so that the head is mirrored in it. He pours the consecrated water from his can over this mirror image and gives the baptismal prayer (20).

20. [Foreign text p. 656.] The fact that no water may flow over the dead person is not the only reason for the washing in the mirror. The mirror image is washed
[778] even in the case of living persons, just as at the consecration of Buddha images. In this connection cf. also Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141. In the passage, "Then he takes a little metal mirror, points its front side in all directions, and sprinkles it with a few drops of water from his cult vessel," it is not a matter of simply turning the mirror

[844 cont.]

789 and releases the animal. It may run where it will; no one pays
[825] any attention to it.

Details

789 Persons: The demon-releasing may be undertaken by: a
792 lama, but not a hutukhtu, a Bon priest, a shaman, a spear-
791 soothsayer, or other soothsayers with litter, table-god, etc. The
756 six-day prayer service, however, is undertaken only by lamas and Bon priests; this is the great releasing, [845] whereas the ceremony performed by a shaman or soothsayer alone is the little releasing. Even though at the great releasing the lama may do everything himself, usually a soothsayer nonetheless goes along (spear, litter, etc.). The members of the family take care of everything else, getting the animals ready, gifts, etc.

789 The animals: The animals permissible are: horses,
825 cattle, sheep, goats, hens, and cocks. Those not permitted are dogs, pigs, mules, half-yaks. Dogs and pigs are regarded as un-
[783] clean. Mules and half-yaks are incapable of reproduction; for this reason, too, one does not take castrated animals. The rules connected with the animal-consecration do not apply here. The animals are ridden by the demons and carry the burdens on their travels. The hens, however, can be burdened; one simply lets them fly. They are therefore usually used only for the "little releasing." Special ceremonies, such as washing and fumigating, are not performed on the animals; also color and age are unimportant.

782
789 The travel provisions: The following things are packed
[484] in the travel bag, which is usually woven out of wool: money
[415] (any kind of money, just so long as it is in circulation at the time), cloth (for instance, cotton, silk, linen, of any color), a strand of unspun wool, cotton or silk threads (no wool threads), tea leaves, baked or steamed loaves in any number desired, a food bowl of porcelain or clay (no ordinary wooden one), new men's clothing, elegant boots, cloth shoes, an elegant cap or an

[856 cont.]
782 indicates precisely to the foot the spot where the urn is to be
[741] buried; he likewise determines the depth. Usually this is one
[787] to two ells. A few cypress twigs are put on the floor of the pit. Over them the soothsayer scatters a few barley kernels with the tip of the spear, and one or more flat white stones, depending on how many urns there are, are put on the whole, and the urn is put on it. Then on top of the urn is put a flat white stone, like a lid. Finally the space between the urn and wall is stuffed all around with cypress twigs, and everything is filled with earth, stamped down, and made level. Then the men burn cypress incense and kowtow in front of the urn thus buried.
[792] The lama remains seated on his mat in front of it for some time yet and finishes his prayers. Then all go home.

Details

782 The urn: The urn is an ordinary clay vessel such as is
415 baked in Tsinghai. Usually they are of whitish-yellow color, about 20 to 30 centimeters high, with a thick belly and a narrow neck. The urn for the earth-spirit must be uncolored and unglazed, at least on the outside, and must have a flat bottom. The master of the household buys the urn himself, washes it
[386] [857] thoroughly, and paints it on the outside with gypsum or lime water, for only white urns are given to the earth-spirit. At the conclusion, it is fumigated and ready for use by the lama.

782 Contents of the urn: There are five kinds of grain in the urn, namely: blue Tibetan barley, red wheat, white barley,
824 white rice (2), and yellow rape. The spices are the same as at

2. [Foreign text p. 858.] Why white is used twice here, white barley and white rice, is unclear. Otherwise rice is never used among the five kinds of grain and is not even present in Tsinghai. Perhaps this is an indication of a southern origin of the urn.

[174]

and their attributions; it is identical, probably, in all 792
the monasteries of Huang-chung.

ENVIRONMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION

In order to gain an insight into the administration of a monastery, of a community of lamas, or of a college, it is not sufficient to know what officials make the wheels turn and what their respective functions are. A knowledge of the environment in which they act is also necessary. This can best be provided by examples, numbered below from 1 to 7. The intendant is ultimately the hub around which the entire administration is built.

(1). In 1914 the Lama Li, intendant of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, moved his two concubines into a nice building situated in the most remote west corner of the monastery. The three intendants of the lama community and the two colleges protested vehemently to the T'u-kuan against the impudence of the intendant and urged his dismissal, but he was only ordered to move his concubines to the "summer palace" of the Hutukhtu himself, a couple of miles distant from the monastery.

Li was a very capable man, well known all over the 792
country. He had often extricated the monastery from 426
very tight spots. A few weeks before he was given the above order, he had succeeded in sending back to Mongolia a strong group of Mongols who had been dispatched by their prince to urge the long delayed payment of an important debt contracted by one of T'u-kuan's former incarnations. For six months the Mongols had been enjoying life, eating the best food, drinking the best wine, and feeding their animals at the expense of the intendancy. They were resolved to leave the monastery only after full payment of the debt. No one had succeeded in persuading them to leave, not even by proposing to pay half of the debt at once and the remainder the following year. Intendant Li, who had been on duty in Lanchou, was finally summoned by the distressed Hutukhtu. After a few days he had succeeded so well as to make the creditors grant "reverentially" the remission of half of the debt and to make them joyfully agree to urge the payment of the remaining half by the next incarnation of T'u-kuan.

T'u-kuan was greatly indebted to his intendant for 792
the many services rendered to him, but at the same time he was unable to dismiss him for fear he would revive many old troubles and harm the monastery. The intendant was thoroughly aware of this predicament and acted impudently, breaking one of the most basic rules of the Yellow Sect, that of celibacy.

(2) A servant of the intendancy of the old and 792
venerated minor Living Buddha Li of Erh-ku-lung in- 691
advertently broke the big tea cauldron belonging to 628
the community of the lamas. The intendant of the [415]
community of lamas stirred up the turbulent lamas who
urged old Li to have a new cauldron cast, but the placid

[p.41(A)]

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside.

M [351] [782] [353] [352] Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations.

M [252] For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, mules or donkeys.

M [794] A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter and wheat flour are luxuries. Only the wealthy can afford fruit.

M [412] Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

N *563 M 264 415 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some

[854 cont.]

Details

755 789 [416] Things: Seven things are needed for the exorcism: 1. A torch. It consists of a stick wrapped with straw and soaked in oil. At least one torch is needed, but usually there are several. 2. A measure of small pebbles of any color. 3. An oil-pan. This is usually only a large iron spoon that is filled with oil and glowing coals to make a strong flame. 4. Bow and arrow. The arrow is wrapped with wadding at the tip; it is soaked in oil and lighted. 5. A hemp whip. It is usually very long, up to two meters. To make it, three tapering strands of hemp are plaited into a braid that is so thick at one end that it can just be held in the hand, whereas the other end tapers to a fine point so that it will crack well. 6. A live hen of any color or sex. 7. A straw man (3). It is very simple. One takes a long

[778] [171]

3. [Foreign text 855.] The Chinese, too, often use these straw dolls, which they throw on the field or on crossroads, likewise without shamans. -- In the Tujen monastery of the Yellow Sect, Rgulõṅ, I once also saw Bon priests who had been invited by the monastery to undertake a demon-conjuration on the fifteenth day of each month. They also made a straw man and said that the Namśri was conjured into it by their prayers. On the last morning, before sunrise, they tied this straw doll to a mani-pole and hacked it to pieces with their knives.

smooth wisp of straw, bends it in the middle, ties off the upper third with pieces of straw so that a head is formed, and transversely through this third draws a smaller wisp which represents the arms. -- All these things are provided by the people themselves.

[855 cont.]

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789
756

[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.]
about himself with sword and lance, hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up a straw man, swung a winnowing shovel and a sieve, danced, and foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

192

Word List

755 House-purification: rdzõňwa (rëdzõňwa).
789 The torch: huo-pa (Chin.).
[416] The stones: taśë; sa-shih (Chin.).
Oil-basin: ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
Fire-arrow: ġal sëmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
Fire-bow: ġal lëmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
The hemp whip: uluosë yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
The hen: taġū; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here = to live.
[778] The straw man: šdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

[856]

782
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791
787

7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

3: Schröder--86 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate 2

137
*778
291
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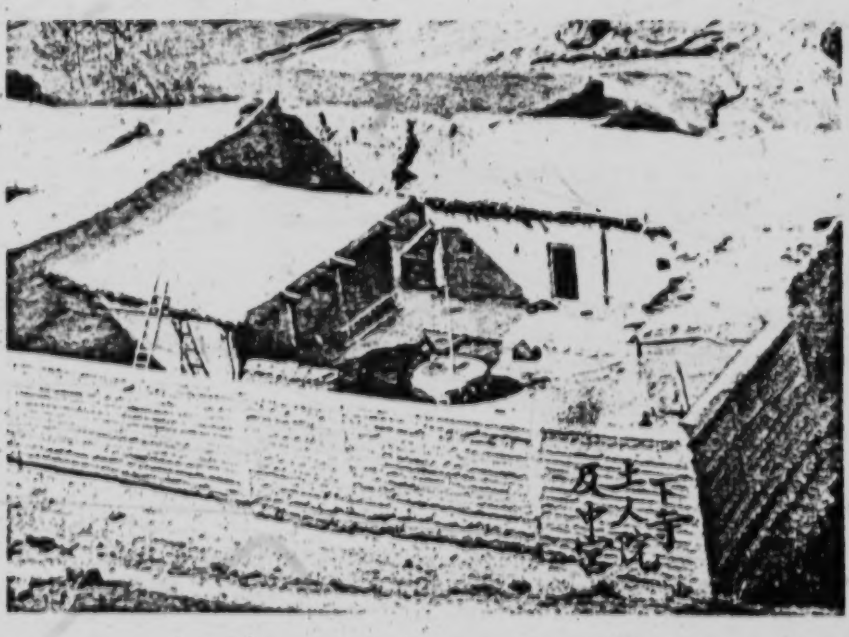
*778
351
342
● 417



(Caption on following page.)

3: Schröder--87 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Caption for Plate 2 between pp. 48 and 49.]

*778
[137]
[291]

a: Mani-tree on a house roof in the village T'a-erh-wan west of Tangkar in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

b: An old Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai on the way to the obo of the Sha-pa-kou, 1949. In his right hand a poplar branch with flocks of wool, in his left and imitation spear with a flock of wool and painted spiral. In front of him on the ground: a bundle of straw for the incense fire, a saddle bag with white stones that will be thrown on the obo, a jug of barley wine for the libation, and behind it a little bag with cypress needles (incense). (To accompany the chapter: "The Obo.")

[782]

[342]
[351]
[417]

c: A Tujen yard of the settlement Ha-szu (Hsia-szu) on the way from Na-ling-kou to Yang-chüan. In the center of the yard, the central fort with the mani-tree. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

000 [50]

2. The Arrow of Good Fortune*

*See "Notes," pp. 52-55 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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*778

In every good Tujen house there is an arrow. The tip is stuck in an urn of grain, in a crevice in the wall, or in a slit in a beam. Hadas, colorful ribbons, sheep wool, hair, etc. are attached to the arrow. The arrow is consecrated by a lama or a Bon priest, and on this occasion it is venerated in the house. Later, however, it is not venerated any more. The arrow is not the seat of a spirit, but rather guarantees good fortune and wealth in the family.

[792]

[777]

/112 cont'd/

583 A. A widow

B. A girl, or the question of husband-sons-in-law

A. Marriage of a Widow

587 One marries a widow without having to pay for her when she is indigent and finds herself after the death of her husband with three or four children; when furthermore she is alone in the world by reason of the fact that she has no brothers-in-law, or if she has, they are too poor to provide for her needs. This is then the case of widows without means of subsistence.

583 /113/ There are naturally few with a taste for this kind of
587 marriage, for those who venture into such will have to raise another person's children, who, sooner or later, if they do not return bad for good, will at least be very little grateful for the care which has been given them. This kind of marriage is literally that called by the Chinese tchao fou iang tse, i.e., "looking for a husband who will feed the children." Although these unions are not advantageous for the husband, nevertheless there are always poor men of some age who, attracted by the hope of offspring, decide to expose themselves to the dangers of such a union, or who rather allow themselves tobe tempted by the widow. Indeed, the terms of this marriage say clearly that it is the widow who is seeking the husband. That says enough,
584 that these unions are not highly prized. In such a marriage, the two
587 parties agree on it first between themselves. Their decision made, they themselves invite a go-between, who will go to see the paternal uncles and the grandparents of the children. The T'ou-jen family has an agnatic base, and the family system is that of the large family
589 with community of property. On the death of the husband, the
421 widow remains therefore within the domain of the community; consequently, it will be necessary to recognize her owners. But since this property is rather a burden for them, it will be easy to come to an agreement. Furthermore, the widow's family knows that if it is not accommodating, the widow will be able to give them a lot of trouble.

/113 cont'd/

587 The conditions the family lays down are the following: the
593 sons will remain the descendants of the dead man; they will continue
[764] to bear his name and will later be buried in their father's cemetery. The new husband will bring them up and feed them. When they reach marriageable age, he will buy them a wife, or he will give the family the required sum ad hoc; then he will be able to send away the married ones, who will provide for their own subsistence. As for the daughters, he will be able to sell them. Since he obligates himself for expenses which so many burdens necessitate, the family does not demand any compensation for the widow.

587 /114/ It often happens that as a consequence of misunderstand-
589 ings and quarrels, the brothers divide up the property and debts
578 among themselves and form independent families. When a widow of
421 such a family wants to remarry, the family requires the new husband to recognize the debts of the dead man; and the creditors exert pressure on the family to prevent the marriage in case of refusal; but if they are lucky enough to be dealing with a virago who threatens to come with her children and live with them, the difficulties vanish, the debts are put on the children's account and will be demanded later when the children are grown.

587 In the case where the widow with her children has inherited
428 several plots of land from her dead husband, the new husband will
593 be able to work them to support his family, but he will not be able to sell them since they are the property of the male orphans /sic/. Once they are married, the latter can demand these lands and send their foster father away with their mother, which often happens; if they get along well, they stay together. If, on the other hand, the new husband has lands of his own, and the widow does not, he maintains the family, gets the sons married, and sends them away. If during the marriage the family becomes richer, if the patrimony increases, and children are born of the new marriage, the children of the first husband will receive the share of their dead father plus half of the lands and assets acquired after the second marriage. The personal properties of the new husband are inherited by his own children. If the husband happens to die without leaving children, his personal

/155 cont'd/

606 ahead of all the other members of the family. What is typical is that
587 they call the money given to the mother-in-law k'ai k'eou ts'ien,
593 "the sum which opens her mouth," for if she does not open her mouth, that is to say, if she does not consent, the marriage comes to nought. /156/

b) Succession on the maternal side.

562 Without admitting a former matriarchate, how can one explain
593 the situation of the women in the series of marriages to the prayer
588 pole, etc.? In this case the "girl-mother" is seen to enjoy all the rights of a married woman, her children bear her name and inherit in her clan beside the children of her brothers. This is certainly the case which makes kinship, order of succession, and the property of the family pass on the mother's side. This single case which continues to exist in the middle of a patriarchal period in which the children of daughters as well as their mother are considered as outside the family, deserves all attention.

c) Admission into the family of children born of outsider fathers.

843 Is it not permitted to see vestiges of the matriarchate in the great facility with which they admit into the family the children of daughters-in-law and widows, born certainly of fathers who are outsiders; partus sequitur ventrem /"offspring proceed from the womb"/: they recognize only the mother. We have seen that here they are in a period of transition which begins to make this practice more and more difficult.

562 d) Frequent family visits of the daughter-in-law and right to
421 keep her property at her mother's home.
593
574 Again what can be said of the abnormal custom which allows the daughter-in-law these frequent visits and these long vacations with her family? This custom is not natural in a patriarchal organization where the daughter-in-law is the property of her husband, and where she must give this clan her life, her time, and all her work. This custom gives the impression that the daughter, after marriage, always continues to live with her own family and not that of her husband, (1) all the more /157/ because she keeps at her parents' home

/157 cont'd/

Ma 574 593

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 90-91: The second long visit of the newly married wife in her mother's house may be also understood as a survival of the customs that prescribed to the newly married wife to keep her place in her mother's house. Furthermore the Manchus never say "the wife's father's clan" but "the wife's mother's clan." At the same time they say " he husband's clan" and "the husband's father's clan." Thus all these facts cannot be explained without a supposition of the materline clan system in the past. /Cited in English./

Mo 562 421 593 574 her finest clothes, her ornaments, her jewels, and everything that is dear to her. One keeps one's treasures at one's home; now, the home of the daughter-in-law does not seem to be near her husband. This last custom, which still effectively recognizes that the wife today has certain property rights, does not belong to a patriarchal organization; furthermore, we saw in the speech of the master of ceremonies that formerly the daughter enjoyed property rights since in her own family she inherited half of a son's share.

e) Festivities at the birth of daughters.

Mo 527 844 We shall describe elsewhere the extraordinary noisy festivities in which the whole village takes part, given on the occasion of the birth of the first child of a daughter-in-law, whether this child be a son or daughter, the celebration is equally solemn. Now such a festivity upon the birth of a daughter is again absolutely abnormal in a patriarchal system, where only the male descendant counts. We must note that already in many T'ou-jen families this festivity is celebrated only upon the birth of the first son. This celebration is absolutely inconceivable to a Chinese mind.

Mo [171]

f) Wedding dinner at the bride's home.

Mo 585 562 In a patriarchal system how does one justify the dinner given at the bride's home for the members of her family alone on the eve of

ripe old age, with the result that they turn out to be 792
steady and sound business men, wearing religious clothes. Necessarily, the precepts and rules of the monastic life come more often to be honored in the breach than in the observance, and so the lamas drag each other down hill.

COMMUNITY OF LAMAS

How does a lamasery control its members and provide for their education? This is done through two organizations, the community of the lamas and the colleges or faculties.

Lamaseries have to control their lamas because they are responsible to the Chinese Government for the crimes and injustices caused by their members. Many lamas not dependent on any lamasery live in the country dressed as lamas and earn their own living, and do not involve any lamasery in the troubles they might cause.

In order to become a member of a lamasery, the name of the applicant must be entered on the roll of the organic community of the lamas. This carries with it permission to live in the monastery, to share its benefits and support, and to become a member of any college. The organic community of the lamas administers the entire lamasery; it fixes the rules observed by all the lamas of the institution; it sees to their observance and inflicts punishment for infractions. The community of the lamas is the hub around which the entire lamasery revolves. It possesses its own wealth and has its independent administration, as has been explained (p. [42]
38). The main temple of the lamasery is its property and in it all the lamas have to convene in the early morning to read texts. Every time the main temple is destroyed (as by revolts or fire), the organic community of the lamas must rebuild it.

In December, 1912, the vast temple of Kumbum dis- 175
appeared in a furious blaze after the morning conven- 792
tion of the lamas. The adjacent temple, containing the [42]
dried trunk of the fabulous tree, was preserved, but the entire precious library, splendid old tapestries, precious embroidered streamers, paintings, the large Buddha painting, 21 meters in length and 15 meters in width, which was hung every year on the mountain at the festival, two enormous butter lamps of massive silver, the entire wardrobe and masks used in the theatrical performances, silver *chortens* containing the ashes of celebrated Living Buddhas, disappeared in the blaze. The guardians of the temple disappeared at full speed. Devoted old lamas testified that Tsong-khapa had punished Kumbum whose old fervor had decayed. I saw the whole community, old and young, devoutly carrying the ashes of the temple on their backs into an enclosure, because it was stated that the ashes, hallowed by the prayers said in the temple, must not be allowed to be desecrated. The intendants of the community of the lamas toured the Tibetan and Mongol countries

[p. 61(A)]

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311 been nomads who already knew something about farming.[38]

175 The historical picture, which includes traces of ancient irrigation before the settling of the Monguors, and new
241 Chinese agricultural colonies introduced under the Ming, indicates that the Monguors increasingly adapted themselves to an environment in which farming was possible and profitable. It is possible that with the growth of population there was no longer room for a preponderantly pastoral economy, and possible also that constant border warfare resulted in severe losses of cattle. Whatever the reason for the shift from pastoralism to agriculture, however, it brought with it important social problems, because the economic system of a people determines the rules under which property is held.

311 The nomad economy is extensive, and requires room for migration between winter and summer pasture.
241 Farming—even non-irrigated farming—is intensive compared with pastoralism, and brings with it a shift of values from the wide, windswept pastures to the small, sheltered, cultivable plot of land.[39]

The farmer's year of toil is centered on a definite piece of land. If he is a free farmer and not a mere serf, his property interest is identified with that land, and with his right to dispose of it by sale or legacy. This interest is different in kind from that of the nomad in mobile livestock. We may, therefore, well expect changes in the social psychology of the Monguors to accompany the shift from a predominance of pastoralism to a predominance of agriculture, even though the Monguors never became as exclusively agricultural as the Chinese.

•423 In the Monguor society there is an adaptation between the principle of the absolute ownership of the territory by the T'u ssu and the principle of private property among members of the clan. The principle of the T'u-ssu's absolute ownership being recognized by the over-

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[38] L. Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie: Turcs et Mongols, des origines à 1405*, 49–50, Paris, 1896, sums up the matter in the words: "It is possible that there may have existed nomads limiting themselves exclusively to meat, milk, and the wool of their herds; but no such nomads have ever been known in historical times." Owen Lattimore, The geographical factor in Mongol history, *Geographical Jour.*, London, Jan. 1936, writes (p. 5) that "the history of the steppe peoples is not independent of the history of agricultural communities," and also draws attention (p. 14) to the agriculture of the Orkhon Turks in Northern Mongolia in the middle ages. He again refers repeatedly to semi-nomads and marginal nomads in his *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 2nd ed., New York, Amer. Geog. Soc., 1951. K. A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-seng, in *History of Chinese society: Liao, Trans. Amer Philos. Soc.* **36**: 120–121, 1949, recapitulate the views of a number of writers, but make the mistake of assuming that when William of Rubruck, in the thirteenth century, speaks of "villages in the south" from which Mongol lords drew tribute of millet and flour, he means villages of Mongol farmers. It is clear from the context that the reference is to tributary, sedentary, non-Mongol peoples.

[39] For the "extensive-intensive" range between hunting, steppe pastoralism, rainfall agriculture, and irrigated agriculture, see Lattimore, The geographical factor in Mongol history, as cited above, 6.

[p. 58-b]

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423 lord state, he has the right to grant fields to monasteries or to personal friends, and the right to sell or mortgage parts of the clan territory to Chinese or to monasteries.[40]

426 As an illustration the Li T'u-ssu, in 1906, being in debt, mortgaged a part of his territory near Weiyuanp'u to the Living Buddha Chang-chia[41] of the Chang-chia monastery, a piece of the Li territory in Hsiaoyang-ch'uan and another in Shuimokou, with some adjoining

425 forest. Similarly the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Nienpei sold a part of his territory to the Chinese of Kaochai in 1908. The Lu T'u-ssu, according to the family chronicles, granted land in Niut'oukou to the father-in-law of his nephew and also to one of his secretaries.

The adaptation between this theoretical absolute ownership and the rights of private property of individual members of the clan is effected through an interesting convention: the T'u-ssu never "sells" the soil to farmers; he writes a contract under which he accepts the price of the fields, just as a seller does, but in the contract the word "pass" is used instead of the word "sell." Thus he "passes" his land to be used by the farmer and his heirs in perpetuity, and endows him with the right to "pass" it over to other members of the clan. Under this convention the T'u-ssu, by accepting the price of the land, pledges that he will not interfere with the use or disposal of it.

All interests are thus reconciled and the required stability achieved. The farmer becomes a quasi owner, with all the rights of a real owner. The T'u-ssu gets the selling price of his land but continues to be recognized as the "owner" by the overlord state, and the farmers living in "his" territory remain bound to him, remain his subjects, and liable as such to corvées, to military service, and to taxes.

Often, however, I have heard the Monguors say, heaving a deep sigh, that now-a-days their T'u-ssu love money too much;

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[40] J. Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, 13, Paris, éditions Dillen, 1932, notes that in the Ordos the territory belongs to the tribe but the prince may dispose of it in order to grant a domain to one or another of his subjects, usually an important official. The territory of the tribe may not be sold, but may be rented to Chinese for farming for a time so long that it is practically equivalent to sale.

[41] The Chang-chia (lCan-skya) Hutukhtu is one of the most important Lama Buddhist "incarnations." In the eighteenth century, in the reign of the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien Lung, the incumbent of this incarnation played an important part in the translation into Mongol of Tibetan religious literature, thus furthering the Manchu policy of diverting the attention of the Mongols away from the past and toward the acceptance of religious control. See W. Heissig, *Bolur Erike*, *Monumenta Serica*, Monograph 10, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1946, especially pp. 28–30. For this reason the incarnations of the Chang-chia Hutukhtu or Living Buddha were thereafter especially favored by the Manchu dynasty and afterwards by the Chinese Republic. The Chang-chia's influence was greatest in Inner Mongolia, and he also had monasteries at Wut'aishan, a great center of Mongol pilgrimage in Shansi province in North China, in Peking, and in the Monguor country as mentioned in the text above. The present incarnation of the Chang-chia is a refugee on Formosa.—O. L. [p. 59a]

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425 they want us to sign contracts, have them registered, and pay taxes. In the good old days, as our tradition goes, all these formalities did not exist; when Monguors wanted to bring into cultivation some non-cultivated land in the clan territory, they took possession of it, and paid the regular taxes according to average. When they "passed" the land to some other member of the clan, they fixed the sum to be paid by mutual agreement. No contract was signed. Instead, the outlines of the field were drawn on a plank; the plank was sawn in two pieces, and each took half of it. Now there are too many astute Chinese enrolled in the clan. We Monguors and the T'u-ssu are not so unsophisticated as before, and every day there are more and more formalities.

425 618 This tradition about taking possession of land within the territory of the clan according to the personal needs of the subject, and naturally without prejudice to the interests of others, is instructive and believable. In the Hsifan (Tibetan) tribe of Sumdoo, near the monastery of Erhkulung, the same procedure still prevailed in 1911–1921. There, every member of the clan was free to bring into cultivation non-cultivated land, and to build a house anywhere in the territory of the clan. The man who did so was bound to notify his taking possession of the soil by offering to the chief of the tribe a quarter of a brick of tea and two packets of Chinese vermicelli; no other formalities or expenses. This tribe was still practising far more stock-breeding than agriculture, and was probably very much like the Monguors at the time when they were making the transition from cattle-breeding to farming. Among them, if a man wanted to make money by selling land that he had improved, perhaps by building a house or adding an irrigation ditch, they agreed on a sum and drew on a sheet of paper a map of the field and each took his half of the map. There was no other form of contract, no registration, and no tax. It is remarkable that this old custom of the map as deed of sale and title deed prevailed at late as 1911–1921.

423 618 These customs seem to indicate absolute independence and equality as between individual members of the clan in taking possession of community land in order to make a living. It would seem that all the members of the clan agree with each other's fundamental right to make a living, to improve themselves financially, and to do so by whatever means they personally consider adequate or necessary, as long as these means are not prejudicial to the interests of others.

Looking back to what has been said above about the chief of the clan and the way in which he is "chosen" and appointed by the elders, it is plain that the community, represented by the elders, was originally the possessor and dispenser of the clan territory. The supremacy of the chief came late and was a kind of usurpation. We learn from history that at all times usurpers have existed. It is clear that by the time of Chingis Khan the holder of a fief was the real proprietor. The fief was a definite territory granted the fief-holder. Its inhabitants were his vassals and he was the vassal of the emperor. He was the "owner" of both the vassals and the territory,

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423 618

under the higher "ownership" of the emperor.[42] The chiefs of the Monguors and Shat'o in Kansu must have been feudatories of this kind under the Mongol dynasty.

Among nomads living in an extensive territory the territorial rights of the nomad lord over his vassals were not exercised in the same way as among farming and sedentary peoples. They took primarily the form of the power of the chief to order and regulate the movements of herds and herders according to grazing needs at different seasons, to summon men for military service, and to requisition labor for other services.

For the Monguors and Shat'o, living in the relatively small territories assigned to them by the emperor, the problem was not one of wide grazing movement but of concentration for frontier defense. The chiefs were "owners" of the territory, and of the subjects whose military services they commanded, but within the limited territory each clan member was free to settle and cultivate at his own choice, and to treat all uncultivated land as "common pasture" for grazing.

The strongly "individual" character of the right of property in the Monguor society predominates over the social, civil, and political aspects of property, and deserves attention because it is a fundamental principle still fully understood, recognized, and applied by relatively primitive peoples, but often disregarded by sociologists.

T'U-SSU LORD OF THE COMMONERS

566 621

The distinctive mark of a commoner is to be bound to his T'u-ssu. As already explained above, commoners were subjects granted to a chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his command in time of war.[43] Since his subjects were his only source for the recruiting of troops, the military importance of a T'u-ssu corresponded to the number of his families of commoners. Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of the slave, the *nullum caput habens* of the Roman law,[44] the basic distinction between nobles and common-

[42] Compare Lord Bryce's comment, *Holy Roman Empire*, 122–124, 229, New York, Macmillan, 1904, that in feudal Europe "real sovereignty" resided in the fief.—O. L.

[43] An element of agreement or bargaining may also be noted. When the "founding ancestor" submitted to the Ming dynasty, he was already (*a*) the leader of a group of his noble kinsmen and (*b*) in control of a number of commoners, perhaps originally the conquered subjects of his ancestors, perhaps "granted" to his ancestors by the preceding Mongol dynasty. His "bargain" with the Ming was that, without fighting, he offered them his allegiance as the man who was able to bring this military manpower into their service. The part played by the Ming was to accept the "bargain" by confirming and sustaining the T'u-ssu in his primacy among his kinsmen and his lordship over the commoners.—O. L.

[44] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 80. In the old Mongol society the vassals were not slaves. They were allowed to possess their own property, to raise their own cattle. They enjoyed a certain amount of liberty. The suzerain did not absorb all the fruits of their labor. On the other hand, they were bound to serve him in time of peace and to fight for him in time of war; to accompany his clan when they migrated to new pastures, and always

583 /47 cont'd/
585 drops, silver rings....It even happens that rich people give their
431 daughter several /48/ arpents of land, which are called ngusge
602 gadiziar (ngusge, "rouge"; gadiziar, "land"), i.e., the land which
[425] procures the girl's rouge, with the condition that the husband must sow it and give the revenue from it to his wife. Thereafter, if the son-in-law's family is ever forced to sell these lands, the first offer will have to be made to the wife's family.

423 About 30 years ago, the Ma family of Na-lin-keou had re-
583 ceived in marriage a girl, Pao, who had received from her parents some "rouge lands." The Ma family became poor and mortaged these lands to the Pen family; later it sold them to the Heou family. The Pens, basing their right on the Chinese axiom, "He who holds a mortgage has prior right of purchase," brought an action against the Mas and demanded the turning over of the lands. But then the Pao family appeared and claimed these lands as being the "rouge lands" given to their aunt at the time of her marriage. The Chinese court recognized this custom and decided in their favor.

This same custom is still found among the Mongols. Recently, the king of Orat of the confederation of Olantsh'ah, giving his daughter in marriage to the king of Hang King of the confederation of the Ortos, gave her on this occasion part of the lands of Sainnoor (30 li southwest of the Christendom of San-tao-k'iao, Mission of Ning-Hia).

585 As for the gifts of which I have spoken above, there are
583 numerous variants; I knew a case where the girl was given only six long garments; another where she was given ten; everything depends on the financial situation of the family.

The women in particular are very much interested in the gifts; they examine the fabrics and the finish of the embroideries, especially those on the sleeves and the two ends of the belts. Months and months of work are often put on these pieces. When the examination is finished, the bride is brought in.

She is carried on a small, low Chinese table, which has been covered /49/ previously with red felt. She is put down between the sacred fire and the display of presents. This is her first and only
[302] appearance at this festivity. She is bareheaded and wears the hair style of unmarried girls.

/67/

14. Gifts of the Bride's Family to that of the Bridegroom

585 431 All the guests remain standing at the back of the courtyard, and it is before them that the presents from the bride's family are taken out of the boxes. They are displayed on the doors inside the rectangle of tables. First the new clothes which her parents give to her are handed over to the bride, and her maid of honor hurries to put them on her in her room. There are also the new clothes for the bridegroom, who likewise puts them on.

The bride's family's master of ceremonies takes his place inside the rectangle of tables near the sacred fire. The bride, dressed in her new clothes, the veil always on her head, leaves her room and is led by her maid of honor inside the rectangle on the right side of the red felt. The bridegroom takes his place beside her on the left, his arm touching the bride's. A young man places himself behind him; the bride's maid of honor is behind her. They kneel on the pieces of felt, having in front of them a table on which two lighted lamps are placed, and on whose four corners are put four small packages of cash.

The master of ceremonies begins his speech: "We, the bride's family, have invited as guests the go-between, the maternal and paternal uncles and aunts of the bride, as well as their sons and daughters...." All the guests from the bride's clan come forward to take their places in the upper part of the courtyard. The master of ceremonies speaking in the name of the bride's family first presents the k'ata to each guest of the groom's family; then gin is poured for everyone. "Now," he continues, "I have a word to say: before the wolf, the dog is afraid to bark; before great men, little people are afraid to open their mouths. If what I am going to say is well said, do not praise me; if what I am going to say is badly said, excuse me.... /68/ In olden times the ancestors used to proceed to marriages only when the limits of the lands were well established. (Nobody [423] has been able to explain this passage to me; this fact seems to lack sense as much in a nomadic organization as in the present-day agrarian one in which the T'ou-jen live. Actually, today the T'ou-jen

585 /68 cont'd/
431 are all owners with personal title, all their properties are demarcated;
423 therefore it is no longer a question of demarcating lands. Is this an allusion to a previous social condition no longer remembered?)

585 "Generations have succeeded generations. When an idol of
539 Buddha is old and lusterless and when it is giled anew, it is again shining and beautiful to see; when one puts a brand-new border around an old garment, the garment has gained much by it; when to the old relations between families new ones are added, they become all the stronger. Among you was born a boy who had all the virtues of the lion; among us was born a girl like the "khuī t shiąn" (mythological bird). It was the ideal combination for a marriage. But how would this union have been able to be accomplished? (The cupbearer pours wine for the go-between and bows to him.) If one does not see clouds in the sky, no rain will fall; if there are no go-betweens on the earth, there will be no marriages. (1) What was too high, you, go-between,

1. Compare Anthropos, 6th year, p. 320, Schotter, "Notes ethnogra. sur tribus du Koei tcheou": Just as thunder and lightning pave the way for rain, so go-betweens are necessary to pave the way for marriages.

have lowered; what was too low, you have raised; the high and the low have met on the same level like the lever arm of the balance. You have leveled off the way on which the two parties have traveled.

"In olden times they used to thank the go-between for his services by dressing him in new clothes from head to foot; but the feeble means of our poor family allow us to offer you only a pair of boots and a string of cash. We hope nevertheless that you will be satisfied."

585 /69/ After giving the gift to the go-between the orator usually
608 addresses the maternal uncle of the bridegroom. The cupbearer bows to him and pours gin for him. "When a son," he says, "has no wai-kia (the son calls his mother's family wai-kia /Chinese term for one's mother's family, literally, "outside family"/, i.e., all her relatives,

[8 cont.]

114 the author owes the safety of the materials collected entirely to the helpfulness of his confreres. In addition to the Fathers Eichinger and Grünewald, S.V.D., I should like to mention here particularly Father Richard Haas, S.V.D., who shortly thereafter was overtaken by a violent death in the Koko Nor steppe.

4. The Sources (the Informant)

115 The informant came from Tuo-chia, that is, "Tuo home," about one kilometer east of Chi-chia-ling, which lies along the mountain route from Kan-chia-pu (in the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) to Pai-nai (in the Ha-la-chih-kou). Tuo-chia gets its name from [103] the informant's kin group [Sippe] and formerly embraced perhaps four farmsteads, [9] of which, however, a part has been destroyed by an avalanche. Today only two farms and the temple remain. The Tuo have not always resided here. They [166] come from the vicinity of the Tujen monastery Rgulõn, where [423] a hundred years ago they owned two large horse pastures. Later one of the ancestors moved to the vicinity of Chi-chia-ling and cultivated the fairly extensive upland which paid tribute to the monastery, but which today is the private property of the Tuo family and pays taxes to the county of Huchu. It consists of about 200 Chinese morgen.

114 The report applies primarily to this region, namely, to the Tujen villages Chi-chia-ling, Ta-yang-chüan, Hsiao-
101 yangchüan, and Sha-pa-kou, up into the Na-ling-kou. Since, however, according to my own observations and the statements of the informant, the customs in the county of Huchu are quite uniform, the area to which it is applicable can be extended farther to include the villages between Huchu and Rgulõn. These [628] villages carry on a very lively traffic with one another and are extensively interrelated. As regards numbers, this report covers approximately one quarter of all the Tujen of the Sining region, an area generally regarded as their population center.

115 The old Tuo is kin-group elder and has two younger brothers, who live with him, his sons, his sons' wives, and [776] [553] grandchildren's families. By his first name he is called yifula,

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

I remarked that the performance of this rite, not kept secret in the fold of the monastery but put completely on public display, was not very honorable for the intendants. The lamas answered, "When squeezed to the wall and when all other rites have been of no avail, the rite has to be performed." Such facts, without stretching the point, are really informative, concerning the type of the intendants. 792 788

The overriding importance attached to the appointment of the intendant, who can make a monastery flourish or ruin it, may be explained by the enormous influence exerted in a monastery by them, which matches that of the supreme chief of the institutions, and the stumbling blocks encountered by the intendants, which endanger the correct fulfilling of their office. They serve also to gain a true insight into the frame of mind of the administrative world of the monasteries.

MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE OF THE LAMASERIES

DOMAINS

During the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties, large domains were granted to the monasteries to provide their means of subsistence. In former times it was easy for the emperors to be lavish in such grants in a sparsely populated country. I never had the opportunity to see the old deeds under which the vast domains of Erh-ku-lung and its flourishing subsidiaries had been granted. Its most important domain is that of the Fan-wu-pu, which it shares with its daughter monastery of Seerkok.[3] 792 423 643 434

The Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa Hutukhtus were the favorite Living Buddhas of the emperors. It seems an obvious assumption that private domains were also granted to each of them, because Chang-chia was able to found on his properties six branches and eleven villages. T'u-kuan founded seven villages and seven affiliates, while Sumpa founded five branches, and further it is said he disposed of more domains than both Chang-chia and T'u-kuan. The tax and rent revenues collected on their private properties must have been considerable because Chang-chia built nine oil and grain mills and T'u-kuan eighteen, in order to dispose of their grain. [256]

[3] The Fan-wu-pu (the five tribes of barbarians) are situated in the region of Wei-yüan-p'u. They are: (1) Pei-tsui-pu (Narin valley), (2) Tsan-tsa-pu (east and west Tsan-tsa), (3) Hsieh-tsa-pu, (4) Pu-tsa-pu (near the mountains), and (5) Kuang-hua-pu (west of Wei-Yüan-p'u). The people living in these vast territories were the subjects of these two lamaseries, to which they paid taxes and rent, and were liable for corvées. All the villages from Pei-tsui-pu eastward (Ha-la-chih and Hung nai valleys) belonged to Erh-ku-lung; those westward to Seerkok. In 1910 both lamaseries still collected the rent of these fields, enjoyed the privilege of traveling for alms among these former subjects, and vindicated the right of still being invited by them for the performance of public and private religious activities. In that region the monastery of Erh-ku-lung had built twenty-four oil and grain mills. These domains were administered in former times by the important T'u-kuan and Seerkok Nang suo. [p.43 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Concerning Seerkok, the former subsidiary of Erh-ku-lung, it is recorded that it disposed of a property 45 miles (150 *li*) in length and 10 miles (30 *li*) wide.[4] Achia Hutukhtu of Kumbum collected taxes and rents from five tribes of farming Tibetans and the inhabitants of seven valleys.[5] The country for 200 *li* around Kumbum belongs to the monastery; several thousand "tame" barbarians are its subjects.[6] Achia Hutukhtu received from the emperor an extensive region for grazing his herds in Chahar (Inner Mongolia). The contract was written by order of the emperor in 1766.[7] Erh-ku-lung received land from the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where a lot of its subjects farmed. After the revolt of 1723, the Ch'i T'u-ssu responsible for the revolt of Erh-ku-lung lost his title and the subjects who farmed his land. Later he was given a chance to regain his title and subjects, if he could bring those who had revolted to submission. He succeeded, and recovered title and subjects, as described in Part I (p. 50).

It has been recorded that Ch'ü-t'an, which was the first lamasery founded by the Ming emperors, received wide domains so that it was able to build the two large branches of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and Hung Shan-ssu (*Annals* of Hsining. ch. 15, p. 13). During the Ming dynasty large domains had also been granted to the Karwa and Nang-suo institutions, as noted above. Most of the minor Living Buddhas also possessed domains granted by T'u-ssu or wealthy people, or which they purchased themselves.

If account is taken of all these facts, it is easy to understand why the Chinese officials, who before 1723 could not collect taxes on all these vast domains, harbored an enormous jealousy, and why they exulted after the revolt when the emperor assigned the collection of these taxes to them. The text of the author of the *Annals* of Hsining records (chap. 31, p. 22) that "... in 1727, by decree, the emperor in one day, put an end to calamities lasting hundreds of years." This text, on the one hand, proves the rejoicing of the Chinese officials at that time; on the other hand, the loss of these enormous revenues impoverished the monasteries tremendously. The lamas, however, were very proficient in finding a means to cushion the shock to some extent.[8]

RENTS

After the revolt, the lamas could only receive the rent of their tenants in the way in which a rich landowner received them; but it was customary that the government receive the taxes, not directly from the tenants,

[4] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 5: 123.
[5] *Ibid.*, 143.
[6] *Ibid.*, 11.
[7] *Ibid.*, 143.
[8] In 1948 according to the official data provided by the Bureau of the actual province of Ch'ing-hai (Hsining), only 177 of the 235 lamaseries, owned collectively about 500,000 *mou* (acres) of land and 5,000 to 6,000 head of livestock. Wang Wen-han, *Pien-chiang tung-hsin* 1: 1–7, 1948.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

but from the landowner who, in case the tenant dis- 792
appeared or became insolvent, was responsible for the 427
tax. In this way the lamas who were landowners had 651
to collect the official taxes from their tenants, and ac- 434
company the endless caravans of their tenants' donkeys [492]
carrying grain to the official granaries. Before the
journey to the granary started, however, each tenant
had to measure the grain in the presence of the lamas
and with the measure supplied by the lamas, the ca- [804]
pacity of which was greater than the official one; this
enabled the lamas to set aside a valuable surplus over
the vast amount of official taxes.

The properties of the lamaseries, consisting of ex- 792
tensive territories, contain a large part of waste and 423
untilled land on which no taxes are imposed. The 651
industrious intendants developed these properties by [311
means of irrigation canals, and called in new farmers to
till the new fields. The legal amount of taxes, however, 312]
has always remained the same as the initial amount, be- 434
cause the intendants, by means of collusion and bribery,
easily succeed in gaining over the tax collectors. In
this way the revenues of the intendancies are greatly
increased, and they still receive surreptitiously a very
large revenue. Moreover, they are able to store the
surplus, which they can grind or sell when prices are
highest.

HERDS

Sheep, cows, and horses constitute, for many in- 792
tendancies, a source of revenue. Large herds are grazed 434
in Kukunor or Mongolia where the pastures are larger, 233
smaller herds in the country for local use. Mongol
princes and Tibetan chiefs of tribes are always ready to
help the monasteries. A contract is made with herds-
men by which the first calves, colts, and lambs belong
to the owner, the second-born to the herdsman, and so
on. Every three years a lama inspector of the in-
tendancy examines the accounts of the herdsmen and
settles with them the number of animals to be sold, and
the herdsmen show the skins of the animals which died
during the three-year period. If they cannot produce
the skins of the dead animals it is assumed that they
sold the animals and they must pay the owner of the
herds.

OIL AND GRAIN MILLS

These mills are a large source of revenue. The mon- 792
astery proper of Erh-ku-lung is owner of twenty-four 434
oil and grain mills; the T'u-kuan himself has eighteen, 256
Chang-chia nine. The mills are leased by Monguors or
Chinese. The rent of oil mills is 300 pounds of oil for
a season's use, besides which it must press the oil be-
longing to the monastery. The grain miller must grind
the grain of the intendancy and at the New Year sea-
son give a pig weighing 120 pounds. Most of the oil
which is not consumed in the kitchen in the preparation
of food, or in the lamps in the temples and homes, is
sent by raft to Lan-chou, the capital of the province.

[p.44 (B)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 554 648 175 groups on the frontier of the Empire. The T'u-ssu thus had a double role, he functioned as a "native chief" and as a Chinese official.

The most important clan chiefs who were granted the title of T'u-ssu in Ming times were those of the Ch'i and Lu clans, who were descendants of the Imperial House of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan of the Shato Turks. From this time on the Monguours remained faithful defenders of the frontiers, first under the Ming dynasty and later under the Manchu dynasty. The Shato origin of the Li clan is corroborated by the Chinese Annals. Shato tribes are noted to have lived between Hsi-ning and Kan-chou as early as 939. The supposition that tribes of Turkish origin, bearing Turkish names, still live in the country is therefore not unreasonable.

N *563 M 614 175 648 179 During the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Chinese and Tibetan families enrolled in the seventeen Monguor and Shato clans, in addition to the original Mongol stock, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned. It is very likely that, especially in the period from 1368 to 1723, only stray Chinese families enrolled in Monguor clans. Later in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who joined Monguor clans. It must be said, however, that while the Monguors have absorbed or at least partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture is lower than that of the Chinese.

In addition to the Chinese, large numbers of Tibetans enrolled in Monguor clans. However, they have probably joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese. When Chinese M [565] or Tibetans enrolled in the Monguor clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors.

N *563 M 614 554 The T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan from the emperor. These territories were usually assigned, according to a military plan, as a buffer zone, at a time when the Monguors were still exclusively nomads. It may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories.

• 423 N *563 M 614 565 554 The distinctive mark of the commoner is bondage to his respective T'u-ssu. Commoners were subjects "granted" to a chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his command in time of war. The military importance of a T'u-ssu was therefore dependent on the number of his families of commoners. Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of slaves, as pointed out previously, the basic distinction between nobles and commoners still existed in recent times. The first duty of a subject was to never abandon his overlord. Ideally speaking, the T'u-ssu and their subjects were bound together for all time. The subjects could not leave their lord in order to pass

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

423 lord state, he has the right to grant fields to monasteries or to personal friends, and the right to sell or mortgage parts of the clan territory to Chinese or to monasteries.[40]

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The adaptation between this theoretical absolute ownership and the rights of private property of individual members of the clan is effected through an interesting convention: the T'u-ssu never "sells" the soil to farmers; he writes a contract under which he accepts the price of the fields, just as a seller does, but in the contract the word "pass" is used instead of the word "sell." Thus he "passes" his land to be used by the farmer and his heirs in perpetuity, and endows him with the right to "pass" it over to other members of the clan. Under this convention the T'u-ssu, by accepting the price of the land, pledges that he will not interfere with the use or disposal of it.

All interests are thus reconciled and the required stability achieved. The farmer becomes a quasi owner, with all the rights of a real owner. The T'u-ssu gets the selling price of his land but continues to be recognized as the "owner" by the overlord state, and the farmers living in "his" territory remain bound to him, remain his subjects, and liable as such to corvées, to military service, and to taxes.

Often, however, I have heard the Monguors say, heaving a deep sigh, that now-a-days their T'u-ssu love money too much;

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425 they want us to sign contracts, have them registered, and pay taxes. In the good old days, as our tradition goes, all these formalities did not exist; when Monguors wanted to bring into cultivation some non-cultivated land in the clan territory, they took possession of it, and paid the regular taxes according to average. When they "passed" the land to some other member of the clan, they fixed the sum to be paid by mutual agreement. No contract was signed. Instead, the outlines of the field were drawn on a plank; the plank was sawn in two pieces, and each took half of it. Now there are too many astute Chinese enrolled in the clan. We Monguors and the T'u-ssu are not so unsophisticated as before, and every day there are more and more formalities.

425 618 This tradition about taking possession of land within the territory of the clan according to the personal needs of the subject, and naturally without prejudice to the interests of others, is instructive and believable. In the Hsifan (Tibetan) tribe of Sumdoo, near the monastery of Erhkulung, the same procedure still prevailed in 1911–1921. There, every member of the clan was free to bring into cultivation non-cultivated land, and to build a house anywhere in the territory of the clan. The man who did so was bound to notify his taking possession of the soil by offering to the chief of the tribe a quarter of a brick of tea and two packets of Chinese vermicelli; no other formalities or expenses. This tribe was still practising far-more stock-breeding than agriculture, and was probably very much like the Monguors at the time when they were making the transition from cattle-breeding to farming. Among them, if a man wanted to make money by selling land that he had improved, perhaps by building a house or adding an irrigation ditch, they agreed on a sum and drew on a sheet of paper a map of the field and each took his half of the map. There was no other form of contract, no registration, and no tax. It is remarkable that this old custom of the map as deed of sale and title deed prevailed at late as 1911–1921.

423 618 These customs seem to indicate absolute independence and equality as between individual members of the clan in taking possession of community land in order to make a living. It would seem that all the members of the clan agree with each other's fundamental right to make a living, to improve themselves financially, and to do so by whatever means they personally consider adequate or necessary, as long as these means are not prejudicial to the interests of others.

Looking back to what has been said above about the chief of the clan and the way in which he is "chosen" and appointed by the elders, it is plain that the community, represented by the elders, was originally the possessor and dispenser of the clan territory. The supremacy of the chief came late and was a kind of usurpation. We learn from history that at all times usurpers have existed. It is clear that by the time of Chingis Khan the holder of a fief was the real proprietor. The fief was a definite territory granted the fief-holder. Its inhabitants were his vassals and he was the vassal of the emperor. He was the "owner" of both the vassals and the territory,

[p. 59-b]

583 /47 cont'd/
585 drops, silver rings....It even happens that rich people give their
431 daughter several /48/ arpents of land, which are called ngusge
602 gadiziar (ngusge, "rouge"; gadiziar, "land"), i.e., the land which
[425] procures the girl's rouge, with the condition that the husband must sow it and give the revenue from it to his wife. Thereafter, if the son-in-law's family is ever forced to sell these lands, the first offer will have to be made to the wife's family.

423 About 30 years ago, the Ma family of Na-lin-keou had re-
583 ceived in marriage a girl, Pao, who had received from her parents some "rouge lands." The Ma family became poor and mortaged these lands to the Pen family; later it sold them to the Heou family. The Pens, basing their right on the Chinese axiom, "He who holds a mortgage has prior right of purchase," brought an action against the Mas and demanded the turning over of the lands. But then the Pao family appeared and claimed these lands as being the "rouge lands" given to their aunt at the time of her marriage. The Chinese court recognized this custom and decided in their favor.

This same custom is still found among the Mongols. Recently, the king of Orat of the confederation of Olanish'ah, giving his daughter in marriage to the king of Hang King of the confederation of the Ortos, gave her on this occasion part of the lands of Sainnoor (30 li southwest of the Christendom of San-tao-k'iao, Mission of Ning-Hia).

585 As for the gifts of which I have spoken above, there are
583 numerous variants; I knew a case where the girl was given only six long garments; another where she was given ten; everything depends on the financial situation of the family.

The women in particular are very much interested in the gifts; they examine the fabrics and the finish of the embroideries, especially those on the sleeves and the two ends of the belts. Months and months of work are often put on these pieces. When the examination is finished, the bride is brought in.

She is carried on a small, low Chinese table, which has been covered /49/ previously with red felt. She is put down between the sacred fire and the display of presents. This is her first and only
[302] appearance at this festivity. She is bareheaded and wears the hair style of unmarried girls.

chiliarchs still exist in Kumbum, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok), meting out punishments (instruments of torture are still displayed at lama courts), and imprisonment (the prison of Seerkok still exists); caring for the preservation of peace and order in the territories assigned to them, inquiring about travelers passing through it; administering the distribution of fields, the imposition and collection of taxes, the imposition of tolls on bridges (the bridge of T'ien t'ang and raft of Kan ch'an), and the imposition of corvées. 792 175 692

At the time of the inroads of marauding Mongol and Tibetan tribes, the revolts of Moslems, and the lama revolt against China in 1723, the subjects were compelled by the lamas to take sides with them in combat and in defending the lamaseries and their territories. In short, the privileges bestowed upon the chiefs of the lama institutions before 1723 were far-reaching. They were units, scattered over the country, administering their subjects according to their own rules and customs, entirely free from the interference of Chinese officials.

The lamaseries were the administrative centers of the groups subordinated to them. All the country's wealth flowed into their granaries and treasuries. Moreover, the lamas tended herds of cows, sheep, and horses, built oil and grain mills, and received donations. The lamaseries were the only places where huge sums of money could be borrowed (Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu borrowed money from them by mortgaging parts of their properties). They removed the wealth of the country from circulation and hoarded it or used it to found new lama communities (the tremendous branching out of monasteries between 1600 and 1723). They did not even use it for charitable institutions for the people of the country. 792 175 425 426

The lamaseries, originally built in lonely places and in remote valleys, in order that the monks would not be disturbed in their meditations and studies by the tumult of the world, were in olden times the most animated places of the country. In autumn the subjects carried taxes and rents on long caravans of donkeys to their granaries. The measuring of grain went on, as it did all over Asia, with rumbling noise and cries, bursting with activity for weeks in succession. At the time of exchanging tea for horses all the subjects were interested in the assessment of the horses. The tumult and discussions on the grounds of the monastery lasted for days and days. The selection of the horses for tribute to the emperor was conducted with like tumult and confusion, and often for the same length of time. Two or three times a year large festivals were held at the monasteries. They were attended by all the people of the country interested in horse racing, wrestling, singing, dancing, and in the big fairs held at that time. Chinese traders came from the city, pitched their tents, paid toll to the lamas, and sold their wares. The Monguors and Tibetans also arrived with their home-spun 792 175 651 427 [554 443]

[p.49(8)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

with silk flags, to look at the hundreds of measures of 772
grain put into the chair, the hundreds of pounds of 685
sugar and raisins, the hundreds of rich garments, and 782
the herd of sheep which follows the chair (for the few 556
pieces of meat are called a "herd of sheep"), and so on, for the other items. They implore it to look at the unusual prodigality of the customer, who is a fervent adherent of the faith. After the parody is played, the lamas have a good time visiting the neighbors. On the seventh day, at night, all the neighbors help escort the troublesome spirit outside the village, forming an imposing cortege with banners flying and drums, horns, and some rifles, and carrying the sedan chair, the caldron and bull head, the spears and swords. The lamas blow the trumpets made from a human femur. The bull head, spears, and swords are buried in a deep hole; a big fire is lit and the pit is filled, at full speed, flush with the ground. The stake is thrust into it; the whole group howls and curses the avenger, rifles are fired, trumpets blown, and the lamas return. The sedan chair is emptied by the neighbors. Restitution is thus made, the avenging spirit is appeased and thrust into the hole, and the thief remains possessor of his thievery.

A rich man, Lo san lao, who lived in Ha-la-chih 425
Valley, had succeeded in bringing to his home the fine 782
young lady of the poor Monguor Li sse of Naring 789
Valley. Calamities then troubled his family, and he invited Yellow lamas to perform the rite. They placed in the sedan chair a fine paper lady. The rite of the caldron and bull head was carried out, and the avenging spirit was thrust into the hole. Restitution was thus made by means of a paper lady, but he remained the possessor of the real one.

After many years this rite as performed by Red [792]
lamas, invited by the famous Sumpa Hutukhtu in order to compensate for the injustices perpetrated by his intendants, is still talked about in the country. The splendid sedan chair was on this occasion lavishly filled with precious items. A beautiful horse which followed the cortege was abandoned for the neighbors. After the bull head had been buried and the avenging spirit thrust into the hole, hundreds of people had tried to capture the horse.

The claims of justice are deeply embedded in the 181
consciousness of the people, and the necessity of restitution for injustices is always advocated by the lamas, although the magical rite of restitution seems to be a mockery of its real intent. Justice seems to rank first among the virtues.

In connection with this peculiar mentality concerning 776
the spirit who is the avenger of injustices is to be noted 425
the cult of the Sturlong spirit. This spirit is supposed to guard the wealth of the family with ruthless severity. It does not allow anything of value belonging to the family which honors it to be taken away. It is honored as a family deity, mostly among the Monguors of the

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Seerting group, but also among some families living in the Hung-nai and Ha-la-chih Valleys. It is said that long ago an old lama of Sung-chan-i (P'ing-fan hsien) introduced the cult of this spirit in the country. It has only one eye in front, and its image is honored not in the living room but behind the entrance gate of the courtyard. Many Monguors do not like to marry their daughters into families where this spirit is honored, and those who honor it are afraid to get rid of its cult, for fear of calamities. The spirit notices all visitors and watches to see whether some evil intent is not lurking behind the visit. It is said that when an undesired guest lingers waiting for dinner, Sturlong causes him tremendous intestinal troubles so that he has to run away. At the time when the dowry for a girl of the family is discussed, and the head of the family suggests that the part required by the lord of the family is not yet fixed, the go-betweens understand the hint and promise a goat for Sturlong. On the wedding day, a few moments before the bride will leave, a goat is set before Sturlong who avidly devours its prey and does not notice the bride leaving. At the time an animal is to be sold, its price is discussed not at the home of the proprietor but outside the courtyard, in order to avoid Sturlong knowing about it.

Still another spirit is honored, which steals in behalf of the families that honor it. Its cult is practiced especially in the Hung nai Valley. The Chinese call it *Mao-kui-shen* "cat spirit." It is a male spirit for which young women prepare a blanket at night, and which they "serve." On the tenth moon it steals grain and brings it to the granaries of its devotees. If guests arrive unexpectedly at noon and the food prepared is not sufficient, it is so potent that it can add food enough for all the guests by unknown means. When thieves come at night, it spirits away the things they intend to steal. However, it cannot steal Chinese coins, because Chinese characters are stamped on them; it cannot steal cloth in behalf of its devotees, because on both ends of a piece of cloth are printed the brands of the fabric. It cannot take things out of a closet which is tightly closed, but when the door is open it takes what it needs. It likes to drink liquor. A young woman poured liquor for it, one cup after another, until the cup remained full. In the blanket she found a drunken cat, which her husband killed. These tales resemble those recounted by the Mongols, concerning the well-known fox-spirit.[12]

[12] Here should be noted the very interesting study of F. A. Oberle, S.V.D., dealing with a similar frame of mind, with practices, some similar and some differing, encountered among the Tibetans of the region of Kui-te, 200 *li* south of Hsining on the right bank of the Yellow River, and among a group of Tibetans living 60 *li* west of Hsining called Chia-hsi-fan by the Chinese, i.e., Tibetans living in houses in contrast to the Tibetans living in tents. However, I never heard the Monguors explaining the rites performed against the avenger of the family wealth, suggesting the avenger having the appearance of a "Hundekopfdamon," an evil spirit with a dog head. See

776 425 [753 57] 776 [171] [p. 131(B)]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

423 lord state, he has the right to grant fields to monasteries or to personal friends, and the right to sell or mortgage parts of the clan territory to Chinese or to monasteries.[40]

426 As an illustration the Li T'u-ssu, in 1906, being in debt, mortgaged a part of his territory near Weiyuanp'u to the Living Buddha Chang-chia [41] of the Chang-chia monastery, a piece of the Li territory in Hsiaoyang-ch'uan and another in Shuimokou, with some adjoining forest. Similarly the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Nienpei sold a part of his territory to the Chinese of Kaochai in 1908. The Lu T'u-ssu, according to the family chronicles, granted land in Niut'oukou to the father-in-law of his nephew and also to one of his secretaries.

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177 In cases where the Chinese authorities eventually deposed
563 a T'u-ssu and took his territory and its population under direct Chinese administration, Chinese who had long been domiciled among the Monguors naturally became prominent people under the new dispensation. Thus it is plain that even though the Chinese civil officials were appointed by the T'u-ssu themselves, and not by the higher Chinese authorities, their influence promoted the process of the absorption of the Monguors by Chinese culture.

In the disintegration of the old Monguor society the personal example of the T'u-ssu themselves had a great effect. In the long period of relative peace and stability along the froniter under Manchu rule, the T'u-ssu ceased to receive fresh increments of prestige in their old capacity as military commanders and "wardens of the marches." They, therefore, naturally began to turn toward the standards of prestige accepted in the settled Chinese population. It became usual for T'u-ssu to marry the daughters of rich Chinese officials, or the half-Chinese daughters of other T'u-ssu who had married Chinese. There was thus introduced into the households of the T'u-ssu a Chinese "fine lady" point of view; these ladies despised the costume of the Monguor women as barbarous, they did not learn the Monguor language, their children received a Chinese home education and were sent to Chinese schools, and it thus became more and more common to find T'u-ssu who were unable even to speak with their subjects in their own language. Following the fashion set by their chiefs, many Monguors married the daughters of Chinese domiciled in the clan or Chinese from outside, and as this custom spread a great many Monguors in all the clans came to be ashamed of their Monguor extraction, repudiated their origin, and professed to be of Chinese origin.

177 Still another disruptive factor was that many T'u-ssu,
563 by mortgaging parts of their territories to Chinese merchants and to lamaseries, as security for loans, lost control over the revenue from land taxes. Under these con-
426 ditions they still retained the power to requisition corvée labor services; but the exercise of this power emphasized the contrast between the privileges of the chiefs and the obligations of their subjects, and weakened the bonds of loyalty that had once united the nobility and the commoners.

624 In the meantime, the T'u-ssu institution was also be-
661 coming corrupt from within. As the administrative system of the clan was so closely geared to the institution of the corvée, or obligatory labor and services, and military power depended on unpaid conscription, only a few officials received allocations of land, the income from which served as salary. The majority of the minor officials depended on bribery for their cash income, there being unlimited opportunities for bribery in the collection of land and other taxes in the form of gifts from families and individuals who wanted to be excused from compulsory services. Since it was profitable to hold such

and their attributions; it is identical, probably, in all 792
the monasteries of Huang-chung.

ENVIRONMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION

In order to gain an insight into the administration of a monastery, of a community of lamas, or of a college, it is not sufficient to know what officials make the wheels turn and what their respective functions are. A knowledge of the environment in which they act is also necessary. This can best be provided by examples, numbered below from 1 to 7. The intendant is ultimately the hub around which the entire administration is built.

(1). In 1914 the Lama Li, intendant of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, moved his two concubines into a nice building situated in the most remote west corner of the monastery. The three intendants of the lama community and the two colleges protested vehemently to the T'u-kuan against the impudence of the intendant and urged his dismissal, but he was only ordered to move his concubines to the "summer palace" of the Hutukhtu himself, a couple of miles distant from the monastery.

Li was a very capable man, well known all over the 792
country. He had often extricated the monastery from 426
very tight spots. A few weeks before he was given the above order, he had succeeded in sending back to Mongolia a strong group of Mongols who had been dispatched by their prince to urge the long delayed payment of an important debt contracted by one of T'u-kuan's former incarnations. For six months the Mongols had been enjoying life, eating the best food, drinking the best wine, and feeding their animals at the expense of the intendancy. They were resolved to leave the monastery only after full payment of the debt. No one had succeeded in persuading them to leave, not even by proposing to pay half of the debt at once and the remainder the following year. Intendant Li, who had been on duty in Lanchou, was finally summoned by the distressed Hutukhtu. After a few days he had succeeded so well as to make the creditors grant "reverentially" the remission of half of the debt and to make them joyfully agree to urge the payment of the remaining half by the next incarnation of T'u-kuan.

T'u-kuan was greatly indebted to his intendant for 792
the many services rendered to him, but at the same time he was unable to dismiss him for fear he would revive many old troubles and harm the monastery. The intendant was thoroughly aware of this predicament and acted impudently, breaking one of the most basic rules of the Yellow Sect, that of celibacy.

(2) A servant of the intendancy of the old and 792
venerated minor Living Buddha Li of Erh-ku-lung in- 691
advertently broke the big tea cauldron belonging to 628
the community of the lamas. The intendant of the [415]
community of lamas stirred up the turbulent lamas who urged old Li to have a new cauldron cast, but the placid

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

In 1914, in Nien pe, I encountered the unusual case 792
of a lama not enlisted in any monastery, who came back 434
from Mongolia with 40 loaded camels, to the home of his brother in Kang-tzu Valley, after a trip which had lasted for sixteen years. The shrewd lama had collected alms for himself! He died a few days after his return. His brother thereafter was a rich man.

A large capital investment is required for such ex- 792
peditions. The intendancies buy all kinds of things 484
used by the nomad Tibetans and Mongols. They carry 434
prayer books, paintings and statues of Buddhas, spoons, 443
wooden cups, teapots, kettles, thread of all colors, needles, boots, cotton, silk, satin, combs, tobacco, saddles from Peking, bridles, stirrups, finger and ear rings, charm boxes, toothpicks, ear probers, tweezers, prickers (necessary for the performance of the toilet), cheap synthetic jewelry, and tea.

All these things are loaded on oxen and entrusted to loyal and dependable lamas of the intendancies who set out on the journey. All along the way they sell their wares, adding to each item a scarf of felicity, blessed by their Buddha at home. The trade is carried on by [437]
barter. They accept wool, skins, yak hair, butter, sheep, cows, and horses, claiming they are collecting alms. When the animals they collect along the way become too numerous, they hire Tibetans or Mongols to help drive them. Because they get twice or thrice the cost of the wares and because labor has little value, these expeditions are really remunerative. However, if it happens that a caravan of another intendancy precedes their own, and the Tibetans or Mongols do not need anything more, then "fishing after the net is a losing business"; but according to the figures noted above, the expeditions are usually very profitable.

TAXES

At the seasonal festivals, held on the grounds of the 792
monastery, taxes are collected by the lamas from the 434
merchants of the city, who pitch their tents and do busi- [65]
ness on their territory, and from the Tibetans and Monguors who sell animals and their primitive homespun products.

MONEYLENDING

Lending of money at the Chinese legal rate of 30 per 792
cent interest is the most important source of revenue 434
for the intendancies. The lending of money is far more 426
remunerative than the purchase of land and mortgages, which afford more security. However, the intendancies prefer the bigger interest.

Intendancies dispose of capital to secure the annual subsidy granted to the lamas, the purchase of the important quantity of butter to be burned in the temple lamps, the expenses for the purchase of all the items required for the expeditions in Mongolia, Kukunor and Ts'aidam, and the expenses of the fixed festivals held at the monasteries. Besides these the intendancies dis-

[p. 46 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

pose of the amount of money provided from the various sources noted in this section.

772
434
426

Loans are made to Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese, to shopkeepers, merchants in the city, in fact to anyone who provides serious guarantors. Two guarantors are always required, a lama and a layman.

The Chinese who lend money at the same legal rate of 30 per cent interest are very, very rarely entirely successful in this financial operation, and they know it before they start. After the third year, when the capital is nearly recovered, troubles usually start and new provisions are accepted for a smaller interest, or the problem is brought to the Chinese court of justice, which inevitably decides in favor of the poor party. In China it is the custom for the judge to decide in favor of the borrower and for the richer party to give up some of its rights and benefits. However, the inexorability of the lamas in collecting interest is an attested fact. The proverbs and sayings all over the country go: *"Chiu ming ti k'o-wa, sha-jen ti lama,"* meaning "even merchants who are so eager for money, save the life of a miserable man, but the lamas kill him"; also, *"lama chang nan la, p'o-niang chang nan la,"* meaning "It is not easy to be indebted to a lama, not easy to be indebted to a woman," because nobody can withstand the curses of a woman or the eagerness of lamas. Lamas are noted as loan sharks all over the country.

The people approach the lamas to borrow money and grain, because the people of the country are poor and the lamas dispose of money. On the twenty-fifth of the twelfth moon, the interest is due. In the evening, on the fifth of the moon, groups of young lamas gather in all the streets of the monasteries crying at the top of their voices that the interest has to be brought in by the twenty-fifth. They continue this crying for several days. With this notice the lamas' guarantors set out to find the persons whom they have guaranteed, as well as the layman guarantors, their partners. If they cannot find the hiding debtor, then on the twenty-fifth the lama is tied and lashed with ruthless severity until he pays the debt himself. If the debtor and layman are subjects of the monastery, they undergo the same rough procedure. No mercy is shown until the last farthing is extorted. Subjects do not dare bring suit against the lamas at the Chinese courts, because they cannot stand up against such a rich and influential opponent as the intendant. The lamas try to lend, if possible, to their subjects, to subjects of other monasteries, to T'u-ssu, or rich people who can provide a serious guaranty.

In the Orient, wealth and money are the mightiest factors of influence and power. In this respect the regulations of 1723, which were aimed at undermining and undoing the influence and power of the monasteries, failed almost completely. The monasteries are still the most influential and powerful institutions in the country.

[p. 46 (B)]

chiliarchs still exist in Kumbum, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok), meting out punishments (instruments of torture are still displayed at lama courts), and imprisonment (the prison of Seerkok still exists); caring for the preservation of peace and order in the territories assigned to them, inquiring about travelers passing through it; administering the distribution of fields, the imposition and collection of taxes, the imposition of tolls on bridges (the bridge of T'ien t'ang and raft of Kan ch'an), and the imposition of corvées. 792 175 692

At the time of the inroads of marauding Mongol and Tibetan tribes, the revolts of Moslems, and the lama revolt against China in 1723, the subjects were compelled by the lamas to take sides with them in combat and in defending the lamaseries and their territories. In short, the privileges bestowed upon the chiefs of the lama institutions before 1723 were far-reaching. They were units, scattered over the country, administering their subjects according to their own rules and customs, entirely free from the interference of Chinese officials.

The lamaseries were the administrative centers of the groups subordinated to them. All the country's wealth flowed into their granaries and treasuries. Moreover, the lamas tended herds of cows, sheep, and horses, built oil and grain mills, and received donations. The lamaseries were the only places where huge sums of money could be borrowed (Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu borrowed money from them by mortgaging parts of their properties). They removed the wealth of the country from circulation and hoarded it or used it to found new lama communities (the tremendous branching out of monasteries between 1600 and 1723). They did not even use it for charitable institutions for the people of the country. 792 175 425 426

The lamaseries, originally built in lonely places and in remote valleys, in order that the monks would not be disturbed in their meditations and studies by the tumult of the world, were in olden times the most animated places of the country. In autumn the subjects carried taxes and rents on long caravans of donkeys to their granaries. The measuring of grain went on, as it did all over Asia, with rumbling noise and cries, bursting with activity for weeks in succession. At the time of exchanging tea for horses all the subjects were interested in the assessment of the horses. The tumult and discussions on the grounds of the monastery lasted for days and days. The selection of the horses for tribute to the emperor was conducted with like tumult and confusion, and often for the same length of time. Two or three times a year large festivals were held at the monasteries. They were attended by all the people of the country interested in horse racing, wrestling, singing, dancing, and in the big fairs held at that time. Chinese traders came from the city, pitched their tents, paid toll to the lamas, and sold their wares. The Monguors and Tibetans also arrived with their homespun 792 175 651 427 [554 443]

[p.49(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Concerning Seerkok, the former subsidiary of Erh-ku-lung, it is recorded that it disposed of a property 45 miles (150 *li*) in length and 10 miles (30 *li*) wide.[4] Achia Hutukhtu of Kumbum collected taxes and rents from five tribes of farming Tibetans and the inhabitants of seven valleys.[5] The country for 200 *li* around Kumbum belongs to the monastery; several thousand "tame" barbarians are its subjects.[6] Achia Hutukhtu received from the emperor an extensive region for grazing his herds in Chahar (Inner Mongolia). The contract was written by order of the emperor in 1766.[7] Erh-ku-lung received land from the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where a lot of its subjects farmed. After the revolt of 1723, the Ch'i T'u-ssu responsible for the revolt of Erh-ku-lung lost his title and the subjects who farmed his land. Later he was given a chance to regain his title and subjects, if he could bring those who had revolted to submission. He succeeded, and recovered title and subjects, as described in Part I (p. 50).

It has been recorded that Ch'ü-t'an, which was the first lamasery founded by the Ming emperors, received wide domains so that it was able to build the two large branches of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and Hung Shan-ssu (*Annals* of Hsining. ch. 15, p. 13). During the Ming dynasty large domains had also been granted to the Karwa and Nang-suo institutions, as noted above. Most of the minor Living Buddhas also possessed domains granted by T'u-ssu or wealthy people, or which they purchased themselves.

If account is taken of all these facts, it is easy to understand why the Chinese officials, who before 1723 could not collect taxes on all these vast domains, harbored an enormous jealousy, and why they exulted after the revolt when the emperor assigned the collection of these taxes to them. The text of the author of the *Annals* of Hsining records (chap. 31, p. 22) that " . . . in 1727, by decree, the emperor in one day, put an end to calamities lasting hundreds of years." This text, on the one hand, proves the rejoicing of the Chinese officials at that time; on the other hand, the loss of these enormous revenues impoverished the monasteries tremendously. The lamas, however, were very proficient in finding a means to cushion the shock to some extent.[8]

RENTS

After the revolt, the lamas could only receive the rent of their tenants in the way in which a rich landowner received them; but it was customary that the government receive the taxes, not directly from the tenants,

[4] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 5: 123.
[5] *Ibid.*, 143.
[6] *Ibid.*, 11.
[7] *Ibid.*, 143.
[8] In 1948 according to the official data provided by the Bureau of the actual province of Ch'ing-hai (Hsining), only 177 of the 235 lamaseries, owned collectively about 500,000 *mou* (acres) of land and 5,000 to 6,000 head of livestock. Wang Wen-han, *Pien-chiang tung-hsin* 1: 1–7, 1948.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

but from the landowner who, in case the tenant dis- 792
appeared or became insolvent, was responsible for the 427
tax. In this way the lamas who were landowners had 651
to collect the official taxes from their tenants, and ac- 434
company the endless caravans of their tenants' donkeys
carrying grain to the official granaries. Before the [492]
journey to the granary started, however, each tenant
had to measure the grain in the presence of the lamas
and with the measure supplied by the lamas, the ca- [804]
pacity of which was greater than the official one; this
enabled the lamas to set aside a valuable surplus over
the vast amount of official taxes.

The properties of the lamaseries, consisting of ex- 792
tensive territories, contain a large part of waste and 423
untilled land on which no taxes are imposed. The 651
industrious intendants developed these properties by [311
means of irrigation canals, and called in new farmers to
till the new fields. The legal amount of taxes, however, 312]
has always remained the same as the initial amount, be- 434
cause the intendants, by means of collusion and bribery,
easily succeed in gaining over the tax collectors. In
this way the revenues of the intendancies are greatly
increased, and they still receive surreptitiously a very
large revenue. Moreover, they are able to store the
surplus, which they can grind or sell when prices are
highest.

HERDS

Sheep, cows, and horses constitute, for many in- 792
tendancies, a source of revenue. Large herds are grazed 434
in Kukunor or Mongolia where the pastures are larger, 233
smaller herds in the country for local use. Mongol
princes and Tibetan chiefs of tribes are always ready to
help the monasteries. A contract is made with herds-
men by which the first calves, colts, and lambs belong
to the owner, the second-born to the herdsman, and so
on. Every three years a lama inspector of the in-
tendancy examines the accounts of the herdsmen and
settles with them the number of animals to be sold, and
the herdsmen show the skins of the animals which died
during the three-year period. If they cannot produce
the skins of the dead animals it is assumed that they
sold the animals and they must pay the owner of the
herds.

OIL AND GRAIN MILLS

These mills are a large source of revenue. The mon- 792
astery proper of Erh-ku-lung is owner of twenty-four 434
oil and grain mills; the T'u-kuan himself has eighteen, 256
Chang-chia nine. The mills are leased by Monguors or
Chinese. The rent of oil mills is 300 pounds of oil for
a season's use, besides which it must press the oil be-
longing to the monastery. The grain miller must grind
the grain of the intendancy and at the New Year sea-
son give a pig weighing 120 pounds. Most of the oil
which is not consumed in the kitchen in the preparation
of food, or in the lamps in the temples and homes, is
sent by raft to Lan-chou, the capital of the province.

[p.44 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to become a subject of a lamasery, had to be relieved of 622
military service, corvée, and allegiance to his clan chief. The loss of a subject for the clan chief meant loss of a soldier, a tiller of his soil, and a payer of land taxes—a considerable detriment to his power and his wealth. It is obvious that the loss of a couple of families did not matter too much, but the loss of numerous families would have disturbed the clan chiefs and made them try to prevent the illegal desertion of their subjects.

However, at that time Lamaism was at the height of its glory and power. Even the discontented Chinese officials had no way to oppose the omnipotent Living Buddhas pampered at the court in Peking, and could not lend a helping hand to the T'u-ssu, urging the return of their subjects and bringing suit over the encroachment on their rights. The T'u-ssu, willy-nilly, saw their subjects leave them in large numbers, lured by the more favorable conditions of living offered by the lamaseries.

In this way the lamaseries assembled the group of 792
subjects referred to by the author of the *Annals*, who of 566
their own free will became genuine monastery serfs ("Shabinar"), free of allegiance to their clan chiefs. In 1723, being the actual serfs of the lamaseries, they were compelled to fight at the side of the lamas, their chiefs, against the Chinese armies, according to the general conditions imposed on serfs and subjects.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE SUBJECTS IN RELATION TO THE LAMASERIES

Notwithstanding the drastic regulations decreed after 1723 in order to loose completely all the ties which bound the subjects to the lamaseries, and to avoid revolts in the future, the subjects still continue to recognize some obligations to the lamaseries.

Farmers Offering Oil and Pigs

From 1723 until 1910, the so-called subjects paid 792
their rent in kind and carried it to the monastery; the 427
farmers were organized in villages, and each village 566
continued to offer as before, in the autumn of each year, a certain number of pounds of vegetable oil to the intendancy whose fields they tilled; it was considered as an offering for the lamps in the temples of the intendency. In addition, every year in the New Year season they continued to bring to the same intendancy a pig weighing 120 pounds. If the scale did not tip 120 pounds, the weight lacking was made up in pork. In former times when subjects married, it was customary for the family of the bride to demand from the family of the bridegroom a portion for the lamas. This [585]
consisted of 30 pounds of pork, and was offered to the intendancy on which the family of the bride depended. At present the 30 pounds of pork are still asked for and presented to the family of the bride, but the meat no longer reaches the intendancy.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

products and animals for trading. All year long the 792
silence of the holy places was disturbed by the coming 175
and going of caravans of donkeys carrying grain to the 651
oil and grain mills, and returning with flour and oil 427
which was measured with the usual rumble of noise and cries. Throughout the year, groups of subjects never failed to become involved in trials, defending their rights by roaring and crying with vehemence and passion at the court of lamas. Punishments were meted out with ruthless severity, so that cries and screams could be heard throughout the entire monastery—whetting the curiosity and disturbing the meditation of the monks.

The interest of the subjects was centered only on the 175
monastery. There was no need for them to go to the 633
city, since the necessities of life could be secured at the 792
monastery fairs and nobody cared for the Chinese officials, the lamas being their legal officials. Many, many people had never seen or entered a city. The monasteries and their subjects lived their own life, in their own orbit, alien to the city, just as if Chinese officials did not exist.

These conditions changed after 1723 when the lamas lost their privileges and the country developed economically. From that time on the city became the center of the economic, civil, and administrative life; before that time, it had been primarily a military center, engrossed in the protection of the country.

What was the social position of the subjects of the 175
lama institutions before 1723? It seems that religion 792
must have been a subsidiary and not a primary motive 571
for becoming subjects of the lamas, because all of them were spurred by the hope of earning a better living under the lama regime than under the regimes of the Chinese officials or the Monguor T'u-ssu. Having been driven out of their territories by marauding Mongols, they may have hoped to find a peaceful country within the frontier zone of China, on the domains of the lamas. Being groups or tribes, or single families of destitute people, they were happy to submit to lama chiefs, and they were thankful to them for being accepted as their subjects. They did not lay claim to any rights, and the lamas did not consider that they were entitled to any, because they had achieved nothing that could have supported such claims. In this way the lamas strove to make their domains more and more productive, and were only concerned with the duties to be imposed on the subjects, without paying any attention whatever to rights they might have claimed.

The subjects were all on the same social level; there 175
was no more question of nobles and commoners among 565
them. They were all equally subject to taxes and cor- 792
vées, and all of them were tenants of the fields of the lamas. They enjoyed the rights to live, to till the soil, and to consume the surplus of their labor. Since the lamas never sold their fields, the subjects had no opportunity to become proprietors of the soil, as was the

[p. 50 (A)]

618 eldest son chosen and appointed. In one such case, in
578 the clan of the Na T'u-ssu, four T'u-ssu of other clans
611 were invited in to arbitrate, and after discussions which lasted many days the son of a rich man, the third brother of the T'u-ssu who had just died, was agreed on and appointed by the clan.

175 According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 24, p. 8) the last T'u-ssu of the Ming period in the clan of Li, of the
618 line founded by Li Nan-ko, was a man named Li Hua-
578 lung, who died without issue. Li T'ien-yu, the first
611 cousin of Li Hua-lung who had just died, belonging to the same generation in order of descent from the clan ancestor, and of the same house, laid claim to the succession. In order to put an end to trouble within the family, one hundred families of commoners out of the four thousand belonging to the T'u-ssu were given to the contending claimant Li Hua-nao, and consenting to a petition from the nobles who were his relatives in the clan, the Manchu Emperor bestowed on him the title of T'u-ssu. Thus Li Hua-nao became the "founding ancestor" of a new clan, with one hundred families of commoners as subjects.

618 Thus while the historical material seems to show that in most cases the choice and appointment of a new chief of the clan are a mere formality, there are also instances that seem to prove that the rule of succession is not always clear-cut, especially when the T'u-ssu dies
[562] without male issue. In any case, a daughter never suc-
[428] ceeds because the clans are built on a strictly patrilineal family system with male chieftaincy. In this respect, as will be seen below in the chapter dealing with family organization, the rules of ordinary family succession tally with those that govern the succession of the chief of the clan, and the head of the family presides over religious cult practices within the family as the chief presides within the clan.

In case the succeeding son is still a minor, however, his mother is appointed regent by the sovereign state, formerly the Empire and later the Republic. This custom seems to prove that the senior son, even if still a minor, has a specific claim to succeed his father.

There is a discrepancy between the Monguor rule of succession as far as it can be checked by historical documents and an ancient Mongol custom that prevailed up to the time of Chingis Khan, under which the eldest son received his portion of the inheritance while his parents were still living and moved away to live as the head of his own family; the next son, in due course, similarly left the parental camp, and finally the youngest son was left to care for his parents in their old age and to receive the residual inheritance. Under this custom, the original tent, camp, and herds remained with the youngest son, while the most distant related camp was that of his eldest brother, who had moved away first and farthest. Barthold, commenting on this custom, notes that Chingis Khan, during his lifetime, endowed his sons and other relations with appanages, and that Juchi,

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608 curing the opportunity to pasture his large flocks of sheep on the Tibetan grazing grounds. Similarly, a
648 Muslim will take the oath with a Monguor in order to increase and improve his wool and skin business by
[282] having, within the territory of the clan of his Monguor friend, a protector for his business and a home at which to stay. The Monguor benefits by being able to stay with his Muslim brother for several days at a time when making trips outside of Monguor territory.

Another special application of the institution of sworn brothers will be noted when we come to the description of the trading caravans that travel into and through Tibetan territory, and of the fishing engaged in by the Monguors in the waters of Kukunor lake.

608 In contrast to the tradition in the time of Chingis Khan that after the death of a sworn brother his son might appeal to the surviving sworn brother, among the Monguors the family of a sworn brother who has died has no continuing obligation. The oath may be taken for a limited period and for the achievement of a specific purpose, and be terminated when the purpose has been achieved. The oath may also be formally terminated under other conditions. Thus, in one case of which I knew, three young men in the district of Tolong took the oath together. Six months later they invited an old man to become their "sworn father." A goat was killed and the ceremony was carried out. For three years the three young men were faithful sworn brothers and showed toward their "sworn father" the devotion of true sons. The relationship was publicly known. After three years, however, gossip began to spread. People wondered why this oath had been taken when the district was at peace. It was suggested that perhaps they had subversive intentions of some kind and that harm might come to the whole community. Eventually the chief and elders of the village summoned both the sworn brothers and their sworn "father" before them and ordered them to abjure their relationship at a ceremony at the village temple, in the presence of the whole community.

Among Monguor women the equivalent or partial equivalent of "blood brotherhood" is to become "dry sisters." This relationship is only between two women; it is not extended to a group of more than two. The two who agree to be "dry sisters" do not swear an oath, but present each other with a piece of clothing and sit down to a meal together. They visit each other at New Year's, on the fifth day of the fifth month; and go to help each other in time of sickness. They invite each other to such celebrations as those for childbirth and marriage.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

428 The division of the inheritance is one of the most diffi-
596 cult of all problems in the extended family of the patrilineal Monguor society. It usually takes place when the grandfather dies and the sons decide to set up sepa-

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428 596 rate "chimneys." The decision to separate has usually, in such cases, been foreshadowed by quarrels and resentment among the sons, making it inevitable that when the actual division of the inheritance takes place there are bitter disputes.

In order to make a satisfactory settlement possible, the sons usually invite the chief of the village and the village elders, the senior representatives of their own patrilineal kin, and of course their own maternal uncle and those of their wives to take part in the discussion, which takes place in the open air at the threshing floor, witnessed by the population of the whole village. Such a discussion may take several days. Each maternal uncle is the advocate of his own sister's son, the seniors of the patrilineal kin represent the common interest of the patrilineal line, and the village chief and elders are the voices of the community.

In this discussion every possible proposal and compromise is put forward in order to secure an agreement that will leave no smoldering feud behind among the brothers. Finally contracts are written, a sheep is slaughtered, and a dinner is given to the elders to thank them for their services. The brothers prostrate themselves before each other to signify that, though they have broken up the extended family, they are still on good terms.

The property that is thus divided is of several kinds. Among any people, riches are relative to the economic system as a whole. Since the Monguors have become agricultural, land is the most valuable property. Since the tradition of cattle breeding still continues, however, livestock are also important. In addition houses, agricultural implements, clothes, and money must be considered.

The basis on which division must be determined is the fact that under the patrilineal system the entire extended family, with authority concentrated in the grandfather, is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements, and money, with individual property restricted to a few personal possessions. As long as the extended family holds together, all of its members produce for the common benefit and what is to be done with what they earn is decided by the head of the family.

Since, under the patrilineal system, sons alone may inherit, the property is first divided into as many shares as there are sons with the modification, already noted above, that the eldest son receives an extra large share and the eldest son of the eldest son also receives a special share; a son who has become a lama, however (and therefore will have no legitimate heirs), receives no share at all.

The sons of a son who has died are entitled to receive and divide their father's share. A son who has been adopted by his father's brother inherits from his adopted father and not from his real father. Similarly, a son who has been given to be adopted by a non-related family loses his rights of inheritance in his family of origin.

[p. 108a]

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428 If one of the sons has died without having sons of his own and without having adopted a son, his share is
596 divided among his brothers.

If, in order to acquire a wife, a man has contracted to work all his life in his wife's family he loses all right of inheritance in his family of origin, although he retains
583 his original surname or clan name. Such a man may
428 try to claim a share in the inheritance of his wife's family, but the claim is usually contested and settled by some sort of compromise—indicating that this kind of marriage is in itself a makeshift, not fully provided for by the rules and customs of the society. As I have pointed out in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen* (p. 118–119) the right of such a man to inherit from his family of origin is academic, since he would not have left his family for the sake of this kind of marriage unless his family had been so poor that it could offer him no inheritance worth having.

The customs of inheritance show the difference between "marriage with the pole" and "marriage with the girdle." The girl who "marries with the pole" does not leave the clan or lose her clan name; consequently, her children, by unknown or unacknowledged fathers, bear the clan name and remain in the clan, which entitles them to a share in the inheritance as if their mother had in fact been their father. In the case of the girl who "marries with the girdle" on the other hand the father is known and acknowledged, as explained above. The girl takes the clan name of this man, even though he may never return, and consequently her child or children do not bear her clan name and are not entitled to share in the inheritance.

428 It is fully in accordance with the patrilineal principle that husband and wife do not inherit from each other or from each other's families. An exception to this rule is that the widow of the head of an extended family always receives some land and livestock from her husband. The exception is only partial and temporary however, as the widow lives with one of her sons, generally the youngest, who inherits this property after her death.[39]

Because of the strong influence of Tibetan society on that of the Monguors, a word should be said about the Tibetan rules of inheritance. In my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen* (p. 49), I mentioned that in the speech made by the master of ceremonies at a Mon-

[39] This arrangement corresponds to the ancient custom in pastoral nomadic society under which (*a*) the sons as they grew up were provided with wives and given a share of the cattle, whereupon they could move away and set up independent camps, leaving the youngest son as guardian of the parents in their old age and sole heir to the residual family property at their death; and (*b*) if a man had secondary wives, these were, at his death, inherited by his sons with the exception that the first wife could not be inherited by any of the sons and no secondary wife could be inherited by her own son, thus making it necessary to provide for the senior wife until her death. These principles are obviously rooted in the fact that when livestock, instead of land, are the most important property, dispersal may be convenient in order to avoid crowding the pastures.—O. L. [p. 108 b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

428 guor marriage there is a hint of a custom under which, at the division of the paternal inheritance, a daughter was entitled to a share amounting to half of the share received by a son. I now doubt very much whether this reference is really an echo of a formerly existing Monguor custom. On the one hand, it does not correspond to the clearly expressed principles of Monguor inheritance, and on the other hand it tallies exactly with the rules of inheritance of those Tibetans whom the Chinese call Hsifan, who are the nearest Tibetan neighbors of the Monguors. A large number of families of Tibetan origin are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and there are many marriages between Monguors and Tibetans. The Tibetan custom is well known to the Monguors, and since it is favorable to the woman it must be a topic of conversation among Monguor women and may through this channel have crept into the phraseology of the master of ceremonies as an expression that is flattering to the bride but has no legal validity for the ultimate division of the inheritance.

Among the Tibetans, if the inheritance is divided before the death of the parents, the parents receive four parts of all the money in the family, sons receive two parts, grandsons one part, and unmarried daughters also receive one part. This division corresponds exactly to the reference in the speech by the Monguor master of ceremonies at a marriage. (Tibetan granddaughters and married daughters receive nothing.)

In the division of grain, each person—parents, sons, and daughters—receives one part.[40] In the division of cattle, the parents receive three parts, the sons two parts, the grandsons one part, and the sons of unmarried girls also one part. This division tallies exactly with the Monguor custom of giving a share to the children of a daughter who "marries with the pole," suggesting that this form of marriage is influenced by the Tibetan custom under which a daughter may stay at home and bear children for her own family instead of marrying and going to her husband's family. In the division of livestock these unmarried girls do not receive horses, but they receive as many cows as their brothers receive horses.

When the inheritance is thus divided before the death of the father, the Tibetan father goes to live with one of the sons and the mother with another. The unmarried daughter who has a son must make her own living. If she later has another son, he must become a lama. If such a girl later marries, her inheritance belongs to her.

422 Certain kinds of property among the Monguors are recognized as personal and not subject to family inheritance. Each person owns his own clothes. A man who engages in hunting is the owner of his own gun. A man who does part time work as a silver smith or maker of knives is the owner of the tools of his trade.

[40] This scale of division, not favoring either the parents or the sons, suggests that grain is a late addition to the Tibetan economy, and of secondary importance.—O. L. [p. 109a]

/113 cont'd/

587 593 [764] The conditions the family lays down are the following: the sons will remain the descendants of the dead man; they will continue to bear his name and will later be buried in their father's cemetery. The new husband will bring them up and feed them. When they reach marriageable age, he will buy them a wife, or he will give the family the required sum ad hoc; then he will be able to send away the married ones, who will provide for their own subsistence. As for the daughters, he will be able to sell them. Since he obligates himself for expenses which so many burdens necessitate, the family does not demand any compensation for the widow.

587 589 578 421 /114/ It often happens that as a consequence of misunderstandings and quarrels, the brothers divide up the property and debts among themselves and form independent families. When a widow of such a family wants to remarry, the family requires the new husband to recognize the debts of the dead man; and the creditors exert pressure on the family to prevent the marriage in case of refusal; but if they are lucky enough to be dealing with a virago who threatens to come with her children and live with them, the difficulties vanish, the debts are put on the children's account and will be demanded later when the children are grown.

587 428 593 In the case where the widow with her children has inherited several plots of land from her dead husband, the new husband will be able to work them to support his family, but he will not be able to sell them since they are the property of the male orphans /sic/. Once they are married, the latter can demand these lands and send their foster father away with their mother, which often happens; if they get along well, they stay together. If, on the other hand, the new husband has lands of his own, and the widow does not, he maintains the family, gets the sons married, and sends them away. If during the marriage the family becomes richer, if the patrimony increases, and children are born of the new marriage, the children of the first husband will receive the share of their dead father plus half of the lands and assets acquired after the second marriage. The personal properties of the new husband are inherited by his own children. If the husband happens to die without leaving children, his personal

/114 cont'd/

Mo 587 assets and his widow being the property of his own family, they go back into its domain.

428 593 These conditions show clearly that the widow is considered to have left the family of her former parents-in-law completely; the Mo 589 latter have given up all the rights they had with respect to her and have entrusted the children to her with the obligation to raise them for their clan.

Mo 587 675 When such a marriage is made, a contract is always written in duplicate; /115/ one copy is kept by the husband, and the other is given to the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow. In it minute mention is made of properties, debts, ... and then of the obligations of the new husband.

Mo 582 If they remain poor after the marriage and find it impossible to marry off the sons, when the latter have grown up they end up by going away as they wish.

Mo 591 There is no abduction to fear in the present case; the marriage takes place very simply and openly. If the widow has plots of land and the husband does not, he comes to live with her; in the opposite case, the widow with the children moves in with him. If neither one nor the other has anything, they look for a place to stay and go to live together. One prostration to heaven and to the spirits, in the presence of the go-between and the parents, and this is all the ceremony of such marriages; add to it another to the parents and to the go-between. (1)

Mo 428 589 425

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit.[1] p. 142: If the widow and her daughters do not wish to be cared for by their husband's and father's brothers, they may also receive a part of the property. This part is equal to that of a brother. In this way the woman may become the owner of land and house. But this ownership can be maintained only during two generations (from mother to daughter) because the bride's

[1. op cit ie: Social Organisation of the Manchus --- Analyst.]

/117 cont'd/

606 lose their rights of inheritance in their family of origin, but since
691 /118/ they are regarded as members of the wife's family, they get back their lost rights. Cases are even cited where they become head in the wife's family. That is the general law fitting this practice.

593 Now the T'ou-jen live at present under a patriarchal system,
608 which is incompatible with this custom. Consequently, it is not
606 surprising that the husband-son-in-law finds himself in a very dis-
554 advantageous position....

[551] Since there has been no adoption of the son-in-law into the wife's family, he continues to be called by the name of his father, he and his children; he continues to be a member of his paternal family, to honor the dead of his father's family, and to lend a hand to his family of origin in cases of vengeance, etc. Thus in theory he keeps the rights of inheritance in his paternal family. But since these sons-in-law usually belong to very poor families, the chance to enjoy their rights of inheritance very rarely presents itself.

I have, however, met the case in question two or three times, and each time the brothers who had stayed home tried to eliminate the husband-son-in-law on the pretext that he had not contributed to the acquiring of the family's property. However, the unfortunate one always succeeded in making the most of his rights, if not wholly at least in part.

That amply proves that the husband-son-in-law living with the parents-in-law to serve them until death is in a false position with respect to his family of origin.

His position with respect to his wife's family is no better. Indeed, under the patriarchal system, succession is paternal. The name of the son-in-law differs from that of his wife's family; now we have seen "another name, another family," the son-in-law then does not have the right of inheritance to make the most of here. This is what explains the fact that one will never see young people of a well-to-do family consent to making themselves husband-sons-in-law, and that only those who have nothing to lose will take this
608 path.
606 /119/ If the parents-in-law are poor, there will be no difficul-
● 428 ties for this combination on the part of their own family; if, on the

/119 cont'd/

606 608 428 other hand, the family is well-to-do, the brothers of the future father-in-law will not allow his daughter, at his death, to inherit his property, which by right will have to revert to them. They will thus do their utmost early to see that the daughter will be given in marriage outside the family, and they will try to persuade the father to adopt one of their sons. If the father will not hear of it and continues to look for this ideal son-in-law, the family will not be able to gainsay it as long as the parents-in-law are living. The latter on their part will be prepared for eventualities and will try to cash in their real estate so as to be able to favor the daughter. Nevertheless, the son-in-law will always be the bête noire of the family and will be able to expect a thousand annoyances and continual ill will. Upon the death of the parents-in-law, the son-in-law has the right to return with his wife to his original family; but since the latter is usually poor, he will not do it; besides, he knows in advance that he will not be welcome. In the case where his wife's family is rich, they will always leave at least something to the daughter at the time of division of property, for example, several plots of land, a house, etc.; she will never be completely disinherited. Add to that the little bonus she has put aside in advance, and the young couple will have something to live on. The brothers of the husband-son-in-law will not come to beg from him, since the property he possesses is deemed to belong to his wife.

In the case where the parents-in-law are the only representatives of their clan, the position of the husband-son-in-law is more enviable.

I have never seen people look for husband-sons-in-law where there were sons.

The position of the husband-son-in-law with respect to his wife's family is thus again a false position.

606 675 The contracts of such marriages, as a general rule, are not punctiliously observed, especially when the parents-in-law are poor; either the son-in-law ends up by deserting his wife and her /120/ family and goes elsewhere to seek his fortune, or the daughter, loving her husband, flees with him. If people succeed in bringing them back and if they persist in no longer wanting to live with the parents,

/121 cont'd/

608 178 our judge in case of litigation; nobody would have dared to address himself to the Chinese mandarins for fear of reprisals on the part of the t'ou-se. I believe we /122/ must look in this direction for the solution to our problem. As a matter of fact, the Chinese court [428] recognizes only the sons' right of inheritance and, lacking them, that of members of the paternal side. In case of litigation, the paternal side is always sure to win its case against an only daughter, and the brother husband-son-in-law, as long as adoption has not been practiced, can always hope to see his rights recognized in his original family. Several verdicts of this kind suffice to deform a custom and create a completely new attitude. In addition, a tested virtue is necessary to be able to resist such temptations!

2. Exchange of a Girl for Furnishing of Services for a Fixed Number of Years

583 565 466 Everyday experience having proved that the preceding solution is not practical, say the T'ou-jen, there are people who look for another, more psychological inactual fact. Indeed, the sight of the end of one's own troubles in a future relatively near at hand gives the courage to remain faithful to duty. A family of poor or even average means can promise to give their daughter to a poor young man provided that he binds himself to work five, eight, ten, or 12 years for them.

675 466 606 583 The contracts for these marriages are generally made by the parents themselves, with one or two individuals who act as guarantors for the son-in-law. While in the preceding case the girl can be nubile at the time when a husband is being found for her, in the present case the arrangement always takes place when the girl is only seven, eight, or ten years old at the most. As for the age of the son-in-law, there is nothing definite: he can be ten or 12 years old as well as 30 and even more. When the girl is 15, they will have a little festival, and she will wear her hair in the fashion of married women; then she is married.

Why this engagement when the girl is still a child? /123/ Is it because they know one another in the country and do not want to

/128 cont'd/

858 same right as his cousins, sons of his mother's brothers. The reason
588 given for this is that the mother, at the time of her son's birth, was no longer a girl but quite married, since she was wearing her hair in the fashion of wives. But suppose that the young woman, as a result of difficulties with a sister-in-law or with her parents, or having simply found a match which she likes, marries again at a "second" wedding, then she can either take her son with her, and he loses
[128] ipso facto his rights to inheritance in his mother's family, and he must change his family name and inherit in the family of his new father (for by the change of name he falls into the category of adoptive children), or else the grandmother opposes the departure /129/ of her daughter's son, and he stays in his mother's family, keeping his rights.

848 It often happens that neither the grandmother nor the mother
792 keeps the child but that they entrust him to a lamasery. Lamas no
178 longer having the right of inheritance, these children disappear from public life. This category of children are sent to the lamasery probably to avoid difficulties which arise later at the time of the division of property, either on the part of the uncles or the nephews, just as when the mother takes the child to the home of her new husband and the latter adopts him as his son, which makes one suppose that these children's right to inherit is nowadays no longer very stable. One feels a period of transition in the custom. We are here in the presence of a practice which must have been more general in olden times and which has its roots in an organization which is not patriarchal.

562 These girl-mothers are received in all groups and are regarded
588 as virtuous women in spite of the fact that people know this custom is
593 considered abominable in the eyes of their Chinese neighbors. These women are recognized as being married; for, they say, their marriage took place in the manner of the marriage of girls, in the courtyard of the house, in front of the sacred fire. Their children are recognized as children of the clan, and they are given the name of their mother. In T'ou-jen families, when a brother dies, leaving only daughters, his brothers inherit his property; the daughters indeed do not inherit; but when this brother has a daughter of the category of which we

588 /131 cont'd/
574 children born later will continue to be always given the name of the
[858] guest. It goes without saying that the latter does not bother in any way with the support of either the child or the woman.

[428] Important remark: No right of inheritance is recognized for these children in the family of their mother. They are considered as the children of a daughter married to some individual, for they bear another name; now, another name, another family.

588 This curious custom finds its place in the series of marriages
554 because it creates a legal position in favor of the mother identical in every way to that of any married woman. The woman married to a belt is considered the wife of husband X and no one will ever venture to abduct her.

588 /132/ Marriages to a belt and those to prayer poles resemble each other strongly; the manner of celebrating them is the same; women who have contracted these marriages are considered as duly married, and the children, in the two groups, are recognized as legitimate. The only difference between the two groups of marriages lies in the fact that those of the prayer-pole group are recognized by the mother's clan, and those of the other are considered as not belonging to this clan. Those of the prayer-pole group seem to be direct vestiges of one of the stages of the matriarchate; indeed, they bring about inheritance in the family by the daughter. Those of the second group, on the contrary, by the fact that the woman and the children are considered as having left the clan, do not seem to have this origin; but if the prayer-pole marriages had not existed formerly, those of the belt group would never have been practiced.

588 The following item throws a singular light on this category of
593 marriages. A certain Tchang-kia-pa of Hong-ngai-tse-keou had a daughter married to a belt, mother of a small child; in addition, he had a married son at home. As a consequence of continual friction between the daughter married to the belt and the daughter-in-law, the first sought a match, married, and left the paternal home, taking away her son. Thus a certain Hou Iu-leang bought her as his second wife for the sum of 200 strings of cash.

After five or six years, at the time of the great fair and festivities of Wei iuen-p'ou which take place in the second moon, a

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Hsining River. A Karwa is a kind of mediaeval seig- 175
niory presided over by a lama. Granted by the em- 792
peror, it is a more or less vast domain in which usually 554
forty to fifty families live. Pei-cha-erh-ti Karwa had 793
152 families (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 9, p. 16a). The tenants had in former times been subjects of the lama. There is a temple on the domain, and next to it is the residence of the lama seignior, with granaries. The domain is the personal property of the lama lord who is completely independent of any Living Buddha or monastery. The three lordship lamas I have met told me that the Ming emperors had granted this privilege to their ancestor lamas, each of whom belonged at that time to the Red Sect and was married. Each of these lamas had been granted a Karwa because he had submitted to the Ming with his small tribe, or had induced a neighboring tribe to submit to the emperor or had rendered service to the Chinese army, giving secret information to the officers fighting the revolted Tibetans. They explained the disappearance of the six Karwa which no longer existed by the fact that these lamas did not follow the Yellow Sect and remained married. They said that theoretically among the lamas of the Red Sect one son should succeed the father as lama of the sect, but in reality when the father died his sons divided among them the property and the subjects, and the Karwa vanished, with the result that the temple became the property of the village. The seigniors who went over to the Yellow Sect, however, managed to survive by the fact that the lama lord of every generation adopted only one apprentice lama, to whom he bequeathed the domain. The apprentice was usually one of his nephews, and so the Karwa continued its existence, the lama collecting rents from the tenants and imposing some corvées. After the revolt of 1723 the domains of the Karwa were not confiscated but the subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials. Only rents, not taxes, were allowed to be collected and corvées continued to be imposed.

The lama seignior of the Li-ch'i Karwa (who is a 792
member of the powerful Li T'u-ssu clan) fulfills, of his 796
own free will, an important function at the monastery of Chie-bzang, but he remains the proprietor of his Karwa and has one apprentice who will inherit the domain. Every year on the tenth of the tenth moon, he invites to his small temple four lamas, alternatively, of the Yellow and the Red Sects, to pray from sunrise to sunset for blessings upon his "subjects," who bring a contribution of twenty pounds of butter and five sheep. The lord provides tea and noodles. The subjects all enjoy attending the religious ceremony and the annual dinner, and are used to the custom of going home at sunrise the next day. The Pei-cha-erh ti Karwa is still celebrated for the fasting rites held at its temple, about which more will be said. 792

The lord of the Tsan-tsa Karwa, feeling lonely in his 554
estate, married a young girl in 1914. All the members 428

[p. 19(B)]

of his family assembled and protested, urging that a 792
boy, a nephew of the family, be adopted by the lord 554
as his apprentice, and that a testament should be writ- 428
ten and signed by the officials of the village, in order to make sure that after the death of the lord, the domain and his private property (sheep, cows, horses) would be bequeathed to the apprentice. The apprentice would first have to be sent to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to receive a serious religious education. Not long after the birth of a child to the lord and his wife, the lord died. His wife received a small field and some cattle, but the Karwa was inherited by the apprentice. The domain passes at every generation to a member of the same family (from uncle to nephew). The family retains the right to keep an eye on the regular succession, and so in the country a Karwa is considered to be the property of the Karwa lama and his family. This fact reveals a social tradition existing throughout the country, and the pride of the old families to whose lama a Karwa had been granted by the emperors in former times.

This pride appears to be the reason why, when a lama lord dies without having adopted an apprentice, the whole family convenes and decides to offer the domain to a lama member of the family. However, when there is not such a lama, the members of the family divide among them the domain and private property of the deceased, and the Karwa vanishes.

Ch'an-shih-chia ("Master in Dhyana" families) 175

This institution, dating from the Ming, seems to be 792
in the line of the Karwa. In Huang-chung there was 554
attached to the title of Ch'an-shih ("Master in Dhy- [651]
ana"), the privilege of receiving every year from the Chinese administration a fixed quantity of wheat. At the same time, if the lama happened to acquire some fields on which to build a grain or oil mill, his fields and mills were exempt from taxes. The title of Ch'an-shih appears to have been hereditary. This seems to be the reason why the people always talk of Master in Dhyana "families" and seldom of Master in Dhyana lamas. In the country north of the Hsining River, with which I was best acquainted, there were still several Masters in Dhyana, independent of any monastery, living next to their relatives and each having a small temple of his own. The family tried to provide a nephew as an apprentice, for such a lama would upon the death of his master become Master in Dhyana by the transfer of the original seal and the original patent letters.

Most of these Masters in Dhyana lived in opulence, 554
their families being exempted from land taxes because 428
they were supposed to till the fields of the lama. In Suo-pu-t'an I encountered the Shih-hu Ch'an-shih-chia, a layman, who enjoyed, with his family, the privileges of a Ch'an-shih lama. Since there had been no lama in the family to succeed the previous master he had in-

[p. 20(A)]

herited the privilege by virtue, he said, of possessing the seal and the patent letters. Every year he received his wheat support and was exempt from land and mill taxes. To him, this condition seemed very reasonable! The same condition existed in Sha-t'ang-ch'uan with the layman Hsiao-ssu Ch'an-shih chia. It is hard to understand how the privilege could have continued after the revolt of 1723, when under orders from Peking all the seals and patent letters granted during the Ming were withdrawn.

These facts shed light on the peculiar way in which Lamaism was diffused during the Ming in Huang-chung, and explain one of the reasons why the monasteries became the proprietors of vast domains, governing subjects and exerting a tremendous influence all over the country.

During the Yüan and the very beginning of the Ming dynasties, small communities of lamas of the Red Sect had been founded by wandering lamas who had attained a certain local reputation for skill in necromancy, or who by asceticism had gained a reputation as holy men, thereby attracting a few disciples. The bonds which bound these married or unmarried men were, without doubt, looser than the bonds which tied the lamas of the lamaseries of the later Yellow Sect. However, it may be assumed that in those times none of these little communities yet exerted a prominent influence upon the country, and for that reason nothing about them was recorded in the *Annals*.

The minor importance of these monasteries seems to account also for the fact, that at the beginning of the Ming (1368), the lama, Sanla, could be appointed chief of the board of lamas. The fact, however, of the institution of such a board at the beginning of the Ming seems to prove that at that time although the communities were small, the total number of lamas was large enough to justify the creation of such a board.[47]

NO LIVING BUDDHAS IN HUANG-CHUNG DURING THE MING DYNASTY

It is noteworthy that at that time titles and benefits were indiscriminately bestowed upon meritorious lamas, lamas who were chiefs of tribes, chiefs of more or less important communities, and even single lamas. There were as yet no Living Buddhas.

The first Living Buddha, recognized as the reincarnation of Tsong khapa (1357–1419), the founder of the Yellow Sect, was Gedun-gyatso who in 1475 inherited the succession of the second head of the sect. The prin-

[47] The Ming policy of the T'u-ssu, Karwa, and Nangsuo institutions, and of the grant of Kuo shih and Ch'an-shih titles to lamas with their respective privileges, was not peculiar to Huang-chung. It was also followed in south Kansu, Lin-t'ao, and Ho-chou, where nineteen T'u-ssu, Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih, etc., were created. After the revolt of 1723 the Chinese officials of Ho-chou asked for the abolition of these institutions, because of oppressions by T'u-ssu and lamas (*Annals* of the Province of Kansu, ch. 88: 12–13).

[p. 20(B)]

lamasery rather than accept any of the propositions suggested to end the feud.[2] 792 578 628

(5) I was told many times, by two honorable intendants, that it was the heated rivalry between the intendancies of the three supreme chiefs of Erh-ku-lung that had, in former times, caused the departure of Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the rift between the supreme chiefs, and the decline of Erh-ku-lung. There must be a grain of truth in the traditions of these experienced men who, better than we, understand the enormous influence exerted by the intendancies upon the Living Buddhas, and the jealousies between the intendancies.

(6) Most old lamas have a disciple who, upon their death, becomes their legal heir and proprietor of their entire fortune (home, herds, money, etc.). However, it is a noted fact that it is very difficult for the disciple of an intendant to inherit the fortune of his master. The old intendant of the Tenma Living Buddha, supreme chief of the monastery of Kan-ch'an-ssu, became sick, retired, and declined into that stage of life called "second childhood." His disciple, an intelligent boy of fourteen years, following the advice of his shrewd, experienced maternal uncle, Manguru, chief of a Tibetan tribe in Waza, subject to Tenma, secretly moved the comfortable fortune of his master to the home of his rich uncle. When the master died, Tenma, thinking like every Living Buddha, suspected that his old intendant had amassed a fortune at his expense and went immediately to examine his richly furnished home, hoping to find a colossal fortune. The floors of the rooms were turned over, the chimney broken, the sheep, cow, and horse pens dug up several feet deep, but no silver was found. Railing and raging, the Living Buddha drove into his own pens the 150 cows, 40 horses, and 600 sheep of the deceased. 792 428

The maternal uncle defended the disciple, and protested. After a couple of days the deluded Tenma went to Hsining with an imposing retinue of twenty men in order to accuse the disciple and his uncle at the court of the subprefect, of having stolen the fortune unjustly amassed by the intendant. The disciple and his uncle were flogged and thrown into jail, but did not confess to being guilty. After a few days the shrewd uncle made friends with the underlings of the officials by bribing them. He and the disciple were released, and thereupon rewarded the underlings by showing them the way to extort money from Tenma. After three years, the subprefect declared both the uncle and the disciple innocent. Tenma brought suit again at the court of the Amban, where it dragged on for more than four years more, which made the officials happy. They excited his hatred against the disciple and his uncle. But the disciple and his uncle lived in a small inn and 792 691 428

[2] Reginald Farrer, *Rainbow bridge*, 111, London, Arnold, 1921. Farrer was in T'ien-t'ang-ssu during the summer months, studying the flora of the country. He describes the wonderful bridge and includes a picture of it.

[p.42 (B)]

did not spend much money. Tenma, with his retinue, 792
living according to his station, giving bribes and send- 691
ing gifts, spent lavishly. Finally, the disgusted Amban, 428
in order to end the trouble, delegated his power to the Living Buddha of Seerkok.

The intendant of the living Buddha of Seerkok, prompted by the Amban, settled the question after two or three sessions. He condemned Tenma to pay 3,000 taels to the disciple as indemnity for carrying away the cattle. Tenma protested. He was put in the jail [697] of the monastery and manacled. After two months he agreed to pay the alloted sum, and so was released.

Epilogue: For seven years, the stubborn Manguru was the most talked of man in the country because of his courageous resistance to the Living Buddha. He decided to rehabilitate the poor man, on whose chieftain's prestige his tribe depended. He bought a nice black horse, a fine Peking saddle, put a piece of yellow satin on the top of it, and, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, he and the disciple prostrated themselves and, apologizing, presented the horse.

This case is unique in the annals of Lamaism in Hsining. A stubborn Living Buddha, condemned by the intendancy of Seerkok, was put in jail and manacled. What was the cause of the trouble? Living Buddhas were eternally suspicious of the honesty of their intendants. Noteworthy also is the fact that the maternal uncle, not his father or brother, defended the disciple. In the tribe of Manguru matriarchy is still prevalent.

(7) Last of all, a very important psychology is to 792
be noted regarding injustices perpetrated among the 796
Monguors and Tibetans, and among lamas as well as among Living Buddhas. When an injustice is committed, its perpetrators are pursued by the enraged guardian spirit that protects the wealth of the family involved. According to this philosophy, when intermittent calamities or misfortunes occur in a family and weigh it down, magical rites are to be performed to propitiate the enraged pursuing spirit. (This rite will be studied later.)

This rite was ordered to be performed at his branch 792
monastery by the poor Sumpa Hutukhtu when, after 788
his voluntary banishment, one misfortune succeeded another. He claimed that the misfortunes were caused by the injustices perpetrated by the former and present intendants of his monastery, who had aroused the avenging bolts of the guardian spirits of the families who had suffered their injustices. The same rite was performed at Erh-ku-lung in 1919, on the orders of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, after he had vainly built a Bumkhang in 1917, in order to put an end to the misfortunes which ruined the monastery. It was performed at Seerkok in 1920, on the orders of the supreme chief of the monastery, Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, in the same circumstances, and the same explanation was openly proclaimed by both prominent chiefs of the most important monasteries. [p.43(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

If, however, black and white rites do not work, the Monguors call for the Taoist priest, who paints all the items used (the wood, etc.), with a coat of goat blood. He binds the logs in a bundle by means of goat guts, and sprinkles goat blood upon the burning fire. The rite is called the "red Wei-sang." 372 789

These facts give evidence of the importance attached by the Monguors to the fire for purifying from uncleanliness and preventing harm caused by evil spirits. They show their devotion for the fire by having a big cypress fire kindled during the performance of religious rites and the most important moments of life, as at marriages or the celebration of the sixtieth birthday. However, fire does not only play an important role in the life of the Monguors in the open air; its role is as important in the private life of the families where it is worshipped under the form of the "fire of the hearth," the "hearth god."

THE HEARTH FIRE

Among the Monguors, the Chinese, and the Tibetans, the cult of the hearth god belongs entirely to the department of the women. Everywhere, the temple of the hearth god is the kitchen. 775 776 372

No wonder that the hearth god is supposed to be interested in a special way in the fecundity of the wives and the protection of the children, and that it is honored at fixed times by its own ritual. [842]

FIRE AND FECUNDITY

When the Monguor bride arrives at the home of the bridegroom, she does not prostrate herself before her parents-in-law or before the guests, but is led straight to the kitchen. Here she worships the god of the hearth giving three prostrations, burning incense, offering a bottle of wine and her chopsticks, which she has brought with her. 585 354 776 372

It was noted in the first volume of this study that the youngest couple in the family always lives in the kitchen, where the god of the hearth is honored, because the Monguors say that in that way fecundity is assured. Women who have plenty of children and do not wish to have more will leave the kitchen and live in another room. It has been noted that, among the Mongols, the youngest son inherits his father's hearth, occupies his tent, and is called the prince of the fire. [428]

When poor people cannot afford the luxury of a lavish marriage, nor invite guests, they marry the young couple in the kitchen "before the god of the hearth." The makeup of the new bride is done before the god of the hearth and not in the living room.[19]

An unusual practice relates to the fecundity assumed to be bestowed on women by means of the cult of the spirit of the fire (and of the god of the hearth). On the fifteenth of the first moon, at night, on the edge of the big threshing floor of the village, a number of small heaps of cypress boughs are kindled. While musicians 842 372 776

[19] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, 39.

[p. 121 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

every courtyard there is encountered a guardian deity of the family. 776 342

SPIRITS HONORED IN THE FAMILIES—PECULIAR CONCEPT

The Monguor concept of the deities honored in the families is very peculiar. Once a family starts worshipping a deity, its cult must be continued forever in that family, for fear that the deity, if evicted, might loose its avenging bolts of calamities and disaster, and the long train of miseries would never stop. 776 428 782 592

According to this conception, at the time of dividing the paternal inheritance the eldest son inherits the cult of the deity previously honored by the father. The duty to continue the old family cult falls upon him. His younger brothers, however, are free to make a choice among all the available deities of Taoism, of Lamaism, even of the Twelve Tengris of the shamans, and to start their newly founded families with a new guardian deity. Every two ar three years all the brothers must still convene in the house of the eldest, to attend a rite celebrated for the old family deity and to contribute to the expenses of the celebration. The tie which binds them to the cult of the old family deity is so strong, that in the event a great calamity overcomes one of the brothers, notwithstanding the fact that he honors his own deity, he will invite all his brothers to worship the old family deity at the home of the eldest brother. The old family deity which had been honored for so many generations is still supposed to harbor in its heart a predilection for all those who honored it. The old Monguor, Li San-ming, told me this in Li chia t'an in 1914, the day after his brothers had worshipped the old family deity at his home.

The fervent cult of the guardian deity of the family is a characteristic of the Monguor family. No Kuang-li of Naring Valley told the story of a poor old widower, Li ssu, living in the village of P'irké in 1908, who could hardly make both ends meet, and who had inherited from his father the picture of Twelve Tengris with the Black Tiger rider of the shamans, which he did not honor. Every time the villagers of P'irke took ill they went to the home of the old man, to honor and to propitiate the spirits, because a certain shaman had said that all the misfortunes occurring in the village were caused by these spirits, who took with bad grace the neglect of the old man. The extremely shy old man tried to make a living out of these circumstances and, stubborn as a mule, he would not allow anyone to honor the spirits in his home, as long as the villagers would not provide for his livelihood, for he knew the villagers were sick with apprehension. But the villagers, as stubborn as he, honored the spirit behind his house, burning incense there. 688 776 592

After his death, his only married daughter, living in the village of Li chia t'ai, inherited his poor house. The villagers of P'irke, having lived under the threat of

[p. 125(B)]

supposed to have offended. It is for that reason that 772
during the rite of spring all the spirits are invited by 782
the shamans to come down along the rope to be honored by the villagers so that all of them may extend their protection.

In the Halachih Valley, among subjects of the Lu 776
T'u-ssu, I encountered the following case. At the time 428
of division of a parental inheritance, a son considered that the decision made by the elders of the village was unjust toward him, and at the very moment when he should have appended his signature, he ran into the courtyard, pencil in hand, crying toward the sky: "Twelve Tengris, protectors of our family, you know that the division is unjust, that I am compelled to apply my signature." Then he entered the room and signed. In such circumstances the ultimate recourse of every Chinese would inevitably be to invoke "Old Father Heaven" and never another spirit.

Carpenters, building a temple in Sumdoo, having 776
had trouble with the chief of the tribe, proposed to go 466
to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to take the oath before the statue of Buddha. The chief answered, "No need to go so far, take the oath here, Buddha is everywhere; he will know it."

The belief that all the spirits are everywhere, know 776
all things, bless and punish independently, and that they are just and equitable, is deeply ingrained in the minds of the Monguors of today. It is easy to understand that in a society in which each department is administered by a particular spirit, independent and omnipotent in its sphere, little room is left for the activities of the "spirit of Heaven"; that finally "Heaven," the "Great Heaven," occupies a role of honorary dimensions and nominal importance, and the characteristics and activities of the "spirit of Heaven" among the Monguors are hard to define.

Can "Heaven," which is unable to control the good spirits, control the evil spirits? According to the Monguors, no spirit can control the department of its neighbor, and so in case of interference of evil spirits, magical devices are contrived in order to drive away and combat the evildoers and make them harmless. The good spirits, however, are invited to participate in the struggle against them. When the spirits of hail threaten the village with devastation, magic devices are used by the shamans, and the spirit protectors of the village are carried to the battlefield, and Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" are invoked. If they are unable to match their opponents, they abandon the struggle, rushing with their carriers through rivers and precipices. Good spirits can lend a hand in the struggle, but they may lose the battle and—so much for "Heaven and all the spirits." Facts speak for themselves.

Is not this fierce struggle between good and evil 771
spirits, between representatives of two opposite worlds, reminiscent of Manichaeism, fervently practiced by Turkic peoples in Central Asia during the last centuries of the first millennium? [p. 150(A)]

N *563 621 241 fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.

Within the household, the composition is similar to that of the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on N *563 592 and a higher frequency of joint-family occupancy. Should the family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, [595] instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the N herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death [768] of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

N C. The Mongours

*563 At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a M reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, 173 brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in 565 Monguor social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops N *563 depending on the size of the territory and the population of which M he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Monguor 565 social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol [701] rule. Generally speaking, the Monguor commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese M and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Monguor clans and four [614] general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the N *563 appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan M chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of 614 T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. 554 Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his M "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Monguor social [428] organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.

N *563 M 614 554 565 leadership after his father's death. It is noteworthy that by the beginning of the present century, the T'u-ssu was no longer living with his noble kinsmen, but was living in a separate and distinct family, each of which formed an independent economic unit. Therefore, some T'u-ssu were rich, others poor, and the status differentiation, that previously had been determined by wealth disappeared. Thereafter, noble families functioned economically in the same manner as their subject families. In each clan the nobles were subdivided into small units called "houses?" Some clans have three houses, some four or five, some as many as thirteen. Each noble family recognizes the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called the Great House, the second is called the Second House, and so on.

The number of houses that had been established according to the number of sons of the "founding" ancestor has been retained as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify themselves, for example, by referring to what "house" they belong. Since Ming times, the T'u-ssu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of subject commoners. In former times each group of nobles collectively was the "possessor" of the subjects. Subjects and territory were assumed to have been assigned by the emperor to the clan as a whole. If a noble was at odds with his clan, he could either leave the clan, taking with him a proportionate number of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or he could found a new clan.

Collective ownership of subject commoners by consanguinial noble families is logically stronger in a nomadic economic structure than in an agricultural one. Memories of this concept, however, persist among nomads who have become farmers.

M [428] The rules of succession to the office of clan chief did not allow for competition. However, there are, in fact, elements of inheritance, of choice or selection, of the consent of the governed, and of appointment by the overlord. Any chief succeeds to office according to definite clan rules, namely, he must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestors." When a T'u-ssu dies, all heads of the clan's noble families together with the heads of prominent commoner families convene to choose a successor. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles, that should prove difficult to eliminate completely.

N *563 M 614 554 648 175 When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-sse, the headmen ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became instead Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were modified by their duty to the Chinese rulers. The institution of T'u-ssu or "local chief" was really one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 565 554 [466] into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punishment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.

The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 M 614 817 565 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealogies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

N *563 M 174 565 M [554] When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 M 621 622 565 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 M 596 [421] [561] [595] M [428] Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patrilocal family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four generation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

M [182] [168] [428]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

651 648 624 posed on a T'u-ssu was imposed on him personally. He passed it on by making levies on his subjects, but in spite of this their tax was lighter than the tax paid by the Chinese.

In his capacity as a Chinese official, the T'u-ssu was entitled to receive an emolument; but for unknown reasons this stipend was extremely irregular. Seven T'u-ssu received none at all, and of the others the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Hsining received the highest emolument, 146.88 ounces of silver. Next to him came the Lu T'u-ssu with 76.6 ounces. Five others received 50 ounces a year, and the remainder only 40 ounces.[24]

TRIPS OF T'U-SSU TO PEKING

648 624 The difference between a Monguor T'u-ssu and a tribute-paying chief has been mentioned. Like a T'u-ssu, the tribute-paying chief received a diploma and a seal. Unlike a T'u-ssu, he was required to offer tribute at stated intervals, and the most important privilege enjoyed by him and his people was that of admission to the frontier markets. A Monguor T'u-ssu was not bound to report in person to the capital at stated times, but there were occasions when Monguor T'u-ssu were specially summoned to Peking in order to receive awards for meritorious frontier service. On such occasions, they traveled in state. The Monguors still enjoy recalling the fine show made by these glorious ancestors, even though a levy was made on all the subjects of the T'u-ssu, to provide not only a sum of money for his expenses, but thirty soldiers in new uniforms as his escort and ten servants, five secretaries, and enough horses, well equipped, for the whole retinue, together with provisions for the journey. In addition, the most handsome horses and mules that could be found in the Monguors' country were brought and taken along to be presented to the emperor and high officials. Other products of the country, taken as presents, were musk (for the harem), stag horns in the velvet (a medicine of great repute for old men losing their virility), deer sinews (a famous medicine for rheumatic people), and bear's paws (a renowned dish at official dinners), together with saffron from Tibet.

648 624 431 439 Before his departure, the T'u-ssu paid a farewell visit to the high Chinese officials of the frontier region, who gave him presents and more money toward the expenses of his journey—hoping of course that in Peking he would praise them and their administration in the right quarters. For the whole of his journey the T'u-ssu traveled at the public expense, having permits that entitled him and his retinue to lodging free of taxes and charges. Although the capital expense of the journey was great, it was in fact remunerative both for the T'u-ssu and his retinue. They all enjoyed it, for they benefited by the ancient tradition of the East that nobody travels without

[24] In view of the irregularity and the fact that some T'u-ssu received no yearly allowance, it is possible that these payments were regarded as grants to favored vassals rather than as regular salaries to officials.—O. L.

[p. 51-b]

648 trading and making a little profit. The T'u-ssu and his
624 retinue took with them whatever they thought might sell
435 advantageously in Peking. For the return journey, they
431 bought in Peking everything that they knew would sell profitably in their home country. The profit was greatly increased by the fact that they traveled free of charge and free of the usual transit taxes. Before they left Peking, moreover, the T'u-ssu received valuable gifts from the emperor, including the traditional ceremonial long coat, the yellow robe worn by officials on state occasions, and pieces of silk and brocade. A visit of this kind to the capital enhanced the stature of the T'u-ssu both among his own subjects and among the Chinese officials, because the rich presents that he took with him provided him with friends and protectors among the high officials at court.

648 Most of the foregoing information was collected in
624 Liench'eng, the T'u-ssu of the Lu clan of Liench'eng having been among the last of the T'u-ssu who visited the emperor. Two old Monguors of this clan liked to talk about this visit on which their grandfathers or great-grandfathers had accompanied the T'u-ssu to the capital, where they had seen the emperor. According to the family chronicles of the clan, this visit was made in 1829–1830 by the T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsün, fifteenth in descent from the "founding ancestor" of the clan. He left Liench'eng on the twenty-sixth of the tenth moon and arrived at Peking on the nineteenth of the twelfth moon. On the twenty-third of the twelfth moon he was granted an audience with the emperor and from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth he was invited to banquets and theatrical performances.

On the first of the first moon, the new year according to the lunar calendar, he accompanied the high official who carried out the rite of congratulating the emperor at the palace called the T'ai Ho Tien, and partook of a dinner of state. On the evening of the same day he attended the theatrical performance played on the ice of the lake called Ying T'ai in the Forbidden City. On the fifteenth of the first moon he accompanied the high officials who attended the fireworks illumination of the Yuan Ming Yuan palace, and was granted the favor of such gifts as the peacock plume, clothes, porcelains, and rare foodstuffs. On the nineteenth he presented his thanks to the emperor and asked for leave to depart. He made his farewells to the high officials, left on the twenty-eighth, and completed the long journey back to Liench'eng on the fifth of the fourth moon.

In the same family chronicle there is recorded the visit paid in 1819 by the T'u-ssu Lu Cho to the Emperor Chia Ch'ing on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday at the summer palace of Jehol. This T'u-ssu left Liench'eng on the nineteenth of the fifth moon and arrived in Jehol on the tenth of the eighth moon. On the twelfth, he was received in audience to greet the emperor in the Lion Garden, where he was accorded the favor of receiving slices of venison sprinkled with pepper and

[p. 52a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

624 as the seat of authority that is the true center of administration. The tour through his territory seems to recall the older nomad society in its reassertion of personal control over the subjects, securing the cohesion of the clan and binding the subjects to the territory. The procedure may be compared with that of the Mongols, among whom every three years the register of the population is brought up to date and a large meeting of the Banner is held.[53] Among the Manchus, the general meeting of the clan is usually held once a year and never less frequently than once in three years.[54] Among the Monguors, it is to be noted that the T'u-ssu, in addition to his triennial tour, presides once a year over the meeting of the whole clan on the day of the veneration of the ancestors.

THE T'U-SSU LORD OF THE NOBLES

173 At the seat of the T'u-ssu is kept the register of all the noble families and their members. Even the girls are
618 noted and the families into which they marry. The difference between this register and the book of genealogies of the nobles lies in the fact that in the book of genealogies the birth of children, whether boys or girls, is not noted. A noble is entered in the book of genealogies as of the day of his death, on which date are noted the day of his birth and the name of his wife. The names of unmarried sons are not inscribed because they have not produced sons for the clan; the names of girls are omitted because they are "outsiders," taking the name of a different clan as soon as they are married. The register of the noble families is more elaborate, because each member of the family, boys and girls alike, is assessed a levy of 50 coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple.

THE TRIENNAL VISIT

624 At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu among the nobles, the register is brought up to date. Because the nobles
574 live scattered in the villages among the commoners and the members of the same House do not necessarily live in the same village, the visit of the T'u-ssu is so ordered that he visits the Houses one after another on fixed days. All members of a House must gather at the home of some one member. They are expected to invite the T'u-ssu and to send horses for his retinue. The picture of the guardian deity of the clan accompanies the T'u-ssu, and a reception is held during which the members of the generation senior to the T'u-ssu bow to him, while members of junior generations prostrate themselves. The hosts must provide a dinner at which the T'u-ssu presides as chief over all his noble kinsmen. Topics of
[431] interest to the nobles are discussed, and though they offer him no money, they present him with a piece of cloth.

[53] E. Timkovskii, *Voyage en Chine par la Mongolie en 1820 et 1821*, I, 113, 321, Paris, 1827.

[54] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit*, 51.

[P. 66-b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

621 without elders. The whole power of the clan was anciently embodied in the elders, who appointed and dismissed the chiefs. It is therefore no wonder that the elders in every village still play, most of the time, the most important part in local administration.

622 The chief of the village is usually selected from among the commoners, but may be a noble. He is always a villager, a man noted for his proficiency in administration and in good repute among the population for his uprightness and readiness to help members of the community. He is not always the richest man in the village, but is almost always chosen from among the most outstanding families in the village. He may even be a Chinese or a Tibetan enrolled in the clan. He is chosen by the elders on the tenth of the tenth moon. The T'u-ssu is then informed and must approve and send a written commission or appointment. Thus there is a compromise between choice by the village elders and appointment at the T'u-ssu's discretion.[3]

The tour of duty of the village chief is for one year, and he can be reappointed. He is the real executive authority of the village, responsible to the T'u-ssu for law and order and representing the village in its relations with the T'u-ssu.

701 The military officers are appointed by the T'u-ssu personally, for an indefinite tenure. In former times they were always nobles, but in the last half-century of the old Monguor society many were commoners; the office had become merely honorary, and some T'u-ssu sold it to the highest bidder. The military officers are in charge of the rolls of the village militia, who are subject to call in times of emergency. In addition a few men are on permanent service as soldiers. In case of war or bandit disorders the two officers take command, and call up all the males of the village.

[796] [431] At New Year the village chief and the two military commanders offer the T'u-ssu the New Year greetings of the village and present him with tea, sugar, 622 raisins, a couple of bottles of wine, and a piece of 701 red silk eight feet in length, a ceremonial scarf and 35,000 pierced copper cash. The same three men

[3] It should be noted, however, that in Mongol society there are many examples of compromise between selection (or approval) from below and appointment (or approval) from above. The emphasis may vary either in times of the strongly centralized power of a Mongol emperor (as under Chingis and his immediate successors) or in periods of subordination of Mongol tribes to centralized empires in China (as under the Ming and Manchu dynasties). There are even traditions that the tribe (of commoners) has the right to repudiate the prince who represents the ruling noble clan; with the proviso, however, that the ruling clan may put forward another of its own members to replace the repudiated prince. It is hard to say definitely that the right of the ruling prince, chief, or T'u-ssu is the oldest right. As Father Schram points out, there are reasons for believing that the authority of a council of elders is even more ancient and fundamental. It may be suggested that in such societies as that of the Monguors the rights of the chief tend to prevail over those of the elders when there is a strong overlord paramount over both chief and elders.—O. L.

[P. 76 b]

553 851 When the child has been admired and the parents congratulated, the mother's mother presents her with sixteen loaves of steamed bread, four loaves baked in oil, a leg of mutton, and some clothes—a gown, a pair of trousers, or a jacket. The costliness of the clothes varies according to the wealth of the family. The mother's mother also presents the boy with a complete suit of clothes and a fine cap. A special custom, the significance of which I was unable to discover, is that the family of the father's mother and the family of the mother's mother each present the midwife with a piece of red cotton cloth four feet long.

• 431 553 851 A practical present from a guest to the young mother is 100 pierced copper cash on a red cord, or a four foot piece of red or green cotton cloth. Another common gift is an embroidered cap for the boy, or, following Chinese custom, a "long life lock"—a small brass lock hung around the boy's neck. Rich families are frequently given scrolls with Chinese texts inscribed on them. The boy's maternal uncle gives him "flowers of long life"—a pair of earrings, each studded with a small flower. The boy wears these in childhood and when he grows up he buys himself a larger pair. These earrings are supposed to insure him a long life.

When the presents have been given the father of the child offers wine to each guest, beginning with the child's maternal uncles, and to each guest, as the wine is offered, the mother prostrates herself with the child in her arms and says "The boy prostrates himself and thanks you."

FEAST IN THE VILLAGE

553 527 851 A merry crowd of village youngsters then leads into the courtyard a cow whose horns have been painted red and decorated with flowers. A red-painted bell hangs around the cow's neck, and she is saddled with a fine saddle and a bright saddle-rug. The grandfather is invited by the youngsters to ride on the cow, and willy nilly he has to accept this invitation. The youngsters help him up to the saddle and then hold the child up for him to take it in his arms. The cow is then led in triumph through the village, two banners from the temple at the head of the procession, drums beating and all the guests following the cow and its rider. When they return to the courtyard, the grandfather offers the young people two bottles of wine, two legs of mutton, and bowls of noodles and wheat fried in butter. This part of the entertainment is noisy and merry.

If the father's father is no longer living, it is the father's mother who has to make the triumphal ride on the cow. Otherwise the father's mother's share of the ceremonies consists in presenting to the mother of her daughter-in-law two loaves of bread, two strings of pierced copper cash, and a scarf of felicity. As she does so, she bows, presents a cup of wine, and thanks her daughter-in-law's mother for accepting the invitation to the feast and wishes her joy and happiness.

Up to this point the whole village has taken part in

[P.102a]

171 /25 cont'd/
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demand to the bride's father's youngest brother (it is supposed the father is dead), he does not answer without consulting the bride's mother and usually he acts according to her wish. Shirokogoroff, pp. 72, 73. /Cited in English./

584 5. Discussion of the Bride Price and Deciding on the Wedding Gifts

Contrary to Chinese practice which requires two go-betweens, a T'ou-jen ordinarily engages only one, a friend of the family.

One is in no hurry to get a go-between. When the girl is only four or five years old, one waits two or three years more, indeed even longer, before giving this invitation. The promise of marriage having been made to the mother-in-law, there is no longer anything to fear; only at each New Year and at the festival of the fifteenth day of the eighth moon, they call on each other, exchange small gifts, and call each other Guda, "relatives by alliance," all this in order to refresh the memory.

In exceptional cases, where the girl has reached marriageable age at the time of the marriage proposal, they do not delay in making use of the services of a go-between.

After choosing an auspicious day for this important matter, the go-between leaves with the traditional gifts: a small jug of gin corked with a red (a color /26/ which brings good luck) lozenge and a strand of sheep's wool tied around the neck. Upon his arrival he puts his gift on the small table on the k'ang and pompously greets the fiancée's family with bows. They understand one another without saying a word; they drink tea, they smoke a pipe, and the go-between broaches his subject after pouring the gin for everyone present. "Now," he says, "since you have decided between yourselves on the marriage of your children, kindly set the day to decide on the gifts and discuss the traditional formalities. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, p. 73: The negotiations are always followed by

/34 cont'd/

Mo 584 431 A visitor who has come to offer presents is never allowed to leave without being given a gift. The receptacle which he brought cannot leave the house empty. Before, at each visit, they were careful to return to the go-between his jug filled with gin; the same will be done later.

7. Age Required for Marriage

Mo 582 The age required for marriage is 15 years; these 15 years are supposedly reached at the age of 14, after the winter solstice. The age of the bride varies from 15 to 17. The girls rarely pass this age without being married. This is because there are moral reasons for this general rule; as a matter of fact, the T'ou-jen claim that girls are "big" toward that age, and that there must be no more delay in Mo [201] marrying them off. Rarely girls are married at 13. Marriage never takes place when the age of the bride is an even number.

As for the age of the groom, there is no fixed rule; they do not bother about the even or odd number of years of his age. He can marry at ten, at 20, as well as at 30. Those who have the means ordinarily do not pass 17 without marrying. (1)

Mo 582

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 64: The Manchus consider as necessary, almost obligatory to marry their sons by the age of 21, and usually all Manchu young men are married before reaching this age. If this is not done "everybody will laugh" say the Manchus, because the clan to which the unmarried young man belongs may be supposed to be "inactive, weak and poor." /Cited in English./

/35/ 8. Setting of the Wedding Date; Negotiations concerning the Last Arrangements

Mo 584 When the fiancée has reached the required age for marriage, the custom is that the mother-in-law, rarely the future father-in-law,

/36 cont'd/

584 the attentions with which she will surround the bride....Again, the go-between by means of eloquence must run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

[583 431] For people of average means, at this second settlement, they ordinarily end up by promising for the bride:

a headdress of copper strips,
eardrops of silver or silvered copper,
a cloth skirt,
cloth trousers,
a pair of leggings for boots,
a hat cover of red cloth for the wedding day and another of green cloth.

Rich families manage to give a hat of silver strips or silvered copper, one or two pairs of silver eardrops, and several silk garments. If the bridegroom's family is too accommodating, it will be well exploited.

After that they come to the negotiations about the dinner. The bride's family begins by asking for their guests a dinner of 80 to 100 places. New palavers...the go-between ends up by getting them to content themselves with about 40 places on their part. Among rich families a dinner of 100 places is required.

/37/ But what dinner will you give? We must have a Chinese dinner of 12 or 16 large bowls. We do not wish to lose face, it is the least that you can give us, we have continually made concessions for everything, on this point we cannot yield. New exploits of eloquence on the part of the go-between, -- "Until now I have been able to arrange everything to the satisfaction of both families. I hope you will let me keep face until the end. I have always succeeded in marriage discussions, and I hope that this time it will work again. Let us see; plates and dishes are necessary for a Chinese dinner; no way to find them in the whole country. An excellent cook is necessary, where is he? A room for the dinner is necessary, where is it to be found? And then, we are not Chinese. Let us follow the customs of our ancestors and give a big T'ou-jen dinner. [273] I insist upon gin of superior quality and in sufficient quantity, two

/42 cont'd/

585 The guests have been arriving since ten o'clock in the morning, some on foot, others on horseback. The guests' mounts are attached to ropes tied to stakes driven into the ground in the area in front of the door, just as nomads do in front of the tent. All the neighbors, on duty, await the guests in this area, who as they arrive are conducted into a room in the side buildings of the courtyard. In the room, on the wall facing the door, is hung a religious image. The guest bows to it, kneeling. A Chinese has taken up his stand on the k'ang; he holds a brush in his hand and writes in the register of festivities the name of the guest and notes conscientiously the gifts he brings. The master of ceremonies takes these, thanks the guest, claims that he has been too generous, and the guest /43/ leaves the room.

585 /43/ According to custom, each guest must bring eight loaves of bread cooked in steam; as for the rest, he gives as he pleases. A present of four or six feet of red or green cloth is usually enough. If the guest is an intimate friend of the family, he will give a few feet more, or he will offer a less ordinary kind of cloth, or he will add to his gifts 800 cash strung on a red cord with a strand of white wool at the end. Every family keeps these registers of donors; for later in similar circumstances the register is there to inform them as to the fashion in which the givers will be treated in their turn.

[604] Custom determines only the presents the mother's family will offer. The maternal uncles of the bride must give her a skirt; the maternal aunts give her a pair of boots or a pair of parti-colored sleeves, or a piece of cloth ten feet long. These formalities taken care of, the guest is conducted into the front building where he greets the heads of the family and is immediately served tea with milk and some bread. Having drunk his cup of tea, he leaves the room to make room for other guests and to mingle with the group which is standing in the courtyard.

585 Toward two o'clock in the afternoon no more guests arrive; everyone takes his place in the courtyard in front of the tables set up, the women on one side and the men on the other. If there is a guest of note, he takes his place at the table of honor, which backs [604] up to the front building, with the maternal uncles of the bride.

/44 cont'd/

585 262 264 maneuver busily. Having no napkin, one ends by licking one's fingers at first, then rubs /15/ them on one's boots to soften the leather. A bowl of bouillon finishes the meal. Gin is poured, and [527] the table is cleared. This is the famous feast called susen by the T'ou-jen and ts'iuen iang si by the Chinese, "the dinner with the sheep served whole." It is the largest dinner given in the region.

585 261 [252] It must be admitted that for such a dinner the dishes are neither large in number nor dainty, and that the culinary art has not reached the heights; but this does not keep the good stomach and the T'ou-jen spirit from being at their zenith. Everything is relative in this world below.

171 264 This dinner, these hosts, this scene make one think of dinner among nomads on the steppe. There, the dinner is served in a spacious tent; among the T'ou-jen it is given in the courtyard covered with cloth; there, all are seated on the ground on pieces of felt or on straw, here the same; there, rudimentary plates and dishes, here the same; there, the main dish of the grand feasts is sheep served whole, here also. Why don't the T'ou-jen put on a feast like the Chinese, putting some ten tables in a courtyard, each one for eight guests? It is because among the T'ou-jen the old customs of the nomads live again at the important moments of life. Once and for 585 262 all let us call attention to the vestiges of the ancient nomadic organization of the T'ou-jen, met with on the occasion of a wedding. In the olden times they busied themselves with the raising of large 585 animals (oxen, sheep, horses). The proof of it is that all the presents 431 given in former times and recalled on the occasion of wedding feasts 231 consisted either of horses or oxen; the bride's family used to give an ox to her maternal uncle, a horse to the maternal uncle of the groom, and another horse to the groom himself; the groom's family used to give an ox to the maternal uncle of the bride; they still require a mare as earnest for the girl; the meat at the dinner is invariably [262] mutton; again it is mutton which is offered at various times, according to matrimonial custom, and it is mutton which is given to the guests at the moment of /46/ departure.

231 Nowhere is pork mentioned as being offered as a gift, although at present the T'ou-jen are occupied principally with the raising of

2: Schram--49 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

M 231

/46 cont'd/

pigs. With their tsao tchou, i.e., "pigs which live on plants," they are the great suppliers of pigs for the capital of the province.

M 585 431 583

We have arrived at the chief attraction of the wedding.

They begin by spreading out the presents the parents made to their girl and to the family of the bride /sic/. This display is presented on the doors laid out for the purpose in front of the shamanistic fire within the tables. For people of average means the gifts are usually composed of the following pieces:

For the girl: 1) three long garments of checked calico with lining a green garment, another of red, a third violet
2) two long plain garments, blue and black
3) two skirts
4) one long padded garment
5) three plain trousers
6) three or four waistcoats (boléro type), blue, black, violet
7) one large hat for feast days
8) several belts each 12 feet long, parti-colored or embroidered
9) four or five pairs of sleeves in varied colors
10) five or six pairs of artistically embroidered sleeves
11) some ten pairs of leggings
12) a long garment of black sheep's wool
13) a belt of black sheep's wool (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 308: (among the Mongols) when everything is agreed upon, the parents of the bride are obligated to construct for her a yurt, provided with everything necessary for a household, /47/ so that she does not need to ask for anything from others. Then she is given all that concerns her toilette and even a saddled horse on which she is to go to her husband's home.

/47 cont'd/

585 For the son-in-law: 1) Chinese cap
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2) lined or plain garment of checked calico, blue in color
3) belt of red cloth 12 feet long
4) leggings or boots, never trousers
5) a big Tibetan k'ata, which will be put around his neck (1)

1. K'ata (Tibetan, khabtags) ... is a pale-blue silk scarf, very primitively woven; it is offered among the T'ou-jen to persons whom one wishes to honor or from whom one expects a service; it is even offered to the gods. Very pretty ones are found, blue or white, of first quality, very long, with Buddhist pictures; they are offered only on important occasions and to persons of note.

For the grandfather: a piece of felt
585 For the grandmother: a long, plain garment or a skirt
431 For the son-in-law's father: a piece of felt
583 For the son-in-law's mother: a long garment or a skirt
602 For the paternal uncles of son-in-law: a pillow
[287] For the paternal aunts of the son-in-law: leggings
For the son-in-law's brothers: leggings, pillow, or k'ata
For the little sisters of the son-in-law: two feet of white cloth serving as a handkerchief
For the big sisters of the son-in-law: a piece of red cloth four feet long
For the maternal uncle of the son-in-law: the gift of honor, a big k'ata, and a string of large cash strung on red cord with a strand of white wool
For the go-between: a pair of boots and a string of cash or six strings of cash and a pillow.

In rich families the fabrics will be of the best quality; in addition they will have a hat of silver strips, two or three pairs of ear-

583 /47 cont'd/
585 drops, silver rings.... It even happens that rich people give their
431 daughter several /48/ arpents of land, which are called ngusge
602 gadiziar (ngusge, "rouge"; gadiziar, "land"), i.e., the land which
[425] procures the girl's rouge, with the condition that the husband must sow it and give the revenue from it to his wife. Thereafter, if the son-in-law's family is ever forced to sell these lands, the first offer will have to be made ~~to the~~ wife's family.

423 About 30 years ago, the Ma family of Na-lin-keou had re-
583 ceived in marriage a girl, Pao, who had received from her parents some "rouge lands." The Ma family became poor and mortaged these lands to the Pen family; later it sold them to the Heou family. The Pens, basing their right on the Chinese axiom, "He who holds a mortgage has prior right of purchase," brought an action against the Mas and demanded the turning over of the lands. But then the Pao family appeared ~~and~~ claimed these lands as being the "rouge lands" given to their aunt at the time of her marriage. The Chinese court recognized this custom and decided in their favor.

This same custom is still found among the Mongols. Recently, the King of Orat of the confederation of Olantsh'ab, giving his daughter in marriage to the king of Hang King of the confederation of the Ortos, gave her on this occasion part of the lands of Sainnoor (30 li southwest of the Christendom of San-tao-k'iao, Mission of Ning-Hia).

585 As for the gifts of which I have spoken above, there are
583 numerous variants; I knew a case where the girl was given only six long garments; another where she was given ten; everything depends on the financial situation of the family.

The women in particular are very much interested in the gifts; they examine the fabrics and the finish of the embroideries, especially those on the sleeves and the two ends of the belts. Months and months of work are often put on these pieces. When the examination is finished, the bride is brought in.

She is carried on a small, low Chinese table, which has been covered /49/ previously with red felt. She is put down between the sacred fire and the display of presents. This is her first and only
[302] appearance at this festivity. She is bareheaded and wears the hair style of unmarried girls.

/51 cont'd/

585 all until the next day, which is the day of the wedding dinner at the home of the son-in-law; we have seen that the number of guests invited to this dinner is prescribed. He will therefore have to politely send some away. To this end he comes to each person who will be sent away, without saying any more, bringing four loaves of bread and one or two pieces of raw meat. This is called pou fen tse, "to 583 431 complete the dinner." They understand and leave with many polite phrases.

585 574 /52/ The ones chosen for the feast the next day try to find lodging for the night, either with neighbors or in the home of the bride; some of them celebrate very late into the night and pass the time singing and drinking. This part of the festivity is often less attractive for us, since the gin spoils its freshness. It has the disadvantage of sending to the wedding dinner the next day at the son-in-law's home many guests with heavy heads and in bad humor because of fatigue from a tiring trip and a night without refreshing sleep.

533 585 The T'ou-jen like to sing at weddings. Their own repertory in the language of the country is not very wide, so they ordinarily sing Tibetan songs. One of the very rare songs in the Monguor [177] language is the one about the origin of the mythical bird Chong-nirwa. (1) It is very often sung at weddings.

104 773

1. Chong is probably the Buddhist Garuda called K'yun in Tibetan. Grunwedel says in Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet u. der Mongolei /Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia/, p. 25: semidivine being, deadly enemy of the Naga, a mounted bird, the king of the feathered /tribe/ and his kinsmen.... P. 191, ... is always represented in Lamaism with a thick body, human arms, on which the wings are located, and the horned head of a bird. He is part of the company of the formidable gods and plays

M 585 /61 cont'd/

[431 178] According to what they claim, in former times the bride's parents used to make the present of a handsome horse to the son-in-law at the moment of departure. The custom does not appear to exist any longer.

M [593] The bride's father and mother do not participate in the festivity, but her brothers, sisters, uncles, and aunts are all present.

When the bride is on the way, all the guests who stayed overnight follow in a group; the gift bearers wind up the procession. The bride laments all the way, leaning on the bag of straw placed on the horse's neck, her head always enveloped in the coarse veil. These tears, these sobs, constitute a real elegy. She addresses herself aloud to her parents, her brothers, her sisters; she has a good memory about each one of them; she calls to mind their goodness, the gifts; she recalls the animals in the stable, her paternal home..., then she is M [606] afraid of the future, of her parents-in-law, whom she does not know; she is afraid of being cursed by her mother-in-law, afraid that the name of her mother will be used in order to curse her. Often in these elegies there are splendid sallies, very naive, very deeply felt; the M [607] girls also /62/ learn this kind of literature in their play; the sisters-in-law teach them, and they teach one another. It is an elegy based on life. Similarly touching ones are heard at burials. (1).

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 309 and following. On the preceding day, two lamas go on behalf of the husband-to-be to find out from the parents of the bride whether any obstacles have arisen (German translation: The Mongols do not have the custom of going to get the bride. The evening before the departure they content themselves with sending two men for....). As the day nears, the wife-to-be pays visits to her closest relatives and spends at least one night at the home of each of them having a good time, going walking with her friends, who

/67/

14. Gifts of the Bride's Family to that of the Bridegroom

585 431 All the guests remain standing at the back of the courtyard, and it is before them that the presents from the bride's family are taken out of the boxes. They are displayed on the doors inside the rectangle of tables. First the new clothes which her parents give to her are handed over to the bride, and her maid of honor hurries to put them on her in her room. There are also the new clothes for the bridegroom, who likewise puts them on.

The bride's family's master of ceremonies takes his place inside the rectangle of tables near the sacred fire. The bride, dressed in her new clothes, the veil always on her head, leaves her room and is led by her maid of honor inside the rectangle on the right side of the red felt. The bridegroom takes his place beside her on the left, his arm touching the bride's. A young man places himself behind him; the bride's maid of honor is behind her. They kneel on the pieces of felt, having in front of them a table on which two lighted lamps are placed, and on whose four corners are put four small packages of cash.

The master of ceremonies begins his speech: "We, the bride's family, have invited as guests the go-between, the maternal and paternal uncles and aunts of the bride, as well as their sons and daughters...." All the guests from the bride's clan come forward to take their places in the upper part of the courtyard. The master of ceremonies speaking in the name of the bride's family first presents the k'ata to each guest of the groom's family; then gin is poured for everyone. "Now," he continues, "I have a word to say: before the wolf, the dog is afraid to bark; before great men, little people are afraid to open their mouths. If what I am going to say is well said, do not praise me; if what I am going to say is badly said, excuse me.... /68/ In olden times the ancestors used to proceed to marriages only when the limits of the lands were well established. (Nobody [423] has been able to explain this passage to me; this fact seems to lack sense as much in a nomadic organization as in the present-day agrarian one in which the T'ou-jen live. Actually, today the T'ou-jen

585 /68 cont'd/
431 are all owners with personal title, all their properties are demarcated;
423 therefore it is no longer a question of demarcating lands. Is this an allusion to a previous social condition no longer remembered?)

585 "Generations have succeeded generations. When an idol of
539 Buddha is old and lusterless and when it is giled anew, it is again shining and beautiful to see; when one puts a brand-new border around an old garment, the garment has gained much by it; when to the old relations between families new ones are added, they become all the stronger. Among you was born a boy who had all the virtues of the lion; among us was born a girl like the "khuī t shiąn" (mythological bird). It was the ideal combination for a marriage. But how would this union have been able to be accomplished? (The cupbearer pours wine for the go-between and bows to him.) If one does not see clouds in the sky, no rain will fall; if there are no go-betweens on the earth, there will be no marriages. (1) What was too high, you, go-between,

1. Compare Anthropos, 6th year, p. 320, Schotter, "Notes ethnogra. sur tribus du Koei tcheou": "Just as thunder and lightning pave the way for rain, so go-betweens are necessary to pave the way for marriages.

have lowered; what was too low, you have raised; the high and the low have met on the same level like the lever arm of the balance. You have leveled off the way on which the two parties have traveled.

"In olden times they used to thank the go-between for his services by dressing him in new clothes from head to foot; but the feeble means of our poor family allow us to offer you only a pair of boots and a string of cash. We hope nevertheless that you will be satisfied."

585 /69/ After giving the gift to the go-between the orator usually
608 addresses the maternal uncle of the bridegroom. The cupbearer bows to him and pours gin for him. "When a son," he says, "has no wai-kia (the son calls his mother's family wai-kia /Chinese term for one's mother's family, literally, "outside family"/, i.e., all her relatives,

585 /69 cont'd/
608 brothers, sisters...), then when the son sees that his mother has no relatives, it is a sign for him that his mother's origin is not pure. When a wife has no niang-kia /literally, "wife's family"/ (the wife
608 calls her own parents, brothers and sisters her niang-kia), then when
585 the relatives of a wife are not known, it is a sign for her that her
●431 origin is doubtful. Formerly, a handsome horse used to be given to
[604] the bride's maternal uncle, master of his sister's children. But times are changed; although you are the principal guest, nowadays we give only the k'ata; we give you a fine one, a big one, do not refuse it...." Then the orator addresses the parents of the bridegroom: "During the day your heart, always occupied with the children, cannot be at rest; even at night, you cannot sleep. Such solicitude truly deserves several garments and fine gifts; but you know our indigence; when we stretch out our arms, the sleeves of our garments are too short and the arms stick out from them; at night when we stretch out our legs, our feet stick out from the covers, which are too short. What misery! If we had been able to follow the inclinations of our hearts, you would have had splendid gifts." Then the cupbearer advances toward the grandfather, bows to him, and presents gin to him. "Grandfather," continues the orator, "we present you with a brand-new piece of felt, unfortunately it is too narrow, too short, too thin, and it is badly made in the bargain, but deign to accept it anyway."

The cupbearer advances toward the grandmother. "We give you a garment made of very bad cloth and very badly made, but deign to accept it"; and the ceremony continues thus in the same vein for the father, mother, etc., as was said in No. 11. This scene is often rather picturesque and /70/ brightens up faces; the grandfather must sit down on the piece of felt, the grandmother is dressed in the garment, they have a good time....

585 The orator addresses the bride and groom last: "In olden times,
431 he says, "sons-in-law used to receive several complete costumes; moreover, they were given in hand a fine bow, a quiver, and arrows; in addition a fine horse. Unfortunately, those good times have vanished, and the parents-in-law offer you only..." (see No. 11).

M /70 cont'd/
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"And you, our daughter, you are also the child of your times. Formerly, the gifts which the parents gave to their daughter were so numerous that they had to be transported on wagons or a whole herd of oxen was loaded with them. We give you the following gifts (see No. 11). Truly they are insignificant; it is as if we were giving a naked daughter to the mother-in-law.

'To you all, relatives by marriage, we pour wine, be indulgent and content.' Then the master of ceremonies out loud orders the bride and groom to kneel to the whole assemblage; then wine is poured for all the guests. (1)

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1. Father De Smedt gives me a variation of the master of ceremonies' speech, although noting that the T'ou-jen from whom he got it even told him that he had forgotten a good deal about the subject. Although this speech is incomplete, it contains variations which are worth the trouble of being kept: "A dog does not dare bark in the presence of a tiger, thus it is not fitting for a little man like me to speak before an assemblage as respectable as yours. A horse of small size does not run fast, they say; thus the words of a man without merit are insignificant. If you succeed in understanding my words, do not attach any importance to them; if you do not understand them, do not make fun of me. When an old statue is newly gilded, when a brand-new border is put on an old garment.... Thus it is a praiseworthy practice always to become related to families with which marriages have been contracted for many generations...." The rest is about as we have related above.

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Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 305. The dowry of the girl consists,

585 /74 cont'd/
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of 6 cups and 6 plates. The bride is sitting now dressed as a married woman and turning her face to the wall (like the Chinese). The bridegroom arrives with a boy and without seeing the bride's face, eats his first meal in the presence of his future wife. The bridegroom repeats his visits to the bride during this day six times. /Cited in English with interpolations in French, indicated by parentheses./

between, and all the daughter-in-law's family occupy the first places.

585 This is the big dinner with the whole sheep. They always be-
262 gin by offering gin. First the elders of the son-in-law's family /75/
264 pour it three times for the daughter-in-law's family; then the new husband's father and mother themselves present three cups to the new relatives; next comes the son-in-law, who also in his turn offers gin to his new family. The dinner proceeds as at the daughter-in-law's home.

585 18. Gifts of the Son-in-law's Family to the Daughter-in-law's Family
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They begin by distributing to each guest a piece of raw meat of the weight of a leg of mutton. The guest puts it in his carpetbag. The guests cannot go back home with empty hands; that would be a great affront to them. One can judge the quantity of meat necessary
[262] for such a wedding. That again breathes of the nomad, who lives on herds and with whom meat constitutes the basic food.

After this distribution of meat, the son-in-law enters the courtyard, leading a horse; he has attached a piece of red cloth to its mane. At the same time several cows, sheep, donkeys, and goats are led into the same courtyard where the guests are.

/75 cont'd/

585 431 The master of ceremonies of the son-in-law's family then takes the floor to distribute the traditional gifts to the daughter-in-law's family. The son-in-law remains kneeling, holding his horse by the bridle.

585 604 431 The master of ceremonies first addresses the maternal uncle of the daughter-in-law. The cupbearer bows to him and offers gin to him three times in a row. He begins with the saying, "Nan tch'ou wai kia, niu tch'ou niang kio," i.e., "the boy has the physique and the moral nature of his mother's family, and the girl those of her own relatives /parents/.

"Now you, maternal uncle, you are the representative of the family stock of our new daughter-in-law; it is fitting therefore to present to you, /76/ before doing so to all the others, our respectful compliments. We offer you the great ritual k'ata and a sheep. We should give you a cow according to tradition, but times have changed. Receive with good will." Formerly, the maternal uncle used to receive a cow on behalf of his mother's family; today he is given a sheep as at the home of the son-in-law. Next he addresses the go-between, for whom they pour the gin...."Formerly the go-between was given a complete costume, but times are no longer the same.... We present to you a string of cash, be satisfied...."

585 431 Then it is the turn of the bride's maid of honor; they pour gin for her. They give her a piece of cloth four feet long, a goat, 600 cash. But she hastens to protest with vehemence (it is the tradition), which provokes the laughter of the assemblage. She is given the traditional 800 cash.

The little page comes and receives 200 cash for riding the horse. The bearers of the boxes containing the bride's gifts receive 400 cash apiece; then all the members of the bride's family receive the k'ata. The master of ceremonies sits down, pretending to have finished his task.

585 431 231 But then comes what is called the suhuta, the final ceremony. In cauda venenum /"poison in the tail"/. The master of ceremonies from the daughter-in-law's family, as well as several elders of the family, stands up indignant; they manifest with vehemence the desire

/76 cont'd/

585 to see the old traditions observed and protest against innovations.
431 In this case it is a question of having themselves granted several
231 more head of livestock. The other side understands immediately that the festivity will not end peacefully without the giving of some animals. It is the moment for the master of ceremonies from the son-in-law's family to show eloquence and tact. He rises and proclaims that peace between the two families is more important than several animals. "We want a lasting and peaceful alliance," /77/ cries he. "We must have concord and harmony. We ask no better than to satisfy your wishes. Choose our best beasts, but leave us at least several old and thin animals, for we are poor, we still have to live. But peace above all, and also the welfare of the children. Do not forget that two animals are necessary for the plow and that if you take one of them, we shall no longer be able to work our lands; you will not be able to do any more with one single animal; then leave face also to your son-in-law. We know the traditions, but times are no longer the same, and customs also change a little."

During this speech one of the guests of the daughter-in-law's family has already detached the piece of red cloth from the horse's mane, which signifies that the horse is considered as secured, ready to be taken away. The son-in-law leads the horse out of the courtyard. Two or three members of the daughter-in-law's family who have gotten together in advance mark about ten animals with butter. The son-in-law's family is displeased...they get angry...they push
[604] one another...they shout.... Then the daughter-in-law's maternal uncle, the representative of the whole clan, rises and asks how many animals have been marked. "Ten," they answer him, for example. "Ah, good," says he, "we shall take these ten away." The owners complain...they beg...they do not let anything leave the courtyard...all the son-in-law's family kneel before the maternal uncle, imploring him. In the end they agree on two-thirds or on half of the animals already marked. The horse is taken away as well as another animal; the rest of the animals will be taken the next day.

It sometimes happens that the scene does not end so peaceably. Indeed, it is known that the son-in-law's family has hidden its best

585 /77 cont'd/
231 animals with neighbors or elsewhere; it allows only a few old nags
431 to be seen, which it does not even intend to give up.

It is at this moment that the little peculiarities of the race be-
[571 come apparent in all their crudeness. We have been able to notice
578] in all the phases of T'ou-jen marriage this mania for mutual exploi-
tation. /78/ At this hour one sees the two clans together, equally avid, and each of the two, under the pressure of the moment, feels itself united and strong. The voice of blood makes itself heard quickly, brutal, demanding. It is no longer a question of civilities and ceremonies, and it is not at all rare that the festivity degenerates into quarrels and scuffles.

585 In this moment one sees that marriage among the T'ou-jen is
614 not a disinterested affair but an affair of the clan, of the community, among whom the general good takes precedence over everything.

After such eventualities of a T'ou-jen wedding, it is natural enough when one meets those who are coming from a wedding to ask them whether all went well, or whether there wasn't some trouble!

Now one understands the importance attached to the role of master of ceremonies. It is he who must prevent these difficulties, who must judge when it is necessary to yield and how far the concession can go. He must have the required tact and the appropriate word which all will be pleased to hear. He will be listened to all the more if he is highly esteemed by both sides.

585 In two circumstances this cry of the blood among the T'ou-jen
578 is brutal and terrible: at the end of the ceremonies of a marriage,
571 and on the occasion of the negotiations after the suicide of a daughter-in-law.

The Pei family was giving a daughter in marriage to the Li family. The Pei grandfather, known for his extraordinary cupidity, had enjoined his master of ceremonies to demand the finest horse in the Li family's stable, a horse highly reputed in the region. When the moment came they demanded the horse, but the horse was not there. They looked in vain at the homes of the relatives and neighbors; the horse remained impossible to find. Coarse words were exchanged, and they came to blows. The festivity ended without any

585 /78 cont'd/
578 more being served to drink and without the distribution of the fare-
571 well gifts.

The next day the Peis got ready to bring an action before the t'ou-se. The customs had not been observed, /79/ the farewell gifts
[431] had not even been given, people had fought, etc.... The injured side demands indemnities for the injuries and apologies for the discourtesies.

[627] The elders of the region come to see the Peis and propose to settle the affair amicably. Negotiations...dinner...and practical conclusion: the Lis will make apologies and will offer a sheep to the Peis, then the two families will renew kin relationships.

After rounding this dangerous cape, they breathe again and quickly serve gin to distract their minds. Each one having taken his place again at the table, Chinese noodles are served to finish up.

585 The son-in-law's family invites its master of ceremonies to
431 distribute the farewell gifts. It is the pou fen tse /"supplementary shares"/ complement of the dinner. According to custom, they give to each person of a generation above that of the daughter-in-law eight loaves of bread and two pieces of meat. To the persons of the same generation and to those of lower generation they give four loaves of bread and one piece of meat. Then they think also of the persons who should have been present and who have excused themselves; they likewise prepare for them their loaves of bread and pieces of meat. In the evening at the moment of departure it is not rare to see the guests go away with one or two loads of bread and meat. It would be a discourtesy to refuse the gifts. They claim that formerly, at the moment of departure, the son-in-law's family used to give to the daughter-in-law's family "the lama's part." It consisted of two pieces of meat and eight loaves of bread, which were taken to the lamasery the next day.

The custom of asking for the lama's part has continued to exist in different places, but that of taking the gift to the lamasery has disappeared.

[10 cont.]

124 all kinds of things that I noted in order to learn more about them later.

The old man received no fixed salary. He said: "We two are now used to each other like friends. If now and then you give me a piece of cloth for clothing, it will be all right." It was simply a matter of face. Accordingly, he now and then received cloth for himself and his grandchildren or, when he was ill, some medications. Or I gave him a few scrolls at the harvest festival, bought inks and paper, sent him a little jug of wine now and then, etc. On his part, he made ceremonious [431] calls on me on the customary festive days or sent baked goods, [572] a piece of meat, [11] some milk, as is customary between good acquaintances. Whenever his trips happened to bring him past my station, he would come in briefly to inquire about me. His relatives, too, frequently dismounted when they brought their sacks to the water mill in the valley, especially if the old man happened to be there. Thus a considerable number of Tujen, men, women, and children, gathered at times in the yard and were treated as guests. They told stories, sang, and laughed, and in exchange for some wheat I had to photograph them. In this fashion I was soon well known among them in the mountains.

One day the old man brought a young man to me and said: "Here is the husband of one of my daughters; he knows all the Tujen songs by heart and knows many legends. If you want him to, he will dictate everything. He can also draw pictures." Naturally I wanted him to. I was able to put down on paper a whole series of songs, fairy tales, and myths, among them the Geser saga. In addition he drew a series of pictures for [126] me and with inexhaustible patience sang the different melodies until I could render them on the flute and transcribe them. When we sat together over a jug of wine in the evening, the two men sang their song and I played the flute in accompaniment. Then they felt at ease and said: "Soon we shall all come here, men, women, boys and girls; you kill a sheep and provide the barley wine, and we shall dance and sing."

114 Unfortunately that never happened! The events of the
115 time made a longer stay impossible. On July 1, 1949, I took

[620]

IV. Customs concerning the Human Being

* See "Notes," p. 622 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

846 Soon after the birth of a child one makes the happy event [851] known to the family of the mother of the woman in childbed. The mother then comes to visit her daughter. The other rela- [431] tives, however, come only after one month. They bring gifts and hold a feast. On the morning of this day the child is [553] solemnly given a name, and in the evening it is brought before the gate of the yard for the reception of the shepherd. Then [527] there is singing and drinking and dancing into the night. [852]

Details

Birth announcement: Three days after the birth of a [851] boy or girl, the father-in-law of the woman in childbed takes a little jug of liquor and some oil-baking and goes to the family [273] of his daughter-in-law. It is immediately apparent why he has come to visit, and he need only tell the day and the hour of birth and whether it is a boy or girl. After they have drunk the [593] liquor, the mother goes directly to her daughter in order to take care of what needs to be done. She stays there a few days and then often repeats her visit.

846 Conclusion of the confinement: Exactly 29 days after 431 the birth, in other words, on the thirtieth day, the parents and nearest relatives of the woman in childbed appear at her husband's house. They bring clothing for the child [621] and the woman (a long upper garment and shoes) and, further, four [262] large loaves of bread, oil-cakes, and other baked goods. The

[621 cont.]
846 loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter,
●431 and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole
[262] in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

[858] Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts
[822] for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

553 Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-
791 soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the master of the household gives the great incense offering in the
[787] yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master
[592] of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the
[778] child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

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3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guãnbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guãmbo; ifulā sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sërãń (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; lasdze sërãń, pass-peak-palace; tuguãn ula, mountain of the Tuguãn. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

[621 cont.]

553 [592] [792]

4. [Foreign text p. 622.] A lama can also perform the ceremony. This is rarely done, however. Usually the father or kin-group elder does it.

is never a woman or a relative from the family of the woman in childbed.

Following the name-giving or in the course of the day, the mother with the child in her arms must kowtow to all the guests; for this she receives a small gift of money for the child. -- Towards noon the family holds a general feast, for men and women separately. On this occasion much barley wine is drunk, and there is singing and dancing.

[431] [527] [273] [562]

852 Reception of the shepherd: Towards evening, when the animals are expected back from the pasture, the father or the mother takes the infant in his arms and takes it out in front of the gate of the yard, where they meet the homecoming herd. The shepherd must give the child some money, and in return the father gives him a loaf of bread which he must eat immediately. This custom is called "to welcome the shepherd"; the Chinese say "to welcome the sheep" (2). -- The guests

[431] [553]

[171] [846]

2. [Foreign text p. 622.] The reception of the shepherd is also found among the Chinese, just as the termination of the confinement generally is almost the same among them. In the region of Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) I learned from the missionary there, P. Frick, that the people place the child in the manger so that it may later own many herds and become a good horseman. This custom could not be confirmed for the Tujen.

[630 cont.]

Details

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The consecrated person: The person may be a woman or a man. He must be advanced in age; usually he is around sixty years old. At this age they are pious and reflective and are better able to observe the prescriptions. Young people are eager for life, violent, and uncontrolled. The consecration is done only by an incarnation, hutukhtu, not by an ordinary lama..

[792]

Preparations: The preparations are carried out in consultation with the mother's brother. He determines the day and the hutukhtu who is to be invited. Since the whole village takes part in the celebration, money is saved a long time in advance. Sheep, pigs, or a cow are slaughtered; oil-baking, bread, and oil-sticks, san-tzu, are baked for provisions; the house and yard are put in order, liquor is distilled, new clothes are purchased, and the gifts for the hutukhtu are provided. The latter, a few days in advance, sends one or several monks who put the room in order for him and prepare the kitchen, so that he may live and eat worthily.

[604] [621] [262]

Gratulation and reception of guests: On the day set, the person to be consecrated puts on his best clothes and stays in a clean side room. The visitors, relatives, and [631] guests come early in the forenoon. They gratulate the person to be consecrated and bring a gift; usually they wrap a hada around it, which they solemnly hand to the person. The gifts are put on a chest in a room, usually in front of a household altar. Bread, oil-baking, cloth, hadas, silver money, etc. are given. A master of ceremonies is designated so that all may go according to custom and order.

[431]

Of the guests, the mother's brother is the person of greatest respect. One goes toward him and hands him a hada. When he comes, the person to be consecrated steps down from the kang and receives him. He then hands the gifts to him and is treated with tea and cake in the place of honor. Then everyone together drinks tea and liquor and breaks pieces of oil-sticks into the bowls. -- Aside from the mother's brother, the daughter's

[604] [431]

[631 cont.]

527 778 888 husband and the daughter's children must give a hada and money to the person to be consecrated. In return they later receive greater remuneration when they depart.

[431]

Feast: The feast takes place in the yard, first for the men, then for the women. Three fields are divided off, right and left for guests, and in the center for the mother's brother with the two closest relatives. These three sit on a felt mat on even ground with their backs to the main door of the main house and have before them a low kang table with the dishes; they are served separately by the master of ceremonies. On the two fields to the right and left, straw is scattered in a square; heavy planks are put in front of it and sometimes also mats, which are to represent the tables. In the middle of each square there burns a fire in which tea and liquor are warmed.

[574] [562]

[264] [574] The food is introduced with tsamba and tea, which is taken with butter and milk. Mutton or pork follows; the fatter it is, the better liked and more superior it is. A considerable amount is drunk. Rice follows as the main dish, which is mixed with butter and sugar and sweet roots. -- The women eat after the men. -- During the meal there are always some free, who sing and dance.

527 778 888 792 604 Settling the prayer fee: After the meal, the master of ceremonies pours out liquor for the mother's brother. The sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law kneel down before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies hands him a hada and starts the negotiations over the price. The mother's brother demands expensive gifts and much money for the lama; the master of ceremonies, through his rhetorical skill, must gradually lower the demands, until finally a suitable sum is agreed upon. Then the sons and daughters stand up, kowtow, thank the mother's brother, and go. This is similar to what is done at the pai-ta before the cremation (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 634.] For further details, see chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation." Here, too, the

[633 cont.]

527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
792 brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
[431] oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[465] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him. A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
[792] after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed
[766] by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
[262] longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation. This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[641 cont.]

764 604 537 [273] The mother's brother puts the hada over his shoulders, takes a swallow of liquor, and begins his speech. Usually he demands an accounting concerning the care of his protégé during the latter's illness and demands the small fees for the prayer service, saying that they should be ashamed of such avarice, the dead had always been a good person, the pride of his family, he deserved better; now at least one should give him a decent death-box and provide the most magnificent cremation possible; far too few lamas had been invited, but now they should recompense them with much money and rice and butter, etc.

[273] Every time that the mother's brother puts forward a wish or a complaint and pauses, the master of ceremonies has his liquor bowl refilled and calls upon him to drink. Then the master of ceremonies replies in the name of the paternal relatives, seeks to invalidate the reproaches, to lessen the demands, and to emphasize the efforts of the family. He says that the most expensive medicines were procured for the deceased during his illness, for how could one neglect such a virtuous person; moreover, everything that the family could do in his honor and for his soul would be done, but one should not demand the impossible; after all, one must die sometime; the times are bad, but they would gladly give the lama that and that, etc. -- So it goes back and forth between the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies, until a course is finally agreed upon and the mother's brother declares that now he is satisfied and will release the corpse. Now the mother's brother is invited to inspect the corpse, but he usually does not do this.

764 604 After this speech, the bereaved arise, kowtow three times before the mother's brother, and return to the deathwatch by the box. The mother's brother follows them and kowtows before the dead. Then alms are distributed to the guests, usually [431] coins. This is called "to do good," for it is advantageous for the deceased. Then the meal for the relatives on the mother's side [735] takes place in a large circle. Usually there is rice, but among poor people only noodle soup.

[775] [177] [642] The ceremony of the demand for an accounting has the purpose of releasing the soul of the dead for the migration

[643 cont.]

764 their shoulders and carry it out to the yard gate. Before the gate the water-lamp and the paper basin are emptied. Here, too, the straw that served the bereaved as an underlayer during the deathwatch is burned. The procession goes to the crematory at a rapid pace. Old and young, men and women, follow in colorful confusion.

Young boys go with them. They carry straw, firewood, cypress twigs, a wooden bed or a door for the lama, a white felt mat, and a large iron kettle for melting the butter. At the oven, the men place the box on the ground. The relatives once more burn paper and throw themselves down to kowtow. Then 764 the master of ceremonies steps forward and addresses a few words 537 of farewell to the deceased. He says approximately the following: We have done what we could for you; we invited the lamas, we have prayed, we have given alms. We have made a beautiful box for you; you can be content. Therefore think no more of us and do not return to disturb the peace of our house. Be without care; we shall not forget you and shall continue to pray for you and to make offerings to you.

764 After this speech he distributes money among those [431] present. This is alms and is called "box-money." Now the [533] women once more begin the lamentation. They have a certain melody and express their grief in impromptu words. Then all go home. Only the master of ceremonies, two fire guards, the sons-in-law, the nephews, and the lama remain. The fire is serviced only by the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The sons-in-law and nephews assist with other operations.

Putting the corpse inside: The men who remained behind bring the litter to the west side of the oven where the broad slit was left. They put the litter with the back to this opening and draw the wooden wall out, so that the corpse is exposed in the back. Meanwhile the [644] fire guards have piled cypress twigs and wood on the oven floor. The corpse is now put on the firewood in the oven, the back to the east, the face to the west. [775] Then the slit is walled off. The face must be turned to the [823] west because the realm of the blessed is located there, to which he must now migrate.

among the intendancies and the impoverished lamas. 792 Saddled with debts, and his plans not working out, he 334 was compelled to give up his ambitious dreams and revert to the ancestral raft.

It is said that this holy man enjoyed the gift of bilocation. The people still state that many times many people saw him directing the shifts of blacksmiths and carpenters on the river, and at the same time saw him in ecstatic rapture in the temple.

It was after his financial collapse that he started the trouble with the disciple of his deceased intendant, which lasted for seven years, in order to retrieve his fortunes, only to land in jail in Seerkok. Finally, having debased his name and position of authority, he moved to one of his affiliates in the region of Kan-chou, where he was still living in 1920. Tenma was a typical figure in the world of Living Buddhas in 1910–1920.

COLLECTION OF ALMS IN FAR-OFF COUNTRIES

Expeditions to far-off countries are an important 792 source of revenue. They last for several months and 434 are organized by the various intendancies in their own 431 behalf. Sometimes the supreme chief of a monastery accompanies the expedition. In 1914 T'u-kuan went to the region of the Yellow Tibetans (Uigurs) living around Su-chou. He left on the second of the second moon and was back at Erh-ku-lung in the tenth moon, with 124 cows, 146 horses, 90 sheep, and 2,000 taels. He seemed to be very happy when I visited him after the trip. During the troubles in 1940, T'u-kuan went to Mongolia, among the Urats, and traveled for four years. He visited me at Man-huei in Hou T'ao. He had a lot of trouble entering Hsining with 300 horses and 200 loaded camels because he was suspected of having had connections with the revolting Mongol, Te wang.

When I was in Kumbum in 1912 I met a returning expedition from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 3,000 sheep, 260 horses, 140 cows, and loaded with butter, wool, skins, and yak hair. All the butchers from Hsining rushed to Kumbum to buy cheap cows and sheep. In December, 1914, I met a caravan of Kumbum returning from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 6,000 sheep, 150 horses, and 200 cows. On the way they had lost 40 horses. They went to Hsining in order to [47] bring suit against the chief of the tribe on whose territory the horses had been lost. The Amban settled the trouble in one session. He ordered that a kettle containing boiling oil be brought to him. Then he ordered both groups to grasp a one dollar piece he had thrown in the boiling oil. The lamas prostrated, apologized and implored for mercy, but the Tibetan chief tucked up his sleeves and went straight to the kettle. The gesture was sufficient for the Amban. The lamas received two hundred lashes, and were put into jail until a fine of two hundred dollars was brought to the court. [p.45(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

NUMBER OF LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

Fantastic figures concerning the number of lamas are encountered in publications on the subject.[1a] Concerning Huang-chung, we possess a census of lamas and lamaseries (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, pp. 6, 9, 10, 12) existing between 1729 and 1735. Although the census returns used are largely mere estimates, they seem to have at least a general reliability. However, because there is no comparable census of the secular population, it is impossible to determine the proportion of lamas to the male population at that time.

After the revolt of 1723, each lama was to be given a certain amount of wheat yearly, for his subsistence.[2] At the same time, the number of lamas to be allowed in the big monasteries was fixed at 300, and in the small monasteries at 10 or more. A register was kept by the official containing the name and age of each lama. Lamaseries which had more than the allotted number of lamas could only get support for 300 of them. Certainly Kumbum with 3,000 and Seerkok with 700, surpassed the quota, if not in 1730, without doubt later on. It may be supposed that in this period those of the larger lamaseries that were short of the number of lamas allowed made provision (through bribery) to have the largest possible number recorded. The total figure noted, according to the census, is 5,543 lamas, living in the four subprefectures of Hsining, Nien-pei, Ta-t'ung, and Kui-te, scattered among 77 lamaseries.

According to the situation in 1910 very few of the large monasteries reached the quota of 300 lamas, except Kumbum which is said to have had 3,000. Therefore, if we suppose that the total number of lamas in the four subprefectures reached 10,000, our estimate would certainly be sufficient. Regarding the excessive number of lamas in one lamasery, it must be borne in mind that the lamas are always prone to exaggerate; for instance, the number 3,000 for Kumbum is not the number of lamas dwelling in the monastery, but the number of parts or "shares" into which the gifts distributed to the lamas are divided. The distribution differs in each monastery. In Kumbum for instance, at each distribution each of the Living Buddhas receives 50 parts, as do the five Fa-t'ais; other officials receive 20, 10, and 5 parts, etc. In this way the actual number of lamas is reduced to 2,000.

At the time I lived at Kumbum the number of lamas

[1a] W. W. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 215, cites with approval a Chinese estimate that for every family in Tibet there were three lamas.

[2] The census (1729–1735) records in the prefecture of Hsining 2,611 lamas. Each lama received yearly 1.6 *tan* of wheat; each of the 961 lamas of the subprefecture of Nien-pei received yearly 1.7 *tan* of wheat; each of the 1,331 lamas of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung received yearly 2.7 *tan* of barley; each of the 690 lamas of the subprefecture of Kuei-te received only 0.24 *tan* of barley. The 5,543 recorded lamas of the four subprefectures of Hsining received subsistence grants of 9,040 *tan* of grain as compensation for the taxes the 77 lamaseries were no longer allowed to collect after the revolt of 1723. *Annals* of Hsining 16: 6*b*, 9*a*, 10*a*, 12*a*.

[p. 55 (A)]

The horoscope concerning the incarnation of Chang-chia was on one occasion extremely vague. "Reborn in the province of Shan-hsi," it said; nothing more. Lamas, after looking for six years, did not find the boy. Tired and despondent, they entered a Chinese inn, at the same time that a boy seven years old was returning from school. He looked at the lamas, and never having seen lamas before he started laughing. His mother immediately said, "It is the very first time I ever saw my boy laughing that way." Suspicion arose in the hearts of the lamas. They asked the lady for lodging for the night, but she flatly refused. The boy implored his mother again and again to allow them to stay. Then the lamas understood, the boy was the incarnation. They knelt before him, offering the ceremonial scarf of yellow satin, and acknowledging him as their Living Buddha. The boy smiled in the most happy way. They presented the traditional scarf to the Chinese parents, who refused to let the boy go because he was their only son. Finally, when 5,000 taels of silver were promised, the parents agreed. The lamas bought two fine mules and a cart, and returned with their Living Buddha to Erh-ku-lung. 175 775 792 787

The young Living Buddha Li had been dead five years, and the horoscope revealed he would reincarnate this time in a certain family Li. On the twenty-fourth of the fourth month, in the village of Li-chia-t'ai in the Naring Valley, there was a festival at the San-pao temple. The old Li Living Buddha, a venerable old man, adored in the country, attended the festival, as he had done for many years. All the children fled upon his arrival. Squatting on the ground in front of a big tent, he talked with the crowd. A poor boy, clothed in rags, ingenuously came close to the old man, whose beads he twisted around his tiny arms. Finally he sat in the old man's lap, and the old man understood and placed a red ribbon around his neck.

When he got back home, the intendancy decided that the genuine incarnation had been found. Lamas were sent to congratulate the parents, and to offer the ceremonial scarf. The Li T'u-ssu, the elders of the village, and the maternal uncle of the boy were invited to make preparations for the installation of the new Living Buddha. The intendancy prepared a dinner and the guests decided that 500 taels should be offered to the parents; a silk gown and velvet boots to the grandfather; a long coat to the maternal uncle; a long coat in flowered silk to the Li T'u-ssu, chief of the clan; a mare and a Peking saddle to the father; a beautiful cow to the mother, and 30 ounces of tea to each of the other members of the family. [431]

The next day the village offered a dinner. Thirty lamas arrived on horseback to lead the boy to his intendancy. On the way, two small groups of lamas on horseback were waiting to congratulate the boy, offering the scarf and prostrating themselves. The next day, before the dinner prepared by the intendancy, the boy was led to the temple where texts were read and the 175 775 792

[p.67(B)]

whole community lavishly entertained. The guests 175
were entertained at the intendancy. After dinner, 400 795
taels instead of 500 taels were presented to the parents. 792
Then the guests, bursting with righteous indignation, started cursing the intendancy and a feverish discussion broke up in a violent wrangle. In the scurry and confusion and unexpected hurly burly, all the lamas of the monastery and the intendants arrived to patch up the trouble. The 500 taels were paid. After ten years I heard the people of Li-chia-t'ai still cursing the intendancy.

In 1894 the intendancy of T'u-kuan got into trouble over its last incarnation. A lama boy, seven years of age, who lived at the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng which belonged to the Lu T'u-ssu, was recognized as the incarnation of T'u-kuan. Lu T'u-ssu, the lamas of Ku-ch'eng, the family of the boy, and the entire village objected, and did not allow the boy to abandon the monastery without having the intendancy pay 5,000 [431] taels to the family. The most influential mediators were invited by Erh-ku-lung in order to find a compromise. Sheep and cows were killed every day, plenty of wine distilled, and lamas and the whole village had a wonderful time enjoying dinners and drinks for ten days. Finally the compromise was reached that 3,600 taels should be paid to the family and various gifts offered to the T'u-ssu, the intendancy of Ku-ch'eng, the members of the family, and the mediators. The intendancy of T'u-kuan, which was known all over the country to be rich and wealthy, the lamas, the whole of Ku-ch'eng, and the family of the new incarnation, thus seized the opportunity to share in their own way a part of the honor befallen to Erh-ku-lung by discovery of the reincarnation.

It happens, however, that once in a while the horoscope seems to be cast in the wrong way. A nephew of T'u-kuan, two years of age, was recognized to be the incarnation of the minor Living Buddha Kao of Ch'ie-bzan. At five years of age, upon the death of his parents, he was taken to the intendancy, but seemed to be an idiot. In 1918, at thirty years of age, he was still only allowed to leave the intendancy once a month, in order to climb the mountain to the Obo and to burn incense.

EDUCATION OF THE MONGUOR LIVING BUDDHAS

Usually at the age of seven or eight the new Living 792
Buddha is brought to the lamasery, led by a splendid 871
procession of lamas, and installed in the luxurious intendancy, where a group of lama servants scrape and fawn in his presence, cater to his whims, and do his bidding.

The Orient is the country of decorum; the traditional splendor of the oriental courts is proverbial. The Living Buddhas of all the sects are extremely fond of decorum, and try to impress the uncivilized people by a display of munificence and wealth. For this reason [511]

[p. 68(A)]

Om Mani. The rite may last for two or three hours, 764
during which time two servings of tea are drunk. After the rite is finished, noodles are offered to the assembly. It is really edifying to see the courtyard crowded with people, kneeling and squatting close together, and to hear them repeat in unison, slowly and with devotion, after the cavernous voice of the lama, innumerable monotone Om Manis. One feels at that time that the Monguors are a religious people.

The custom of gathering at night to pray for the deceased seems to have been practiced by nomads long before Lamaism was born. Parker, dealing with the funeral rites of the Hsien-pi as translated from the Chinese annals notes: "On the day of the funeral the relatives and the intimates assemble at night time and sit in a circle; two men pronounce an incantation so that [775] the soul may pass unmolested by the Ghouls to the red mountains." This fact is noted as having existed before our era, two thousand years ago. It is interesting to encounter at the same time of night a similar religious rite for the same purpose among the Monguors, who were formerly nomads. It is said by them that they are very fond of the rite.[34]

CREMATION [35]

During the six days preceding the cremation, three lamas (rich people invite five or seven) pray for the dead in a private room. On the sixth day a minor Living Buddha arrives with a couple of lama assistants. At night, after the departure of the guests, the lamas drive out the souls of the dead in the usual way, and throw the nefarious *torma* on a crossroad; the neighbors cry and shoot rifles. In the very early morning, the lamas pray before the corpse, beating drums and ringing bells, so that the awakened neighbors soon arrive. Tea is drunk, lamentations are made, and the sedan chair is carried at a fast pace to the place of cremation. It is not permitted to rest on the way, or to put down the sedan chair, lest the spirit of that spot be injured. At the moment of departure, the lamas adjure the souls not to come back.

Only among a few groups of Monguors are women, the daughters of the deceased, allowed to follow the [184 562 431] cortege lamenting, supported and steadied by other women. Arriving at the spot they are invited to go back home; they receive a piece of cloth, a pair of trousers, and a gown in order to return easily. On a spot indicated by a Red lama or a Taoist priest the neighbors have built, the day before, a rudimentary oven which has an opening on each of the four sides. The master of ceremonies for the last time adjures the dead not to come back or to harm the family. The corpse is put in a caldron in the oven. The wood of the sedan chair, broken into pieces, is put in the oven. A lama strikes fire with a flint and lights the oven. Twenty

[34] Parker, *op. cit.*, 86.
[35] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 42. [p.145 (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

the report of Huo Tu-t'ung, Governor of Shensi and Kansu provinces. 175x

I received the imperial order, reading "for anniversaries of the fiftieth birthday, the rule of felicitating is not used." No need for him to come to the capital to display his solicitude. Later when the rules of felicitating will be performed, the t'u-ssu may send his supplication to come to the capital, through your hands. Then you will report again, and after deliberation the permission will be accorded. Receive the order with respect.

1819. Imperial order of the seventeenth of the first moon:

Lu Chi Hsun, t'u-ssu of Chuang Lang, asks for permission to come to the capital to present his congratulations, for my anniversary of sixty years of age. It is the proper time and the t'u-ssu desires to come. I agree. According to the rules in former times, the trip of the t'u-ssu to the capital was defrayed by the empire. He will come along the way of the couriers, but notice that I do not order the t'u-ssu and others to come to the capital. I order the t'u-ssu to travel with the T'u-lu-fan, Mohammedan prince of the second degree, and with the Mohammedan prince of the second degree of Hami. They will arrive at Je Ho Erh, on the first of the eighth moon. After having called the emperor, having done the prostrations and presented the congratulations, they will return to Kansu. Receive this order with reverence.

On the nineteenth of the fifth moon Chi Hsun left.

On the tenth of the eighth moon he arrived in Je Ho Erh. On the twelfth he met the emperor in the lion garden. He was granted slices of dry deer meat, spiced with pepper and ginger. On the thirteenth, the emperor was so kind as to accept his two beautiful horses and the products of the country. He accepted them all. Chi Hsun was rewarded with the peacock plume and coral button, the official straw hat, the collar (worn by officials of the fifth degree), the long coat adorned with embroidered breast plates, the dress adorned with dragon designs, silk cinctures, an embroidered purse, a dagger worn at the cincture, a small coat, a long brocade dress, carpets, a horse saddle, and other things. 175x 703 471 [262]

On the fourteenth he was invited to dinner and to the comedy. He received again a collar made with silk from Ch'ang Chou in Fukien, a purse, a dagger, fringes fixed on the hats, tea, and dry fruit.

On the sixteenth he was again invited to dinner and the comedy, and received a clock and snuff box. On the seventeenth, dinner again and attendance at the comedy, and at the fireworks at night. On the nineteenth he thanked the emperor, and received two pieces of brocade, two pieces of silk from Ch'ang Chou, and six pieces of satin and a piece of dry deer meat. On the twentieth he bade farewell to the emperor. The next day he left for Kansu, with permits from the ministry of war to travel at the expense of the empire, permits for the soldiers of his retinue, and another for the passage of his cars free of toll and taxes. He was back in Lien Ch'eng on the fourth of the eleventh moon.

1824. The Mongol Khoshot, daughter of the Prince 175x

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside.

M [351] [782] [353] [352] Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations.

M [252] For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, mules or donkeys.

M [794] A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter and wheat flour are luxuries. Only the wealthy can afford fruit.

M [412] Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

N *563 M 264 415 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some

M /141 cont'd/
586 sum or to find signers and go-betweens, for nobody wants to expose
672 himself to the vengeance of the family of the repudiated wife. I knew a case where all was ready for the repudiation of a woman who was claimed to be badly formed physically. Since the family was
M rich, it was on the point of turning up its nose at all threats. At the
[762] last moment it changed its mind when it learned that the wife had just procured opium to end her life.

M Thus those who do not fear exposing themselves to such troubles
586 will repudiate their wives. Fortunately, these people are extremely
432 rare.

It must therefore be admitted that in this respect the T'ou-jen have not undergone the pernicious influence of their neighbors and masters, the Chinese, among whom repudiation and the sale of the wife often occur in normal times. One will never see T'ou-jen women sold in great numbers in time of famine as is seen in China even today. One will not meet T'ou-jen who will take a mortage on their wives, as I have seen happen twice among the Chinese. One will never see the T'ou-jen put a woman on the mountain of filial piety as I once saw done. Although with them the wife must work very hard, she is more highly esteemed and respected than in China.

M If, however, repudiation does take place, they begin by getting
586 go-betweens, who will go to consult with the wife's family. When the discussions have reached an end and the money demanded has been promised, the contract is written and signed as for divorce. The go-between, after bringing the promised sum to the family of the
M repudiated woman, /142/ will go to get the latter and present her to
[858] her parents. The children in this case stay with the husband's family. (1)

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1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 313: (Mongols.) Divorce is very frequent; the least dissatisfaction on one side or the other is enough to have it declared. If the husband wants to be separated from his wife without a

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777 always inside the house. In such a case the arrow is not made or
*778 consecrated by a lama or Bon priest (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 52.] For the preparation of the urn, cf. the section: "The Earth-god Urn."

Attachments: Always and in all cases hadas and sheep wool are attached to the arrow. If the arrow is consecrated, a small copper mirror is usually also attached to it. -- When, an animal is sold or given away, some of its hair is tied to the [237] arrow, as in the case of horses, donkeys, and mules. The hair [432] is taken from the mane or tail. Similarly, when a sheep is sold some wool is also tied on. Hog bristles, however, may never be tied to the arrow of good fortune. -- After a child's first haircut, on the first birthday, the downy hairs that have been cut off are [302] rolled into a little ball, and a thread is drawn out of it, with [852] which the ball is tied to the arrow; similarly the bow and arrow that the child seized as an oracle on this occasion is tied to it. -- When a daughter is married, a number of small strips of cloth [585] are cut from the seam of her bridal [51] dress for the arrow. Also some hair of the bride, which was combed out during the hair-dressing and adornment on the eve of her being taken away, is carefully collected and attached to the arrow of good fortune (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 52-53.] The fact that sheep wool is always attached to the arrow, as to the obo, seems to be connected with the sheep of good fortune; cf. below. F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148) would like to connect the little balls of wool (cotton) with the thread figures (mdos), which hold fast the demons. -- Occasionally, silk threads in the five sacred colors are also added. Hair

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5. [Foreign text p. 53.] The informant firmly insisted upon this statement, although the consecration, beribboning, mirror, and bells seem to argue that the arrow is a seat of the spirit.

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house, namely, during the wedding. While the bride, amidst the weeping and wailing of the women, is led out to the threshing floor and mounts the riding animal, the father takes the arrow of good fortune and runs back and forth with it behind the bride, calling out the name of his daughter, who is led on the riding animal three times around the threshing floor before she rides off. The father wants to keep back the good fortune.

[52] The arrow holds together the good fortune and well-being of the household, as do the god of wealth and the treasure-urn among the Chinese. For that reason something is held back as "seed" and "root" from everything that is sold and attached to the arrow or added to the urn (6). With her marriage, the

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6. [Foreign text pp. 53-55.] One receives differing information among the people concerning the word yãṅsdzia. Some say yãṅ means "good fortune," whereas the informant subscribes more to the meaning "germ," root, seed, guarantee of good fortune." In the region of Bengbar (Hsi-ch'uan) the arrow is called yãṅbō. The ... bō could not be explained by anyone. The people derived the yãṅ from the Tibetan and said it meant "good fortune." Undoubtedly it is identical with the Tibetan g.yaṅ. The Chinese word ying-pao mentioned by F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 139) is phonetically very reminiscent of the designation yãṅbō. The Tujen have a third expression for

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.] with the arrow of good fortune and calls out her name. Meanwhile the attendants sing a song in which they conjure everything that the bride takes with her onto the arrow as a "germ," so that it might stay behind. -- The urn that holds the grain brought by the bride-fetchers is a similar matter. This urn is called g, yaṅ-bum in Tibetan and its meaning corresponds with that given by Ch. Das (p. 1150). It contains treasures: gold, silver, money, ornaments, etc. The arrow of good fortune and the urn of good fortune thus carry the germs and vital power of all the blessings of good fortune of the kin group [Sippe], be they animals, human beings, [54] treasures, or seed. They not only carry them, but also guarantee their preservation and increase. This conception, however, is not only found among the Tujen.

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The shepherd-nomads have a custom similar to that of the Tujen and the agricultural Fandse with their arrow of good fortune. When they sell animals, they tie some of the wool or hair to the tent post or to a string inside the tent. (G. Montell, p. 49, illustration, reports something similar from the Mongols.) This post or string has a special relationship to heaven. Among the agriculturalists the urn appears in accordance with the importance of the agricultural products. Thus, the Chinese likewise have a pao-p'ing, "treasure-vase"; similarly, the Lolo have an ancestral chest in which

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764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
782 large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
792 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
465 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
[272] temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
[262] own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people
[788] buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the
[556] temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it.
[432] In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of
butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large
month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and
night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate
to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the
dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name
of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by
the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer
services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
602 Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain
a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

[177] 13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

[841 cont.]

778 Regardless of how the animal[1] lost its life, its flesh may never be
825 eaten.

Furthermore such animals may not be sold or given away,
[262] for they belong to the god. One may give it to a monastery
[432] where it is cared for and protected until its death. -- An animal may not be acquired for the consecration with money; it must always be given as a gift.

There is no special watch over the consecrated animals, so that they can freely mount one another. The offspring are
[422] then counted as profane animals and fall to the original owner.

Whether the animal is pleasing to the god is manifested
[787] when the milk is poured over it. If it does not shake itself, one immediately fetches another; the ceremonies are then repeated. Every healthy animal shakes itself. If there is no milk, one dissolves tsamba or white flour in pure water so that it looks like milk. Some people take only clear water. This is not proper.

There are gods who ride the animals, for instance,
[776] Amtsiensa rides [842] on a wool-goat and Lamusa on a mule (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 843.] In the monastery Rgulõh each month (on the first or fifteenth day) consecrated riding animals are magnificently saddled and led onto the colonnade of the chief temple immediately in front of the entrance. There they are offered to the god (Fo-yeh) for riding; then one lets them
[792] run. -- Perhaps it is worth mentioning in this connection that the Tulkus (incarnation) of the lamic monasteries may ride only white horses, which otherwise are not regarded as superior.

It could not be discovered which
[171] gods are the riding gods. The Amtsiensa corresponds to the Chinese Tan-chiao hao-hua, and the Lamusa to the Chinese Lo-tzu t'ien-wang, that is, the heavenly mule-king.

[1] [Ue - a consecrated animal - See cat. 116, pp 248-249- ANALYST]

N *563 M 142 have very scanty beards, and there is seldom any growth of hair on the body.

e. economic activities

N *563 M [241] [233] [433] The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

M [291] [177] [791] Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to wear only Chinese clothing.

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Olots and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours now belong to Chinghai Province. Very little is known about the N [177] Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokonor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian N [233] language. They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölots and the Torguts of Sinkiang.

2. Hordes

N *563 619 361 *[175] When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai area he found the following groups of Mongols:

(1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;

(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;

(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;

(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;

(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.

(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.

(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;

/The Monguors/

000 on the luckless family.

N *563 M 231 [877] The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

M [886] [705]

N *563 M 515 [784] Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

5. Occupations

N *563 M 24 233 433 The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

N *563 M 24 [777] [432] The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

N *563 M 231 554 [556] [184] Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

N *563 M 233 463 Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

I remarked that the performance of this rite, not kept secret in the fold of the monastery but put completely on public display, was not very honorable for the intendants. The lamas answered, "When squeezed to the wall and when all other rites have been of no avail, the rite has to be performed." Such facts, without stretching the point, are really informative, concerning the type of the intendants. 792 788

The overriding importance attached to the appointment of the intendant, who can make a monastery flourish or ruin it, may be explained by the enormous influence exerted in a monastery by them, which matches that of the supreme chief of the institutions, and the stumbling blocks encountered by the intendants, which endanger the correct fulfilling of their office. They serve also to gain a true insight into the frame of mind of the administrative world of the monasteries.

MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE OF THE LAMASERIES

DOMAINS

During the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties, large domains were granted to the monasteries to provide their means of subsistence. In former times it was easy for the emperors to be lavish in such grants in a sparsely populated country. I never had the opportunity to see the old deeds under which the vast domains of Erh-ku-lung and its flourishing subsidiaries had been granted. Its most important domain is that of the Fan-wu-pu, which it shares with its daughter monastery of Seerkok.[3] 792 423 643 434

The Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa Hutukhtus were the favorite Living Buddhas of the emperors. It seems an obvious assumption that private domains were also granted to each of them, because Chang-chia was able to found on his properties six branches and eleven villages. T'u-kuan founded seven villages and seven affiliates, while Sumpa founded five branches, and further it is said he disposed of more domains than both Chang-chia and T'u-kuan. The tax and rent revenues collected on their private properties must have been considerable because Chang-chia built nine oil and grain mills and T'u-kuan eighteen, in order to dispose of their grain. [256]

[3] The Fan-wu-pu (the five tribes of barbarians) are situated in the region of Wei-yüan-p'u. They are: (1) Pei-tsui-pu (Narin valley), (2) Tsan-tsa-pu (east and west Tsan-tsa), (3) Hsieh-tsa-pu, (4) Pu-tsa-pu (near the mountains), and (5) Kuang-hua-pu (west of Wei-Yüan-p'u). The people living in these vast territories were the subjects of these two lamaseries, to which they paid taxes and rent, and were liable for corvées. All the villages from Pei-tsui-pu eastward (Ha-la-chih and Hung nai valleys) belonged to Erh-ku-lung; those westward to Seerkok. In 1910 both lamaseries still collected the rent of these fields, enjoyed the privilege of traveling for alms among these former subjects, and vindicated the right of still being invited by them for the performance of public and private religious activities. In that region the monastery of Erh-ku-lung had built twenty-four oil and grain mills. These domains were administered in former times by the important T'u-kuan and Seerkok Nang suo. [p.43 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Concerning Seerkok, the former subsidiary of Erh-ku-lung, it is recorded that it disposed of a property 45 miles (150 *li*) in length and 10 miles (30 *li*) wide.[4] Achia Hutukhtu of Kumbum collected taxes and rents from five tribes of farming Tibetans and the inhabitants of seven valleys.[5] The country for 200 *li* around Kumbum belongs to the monastery; several thousand "tame" barbarians are its subjects.[6] Achia Hutukhtu received from the emperor an extensive region for grazing his herds in Chahar (Inner Mongolia). The contract was written by order of the emperor in 1766.[7] Erh-ku-lung received land from the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where a lot of its subjects farmed. After the revolt of 1723, the Ch'i T'u-ssu responsible for the revolt of Erh-ku-lung lost his title and the subjects who farmed his land. Later he was given a chance to regain his title and subjects, if he could bring those who had revolted to submission. He succeeded, and recovered title and subjects, as described in Part I (p. 50).

It has been recorded that Ch'ü-t'an, which was the first lamasery founded by the Ming emperors, received wide domains so that it was able to build the two large branches of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and Hung Shan-ssu (*Annals* of Hsining. ch. 15, p. 13). During the Ming dynasty large domains had also been granted to the Karwa and Nang-suo institutions, as noted above. Most of the minor Living Buddhas also possessed domains granted by T'u-ssu or wealthy people, or which they purchased themselves.

If account is taken of all these facts, it is easy to understand why the Chinese officials, who before 1723 could not collect taxes on all these vast domains, harbored an enormous jealousy, and why they exulted after the revolt when the emperor assigned the collection of these taxes to them. The text of the author of the *Annals* of Hsining records (chap. 31, p. 22) that " . . . in 1727, by decree, the emperor in one day, put an end to calamities lasting hundreds of years." This text, on the one hand, proves the rejoicing of the Chinese officials at that time; on the other hand, the loss of these enormous revenues impoverished the monasteries tremendously. The lamas, however, were very proficient in finding a means to cushion the shock to some extent.[8]

RENTS

After the revolt, the lamas could only receive the rent of their tenants in the way in which a rich landowner received them; but it was customary that the government receive the taxes, not directly from the tenants,

[4] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 5: 123.
[5] *Ibid.*, 143.
[6] *Ibid.*, 11.
[7] *Ibid.*, 143.
[8] In 1948 according to the official data provided by the Bureau of the actual province of Ch'ing-hai (Hsining), only 177 of the 235 lamaseries, owned collectively about 500,000 *mou* (acres) of land and 5,000 to 6,000 head of livestock. Wang Wen-han, *Pien-chiang tung-hsin* 1: 1–7, 1948.

but from the landowner who, in case the tenant disappeared or became insolvent, was responsible for the tax. In this way the lamas who were landowners had to collect the official taxes from their tenants, and accompany the endless caravans of their tenants' donkeys carrying grain to the official granaries. Before the journey to the granary started, however, each tenant had to measure the grain in the presence of the lamas and with the measure supplied by the lamas, the capacity of which was greater than the official one; this enabled the lamas to set aside a valuable surplus over the vast amount of official taxes. 792 427 651 434 [402] [804]

The properties of the lamaseries, consisting of extensive territories, contain a large part of waste and untilled land on which no taxes are imposed. The industrious intendants developed these properties by means of irrigation canals, and called in new farmers to till the new fields. The legal amount of taxes, however, has always remained the same as the initial amount, because the intendants, by means of collusion and bribery, easily succeed in gaining over the tax collectors. In this way the revenues of the intendancies are greatly increased, and they still receive surreptitiously a very large revenue. Moreover, they are able to store the surplus, which they can grind or sell when prices are highest. 792 423 651 [311 312] 434

HERDS

Sheep, cows, and horses constitute, for many intendancies, a source of revenue. Large herds are grazed in Kukunor or Mongolia where the pastures are larger, smaller herds in the country for local use. Mongol princes and Tibetan chiefs of tribes are always ready to help the monasteries. A contract is made with herdsmen by which the first calves, colts, and lambs belong to the owner, the second-born to the herdsman, and so on. Every three years a lama inspector of the intendancy examines the accounts of the herdsmen and settles with them the number of animals to be sold, and the herdsmen show the skins of the animals which died during the three-year period. If they cannot produce the skins of the dead animals it is assumed that they sold the animals and they must pay the owner of the herds. 792 434 233

OIL AND GRAIN MILLS

These mills are a large source of revenue. The monastery proper of Erh-ku-lung is owner of twenty-four oil and grain mills; the T'u-kuan himself has eighteen, Chang-chia nine. The mills are leased by Monguors or Chinese. The rent of oil mills is 300 pounds of oil for a season's use, besides which it must press the oil belonging to the monastery. The grain miller must grind the grain of the intendancy and at the New Year season give a pig weighing 120 pounds. Most of the oil which is not consumed in the kitchen in the preparation of food, or in the lamps in the temples and homes, is sent by raft to Lan-chou, the capital of the province. 792 434 256

[p.44 (B)]

The oil trade is a very important and lucrative business. Flour is sold in Hsining. The taxes imposed on the mills are very heavy, but the monasteries still enjoy the old privilege granted before 1723, and are exempted from these taxes. Even families in which a Living Buddha has been born enjoy the same privilege, for instance, the Lan family living in Hung nai tzu Valley. Every year, however, the family has to offer 10 pounds of oil at Erh-ku-lung to the intendancy of its Buddha, deceased a century ago. The lamas claim the privilege, which was granted during the Yung lo period (1403–1424), because oil is consumed in the lamps of the temples before the Buddhas, and flour is used by the lamas, the servants of Buddha. 792 [438] 434 651

FORESTS

Only two monasteries possess extensive forests—Seerkok and T'ien-T'ang. Because wood is very scarce in the northern part of the province, forests are an important source of revenue. 792 434 314

TOLL ON BRIDGES

The history of the famous bridge of T'ien T'ang has been recorded. For many years it was a source of large revenue, which finally caused its ruin. 792 434 [494]

The monastery of Kan-ch'an, belonging to the famous Tenma, receives toll on a raft, which ferries passengers across the Ta-t'ung River. Tenma is a very well-known man in the country. His first incarnation, a learned man, was appointed Fa-t'ai in Erh-ku-lung by the first Chang-chia (Huth, p. 279). It is related that he caused the ruin of Erh-ku-lung. In 1723 bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, chief of the revolt, was a prisoner in Hsining, and about to be executed. He heard that Tenma was in the city. Through the guardians of the jail, he implored him to write a letter to the Chinese generals in order to save his life. Tenma, unaware of the consequences of such an act, wrote the letter. The generals got the impression that Erh-ku-lung was mixed up with the revolt, and they destroyed the monastery. This is a fine story, manufactured on the ground out of whole cloth, in order to free the old mother monastery from blame, but why was the blame put on Tenma? 505 175

For many years during the period of my stay, the young Tenma, swelling with ambition, was the most talked-of man in the country for his audacious plan to construct a European suspension bridge over the river, like those in photographs he had seen in magazines. He started buying all the available iron in the country, felling all the big trees growing on the domain of the monastery, and building a large brickyard. Blacksmiths, carpenters, and bricklayers worked for four years. He built four great towers, two on each side of the river. The blacksmiths made enormous iron chains, too heavy to manipulate or to move. He exhausted the entire treasure of the monastery. Troubles started 792 334

[p.45(A)]

among the intendancies and the impoverished lamas. 792
Saddled with debts, and his plans not working out, he 334
was compelled to give up his ambitious dreams and revert to the ancestral raft.

It is said that this holy man enjoyed the gift of bilocation. The people still state that many times many people saw him directing the shifts of blacksmiths and carpenters on the river, and at the same time saw him in ecstatic rapture in the temple.

It was after his financial collapse that he started the trouble with the disciple of his deceased intendant, which lasted for seven years, in order to retrieve his fortunes, only to land in jail in Seerkok. Finally, having debased his name and position of authority, he moved to one of his affiliates in the region of Kan-chou, where he was still living in 1920. Tenma was a typical figure in the world of Living Buddhas in 1910–1920.

COLLECTION OF ALMS IN FAR-OFF COUNTRIES

Expeditions to far-off countries are an important 792
source of revenue. They last for several months and 434
are organized by the various intendancies in their own 431
behalf. Sometimes the supreme chief of a monastery accompanies the expedition. In 1914 T'u-kuan went to the region of the Yellow Tibetans (Uigurs) living around Su-chou. He left on the second of the second moon and was back at Erh-ku-lung in the tenth moon, with 124 cows, 146 horses, 90 sheep, and 2,000 taels. He seemed to be very happy when I visited him after the trip. During the troubles in 1940, T'u-kuan went to Mongolia, among the Urats, and traveled for four years. He visited me at Man-huei in Hou T'ao. He had a lot of trouble entering Hsining with 300 horses and 200 loaded camels because he was suspected of having had connections with the revolting Mongol, Te wang.

When I was in Kumbum in 1912 I met a returning expedition from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 3,000 sheep, 260 horses, 140 cows, and loaded with butter, wool, skins, and yak hair. All the butchers from Hsining rushed to Kumbum to buy cheap cows and sheep. In December, 1914, I met a caravan of Kumbum returning from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 6,000 sheep, 150 horses, and 200 cows. On the way they had lost 40 horses. They went to Hsining in order to [127]
bring suit against the chief of the tribe on whose territory the horses had been lost. The Amban settled the trouble in one session. He ordered that a kettle containing boiling oil be brought to him. Then he ordered both groups to grasp a one dollar piece he had thrown in the boiling oil. The lamas prostrated, apologized and implored for mercy, but the Tibetan chief tucked up his sleeves and went straight to the kettle. The gesture was sufficient for the Amban. The lamas received two hundred lashes, and were put into jail until a fine of two hundred dollars was brought to the court. [p.45(B)]

In 1914, in Nien pe, I encountered the unusual case 792
of a lama not enlisted in any monastery, who came back 434
from Mongolia with 40 loaded camels, to the home of his brother in Kang-tzu Valley, after a trip which had lasted for sixteen years. The shrewd lama had collected alms for himself! He died a few days after his return. His brother thereafter was a rich man.

A large capital investment is required for such ex- 792
peditions. The intendancies buy all kinds of things 434
used by the nomad Tibetans and Mongols. They carry 434
prayer books, paintings and statues of Buddhas, spoons, 443
wooden cups, teapots, kettles, thread of all colors, needles, boots, cotton, silk, satin, combs, tobacco, saddles from Peking, bridles, stirrups, finger and ear rings, charm boxes, toothpicks, ear probers, tweezers, prickers (necessary for the performance of the toilet), cheap synthetic jewelry, and tea.

All these things are loaded on oxen and entrusted to loyal and dependable lamas of the intendancies who set out on the journey. All along the way they sell their wares, adding to each item a scarf of felicity, blessed by their Buddha at home. The trade is carried on by [437]
barter. They accept wool, skins, yak hair, butter, sheep, cows, and horses, claiming they are collecting alms. When the animals they collect along the way become too numerous, they hire Tibetans or Mongols to help drive them. Because they get twice or thrice the cost of the wares and because labor has little value, these expeditions are really remunerative. However, if it happens that a caravan of another intendancy precedes their own, and the Tibetans or Mongols do not need anything more, then "fishing after the net is a losing business"; but according to the figures noted above, the expeditions are usually very profitable.

TAXES

At the seasonal festivals, held on the grounds of the 792
monastery, taxes are collected by the lamas from the 434
merchants of the city, who pitch their tents and do busi- [65]
ness on their territory, and from the Tibetans and Monguors who sell animals and their primitive homespun products.

MONEYLENDING

Lending of money at the Chinese legal rate of 30 per 792
cent interest is the most important source of revenue 434
for the intendancies. The lending of money is far more 426
remunerative than the purchase of land and mortgages, which afford more security. However, the intendancies prefer the bigger interest.

Intendancies dispose of capital to secure the annual subsidy granted to the lamas, the purchase of the important quantity of butter to be burned in the temple lamps, the expenses for the purchase of all the items required for the expeditions in Mongolia, Kukunor and Ts'aidam, and the expenses of the fixed festivals held at the monasteries. Besides these the intendancies dis-

[p. 46 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

pose of the amount of money provided from the various sources noted in this section. 712 434 426

Loans are made to Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese, to shopkeepers, merchants in the city, in fact to anyone who provides serious guarantors. Two guarantors are always required, a lama and a layman.

The Chinese who lend money at the same legal rate of 30 per cent interest are very, very rarely entirely successful in this financial operation, and they know it before they start. After the third year, when the capital is nearly recovered, troubles usually start and new provisions are accepted for a smaller interest, or the problem is brought to the Chinese court of justice, which inevitably decides in favor of the poor party. In China it is the custom for the judge to decide in favor of the borrower and for the richer party to give up some of its rights and benefits. However, the inexorability of the lamas in collecting interest is an attested fact. The proverbs and sayings all over the country go: *"Chiu ming ti k'o-wa, sha-jen ti lama,"* meaning "even merchants who are so eager for money, save the life of a miserable man, but the lamas kill him"; also, *"lama chang nan la, p'o-niang chang nan la,"* meaning "It is not easy to be indebted to a lama, not easy to be indebted to a woman," because nobody can withstand the curses of a woman or the eagerness of lamas. Lamas are noted as loan sharks all over the country.

The people approach the lamas to borrow money and grain, because the people of the country are poor and the lamas dispose of money. On the twenty-fifth of the twelfth moon, the interest is due. In the evening, on the fifth of the moon, groups of young lamas gather in all the streets of the monasteries crying at the top of their voices that the interest has to be brought in by the twenty-fifth. They continue this crying for several days. With this notice the lamas' guarantors set out to find the persons whom they have guaranteed, as well as the layman guarantors, their partners. If they cannot find the hiding debtor, then on the twenty-fifth the lama is tied and lashed with ruthless severity until he pays the debt himself. If the debtor and layman are subjects of the monastery, they undergo the same rough procedure. No mercy is shown until the last farthing is extorted. Subjects do not dare bring suit against the lamas at the Chinese courts, because they cannot stand up against such a rich and influential opponent as the intendant. The lamas try to lend, if possible, to their subjects, to subjects of other monasteries, to T'u-ssu, or rich people who can provide a serious guaranty.

In the Orient, wealth and money are the mightiest factors of influence and power. In this respect the regulations of 1723, which were aimed at undermining and undoing the influence and power of the monasteries, failed almost completely. The monasteries are still the most influential and powerful institutions in the country.

[p. 46 (B)]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

648 trading and making a little profit. The T'u-ssu and his
624 retinue took with them whatever they thought might sell
advantageously in Peking. For the return journey, they
435 bought in Peking everything that they knew would sell
profitably in their home country. The profit was greatly
431 increased by the fact that they traveled free of charge and
free of the usual transit taxes. Before they left Peking, moreover, the T'u-ssu received valuable gifts from the emperor, including the traditional ceremonial long coat, the yellow robe worn by officials on state occasions, and pieces of silk and brocade. A visit of this kind to the capital enhanced the stature of the T'u-ssu both among his own subjects and among the Chinese officials, because the rich presents that he took with him provided him with friends and protectors among the high officials at court.

648 Most of the foregoing information was collected in
Liench'eng, the T'u-ssu of the Lu clan of Liench'eng
624 having been among the last of the T'u-ssu who visited
the emperor. Two old Monguors of this clan liked to talk about this visit on which their grandfathers or great-grandfathers had accompanied the T'u-ssu to the capital, where they had seen the emperor. According to the family chronicles of the clan, this visit was made in 1829–1830 by the T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsün, fifteenth in descent from the "founding ancestor" of the clan. He left Liench'eng on the twenty-sixth of the tenth moon and arrived at Peking on the nineteenth of the twelfth moon. On the twenty-third of the twelfth moon he was granted an audience with the emperor and from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth he was invited to banquets and theatrical performances.

On the first of the first moon, the new year according to the lunar calendar, he accompanied the high official who carried out the rite of congratulating the emperor at the palace called the T'ai Ho Tien, and partook of a dinner of state. On the evening of the same day he attended the theatrical performance played on the ice of the lake called Ying T'ai in the Forbidden City. On the fifteenth of the first moon he accompanied the high officials who attended the fireworks illumination of the Yuan Ming Yuan palace, and was granted the favor of such gifts as the peacock plume, clothes, porcelains, and rare foodstuffs. On the nineteenth he presented his thanks to the emperor and asked for leave to depart. He made his farewells to the high officials, left on the twenty-eighth, and completed the long journey back to Liench'eng on the fifth of the fourth moon.

In the same family chronicle there is recorded the visit paid in 1819 by the T'u-ssu Lu Cho to the Emperor Chia Ch'ing on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday at the summer palace of Jehol. This T'u-ssu left Liench'eng on the nineteenth of the fifth moon and arrived in Jehol on the tenth of the eighth moon. On the twelfth, he was received in audience to greet the emperor in the Lion Garden, where he was accorded the favor of receiving slices of venison sprinkled with pepper and

[p. 52a]

3: Schröder--252 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 A89 Monguor AE9

[841 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 842-843 cont.]
chiang. The rules mentioned here lead one to surmise that conceptions from lunar mythology (black-white, circular horns) are involved here. The preference for male animals, with the exception of the mules, is also striking. -- This rule is also decisive in profane life. People who have a high opinion of themselves ride only male horses (gelding), but female mules; the reddish-brown color with white mane and white tail is regarded as elegant. White eye-rings, belly covering, and white mouth are highly esteemed for all riding animals of whatever color and help to determine the price. -- It is also interesting that among the goats the lamas prefer not black, but reddish-brown bucks.

[554]
[492]

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The old man said that the ordinary people would not bother with these rules unless they gave the animal to the monastery. Otherwise the color, age, sex, castration, etc. were unimportant, so long as the animal had no physical defects.

The released animals usually stay with their own herd or in the house, for they are used to it. If they run away, nobody bothers about it. A family always keeps horses, mules, and cattle at home and uses them as before. This was not the case originally, however; it is a deviation from the old custom, brought about by poverty and work in the fields.

[178]

A consecrated animal may never be killed. It must die a natural death. If it is eaten by a wolf, it need not be replaced. If an evildoer kills the consecrated animal, then the punishment of heaven or of the consecration-deity will strike him. Also, under no circumstances may one slaughter a consecrated animal for the offering; this would be tantamount to ordinary killing.

[688]

[782]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

231 441 [237] donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel relatively well because they have not been confined and fed in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from there to Europe and America for making brushes.

236 237 443 439 The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this buying is done directly in the homes of families that have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buying in small quantities is done by the peddlars, especially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments, [436] and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for [203] Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as they travel.

442 296 543 Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs. Two or three times a year every important monastery holds special religious performances, around which there spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes, wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack [232] doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose diseases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses, cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

543 579 Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and attract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable distances. In the afternoons there are horse races and wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymaking, and often, when there has been too much drinking, fights between clans and villages.

463 439 484 A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods, attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

/142 cont'd/

Ma 586

(earnest). They pay it back only in the case, if it is paid and the bride runs away with someone else just before the wedding. Such cases are absolutely exceptional ... all this question must be reported to the clan. /Cited in English, with French interpolation, indicated by parentheses./

Mo 586 A case can occur in which the wife is the only guilty one. It is natural then that the wife's family does not require compensation, etc. I have never, however, heard it said that the guilty wife's family had to give back to the injured son-in-law the earnest received at the time of the marriage.

Mo 586 554 /143/ On the question of repudiation let us note that it is necessary to take account of many circumstances, of which one of the main ones is the economic status of the wife's family, the influence this family enjoys in the region, and above all the fact of having among its members people who will know how to cope with the husband's family in spite of everything. One must also take into account the power of the husband's family, which if it has influential protectors can allow itself to be prepared for all eventualities. In the Orient especially, it is not enough to have rights, it is necessary to be able to defend them.

C. Exchange of Married Women

Mo 437 593 587 I cannot pass by in silence the case of four families of Hong-ngai-tse-keou, who without recourse to divorce or repudiation got rid of their wives by mutually exchanging them, without further ceremony; the children remained in the families where they were born. All was arranged without go-betweens, contract, or expenses, by common agreement among those concerned.

These are the only cases of this practice which have come to my knowledge, and I think they are isolated cases which prove

2: Schram--160 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Tibet AJ2

Mo /143 cont'd/
437 nothing. Public opinion strongly disclaimed this practice and the
593 elders did not admit it. (1)
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1. David Macdonald, Moeurs et coutumes des Thibétains /Practices and Customs of the Tibetans/, p. 136: Another singular usage, but one which is practiced only in high circles, is that two men exchange their wives by mutual consent. The latter are consulted on the question, and their consent to the combination must be obtained.

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 137: Wife Exchange. It is also incorrect when Graebner says that it is precisely in the region of the Old Asiatic peoples that the custom flourishes most.... It is much more common generally among the Eskimo tribes known so far, and it is present among practically all of them, while among the Old Asiatics it is not known at all by the Korjak, far from it, and the Jukugir, too, have only a weak tendency toward it. /Cited in German./

Mo /144/ I think I must point out the influence of Tibetan practices
587 especially for this singular case. Indeed, each year one sees several
437 T'ou-jen of Hong-ngai-tse-keou go to Tibet to sell mules from the
593 Sining region. It would not be surprising if these T'ou-jen traders
177 learned about this custom in Tibet and practiced it later.

In 1914, in Nien pe, I encountered the unusual case 792
of a lama not enlisted in any monastery, who came back 434
from Mongolia with 40 loaded camels, to the home of his brother in Kang-tzu Valley, after a trip which had lasted for sixteen years. The shrewd lama had collected alms for himself! He died a few days after his return. His brother thereafter was a rich man.

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wooden cups, teapots, kettles, thread of all colors, needles, boots, cotton, silk, satin, combs, tobacco, saddles from Peking, bridles, stirrups, finger and ear rings, charm boxes, toothpicks, ear probers, tweezers, prickers (necessary for the performance of the toilet), cheap synthetic jewelry, and tea.

All these things are loaded on oxen and entrusted to loyal and dependable lamas of the intendancies who set out on the journey. All along the way they sell their wares, adding to each item a scarf of felicity, blessed by their Buddha at home. The trade is carried on by [437]
barter. They accept wool, skins, yak hair, butter, sheep, cows, and horses, claiming they are collecting alms. When the animals they collect along the way become too numerous, they hire Tibetans or Mongols to help drive them. Because they get twice or thrice the cost of the wares and because labor has little value, these expeditions are really remunerative. However, if it happens that a caravan of another intendancy precedes their own, and the Tibetans or Mongols do not need anything more, then "fishing after the net is a losing business"; but according to the figures noted above, the expeditions are usually very profitable.

TAXES

At the seasonal festivals, held on the grounds of the 792
monastery, taxes are collected by the lamas from the 434
merchants of the city, who pitch their tents and do busi- [65]
ness on their territory, and from the Tibetans and Monguors who sell animals and their primitive homespun products.

MONEYLENDING

Lending of money at the Chinese legal rate of 30 per 792
cent interest is the most important source of revenue 434
for the intendancies. The lending of money is far more 426
remunerative than the purchase of land and mortgages, which afford more security. However, the intendancies prefer the bigger interest.

Intendancies dispose of capital to secure the annual subsidy granted to the lamas, the purchase of the important quantity of butter to be burned in the temple lamps, the expenses for the purchase of all the items required for the expeditions in Mongolia, Kukunor and Ts'aidam, and the expenses of the fixed festivals held at the monasteries. Besides these the intendancies dis-

[p. 46 (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

ceived from the Ming emperor the invitation to surrender. In 1373 he had not yet answered the summons, and the prominent T'u-ssu T'o-erh chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce him to submit. In 1374 his delegates arrived at court with the submission. The following year the emperor created the two commanderies of An-ting and A-tuan, and to Pu-yen-pu-hua was granted the title of Prince of An-ting (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 23*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). 175x 648

In 1374 the T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce the barbarians dispersed all over the country of Huangchung to submit to the Ming emperor (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*).

In 1375 T'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of General Pu Yin against the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa in Liangchow, to whose army a severe blow was administered. The rebel managed to escape. The emperor invited T'u-ssu Lu to call at Nanking to receive the imperial congratulations. On account of illness he was prevented from moving to the capital.

In 1376 Hsining T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to participate in another expedition of General Feng Sheng in Liangchow region against the Mongols, plundering the country. Shih-chi-ku, Nan-t'ai and others surrendered with 1,000 men, and also the Mongol T'o-lin, with his 2,200 subjects (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*).

In 1377 T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to join the expedition of General Pu Yin against the Tartar chief Yeh-su-t'o-huo and others who again plundered the Liangchow country. They suffered a severe blow and 1,000 of their brigands were killed. Then T'u-ssu Wang followed the expedition of General Feng Sheng in Kanchow and Suchow where 1,890 families surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*).

In 1378 T'u-ssu Lu Ah-shih-t'u, oldest son of T'o Huan, fought and took prisoner Ta-kuan-tieh-chih, a chief of plundering Tibetans, living in the mountains between Ku Lang and Liangchow.

General Teng Yu in 1370 had pacified the country of Kui Te situated 220 li south of Hsining, on the southern borders of the Yellow River. In 1376 he had founded the So of Kui Te, leaving a garrison of 500 horse troops and 500 colonists, ordering them to till the soil and provide the subsistence of the garrison (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 15*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 57: 2*a*). In 1378 Kui Te was attacked and plundered by the Tibetan Ha la kui (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 25*b*), who also devastated the Koko-nor region. T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to fight the brigands (Monguors I: 34).

BUREAU FOR EXCHANGE OF TEA AGAINST HORSES

175x 647 231 437 272

The year 1378 was very important on account of the establishment of the bureau for the exchange of tea against horses. Each year 3,500 horses would be exchanged in the city: first-class horses exchanged for

[P. 32(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

120 pounds of tea, second-class horses for 70 pounds of tea, and third-class horses for 50 pounds of tea. Every tribe under submission was taxed a definite number of horses to be exchanged at the bureau.[71] 175x 647 231 437

The very first bureau had been established in 1376 in Ch'in Chou in East Kansu, but on account of the distance between Ch'in Chou and An-ting and A-tuan, and the inconvenience of travel through the provinces, a bureau had later been established in Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 17: 3*b*). 272

The importance of the trading of tea for horses cannot be overrated. On the one hand, it was a means for the nomads to get rid of their horses and secure tea. Tibetans as well as Mongols cannot do without tea, and the stronger the concoction the more delightful it is to them. Even when traveling or indulging in hunting parties where tea could not be prepared, they chewed the tea leaves. The craving for tea among the nomads may be compared with the craving for opium among addicts. On the other hand, the trade was very beneficial to the Chinese. First of all, the cavalry got its badly needed horses in an easy way, and the officials of the bureau also benefitted. They evaluated the quality of the horses according to the gratuity offered by the nomad, cheating in the quality of the tea, and putting the transaction off indefinitely, making the customers wait for weeks on end, or helping them immediately, according to the gratuity presented. Squeeze was the rule in the bureau. 175x 443 231 272

The first benefitters were the traders. The exchange of horses was a boon for the city. Traders from all over Szechwan and Shensi provinces moved into the city with the wares the nomads needed, in addition to the tea they brought with them. The nomads were allowed to bring more horses than the number taxed, and they carried wool, skins, musk, etc., to be exchanged for wares. The exchange of horses for tea was the yearly opportunity for the nomads to make a trip to the city and to provide for the needs of the family. 175x 443

This institution was also an effective means of attracting the nomads to surrender, for only surrendered tribes were allowed to enter the city and transact business. After two years the institution reached fruition. It was an attraction, especially during the troubled times which were ahead, when the tribes, indulging in plundering each other, had to get rid of the stolen horses. It was an attraction also because the surrendered tribes enjoyed the protection of the empire. 175x 443 648

In 1379 both Hsining Wang and Chao t'u-ssu were ordered to participate in the expedition of General Mu Yin, sent to quell the revolt of the turbulent eighteen tribes in T'ao Chou (Tibetans? Uighurs? Shat'o?) where the chief San Fu Shih was taken prisoner. Then T'u-ssu Chao was enjoined to follow the expedition of General Fu Yu-te against rebel Mongols in Yunnan 175x 648

[71] Huang Ming su-i k'ao, Wen tien ko shu-chuang, Peiping, Chiang-fu-ssu chieh, 1937.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

brigands captured. The army returned with a booty of 300,000 camels, horses, sheep, and cows (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 26*b*, 27*a*). M 175x 648 [726]

Se-ngo-ko, chief of a Tibetan tribe, was accustomed to stealing horses of neighboring tribes. The commander of Hsining, Mu Su, could not apprehend him. Later the thief arrived at Hsining to sell horses. The commander seized the horses, convinced they were stolen ones, but they were his own. The tribes were upset and about to start a revolt. Li Wen accused the imprudent commander, and the tribes were pacified. Li Wen was promoted (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 12*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38*a*). HM 175 648 [685]

In 1442 T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 13*a*) was ordered to garrison the commanderies of Ah-tuan and Ch'u-hsien, to protect Anting, and to induce the scattered tribes to come back to their lands and surrender. In 1445 the Oirat chief Esen, who had succeeded his father Togon, who had died in 1439, attacked and occupied Hami. In 1447 Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 45*a*; *Annals* of Hsining **31**: 12*b*), t'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*), and t'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of commander Jen I in Sha Chou. In 1448 Wa lo, chief of the Tibetan Pa-sha tribes started plundering Huangchung. T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien was ordered to fight Wa lo. He succeeded in killing the chief. These tribes had submitted in 1380, their chief controlled 30 or more tribes, which inhabited a country as large as 500 li, starting 60 li north of Hsining and running to the borders of the Ta-t'ung River. Pa Sha was ill-famed for its predatoriness (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 13*a*; **19**: 7*b*). In 1450 T'u-ssu Chao and T'u-ssu Lu repelled Mongol invaders in Kao-ssu-yuan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*). In 1452 T'u-ssu Ch'eng followed commander Su Chieh, fighting Mongols who were plundering Nan-chuan. They pursued them to Su-wu-shan and captured their chiefs (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*).

During the Cheng T'ung period (1436–50) at the time the northwestern part of Kansu was riven by inroads of Mongols and the t'u-ssu were fighting the Mongols in Kansu and in Turkistan, Liu Ch'uan, commander in Kuei Te (situated south of Hsining on the southern borders of the Yellow River), induced 72 tribes of Tibetans to surrender, promoted cultivation and farming among them, established a tea bureau and every year exchanged 1,740 horses for tea, protected the traders and the communications in the country, built a route and relays connecting the important city of Ho Chou with Kuei Te. The country of Kuei Te was at peace and the people enjoyed the trustful and honest commander (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 16*a*). M [437 491]

The chronicles of the Lu t'u-ssu clan note that during 1450–1464 raids had to be intermittently repelled along the Liangchow and Kanchow borders, perpetrated by the same eastern Mongol groups and some Oirat groups, which ventured to lay waste and devastate even M 175x 579 HM 175 579

Peking, and the emperor agreed. Ping-tu forced the tribes to build a road to Wu-ssu-tsang in order to meet the lama. The entire Szechwan province was upset for fear of invasion by the savage Kokonor brigands. The governor wrote Altan to order his sons to desist from plundering the country. Altan answered that the only reason for the behavior of his sons was the lack of any markets where they could fill their needs. In 1574 markets were opened for Pin-tu and Ping-tu and the emperor granted to the temple of Kokonor the name Yin-hua-sse and the title of vice-commander to Ping-tu. However, the sons and cousins and nephews of Altan plundered as before. Again the officials asked Altan to reprimand them. Altan arrived with his army feigning to meet the lama; however he had an axe to grind with Oirats, his old foes. Coming back, he asked the governor to allow all the Mongol chieftains to attend a meeting with the lama in Kokonor. The Tibetans, taken with panic at the sight of the demonstration of power and magnificence, fled in all directions. Altan returned to the north (1577) but Ho-lo-ch'ih and Yung-chao-pu, his nephew and cousin, and others refused to leave Kokonor, and Ping-tu started plundering the Tibetans again. The officials immediately asked the emperor to close the markets. Altan reprimanded his son and urged him to return the stolen people and cattle. However, Ho-lo-ch'ih continued looting (*Annals* of Hsining **20**: 13, 14).[84]

175x 648 662 579 [437 647]

[437 647]

In 1579 the governor of Hsining was engaged in developing agriculture in Huangchung. He gathered the destitute people who had fled with fear of the Mongol brigands, located them in villages, provided them with grain and oxen, dug irrigation canals, etc. In each village he opened a school. He gathered more than 100,000 families, and more uncultivated land was tilled. When Altan left the country in 1577 he had asked him to leave peacefully and to protect the country against more raids by his people (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 20).

175x 241 652 [313]

Ha-tsa, a Tibetan tribe of Kokonor, raided the western valley of Hsining in 1580, but was repelled. Two

175x 579 648

[84] René Grousset, *Empire des Steppes*, 592, Paris, Payot: The Ordos Mongols started professing the lamaism of the Yellow Church from 1566 on. The *jinong* Khutukh Setsen Hung-t'ai-chi of the Uchin banner, coming back from an expedition in Tibet in 1566, had invited lamas to accompany him to Ordos and convert the Mongols to lamaism. The fervent *jinong* succeeded in converting his grand-uncle Altan who at that time was in the heyday of his power (1576). Altan and his grand-nephew invited the chief of the Yellow Church, the great lama bSod-nams rgya-mtso to come to Kokonor. The Mongols met him magnificently and opened with him an official convention at which was laid the foundation of the Yellow Church among the Mongols (1577), and Altan honored the great lama with the title of Dalai Lama, which title is still borne at present by his successors. The Dalai Lama, returning to Lhasa, appointed the Living Buddha Dongkur Manjucri in Kukuhoto the residence of Altan. The Dalai Lama left Lhasa again to travel to Ordos in 1586 for the performance of the cremation ceremonies of Altan who had died in 1583.

[P. 47(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

gols in Kokonor and burn the temple built by Altan. They returned in a flush of triumph with 1,200 captured families. The number of brigands they killed is not known. The Brigadier General Chiao Chi defeated tribes of Ho-lo-ch'ih with the help of Tibetans and beheaded 120 of his men (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 36*b*; *Annals* of Hsining **31**: 18*b*). 175x 648

The energic Cheng Lo must have commanded at the time of his arrival in Huangchung a fair number of fresh troops. Otherwise the shaken confidence in the empire among the Tibetan tribes would not have been restored so quickly. In two years time the outlook had changed and become bright and full of hope for the people, beset for ten years with starvation, squalor and misery, and anxious uncertainty.

The same year the markets, opened for the Mongols in Kansu, were closed on account of their incessant raids and brigandage. The Obedient and Righteous Prince Ch'ih-li-k'o who had assisted at the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou, sent back the abducted people and stolen cattle and presented excuses to the emperor (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 20*a–b*). [647 437]

In 1594 orders were given to repair and improve again the fortifications of the city of Hsining. More villages and military colonies were built. Maybe the officials had seen some new straws in the wind (*Annals* of Hsining **31**; 19*a*). A strong group of Kokonor brigands arrived to plunder the valleys south of Hsining. The Chinese generals Liu Mei-Kuan, Ta Yun, T'ien Yueh had called all the t'u-ssu of Huangchung and captured groups of Tibetans to defend the country. They used flanking movements, skillfully settled ambuscades, and administered a crushing defeat to the raiders, 680 of whom were beheaded. A few months later the brigands came back with all the brigands of Nalu, to loot the valleys west of Hsining. The same generals, t'u-ssu, and Tibetans obtained a resounding victory and killed 700 and more brigands, among them some chieftains (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 37*b*; *Annals* of Hsining **31**: 19*a*). 175x 579 [712]

These two victories were the most important ever won in Huangchung. In the report relating the military presentation are encountered the names of the most meritorious military and civil officials who had contributed to the success. We encounter among them the names of T'u-ssu Lu Kuang-tsu, Li Yu-mao, Li Hsien-hua, Ch'eng San-chi, Ch'i Ping-chung and Ch'i Te (*Annals* of Hsining **33**: 23*a–b*). A delegate of the ministry of war was sent with titles and gifts to reward the meritorious officials. 175x 648 703

Immediately after the victories, in 1596, orders were sent to the military officials to build more walls especially along the roads used by the invaders of Kokonor and Sung Shan, to build fortresses at strategic points and more villages in the valleys for the farmers. The officials expected that the brigands would not take these blows lying down but would avenge themselves by means of new raids. In Cheng-hai-pu in the western 175x 712

[P.49(A)]

While the t'u-ssu and their subjects were fighting and suffering and dying in Hsining, the despairing Ming emperor, on April 25, 1644, had hanged himself in the Wan Sui Shan in Peking. On June 6, 1644, the troops of the new Ch'ing dynasty entered Peking and started at full speed with destruction of the troops of Li Tze-ch'eng who had already proclaimed himself emperor. On October 7, 1644, he ended his life by hanging himself.[87] 175x [643 762]

The t'u-ssu and their subjects served the Ch'ing dynasty with the same faithfulness they had served the Ming dynasty. 175x 648 727

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started with the occupation of Huangchung, this was an insecure colony of China, which during the previous dynasties had been lost several times and recovered. The Ming organized the country, providing a civil and military administration on the Chinese pattern. In Huangchung they started with the founding of military colonies, induced the Tibetan tribes to submit to them, established the exchange bureau of tea for horses, favored and protected the arrival of traders from inside China, and promoted agriculture and commerce. They attracted Chinese to settle in the country, built schools, promoted education, and repelled forays of Tibetans and Mongols from outside the Huangchung borders. Huangchung was at peace. [647 437]

However, in the fateful year 1509 the first group of Mongols arrived and settled in Kokonor, followed by one after another, which ruined and cowed into submission the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor. At the same time the population of Huangchung and East Kansu, from 1509 to 1597, succumbed to the recurrent onslaught of avid, restless and predatory Mongols. The Tibetan tribes, robbed of their cattle, having seen their women and young folk abducted, beset with starvation and abject poverty, started raiding, devastating, and laying waste Huangchung and East Kansu. The army could not deter the forces of destruction. Raids prevailed over the entire northwestern borders of the empire, and the emperor gave the Huangchung officers insufficient reinforcements. It was only in 1590 that the energetic Minister of War, Cheng Lo, commanding new forces, succeeded in defeating the brigands. In the meantime the administration had incessantly built cities, villages, schools, walls, and fortresses all over the country. The aspect of the country had changed completely, despite the desperate times. The country had been organized and the administration established. [653 657 658]

During these times, when raids and destruction raged unchecked, Chinese and Shat'o and Uighurs, Tibetans and Monguors had suffered together, helped and sheltered each other, and blended and fused in the compound called the Huangchung population. 175x 563 571

In 1644 when the Ch'ing dynasty occupied Huangchung it was no longer the depopulated unorganized 175x

[87] Erich Hauer, *op. cit.*, 488, 494, 497.

[P. 52 (B)]

N *563 M 233 463 [466] because of the value of the animals entrusted to them. They are skillful in breeding, and in finding the best pasture. A shepherd is treated as a member of his employer's family; he receives the same food, and the daughters-in-law must show him the same respect they accord to the head of the family.

The Mongours hunt foxes, hares, pheasants and musk deer, N *563 M 224 439 using guns, traps and poison. The fox skins are sold to Chinese merchants and the best skins, used for lining the winter garments of the rich, bring a handsome price. Musk deer are also valuable game. The precious musk glands, used as a special drug or as an essence in perfume, are sold by weight to Chinese dealers.

N *563, M 226 Fishing is important in Koko Nor, where the lake produces an abundant supply. Mongour expeditions go there as soon as the lake has frozen over each winter. They go first to the chief of the Mongol or Tibetan tribe on whose shore they plan to operate, and present gifts such as wine, tobacco, noodles and the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity in exchange for permission to fish and protection from the tribe. The fishermen usually go to the same territory every year, and become sworn brothers of the chief or some important local nomad. The expedition, which lasts about two months, involves hard work in the bitter cold, M [251] but the profits are sufficient reward. Preservation of the fish is no problem; they freeze immediately after they are caught. They are carried to the market in Hsi-ning, or sold to Moslem merchants who engage in caravan trade.

N *563 M 438 439 Mongours carry on their trade largely with Chinese and Chinese Moslem merchants. The Moslems are an energetic and enterprising people who drive caravans of pack mules from house to house in the Mongour country, exchanging cloth, needles and thread for wool, skins, eggs and grain. In the autumn they collect oxen and sheep and drive them in small herds to Hsi-ning. The Chinese merchants do business on a larger scale. They send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at lama monastery festivals and at the annual celebrations and meetings of the Mongour clans. During the fall, when the Chinese Moslems are buying up sheep and oxen, the Chinese butchers of the cities send their agents to the Mongour villages to buy hogs. Chinese merchants also send their buyers into Mongour country for wool and skins, going from home to home. There are also peddlers, who deal largely in items needed in the Mongour home, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, M [437] cheap jewelry, sugar and pipe tobacco. Business is always by barter, with the top-ranking woman of the Mongour household doing the bargaining. As the peddler travels a long distance, it is customary to provide him with a place to sleep. Before he leaves he presents the hostess with a small token of apprecia-

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/The Monguors/

tion for her hospitality. Larger scale selling and buying are done at fairs held two or three times a year.

Occasionally an ambitious young Mongour will go into the business of long-distance caravan trade with the Tibetans. He will deal largely in mules and saddle girths woven with white wool, which can be sold readily in Tibet, and bring back wool serge cloth dyed red or purple, or white with red or blue stripes. A heavy fabric, it sheds water, and is highly valued by the Mongours. He will also bring back Tibetan incense, dates and so forth to sell to the Chinese.

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6. Work and leisure

The traditional life of pastoral nomads is rather free and lazy except at the times of seasonal migration. Descendants of nomads, the Mongours still prefer to enjoy long periods of comparative idleness alternating with short periods of intense activity. In their agricultural economy, however, the Mongour men are unable to be quite so indolent as pastoral nomads.

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In the farming communities, both men and women work in the fields. The men do the heavy preparatory work, plowing and harrowing; the women help with sowing and weeding, as well as with reaping the harvest and carrying the grains to the threshing floor. Women do the threshing. Like their Mongol sisters, they do the housework and care for the animals. Married women work under the supervision of the oldest, usually the mother-in-law.

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Although their status is inferior, the Mongour women accept it without resentment. Their outlook is conditioned by their milieu. They know what is expected of them, and behave accordingly. Though bound by strict rules of etiquette, they are entirely free to associate with men, to sing and dance in public, and to enjoy themselves. They delight in attending the big festivals at the lamaseries and the annual assembly of the clan, where they meet their friends and visit, and also show off their fancy costumes and headdress. They love to shop at the fairs, and bargain over goods. Both men and women love to sing. During the long, tedious hours of weeding the fields, men and women sing in unison.

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G. The Tibetans

1. The people

Hsi-fan is a name applied by the Chinese to the Amdo Tibetans, and to all other non-Chinese tribesmen from Sung-p'an to Hsi-ning. It means Western Barbarians. Some European scholars have maintained that the Hsi-fan are not Tibetans, and suggest that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese peoples of southwest China, like the Lolo or Moso.

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Granting that there is no such thing as a homogenous Tibetan

The oil trade is a very important and lucrative business. Flour is sold in Hsining. The taxes imposed on the mills are very heavy, but the monasteries still enjoy the old privilege granted before 1723, and are exempted from these taxes. Even families in which a Living Buddha has been born enjoy the same privilege, for instance, the Lan family living in Hung nai tzu Valley. Every year, however, the family has to offer 10 pounds of oil at Erh-ku-lung to the intendancy of its Buddha, deceased a century ago. The lamas claim the privilege, which was granted during the Yung lo period (1403–1424), because oil is consumed in the lamps of the temples before the Buddhas, and flour is used by the lamas, the servants of Buddha. 792 [438] 434 651

FORESTS

Only two monasteries possess extensive forests—Seerkok and T'ien-T'ang. Because wood is very scarce in the northern part of the province, forests are an important source of revenue. 792 434 314

TOLL ON BRIDGES

The history of the famous bridge of T'ien T'ang has been recorded. For many years it was a source of large revenue, which finally caused its ruin. 792 434

The monastery of Kan-ch'an, belonging to the famous Tenma, receives toll on a raft, which ferries passengers across the Ta-t'ung River. Tenma is a very well-known man in the country. His first incarnation, a learned man, was appointed Fa-t'ai in Erh-ku-lung by the first Chang-chia (Huth, p. 279). It is related that he caused the ruin of Erh-ku-lung. In 1723 bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, chief of the revolt, was a prisoner in Hsining, and about to be executed. He heard that Tenma was in the city. Through the guardians of the jail, he implored him to write a letter to the Chinese generals in order to save his life. Tenma, unaware of the consequences of such an act, wrote the letter. The generals got the impression that Erh-ku-lung was mixed up with the revolt, and they destroyed the monastery. This is a fine story, manufactured on the ground out of whole cloth, in order to free the old mother monastery from blame, but why was the blame put on Tenma? [494] 505 175

For many years during the period of my stay, the young Tenma, swelling with ambition, was the most talked-of man in the country for his audacious plan to construct a European suspension bridge over the river, like those in photographs he had seen in magazines. He started buying all the available iron in the country, felling all the big trees growing on the domain of the monastery, and building a large brickyard. Blacksmiths, carpenters, and bricklayers worked for four years. He built four great towers, two on each side of the river. The blacksmiths made enormous iron chains, too heavy to manipulate or to move. He exhausted the entire treasure of the monastery. Troubles started 792 334

[p.45(A)]

N because of the value of the animals entrusted to them. They are
*563 skillful in breeding, and in finding the best pasture. A shepherd
M is treated as a member of his employer's family; he receives
233 the same food, and the daughters-in-law must show him the
463 same respect they accord to the head of the family.
[466] The Mongours hunt foxes, hares, pheasants and musk deer,
N using guns, traps and poison. The fox skins are sold to Chinese
*563 merchants and the best skins, used for lining the winter gar-
M ments of the rich, bring a handsome price. Musk deer are also
224 valuable game. The precious musk glands, used as a special
439 drug or as an essence in perfume, are sold by weight to Chinese dealers.

N Fishing is important in Koko Nor, where the lake produces
*563 an abundant supply. Mongour expeditions go there as soon as the
M lake has frozen over each winter. They go first to the chief of
226 the Mongol or Tibetan tribe on whose shore they plan to operate, and present gifts such as wine, tobacco, noodles and the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity in exchange for permission to fish and protection from the tribe. The fishermen usually go to the same territory every year, and become sworn brothers of the chief or some important local nomad. The expedition, which lasts about two months, involves hard work in the bitter cold,
M but the profits are sufficient reward. Preservation of the fish is
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*563 nese Moslem merchants. The Moslems are an energetic and
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438 house to house in the Mongour country, exchanging cloth, nee-
439 dles and thread for wool, skins, eggs and grain. In the autumn they collect oxen and sheep and drive them in small herds to Hsi-ning. The Chinese merchants do business on a larger scale. They send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at lama monastery festivals and at the annual celebrations and meetings of the Mongour clans. During the fall, when the Chinese Moslems are buying up sheep and oxen, the Chinese butchers of the cities send their agents to the Mongour villages to buy hogs. Chinese merchants also send their buyers into Mongour country for wool and skins, going from home to home. There are also peddlers, who deal largely in items needed in the Mongour home, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth,
M cheap jewelry, sugar and pipe tobacco. Business is always by
[437] barter, with the top-ranking woman of the Mongour household doing the bargaining. As the peddler travels a long distance, it is customary to provide him with a place to sleep. Before he leaves he presents the hostess with a small token of apprecia-

N *563 M 439 [438] [543] [437]

/The Monguors/

tion for her hospitality. Larger scale selling and buying are done at fairs held two or three times a year.

Occasionally an ambitious young Mongour will go into the business of long-distance caravan trade with the Tibetans. He will deal largely in mules and saddle girths woven with white wool, which can be sold readily in Tibet, and bring back wool serge cloth dyed red or purple, or white with red or blue stripes. A heavy fabric, it sheds water, and is highly valued by the Mongours. He will also bring back Tibetan incense, dates and so forth to sell to the Chinese.

N *563 M 461

6. Work and leisure

The traditional life of pastoral nomads is rather free and lazy except at the times of seasonal migration. Descendants of nomads, the Mongours still prefer to enjoy long periods of comparative idleness alternating with short periods of intense activity. In their agricultural economy, however, the Mongour men are unable to be quite so indolent as pastoral nomads.

N *563 M 462

In the farming communities, both men and women work in the fields. The men do the heavy preparatory work, plowing and harrowing; the women help with sowing and weeding, as well as with reaping the harvest and carrying the grains to the threshing floor. Women do the threshing. Like their Mongol sisters, they do the housework and care for the animals. Married women work under the supervision of the oldest, usually the mother-in-law.

N *563 M 562 M [574] M [437] [533]

Although their status is inferior, the Mongour women accept it without resentment. Their outlook is conditioned by their millieu. They know what is expected of them, and behave accordingly. Though bound by strict rules of etiquette, they are entirely free to associate with men, to sing and dance in public, and to enjoy themselves. They delight in attending the big festivals at the lamaseries and the annual assembly of the clan, where they meet their friends and visit, and also show off their fancy costumes and headdress. They love to shop at the fairs, and bargain over goods. Both men and women love to sing. During the long, tedious hours of weeding the fields, men and women sing in unison.

N *563 101

G. The Tibetans

1. The people

Hsi-fan is a name applied by the Chinese to the Amdo Tibetans, and to all other non-Chinese tribesmen from Sung-p'an to Hsi-ning. It means Western Barbarians. Some European scholars have maintained that the Hsi-fan are not Tibetans, and suggest that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese peoples of southwest China, like the Lolo or Moso. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogenous Tibetan

N *563 199

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651 posed on a T'u-ssu was imposed on him personally. He
648 passed it on by making levies on his subjects, but in
spite of this their tax was lighter than the tax paid by
624 the Chinese.

In his capacity as a Chinese official, the T'u-ssu was entitled to receive an emolument; but for unknown reasons this stipend was extremely irregular. Seven T'u-ssu received none at all, and of the others the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Hsining received the highest emolument, 146.88 ounces of silver. Next to him came the Lu T'u-ssu with 76.6 ounces. Five others received 50 ounces a year, and the remainder only 40 ounces.[24]

TRIPS OF T'U-SSU TO PEKING

648 The difference between a Monguor T'u-ssu and a
624 tribute-paying chief has been mentioned. Like a T'u-ssu, the tribute-paying chief received a diploma and a seal. Unlike a T'u-ssu, he was required to offer tribute at stated intervals, and the most important privilege enjoyed by him and his people was that of admission to the frontier markets. A Monguor T'u-ssu was not bound to report in person to the capital at stated times, but there were occasions when Monguor T'u-ssu were specially summoned to Peking in order to receive awards for meritorious frontier service. On such occasions, they traveled in state. The Monguors still enjoy recalling the fine show made by these glorious ancestors, even though a levy was made on all the subjects of the T'u-ssu, to provide not only a sum of money for his expenses, but thirty soldiers in new uniforms as his escort and ten servants, five secretaries, and enough horses, well equipped, for the whole retinue, together with provisions for the journey. In addition, the most handsome horses and mules that could be found in the Monguors' country were brought and taken along to be presented to the emperor and high officials. Other products of the country, taken as presents, were musk (for the harem), stag horns in the velvet (a medicine of great repute for old men losing their virility), deer sinews (a famous medicine for rheumatic people), and bear's paws (a renowned dish at official dinners), together with saffron from Tibet.

648 Before his departure, the T'u-ssu paid a farewell visit
624 to the high Chinese officials of the frontier region, who
431 gave him presents and more money toward the expenses
439 of his journey—hoping of course that in Peking he would praise them and their administration in the right quarters. For the whole of his journey the T'u-ssu traveled at the public expense, having permits that entitled him and his retinue to lodging free of taxes and charges. Although the capital expense of the journey was great, it was in fact remunerative both for the T'u-ssu and his retinue. They all enjoyed it, for they benefited by the ancient tradition of the East that nobody travels without

[24] In view of the irregularity and the fact that some T'u-ssu received no yearly allowance, it is possible that these payments were regarded as grants to favored vassals rather than as regular salaries to officials.—O. L.

[p. 51-b]

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226 Tibetan tribe on the shore of the lake from whose ter-
648 ritory they plan to operate, making him a present of the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity and a cask of wine, some tobacco, and noodles. They are then given the chief's permission and the protection of the tribe.
[608] The men of each fishing expedition usually go to the same territory every year and become sworn brothers of the chief or of some important local nomad, in order to make sure that while they are camped by the lake they will be allowed to gather fuel and will have no animals stolen.

226 Each fisherman breaks a hole in the ice, and spreads a couple of sheep skins on which he sits crosslegged, a two-pronged fork in his hands, waiting for fish to come to the surface of the water. The fish is harpooned with the fork and thrown on the ice. The frozen fish are either carried to market, usually at the city of Hsining, by the Monguors themselves or sold to Muslim merchants who make up caravans of twenty or thirty mules or donkeys. These expeditions involve hard work and exposure to the bitter cold, but the business must be remunerative as many Monguors go year after year.

TRADE

463 In the territory inhabited by the Monguors trade,
transport, and small industries are mostly in the hands
563 of Chinese and Muslims. The Muslims are an ener-
441 getic and enterprising people, even more hard work-
ing and indefatigable than other Chinese. They will-
439 ingly engage in the arduous work of driving caravans of pack-mules and in running rafts and boats down the Hsining and Upper Yellow Rivers in all weathers. Most of the peddlars are also Muslims, who travel either with a pack on their backs or with a loaded donkey, wandering through the Monguor country from house to house, exchanging cloth, needles, thread, and other small wares for wool, skins, eggs, and grain. In the autumn, Muslim buyers collect sheep and oxen and drive them to Hsining in small herds.

There are very few Chinese peddlars, but the distilleries and flour and oil mills, which require money capital, are run by Chinese, and the Chinese monopolize the pork business, since the Muslims will have nothing to do with pigs. All through the year, and especially during the autumn, while the Muslims are buying up other livestock the Chinese butchers of the cities and towns send their agents into the Monguor villages to buy hogs. The Chinese merchants who do business on a bigger scale than the Muslim peddlars also send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at such large gatherings as the lama monastery festivals and the annual meetings of the Monguor clans.

441 Grain and oil seeds, being the main crops of the Monguors, are also the main commodities of trade. The conversion of grain into alcohol and of oil seeds into oil results in products of higher value in proportion to bulk and weight which can stand the cost of transporta-

441 tion to more distant markets that could not be reached by the unprocessed grain and seeds. These enterprises are, therefore, outlying Chinese businesses intermediate between the Monguor country and the Chinese-inhabited towns and cities. Wealthy Monguors, not confident of their own ability in trade, often invest their money in such Chinese enterprises; often, unfortunately, with the result that the Chinese partners get rich while the Monguors lose their money. Only a few Monguors, who are already well on the way toward becoming completely Chinese, venture into such enterprises as managing a small shop or buying and selling animals or wool and skins.

439 In the autumn, the Chinese managers of distilleries and oil mills make contracts with the Monguor farmers, the farmers undertaking to plant an agreed acreage with the crop required by the Chinese, and to sell the harvest at an agreed price. On the strength of this agreement, [452] the Chinese buyer makes a cash advance to the Monguor farmer. Wheat that does not go to the distilleries is bought up by Muslim dealers. The wheat is measured at the Monguor farm with the buyers' own measure, draft animals are hired from the Monguors to bring the wheat to the river bank, and it is there loaded on rafts and floated down to Lanchow.

252 There are some mills that grind flour for local Monguor consumption, and for that of neighboring Mongol and Tibetan nomads, and Chinese cities. These mills are built along small streams. A vertical wooden wheel carries an endless chain of buckets. As the stream fills the lower buckets, the wheel turns; coming up over the wheel, the buckets empty into a chute, and the descending water turns the nether stone of the mill, while the upper stone remains fixed. The grindstones are so crudely grooved that the grain has to be milled three times. Professional grindstone makers cut the blue stone in the mountains, install the millstones at the mill, and visit the mills every month to cut fresh grooves in the stones. There are only a few mills with horizontal power-wheels.

23 In the profitable business of buying livestock to be
463 slaughtered in such cities as Hsining and Lanchou, the
Muslims have a virtual monopoly of buying cows and
563 oxen, the Chinese have a monopoly in buying pigs, and
441 both Muslim and Chinese butchers buy sheep. The most important season is the autumn, when the animals are in the best condition. Sheep are herded slowly for a journey of ten days or more to Lanchou, in order to prevent them from going lame and losing weight. Pigs
23 are also driven slowly, each batch of pigs being handled
44 by three men, moving only six or eight miles a day and sometimes taking a month to reach market. Ahead of the pigs is a man on foot driving a donkey loaded with dried peas and a long basket. Every mile or two the donkey is halted, some of the peas are poured into the basket, and enough is fed to the pigs to whet their appetites and keep the fat animals waddling after the

231 441 [237] donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel relatively well because they have not been confined and fed in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from there to Europe and America for making brushes.

236 237 443 439 The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this buying is done directly in the homes of families that have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buying in small quantities is done by the peddlars, especially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments, [436] and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for [203] Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as they travel.

442 296 543 Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs. Two or three times a year every important monastery holds special religious performances, around which there spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes, wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack [232] doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose diseases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses, cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

543 579 Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and attract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable distances. In the afternoons there are horse races and wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymaking, and often, when there has been too much drinking, fights between clans and villages.

463 439 484 A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods, attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

463 Mongolia, some of whom are going to study in the great
439 monasteries of Tibet but many of whom are going on
484 pilgrimage, partly to visit celebrated monasteries and partly just for the fun of traveling and seeing the world. Each traveler with such a caravan must take care of his own food and expenses.

A large number of young Monguors, especially those who can speak Tibetan, take jobs with these caravans. A man who is thus working with a caravan for hire can also, by ancient custom, take with him trade goods for his own private speculation. The Monguors take the big, handsome mules and fast horses bred in their own country, and things-like saddle girths woven with white wool, made in the Monguor country and known to sell readily in Tibet. The Monguor mules are especially esteemed in Tibet, and consequently Monguors who have mules or horses to sell will entrust them to a young man working with one of the trading caravans, sharing with him the profit of the venture.

439 The big caravan of the Kuopa Tibetans leaves Hsining
484 during the fourth moon of the lunar calendar and returns from Lhasa in the second or third moon of the following year. In 1914, when traveling near the great lake of Kukunor, I met the vanguard of this caravan on its way to Lhasa. The vanguard carried two flags. When it was time to pitch camp for the night, the men showed their veteran skill by the way in which, under the orders of their chief, they staked out the site of the camp. An hour later the main caravan arrived in nine groups of fifty yaks, each of which was separated from the preceding group by a small distance. On each side of the caravan rode Monguors and Tibetans armed with rifles and long swords. Each of the nine groups was accompanied by travelers, some of whom were riding while others walked and led their horses and mules. Each group went straight to the spot that had been staked and roped off for it, unloaded its animals, and pitched a small tent. Some of the men then went out with the animals to pasture near the camp, while the others prepared food. In the early morning the caravan left again, in perfect order. Camp is made in the afternoon and broken in the morning with amazing skill and orderliness; throughout the journey, the pattern of the camp is maintained, so that each group knows exactly where it belongs.

Caravans carrying valuable loads never venture to travel in Tibet without a strong armed guard, for fear of being robbed by the wilder Tibetan tribes, such as
439 the Ngoloks. According to foreign explorers and
484 travelers these large and well defended caravans are seldom attacked, but according to Monguors who have
608 traveled with the caravans the safety of a caravan really depends on the custom of "sworn brotherhood." In
651 each territory through which the caravan is to travel, the chief of the caravan has a sworn brother who is one of the local chiefs. As the caravan approaches each new tribal territory, two men are sent ahead with valuable

[p. 115 b]

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439 presents for this sworn brother, who then notifies his
484 tribe not to molest the caravan. The traditional presents consist of bolts of satin and silk, or a load of cotton
608 textiles or sugar or Chinese vermicelli. The next day, when the caravan chief and his local sworn brother meet,
651 the caravan chief asks politely whether he can help his brother by carrying some things for him on the way back. The local sworn brother just as politely names some purchases that he would like made for him in Hsining or Lhasa, for which he offers to pay. The two understand each other's meaning perfectly, and the following year the caravan leader will bring as presents the goods that have been indicated. Thus in fact the caravan takes its way through each territory by a form of taxation in the guise of presents.[8]

439 On the way back from Tibet the Monguors bring with
484 them *p'ulu*, a kind of woolen serge woven in Tibet in narrow bands, either dyed red or purple, or white with crosses of red or blue dyed in the fabric by the "tie and dye" method. This material, which sheds water, is greatly valued by both Tibetans and Monguors. The Monguors also bring back from Tibet incense, dates, and saffron, which they sell to Chinese, the saffron being used more for medicine than as a condiment. At the market in the frontier town of Dankar I once bought some dishes that had just been brought in from Lhasa with the Kuopa caravan. These dishes bore the trademark of "Regout, Maestricht, Holland" and had traveled from Europe to Calcutta, from Calcutta to Lhasa, and from Lhasa, loaded on yaks, to the frontier of China.

439 The young Monguors who have once worked with
484 the caravan seem to catch the fever of travel and want to go back to Tibet again and again. The older people,
583 with the wisdom of experience, explain the mystery. The reason is, they say, the ease—and variety—of getting temporarily married in Tibet. The traveler who wants to strike up a temporary relationship with a woman in Tibet shaves his head just before his caravan arrives at its destination. This makes him look like a lama, and a Tibetan girl will readily "marry" him, assuming that he has no permanent obligations to a wife at home. If he were to wear a "pig-tail," the girl might be a little more hesitant, fearing that the "marriage" would last only until he wanted to go home. When he does want to leave such a temporary wife, however, the rascally traveler simply grows his "pig-tail" again on the next stage of his journey. In this way, the enterprising caravan man can sample the joys of marriage in a number of places.

DWELLINGS

342 The construction and disposition of the houses of the Monguors having been described in Chapter IV, it

[8] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, as cited, 54, describes this form of the "sworn brother" relationship as a "guest-host" relationship, and gives valuable details on both Tibetan and Muslim caravan trade.—O. L. [P. 116a]

[30 cont.]

756 sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary
*778 spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front
[776] of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he
[782] sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.

The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit
● [439] are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery
[792] markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

756 Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his
776 tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration: the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in general the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the tutelary spirit of the shaman.

756 Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to
463 prophesy, heal the sick, conjure away storms, drive away demons. He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests, or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect a mani-tree, but he may set up an ordinary mani-flag on the yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the pole-goat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate at funerals and weddings.

755 The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold.
756 The following is the most common. First of all the shaman
[787] puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open [31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly steeped. Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the sick person to drink.

756 In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to
783 demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.] Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot be imagined without tsamba. They roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.), that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain, and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-grain flour is eaten exactly as among the Tibetans (Fandse). After the consumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48] kneaded into a dry dough in the tea bowl with the remainder of the tea and the butter floating on it, and it is then eaten in the form of little pellets or little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used for the incense offering, however, may not be kept with the ordinary tsamba. Every family has a special little box for it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf. Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further details.

[262] [252] [171] [264]

[783] never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the [263] sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color; therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than the white.

The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant [439] addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop. [824] They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

[192]

4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loan-word, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

[44 cont.]

782

10. [Foreign text p. 49.] For the water offering, cf. the chapter, "The Lama-reception, Note 3.

The threads are in the well-known five sacred colors. The material does not matter. The best, naturally, are silk threads. Wealthy [45] people throw a small bundle of each [556] color into the fire every time; poor people, on the other hand, merely cut off a little piece from each string, so that they will last a long time.

782 The conch comes from the east, from China or Tibet. It is said that none are found in the Koko Nor. Hence, not 534 every family has a conch. It is therefore not absolutely neces- [439] sary for one to be blown at the offering (7).

7. [Foreign text pp. 48-49.] The conch is the Triton horn, the Triton spiral. To the Tujen it is a symbol of purity and of the sublime. Accordingly, the word dõn is also used adjectively for: pure, white, sublime, sacred. One could translate it simply as "conchlike." It is found in this sense especially commonly in songs. In order to blow it, one pierces the pointed end and edges it usually with metal; this serves as the mouthpiece. Colorful bands often hang at the other end, the horn; cf. the illustration. In spite of its dull tone, the conch resounds very far.

It is self-evident that the conch is not native to that region. The Tujen name is a phonetic imitation of the Tibetan duń; usually the Tibetans further add dkar, "white." In Mongolic this conch is called labai (Unkrig; Kov. 1958), which in turn is related to the Chinese la-pa,

[66 cont.]

782 Sitting before the obo, the lama gives the appropriate
[533] prayers, accompanying them on his hourglass drum and the bell. At the same time the people burn incense at several places, kowtow, and blow the conch. This service may sometimes last the entire day. When the lama is finished with the prayer, he takes the torma to a stone on the obo, sprinkles the obo with holy water, and casts barley on it, over which he lightly blows with his mouth. The people then take something from offerings that stand in front of the obo, pluck something off, and throw some of this into the incense fire and on the obo. The flowers are all thrown on the mound. Meanwhile others have already placed the spears, twigs, and mani-flags on the obo and have thrown the votive gifts on it, as at the month offering. Then all of them circle around the obo, throwing the white stones and praying the obo call. At this point all of them once more make a threefold kowtow, drink tea, and go home.

The prayer service may also last several days. Then people set up tents on the mountain and live and eat there.

527 The obo festival: Every year on the sixth day in the sixth
782 month an obo festival takes place. At these festivals the obo is venerated in the morning, as it is at the month offering. A sheep offering and the prayer service of the lama may also be connected with it.

527 All the people from the neighborhood, men and women, old and young, gather at the obo. If the obo terrain is too
[541] difficult and not level enough, they gather at the foot of the mountain or on a meadow. There the men hold horse races,
[533] people sit around the fire and drink and sing; they eat and
[439] dance and laugh. Chinese traders appear, set up their booths, and peddle their wares. -- Formerly, when the old weapons
[526] were still used, the horse races were followed by archery, spear throwing, and sword fights. Wrestling matches were especially
[178] popular. Nowadays this is no longer the case. Only the horse
[541] racing and the singing contests are still held. The mountain-
[533] spirit rejoices when the people are so gay (3).

[171] 3. [Foreign text p. 69.] The obo festival is also celebrated by the

[857 cont.]

782 [824] the incense offering, the good six. To this are added little leaves of Buddha gold, little pieces of silver, corals, little pieces of mother-of-pearl, sometimes rare stones or water, and then five-colored silk threads, white and black sugar, tea leaves, and a few little balls of butter.

The filling: First a mortar with pestle, a large earthen vessel, and a clean iron kettle are provided. All these objects are thoroughly washed and fumigated in the incense fire. The spices are pounded to flour in the mortar and then poured by the lama into the vessel, where they are thoroughly mixed with the five kinds of grain. The quantity depends on the size of the urn. Meanwhile the master of the household melts a lump of butter in the iron kettle over the fire. The lama pours this melted butter into the grain and spice mixture with a spoon and thoroughly kneads everything together.

He puts this mixture into the urn, but only one-third of it. Over this first filling he puts a layer of the other additions, gold, silver, etc. Then the remaining two-thirds are added, almost up to the rim of the urn, and the liquid butter is poured on, almost to overflowing. The master of the household brings a yellow or red hada (or cloth), fumigates it, and hands it to the lama. He ties up the urn with it in three layers, in which the colors yellow and red may alternate. The thread that is wound around the cloth must also be yellow or red and is first fumigated. Once everything is thoroughly tied up, the knot is covered with sealing wax (3) and finally stamped with a seal

[439] 3. [Foreign text p. 858.] Latsia, as the sealing wax is called, is obtainable from Chinese traders.

[778] [386] that bears Tibetan signs. Afterwards the lama paints a nuru jewel on the white urn with red pigment, usually red clay, which is to signify a treasure. This makes the urn distinguishable as a treasure for the earth-god (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 858.] The Tujen call the symbol of good

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seems to justify and to explain historically my former hypothesis: "It seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in the Monguor clans are Turks, but not all of them Shat'o Turks" (Monguors I: 54). "A majority of Turkish elements is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by the *t'u-ssu*" (Monguors I: 55). That many Uighur Turks are encountered in the clans of the Monguor Shat'o seems normal, for tribes of Turkish origin must have preferred to live together. The fact that all of Huangchung had been occupied by T'u-fan Tibetans since 629 explains that T'u-fan tribes preferred to join the T'u-fan of Hsining rather than to be moved among the Tang-hsiang tribes of Hsi Hsia.

MOSLEM TRADERS IN HSINING

The history of Chiossulo points to the problem of the first appearance of Moslems in Huangchung. The *Sung Shih* (492: 13*a*) notes explicitly "that Hsining Uighurs went to Kao Ch'ang along Kokonor and that traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to do business." That the Hsining Uighurs were very well acquainted with those of Turkistan is no wonder, even as the T'u-fan of Hsining were acquainted with those of Kao Ch'ang, for Chiossulo was born in Kao Ch'ang. However, traders did not travel only from Hsining to the oasis east of Tarim, but they traveled also along Kokonor to the oasis of west Tarim, Khotan, Yarkand, etc., and further into India. This last route was already well known in the sixth century A.D.[31] and lamas fleeing the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa came over Khotan to Hsining. Since 943 the Karakhanids,[32] of Turkish origin, as were the Uighurs, had founded petty realms in the oasis of West Tarim. Their chief had been converted to Islam in 960 and forced his subjects to become Moslems. These Turks, being as sturdy traders as the Uighurs, were very cognizant of the booming trade of Hsining, through which territory they traveled bringing tribute to China,[33] and relations existed between Khotan and the house of Chiossulo itself, whose son Tung-chen had as a concubine a lady born in Khotan, and had adopted her son A li ku and appointed him as his successor in 1086.

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[31] Chavannes, *op. cit.* 6: 333, 341.
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5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

1274 and also of Nestorians, probably traders as were the Moslems, originating from Kao Ch'ang. 175x 439 563

BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

The history of Chiossulo has an important bearing upon the history of Buddhism in Huangchung and upon the specific character of Shamanism in the country. 175x 795

In Part II (8–14) it is noted that, according to the *Annals* of Hsining, the first Buddhist temple in Hsining, the Ta Fo Ssu, had been built during the Yuan period (1280–1368). Since I was conversant with the history of Chiossulo, I suggested on page 12 that most probably during the occupation of Kansu by the Tsan p'u of Lhasa from 763 until 842, lamas would have followed the conquerors and spread Buddhism in Kansu. However, the first historical data are recorded in the *Blue Annals* translated by Roerich, where is noted the foundation of the monastery of Dantig in 940, on the northern borders of the Yellow River in Huangchung, and at the same time that in that country great hermitages already existed. These annals also note the existence in the city of Hsining of a Buddhist temple where Buddhist monks had been buried. These are the first historical data which prove that Buddhism was practiced in Huangchung before 940. Since the description of the city of Hsining during the reign of Chiossulo, who died in 1065, is available, we know that the city of Hsining was a Lhasa in miniature, where lamas stood at the helm, and that therefore, long before the Yuan period, Buddhism flourished on a very large scale.

SHAMANISM AND MANICHEISM

The Uighurs were converted to Manicheism in 762–763 and professed Buddhism and Nestorianism at the same time. At the time of their khanate in Kanchow in 872 their official religion was still Manicheism. Manicheism is based upon the doctrine of the existence of two distinct principles of good and evil, and of two distinct beings impersonating good and evil, both eternal, independent, and mutually antipathetic.

The shamanism of the Monguors (Monguors II: 94–97) has been explained on the one hand by the overwhelming fear of evil spirits existing among the shamanists, and on the other hand by the recognition of their dependence on good spirits in all the circumstances of life. The struggle between both groups of spirits has been recorded during the typical rite against hail. Then the people carry all their good spirits into the fields in the direction of the threatening clouds, and cry to them to fight the evil hail spirits, which they curse awfully. If it happens nonetheless that the crops are destroyed, the people sigh with despair saying: "the good spirits could not match the evil ones." 175x 795 756

Professor Wolfram Eberhard,[34] reviewing the chapter on shamanism, suggested judiciously that there

[34] Wolfram Eberhard, *Jour. Amer. Oriental Soc.* 4: 284, 1957.

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 233 463 [466] because of the value of the animals entrusted to them. They are skillful in breeding, and in finding the best pasture. A shepherd is treated as a member of his employer's family; he receives the same food, and the daughters-in-law must show him the same respect they accord to the head of the family.

N *563 M 224 439 The Mongours hunt foxes, hares, pheasants and musk deer, using guns, traps and poison. The fox skins are sold to Chinese merchants and the best skins, used for lining the winter garments of the rich, bring a handsome price. Musk deer are also valuable game. The precious musk glands, used as a special drug or as an essence in perfume, are sold by weight to Chinese dealers.

N *56, M 226 Fishing is important in Koko Nor, where the lake produces an abundant supply. Mongour expeditions go there as soon as the lake has frozen over each winter. They go first to the chief of the Mongol or Tibetan tribe on whose shore they plan to operate, and present gifts such as wine, tobacco, noodles and the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity in exchange for permission to fish and protection from the tribe. The fishermen usually go to the same territory every year, and become sworn brothers of the chief or some important local nomad. The expedition, which lasts about two months, involves hard work in the bitter cold, M [251] but the profits are sufficient reward. Preservation of the fish is no problem; they freeze immediately after they are caught. They are carried to the market in Hsi-ning, or sold to Moslem merchants who engage in caravan trade.

N *563 M 438 439 Mongours carry on their trade largely with Chinese and Chinese Moslem merchants. The Moslems are an energetic and enterprising people who drive caravans of pack mules from house to house in the Mongour country, exchanging cloth, needles and thread for wool, skins, eggs and grain. In the autumn they collect oxen and sheep and drive them in small herds to Hsi-ning. The Chinese merchants do business on a larger scale. They send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at lama monastery festivals and at the annual celebrations and meetings of the Mongour clans. During the fall, when the Chinese Moslems are buying up sheep and oxen, the Chinese butchers of the cities send their agents to the Mongour villages to buy hogs. Chinese merchants also send their buyers into Mongour country for wool and skins, going from home to home. There are also peddlers, who deal largely in items needed in the Mongour home, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, M [437] cheap jewelry, sugar and pipe tobacco. Business is always by barter, with the top-ranking woman of the Mongour household doing the bargaining. As the peddler travels a long distance, it is customary to provide him with a place to sleep. Before he leaves he presents the hostess with a small token of apprecia-

N *563 M 439 [438] [543] [437]

/The Monguors/

tion for her hospitality. Larger scale selling and buying are done at fairs held two or three times a year.

Occasionally an ambitious young Mongour will go into the business of long-distance caravan trade with the Tibetans. He will deal largely in mules and saddle girths woven with white wool, which can be sold readily in Tibet, and bring back wool serge cloth dyed red or purple, or white with red or blue stripes. A heavy fabric, it sheds water, and is highly valued by the Mongours. He will also bring back Tibetan incense, dates and so forth to sell to the Chinese.

N *563 M 461

6. Work and leisure

The traditional life of pastoral nomads is rather free and lazy except at the times of seasonal migration. Descendants of nomads, the Mongours still prefer to enjoy long periods of comparative idleness alternating with short periods of intense activity. In their agricultural economy, however, the Mongour men are unable to be quite so indolent as pastoral nomads.

N *563 M 462

In the farming communities, both men and women work in the fields. The men do the heavy preparatory work, plowing and harrowing; the women help with sowing and weeding, as well as with reaping the harvest and carrying the grains to the threshing floor. Women do the threshing. Like their Mongol sisters, they do the housework and care for the animals. Married women work under the supervision of the oldest, usually the mother-in-law.

N *563 M 562 M [574] M [437] [533]

Although their status is inferior, the Mongour women accept it without resentment. Their outlook is conditioned by their milieu. They know what is expected of them, and behave accordingly. Though bound by strict rules of etiquette, they are entirely free to associate with men, to sing and dance in public, and to enjoy themselves. They delight in attending the big festivals at the lamaseries and the annual assembly of the clan, where they meet their friends and visit, and also show off their fancy costumes and headdress. They love to shop at the fairs, and bargain over goods. Both men and women love to sing. During the long, tedious hours of weeding the fields, men and women sing in unison.

N *563 101

G. The Tibetans

1. The people

Hsi-fan is a name applied by the Chinese to the Amdo Tibetans, and to all other non-Chinese tribesmen from Sung-p'an to Hsi-ning. It means Western Barbarians. Some European scholars have maintained that the Hsi-fan are not Tibetans, and suggest that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese peoples of southwest China, like the Lolo or Moso. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogenous Tibetan

N *563 199

226 Tibetan tribe on the shore of the lake from whose ter-
648 ritory they plan to operate, making him a present of the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity and a cask of wine, some tobacco, and noodles. They are then given the chief's permission and the protection of the tribe.
[608] The men of each fishing expedition usually go to the same territory every year and become sworn brothers of the chief or of some important local nomad, in order to make sure that while they are camped by the lake they will be allowed to gather fuel and will have no animals stolen.

226 Each fisherman breaks a hole in the ice, and spreads a couple of sheep skins on which he sits crosslegged, a two-pronged fork in his hands, waiting for fish to come to the surface of the water. The fish is harpooned with the fork and thrown on the ice. The frozen fish are either carried to market, usually at the city of Hsining, by the Monguors themselves or sold to Muslim merchants who make up caravans of twenty or thirty mules or donkeys. These expeditions involve hard work and exposure to the bitter cold, but the business must be remunerative as many Monguors go year after year.

TRADE

463 In the territory inhabited by the Monguors trade,
transport, and small industries are mostly in the hands
563 of Chinese and Muslims. The Muslims are an ener-
●441 getic and enterprising people, even more hard work-
ing and indefatigable than other Chinese. They will-
439 ingly engage in the arduous work of driving caravans of pack-mules and in running rafts and boats down the Hsining and Upper Yellow Rivers in all weathers. Most of the peddlars are also Muslims, who travel either with a pack on their backs or with a loaded donkey, wandering through the Monguor country from house to house, exchanging cloth, needles, thread, and other small wares for wool, skins, eggs, and grain. In the autumn, Muslim buyers collect sheep and oxen and drive them to Hsining in small herds.

There are very few Chinese peddlars, but the distilleries and flour and oil mills, which require money capital, are run by Chinese, and the Chinese monopolize the pork business, since the Muslims will have nothing to do with pigs. All through the year, and especially during the autumn, while the Muslims are buying up other livestock the Chinese butchers of the cities and towns send their agents into the Monguor villages to buy hogs. The Chinese merchants who do business on a bigger scale than the Muslim peddlars also send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at such large gatherings as the lama monastery festivals and the annual meetings of the Monguor clans.

441 Grain and oil seeds, being the main crops of the Monguors, are also the main commodities of trade. The conversion of grain into alcohol and of oil seeds into oil results in products of higher value in proportion to bulk and weight which can stand the cost of transporta-

[P. 114a]

441 tion to more distant markets that could not be reached by the unprocessed grain and seeds. These enterprises are, therefore, outlying Chinese businesses intermediate between the Monguor country and the Chinese-inhabited towns and cities. Wealthy Monguors, not confident of their own ability in trade, often invest their money in such Chinese enterprises; often, unfortunately, with the result that the Chinese partners get rich while the Monguors lose their money. Only a few Monguors, who are already well on the way toward becoming completely Chinese, venture into such enterprises as managing a small shop or buying and selling animals or wool and skins.

439 In the autumn, the Chinese managers of distilleries and oil mills make contracts with the Monguor farmers, the farmers undertaking to plant an agreed acreage with the crop required by the Chinese, and to sell the harvest at an agreed price. On the strength of this agreement, [452] the Chinese buyer makes a cash advance to the Monguor farmer. Wheat that does not go to the distilleries is bought up by Muslim dealers. The wheat is measured at the Monguor farm with the buyers' own measure, draft animals are hired from the Monguors to bring the wheat to the river bank, and it is there loaded on rafts and floated down to Lanchow.

252 There are some mills that grind flour for local Monguor consumption, and for that of neighboring Mongol and Tibetan nomads, and Chinese cities. These mills are built along small streams. A vertical wooden wheel carries an endless chain of buckets. As the stream fills the lower buckets, the wheel turns; coming up over the wheel, the buckets empty into a chute, and the descending water turns the nether stone of the mill, while the upper stone remains fixed. The grindstones are so crudely grooved that the grain has to be milled three times. Professional grindstone makers cut the blue stone in the mountains, install the millstones at the mill; and visit the mills every month to cut fresh grooves in the stones. There are only a few mills with horizontal power-wheels.

231 In the profitable business of buying livestock to be
463 slaughtered in such cities as Hsining and Lanchou, the
563 Muslims have a virtual monopoly of buying cows and oxen, the Chinese have a monopoly in buying pigs, and
441 both Muslim and Chinese butchers buy sheep. The most important season is the autumn, when the animals are in the best condition. Sheep are herded slowly for a journey of ten days or more to Lanchou, in order to prevent them from going lame and losing weight. Pigs
231 are also driven slowly, each batch of pigs being handled
441 by three men, moving only six or eight miles a day and sometimes taking a month to reach market. Ahead of the pigs is a man on foot driving a donkey loaded with dried peas and a long basket. Every mile or two the donkey is halted, some of the peas are poured into the basket, and enough is fed to the pigs to whet their appetites and keep the fat animals waddling after the

[P. 114 b]

231 donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel rela-
441 tively well because they have not been confined and fed
in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open
[237] around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy
pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a
large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to
Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from
there to Europe and America for making brushes.

236 The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send
their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this
237 buying is done directly in the homes of families that
have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor
443 children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted
439 with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-
drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buy-
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women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth,
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Two or three times a year every important monastery
296 holds special religions performances, around which there
543 spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after
paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their
tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads
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plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in
addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes
and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes,
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ing, and often, when there has been too much drinking,
fights between clans and villages.

463 A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-
distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the
439 medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy,
484 France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big
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lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

[P 115a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

415 planks. Some of these planks are cut to the standard
313 measurements for making coffins, and sold in the towns. Another woodworking trade is the making of pack saddles for donkeys, mules, and oxen, which are sold either in the towns or at fairs.

THE CITY BECOMES THE CENTER OF ECONOMIC LIFE

177 At the end of this chapter it is interesting to consider
369 from what center originated the new economic life of the Monguors, how it developed, and what were the repercussions on the social organization of the Monguor clans, as they evolved away from pastoralism. For nearly four centuries the economic life of the Monguors was fraught with insecurity and calamities, and deprived of the peace that is the first requirement for social welfare. Indeed the economic conditions of the Monguors and of the whole country improved only when the Ch'ing dynasty secured peace, and this improvement depended on the vitality of commerce. No trade of real importance had been able to coexist with insecurity on the roads, since trade requires normal and regular transportation facilities and a safe access to the outlets of commerce. For the center of a developed economy a city is required. In this case the city was Hsining, with its group of professional merchants from all over China, associated in guilds according to the Chinese custom.

177 The prefectural city of Hsining is advantageously situ-
369 ated on the river of the same name, a tributary of the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou, the capital of the province. Hsining is also on the road from Peking
632 to Lhasa and India. It was the seat of the political and
[487] military administration of the country, and the merchants settled there because it was a fortified and garrisoned city. Under the older order in China important concerns maintained their headquarters in major cities and sent their agents to less secure secondary towns and villages to open branch offices.

177 The merchants of the city monopolized the whole com-
369 merce of the country. They sent out their agents to buy up as much grain, oil, and wine (alcohol) as possible; they bought the products collected by peddlers; their
•441 agents pitched their tents at lamasery fairs and festivals
467 and at clan diets, to provide people with groceries, cloth, silk, and hardware. The small shopkeepers scattered over the country bought their wares from the wholesale merchants in Hsining. The guilds enjoyed the privileges of trading with the nomad caravans, which had to stop and unload at their inns in order to sell their merchandise, and to buy through them the things they wanted, such as flour, oil, and cloth.

Farmers were not allowed to sell flour, oil, and other products directly to the caravans. They had to go through the guild of the *Hsieh chia*, those who controlled the "rest places."[7] Thus the guild alone controlled the trade in the high-priced furs and other articles carried

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

177 by the caravans. Only the guilds of large towns, like
369 Hsining, had connections with the guilds of other cities
441 and could afford the cost of sending boats and rafts to
467 Lanchou, the capital of Kansu. In this way the entire economy was dominated by the city merchants. The fair and festival centers never grew to the extent of themselves becoming important cities, because they were unable to attract permanent merchants, since the attendance of the people was only seasonal and there was no permanent security. These local fairs merely provided the farmers at certain dates with their peculiar usual necessities of life.

177 Merchant activity provoked deep repercussions in the
369 Monguor society, whose nobles and commoners, during
441 centuries of disorder, had lived a rather precarious ex-
651 existence, their economy being limited by the boundaries of their clans and the production only of necessities within their own small groups. Both the economic and the political organization of the Monguor clans had been founded exclusively on the possession of territory. Taxes, corvées, military service, and the administration of justice had been rooted in the ownership of territory by the T'u-ssu, the commoners being affected in a peculiar and disadvantageous way. The collection of the taxes of certain villages by the "houses" of the nobles had, however, been reduced to negligible significance after four centuries, and the financial conditions of nobles and commoners had become more equal. Some of the commoners, who were more numerous than the nobles, had become richer than the best of the nobles, and rivals in wealth even of the T'u-ssu. Since wealth and riches are equated, in Asia, with prestige and authority, it is no wonder that members of the commoner group were easily accepted to fulfill the offices of chiefs and elders in the villages, and that the administration of the villages passed into their hands. In this way the new economic conditions tended to equalize, and perhaps even to reverse, the original social inequality between nobles and commoners. Under the peace and order of the Manchu dynasty, the city merchants were protected. Headstrong and daring young men followed the caravans to Lhasa and made money by selling mules and horses. Monguors could open small shops in the countryside, and invest capital, in association with the Chinese merchants, in oil and flour mills. Fishermen could venture to Kukunor, and others to burn charcoal in the mountains or saw planks to sell in the city. Peace provided the opportunities for taking risks in commerce, and the focus of these opportunities, which transformed both the economic and the social life of the Monguors, was the city.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

624 At the end of this study of the origin and organization
175 of the Monguor clans, their constituent elements, their chiefs, their internal rights and obligations and the actual administration and family and economic life, it is perti-

[P. 128a]

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

231 441 [237] donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel relatively well because they have not been confined and fed in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from there to Europe and America for making brushes.

236 237 443 439 The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this buying is done directly in the homes of families that have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buying in small quantities is done by the peddlars, especially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments, [431] and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for [203] Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as they travel.

442 296 543 Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs. Two or three times a year every important monastery holds special religious performances, around which there spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes, wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack [232] doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose diseases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses, cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

543 579 Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and attract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable distances. In the afternoons there are horse races and wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymaking, and often, when there has been too much drinking, fights between clans and villages.

463 439 484 A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods, attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

782 [822 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 823 cont.]
detail, he gave the answer: "That was too much for one afternoon." Moreover, he had described the festival as it had taken place in his little village. It had always been celebrated very simply there; now he had let the festival die out completely for his village, and they would go to the neighboring village of Chichialing, where it is much longer and larger.

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Here, too, nothing is presented in detail about the individual parts, as in the other chapters, because the material is too extensive and forms a subject in itself, which is to be dealt with in connection with shamanism. It should be stated in advance here, however, that they are probably not Tujen shamans, but Chinese shamans, who are found scattered over wide areas of western China.

[756]

Report

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The sowing festival and the festival of the harvest thanksgiving are completely identical. Only in the autumn people have more flour and meat to celebrate the festival. Both festivals last several days. A definite number of days is not prescribed. At the festival one differentiates between the offering and the dances of the shamans. The offering is undertaken by the seed-master or the village elder. The dances last for an entire day; usually a market is also connected with them.

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The shamans erect a pole in the temple yard, pray several days, send out sicknesses on the first evening, and from a distance kill children or cause them to become unconscious. In the evening of the final day, before they take down the pole, they take the sicknesses back; then the people struck by them become healthy again.

In 1914, in Nien pe, I encountered the unusual case 792
of a lama not enlisted in any monastery, who came back 434
from Mongolia with 40 loaded camels, to the home of his brother in Kang-tzu Valley, after a trip which had lasted for sixteen years. The shrewd lama had collected alms for himself! He died a few days after his return. His brother thereafter was a rich man.

A large capital investment is required for such ex- 792
peditions. The intendancies buy all kinds of things 484
used by the nomad Tibetans and Mongols. They carry 434
prayer books, paintings and statues of Buddhas, spoons, 443
wooden cups, teapots, kettles, thread of all colors, needles, boots, cotton, silk, satin, combs, tobacco, saddles from Peking, bridles, stirrups, finger and ear rings, charm boxes, toothpicks, ear probers, tweezers, prickers (necessary for the performance of the toilet), cheap synthetic jewelry, and tea.

All these things are loaded on oxen and entrusted to loyal and dependable lamas of the intendancies who set out on the journey. All along the way they sell their wares, adding to each item a scarf of felicity, blessed by their Buddha at home. The trade is carried on by [437]
barter. They accept wool, skins, yak hair, butter, sheep, cows, and horses, claiming they are collecting alms. When the animals they collect along the way become too numerous, they hire Tibetans or Mongols to help drive them. Because they get twice or thrice the cost of the wares and because labor has little value, these expeditions are really remunerative. However, if it happens that a caravan of another intendancy precedes their own, and the Tibetans or Mongols do not need anything more, then "fishing after the net is a losing business"; but according to the figures noted above, the expeditions are usually very profitable.

TAXES

At the seasonal festivals, held on the grounds of the 792
monastery, taxes are collected by the lamas from the 434
merchants of the city, who pitch their tents and do busi- [651]
ness on their territory, and from the Tibetans and Monguors who sell animals and their primitive homespun products.

MONEYLENDING

Lending of money at the Chinese legal rate of 30 per 792
cent interest is the most important source of revenue 434
for the intendancies. The lending of money is far more 426
remunerative than the purchase of land and mortgages, which afford more security. However, the intendancies prefer the bigger interest.

Intendancies dispose of capital to secure the annual subsidy granted to the lamas, the purchase of the important quantity of butter to be burned in the temple lamps, the expenses for the purchase of all the items required for the expeditions in Mongolia, Kukunor and Ts'aidam, and the expenses of the fixed festivals held at the monasteries. Besides these the intendancies dis-

[p. 46 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

chiliarchs still exist in Kumbum, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok), meting out punishments (instruments of torture are still displayed at lama courts), and imprisonment (the prison of Seerkok still exists); caring for the preservation of peace and order in the territories assigned to them, inquiring about travelers passing through it; administering the distribution of fields, the imposition and collection of taxes, the imposition of tolls on bridges (the bridge of T'ien t'ang and raft of Kan ch'an), and the imposition of corvées. 792 175 692

At the time of the inroads of marauding Mongol and Tibetan tribes, the revolts of Moslems, and the lama revolt against China in 1723, the subjects were compelled by the lamas to take sides with them in combat and in defending the lamaseries and their territories. In short, the privileges bestowed upon the chiefs of the lama institutions before 1723 were far-reaching. They were units, scattered over the country, administering their subjects according to their own rules and customs, entirely free from the interference of Chinese officials.

The lamaseries were the administrative centers of the groups subordinated to them. All the country's wealth flowed into their granaries and treasuries. Moreover, the lamas tended herds of cows, sheep, and horses, built oil and grain mills, and received donations. The lamaseries were the only places where huge sums of money could be borrowed (Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu borrowed money from them by mortgaging parts of their properties). They removed the wealth of the country from circulation and hoarded it or used it to found new lama communities (the tremendous branching out of monasteries between 1600 and 1723). They did not even use it for charitable institutions for the people of the country. 792 175 425 426

The lamaseries, originally built in lonely places and in remote valleys, in order that the monks would not be disturbed in their meditations and studies by the tumult of the world, were in olden times the most animated places of the country. In autumn the subjects carried taxes and rents on long caravans of donkeys to their granaries. The measuring of grain went on, as it did all over Asia, with rumbling noise and cries, bursting with activity for weeks in succession. At the time of exchanging tea for horses all the subjects were interested in the assessment of the horses. The tumult and discussions on the grounds of the monastery lasted for days and days. The selection of the horses for tribute to the emperor was conducted with like tumult and confusion, and often for the same length of time. Two or three times a year large festivals were held at the monasteries. They were attended by all the people of the country interested in horse racing, wrestling, singing, dancing, and in the big fairs held at that time. Chinese traders came from the city, pitched their tents, paid toll to the lamas, and sold their wares. The Monguors and Tibetans also arrived with their homespun 792 175 651 427 [554 443]

[p. 49 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

120 pounds of tea, second-class horses for 70 pounds of tea, and third-class horses for 50 pounds of tea. Every tribe under submission was taxed a definite number of horses to be exchanged at the bureau.[71] 175x 647 231 437

The very first bureau had been established in 1376 in Ch'in Chou in East Kansu, but on account of the distance between Ch'in Chou and An-ting and A-tuan, and the inconvenience of travel through the provinces, a bureau had later been established in Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 17: 3*b*). 272

The importance of the trading of tea for horses cannot be overrated. On the one hand, it was a means for the nomads to get rid of their horses and secure tea. Tibetans as well as Mongols cannot do without tea, and the stronger the concoction the more delightful it is to them. Even when traveling or indulging in hunting parties where tea could not be prepared, they chewed the tea leaves. The craving for tea among the nomads may be compared with the craving for opium among addicts. On the other hand, the trade was very beneficial to the Chinese. First of all, the cavalry got its badly needed horses in an easy way, and the officials of the bureau also benefitted. They evaluated the quality of the horses according to the gratuity offered by the nomad, cheating in the quality of the tea, and putting the transaction off indefinitely, making the customers wait for weeks on end, or helping them immediately, according to the gratuity presented. Squeeze was the rule in the bureau. 175x 443 231 272

The first benefitters were the traders. The exchange of horses was a boon for the city. Traders from all over Szechwan and Shensi provinces moved into the city with the wares the nomads needed, in addition to the tea they brought with them. The nomads were allowed to bring more horses than the number taxed, and they carried wool, skins, musk, etc., to be exchanged for wares. The exchange of horses for tea was the yearly opportunity for the nomads to make a trip to the city and to provide for the needs of the family. 175x 443

This institution was also an effective means of attracting the nomads to surrender, for only surrendered tribes were allowed to enter the city and transact business. After two years the institution reached fruition. It was an attraction, especially during the troubled times which were ahead, when the tribes, indulging in plundering each other, had to get rid of the stolen horses. It was an attraction also because the surrendered tribes enjoyed the protection of the empire. 175x 443 648

In 1379 both Hsining Wang and Chao t'u-ssu were ordered to participate in the expedition of General Mu Yin, sent to quell the revolt of the turbulent eighteen tribes in T'ao Chou (Tibetans? Uighurs? Shat'o?) where the chief San Fu Shih was taken prisoner. Then T'u-ssu Chao was enjoined to follow the expedition of General Fu Yu-te against rebel Mongols in Yunnan 175x 648

[71] Huang Ming su-i k'ao, Wen tien ko shu-chuang, Peiping, Chiang-fu-ssu chieh, 1937.

441 tion to more distant markets that could not be reached by the unprocessed grain and seeds. These enterprises are, therefore, outlying Chinese businesses intermediate between the Monguor country and the Chinese-inhabited towns and cities. Wealthy Monguors, not confident of their own ability in trade, often invest their money in such Chinese enterprises; often, unfortunately, with the result that the Chinese partners get rich while the Monguors lose their money. Only a few Monguors, who are already well on the way toward becoming completely Chinese, venture into such enterprises as managing a small shop or buying and selling animals or wool and skins.

439 In the autumn, the Chinese managers of distilleries and oil mills make contracts with the Monguor farmers, the farmers undertaking to plant an agreed acreage with the crop required by the Chinese, and to sell the harvest at an agreed price. On the strength of this agreement, [452] the Chinese buyer makes a cash advance to the Monguor farmer. Wheat that does not go to the distilleries is bought up by Muslim dealers. The wheat is measured at the Monguor farm with the buyers' own measure, draft animals are hired from the Monguors to bring the wheat to the river bank, and it is there loaded on rafts and floated down to Lanchow.

252 There are some mills that grind flour for local Monguor consumption, and for that of neighboring Mongol and Tibetan nomads, and Chinese cities. These mills are built along small streams. A vertical wooden wheel carries an endless chain of buckets. As the stream fills the lower buckets, the wheel turns; coming up over the wheel, the buckets empty into a chute, and the descending water turns the nether stone of the mill, while the upper stone remains fixed. The grindstones are so crudely grooved that the grain has to be milled three times. Professional grindstone makers cut the blue stone in the mountains, install the millstones at the mill, and visit the mills every month to cut fresh grooves in the stones. There are only a few mills with horizontal power-wheels.

231 In the profitable business of buying livestock to be
463 slaughtered in such cities as Hsining and Lanchou, the
563 Muslims have a virtual monopoly of buying cows and oxen, the Chinese have a monopoly in buying pigs, and
441 both Muslim and Chinese butchers buy sheep. The most important season is the autumn, when the animals are in the best condition. Sheep are herded slowly for a journey of ten days or more to Lanchou, in order to prevent them from going lame and losing weight. Pigs
231 are also driven slowly, each batch of pigs being handled
441 by three men, moving only six or eight miles a day and sometimes taking a month to reach market. Ahead of the pigs is a man on foot driving a donkey loaded with dried peas and a long basket. Every mile or two the donkey is halted, some of the peas are poured into the basket, and enough is fed to the pigs to whet their appetites and keep the fat animals waddling after the

[P. 114 b]

Mo /105 cont'd/
587 then called, if it is a son, either, according to the Chinese custom,
589 Hiao cheng tse, i.e., "/son/ born during the mourning period," or
765 else, according to the T'ou-jen custom, xara khû, i.e., "black
[177] son," which again means "son of mourning" since black is the color
[822] of mourning among the T'ou-jen; they say "to wear black" for "to be in mourning." Black was formerly also the color of mourning among the Mongols. When widows who have not remarried bear
Mo children after two years, it happens that these children are abandoned
[847] or that they are drowned right after birth, especially if they are girls.
848] That happens when the family has many children, or when none of
Mo the neighbors wants to feed the poor being. When the newborn is
[792] a son, they will keep him, but he will not inherit family property, and as a general rule they will send him at about the age of nine or ten to a lamasery to remain a bachelor. This is the most practical solution for avoiding difficulties in the family later. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 77: The Manchus are very strict in killing illegitimate children, i.e. the children born by unmarried girls and widows.

The other Tungus groups consider girls who have children as the best for marriage, because these girls have the proof of their fecundity. /Cited in English./

Mo c) The third category of polygamists is met in well-to-do
595 families who lack workers.

We have seen that all the work, so to speak, is assigned to
Mo the wife; the household duties, the care of the livestock, and a large
461 part of the work in the fields. A T'ou-jen wife actually kills her-
462 self with work. It is painful to us to look at these men with the
595 nomadic instinct, do-nothings, idlers, spare themselves the least fatigue. It can happen, therefore, in families which have much

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461 462 595 livestock, much land, and few workers, that the wife herself proposes to the husband that he take another partner to lighten her work. But then she herself will try /106/ to find a much younger girl than she, less talented, less beautiful, the kind minus habens, /"having less"/, on the whole a person who will not give offense to her and to whom she will be able to give orders. The T'ou-jen women are very shrewd in this regard. I have even twice known the case of a woman shrewder yet; instead of looking for a second wife for her husband, she had found it more practical to give a second wife to her son, who was scarcely seventeen and already had a wife several years older than he. These cases explain again the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of marriage. We have said above that marriage is not the personal affair of those concerned, and that the T'ou-jen see in it something besides the procreation of descendants.

595 d) Fourth category of polygamists: that of those who want to have two wives to enjoy them.

This category is rather rare. It is always dangerous, say the elders, to take a second wife when the first has children and does not want to hear polygamy mentioned. Those who proceed further end up by taking a concubine to sell the official wife, as the adage says. Besides, says another adage, "Women are like medicine; one must not take too much." Polygamy is therefore far from being general among the T'ou-jen. For my part, I believe that this chapter will gain a great deal by being carefully reviewed and corrected in many ethnology books.

3. Procedure for the Purchase of a Concubine

As a general rule, the husband first proposes to his wife that he take a concubine. If the wife will not listen and if the husband is very eager to do it, he will have recourse to a woman friend of his wife or even to one of her parents /relatives?/ in order to convince her. If that does not succeed, the affair is usually /107/ shelved.
[606] If the wife consents, the husband will send someone to the wife's

villagers, who also did not permit such liberties to Living Buddhas. Feeling the stigma attached to his exposure, he committed suicide. It also seems to be evidenced by the fact that penalties are still inflicted upon lamas, in the crudest forms, for infraction of this rule. This stigma is still attached to those who fail to meet their moral obligations. 772 831 [762]

The reform by means of serious study, however, seems to be a failure among the Monguor lamas of the present times. Among so many Monguor Living Buddhas and lamas, only the Living Buddha Chao-hsi of Kumbum enjoyed some repute, but in order to cause the lamas to attend his instructions, special benefits had to be provided for them. Very few among the Living Buddhas and lamas are interested in study at the present time, and, having nothing to occupy them all day, become involved in vice. Army officers and directors of schools are aware of the necessity of keeping young folk busy the whole day long, alternating fixed jobs with recreation. The lamas, however, except for attendance at the morning convention, which lasts only an hour, have to kill time making their own living. [185] 792 461

In the whole region of Hsining not a single school has been established by the rich monasteries, in order to promote the instruction of the Monguors and the Tibetans. Even at present in the lamaseries not a single elementary school exists for the lama boys, and no religious education is given to them. Not a single lama takes care of the spiritual needs and instruction of the adherents to their religion who live in a given area. Not a single hospital has been founded in order to assuage the pains and sufferings of the sick Monguors and Tibetans. The universal charity of Lamaism does not consist in love for one's neighbor, but in a platonic compassion for the universal sufferings of humanity and of all living things and for the impermanence of all existing beings. Lamas are not sisters of charity; they pass the sick draped in their cloak of indifference.[29] 772 871

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[29] Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, 373, notes: "Among Buddhist believers there has been scarcely anyone who has ever given any thought to social problems. The priests of ancient times were generally recluses who paid no attention whatever to the application of their religion to the needs of the practical world or to making the principles of true Buddhism as distinct as possible." [792 771 175]

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist, conversant with the Tibetan language and literature, went to Tibet to study Lamaism, and wrote an instructive note on Lamaism (p. 410). "I confine myself only to a popular exposition of the subject. Lamaism is constituted by two main branches; the older, the 'red cap sect' subdivided into many branches, and the later, the 'yellow cap sect.' They all agree upon cardinal points and in the formula for attaining perfection. The founder of the old sect was a Tantric priest, 'Lobon Padma Chungne' born in Cabul. He enjoined on his disciples the practices of flesh-eating, marriage, and drinking liquors, in order to attain Buddhahood . . . details I cannot give, for they are full of obscenity. The old sect, extremely popular in Tibet, has undergone considerable modification by lamas. . . . I note the reaction against the old sect by Atisha [from India, eleventh century], later by Tsong Khapa [fifteenth century]. The principle of Tsong Khapa was that priesthood must stand on asceticism. Therefore he urged

[p. 72 (B)]

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/The Monguors/

tion for her hospitality. Larger scale selling and buying are done at fairs held two or three times a year.

Occasionally an ambitious young Mongour will go into the business of long-distance caravan trade with the Tibetans. He will deal largely in mules and saddle girths woven with white wool, which can be sold readily in Tibet, and bring back wool serge cloth dyed red or purple, or white with red or blue stripes. A heavy fabric, it sheds water, and is highly valued by the Mongours. He will also bring back Tibetan incense, dates and so forth to sell to the Chinese.

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6. Work and leisure

The traditional life of pastoral nomads is rather free and lazy e :cept at the times of seasonal migration. Descendants of nomads, the Mongours still prefer to enjoy long periods of comparative idleness alternating with short periods of intense activity. In their agricultural economy, however, the Mongour men are unable to be quite so indolent as pastoral nomads.

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In the farming communities, both men and women work in the fields. The men do the heavy preparatory work, plowing and harrowing; the women help with sowing and weeding, as well as with reaping the harvest and carrying the grains to the threshing floor. Women do the threshing. Like their Mongol sisters, they do the housework and care for the animals. Married women work under the supervision of the oldest, usually the mother-in-law.

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Although their status is inferior, the Mongour women accept it without resentment. Their outlook is conditioned by their millieu. They know what is expected of them, and behave accordingly. Though bound by strict rules of etiquette, they are entirely free to associate with men, to sing and dance in public, and to enjoy themselves. They delight in attending the big festivals at the lamaseries and the annual assembly of the clan, where they meet their friends and visit, and also show off their fancy costumes and headdress. They love to shop at the fairs, and bargain over goods. Both men and women love to sing. During the long, tedious hours of weeding the fields, men and women sing in unison.

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G. The Tibetans

1. The people

Hsi-fan is a name applied by the Chinese to the Amdo Tibetans, and to all other non-Chinese tribesmen from Sung-p'an to Hsi-ning. It means Western Barbarians. Some European scholars have maintained that the Hsi-fan are not Tibetans, and suggest that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese peoples of southwest China, like the Lolo or Moso.

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Granting that there is no such thing as a homogenous Tibetan

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

562 chronic warfare among the ancient Mongols and Turks required alliances as well as feuds.

581 Hence the institution, known to be very early, of "pairs" of clans, each regularly taking its wives from the other in a sort of marriage alliance.[5] An association of this kind was a natural basis for alliance in war, since each clan would not only be aiding an ally but contributing to the security of its own daughters.[6]

512 Among pastoral nomads the traditional life of the man, especially the married man, is one of long periods 181 of idleness, spent largely in gossip and visiting, alternating with short periods of intense activity—in former times, defensive and offensive warfare, and in modern times the periods of migration, especially spring and autumn migration, and the periods spent by a man when he is summoned for obligatory service under the clan or tribal chief. The Monguors, as descendants of nomads, have inherited this tradition. The Monguor men, however, because of the change to an agricultural economy, cannot be quite as lazy as pastoral nomads. Farming cannot be profitable unless the men do their share of the work; but in spite of the example of patient toil set them by their Chinese neighbors, the Monguor men are never as industrious as the Chinese.

512 In the home, the kitchen and all things concerning food, the preparation of meals and cleaning up after 462 meals are women's work. Women also collect the fuel, consisting chiefly of the droppings of cows, horses, and sheep, which after being collected have to be dried in the sun until they are combustible. In the early morning when the cocks are still crowing to announce the coming day the wives start working while their husbands go on sleeping. First the wife must go to the well with a wooden cask on her back to fetch water. Then she boils water in the iron cauldron, set in the hearth, to make tea. While she is making the tea she carries hot water to her husband for washing. While the husband is drinking his early morning tea the wife dresses and washes the children, prepares breakfast and carries a

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[5] Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols*, as cited, 58. "Les Mongols des XIe–XIIIe siècles devaient parfois aller chercher très loin leurs femmes, et s'accorder avec un clan éloigné. En effet, . . . les pâturages étaient distribuées de telle manière chez les anciens Mongols, que souvent on ne recontrait aux alentours aucun répresentant d'un clan étranger. . . . Ceci explique, les réminiscences anciennes aidant, la fréquence des rapts; les femmes etaient enlevées de force chaque fois que l'occasion favorable s'en présentait.

"On relève fréquemment l'usage pour un clan de choisir ses promises dans un autre clan, mais toujours le même. Les membres de ces clans s'accordent mutuellement le titre d' 'allié,' de parent par alliance, '*quda*.' Parfois l'échange des jeunes filles à marier donne lieu à des traités en règle entre clans." (Note that side by side with the word *quda* there is the word which in modern Mongol is *hadam* and in Monguor *gadim*—see the Monguor relationship terms as given above—which expresses "relationship with a woman married into my clan, or a man who has married a woman from my clan."—O. L.)

[6] It is possible that this kind of association also helps to account for the importance of the maternal uncle, as "the man who has interest in both clans."—O. L.

[P. 88 b]

512 bowl of food in to her husband, presenting it to him
462 humbly with both hands. She then folds and stacks along the rear wall of the *k'ang* the felts, skins, and quilts that serve as bedding, and sweeps out the house and courtyard.

462 It is also woman's work to feed the livestock, milk the cows, and go out to fetch earth, carried in a basket
233 on her back, to dump in the stables where the trampling of the animals mixes it with manure and urine which will eventually be carried out to put on the fields as fertilizer. If a cart is needed in the day's work, it is the wife who harnesses the horse or ox. When it is time to grind flour, it is she who does the grinding, either pounding a little at a time in a stone mortar or taking a larger quantity to a grindstone turned by animal power. When it rains, it is her duty to take the small herds of sheep, cows, and horses out to graze in the valley or on the hill slopes, while her husband, smoking his pipe, huddles by the brazier at home to keep warm or goes to visit his friends.

462 Women also work in the fields. On the field nearest home the Monguors use stable manure; on distant fields
241 they use a fertilizer made by burning clods of earth and grass. The wife carries the ashes in a basket on her back and spreads them on the field. Most husbands help their wives in this heavy work, but it seems not to be their duty to do so. Plowing and harrowing are the main agricultural work of the men, but even in this the women frequently help them. It is not unusual to see a woman plowing and harrowing. When the heavy preparatory work has been done, husband and wife together sow and later weed the fields. They also work together in reaping the harvest, carrying it to the threshing floor, and threshing it—though there are a few lazy men who will not work after the sowing and the weeding, leaving the harvesting, carrying, and threshing to the women.

462 Whenever a woman has a few minutes to spare she reaches for her sewing box. Sewing is work that
294 *Monguor women love and at which they are very skillful.* They can often be seen working at night by the light of a twisted wick spluttering in a saucer of vegetable oil, patching the clothes of the family. A housewife is expected to make all the new clothes for her husband, her children, and herself. Although she is always the first to get up in the morning and the last to go to bed at night, she has a little more spare time in the winter, when there is no work in the fields, and this is the season for sewing.

603 It is the grandmother who manages the whole female side of the community, supervising and allocating work
462 to the daughters-in-law and the older girls. A good
592 manager rotates the work so that each woman will have an opportunity to do needle work and so that pregnant
606 women get lighter work. It is the grandmother also who soothes the quarrels that inevitably break out in such a family, and endeavors to keep them from be-

[p. 89a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

603 coming serious. At the same time, a grandmother is a woman who by age and rank is entitled to be a little
462 cranky and to have her peculiar ways. If she cannot keep the peace and maintain order among the daughters-in-
592 law, she appeals to the grandfather, who orders the
606 husband of the woman who is considered at fault to tackle the problem by admonishing his wife or if necessary by beating her.

Generally speaking, however, such little incidents within the family do not turn out to be serious; a daughter-in-law is expected to be demure and obedient, to hold her tongue and not to display jealousy, but at the same time it is considered only human to allow her to display a little bit of "temperament" from time to time.
562 In spite of the fact that Monguor women do very heavy work, they are usually happy and contented and it is the normal thing for husband and wife, even though they did not make their own marriage, to have real respect and love for each other. In their own little family within the extended family husband and wife usually talk everything over together, giving the wife the feeling that she has a responsible part in their joint concerns; while, as for the husband, it is easy for him to be fond of a wife who is so obedient and works so hard.

In public, Monguor women retain enough of the old nomad tradition to be much more free, especially in their attitudes to and conversations with men, than Chinese women. While they are bound by strict rules of etiquette and are likely to be rebuked by their elders, especially at home, if they infringe these rules, they are not in public at a loss how to behave when they encounter a man; they feel perfectly free to talk with him and they do not blush or look in the other direction, as old-fashioned Chinese women used to do. They enjoy going to the big public festivals at the lamaseries, and to the annual assembly of the clan; they like to sit on the grass in mixed groups, men and women together, talking, laughing, singing, watching dances, and making merry. A woman is not embarrassed to sing a song in public; and when she is dressed in her best clothes she likes to stroll, preening herself, through the crowd, displaying her costume and her magnificent headdress. Nor are women afraid to do their own shopping; at the fairs they confidently examine the wares for sale and hold their own in bargaining over prices. In the country Monguors do not consider it shocking to see a man riding to his fields with his wife riding pillion behind him; and during the long and tedious work of weeding man and wife both like to sing in the open air.

It is perhaps worth making a few brief comparisons between the status of men and women in the Monguor society and in the greater Mongol society from which the Monguors derive. In the thirteenth century William of Rubruck reported of the Mongols that:

> It is the duty of the women to drive the carts, get the dwellings on and off them, milk the cows, make butter and

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

562 *gruit*[7] and to dress and sew skins, which they do with a thread made of tendons. They divide the tendons into fine shreds, and then twist them into one long thread. They also sew the boots, the socks, and the clothing. . . . They also make the felt and cover the houses.

The men make bows and arrows, manufacture stirrups and bits, make saddles, do the carpentering on [the framework of] their dwellings and the carts, they take care of the horses, milk the mares, churn the *cosmos* or mares' milk, make the skins in which it is put; they also look after the camels and load them. Both sexes look after the sheep and the goats, sometimes the men, other times the women, milking them.[8]

Marco Polo, later in the thirteenth century, wrote:

And I tell you that the Tartar ladies trade, buy and sell and do all the work that is needed for their lords and family and for themselves.[9]

462 These comparisons are enough to show that the Monguors, both men and women, in spite of the change to agriculture, continue to divide their specialized work much as they did when they were still nomads. The men repair houses, saddles and harness for horses, mules, and donkeys; make the tools used for farming, and tan skins. In their leisure time men spin thread and twist cords and ropes. Women never kill sheep, pigs, or chickens; butchering and killing are done only by men. The fact that men do rather less work in the fields than the women has already been mentioned.

LEGENDS OF THE PAST

562 Other characteristics that Monguor women inherit from the nomad past are the ability to make decisions and take responsibility and the courage, in time of need, to fight as boldly as men. In the late twelfth century when Yesugei Bagatur, the father of Chingis Khan, was poisoned by some of his enemies, most of his followers

[7] *Gruit* is Rubruck's rendering of the Mongol word *hurud*, from which comes the Russian word *krut*.—O. L.

[8] *The journey of William of Rubruck to the eastern parts of the world*, 1253–55, with two accounts of the earlier journey of John of Pian de Carpine, translated and edited by W. W. Rockhill, 75–76, London, 1890. Rockhill footnotes with cross-references to Pian de Carpine. The word *cosmos* is, of course, the well known word *kumys*, which is Turkish rather than Mongol. See also Lama Galsan-Gomboev, *O drevnikh mongol'skikh obychayakh i sueveriyakh, opisannykh u Plano-Karpini*, in *Trudy*, Eastern Section, Imperial Archaeological Society, 4, St. Petersburg, 1859, for comparisons of thirteenth century survivals and echoes in Mongolia.—O. L.

[9] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.* In the Russian original, Vladimirtsov quoted from Pauthier's 1865 edition of Marco Polo. In the French edition, the translator adds the quotation as here given from the 1938 edition of Marco Polo by A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot 1: 169, London, Routledge, 1938. To these citations may be added the generalized description of pastoral nomadism in W. Schmidt and W. Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, 236, 524. For the Mongols of the Ordos region of Inner Mongolia, see P. Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, cited, 102. For the Manchus and Tungus, whose ancient habitat was in the forest rather than the open grassland, see S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the northern Tungus*, 263, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1933; also the same, *Social organization of the Manchus*, already cited, 165, 122.

[p. 90a]

231 and every well-to-do family keeps a fast, handsome horse with a good saddle and trappings. They will spend freely for the purchase of a showy "Peking" outfit—a saddle edged with brass and trimmed with cloisonné enamel with stirrups to match, and a bright saddle rug. When a horse is unsaddled his head must be pointing to the west. Women as well as men may saddle horses. The Monguor vocabulary for the colors of horses and cows is very rich. They prefer black horses and cows, it being a shamanistic belief that this color is a good omen for the owner and for the increase of the livestock.

232 The Monguors geld their own horses, many of them being very proficient at this operation. The stallion is thrown on the ground and the region of the operation washed with hot water to sterilize it. The cutting is done with the sharp edge of a piece of porcelain from a freshly broken cup. The scrotum is opened and the testicles taken out. Some wine is then poured in the wound, salt rubbed into it, and the wound stitched up with a large needle, which is first "sterilized" by being rubbed in the hair of the man who is to do the stitching. Three or four threads taken from a woman's needle box are twisted together to form a coarse thread for the purpose. Finally, salt is rubbed liberally over the outside of the wound. The horse is walked around the threshing floor during the day and tied to the pole at night, in order to prevent his lying down for a few days. There is seldom a mishap in performing this operation. Some lamas are skilful in performing the operation. Horses are seldom gelded by crushing of the testicles.

787 For this important operation a shaman chooses a day of good omen. Before the operation is performed, the head of the family burns incense and boughs of cypress, offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." For seven days after the operation no visitors are allowed to enter the courtyard, at the gate of which are hung a bough of cypress and a skein of wool as a sign that a horse has been gelded.[66]

Rich people with large herds brand a mark on the left hip of horses and cows. Sheep are marked by cutting a rough design in the ear or by clipping out a piece of the ear. The Monguors are remarkably gifted at tracking lost animals. Chinese whose animals have strayed or been stolen always ask a Monguor to track them, and a tracker will follow the trail for many days.

231 It is women's work, except where shepherds are hired, to take care of the livestock in their stalls and pens
•462 and also to go out with them to pasture in the summer rainy season when the grass grows quickly.

231 Shepherds are the best paid among those Monguors
463 who work for hire, because of the capital value of the

[66] Note that the same emblems are used to mark the tabu of a room in which childbirth has taken place, as described above. They are, therefore, tabu marks which are not restricted to a single kind of tabu.—O. L.

[P. 112 b]

342 need only be noted here that few Monguors are rich enough to hire Chinese or Monguor bricklayers and carpenters. Most Monguors build their own houses.

342 Rich people lay a foundation of brick for the mud
778 walls of their houses. Even poor people, though they build their own houses, buy the frames for their doors and windows from Chinese carpenters. When a new house is built, the young people of the whole village come to help in putting up the mud walls of the enclosure. They ask no pay for this work, but are rewarded with a dinner. A peculiarity of all Monguor courtyards is that in the middle of the enclosure stands a pole from which flies a "prayer flag" on which prayers have been written in Tibetan. At the base of this pole there is a small oven for burnt offerings; but sometimes the oven is built on top of the roof of the living room.

352 The Monguors do not have much in the way of furni-
353 ture. The living quarters of each nuclear family within the extended family consist of only a single room. Wealthier people may have "*k'ang* tables"—low tables, with very short legs, set on the *k'ang*. These are of the right height for people sitting crosslegged. Poorer people may have, in front of the *k'ang*, a rough table with homemade benches. A plank, on wooden pegs driven into the wall, serves for bowls and dishes. For household work, the Monguors made their own brooms from millet straw or tamarisk twigs. Only rich people paint the woodwork of their houses. Even in a poor family, however, there hangs on the wall of the chief of the family a picture of the guardian deity of the family, and in front of this picture there is a low table with brass butter lamps and bowls for offerings.

372 The fuel used by the Monguors is chiefly the dung
237 of horses, cows, and sheep, dried in the sun. The gathering of this fuel means constant hard work for
352 the wives, who must always have some reserve in case it is raining and dry fuel cannot be gathered. Sheep dung gives the most heat. It is dug out in bricks where it has accumulated and been trampled hard in the sheep pens. Straw and dry grass are also used in the little fireplaces that heat the *k'angs*. This fuel gives a quick, hot flame; though it does not last long, the sparks are drawn by the draft into the flues that run under the *k'ang*, where they set the accumulated soot smoldering, thus providing a low but relatively steady heat through the night.

352 During the winter the Monguor men, who work so
372 much less than the women, spend most of the day sitting on the *k'ang*, either at home or at a neighbor's house.
512 A primitive brazier is made by laying some bricks in a
462 circle in which earth is placed to hold the fire. On the earth is put a mixture of sheep dung, husks, and chaff.
521 This mixture burns slowly all day and is hot enough to boil tea. The men light their pipes from this glowing mixture, and sit all day long gossiping cheerfully in a haze of smoke.

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FOOD, DRINK, AND NARCOTICS

262 796 527 The diet of the Monguors is frugal. Meat, which with milk and milk products was the staple food of their nomad ancestors, has long been a luxury. Like the Chinese, they now eat meat for half a month at the New Year, on the third of the third moon, the fifth of the fifth moon, the fifteenth of the eighth moon, and the eighth of the twelfth moon. Apart from these feasts, they eat meat only at weddings, when children have been born, at funeral feasts, or when they have distinguished guests. For such feasts, a sheep is killed. In the short summer rainy season it is also customary to kill a sheep when there is rain for several days, preventing them from going out to the fields; and it is also customary to slaughter a sheep when the harvest is carried in. Meat is always boiled. Roasted or broiled meat is very seldom eaten and is not considered tasty.

[462] 231 Every family slaughters its own animals. The slaughtering is never done by women, who are expected to produce life, not to destroy it. Most Monguor men cease to do any slaughtering when they become about fifty years old, owing to the lamaistic belief that it is not fitting for a man who is approaching the time of his own death to slaughter animals, for fear of being reincarnated as an animal.

Cows, oxen, and pigs are slaughtered by cutting the throat. Sheep are often choked. Another method of slaughtering sheep—the traditional Mongol method—is to turn the animal on its back with the head pointing west, stretching the skin tight over the breast. A slit is then cut in the skin, and the butcher slips in his hand, seizes the heart, and jerks it loose. The sheep dies instantly and no blood is shed outside the carcass.

The Monguors very seldom slaughter horses, mules, or donkeys. When these animals grow old they are either sold or allowed to live until they die a natural death. [262] The meat of horses, mules, and donkeys is never eaten, nor do the Monguors allow the use of their cooking kettles for boiling such meat.

Chickens are usually killed either by cutting off the head or by thrusting a pin into the brain.

262 All Monguors abhor the meat of marmots. Marmot fat is used as a salve on the saddle sores of horses and mules, but as food the Monguors say, "Marmots are to us Monguors what pigs are to the Mohammedans."

[715] There is a small religious sect among the Monguors, known as "those who fast," the members of which never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

[272] In the morning the Monguors drink a cup of tea and eat a piece of bread when the sun has risen in the sky "to the height of a post." Salt is always put in the boiling tea. In many families only the parents and the oldest son drink tea; the other men, and all the women, drink only water with a little milk in it. (The Chinese, of course, do not use milk in tea or in any other way.)

[252] The bread is made from barley flour and is either steamed or baked. Ordinary people seldom eat wheat

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173 Prince of Chin. According to the legend this prince,
291 "blessed by heaven and all the spirits," begat thirteen
562 sons from his nine wives. Because he was fond of magnificence and display, he designed a different costume for each wife, and this is supposed to be the origin of the nine main designs of Monguor women's costume to this day.

177 The significance of the Monguor national costume even
648 in recent times is illustrated by the following story, which stirred up interest throughout the Monguor country. In 1913 the Living Buddha of the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu [10] forbade the Monguor women living in his territory to wear their national costume and ordered them to adopt the Tibetan style of dress. Passions ran high against this order. Although the Monguors had for centuries supported the monastery with their offerings, they ceased to appear at the monastery festivals and began to make their offerings to other monasteries. Even the lamas of Monguor origin left the monastery and enrolled in other monasteries. The result was that the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu began to enroll Chinese novices and the whole spirit of the institution was changed.

291 The costumes of the Monguor women are much more
292 elaborate and distinctive than those of the men. Like the
562 men, however, the women do not wear underclothes, nor do they have nightgowns. Their bed is a piece of felt spread on the sleeping platform; there are no sheets or pillowcases, and at night they simply undress and cover themselves with roughly woven blankets or sheepskins.

291 A woman's trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and
562 are fastened around the waist with a rope twisted of sheep's wool. On the legs of the trousers, just below the knee, there is a hem of white cotton cloth. To this hem is sewn the lower leg of the trousers which can easily be removed and replaced, when the women go to festivals, with a leg of finer cloth or of silk or satin, embroidered in red. Ordinarily, the legs of the trousers are stuffed into the tops of the boots, but the ornamental trouser leg can be worn outside the boot. As with men's trousers, the cut is that of Chinese trousers, and the tradition is that in older times trousers were not used at all. The Monguor women of the villages north of the valleys of Weiyüanp'u and Hungnaitze wear trousers only on the coldest winter days and when they go to festivals.

462 Monguor women make their own boots. The sole is
294 made of alternating layers of blue and white cotton cloth pasted together and then stitched, the foot of the boot is made of dark blue cotton cloth, sometimes beautifully embroidered, and the legs are ornamented with patches of dark leather. The foot of the boot may also be made of black cotton cloth, adorned with green

[10] For references to this monastery, see Reginald Farrar, *On the eaves of the world* and *The rainbow bridge*, London, Arnold, 1917 and 1921.

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•462 stitching. The leg of the boot is of dark blue cotton cloth and reaches to the knee. Stockings are not worn.
294 Some women pull their boots on over bare feet, others wrap their feet with long strips of cotton cloth. The designs embroidered on ornamental boots are Chinese —swastikas and other designs, and flowers such as violets, roses, or peonies.

554 The boots and the sash are important items in the trousseau of a Monguor bride—they display her pro-
292 ficiency in embroidery. Months of work go into the preparation of them, and girls learn the art of embroidering from older women. A pair of fine boots, worn only on festive occasions, is expected to last a lifetime. At festivals, if it is rainy or muddy, women can be seen walking barefoot carrying their precious boots under their arms, laughing and chatting as they trudge through the mud and putting on their boots only at the last moment. At such gatherings, boots and sashes are the articles that women compare and admire or envy; often a fine pair of boots is taken off and passed around the admiring circle of women while the proud owner modestly watches from the corner of her eyes, grace-
291 fully accepting compliments and congratulations. After the age of about forty, however, the woman puts aside her fancy foots and wears boots of a more simple style. An important part of the costume is a sort of apron which covers the chest and stomach. The upper part is of white cotton cloth, and the lower part of green cloth. The lower part is often beautifully embroidered with flowers, swastikas, or the Chinese characters signifying "longevity" and "happiness." On the lower part is sewed a large pocket in which women keep their needle cases, thread, and all kinds of odds and ends. The upper part of the apron hangs from a string around the neck, while the lower part is tied behind the back with laces.

Under her apron a woman wears a short shirt, reaching to the hips, made of red or green or violet cotton cloth. In winter this shirt is doubled and wadded with cotton or wool. Rich people wear shirts of satin or silk.

The woman's gown is a long, full robe, reaching to the heels, with wide sleeves. The front of the gown overlaps on the left side, and buttons under the left arm and down the side while the man's gown, as already described, buttons down the right side. Except for wealthy people, the gown is ordinarily of blue cotton cloth. Another gown of the same size and pattern is worn over the first gown. This outer gown is roughly woven from the wool of sheep or goats. As this wool has not been cleaned of its natural oil before being woven, it is heavy, warm, and sheds water well. In some places where the Monguor women, like Tibetan women, do not wear trousers, these two gowns are the only clothing. A girdle or sash holds both gowns in at the waist. For poor people, this is the only fastening of the gown; buttons are not used.

292 For festive dress the rough outer gown is not worn

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FIG. 8. Spinning handicraft. Two girls of Monguor origin, whose parents had attached themselves to a group of Tibetans enrolled as subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu. They wear the Tibetan clothes typical of the Huari region north of Hsining. The elder girl is spinning thread, which passes over a hook at the end of the stick thrust into her collar at the back of the neck. She keeps a bundle of wool in the bosom of her gown and from it twists the yarn which is rolled on to the spindle which she holds in her left hand. The thread then passes over the hook of the stick, to stretch and straighten it. The younger sister is fluffing a bundle of wool to prepare it for her elder sister.

467 Monguor artisans engaged in such work must perforce
651 join the Chinese guilds when they are summoned to work on official buildings.

The shamans are also affected by the need for asso-
756 ciation with a guild. Whenever there is an eclipse of
177 the sun or moon the shamans are likely to be summoned to the nearest Chinese town to help, by their incantations,
467 with the "liberation" of the sun or moon. In this they are associated with the Chinese Taoist priests. I knew of one case in which there was a quarrel between the shamans of two Monguor villages. They brought their disagreement before the chief of the religious corporation, a Taoist priest, who settled the matter.

• 462 The question of the origin of specialized artisan crafts is an interesting problem. In the case of the Monguors, most work is done in the household and there is little need for specialized skills. When there is such a need, moreover, most people cannot afford to hire a skilled craftsman to come from a Chinese town. These con-

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462 ditions offer opportunities to the kind of man who is clever with his hands and with tools. As such a man usually works for people who live in the same village or are members of the same clan, what usually happens is that the "clever" friend is invited to come over to lend a helping hand. A large part of his reward is in the opportunity to show his superior skill. When the job has been done he is invited to dinner, or if he is a poor man he is given some grain. Such opportunities are not enough, however, to enable a man to become a full-time specialized artisan.

Two Monguor artisans, self-made men, gave me the clue to the answer to this problem. "If there were no rich people," they said, "and above all if there were no monasteries in our country, we could never have been able to make a living as artisans; we would never have been anything but helpers. Because of the monasteries and the rich people, however, we are able to work all the year round and to take on apprentices." For this kind of artisan employment, rich people and monasteries provide the materials and the artisan provides only the special skill in using the materials.

463 A youngster who is handy with tools and wants to become an artisan invites two elders of his village to go
874 with him at the New Year to see the artisan to whom he wants to apprentice himself. He presents the traditional "scarf of felicity" and two pieces of meat. The elders stand as surety for his obedience and honesty. He makes nine prostrations to the master artisan and promises obedience. A contract is then signed by the guarantors, the master artisan, and the boy. The period of apprenticeship is usually three years, during which the apprentice lives at the home of his master and in addition to learning his trade works, without pay, at all kinds of odd jobs, such as preparing his master's food, and working in his fields in the busy times of sowing and harvesting.

After three years, if the master is satisfied, the apprentice prepares a sheep and wine and invites his master, his two guarantors, and the former apprentices of his master to a feast. He presents his master with a gown or a pair of trousers or boots, prostrates himself nine times and receives from his master a set of the tools of his trade. He is then himself a master-artisan, and although he still has to work another year for his master, he is now paid for his work. For the rest of his life he feels indebted to his master and bound to help him whenever asked.

415 One of the minor industries engaged in by Monguors
313 is the manufacture of wooden bowls and small wooden
[322] boxes. The wood used is poplar, which is turned on a lathe and then coated with oil. Another small-scale occupation is the making of charcoal. Monguors living near forests belonging to lamaseries pay the monastery for the right to cut trees from which they burn charcoal which they take to the towns to sell. Other Monguors buy trees as they stand in the forest, cut them, and saw

Mo /105 cont'd/
587 then called, if it is a son, either, according to the Chinese custom,
589 Hiao cheng tse, i.e., "/son/ born during the mourning period," or
765 else, according to the T'ou-jen custom, xara khû, i.e., "black
[172] son," which again means "son of mourning" since black is the color
[822] of mourning among the T'ou-jen; they say "to wear black" for "to be in mourning." Black was formerly also the color of mourning among the Mongols. When widows who have not remarried bear
Mo [847 children after two years, it happens that these children are abandoned
848] or that they are drowned right after birth, especially if they are girls. That happens when the family has many children, or when none of
Mo the neighbors wants to feed the poor being. When the newborn is
[792] a son, they will keep him, but he will not inherit family property, and as a general rule they will send him at about the age of nine or ten to a lamasery to remain a bachelor. This is the most practical solution for avoiding difficulties in the family later. (1)

Ma [847 848]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 77: The Manchus are very strict in killing illegitimate children, i.e. the children born by unmarried girls and widows.

The other Tungus groups consider girls who have children as the best for marriage, because these girls have the proof of their fecundity. /Cited in English./

Mo 595 c) The third category of polygamists is met in well-to-do families who lack workers.

Mo 461 We have seen that all the work, so to speak, is assigned to the wife; the household duties, the care of the livestock, and a large
462 part of the work in the fields. A T'ou-jen wife actually kills her-
595 self with work. It is painful to us to look at these men with the nomadic instinct, do-nothings, idlers, spare themselves the least fatigue. It can happen, therefore, in families which have much

/105 cont'd/

461 livestock, much land, and few workers, that the wife herself proposes
462 to the husband that he take another partner to lighten her work. But
595 then she herself will try /106/ to find a much younger girl than she, less talented, less beautiful, the kind minus habens, /"having less"/, on the whole a person who will not give offense to her and to whom she will be able to give orders. The T'ou-jen women are very shrewd in this regard. I have even twice known the case of a woman shrewder yet; instead of looking for a second wife for her husband, she had found it more practical to give a second wife to her son, who was scarcely seventeen and already had a wife several years older than he. These cases explain again the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of marriage. We have said above that marriage is not the personal affair of those concerned, and that the T'ou-jen see in it something besides the procreation of descendants.

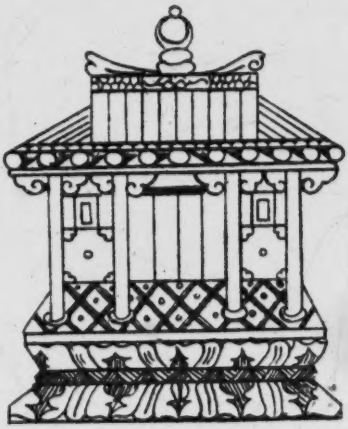
595 d) Fourth category of polygamists: that of those who want to have two wives to enjoy them.

This category is rather rare. It is always dangerous, say the elders, to take a second wife when the first has children and does not want to hear polygamy mentioned. Those who proceed further end up by taking a concubine to sell the official wife, as the adage says. Besides, says another adage, "Women are like medicine; one must not take too much." Polygamy is therefore far from being general among the T'ou-jen. For my part, I believe that this chapter will gain a great deal by being carefully reviewed and corrected in many ethnology books.

3. Procedure for the Purchase of a Concubine

As a general rule, the husband first proposes to his wife that he take a concubine. If the wife will not listen and if the husband is very eager to do it, he will have recourse to a woman friend of his wife or even to one of her parents /relatives?/ in order to convince her. If that does not succeed, the affair is usually /107/ shelved.
[606] If the wife consents, the husband will send someone to the wife's

764 [637 cont.]
465 his work and, in addition, twelve
322 loaves of bread, two ells of white cloth, and a small measure of wheat (six pounds). After the work is done, this measure of wheat is put on the house-
[782] hold altar, and the carpenter puts his tools on it. The master of the household sticks a few burning incense-sticks among them and puts the loaves before them. Then everyone makes a three-
[532]



Death-box
(Drawing of a Tujen)

fold kowtow (7). The carpenter does not receive the white cloth until the funeral meal.

[782] [776] [177] 7. [Foreign text p. 653.] This ceremony actually has nothing to do with the death-box. It is customary after all carpentry work; it is done to honor the tutelary god of the carpenter, Lu-pan-yeh. It is a Chinese custom.

764 Lying in state: If the box is already available at death, the corpse is immediately put in it. If it is not yet ready, then the people put the dead in a crouching position on the kang or on the floor of the room in which he died. First, however, they lay down a white felt mat as a pad; straw is not used. No one may sleep or live in the same room with the dead, only in an adjoining room. A table with 12 loaves of bread, which come from the deceased's own family, and a water-lamp stand before the crouching corpse.

[462] [593] Putting the corpse in the box is always done by men. The son puts his father and mother inside. The father, however, never puts his son in; that is taken care of by the young brothers or cousins.

guiding the father shaman to indicate which among his 756
sons fills the bill of requirements in the most appropriate way. The general belief among the Monguors is that the avocation of a shaman does not depend on the individual or on any other person, but on the spirits, who select the person who is to discharge the duty.

The succession, according to the Monguors, is necessarily inherited by one of the sons of a shaman. This is explained according to the Monguor mentality. It has been noted that, since the worshipping of a spirit once begun by a family should never be discontinued, for fear of calamities which would be sent by the abandoned spirit, the eldest son therefore has to perpetuate its cult. In a more imperative way, when the head of a family has dedicated himself to the cult of a spirit, the duty of a member of the same family to continue this dedication is far more urgent. Since it can never be neglected, one of the sons has to assume the duty.

When a shaman, however, has no sons, he indicates his successor among the sons of his brothers and adopts him. The boy will inherit his wealth and substance and become a shaman. If he did not adopt a son during his life, a family council convenes in order to indicate one of their boys to succeed to the deceased shaman, for the future of the whole family is at stake. The Monguors harbor a deep conviction that the whole family is responsible for the continuation of the dedication of a member to the cult of the spirits, and that the family would not be able to withstand the calamities entailed by such neglect.

The Monguors say that in former times, when the [462] shaman had no sons, one of his daughters discharged the duty, but at present there are no more female shamans. Many times I received from the Monguors this explanation which, according to their trend of mind, seemed logical.

When I asked the shamans why they accepted only their sons or nephews as pupils, and never sons belonging to families in which there were no shamans, they always answered that such boys could not become shamans. They said their old ancestor had been chosen and ordered by the Twelve Tengris themselves to honor them; that the way of practicing their art had been taught to him by the Twelve Tengris themselves and that consequently their "family" had to discharge this duty. "We have to honor our shaman ancestors," they said, "because when we are fulfilling our duty their spirits come to us, helping us serve the tengris; they know the way of approaching the tengris; they live with them and know them, make them take possession of us, and make them help us in every way. Without the spirits of our ancestors we are unable to perform the rites, to call up our Tengris and to combat evil spirits. The spirits of our ancestors know us, and protect us, because we are their descendants, and so do the Twelve Tengris; but our ancestors will not help strangers and our Tengris recognize only our family as their servants;

[p.79 (B)]

N
*563 /The Monguors/
M
439 tion for her hospitality. Larger scale selling and buying are
[438] done at fairs held two or three times a year.
[543]
[437] Occasionally an ambitious young Mongour will go into the business of long-distance caravan trade with the Tibetans. He will deal largely in mules and saddle girths woven with white wool, which can be sold readily in Tibet, and bring back wool serge cloth dyed red or purple, or white with red or blue stripes. A heavy fabric, it sheds water, and is highly valued by the Mongours. He will also bring back Tibetan incense, dates and so forth to sell to the Chinese.

N 6. Work and leisure
*563 The traditional life of pastoral nomads is rather free and lazy
M except at the times of seasonal migration. Descendants of no-
461 mads, the Mongours still prefer to enjoy long periods of comparative idleness alternating with short periods of intense activity. In their agricultural economy, however, the Mongour men are unable to be quite so indolent as pastoral nomads.

N In the farming communities, both men and women work in the
*563 fields. The men do the heavy preparatory work, plowing and
M harrowing; the women help with sowing and weeding, as well as
462 with reaping the harvest and carrying the grains to the threshing floor. Women do the threshing. Like their Mongol sisters, they do the housework and care for the animals. Married women work under the supervision of the oldest, usually the mother-in-law.

N Although their status is inferior, the Mongour women accept
*563 it without resentment. Their outlook is conditioned by their mil-
M lieu. They know what is expected of them, and behave according-
562 ly. Though bound by strict rules of etiquette, they are entirely free to associate with men, to sing and dance in public, and to
M enjoy themselves. They delight in attending the big festivals at
[574] the lamaseries and the annual assembly of the clan, where they meet their friends and visit, and also show off their fancy cos-
M tumes and headdress. They love to shop at the fairs, and bar-
[437] gain over goods. Both men and women love to sing. During the
[533] long, tedious hours of weeding the fields, men and women sing in unison.

N G. The Tibetans
*563 1. The people
101 Hsi-fan is a name applied by the Chinese to the Amdo Tibetans, and to all other non-Chinese tribesmen from Sung-p'an to Hsi-ning. It means Western Barbarians. Some European scholars have maintained that the Hsi-fan are not Tibetans, and suggest that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese peoples of southwest China, like the Lolo or Moso.
N Granting that there is no such thing as a homogenous Tibetan
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1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

000 316 the highest, coldest, part of the country. Coal was exploited and mined in a primitive way in one of the valleys north of Hsining and near the junction of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers. According to the local *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 20*a*), iron was exploited during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644); but the deposits must have been exhausted, because during the period of my stay iron was carried all the way from the Province of Szech'uan on donkeys and mules.

In the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, and some of their small tributaries, gold was panned at irregular intervals; south of the Hsining River and in the upper reaches of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, thirty-one auriferous placers were regularly exploited, mostly by Muslims.

487 492 505 The system of communications was primitive. Ox carts could travel on the roads near the larger towns and villages, but most transportation depended on pack-animals, including donkeys, mules, and horses. It was only subsequent to the period covered by this study that a highway was built connecting Lanchou, the capital of the Province of Kansu, with Hsining, the capital of Ch'inghai. The Hsining River was, therefore, the biggest transport asset of the country. From the Hsining River to the Yellow River, which flows by the city of Lanchou, cargoes of grain, wool, skins, vegetable oils, and alcohol were carried on rafts made either of wood or of inflated ox skins as far as the city of Paot'ou, in the Province of Suiyüan, where they were unloaded [463] and carried on by rail to the seaport of Tientsin. Most [563] of this transportation business was in the hands of Chinese Muslims.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 In the oldest Chinese historical references, the country between the Tat'ung, Hsining, and Yellow Rivers was called Huang Chung and was inhabited by tribes called Ch'iang. The Chinese ideograph for this name indicated that it had the meaning "herders of sheep." The name is one that has never disappeared from Chinese usage in referring to the peoples of the edge of the Tibetan plateau; it is in use to this day. In 202 B.C. the Hsiao Yuehchih, who were probably speakers of an eastern Iranian, Indo-European language, fled from the Hsiung-nu, the principal tribe of the northern Chinese frontier, settled among the Ch'iang tribes, and were absorbed by them.

In 116 B.C. Ho Ch'ü-ping, one of the most famous frontier commanders in Chinese history, came to Huang Chung and founded the first Chinese colonies among the Ch'iang tribes. In A.D. 4 more Chinese colonies were established in the region of Kukunor, but were lost after a few years. This was, in fact, a precarious frontier. For three hundred and sixty years the frontier colonies were often in danger of annihilation, being subject to frequent tribal attack and without support from China proper, because the Later Han dynasty of the first and second centuries A.D. was troubled with chronic dynastic

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563 the T'ang dynasty (618–906) or the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368).

The presence of Muslims in the Hsining district under the Yuan dynasty is however evidenced by two passages in the *Annals*. One of the sixteen Monguor clans, the small clan of Yeh, is described as being of Ch'ant'ou origin, and Muslim by religion. The term Ch'ant'ou, meaning "those who wear a turban on the head," is commonly applied to central Asian Turkish Muslims. Since this clan submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 at the same time as the other Monguor clans, it must have been settled in the country under the preceding Yuan or Mongol dynasty. (Provincial *Annals*, ch. 42, p. 52.) It is also stated in the same *Annals* (ch. 42, p. 43) that the Salars also submitted to the Ming in 1371, when two of their chiefs were granted the rank of T'u-ssu. According to popular tradition they came to China from Samarkand under the T'ang dynasty. The *Annals* give no evidence for or against this tradition, but show that they were at least living in China at the end of the Yuan dynasty.[a]

The religious fanaticism of the Muslims has been their strength and their weakness.[b] It has enabled them to hold their own against the Chinese, but rivalry between sects has prevented complete cohesion. One sect, commonly known as the Old Religion, belongs to the Hanefite school; that is to say, it bases its religious doctrines on the Koran and on the Sunna or tradition. The other sect, known as the New Religion, is divided into a number of subsects and derives from the schools of the Shias and the Sufis. This sect holds that religious leaders are invested by God with special "grace"; this grace can be passed on to their sons who succeed them as religious chiefs. Owing to this belief, the sect is always exposed to the danger of further subdivision through the appearance of new claimants to religious leadership who declare themselves to be endowed with "grace." Owing to its belief in this kind of religious inspiration, the sect is marked by its devotion to the cult of saints and their tombs.

The Chinese-speaking Muslims are to be found in the cities and in villages to the west, south, and north of Hsining. Occasionally a few Chinese-speaking Muslims are to be found living in villages of the non-Muslim Chinese, but non-Muslim Chinese do not live in the villages of the Muslims. While the Muslims engage in agriculture, their most important and profitable activities

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[a] The following references to the Muslims of Northwest China are from *Moslem World*, New York: M. E. Botham, Islam in Kansu (**10**: 377–390, 1919); H. D. Hayward, The Kansu Moslems (**24**: 68–80, 1934) and Han and Hwei in the Kansu-Sinkiang marches (**26**: 62–67, 1936). See also G. F. Andrew, Islam in North-West China today, *Jour. Roy. Central Asian Soc.*, London, **19**: 89–100, 1932.

[b] Kansu was disturbed by Muslim rebellions in 1648, 1781–1784, 1820–1828, 1862–1878, 1895–1897; a revolt broke out in 1909 but was suppressed by the Muslim chiefs themselves; between 1918 and 1921 the situation was very tense; the last revolt, 1928–1929, was headed by Ma Ch'ung-ying.

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563 are in the grain trade, and the buying and selling of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides, and lamb skins. Their importance in the boat and raft trade on the 463 Yellow River has already been noted; and many Muslims are innkeepers on the roads of Kansu. Even the astute Chinese respect them as formidable rivals in trade. There is a Chinese saying to the effect that "one Muslim asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," and another that "the food of the Muslims is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted." It is also said that "out of ten Muslims nine are thieves."

SALARS

563 The Salars live chiefly in two groups in the subprefectures of Hsünhua and Payenjung.[4a] The famous Chinese Muslim general, Ma Fu-hsiang, who enlisted many Salars in his troops, mentions the tradition that the Salars came to China as early as the T'ang dynasty, and describes them as having settled in their present homes under the Yuan or during the Ming dynasty. He divides them into two groups, the "inner five clans" (using for "clan" the Chinese word *kung*) and the "outer eight clans." The "outer" group, according to General Ma, is one that has lost its Turkish language and now speaks Tibetan. The Salars preserve their old customs and traditions by marrying only within their own groups.[4] I have often been told by Uighurs from Sinkiang who used to come to Hsining every winter to deal in Russian leather, boots, and cloth that they could not understand the dialect either of the Salars or the Turkish-descended Monguors of the Yeh clan.

The Salars are the most fanatical of all the Muslims and during the great Muslim revolts against the Chinese they have always been the fiercest and the most cruel warriors. General Ma Fu-hsiang carefully distinguishes the Salars from the Tibetans, from the groups of Mongol origin converted to Islam, and from the Tibetan-speaking group of Mongol origin which has also been converted to Islam. He himself belongs to the group of converts of Mongol descent. This group is called "San-t'a" by both Tibetans and Monguors.[5]

[4a] General references: R. B. Shaw, On the hill canton of Salar. The most easterly settlement of the Turki race. *Jour. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, London, **10**: 305–316, 1878; G. F. Andrew, Ancient Chinese Koran. *Moslem World*, New York, **24**: 84, 1934; C. D. Holton, Salars. *Friends of Moslems*, Hankow, **19**: 13, 1945. See also article "China" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* **1**: 839–854, Leyden, Brill, 1913–1934.

[4] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng-Tsang Chuang-k'uang* (General account of Mongolia and Tibet), 200, Nanking, Chunghua Publishers, 1936.

[5] According to A. De Smedt and A. Mostaert, *Le dialecte monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou occidental. IIIe partie. Dictionnaire monguor-français*, 324, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1933, "san-t'a" is probably from *sarta'ul*, "Musulman." See also P. Pelliot, in *T'oung Pao* **27**: n. 2, 1930: "*Sarta'ul*, nom mongol des Musulmans (surtout de ceux du Turkestan russe) au Moyen Age."

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231 and every well-to-do family keeps a fast, handsome horse with a good saddle and trappings. They will spend freely for the purchase of a showy "Peking" outfit—a saddle edged with brass and trimmed with cloisonné enamel with stirrups to match, and a bright saddle rug. When a horse is unsaddled his head must be pointing to the west. Women as well as men may saddle horses. The Monguor vocabulary for the colors of horses and cows is very rich. They prefer black horses and cows, it being a shamanistic belief that this color is a good omen for the owner and for the increase of the livestock.

232 The Monguors geld their own horses, many of them being very proficient at this operation. The stallion is thrown on the ground and the region of the operation washed with hot water to sterilize it. The cutting is done with the sharp edge of a piece of porcelain from a freshly broken cup. The scrotum is opened and the testicles taken out. Some wine is then poured in the wound, salt rubbed into it, and the wound stitched up with a large needle, which is first "sterilized" by being rubbed in the hair of the man who is to do the stitching. Three or four threads taken from a woman's needle box are twisted together to form a coarse thread for the purpose. Finally, salt is rubbed liberally over the outside of the wound. The horse is walked around the threshing floor during the day and tied to the pole at night, in order to prevent his lying down for a few days. There is seldom a mishap in performing this operation. Some lamas are skilful in performing the operation. Horses are seldom gelded by crushing of the testicles.

787 For this important operation a shaman chooses a day of good omen. Before the operation is performed, the head of the family burns incense and boughs of cypress, offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." For seven days after the operation no visitors are allowed to enter the courtyard, at the gate of which are hung a bough of cypress and a skein of wool as a sign that a horse has been gelded.[6a]

Rich people with large herds brand a mark on the left hip of horses and cows. Sheep are marked by cutting a rough design in the ear or by clipping out a piece of the ear. The Monguors are remarkably gifted at tracking lost animals. Chinese whose animals have strayed or been stolen always ask a Monguor to track them, and a tracker will follow the trail for many days.

231 462 It is women's work, except where shepherds are hired, to take care of the livestock in their stalls and pens and also to go out with them to pasture in the summer rainy season when the grass grows quickly.

231 463 Shepherds are the best paid among those Monguors who work for hire, because of the capital value of the

[6a] Note that the same emblems are used to mark the tabu of a room in which childbirth has taken place, as described above. They are, therefore, tabu marks which are not restricted to a single kind of tabu.—O. L.

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231 animals entrusted to them and the skill and devotion
463 needed if the animals are to get the best pasture and to multiply rapidly. Skill is required especially in the lambing season. A shepherd is treated like a member of the family. At each meal one of the daughters-in-law presents him with his bowl of food, with both hands, with the same respect that is shown to the head of the family, and the shepherd's food is as good as that of the head of the family.

231 When there is not enough rain and the pasture is poor, the Monguors will go with a present to the chief
648 of one of the nomad tribes of Tibetans or Mongols, asking permission to graze their stock on his land during the summer. The nomads are always very generous and helpful at such times.

231 The Monguors will never sell an animal, or allow an animal already sold to leave their home, on the first or fifteenth of the moon for fear that prosperity and luck might leave the family. Other beliefs in connection with cattle breeding will be discussed in my later work on the religious life of the Monguors.

231 An old Monguor of some sixty years once told me that during his lifetime he remembered four different occa-
251 sions on which the cattle herds had been devastated by epizootics. When such a disaster happens, the flesh of the animals who have died of sickness is cut in long, thin strips which are dried in the sun and for the following year the Monguors have tough beef to chew at every meal.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 The Monguors hunt with the gun and with traps and poison, but because the region has become too thickly
136 populated to support a great deal of game there is no hunting on a large scale. The animals hunted are foxes, wolves, musk-deer, hares, and pheasants, while boys like to shoot marmots with matchlock guns. Foxes and wolves are killed sometimes with the gun, but more usually with strychnine bought from the Chinese. First the tracks of the animal to be poisoned are studied in order to determine its habits. Then for several days meat, taken from hares and birds that have been killed by the hunter, is laid out in order to accustom the animal to this kind of feeding. The poison is then set out. Sometimes the strychnine is put inside a ball of meat, but more usually it is put in the hollow of a long, thin bone, the ends of which are sealed with wax. The fox or wolf dies near the place where it has cracked and swallowed such a bone, while strychnine placed in a ball of meat is slower to act and the animal may travel so far that it is difficult to track. Foxes are also taken with iron traps bought from Chinese smiths. The animal to be trapped is first watched carefully for a number of days in order to learn its habits. Then roasted flour is set out for it to feed on, so that it becomes unwary, and finally the trap is baited and set.

The most valuable game is the musk-deer, which is

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226 Tibetan tribe on the shore of the lake from whose ter-
648 ritory they plan to operate, making him a present of the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity and a cask of wine, some tobacco, and noodles. They are then given the chief's permission and the protection of the tribe.
[608] The men of each fishing expedition usually go to the same territory every year and become sworn brothers of the chief or of some important local nomad, in order to make sure that while they are camped by the lake they will be allowed to gather fuel and will have no animals stolen.

226 Each fisherman breaks a hole in the ice, and spreads a couple of sheep skins on which he sits crosslegged, a two-pronged fork in his hands, waiting for fish to come to the surface of the water. The fish is harpooned with the fork and thrown on the ice. The frozen fish are either carried to market, usually at the city of Hsining, by the Monguors themselves or sold to Muslim merchants who make up caravans of twenty or thirty mules or donkeys. These expeditions involve hard work and exposure to the bitter cold, but the business must be remunerative as many Monguors go year after year.

TRADE

463 In the territory inhabited by the Monguors trade,
563 transport, and small industries are mostly in the hands of Chinese and Muslims. The Muslims are an ener-
441 getic and enterprising people, even more hard work-
439 ing and indefatigable than other Chinese. They willingly engage in the arduous work of driving caravans of pack-mules and in running rafts and boats down the Hsining and Upper Yellow Rivers in all weathers. Most of the peddlars are also Muslims, who travel either with a pack on their backs or with a loaded donkey, wandering through the Monguor country from house to house, exchanging cloth, needles, thread, and other small wares for wool, skins, eggs, and grain. In the autumn, Muslim buyers collect sheep and oxen and drive them to Hsining in small herds.

There are very few Chinese peddlars, but the distilleries and flour and oil mills, which require money capital, are run by Chinese, and the Chinese monopolize the pork business, since the Muslims will have nothing to do with pigs. All through the year, and especially during the autumn, while the Muslims are buying up other livestock the Chinese butchers of the cities and towns send their agents into the Monguor villages to buy hogs. The Chinese merchants who do business on a bigger scale than the Muslim peddlars also send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at such large gatherings as the lama monastery festivals and the annual meetings of the Monguor clans.

441 Grain and oil seeds, being the main crops of the Monguors, are also the main commodities of trade. The conversion of grain into alcohol and of oil seeds into oil results in products of higher value in proportion to bulk and weight which can stand the cost of transporta-

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441 tion to more distant markets that could not be reached by the unprocessed grain and seeds. These enterprises are, therefore, outlying Chinese businesses intermediate between the Monguor country and the Chinese-inhabited towns and cities. Wealthy Monguors, not confident of their own ability in trade, often invest their money in such Chinese enterprises; often, unfortunately, with the result that the Chinese partners get rich while the Monguors lose their money. Only a few Monguors, who are already well on the way toward becoming completely Chinese, venture into such enterprises as managing a small shop or buying and selling animals or wool and skins.

439 In the autumn, the Chinese managers of distilleries and oil mills make contracts with the Monguor farmers, the farmers undertaking to plant an agreed acreage with the crop required by the Chinese, and to sell the harvest [152] at an agreed price. On the strength of this agreement, the Chinese buyer makes a cash advance to the Monguor farmer. Wheat that does not go to the distilleries is bought up by Muslim dealers. The wheat is measured at the Monguor farm with the buyers' own measure, draft animals are hired from the Monguors to bring the wheat to the river bank, and it is there loaded on rafts and floated down to Lanchow.

252 There are some mills that grind flour for local Monguor consumption, and for that of neighboring Mongol and Tibetan nomads, and Chinese cities. These mills are built along small streams. A vertical wooden wheel carries an endless chain of buckets. As the stream fills the lower buckets, the wheel turns; coming up over the wheel, the buckets empty into a chute, and the descending water turns the nether stone of the mill, while the upper stone remains fixed. The grindstones are so crudely grooved that the grain has to be milled three times. Professional grindstone makers cut the blue stone in the mountains, install the millstones at the mill, and visit the mills every month to cut fresh grooves in the stones. There are only a few mills with horizontal power-wheels.

231 In the profitable business of buying livestock to be slaughtered in such cities as Hsining and Lanchou, the • 463 Muslims have a virtual monopoly of buying cows and 563 oxen, the Chinese have a monopoly in buying pigs, and 441 both Muslim and Chinese butchers buy sheep. The most important season is the autumn, when the animals are in the best condition. Sheep are herded slowly for a journey of ten days or more to Lanchou, in order to prevent them from going lame and losing weight. Pigs 231 are also driven slowly, each batch of pigs being handled 441 by three men, moving only six or eight miles a day and sometimes taking a month to reach market. Ahead of the pigs is a man on foot driving a donkey loaded with dried peas and a long basket. Every mile or two the donkey is halted, some of the peas are poured into the basket, and enough is fed to the pigs to whet their appetites and keep the fat animals waddling after the

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331 donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel rela-
441 tively well because they have not been confined and fed
in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open
[237] around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy
pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a
large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to
Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from
there to Europe and America for making brushes.

236 The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send
their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this
237 buying is done directly in the homes of families that
443 have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor
children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted
439 with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-
drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buy-
ing in small quantities is done by the peddlars, espe-
cially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by
women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth,
cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments,
[431] and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are
usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small
[203] quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for
Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place
to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to
the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining
is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of
the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as
they travel.

442 Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs.
Two or three times a year every important monastery
296 holds special religions performances, around which there
543 spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after
paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their
tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads
all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and
plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in
addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes
and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes,
wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack
[232] doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose dis-
eases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses,
cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

543 Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and at-
tract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable dis-
579 tances. In the afternoons there are horse races and
wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymak-
ing, and often, when there has been too much drinking,
fights between clans and villages.

463 A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-
distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the
439 medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy,
484 France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big
men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet
and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small
merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods,
attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan
lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

463 Mongolia, some of whom are going to study in the great
439 monasteries of Tibet but many of whom are going on
484 pilgrimage, partly to visit celebrated monasteries and partly just for the fun of traveling and seeing the world. Each traveler with such a caravan must take care of his own food and expenses.

A large number of young Monguors, especially those who can speak Tibetan, take jobs with these caravans. A man who is thus working with a caravan for hire can also, by ancient custom, take with him trade goods for his own private speculation. The Monguors take the big, handsome mules and fast horses bred in their own country, and things like saddle girths woven with white wool, made in the Monguor country and known to sell readily in Tibet. The Monguor mules are especially esteemed in Tibet, and consequently Monguors who have mules or horses to sell will entrust them to a young man working with one of the trading caravans, sharing with him the profit of the venture.

439 The big caravan of the Kuopa Tibetans leaves Hsining
484 during the fourth moon of the lunar calendar and returns from Lhasa in the second or third moon of the following year. In 1914, when traveling near the great lake of Kukunor, I met the vanguard of this caravan on its way to Lhasa. The vanguard carried two flags. When it was time to pitch camp for the night, the men showed their veteran skill by the way in which, under the orders of their chief, they staked out the site of the camp. An hour later the main caravan arrived in nine groups of fifty yaks, each of which was separated from the preceding group by a small distance. On each side of the caravan rode Monguors and Tibetans armed with rifles and long swords. Each of the nine groups was accompanied by travelers, some of whom were riding while others walked and led their horses and mules. Each group went straight to the spot that had been staked and roped off for it, unloaded its animals, and pitched a small tent. Some of the men then went out with the animals to pasture near the camp, while the others prepared food. In the early morning the caravan left again, in perfect order. Camp is made in the afternoon and broken in the morning with amazing skill and orderliness; throughout the journey, the pattern of the camp is maintained, so that each group knows exactly where it belongs.

Caravans carrying valuable loads never venture to travel in Tibet without a strong armed guard, for fear of being robbed by the wilder Tibetan tribes, such as
439 the Ngoloks. According to foreign explorers and
484 travelers these large and well defended caravans are seldom attacked, but according to Monguors who have
608 traveled with the caravans the safety of a caravan really depends on the custom of "sworn brotherhood." In
651 each territory through which the caravan is to travel, the chief of the caravan has a sworn brother who is one of the local chiefs. As the caravan approaches each new tribal territory, two men are sent ahead with valuable

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291 to cope with the routine of their ordinary lives as the
302 result of a day of real happiness. At the festival they had felt and acted as if they belonged to the most beautiful and happy people in the world. Proud as peacocks,
182 they had walked smiling through the throngs as if they were queens. They had listened with pleasure to the jingling of the strings of copper coins hanging from their sashes; they had been delighted by the fluttering of the silk and satin handkerchiefs hanging by the embroidered ends of their sashes. They had enjoyed the fragrance of the strong musk perfume on their garments, and they had been admired and congratulated.

291 Unmarried girls are not dressed as gaudily as the married women. They wear blue cotton trousers, the attached lower legs of which are made of red cloth. Their blue cotton boots are embroidered with Chinese designs, usually of flowers. They wear the long gown of violet, green, blue, or red cotton cloth, with an apron over it. The hem of the gown is decorated with red cotton stitching. The collar is always of red cotton, and is embroidered. The sash is a piece of red cotton cloth, without embroidery. The sleeveless jacket is of green, blue, or red cotton trimmed at the edges with red stitching. Unmarried girls wear their hair in a small "bun" on top of the head, bound with red cord and covered with a shell. The rest of their hair is braided in two plaits, bound together at the neck with red cord and covered with a short sheath decorated with shells. Unmarried girls never wear hats. In winter they cover their ears and the side of their foreheads with a strip of red cotton cloth.

301 Both married and unmarried women wear bracelets, sometimes three or four pairs, and silver rings on the fourth finger of each hand—sometimes three or four rings on the same finger. The rings are sometimes of plain silver and sometimes set with coral or turquoise. Unmarried girls wear only small, simple rings in their ears. The earlobe is pierced in the spring on the day of the festival of the ancestors.

Both men and women often wear a reliquary on the
778 chest, made like those worn by Mongols and Tibetans, often of silver, containing bits of writing from Tibetan scriptures, and sometimes miniature Buddhas.

HANDICRAFTS AND ORIGIN OF ARTISANS

463 There are, of course, no large scale industries among the Monguors. Most of their necessities can be bought either in the Chinese towns, or at the monastery festivals or the fairs that are held at the time of the clan assemblies. The handicrafts that are found among the Monguors themselves are limited to weaving, felt making, the making of fur coats, and the work of silversmiths. In addition there are a few carpenters and stone cutters.

286 The Monguors spin their own woolen yarn. Men, women, and older children spin when they have nothing else to do, drawing out the threads from a handful of

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

462 ditions offer opportunities to the kind of man who is clever with his hands and with tools. As such a man usually works for people who live in the same village or are members of the same clan, what usually happens is that the "clever" friend is invited to come over to lend a helping hand. A large part of his reward is in the opportunity to show his superior skill. When the job has been done he is invited to dinner, or if he is a poor man he is given some grain. Such opportunities are not enough, however, to enable a man to become a full-time specialized artisan.

Two Monguor artisans, self-made men, gave me the clue to the answer to this problem. "If there were no rich people," they said, "and above all if there were no monasteries in our country, we could never have been able to make a living as artisans; we would never have been anything but helpers. Because of the monasteries and the rich people, however, we are able to work all the year round and to take on apprentices." For this kind of artisan employment, rich people and monasteries provide the materials and the artisan provides only the special skill in using the materials.

463 A youngster who is handy with tools and wants to become an artisan invites two elders of his village to go
874 with him at the New Year to see the artisan to whom he wants to apprentice himself. He presents the traditional "scarf of felicity" and two pieces of meat. The elders stand as surety for his obedience and honesty. He makes nine prostrations to the master artisan and promises obedience. A contract is then signed by the guarantors, the master artisan, and the boy. The period of apprenticeship is usually three years, during which the apprentice lives at the home of his master and in addition to learning his trade works, without pay, at all kinds of odd jobs, such as preparing his master's food, and working in his fields in the busy times of sowing and harvesting.

After three years, if the master is satisfied, the apprentice prepares a sheep and wine and invites his master, his two guarantors, and the former apprentices of his master to a feast. He presents his master with a gown or a pair of trousers or boots, prostrates himself nine times and receives from his master a set of the tools of his trade. He is then himself a master-artisan, and although he still has to work another year for his master, he is now paid for his work. For the rest of his life he feels indebted to his master and bound to help him whenever asked.

415 One of the minor industries engaged in by Monguors
313 is the manufacture of wooden bowls and small wooden
[322] boxes. The wood used is poplar, which is turned on a lathe and then coated with oil. Another small-scale occupation is the making of charcoal. Monguors living near forests belonging to lamaseries pay the monastery for the right to cut trees from which they burn charcoal which they take to the towns to sell. Other Monguors buy trees as they stand in the forest, cut them, and saw

/39 cont'd/

555 In the evening of the last day of the year, in the kitchen, in
302 front of the fireplace and before the image of the god of the hearth, they plait the bride's hair in the fashion of married women. The groom arrives, the whole family is together; the engaged couple kneel and bow three times to the god of the hearth. The marriage ceremony is completed! They prostrate themselves to their parents and to the whole family; a little extra is served at the meal, and they wish one another better days and a return of good fortune.

463 On the first days of the new year the parents invite the go-
465 between, they dine the best they can, they pour gin, and the young
58 couple prostrate themselves to him. Then they offer the go-between the usual present of the poor, either a string of cash or a string of cash and 400 cash. They make excuses for the little that they can offer, they thank him effusively, and then they have discharged their obligations.

585 When the bride's family is very poor, it happens that the groom's family (mother-in-law and go-between) take the girl to their home when she is only nine or ten years old or even younger. They keep her in the family as an unmarried girl until she has reached 15; /40/ then the last day of the year she is married as described above. Marriage without ceremonies is also practiced in the last month of the year when there is a sudden death near the time of the wedding in one of the families of the engaged couple; the same should the girl's parents die; then the groom's family hastens to take the girl home to marry her when she is about 15.

765 Among the more Chinese T'ou-jen, upon the death of the
535 parents of one of the parties several days before the wedding, they follow the Chinese custom, which consists in celebrating the marriage without paying attention to the death. The festivities take place with the usual vigor. Only on the day after the wedding do the lamentations and the great mourning begin; the death is announced everywhere and preparations for the funeral are made.

[20 cont.]

*778 [824] The making of the spear: The wood of the shaft must have grown wild. Wood that has been planted or wood from inhabited, settled regions may never be taken, for it is not pure. The wood is therefore sought in lonely forests and mountains. The most superior wood is sandalwood. Since this is rare, however, the mountain ash is usually used. -- The iron is usually wrought iron. There is no prescriptions concerning its origin. It may be bought, taken from old tools, etc.

Fig. 2

a. Spirit-table without bands (sirie purgan); b. spirit-table with bands (sirie purgan).

[422] Anyone may have a spirit-spear, and anyone may make it himself, but never women. If the owner wants to have a beautiful [562] spirit-spear, however, he will go to a skilled craftsman, carpenter, [463] and smith. It is required that before starting the work the craftsman rinse out his mouth, wash his face and hands, and hold the latter [783] over the smoke of a cypress fire. The tools are also thoroughly [782] smoked. In addition, the smith casts some cypress incense into his smithy fire.

The craftsman may work at home in his workshop or in with [322] the family of his client. The individual parts are made separately, [326] in other words, the shaft by the carpenter, the tip and foot by the smith. They bring the parts to the owner's house. The latter then [782] offers twelve steamed loaves (or baked loaves) on the shelf in front of the Buddha image, as well as a piece of red cloth and a measure of barley. The craftsmen place their instruments on the grain in [788] the bushel, and all of them kowtow in front of the Buddha image, [322] while the incense offering is presented outside. The carpenter [326] receives the barley; the smith receives the twelve loaves with the red cloth.

[30 cont.]

756 sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary
*778 spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front
[776] of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he
[782] sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.

The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit
[439] are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery
[792] markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

756 Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his
776 tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration: the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in general the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the tutelary spirit of the shaman.

756 Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to
● 463 prophesy, heal the sick, conjure away storms, drive away demons. He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests, or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect a mani-tree, but he may set up an ordinary mani-flag on the yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the pole-goat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate at funerals and weddings.

755 The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold.
756 The following is the most common. First of all the shaman
[787] puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open [31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly steeped. Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the sick person to drink.

756 In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to
783 demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[214 cont.]
782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types of prayer under the expression yandzila-, to implore, to request, and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer, however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which [463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the [792] lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people [791] connect praying with these professions is shown by the common designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the [192] Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen, that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom mosë, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching. In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer, something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of [791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests, Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely linked.

5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

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174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

/The Monguors/

000on the luckless family.

N *563 M 231 [777] The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

N *563 M 515 [784] Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

5. Occupations

N *563 M 24 233 433 The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

N *563 M 24 [777] [432] The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

N *563 M 231 554 [556] [184] Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

N *563 M 233 463 Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 233 463 [466] because of the value of the animals entrusted to them. They are skillful in breeding, and in finding the best pasture. A shepherd is treated as a member of his employer's family; he receives the same food, and the daughters-in-law must show him the same respect they accord to the head of the family.

The Mongours hunt foxes, hares, pheasants and musk deer, using guns, traps and poison. The fox skins are sold to Chinese merchants and the best skins, used for lining the winter garments of the rich, bring a handsome price. Musk deer are also valuable game. The precious musk glands, used as a special drug or as an essence in perfume, are sold by weight to Chinese dealers.

N *563 M 226 Fishing is important in Koko Nor, where the lake produces an abundant supply. Mongour expeditions go there as soon as the lake has frozen over each winter. They go first to the chief of the Mongol or Tibetan tribe on whose shore they plan to operate, and present gifts such as wine, tobacco, noodles and the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity in exchange for permission to fish and protection from the tribe. The fishermen usually go to the same territory every year, and become sworn brothers of the chief or some important local nomad. The expedition, which lasts about two months, involves hard work in the bitter cold, but the profits are sufficient reward. Preservation of the fish is no problem; they freeze immediately after they are caught. They are carried to the market in Hsi-ning, or sold to Moslem merchants who engage in caravan trade.

M [251]

N *563 M 438 439 Mongours carry on their trade largely with Chinese and Chinese Moslem merchants. The Moslems are an energetic and enterprising people who drive caravans of pack mules from house to house in the Mongour country, exchanging cloth, needles and thread for wool, skins, eggs and grain. In the autumn they collect oxen and sheep and drive them in small herds to Hsi-ning. The Chinese merchants do business on a larger scale. They send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at lama monastery festivals and at the annual celebrations and meetings of the Mongour clans. During the fall, when the Chinese Moslems are buying up sheep and oxen, the Chinese butchers of the cities send their agents to the Mongour villages to buy hogs. Chinese merchants also send their buyers into Mongour country for wool and skins, going from home to home. There are also peddlers, who deal largely in items needed in the Mongour home, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, sugar and pipe tobacco. Business is always by barter, with the top-ranking woman of the Mongour household doing the bargaining. As the peddler travels a long distance, it is customary to provide him with a place to sleep. Before he leaves he presents the hostess with a small token of apprecia-

M [437]

/39 cont'd/

585 In the evening of the last day of the year, in the kitchen, in
302 front of the fireplace and before the image of the god of the hearth, they plait the bride's hair in the fashion of married women. The groom arrives, the whole family is together; the engaged couple kneel and bow three times to the god of the hearth. The marriage ceremony is completed! They prostrate themselves to their parents and to the whole family; a little extra is served at the meal, and they wish one another better days and a return of good fortune.

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58 couple prostrate themselves to him. Then they offer the go-between the usual present of the poor, either a string of cash or a string of cash and 400 cash. They make excuses for the little that they can offer, they thank him effusively, and then they have discharged their obligations.

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765 Among the more Chinese Mongolian, upon the death of the
585 parents of one of the parties several days before the wedding, they follow the Chinese custom, which consists in celebrating the marriage without paying attention to the death. The festivities take place with the usual vigor. Only on the day after the wedding do the lamentations and the great mourning begin; the death is announced everywhere and preparations for the funeral are made.

[38 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 41 cont.]
torma that at the conclusion of the tsam dance on New Year's is carried off and burned as the murdered enemy of the religion. -- They also call the mandala-figure torma, for instance, during the erection of the pole-goat. -- The fact that the torma has a sacral function for only a brief time explains why it is no longer given any attention after the ceremonies, but is thrown away, given to the animals to eat, or even eaten by the people themselves.

Insofar as I was able to establish among the Tujen, the tormas are always made only of tsamba and butter, and not, as Filchner (Unkrig) writes, loc. cit., out of sour dough. It may be that this kind of preparation is peculiar to the monasteries.

The cult implements of the hutukhtu are the same as those he uses at home in the monastery, to wit, the holy water-can with the peacock feather, the hourglass drum, the thunderbolt, and the hand bell. He always has these things ready at hand on the table. He always holds his mani-string in his hand. While praying he does not sit at the side, but behind the table, on the kang and facing the door. He lays his prayer book in front of him on his knees or on the kang table. Sometimes he also gives the [788] water blessing while the others prepare the tormas. For this purpose he has pure spring water poured into the [39] holy can; one of the assistants throws consecrated spices into it and places the can on a little plate with Tibet barley. The lama then recites the prayer of blessing over it.

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Prayer fee: During the time of his stay the lama is entertained very hospitably. The master of the household, who is also called "master of gifts," must serve him personally. The

[39 cont.]

792 lama, however, does not have his principal meal at noon, like
796 the other guests, but only in the late afternoon. In order to en-
465 tertain him men and women dance and sing in the yard. Only in the case of very high hutukhtus is there no dancing.

[574] On the last day, after the lama's morning meal, but while
[535] he is still drinking tea on the kang, the master of gifts appears with the ceremonial helpers and with many words expresses his gratitude for the visit and the prayer. Then he hands him a tray with the gifts, over which a hada is spread, and the master of gifts announces what the lama is receiving for his services. This hada over the tray is called "speech hada." The things are put in front of the lama on the table and kowtows are made three times. The assistants, too, receive appropriate gifts.

The fee varies according to the wealth of the master of gifts, the position of the lama, and the ceremonies performed. Usually it consists of several back-baskets of bread (5), some

5. [Foreign text p. 42.] A back-basket holds 24 loaves. The red cloth is for the lama's clothing. Why only grain and money are thought of as a unity and designated by the same name, mbō, is unclear to me. According to the DMF, it comes from the Tibetan p'ogs, "fee."

pieces of mutton (4), silver money, and red cloth. Wealthy

[262] [782]

4. [Foreign text p. 42.] Although Buddhism prohibits killing, the lamas, as well as the hutukhtus, eat flesh in all forms, as I repeatedly was able to observe. In the monastery Kuo-mang-szu I once noted that a sacrificial sheep, skinned and eviscerated, was set on a sacrificial table in front of the temple door. During

[39 cont.]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.]
the subsequent prayer ceremonies, the master of gifts, who had sacrificed this sheep, had the flesh cooked and a piece served to each of the monks in the temple during a pause in the prayer. It is therefore not surprising that the lama receives a loin of mutton for his fee. Since the Tujen, however, do not sacrifice a sheep in the presence of a lama (cf. the chapter, "The Mani-tree"), it seems to be a matter of not performing the killing itself before the eyes of the lama or in the same yard.

people give much more, for instance, beautiful horses, ornamental pendants, cloth, etc. When it is a matter of great occasions, a prayer service is even ordered for the monastery during the time that the lama stays with the master of gifts. During these days the master of gifts provides all the monks with rice, sugar, butter, and tea. Even pilgrims who stay in the monastery during these days and "stop in" to honor and to pray for the master of gifts are provided for and also receive alms for the journey.

The masters of gifts also usually donate the prayer tea for the entire monastery, which is drunk during the ceremonial in the prayer hall, for example, at funerals, etc. Often they also set up a great number of butter-lamps in the temple at this time, or at least they donate the butter for the lamps. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

Return: After the lama has received his gifts, he is ceremonially escorted out of the gate of the yard. An incense offering is again presented, but otherwise no further ceremonies take place. The white horse is brought up, a kang table with a felt mat is set up for mounting, and the lama is lifted into the saddle. Then the men escort him out of the village. There

[39 cont.]

792 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the reception. The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the
796 gifts are brought after him on animals.
574

[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers. They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

[465]

351
796 Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is
784 called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the beginning of the performance may not enter the yard. On the other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as

[609]
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7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

[534]

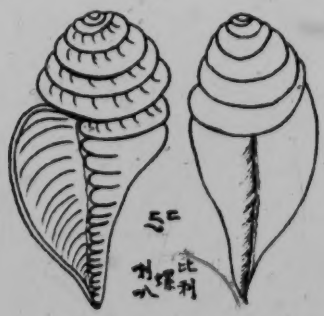

Fig. 6. Shells.

[532]

(Drawing of a Tujen.)

192 [628 cont.]
527 The welcoming of joy: ying hsi (Chin.).

[Pages 628-629 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[630] 4. The Age-blessing*

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* See "Notes," pp. 634-635 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[792] Old people, men and women, invite the lama to bless and instruct them. This is a great family festival. It is prepared a long time in advance.

On a certain day acquaintances and relatives come and bring the old person presents and gratulate him. They are treated with tea and cake. There is singing and dancing and a [574] feast is held. The young people fetch the hutukhtu. When he arrives, the women of the village dance, and incense is burned in the yard. The hutukhtu blesses the guests at the feast and the old person.

In the afternoon the age-consecration is performed. The hutukhtu makes a number of tormas, which are carried off. Then the old person kneels on the felt mat before the hutukhtu, is blessed with holy water, receives instructions, and is girdled with a yellow sash. He then resembles a lay monk. The mother's [792] brother determines what compensation the hutukhtu is to receive. [465] The next morning the hutukhtu returns to his monastery.

The consecrated person must now observe special commandments, must withdraw on the first and fifteenth of the [785] month for meditation, and fast and pray. -- Not all people can afford this celebration, for it is very expensive.

[632 cont.]

527 candidate out into the yard and throw it away. The mother's
778 brother stays there, and after that only own children still appear.
888 They stand or kneel in the side room behind the person to be
792 consecrated and shut the door, because only a few people may be present. Only the person to be consecrated remains in the lama-room, kneeling before the kang.

The candidate for consecration now washes himself again in the manner described above, is again sprinkled with holy water, and has Tibetan barley thrown at him. The master of ceremonies takes an iron spoon, puts in it some of the red-hot material from the fire-basin of the lama, scatters pounded cypress incense on it, and the lama throws fragrant spices over [783] it. The person to be consecrated is fumigated all around with this and is now completely pure. The hutukhtu gives the consecration prayer over him and instructs him regarding the com- [785] mandments that he must observe from now on. These commandments relate to fasting, abstention, the prohibition against killing, prayer, etc. They vary somewhat for men and women. [633] The instruction is given in the Tujen language so that the candidate will understand it.

[292] Now follows the donning of the yellow sash. It is about a hand wide and four to five ells long. It is not supposed to be silk. Silk mixed with cotton is permitted, but usually it is cotton. The candidate must provide it himself. This sash lies before the hutukhtu on the kang table and is fumigated at the same time as the person to be consecrated. It is not sprinkled with holy water. The assisting lama places the sash over the candidate's left shoulder and ties it together under the right arm [292] with a yellow string that has likewise been fumigated. The cloth has the same name as the loop of cloth that the lamas throw over the shoulder.

Since the consecration does not take place until late afternoon, it has meanwhile become evening. Only now does the hutukhtu partake of the main meal. In the yard, however, the guests gather around the fire, warm their liquor, and sing and dance into the night.

The next morning the hutukhtu performs his usual morn- [465] ing prayers, drinks tea, and receives his prayer fee: several

[633 cont.]
527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
792 brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
[431] oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[465] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him. A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
[792] after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed
[766] by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
[262] longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation. This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[636 cont.]

764
[766]

[Note on foreign text pp. 652-653 cont.] yellow shoulder-cloth, on the other hand, which a dead person with age-consecration wears, must be burned with the corpse, just like the sash that he received at that time.

this must be done while the corpse is still flexible. Once it is rigid, it maintains its position virtually unchanged.

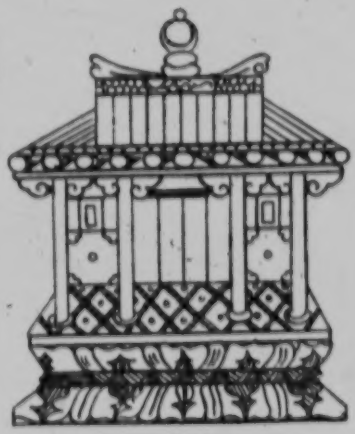
The death-box. The death-box is made either long be-
[171] fore death or not until death has taken place, as among the Chinese where the coffin is sometimes ready decades before-
[735] hand. Only poor people do not make the death-box until after the death. The box is always made of wood, but it does not matter what kind of wood it is made of; after all, it is not buried, as is the coffin among the Chinese, but is burned with the dead person. The box has the height of a litter or sedan chair; the dead person fits exactly into it. The bottom of the box extends into four carrying beams, [637] similar to a
[532] flat litter. The box [illustration appears here], however is not
[171] a simple wooden chest, but represents a small temple with roof and doors and often very rich carving, similar to death-box of the Chinese bonze (6). Unlike the latter, however, it has a sun

6. [Foreign text p. 653.] in the case of the coffin of the Taoshih the sun-moon attachment, the movable back wall, and the carrying pole are lacking. The corpse is usually put inside through the front door or from above, because the roof piece is removable.

and moon in the center of the roof, similar to the tip of a mani-pole; this is generally regarded as necessary. The box
[556] is painted and decorated according to the wealth, piety, and
[322] affection of the relatives.

There are no definite ritual prescriptions for the prep-
[465] aration of the box. The carpenter receives the usual fee for

764 [637 cont.]
465 his work and, in addition, twelve loaves of bread, two ells of white
322 cloth, and a small measure of wheat (six pounds). After the work is done, this measure of wheat is put on the house-
[782] hold altar, and the carpenter puts his tools on it. The master of the household sticks a few burning incense-sticks among them and puts the loaves before them. Then everyone makes a three-
[532]



Death-box
(Drawing of a Tujen)

fold kowtow (7). The carpenter does not receive the white cloth until the funeral meal.

[782] [776] [177] 7. [Foreign text p. 653.] This ceremony actually has nothing to do with the death-box. It is customary after all carpentry work; it is done to honor the tutelary god of the carpenter, Lu-pan-yeh. It is a Chinese custom.

764 Lying in state: If the box is already available at death, the corpse is immediately put in it. If it is not yet ready, then the people put the dead in a crouching position on the kang or on the floor of the room in which he died. First, however, they lay down a white felt mat as a pad; straw is not used. No one may sleep or live in the same room with the dead, only in an adjoining room. A table with 12 loaves of bread, which come from the deceased's own family, and a water-lamp stand before the crouching corpse.

[462] [543] Putting the corpse in the box is always done by men. The son puts his father and mother inside. The father, however, never puts his son in; that is taken care of by the young brothers or cousins.

[639 cont.]

764 782 792 The official prayer-service is undertaken by a lama, if possible by a hutukhtu. He is given a room of his own in the house of mourning, which ordinarily immediately adjoins the room in which the corpse is laid out, so that he can remain on the kang when he recites the office of the dead. A lama never prays directly before the corpse. A hutukhtu visits the house of mourning only on the day before the cremation, and stays there only one night. He also always undertakes the ceremonial cremation with the fire-pouring. Other lamas, on the other hand, may perform services in the house of mourning several days before.

[177] In recent times the Tujen also invite Chinese bonzes for the prayers. They adhere to their own rites. It also happens that bonzes and lamas are invited at the same time. Then the prayer rite is mixed. A cremation, however, is never carried out without some religious officiant first giving the prayers for the dead (12). Lamas of lower rank, who may not undertake the

[123] 12. [Foreign text p. 654.] The Tujen have no difficulties in inviting representatives of various religions for prayers. I was even requested once to give the Christian office of the dead. -- On the other hand, the Chinese Buddhists also invite the lamas to give prayers for the dead.

fire-pouring, or bonzes do not go along to the place of cremation, but remain in the house of mourning.

764 782 792 465 [604] For the prayer, the relatives, lamas, and bonzes receive a corresponding honorarium which is usually fixed by the mother's brother on the occasion of the demand for an accounting during the last mourning meal. The Chinese bonzes, to be sure, demand a fixed fee immediately upon being invited; otherwise they do not come at all. The other persons who say prayers, assistants at the cremation, etc. receive compensation in the form of alms on the eve of the cremation or on the morning after the cremation.

[640]

764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
782 large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
792 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
465 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
[272] temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
[262] own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people
buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the
temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it.
In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of
butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
[788] temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large
month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and
night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
[556] prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate
to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the
dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name
of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
[432] Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by
the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer
services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
602 Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain
a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

[177]

13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

[640 cont.]

764
602

[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] hsiao-tzu in Chinese, who are the male descendants and relatives of the first and second degree, for example, younger brothers, younger cousins, grandsons.

on the mother's side do not appear in the house of mourning until the eve of the cremation.

764 They must be informed, however, immediately after the
602 death; this is called "death announcement." The master of
604 ceremonies, with a small bottle of liquor, goes to the mother's brother to announce the death of the latter's nephew or niece (14).

[763]
[273]
[178]
[171]
[212]

14. [Foreign text p. 654.] In recent times the Tujen announce the death to the mother's brother by means of a written communication, like the Chinese. The original practice, however, is the announcement with the liquor-jug, to which is tied a flock of wool.

[792] The two now consult as to how the funeral solemnities are to
[465] be arranged, how many monks are to be invited to pray, how large the fees are to be, etc. The mother's brother is intent upon setting demands as high as possible, whereas the master of ceremonies sets lower ones. Once they have agreed upon
[273] the approximate level, they drink the little jug of liquor together. If they do not agree, the master of ceremonies returns home with the liquor and he receives new instructions from the bereaved family. Sometimes this happens two or three times. A final arrangement is not made until the last day at the accounting in the house of mourning.

On the eve of the cremation, the mother's brother, and with him all the male relatives on the mother's side, appears in the yard of the bereaved. The women among the maternal

[646 cont.]

764 the little bones go into it, however, for it is only an ell long and two handbreadths high. The lid is pegged down, like a Chinese coffin. The remaining bones are carried by hand, aprons, or in a back-basket to the nearest mountain height. Animals as a rule do not eat them because they are burned. Only sheep like to nibble on them. The bones decompose very rapidly, however.

The bone-chest is placed in the oven, weighted down with clay bricks, and then the oven is torn down so that it forms a little mound with the chest buried under it. This is always done if the cremation has taken place after the harvest during the period before the grave festival in the third month. [765] At the grave festival, the Chinese ch'ing-ming, the bone-chest [769] is buried in the communal family cemetery. The place of the cremation is leveled.

If the cremation is after the grave festival, then the oven is, to be sure, torn down and the place again cultivated, but the bone-chest is not buried at the place of the oven, but on a remote ridge of arable land in a field belonging to [765] the deceased's own family. Only at the next grave festival in the following year is it transferred to the family cemetery.

If the cremation has taken place on a distant mountain far from the family, then a tent is pitched there to wait until the third day, the bones are stored, and the chest is brought down in order to bury it on the ridge of a field on one's [776] own land. Such a cremation may never be undertaken on the [778] peak of a mountain, but about halfway up. The peak is [823] sacred to the mountain-spirit and may not be desecrated.

If the bone-chest has been buried in the oven or field, then the relatives burn white paper before it, throw pieces of bread on the bone-grave, and pour out tea before it for the dead. Then they kowtow and go home. The guests are treated with tsamba and butter in the house of mourning. The [465] master of ceremonies receives 12 loaves of bread and two ells of white cloth; the two fire guards are given six loaves each and two ells of cloth.

[824 cont.]

241 789 791 [778] This is the ceremonial erection of the pole-goat. In the case of the simple type only one misfortune-torma is made, which represents the four others; there is also the weather-torma. The mountain-torma is omitted and no magical wedges are tied to the goat.

When one ~~has undertaken~~ the ceremonial erection, the [782] Bon priest must come often during the summer and hold prayer services before the pole-goat. In the autumn, after the harvest, [465] he receives from each family a certain measure of grain as compensation. In the case of the simple erection, without any summer prayer, only on the day itself is he given a large loaf of bread and a piece of meat from the loin of the goat.

Details

241 789 791 787 Time: The time of the erection is determined by the soothsayer, and in the local temple. It always falls in the period from the thirteenth day in the fifth lunar month to the sixth day in the sixth lunar month. One may also let the Bon priest determine the day. He uses three dice for this. He compares the numbers thrown with his soothsaying book and in this manner determines a day (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 829.] The time coincides with that in which the Chinese put their weather forts in order and drive in the thunderbolts (ch'a p'ai).

241 789 778 [621] [791] Place: The pole-goat is always erected on the highest mountain in the people's own local area, and only on one mountain and only one goat. Small hamlets or compounds may do it together; then the highest mountain of all these hamlets is chosen (1). -- The spot on the mountain itself is indicated by

1. [Foreign text p. 829.] If the mountain is too far away, one sets up a tent and lives there.

/121 cont'd/

608 our judge in case of litigation; nobody would have dared to address
178 himself to the Chinese mandarins for fear of reprisals on the part of the t'ou-se. I believe we /122/ must look in this direction for the solution to our problem. As a matter of fact, the Chinese court
[428] recognizes only the sons' right of inheritance and, lacking them, that of members of the paternal side. In case of litigation, the paternal side is always sure to win its case against an only daughter, and the brother husband-son-in-law, as long as adoption has not been practiced, can always hope to see his rights recognized in his original family. Several verdicts of this kind suffice to deform a custom and create a completely new attitude. In addition, a tested virtue is necessary to be able to resist such temptations!

2. Exchange of a Girl for Furnishing of Services for a Fixed Number of Years

583 Everyday experience having proved that the preceding solution
565 is not practical, say the T'ou-jen, there are people who look for
466 another, more psychological inactual fact. Indeed, the sight of the end of one's own troubles in a future relatively near at hand gives the courage to remain faithful to duty. A family of poor or even average means can promise to give their daughter to a poor young man provided that he binds himself to work five, eight, ten, or 12 years for them.

675 The contracts for these marriages are generally made by the
466 parents themselves, with one or two individuals who act as guarantors
606 for the son-in-law. While in the preceding case the girl can be
583 nubile at the time when a husband is being found for her, in the present case the arrangement always takes place when the girl is only seven, eight, or ten years old at the most. As for the age of the son-in-law, there is nothing definite: he can be ten or 12 years old as well as 30 and even more. When the girl is 15, they will have a little festival, and she will wear her hair in the fashion of married women; then she is married.

Why this engagement when the girl is still a child? /123/ It it because they know one another in the country and do not want to

/123 cont'd/

Mo 675 606 466 583

be duped all down the line. As a matter of fact, as soon as the girl is 15 and is married, she, like her husband, will want to be more free. She will let him persuade her that one can work everywhere and that there is nothing more to be gained in the home of the parents-in-law. One day there is an argument in the family, and the couple disappears. Now at this moment the family of the parents-in-law will already have profited by at least several years of work by the son-in-law. It rarely happens that the son-in-law is faithful to his pledges to the end. It is then a frail alliance.

Mo 608 606 583 171

The present case is the usual case of husband-sons-in-law. It enjoys a very wide diffusion all over Asia, among the Turkish, Mongol, and Manchu peoples and among the peoples of northern Asia (1).

Ma 606 608 583

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: There is also a very interesting custom of getting a wife by personal work in the house of the future father-in-law. A poor man who cannot pay "kalim" through the intermediary of some person asks the bride's father to give him his daughter against his personal work in the house of his future father-in-law. The minimum period of this is three years and the maximum ten years. The future son-in-law lives in the house of his future father-in-law, but he always has his separated spirits and goes to his clan's meetings and sacrifices. After the fixed period is expired, they make a very modest wedding and the young husband brings his wife to his own house or lives in the house of his wife's father as a workman at a fixed salary. Sometimes the father-in-law gives the

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Service for Prayers and Alms Collections:

A strict condition of service continues which compels the farmers of the monastery to invite the lamas of the intendancy, whose fields they till, to perform both public religious rites in the village, and private services in individual families. Lamas of one intendancy or monastery are not allowed to perform these rites among subjects of another intendancy. In the same way, when lamas are touring for alms among the subjects of their own intendancy, lamas of other monasteries are not allowed to tour. 792 571

The intendancies urge the observance of this service even by former tributaries, but it does not always work. The Tibetan tribe of Sumdoo, former tributary of the community of lamas of Erh-ku-lung, accused the intendancy, in 1918, of trying to occupy a part of its territory. The Chinese court, however, recognized the ownership of the debatable ground by the tribe. Sumdoo, having a grudge against the intendancy, invited the intendancy of Seerkok to perform a tribal religious rite. The day preceding the appointed day, a group of furious lamas from Erh-ku-lung, intending to assert their prerogative to conduct the service, arrived and started with the prayers. All the ladies of the tribe, engaged in preparing the food for the three-day solemnity, arrived ranting, panting, and cursing the lamas with feminine fury, and threw their boots at the heads of the bewildered lamas. The lamas, powerless against the infuriated women, returned to their intendancy. 792 571 796 578

The next day, when the solemnities had already been started by the lamas of Seerkok, the intendant of Erh-ku-lung arrived with an imposing retinue to assert his rights. All the men of the tribe vanished, entrusting the emergency to the ladies, who arrived with the same threatening appearance of the former day, and the intendant and his retinue understood that the relations between the intendancy and Sumdoo were sundered forever. This incident illustrates the psychology of the lamas in trying by all means to retain their old rights, even among tributaries with whom all legal connections have been cut off.

Repair of the Lamasery:

The chiefs of the villages inhabited by the subjects of the intendancies are ordered by their respective intendancy to send a fixed number of men to repair the buildings belonging to the intendancy, to chop wood, grind wheat, thresh the harvest, sweep snow, and build roads or bridges. The subjects are still willing to comply with these corvées. 792 466

Travel of the Chief of the Lamasery:

When the supreme chief of the lamasery makes a long journey, the chiefs of the intendancies order the chiefs of the villages to send a couple of horsemen each 792 484 651

[p.48(A)]

cording to the rules, occupy the time in meditation or prayer. 792 157

A good lama should daily, once in the morning and once in the afternoon, walk around the monastery saying his beads and prostrating himself at the small shrines along the ritual way. In the fourth moon he makes the same round, prostrating himself the whole way along. This is said to be really exhausting work.

Every year a good lama enters a retreat at home for two weeks. He does not leave his room, talks with no one, and cancels all appointments with visitors. He prays and reads texts the whole day and offers the ritual tea four times daily before the image. A good lama never sits on a bench or chair, but always squats [516] cross-legged on the floor or the k'ang, barefooted, his clothes adjusted decently. He eats only mutton, beef, or pork, never the meat of the horse, donkey, hare, or [262] chicken, or fish or eggs. Lamas are not allowed to raise sheep, goats, pigs, chickens, or donkeys. A model lama lives in retirement, avoiding mixing with the groups of lamas who play chess and cards all night, or indulge in endless gossip, or tell smutty jokes and indecent stories, for the saying goes that "nothing is dirtier than the tongue of a lama." A good lama deals with books with reverence, putting them, wrapped in a yellow silk scarf, before the Buddha statues, carrying them on his back when traveling. A good lama does not even go to say prayers at private homes, when invited by the people; he does not leave the monastery.

These notes, given by older lamas and young Wendees, reveal what lamas think about an ideal lama and what sort of ideal is held up before young lamas. However, in order to be able to become an "ideal lama" some wealth is required, or at least an honorable competency, and it is precisely the lack of this primary condition which provides the clue to most of the miseries of individual lamas and the ruin of many monasteries.

HOW LAMAS PROVIDE FOR THEIR SUBSISTENCE

792

Lamas have to earn a living, because support furnished by the monastery is insufficient. Poor lamas try to find a full-time job in the several intendancies of the monastery or with the minor Living Buddhas, or by accompanying expeditions to collect alms, or by working in the printing offices. Many find a part-time [466] job carrying water every day for several rich lamas, driving animals to the pasture grounds and then back home again, selling cow dung and fuel. Lamas like to be hired, by a lama whose pupil has abandoned him, to search for and bring back the strayed pupil. Lamas try to buy a young, nicely built horse or mule, and are happy to hire young lamas who will work every day at breaking it to the saddle, in order that they will be able to sell it in the cities or in Lhasa, where such animals command a good price. Lamas

[p.60(A)]

supposed to have offended. It is for that reason that 772
during the rite of spring all the spirits are invited by 782
the shamans to come down along the rope to be honored by the villagers so that all of them may extend their protection.

In the Halachih Valley, among subjects of the Lu 776
T'u-ssu, I encountered the following case. At the time 428
of division of a parental inheritance, a son considered that the decision made by the elders of the village was unjust toward him, and at the very moment when he should have appended his signature, he ran into the courtyard, pencil in hand, crying toward the sky: "Twelve Tengris, protectors of our family, you know that the division is unjust, that I am compelled to apply my signature." Then he entered the room and signed. In such circumstances the ultimate recourse of every Chinese would inevitably be to invoke "Old Father Heaven" and never another spirit.

Carpenters, building a temple in Sumdoo, having 776
had trouble with the chief of the tribe, proposed to go 466
to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to take the oath before the statue of Buddha. The chief answered, "No need to go so far, take the oath here, Buddha is everywhere; he will know it."

The belief that all the spirits are everywhere, know 776
all things, bless and punish independently, and that they are just and equitable, is deeply ingrained in the minds of the Monguors of today. It is easy to understand that in a society in which each department is administered by a particular spirit, independent and omnipotent in its sphere, little room is left for the activities of the "spirit of Heaven"; that finally "Heaven," the "Great Heaven," occupies a role of honorary dimensions and nominal importance, and the characteristics and activities of the "spirit of Heaven" among the Monguors are hard to define.

Can "Heaven," which is unable to control the good spirits, control the evil spirits? According to the Monguors, no spirit can control the department of its neighbor, and so in case of interference of evil spirits, magical devices are contrived in order to drive away and combat the evildoers and make them harmless. The good spirits, however, are invited to participate in the struggle against them. When the spirits of hail threaten the village with devastation, magic devices are used by the shamans, and the spirit protectors of the village are carried to the battlefield, and Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" are invoked. If they are unable to match their opponents, they abandon the struggle, rushing with their carriers through rivers and precipices. Good spirits can lend a hand in the struggle, but they may lose the battle and—so much for "Heaven and all the spirits." Facts speak for themselves.

Is not this fierce struggle between good and evil 771
spirits, between representatives of two opposite worlds, reminiscent of Manichaeism, fervently practiced by Turkic peoples in Central Asia during the last centuries of the first millennium? [p. 150(A)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 565 554 [466] into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punishment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.

The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 M 614 217 565 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealogies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

N *563 M 174 565 M [554] When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 M 621 622 565 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 M 596 [421] [561] [595] Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patrilocal family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four generation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of

M [428] chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually

M [182] [168] [428] takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

N *563 M 233 463 [466] because of the value of the animals entrusted to them. They are skillful in breeding, and in finding the best pasture. A shepherd is treated as a member of his employer's family; he receives the same food, and the daughters-in-law must show him the same respect they accord to the head of the family.

The Mongours hunt foxes, hares, pheasants and musk deer, using guns, traps and poison. The fox skins are sold to Chinese merchants and the best skins, used for lining the winter garments of the rich, bring a handsome price. Musk deer are also valuable game. The precious musk glands, used as a special drug or as an essence in perfume, are sold by weight to Chinese dealers.

N *563 M 226 Fishing is important in Koko Nor, where the lake produces an abundant supply. Mongour expeditions go there as soon as the lake has frozen over each winter. They go first to the chief of the Mongol or Tibetan tribe on whose shore they plan to operate, and present gifts such as wine, tobacco, noodles and the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity in exchange for permission to fish and protection from the tribe. The fishermen usually go to the same territory every year, and become sworn brothers of the chief or some important local nomad. The expedition, which lasts about two months, involves hard work in the bitter cold, but the profits are sufficient reward. Preservation of the fish is no problem; they freeze immediately after they are caught. They are carried to the market in Hsi-ning, or sold to Moslem merchants who engage in caravan trade.

N *563 M 438 439 Mongours carry on their trade largely with Chinese and Chinese Moslem merchants. The Moslems are an energetic and enterprising people who drive caravans of pack mules from house to house in the Mongour country, exchanging cloth, needles and thread for wool, skins, eggs and grain. In the autumn they collect oxen and sheep and drive them in small herds to Hsi-ning. The Chinese merchants do business on a larger scale. They send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at lama monastery festivals and at the annual celebrations and meetings of the Mongour clans. During the fall, when the Chinese Moslems are buying up sheep and oxen, the Chinese butchers of the cities send their agents to the Mongour villages to buy hogs. Chinese merchants also send their buyers into Mongour country for wool and skins, going from home to home. There are also peddlers, who deal largely in items needed in the Mongour home, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, sugar and pipe tobacco. Business is always by barter, with the top-ranking woman of the Mongour household doing the bargaining. As the peddler travels a long distance, it is customary to provide him with a place to sleep. Before he leaves he presents the hostess with a small token of apprecia-

M [251] M [437]

286 wool and spinning them with the aid of a clay spindle. Grown men spin while they are walking and boys while they are watching the herds at pasture.

The weaver is a professional who is invited to visit a household that has laid by a supply of yarn. He loads the pieces of his portable loom on a donkey, and works for a daily wage. He also makes sacks of goat hair. Sometimes he works in his own home, with yarn that is brought to him. For this kind of work, the yarn is weighed and the price is fixed according to the amount of yarn that is brought by the customer and the measurement of the cloth to be delivered. Since the yarns are spun by children and adults, at all times of the day, and are very irregular, the fabric produced from them is used to make working gowns and jackets for men and women and is extremely coarse and primitive. It sheds water well, since the wool has not been washed in hot water and the yarn retains its natural fat.

287 Felt making is also the work of professionals. For this a kind of screen is used, made of reeds. The screen is laid on the ground and the loose wool is piled on it. Each layer of wool is wetted down with hot water. The screen is then rolled up with the wool, and this bundle is then rolled back and forth for a long time in order to mat the fibers together. The felt is then dried in the sun and is ready for use. The same artisan makes, from fine selected wool, the round felt hats that the Monguors wear. When the round piece of felt has been made and is still wet, it is stretched over a mold to form the hat.

281 The preparation of the furs used by the Monguors is a household industry. The sheep and goat skins are washed, the fat is scraped off, and the skins are dried. They are then steeped in an earthenware jar containing a mixture of salt, flour, and the yeast that is used for fermenting wine, in the proportions of one handful of salt, one pound of flour, and one brick of yeast for each skin. The steeping lasts for fourteen days in the summer or twenty-one days in winter. When the steeping has been completed, the skins are washed in the river, dried in the shade, and are then ready for use. Coats made of such skins are cut and sewn by a professional artisan at the home of the Monguor customer.

326 Silversmiths make earrings, bracelets, finger rings, and the plates, cups, and pins that are used for the headdresses. They also make the sheaths that hold knife and chopsticks. The work done by Monguor silversmiths can always be distinguished from that done by Chinese, but as their work is done for a small population, it is bound to remain on a very small scale.

•467 In spite of the fact that the Monguors, as subjects of their own T'u-ssu, are exempt in general from Chinese
651 demands for corvée labor, in recent years carpenters and stonecutters who make millstones have been affected by these demands. The Chinese officials make their demands on the professional guilds; the individual worker is not paid for such work, and his guild must pay him when he has been summoned for unpaid official work.

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FIG. 8. Spinning handicraft. Two girls of Monguor origin, whose parents had attached themselves to a group of Tibetans enrolled as subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu. They wear the Tibetan clothes typical of the Huari region north of Hsining. The elder girl is spinning thread, which passes over a hook at the end of the stick thrust into her collar at the back of the neck. She keeps a bundle of wool in the bosom of her gown and from it twists the yarn which is rolled on to the spindle which she holds in her left hand. The thread then passes over the hook of the stick, to stretch and straighten it. The younger sister is fluffing a bundle of wool to prepare it for her elder sister.

467 Monguor artisans engaged in such work must perforce
651 join the Chinese guilds when they are summoned to work on official buildings.

The shamans are also affected by the need for asso-
756 ciation with a guild. Whenever there is an eclipse of
177 the sun or moon the shamans are likely to be summoned to the nearest Chinese town to help, by their incantations,
467 with the "liberation" of the sun or moon. In this they are associated with the Chinese Taoist priests. I knew of one case in which there was a quarrel between the shamans of two Monguor villages. They brought their disagreement before the chief of the religious corporation, a Taoist priest, who settled the matter.

462 The question of the origin of specialized artisan crafts is an interesting problem. In the case of the Monguors, most work is done in the household and there is little need for specialized skills. When there is such a need, moreover, most people cannot afford to hire a skilled craftsman to come from a Chinese town. These con-

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415 planks. Some of these planks are cut to the standard
313 measurements for making coffins, and sold in the towns. Another woodworking trade is the making of pack saddles for donkeys, mules, and oxen, which are sold either in the towns or at fairs.

THE CITY BECOMES THE CENTER OF ECONOMIC LIFE

177 At the end of this chapter it is interesting to consider
369 from what center originated the new economic life of the Monguors, how it developed, and what were the repercussions on the social organization of the Monguor clans, as they evolved away from pastoralism. For nearly four centuries the economic life of the Monguors was fraught with insecurity and calamities, and deprived of the peace that is the first requirement for social welfare. Indeed the economic conditions of the Monguors and of the whole country improved only when the Ch'ing dynasty secured peace, and this improvement depended on the vitality of commerce. No trade of real importance had been able to coexist with insecurity on the roads, since trade requires normal and regular transportation facilities and a safe access to the outlets of commerce. For the center of a developed economy a city is required. In this case the city was Hsining, with its group of professional merchants from all over China, associated in guilds according to the Chinese custom.

177 The prefectural city of Hsining is advantageously situ-
369 ated on the river of the same name, a tributary of the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou, the capital of
632 the province. Hsining is also on the road from Peking to Lhasa and India. It was the seat of the political and
[487] military administration of the country, and the merchants settled there because it was a fortified and garrisoned city. Under the older order in China important concerns maintained their headquarters in major cities and sent their agents to less secure secondary towns and villages to open branch offices.

177 The merchants of the city monopolized the whole com-
369 merce of the country. They sent out their agents to buy
441 up as much grain, oil, and wine (alcohol) as possible; they bought the products collected by peddlers; their agents pitched their tents at lamasery fairs and festivals
467 and at clan diets, to provide people with groceries, cloth, silk, and hardware. The small shopkeepers scattered over the country bought their wares from the wholesale merchants in Hsining. The guilds enjoyed the privileges of trading with the nomad caravans, which had to stop and unload at their inns in order to sell their merchandise, and to buy through them the things they wanted, such as flour, oil, and cloth.

Farmers were not allowed to sell flour, oil, and other products directly to the caravans. They had to go through the guild of the *Hsieh chia*, those who controlled the "rest places." Thus the guild alone controlled the trade in the high-priced furs and other articles carried

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

177 by the caravans. Only the guilds of large towns, like
369 Hsining, had connections with the guilds of other cities
441 and could afford the cost of sending boats and rafts to
467 Lanchou, the capital of Kansu. In this way the entire economy was dominated by the city merchants. The fair and festival centers never grew to the extent of themselves becoming important cities, because they were unable to attract permanent merchants, since the attendance of the people was only seasonal and there was no permanent security. These local fairs merely provided the farmers at certain dates with their peculiar usual necessities of life.

177 Merchant activity provoked deep repercussions in the
369 Monguor society, whose nobles and commoners, during
441 centuries of disorder, had lived a rather precarious ex-
651 existence, their economy being limited by the boundaries of their clans and the production only of necessities within their own small groups. Both the economic and the political organization of the Monguor clans had been founded exclusively on the possession of territory. Taxes, corvées, military service, and the administration of justice had been rooted in the ownership of territory by the T'u-ssu, the commoners being affected in a peculiar and disadvantageous way. The collection of the taxes of certain villages by the "houses" of the nobles had, however, been reduced to negligible significance after four centuries, and the financial conditions of nobles and commoners had become more equal. Some of the commoners, who were more numerous than the nobles, had become richer than the best of the nobles, and rivals in wealth even of the T'u-ssu. Since wealth and riches are equated, in Asia, with prestige and authority, it is no wonder that members of the commoner group were easily accepted to fulfill the offices of chiefs and elders in the villages, and that the administration of the villages passed into their hands. In this way the new economic conditions tended to equalize, and perhaps even to reverse, the original social inequality between nobles and commoners. Under the peace and order of the Manchu dynasty, the city merchants were protected. Headstrong and daring young men followed the caravans to Lhasa and made money by selling mules and horses. Monguors could open small shops in the countryside, and invest capital, in association with the Chinese merchants, in oil and flour mills. Fishermen could venture to Kukunor, and others to burn charcoal in the mountains or saw planks to sell in the city. Peace provided the opportunities for taking risks in commerce, and the focus of these opportunities, which transformed both the economic and the social life of the Monguors, was the city.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

624 At the end of this study of the origin and organization
175 of the Monguor clans, their constituent elements, their chiefs, their internal rights and obligations and the actual administration and family and economic life, it is perti-

592 sents the family in attending the general assembly of the clan at the spring ceremony of venerating the ancestors. At such meetings, the older people are always bitter in their condemnation of heads of families who send a delegate instead of attending in person.

592 Apart from religious practices within the family, the head of the family must also attend when shamanistic
796 ceremonies are staged in the village temple. Within the household, it is his duty every morning to honor "heaven
769 and all the spirits" either on the roof of his house or in the courtyard. A duty that he cannot alienate from himself is the cult of the deity honored by his father; the picture of this deity reverts to him by inheritance. It is also his responsibility to invite either shamans or lamas to his house on various occasions.

592 In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. All money coming to any member of the family must be deposited with him.
•471 Individuals in the family have no right to keep money for their own use. It is he who sells and buys cattle and grain, and all contracts must be signed by him because only his signature is legally valid for the family. He also buys, sells, or mortgages land. It is his right to decide which member of the family is to become a lama, who is to be sent to school, and who is to serve as a soldier. He directs all the ordinary routine of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns to members of the family their daily duties. If members of the family wish to attend festivals, he must give permission; he must also give permission if a daughter-in-law wants to go home to visit her parents.

[553] He is of course the one who decides on the arrangements for marriages and funerals, and it is his privilege
592 to give names not only to his own children but to grandchildren. He is expected to be just and even-handed in seeing that all members of the family have their fair share of clothes and their fair share of space in living quarters. Inability to handle such matters to the satisfaction of the family often leads to the break-up of an extended family and the building of new chimneys. Authority within the family is balanced by responsibility to the chief of the clan not only for the family itself but for murders or robberies committed on land belonging
592 to the family. In the event that a member of his own family is murdered, he must join with the maternal uncle
681 of the one who has been killed in leading all the men of the family to secure vengeance. When a member of his family brings shame on the family by a crime, such as stealing, and is unwilling to make amends, he must again consult with the maternal uncle of the guilty person and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. In such cases even the death penalty may be exacted without arousing the disapproval of the public authorities.

592 When visiting a Monguor family, it is always easy to recognize the head of the family. He is better dressed than the others, is almost never without a long-stemmed pipe in his hand, and does not do any hard physical

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[72 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.]
a roof, such as dǯëw-yi and ger-kãṅ. The kãṅ described here is this ger-kãṅ. Actually this name is a tautology, for ger is Mongolic and means house (tent), in other words, the same as the Tibetan kãṅ. Besides these names, there are other special designations for bẽṅkaṅ, such as mani bẽṅkãṅ, tsäla bẽṅkãṅ, dǯōma bẽṅkãṅ, maridzë bẽṅkãṅ. Unfortunately all these types could not be inquired into precisely [78], nor likewise the meaning of the name and the contents of the bẽṅkãṅ. The many rëduombẽṅ (7) [see Note 7 below], pyramid-like stonepiles which hold down evil demons, as is also reported in the Tujen myth of the female man-eater Mãṅgudzë, probably also belong among the bẽṅkãṅ. For this function the Chinese have the expression pu mei-ch'i, that is, to plug up the (earth)veins' breath.

*778 Time: The chorten chamber may be erected at any time of the year, although the frost-free period is preferred because of the work on the walls. The soothsayer designates the specific [791] day and hour. -- The preparation, however, takes many weeks because the building material, the urns, and the clay cones must be manufactured. In addition, a small village festival [527] is always connected with the erection and for that reason the time after the harvest is preferred.

[621] Persons: All the persons of the village take part in the preparations, men, women, and children. The leader divides 476 the work among the individual families. At the erection and the [562] consecrating ceremonies, however, only men are active. Women [792] are kept away. -- The consecration of the urns and the service

[75 cont.]

*778 with one another at the same height at the top. The leader
346 brings 12 loaves and some liquor and places them on a tray before the chorten-mountain. The carpenters lay the ridge-piece by it. Into it they have drilled a hole, filled it with grain and butter, and closed it again with a wooden cover. The leader binds an ell of red cloth around this place -- it is the middle. Then they burn incense and kowtow. At the same time the tools are put on a small measure of grain before the loaves.
[483] The carpenters now climb on the frame and draw up the ridge-piece by ropes. The leader then throws two loaves of bread up to them, which they throw back; likewise the liquor is handed up to them, which they drink. Only now do the carpenters put the ridge-piece on the supports, exactly above the sky column. The latter, however, does not touch the ridge-piece, but towers up in the center, not quite reaching the ridge. --
[783] The ridge-piece is likewise sprinkled with pure water beforehand and fumigated with incense and the red-hot stone.

Now the carpenters again climb down, and the men begin to erect the wall between the corner posts. When these have reached about 50 centimeters, so that the chorten can no longer roll out, they pause. Once again incense leaves are scattered over the chorten-mountain and then work is resumed, evenly on all four sides. At head level a gap is left on each side. They immediately continue to build the wall up to the roof and everything is immediately covered with clay mortar. The roof is also [76] immediately covered. When everything is dry, the outside is whitewashed. -- If it is not finished on the same day, work is continued on the next day.

Towards the end the lama once again makes a torma and places it in front of the chorten chamber. One again burns incense, blows the conch, and kowtows. Then everyone, even the women, go around the chamber, as around an obo. -- Frequently the lama once again sprinkles the new chorten chamber
[527] with holy water after the whitewashing; then all go home and celebrate the event with a feast, singing, dancing, and drinking.

[782] Veneration of the chorten chamber: Later the chorten chamber is venerated on certain days by a procession around it

231 441 [237] donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel relatively well because they have not been confined and fed in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from there to Europe and America for making brushes.

236 237 443 439 The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this buying is done directly in the homes of families that have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buying in small quantities is done by the peddlars, especially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments, [431] and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for [203] Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as they travel.

442 296 543 Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs. Two or three times a year every important monastery holds special religious performances, around which there spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes, wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack [232] doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose diseases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses, cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

543 579 Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and attract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable distances. In the afternoons there are horse races and wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymaking, and often, when there has been too much drinking, fights between clans and villages.

463 439 484 A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods, attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

463 Mongolia, some of whom are going to study in the great
439 monasteries of Tibet but many of whom are going on
484 pilgrimage, partly to visit celebrated monasteries and partly just for the fun of traveling and seeing the world. Each traveler with such a caravan must take care of his own food and expenses.

A large number of young Monguors, especially those who can speak Tibetan, take jobs with these caravans. A man who is thus working with a caravan for hire can also, by ancient custom, take with him trade goods for his own private speculation. The Monguors take the big, handsome mules and fast horses bred in their own country, and things like saddle girths woven with white wool, made in the Monguor country and known to sell readily in Tibet. The Monguor mules are especially esteemed in Tibet, and consequently Monguors who have mules or horses to sell will entrust them to a young man working with one of the trading caravans, sharing with him the profit of the venture.

439 The big caravan of the Kuopa Tibetans leaves Hsining
484 during the fourth moon of the lunar calendar and returns from Lhasa in the second or third moon of the following year. In 1914, when traveling near the great lake of Kukunor, I met the vanguard of this caravan on its way to Lhasa. The vanguard carried two flags. When it was time to pitch camp for the night, the men showed their veteran skill by the way in which, under the orders of their chief, they staked out the site of the camp. An hour later the main caravan arrived in nine groups of fifty yaks, each of which was separated from the preceding group by a small distance. On each side of the caravan rode Monguors and Tibetans armed with rifles and long swords. Each of the nine groups was accompanied by travelers, some of whom were riding while others walked and led their horses and mules. Each group went straight to the spot that had been staked and roped off for it, unloaded its animals, and pitched a small tent. Some of the men then went out with the animals to pasture near the camp, while the others prepared food. In the early morning the caravan left again, in perfect order. Camp is made in the afternoon and broken in the morning with amazing skill and orderliness; throughout the journey, the pattern of the camp is maintained, so that each group knows exactly where it belongs.

Caravans carrying valuable loads never venture to travel in Tibet without a strong armed guard, for fear of being robbed by the wilder Tibetan tribes, such as
439 the Ngoloks. According to foreign explorers and
484 travelers these large and well defended caravans are seldom attacked, but according to Monguors who have
608 traveled with the caravans the safety of a caravan really depends on the custom of "sworn brotherhood." In
651 each territory through which the caravan is to travel, the chief of the caravan has a sworn brother who is one of the local chiefs. As the caravan approaches each new tribal territory, two men are sent ahead with valuable

[p. 115 b]

439 presents for this sworn brother, who then notifies his tribe not to molest the caravan. The traditional presents
484 consist of bolts of satin and silk, or a load of cotton textiles or sugar or Chinese vermicelli. The next day,
608 when the caravan chief and his local sworn brother meet, the caravan chief asks politely whether he can help his
651 brother by carrying some things for him on the way back. The local sworn brother just as politely names some purchases that he would like made for him in Hsining or Lhasa, for which he offers to pay. The two understand each other's meaning perfectly, and the following year the caravan leader will bring as presents the goods that have been indicated. Thus in fact the caravan takes its way through each territory by a form of taxation in the guise of presents.[8]

431 On the way back from Tibet the Monguors bring with them *p'ulu*, a kind of woolen serge woven in Tibet in
484 narrow bands, either dyed red or purple, or white with crosses of red or blue dyed in the fabric by the "tie and dye" method. This material, which sheds water, is greatly valued by both Tibetans and Monguors. The Monguors also bring back from Tibet incense, dates, and saffron, which they sell to China, the saffron being used more for medicine than as a condiment. At the market in the frontier town of Dankar I, once bought some dishes that had just been brought in from Lhasa with the Kuopa caravan. These dishes bore the trademark of "Regout, Maestricht, Holland" and had traveled from Europe to Calcutta, from Calcutta to Lhasa, and from Lhasa, loaded on yaks, to the frontier of China.

439 The young Monguors who have once worked with the caravan seem to catch the fever of travel and want
484 to go back to Tibet again and again. The older people, with the wisdom of experience, explain the mystery.
583 The reason is, they say, the ease—and variety—of getting temporarily married in Tibet. The traveler who wants to strike up a temporary relationship with a woman in Tibet shaves his head just before his caravan arrives at its destination. This makes him look like a lama, and a Tibetan girl will readily "marry" him, assuming that he has no permanent obligations to a wife at home. If he were to wear a "pig-tail," the girl might be a little more hesitant, fearing that the "marriage" would last only until he wanted to go home. When he does want to leave such a temporary wife, however, the rascally traveler simply grows his "pig-tail" again on the next stage of his journey. In this way, the enterprising caravan man can sample the joys of marriage in a number of places.

DWELLINGS

342 The construction and disposition of the houses of the Monguors having been described in Chapter IV, it

[8] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, as cited, 54, describes this form of the "sworn brother" relationship as a "guest-host" relationship, and gives valuable details on both Tibetan and Muslim caravan trade.—O. L. [P. 116a]

/62 cont'd/

HM 585

friends (German translation: vigorous women friends), and more particularly in former days when the bride was tied, when she was held back by the sleeves of her dress, or when they were attached to the yurt. At half a verst of the way /translator's note: possibly "halfway"/, the husband-to-be sends wine and meat to refresh the bride and those who accompany her. Upon her arrival she remains surrounded by her companions until her yurt is ready. As soon as she enters it, she is seated on a bed. The numerous plaits of hair which she wore as a girl are undone, her coral ornaments are removed, and after they put some ornaments on the two plaits left, she is dressed in the clothes that a married woman wears.

HM [301]

M 585 Because of her regrets and sorrow the bride does not address herself to anyone during the whole trip; according to custom, she cannot speak to anyone. The bridegroom's family sends two groups to meet the procession, and a third waits near the house. The two groups greet the guests on the road and offer them tea and gin. They have lighted a large fire right in the road where the guests can warm themselves in the winter and light their pipe. They get off their horses to go near the fire, then the procession continues.

M [571 777 484] Since all marriages are always celebrated on special auspicious days, it is not rare to see nuptial processions meet. The custom then is that the processions stop. The young T'ou-jen bride, who has carefully put away her new comb in a piece of red cloth, takes it out and exchanges it with the unknown bride. Without speaking to each other and without being able to see each other, sobbing, they exchange their good-luck tokens. Touching little scene.

/63/

Mo 585 484 784

The travelers who meet a nuptial procession always make a detour to avoid it for fear that the evil spirit which is supposed to follow the bride will bring them misfortune. (1)

Ma 585

1. Shirokogoroff, pp. 80-81: (Those who have come to get the bride dine after taking tea.) An old experienced man, who must belong to the bride's clan, gives orders (master of ceremonies)....(Two girls of the bride's clan and a little boy are seated at dinner near the friend who comes to get the bride. In the morning, people get up early and eat. The bridegroom steals the chopsticks he has used and goes out into the courtyard....) During this meal the bride's clan women dress the bride. During the dressing she cries, or pretends to cry. When she is ready, nobody says her goodbye, and (the master of ceremonies) cries: the bride is ready. Then the bridegroom and all his party run hastily towards the carriage to put as quickly as possible the horses on the carriage. At the same time the crying and resisting bride is carried by her brothers, who throw her into the carriage that must be run out the yard as soon as possible. After this it can be stopped to arrange the harness. Usually the bride's brothers escort on horseback the bridal caravan. The customs of the ancient Manchus differ a little from these of the modern Manchus. For ex.: the bridegroom enters the bride's house only with his aid...prays to the bride's clan spirits...after this sits down on a small basket (for chickens /in English/) to await

[28 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 31-32 cont.]
was kept there for his successor. It was two-edged and on one side bore the Bear constellation engraved on it; on the other side was the name ... niang-niang, that is, ... mother. The name of that goddess has escaped me.

[32] The swords used by the shaman, however, are not always two-edged. The informant, it is true, claims that this is the case for the shamans of the Tujen; he commented that the Tujen formerly had had no two-edged swords, with the exception of their shamans. Among the same Chinese shamans, however, I also saw single-edged swords, which are called ma-tao, that is, horse-swords; they are easy to swing and formerly were used by horsemen.

•[484]

Even while traveling, the shaman treats his sword with care and reverence. He wraps it in the red head-cloth and carries it upright in his arm in front of his chest, almost the way one carries a small child. When he puts up at an inn, he places it in a clean spot and first pays it reverence. At night he puts it under his neck roll. I was able to observe this on various occasions en route.

Besides the sword, which he must always use, the shaman has other objects that he can use, depending upon the kind of demons or ceremonies, for example: the hemp whip, which usually has a carved handle with a snake's head or death's-head; the demon fetters, likewise made of hemp with iron

[532]

[67 cont.]

539 prayer. He prayed for seven days. On this obo they heaped white
*778 stones. Within the circle of the obo they piled large stones in layers. On the peak of the obo they stuck cypress twigs and tied wool from the white sheep to them. They covered the circle of the obo with white earth (5). They wrapped the obo with silk.

[822]

5. [Foreign text p. 69.] The white color is the lucky color of Lamaism. The white conch, the white earth-god urns, the white flocks of wool on the twigs of the tree of life are to be re-
[484] called. When someone starts a journey it is said: may your way be white. Among the Tulkus this is even symboli-
[346] cally expressed by scattering flour, chalk, etc. on the path. The monasteries are painted white, and the palace of the earth-spirit is supposed to be white.

In the days of the three summer months they threw at the obo, galloping on their horses. They threw white stones, they threw gold and silver, they threw grain and butter. And the life of man unfolded" (6).

6. [Foreign text pp. 69-70.] This passage is literally translated from the Tujen version of the Geser legend as it was dictated to me by a singer with the aid of the old man. It characteristically shows how closely the conception of the obo is connected with Buddhistic forms. Nothing is to be seen of the repeatedly asserted hostility between Buddhism and pre-Buddhistic cults. In lamic monasteries there are books concerning the erection of obos; I did not succeed in seeing such a book, however,

[844 cont.]
789 and releases the animal. It may run where it will; no one pays
[825] any attention to it.

Details

789 Persons: The demon-releasing may be undertaken by: a
792 lama, but not a hutukhtu, a Bon priest, a shaman, a spear-
soothsayer, or other soothsayers with litter, table-god, etc. The
791 six-day prayer service, however, is undertaken only by lamas
756 and Bon priests; this is the great releasing, [845] whereas the ceremony performed by a shaman or soothsayer alone is the little releasing. Even though at the great releasing the lama may do everything himself, usually a soothsayer nonetheless goes along (spear, litter, etc.). The members of the family take care of everything else, getting the animals ready, gifts, etc.

789 The animals: The animals permissible are: horses,
825 cattle, sheep, goats, hens, and cocks. Those not permitted are
[783] dogs, pigs, mules, half-yaks. Dogs and pigs are regarded as unclean. Mules and half-yaks are incapable of reproduction; for this reason, too, one does not take castrated animals. The rules connected with the animal-consecration do not apply here. The animals are ridden by the demons and carry the burdens on their travels. The hens, however, can be burdened; one simply lets them fly. They are therefore usually used only for the "little releasing." Special ceremonies, such as washing and fumigating, are not performed on the animals; also color and age are unimportant.

782
789 The travel provisions: The following things are packed
[484] in the travel bag, which is usually woven out of wool: money
[415] (any kind of money, just so long as it is in circulation at the time), cloth (for instance, cotton, silk, linen, of any color), a strand of unspun wool, cotton or silk threads (no wool threads), tea leaves, baked or steamed loaves in any number desired, a food bowl of porcelain or clay (no ordinary wooden one), new men's clothing, elegant boots, cloth shoes, an elegant cap or an

In 1914, in Nien pe, I encountered the unusual case of a lama not enlisted in any monastery, who came back from Mongolia with 40 loaded camels, to the home of his brother in Kang-tzu Valley, after a trip which had lasted for sixteen years. The shrewd lama had collected alms for himself! He died a few days after his return. His brother thereafter was a rich man. 792 434

A large capital investment is required for such expeditions. The intendancies buy all kinds of things used by the nomad Tibetans and Mongols. They carry prayer books, paintings and statues of Buddhas, spoons, wooden cups, teapots, kettles, thread of all colors, needles, boots, cotton, silk, satin, combs, tobacco, saddles from Peking, bridles, stirrups, finger and ear rings, charm boxes, toothpicks, ear probers, tweezers, prickers (necessary for the performance of the toilet), cheap synthetic jewelry, and tea. 792 484 434 443

All these things are loaded on oxen and entrusted to loyal and dependable lamas of the intendancies who set out on the journey. All along the way they sell their wares, adding to each item a scarf of felicity, blessed by their Buddha at home. The trade is carried on by barter. They accept wool, skins, yak hair, butter, sheep, cows, and horses, claiming they are collecting alms. When the animals they collect along the way become too numerous, they hire Tibetans or Mongols to help drive them. Because they get twice or thrice the cost of the wares and because labor has little value, these expeditions are really remunerative. However, if it happens that a caravan of another intendancy precedes their own, and the Tibetans or Mongols do not need anything more, then "fishing after the net is a losing business"; but according to the figures noted above, the expeditions are usually very profitable. [437]

TAXES

At the seasonal festivals, held on the grounds of the monastery, taxes are collected by the lamas from the merchants of the city, who pitch their tents and do business on their territory, and from the Tibetans and Monguors who sell animals and their primitive homespun products. 792 434 [65]

MONEYLENDING

Lending of money at the Chinese legal rate of 30 per cent interest is the most important source of revenue for the intendancies. The lending of money is far more remunerative than the purchase of land and mortgages, which afford more security. However, the intendancies prefer the bigger interest. 792 434 426

Intendancies dispose of capital to secure the annual subsidy granted to the lamas, the purchase of the important quantity of butter to be burned in the temple lamps, the expenses for the purchase of all the items required for the expeditions in Mongolia, Kukunor and Ts'aidam, and the expenses of the fixed festivals held at the monasteries. Besides these the intendancies dis-

[p. 46 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Service for Prayers and Alms Collections:

A strict condition of service continues which compels the farmers of the monastery to invite the lamas of the intendancy, whose fields they till, to perform both public religious rites in the village, and private services in individual families. Lamas of one intendancy or monastery are not allowed to perform these rites among subjects of another intendancy. In the same way, when lamas are touring for alms among the subjects of their own intendancy, lamas of other monasteries are not allowed to tour. 792 571

The intendancies urge the observance of this service even by former tributaries, but it does not always work. The Tibetan tribe of Sumdoo, former tributary of the community of lamas of Erh-ku-lung, accused the intendancy, in 1918, of trying to occupy a part of its territory. The Chinese court, however, recognized the ownership of the debatable ground by the tribe. Sumdoo, having a grudge against the intendancy, invited the intendancy of Seerkok to perform a tribal religious rite. The day preceding the appointed day, a group of furious lamas from Erh-ku-lung, intending to assert their prerogative to conduct the service, arrived and started with the prayers. All the ladies of the tribe, engaged in preparing the food for the three-day solemnity, arrived ranting, panting, and cursing the lamas with feminine fury, and threw their boots at the heads of the bewildered lamas. The lamas, powerless against the infuriated women, returned to their intendancy. 792 571 79% 578

The next day, when the solemnities had already been started by the lamas of Seerkok, the intendant of Erh-ku-lung arrived with an imposing retinue to assert his rights. All the men of the tribe vanished, entrusting the emergency to the ladies, who arrived with the same threatening appearance of the former day, and the intendant and his retinue understood that the relations between the intendancy and Sumdoo were sundered forever. This incident illustrates the psychology of the lamas in trying by all means to retain their old rights, even among tributaries with whom all legal connections have been cut off.

Repair of the Lamasery:

The chiefs of the villages inhabited by the subjects of the intendancies are ordered by their respective intendancy to send a fixed number of men to repair the buildings belonging to the intendancy, to chop wood, grind wheat, thresh the harvest, sweep snow, and build roads or bridges. The subjects are still willing to comply with these corvées. 792 466

Travel of the Chief of the Lamasery:

When the supreme chief of the lamasery makes a long journey, the chiefs of the intendancies order the chiefs of the villages to send a couple of horsemen each 792 484 651

[p.48(A)]

to make up his retinue, and it even happens that a 792
couple of men are asked for from former tributaries. 484
The subjects are thus liable to the corvées of the mon- 651
astery and at the same time to Chinese official corvées.

Administration of Justice

All the subjects of the monasteries are liable to the 792
Chinese courts of justice. It would seem logical to 691
have abolished all the old courts of justice existing at the monasteries, but all intendants still dispense justice to their subjects, expose at the gate of their intendancy the instruments of torture, and have their own jails. The intendants of Erh-ku-lung, Kumbum and Seerkok are even recognized officially by the Amban as ch'ien-hu, i.e., civil officials having the right to judge subjects.

In 1916 the minor Living Buddha of the monastery 792
of Dia-ik, fired by ambition and knowing my good rela- 692
tions with the Amban, importuned me for weeks to have me recommend him for the office of ch'ien-hu. He became ch'ien-hu not only of his subjects, but of the three former tributary Tibetan tribes depending on his previous incarnations. In 1917, with an air of exulting pride, he broke the news to me of having obtained in Peking the title of Hutukhtu. It is hard for a western mind to unravel these administrative mysteries.

The subjects enjoy the right of bringing suit at the 792
Chinese courts, but often they do not do so for fear of 692
retaliation by the intendancies, which they are unable 661
to match. However, since the Republic, more and more cases have been initiated by subjects who, victims of crying injustices, have plucked up their courage to challenge their intendants, because their minds were not insulated from the modern principles taught by teachers and officials. Nothwithstanding the change in the social psychology of the subjects, the intendants, the builders of big fortunes, continue to plant in the hearts of their subjects the seeds of aversion and hatred against themselves. Many of them collect the rent from their subjects with measures greater than the legal one, compelling them to fill them to the point where the grain spills on the ground, and not allowing them to collect the spilled surplus, which they appropriate. Being the most important businessmen in the country, they impose corvées on the subjects in order to carry on their own business, and when the patience of the subjects is worn thin, the clash comes, causing the ruin of the monastery. Such were the conditions prevailing between the subjects and the monasteries in 1910–1920. The monasteries had in the end succeeded in maintaining a firm grip on their subjects, notwithstanding the aim of the regulations, decreed after the revolt of 1723, to withdraw them from the baneful influence of the monasteries. [p.48(B)]

prostrations and by presentation of the ceremonial scarf. 175
They escorted them to the branch where a sheep was 792
killed and a dinner enjoyed. 794

DOMAINS AND REVENUES

An affiliate, in order to enjoy viability, had to possess 175
a territorial domain. The mother house, where possible, 792
assigned to it a part of its own domain; where this was 571
not possible, the founder made arrangements to provide 794
a domain. The T'u-kuan bought some ground for his affiliate of Ma-t'i-ssu. Every year the affiliate had to pay the interest of the capital thus invested, amounting to 60 taels or 36½ bricks of tea. The rector of the affiliate was bound to account for the material administration of his institution, receipt of rents, selling of trees, investment of the capital of the affiliate, and herds, and required a fixed sum to be sent out of the revenues to the intendancy of the founder. Finally, the intendant of the founder supervised the material administration of the subsidiary. When recalcitrant subjects refused obeisance, the rector and the disciplinarian sent them to the mother house, but such subjects would quit the monastery before they were summoned to see the founder.

OBLIGATION TO A FA-T'AI WHEN INVITED

When one of the members of the subsidiaries is invited to take the office of Fa-t'ai (Lob-pon) at the mother house, he is never allowed to decline the invitation, even after the subsidiary has become entirely independent, and even if the man thus summoned to officiate as invited Fa-t'ai is a Living Buddha or the supreme chief of the independent monastery. This custom seems to be general.

OBLIGATION TO JOIN THE RETINUE OF THE CHIEF OF THE LAMASERY

When the founder of the affiliate makes a long journey 175
or accompanies an alms expedition to far-off countries, 792
the branches must send lamas to make up his retinue. 484
When the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu went to Peking to fulfill the assignment entrusted to him at the capital, even the independent old branches were kind enough to present a couple of lamas each to enhance his prestige. When he went to Peking for the last time, seventeen independent branches sent lamas. Lamas like to visit the capital, since it is a remunerative business. In the Orient a traveler always does some business on the way, especially an eminent personage such as T'u-kuan, traveling as a state official. He and his retinue enjoyed [554]
the privilege of going everywhere free of taxes.

AUTONOMY OF BRANCH LAMASERIES 175

How did the subsidiaries become independent? The 792
tragic events which occurred at Ch'ü-t'an and Yao- 794
ts'ao-t'ai have already been recorded. Although such 571

[p.52(A)]

commit the texts to memory, punishments being in- 792
flicted if he is slack in his scholastic duty. No haste 874
or fuss is made about the matter of study, for master and pupil possess endless years for the job. No dignitary at the monastery inquires about the studies of the pupil or the teaching of the master; the intellectual and religious education is a family matter, a duty between master and pupil.

SECOND VOWS

At the age of eighteen the novice takes his second 782
vows and is called *Gelüng*. According to the rules, the 792
vows are only allowed to be taken at the age of twenty, but at eighteen, one year is added for his father and one for his mother, and the required twenty years are complete. The ritual for the taking of the second vows, which number 253, is the same as for the taking of the first vows. A minor Living Buddha or a Fa-t'ai is invited to preside over the ceremony, after which an official religious name is given to the novice. The family and friends of the novice are invited to attend this important rite and they bring gifts with them, such as meat, rice, raisins, jujubes, Chinese noodles, rolls. A dinner is served, and each of the guests upon leaving for home receives two rolls from the novice.

The taking of the 253 vows is the highest rung of the ladder of Lamaist dignities reached by 99 out of 100 lamas in Huang-chung. Although the appellation of "lama" is officially reserved for monks who have passed this stage, in Huang-chung it is commonly used for all monks who have taken the second vows, and usually indiscriminately for all people who wear the lama clothing.

Old lamas naïvely admitted that in former times a [484] ●
lot of lamas of Huang-chung used to go to Lhasa to complete their studies and to obtain higher titles, but that at present, because the former reputed centers of learning in Tibet had fallen into a state of deterioration, no lamas are traveling to Tibet. It may be that the monasteries of Huang-chung have declined, and no appeal for serious studies is felt among the lamas. During the Moslem revolt of 1872, hundreds of lamas fled to Tibet and came back after the rebellion without having seized the opportunity to increase their knowledge.

After the second vows, the scientific and religious 792
education is complete. The lama can then read a text 874
more or less correctly, without understanding it. He cannot write a letter, but is able to recite a number of texts, which he has committed to memory in order to assure himself a living. Every morning he attends the ceremony in the main temple, where instruction is given which very seldom has any appeal to him, since he cannot grasp its confused meaning, being engaged the whole day long in domestic duties. No elementary or high schools exist at the lamaseries; there is no special instruction for boys and teenagers; no religious guid-

[p. 57(B)]

his bag and returned to Labrang. The master of the well-known bridge-builder, Temna, convinced that his pupil was not of the stuff of which philosophers are made, saddled his horse and went back home. It seems that such instances often occur. 792 875

Bit by bit, I pieced together the interesting curriculum of T'u-kuan. At seven years of age he entered the intendancy of Erh-ku-lung; at nine years of age he was sent to Labrang (two weeks riding on horseback) to study with a couple of young Living Buddhas there; at twelve he was back in Erh-ku-lung, at thirteen he went to Peking, and congratulated the Emperor at New Year's; at only sixteen years of age he was back at Erh-ku-lung; at seventeen he returned to Labrang for study; at nineteen he went back to Erh-ku-lung and went on a vacation with his family for four months. 792 871 484

After that he went with an expedition collecting alms among the Uigurs of Kan-chou and Su-chou, and on a second one to Mongolia, which took three and one-half years. His studies lasted over a period of seven or eight years, with intermissions of several years. It is said that the masters of the Living Buddhas never leave their pupils; they accompany them on the journeys and are said to teach philosophy and metaphysics while riding horseback during the whole of the journey. Most of the Living Buddhas and Lamas, however, go through life with only a sketchy background in Lamaist learning. [875]

What about the frame of mind and the religious formation, the interior spiritual life, the meditations and contemplations of Living Buddhas who, from the prime of life, are fed on unwholesome values by a master, swelling their pride, flaunting their superiority above others, and inflating their self-importance? What of the consequences to the minds and hearts of these teenagers of basking continually in the adulation of a group of flattering admirers, who feign to have for them a feeling that is little short of idolatrous, being always wrapped in a shining coat of adoration, wearing a look of portentous solemnity, as if the face wore a mask? Without doubt some of them are carried away with their own play-acting and like to move in this misty land of Utopia. Probably for many of them the scales will, one day or another, weigh down their eyes and bear evidence of their loss of touch with reality. 792 156

An old teacher of Living Buddhas once revealed to me that the biggest problem for teachers is to keep young men, for whom studies have not the slightest appeal, occupied all day long. They are bored by their dull and uneventful life and, upon coming of age, strike out for themselves. They have outgrown the time when corporal punishment could be inflicted. They fritter the time away on trifles, on investigating all the vices of life among the servants and former novices of their previous incarnations. They play chess and cards, and, lazing the time away, they prepare their own ruin. A large number of them are buds that will never bloom. 792 875

[p. 69(A)]

out having carefully inquired whether it is propitious 777
and whether it is a lucky day for such an action. They invite a lama of the Red or Yellow Sect, a Chinese Taoist priest, a shaman or Kurtain, to consult about the problem. Such information is required for the starting of agricultural activities, the building or repair of houses, the northern side of which would perhaps not be allowed to be repaired this year, and the southern side only next year, in order not to offend the spirits. These consultations have to be held for marriages, funerals, the starting of a journey, gelding of animals, vaccination against smallpox, even for the perforation of the ear lobes of a girl for wearing earrings.

A Monguor never starts a long journey without hav- 784
ing attached to his pigtail some copper coins of the [784]
Yüan dynasty to prevent the breaking of arms or legs in the event the horse should fall.[3] The girth of his saddle and the halter have to be made with white hair of cows or with wool; the girdle of the rider, however, requires black hair, to conform with the demands of the spirit of horses. The horseman never ties his horse to the door of a house, for the spirit of the door will hurt him. After finishing his devotion, in passing by an Obo, the horseman is not allowed to linger on top of the pass lest the spirit of the Obo punish him. If a horseman encounters some fresh water running down the road, or if he meets a woman carrying a bucket of water, these are good omens pointing to the favorable disposition of the spirits toward him.

While walking with the intendant at the lamasery of Seerkok, we met two donkeys carrying water. Immediately I received the congratulations of the intendant for the propitiousness of the spirits toward me, and he recounted the fact to the dignitaries of the monastery. However, when a woman carrying an empty basket sees a rider, she flees at full speed, in order to prevent mischief for the horseman. It is a bad sign to see a snake or hare crossing the road, and the traveler avoids encountering a nuptial procession. In carrying the clothes of a deceased at the monastery, the collar and sleeves of the clothes are put on the saddle in such a way as to hang on the left side; the collar and sleeves of clothes of a living man are hung on the right side lest the rider should die soon. Never say to a horseman that he is riding a poor animal, but congratulate him on his strong horse, for otherwise it is unlucky.

Never walk on a sheet of paper, or put your hat on 777
a book, for Buddha will punish you. Never talk about 784
possible calamities or they will certainly harm you. When a new gate is built to a courtyard, a rich man who has plenty of children and particularly boys, has to be invited to pass through the new gate first, in order

[3] The Ordos Mongol horse breakers never omit attaching to the whip a coin called *Wu chou* in order to prevent dangerous falls. The coin is called the "stirrup coin" because the old character for *Wu* (five) represents two stirrups, the upper parts of which are adjustable. (Communication of Father A. Mostaert.)

[p.96(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Tibet AJ2

FIRST DATA ABOUT BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

M 175x 792

The third fact is the foundation in 940 of the monastery of Dantig (Sha-ch'ung) situated southeast of Hsining, on the northern bank of the Yellow River. It was founded by dGeba rab-gsal, a lama of the Zin-dpon hermitage, who had been ordained by three lamas who had fled from Tibet on account of the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa, and had arrived in Hsining, via Khotan, and the country of the Hor (Uighurs). At that time in the region of Dantig there already existed great hermitages. The three learned men of Tibet were buried in a temple at Hsining. In sPari (the region between the Tatung River and the Nan Shan to P'ing Fan), there exists a stone pillar with the names of the three men chiseled on it. Later six more celebrated lamas fled from Tibet to Hsining. Probably the building of these hermitages happened during the span of time between the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet by Sron-btsan sgam-po who died in 650 and its persecution in 841 and especially during the years 756 until 842, when the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the entire Huangchung and East Kansu and appointed his officials. Lamas must have followed the invading T'u-fan tribes and built the hermitages and the temple in Hsining.[20] However, we have to take stock of the very judicious remark of Professor Tucci that at that time Buddhism was spread by single lama hermits and not by groups of organized monks as was the case after the reform of Tsung Khapa, born in 1354.

HT 797 648

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE SUNG PERIOD, 960–1280

M 175x 648

The Sung dynasty succeeded the fateful Five Dynasties in 960. However, it could not interfere effectively with Huangchung before 1086. Its action was limited to granting titles to Tibetan chieftains. During one and one-half centuries (875–1036) Huangchung was a no-man's-land inhabited by depleted predatory tribes each of them obeying a chieftain and having troubles among themselves (*Annals* of Hsining 30: 1, 2). Several inroads were made by them on the frontiers. They used to lie athwart the trade roads, pillaging traders and ambassadors coming to court with wares and tribute, making them prisoners and selling them and their wares and tribute.[21] Nobody could cross their country without taking his life in his hands.

M [487 484]

The waxing power of the turbulent Hsi Hsia and their inroads into East Kansu and persistent threats of invasions in Huangchung after 982 must have seriously intimidated the scattered Tibetan tribes in Huangchung and East Kansu, facing extermination one after another,

[20] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 2 (1): 63, 1949. E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism* by Buston Rin-po-che, 2: 201, 1931. Monguors II: 12, 13.

[21] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 108.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

seems to justify and to explain historically my former hypothesis: "It seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in the Monguor clans are Turks, but not all of them Shat'o Turks" (Monguors I: 54). "A majority of Turkish elements is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by the *t'u-ssu*" (Monguors I: 55). That many Uighur Turks are encountered in the clans of the Monguor Shat'o seems normal, for tribes of Turkish origin must have preferred to live together. The fact that all of Huangchung had been occupied by T'u-fan Tibetans since 629 explains that T'u-fan tribes preferred to join the T'u-fan of Hsining rather than to be moved among the Tang-hsiang tribes of Hsi Hsia.

MOSLEM TRADERS IN HSINING

The history of Chiossulo points to the problem of the first appearance of Moslems in Huangchung. The *Sung Shih* (492: 13*a*) notes explicitly "that Hsining Uighurs went to Kao Ch'ang along Kokonor and that traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to do business." That the Hsining Uighurs were very well acquainted with those of Turkistan is no wonder, even as the T'u-fan of Hsining were acquainted with those of Kao Ch'ang, for Chiossulo was born in Kao Ch'ang. However, traders did not travel only from Hsining to the oasis east of Tarim, but they traveled also along Kokonor to the oasis of west Tarim, Khotan, Yarkand, etc., and further into India. This last route was already well known in the sixth century A.D.[31] and lamas fleeing the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa came over Khotan to Hsining. Since 943 the Karakhanids,[32] of Turkish origin, as were the Uighurs, had founded petty realms in the oasis of West Tarim. Their chief had been converted to Islam in 960 and forced his subjects to become Moslems. These Turks, being as sturdy traders as the Uighurs, were very cognizant of the booming trade of Hsining, through which territory they traveled bringing tribute to China,[33] and relations existed between Khotan and the house of Chiossulo itself, whose son Tung-chen had as a concubine a lady born in Khotan, and had adopted her son A li ku and appointed him as his successor in 1086.

Traders, according to the time-honored custom practiced all over China, were federated in guilds, protected by the local officials. They had their own business quarters, their own caravansaries and their permanent agents caring for the interests of the trade. Most of them had their families with them, and it seems very probable that during the booming period of 1038–1086, Moslem traders from West Tarim appeared for the very first time in Huangchung. No wonder that Marco Polo two centuries later noted explicitly the presence of Moslems in Hsining during the Mongol period in

[31] Chavannes, *op. cit.* 6: 333, 341.
[32] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 94, 95.
[33] *Sung Shih* 490: 7*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 501.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

In Kuei Te, south of Hsining, on the bank of the Yellow River, a fortress had been built and a garrison established by the troops of Huangchung during the period Chih-yuan (between 1335 and 1340), in order to prevent inroads in Huangchung by T'u-fan or Tang-hsiang from East Kansu. Terrible famines, started in 1337, desolated East Kansu for years, and T'u-fan plundered East Kansu, pillaging more than two hundred cities and villages (*Annals* of Hsining 9: 11*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 21*b*). Another important fortress was built 140 li west of the city of Yung Nan, northwest of Hsining, called the triangle city (San-chiao-ch'eng) and a strong garrison established. It controlled the routes leading from Kokonor to Suchow, Kanchow and Liangchow, I-chi-nai and Ch'ih-chin (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 18*a–b*) and prevented inroads of T'u-fan and attacks of Mongols during the terrible revolt of Kaidu against Kubilai.

M 175x 648 [711] HM 175 648 [711]

In both *Annals* nothing is noted relating to lamas traveling through Huangchung troubling the people, as is noted concerning lamas traveling through East Kansu on their way from Lhasa to Peking. Maybe the lamas knew that the country was too poor and entirely devastated and so they preferred to travel through East Kansu.

M 175x [484] HM 175 [484]

These are the poor records collected in the *Annals* of Hsining and of the province of Kansu, concerning the history of Huangchung during the period of the Yuan. No records are available, as is the case for the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, relating to the distribution and amount of land, salt, and mill taxes, or relating to the exchange of tea against horses, bureaus for which were established in East Kansu, in T'ao Chou and Kung-ch'ang (*Annals* of Hsining 17: 36). No records are available concerning the size of the population, the number of tribes living in the country, or the economic situation, or even the building of a single school or of Confucian or Taoist temples. There is only noted the existence of the Buddhist temple Ta Fo Ssu (*Annals* of Hsining 15: 1*b*) built by the ancestors of the Li t'u-ssu clan during the Yuan period (Monguors II: 14). However, in the *Annals* it is carefully recorded that the Ming started with the erection of schools, the building of cities and hotels for the officials (*Annals* of Hsining 14: 4*b*, 6*a*, 10*a*), and so we may conclude that during the last years of the Sung dynasty and the ravaging wars waged by tribes for forty-five years, enraged against the Chinese, taking and retaking and destroying cities, etc., few public institutions and buildings would have been left in the cities, and that nothing would have been done by the Yuan for the reconstruction of the country. The Mongol troops engaged in agriculture guarded the thinly populated country. That the country was thinly populated is borne out by the fact that the Ming rewarded lamas for alluring Tibetans to settle in the country (Monguors II: 16, 17), and also by the fact that two cities, situated

HM [161] HM [314]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

000 316 the highest, coldest, part of the country. Coal was exploited and mined in a primitive way in one of the valleys north of Hsining and near the junction of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers. According to the local *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 20*a*), iron was exploited during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644); but the deposits must have been exhausted, because during the period of my stay iron was carried all the way from the Province of Szech'uan on donkeys and mules.

In the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, and some of their small tributaries, gold was panned at irregular intervals; south of the Hsining River and in the upper reaches of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, thirty-one auriferous placers were regularly exploited, mostly by Muslims.

487 492 505 The system of communications was primitive. Ox carts could travel on the roads near the larger towns and villages, but most transportation depended on pack-animals, including donkeys, mules, and horses. It was only subsequent to the period covered by this study that a highway was built connecting Lanchou, the capital of the Province of Kansu, with Hsining, the capital of Ch'inghai. The Hsining River was, therefore, the biggest transport asset of the country. From the Hsining River to the Yellow River, which flows by the city of Lanchou, cargoes of grain, wool, skins, vegetable oils, and alcohol were carried on rafts made either of wood or of inflated ox skins as far as the city of Paot'ou, in the Province of Suiyüan, where they were unloaded [463] and carried on by rail to the seaport of Tientsin. Most [563] of this transportation business was in the hands of Chinese Muslims.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 In the oldest Chinese historical references, the country between the Tat'ung, Hsining, and Yellow Rivers was called Huang Chung and was inhabited by tribes called Ch'iang. The Chinese ideograph for this name indicated that it had the meaning "herders of sheep." The name is one that has never disappeared from Chinese usage in referring to the peoples of the edge of the Tibetan plateau; it is in use to this day. In 202 B.C. the Hsiao Yuehchih, who were probably speakers of an eastern Iranian, Indo-European language, fled from the Hsiung-nu, the principal tribe of the northern Chinese frontier, settled among the Ch'iang tribes, and were absorbed by them.

In 116 B.C. Ho Ch'ü-ping, one of the most famous frontier commanders in Chinese history, came to Huang Chung and founded the first Chinese colonies among the Ch'iang tribes. In A.D. 4 more Chinese colonies were established in the region of Kukunor, but were lost after a few years. This was, in fact, a precarious frontier. For three hundred and sixty years the frontier colonies were often in danger of annihilation, being subject to frequent tribal attack and without support from China proper, because the Later Han dynasty of the first and second centuries A.D. was troubled with chronic dynastic

[P. 19a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

415 planks. Some of these planks are cut to the standard
313 measurements for making coffins, and sold in the towns. Another woodworking trade is the making of pack saddles for donkeys, mules, and oxen, which are sold either in the towns or at fairs.

THE CITY BECOMES THE CENTER OF ECONOMIC LIFE

177 At the end of this chapter it is interesting to consider
369 from what center originated the new economic life of the Monguors, how it developed, and what were the repercussions on the social organization of the Monguor clans, as they evolved away from pastoralism. For nearly four centuries the economic life of the Monguors was fraught with insecurity and calamities, and deprived of the peace that is the first requirement for social welfare. Indeed the economic conditions of the Monguors and of the whole country improved only when the Ch'ing dynasty secured peace, and this improvement depended on the vitality of commerce. No trade of real importance had been able to coexist with insecurity on the roads, since trade requires normal and regular transportation facilities and a safe access to the outlets of commerce. For the center of a developed economy a city is required. In this case the city was Hsining, with its group of professional merchants from all over China, associated in guilds according to the Chinese custom.

177 The prefectural city of Hsining is advantageously situ-
369 ated on the river of the same name, a tributary of the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou, the capital of
632 the province. Hsining is also on the road from Peking to Lhasa and India. It was the seat of the political and
[487] military administration of the country, and the merchants settled there because it was a fortified and garrisoned city. Under the older order in China important concerns maintained their headquarters in major cities and sent their agents to less secure secondary towns and villages to open branch offices.

177 The merchants of the city monopolized the whole com-
369 merce of the country. They sent out their agents to buy up as much grain, oil, and wine (alcohol) as possible;
441 they bought the products collected by peddlers; their agents pitched their tents at lamasery fairs and festivals
467 and at clan diets, to provide people with groceries, cloth, silk, and hardware. The small shopkeepers scattered over the country bought their wares from the wholesale merchants in Hsining. The guilds enjoyed the privileges of trading with the nomad caravans, which had to stop and unload at their inns in order to sell their merchandise, and to buy through them the things they wanted, such as flour, oil, and cloth.

Farmers were not allowed to sell flour, oil, and other products directly to the caravans. They had to go through the guild of the *Hsieh chia*, those who controlled the "rest places." Thus the guild alone controlled the trade in the high-priced furs and other articles carried

[P. 1276]

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000 Piao-ch'i Chiang chun, Sire Hsien of the third generation 95
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Hua-lin, Sire Wu Kung, the great-grandfather (tseng-tsu) of the twelfth generation 102
Feng-chu, Sire Wu I, the grandfather of the thirteenth generation 103
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I. HISTORY OF THE MONGUOR CLANS IN HUANGCHUNG

101 The Mongols, commanded by General Subudei, invaded the region of Huangchung in 1227 and invested the city of Hsining, which they conquered (*Annals* of Hsining 31B: 8a and *Annals* of Kansu 46: 20a).

In order to understand conditions in Huangchung at the time of the Mongol conquest it is necessary to take notice of the peculiar geographical conditions of the country, and to bear in mind the circumstances which had caused the presence in Huangchung in 1227 of the remnants of so many T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang tribes, of many thousands of Uighurs and of many Shat'o tribes. The social organization of this heterogeneous population and the ways in which it behaved will explain the policy adopted by the Mongol dynasty, followed by the Ming dynasty (1368), continued during the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) and even during more than ten years under the Republic (1911).

GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS

131 The Province of Kansu is divided geographically into three parts: West Kansu, Huangchung, and East Kansu, separated from one another by the range of the Southern Mountains (Nan Shan) and the Yellow River, both running in a northeasterly direction. The Nan Shan range separates West Kansu from Huangchung, and the Yellow River separates Huangchung from East Kansu.

X175 487 West Kansu, a long narrow strip, a corridor situated between the bases of the Nan Shan range and the Gobi desert, is of primary importance because through that country runs the old transcontinental silk trade road, already opened in the second century B.C.[1] and because

[1] Louis M. J. Schram, The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier. II. Their religious life, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 47 (1): 9, 1957 (hereafter referred to as Monguors II).

[P. 6 (A)]

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I. HISTORY OF THE MONGUOR CLANS IN HUANGCHUNG

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this road was the only one which secured communication between the Chinese capital and its western colonies. Until 1882 Turkistan was a part of Kansu Province. Military colonies had been established along this long corridor between 140 and 86 B.C. in order to protect the communications against the turbulent Turkish barbarians of the Gobi and the savage Tibetans. Passes running through the Nan Shan secured communications between West Kansu and Huangchung.

175-x 101

In A.D. 872 Kanchow, one of the oldest colonies situated in the corridor, became the seat of the Uighur Khanate.[2] Uighur princes ruled in Kanchow until 1028. At that time their realm was conquered by the Hsi-hsia. The Mongols occupied the country in 1227.[3]

East Kansu is separated from Huangchung on the west by the Yellow River, on the east it is bounded by

[2] James Russell Hamilton, *Les Ouighours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties*, *Bibliothèque de L'institut des Hautes Études Chinoises* 10: 14, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1955. Uighurs (called Hui-hou, Hue-ho) of Hunnic origin belong to the group of the Tolos tribes (p. 1). Their empire in Mongolia, which lasted from 745 until 840, controlled the region from Manchuria to the Altai and the territory of the Karluk in the T'ien Shan; its capital (Karabalgason) was situated on the Orkhon River. At the time of the destruction of their empire at the hands of the Khirgiz, a group of Uighurs fled into the region situated between Ku Ch'a and Besbalik in Turkistan (p. 18). It offered its offices to the Chinese army (Kuei-yi-chun) of General Chang Yi-ch'ao, garrisoned in the prefecture of Sha Chou. It fought the Tibetans in combination with the Chinese (p. 13), and in 872 these Uighurs, allies of the Chinese, settled in Kanchow. Others settled in Shi Chou (Karakhadjo), and so the northern part of Turkistan had become an Uighur country (pp. 14, 15, 16). The Uighurs were converted to Manicheism in 762-763. They were the educators of the Turco-Mongol peoples from the ninth to the thirteenth century (p. 6)

[3] Edw. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao* 5: 215, 1904. O. Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches* 2: 493, 501, Leipzig, Verlag Von Walter De Gruyter, 1936.

[P. 6 (B)]

[Text continues on P. 8 (B)]

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FIRST DATA ABOUT BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

M 175x 792

The third fact is the foundation in 940 of the monastery of Dantig (Sha-ch'ung) situated southeast of Hsining, on the northern bank of the Yellow River. It was founded by dGeba rab-gsal, a lama of the Zin-dpon hermitage, who had been ordained by three lamas who had fled from Tibet on account of the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa, and had arrived in Hsining, via Khotan, and the country of the Hor (Uighurs). At that time in the region of Dantig there already existed great hermitages. The three learned men of Tibet were buried in a temple at Hsining. In sPari (the region between the Tatung River and the Nan Shan to P'ing Fan), there exists a stone pillar with the names of the three men chiseled on it. Later six more celebrated lamas fled from Tibet to Hsining. Probably the building of these hermitages happened during the span of time between the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet by Sron-btsan sgam-po who died in 650 and its persecution in 841 and especially during the years 756 until 842, when the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the entire Huangchung and East Kansu and appointed his officials. Lamas must have followed the invading T'u-fan tribes and built the hermitages and the temple in Hsining.[20] However, we have to take stock of the very judicious remark of Professor Tucci that at that time Buddhism was spread by single lama hermits and not by groups of organized monks as was the case after the reform of Tsung Khapa, born in 1354.

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HUANGCHUNG DURING THE SUNG PERIOD, 960–1280

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The Sung dynasty succeeded the fateful Five Dynasties in 960. However, it could not interfere effectively with Huangchung before 1086. Its action was limited to granting titles to Tibetan chieftains. During one and one-half centuries (875–1036) Huangchung was a no-man's-land inhabited by depleted predatory tribes each of them obeying a chieftain and having troubles among themselves (*Annals* of Hsining 30: 1, 2). Several inroads were made by them on the frontiers. They used to lie athwart the trade roads, pillaging traders and ambassadors coming to court with wares and tribute, making them prisoners and selling them and their wares and tribute.[21] Nobody could cross their country without taking his life in his hands.

M [487 484]

The waxing power of the turbulent Hsi Hsia and their inroads into East Kansu and persistent threats of invasions in Huangchung after 982 must have seriously intimidated the scattered Tibetan tribes in Huangchung and East Kansu, facing extermination one after another,

[20] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 2 (1): 63, 1949. E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism* by Buston Rin-po-che, 2: 201, 1931. Monguors II: 12, 13.

[21] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 108.

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

seems to justify and to explain historically my former hypothesis: "It seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in the Monguor clans are Turks, but not all of them Shat'o Turks" (Monguors I: 54). "A majority of Turkish elements is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by the *t'u-ssu*" (Monguors I: 55). That many Uighur Turks are encountered in the clans of the Monguor Shat'o seems normal, for tribes of Turkish origin must have preferred to live together. The fact that all of Huangchung had been occupied by T'u-fan Tibetans since 629 explains that T'u-fan tribes preferred to join the T'u-fan of Hsining rather than to be moved among the Tang-hsiang tribes of Hsi Hsia.

MOSLEM TRADERS IN HSINING

The history of Chiossulo points to the problem of the first appearance of Moslems in Huangchung. The *Sung Shih* (492: 13*a*) notes explicitly "that Hsining Uighurs went to Kao Ch'ang along Kokonor and that traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to do business." That the Hsining Uighurs were very well acquainted with those of Turkistan is no wonder, even as the T'u-fan of Hsining were acquainted with those of Kao Ch'ang, for Chiossulo was born in Kao Ch'ang. However, traders did not travel only from Hsining to the oasis east of Tarim, but they traveled also along Kokonor to the oasis of west Tarim, Khotan, Yarkand, etc., and further into India. This last route was already well known in the sixth century A.D.[21] and lamas fleeing the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa came over Khotan to Hsining. Since 943 the Karakhanids,[22] of Turkish origin, as were the Uighurs, had founded petty realms in the oasis of West Tarim. Their chief had been converted to Islam in 960 and forced his subjects to become Moslems. These Turks, being as sturdy traders as the Uighurs, were very cognizant of the booming trade of Hsining, through which territory they traveled bringing tribute to China,[23] and relations existed between Khotan and the house of Chiossulo itself, whose son Tung-chen had as a concubine a lady born in Khotan, and had adopted her son A li ku and appointed him as his successor in 1086.

Traders, according to the time-honored custom practiced all over China, were federated in guilds, protected by the local officials. They had their own business quarters, their own caravansaries and their permanent agents caring for the interests of the trade. Most of them had their families with them, and it seems very probable that during the booming period of 1038–1086, Moslem traders from West Tarim appeared for the very first time in Huangchung. No wonder that Marco Polo two centuries later noted explicitly the presence of Moslems in Hsining during the Mongol period in

[21] Chavannes, *op. cit.* 6: 333, 341.
[22] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 94, 95.
[23] *Sung Shih* 490: 7*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 501.

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brigands captured. The army returned with a booty of 300,000 camels, horses, sheep, and cows (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 26*b*, 27*a*).

M 175x 648 [726]

Se-ngo-ko, chief of a Tibetan tribe, was accustomed to stealing horses of neighboring tribes. The commander of Hsining, Mu Su, could not apprehend him. Later the thief arrived at Hsining to sell horses. The commander seized the horses, convinced they were stolen ones, but they were his own. The tribes were upset and about to start a revolt. Li Wen accused the imprudent commander, and the tribes were pacified. Li Wen was promoted (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 12*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38*a*).

HM 175 648 [685]

In 1442 T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 13*a*) was ordered to garrison the commanderies of Ah-tuan and Ch'u-hsien, to protect Anting, and to induce the scattered tribes to come back to their lands and surrender. In 1445 the Oirat chief Esen, who had succeeded his father Togon, who had died in 1439, attacked and occupied Hami. In 1447 Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 45*a*; *Annals* of Hsining **31**: 12*b*), t'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*), and t'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of commander Jen I in Sha Chou. In 1448 Wa lo, chief of the Tibetan Pa-sha tribes started plundering Huangchung. T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien was ordered to fight Wa lo. He succeeded in killing the chief. These tribes had submitted in 1380, their chief controlled 30 or more tribes, which inhabited a country as large as 500 li, starting 60 li north of Hsining and running to the borders of the Ta-t'ung River. Pa Sha was ill-famed for its predatoriness (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 13*a*; **19**: 7*b*). In 1450 T'u-ssu Chao and T'u-ssu Lu repelled Mongol invaders in Kao-ssu-yuan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*). In 1452 T'u-ssu Ch'eng followed commander Su Chieh, fighting Mongols who were plundering Nan-chuan. They pursued them to Su-wu-shan and captured their chiefs (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*).

During the Cheng T'ung period (1436–50) at the time the northwestern part of Kansu was riven by inroads of Mongols and the t'u-ssu were fighting the Mongols in Kansu and in Turkistan, Liu Ch'uan, commander in Kuei Te (situated south of Hsining on the southern borders of the Yellow River), induced 72 tribes of Tibetans to surrender, promoted cultivation and farming among them, established a tea bureau and every year exchanged 1,740 horses for tea, protected the traders and the communications in the country, built a route and relays connecting the important city of Ho Chou with Kuei Te. The country of Kuei Te was at peace and the people enjoyed the trustful and honest commander (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 16*a*).

M [437 491]

The chronicles of the Lu t'u-ssu clan note that during 1450–1464 raids had to be intermittently repelled along the Liangchow and Kanchow borders, perpetrated by the same eastern Mongol groups and some Oirat groups, which ventured to lay waste and devastate even

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1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

000 the highest, coldest, part of the country. Coal was
316 exploited and mined in a primitive way in one of the valleys north of Hsining and near the junction of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers. According to the local *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 20*a*), iron was exploited during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644); but the deposits must have been exhausted, because during the period of my stay iron was carried all the way from the Province of Szech'uan on donkeys and mules.

In the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, and some of their small tributaries, gold was panned at irregular intervals; south of the Hsining River and in the upper reaches of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, thirty-one auriferous placers were regularly exploited, mostly by Muslims.

487 The system of communications was primitive. Ox
492 carts could travel on the roads near the larger towns and villages, but most transportation depended on pack-
505 animals, including donkeys, mules, and horses. It was only subsequent to the period covered by this study that a highway was built connecting Lanchou, the capital of the Province of Kansu, with Hsining, the capital of Ch'inghai. The Hsining River was, therefore, the biggest transport asset of the country. From the Hsining River to the Yellow River, which flows by the city of Lanchou, cargoes of grain, wool, skins, vegetable oils, and alcohol were carried on rafts made either of wood or of inflated ox skins as far as the city of Paot'ou, in the Province of Suiyüan, where they were unloaded
[463] and carried on by rail to the seaport of Tientsin. Most
[563] of this transportation business was in the hands of Chinese Muslims.

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[P. 19a]

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The son-in-law always rides horseback on this occasion. If the distance is great, the two companions will also ride horseback; if it is short they will go on foot. They lead the horse which the bride will mount. This horse must be a mare or a stallion; if it is a mare, it cannot be pregnant. The horse's trappings are of no importance. They have been careful to put a bag full of straw on the horse's mane, on which the bride will lean during the whole trip; a rug or a piece of red felt covers the saddle; the horse wears small bells. The companions drag along a two-year-old sheep, which they will offer to the family upon their arrival. (1)

Ma
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1. Shirokogoroff, Social Organization of the Manchus, p. 77: When the day of wedding is fixed, they send invitations written on red paper to all relatives and honorary guests....All acts concerning the wedding ceremonies, invitations of the guests, presents and so on must be registered in a special book and made according to the calendar and hours fixed in advance....

The day before the day of the wedding, they go to bring the bride to the bridegroom's father's house... in a special carriage.... As soon as the carriage is ready for the road, the bridegroom kneels down in front to "inbe" (wooden screen put in the yard) and several times touches the soil soundly with his forehead. They burn as incense the Chinese ajen hen, fixed in a cup with the black beans, that have generally a very important part during the wedding ceremony.... Usually they leave the bridegroom's house in the afternoon calculating to arrive at the bride's house before the

/93 cont'd/

587 The customary proceedings of the marriage of a widow then are
[604] very simple; the maternal uncle who plays the most important role at the marriage of girls does not even appear. The great preoccupation of the T'ou-jen in the marriage of a widow is to take her away from a rival /94/ and to conduct her without let or hindrance to her new domicile.

6. Two Typical Abductions of Widows

587 The following incidents throw a true light on the T'ou-jen way
583 of thinking concerning the marriage of widows.

At the place Souo-pou-keou lived a widow of a certain Hla Rong. A Tchang of Ki-kia-lin, wishing to marry her, learned that he was too late; the widow had already given her consent to another and had exchanged tokens with him. Tchang wanted her at any price. He proposed therefore to abduct her by force, then to get in touch with the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow to give them the earnest. If such affairs are taken to court, reimbursement of the earnest is required from the abductors, then the woman is
[671] granted to them. These abductions are thus recognized by the law. Tchang calls upon the help of about 30 trustworthy men, well armed, to take away the widow from the hands of his rival's band the night when the rival would take her to his home. The abductors were at their post, but the other band did not arrive. Believing therefore that they had been fooled, they decided to go to the widow's house, take it by assault, and abduct the widow.

Tchang counted as head of his band the widow's nephew, who could inform them about the arrangement of the house. They burst into the courtyard, they force the doors, they gag the woman, four of them carry her outside, they put her on the horse, and they flee
[492] hurriedly. Meanwhile the nephew had been taking care of the dogs and had opened the great door.

The journey went on in the greatest silence. After 15 kilometers of forced march they arrived home, removed the gag from the woman, and untied her hands. What was their surprise when in

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Young T'ou-jen woman, given in marriage to a Tibetan family.
The father-in-law is riding the richly accoutered horse and the mother-in-law has the baby in her arms. The whole group wears Tibetan costume.

[36 cont.]

792 bread have been placed in a pyramid and crowned with a red
796 date; a little box with tschürra (dry curds) for kneading tsamba;
574 a number of small [37] plates with black and white sugar, candy
[262] sugar, currants, and dates; a number of small plates of goods baked with sugar and oil. -- Later, when the lama performs his ceremonies, the things are cleared away so that an empty table is at his disposal.

Hutukhtus or higher lamas send ordinary, serving lamas to the people a few days in advance to prepare the room and the things needed for the ceremonies. They also help in the kitchen because they know best which dishes their hutukhtu prefers. They also see to it that the riding animals of the monastery are properly [492] accommodated.

The fetching of the lama: On the stipulated day the young men and boys of the village set out for the lamic monastery with the most beautiful and fastest horses. Some of them ride all the way to the monastery itself; some wait halfway. The hutukhtu [492] always rides on his own animal; it must be a white horse. The other lamas, on the other hand, may use any animals available.

When at the halfway point the lama meets the troop that has come to fetch him, the oldest man steps forward and hands the lama a hada. He accepts it and touches the kneeling man's forehead. Then the youngest with the fastest horses leap into the saddle and ride ahead at a wild gallop in order to announce the news of the lama's arrival in the village. The lama likewise tries to follow at a rapid pace. Only the old lamas take their time. This fetching is called single fetching. Sometimes the fetching is done in two or three stages; then it is called double or triple fetching. Each time the ceremonies of handing over the hada and of the blessing are repeated. In the case of the third troup, however, the fetchers are on foot, for they only go just outside the village.

Reception: As soon as the messengers come riding in, the entire village gathers in front of the house that has invited the lama. All are wearing their best clothes. On the threshing

[841 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 842-843 cont.]
chiang. The rules mentioned here lead one to surmise that conceptions from lunar mythology (black-white, circular horns) are involved here. The preference for male animals, with the exception of the mules, is also striking. -- This rule is also decisive in profane life. People who have a high opinion of themselves ride only male horses (gelding), but female mules; the reddish-brown color with white mane and white tail is regarded as elegant. White eye-rings, belly covering, and white mouth are highly esteemed for all riding animals of whatever color and help to determine the price. -- It is also interesting that among the goats the lamas prefer not black, but reddish-brown bucks.

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[492]

[435]

The old man said that the ordinary people would not bother with these rules unless they gave the animal to the monastery. Otherwise the color, age, sex, castration, etc. were unimportant, so long as the animal had no physical defects.

The released animals usually stay with their own herd or in the house, for they are used to it. If they run away, nobody bothers about it. A family always keeps horses, mules, and cattle at home and uses them as before. This was not the case originally, however; it is a deviation from the old custom, brought about by poverty and work in the fields.

[178]

A consecrated animal may never be killed. It must die a natural death. If it is eaten by a wolf, it need not be replaced. If an evildoer kills the consecrated animal, then the punishment of heaven or of the consecration-deity will strike him. Also, under no circumstances may one slaughter a consecrated animal for the offering; this would be tantamount to ordinary killing.

[688]

[782]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

but from the landowner who, in case the tenant dis- 792
appeared or became insolvent, was responsible for the 427
tax. In this way the lamas who were landowners had 651
to collect the official taxes from their tenants, and ac- 434
company the endless caravans of their tenants' donkeys
carrying grain to the official granaries. Before the [492]
journey to the granary started, however, each tenant
had to measure the grain in the presence of the lamas
and with the measure supplied by the lamas, the ca- [804]
pacity of which was greater than the official one; this
enabled the lamas to set aside a valuable surplus over
the vast amount of official taxes.

The properties of the lamaseries, consisting of ex- 792
tensive territories, contain a large part of waste and 423
untilled land on which no taxes are imposed. The 651
industrious intendants developed these properties by [311
means of irrigation canals, and called in new farmers to
till the new fields. The legal amount of taxes, however, 312]
has always remained the same as the initial amount, be- 434
cause the intendants, by means of collusion and bribery,
easily succeed in gaining over the tax collectors. In
this way the revenues of the intendancies are greatly
increased, and they still receive surreptitiously a very
large revenue. Moreover, they are able to store the
surplus, which they can grind or sell when prices are
highest.

HERDS

Sheep, cows, and horses constitute, for many in- 792
tendancies, a source of revenue. Large herds are grazed 434
in Kukunor or Mongolia where the pastures are larger, 233
smaller herds in the country for local use. Mongol
princes and Tibetan chiefs of tribes are always ready to
help the monasteries. A contract is made with herds-
men by which the first calves, colts, and lambs belong
to the owner, the second-born to the herdsman, and so
on. Every three years a lama inspector of the in-
tendancy examines the accounts of the herdsmen and
settles with them the number of animals to be sold, and
the herdsmen show the skins of the animals which died
during the three-year period. If they cannot produce
the skins of the dead animals it is assumed that they
sold the animals and they must pay the owner of the
herds.

OIL AND GRAIN MILLS

These mills are a large source of revenue. The mon- 792
astery proper of Erh-ku-lung is owner of twenty-four 434
oil and grain mills; the T'u-kuan himself has eighteen, 256
Chang-chia nine. The mills are leased by Monguors or
Chinese. The rent of oil mills is 300 pounds of oil for
a season's use, besides which it must press the oil be-
longing to the monastery. The grain miller must grind
the grain of the intendancy and at the New Year sea-
son give a pig weighing 120 pounds. Most of the oil
which is not consumed in the kitchen in the preparation
of food, or in the lamps in the temples and homes, is
sent by raft to Lan-chou, the capital of the province.

[p.44 (B)]

The oil trade is a very important and lucrative business. Flour is sold in Hsining. The taxes imposed on the mills are very heavy, but the monasteries still enjoy the old privilege granted before 1723, and are exempted from these taxes. Even families in which a Living Buddha has been born enjoy the same privilege, for instance, the Lan family living in Hung nai tzu Valley. Every year, however, the family has to offer 10 pounds of oil at Erh-ku-lung to the intendancy of its Buddha, deceased a century ago. The lamas claim the privilege, which was granted during the Yung lo period (1403–1424), because oil is consumed in the lamps of the temples before the Buddhas, and flour is used by the lamas, the servants of Buddha. 792 [438] 434 651

FORESTS

Only two monasteries possess extensive forests—Seerkok and T'ien-T'ang. Because wood is very scarce in the northern part of the province, forests are an important source of revenue. 792 434 314

TOLL ON BRIDGES

The history of the famous bridge of T'ien T'ang has been recorded. For many years it was a source of large revenue, which finally caused its ruin. 792 434 [494]

The monastery of Kan-ch'an, belonging to the famous Tenma, receives toll on a raft, which ferries passengers across the Ta-t'ung River. Tenma is a very well-known man in the country. His first incarnation, a learned man, was appointed Fa-t'ai in Erh-ku-lung by the first Chang-chia (Huth, p. 279). It is related that he caused the ruin of Erh-ku-lung. In 1723 bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, chief of the revolt, was a prisoner in Hsining, and about to be executed. He heard that Tenma was in the city. Through the guardians of the jail, he implored him to write a letter to the Chinese generals in order to save his life. Tenma, unaware of the consequences of such an act, wrote the letter. The generals got the impression that Erh-ku-lung was mixed up with the revolt, and they destroyed the monastery. This is a fine story, manufactured on the ground out of whole cloth, in order to free the old mother monastery from blame, but why was the blame put on Tenma? 505 175

For many years during the period of my stay, the young Tenma, swelling with ambition, was the most talked-of man in the country for his audacious plan to construct a European suspension bridge over the river, like those in photographs he had seen in magazines. He started buying all the available iron in the country, felling all the big trees growing on the domain of the monastery, and building a large brickyard. Blacksmiths, carpenters, and bricklayers worked for four years. He built four great towers, two on each side of the river. The blacksmiths made enormous iron chains, too heavy to manipulate or to move. He exhausted the entire treasure of the monastery. Troubles started 792 334

[p.45(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

is fighting must be fought, but always at the same time the tribes should be induced to surrender peacefully. The debates lasted for seven years and nothing was done (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 10*b*, 11*a*). Finally in 1530 the Tibetan tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou started plundering the country. The tribes had fled from Kokonor for fear of the Mongols. Their destitution was tragic. Commander Liu Wen-yu, protagonist of the third group, left with his army, but at the same time sent officials to induce the tribes to surrender, promising them help. Among them only twenty-one tribes decided to revolt, the Lung-po (Uighur) tribe being the leader of the group. The commander defeated two tribes, killed 360 rebels and then started peace talks. He succeeded, receiving the surrender of seventy or more tribes. He returned with the army. The regions of T'ao and Ming Chou were at peace. 175x 643 723

The same year, while the tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou, situated south of the Yellow River, were pacified, the Tsantsa tribes, living on the northern bank of the Tatung River, plundered the region of Nienpei, but were defeated in the T'u-ku-hung valley. Splinter groups of Mongols raided Chengfan, and small groups of Kokonor brigands invaded Hsining and were pursued.

In 1534, amidst all these troubles, the Ming dynasty was still interested in education and instruction. More schools were built in several small fortresses, and in Hsining the Hall of the Faithful and Meritorious officials was constructed. On the stele erected inside the hall, we read among the names of the celebrated personalities those of four Monguor t'u-ssu: Li Nan-ko, Li Yin, the Duke of Huei-ming, his son, T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih, and T'u-ssu Li Ch'ang, son of Li Yin (*Annals* of Hsining 35: 9*b*, 10*a*). 175x 871 211

The situation grew worse every day and all of Huangchung was upset. Liu T'ien-ho, vice-president of the ministry of war, was sent in 1536 to direct the military operations in Kansu and Shensi. The third son of Dayan, Barsa Bolot, with his son, the Jinong had settled in Ordos. The turbulent Jinong made raids in Ninghsia, Liang and Kanchow. T'u-ssu Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40), Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49), Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 54), were ordered to help stem the forays. T'u-ssu Hsin died on the field of battle. The Jinong invaded Hsining and hit a severe blow. T'u-ssu Lu and Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52) helped the commander beat the Jinong. 175x 648 [845]

The next year the Kokonor brigands made a raid in Hsining and were severely beaten, twice, at the temple T'ieh-fu, 50 li north of the city.

General Liu T'ien-ho, having studied the situation of the country, ordered first the repair of the walls and towers of the eighteen existing small fortresses and villages and cities, and to start immediately with the building of seventeen new fortified villages. He promoted agriculture around the fortresses, dug irrigation 175x 712 [802 312]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

canals, helped the people with grain and oxen, etc. 175x
He built the two large cities of Pa-yien-jung and San- 712
ch'uan, south of Nienpei, and established there two [502
strong garrisons, in order to control the whole region 312]
north of the Yellow River, reaching from the south of Hsining to Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu **24**: 18; **23**: 16). At that time the only fortified villages were near the mansions of the t'u-ssu, where in time of troubles the people found shelter with their cattle and helped to defend the fortress, and from which they attacked and pursued brigands. Only near these fortresses were living and farming possible. No wonder that the helpless scattered tribes incessantly revolted, plundered on their own account, or joined the invaders after having been plundered.

In 1537 groups of Ordos brigands raided the for- 175x
tress of Cheng-ch'iang-I, situated between Liangchow 648
and Lanchow. T'u-ssu Yeh defended the fortress heroically and died in the battle. The people esteemed his brave conduct and erected a stele in commemoration [21]
inside the village.

In 1541 the Jinong from Ordos raided Hsia-ch'uan-ku in Huangchung; a crushing defeat was administered to him by General Liu T'ien-ho in Ho-shuei-wan. His son Chin-shao was killed in the battle. T'u-ssu Lu, Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 40), Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 45) participated in the action. Groups belonging to the Tsa tsa tribes of Huangchung plundered San-ch'uan and were chased by T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 45), and Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38).

In 1543 the turbulent Jinong, leading a strong army, arrived at Kokonor, where he defeated I-pu-la, and captured half of his followers. I-pu-la fled to Mongolia plundering the Liangchow country on his way back. The Jinong was the grandson of Dayan and had a score to settle with I-pu-la, who, seceding with his tribes, had offended his grandfather Dayan. I-pu-la had raided and plundered Huangchung, had scattered or subdued and ruined the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor during thirty-four years (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 15*b*; **20**: 12*a*). Pu-erh-hai, a Mongol chieftain who had joined I-pu-la in 1525, had already abandoned I-pu-la, and had hidden in the mountains to avoid the Jinong. Previously he had manifested his intention to submit to China and was better disposed toward the Tibetans. Many tribes returned to Kokonor hoping to enjoy a precarious peace for some years (*Annals* of Hsining **20**: 12*b*). The same year T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to lead his troops to Tatung in Shansi province to help chase the invading Mongols.

In 1546 the emperor ordered the officials to erect an [21]
Honorific Arch glorifying the merits of T'u-ssu Lu.

Until 1549 the students in Hsining had been unable 175x
to pass the literary examination and acquire titles. 871
This year, on account of the new regulations, diplomas were granted in Hsining.

[P. 45 (A)]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

000 316 the highest, coldest, part of the country. Coal was exploited and mined in a primitive way in one of the valleys north of Hsining and near the junction of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers. According to the local *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 20*a*), iron was exploited during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644); but the deposits must have been exhausted, because during the period of my stay iron was carried all the way from the Province of Szech'uan on donkeys and mules.

In the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, and some of their small tributaries, gold was panned at irregular intervals; south of the Hsining River and in the upper reaches of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, thirty-one auriferous placers were regularly exploited, mostly by Muslims.

487 492 ● 505 The system of communications was primitive. Ox carts could travel on the roads near the larger towns and villages, but most transportation depended on pack-animals, including donkeys, mules, and horses. It was only subsequent to the period covered by this study that a highway was built connecting Lanchou, the capital of the Province of Kansu, with Hsining, the capital of Ch'inghai. The Hsining River was, therefore, the biggest transport asset of the country. From the Hsining River to the Yellow River, which flows by the city of Lanchou, cargoes of grain, wool, skins, vegetable oils, and alcohol were carried on rafts made either of wood or of inflated ox skins as far as the city of Paot'ou, in the Province of Suiyüan, where they were unloaded [463] and carried on by rail to the seaport of Tientsin. Most [563] of this transportation business was in the hands of Chinese Muslims.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 In the oldest Chinese historical references, the country between the Tat'ung, Hsining, and Yellow Rivers was called Huang Chung and was inhabited by tribes called Ch'iang. The Chinese ideograph for this name indicated that it had the meaning "herders of sheep." The name is one that has never disappeared from Chinese usage in referring to the peoples of the edge of the Tibetan plateau; it is in use to this day. In 202 B.C. the Hsiao Yuehchih, who were probably speakers of an eastern Iranian, Indo-European language, fled from the Hsiung-nu, the principal tribe of the northern Chinese frontier, settled among the Ch'iang tribes, and were absorbed by them.

In 116 B.C. Ho Ch'ü-ping, one of the most famous frontier commanders in Chinese history, came to Huang Chung and founded the first Chinese colonies among the Ch'iang tribes. In A.D. 4 more Chinese colonies were established in the region of Kukunor, but were lost after a few years. This was, in fact, a precarious frontier. For three hundred and sixty years the frontier colonies were often in danger of annihilation, being subject to frequent tribal attack and without support from China proper, because the Later Han dynasty of the first and second centuries A.D. was troubled with chronic dynastic

[P. 19a]

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[p.45(A)]

whole community lavishly entertained. The guests 175
were entertained at the intendancy. After dinner, 400 795
taels instead of 500 taels were presented to the parents. 792
Then the guests, bursting with righteous indignation, started cursing the intendancy and a feverish discussion broke up in a violent wrangle. In the scurry and confusion and unexpected hurly burly, all the lamas of the monastery and the intendants arrived to patch up the trouble. The 500 taels were paid. After ten years I heard the people of Li-chia-t'ai still cursing the intendancy.

In 1894 the intendancy of T'u-kuan got into trouble over its last incarnation. A lama boy, seven years of age, who lived at the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng which belonged to the Lu T'u-ssu, was recognized as the incarnation of T'u-kuan. Lu T'u-ssu, the lamas of Ku-ch'eng, the family of the boy, and the entire village objected, and did not allow the boy to abandon the monastery without having the intendancy pay 5,000 [431] taels to the family. The most influential mediators were invited by Erh-ku-lung in order to find a compromise. Sheep and cows were killed every day, plenty of wine distilled, and lamas and the whole village had a wonderful time enjoying dinners and drinks for ten days. Finally the compromise was reached that 3,600 taels should be paid to the family and various gifts offered to the T'u-ssu, the intendancy of Ku-ch'eng, the members of the family, and the mediators. The intendancy of T'u-kuan, which was known all over the country to be rich and wealthy, the lamas, the whole of Ku-ch'eng, and the family of the new incarnation, thus seized the opportunity to share in their own way a part of the honor befallen to Erh-ku-lung by discovery of the reincarnation.

It happens, however, that once in a while the horoscope seems to be cast in the wrong way. A nephew of T'u-kuan, two years of age, was recognized to be the incarnation of the minor Living Buddha Kao of Ch'ie-bzan. At five years of age, upon the death of his parents, he was taken to the intendancy, but seemed to be an idiot. In 1918, at thirty years of age, he was still only allowed to leave the intendancy once a month, in order to climb the mountain to the Obo and to burn incense.

EDUCATION OF THE MONGUOR LIVING BUDDHAS

Usually at the age of seven or eight the new Living 792
Buddha is brought to the lamasery, led by a splendid 871
procession of lamas, and installed in the luxurious intendancy, where a group of lama servants scrape and fawn in his presence, cater to his whims, and do his bidding.

The Orient is the country of decorum; the traditional splendor of the oriental courts is proverbial. The Living Buddhas of all the sects are extremely fond of decorum, and try to impress the uncivilized people by a display of munificence and wealth. For this reason [511] ●

[p. 68(A)]

even minor Living Buddhas live in luxurious residences, 792
with a private chapel and servants. Admittance to the 871
Living Buddha is very complicated; no one is even al- [511]
lowed to enter the kitchen, at the entrance of which,
when the Living Buddha is present, is a high stone, [784]
whitewashed and covered with a ceremonial scarf.

The first duty of the intendant is to acquire for his 792
new master two lama teachers of good repute and ex- 871
tensive learning, in order to provide for the education 554
of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the 292
boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity.

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks 792
before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after 554
months and months the exercises always have to be 869
repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and 868
the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.[25]

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, 157
particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training.

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and 792
writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before 875
his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he [876]
fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary llamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-ku-lung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed

[25] Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

[p. 68(B)]

with a burning ram's horn. He was carried outside the 792
monastery wall by lamas. Ashes were spread all the 627
way along in order to prevent his "spirit" from finding 684
the way back to harm the lamasery. A large group of 601
lamas followed. He was thrown on the ground, stripped
of all his garments, amid the shouts of the lamas and
the long blare of trumpets, and the group returned to
the monastery without looking back. A round mark [685]
is burned on thieves. It is impossible for those so
marked to enter any monastery.

At the time of the festival at Erh-ku-lung in 1912, 792
three young lamas molested a young lady, causing her 684
death. They fled the same night. The whole village 682
of Too-long accused the monastery at Hsining, which
was unable to trace the murderers and had to pay
an indemnity of 3,000 taels, after spending far more at
court. The whole country was bursting with righteous [627]
indignation. It was a tremendous loss of face for the
lamasery.

Lamas not only lack the vow of obedience, but also 792
the vow of poverty. It has been explained how lamas 511
retain their own wealth and the means they use for in-
creasing it.[27] Among the lamas are rich individuals
enjoying a happy life, possessing a beautiful courtyard,
clothed with silk and brocade, riding the finest horses
and mules of the country, served by as many lamas as
they wish, and there are poor individuals who have
trouble making both ends meet—ill fed, ill clothed,
working the whole day. Nobody takes care of them
because wealth is a personal matter, and no vow of
poverty exists. It has been explained how the lack of
the vow of poverty is responsible in a large part for
the loss of spirit in the monastic life, and how from
this lack originate most of the vices encountered among
the lamas and the ruination of monasteries.

Lamas lack the vow of chastity, for chastity reaches 792
farther than celibacy. The Buddhists know this very 831
well and the texts prove it.[28]

The reform of Tsong-khapa, the founder of the Yel- [185]
low Sect, aimed at return to the traditional monastic
life, based on celibacy and serious study. The sense
of the necessity of celibacy still seems to prevail among
the Monguor lamas. This assumption seems evidenced
by the facts that the communities of lamas bring suit at
Chinese courts against even supreme chiefs of lama-
series, and intendants who betray their vows, as was
the case with the Living Buddhas Sumpa, Lu-chia, and
Min-chu-erh, and even with Li, the intendant of the
T'u-kuan Hutukhtu. It was the same with the Living
Buddha Seerting who was caught red-handed by the

[27] The wealth possessed by a lama, his courtyard, etc. are inherited by his apprentice; in case he dies without having an apprentice, his wealth is sold by the intendancy; prayers are said by the lamas and alms given to them. If a lama who is proprietor of a courtyard marries, his courtyard is taken by the intendancy.

[28] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Morale bouddhique*, 79. Paris, Librairie Nationale, 1927.

[p.72(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

Chuang-lang, Ch'ing-yang, and East Kansu. The raids furnished to the invaders a considerable amount of loot and fostered their predatory instincts. The example set by the Mongols whetted the appetite for plunder among the Tibetan tribes also. The people lived in desperate conditions, and the t'u-ssu troops had always to be ready to comply with the orders of military commanders.

M 175x [579] HM 175 [579] M [511]

This note, recorded in the Lu chronicles, is quite acceptable for the reason that during just these years a tremendous confusion reigned in Mongolia, and the Mongol tribes located along the Kanchow and Liang-chow borders had nobody to care for them, for the Oirats, now at the summit of their power, had thought themselves strong enough to challenge the Chinese empire.

HEIGHT OF OIRAT HEGEMONY

M 175x HM 175 M HM 622 648 [662] 668

To Esen, the powerful Oirat chief, had been promised an imperial princess by the eunuch Wang Chen, the favorite of the emperor. He had not notified the emperor of this promise and when the envoys of Esen arrived at court with the nuptial presents they were refused. In the autumn of 1449 the humiliated Esen began raids on the empire frontiers and approached Ta-t'ung. An army of half a million men was raised in a hurry, and sent against the Oirats. The emperor accompanied the army. His troops were routed, the emperor was taken prisoner, the remnants of the army tumbled back to Peking, and the capital was in jeopardy. Ching Ti, the brother of Emperor Ying Tsung, ascended the throne in 1450. The Oirats were unable to seize the capital. After endless deliberations, the released imperial prisoner reentered Peking in the eighth moon, after an absence of one year.

Esen, swollen with pride after his resounding victory over the empire, his ambition soaring to the throne, proclaimed himself emperor of the Mongols in 1454; but two of his commanders revolted against him in 1455, he fled and was killed the same year. For the time being the balance of political power of the Oirats shifted to the eastern Mongols who struggled again for the hegemony. One of the commanders who had killed Esen was killed by Polai, a tribal chieftain of the Ta-tan Mongols. Po-lai enthroned a new Khan, Markorgis, the son of T'o-to-pu-hua, known under the name of Hsiao-wang-tsu, the little king, and began with raids on the frontiers of the empire.[80]

In 1457 Emperor Ching Ti fell ill, the secluded Yin Tsung ascended the throne for the second time and thereafter his brother died.

T'U-SSU LI WEN

M 175x 648

The same year T'u-ssu Li Wen arrived at Peking from Hsining with his army, to congratulate Yin Tsung

[80] H. Serruys, *op. cit.*, 85; Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 58–60.

[P.40(A)]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

562 chronic warfare among the ancient Mongols and Turks required alliances as well as feuds.

581 Hence the institution, known to be very early, of "pairs" of clans, each regularly taking its wives from the other in a sort of marriage alliance.[5] An association of this kind was a natural basis for alliance in war, since each clan would not only be aiding an ally but contributing to the security of its own daughters.[6]

•512 181 Among pastoral nomads the traditional life of the man, especially the married man, is one of long periods of idleness, spent largely in gossip and visiting, alternating with short periods of intense activity—in former times, defensive and offensive warfare, and in modern times the periods of migration, especially spring and autumn migration, and the periods spent by a man when he is summoned for obligatory service under the clan or tribal chief. The Monguors, as descendants of nomads, have inherited this tradition. The Monguor men, however, because of the change to an agricultural economy, cannot be quite as lazy as pastoral nomads. Farming cannot be profitable unless the men do their share of the work; but in spite of the example of patient toil set them by their Chinese neighbors, the Monguor men are never as industrious as the Chinese.

512 462 In the home, the kitchen and all things concerning food, the preparation of meals and cleaning up after meals are women's work. Women also collect the fuel, consisting chiefly of the droppings of cows, horses, and sheep, which after being collected have to be dried in the sun until they are combustible. In the early morning when the cocks are still crowing to announce the coming day the wives start working while their husbands go on sleeping. First the wife must go to the well with a wooden cask on her back to fetch water. Then she boils water in the iron cauldron, set in the hearth, to make tea. While she is making the tea she carries hot water to her husband for washing. While the husband is drinking his early morning tea the wife dresses and washes the children, prepares breakfast and carries a

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[5] Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols,* as cited, 58. "Les Mongols des XIe–XIIIe siècles devaient parfois aller chercher très loin leurs femmes, et s'accorder avec un clan éloigné. En effect, ... les pâturages étaient distribuées de telle manière chez les anciens Mongols, que souvent on ne recontrait aux alentours aucun répresentant d'un clan étranger. . . . Ceci explique, les réminiscences anciennes aidant, la fréquence des rapts; les femmes etaient enlevées de force chaque fois que l'occasion favorable s'en présentait.

"On relève fréquemment l'usage pour un clan de choisir ses promises dans un autre clan, mais toujours le même. Les membres de ces clans s'accordent mutuellement le titre d' 'allié,' de parent par alliance, '*quda.*' Parfois l'échange des jeunes filles à marier donne lieu à des traités en règle entre clans." (Note that side by side with the word *quda* there is the word which in modern Mongol is *hadam* and in Monguor *gadim*—see the Monguor relationship terms as given above—which expresses "relationship with a woman married into my clan, or a man who has married a woman from my clan."—O. L.)

[6] It is possible that this kind of association also helps to account for the importance of the maternal uncle, as "the man who has interest in both clans."—O. L.

[P. 88 b]

•512 462 bowl of food in to her husband, presenting it to him humbly with both hands. She then folds and stacks along the rear wall of the *k'ang* the felts, skins, and quilts that serve as bedding, and sweeps out the house and courtyard.

462 233 It is also woman's work to feed the livestock, milk the cows, and go out to fetch earth, carried in a basket on her back, to dump in the stables where the trampling of the animals mixes it with manure and urine which will eventually be carried out to put on the fields as fertilizer. If a cart is needed in the day's work, it is the wife who harnesses the horse or ox. When it is time to grind flour, it is she who does the grinding, either pounding a little at a time in a stone mortar or taking a larger quantity to a grindstone turned by animal power. When it rains, it is her duty to take the small herds of sheep, cows, and horses out to graze in the valley or on the hill slopes, while her husband, smoking his pipe, huddles by the brazier at home to keep warm or goes to visit his friends.

462 241 Women also work in the fields. On the field nearest home the Monguors use stable manure; on distant fields they use a fertilizer made by burning clods of earth and grass. The wife carries the ashes in a basket on her back and spreads them on the field. Most husbands help their wives in this heavy work, but it seems not to be their duty to do so. Plowing and harrowing are the main agricultural work of the men, but even in this the women frequently help them. It is not unusual to see a woman plowing and harrowing. When the heavy preparatory work has been done, husband and wife together sow and later weed the fields. They also work together in reaping the harvest, carrying it to the threshing floor, and threshing it—though there are a few lazy men who will not work after the sowing and the weeding, leaving the harvesting, carrying, and threshing to the women.

462 294 Whenever a woman has a few minutes to spare she reaches for her sewing box. Sewing is work that Monguor women love and at which they are very skillful. They can often be seen working at night by the light of a twisted wick spluttering in a saucer of vegetable oil, patching the clothes of the family. A housewife is expected to make all the new clothes for her husband, her children, and herself. Although she is always the first to get up in the morning and the last to go to bed at night, she has a little more spare time in the winter, when there is no work in the fields, and this is the season for sewing.

603 462 592 606 It is the grandmother who manages the whole female side of the community, supervising and allocating work to the daughters-in-law and the older girls. A good manager rotates the work so that each woman will have an opportunity to do needle work and so that pregnant women get lighter work. It is the grandmother also who soothes the quarrels that inevitably break out in such a family, and endeavors to keep them from be-

[p. 89a]

342 need only be noted here that few Monguors are rich enough to hire Chinese or Monguor bricklayers and carpenters. Most Monguors build their own houses.

342 Rich people lay a foundation of brick for the mud walls of their houses. Even poor people, though they
778 build their own houses, buy the frames for their doors and windows from Chinese carpenters. When a new house is built, the young people of the whole village come to help in putting up the mud walls of the enclosure. They ask no pay for this work, but are rewarded with a dinner. A peculiarity of all Monguor courtyards is that in the middle of the enclosure stands a pole from which flies a "prayer flag" on which prayers have been written in Tibetan. At the base of this pole there is a small oven for burnt offerings; but sometimes the oven is built on top of the roof of the living room.

352 The Monguors do not have much in the way of furni-
ture. The living quarters of each nuclear family within
353 the extended family consist of only a single room. Wealthier people may have "*k'ang* tables"—low tables, with very short legs, set on the *k'ang*. These are of the right height for people sitting crosslegged. Poorer people may have, in front of the *k'ang*, a rough table with homemade benches. A plank, on wooden pegs driven into the wall, serves for bowls and dishes. For household work, the Monguors made their own brooms from millet straw or tamarisk twigs. Only rich people paint the woodwork of their houses. Even in a poor family, however, there hangs on the wall of the chief of the family a picture of the guardian deity of the family, and in front of this picture there is a low table with brass butter lamps and bowls for offerings.

372 The fuel used by the Monguors is chiefly the dung
of horses, cows, and sheep, dried in the sun. The
237 gathering of this fuel means constant hard work for the wives, who must always have some reserve in case
352 it is raining and dry fuel cannot be gathered. Sheep dung gives the most heat. It is dug out in bricks where it has accumulated and been trampled hard in the sheep pens. Straw and dry grass are also used in the little fireplaces that heat the *k'angs*. This fuel gives a quick, hot flame; though it does not last long, the sparks are drawn by the draft into the flues that run under the *k'ang*, where they set the accumulated soot smoldering, thus providing a low but relatively steady heat through the night.

352 During the winter the Monguor men, who work so
much less than the women, spend most of the day sitting
372 on the *k'ang*, either at home or at a neighbor's house.
●512 A primitive brazier is made by laying some bricks in a
462 circle in which earth is placed to hold the fire. On the earth is put a mixture of sheep dung, husks, and chaff.
521 This mixture burns slowly all day and is hot enough to boil tea. The men light their pipes from this glowing mixture, and sit all day long gossiping cheerfully in a haze of smoke.

[P. 116 6]

[41 cont.]

192 Prayer fee: bosë (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

796 Tea provided in the lamic monastery: mäntsia (mändzia) (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

[784] Taboo of the compound: udie dzilä-; chi-men (Chin.) = to forbid the door.

[357]

[Pages 41-43 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[43] III. Customs concerning the Dwelling and Settlement

000

1. The Incense Sacrifice*

*See "Notes," pp. 46-49 [of the foreign text]. In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

372
782

Every day at sunrise the house and yard are swept clean.

512 The housewife fans the family fire on the kang, around which

[356] young and old gather during the day. The master of the house

[783] washes his hands and face (1), takes some coals from the fire,

[515]

1. [Foreign text p. 46.] This ablution is undertaken for all religious activities, and it is also the common way of washing oneself in the morning. Since washbowls are unknown or have been used only recently, it is done in the following way: one takes a mouthful of water from a bowl and rinses the mouth; then he

372 [43 cont.]
782
572
[783]
[575]

[Note on foreign text p. 46 cont.] takes a second mouthful and lets it run out of the mouth over the cupped hands and washes them; the third mouthful, allowed to run into the hand in the same way, serves to wash the face. This is repeated as desired, until one is clean. In case someone has a washbowl, he may under no circumstances forget to rinse his mouth, because that is part of the purification for a religious ceremony.

and puts them on the incense plate under the mani-tree out in the yard. There he blows on the coals to make a large flame, throws cypress twigs, butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, tea leaves, sugar, and a number of colored threads into it, and finally sprinkles the fire with pure water. Then, when the smoke rises up, the conch is blown, and the master of the house, as well as all those standing by, makes a three-fold [788] kowtow three times in front of the fire. With this the morning offering is concluded, and all go to their daily work.

Details

782 Persons: Usually the master of the household presents the [592] incense offering. In his stead, however, another male member [562] of the family may perform the act, but never women, unless there is no male person in the house and the children are still too small. Women may be present and make the kowtow, just as they also sweep the yard, set the things in readiness, and even hand them over for the offering. The conch is usually blown by someone who does not perform the offering. If the master of the household making the offering does it himself, it is done before the kowtow.

[626 cont.]

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[354]

[177]

1. [Foreign text p. 628.]
The lamps are large copper butter-lamps or the small copper bowls. -- If there is no mani-tree, the red lamp is hung on a roof slat in front of the door of the main house. This lamp is very likely copied from the Chinese celestial lantern. The Chinese, too, draw up such a lamp on a tall mast in the yard, like a flag, and let it burn every night. It is called t'ien-teng, that is, celestial lamp.

[356] the window newly plastered. In recent times the Tujen also
[177] write vernal sayings on red paper, like the Chinese, and paste them to the door posts. This was formerly not the case.

[573] Night watch: During the night before New Year's Day sleeping is not allowed. The old people say: "Please do not sleep tonight, the gods want to be welcomed early tomorrow morning." Therefore the master of the household stays up with his whole family. They partake liberally of tea, liquor, and the New Year's food, sing and converse until dawn.

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782
[888]

New Year's morning: At the first cockcrow after midnight even the last stragglers put on their best clothes. Only the very old in the family remain lying on the kang. The master of the household puts large, burning butter- or oil-lamps in the room on the household altar. In the yard he hangs a red paper lantern with a butter-lamp to the mani-tree (1) [see Note 1 above]. It is attached to a transverse strip on it. Then outside, with the entire family, he gives the great incense offering, and everyone makes a threefold kowtow to the sky out in the open. The same is repeated before the household altar for the countless other spirits. During this time a stone is made red-hot in the
[783] hearth fire, and with this glowing stone all the rooms of the compound are fumigated. At the same time the conch is blown. The fumigation may also be done by women (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 628.] The

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
171 are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
769 ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
764 stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
782 the deceased would remain among the living and would need to partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
513 even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
753 indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
756 for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
755 soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This catching of the soul is called: suniedzē xura-. It is unclear from this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
171 to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru (rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun, moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals. Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the underworld and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
778 the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

[41 cont.]

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/The Monguors/

000on the luckless family.

N *563 M 231 [177] The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

M [886] [175]

N *563 M 515 [184] Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

5. Occupations

N *563 M 241 233 433 The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

N *563 M 241 [177] [432] The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

N *563 M 231 554 [556] [184] Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

N *563 M 233 463 Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society

/32 cont'd/

583 The two parties both make excuses to the other: one for its poverty and the hard times, "I could not offer more, but what is offered is given wholeheartedly"; the other for its indigence, "I was forced to ask for much too much, but now I am more than satisfied with the gifts...."

584 Then when all have taken their places again, the go-between rises and proposes to the family that they present the "flower," that is, the little bride.

They hasten to spread out a red rug or piece of red felt in the middle of the room, and the little bride, chaperoned by a young girl, appears before the assemblage. The two girls hold each other by the hand.

[302] The bride has risen early in the morning, has washed with all kinds of soap, and her hair has been dressed by the most skillful woman in the neighborhood. She has put on her handsomest finery, she has beautiful flowers in her hair, and she is made up in such a way as to be longer recognizable. Her companion, a little girl like herself, has a more modest toilette; she has no flowers in her hair, she wears a black veil on her head. They are certainly "the amazon and the little white goose"; no chance of making a mistake who is the bride.

[516 576] They advance toward the middle of the rug, facing the future father-in-law, let go their hands, bow respectfully, kneel, bow their foreheads to the ground three times, rise, and begin the same prostration over again three times. This is the ancient Chinese greeting on grand occasions. Everything is done gravely and sedately. They are well-trained T'ou-jen girls! Also their childhood games are [524] only the apprenticeship /33/ for the ceremonial. All girls play at ceremonies; they adore them. This is characteristic of the Orient.

583 584 One sees that the "flower" is aware of her own important and that of the moment; she tries to make a good impression on the assemblage, and the future father-in-law smiles, becomes young again, throws on the rug with a generous gesture two or three handfuls of red lozenges and a handful of cash, emblems of good fortune and wealth. The guests do the same. The girls pick up everything,

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2: Schram--198 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

An Ing-iang Sien-cheng Chinese, in fine array, in front of the door of his house. At the left his pupil-apprentice, in the background his old servant.

2: Schram--203 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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142

Left, a T'ou-jen lama wearing the dress of the yellow lamas.
Center, his superior, T'ou-jen lama in Chinese dress.
Right, a lay T'ou-jen, their servant.

2: Schram--206 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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A T'ou-jen with his son; they wear Chinese clothes (country of Nien-pei, Sining).

2: Schram--207 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Rich T'ou-jen widow, no longer speaking her language, wearing no longer the costume of her race. Type of completely Sinicized T'ou-jen, even having the little Chinese feet. However, at her death she will be dressed in the T'ou-jen style for her last toilette!

[28 cont.]

756 rings at the end; the spirit-spear; the winnowing tray and the
*778 sieve (2).--He must make this equipment himself in accordance

2. [Foreign text p. 32.] In the case of one other temple shaman I also saw the bow and arrow as equipment. Incidentally, the shaman carries all the customary weapons. -- The spirit-sling is twisted out of hemp, wrapped in red cloth, and is about one meter long. The iron rings on it have a symbolic significance that I have forgotten. The Chinese, so far as I can recall, call the sling k'un-hsien-sheng, that is, spirit-binding string. In the accompanying photograph the shaman holds the sling with the ring in his left thumb.

[411]

with certain rules. He keeps it at home on the altar of his tutelary deity with the sword and the god's image.

756 The trance: The trance usually takes place in the house
787 in front of the altar. The shaman rinses out his mouth, washes
[783] his hands and face, presents an incense offering in the yard or
[782] before the altar, kowtows before the sword, and puts on his garb (3). The incense fire is maintained in the yard by other

3. [Foreign text p. 32.] He always puts on his costume with prayer.

men who also blow the conch (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 32.] Some claim that the shaman has to wash himself once more before the trance.

Now a long, low table is placed in front of the altar,
[576] and the shaman sits on it in the Buddha position with his legs

[28 cont.]

756 crossed under him, his face turned toward the door, and his
787 back to the altar. He has placed his sword across his knees.
He holds a burning stick of incense upright in his hands in front
● [576] of his chest, so that the smoke rises into his face. Then he
speaks the prayer of invitation to his tutelary spirit. Meanwhile
men make smoke around him with incense. Gradually his
hands begin to tremble; the movement passes to the arms,
chest, and head. Finally his entire body is trembling and
shaking, but especially the head with a violence that makes
the bells rattle. At this point the stick of incense is taken out
of his hand and he is given his sword (6). The spirit has now

6. [Foreign text p. 32.] The little stick is placed in the incense bowl.

[789] descended upon him. He begins to prophesy and to exorcise the demons.

The shaman may also choose another place for the trance, for instance, the temple, the house chapel, a mountain top,
* [778] an obo [a mound of stones dedicated to the mountain spirit],
the yard. He never undertakes the trance on the kang in a side room. If there is a god's image with a soul on the household altar, he always sits down facing this image; in the case of the obo he must turn toward the obo. -- In front of the obo or on the mountain top he need not sit on a table, but can kneel on the bare ground. If he undertakes the trance in the yard of a compound, he goes to the side opposite the main house so that he has the round manger with the mani-tree before him and faces the main house. There he kneels upright on a white felt mat. The other ceremonies are the same.

The compound in which he undertakes the trance must first be swept clean; all the rooms are fumigated with incense. The [29] table or the mat on which he kneels must also be
[609] fumigated. -- There is no taboo for strangers, however; all
[562] may witness the ceremony. Women, however, may not enter the room in which the trance takes place.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

cording to the rules, occupy the time in meditation or prayer. 792 157

A good lama should daily, once in the morning and once in the afternoon, walk around the monastery saying his beads and prostrating himself at the small shrines along the ritual way. In the fourth moon he makes the same round, prostrating himself the whole way along. This is said to be really exhausting work.

Every year a good lama enters a retreat at home for two weeks. He does not leave his room, talks with no one, and cancels all appointments with visitors. He prays and reads texts the whole day and offers the ritual tea four times daily before the image. A good lama never sits on a bench or chair, but always squats [516] cross-legged on the floor or the k'ang, barefooted, his clothes adjusted decently. He eats only mutton, beef, or pork, never the meat of the horse, donkey, hare, or [262] chicken, or fish or eggs. Lamas are not allowed to raise sheep, goats, pigs, chickens, or donkeys. A model lama lives in retirement, avoiding mixing with the groups of lamas who play chess and cards all night, or indulge in endless gossip, or tell smutty jokes and indecent stories, for the saying goes that "nothing is dirtier than the tongue of a lama." A good lama deals with books with reverence, putting them, wrapped in a yellow silk scarf, before the Buddha statues, carrying them on his back when traveling. A good lama does not even go to say prayers at private homes, when invited by the people; he does not leave the monastery.

These notes, given by older lamas and young Wendees, reveal what lamas think about an ideal lama and what sort of ideal is held up before young lamas. However, in order to be able to become an "ideal lama" some wealth is required, or at least an honorable competency, and it is precisely the lack of this primary condition which provides the clue to most of the miseries of individual lamas and the ruin of many monasteries.

HOW LAMAS PROVIDE FOR THEIR SUBSISTENCE

792

Lamas have to earn a living, because support furnished by the monastery is insufficient. Poor lamas try to find a full-time job in the several intendancies of the monastery or with the minor Living Buddhas, or by accompanying expeditions to collect alms, or by working in the printing offices. Many find a part-time [466] job carrying water every day for several rich lamas, driving animals to the pasture grounds and then back home again, selling cow dung and fuel. Lamas like to be hired, by a lama whose pupil has abandoned him, to search for and bring back the strayed pupil. Lamas try to buy a young, nicely built horse or mule, and are happy to hire young lamas who will work every day at breaking it to the saddle, in order that they will be able to sell it in the cities or in Lhasa, where such animals command a good price. Lamas

[p.60(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

thenticity of their possession, the Kurtain has to provide 756
evidence of being possessed, which has to be tested and 571
checked by qualified men, before they can enjoy the benefit of a "diploma" showing their credentials. Not only the Monguors but the lamas ask for a serious test.

If the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a Lamaist 756
deity whose incarnation is living at the lamasery, the 787
test is provided by this Living Buddha himself, who 571
is the best qualified man for the examination. If there is no such incarnation at the lamasery, the Kurtain has to invite the Living Buddha, or a Fa-t'ai, to offer him a gift, and implore him to make the test. In case the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism, the chiefs of the village urge him to pass the test before a Living Buddha anyhow, for only the Living Buddhas are supposed to possess the required yardsticks *ad hoc*. Old Kurtains cannot test the authenticity of new Kurtains. In the event the Kurtain declares himself to be possessed by a deity of Lamaism, the community of the village defrays the expenses required for the test. If he declares himself to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism he has to defray the expenses himself.

The test of a Kurtain possessed by a Taoist spirit is 756
carried out as follows: the Living Buddha, who sits on 787
his throne under the porch of the main temple with all the lamas, while the temple yard is packed to capacity with a curious and interested crowd, orders the Kurtain to sit beneath the steps.

The Kurtain wears the usual gown worn by the Monguors (seldom a red one) bound round the waist with a sash of red cloth. On a piece of red cloth, covering his head, is fixed a small copper mirror, shining on his forehead; a large red ribbon encircles his head, on which are sewn a lot of small bells. If he happens to be possessed by the spirit Wu tao shen, the spirit of the five roads, he wears a crown of that spirit. Over a large "cloud collar,"[1] which comes down over his shoulders, passes a red rope to which is attached a bigger copper mirror adorned by red, yellow, green, and blue ribbons or *khata*, dangling on his chest. On his back are sewn a couple of red and green handkerchiefs.

He sits erect on a low Chinese table, his legs always [516]
sprawled apart, imitating the exact posture of the god of the Five Roads, even though he may be possessed by the dragon god. The representation of this Chinese warrior, his theatrical attitude seen everywhere in all the temples, must have impressed the Monguors to a very large extent. On the knees of the Kurtain is

[1] This collar seems to hint at a part of the garments worn by the old Mongol princes "Ils (les princes) ont encore une autre forme (l'habit): un collet nommé 'Jaqa' sur les épaules et sur le dos, et qui finit des deux cotés en pointe aigue; il ressemble à un echiquier. Ce bord pend sur les deux épaules. Il est toujours fait en brocart ou en peau de zibeline." H. Serruys, *Pei-lou fong-sou*, Les coûtumes des esclaves septentrionaux, *Monumenta Serica* 10: 145, 1945. For the "cloud collar" (*Yün-chien*), see S. Cammann, The symbolism of the cloud collar motif, *Art Bull.*, March, 1951.

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nent people pursued the satisfaction of their desires. It was easy to incriminate them. Sire Kuang Lu used his salary only to buy books. The hundreds of books he bought were all pencil marked and filled with notes. When the administrative affairs allowed him some spare time, he invited eminent scholars, composed poems, and drank wine. He visited the ford at T'ao Yeh and the barrow of Sian and he inquired about the old lanes and green brooks and the long bridge in Wu I. He very much enjoyed the strolls he made when he was a public official.

After a short time, on account of illness, he asked for retirement. It was accorded and the costs of the journey were defrayed by the empire.

Back home he delighted in strolling in the woods and on the banks of the rivers. He composed the family chronicles in three sections. He started with the imperial decrees. He wrote the biographies and the correspondence with the empire, and finally the things interesting the family from the first ancestor on. According to the Chia Li composed by Chu Hsi (Chu Hsi, 1130–1200) he built a temple east of his mansion for the ancestors, with five niches inside. In the center niche sacrifices were offered to the first ancestor, in the other four sacrifices to the great-great-grandfather, the great-grandfather, the grandfather, and to the father according to the rite Chao Mu. Sacrifices at the time of the four seasons were fixed on the first day of each of them. The tablet of the first ancestor was never allowed to be moved, the other four, however, had to be removed according to the rites (to allow a seat for the recently deceased). He emphasized the importance of the sacrifices and the rites.

In former times the morals and customs in our village were rough and savage, today the people start knowing the prime ancestor and honor him. That is what the ancestor taught us to do. Now from the time I was a small boy I felt with my hands, the gifts made by the hands of the ancestors. I felt deeply impressed. I feel gratitude for having received this tradition (of honoring the ancestors in the family).

Sire Kuang Tsu died in his mansion in the village in 1607. The death being announced at court, he received posthumously the title of Kuang Lu-ta-fu and sacrifices and burial according to the rites.

His wife, the noble Lady Chang, was intelligent, and quick to understand. She had much erudition and a noble character. She controlled her home with severity and regularity. She had a son, Yung Ch'ang, who died in the service for the empire during the Ming dynasty. This is quite sufficient for her to illustrate our glorious family.

YUNG CH'ANG, SIRE CHUNG TI OF THE NINTH GENERATION

Yung Ch'ang, Sire Chung Ti, whose style name was Ch'eng Pu, his literary name Chung T'ai. He was

342 need only be noted here that few Monguors are rich enough to hire Chinese or Monguor bricklayers and carpenters. Most Monguors build their own houses.

342 Rich people lay a foundation of brick for the mud walls of their houses. Even poor people, though they
778 build their own houses, buy the frames for their doors and windows from Chinese carpenters. When a new house is built, the young people of the whole village come to help in putting up the mud walls of the enclosure. They ask no pay for this work, but are rewarded with a dinner. A peculiarity of all Monguor courtyards is that in the middle of the enclosure stands a pole from which flies a "prayer flag" on which prayers have been written in Tibetan. At the base of this pole there is a small oven for burnt offerings; but sometimes the oven is built on top of the roof of the living room.

352 The Monguors do not have much in the way of furni-
353 ture. The living quarters of each nuclear family within the extended family consist of only a single room. Wealthier people may have "*k'ang* tables"—low tables, with very short legs, set on the *k'ang*. These are of the right height for people sitting crosslegged. Poorer people may have, in front of the *k'ang*, a rough table with homemade benches. A plank, on wooden pegs driven into the wall, serves for bowls and dishes. For household work, the Monguors made their own brooms from millet straw or tamarisk twigs. Only rich people paint the woodwork of their houses. Even in a poor family, however, there hangs on the wall of the chief of the family a picture of the guardian deity of the family, and in front of this picture there is a low table with brass butter lamps and bowls for offerings.

372 The fuel used by the Monguors is chiefly the dung
237 of horses, cows, and sheep, dried in the sun. The gathering of this fuel means constant hard work for the wives, who must always have some reserve in case
352 it is raining and dry fuel cannot be gathered. Sheep dung gives the most heat. It is dug out in bricks where it has accumulated and been trampled hard in the sheep pens. Straw and dry grass are also used in the little fireplaces that heat the *k'angs*. This fuel gives a quick, hot flame; though it does not last long, the sparks are drawn by the draft into the flues that run under the *k'ang*, where they set the accumulated soot smoldering, thus providing a low but relatively steady heat through the night.

352 During the winter the Monguor men, who work so
372 much less than the women, spend most of the day sitting on the *k'ang*, either at home or at a neighbor's house.
512 A primitive brazier is made by laying some bricks in a
462 circle in which earth is placed to hold the fire. On the earth is put a mixture of sheep dung, husks, and chaff.
521 This mixture burns slowly all day and is hot enough to boil tea. The men light their pipes from this glowing mixture, and sit all day long gossiping cheerfully in a haze of smoke.

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Sodalities, most of them for women, are organized [575] in every village. The members convene to recite the 781 Om Mani as they circle the Bumkhang[3] of the village 788 all day. Whenever a Monguor is in serious trouble, he prays Om Mani, and when a happy event occurs, he gives thanks by Om Mani. Supposedly, all kinds of evil are dispelled and all blessings obtainable by Om Mani.

Monguor families place in the center of their court- 778 yards a high pole with a small flag flying from atop it. Om Mani and other prayers are printed on the flag as an offering, day and night, by the family to Buddha. Prayer wheels, containing hundreds of repetitions of Om Mani printed on paper, are moved by water power, so that Om Mani will be offered continually, as the wheels revolve.

The Monguors have used their Om Mani to such an 781 extent that its true meaning no longer exists. A farmer 788 becoming angry at the lazy oxen, while plowing his fields, will beat them and swear furiously with a well-articulated Om Mani; gamblers, on losing the game, their patience wearing thin, will say Om Mani in a blasphemous tone. While weeding fields, if a lascivious song is enjoyed, farmers say Om Mani, meaning the song is well sung. When a smutty joke is told, lis- [522 teners will say Om Mani, laughing, to indicate it is a 831] good joke. It is said that thieves and robbers say Om Mani as an aid to their practice of larceny. Foreign travelers jest that, if robbers kill their victim, he will have the consolation, when dying, of hearing the killer saying Om Mani. Om Mani can be and is offered under all circumstances: riding horseback, working in the fields or at home, while laughing, gambling, singing, conducting business, and even sleeping.

The Monguor's fondness for and promiscuous use of Om Mani has reduced it to a mockery of its original intent. Nevertheless, it is in fact most often used as a real prayer.

The Monguors are not ashamed to pray in public, to

[3] A structure at the entrance to the village to prevent the [104] entrance of evil influences.

[p. 5(B)]

[245 cont.]

171 of his protégé, is involved here; in this connection cf. also
756 Bleichsteiner (or Hoffmann), "Srog-bdag," pp. 118 f. It is not
776 possible to give here all the models and possible archetypes of these warlike doubles and "alter egos." They are very widely distributed in space and time, as is the belief in tutelary spirits generally, and extend back over the archaic high cultures into still earlier times (Megalithic); cf. Dominik Wölfel, Die Religionen des vorindogermanischen Europa. A special development is represented by the sülde banner of the Mongolic khans, which also attests to the fact that in the case of these tutelary spirits true localizations and seizure are involved.

174 That these tutelary spirits are connected with ancestors,
756 and in part identical with them, can likewise be amply docu-
776 mented, as it is repeatedly emphasized in the shamanism. One special feature is still to be pointed out: the shamanistic use of armor and weapons. My informant told me that the Tujen
[523] formerly had brought the weapons and equipment of famous popular heroes into the temple where they were stored. Then
[787] when a shaman who had been called put on this equipment, the powers and the spirit of the hero descended upon him. The shift of an old popular custom into Lamaism is evident here, for prior to this the protector and guardian of the ayil (tribe) was the mountain-spirit in the obo; he watched over the weapons, and in former times arms were also buried in the obo; cf. above, pp. 351 f., and the chapter on the obo, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation]. Just as the popular festivals were later transferred from the obo to the Lamaistic temple, this also happened with the weapons and equipment and the associated donning of them by the shaman. This also explains the especially close connection of the people's gurtum with the mountain-spirit and obo and his warlike character still today. It is well-known that the obo has a special connection with the tribal lord and the latter's descendants. Like-
[773] wise it is told of Geser, who, to be sure, according to the Tujen version, was also the ancestor of the Tujen, how he donned the supernatural armor which is kept in readiness for the special task of the battle against the ills of mankind in heaven.

[245 cont.]

171 Heissig reports similarly of the East Mongols: "In the
756 monasteries, according to tradition, weapons, helmet, and
776 war harnesses of famous, perhaps legendary Mongolic heroes are preserved... These heroes and their arms bear the name Coyjing (lit. coyijung). Once or twice every month, after previous praying and fasting, a number of lama-monks in the Küriye-Banner are supposed to clothe themselves with the armor of the Coyijing and seize the weapons belonging to them. The spirits and powers of the heroes immediately come over their bearers and equipment. The lamas go into ecstasy..."; cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," op. cit., p. 41. Coyjing, of course, refers to the Tibetan co's-skyoṅ. Here, too, however, the old conception
[523] continues to have its effect of preserving the powers of the old heroes for the succeeding generations by preserving the equipment and weapons.

[246] One could call this custom a shamanistic preserva-
756 tion of antiquities. At any rate, every visitor of Lamaistic
523 temples and shrines is struck by the ample store of weapons, banners, etc. Perhaps the Tujen custom of presenting the clothing of the deceased to the monastery also goes back to this conception, even though today they are merely thought of as a bosë, a prayer fee. When a monastery lacks a shaman who can don the armor, an artificial figure is dressed in it. I once saw such a statue equipped with ancient weapons and exhibited in a sitting position in the gate of the soothsayer-temple at dGon-luṅ, just as the gurtum at the beginning of his trance is seated in the temple facing the image of his tutelary spirit. The people moved past this image and gave it the appropriate veneration. This figure is likewise called sgurdien.

The warrior-shaman is widespread, and was even in pre-
171 Lamaistic times. B. Laufer presents clear evidence for its
756 presence in ancient China in his book, Chinese Clay Figures. He presents several illustrations of excavated statuettes and dates these back to the Chou period, to an "archaic period" [cited in English]); cf. the legend for Plate XVII. Laufer describes these figures expressly as shamans "in the act of throwing a spear during a struggle with demons" [cited in English]. On

/32 cont'd/

583 The two parties both make excuses to the other: one for its poverty and the hard times, "I could not offer more, but what is offered is given wholeheartedly"; the other for its indigence, "I was forced to ask for much too much, but now I am more than satisfied with the gifts...."

584 Then when all have taken their places again, the go-between rises and proposes to the family that they present the "flower," that is, the little bride.

They hasten to spread out a red rug or piece of red felt in the middle of the room, and the little bride, chaperoned by a young girl, appears before the assemblage. The two girls hold each other by the hand.

[302] The bride has risen early in the morning, has washed with all kinds of soap, and her hair has been dressed by the most skillful woman in the neighborhood. She has put on her handsomest finery, she has beautiful flowers in her hair, and she is made up in such a way as to be longer recognizable. Her companion, a little girl like herself, has a more modest toilette; she has no flowers in her hair, she wears a black veil on her head. They are certainly "the amazon and the little white goose"; no chance of making a mistake who is the bride.

[516 576] They advance toward the middle of the rug, facing the future father-in-law, let go their hands, bow respectfully, kneel, bow their foreheads to the ground three times, rise, and begin the same prostration over again three times. This is the ancient Chinese greeting on grand occasions. Everything is done gravely and sedately. They are well-trained T'ou-jen girls! Also their childhood games are [524] only the apprenticeship /33/ for the ceremonial. All girls play at ceremonies; they adore them. This is characteristic of the Orient.

583 584 One sees that the "flower" is aware of her own important and that of the moment; she tries to make a good impression on the assemblage, and the future father-in-law smiles, becomes young again, throws on the rug with a generous gesture two or three handfuls of red lozenges and a handful of cash, emblems of good fortune and wealth. The guests do the same. The girls pick up everything,

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

684 husband—or rather, usually, from her mother-in-law. When brought back she endures one hundred lashes on the back, and is led to her husband's house with the same "ceremonial" as related above, after having asked for a guarantor and made her thumb-print on a statement.
583 Once in a while, also, a future son-in-law who is working for his future father-in-law, in order to marry the daughter, disappears with the daughter. After one or two years they return, and ordinarily the parents are delighted to see them again, and no more complaints are made.

•525 In cases of gambling, a fine is imposed on the of-
681 fenders for the upkeep of the temple or to defray the expenses of the religious celebrations performed by the shaman at the village in spring and autumn. All kinds
593 of interesting and dramatic cases occur. Wives complain about their husbands; widows who do not intend to remarry complain about members of the family prodding and teasing them to remarry; widows willing to remarry are hindered from remarrying; or the price for a bride is not paid at the fixed time; or a betrothal is broken off, etc.

627 Two particular cases may be described in detail, because of the light they cast on the type of cases handled by chiefs and elders, and on Monguor society in general.

In the first case, in the valley of Hungnai, in 1918, Chang Chia-pa, a Chinese whose family had been enrolled in a Monguor clan for many generations, had a daughter married "with the girdle"[5] who was the mother of a lovely boy. He also had a son, a daughter-in-law, and grandchildren. The girl of the girdle, who was always having trouble with her sister-in-law, finally could not stand any more, married a man named Hou Yu-liang as his concubine, and took her son with her. Hou paid her father four hundred strings of cash for her.

After five or six years, during the festivities held at the second moon in Weiyuanp'u, a Chinese peddler from Ho-nan province, named Li, made trouble with Hou Yu-liang for having, as he complained, married the

585

[5] When a girl who is unwilling to marry has relations with a guest, custom requires that the guest present his girdle (sash) to the girl. In the event that she subsequently becomes pregnant, she performs the rites of marriage with the sash, and she is thenceforth known as "Mrs. So-and-So" (guest's name), and the son as "boy so-and-so," even if the guest never comes back during her whole life.

The importance of the girdle is worth noting. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, according to Fr. Mostaert, when on the day set for the marriage the groom falls ill and is unable to attend the ceremony, his girdle is sent to the bride and she performs the rite of marriage with it. I never met such a case among the Monguors, and it appears that the girdle is used among the Ordos Mongols in circumstances quite different from those in which it is used among the Monguors. We note also that kidnapped widows prove before the court of the village their unwillingness to marry so-and-so by showing the girdle which was exchanged with so-and-so. Father Mostaert told me that when shamans in the Ordos perform their rites, removal of the girdle is one of the most important acts. This custom is unknown among the Monguor shamans.

[p. 786]

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for infractions of the rules, the reform of some misbehavior, the arrival of distinguished guests or pilgrims, the offer of important gifts, and special religious ceremonies asked for by devout people. Herein consists the entire direction and instruction of the lamas, except for those who study in the colleges. 792 [626] 554 794

His role has been explained. He is the chief executive of the institution and administers its wealth. He has his own residence; his courtyard is his court of justice, where all the suits of the lamas and of the subjects are judged. All the officials of the institution receive his orders; he has one or two procurators helping him in the material administration, commanding a number of servants varying in accordance with the importance of the lamasery.

DISCIPLINARIANS

Their function is a really important element in the government of hundreds of uncivilized lamas and turbulent young folk living in the same lamasery, most of whom wander correctly along the path of monastic life more from fear of severe corporal punishment than for pure love of Buddha. I never saw a master of discipline in the lamaseries wearing a delightful smile. More often they seemed to be the type of tormentors that might step out of a picture of the Eighteen Buddhist Hells. No wonder the lamas, especially the young folk, dread them. 792 626 794

Usually there are two disciplinarians appointed by the Fa-t'ai for a term of one year. Often they have been proposed for the position by the intendant and his councillors. The disciplinarian presides over a number of lictors. During ceremonies in the temple the disciplinarian maintains order among the older lamas and keeps a constant eye on the novices. A breach of silence or any irreverence is punished instantly by blows from his rawhide whip. He takes note of the presence and absence of lamas at the morning ceremonies, and must investigate to find out whether lamas, not enrolled in the monastery, or laymen, are remaining with their friends at night inside the lamasery, and is responsible in general for the observance of the rules of the monastery.

Permission is required from the intendancy to leave the lamasery for a long time. Business deals are not to be made too ostentatiously. At night lamas may gather with friends to relax, talk, play cards and chess, but are not allowed to make much noise or to disturb the sleep of their neighbors. Gambling is not allowed, nor is the drinking of liquor. At night, the disciplinarian with some of his lictors, armed with rawhide whips, makes a tour of the lamasery. Lamas found brawling, quarrelling, or fighting are brought to the court of the intendant, where penalties are meted out in various brutal forms. The time of the festivities is a difficult one for the disciplinarians, when merchants pitch their tents, and lamas and people drive bargains. [373 525 784]

[p.62(B)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 621 183 178 The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is M [867] dinned into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-ssu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

N *563 M 621 183 177 178 During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

e. Stealing and gambling

N *563 M [685] [673] [525] [794] Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

N *563 M 587 A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

N *563 M 867 Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meeted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

N *563 M 576 264 603 According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge

[66 cont.]

782 Sitting before the obo, the lama gives the appropriate
[533] prayers, accompanying them on his hourglass drum and the bell. At the same time the people burn incense at several places, kowtow, and blow the conch. This service may sometimes last the entire day. When the lama is finished with the prayer, he takes the torma to a stone on the obo, sprinkles the obo with holy water, and casts barley on it, over which he lightly blows with his mouth. The people then take something from offerings that stand in front of the obo, pluck something off, and throw some of this into the incense fire and on the obo. The flowers are all thrown on the mound. Meanwhile others have already placed the spears, twigs, and mani-flags on the obo and have thrown the votive gifts on it, as at the month offering. Then all of them circle around the obo, throwing the white stones and praying the obo call. At this point all of them once more make a threefold kowtow, drink tea, and go home.

The prayer service may also last several days. Then people set up tents on the mountain and live and eat there.

527 The obo festival: Every year on the sixth day in the sixth
782 month an obo festival takes place. At these festivals the obo is venerated in the morning, as it is at the month offering. A sheep offering and the prayer service of the lama may also be connected with it.

527 All the people from the neighborhood, men and women, old and young, gather at the obo. If the obo terrain is too
[541] difficult and not level enough, they gather at the foot of the mountain or on a meadow. There the men hold horse races,
[533] people sit around the fire and drink and sing; they eat and
[439] dance and laugh. Chinese traders appear, set up their booths, and peddle their wares. -- Formerly, when the old weapons
[526] were still used, the horse races were followed by archery, spear throwing, and sword fights. Wrestling matches were especially
[178] popular. Nowadays this is no longer the case. Only the horse
[541] racing and the singing contests are still held. The mountain-
[533] spirit rejoices when the people are so gay (3).

[171] 3. [Foreign text p. 69.] The obo festival is also celebrated by the

[68 cont.]

192
*778

[Note on foreign text p. 71 cont.]
la rtse - obo, yar = upward, stod la = upward, to place on top. -- rëdziõñ: Tibetan žon = to ride. -- yifula: Tibetan ri bo = mountain, hill, lha = spirit. -- ndziġdien: Tibetan 'jig = transitoriness, rten = container. A Buddhistic mode of expression for the world: the ten containers of transitoriness (Unkrig).

Little stonepiles: lawdzë dzidziġa = obo chicks.
Obo sheep-offering: lawdzë tada xoni šëñlie = to sacrifice a sheep before the obo.
[782] The lama prays before the obo: lama lawdzë tada mošguni.
The offerings: yilenë šëñlie = total offerings.
To dwell at the obo: lawdze tada sõ-.
To set up a tent: bekärge posġuo-.
[541] Horse racing: mori holilġa = to make horses race.
Whose horse is fast: käni mori gurdä?
[524] Shooting competition: sëmu sëmuda- = to shoot arrows.
Whose skill with weapons is great: käni xuawu šgewa?
The young people wrestle: mula kunsgë walde-.
Whose strength is great: käni kudzi šgewa?
Large and small sing together: šge mulasgë nigë dõlä-.
Whose songs are many: käni dõ uluona?
[541] Obo horse-racing: lawdzë šda rëdziõñ (Tib. (8) [see Note 8 above].
[527] Obo festival: lawdzë šdodlõ, mori holġani = to make the horses run pelting the obo.

[621] [757] The obo protects human beings: lawdzë ayili kun, ase, mulä-sëla, nasä, ġuosäni furõñläni = the obo of the village (kin group) protects human beings, animals, little children, from epidemics and strife.

[776] The mountain-spirit: yifu la (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above].

twenty Tibetan soldiers, were flogged on such occasions 792
in order to make a drastic example of them. Whenever 157
people had a serious conflict, this Living Buddha was invited as arbitrator. He extended his zeal with prodigality, indulging his greedy fondness for display, and cultivating his reputation for knowing how to straighten out problems that seemed to be in a hopeless muddle. These activities absorbed all of his time and energy.

Cha-ik Hutukhtu followed in the wake of the Living Buddha of Siamar, building up his influence among the Chinese officials by means of gifts and visits, and by obtaining of the illustrious title Hutukhtu. He was never at home.

The Living Buddha Pu of Seerkok was fond of beau- [526]
tiful and fast horses. Every three days he participated in the morning races in the city of Hsining, riding his own horses in competition with the Moslems, who raised the best horses in the country. He was a better success at riding horses and breeding them than in philosophy and metaphysics; he was never seen in the temple.

The supreme chief of Seerkok, incarnation of the celebrated and learned Min-chu-erh, had a job at Nanking in the Bureau of Tibetan and Mongol affairs, but spent all of his spare time in Shanghai, indulging in expensive distractions and sorely depleting the funds of his intendancy. Back in Hsining, the community of the lamas stirred up trouble by not allowing him to return to the monastery, and preparing to bring suit against him at court, claiming that he was not the genuine incarnation. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu told me in Man hui, Hou-t'ao, in 1940 that he had sent his intendant to Seerkok in order to avoid scandal and to smooth the ruffled feathers of the lamas, and that after several weeks, Min-chu-erh, his behavior having been on display in the city of Hsining, had succeeded in returning to Seerkok, protected by a retinue of thirty Moslem soldiers loaned by General Ma Erh-hsiang.

It was delightful to encounter once in a while a good Living Buddha, who was really loved by the people. In Hsien mi monastery the Goomang Buddha, an old man, was engaged all year long in making up packages containing medicine, on which he blew his blessings and which he distributed gratis to people who come from far away to receive them. It was a panacea, which [757]
healed all kind of diseases of men, women, and children.

Dealing with fasting rites for laymen, there will be recorded the example of a really outstanding Living Buddha, the old Li. Modest and unassuming, adored by the people, his preaching developed and revived the sense of religiosity and of justice and humanity. His beneficent influence radiated far beyond the circle of fasters, into families and the administration of villages. He was at that time, among the Living Buddhas, the only educator of the Monguors, a benefactor of the Monguor society. [p. 70(B)]

705 175 and twenty sheep, and loaded with kettles, ropes, felt coverings for tents, lamb skins, and wool.

714 The Monguor soldier wore a turban of blue or black cotton cloth. The distinctive part of his uniform was a sleeveless jacket of red cotton cloth, with yellow trimmings and a circular patch of white on the chest and back. On these circles were written three Chinese characters reading "Monguor soldier" and the clan name of his T'u-ssu. These white circles on the red jacket made bright targets for the enemy. The soldier was expected to report for duty with an old musket and a sword. For every unit of ten men the village had to provide a tent, a kettle, and one pack horse, in addition to riding horses for the mounted men. The horses are shod only on the forefeet, as in medieval Europe.

651 As has already been described, each T'u-ssu formerly had the responsibility for guarding certain passes leading to the Tibetan plateau. At these passes detachments of Monguor troops were stationed even in times of peace, and at these posts they had the right to collect taxes from caravans. Other traditional taxes and levies were also for the maintenance of troops. Up until recent times, for instance, the Lu T'u-ssu had the right to tax all rafts going down the Tat'ung River past his town of Liench'eng. This tax was collected according to the number of steering sweeps on each raft. The Lu T'u-ssu's soldiers also collected taxes from Chinese traders buying horses, mules, cows, sheep and pigs in 527 his territory. The Monguors were exempted from 651 these taxes. Twice every year the Lu T'u-ssu inspected all his troops in the valley of Kuch'eng ("Old City"). These occasions were celebrated with horse races and wrestling matches, and there was a large market attended by an enormous crowd. The troops collected taxes from merchants attending this market.

701 Soldiers were also required for peace-time duty at 651 the mansion of the T'u-ssu, as sentries, body guards, and official messengers. They also maintained order among the crowds at the great religious celebrations at the monasteries built in the territory of the T'u-ssu, and at the time of the annual clan meeting. On such occasions they also collected taxes from Chinese merchants.

TRIENNIAL INSPECTION

624 According to protocol, a T'u-ssu should make an inspection visit every three years (in some cases, every two years) to all the villages of his subjects. This visit is called the "descent among the subjects," and in the course of the visit the T'u-ssu should make a count of the number of his subjects and check on the administration of the villages, in order to make a report to the Chinese officials representing the overlord state. This triennial tour is one of the main sources of income of a T'u-ssu.

The tour begins on an auspicious day fixed by a lama. Monguor soldiers from the first village to be visited on the tour come to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, with some

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624 of the elders of their village, to escort the T'u-ssu. They bring with them the required number of horses, finely equipped and well broken to the saddle, to be ridden by the T'u-ssu's retinue of ten or more officials and servants. The finest courtyard in the village is prepared for the sojourn of the T'u-ssu, who like a medieval seigneur enjoys the *droit de gîte* at each stopping place. The procession is headed by a soldier who carries, strapped diagonally across his back, a rolled-up painting on yellow cotton cloth of the guardian deity of the clan. This picture is to be venerated at each stopping place.

624 651 Outside the village the T'u-ssu is greeted by all the inhabitants, dressed in their best clothes and kneeling and bowing. Although the occasion costs them a great deal of money, their faces are alight with joy and exaltation, because receiving their feudal lord is traditionally a joyful festival.

One of the elders presents to the T'u-ssu a *katag* or ceremonial scarf, laying it across his outstretched hands, and another elder offers him two bottles of wine. A sheep is then led before the T'u-ssu, its horns decorated with red paper and a piece of red cotton cloth strapped on its back. At the same time he is presented with a gift of 30,000 copper coins on a dish. This offering is called the "gift of joyous entrance into the village." 527 264 In former days, the sheep was slaughtered, prepared for the dinner in the evening, and served before the guests as a whole carcass, on an enormous platter. This is the traditional dish for important guests. At the same time, the most delicate piece, the fat tail, together with 1,000 copper coins, is presented to the T'u-ssu on a special plate. In recent times the T'u-ssu sometimes accepts the sheep and orders it to be brought to his palace, together with the spices required for cooking it properly. This amounts to a double charge on the village, because another sheep must be slaughtered for the evening dinner.

624 796 When the T'u-ssu and his retinue reach the courtyard where the T'u-ssu is to stay, the picture of the guardian deity of the clan is displayed in the front room. An oil lamp is lighted and incense is burned before it as long as the T'u-ssu's visit lasts. The community as a group venerate the guardian deity, prostrating themselves; in the front row are the village elders, with sticks of incense in their joined hands. This custom of carrying the guardian deity on the triennial tour of the feudal lord of the clan, giving all the village communities an opportunity to worship it, seems to correspond with the custom of honoring the "spirits of the clan" among the Manchus, as described by Shirokogoroff.[51]

177 792 At present the guardian deities of all the Monguor clans have been taken over by Lamaism. Formerly one or two lamas served as house chaplains at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, praying and burning incense every day at the temple of the guardian deity. Since the destruc-

[51] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, Shanghai, North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924.

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

764 bushel basket and presented to the person who has been chosen; this act constitutes the act of appointment. The man thus chosen is assigned an assistant to take care of details. This duty is performed in rotation by heads of families.

769 Neither shamans nor lamas take part in this annual veneration of the ancestors. The absence of lamas is 792 particularly striking, because during the year the routine duties of the temple of the guardian deity of the clan are entrusted to one or two lamas, as already described, while three times a year seven lamas take part in special ceremonies of veneration at this temple. The Ch'i T'u-ssu has the right to impose on the monastery of Erhkulung the corvée obligation to provide these lamas, because this monastery was originally built in the territory of the Ch'i clan by express permission, and because it has been given many grants of property by the successive T'u-ssu of the clan.

769 More than any other single ceremony, this annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of a Monguor clan. There is a visible effect on 527 the clansmen, who normally live secluded in their remote valleys, when at the assembly they see the pomp and splendor of the parade to the graveyard, the soldiers with banners, the T'u-ssu in his official silk robe, adorned with embroidered patches on the breast with glittering dragons—a present from the Emperor when one of his ancestors visited Peking—and all the outstanding members of both the noble and commoner groups in their robes of ceremony. Even the discrimination between nobles and commoners fosters the sense of hierarchy. There is no doubt that the commoners, like the nobles, feel pride in recalling their old glories and are elated by the ceremonies, the festivities, the singing of old songs, and the horse races, wrestling, and merry-making in the open air.

576 The sense of hierarchy, just mentioned, is well exemplified by the behavior of Monguors visiting the 624 T'u-ssu or presenting a request to him. The visitor first prostrates himself, then arises, unrolls his "queue" and removes his hat with his right hand, placing it under his left arm. Then, placing his hands together, palm to palm, he approaches the T'u-ssu. If he is asked to sit down, he does not sit but moves to the left side of the T'u-ssu and kneels on the right knee, with the left knee up, placing his hands, still palm to palm, on the left knee, in the Tibetan manner.[58]

Monguors regard it as the worst kind of incivility to start speaking and to keep the hat on the head in the presence of the T'u-ssu. This appears to be a very old Inner Asian symbol of respect. Among the Uighur Turks in the period of the T'ang dynasty (618-906),

[58] Thus the "outside" knee, farthest from the T'u-ssu, is up, "keeping the luck" between the kneeler and the T'u-ssu. This corresponds to the protocol of kneeling in a Mongol tent where the "outside" knee is that which is nearest the door and "keeps the luck," which is concentrated in the shrine at the back of the tent, within the tent.—O. L.

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1: Schram, M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

576 624 "when their ministers of state had audience with the Khakhan, etiquette required them to remove the hat and enter with dishevelled hair, something akin to the Hsiungnu custom." [30]

FESTIVAL

•527 Chinese merchants, who keep themselves informed of all festival dates among the Monguors, of course gather in great numbers and pitch their tents in the wide valley below the cemetery. The merchants pay taxes for permission to attend such gatherings.

On this occasion, a very large tent was pitched within which the T'u-ssu presided over the festivities, seated in the midst of the nobles, the elders, and all the prominent non-nobles of the clan, receiving the renewed professions of allegiance of his subjects. The chiefs and elders of each village, ceremonially dressed, came up one after another to do homage, bowing kneeling, and performing the *k'o-t'ou* or prostration, taking their time from the master of ceremonies who shouted his directions in a loud voice. The T'u-ssu, at the height of his glory, was happy to entertain each and every man for a few moments. Hundreds of Monguors crowded around, looking on and enjoying the ceremony.

Finally, dinner was eaten by the T'u-ssu and all the chiefs and prominent members of the clan, some seated inside the tent and an overflow outside seated on felt rugs at small tables. The customary whole sheep, the traditional dish of honor of all Inner Asian nomads, was presented to the T'u-ssu. Wine was drunk and tongues began to wag. A couple of girls with pleasing voices were invited to sing the customary songs, outside the tent and in the presence of the crowd. A number of men and women presented graceful dances, each dancing alone without a partner, to the music of a simple guitar-like instrument. Youngsters raced on unsaddled, spirited horses, passing before the tent to cross the finish line, and finally two wrestlers, a Monguor and a Tibetan lama from the monastery of Serkok, were admired and congratulated. A number of Monguors and Tibetans, befuddled with liquor, started fighting, and soldiers closed in on them to restore order. Before sunset most of the crowd had gone, leaving a few small groups still sitting on the ground, singing and making merry.

The Monguors told me that this glorious day seldom passed without a certain amount of disturbance and fighting; but the tradition is that no suits can be brought before the T'u-ssu or the village chiefs for heads smashed, bones broken, and clothes torn on this day of celebration.

ASSIZES OF THE CLAN

692 The next morning the assizes of the clan began inside the big tent, presided over by the T'u-ssu, with the chief

[30] E. H. Parker, *A thousand years of the Tartars*, 211, 2nd ed., London, Kegan, Paul, 1924. (It should be noted, however, that among the Mongols the custom is the opposite; it is an incivility to take off the hat in the presence of a superior.—O. L.)

553 851 When the child has been admired and the parents congratulated, the mother's mother presents her with sixteen loaves of steamed bread, four loaves baked in oil, a leg of mutton, and some clothes—a gown, a pair of trousers, or a jacket. The costliness of the clothes varies according to the wealth of the family. The mother's mother also presents the boy with a complete suit of clothes and a fine cap. A special custom, the significance of which I was unable to discover, is that the family of the father's mother and the family of the mother's mother each present the midwife with a piece of red cotton cloth four feet long.

431 553 851 A practical present from a guest to the young mother is 100 pierced copper cash on a red cord, or a four foot piece of red or green cotton cloth. Another common gift is an embroidered cap for the boy, or, following Chinese custom, a "long life lock"—a small brass lock hung around the boy's neck. Rich families are frequently given scrolls with Chinese texts inscribed on them. The boy's maternal uncle gives him "flowers of long life"—a pair of earrings, each studded with a small flower. The boy wears these in childhood and when he grows up he buys himself a larger pair. These earrings are supposed to insure him a long life.

When the presents have been given the father of the child offers wine to each guest, beginning with the child's maternal uncles, and to each guest, as the wine is offered, the mother prostrates herself with the child in her arms and says "The boy prostrates himself and thanks you."

FEAST IN THE VILLAGE

553 527 851 A merry crowd of village youngsters then leads into the courtyard a cow whose horns have been painted red and decorated with flowers. A red-painted bell hangs around the cow's neck, and she is saddled with a fine saddle and a bright saddle-rug. The grandfather is invited by the youngsters to ride on the cow, and willy nilly he has to accept this invitation. The youngsters help him up to the saddle and then hold the child up for him to take it in his arms. The cow is then led in triumph through the village, two banners from the temple at the head of the procession, drums beating and all the guests following the cow and its rider. When they return to the courtyard, the grandfather offers the young people two bottles of wine, two legs of mutton, and bowls of noodles and wheat fried in butter. This part of the entertainment is noisy and merry.

If the father's father is no longer living, it is the father's mother who has to make the triumphal ride on the cow. Otherwise the father's mother's share of the ceremonies consists in presenting to the mother of her daughter-in-law two loaves of bread, two strings of pierced copper cash, and a scarf of felicity. As she does so, she bows, presents a cup of wine, and thanks her daughter-in-law's mother for accepting the invitation to the feast and wishes her joy and happiness.

Up to this point the whole village has taken part in

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553 the festivities, except for the herdsmen and shepherds
851 who are out in the hills. They must not be overlooked,
however, for the tradition of the nomadic past of the
Monguors assures them a part. When the sun is deep
527 in the west, therefore, the father and mother take their
child and go out to a place beyond the village, which has
been previously agreed upon. The father takes with
him a bottle of wine and twelve rolls of bread, eight of
which are to be distributed to passers-by met along the
road and four to be given to the shepherds.

The shepherds have woven a long girdle for the child from wool as white as snow, and this they present to the child. They also have with them some copper coins, and these they place kindly on the milk-swollen breast of the happy mother. They crowd around to see the child and pat its soft cheeks with their rough and calloused hands. When they congratulate the mother, they present her with a small bundle of whitest wool, plucked from the backs of young sheep, saying "This wool has been gathered from the backs of hundreds of the most beautiful sheep; may your boy grow up to shear the wool of hundreds of sheep and may he have hundreds of horses to ride." The four rolls of bread are then presented to the shepherds, together with a cup of wine and some copper coins for each man. The mother invites the shepherds to dinner, the herds are driven to their stalls, and the shepherds dine and make merry all night in the courtyard.

I have often seen this simple, pastoral, and idyllic spectacle outside the village at sundown, the happy parents, the faithful shepherds, and the flocks and herds around them making a wonderful picture that recalls the past of centuries ago when the Monguors were a pastoral people. Even the traditional words of greeting and congratulation used by the shepherds are an echo of this nomadic past.

All the details that I have described emphasize the importance attached by the Monguors to the birth of a boy who will grow up to sacrifice to the ancestors and be himself a new link in the ancestral chain. The ceremonies are observed in full, as I have described them, only for the first son of each daughter-in-law in the extended family. For younger sons and for girls all that is required is that the grandfather give a name and that the parents and maternal uncles of the mother be invited. In poor families, of course, the celebration is less elaborate; but well to do families often help their poorer neighbors with the expenses of a feast for the first-born son.

DEDICATION OF THE CHILD TO THE SPIRITS

852 When a family has few children, or has had several children die, a child is often dedicated to some particular spirit. The dedication is seldom done for a first boy in good health. Very seldom is the child dedicated to a deity of the lama-Buddhist pantheon, for in that case the boy is supposed to have to become a lama later

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FOOD, DRINK, AND NARCOTICS

262 796 527 The diet of the Monguors is frugal. Meat, which with milk and milk products was the staple food of their nomad ancestors, has long been a luxury. Like the Chinese, they now eat meat for half a month at the New Year, on the third of the third moon, the fifth of the fifth moon, the fifteenth of the eighth moon, and the eighth of the twelfth moon. Apart from these feasts, they eat meat only at weddings, when children have been born, at funeral feasts, or when they have distinguished guests. For such feasts, a sheep is killed. In the short summer rainy season it is also customary to kill a sheep when there is rain for several days, preventing them from going out to the fields; and it is also customary to slaughter a sheep when the harvest is carried in. Meat is always boiled. Roasted or broiled meat is very seldom eaten and is not considered tasty.

[462] 231 Every family slaughters its own animals. The slaughtering is never done by women, who are expected to produce life, not to destroy it. Most Monguor men cease to do any slaughtering when they become about fifty years old, owing to the lamaistic belief that it is not fitting for a man who is approaching the time of his own death to slaughter animals, for fear of being reincarnated as an animal.

Cows, oxen, and pigs are slaughtered by cutting the throat. Sheep are often choked. Another method of slaughtering sheep—the traditional Mongol method—is to turn the animal on its back with the head pointing west, stretching the skin tight over the breast. A slit is then cut in the skin, and the butcher slips in his hand, seizes the heart, and jerks it loose. The sheep dies instantly and no blood is shed outside the carcass.

The Monguors very seldom slaughter horses, mules, or donkeys. When these animals grow old they are either sold or allowed to live until they die a natural death. [262] The meat of horses, mules, and donkeys is never eaten, nor do the Monguors allow the use of their cooking kettles for boiling such meat.

Chickens are usually killed either by cutting off the head or by thrusting a pin into the brain.

262 All Monguors abhor the meat of marmots. Marmot fat is used as a salve on the saddle sores of horses and mules, but as food the Monguors say, "Marmots are to us Monguors what pigs are to the Mohammedans."

[715] There is a small religious sect among the Monguors, known as "those who fast," the members of which never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

[272] In the morning the Monguors drink a cup of tea and eat a piece of bread when the sun has risen in the sky "to the height of a post." Salt is always put in the boiling tea. In many families only the parents and the oldest son drink tea; the other men, and all the women, drink only water with a little milk in it. (The Chinese, of course, do not use milk in tea or in any other way.) [252] The bread is made from barley flour and is either steamed or baked. Ordinary people seldom eat wheat

[P. 117a]

/44 cont'd/

585 maneuver busily. Having no napkin, one ends by licking one's
262 fingers at first, then rubs /15/ them on one's boots to soften the
264 leather. A bowl of bouillon finishes the meal. Gin is poured, and
[527] the table is cleared. This is the famous feast called susen by the T'ou-jen and ts'iuen iang si by the Chinese, "the dinner with the sheep served whole." It is the largest dinner given in the region.

585 It must be admitted that for such a dinner the dishes are neither
261 large in number nor dainty, and that the culinary art has not reached
[252] the heights; but this does not keep the good stomach and the T'ou-jen spirit from being at their zenith. Everything is relative in this world below.

171 This dinner, these hosts, this scene make one think of dinner
264 among nomads on the steppe. There, the dinner is served in a spacious tent; among the T'ou-jen it is given in the courtyard covered with cloth; there, all are seated on the ground on pieces of felt or on straw, here the same; there, rudimentary plates and dishes, here the same; there, the main dish of the grand feasts is sheep served whole, here also. Why don't the T'ou-jen put on a feast like the Chinese, putting some ten tables in a courtyard, each one for eight guests? It is because among the T'ou-jen the old customs of the nomads live again at the important moments of life. Once and for
585 all let us call attention to the vestiges of the ancient nomadic organi-
262 zation of the T'ou-jen, met with on the occasion of a wedding. In the olden times they buried themselves with the raising of large
585 animals (oxen, sheep, horses). The proof of it is that all the presents
431 given in former times and recalled on the occasion of wedding feasts
231 consisted either of horses or oxen; the bride's family used to give an ox to her maternal uncle, a horse to the maternal uncle of the groom, and another horse to the groom himself; the groom's family used to give an ox to the maternal uncle of the bride; they still require a mare as earnest for the girl; the meat at the dinner is invariably
[262] mutton; again it is mutton which is offered at various times, according to matrimonial custom, and it is mutton which is given to the guests at the moment of /46/ departure.

231 Nowhere is pork mentioned as being offered as a gift, although at present the T'ou-jen are occupied principally with the raising of

/82 cont'd/

21. Relations of the Married Couple with the Daughter-in-law's Family

593 585 a) Relations of the married daughter with her own family after the wedding.

The daughter-in-law is incorporated into the family of her [776 782] husband. We have seen that upon her arrival at the door of the house she was given chopsticks and a jug of gin, and that then she was taken to the kitchen to honor the god of the hearth of her new family by prostrating herself three times and presenting her offering of gin and her chopsticks.

Henceforth she will call the members of her husband's family by the same name that he calls them; in speaking of them to a third person she will add the term gadin, which means relatives by marriage.

Because the husband's family bought her, she has become its property; her original family no longer has any rights over her. One /83/ expects therefore that the relations of the married daughter with her own family would be broken, or at least that they would be very much reduced. Now this is not the case, as the long and frequent visits she continues to make to her parents after the wedding prove, as well as the custom of keeping her valuables and her clothes in her original family.

593 574 As a matter of fact, custom has it that the husband takes his wife and children to the home of their relatives in the first month of the year. His wife will stay with her family for ten or 20 days, often for even a month. When this period has gone by, her brother takes her back to her parents-in-law. Toward the fifth of the fifth moon the husband takes her to her family for the second time. This visit is shorter; after a few days her brother takes her back. About the fifteenth of the eighth moon the husband takes her to her parents' home for the third time. This time she stays there 15 or 20 days or even a month. The fourth visit to her family takes place in the last [527] month of the year and lasts about 20 days. Her brother brings her back for the festival of the god of the hearth, a festival which

593 /83 cont'd/
574 daughters-in-law cannot miss on any pretext. Each time the trip is
[527] made on horseback, and the husband comes back home the same day or the next.

When the two families live in places too distant from each other, for example, two days or more, the daughter-in-law makes only two visits a year to her parents. The first is made after the sowing, about the third moon, and lasts a month, the second after the threshing of the wheat, about the eleventh moon; it lasts a month and a half or even two months. The daughter-in-law will always be back for the festival of the god of the hearth.

[562] Women over forty can go to their own families whenever they like.

Outside of these customary visits there are cases of sickness in the family, mourning, marriage, celebration for a first-born child, etc., and each time the married daughter does not fail to be present.

/84/ This is the customary thing. However, in practice these visits depend on many circumstances. It may happen that the daughter-in-law's family is poor and does not want to entertain its daughter and her two or three small children. Then these visits will become shorter and less numerous. It may happen that the relations of the daughter-in-law with her family are less intimate, then of course they see one another less. When the parents of the married daughter are dead, the brothers and the sisters-in-law invite their sister less. Likewise when the married daughter has several children, she will not be able to take them all away with her, and she will not want to leave them for as long a time and so often. If the husband and wife get along well together and the daughter-in-law is well treated by the mother-in-law, her visits will naturally be reduced; but although reduced, they are always extraordinarily frequent.

In general, these visits are the cause of many troubles in the two families because they are too prolonged and too frequent. They give the young wife every chance for relations that are not praiseworthy at her place of origin, and these end up by chilling the relationship with her husband. During these visits the daughter often complains about her mother-in-law; then her parents, in order to

/157 cont'd/

Ma 574 593

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 90-91: The second long visit of the newly married wife in her mother's house may be also understood as a survival of the customs that prescribed to the newly married wife to keep her place in her mother's house. Furthermore the Manchus never say "the wife's father's clan" but "the wife's mother's clan." At the same time they say " he husband's clan" and "the husband's father's clan." Thus all these facts cannot be explained without a supposition of the materline clan system in the past. /Cited in English./

Mo 562 421 593 574 her finest clothes, her ornaments, her jewels, and everything that is dear to her. One keeps one's treasures at one's home; now, the home of the daughter-in-law does not seem to be near her husband. This last custom, which still effectively recognizes that the wife today has certain property rights, does not belong to a patriarchal organization; furthermore, we saw in the speech of the master of ceremonies that formerly the daughter enjoyed property rights since in her own family she inherited half of a son's share.

e) Festivities at the birth of daughters.

Mo 527 844 We shall describe elsewhere the extraordinary noisy festivities in which the whole village takes part, given on the occasion of the birth of the first child of a daughter-in-law, whether this child be a son or daughter, the celebration is equally solemn. Now such a festivity upon the birth of a daughter is again absolutely abnormal in a patriarchal system, where only the male descendant counts. We must note that already in many T'ou-jen families this festivity is celebrated Mo [71] only upon the birth of the first son. This celebration is absolutely inconceivable to a Chinese mind.

f) Wedding dinner at the bride's home.

Mo 585 562 In a patriarchal system how does one justify the dinner given at the bride's home for the members of her family alone on the eve of

[21 cont.]

*778 front of the spear, the men in the room itself, the women in front of the door out in the open.

776 Only now can the spirit dwell in the spear. Which spirit
*778 it is depends entirely upon the owner of the spear. He tells this beforehand to hutukhtu who performs the consecration, and the latter gives an appropriate prayer of consecration. Only one spirit ever operates in a spear. The Tiengëre or the god of heaven never resides in the spear. The ones who do are always ordinary spirits, for instance, the mother-goddess, the tiger god, the mountain spirit, etc.

*778 After the consecration the hutukhtu stays in the house un-
[792] til the following morning and is then dismissed with an appropri-
ate remuneration. The master of the household, however, in-
[527] vites his friends and acquaintances in and celebrates the new
[273] event with them over barley wine and dances with song far into the night.

Storage of the spear: Since an entire village can have a spear consecrated, it frequently happens that it is simply kept
[346] in the communal temple of the place. This is also often the case with regard to private individuals, because the temple is regarded as the most eminent place. In the temple itself it stands in a wooden stand next to the other gods on one of the many altars. Sometimes it is simply propped against the wall in a god's niche.

[346] If somebody wants to keep the spear in his own yard, a special chapel is required. Most of the house chapels are constructed specifically for such a spear. Here, too, it may stand in a rack, lean against the wall, or be driven into the clay floor. All that matters is that the spear stand upright. For instance, one may never lay it flat on the altar. The master of the
[782] household often gives the little incense offering in front of the spear. It is not necessary that a spear be kept in the house of
[791] the [22] village soothsayer; indeed, many soothsayers have no spirit-spear themselves.

346 The room or the temple in which the spear stands is sim-
*778 ply called "house of holies." It is usually only a room in the yard. It must be separated from all the other rooms by a wall and

[51 cont.]

777 of the Buddha image or, in case there is a chapel, kept in the
*778 chapel. If it is stuck somewhere without an urn, this must also always be in the main house.

777 Construction and consecration: The arrow without the urn
*778 is prepared and provided with the attachment by the master of the household himself without any kind of ceremony. It is then
782 fumigated once and stuck in its place with an incense offering.

In the case of an arrow with an urn, the lama is invited with the usual formalities. He makes his torma, sets up the little water-bowls, etc., just as on other occasions. Then he prays for a day or more and gives the prayer of consecration over the arrow. During this prayer the arrow is fumigated with cypress incense. Then the pot is brought, washed, and fumigated, while the lama prepares the scroll. The latter is also fumigated. After that, the grain is poured into the urn and the arrow stuck in it. The master of the household places the pot with the arrow in front of the lama on the kang, and the latter then attaches the individual objects. Each piece is first held in the incense and then handed to the lama. Everything is accompanied by the lama's prayer. It is also permissible for other persons, for example, the master of the household, to tie on the attachments. -- The master of the household then places the arrow-urn on the chest in front of the god's image with the usual offering gifts: little water-bowls, wine, grain, butter, milk, bread, etc. Outside in the yard the great incense offering is made, and inside all those present make a three-fold kowtow before the new arrow of good fortune. During the entire veneration, however, the lama remains seated on the kang and prays.

777 At noon a family festival[1] is celebrated with a banquet,
*778 and there is singing and drinking into the night. The lama stays until the following morning.

[527]

[787] Use and significance: The arrow is never used for sooth-
[585] saying because it cannot become the seat of a spirit, like the spirit-spear, for instance (5). Only once is it taken out of the

1 [to celebrate the consecration of the arrow of good fortune - ANALYST]

[56 cont.]

782 Now comes the offering. Incense is burned on the fumi-
*778 gating plate under the mani-tree, while a table with the follow-
ing gifts is put in front of it (1): a number of small bowls of

1. [Foreign text p. 60.] One can also burn incense directly at the foot of the tree inside the round manger and set the offerings there.

barley wine, grain, pure water, a large bowl of tea, bread, butter- or oil-lamps, and two vases of colorful flowers. -- The lama comes out, sits down on the opposite side of the central fort on a white felt mat, and gives the consecrating prayer. Meanwhile all those present kowtow and blow the conch.

After the prayer, the offerings are cleared away. Water and wine are poured on the ground, and small pieces of the bread are thrown into the air. The little oil-lamps are left standing. Everything else is taken into the house.

*778 The master of the household gives the guests a meal; they
●527 dance and sing and drink into the night in the yard around the
[792] new mani-tree -- The next morning the lama is taken home to the monastery.

Details

791
*778 Persons: For praying, an ordinary lama, not a Living
[782] Buddha, but sometimes a Bon priest, is invited. Everything can
[792] also be done without a lama, but then the performance lasts
[592] only one day because the praying is omitted. In this case the master of the household himself erects the tree. The ceremonies are almost the same as with a lama. The soothsayer, however, may never be lacking, whether or not he is a spear-soothsayer, or the litter-bearers or the table-god soothsayer (2).

[787]

2. [Foreign text p. 60.] The soothsayer is invited in the morning and given hospitality. He calls down the spirit and then determines precisely

[58 cont.]

*778 say, as roof board. When the mani-tree or the part concerned is replaced, everything is done with the same ceremonies as at a new raising.

[357] The small mani-flag: Instead of the large mani-tree, a small pole with an air-horse pennant is frequently raised on the yard gate of the outer yard. This pennant is about an ell square and is printed only with the picture of the air-horse, or at most with a few brief Tibetan sayings as well. This pennant is also made in the monastery. No lama and no soothsayer is invited to raise this flag, however. The soothsayer merely determines a lucky day and a favorable hour. Everything is done without special ceremonies, even without an incense offering. The yard, however, is taboo for a few days. Some farmers raise both the large mani-flag in the yard and the small mani-flag on the gate.

[792] [791] [357] [784]

357 *778 The round manger: When a new compound is laid out, a round manger or central fort is always dug in the middle of the yard, exactly in accordance with the soothsayer's directions. For this purpose, the lama makes five treasure-urns, which are set in the pit. The pit is covered level with the ground and over it is raised a round wall of about two meters in diameter and one meter high. The lower three layers are stones; the upper layers, air-dried bricks. This circle is filled with clay and stamped down. In the center there is a pole or a cart axle, to which the animals are tied [59] when they are sunned and fed there during the day. For that reason the whole structure is called "round manger." It is also called "central fort," for it is the center of the yard and the buried urns protect the compound. The central fort is complete only when the mani-pole is raised. On the edge of the round manger, facing the main house, is found the fumigating plate. -- The making and burying of the urns is done with the same ceremonies that are performed in connection with the treasure-urn or the raising of a beńkań (chorten chamber). -- The round manger is painted white. After the raising, the master of the household holds a

[791] [792] [231] [527]

[59 cont.]

357 festive banquet; the people sing and dance around the new central fort (8).

*778

[527]

[171]

8. [Foreign text p. 61.] The round manger is also commonly erected by the Chinese. The farther east one goes, however, the rarer it becomes. In any case, among the Chinese the mani-pole in the round manger is lacking, and sometimes even the structure, in other words, the manger itself. For them it is important only that an urn be buried in the center of the yard, and the construction of every compound practically begins with this burial of the urn. This spot or the round manger is called chung-kung, that is, central fort, or yüan-ts'ao, that is, round manger. The ceremony is performed by the lay bonze or by a Tao-shih, temple bonze, but usually the geomancer indicates the spot where the urn (or the urns) is to be buried. This is connected, however, with the geomantic determination of the whole compound.

*778 539 Song: After the erection of the central fort or the mani-tree, the following song is popularly sung: "If one steps through the large gate, what then is round? If one steps through the large gate, then the round manger is round; half-yaks, mules, horses form a circle, and in the middle rises the mani-tree. If one steps into the kitchen, what then is round? If one steps into the kitchen, the kettle and lid are round; cups, bowls, and dishes form a round herd, the wooden spoon rises up in the middle. If one steps into the main house, what then is round? If one steps into the main house, the fire basin is round. Relatives and friends sit around it, and in the middle the wine jar rises up."

[66 cont.]

782 Sitting before the obo, the lama gives the appropriate
[533] prayers, accompanying them on his hourglass drum and the bell. At the same time the people burn incense at several places, kowtow, and blow the conch. This service may sometimes last the entire day. When the lama is finished with the prayer, he takes the torma to a stone on the obo, sprinkles the obo with holy water, and casts barley on it, over which he lightly blows with his mouth. The people then take something from offerings that stand in front of the obo, pluck something off, and throw some of this into the incense fire and on the obo. The flowers are all thrown on the mound. Meanwhile others have already placed the spears, twigs, and mani-flags on the obo and have thrown the votive gifts on it, as at the month offering. Then all of them circle around the obo, throwing the white stones and praying the obo call. At this point all of them once more make a threefold kowtow, drink tea, and go home.

The prayer service may also last several days. Then people set up tents on the mountain and live and eat there.

527 The obo festival: Every year on the sixth day in the sixth
782 month an obo festival takes place. At these festivals the obo is venerated in the morning, as it is at the month offering. A sheep offering and the prayer service of the lama may also be connected with it.

527 All the people from the neighborhood, men and women, old and young, gather at the obo. If the obo terrain is too
[541] difficult and not level enough, they gather at the foot of the mountain or on a meadow. There the men hold horse races,
[533] people sit around the fire and drink and sing; they eat and
[439] dance and laugh. Chinese traders appear, set up their booths, and peddle their wares. -- Formerly, when the old weapons
[526] were still used, the horse races were followed by archery, spear throwing, and sword fights. Wrestling matches were especially
[178] popular. Nowadays this is no longer the case. Only the horse
[541] racing and the singing contests are still held. The mountain-
[533] spirit rejoices when the people are so gay (3).

[171]

3. [Foreign text p. 69.] The obo festival is also celebrated by the

[66 cont.]

527 [171]

[Note on foreign text p. 69 cont.] Mongols and Tangut. According to the informant, a day in the sixth month is always chosen, but it does not always have to be the sixth day. It is the time at which formerly the obos were erected, and it seems to be a matter of the yearly return. -- Nowadays these festivals have more or less degenerated into a Chinese commercial racket, as has, for instance, the festival in the New Year's month at Wei-yüan-pu (Huchu), which is really a Tujen festival. Only the horse racing and the singing of songs have remained from olden times.

[178]

*778 776 Obo and mountain-spirit: The obo is the dwelling of the mountain-spirit. Everything that grows on the earth, grass, trees, flowers, the wild animals, and human beings, belongs to him. From the obo he guards the welfare of the tribe (ayil) and protects animal and man. The wild and tame animals are his herd and the wolves his dogs. For that reason an offering is made to the mountain-spirit before the obo whenever the wolves become too destructive. He can keep them in check.

[782] [825]

The silk (cloths or bands) on the obo signifies the clothes of the mountain spirit; the white color of the obo wall, his eminence and his good fortune.

The obo is the armory of the village and of the mountain-spirit. In olden times it was from here that the men fetched their weapons for battle and for athletic contests. [67] And they brought them back here. Nowadays the Tujen are peaceful farmers; they no longer use their weapons. Therefore they surrender them to the mountain-spirit.

[411]

[782] The mountain-spirit is given something from everything that is valuable: gold, silver, silk, etc. All the good fortune, the wealth, and the preservation of the village are guaranteed through him. The mountain-spirit provides the descendants;

[68 cont.]

192
*778

[Note on foreign text p. 71 cont.]
la rtse – obo, yar = upward, stod la = upward, to place on top. -- rědziõñ: Tibetan žon = to ride. -- yifula: Tibetan ri bo = mountain, hill, lha = spirit. -- ndziġdien: Tibetan 'jig = transitoriness, rten = container. A Buddhistic mode of expression for the world: the ten containers of transitoriness (Unkrig).

Little stonepiles: lawdzë dzidziġa = obo chicks.
Obo sheep-offering: lawdzë tada xoni šëñlie = to sacrifice a sheep before the obo.
[782] The lama prays before the obo: lama lawdzë tada mošguni.
The offerings: yileñë šëñlie = total offerings.
To dwell at the obo: lawdze tada sō-.
To set up a tent: bekärge posġuo-.
[541] Horse racing: mori holilġa = to make horses race.
Whose horse is fast: käni mori gurdā?
[524] Shooting competition: sēmu sēmuda- = to shoot arrows.
Whose skill with weapons is great: käni xuawu šgewa?
The young people wrestle: mula kunsgë walde-.
Whose strength is great: käni kudzi šgewa?
Large and small sing together: šge mulasgë nigë dōlā-.
Whose songs are many: käni dō uluona?
[541] Obo horse-racing: lawdzë šda rědziõñ (Tib. (8) [see Note 8 above].
[527] Obo festival: lawdzë šdodlō, mori holġani = to make the horses run pelting the obo.
[621] [757] The obo protects human beings: lawdzë ayili kun, ase, mulā-sëla, nasā, ġuosāni furõñlāni = the obo of the village (kin group) protects human beings, animals, little children, from epidemics and strife.
[776] The mountain-spirit: yifu la (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above].

[72 cont.]

346
*778
192

[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.]
a roof, such as dzëw-yi and ger-kañ. The kañ described here is this ger-kañ. Actually the name is a tautology, for ger is Mongolic and means house (tent), in other words, the same as the Tibetan kañ. Besides these names, there are other special designations for beñkañ, such as mani beñkañ, tsäla beñkañ, dsöma beñkañ, maridzë beñkañ. Unfortunately all these types could not be inquired into precisely [78], nor likewise the meaning of the name and the contents of the beñkañ. The many rëduombëñ (7) [see Note 7 below], pyramid-like stonepiles which hold down evil demons, as is also reported in the Tujen myth of the female man-eater Mañgudzë, probably also belong among the beñkañ. For this function the Chinese have the expression pu mei-ch'i, that is, to plug up the (earth)veins' breath.

*778 Time: The chorten chamber may be erected at any time of the year, although the frost-free period is preferred because of the work on the walls. The soothsayer designates the specific [791] day and hour. -- The preparation, however, takes many weeks because the building material, the urns, and the clay cones must be manufactured. In addition, a small village festival [527] is always connected with the erection and for that reason the time after the harvest is preferred.

[621] Persons: All the persons of the village take part in the [476] preparations, men, women, and children. The leader divides the work among the individual families. At the erection and the [562] consecrating ceremonies, however, only men are active. Women [792] are kept away. -- The consecration of the urns and the service

[75 cont.]

*778 with one another at the same height at the top. The leader
346 brings 12 loaves and some liquor and places them on a tray before the chorten-mountain. The carpenters lay the ridge-piece by it. Into it they have drilled a hole, filled it with grain and butter, and closed it again with a wooden cover. The leader binds an ell of red cloth around this place -- it is the middle. Then they burn incense and kowtow. At the same time the tools are put on a small measure of grain before the loaves.
[483] The carpenters now climb on the frame and draw up the ridge-piece by ropes. The leader then throws two loaves of bread up to them, which they throw back; likewise the liquor is handed up to them, which they drink. Only now do the carpenters put the ridge-piece on the supports, exactly above the sky column. The latter, however, does not touch the ridge-piece, but towers up in the center, not quite reaching the ridge. --
[783] The ridge-piece is likewise sprinkled with pure water beforehand and fumigated with incense and the red-hot stone.

Now the carpenters again climb down, and the men begin to erect the wall between the corner posts. When these have reached about 50 centimeters, so that the chorten can no longer roll out, they pause. Once again incense leaves are scattered over the chorten-mountain and then work is resumed, evenly on all four sides. At head level a gap is left on each side. They immediately continue to build the wall up to the roof and everything is immediately covered with clay mortar. The roof is also [76] immediately covered. When everything is dry, the outside is whitewashed. -- If it is not finished on the same day, work is continued on the next day.

Towards the end the lama once again makes a torma and places it in front of the chorten chamber. One again burns incense, blows the conch, and kowtows. Then everyone, even the women, go around the chamber, as around an obo. -- Frequently the lama once again sprinkles the new chorten chamber with holy water after the whitewashing; then all go home and
[527] celebrate the event with a feast, singing, dancing, and drinking.

[782] Veneration of the chorten chamber: Later the chorten chamber is venerated on certain days by a procession around it

[620]

000 IV. Customs concerning the Human Being

* See "Notes," p. 622 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

846 Soon after the birth of a child one makes the happy event
[851] known to the family of the mother of the woman in childbed.
The mother then comes to visit her daughter. The other rela-
[431] tives, however, come only after one month. They bring gifts
and hold a feast. On the morning of this day the child is
[553] solemnly given a name, and in the evening it is brought before
the gate of the yard for the reception of the shepherd. Then
[527] there is singing and drinking and dancing into the night.
[852]

Details

Birth announcement: Three days after the birth of a
[851] boy or girl, the father-in-law of the woman in childbed takes
a little jug of liquor and some oil-baking and goes to the family
[273] of his daughter-in-law. It is immediately apparent why he has
come to visit, and he need only tell the day and the hour of
birth and whether it is a boy or girl. After they have drunk the
[593] liquor, the mother goes directly to her daughter in order to take
care of what needs to be done. She stays there a few days and
then often repeats her visit.

846 Conclusion of the confinement: Exactly 29 days after
431 the birth, in other words, on the thirtieth day, the parents and
nearest relatives of the woman in childbed appear at her
husband's house. They bring clothing for the child [621] and
[262] the woman (a long upper garment and shoes) and, further, four
large loaves of bread, oil-cakes, and other baked goods. The

[621 cont.]

553 [592] [792]

4. [Foreign text p. 622.] A lama can also perform the ceremony. This is rarely done, however. Usually the father or kin-group elder does it.

is never a woman or a relative from the family of the woman in childbed.

Following the name-giving or in the course of the day, the mother with the child in her arms must kowtow to all the guests; for this she receives a small gift of money for the child. -- Towards noon the family holds a general feast, for men and women separately. On this occasion much barley wine is drunk, and there is singing and dancing.

[431] [527] [273] [562]

852 Reception of the shepherd: Towards evening, when the animals are expected back from the pasture, the father or the mother takes the infant in his arms and takes it out in front of the gate of the yard, where they meet the homecoming herd. The shepherd must give the child some money, and in return the father gives him a loaf of bread which he must eat immediately. This custom is called "to welcome the shepherd"; the Chinese say "to welcome the sheep" (2). -- The guests

[431] [553]

[171] [846]

2. [Foreign text p. 622.] The reception of the shepherd is also found among the Chinese, just as the termination of the confinement generally is almost the same among them. In the region of Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) I learned from the missionary there, P. Frick, that the people place the child in the manger so that it may later own many herds and become a good horseman. This custom could not be confirmed for the Tujen.

[621 cont.]

852 take no further notice of this ceremony, but drink and dance
553 far into the night; then they gradually scatter. Only the closest relatives of the young mother stay until the next day.

[622]

192

Word List

846 To be in childbed: sara sōdzi = she sits out the month; tsuo yüeh (Chin.).

To terminate the confinement: sara durgeni = she terminates the month.

ch'u-yüeh (Chin.) = to step out of the month.

man-yüeh (Chin.) = to fulfill the month.

[852] Reception of the shepherd: asdzi dzēlie-; ying-yang (Chin.) = to welcome the sheep.

[Page 622 contains the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

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527

2. The First Birthday*

* See "Notes," pp. 623-625 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[787] On the first birthday the father puts the child on the kang and
[302] places various things before it. From the object that the child grasps it can be seen what it will become in later life. After
[778] that its hair is cut and this is hung on the arrow of good fortune.

[628 cont.]

302
852

[Note on foreign text p. 624 cont.]
(roughly = little head horn). To what extent they thereby characterize childhood is shown by the expression tsung-chiao chih chiao, friendship since childhood (literally, little head horn connection).

[778] his hands into a little roll and twirls one thread out of it with which he ties it to the arrow of good fortune. Formerly these strands were drawn through a coin with a hole in it, and this, together with the ball of hair, was hung on the arrow. The hair of the children thus remain on the arrow of good fortune throughout their lives.

852 Then the father goes with the child and the arrow of good
[782] fortune into the yard and makes the great incense offering. On this occasion the child kowtows to the sky for the first time. After the offering the arrow is taken back to its original place (5).

[527]
[177]
852
171

5. [Foreign text pp. 624-625.]
The first birthday celebration was evidently taken over from the Chinese there. An example of how it is practiced elsewhere in China, taken from J. Doolittle, Social Life (p. 90), will be presented here for the sake of clarity: "On the first birthday the mother is presented with another thank-offering, and other gifts of clothing and food are received by the grandmother on the maternal side. If it is a boy, a pair of shoes and a cap are found among other items of clothing; if it is a girl, then arm bands and head ornaments are also found among other articles of clothing. The preparations for the thank-offering

[623 cont.]

852
171.

[Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.]
down again and grasped a seal. She then no longer paid any attention to the things that lay before her. And now the result: this girl became chancellor of an imperial realm." -- The oracle at this birthday celebration corresponds essentially with that of the Tujen.

527

The Tujen celebrate birthdays otherwise, too, both men and women, but only from the forty-fifth year on. A feast is held, at which all the relatives take part. As presents, nine loaves of bread are customary. Eight steamed loaves signify the eight genii, pa-hsien, and one loaf represents the god of age, shou-hsing (star of age). Towards sundown, all go outside to the graves and give the ancestral offering. Then they go home and drink and dance into the night. -- As the names show, this custom is also borrowed from the Chinese. The Tujen originally had no ancestral offering; to the Chinese, on the other hand, the arrow of good fortune and the dance with song are foreign.

[769]

[171]
[769]

Word List

192

[844] To give birth: tōrō-.
[527] Birthday: tōrōdzān udur; or contracted, tōrōdzūdur.
To celebrate the birthday: tōrōdzūdur noġdzi-.
That woman has given birth: nie bieri tōrōdzia.
When were you born? tsini kidzie tōrōwa?
Yes, I am really celebrating: noġdzidza ligunadzi.

192 [623 cont.]
776 The three world-spirits: dier xsēm sañrēdzi (6) (Tib. manner of speaking).

6. [Foreign text p. 625.] dier xsēm sañrēdzi: xsēm = Tib. gsum = three; sañrēdzi = Tib. sañs -rgyas = widespread splendor = Buddhistic title for incarnation. -- dier cannot be identified; it must be Tibetan, however, and mean the same as "region, world." I would like to connect it with the three worlds of the Bon; cf. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], p. 139; Francke, Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 5 ff. -- This tripartition is also familiar to the Chinese; one has only to think of the Taoistic san-ching or the Buddhistic san-chieh.

192
777 The five blessings of good fortune: wu-fu (Chin.).

[Pages 623-625 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[625] 3. The New Year's Festival*

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* See "Notes," pp. 628-629 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[171] The New Year is celebrated by the Tujen at the same time
[574] as by the Chinese. In the first days they rest from all work,

[625 cont.]

527 dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
[574] moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.

Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared. During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
[782] day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an
[388] offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated, joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon

3. [Foreign text p. 628.]
[113] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.

relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.

From the second day on the people make New Year's
[628] visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

[533] gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
[262] are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
[273] a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
[356] house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

[626 cont.]

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[354]

[177]

1. [Foreign text p. 628.]
The lamps are large copper butter-lamps or the small copper bowls. -- If there is no mani-tree, the red lamp is hung on a roof slat in front of the door of the main house. This lamp is very likely copied from the Chinese celestial lantern. The Chinese, too, draw up such a lamp on a tall mast in the yard, like a flag, and let it burn every night. It is called t'ien-teng, that is, celestial lamp.

[356] the window newly plastered. In recent times the Tujen also
[177] write vernal sayings on red paper, like the Chinese, and paste them to the door posts. This was formerly not the case.

[573] Night watch: During the night before New Year's Day sleeping is not allowed. The old people say: "Please do not sleep tonight, the gods want to be welcomed early tomorrow morning." Therefore the master of the household stays up with his whole family. They partake liberally of tea, liquor, and the New Year's food, sing and converse until dawn.

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782
[888]

New Year's morning: At the first cockcrow after midnight even the last stragglers put on their best clothes. Only the very old in the family remain lying on the kang. The master of the household puts large, burning butter- or oil-lamps in the room on the household altar. In the yard he hangs a red paper lantern with a butter-lamp to the mani-tree (1) [see Note 1 above]. It is attached to a transverse strip on it. Then outside, with the entire family, he gives the great incense offering, and everyone makes a threefold kowtow to the sky out in the open. The same is repeated before the household altar for the countless other spirits. During this time a stone is made red-hot in the
[783] hearth fire, and with this glowing stone all the rooms of the compound are fumigated. At the same time the conch is blown. The fumigation may also be done by women (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 628.] The

[626 cont.]

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782
[783]
[789]

[Note on foreign text p. 628 cont.] The fumigating with the red-hot stone is supposed to purify the house and drive away the demons, like the exploding of rockets.

Then a second offering follows. The master of the household takes little sticks of incense, one for each member of the family, and lights them in the room above the lamp. Then he goes out around the mani-pole and, with all the members of the family, makes a threefold kowtow to the sky, facing the main house. He puts the little sticks in the incense oven on the round manger. Then the same ceremony is repeated in the house before the household altar, where the new little sticks continue to smolder in the incense basin. During the entire ceremony rockets [789] and cannons are fired in order to scare away the demons. Together with the incense, yellow paper is also burned, exactly as [171] among the Chinese (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 629.] As among the Chinese, the hearth-god is also carried off and on New Year's morning is again festively carried in. I was unable to learn anything concerning an original Tujen ceremony with respect to the hearth fire. Since time immemorial an incense offering has been made to the hearth-god, but it is uncertain whether on this occasion cypress twigs were thrown into the fire. Nowadays little sticks of incense are generally put on the wall behind the hearth, precisely as among the Chinese.

[776]
[372]

Another fire ceremony takes place in the first full-moon night of the year from the fourteenth to the fifteenth day. Young people light a series of little straw fires (10 to 15) on the path or on

[372]
[983]

[626 cont.]

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782
[372]
[783]
[171]

[Note on foreign text p. 629 cont.]
the threshing floor and jump over them. It is said that this is done in order to become pure; others say it is only for fun. The Chinese there, who also have this custom, maintain that it is an old Chinese practice. They also tell a legend about it, which I have forgotten. It has something to do with a battle ruse of old heroes whose memory one wants to celebrate. -- For the purificatory fire, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 9.

[177]

It is precisely in the New Year's practices that the strong mixture with Chinese customs appears, so that in individual instances it is impossible to say definitely what originally belonged to the Tujen. One can safely ascribe to them, however, the ying-hsi ceremony, renewal of the animal consecration, and above all the dancing and singing of songs, which the Chinese do not know.

[821]

The dances with song point to a close connection with the waxing moon, since they are usually performed at night on the fifteenth day, even throughout the night. It is almost as though the New Year's festival applies primarily to the new moon. After the first full moon, everything is quite suddenly broken off.

Once the incense ceremony is over, the master of the household places a table in the yard before the round manger. On it are put trays with five steamed loaves, five oil-loaves, three tagur loaves, and all kinds of baked goods (3) [see Note 3 above]. Then a bowl of barley wine is poured out and a

[626 cont.]
527 threefold kowtow is again made to the sky. The same ceremony
782 is repeated before the household altar for the other gods.

[627] Gratulation: Meanwhile, the old people of the
527 household have also arisen. Now they, too, pay their New Year's
888 reverence to the sky and the countless spirits. Then they sit
576 down on the kang with the master of the household and the family elder for tea and receive the kowtow from their sons and daughters. Then the general breakfast takes place. The children kowtow before their parents, the younger siblings before the older siblings, the younger cousins before the older cousins, etc. The old ones give younger ones some money.

171
527 The welcoming of joy: Towards midday the welcoming
[776] of the god of joy takes place. For this one drives the animals onto the threshing floor, makes an offering of bread and wine, burns incense, waters the animals, and again drives them home. This practice is exactly the same as among the Chinese (7).

[787]

7. [Foreign text p. 629.] At New Year's the Tujen also question all kinds of oracles in a way similar to that of the Chinese, for example, the feed oracle, in connection with which one feeds the animals with various kinds of bread in order to prophesy concerning the harvest (cf. Schröder, "Ying-hsi, and Note 3 above). Another oracle is the ice-breaking. Young boys and men go to the river, take a sheet of ice, and break it apart. In the break lines pictures of species of grain are recognizable; the species that appear most clearly may be expected to have the best harvest during the year. This oracle is also found among the Chinese.

[627 cont.]

527 782 Obo veneration: At the same time or still in the early hours of the morning some family representatives go outside to venerate the obo. On this occasion, after the stone throwing, the air-horses, which are printed on yellow paper, are released. They flutter and whirl about in the wind as a sign of good fortune for the family (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 628.]
Cf. section, "The Mani-tree,"
Note 7.

527 574 Gratulation visits: At midday the villagers visit one another. One takes five to six loaves of bread, sticks of incense, yellow paper, and a little jug of barley wine and goes to the family with which one is friendly. There the guest places the bread before the household altar, lights the little sticks, burns the paper, and pours a few drops of wine on the floor. After that he kowtows before the altar and gratulates the master of the household as well as the individual members of the family. [576] The one of lower standing or the younger one must always kowtow to the one of higher standing on this occasion. Then they sit down on the kang around the fire, drink tea or wine, converse, and sing. Sometimes a round of dancing also follows in the yard.

When women go gratulating, they take no wine, incense, or paper with them, but only bread and tea. They put the bread on the altar, pour some tea on the ground, and then kowtow. They never sit with the men on a kang, however.

It is obligatory that the younger relatives go to the older relatives. In any case on New Year's Day itself one stays in the village. Only from the second day on do the friends and relatives living farther away visit one another.

527 583 Entertainment: During the first 14 days of the new year the people meet every evening at moonrise in the yards. Incense is burned and singers who tell legends are invited. They take turns singing competitively, during which two persons grasp each other by a lappet of the coat. When one of them

[627 cont.]

527 cannot sing or sings incorrectly, his opponent cuts a piece from the lappet. Thus one can sing away his whole garment in an
533 evening.

Above all, the young people meet on the threshing floor and in a circle sing all kinds of songs. This lasts the entire
[883] night, especially at the first [628] full moon. Only towards morning do they stop. Boys and girls mingle freely in the circle. Small boys dressed in reversed hides represent demons and beat on pieces of wood; others imitate Chinese traders, play all kinds of tricks, etc. (5).

[535]
[171]

5. [Foreign text pp. 628-629.] These round dances are exactly like those among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiafandse. Men and women and boys and girls form [629] a circle. One person leads the song and also indicates the dance movement. The others sing the refrain and repeat the movement together. They also dance in twos to the rhythm of the song. These dances are also performed generally at entertainments, for example, at a wedding, upon the arrival of the [illegible]a, etc. There are many kinds of the songs. They are divided into two groups: family songs, which are decent and are sung in the house; wild songs, whose content, taken from love-life, is usually quite crude. The melodies to a great ex-
[171] tent are the same as among the Fandse. Besides Tujen songs Chinese and Tibetan songs are also sung. The song
[539] given here is Tibetan in its original
[883] text. -- At these moonlight dances the young people spend the entire night out in the open, and more than

[628 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 628-629 cont.] one couple is seen disappearing off to one side. Concerning the types of songs, cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder."

After the fifteenth day the common workaday life begins again. The many oil-loaves, however, are eaten for a long time. [262]

[539]
[533]

Song: On New Year's the following song is popularly sung:

1. On New Year's one makes a kowtow to the sky, burns incense, and then one eats.
2. If you observe the laws of the emperor, in later life you will become a minister
3. If you do not forget the kind deeds of the parents, you will later live long.

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Word List

New Year: šeni sara = new month.
To celebrate the New Year: šeni sara nogdzini.
Last day of the old year: tsiafudzarē šēlōń = of the thirtieth evening.
udurdza xuānuo = day - late.
To slaughter pigs: xgeni ala-.
To bake oil-baking: tsiānguor tsina-. [252]
To distill wine: dērasēngē dzinlie-.
To roll thin noodles: narin šēlōnge dielge-.
To steam pastry: šēmienge dzinlie-.
To bake Tachur bread: tagur šdimienge sira-.
To celebrate the thirtieth when it grows dark: xara wolgu tsiafudzar nogdzi-.
Please do not sleep today, the gods are to be welcomed early tomorrow morning: niu šēlōń bi ndēra, malōń siernege purgan dzēliegu-.
To burn a little stick of incense: gudzi šda-; shao-hsiang (Chin.).
To burn paper: bio šda; shao huang piao (Chin.).

3: Schröder--164 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

192 [628 cont.]
527 The welcoming of joy: ying hsi (Chin.).

[Pages 628-629 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[630] 4. The Age-blessing*

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*See "Notes," pp. 634-635 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[792] Old people, men and women, invite the lama to bless and instruct them. This is a great family festival. It is prepared a long time in advance.

On a certain day acquaintances and relatives come and bring the old person presents and gratulate him. They are treated with tea and cake. There is singing and dancing and a [574] feast is held. The young people fetch the hutukhtu. When he arrives, the women of the village dance, and incense is burned in the yard. The hutukhtu blesses the guests at the feast and the old person.

In the afternoon the age-consecration is performed. The hutukhtu makes a number of tormas, which are carried off. Then the old person kneels on the felt mat before the hutukhtu, is blessed with holy water, receives instructions, and is girdled with a yellow sash. He then resembles a lay monk. The mother's [792] brother determines what compensation the hutukhtu is to receive. [465] The next morning the hutukhtu returns to his monastery.

The consecrated person must now observe special commandments, must withdraw on the first and fifteenth of the [785] month for meditation, and fast and pray. -- Not all people can afford this celebration, for it is very expensive.

[630 cont.]

Details

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The consecrated person: The person may be a woman or a man. He must be advanced in age; usually he is around sixty years old. At this age they are pious and reflective and are better able to observe the prescriptions. Young people are eager for life, violent, and uncontrolled. The consecration is done only by an incarnation, hutukhtu, not by an ordinary lama.
[792]

Preparations: The preparations are carried out in consultation with the mother's brother. He determines the day and the hutukhtu who is to be invited. Since the whole village takes part in the celebration, money is saved a long time in advance. Sheep, pigs, or a cow are slaughtered; oil-baking, bread, and oil-sticks, san-tzu, are baked for provisions; the house and yard are put in order, liquor is distilled, new clothes are purchased, and the gifts for the hutukhtu are provided. The latter, a few days in advance, sends one or several monks who put the room in order for him and prepare the kitchen, so that he may live and eat worthily.
[604] [621] [262]

Gratulation and reception of guests: On the day set, the person to be consecrated puts on his best clothes and stays in a clean side room. The visitors, relatives, and [631] guests come early in the forenoon. They gratulate the person to be consecrated and bring a gift; usually they wrap a hada around it, which they solemnly hand to the person. The gifts are put on a chest in a room, usually in front of a household altar. Bread, oil-baking, cloth, hadas, silver money, etc. are given. A master of ceremonies is designated so that all may go according to custom and order.
[431]

Of the guests, the mother's brother is the person of greatest respect. One goes toward him and hands him a hada. When he comes, the person to be consecrated steps down from the kang and receives him. He then hands the gifts to him and is treated with tea and cake in the place of honor. Then everyone together drinks tea and liquor and breaks pieces of oil-sticks into the bowls. -- Aside from the mother's brother, the daughter's
[604] [431]

[631 cont.]
527 778 888 [431] husband and the daughter's children must give a hada and money to the person to be consecrated. In return they later receive greater remuneration when they depart.

[574] [562] Feast: The feast takes place in the yard, first for the men, then for the women. Three fields are divided off, right and left for guests, and in the center for the mother's brother with the two closest relatives. These three sit on a felt mat on even ground with their backs to the main door of the main house and have before them a low kang table with the dishes; they are served separately by the master of ceremonies. On the two fields to the right and left, straw is scattered in a square; heavy planks are put in front of it and sometimes also mats, which are to represent the tables. In the middle of each square there burns a fire in which tea and liquor are warmed.

[264] [574] The food is introduced with tsamba and tea, which is taken with butter and milk. Mutton or pork follows; the fatter it is, the better liked and more superior it is. A considerable amount is drunk. Rice follows as the main dish, which is mixed with butter and sugar and sweet roots. -- The women eat after the men. -- During the meal there are always some free, who sing and dance.

527 778 888 792 604 Settling the prayer fee: After the meal, the master of ceremonies pours out liquor for the mother's brother. The sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law kneel down before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies hands him a hada and starts the negotiations over the price. The mother's brother demands expensive gifts and much money for the lama; the master of ceremonies, through his rhetorical skill, must gradually lower the demands, until finally a suitable sum is agreed upon. Then the sons and daughters stand up, kowtow, thank the mother's brother, and go. This is similar to what is done at the pai-ta before the cremation (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 684.] For further details, see chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation." Here, too, the

[631 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 634 cont.] prominent position of the mother's brother is particularly striking.

Arrival of the lama: The day before or early in the morning, horsemen have ridden to the lamasery to fetch the hutukhtu. He comes towards midday and is led into the house with the usual ceremonies. On the threshing floor before the yard gate the women dance and sing with all their might. In the yard the incense offering is burned and the conch [632] is blown. The lama is led to the kang in the main house; there he rests and drinks tea.

After a considerable time, the mother's brother and the
[604] master of ceremonies introduce themselves to him, give him a hada, and request him to bless the guests at the celebration. Outside, before the door of the main house, he sits down on a chair, and all pass by with bent heads, the mother's brother first. The hutukhtu touches the crown or the forehead of each
[788] one with his heavy prayer book. This is called the lama-blessing, from which the entire ceremony gets its name (2). --

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2. [Foreign text p. 634.] Cf. chapter, "Reception of the Lama." I could ascertain no name other than lama ndziala; ndziala has a whole series of meanings, among others: to invite a hutukhtu. Because the age-consecration is the greatest familial religious event to which the hutukhtu is invited, it is simply called the "invitation." It is a ceremony in which a special relationship to monasticism is established through the consecration.

The person to be consecrated does not come, but waits until later.

[632 cont.]

527 778 888 792 The age-consecration: After the usual butter-lamps and little bowls have been set before the household altar in the main house, the assisting lama makes a few tormas, among them a little one. The tormas are placed on a tray before the household altar.

On the floor before the kang of the hutukhtu a felt mat is spread and the little torma is put on it. The person to be consecrated enters, followed by the mother's brother and his children, kneels barefoot and bareheaded (the women without a headdress and with their braids hanging down) on the mat, kowtows three times, and remains kneeling before the torma.

The hutukhtu prays over the candidate for consecration. The latter holds out his cupped hands, into which the hutukhtu pours holy water from his can. He drinks it. There follows a second pouring into the cupped hands. The candidate for consecration rinses his mouth with it and spits the water twice over the torma. He washes his head with the third portion of water poured into his cupped hands. Finally the last pouring follows, with which he washes his face (4).

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4. [Foreign text p. 634.] Washing, of course, plays an important role in all consecration ceremonies; even Buddha images are washed before they become "ensouled." In this connection, cf. also Filchner, Kumbum, pp. 267 ff.; Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141; furthermore the chapter, Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation."

After that the hutukhtu sprinkles him with holy water from the can and throws Tibetan barley over him, on which he has blown three times. He consecrates the water with the spices in advance, after the tormas are finished. For the sprinkling he uses the peacock feather, not a twig from the tree of life.

Now the master of ceremonies, the husbands of the daughters, and children take the torma that stands before the

[632 cont.]

527 candidate out into the yard and throw it away. The mother's
778 brother stays there, and after that only own children still appear.
888 They stand or kneel in the side room behind the person to be
792 consecrated and shut the door, because only a few people may be present. Only the person to be consecrated remains in the lama-room, kneeling before the kang.

The candidate for consecration now washes himself again in the manner described above, is again sprinkled with holy water, and has Tibetan barley thrown at him. The master of ceremonies takes an iron spoon, puts in it some of the red-hot material from the fire-basin of the lama, scatters pounded cypress incense on it, and the lama throws fragrant spices over
[783] it. The person to be consecrated is fumigated all around with this and is now completely pure. The hutukhtu gives the consecration prayer over him and instructs him regarding the com-
[785] mandments that he must observe from now on. These commandments relate to fasting, abstention, the prohibition against killing, prayer, etc. They vary somewhat for men and women. [633] The instruction is given in the Tujen language so that the candidate will understand it.

Now follows the donning of the yellow sash. It is about
[292] a hand wide and four to five ells long. It is not supposed to be silk. Silk mixed with cotton is permitted, but usually it is cotton. The candidate must provide it himself. This sash lies before the hutukhtu on the kang table and is fumigated at the same time as the person to be consecrated. It is not sprinkled with holy water. The assisting lama places the sash over the candidate's left shoulder and ties it together under the right arm
[292] with a yellow string that has likewise been fumigated. The cloth has the same name as the loop of cloth that the lamas throw over the shoulder.

Since the consecration does not take place until late afternoon, it has meanwhile become evening. Only now does the hutukhtu partake of the main meal. In the yard, however, the guests gather around the fire, warm their liquor, and sing and dance into the night.

The next morning the hutukhtu performs his usual morn-
[465] ing prayers, drinks tea, and receives his prayer fee: several

[633 cont.]

527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
792 brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
[431] oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[465] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him. A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
[792] after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed
[766] by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
[262] longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation. This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[633 cont.]

778 incense offering in the morning. Then he withdraws to the kang,
888 drinks "empty tea," that is, pure tea without additions and without
[785] food. He meditates and prays on his mani-string. No one may disturb him, even when guests come; he likewise does not concern himself about anything. During this time he may not sleep. Also, he may not go into the temple or to the obo. Only in the afternoon does he partake of a meal, which, however, is better and more ample than usual (5).

[527] 5. [Foreign text pp. 634-635.] Concerning the whole affair, cf. Filchner, Kumbum, p. 199. The ceremony described here is much more detailed than there and also deviates somewhat. The name Upāsaka (or Upāsika) was not mentioned by the informant. Also, he did not know the prescriptions in detail. He did confirm, however, that after each commandment the candidate had to affirm that he would observe it. The old man had not had the consecration performed for him. The people regard the consecrated persons as lay gelong; one is reminded here of the similarity with the third order in the Christian Occident.

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778 It is also clear from the commandments why young people are not considered for the consecration. To be sure, this consecration can be completed at any age at or after death; at that time even young people are no longer capable of transgressing the commandments. The age-consecration seems to be merely the last step of a series of consecrations of laymen which are undertaken parallel with the consecration stages of the lamas. The

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[Note on foreign text pp. 634-635 cont.] The informant once mentioned a kind of baptism at which the dźawdzi (Tib.) is prayed; in Chinese this prayer is called hsi-lien-ching, prayer of washing the face. Evidently the [635] ceremony observed by Filchner was such a boy's baptism: Om mani padme hum, loc. cit. Later there follows a second consecration for young people, which is called gãńsgur (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 below] after the corresponding prayer, in Chinese san-hun ching, prayer of the three souls. So the informant told me. Unfortunately I could no longer record these ceremonies.

Word List

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Age-consecration: śge lama ndziala- = great lama-invitation.

Master of ceremonies: kãńguo.

To fetch the hutukhtu: ǵdzõ niwa (twice) (or dãńwu, if the first time).

[60] Mother's brother: nẽgẽ; achiu (Chin.); ayãń.

Mother's brother's son: ku-chiu (Chin.).

[292] Sash: ǵẽdzãn (Tib. loanword) (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 635.] gẽdzãn: Tibetan gazn = the yellow sash of the lama costume. -- gõńsõn: Tib. dgoń = solitude, soń = to go away; meaning, "to go into solitude." -- gẽlõńba: Tib. dge = virtue, sloń = to apply oneself, pa = belonging to; meaning, "one who applies himself to virtue." -- gesnien: Tib. dge = virtue, bsñen = to approach. -- gãńsgur:

[785]

[633 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 635 cont.]
Tib. dbaṅ = force, bskur = to consecrate, to transfer. This is a ceremony of the transference of force, at which each lama receives a secret name (Unkrig).

To admit to lama standing with prayer: gösnien dzöwla-.
[785] To observe a day of meditation: pi-chai (Chin.); gönsöi (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Member of the Yellow Church: gölönba (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Pages 634-635 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[635] 5. Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation*

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* See "Notes," pp. 650-658 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

763 If someone is close to death, his clothes are taken off,
764 if he is wearing any on the kang. He is washed, shaved, or in the case of a woman the hair is dressed, and tied in a crouching position immediately after the last breath. A piece of cloth is thrown over the shoulder, which is the sole garment of the dead.

764 Then he is put in a death-box, which looks like a portable house, and propped up with straw. The box is placed on the floor in a room, and the closest relatives hold a death-watch there. At each meal the people bring some of the food in front of the death-box, burn paper, and kowtow. Each

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792 went there. Pander speaks (op. cit., p. 204) of Man-tzu or Chinese from Sining, who were accommodated in 13 temples in Peking (1889). These Man-tzu (= barbarians), however, could only have been Tujen, for the Chinese are not Lamaists, and the Tibetans (Fan-tzu) are specifically named by Pander. The monastery Sung-chu-szu is regarded expressly as a Tujen lamasery. Even today (at least up until 1948) almost all its monks come from the Sining region and are Tujen, as the monks from this monastery related during a visit home. To be sure the number has shrunk greatly.

771 These are all facts that must be taken into account in
792 judging the Lamaism of the Tujen. The people are proud of
[788] their famous monastery. It is their pilgrimage center. Young
[527] and old gather there at the festivals. They hold horse races
[796] and sing their old popular airs there. At the temple festivals
[778] with the magnificent dances the Lamist doctrine is deepened and clarified. In the venerable halls filled with incense they see their gods in magnificent statues, painted on silk, on walls and altars. There lie also the heavy sacred books of the Kandjur and Tandjur, which they bear on their backs around the sanctuary in order to free themselves from affliction or to fulfill a vow. In the temples and yards they watch the monks hold learned disputations, read the scriptures, recite the prayers. They invite them to undertake solemn religious services in their compounds, to give their children their names, to consecrate the old, [258] to bless the young, to pray for the dead, to cre-
[574] mate the corpses. The lama is a frequent and welcome guest in the family. Generally, the people seem to link themselves
[756] to the monastic life at the important stages of life. Even the
[778] shaman receives his consecration in the monastery. Every family was proud if one of its sons became a lama; indeed, it was even an unwritten law.

771 So it was, at least until the most recent times. Today,
792 however, the young people no longer want to know anything
177 about becoming a lama. They prefer to attend the Chinese schools and are intent on the new education. They despise the old and do not take it seriously anymore. What the

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

lamas, whose prayers secured the remission of sins and peace in the families, and assured entrance into the paradise of Buddha. The ceremonies lasted for forty-five days and were attended by an immense crowd. All the expenses of the forty-five days were defrayed by rich families. Every day, the intendant told me, ten thousand butter lamps were lit; four hundred pounds of butter were required for the lamps and the meals of the lamas; ten bricks of tea were needed, fifteen sheep, sixty pounds of vegetable oil, flour of roasted spelt, raisins, and sugar for five hundred lamas. Moreover, every day each of them received alms of one dollar. 175 792

Their morning meal consisted of milk, tea, butter and *tsamba*.[14] At noon they received butter tea, and rolls baked in vegetable oil. At evening they were served noodles and meat or meat prepared with rice, sugar, and raisins. The entire community of Seerkok had a good time together with the saintly guests, and the monastery reaped valuable benefits. This fact gives an insight into the unusual prodigality displayed by the Monguors and Tibetans when cult and religion are concerned.

At the time of the big festivities celebrated at the monasteries in the country, the rich families are accustomed to compete with each other to defray the expenses, and to entertain the entire community of the lamas. Then the devoted donor, seated on a reviewing stand with his whole family and his relatives, enjoys the ritual representations and receives, before the faithful audience, the blessings of the Living Buddha, the red knotted ribbon on the neck, and the gracious touch of the rod to which a *khata* is attached, and the scarf of felicity put on his shoulders. Manguru, the rich Tibetan who had succeeded in winning his suit against the well-known Living Buddha Temma, the bridge builder, presiding over the ceremony, defrayed the expenses of such a festival at Erh-ku-lung immediately after his victory. He was admired and celebrated by the crowd.

Rich families, being really devoted to Lamaism, offer substantial alms to the monasteries and entertain the lamas lavishly with tea, *tsamba*, sheep, rice, sugar, and raisins, at the death of an elder member of the family, and several times during the year. This custom is not unusual because most of the families have relatives among the lamas, and the rich like to enjoy the reputation of being prodigal toward the monasteries.

CELEBRATION OF THE CYCLE OF AGE

GENERAL RITE

The Chinese, for many centuries, have been accustomed to having a celebration at the completion of their cycle of age, which is sixty years.[15] The Mon- 527

[14] *Tsamba*—parched barley flour, eaten in the form of dough made into balls, with butter tea.

[15] Yeh Te-lu, The celebration of the Emperor's Birthday during the T'ang dynasty *Fu-jen Hsueh-chih*, 125, 1939. A birthday was not considered an occasion for congratulations and rejoicing in ancient China. The celebration began only with

[p. 137 (B)]

guors and Tibetans of Hsining follow the Chinese custom, performing this celebration in their own way on their sixtieth birthdays. The cycle of age is celebrated according to the wealth of the people with more or less festivity, with a master of ceremony, dinners which, as at marriages, are served around a big fire, songs. Members of the family, relatives, chiefs of the village, friends, are invited and offer their congratulations. Poor people are happy to kill a sheep and to entertain fewer guests. Many Monguors and Tibetans are accustomed to add to this celebration a Lamaist religious rite, inviting a Living Buddha, and ostentatiously offering him substantial alms, receiving his blessings and assuming on that day the duty of observing more Lamaist prescriptions, by becoming a kind of lay-monk or lay-nun. Even poor people add this rite, but act in a more modest way. 527

The essence of the rite of the cycle of age among the Monguors consists in the required assistance of the maternal uncle of the subject of the feast. The latter's presence is so important that in case he has departed, a member of his family must take his place. The ceremony consists in a morning rite attended by all the guests, the honoring by the celebrant of "Heaven and all the spirits" in the open courtyard, with the setting off of firecrackers, immediately followed by his honoring the guardian deity of his family on the altar in the living room. The rich and the poor, and those who add the Lamaist rite, always are faithful to the two essential customs. The fact that at this time some invite a Living Buddha and become a lay-monk is accidental, because most of the Monguors enact the celebration without this Lamaist rite. [604]

The men celebrate their cycle of age in a more or less elaborate way, but the women usually celebrate it on a minor scale. The Lamaist rite is usually performed on the same day, so that the expenses of two feasts are avoided and a big attendance is secured, for the Monguors are afraid few people would arrive for the celebration of a Lamaist rite only. It happens that sometimes a man may enact the Lamaist rite before his sixtieth birthday. In fact no time is fixed for the performance of this rite, it can even be done after death. More men than women perform the Lamaist rite, but young people are not interested in it.

In the early morning of the birthday the guests arrive, the members of the family and the relatives offer the traditional scarf and the "ten breads of longevity" and two jars of wine; sons-in-law add three strings of cash. The subject of the feast, holding incense sticks in his joined hands, led by his maternal uncle, proceeds

the Ch'i-Liang dynasties (479-557) and came in vogue during the T'ang and the Sung. In 729 the imperial birthday was for the first time made a national festival. The institution of letting people join the Buddhist order as monk or nun on the imperial birthday dates from 767; the offering of felicitation to the emperor on his birthday dates from 820. On their birthdays, the T'ang Emperors used to fast, and hence the slaughter of animals was forbidden on these days; this institution dates from 837.

[P.138(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

toward the middle of the courtyard where a big fire 527
is built, which will not be allowed to go out the whole day. In the presence of all the guests, on the command of the master of the ceremonies, he prostrates himself devoutly three times, honoring "Heaven and all the spirits." Then, led by the maternal uncle and followed by the guests, he enters the living room, and on the command of the master of ceremonies prostrates himself again three times before the house altar, toward the picture of the guardian deity of his family, which usually is a Taoist spirit. Lamps are lit on the adorned altar during the whole day.

Then the celebrant receives congratulations as he sits [604]
on the k'ang, surrounded by the maternal uncle, the chief of the village and the elders, and the members of the family who belong to a higher generation than his own. On the command of the master of ceremonies, first come the members belonging to the generation above his own, bowing their heads and presenting the traditional scarfs. Then arrive the members belonging to his own generation who, in a group, bow their heads and hands nine times and present their scarfs. Then follow the members belonging to younger generations, sons, grandchildren, who, in groups, one after another, prostrate themselves nine times and offer their scarfs. Then the celebrant prostrates himself before his maternal uncle and presents him with a scarf, and all the guests perform the same rite. Finally all the women prostrate themselves in a group before the celebrant and the maternal uncle. Thereafter a cup of wine is presented to the celebrant by the master of ceremonies, who makes the traditional speech with plenty of congratulations. Then follows the breakfast in the courtyard where the guests are accommodated as for the big dinners of marriage and where the celebrated "noodles of longevity" are served.[16]

The noodles are made with white flour of wheat cut in long thin filaments. The celebrant, with the maternal uncle and the most outstanding guests, occupies the middle table in the center of the courtyard, on which, in front of him, are put two empty bowls. Wine is presented and congratulations offered by the master of ceremonies, and all the guests one after another take some noodles out of their bowls and put them in the empty bowls of the celebrant, wishing him a happy new cycle of years. The breakfast of the women is served after that of the men. In the afternoon starts the gala dinner like the dinners at the marriages, followed by merrymaking.

LAMAIST RITE

Those who add the Lamaist rite send some youngsters 527
of the village on good horses to the lamasery after 604
breakfast, in order to invite the Living Buddha, who 792
will arrive at noon. In the meantime, after breakfast, the maternal uncle, in the presence of the guests, starts inquiring about the alms the family has proposed to

[16] Schram, *op. cit.*, 42. [p. 138(B)]

offer to the Living Buddha, and being very exacting, 527
according to the custom, he urges that they should offer 604
five or more horses, two or three hundred sheep, two 792
or three hundred pounds of butter, five hundred dollars. This moment is the very important opportunity for the master of ceremonies to display his utmost oratorical proficiency in behalf of the celebrant who invited him, bringing the amount of required alms to a rational level (which has been fixed beforehand on both sides!). It is a means of making known all over the country the prodigality of the family toward the lamas.

The Living Buddha, with his two or four assistants, is greeted on the threshing floor by all the guests kneeling, holding in their joined hands the incense sticks, and is led to the living room in order to drink tea and rest for a while. Then he comes to sit in the courtyard where he receives the prostrations and scarf of the maternal uncle and of the celebrant, and blesses all the guests, touching each one's head with the ritual red silk tassel attached to a short wooden rod, while the assistants prepare the *torma*. He enters the living room; the celebrant kneels before him, having at his side the maternal uncle. He drinks a first draught of holy water, presented to him by the Living Buddha, and spits the second gulp upon the *torma* placed before him, and swallows a third one. All his sins are spit upon the *torma*; he is interiorly purified, and the *torma* is thrown outside the courtyard.

The Living Buddha, having blown three times upon some spelt, throws it upon him, and the celebrant is smoked with pounded cypress leaves and cones. Holy water is sprinkled upon him with the ritual peacock feathers. Ritual texts are read over him, and the Living Buddha explains before all the guests the obligations [784] inherent in the blessings: to fast on the first and the fifteenth of the month and Wei-sang; to attend the fasting exercises held in the country every year; not to kill any living being, not drink alcohol, eat garlic, leeks, and radishes, nor eat birds and eggs; to abstain from the slightest injustices, to give alms, to pray more Om Mani. Finally a yellow scarf, previously blessed, is put by the Living Buddha on his left shoulder and bound under the right arm. The man has become a lay-monk. He will wear the scarf under or upon his cloths to his dying day, and hang it on the wall at night. Once in a while a very fervent lay-monk is encountered who has shaved his head like the lamas. However, it is reported that many of these lay-monks are not faithful to their obligations, because many perform the rite and invite a Living Buddha in order more to celebrate their cycle of age with greater display and pomp, than to perform an act of religion. Then follows the gala dinner in the courtyard, after which the Living Buddha retires into his private room and remains with the family overnight.

The next morning a breakfast of milk tea, rolls baked in oil, and mutton, is offered to the Living Buddha. While the family kneels in the room, an entire sheep is

[p. 139(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

presented to the Living Buddha with the scarf. It is 527
the gift for outstanding persons. Then the master of 604
ceremonies makes his traditional speech. After having 792
thanked the Living Buddha, he starts his usual speech of apology: "We are ashamed to have treated the holy man so irreverently, the meat we prepared was tough and tasteless for it was meat of an old animal. The rolls were badly kneaded and hard, and boiled in rancid oil. The k'ang, on which the holy man slept was not heated enough. The holy man could not sleep a wink the whole night. Our k'ang is too short, the saintly man could not stretch out his noble legs. The felt spread on the k'ang was too thin, his holy limbs must be sore. We are a poor family and should like to offer a herd of sheep. We are ashamed to be only able to offer an old horse, saddled with a broken saddle. Our harvest this year was the worst we ever reaped, so we can afford only to offer a couple of sacks of rancid rolls. To add to our frustration, the wool of our sheep was so bad and short this year, that we can only offer a thin felt poorly prepared by an unskilled artisan. The butter we prepared for the lamas and the lamps is nearly all rancid. What we offer to you is more like a gift offered at a burial than a gift fit for these circumstances." Then the maternal uncle and the celebrant prostrate themselves, apologizing and presenting the scarf. The Living Buddha protests that he is very happy, and thanks the family for its prodigality, and promises his blessings.

At the moment of departure the family kneels with incense sticks in their joined hands at the gate of the courtyard; each of the assistant lamas receive two strings of cash, and the Living Buddha takes with him the packet of dollars. After him follow some youngsters with a beautiful horse, saddled with the finest saddle, and a precious rug upon it, with some animals carrying butter and tea for the lamas of the monastery, rolls, meat and sugar, and the news is spread all over the country that so and so offered such and such gifts with an unusual prodigality.

Poor families offer to the Living Buddha fifty strings of cash instead of a horse. The celebrant who belongs to a still poorer family goes at noon with his maternal uncle to the lamasery, in order to see a Living Buddha who performs the rites upon him and is presented with two strings of cash.[17]

This information was given me by several masters of ceremonies and Monguors who attended the rites, [115]
and had themselves performed them.

XIII. DEATH

In connection with the funeral customs of the Mon- 761
guors, a few words should be said about their notions concerning the souls, because these have an important bearing upon the funeral customs.

[17] Schröder, *op. cit.*, *Der Alters Sagen*, 630.

[P.139(B)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

M 576 The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is con- [264] [603] sidered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank.

[554] The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of [561] the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little."

M [574] It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

N i. Celebrations and festivals

*563 Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the M 614 cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders 996 and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the N *563 prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to M 614 the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and • 527 the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the 273 monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

N Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival *563 at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is particularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as M 562 punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. [558] The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status [852] in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to [782] pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms [852] lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the

2: Schram--199 M-4,&(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Young T'ou-jen married woman in festive dress, an enormous headdress on her head. She wears the costume peculiar to the T'ou-jen.

2: Schram--201 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Young T'ou-jen married woman in festive dress, T'ou-jen costume.

2: Schram--207 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Rich T'ou-jen widow, no longer speaking her language, wearing no longer the costume of her race. Type of completely Sinicized T'ou-jen, even having the little Chinese feet. However, at her death she will be dressed in the T'ou-jen style for her last toilette!

[19 cont.]

787 [Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.]
not master over their movements, so strong is the propulsion.

With all these mediums, the main thing is not the soothsaying but the temporary effects of the indwelling spirit. For that reason, the spirit is always summoned when a religious act at which its presence is desired is undertaken, for instance, an offering, housebuilding, laying out a cemetery, etc. It leads everything, sees everything, guards everything. To be sure, there are always people needed who can react to the spirit's movements, for not everyone is qualified for it.

[791]

*778 The spear: The spirit-spear is simply called "the holy-sublime." It looks like an ordinary spear, except that it is more beautiful. A number of colored bands in the [20] five [531] sacred colors and ceremonial cloths (hada) are fastened directly under the very long tip. A garland of little bells and a series of dollar-sized metal mirrors are likewise found directly below the tip, but are covered by the bands. The bands are called "consecration bands." They can be made of every possible kind of material, no matter where it is from or what purpose it has already been used. The spear is consecrated by means of the bands, so that the spirit dwells in it. It makes its activity known [787] through the bells. The metal mirrors represent its omniscience, whereby it sees everything as in a thousand mirrors. Formerly these mirrors were made of gold, but nowadays they are usually only little copper plates which are attached by an eyelet, like buttons. The number of the bands, bells, and mirrors is not prescribed.

[235 cont.]

a) The bō or Drum-shamans

Characterization

756
192 The name: The Tujen name current throughout the l[illegible], bō, corresponds to the written Mongolic būge. Koval. (1242) gives for it the Chinese equivalent wu-jen, the Manchurian saman, the Tatar bugu, and the Tibetan lha-pa. The Russian expressions means: shaman, sorcerer; he translates it into French as: chaman, enchanteur. The Mongolic būge and all the other translations cited do not have any uniform meaning and can be used for the various types of shamans, exorcists, and even sorcerers.

The Chinese in the area and the Tujen translate bō with fashih, or somewhat contemptuously with shih-kung. The fa-shih call themselves only by this special name. According to communications (P.P.Eichinger, Bockwinkel), the name wu-shih is also in use in southern Kansu. It is important that all these designations are never permissible for the gurtum. The fa-shih are a special group that is to be clearly defined. (Space forbids going into an explanation of the names here.)

756 Clothing and equipment. -- The fa-shih wear an old
292 woman's costume without sleeves and usually patterned with
531 pictures of dragons. Normally they have no head covering,
302 but their hair is pinned up in the fashion of an old Chinese style for women, unless they are wearing an appropriate wig with hairknots, hair-bowl, and hairpin.. These are not always available, however. On special occasions, they don the well-known five-part Buddhistic crown called p'ai-tzu.

756 Their essential equipment consists of the hoop drum, the hemp whip, and a three-pronged broad dagger. Other objects are added according to their functions.

756 Gods. -- Their principal deity is the great mother (ta
776 niang-niang), also called mother of the nine heavens (chiu t'ien nai-nai). In addition, they also venerate the black tiger

3: Schröder--395 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[256 cont.]

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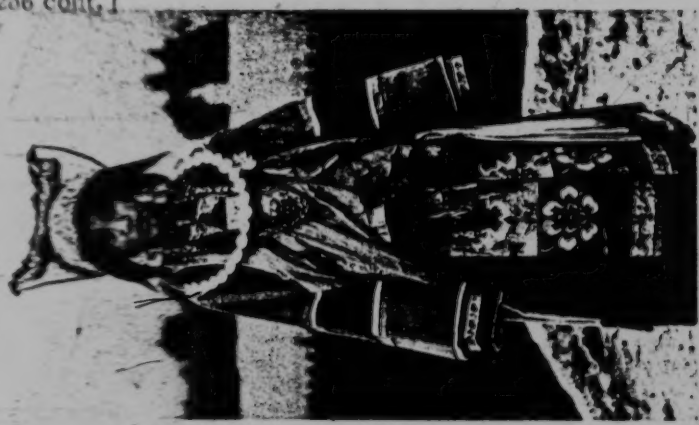

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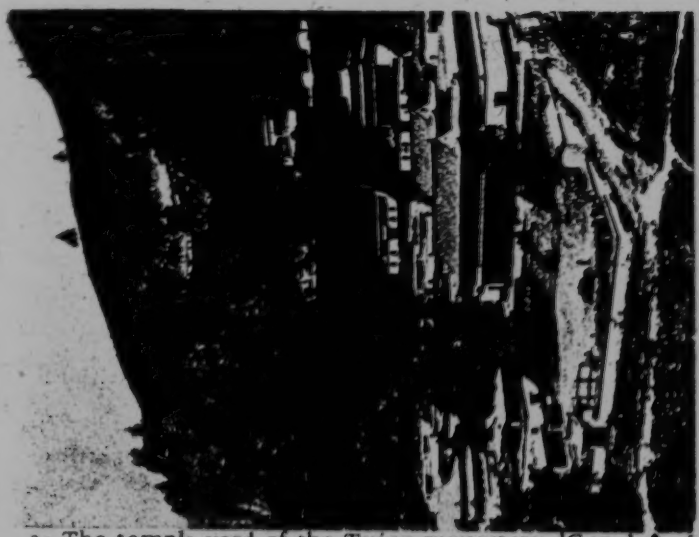

a: The temple yard of the Tujen monastery dGon-lun. Left, the gable of the Tuguān palace, Tuguān-laron. In the background the foothill of the Tuguān mountain, Tuguān-ula. (Photo. Jos. Trippner.) b: Young Tujen woman in ancient dress. Characteristic are: the high headdress, niudar, now prohibited; the neck ring; the wide sleeve rings; the wide embroidered cloth bands over the skirt. The pattern was the garb of a Tujen princess. (Photo. Mission Archives, Sining.)

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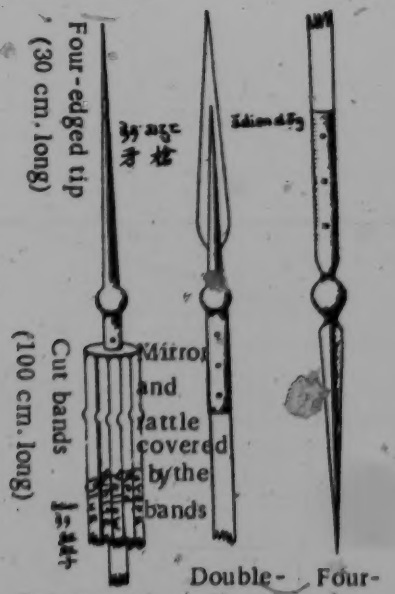
[19 cont.]

1791 prerequisites are necessary. Thus he officiates as soothsayer
[787] and invoker of spirits for almost all undertakings, such as house-building, oracles, offerings, festivals, travel, etc. (10). [The notes are not indicated in numerical order. The first nine are given just prior to or in connection with the word-list that follows.]

*778
787

10. [Foreign text p. 26.] Besides the spirit-spear, the Tujen have other oracles that are used in like manner, namely, the spirit table, sirie purgan,

• [532]



(Drawings from personal observation)

Fig. 1. Spirit-spear

[28 cont.]

756
*778

[Note on foreign text p. 31-32 cont.]
was kept there for his successor. It was two-edged and on one side bore the Bear constellation engraved on it; on the other side was the name ... niang-niang, that is, ... mother. The name of that goddess has escaped me.

[32] The swords used by the shaman, however, are not always two-edged. The informant, it is true, claims that this is the case for the shamans of the Tujen; he commented that the Tujen formerly had had no two-edged swords, with the exception of their shamans. Among the same Chinese shamans, however, I also saw single-edged swords, which are called ma-tao, that is, horse-swords; they are easy to swing and formerly were used by horsemen.

[484]

Even while traveling, the shaman treats his sword with care and reverence. He wraps it in the red head-cloth and carries it upright in his arm in front of his chest, almost the way one carries a small child. When he puts up at an inn, he places it in a clean spot and first pays it reverence. At night he puts it under his neck roll. I was able to observe this on various occasions en route.

Besides the sword, which he must always use, the shaman has other objects that he can use, depending upon the kind of demons or ceremonies, for example: the hemp whip, which usually has a carved handle with a snake's head or death's-head; the demon fetters, likewise made of hemp with iron

[532]

[36 cont.]

Fig. 3

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[532] a. Torma; b. torma; c. wumba-can of the lama; d. thunderbolt (dordzi); e. bell. (Drawing by a Tujen.)

792 soothsaying the setting up of a mani-tree is supposed to take place
796 on the fifteenth day of a given month, then the lama must come
574 a week in advance because a prayer service of several days always precedes it. Only the higher lamas stay for just a day. The preparations are always carried out by the master of the household with the assistance of the mother's brother.

On the day before, the yard and all the rooms of the house are swept clean. The men fumigate all the rooms with the red-hot stone and the incense fire, so that no demons will carry on their mischief. For the lama, the host reserves the best room in the main house, which immediately adjoins the chapel or the household altar. He spreads one or two layers of white or red felt mats on the kang and places two beautiful saddle-blankets over them, one for the lama and one for his assistant. The place on which the lama is to sit is indicated by a hada. The latter is regarded as an honored memento and is later hung by the household altar.

Between the two blankets there is a fire basin with a large teakettle. Behind it there is a kang table with the food: a [262] round wooden bowl of tsamba on which several pieces of buttered

[38 cont.]

792 796 782 778

Prayer service: Now he begins his prayer service. Before each prayer service a few tormas are made; if he is a great lama, his assistants see to it. The tormas vary and represent offerings to the gods. In part they are left standing on the table, or they are taken to the household altar. Before that comes a series of little water bowls, grain bowls, liquor bowls (3),

3. [Foreign text p. 41.] There is a definite number and order for these little bowls. The water offering plays an important role in the monastic cult, cf. Kumbum, p. 251. The Tujen and Chia-Hsifan [Sifan] frequently present the water offering in the morning. Thus,

[534] [354] [532]

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5

Fig. 4. Two hourglass drums. (Drawing of a Tujen.) Fig. 5. Butter-lamp.

I once saw how an old man got up in the morning, washed himself, burned incense, put a large copper bowl and 12 little bowls of water on the household altar, kowtowed three times in the courtyard, one of these in the direction of Kumbum, kowtowed three times in front of the household altar, and then emptied the water bowls.

and butter-lamps, which are always kept burning. Later these tormas are either taken away or eaten by the family, and sometimes thrown

[39 cont.]

792 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the reception. The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the
796 gifts are brought after him on animals.
574

[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers. [465] They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

351
796 Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is
784 called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the be-
[609] ginning of the performance may not enter the yard. On the
[792] other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning
[211] may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as
[177]

7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

[534]

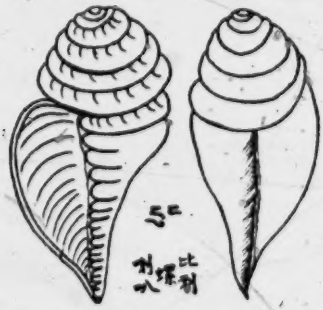

Fig. 6. Shells.

[532]

(Drawing of a Tujen.)

[75 cont.]

*778 346 is held by hand for the time being while the men in great haste pile up the clay cones, basketful after basketful, over the urns and around the base of the column until the latter remains standing by itself. Once the urns are covered to a certain level, all kinds of additions are once more scattered over them, the kinds of things that the urns already contain and which have been left over for the purpose. Now, with the same ceremonies, the second layer follows with the next four urns, which are grouped precisely around their large urn, the latter being placed directly over the large urn below. And again the clay chorten are piled over them until finally the urns are buried under a pyramid and only the upper part of the column remains visible. -- The column comes to stand on the side of the urns facing a mountain, which, in this mountainous terrain, can be seen immediately.

Before the column is buried by the many chorten, it is sprinkled once more with holy water and fumigated (5). During

[532]

5. [Foreign text p. 78,] As monks in Kumbum said, before the erection of sky column, a floor drawing or a leaf of paper with a drawing is first placed on the ground (mandala). The informant was of the opinion that this is not always the case. It is noteworthy that this drawing has exactly the same name as the central fort, namely, sdziñkuor. This would indicate that in both cases the same thought is involved.

the entire ceremony, from morning until evening, the great incense offering is burned in front of the spot or at several places in the vicinity. At the conclusion, even the lama himself makes the incense offering before the consecrated and fumigated chorten-mountain with the column, while everybody kowtows.

Afterwards he again sits down on his mat and proceeds with his prayers. Meanwhile the chamber is built with great haste. First the four corner posts are erected and connected

[636 cont.]

764
[766]

[Note on foreign text pp. 652-653 cont.] yellow shoulder-cloth, on the other hand, which a dead person with age-consecration wears, must be burned with the corpse, just like the sash that he received at that time.

this must be done while the corpse is still flexible. Once it is rigid, it maintains its position virtually unchanged.

The death-box. The death-box is made either long be-
[171] fore death or not until death has taken place, as among the Chinese where the coffin is sometimes ready decades before-
[735] hand. Only poor people do not make the death-box until after the death. The box is always made of wood, but it does not matter what kind of wood it is made of; after all, it is not buried, as is the coffin among the Chinese, but is burned with the dead person. The box has the height of a litter or sedan chair; the dead person fits exactly into it. The bottom of the box extends into four carrying beams, [637] similar to a
[532] flat litter. The box [illustration appears here], however is not
[171] a simple wooden chest, but represents a small temple with roof and doors and often very rich carving, similar to death-box of the Chinese bonze (6). Unlike the latter, however, it has a sun

6. [Foreign text p. 653.] in the case of the coffin of the Taoshih the sun-moon attachment, the movable back wall, and the carrying pole are lacking. The corpse is usually put inside through the front door or from above, because the roof piece is removable.

and moon in the center of the roof, similar to the tip of a mani-pole; this is generally regarded as necessary. The box
[556] is painted and decorated according to the wealth, piety, and
[322] affection of the relatives.

There are no definite ritual prescriptions for the prep-
[465] aration of the box. The carpenter receives the usual fee for

764 [637 cont.]
465 his work and, in addition, twelve
322 loaves of bread, two ells of white cloth, and a small measure of wheat (six pounds). After the work is done, this measure of wheat is put on the house-
[782] hold altar, and the carpenter puts his tools on it. The master of the household sticks a few burning incense-sticks among them and puts the loaves before them. Then everyone makes a three-
• [532]

Death-box
(Drawing of a Tujen)

fold kowtow (7). The carpenter does not receive the white cloth until the funeral meal.

[782]
[776]
[177]

7. [Foreign text p. 653.] This ceremony actually has nothing to do with the death-box. It is customary after all carpentry work; it is done to honor the tutelary god of the carpenter, Lu-pan-yeh. It is a Chinese custom.

764 Lying in state: If the box is already available at death, the corpse is immediately put in it. If it is not yet ready, then the people put the dead in a crouching position on the kang or on the floor of the room in which he died. First, however, they lay down a white felt mat as a pad; straw is not used. No one may sleep or live in the same room with the dead, only in an adjoining room. A table with 12 loaves of bread, which come from the deceased's own family, and a water-lamp stand before the crouching corpse.

[462] Putting the corpse in the box is always done by men. The
[593] son puts his father and mother inside. The father, however, never puts his son in: that is taken care of by the young brothers or cousins.

[642 cont.]

764 in the house and takes the torma to the place where he wants the
792 crematory to be built. The incense offering is then made in
782 front of the torma, but without any extra features, except tsamba and butter; the lama sprinkles the fire with holy water. While he then prays on a white felt mat, the others kowtow. In this
[776] way the lama requests the place for the cremation from the mountain-spirit; the incense and the torma are meant for the mountain-spirit. In making the choice, the lama takes into account the evenness of the ground, since for these ceremonies he needs a suitable place for the table and the mat he sits on.

764 [643] Erection of the crematory: Now [illustration ap-
333 pears here] an oven is built out of clay bricks. The torma is set to one side, and no further attention is paid to it. First the men build a quadrangular base, about two ells high and two ells wide; on this they erect the round crematory, about four ells high. It looks like a barrel. On the west side a broad longitudinal slit remains open, through which the corpse is set inside. On each side of the base a large hole is left for the firing. The oven is calked with clay and lime and then is painted white (25).

25. Foreign text pp. 657-658.] The crematory may be made in various forms. The one copied from the crematory of the lamas (cf. the drawing made by a Tujen) is regarded as the most superior one. Similarities with the understructure of the chorten cannot be
[778] denied. On graves of persons who died sitting up, I saw chorten which represented an almost exact copy of the crematory, only slightly more rounded. -- When the fire-pouring is undertaken
[532] at the cremation, the ground-drawing is naturally also made, and usually not on the ground itself, [658] but rather one puts down a large leaf of paper with

[643 cont.]

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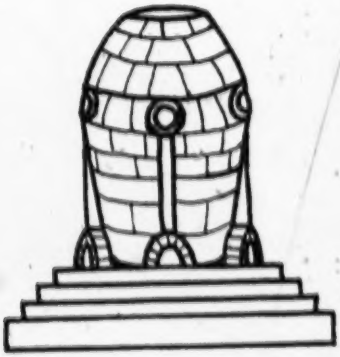


[532]

Crematory, tab.
(Drawing of a Tujen.)

[Note on foreign text pp. 657-658 cont.]
the drawing on it; then the base is built on it. Several sheets are often pasted together. The drawing is sometimes so wide that it sticks out under the base. The ground-drawing naturally also varies in the decoration, but the thunderbolts and the lotus flower are always there. The oven with the corpse is thought of as borne by the lotus flower, out of which come the flames of the transformation of life during the burning. In this connection cf. the section, "The Fire-pouring," Note 4. -- There are certainly connections between the crematory and the bum-pa of the chorten.

[532]

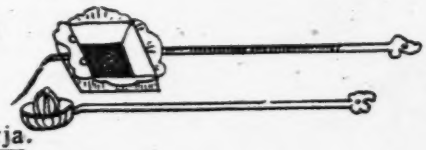
[775]

764 The funeral procession: On the morning of the day set, the
[604] mother's brother and all the relatives of the deceased burn white paper in front of the box; they kowtow three times and start a loud lamention. Four bearers take the box with the corpse up on

[645 cont.]

764 All who participated at the cremation wash their hands
[783] and fumigate them in a great incense fire in front of the yard
[792] gate. Then they drink tea and hold a funeral meal. The lama usually returns to his monastery on the same day.

[415] Ladling spoon and pouring tube. In the spoon, the thunderbolt, rdo-rja.



[532] (Drawing of a Tujen.]

764 The fire-pouring is undertaken only in the case of those
795 persons who have received a Buddhist baptism. Old people in addition also receive the age-consecration and are regarded as lay
792 monks. If someone has died without the Buddhist baptism, it
[778] is performed after death. This is done by the lama with the help of a chest mirror. Since no water may flow over the dead person, the lama holds the chest shield in front of him so that the head is mirrored in it. He pours the consecrated water from his can over this mirror image and gives the baptismal prayer (20).

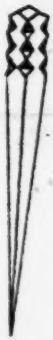
20. [Foreign text p. 656.] The fact that no water may flow over the dead person is not the only reason for the washing in the mirror. The mirror image is washed
[778] even in the case of living persons, just as at the consecration of Buddha images. In this connection cf. also Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141. In the passage, "Then he takes a little metal mirror, points its front side in all directions, and sprinkles it with a few drops of water from his cult-vessel," it is not a matter of simply turning the mirror

[826 cont.]

241 These intestines, together with the meat, are cooked in a kettle over
789 a hole in the ground.
778 The hide is tightly stuffed with any kind of straw in such a
[825] way that the head and legs stick out stiffly, and the pole is stuck
[252] in it from the rear up to the head. Thus the goat sits firmly upright on the pole and need not be tied on. Then the men fumigate goat and post with incense and lay it down before the Bon priest.

The raised pole-goa
(Drawing of a Tujen

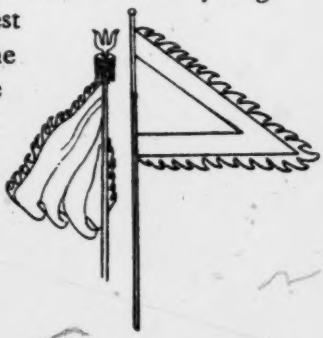
[532]
[791] The weather-torma: The Bon priest meanwhile has finished the second torma, the weather-torma. It is exactly the same size as the first, that is, the four first tormas. With a prayer he puts it on a wooden tray with the following extra features: one to three butter-lamps, three little copper bowls with pure water, a little bowl of the barley wine, a little bowl of Tibetan barley or wheat, a little bowl of tea leaves, a little bowl of dough beans [Teigbohnen]. -- This torma also bears several colorful butter-flowers.
[791] During its preparation the Bon priest prays a special weather-prayer.
[782] Sometimes he also pastes some paper money on the torma. [Illustration appears here.]



Magic dagger, wooden peg, mpuru. (From the drawing of a Tujen.)

[837 cont.]

241 There are no rules about the musical instruments. [Illustra-
782 tion appears here.] Whatever one has is taken along. The temple
533 drum -- a barrel drum with a drumhead on both sides -- and the conch are always certain to be there. The drum is not very large and is carried on a belt in front of the chest so that it can be beaten on both sides. The conch shell is the same as that used at the incense offering. The trumpets are the
[177] ordinary Chinese shawms (la-pa); the cymbals and the gong are also Chinese.



Flags such as are carried during the procession around the field. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

241 Among the flags there are black,
782 red, yellow, etc. Usually they are provided with colorful borders. There are also flags with pictures, for example, of the mountain-spirit. Many flags also have Chinese sayings sewed on
[532] them, usually in white. There are no special Tujen names for the flags. The number is arbitrary.

Aside from the usual cypress incense the Chinese incense sticks are also popularly taken along; butter, water, tea, etc. are just as desirable as at other incense offerings. More recently yellow paper
[177] is also burned in Chinese fashion.

The soothsayers must always carry along their soothsaying tokens, that is, the objects that are the seat of the spirit, in other words,
[778] spear, litter, table, etc. During the entire procession, the spirit
[791] remains in the object concerned, which is signified by the shaking and rattling of the bells and the movement of the bearers.

241 Soothsaying: At the soothsaying one tries to learn as precisely
782 as possible when and where the heaviest hail will come down and how one should protect himself against it, whether by means of
787 offerings or prayer or the mani-tree, and the like. At this time the
[821] seed-master makes a brief speech to the spirit concerned, charging him with the duties that he must fulfill for a good harvest and telling him that he will be rewarded for his protection by an offering (4).

241 4. [Foreign text p. 838.] An offer-
782 ing is usually connected with the

[848 cont.]

789 The litter: The litter looks like a death-box, in other
778 words, it has the shape of a small temple with a movable door. Only it is almost entirely made of paper, even the sun-moon attachment on the ridge-piece. First a floor is made out of a soft clay plate. Into this plate, at the four corners, the Bon priest sticks poles about a meter long as columns, connects them with crosslaths, and thus makes a framework. This is covered by pasting paper on it. No particular color is required. The whole is set on two carrying poles so that it looks like a litter.
[785] Then the men fumigate the litter with cypress incense. They do not use the red-hot stone. The work is not done on the kang, but on the floor.

789 The figures: First the Bon priest washes a clay vessel,
778 fumigates it, puts tsamba and butter in it, and kneads them thoroughly. In all 81 figures are formed, nine kinds with nine
791 pieces each. The kinds are: sheep, goat, hen, pig, dog, snake,
532 frog, horse, and cattle. The Bon priests put these figures in the litter and fumigate everything together. -- The men of the household assist at the making of both the litter and the figures.
[783] The Bon priests and men must wash and fumigate themselves beforehand each time; otherwise they may not give a hand.
[782] The Bon priests accompany the work with prayers said by rote.

[782] The accompanying gifts: Since the figures are small, at most a handbreadth in size, there is still room in the litter for all kinds of accompanying gifts. These consist of Tibetan barley, white barley, wheat, beans, millet, and some small loaves of bread. To this are also added white and black sheep wool, white and black sugar, money, a raven's feather, some silver, and a sheet of paper on which the Bon priests have printed or drawn the images of the sickness-demons. Once everything has been placed inside, the door of the litter is
[783] closed and sealed, and the litter is fumigated. Then it is put on the floor in front of the household altar. A three-cornered torma and a white horse's skull are in front of it (2). The skull

[848 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether the horse's skull represents the riding animal of the spirit could not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another torma is also made.

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[849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away. They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum, sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the torma.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the torma is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen.

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The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this custom.

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4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This ceremony is very similar to the figure-conjuration of the shamans

[850 cont.]

Details

755 778 ●532 [171] [789]

The figures: Nine kinds of things are needed for the figure-conjuration. 1. Five little paper men (2). They are

2. [Foreign text p. 851.] The Chinese, too, have these paper figures at their demon exorcisms; they call them wu-tao shen. Among them, however, it is not clear whether five or only one demon is involved. They are mentioned once in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien as wu-tao lei-shen, that is, five-way thunder-spirits, which punish human beings through wind, rain, water, fire, and epidemics.

about 10 to 20 centimeters high and of the type of the Chinese paper figures that are burned at the burial. Only here they wear Tujen dress, which depends on whether male or female demons are involved. One can also simply cut them out of a piece of strong paper, but usually they are stuck together in the form of a figure with the help of stalks of grass. 2. Five little tsamba men. They are not colored, but retain the characteristic tsamba color. Also, they wear no clothing and are represented as sexless. 3. A pig made of tsamba. 4. A hen or a cock made of tsamba. 5. A dog made of tsamba. 6. A sheep made of tsamba. 7. A goat of tsamba. 8. A cow of tsamba. 9. A horse of tsamba. These figures [756] are made by shamans with the help of a skillful man, in a way similar to the figures of the figure-litter.

755 782 Then they are put on a tray with the following accompanying gifts: a piece of raw pork, beef, or mutton, some pieces of cloth and threads in the five sacred colors for the five little men, and bread and money. The tray is set before the household altar, and a burning dough-lamp and a basin with cypress incense or a number of incense sticks are put in front of it.

[863 cont.]

782 scatters over it the six incense spices and the spice-powder of the 74 earth-god spices, mixes everything together thoroughly, and in each case puts this mixture in two portions on a little plate, since at the fire-pouring he must throw the fire-offerings into the fire in two sequences, in other words, there are as many plates as there are kinds, each with two portions. In order to protect the spices from dust and impurity, they are individually covered with a sheet of paper. -- The 46 pairs of pieces of consecration-wood are put together on a separate tray. The lama sprinkles the burnt offerings thus arranged with holy water and has them [792] taken to the household altar.

782 532 Preparation of the place for the fire: In conjunction with the preparation of the burnt offerings, the spear-soothsayer determines the place for the fire-pouring. He usually selects [791] it in the yard. The lama puts the earth-god torma with the [792] consecration-gifts on this spot. Once this has been removed, the lama measures off a rectangle about two ells square on the ground with a string whitened in gypsum or powdered lime. [Illustration appears here.] He beats the lines onto the ground, just as the carpenters do on wood with their black measuring string. Inside this square he draws a second, parallel rectangle that is about a handbreadth smaller. A frame is thus formed. Likewise with white powder and with the help of a wooden or leather pattern (3), he draws eight thunderbolts on this frame,

3. [Foreign text p. 867.] The patterns were formerly made of leather. Nowadays they are usually of wood or cardboard.

namely, one in each corner and one in the center on each side. The powdered lime is simply scattered over the pattern, and when he takes this away, [864] the contours of the drawing remain. The thunderbolts run parallel to the direction of the frame, in other words, they are not diagonal to it. Finally he

[864 cont.]

782 also draws two crossed thunderbolts in the center of the rectangle (4).

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4. [Foreign text pp. 867-868.] As other people and lamas relate, there is a great assortment of different ground-drawings which evidently merely represent variations of the mandala. My informant, for instance, had one of his relatives draw the above-described figure. He explained it in the following way [868] (see figure below): The thunderbolts represent the four principal directions and the four directions between them. The circle with the crossed thunderbolts signifies the foundation of the world-mountain rirā (Sumeru), for this rests on a golden disk. The thunderbolts signify the rest and stability and durability of the world's foundation. Originally they were supposedly made of gold as a sign of their indestructibility. The peonies are supposed to be the sumbol of the flourishing familial good fortune. The same meaning also underlies the thunderbolt that is

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[824]

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Mandala at the fire-pouring. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

[864 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp.867-868 cont.] soldered into the ladling spoon for the liquid butter. -- The significance of the peonies corresponds to the custom of the lamaseries and of the Chinese, among whom peony shrubs of various colors are planted in the yard. Tujen and Chinese believe that a wealthy, affluent man always has a peony shrub before his door. -- Instead of the peony, lotus blossoms are painted in the case of the ground-drawing of the crematory. These represent the lotus on which the Buddha supposedly sat and from which the flames of transformation emanate. Cf. the chapter on cremation.

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Now the men build a low wall with clay bricks on one side of the figure, while the lama says his prayers. This wall is terrace-shaped. The lower layer consists of two rows of bricks laid lengthwise; the second layer takes half the brick, and the third layer has only one brick. The whole wall, in other words, is six clay bricks high. The front and back side is coated with clay and lime and whitewashed. The vertical terraces remain free. With his pattern the lama again draws a thunderbolt on each of them, in other words, five thunderbolts altogether. This wall is to protect the lama from the fire, since at the pouring he is seated on level ground or only very slightly elevated (5). After the drawing, the lama again

[333]

5. [Foreign text p. 868.] There are also walls with four to six steps. According to the statements of others, the wall also bears the color of the fire-pouring concerned, and the ground-drawing likewise.

withdraws into the house for prayer.

[866 cont.]

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[824]
[776]

[Note on foreign text p. 870 cont.]
help, to save; otherwise called Tārā. -- gusia: Tibetan ku ša (from the Sanskrit) = botanical Poa cynosuroides. -- sāndoṅmani: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words seṅ (Sanskrit. siṁha) = lion, gdoṅ = face, mani = jewel. It is a goddess. -- šda(m)tsēni: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words rta = horse, mgrin (pronounced din) = neck, also voice; in other words: the horse-necked one, or the horse-voiced one. -- logoṅ: Tibetan klu (pronounced lu) = dragon, and gdoṅ = face. Literally, therefore, dragon-face (Unkrig).

[372] Fire-place: taw (Tib. loanword) = oven, hearth.

[778] Misfortune-torma: ġuaġ dor (Tib.).
ġuaġ = misfortune; prayer said during the preparation of this torma.

Earth-spirit torma: ġlū-šdorma.
Mountain-spirit torma: yifula-šdorma.
Fire-torma: ġal šdorma.
Earth-god spices: ġlu smān (Tib.).
dalān dierān sāmba smān = 74 pieces of spices.

[867]

[532] Measuring string: šdag paġdzin bōdoġ = pattern-drawing string.
Pattern: arasē xuar = leather model; tsialdzē xuar = paper model.

Burning-place drawing (mandala): tawni xuar.

[333] Wall: lāṅgāṅ (Chin. loanword).
Pouring tube: šge gāṅsār (Tib. loanword) = large spoon.
Ladling spoon for butter: mula gāṅsār = little spoon.
Spoon (profane): dzieġliu (Tujen).

[372] Cloth fan: ki yūelwa = air-cloth.
rlōṅ yāg (Tib.).
Cloth (profane): bosē.

[252 cont.]

756 778 still cannot explain its great significance and use.

The Other Idols

778 791 Just as the spirit-spear is the seat of a deity which is activated by a middleman, so also is a series of other idols. These may be: the table, the spirit-litter, weather club, carriage axles, noodle roller, etc. Of these the spirit-table and the god-litter are the most important.

[776] The spirit-table bears its name unjustly, for it is not a table, but the representation of an animal deity, the black tiger. This is confirmed by the fact that it is consecrated at the consecration of this tiger and is regarded as possessed by the latter. Furthermore, the intestines of the tiger are attached under the top, which, however, are not visible to the eye.

[787] The soothsaying with the table is done exactly as with the spear, except that it is held by two persons.

This deity, according to all the statements, is peculiar to the Chinese shamans. That it was originally foreign to the [776] Tujen is proved precisely by the superficial name given it, sirie purgan (table-deity), where in reality the top forms the back, the table legs are the tiger's legs, and the underside bears the intestines.

The spirit-litter has no Tujen name at all, but is simply called, as in Chinese, chiao-tzu or niang-niang chiao-tzu (litter of the mother). The litter is not the main thing, but the god's [532] figure sitting in it, which is executed as realistically as possible, with magnificent clothes, real hair, and flesh-colored face. The interior likewise contains the intestines, the heart, and the maternal organs. The figure is consecrated with the litter, at which time the inner organs are put inside.

This goddess likewise belongs to the Chinese shamans (fashih), who also undertake its animation. Frequently,

yard with a large veranda attached to it. On the long wall are depicted scenes of the life of Buddha, painted in Chinese style, similar to those seen in Chinese temples. 792 346

The chief temple hall (A), built on a high terrace, is the most conspicuous, thereby attracting the attention of visitors. It is larger in size and higher than the other two. It is built on the pattern of the luxurious Chinese temples, with a large porch in front and beautiful roofs; a large, magnificent staircase leads to the terrace, which is surrounded by a railing of carved red stone. It is said to have been built according to the pattern of the Temple of Heaven in Peking (built in 1420). Inside the chief temple hall, at its center, is an enormous carved white stone plinth, two meters square, which enthrones the big statue of Buddha, Jo-wo rin-po-che (the gem of majesty—Shakyamuni), gift of Emperor T'ai-tsung, according to the stele.

On either side of this central statue a copper Buddha statue is enthroned on a plinth of white stone, a little smaller in size than the central one. In front of the statues, three big white stone plinths support three huge brass cauldrons. One contains butter, one vegetable oil and wicks burning before the statues, and the third wheat, colza, and spelt, as an offering to the Buddha. It is said that at the bottom of this huge cauldron there are still a few grains dating from the time of Emperor Hui-ti, and consequently they are bigger than normal, just like the saddle and stirrups noted previously. [532] [782]

In these temples hang inscriptions, offerings of the emperors honoring the Buddhas, dating from the periods of Hung-wu, 1368–1398; Yung-lo, 1403–1425; Hung-hsi, 1425; Hsüan-te, 1426–1435; Wan-li, 1573–1619 and Ch'un cheng, 1628–1643.

In temple (B) called the Chü-k'ang, smaller red stone plinths support three copper Buddha statues, and three butter, oil, and grain cauldrons. In front of the central statue, still in the temple, is the famous dead sandalwood tree, adorned with scarves of felicity, its trunk overlaid by large copper plates in order to preserve and support it.

Temple (C), dedicated to Byams pa hlarang (Maitreya—the loving one) is built according to the same pattern, but has plinths of white stone supporting three statues, with two lamps and offering cauldrons.

The display of huge timbers in the construction of the temples reminds one of times past, when gigantic trees adorned the tops of the mountains. Special roads and carts were built to carry the massive plinths to the spot. The ruins of four stupas adorn the courtyard, one on each side of the chief temple, and one on each side of temple (C). Enormous white stone plinths carved in the shape of elephants, support four huge drums and two smashed steles on either side of the entrance.

Ch'ü-t'an, with more than six hundred lamas in the heyday of its glory, founded two large subsidiaries:

[p. 23(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Hsining across Ning-hsia to Sui-yuan, and Father W. Grootaers noted in the region of Wan-ch'üan (Kalgan), 109 temples of the Wu-tao shen,[29] most of them smaller than they had once been. The representations of the god of the Five Roads in the temples are all very similar. The reason for this similarity in temples so distant one from another may be that the Chinese painters used printed books in which they found the stereotypes and traditional representations of the whole series of spirits. They also used books containing all kinds of inscriptions appropriate to the different special spirits and to the spirits in general, and this explains the uniformity of the inscriptions and paintings encountered all over the country.[30]

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TEMPLES OF THE GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The abode of the god consists generally of three rooms (*chien*) situated on the north side of a mud or brick walled courtyard. On each side of the courtyard are another three or more rooms for storage of all kind of paraphernalia used for processions and for the kitchen. The entrance is in front of the abode of the god. According to the topography of the country the temple is sometimes built against a mountain without taking account of the points of the compass. In the middle of the three rooms of the front building there is always placed a sedan chair in which is the statue of a female deity clad with a more or less precious robe, or there is the statue of a male deity, such as Wu-tao or Lung-wang. The female deity usually represents the goddess, Niang Niang (mother goddess of children); seldom, Shui-mu, the goddess of the water. The statue seems to be the center of attention for the whole building. It is carried in procession when the people are praying for rain, or for protection against hail. Every year the statues of the goddesses of the temples of Sha-t'ang Valley are carried to the temple of the god Erh-lang,[31] locked up with the god for one night and brought back the next day. The god is said to enjoy the visits of all the goddesses. This curious custom will be discussed later.

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On the walls of the three rooms are frescoes depicting the god of the Five Roads, who is never alone, but associated with other gods. In the central panel the god sits on a large chair, represented in the customary fashion of a corpulent Chinese general, with long black beard, military cap, red coat over armor, large loose

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[29] William A. Grootaers, Temples and history of Wan-ch'üan, *Monumenta Serica*, 13: 232, 1948. What is said in this very valuable study, in Chap. 2, on the Wu-tao temples, concerning the arrangements of the temples, the images and frescoes, even the inscriptions, tallies completely with my former notes. This is the first and only study made in China concerning all the temples built in a limited area, affording interesting data for the history of religion and the history of the country.

[30] *Ibid.*, 239.

[31] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 263. The identity of this spirit seems not to be the same in North and Middle China.

[p.85(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

belt at the waist, the legs sprawled apart, boots with thick soles on the feet, and a sword in the hand. On the eastern panel is painted another general, the god of the Mountain (Shan Shen) in nearly the same posture. On the western panel is painted an older man with white beard, vest, a yellow robe, hands hidden in his large sleeves; he is the god of the Earth (T'u-ti Shen). Why these three gods are always placed together is a mystery. 756 776 346 532

In the foreground of the three images on the east is the god P'an-tze, the judge, holding in his hands the "register of the living and the dead" (Sheng-ssu p'u). On the west is a horned, black-faced devil with red skin, holding the "Tablet to hook souls" (K'u hun p'ai). It is a strange gathering of disparate gods whose association is a puzzle. The association of these gods in the same temple explains the fact that some shamans, when performing rites, wear a crown with only one image, that of the god of the Five Roads, while others wear a crown with three images (Wu-tao, Mountain god, Earth god), and some wear the crown with five images, adding P'an-tze and the black-faced devil. It is no wonder that one also sees in some temples of the god of the Five Roads the inscription: "Wu-tao, Mountain god, and Earth god, protect this village, that it may get peace." All these disconcerting anomalies do not bother either the shamans or the Monguors.

In temples, so far distant from one another, we find not only similarity in the representation of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, but even in the subjects painted on the frescoes on both the side walls of the temple. Father Grootaers calls the subject, "the pursuit of the evil ones," explaining that "the god honored in the temple is shown on horseback, engaged in a pursuit against the powers of evil, which he then brings back enchained."[32] What, however, may have been the original mystical or ascetic meaning is not known, but the subject seems wonderfully adapted to the circumstances of the country of Hsining and the mentality of the people. The region of Hsining is mountainous. The most terrible yearly scourges, dreaded by the people, are the summer hailstorms devastating their crops. They are supposed to be produced by evil spirits, who must be combatted and subdued. The specific means used by the shamans in order to protect the crops against that scourge will be recorded later.

On the eastern wall is painted the picture of a hailstorm. The pictures in Hsining are more fantastic and in better keeping with the imagination of a Chinese painter than the pictures seen by Father Grootaers. An old, wickedly shrewd Chinese woman with disheveled hair blows wind and storm by means of a pair of bellows. A fat Chinese, elaborately vested, extends his arms, and black, threatening clouds gush effusively out 756 532

[32] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 220. [p.86(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

of his large sleeves—he is the spirit of the clouds. Another corpulent Chinese god pours a torrent of rain out of the urn of the rainbow, which he holds in his hands. A Chinese girl, standing in the sky, flashes two metal mirrors producing terrific lightning. A spirit with athletic appearance, having a couple of long wings attached to his back, clashes a hammer and chisel together with fury, producing thunder. All over the scene big hailstones rattle down on crops and herds of fleeing sheep and cows and people with bleeding faces. Horses, cows, sheep, birds, serpents, and a couple of men lie dead on the ground. In the sky the three famous gods on horseback, with a whole retinue of dragon riders led by the devil, and the judge accompanied by a wolf and tiger, start the pursuit of the evil doers. It is a terrific picture for people who know by experience the havoc wrought on their crops by hailstorms. 756 532

In front of this awful picture on the western wall is displayed the pageant of the victorious return of the gods and their retinue, riding spirited horses, with banners on high, tiger and wolf with mouths and teeth red with blood from devouring the evil doers. The whole procession is proceeding toward the gate of a walled town where an immense crowd, on bended knees, waits to thank and congratulate the gods.

These two pictures are never lacking, either in the temples of the dragon gods of Ho-hu, Hsüan-T'an, or in those of the goddesses of children. This fact is really significant and reveals the people's dread of hailstorms.

The God of the Five Roads with his associates, over whom he seems to preside, is supposed to be a protector against hailstorms, so much dreaded by the people.

All these cumulative facts prove without question that the Monguor shamans have adopted the gods of Taoism and honor them. [177]

SHAMANS AND THEIR OWN TWELVE TENGRIS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans is not exhausted by the cult of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, since they still honor their own old spirits, calling them, "Our Twelve good Tengris, the most potent among the spirits." The young shamans are dedicated to the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads. Moreover, the shamans honor at home the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads. 756 776 532

Who are the Tengris? Most of the pictures I saw were very primitive and painted by shamans themselves; those painted by Chinese artists were better. The pictures represented four rows of three Chinese warriors riding horses and wearing bow and quiver; a man on foot, with bow and quiver, accompanied each of the soldiers. In the center of the picture there was painted a man, not a warrior, bigger in size than the others, dressed in black, with a black face and beard, riding a white tiger and holding in his hand a knotty staff. I was curious about them, and was told that the black tiger rider was the chieftain, the leader of the

[p.86(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

group, and also, that on old images painted before the Moslem rebellion, the twelve warriors and their servants were represented as Mongols, and not Chinese, and further, that a couple of modern shamans recently added to their pictures of the warriors, three Chinese girls riding on horseback, whom they called the "three small grandmothers," the *San Hsiao Niang Niang*. 756 776 532

The conviction existing among the Monguor shamans that the Twelve Tengris are their original and proper spirits is too general and too definite, and the behavior of the shamans toward them is too significant to be simply ignored or explained away. Further, the Monguors and the shamans know very well that shamans are not Taoist priests, and for that reason they call them *Bō* or *Fa shih*, "Masters of Magic," and not *Tao-shih*, "Masters of Tao," and they know very well that the rites performed by the shamans are not the same as those performed by Taoist priests in the country. Therefore, a rational explanation should exist.

CULT OF THE TWELVE TENGRIS TRACED

In the last month of the year the houses had to be cleansed and purified of all kinds of evil influences and spirits. At the palace of the prince a group of young boys, frightening and cursing the evil spirits hidden in the rooms, cried out that the "12 spirits" were on the way to hunt down and annihilate them; a group of 12 men, disguised as animals, led by the official exorcist (*Fang hsiang*) started pursuing the evil spirits.[33] 756 776 796

The eleventh on the list of the pursuing spirits was the "tiger," who was reputed the fiercest destroyer of all producers of calamities. Tigers are supposed to be the fiercest enemies of evil spirits . . . the tiger was the first dancer among the 12 performers of the rite.[34]

The tiger was the white tiger.[35]

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[33] Henri Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 246, Paris, Boccard, 1927.

[34] Marcel Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine antique*, 319, 299-320, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

[35] *Ibid.*, 306. Ch. de Harlez, *Le livre des esprits et des immortels*, 176, Bruxelles, F. Hayez, 1893: "The nature of the white tiger, according to the *Shen-hsien t'ung chien* (18th century) seems to be at least ambiguous . . . the tiger is the strongest expression of the *Yang* principle (principle of power); the tiger lives 1,000 years and becomes white only after 500 years; its claws and the powder obtained by the burning of its skin are the most powerful; the thunder is its voice, talismans; or is produced by the noise of walking heavenly tigers. . . . In the regions of the west, at Fung lung, lived a white tiger accustomed to drinking human blood; every year the people offered a human sacrifice to it in order that it might desist from killing men. Chang Tao-ling (patron of the Taoists) ordered it to desist from this practice; the tiger left the country and disappeared forever. . . ."

Owen Lattimore, The gold tribe 'Fishkin Tatars' of the lower Sungari, *Memoirs Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* 40: 62, 1933: ". . . spirits like the bear, and especially the tiger, seem to be extremely rare as familiars (of the shamans), though they appear sometimes as enemies in the course of 'great spirit' ceremonies . . . I have heard only once of a shaman who apparently had a tiger familiar; he was regarded as a person much to be dreaded." "Shamans rely on animal spirits, the eagle, sturgeon, weasel, the *ulki* (an animal of the squirrel family), and otter appear to be the commonest familiars [of the shamans]."

[p.87(A)]

On the doors, on New Year's, was pasted the image of the tiger.[36] 756 776

These texts excerpted from the book *Lün heng* written by Wang Ch'ung, who died in A.D. 80–100, record rites practiced during the centuries before our era, and reveal that the twelve spirits were supposed the most powerful in the matter of driving out evil spirits, and that among the twelve, the White Tiger was paramount. 796

The cult of the twelve spirits led by their chieftan (Fang hsiang) combatting evil spirits seems to have been very popular in China. It was very tenacious, for it was still performed during the Liao dynasty, A.D. 907–1125. Wittfogel and Feng note: " . . . at the end of the year, 12 shamans, led by a great 'Wu,' sang, shouted, rang bells, and walked (or danced) around the tents with arrows in their hands, fighting off the spirits. Then they retreated to special tents for seven days." [37]

The cult of the twelve spirits of the Monguor shamans seems to be related to the old cult of the twelve spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount, the whole group being led by a chieftain, the Fang hsiang. Although in their pictures twelve warriors are represented plus the black rider on a white tiger, they always call the picture "the picture of the Twelve Tengris," and not the picture of thirteen spirits, or the picture of the White Tiger. They assert that they are the servants of the twelve spirits, their apprentices are dedicated to the twelve spirits, and the Monguors who honor the picture at home as a protector of the family, always call it, "The picture of the Twelve Tengris." They no longer know that the twelve warriors represented, in old times, twelve spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount. However, all these facts seem to evidence that it is deeply ingrained in their consciousness that they honor Twelve Tengris, and no more, which are the enemies and destroyers of evil spirits. What is really astonishing is that, notwithstanding that the origin of the cult is completely lost, they continue to paint twelve warriors, and to put in the center of the picture a big white tiger mounted by a rider holding, not weapons, but a knotty staff in his hand. In this way the prominent role played in old times by the white tiger seems to be conserved, for a tiger occupies the center of the picture. What is even 756 776 [532]

W. Heissig, Schamanen im Kürye-Banner, *Folklore Studies* 3: 1: 44, Peking, 1944. The shaman in the Kürye-Banner wears an apron during the performances, representing the skin of a brown spotted tiger.

Doolittle, *Social life of the Chinese*, 229. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 146. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* 1: 344–352; 2: 144, 160, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

[36] Granet, *op. cit.*, 336.

[37] Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, (907–1125), *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 218, 1949. See also Eberhard, "Ich habe es für sehr wahrscheinlich dass die Tiertänze der No-Feste auf Turkestanischen fremde Einflüsse zuruck gehen," *Lokalkulturen, op. cit.* 1: 188.

[p.87(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

hail.) A grim, ghastly mask and a piece of red cloth 782
are fixed on the head of the stake. A small Chinese 789
table, covered with strips of red cloth to which is at- 796
tached a copper mirror, is considered to be a spirit in the same way.

FIGHTING THE HAILSTORMS

When the hailstorm appears threatening and the evil 731
spirits are about to loose their avenging bolts, the 789
youngsters on the top of the hill wave banners, beat drums and cymbals, blow the horn, brandish aggressively the sedan chair with the god sitting inside, and the stake gods, in the direction of the storm, howl, curse the evil spirits by means of the most obscene vocabulary, and take obscene attitudes in order to frighten them. I saw such a scene in the village of T'ao chia chai, a Chinese village of which some people were Christians, and was told that the Monguors act in just the same way.

If the storm is avoided, incense is burned, prostrations are made, and the group comes back, proud and high spirited because their performance achieved victory. But if the storm breaks with lightning, lighting up the whole valley, and thunder rumbling terrifyingly, pouring down torrents of water and rattling hail, the whole group starts fleeing in confusion, with the sedan chair and all the gods, straight down the hill, through the fields and the rivers to the temple. It is said that when this happens the youngsters lose control over the gods they are carrying; that the gods, defeated by mightier ones, unable to withstand the struggle, abandon the battlefield and themselves flee, irresistibly pulling with them their carriers, without caring for roads, precipices, or rivers. The terror throws the village into confusion and consternation. The gods could not stand against the terrible evil spirits of the hail; hopes are frustrated and the crops destroyed. The prospect of bad times, with privations and sufferings, haunts every family.

SHAMANS AND STATUES OF THE TEMPLES

The statues in temples are assumed by the Monguors 778
to be the seat of the spirits. Several facts have already 532 ●
been recorded, in keeping with that assumption. Statues 756
decide about the invitation of the shaman for the performance of the new rites against hail. They pull their carriers irresistibly over fields and precipices, or make themselves so heavy as to become immovable and crush the carriers under their weight. According to the Monguors, the unusual power residing in the statue is due to special rites performed by the shamans.

In the stomach of every statue is a square opening capable of being closed and opened. Every time a new statue is made, the shaman is invited to animate it by means of dancing, beating drums, and inserting in the hole a live snake, a live raven, a live frog, and the intestines of a sheep and a pig. All these items have to

[p. 104(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

be purified by smoking over cypress boughs, and a 778
sacrifice of a sheep or a hog is required. Every three 532
years the stomach is opened and the decayed animating 756
items are removed. New ones must take their place, because after three years their power has faded away. The Monguors invite the shaman most proficient in this art to perform the rite, since magical efficacy does not seem to be the same among all shamans and for that reason statues are assumed to be the seats of the spirits.

The statues in Lamaist temples need, in the same way, magical bowels; however, the lamas put Tibetan texts inside the statues. The magical power of the statues lasts as long as the Tibetan texts are uninjured.

The role played by the snake in the therapy of debilitated spirits is noteworthy. It will be seen later that the old mountain spirit of the Obo, protector and proprietor of the valley of Sha-t'ang, was healed and rejuvenated by a lot of medicines, among which the snake ranked first.

The table often mentioned above is said to be the seat of the White Tiger, and is used everywhere. It is a low Chinese table, adorned with strips of red cloth or silk and a small copper mirror in front. The four legs represent the legs of the tiger, while on the underpart of the table are painted the intestines and genitalia. It must be animated by the shaman. Often used instead of the sedan chair, it is carried by four men whom it crushes beneath it, or pulls fore or aft when asked for a decision.

CONCLUSION

This chapter gives supporting evidence for the as- 821
sumption that in the fabric of the religious life of the 829
Monguors, the struggle against the hail spirits and the 771
means of avoiding harm from them are a real obsession and play an overwhelming part. All summer this fear troubles the peace of mind, and mars the happiness especially of older people and chiefs of families. No wonder that every day around noon Monguors start examining the northwest corner of the sky. Everybody, putting on a brave front, brags and boasts about the efficacy of the rites, trying to bolster their wavering courage, but telling beads and muttering "Om Mani," hoping that finally Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" will help them.

Another conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the shamanist White Tiger bears the brunt of the struggle against the evil spirits of hail, and that the Taoist god of the Five Roads and his associates who are magnificiently enthroned in all the village temples, on whose walls they score brilliant successes defeating the evil hail spirits, play a very modest secondary role in the rank and file of the other good spirits and Buddhist deities supposed to lend a hand in the struggle. The Monguors have remained as convinced shamanists as the Turco-Mongol tribes of former times.

The struggle against the hail spirits by an entire com-

[p. 104 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

ch'uan (i.e., of the entire Huangchung), a gift of 20,000 pieces of silk and a salary, making him understand that he was an official of the empire. At the same time he enjoined him to attack Hsi Hsia in Liangchow. Chiossulo judged his troops too feeble to risk the venture. Another official arrived with the same order. This time Chiossulo treated him very roughly. His behavior was not that of a subject treating with the emperor, but rather that of a nephew talking about an uncle,[28] because two Chinese princesses, Wen Ch'eng in 643 and Kin Ch'eng in 710, had been married to princes of the imperial Tsan-p'u house of Lhasa. The Chinese official readily understood the attitude of Chiossulo and informed the emperor (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 8*a*; *Annals* of Hsining **31B**: 2*a*). During thirty years Chiossulo did not care for the empire which intermittently waged war with Hsi Hsia in East Kansu and Shensi with varied fortune, nor did he care for the Chinese officials whom the emperor tried to appoint in Huangchung; he cared only for his own kingdom, appointing his officials in Huangchung and on the East Kansu borders. Huangchung was the only country where people lived peacefully engrossed in agriculture and where trade boomed.

M U 167 648 M 175x U 175

HSINING IN THE HEYDAY OF ITS GLORY

Chiossulo was in the heyday of his glory. He rebuilt the city of Hsining. According to the notes recorded by a Chinese official who at that time had been sent to confer with Chiossulo,[29] the circumference of the city was 20 li. The city was protected by a strong, high wall dotted with towers, and eight gates secured access to the city. In the center of this enormous city was constructed a large fortress having four strong towers at the corners. This fortress must have corresponded to the actual city of Hsining and the enormous outer city must have been built to secure a refuge for the surrounding people and their herds at the time of inroads from invading tribes. Chiossulo resided in the fortress in a sumptuous palace, whose roofs were covered with glazed tiles. In this city was a large hall built on a terrace having eight steps and a sumptuous entrance supported by huge pillars. The administration buildings were constructed inside the city, two small palaces for the princesses of the Ch'i Tan and of the Hsi Hsia, and a splendid temple in which was throned a gilded Buddha statue, ten feet high, adorned with strings of pearls and a precious mantle.

M 175x 361 M [341] M [792 532]

[28] A. Rona Tas, Social terms in the list of grants of the Tibetan Tunhuang Chronicle, *Acta Orientalia*, V, 5: 266, 1955. Relationship between the Chinese emperor and the Tibetan king, of uncle and nephew on the maternal side, essentially reflects the Tibetan avuncular system; this relationship, which used to determine the mutual position of the two rulers, is rooted in social history.

[29] Enoki, *op. cit.*, 90, 91. Oshono kika keiryaku ni tsuite (On the *Hsi-ho ching-luch* of Wang Ch'ao) in Mokoga Huho, Tokyo (*Meng-ku hsueh-pao*,) I, Shuo fu, **15**: 12 *a-b*.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

621 stream must be kept in repair by all the people using the water of the canal throughout its length. If section 312 *B*, the middle section of the canal, is to be repaired, the people of section *A* are not concerned. The people of the villages along sections *B* and *C* must do all the work. If section *C* is damaged, the villagers of that section must do all the work alone. Yet there are times when most of the damage is along the lowest section, and the people, getting no help from their upstream neighbors, harbor resentment.

621 Each village is allotted a fixed number of days for the use of water for irrigation. In times of drought, villages 312 will open their outlets from the main canals at night when it is not their turn for water in order to steal 628 water from the section whose turn it is, pretending that the dams broke. It is not uncommon for fights to break out over water-stealing, giving rise to long-lasting and bitter feuds between villages. When there is trouble over water the chiefs and elders of villages not involved in the case are invited to act as arbiters. If the damage done is not too serious, a dinner is given by the offenders and apologies are made; but if the damage is too great, the offending village is required to pay part of the taxes due to the T'u-ssu from the plaintiff village. Even such a settlement, however, may become the beginning of a feud.

621 Minor causes of friction between villages are the stealing of sheaves from the autumn harvest by poor 628 people or, in the spring and summer, damage to the crops of one village by straying animals from another 778 village. The chiefs of the villages concerned patch up such petty troubles without need for arbitration. Every village raises a sacred animal, usually a Tibetan bull yak or a he-goat. These animals are allowed to roam freely and to trespass on fields, and nobody complains of the damage they cause to crops. After a few years, however, a bull begins to turn savage, and sometimes injures people. In 1914 the bull of the village of Narin ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Lungta, who was working in the fields. The village of Narin made apologies, indemnified the family, and killed the bull. The meat was offered to the village of the man who was killed, because the people of a village are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. No further trouble followed from this incident.

628 There is a strict custom that it is not allowed to sing lascivious songs inside a village. The young people of 834 villages that are not friendly sometimes sing such songs ●533 in order to tease their neighbors, and fights break out; but if the chiefs of both villages concerned punish the youngsters, there are no further consequences.

628 In summary, it may be said that there are few serious quarrels between villages, except those over canals and irrigation water; in regions where irrigation is not used, in the so-called "dry land," serious quarrels never break out between villages.

[P. 81 a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

241 cold to grow wheat from the beginning and has first to
243 be loosened up and warmed by the sun.

The customs connected with weeding during the growing season are especially worth noting. Men and
241 women take part, the women going to the fields in their best clothes which they change for their working clothes
533 when the work begins. Men and women squat on their heels and work along the furrows of grain, singing as
584 they work. One group answers the songs sung by another group and from time to time all burst into laughter and giggles because these songs are licentious and full of sexual references. Sometimes a man or woman sings a solo, to which all reply in chorus. If a traveler should happen to pass, especially a woman, one of the workers who has a knack for making up a song impromptu will start to sing a description of the traveler, full of suggestive remarks about the supposed purpose of the traveler's journey, with endless lascivious verses about "the way of the lonely hind roaming in search of the stag," and so forth. Only the young people take part in this work, while their elders remain in the family courtyard.

This licentiousness is associated only with the weeding season. The Chinese of this region do not have a similar custom. There are comparable customs, however, in Tibet and also in Southeast Asia; and there were comparable customs among the ancient Sienpi and the ancient Turks. It is open to question whether the Shat'o brought the custom with them when they settled in the region or whether the Monguors learned it from the Tibetans[6] or the Sienpi.

241 The crops are either plucked by hand or harvested with a sickle, the work being done by both men and women. The threshing is done on the village threshing floor with a primitive stone roller pulled by oxen, horses, mules, or donkeys.

In addition to field agriculture there are small gardens close to each courtyard where the women plant vegetables such as onions, garlic, rape, leek, cabbage, pimento, spinach, watermelons, and cantaloupes.

PASTORAL ECONOMY

231 Livestock still rank as the second most important economic resource of the Monguors. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys, and pigs and wherever the pastures are sufficient they own as many sheep and cows as possible. Horses are important for prestige,

[6] For references to Southeast Asia (Annam, Cambodia, Laos, the White Tai, the Karens of Burma, the Angami Nagas of Assam, and the Miaos and Yaos of Southwest China), see Christopher Fürer-Haimendorff in *Anthropos* **30**: 916, 1935. See also A. Lietard, *Les Lolo-p'o*, 152, Münster i. W., Achendorfsche Verlag, 1913, and D. Doutreligne in *Anthropos* **25**: 163, 1930; also F. M. Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, 224, Hong Kong, Imprimerie des missions étrangères, 1930. For ancient China see H. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 237, Paris, Boccard, 1927, and R. Granet, *La civilization chinoise* **1**: 190, Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

[p. 112a]

/51 cont'd/

585 all until the next day, which is the day of the wedding dinner at the home of the son-in-law; we have seen that the number of guests invited to this dinner is prescribed. He will therefore have to politely send some away. To this end he comes to each person who will be sent away, without saying any more, bringing four loaves of bread and one or two pieces of raw meat. This is called pou fen tse, "to 583 431 complete the dinner." They understand and leave with many polite phrases.

585 574 /52/ The ones chosen for the feast the next day try to find lodging for the night, either with neighbors or in the home of the bride; some of them celebrate very late into the night and pass the time singing and drinking. This part of the festivity is often less attractive for us, since the gin spoils its freshness. It has the disadvantage of sending to the wedding dinner the next day at the son-in-law's home many guests with heavy heads and in bad humor because of fatigue from a tiring trip and a night without refreshing sleep.

533 585 The T'ou-jen like to sing at weddings. Their own repertory in the language of the country is not very wide, so they ordinarily sing Tibetan songs. One of the very rare songs in the Monguor [177] language is the one about the origin of the mythical bird Chong-niewa. (1) It is very often sung at weddings.

104 773

1. Chong is probably the Buddhist Garuda called K'yun in Tibetan. Grunwedel says in Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet u. der Mongolei /Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia/, p. 25: semidivine being, deadly enemy of the Naga, a mounted bird, the king of the feathered /tribe/ and his kinsmen.... P. 191, ... is always represented in Lamaism with a thick body, human arms, on which the wings are located, and the horned head of a bird. He is part of the company of the formidable gods and plays

/53 cont'd/

539 body without succeeding. The fire goes out continually. She takes
831 her big hatpin and throws it into the fire. The fire flares up and bites the corpse for a moment, then goes out again. She throws on it in turn the copper cup attached to her headdress, her ring, her eardrops; then, taking off all her clothes, she throws them one by one into the fire, and each time the fire burns the corpse a little more. Finally, she jumps into the fire. The fire shoots up, glowing, at once and consumes the two lovers. A tree is seen to come out of the ground at the spot; it has two branches which intertwine but separate above. The husband of the dead wife, in a transport of rage, runs up with his axe to separate the two branches....O, marvel, two wonderful birds fly away from the knot. They were the Chong-pirs. (1)

[71]

1. This very old legend is found all over Asia in many various forms. Etudes asiatiques /Asiatic Studies/, published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Far-Eastern School, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 35, "The Peacocks Flew Away"... third-century Chinese poem by d'Aurouseau, and Vol. 1, p. 189, notes 1 and 2, Annamite poem, translated and annotated by G. Cordier.

585
533 Another song which the T'ou-jen never fail to sing at a wedding
539 dinner is a Tibetan song. It is enjoyed all the more because it is accompanied by dancing and gestures. It lends itself to a very expressive mimicry. It tells the story of a T'ou-jen Judith. In the T'ou-jen region of Lien-tch'eng the brigand Wang-mang had been terrorizing the region for years. In spite of the magnificent rewards promised by the emperor of China to anyone who could catch him, nobody /54/ was succeeding in taking or killing him; for he was vulnerable only under the armpit. The wife of a T'ou-jen military man by the name of Lou, known in the country for her marvelous beauty, succeeds in seducing Wang-mang, and at night in his tent

/170 cont'd/

L 584 father enters upon negotiations with the girl's father. If the latter's response is favorable, a go-between is sought. He must be an individual who has many children. The go-between is invited to dinner, and during the meal, at which meat and wine are served, he is asked to go to such and such a family to ask for such and such a girl in marriage. He goes there for the evening meal, with one or two pounds of meat and two measures of wine. He makes the proposal, and the next day L [273] he can bring back a favorable answer to the boy's family. They fete him, which is called "drinking the wine of the promise." They wait six months or a year and proceed to the second operation called "drinking the wine of the end of the negotiations." The go-between is again invited to dinner. After the meal he goes to the girl's family, taking along a goat, a pound of salt, and 20 measures of wine. There L [262 231] the goat is killed, and they feast while discussing the conditions of the marriage. After the banquet the go-between returns to announce to the boy's father the conditions, which are nearly always 6 or 7 tael's L [301] of silver and flowered shoes or a turban. If the boy's family is rich, more is demanded: silver bracelets, rings, and earrings and eardrops. Two months before the wedding the go-between conducts the ceremony of setting the wedding day. For that he comes first to the boy's home, from where after a family-style meal he goes to the girl's home to set the day of the wedding. He takes a piece of cloth, a liang of sewing thread, two measures of wine. The day before the wedding a friend L 585 of the family takes a 20-pound goat to the girl's home. The morning of the big day the go-between, who has received two measures of wine /171/ and two goat heads for his trouble, takes to the girl's home 6 or 7 ounces of silver, the shoes, etc. He is accompanied by the boy, who upon arriving at the girl's home prostrates himself to his parents-in-law, thanking them for giving their daughter to him. The daughter herself stays in the kitchen; she must not see her fiancé. L M Then the family gives a big feast to the guests. The meal is served in the courtyard under tents. They sing. The old people especially [533] distinguish themselves by their improvisations. (This sung Lo-lo dialogue can very well be compared with the T'ou-jen song of the toilette, p. 59.) What have you put on your daughter's head? Your daughter

[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
they keep the ornaments and mementos of the kin group in order to have a guarantee for the good fortune and wealth of the family; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa: I chia. Above all, the arrow of good fortune seems to be of great importance among the Bon; cf. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 190, 184, 178. It plays a special role in the wedding customs of the Bon, as H. Francke has described them in the wedding songs. The wedding customs of the Tujen and their songs show a certain relationship with these Bon customs, which in itself is not surprising since up to the most recent times the Bon religion in Amdo had a strong influence. The conception of the tribal animals, mother-animals, mother-treasures, to which all other earthly animals, treasures, etc. go back, however, belongs to the world-view of the Bon; cf. H. Francke; Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 8 ff. The tribal animals are also celebrated in song by the Tujen in a song-cycle bearing the name xoni, "sheep." This song-cycle actually stems from the Amdo-Fandse, among whom it is called g. yaṅ-dkar, "white good-fortune," or g. yaṅ-dkar lug, "sheep of the white good-fortune." Although various animals are celebrated in song, the sheep stands in the center as the supreme blessing of good fortune.

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If one ties these conceptions together, it may be stated of the yãṅsdzia: It bears within it the germs and origins of the gifts of fortune of this world. Living beings are allied more with heaven (are

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[66 cont.]

782 Sitting before the obo, the lama gives the appropriate
[533] prayers, accompanying them on his hourglass drum and the bell. At the same time the people burn incense at several places, kowtow, and blow the conch. This service may sometimes last the entire day. When the lama is finished with the prayer, he takes the torma to a stone on the obo, sprinkles the obo with holy water, and casts barley on it, over which he lightly blows with his mouth. The people then take something from offerings that stand in front of the obo, pluck something off, and throw some of this into the incense fire and on the obo. The flowers are all thrown on the mound. Meanwhile others have already placed the spears, twigs, and mani-flags on the obo and have thrown the votive gifts on it, as at the month offering. Then all of them circle around the obo, throwing the white stones and praying the obo call. At this point all of them once more make a threefold kowtow, drink tea, and go home.

The prayer service may also last several days. Then people set up tents on the mountain and live and eat there.

527 The obo festival: Every year on the sixth day in the sixth
782 month an obo festival takes place. At these festivals the obo is venerated in the morning, as it is at the month offering. A sheep offering and the prayer service of the lama may also be connected with it.

527 All the people from the neighborhood, men and women, old and young, gather at the obo. If the obo terrain is too
[541] difficult and not level enough, they gather at the foot of the mountain or on a meadow. There the men hold horse races,
[533] people sit around the fire and drink and sing; they eat and
[439] dance and laugh. Chinese traders appear, set up their booths, and peddle their wares. -- Formerly, when the old weapons
[526] were still used, the horse races were followed by archery, spear throwing, and sword fights. Wrestling matches were especially
[178] popular. Nowadays this is no longer the case. Only the horse
[541] racing and the singing contests are still held. The mountain-
[533] spirit rejoices when the people are so gay (3).

[171] 3. [Foreign text p. 69.] The obo festival is also celebrated by the

[625 cont.]

527 dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
[574] moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.

Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared. During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
[782] day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an
[888] offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated, joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon

[113] 3. [Foreign text p. 628.] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.

relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.

From the second day on the people make New Year's
[628] visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

[533] gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
[262] are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
[273] a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
[356] house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

[627 cont.]

527 782 Obo veneration: At the same time or still in the early hours of the morning some family representatives go outside to venerate the obo. On this occasion, after the stone throwing, the air-horses, which are printed on yellow paper, are released. They flutter and whirl about in the wind as a sign of good fortune for the family (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 628.]
Cf. section, "The Mani-tree,"
Note 7.

527 574 Gratulation visits: At midday the villagers visit one another. One takes five to six loaves of bread, sticks of incense, yellow paper, and a little jug of barley wine and goes to the family with which one is friendly. There the guest places the bread before the household altar, lights the little sticks, burns the paper, and pours a few drops of wine on the floor. After that he kowtows before the altar and gratulates the master of the household as well as the individual members of the family. [576] The one of lower standing or the younger one must always kowtow to the one of higher standing on this occasion. Then they sit down on the kang around the fire, drink tea or wine, converse, and sing. Sometimes a round of dancing also follows in the yard.

When women go gratulating, they take no wine, incense, or paper with them, but only bread and tea. They put the bread on the altar, pour some tea on the ground, and then kowtow. They never sit with the men on a kang, however.

It is obligatory that the younger relatives go to the older relatives. In any case on New Year's Day itself one stays in the village. Only from the second day on do the friends and relatives living farther away visit one another.

527 533 Entertainment: During the first 14 days of the new year the people meet every evening at moonrise in the yards. Incense is burned and singers who tell legends are invited. They take turns singing competitively, during which two persons grasp each other by a lappet of the coat. When one of them

[627 cont.]

527 cannot sing or sings incorrectly, his opponent cuts a piece from the lappet. Thus one can sing away his whole garment in an
533 evening.

Above all, the young people meet on the threshing floor and in a circle sing all kinds of songs. This lasts the entire
[883] night, especially at the first [628] full moon. Only towards morning do they stop. Boys and girls mingle freely in the circle. Small boys dressed in reversed hides represent demons and beat on pieces of wood; others imitate Chinese traders, play all kinds of tricks, etc. (5).

[535]
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5. [Foreign text pp. 628-629.] These round dances are exactly like those among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiafandse. Men and women and boys and girls form [629] a circle. One person leads the song and also indicates the dance movement. The others sing the refrain and repeat the movement together. They also dance in twos to the rhythm of the song. These dances are also performed generally at entertainments, for example, at a wedding, upon the arrival of the lama, etc. There are many kinds of the songs. They are divided into two groups: family songs, which are decent and are sung in the house; wild songs, whose content, taken from love-life, is usually quite
[171] crude. The melodies to a great extent are the same as among the Fandse. Besides Tujen songs Chinese and Tibetan songs are also sung. The song
[539] given here is Tibetan in its original
[883] text. -- At these moonlight dances the young people spend the entire night out in the open, and more than

[628 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 628-629 cont.]
one couple is seen disappearing off to one side. Concerning the types of songs, cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder."

After the fifteenth day the common workaday life begins again. The many oil-loaves, however, are eaten for a long time.

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Song: On New Year's the following song is popularly sung:

1. On New Year's one makes a kowtow to the sky, burns incense, and then one eats.
2. If you observe the laws of the emperor, in later life you will become a minister
3. If you do not forget the kind deeds of the parents, you will later live long.

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Word List

New Year: šeni sara = new month.
To celebrate the New Year: šeni sara nogdzini.
Last day of the old year: tsiafudzarē šēlõn = of the thirtieth eveni
udurdza xuānuo = day - late.
To slaughter pigs: xgeni ala-.
[252] To bake oil-baking: tsiangguor tsina-.
To distill wine: dērasēngē dzinlie-.
To roll thin noodles: narin šēlõnge dielge-.
To steam pastry: šēmienge dzinlie-.
To bake Tachur bread: tagur šdimienge sira-.
To celebrate the thirtieth when it grows dark: xara wolgu tsiafudzar nogdzi-.
Please do not sleep today, the gods are to be welcomed early tomorrow morning: niu šēlõn bi ndēra, malõn siernege purgan dzēliegu-.
To burn a little stick of incense: gudzi šda-; shao-hsiang (Chin.).
To burn paper: bio šda; shao huang piao (Chin.).

[643 cont.]

764 their shoulders and carry it out to the yard gate. Before the gate the water-lamp and the paper basin are emptied. Here, too, the straw that served the bereaved as an underlayer during the deathwatch is burned. The procession goes to the crematory at a rapid pace. Old and young, men and women, follow in colorful confusion.

Young boys go with them. They carry straw, firewood, cypress twigs, a wooden bed or a door for the lama, a white felt mat, and a large iron kettle for melting the butter. At the oven, the men place the box on the ground. The relatives once more burn paper and throw themselves down to kowtow. Then
764 the master of ceremonies steps forward and addresses a few words
537 of farewell to the deceased. He says approximately the following: We have done what we could for you; we invited the lamas, we have prayed, we have given alms. We have made a beautiful box for you; you can be content. Therefore think no more of us and do not return to disturb the peace of our house. Be without care; we shall not forget you and shall continue to pray for you and to make offerings to you.

764 After this speech he distributes money among those
[431] present. This is alms and is called "box-money." Now the
[533] women once more begin the lamentation. They have a certain melody and express their grief in impromptu words. Then all go home. Only the master of ceremonies, two fire guards, the sons-in-law, the nephews, and the lama remain. The fire is serviced only by the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The sons-in-law and nephews assist with other operations.

Putting the corpse inside: The men who remained behind bring the litter to the west side of the oven where the broad slit was left. They put the litter with the back to this opening and draw the wooden wall out, so that the corpse is exposed in the back. Meanwhile the [644] fire guards have piled cypress twigs and wood on the oven floor. The corpse is now put on the firewood in the oven, the back to the east, the face to the west.
[775] Then the slit is walled off. The face must be turned to the
[823] west because the realm of the blessed is located there, to which he must now migrate.

[825 cont.]
241 It therefore, with the head, is left to be eaten by wolves and
789 dogs. The hide is not used for magic.
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[791] The misfortune-torma: The Bon priest washes his hands and face and makes a little torma of tsamba mixed with butter about ten centimeters high and three to four centimeters wide. He puts it on a tray or a wooden plate. As extra features he adds in very small quantities: raw mutton or pork, leeks, beets, breadcrumbs, white and black sheep's wool, five kinds of grain, tea leaves, money, silver, gold, five little pieces of cloth, five-colored threads, and black and white sugar and puts a dough-lamp with a burning cotton wick beside them. These extra features also apply to the three other tormas, in other words, to all four little misfortune-tormas.

[533] The extra features, along with the tormas, are thrown
[782] in all four directions of the compass, while the seed-master,
[791] amidst blowing on the conch, makes the great incense offering and the Bon priest prays the appropriate spirit conjuration. For the first four tormas the Bon priest uses only the sounding plate and the bone flute, not the double drum and bell.

In the case of the simple ceremony with only one misfortune-torma, naturally only one direction of the compass can be considered. This one is indicated by the Bon priest himself.
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241 Making the pole-goat: The Bon priest does not concern
789 himself about the goat. The men fumigate and wash the goat
778 as usual and pour milk over it; while the goat shakes itself, they make [826] a threefold kowtow in a circle around it, because
825 the sky accepts the animal. Then the goat is slaughtered and
[787] the blood caught in a basin. In skinning it one does not slit open the belly side, but rather an incision is made below the tail which just suffices to pull off the hide from behind over the head. The head is cut off inside the hide so that it remains whole and unskinned within it. In the same fashion one cuts off the feet, leaving them in the hide. Only then is the skinned goat [illustration appears here] eviscerated and cut up, and the
[252] blood, with the scraps of meat, is stuffed into the cleaned intestines.

[835 cont.] 4. The Procession around the Field

Report

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782 As soon as the seed develops ears in the summer, the procession around the field takes place. One hundred and eight
[778] men of the village, with the seed-supervisor, set out on the way to the nearest lamasery and fetch the 108 sacred books. On this occasion they present a large kettle of tea to the lamas; before the Buddha images of the monastery they make an offering of butter for the lamps. The Tujen of this region go usually to the monastery Rgulõn (1); the way there takes an entire day

1. [Foreign text p. 838.]
Concerning the monastery Rgulõn,
cf. the introduction and Part 2, II, 4.

each time. The books are brought into the local temple.

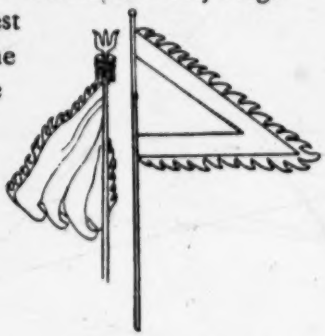
The procession takes place on the following morning. All the men of the village and all soothsayers gather in the temple yard. First a great incense offering is made. Then all
[791] the soothsayers do their soothsaying in succession, the spear-
[787] soothsayer, the sword-shaman, the litter bearers, the table-god bearers. As many soothsayers as are there must appear. One wants to find out through them how the weather and the harvest will be during the course of the summer.

Once the soothsaying is over, the procession starts moving. At the head goes the spear-soothsayer with the spear, then follow the shamans, the god-litter, the spirit-table, and the 108 book-bearers, one after the other. In this procession
[533] the drum beaters, trumpet and conch blowers, cymbal and gong beaters are in single file. Also, all the flags of the temple are taken along, and they are carried by the book-bearers, the flags over the left shoulder and the book on the back. Two men follow behind them, each with a large back-basket of straw, cypress leaves and incense additions, and a jug of pure water. Other men join on at will.

[788] During the entire procession the trumpets are blown, the drums beaten, and the Om mani padme hum prayed. The

[837 cont.]

241 782 533 There are no rules about the musical instruments. [Illustration appears here.] Whatever one has is taken along. The temple drum -- a barrel drum with a drumhead on both sides -- and the conch are always certain to be there. The drum is not very large and is carried on a belt in front of the chest so that it can be beaten on both sides. The conch shell is the same as that used at the incense offering. The trumpets are the [177] ordinary Chinese shawms (la-pa); the cymbals and the gong are also Chinese.



Flags such as are carried during the procession around the field. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

241 782 Among the flags there are black, red, yellow, etc. Usually they are provided with colorful borders. There are also flags with pictures, for example, of the mountain-spirit. Many flags also have Chinese sayings sewed on them, usually in white. There are [532] no special Tujen names for the flags. The number is arbitrary.

Aside from the usual cypress incense the Chinese incense sticks are also popularly taken along; butter, water, tea, etc. are just as desirable as at other incense offerings. More recently yellow paper [177] is also burned in Chinese fashion.

The soothsayers must always carry along their soothsaying tokens, that is, the objects that are the seat of the spirit, in other words, [778] spear, litter, table, etc. During the entire procession, the spirit [791] remains in the object concerned, which is signified by the shaking and rattling of the bells and the movement of the bearers.

241 782 787 Soothsaying: At the soothsaying one tries to learn as precisely as possible when and where the heaviest hail will come down and how one should protect himself against it, whether by means of offerings or prayer or the mani-tree, and the like. At this time the [821] seed-master makes a brief speech to the spirit concerned, charging him with the duties that he must fulfill for a good harvest and telling him that he will be rewarded for his protection by an offering (4).

241 782 4. [Foreign text p. 838.] An offering is usually connected with the

[848 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether the horse's skull represents the riding animal of the spirit could not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another torma is also made.

789 [849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day
[787] the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books
[791] the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away.
[532] They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum, sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the torma.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the torma is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen.
[782] The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long
[171] migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this custom.

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4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This ceremony is very similar to the figure-conjuration of the shamans

[210 cont.]

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[778]

gurtum-shamans will go into the ideology underlying the whole (god of life, god of war, god of wealth, Pekar, tree of life, arrow of good fortune, spear, ancestral tablets, etc.); cf. also below, pp. 363-388.

[773] [211] The origin of the world is unfortunately recorded only in scanty documents. According to the Geser legend and the aphoristic wisdom of the people, the earth arose through a churning in the water like butter (cream) in milk. It floats on top and is held by a wooden post which one day will start to grow and develop leaves. Then the earth will tip over and bring on the end of the world. The physical sky floats over the earth on a golden peg (nail); in this connection, cf. DMF, p. 115 and p. 445. Here there are conceptions that at first glance contradict those described above, but they can nevertheless be con-
[171] nected with them indirectly. They are recently elaborated variants from Indian cosmology (churning with the world-column; turtle as earth-bearer) and are linked with Mongolic peculiarities (heavenly bell on a golden nail); in this connection, cf. W. Lüdtke, Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans [The Veneration of the Genghis Khan]. Concerning the polar star as beacon, see further below, p. 883. Over against the earth with the wooden peg (modë ġadasë) stands heaven with the golden peg (xaldan
[821] ġadasë). Among the Tujen, however, the polar star is called xaldan ġadasë: xaldan because of its shining color; ġadasë because of its similarity to a nail head. Actually ġadasë means post, peg, nail, tack. The polar star, to be sure, is otherwise conceived as the axle of the sky. Thus, the greening world-tree (earth-wood) and sky-axle (star-gold) correspond with each other. Here, too, the comparison of two parts of the world that are supposed to correspond is suggested: the sky above, the earth below. The conception of the tilting and finally falling earth may go back to the observation that the polar star, the sky-axle, is not in the zenith, but in the north. The way the
[533] world-tree and stars belong together is poetically rendered in

[211 cont.]
772 the many riddle-songs of the Tujen, when they sing of the tree,
[533] which bears the sun, moon, and stars in its crown; cf., for example, Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder," loc. cit., Song I and II.
[171] Further connections will be passed over here. Only the great similarity of these songs to the wedding songs of western Tibet will be mentioned; see Francke, Tibetische Hochzeitslieder [Tibetan Wedding Songs].

772 With this harmonious conception of the world and its
779 close connection with human beings, one would also expect a projection of the macrocosm into the microcosm. In Lamaism, of course, these correspondences are carried through to the smallest detail and find their symbolic representation in the well-known syllable-monogram, the rnam bču dbaň idan; in this connection cf. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, pp. 160 f. These minute correspondences of the Lamaist monks, however, are too artificial for the people. They know nothing about them. Security in the great cosmos in which they literally build suffices for them. This world-feeling does not enter into sophisticated speculations.

[212] 3. The Religious Cult

a) The Basic Psychic Attitude

771 The inner attitude of the people toward the good spirits
776 is the consciousness of dependence upon them. They determine the well-being in this world, which, after all, is the focal point of thought, for one does not think much about the beyond. Hence the first thing a person does when misfortune or an unusual situation surprises him is to turn to a spirit, a mightier being, which can help here. How much this attitude dominates the common man is apparent from the above-mentioned basic thoughts of the informant, which provided the articulation of all the customs: "... now I shall tell you first what we do for the good fortune of the family, etc."; cf. "Introduction," Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 15 [p. 16 above in the HRAF translation]. Everything is thereby subordinated to the religious

[223 cont.]

782 539 Further evidence is also found in the first part of the animal song cycle, the "Moschus deer." Verses 191-201 describe the incense offering in the following manner: "There is a procedure for catching the Moschus deer. Climb the north side (of the mountain)and pick green juniper twigs. Climb the sunny side and gather white kānba flowers. Go down to the flat plain and gather yellow kānba flowers. Go to the bank [224] of the river and burn great incense. Venerate the great heaven, implore the countless gods." (Šge fdzaṅbeṅ ġarġaya, šge tieṅgēre amudadzi, uluon purġan yaṅdzilaya.)

[533] Now one more example from the wedding song, "The Bird Pair." The pair, shepherd and shepherdess, sing alternately: "When the sun rises shining, we pick green cypress twigs. Climbing up the shady side, we gather white kānba flowers. Descending to the flat plain, we scoop up clear water. Climbing up the high mountain, we burn great incense, and burning the great incense it is a good job when we are a pair." (Šge fdzaṅni ġarġaya; šge fdzaṅni ġarġadza, tsiari ġuori sguren-wa.)

782 174 These examples from the popular literature can be multiplied at will. The passages cited, however, suffice to secure the following conclusions: 1. The original form of the incense offering was extremely simple. Juniper twigs, flowers, and purification water belong with it. The offering was purely an aromatic offering. Although fire is naturally necessary also, it is nowhere mentioned. Not even the expression "to set afire" is used. The usual word "ġarġa" is the causative of "ġari-" (to generate, to produce, to rise) and refers here to the smoke. No foodstuffs are offered. The other additions, spices, etc., can be explained from Lamaism (5). Whatever in the way of

5. J.F.Rock also establishes for the Na-khi an original simple form, juniper twigs and butter; the other additions were not added until later; see Naga Cult, pp. 231 f.

foodstuffs is still offered in the present form should be conceived

[231 cont.]

776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieṅgëre dardzia, heaven has
punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means
[192] literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly
horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolgue dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike
a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard
before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first
place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the
Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without
burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as
concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is
sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and
shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair.
(Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.)
Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness:
"We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge
tieṅgërni amudadzi, nigë nisëni dzawa dañlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is
regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram,
op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called
in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this
marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). --
The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to
[831] heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzün
tieṅgërde fdzë bōlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down
for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception
of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of
rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

[233 cont.]

776 Even less can be determined of any creative activity of
773 heaven with respect to the individual human being. To be sure, a current Tujen saying runs: suniedzëne tieñgëre xuradzia, heaven has taken the soul (DMF 361), but this expresses only the rulership of heaven over life and death. There is no mention of a creation of the soul. The Chinese also know a similar phrase: t'ien shou-la t'a-ti ling-hun.

777 Heaven and fate. -- A question suggested in connection
776 with the ancient Mongolic meaning of fate or good fortune,
192 which has had its greatest elaboration in the sülde cult, is
171 whether something similar is to be found among the Tujen, say, that there might be a fate standing over heaven. -- The Tujen know three expressions for "fate": dzieyan, šdiemdžël, kimori.

dzieyan is used predominantly in the sense of favorable conditions of life, for instance, when one says: "The girl has experienced a favorable fate," meaning that she has married into a good, wealthy family. The Tujen word corresponds to the Mongolic jayagan, but does not have the latter's essential content. The significance seems, rather, to have been transferred from the original jayagan to the Tujen expression šdiemdzël.

šdiemdzël, peculiarly enough, is now found not so much in everyday language as in song. Thus the Tujen songs popular-
[533] ly end with the verse: moñgol kuni lõnšda (or kimori) darlagu, šdiemdžëlgë rëdziglaya, in order to erect the air-horse of the Mongols, let (us) lay (= build) a good-fortune foundation. This conception is linked with the image of the central fort. The air-horse is grounded in the central fort. Accordingly the šdiemdžël would correspond to the basis for fate, which is symbolized in the air-horse. Evidently, ancient conceptions are mixed here with more recent Buddhistic ones, whereby in connection with the Hayagriva figure, fate and horse are brought together. Linguistically the word šdiemdžël cannot be understood unequivocally. The second syllable ... džël, however,

N *563 M 439 [438] [543] [437]

/The Monguors/

tion for her hospitality. Larger scale selling and buying are done at fairs held two or three times a year.

Occasionally an ambitious young Mongour will go into the business of long-distance caravan trade with the Tibetans. He will deal largely in mules and saddle girths woven with white wool, which can be sold readily in Tibet, and bring back wool serge cloth dyed red or purple, or white with red or blue stripes. A heavy fabric, it sheds water, and is highly valued by the Mongours. He will also bring back Tibetan incense, dates and so forth to sell to the Chinese.

N *563 M 461

6. Work and leisure

The traditional life of pastoral nomads is rather free and lazy except at the times of seasonal migration. Descendants of nomads, the Mongours still prefer to enjoy long periods of comparative idleness alternating with short periods of intense activity. In their agricultural economy, however, the Mongour men are unable to be quite so indolent as pastoral nomads.

N *563 M 462

In the farming communities, both men and women work in the fields. The men do the heavy preparatory work, plowing and harrowing; the women help with sowing and weeding, as well as with reaping the harvest and carrying the grains to the threshing floor. Women do the threshing. Like their Mongol sisters, they do the housework and care for the animals. Married women work under the supervision of the oldest, usually the mother-in-law.

N *563 M 562 M [574] M [437] [533]

Although their status is inferior, the Mongour women accept it without resentment. Their outlook is conditioned by their milieu. They know what is expected of them, and behave accordingly. Though bound by strict rules of etiquette, they are entirely free to associate with men, to sing and dance in public, and to enjoy themselves. They delight in attending the big festivals at the lamaseries and the annual assembly of the clan, where they meet their friends and visit, and also show off their fancy costumes and headdress. They love to shop at the fairs, and bargain over goods. Both men and women love to sing. During the long, tedious hours of weeding the fields, men and women sing in unison.

N *563 101

G. The Tibetans

1. The people

Hsi-fan is a name applied by the Chinese to the Amdo Tibetans, and to all other non-Chinese tribesmen from Sung-p'an to Hsi-ning. It means Western Barbarians. Some European scholars have maintained that the Hsi-fan are not Tibetans, and suggest that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese peoples of southwest China, like the Lolo or Moso.

N *563 199

Granting that there is no such thing as a homogenous Tibetan

Mo /109 cont'd/
595
534
422

Each of the two women has her chickens, which she has at her disposal as owner, as well as the eggs. The grain left on the flat area after the threshing and winnowing also goes into their private tills. At the time of the opium harvest, what adheres to the lining of the containers reverts to them also; each one therefore has her personal savings.

Mo [276]

Mo 595

I cannot end the chapter on polygamy without concluding that monogamy is in fact the general rule and the moral order among the T'ou-jen, while polygamy constitutes an exception to the rule.

Indeed, one meets polygamy only in special cases, which are sterility, widowhood, and the shortage of workers. The fact that polygamists of the fourth category are by far the least numerous seems to prove the point. (1)

Ma 595

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64: Among the Manchus monogamy is the usual form of marriage. Polygamy if indeed it does occur, is a very exceptional form and can be considered as an incidental institution. According to the Manchus, polygamy is a modern fashion borrowed from the Chinese who especially the rich people use it very largely. The rich Manchus used to have 5, 6 wives until a new law limited the number of wives to two only. There is no restriction to taking two sisters as wives, but the Manchus do not like to give two daughters, because other unmarried people may be discontented by it. /Cited in English./

Mo 595

Conclusion. An ethnographic fact of prime important entirely dominates the question of the marriage of girls and widows, and in part that of polygamy.

[34 cont.]

000 represent long hair.

791 Equipment: Like the lamas, they have a bell, a large, two-
778 sided drum, a small double-drum (hourglass drum); for exorcising
demons they use a whip made of human skin and a bone flute.
534 Furthermore, they have Tibetan books, sounding boards, and
[789] thunderbolt.

[765] The drum was formerly made of human skulls, over which human skin was stretched for the drumhead. The whip had a handle of human bones. The flute was made of the shinbone of a full-grown girl who had not yet married and had lost her life through suicide or an accident. It is open at one end and cut off smoothly. This end serves as mouthpiece and is inlaid with metal. The other end has a small hole on each of the two condyles. The flute is wrapped with the girl's skin; it is sewed tight (5). The same skin is also used for plaiting the whip and

5. [Foreign text p. 35.] The reports vary concerning the bone from which the flute is made. Most of them say that it is the shinbone; others claim that it is the thigh bone. I did not learn anywhere that the periosteum had to be eaten. -- The flute has an uncannily plaintive tone; it has an especially penetrating effect at night, when it is often heard in lamaseries. -- The Bon also try to drive away unpleasant events with the sound of the flute, for example, a punitive expedition, tax collectors, soldiers, etc., as happened in Kweiteh, for instance.

[789]

covering the drum. There are certain regulations for the manufacture of these objects. The Bon priest makes the implements himself (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 35.] What is here said concerning the making of the flute, drum, and whip is confirmed by other people, but no one has seen how they are made in detail. Some say it has to be a girl who has not yet

[34 cont.]

791
778
534

[Note on foreign text p. 35 cont.] menstruated; others maintain the opposite. At any rate, she has to be an unmarried person. In this connection cf. what is said in the section concerning death customs and cremation: that they are demons and are especially feared by demons.

791
[789]

Activities: A special activity of the Bon priests is the erection of the pole-goat and conjuring away storms, as well as the making and conjuring of the figure-litter. Otherwise they have almost the same activities as the other soothsayers: they designate lucky days for housebuilding, traveling, etc.; they question fate concerning sickness and medicine, For soothsaying, however, they use no special instruments; instead they have books from which they take everything. There are also Bon priests who have learned to take the pulse and to prescribe medicines and are able to cure without magic. -- The Bon priests do not go into a trance, but only pray (6).

[787]

[755]

6. [Foreign text p. 35] The Bon are regarded with a kind of secret fear by the Tujen. They also have something to do with springs and mountains. It is said that they often dwell alone in tents in remote ravines and at wells throughout the summer. There they pray, conjure away storms, etc. Perhaps this seclusion contributes to the fact that all kinds of uncanny machinations are reported of them.

Word List

192
791

Shepherd-Bon: sënoǧsa (snaǧsa) (7); ch'an-t'ou peng-po (Chin.) = Bon with queue wound up.

[34 cont.]

192
791

7. [Foreign text p. 35.] dziliu: Tibetan dril bu = bell. -- kañgergë: Mongolic k'eng-gerge = drum. -- sënoġsa (snaġsa): Tibetan shags pa = sorcerer; shags bon = Bon priest. -- (n)duombora: Tibetan sdom = to bind, spu = hair, ra = wreath. -- šgañdoñ: Tibetan rkañ = shinbone, duñ = trumpet, snail. -- ndarë: probably a literary botching of the Sanskritic damaru (Unkrig).

Farmer-Bon: xuändie; su-jen peng-po (Chin.) = Lay-Bon.
Bon priest (in general): peng-po-tzu (Chin.).
Hair wreath of the farmer-Bon: (n)duombōra (Tib. and Tujen) (7) [see Note 7 above].
[778] Bone flute: šgañ-doñ (Tib. and Tujen); chuo-pa (Chin.) = shinbone (7) [see Note 7 above].
[534] Hourglass drum: ndarë (Tib. loanword) (7) [see Note 7 above]; pa-lang-ku (Chin.).
Bell: dziliu (7) [see Note 7 above]; ling-tang (Chin.).
Whip: p'i-pien-tzu (Chin.) = skin-whip.
Big drum: ta-ku (Chin.); kañgärgë.

[Pages 34-35 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[35]
792

4. The Lama (Lama-Reception)*

*See "Notes," pp. 41-43 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are many ceremonies to which a lama is invited.

[36 cont.]

Fig. 3

778
534

[532] a. Torma; b. torma; c. wumba-can of the lama; d. thunderbolt (dordzi); e. bell. (Drawing by a Tujen.)

792 soothsaying the setting up of a mani-tree is supposed to take place
791 on the fifteenth day of a given month, then the lama must come
574 a week in advance because a prayer service of several days always precedes it. Only the higher lamas stay for just a day. The preparations are always carried out by the master of the household with the assistance of the mother's brother.

On the day before, the yard and all the rooms of the house are swept clean. The men fumigate all the rooms with the red-hot stone and the incense fire, so that no demons will carry on their mischief. For the lama, the host reserves the best room in the main house, which immediately adjoins the chapel or the household altar. He spreads one or two layers of white or red felt mats on the kang and places two beautiful saddle-blankets over them, one for the lama and one for his assistant. The place on which the lama is to sit is indicated by a hada. The latter is regarded as an honored memento and is later hung by the household altar.

Between the two blankets there is a fire basin with a large teakettle. Behind it there is a kang table with the food: a [262] round wooden bowl of tsamba on which several pieces of buttered

[38 cont.]

792 796 782 778

Prayer service: Now he begins his prayer service. Before each prayer service a few tormas are made; if he is a great lama, his assistants see to it. The tormas vary and represent offerings to the gods. In part they are left standing on the table, or they are taken to the household altar. Before that comes a series of little water bowls, grain bowls, liquor bowls (3),

3. [Foreign text p. 41.] There is a definite number and order for these little bowls. The water offering plays an important role in the monastic cult, cf. Kumbum, p. 251. The Tujen and Chia-Hsifan [Sifan] frequently present the water offering in the morning. Thus,

534 354 532

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5

Fig. 4. Two hourglass drums. (Drawing of a Tujen.) Fig. 5. Butter-lamp.

I once saw how an old man got up in the morning, washed himself, burned incense, put a large copper bowl and 12 little bowls of water on the household altar, kowtowed three times in the courtyard, one of these in the direction of Kumbum, kowtowed three times in front of the household altar, and then emptied the water bowls.

and butter-lamps, which are always kept burning. Later these tormas are either taken away or eaten by the family, and sometimes thrown

[39 cont.]

792 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the reception. The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the
796 gifts are brought after him on animals.
574

[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers. [465] They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

351
796 Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is
784 called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the be-
[609] ginning of the performance may not enter the yard. On the
[792] other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as
[211]
[177]

7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

[534]

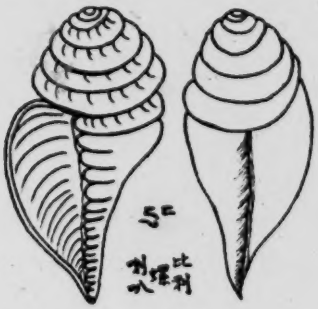

Fig. 6. Shells.

[532]

(Drawing of a Tujen.)

[40 cont.]

192 Lama-reception: lama ndziala.

792 Lama blessing: ndziärgän (Tib.) = in rows.

796 First fetching: ġdzõ dañwu (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note on preceding page].

574 Second fetching: ġdzõ niwa (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Third fetching: ġdzõ ġdzämba (Tib. loanword) 10 [see Note 10 on preceding page].

192 Tsamba bowl with buttered slices: simier (10) [see Note 10 on
262 preceding page].

796 Little plate with baked goods: sëtoġ.

Sugar candy: ping-t'ang (Chin.).

Apple: hai-t'ang (Chin.).

Nuts: ho-t'aõ (Chin.).

Dates: sa-tsaõ-êrh (Chin.).

Dry curds: tsüra (Tib., Tuj.).

Oil sticks: san-tzu (Chin.).

Filled loaves: taġur.

Oil pies: yu-pao-tzu (Chin.).

192 Speech hada: sidär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10
796 on preceding page].

Red cloth (which one presents to the lama): sändzõn (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Grain with money: mbõ.

Loin of mutton (also the entire sheep): ndžuän.

[778] Torma: šdorma (Tib. loanword) (2) [see Note 2 above].

Little copper bowl with water, grain, etc.: dõnsär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Butter-lamp: lamar (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

[778] Holy water-can: wumbä (Tib. loanword).

Peacock's feather: k'un-ch'üo-mao (Chin.).

Thunderbolt: dordzi (Tib., Tuj.).

[41]

[534] Hourglass drum: ndarë.

Mani-string: mani.

[44 cont.]

782

10. [Foreign text p. 49.] For the water offering, cf. the chapter, "The Lama-reception, Note 3.

The threads are in the well-known five sacred colors. The material does not matter. The best, naturally, are silk threads. Wealthy [45] people throw a small bundle of each [556] color into the fire every time; poor people, on the other hand, merely cut off a little piece from each string, so that they will last a long time.

782 The conch comes from the east, from China or Tibet. It is said that none are found in the Koko Nor. Hence, not 534 every family has a conch. It is therefore not absolutely neces- [439] sary for one to be blown at the offering (7).

7. [Foreign text pp. 48-49.] The conch is the Triton horn, the Triton spiral. To the Tujen it is a symbol of purity and of the sublime. Accordingly, the word dön is also used adjectively for: pure, white, sublime, sacred. One could translate it simply as "conchlike." It is found in this sense especially commonly in songs. In order to blow it, one pierces the pointed end and edges it usually with metal; this serves as the mouthpiece. Colorful bands often hang at the other end, the horn; cf. the illustration. In spite of its dull tone, the conch resounds very far.

It is self-evident that the conch is not native to that region. The Tujen name is a phonetic imitation of the Tibetan dun; usually the Tibetans further add dkar, "white." In Mongolic this conch is called labai (Unkrig; Kov. 1958), which in turn is related to the Chinese la-pa,

[45 cont.]

782
534

[Note on foreign text p.48-49 cont.]
"trumpet." Judging by the sign, however, this la-pa is itself a Chinese imitation of a foreign word. The Tsinghai Chinese have the designation pi-li for the shell-horn, but this evidently comes from the Tujen verb pilie (to blow), for instance, dõŋgẽ pilie = to blow the conch. The Chinese say ch'uei pi-li for this. Otherwise, the Chinese name for the Triton horn is simply luo (lo), and the conch-goddess taken over from Buddhism (Tib. Duṅ-ma, Sanskr. Mangala śankha) is called pao-lo t'ien-nü, "heavenly elf of the preciousness-conch"; cf. Pander-Grünwedel, Pantheon, p. 105, No. 294; p. 115.

[171]

The shell-horn and its cultic use is old and widespread in India and the South Seas and has been taken over into Buddhism. The function of the conch in the Lamaist cult naturally cannot be explored further here. For an understanding of the Tujen custom, however, the following should be noted. The blowing of the conch brings harmony into the universe and [49] can release the hunger-spirits (Preta) and lead them into the paradise of joys (Tushita); cf. Pander-Grünwedel, loc. cit. Shells whose spirals do not run from right to left, as is usual, but the opposite way are especially valuable; cf. Ch. Das (p. 628): duṅ-dkar gyas 'k'il (Sanskr. dakṣiṇā varta śankha). The sound of such a conch cures sickness, and, if it is kept in the house, it pacifies quarrels and disturbances and guarantees harmony in the family. That

[755]
[578]

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.]
may also be the reason why the Tujen always try to obtain such a conch and blow it in the morning at the incense offering in the yard.

For the rest, the conch in itself is made to order for the offering. It formerly served as an offering bowl; cf. Ch. Das (p. 627). Today it is regarded as the third of the eight offerings (mc'od brgyad) or good-luck symbols (bkra śis rtags brgyad) as a sign of being turned in the right direction, sending out lovely sounds to the ten points of the compass; cf. Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, p. 21.

782
183
[262]

All these objects that have been enumerated are part of a complete incense offering. Since a family only rarely has these accessories on hand, the offering is usually given in the simple form, that is, people content themselves with cypress twigs, tsamba, and water-sprinkling. Not even butter and milk have been available recently among the Tujen.

782
[776]

Meaning: The incense offering is primarily to heaven, as is the first kowtow. In the second place, it is intended to honor the mountain and earth spirit, and in the third place all the other countless spirits. Oral prayers are not spoken, but one usually says or thinks: "Heaven knows it." The offering is a request for protection and pleases the spirits because of the distinguished gifts. Hence, the men give it at all religious ceremonies, for instance, at the sowing festival, at the veneration of the obo, at the sheep sacrifice, etc. It is left to burn for hours during the entire procedure. Since the Tujen have practiced the incense offering since time immemorial, it constantly recurs in the songs (8).

[777]

8. [Foreign text p. 49.] The incense

[45 cont.]

192
782
824

[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.]
(white bean-tressel). gagula: Tib. ka ko la = Amomum medium; Chin. ts'ao-kuo (straw-fruit). dzati: Tib. dsa tsi (Sanskr.) = nutmeg. ġawur: Tib. ga-bur (Sanskr.) = camphor (Unkrig).

Spices: ġlu (ġlo, ġlē) sëmän; ġlu (Tib. loanword) = earth-god;
sëmän (Tib. loanword) = medicine, spice (11) [see Note 11 above].

Känba flowers: känba.

Incense additions: rdzē (Tib. loanword) = additions, things.
snaġsoġ fdzäṅ rdzē (Tib. loanword) = many kinds of incense additions (4), (11) [see Notes 4 and 11 above].

Cloves: lisi (Tib.); ting hsiang (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Saffron: gušgum (Tib.); tsang hung-hua (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Cardamom: sësmiel (Tib.); i-chi-jen (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Marl: gagula (Tib); ts'ao-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Nutmeg: dzati (Tib.); jou-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Camphor: ġawur (Tib.); ping-p'ien (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

192 [46]
782 Milk (profane): sun.

Libation: tsiab (tsiaw) (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 above].

[534] Conch: doṅ (Tib. loanword) = trumpet, horn (7) [see Note 7 above].

Heaven, you know it: tieṅgërē mudie.

[372] Purification-fire: sündur (Tib. loanword).

3: Schröder--84 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

115
142
291
302
792
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292

Plate I

a

b

792
796
782
292
*778

c

d

(Caption on following page.)

[46 cont.]

[Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

115

[145] a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling
[291] in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autumn
[302] of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer,
1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the
792 conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the
796 monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guǎmbasoma) in the vicinity
[534] of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense
[292] Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In
[782] front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the
[778] background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-
szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-
reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan.
756 Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to
enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof;
this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand
* [778] the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching
[292] line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not
wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is
very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter:
"The Gurtum.")

[822 cont.]

241 782 756 [292] The shamans are always men (2). They wear women's

2. [Foreign text p. 823.] The name for these shamans is bō, in other words, the typical Mongolic word. The Tujen strictly differentiate them from the other shamans and the Bon priests. They are the cult dancers designated by the Chinese as fa-shih, that is, sorcerer, or shih-kung, that is, teacher, whose chief goddess is the Niang-niang, that is, mother.

[776]

[534] clothes and a woman's hairdo. Their drum consists of an iron or wooden ring over which is stretched a sheepskin. They carry [535] the litter of the mother-goddess onto a threshing floor and dance before it. During the dance the drums are beaten. They do all [787] kinds of acrobatic feats, and one of them goes into a great trance and wounds himself.

241 782 The sowing festival takes place during the period from the third to the fifth month, the harvest festival in the ninth or tenth month. No village celebrates both festivals. There is no harvest festival where the sowing festival is held, and there is no sowing festival where there is a harvest festival.

[823] At the sowing festival one prays for protection against storms and for rain; at the harvest festival one expresses thanks for the harvest. [The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

600

2. The Pole-goat *

* See "Notes," pp. 829-830 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designation for them in the text.]

192
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[624]
[794]
[534]

[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor: tōrōdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.

Trumpet: dõn; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.

Cymbals: nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rëbuogë (?).
ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.

Flags: ch'i-tzu (Chin.).

Books: luän = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.

Book-bearers: luän rëgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

600

VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

* See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

[847 cont.]

Details

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755 Time: Ordinarily the ceremony takes place when a child is sick. It can also be undertaken, however, as a preventive measure against [848] sickness. Then the third or ninth month is chosen by preference.

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791 Place: One stays in one's own house and does not go into the local temple; the Bon priests also live in the compound. The place is taboo during these days. The burning of the objects must always be done outside the place.

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782 The prayer service: For the prayer service the Bon priests bring along a large double drum, which is suspended from a beam (1), and, furthermore, sounding plates, a hand bell,
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1. [Foreign text p. 849.] By means of a ring the drum is suspended from a beam in the room with a cord. The Bon sticks one finger of his left hand through the second ring on the drum and thus pulls the drum tight so that it does not swing back and forth. At the same time he also holds in his left hand a sounding plate. In his right hand he has drum sticks and the second sounding plate, so that through skillful handling he can beat both instruments at the same time.

bone flute, and Tibetan prayer texts. The prayer service takes place four times a day, namely, at sunrise, after the morning tea, at noon, and in the evening; the incense offering is made in the yard each time.

3: Schröder--298 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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d

(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
757 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[754] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
[292] shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
[534] village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[778] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-
pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip
[142] with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the
gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest
Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The
Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
[171] graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical.
Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs
concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his
percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his
instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the follow-
ing day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless
one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing
to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed.
[333] The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[253 cont.]

791 is a purely popular one, and nothing about the inner relationship
779 of these groups to one another is indicated by it; they are probably not essentially different. The farmer-Bon have become most superficial and degenerate. They still wear as their sole distinguishing mark only the artificial brush garland, in order thus to imitate the massive braided turban of the shepherd-Bon; they have practically died out. -- The most important cultic
[765] implements of the Bon are taken from the human corpse: the
[534] double skull-drum covered with human skin, the whip plaited out of human skin (and probably with a bone handle), the thigh-bone flute, and the bone dagger. These implements are supposed to be taken from the corpse of an unmarried adult female person. By the special relationship to skeleton and corpse alone,
[174] the Bon might acknowledge an ancient Tibetan home, which, to be sure, is not only called the "snow land," but also the "land of corpses."

[989] Even though the Bon have much in common with the lamas, there is a series of ceremonies reserved for them, especially the various types of demon exorcism. They are even invited into the monastery by the lamas on the first and fifteenth day of every month, where they undertake these rites. Nothing more about a former opposition between
178 Buddhism and the Bon religion is to be noted here. It shares
791 with Lamaism the fate of gradual disappearance; indeed, in
779 its official form it has already preceded it in this. It is a striking fact that both the Bon religion and Lamaism wane as Chinese agriculture expands, although precisely the sedentary life [254] of the lamas in the large monasteries and the performance of the weather conjuration of the Bon should be especially appropriate for an agricultural culture. The reasons are certainly not religious in nature.

174 The Tujen, however, have probably preserved much
791 more of the Bon tradition than is recognizable at first glance.
779 The marriage customs and the popular poetry probably contain a great deal that would make this ancient layer clear and permit it to be followed deep into Tibet. It is difficult, however, to free everything from the Lamaistic embellishments.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

More has been done by the chiefs and elders of the villages in promoting justice, creating respect for elders, restoring peace in families, defending the position of the women, preventing adultery, punishing the faults of the youngsters, and making the families happy than by the lamas. 792 626 888

I felt really happy to encounter among this tremendous number of lamas the single exception of the old Living Buddha Li, who in the fasting exercises taught the older people to crave pardon for their faults and to pray, and to hear them say that they were happy to have heard comforting words from the mouth of the old man.

V. THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

GENERAL ASPECTS AND FORMER CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

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In Huang-chung, there are not only lamas of the Yellow Sect, the reformed sect of Tsong khapa, but also of the Red Sect, which still adheres to the rules observed before the reform. The red lamas marry, and live, scattered over the country, with their wives and children. They till their fields and raise cattle, indulge in wine and tobacco, eat garlic and nearly all kinds of meat. They perform their rites when invited by the people and live under the direction of a superior, who has far less power over them than the superior of the yellow lamas has over his subjects.

At home they wear the dress of the lay people; when performing rites they wear the usual lama dress—a red gown, the red hat, and a shade before the eyes, adorned with fringes of the five ritual colors. They use the same ritual paraphernalia as the lamas of the Yellow Sect, but they like to use a drum made of two skulls, and to blow a trumpet made of a human thigh bone; they recite their own texts. They seem to lay stress on the cult of water springs. All of them have the duty to perform the Rite of the 108 Springs, which lasts for 129 days, at least once in their lifetime. Some among them perform this rite two or three times. Well versed in magic, they are capable of performing not only the rites performed by the Yellow lamas, but also many other rites prohibited for the Yellow lamas. [292] [534]

All the lamas of Huang-chung belonged to the Red Sect in former times. The lamas of Ch'ü-t'an, the Nang-suo, Karwa lamas, the Dhyana family lamas, the lamas belonging to small monasteries or hermitages,

abstinence from carnal desires, liquor, and he enforced the rules of moral discipline. However, he did not denounce the images worshipped by the old sect, representing men and women in offensive postures, but gave to them a new interpretation of an abstract nature. . . . Externally the two sects do not differ much from each other." And on p. 434: "I am compelled to say that Lamaism has fallen, and that it has assumed a form quite contrary to that to which its great reformer Tsong Khapa elevated it, and I am sincerely sorry for this degeneration." [792 771 175]

[p. 73(A)]

the hair coiled inside the cap. All the shamans wear the pigtail, which they coil when performing rites. 756 292 302

Traditional pictures of Taoist saints show that these worthies were wont to wear their hair in a knot on the top of the head. The Manchu Tartars conquered China and compelled the people to adopt their coiffure and shave their heads except on the top, where it was allowed to grow long and be braided as a pigtail. The *sai kung*, like the whole nation, had to submit to this order, but with pious conservatism they have preserved the ancient orthodox fashion on behalf of their altar service; that is to say, while officiating they coil their hair into a knot upon their heads and cover the shaven part around it with a wig of braided human hair.[21] [175]

The Monguor shamans, however, do not wear the wig.

The Manchus not only preserved their traditional style of dress and haircut, they even compelled Chinese men during the period of invasion to adopt Manchu dress, shave their heads, and grow the queue. This enforced change was so bitterly resented by the Chinese that many times they chose rather to die, or lose their heads, than obey the Tartars in these ceremonies. The literary inquisition launched during the Ch'ien-lung period reveals that, in the eighteenth century, a Chinese who yearned for the old cap and garments was still considered a dangerous rebel.[22] [648]

The second headdress has the form of a sack, of black cloth, tightly bound around the head. A tail, three feet in length, is fixed on this cap. Plaited with red rope around a twisted black rope of cloth, the tail which is thin at the bottom and thick at the end, is rolled on the head, but released when the shaman is executing acrobatic evolutions.

The third one is a crown, in form like the *chod pon* of the lamas,[23] divided in front into five parts, bearing a crude picture of the god of the five roads, the Wu-tao-shen, whose disciples the shamans claim to be. (Shamans never wear a crown with the five Dhyani Buddhas; their antagonism toward Lamaism is too pronounced to do that; they never will perform rites in a Buddhist temple of the village.)[24]

THE DRUM

The drum is one of the important implements of a shaman. It is used to invoke the spirits during the performance of the rites; the spirits enter into it and ritual dances are performed in time with the beat. Every shaman has his own drum, and generally another in reserve. Upon the death of the shaman his drum is buried with him in the coffin, for it is a personal object. The boy apprentices receive a drum of smaller dimensions from their father, on the day of their dedication to the twelve spirits. Apprentices who receive part of their 756 534 [766]

[21] J. J. M. De Groot, *The religious systems of China* 6: Bk. II: 1267, 1910, Leiden, Brill.

[22] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 12, 1949. However, the Chinese were required to change to Manchu dress at the insistence of a Chinese official. See S. Cammann, *China's dragon robes*, 21, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[23] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 92, Paris, Plon, 1929.

[24] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148, Importance of the cap. [p.83(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Apprentices where are part of their training for a couple of years from another shaman, during the summer time, and who acknowledge him as their master, offer him a gown upon completion of their education. In return, they receive a drum from him. The rules of apprenticeship among the shamans are the same as those already noted for other apprentices, such as carpenters. 756 534 [874]

The overwhelming magical significance attached to the drum by the nomad shamans is lacking among the Monguor shamans. Among the nomads, when the apprentice, after completing his depressing training, beats the drum for the first time, he becomes hypnotized and tranced.[25] Although the Monguor shamans consider the drum a sacred magical object, the same overriding importance is not attached to it.

The drum is built in a primitive way. A handle is attached to an iron circle with iron rings, which produce noise when the drum is beaten. On the iron circle is stretched a piece of goatskin, which has been soaked in water and shaved. On its surface are often painted crude pictures of heaven, with the sun, moon, the big and the little dippers, stars and clouds. The drumstick is usually made from peachwood or strips of goat hide twisted together.

THE KNIFE

The shamans use a knife when driving away the evil spirits. The knife is twelve inches long and two inches wide, and pointed at the end. To the handle are attached noisemaking iron rings. Sometimes the Chinese knife used for cutting noodles is substituted. 756 413 293

THE MAGIC STAFF

The staff, which is of wood, seems to be an important tool.[26] To the top is affixed a copper mirror surmounted by a three-pronged iron fork to which tassels of red rope are attached. The staff ends in an iron point, so that it may be planted erect in the ground during the time when council with the spirit is asked for. The magic staff is a tool used by lamas and Taoists as well as by shamans. The staff of the lamas differs from that of the shamans in that the mirror is surmounted by a copper skull, while above the skull is the point of a spear. The staff of the Taoists has an octagonal shaft with an iron point on top.

Each time, before performing a rite, the shaman asks his spirits in the staff about the most fitting rite for the circumstance, the sacrifice to be offered. The answer is supplied by the twelve spirits making the arms of the shaman shiver, and so he knows how to conjure evil spirits who harm persons, families, or herds. It is always called *Yang-t'ou san-ch'iang*. (I could never get an explanation of this Chinese term.) The staff is used when the shamans go into private families in order 756 793

[25] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 79.

[26] Ugo Holmberg, Siberian mythology, in *Mythology of all races* 4: 522, Boston, 1927.

[p.84(A)]

[37 cont.] On the threshing
792 floor the women and children tirelessly perform their round
796 dances with song, so that one can hear them from afar; the
lama is supposed to see how joyfully they welcome him. Out-
574 side the village all get off their horses; only the lama rides on
[535] alone. A man leads his horse by the reins.

As soon as he comes to the gate of the yard, a kang table is placed on the left side of the horse, and a white mat is put over it. The men help the lama out of the saddle, and all kowtow; only the women go on dancing without interruption. The lama steps out of the stirrups onto the table that has been set there and then strides toward the gate, where the master of the household is kneeling. He has placed a hada over his raised hands, and with it he extends to the lama a white bowl of milk with a cypress twig. The lama dips the twig into the milk, sprinkles the gate posts with it, and enters. The incense offering rises in the yard; people blow on all the conches they have. The men draw the lama forward with burning [38] sticks of incense and escort him to his room. There he sits down on the place indicated by the hada. The hada, however, is taken away.

792 The blessing: First of all, the lama rests with his com-
796 panions. The master of ceremonies pours him some tea and
invites him to fortify himself. Then the lama recites certain
574 prayers. Meanwhile the yard fills with guests.
788 At this point the master of the household enters the guest room, hands the lama a hada, kowtows, and requests him to come out in order to bless the people. The lama gives him a few small gifts, which he has brought with him, with a hada. Then he rises and goes out. Outside there is an armchair with a cushion; the lama sits down on it, his back turned toward the main house; a white felt mat is spread in front of him.
[554] Now the people move past him according to rank, first the men, then the women. Each person bows low before him while he touches the forehead or the crown of the head of everyone with his prayer book. His assistant stands at his side. After this ceremony he again withdraws into the house. [Figs. 4 and 5 appear here.]

[39 cont.]

792 lama, however, does not have his principal meal at noon, like
796 the other guests, but only in the late afternoon. In order to en-
465 tertain him men and women dance and sing in the yard. Only
in the case of very high hutukhtus is there no dancing.

[574] On the last day, after the lama's morning meal, but while
[535] he is still drinking tea on the kang, the master of gifts appears with the ceremonial helpers and with many words expresses his gratitude for the visit and the prayer. Then he hands him a tray with the gifts, over which a hada is spread, and the master of gifts announces what the lama is receiving for his services. This hada over the tray is called "speech hada." The things are put in front of the lama on the table and kowtows are made three times. The assistants, too, receive appropriate gifts.

The fee varies according to the wealth of the master of gifts, the position of the lama, and the ceremonies performed. Usually it consists of several back-baskets of bread (5), some

5. [Foreign text p. 42.] A back-basket holds 24 loaves. The red cloth is for the lama's clothing. Why only grain and money are thought of as a unity and designated by the same name, mbō, is unclear to me. According to the DMF, it comes from the Tibetan p'ogs, "fee."

pieces of mutton (4), silver money, and red cloth. Wealthy

[262] 4. [Foreign text p. 42.] Although
[782] Buddhism prohibits killing, the lamas, as well as the hutukhtus, eat flesh in all forms, as I repeatedly was able to observe. In the monastery Kuo-mang-szu I once noted that a sacrificial sheep, skinned and eviscerated, was set on a sacrificial table in front of the temple door. During

[627 cont.]

527 cannot sing or sings incorrectly, his opponent cuts a piece from
533 the lappet. Thus one can sing away his whole garment in an evening.

Above all, the young people meet on the threshing floor and in a circle sing all kinds of songs. This lasts the entire
[883] night, especially at the first [628] full moon. Only towards morning do they stop. Boys and girls mingle freely in the circle. Small boys dressed in reversed hides represent demons and beat on pieces of wood; others imitate Chinese traders, play all kinds of tricks, etc. (5).

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5. [Foreign text pp. 628-629.] These round dances are exactly like those among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiafandse. Men and women and boys and girls form [629] a circle. One person leads the song and also indicates the dance movement. The others sing the refrain and repeat the movement together. They also dance in twos to the rhythm of the song. These dances are also performed generally at entertainments, for example, at a wedding, upon the arrival of the lama, etc. There are many kinds of the songs. They are divided into two groups: family songs, which are decent and are sung in the house; wild songs, whose content, taken from love-life, is usually quite
[171] crude. The melodies to a great extent are the same as among the Fandse. Besides Tujen songs Chinese and Tibetan songs are also sung. The song
[539] given here is Tibetan in its original
[883] text. -- At these moonlight dances the young people spend the entire night out in the open, and more than

782 [822 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 823 cont.]
detail, he gave the answer: "That was too much for one afternoon." Moreover, he had described the festival as it had taken place in his little village. It had always been celebrated very simply there; now he had let the festival die out completely for his village, and they would go to the neighboring village of Chichialing, where it is much longer and larger.

[178]

Here, too, nothing is presented in detail about the individual parts, as in the other chapters, because the material is too extensive and forms a subject in itself, which is to be dealt with in connection with shamanism. It should be stated in advance here, however, that they are probably not Tujen shamans, but Chinese shamans, who are found scattered over wide areas of western China.

[756]

Report

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The sowing festival and the festival of the harvest thanksgiving are completely identical. Only in the autumn people have more flour and meat to celebrate the festival. Both festivals last several days. A definite number of days is not prescribed. At the festival one differentiates between the offering and the dances of the shamans. The offering is undertaken by the seed-master or the village elder. The dances last for an entire day; usually a market is also connected with them.

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The shamans erect a pole in the temple yard, pray several days, send out sicknesses on the first evening, and from a distance kill children or cause them to become unconscious. In the evening of the final day, before they take down the pole, they take the sicknesses back; then the people struck by them become healthy again.

[822 cont.]

241 782 756 [292] The shamans are always men (2). They wear women's

2. [Foreign text p. 823.] The name for these shamans is bö, in other words, the typical Mongolic word. The Tujen strictly differentiate them from the other shamans and the Bon priests. They are the cult dancers designated by the Chinese as fa-shih, that is, sorcerer, or shih-kung, that is, teacher, whose chief goddess is the Niang-niang, that is, mother.

[776]

[534] clothes and a woman's hairdo. Their drum consists of an iron or wooden ring over which is stretched a sheepskin. They carry [535] the litter of the mother-goddess onto a threshing floor and dance before it. During the dance the drums are beaten. They do all [787] kinds of acrobatic feats, and one of them goes into a great trance and wounds himself.

241 782 The sowing festival takes place during the period from the third to the fifth month, the harvest festival in the ninth or tenth month. No village celebrates both festivals. There is no harvest festival where the sowing festival is held, and there is no sowing festival where there is a harvest festival.

[823] At the sowing festival one prays for protection against storms and for rain; at the harvest festival one expresses thanks for the harvest. [The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

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2. The Pole-goat *

* See "Notes," pp. 829-830 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designation for them in the text.]

[828 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 830 cont.]
weather conjuration of this region still seems to be an inheritance from the Bon. The conditions and customs connected with it are strongly reminiscent of the description given by A. Tafel for the Bon in eastern Tibet, Tibetreise, II, pp. 198 ff.

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The first four tormas represent evil demons. They are driven away by the throwing. The extra features are given so that they will be content and will not return; they are things which one needs in daily life.

[982]

The second torma, weather-torma, represents the spirits of the weather ministry. The extra features are an offering to make them favorably disposed.

The mountain-torma represents the world-mountain. Sun and moon circle around it. This mountain is the spirit paradise. It is put under the pole so that the spirits will withdraw into this paradise and leave the human beings.

The wedges represent the magic dagger of the smith-god and his subordinates. They are the chief weapons against demons. [791] The Bon priest is also a pupil and subordinate of this smith-god. He especially venerates him and likewise uses the three-edged magic dagger in conjuring away the demons. At the temple [535] dances (tscham dances) the subordinate spirits of the weather-smith-god also appear with the dagger. Lamas never use the dagger. The three notches form three knobs which are supposed to represent the human skull. The demons especially fear this, [765] like all things that come from the dead, such as the bone flute, the whip of human skin, and the skull drum.

192 [829] Word List

241 The pole-goat: aradziãn (Tib. loanword) = to stretch out
789 the goat.
[778] ima rẽdziala (Tujen) = to stretch out the goat.
The goat: ima; chü-la (Chin.); chia-la (Chin.).

[845 cont.]

789 spear-soothsayer amidst constant shaking; he must remain until
792 the end. They go in front of the yard gate. There another man
[791] waits with the animal. The master of the household places the saddlebag on the unbridled and unsaddled animal and leads it away by the head harness, followed by the lama, spear-soothsayer, and the other men. The procession goes out of the village by the usual route. Outside the village he leads the animal a distance across the fields, takes off its head harness, and chases it away, and to be sure in an uninhabited direction so that it cannot immediately run back into the village. On the [846] spot at which the animal was released, the lama sets down the torma. Before it a man erects a small wall of clay bricks with the broad side facing the village, so that the demon will not come back again. Then all go home. The animal is not supposed to run home again; no one bothers about what happens to it. It belongs to the demon. In case it does come running back again later, it is driven off with blows of a stick.

789 The simple releasing: Besides this ceremonial form,
791 there is also a simple releasing, which takes only half a day
757 or a whole day. One invites a shaman or a soothsayer, who escorts the things away. On this occasion there is no praying and no torma is made. The master of the household holds a hen in readiness and brings the traveling clothes and food on a tray before the household altar. The soothsayer or shaman invokes the spirit and, followed by the master of the household, goes with the tray out into the field. There a large pile of straw is heaped up. The things on the tray are flung into it and the whole is set afire. While the flames beat upward, the hen is allowed to fly away. -- If a soothsayer officiates, then the performance usually takes place in the morning. If a shaman undertakes the releasing, then it is not done until the late evening at the coming of darkness. The shaman follows
[787] in a state of trance and swings his sword in battle against the demon. Even if the shaman at the "great releasing" follows the lama in place of a spear-soothsayer, he performs this
[535] sword dance, but this is always in broad daylight (2).

[204 cont.]

776 of the Bon, the Däntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance among the people that might be expected. They know of [796] Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth [535] day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha, [791] and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call [788] sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full [756] warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people. Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called [753] ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune, [777] failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the [731] plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom [782] the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are combated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the Däntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[The bō or Drum-Shamans]

[235 cont.]

756 and, depending upon the region, yarious local spirits. These
[776] gods predominantly come from the Taoist pantheon.

[789]

[236] Activity. -- Their principal task is the weather
[241] conjuration, the sowing and harvest festivals, and curing sick-
[755] nesses.

756 Peculiarity. -- The bō or fa-shih are differentiated from
787 the other shamans by the fact that they have no trance. If one questions the people about it, one always receives the same answer: "fa-shih pu fa shen (the fashih do not go into ectascy)." Now that is not entirely correct. Namely, at the conclusion of the sowing or harvest festival, one of them attempts an imitation of the trance and wounds himself with the knife. This is called: "fa ta-shen (to produce a great trance)." It is not a trance at all, but at most a relic suggesting it; I was able to observe it several times. Thus the people are basically right when they do not accord ecstasy to them. -- The people sum up the main
756 characteristic, however, in the saying: "fa-shih ch'uei ku, t'iao
•535 shen (the fashih beat the drum and perform spirit dances)." Drum and dance are the most outstanding. They always dance in groups before the image of the great mother in order to please her, or also before the sacrificial pig. These are not shamanistic individual dances in order to induce a trance, but are cultic group-dances that follow a definite ritual. One can therefore designate them as drum- or dance-shamans, although true shamanistic features are scarcely present any more.

Classification

171 Relationship to the more recent Siberian shamanism.
756 -- There are few similarities with Siberian shamanism. One could regard the drum as the most important continuation from Siberian shamanism. The relationship with the Tungusic and Mongolic-Manchurian shamanism is stronger. The drum has almost exactly the same execution and the same appendages as, for example, among the Mongols of the Kūrie-Banner. (Cf.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

A small drum is prepared for the boy and the father teaches him to beat it in the right tempo; he teaches him the usual prayers. Every day in the morning and at evening he will sit cross-legged with his father in front of the picture and the staff, beating the drum, receiving instruction and asking for explanations. The father teaches him the pasting of flags and streamers with white, red, and yellow paper, the cutting of all kinds of paper designs; the kneading of all kind of dough figures used during the rites; the application on red paper of the usual seals. He also teaches him the different kinds of dancing, and how to attack imagined spirits or defend himself against them, with sword and spear; and how to use the whip, the staff, and the knife. Special stress is put on athletic exercises in order to strengthen and supple the muscles and bones, and also on all kinds of acrobatics, climbing up poles, jumping on tables, executing dangerous pirouettes. Because all the shamanist [535] rites are accompanied by dances, peculiar stress is put on moving with grace and elegance with measured steps to the beating of the drum. The best dancers among the shamans are very celebrated all over the country. All shamans are acrobats and fine dancers.

Most shamans are proficient in the art of producing tones and words without any motion of the mouth, so that the listeners are induced to refer the sound to spirits speaking in the drum and answering the questions proposed to them by the shaman. They are wonderful ventriloquists. This art is used at the time the spirits are called up in the drums, and long conversations are held between them and the shamans.

The apprentice, from the very beginning, accompanies his father in performing shamanist rites. He learns with enthusiasm and vigor, for the boy is eager to beat drums, play the acrobat, dance with the elders and imitate them, but at the same time he sees and hears his father conjuring the spirits, calling them up, attacking and chasing evil spirits. He sees the awful rictus of his mouth and jaws, the painful contortions of his whole body; he hears him, worked into a frenzy, predicting the future; and sees his eyes in a fixed stare. Hundreds of times he sees and hears the same rites performed for sick men, and hears the shaman talking to the villagers at the general rites of spring and autumn. Because the [776] same things are said and done over and over again, he remembers them all by heart. The novelty, however, of beating drums, wears off very fast, and unconsciously he starts living in a new world of spirits, acting and thinking in the way of the shamans. He believes his father and the other shamans, he becomes hypnotized by their words, gestures, and acts, and he starts seeing and hearing spirits himself. He gets the conviction that, protected by the twelve spirits to whom he is dedicated, he can also subdue evil spirits and act as the agent of good ones, and he becomes a shaman.

Helping his father and other shamans for years and having himself alone performed rites, eventually when

in front of all the spirits invited the day before, talking with them and asking for their protection upon the village. The guardian of the temple, acting as representative of the whole village, kneels behind them with incense sticks in his joined hands, answering and repeating the prayers. The rite lasts for about an hour. 796 756

Around ten o'clock a lunch is served to the shamans and wine is poured in profusion. All the villagers, dressed in their festival best, flock to the temple to attend the ceremony of the possession of the chief of the shamans by the White Tiger spirit.

For a long time the shamans play and have fun. While the apprentices beat drums and cymbals, they start dancing; they get excited, display all kinds of acrobatics; dance on their knees holding their heels in their hands; dance on their heads; turn cartwheels; keep whirling; jostle one another. They are stimulated to compete with one another in accomplishing the queerest eccentricities. It is not unusual for a couple to get into a quarrel and start fighting and for one or another to fall down in a fainting fit. [535] [578]

When the excitement reaches fever pitch, the chief of the shamans exchanges his cap of the god of the Five Roads for the black cap with long tail. With his arm nude, the whip fixed into the collar, drum in hand, he starts a wild dance which lasts for a long time. He stops once in a while and cracks the whip. He takes threatening and aggressive attitudes, brawls loudly and indistinctly, and grins, distorting mouth and jaw bone. With his whole body writhing and supposed to be possessed by the White Tiger spirit, he cuts his arm with a razor, making it bleed. The women rush to the shaman and apply paper to the wound. These papers are efficacious talismans for the protection of children, and are sewn on their clothes by their mothers. In former times, old Monguors said, potent shamans pierced their cheeks with an arrow and bent the blade of a sword predicting the future with wonderful accuracy, but today shamans can no longer do that. These rites are in line with the activities of Wu and shamans.[8] [785]

GREETING OF THE GODDESS OF JOY

Around two o'clock the rite of *ying hsi-niang* is performed, the meeting with, and the greeting of, the Goddess of Joy. This rite is purely shamanistic. The Chinese perform a similar but more quiet rite, on New Year's day, meeting and greeting the "spirit" of joy. Monguor youngsters like to imitate the Chinese and enjoy the same merriment. However, the real Monguor rite is the following one performed by the shaman: [776]

On the large threshing floor of the village is placed a table with offerings. The villagers sit around the edges of the floor in order that the shaman may have room for the performance and the evolutions. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail, and keeping

[8] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212. [p. 109 (B)]

M /70 cont'd/
585 "And you, our daughter, you are also the child of your times.
431 Formerly, the gifts which the parents gave to their daughter were so numerous that they had to be transported on wagons or a whole herd of oxen was loaded with them. We give you the following gifts (see No. 11). Truly they are insignificant; it is as if we were giving a naked daughter to the mother-in-law.

"To you all, relatives by marriage, we pour wine, be indulgent and content." Then the master of ceremonies out loud orders the bride and groom to kneel to the whole assemblage; then wine is poured for all the guests. (1)

M
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1. Father De Smedt gives me a variation of the master of ceremonies' speech, although noting that the T'ou-jen from whom he got it even told him that he had forgotten a good deal about the subject. Although this speech is incomplete, it contains variations which are worth the trouble of being kept: "A dog does not dare bark in the presence of a tiger, thus it is not fitting for a little man like me to speak before an assemblage as respectable as yours. A horse of small size does not run fast, they say; thus the words of a man without merit are insignificant. If you succeed in understanding my words, do not attach any importance to them; if you do not understand them, do not make fun of me. When an old statue is newly gilded, when a brand-new border is put on an old garment.... Thus it is a praiseworthy practice always to become related to families with which marriages have been contracted for many generations...." The rest is about as we have related above.

HM
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Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 305. The dowry of the girl consists,

[641 cont.]

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[605]

[Note on foreign text p. 655 cont.]
following offices: 1. The master of ceremonies. He takes care of everything connected with the customs concerning the dead and the cremation. He is called by the Chinese name sang-kuan, that is, leader of the interment, or hu-sang, that is, protector of the interment. He is usually picked from the cousinhood. 2. The gift-guardian. He takes the offering loaves and keeps them in a special room. In Chinese he is called k'u-kuan, that is, treasure-guardian. -- The Chinese also put a secretary at his disposal, who notes what the individual guests have given. The Tujen do not have this. 3. The host. He is there solely for the lama and provides for his entertainment, for his animals, for the things needed at the ceremony, for paper to burn, etc. The Tujen call him känguo. In his place the Chinese have an incense-manager. 4. The female cook, called dziemä nienie by the Tujen. -- With exception of the känguo and the dziemä nienie, the officiants seem to have been taken over from the Chinese.

764 given some liquor, and the bereaved on the father's side come
604 in the circle with the master of ceremonies and kneel on the
[602] ground before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies
[273] steps forward and invites the mother's brother to take a drink of
liquor. He hands him a hada and a piece of white cloth and
[537] requests him to present his wishes for the dead and to release
the corpse for the cremation.

[641 cont.]

764 604 537 [273] The mother's brother puts the hada over his shoulders, takes a swallow of liquor, and begins his speech. Usually he demands an accounting concerning the care of his protégé during the latter's illness and demands the small fees for the prayer service, saying that they should be ashamed of such avarice, the dead had always been a good person, the pride of his family, he deserved better; now at least one should give him a decent death-box and provide the most magnificent cremation possible; far too few lamas had been invited, but now they should recompense them with much money and rice and butter, etc.

[273] Every time that the mother's brother puts forward a wish or a complaint and pauses, the master of ceremonies has his liquor bowl refilled and calls upon him to drink. Then the master of ceremonies replies in the name of the paternal relatives, seeks to invalidate the reproaches, to lessen the demands, and to emphasize the efforts of the family. He says that the most expensive medicines were procured for the deceased during his illness, for how could one neglect such a virtuous person; moreover, everything that the family could do in his honor and for his soul would be done, but one should not demand the impossible; after all, one must die sometime; the times are bad, but they would gladly give the lama that and that, etc. -- So it goes back and forth between the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies, until a course is finally agreed upon and the mother's brother declares that now he is satisfied and will release the corpse. Now the mother's brother is invited to inspect the corpse, but he usually does not do this.

764 604 After this speech, the bereaved arise, kowtow three times before the mother's brother, and return to the deathwatch by the box. The mother's brother follows them and kowtows before the dead. Then alms are distributed to the guests, usually [431] coins. This is called "to do good," for it is advantageous for the deceased. Then the meal for the relatives on the mother's side [735] takes place in a large circle. Usually there is rice, but among poor people only noodle soup.

[775] [642] The ceremony of the demand for an accounting has the purpose of releasing the soul of the dead for the migration [177]

[643 cont.]

764 their shoulders and carry it out to the yard gate. Before the gate the water-lamp and the paper basin are emptied. Here, too, the straw that served the bereaved as an underlayer during the deathwatch is burned. The procession goes to the crematory at a rapid pace. Old and young, men and women, follow in colorful confusion.

Young boys go with them. They carry straw, firewood, cypress twigs, a wooden bed or a door for the lama, a white felt mat, and a large iron kettle for melting the butter. At the oven, the men place the box on the ground. The relatives once more burn paper and throw themselves down to kowtow. Then 764 the master of ceremonies steps forward and addresses a few words 537 of farewell to the deceased. He says approximately the following: We have done what we could for you; we invited the lamas, we have prayed, we have given alms. We have made a beautiful box for you; you can be content. Therefore think no more of us and do not return to disturb the peace of our house. Be without care; we shall not forget you and shall continue to pray for you and to make offerings to you.

764 After this speech he distributes money among those [431] present. This is alms and is called "box-money." Now the [533] women once more begin the lamentation. They have a certain melody and express their grief in impromptu words. Then all go home. Only the master of ceremonies, two fire guards, the sons-in-law, the nephews, and the lama remain. The fire is serviced only by the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The sons-in-law and nephews assist with other operations.

Putting the corpse inside: The men who remained behind bring the litter to the west side of the oven where the broad slit was left. They put the litter with the back to this opening and draw the wooden wall out, so that the corpse is exposed in the back. Meanwhile the [644] fire guards have piled cypress twigs and wood on the oven floor. The corpse is now put on the firewood in the oven, the back to the east, the face to the west. [775] Then the slit is walled off. The face must be turned to the [823] west because the realm of the blessed is located there, to which he must now migrate.

[216 cont.]

771 Chinese civilization, which with agriculture also brought corre-
174 sponding religious customs with it, passed over them, even if it has only slightly penetrated into the religion.

This peculiar position, conditioned by history and en-
771 vironment, makes the religion of the Tujen a significant subject
792 in the religious history of Amdo and of the Chinese border region
174 generally, so that it is actually no longer simply a matter of the religion of the Tujen alone. The Tujen monks seem to have been aware of this advantageous position and have actively taken part in the investigation of the forms of belief of the border land, especially that of Lamaism. Through this they have won a certain learned and religio-political influence. An example of this is given by Cybikov in his introduction to the "Lam rim c'en po" (pp. XVI-XVII, translated by W.A.Unkrig), where he speaks of the Ch'ang-chia hutukhtu, who, as is known, comes from the Tujen lamasery Erh-ku-lung: "But whatever the situation may be. The home of the Ch'ang-ch'a hutukhtus occupies such a position between China, Mongolia, the East Tibetans, the Tangut, and formerly also the Uigur, that it had to serve as an arena for the contact between these peoples and for the formation of a tribe in which is embodied the traits of all four of these peoples. If one takes a look at the present-day situation exclusively, without historical considerations, according to our view it has contributed greatly to the fact that these lamas had to gain enormous influence on Tibetan and Mongolic affairs and on the relationship of these peoples to the Manchu dynasty." I found this confirmed when I visited the lamasery there. If we also disregard the observation of Cybikov concerning the ethnic formation of the Tujen, it must nevertheless be admitted that this people has taken over many religious traits from its neighbors. It is therefore also no accident that it was precisely a Tulku (Tuguān
[538] hutukhtu) from the Tujen monastery [217] who in the eighteenth century wrote the only known Tibetan book about all the Tibetan sects, including the Bon. He had the most varied forms constantly and directly before his eyes, just as even today the religious customs of the Tujen still represent a living catalogue of patterns in this respect.

[217 cont.]

771 Now, concerning the elements which make up these
174 customs, they fall almost entirely into four groups, each of which constitutes a special layer. These four layers are: the belief in a supreme god, shamanism, the Bon religion, and Lamaism. The layers, however, cannot simply be taken out of the whole structure, freed from all the extra features, and connected with a larger pervading stratum of the Central Asiatic religions. This is only possible in a larger context and would go beyond the bounds of this work, for the parts in question are of considerable temporal depth and embrace many peoples. In addition these layers have interpenetrated one another in that in each case the later one has absorbed the elements of the preceding ones. Thus, Lamaism, in spite of its original enmity toward the Bon religion, has nonetheless adopted much from it. The Bon faith, on the other hand, in turn has a strong shamanistic base, and an old sky-cult runs through all the layers.

771 A discussion of the two high religions, of the Bon and of
128 Lamaism, in their connection with the belief of the Tujen would
756 go too far. Shamanism can more readily be delimited, but it cannot be exhaustively presented either. So there remains the old sky-cult as a belief in a supreme god. This will be dealt with quite extensively in the following, whereas in the case of shamanism the presentation must be limited to a theoretical sketch. A special work will deal with it in detail for the whole western Chinese border region. The Bon religion and Lamaism will only be touched upon briefly.

II. The Layers of the Tujen Religion

114 771

1. The Belief in a Supreme God

In this section it is necessary to refer not only to the customs but also to the other sources and the scanty literature. Aside from the DMF and Mariage (by Schram), which offer a sparse yield for the religion, the other sources are still unpublished.
• [538] They are available in the original texts, however. These are the Geser legend, the agriculture legend, the Moschus deer (the first part of the song cycle known under the name xoni, sheep), and a series of other songs and fairy tales, of which the wedding songs are appearing (Folklore Studies, Tokyo, 1952).

[224 cont.]

782 as a combination of a primitial offering with the matutinal in-
174 cense offering. Even these gifts, however, may not have a bad odor, which wholly corresponds with the original meaning of the incense offering. 2. The incense offering, according to these texts, is already very ancient. Even if the legends are distressingly embellished from Lamaism, they nonetheless go back to pre-Buddhist conditions. This applies especially to the [773] Geser legend. Lamaistic monks in Kumbum emphasize that the legend has nothing to do with their religion. In similar
782 fashion this type of incense offering is declared to be pre-
174 Buddhistic in western Tibet; cf. A.H.Francke, Tibetische
171 Hochzeitslieder, pp. 25 f. (Darmstadt, 1923). The pre-Buddhistic occurrence among the ancient Mongols has already been mentioned. The Tujen are of Mongolic derivation, and they also have religious links with the pre-Buddhist Tibetans, as is shown in the wedding customs and songs (6). -- How far the

6. For the distribution of the incense offering, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 49 [pp. 80-81 above in the HRAF translation]. Its occurrence in ancient China also argues in favor of its being pre-Buddhist in character; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder, Die Fandse, p. 183, where the ancient Chinese burnt offering is equated with the incense offering of the Fandse. The Na-khi juniper incense offering, whose great similarity with the incense offering of the Tujen and the Tibetans cannot be denied, is also pre-Buddhist; cf. the descriptions by J. F. Rock, Naga Cult, pp. 230 ff., and Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 34.

782 incense offering goes back is indicated by the hunting song cycle.
174 It was probably already practiced in the early period of a hunting
[538] culture and from there passed into the herding culture. It is

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the temple of T'ieh-fu-ssu, 40 *li* west of Hsining in 1537 (ch. 31, p. 15*a*). 175 792 346

The information in the *Annals* is restricted to these five poor items. Huth notes[51] that the Third Dalai Lama, Sod-nam, on his way to Ordos in 1582, went from Kukunor to Kumbum and established a college there for the explanation of sacred texts. From Kumbum he went to Ribo-nan-tig (probably the hermitage of Dantig noted on pp. 31 *sq.*), to take a long rest; then, after visiting many big lamaseries, he arrived in the Ordos. I am unable to identify the names of the lamaseries noted here, and am very sceptical about these "big" monasteries, because no ruins, vestiges or traditions of them are preserved. The big monasteries of Huang-chung which have to be studied, were all built in more recent times. The historical data are again very scanty.

CH'Ü-T'AN-SSU, FIRST LAMASERY BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY

The first lamasery built during the Ming, according to the *Annals* (ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a*), is the famous monastery of Ch'ü-t'an.[52] The history of this first lamasery, built by the Ming emperors, is preserved in broad strokes in the text (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 32, pp. 16–20) of three steles, now demolished. All three give evidence of the high consideration of the emperors for Lamaism.

The first text was granted by Emperor T'ai-tsung (Ch'eng-tsu) of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424), and concerns a "golden" (bronze) statue offered to the lamasery by the emperor. The text notes that the artisans, not succeeding in preparing the mold for the statue, went to eat their meal. While they were gone the mold grew into perfect shape of its own accord. The statue was cast from it and exuded a wonderful perfume.

The second text was granted by Emperor Jen-tsung of the Hung-hsi period (1425). It recalls the merits of Emperor T'ai-tsu of the Hung-wu period (1368–1399), who founded the monastery, ordered the building of a temple, and granted the name of "Ch'ü-t'an," and of Emperor T'ai-tsung who ordered the construction of a second temple.

The third text, granted by Emperor Hsüan-tsung of the Hsüan-te period (1426–1436), ordered the construction of a third temple, after recalling summarily the history of the lama, San-la, and his tribe, and the grant of the monastery and its title.

Legends

The origin of the celebrated monastery is overlaid with a wonderful legend, believed and enjoyed by the people. It should first be remembered that Emperor 538

[51] Huth, *op. cit.* 2: 227.

[52] Ch'ü-t'an-Gautama, a name of Shakyamuni, means "most victorious on earth."

[p. 21(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

T'ai-tsu of the Ming dynasty designated his grandson, 538
Hui-ti, to succeed to the throne in 1399. After three years, his uncle Ch'eng-tsu (Yung-lo period), usurped the throne and Hui-ti perished in a conflagration of the palace. A note added in the history states that it is related that Hui-ti escaped, disguised as a lama, and wandered incognito from monastery to monastery in Yunnan and south China; that he finally returned to Peking in 1440, and died after revealing his identity. This topic seems to be the basis for the legends concerning Ch'ü-t'an. However an "historical" fact may well have provided the fabric from which was woven the legend elaborated by the lamas, since the fact concerns the very province of Kansu.

At the time of the collapse of the Sung dynasty in 1276, the last emperor, Chao-hsien, was made prisoner by the Mongol conquerors in Hang-chou and the Chinese imperial harem was transferred to the north. In 1288 the imperial prisoner was sent (banished) to Kansu (Ho-hsi) in order to study Tibetan sutras. In Kansu he became a lama monk and adopted the religious name of Ho-tsun (mKha-'bcum). He died in 1323 in Kansu, a century before the founding of Ch'ü-t'an.

During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) Chinese scholars liked to gossip about the possible Chinese origin of the Mongol emperor, Shun-ti,[53] as well as the possible Mongol origin of the Ming emperor, Ch'eng-tsu (Yung-lo period). These tales are well known among the lamas and the Monguors.

A lama, honored for his holiness, lived in secluded 539
retirement on a high mountain near Ch'ü-t'an. He left for Peking one July carrying a small pack held by a light wooden frame, on his back. The heat was tropical and the holy man threw his mantle in the air, where it remained floating over his head protecting him the whole long way, even in the streets of Peking. Emperor Hui-ti, seeing the miracle, renounced his throne, left the palace and harem, and followed the returning holyman to Ch'ü-t'an with two of his ministers and his two brothers, all of whom became lamas.

At first the emperor resided at the very small monastery of Hung-shan-ssu, 60 *li* south of Ch'ü-t'an. He sent his cattle and horses to the pastures of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and went to Ch'ü-t'an. There he planted his stick at a certain spot and suddenly it turned into a blossoming sandalwood tree; whereupon he decided to build a monastery and a temple around the tree. A dry tree is still shown inside the temple, adorned with ceremonial scarves offered by the worshipping people who pass under its branches in order to receive blessings. Three small trees outside the temple are said to have sprouted from the dry tree.

The emperor had a well dug to be used for watering his horses. A small lama boy, while drawing water, fell

[53] P. Pelliot, L'Edition collective des œuvres de Wang Kouo-wei, *T'oung Pao*, 26: 136, 1926.

[p.22(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

into the well and disappeared. Only his clothes were seen in the river with which the well was connected underground. The emperor ordered the well to be filled and had a beautiful tower built over it. The ruins of the tower are still shown to visitors. 539

There are displayed in the head temple three fine saddles of unusually large size, with stirrups twice as large as those used today, for in former times people of note were taller, bigger, and stronger. The saddles are said to have belonged to the emperor and his brothers. When the emperor died his two ministers, in fear of having their families exterminated, changed their names. The first adopted the name of Chen Lo-kang, and his descendants still live in the Kang-tse Valley near Nien-pei. The other adopted the name of Yang Kang-tsun; his descendants live in Chen fan Valley. 538

The emperor appointed a member of the imperial family to manage the lamasery. He was called T'ien-hu-chün, and his name was Chu, the name of the imperial family. The appointment was hereditary and the emperor had carved on a slab the provisions concerning the appointment. The descendant of Mr. Chu presided over the ceremony of theatrical representations on New Year's. Later on, a corrupt descendant, after using the revenues and land taxes of the monastery for himself, was killed by the lamas, and the slab was smashed. The plinth which supported the slab is still shown to visitors.

Inside the courtyard of the enormous temple are the ruins of four beautiful stupas built by the Emperor. At the base of each he had buried, at night, immense treasures. One of the previous incarnations of the Living Buddha dug up the treasure from one of the stupas at night and took it to his residential quarters; but within a few moments his palace vanished in a blaze. Since that time, no one has dared to try to remove the treasures.

Upon his death, the emperor was buried in the lamasery. However, the lamas of Hung-shan-ssu claim that the emperor died and was buried in their monastery, and they have the visitor admire their own ruined tower built over a well and their own old dry tree enclosed in their temple. These honored trees, enclosed by a temple, point to the tree of Kumbum which sprouted from the afterbirth of Tsong khapa buried in Kumbum, even as the small trees sprouted from the roots of the old dry one. The tower built on the well points to the stupa of Kumbum, said to be the first monument built at Kumbum. It is hard to say which of these legends is the oldest.[54]

Temples and History of the Lamasery

Inside an enormous rectangular courtyard are three temple halls built in a row; a wall encloses the court- 792 346

[54] In Kumbum in 1577 there was built a temple enclosing the celebrated tree which was at that time 223 years old.

[p.22(B)]

thanksgiving for the honor bestowed upon the family. 792
Some time later, the nephew of T'u-kuan, of the Ts'e- 662
bdurk family became the reincarnation of the Living 775
Buddha of Labrang, the most intimate friend of T'u-kuan for many generations. It was T'u-kuan who, in Peking, obtained the title of Erdeni Nomun-khan for the Living Buddha of Labrang.[23] After the death of the Living Buddha of Labrang, T'u-kuan is invited to cast the horoscope in order to indicate the place where the reincarnation of his friend will occur, and *vice versa*.

SEARCH FOR THE INCARNATION

This problem has been dealt with by many authors. 792
Therefore, only data concerning Huang-chung will here 795
be recorded, because they may help to reveal the social 648
psychology of the Monguor lamas and of the Monguors. Upon the death of one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, the Dalai Lama is invited to cast the horoscope indicating the place of rebirth. Usually two or three boys seem to fulfill the requirements. Their names are sent to Peking and put in the traditional urn, according to the protocol established by imperial edict in 1793,[24] from which one is then drawn. The name drawn is supposed to be that of the genuine incarnation. For minor Living Buddhas, another Living Buddha is requested to render the service.

Usually the place of rebirth is indicated in terms as 792
vague as the oracle of Delphi, and lamas go to find the 795
candidate, but old lamas have admitted to me confi- 662
dentially that soon after the death of a Living Buddha 787
some lamas of the intendancy are sent to investigate where children were born around that time, and in what wealthy family, and actually it is usually one or two years before the horoscope is cast. Sometimes the horoscope is so vague that it is many years before the boy is found. The rebirth of Achia of Kumbum who died tragically in 1909 was found after six years, and two boys fitted the requirements. The two names were sent to Peking, and one was chosen. At that time the lamas of Kumbum were in a hurry, fearing that Achia would no longer reincarnate because of the fateful circumstances of his death. When the boy is found, lamas have him select from among several items displayed (beads, cups, etc.) the things he used in his previous existences. This is performed in the presence of lamas only.

Wonderful legends are told about the reincarnations 538
of Erh-ku-lung. T'u-kuan, bent with age, went on foot 775
to Peking, incognito, in order to heap up piles of merit. At night, in Lien-ch'eng, a good but poor lady prepared his food, and in the morning when he left she offered him her last piece of brick tea. T'u-kuan died in Peking and was reborn in the child to which the poor but charitable lady gave birth. It was her reward.

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[23] Huth, *op. cit.*, 288.

[24] W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung pao* 9 (1): 55, March, 1910.

[p.67(A)]

A lot of anecdotes, overlaid with fabulous legends, are told about powerful shamans who lived in former times. A famous shaman of Too long was invited to cure a dying man. The man died before his arrival. The soul of the shaman, after the completion of certain rites, went to see Erlik Khan, the King of Hell, and examining the files he found that the man had died several years before his destined time. The soul of the shaman came back; he performed a set of new rites and the man came to life and lived for several more years. I wondered how such anecdotes, known all over Asia, were spread among the Monguors. The overall conclusion, after all the talks about old famous shamans, was always: "We no longer have the stuff of which shamans are made, for the apprentices are no longer trained in the right way." 756 538 [868]

MONGUOR SHAMANS AND NEUROSIS

What about the general statement of the ethnologists that shamans are victims of neurosis? It is said of the brutal training of the apprentices among the nomads, in opposition to the most elementary principles of pedagogy, that nothing could have been devised, better calculated to unseat the reason and to form pitiable neurotics of them. 756 158

In former times, according to the Monguors, the training of the Monguor shamans must have been very similar. The recent cases of the two apprentices of the old Lu shaman seem to evidence this assumption. On the other hand, it is a known fact that among the hereditary diseases neurosis is the most frequently inherited. Because children of shamans must marry children of shamans, the danger of inheritance is increased and it creates a predisposition to produce more easily suggestions and hallucinations among the members of such families. The fact of the suicide of the boy No, unwilling to become a shaman, is suggestive. It seems, therefore, not too far fetched to suppose that the shamans and their apprentices easily get the conviction of seeing spirits and hearing them talk. Because they will see and hear them, they act accordingly, notwithstanding their actual superficial training. On the other hand, for neurosis, as for all diseases, the question of plus and minus is always open, but the morbid basis of the disease is always existent. [582]

Some of the shamans performing the rites seem to act as though in a play, straining for effects. They give the profession a black eye, while others seem to mean business and to act as real shamans. After all, the fact remains that shamans never dare to quit the profession, notwithstanding that it is a poor means of livelihood.

SHAMAN DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS

DRESSES

The shaman when not performing rites for communities or private families, dresses in the same way as the Monguors, but while acting as shaman he wears a special 756 292

[p.82(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

swer: the galaxy. Who walks on the milky way? Yu 796
Huang,[7] preceded by the green dragon and the White 756
Tiger. Under the bridge is there still another bridge
or not? The dangerous bridge leading to Hell, over [775]
which passes the king of Hell, Erlik, preceded by the spirit with the head of a cow and the spirit with the head of a horse, and where spirits are waiting, who devour passing souls. What is our bridge? The bridge of the spirits.

The building of the bridge of the spirits and the con- 796
fused explanations of the shamans, mixed with Taoist, 756
shamanist, and Bön principles, reveals, nevertheless, 772
the philosophy claiming the existence of three worlds: 779
the upper, middle, and lower worlds, each with its own population.[8] A hint has already been given of this philosophy, in describing the rite of the stretched goat skin and the molding of clay figures, etc. At any rate the bridge provides a wonderful opportunity for the shamans to display their philosophical abilities and their proficiency in the art of telling of the nine and more heavens, one more beautiful than the other; the eighteen hells, dark and terrifying; the severe judgments after death presided over by Erlik or the Chinese Yen wang; the explanation of the three souls; shamans flying on drums to heaven, are unique occasions for story-tellers, sparkling with wit, to reap big successes.

At that time, shamans never fail to explain the ap- 776
pointment of their ancestor shaman by Chiang Tze-ya 538
as servant of the god of the Five Roads; they never fail to narrate captivating episodes from the epic of Gesar. All kinds of problems are dealt with, and a lot of fun is had. The most ridiculous answers are given to the most ridiculous questions. One shaman asks for the explanation of why in each wheat grain there is always a small groove? The answer is that in the beginning of the world there was no wheat. Tengri made a wheat grain, but it seemed to be too big; with the nail of his right thumb he parted the grain in two parts. Still it seemed to be too big, and so he parted it again and then a third time. The fourth time, just when he was about to cut the grain in two parts again, it appeared to be all right without cutting through it, so he left the grain only half cut through, and so all grains of wheat have a little groove in them. This story was told to me several times by children who attended the meeting and said that the shaman told them so.

Another story, which gives us a better insight into 796
the nature of that kind of meeting, is told when a sha- 756
man is asked at what time and why men started seducing 831
women, and women started eloping? An interesting 773
sociological and moral question! Tengri wanted to have men and women. After kneading red earth and water a whole day, he moulded seven men; then he

[7] The most popular god of modern China who received letters patent from the Emperor in A.D. 1017. Wieger, *Textes historiques, op. cit.*, 1846.

[8] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 138. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

[p. 110 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

directors of the exercises, and their stock of punish- 785
ments for injustices never seemed to be exhausted. 829
People who committed injustices had to repair their 869
faults by being a servant, in their future life, of the person who had suffered on their account, or of being reborn as a donkey, a horse, or an ox, plowing their fields, carrying fertilizer, or harvesting. Even the slightest injustices are not overlooked by the terrible judge, for in order to repair the smallest injustices he makes men and women transmigrate into a hen, laying eggs for years, in behalf of the person who suffered because of them. The topic of reparation for injustices seemed to be an obsession of all the preachers, who seldom hinted at other questions of morals, and so the feeling concerning the widespread rite of repairing injustices, among laymen as well as lamas, and even Hutukhtus, becomes understandable. Never did they hint at the shamanist rites performed in private families.

The topic of the old Li, concerning gentle behavior 538
with animals, was the delight of the fasters, who every year asked him to tell again the marvelous anecdotes he had stored in his repertory concerning the subject, for in his lively telling even old chestnuts took on a new glow. The keen interest of nomads in their animals is a matter of common knowledge. Since the Monguors still love their animals in the way of their ancestors, it is no wonder that they asked for that topic, and that they adored the old Li, whose talks hit straight at their hearts. Below are some of his well-known examples.

In India, an old Living Buddha went every day to 539
preach in monasteries and explain texts. He rode an old elephant which, while the religious exercises of his master lasted, knelt devoutly, listening before the temple gate. The old Living Buddha loved all animals with effusion, and especially his faithful elephant. When the elephant died, the Living Buddha made it reincarnate in a strong boy belonging to a poor family. The heavy boy had the exact gait of an elephant, a big, oval long head, unusually long nose and ears, and an appetite as voracious as that of an elephant. No room was left for doubt; the elephant had reincarnated in a human being. The boy, at the age of seven, became the beloved apprentice of the old Living Buddha. After a few years, the master and his apprentice died at the same time. The reincarnation of the holy man was found in a boy endowed with the same characteristics as an elephant, but in addition he had on the palms of both hands and the soles of his feet the marks of the Buddhist "wheel of life," the characteristic of Living Buddhas. This boy was the genuine incarnation of the holy man who had loved the elephant to such an extent. The new Buddha became as celebrated over all India for his elephant features as for his universal charity, which extended not only to human beings, but even to all animals.

Also in India, a holy lama, very fond of animals, squatted under a tree from dawn to dusk, year after

[p. 135 (B)]

year, devoutly reciting sacred texts, and only a lovely 539
pigeon, perching on the lowest branch of the tree, was listening and enjoying the reading of the holy books, during all these years. The holy man loved the pigeon ardently and fed it every day. The pigeon died, and was reincarnated in a boy born into a poor family in the mountains, and on the very day of his birth he asked distinctly, three times, "Where is my master so-and-so?" The fact spread all over the country like a prairie fire; everybody came to look at the wonderful boy whose fingers and toes were webbed, whose hands were unusually beautiful and fine. As the boy grew he walked as upright as a pole, always his right foot first. Nobody had ever seen such a handsome, intelligent boy. Then the parents were told, by lamas, that the boy was the incarnation of the lovely pigeon, which during years had enjoyed the reading of the texts of the holy man whose name he pronounced three times at the very moment of birth. The boy became a celebrated learned lama, endowed with universal charity for animals. The congregation enjoyed the moralistic conclusion: be kind to animals, because Buddha loves such persons and blesses their families; their merits will be turned into more joy in paradise and the rebirth will be more happy and outstanding.

In Tibet, on the summit of a mountain, there lived in a cave a holy hermit, always praying in order that the animals might be happy, and preaching the love of animals. In his cave hung the picture of a Buddha, painted in a wonderful landscape, wherein a couple of cows grazed in a meadow. The holy man, practicing severe penance, received from the people some flour and tea leaves, and always he drank tea without milk or butter (which is one of the most tremendous kinds of penance for Tibetans). Once Buddha, delighted with the behavior of the holy hermit, suggested that he approach the picture hanging on the wall, and gave him the power to milk both the cows that were there depicted, and from that time on the holy man got milk in his tea. So great is the love of Buddha for those who love animals.

Another topic of the lectures concerned the necessity 538
of performing acts of charity, giving alms to the poor, and especially to the lamas, in order to get remission of sins and an easy entrance into paradise. The merits of good acts performed in behalf of holy lamas, Living Buddhas, and lamaseries are more important and valuable than those performed for less holy men, because lamas are the beloved of Buddha, and the good old Li supported his assumption by a lot of savory examples.

A certain old lama was the beloved of Buddha to such 539
an extent that several times, when he was praying in the temple, the lamas saw all the statues opening their eyes, moving their heads, and smiling wonderfully at him. Another was so holy that once, as he said his Om Mani over his beads, they became red hot from the glow of his love, and melted away. Another holy lama was preaching in a wealthy village. The chief of the

[p.136(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

village started ridiculing and deprecating him. Buddha could not stand this, and made five tongues protrude out of the chief's mouth and made him fall dead on the spot, after which the village became a barren waste. 539

Another of the Living Buddha's topics, several times repeated to me, was that all the Monguor and Tibetan tribes would disappear, many families already being without male issue. The reason, he said, is that nearly all the departed already dwell in paradise and wait there for us, so that now the faster Monguors and Tibetans disappear, the sooner paradise will be furnished with happy inhabitants. "Make your sons become lamas," he would say, "for lamas surely arrive in paradise. However, among the dying, only those who, at the very moment of their death, trust in Buddha may hope to be reborn in a lotus near Buddha, where for thousands of years they will be happy, and where all the inhabitants will be taller and stronger and more beautiful than we are here."

Such are the topics of most of the preaching during the fast exercises. Many times the fasters repeated that they loved the old Li because after every preaching he made them crave for pardon for all their sins, and because he could say the Om Manis over his beads with a wonderful unction. He had touched the hearts of the people. 538

IMPACT OF THE FASTING RITES UPON MONGUOR SOCIETY

Although these exercises were only attended by a relatively small number of older people, their impact upon the families cannot be overestimated, because the old people repeated at home the topics of the lectures and the anecdotes, and because, since the authority with which the old people are vested in a patriarchal society is supreme, they cultivated in the orbit of the family the sense of religiosity; the habit of praying and of craving for pardon. Chiefs, and elders of villages who had attended the meetings, unconsciously and unwittingly were guided by these principles in the administration of the village and in the patching up of troubles. The impact was all the more important because, year after year, the exercises were repeated by the adored old Li, a man with an illustrious pedigree, a scion of the noble and wealthy family of the Li T'u-ssu. The old Li was a personality who provoked a revival of religious feeling in the country. 771 785 869

The anecdotes, ingenuously narrated in the schools by the children, had led me to make inquiries among the fasters themselves about the fast exercises, which before had seemed to me to be an unimportant institution, attended by old women without any bearing on the religious life of the communities. However, taking account of the overall number of the yearly participants in the six centers, and the number of men who attended them, even chiefs of villages and elders, and of the fact that in a patriarchal society the old people wield a supreme influence and also of the strong personality of

[p. 136 (B)]

/33 cont'd/

583 584 bow gravely, and without having opened their mouths go away to share the lozenges and the cash.

The go-between rises and says aloud: "The flower has just been presented, let us proceed to the recognition of the alliance of the two families and the exchange of wine."

The two fathers-in-law rise and go to kneel in the middle of the rug, after bowing to each other. The go-between puts in the hand of each a little cup of gin, which they exchange and drink.

584 788 539 The cups are filled four times in a row, and they exchange them four times; those present recite aloud one of the four following couplets:

Si che iang koang	May the feast be brilliant
man siu hoa	May flowers abound.
tse suen hoa	May the flowers which are the sons and grandsons
leang mien tch'a	Bloom on both sides (to the glory of the two families).
leang kia hi ngai	May the two families be happy
tso ts'in kia	To be related to each other.
sin ts'in kia	May the new family by marriage
mou tan hoa	Be like a peony (emblem of good fortune).

584 [262] /34/ Then the two fathers-in-law rise and propose that all present drink in their turn. A light meal is served consisting of boiled mutton cut in pieces, bread, and noodles in the Chinese style....

The bride's family takes care to put into the father-in-law's carpetbag two strings of cash and several loaves of bread, always an even number; the other guests receive two loaves each. The jug is given back filled with gin.

/52 cont'd/

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allegorical roles, such as the role of a symbol of victory.... He also occurs in Lamaism as a human-faced bird with human hands, but then he appears to be only the adoring figure standing subordinate to another chief figure. When he is the figure of worship, he stands, with outspread arms and wings, facing a dying ?Rigi, his fangs /talons?/ piercing her breast. /Cited in German./ The chong live on Mount Sumeru, the T'ou-jen say, although Grunwedel (p. 180), speaking of the inhabitants of Mount Sumeru, does not mention the Garuda among them.

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A young man, Feng-tong-kouo, goes out into the valley every day to pasture his master's horses. Tche-mei-souo, a young wife who lives on the plain, also comes there every day, bringing her sheep. They meet and sit down on the highest mountain, from whence they watch over their herd and flock.... Every day when leaving home, they climb up opposite sides of the mountain to join each other at the top. On the way they pick flowers and cypress branches. Every day they climb the highest peak together to light /53/ a fire there and burn their flowers and cypress branches, adding a pinch of flour made from parched wheat: This is their offering to the spirit Tsang-rtshié; then they prostrate themselves piously....

The husband of the young wife had developed a hatred for the herdsman on the other slope of the mountain. One evening he goes to his home, gets him drunk, and kills him with a dagger blow. When he comes home, he gives his wife the dagger covered with blood. She does not succeed in cleaning it with hot water or with cold. Then, taking saliva, she slowly succeeds. This is a revelation to her. Early in the morning she anxiously climbs the mountain in order to go and see the herdsman. People are already burning his

/53 cont'd/

539 body without succeeding. The fire goes out continually. She takes
831 her big hairpin and throws it into the fire. The fire flares up and bites the corpse for a moment, then goes out again. She throws on it in turn the copper cup attached to her headdress, her ring, her eardrops; then, taking off all her clothes, she throws them one by one into the fire, and each time the fire burns the corpse a little more. Finally, she jumps into the fire. The fire shoots up, glowing, at once and consumes the two lovers. A tree is seen to come out of the ground at the spot; it has two branches which intertwine but separate above. The husband of the dead wife, in a transport of rage, runs up with his axe to separate the two branches.... O, marvel, two wonderful birds fly away from the knot. They were the Chong-[illegible]. (1)

[171]

1. This very old legend is found all over Asia in many various forms. Etudes asiatiques /Asiatic Studies/, published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Far-Eastern School, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 35, "The Peacocks Flew Away"... third-century Chinese poem by d'Ardouseau, and Vol. 1, p. 189, notes 1 and 2, Annamite poem, translated and annotated by G. Cordier.

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533 Another song which the T'ou-jen never fail to sing at a wedding
539 dinner is a Tibetan song. It is enjoyed all the more because it is accompanied by dancing and gestures. It lends itself to a very expressive mimicry. It tells the story of a T'ou-jen Judith. In the T'ou-jen region of Lien-tch'eng the brigand Wang-mang had been terrorizing the region for years. In spite of the magnificent rewards promised by the emperor of China to anyone who could catch him, nobody /54/ was succeeding in taking or killing him; for he was vulnerable only under the armpit. The wife of a T'ou-jen military man by the name of Lou, known in the country for her marvelous beauty, succeeds in seducing Wang-mang, and at night in his tent

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539 she drives home the dagger under the armpit of Wang-mang, who is sleeping dead drunk beside her.

A flying courier carried the news of this exploit to Peking. The Judith saw herself bestowed with honorary titles, and her husband received the hereditary position of t'ou-se of Lien-tch'eng. This is the origin of the glory of the Lou clan.

In the lamasery at Lien-tch'eng are still kept two dried-up black hands, which are claimed to be those of Wang-mang. The T'ou-jen regard them with veneration. Unfortunately, they are two right hands! In addition, the origin of the function of t'ou-se of the Lou clan is entirely otherwise, as we shall see in the historical part of our work. The only fact to be retained from this legend is that there was in the region a robber named Wang-mang.

12. Getting the Bride

585 The Chinese diviner or the red lama has previously set the favorable hour at which the bride is to leave her paternal home. This departure can be set for any hour of the day or night. Therefore everything is prepared in order that the ceremonial be finished by the favorable hour of departure, which is called the mari funigu, or the hour when one mounts the saddle. The bridegroom goes to get his bride, with two companions well versed in the ways and cus-
585 toms and knowing how to sing well; often the go-between goes with
292 them. The son-in-law has put on his best /55/ clothes and wears the great ceremonial hat with red fringe (the one of the ancient dynasty of the Manchu); red cords are plaited into his hair. He carries a bow of olden times; on the end of the bow is attached a strand of red wool. A quiver worn on a strap over his shoulder con-
[41] tains four arrows. Upon his return home he will hang the bow above the window of the nuptial room where his wife will be brought, and the four arrows will be hung in each corner of the room. According to custom, the companions must wear a long, white garment of sheep's wool, a garment rarely worn by the men in the area.

585 /68 cont'd/
431 are all owners with personal title, all their properties are demarcated;
423 therefore it is no longer a question of demarcating lands. Is this an allusion to a previous social condition no longer remembered?)

585 "Generations have succeeded generations. When an idol of
539 Buddha is old and lusterless and when it is giled anew, it is again shining and beautiful to see; when one puts a brand-new border around an old garment, the garment has gained much by it; when to the old relations between families new ones are added, they become all the stronger. Among you was born a boy who had all the virtues of the lion; among us was born a girl like the "khuī t shiąn" (mythological bird). It was the ideal combination for a marriage. But how would this union have been able to be accomplished? (The cupbearer pours wine for the go-between and bows to him.) If one does not see clouds in the sky, no rain will fall; if there are no go-betweens on the earth, there will be no marriages. (1) What was too high, you, go-between,

1. Compare Anthropos, 6th year, p. 320, Schotter, "Notes ethnogra. sur tribus du Koei tcheou": Just as thunder and lightning pave the way for rain, o go-betweens are necessary to pave the way for marriages.

have lowered; what was too low, you have raised; the high and the low have met on the same level like the lever arm of the balance. You have leveled off the way on which the two parties have traveled.

"In olden times they used to thank the go-between for his services by dressing him in new clothes from head to foot; but the feeble means of our poor family allow us to offer you only a pair of boots and a string of cash. We hope nevertheless that you will be satisfied."

585 /69/ After giving the gift to the go-between the orator usually
608 addresses the maternal uncle of the bridegroom. The cupbearer bows to him and pours gin for him. "When a son," he says, "has no wai-kia (the son calls his mother's family wai-kia /Chinese term for one's mother's family, literally, "outside family"/, i.e., all her relatives,

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431 "And you, our daughter, you are also the child of your times. Formerly, the gifts which the parents gave to their daughter were so numerous that they had to be transported on wagons or a whole herd of oxen was loaded with them. We give you the following gifts (see No. 11). Truly they are insignificant; it is as if we were giving a naked daughter to the mother-in-law.

"To you all, relatives by marriage, we pour wine, be indulgent and content." Then the master of ceremonies out loud orders the bride and groom to kneel to the whole assemblage; then wine is poured for all the guests. (1)

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1. Father De Smedt gives me a variation of the master of ceremonies' speech, although noting that the T'ou-jen from whom he got it even told him that he had forgotten a good deal about the subject. Although this speech is incomplete, it contains variations which are worth the trouble of being kept: "A dog does not dare bark in the presence of a tiger, thus it is not fitting for a little man like me to speak before an assemblage as respectable as yours. A horse of small size does not run fast, they say; thus the words of a man without merit are insignificant. If you succeed in understanding my words, do not attach any importance to them; if you do not understand them, do not make fun of me. When an old statue is newly gilded, when a brand-new border is put on an old garment.... Thus it is a praiseworthy practice always to become related to families with which marriages have been contracted for many generations...." The rest is about as we have related above.

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Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 305. The dowry of the girl consists,

/135 cont'd/

586 and will if need be help her in the task. Thus the wife maintains face; she will be able to say that she did not want her husband any more, and he will not have any difficulties with his wife's family either, since it is the daughter who wanted to go away. In the end, the husband will even profit greatly by the sale of his wife. On the other hand, if the wife insists on not wanting to look for another match, the husband will be patient and will not resort to repudiation except as a last extreme. That is the ordinary course of the preambles to divorce.

/136/ 2. Causes of Divorce

593 The causes of divorce appear to be more or less numerous.
586 The primary and most ordinary cause is certainly interest in another person, which brings on mutual and daily increasing aversion between the husband and wife. A wife can fall and that is understood; the husband will even allow his wife not to come home at night from time to time, for he himself does not come home regularly every evening, either. Grounds for divorce require regular and therefore public relations.

626 Do not think, however, that husbands give complete freedom
837 to their wives; do not believe that all husbands are indifferent to
539 these things. They tell about a good many cases in which the wife and her lover, having been surprised at night, were tied together or tied to a stake, beaten, etc., by the heads of the village with whom
837 the husband had lodged a complaint. The families of the guilty ones
672 were called, they had to act as guarantors for their members; then the guilty man had to offer his apologies to the injured husband and give him a pig, a sheep, etc. The level of morality among the T'ou-jen has not yet fallen so low that they no longer know their duties and rights in these matters. So it is not rare to see a husband beat his wife and to hear the wife, on her knees, beg her husband, "Big brother, pardon me this time; big brother, treat me with indulgence this time, that won't happen any more." Now one does not ask pardon and one does not allow oneself to be beaten when one's conscience is clear.

[59 cont.]

357 *778 [527] [171]

festive banquet; the people sing and dance around the new central fort (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 61.] The round manger is also commonly erected by the Chinese. The farther east one goes, however, the rarer it becomes. In any case, among the Chinese the mani-pole in the round manger is lacking, and sometimes even the structure, in other words, the manger itself. For them it is important only that an urn be buried in the center of the yard, and the construction of every compound practically begins with this burial of the urn. This spot or the round manger is called chung-kung, that is, central fort, or yüan-ts'ao, that is, round manger. The ceremony is performed by the lay bonze or by a Tao-shih, temple bonze, but usually the geomancer indicates the spot where the urn (or the urns) is to be buried. This is connected, however, with the geomantic determination of the whole compound.

*778 ● 539 Song: After the erection of the central fort or the mani-tree, the following song is popularly sung: "If one steps through the large gate, what then is round? If one steps through the large gate, then the round manger is round; half-yaks, mules, horses form a circle, and in the middle rises the mani-tree. If one steps into the kitchen, what then is round? If one steps into the kitchen, the kettle and lid are round; cups, bowls, and dishes form a round herd, the wooden spoon rises up in the middle. If one steps into the main house, what then is round? If one steps into the main house, the fire basin is round. Relatives and friends sit around it, and in the middle the wine jar rises up."

[67 cont.]
*778 the little stone mounds signify fertility (4).
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4. [Foreign text p. 69.] The Tujen distinguish three great spirits: the sky, the mountain-spirit, and the earth-god. It should be emphasized that the characteristics of the mountain-spirit come fairly close to those of the sky (cf. Part 2). -- The special sacrificial animal for the mountain-spirit and the sky is the sheep. -- To the earth one sacrifices pigs, and always in the compound, whereas one sacrifices to the sky and the mountain-spirit usually in the open. -- The ritual for the pig sacrifice is the same as for the sheep sacrifice: washing, fumigating, milk pouring, etc., which makes a very strange impression in the case of this animal, an indication that the pig sacrifice was not adopted until a later time and was confused with the sheep-sacrifice rituals.

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●539 The first obo: According to the Tujen legend of the Geser
*778 xaan, the first obo was erected in the golden age of mankind by the first xaan on earth, the Hamluo siergän:

"Everything was very good. It was a time of honey and fat. At the beginning of the three summer months he erected a regieńguo obo on the peak of the Rira-ntumbo. Hamluo siergän sank into contemplation. Of (sc. the three) Gadbo Huala, Šdonšdog Sienba, Sasin Dadma, one went to break cypress twigs, one to buy spices, and one to gather white stones. He sat in contemplation for a week. When a week had passed, he erected the regieńguo obo. In the obo he placed the mother dog Tsila, on whose body he scattered spice-medicine. He wrapped silk around its body. Then he sprinkled holy water over it. He invited the regieńguo lama, who recited the consecrating

[67 cont.]

539 *778 prayer. He prayed for seven days. On this obo they heaped white stones. Within the circle of the obo they piled large stones in layers. On the peak of the obo they stuck cypress twigs and tied wool from the white sheep to them. They covered the circle of the obo with white earth (5). They wrapped the obo with silk.

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5. [Foreign text p. 69.] The white color is the lucky color of Lamaism. The white conch, the white earth-god urns, the white flocks of wool on the twigs of the tree of life are to be recalled. When someone starts a journey it is said: may your way be white. Among the Tulkus this is even symbolically expressed by scattering flour, chalk, etc. on the path. The monasteries are painted white, and the palace of the earth-spirit is supposed to be white.

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In the days of the three summer months they threw at the obo, galloping on their horses. They threw white stones, they threw gold and silver, they threw grain and butter. And the life of man unfolded" (6).

6. [Foreign text pp. 69-70.] This passage is literally translated from the Tujen version of the Geser legend as it was dictated to me by a singer with the aid of the old man. It characteristically shows how closely the conception of the obo is connected with Buddhistic forms. Nothing is to be seen of the repeatedly asserted hostility between Buddhism and pre-Buddhistic cults. In lamic monasteries there are books concerning the erection of obos; I did not succeed in seeing such a book, however,

[67 cont.] [Note on foreign text pp. 69-70 cont.]

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or in learning anything further about the rites. I was merely told that there is a whole series of obo types, among them some that are not erected by by lamas. Furthermore the objects put in an obo pit were said to vary greatly. Preferably, urns, kettles, and implements were placed there.

In this myth a dog is buried in the obo, and, it seems, a live one. It is treated like other Lamaistic divine figures that are animated by a deity: it receives a silk garment, is sprinkled with holy water, and has spices cast on it; the votive prayer is given. It is a mother dog. The significance of this dog Tsila could not be determined. Presumably it was one of the tribal animals. The Chinese in the Tujen village Hua-ling-kou (Huchu County) claim that the [70] Tujen bury a dog in the obo. This dog is said to be their ancestor. My informant very definitely disputed this, and I was unable to obtain any further information concerning this contention. From where did people get this story? They said that it had been handed down in this form. At any rate, it is striking that the dog occurs in this Tujen myth. On the other hand, it is to be considered that the informant is well acquainted with the disparaging Chinese conception (also in the literature) that the barbarians are descended from dogs. -- The dog also plays a role among the Tujen as the provider of the first barley and furthermore, in connection with the weather fort of the dog yelping at the sky, hao t'ien chen (Chin.).

[648]

[67 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 69-70 cont.]
But this dog in the weather fort is connected with the dog of the same name of the hero Geser, hao t'ien ch'üan (Chin.).

For the rest, the basic features of the obo veneration appear in this myth: casting votive gifts, the circling (that is, on horseback, as is said to be done still among the neighboring Mongols), incense offerings. -- Weapons are not mentioned, but the cypress twigs that are stuck on the white stonepile are. -- And above all it is noteworthy that the obo is erected on the world-mountain and this probably gives the real connection and deeper meaning, which by no means need be Buddhist.

[772]

This suggestion would also correspond to what, for example, Bastian writes (Chinareisen [China Travels], pp. 395 ff.), that the obo represents the mountain Sumeru. And the many small stonepiles in the direction of the various points of the compass thus also fit into the same world-picture. Cf. Unkrig in Filchner: Kumbum, Note 1638.

[772]

The mani-strings are evidently likewise a Lamaistic product, perhaps a substitute for the sheep's shoulder bones formerly hung from them, which Bastian, loc. cit. p. 601, mentions. The Tujen no longer know anything about these shoulder blades. It cannot be explained why the two strings, the black and the white, are differentiated in this way here.

[627 cont.]
527 cannot sing or sings incorrectly, his opponent cuts a piece from
533 the lappet. Thus one can sing away his whole garment in an evening.

Above all, the young people meet on the threshing floor and in a circle sing all kinds of songs. This lasts the entire
[883] night, especially at the first [628] full moon. Only towards morning do they stop. Boys and girls mingle freely in the circle. Small boys dressed in reversed hides represent demons and beat on pieces of wood; others imitate Chinese traders, play all kinds of tricks, etc. (5).

[535]
[171]

5. [Foreign text pp. 628-629.] These round dances are exactly like those among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiafandse. Men and women and boys and girls form [629] a circle. One person leads the song and also indicates the dance movement. The others sing the refrain and repeat the movement together. They also dance in twos to the rhythm of the song. These dances are also performed generally at entertainments, for example, at a wedding, upon the arrival of the lama, etc. There are many kinds of the songs. They are divided into two groups: family songs, which are decent and are sung in the house; wild songs, whose content, taken from love-life, is usually quite
[171] crude. The melodies to a great extent are the same as among the Fandse. Besides Tujen songs Chinese and Tibetan songs are also sung. The song
• [539] given here is Tibetan in its original
[883] text. -- At these moonlight dances the young people spend the entire night out in the open, and more than

[628 cont.]

527
[533]
[883]

[Note on foreign text pp. 628-629 cont.]
one couple is seen disappearing off to one side. Concerning the types of songs, cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder."

After the fifteenth day the common workaday life begins again. The many oil-loaves, however, are eaten for a long time.

[262]

[539]
[533]

Song: On New Year's the following song is popularly sung:

1. On New Year's one makes a kowtow to the sky, burns incense, and then one eats.
2. If you observe the laws of the emperor, in later life you will become a minister
3. If you do not forget the kind deeds of the parents, you will later live long.

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Word List

New Year: šeni sara = new month.
To celebrate the New Year: šeni sara nogdzini.
Last day of the old year: tsiafudzarē šēlõn = of the thirtieth evening.
udurdza xuānuo = day - late.
To slaughter pigs: xgeni ala-.
[252] To bake oil-baking: tsiānguor tsina-.
To distill wine: dērasēngē dzinlie-.
To roll thin noodles: narin šēlõnge dielge-.
To steam pastry: šēmienge dzinlie-.
To bake Tachur bread: tagur šdimienge sira-.
To celebrate the thirtieth when it grows dark: xara wolgu tsiafudzar nogdzi-.
Please do not sleep today, the gods are to be welcomed early tomorrow morning: niu šēlõn bi ndēra, malõn siernege purgan dzēliegu-.
To burn a little stick of incense: gudzi šda-; shao-hsiang (Chin.).
To burn paper: bio šda; shao huang piao (Chin.).

[217 cont.]

771 776 The belief in a supreme god among the Tujen must have been known to the people themselves at an early date. Tafel noted in his fairly reliable chapter: "The Turen [sic] of Wei-yüanpu are a very curious tribe. Many say that they have only one single god in which they believe. But they are, like the [218] Chinese, also Buddhists" (Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], I, p. 246). The author unfortunately does not tell who these "many" are. Probably they are the Tujen themselves. Tafel is right insofar as a true monotheism is unknown to the Tujen. On the other hand they do not share the same Buddhism with the Chinese. The Tujen are Lamaists, the Chinese, on the other hand, never or only as an exception. From the customs observed, it now appears incontestably that the so-called one god [821] of the Tujen is a supreme god who is venerated in the form of the heavens. One must, therefore, start from "heaven."

a) The Name "Heaven"

rëġuo

772 776 192 [821] For "heaven" the Tujen know two expressions, namely, rëġuo and tieńgëre. The word rëġuo is little used and then only in the sense of the physical sky, firmament. It agrees entirely with its Mongolic equivalent oktarġui, which is to be equated with the Tibetan mk'a or nam mk'a or gnam, and means: sky, empty space above the air, firmament, vault of the heavens, ether, atmosphere, air. Cf. Kovalevski, p. 430. Even among the following expressions that include oktarġui, there is none in which oktarġui is comprehended as a deity or spirit. Cf. op. cit., pp. 430-433. Thus it must be sharply distinguished from tengri (tieńgëre) and cannot be used synonymously with the latter. Only in the sense of the physical sky do they overlap. Among the Tujen, reġuo is chiefly regarded as light-sky, bearer of brightness. One therefore likes to add the adjective kuġuo (blue, light, bright), for instance, kuġuo rëġuo undurwa (the blue sky is high). The kuġuo rëġuo (light sky) stands in contrast to the [825] xara gadzier (dark earth). An appropriate bird is assigned to [539]

[218 cont.]

772 each of them as a symbol of brightness and of darkness. Thus,
776 in a wedding song it is said: xara gadzier mundzini xela; kuguo
192 rēguoni dzindzini xela (the black earth's dark bird calls; the
[825] light sky's light bird answers). Here, it is true, the rēguo has
been drawn into the -- probably Tibetan -- mythology of light
[539] and darkness, but nothing concerning a possible significance of
the rēguo as spirit or deity is expressed by it. (Cf. Schröder,
"Hochzeitslieder.") Even if the expression rēguo in its meaning
as light-bearer corresponds approximately to the word tieńgēre,
its deeper meaning is thereby exhausted and it will not be considered further.

tieńgēre

772 tieńgēre is the Tujen form of the written Mongolic
776 tengri or tngri. It may signify both the natural sky as well as
192 heaven as a deity. As natural sky it is provided with the same
821 adjectives as the word rēguo, in other words, with kuguo (blue),
undur (high), etc. Like the latter, it also, as the daylight sky,
stands in contrast to the dark earth. Our expression "heaven and
earth" is always rendered among the Tujen by kuguo tieńgēre,
xara gadzier (light sky, dark earth). They would never [219]
simply say "heaven and earth." In this conception, the Tujen
go hand in hand with their Altaic-Mongolic relatives. In his
dissertation, Pallisen has presented the connection of light and
heaven especially clearly: Among all Altaic peoples the sky is
primarily perceived as the daylight sky. According to H.
Vambéry and Barbier de Maynard, the concepts "the light,"
"brightness" in all Altaic languages belong to the same word
family as tengri (Religion der Altmongolen [Religion of the
Ancient Mongols], p. 123). Pallisen then appends the word
lists for 13 languages, which are intended to illustrate this
connection (op. cit., pp. 123 ff.).

The sky, however, is regarded not only as the embodiment of light, but it is also the bearer of the most important cosmic phenomena. This is expressed in many everyday phrases, for example: the sky rains; the sky is cold; the sky is hot; the sky thunders; the sky is cheerful, etc. Hence,

[222 cont.]

782 it was surmised that a primitial offering might likewise be involved, for it is the first offering of the day, in which man gives to heaven something of all things important to life. Arguing against the primitial offering, however, is the simple form of the incense offering, which consists essentially of the burning of fragrant things, of cypress twigs (4), flowers, etc. These,

[824]

4. When the popular word cypress is used here, the Thuja tree in the botanical sense is always meant; cf. Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 46 [p. 72 above in the HRAF translation]. The Tujen name šgua (= Tibetan šug-pa) has several meanings. Among the Tujen the Thuja tree always represents the cypress, and above all the juniper (Juniperus), which in their region of cultivation occurs only infrequently and at most is encountered in the mountains. The difference is purely material; in the religion the Thuja tree takes over the position of the juniper and the cypress. Professor Doctor J.F.Rock, as a botanical expert, no longer found any cypress north of Minchow (Kansu), but he did still find ten species of juniper (personal communication).

however, are no longer foodstuffs if one disregards the water with which the fuel for the fire is sprinkled in order to purify it.

782 [223] This simple form of the incense offering seems
539 at the outset to have been reserved exclusively for heaven and
[171] is of great antiquity. It is also attested to among the Mongols as a heaven-offering, and among the Tujen it is found in numerous songs. Several citations will confirm this, first from the Geser legend. In Verses 1-6 the customs of the first human

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[223 cont.]
beings are described: "One clothed oneself in tree leaves. One ate tree fruit. One lay on flower leaves. When one was thirsty, he drank water. At daybreak one burned great incense (šdeliedzi šge fdzań ġarġani)." In Verses 38-42 it is related how the first emperor burns incense in order to perform a heavy task: "When he was supposed to churn together the earth on the immense spring water, this was terribly difficult. And burning a great incense offering, he implored the light heavens (šge fdzańni ġarġadzi kuġuo tieńgërni yańdziladzia)." Verses 158-167 describe another incense offering of the first emperor. He gathers
[824] flowers (kānba flowers = Artemisia species) on the shady side of the mountain, juniper twigs on the sunny side, scoops pure water from the river, and then it is said: "Climbing onto the high mountain he burned great incense, implored the heavens, implored the countless spirits... (undur ġadadu ġaridzi šge fdzańni ġarġaya, šge tieńgërni yańdzilaya, uluon purġani yańdzilaya...). The offering in this case is also presented to other spirits, but heaven is in first place. This is also emphasized by the fact that it takes place on a mountain. None of the purġan is mentioned by name. The daily incense offering is mentioned in Verses 190-193: "Daily burning incense, he lived (sc. the first emperor). From below rose the great incense, and the smoke of the incense pushed open the gate of heaven; and the exalted
[776] Sdeńlatsien-sań (= the highest heaven lord) looked down." (Udurdu fdzań ġarġadzi sōdzamba. dōrōdza šge fdzańni ġarġano, fdzańni funini tieńgërni udieni baġa niedzia. Sdeńlatsien-sań dorodzi nōdzia.) The relationship of the incense to heaven is unambiguous here. (For further details concerning the Šdeńlatsien-san, cf. below.) The passage concerning the heavenly wanderings of the first emperor, Verses 1221-1222, runs similarly: "Then on his wanderings he came before the great gate of heaven, and the smoke of the great incense pushed open the gate of heaven." (Di yōdzi tieńgërni šge udie tada kurdzia. šge fdzańni funini tieńgërni udieni baġa niedzia.) On earth, namely, one burns incense during this time so that the undertaking of the journey to implore a ruler from heaven will succeed.

[223 cont.]

782 539 Further evidence is also found in the first part of the animal song cycle, the "Moschus deer." Verses 191-201 describe the incense offering in the following manner: "There is a procedure for catching the Moschus deer. Climb the north side (of the mountain)and pick green juniper twigs. Climb the sunny side and gather white kănba flowers. Go down to the flat plain and gather yellow kănba flowers. Go to the bank [224] of the river and burn great incense. Venerate the great heaven, implore the countless gods." (Šge fdzaňbeň ġarġaya, šge tieňgēre amudadzi, uluon purġan yaňdzilaya.)

[533] Now one more example from the wedding song, "The Bird Pair." The pair, shepherd and shepherdess, sing alternately: "When the sun rises shining, we pick green cypress twigs. Climbing up the shady side, we gather white kănba flowers. Descending to the flat plain, we scoop up clear water. Climbing up the high mountain, we burn great incense, and burning the great incense it is a good job when we are a pair." (Šge fdzaňni ġarġaya; šge fdzaňni ġarġadza, tsiari ġuori sguren-wa.)

782 174 These examples from the popular literature can be multiplied at will. The passages cited, however, suffice to secure the following conclusions: 1. The original form of the incense offering was extremely simple. Juniper twigs, flowers, and purification water belong with it. The offering was purely an aromatic offering. Although fire is naturally necessary also, it is nowhere mentioned. Not even the expression "to set afire" is used. The usual word "ġarġa" is the causative of "ġari-" (to generate, to produce, to rise) and refers here to the smoke. No foodstuffs are offered. The other additions, spices, etc., can be explained from Lamaism (5). Whatever in the way of

5. J.F.Rock also establishes for the Na-khi an original simple form, juniper twigs and butter; the other additions were not added until later; see Naga Cult, pp. 231 f.

foodstuffs is still offered in the present form should be conceived

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

T'ai-tsu of the Ming dynasty designated his grandson, 538
Hui-ti, to succeed to the throne in 1399. After three years, his uncle Ch'eng-tsu (Yung-lo period), usurped the throne and Hui-ti perished in a conflagration of the palace. A note added in the history states that it is related that Hui-ti escaped, disguised as a lama, and wandered incognito from monastery to monastery in Yunnan and south China; that he finally returned to Peking in 1440, and died after revealing his identity. This topic seems to be the basis for the legends concerning Ch'ü-t'an. However an "historical" fact may well have provided the fabric from which was woven the legend elaborated by the lamas, since the fact concerns the very province of Kansu.

At the time of the collapse of the Sung dynasty in 1276, the last emperor, Chao-hsien, was made prisoner by the Mongol conquerors in Hang-chou and the Chinese imperial harem was transferred to the north. In 1288 the imperial prisoner was sent (banished) to Kansu (Ho-hsi) in order to study Tibetan sutras. In Kansu he became a lama monk and adopted the religious name of Ho-tsun (mKha-'bcum). He died in 1323 in Kansu, a century before the founding of Ch'ü-t'an.

During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) Chinese scholars liked to gossip about the possible Chinese origin of the Mongol emperor, Shun-ti,[32] as well as the possible Mongol origin of the Ming emperor, Ch'eng-tsu (Yung-lo period). These tales are well known among the lamas and the Monguors.

A lama, honored for his holiness, lived in secluded 539
retirement on a high mountain near Ch'ü-t'an. He left for Peking one July carrying a small pack held by a light wooden frame, on his back. The heat was tropical and the holy man threw his mantle in the air, where it remained floating over his head protecting him the whole long way, even in the streets of Peking. Emperor Hui-ti, seeing the miracle, renounced his throne, left the palace and harem, and followed the returning holyman to Ch'ü-t'an with two of his ministers and his two brothers, all of whom became lamas.

At first the emperor resided at the very small monastery of Hung-shan-ssu, 60 *li* south of Ch'ü-t'an. He sent his cattle and horses to the pastures of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and went to Ch'ü-t'an. There he planted his stick at a certain spot and suddenly it turned into a blossoming sandalwood tree; whereupon he decided to build a monastery and a temple around the tree. A dry tree is still shown inside the temple, adorned with ceremonial scarves offered by the worshipping people who pass under its branches in order to receive blessings. Three small trees outside the temple are said to have sprouted from the dry tree.

The emperor had a well dug to be used for watering his horses. A small lama boy, while drawing water, fell

[32] P. Pelliot, L'Édition collective des œuvres de Wang Kouo-wei, *T'oung Pao*, 26: 136, 1926.

[p.22(A)]

into the well and disappeared. Only his clothes were seen in the river with which the well was connected underground. The emperor ordered the well to be filled and had a beautiful tower built over it. The ruins of the tower are still shown to visitors. 539

There are displayed in the head temple three fine saddles of unusually large size, with stirrups twice as large as those used today, for in former times people of note were taller, bigger, and stronger. The saddles are said to have belonged to the emperor and his brothers. When the emperor died his two ministers, in fear of having their families exterminated, changed their names. The first adopted the name of Chen Lo-kang, and his descendants still live in the Kang-tse Valley near Nien-pei. The other adopted the name of Yang Kang-tsun; his descendants live in Chen fan Valley. 538

The emperor appointed a member of the imperial family to manage the lamasery. He was called T'ien-hu-chun, and his name was Chu, the name of the imperial family. The appointment was hereditary and the emperor had carved on a slab the provisions concerning the appointment. The descendant of Mr. Chu presided over the ceremony of theatrical representations on New Year's. Later on, a corrupt descendant, after using the revenues and land taxes of the monastery for himself, was killed by the lamas, and the slab was smashed. The plinth which supported the slab is still shown to visitors.

Inside the courtyard of the enormous temple are the ruins of four beautiful stupas built by the Emperor. At the base of each he had buried, at night, immense treasures. One of the previous incarnations of the Living Buddha dug up the treasure from one of the stupas at night and took it to his residential quarters; but within a few moments his palace vanished in a blaze. Since that time, no one has dared to try to remove the treasures.

Upon his death, the emperor was buried in the lamasery. However, the lamas of Hung-shan-ssu claim that the emperor died and was buried in their monastery, and they have the visitor admire their own ruined tower built over a well and their own old dry tree enclosed in their temple. These honored trees, enclosed by a temple, point to the tree of Kumbum which sprouted from the afterbirth of Tsong khapa buried in Kumbum, even as the small trees sprouted from the roots of the old dry one. The tower built on the well points to the stupa of Kumbum, said to be the first monument built at Kumbum. It is hard to say which of these legends is the oldest.[84]

Temples and History of the Lamasery

Inside an enormous rectangular courtyard are three temple halls built in a row; a wall encloses the court- 792 346

[84] In Kumbum in 1577 there was built a temple enclosing the celebrated tree which was at that time 223 years old.

[p.22(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Hsining River in the main country of the Monguors. Its Tibetan name is *dGon lung*. *"dGon"* means a hermitage, hence a monastery; *"lung"* means valley—the hermitage of the valley. In Chinese literature it is called *Ku-lung*; the Chinese and Monguors call it *Erh-ku-lung*. It is situated at the entrance of a valley on the northern side of the T'u-Kuan Mountains. Erh-ku-lung is the mother monastery of all those situated north of the Hsining River. Its lamas in 1911 were mostly of Monguor origin, or Mongols from Mongolia, together with Tibetans of Huang-chung. Its administration was Monguor and its prominent Living Buddhas had always been reincarnations born in Kansu or Kukunor.

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Legends

The origin of Erh-ku-lung is overlaid with legends. The saying goes that during the Yüan period (1280–1368) a Buddha appeared to a holy lama of the Saskya Sect, called Diasai, absorbed in profound meditation, and ordered him to build a monastery in Huang-chung on a site he designated. The next day the lama started his journey. He wandered many years in order to find the indicated site. Finally, he recognized it at Erh-ku-lung and the Monguors started building a hermitage. A handsome, very intelligent young man of Erh-ku-lung, called Sumpa, asked the lama to accept him as his apprentice and to instruct him. The happy holy man devoted his energy and marvelous ability to educating the young man. More young recruits arrived. The holy lama returned to Tibet with two of the most intelligent novices, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan. He entrusted the task of caring for the monastery in the meantime to the young Sumpa. The lama died in Tibet and the two novices, after brilliantly completing their studies in Tibet and writing learned books, returned to Erh-ku-lung, performed miracles, and died at the same time as Sumpa. All three were reincarnated and became the celebrated three Living Buddhas, who are the co-proprietors and chiefs of Erh-ku-lung.

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At that time a lama of Erh-ku-lung, born in the neighborhood of Chie-bzan, enjoyed the reputation of holiness. After his death he was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung and was called the Living Buddha Chie-bzan. Another holy lama, born in Har-ch'in (Liao tung), called Wang, died and was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung as the Living Buddha Wang. These two smaller incarnations, in conjunction with the three former incarnations who received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor, constitute the board of the monastery, called "wu-ta-nang," which is still in existence. A residence was built by them for Diasai, the holy founder of the monastery, but the holy man failed to return from Tibet. At present, however, two lamas are still appointed to keep the home ready for the eventual return of the departed saint. They enjoy the nominal privilege

[p.27(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

of receiving eighty shares at the time of distribution of alms to the lamas. 792 539

A second legend explains in another way the origin of the monastery, and its peculiar administration by five Living Buddhas. One of the first Dalai Lamas lay dying on his bed in Lhasa from a terrible abscess on his thigh, which was greatly swollen. It would not yield to medical attention. Finally, the state oracle of Lhasa received in his trances notification that five Living Buddhas were confined in the tumor, and had to be released before the abscess would respond to medication. Lamas were sent all over the world to find an enormous sandalwood tree, recently uprooted by a big storm, in which the five Buddhas were confined. A whole army of lamas started in search of the life-saving tree. They eventually found it in the country of Erh-ku-lung. In the presence of an enormous crowd they started sawing the trunk of the fabulous sandalwood tree. Suddenly the teeth of the saw scratched on something which seemed hard as stone, and five statues of Buddhas escaped in the air. With the instinct of homing pigeons they fell on the very spot where a monastery was to be built. This is the origin of the temple and its "Wu-ta-nang." It is said the statues are locked in a closet in the temple, but no one is allowed to see them, the key being kept by the Chang-chia Hutukhtu.

History of the Lamasery

The origin of Erh-ku-lung seems, however, to have been less miraculous. The construction of the monastery started in 1604, after the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan (1598–1616), sent the lama, Don Yod Choskyi rgyamtso, from Lhasa to the region of Erh-ku-lung, to invite and encourage the people to build a lamasery. 175 792

The first great lama was Sumpa Danchos rgyamtso, born in Sumpa close to Erh-ku-lung.[77] He started with a small community, but attracted more and more novices. It was he who laid the foundation for the monastery.[78] Nothing more is known about this lama [79] except that twice he fulfilled the office of *Fa-t'ai* (see p. 61) of Erh-ku-lung, once in 1621 and again in 1649. These facts seem to support the supposition that the newly founded monastery soon flourished, all the more since a branch had been established at RGyud pagrva, the later monastery of Hsien mi-ssu, from the very beginning.[80] Two lamas, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan,[81] must have been members of

[77] R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia. *Bull. Ecole française d'Extrême Orient* 14: 253, 1951. Sumpa possibly originated from the ancient Tibetan (Mi-nag) Sumpa tribe, which had submitted to the king of Tibet. At the time of K'ri sron bde btsan (eighth century) the tribe had been appointed warden of the Sino-Tibetan frontiers of the country of Mi-nag.

[78] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 45.

[79] *Idem* 3 (5): 19.

[80] *Idem* 3 (1): 45.

[81] Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1882: 1 and 5. In Tibet all great personages are called after the name of their birthplace, also sects; *Sa-Skya*, *Jonanpa*, *Skampa*, *Digun*

[p.27(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

directors of the exercises, and their stock of punish- 785
ments for injustices never seemed to be exhausted. 829
People who committed injustices had to repair their 869
faults by being a servant, in their future life, of the person who had suffered on their account, or of being reborn as a donkey, a horse, or an ox, plowing their fields, carrying fertilizer, or harvesting. Even the slightest injustices are not overlooked by the terrible judge, for in order to repair the smallest injustices he makes men and women transmigrate into a hen, laying eggs for years, in behalf of the person who suffered because of them. The topic of reparation for injustices seemed to be an obsession of all the preachers, who seldom hinted at other questions of morals, and so the feeling concerning the widespread rite of repairing injustices, among laymen as well as lamas, and even Hutukhtus, becomes understandable. Never did they hint at the shamanist rites performed in private families.

The topic of the old Li, concerning gentle behavior 538
with animals, was the delight of the fasters, who every year asked him to tell again the marvelous anecdotes he had stored in his repertory concerning the subject, for in his lively telling even old chestnuts took on a new glow. The keen interest of nomads in their animals is a matter of common knowledge. Since the Monguors still love their animals in the way of their ancestors, it is no wonder that they asked for that topic, and that they adored the old Li, whose talks hit straight at their hearts. Below are some of his well-known examples.

In India, an old Living Buddha went every day to 539
preach in monasteries and explain texts. He rode an old elephant which, while the religious exercises of his master lasted, knelt devoutly, listening before the temple gate. The old Living Buddha loved all animals with effusion, and especially his faithful elephant. When the elephant died, the Living Buddha made it reincarnate in a strong boy belonging to a poor family. The heavy boy had the exact gait of an elephant, a big, oval long head, unusually long nose and ears, and an appetite as voracious as that of an elephant. No room was left for doubt; the elephant had reincarnated in a human being. The boy, at the age of seven, became the beloved apprentice of the old Living Buddha. After a few years, the master and his apprentice died at the same time. The reincarnation of the holy man was found in a boy endowed with the same characteristics as an elephant, but in addition he had on the palms of both hands and the soles of his feet the marks of the Buddhist "wheel of life," the characteristic of Living Buddhas. This boy was the genuine incarnation of the holy man who had loved the elephant to such an extent. The new Buddha became as celebrated over all India for his elephant features as for his universal charity, which extended not only to human beings, but even to all animals.

Also in India, a holy lama, very fond of animals, squatted under a tree from dawn to dusk, year after

[p. 135 (B)]

year, devoutly reciting sacred texts, and only a lovely 539
pigeon, perching on the lowest branch of the tree, was listening and enjoying the reading of the holy books, during all these years. The holy man loved the pigeon ardently and fed it every day. The pigeon died, and was reincarnated in a boy born into a poor family in the mountains, and on the very day of his birth he asked distinctly, three times, "Where is my master so-and-so?" The fact spread all over the country like a prairie fire; everybody came to look at the wonderful boy whose fingers and toes were webbed, whose hands were unusually beautiful and fine. As the boy grew he walked as upright as a pole, always his right foot first. Nobody had ever seen such a handsome, intelligent boy. Then the parents were told, by lamas, that the boy was the incarnation of the lovely pigeon, which during years had enjoyed the reading of the texts of the holy man whose name he pronounced three times at the very moment of birth. The boy became a celebrated learned lama, endowed with universal charity for animals. The congregation enjoyed the moralistic conclusion: be kind to animals, because Buddha loves such persons and blesses their families; their merits will be turned into more joy in paradise and the rebirth will be more happy and outstanding.

In Tibet, on the summit of a mountain, there lived in a cave a holy hermit, always praying in order that the animals might be happy, and preaching the love of animals. In his cave hung the picture of a Buddha, painted in a wonderful landscape, wherein a couple of cows grazed in a meadow. The holy man, practicing severe penance, received from the people some flour and tea leaves, and always he drank tea without milk or butter (which is one of the most tremendous kinds of penance for Tibetans). Once Buddha, delighted with the behavior of the holy hermit, suggested that he approach the picture hanging on the wall, and gave him the power to milk both the cows that were there depicted, and from that time on the holy man got milk in his tea. So great is the love of Buddha for those who love animals.

Another topic of the lectures concerned the necessity 538
of performing acts of charity, giving alms to the poor, and especially to the lamas, in order to get remission of sins and an easy entrance into paradise. The merits of good acts performed in behalf of holy lamas, Living Buddhas, and lamaseries are more important and valuable than those performed for less holy men, because lamas are the beloved of Buddha, and the good old Li supported his assumption by a lot of savory examples.

A certain old lama was the beloved of Buddha to such 539
an extent that several times, when he was praying in the temple, the lamas saw all the statues opening their eyes, moving their heads, and smiling wonderfully at him. Another was so holy that once, as he said his Om Mani over his beads, they became red hot from the glow of his love, and melted away. Another holy lama was preaching in a wealthy village. The chief of the

[p.136(A)]

village started ridiculing and deprecating him. Buddha 539
could not stand this, and made five tongues protrude out of the chief's mouth and made him fall dead on the spot, after which the village became a barren waste.

Another of the Living Buddha's topics, several times repeated to me, was that all the Monguor and Tibetan tribes would disappear, many families already being without male issue. The reason, he said, is that nearly all the departed already dwell in paradise and wait there for us, so that now the faster Monguors and Tibetans disappear, the sooner paradise will be furnished with happy inhabitants. "Make your sons become lamas," he would say, "for lamas surely arrive in paradise. However, among the dying, only those who, at the very moment of their death, trust in Buddha may hope to be reborn in a lotus near Buddha, where for thousands of years they will be happy, and where all the inhabitants will be taller and stronger and more beautiful than we are here."

Such are the topics of most of the preaching during 538
the fast exercises. Many times the fasters repeated that they loved the old Li because after every preaching he made them crave for pardon for all their sins, and because he could say the Om Manis over his beads with a wonderful unction. He had touched the hearts of the people.

IMPACT OF THE FASTING RITES UPON MONGUOR SOCIETY

Although these exercises were only attended by a 771
relatively small number of older people, their impact 785
upon the families cannot be overestimated, because the 869
old people repeated at home the topics of the lectures and the anecdotes, and because, since the authority with which the old people are vested in a patriarchal society is supreme, they cultivated in the orbit of the family the sense of religiosity; the habit of praying and of craving for pardon. Chiefs, and elders of villages who had attended the meetings, unconsciously and unwittingly were guided by these principles in the administration of the village and in the patching up of troubles. The impact was all the more important because, year after year, the exercises were repeated by the adored old Li, a man with an illustrious pedigree, a scion of the noble and wealthy family of the Li T'u-ssu. The old Li was a personality who provoked a revival of religious feeling in the country.

The anecdotes, ingenuously narrated in the schools by the children, had led me to make inquiries among the fasters themselves about the fast exercises, which before had seemed to me to be an unimportant institution, attended by old women without any bearing on the religious life of the communities. However, taking account of the overall number of the yearly participants in the six centers, and the number of men who attended them, even chiefs of villages and elders, and of the fact that in a patriarchal society the old people wield a supreme influence and also of the strong personality of

[p. 136 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The emperor praised the military prestation of Li Yin and sent delegates from Peking with laudatory letters and with the order to come to Peking, the expenses to be defrayed by the empire. He received the promotion of Yu-fu tso-tu-tu and rich gifts. The next year he was honored with the title of Duke of Hui Ning, and received an emolument every year of 1,100 *tan* of grain. At the same time the emperor, with delicate attention, bestowed upon his deceased father, Li Nan-ko, the same title of Duke of Hui Ning (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*). 175x 648 [703] [554]

Li Yin seemed to have reached the summit of a glorious career. However, a more eminent honor was in store for him. His merits would be chiseled on a stele in a temple built by himself to remind future generations of the imperial dignities bestowed upon him. 175x 554

In the Kuang-fu-kuan, a temple built in 1426 in the northeast corner of the city of Hsining, the following is chiseled on a stele (*Annals* of Kansu 30: 45*a–b*; *Annals* of Hsining 35: 6*a–b*): 175x

In 1422 in the eighth moon, Emperor Yung Lo, on his way back from an expedition in the desert took a breath in Yu-lin (Shensi) and called to his tent the officials who had won the most distinguished merits during the expedition. He granted Li Yin the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Pillar of the Empire and Duke of Hui Ning. Then the duke asked the emperor for permission to build in Hsining a temple in honor of the god of the war, in order to show gratitude for the blessings bestowed upon the empire and the people, and to secure more blessings in the future. The emperor agreed. Back home, Li Yin ordered, a few days later, the building of the temple. In the tenth moon of 1426 he informed the emperor about the completion of the construction. The emperor granted to the temple the name "Kuang-fu-kuan" (Taoist temple of glory and felicity), and appointed five Taoist priests for the performance of the sacrifices and worship in the temple. 175x 211 539 [703] [776] [795]

One evening Li Yin was dreaming: he heard a man saying to him, "The God of War will appear." Instantly he dressed and adjusted his hat. Another man arrived carrying a tray with fine dishes. He invited Li Yin to come to his home to enjoy the dishes. Li Yin could not understand the circumstances of such an invitation. He thought it should be a spirit. Then he invited this man to come to his home. They were about to start with the dinner when all of a sudden the man said, "The spirit is there." Li Yin opened the door. He saw a man perfectly dressed, riding a white horse with a beautiful saddle and escorted by a numerous retinue. The man was like a king. The Taoist priest Ho Chao-tsung accompanied him, dressed in Taoist fashion, holding a book in his hands. He asked Li Yin: "The god will go first to the temple of the King Li. Is that correct?" Li Yin answered that he would first call at the Ning-fan Ssu (the temple of the appeased Tibetans). The entire group left. The sky was bright. On the way they passed a beautiful high building, enclosed by a high wall. They said, "The man who is living here does not belong to the lower range of society." They arrived at the gate of the temple. Li Yin dismounted from his horse. He was terrified. This happened on the eighth day of the seventh moon in 1423. In the winter of the same year the Duke was invited to see the emperor in Peking. He received his titles and precious gifts and returned to Hsining. What the Duke saw in his dream was the appearance of the god of war. It was a reward for his

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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devotion to the empire. Emperor Yung Lo whom he had served in the expeditions in the desert had given him a precious sword and a famous horse. In 1425 Li Yin had fought the brigands in Anting and at the head of his soldiers had attacked the brigands and himself had killed many among them. He had captured a booty of 130,000 cattle. The emperor had sent minister Yang Yung to congratulate him. His merits were unusual and therefore he received in his dream a visit from the god of war . . . all these circumstances we have recorded on the stele, etc.

Without doubt the titles received by Li Yin, the building of the temple and the name given to it by the emperor himself, the stele, and the wonderful dreams went straight to the heart of the clan members and strengthened the cohesion of the Li clan. All these circumstances normally seem to have been conducive at that time to the building of an elaborate clan cemetery and to the erection in 1426 of the famous "spirit way stele" in honor of Li Nan-ko, the founder of the clan, father of Li Yin.

However, the behavior of Li Yin, puffed up with pride, had changed after he had been honored so magnificently by the emperor. The Governor of Ninghsia, Shih Chao, who had previously been Governor of Hsining, accused him of fostering subversive intentions. Li Yin could disprove the accusation. In Hsining he had assembled 700 families, fugitives from justice, whom he protected. He had settled them in the country and had given them land to till. But they harmed their neighbors, stealing and upsetting the country. Again complaints were lodged with the board of military justice, and Li Yin was ordered to turn over his tenants to the civil authority. In 1432 Ch'i Ch'eng, descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, was his father's lawful successor to the office of t'u-ssu. The bold Li Yin, not bothering to offend the prominent Ch'i t'u-ssu clan, supported as successor to the t'u-ssu office Chien Tsang, the nephew of Ch'i Ch'eng, who was the son of his sister. He appointed murderers to kill Ch'i Ch'eng. He was accused again. This time the military judges rolled all the accusations into one, condemned him to prison, to the revocation of his titles and honors and to capital punishment. In 1437 the emperor pardoned him, allowing him a small emolument. Soon thereafter he died (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

HUANGCHUNG T'U-SSU UNDER THE SUBSEQUENT EMPERORS

After the death of Yung Lo, (1424) the alarming confusion and struggle continued unabated among the eastern and western Mongols, both groups appointing their own Khans, who were merely nominal supreme chiefs and actually blind tools in the hands of Togon and A-lu-t'ai who controlled the two groups. A-lu-t'ai, weakened after many encounters with the Chinese and Oirat troops; was finally defeated and killed by the Oirat, Togon, in 1434; and the hegemony of the Oirats

[66 cont.]

782 Sitting before the obo, the lama gives the appropriate
[533] prayers, accompanying them on his hourglass drum and the bell. At the same time the people burn incense at several places, kowtow, and blow the conch. This service may sometimes last the entire day. When the lama is finished with the prayer, he takes the torma to a stone on the obo, sprinkles the obo with holy water, and casts barley on it, over which he lightly blows with his mouth. The people then take something from offerings that stand in front of the obo, pluck something off, and throw some of this into the incense fire and on the obo. The flowers are all thrown on the mound. Meanwhile others have already placed the spears, twigs, and mani-flags on the obo and have thrown the votive gifts on it, as at the month offering. Then all of them circle around the obo, throwing the white stones and praying the obo call. At this point all of them once more make a threefold kowtow, drink tea, and go home.

The prayer service may also last several days. Then people set up tents on the mountain and live and eat there.

527 The obo festival: Every year on the sixth day in the sixth
782 month an obo festival takes place. At these festivals the obo is venerated in the morning, as it is at the month offering. A sheep offering and the prayer service of the lama may also be connected with it.

527 All the people from the neighborhood, men and women, old and young, gather at the obo. If the obo terrain is too
[541] difficult and not level enough, they gather at the foot of the mountain or on a meadow. There the men hold horse races,
[533] people sit around the fire and drink and sing; they eat and
[439] dance and laugh. Chinese traders appear, set up their booths, and peddle their wares. -- Formerly, when the old weapons
[526] were still used, the horse races were followed by archery, spear throwing, and sword fights. Wrestling matches were especially
[178] popular. Nowadays this is no longer the case. Only the horse
[541] racing and the singing contests are still held. The mountain-
[533] spirit rejoices when the people are so gay (3).

[171] 3. [Foreign text p. 69.] The obo festival is also celebrated by the

[68 cont.]

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*778

[Note on foreign text p. 71 cont.]
la rtse - obo, yar = upward, stod la = upward, to place on top. -- rēdziõn: Tibetan žon = to ride. -- yifula: Tibetan ri bo = mountain, hill, lha = spirit. -- ndziġdien: Tibetan 'jig = transitoriness, rten = container. A Buddhistic mode of expression for the world: the ten containers of transitoriness (Unkrig).

Little stonepiles: lawdzē dzidziġa = obo chicks.

Obo sheep-offering: lawdzē tada xoni šēñlie = to sacrifice a sheep before the obo.

[782] The lama prays before the obo: lama lawdzē tada mošguni.

The offerings: yilenē šēñlie = total offerings.

To dwell at the obo: lawdze tada sō-.

To set up a tent: bekärge posġuo-.

[541] Horse racing: mori holilġa = to make horses race.

Whose horse is fast: käni mori gurdā?

[529] Shooting competition: sēmu sēmuda- = to shoot arrows.

Whose skill with weapons is great: käni xuawu šgewa?

The young people wrestle: mula kunsgē walde-.

Whose strength is great: käni kudzi šgewa?

Large and small sing together: šge mulasgē nigē dōlā-.

Whose songs are many: käni dō uluona?

[541] Obo horse-racing: lawdzē šda rēdziõn (Tib. (8) [see Note 8 above].

[529] Obo festival: lawdzē šdodlō, mori holġani = to make the horses run pelting the obo.

[621] [757] The obo protects human beings: lawdzē ayili kun, ase, mulā-sēla, nasā, ġuosāni furõñlāni = the obo of the village (kin group) protects human beings, animals, little children, from epidemics and strife.

[776] The mountain-spirit: yifu la (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above].

331 donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel rela-
441 tively well because they have not been confined and fed
in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open
[237] around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy
pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a
large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to
Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from
there to Europe and America for making brushes.

236 The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send
their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this
237 buying is done directly in the homes of families that
have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor
443 children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted
439 with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-
drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buy-
ing in small quantities is done by the peddlars, espe-
cially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by
women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth,
cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments,
[431] and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are
usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small
[203] quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for
Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place
to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to
the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining
is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of
the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as
they travel.

442 Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs.
Two or three times a year every important monastery
296 holds special religious performances, around which there
543 spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after
paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their
tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads
all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and
plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in
addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes
and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes,
wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack
[232] doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose dis-
eases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses,
cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

543 Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and at-
tract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable dis-
579 tances. In the afternoons there are horse races and
wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymak-
ing, and often, when there has been too much drinking,
fights between clans and villages.

463 A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-
distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the
439 medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy,
484 France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big
men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet
and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small
merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods,
attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan
lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

[P. 115a]

N *563 M 439 [438] [543] [437]

/The Monguors/

tion for her hospitality. Larger scale selling and buying are done at fairs held two or three times a year.

Occasionally an ambitious young Mongour will go into the business of long-distance caravan trade with the Tibetans. He will deal largely in mules and saddle girths woven with white wool, which can be sold readily in Tibet, and bring back wool serge cloth dyed red or purple, or white with red or blue stripes. A heavy fabric, it sheds water, and is highly valued by the Mongours. He will also bring back Tibetan incense, dates and so forth to sell to the Chinese.

N *563 M 461

6. Work and leisure

The traditional life of pastoral nomads is rather free and lazy except at the times of seasonal migration. Descendants of nomads, the Mongours still prefer to enjoy long periods of comparative idleness alternating with short periods of intense activity. In their agricultural economy, however, the Mongour men are unable to be quite so indolent as pastoral nomads.

N *563 M 462

In the farming communities, both men and women work in the fields. The men do the heavy preparatory work, plowing and harrowing; the women help with sowing and weeding, as well as with reaping the harvest and carrying the grains to the threshing floor. Women do the threshing. Like their Mongol sisters, they do the housework and care for the animals. Married women work under the supervision of the oldest, usually the mother-in-law.

N *563 M 562 M [574] M [437] [533]

Although their status is inferior, the Mongour women accept it without resentment. Their outlook is conditioned by their milieu. They know what is expected of them, and behave accordingly. Though bound by strict rules of etiquette, they are entirely free to associate with men, to sing and dance in public, and to enjoy themselves. They delight in attending the big festivals at the lamaseries and the annual assembly of the clan, where they meet their friends and visit, and also show off their fancy costumes and headdress. They love to shop at the fairs, and bargain over goods. Both men and women love to sing. During the long, tedious hours of weeding the fields, men and women sing in unison.

N *563 101

G. The Tibetans

1. The people

Hsi-fan is a name applied by the Chinese to the Amdo Tibetans, and to all other non-Chinese tribesmen from Sung-p'an to Hsi-ning. It means Western Barbarians. Some European scholars have maintained that the Hsi-fan are not Tibetans, and suggest that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese peoples of southwest China, like the Lolo or Moso. Granting that there is no such thing as a homogenous Tibetan

N *563 199

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

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baters who are always the same and fond of displaying their ability.

792 544 873

Not a few among them are real actors, who would honor the stages of the best theaters in the civilized world. Their poses, mimicry, jokes, verve, double meaning suggestions, affected sounds, and their knack of keeping the people amused, whet the curiosity and provide a real relaxation. Nearly the whole community huddles around them, even the old lamas who are used to sitting sleepily at these compulsory, boring meetings, for whom the novelty has worn off many, many years ago, and who have never been interested in the subject itself, strain their ears and huddle a little nearer to the stage and relax happily.

The Yellow Sect has always been fond of dialectic. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of Erh-ku-lung was celebrated for his logic in the learned world of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung.[11] The dialectic methods of Nagarjuna are particularly enjoyed by the philosophers. He used to "prove," in the most incredible ways, the nonexistence of the world, of his proper self, and even of Buddhism.[12] The debaters try by means of recitation of endless memorized texts to stagger their opponents, and by tortuous questions to entice them into snares of sophism and to prove the most unbelievable theses. The attractive public disputations help to break the monotony of the monastic life, and to provide a couple of hours of relaxation.

It was said that once in a while some students passed official examinations and obtained titles and degrees, but I never had the opportunity to be present at such ceremonies.

Both these reasons explain the unusual attraction toward the College of Philosophy of the large number of lamas, who even lack the education of a student of an elementary school, and also the stubborn perseverance of the old lamas in continuing as members of the college.

792 873 794

The conditions for becoming a member of the other colleges and the method of study are identical with those of the College of Philosophy. The lamas have to attend only one compulsory service in the early morning in the main temple, as required by the organization of the community of the lamas, and have plenty of time to attend the exercises prescribed by other colleges in the morning and afternoon; they even have plenty of time to indulge in domestic duties and commerce. It would be instructive to make a comparison between the standard of the studies in Huang-chung and that of the celebrated lamaseries of Tibet, as described in nearly all the works concerned with the subject.[13] After investigating the situation in Huang-chung, I harbor suspicions concerning the punctilious observance of the pro-

[11] Huth, *op. cit.*, 281.

[12] René Grousset, *Philosophies indiennes*, ch. 9, *passim*, Paris, Desclée de Brower, 1931.

[13] Waddell, *op. cit.*, 184–188; Filchner, *op. cit.*, 350–358; Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 94, etc.

Mo 586 593 /148 cont'd/
children are accepted in the family to keep the daughter-in-law home better, say the T'ou-jen, and to avoid a second escapade. Then, if later one wants to get rid of them, one will send the boys to the lamasery to devote themselves to the service of Buddha; as for the girls, they will be given in marriage. I confess I have not met polyandry among the T'ou-jen.

Mo 548 Likewise, prostitution in the strict sense of the word is not known. Although there are the series of prayer-post wives and belt wives, they cannot be classed in this category. Indeed, they consider themselves as being married, and they are considered as such, and furthermore they hardly ply the trade of prostitutes. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 152: Prostitution as a social phenomenon among the Manchus is unknown. /Cited in English./

Mo 589 793 Celibacy is practiced solely by the lamas of the yellow sect, and the T'ou-jen furnish a sizable contingent to this religious body. They are the only bachelors among the T'ou-jen. There is no lamasery for women in the country; all the women without exception Mo [302] practice marriage under one or the other of the forms we have described above. It happens at the very most that one meets widows or women of advanced age who shave their heads and devote themselves especially to prayer while staying at home.

/149/ Chapter VI

The Matriarchate

006 Summary: -- A. Present-day patriarchal state. System of the large family. B. Former matriarchate proved by: (1) Double burial. (2) The relations of the maternal uncle with the family of his sister

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 177 came accustomed to Monguor life they willingly became subjects of the T'u-ssu, assuming the obligations and duties imposed on commoners. These Chinese did not drop their surnames to adopt that of the T'u-ssu, and are, therefore, different in surname from the rest of the clan; but they mingled with the Monguors, living in the same hamlets and villages. There are very few hamlets in which only Chinese live. Very few of them adopted the Monguor dress, and few learned the language. Some of the formerly poor Chinese, growing wealthy, have become outstanding people in the clan, pushing themselves forward and getting jobs in the T'u-ssu administration, where the pattern was the same as that of China, with all its assets and drawbacks and squeeze and bribery.

While the Monguors have absorbed or partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture to be lower than that of the Chinese. Many of them are ashamed of their "barbarian" origin, repudiate their Monguor or Shat'o descent, and claim to be of Chinese origin; they dress like Chinese and speak only Chinese.

It is not easy to give even an approximate figure for the number of Chinese enrolled in Monguor clans, partly because so many Shat'o and Monguors claim to be of Chinese extraction. For that reason it is possible that the number of regularly enrolled Chinese families is not as large as it seems to be. In every clan, however, real Chinese are numerous. The general rule seems to be that they are descended from individuals and single families, not from groups which joined the Monguors in considerable numbers at any one time. However, a large group of Chinese bearing the surname of Pao lives in Pient'an and is enrolled in the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu.

175 177 •551 Professor Lattimore draws my attention to the fact that Chinese with the clan name of Pao (which may be written in several different ways) frequently if not usually claim to be descended from the Mongol imperial clan of Borjigid. This suggestion raises problems in connection with Monguors who use the name of Pao. On the one hand, this group is often referred to in ordinary speech as "Yuan Pao," which might be held to suggest "Pao of the Yuan [dynasty]," and hence descent from the Borjigid clan. On the other hand, there is no written record that identifies the Pao as "Yuan" Pao. On the contrary, the Pao families under the Lu T'u-ssu are listed as commoners, and as such have to pay taxes and are subject to corvée and military service; whereas the Lu T'u-ssu and his noble relatives claim descent from the imperial clan of the Mongol (Yuan) dynasty through Kölgen, son of the celebrated favorite of Chingis Khan, Kulan. If, therefore, the Pao families were really of Mongol descent, how could they have become commoners under a T'u-ssu also descended from the imperial family?[81]

[81] Pao is also used by Mongols descended from Khabtu Hasar, brother of Chingis Khan. The possibility should, therefore, be

1: Selkum M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 177 561 Father A. Mostaert tells me that Taiji (i.e. descendants of the imperial line of Chingis Khan) of the Otok Banner of the Ordos Mongols, when they have much to do with the Chinese and need to use a clan name in the Chinese style, take the name of Pao, from the first syllable of Borjigid. The Taiji of the Ushin Banner of the Ordos Mongols, however, prefer to take as a Chinese clan name Ch'i, from the first syllable of Kiyut (Kiyat), which is well known as the sept or subdivision of the clan of Borjigid to which belonged Yesugei, father of Chingis Khan.[32] Possibly the explanation may be that among the Monguors noble families with the name of Ch'i descend from Chingis Khan, while families of commoners with the name of Pao have only a vaguer, undocumented claim to descent from the larger Borjigid clan of which the sept of Kiyut (Kiyat) was a particular line.

In this connection it is worth noting that, among all the seventeen Monguor clans, the general rule is that the use of a Chinese surname begins only with the third or fourth generation from the founding ancestor, with the exception of the clan of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where the Chinese form Ch'i is found from the very beginning, with the supporting statement, in both the *Annals* of Hsining and the *Annals* of Kansu that the Ch'i line was descended from the line of Chingis Khan.

175 551 The clan name of the Lu T'u-ssu is also of special interest. This line expressly claims Mongol imperial descent, yet its Chinese clan name is neither Pao nor Ch'i. The explanation is provided in the family chronicles of the Lu T'u-ssu. In 1410 a Chinese army suffered a disastrous defeat on the river Kerulen, in Outer Mongolia, and among those who perished was the son and successor of the founding ancestor of the Lu line, who as a frontier feudatory had been summoned to take part in the Chinese expedition into Outer Mongolia.

To erase the memory of this disaster the Ming ordered that the Chinese name for the Kerulen River be changed from Luch'ü to Yinma.[33] At this point the family chronicles of the Lu clan (which, as already mentioned above, I am now preparing for publication) chime in with official history. In these records, the biography of the third T'u-ssu of the line, son of the T'u-ssu who died in battle on the Kerulen River, says that in 1414 he was ordered with his troops from Kansu to Hsüanhuafu, on the frontier between North China and Inner Mongolia, and that in a battle on the river Kant'an he made prisoner a Mongol general.

The emperor then said: In former times Tan, duke of Chu, made a punitive expedition into the region of Yenhsi. The King of Ch'eng gave him, as appanage, the

taken into account that in the Monguor usage lineal descendants of Chingis Khan, if they used the clan name Pao, were distinguished as "imperial" Pao, while collateral descendants were considered commoners.—O. L.

[32] The Mongol terms are *omog* (*obog*) for the main clan, and *yasu*(*n*) or "bone" for the sept or subdivision.—O. L.

[33] Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols*, as cited, 28.

[P. 56-b]

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country of Lu. Your family submitted [to the Ming dynasty] long ago, and has fought bravely in many expeditions in far-off regions; your glorious achievements may be compared with those of the duke of Chu, and I therefore bestow on you the name of Lu. From that time, says the chronicle, the line [that is now] Lu changed its clan name to Lu. Unfortunately, however, the chronicle does not say whether the clan name was previously Pao or Ch'i.

There remains to be mentioned the use of double names called in Chinese "*fu hsing*," borne by a very few Monguor families. I noted only 5 such names: Ho-Li chia, Pao-Ma chia, Chang-Li chia, Yuan-Pao chia. The *Pai hsing hsing* the traditional list of Chinese clan or family names, records 408 single and 30 double names, and the few double names encountered among the Monguors are not included among the 30. What may account for the Monguor double names has always been a mystery to me. I was never able to determine whether the few families of commoners bearing these names were genuine Chinese, or sinicized Monguors, or Tibetans.

TIBETANS

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In addition to the Chinese there are in some clans large numbers of Tibetans but they appear to have joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese.

In the Li clan there are 20 Tibetan families living in the Narin valley and 60 families, still wearing Tibetan dress but speaking Monguor, in Hsiatsantze ("Lower station"). These 80 families are scattered remnants of the Tibetan K'eelurk tribe. In Tseilin[34] valley lives a group of 40 Tibetan families, and another group in Shuimokou ("Water-mill valley") of more than 100 Tibetan families who speak Monguor, but still dress in the Tibetan fashion, who once belonged to the famous Wang T'u-ssu of Choni monastery in T'aochou prefecture. They adopted the name Li.

In the Ch'i clan there are 32 Tibetan families speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, in Tungtsantze ("Eastern station"). They belonged originally to the two Tibetan tribes of Kairtsen and Nguertsa. In Chungtsantze ("Central station") are 40 Tibetan families also speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, who formerly belonged to the tribes of Mach'i and Ch'iaok'o.

In the clan of the Wang T'u-ssu there are 18 Tibetan families.

In the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu there are 453 Tibetan families, scattered in 13 villages numbering 2,365 persons. For this big group, there are historical data. They are descended from families granted to the T'u-ssu by the emperor as a reward for his strong support in

[34] This place name, especially as the second syllable is written with the Chinese character for "grove, wood," may be a Chinese form from Monguor *dziari*, given in the *Dictionnaire*, as cited above, as "bois sacré," with a suggested possible further derivation from Tibetan *t'sal*, "bois."—O. L.

[p. 570]

M /12 cont'd/.
582 The general rule which governs the unions of T'ou-jen young people is very simple. It requires only that the husband and wife not bear the same name, therefore that they belong to different
M families. There are no exceptions to this rule. Moreover, it is the
[171] same rule which exists among the Chinese and the Turco-Mongolian peoples.

M Now the T'ou-jen claim that formerly all the people of the
551 same t'ou-se were called by the name of the t'ou-se; a chief and his people thus constituted a clan. This is possible and even probable, for among the Mongols, who are racial brothers of the T'ou-jen, members of the same clan have the same name. (1) Today,

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1. The Life of Ghingis Khan, by Prof. Vladimirtsov, p. 5: The habit of minor tribes of adopting the appellation of some powerful and related neighbour even though they might be in hostile relations with the latter, is reported by the ethnologists of various parts of the world, e.g. from the Caucasus, the Altai, and contemporary Mongolia.

As the Tartar tribe was numerous, and had by the twelfth century acquired considerable importance, members of the other Mongol clans often adopted the famous name of Tartar, so that their own tribal name ceased to be known except to their nearest neighbours. /Cited in English./

P. 64: Temuchin after having brought all the tribes of Mongolia into subjection is proclaimed Ghingis Khan in 1206 at the sources of the Onon. "The Borjigin clan had once more revived the greatness and the glory of the Mongol name, and all the peoples of their race would henceforward be designated as Mongols. All the

/12 cont'd/

M 551 171 HM 551 614

Noyans, Bagaturs, Beks and Tegins, all the aristocracy now became the Vassals of the clan of Mongol and accepted its name. For the first time the united nation had a common name and the name soon became so glorious that every nomad was proud to call himself a Mongol. /Cited in English./

A similar custom existed among the T'ou-jen. Indeed, we know the case of a group of more than a hundred families under the Iang t'ou-se of Tchouo-ni-tse who came to live in the Choei-mouo-keou of Sining belonging to the Li t'ou-se. The whole group changed its name from Iang to Li and acknowledged Li t'ou-se as its chief.

M 551 /13/ however, due to historic events which we shall relate in their place, families under the same t'ou-se no longer bear the same name.

M 582 178 Hence, in this case, formerly the prohibition against marriage between young people bearing the same name corresponded to that forbidding marriage between members of the same tribe or clan. This prohibition makes us think of the great law of exogamy in all its breadth; an exogamy affecting not only the family but also the clan, since here the two merge. Whatever may have been the case in the past, the law of exogamy today bears only on the single family.

M 551 613 The T'ou-jen consider that the notion of name is exactly equivalent to that of family. All those who do not bear the same name, even though they are descended directly from the same ancestor, are foreigners /i.e., outsiders/ to the family. Here is a conception laden with consequences: daughters given in marriage and, taking the name of their husbands, will consequently leave the family and will become outsiders; they will no longer be buried in the family cemetery; since their children bear a different name, they will also be foreigners to the family of the mother. It follows from this that since they do not bear the same name, there is no obstacle to the marriage of the children of the two families. Thus one regularly sees

M [614] M 582 605 171

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606 lose their rights of inheritance in their family of origin, but since
691 /118/ they are regarded as members of the wife's family, they get back their lost rights. Cases are even cited where they become head in the wife's family. That is the general law fitting this practice.

593 Now the T'ou-jen live at present under a patriarchal system,
608 which is incompatible with this custom. Consequently, it is not
606 surprising that the husband-son-in-law finds himself in a very dis-
554 advantageous position....

[551] Since there has been no adoption of the son-in-law into the wife's family, he continues to be called by the name of his father, he and his children; he continues to be a member of his paternal family, to honor the dead of his father's family, and to lend a hand to his family of origin in cases of vengeance, etc. Thus in theory he keeps the rights of inheritance in his paternal family. But since these sons-in-law usually belong to very poor families, the chance to enjoy their rights of inheritance very rarely presents itself.

I have, however, met the case in question two or three times, and each time the brothers who had stayed home tried to eliminate the husband-son-in-law on the pretext that he had not contributed to the acquiring of the family's property. However, the unfortunate one always succeeded in making the most of his rights, if not wholly at least in part.

That amply proves that the husband-son-in-law living with the parents-in-law to serve them until death is in a false position with respect to his family of origin.

His position with respect to his wife's family is no better. Indeed, under the patriarchal system, succession is paternal. The name of the son-in-law differs from that of his wife's family; now we have seen "another name, another family," the son-in-law then does not have the right of inheritance to make the most of here. This is what explains the fact that one will never see young people of a well-to-do family consent to making themselves husband-sons-in-law, and that only those who have nothing to lose will take this
608 path.

606 /119/ If the parents-in-law are poor, there will be no difficul-
428 ties for this combination on the part of their own family; if, on the

[621 cont.]

846 loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter,
431 and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole
[262] in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

[858] Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts
[822] for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

553 Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-
791 soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the master of the household gives the great incense offering in the
[787] yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master
[592] of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the
[778] child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

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3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guānbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guāmbo; ifulā sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sērǎn (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; lǎsdze sērǎn, pass-peak-palace; tuguän ula, mountain of the Tuguän. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

[621 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 622 cont.]
the father or grandfather or someone else in the family was just fifty years old, but the mother's family has no influence on such names. For boys, instead of mdzuo (full) one says seraṅ, that is, roughly "sublime." Other names are, for example, wadma sdzig, that is, lotus flower, for girls; or wadma sdzia, that is, dedicated to the lotus, for boys. -- The Chinese, too, have a similar custom. They, for example, take a boy to the temple of the black tiger and then call him "dedicated to the black tiger," hei-hu-pao; or "dedicated to the mother," niang-niang-pao, when they have put the child under the protection of the mother-goddess in the temple. The Chinese pao and the sdzia of the Tujen have the same meaning.

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5. [Foreign text p. 622.] sēraṅ: Tibetan sraṅ (?) = dwelling, settlement (Unkrig).

553 child to eat; he likewise offers it tea. It is not the child, how-
791 ever, but the mother who eats the gifts. Then everyone makes a threefold kowtow in the house to the soothsayer and the Buddha image, and outside to the sky.

If the spear-spirit desires that the family elder should
[592] give the name, the latter performs the same ceremonies, but the soothsayer supervises the performance with the trembling spear. Also, the kowtow is then made to the family elder. --
553 This ceremony is usually undertaken by the grandfather or
592 father, or by the man who is the master in the family (4). It
[792]

[228 cont.]
776 the people, and they do not want to be without it in the legend.
[773] The Šdenlatsien San has no significance in the customs.

The position with respect to the mountain-spirit and the earth-god. -- In the chapter concerning the obo, the incense offering, and in other places mention was made of a tripartition of the deities, namely, in the sequence: heaven, mountain-spirit and earth-god, countless gods. Since the mountain-spirit and earth-god are not included under the Buddhistic concept purgan, a pre-Buddhistic age is automatically suggested. In addition, the mountain-spirit has tasks that one could ascribe to heaven. What is the relationship to it?

776 The Tujen call the mountain-spirit yifula. A Tibetan
●551 equivalent would be the word already mentioned earlier, ri-bo
192 lha (mountain-spirit). The informant, who himself bore this name, translated it, however, with the Chinese Shan-shen pao (mountain-spirit protection). (Concerning the name-giving, cf. above, "The Conclusion of the Confinement.") This leads, however, to a Mongolic analysis of the word. According to W.A.Unkrig, this is found in the combination: ibel (protection) and ula (mountain); cf. Koval., p. 282. The interpretation corresponds to the Chinese translation. Yifula thus would be appropriately rendered with "protector of the mountains."
776 Without settling the origin of the name, it can nevertheless be
171 maintained that the cult of the mountain-spirit in the obo festival is a Mongolic peculiarity from ancient times that is repeatedly reported in the literature. Among the Tujen, too -- as among the neighboring Tangut -- the obo festival occupied an important position; cf. "The Obo," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

776 [229] The mountain-spirit is not a terror-god, but a mild, providing father, the lord of the animals, who watches over the welfare of the herds, who cares for plants and trees, and who is concerned about the increase of human beings. He is the guardian of the ayil (village, tribe) and guards its weapons. The people gather around him for playing and dancing,
[171] prayer and offering. Although the mountain-spirit is thus

592 sents the family in attending the general assembly of the clan at the spring ceremony of venerating the ancestors. At such meetings, the older people are always bitter in their condemnation of heads of families who send a delegate instead of attending in person.

592 796 769 Apart from religious practices within the family, the head of the family must also attend when shamanistic ceremonies are staged in the village temple. Within the household, it is his duty every morning to honor "heaven and all the spirits" either on the roof of his house or in the courtyard. A duty that he cannot alienate from himself is the cult of the deity honored by his father; the picture of this deity reverts to him by inheritance. It is also his responsibility to invite either shamans or lamas to his house on various occasions.

592 471 In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. All money coming to any member of the family must be deposited with him. Individuals in the family have no right to keep money for their own use. It is he who sells and buys cattle and grain, and all contracts must be signed by him because only his signature is legally valid for the family. He also buys, sells, or mortgages land. It is his right to decide which member of the family is to become a lama, who is to be sent to school, and who is to serve as a soldier. He directs all the ordinary routine of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns to members of the family their daily duties. If members of the family wish to attend festivals, he must give permission; he must also give permission if a daughter-in-law wants to go home to visit her parents.

[553] 592 He is of course the one who decides on the arrangements for marriages and funerals, and it is his privilege to give names not only to his own children but to grandchildren. He is expected to be just and even-handed in seeing that all members of the family have their fair share of clothes and their fair share of space in living quarters. Inability to handle such matters to the satisfaction of the family often leads to the break-up of an extended family and the building of new chimneys. Authority within the family is balanced by responsibility to the chief of the clan not only for the family itself but for murders or robberies committed on land belonging to the family. In the event that a member of his own 592 family is murdered, he must join with the maternal uncle 681 of the one who has been killed in leading all the men of the family to secure vengeance. When a member of his family brings shame on the family by a crime, such as stealing, and is unwilling to make amends, he must again consult with the maternal uncle of the guilty person and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. In such cases even the death penalty may be exacted without arousing the disapproval of the public authorities.

592 When visiting a Monguor family, it is always easy to recognize the head of the family. He is better dressed than the others, is almost never without a long-stemmed pipe in his hand, and does not do any hard physical

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846 For a whole month after the birth of a child, most people will not enter the courtyard. This tabu applies not only to the room occupied by the woman and child, but to the whole courtyard and contact with the whole family. During this month the mother lives principally on a thin gruel of millet (*mi-t'ang*). The period of seclusion is twenty-nine days after the birth of a boy and thirty days after the birth of a girl. During this period the mother should not go outside of the courtyard to draw water from the well, and she is not allowed to touch religious objects. Among poor people, where the mother cannot afford to be completely idle for a whole month, she begins to do a little household work after three days.

Every three days the mother washes herself with a concoction of cypress twigs, a Tibetan custom, and the child with a concoction of pepper, which is a Chinese custom. The mother puts under the head of her child a small pillow stuffed with dried peas, in order that the child's head may grow perfectly round, and she rubs the child's head several times a day for the same reason. On [302] the twentieth day the child's head is shaved. The mother also constantly pulls the lobes of the child's ears in order that they may grow long and pendulous.[26] A round head, long ear lobes and small, fine hands are the most important criteria of beauty and an omen of good fortune in life.

On the third day after the birth of the child the father, dressed in his best and carrying a bottle of wine and a *khatag* or scarf of felicity goes to announce the happy news to his wife's family. When he enters their room, he asks for a cup, pours wine, and offers the cup t his wife's parents and her maternal uncles; he then bows, makes a prostration, and formally announces the sex of the child and the fact that mother and child are doing well, and invites his relatives-in-law to pay a visit. On the same day the mother-in-law comes to see her grandchild and to congratulate her daughter, bringing with her a present of some millet and some money. On the seventh day the father consults a lama of the Red Hat sect and asks him to foretell the fortune of the child by divination. On the twentieth day (the same day that the child's head is shaved), the father pays another visit to his wife's parents, again with wine and a scarf of felicity, and formally invites them and the maternal uncles to take part in festivities on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth day, according to the sex of the child.

NAME-GIVING

553 851 If the child is a boy, he is given his name on the twenty-ninth day, before the guests arrive. The father, in his best clothes, goes to the room of the grandfather

[26] In the most ancient Buddhist iconography Buddha as a young prince, before he turned to religion, was represented with heavy earrings that dragged down the lobes of his ears. In later representations of Buddha as a divinity, the ear rings have disappeared but the deformed lobes remain. Hence pendulous ear lobes are regarded as "Buddha-like."—O. L. [p. 400.b]

553 taking with him a bottle of wine, a scarf of felicity, and
851 two hundred copper cash strung on a red cord to which a flock of wool is attached. He prostrates himself nine times and invites the grandfather to name the child. The grandfather is seated on the *k'ang* in all his dignity, and the whole family is gathered in the room. The mother, cradling the child in her arms and her eyes wet with tears stands before the grandfather with her husband at her side. The father ceremoniously lays the scarf of felicity across the outstretched hands of the grandfather, and presents a cup of wine. Father and mother prostrate themselves nine times, and the mother then asks the grandfather to bestow on the child a name of good omen. This is the first time that the grandfather has seen the child. Looking like the living image of ancestral pride, he solemnly confers a name and makes the mother a present of a few pierced copper cash—always an even number. He then takes his grandson in his arms and kisses him and the child is then passed on to all the other members of the family who embrace him in the same way, joyfully congratulating the father and mother.

608 In families where there are few children or where a
851 number of children have died in infancy, it is common to invite the head of a family that is blessed with many
553 children to name the child, thus passing on the "luck" of his own fertile family. This custom is of Chinese origin as is the custom, in poor families, of inviting a rich and respected man to preside at the name-giving ceremony, thus becoming the *kan-fu* or "dry father" (a Chinese term) of the child. This relationship somewhat resembles that of an adoptive father, and the child throughout his life is considered to be in some way related to the family of his "dry father." At the New Year and other important festivals he will always visit his "dry father," showing him much the same kind of affection and respect that he shows to his maternal uncle. The "dry father" keeps up a protective interest in the child and can be expected to help in such things as arranging his marriage; but the relationship is not one of full adoption, in which the child is actually taken into the adopting family.

553 Boys are frequently given the Tibetan names of lamaistic deities or the Chinese names of Taoist deities, or names such as "Longevity," "Felicity," "Peace," "Prosperity," "Strength," "Lion," or "Tiger." (The Tibetan neighbors of the Monguors usually go to a lama of the Red Hat sect to ask him to name a boy according to the character indicated by his horoscope.) Girls are given the names of lamaistic or Taoist female divinities or the names of flowers.

Many children, both boys and girls, are given a name that records the age of their father's mother when they were born, such as "sixty," or "sixty-five." The name of the father's father is given in this way only if the father's mother is no longer living. Among the Chinese of this region, on the other hand, a child is fre-

553 quently named according to the age of the grandfather but never according to the age of the grandmother. Among the Manchus, the child is not named until it is a full year old, and it is customary to give the first son the name of the oldest son of the father's oldest brother.[27]

553 608 When, as described above, a man is invited to act as "dry father," the name that he gives to a boy as a personal name is his own clan name, combined with the Chinese words *chia pao*, so that the child is known as Lichiapao or Machiapao, "Protected by the Li family," or "Protected by the Ma family." In an analogous way, if an influential man has visited the family about the time when the boy was born, his name may be given to the boy.[28]

553 Sometimes in a poor family the mother will take her son in her arms on the twenty-ninth day and go out to the highway where she will prostrate herself before the first traveler she meets and ask him to give his name to the boy. In such cases, it is good luck if the mother meets an influential person. I myself was once riding on a journey when a woman with a child in her arms prostrated herself before me in this manner. She was a woman who had seen me before and recognized me. Turning her smiling face up to me and with a light in her eyes she said "Are you not the Father? Today I am a happy mother; I will name my child Shenfupao—Protected by the Priest." This custom, it should be noted, is never followed in the case of a first-born son.

While living among the Monguors I never heard names describing bodily deformities, nor names such as Five Pounds, or Seven Pounds, recording the weight of the child at birth, or Big Horse, Second Mule, Small Cow. Such names are used by the Chinese of this region, but not by the Monguors. On the other hand, both Monguors and Chinese sometimes give names such as Bad Son, Whom the Dogs Will Not Eat, Monstrous Boy, Monstrous Girl. Such names are intended to deceive the evil spirits, so that they will pass by the "Bad Boy" and choose some other victim.[29]

553 851 The actual giving of the name, as already described, takes place in the privacy of the father's extended family, without the presence of the mother's relatives or other guests. The mother's parents and her maternal uncles arrive about noon, and at the same time representatives of each family in the village come to take part in the festivities. Tea is first served and then the father and the mother with her child in her arms prostrate themselves nine times before the whole gathering while the mother says "The boy is paying homage."

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[27] Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, as cited, 119.

[28] Thus Chingis Khan was given the name of Temujin, after an important prisoner whom his father had captured at the time he was born.—O. L.

[29] This practice among the Monguors may not be due solely to Chinese influence. Among the Western Mongols, especially the Torguts of the Altai, who are remote from Chinese influence, it is also very common to give names of this kind.—O. L.

[p. 101b]

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553 851 When the child has been admired and the parents congratulated, the mother's mother presents her with sixteen loaves of steamed bread, four loaves baked in oil, a leg of mutton, and some clothes—a gown, a pair of trousers, or a jacket. The costliness of the clothes varies according to the wealth of the family. The mother's mother also presents the boy with a complete suit of clothes and a fine cap. A special custom, the significance of which I was unable to discover, is that the family of the father's mother and the family of the mother's mother each present the midwife with a piece of red cotton cloth four feet long.

431 553 851 A practical present from a guest to the young mother is 100 pierced copper cash on a red cord, or a four foot piece of red or green cotton cloth. Another common gift is an embroidered cap for the boy, or, following Chinese custom, a "long life lock"—a small brass lock hung around the boy's neck. Rich families are frequently given scrolls with Chinese texts inscribed on them. The boy's maternal uncle gives him "flowers of long life"—a pair of earrings, each studded with a small flower. The boy wears these in childhood and when he grows up he buys himself a larger pair. These earrings are supposed to insure him a long life.

When the presents have been given the father of the child offers wine to each guest, beginning with the child's maternal uncles, and to each guest, as the wine is offered, the mother prostrates herself with the child in her arms and says "The boy prostrates himself and thanks you."

FEAST IN THE VILLAGE

553 527 851 A merry crowd of village youngsters then leads into the courtyard a cow whose horns have been painted red and decorated with flowers. A red-painted bell hangs around the cow's neck, and she is saddled with a fine saddle and a bright saddle-rug. The grandfather is invited by the youngsters to ride on the cow, and willy nilly he has to accept this invitation. The youngsters help him up to the saddle and then hold the child up for him to take it in his arms. The cow is then led in triumph through the village, two banners from the temple at the head of the procession, drums beating and all the guests following the cow and its rider. When they return to the courtyard, the grandfather offers the young people two bottles of wine, two legs of mutton, and bowls of noodles and wheat fried in butter. This part of the entertainment is noisy and merry.

If the father's father is no longer living, it is the father's mother who has to make the triumphal ride on the cow. Otherwise the father's mother's share of the ceremonies consists in presenting to the mother of her daughter-in-law two loaves of bread, two strings of pierced copper cash, and a scarf of felicity. As she does so, she bows, presents a cup of wine, and thanks her daughter-in-law's mother for accepting the invitation to the feast and wishes her joy and happiness.

Up to this point the whole village has taken part in

[P. 102a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

553 851 527 the festivities, except for the herdsmen and shepherds who are out in the hills. They must not be overlooked, however, for the tradition of the nomadic past of the Monguors assures them a part. When the sun is deep in the west, therefore, the father and mother take their child and go out to a place beyond the village, which has been previously agreed upon. The father takes with him a bottle of wine and twelve rolls of bread, eight of which are to be distributed to passers-by met along the road and four to be given to the shepherds.

The shepherds have woven a long girdle for the child from wool as white as snow, and this they present to the child. They also have with them some copper coins, and these they place kindly on the milk-swollen breast of the happy mother. They crowd around to see the child and pat its soft cheeks with their rough and calloused hands. When they congratulate the mother, they present her with a small bundle of whitest wool, plucked from the backs of young sheep, saying "This wool has been gathered from the backs of hundreds of the most beautiful sheep; may your boy grow up to shear the wool of hundreds of sheep and may he have hundreds of horses to ride." The four rolls of bread are then presented to the shepherds, together with a cup of wine and some copper coins for each man. The mother invites the shepherds to dinner, the herds are driven to their stalls, and the shepherds dine and make merry all night in the courtyard.

I have often seen this simple, pastoral, and idyllic spectacle outside the village at sundown, the happy parents, the faithful shepherds, and the flocks and herds around them making a wonderful picture that recalls the past of centuries ago when the Monguors were a pastoral people. Even the traditional words of greeting and congratulation used by the shepherds are an echo of this nomadic past.

All the details that I have described emphasize the importance attached by the Monguors to the birth of a boy who will grow up to sacrifice to the ancestors and be himself a new link in the ancestral chain. The ceremonies are observed in full, as I have described them, only for the first son of each daughter-in-law in the extended family. For younger sons and for girls all that is required is that the grandfather give a name and that the parents and maternal uncles of the mother be invited. In poor families, of course, the celebration is less elaborate; but well to do families often help their poorer neighbors with the expenses of a feast for the first-born son.

DEDICATION OF THE CHILD TO THE SPIRITS

852 When a family has few children, or has had several children die, a child is often dedicated to some particular spirit. The dedication is seldom done for a first boy in good health. Very seldom is the child dedicated to a deity of the lama-Buddhist pantheon, for in that case the boy is supposed to have to become a lama later.

[8 cont.]

114 the author owes the safety of the materials collected entirely to the helpfulness of his confreres. In addition to the Fathers Eichinger and Grünewald, S.V.D., I should like to mention here particularly Father Richard Haas, S.V.D., who shortly thereafter was overtaken by a violent death in the Koko Nor steppe.

4. The Sources (the Informant)

115 The informant came from Tuo-chia, that is, "Tuo home," about one kilometer east of Chi-chia-ling, which lies along the mountain route from Kan-chia-pu (in the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) to Pai-nai (in the Ha-la-chih-kou). Tuo-chia gets its name from [103] the informant's kin group [Sippe] and formerly embraced perhaps four farmsteads, [9] of which, however, a part has been destroyed by an avalanche. Today only two farms and the temple remain. The Tuo have not always resided here. They [166] come from the vicinity of the Tujen monastery Rgulõn, where [423] a hundred years ago they owned two large horse pastures. Later one of the ancestors moved to the vicinity of Chi-chia-ling and cultivated the fairly extensive upland which paid tribute to the monastery, but which today is the private property of the Tuo family and pays taxes to the county of Huchu. It consists of about 200 Chinese morgen.

114 The report applies primarily to this region, namely, to the Tujen villages Chi-chia-ling, Ta-yang-chüan, Hsiao-
101 yangchüan, and Sha-pa-kou, up into the Na-ling-kou. Since, however, according to my own observations and the statements of the informant, the customs in the county of Huchu are quite uniform, the area to which it is applicable can be extended farther to include the villages between Huchu and Rgulõn. These [628] villages carry on a very lively traffic with one another and are extensively interrelated. As regards numbers, this report covers approximately one quarter of all the Tujen of the Sining region, an area generally regarded as their population center.

115 The old Tuo is kin-group elder and has two younger brothers, who live with him, his sons, his sons' wives, and [776] [553] grandchildren's families. By his first name he is called yifula,

[9 cont.]

115 that is, mountain spirit, because he was consecrated to the
[776] mountain spirit when he was named. He was born under the sign
[553] of the sheep, that is, in the second month; according to European reckoning, this would be March, 1883.

[805] Like all Tujen, the old man is a Lamaist and adheres
[771] to the faith and the customs of his fathers. He is known throughout the vicinity as one of the few who are still very well versed in the traditional customs. For that reason he is asked to perform everywhere as master of ceremonies, festive speaker, overseer of sacrifices, and singer. If anyone in that region is asked about usages and customs, the usual answer is: "Go to old Tuo, he knows it best."

115 In addition he has the advantage, rare among the Tujen,
212 of having completed the Chinese classical school. He can read
[871] and write very well, better than most of his Chinese neighbors. He understands without difficulty history books, classical authors, local chronicles, etc., which in part are written in the literary
[191] language. He does not have a sufficient command of the Fandse language to be able to speak it fluently, but he knows the terms of the lamas and is able to distinguish fairly well as to whether a word is a genuine Tujen word or a Fandse word. He himself in his youth took down in Chinese characters a considerable number of Fandse songs, which he can translate and explain, as well as some legends and speeches. He claims that formerly the Tujen language was also written and that the script has simply been lost. -- He does not speak the language of the Koko
115 Nor Mongols, but he claims that it could be understood if neces-
191 sary. Of course the Tujen live too far away from the Mongols;
[648] only those in the vicinity of Huchu have a loose connection with the Mongols on the Tai-t'ung River beyond the Monastery Kuo-mang-szu.

124 [10] In the beginning it was not easy to persuade the old man, who for 20 years had not even been in nearby Sining, to visit me at the mission station at Kan-chia-pu, although the way there was only a two-hour ride. In the late fall of 1946 he came once for only a day. At that time I questioned him about the harvest thank-offering; the result was an article which appeared in Anthropos, 37/40. The old man could not imagine what I

[620]

000 IV. Customs concerning the Human Being

* See "Notes," p. 622 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

846 Soon after the birth of a child one makes the happy event
[851] known to the family of the mother of the woman in childbed.
The mother then comes to visit her daughter. The other rela-
[431] tives, however, come only after one month. They bring gifts
and hold a feast. On the morning of this day the child is
[553] solemnly given a name, and in the evening it is brought before
the gate of the yard for the reception of the shepherd. Then
[527] there is singing and drinking and dancing into the night.
[852]

Details

Birth announcement: Three days after the birth of a
[851] boy or girl, the father-in-law of the woman in childbed takes
a little jug of liquor and some oil-baking and goes to the family
[273] of his daughter-in-law. It is immediately apparent why he has
come to visit, and he need only tell the day and the hour of
birth and whether it is a boy or girl. After they have drunk the
[593] liquor, the mother goes directly to her daughter in order to take
care of what needs to be done. She stays there a few days and
then often repeats her visit.

846 Conclusion of the confinement: Exactly 29 days after
431 the birth, in other words, on the thirtieth day, the parents and
nearest relatives of the woman in childbed appear at her
husband's house. They bring clothing for the child [621] and
[262] the woman (a long upper garment and shoes) and, further, four
large loaves of bread, oil-cakes, and other baked goods. The

[621 cont.]

846 loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter,
431 and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole
[262] in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

[858] Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts
[822] for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

553 Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-
791 soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the
[787] master of the household gives the great incense offering in the yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master
[592] of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the
[778] child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

551 3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guãnbõ-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guãmbo; ifulã sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sẽrãṅ (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; lasdze sẽrãṅ, pass-peak-palace; tuguãn ula, mountain of the Tuguãn. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

[621 cont.]

551

[Note on foreign text p. 622 cont.] the father or grandfather or someone else in the family was just fifty years old, but the mother's family has no influence on such names. For boys, instead of mdzuo (full) one says serãṅ, that is, roughly "sublime." Other names are, for example, wadma sdziġ, that is, lotus flower, for girls; or wadma sdzia, that is, dedicated to the lotus, for boys. -- The Chinese, too, have a similar custom. They, for example, take a boy to the temple of the black tiger and then call him "dedicated to the black tiger," hei-hu-pao; or "dedicated to the mother," niang-niang-pao, when they have put the child under the protection of the mother-goddess in the temple. The Chinese pao and the sdzia of the Tujen have the same meaning.

[171]

5. [Foreign text p. 622.] sẽrãṅ: Tibetan sraṅ (?) = dwelling, settlement (Unkrig).

553 791 child to eat; he likewise offers it tea. It is not the child, however, but the mother who eats the gifts. Then everyone makes a threefold kowtow in the house to the soothsayer and the Buddha image, and outside to the sky.

If the spear-spirit desires that the family elder should give the name, the latter performs the same ceremonies, but the soothsayer supervises the performance with the trembling spear. Also, the kowtow is then made to the family elder. -- This ceremony is usually undertaken by the grandfather or father, or by the man who is the master in the family (4). It

[592] 553 592 [792]

[621 cont.]

553
[592]
[792]

4. [Foreign text p. 622.] A lama can also perform the ceremony. This is rarely done, however. Usually the father or kin-group elder does it.

is never a woman or a relative from the family of the woman in childbed.

Following the name-giving or in the course of the day, the mother with the child in her arms must kowtow to all the [431] guests; for this she receives a small gift of money for the [527] child. -- Towards noon the family holds a general feast, for [273] men and women separately. On this occasion much barley [562] wine is drunk, and there is singing and dancing.

852 Reception of the shepherd: Towards evening, when the animals are expected back from the pasture, the father or the mother takes the infant in his arms and takes it out in front of the gate of the yard, where they meet the homecoming herd. [431] The shepherd must give the child some money, and in return the father gives him a loaf of bread which he must eat immediately. This custom is called "to welcome the shepherd"; [553] the Chinese say "to welcome the sheep" (2). -- The guests

[171]
[846]

2. [Foreign text p. 622.] The reception of the shepherd is also found among the Chinese, just as the termination of the confinement generally is almost the same among them. In the region of Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) I learned from the missionary there, P. Frick, that the people place the child in the manger so that it may later own many herds and become a good horseman. This custom could not be confirmed for the Tujen.

[621 cont.]

852 take no further notice of this ceremony, but drink and dance far into the night; then they gradually scatter. Only the closest
553 relatives of the young mother stay until the next day.

[622]

Word List

192
846 To be in childbed: sara sōdzi = she sits out the month; tsuo yüeh (Chin.).

To terminate the confinement: sara durgeni = she terminates the month.

ch'u-yüeh (Chin.) = to step out of the month.

man-yüeh (Chin.) = to fulfill the month.

[852] Reception of the shepherd: asdzi dzēlie-; ying-yang (Chin.) = to welcome the sheep.

[Page 622 contains the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

852
527

2. The First Birthday*

* See "Notes," pp. 623-625 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[787] On the first birthday the father puts the child on the kang and places various things before it. From the object that the child
[302] grasps it can be seen what it will become in later life. After
[778] that its hair is cut and this is hung on the arrow of good fortune.

[229 cont.]

776 concerned about the well-being of the people, it is striking that
171 he is not linked with the protection of seed and harvest. Otherwise, however, his tasks correspond to those of heaven, even if he is primarily a nature god who shares his character with the lord of the animals and forests of many Siberian peoples.

776 Nonetheless there is a difference between him and heaven. First of all heaven is given precedence, even in connection with all offerings to the mountain-spirit, for instance, the obo offering. Whereas the mountain-spirit has a fixed residence in the obo, his fort, and therefore is tied to the place, heaven retains its freedom with regard to locality. The mountain-spirit can also be a tutelary spirit of the human beings who are named after him; as assisting spirit he may enter into the shaman and take possession of him in the trance. This is altogether out of the question for heaven. People are surprised if one even asks about it. There are pictures and flags of the mountain spirit; he can animate a spirit-spear. Heaven is formless, imageless; no one knows what it looks like. -- Heaven has an exalted uniqueness even in contrast to the mountain-spirit.

[553] 756 [787]

174 Besides the mountain-spirit the earth-deity has its seat
776 in the obo, and, to be sure, in the layer of earth. Its name
[192] glu is doubtless the Tibetan klu, Naga, dragon. In Mongolic the word for it is lu, which is also much in use in the Tujen language. It corresponds to the Chinese lung (dragon). The customs with the earth-god urn show the earth deity of the Tujen more in the Bonistic realm of the Naga cult than in the Mongolic. It is quite possible that two types have mixed here or that the ancient Mongolic has been covered by the later Bonistic-Lamaistic. According to Pallisen (op. cit., pp. 159 f.), the ancient Mongols practiced a cult of the earth-deity, who is probably to be thought of as female. There it bears the name itoga or, in the prevocalic version, etügen, and is conceived as the tutelary deity of the homeland earth. The characteristics that are attributed to this deity correspond to those of the mountain-spirit. It is also to be surmised that this deity is to be associated with the female shamans, who call themselves udugan

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

wan (the bent of the Mongols), and who was assistant official of the administrative body of the province of Kansu, representing all the officials of Huangchung, went to court to surrender (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*b*). Together with him, Li Nan-ko, of Shat'o origin, vice-chairman of the administrative body of Hsining, surrendered with the officials of the entire district (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*), and all the officials received appointments.[61] T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, Li Nan-ko, and all the officials who had surrendered, became the founding ancestors of the t'u-ssu clans[62] in Huangchung (Monguors I: 31). To them is to be added Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, member of the imperial family who had surrendered in 1369. In that way all the officials of the region of Hsining and Nienpei had surrendered and in the next year, 1372, Hsining was created a commandery (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). In the first moon of 1373 the emperor sent the edict to T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh: 175x 648

I govern the empire; with prominent people of all the world who love justice, I deal with courtesy, granting them offices, in order that they might have the opportunity to manifest their qualities. You, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who have lived long in the western country, have heard about our highly developed culture and have come to my court. I appreciate your intention. Now at the beginning of the establishment of the commandery of Hsining, I especially request your help. I hope you will devote yourself wholeheartedly to the submission of the tribes and the strict observance of the law, in order that the country may enjoy peace. I hope you will respond to my desire to give you this appointment. Have the title of Hsuan-wei chiang-chun (general who manifests his military qualities) and be commander of the commandery of Hsining. Edict, First moon, Sixth year, Hung Wu period. (*Annals* of Hsining 32: 16*a*.) 175x 671

The *Annals* note that he had received at the time of his surrender in 1371 the hereditary function of secretary commandant. The imperial edict of the first moon of 1373 granted him the function of commander of the commandery. The clan of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was rewarded in 1401 by the emperor with the name Ch'i, when his son Chuan Chou had died on the field of battle. [614 553]

WHO WERE THE OFFICIALS WHO SURRENDERED IN A GROUP IN 1371?

The Mongol T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh and his 700 families, the Shat'o Li Nan-ko with his 4,000 families, the Shat'o Li Wen nephew of Li Nan-ko, controlling 963 families, and the Shat'o chiefs Na-sha-mi and Chi 175x 622 614

[61] *Ming Shih* 330: 2*a*.

[62] I use the term "clan" to refer to a group sharing a common territory, a common surname, and a common chief. Monguor clans consist both of persons who recognize real or traditional kinship ties with the chief, and persons who do not recognize such ties but who have, nevertheless, adopted the surname of the chief and his kinsmen at the time they were integrated in the group.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

discharged his office with distinction until his dying day. The faithfulness of the Monguor t'u-ssu will become more and more manifest during the reigns of the subsequent Ming emperors.

M 175x 648

MONGUORS OF HUANGCHUNG DURING THE REIGN OF EMPEROR CH'ENG TSUNG (YUNG LO), 1403–1424

M 175x [578] 643

T'ai Tsung, first emperor of the Ming, had appointed as successor his grandson, Huei Ti, an inexperienced young boy. His uncle, the Prince of Yen, youngest son of the emperor, revolted and defeated his nephew in a four year struggle.[74] He ascended the throne in 1403. He was called by the name of the period of his reign, Yung Lo.

M 175x 648 614 553

Yung Lo, who must have known T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who during 1380–1387 had fought the brigands of the Mongol Emperor T'o ku ssu in Liao-tung, had called the Kansu troops to join his army. T'u-ssu Tuan Chou, who had succeeded his deceased father, went with his troops to rescue Yung Lo in 1399. He died on the field of battle. Yung Lo rewarded the faithful t'u-ssu, granting to his clan the name of Ch'i and giving to the clan chief a mansion in the city of Hsining, and posthumously bestowing upon him the title of Piao-ch'i chiang-chun (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 13*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 44*b*).

M 175x 648

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yi also had taken the side of Yung Lo in his revolt against Huei Ti. He was rewarded with the office of Chih-huei t'ung-chih in Lu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*). During this period more troubles occurred in Huangchung. Lu T'u-ssu Kung Pu shih chieh repelled the invasion of the Mongol Pu Yen ta shih in 1402, who looted the region of Liang-chow. The t'u-ssu offered to Emperor Yung Lo in 1403 the captured prisoners and a tribute of horses. He was promoted to centurion in Chuang Lang.

The same year, 1402, the turbulent I lin sheng pen revolted again in Kokonor and looted the region of Kui Te and the southern valley of Hsining. T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i went to fight the rebel and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 12*b*). The troubled conditions in Huangchung at that time seem to have been the reason why no more t'u-ssu participated in the struggle of Yung Lo against Huei Ti.

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

The new emperor had to contend with the tremendous problem of the Mongols, and this dangerous prospect was not bright. During the reign of his father (1368–1398) nine expeditions had to be launched against them. A constant struggle against the empire and endless dissension of the different tribes among themselves was to be expected. The struggle between

[74] In Monguors II: 16, 21, 22, are recorded the history of the foundation of the monastery of Ch'u T'an by San la, and the wonderful legends circulating among the lamas related to the mysterious disappearance of Emperor Huei Ti, who became lama in the monastery of Ch'u T'an, settled there and died.

N *563 M 562 852 [553]

first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

M [203] [604] [603] [553]

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

M [184]

Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

N *563 M 302 [593] [888]

j. Beard-growing

A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

N *563 M 764 [191] [199]

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

N *563 M 843 562

4. Popular beliefs

Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 [99] 789

If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.

462 stitching. The leg of the boot is of dark blue cotton cloth and reaches to the knee. Stockings are not worn.
294 Some women pull their boots on over bare feet, others wrap their feet with long strips of cotton cloth. The designs embroidered on ornamental boots are Chinese —swastikas and other designs, and flowers such as violets, roses, or peonies.

• 554 The boots and the sash are important items in the trousseau of a Monguor bride—they display her pro-
292 ficiency in embroidery. Months of work go into the preparation of them, and girls learn the art of embroidering from older women. A pair of fine boots, worn only on festive occasions, is expected to last a lifetime. At festivals, if it is rainy or muddy, women can be seen walking barefoot carrying their precious boots under their arms, laughing and chatting as they trudge through the mud and putting on their boots only at the last moment. At such gatherings, boots and sashes are the articles that women compare and admire or envy; often a fine pair of boots is taken off and passed around the admiring circle of women while the proud owner modestly watches from the corner of her eyes, gracefully accepting compliments and congratulations. After
291 the age of about forty, however, the woman puts aside her fancy foots and wears boots of a more simple style. An important part of the costume is a sort of apron which covers the chest and stomach. The upper part is of white cotton cloth, and the lower part of green cloth. The lower part is often beautifully embroidered with flowers, swastikas, or the Chinese characters signifying "longevity" and "happiness." On the lower part is sewed a large pocket in which women keep their needle cases, thread, and all kinds of odds and ends. The upper part of the apron hangs from a string around the neck, while the lower part is tied behind the back with laces.

Under her apron a woman wears a short shirt, reaching to the hips, made of red or green or violet cotton cloth. In winter this shirt is doubled and wadded with cotton or wool. Rich people wear shirts of satin or silk.

The woman's gown is a long, full robe, reaching to the heels, with wide sleeves. The front of the gown overlaps on the left side, and buttons under the left arm and down the side while the man's gown, as already described, buttons down the right side. Except for wealthy people, the gown is ordinarily of blue cotton cloth. Another gown of the same size and pattern is worn over the first gown. This outer gown is roughly woven from the wool of sheep or goats. As this wool has not been cleaned of its natural oil before being woven, it is heavy, warm, and sheds water well. In some places where the Monguor women, like Tibetan women, do not wear trousers, these two gowns are the only clothing. A girdle or sash holds both gowns in at the waist. For poor people, this is the only fastening of the gown; buttons are not used.

292 For festive dress the rough outer gown is not worn

[P.1196]

581 /6 cont'd/
589 as far as selling all that one possesses, one's lands, houses, and ani-
183 mals, and will live in indigence; at the death of the parents, the elder married sons, in the case where the possessions are about to be divided up, must, before all else, put aside the sums required for the marriage of the younger unmarried sons; the parents, at the approach of death, will feel the greatest relief in the fact that they have gotten all their sons married. In order to permit the poor to marry, recourse is had to all kinds of contrivances, which very often are only imposed by reason of their primordial goal, which is that of marriage, and which scorn many obligations which in "justice" would seem, at the least, to have to be taken into greater consideration. One will find decisions which will appear unjust, but when one studies this mental attitude, which gives proportion to everything, one will understand that among the T'ou-jen the other principles yield to it and are sacrificed.

554 Marriage, for the T'ou-jen people, is the great affair in life,
581 obligatory above all else. One is no longer an honorable man when one is not married; this is because they believe that man has the duty to live according to natural law, that is, to marry and procreate children.

623 One day one of my catechists was invited to sit with the elders
627 of the village to judge the case of a penniless young man who had
689 run off with a girl of good rank. They had been brought back after
588 an escapade of three years, with a child born during the flight.

The young man was on his knees, his hands tied behind his back, imploring the clemency of the judges and of the whole assembled village. /7/ Despairing, he was saying, of ever being able to marry because of his extreme poverty, he had believed it permissible to act in this way, in order to be able to do his duty and marry. "I have been unjust toward the girl's parents, but I submit myself in advance to make all the reparations possible that will be required of me...." The girl also cries for mercy: "I could have hoped for a better match," she admits, "but I followed this young man to be gracious; without me, he would never have been able to marry...."

681 After an important palaver the offending couple was punished, and the judges found a way to indemnify the injured family and to legalize this union.

/73 cont'd/

585
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16. Opening of the Daughter-in-law's Mouth

Until now the wife has not yet opened her mouth; her head has always been enveloped in the veil until the end of the marriage ceremony. On no pretext has she been able to say a word since her departure from her home. All the guests have had their /74/ eyes fixed upon her; uttering a single word would be considered one of the most fatal omens for the future. She is even forbidden to satisfy her natural needs, and in anticipation of that she has abstained from drinking the day before.

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Her mouth must be opened by the mother-in-law in person. Led back into the nuptial chamber after the marriage ceremony, she has been served tea and bread still in silence. Then comes the mother-in-law, who sits down on the k'ang and tells her point-blank, "Starting from today you are forbidden to divulge anything that goes on in the family, and anything that will happen in the future. You will not repeat within the family what you will hear outside. A daughter-in-law's mouth must be 'hard' (do not tell anything) with respect to people outside, it must be 'flexible' toward her relatives."

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The daughter-in-law answers affirmatively, her mouth is opened. They talk again together for several minutes. Henceforward the wife is permitted to talk with her maid of honor in the nuptial chamber; the women who are at the festivity go to wish her good day.

17. The Dinner

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The guests of the two families have taken their places at the tables prepared for the dinner. (1) The maternal uncle, the go-

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 84: (A dinner is served in the Chinese style. A master of ceremonies conducts the proceedings.) The clan people and especially the family members eat after the guests. When the meal approaches its end, they bring to the bride's place the ritual meal

/117 cont'd/

606 lose their rights of inheritance in their family of origin, but since
691 /118/ they are regarded as members of the wife's family, they get back their lost rights. Cases are even cited where they become head in the wife's family. That is the general law fitting this practice.

593 Now the T'ou-jen live at present under a patriarchal system,
608 which is incompatible with this custom. Consequently, it is not
606 surprising that the husband-son-in-law finds himself in a very dis-
● 554 advantageous position....

[551] Since there has been no adoption of the son-in-law into the wife's family, he continues to be called by the name of his father, he and his children; he continues to be a member of his paternal family, to honor the dead of his father's family, and to lend a hand to his family of origin in cases of vengeance, etc. Thus in theory he keeps the rights of inheritance in his paternal family. But since these sons-in-law usually belong to very poor families, the chance to enjoy their rights of inheritance very rarely presents itself.

I have, however, met the case in question two or three times, and each time the brothers who had stayed home tried to eliminate the husband-son-in-law on the pretext that he had not contributed to the acquiring of the family's property. However, the unfortunate one always succeeded in making the most of his rights, if not wholly at least in part.

That amply proves that the husband-son-in-law living with the parents-in-law to serve them until death is in a false position with respect to his family of origin.

His position with respect to his wife's family is no better. Indeed, under the patriarchal system, succession is paternal. The name of the son-in-law differs from that of his wife's family; now we have seen "another name, another family," the son-in-law then does not have the right of inheritance to make the most of here. This is what explains the fact that one will never see young people of a well-to-do family consent to making themselves husband-sons-in-law, and that only those who have nothing to lose will take this
608 path.

606 /119/ If the parents-in-law are poor, there will be no difficul-
428 ties for this combination on the part of their own family; if, on the

588 /126 cont'd/

A. To a prayer pole, a tree, a wall, a lion of baked clay, etc.

B. Marriages to a belt

Let us note that the marriages in the first series are also practiced by the Tibetans of Kansu, who live in a seminomadic and semi-agrarian state; they are not found among the Chinese of the region.

A. Marriages to a Prayer Pole, etc.

114 Let us first put forth the case, then let us justify the classification of this practice in the series of marriages.

One can read in the books which speak of the T'ou-jen that this people includes girls, unmarried all their lives, who, however, bear children just the same. The Chinese books especially try to disparage this people particularly because of this custom. Now, they are mistaken. These superficial observers have understood nothing about the customs of these regions. It is not by this custom that the morality of the T'ou-jen must be judged.

844 To be able to bear a child honestly (for there is an honesty also [302 among these peoples), custom /127/ requires, without any exception 554] whatever, that the mother wear her hair in the style of married women; in other words, this is to say that it is necessary to be married to be able to become a mother.

Now it happens that girls not yet given in marriage are pregnant. 848 Two solutions then present themselves: the first is to bring on an [847] abortion or to wait until the child is born to make it disappear or to offer it to anyone who wants it; the second is to change the hair style of the girl, that is to say, to get her married.

588 When the second solution is adopted, they invite three or four [848] neighbors, who with the family are present at the "marriage." They have been careful to prepare the attire of the bride. She arrays herself with it and has her hair done in the style of married women. Two lamps are lighted, and the sacred fire placed in the middle of the courtyard is maintained by means of cypress branches. After spreading out pieces of red felt, they proceed to the marriage, which

588 /131 cont'd/
574 children born later will continue to be always given the name of the
[858] guest. It goes without saying that the latter does not bother in any way with the support of either the child or the woman.

[428] Important remark: No right of inheritance is recognized for these children in the family of their mother. They are considered as the children of a daughter married to some individual, for they bear another name; now, another name, another family.

588 This curious custom finds its place in the series of marriages
554 because it creates a legal position in favor of the mother identical in every way to that of any married woman. The woman married to a belt is considered the wife of husband X and no one will ever venture to abduct her.

588 /132/ Marriages to a belt and those to prayer poles resemble each other strongly; the manner of celebrating them is the same; women who have contracted these marriages are considered as duly married, and the children, in the two groups, are recognized as legitimate. The only difference between the two groups of marriages lies in the fact that those of the prayer-pole group are recognized by the mother's clan, and those of the other are considered as not belonging to this clan. Those of the prayer-pole group seem to be direct vestiges of one of the stages of the matriarchate; indeed, they bring about inheritance in the family by the daughter. Those of the second group, on the contrary, by the fact that the woman and the children are considered as having left the clan, do not seem to have this origin; but if the prayer-pole marriages had not existed formerly, those of the belt group would never have been practiced.

588 The following item throws a singular light on this category of
573 marriages. A certain Tchang-kia-pa of Hong-ngai-tse-keou had a daughter married to a belt, mother of a small child; in addition, he had a married son at home. As a consequence of continual friction between the daughter married to the belt and the daughter-in-law, the first sought a match, married, and left the paternal home, taking away her son. Thus a certain Hou Iu-leang bought her as his second wife for the sum of 200 strings of cash.

After five or six years, at the time of the great fair and festivities of Wei iuen-p'ou which take place in the second moon, a

/142 cont'd/

Mo 586

(earnest). They pay it back only in the case, if it is paid and the bride runs away with someone else just before the wedding. Such cases are absolutely exceptional:... all this question must be reported to the clan. /Cited in English, with French interpolation, indicated by parentheses./

Mo 586 A case can occur in which the wife is the only guilty one. It is natural then that the wife's family does not require compensation, etc. I have never, however, heard it said that the guilty wife's family had to give back to the injured son-in-law the earnest received at the time of the marriage.

Mo 586 554 /143/ On the question of repudiation let us note that it is necessary to take account of many circumstances, of which one of the main ones is the economic status of the wife's family, the influence this family enjoys in the region, and above all the fact of having among its members people who will know how to cope with the husband's family in spite of everything. One must also take into account the power of the husband's family, which if it has influential protectors can allow itself to be prepared for all eventualities. In the Orient especially, it is not enough to have rights, it is necessary to be able to defend them.

C. Exchange of Married Women

Mo 437 593 587 I cannot pass by in silence the case of four families of Hong-ngai-tse-keou, who without recourse to divorce or repudiation got rid of their wives by mutually exchanging them, without further ceremony; the children remained in the families where they were born. All was arranged without go-betweens, contract, or expenses, by common agreement among those concerned.

These are the only cases of this practice which have come to my knowledge, and I think they are isolated cases which prove

[37 cont.] On the threshing
792 floor the women and children tirelessly perform their round
796 dances with song, so that one can hear them from afar; the
574 lama is supposed to see how joyfully they welcome him. Out-
[535] side the village all get off their horses; only the lama rides on alone. A man leads his horse by the reins.

As soon as he comes to the gate of the yard, a kang table is placed on the left side of the horse, and a white mat is put over it. The men help the lama out of the saddle, and all kowtow; only the women go on dancing without interruption. The lama steps out of the stirrups onto the table that has been set there and then strides toward the gate, where the master of the household is kneeling. He has placed a hada over his raised hands, and with it he extends to the lama a white bowl of milk with a cypress twig. The lama dips the twig into the milk, sprinkles the gate posts with it, and enters. The incense offering rises in the yard; people blow on all the conches they have. The men draw the lama forward with burning [38] sticks of incense and escort him to his room. There he sits down on the place indicated by the hada. The hada, however, is taken away.

792 The blessing: First of all, the lama rests with his com-
796 panions. The master of ceremonies pours him some tea and
574 invites him to fortify himself. Then the lama recites certain prayers. Meanwhile the yard fills with guests.
788 At this point the master of the household enters the guest room, hands the lama a hada, kowtows, and requests him to come out in order to bless the people. The lama gives him a few small gifts, which he has brought with him, with a hada. Then he rises and goes out. Outside there is an armchair with a cushion; the lama sits down on it, his back turned toward the main house; a white felt mat is spread in front of him.
[554] Now the people move past him according to rank, first the men, then the women. Each person bows low before him while he touches the forehead or the crown of the head of everyone with his prayer book. His assistant stands at his side. After this ceremony he again withdraws into the house. [Figs. 4 and 5 appear here.]

[841 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 842-843 cont.]
chiang. The rules mentioned here lead one to surmise that conceptions from lunar mythology (black-white, circular horns) are involved here. The preference for male animals, with the exception of the mules, is also striking. -- This rule is also decisive in profane life. People who have a high opinion of themselves ride only male horses (gelding), but female mules; the reddish-brown color with white mane and white tail is regarded as elegant. White eye-rings, belly covering, and white mouth are highly esteemed for all riding animals of whatever color and help to determine the price. -- It is also interesting that among the goats the lamas prefer not black, but reddish-brown bucks.

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The old man said that the ordinary people would not bother with these rules unless they gave the animal to the monastery. Otherwise the color, age, sex, castration, etc. were unimportant, so long as the animal had no physical defects.

The released animals usually stay with their own herd or in the house, for they are used to it. If they run away, nobody bothers about it. A family always keeps horses, mules, and cattle at home and uses them as before. This was not the case originally, however; it is a deviation from the old custom, brought about by poverty and work in the fields.

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A consecrated animal may never be killed. It must die a natural death. If it is eaten by a wolf, it need not be replaced. If an evildoer kills the consecrated animal, then the punishment of heaven or of the consecration-deity will strike him. Also, under no circumstances may one slaughter a consecrated animal for the offering; this would be tantamount to ordinary killing.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The first Ming emperor was delighted with the good will and efforts of San-la in bringing the Tibetan tribes into submission; he aimed to set an example of his high appreciation for the achievement, by rewarding San-la in an unusual way, thereby encouraging other lamas to follow his example. San-la appears to have been the first lama to act in this way, which explains the emphasis on his career in the *Annals* and the mention of him also in the general history of the Ming dynasty (ch. 300, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is further recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a* of the *Annals*, concerning the appreciation of the Ming emperors for San-la and his brothers that:

> . . . in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) an imperial rescript was sent to build a monastery [presumably with a large sum of money]; two lamas of the group received the distinction of Kuo-shih ["teacher of the empire"], three received that of Master in Dhyana; a vast territory was granted; a gold and a silver seal were bestowed, each being 14 inches in circumference; one square jade seal, two ivory ones, and the inscription for a stele. During the Hung-hsi and Hsüan-te periods (1425–35) two texts, composed by the emperors, were again granted for two more steles.

This last text, encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining, is excerpted from the *Ming shih* (ch. 330, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is very informative concerning the pro-Lamaist policy of the Ming, and the position of Lamaism in the country of Hsining at that time. According to the text, the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) was the beginning of the granting of titles to "influential lamas," which explains why no title is recorded for the meritorious San-la who received the chieftainship of the tribes and of the lamasery in the beginning of the Hung-wu period (1368–1399). The same practice concerning the granting of titles, found in the *Ming-shih* (ch. 330, p. 4*a*), mentions that in 1426 the additional title of "great teacher of the empire" and the honor of the fourth official grade had been bestowed on five lamas of note, to whom the title of "teacher of the empire" had previously been granted (1403–1424), because of their merits in helping to quell the revolts. The title "Master in Dhyana" and the honor of the sixth official grade had been granted probably for similar reasons.[42]

[42] The granting of titles, however, did not start with the Ming; the *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih, Chüan chou* (p. 27*a*) records: "Kubilai [1280–1295] in the beginning [of his reign] granted the title of Ta-kuo-shih great teacher of the empire, to the Sa-Skya lama, Phagspa, and later bestowed on him the title of 'great king of the precious law,' *Ta-pao-fa-wang*. When he spoke to him he called him, honorably, *Ti-shih*, 'teacher of the emperor'; at the same time to lama Tan-pa was granted the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and the number of those upon whom this title had been bestowed was not restricted to one. During the Hung-wu period [1368–1398] the titles of 'teacher of the empire' and 'great teacher of the empire' were only granted to four or five lamas. During the Yung-lo period [1403–1424] the title of 'king of the law' had been granted to two lamas, and that of 'Buddha of the western Paradise' to two

[p.17(A)]

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The texts are very informative concerning the reason why, and the circumstances in which, titles were granted to lamas, and how Lamaism was as a consequence diffused in the country of Hsining and gained its tremendous influence and power.

The Ming dynasty in 1368 faced a double problem.[43] On the one hand, it had to take possession of the country and to protect it against inroads from turbulent nomadic tribes. On the other hand, the country having been depopulated during the disorders at the end of the previous dynasty, it had to find permanent trustworthy settlers and to attach them to the soil. The first problem was solved by accepting the submission of the groups of Monguors, making their chiefs T'u-ssu, Chinese officials, and wardens of the region and the passes, which they had guarded during the Yüan dynasty, and by means of sending a Chinese army of colonists and released prisoners. The second problem was tackled by favoring lamas, by attracting groups of families subject to them or tribes belonging to them or willing to submit to the empire, and assigning to them vast territories. Lamas were appointed chiefs of the tribes, granted honorable titles and privileges which could be transmitted to their successors. They encouraged the building of monasteries. Mongol tribes from Ordos which invaded Kukunor, driving out or subduing the Tibetan tribes of that country, provided a favorable opportunity to use the influence of the lamas to accept and settle the fleeing Tibetan tribes without territory, who were marauding over the country.

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The evidence for this policy is to be found in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 19, p. 3*b*): "The Tibetan Lung-pu tribe (2,000 families) devastated the country several times. The Chinese armies were unable to make them surrender. Finally the Chinese General Tung-lo invited So-nan-chien-tso, a lama of the monastery of Ta-ming, in order to exhort them to submit." He was successful in his attempt. The author naïvely notes that in the tribe there were "two masters of the empire."

Page 6*a*: "The Lung-pen tribe, administered by a lama, came to settle in the country [and to submit]. Its chief received the title of 'teacher of the empire' and the duty of *Chih-hui*."

Page 6*a*: "The Sina tribe [still governed by a Living Buddha] had a lama with the title of 'teacher of the empire' (because he submitted with his tribe)."

Page 6*a*: "The lama chief of the Ch'ia-erh-chih tribe

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other lamas; but to 18 lamas had been granted the titles of *Kuan-ting* or *Ta-kuo-shih*, or both. During the Ching-t'ai period (1450–1456) the titles were granted so profusely that we lose count." P. Pelliot, Les "kouo-cheu ou Maitres du Royaume" dans le Bouddhisme chinois *T'oung Pao* 12: 671, 1911. The title of "teacher of the empire" was used in China at the time of the northern Chi (550–557); the title is also encountered in north-west India in A.D. 500 and was already known in Central Asia in A.D. 382.

[43] Schram, *op. cit.*, 34.

[p. 17(B)]

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bore the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and fulfilled the duty of *Chih-hui*," for the same reason. 792 554

Page 8*b*: "The Ssu-hou-mi tribe had a lama 'teacher of the empire' who had been granted a golden seal." (This unusual favor must have been granted for the same sort of reason.) 662 175

Page 10*b*: "The Ssu-ngo-ssu-ko tribe, always revolting and plundering, submitted after a lama had settled among them; also the Hsiao-cha-erh tribe (p. 11*a*) settled inside the wall and submitted after a lama living in the western mountains of Su-chou had been sent from Tibet for that purpose. The Pen-la tribe submitted after a lama coming from the south had settled among them." Three more tribes governed by lamas submitted; the Na-erh-pu (p. 5*a*), the Yeh-ch'ü (p. 6*a*), and the Nan-ta (p. 6*b*).

The submission of tribes induced by lamas started at the very beginning of the Ming (1368), and continued during the entire Ming period. The country thus became populated by tribes which professed the Lamaism of the Red Sect. The strong appeal to submit was, on the one hand, the insecurity in the region of Kukunor and, on the other hand, the benefits which attached to submission.

THREE PECULIAR INSTITUTIONS FOR LAMAS

From the very beginning the Ming created in Huang-chung for these lama chiefs three peculiar institutions: the Nang-suo,[44] the Karwa, and the Ch'an shih chia. Nang-suo and Karwa consisted basically of the granting of a territory, the fixing of a yearly tribute, the recognition of the chieftainship of the lama who had brought in the tribe, and of the heritability of that chieftainship. The Ch'an shih chia also enjoyed the privilege of heredity and a yearly allowance of wheat-flour, but no territories were granted to them. 175 792 554 793

This peculiar characteristic of heredity for lamas is explained by the fact that at that time they must have belonged to the Red Sect, and have been married. Red lamas living in the same tribe must have had a chieftain among them who had been granted the privilege of having the chieftainship transferred upon his death to his son. The difference between Nang-suo and Karwa chiefs was that the Nang-suo chief was the leader of a group or community of lamas, so constituted that the entire group was interested in his privileges and benefits. The Karwa chief was a single lama presiding over a small group of subjects. His privileges included only his own family and private interests. The Ch'an shih chia's privileges applied only to him personally. Another important difference between Nang-suo and Karwa was that later, when a group of Red lamas adhered to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privileges of their chief lama were transferred to the intendancy of the monastery, while the privileges of a Karwa chief

[44] Mathias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, 262, Wien, Herold, 1949.

[p. 18(A)]

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of the Yellow Sect were transmitted to his apprentice (usually his nephew) and remained as before a private interest.

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Nang-suo

Until 1723 there were eighteen Nang-suo in the country of Hsining. Sixteen of them were abolished after the revolt of that year. Only two managed to survive: the Nang-suo of Editsa, which had sent its allegiance to the Chinese General Nien Keng-yao before the troubles started, and the despised Sina Nang-suo which had been implicated in the revolt but changed its mind after the revolt appeared to be about to fail.[48] This explanation afforded by the Amban of Hsining and the history tallies well with what is told by the Monguors and the lamas all over the country, who disdainfully recall the sayings: *Chien pu kuo Editsa Nang-suo,* "no slyer creature than the Editsa Nang-suo," and *Sina Nang suo chiao ts'ai liang chia,* "The Sina Nang-suo plants his feet in two boats [is untrustworthy]." The Editsa Nang-suo having gone over to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privilege was inherited by the intendancy of the monastery. Editsa was still flourishing in 1910–1920; Sina, however, had passed through a bad period.

According to the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, pp. 6*a* and 6*b*;

> Sina was a group which submitted in 1380 and lived inside the wall, grazing its animals 60 *li* north of Hsining [region of T'o-pa], having a city and houses, and engaging in agriculture; it possessed a Buddhist temple, and its lama had received the title of "Master of the Empire," with silver and ivory seals. It was a group of 500 families, comprising more than 1,500 persons. It offered a yearly tribute of more than 300 horses. One of its subtribes was called the Small Sina tribe and lived in Ku-shan; its tribute was 30 or more horses. Its other subtribe was the Ssu-ta-lama tribe, and lived near the temple of Hsieh-erh-kang-chin; its tribute was 50 or more horses.

After the revolt, troubles did not cease within the Sina tribes, whose subjects had been compelled to participate in the rebellion at the beginning by the Nang-

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[48] *Tung-hua-lu,* First year of Yung-cheng period, 3: 23*a*, 25. *Ming-shih-lu,* Yung-cheng period, *Chuan* 12, p. 27. In 1707 Father Regis, S.J., was sent by the emperor, during the period K'ang Hsi, to draw the map of the empire (Henri Cordier, *Histoire de la Chine,* 3: 333, Paris, Geuthner, 1920). He remained in Hsining for a month, visited T'o-pa and writes: "This village is not administered by Chinese officials, but depends on a lama, always chosen from the same family which belongs to this country. This family is the most outstanding one in the country. The lama administers these Tibetans (*Hsifan*) and punishes misbehavior. This people, not wholly subject to China, are rarely summoned by the Chinese officials, and seldom obey their orders. The lama chief does not seem to trouble the subjects very much, providing they honor him and fulfill their obligations toward Buddha, which seem not to be too burdensome. The three or four Armenians who were trading furs in T'o-pa, seemed very pleased with the chief lama, and praised his administration." (J. B. DuHalde, *Description géographique de la Chine,* 49–50, 1736.) Schram, *op. cit.,* 36.

[p. 18(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

suo chief, and had suffered enormously. Finally they refused to deliver taxes to the Nang-suo and asked the Chinese officials to accept them as Chinese subjects. The request was readily granted, and an arrangement was made between the Chinese officials and the Nang-suo by which every year the subprefect of Hsining was to pay 1,500 strings of cash to the Nang-suo; the Nang-suo could only collect the rents, and his subjects were henceforth considered Chinese subjects. This happened after 1755, because the *Annals* (ch. 19, 15*a*), say that "in 1755 the chief of the Sina tribe, which numbered 1,379 persons, resided in the village of the upper Sina lamasery." In 1910 most of its fields had been sold by the Sina intendancy, which had adhered to the Yellow Sect. Its resources were so depleted that the seals of the former Nang-suo had been mortgaged to the lamasery of Kumbum, which thereby acquired the authority to collect the rents from the remaining properties.

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The Lung pen Nang-suo is often spoken about in the country. It lived on both sides of the wall in former times and submitted in 1380, together with its neighbors, the Sina tribe, and then moved inside the wall. It numbered 130 families. Its lama chief had received the title of "Master of the empire" and the official rank of Chih-hui. Its subtribe, the Pen-pa-erh had one hundred or more families (*Annals*, ch. 19, p. 15*a*). In 1916 the impoverished chief was still called Nang-suo lama locally. He lived in the Naring Valley. He told me that his lamasery had been destroyed in 1723 and that the lamas had disappeared. His subjects, who had become subjects of the Chinese officials, lived in Ta-Hsiao-Kang-ch'eng. His predecessors had sold nearly all the fields and he could not collect the rents on the remaining fields. His neighbors said that his predecessors had mortgaged his seals to the intendancy of Sina. In early times they had two temples, Lung pen kui ssu and Lung hua ssu, which were destroyed during the revolt. Only one side of one of the temples had been rebuilt and the lama still collected some alms among his former 373 families. Often recalled also in local tradition are the Nang-suos of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, abolished after 1723. They were important in former times.

Karwa [46]

According to a tradition well known all over the region, thirteen Karwa were established north of the Hsining River during the Ming dynasty. In 1912 seven of them still existed, Li-ch'i, Ch'ien-tsun-urgon, Pei-cha-erh-ti, Sia-mer, Tsan-tsa, Chao-chia, and Huo-puo. There are no records of Karwa south of the

[46] The word *Karwa* is used in the country to designate the residences inhabited by Living Buddhas in the lamaseries; it is also used to indicate a domain and subjects granted by the Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty to meritorious lamas as their "personal" property with "right of bequeathing" it to their lama successor. It does not mean a grant of domains and subjects bestowed on a community of lamas or a lamasery.

[p. 19(A)]

Hsining River. A Karwa is a kind of mediaeval seig- 175
niory presided over by a lama. Granted by the em- 792
peror, it is a more or less vast domain in which usually 554
forty to fifty families live. Pei-cha-erh-ti Karwa had 793
152 families (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, p. 16*a*). The tenants had in former times been subjects of the lama. There is a temple on the domain, and next to it is the residence of the lama seignior, with granaries. The domain is the personal property of the lama lord who is completely independent of any Living Buddha or monastery. The three lordship lamas I have met told me that the Ming emperors had granted this privilege to their ancestor lamas, each of whom belonged at that time to the Red Sect and was married. Each of these lamas had been granted a Karwa because he had submitted to the Ming with his small tribe, or had induced a neighboring tribe to submit to the emperor or had rendered service to the Chinese army, giving secret information to the officers fighting the revolted Tibetans. They explained the disappearance of the six Karwa which no longer existed by the fact that these lamas did not follow the Yellow Sect and remained married. They said that theoretically among the lamas of the Red Sect one son should succeed the father as lama of the sect, but in reality when the father died his sons divided among them the property and the subjects, and the Karwa vanished, with the result that the temple became the property of the village. The seigniors who went over to the Yellow Sect, however, managed to survive by the fact that the lama lord of every generation adopted only one apprentice lama, to whom he bequeathed the domain. The apprentice was usually one of his nephews, and so the Karwa continued its existence, the lama collecting rents from the tenants and imposing some corvées. After the revolt of 1723 the domains of the Karwa were not confiscated but the subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials. Only rents, not taxes, were allowed to be collected and corvées continued to be imposed.

The lama seignior of the Li-ch'i Karwa (who is a 792
member of the powerful Li T'u-ssu clan) fulfills, of his 796
own free will, an important function at the monastery of Chie-bzang, but he remains the proprietor of his Karwa and has one apprentice who will inherit the domain. Every year on the tenth of the tenth moon, he invites to his small temple four lamas, alternatively, of the Yellow and the Red Sects, to pray from sunrise to sunset for blessings upon his "subjects," who bring a contribution of twenty pounds of butter and five sheep. The lord provides tea and noodles. The subjects all enjoy attending the religious ceremony and the annual dinner, and are used to the custom of going home at sunrise the next day. The Pei-cha-erh ti Karwa is still celebrated for the fasting rites held at its temple, about which more will be said. 792

The lord of the Tsan-tsa Karwa, feeling lonely in his 554
estate, married a young girl in 1914. All the members 428

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of his family assembled and protested, urging that a 792
boy, a nephew of the family, be adopted by the lord 554
as his apprentice, and that a testament should be writ- 428
ten and signed by the officials of the village, in order to make sure that after the death of the lord, the domain and his private property (sheep, cows, horses) would be bequeathed to the apprentice. The apprentice would first have to be sent to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to receive a serious religious education. Not long after the birth of a child to the lord and his wife, the lord died. His wife received a small field and some cattle, but the Karwa was inherited by the apprentice. The domain passes at every generation to a member of the same family (from uncle to nephew). The family retains the right to keep an eye on the regular succession, and so in the country a Karwa is considered to be the property of the Karwa lama and his family. This fact reveals a social tradition existing throughout the country, and the pride of the old families to whose lama a Karwa had been granted by the emperors in former times.

This pride appears to be the reason why, when a lama lord dies without having adopted an apprentice, the whole family convenes and decides to offer the domain to a lama member of the family. However, when there is not such a lama, the members of the family divide among them the domain and private property of the deceased, and the Karwa vanishes.

Ch'an-shih-chia ("Master in Dhyana" families) 175

This institution, dating from the Ming, seems to be 792
in the line of the Karwa. In Huang-chung there was 554
attached to the title of Ch'an-shih ("Master in Dhy- [651]
ana"), the privilege of receiving every year from the Chinese administration a fixed quantity of wheat. At the same time, if the lama happened to acquire some fields on which to build a grain or oil mill, his fields and mills were exempt from taxes. The title of Ch'an-shih appears to have been hereditary. This seems to be the reason why the people always talk of Master in Dhyana "families" and seldom of Master in Dhyana lamas. In the country north of the Hsining River, with which I was best acquainted, there were still several Masters in Dhyana, independent of any monastery, living next to their relatives and each having a small temple of his own. The family tried to provide a nephew as an apprentice, for such a lama would upon the death of his master become Master in Dhyana by the transfer of the original seal and the original patent letters.

Most of these Masters in Dhyana lived in opulence, 554
their families being exempted from land taxes because 428
they were supposed to till the fields of the lama. In Suo-pu-t'an I encountered the Shih-hu Ch'an-shih-chia, a layman, who enjoyed, with his family, the privileges of a Ch'an-shih lama. Since there had been no lama in the family to succeed the previous master he had in-

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herited the privilege by virtue, he said, of possessing the seal and the patent letters. Every year he received his wheat support and was exempt from land and mill taxes. To him, this condition seemed very reasonable! The same condition existed in Sha-t'ang-ch'uan with the layman Hsiao-ssu Ch'an-shih chia. It is hard to understand how the privilege could have continued after the revolt of 1723, when under orders from Peking all the seals and patent letters granted during the Ming were withdrawn.

These facts shed light on the peculiar way in which Lamaism was diffused during the Ming in Huang-chung, and explain one of the reasons why the monasteries became the proprietors of vast domains, governing subjects and exerting a tremendous influence all over the country.

During the Yüan and the very beginning of the Ming dynasties, small communities of lamas of the Red Sect had been founded by wandering lamas who had attained a certain local reputation for skill in necromancy, or who by asceticism had gained a reputation as holy men, thereby attracting a few disciples. The bonds which bound these married or unmarried men were, without doubt, looser than the bonds which tied the lamas of the lamaseries of the later Yellow Sect. However, it may be assumed that in those times none of these little communities yet exerted a prominent influence upon the country, and for that reason nothing about them was recorded in the *Annals*.

The minor importance of these monasteries seems to account also for the fact, that at the beginning of the Ming (1368), the lama, Sanla, could be appointed chief of the board of lamas. The fact, however, of the institution of such a board at the beginning of the Ming seems to prove that at that time although the communities were small, the total number of lamas was large enough to justify the creation of such a board.[47]

NO LIVING BUDDHAS IN HUANG-CHUNG DURING THE MING DYNASTY

It is noteworthy that at that time titles and benefits were indiscriminately bestowed upon meritorious lamas, lamas who were chiefs of tribes, chiefs of more or less important communities, and even single lamas. There were as yet no Living Buddhas.

The first Living Buddha, recognized as the reincarnation of Tsong khapa (1357–1419), the founder of the Yellow Sect, was Gedun-gyatso who in 1475 inherited the succession of the second head of the sect. The prin-

[47] The Ming policy of the T'u-ssu, Karwa, and Nangsuo institutions, and of the grant of Kuo shih and Ch'an-shih titles to lamas with their respective privileges, was not peculiar to Huang-chung. It was also followed in south Kansu, Lin-t'ao, and Ho-chou, where nineteen T'u-ssu, Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih, etc., were created. After the revolt of 1723 the Chinese officials of Ho-chou asked for the abolition of these institutions, because of oppressions by T'u-ssu and lamas (*Annals* of the Province of Kansu, ch. 88: 12–13).

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monastery of Erh-ku-lung in the Lamaist world, the three personalities who are keystones of its institutions, will be briefly described. 175 792

Chang-chia Hutukhtu

In 1642 a boy was born in the village of I-k'o. He was recognized as the reincarnation of a lama of Erh-ku-lung born into the Chang family (hence his name *Chang-chia*) in the Hung nai Valley, sixty *li* northeast of Hsining.[88] He started his religious career at the age of five at the small hermitage belonging to Erh-ku-lung called T'an rim tarpa. He entered the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in 1651. In 1661 he was sent by Sumpa to Tibet where he studied for twenty years in the most celebrated colleges, knitting friendly relations with the most renowned lamas of Tibet, and teaching and preaching in the colleges. He returned to Erh-ku-lung. In 1682 his beloved teacher, the great lama of Galdan, was invited by the emperor to Peking. Chang-chia, having scored successes in Tibet, seething with ambition, and eager to rub elbows with the rich and the great of the world, hurried off to meet his teacher in Kukunor. He obtained permission from his teacher to follow him on his trip to Peking as a "humble member of his retinue" (Huth, 276). In Peking the teacher recommended his learned pupil to the emperor.[89]

After being chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1687, [554] the emperor called him to Peking in 1693. Sumpa, leading a big retinue, brought him to the capital. The

[88] Ting Chih-ts'un, Li tai Chang-chia Hutukhtu, *Pien-cheng kung-lün* 6 (4): 4.

[89] Ting Chih-ts'un, Li tai Chang-chia Hutukhtu, *Pien-cheng kung-lün* 6 (4): 4, 1947. Much confusion has existed concerning the origin of the Chang-chia reincarnation. Mayers, *Chinese government*, Hong Kong, Kelly & Walsh, 1896, 3rd ed., No. 598 says: "The metropolitan Chang-chia, re-embodiment of a Hutukhtu, dispatched under the same title, to represent him near the Chinese court toward the close of the 17th century, by the Dalai Lama of that period, received with profound respect by K'anghsi, was assigned a residence at Dolon nor; by decree of Ch'ienlung, the successor of the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, removed his residence from Dolon nor to the Yung-ho-kung, where state services were performed under direction of the Metropolitan who it is said wielded supreme religious sway."

Baron A. von-Stael-Holstein, Remarks on an XVIIIth century Lamaist document, Kuo-hsueh chi-k'an, 401, 1923, says: "K'ang hsi invited the 5th Dalai Lama to Peking, who refused, and Nag-dban blo-bzan cos-ldan (Chang-chia XIV) took the Dalai's place. He is supposed to be the incarnation of Mkhyen-rab-grags-pa hodzer, born in Chang-chia village, Kansu-Kukunor, hence the name Chang-chia."

Walter Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos*, 48: 499, 1953: says that according to a Mongol source the 5th Dalai Lama sent a lama, Che-sen Chorji to the Manchu emperor T'ai-tsung, with letters and presents. He was delegate to the city of Mukden in 1637. T'ai-tsung appointed the lama envoy to be his own chaplain, praising him as Chang-chia Hutukhtu. Heissig notes (note 132, p. 500) that the Mongol text about the appointment of the envoy as Chang-chia is wrong, because Chang-chia came first to the Manchu court at Peking in 1687.

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emperor appointed him to the office of Jassak Great Lama, the highest office entrusted to lamas in Peking; he bestowed on him the dignity and diploma of Hutukhtu, and a golden seal, together with the eulogistic title, "entirely virtuous, vastly compassionate, great state teacher, one whose head is annointed."[90] He was vested with powers of spiritual control over the Mongols of Chahar. 175 792

The bolt of fame had struck the ambitious Chang-chia. Inner Mongolian, and Khalkha princes and nobles gathered at Dolon nor to adore the great living Buddha.

In 1696–1697, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, already raised to a high pitch of fame in Mongolia and Peking, was delegated by the emperor to go to Lhasa to bring to the recently enthroned sixth Dalai Lama a seal and diploma, and to convey imperial gifts to the Panchen and the chief lamas of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends. This diplomatic mission immensely enhanced the prestige of Chang-chia in the Lamaist world of Tibet. Back in Peking, he was showered with gifts by the emperor. 175 792 648 554

In 1709, when he was on a vacation in Erh-ku-lung, the Monguors, exulting with pride, had a feeling for him that was a little short of idolatrous. He reformed the program of studies at Erh-ku-lung and appointed eminent teachers. It is not amazing that the lamas dreamed up an illustrious pedigree for their distinguished Hutukhtu, the favorite of the emperor and idol of the people, and that they imagined thirteen reincarnations preceding the reigning one. The first was no less than Chan dana, a contemporary and disciple of the Buddha himself. As for these thirteen fabulous reincarnations, it is enough to say that the so-called thirteenth rebirth was that of a boy born in Chang-chia village, who became a simple lama and about whom nothing more is known. During the administration of Sumpa he was a simple lama at Erh-ku-lung. After his death a boy born in I-k'o in 1642 was considered to be his reincarnation and consequently was called the fourteenth Chang-chia. This "fourteenth reincarnation," actually the first, recommended by his teacher to the emperor, was the lucky founder of the glorious series.

Chang-chia Rolpa dorje, the fifteenth reincarnation (1717–1786), in fact the second, was brought to Peking at the age of seven. Considered as a miracle child endowed with an illustrious pedigree, he was the playmate and intimate friend of the imperial princes. In 1734, at the age of seventeen, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Szech' uan (mGar t'ar), with an order to accompany, as imperial envoy, the banished seventh Dalai Lama on his reinstallation in Lhasa. (The Dalai Lama had been banished in 1728.[91]) This second diplomatic mission surrounded the Chang-chia

[90] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, ti 5 p'ien*, 93.
[91] Petech, *op. cit.*, 157.

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reincarnations with an aura of glory. At Lhasa the lamas paid enthusiastic adoration to him. Their devotion went so far as to make them struggle and compete for the drinking of a draught of the water Chang-chia had used for his toilet.[92] Back in Peking, Chang-chia asked the emperor to return to the Dalai Lama the confiscated districts of Lit'ang and Batang, and to grant him a subsidy. Only a subsidy of 5,000 taels was allowed.[93]

Rolpa dorje was also a learned man. His appointment by the emperor as chief of the commission for the revision of the translation into Mongol of the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*,[94] enhanced his prestige in the learned world, even as his learned works were studied in the colleges of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung (Huth, 291). In 1725 the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama received imperial envoys, presenting them with a complete set of the *Kanjur*, together with its supplements, and the complete works of Tsong khapa and the first Chang-chia Hutukhtu.[95]

The Monguor Chang-chia Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung, conspicuous for their great abilities, extensive learning, high position at the Peking court, and former diplomatic missions, wielded an enormous influence in the highest Lamaist circles in Tibet. The appointment by the emperor of the regent Gyal ts'ab in Tibet, during the reign of the eighth Dalai Lama (1759–1804) was obtained by the influence of the Chang-chia II.[96] The influence which the Panchen Lama exercised over the temporal affairs of Tibet and the interest he enjoyed at the Peking court through his friend, Chang-chia, the lama primate, made the emperor, Ch'ien-lung, invite him to Peking, where he arrived in 1780 and died of smallpox.[97]

George Bogle in 1774–1775 was trying to get an agreement from the well-disposed Panchen Lama for Indian trade with Tibet. Even more important than the Panchen's promise to send envoys was his assurance to Bogle that he had written the Grand Lama at Peking, who had great influence with the emperor, informing him that the English were now masters of Bengal, that

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[92] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 99.

[93] Petech, *op. cit.*, 162.

[94] Walter Heissig, Die Mongolischen Publication und Ubersetzungs Wesen der Mandjuzeit, *Sinologica* 3 (3): 205, 1953. Translations of Vols. 1 to 22 of the *Kanjur* by learned Mongol lamas already existed at the time of Ligdan Khan 1604–1634: the translation of 1717–1720 is almost textually the same as the former. The duty of Chang-chia, head of the committee, consisted in supervising the dogmatical genuineness of the translation. The Mongol translation of Dharani was published in 1759. More than 200 translations of Tibetan works still exist in Mongol.

[95] Petech, *op. cit.*, 9. One of the works of the second Chang-chia Hutukhtu is known in Europe through the translation of Eugen Pander, *Das Pantheon des Tschang tscha Hutukhtu*, Berlin, 1890.

[96] Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 46.

[97] *Ibid.*, 47. Schuyler Cammann, The Panchen Lama's visit to China in 1780, *Far Eastern Quart.* 9 (1): 6–18, 1949.

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co-proprietor and chief of Erh-ku-lung. The figures 175 of these three men throw a lengthening shadow over 792 the glorious monastery of Erh-ku-lung, and over the Lamaist world in Tibet, Mongolia, Peking, and Huang-chung, during the Ch'ing dynasty.

A boy born in T'u-kuan, located at the foot of the T'u-kuan Mountains close to Erh-ku-lung, became a lama at the former hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, which had rapidly grown under the administration of Sumpa. The boy was born in the Wang chia tribe, subject to the Li T'u-ssu, and is said to have belonged to the Li T'u-ssu clan. It is also told that he was born in the Sina tribe in the Ch'ing-yang-ch'uan, in the village of T'u-kuan. The date of his birth is not recorded. However, it is noted that he fulfilled the office of Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1672, at the time when Chang-chia was studying at Lhasa.[102]

A boy born in 1680 was said to be the reincarnation [775] of this T'u-kuan Lama and was called the Living Buddha T'u-kuan Nag dban C'osky rgyamts'o. The series of the T'u-kuan reincarnations started with him. Upon completing his studies in Tibet, he was chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1705. He founded a hermitage at C'os bzan, where he lived in retired seclusion with seven lamas, meditating and teaching.[103] He was the teacher of the young fifteenth Chang-chia incarnation and the famous Sumpa. He became the equal of Chang- [554] ● chia when the Emperor K'ang Hsi called him to Peking in 1715, and bestowed on him gifts, the title of Hutukhtu and a seal. He enjoyed the high esteem of the emperor who, in 1719, ordered the lama, Skal-bzan rgya-mts'o, administrator of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu in order to have him administer his monastery.[104] (Something wrong may have happened at Kumbum.)

In 1720 the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was sent on a dip- 175 lomatic mission to greet the seventh Dalai Lama on the 792 upper reaches of the Yangtse River on his way to 648 Lhasa.[105] The Dalai Lama had been confined at Kumbum for five years. He was brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence. T'u-kuan, in his capacity of imperial envoy, was granted the title of Hutukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas. He assisted at the enthusiastic enthronement of the Dalai Lama and brought letters and imperial gifts to

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provided by the subsequent troubled history of Erh-ku-lung (see below, p. 36).

Summarizing the literary activities of the Chang-chia incarnations, as chiefs of the imperial committee for the printing of Mongol books in Peking, they had printed in Mongol, during a period of 261 years (1650–1911), 108 volumes of the Kanjur, 226 of the Tanjur and 220 other works (2).

These facts afford conclusive evidence of the very important role played by the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung in the diffusion of Lamaism in their own country, and in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet.

[102] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 12.

[103] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283.

[104] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 15. [p. 31 (B)]

[105] Petech, *op. cit.*, 60.

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the Panchen Lama and the heads of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends.[106] He enjoyed a tremendous surge of popularity in Tibet and was honored in the same way as Chang-chia. 175 792 648

The fame of Erh-ku-lung thus rose higher and higher. In Huang-chung the Monguors were elated and proud of their glorious monastery and their eminent lamas. Back in Dolon nor, the Mongol and Khalkha princes paid him their adoration with the same devotion they had given to Chang-chia. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu received new titles from the emperor and was showered with favors. A permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He obtained for the Great Lama of the monastery of Labrang the title of Erdeni Nomun khan.[107] While on vacation at Erh-ku-lung, he died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri which belonged to Erh-ku-lung. [354]

His next incarnation was T'u-kuan Blo-bzan C'oskyi Nima, born in 1737. He was a celebrated teacher, well known in the Lamaist world for his proficiency in logic and philosophy. He wrote his famous *History of the Doctrines of the Yellow Sects,* which he finished a year before his death in 1802. According to Baradijn, this work, in twelve chapters, is the only Tibetan study dealing with all the Tibetan sects, including those of India, China, and the old Bön.[108] He received from the emperor the same titles as his predecessor and was granted the same favors and the same permanent duty at Peking. In 1790 he built the temple of Hung-ku-ssu, to which the emperor granted the name of Yen-hsi-ssu.[109] He died in 1802. The subsequent incarnations followed in the steps of their predecessors, enjoying the same titles and privileges during the Empire and under the Republic. [114]

Sumpa Hutukhtu

Sumpa Hutukhtu is so called by Sarat Chandra Dass, the celebrated historiographer and chronologist of Tibet. Born in 1704, he is said to be the first reincarnation of the founder of Erh-ku-lung. However, because Erh-ku-lung was founded in 1604, the first Sumpa was supposed to have been a man about twenty or thirty years of age. So it would seem that a second Sumpa was intercalated between them. Sumpa II must have been the reincarnation of Sumpa I; otherwise the denomination of Sumpa is hard to explain. This supposition does not seem to be unusual if we take account of the process used for the first reincarnations of Chang-chia 175 792

[106] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283; Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 178–9.

[107] Huth, *op. cit.*, 287.

[108] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 442, Notes 655 and 656, p. 182. The work has been translated by Sarat Chandra Dass in his Contributions on the religion and history, etc. of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* 50 and 51, 1881–1882. I was surprised to read in it much data about Taoism and Confucianism with which he was very well acquainted.

[109] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5): 12; *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 148–149.

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t'ung wei, in order to build the later famous monastery of Seerkok, Gadan Ch'osling, also called Kou-mang-ssu, and Kuang-hui-ssu.[116] 175 792

The new daughter monastery flourished so fast as to have, before the revolt of 1723, two thousand lamas, and three colleges, among which the Tch'an-njid College was very renowned. Probably very soon Seerkok became an autonomous monastery. It developed to such an extent as to administer nine branches of its own and to have eighteen Living Buddhas within its walls.

Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the head of the lamasery, celebrated for his *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia*, is known as the Tsanpo Nomun-khan of Amdo.[117] In 1727 he was sent by the Dalai Lama to court and received from the emperor the title of Hutukhtu. He was showered with gifts and a permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He became one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung.[118] [554]

In 1693 the hermitage of Byan-c'ub existed, dependent on Erh-ku-lung. It was here that Chang-chia retired.[119] In 1705 T'u-kuan established the hermitage of C'os bzan where he retired with seven lamas.[120] He died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri, also dependent on Erh-ku-lung.[121] In 1711 the learned lama, Zabsdrun of Temma, near Erh-ku-lung, having been appointed teacher by Chang-chia [122] at the College of Tantras in Erh-ku-lung, founded a branch in Kan-ch'an-ssu which in 1915, had two hundred lamas and two Living Buddhas.

In 1730 the Great Sumpa, on his return from Tibet, immediately founded the monastery of Bshad sgrub with eighty lamas and fifteen from Bsam gtang glin.[123] From 1604 until 1730 the building of hermitages and bigger monasteries was a real obsession among the prominent lamas and chiefs of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung and its branches. The records of the havoc wrought during the crushing revolt of 1723 by the Chinese army reveal more names of sacked and destroyed monasteries: Chie-Bzan with eight hundred lamas, the monasteries of Hsia, Yao, Ku, Chu-erh, Kan-chu-erh, and more than one thousand grottoes in the mountains; also the monastery of Shih-men-ssu with two hundred lamas and two Living Buddhas; Ch'i-chia-ssu with two subsidiaries [124]; T'ien T'ang-ssu with two hundred lamas, three Living Buddhas,

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[116] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1) : 45; 3 (4) 10; 5: 13a.

[117] Sarat Chandra Dass, Brief account of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1 and 27, 1887. This work was translated into Russian in 1895.

[118] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 123.

[119] Huth, *op. cit.* 277.

[120] *Ibid.*, 283.

[121] *Ibid.*, 288.

[122] *Ibid.*, 279.

[123] Sarat Chandra Dass, Life of Sumpa khampo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 198, 1889.

[124] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1) : 46*b* and 47*a*.

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chiliarchs still exist in Kumbum, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok), meting out punishments (instruments of torture are still displayed at lama courts), and imprisonment (the prison of Seerkok still exists); caring for the preservation of peace and order in the territories assigned to them, inquiring about travelers passing through it; administering the distribution of fields, the imposition and collection of taxes, the imposition of tolls on bridges (the bridge of T'ien t'ang and raft of Kan ch'an), and the imposition of corvées. 792 175 692

At the time of the inroads of marauding Mongol and Tibetan tribes, the revolts of Moslems, and the lama revolt against China in 1723, the subjects were compelled by the lamas to take sides with them in combat and in defending the lamaseries and their territories. In short, the privileges bestowed upon the chiefs of the lama institutions before 1723 were far-reaching. They were units, scattered over the country, administering their subjects according to their own rules and customs, entirely free from the interference of Chinese officials.

The lamaseries were the administrative centers of the groups subordinated to them. All the country's wealth flowed into their granaries and treasuries. Moreover, the lamas tended herds of cows, sheep, and horses, built oil and grain mills, and received donations. The lamaseries were the only places where huge sums of money could be borrowed (Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu borrowed money from them by mortgaging parts of their properties). They removed the wealth of the country from circulation and hoarded it or used it to found new lama communities (the tremendous branching out of monasteries between 1600 and 1723). They did not even use it for charitable institutions for the people of the country. 792 175 425 426

The lamaseries, originally built in lonely places and in remote valleys, in order that the monks would not be disturbed in their meditations and studies by the tumult of the world, were in olden times the most animated places of the country. In autumn the subjects carried taxes and rents on long caravans of donkeys to their granaries. The measuring of grain went on, as it did all over Asia, with rumbling noise and cries, bursting with activity for weeks in succession. At the time of exchanging tea for horses all the subjects were interested in the assessment of the horses. The tumult and discussions on the grounds of the monastery lasted for days and days. The selection of the horses for tribute to the emperor was conducted with like tumult and confusion, and often for the same length of time. Two or three times a year large festivals were held at the monasteries. They were attended by all the people of the country interested in horse racing, wrestling, singing, dancing, and in the big fairs held at that time. Chinese traders came from the city, pitched their tents, paid toll to the lamas, and sold their wares. The Monguors and Tibetans also arrived with their homespun 792 175 651 427 [554 443]

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prostrations and by presentation of the ceremonial scarf. They escorted them to the branch where a sheep was killed and a dinner enjoyed. 175 792 794

DOMAINS AND REVENUES

An affiliate, in order to enjoy viability, had to possess a territorial domain. The mother house, where possible, assigned to it a part of its own domain; where this was not possible, the founder made arrangements to provide a domain. The T'u-kuan bought some ground for his affiliate of Ma-t'i-ssu. Every year the affiliate had to pay the interest of the capital thus invested, amounting to 60 taels or 36½ bricks of tea. The rector of the affiliate was bound to account for the material administration of his institution, receipt of rents, selling of trees, investment of the capital of the affiliate, and herds, and required a fixed sum to be sent out of the revenues to the intendancy of the founder. Finally, the intendant of the founder supervised the material administration of the subsidiary. When recalcitrant subjects refused obeisance, the rector and the disciplinarian sent them to the mother house, but such subjects would quit the monastery before they were summoned to see the founder. 175 792 571 794

OBLIGATION TO A FA-T'AI WHEN INVITED

When one of the members of the subsidiaries is invited to take the office of Fa-t'ai (Lob-pon) at the mother house, he is never allowed to decline the invitation, even after the subsidiary has become entirely independent, and even if the man thus summoned to officiate as invited Fa-t'ai is a Living Buddha or the supreme chief of the independent monastery. This custom seems to be general.

OBLIGATION TO JOIN THE RETINUE OF THE CHIEF OF THE LAMASERY

When the founder of the affiliate makes a long journey or accompanies an alms expedition to far-off countries, the branches must send lamas to make up his retinue. When the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu went to Peking to fulfill the assignment entrusted to him at the capital, even the independent old branches were kind enough to present a couple of lamas each to enhance his prestige. When he went to Peking for the last time, seventeen independent branches sent lamas. Lamas like to visit the capital, since it is a remunerative business. In the Orient a traveler always does some business on the way, especially an eminent personage such as T'u-kuan, traveling as a state official. He and his retinue enjoyed the privilege of going everywhere free of taxes. 175 792 484 [534]

AUTONOMY OF BRANCH LAMASERIES

How did the subsidiaries become independent? The tragic events which occurred at Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai have already been recorded. Although such 175 792 794 571

[3.52(A)]

for the next two years collecting alms; Seerkok offered 175
a thousand big trees, Labrang $6,000, Erh-ku-lung 792
$1,000. After three years the temple was rebuilt.

In 1910 the same thing happened at the monastery of Chu erh under similar circumstances.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE LAMAS

FA-T'AI, CALLED "MASTER OF THE DOCTRINE" ("LOB-PON" OR "MK'AMPO")

792
The supreme chief of this independent institution is 794
the Fa-t'ai. His office is the most honorable one a 554
lama may fill. Fa-t'ais are chosen from among respectable lamas with a blameless record, celebrated for their knowledge. Not only lamas are invited to that office, but even Living Buddhas. Most of the eminent lamas in the country have been Fa-t'ais in nearly all the big lamaseries in Huang-chung. It has been recorded that a lama, even a Living Buddha, who is a member of an affiliate, never declines the invitation to fill this office at the mother house. Each college also has its own Fa-t'ai.

The office of Fa-t'ai is held for a term of three years only. The intendancy proposes to the supreme chief of the lamasery the name of the desired lama, and, on obtaining the consent of the supreme chief, sends lamas with the invitations. The Fa-t'ai lives in a beautiful residence and has as many lama servants as he desires. He is supposed to be the spiritual director of the institution which invited him, and to possess the power to reform the behavior of the lamas and to urge even stricter observance of the rules. It has been recorded how the stubborn Sumpa of Erh-ku-lung demanded in Lhasa the complete neutrality of the lamas of his community at the time when all the lamas of Lhasa prepared to participate in the civil war, and that finally the example set by him was followed by all the lamaseries of Lhasa. The same thing happened in Kumbum in 1895 at the time of the rebellion of the Moslems. [669]
The Fa-t'ai (m'Kampo) was the Living Buddha Mina, a quiet and peaceful man, who ordered the lamas to prepare only to defend the lamasery in case of attack. However, Shertoch, another Living Buddha of Kumbum, more turbulent and still recalling the destruction of the monastery except for the temple containing the celebrated tree during the revolt of 1862–1874, stirred the lamas to attack the enemy in the Moslem stronghold of T'opa, fighting on the side of the Chinese Army. After the first attacks had been unsuccessful, and several lamas had been killed, the war party grew bitter against Mina, who had to resign the post of Fa-t'ai and for some time was in fear of his life.[10] Achia, the chief and proprietor of Kumbum must have been an irresolute man, for he did not interfere even in such critical circumstances.

[10] Wellby, *op. cit.*, 281. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 72, 92.

[p. 61 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The Fa't'ai even has the power to redress the mal- 792
administration of the intendancies, but all these powers 794
are more nominal than effective, because the name of 554
the Fa-t'ai-to-be is proposed by the intendancies themselves to the supreme chief of the lamasery. They know very well which Fa-t'ais are bent on reforms and set in their ways, and in order to secure the peace of the lamas and their own, they avoid proposing the name of "trouble makers." The Fa-t'ais, on the other hand, are practical Orientals. They know their appointment lasts for only three years, and that, if they should start with reforms, they would meet with the general covert opposition of the intendancies and of all the lamas, and their reforms would be hamstrung, so why borrow troubles if the next Fa-t'ai would undo what his predecessor had built up?

Therefore, the powers of a Fa-t'ai in Huang-chung are in practice reduced to theoretical and honorary dimensions. They are venerated as the learned supreme teachers of the community and occupy the highest seat in the main temple, next to that of the supreme chief of the lamasery. They very seldom attend the ceremonies in the temple, except when a rich pilgrim invites the community to read texts in his behalf. They attend the ceremony at the time of the festivities in order to enhance the prestige of the community, and march in procession with a stately measured tread to the temple, with the traditional splendor of their retinue. In the fourth, sixth, and eighth months they preach in the temple for the lamas for a few days. The rest of the time they live a happy, peaceful life in their residences, devoting their time to study and meditation, and entrusting, as their predecessors did, the whole direction of the institution to the intendant, who in the final analysis governs the entire institution. Fa-t'ais are inclined more to the speculative than the practical side of life.

A Fa-t'ai has to be a rich man in order to be able to fulfill his office. On the one hand he receives a small salary and at the time of the distribution of alms he receives as many shares as the supreme chief of the lamasery, but the flow of donations is irregular and unpredictable. On the other hand, a Fa-t'ai, several times a year, has to entertain the lamas of the community in a more or less sumptuous manner, with tea, butter, *tsamba,* mutton, beef, rice, raisins, and rolls. Each lama has to take home a fixed number of rolls. These repeated entertainments of lamas, four or five times a year, are the big expenses which a poor Fa-t'ai cannot afford, and they explain why poor but celebrated lamas decline the offer of the office of Fa-t'ai in large communities.

INTENDANT

Every day, during the morning assembly, a few re- [124]
marks are made to the community by the intendant concerning the observance of rules, the decorum required of lamas, the punishments inflicted the previous day

[p. 62(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

for infractions of the rules, the reform of some misbehavior, the arrival of distinguished guests or pilgrims, the offer of important gifts, and special religious ceremonies asked for by devout people. Herein consists the entire direction and instruction of the lamas, except for those who study in the colleges. 792 [626] 554 794

His role has been explained. He is the chief executive of the institution and administers its wealth. He has his own residence; his courtyard is his court of justice, where all the suits of the lamas and of the subjects are judged. All the officials of the institution receive his orders; he has one or two procurators helping him in the material administration, commanding a number of servants varying in accordance with the importance of the lamasery.

DISCIPLINARIANS

Their function is a really important element in the government of hundreds of uncivilized lamas and turbulent young folk living in the same lamasery, most of whom wander correctly along the path of monastic life more from fear of severe corporal punishment than for pure love of Buddha. I never saw a master of discipline in the lamaseries wearing a delightful smile. More often they seemed to be the type of tormentors that might step out of a picture of the Eighteen Buddhist Hells. No wonder the lamas, especially the young folk, dread them. 792 626 794

Usually there are two disciplinarians appointed by the Fa-t'ai for a term of one year. Often they have been proposed for the position by the intendant and his councillors. The disciplinarian presides over a number of lictors. During ceremonies in the temple the disciplinarian maintains order among the older lamas and keeps a constant eye on the novices. A breach of silence or any irreverence is punished instantly by blows from his rawhide whip. He takes note of the presence and absence of lamas at the morning ceremonies, and must investigate to find out whether lamas, not enrolled in the monastery, or laymen, are remaining with their friends at night inside the lamasery, and is responsible in general for the observance of the rules of the monastery.

Permission is required from the intendancy to leave the lamasery for a long time. Business deals are not to be made too ostentatiously. At night lamas may gather with friends to relax, talk, play cards and chess, but are not allowed to make much noise or to disturb the sleep of their neighbors. Gambling is not allowed, nor is the drinking of liquor. At night, the disciplinarian with some of his lictors, armed with rawhide whips, makes a tour of the lamasery. Lamas found brawling, quarrelling, or fighting are brought to the court of the intendant, where penalties are meted out in various brutal forms. The time of the festivities is a difficult one for the disciplinarians, when merchants pitch their tents, and lamas and people drive bargains. [273 525 784]

[p.62(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The master starts with the explanation of the text after the student has finished memorizing it, and so it happens that, after some time, one pupil is studying a second or a third book, while the others are still studying the first one. It is hard to teach pupils who have not received the same educational preparation and who progress at an unequal pace. The lack of elementary schools and high schools compels the master to adapt his teaching to the capacity and enthusiasm of each of the students, and inevitably the study loses its interest for pupil and master. 792 794 873 [876] [872]

It is no wonder that very few learned lamas are encountered at present among the lamas of Huang-chung. The Living Buddha Goorong bzan, of the Red Sect, was the only man celebrated for his learning all over the country during the period 1910–1920, and he enjoyed this reputation among lamas of the Yellow Sect as well as the Red Sect. In Kumbum there was also a learned Living Buddha, Chao-hsi, who was said to have given instruction in the lamasery of Galdan in Tibet. In June, 1920, he was invited by the community of lamas of Kumbum to give instruction for ten days, and Kumbum seized this opportunity to invite all the lamas of Huang-chung to attend the ceremony, remembering that each attendant should offer a ceremonial scarf to the preacher, and bring his food with him. Kumbum, however, would offer two butter-teas to the participants each day. I was at Hua-yüan, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, at that time, and the intendant, in order to have his lamas attend the instruction, himself offered to provide them with the food for twelve days; but only 12 among the 58 lamas went to Kumbum.

In 1914 I was told that among the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, 1,300 were members of the College of Philosophy, 350 of the College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, 200 each in the College of Medicine and the College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules. All these numbers have to be reduced according to the ratio previously noted for the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, but the proportion is the same for the members attending the colleges. Thus, among the 3,000 lamas 2,000 or two-thirds were enjoying a higher educational training in the colleges, and they remained members of the colleges for the whole of their lives. This was generally true for all of the colleges of Huang-chung.

The reason for the unusual attendance at the colleges is not that these institutions are centers of higher education, but rather that they provide meals for their members. The richest colleges, able to give the greatest number and the choicest meals, are the best attended, such as the College of Philosophy. Another attraction of this very popular college, teaching the most arduous of all the sciences, is the relaxation provided by the public disputations. The schedule of the meals provided by the various colleges supports these statements: 792 554 873 814 262

[p. 64(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

1st month from 3rd to 18th, 3 cups of butter tea and tsamba, in all the colleges. 792 557
2nd month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only. 873
3rd month from 11th to 16th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges. 814 262
4th month from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges
5th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
6th month from 1st to 10th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
8th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
9th month from 15th to 19th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
10th month from 22nd to 29th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
11th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
12th monthly from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.

During the first, second, eighth, and eleventh months there is an exception. During each of these months, the philosophers four times enjoy two cups of rice, meat, and raisins. Rich pilgrims are accustomed to ask for special ceremonies and prayers more often in the College of Philosophy than in the other colleges, and each time they offer rice, meat, raisins, and alms. The philosophers thus enjoy more extra dinners than the members of other colleges, and receive greater shares at the distribution of alms. It is not amazing that a lama who can hardly make ends meet, but is endowed with a philosophical brain, considers it more educational to enroll in the College of Philosophy than in the others. Herein lies the practical attraction to the study of philosophy.

PREDILECTION FOR THE COLLEGE OF PHILOSOPHY, ITS CAUSES

The public disputations are the next attraction. 792 Among the huge numbers of members of the College 814 of Philosophy there are always some exceptions. Small 873 groups of students are encountered who are genuinely interested in study and under the direction of competent professors invited by them, they undergo a severe course of instruction. Two or three times every week they are engaged in public disputations, attended by all the members of the college. Students studying the same book form the center of a numerous audience, squatting on the ground of the courtyard in the open air. These disputation exercises have been described by many authors; it is sufficient to record that the same circles always enjoy the biggest attendance, not for the interest of the subject disputed, which is rather mild, but in order to enjoy the virtuosity of celebrated de-

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

even minor Living Buddhas live in luxurious residences, 792
with a private chapel and servants. Admittance to the 871
Living Buddha is very complicated; no one is even al- [511]
lowed to enter the kitchen, at the entrance of which,
when the Living Buddha is present, is a high stone, [784]
whitewashed and covered with a ceremonial scarf.

The first duty of the intendant is to acquire for his 792
new master two lama teachers of good repute and ex- 871
tensive learning, in order to provide for the education 554
of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the 292
boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity.

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks 792
before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after 554
months and months the exercises always have to be 869
repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and 868
the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.[25]

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, 157
particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training.

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and 792
writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before 875
his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he [876]
fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary lamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-ku-lung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed

[25] Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

[p. 68(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

LAMAISM AND MONASTICISM

The study of the preceding topics will help in understanding what the Lamaist institution in Huang-chung, called lamasery, consists of fundamentally. It can best be done by means of defining the respective positions of its chiefs and its subjects. 792

In speaking about lamas and lamaseries, the terms "monk" and "monastery" are used indiscriminately, because we have no other terms. However, except for the facts that the lamas observe celibacy and that the lamaseries possess corporate wealth, it is impossible to compare the lamaseries with Christian monasteries.

The lamasery is a place where people gather for a spiritual purpose which is void of any definite qualification; where no direction is provided in any way to the inmates, who are absolutely free to adhere to whatever doctrine they wish.[26]

Lamas take the first and second vows, promising to Buddha to be faithful to them. They take no vows of submission to the chief of the community, promising nothing to him except to remain celibate and to observe the rules of the community, to attend the exercises in the temple, and not to disturb the peace of the lamasery.

The chief of the lamasery has no right to impose any duty on the lamas. A salary is paid for the fufilling of any office, and those who do not intend to earn the money, do not apply for the job. The chief of the lamasery has no right to interfere with the studies or the scientific trend of mind of the lamas. He only has the right to urge their presence at the ceremonies and knowledge of the texts recited at the meetings, because lamas attending the assembly receive a remuneration of tea, *tsamba*, meal, and a share of alms.

The chief of the lamasery has no right to interfere with the religious and spiritual education of the lamas. These fields are under the jurisdiction of the individual master who directs the studies of a pupil. The lamas have the right to bring suit against each other at the Chinese courts, and the pupil has the right to bring suit against his master, without interference from the chief of the lamasery. 792 554

The amazing respective positions of a chief of the lamasery and the lamas are crudely demonstrated by the facts of the admission of a lama to the lamasery, his retirement from it, and the conditions existing between them after the abandonment. Admission into a lamasery in Huang-chung is not complicated. Every unknown man who wears lama clothes and who goes straight to the courtyard of the intendancy of the monastery, presents 100 copper cash and asks for admittance, is given a scarf of felicity. He is led to see the intendant before whom he prostrates himself and to whom he presents the scarf; he promises to observe celibacy and the rules of the monastery, and to attend the morning ceremonies. His name is entered on the 792

[26] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 100.

[p. 71(A)]

the cosmic tree on the mount Meru. In addition the whole series of good and evil spirits were both honored and combatted in the effort to make them inoffensive. Hoffmann concludes that it is hard to trace a sharp dividing line between the old Bön and shamanism. 756 771

It is instructive to read the review of Helmut Hoffmann by R. A. Stein [7] in order to get an idea of the confusion still persisting regarding the subject. Stein holds that the definition of Bön, said to be the religion of the Tibetans before the introduction of Buddhism, is not easy to write down, because Bön as a religious system is only known in its later state of development when it seems to be a variant of Lamaism. Bön conserves more archaic traits of the old popular religion than Lamaism does, but it does not enjoy a monopoly (p. 98), because the facts relating to Bön are encountered in Lamaism as well as in shamanism. The problem of the Iranian origin of Bön is difficult to solve (p. 99). The fact that the Bön worshipped the spirit of Heaven as a personal Supreme Deity seems to have to be taken with cautiousness (p. 101).

Kawaguchi [8] notes that originally Bönism very much resembled Hinduism, but now in theory it is almost Buddhism. Shorn of its sacrifices, its toleration of marriage and use of intoxicants, it is only Buddhism under another name.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE MONGUOR SHAMANS WITHIN THE CLAN

The social conditions of the shamans are the same as those of the commoners of the clan. They are not exempted from land taxes and corvées, but no special corvées are imposed upon them by the chiefs of the villages. They receive remuneration for the performance of rites in behalf of the community. The shamans enjoy no privileges in the Monguor community as was the rule in the time of Chingis Khan. 756 554

The Monguor shamans do not live in monasteries, where they might give spiritual help to the people; they live in various parts of the villages, each with his wife and children. Their economic mainstay is tilling the soil and breeding cattle; their subsidiary occupation is the performance of shamanistic rites either for the community of the village or for private families when invited by them. The margin of subsistence of most of the shamans is rather narrow. 756

No bonds tie them to the village where they are living; shamans of distant villages are invited by the villagers, and the shamans living in the village are frequently overlooked. Some shamans, celebrated all over the country for their proficiency in the art, are invited more often than others by village communities or private families. [571]

The activities of the shamans are not limited by the

[7] R. A. Stein, *Journal Asiatique*, 1952: 97.

[8] Ekai Kawaguchi (Late rector of Gohyakurakan Monastery), *Three years in Tibet*, 131, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

[p. 78(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The emperor praised the military prestation of Li
Yin and sent delegates from Peking with laudatory 175x
letters and with the order to come to Peking, the ex- 648
penses to be defrayed by the empire. He received the [703]
promotion of Yu-fu tso-tu-tu and rich gifts. The next
year he was honored with the title of Duke of Hui
Ning, and received an emolument every year of 1,100
tan of grain. At the same time the emperor, with [554]
delicate attention, bestowed upon his deceased father, Li
Nan-ko, the same title of Duke of Hui Ning (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

Li Yin seemed to have reached the summit of a 175x
glorious career. However, a more eminent honor was 554
in store for him. His merits would be chiseled on a stele in a temple built by himself to remind future generations of the imperial dignities bestowed upon him.

In the Kuang-fu-kuan, a temple built in 1426 in the 175x
northeast corner of the city of Hsining, the following is chiseled on a stele (*Annals* of Kansu 30: 45*a–b*; *Annals* of Hsining 35: 6*a–b*):

In 1422 in the eighth moon, Emperor Yung Lo, on his 175x
way back from an expedition in the desert took a breath in 211
Yu-lin (Shensi) and called to his tent the officials who had 539
won the most distinguished merits during the expedition. [703]
He granted Li Yin the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Pillar of
the Empire and Duke of Hui Ning. Then the duke asked
the emperor for permission to build in Hsining a temple
in honor of the god of the war, in order to show gratitude [776]
for the blessings bestowed upon the empire and the people,
and to secure more blessings in the future. The emperor
agreed. Back home, Li Yin ordered, a few days later, the
building of the temple. In the tenth moon of 1426 he
informed the emperor about the completion of the construction. The emperor granted to the temple the name "Kuang-
fu-kuan" (Taoist temple of glory and felicity), and ap- [795]
pointed five Taoist priests for the performance of the
sacrifices and worship in the temple.

One evening Li Yin was dreaming: he heard a man saying to him, "The God of War will appear." Instantly he dressed and adjusted his hat. Another man arrived carrying a tray with fine dishes. He invited Li Yin to come to his home to enjoy the dishes. Li Yin could not understand the circumstances of such an invitation. He thought it should be a spirit. Then he invited this man to come to his home. They were about to start with the dinner when all of a sudden the man said, "The spirit is there." Li Yin opened the door. He saw a man perfectly dressed, riding a white horse with a beautiful saddle and escorted by a numerous retinue. The man was like a king. The Taoist priest Ho Chao-tsung accompanied him, dressed in Taoist fashion, holding a book in his hands. He asked Li Yin: "The god will go first to the temple of the King Li. Is that correct?" Li Yin answered that he would first call at the Ning-fan Ssu (the temple of the appeased Tibetans). The entire group left. The sky was bright. On the way they passed a beautiful high building, enclosed by a high wall. They said, "The man who is living here does not belong to the lower range of society." They arrived at the gate of the temple. Li Yin dismounted from his horse. He was terrified. This happened on the eighth day of the seventh moon in 1423. In the winter of the same year the Duke was invited to see the emperor in Peking. He received his titles and precious gifts and returned to Hsining. What the Duke saw in his dream was the appearance of the god of war. It was a reward for his

[P. 38(A)]

on his second ascension to the throne, and to present his offices in these times of troubles which beset the empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and somewhat later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them. The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and devastating the country. The officials in the capital grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his troops to move. He was committed to prison and deliberation concerning capital punishment was held. The emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportunity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the Mongols in the regions of Yenan and Suei-te (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*b*). 175 648 [624] [654] [681]

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of Li Wen? 175x 662

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450–1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs and the most prominent officials, some of them friends and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions seethed with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals. Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung. 578

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching Ti the capital beseiged by Esen in 1449. During the illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot preparing the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthronement of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his rivals and seven executions of the most prominent officials followed. He was bestowed with the title of Pilar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky. It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, proclaimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung. The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poisoned himself. His father was committed to jail and ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta- 175x 668 [787] [657] 000

[P.40(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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The officials of Ta-t'ung were promoted. However, Li Wen was bypassed. Deeming that he had provided the judges with the most important data, he could not stand being ignored and waited for an opportunity to avenge himself on the promoted officials. Consequently he did not fight in 1460, giving them the opportunity to show their gratefulness and abilities to the emperor. Later in Yenan and in Suei-te he succeeded in fighting the Mongols and was promoted to tutu T'ung chih. During the period Ch'eng hua (1465–1488) he was sent to Hami with Commander Liu Wen. The expedition was unsuccessful. He died during the first years of the Hung-chih period (1488–1506) and was rehabilitated with the title of Duke of Kao Yang in the first years of the Cheng-te period (1506–1521) (*Annals* of Kansu 42 : 38*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27 : 12*a*). In 1468, during the time Li Wen was participating in the unsuccessful expedition in Hami, his young son Li Yung had been promoted to centurion and thereafter Chih-huei ch'ien-shih (*Annals* of Hsining 24 : 8*b*). This seems to suggest that after the punishment of Li Wen, the emperor must have been informed about the way in which he had acted, and have forgotten about it.

M 175x 648

In a former chapter have been related the promotion of T'u-ssu Li Yin, as Duke of Huei Ning, his dishonorable behavior, his punishment, his death soon after 1437, and the promotion of his son Li Ch'ang in 1457. For twenty years the clan had been discredited on account of the behavior of Li Yin. But in 1457 Li Wen, the cousin of Li Yin, went to Peking with his army to congratulate Emperor Yin Tsung on being enthroned for the second time. The delighted emperor promoted him twice and Li Wen may have seized this opportunity to recommend Li Ch'ang, the son of his cousin Li Yin, and to remind the emperor of the merits of his grandfather Li Nan-ko, who had induced the t'u-ssu of Huangchung to surrender in 1371. Li Wen and Li Yin were the sons of the brothers of Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko. The emperor at that time was in high spirits, enjoying the jubilations of the entire population of the capital. Moreover ascensions to the throne were customarily accompanied by a general amnesty and this seems to explain why the son of Li Yin, just at that time (1457), started receiving distinguished promotions one after another, and after his death in 1493 an imperial funeral oration. In that way the honor of the entire clan was redeemed in Huangchung, and Li Ch'ang erected the spirit way stele for his father Li Yin in 1475.

M [554]
M [554]

HEGEMONY OF THE WESTERN MONGOLS

HM 175 [578] 648

After the death of Esen in 1455, whose empire reached from Lake Balkash to the Great Wall of China, conflicts arose among the eastern and western Mongols and among the eastern groups themselves. The Ta-t'an (Tatars) Po-lai and Mao-li-hai tried to control the eastern Mongols, who grew more and more independ-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

and Sung Pa, were learned men and enjoyed prestige in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet (Monguors II: 27, sq.). 175x 792 795

In 1607 the Brigadier General, T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chai, with his troops, was ordered to help General Ta Yun repel the raids of Kokonor brigands who in combination with Ordos brigands invaded and looted Chengfan and Liangchow. They repelled them, administering a severe blow (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 39). 175x 648

In 1612 the emperor ordered an honorific arch built to the meritorious Brigadier General Ch'i Teh, and sent the inscription to be chiseled on it: "Honorably favored by Heavenly Grace." The arch was built on the west street of the city of Hsining and still exists. Ch'i Teh is a descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i-Kung-ko-hsing-chi, who during the Yuan period fulfilled the duty of myriarch, with golden badge and purple tassel, in the region 90 li south of Hsining. The Ch'i t'u-ssu clan should have been well acquainted with the Tibetan tribes living south of Hsining. No wonder the Ch'i Teh T'u-ssu was called upon by minister of war Cheng Lo in 1591, together with Colonel Shih Chia, to induce the Tibetan tribes to surrender. His successful efforts must have been the reason for the imperial distinction (*Annals* of Hsining 10: 4*b*; 27: 28). 175x 703 211

In 1616 the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Ping-chung (descendant of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh) appointed at Yung Ch'ang, saw the Mongol Yin-ting-ssu-ts'ing arriving with 1,000 horses to besiege the city. He controlled only 300 men but fought for two days and nights, defending the city. He himself killed three Mongol brigands. When auxiliary troops arrived he himself immediately pursued the enemy and saved all the people and cattle captured by the Mongols. The grateful people of Yung-ch'ang erected in the city a stele in commemoration of his heroic behavior. The stele still exists. Commended by his superiors for his leadership and energy, he was ordered, in 1621, to move with his troops to Liaotung Province (north of Peking) to defend the region of the Pu River. When he arrived, Liao Yang was already captured. Ten thousand more soldiers were put under his command. He remained in Liao tung for two more years. Later he encountered at P'ing-yang the Manchu troops invading China. In a pitched battle he was wounded by two sword cuts and three arrow hits. He was helped on his horse by his soldiers but died on the way. On account of his meritorious achievements, the emperor bestowed upon him the title of "T'ai-tze-t'ai-pao" "Junior guardian of the heir apparent," and an imperial oration was granted at his funeral and an order given to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining with the inscription: "Served the country, manifested loyalty." The arch still exists. It was built in the large south street of the city (*Annals* of Hsining 10: 4*b*; 27: 21*a–b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*a–b*). 175x 648 [554 211] [211 703]

A very important date in the history of Kokonor, Tibet and lamaism is 1636. Ku-Shih-han, chieftain of 175x

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Then the governor notified the lamas about the confiscation of their territories and subjects, and informed them about the revocation of the titles of Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih granted to the most prominent among them by the Ming emperors, and an order was given to hand to the Chinese officials the diploma of the promotion granted to them by the emperor. 175x 648 [134]

Most of these titles had been granted to lamas who had induced tribes to submit, and to move into the depopulated Huangchung, especially in the first century and a half of the Ming. At that time these lamas belonged to the Red sect, were married, and lived among the tribes they had induced to submit, but not in monasteries. They had received personally large proprietaries from the emperor, with a document written in their name, and a title. This had been the origin of the Karwas and Nang so (Monguors II: 18, 19). The son of the lama succeeding to the father, inherited the property and the title and was considered to be a lama. This institution lasted until 1723–1724. The entire lama family during all these years had earned a wealthy living, free from taxes and corvees, and received some taxes from the tribesmen. The *Annals* of Hsining noting this fact, and the confiscation of the territories and subjects of the lamas, adds jubilantly, "and so in one day these unjust conditions, existing for centuries, were abolished" (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 22*b*). 175x 702

In the same year, for the very first time in history, officials were appointed by the Szechwan and Kansu provinces to fix the boundaries of both provinces in the Kokonor region, and to designate which among the Tibetan tribes should depend upon each of the provinces (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 13*a*). 175x 624

During the years 1733–1745 orders were repeatedly issued for the building of more graneries in the cities and most important strongholds all over the country, for the amount of grain formerly collected by the lamas and the Khoshot princes was now collected by the officials and had to be stored (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 23*b*, 25*a*). [344 251]

In 1745 the Hsining *Annals* were printed by Yang Yin-ch'u. The first *Annals*, only two small volumes, contained many errors which were amended. 175x 653

In 1759 there was famine in the prefecture of Chuang Lang. Grain was loaned to T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng to help his subjects. The next year also was one of bad crops. Again grain was loaned for distribution to each of the Monguor families of the t'u-ssu for which restitution was to be made after three years (*Annals* of Kansu 2: 29*b*).

The commanderies of Tatung and Kuei Te became subprefectures in 1761 with complete civil and military administrations (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 4, 11*b*, 14). In Pe-ta and Yung nan a brigadier general and a lieutenant colonel with strong garrisons had already been appointed in 1725, after the revolt of bLo-bzang tan-chin (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 71*a*). 175x

N 563 794 preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. [795] Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' [596] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture [241] goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable [438] role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never [233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays [464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese S [422] farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, S [592] sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly S [614] becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy S [792] exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [422] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

The Monguors:

N 563 Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and M 233 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, 241 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest 128 that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. [177] They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the N 563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as M 231 the second important economic resource. While sheep, cows, [554] mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 M 596 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally [603] oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy [421] authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

N 563 M 614 622 177 178 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

N *563 621 241 fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.

Within the household, the composition is similar to that of the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on and a higher frequency of joint-family occupancy. Should the family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

N *563 592 [595] N [768]

C. The Mongours

At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in Monguor social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

N *563 M 173 565

Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops depending on the size of the territory and the population of which he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Monguor social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol rule. Generally speaking, the Monguor commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Monguor clans and four general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

N *563 M 565 [701] M [614]

Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Monguor social organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.

N *563 M 614 554 M [428]

N *563 M 614 554 565 leadership after his father's death. It is noteworthy that by the beginning of the present century, the T'u-ssu was no longer living with his noble kinsmen, but was living in a separate and distinct family, each of which formed an independent economic unit. Therefore, some T'u-ssu were rich, others poor, and the status differentiation, that previously had been determined by wealth disappeared. Thereafter, noble families functioned economically in the same manner as their subject families. In each clan the nobles were subdivided into small units called "houses." Some clans have three houses, some four or five, some as many as thirteen. Each noble family recognizes the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called the Great House, the second is called the Second House, and so on.

The number of houses that had been established according to the number of sons of the "founding" ancestor has been retained as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify themselves, for example, by referring to what "house" they belong. Since Ming times, the T'u-ssu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of subject commoners. In former times each group of nobles collectively was the "possessor" of the subjects. Subjects and territory were assumed to have been assigned by the emperor to the clan as a whole. If a noble was at odds with his clan, he could either leave the clan, taking with him a proportionate number of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or he could found a new clan.

Collective ownership of subject commoners by consanguinial noble families is logically stronger in a nomadic economic structure than in an agricultural one. Memories of this concept, however, persist among nomads who have become farmers.

M [428] The rules of succession to the office of clan chief did not allow for competition. However, there are, in fact, elements of inheritance, of choice or selection, of the consent of the governed, and of appointment by the overlord. Any chief succeeds to office according to definite clan rules, namely, he must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestors." When a T'u-ssu dies, all heads of the clan's noble families together with the heads of prominent commoner families convene to choose a successor. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles, that should prove difficult to eliminate completely.

N *563 M 614 554 648 175 When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-sse, the headmen ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became instead Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were modified by their duty to the Chinese rulers. The institution of T'u-ssu or "local chief" was really one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal

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N *563 M 614 554 648 175 groups on the frontier of the Empire. The T'u-ssu thus had a double role, he functioned as a "native chief" and as a Chinese official.

The most important clan chiefs who were granted the title of T'u-ssu in Ming times were those of the Ch'i and Lu clans, who were descendants of the Imperial House of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan of the Shato Turks. From this time on the Monguours remained faithful defenders of the frontiers, first under the Ming dynasty and later under the Manchu dynasty. The Shato origin of the Li clan is corroborated by the Chinese Annals. Shato tribes are noted to have lived between Hsi-ning and Kan-chou as early as 939. The supposition that tribes of Turkish origin, bearing Turkish names, still live in the country is therefore not unreasonable.

N *563 M 614 175 648 177 During the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Chinese and Tibetan families enrolled in the seventeen Monguor and Shato clans, in addition to the original Mongol stock, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned. It is very likely that, especially in the period from 1368 to 1723, only stray Chinese families enrolled in Monguor clans. Later in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who joined Monguor clans. It must be said, however, that while the Monguors have absorbed or at least partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture is lower than that of the Chinese.

In addition to the Chinese, large numbers of Tibetans enrolled in Monguor clans. However, they have probably joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese. When Chinese M [565] or Tibetans enrolled in the Monguor clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors.

N *563 M 614 554 423 The T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan from the emperor. These territories were usually assigned, according to a military plan, as a buffer zone, at a time when the Monguors were still exclusively nomads. It may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories.

The distinctive mark of the commoner is bondage to his respective T'u-ssu. Commoners were subjects "granted" to a N *563 M 614 565 554 chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his command in time of war. The military importance of a T'u-ssu was therefore dependent on the number of his families of commoners. Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of slaves, as pointed out previously, the basic distinction between nobles and commoners still existed in recent times. The first duty of a subject was to never abandon his overlord. Ideally speaking, the T'u-ssu and their subjects were bound together for all time. The subjects could not leave their lord in order to pass

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N *563 into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punish-
M 614 ment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-
565 1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually de-
• 554 clined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.
[466] The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they
M 614 marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealo-
217 gies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed,
565 because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and
N *563 began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and
M 174 the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agri-
565 culture, noble families, like commoner families, became increas-
M [554] ingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the
M 621 village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large
622 or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the
565 pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patri-local family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-
M 596 grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four gener-
[421] ation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority
[561] over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation.
[595] Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of
M [428] chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the com-
M [182] munity property. The breakdown of the extended family usually takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his
[768] surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son.
[428] More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

N *563 586 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

M 594 596 A. The Family Organization

Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patrilineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed [611] [591] of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The N *563 extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family. M [556] In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines, and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

M [361] The extended family has a common courtyard, around which the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus, M [182] the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its [252] nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are M well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by [342] the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. M After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended [264] [342] family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

The family head is the religious chief, family administrator N and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each *563 spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, M he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are 592 his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a • 554 family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the [169] village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

N *563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren.
M 592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually
• 554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N *563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional
M part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the
581 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon-
562 gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an-
[769] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered
[171] a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their live-
stock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently
*563 the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con-
M siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen
584 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage
583 age for boys is between 14-16.
582 Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab-
N solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is
*563 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob-
M served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage
614 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the
582 weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re-
565 garded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it
has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy
rules need not be observed as strictly.

N Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but
*563 does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a
M sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different
582 clan.

M A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family,
[587] usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband.
However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance
and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she
wants.

N Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from
*563 the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage
M to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan,
588 but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patri-
lineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as
members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the
belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has
relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be
"married" if she becomes pregnant.

N The relationship between two families connected by marriage
*563 is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being
M part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence
604

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N *563 M 769 614 ginning of April according to the lunar calendar, in a festival similar to the Chinese Ch'ing-ming. On this occasion the clan assembles to venerate its ancestors, enjoy a great feast and reunion, and discuss matters of concern to the clan.

On the day of the assembly, the T'u-ssu, the chiefs and elders of the villages and all the family heads go to the graveyard immediately after breakfast, followed by all the other members of the clan. At the graveyard, offerings are made and rites are performed. Then food for the offerings is divided among the families, the oldest generations receiving their portions first.

M [182] [767] This annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of the Mongour clan. One of the family heads, usually of the nobility, is appointed to care for the graveyard during the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions and offerings, and the making of repairs. An assistant is assigned to help him with details.

b. Respect for elders and family heads

N *563 M 554 888 The Mongours once lived without chiefs, but never without village elders. Traditionally, the whole power of the clan was vested in the elders, who had the authority to appoint and dismiss chiefs. The village elders still take the most important part in local administration. Elders need not be rich or from noble stock, but they are men of good reputation from the more outstanding families.

N *563 M 554 592 Heads of families are also honored. At public meetings, all are allowed to express their views and defend their rights, but final decisions are made only after the heads of families have spoken.

c. Adultery

N *563 M 684 Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If caught, the guilty pair is flogged, the woman on her bare back, the man on bare buttocks and thighs, up to a hundred stripes. The man must confront the husband and make apologies, and present him with a sheep or a pig. A trial is held and fingerprints are taken. Then the pair is led through the village with drums beating while they make public confession of their sin, and they must secure an official statement of pardon.

d. Moral and legal concepts

N *563 M 183 M [593] [587] [421] Both moral and legal concepts of the Mongours seem to be based upon customs, tradition and what the community accepts as just. Some typical social values and concepts are: Wrongs must be righted and injustices corrected. Parents have authority over their children, and husbands over their wives. A widow has the right to remarry or to dispose of herself. Private property must be protected. No one has the right to disturb the peace of the community.

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N *563 of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

M 576 The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank. [264] [603] [554]

The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little." [561]

M [574] It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

N *563 i. Celebrations and festivals

Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

M 614 796 N *563 M 614 527 273

N *563 Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is particularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the

M 562 [558] [852] [782] [852]

/The Monguors/

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N *563 M 231 [777] The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

M [886] [775]

N *563 M 515 [784] Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

5. Occupations

N *563 M 24 233 433 The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

N *563 M 24 [777] [432] The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

N *563 M 231 • 554 [556] [184] Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

N *563 M 233 463 Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society

624 noble or a group of nobles did not agree with the chief
565 of the clan, they were free to take those commoners who were directly subject to them and to join another clan or found a new clan. The Monguors do not remember that groups of nobles have ever left one clan to join another. The way in which, in the Li clan, a noble who did not agree to the appointment of his nephew as T'u-ssu was given 100 families and allowed to become a small independent T'u-ssu himself, has already been described. This case occurred, however, during the time of troubles when the Ming dynasty fell and the Manchu dynasty was set up. It may, therefore, be interpreted, perhaps, not as a real secession from the clan but rather as a compromise, in a time of uncertainty, to avoid dissension within the clan. Since the Monguor clans are small, and since the nobles do not have commoners who are their own direct subjects, secession from the clan is in fact practically impossible. A single family of nobles, not being able to take a following of commoners with it, would have no bargaining power in attempting to join another clan and could in fact join only if willing to accept commoner status instead of noble status. Thus it can be said that the device of granting to Houses only the right to collect taxes from certain villages, and not the direct "ownership" of the villages, has served to bind the Monguor nobles to their clan and to their territory.

WANING INFLUENCE OF NOBLES

178 The facts that have here been recited seem to justify
565 the general inference that the transition from a nomadic economy to an agricultural economy resulted in undermining the influence and power formerly wielded by the
624 nobles as a group. On the one hand, all forms of noble power have tended to become more nearly monopolized by the T'u-ssu; on the other hand increasing self-government by the villages and participation by commoners in both civil and military administration has tended to make the power of the T'u-ssu less absolute and more nominal. Farming led to the grouping of the commoners in villages and, therefore, inevitably to new forms of administration and control. Gradually, as it became customary to give village appointments to commoners who were energetic and able instead of to idle nobles who were content to live on their revenues, the nobles were squeezed out. Since the power to appoint chiefs and elders and military commanders remained with the T'u-ssu, his nominal power was increased but since this meant that the actual collection of revenue in the villages and the actual exercise of authority were in the hands of commoners, their real power increased.

[556] This development was probably favored on the one hand by the weakening cohesion of the nobles through their division into Houses, and on the other hand by the increasingly individualistic farming economy, which increased the local respect for families which were of non-noble origin but had become wealthy and influential.

[P. 68a]

[44 cont.]

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10. [Foreign text p. 49.] For the water offering, cf. the chapter, "The Lama-reception, Note 3.

The threads are in the well-known five sacred colors. The material does not matter. The best, naturally, are silk threads. Wealthy [45] people throw a small bundle of each [556] color into the fire every time; poor people, on the other hand, merely cut off a little piece from each string, so that they will last a long time.

782 The conch comes from the east, from China or Tibet. It is said that none are found in the Koko Nor. Hence, not 534 every family has a conch. It is therefore not absolutely neces- [439] sary for one to be blown at the offering (7).

7. [Foreign text pp. 48-49.] The conch is the Triton horn, the Triton spiral. To the Tujen it is a symbol of purity and of the sublime. Accordingly, the word dõn is also used adjectively for: pure, white, sublime, sacred. One could translate it simply as "conchlike." It is found in this sense especially commonly in songs. In order to blow it, one pierces the pointed end and edges it usually with metal; this serves as the mouthpiece. Colorful bands often hang at the other end, the horn; cf. the illustration. In spite of its dull tone, the conch resounds very far.

It is self-evident that the conch is not native to that region. The Tujen name is a phonetic imitation of the Tibetan dun; usually the Tibetans further add dkar, "white." In Mongolic this conch is called labai (Unkrig; Kov. 1958), which in turn is related to the Chinese la-pa,

[636 cont.]

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[766]

[Note on foreign text pp. 652-653 cont.] yellow shoulder-cloth, on the other hand, which a dead person with age-consecration wears, must be burned with the corpse, just like the sash that he received at that time.

this must be done while the corpse is still flexible. Once it is rigid, it maintains its position virtually unchanged.

The death-box. The death-box is made either long be-
[171] fore death or not until death has taken place, as among the Chinese where the coffin is sometimes ready decades before-
[735] hand. Only poor people do not make the death-box until after the death. The box is always made of wood, but it does not matter what kind of wood it is made of; after all, it is not buried, as is the coffin among the Chinese, but is burned with the dead person. The box has the height of a litter or sedan chair; the dead person fits exactly into it. The bottom of the box extends into four carrying beams, [637] similar to a
[532] flat litter. The box [illustration appears here], however is not
[171] a simple wooden chest, but represents a small temple with roof and doors and often very rich carving, similar to death-box of the Chinese bonze (6). Unlike the latter, however, it has a sun

6. [Foreign text p. 653.] in the case of the coffin of the Taoshih the sun-moon attachment, the movable back wall, and the carrying pole are lacking. The corpse is usually put inside through the front door or from above, because the roof piece is removable.

and moon in the center of the roof, similar to the tip of a mani-pole; this is generally regarded as necessary. The box
[556] is painted and decorated according to the wealth, piety, and
[322] affection of the relatives.

There are no definite ritual prescriptions for the prep-
[465] aration of the box. The carpenter receives the usual fee for

[640]

764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
782 large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
792 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
465 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
[272] temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
[262] own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it. In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
[788] temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
[556] prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
[432] Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
602 Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives.

[177]

13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

[846 cont.]

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[782]

2. [Foreign text p. 847.] There are similar spirit-releasings in many variations both among the Tujen and among the Chinese. The basic feature is the same everywhere: one releases the demon with many gifts so that it will not return. The ceremonial driving away of the mBarma demon in Kumbum is nothing other than such a releasing, only with a more complicated ritual and with the expenditure of enormous sums of money. The demon is represented there by his mother's brother, a selected man, while his image is burned together with the thread (mdos) towers. In the neighboring Huchu valley, for instance, in Kanchiapu, he is represented by the dough image and then is beaten to pieces by the children and eaten; in Tsungchai he is conjured into a kind of "town fortress" (tu-ch'eng) and this is burned; farther up in Kao-ch'iang-p'u he is put, with his belongings, on a little boat and allowed to float away.

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[776]
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Interpretation: The demon who disturbs the compound must be led away with all the gifts and conveniences imaginable so that he will not think back on his old location. The prayers of the lama and also the torma depend upon the demon. Regardless of whether it is a great or little exorcism, the effect is the same. Only the wealthy can afford large animals, and usually today it is only the lamic monasteries that undertake such an expensive ceremony.

old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Each claimed to be 754
the proprietor of a small mountain. The Living Buddha lost his suit and the limping Tjaar tseen became the most celebrated man in the country. The Buddha invited three black shamans to bewitch the limping Tjaar tseen, and accused him again. He lost the second lawsuit also. Raging, the Buddha invited three black shamans to cast more efficacious spells. The chief of the village did not care any more, and the villagers graze their herds on the mountain to the present day. This fact is interesting for us because a Living Buddha, on two occasions, invited black shamans.

Hu, a rich Monguor, compelled a poor Monguor to [583]
sell to him his beautiful and willing young wife. The poor Monguor, using his last resource, invited a black shaman to bewitch his wife. The black shaman prepared skulls of a dog and of a fox, and a horn of a black goat. Inside each he enclosed three slips of paper on which he had designed cabalistic signs with dog blood around the name of the wife. The three items were buried at night under the entrance door of the courtyard of Hu, with the mouth of the skulls facing his living room. The young wife became sick. Shamans were invited to discover the cause of the illness and to neutralize the evil influences, but to no avail. The wife died and the shaman, it was said, was powerless against a punishment of Heaven and the spirits. But there was no peace in the courtyard; at night, noises disturbed the rest. Black shamans were invited for three days and they found the skulls. The poor man was accused before the T'u-ssu, but the T'u-ssu did not pay any attention because the behavior of the rich Monguor was supposed to have been unjust. It is the usual trick of the black shamans to bury magical things under the lintels of doors or in cemeteries.

In countries where there are no newspapers, such 203
tales are spread like prairie fires, by peddlers, and 754
commented on and believed, especially when outstanding persons are involved. They create the trend of mind of the people and make them fear so much the black shamans living south of the Hsining River, who are said to use beads made from human bones, to blow a trumpet made from the bone of a young woman who committed suicide, to wear a girdle made from the skin of such a woman, to braid into the enormous pigtail, coiled around the head, the hair of such a woman, and to use drums made from skulls of young girls. The most terrifying tales are told about them and they are believed by the people.

RITES CONCERNING THE GUARDIAN SPIRITS OF THE WEALTH OF THE FAMILY

According to the Monguors, persons who commit 777 675 556
injustices are pursued by the guardian spirit of the wealth of the victim of the injustice, who causes them

[p. 130(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to suffer from all kinds of mischief and misfortune.[11] 777 Persons guilty of injustices have the problem of finding 685 a means of appeasing that spirit and of remaining in 556 possession of the stolen wealth by faking restitution. Lamas of both sects are conversant with the practice. Lamas of the Yellow Sect perform the rite for those of the Red Sect, and *vice versa;* but never for a lama of the same sect.

Five lamas enact the rite, which lasts for seven days. 792 The first day, helped by a carpenter, they build a 685 rudimentary sedan chair with thin lathes, and paste on 782 it plenty of colored paper. Four flags are set up, one 556 on each of the four corners. In the sedan chair are deposited five small paper bags, each containing a handful of five kinds of grain, five kinds of thread of the five sacred colors, some packets of wool, some rolls, white and red sugar, raisins, dried apricots, some meat and some new garments of the very cheapest kind. The sedan chair is placed in the center of the living room. In front of it, in the courtyard, an enormous bull head made of paper and having two terrifying horns painted red is put in a large caldron. A lamp is lit before the caldron. A piece of black cloth about two feet wide is stretched in a square around the caldron and sedan chair and is supposed to represent the wall of a city. An opening is left where the cloth meets and is called the city gate. Outside the city walls are planted painted spears and swords, one next to the other. In front of the city gate a stake is planted on which cabalistic designs are written with red ink. The stake is supposed to be the seat of the spirit who is the avenger of injustices.

The lamas, twice every day, sit in front of the stake, ringing bells, rattling drums, manipulating the ritual daggers, and reciting texts. Absorbed in meditation, they stare for a long time at the stake. Finally, they start imploring the spirit not to release its avenging bolts, inviting it to take a look at the magnificent sedan chair upholstered with satin and brocade and adorned

[11] The notion of a guardian spirit of the family wealth among the Mongols seems to be general and old. "This housegod was commonly called, 'the very old grandmother.'" Kovalevski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, 215*b*, Kazan, 1844, gives a description of this deity which accords well with that of Yüan times: "gardien de la maison, de la famille et tous les biens. Chez les shamans on le fait des peaux de moutons et de différents torchons de toile." See also Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *op. cit.*, 511. According to Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 174, the fear of a spirit avenging injustices caused to families is familiar to the Tibetans too. 'The old Bön religion in Tibet honored a protector-spirit of the wealth of the individual, called *Nor-Lha*. Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Altaischen Völker*, 276, 1938. Many Turkish tribes believe each man has a special protector spirit, from the time of his birth, who protects him and his cattle. In the tents is encountered an image of this spirit and daily an offering is made for it. J. F. Rock, The Na-khi naga cult and related ceremonies, *Serie Orientale*, Roma, IV, Part I, 1952, The Naga spirits guard grains and riches. There are Naga spirits of cultivated fields, of villages, of the ground upon which houses are built, etc.

[p. 130(B)]

with silk flags, to look at the hundreds of measures of 772
grain put into the chair, the hundreds of pounds of 685
sugar and raisins, the hundreds of rich garments, and 782
the herd of sheep which follows the chair (for the few 556
pieces of meat are called a "herd of sheep"), and so on, for the other items. They implore it to look at the unusual prodigality of the customer, who is a fervent adherent of the faith. After the parody is played, the lamas have a good time visiting the neighbors. On the seventh day, at night, all the neighbors help escort the troublesome spirit outside the village, forming an imposing cortege with banners flying and drums, horns, and some rifles, and carrying the sedan chair, the caldron and bull head, the spears and swords. The lamas blow the trumpets made from a human femur. The bull head, spears, and swords are buried in a deep hole; a big fire is lit and the pit is filled, at full speed, flush with the ground. The stake is thrust into it; the whole group howls and curses the avenger, rifles are fired, trumpets blown, and the lamas return. The sedan chair is emptied by the neighbors. Restitution is thus made, the avenging spirit is appeased and thrust into the hole, and the thief remains possessor of his thievery.

A rich man, Lo san lao, who lived in Ha-la-chih 425
Valley, had succeeded in bringing to his home the fine 782
young lady of the poor Monguor Li sse of Naring 789
Valley. Calamities then troubled his family, and he invited Yellow lamas to perform the rite. They placed in the sedan chair a fine paper lady. The rite of the caldron and bull head was carried out, and the avenging spirit was thrust into the hole. Restitution was thus made by means of a paper lady, but he remained the possessor of the real one.

After many years this rite as performed by Red [792]
lamas, invited by the famous Sumpa Hutukhtu in order to compensate for the injustices perpetrated by his intendants, is still talked about in the country. The splendid sedan chair was on this occasion lavishly filled with precious items. A beautiful horse which followed the cortege was abandoned for the neighbors. After the bull head had been buried and the avenging spirit thrust into the hole, hundreds of people had tried to capture the horse.

The claims of justice are deeply embedded in the 181
consciousness of the people, and the necessity of restitution for injustices is always advocated by the lamas, although the magical rite of restitution seems to be a mockery of its real intent. Justice seems to rank first among the virtues.

In connection with this peculiar mentality concerning 776
the spirit who is the avenger of injustices is to be noted 425
the cult of the Sturlong spirit. This spirit is supposed to guard the wealth of the family with ruthless severity. It does not allow anything of value belonging to the family which honors it to be taken away. It is honored as a family deity, mostly among the Monguors of the

N
*563 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes
586 goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

M
594 A. The Family Organization
596 Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patri-
[611] lineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed
[591] of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The
N extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-
*563 grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family.
M In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines,
[556] and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

M The extended family has a common courtyard, around which
[361] the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus,
M the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its
[182] nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook
[252] its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by
M the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended
[342] family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended
M family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.
[264]
[342]

The family head is the religious chief, family administrator
N and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each
*563 spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are
M his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a
592 family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the
554 village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and
[769] responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

/The Monguors/

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

565 Conversely, the nobles were weakened by the fact that
178 their unearned revenue decreased generation by generation, through inheritance and subdivision, so that more
558 and more, if a noble family were locally wealthy and
621 respected, it was not because of its share of taxes but because this particular family was able to produce and conserve wealth in the same manner as the leading commoner families. The ties of such a family with the rest of the nobility were weakened, and its ties with the local village community and its interests were strengthened.

NOBLES AND COMMONERS

565 We may summarize this aspect of the social history of
178 the Monguors by saying that when they first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, the social distance between commoners and nobles must have been very great. With settled life and the increasing domination of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their own ability to manage their own farms, and local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability and not primarily by class. Nobles could, in the conventional form of sale, "pass" their fields to commoners, and commoners to nobles. They bought cattle and grain from each other and sold them to each other. Nobles and commoners, if they had the money, joined together to invest in trade. Apart
565 from the important discrimination in favor of nobles in
178 immunity from taxes and corvées, and immunity from being flogged in court, the principal surviving distinc-
576 tions of the aristocracy are such things as their higher rank at important ceremonies, social precedence at dinners, marriages, funerals, and festivities (even though the noble were a poor man), the custom of calling the nobles "ta jen" (great man), and finally the old custom that when a commoner meets a noble on the road, he must dismount, remove his hat, and unroll his pigtail.

In my own experience, I know of a case of an old man named Chao, of Peiyahua, who, refusing to dismount in this manner, was brought before the T'u-ssu, made to apologize, and required to make an offering of a sheep with red paper pasted on its horns and a piece of red cotton cloth bound on its back, and to present incense and oil to the ancestral temple. It is to the disadvantage, not the advantage, of the nobles as a class that many of them show an overbearing pride. Such men are most conspicuous when, though known to be addicted to opium and gambling, they try to uphold their traditional "rights" by demanding deference from commoners.

THE CLAN ASSEMBLY

175 In the year 1913 the Monguors were entering on a period of trouble and decline. The T'u-ssu institution was threatened. Ever since the beginning of the Chinese Republic in 1911 there had been rumors that the Chinese officials would abolish the institution. The dowager who

/The Monguors/

N *563 of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

M 576 The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank. [264] [603] [554]

The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little." [561]

M [574] It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

N *563 i. Celebrations and festivals

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M 614 M 527 M 273

N *563 Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is particularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the

M 562 [558] [852] [782] [852]

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T'ou-jen widow with her two daughters, in T'ou-jen dress.

Note the hair style. There are nine kinds of them. Li Kin-wang, ancestor of the Li clan had nine wives and each of them had her special hair style; from that the nine T'ou-jen hair styles still seen today!

[638 cont.]

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24. [Foreign text p. 657.] A custom that is no longer practiced among the Tujen was the eating of oil-dishes on the eve of the cremation, bǎn-sǎń tsinani, that is, one cooks oil-dishes. The daughters and their girls (nieces) brought a measure of wheat flour and a jug of oil. Both would be roasted together in a kettle after the pai-ta and handed around. It was kneaded into dumplings like tsamba. -- Similar old Tujen customs have now been forgotten, according to the informant. The extensive customs of the Chinese are being adopted more and more, and in the foreseeable future the cremation of the dead will have yielded to the Chinese funeral celebration.

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Only after the corpse is in the box do the other relatives come, and the same rite is repeated. These are only the relatives on the father's side, however. The other acquaintances and friends also make an appearance with them. The relatives on the mother's side come only on the day before the cremation, regardless of whether the dead person is a man or a woman.

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With regard to the offerings for the dead, one must always distinguish whether a person of an older, a contemporary, or a younger generation is involved. The older generation never makes an offering to the younger, for example, the father never to the son. The man does make an offering to his wife, however, and vice versa. The man also makes an offering to his older sisters-in-law.

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Of the offering of 12 loaves of bread that each one brings, he gets two back; ten are used in the house of mourning and are eaten by the relatives or guests. The loaves that are returned are called "returned plate."

[646 cont.]
000 each and two ells of cloth.

765 At the next grave festival, which usually falls in the third
[769] lunar month, all the relatives gather at the kin-group cemetery for the offering to the dead; at that time the bone-chest is also transferred to it. A number of men go to the old burial spot at the place of cremation, dig up the chest, and bring [647] it to the cemetery without any ceremony. There they dig a small
[561] hole and put the chest in it. This is done only by men who are
[593] of the same generation as the dead person or of a lower generation. A father, for instance, would never bury his son, nor the uncle his nephew, etc.

765 As soon as the pit has been filled, the offering for the
769 dead takes place; the relatives burn paper and little sticks of incense, set down loaves of bread, meat, etc., pour out tea,
[782] liquor, and soup, and hold a little meal at the grave. Then everyone goes home. -- The transfer of the bones, however, need not be done at the next grave festival; sometimes one waits two or three years. The bones may not be interred, however, outside the period of the grave festival (21).

[192] 21. [Foreign text pp. 656-657.]
The Tujen word sẽn-miǹ is evi-
[177] dently merely a phonetic imitation of the Chinese ch'ing-ming. The informant said that the Tujen did not know about the grave festival in olden times, but that they have copied it from the Chinese, which indeed is confirmed by the precisely identical rites and the asserted former exposure of the corpse. -- The postponement [657] of a final interment of the bones until this feast, however, remains unexplained, especially since the Chinese usually bury their dead immediately in the cemetery. The
[777] informant observed in this connection that the Chinese inter their dead on

/The Monguors/

N *563 into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punish-
M 614 ment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-
565 1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually de-
554 clined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.
[466] The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the
M 614 T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they
217 marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealo-
565 gies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

N *563 When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and
M 174 began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was
565 probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local
M [554] prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the
M 621 village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large
622 or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the
565 pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patri-
M 596 local family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-
[421] grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four gener-
[561] ation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority
[595] over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of
M [428] chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually
M [182] takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his
[768] surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son.
[428] More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

N *563 of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

M 576 The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank. [264] [603] [554]

The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. [561] Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little."

M [574] It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

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618 eldest son chosen and appointed. In one such case, in
578 the clan of the Na T'u-ssu, four T'u-ssu of other clans
611 were invited in to arbitrate, and after discussions which lasted many days the son of a rich man, the third brother of the T'u-ssu who had just died, was agreed on and appointed by the clan.

175 According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 24, p. 8) the last T'u-ssu of the Ming period in the clan of Li, of the
618 line founded by Li Nan-ko, was a man named Li Hua-
578 lung, who died without issue. Li T'ien-yu, the first
611 cousin of Li Hua-lung who had just died, belonging to the same generation in order of descent from the clan ancestor, and of the same house, laid claim to the succession. In order to put an end to trouble within the family, one hundred families of commoners out of the four thousand belonging to the T'u-ssu were given to the contending claimant Li Hua-nao, and consenting to a petition from the nobles who were his relatives in the clan, the Manchu Emperor bestowed on him the title of T'u-ssu. Thus Li Hua-nao became the "founding ancestor" of a new clan, with one hundred families of commoners as subjects.

618 Thus while the historical material seems to show that in most cases the choice and appointment of a new chief of the clan are a mere formality, there are also instances that seem to prove that the rule of succession is not always clear-cut, especially when the T'u-ssu dies
[562] without male issue. In any case, a daughter never suc-
[428] ceeds because the clans are built on a strictly patrilineal family system with male chieftaincy. In this respect, as will be seen below in the chapter dealing with family organization, the rules of ordinary family succession tally with those that govern the succession of the chief of the clan, and the head of the family presides over religious cult practices within the family as the chief presides within the clan.

In case the succeeding son is still a minor, however, his mother is appointed regent by the sovereign state, formerly the Empire and later the Republic. This custom seems to prove that the senior son, even if still a minor, has a specific claim to succeed his father.

There is a discrepancy between the Monguor rule of succession as far as it can be checked by historical documents and an ancient Mongol custom that prevailed up to the time of Chingis Khan, under which the eldest son received his portion of the inheritance while his parents were still living and moved away to live as the head of his own family; the next son, in due course, similarly left the parental camp, and finally the youngest son was left to care for his parents in their old age and to receive the residual inheritance. Under this custom, the original tent, camp, and herds remained with the youngest son, while the most distant related camp was that of his eldest brother, who had moved away first and farthest. Barthold, commenting on this custom, notes that Chingis Khan, during his lifetime, endowed his sons and other relations with appanages, and that Juchi,

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581 a well-to-do family needing more work done in the
565 household arranges for a son who is still a child to marry a grown-up girl. It is not surprising that such marriages are frequently followed by the elopement of the poor bride with a lover of her own choosing. The
583 case corresponding to that of the bride brought into the family for the sake of her working power is that of the
587 poor young man who goes to work in a family not his own, perhaps for years, in order to earn a bride from that family. To work for a bride in this manner is to lose a certain amount of status socially, since it requires that the young man live in a household where all the male members of the family have status and rights, and he alone is an outsider. A widow usually becomes the second wife of one of her husband's brothers if the family is still living united, but not if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately. More and more, in the decline of the old Monguor society, it has become usual for the widow to make her own choice of a second husband. If, instead of going to one of her husband's brothers, she marries a man of her own choice, it is customary for her new husband to bring her home secretly and at night, for fear that she may be kidnapped on the road by some other aspiring lover—a practice that seems to indicate that an unprotected widow is, or was in the past, "fair game."

583 Two exceptional kinds of marriage I have dealt with in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen.*
588 These are the "marriage to the pole," when a girl remains in the family in which she was born, but takes lovers and bears children, who instead of having the clan name of their father or fathers inherit the clan name of their mother's brothers and are treated as if they belonged to the patrilineal clan; and the "marriage to the girdle" when a girl, unmarried and living in her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves her his girdle to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.[3] Both of these customs appear to have been borrowed by the Monguors from the Tibetans.

The price paid for the bride is the subject of considerable negotiations between the families concerned, conducted by a go-between. It is usual for a girl to be a couple of years older than her husband, and the usual age for marriage is when the boy is fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen. Divorce and repudiation by the husband are rather rare.[4]

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

562 The status of the wife is inferior to that of the hus-
581 band, as is inevitable in a society in which social rights and family property are regarded as belonging primarily

[3] See above, p. 78, n. 5.

[4] Here only a few data are given about marriage customs, since I have already published an extensive monograph on this subject; see *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kansou.*

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562 581 to the male side of the family. When a girl marries, her family is regarded, not as "acquiring" relations-in-law, but as "losing" the girl; hence the fundamental attitude that the husband's family is "buying" the girl and her own family "selling" her. Since by this transfer her labor and productive power are lost to the family in which she was born, the family, in arranging the match, attempts to recover the capital value of the girl and this makes it impossible to consider her wishes in making the marriage. The interests of the family come first. The same considerations apply both to the inheritance of a widow by one of her husband's brothers, and the comparable custom, known to have been observed in the ancient Mongol society from which the Monguors are descended, under which a son inherited the wives of his father, except for his own mother. Both customs can clearly be referred to the view that these women, having been acquired at the expense of the family or clan, must be retained within the family. To the Chinese the idea that a son should inherit his father's secondary wives is abhorrent, and therefore the disappearance of this custom probably began when the Monguors submitted to the Ming dynasty, although the dying out of the custom must also have been encouraged by the decrease of polygamy for reasons that have been described above.

Wives accept their inferior status without resentment. Their individual outlook is conditioned by the social atmosphere in which they have been brought up. When they were children, they realized that women were more proud of bearing sons than daughters. They knew that women who had no sons felt inferior. When they were big enough to work, they lived, worked, and ate in the kitchen with the daughters-in-law, while the male members of their family ate in the main room. Even if an uncle or brother took his meal in the kitchen, he had to be served respectfully by the womenfolk. Girls grew up accustomed to the rule that they could eat only after the men had finished. Consequently, a Monguor girl does not expect to find anything different in the family into which she marries.

Inferior status does not mean that a wife can be considered a slave. On this subject I cannot agree with the many writers who have maintained that among the pastoral nomadic societies of Asia the status of a wife is essentially that of a slave, and that the slave status derives from an anciently universal practice of marriage by capture. We know from history—for example, from the *Secret History of the Mongols*—that wives were captured. We know also that in the marriage customs of the pastoral Mongols of today there are ceremonies or practices that suggest a tradition of marriage by capture. We know also that the capture of women was one of the causes of the chronic warfare among the Mongols of old; but all of this does not prove that capture was the sole and universal method of acquiring wives. The

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562 chronic warfare among the ancient Mongols and Turks required alliances as well as feuds.

581 Hence the institution, known to be very early, of "pairs" of clans, each regularly taking its wives from the other in a sort of marriage alliance.[5] An association of this kind was a natural basis for alliance in war, since each clan would not only be aiding an ally but contributing to the security of its own daughters.[6]

512 181 Among pastoral nomads the traditional life of the man, especially the married man, is one of long periods of idleness, spent largely in gossip and visiting, alternating with short periods of intense activity—in former times, defensive and offensive warfare, and in modern times the periods of migration, especially spring and autumn migration, and the periods spent by a man when he is summoned for obligatory service under the clan or tribal chief. The Monguors, as descendants of nomads, have inherited this tradition. The Monguor men, however, because of the change to an agricultural economy, cannot be quite as lazy as pastoral nomads. Farming cannot be profitable unless the men do their share of the work; but in spite of the example of patient toil set them by their Chinese neighbors, the Monguor men are never as industrious as the Chinese.

512 462 In the home, the kitchen and all things concerning food, the preparation of meals and cleaning up after meals are women's work. Women also collect the fuel, consisting chiefly of the droppings of cows, horses, and sheep, which after being collected have to be dried in the sun until they are combustible. In the early morning when the cocks are still crowing to announce the coming day the wives start working while their husbands go on sleeping. First the wife must go to the well with a wooden cask on her back to fetch water. Then she boils water in the iron cauldron, set in the hearth, to make tea. While she is making the tea she carries hot water to her husband for washing. While the husband is drinking his early morning tea the wife dresses and washes the children, prepares breakfast and carries a

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[5] Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols,* as cited, 58. "Les Mongols des XIe–XIIIe siècles devaient parfois aller chercher très loin leurs femmes, et s'accorder avec un clan éloigné. En effect, . . . les pâturages étaient distribuées de telle manière chez les anciens Mongols, que souvent on ne recontrait aux alentours aucun répresentant d'un clan étranger. . . . Ceci explique, les réminiscences anciennes aidant, la fréquence des rapts; les femmes etaient enlevées de force chaque fois que l'occasion favorable s'en présentait.

"On relève fréquemment l'usage pour un clan de choisir ses promises dans un autre clan, mais toujours le même. Les membres de ces clans s'accordent mutuellement le titre d' 'allié,' de parent par alliance, '*quda.*' Parfois l'échange des jeunes filles à marier donne lieu à des traités en règle entre clans." (Note that side by side with the word *quda* there is the word which in modern Mongol is *hadam* and in Monguor *gadim*—see the Monguor relationship terms as given above—which expresses "relationship with a woman married into my clan, or a man who has married a woman from my clan."—O. L.)

[6] It is possible that this kind of association also helps to account for the importance of the maternal uncle, as "the man who has interest in both clans."—O. L.

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603 coming serious. At the same time, a grandmother is a
462 woman who by age and rank is entitled to be a little
592 cranky and to have her peculiar ways. If she cannot keep
606 the peace and maintain order among the daughters-in-law, she appeals to the grandfather, who orders the husband of the woman who is considered at fault to tackle the problem by admonishing his wife or if necessary by beating her.

Generally speaking, however, such little incidents within the family do not turn out to be serious; a daughter-in-law is expected to be demure and obedient, to hold her tongue and not to display jealousy, but at the same time it is considered only human to allow her to display a little bit of "temperament" from time to time.
562 In spite of the fact that Monguor women do very heavy work, they are usually happy and contented and it is the normal thing for husband and wife, even though they did not make their own marriage, to have real respect and love for each other. In their own little family within the extended family husband and wife usually talk everything over together, giving the wife the feeling that she has a responsible part in their joint concerns; while, as for the husband, it is easy for him to be fond of a wife who is so obedient and works so hard.

In public, Monguor women retain enough of the old nomad tradition to be much more free, especially in their attitudes to and conversations with men, than Chinese women. While they are bound by strict rules of etiquette and are likely to be rebuked by their elders, especially at home, if they infringe these rules, they are not in public at a loss how to behave when they encounter a man; they feel perfectly free to talk with him and they do not blush or look in the other direction, as old-fashioned Chinese women used to do. They enjoy going to the big public festivals at the lamaseries, and to the annual assembly of the clan; they like to sit on the grass in mixed groups, men and women together, talking, laughing, singing, watching dances, and making merry. A woman is not embarrassed to sing a song in public; and when she is dressed in her best clothes she likes to stroll, preening herself, through the crowd, displaying her costume and her magnificent headdress. Nor are women afraid to do their own shopping; at the fairs they confidently examine the wares for sale and hold their own in bargaining over prices. In the country Monguors do not consider it shocking to see a man riding to his fields with his wife riding pillion behind him; and during the long and tedious work of weeding man and wife both like to sing in the open air.

It is perhaps worth making a few brief comparisons between the status of men and women in the Monguor society and in the greater Mongol society from which the Monguors derive. In the thirteenth century William of Rubruck reported of the Mongols that:

> It is the duty of the women to drive the carts, get the dwellings on and off them, milk the cows, make butter and

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562 *gruit*[7] and to dress and sew skins, which they do with a thread made of tendons. They divide the tendons into fine shreds, and then twist them into one long thread. They also sew the boots, the socks, and the clothing. . . . They also make the felt and cover the houses.

The men make bows and arrows, manufacture stirrups and bits, make saddles, do the carpentering on [the framework of] their dwellings and the carts, they take care of the horses, milk the mares, churn the *cosmos* or mares' milk, make the skins in which it is put; they also look after the camels and load them. Both sexes look after the sheep and the goats, sometimes the men, other times the women, milking them.[8]

Marco Polo, later in the thirteenth century, wrote:

And I tell you that the Tartar ladies trade, buy and sell and do all the work that is needed for their lords and family and for themselves.[9]

462 These comparisons are enough to show that the Monguors, both men and women, in spite of the change to agriculture, continue to divide their specialized work much as they did when they were still nomads. The men repair houses, saddles and harness for horses, mules, and donkeys; make the tools used for farming, and tan skins. In their leisure time men spin thread and twist cords and ropes. Women never kill sheep, pigs, or chickens; butchering and killing are done only by men. The fact that men do rather less work in the fields than the women has already been mentioned.

LEGENDS OF THE PAST

562 Other characteristics that Monguor women inherit from the nomad past are the ability to make decisions and take responsibility and the courage, in time of need, to fight as boldly as men. In the late twelfth century when Yesugei Bagatur, the father of Chingis Khan, was poisoned by some of his enemies, most of his followers

[7] *Gruit* is Rubruck's rendering of the Mongol word *hurud*, from which comes the Russian word *krut*.—O. L.

[8] *The journey of William of Rubruck to the eastern parts of the world*, 1253–55, with two accounts of the earlier journey of John of Pian de Carpine, translated and edited by W. W. Rockhill, 75–76, London, 1890. Rockhill footnotes with cross-references to Pian de Carpine. The word *cosmos* is, of course, the well known word *kumys*, which is Turkish rather than Mongol. See also Lama Galsan-Gomboev, *O drevnikh mongol'skikh obychayakh i sueveriyakh, opisannykh u Plano-Karpini*, in *Trudy*, Eastern Section, Imperial Archaeological Society, 4, St. Petersburg, 1859, for comparisons of thirteenth century survivals and echoes in Mongolia.—O. L.

[9] Vladimirtsov *op. cit.* In the Russian original, Vladimirtsov quoted from Pauthier's 1865 edition of Marco Polo. In the French edition, the translator adds the quotation as here given from the 1938 edition of Marco Polo by A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot 1: 169, London, Routledge, 1938. To these citations may be added the generalized description of pastoral nomadism in W. Schmidt and W. Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, 236, 524. For the Mongols of the Ordos region of Inner Mongolia, see P. Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, cited, 102. For the Manchus and Tungus, whose ancient habitat was in the forest rather than the open grassland, see S. M. Shirokogorov, *Social organization of the northern Tungus*, 263, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1933; also the same, *Social organization of the Manchus*, already cited, 105, 122.

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deserted, but his widow "was a woman of wisdom and decision. She assembled the small number of men that had remained loyal, raised the banner with the signs of Yesugei Bagatur, and started in pursuit of the seceders. She succeeded even in making part of them return . . . "[10] and though she failed in the end, her courage has remained a Mongol legend. Similarly, Shirokogoroff notes of the Khingan Tungus in Manchuria that "even the women maintain the clan honor and fight if necessary."[11]

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The women of the Monguors have legends that are in this tradition. I have recorded one of them in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, describing the captivating song sung at Monguor marriages and at all festivals, recalling the daring exploit of the wife of the chief of the Lu clan, who killed a brigand chief and was rewarded by the emperor. The story goes that the country between Liangchou and P'ingfan was infested by the brigand Ta Kuan-ch'ün[12] and his followers and all communications between the two cities were cut. In this crisis, the wife of the Lu T'u-ssu lured the bandits into an ambush. She pitched a tent, spread red felt rugs out on the ground, and dressed some of her maids in transparent gowns. Wearing golden bracelets, playing musical instruments, and singing local songs, they "welcomed" the bandits. When the bandits were drunk, the maids beat copper cooking cauldrons as a signal and the soldiers who had been lying in ambush rushed out and loaded the chief of the bandits, his lieutenants, and seven others with chains. When the captives recovered from their drunken stupor and began to struggle, the soldiers flogged them to death, cut off their heads, and set them up on posts along the highway of Wuchaoling. The brother of the brigand chief, when he heard the news, cut his own throat. The brave wife of the T'u-ssu then sent troops to exterminate the rest of the brigands or force them to submit.

When the emperor heard of this exploit, he presented the noble lady with a thousand ounces of silver, precious golden ornaments, a complete set of hairpins and ear-

[10] B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan*, 14-15, English translation, London, Routledge, 1930.

[11] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the northern Tungus*, 196.

[12] There is a possibility that this name is a corruption of the Chinese expression *kuang-kun* prefixed by the Chinese word *ta*, "big." In H. A. Giles, *A Chinese-English dictionary*, second edition, Shanghai and London, Kelley and Walsh, Bernard Quaritch, 1912, under number 6389, *kuang-kun* is given as "a bare pole—a swindler; a scoundrel." In the north China vernacular, however, the expression has the meaning "a tough," "a gangster," and in this meaning it has passed into more than one of the frontier languages of China. Father A. Mostaert, in his *Dictionnaire Ordos* 1: 292a, records it in the form *gangun* with the meanings "vaurien, trompeur; qui se conduit mal, volage, leger de conduit; libertinage," and also records a verb formed from the noun. C. P. Skrine, *Chinese Central Asia*, 212-214, London, Methuen, 1926, records it in the form "Gangung" as part of the name of a swashbuckler, with the meaning of "brigand," in a Turki ballad from Kashgar.—O. L.

[P. 906]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

562 173 rings and four pieces of flowered silk. He ordered his officials to build her a seven-storied mansion at Lien-ch'eng. She was also presented with an inscription reading "She displayed faithfulness," and given a grant of fifty *ch'ing* of land, the revenues of which were to provide her with "toilet expenses," the Chinese expression equivalent to the English "pin money." The grant of land, according to the family chronicle of the Lu T'u-ssu, was in the country of *chun ku erh*.[13] There are also legends of the bravery of the Monguor women during the great Muslim rebellion who joined in the battle just as their husbands were beginning to retreat, and thus turned defeat into victory. According to popular tradition, it was for this exploit that the emperor himself designed the costume that Monguor women wear on ceremonial occasions, including a sleeveless "military" jacket, military skirt, and a miniature shield and spear as part of the headdress.

562 In spite of all these legendary tributes to their ability, however, Monguor women do not play a conspicuous part in politics or administration; with the exception, already noted, that when a T'u-ssu dies leaving a son who has not come of age, the boy's mother acts as regent.

THE MATERNAL UNCLE

604 The relationship between two families connected by marriage is most clearly seen in the role of the maternal uncle, who while not a part of the family of his sister's child exerts, nevertheless, a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

In discussing the role of the maternal uncle, I shall divide my remarks into two parts, dealing first with the most striking aspects of his role, and secondly with the context in which these prominent aspects occur. Since the facts which are to be presented have considerable theoretical importance for the problem of possible matriarchal survivals in a patriarchal kinship system, I shall conclude my observations with a short theoretical analysis.

604 764 Among the Monguors the special rights of the maternal uncle were most vividly manifest in three circumstances: (1) at the natural death of his sister's children (2) in the event of their having been murdered or having committed suicide, and (3) in situations where they were subject to punishment.

[13] These three Chinese syllables are one of the regular transcriptions of the Mongol term *jun gar*, "left hand" or "left wing." This expression reflects the usual Mongol practice of dividing territories and military organizations into a left (east) and a right (west) wing (the south being "front" and the north "back"). This expression is the origin of the name of the Jungar Mongols, who were the "left wing" of the confederation of Western Mongols in the region of the Altai mountains and the northern part of Sinkiang Province which is therefore still known, in the Western literature, as Jungaria or Zungaria. In this case, however, the reference may be to land taken from some of the Jungar Mongols who eventually migrated into the pastures of the Tibetan plateau near the country of the Monguors.—O. L.

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604 because she will eventually marry into another family; she and her children will bear another surname and she will be buried not in the graveyard of her family of origin, but in the graveyard of her husband's family. If she is killed or commits suicide she has none the less to have her avenger, but since she is an *outsider*, it is appropriate that the brother of her mother assume this duty. Her paternal kinsmen are expected to avenge her death also, but only as second best, following in the wake of the maternal uncles."

When I objected to this explanation on the grounds that in the case of the murder or suicide of Jean's brothers, Bob and Bill, who were not outsiders of the Ch'i family, Joe, their maternal uncle, would have been the leaders of the avengers in precisely the same way, the Monguors answered politely that I was an *outsider* and did not understand the importance of the maternal uncle inside the orbit of the Monguor family.

Other Monguors, in order to support and justify the custom, gave me a most confused and inappropriate explanation: "Brothers and sisters are children of the same bone; members of the same bone have the duty of avenging and protecting each other and upon the most closely related among them the duty was most incumbent and most urgent." This much of the explanation is an aberration which in fact explains the old nomadic and not the Monguor vengeance pattern. From this the explanation went on to say, quite illogically: "Therefore, a mother's brother must protect his sister's children, sisters must respect their brothers, and sister's children are taught to respect and honor their mother's brothers."

This attempt at explanation indicates to me that the Monguors were confused in their thinking on this point, and had not been able to fit this aspect of the role of the maternal uncle consistently into the framework and principles of their patrilineal family system. I am led to suspect that the acknowledgment by them of his right was due to the presence, within their patrilineal society, of principles specific to the matriarchal system.

604 562 What other evidence do we have of such an intrusion? I have previously noted many of them in *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, chapter VI: (1) the abnormal rights of the mother to decide herself about the marriage of her daughter; her consent had to be given even when her daughter was a widow and belonged to the family of her former husband, (2) the right of the mother, in case of the marriage of her son, to go herself to ask for his wife and to fix the date of the marriage before the go-between enters into the action, (3) the fact that in marriages between poor families, the mother-in-law herself went on the last day of the year to bring her future daughter-in-law to her home, (4) the unusual ease in adopting into a family children born of a daughter-in-law who had eloped many years before with a lover, (5) the exceptional marriages with the pole or girdle, so usual with the neighboring Tibetans, (6) the fact that a newborn son was called according to the age of his grand-

[p 98a]

604 562 mother, (7) the unusual fact that young boys worked for years or for a whole lifetime in the home of their father-in-law in order to marry his daughter. These leave no doubt that the patriarchal family system of the Monguors had been contaminated by many practices belonging to the matriarchal system.

604 562 177 What contact did the Monguors have with matriarchal systems?[20a] It is significant that the Monguors in Kansu were not only separated from other Mongols, but were living in the neighborhood of Tibetans and Chinese, and moreover had many of these people enrolled in their clans. Certain features of the Tibetan and Chinese social institutions appear to have been incorporated into the Monguor social organization. Among the Tibetans, the matriarchal system was in full bloom and marriages between Monguors and Tibetans opened the doors for admitting matriarchal customs into the daily routine of life to a very large extent.

The readiness of the Monguors to adopt a whole series of matriarchal traits from the Tibetans is even more understandable in view of the fact that the ancestors of the Mongols and Turks lived at the dawn of history in the neighborhood of peoples practicing the matriarchal system and their patriarchal family system was at that time already contaminated.[21]

Professor Eberhard, doubting the former existence of a "pure" and "original" patriarchal system among the Mongols and Turks, writes:

> I am forced to make the statement that nowhere did I encounter a culture corresponding perfectly to one of the cultures advocated by the theory of culture circles. . . . I harbor suspicions about the real existence of such cultures; for why do we always encounter mixing and mingling of cultures in all circles? How is it possible to prove the real existence of the culture of a circle, in the manner of the system of culture circles, by other than theoretical evidence?[22]

604 177 My overall conclusions therefore are as follows: first, that the role of the maternal uncle as "master of the bones" of his sister's children—i.e. his authority, in matters of life and death, to avenge or punish them—did not originate in the Monguor patrilineal system, but constitutes a usurpation of powers which belonged in another society to members of the same *bone*. Second,

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[20a] In this connection, see the outstanding study by Wilhelm Koppers, Die Frage des Mutterrechts und des Totemismus im alten China, *Anthropos* 8: 981 sqq., 1930.

[21] W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* 9, Part 3, Die Religionen der Hirtenvölker: 71, Münster, Aschendorf, 1949. W. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen im alten China*, 176, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

[22] W. Eberhard, *Kulturen und Siedlungen der Randvölker Chinas*, 414, Leiden, Brill, 1942. ". . . so habe ich doch feststellen müssen, dass nirgends in unseren Kulturen sich eine gefunden hat, in der die Kulture 'eines' Kulturkreises volkommen und rein zutage tritt. . . . Ich habe aber doch Bedenken wenn, die Lage wirklich so ist. Wieso soll es immer nur Mischungen gegeben haben? Wodurch (ausser durch formallogische Schlüsse) ist es dann bewiesen, dass je die Kultur existiert hat, die ein solcher Kulturkreis umfasst?"

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604 177 that the assumption of this role by the maternal uncle was only one of several non-patriarchal features introduced into the Monguor system as a result of contact with matriarchal systems. Third, that the property, assistance, and respect relationships which existed between a brother and his sister and her children, as described above, were not specific to either the patriarchal or matriarchal systems, but were founded in human nature, in conditions common to both systems. Fourth, I would add that normally the sister and her children are respected and loved in the husband's family and go through life happily—more because the two families are really friendly and intimate than because of the maternal uncle's power to intervene. After all, the solid foundation of families is not fear and hatred but love, and the functions of the maternal uncle must be viewed with not only his emergency powers in mind, but this as well.

THE CHILD

858 562 Among the Monguors, as in most societies in Asia, boys are preferred to girls. The description given by Father J. Van Oost of the favoritism shown toward boys among the Mongols of the Ordos might well have been written of the Monguors:

> He is surrounded with a kind of idolatry. His parents are proud of him; they cater to all his whims; they rush to dry his tears. A mother is always ready to suckle her son whenever he seems to want it, whether it be night or day. He is a petty tyrant who knows how to make himself obeyed, and his mother carries him around on her back when she is doing her household work. . . . If he gets sick, there is a major crisis. They think he is the victim of evil spirits. They resort to superstitious practices and go to fetch a lama who makes divinations, conjures away the spirits and prescribes remedies and talismans.[23]

843 562 When a woman is pregnant the whole village knows about it, and all of the women and girls are eagerly interested. Every soothsayer passing through the village is invited to foretell the sex of the expected child, and all the young wives ask him to foretell also when they themselves may expect a similar blessed event. When a pregnant woman enters a doorway and steps over the threshold, the other women always watch to see which foot she puts forward first. They believe that if she regularly steps over a threshold with the right foot, the child will be a boy; if it is the left foot, it will be a girl. This is because they believe that a son lies on the left side of the womb and a daughter on the right; accordingly, if the left side is heavy the mother will instinctively raise her right foot when making a step upward.[23a]

The festivities for the birth of a first son are especially important, and among the ways of propitiating fate to provide a long life, the selection of a lucky name is particularly important. Matters of such importance in the

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[23] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, as cited, 102.

[23a] Compare the Mongol expression *kul kundu*, "leg-heavy," for "pregnant."—O. L.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

843 society are naturally reflected in popular religion. Special deities in the lama monasteries are supposed to be
562 interested in these affairs of mankind. The Monguors often invite lamas to help them with prayers, make vows to go on pilgrimages to far distant monasteries if they
842 are granted a son, and give alms lavishly. Their religious interpretation is that lack of sons is a punishment for sins of the parents in previous incarnations. The condition of a childless woman is pitiable—she is always despondent and dejected and drags out a miserable existence. Not having a son means having no stake in the family and society in which she lives. Her life is lonely, for it is not easy for a childless woman to make friends. I have often had a mother come to me with her childless daughter-in-law, kneeling, weeping, and begging for medicine that will make the girl bear a child, repeating over and over again "Father, the ancestors will have no one to sacrifice to them, the family will have no posterity." Such pitiful scenes gave me an understanding of the social outlook of the people among whom I lived; I could even understand why they indulged in polygamy.

Childlessness is not common among the Monguors, however. On the contrary, a Monguor woman will frequently have six or more surviving children—an astonishingly large number, considering the great amount of hard work that the mother has to do and the fact that, owing to ignorance of the most elementary rules of hygiene, lack of doctors, and miscarriages, fully a third of the children die in early infancy. The Monguors are in fact much more prolific than their kinsmen who are still nomads. One reason for this may be the fact that they live in houses while the children of nomads living in tents
842 are more exposed to variations of temperature. Prob-
164 ably a more important reason is that there is less venereal disease among the Monguors than among nomads. The lamas, most of whom are promiscuous in spite of their vows, and great carriers of venereal disease, have less opportunity to indulge themselves in the crowded and public dwellings of the Monguors than they do among the scattered tents of the nomads.[24] The neighboring Tibetans have a very high opinion of the prolificness of the Monguors. When they are childless, they prefer to adopt a Monguor boy rather than one of their own stock, and they like to marry Monguor girls because they bear
597 more children. The Monguors have no objection to giving a girl to a Tibetan family, especially if it is a rich family.

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[24] In view of the fact that venereal disease is much less common, and families much larger, among the settled agricultural Mongols of southern and eastern Inner Mongolia than among the nomad Mongols, it is also probable that the transition from nomadism to agriculture among the Monguors has led to a stricter morality. When land becomes the principal form of property, the man who owns land wants to make sure that the son who inherits it is his legitimate son, whereas among pastoral Mongols a son, regardless of legitimacy, is a new herdsman, making it possible to look after an increased number of stock.—O. L.

291 The gown is of dark blue cotton cloth, cut from the neck down and across under the right arm, and buttoned under the arm and down the side. A woman's gown opens on the left side instead of the right, and is worn hanging down to the heels. Men wear a sash or belt, keeping the hem of the gown hanging just a little below the knees, and loosening up the breast of the gown so that it provides a capacious pocket into which they stuff their eating bowls and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown roughly woven of white wool. A woman's working gown is woven of black and brown wool. Rich people wear a gown woven of Tibetan wool serge (*p'u-lu*). The ends of the men's sashes are seldom embroidered and on holidays they wear a vest or sleeveless jacket which is much less ornamented than that worn by women.

Men shave the front of the head and grow the hair at the back of the crown long so that it can be braided into a "pigtail" which is lengthened with green strings with tassels at the ends. They wear small, round felt hats.

302 [858] A boy's head is not shaved until he is seven or eight, at which time he begins to braid his hair in a "pigtail." A boy's costume is in general just like that of a man, but with few ornaments.

A man is not allowed to grow a beard as long as his parents are living. A man may begin to grow a beard when he is about the age of thirty if his parents died when he was relatively young. The growing of the beard is started on the first day of either the first or second moon of the new year. Some old men shave their heads clean when they reach the age of about sixty, and women of sixty also frequently cut off their long hair. Both men and women when they do this take vows like those taken by lamas and devote the rest of their lives to prayer in order to provide for a happy rebirth.

306 The only men who wear earrings are those who, described in the chapter on children, have received the "flower of longevity" from a maternal uncle in childhood. Later this "flower of longevity" is replaced by a single large silver earring.

Many men are fond of wearing a bracelet, but only on one wrist. It is usually a heavy copper ring, silver plated and carved with Chinese designs. Nearly all young people wear a bracelet on each wrist, resembling the single bracelet of a grown man. A man also hangs from his belt or sash a sheath containing a knife and chopsticks. Some of these are beautifully carved and ornamented with coral and turquoise.

A man's finger ring is made of two thin, small rings with a broad ring soldered outside them. A piece of coral or turquoise is set in this ring.

173 291 562 The national legends and traditions of the Monguors are associated much more with the striking costumes of the women than with the comparatively simple costumes of the men. Some of these legends have already been mentioned. Another concerns the Li clan of Shat'o Turkish origin which claims as its ancestor the

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173 Prince of Chin. According to the legend this prince,
291 "blessed by heaven and all the spirits," begat thirteen
562 sons from his nine wives. Because he was fond of magnificence and display, he designed a different costume for each wife, and this is supposed to be the origin of the nine main designs of Monguor women's costume to this day.

177 The significance of the Monguor national costume even
648 in recent times is illustrated by the following story, which stirred up interest throughout the Monguor country. In 1913 the Living Buddha of the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu [10] forbade the Monguor women living in his territory to wear their national costume and ordered them to adopt the Tibetan style of dress. Passions ran high against this order. Although the Monguors had for centuries supported the monastery with their offerings, they ceased to appear at the monastery festivals and began to make their offerings to other monasteries. Even the lamas of Monguor origin left the monastery and enrolled in other monasteries. The result was that the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu began to enroll Chinese novices and the whole spirit of the institution was changed.

291 The costumes of the Monguor women are much more
292 elaborate and distinctive than those of the men. Like the
562 men, however, the women do not wear underclothes, nor do they have nightgowns. Their bed is a piece of felt spread on the sleeping platform; there are no sheets or pillowcases, and at night they simply undress and cover themselves with roughly woven blankets or sheepskins.

291 A woman's trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and
562 are fastened around the waist with a rope twisted of sheep's wool. On the legs of the trousers, just below the knee, there is a hem of white cotton cloth. To this hem is sewn the lower leg of the trousers which can easily be removed and replaced, when the women go to festivals, with a leg of finer cloth or of silk or satin, embroidered in red. Ordinarily, the legs of the trousers are stuffed into the tops of the boots, but the ornamental trouser leg can be worn outside the boot. As with men's trousers, the cut is that of Chinese trousers, and the tradition is that in older times trousers were not used at all. The Monguor women of the villages north of the valleys of Weiyüanp'u and Hungnaitze wear trousers only on the coldest winter days and when they go to festivals.

462 Monguor women make their own boots. The sole is
294 made of alternating layers of blue and white cotton cloth pasted together and then stitched, the foot of the boot is made of dark blue cotton cloth, sometimes beautifully embroidered, and the legs are ornamented with patches of dark leather. The foot of the boot may also be made of black cotton cloth, adorned with green

[10] For references to this monastery, see Reginald Farrar, *On the eaves of the world* and *The rainbow bridge*, London, Arnold, 1917 and 1921.

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627 The argument of the judges, before the whole village and the
581 families in question, is very instructive for us. The young man, they
181 said, has not respected the customs of our race, furthermore, he has been unjust with respect to the girl's family; these are grave errors; after the principal accusers, tirades are heard on the necessity of marriage and the indigence of the unfortunate man; finally, he is excused by going back to the extreme obligation to marry. As for the girl, disobedience is censured and the rights of the parents are loudly proclaimed, but she was brave in offering the young man the chance to marry, for marriage is a duty.

We should scarcely admit such reasons; and so I remarked to my catechist and explained to him that in my opinion this was only the commonplace story of a couple who loved each other. "That is possible," he replied, "but it is certain that the young man thought above all of the duty of marriage, and it is poverty which induced him to leave with the girl; as for the girl, she was courageous." It was the same argument. I encountered therefore the same way of thinking in my catechist.

This case would probably be resolved in the same way in the West as in the East, that is to say the union would be legalized; but the motives which would be invoked would be completely different.

/8/ This fact was for me a revelation at the time, and I was able to verify it many times later; it made me acquainted with the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of the general necessity for marriage.

2. Necessity for Male Descendants

858 Another mental habit among the T'ou-jen is an excessive de-
562 sire to see children born, and especially male children.
181 In Europe one is not too concerned when a family has no chil-
581 dren or when there are only girls. Among the T'ou-jen the greatest of misfortunes is the absence of male children. It is necessary to be in the Orient to "live" the text of canon law: Matrimonii finis primarius est procreatio atque educatio prolis /"The primary purpose

/8 cont'd/

858 of marriage is the procreation and rearing of offspring"/. The son is
562 the dream of the Orient. One will resign oneself to poverty, but one
181 will never be consoled for not having a son; one will be consoled over
581 the death of a husband or wife, but one will continue to weep for the loss of an only son. The fact of having no son will be interpreted as a punishment of heaven for sins committed in former lives. One will disregard expenses required for good works and pilgrimages in the interest of producing a male child. Extraordinarily noisy celebrations will be given upon the birth of a first-born son, in which the whole village will take part. The greatest happiness of a T'ou-jen woman will be that of having many sons; so that when one lives in T'ou-jen country, one thinks involuntarily of the Roman mother of the Gracchi presenting her children to her friends, saying, "Here are my jewels." One rarely sees alms refused to the numerous religious and lay beggars; it is because the terrible curse they are accustomed to offer, "Be without descendants," is feared. On the contrary, after receiving alms, the beggar will thank the giver by wishing him a numerous male posterity.

181 We must therefore expect to see matrimonial customs strongly
595 influenced by this way of thinking. Thus, when the wife has no children or no sons, it seems natural /9/ to everyone to take a second wife and even a third. Every T'ou-jen, even the most upright, if means permit, will act in this way. He will not lose the esteem of his fellows in the least for doing so; all of them will even advise him to do so, the most religious man as well as the most pious woman. When the first wife has borne sons, and the husband takes a second, nothing shocking is seen in it, for the more sons one has, the better it is.

I always remember the discussions I had with T'ou-jen friends on the subject of polygamy. I admit that it seemed to me that my arguments did not convince them, even that they were not understood. The good fortune of having sons was for them too sublime an entity to be capable of being put on the same level with the family troubles which polygamy entails; if the bringing up of children of different mothers must leave something to be desired, this disadvantage is a negligible quantity in their eyes, even a quantity of lower order

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16. Opening of the Daughter-in-law's Mouth

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Until now the wife has not yet opened her mouth; her head has always been enveloped in the veil until the end of the marriage ceremony. On no pretext has she been able to say a word since her departure from her home. All the guests have had their /74/ eyes fixed upon her; uttering a single word would be considered one of the most fatal omens for the future. She is even forbidden to satisfy her natural needs, and in anticipation of that she has abstained from drinking the day before.

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Her mouth must be opened by the mother-in-law in person.

Led back into the nuptial chamber after the marriage ceremony, she has been served tea and bread still in silence. Then comes the mother-in-law, who sits down on the k'ang and tells her point-blank, "Starting from today you are forbidden to divulge anything that goes on in the family, and anything that will happen in the future. You will not repeat within the family what you will hear outside. A daughter-in-law's mouth must be 'hard' (do not tell anything) with respect to people outside, it must be 'flexible' toward her relatives."

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The daughter-in-law answers affirmatively, her mouth is opened. They talk again together for several minutes. Henceforward the wife is permitted to talk with her maid of honor in the nuptial chamber; the women who are at the festivity go to wish her good day.

17. The Dinner

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The guests of the two families have taken their places at the tables prepared for the dinner. (1) The maternal uncle, the go-

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 84: (A dinner is served in the Chinese style. A master of ceremonies conducts the proceedings.) The clan people and especially the family members eat after the guests. When the meal approaches its end, they bring to the bride's place the ritual meal

593 /83 cont'd/
574 daughters-in-law cannot miss on any pretext. Each time the trip is
[527] made on horseback, and the husband comes back home the same day or the next.

When the two families live in places too distant from each other, for example, two days or more, the daughter-in-law makes only two visits a year to her parents. The first is made after the sowing, about the third moon, and lasts a month, the second after the threshing of the wheat, about the eleventh moon; it lasts a month and a half or even two months. The daughter-in-law will always be back for the festival of the god of the hearth.

[562] Women over forty can go to their own families whenever they like.

Outside of these customary visits there are cases of sickness in the family, mourning, marriage, celebration for a first-born child, etc., and each time the married daughter does not fail to be present.

/84/ This is the customary thing. However, in practice these visits depend on many circumstances. It may happen that the daughter-in-law's family is poor and does not want to entertain its daughter and her two or three small children. Then these visits will become shorter and less numerous. It may happen that the relations of the daughter-in-law with her family are less intimate, then of course they see one another less. When the parents of the married daughter are dead, the brothers and the sisters-in-law invite their sister less. Likewise when the married daughter has several children, she will not be able to take them all away with her, and she will not want to leave them for as long a time and so often. If the husband and wife get along well together and the daughter-in-law is well treated by the mother-in-law, her visits will naturally be reduced; but although reduced, they are always extraordinarily frequent.

In general, these visits are the cause of many troubles in the two families because they are too prolonged and too frequent. They give the young wife every chance for relations that are not praiseworthy at her place of origin, and these end up by chilling the relationship with her husband. During these visits the daughter often complains about her mother-in-law; then her parents, in order to

Ma 428 589 425 /115 cont'd/ [Manchu]

property, as a rule, becomes her husband's property and through the husband this property is transmitted to a foreign clan.

Ma 597 589 If the widow has succeeded and some time later is going to be remarried, her property must be transferred to the person who can be her heir. However if the widow and her daughters keep the property during several years (5-6), the widow can remarry and reserve her rights to her property. Besides there is a peculiar form of inheritance by adoption. If the deceased has no son and his brother succeeds him and assumes the care of the widow, he gives to her his son for adoption.

Ma 428 The property never can be inherited in the female line by the relatives of motherline filiation. /Cited in English./

Ma 562 583 There are cases in which a boy can marry a girl without having to pay for her. This kind of marriage today is contracted solely by poor young people. It is the case of saying: timeo Danaos et dona ferentes /"I fear Danaos and the bearing of gifts"/. In the Orient girls are not given as presents; altruism has not evolved to this point. Because a young man loves a girl seriously, that is not a reason for giving her to him free.

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B. Marriage of a Girl, or the Question of Husband-sons-in-law

Summary. -- 1. Exchange of a girl for the furnishing of services until the death of the parents-in-law. 2. Exchange of a girl for the furnishing of services for a fixed number of years. 3. Purchase of a girl and search for a son-in-law who will serve their parents-

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361 place of origin. Now among the T'ou-jen of this area, a good many
331 have come to practice again the former custom of husband-sons-in-law practiced by the Tibetans, their neighbors. As soon as they ar-
608 rive in the region they no longer give their daughters in marriage out-
184 side the house, but they seek a /121/ husband-son-in-law for them;
583 on the other hand, they send their sons to become husband-sons-in-law in other families. Among many of these T'ou-jen, the sons no longer enjoy even the right of inheritance in their own family, where the daughters have become the sole heirs; in other families they continue to inherit beside their sisters. They are thus passing through a period of transition. One T'ou-jen family after the other adopts the customs of the Tibetans, at first some of the customs and only in part, and gradually they become Tibetanized. Besides, it is a fact that the Tibetan environment is not distasteful to them, and that T'ou-jen girls given in marriage to Tibetans quickly feel at home.

562 The T'ou-jen of the Sining region, speaking of their brothers
184 of Koei-tê, say, laughing, that among the latter the wife is owner
177 and mistress of the home, niu-jen tang ts'ai, that the men do not count there, that there are women there who themselves send away their husbands, that women are found there who have more than one husband, and that the old men there are to be pitied. Thus Tibetan customs.

178 How must one explain the deformation of the practice of
608 [177] husband-sons-in-law among the T'ou-jen?

First, it is necessary to know that the Mohammedan revolutions decimated the T'ou-jen population in Kansu. Some T'ou-jen, in order to remake their groups and get rents for their lands, accepted in their clans numerous heterogeneous Chinese and Tibetan elements; other T'ou-jen headmen never succeeded in rebuilding the ruins. *Add to that the use of opium* which especially undermined the families of the headmen and put them in debt and impoverished them; it is thus not surprising that the power and also the influence of the t'ou-
[622] se were decidedly impaired. The prime blow of all was more and more frequent recourse to Chinese magistrates on the part of the T'ou-jen. In the old days, say the elders, the t'ou-se alone was

/128 cont'd/

858 same right as his cousins, sons of his mother's brothers. The reason
588 given for this is that the mother, at the time of her son's birth, was no longer a girl but quite married, since she was wearing her hair in the fashion of wives. But suppose that the young woman, as a result of difficulties with a sister-in-law or with her parents, or having simply found a match which she likes, marries again at a "second" wedding, then she can either take her son with her, and he loses
[128] ipso facto his rights to inheritance in his mother's family, and he must change his family name and inherit in the family of his new father (for by the change of name he falls into the category of adoptive children), or else the grandmother opposes the departure /129/ of her daughter's son, and he stays in his mother's family, keeping his rights.

848 It often happens that neither the grandmother nor the mother
792 keeps the child but that they entrust him to a lamasery. Lamas no
178 longer having the right of inheritance, these children disappear from public life. This category of children are sent to the lamasery probably to avoid difficulties which arise later at the time of the division of property, either on the part of the uncles or the nephews, just as when the mother takes the child to the home of her new husband and the latter adopts him as his son, which makes one suppose that these children's right to inherit is nowadays no longer very stable. One feels a period of transition in the custom. We are here in the presence of a practice which must have been more general in olden times and which has its roots in an organization which is not patriarchal.

562 These girl-mothers are received in all groups and are regarded
588 as virtuous women in spite of the fact that people know this custom is
593 considered abominable in the eyes of their Chinese neighbors. These women are recognized as being married; for, they say, their marriage took place in the manner of the marriage of girls, in the courtyard of the house, in front of the sacred fire. Their children are recognized as children of the clan, and they are given the name of their mother. In T'ou-jen families, when a brother dies, leaving only daughters, his brothers inherit his property; the daughters indeed do not inherit; but when this brother has a daughter of the category of which we

/129 cont'd/

562 speak, and when she has a son, then the brothers of the deceased will
588 not have the right to demand his property for themselves. In addition,
593 these same brothers who would not permit their brother to bequeath his property to his daughter and a son-in-law not adopted into the clan recognize the right of inheritance of a niece married to a prayer pole and of her children.

As long as the girl-mother stays home with her children, it is rare that difficulties arise; but often the situation changes when the woman is married at a "second" wedding /130/ and her children are still young. Then the woman's uncles, if she has no brothers, or these brothers if she has any, try to make her take her children with her and have them adopted by the new husband. They want to secure the property of the brother for themselves; for the property of the clan cannot pass to another clan. If the sons of the girl-mother are married at the time when she marries for the second time, there is no longer anything to fear for their rights. Let us note again that for these women, when they later remarry someone of their choice, there is no festivity as at the marriage of girls; they are satisfied with inviting a few neighbors. The second marriage can, in a way, be compared to a widow's marriage; however, such a woman will never have to fear being abducted.

The present case then is very strange in a society which, today, has strictly paternal descent. The fact that these rights are universally recognized is a sign that they date from far back; also the T'ou-jen cannot explain their origin and simply admit the fact.

8. Marriages to a Belt

588 These marriages, although they are as abnormal as those of the
184 preceding series, nevertheless seem to constitute a separate series.
574 First, they are practiced less than those we have just described, and
837 then their origin does not seem to be the same. They find their explanation in the custom of offering, for the night, a girl or a woman to a passing guest; in short, it is prostitution for the sake of hospitality. (1)

/134 cont'd/

A. Divorce

586 Summary. -- 1. Right of divorce, theory and practice. 2. Causes of divorce. 3. Procedure.

1. Right of Divorce, Theory and Practice

Divorce among the T'ou-jen takes on a special character, that of the sale of the wife by the husband with her consent. The definition of divorce is fully realized in it: the dissolving of the marriage ties in view of the respective interests of the husband and wife.

[562] /135/ In theory the wife's right to separate from her husband and ask for divorce is not recognized; the reason for it is that the wife is considered as the pure and simple property of the husband who bought her. On the contrary, the husband's right, in theory, to send his wife away, to sell her with her consent, as well as to do it in spite of her, is recognized. Moreover, he has the right to repudiate her by sending her back to her parents.

[614] 627 586 Although this theory has the force of law, I have nevertheless known the case of a rich woman bringing suit through the head of the clan, the t'ou-se, to obtain a divorce. An only daughter, when very young she had married a poor young man who had come to live at her home and serve her parents until their death. Now the husband-son-in-law in question was dissipating her fortune. The clans of the girl's mother and father as well as the elders of the village together presented a petition to the t'ou-se in which they confirmed the facts and asked the t'ou-se to grant the divorce. The divorce was granted. They based their argument on the fact that the wife had been given to the husband-son-in-law in exchange for the good services he was to render to the parents-in-law and the family; now he had not been faithful to his pledges....

586 The case of divorce occurs in practice in the following form: when the couple are no longer getting along, the wife has already found, in most cases, someone who wants to obtain her. If she has not yet found anyone, the husband will urge her to look for someone

/154 cont'd/

3. Importance of the Mother, the Daughter-in-law, the Chilu, the Maternal Clan

593 a) Abnormal interference in the marriage of her children.
562 In a patriarchal organization the wife does not own anything, she does not count; even her children do not belong to her. Is it not necessary therefore to explain the predominant position of the mother in the marriage rites as being a vestige of a /155/ former matriarchate?
593 Indeed, the wedding "seems" even in our day to be the business
562 of the mother alone. Without speaking of the marriage promises
585 made between mothers as yet only pregnant, we have seen that the official request for the bride is made by the mother alone. The consent given to the mother alone enjoys all the necessary guarantees so that they can allow themselves to wait four or five years more before getting a go-between. Likewise, when the earnest is discussed, it is again the mother alone who goes to ask for the girl to be married at an early date; only after the mother's request does the go-between appear in order to set the date and the rest. For marriages without ceremony it is the mother again who, with the go-between, goes in complete simplicity to get the bride who is poor. This fact is very significant. Along the way, what the sobbing bride fears most is that they will curse her by cursing her mother; this is the greatest injury that can be done to her.

606 When one examines present-day customs concerning young
587 widows, one finds it abnormal in a patriarchal organization that the
593 young widow after the 49 days of mourning goes back to her mother's family to stay there until her second marriage. Indeed, she is the property pure and simple of her parents-in-law. It is likewise abnormal that the go-betweens, at the time of the second marriage, address themselves to her own parents before addressing her mother-in-law. Does not that recall the time when the daughter was married at home and had no mother-in-law?

After addressing the mother, the go-between goes to the home of the widow's parents-in-law, and there again he accosts first the mother-in-law, just as if she had the widow-bride at her disposal

/155 cont'd/

606 ahead of all the other members of the family. What is typical is that
587 they call the money given to the mother-in-law k'ai k'eou ts'ien,
593 "the sum which opens her mouth," for if she does not open her mouth, that is to say, if she does not consent, the marriage comes to nought. /156/

b) Succession on the maternal side.

562 Without admitting a former matriarchate, how can one explain
593 the situation of the women in the series of marriages to the prayer
88 pole, etc.? In this case the "girl-mother" is seen to enjoy all the rights of a married woman; her children bear her name and inherit in her clan beside the children of her brothers. This is certainly the case which makes kinship, order of succession, and the property of the family pass on the mother's side. This single case which continues to exist in the middle of a patriarchal period in which the children of daughters as well as their mother are considered as outside the family, deserves all attention.

c) Admission into the family of children born of outsider fathers.

843 Is it not permitted to see vestiges of the matriarchate in the great facility with which they admit into the family the children of daughters-in-law and widows, both certainly of fathers who are outsiders; partus sequitur ventrem /"offspring proceed from the womb"/: they recognize only the mother. We have seen that here they are in a period of transition which begins to make this practice more and more difficult.

562 d) Frequent family visits of the daughter-in-law and right to
421 keep her property at her mother's home.
593
574 Again what can be said of the abnormal custom which allows the daughter-in-law these frequent visits and these long vacations with her family? This custom is not natural in a patriarchal organization where the daughter-in-law is the property of her husband, and where she must give this clan her life, her time, and all her work. This custom gives the impression that the daughter, after marriage, always continues to live with her own family and not that of her husband, (1) all the more /157/ because she keeps at her parents' home

/157 cont'd/

Ma 574 593

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 90-91: The second long visit of the newly married wife in her mother's house may be also understood as a survival of the customs that prescribed to the newly married wife to keep her place in her mother's house. Furthermore the Manchus never say "the wife's father's clan" but "the wife's mother's clan." At the same time they say "the husband's clan" and "the husband's father's clan." Thus all these facts cannot be explained without a supposition of the matrilineal clan system in the past. /Cited in English./

Mo 5.2 421 593 574

her finery, clothes, her ornaments, her jewels, and everything that is dear to her. One keeps one's treasures at one's home; now, the home of the daughter-in-law does not seem to be near her husband. This last custom, which still effectively recognizes that the wife today has certain property rights, does not belong to a patriarchal organization; furthermore, we saw in the speech of the master of ceremonies that formerly the daughter enjoyed property right, since in her own family she inherited half of a son's share.

e) Festivities at the birth of daughters.

Mo 527 844

We shall describe elsewhere the extraordinary noisy festivities in which the whole village takes part, given on the occasion of the birth of the first child of a daughter-in-law, whether this child be a son or daughter, the celebration is equally solemn. Now such a festivity upon the birth of a daughter is again absolutely abnormal in a patriarchal system, where only the male descendant counts. We must note that already in many T'ou-jen families this festivity is celebrated only upon the birth of the first son. This celebration is absolutely inconceivable to a Chinese mind.

Mo [171]

f) Wedding dinner at the bride's home.

Mo 585 562

In a patriarchal system how does one justify the dinner given at the bride's home for the members of her family alone on the eve of

Mo /157 cont'd/
585 her departure? The wedding festivity takes place in the patriarchal
562 system in the bridegroom's family on the same day as the marriage.
Mo The departure of the daughter cannot be considered as a reason for
171 rejoicing; also this custom is not found in China. Is it not also a custom of olden times, when one celebrated the arrival of the son-in-law and his entry into the family?

4. Husband-sons-in-law

Mo We have described above the different forms taken by the
608 husband-sons-in-law practice. The great frequency of this practice
591 in spite of all the troubles it entails, /158/ again brings us back to the
606 former matriarchate. (1) But let us put aside the "fact itself" of this

1. I know only one single case in which a T'ou-jen woman governed her clan. It is that of the widow of the Lou t'ou-se. It is an isolated case, completely accidental and recent. I see in it no relation whatever with the matriarchate which formerly existed among the T'ou-jen.

Mo 542

institution which is essentially matriarchal in order to explain some strange vestiges still met with today relative to this practice.

Formerly, the husband-son-in-law, living in his wife's family, had necessarily to be considered as an intimate member of the family. Now can one not see a vestige of this position of the son-in-law in the fact that at the time of celebrations and of mourning, the son-in-law does not have his place at the dinner among the guests? On the contrary, even today, he is relegated to the kitchen among the intimates of the family. Celebrations and mournings are not a time of rejoicing for him, of feasting and of drinking bouts, but a time during which work is required of him which is considerable and very disagreeable.

Ma We have seen that among the Manchu, when the son-in-law
606 comes to get his bride, he honors first the spirits of that family, then

[20 cont.]

*778 The making of the spear: The wood of the shaft must have
[824] grown wild. Wood that has been planted or wood from inhabited, settled regions may never be taken, for it is not pure. The wood is therefore sought in lonely forests and mountains. The most superior wood is sandalwood. Since this is rare, however, the mountain ash is usually used. -- The iron is usually wrought iron. There is no prescriptions concerning its origin. It may be bought, taken from old tools, etc.

Fig. 2

a. Spirit-table without bands (sirie purgan); b. spirit-table with bands (sirie purgan).

[422] Anyone may have a spirit-spear, and anyone may make
[562] it himself, but never women. If the owner wants to have a beautiful spirit-spear, however, he will go to a skilled craftsman, carpenter,
[463] and smith. It is required that before starting the work the craftsman rinse out his mouth, wash his face and hands, and hold the latter
[783] over the smoke of a cypress fire. The tools are also thoroughly smoked. In addition, the smith casts some cypress incense into his
[782] smithy fire.

The craftsman may work at home in his workshop or in with
[322] the family of his client. The individual parts are made separately,
[326] in other words, the shaft by the carpenter, the tip and foot by the smith. They bring the parts to the owner's house. The latter then
[782] offers twelve steamed loaves (or baked loaves) on the shelf in front of the Buddha image, as well as a piece of red cloth and a measure of barley. The craftsmen place their instruments on the grain in
[788] the bushel, and all of them kowtow in front of the Buddha image,
[322] while the incense offering is presented outside. The carpenter receives the barley; the smith receives the twelve loaves with the red
[326] cloth.

[22 cont.]

346 must have its own door to the outside. The chapel may not be
*778 constructed in such a way that it can also be reached through another room that is occupied. It must be located in the main
[783] house. In order to avoid any danger of pollution, the chapel is
[791] preferably erected on the roof of the main house. The soothsayer determines in what part or on what side of the main house it should be. Aside from silence, the reason for this strict sep-
[783] aration from the other rooms is that in crossing other rooms one may become unclean, especially if the rooms are accessible to the women.

783 Prescriptions for purity: Ordinarily, any man or boy may
*[778] touch the spear, fetch it, and take it away. They may also enter the chapel at will. Women, however, may never touch
[562] the spear or visit the chapel. They are always regarded as unclean. There are also certain taboos, however, for the men.

The man's wife or any other woman in the family may not be in confinement. Not until ten days after the conclusion
[846] of the confinement, that is, 40 days after the birth, is the man pure again. If he has visited another family in which there is a woman in childbed, he is pure immediately after the conclusion of the confinement, that is, 30 days after the birth.

Those in mourning are unclean for 49 days, if they are
[765] members of the dead person's own family. If the parents have died, the children are regarded as unclean for 100 days. If someone participated in the obsequies of another family, he is unclean for only three days.

[791] These prescriptions for purity also apply to the soothsayer.
*[778] He may not enter the chapel during this time, and especially may not touch the spear or even practice soothsaying. When this period has elapsed, the men are automatically pure again; there is no special purification ceremony (1).

[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 26.] The prescriptions for purification are the same as among the Chinese in Tsinghai; they apply for all religious activities and temple visits. The Chinese also have

[28 cont.]

752 crossed under him, his face turned toward the door, and his
787 back to the altar. He has placed his sword across his knees.
He holds a burning stick of incense upright in his hands in front
[576] of his chest, so that the smoke rises into his face. Then he
speaks the prayer of invitation to his tutelary spirit. Meanwhile
men make smoke around him with incense. Gradually his
hands begin to tremble; the movement passes to the arms,
chest, and head. Finally his entire body is trembling and
shaking, but especially the head with a violence that makes
the bells rattle. At this point the stick of incense is taken out
of his hand and he is given his sword (6). The spirit has now

6. [Foreign text p. 32.] The little stick is placed in the incense bowl.

[789] descended upon him. He begins to prophesy and to exorcise the demons.

The shaman may also choose another place for the trance, for instance, the temple, the house chapel, a mountain top,
* [778] an obo [a mound of stones dedicated to the mountain spirit],
the yard. He never undertakes the trance on the kang in a side room. If there is a god's image with a soul on the household altar, he always sits down facing this image; in the case of the obo he must turn toward the obo. -- In front of the obo or on the mountain top he need not sit on a table, but can kneel on the bare ground. If he undertakes the trance in the yard of a compound, he goes to the side opposite the main house so that he has the round manger with the mani-tree before him and faces the main house. There he kneels upright on a white felt mat. The other ceremonies are the same.

The compound in which he undertakes the trance must first be swept clean; all the rooms are fumigated with incense. The [29] table or the mat on which he kneels must also be
[609] fumigated. -- There is no taboo for strangers, however; all
may witness the ceremony. Women, however, may not enter
• [562] the room in which the trance takes place.

[29 cont.]

756 Soothsaying: In the common form of soothsaying, the
787 petitioner kowtows to the shaman in the trance and presents his request. He may also let an experienced man do the asking. The soothsayer then holds his breast-shield flat on his left hand, takes barley kernels from a little plate with the tip of the sword, and scatters them on the shield. From the pattern of the kernels he now gives his answer. Often he also moves in a violent trance and mumbles all kinds of disjointed words which a practiced man quickly writes down on paper and which afterwards are interpreted. In the trance, the soothsayer may speak any language, Tibetan, Chinese, Tujen, Mongolic, even if he has not learned it.

This soothsaying also precedes all the other ceremonies that he performs during the trance, such as exorcising demons, healing the sick, etc.

● [562] Calling: The shamans are always men. When someone thinks that he has the ability to go into a trance, he goes to a quiet, remote spot and experiments with a staff, a sword, etc. In time he becomes proficient. He also becomes aware of which spirit takes possession of him. Frequently the people in
[792] the village propose to a young man that he should try it once.
* [778] If he then succeeds, they suggest that he have himself conse-
crated in the lamic monastery. -- Most shamans take up this
756 calling of their own accord. Those who receive the art from
their fathers are not common. The shamans are always healthy,
[158] normal men; they are only more easily excitable (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 32.] They do not form an organization of their own. True, I have been repeatedly told that in the sixth month on the first (?) or fifteenth day the shamans of the Hsi-ch'uan gather in a village near Tuopa (west of Hei-tsuei-p'u) and organize a kind of trance competition for an entire day. This custom, however, is supposedly recent.

[30 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 32-33 cont.]
to Shang-wu-chwang there is a village with a small lamasery [33] from which the shamans of Kumbum come, who appear especially on New Year's. As a missionary tells me, in the village there in quite recent times a young man was doing exercises almost daily, going into a trance on the river bank, fighting with a sword, shooting arrows, etc.

In any case all the lamaseries attach great importance to having a shaman who, possessed by the tutelary spirit dPekar, prophesies on New Year's. I observed these shamans in Kuo-mang-szu and Kumbum. In the Tujen lamasery, where a living shaman-monk was not to be found, I saw on New Year's a life-sized figure set up in full shaman regalia. At the sooth-
[791] saying on the fifteenth day, however, the spear-soothsayer acted in his stead in the temple yard, where the dances take place, before the hutukhtu, the assembled monks, and all the people. In Kuo-mang-
•[562] szu I even saw a woman appear in the temple as a shaman, but she did not represent the usual type of sgurdien.

The lama does not put the shaman costume on his protégé. Usually he comes to the monastery without any costume and does not see to it until later. Frequently his own village helps to provide it. He makes the two-edged sword himself or has it made by the smith.

756 The tutelary spirit: The tutelary spirit always reveals
776 itself to the shaman; a lama cannot designate a tutelary spirit for anyone. The shaman often calls himself "spirit-
*[778] disciple" or "spirit-protégé." The spirit has its seat in the

372 [43 cont.]
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[783]
[575]

[Note on foreign text p. 46 cont.] takes a second mouthful and lets it run out of the mouth over the cupped hands and washes them; the third mouthful, allowed to run into the hand in the same way, serves to wash the face. This is repeated as desired, until one is clean. In case someone has a washbowl, he may under no circumstances forget to rinse his mouth, because that is part of the purification for a religious ceremony.

and puts them on the incense plate under the mani-tree out in the yard. There he blows on the coals to make a large flame, throws cypress twigs, butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, tea leaves, sugar, and a number of colored threads into it, and finally sprinkles the fire with pure water. Then, when the smoke rises up, the conch is blown, and the master of the house, as well as all those standing by, makes a three-fold [788] kowtow three times in front of the fire. With this the morning offering is concluded, and all go to their daily work.

Details

782 Persons: Usually the master of the household presents the [592] incense offering. In his stead, however, another male member [562] of the family may perform the act, but never women, unless there is no male person in the house and the children are still too small. Women may be present and make the kowtow, just as they also sweep the yard, set the things in readiness, and even hand them over for the offering. The conch is usually blown by someone who does not perform the offering. If the master of the household making the offering does it himself, it is done before the kowtow.

[72 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.]
a roof, such as dzëw-yi and ger-kañ. The kañ described here is this ger-kañ. Actually this name is a tautology, for ger is Mongolic and means house (tent), in other words, the same as the Tibetan kañ. Besides these names, there are other special designations for beñkañ, such as mani beñkañ, tsäla beñkañ, dsōma beñkañ, maridzë beñkañ. Unfortunately all these types could not be inquired into precisely [78], nor likewise the meaning of the name and the contents of the beñkañ. The many rëduombëñ (7) [see Note 7 below], pyramid-like stonepiles which hold down evil demons, as is also reported in the Tujen myth of the female man-eater Mañgudzë, probably also belong among the beñkañ. For this function the Chinese have the expression pu mei-ch'i, that is, to plug up the (earth)veins' breath.

*778 Time: The chorten chamber may be erected at any time of the year, although the frost-free period is preferred because of the work on the walls. The soothsayer designates the specific [791] day and hour. -- The preparation, however, takes many weeks because the building material, the urns, and the clay cones must be manufactured. In addition, a small village festival [527] is always connected with the erection and for that reason the time after the harvest is preferred.

[621] Persons: All the persons of the village take part in the [476] preparations, men, women, and children. The leader divides the work among the individual families. At the erection and the [562] consecrating ceremonies, however, only men are active. Women [792] are kept away. -- The consecration of the urns and the service

[621 cont.]

553 [592] [792]

4. [Foreign text p. 622.] A lama can also perform the ceremony. This is rarely done, however. Usually the father or kin-group elder does it.

is never a woman or a relative from the family of the woman in childbed.

Following the name-giving or in the course of the day, the mother with the child in her arms must kowtow to all the guests; for this she receives a small gift of money for the child. -- Towards noon the family holds a general feast, for men and women separately. On this occasion much barley wine is drunk, and there is singing and dancing.

[431] [527] [273] [562]

852 Reception of the shepherd: Towards evening, when the animals are expected back from the pasture, the father or the mother takes the infant in his arms and takes it out in front of the gate of the yard, where they meet the homecoming herd. The shepherd must give the child some money, and in return the father gives him a loaf of bread which he must eat immediately. This custom is called "to welcome the shepherd"; the Chinese say "to welcome the sheep" (2). -- The guests

[431] [553]

[171] [846]

2. [Foreign text p. 622.] The reception of the shepherd is also found among the Chinese, just as the termination of the confinement generally is almost the same among them. In the region of Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) I learned from the missionary there, P. Frick, that the people place the child in the manger so that it may later own many herds and become a good horseman. This custom could not be confirmed for the Tujen.

[631 cont.]
527 778 888 [431] husband and the daughter's children must give a hada and money to the person to be consecrated. In return they later receive greater remuneration when they depart.

[574] [562] Feast: The feast takes place in the yard, first for the men, then for the women. Three fields are divided off, right and left for guests, and in the center for the mother's brother with the two closest relatives. These three sit on a felt mat on even ground with their backs to the main door of the main house and have before them a low kang table with the dishes; they are served separately by the master of ceremonies. On the two fields to the right and left, straw is scattered in a square; heavy planks are put in front of it and sometimes also mats, which are to represent the tables. In the middle of each square there burns a fire in which tea and liquor are warmed.

[264] [574] The food is introduced with tsamba and tea, which is taken with butter and milk. Mutton or pork follows; the fatter it is, the better liked and more superior it is. A considerable amount is drunk. Rice follows as the main dish, which is mixed with butter and sugar and sweet roots. -- The women eat after the men. -- During the meal there are always some free, who sing and dance.

527 778 888 792 604 Settling the prayer fee: After the meal, the master of ceremonies pours out liquor for the mother's brother. The sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law kneel down before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies hands him a hada and starts the negotiations over the price. The mother's brother demands expensive gifts and much money for the lama; the master of ceremonies, through his rhetorical skill, must gradually lower the demands, until finally a suitable sum is agreed upon. Then the sons and daughters stand up, kowtow, thank the mother's brother, and go. This is similar to what is done at the pai-ta before the cremation (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 634.] For further details, see chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation." Here, too, the

[824 cont.]

241 the soothsayer when the pole-goat is raised for the first time.
789 This spot is then always retained. A hole is dug there and covered
with a clod of earth or a rock so that it will not be destroyed by
778 the next year.
[791] The place is never taboo, regardless of whether the pole-goat stands there or not. One may pasture animals there, start a fire, etc. Women need not avoid it.

241 [825] Persons: Only a Bon priest may undertake the
789 performance, never a lama or a soothsayer. Nowadays the cus-
tom is scarcely ever practiced because the Bon priests have died
791 out. It is still found only in very remote mountain villages. The
[178] simple ceremony is performed by a Bon priest of the second class, the solemn ceremony by a Bon priest of the first class because he has special magical power. The costume is that of the
[292] ordinary people since the Bon priest is, of course, a farmer. He merely needs to wear the forehead wreath and a long garment.

In addition the following act with him: the seed-master and his helper, the village elders, and generally all men, all soothsayers. It is enough, however, if only one soothsayer is represented, for instance, a sword-shaman, a spirit-table soothsayer, etc. Women must not witness the ceremony, but
[562] little girls may watch.

241 The pole: It does not matter of what wood and amidst
789 which ceremonies the pole is made. Usually it is a slender
poplar tree ten meters long. The village itself is responsible
778 for this pole. It is used every year and kept in the family of the
[621] annually alternating seed-master. It may be burned, cut up, etc. when it has served its purpose for several years.

The goat: Ordinarily it is a wool goat; color, age, sex, size, etc. are unimportant. It is true that the people prefer horned goats over the hornless. No one cares about the origin of the goat; it may be purchased, be a gift, etc. After it has been taken down from the pole in the autumn, the hide belongs to the seed-master, but it is so dilapidated that it is not usable.

[831 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 834 cont.] the other hand, it is done for protection against bad weather, it is also popularly done before the pole-goat.

[562] Persons: As is the case for all religious ceremonies, the women are kept away. The participants are the seed-master, the village elders, and all other men and youths. Any kind of [791] soothsayer may appear on this occasion. It is important that at the actual offering some spirit is always summoned by the soothsayer and supervises the performance. -- Participation is also [784] prohibited to all who are in mourning and in whose compound there is a woman in childbed. -- People with empty utensils, for example, empty water pails, baskets, etc., may not come near. For this reason the gong is beaten before the offering, so that such persons will stay away (2).

[787]
[735]

2. [Foreign text p. 834.] The fear of an encounter with empty utensils is quite general in Tsinghai. It signifies poverty, vain endeavor, etc. Tujen express the wish, for example, before a journey: huodzën sawa bi pëngë, that is, "may an empty vessel not appear." The Chinese, too, have similar expressions.

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Sacrificial animal: As sacrificial animal only a sheep is considered, no goat and especially no pig. The sheep may be of any color and sex, even castrated. It must be at least a year old, however. A sheep that is too young would be an insult to the gods, aside from the fact that the meat would not be sufficient for the participants. Usually the [832] sheep is [621] purchased jointly. Every family must provide grain or money for this purpose; the owner is always given compensation. To be [784] sure, the sheep may not come from a family that is taboo at the time, for instance, through bereavement, childbed, sickness, etc.

[835 cont.]

241 782 procession moves from the temple directly to the nearest mountain and along the ridges across all the mountains of the entire village area. On each height the customary incense offering is burned by the two men, while the procession itself moves on. Towards midday, however, a halt is made on a height especially designated for this purpose. After the incense offering refreshments [264] are taken. The people bring bread, tea, and soup here in advance. Then the procession marches on. Not until evening does one return to the temple. On the following day the people take the books back to the lama monastery.

[836] **Details**

[562] Persons: Only male persons may take part in the procession, regardless of whether they are adults or boys, so long as they are strong enough to carry the heavy book and can pray the mani. The seed-supervisor determines how many persons each family must provide to make up the number of 108 book-bearers. If there are not enough people in one village, help is brought in from the neighborhood. Chinese are also admitted. -- In fetching and taking the books back to the monastery the number does not matter, so one person may carry two books. The Tibetan books are, to be sure, very large and heavy, since they are bound between two boards.

241 782 624 794 The seed-supervisor is changed every year at the harvest thanksgiving offering. He is charged with taking care of all the religious celebrations of the year. He is not the village mayor, however. Because his main concern is the seed, he is called seed-supervisor. The supervisor of the past year helps him (2).

[171] [797] 2. [Foreign text p. 838.] The Chinese, too, have such a religious supervisor who is chosen annually. Usually he is simply called t'ou-jen, that is, head man, or he is also called huei-t'ou, that is, meeting (festival) head; ch'ing-miao t'ou is also used,

[840 cont.]

Details

778 Place: It is unimportant where the interrogation takes
787 place; first the spot must be swept clean and, in case it is in
[783] the house, fumigated. The hands and face are washed and the great incense offering is made in the yard.

If the ceremony is in an open field or in the pasture, the place is not swept, for field and pasture are always clean. Incense is always offered, however.

Sometimes the place of interrogation and that of the consecration are different, for instance, when during the interrogation in the house it turns out that the animal is to be consecrated to the sky. In that case, one immediately goes out into the yard and continues the performance there. -- If the animal is consecrated to the mountain-spirit, one goes outside the village on a hill or before the obo. Small animals, for instance, a hen, may be consecrated in the house before the household altar.

If the entire village consecrates an animal, then everything takes place in the temple yard, and likewise if several families jointly consecrate an animal. If there is no temple, a clean compound is sought.

Time: There are no special days for the consecration. It depends entirely upon chance, whenever illness, misfortune, etc. happen. The ceremonies are always undertaken in bright daylight.

[841] The people are always careful that the consecration follows immediately after the interrogation. For this reason they immediately fetch the animal. Sometimes it also happens that they do not immediately find an appropriate animal; then one to two days pass between the interrogation and the consecration. In this case after two days one continues amidst the same ceremonies. Only the purification of the place and of the people and the incense offering are repeated.

778 Consecration-master: The consecration-master may be:
562 an individual person, a family, a village, several families. It

[841 cont.]

778 is never women, however. It is true that a single woman may promise an animal, for example, but in such a case other men, ●562 such as the mother's brother, undertake the interrogation and consecration. This may be done in the house of the woman.

778 Animals: As consecration-animals the following are permissible: horses, mules, asses, cows, sheep, goats, and even 825 hens; pigs or dogs are never taken because they are unclean. In [783] the case of all these animals, age, color, sex, or castration plays no role. White or male animals are not especially preferred. Large animals are no longer consecrated now, because [178] the Tujen no longer have the large herds and are too poor. Usually one promises sheep and goats. Hens are frequently chosen because they are the cheapest (2).

2. [Foreign text pp. 842-843.] In the Tujen monastery Rgulõn the choice of animals is different. A lama and a shaman related: one never consecrates dogs, and no hens, [843] only cocks, but these in all colors. Of the horses one takes only stallions; they must be black with a white spot on the forehead or grey (ch'ing-ma) of black-white mixed color. Of the mules one takes only females, no male animals. Their color is a bright reddish-brown. Belly, mouth, and eye-rings should be light. Of ordinary cattle and yaks one takes only black steers that have a white spot on the forehead; similarly among the sheep only black rams, flawless and with circular or doubly curled horns. --I also saw such animals there in the monastery. The consecrated mule was especially beautiful; it looked almost exactly like a wild

[861 cont.]

782 outside for the ceremony, and the lama makes another torma of
792 pure butter. He takes this outside and puts it on the drawing of the burning-place. Then the ceremony of the fire-pouring follows, at which all kinds of wood and spices are burned.

The lama continues to pray until evening. The following morning he receives his fee and is taken back to the monastery. Sometimes, however, one keeps him a few more days for prayers. -- After the fire-pouring the yard remains taboo for at least another week.

[784] [351]

Details

[756] Persons: The fire-pouring may not be undertaken by shamans, but only by lamas. These are not ordinary lamas, however. Only the three top classes are considered for it: the Hutukhtu, the Tsüordzi, and the Känpo. Usually three lamas are needed. It suffices if one of them belongs to the higher rank, but one often invites more (1).

[791]

1. [Foreign text p. 867.] Other Tujen claim that a Bon priest could also undertake the fire-pouring, which, after all, is to be expected, at least in the case of the black fire-pouring. The old informant, however, and other people, too, decidedly contest this. According to them, only a lama (gelõngba) is to be considered for this; the Bon priests, they claim, concern themselves only with demon exorcism.

782 The fire-pouring may be ordered by a private person (man or woman), by an individual family, or by the entire village. -- During the ceremony, the general avoidance pre-
[562] scriptions apply. Women may be present, but may not assist.

[207 cont.]
775 hairdress," through which a girl is wedded to heaven and is no
776 longer burdened with the contempt suffered by unmarried women
[589] (see above). The fear of the female demon-souls [208] is also
[588] widespread among the Chinese, and there is only one way of
being safe from them: the cremation. In the customs of the
[171] Tsinghai Chinese, this fear and contempt have their basis in
the Buddhist conception that a woman is an unclean being and
that this uncleanness is only removed through the man and his
descendants. This attitude is strengthened through the fervent
desire for sons and grandsons, which again is connected with the
ancestor cult. These Buddhistic motives are certainly also
decisive in part among the Tujen. Among them, too, the
[562] woman is regarded as unclean, even if not so harshly as among
[783] the Chinese. The veneration of the ancestors plays scarcely
any role. Nonetheless, uncleanness and demonism are closely
[841] connected. A very common expression runs: pudaǵ ilie, un-
clean demon; a woman is also pudaǵ during her period.

The demon soul therefore seems to stand in a special relationship with the female principle. This suggests the surmise that it represents the flesh-(body)-soul in the human being, which stands in contrast to the bone-soul. In northeastern Tibet and elsewhere one encounters the conception that the bones of a person come from the man and the flesh from the woman. Among the Tujen, however, this relationship is difficult to determine
[614] because it is precisely the bone-soul that is related so closely to the mother's clan. This does not, it is true, exclude an individual assignment to the man (father), but it does not permit it to make its appearance through this unquestionably matriarchal trait.

775 From everything, one can see that the Tujen are little concerned about the after-life of the soul and the beyond. To them it is enough if they are left in peace on earth. The Buddhist conceptions are more theoretical. In actuality one not infrequently encounters a this-worldly fatalism which expresses itself in the saying: "Our life does not have much meaning"
[171] (literally: we have lived in vain). Even if the conception of the
[769] soul has much similarity to that of the Chinese, the Tujen

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time with the beating of drums and cymbals perform 796
their wildest dances for a long time. Usually three or 756
four among them seem to be possessed. All of a sudden the chief of the shamans becomes excited to fever pitch, and howls "go to the goddess." Then, followed by the other shamans, he grasps a chicken and, dancing with fury, bites its neck and jerks off its head in a wild movement. Grimacing with distorted face, and glittering eyes, he throws the bleeding chicken head in the supposed direction of the goddess, uttering dreary cries and indistinct sounds. After the rite is accomplished, the people go home for dinner. It is indeed a savage means of greeting "a goddess of joy," with a bleeding head and with such wild appearance.

The split-personality of the "good" shaman who the first day was so gentle, so kind, so considerate for the spirits, shows up more and more; he has to see blood and to offer bloody sacrifices.

LEAVE-TAKING OF THE SPIRITS

After sunset all the villagers come to the temple. In some villages the women are not allowed to attend the [562] evening rites, but elders asserted that in former times the women were admitted everywhere.

A hundred small lamps are prepared, the cup made with dough and the wick with twisted cotton wool. [354] Into the cup is poured vegetable oil. The lamps are displayed in rows on the offering table in front of the pole and the statues. The shamans first perform the usual dance, keeping time to the beating of the drums. The leave taking of the guest spirits is called the "opening of the highway" (*k'ai ma-lu*). A bridge* is to be built over which the guests are supposed to pass. A big roll is put on each of the four corners of the table, and a larger one in the middle; a paper banner is placed on each of the five rolls. A lamp is lit near the banners and a plate put near each of them; on the middle plate is placed the head of a chicken.

The chief of the shamans asks the shamans and the apprentices for the meaning of the five rolls. The five rolls mean the five mountains; the five lamps, the five lakes; the five wicks, the five dragons; the banners, the incense which billows up into the sky. Why is the head of a chicken put on the middle plate? In order to steady the *Yin-Yang* (male and female principle of the Taoists). The chief shaman writes, around the roll in the center, the eight Chinese cyclical characters and asks for the explanation of each of them. If one of the shamans or apprentices is unable to answer he is scolded and upbraided in front of the whole gathering.

A bridge is constructed for the spirits from one end of the table to the other by disposing two rows of rolls in which are planted brand new chopsticks; on both sides [442] of the bridge are planted incense sticks in smaller rolls. The shaman asks again for explanations: Is there still another way existing above that bridge or not? An-

* Eliade, *op. cit.*, 419. [p. 110(A)]

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Amni Chialip of the Obo in Waza is built inside the courtyard of a rich Tibetan, Manguru. I was told by him that every day he lit a taper and burned incense. Women, and girls, even his wife or daughter-in-law, were never allowed to enter the small temple. The same prohibition existed for the women against visiting this kind of temple in the monasteries. 778 782 795 [562]

When and how are the five owners of the country honored? On an auspicious day fixed by a lama, usually of the Red Sect, at the end of the fifth moon, and usually during the sixth moon, five delegates from every village assumed to be situated in the circumscription of the territory of the spirit, are sent to the mountain. They carry a tent and drive some sheep which have been washed and combed, with red paper pasted on their horns and ribbons attached to their fleece, and a piece of red cloth eight feet long on each of their backs. The men also bring some spears and arrows painted red and black, miniature bows, firecrackers and the famous "precious bottle" (the urn). 795 796

The first day, at evening, all the representatives of the villages pitch their tents at the foot of the celebrated mountain and pass the night in merrymaking. The next day, being the auspicious day, in the early morning the chief and the elders of the village, with a large crowd of villagers, arrive to attend the rites to be celebrated on top of the mountain. Chinese merchants pitch tents and do business at the foot of the mountain.

After breakfast all the chiefs of the villages with the villagers go to the Obo. One group after another sets off firecrackers before the Obo, plants in the stone heap spears and arrows, and attaches new flags and pieces of wool and bones, and reverently bury their precious bottle in a deep hole. On the crude offering table, the killed sheep is offered, broth is thrown first toward "Heaven" and then to the four points of the compass for "all the spirits," the famous Wei-sang rite is performed and libation made, while the groups kneel and prostrate themselves. After the rites of each village are performed by the chiefs, a group of lamas, mostly of the Red Church, perform on behalf of the entire community a big Wei-sang rite, beating drums, blowing horns, and chanting some prayers; they all turn three times around the obo. [389]

In the afternoon at the foot of the mountain an immense crowd of men and women enjoy the horseraces and the wrestling,[19] singing and drinking. At sunset most of the people leave, but groups of young folk pass the night around the tents, merrymaking. On the morning of the third day, the tents are rolled up, all the

[19] L. M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes mongoles*, 76, Gembloux, Duculot, 1947. Description of the horse races in the sixth moon at the Obo by the Mongols of Outchimts'in and wrestling (on p. 109), attended by the author; also Owen Lattimore, *Mongol journeys*, 274, New York, Doubleday, 1941, with interesting description of the festivities attended by the chiefs of the Banners, etc.

[p. 114(B)]

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and the group then marched three times around the Obo. I heard the details of this unusual rite from Monguors who had attended the ceremony. 782 786

Just as women are not allowed to enter the temples of the spirits of the Obo, and are excluded from the rites performed at the top of the Obo in the sixth moon, they were also excluded from these rites of restoration of the forces of the spirit of the Sha-t'ang valley. It is for this reason that the Obo festivities, horse races, wrestling, in the sixth moon, are performed at the foot of the mountain, so that women can attend. When women encounter an Obo on their way, they always avoid passing in front of it—the "front" being usually the south or southeast. [562]

The mentality of the Monguors regarding the spirit of the Obo explains their reverence for them. A Monguor will always dismount from his horse when he passes an Obo. He will never fail to add some white stones to the heap, to cry at the top of his voice, honoring the spirit, to prostrate himself nine times, to throw some coins, some flour, a roll of bread on the stone heap, or to smear some butter on the offering table.[21]

It is not only the common people who act in this way. I saw the T'u-kuan Living Buddha, when passing the Obo of Sung-hua-ting, send some lamas ahead to perform the rite of Wei-sang.

CULT OF THE SACRED HILL OF THE VILLAGE

The cult of the sacred hill of the village is performed like the cult of the Obos. A small Obo is built on top of the hill, and a pole is erected. Under the pole is buried the "precious bottle" (urn), the specific offer to the earth god; ropes with flags are attached to the pole and spears planted in the stone heap piled around the pole. Obviously, the dimensions of this Obo are smaller than those of the Obos of the five mountain spirits, and perhaps because of this they are not called Obo, but the "sacred hill of the village."[22] 795 782

On New Year's each family sends a member to the sacred hill to enact the rite of Wei-sang and libation. On the fifteenth of the first moon the chiefs of the villages, with the elders and the inhabitants, officially go to the sacred hill, offering a sheep, performing Wei-sand, burying an urn, and making a libation. On the third of the fifth moon a similar group performs the same rites, in order to strengthen the vitality of the spirit of the sacred hill, which, according to the Monguors, must be in full strength in order to help avert hailstorms. Epidemics and epizootics are supposed to be caused by the outraged spirit of the sacred hill, which must be propitiated by a sheep offering and Wei-sang rite, performed by the whole village. [753]

Devout people go on the first and fifteenth of the month to perform Wei-sang and libation. Monguors

[21] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 63.

[22] R. Rahmann, Remarks on the sacrifice of Heaven of the Na-khi, *Monumenta Serica* 13: 406 *sqq.*, 1948.

[p.115(B)]

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beat drums and play mandolins, all the younger wives 842
and their husbands pursue each other, jumping over the 372
fire heaps, merrymaking. No wives or husbands would 776
miss this practice, for the tradition goes that it provides fecundity. However, the Yassa forbids jumping over the fire.[20]

Professor N. Poppe notes that among the Mongols the spirit of the fire is represented riding a he-goat, and that the he-goat is a symbol of fecundity, as Plano Carpini already noted.[21] This note of Professor Poppe evidences the existence of the fact that a relation existed between the fire god and fecundity in olden times. The Monguors seem not to know the existence of the god of the fire riding the he-goat, although they know that the hearth god secures fecundity. The hearth god also procures fecundity among the Buriats.[22]

FIRE AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE CHILDREN

The god of the hearth not only provides fecundity to 952
the daughters-in-law, but it protects their children. On 372
the second of the second moon is performed the rite of 776
consecration of the children to the god of the hearth. In the very early morning, before boiling water for washing and making tea, the mother roasts some handfuls of spelt in the cauldron and after them some handfuls of peas. Husband and wife spread them devoutly in the courtyard in front of the door. Then the elders clip some hair from the foreheads of the children under thirteen years of age, and cut the nails on their fingers. Hair and nail parings are carefully put in a cup and covered with a red cloth. The cup is placed before the picture of the hearth god and a copper coin placed on top of it. All members of the family prostrate themselves nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and the incense sticks are then fixed before the picture of the hearth god. On the twenty-fourth of the twelfth moon, at the time the god starts its journey to Heaven, the contents of the cup are burned in the hearth, together with the picture of the god. The Monguors explain this as the yearly rite of consecration of the children to the hearth god.

CULT OF THE HEARTH GOD

Rite at the End of the Year

The most important rites in honor of the spirit of 795
the hearth are performed at its departure for Heaven, 562
and at its coming back from Heaven, for so important 354
a benefactor must receive the highest honors possible, 776
and the most affectionate greetings. This is true all 782
over China. Men do not attend these rites.

The spirit of the hearth of the Chinese starts its journey to heaven on the twenty-third of the last moon of the year, on horseback or on a mule. The spirit of

[20] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 73.

[21] Poppe, *op. cit.* 2: 135. See also n. 15, above, for Agni, the Hindu god, riding a ram.

[22] *Ibid.*, 301.

[p. 121(B)]

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the Monguors starts its journey in the same way on the twenty-fourth of the same moon. Before that day, all daughters-in-law on holiday at their mothers' have to be back, for the cult of the spirit is entrusted to the women. This rule is kept most rigidly. 795 562 354 776 782

At evening, after supper, the women don their makeup and put on their best dresses, while the children are clad in their New Year's dresses. Grandmother and the daughters-in-law and the children kneel before the image of the spirit, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The grandmother presents and puts in front of the spirit a boiled chicken and twelve rolls of steamed bread, and kindles the oil lamp. Prostrations are made and paper is burned in the oven. Then the participants, sitting on the floor, chatting, recall the events of the whole year. When the lamp is nearly burned out, the offerings are removed. Some straw is spread in the oven, on which the picture of the spirit is placed. Twelve small bundles of hay, some peas (horses are fed with peas in the country), and three or four rolls are placed on the image, as well as the cup containing hair and nail parings of the children. The straw is kindled. The participants prostrate themselves and bow. The grandmother says: "Good deity, you know all that has happened in the family during the year; you know our deficiencies and shortcomings. Please do not tell about them when you arrive in Heaven, but rather, speak about our pitiable living conditions, our miseries, our afflictions, our poor cattle. Please come back soon. Do not linger in Heaven for too long a time, as we need you very much; we will wait for you on the thirtieth at midnight. Bring with you children for my daughters-in-law—boys are preferable to girls. Bring health for all of us; bring riches and wealth, and blessings for the cattle." If some member of the family becomes ill at that time, or if one of the daughters-in-law is childless, all these facts are entrusted to the spirit and put on its knees with confidence. The fire in the oven is extinguished, and the good spirit is on the way, enjoying his ride to Heaven.

This is one of the most intimate prayers the Monguors say in a group in the family. The same rite is performed among the Chinese in the same affectionate way and almost in the same terms, and it may be that the Monguors borrowed it from them.

The spirit of the hearth seems to be the envoy of Heaven, whose duty appears to be the supervision of the doings of the families. It seems to be very potent, for it is able to obtain in Heaven all kinds of blessings in behalf of its protégés.

The next day the wall is whitewashed and the kitchen is cleansed. On the thirtieth, at evening, a new image is pasted on the wall, in front of which is placed a chicken, four rolls, a lamp and incense sticks. At midnight, after the fire is worshipped in the courtyard, Heaven and all the spirits are honored on the roof, and the guardian deity in the living room. The family pros-

[p. 122(A)]

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trates itself before the spirit of the hearth, congratulates it, and is happy, for the spirit is supposed to have come back at that very moment with a load of blessings. In the early morning the elders will honor it also. 795 562 354 776

Several times I asked the Monguors whom the spirit of the hearth was going to see in Heaven. The answer was always: "Our women claim, as do the Chinese, that the hearth god is going to see 'Old Father Heaven.' It is true that the spirits are everywhere, and the women know it; but on that night they say the same thing that the Chinese say." 782

Rites During the Year

Every time women prepare food, the first bowl is always offered devoutly to the hearth god. 782

On the fifth of the fifth moon, steamed rolls, shaped like flowers, are offered to the spirit of the hearth, and willow boughs adorn its image. Nobody could explain the connection between the willow and the spirit of the hearth. (Is it a Chinese custom?)

It has been noted above that steamed rolls, prepared with the flour of the spelt of the new harvest, and a lamp kindled with the new oil of the year, are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the fifteenth of the eighth moon, rolls and a chicken are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the eighth of the last moon of the year, a piece of ice is put before it. (Is this a Chinese custom?)

If a member of the family has been smitten with a severe disease, old people claim that the spirit of the hearth is angry and taking in ill grace the uncleanliness of the women for having let milk drip in the fire, or for having poured water on it and on the ashes, or for poking the fire with an iron rod. In that event, rolls, wine, and chicken are offered and prostrations are made. Sometimes a sheep is offered, and a lama is invited to pray in propitiation before the image of the spirit of the hearth.

When eyes are sore, or when there is trouble with scalp and hair, the spirit of the hearth has to play physician. Before the image, a red-hot stone is put in a pot of water in which aromatic leaves of wild mint are boiled. The sick man, after prostrating himself, bows over the pot and is steamed by the vapors and healed. The same rite is used to purify the sacred animal at New Year's.

It is noteworthy that the shaman is never invited by the Monguors to honor the fire or the spirit of the hearth, although once in a while a lama is invited to perform a propitiating rite. That department, like that of the sacred animal, seems to be foreign to them.

IMAGE OF THE HEARTH GOD

The old Monguors are accustomed to paste on the wall a sheet of white paper. In the middle of the paper is pasted vertically a short but wide yellow paper ribbon, under which is pasted, horizontally, a large red-fringed paper ribbon, said to be the skirt of the spirit. 776 354 372 562

[p. 122 (8)]

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On both sides of the red skirt are pasted two small yellow ribbons, said to represent the handkerchiefs of the spirit. On the upper part of the sheet of paper is pasted, horizontally, a large red, fringed strip of paper.

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The skirt and the handkerchiefs are items belonging to women's dress, and consequently the spirit is supposed to be a female spirit. Some Monguors, when the whole primitive representation is finished, write on the yellow ribbon in the center: "Lord of the Hearth." Many Monguors no longer use this old representation of the spirit of the hearth, but instead, they buy a Chinese picture. After a few years it will be hard to find out to which sex their hearth god belonged.

According to the interesting study of Professor N. Poppe, based only on old fire prayers and hymns, the god of the fire among the Mongols is a female god, called "mother of the hearth," "mother of the fire," etc., but also "king of the fire," and even "mother king of the fire." The god of the fire possesses a big family consisting of seven girls and five boys and many servants. It is not clear why prayers and hymns are sung once for the king of the fire, and once for the lady.[23]

Among the Mongols, as among the Monguors, the most important act of honoring the god of the hearth takes place on the last days of the year. In the hymns, all kind of blessings are implored from the god of the hearth, who seems omnipotent.[24]

The Tibetans, from the oldest times on, also had their "god of the hearth" and their "queen hearth god." Both were very touchy concerning the smallest impurities thrown into the fire; a trifle could upset them.[25]

Among the Tungus, the spirit of the fire is an old woman, who stays in the fire of the family; fire is to be revered.[26]

It is interesting to record that, among the Chinese also, the sex of the god of the hearth is not definitely fixed. Father Doré, studying twenty-nine sources related to the subject, notes that eight describe it as female, while a few assert that the spirit is not a single person, but a real couple, husband and wife. The remainder claim the masculine sex for their spirit.[27]

In old China,

> *Chich* was the spirit of the hearth, wearing red clothes and having the appearance of a beautiful woman. [*Chich* means chignon.] It is strange that the spirit of the hearth has a female appearance. Confucius is reported to have said that the cult of the hearth is a cult of old ladies. There is a difference between the spirits of the hearth and of the fire: the last one is a male spirit, and the first a female, which is assimilated with the first woman cook.[28]

[23] N. Poppe, Zum Feuer Kultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major* 2: 133, 1925.

[24] *Ibid.*, 140.

[25] Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 169.

[26] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 128.

[27] H. Doré, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, Part 2, 2: 901, Shanghai, Sikawei. See also *Li-ki*, Couvreur, 1: 554. Ho Kien fu, 1899, Mission Catholique.

[28] M. Granet, *Danses et legendes de la Chine ancienne*, 308, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

[p. 123(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The bewilderment concerning the sex of the god of 776
the hearth and its social position is astonishing. Some- 354
times the god seems to be a married couple, sometimes 372
a single female, or a single male. The traditional pic- 562
ture made by the Monguor women themselves offers a definite solution concerning the sex of "their" hearth god. The traditions concerning the fecundity attached to it seem connected with the Mongol king of the fire riding a he-goat, nothwithstanding that the Monguors are unable to give any reason for this connection, and do not know anything about the existence of this he-goat rider. Maybe the solution of the puzzle is to be sought in the suggestion of Granet, that two spirits are involved, the spirit of the fire which is a male, and the god of the hearth which is a female.

OFFERING TO HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS

THE FAMILY OFFERING AFTER THE HARVEST 776

After the spelt is cut, some sheaves are immediately 782
carried home and threshed. The grain is ground on the 795
stone, which is cleansed carefully. The women steam thirteen rolls of bread made with the newly ground flour. All members of the family climb on top of the roof in their best dresses and kneel, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the family lifts up to Heaven the salver with the thirteen steaming rolls and shouts three times, at the top of his voice, the usual "*Mtchioo*" and "Heaven and all the spirits." The whole family prostrates itself thankfully for the new harvest. Crumbs of bread are thrown to the four points of the compass. The Monguors say that the crumbs must be thrown in this way in order to feed the roaming, hungry, malignant spirits of the deceased, who always are on the prowl to harm the people.

The family comes down and offers the same rolls to the guardian spirit of the family, and to the spirit of the hearth, and then the whole family eats the rolls steamed with the new flour of the year.

In autumn, when linseed and colza seed are cut and the new oil is pressed, the same rite is performed with the new oil. A lamp with the new oil is kindled on the roof of the house with the usual prostrations and shoutings, another is kindled for the guardian spirit of the family, and another for the spirit of the hearth. The Tibetans in the country perform the same rite and the Chinese do also, but the Chinese thank only the "Old Father Heaven" and not "Heaven and all the spirits."

THE OFFERING OF THE SHEEP

It has been noted above that whenever a sheep is offered to a deity in the family, first of all a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown in the court yard for "Heaven" separately, with shouts of "Heaven" and no more; that a second piece is cut and thrown in the same way, with a shout of "all the spirits," and that

Lp. 123 (B)]

Om Mani. The rite may last for two or three hours, 764
during which time two servings of tea are drunk. After the rite is finished, noodles are offered to the assembly. It is really edifying to see the courtyard crowded with people, kneeling and squatting close together, and to hear them repeat in unison, slowly and with devotion, after the cavernous voice of the lama, innumerable monotone Om Manis. One feels at that time that the Monguors are a religious people.

The custom of gathering at night to pray for the deceased seems to have been practiced by nomads long before Lamaism was born. Parker, dealing with the funeral rites of the Hsien-pi as translated from the Chinese annals notes: "On the day of the funeral the relatives and the intimates assemble at night time and sit in a circle; two men pronounce an incantation so that [775] the soul may pass unmolested by the Ghouls to the red mountains." This fact is noted as having existed before our era, two thousand years ago. It is interesting to encounter at the same time of night a similar religious rite for the same purpose among the Monguors, who were formerly nomads. It is said by them that they are very fond of the rite.[34]

CREMATION [35]

During the six days preceding the cremation, three lamas (rich people invite five or seven) pray for the dead in a private room. On the sixth day a minor Living Buddha arrives with a couple of lama assistants. At night, after the departure of the guests, the lamas drive out the souls of the dead in the usual way, and throw the nefarious *torma* on a crossroad; the neighbors cry and shoot rifles. In the very early morning, the lamas pray before the corpse; beating drums and ringing bells, so that the awakened neighbors soon arrive. Tea is drunk, lamentations are made, and the sedan chair is carried at a fast pace to the place of cremation. It is not permitted to rest on the way, or to put down the sedan chair, lest the spirit of that spot be injured. At the moment of departure, the lamas adjure the souls not to come back.

Only among a few groups of Monguors are women, the daughters of the deceased, allowed to follow the [184 562 431] cortege lamenting, supported and steadied by other women. Arriving at the spot they are invited to go back home; they receive a piece of cloth, a pair of trousers, and a gown in order to return easily. On a spot indicated by a Red lama or a Taoist priest the neighbors have built, the day before, a rudimentary oven which has an opening on each of the four sides. The master of ceremonies for the last time adjures the dead not to come back or to harm the family. The corpse is put in a caldron in the oven. The wood of the sedan chair, broken into pieces, is put in the oven. A lama strikes fire with a flint and lights the oven. Twenty

[34] Parker, *op. cit.*, 86.
[35] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 42. [p.145 (A)]

N *563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren.
M 592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually
554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N *563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional
M part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the
581 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon-
562 gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an-
[769] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered
[771] a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their live-
stock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently
*563 the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con-
M siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen
584 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage
583 age for boys is between 14-16.
582 Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab-
N solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is
*563 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob-
M served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage
614 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the
582 weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re-
565 garded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it
has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy
rules need not be observed as strictly.

N Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but
*563 does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a
M sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different
582 clan.

M A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family,
[587] usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband.
However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance
and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she
wants.

N Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from
*563 the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage
M to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan,
588 but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patri-
lineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as
members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the
belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has
relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be
"married" if she becomes pregnant.

N The relationship between two families connected by marriage
*563 is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being
M part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence
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/The Monguors/

N *563 of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

M 576 [264] [603] [554] [561] The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank.

The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little."

M [574] It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

N *563 i. Celebrations and festivals

M 614 796 Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the

N *563 M 614 527 273 prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

N *563 M 562 [558] [852] [782] [852] Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is particularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 562 852 [553] first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal M [203] [604] [603] [553] uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, al- M [184] though the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

j. Beard-growing

N *563 M 302 [593] [888] A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 M 764 [171] [177] The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

4. Popular beliefs

N *563 M 843 562 Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 777 789 If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.

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tion for her hospitality. Larger scale selling and buying are done at fairs held two or three times a year.

Occasionally an ambitious young Mongour will go into the business of long-distance caravan trade with the Tibetans. He will deal largely in mules and saddle girths woven with white wool, which can be sold readily in Tibet, and bring back wool serge cloth dyed red or purple, or white with red or blue stripes. A heavy fabric, it sheds water, and is highly valued by the Mongours. He will also bring back Tibetan incense, dates and so forth to sell to the Chinese.

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6. Work and leisure

The traditional life of pastoral nomads is rather free and lazy except at the times of seasonal migration. Descendants of nomads, the Mongours still prefer to enjoy long periods of comparative idleness alternating with short periods of intense activity. In their agricultural economy, however, the Mongour men are unable to be quite so indolent as pastoral nomads.

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In the farming communities, both men and women work in the fields. The men do the heavy preparatory work, plowing and harrowing; the women help with sowing and weeding, as well as with reaping the harvest and carrying the grains to the threshing floor. Women do the threshing. Like their Mongol sisters, they do the housework and care for the animals. Married women work under the supervision of the oldest, usually the mother-in-law.

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Although their status is inferior, the Mongour women accept it without resentment. Their outlook is conditioned by their milieu. They know what is expected of them, and behave accordingly. Though bound by strict rules of etiquette, they are entirely free to associate with men, to sing and dance in public, and to enjoy themselves. They delight in attending the big festivals at the lamaseries and the annual assembly of the clan, where they meet their friends and visit, and also show off their fancy costumes and headdress. They love to shop at the fairs, and bargain over goods. Both men and women love to sing. During the long, tedious hours of weeding the fields, men and women sing in unison.

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G. The Tibetans

1. The people

Hsi-fan is a name applied by the Chinese to the Amdo Tibetans, and to all other non-Chinese tribesmen from Sung-p'an to Hsi-ning. It means Western Barbarians. Some European scholars have maintained that the Hsi-fan are not Tibetans, and suggest that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese peoples of southwest China, like the Lolo or Moso.

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Granting that there is no such thing as a homogenous Tibetan

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

000 316 the highest, coldest, part of the country. Coal was exploited and mined in a primitive way in one of the valleys north of Hsining and near the junction of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers. According to the local *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 20*a*), iron was exploited during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644); but the deposits must have been exhausted, because during the period of my stay iron was carried all the way from the Province of Szech'uan on donkeys and mules.

In the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, and some of their small tributaries, gold was panned at irregular intervals; south of the Hsining River and in the upper reaches of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, thirty-one auriferous placers were regularly exploited, mostly by Muslims.

487 492 505 The system of communications was primitive. Ox carts could travel on the roads near the larger towns and villages, but most transportation depended on pack-animals, including donkeys, mules, and horses. It was only subsequent to the period covered by this study that a highway was built connecting Lanchou, the capital of the Province of Kansu, with Hsining, the capital of Ch'inghai. The Hsining River was, therefore, the biggest transport asset of the country. From the Hsining River to the Yellow River, which flows by the city of Lanchou, cargoes of grain, wool, skins, vegetable oils, and alcohol were carried on rafts made either of wood or of inflated ox skins as far as the city of Paot'ou, in the Province of Suiyüan, where they were unloaded and carried on by rail to the seaport of Tientsin. Most of this transportation business was in the hands of Chinese Muslims. [463] [563]

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 In the oldest Chinese historical references, the country between the Tat'ung, Hsining, and Yellow Rivers was called Huang Chung and was inhabited by tribes called Ch'iang. The Chinese ideograph for this name indicated that it had the meaning "herders of sheep." The name is one that has never disappeared from Chinese usage in referring to the peoples of the edge of the Tibetan plateau; it is in use to this day. In 202 B.C. the Hsiao Yuehchih, who were probably speakers of an eastern Iranian, Indo-European language, fled from the Hsiung-nu, the principal tribe of the northern Chinese frontier, settled among the Ch'iang tribes, and were absorbed by them.

In 116 B.C. Ho Ch'ü-ping, one of the most famous frontier commanders in Chinese history, came to Huang Chung and founded the first Chinese colonies among the Ch'iang tribes. In A.D. 4 more Chinese colonies were established in the region of Kukunor, but were lost after a few years. This was, in fact, a precarious frontier. For three hundred and sixty years the frontier colonies were often in danger of annihilation, being subject to frequent tribal attack and without support from China proper, because the Later Han dynasty of the first and second centuries A.D. was troubled with chronic dynastic

[P. 19a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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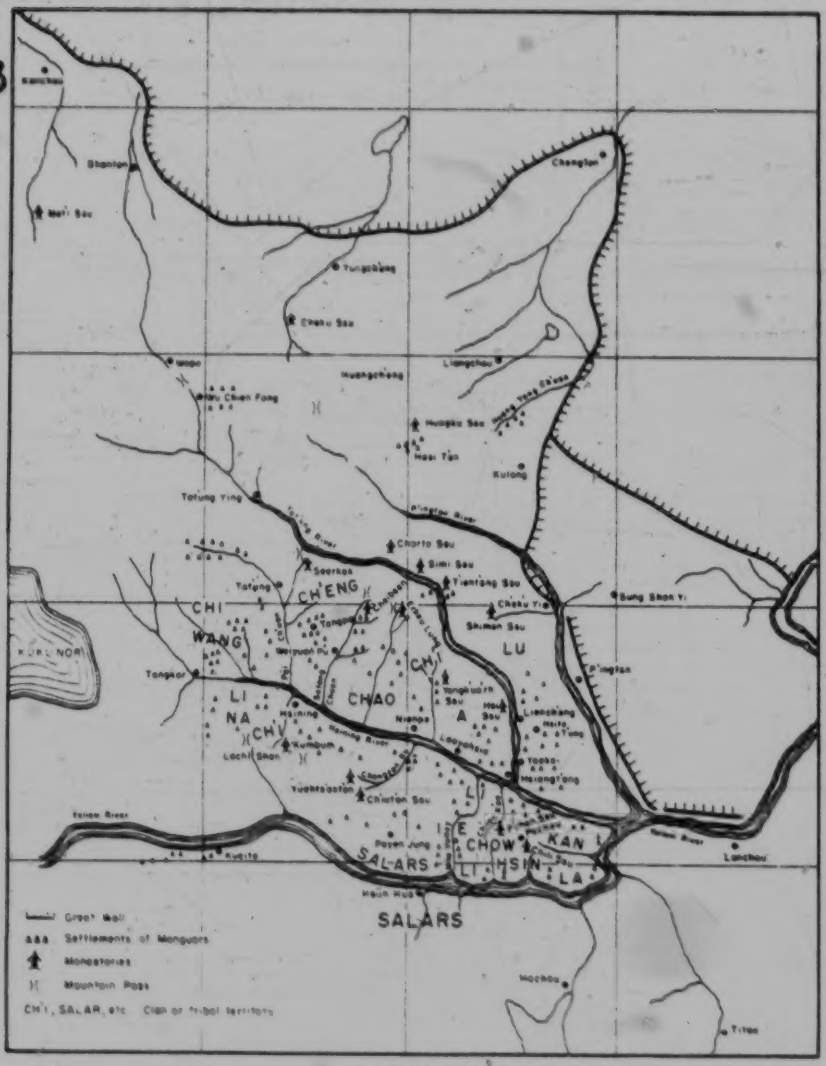

MAP 2

[p.20]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 the region came under the jurisdiction of an official with the Manchu title of Amban.

According to the *Annals of Hsining*, ch. 16, pp. 12 *a* and *b*, the tribal jurisdiction of the Amban derived from a meeting that had been held in 1732 between the provinces of Szech'uan and Shen-Kan (or "Shensi and Kansu," but embracing the territories not only of the present provinces of Shensi and Kansu but of the later-established provinces of Ningshia and Ch'inghai as well). At this meeting each tribe was assigned a fixed territory for the first time in history. The tribes allocated to the Amban of Hsining included twenty-eight banners of the Mongols of Kukunor and one banner of Mongols located in Tibet proper; the Tibetan tribes of the Kukunor frontier were reorganized at that time and for that purpose into eight major tribal groups; twenty-five Tibetan tribes of the frontier district of Yüshu, each under a chief with the title of T'u-ssu; and the very independent and warlike Tibetan tribe of the Ngoloks. By 1918, when a census was taken, the eight major Tibetan tribal groups just mentioned were reported to number 8,443 families, totaling 39,390 people.[2a]

The territory inhabited by a settled farming population was divided into the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining, Nienpei, Tat'ung, Kueite, Donkir, Payenjung, and Hsünhua. The fields around the cities and big villages were tilled by Chinese, but in outlying districts Tibetans and Monguors were to be met, wearing their distinctive, non-Chinese costumes and speaking their own languages. On the southern, western, and northern fringes of the land settled by Chinese were sedentary Tibetans who farmed and also raised sheep and cattle. In enclaves within the Chinese population lived the Monguors, in well-defined valleys where there was little Chinese population. Scattered here and there were villages of Chinese-speaking Muslims. On the southern edge of the district lived the Turkish-speaking Salar Muslims.

TIBETANS

563 From the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, pp. 11–20, the names of sixty-six Tibetan tribes can be counted, and in addition the names of fifty-two villages inhabited by Tibetans in the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining. These village Tibetans were called by the Chinese "tame" in contrast with the "wild" nomad Tibetans in the Kukunor frontier district. According to the *Annals*, the village Tibetans numbered 10,683 families, totaling 42,732 people. The exact average of four persons per family suggests that these figures are more schematic than accurate. The large number of tribes given for the "tame" Tibetans can be taken only as a general guide. It is characteristic of Tibetan tribes that they very easily subdivide into new tribes, and often a group of no more than ten or twenty families will call itself a tribe. The tribal Tibetans close

[2a] Yao Ming-hui, *Yüshu tiaoch'a chi* 1, 1–24, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1928.

[p. 21 b]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

563 to Hsining are the remnants of the once much more powerful tribes that withdrew at the beginning of the Mongol dynasty to the Kukunor region. Those who stayed behind submitted to the jurisdiction of the officials of the settled districts. There is little cohesion among them. Those who call themselves a tribe are rarely under the control of a single chief. Tribal matters are more usually disposed of by the elders of the group. The religion of all these Tibetans is Lama Buddhism. The prevailing sect is that of the Yellow Hats or reformed sect, but in the southern districts there is a fairly strong survival of the older Red Hat sect. Shamanism also continues to flourish among the Tibetans, in spite of Buddhism; their shamans are reputed to be the most powerful in the country. There are a few Tibetans living near Hsünhua who have become Muslims.

MONGUORS

563 175 618 In the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining there were then living sixteen clans of Monguors, to which should be added the Liench'eng clan, living in the territory of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. The word "clan" has been used in many senses in the literature of the social sciences. It is here used in a special sense, and for lack of a more precise term, to describe a group of people ruled by the same chief, all people born into the clan bearing the same surname as the chief of the clan and living on territory belonging to the chief. The Monguor clans (excepting the Shat'o groups) trace their presence in the Hsining district as far back as the period of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty (1260–1368). On the overthrow of this dynasty they submitted to the Ming dynasty. A fixed territory was then assigned to the chief of each clan. The Tibetans of the Hsining district were assigned territories in the same way at the same time. While the Tibetans were subject to the direct administration of the Chinese sub-prefecture officials, however, the Monguors in spite of the fact that their territories formed enclaves within the sub-prefectures, were directly administered by their own clan chiefs under a peculiar kind of local autonomy.

MUSLIMS

563 The Hsining district is also an important Muslim stronghold. There are three Muslim groups, of which two still speak a Turkish dialect while one speaks Chinese. According to their own tradition, the Chinese-speaking Muslims are of Turkish origin, but while clinging to their religion they have adopted the Chinese language and many Chinese customs. From the Chinese point of view, however, they remain foreigners and barbarians, and there is cordial mutual dislike between Chinese and Chinese-speaking Muslims. In the Chinese *Annals* I have not been able to find any reference to the date of their earliest settlement in this region, although according to popular tradition they arrived either during

[P. 22a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

563 the T'ang dynasty (618–906) or the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368).

The presence of Muslims in the Hsining district under the Yuan dynasty is however evidenced by two passages in the *Annals*. One of the sixteen Monguor clans, the small clan of Yeh, is described as being of Ch'ant'ou origin, and Muslim by religion. The term Ch'ant'ou, meaning "those who wear a turban on the head," is commonly applied to central Asian Turkish Muslims. Since this clan submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 at the same time as the other Monguor clans, it must have been settled in the country under the preceding Yuan or Mongol dynasty. (Provincial *Annals*, ch. 42, p. 52.) It is also stated in the same *Annals* (ch. 42, p. 43) that the Salars also submitted to the Ming in 1371, when two of their chiefs were granted the rank of T'u-ssu. According to popular tradition they came to China from Samarkand under the T'ang dynasty. The *Annals* give no evidence for or against this tradition, but show that they were at least living in China at the end of the Yuan dynasty.[26]

The religious fanaticism of the Muslims has been their strength and their weakness. It has enabled them to hold their own against the Chinese, but rivalry between sects has prevented complete cohesion. One sect, commonly known as the Old Religion, belongs to the Hanefite school; that is to say, it bases its religious doctrines on the Korán and on the Sunna or tradition. The other sect, known as the New Religion, is divided into a number of subsects and derives from the schools of the Shias and the Sufis. This sect holds that religious leaders are invested by God with special "grace"; this grace can be passed on to their sons who succeed them as religious chiefs. Owing to this belief, the sect is always exposed to the danger of further subdivision through the appearance of new claimants to religious leadership who declare themselves to be endowed with "grace." Owing to its belief in this kind of religious inspiration, the sect is marked by its devotion to the cult of saints and their tombs.

The Chinese-speaking Muslims are to be found in the cities and in villages to the west, south, and north of Hsining. Occasionally a few Chinese-speaking Muslims are to be found living in villages of the non-Muslim Chinese, but non-Muslim Chinese do not live in the villages of the Muslims. While the Muslims engage in agriculture, their most important and profitable activities

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[26] The following references to the Muslims of Northwest China are from *Moslem World*, New York: M. E. Botham, Islam in Kansu (**10**: 377–390, 1919); H. D. Hayward, The Kansu Moslems (**24**: 68–80, 1934) and Han and Hwei in the Kansu-Sinkiang marches (**26**: 62–67, 1936). See also G. F. Andrew, Islam in North-West China today, *Jour. Roy. Central Asian Soc.*, London, **19**: 89–100, 1932.

Kansu was disturbed by Muslim rebellions in 1648, 1781–1784, 1820–1828, 1862–1878, 1895–1897; a revolt broke out in 1909 but was suppressed by the Muslim chiefs themselves; between 1918 and 1921 the situation was very tense; the last revolt, 1928–1929, was headed by Ma Chung-ying.

[P. 22b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

•563 are in the grain trade, and the buying and selling of
463 horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides, and lamb skins. Their importance in the boat and raft trade on the Yellow River has already been noted; and many Muslims are innkeepers on the roads of Kansu. Even the astute Chinese respect them as formidable rivals in trade. There is a Chinese saying to the effect that "one Muslim asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," and another that "the food of the Muslims is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted." It is also said that "out of ten Muslims nine are thieves."

SALARS

563 The Salars live chiefly in two groups in the subprefectures of Hsünhua and Payenjung.[4a] The famous Chinese Muslim general, Ma Fu-hsiang, who enlisted many Salars in his troops, mentions the tradition that the Salars came to China as early as the T'ang dynasty, and describes them as having settled in their present homes under the Yuan or during the Ming dynasty. He divides them into two groups, the "inner five clans" (using for "clan" the Chinese word *kung*) and the "outer eight clans." The "outer" group, according to General Ma, is one that has lost its Turkish language and now speaks Tibetan. The Salars preserve their old customs and traditions by marrying only within their own groups.[4] I have often been told by Uighurs from Sinkiang who used to come to Hsining every winter to deal in Russian leather, boots, and cloth, that they could not understand the dialect either of the Salars or the Turkish-descended Monguors of the Yeh clan.

The Salars are the most fanatical of all the Muslims and during the great Muslim revolts against the Chinese they have always been the fiercest and the most cruel warriors. General Ma Fu-hsiang carefully distinguishes the Salars from the Tibetans, from the groups of Mongol origin converted to Islam, and from the Tibetan-speaking group of Mongol origin which has also been converted to Islam. He himself belongs to the group of converts of Mongol descent. This group is called "San-t'a" by both Tibetans and Monguors.[5]

[4a] General references: R. B. Shaw, On the hill canton of Salar. The most easterly settlement of the Turki race. *Jour. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, London, **10**: 305–316, 1878; G. F. Andrew, Ancient Chinese Koran. *Moslem World*, New York, **24**: 84, 1934; C. D. Holton, Salars. *Friends of Moslems*, Hankow, **19**: 13, 1945. See also article "China" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* **1**: 839–854, Leyden, Brill, 1913–1934.

[4] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng-Tsang Chuang-k'uang* (General account of Mongolia and Tibet), 200, Nanking, Chunghua Publishers, 1936.

[5] According to A. De Smedt and A. Mostaert, *Le dialecte monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou occidental, IIIe partie. Dictionnaire monguor-français*, 324, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1933, "san-t'a" is probably from *sarta'ul*, "Musulman." See also P. Pelliot, in *T'oung Pao* **27**: n. 2, 1930: "*Sarta'ul*, nom mongol des Musulmans (surtout de ceux du Turkestan russe) au Moyen Age."

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624 175 eldest son, succeeding as the new T'u-ssu by right of being the first born, had a distinguishing privilege. The land taxes due to him (in the form of grain) had to be brought to his mansion, while the junior houses had themselves to collect the taxes from the villages assigned to them.

624 651 175 578 At the beginning of the Ming dynasty, when the houses were first established, the tax revenues must have provided a comfortable living for each house, and it is probable that they needed no other income to live at leisure, at the expense of the commoners. After a few generations, however, as the descendants of each house became more and more numerous, the collection of taxes became increasingly a problem. Divided and subdivided claims to a share of the revenue became insufficient to maintain the claimant families, and were inevitably the cause of quarrels and feuds. In the end, claims to the right to collect subdivided fractions of the land tax became chronic sources of trouble not only among the families constituting the house, but between them and the commoners from whom the revenue was collected.

624 651 578 In some houses the constituent families agree with each other to take turns collecting the available revenue, but this leads to disputes every year and sometimes to fierce fighting. It is not unknown for two or three families to go to the villages, trying to collect the land taxes in competition with each other. When this happens, the villagers are angered and demand that the families who lay claim to revenue patch up their quarrels and adjust their claims before the villagers open their granaries. Those who claim a right to collect revenue, on the other hand, resort to various kinds of deceit in trying to extort more from the villages and to get more than the legal or customary amount. In such problems and quarrels the T'u-ssu himself is involved because by tradition it is he and not the houses who fixes the rates at which levies are collected.

624 651 563 The sources of income of a T'u-ssu are more varied than those of a noble house. The T'u-ssu collects the land taxes in the villages which form the portion of his own house, and in addition collects a number of special taxes which provide his personal revenue. Most of these taxes are collected from Chinese living or trading within his territory. When Monguors who belong to his clan buy livestock, wool, skins, or grain they do not pay a tax on the transaction. On such transactions the Chinese, however, do pay a tax, and so do Monguors of other clans when they engage in such transactions within the territory of the T'u-ssu. Chinese shopkeepers, blacksmiths, and innkeepers living within the clan territory pay taxes. Imposts are levied on rafts and boats on rivers running through the clan territory. At the diets or clan assemblies, and at festivals at Lama monasteries in the clan territory, taxes are collected from Chinese merchants. Payments must also be made for the registration of title deeds to land and houses, and

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

624 taxes are collected from Chinese who graze their herds
651 on the clan territory. When the T'u-ssu sitting in
563 judgment settles a quarrel, he collects a payment. He also expects gifts in cash when he makes his triennial visit to the villages and on the occasion of funerals and marriages.

As opposed to these sources of personal revenue, the T'u-ssu has very few administrative expenses because most administration is carried on through the obligatory services of clan members. The few Chinese secretaries who are employed receive instead of salary the allocation of fields which they are allowed to farm without paying land taxes. Since there are no schools, there is no budget for education, nor is there any expenditure for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of administrative buildings because all such work is done through the levying of obligatory labor. Monguor carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans, in addition to unskilled labor, being available through the institution of obligatory labor services (corvée). Since each village has to provide a fixed number of soldiers, with their full equipment, uniforms, weapons, horses, tents, food, etc., there is no budget for military expenses.

THE CHIEF OF THE CLAN

624 The description of the composition of the clan that has
618 been given in the preceding pages raises by implication the problem of the origin and evolution of the clan chief.

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE CLAN CHIEF INSTITUTION

The clan chief is *not an essential element* of the clan. Vladimirtsov,[12] drawing on the Mongol *Secret History* and other chronicle material, demonstrates that, in periods when the pastoral tribes of Mongolia were not unified in large groups under powerful clans, it was quite common to find clans without a regular hereditary aristocracy, led simply by self-constituted chiefs who were heads of families. By way of comparison, it may be noted that most of the small Tibetan tribes of the Hsining region have no aristocracy of chiefs, but are ruled by a sort of council of the heads of families.

The historical and comparative material makes it clear that in clan societies without hereditary chiefs leaders may be designated temporarily and for specific purposes, such as the organization of community hunting drives, raids on other tribes, or defense against raiders. Leadership in such cases may be influenced by, but not solely determined by, seniority in the clan. It may also be influenced by the personal characteristics of resourcefulness or aggressiveness in the man who becomes a leader, or by the number of his relatives and friends and the degree to which they are respected in the community, and, therefore, it may be said that such leadership simultaneously carries a tinge of usurpation by the

[12] *Op. cit.*, 93.

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country of Lu. 'Your family submitted [to the Ming dynasty] long ago, and has fought bravely in many expeditions in far-off regions; your glorious achievements may be compared with those of the duke of Chu, and I therefore bestow on you the name of Lu. From that time, says the chronicle, the line [that is now] Lu changed its clan name to Lu. Unfortunately, however, the chronicle does not say whether the clan name was previously Pao or Ch'i.

There remains to be mentioned the use of double names, called in Chinese "*fu hsing*," borne by a very few Monguor families. I noted only 5 such names: Ho-Li chia, Pao-Ma chia, Chang-Li chia, Yuan-Pao chia. The *Pai-chia hsing*, the traditional list of Chinese clan or family names, records 408 single and 30 double names, and the few double names encountered among the Monguors are not included among the 30. What may account for the Monguor double names has always been a mystery to me. I was never able to determine whether the few families of commoners bearing these names were genuine Chinese, or sinicized Monguors, or Tibetans.

TIBETANS

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In addition to the Chinese there are in some clans large numbers of Tibetans but they appear to have joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese.

In the Li clan there are 20 Tibetan families living in the Narin valley and 60 families, still wearing Tibetan dress but speaking Monguor, in Hsiatsantze ("Lower station"). These 80 families are scattered remnants of the Tibetan K'eelurk tribe. In Tseilin[34] valley lives a group of 40 Tibetan families, and another group in Shuimokou ("Water-mill valley") of more than 100 Tibetan families who speak Monguor, but still dress in the Tibetan fashion, who once belonged to the famous Wang T'u-ssu of Choni monastery in T'aochou prefecture. They adopted the name Li.

In the Ch'i clan there are 32 Tibetan families speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, in Tungtsantze ("Eastern station"). They belonged originally to the two Tibetan tribes of Kairtsen and Nguertsa. In Chungtsantze ("Central station") are 40 Tibetan families also speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, who formerly belonged to the tribes of Mach'i and Ch'iaok'o.

In the clan of the Wang T'u-ssu there are 18 Tibetan families.

In the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu there are 453 Tibetan families, scattered in 13 villages numbering 2,365 persons. For this big group, there are historical data. They are descended from families granted to the T'u-ssu by the emperor as a reward for his strong support in

[34] This place name, especially as the second syllable is written with the Chinese character for "grove, wood," may be a Chinese form from Monguor *dziiri*, given in the *Dictionnaire*, as cited above, as "bois sacre," with a suggested possible further derivation from Tibetan *t'sal*, "bois."—O. L.

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563 the suppression of the big Mongol and Tibetan frontier revolt in 1723.

177 As for these large groups, it is to be noted that they are enrolled in two of the most outstanding clans, the Li and the Ch'i. The Ch'i clan descends from the imperial family of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan has always been the strongest of all the Monguor clans. 173 Under the Mongol dynasty members of this clan held 177 the most important administrative posts in Hsining. A tradition runs in these clans that the Tibetans enrolled 563 on their lists were already living in the country under the Mongol dynasty and at that time had already separated from their original tribes and submitted to the ancestors of the Li and Ch'i clans. This tradition seems quite credible. More is not known about these Tibetans, and nothing about the 18 families under the Wang T'u-ssu. Besides these groups of Tibetans, many single Tibetan families enrolled at different times in most of the clans and live scattered among the Monguors.

177 Owing to the enrollment of Tibetans and to marriages between Monguors and Tibetans there are in Monguor social life many practices proper to the matriarchal family system. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese, many Monguors have lost their own language, repudiated their Monguor origin, and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook.

When Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors. They were no longer under the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials in respect to taxes or military service. On the other hand they could not renounce their allegiance to the T'u-ssu, or leave his territory without his permission.

The question whether there are still other "Monguor" clans in other parts of Kansu may be answered as follows: the clans called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsining region are the only seventeen clans that constitute the subject of the present study. It is known that at the time these clans submitted to the Ming dynasty and their chiefs were made T'u-ssu, other groups of Mongols lived in the southeastern part of Kansu, in the regions of Titao, Hochou, and Minchou. Their chiefs, like those of the Monguors, were made T'u-ssu, had territories assigned to them, and acted as "wardens of the marches" (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 12, *passim*). They did not, however, form part of the same community as the Monguors. The chiefs and nobles of one of these groups, living east of Hochou, claim to be descendants of the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty (*Annals*, *ibid.*). They became Muslims, and speak a language akin to Mongol.[35] Another group, also near Hochou, are called Sant'a [36] or "Muslims"; they became Muslims during the Ch'ien Lung period (1736–1796), in order to save their lives at a time when the region was dominated by rebellious Muslims. The famous Muslim gen-

[35] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng-Tsang Chuangk'uang*, 200–202.
[36] From the Chinese transcription of "Sart."—O. L.

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226 Tibetan tribe on the shore of the lake from whose ter-
648 ritory they plan to operate, making him a present of the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity and a cask of wine, some tobacco, and noodles. They are then given the chief's permission and the protection of the tribe.
[608] The men of each fishing expedition usually go to the same territory every year and become sworn brothers of the chief or of some important local nomad, in order to make sure that while they are camped by the lake they will be allowed to gather fuel and will have no animals stolen.

226 Each fisherman breaks a hole in the ice, and spreads a couple of sheep skins on which he sits crosslegged, a two-pronged fork in his hands, waiting for fish to come to the surface of the water. The fish is harpooned with the fork and thrown on the ice. The frozen fish are either carried to market, usually at the city of Hsining, by the Monguors themselves or sold to Muslim merchants who make up caravans of twenty or thirty mules or donkeys. These expeditions involve hard work and exposure to the bitter cold, but the business must be remunerative as many Monguors go year after year.

TRADE

463 In the territory inhabited by the Monguors trade,
563 transport, and small industries are mostly in the hands of Chinese and Muslims. The Muslims are an ener-
441 getic and enterprising people, even more hard work-
439 ing and indefatigable than other Chinese. They willingly engage in the arduous work of driving caravans of pack-mules and in running rafts and boats down the Hsining and Upper Yellow Rivers in all weathers. Most of the peddlars are also Muslims, who travel either with a pack on their backs or with a loaded donkey, wandering through the Monguor country from house to house, exchanging cloth, needles, thread, and other small wares for wool, skins, eggs, and grain. In the autumn, Muslim buyers collect sheep and oxen and drive them to Hsining in small herds.

There are very few Chinese peddlars, but the distilleries and flour and oil mills, which require money capital, are run by Chinese, and the Chinese monopolize the pork business, since the Muslims will have nothing to do with pigs. All through the year, and especially during the autumn, while the Muslims are buying up other livestock the Chinese butchers of the cities and towns send their agents into the Monguor villages to buy hogs. The Chinese merchants who do business on a bigger scale than the Muslim peddlars also send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at such large gatherings as the lama monastery festivals and the annual meetings of the Monguor clans.

441 Grain and oil seeds, being the main crops of the Monguors, are also the main commodities of trade. The conversion of grain into alcohol and of oil seeds into oil results in products of higher value in proportion to bulk and weight which can stand the cost of transporta-

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441 tion to more distant markets that could not be reached by the unprocessed grain and seeds. These enterprises are, therefore, outlying Chinese businesses intermediate between the Monguor country and the Chinese-inhabited towns and cities. Wealthy Monguors, not confident of their own ability in trade, often invest their money in such Chinese enterprises; often, unfortunately, with the result that the Chinese partners get rich while the Monguors lose their money. Only a few Monguors, who are already well on the way toward becoming completely Chinese, venture into such enterprises as managing a small shop or buying and selling animals or wool and skins.

439 In the autumn, the Chinese managers of distilleries and oil mills make contracts with the Monguor farmers, the farmers undertaking to plant an agreed acreage with the crop required by the Chinese, and to sell the harvest at an agreed price. On the strength of this agreement, [452] the Chinese buyer makes a cash advance to the Monguor farmer. Wheat that does not go to the distilleries is bought up by Muslim dealers. The wheat is measured at the Monguor farm with the buyers' own measure, draft animals are hired from the Monguors to bring the wheat to the river bank, and it is there loaded on rafts and floated down to Lanchow.

252 There are some mills that grind flour for local Monguor consumption, and for that of neighboring Mongol and Tibetan nomads, and Chinese cities. These mills are built along small streams. A vertical wooden wheel carries an endless chain of buckets. As the stream fills the lower buckets, the wheel turns; coming up over the wheel, the buckets empty into a chute, and the descending water turns the nether stone of the mill, while the upper stone remains fixed. The grindstones are so crudely grooved that the grain has to be milled three times. Professional grindstone makers cut the blue stone in the mountains, install the millstones at the mill, and visit the mills every month to cut fresh grooves in the stones. There are only a few mills with horizontal power-wheels.

231 In the profitable business of buying livestock to be
463 slaughtered in such cities as Hsining and Lanchou, the
Muslims have a virtual monopoly of buying cows and
• 563 oxen, the Chinese have a monopoly in buying pigs, and
both Muslim and Chinese butchers buy sheep. The
441 most important season is the autumn, when the animals are in the best condition. Sheep are herded slowly for a journey of ten days or more to Lanchou, in order to prevent them from going lame and losing weight. Pigs
231 are also driven slowly, each batch of pigs being handled
441 by three men, moving only six or eight miles a day and sometimes taking a month to reach market. Ahead of the pigs is a man on foot driving a donkey loaded with dried peas and a long basket. Every mile or two the donkey is halted, some of the peas are poured into the basket, and enough is fed to the pigs to whet their appetites and keep the fat animals waddling after the

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175 624 Manchu policy, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of preventing unity among the Eastern, Northern, and Western Mongols. In the nineteenth century, as the dynasty became less Manchu and more Chinese in its characteristics, the T'u-ssu were honored by the court in distant Peking, and were kept loyal and complacent by gifts and grants of honors—a policy ancient and widespread in the Orient.

Practically, the main factor in prolonging the survival of the institution was the feudal right of the T'u-ssu to prevent their subjects from leaving their territories, aided by the fact that because Chinese officials were unable to levy direct taxes on Monguors, life was on the whole somewhat better in Monguor territory than in territory under Chinese administration. As these factors later came to be equalized by the combination of the decreasing power of the T'u-ssu and their increasing exactions from their subjects, the most obvious phenomenon of the breakup of the T'u-ssu institution was the ability of subject Monguors to abandon their T'u-ssu with impunity and move into territory under direct Chinese control.

177 563 Among the disruptive factors within the Monguor society the most powerful was the enrollment of Chinese and Tibetans in the Monguor clans. The Tibetans were culturally more akin to the Monguors than the Chinese, and easily adopted the Monguor costume, traditions, and language; but their matrilineal kinship system undermined the patriarchal clan structure of the Monguors. The Chinese, on the other hand, penetrated the Monguor society without being absorbed by it. When a Chinese asked for the protection of a Monguor T'u-ssu and enrolled in a Monguor clan, it was for the deliberate purpose of making the best of two worlds. His object was not to become a Monguor, but to escape both the taxes that he had to pay to the Chinese authorities and the taxes that, as a Chinese resident or trading in the Monguor community, he had to pay to the Monguor T'u-ssu. With their strong Chinese devotion to their own clans and clan ancestors, such Chinese were unwilling to go so far as to accept the clan name of the T'u-ssu. They tended to continue to regard the Monguors as barbarians, and to resist the adoption of the Monguor costume and language. At the same time they pushed themselves forward in the administration of the villages in which they lived and the clans to which they had become attached, and in so doing their influence was naturally in the direction of the Chinese way of doing things and the Chinese way of thinking.

The infiltration of the Chinese trend of mind into the Monguor family system and social structure was promoted most by those Chinese who became elders and chiefs of villages and officials and secretaries living in the immediate surrounding of the T'u-ssu, drafting and executing his orders to his subjects and discussing administrative topics with him. All official documents were written in Chinese, and in all administrative discussions and meetings the Chinese language prevailed.

[p. 129b]

177 In cases where the Chinese authorities eventually deposed
563 a T'u-ssu and took his territory and its population under direct Chinese administration, Chinese who had long been domiciled among the Monguors naturally became prominent people under the new dispensation. Thus it is plain that even though the Chinese civil officials were appointed by the T'u-ssu themselves, and not by the higher Chinese authorities, their influence promoted the process of the absorption of the Monguors by Chinese culture.

In the disintegration of the old Monguor society the personal example of the T'u-ssu themselves had a great effect. In the long period of relative peace and stability along the froniter under Manchu rule, the T'u-ssu ceased to receive fresh increments of prestige in their old capacity as military commanders and "wardens of the marches." They, therefore, naturally began to turn toward the standards of prestige accepted in the settled Chinese population. It became usual for T'u-ssu to marry the daughters of rich Chinese officials, or the half-Chinese daughters of other T'u-ssu who had married Chinese. There was thus introduced into the households of the T'u-ssu a Chinese "fine lady" point of view; these ladies despised the costume of the Monguor women as barbarous, they did not learn the Monguor language, their children received a Chinese home education and were sent to Chinese schools, and it thus became more and more common to find T'u-ssu who were unable even to speak with their subjects in their own language. Following the fashion set by their chiefs, many Monguors married the daughters of Chinese domiciled in the clan or Chinese from outside, and as this custom spread a great many Monguors in all the clans came to be ashamed of their Monguor extraction, repudiated their origin, and professed to be of Chinese origin.

177 Still another disruptive factor was that many T'u-ssu,
563 by mortgaging parts of their territories to Chinese mer-
426 chants and to lamaseries, as security for loans, lost control over the revenue from land taxes. Under these conditions they still retained the power to requisition corvée labor services; but the exercise of this power emphasized the contrast between the privileges of the chiefs and the obligations of their subjects, and weakened the bonds of loyalty that had once united the nobility and the commoners.

624 In the meantime, the T'u-ssu institution was also be-
661 coming corrupt from within. As the administrative system of the clan was so closely geared to the institution of the corvée, or obligatory labor and services, and military power depended on unpaid conscription, only a few officials received allocations of land, the income from which served as salary. The majority of the minor officials depended on bribery for their cash income, there being unlimited opportunities for bribery in the collection of land and other taxes in the form of gifts from families and individuals who wanted to be excused from compulsory services. Since it was profitable to hold such

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624 661 an official position, there was bribery also in the competition for official appointments, and thus the whole administration of the Monguor clans became thoroughly corrupt. The taxable body came to be regarded as a melon to be sliced. Apart from what was absorbed in the lower ranks through corruption, all revenue collected was the perquisite of the T'u-ssu himself. Since nothing was done for public welfare, there were no schools, there was no budget for education, nor was there any expenditure for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of administrative buildings, because all such work was done through the levying of obligatory labor. Monguor carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans in addition to unskilled labor were available through the institution of obligatory labor services.

177 563 During the process of the disintegration of the Monguor society, it remained none the less a going concern up to a certain point. As long as the T'u-ssu retained more than a certain minimum of power and wealth, it was to the advantage of the Chinese officials to cooperate with them in certain ways. Up to this point, therefore, the individual Monguor, even though he suffered from the decay of the society of which he was a part, found it impossible to escape and strike out for himself. If he tried to leave his village and settle in Chinese territory, the Chinese officials would return him to the jurisdiction of his hereditary T'u-ssu. Once the wealth and influence of the T'u-ssu had declined below the minimum, however, it was no longer worth the while of Chinese officials to cooperate with them. At this point the Chinese began to abolish or override the privileges of the T'u-ssu, to take the Monguor districts under their direct administration, and to treat the Monguors in the same way as Chinese. An example of this changing attitude of the Chinese officials has already been referred to in the case of the impoverished Chao T'u-ssu who was unable to afford the expenses of investiture and promptly had his office discontinued. An earlier case was that of the Ch'en T'u-ssu, a supercilious and over-confident man who was so oppressive in his demands for taxes and corvées that he was impeached before the Chinese court by his own subjects, about the year 1875. His territory was confiscated, his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects, and he lost both the office and the title of T'u-ssu.

The Yeh T'u-ssu who did not fight the Muslim rebellion had his territory confiscated, was deposed, and he and his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects.

The latest news I have had from Hsining since the new Communist rulers of China have taken possession of that region is that the T'u-ssu institution has been abolished, that the Monguor women and men have been ordered to change their peculiar Monguor style of dressing and to adopt Chinese costume, and that orders have been given to establish schools in the Monguor villages under Chinese teachers devoted to the new ideology. The two-thousand-year-old Chinese instinct for absorb-

[p. 130 b]

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177 563 ing neighboring tribes and making Chinese of them seems still to linger in Chinese minds, no matter what the official ideology may be. It will not be long before all the Monguor clans will have been "sinized," leading to their disappearance as a distinct people, and in the future very little will be available about the origins, institutions, traditions, and customs of the Monguors.

There remains an aspect of the life of the Monguors with which I have not here dealt, which is quite as interesting and peculiar as the social, family, and economic aspects; this is the religious life. Lamaism, shamanism, and practices and beliefs which seem not to belong to either of these two religions played a part of overwhelming importance both in the life of private families and in community life. In a later volume I shall deal with these aspects and their social impact on the Monguors.

APPENDIX

THE SHAT'O TURKS

175 Although a Shat'o Turkish stock is an important component of the Monguor people, a survey of their history will help to clarify the differences, as well as the similarities, between Turks and Mongols.

About 540 the Juan-juan, identified by Pelliot with the Avars and considered by him to have been, in their language at least, early Mongols rather than Turks,[1] controlled the vast sweep of country from the western fringe of what is now Manchuria to Turfan, in Sinkiang, and from the Great Wall of China to the Orkhon River in Outer Mongolia and the southern tip of Lake Balkhash in Turkistan. The tribes of Turkish stock called by the Chinese T'uchüeh were then subject to the Juan-juan. "T'uchüeh" probably represents a plural form of the Juan-juan name for these people: Türküt. The habitat of these Turks centered on the Altai Mountains, and they were well known for their metal working. The Kaochü, who have been identified with the Tölös, were their strongest tribe.

The Juan-juan were weakened by a feud between their ruler, whose name has come down in the Chinese sources as Anakui, and his uncle P'olomen. After several revolts, beginning in 508, the T'uchüeh overthrew the Juan-juan in 552. The Juan-juan retreated to the frontier of North China, where they took service under one of the short-lived dynasties that preceded the founding of the great T'ang dynasty in 618.

The name of the successful T'uchüeh leader has come down in the Chinese transcription as T'umen, but its Turkish form appears to have been Bumin. His success was due to the support of another Chinese frontier dynasty, that of the Toba Wei, itself of barbarian and probably Turkish origin. He died almost as soon as the

[1] The following summary is based on René Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 124 *sqq.*, Paris, Payot, 1939. Grousset drew on the original researches of Pelliot, Chavannes, Thomsen, F. W. K. Müller, Marquart, Shiratori, and others.

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When the T'ou-jen give their children in marriage, nowadays at least, they attach importance to the degree of generation of the two parties: thus a nephew will never be able to marry his aunt, or an uncle his niece. The two parties must always be of the same generation.

Mo 587 563 This same law operates among the Chinese. Among the T'ou-jen, however, it is not so strict as among the Chinese in the case of marriages between the widow of an elder brother and his younger brother. /19/ Among the Chinese of the country, an elder brother will be able to marry the widow of his younger brother, but never vice versa.

Mo 582 563 As for marriages of T'ou-jen with Chinese girls, they are strongly discouraged by the elders of the tribe as being the great cause of their denationalization. Nonetheless, nowadays these marriages are more and more frequent, all the more so because of the example set by the clan chiefs. These unions precipitate the progress of the T'ou-jen people toward absorption in the Chinese nation.

Mo 563 582 Very often one sees the T'ou-jen give their daughters in marriage to Tibetans. The seminomadic Tibetans, their neighbors, even seem to seek them because of their fecundity, which is well known in the region. On the other hand, it is astonishing to see how easily T'ou-jen girls adjust among the Tibetans and adopt their ways.

Ma (1) 582

1. Among the Manchu the laws regarding the "parties" to a marriage are more complicated than among the T'ou-jen. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 65 and following, says:

The women that may marry a man are limited to three restrictions: 1. the absolute prohibition, which they do not transgress, i.e. the prohibition to marry within the clan: (this law is explained as follows:) the general prohibition is to

2: Schram--205 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Two girls belonging to a Tibetanized T'ou-jen family. They wear the dress of the girls of Hoa-ri (northern Sining). The older one is spinning with the distaff and carries at the nape of the neck the stick to which she fastens the thread; the little one pulls out the wool.

Tibetan tribes, remnants of important ones which had 175
fled to Kukunor or Tibet. Mongol troops, divided into small units, were settled with their families under the leadership of clan chiefs at strategic points, in order to prevent possible inroads of hostile neighboring tribes. [563]
A group of Shat'o living in the country since 936 joined the conquerers and was enlisted among the frontier defenders. The descendants of these groups constitute the Monguors to whom this study is devoted. Later there came also groups of Salars, Turks of Samarkand, to whom territories were assigned. More Moslems also settled in the country.[26]

GODAN

The Yüan dynasty is well known for its devotion to 175
Lamaism. In Tibetan and Mongol literature, Godan, 797
the brother of Güyük (the Emperor T'ing tsung, 1246–1251) is celebrated as the first ardent Buddhist Mongol prince who invited to his residence in Hsi-Liang the Sa-Skya Pandita, Chief Abbot of the Sa-Skya sect.

The holy man accepted the invitation and started his "apostolic" journey. He remained seven years in Hsi-Liang successfully diffusing the religion over the entire country.[27]

According to history, the troops of Godan had de- 175
feated the Tibetans northwest of Lhasa in 1239 and 648
destroyed a monastery. The Tibetans asked for negotiations in order to end the war. Godan urged a Tibetan delegate to come to his residence, and Sa-Skya Pandita, to whom this task had been assigned, started his "apostolic" journey on "command" from Godan, in order to avoid the worst. He delivered Tibet into the hands of the Mongol Prince, received a "gold patent," became an official under Godan, and Vice-regent of Tibet. His successors inherited this office.[28] Discontent among the Tibetans over the surrender of Tibet caused a new Mongol expedition to be sent in 1251. More rivalries and discontent had to be crushed again by the Mongol troops in 1267, 1277, 1281, and 1290.[29]

The Mongol emperors, hoping to keep the Tibetans [781]
and Mongols in submission by manifesting reverence for the lamas and promoting their religion, lavishly showered favors and privileges on the lamas and became Lamaists themselves. Emperors and empresses received Lamaist initiation, and the Sa-Skya lama Phagspa, chaplain at court, was allowed to sit next to 175
the emperor.[30] The court of the Mongols was sincerely 771

[26] Louis M. J. Schram, C.I.C.M., The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 23–57, 1954.

[27] Huth, *Geschichte der Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, 130, 1896.

[28] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 8, *et seq.* It is the merit [113]
of Professor Tucci to have shed true light on this old myth about the ardent Buddhist Godan, his invitation to the Sa-Skya Pandita, and the political status of Tibet during the Yüan dynasty. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217–91, 578.

[29] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 18. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217.

[30] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 510–517–522.

[p. 13(8)]

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t'u-ssu clans attended Chinese schools and many among 121
them obtained literary and military degrees, became Confucianists and officials in the Chinese administration. Meritorious t'u-ssu were rewarded with honorary titles, and the growing standard of civilization in the families of the t'u-ssu chiefs spread among the subjects.

This history also describes the amalgamation of many tribes of diverse origin, among themselves and with the few Chinese of the country, in a compound which constitutes a notable part of today's Huangchung population.

Long times of distress and suffering endured at the hands of a common enemy bring destitute people close together. Tribes come to shelter together, share each other's houses and land, try to talk together, marry, etc., and if the circumstances last for a long time, as was the case in Huangchung, the customs and languages become unified and an amalgamation takes place.

It is in order not to obliterate the different elements of the compound which constitutes the Huangchung population that the study starts with notes relating to the tribes which lived in Huangchung—T'u-fan, Tang- [563]
hsiang, Tibetans, Shat'o Turks, and several thousands of Uighurs—with notes about the time and the circumstances of their arrival, the country in which they were settled, and the part they played in the history of the country of Huangchung.

The notes have not only an ethnographical importance, but also a bearing on the administration of these people, the study of their customs and the religions they practiced.

The history of the Monguor clan of the Lu family, according to its family chronicles is discussed because the Lu clan is the only clan which has been able to keep its chronicles. The chronicles of all the other clans have disappeared during the revolts which ravaged the country many times. The chronicles of the Lu clan, however, shed light on the organization of the other clans, their administration, their relations with the empire, the process of Sinisization, the peculiar mentality of the families of the chiefs of the clans, etc., and complement our knowledge of the Monguor t'u-ssu families.

The history of the Lu family is significant also in 175*
the way it shows the interest of the emperor in the 121
Monguor clans which rendered so much help in the 648
time of the inroads of brigands and the wars with the 703
barbarians. This interest is displayed by the granting of titles and promotions; by inviting the chiefs to the capital, offering dinners and entertainments, making them admire the splendor of the palaces, gratifying them with honorary distinctions such as the peacock plume and the jade girdle, and with gifts of clothing, silks, satins, and porcelains; by ordering the civil authorities to build honorific arches in the cities to honor

[P. 3(B)]

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*175 and systematically devastating the country in which they lived, explains a fact unique in history. The slaves possessed by the tribes (victims of wars apportioned to the chiefs) being without lords or depending on proprietors who could no longer control them or afford to nourish them, were able to abandon their chiefs and to establish a tribe of their own, called in history the Slave Tribe, "Hun-pu" or "Wu-mu." The slaves submitted in a group to the emperor in 862; they were settled in several districts of Kansu and even of Tunhuang, where they engaged in farming. A group of them was settled in Kuo Chou in Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu 45: 66*b*. *Annals* of Hsining 30: 30, 31*a*).[16]

*175 648 However, China was not able to pay much attention to East Kansu and Huangchung during the next twenty-five years (852–875). In 875 the terrible revolution of Huang Ch'ao started which lasted for nine years, followed by the disastrous armed competitions among the Chinese generals, and the end of the effete Tang dynasty in 906.

Then five insignificant dynasties, called Wu Tai, or the Five Dynasties, succeeded one another, accompanied by ruthless wars and destruction (907–960).[17]

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE WU TAI (FIVE DYNASTIES) PERIOD, 907–960

*175 Three important facts have to be recorded concerning Huangchung during the Five Dynasties (907–960). First, the presence in Huangchung in 939, in the country situated between Kanchow and Hsining, of Shat'o Chu-hsieh tribes belonging to the group of the founders of the petty Shat'o Hu Tang dynasty (923–936), attested in *Wu-tai shih-chi* (74: 10*b*, 11*a*). At what time or in what circumstances these tribes had settled in that part of Huangchung is not known (*Monguors*, I: 30). However, the powerful Monguor clan of the Li t'u-ssu originated later from among the Shat'o Chu-hsieh tribes of that country.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE SHAT'O NATION AND HUANGCHUNG AND EAST KANSU

*175 648 563 The second fact is the disintegration of the Shat'o nation. In 947 K'ai-p'ing fu the capital of the Shat'o Hu-tsin dynasty was taken by the Ch'i-tan. The Shat'o emperor and his family were deported to Huang Lung in northern Manchuria. The Ch'i-tan emperor, for fear of the revolting governor of Szechwan Province, had decided to garrison the numerous defeated Shat'o troops on the frontiers of Szechwan, and to send their wives and children into north Shansi as security for the fidelity of their husbands, promising to relieve them every year for a visit to their families.

Ho Chien, of Uighur origin, governor of the three districts of Chin, Chieh, and Ch'eng Chou in East

[16] Stein, *op. cit.* 44: 228.
[17] Hamilton, *op. cit.* 108, 128–129.

[P. 11 (A)]

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175 648 563 Kansu, faithful retainer of the Shat'o dynasty, distrusting these promises and enraged on account of the ruthless behavior of the Ch'i-tan, refused to surrender his troops to them and to defend their frontiers. He offered his troops and the districts he controlled to the governor of Szechwan. During these fateful times of wars and slaughter, the petty Hu Han (947–950) and Hu Chu (951–960) dynasties had succeeded successively to the Hu Chin dynasty of the Shat'o, and in 955 the governor of Szechwan and the troops of Ho Chien were defeated by Emperor Shi Tsung of the Hu Chu dynasty.

Now was the propitious time for the Shat'o troops to vanish with their families in Kansu among the Tibetans, for east, north, and northwest China were troubled by wars. Kansu, during the time of the ephemeral Shat'o dynasties (923–947) had constituted an integral part of their empire, and the Shat'o officials were cognizant of the chiefs of the Tibetan tribes living in East Kansu and Huangchung. The poor and destitute Shat'o having no way to move, many individuals and minor and major groups among them must have been happy to enlist and to disappear among the Tibetan tribes, acknowledging the authority of the chieftains and accepting the name of their tribe. They must have preferred to flee to the most remote mountainous southern part of East Kansu. Incidentally, it is noted among the 520 tribes of the powerful Tibetan chief, the later t'u-ssu Yang settled in the remote T'ao Chou, a tribe called the Shat'o tribe (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 64). A group of Ongutt Shat'o had fled to remote Lin T'ao, the region of the Tibetans. "They were Nestorians, they were taken prisoners by the Chin (1125–1235) and settled in Manchuria in the beginning of the twelfth century." [18]

Many groups among them fled to Huangchung and settled in the region between Kanchow and Hsining, joining the Shat'o who were living there in 939 (Monguors I) for at the time the Monguors conquered Hsining the entire region 60 li north and northwest of Hsining was inhabited by Shat'o.

That in 947 the Shat'o easily dispersed among the Tibetans, acknowledging their chiefs as their own, is quite normal, for their national pride must have been at very low ebb. Their petty first dynasty (923–936) had been controlled by three emperors of three different families and by a fourth whose mother only was known. The second dynasty (936–946) had been controlled by a Shat'o commander who had usurped the imperial power. The protracted wars had exhausted the discontented tribes, who did not know for whom they were fighting. The family of the founding ancestor of the nation had been obliterated and its doom sealed.[19]

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[18] P. Pelliot, Chrètiens d'Asie centrale and d'Extreme Orient, *T'oung Pao*, 15 (5): 630, 1914.

[19] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 42, 55, 58, 68, 1948.

[P. 11(B)]

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mantle. Trade was transacted in this city, where shops had been built and traders, artisans, and well-to-do people lived. In the outer city was a large terrace with three steps where every three years Heaven and Earth were worshipped, and also two smaller fortresses. More than one thousand houses were built in the outer city and many Buddhist temples with glazed tile roofs, and abodes for the lamas. Half of the buildings in the inner and outer cities were Buddhist buildings. Lamas presided at all the public ceremonies and participated at the councils of the chief. Five li outside the outer city, to the west, was built a very large lamasery with abodes for five hundred lamas and a splendid temple.

These notes written by the Chinese official prove that Chiossulo was fond of display and munificence, that his realm was flourishing and opulent and that he was a very fervent Buddhist, reigning over a Buddhist people and surrounded by lamas whom he revered. Hsining seems to have been a small Lhasa. Chiossulo was a descendant of princes who had lived in Lhasa, and the old traditions prevailing in Lhasa must have been fresh and living in his family and among his officials.

It is worth noticing that in the description of the opulent city written by the Chinese official, after many thousand Uighurs had surrendered and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo, not a single mention is recorded of a Manichean temple or Nestorian church. The Uighurs are known to have been professing Manicheans although many among them must also have been fervent Buddhists or shamanists or perhaps Nestorians. The Uighurs at the time of their arrival at Hsining must have been accompanied by their religious leaders and would normally have built some temples.

In the *Annals* of Hsining (15: 2*b*), however, is noted a Pei-i-ssu the Temple of the White Clothes,[30] the stereotypical designation of Nestorian temples. This temple was situated north of the outer city and is the only Nestorian temple recorded in the *Annals*. The date of its construction is not recorded.

Chiossulo died in 1065 having had to defend twice more his independent kingdom against the Hsi Hsia, in 1058 and 1065 (*Annals* of Hsining 31B: 2*a*–*b*, 3*a*, 33*a*).

This history of Chiossulo is of overriding importance for the study of the Monguors. Unfortunately, I overlooked it at the time I prepared Part I of the study. It reveals how at the time of the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols (1227) and the Ming (1368), the population of the country had come to consist of T'u-fan tribes already mixed with Tang-hsiang tribes, a group of the Slave tribes and strong groups of Uighurs and Shat'o. It sheds light on names of tribes of Monguor commoners pointing to their Turkish and Tibetan origin. The fact that several thousand Uighur Turks had fled to Huangchung in 1038 from the corridor of West Kansu and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo,

[30] Referring to the white clothes worn at the time of baptism.

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seems to justify and to explain historically my former hypothesis: "It seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in the Monguor clans are Turks, but not all of them Shat'o Turks" (Monguors I: 54). "A majority of Turkish elements is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by the *t'u-ssu*" (Monguors I: 55). That many Uighur Turks are encountered in the clans of the Monguor Shat'o seems normal, for tribes of Turkish origin must have preferred to live together. The fact that all of Huangchung had been occupied by T'u-fan Tibetans since 629 explains that T'u-fan tribes preferred to join the T'u-fan of Hsining rather than to be moved among the Tang-hsiang tribes of Hsi Hsia.

175x 162 563 [167]

MOSLEM TRADERS IN HSINING

The history of Chiossulo points to the problem of the first appearance of Moslems in Huangchung. The *Sung Shih* (492: 13*a*) notes explicitly "that Hsining Uighurs went to Kao Ch'ang along Kokonor and that traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to do business." That the Hsining Uighurs were very well acquainted with those of Turkistan is no wonder, even as the T'u-fan of Hsining were acquainted with those of Kao Ch'ang, for Chiossulo was born in Kao Ch'ang. However, traders did not travel only from Hsining to the oasis east of Tarim, but they traveled also along Kokonor to the oasis of west Tarim, Khotan, Yarkand, etc., and further into India. This last route was already well known in the sixth century A.D.[31] and lamas fleeing the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa came over Khotan to Hsining. Since 943 the Karakhanids,[32] of Turkish origin, as were the Uighurs, had founded petty realms in the oasis of West Tarim. Their chief had been converted to Islam in 960 and forced his subjects to become Moslems. These Turks, being as sturdy traders as the Uighurs, were very cognizant of the booming trade of Hsining, through which territory they traveled bringing tribute to China,[33] and relations existed between Khotan and the house of Chiossulo itself, whose son Tung-chen had as a concubine a lady born in Khotan, and had adopted her son A li ku and appointed him as his successor in 1086.

175x 439 563 [487 484]

Traders, according to the time-honored custom practiced all over China, were federated in guilds, protected by the local officials. They had their own business quarters, their own caravansaries and their permanent agents caring for the interests of the trade. Most of them had their families with them, and it seems very probable that during the booming period of 1038–1086, Moslem traders from West Tarim appeared for the very first time in Huangchung. No wonder that Marco Polo two centuries later noted explicitly the presence of Moslems in Hsining during the Mongol period in

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[31] Chavannes, *op. cit.* 6: 333, 341.
[32] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 94, 95.
[33] *Sung Shih* 490: 7*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 501.

[P. 14(B)]

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1274 and also of Nestorians, probably traders as were the Moslems, originating from Kao Ch'ang. 175x 439 563

BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

The history of Chiossulo has an important bearing upon the history of Buddhism in Huangchung and upon the specific character of Shamanism in the country. 175x 795

In Part II (8–14) it is noted that, according to the *Annals* of Hsining, the first Buddhist temple in Hsining, the Ta Fo Ssu, had been built during the Yuan period (1280–1368). Since I was conversant with the history of Chiossulo, I suggested on page 12 that most probably during the occupation of Kansu by the Tsan p'u of Lhasa from 763 until 842, lamas would have followed the conquerors and spread Buddhism in Kansu. However, the first historical data are recorded in the *Blue Annals* translated by Roerich, where is noted the foundation of the monastery of Dantig in 940, on the northern borders of the Yellow River in Huangchung, and at the same time that in that country great hermitages already existed. These annals also note the existence in the city of Hsining of a Buddhist temple where Buddhist monks had been buried. These are the first historical data which prove that Buddhism was practiced in Huangchung before 940. Since the description of the city of Hsining during the reign of Chiossulo, who died in 1065, is available, we know that the city of Hsining was a Lhasa in miniature, where lamas stood at the helm, and that therefore, long before the Yuan period, Buddhism flourished on a very large scale.

SHAMANISM AND MANICHEISM

The Uighurs were converted to Manicheism in 762–763 and professed Buddhism and Nestorianism at the same time. At the time of their khanate in Kanchow in 872 their official religion was still Manicheism. Manicheism is based upon the doctrine of the existence of two distinct principles of good and evil, and of two distinct beings impersonating good and evil, both eternal, independent, and mutually antipathetic.

The shamanism of the Monguors (Monguors II: 94–97) has been explained on the one hand by the overwhelming fear of evil spirits existing among the shamanists, and on the other hand by the recognition of their dependence on good spirits in all the circumstances of life. The struggle between both groups of spirits has been recorded during the typical rite against hail. Then the people carry all their good spirits into the fields in the direction of the threatening clouds, and cry to them to fight the evil hail spirits, which they curse awfully. If it happens nonetheless that the crops are destroyed, the people sigh with despair saying: "the good spirits could not match the evil ones." 175x 795 756

Professor Wolfram Eberhard,[34] reviewing the chapter on shamanism, suggested judiciously that there

[34] Wolfram Eberhard, *Jour. Amer. Oriental Soc.* 4: 284, 1957.

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Uigur AI+

might be reason to think seriously of the thesis of the influence of Iranian dualism upon the shamanism of the Monguors and upon that encountered in west China in a contact zone of Tibetan and Chinese populations. He notes that attention has already long ago been drawn to the Iranian elements in Central Asian shamanism. Since it is known that several ten thousands of Manichean Uighurs pledged allegiance to Chiossulo in 1036 and that they were settled in Huangchung and in East Kansu up to the borders of Szechwan, it is easy to agree with the suggestion. Without doubt Iranian elements had had time enough to influence the shamanism of Kansu, for my notes were recorded in 1910–1920, after these Manicheans had lived in the country for six centuries. Iranian influence upon the shamanism of Central Asia may be explained in the same way. The Uighur kingdom was liquidated in 840 by the Kirghiz, after the Uighurs had been converted to Manicheism eighty years earlier. Then they roamed in Turkistan and on the China borders carrying with them their Manicheism and came in contact with the shamanism of Central Asia.

M 175x 715 756

SETTLEMENT OF THE UIGHURS

M 175x 167 563 U 167 175

The arrival of thousands of Tibetans and several ten thousands of Uighurs all fleeing at the same time into Huangchung, driving before them their herds, carrying their belongings, etc., should have created a tremendous and delicate problem for Chiossulo to cope with. All these turbulent people had to be settled without hurting the feelings of the Tibetan tribes subject to him and already living in the country. This tremendous number of tribes must have upset the whole country, as many groups must have tried to occupy the territories which seemed fitting to them and have caused endless troubles.

M U [648] M 175x 167 563 U 175 167

The *Annals* of Hsining (4: 19a) dealing with the geography of the country note incidently that five thousand T'u-fan horsemen arrived at the well of Fu-t'i, and drove Uighurs who had settled there back to their own country. This well is situated near the well-known old fortress of Shih-pu-ch'eng (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 3a–b). This reveals how delicate a problem Chiossulo had to contend with, and indicates the attitude of the Tibetans toward the Uighurs intruding into their country.

It is impossible to find out which among the numerous tribe names recorded in the *Annals* for the first time in Ming times (1368) are Uighur, Tibetan, or Shat'o names, because all the tribes are generally recorded as being Tibetans.

What tribes were settled in Huangchung in 1008 when the twelve-year-old Chiossulo arrived in the country?

In Mao Ch'uan, the actual subprefecture of Nienpei, is recorded the presence of the important Tibetan

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Uigur AI4

tribe, T'u-fan mixed with Tang-hsiang, controlled by Wenpuku; and another important tribe controlled by the lama Li Li-tsung settled in the region of Tsung K'o. A third group is also noted, the group of the Slaves (Wu-mu) who settled in Kuo Chou, 150 li south of Nienpei, in 862.

M 175 167 563 U 175 167

To be sure, more insignificant tribes must have settled in Huangchung, but their names and the areas occupied are not recorded. Next to the Tibetan groups is recorded the Shat'o chu-hsieh tribe[35] living in a region 100 li south of Kanchow in 939, stretching from the Nan Shan to Hsining (Monguors I: 13*b*) and encompassing the region of the Tat'ung River. Many Shat'o, after the collapse of their dynasty in 955, had joined this group. These Shat'o were the southern neighbors of the Uighurs of Kanchow for two hundred years, who were a mixture of many tribes blended and fused into the compound that founded the Khanate of Kanchow in 872. Its predatoriness is attested in the history of Turkistan and Kansu.[36] Shat'o and Uighurs, according to the circumstances, had lived congenially together in former times, had combined their forces to fight a common enemy, but had fought against each other every time divergences of interest had arisen. What the relations had been between the Hsining Shat'o and the Kanchow Uighurs in 1036 is not known. The leading tribe among the Kanchow Uighurs was the Lung tribe.[37]

In what areas of Huangchung and east Kansu were these Uighurs and Tibetans settled by Chiossulo in 1036?

Scanning chapter 19 of the *Annals* of Hsining, dealing with the tribes settled in Huangchung in Ming times (1368) (three hundred years after their surrender to Chiossulo) one is amazed to read names of such tribes as Lung-pu, Lung-pen, Lung-wang, and To-lung. One thinks unwillingly that these names might point to tribes which had constituted the important Lung tribe of Kanchow, which might have divided into smaller tribes after the surrender to Chiossulo in 1036. One is surprised to read also that in 1071 the most powerful among the tribes depending on Hsining was the Lung-k'o tribe noted also as the Yu-lung-k'o tribe.[38] In the Lung k'o tribe there were numerous chiefs. The tribe was wealthy and opulent. It was settled in East

M 175 563 167 619

[35] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 89, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[36] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 128–129.

[37] *Wu-tai-shih* 74: 4*a*. Stein, *op. cit.*, 256. The Lung is a branch of the Uighurs of Kanchow whose customs differ little from those of the other Uighurs. The Lung came from Karashar (Yen-ch'i). Lung was the name of the clan chiefs of Karashar. They had settled in Kansu and Yi Chou (region of Hami). Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 128.

[38] Biography of General Wang Ch'ao in *Sung Shih* 87: 20 *a–b*. *Annals* of Kansu 46: 10*b*. *Annals* of Hsining 31: 3*a*, and the important study of Enoki Kazuo, entitled *Osho no kika Keiryaku ni tsuite* (on the Hsi-ho ching-lueh of Wang Ch'ao) in Mokoga Huho, 1, Tokyo, (Meng-ku hsueh pao) 1: 88–167.

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Uigur AI4

Kansu, in Yen Ch'uan Chai, which is Chang Hsien, situated 50 li southwest of Kung Ch'ang (Enoki, 158). The tribe surrendered to General Wang Ch'ao in 1071 with its 120,000 people. The *Annals* of Kansu 97: 14, record that Wang Ch'ao notified the emperor about the submission of the Lung-k'o tribe and petitioned to reward it with the name Pao (thankful). The request was granted and the emperor added the word Shun to the name, Pao Shun (thankful-faithful). Enoki (p. 111) noted also a Lung-po tribe living in East Kansu in 1071. It had troubles with the Tibetan To-chih tribe. However, the Lung tribes recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining were settled in Huangchung. The Lung-pu, numbering two thousand families, divided into two tribes, was settled south of Hsining on the northern borders of the Yellow River. Its people lived mostly in tents (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 3 *a–b*). The Lung-pen tribe numbering 873 families was settled 60 li west of Hsining. Its people lived partly in a city (fortress), partly in tents. The tribe controlled the Pen-pa-erh[39] tribe numbering one hundred families settled in the Hsi-shih-hsia (Tsamalung) on the rapids of the Hsining River between Hsining and Don Kir (*Annals* of Hsining 1: 12*a*, 15*a*). The small Lung-wang and To-lung tribes numbering eighty families were settled 80 li east of the city of Tatung on the borders of the Tatung River (*Annals* of Hsining 19, 20*a*) in the region occupied by the Shat'o at the time of their surrender. This seems to suggest that this group was congenial with the Shat'o group.

M 175x 563 167 619
M [343]

UIGHURS AND SUBJECTS OF T'U-SSU

In discussing the commoners, the subjects of the Monguor t'u-ssu (Monguors I: 31–53), it has been noted that during the Mongol period (1280–1368), Ch'i Kung-k'o hsing-chi, a member of the imperial family, had been appointed guardian of the region situated 90 li south of Hsining. He discharged the office of myriarch and evidently controlled his own 10,000 soldiers and their families. However, it is recorded that he governed also eight tribes of Tung Ku and vicinity, descendants of western Ch'iang (western Tibetans). Tung Ku was situated between Hsining and the Ta-tung River, in the region of Tatung, where during the Five Dynasties (907–951) Shat'o tribes lived, joined by other groups of Shat'o after the collapse of their dynasty. These western Ch'iang seem to be Uighurs of the khanate of Kanchow who had settled there in 1036. The Uighurs of Kanchow had come from the west, from Turkistan, and so are called western Tibetans, for all the barbarians are called Tibetans in the *Annals*. For what reason these eight tribes had been moved and put under the control of the myriarch

M 175x 648
U 175 648

[39] *Anthropos* 52: 560 sq., 1957. Dominik Schroder writes a very interesting article: Uber die Chia-Fandse von Benghar, Tsing-hai (the Pen-pa tribe), und ihre Hochzeitssitten.

[P. 16(B)]

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Uigur AI4

is not recorded. Friction between Uighurs and Shat'o? Not room enough in Tung Ku for the herds? A device to increase the military power of the myriarch?

It is also noted that twelve Pai-tieh tribes and others were controlled by the three Shat'o officials Li, Na, and Chi, who guarded the country 30 li south and west of Hsining. To these three Shat'o chieftains who controlled their own Shat'o subjects, the Pai-tieh tribes and others had been entrusted by the Mongols. Probably they were Uighurs, for they were moved from the Tung-ku region also, and it is noted that their customs and clothes and adornments were the same as those of the western Ch'iangs of the myriarch.

It is further noted that the Shat'o official Li Nan-ko originally controlled the tribes of Tung Ku and the Hula tribes. Probably being a prominent and powerful chieftain, he had enrolled among his Shat'o subjects these Uighur tribes, at the time they fled from Kanchow. At the same time it is recorded that the t'u-ssu Ah, Chao, Yeh, Kan, and Chu controlled the Lu-erh-chia tribes and others, which were in the main similar in customs, clothing and adornments, according to the *Annals*.

It is noted (Monguors I: 56) that only one large group of Chinese is known to have enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans. The group bears the surname of Pao and is usually called the Yuan Pao group. They are subjects of the Lu t'u-ssu. We were at a loss to explain satisfactorily the name Yuan Pao. The fact had been noted above that the strong Lung K'o tribe, with its 120,000 people, had received, in 1071, from the Sung emperor the name Pao for its faithfulness toward the dynasty. Is it not possible that, during the period of troubles, which lasted for nearly two centuries, the clan disintegrated, that a group moved to Huangchung and lost its language, conserving the name Pao, but, knowing that they were Uighurs, that they preferred to be enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans, as so many Uighurs during the Yuan period? Because this had happened during the Yuan period, they are still called the Pao group of the Yuan time, Yuan Pao chia.

It seems conclusively that these tribes were Uighur tribes which, during the Mongol period, had been divided in small units and entrusted to these petty military officials, and appointed as guardians of definite territory and mountain passes in Huangchung in order that they might be able to defend the country more easily.

SETTLEMENT OF UIGHURS AND SHAT'O IN EAST KANSU

The preceding notes explain the settlement of only a relatively small number of Uighurs. But where has the remainder of the several ten thousands of Uighurs been settled? Since the very important Lung K'o tribe was settled in East Kansu, and another Lung-po tribe is rooted in the same region, and on the map a

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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Lung village is noted near Ming Chou in East Kansu, our investigations are turned in that direction. M 175x

From 1086 on, the entire population of Huangchung and parts of East Kansu controlled by the descendants of Chiossulo was intermittently involved in troubles with the Chinese empire, and in 1096 it arose as one man against the Sung empire, combining its forces with those of the Hsi Hsia. The cities of Huangchung were taken and retaken alternatively by Chinese troops and Tibetans, and the whole country was devastated and ruined. The flourishing empire founded by Chiossulo had lasted for only about fifty years. The fateful Huangchung was again controlled by the Sung emperor. After another period of fifty years, during which Chinese and Chin empires fought the Hsi Hsia and then fought among themselves, the Chin empire occupied Huangchung in 1131 and appointed Kuan Shih Ku to control the Ho Chou area and all of Huangchung (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 8*a*). 614 563 648 V 175 567 648

What happened to the Uighurs from 1086 until 1227? Having been settled in the territories of Chiossulo since 1036, mixed with the Tibetan tribes depending on him, and having pledged allegiance to him, inevitably they had endorsed the policy of the tribes of Huangchung and had a desperate time. During the fifty years of wars and destruction many of these Uighur tribes must have disintegrated and mixed with others. In 1369, at the time the Ming dynasty conquered Kansu, organized the country, and established the régime of the t'u-ssu, the disaster was wrought among the tribes, especially in East Kansu.

Tang-hsiang tribes, in which T'u-fan tribes had mixed, had been settled in East Kansu since 627. Shat'o groups, in 955, had scattered into the remotest southwestern parts of East Kansu, in the region of the upper T'ao River and near the borders of Szechwan. In 1036, in the same region, a large number of Uighurs must have been settled and at the débacle of the Mongol dynasty (1368) many Mongol groups also remained in these countries.

Scanning the list of the t'u-ssu established in that region in Ming times, one wonders to see in the *Annals* of Kansu the clear distinction established among the subjects of the t'u-ssu. Every time, their subject Tibetan tribes are accurately noted as Tibetans, and next to them their native subject tribes. This intended distinction seems to point at genuine Tibetan tribes and at the mixture of Shat'o Uighurs and Mongols qualified as natives. M 175x 563

SARO AND SHERA UIGHURS

In the remote country of the mountainous Ming Chou Hsien at the source of the T'ao River is recorded the T'u-ssu Ma Chin-tung, of Chinese origin, controlling 26 native tribes (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 27*a*). In the same region T'u-ssu Hu Ch'eng controlled 41 vil- M 175x 619 563 V 175 619

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

M 175x 619 563 ● U 175 619

lages of natives, inhabited by 440 families (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 29*b*). This means that the natives of Hu T'u-ssu were no longer organized in tribes as were the subjects of the first Ma T'u-ssu. Still, in the same Ming Chou T'u-ssu Chao Tang-chih-kuan-pu controlled three tribes of Tibetans and eight villages of natives, who later became Chinese (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 30*a*). Also in the same Ming Chou region, another *t'u-ssu*, Chao Cho-ssu-shieh, a chief of nomad Tibetans controlled 43 tribes of Tibetans and 48 tribes of natives. His subjects joined the revolt of the Yellow Tibetans (Uighurs),[40] their neighbors, during the Yung Cheng period (1723–1724). The t'u-ssu lost his office and his subjects were forced into the framework of the Chinese administration and became thoroughly Chinese (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 31*a*). This important text proves definitely the presence of groups of still autonomous Yellow Tibetan (Uighur) tribes controlled by their own chiefs, in whose revolt the forty-eight native tribes joined. It may be supposed that they also were Uighurs still organized in tribes but controlled by the t'u-ssu. In Ti Tao along the same T'ao River the Mongol T'u-ssu Chao T'o-t'ieh-mu-erh controls three tribes of Tibetans and fifteen tribes of natives. In Choni region situated on the same river, between T'ao Chou and Ming Chou, the well-known T'u-ssu Yang controls 520 tribes called Tibetans (*Annals* of Kansu

[40] *T'oung Pao* 14, 1: 149, 1913, records "the Yogur tribes in Kansu are separated in two groups, whose languages are entirely different. The Saro Yogurs (Yellow Tibetans) are Turks, the Shera Yogurs (Black Tibetans) are Mongols. This note is written according to articles of G. F. Mannerheim: A visit to the Saro Yogurs (*Journal de la Société Fino Ougrienne* 28: 2, 1911, and to the article of S. E. Maloff: Restes de Chamanisme chez les Yogurs Jaunes (Saro Yogurs) en Russe, extract de la revue *Jivaia Starina*, 61–74, 1912. Concerning these two groups, the *Annals* of Kansu 42: 87*a*, 88, 89, record: 15 Hsi-la-ku-erh tribes called Huang-fan (Yellow Tibetans, Saro Yogurs) live in the southern mountains (Nan Shan), five in the district of Kanchow, eight in that of Suchow and two in that of Kao T'ai, and also seven T'ang-wu-t'e tribes called Hofan (Black Tibetans, Shera Yogurs). The proper name of the Yellow group is Tan-chih. Formerly it inhabited the commandery of Han-tung (Sha-chou) and is of Mongol origin. It was looted by T'ulufan and moved by Governor Wang Chih into the southern mountains of Kanchow in 1518; it is usually called the Yellow Mongol group. The sources of the Ho River are 100 li southwest of Kanchow. (The sources of the Ho River are far from the regions of the T'ao River, Ming Chou, Ling T'ao.) The west side of the river is entirely inhabited by Yellow Tibetans, the east side by Black Tibetans, also called people of the northern way. The Black Tibetans called T'ang-wu-t'e originated from the Hsi-ch'iang (Western Tibetans) of the Han time (200 B.C.–A.D. 200). In 1696 they were forced to follow Galdan. After the defeat of Galdan, those among them who were engaged in farming, surrendered. In 1698 they received hereditary titles, with official documents and seals, on which were written and engraved Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese characters. Six tribes inhabit Kanchow territory, one inhabits Kao T'ai. These notes, excerpted from the *Annals* of Kansu, deal only with tribes living in the Kanchow territory and in the Suchow area, not with those of Ming Chou.

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42: 32 *a–b*). Among these tribes one is called Shat'o tribe (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 64*a*) and several are called Black Tibetans (Uighurs) (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 67*a*). Also is noted a revolt of Black Tibetan tribes in 1712 in which the Black Tibetans of Yang T'u-ssu joined. The t'u-ssu helped subdue the revolt and titles were granted to thirty-seven tribes of these Black Tibetans (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 32*a*). There are only recorded the most important t'u-ssu. Finally two important groups of Yellow and Black Tibetan tribes (Uighurs) are recorded in that remote mountainous region, which during the Manchu dynasty still lived independently, controlled by their own chiefs, and to which joined the Yellow and Black Tibetans who had submitted to local chieftains.

M 175x 619 563 ● U 175 619

The Black Tibetans (Uighurs) living in the T'ao Chou district, depending on the Yang T'u-ssu of Choni, revolted during eleven years from 1868 to 1879.

Since 1822, the rebels of the old White Nenuphar groups, incessantly changing the name of their groups and moving from Szechwan Province, had invaded East Kansu and wrought tremendous havoc among the people of all of East Kansu for more than fifty years. The Tibetan, Uighur, and Shat'o tribes revolted at the same time. All the revolts were directed against the hated Manchu dynasty, a dynasty of barbarian origin which ruled China.

In 1868 the revolt of the Black Tibetans of Yang T'u-ssu had been more or less quelled. It broke out in full swing in 1879 again. According to the *Annals* of Kansu 46: 70*a*, a Black Tibetan, subject of the Yang t'u-ssu, called Cho yang-jen-chieh, living in the Kua-tse-ku, was a shaman by profession. In 1879, during the devastating earthquake of the fifth moon, his wife gave birth to a boy, whom he insidiously had called to be a Living Buddha. The baby was brought to the monastery and the lamas with the shaman, intending to make money, spread the news. During the feast prepared to honor the Living Buddha, attended by a huge crowd making offerings, the shaman, a piece of red cotton rolled on his head and a sword in his girdle, performed the shamanistic rites. Enraptured in a wild trance, he disclosed what his spirit had just imparted to him: the Living Buddha was chosen, the spirit said, to become the emperor of China. All the Black Tibetans of the four tribes were enrolled in the army of the Buddha, weapons were prepared, and the Uighurs attacked the villages of Ah Ho T'an and Yung P'ing and others. At that time the revolt of the White Nenuphar, called by the Chinese the "Hairy brigands," was still raging in East Kansu. Troops soon arrived. The Black Tibetans were beaten and pursued.

M 175x 648 U 175 648

The Governor General Tso Tsung-t'ang sent more troops, ordering them to capture the chiefs of the revolt. The shaman, the Living Buddha, and twenty other men were captured and killed, and T'ao Chou district was

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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partly Tibetan and partly Mongol. In not too long a time they would have become thoroughly Tibetan.[41]

ETHNOGRAPHY OF HUANGCHUNG AND EAST KANSU

The preceding notes have an important ethnographic bearing. It has been noted that in 625, for fear of invading T'u-fan of Tibet, several thousand Tang-hsiang from the region of Sung P'an in Szechwan had fled to East Kansu, submitted to China, and had been settled in East Kansu and Mi Chih in Shansi; also that T'u-fan hordes chased the T'u-ku-hun from Huangchung and the Kokonor region and settled in Huangchung in 629. From 763 until 842 the whole of Kansu had been lost to China; the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the country and appointed his officials. Consequently, the bulk of the population of East Kansu consisted of Tang-hsiang and T'u-fan subjects. In 955 the Shat'o nation disintegrated and many Shat'o groups were incorporated in the Tibetan tribes in East Kansu and many fled to Huangchung, joining the Shat'o group which was living there in 939. In 1036 tens of thousands of Uighurs surrendered to Chiossulo who settled them in Huangchung and in East Kansu. In 1368, in the Ming dynasty, some Uighur groups had still kept their tribal organization but, under the leadership of t'u-ssu, others had become mixed with Tibetans and Shat'o in village formations and two groups had conserved their autonomy under the leadership of their own chiefs. When in 1712–1723 these groups revolted against the Ch'ing dynasty, many small groups of Uighurs controlled by t'u-ssu followed the people of their race in the revolt. During the Mongol period (1280–1368) many groups of Mongols settled in East Kansu and Huangchung. After the collapse of their dynasty most of them submitted to the Ming and remained in the country. Some of their chiefs became t'u-ssu and other groups disintegrated and dispersed in the country.

These notes explain what specific tribes constitute the base of the present population in Huangchung and East Kansu and at what time these tribes had arrived in Kansu. During centuries they lived one next to the other, feuding and blending with the few Chinese of the country, forming the compound called Kansu Chinese.

COLLAPSE OF THE T'U-FAN KINGDOM OF HUANGCHUNG

Chiossulo had three wives. The first, belonging to the Ch'iao family, bore one son, Tung-chan; the second, the daughter of the lama Li Li-tsun, the dismissed minister, bore two sons; no notes concern the third (*Annals*

[41] Mathias Hermann, S.V.D., Uiguren und ihre neuentdekten Nachkommen, *Anthropos*, 78–99, 1940–1941.

Pao with their 150 and 90 families, respectively, all 175x surrendered. At the same time five clans surrendered 622 who were recorded in the *Annals* as Monguors: the 614 clans Wang, Kan, Chou, Hsin, and La, with 150, 300, 62, and 100 families, respectively. The Mongol clan Ah with its 150 families surrendered, whose chief discharged during the Yuan the office of secretary of the province of Kansu, and also the Yeh clan with 70 families, Mohammedans of Turkistan, recorded as being of Ch'an-t'ou origin (turbaned heads). The chief of the Yeh clan was secretary of the administrative organ of Kansu during the Yuan. These are the twelve clans which surrendered in a group in 1371.

The date at which the Ch'eng clan, with 150 families, 175x settled in Hsining during the Ming is not recorded. 614 Its clan chief is of Chinese extraction and originated from Shan Yang in Chiang Nan (Chiang Nan became later the Nan Huei and Kiangsu provinces), and its subjects are called "natives."[63] The date at which the Chao clan, 120 families, settled in Huangchung during the Ming also is not recorded. Its chief during the Yuan discharged the duty of myriarch of Chao Tsang, and is noted as being from Min Chou and of Mongol origin. Li Hua-no, an offshoot of the Li Nan-ko [622] branch, and so normally a Shat'o, received from the clan 100 families and became t'u-ssu only in 1645. To this list of 15 t'u-ssu clans is still to be added the clan of the Mongol Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi with his 800 families, who had been the first among the Huangchung t'u-ssu to surrender in 1369. Among them 13 clans [663] were settled in Huangchung in the beginning of the Yuan period in definite territories, and the mountain passes to be guarded by each of them had been indicated. This seems to suggest that all of them were large or minor groups of soldiers, with their chiefs, wardens of the country in behalf of the Yuan. They continued during the Ming, and later during the Ch'ing, to occupy the territories they had occupied during the Yuan, except the two cities of Hsining and Nienpei, and to be charged with the same duties, because the

[63] In Huangchung the subjects of the sixteen t'u-ssu clans living in the country are commonly called Monguors, by the Monguors themselves, whether they are of Mongol, Shat'o, Uighur, Tibetan, or Chinese extraction. The Chinese call them *t'u-jen*, i.e. "natives." Among these natives are people of Mongol, Shat'o, Uighur, and Tibetan stock and even some Chinese who entered the t'u-ssu clans. Tibetans settled in Huangchung, with their own tribal chiefs, are called Hsi-fan, and Mongols living outside Huangchung are called Ta-tse, Ta-ta, T'u-ta, Meng-ku, but never Monguors. The present study deals with the Monguors of Huangchung who speak a peculiar Mongol dialect, not understood by the other Mongols. In Ho Chou region lives a group of Mohammedan Mongols, whose language is very similar to that of the Monguors. However, the group is not called Monguor but Sant'a. The group of Mongols of the Lu t'u-ssu clan of Lien Ch'eng are genuine Monguors and recognized as such by the Monguors of Huangchung. In Chinese studies dealing with the natives of Huangchung, they are all indiscriminately called Meng-ku, Ta-tse, T'u-ta, Ta-ta, Hsi-fan, T'u-jen, and T'u-ming (Monguors I: 31, 32).

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Ming fixed the number of both foot and horse each of them had to keep ready for emergencies and indicated the mountain passes they had to defend. 175x 614

An interesting fact is that all the subjects of the 16 *t'u-ssu* are called *t'u-min* or *t'u-jen* in the *Annals* and by the people. Soldiers in the Yuan time were accompanied by their families. At that time no Chinese lived in Huangchung. Huangchung was the land of the barbarian Monguors, controlled by Monguor chiefs. It is no wonder that when the Chinese started founding Chinese colonies in Huangchung, the colonists called the Monguors natives, and called Hsi-fan the few uninteresting small Tibetan tribes having their own petty chiefs, for their language and customs differed entirely from those of the Monguors. [70]

Still in Huangchung, on the borders of the Yellow River, but not in the prefecture of Hsining, are encountered two groups of Salars (Muslim Turks of Samarkand) who lived in Huangchung during the Yuan time, having no or few relations with the Monguors. They had already surrendered to the Ming on their own account in 1370, and their two chiefs had received an incumbency. The clan chief Han Pao-yuan had received the office of centurion. He controlled the four upper Salar clans (Kung) who had adopted the surname Han and inhabited the region west of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*a*). The clan chief Han Shan-pa had also received the office of centurion. He controlled the four lower Salar clans, which had adopted the surname Ma, and inhabited the region east of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). The four upper and four lower Salar clans are called the eight inner Salar clans (Nei Pa-kung). There still remain five outer Salar clans (Wai Pa-kung) depending on and controlled by the subprefecture of Pa-yen-jung (Monguors I: 22, 23). 175x 563 648

It is not known at what time the Salars settled in Huangchung. A legend is still spread among them relating to their arrival in the country during the Tang dynasty, 620–905. Anyway, the Salars were settled in Huangchung during the Yuan time (1280–1368) and surrendered to the Ming in 1370.[64] Consequently, in the fifth moon of 1371 the entire population of Huangchung with its chiefs had surrendered to the Ming. 175x 563

MING POLICY TOWARD SURRENDERING TRIBES

The policy adopted by the Ming in Kansu, in order to promote the surrender of the numerous groups of Mongol officials living in that country who still commanded a fair number of soldiers and tribes of Tibetans with soldiers subject to them, which was to appoint the Mongol officials and tribal chiefs officials of the newly established dynasty, retaining control over their 175x 648

[64] William Woodville Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892*, 80, Smithsonian Institution, 1894.

[P.27(A)]

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

province, and T'u-ssu Wang to accompany General Mu Yin to Kan and Su Chou to fight the unfaithful Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa. Two hundred of his soldiers were taken prisoner. Then the army proceeded to Ch'ih Chin in the Gobi where the Mongol Prince I-lien-cheng, his seal and tribes, were captured (*Annals* of Kansu ?: 42*a–b*, 40*a*, 48*b*).

T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh induced the Tibetan chiliarch A-pu to surrender, and in the fourth moon he fought the Tibetan chief I-lin-cheng-pen (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 10*b*).

At the death of the Mongol emperor in 1378, T'o ku-ssu had succeeded to the throne in Mongolia. He was soon on the warpath, mustering two armies in order to invade China, one in the Gobi at Karakorum, and one in North China at Yin Ch'ang. The army at Karakorum suffered a severe defeat at the hand of General Mu Yin in 1380, but the army of Yin Ch'ang was making inroads in Liaotung province.[72]

In 1380 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was called to court and ordered to arrive at Peking with his troops to stem the forays of the Ying Ch'ang brigands of the emperor. At the same time he was granted the title of Hsuan-wei general and the hereditary office of Chih Huei ch'ien shih in Hsining. He fought the brigands at Chin Shan Ssu, at Huo Ho, Yung P'ing, Su Chou, etc. His troops were victorious everywhere. He came back to Hsining after the capture of Na ha ch'u in 1387 (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*b*).

SURRENDER OF TRIBES IN HUANGCHUNG

Two years after the establishment of the exchange bureau the submission of nine Tibetan tribes is recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining, chapter 16. It is hard to find out which among them were Tibetan, Shat'o, or Uighur tribes. At the time of the surrender of Li Nan-ko with the officials of Hsining in 1371, only thirteen tribes had submitted (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 1*b*), and the names of the tribes are not recorded. It may be assumed that the reiterated invitations conveyed by the t'u-ssu to the chiefs of tribes by order of the emperor during eight years had reaped small success. Now, however, the fascination of the profits attached to the tea market had stimulated the tribes to surrender.

In the northern part of Hsining the submission of two tribes is noted.

The Pa sha tribe lived in tents on a territory larger than 500 square li, situated more than 100 li north of Hsining on the borders of the Tat'ung River. It controlled the Tsan-tsa tribes, the Ssu-erh-ssu-ko and many small tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 7*b*).

The Pa Wa tribe were also nomads, living next to the Pa sha tribe on the borders of the Tat'ung River. This tribe must have been smaller than the Pa sha tribe (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 10*a*).

[72] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 10–11.

[p. 33(A)]

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REVOLT OF TIBETAN TRIBES IN HUANGCHUNG

175x 563 579

Really desperate times were still in store for the population of Huangchung, for a half-century to come. This time the troubles were caused by the Tibetan tribes from Huangchung itself. After the restless Pa sha tribes had been defeated in 1516 by the Chinese army, some of their sub-tribes were exterminated or disintegrated. The chief of the Tsan-tsa tribe, one of the sub-tribes of Pa sha, succeeded in gathering some tribes under his leadership and in controlling 1,500 families. Other tribes living in the northwest of Hsining joined the group. Among them was the strong Tibetan Erh-chia-ting tribe. They beseiged the city of Nienpei in 1550 and laid waste the country. Commander T'ang Yung beat the brigands. However, the brigands, using the time-honored ruse of a feigned retreat, killed the commander in an ambuscade.

In 1551 all the tribes northeast of Hsining plundered the Hung-nai valley. They administered to the Chinese army a crushing defeat; three officers and two thousand soldiers died on the field of battle. T'u-ssu Ch'i, Li, Hsin, and Wang participated in the battle (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 15, 16; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 34).

The next year small groups of Kokonor brigands made raids in Yen-mei-ch'uan, north of Hsining, but were chased away (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 16).

In 1553 Tsan-tsa tribes with those of Erh-chia-ting again plundered the villages north of Hsining and Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 16; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 34).

In 1554 Kokonor brigands plundered Sa-t'ang valley and were beaten. They fled toward the southern valleys of Hsining, where they plundered for five days. On the arrival of the army they fled to the western valley of Hsining, but were put to flight (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 34; *Annals* of Hsining **31**: 16).

Tsan-tsa and Erh-chia-ting tribes in 1557 again raided the valleys south of Nienpei and plundered the lamasery of Ch'u-t'an-sse. Pursued by the army they plundered the valleys situated north of the Hsining River. More Tibetan tribes had joined the group, the Hung-mao, the La-tsa, the Ko-tsa, etc. The depredation in the country was wicked and ruthless. The t'u-ssu had to defend their own fortresses and villages. In the meantime Altan, the brother of Jinong beseiged the city of Kanchow calling all the Mongol brigands of the country, and went with his new army to Peking, plundering on the way the villages and cities of Shan-tan, Yung-ch'ang and Liangchow (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 16; **19**: *7a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 34, 35) in Kansu.

The raids of Kokonor brigands and Tibetans raged unchecked during 1558 in all of Huangchung. The situation was out of control, the plight was desperate. T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47), and Yeh (*An-*

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

nals of Kansu 42: 52) had died in recent actions, and the troops suffered many reverses. Most of the armies, most of the time, did not fight, but liked better to stay at bay behind walls and barricade themselves in the cities. There were very few pitched battles on a large scale. In the meantime, the brigandage grew with the passing of the years, for it proved to be beneficial to the brigands, who at the same time revenged themselves on their former oppressors, murdering anyone who made a stand. The confidence in the empire, among the population beset with starvation and abject poverty, was shaken, and there was nothing to relieve the dreariness of life. The outlook remained gloomy and no new troops arrived in the country. 175x 563 579

One can hardly understand why, in such critical circumstances, no more troops should have been sent to Huangchung and Kansu by the emperor, to save the starved and pillaged people and prevent the total ruin of the country. However, the troubles which beset Kansu were not the only ones with which the empire had to cope. During the entire reign of Emperor Cheng Te (1605–1622) the borders of the empire from Kansu up to Peking itself had been exposed to persistent and incessant attacks of Mongols, under the command of Dayan. In 1516 two groups, one of seventy, the other of fifty thousand Mongols, invaded Hsuan-hua-fu in Shansi Province. The conditions were similar during the reign of Chia Ching (1522–1567). In 1532 Hsiao Wang-tze with 100,000 men invaded the empire. In 1536 Chi Nang controlled 100,000 soldiers and raided Ninghsia, Tatung, and Hsuan-hua, and in 1544 the country around the capital was devastated and looted of its wealth. In 1550 the Mongols administered a crushing defeat to the Chinese armies and reached the northern gate of the capital where for eight days they laid waste the country and returned to the desert carrying with them a huge amount of booty. The raids, whetting the appetite for plunder, were resumed every year in the northern country. In 1561 they camped again under the walls of the capital. The raids continued unabated until finally in 1570 peace was granted to Altan (Dayan's grandson), who had sued for peace since 1542. Then markets were opened for his tribes and the title of Shun-i-wang bestowed upon him. The Obedient and Righteous Prince! 175x 648 175x 579

These circumstances explain why the brigands in Kansu had been fought in a nearly desultory fashion for half a century. They explain also the danger looming over the Ming dynasty, on account of the still strong savage Mongol forces and the lack of discipline and direction in the army. 175x 648

The same conditions continued for more than a half century for the same reasons, lack of discipline and direction on the part of the army, and unity among the Mongols, strengthened by the benefits to be expected from the amount of loot furnished by the forays. Even when later the Mongols divided in two groups, each

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

While the t'u-ssu and their subjects were fighting and suffering and dying in Hsining, the despairing Ming emperor, on April 25, 1644, had hanged himself in the Wan Sui Shan in Peking. On June 6, 1644, the troops of the new Ch'ing dynasty entered Peking and started at full speed with destruction of the troops of Li Tze-ch'eng who had already proclaimed himself emperor. On October 7, 1644, he ended his life by hanging himself.[87]

The t'u-ssu and their subjects served the Ch'ing dynasty with the same faithfulness they had served the Ming dynasty.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started with the occupation of Huangchung, this was an insecure colony of China, which during the previous dynasties had been lost several times and recovered. The Ming organized the country, providing a civil and military administration on the Chinese pattern. In Huangchung they started with the founding of military colonies, induced the Tibetan tribes to submit to them, established the exchange bureau of tea for horses, favored and protected the arrival of traders from inside China, and promoted agriculture and commerce. They attracted Chinese to settle in the country, built schools, promoted education, and repelled forays of Tibetans and Mongols from outside the Huangchung borders. Huangchung was at peace.

However, in the fateful year 1509 the first group of Mongols arrived and settled in Kokonor, followed by one after another, which ruined and cowed into submission the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor. At the same time the population of Huangchung and East Kansu, from 1509 to 1597, succumbed to the recurrent onslaught of avid, restless and predatory Mongols. The Tibetan tribes, robbed of their cattle, having seen their women and young folk abducted, beset with starvation and abject poverty, started raiding, devastating, and laying waste Huangchung and East Kansu. The army could not deter the forces of destruction. Raids prevailed over the entire northwestern borders of the empire, and the emperor gave the Huangchung officers insufficient reinforcements. It was only in 1590 that the energetic Minister of War, Cheng Lo, commanding new forces, succeeded in defeating the brigands. In the meantime the administration had incessantly built cities, villages, schools, walls, and fortresses all over the country. The aspect of the country had changed completely, despite the desperate times. The country had been organized and the administration established.

During these times, when raids and destruction raged unchecked, Chinese and Shat'o and Uighurs, Tibetans and Monguors had suffered together, helped and sheltered each other, and blended and fused in the compound called the Huangchung population.

In 1644 when the Ch'ing dynasty occupied Huangchung it was no longer the depopulated unorganized

[87] Erich Hauer, *op. cit.*, 488, 494, 497.

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5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

were afraid these brigands would join the rebel Mohammedans. 175 795

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Hsing-nan was ordered to join the troops of General Fan Pei-lin and guard the passes of Cha Ssu Kuan and Ch'ing Ling nao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). T'u-ssu Ch'i Ch'eng-kao joined the army, fighting the rebels on the passes (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a*). T'u-ssu Chao Yung-li guarded the passes in Pa Yen Jung country, and was rewarded with the two-eyed peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). 579 628 [703]

T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun, having the title of brigadier general, fought with 500 of his troops around Hsining. He was helped by his nephew Lu Su-chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57, 60).

In 1863 the revolt was growing more intensive every day. East Kansu suffered tremendously.

In the tenth moon rebels of the district of Ninghsia, led by Ma Hua-lung [99] took the important city of Ninghsia by storm. The city was devastated. Many fires were set and tens of thousands of Chinese were killed. Thereafter Ma Hua-lung besieged and captured the city of Ling Chou where he killed 20,000 Chinese.

In the tenth moon Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining. For a long time dissension concerning the old and the new religion divided the Hsining Mohammedans into two camps. Governor Yu T'ung invited the Mohammedan chief Ma Wen-i to patch up the trouble and to make them desist from plundering the country. Both parties consented but a strong group of Salars and Shensi Mohammedans arrived, besieged the city, and then plundered the country. During the year 1863 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to garrison in Sheng T'ang and Ch'i-li-pu, and guard the western highway *Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*b*). [798]

In 1864 the revolt raged unchecked in East Kansu, and the city of Hsun Hua was taken by storm, followed by a tremendous massacre of the Chinese population. Another Mohammedan group attacked the city of Donkir west of Hsining, but was beaten. It invaded the Sina valley and was put to flight. Long before the attack of the city, dissension among the Mohammedans concerning the two religions had divided them into two groups. The old group was called the great group (*ta hui*), the adherents of the new religion, the group of the flowered temple (*hua sse*). The first group disapproved of the attack on the city and called into the city 1,000 of its members from outside. The Chinese population of [563]

[99] The Moslem Ma Hua-lung, back from Turkistan, had founded a new sect in Chin Chi Pu in the prefecture of Ninghsia. He claimed to have received revelations from Allah. The people honored him as an equal of Mohammed. He was to be succeeded by his descendant after his death as chief of the sect. However, after his death, his son-in-law and his grandson struggled for the succession, and the sect parted in two groups. He did not proscribe attendance at the mosques, but he recommended praying at home, two or three families together, praying in a loud voice, with the palms of the hands turned upward. The sect spread even as far as Szechwan and Yunnan provinces (d'Ollone, *op. cit.*, 374).

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

624 cloth. On the third day he is invited by the members
574 of the next House.

NOBLES EXEMPTED FROM TAXES, CORVÉES, MILITARY SERVICE

•565 There are important differences between commoners
651 and nobles in respect to taxes, military duty, and obligatory services. The way in which the nobles as kinsmen by blood of the T'u-ssu are divided into Houses according to seniority of descent from the founding ancestor, and are allocated for their personal revenue the tax income from certain villages, has already been described. The logical counterpart of the fact that the taxes of commoners can be allocated to nobles is the immunity of the nobles themselves from all taxes, obligatory services, and special contributions to the investiture of a T'u-ssu or the expenses of marriages and funerals in his mansion. The T'u-ssu and his noble kinsmen, as members of the same "'bone," are thus clearly set apart as the collective "owners" of the commoners who form the larger, "assimilated" clan. Following the same general principle, when commoners bring new fields under cultivation they must pay to the T'u-ssu both a capital price for the acquisition of the land and a tax for the registration of the land as their private property, while nobles may bring new land under cultivation without any payment of any kind, thus demonstrating that they, collectively with the T'u-ssu, are the owners of the territory.

565 Nobles are, however, by the same logic, subject to
651 contributions for the upkeep of the ancestral temple in the mansion of the T'u-ssu. All nobles of the clan, and
769 even their wives and children, are assessed a levy of 50 copper coins every year for the expenses of the lama chaplain and the cost of oil, paper, and incense. The Monguors say that in former times the nobles were also responsible for the upkeep of the old common cemetery, and that they only later built private cemeteries, but that at present they pass on to the commoners the cost of the upkeep of these cemeteries.

565 The custom in regard to corvées is parallel to that
651 regulating the payment of taxes. Though nobles may inherit the right to collect taxes from certain villages, they do not have the right to demand obligatory services; but conversely they themselves are not subject to such services. Because of this, nobles must either till their own fields and watch their own cattle, or hire people to do this work for them. If the village in which they live decides to dig an irrigation canal as a communal project, they do not have to contribute labor but must
565 pay their share of the expenses. The only extraordinary
574 expenses and services that can be demanded of the nobles come under the head of honorable obligations, such as taking part in the entertainment of guests during festivities, contributions to dinners, participation in the veneration of the ancestors and in clan meetings, and serving as representatives of the T'u-ssu at dinners given

565 by Chinese officials, or on journeys to congratulate
574 Chinese officials on the major feast days of the year. The nobles as a group are also exempted from military
565 service, although the chiefs of the militia of the com-
701 moners, according to tradition, were always chosen from among the nobles in former times. In later times both
622 nobles and commoners have served as commanders and officers.[55]

It is said by the Monguors that in times past it was usually a noble who served as the chief of a village, but that because at present there are very few capable men among the nobles, these duties have devolved on commoners. Similarly, the nobles have lost the monopoly of serving as military officers.

AUTHORITY OF T'U-SSU OVER NOBLES

624 As might be expected the relations between a T'u-ssu
565 and his nobles are of a special kind. It has already been described how, on occasions of special ceremony, a T'u-ssu may actually be expected to prostrate himself before nobles who are members of a generation senior to his own, while they do not have to prostrate themselves to him, but merely clasp their hands and bow their heads. Moreover, while the T'u-ssu takes precedence when he is presiding as chief of the clan at the veneration of the ancestors, at clan meetings, during the triennial visitation, or when nobles or commoners are brought before him in a lawsuit, yet on such occasions as non-official dinners and the marriages of nobles, the T'u-ssu always requests a noble of a generation senior to his own to preside.

624 Difficulties among the nobles most commonly originate
565 either in quarrels over the division of a paternal in-
692 heritance or quarrels about the collection of taxes. In order to prevent litigation, the clan elders try to arbitrate such quarrels. Only if they are unsuccessful is a lawsuit brought before the T'u-ssu. If the parties do not agree to the T'u-ssu's verdict, they are free to appeal to a Chinese court. In a case known to me, the eleventh House of the clan of Li T'u-ssu had trouble with its villages over the collection of taxes. Unwilling to abide by the verdict of the T'u-ssu, the members of the House went to the Chinese court. They were severely rebuked, the Chinese judge angrily threatening to abolish the outmoded custom under which the members of a whole clan live at the expense of the commoners.

681 Nobles are never flogged or beaten for transgression of the law, because the lictors are commoners and it is not fitting that commoners should beat nobles.

624 When the T'u-ssu visits his nobles in the course of
565 his triennial tour, they defray his expenses, including those of his retinue, just as do the commoners.

The old nomad custom was that when an individual

[55] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 233, notes that among the Mongols of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, with the decay of the feudal system, the duty of feudal service on the part of a noble to his lord had become more voluntary than obligatory.

624 noble or a group of nobles did not agree with the chief
•565 of the clan, they were free to take those commoners who were directly subject to them and to join another clan or found a new clan. The Monguors do not remember that groups of nobles have ever left one clan to join another. The way in which, in the Li clan, a noble who did not agree to the appointment of his nephew as T'u-ssu was given 100 families and allowed to become a small independent T'u-ssu himself, has already been described. This case occurred, however, during the time of troubles when the Ming dynasty fell and the Manchu dynasty was set up. It may, therefore, be interpreted, perhaps, not as a real secession from the clan but rather as a compromise, in a time of uncertainty, to avoid dissension within the clan. Since the Monguor clans are small, and since the nobles do not have commoners who are their own direct subjects, secession from the clan is in fact practically impossible. A single family of nobles, not being able to take a following of commoners with it, would have no bargaining power in attempting to join another clan and could in fact join only if willing to accept commoner status instead of noble status. Thus it can be said that the device of granting to Houses only the right to collect taxes from certain villages, and not the direct "ownership" of the villages, has served to bind the Monguor nobles to their clan and to their territory.

WANING INFLUENCE OF NOBLES

178 The facts that have here been recited seem to justify
565 the general inference that the transition from a nomadic economy to an agricultural economy resulted in undermining the influence and power formerly wielded by the
624 nobles as a group. On the one hand, all forms of noble power have tended to become more nearly monopolized by the T'u-ssu; on the other hand increasing self-government by the villages and participation by commoners in both civil and military administration has tended to make the power of the T'u-ssu less absolute and more nominal. Farming led to the grouping of the commoners in villages and, therefore, inevitably to new forms of administration and control. Gradually, as it became customary to give village appointments to commoners who were energetic and able instead of to idle nobles who were content to live on their revenues, the nobles were squeezed out. Since the power to appoint chiefs and elders and military commanders remained with the T'u-ssu, his nominal power was increased but since this meant that the actual collection of revenue in the villages and the actual exercise of authority were in the hands of commoners, their real power increased.

[556] This development was probably favored on the one hand by the weakening cohesion of the nobles through their division into Houses, and on the other hand by the increasingly individualistic farming economy, which increased the local respect for families which were of non-noble origin but had become wealthy and influential.

[P. 68a]

565 178 558 621 Conversely, the nobles were weakened by the fact that their unearned revenue decreased generation by generation, through inheritance and subdivision, so that more and more, if a noble family were locally wealthy and respected, it was not because of its share of taxes but because this particular family was able to produce and conserve wealth in the same manner as the leading commoner families. The ties of such a family with the rest of the nobility were weakened, and its ties with the local village community and its interests were strengthened.

NOBLES AND COMMONERS

565 178 We may summarize this aspect of the social history of the Monguors by saying that when they first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, the social distance between commoners and nobles must have been very great. With settled life and the increasing domination of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their own ability to manage their own farms, and local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability and not primarily by class. Nobles could, in the conventional form of sale, "pass" their fields to commoners, and commoners to nobles. They bought cattle and grain from each other and sold them to each other. Nobles and commoners, if they had the money, joined together to invest in trade. Apart from the important discrimination in favor of nobles in immunity from taxes and corvées, and immunity from being flogged in court, the principal surviving distinctions of the aristocracy are such things as their higher rank at important ceremonies, social precedence at dinners, marriages, funerals, and festivities (even though the noble were a poor man), the custom of calling the nobles "ta jen" (great man), and finally the old custom that when a commoner meets a noble on the road, he must dismount, remove his hat, and unroll his pigtail. 565 178 576

In my own experience, I know of a case of an old man named Chao, of Peiyahua, who, refusing to dismount in this manner, was brought before the T'u-ssu, made to apologize, and required to make an offering of a sheep with red paper pasted on its horns and a piece of red cotton cloth bound on its back, and to present incense and oil to the ancestral temple. It is to the disadvantage, not the advantage, of the nobles as a class that many of them show an overbearing pride. Such men are most conspicuous when, though known to be addicted to opium and gambling, they try to uphold their traditional "rights" by demanding deference from commoners.

THE CLAN ASSEMBLY

175 In the year 1913 the Monguors were entering on a period of trouble and decline. The T'u-ssu institution was threatened. Ever since the beginning of the Chinese Republic in 1911 there had been rumors that the Chinese officials would abolish the institution. The dowager who

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Moaguor AE9

576 and a felt hat which is a simpler edition of the ceremonial
606 hat with its additional ornament of a miniature spear
291 and shield.

MARRIAGE AND ITS REGULATION

581 Because of the veneration of ancestors and the neces-
858 sity for having male children in order to carry on the ancestral cult, marriage is not an optional but a necessary part of Monguor life, except of course for lamas. The poorest people will scrimp and save in order to be able to meet the expenses of getting a bride for a son. They will sell animals and land, and go into debt. When a paternal inheritance is divided, money must first be set aside to provide wives for the brothers who are not yet married. People will be consoled or resigned at the death of a husband or wife, but never for the death of an only son, and the sweetest consolation of an old man nearing death is to have married all his sons and to have cradled his grandsons. When two old Monguors meet for the first time, the polite greeting includes the question, "are all your sons married and do you have grandsons?"

582 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There is absolute prohibition against marrying a girl belonging to the same clan. Within the clan, therefore, there are no marriages between nobles and commoners, because all bear the same clan name. It has already been noted above, however, that there began to be exceptions to this rule among the commoners in the period of decay and breakdown of the Monguor society, partly because the commoners are in fact not the actual descendants of the ancestors of the noble clan but merely "assimilated" as a result of being the subjects of the noble clan, with the result that poor nobles began to marry their daughters to sons of commoners. It has also been noted that this loosening of the rules among the commoners was aided by the enrollment of Tibetans and Chinese in the Monguor clans; Tibetan and Chinese women were frequently married by Monguor commoners, and occasionally by the nobles.

The rule of exogamy makes impossible marriage between the children of two brothers, but marriages between the children of a brother and a sister are allowable and even frequent, because the sister married out of her brother's clan and her children and his children therefore have different clan names. Very often, also, when family *A* gives a girl to family *B*, family *B* reciprocates by giving a girl to be married to a boy of family *A*. In all marriages, however, boys and girls must be of the same generation—a custom which may be the result of Chinese influence.

581 The influence of wealth on marriage is of several
565 kinds. The fact that chiefs of clans and rich nobles and rich commoners are prone to marry girls from rich families, including Chinese families, has already been mentioned. The influence of wealth is also shown when

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581 a well-to-do family needing more work done in the
household arranges for a son who is still a child to
565 marry a grown-up girl. It is not surprising that such
marriages are frequently followed by the elopement of
the poor bride with a lover of her own choosing. The
583 case corresponding to that of the bride brought into the
family for the sake of her working power is that of the
587 poor young man who goes to work in a family not his
own, perhaps for years, in order to earn a bride from
that family. To work for a bride in this manner is to
lose a certain amount of status socially, since it requires
that the young man live in a household where all the
male members of the family have status and rights, and
he alone is an outsider. A widow usually becomes the
second wife of one of her husband's brothers if the
family is still living united, but not if the brothers have
already divided their inheritance and are living separately. More and more, in the decline of the old
Monguor society, it has become usual for the widow
to make her own choice of a second husband. If, instead of going to one of her husband's brothers, she
marries a man of her own choice, it is customary for
her new husband to bring her home secretly and at
night, for fear that she may be kidnapped on the road
by some other aspiring lover—a practice that seems to
indicate that an unprotected widow is, or was in the
past, "fair game."

583 Two exceptional kinds of marriage I have dealt with
in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen*.
588 These are the "marriage to the pole," when a girl
remains in the family in which she was born, but takes
lovers and bears children, who instead of having the
clan name of their father or fathers inherit the clan
name of their mother's brothers and are treated as if
they belonged to the patrilineal clan; and the "marriage
to the girdle" when a girl, unmarried and living in her
own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves her
his girdle to which she may be "married" if she becomes
pregnant.[3] Both of these customs appear to have been
borrowed by the Monguors from the Tibetans.

The price paid for the bride is the subject of considerable negotiations between the families concerned,
conducted by a go-between. It is usual for a girl to be
a couple of years older than her husband, and the usual
age for marriage is when the boy is fourteen, fifteen,
or sixteen. Divorce and repudiation by the husband
are rather rare.[4]

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

562 The status of the wife is inferior to that of the hus-
581 band, as is inevitable in a society in which social rights
and family property are regarded as belonging primarily

[3] See above, p. 78, n. 5.

[4] Here only a few data are given about marriage customs, since I have already published an extensive monograph on this subject; see *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kansou*.

[P. 87b]

/28 cont'd/

583 For families of average circumstances (I am speaking of the years 1915 - 20) they decide that they will pay for the daughter-in-law:

Twenty-four strings of cash (a string of cash at that time was worth about one dollar, and the dollar about three francs).

In addition there will be given 24 pieces of cloth for making clothes, of which 12 of the best quality are to be used for the outside of the garment and 12 of lesser quality for the lining; there will be green, black, red, and violet pieces of cloth (eight feet of calico were equivalent to a piece of Chinese cloth).

After that a mare is still necessary, and its age and quality will be decided after a new discussion.

[565] They will recall with pride the ancient tradition of the race, which has never permitted marriages without the giving of mares. Among poor families, by force of circumstances, they do without this tradition, but custom always requires that it be recalled even so.

In general, in rich families payment will consist of:

25 dollars,
16 or 20 pieces of silk or satin,
60 strings of cash,
and finally the traditional mare.

There are exceptions to the rule; thus I have known a case where 50 strings of cash, two pieces of cloth, one mare, and two cows were given; another case in which were given 24 strings of cash, 14 pieces of cloth, and a mare; still another in which 30 strings of cash, 18 pieces of cloth, a mare, and a cow were given.

584 When an agreement has been reached, the final formalities are still to come. The speakers will make apologies: "We must admit," they will say, "that the sum and /29/ gifts on which we have agreed do not come up to your expectations. But we have had in mind, above all, the happiness of your daughter; the better off the bridegroom's family will be, the happier your daughter; and then also harmony between the two families is worth more than all the gold in the world; your daughter will be the first to profit by this arrangement; she will be treated all the better; in short, you also want her good fortune above all." Then they will praise the

/121 cont'd/
608 our judge in case of litigation; nobody would have dared to address
178 himself to the Chinese mandarins for fear of reprisals on the part of the t'ou-se. I believe we /122/ must look in this direction for the solution to our problem. As a matter of fact, the Chinese court
[428] recognizes only the sons' right of inheritance and, lacking them, that of members of the paternal side. In case of litigation, the paternal side is always sure to win its case against an only daughter, and the brother husband-son-in-law, as long as adoption has not been practiced, can always hope to see his rights recognized in his original family. Several verdicts of this kind suffice to deform a custom and create a completely new attitude. In addition, a tested virtue is necessary to be able to resist such temptations!

2. Exchange of a Girl for Furnishing of Services for a Fixed Number of Years

583 Everyday experience having proved that the preceding solution
●565 is not practical, say the T'ou-jen, there are people who look for
466 another, more psychological inactual fact. Indeed, the sight of the end of one's own troubles in a future relatively near at hand gives the courage to remain faithful to duty. A family of poor or even average means can promise to give their daughter to a poor young man provided that he binds himself to work five, eight, ten, or 12 years for them.

675 The contracts for these marriages are generally made by the
466 parents themselves, with one or two individuals who act as guarantors
606 for the son-in-law. While in the preceding case the girl can be
583 nubile at the time when a husband is being found for her, in the present case the arrangement always takes place when the girl is only seven, eight, or ten years old at the most. As for the age of the son-in-law, there is nothing definite: he can be ten or 12 years old as well as 30 and even more. When the girl is 15, they will have a little festival, and she will wear her hair in the fashion of married women; then she is married.

Why this engagement when the girl is still a child? /123/ It it because they know one another in the country and do not want to

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

products and animals for trading. All year long the 792
silence of the holy places was disturbed by the coming 175
and going of caravans of donkeys carrying grain to the 651
oil and grain mills, and returning with flour and oil 427
which was measured with the usual rumble of noise and cries. Throughout the year, groups of subjects never failed to become involved in trials, defending their rights by roaring and crying with vehemence and passion at the court of lamas. Punishments were meted out with ruthless severity, so that cries and screams could be heard throughout the entire monastery—whetting the curiosity and disturbing the meditation of the monks.

The interest of the subjects was centered only on the 175
monastery. There was no need for them to go to the 633
city, since the necessities of life could be secured at the 792
monastery fairs and nobody cared for the Chinese officials, the lamas being their legal officials. Many, many people had never seen or entered a city. The monasteries and their subjects lived their own life, in their own orbit, alien to the city, just as if Chinese officials did not exist.

These conditions changed after 1723 when the lamas lost their privileges and the country developed economically. From that time on the city became the center of the economic, civil, and administrative life; before that time, it had been primarily a military center, engrossed in the protection of the country.

What was the social position of the subjects of the 175
lama institutions before 1723? It seems that religion 792
must have been a subsidiary and not a primary motive 571
for becoming subjects of the lamas, because all of them were spurred by the hope of earning a better living under the lama regime than under the regimes of the Chinese officials or the Monguor T'u-ssu. Having been driven out of their territories by marauding Mongols, they may have hoped to find a peaceful country within the frontier zone of China, on the domains of the lamas. Being groups or tribes, or single families of destitute people, they were happy to submit to lama chiefs, and they were thankful to them for being accepted as their subjects. They did not lay claim to any rights, and the lamas did not consider that they were entitled to any, because they had achieved nothing that could have supported such claims. In this way the lamas strove to make their domains more and more productive, and were only concerned with the duties to be imposed on the subjects, without paying any attention whatever to rights they might have claimed.

The subjects were all on the same social level; there 175
was no more question of nobles and commoners among 565
them. They were all equally subject to taxes and cor- 792
vées, and all of them were tenants of the fields of the lamas. They enjoyed the rights to live, to till the soil, and to consume the surplus of their labor. Since the lamas never sold their fields, the subjects had no opportunity to become proprietors of the soil, as was the

[p. 50 (A)]

case with the subjects of the T'u-ssu, and so no out- 175
standing rich families could rise up among them. Since 565
the entire administration was carried on exclusively 792
by lamas, the subjects could hardly incur any important social prestige within their circle, or become leading personalities, and certainly not during the entire Ming period (1368–1644) when intermittent troubles and interruptions of trade curtailed the opportunity to become rich. Accordingly, the lamas effectively controlled the subjects and their domains.

As no written code of law existed, the lama officials 175
helped themselves with a house law on a grand scale, 792
by imposing taxes, corvées, and tribute, mediating 692
troubles in families, meting out punishments and imprisonments for crying injustices. The subjects, pinning their hope on a better living, were submissive and obedient, simply because the chief lama was their lord.

It is easy to understand that the subjects of the monasteries enjoyed no rights of their own, but they depended entirely on the administration of the chief of the monastery and his lama officials.

It may be supposed, however, that capital punish- [683]
ment of the subjects of the monasteries was reserved to the emperor, as it was in the case of subjects of the T'u-ssu. It is not known whether, before 1723, the right of recourse of the subjects to a higher Chinese court existed or not. If it did exist, it must have been nominal, as it is at present.

The living conditions of the subjects, however, must 175
have been for the most part bearable, as evidenced by 792
the fact that so many people applied to the lamaseries 571
to become subjects. Only after 1723 are a few cases known of subjects revolting against the chief lama and his officials, such as the case of Yang-kuo-erh-ssu, and that of the subjects of the Sina tribe, who preferred to become Chinese subjects rather than remain subjects of the lamas. On the other hand, the unbelievably large number of lamas from among the subjects, since every family had a son or an uncle lama, must have disposed the families favorably toward the monasteries and their chiefs, and made the subjects overlook the shortcomings and deficiencies inherent in any human institution.

The reasons why the privileged status of the monasteries lasted for so long in Huang-chung were, first, the insecurity of the country, especially after 1509, and then the influence of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus in Peking.

The chiefs of the monasteries were, at the same time, 175
the temporal and the spiritual chiefs of the subjects. 792
The subjects were compelled to invite the lamas on 794
whom they depended to recite texts in behalf of the families or of the communities, or to perform public or private ceremonies, to the exclusion of lamas of other communities, at such times as epidemics, epizootics, the burying of the dead. They had to make donations at fixed times, when their lamas, their chiefs, came touring for alms among them. Corvées were imposed at the time of celebrations and festivities at their lamaseries.

[p. 50 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

therefore a member of an alien family can never become 756
a shaman."

When I asked whether all the Monguor shamans served the twelve spirits, the answer was that they did, and then I objected, not understanding why, that the family names of the shamans were not the same. They answered that the spirits had chosen ancestors of different families to become shamans, but all these things had happened centuries ago. This explanation seemed to be full of holes.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF SHAMAN

BEHAVIOR AMONG SHAMANS AND BETWEEN SHAMANS AND MONGUORS

Shamans always said that in the mountains south of 756
the Hsining River were shamans serving only evil 628
spirits, who were therefore called "black shamans." 565
They dedicate themselves to the evil spirits, and to 754
Erlik Khan, their chief, and unleash them to harm the people. The "white shamans" must drive away the evil spirits and undo their harm; they serve only good spirits and are devoted to them in the same way the black shamans are devoted to the evil spirits.

White shamans never have friendly relations with black shamans and never give their daughters to their sons, or take brides for their sons from among them; one group despises the other. The white shamans always boast of their superior power, and the thorough efficacy of their good spirits over the evil spirits, and are convinced that their group existed long before the black shamans came into existence.

The Monguors are really afraid of the black shamans. They never give their daughters to them, and shun them because they know they are dangerous fellows. When a black shaman is traveling through the country and asks to stay for the night in a Monguor village, the horror-stricken Monguors never dare to refuse to comply with his demand, and so display the most gracious hospitality for fear he might unleash the evil spirits and harm the village. The black shamans know they are shunned and that they have no friends in the world. They are dominated by an inferiority complex. When they encounter anyone on the road, they retire to the wayside and allow the wayfarer to pass first.

This attitude toward the black shamans is understandable, but why it exists in the same way toward the white shamans is an enigma. The white shamans living in the village are always invited by private families and the communities to provide aid and support in all kind of troubles; they are said to be the servants of the good spirits. Notwithstanding this, the Monguors do not like to have friendly, intimate relations with them. The white shamans are never invited to dinners and feasts for births of children, marriages, or funerals. Ordinary people never either marry their girls to sons of white shamans or permit their boys to marry girls of white shamans. No white shaman is

allowed in the intimacy of the family; he is shunned. 754
He is also dominated by an inferiority complex, and ac- 756
customed to letting a wayfarer pass first on the road. 628
He knows that he does not belong at the top of society, 565
for during the empire, the Monguors say, no shaman was allowed to compete for literary degrees. Their profession was discredited in the same way as that of tailors, barbers, and comedians. The social standing of the shamans and the influence they wielded in former times are really beyond all comparison with their poor condition of today.

But do the Monguors never call the black shamans in [578]
order to perform their rites? A couple of facts will be recorded about Monguors who, in order to take vengeance on enemies, invited black shamans to cast spells upon them at night.

NO ENTHUSIASM AMONG THE MONGUORS FOR THE DUTY OF SHAMAN

It is a well-known fact all over the country that sha- 756
mans generally have an aversion to their office and do not like to carry out their functions, but, bound by the choice of their father shaman, and knowing that a refusal would be fraught with all kinds of evil consequences, they discharge their burdensome, non-remunerative duty. The Monguors say that in families where there are no shamans, permission would never be granted by the parents and the chiefs of the families for a member of the family to become a shaman.

In the Valley of Hung-nai there are no more shamans 756
at present. During the terrible Moslem rebellion, all 798
the shaman families were exterminated. The inhabitants of the valley, afraid of the burdens attached to this profession, no longer allow their sons to become shamans. They prefer to honor the more lenient deities of Lamaism and have their sons become lamas. They invite shamans of other villages to perform shamanistic rites in their village every year in the spring and at hail time; the other rites are all performed by lamas. Shamans, however, according to their own ideology, assert that no more shamans can arise among them.

Several times I heard the typical story, later attested 756
to by No Kuang-li, that when he was a boy a member of his family was ordered by his father shaman to succeed him. The unwilling boy was compelled to accompany his father at the performance of all kinds of rites, to learn the usual prayers, and to submit to the peculiar training. When his father died, the boy tried to get rid of the duty, but the family council decided that he had to comply with the choice made by his father. The boy's nerves were on edge and he went on a rampage; his health was impaired, his mind was seriously affected and he had a mental breakdown. He roamed for months in the mountains, shunning all kinds of people and finally was found hanging from a tree. After so many years this fact was still recorded and explained by the Monguors as being a punishment meted out by the spirit who had selected that boy as its

[p. 80 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

with the same foes; and again in 1872, at the time of the revolt of the Mohammedans, when the clan built a floating bridge to pass the Tatung River, for the army had to reach Hsining and was blocked at Lien Ch'eng. 175x

The conclusion seems to be that a sword of Damocles swayed above the clan for as long a time as the seceders were alive and assuming an attitude of menacing hostility every time an opportunity would occur.

CONCLUSION

The study ends with the biographies of the ancestors of the most prominent among the clans, the Lu clan, which shed light on the family life of the t'u-ssu and the process of Sinicization in the center of the family. 175x 622 565

This section of the Biographies shows the mentality of the chiefs of the clans and their entire families. All the chiefs of the Monguor clans at the beginning of the Ming dynasty were uncouth barbarians, admiring the Chinese civilization, feeling themselves humiliated in the presence of the Chinese. Hence the eagerness in the families of the chiefs of all the clans to learn the Chinese language, to adopt Chinese customs, to have in the family members honored with literary degrees, to see their chiefs dignified with Chinese military titles and promotions. The Chinese knew very well these dispositions and fostered them, granting military titles one after another, even bestowing upon some among them, the title of Duke of Hui Ning and Duke of Kao Yang. 156 177

The chiefs of the clans married girls of prominent Chinese officials, and married their girls to important Chinese officials and prominent Chinese families. After a couple of generations the mentality and customs in the family had completely changed. Dinners had become Chinese dinners, clothing Chinese clothing, jewelry Chinese jewelry, furniture in the houses Chinese furniture, and the walls were adorned with Chinese inscriptions and paintings. A hall to the ancestors had been built in the mansion of the chief of the clan where sacrifices were offered according to the Chinese pattern, and rich Monguors liked to display luxury in the Chinese fashion. The introduction of Chinese women into the families of the chiefs of the clan had changed entirely the mind of the family and stimulated its Sinicization. But in China the corners are never wholly square. These Sinicized Monguors profess a Confucianism that allows them to practice, even fervently, lamaism and shamanism, that allows them to burn down and rebuild monasteries, to be proprietors of monasteries and to have sons who become lamas and even Living Buddhas. 175x 177 [582]

The family chronicles of the Lu clan are a great help for the comprehension of the social life of the Monguor clans and also of the attitude of the Chinese administration, related to the policy adopted toward the Mongol and Tibetan brigands on the frontiers. 114

N *563 621 241 fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.

Within the household, the composition is similar to that of the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on and a higher frequency of joint-family occupancy. Should the family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

N *563 N *563 592 [595] N [768]

C. The Mongours

At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in Monguor social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

N *563 M 173 565

Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops depending on the size of the territory and the population of which he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Monguor social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol rule. Generally speaking, the Monguor commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Monguor clans and four general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

N *563 M 565 [701] M [614]

Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Monguor social organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.

N *563 M 614 554 M [428]

N *563 leadership after his father's death. It is noteworthy that by the beginning of the present century, the T'u-ssu was no longer M 614 554 living with his noble kinsmen, but was living in a separate and distinct family, each of which formed an independent economic • 565 unit. Therefore, some T'u-ssu were rich, others poor, and the status differentiation, that previously had been determined by wealth disappeared. Thereafter, noble families functioned economically in the same manner as their subject families. In each clan the nobles were subdivided into small units called "houses." Some clans have three houses, some four or five, some as many as thirteen. Each noble family recognizes the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called the Great House, the second is called the Second House, and so on.

The number of houses that had been established according to the number of sons of the "founding" ancestor has been retained as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify themselves, for example, by referring to what "house" they belong. Since Ming times, the T'u-ssu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of subject commoners. In former times each group of nobles collectively was the "possessor" of the subjects. Subjects and territory were assumed to have been assigned by the emperor to the clan as a whole. If a noble was at odds with his clan, he could either leave the clan, taking with him a proportionate number of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or he could found a new clan.

Collective ownership of subject commoners by consanguinial noble families is logically stronger in a nomadic economic structure than in an agricultural one. Memories of this concept, however, persist among nomads who have become farmers.

M [428] The rules of succession to the office of clan chief did not allow for competition. However, there are, in fact, elements of inheritance, of choice or selection, of the consent of the governed, and of appointment by the overlord. Any chief succeeds to office according to definite clan rules, namely, he must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestors." When a T'u-ssu dies, all heads of the clan's noble families together with the heads of prominent commoner families convene to choose a successor. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles, that should prove difficult to eliminate completely.

N *563 When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-sse, the headmen ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became instead M 614 Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were 554 modified by their duty to the Chinese rulers. The institution of 648 T'u-ssu or "local chief" was really one that had been developed 175 for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 554 648 175 groups on the frontier of the Empire. The T'u-ssu thus had a double role, he functioned as a "native chief" and as a Chinese official.

The most important clan chiefs who were granted the title of T'u-ssu in Ming times were those of the Ch'i and Lu clans, who were descendants of the Imperial House of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan of the Shato Turks. From this time on the Monguours remained faithful defenders of the frontiers, first under the Ming dynasty and later under the Manchu dynasty. The Shato origin of the Li clan is corroborated by the Chinese Annals. Shato tribes are noted to have lived between Hsi-ning and Kan-chou as early as 939. The supposition that tribes of Turkish origin, bearing Turkish names, still live in the country is therefore not unreasonable.

N *563 M 614 175 648 177 During the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Chinese and Tibetan families enrolled in the seventeen Monguor and Shato clans, in addition to the original Mongol stock, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned. It is very likely that, especially in the period from 1368 to 1723, only stray Chinese families enrolled in Monguor clans. Later in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who joined Monguor clans. It must be said, however, that while the Monguors have absorbed or at least partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture is lower than that of the Chinese.

In addition to the Chinese, large numbers of Tibetans enrolled in Monguor clans. However, they have probably joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese. When Chinese M [565] or Tibetans enrolled in the Monguor clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors.

N *563 M 614 554 423 The T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan from the emperor. These territories were usually assigned, according to a military plan, as a buffer zone, at a time when the Monguors were still exclusively nomads. It may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories.

The distinctive mark of the commoner is bondage to his respective T'u-ssu. Commoners were subjects "granted" to a N *563 M 614 565 554 chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his command in time of war. The military importance of a T'u-ssu was therefore dependent on the number of his families of commoners. Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of slaves, as pointed out previously, the basic distinction between nobles and commoners still existed in recent times. The first duty of a subject was to never abandon his overlord. Ideally speaking, the T'u-ssu and their subjects were bound together for all time. The subjects could not leave their lord in order to pass

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/The Monguors/

N *563 into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punish-
M 614 ment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-
• 565 1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually de-
554 clined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.
[466] The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the
M 614 T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they
217 marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealo-
565 gies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

N *563 When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and
M 174 began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was
565 probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agri-
M [554] culture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a
M 621 well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the
622 village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large
565 or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patri-
M 596 local family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-
[421] grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four gener-
[561] ation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority
[595] over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of
M [428] chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually
M [182] takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his
[168] surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son.
[428] More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

/The Monguors/

000kitchens."

N *563 M 601 59 . For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption of sons by childless couples is practiced.

N *563 M • 565 582 614 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and isstrictly observed among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband. Relationship between two families connected by marriage is clearly seen in the special role of the maternal uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

N *563 M 421 The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that, under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's share.

N *563 361 III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial characteristics but as to their function in the social organization. The counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or "directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the observance of government regulations. The larger villages have their own "family protective associations" and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such organization, but are recognized by the county administration as self-administering units.

N [171] [241] N *563 621 [631] [622] N [701]

N *563 621 631 It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions as hsiang, chen and chü between the villages and the county organizations. It seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions

N
*563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren.
M
592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually
554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N
*563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional
M part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the
581 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon-
562 gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an-
[769] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered
[171] a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their live-
stock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N
Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently
*563 the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con-
M siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen
584 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage
583 age for boys is between 14-16.
582 Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab-
solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is
N
*563 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob-
M served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage
614 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the
582 weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re-
565 garded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it
has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy
rules need not be observed as strictly.

N
Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but
*563 does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a
M sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different
582 clan.

A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family,
M
[587] usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband.
However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance
and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she
wants.

N
Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from
*563 the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage
M to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan,
588 but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patri-
lineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as
members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the
belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has
relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be
"married" if she becomes pregnant.

N
The relationship between two families connected by marriage
*563 is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being
M part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence
604

423 618

under the higher "ownership" of the emperor.[42] The chiefs of the Monguors and Shat'o in Kansu must have been feudatories of this kind under the Mongol dynasty. Among nomads living in an extensive territory the territorial rights of the nomad lord over his vassals were not exercised in the same way as among farming and sedentary peoples. They took primarily the form of the power of the chief to order and regulate the movements of herds and herders according to grazing needs at different seasons, to summon men for military service, and to requisition labor for other services.

For the Monguors and Shat'o, living in the relatively small territories assigned to them by the emperor, the problem was not one of wide grazing movement but of concentration for frontier defense. The chiefs were "owners" of the territory, and of the subjects whose military services they commanded, but within the limited territory each clan member was free to settle and cultivate at his own choice, and to treat all uncultivated land as "common pasture" for grazing.

The strongly "individual" character of the right of property in the Monguor society predominates over the social, civil, and political aspects of property, and deserves attention because it is a fundamental principle still fully understood, recognized, and applied by relatively primitive peoples, but often disregarded by sociologists.

T'U-SSU LORD OF THE COMMONERS

•566 621

The distinctive mark of a commoner is to be bound to his T'u-ssu. As already explained above, commoners were subjects granted to a chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his command in time of war.[43] Since his subjects were his only source for the recruiting of troops, the military importance of a T'u-ssu corresponded to the number of his families of commoners. Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of the slave, the *nullum caput habens* of the Roman law,[44] the basic distinction between nobles and common-

[42] Compare Lord Bryce's comment, *Holy Roman Empire*, 122–124, 229, New York, Macmillan, 1904, that in feudal Europe "real sovereignty" resided in the fief.—O. L.

[43] An element of agreement or bargaining may also be noted. When the "founding ancestor" submitted to the Ming dynasty, he was already (*a*) the leader of a group of his noble kinsmen and (*b*) in control of a number of commoners, perhaps originally the conquered subjects of his ancestors, perhaps "granted" to his ancestors by the preceding Mongol dynasty. His "bargain" with the Ming was that, without fighting, he offered them his allegiance as the man who was able to bring this military manpower into their service. The part played by the Ming was to accept the "bargain" by confirming and sustaining the T'u-ssu in his primacy among his kinsmen and his lordship over the commoners.—O. L.

[44] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 80. In the old Mongol society the vassals were not slaves. They were allowed to possess their own property, to raise their own cattle. They enjoyed a certain amount of liberty. The suzerain did not absorb all the fruits of their labor. On the other hand, they were bound to serve him in time of peace and to fight for him in time of war; to accompany his clan when they migrated to new pastures, and always

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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ers still existed in 1911–1922, even though the chasm which in former times separated nobles from commoners had almost been bridged in ordinary social life. The commoners were still, however, not allowed to abandon their chiefs. The moment they became able to exercise that freedom, the clans were bound to fall asunder, the troops to disappear, and the T'u-ssu institution to wither away.

The first duty of a subject was never to abandon his lord.[45] The subjects and their descendants were chained with fetters which never could be removed. They could not even of their own decision leave their lord in order to pass into the service of another lord. Under pre-Monguor customary law the death penalty was stipulated for attempting to do so.[46] This conviction of being chained was deeply rooted in the social consciousness of the Monguors and was considered by them to be natural. It was enforced by the right of the T'u-ssu to request from the Chinese officials the extradition of any of his subjects who fled and hid among the Chinese.

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After the great rebellion of the Muslims (1868–1872), however, the military power of the Monguors gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time wielded any considerable influence. The Chinese officials, receiving fewer presents from the impoverished T'u-ssu, were not as willing as before to uphold their rights and privileges. Although there is no documentary evidence that the Chinese were following their traditional policy of unifying the administration by gradually abolishing the privileges of tribes that had become innocuous, perhaps there were secret orders from Peking to neglect the T'u-ssu. The T'u-ssu institution had in fact become obsolete and the imperial authorities must have been aware that this kind of defense of the frontiers was now useless.[47] In any event, less support was henceforth

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to live together with his clan; to help in the pastoral economy and in hunting. It was impossible for them to unbind the fetters which chained them to the suzerain, and so their descendants continued to be the vassals of his clan.

[45] There was a distinction in this respect between nobles and commoners. As shown by the recorded instances, notably in the Li clan (see above, p. 40), a kinsman of the T'u-ssu could, in certain circumstances, split away from the T'u-ssu and, by the decree of the overlord state, take some of the commoners, be allocated a territory, be created himself a T'u-ssu, and become the founder of a new line of nobles ruling over subject commoners. From this aspect the position of a T'u-ssu relative to his noble kinsmen may be described as *primus inter pares* and relative to his commoners as *princeps omnium*.—O. L.

[46] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 153.

[47] The T'u-ssu and the whole antiquated Manchu imperial system were unable to deal with the Muslim insurrection, which was eventually put down by the "new style" Chinese (not Manchu) generals in command of Chinese (not Manchu) troops, with Western arms. One consequence was that it became evident that such frontier feudatories as the Monguors were no longer either useful or dangerous. Even if there were secret orders from Peking to neglect them, therefore, there was no need for such orders. Another consequence was that the "new style" Chinese generals began to become superior in prestige to the Manchu imperial state, and became, in fact, the "founding ancestors" of

[P. 606]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to become a subject of a lamasery, had to be relieved of 622
military service, corvée, and allegiance to his clan chief. The loss of a subject for the clan chief meant loss of a soldier, a tiller of his soil, and a payer of land taxes—a considerable detriment to his power and his wealth. It is obvious that the loss of a couple of families did not matter too much, but the loss of numerous families would have disturbed the clan chiefs and made them try to prevent the illegal desertion of their subjects.

However, at that time Lamaism was at the height of its glory and power. Even the discontented Chinese officials had no way to oppose the omnipotent Living Buddhas pampered at the court in Peking, and could not lend a helping hand to the T'u-ssu, urging the return of their subjects and bringing suit over the encroachment on their rights. The T'u-ssu, willy-nilly, saw their subjects leave them in large numbers, lured by the more favorable conditions of living offered by the lamaseries.

In this way the lamaseries assembled the group of 792
subjects referred to by the author of the *Annals*, who of 566
their own free will became genuine monastery serfs ("Shabinar"), free of allegiance to their clan chiefs. In 1723, being the actual serfs of the lamaseries, they were compelled to fight at the side of the lamas, their chiefs, against the Chinese armies, according to the general conditions imposed on serfs and subjects.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE SUBJECTS IN RELATION TO THE LAMASERIES

Notwithstanding the drastic regulations decreed after 1723 in order to loose completely all the ties which bound the subjects to the lamaseries, and to avoid revolts in the future, the subjects still continue to recognize some obligations to the lamaseries.

Farmers Offering Oil and Pigs

From 1723 until 1910, the so-called subjects paid 792
their rent in kind and carried it to the monastery; the 427
farmers were organized in villages, and each village 566
continued to offer as before, in the autumn of each year, a certain number of pounds of vegetable oil to the intendancy whose fields they tilled; it was considered as an offering for the lamps in the temples of the intendency. In addition, every year in the New Year season they continued to bring to the same intendancy a pig weighing 120 pounds. If the scale did not tip 120 pounds, the weight lacking was made up in pork. In former times when subjects married, it was customary for the family of the bride to demand from the family of the bridegroom a portion for the lamas. This [585]
consisted of 30 pounds of pork, and was offered to the intendancy on which the family of the bride depended. At present the 30 pounds of pork are still asked for and presented to the family of the bride, but the meat no longer reaches the intendancy.

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/62 cont'd/

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friends (German translation: vigorous women friends), and more particularly in former days when the bride was tied, when she was held back by the sleeves of her dress, or when they were attached to the yurt. At half a verst of the way /translator's note: possibly "halfway"/, the husband-to-be sends wine and meat to refresh the bride and those who accompany her. Upon her arrival she remains surrounded by her companions until her yurt is ready. As soon as she enters it, she is seated on a bed. The numerous plaits of hair which she wore as a girl are undone, her coral ornaments are removed, and after they put some ornaments on the two plaits left, she is dressed in the clothes that a married woman wears.

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Because of her regrets and sorrow the bride does not address herself to anyone during the whole trip; according to custom, she cannot speak to anyone. The bridegroom's family sends two groups to meet the procession, and a third waits near the house. The two groups greet the guests on the road and offer them tea and gin. They have lighted a large fire right in the road where the guests can warm themselves in the winter and light their pipe. They get off their horses to go near the fire, then the procession continues.

M [571 777 484]

Since all marriages are always celebrated on special auspicious days, it is not rare to see nuptial processions meet. The custom then is that the processions stop. The young T'ou-jen bride, who has carefully put away her new comb in a piece of red cloth, takes it out and exchanges it with the unknown bride. Without speaking to each other and without being able to see each other, sobbing, they exchange their good-luck tokens. Touching little scene.

/77 cont'd/
585 animals with neighbors or elsewhere; it allows only a few old nags
231 to be seen, which it does not even intend to give up.
431

It is at this moment that the little peculiarities of the race be-
[571 come apparent in all their crudeness. We have been able to notice
578] in all the phases of T'ou-jen marriage this mania for mutual exploi-
tation. /78/ At this hour one sees the two clans together, equally avid, and each of the two, under the pressure of the moment, feels itself united and strong. The voice of blood makes itself heard quickly, brutal, demanding. It is no longer a question of civilities and ceremonies, and it is not at all rare that the festivity degenerates into quarrels and scuffles.

585 In this moment one sees that marriage among the T'ou-jen is
614 not a disinterested affair but an affair of the clan, of the community, among whom the general good takes precedence over everything.

After such eventualities of a T'ou-jen wedding, it is natural enough when one meets those who are coming from a wedding to ask them whether all went well, or whether there wasn't some trouble!

Now one understands the importance attached to the role of master of ceremonies. It is he who must prevent these difficulties, who must judge when it is necessary to yield and how far the concession can go. He must have the required tact and the appropriate word which all will be pleased to hear. He will be listened to all the more if he is highly esteemed by both sides.

585 In two circumstances this cry of the blood among the T'ou-jen
578 is brutal and terrible: at the end of the ceremonies of a marriage,
571 and on the occasion of the negotiations after the suicide of a daughter-in-law.

The Pei family was giving a daughter in marriage to the Li family. The Pei grandfather, known for his extraordinary cupidity, had enjoined his master of ceremonies to demand the finest horse in the Li family's stable, a horse highly reputed in the region. When the moment came they demanded the horse, but the horse was not there. They looked in vain at the homes of the relatives and neighbors; the horse remained impossible to find. Coarse words were exchanged, and they came to blows. The festivity ended without any

585 /78 cont'd/
578 more being served to drink and without the distribution of the fare-
571 well gifts.

The next day the Peis got ready to bring an action before the t'ou-se. The customs had not been observed, /79/ the farewell gifts
[431] had not even been given, people had fought, etc.... The injured side demands indemnities for the injuries and apologies for the discourtesies.

[627] The elders of the region come to see the Peis and propose to settle the affair amicably. Negotiations...dinner...and practical conclusion: the Lis will make apologies and will offer a sheep to the Peis, then the two families will renew kin relationships.

After rounding this dangerous cape, they breathe again and quickly serve gin to distract their minds. Each one having taken his place again at the table, Chinese noodles are served to finish up.

585 The son-in-law's family invites its master of ceremonies to
431 distribute the farewell gifts. It is the pou fen tse /"supplementary shares"/ complement of the dinner. According to custom, they give to each person of a generation above that of the daughter-in-law eight loaves of bread and two pieces of meat. To the persons of the same generation and to those of lower generation they give four loaves of bread and one piece of meat. Then they think also of the persons who should have been present and who have excused themselves; they likewise prepare for them their loaves of bread and pieces of meat. In the evening at the moment of departure it is not rare to see the guests go away with one or two loads of bread and meat. It would be a discourtesy to refuse the gifts. They claim that formerly, at the moment of departure, the son-in-law's family used to give to the daughter-in-law's family "the lama's part." It consisted of two pieces of meat and eight loaves of bread, which were taken to the lamasery the next day.

The custom of asking for the lama's part has continued to exist in different places, but that of taking the gift to the lamasery has disappeared.

Service for Prayers and Alms Collections:

A strict condition of service continues which compels the farmers of the monastery to invite the lamas of the intendancy, whose fields they till, to perform both public religious rites in the village, and private services in individual families. Lamas of one intendancy or monastery are not allowed to perform these rites among subjects of another intendancy. In the same way, when lamas are touring for alms among the subjects of their own intendancy, lamas of other monasteries are not allowed to tour. 592 571

The intendancies urge the observance of this service even by former tributaries, but it does not always work. The Tibetan tribe of Sumdoo, former tributary of the community of lamas of Erh-ku-lung, accused the intendancy, in 1918, of trying to occupy a part of its territory. The Chinese court, however, recognized the ownership of the debatable ground by the tribe. Sumdoo, having a grudge against the intendancy, invited the intendancy of Seerkok to perform a tribal religious rite. The day preceding the appointed day, a group of furious lamas from Erh-ku-lung, intending to assert their prerogative to conduct the service, arrived and started with the prayers. All the ladies of the tribe, engaged in preparing the food for the three-day solemnity, arrived ranting, panting, and cursing the lamas with feminine fury, and threw their boots at the heads of the bewildered lamas. The lamas, powerless against the infuriated women, returned to their intendancy. 792 571 796 578

The next day, when the solemnities had already been started by the lamas of Seerkok, the intendant of Erh-ku-lung arrived with an imposing retinue to assert his rights. All the men of the tribe vanished, entrusting the emergency to the ladies, who arrived with the same threatening appearance of the former day, and the intendant and his retinue understood that the relations between the intendancy and Sumdoo were sundered forever. This incident illustrates the psychology of the lamas in trying by all means to retain their old rights, even among tributaries with whom all legal connections have been cut off.

Repair of the Lamasery:

The chiefs of the villages inhabited by the subjects of the intendancies are ordered by their respective intendancy to send a fixed number of men to repair the buildings belonging to the intendancy, to chop wood, grind wheat, thresh the harvest, sweep snow, and build roads or bridges. The subjects are still willing to comply with these corvées. 792 466

Travel of the Chief of the Lamasery:

When the supreme chief of the lamasery makes a long journey, the chiefs of the intendancies order the chiefs of the villages to send a couple of horsemen each 792 484 651

[p.48(A)]

products and animals for trading. All year long the 792
silence of the holy places was disturbed by the coming 175
and going of caravans of donkeys carrying grain to the 651
oil and grain mills, and returning with flour and oil 427
which was measured with the usual rumble of noise and cries. Throughout the year, groups of subjects never failed to become involved in trials, defending their rights by roaring and crying with vehemence and passion at the court of lamas. Punishments were meted out with ruthless severity, so that cries and screams could be heard throughout the entire monastery—whetting the curiosity and disturbing the meditation of the monks.

The interest of the subjects was centered only on the 175
monastery. There was no need for them to go to the 633
city, since the necessities of life could be secured at the 792
monastery fairs and nobody cared for the Chinese officials, the lamas being their legal officials. Many, many people had never seen or entered a city. The monasteries and their subjects lived their own life, in their own orbit, alien to the city, just as if Chinese officials did not exist.

These conditions changed after 1723 when the lamas lost their privileges and the country developed economically. From that time on the city became the center of the economic, civil, and administrative life; before that time, it had been primarily a military center, engrossed in the protection of the country.

What was the social position of the subjects of the 175
lama institutions before 1723? It seems that religion 792
must have been a subsidiary and not a primary motive 571
for becoming subjects of the lamas, because all of them were spurred by the hope of earning a better living under the lama regime than under the regimes of the Chinese officials or the Monguor T'u-ssu. Having been driven out of their territories by marauding Mongols, they may have hoped to find a peaceful country within the frontier zone of China, on the domains of the lamas. Being groups or tribes, or single families of destitute people, they were happy to submit to lama chiefs, and they were thankful to them for being accepted as their subjects. They did not lay claim to any rights, and the lamas did not consider that they were entitled to any, because they had achieved nothing that could have supported such claims. In this way the lamas strove to make their domains more and more productive, and were only concerned with the duties to be imposed on the subjects, without paying any attention whatever to rights they might have claimed.

The subjects were all on the same social level; there 175
was no more question of nobles and commoners among 565
them. They were all equally subject to taxes and cor- 792
vées, and all of them were tenants of the fields of the lamas. They enjoyed the rights to live, to till the soil, and to consume the surplus of their labor. Since the lamas never sold their fields, the subjects had no opportunity to become proprietors of the soil, as was the

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

case with the subjects of the T'u-ssu, and so no out- 175
standing rich families could rise up among them. Since 565
the entire administration was carried on exclusively 792
by lamas, the subjects could hardly incur any important social prestige within their circle, or become leading personalities, and certainly not during the entire Ming period (1368–1644) when intermittent troubles and interruptions of trade curtailed the opportunity to become rich. Accordingly, the lamas effectively controlled the subjects and their domains.

As no written code of law existed, the lama officials 175
helped themselves with a house law on a grand scale, 792
by imposing taxes, corvées, and tribute, mediating 692
troubles in families, meting out punishments and imprisonments for crying injustices. The subjects, pinning their hope on a better living, were submissive and obedient, simply because the chief lama was their lord.

It is easy to understand that the subjects of the monasteries enjoyed no rights of their own, but they depended entirely on the administration of the chief of the monastery and his lama officials.

It may be supposed, however, that capital punish- [681]
ment of the subjects of the monasteries was reserved to the emperor, as it was in the case of subjects of the T'u-ssu. It is not known whether, before 1723, the right of recourse of the subjects to a higher Chinese court existed or not. If it did exist, it must have been nominal, as it is at present.

The living conditions of the subjects, however, must 175
have been for the most part bearable, as evidenced by 792
the fact that so many people applied to the lamaseries 571
to become subjects. Only after 1723 are a few cases known of subjects revolting against the chief lama and his officials, such as the case of Yang-kuo-erh-ssu, and that of the subjects of the Sina tribe, who preferred to become Chinese subjects rather than remain subjects of the lamas. On the other hand, the unbelievably large number of lamas from among the subjects, since every family had a son or an uncle lama, must have disposed the families favorably toward the monasteries and their chiefs, and made the subjects overlook the shortcomings and deficiencies inherent in any human institution.

The reasons why the privileged status of the monasteries lasted for so long in Huang-chung were, first, the insecurity of the country, especially after 1509, and then the influence of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus in Peking.

The chiefs of the monasteries were, at the same time, 175
the temporal and the spiritual chiefs of the subjects. 792
The subjects were compelled to invite the lamas on 794
whom they depended to recite texts in behalf of the families or of the communities, or to perform public or private ceremonies, to the exclusion of lamas of other communities, at such times as epidemics, epizootics, the burying of the dead. They had to make donations at fixed times, when their lamas, their chiefs, came touring for alms among them. Corvées were imposed at the time of celebrations and festivities at their lamaseries.

[p. 50 (B)]

prostrations and by presentation of the ceremonial scarf. They escorted them to the branch where a sheep was killed and a dinner enjoyed. 175 792 794

DOMAINS AND REVENUES

An affiliate, in order to enjoy viability, had to possess a territorial domain. The mother house, where possible, assigned to it a part of its own domain; where this was not possible, the founder made arrangements to provide a domain. The T'u-kuan bought some ground for his affiliate of Ma-t'i-ssu. Every year the affiliate had to pay the interest of the capital thus invested, amounting to 60 taels or 36½ bricks of tea. The rector of the affiliate was bound to account for the material administration of his institution, receipt of rents, selling of trees, investment of the capital of the affiliate, and herds, and required a fixed sum to be sent out of the revenues to the intendancy of the founder. Finally, the intendant of the founder supervised the material administration of the subsidiary. When recalcitrant subjects refused obeisance, the rector and the disciplinarian sent them to the mother house, but such subjects would quit the monastery before they were summoned to see the founder. 175 792 571 794

OBLIGATION TO A FA-T'AI WHEN INVITED

When one of the members of the subsidiaries is invited to take the office of Fa-t'ai (Lob-pon) at the mother house, he is never allowed to decline the invitation, even after the subsidiary has become entirely independent, and even if the man thus summoned to officiate as invited Fa-t'ai is a Living Buddha or the supreme chief of the independent monastery. This custom seems to be general.

OBLIGATION TO JOIN THE RETINUE OF THE CHIEF OF THE LAMASERY

When the founder of the affiliate makes a long journey or accompanies an alms expedition to far-off countries, the branches must send lamas to make up his retinue. When the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu went to Peking to fulfill the assignment entrusted to him at the capital, even the independent old branches were kind enough to present a couple of lamas each to enhance his prestige. When he went to Peking for the last time, seventeen independent branches sent lamas. Lamas like to visit the capital, since it is a remunerative business. In the Orient a traveler always does some business on the way, especially an eminent personage such as T'u-kuan, traveling as a state official. He and his retinue enjoyed the privilege of going everywhere free of taxes. 175 792 484 [534]

AUTONOMY OF BRANCH LAMASERIES

How did the subsidiaries become independent? The tragic events which occurred at Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai have already been recorded. Although such 175 792 794 571

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tragic events seldom happen, independence is never acquired without friction between the daughter and mother houses. Usually the difficulties begin with the crucial problem of the delivery of the share of revenue required by the intendancies of the founders. The separation usually occurred, according to old lamas, at a time when the mother house was involved in inextricable difficulties and unable to assert its authority, or when the founder was still in the prime of life. 175 792 794 571

The obsession for having Living Buddhas started in Erh-ku-lung in the second half of the seventeenth century with the incarnations of the founders. Very soon some of the subsidiaries endowed themselves with their own Living Buddhas, partly for decorative reasons and partly in anticipation of a possible rupture with the founders. These Living Buddhas eventually seized a favorable opportunity provided by circumstances to declare their independence and take possession of the territory formerly allocated to the subsidiary. On the other hand, it is easy to understand that subsidiaries, which had developed to the point of having several hundred inmates, or two thousand as in Seerkok, split away (from the mother house) when they had capable authorities, or when the intendancies of the mother house were too exacting and greedy on the question of collecting a share of the revenues of the subsidiary. At such a time the veneer of filial devotion easily scales off.

This was the case with the affiliate of T'ien-T'ang with its seven hundred lamas, two Living Buddhas, and three colleges. Its founder, T'u-kuan, squeezed to the wall, understood the gravity of the situation and made the best of a bad bargain, granting independence after it had been declared, provided the duty was acknowledged of presenting a yearly allocation to the intendancy of one of the Living Buddhas of T'ien-T'ang, the teacher in a former incarnation of T'u-kuan (this was a delicate gesture), together with the right to graze his herds on the domain of the new monastery. The conditions were gratefully accepted and good relations between the former daughter and its mother house continued.

The branch of Ta-ssu, depending on the community of the lamas of Erh-ku-lung, had troubles with the intendancy of its founder concerning the crucial question of the exaction of revenues. It happened that one of the lamas of Ta-ssu, scion of the noble family of the Lu T'u-ssu, died. The shrewd lamas invited the supreme chief of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an in order to inquire whether the departed lama had or had not been of the stuff of which Living Buddhas are made. The intelligent Living Buddha of Ch'ü-t'an easily understood the meaning of the fervent lamas and declared that the noble lama was already reborn in the family of the Prince of Alashan, and it happened that the wife of the noble Lu T'u-ssu was a princess of Alashan. This was a double blessing sent by the Buddha! Independence was immediately declared, backed by the in-

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fluential family of the Lu T'u-ssu and the Prince of Alashan, and a new monastery was born. The community of Erh-ku-lung was powerless. 175 792 794

It sometimes happens that a branch not having its own Living Buddha does not wait to declare its independence. Chai-ya, a small branch of forty lamas dependent on T'u-kuan, possessed some forests; the selling of trees was its primary source of revenues. The subprefect of P'ing-fan confiscated the forest in 1912. At the time, rumors were spread all over the country concerning the confiscation of the domains of all the monasteries. T'u-kuan, deeming it not the appropriate time to accuse the subprefect at the capital of the province, did not help the branch to recover the forest. The frustrated and infuriated branch boldly declared its independence and thereafter had no further relations with the founder. 571

Kalang, an old, independent affiliate of Labrang, founded its own branch, Pi-t'ang. Pi-t'ang flourished and Kalang declined. Pi-t'ang prepared to invite a Living Buddha to move into its establishment, but Kalang refused permission. The lamas of the lamaseries fought among themselves in 1912, and the Moslem General, Ma K'o-ch'en, sent troops to quell the troubles. In 1915 the country was troubled by the Pai Lang (White Wolf) brigands, and the old feud flared up again. Kalang accused Pi-t'ang at the subprefecture of Hsün-hua. Finally Kalang refused to accept the verdict of the subprefect and prepared to fight Pi-t'ang. The general, Ma K'o-ch'en of Hsining, sent his troops, and twenty-one fighting lamas of Kalang and seven Moslem soldiers were killed. Kalang had to pay an indemnity of $10,000 for the soldiers killed. The members of the intendancy were put into jail and Pi-t'ang was declared independent by the Moslem general. These facts give an insight into the problems of the subsidiaries, the very loose ties which knit mother and daughter houses, the reasons which cause a scission, and the ways in which their separation may be achieved and independence acquired. Very often the part played by the intendants is paramount in creating the breach between mother and daughter houses.

LAMA ARMY

At present, the lamaseries of Huang-chung no longer have a regular armed force of lamas who are maintained by the lamasery, as is still the rule in Tibet. The only record encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 28, p 13) concerning a lama army is a supplication sent to the emperor during Cheng-te period (1506–1521) by the Chinese officials of Hsining, asking that the farmers of Hsining be exempted from the burden of supporting the lama army. At that time there existed only the important lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an, with its subsidiaries, some Nang-suos and Karwas, and the lamasery of Sha-chün. From the relatively small number of lamas at that time, it may be assumed that the lama army con- 175 792 701

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Many parents with only one boy pass through a bad time when a lama friend comes to ask for him as his disciple. Once in a while the lamas are very exacting and do not hesitate to predict the most terrible calamities in case of refusal. In 1913 the old man Chao of Lu-men-chih Valley who was seventy years of age was, after twenty years, still under the influence of the prediction of calamities made by a lama of Erh-ku-lung in the event he should refuse to give up his son. 175 792

A rich old Tibetan named Pao, father of an only son of six years, told me how the Living Buddha of Hsien-mi-ssu came to ask for his boy. The old man had begged the Living Buddha, prostrated himself and cried with his wife before him, for days in succession, and proposed to offer his beautiful mule, the best in the whole country, but to no avail. On the one hand the promises of blessings, and on the other the prediction of calamities, caused him to make the painful decision to offer his son.

There are children smitten with severe disease who are dedicated by their parents to the service of Buddha in the event they should recover, and children sent to the monastery by parents of large families. Very often it is difficult for these parents to find a lama who will assume the duty of caring for them, and arrangements are made between the lama and the parents concerning the support and the upkeep of the child. The bonds which tie such pupils to their masters are looser, and when they are able to stand on their own feet they try to find a way of making their own living. These are the usual ways of getting pupils. In all these cases the parents, not the children, make the decision for them to enter the monastic life. No question of vocation or willingness to devote a lifetime to the service of Buddha is considered by the children. The vocation consists of the decision by the parents and the readiness of a lama to accept the child as a pupil.

Children who are physically deformed or disabled, or children of butchers or notorious thieves are not allowed to become pupils. It is also said that children who do not care when a raven comes and sits near them are not fit for the monastic life.

However, I met an exception in Chie-bzan in 1913. A Tibetan named La, after being married for two years, living uncongenially with his wife, sold his horse, cows, and sheep, and, leaving a couple of cows and calves to his wife, became a lama at Chie-bzan.

PUPIL AND MASTER

NOVICE

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On an auspicious day, a father arrives at the monastery with his son. The boy presents to his master lama the traditional scarf of felicity, a couple of packets of Chinese noodles, and prostrates himself nine times. The boy receives the name of his master, for lamas are not supposed to have any family. The adoption is finished, master and novice constitute one family, and

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the boy will obey his master as he obeyed his parents. 175
By this ceremony, which is a real adoption, the novice 792
is constituted the legal heir of the fortune of his master, 571
who usually possesses a home or a small courtyard inside the monastery, some animals, and money. The novice will stay with and serve his master his whole life, the master caring for his subsistence, keep, and education.

FIRST VOWS

After a few days, on a new auspicious day, the cere- 792
mony of the taking of the first vows is performed. In [782]
the early morning, the master himself shaves the head of his pupil. It is said that a layman is not allowed to be present at that moment. Five Gelüng [5] lamas arrive; one of them sits against the wall of the k'ang, and the other four, in pairs, sit opposite each other. The kneeling novice holds incense sticks in his hands and the Gelüng starts the ceremonial prayers, reciting the thirteen traditional vows which the novice repeats after him. Nine prostrations are given before a picture of some Buddha, and the chief of the Gelüngs makes a speech. The boy thanks the Gelüng and his master by prostrations, and the vows are taken. From that time on the boy is called *Wendee*.[6] In some monasteries only two Gelüngs preside over the ceremony; at Seerkok, only one. The master then enters the name of his pupil in the roster of inmates of the monastery. The master alone is the judge of the aptitude and religious vocation of his pupil.

The master starts the education of his pupil by teach- 792
ing him how to arrange the house altar, sweep and 874
keep the house clean, care for the stables, collect cow dung for fuel, draw water, milk the cows, tend the animals, graze the cattle, prepare food and tea. The novice is the genuine servant of his master, a cheap laborer. However, when the novice is not engaged in domestic duties, he receives religious education from his master, which starts with the study of the alphabet and reading of texts, and at the same time he repeats daily after the master and commits to memory the texts recited in the head temple. When he has learned them he is allowed to attend the morning ceremonies and to share the benefit of hot tea every day, to partake of the many meals, fixed according to the calendar of the monastery, and participate in the distribution of the alms.

Memorizing is the most important point in the program of studies. Later on, the master helps his pupil to read and to commit to memory the texts used at funerals, for diseases, to protect the herds, the harvest, etc., because these texts will help him to make a living in the future. Every morning the pupil recites the prepared texts before his master. During his spare time, when he is not engaged in domestic duties, he has to

[5] L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*, 2nd Ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

[6] *Ibid.*, 171, Ge-nen-Bandi-Rab-brun—Gelüng.

ance is provided by an experienced spiritual director 792
and adapted to the needs of turbulent young people. 874
There is no novitiate. A young lama's director is his own master, who himself has received no scientific or religious training. The pupil tries to imitate the older lamas. He listens to their conversations and observes their actions. This lack of real education makes an experienced man pause.

RELATIONS BETWEEN PUPIL AND MASTER

The Wendee, after becoming a Gelüng, does not leave 792
his master, but continues to serve him to his dying day. 571
A lama enjoys the highest respect and love of his family, especially when he is young. His master allows him to make frequent visits to his parents, for it pays him to do so. The saying goes that lamas are quite like married girls. When they visit their family, they take nothing with them and ride an empty horse, but when they leave their father's home their horse is loaded with gifts. The lama never returns from his parents without having received some clothing from his mother, having his clothes mended, and having received some sweet rolls, meat, and pickled vegetables. His parents slaughter a sheep or kill a pig, and a piece of meat is sent to the lama and his master. The master enjoys these small gifts and they help smooth the relations between master and pupil, who have to live congenially together, enduring each other's shortcomings and deficiencies. The intelligent master tries to cultivate good relations with the family of his pupil because this will help to make the pupil obedient and avoid friction between them.

Old, experienced lamas told me often that the problem of the pupil is of overriding importance and is a nightmare to many lamas. The young people now are not as unsophisticated as in old times. The master, an uneducated man, who has never learned to restrain his own passions and temperament, is usually not a man qualified to educate a wild pupil, but the fault does not always lie only with him. The stumbling block in the [867]
education of pupils is to be sought, not usually in the home of the master, but outside the monastery, where the pupil goes every day for hours on end, to collect fuel or graze the animals. Boys of seven, eight, and ten years of age meet with teenagers, already thoroughly corrupt, who pervert them and plant in their hearts the seeds of evil weeds which are likely to thrive for the rest of their lives.

Among these groups of young lamas all the short- 792
comings of the masters of the monastery are discussed, 867
the pitiful conditions of the pupils, the disappearance of 571
pupils, the accusations at the Chinese courts of masters by their pupils, the successful removal of a part of the master's wealth by the pupil. These young folk listen all night long to the conversations of the older lamas, who know, to the last detail, all the scandals of the lamas and of the monasteries of the whole country, who

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

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talk of commerce and business deals, and about the interesting places they have visited. In this way the youngsters come to know about a great deal of unedifying material which they discuss, with relish and interest, when they meet outside the monastery, and so the spirit of commercial adventure is cultivated in them, and the passion to see places and to wander. This poisoned atmosphere, woven around them, has a pernicious bearing on their careers. In the long run, the young lama receives his education outside the monastery in the groups of unrestrained young lamas, and in the evening at the home of his master when old lamas talk unguardedly. In the Orient there are no secrets.

In 1913 I was a guest at the monastery of Hsien-mi. One night the rich intendant of the community of lamas arrived after an absence of three weeks. His two disciples, sixteen and nineteen years of age, had disappeared after being beaten by him for insubordination. Finally, he had found them at the monastery of Shih-men, five days distant from Hsien-mi. By dint of promises he had succeeded in bringing them back home. Two days later I arrived at the monastery of Chu-erh. Two pupils had just undergone a terrible ordeal. One had stolen 50 taels from his master and the other had concealed the stolen money. Punishments were inflicted on both the thief and his accomplice with ruthless severity.

The old rector of the branch of Hua-Yüan-ssu, depending on Erh-ku-lung, had borrowed from a rich Monguor 200 taels. Trusting his pupil, thirty-six years of age, he had sent him with the money to the Monguor. Three months later the Monguor again asked for his money. Then the pupil disappeared and the rector had to pay the sum again. A year later the pupil returned and apologized. The rector was happy to see him again.

An old, sick, asthmatic lama, a friend of mine, came to get some medicine. His young pupil, sixteen years of age (this was his second disciple), had come back after wandering for a year. The asthmatic old man had implored him not to act in that way any more, and had promised to give him a horse and to defray all the expenses of a trip to Lhasa, after he reached his twentieth year of age.[7]

The disappearance of the young lamas is the greatest concern of the old lamas. Punishment is enough to make them leave. Often two or three young men, lured by adventure, decide to abandon their masters and disappear, taking their leave for months or years. The masters, not knowing whether they will return, cannot make provision to search for another pupil, for in case a master's pupil should return, and in the meantime another pupil had been taken on, suit could be brought in the Chinese courts by the former pupil to obtain the wealth of the master and a definite separation.

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[7] Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 36, 37, more about this matter.

[p. 58 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Even this kind of trouble is mild enough. It is more serious when the pupil accuses his master in the Chinese court, alleging that living with his master is impossible, and demanding a part of his wealth. Such impudent acts of audacity happen from time to time. I asked the subprefects of Tat'ung and Nien-pei, and the Amban, about the reasons given for such accusations. All three told me, "Father, you do not know the secrets of the monasteries. The alleged reasons are always, in the long run, the same as those used by the daughters-in-law when they accuse their fathers-in-law."

A lama cannot stand having such accusations put on public display by an unscrupulous pupil who aims at getting hold of his wealth, for even if he wins the suit, his entire wealth has vanished. The pupil knows perfectly well how much his master is worth, and tells the officials and the underlings of the court how much they can expect to benefit. Such a suit makes the court happy. An intelligent lama, therefore, always tries to invite influential people to mediate the quarrel and to work out an agreement, consenting to give up a part of his fortune and to separate from the pupil. The lama can then begin again with another pupil, while he still has something to his name.

The life of a lama is not a bed of roses. Even if he should be an affluent individual, insecurity over the attitude of his uneducated pupil, fears of having the pupil accuse him at the Chinese courts, and the possibility of losing his fortune, must always hover in the background.

The life of the pupil is not a bed of roses either.[8] Not having received any real religious education, having no serious occupation, living a lazy life, the prospect of having to serve, who knows for how many years, a master who is becoming old and has many weaknesses and imperfections, is not alluring. On the other hand, being in the prime of life, used to engaging in domestic duties, enjoying the company of young people of dubious behavior, the pupil is not disposed to dedicate all his energy to study and devote himself entirely to a perfect monastic life.

These seemed to be the conditions prevailing between masters and pupils in the monasteries of Huang-chung in 1910–1920, which became evident after observing the lama life at close quarters for several years.

THE IDEAL MONGUOR LAMA IN HUANG-CHUNG

It was always very interesting to inquire, among well-acquainted, serious lamas, and among young pupils, how a "good" lama behaved the whole day long. The answers given are summed up in the following statement, bearing evidences of a long-standing tradition and of a general uniformity in the concept of a "model," or "ideal" lama.

In the very early morning the master awakens his

[8] Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 129, 130, 131.

[p. 59(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the cosmic tree on the mount Meru. In addition the whole series of good and evil spirits were both honored and combatted in the effort to make them inoffensive. Hoffmann concludes that it is hard to trace a sharp dividing line between the old Bön and shamanism. 756 771

It is instructive to read the review of Helmut Hoffmann by R. A. Stein [7] in order to get an idea of the confusion still persisting regarding the subject. Stein holds that the definition of Bön, said to be the religion of the Tibetans before the introduction of Buddhism, is not easy to write down, because Bön as a religious system is only known in its later state of development when it seems to be a variant of Lamaism. Bön conserves more archaic traits of the old popular religion than Lamaism does, but it does not enjoy a monopoly (p. 98), because the facts relating to Bön are encountered in Lamaism as well as in shamanism. The problem of the Iranian origin of Bön is difficult to solve (p. 99). The fact that the Bön worshipped the spirit of Heaven as a personal Supreme Deity seems to have to be taken with cautiousness (p. 101).

Kawaguchi [8] notes that originally Bönism very much resembled Hinduism, but now in theory it is almost Buddhism. Shorn of its sacrifices, its toleration of marriage and use of intoxicants, it is only Buddhism under another name.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE MONGUOR SHAMANS WITHIN THE CLAN

The social conditions of the shamans are the same as those of the commoners of the clan. They are not exempted from land taxes and corvées, but no special corvées are imposed upon them by the chiefs of the villages. They receive remuneration for the performance of rites in behalf of the community. The shamans enjoy no privileges in the Monguor community as was the rule in the time of Chingis Khan. 756 554

The Monguor shamans do not live in monasteries, where they might give spiritual help to the people; they live in various parts of the villages, each with his wife and children. Their economic mainstay is tilling the soil and breeding cattle; their subsidiary occupation is the performance of shamanistic rites either for the community of the village or for private families when invited by them. The margin of subsistence of most of the shamans is rather narrow. 756

No bonds tie them to the village where they are living; shamans of distant villages are invited by the villagers, and the shamans living in the village are frequently overlooked. Some shamans, celebrated all over the country for their proficiency in the art, are invited more often than others by village communities or private families. [57]

The activities of the shamans are not limited by the

[7] R. A. Stein, *Journal Asiatique*, 1952: 97.

[8] Ekai Kawaguchi (Late rector of Gohyakurakan Monastery), *Three years in Tibet*, 131, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

[p. 78(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

for the first time the Kurtain starts an exacting training 756
which lasts for several weeks. This consists of dancing, vaulting, fencing practices, for he has to be in top trim in order to appear on the stage. He must discipline himself to the rules of a possessed man, in order to acquire the required disposition favorable to ulterior possession by his spirit.

It is customary for spirits to have only one disciple in the village. When he dies another appears, usually after a short time, but occasionally even after a long time, to discharge the duty. When a Kurtain grows old, his spirit abandons him and chooses a younger man to take his place. Kurtains, according to the Monguors, are very often really savage and violent when they are in the full bloom of their youth. The people are more scared of them than of shamans. Later, as they grow older, they become more moderate and calm. The genuine Kurtains, according to the Monguors, have their nerves easily excited. They do not look straight at the interlocutor, shun the company of men, and are rather fond of not talking. I got the same impression. Monguors do not trust much those who brag and boast about their prodigious achievements. It is also said that many Kurtains have their nerves on edge and feel excited and anxious between the fifteenth and the twentieth of the month. They feel hysterical and terrified at the time of storms.

BY WHAT SPIRITS ARE KURTAINS POSSESSED?

The Kurtains, who are not very numerous, are said 756 776
to be mostly possessed by spirits of Taoism, never by the Twelve Tengris of the shamans or by the Heavenly Spirit. It has already been said that many temples of the villages are dedicated to the "Wu-tao-shen," some to the dragon spirit, others to the spirit of horses, or the spirit of cows; a few to Ho-hu and to the Mother goddess, to the god of Riches and Wealth, but in all those temples there is always in evidence a nice sedan chair where the statue of the Mother goddess or the dragon god or Wu-tao is enthroned. The reason is that it is customary to have a sedan chair in each village to be carried in the processions. Most of the Monguors honor at home the picture of the same Taoist spirits, although some honor Lamaistic deities. It has been noted above that in a few villages there is also a Buddhist temple apart from the temple of the village, but these temples are never the center of the religious life of the village. No wonder that most of the Kurtains claim to be the disciples of Taoist spirits. A few Kurtains claim to be possessed by deities of Lamaism.

AUTHORIZATION OF TESTS OF THE KURTAINS

The Monguors, having found themselves tricked 756 571
many times, harbor a guarded and skeptical mood, and distrust new Kurtains. Since they suspect the au-

[p.91(A)]

thenticity of their possession, the Kurtain has to provide 756
evidence of being possessed, which has to be tested and 571
checked by qualified men, before they can enjoy the benefit of a "diploma" showing their credentials. Not only the Monguors but the lamas ask for a serious test.

If the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a Lamaist 756
deity whose incarnation is living at the lamasery, the 787
test is provided by this Living Buddha himself, who 571
is the best qualified man for the examination. If there is no such incarnation at the lamasery, the Kurtain has to invite the Living Buddha, or a Fa-t'ai, to offer him a gift, and implore him to make the test. In case the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism, the chiefs of the village urge him to pass the test before a Living Buddha anyhow, for only the Living Buddhas are supposed to possess the required yardsticks *ad hoc*. Old Kurtains cannot test the authenticity of new Kurtains. In the event the Kurtain declares himself to be possessed by a deity of Lamaism, the community of the village defrays the expenses required for the test. If he declares himself to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism he has to defray the expenses himself.

The test of a Kurtain possessed by a Taoist spirit is 756
carried out as follows: the Living Buddha, who sits on 787
his throne under the porch of the main temple with all the lamas, while the temple yard is packed to capacity with a curious and interested crowd, orders the Kurtain to sit beneath the steps.

The Kurtain wears the usual gown worn by the Monguors (seldom a red one) bound round the waist with a sash of red cloth. On a piece of red cloth, covering his head, is fixed a small copper mirror, shining on his forehead; a large red ribbon encircles his head, on which are sewn a lot of small bells. If he happens to be possessed by the spirit Wu tao shen, the spirit of the five roads, he wears a crown of that spirit. Over a large "cloud collar,"[1] which comes down over his shoulders, passes a red rope to which is attached a bigger copper mirror adorned by red, yellow, green, and blue ribbons or *khata*, dangling on his chest. On his back are sewn a couple of red and green handkerchiefs.

He sits erect on a low Chinese table, his legs always [514]
sprawled apart, imitating the exact posture of the god of the Five Roads, even though he may be possessed by the dragon god. The representation of this Chinese warrior, his theatrical attitude seen everywhere in all the temples, must have impressed the Monguors to a very large extent. On the knees of the Kurtain is

[1] This collar seems to hint at a part of the garments worn by the old Mongol princes "Ils (les princes) ont encore une autre forme (l'habit): un collet nommé 'Jaqa' sur les épaules et sur le dos, et qui finit des deux cotés en pointe aigue; il ressemble à un echiquier. Ce bord pend sur les deux épaules. Il est toujours fait en brocart ou en peau de zibeline." H. Serruys, *Pei-lou fong-sou*, Les coûtumes des esclaves septentrionaux, *Monumenta Serica* **10**: 145, 1945. For the "cloud collar" (*Yün-chien*), see S. Carmann, The symbolism of the cloud collar motif, *Art Bull.*, March, 1951.

[p. 91 (B)]

The Kurtain was obliged to apologize to the shamans, offering a sheep, and also had to offer a sheep to the deity who protected the village. 756 578

During the exhibitions at Erh-ku-lung, the Kurtain was decked in a splendid, long green gown, belonging to the lamasery and fashioned according to that of the Taoist priests. He wore on his head the mitre of a Living Buddha. He did not wear his helmet or the sword; his appearance was less warrior-like and terrible than that of the Kurtain of Seerkok, although he seemed still to represent the type of Chinese theatrical general, with flags on his back, sitting with open sprawled legs, in spite of having had the Buddhist mitre on his head and the Buddhist staff in his hand when the exhibition started. Furthermore, the ceremonies were the same, with cypress fire, recital of the *swork'a*, drumbeating, head shaking with ringing bells, prophesying, whip, and dagger. 756 292

The lamaseries are glad to have a Kurtain, because they enhance the interest at the annual pageant. These yearly exhibitions seem to be the principal job of a Kurtain possessed by a lama deity. Once in a while, however, when troubles occur, when the lamasery is sued at court, he is invited to prophesy the issue of the case, but most of the time the lamas solve their own problems. His position at the lamasery seems to be of a very secondary order, according to what lamas say. 756 571

Later there will be described the role the Kurtain plays in the community of the village, and in the private life of the Monguors.

Among the Wu of the present time in China is encountered a category of possessed men and women who seem to be of the same type as the Monguor Kurtains, who are not admitted into the group of the Wu (as the Kurtains are not admitted into the group of the shamans) because they did not pass the traditional tests of the Wu and did not receive the initiation. It sometimes happens that some of them transfer their business to their sons.[3] Their original possession, their behavior during the possession, are very similar with those of the Kurtains,[4] sitting on a stool before an altar, drowsily staring, yawning, shaking the head, furiously playing with a sword, prophesying and expelling evil spirits.[5] They are called *fa chang*, "Chief of Magic," while the real Wu is called *shih kung*, "Master," or *fa shih*, "Master of magic." 756 171

My data, as given above, seem not to tally completely with the very valuable study of F. Dominik Schröder in *Anthropos* **47**: 27–33, 237–248, 1952, but they are based on notes collected among the Monguors, and among lamas who lived over practically the whole region, and may contribute to an understanding of the subject. 114

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[3] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1263.
[4] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1274.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1276.

[p.94 (A)]

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

While the t'u-ssu and their subjects were fighting and suffering and dying in Hsining, the despairing Ming emperor, on April 25, 1644, had hanged himself in the Wan Sui Shan in Peking. On June 6, 1644, the troops of the new Ch'ing dynasty entered Peking and started at full speed with destruction of the troops of Li Tze-ch'eng who had already proclaimed himself emperor. On October 7, 1644, he ended his life by hanging himself.[87]

The t'u-ssu and their subjects served the Ch'ing dynasty with the same faithfulness they had served the Ming dynasty.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started with the occupation of Huangchung, this was an insecure colony of China, which during the previous dynasties had been lost several times and recovered. The Ming organized the country, providing a civil and military administration on the Chinese pattern. In Huangchung they started with the founding of military colonies, induced the Tibetan tribes to submit to them, established the exchange bureau of tea for horses, favored and protected the arrival of traders from inside China, and promoted agriculture and commerce. They attracted Chinese to settle in the country, built schools, promoted education, and repelled forays of Tibetans and Mongols from outside the Huangchung borders. Huangchung was at peace.

However, in the fateful year 1509 the first group of Mongols arrived and settled in Kokonor, followed by one after another, which ruined and cowed into submission the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor. At the same time the population of Huangchung and East Kansu, from 1509 to 1597, succumbed to the recurrent onslaught of avid, restless and predatory Mongols. The Tibetan tribes, robbed of their cattle, having seen their women and young folk abducted, beset with starvation and abject poverty, started raiding, devastating, and laying waste Huangchung and East Kansu. The army could not deter the forces of destruction. Raids prevailed over the entire northwestern borders of the empire, and the emperor gave the Huangchung officers insufficient reinforcements. It was only in 1590 that the energetic Minister of War, Cheng Lo, commanding new forces, succeeded in defeating the brigands. In the meantime the administration had incessantly built cities, villages, schools, walls, and fortresses all over the country. The aspect of the country had changed completely, despite the desperate times. The country had been organized and the administration established.

During these times, when raids and destruction raged unchecked, Chinese and Shat'o and Uighurs, Tibetans and Monguors had suffered together, helped and sheltered each other, and blended and fused in the compound called the Huangchung population.

In 1644 when the Ch'ing dynasty occupied Huangchung it was no longer the depopulated unorganized

[87] Erich Hauer, *op. cit.*, 488, 494, 497.

[10 cont.]

124 all kinds of things that I noted in order to learn more about them later.

The old man received no fixed salary. He said: "We two are now used to each other like friends. If now and then you give me a piece of cloth for clothing, it will be all right." It was simply a matter of face. Accordingly, he now and then received cloth for himself and his grandchildren or, when he was ill, some medications. Or I gave him a few scrolls at the harvest festival, bought inks and paper, sent him a little jug of wine now and then, etc. On his part, he made ceremonious [431] calls on me on the customary festive days or sent baked goods, [572] a piece of meat, [11] some milk, as is customary between good acquaintances. Whenever his trips happened to bring him past my station, he would come in briefly to inquire about me. His relatives, too, frequently dismounted when they brought their sacks to the water mill in the valley, especially if the old man happened to be there. Thus a considerable number of Tujen, men, women, and children, gathered at times in the yard and were treated as guests. They told stories, sang, and laughed, and in exchange for some wheat I had to photograph them. In this fashion I was soon well known among them in the mountains.

One day the old man brought a young man to me and said: "Here is the husband of one of my daughters; he knows all the Tujen songs by heart and knows many legends. If you want him to, he will dictate everything. He can also draw pictures." Naturally I wanted him to. I was able to put down on paper a whole series of songs, fairy tales, and myths, among them the Geser saga. In addition he drew a series of pictures for [126] me and with inexhaustible patience sang the different melodies until I could render them on the flute and transcribe them. When we sat together over a jug of wine in the evening, the two men sang their song and I played the flute in accompaniment. Then they felt at ease and said: "Soon we shall all come here, men, women, boys and girls; you kill a sheep and provide the barley wine, and we shall dance and sing."

114 Unfortunately that never happened! The events of the
115 time made a longer stay impossible. On July 1, 1949, I took

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

624 as the seat of authority that is the true center of administration. The tour through his territory seems to recall the older nomad society in its reassertion of personal control over the subjects, securing the cohesion of the clan and binding the subjects to the territory. The procedure may be compared with that of the Mongols, among whom every three years the register of the population is brought up to date and a large meeting of the Banner is held.[53] Among the Manchus, the general meeting of the clan is usually held once a year and never less frequently than once in three years.[54] Among the Monguors, it is to be noted that the T'u-ssu, in addition to his triennial tour, presides once a year over the meeting of the whole clan on the day of the veneration of the ancestors.

THE T'U-SSU LORD OF THE NOBLES

173 At the seat of the T'u-ssu is kept the register of all the noble families and their members. Even the girls are
618 noted and the families into which they marry. The difference between this register and the book of genealogies of the nobles lies in the fact that in the book of genealogies the birth of children, whether boys or girls, is not noted. A noble is entered in the book of genealogies as of the day of his death, on which date are noted the day of his birth and the name of his wife. The names of unmarried sons are not inscribed because they have not produced sons for the clan; the names of girls are omitted because they are "outsiders," taking the name of a different clan as soon as they are married. The register of the noble families is more elaborate, because each member of the family, boys and girls alike, is assessed a levy of 50 coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple.

THE TRIENNAL VISIT

624 At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu among the nobles, the register is brought up to date. Because the nobles
574 live scattered in the villages among the commoners and the members of the same House do not necessarily live in the same village, the visit of the T'u-ssu is so ordered that he visits the Houses one after another on fixed days. All members of a House must gather at the home of some one member. They are expected to invite the T'u-ssu and to send horses for his retinue. The picture of the guardian deity of the clan accompanies the T'u-ssu, and a reception is held during which the members of the generation senior to the T'u-ssu bow to him, while members of junior generations prostrate themselves. The hosts must provide a dinner at which the T'u-ssu presides as chief over all his noble kinsmen. Topics of
[431] interest to the nobles are discussed, and though they offer him no money, they present him with a piece of cloth.

[53] E. Timkovskii, *Voyage en Chine par la Mongolie en 1820 et 1821*, 1, 113, 321, Paris, 1827.

[54] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit*, 51.

[P. 66-b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

624 cloth. On the third day he is invited by the members
•574 of the next House.

NOBLES EXEMPTED FROM TAXES, CORVÉES, MILITARY SERVICE

565 There are important differences between commoners
651 and nobles in respect to taxes, military duty, and obligatory services. The way in which the nobles as kinsmen by blood of the T'u-ssu are divided into Houses according to seniority of descent from the founding ancestor, and are allocated for their personal revenue the tax income from certain villages, has already been described. The logical counterpart of the fact that the taxes of commoners can be allocated to nobles is the immunity of the nobles themselves from all taxes, obligatory services, and special contributions to the investiture of a T'u-ssu or the expenses of marriages and funerals in his mansion. The T'u-ssu and his noble kinsmen, as members of the same "bone," are thus clearly set apart as the collective "owners" of the commoners who form the larger, "assimilated" clan. Following the same general principle, when commoners bring new fields under cultivation they must pay to the T'u-ssu both a capital price for the acquisition of the land and a tax for the registration of the land as their private property, while nobles may bring new land under cultivation without any payment of any kind, thus demonstrating that they, collectively with the T'u-ssu, are the owners of the territory.

565 Nobles are, however, by the same logic, subject to
651 contributions for the upkeep of the ancestral temple in the mansion of the T'u-ssu. All nobles of the clan, and
769 even their wives and children, are assessed a levy of 50 copper coins every year for the expenses of the lama chaplain and the cost of oil, paper, and incense. The Monguors say that in former times the nobles were also responsible for the upkeep of the old common cemetery, and that they only later built private cemeteries, but that at present they pass on to the commoners the cost of the upkeep of these cemeteries.

565 The custom in regard to corvées is parallel to that
651 regulating the payment of taxes. Though nobles may inherit the right to collect taxes from certain villages, they do not have the right to demand obligatory services; but conversely they themselves are not subject to such services. Because of this, nobles must either till their own fields and watch their own cattle, or hire people to do this work for them. If the village in which they live decides to dig an irrigation canal as a communal project, they do not have to contribute labor but must
565 pay their share of the expenses. The only extraordinary
574 expenses and services that can be demanded of the nobles come under the head of honorable obligations, such as taking part in the entertainment of guests during festivities, contributions to dinners, participation in the veneration of the ancestors and in clan meetings, and serving as representatives of the T'u-ssu at dinners given

565 by Chinese officials, or on journeys to congratulate
574 Chinese officials on the major feast days of the year. The nobles as a group are also exempted from military
565 service, although the chiefs of the militia of the com-
701 moners, according to tradition, were always chosen from among the nobles in former times. In later times both
622 nobles and commoners have served as commanders and officers.[55]

It is said by the Monguors that in times past it was usually a noble who served as the chief of a village, but that because at present there are very few capable men among the nobles, these duties have devolved on commoners. Similarly, the nobles have lost the monopoly of serving as military officers.

AUTHORITY OF T'U-SSU OVER NOBLES

624 As might be expected the relations between a T'u-ssu
565 and his nobles are of a special kind. It has already been described how, on occasions of special ceremony, a T'u-ssu may actually be expected to prostrate himself before nobles who are members of a generation senior to his own, while they do not have to prostrate themselves to him, but merely clasp their hands and bow their heads. Moreover, while the T'u-ssu takes precedence when he is presiding as chief of the clan at the veneration of the ancestors, at clan meetings, during the triennial visitation, or when nobles or commoners are brought before him in a lawsuit, yet on such occasions as non-official dinners and the marriages of nobles, the T'u-ssu always requests a noble of a generation senior to his own to preside.

624 Difficulties among the nobles most commonly originate
565 either in quarrels over the division of a paternal in-
692 heritance or quarrels about the collection of taxes. In order to prevent litigation, the clan elders try to arbitrate such quarrels. Only if they are unsuccessful is a lawsuit brought before the T'u-ssu. If the parties do not agree to the T'u-ssu's verdict, they are free to appeal to a Chinese court. In a case known to me, the eleventh House of the clan of Li T'u-ssu had trouble with its villages over the collection of taxes. Unwilling to abide by the verdict of the T'u-ssu, the members of the House went to the Chinese court. They were severely rebuked, the Chinese judge angrily threatening to abolish the outmoded custom under which the members of a whole clan live at the expense of the commoners.

681 Nobles are never flogged or beaten for transgression of the law, because the lictors are commoners and it is not fitting that commoners should beat nobles.

624 When the T'u-ssu visits his nobles in the course of
565 his triennial tour, they defray his expenses, including those of his retinue, just as do the commoners.

The old nomad custom was that when an individual

[55] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 233, notes that among the Mongols of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, with the decay of the feudal system, the duty of feudal service on the part of a noble to his lord had become more voluntary than obligatory.

[p. 67-b]

/51 cont'd/

585 all until the next day, which is the day of the wedding dinner at the home of the son-in-law; we have seen that the number of guests invited to this dinner is prescribed. He will therefore have to politely send some away. To this end he comes to each person who will be sent away, without saying any more, bringing four loaves of bread and one or two pieces of raw meat. This is called pou fen tse, "to 583 431 complete the dinner." They understand and leave with many polite phrases.

585 574 /52/ The ones chosen for the feast the next day try to find lodging for the night, either with neighbors or in the home of the bride; some of them celebrate very late into the night and pass the time singing and drinking. This part of the festivity is often less attractive for us, since the gin spoils its freshness. It has the disadvantage of sending to the wedding dinner the next day at the son-in-law's home many guests with heavy heads and in bad humor because of fatigue from a tiring trip and a night without refreshing sleep.

533 585 The T'ou-jen like to sing at weddings. Their own repertory in the language of the country is not very wide, so they ordinarily sing Tibetan songs. One of the very rare songs in the Monguor [177] language is the one about the origin of the mythical bird Chong-nirwa. (1) It is very often sung at weddings.

104 773

1. Chong is probably the Buddhist Garuda called K'yun in Tibetan. Grunwedel says in Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet u. der Mongolei /Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia/, p. 25: semidivine being, deadly enemy of the Naga, a mounted bird, the king of the feathered /tribe/ and his kinsmen.... P. 191, ... is always represented in Lamaism with a thick body, human arms, on which the wings are located, and the horned head of a bird. He is part of the company of the formidable gods and plays

/81 cont'd/

Ma 585

The following night the proof of virginity is required. /Cited in English, with French interpolations indicated by parentheses./

Mo 585 /81/ maid of honor comes to arrange the hair-do of the young wife in the manner of the women of the place.

20. Visits after the Wedding

Mo 574 585 Mo [862] The third day after the wedding, the father and mother of the young wife come to make a visit to the newly related family. This visit is called "opening a new road," tying new relationships. They bring a jug of gin, loaves of bread, dry Chinese noodles, and come, they say, to invite the son-in-law to come to their home. It is customary that on this day the young wife prepares the dinner. They make her take a practical examination of her culinary knowledge. It is she also who serves the last dish of the dinner and clears the table. The guests praise her and throw several cash for her into the empty cups. In the evening the guests go home.

The next day the father-in-law, the son-in-law, and the young wife go, the three of them, to return the visit to the parents-in-law. They bring two jugs of gin and loaves of bread. The married couple make the great prostration to the members of the family who are of generations above their own. In the evening the father and the son-in-law go back home /82/ and leave the young wife with her parents for several days. After choosing an auspicious day, one of her brothers will take her back to her husband's home. (1)

HM 585 754

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 312: A month later the young wife sets out with her husband or with one of her close relatives to pay a visit to her parents, which she repeats several months or a year later. (German translation: and stays with them for several months, indeed often for a year.)

/82 cont'd/

21. Relations of the Married Couple with the Daughter-in-law's Family.

593 585 a) Relations of the married daughter with her own family after the wedding.

The daughter-in-law is incorporated into the family of her [776 782] husband. We have seen that upon her arrival at the door of the house she was given chopsticks and a jug of gin, and that then she was taken to the kitchen to honor the god of the hearth of her new family by prostrating herself three times and presenting her offering of gin and her chopsticks.

Henceforth she will call the members of her husband's family by the same name that he calls them; in speaking of them to a third person she will add the term gadin, which means relatives by marriage.

Because the husband's family bought her, she has become its property; her original family no longer has any rights over her. One /83/ expects therefore that the relations of the married daughter with her own family would be broken, or at least that they would be very much reduced. Now this is not the case, as the long and frequent visits she continues to make to her parents after the wedding prove, as well as the custom of keeping her valuables and her clothes in her original family.

593 574 As a matter of fact, custom has it that the husband takes his wife and children to the home of their relatives in the first month of the year. His wife will stay with her family for ten or 20 days, often for even a month. When this period has gone by, her brother takes her back to her parents-in-law. Toward the fifth of the fifth moon the husband takes her to her family for the second time. This visit is shorter; after a few days her brother takes her back. About the fifteenth of the eighth moon the husband takes her to her parents' home for the third time. This time she stays there 15 or 20 days or even a month. The fourth visit to her family takes place in the last [527] month of the year and lasts about 20 days. Her brother brings her back for the festival of the god of the hearth, a festival which

593 /83 cont'd/
574 daughters-in-law cannot miss on any pretext. Each time the trip is
[527] made on horseback, and the husband comes back home the same day or the next.

When the two families live in places too distant from each other, for example, two days or more, the daughter-in-law makes only two visits a year to her parents. The first is made after the sowing, about the third moon, and lasts a month, the second after the threshing of the wheat, about the eleventh moon; it lasts a month and a half or even two months. The daughter-in-law will always be back for the festival of the god of the hearth.

[562] Women over forty can go to their own families whenever they like.

Outside of these customary visits there are cases of sickness in the family, mourning, marriage, celebration for a first-born child, etc., and each time the married daughter does not fail to be present.

/84/ This is the customary thing. However, in practice these visits depend on many circumstances. It may happen that the daughter-in-law's family is poor and does not want to entertain its daughter and her two or three small children. Then these visits will become shorter and less numerous. It may happen that the relations of the daughter-in-law with her family are less intimate, then of course they see one another less. When the parents of the married daughter are dead, the brothers and the sisters-in-law invite their sister less. Likewise when the married daughter has several children, she will not be able to take them all away with her, and she will not want to leave them for as long a time and so often. If the husband and wife get along well together and the daughter-in-law is well treated by the mother-in-law, her visits will naturally be reduced; but although reduced, they are always extraordinarily frequent.

In general, these visits are the cause of many troubles in the two families because they are too prolonged and too frequent. They give the young wife every chance for relations that are not praiseworthy at her place of origin, and these end up by chilling the relationship with her husband. During these visits the daughter often complains about her mother-in-law; then her parents, in order to

/84 cont'd/

593 make her life more bearable, make difficulties with the family of
574 the parents-in-law, and instead of doing good to their daughter they make her situation more and more difficult.

42.2 Besides these abnormal visits, it is necessary to point out a
58 custom completely singular in a patriarchal organization, with the system of the "large family," in which the daughter-in-law and all that belongs to her is the property of her husband and his family. This custom is that the young married woman keeps her jewels, her ornaments, her best clothes, and all that is dear to her not at the home of her husband but at her own mother's. There she has two or three trunks which her parents take care of but whose keys she keeps. On festive occasions the married woman herself goes to her parents' home to get her best clothes, or she sends someone to get them. Yet at her husband's home /85/ she also has one or two trunks in which she keeps her less important things and those of her children. This general custom offends neither the husband nor his family; all the same it may be the occasion of many disagreeable consequences. Indeed, it is thanks to this "strongbox" that dishonest women find a place to conceal things unfairly acquired in the family of the parents-in-law; again it is there that the presents offered by a too assiduous lover repose, etc. The T'ou-jen all recognize that this custom is not ideal, but they are powerless to make it disappear. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, p. 61: The adoption of a woman by the new clan is symbolised by a prayer addressed to the spirits of her husband's clan and a visit to the tomb of her husband's ancestors. Besides, in the course of the marriage ceremony she must execute some other rites symbolising her adoption by her husband's clan.

Among the northern Tungus the woman, after she is married, is not so closely bound at her husband's clan, and she is always considered as belonging to her mother's clan.

/129 cont'd/

562 speak, and when she has a son, then the brothers of the deceased will
588 not have the right to demand his property for themselves. In addition,
593 these same brothers who would not permit their brother to bequeath his property to his daughter and a son-in-law not adopted into the clan recognize the right of inheritance of a niece married to a prayer pole and of her children.

As long as the girl-mother stays home with her children, it is rare that difficulties arise; but often the situation changes when the woman is married at a "second" wedding /130/ and her children are still young. Then the woman's uncles, if she has no brothers, or these brothers if she has any, try to make her take her children with her and have them adopted by the new husband. They want to secure the property of the brother for themselves; for the property of the clan cannot pass to another clan. If the sons of the girl-mother are married at the time when she marries for the second time, there is no longer anything to fear for their rights. Let us note again that for these women, when they later remarry someone of their choice, there is no festivity as at the marriage of girls; they are satisfied with inviting a few neighbors. The second marriage can, in a way, be compared to a widow's marriage; however, such a woman will never have to fear being abducted.

The present case then is very strange in a society which, today, has strictly paternal descent. The fact that these rights are universally recognized is a sign that they date from far back; also the T'ou-jen cannot explain their origin and simply admit the fact.

B. Marriages to a Belt

588 These marriages, although they are as abnormal as those of the
184 preceding series, nevertheless seem to constitute a separate series.
● 574 First, they are practiced less than those we have just described, and
837 then their origin does not seem to be the same. They find their explanation in the custom of offering, for the night, a girl or a woman to a passing guest; in short, it is prostitution for the sake of hospitality. (1)

/130 cont'd/

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1. Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 140: Guest Prostitution. Guest prostitution, which is found among the polar peoples, also belongs in the same category. It is the custom of giving guests not only accommodations and lodgings, but in addition putting the wife or daughter at their disposal for sexual relations. It is very widespread among the polar peoples, although it is not characteristic. I have found no report of it among the central North Asiatics, with the exception of the Tungus. /Cited in German./

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This kind of marriage is practiced more where there is /131/ no son, but only a nubile daughter who has not yet been given in marriage. These are therefore very rare cases. This custom is again a way for the parents to keep their daughter with them; the daughter can in this way know the advantages of motherhood while taking care of her parents; the latter on their part will not have to be exposed to the risks inherent in the practice of husband-sons-in-law. This is the explanation given by the T'ou-jen.

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When the father offers his daughter to some passing guest, the latter must give his belt in exchange and leave it with the girl. The importance attached to the belt has never been explained. We have met the belt twice before in the marriage of widows. The guest goes away in the morning and will perhaps never come back; but if the girl is found pregnant, they make her new clothes as well as a married woman's hat; they comb her hair in the bride's style, they invite several neighbors, they put the belt on red felt spread out on the ground. The girl kneels and makes the great prostration to the belt, to her parents, and to those present, saying that she is the wife of the guest. Later, she will give her child the name of the guest and will herself be called by the same name by all the neighbors, although perhaps she will never see this passing traveler again. The

588 /131 cont'd/
574 children born later will continue to be always given the name of the
[858] guest. It goes without saying that the latter does not bother in any way with the support of either the child or the woman.

[428] Important remark: No right of inheritance is recognized for these children in the family of their mother. They are considered as the children of a daughter married to some individual, for they bear another name; now, another name, another family.

588 This curious custom finds its place in the series of marriages
554 because it creates a legal position in favor of the mother identical in every way to that of any married woman. The woman married to a belt is considered the wife of husband X and no one will ever venture to abduct her.

588 /132/ Marriages to a belt and those to prayer poles resemble each other strongly; the manner of celebrating them is the same; women who have contracted these marriages are considered as duly married, and the children, in the two groups, are recognized as legitimate. The only difference between the two groups of marriages lies in the fact that those of the prayer-pole group are recognized by the mother's clan, and those of the other are considered as not belonging to this clan. Those of the prayer-pole group seem to be direct vestiges of one of the stages of the matriarchate; indeed, they bring about inheritance in the family by the daughter. Those of the second group, on the contrary, by the fact that the woman and the children are considered as having left the clan, do not seem to have this origin; but if the prayer-pole marriages had not existed formerly, those of the belt group would never have been practiced.

588 The following item throws a singular light on this category of
593 marriages. A certain Tchang-kia-pa of Hong-ngai-tse-keou had a daughter married to a belt, mother of a small child; in addition, he had a married son at home. As a consequence of continual friction between the daughter married to the belt and the daughter-in-law, the first sought a match, married, and left the paternal home, taking away her son. Thus a certain Hou Iu-leang bought her as his second wife for the sum of 200 strings of cash.

After five or six years, at the time of the great fair and festivities of Wei iuen-p'ou which take place in the second moon, a

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606 ahead of all the other members of the family. What is typical is that
587 they call the money given to the mother-in-law k'ai k'eou ts'ien,
593 "the sum which opens her mouth," for if she does not open her mouth, that is to say, if she does not consent, the marriage comes to nought. /156/

b) Succession on the maternal side.

562 Without admitting a former matriarchate, how can one explain
593 the situation of the women in the series of marriages to the prayer
88 pole, etc.? In this case the "girl-mother" is seen to enjoy all the rights of a married woman, her children bear her name and inherit in her clan beside the children of her brothers. This is certainly the case which makes kinship, order of succession, and the property of the family pass on the mother's side. This single case which continues to exist in the middle of a patriarchal period in which the children of daughters as well as their mother are considered as outside the family, deserves all attention.

c) Admission into the family of children born of outsider fathers.

843 Is it not permitted to see vestiges of the matriarchate in the great facility with which they admit into the family the children of daughters-in-law and widows, born certainly of fathers who are outsiders; partus sequitur ventrem /"offspring proceed from the womb"/: they recognize only the mother. We have seen that here they are in a period of transition which begins to make this practice more and more difficult.

562 d) Frequent family visits of the daughter-in-law and right to
421 keep her property at her mother's home.
593 Again what can be said of the abnormal custom which allows
574 the daughter-in-law these frequent visits and these long vacations with her family? This custom is not natural in a patriarchal organization where the daughter-in-law is the property of her husband, and where she must give this clan her life, her time, and all her work. This custom gives the impression that the daughter, after marriage, always continues to live with her own family and not that of her husband, (1) all the more /157/ because she keeps at her parents' home

/157 cont'd/

Ma 574 593

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 90-91: The second long visit of the newly married wife in her mother's house may be also understood as a survival of the customs that prescribed to the newly married wife to keep her place in her mother's house. Furthermore the Manchus never say "the wife's father's clan" but "the wife's mother's clan." At the same time they say " he husband's clan" and "the husband's father's clan." Thus all these facts cannot be explained without a supposition of the materline clan system in the past. /Cited in English./

Mo 562 421 593 574 her finest clothes, her ornaments, her jewels, and everything that is dear to her. One keeps one's treasures at one's home; now, the home of the daughter-in-law does not seem to be near her husband. This last custom, which still effectively recognizes that the wife today has certain property rights, does not belong to a patriarchal organization; furthermore, we saw in the speech of the master of ceremonies that formerly the daughter enjoyed property rights since in her own family she inherited half of a son's share.

e) Festivities at the birth of daughters.

Mo 527 844 We shall describe elsewhere the extraordinary noisy festivities in which the whole village takes part, given on the occasion of the birth of the first child of a daughter-in-law, whether this child be a son or daughter, the celebration is equally solemn. Now such a festivity upon the birth of a daughter is again absolutely abnormal in a patriarchal system, where only the male descendant counts. We must Mo note that already in many T'ou-jen families this festivity is celebrated [171] only upon the birth of the first son. This celebration is absolutely inconceivable to a Chinese mind.

f) Wedding dinner at the bride's home.

Mo 585 562 In a patriarchal system how does one justify the dinner given at the bride's home for the members of her family alone on the eve of

[35 cont.]

792 A distinction is made between great and small lamas. The great ones are usually Living Buddhas (hutukhtu) (1).

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1. [Foreign text p. 41.] The following presentation applies primarily to the reception of a hutukhtu. In case of lesser lamas the ceremonies are simpler. -- Divine images, for instance, the litter of the Kuan Yin, of the tiger god, etc., also receive a similar reception when they are brought into the house for exorcising evil. Unfortunately I was unable to take down the corresponding ceremonies. I once saw such a god's litter standing on a house roof. -- The lama-reception was observed by me personally.

Before one invites a lama, the house must be cleaned. A special room is prepared, in which the lama prays and sleeps. Then the people go to get him with horses. In the case of a great lama, the entire village participates in the reception. As soon as he enters the compound, incense is offered and the conch is blown. He is led into the house and given hospitality. Afterwards he gives the book-blessing in the yard and begins his ceremonies.

[36] [Fig. 3 appears here.]

792 The lama always makes a number of tormas, in front of
[978] which little water-bowls are offered. He also has with him the same objects that he has in the monastery. -- When he finishes the ceremonies he is paid. Usually the monks of the monastery are also fed at that time.

Details

792 Preparations: Before anyone invites a lama, he consults
796 with him about the time. The soothsayer sets the day for the
574 ceremonies accordingly. For instance, if according to the

[36 cont.]

Fig. 3

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a. Torma; b. torma; c. wumba-can of the lama; d. thunderbolt
[532] (dordzi); e. bell. (Drawing by a Tujen.)

792 soothsaying the setting up of a mani-tree is supposed to take place
791 on the fifteenth day of a given month, then the lama must come
a week in advance because a prayer service of several days always
●574 precedes it. Only the higher lamas stay for just a day. The preparations are always carried out by the master of the household with the assistance of the mother's brother.

On the day before, the yard and all the rooms of the house are swept clean. The men fumigate all the rooms with the red-hot stone and the incense fire, so that no demons will carry on their mischief. For the lama, the host reserves the best room in the main house, which immediately adjoins the chapel or the household altar. He spreads one or two layers of white or red felt mats on the kang and places two beautiful saddle-blankets over them, one for the lama and one for his assistant. The place on which the lama is to sit is indicated by a hada. The latter is regarded as an honored memento and is later hung by the household altar.

Between the two blankets there is a fire basin with a large teakettle. Behind it there is a kang table with the food: a
[262] round wooden bowl of tsamba on which several pieces of buttered

[36 cont.]

792 bread have been placed in a pyramid and crowned with a red
796 date; a little box with tschürra (dry curds) for kneading tsamba;
a number of small [37] plates with black and white sugar, candy
574 sugar, currants, and dates; a number of small plates of goods
[262] baked with sugar and oil. -- Later, when the lama performs his ceremonies, the things are cleared away so that an empty table is at his disposal.

Hutukhtus or higher lamas send ordinary, serving lamas to the people a few days in advance to prepare the room and the things needed for the ceremonies. They also help in the kitchen because they know best which dishes their hutukhtu prefers. They also see to it that the riding animals of the monastery are properly
[442] accommodated.

The fetching of the lama: On the stipulated day the young men and boys of the village set out for the lamic monastery with the most beautiful and fastest horses. Some of them ride all the way to the monastery itself; some wait halfway. The hutukhtu
[492] always rides on his own animal; it must be a white horse. The other lamas, on the other hand, may use any animals available.

When at the halfway point the lama meets the troop that has come to fetch him, the oldest man steps forward and hands the lama a hada. He accepts it and touches the kneeling man's forehead. Then the youngest with the fastest horses leap into the saddle and ride ahead at a wild gallop in order to announce the news of the lama's arrival in the village. The lama likewise tries to follow at a rapid pace. Only the old lamas take their time. This fetching is called single fetching. Sometimes the fetching is done in two or three stages; then it is called double or triple fetching. Each time the ceremonies of handing over the hada and of the blessing are repeated. In the case of the third troup, however, the fetchers are on foot, for they only go just outside the village.

Reception: As soon as the messengers come riding in, the entire village gathers in front of the house that has invited the lama. All are wearing their best clothes. On the threshing

[37 cont.] On the threshing
792 floor the women and children tirelessly perform their round
796 dances with song, so that one can hear them from afar; the
lama is supposed to see how joyfully they welcome him. Out-
● 574 side the village all get off their horses; only the lama rides on
[535] alone. A man leads his horse by the reins.

As soon as he comes to the gate of the yard, a kang table is placed on the left side of the horse, and a white mat is put over it. The men help the lama out of the saddle, and all kowtow; only the women go on dancing without interruption. The lama steps out of the stirrups onto the table that has been set there and then strides toward the gate, where the master of the household is kneeling. He has placed a hada over his raised hands, and with it he extends to the lama a white bowl of milk with a cypress twig. The lama dips the twig into the milk, sprinkles the gate posts with it, and enters. The incense offering rises in the yard; people blow on all the conches they have. The men draw the lama forward with burning [38] sticks of incense and escort him to his room. There he sits down on the place indicated by the hada. The hada, however, is taken away.

792 The blessing: First of all, the lama rests with his com-
796 panions. The master of ceremonies pours him some tea and
invites him to fortify himself. Then the lama recites certain
574 prayers. Meanwhile the yard fills with guests.
788 At this point the master of the household enters the guest room, hands the lama a hada, kowtows, and requests him to come out in order to bless the people. The lama gives him a few small gifts, which he has brought with him, with a hada. Then he rises and goes out. Outside there is an armchair with a cushion; the lama sits down on it, his back turned toward the main house; a white felt mat is spread in front of him.
[554] Now the people move past him according to rank, first the men, then the women. Each person bows low before him while he touches the forehead or the crown of the head of everyone with his prayer book. His assistant stands at his side. After this ceremony he again withdraws into the house. [Figs. 4 and 5 appear here.]

[38 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 41 cont.]
torma that at the conclusion of the tsam dance on New Year's is carried off and burned as the murdered enemy of the religion. -- They also call the mandala-figure torma, for instance, during the erection of the pole-goat. -- The fact that the torma has a sacral function for only a brief time explains why it is no longer given any attention after the ceremonies, but is thrown away, given to the animals to eat, or even eaten by the people themselves.

Insofar as I was able to establish among the Tujen, the tormas are always made only of tsamba and butter, and not, as Filchner (Unkrig) writes, loc. cit., out of sour dough. It may be that this kind of preparation is peculiar to the monasteries.

The cult implements of the hutukhtu are the same as those he uses at home in the monastery, to wit, the holy water-can with the peacock feather, the hourglass drum, the thunderbolt, and the hand bell. He always has these things ready at hand on the table. He always holds his mani-string in his hand. While praying he does not sit at the side, but behind the table, on the kang and facing the door. He lays his prayer book in front of him on his knees or on the kang table. Sometimes he also gives the [788] water blessing while the others prepare the tormas. For this purpose he has pure spring water poured into the [39] holy can; one of the assistants throws consecrated spices into it and places the can on a little plate with Tibet barley. The lama then recites the prayer of blessing over it.

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Prayer fee: During the time of his stay the lama is entertained very hospitably. The master of the household, who is also called "master of gifts," must serve him personally. The

[39 cont.]

792 lama, however, does not have his principal meal at noon, like
796 the other guests, but only in the late afternoon. In order to en-
465 tertain him men and women dance and sing in the yard. Only in the case of very high hutukhtus is there no dancing.

[574] On the last day, after the lama's morning meal, but while
[535] he is still drinking tea on the kang, the master of gifts appears with the ceremonial helpers and with many words expresses his gratitude for the visit and the prayer. Then he hands him a tray with the gifts, over which a hada is spread, and the master of gifts announces what the lama is receiving for his services. This hada over the tray is called "speech hada." The things are put in front of the lama on the table and kowtows are made three times. The assistants, too, receive appropriate gifts.

The fee varies according to the wealth of the master of gifts, the position of the lama, and the ceremonies performed. Usually it consists of several back-baskets of bread (5), some

5. [Foreign text p. 42.] A back-basket holds 24 loaves. The red cloth is for the lama's clothing. Why only grain and money are thought of as a unity and designated by the same name, mbō, is unclear to me. According to the DMF, it comes from the Tibetan p'ogs, "fee."

pieces of mutton (4), silver money, and red cloth. Wealthy

[262] 4. [Foreign text p. 42.] Although
[782] Buddhism prohibits killing, the lamas, as well as the hutukhtus, eat flesh in all forms, as I repeatedly was able to observe. In the monastery Kuo-mang-szu I once noted that a sacrificial sheep, skinned and eviscerated, was set on a sacrificial table in front of the temple door. During

[39 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.]
the subsequent prayer ceremonies, the master of gifts, who had sacrificed this sheep, had the flesh cooked and a piece served to each of the monks in the temple during a pause in the prayer. It is therefore not surprising that the lama receives a loin of mutton for his fee. Since the Tujen, however, do not sacrifice a sheep in the presence of a lama (cf. the chapter, "The Mani-tree"), it seems to be a matter of not performing the killing itself before the eyes of the lama or in the same yard.

people give much more, for instance, beautiful horses, ornamental pendants, cloth, etc. When it is a matter of great
[782] occasions, a prayer service is even ordered for the monastery during the time that the lama stays with the master of gifts. During these days the master of gifts provides all the monks with rice, sugar, butter, and tea. Even pilgrims who stay in
[788] the monastery during these days and "stop in" to honor and to pray for the master of gifts are provided for and also receive alms for the journey.

[782] The masters of gifts also usually donate the prayer tea for the entire monastery, which is drunk during the ceremonial
[272] in the prayer hall, for example, at funerals, etc. Often they also set up a great number of butter-lamps in the temple at this
[354] time, or at least they donate the butter for the lamps. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

792 Return: After the lama has received his gifts, he is cere-
796 monially escorted out of the gate of the yard. An incense offering is again presented, but otherwise no further ceremonies
574 take place. The white horse is brought up, a kang table with a felt mat is set up for mounting, and the lama is lifted into the saddle. Then the men escort him out of the village. There

[39 cont.]

792 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the reception. The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the gifts are brought after him on animals.

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[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers. They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

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Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the beginning of the performance may not enter the yard. On the other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

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7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

[534]

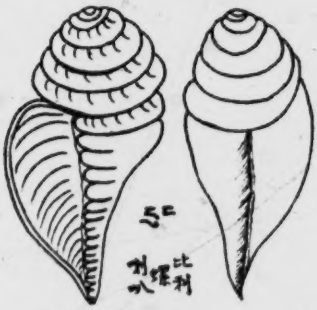

Fig. 6. Shells.

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(Drawing of a Tujen.)

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[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] maintains that formerly the Tujen used no sieve and that they learned of it from the Chinese. Nowadays paper is commonly used when it is a matter of a taboo that is not connected with the prayer service. Thus the people stick a rectangular piece of red paper to the gate intrados, on the right when, for example, there is sickness in the compound, and on the left when a woman is in confinement there. White paper is used when someone has died, a custom that probably comes from the Chinese.

[574] The taboo always lasts for several days, three, five, seven, always an odd number, and always as long as the lama is staying
[792] at the house, as well as two days afterwards. If, for example, the lama is there only one day, the taboo lasts three days; if he is there three days, it lasts five days, etc. If he is in the house for seven days, however, the taboo lasts for an entire week after his departure (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 42-43.] The taboo regulations mentioned here also apply to other religious ceremonies, even when no lama or Bon priest is invited. The taboo is then in force for only three days, however. -- Even the best friends are not admitted into the house, but are dealt with by the gate of the yard. For this reason they must first call out loudly so that someone will come out.

[43] Sometimes the people also say that in case of illness the yard is
[751] marked not out of fear of the spirits, but

[40 cont.]

192 Lama-reception: lama ndziala.

792 Lama blessing: ndziärgän (Tib.) = in rows.

First fetching: ġdzō dañwu (Tib. loanword) (10) [see
796 Note on preceding page].

574 Second fetching: ġdzō niwa (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Third fetching: ġdzō ġdzāmba (Tib. loanword) 10 [see Note 10 on preceding page].

192 Tsamba bowl with buttered slices: simier (10) [see Note 10 on
262 preceding page].

796 Little plate with baked goods: sētoġ.

Sugar candy: ping-t'ang (Chin.).

Apple: hai-t'ang (Chin.).

Nuts: ho-t'ao (Chin.).

Dates: sa-tsao-êrh (Chin.).

Dry curds: tsūra (Tib., Tuj.).

Oil sticks: san-tzu (Chin.).

Filled loaves: taġur.

Oil pies: yu-pao-tzu (Chin.).

192 Speech hada: sidār (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10
796 on preceding page].

Red cloth (which one presents to the lama): sāndzõn (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Grain with money: mbō.

Loin of mutton (also the entire sheep): ndžuān.

[778] Torma: šdorma (Tib. loanword) (2) [see Note 2 above].

Little copper bowl with water, grain, etc.: dõṅsär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Butter-lamp: lamar (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

[778] Holy water-can: wumbā (Tib. loanword).

Peacock's feather: k'un-ch'üo-mao (Chin.).

Thunderbolt: dordzi (Tib., Tuj.).

[41]

[534] Hourglass drum: ndarē.

Mani-string: mani.

[65 cont.]

782 concerns, and there are private sacrifices which the individual
[621] gives for his family.

The communal sacrifice is usually given in summer after the erection of the pole-goat for a good harvest. A private sacrifice is undertaken at any time of year according to time and circumstances, for instance, in case of an illness or before an important undertaking. Since one man alone cannot carry out everything for a sacrifice, he invites several other men to it, who help him and afterwards consume the sacrificial meat. The person who makes the offering must also pay the cost.

The sacrificial rite does not differ from that of the other
[231] sheep sacrifice. Thus, the sheep is washed, has milk poured over it, is fumigated, etc. Usually a soothsayer is present.
[791] After the sacrificial meat has been boiled, several bowls of broth
[252] are scooped out. The offering-casts are made with it in the directions indicated by the soothsayer. These are always the same. Three bowls are thrown towards the north for heaven, three bowls each to the east, south, west, and north for the countless spirits, three bowls to the left of the incense offering for the mountain-spirit in the obo, three bowls to the right of the incense offering for the earth-spirit. Then follow three more bowls on the obo, and finally three additional bowls are poured before the spirit-spear. Then follows the offering meal,
[574] at which all the meat is consumed.

Before the sheep offering the general obo-veneration is first undertaken, as at the month offering.

[792] The obo prayer: Frequently a lama or Bon priest is in-
[791] vited to pray before the obo. This may last one to seven days, depending upon the request. Here, too, either the entire
[621] village or an individual person is the petitioner. Everyone pays personally for the expenses arising from it.

The prayer service begins with an incense offering of the people. Meanwhile the lama makes a šdorma. Then the people place the following offerings before the obo: three baked loaves, 13 steamed loaves, a bowl [66] of barley wine, flowers in vases, small bowls with honey, a cup of tea, black and white sugar, a bowl of tsamba with butter-disks.

192 [623 cont.]
776 The three world-spirits: dier xsēm sañrēdzi (6) (Tib. manner of speaking).

6. [Foreign text p. 625.] dier xsēm sañrēdzi: xsēm = Tib. gsum = three; sañrēdzi = Tib. sañs -rgyas = widespread splendor = Buddhistic title for incarnation. -- dier cannot be identified; it must be Tibetan, however, and mean the same as "region, world." I would like to connect it with the three worlds of the Bon; cf. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], p. 139; Francke, Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 5 ff. -- This tripartition is also familiar to the Chinese; one has only to think of the Taoistic san-ching or the Buddhistic san-chieh.

192
777 The five blessings of good fortune: wu-fu (Chin.).

[Pages 623-625 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[625] 3. The New Year's Festival*

527

* See "Notes," pp. 628-629 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[171] The New Year is celebrated by the Tujen at the same time
[574] as by the Chinese. In the first days they rest from all work,

[625 cont.]

527 dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
[574] moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.

Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared. During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
[782] day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an
[888] offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated, joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon

[113] 3. [Foreign text p. 628.] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.

relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.

From the second day on the people make New Year's
[628] visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

[533] gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
[262] are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
[273] a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
[356] house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

[627 cont.]

527 782 Obo veneration: At the same time or still in the early hours of the morning some family representatives go outside to venerate the obo. On this occasion, after the stone throwing, the air-horses, which are printed on yellow paper, are released. They flutter and whirl about in the wind as a sign of good fortune for the family (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 628.]
Cf. section, "The Mani-tree,"
Note 7.

527 •574 Gratulation visits: At midday the villagers visit one another. One takes five to six loaves of bread, sticks of incense, yellow paper, and a little jug of barley wine and goes to the family with which one is friendly. There the guest places the bread before the household altar, lights the little sticks, burns the paper, and pours a few drops of wine on the floor. After that he kowtows before the altar and gratulates the master of the household as well as the individual members of the family. [576] The one of lower standing or the younger one must always kowtow to the one of higher standing on this occasion. Then they sit down on the kang around the fire, drink tea or wine, converse, and sing. Sometimes a round of dancing also follows in the yard.

When women go gratulating, they take no wine, incense, or paper with them, but only bread and tea. They put the bread on the altar, pour some tea on the ground, and then kowtow. They never sit with the men on a kang, however.

It is obligatory that the younger relatives go to the older relatives. In any case on New Year's Day itself one stays in the village. Only from the second day on do the friends and relatives living farther away visit one another.

527 533 Entertainment: During the first 14 days of the new year the people meet every evening at moonrise in the yards. Incense is burned and singers who tell legends are invited. They take turns singing competitively, during which two persons grasp each other by a lappet of the coat. When one of them

192 [628 cont.]
527 The welcoming of joy: ying hsi (Chin.).

[Pages 628-629 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[630] 4. The Age-blessing*

527
778
888

* See "Notes," pp. 634-635 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[792] Old people, men and women, invite the lama to bless and instruct them. This is a great family festival. It is prepared a long time in advance.

On a certain day acquaintances and relatives come and bring the old person presents and gratulate him. They are treated with tea and cake. There is singing and dancing and a [574] feast is held. The young people fetch the hutukhtu. When he arrives, the women of the village dance, and incense is burned in the yard. The hutukhtu blesses the guests at the feast and the old person.

In the afternoon the age-consecration is performed. The hutukhtu makes a number of tormas, which are carried off. Then the old person kneels on the felt mat before the hutukhtu, is blessed with holy water, receives instructions, and is girdled with a yellow sash. He then resembles a lay monk. The mother's [792] brother determines what compensation the hutukhtu is to receive. [465] The next morning the hutukhtu returns to his monastery.

The consecrated person must now observe special commandments, must withdraw on the first and fifteenth of the [785] month for meditation, and fast and pray. -- Not all people can afford this celebration, for it is very expensive.

[631 cont.]
527 778 888 [431] husband and the daughter's children must give a hada and money to the person to be consecrated. In return they later receive greater remuneration when they depart.

[574] [562] Feast: The feast takes place in the yard, first for the men, then for the women. Three fields are divided off, right and left for guests, and in the center for the mother's brother with the two closest relatives. These three sit on a felt mat on even ground with their backs to the main door of the main house and have before them a low kang table with the dishes; they are served separately by the master of ceremonies. On the two fields to the right and left, straw is scattered in a square; heavy planks are put in front of it and sometimes also mats, which are to represent the tables. In the middle of each square there burns a fire in which tea and liquor are warmed.

[264] [574] The food is introduced with tsamba and tea, which is taken with butter and milk. Mutton or pork follows; the fatter it is, the better liked and more superior it is. A considerable amount is drunk. Rice follows as the main dish, which is mixed with butter and sugar and sweet roots. -- The women eat after the men. -- During the meal there are always some free, who sing and dance.

527 778 888 792 604 Settling the prayer fee: After the meal, the master of ceremonies pours out liquor for the mother's brother. The sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law kneel down before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies hands him a hada and starts the negotiations over the price. The mother's brother demands expensive gifts and much money for the lama; the master of ceremonies, through his rhetorical skill, must gradually lower the demands, until finally a suitable sum is agreed upon. Then the sons and daughters stand up, kowtow, thank the mother's brother, and go. This is similar to what is done at the pai-ta before the cremation (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 634.] For further details, see chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation." Here, too, the

[647 cont.]

765
[769]
[777]

[764]

[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days [177] memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown [782] and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowa- [178] days the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

765 Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day 784 after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they [574] want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even [796] more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to [262] undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

[212 cont.]

782 The slaughtered offering, together with the animal-
[778] consecration, forms the group of animal offerings, of which one is bloody, the other unbloody. The bloody [213] animal-
[574] offering is carried out in three steps which are clearly differentiated by the people: slaughtering, presentation, sacrificial meal. The classic example is described above as the mountain sheep-offering. The actual presentation, usually in the form of the offering-throw, is designated by the term "offering." Often there is an interval of a whole day between slaughtering and presentation and the meal.

[787] The slaughtering is preceded by the washing and the
[778] milk-oracle, as well as the releasing and recapturing of the animal. It almost has the appearance of an abbreviated animal-consecration, at which the animal is likewise released.

The presentation may be done in two ways. Either the skinned whole animal is set up before the deity, or it is cut up immediately, boiled, and then the pieces of meat with the broth are thrown to the deity. It also happens that the thoroughly cooked pieces are put on plates in front of the altar, like bread or wine. Putting up the pole-goat is probably a remnant of
[171] Central Asiatic form, analogous to the hanging up of the hide of sacrificial animals among the Siberian peoples. Among the Tujen, however, no attention whatever is paid to the skeleton, since, of course, the animal is cut up and boiled with the bones.

782 The sacrificial meal is consumed by all the people, by men, women, and children. I do not know of any sacrificial
574 animals that are reserved for only certain groups. To be sure certain parts are reserved for certain persons as especially tasty, such as the loins, the head, etc. The sacrificial meal is not regarded as a profane act. It is regarded as part of the offering, there is the unequivocal expression for it: "This is a part of our offering."

782 A peculiarity of these offerings is still to be emphasized:
826 the fear of blood. The blood is not spilled but caught during the slaughtering and poured into the intestines. The blood belongs to the animal and is sacrificed and eaten with it. Traces of blood on the ground are immediately covered with earth and wiped away.

[257 cont.]

792 went there. Pander speaks (op. cit., p. 204) of Man-tzu or Chinese from Sining, who were accommodated in 13 temples in Peking (1889). These Man-tzu (= barbarians), however, could only have been Tujen, for the Chinese are not Lamaists, and the Tibetans (Fan-tzu) are specifically named by Pander. The monastery Sung-chu-szu is regarded expressly as a Tujen lamasery. Even today (at least up until 1948) almost all its monks come from the Sining region and are Tujen, as the monks from this monastery related during a visit home. To be sure the number has shrunk greatly.

771 These are all facts that must be taken into account in
792 judging the Lamaism of the Tujen. The people are proud of their famous monastery. It is their pilgrimage center. Young
[788] and old gather there at the festivals. They hold horse races
[527] and sing their old popular airs there. At the temple festivals with the magnificent dances the Lamist doctrine is deepened
[796] and clarified. In the venerable halls filled with incense they
[778] see their gods in magnificent statues, painted on silk, on walls and altars. There lie also the heavy sacred books of the Kandjur and Tandjur, which they bear on their backs around the sanctuary in order to free themselves from affliction or to fulfill a vow. In the temples and yards they watch the monks hold learned disputations, read the scriptures, recite the prayers. They invite them to undertake solemn religious services in their compounds, to give their children their names, to consecrate the old, [258] to bless the young, to pray for the dead, to cre-
[574] mate the corpses. The lama is a frequent and welcome guest in the family. Generally, the people seem to link themselves
[756] to the monastic life at the important stages of life. Even the
[778] shaman receives his consecration in the monastery. Every family was proud if one of its sons became a lama; indeed, it was even an unwritten law.

771 So it was, at least until the most recent times. Today,
however, the young people no longer want to know anything
792 about becoming a lama. They prefer to attend the Chinese
777 schools and are intent on the new education. They despise the old and do not take it seriously anymore. What the

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The procurator in turn has an assistant (htie wa, in Tibetan and erh kuan chia, in Chinese), who helps him at the job. He is appointed or dismissed by the Living Buddha at the same time as his superior. The servants under the procurators vary in numbers according to the importance of the monastery. At Erh-ku-lung there are thirty lama servants and ten lay servants. 792

Two lay intendants are also appointed by the Living Buddha. It is customary, after three years, that they present their resignation, which is accepted or refused. Their duties are more honorary than executive. When the Living Buddha goes on a journey they accompany him as masters of his retinue. Under the empire a blue button adorned the top of their hats. They take care of the impedimenta. Arriving at a destination at night, they take care of all necessities at the inn, and then take the visiting card of the Buddha to the Chinese official of the village or the city. The intendant sends them to the city to bring gifts or to greet the officials when he is unable to do it himself, and he delegates them to mediate in the villages. [574]

When the personal wealth of the supreme chief is great enough, he appoints a private intendant and procurator to administer it.

The minor Living Buddhas who are guests, living at the monastery, have their own administration. It is more or less personal, according to their wealth (subsidiaries, villages, herds), and according to their own propensity for caring for their business. Their intendants do not enjoy such influence as the intendants of the important monasteries.

The material side of the administration of the communities of the lamas and of the colleges is identical, consisting of an intendant and procurator chosen by them but approved by the supreme chief. Their intendants are important personages who care for the wealth of the community or the college, investment of capital, revenues of villages, sale or purchase of land, herds, relations with the Chinese administration, suits at the court of justice, judgment of the suits of subjects, care of the subsidiaries and gifts. These procurators provide the food used at the meetings, and supervise the upkeep of the buildings and temples of the community of lamas and the colleges, and of the palaces of their Fa-t'ai's. They manage the expeditions to Mongolia and Kukunor for the collection of alms, distribute the share of alms offered to the lamas of the community or to the colleges, and the collection of the revenues of lands. They are appointed by the supreme chief on the joint recommendation of his own intendant and the board of the community or the college. The intendant of a community of lamas or of a college is therefore always the protégé of the superintendent, although the administration of the community and of the colleges is at the same time institutionally autonomous.

These notes give an insight on the personnel used for the material administration of the Monguor monasteries

[p. 40 (B)]

Seerting group, but also among some families living in the Hung-nai and Ha-la-chih Valleys. It is said that long ago an old lama of Sung-chan-i (P'ing-fan hsien) introduced the cult of this spirit in the country. It has only one eye in front, and its image is honored not in the living room but behind the entrance gate of the courtyard. Many Monguors do not like to marry their daughters into families where this spirit is honored, and those who honor it are afraid to get rid of its cult, for fear of calamities. The spirit notices all visitors and watches to see whether some evil intent is not lurking behind the visit. It is said that when an undesired guest lingers waiting for dinner, Sturlong causes him tremendous intestinal troubles so that he has to run away. At the time when the dowry for a girl of the family is discussed, and the head of the family suggests that the part required by the lord of the family is not yet fixed, the go-betweens understand the hint and promise a goat for Sturlong. On the wedding day, a few moments before the bride will leave, a goat is set before Sturlong who avidly devours its prey and does not notice the bride leaving. At the time an animal is to be sold, its price is discussed not at the home of the proprietor but outside the courtyard, in order to avoid Sturlong knowing about it.

Still another spirit is honored, which steals in behalf of the families that honor it. Its cult is practiced especially in the Hung nai Valley. The Chinese call it *Mao-kui-shen* "cat spirit." It is a male spirit for which young women prepare a blanket at night, and which they "serve." On the tenth moon it steals grain and brings it to the granaries of its devotees. If guests arrive unexpectedly at noon and the food prepared is not sufficient, it is so potent that it can add food enough for all the guests by unknown means. When thieves come at night, it spirits away the things they intend to steal. However, it cannot steal Chinese coins, because Chinese characters are stamped on them; it cannot steal cloth in behalf of its devotees, because on both ends of a piece of cloth are printed the brands of the fabric. It cannot take things out of a closet which is tightly closed, but when the door is open it takes what it needs. It likes to drink liquor. A young woman poured liquor for it, one cup after another, until the cup remained full. In the blanket she found a drunken cat, which her husband killed. These tales resemble those recounted by the Mongols, concerning the well-known fox-spirit.[12]

[12] Here should be noted the very interesting study of F. A. Oberle, S.V.D., dealing with a similar frame of mind, with practices, some similar and some differing, encountered among the Tibetans of the region of Kui-te, 200 *li* south of Hsining on the right bank of the Yellow River, and among a group of Tibetans living 60 *li* west of Hsining called Chia-hsi-fan by the Chinese, i.e., Tibetans living in houses in contrast to the Tibetans living in tents. However, I never heard the Monguors explaining the rites performed against the avenger of the family wealth, suggesting the avenger having the appearance of a "Hundekopfdamon," an evil spirit with a dog head. See

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 144 174 sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsining region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 648 175 311 The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

N *563 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342 The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351] The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables

M [343] and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where

M [231] grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [592] [574] The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies

M [354] [352] the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N *563 M 342 591 592 The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-

/The Monguors/

N *563 of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

M 576 The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank. [264] [603] [554]

The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little." [561]

M [574] It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

N *563 i. Celebrations and festivals

Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

M 614 527 273

N *563 Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is particularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the

M 562 [558] [852] [782] [852]

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*563 /The Monguors/
M
439 tion for her hospitality. Larger scale selling and buying are
[438] done at fairs held two or three times a year.
[543]
[437] Occasionally an ambitious young Mongour will go into the business of long-distance caravan trade with the Tibetans. He will deal largely in mules and saddle girths woven with white wool, which can be sold readily in Tibet, and bring back wool serge cloth dyed red or purple, or white with red or blue stripes. A heavy fabric, it sheds water, and is highly valued by the Mongours. He will also bring back Tibetan incense, dates and so forth to sell to the Chinese.

N 6. Work and leisure
*563 The traditional life of pastoral nomads is rather free and lazy
M except at the times of seasonal migration. Descendants of no-
461 mads, the Mongours still prefer to enjoy long periods of comparative idleness alternating with short periods of intense activity. In their agricultural economy, however, the Mongour men are unable to be quite so indolent as pastoral nomads.

N In the farming communities, both men and women work in the
*563 fields. The men do the heavy preparatory work, plowin and
M harrowing; the women help with sowing and weeding, as well as
462 with reaping the harvest and carrying the grains to the threshing floor. Women do the threshing. Like their Mongol sisters, they do the housework and care for the animals. Married women work under the supervision of the oldest, usually the mother-in-law.

N Although their status is inferior, the Mongour women accept
*563 it without resentment. Their outlook is conditioned by their mil-
M lieu. They know what is expected of them, and behave according-
562 ly. Though bound by strict rules of etiquette, they are entirely free to associate with men, to sing and dance in public, and to
M enjoy themselves. They delight in attending the big festivals at
[574] the lamaseries and the annual assembly of the clan, where they meet their friends and visit, and also show off their fancy cos-
M tumes and headdress. They love to shop at the fairs, and bar-
[437] gain over goods. Both men and women love to sing. During the
[533] long, tedious hours of weeding the fields, men and women sing in unison.

N G. The Tibetans
*563 1. The people
101 Hsi-fan is a name applied by the Chinese to the Amdo Tibetans, and to all other non-Chinese tribesmen from Sung-p'an to Hsi-ning. It means Western Barbarians. Some European scholars have maintained that the Hsi-fan are not Tibetans, and suggest that they represent a northern branch of one of the non-Chinese peoples of southwest China, like the Lolo or Moso.
N Granting that there is no such thing as a homogenous Tibetan
*563
199

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Sodalities, most of them for women, are organized [575] in every village. The members convene to recite the Om Mani as they circle the Bumkhang[8] of the village 781 all day. Whenever a Monguor is in serious trouble, 788 he prays Om Mani, and when a happy event occurs, he gives thanks by Om Mani. Supposedly, all kinds of evil are dispelled and all blessings obtainable by Om Mani.

Monguor families place in the center of their court- 778 yards a high pole with a small flag flying from atop it. Om Mani and other prayers are printed on the flag as an offering, day and night, by the family to Buddha. Prayer wheels, containing hundreds of repetitions of Om Mani printed on paper, are moved by water power, so that Om Mani will be offered continually, as the wheels revolve.

The Monguors have used their Om Mani to such an 781 extent that its true meaning no longer exists. A farmer 788 becoming angry at the lazy oxen, while plowing his fields, will beat them and swear furiously with a well-articulated Om Mani; gamblers, on losing the game, their patience wearing thin, will say Om Mani in a blasphemous tone. While weeding fields, if a lascivious song is enjoyed, farmers say Om Mani, meaning the song is well sung. When a smutty joke is told, lis- [522 teners will say Om Mani, laughing, to indicate it is a 831] good joke. It is said that thieves and robbers say Om Mani as an aid to their practice of larceny. Foreign travelers jest that, if robbers kill their victim, he will have the consolation, when dying, of hearing the killer saying Om Mani. Om Mani can be and is offered under all circumstances: riding horseback, working in the fields or at home, while laughing, gambling, singing, conducting business, and even sleeping.

The Monguor's fondness for and promiscuous use of Om Mani has reduced it to a mockery of its original intent. Nevertheless, it is in fact most often used as a real prayer.

The Monguors are not ashamed to pray in public, to

[8] A structure at the entrance to the village to prevent the [104] entrance of evil influences.

[p. 5(B)]

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more supplementary decrees of Galdan Hun-tai-ji were added to them.[58] 771 628

From 1558 until 1640, regulations of Mongol chiefs followed each other, aiming primarily at the destruction of shamanism. The Monguor shamans must have known these facts, for news spreads rapidly among barbarians. At the same time they saw the favors bestowed in the country on lamaseries, Karwas, and Nang-suos, by the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, and they saw Erh-ku-lung, at the height of its glory, founding successively its forty-two branches, each having celebrated lamas. Life or death was the question for the Monguor shamans of Hsining. 756 175 795 575

It is tempting to suppose that the shamans, living in the quasi-independent territories of the T'u-ssu, near cities in which lived Taoist priests who were organized in guilds officially recognized by the empire, might have sought refuge with the Taoists in order to save their institution and traditions and that they might willingly have entered the guild of the Taoists, whose gods they worshipped for centuries.

If the shamans themselves had been opposed to enrollment in the guild, which entailed pecuniary disadvantages for them and the performance of non-remunerative rites in the city, surely the T'u-ssu, whose subjects they were, could easily have prevented the infringement of the rights, since their Monguors were only responsible to them for corvées, and since their subjects were not enrolled in Chinese guilds. Precisely herein lies the stress of the assumption that without the willing cooperation of the shamans, shamans never could have entered the guild, and when they entered the guild it was through fear of persecution by the Yellow Sect. According to this assumption, the shamans could have entered the Taoist guilds before the revolt of the lamas in 1723 and the catastrophe which befell Lamaism. It is easy, therefore, to understand the reluctance of the shamans to perform any rites in the temples dedicated to deities of Lamaism or to wear the crown of the five Dhyani. On the other hand they willingly perform rites in all kinds of Taoist temples, except the temples of Kuan-ti (God of War). I never obtained an explanation of this; in the whole Monguor region no Kuan-ti temple exists, while all the temples of the Monguors, which are the centers of the religious life of the village, are Taoist temples, and most of the protectors of the families belong to Taoism. Monguors cannot miss their shamans who only perform rites in Taoist temples.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the Monguor shamans honor two kinds of spirits—one, spirits belonging to Taoism, and the other, spirits belonging to their shamanism proper; that the Monguor shamans are related to the group of old Wu priests 756 [776]

[58] V. A. Riasanovski, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buriats, Kalmuks)*, 29–35, 1929. [P 90(A)]

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565 Conversely, the nobles were weakened by the fact that
178 their unearned revenue decreased generation by generation, through inheritance and subdivision, so that more
558 and more, if a noble family were locally wealthy and
621 respected, it was not because of its share of taxes but because this particular family was able to produce and conserve wealth in the same manner as the leading commoner families. The ties of such a family with the rest of the nobility were weakened, and its ties with the local village community and its interests were strengthened.

NOBLES AND COMMONERS

565 We may summarize this aspect of the social history of
178 the Monguors by saying that when they first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, the social distance between commoners and nobles must have been very great. With settled life and the increasing domination of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their own ability to manage their own farms, and local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability and not primarily by class. Nobles could, in the conventional form of sale, "pass" their fields to commoners, and commoners to nobles. They bought cattle and grain from each other and sold them to each other. Nobles and commoners, if they had the money, joined together to invest in trade. Apart
565 from the important discrimination in favor of nobles in
178 immunity from taxes and corvées, and immunity from being flogged in court, the principal surviving distinc-
576 tions of the aristocracy are such things as their higher rank at important ceremonies, social precedence at dinners, marriages, funerals, and festivities (even though the noble were a poor man), the custom of calling the nobles "ta jen" (great man), and finally the old custom that when a commoner meets a noble on the road, he must dismount, remove his hat, and unroll his pigtail.

In my own experience, I know of a case of an old man named Chao, of Peiyahua, who, refusing to dismount in this manner, was brought before the T'u-ssu, made to apologize, and required to make an offering of a sheep with red paper pasted on its horns and a piece of red cotton cloth bound on its back, and to present incense and oil to the ancestral temple. It is to the disadvantage, not the advantage, of the nobles as a class that many of them show an overbearing pride. Such men are most conspicuous when, though known to be addicted to opium and gambling, they try to uphold their traditional "rights" by demanding deference from commoners.

THE CLAN ASSEMBLY

175 In the year 1913 the Monguors were entering on a period of trouble and decline. The T'u-ssu institution was threatened. Ever since the beginning of the Chinese Republic in 1911 there had been rumors that the Chinese officials would abolish the institution. The dowager who

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764 bushel basket and presented to the person who has been chosen; this act constitutes the act of appointment. The man thus chosen is assigned an assistant to take care of details. This duty is performed in rotation by heads of families..

769 Neither shamans nor lamas take part in this annual
792 veneration of the ancestors. The absence of lamas is particularly striking, because during the year the routine duties of the temple of the guardian deity of the clan are entrusted to one or two lamas, as already described, while three times a year seven lamas take part in special ceremonies of veneration at this temple. The Ch'i T'u-ssu has the right to impose on the monastery of Erhkulung the corvée obligation to provide these lamas, because this monastery was originally built in the territory of the Ch'i clan by express permission, and because it has been given many grants of property by the successive T'u-ssu of the clan.

769 More than any other single ceremony, this annual
527 veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of a Monguor clan. There is a visible effect on the clansmen, who normally live secluded in their remote valleys, when at the assembly they see the pomp and splendor of the parade to the graveyard, the soldiers with banners, the T'u-ssu in his official silk robe, adorned with embroidered patches on the breast with glittering dragons—a present from the Emperor when one of his ancestors visited Peking—and all the outstanding members of both the noble and commoner groups in their robes of ceremony. Even the discrimination between nobles and commoners fosters the sense of hierarchy. There is no doubt that the commoners, like the nobles, feel pride in recalling their old glories and are elated by the ceremonies, the festivities, the singing of old songs, and the horse races, wrestling, and merry-making in the open air.

•576 The sense of hierarchy, just mentioned, is well
624 exemplified by the behavior of Monguors visiting the T'u-ssu or presenting a request to him. The visitor first prostrates himself, then arises, unrolls his "queue" and removes his hat with his right hand, placing it under his left arm. Then, placing his hands together, palm to palm, he approaches the T'u-ssu. If he is asked to sit down, he does not sit but moves to the left side of the T'u-ssu and kneels on the right knee, with the left knee up, placing his hands, still palm to palm, on the left knee, in the Tibetan manner.[58]

Monguors regard it as the worst kind of incivility to start speaking and to keep the hat on the head in the presence of the T'u-ssu. This appears to be a very old Inner Asian symbol of respect. Among the Uighur Turks in the period of the T'ang dynasty (618–906),

[58] Thus the "outside" knee, farthest from the T'u-ssu, is up, "keeping the luck" between the kneeler and the T'u-ssu. This corresponds to the protocol of kneeling in a Mongol tent where the "outside" knee is that which is nearest the door and "keeps the luck," which is concentrated in the shrine at the back of the tent, within the tent.—O. L.

[p. 72a]

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576 624 "when their ministers of state had audience with the Khakhan, etiquette required them to remove the hat and enter with dishevelled hair, something akin to the Hsiungnu custom." [59]

FESTIVAL

527 Chinese merchants, who keep themselves informed of all festival dates among the Monguors, of course gather in great numbers and pitch their tents in the wide valley below the cemetery. The merchants pay taxes for permission to attend such gatherings.

On this occasion, a very large tent was pitched within which the T'u-ssu presided over the festivities, seated in the midst of the nobles, the elders, and all the prominent non-nobles of the clan, receiving the renewed professions of allegiance of his subjects. The chiefs and elders of each village, ceremonially dressed, came up one after another to do homage, bowing kneeling, and performing the *k'o-t'ou* or prostration, taking their time from the master of ceremonies who shouted his directions in a loud voice. The T'u-ssu, at the height of his glory, was happy to entertain each and every man for a few moments. Hundreds of Monguors crowded around, looking on and enjoying the ceremony.

Finally, dinner was eaten by the T'u-ssu and all the chiefs and prominent members of the clan, some seated inside the tent and an overflow outside seated on felt rugs at small tables. The customary whole sheep, the traditional dish of honor of all Inner Asian nomads, was presented to the T'u-ssu. Wine was drunk and tongues began to wag. A couple of girls with pleasing voices were invited to sing the customary songs, outside the tent and in the presence of the crowd. A number of men and women presented graceful dances, each dancing alone without a partner, to the music of a simple guitar-like instrument. Youngsters raced on unsaddled, spirited horses, passing before the tent to cross the finish line, and finally two wrestlers, a Monguor and a Tibetan lama from the monastery of Serkok, were admired and congratulated. A number of Monguors and Tibetans, befuddled with liquor, started fighting, and soldiers closed in on them to restore order. Before sunset most of the crowd had gone, leaving a few small groups still sitting on the ground, singing and making merry.

The Monguors told me that this glorious day seldom passed without a certain amount of disturbance and fighting; but the tradition is that no suits can be brought before the T'u-ssu or the village chiefs for heads smashed, bones broken, and clothes torn on this day of celebration.

ASSIZES OF THE CLAN

692 The next morning the assizes of the clan began inside the big tent, presided over by the T'u-ssu, with the chief

[59] E. H. Parker, *A thousand years of the Tartars*, 211. 2nd ed., London, Kegan, Paul, 1924. (It should be noted, however, that among the Mongols the custom is the opposite; it is an incivility to take off the hat in the presence of a superior.—O. L.)

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597 before him and was given the name "Tiger." The new father then led the boy to the family graveyard, taking with him some wine, steamed rolls, meat, paper, and sticks of incense. The boy knelt and honored the spirit of the earth with a libation of wine poured on the ground. He then honored his new ancestors, kneeling and prostrating himself and making a burnt offering of paper and incense. Returning home, the boy was congratulated by the guests who called him by his new name, and he in return honored all the guests as a group by prostrating himself nine times. The ceremonies concluded with a dinner for the guests. The boy was happy with his fine new clothes, and willing to stay with a family that was so much better off then the one into which he had been born. His father went home, driving a nice cow before him. The boy was to be considered not only as "belonging" to his new family, but as being descended from his new father's ancestors and as fully integrated into the family.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR IN THE FAMILY

596 576 264 The structure of a Monguor family can be clearly seen when a guest is entertained at dinner. Grandfather presides, sitting on the *k'ang* or heated sleeping-platform. Grandmother sits down only if invited by the guest to come up on the *k'ang*. If there is no guest, both grandfather and grandmother sit on the *k'ang*. The younger sons squat on their heels on the floor, in front of the *k'ang*, eating with chopsticks out of a bowl held in the left hand; the elder sons are allowed to sit on the edge of the *k'ang*. The staple of the meal is usually barley-flour noodles. Grandfather reaches out from the *k'ang* and puts some meat and vegetables in each bowl. Each, as he finishes his meal, licks his bowl clean and hands it to his wife to be washed. While the grandfather is sitting on the *k'ang*, none of the daughters-in-law may sit on the floor; they must remain standing.

576 272 It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. After the food has been eaten, tea is served in the same bowl. Whether food or tea is served, the bowl must always be filled to the brim. Bowls or dishes must always be presented with both hands. Tea is poured with the right hand, while the left hand is held toward the guest, palm upward.

576 606 291 One must never step over a person who is sleeping or lying down. Fathers and daughters-in-law must always keep some distance between them. When there is a quarrel in the family, the first reproach by a daughter-in-law is always that "distance has not been kept." This standard of propriety is common to Monguors and Chinese. A daughter-in-law is not allowed to appear before the elder generation or guests bareheaded or without wearing either a long gown or a skirt covering her trousered legs. Only when a daughter-in-law is visiting her own mother's home may she go bare-headed. In her husband's home she must always wear a gown

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576 and a felt hat which is a simpler edition of the ceremonial
606 hat with its additional ornament of a miniature spear
291 and shield.

MARRIAGE AND ITS REGULATION

581 Because of the veneration of ancestors and the neces-
858 sity for having male children in order to carry on the ancestral cult, marriage is not an optional but a necessary part of Monguor life, except of course for lamas. The poorest people will scrimp and save in order to be able to meet the expenses of getting a bride for a son. They will sell animals and land, and go into debt. When a paternal inheritance is divided, money must first be set aside to provide wives for the brothers who are not yet married. People will be consoled or resigned at the death of a husband or wife, but never for the death of an only son, and the sweetest consolation of an old man nearing death is to have married all his sons and to have cradled his grandsons. When two old Monguors meet for the first time, the polite greeting includes the question, "are all your sons married and do you have grandsons?"

582 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There is absolute prohibition against marrying a girl belonging to the same clan. Within the clan, therefore, there are no marriages between nobles and commoners, because all bear the same clan name. It has already been noted above, however, that there began to be exceptions to this rule among the commoners in the period of decay and breakdown of the Monguor society, partly because the commoners are in fact not the actual descendants of the ancestors of the noble clan but merely "assimilated" as a result of being the subjects of the noble clan, with the result that poor nobles began to marry their daughters to sons of commoners. It has also been noted that this loosening of the rules among the commoners was aided by the enrollment of Tibetans and Chinese in the Monguor clans; Tibetan and Chinese women were frequently married by Monguor commoners, and occasionally by the nobles.

The rule of exogamy makes impossible marriage between the children of two brothers, but marriages between the children of a brother and a sister are allowable and even frequent, because the sister married out of her brother's clan and her children and his children therefore have different clan names. Very often, also, when family *A* gives a girl to family *B*, family *B* reciprocates by giving a girl to be married to a boy of family *A*. In all marriages, however, boys and girls must be of the same generation—a custom which may be the result of Chinese influence.

581 The influence of wealth on marriage is of several
565 kinds. The fact that chiefs of clans and rich nobles and rich commoners are prone to marry girls from rich families, including Chinese families, has already been mentioned. The influence of wealth is also shown when

[P. 87a]

/32 cont'd/

583 The two parties both make excuses to the other: one for its poverty and the hard times, "I could not offer more, but what is offered is given wholeheartedly"; the other for its indigence, "I was forced to ask for much too much, but now I am more than satisfied with the gifts...."

584 Then when all have taken their places again, the go-between rises and proposes to the family that they present the "flower," that is, the little bride.

They hasten to spread out a red rug or piece of red felt in the middle of the room, and the little bride, chaperoned by a young girl, appears before the assemblage. The two girls hold each other by the hand.

[302] The bride has risen early in the morning, has washed with all kinds of soap, and her hair has been dressed by the most skillful woman in the neighborhood. She has put on her handsomest finery, she has beautiful flowers in her hair, and she is made up in such a way as to be longer recognizable. Her companion, a little girl like herself, has a more modest toilette; she has no flowers in her hair, she wears a black veil on her head. They are certainly "the amazon and the little white goose"; no chance of making a mistake who is the bride.

[516 576] They advance toward the middle of the rug, facing the future father-in-law, let go their hands, bow respectfully, kneel, bow their foreheads to the ground three times, rise, and begin the same prostration over again three times. This is the ancient Chinese greeting on grand occasions. Everything is done gravely and sedately. They are well-trained T'ou-jen girls! Also their childhood games are [524] only the apprenticeship /33/ for the ceremonial. All girls play at ceremonies; they adore them. This is characteristic of the Orient.

583 584 One sees that the "flower" is aware of her own important and that of the moment; she tries to make a good impression on the assemblage, and the future father-in-law smiles, becomes young again, throws on the rug with a generous gesture two or three handfuls of red lozenges and a handful of cash, emblems of good fortune and wealth. The guests do the same. The girls pick up everything.

[626 cont.]
527 threefold kowtow is again made to the sky. The same ceremony
782 is repeated before the household altar for the other gods.

[627] Gratulation: Meanwhile, the old people of the
527 household have also arisen. Now they, too, pay their New Year's
888 reverence to the sky and the countless spirits. Then they sit
576 down on the kang with the master of the household and the family elder for tea and receive the kowtow from their sons and daughters. Then the general breakfast takes place. The children kowtow before their parents, the younger siblings before the older siblings, the younger cousins before the older cousins, etc. The old ones give younger ones some money.

171
527 The welcoming of joy: Towards midday the welcoming
[776] of the god of joy takes place. For this one drives the animals onto the threshing floor, makes an offering of bread and wine, burns incense, waters the animals, and again drives them home. This practice is exactly the same as among the Chinese (7).

[787]

7. [Foreign text p. 629.] At New Year's the Tujen also question all kinds of oracles in a way similar to that of the Chinese, for example, the feed oracle, in connection with which one feeds the animals with various kinds of bread in order to prophesy concerning the harvest (cf. Schröder, "Ying-hsi, and Note 3 above). Another oracle is the ice-breaking. Young boys and men go to the river, take a sheet of ice, and break it apart. In the break lines pictures of species of grain are recognizable; the species that appear most clearly may be expected to have the best harvest during the year. This oracle is also found among the Chinese.

[627 cont.]

527 782 Obo veneration: At the same time or still in the early hours of the morning some family representatives go outside to venerate the obo. On this occasion, after the stone throwing, the air-horses, which are printed on yellow paper, are released. They flutter and whirl about in the wind as a sign of good fortune for the family (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 628f]
Cf. section, "The Mani-tree,"
Note 7.

527 574 Gratulation visits: At midday the villagers visit one another. One takes five to six loaves of bread, sticks of incense, yellow paper, and a little jug of barley wine and goes to the family with which one is friendly. There the guest places the bread before the household altar, lights the little sticks, burns the paper, and pours a few drops of wine on the floor. After that he kowtows before the altar and gratulates the master of the household as well as the individual members of the family. [576] The one of lower standing or the younger one must always kowtow to the one of higher standing on this occasion. Then they sit down on the kang around the fire, drink tea or wine, converse, and sing. Sometimes a round of dancing also follows in the yard.

When women go gratulating, they take no wine, incense, or paper with them, but only bread and tea. They put the bread on the altar, pour some tea on the ground, and then kowtow. They never sit with the men on a kang, however.

It is obligatory that the younger relatives go to the older relatives. In any case on New Year's Day itself one stays in the village. Only from the second day on do the friends and relatives living farther away visit one another.

527 533 Entertainment: During the first 14 days of the new year the people meet every evening at moonrise in the yards. Incense is burned and singers who tell legends are invited. They take turns singing competitively, during which two persons grasp each other by a lappet of the coat. When one of them

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 621 183 178 The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is M [867] dinned into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-ssu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

N *563 M 621 183 177 178 During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

e. Stealing and gambling

N *563 M [685] [673] [525] [794] Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

N *563 M 587 A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

N *563 M 867 Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meeted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

N *563 M 576 264 603 According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge

623 fendants unwilling to abide by the decision of the elders may have recourse to the T'u-ssu; but his verdict very seldom differs from that of the elders.

•577 From the foregoing it can be seen that the concepts of the Monguors seem to be based on custom, tradition, and
184 what community opinion accepts as "just." Typical concepts are: wrongs are to be righted; injustices to be corrected; the rights of parents over their children, of husbands over their wives, and of widows to dispose of themselves, are to be asserted and defended; private property is to be protected; no one has the right to disturb the peace of the community. It is apparent also that among the Monguors the villagers in reality govern themselves. Although the elders are backed by the authority of the T'u-ssu, it is the villagers themselves who for the most part patch up their own quarrels, punish faults, right wrongs, and keep the peace.

The system is, in effect, one of democracy. It is only when these democratic practices do not work that recourse is had to the aid and protection of the T'u-ssu.

181 At the village meetings on the threshing floor, overwhelming stress is placed on faithful adherence to the old customs. One of the most important duties of village chiefs is to watch over their observance. The T'u-ssu, on his triennial visit, always makes inquiries on this subject, on which conservatism can be truly called hidebound. When Monguors, especially of the older generation, are heatedly discussing matters of the village, and the supreme argument of "old custom" is brought up, all opposition instantly subsides. The chiefs and elders of villages and the heads of families always urge the observance of traditions. They are firmly convinced that neglect of ancestral custom ruins the stability and prosperity of the clan. On every occasion the younger generation has this injuction dinned into its ears. The chiefs of the villages will curse other chiefs of villages, and T'u-ssu who are careless of old custom. The test of a good village chief or T'u-ssu is unshakable firmness in strict observance of the clan traditions as if they were as unyielding as the laws of nature.

177 When the Chinese Republic began in 1911, however, new ideas which had a baneful repercussion on the minds of young Monguors started to spread. It was almost a hopeless struggle for the elders to try to save the old customs. It then became apparent that the Monguors were in fact not sufficiently insulated from the pressure exerted by new ideas from outside their own society. Their social concepts had gradually been undermined and weakened by the enrollment of Chinese in their clans. Chinese concepts had, unnoticeably, long been seeping into their thought—Chinese had, it must be remembered, risen to be even village elders—and a situation had gradually been created in which the Chinese way of thinking, even if conservative in itself, was disruptive of the old Monguor concepts if it differed from Monguor concepts.

[P. 80a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

858 family, give them strength and courage in the struggle
for the necessities of life, and finally, as I always ob-
596 served, the love of the grandparents for their grand-
children holds the family united, because only when the grandparents love their children can the daughters-in-law, who are so numerous in the family, forgive each other's and the grandparent's shortcomings and deficiencies. Love for the children is the oil that makes the wheels of the Monguor family turn smoothly. No Monguor can withstand the love displayed for his children.

MORALITY IN THE MONGUOR FAMILY

592 It is a general phenomenon that husbands and wives
577 who really enjoy the delights of a happy family life do not feel the need of indulging themselves with pleasures shocking to each other's feelings. People engrossed the whole year long with the problem of making ends meet, dispose of little time to spend in that way and cannot afford its costs. In order to understand the problem we must take stock of the peculiar conditions under which the members of an extended family live. The sons, with their wives and children, live in the same courtyard, one next to the other, with the chief of the family and his wife among them. Permission for absence must be granted by the chief of the extended family, and because there is only one small gate to enter the courtyard, every visitor is instantly noticed, the reasons for his visit are discussed by all the daughters-in-law, and the length of his stay is well observed. Every one in the courtyard is the guardian of the other members of the family, and so the opportunity for misbehavior at home is reduced to a minimum. These are the conditions of every extended family. There is no secrecy. They live in glass houses. The opportunity for misbehavior in small families consisting of husband, wife, and small children is greater, although these families have next door neighbors whose tongues they cannot prevent from wagging. A married daughter who visits her parents, sometimes for many weeks, is more free since her parents do not have as much commanding influence upon her as when she was a child. Very long visits of married daughters at the home of their parents are discouraged by the older people, who seem to know more about the matter. Attendance at the public meetings when such problems are tackled in the presence of all the very interested villagers and the infliction of dishonorable punishments undoubtedly have a salutary and preventive effect upon the people; but in the Monguor society, as in all other societies, it happens that once in a while somebody falls from grace.

834 It is not allowed to the young folk to tell smutty jokes
in public or to sing lascivious songs in the village; at weeding time, however, obscene songs are sung in the open fields and allowance seems to be made for that custom. At public festivities, at the lamaseries and at the general assembly of the clan, men and women are

[P. 110a]

[231 cont.]

The Power of Heaven

776 Heaven as giver of all benefits. -- As repeatedly appears in the individual chapters, all benefits come from heaven. It [241] gives rain and sunshine, causes the seed to thrive, and protects [782] man and animal from sickness. Man acknowledges this in the offering, especially in the primitial offering and the harvest thank-offering. The grain, the barley, is ultimately traced back to heaven by man. (Cf. above under the primitial offering, agriculture myth, p. 340.) Man owes even his clothing [773] to heaven. Thus it is said at the beginning of the Geser legend: "Heaven provided the benefit of clothing; a boot fell down from heaven (tieńgëre džoġ nañladzia; tieńgërdza perlõńgë bõdzi rëdzia)." (Verses 6-7.) -- That other gods are also called upon for various needs does not prejudice the fact that heaven is the cause of even these benefits. The case would only be otherwise if there were things which were ascribed to these spirits to the exclusion of heaven, which, however, cannot be demonstrated from the material available.

776 The moral power of heaven. -- The moral power of 577 heaven is expressed by the fact that man puts his conscience in 626 relation to heaven and acknowledges the latter as binding and entitled to sanction. For that which we would call conscience the Tujen simply uses the word heart (sgil); sgil is not the physi- [192] cal heart, but the inner attitude, heart in the figurative sense. Thus they say, for instance, sen sgil (good heart); tsini sgil diesẽn ugua (you do not have an honest attitude); tsini sgil ugua (you have no conscience). In these cases the Tujen translates the word sgil with the Chinese leang-hsin (conscience, honest spirit). (Cf. also DMF 348.) Now, as the two prayer formulas that were explained above demonstrate, heaven knows the inner attitude, it knows the heart of a man: "If I did evil to you, heaven knows it," "Heaven is not high, it knows it." Since these sentences are used as oath or vow formulas, it is not simply confirmation of heavenly knowledge that is given by them, but rather one tacitly also presupposes a sanction by

[231 cont.]

776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieńgëre dardzia, heaven has
[192] punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolgue dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair. (Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.) Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness: "We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge tieńgërni amudadzi, nigë nisëni dzawa dañlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram, op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). -- The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to
[831] heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzũn tieńgërde fdzë bõlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Hsining city. The city was carried by storm and de- 175x
livered to sack and slaughter: for the soldiers there 669
was but death. The brigands knew that the t'u-ssu had stirred the people to resist the brigands, and they wreaked ruin on them. The old T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 1*a–b*), and the T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 2*a*) were taken prisoner. The T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuen (of the old Li Wen branch) was killed with his wife and 120 members of his family (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 21; **28**: 15; *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 43*b*). The wife of Li T'ien-yu, the concubine, the two brothers, and 300 persons of his family and servants were killed. The same year the T'u-ssu Yeh kuo-chi, who had been called by the emperor early in 1643 to fight the brigands in Ch'ang p'ing in Liaotung, died on the field of battle in 1643 (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 15). All these t'u-ssu with their families laid down their lives defending the dynasty.

Then the brigands went down into the country devastating, burning villages, murdering anyone who made a stand, abducting women, stealing livestock, etc. A group of them went to Kokonor, where all the chiefs surrendered.

The brigands knew that the old T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing- 175x
chien had been the promoter of the resistance and had 577
killed their chief Huo Chin. They decided to kill him. 593
His son Hsing-chu spent the entire family fortune, buying 100 fine horses. He went to see the chief of the brigands in P'ing-Jung-i, hoping to redeem his father. The chief not only refused to accept the horses, but told him straight to his face that his father was to be killed. Then his brother Ping-chu protested, saying that his father had not killed Huo Chin, but that he himself was the murderer. The chief looked at him a long time and finally said, you are a filial son. He ordered the father to be bound to a car and to leave for Hsi-an. Hsing-chu cried the whole way home. However, his father was not killed (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 19*a*).

His father was sent to Hsi-an, together with Li 175x
T'ien-yu. In T'ung Kuan they met the Manchu Prince Ah-Ki-Ko (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*a*). Both submitted to the newly established dynasty and were released. The Governor General Meng Ch'iao-fang, sent by the Ch'ing dynasty to pacify Kansu, had already arrived in 1645. He rehabilitated both t'u-ssu in their former office of commander of the clan, enjoining them to pacify the t'u-ssu of Hsining and Ho-hsi, to induce the Tibetans to be submissive, to abstain from revolts and to capture the rebel Tibetan Chao Chin-chung (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 2*a–b*; **31**: 21; *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 44*b*). To the T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuen who had [241
perished with his wife and 120 members of his family 703]
the emperor later ordered built an honorific arch in Hsining with the inscription "Loyal servant and faithful wife, glory of the noble clan" (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 15*b*).

[P.52(A)]

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colony which the Mongols had handed down to the Ming. 175x

HUANGCHUNG MONGUORS AND THEIR T'U-SSU DURING THE CH'ING DYNASTY (1644–1911)

175x 648

The establishment of a new dynasty in China used to entail desperate times for a long period. The faithful Monguors with their t'u-ssu, after having defended the Ming dynasty to the end, pledged allegiance to, and cast their lot with the new Ch'ing dynasty, and again would prove their faithfulness. This time they had to fight at the side of the Manchu troops against the rebel Chinese officials of Kansu and all China, even though the power of the new dynasty was still problematical, but all of them remained heroically loyal and dependable to the end, suffering hardship and dying for the dynasty. Their faithfulness in such trying and tragic circumstances cannot but be admired. The history of the Monguors is a shining example of faithfulness seldom recorded in history. 175x 577 648

The people in the northern provinces of China had, for many years, had a desperate time on account of the brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng and the invading groups of Manchus looting the country of its wealth. The despairing Ming emperor had hanged himself on April 25, 1644, and Li Tzu-ch'eng had entered the capital and proclaimed himself emperor. The Ming general Wu San-kuei defended the northern part of the great wall of the empire and the pass of Shanhaikuan against invading Manchu plunderers. Considering that the very existence of the empire was at stake and abhorring and loathing the savage brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng, Wu San-kuei invited Manchu troops to come over to annihilate the brigands and save the dynasty. However he had little thought that in m[illegible]g this compact he was sealing the fate of the Chin[illegible] empire. He opened the pass, and his troops in comb[illegible]ation with those of the Manchus rushed to the capital which they entered on June 6, 1644. The brigand emperor Li Tzu-ch'eng had fled, but the Manchus proclaimed their own emperor and inaugurated their Ch'ing dynasty. On October 7 Li Tzu-ch'eng died. Jealousies and dissensions arose among the chiefs of the brigands and their impact was broken. Immediately Wu-San-kuei, leading his troops in concert with the Manchu army, pursued the brigands and achieved the surrender of the Chinese provinces. 175x 648 [643]

At the end of 1645, T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien and Li T'ien-yu surrendered in T'ung Kuan to the Manchu Prince A-ki-ko, came back to Kansu, and called on General Meng Ch'iao-fang. They were rehabilitated and ordered to induce the surrender of the Monguor t'u-ssu. All the t'u-ssu submitted to the new dynasty (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*a*). Meng Ch'iao-fang immediately sent to Hsining Commanders Chiang San-chih (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 3*b*) and Chang Chi-yao [624]

[P.53(A)]

N over his sister's children. His rights in this regard are manifested
*563 mainly in three cases: (1) upon the natural death of his sister's
M children, they cannot be buried without his permission. The
604 maternal uncle is considered "master of the bones" of the deceased, and has the right to permit the burial, to impede it or to prevent it. (2) If they have been murdered or have committed suicide, he is required to initiate and execute vengeance for the blood of his sister's child. (3) When they are subject to punishment for violating the society's rules, the maternal uncle must punish the children of his sister. Such punishment may range from capital to very minor forms.

N Divorce is extremely rare among the Mongours. So, too, are
*563 cases of repudiation or desertion by the husband. Schram does
M not mention the way in which a divorce is finalized, nor how long
586 a waiting period, if any, after divorce before remarriage is permitted.

N Cases of adultery are extremely rare in Mongour society.
*563 The people are engrossed constantly with the problem of making
M a living, and they have little time for complicated affairs. The
837 close physical proximity of life in an extended family makes it extremely difficult for anyone's lengthy absence or a stranger's presence in the home to go unnoticed. Schram concludes that

M "The morality of the Mongours who live in villages and are occu-
[577] pied with farming, is undoubtedly on a higher standard than that
[184] of the nomad Mongols. Mongour families on the average seemed
[114] to me to be happy families that work hard but enjoy life."

624 eldest son, succeeding as the new T'u-ssu by right of
175 being the first born, had a distinguishing privilege. The land taxes due to him (in the form of grain) had to be brought to his mansion, while the junior houses had themselves to collect the taxes from the villages assigned to them.

624 At the beginning of the Ming dynasty, when the
651 houses were first established, the tax revenues must have provided a comfortable living for each house, and it is
175 probable that they needed no other income to live at leisure, at the expense of the commoners. After a few
578 generations, however, as the descendants of each house became more and more numerous, the collection of taxes became increasingly a problem. Divided and subdivided claims to a share of the revenue became insufficient to maintain the claimant families, and were inevitably the cause of quarrels and feuds. In the end, claims to the right to collect subdivided fractions of the land tax became chronic sources of trouble not only among the families constituting the house, but between them and the commoners from whom the revenue was collected.

624 In some houses the constituent families agree with
651 each other to take turns collecting the available revenue, but this leads to disputes every year and sometimes to
578 fierce fighting. It is not unknown for two or three families to go to the villages, trying to collect the land taxes in competition with each other. When this happens, the villagers are angered and demand that the families who lay claim to revenue patch up their quarrels and adjust their claims before the villagers open their granaries. Those who claim a right to collect revenue, on the other hand, resort to various kinds of deceit in trying to extort more from the villages and to get more than the legal or customary amount. In such problems and quarrels the T'u-ssu himself is involved because by tradition it is he and not the houses who fixes the rates at which levies are collected.

624 The sources of income of a T'u-ssu are more varied
651 than those of a noble house. The T'u-ssu collects the land taxes in the villages which form the portion of his
563 own house, and in addition collects a number of special taxes which provide his personal revenue. Most of these taxes are collected from Chinese living or trading within his territory. When Monguors who belong to his clan buy livestock, wool, skins, or grain they do not pay a tax on the transaction. On such transactions the Chinese, however, do pay a tax, and so do Monguors of other clans when they engage in such transactions within the territory of the T'u-ssu. Chinese shopkeepers, blacksmiths, and innkeepers living within the clan territory pay taxes. Imposts are levied on rafts and boats on rivers running through the clan territory. At the diets or clan assemblies, and at festivals at Lama monasteries in the clan territory, taxes are collected from Chinese merchants. Payments must also be made for the registration of title deeds to land and houses, and

[P. 42-b]

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618 because he is backed by a group of friends. He succeeds
624 to office according to certain definite customs of the clan. The chief must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestor." When a T'u-ssu dies, the heads of all the noble families, together with the most prominent heads of families among the commoners, convene to choose a successor. It may seem anomalous that commoners should take part in the choosing of a new chief. The way in which the lower status of commoners in the ceremonial veneration of the clan ancestor is emphasized has already been described. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles that can never be completely eliminated. Nevertheless, in the last years of the history of the old Monguor society the differences between nobles and commoners had in many ways practically ceased to exist. The heads of prominent commoner families took part in all meetings at which clan affairs were discussed. In the Monguor clans, there were commoners who were wealthier, more learned, more honored in the community, and more proficient in administrative matters than many of the nobles. It even occurred that when there were quarrels among the nobles, distinguished and respected commoners were called in to mediate. It may be, therefore, either that the participation of commoners in the choice of the new chief represents no more than a condescension on the part of the nobles, for the sake of mere civility, or that there is a lingering tradition from the ancient times of tribal history that the choice of the ruling part of the tribe (now the Monguor clan) must be ratified by the consent of the governed part of the tribe.[13]

Examination of the lists of the genealogies of all the Monguor clans as they are recorded in the *Annals* of the Prefecture of Hsining suggests the conclusion that the first son of the first wife of the T'u-ssu regularly succeeded to the office of his father. If the senior son died before his father but left a living son, then this son was entitled to the succession even if he were only an adopted son. In case the senior son died before his father and left no male issue, however, the next senior brother of the T'u-ssu, or that brother's son, was entitled to the succession. In the family chronicles of the Lu clan I have found one exception to this rule, and only one, a case in which the first son of the first wife did not succeed, the succession going instead to the brother next senior to him. I shall deal with this instance in the study of the genealogy of this clan which I am preparing for publication.

618 When a T'u-ssu dies leaving no sons, trouble usually
578 breaks out in the clan because each of the surviving
611 brothers of the T'u-ssu is eager to secure the succession either for himself or for his own eldest son. In such cases, if one of the contending brothers has more influence in the community than the others, or is richer or more popular with the clan, he succeeds in getting his

[13] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 100. [p. 44a]

618 eldest son chosen and appointed. In one such case, in
578 the clan of the Na T'u-ssu, four T'u-ssu of other clans
611 were invited in to arbitrate, and after discussions which lasted many days the son of a rich man, the third brother of the T'u-ssu who had just died, was agreed on and appointed by the clan.

175 According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 24, p. 8) the
618 last T'u-ssu of the Ming period in the clan of Li, of the
578 line founded by Li Nan-ko, was a man named Li Hua-
611 lung, who died without issue. Li T'ien-yu, the first cousin of Li Hua-lung who had just died, belonging to the same generation in order of descent from the clan ancestor, and of the same house, laid claim to the succession. In order to put an end to trouble within the family, one hundred families of commoners out of the four thousand belonging to the T'u-ssu were given to the contending claimant Li Hua-nao, and consenting to a petition from the nobles who were his relatives in the clan, the Manchu Emperor bestowed on him the title of T'u-ssu. Thus Li Hua-nao became the "founding ancestor" of a new clan, with one hundred families of commoners as subjects.

618 Thus while the historical material seems to show that in most cases the choice and appointment of a new chief of the clan are a mere formality, there are also instances that seem to prove that the rule of succession is not always clear-cut, especially when the T'u-ssu dies
[562] without male issue. In any case, a daughter never suc-
[428] ceeds because the clans are built on a strictly patrilineal family system with male chieftaincy. In this respect, as will be seen below in the chapter dealing with family organization, the rules of ordinary family succession tally with those that govern the succession of the chief of the clan, and the head of the family presides over religious cult practices within the family as the chief presides within the clan.

In case the succeeding son is still a minor, however, his mother is appointed regent by the sovereign state, formerly the Empire and later the Republic. This custom seems to prove that the senior son, even if still a minor, has a specific claim to succeed his father.

There is a discrepancy between the Monguor rule of succession as far as it can be checked by historical documents and an ancient Mongol custom that prevailed up to the time of Chingis Khan, under which the eldest son received his portion of the inheritance while his parents were still living and moved away to live as the head of his own family; the next son, in due course, similarly left the parental camp, and finally the youngest son was left to care for his parents in their old age and to receive the residual inheritance. Under this custom, the original tent, camp, and herds remained with the youngest son, while the most distant related camp was that of his eldest brother, who had moved away first and farthest. Barthold, commenting on this custom, notes that Chingis Khan, during his lifetime, endowed his sons and other relations with appanages, and that Juchi,

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585 /77 cont'd/
231 animals with neighbors or elsewhere; it allows only a few old nags
431 to be seen, which it does not even intend to give up.

It is at this moment that the little peculiarities of the race be-
[571 come apparent in all their crudeness. We have been able to notice
578] in all the phases of T'ou-jen marriage this mania for mutual exploi-
tation. /78/ At this hour one sees the two clans together, equally avid, and each of the two, under the pressure of the moment, feels itself united and strong. The voice of blood makes itself heard quickly, brutal, demanding. It is no longer a question of civilities and ceremonies, and it is not at all rare that the festivity degenerates into quarrels and scuffles.

585 In this moment one sees that marriage among the T'ou-jen is
614 not a disinterested affair but an affair of the clan, of the community, among whom the general good takes precedence over everything.

After such eventualities of a T'ou-jen wedding, it is natural enough when one meets those who are coming from a wedding to ask them whether all went well, or whether there wasn't some trouble!

Now one understands the importance attached to the role of master of ceremonies. It is he who must prevent these difficulties, who must judge when it is necessary to yield and how far the concession can go. He must have the required tact and the appropriate word which all will be pleased to hear. He will be listened to all the more if he is highly esteemed by both sides.

585 In two circumstances this cry of the blood among the T'ou-jen
578 is brutal and terrible: at the end of the ceremonies of a marriage,
571 and on the occasion of the negotiations after the suicide of a daughter-in-law.

The Pei family was giving a daughter in marriage to the Li family. The Pei grandfather, known for his extraordinary cupidity, had enjoined his master of ceremonies to demand the finest horse in the Li family's stable, a horse highly reputed in the region. When the moment came they demanded the horse, but the horse was not there. They looked in vain at the homes of the relatives and neighbors; the horse remained impossible to find. Coarse words were exchanged, and they came to blows. The festivity ended without any

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595 4. Position of the Concubine with Respect to the Official Wife

In theory the official wife is the mistress, she takes precedence over her companion, she gives orders in the house, receives guests in the absence of the husband, converses with them together with him, settles the thousand little matters which occur in the course of the day, has the right to go to festivals before the second wife... and after her death, she will have precedence over the second wife in the cemetery.

But in practice, except for her title and her precedence in the cemetery, everything will depend on the way in which she will be able to deal with her rival and command her husband's respect; if she is the least bit less talented than the rival, her superiority will vanish very quickly.

It is natural besides for the husband to be fonder of the young woman who gives him children than of the great lady who is sterile. The husband would need the tact of a master and that for a whole lifetime in order never to allow this natural inclination, which must cause jealousy in the official wife, to appear. The wife would have to have a heroic character nor to become bitter when she notices that she occupies only second place in the heart and the esteem of the husband when it is natural for her to think that she has a right to the first. Now, unfortunately, all T'ou-jen husbands are not masters of tact and all T'ou-jen wives are not heroines in the mastery of the heart. So it is rare that the wives get along well with each other. Nevertheless, if the official wife is in the least capable and the husband is correct, she will be able to take precedence at home and in public, she will be able to demand from her husband /109/ better clothes than those the concubine wears, she will be able to live with her husband in the best room, to have herself served first at meals [578] after the husband, to sit down first after him, etc.... When there is a quarrel between the wives, the husband simply goes walking and comes back when the storm has calmed down.

595 601 The second wife will call the official wife "my big sister," and the official wife will call the second "my sister." When there are children, they will say: "Call me the grandmother of the children" or "Call me the little mother." Similarily, the husband will say: "Where is the children's grandmother; where is the little one?"

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587 593 [764] The conditions the family lays down are the following: the sons will remain the descendants of the dead man; they will continue to bear his name and will later be buried in their father's cemetery. The new husband will bring them up and feed them. When they reach marriageable age, he will buy them a wife, or he will give the family the required sum ad hoc; then he will be able to send away the married ones, who will provide for their own subsistence. As for the daughters, he will be able to sell them. Since he obligates himself for expenses which so many burdens necessitate, the family does not demand any compensation for the widow.

587 589 578 421 /114/ It often happens that as a consequence of misunderstandings and quarrels, the brothers divide up the property and debts among themselves and form independent families. When a widow of such a family wants to remarry, the family requires the new husband to recognize the debts of the dead man; and the creditors exert pressure on the family to prevent the marriage in case of refusal; but if they are lucky enough to be dealing with a virago who threatens to come with her children and live with them, the difficulties vanish, the debts are put on the children's account and will be demanded later when the children are grown.

587 428 593 In the case where the widow with her children has inherited several plots of land from her dead husband, the new husband will be able to work them to support his family, but he will not be able to sell them since they are the property of the male orphans /sic/. Once they are married, the latter can demand these lands and send their foster father away with their mother, which often happens; if they get along well, they stay together. If, on the other hand, the new husband has lands of his own, and the widow does not, he maintains the family, gets the sons married, and sends them away. If during the marriage the family becomes richer, if the patrimony increases, and children are born of the new marriage, the children of the first husband will receive the share of their dead father plus half of the lands and assets acquired after the second marriage. The personal properties of the new husband are inherited by his own children. If the husband happens to die without leaving children, his personal

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Chapter V

Runaway Wives

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It is not rare to see the daughter-in-law flee to the paternal home after a quarrel at the house of the parents-in-law. In this case, the latter /sic/ quietly await the arrival of the son-in-law in order to hear his explanations. If he does not bother with the fugitive, the parents of the runaway woman get a go-between so that he may go to make inquiries. Since usually both sides are at fault, the go-between will come back to bring back the daughter-in-law in order to make her apologize to her parents-in-law; the son-in-law will accompany her to present his apologies also to his wife's parents.

The exhortations to the daughter-in-law are very typical in the sense that they are rather platonic, even fatalistic: You are a daughter-in-law, they will say, therefore you have to suffer some vexations, even some humiliations; but know well that it is not for all your life; for the adage says, one is a daughter-in-law for only 30 years and then one is oneself the mother-in-law for the same term of years. Console yourself!

This running away within the family rarely leads to important consequences, but there is another kind of running away which is much more serious. Indeed, if repudiation rarely occurs and if divorce is not frequent, the flight of a wife with her lover happens oftener.

The causes of such misadventures are the great freedom of relations between the sexes before as well as after marriage, and especially at the time of festivities; the vexations of mothers-in-law, the /146/ unfortunate unions between young people of too different character, and above all the too great difference in age which often exists between husband and wife. The husband is not nubile and the wife is six or seven years older than he; the wife has begun by treating her husband as a child and has enjoyed authority. Later when the husband wants to take up his rights, then it is that the difficulties begin. Furthermore, the wife meanwhile has already learned to

/146 cont'd/

578 amuse herself... and has already had too many relations... one fine
593 day she disappears. This is the big affliction of the region. When a wife has run away, they immediately guess who her accomplice is; but it is necessary to be able to locate them. If the inquiries made about them are fruitless, after several days the son-in-law will go to his wife's family, pretending to believe that his dear better half is at their home and that he will find out about her return. This is also a way of informing the parents about their daughter's flight.

If after five or six months the fugitive has not come back, her parents require the son-in-law, accompanied by two aides, to go to get her at his expense; there is always some indication as to where she is. If they have exact information, they go to the headmen of the place to demand that they get hold of the fugitives so that they can bring them back home tied up.

684 Upon their return to the village, the village heads and the
627 members of the families of the lover and the wife are called. In the
681 presence of the whole populace, who very much relish this kind of distraction, the village heads begin the preliminary investigation of the affair. The case is examined to the bottom, and finally the lover is badly beaten and hung up by the thumbs until someone turns up who will act as guarantor for him. Then comes the woman, who is beaten on her bare back with leather lashes for as long as she does not manifest her regrets while adding good resolves for the future. Then the two culprits are taken through the village and exposed to the mockery of all; a herald precedes them, beating a drum and proclaiming their crime. It may happen that an indemnity on the part of the lover's family may be asked for the wrong done to the husband.

586 /147/ The wife goes back into the house; if she brings a child
681 born during the escapade, he is accepted into the family.

But it may also happen that the runaways are not found. Then after two or three years of vain search, the wife's parents demand a settlement of accounts. The parents-in-law then invite the parents of the runaway daughter-in-law, as well as her maternal uncles, the village heads, and several friends who are good speakers, for it will be a question of tseou che jen ming, i.e., "the indemnity (to the parents) for the loss of their daughter occasioned by her running away."

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.]
"trumpet." Judging by the sign, however, this la-pa is itself a Chinese imitation of a foreign word. The Tsinghai Chinese have the designation pi-li for the shell-horn, but this evidently comes from the Tujen verb pilie (to blow), for instance, dõngẽ pilie = to blow the conch. The Chinese say ch'uei pi-li for this. Otherwise, the Chinese name for the Triton horn is simply luo (lo), and the conch-goddess taken over from Buddhism (Tib. Duṅ-ma, Sanskr. Mangala śankha) is called pao-lo t'ien-nü, "heavenly elf of the preciousness-conch"; cf. Pander-Grünwedel, Pantheon, p. 105, No. 294; p. 115.

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The shell-horn and its cultic use is old and widespread in India and the South Seas and has been taken over into Buddhism. The function of the conch in the Lamaist cult naturally cannot be explored further here. For an understanding of the Tujen custom, however, the following should be noted. The blowing of the conch brings harmony into the universe and [49] can release the hunger-spirits (Preta) and lead them into the paradise of joys (Tushita); cf. Pander-Grünwedel, loc. cit. Shells whose spirals do not run from right to left, as is usual, but the opposite way are especially valuable; cf. Ch. Das (p. 628): duṅ-dkar gyas 'k'il (Sanskr. dakṣiṇā varta śankha). The sound of such a conch cures sickness, and, if it is kept in the house, it pacifies quarrels and disturbances and guarantees harmony in the family. That

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tainous country. It was inhabited by two or three 792
hundred lamas of Tibetan origin, and had four colleges. The Abbot told me the monastery had been founded by a lama of Amdo, called Don dub. During the Yüan dynasty he had studied in Tibet. He was a learned man. The Abbot pointed to a stupa built on [94] top of the temple and said it contained the relics of the founder. He went on to explain that Don dub had been the Teacher of Tsong khapa (born in 1357, ten years before the end of the Yüan dynasty) who started his religious career at Sha-ch'ung, and that the teacher brought his pupil to Lhasa when he was sixteen years of age. Then the Abbot led me to a nice building claiming it was there Tsong khapa had lived.[36]

It is not known what kind of monastery Sha-ch'ung 175
was in the beginning; whether it was a small hermitage 792
where a few unmarried Red lamas lived together or only a temple where some married Red lamas gathered at fixed times. The latter, depending more or less on a chief chosen from among them, scattered over the country, their pupils living with them, farming or raising cattle and performing cultural rites when invited by the people to do so. Important lamaseries could hardly have existed at that time, because of the disturbed circumstances. Even if Sha-ch'ung was not the hermitage of Dantig, built in 940 by dGe-ba rab-gsal, it certainly existed at the end of the Yüan dynasty. Two facts seem to support the tradition.

Sha-ch'ung in 1916 was a neighbor of the most im- 792
portant monastery of the Red Sect, whose Living 578
Buddha, Goorongbzan, presided over a group of more than two hundred lamas of his sect. The same year both lamaseries claimed to be possessors of a strip of intervening pasture, and had a fight at close quarters. Many lamas on both sides were wounded. Ma k'o-ch'en, the Moslem commander of Hsining, and sworn brother of Goorongbzan, put an end to the feud which had lasted for centuries. He adjudicated the possession [691] of the debatable pasture to Goorong, who produced deeds dating from the period of the Yüan, but which the former officials would never recognize because of the influence wielded by the Yellow Sect. This fact supports the evidence of the tradition according to which both lamaseries had existed during the Yüan. The old feud was rooted in the fact that Sha-ch'ung, which belonged to the Red Sect, later went over to the Yellow Sect, while the monastery of Goorong clung to its original Red Sect.

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[36] E. Obermiller, Tsunkhaba le Pandit, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 2: 321, Louvain, Istas, 1934–1935. L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 2nd ed., 59, W. Heffer, Cambridge, 1934. Wilhelm Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling*, 175, Leipzig, 1933. The confirmation of this tradition is found in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo, translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Pt. I, 1: 27, "Chya Khyung, the seat of Chhoije Tondub Rinchhen, contains his tomb as well as the residence of Tsong khapa."

[p. 15 (A)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

A second fact is encountered in a publication of Ma Fu-hsiang.[37] For many years he was the most prominent official of Hsining engaged with Tibetan and Mongol affairs. Later, he became governor of Suiyüan Province and a member of the Meng-Tsang Yüan in Nanking. The passage from the publication states: 792 578

> More than 100 *li* southeast of Hsining, on the territory of the 'Ten Tribes,' is the Ami chü-lu mountain upon which was built the monastery of Sha-ch'ung which had more than 1,000 lamas. It was there that Tsong khapa had his hair clipped [entered religion], and remained for more than 10 years, starting his studies and religious life, before he went to Tibet (p. 198).

In 1906 the Chinese started digging for gold in the sacred mountain. The lamas, opposed to the digging, fought and two men were killed. The governor of the province ordered punishment to be imposed upon the lamasery with ruthless severity. Ma Fu-hsiang, being acquainted with the Tibetans, sought to settle the question amicably and went to Sha-ch'ung. The rebelling lamas and 1,000 soldiers of the "Ten Tribes" were determined to fight the Chinese troops. During the long period of discussion, the head of the lamasery repeated over and over that the lamasery and the mountain were hallowed places, because it was there that the founder of the Yellow Church had clipped his hair and remained for more than ten years. He protested that by digging at these spots the "artery" of the Yellow Church would be damaged, and the ruin of its religion be made inevitable (p. 190). Finally, as always in the Orient, a way was found to settle the case, by promising that no more digging would be done on the Sacred Mountain; but on the territory of the "Ten Tribes" digging would be allowed (p. 193). This fact gives evidence of the deep-seated conviction among the Tibetans about the veracity of the tradition and infers the existence of the lamasery at the time of the Yüan period (1280–1367). More traditions exist about monasteries having been built during the Yüan period, as related by the lamas, but they are vague and no names or specific places are indicated nor do ruins exist. However, it is not impossible that the traditions point to the hermitages noted in the *Blue Annals*. The building of the big monastery of Ta fo-ssu by one of the important T'u-ssu clans reveals the fact that Lamaism was a living entity among the T'u-ssu and their Monguors. Is it not too far-fetched to suppose that among the T'u-ssu only the Li T'u-ssu were Lamaist, since it is well known that the Ch'i and Lu T'u-ssu in 1644 were proprietors of monasteries constructed by them, although we do not know when they were constructed.[38] Besides, the facts that the monastery of Goorongbzan existed near Sha-ch'ung, and that in the beginning of the Ming a board of lamas was established, suggest the assumption that in Huang-chung during the Yüan period there probably must

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[37] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng Tsang Chuang-k'uang*, Nanking, Chung-Hua yin-shu kung-ssu, 1931.

[38] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 34, p. 3a.

[p.115(B)]

4; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Yao-ts'ao-t'ai ("the terrace of medicinal herbs"), Hung-shan-ssu, and three smaller ones. Yao-ts'ao-t'ai was the vast pasture ground for the herds of the monastery and of the lamas. According to the abbots, it soon developed to the extent of having 200 lamas. Hung-shan-ssu soon had more than 150 lamas and received from the emperor a special grant of 500 taels every year (the reason is not known; *Annals*, ch. 15, p. 8a). In 1747 the allocation was still provided by the officials. The Living Buddhas of the three monasteries told me that because most of their lamas were of Monguor origin, their monasteries declined after Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung had been built, and the Monguor lamas had gone over to these lamaseries. However, there are other reasons which caused the decline of the flourishing monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, which at present is in a state of indescribable dilapidation. 792 346 175 792 346

In 1509 the Tibetans of Kukunor, driven from their pastures by the Mongol, I-pu-la, made inroads in Huang-chung. They looted and ruined the branch monastery of Hung-shan-ssu in 1519 (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 14a). In 1558 the Mongols of Kukunor looted and sacked Ch'ü-t'an (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 16b) and the neighboring country; probably Yao-ts'ao-t'ai also. The Moslems, in 1862–1872, wrought terrible havoc on the temples and the palaces of the Living Buddhas, and burned the printing blocks of the library. In 1895 the temple was again looted by the revolting Moslems. Material damage and ruins, however, are reparable, but damage and ruin caused from within the lama institution itself are not.

The troubles started between the mother monastery of Ch'ü-t'an and the branch of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, which is situated on the rich pasture grounds and forests included in the initial domain of the old monastery granted by the emperors. Very early, a couple of small temples and homes for lamas had been built on the spot, and a superior appointed. Around 1660, according to the abbots, more than 200 lamas lived at the subsidiary and more temples had been built. Its superior, a very learned and holy man, died and was reincarnated. His reincarnation was called Karang bzang and settled at the subsidiary monastery. (At that time the vogue for reincarnations was in full swing.) Very soon the mother monastery had its own reincarnation, the Living Buddha Mei, and four small Living Buddhas. The branch also provided a small Buddha called the Liang-chou fo-yeh. 175 792 578 [775]

With both monasteries having Living Buddhas, friction started between them and lasted for more than two centuries. Jealousy and hatred became deep-rooted. Both monasteries behaved like ducks, appearing calm and unruffled on the surface, but paddling like devils underneath it. The eternal question of the corvées imposed by the mother monastery on its subsidiaries and the demand for land rents kept open festering wounds, and the yearly disputes grew more and more acute.

[p.23(B)]

Finally, in 1885 the branch declared its independence 175
and claimed to be possessor of the pasture and farm 792
grounds and the forests formerly entrusted to its care 578
by the mother monastery. A serious fight at close quarters occurred in the mother lamasery.

Ch'ü-t'an sued the branch to vindicate its rights of 691
proprietor of all the domains of Ch'ü-t'an. The lawsuit 792
was carried to the Court of Justice of the Subprefecture 662
of Nien-pe and lasted for two years. The Chinese officials, lavishly bribed by both groups, finally sent the lawsuit to the Court of the Prefecture of Hsining in order that their friends and superiors might have the opportunity to acquire some wealth and promote the cause of justice. Again, the lamas stubbornly spent their money for two years. Still unwilling to accept the verdict of the judges, the suit was sent to the Supreme Court of the capital of the province. Here the Chinese officials were very happy to meet the interested customers, and the gullible lamas started immediately to sow again, seeds of wealth and happiness in the gardens of the highest officials. For sixteen years the clever officials kept the wheels turning, encouraging both groups, exciting passions and stubbornness, promising to both sides a successful conclusion. The gullible lamas spent money, and the officials milked the meek cows dry. Finally, the wealth of the mother lamasery was exhausted first, so that the branch lamasery won the suit. The branch, during all the trouble, relied on the forests, sold wood, and was in a more advantageous position to "defend its rights." Throughout this long period the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung tried several times to spread oil on the troubled waters and settle the question amicably, but to no avail.

The loss of face for the mother monastery was too 627
humiliating. At night its lamas went to Yao-ts'ao-t'ai 579
and burned its temples; the next day the lamas of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai went at noon to Ch'ü-t'an and burned the palaces of the Living Buddha and killed two lamas. In 1905 the two groups, both bled white, agreed to have the question settled by Living Buddhas. An indemnity was fixed for the two lamas who had been killed, and because the damage caused by the fires was considered to be equal, the problem was settled.

In 1915 there were 285 lamas at Yao-ts'ao-t'ai: at the mother monastery there were only fifty or sixty, most of them children. Five hundred and fifty lamas had left the mother monastery, with four minor Living Buddhas, because they had been compelled to contribute to the expenses caused by the suit, and to fulfill the corvées imposed in connection with it. The administration of the mother monastery, in former times so flourishing and wealthy, was reduced to a minimum. One lama administered the property, a precentor led the prayers in the temple, and all the other duties were fulfilled by the Living Buddha himself. The homes formerly occupied by the six hundred lamas were inhabited by Monguor, Tibetan, and Chinese families.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

constructed after 1723, and rebuilt a second time after the revolt of the Moslems in 1872 (at which time the monastery had been abandoned for three years). The internal organization of the formerly flourishing monastery was affected by dissensions among the triumvirate, and peace within its walls was disturbed by the divided lamas, who had taken opposite sides in the conflict. The Chang-chia Hutukhtu left Erh-ku-lung, and more than one hundred lamas followed him. It was a severe blow to the mother monastery. He rebuilt one of his branches, called Ch'ie-bzan, to be his abode on the very rare occasions of his short returns from Peking to the country. He never again visited Erh-ku-lung. The seeds of a callous hostility between Erh-ku-lung and Ch'ie-bzan were planted and their relations cut off. 175 792

The three founders, however, were and remained the co-proprietors of the initial domain, monastery, and branches of Erh-ku-lung. However, each of them, by means of gifts and domains offered to them individually, had built up his own fortune. They hoarded their revenues or used them to found their own branches. In 1910 T'u-kuan Hutukhtu personally was the proprietor of seven branches. He possessed expansive properties on which he built seven villages. He also possessed eighteen oil or wheat mills. His herds of sheep and horses grazed in the Alashan territory and on the domains of T'ien-t'ang-ssu, his former branch, which by 1910 had become an independent monastery. Chang-chia had six branches of his own, eleven villages, nine mills, and very expansive domains. Sumpa had five branches of his own, and wider territories than T'u-kuan and Chang-chia.

The troubles had started not on questions of doctrine or liturgy, but on matters of finance and property. Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa clashed on the question of a territory belonging to the original domain, the status of which T'u-kuan and Sumpa maintained. Chang-chia, however, claimed it to be his property. Finally, the debatable domain was recognized to be the property of the initial domain. 175 792 578

Chang-chia never forgot this loss of face. The money granted by the emperor for the reconstruction of Erh-ku-lung in 1729 was insufficient. Nevertheless, Chang-chia urged that a part of it be used for the rebuilding of his own Ch'ie-bzan. This was refused by the other two and the rift between the triumvirate became wider and wider. T'u-kuan, however, used a large part of his own wealth for the reconstruction of Erh-ku-lung, which lasted for decades. Sumpa, with his own money, built the two colleges, their temples and palaces for Fa-t'ai. Chang-chia refused to make any contribution. After the revolt of 1872 and the destruction of Erh-ku-lung by the Moslems, T'u-kuan and Sumpa rebuilt the monastery. Chang-chia again declined to help.[141] Instead, he rebuilt his own monas- 175 792 [578] 346

[141] It is not surprising that Chang-chia did not print the works of T'u-kuan (see above, p. 31).

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tery in the most luxurious style. The head temple, with 175
its gilt tiled roof, which had been preserved, was em- 792
bellished and other temples rebuilt. He rebuilt a splen- 346
did palace for himself patterned after the most luxuri-
ous palaces in Peking. Chang-chia's Ch'ie-bzan was
the wealthiest monastery in the country, with 150 lamas,
2 colleges, and 4 minor Living Buddhas. Most of its
wealth was provided by Mongols, among whom the in-
fluence and prestige of Chang-chia was proverbial.

Every year, lama expeditions of Ch'ie-bzan traveled 175
in Mongolia in order to collect alms. Chang-chia's 794
prestige was so great that the Queen of the Torgots 648
came to Ch'ie-bzan in 1913, to invite the intendant of
the monastery to send an expedition among her tribes-
men, for it had been a long time since an expedition
had reached her country. I happened to be at Ch'ie-
bzan in 1914 when the expedition returned. It had
collected 3,000 sheep, 400 horses, and 280 camels, which
were loaded with wool and skins.

The breach between T'u-kuan and Sumpa, which oc- 175
curred in 1890, was more tragic. During the rebellion 578
of the Moslems, Sumpa (born in 1854) had fled among 792
the Mongols and Tibetans, north of Kukunor. He met
with a Mongol girl, whom he had moved to his branch
monastery called Sumpa-ssu. The lama community
of Erh-ku-lung, after some years, could no longer stand
the disrepute brought on the monastery. It brought [691]
suit against Sumpa before the Amban in the prefectural
city of Hsining, claiming he was not a genuine re-
incarnation. The lama community urged that he be
erased from the list of Buddhas, and insisted on the
right to search for the genuine reincarnation. For
several months the lamas disturbed the whole city with
the scandal, and spent money. The Chinese enjoyed
all the incidents of the trial. Sumpa lost his face and
honor irretrievably. Sumpa, however, was rich and
the Amban venal. The Amban finally proposed that
Sumpa leave Erh-ku-lung and move to one of his affili-
ates. This reincarnation (the third) of the illustrious
Sumpa, having cut a sorry figure, never returned to
Erh-ku-lung, but lived at his branch where, in 1916,
his two girls delighted the old age of their father, who
was sixty. His eldest daughter had married the son
of the chief of the Aruk tribe. In 1916 the old man
made a pilgrimage to Lhasa, and the lamas said he
was atoning for his sins. No wonder that the Li-fan
yüan records lacked information concerning the subse-
quent reincarnations of the Great Sumpa.

The Living Buddha Ch'ie-bzan of Erh-ku-lung hav- 175
ing a branch monastery of his own, moved into it, 792
appearing at Erh-ku-lung only to attend the festivals. 627
The Living Buddha Wang lived in retired seclusion. 762
Soon after the trial of Sumpa, the minor Living Buddha
Tsung-tsa, one of the eleven, followed in the steps of
Sumpa and established a family in Tsung-tsa. In the
winter of the same year, the minor Living Buddha Seer-
ting was taken and beaten at night by the husband and

[p.37(A)]

old Li would not budge. The whole community was 792
humming like a beehive and about to drive the old Li 691
and his intendant out. T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was unable 628
to pour oil on the troubled waters; the furious intendant of the community of lamas, in a flush of excitement, called thirty lamas, went to Hsining and brought an accusation against old Li. At the court the Amban immediately fell under the spell of the placid and respectable Buddha, bent with age, who explained his case peaceably.

The Amban did not allow the thirty or more turbulent lamas to return to the monastery, after they had, with vehemence and arrogance, several times presented their claims before him. He made them wait for the publication of the verdict, and while waiting had them live in Chinese inns, where they spent money every day, bribing the happy officials who would make their hopes run high one day and dash them to the ground on the next, thus making them spend more money. The Living Buddha and his intendant lived at peace at the home of his nephew, the Li T'u-ssu. He was acquainted with the most prominent men in the city, had them working for him and bringing small gifts. After four months the impoverished lamas became as meek as lambs and the Amban deemed the time ripe to pronounce the verdict: "The cauldron had been broken inadvertently. Because the community of lamas drank tea from the cauldron several times every day, the community should bring into his hands $800, and he would take care of the casting of a beautiful cauldron; the intendant and the board of the community should be put in jail until the money was ready." The epilogue of this interesting trial was that after a few days the money was reverentially placed in the hands of the Amban, the intendant and the men of the board were released, and the Amban had a cauldron cast—for $150!

The intendants are powerful elements in a monastery. In this case T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, belonged to the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, as did the venerable old Living Buddha Li. Yet he could not stay the hands of the intendant and the board of the community of the lamas who, incautiously disregarding the relationship between the two venerable living Buddhas were too quick on the trigger in resorting turbulently to the Chinese courts of justice, although they should have known the dangers by experience. The officials know it is impossible to talk sense into such lamas without first making them spend all their money and letting them wait for months at the gate of the court. The lesson given to the lamas is remunerative for the Chinese officials, but the lamas, stubborn as mules, appear again before the judges at the next opportunity, and receive the same lesson all over. Such is the atmosphere of a monastery and its 688
inmates. 792

(3) Li, the lama intendant, of the Living Buddha Lu, 691
supreme chief of the monastery of Yang-k'uo-erh-ssu, 578

[p.41(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

was officially appointed chiliarch (*ch'ien hu*)[1] by the Amban, with the privilege of judging the subjects of the monastery. He was thus simultaneously a monastic official and a Chinese civil official. He had amassed a comfortable fortune at the expense of the subjects of six villages belonging to the monastery. A shrewd, capable man, in order to assure his position, he cleverly moved his younger sister near the monastery in order to have the young Living Buddha "acquainted" with her. 688 792 578 691

Lamas and subjects urged the dismissal of the intendant. The Buddha refused and threatened to accuse the three ringleaders of the rebellion, but the subjects and lamas went to the court of the subprefect of Nien-pe and accused both the Buddha and the intendant. Knowing that the intendant was rich, the judge examining the case put him in jail on the very first day of the trial, to make him understand that the roles were reversed. The sister of the intendant was called to testify, and the Living Buddha lost face before the people of Nien-pe, who attended all the sessions with the keenest interest. Finally, the Buddha was divested of the privilege of having a chiliarch to judge his subjects, and blushing with shame he received a lecture from the judge on the observance of celibacy in the Yellow Sect. The girl was ordered to move far away from the monastery.

The intendant, dismissed from his office by the judge, was released after several more months. He had spent his whole fortune, and had even been forced to sell his fields, cattle, and two oil mills. During the troubles, 70 of the 150 lamas left the monastery. This intendant caused the ruin of the monastery.

(4) The most beautiful bridge in Kansu is over the Ta-t'ung River, opposite the monastery of T'ien-t'ang-ssu, which before 1723 had had three colleges, two Living Buddhas, and 700 lamas, and at this time still had 200. When the supreme chief of the monastery was only seven years of age, troubles had started between the intendancy of the monastery and that of the community of lamas. Each claimed to be the proprietor of the bridge, with the right to collect tolls. The lamas, divided into two groups, became involved in the troubles. For twelve years both intendancies, accusing each other, moved from city to city and from one court of justice to another, and spent all the money of the respective intendancies. The head temple of the monastery was closed for three years. Finally, the Chinese judges having milked the cows dry, abolished the right of the lamas to receive the toll and took it themselves. The peace of the monastery was disturbed to the point that 120 disgusted lamas left. In 1920 only 80 lamas remained, some old men, but mostly children. The stubborn intendencies had preferred to wreck the 792 578 628

[1] "Chief of 1,000 families" is an official, appointed by the Chinese administration, who controls a tribe or group of people. He imposes corvées, collects taxes for the government, mediates troubles, and awards punishments. Although his subjects very seldom number 1,000 families, the title remains the same.

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lamasery rather than accept any of the propositions suggested to end the feud.[2] 792 578 628

(5) I was told many times, by two honorable intendants, that it was the heated rivalry between the intendancies of the three supreme chiefs of Erh-ku-lung that had, in former times, caused the departure of Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the rift between the supreme chiefs, and the decline of Erh-ku-lung. There must be a grain of truth in the traditions of these experienced men who, better than we, understand the enormous influence exerted by the intendancies upon the Living Buddhas, and the jealousies between the intendancies.

(6) Most old lamas have a disciple who, upon their death, becomes their legal heir and proprietor of their entire fortune (home, herds, money, etc.). However, it is a noted fact that it is very difficult for the disciple of an intendant to inherit the fortune of his master. The old intendant of the Tenma Living Buddha, supreme chief of the monastery of Kan-ch'an-ssu, became sick, retired, and declined into that stage of life called "second childhood." His disciple, an intelligent boy of fourteen years, following the advice of his shrewd, experienced maternal uncle, Manguru, chief of a Tibetan tribe in Waza, subject to Tenma, secretly moved the comfortable fortune of his master to the home of his rich uncle. When the master died, Tenma, thinking like every Living Buddha, suspected that his old intendant had amassed a fortune at his expense and went immediately to examine his richly furnished home, hoping to find a colossal fortune. The floors of the rooms were turned over, the chimney broken, the sheep, cow, and horse pens dug up several feet deep, but no silver was found. Railing and raging, the Living Buddha drove into his own pens the 150 cows, 40 horses, and 600 sheep of the deceased. 792 428

The maternal uncle defended the disciple, and protested. After a couple of days the deluded Tenma went to Hsining with an imposing retinue of twenty men in order to accuse the disciple and his uncle at the court of the subprefect, of having stolen the fortune unjustly amassed by the intendant. The disciple and his uncle were flogged and thrown into jail, but did not confess to being guilty. After a few days the shrewd uncle made friends with the underlings of the officials by bribing them. He and the disciple were released, and thereupon rewarded the underlings by showing them the way to extort money from Tenma. After three years, the subprefect declared both the uncle and the disciple innocent. Tenma brought suit again at the court of the Amban, where it dragged on for more than four years more, which made the officials happy. They excited his hatred against the disciple and his uncle. But the disciple and his uncle lived in a small inn and 792 691 428

[2] Reginald Farrer, *Rainbow bridge*, 111, London, Arnold, 1921. Farrer was in T'ien-t'ang-ssu during the summer months, studying the flora of the country. He describes the wonderful bridge and includes a picture of it.

[p. 42 (B)]

Service for Prayers and Alms Collections:

A strict condition of service continues which compels the farmers of the monastery to invite the lamas of the intendancy, whose fields they till, to perform both public religious rites in the village, and private services in individual families. Lamas of one intendancy or monastery are not allowed to perform these rites among subjects of another intendancy. In the same way, when lamas are touring for alms among the subjects of their own intendancy, lamas of other monasteries are not allowed to tour. 592 571

The intendancies urge the observance of this service even by former tributaries, but it does not always work. The Tibetan tribe of Sumdoo, former tributary of the community of lamas of Erh-ku-lung, accused the intendancy, in 1918, of trying to occupy a part of its territory. The Chinese court, however, recognized the ownership of the debatable ground by the tribe. Sumdoo, having a grudge against the intendancy, invited the intendancy of Seerkok to perform a tribal religious rite. The day preceding the appointed day, a group of furious lamas from Erh-ku-lung, intending to assert their prerogative to conduct the service, arrived and started with the prayers. All the ladies of the tribe, engaged in preparing the food for the three-day solemnity, arrived ranting, panting, and cursing the lamas with feminine fury, and threw their boots at the heads of the bewildered lamas. The lamas, powerless against the infuriated women, returned to their intendancy. 792 571 796 578

The next day, when the solemnities had already been started by the lamas of Seerkok, the intendant of Erh-ku-lung arrived with an imposing retinue to assert his rights. All the men of the tribe vanished, entrusting the emergency to the ladies, who arrived with the same threatening appearance of the former day, and the intendant and his retinue understood that the relations between the intendancy and Sumdoo were sundered forever. This incident illustrates the psychology of the lamas in trying by all means to retain their old rights, even among tributaries with whom all legal connections have been cut off.

Repair of the Lamasery:

The chiefs of the villages inhabited by the subjects of the intendancies are ordered by their respective intendancy to send a fixed number of men to repair the buildings belonging to the intendancy, to chop wood, grind wheat, thresh the harvest, sweep snow, and build roads or bridges. The subjects are still willing to comply with these corvées. 792 466

Travel of the Chief of the Lamasery:

When the supreme chief of the lamasery makes a long journey, the chiefs of the intendancies order the chiefs of the villages to send a couple of horsemen each 792 484 651

[p.48(A)]

is the most prolific in lamas." It is a known fact that of 175
old the clan of the Li T'u-ssu was fervently addicted to 792
Buddhism, and that the big monastery of Ta-Fo-ssu was built by the Li clan in Hsining during the Yüan dynasty. During the Ming dynasty a lama of the Li clan received the Karwa privilege, which still exists. The T'u kuan Hutukhtu was born in the Wang tribe, subjects of the Li clan. There are still two minor Li Living Buddhas at the monastery of Erh-ku-lung. In San-ch'uan there also live subjects of Ch'i, Na, and Kan T'u-ssu. Most of the San-ch'uan lamas like to enroll in Kumbum where the key offices are filled by them. It is a public secret that at various times friction and disputes have arisen in Kumbum between groups of [578] lamas competing for the possession of the lucrative offices. As the outcome of this kind of competition, the administration of Kumbum is completely in the hands of Monguor lamas.

The next center of recruitment is the Hung-nai-tzu Valley, the birthplace of the first incarnation of the famous Chang-chia Hutukhtu, and inhabited mostly by Monguors and Tibetans. It is customary among them to have only one of the brothers marry, while the others become lamas. Their devotion to having lamas in the family goes to the extent of buying a boy for the [608] monastery in case no male descendants are born. Several families have become extinct through lack of male descendants.

If account be taken of the number of monasteries and branches founded by Erh-ku-lung during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the fervor of the Monguors for becoming lamas must have been considerable. At present, this fervor has diminished to a large extent. Many families have not provided a lama for at least two generations; the ties which bound them to the lamaseries seem to have become looser.

WAYS AND MEANS OF RECRUITMENT

A lama, possessing some wealth, likes to have a disciple who will help and serve him to his dying day, and enable him to enjoy peacefully a ripe old age. A poor lama cannot afford the luxury of a disciple. According to the regulations of 1723, a lama is allowed to have only one disciple. However, when the rule is relaxed, rich lamas may have two or three; most of the Living Buddhas have two. The lama usually tries to choose his disciple from among his nephews or from among the children of well-to-do families, which later will help to support the disciple and indirectly his master.

The choice is made before the child has reached the age of seven. If the family agrees, the lama offers a ceremonial scarf to the father and a brick of tea to the mother. The agreement cannot thereafter be retracted. At the time the child is seven or eight years of age the mother prepares a lama costume for him. On an auspicious day he is led by his father to the lamasery.

[p.56(A)]

BEHAVIOR OF THE LIVING BUDDHAS OF HUANG-CHUNG

Some facts will explain this matter better than philosophical considerations. 792

In 1916 the Living Buddha of the monastery of Sha-ku-ssu (Yung ch'ang hsien), an old branch of Erh-ku-lung, was an inveterate opium addict and had ruined his monastery. In order to retrieve his financial position in an easy way, he called on the Living Buddha of the monastery of Nan-ying (Liang chou), saying that he remembered in all the minutest detail having loaned, five generations ago, to his honorable confrere of Nan-ying, three herds of horses, five of sheep, three of cows, and 300 taels, and that this debt had never been paid; because he was poor and his confrere rich he would like to have his confrere take care of the matter. 276 691 157

The answer of the equally shrewd confrere was that he did not at all remember such an enormous debt, although he remembered in all possible detail the events that had happened during five generations. Thereupon the living Buddha of Sha-ku-ssu brought suit against his confrere at the Court of Justice in Liang-chou, claiming that his confrere knew all about the question, but that his pathological craving for money made him throttle his conscience and commit this crying injustice. The confrere reciprocated along the same line, exposing the opium addict before the interested audience; but because in China a rich man must always give up some of his rights in favor of the poor, the rich Living Buddha was ordered to give ten horses, and his poor confrere was able to continue smoking his opium for some time. [696]

The reason alleged by the opium smoker should be well known among lamas and Living Buddhas. It was the same that was used by the Dalai Lama at Kumbum in 1909. In autumn he arrived at Kumbum with the traditional splendor of an Oriental potentate. Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese ran to Kumbum to honor him. The Dalai Lama and his retinue were savage and arrogant; their animals were turned loose among the crops in the fields. Every day troubles arose over the sheep and flour offered by the mandarins, and the Dalai Lama, swayed by foolish pride and insolence, insisted on transferring three lama officials of Kumbum. Achia, defending his rights, denied the Dalai Lama permission to interfere with his administration of the lamasery. 792 157 578

The reason alleged by the Dalai Lama was that in one of his previous existences he remembered having been an incarnation of Achia and supreme chief of Kumbum. But Achia, without losing his balance, flatly denied the fact because he did not remember such an incarnation. Furthermore, he pointed out that the Dalai Lama was the incarnation of Tsong khapa, who was the incarnation of Chen-resig, while he himself was the incarnation of Tsong-khapa's father. He wondered how a son could behave so insolently and impudently

[P.69(B)]

toward his father, and he could not understand how the 792
same individual could happen to be the incarnation of 157
the father and the son. Then Achia talked to him like 578
a father, telling him to be more circumspect and to behave more decently, for many tales were already spreading about his behavior with Tibetan women. Liberties of that kind, he said, outraging the Lamaist conventions, were not allowed at Kumbum. The lamas of Kumbum, breathing fire and brimstone, prepared their weapons and called together lamas of neighboring monasteries. The officials of Hsining (the Amban, the General, the tao-t'ai, and the prefect) were in a hurry, and went to Kumbum with troops in order to prevent a clash. Finally, in order to get rid of the Dalai Lama as fast as possible, they decided to let him appoint three lama officials and then to depose them after his departure. The Dalai Lama left, and the three appointed officials also left as quickly as possible for fear of being killed by the Kumbum lamas. The deposed officials assumed their jobs again, but Achia, deeming that he had irretrievably lost face, cut his throat. Several times I [762] heard this tragic story, told by the Amban himself and by the officials at Kumbum.

The Dalai Lama cut a sorry figure in Hsining in 792
1909. The residence of Achia, destroyed by fire in 157
1895, was still not rebuilt in 1914, although all the materials for the reconstruction had been ready since 1909. The wood had been offered by the Tibetan Chief, Kach-htjir, and a contract had been written by the intendancy, promising Kach-htjir and his relatives the privilege of always staying at the residence, whenever they visited Kumbum.

Chao, the Living Buddha of Sia-mar, was a most celebrated man all over the country for his skill in patching up troubles, his unusual eloquence, proficiency in using the double-edged sword, of menaces and threats, soft words and blandishments. However, his influence lay in his cultivated acquaintance with the Chinese officials, to whom he paid visits and offered lavish gifts, and whom in due time he would use and provide with lawsuits that would benefit them. He was credited with having marvelous abilities and of being a powerful man. The saying went around that his special [828] kind of intelligence weighed so heavily on one side of his body, that the soles of a new pair of shoes, after a few days, were always run down on the same side—the side where his intelligence was pressing the most.

He had obtained the office of chiliarch, the old privilege of judging the numerous tribes formerly subjected to his predecessors. He started abolishing, among his subjects, the smoking and planting of opium, with Draconian severity, and flogging and fining addicts of alcohol. He compelled the Chinese, to whom his subjects had transferred lands, to return the fields. Wherever there happened to be a festival, he pitched his tent and waited to render justice. Young women who had eloped and had been brought back by his retinue of

[p.70 (A)]

Peking, Nanking, and Shanghai. He rides a bicycle, 795
walks his smallest sons in a European baby carriage, 792
likes photography, delights in playing a phonograph, enjoys working with electricity at home and in the temple. He possesses all kinds of medical instruments and gives injections. He is reputed to be very proficient in magic, and is the most talked-about man in the country.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RED AND YELLOW LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

The feud between the two sects in Huang-chung 795
never seems to have been as fierce as it was in Tibet, 628
where lamas fought each other and destroyed each 578
others' monasteries. The reason seems to be the 792
troubled circumstances in the country. The people, the Red lamas, and their small institutions suffered tremendously on account of the inroads. The whole country was impoverished. The diffusion of the Yellow Sect, under such conditions, necessarily began on a small, unnoticed scale and when peace was restored the Yellow Sect was protected by the emperors and the Red Sect was powerless.

None the less, Reds and Yellows know their history well, and the embers of the old antagonism are still smoldering under the ashes. The troubles between Goorong and Sha-ch'ung, and the vehement protest of all the Yellow Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, when Goorong was trying to occupy the Ta-fo-ssu, give evidence of this. South of the Yellow River, in the subprefecture of Kui-te, lamas of the Yellow Sect recently prevented the Red lamas of Keura from rebuilding their temple. The trouble developed into full-scale fighting, and lamas on both sides were killed. The lamasery of the Yellow Sect was burned to the ground by the Moslem troops, who restored order. The Yellow Living Buddha fled, but the lamasery had to pay a heavy indemnity. On the north of the Hsining River, however, both sects seem to live congenially, because the Yellow Sect is omnipotent and the Reds are a minority, having not a single monastery in the country.

When the Red group of Erh-chia-ting near Erh-ku- 795
lung built a new temple, the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of 792
Erh-ku-lung offered them seven big trees and sent his intendant to attend the ceremony of the inauguration of the temple. The lamasery of Chu-erh, of the Yellow Sect, allowed the Red group to build a temple on its property. Even the intendant of one of its Living Buddhas was a Red lama. In 1915 I saw Red and Yellow lamas performing rites together at the Karwa of the Yellow Chao lama. It has been recorded that the Yellow lama, chief of the Li Karwa, alternately invited four lamas of the Yellow and of the Red Sects to perform the yearly usual rites at his Karwa.

Lamaseries of the Yellow Sect invite Red lamas to perform the rite intended to appease the avenging spirits of persons who have suffered injustices at the hand of the lamasery. The secretary of the Living Buddha Lu

[p.74(B)]

allowed in the intimacy of the family; he is shunned. 754
He is also dominated by an inferiority complex, and ac- 756
customed to letting a wayfarer pass first on the road. 628
He knows that he does not belong at the top of society, 565
for during the empire, the Monguors say, no shaman was allowed to compete for literary degrees. Their profession was discredited in the same way as that of tailors, barbers, and comedians. The social standing of the shamans and the influence they wielded in former times are really beyond all comparison with their poor condition of today.

But do the Monguors never call the black shamans in [578] order to perform their rites? A couple of facts will be recorded about Monguors who, in order to take vengeance on enemies, invited black shamans to cast spells upon them at night.

NO ENTHUSIASM AMONG THE MONGUORS FOR THE DUTY OF SHAMAN

It is a well-known fact all over the country that sha- 756
mans generally have an aversion to their office and do not like to carry out their functions, but, bound by the choice of their father shaman, and knowing that a refusal would be fraught with all kinds of evil consequences, they discharge their burdensome, non-remunerative duty. The Monguors say that in families where there are no shamans, permission would never be granted by the parents and the chiefs of the families for a member of the family to become a shaman.

In the Valley of Hung-nai there are no more shamans 756
at present. During the terrible Moslem rebellion, all 798
the shaman families were exterminated. The inhabitants of the valley, afraid of the burdens attached to this profession, no longer allow their sons to become shamans. They prefer to honor the more lenient deities of Lamaism and have their sons become lamas. They invite shamans of other villages to perform shamanistic rites in their village every year in the spring and at hail time; the other rites are all performed by lamas. Shamans, however, according to their own ideology, assert that no more shamans can arise among them.

Several times I heard the typical story, later attested 756
to by No Kuang-li, that when he was a boy a member of his family was ordered by his father shaman to succeed him. The unwilling boy was compelled to accompany his father at the performance of all kinds of rites, to learn the usual prayers, and to submit to the peculiar training. When his father died, the boy tried to get rid of the duty, but the family council decided that he had to comply with the choice made by his father. The boy's nerves were on edge and he went on a rampage; his health was impaired, his mind was seriously affected and he had a mental breakdown. He roamed for months in the mountains, shunning all kinds of people and finally was found hanging from a tree. After so many years this fact was still recorded and explained by the Monguors as being a punishment meted out by the spirit who had selected that boy as its

The feast is celebrated all over the country. The 756
Kurtain is dressed by the lamas in a splendid, long green 579
gown with large sleeves, cut according to the style of the gown worn by Taoist priests. On his back are fixed a couple of small flags, and on his head he wears a helmet. He wears a sword, and holds in his hands a bow and three arrows. He is costumed like the warriors often seen in the theatrical exhibitions performed by Chinese actors.

The Living Buddha Kortong, incarnation of the deity, opened the pageant in the main temple, sitting on his throne presiding over the ceremony. The lamas, cross-legged, sat in a circle in the temple. The Kurtain sat on his low Chinese table in the center of the gathering of the monks with his legs sprawled wide apart. The throng crowded into the forecourt, following the display by looking through the open doors of the temple. The lamas started singing in unison the *swork'a*, and the Kurtain shook his head, ringing his small bells. Becoming excited, he danced his furious dance, worked himself into a frenzy, and played with his sword, whip, and dagger. Then he ran out of the temple, shot three arrows in the air, drank a draught of ox blood out of a bucket and spat it on some handfuls of barley which he threw in the direction of the audience, who tried to catch them in the skirts of their gowns. These grains are supposed to cure all kinds of illness and procure [942] fertility for the women. However, the grains once they fall on the ground lose their magical efficacy.

Then followed the customary questions. The Kurtain all of a sudden again became so mad and wild as to unsheath his sword, and killed an employee of the tribunal of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung, who was attending the show. The Kurtain fled after his savage exploit and disappeared. The lamasery was saddled with the trouble and had to pay a very substantial indemnity. This fact, well known all over the country, is always recalled when Monguors talk about the violence and ferocity of the possessed Kurtains. It is no wonder that, during the exhibitions of Kurtains in the village temples, some people are often frightened out of their wits, take to their heels in panic, and leave the temple.

It happens more often that the Kurtain troubles the 756
feast of the spring, performed by shamans in the village. 578
At the moment when the people are devoutly and happily listening to the prophecies of the shamans, concerning the auspicious prospects for the harvest, a Kurtain arises and furiously asserts that his spirit has revealed to him that terrible hailstorms will destroy the crops of the village. In the southern valley, in the village called "the Eleventh House of the Li T'u-ssu," in 1914, a serious fight started between the shamans and the Kurtain, who was carried away unconscious. The Kurtain brought suit against the shamans at the Chinese court. The prefect delegated the guild of the Taoist priests to settle this matter between religious people.

[p. 93 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The Kurtain was obliged to apologize to the shamans, offering a sheep, and also had to offer a sheep to the deity who protected the village. 756 578

During the exhibitions at Erh-ku-lung, the Kurtain was decked in a splendid, long green gown, belonging to the lamasery and fashioned according to that of the Taoist priests. He wore on his head the mitre of a Living Buddha. He did not wear his helmet or the sword; his appearance was less warrior-like and terrible than that of the Kurtain of Seerkok, although he seemed still to represent the type of Chinese theatrical general, with flags on his back, sitting with open sprawled legs, in spite of having had the Buddhist mitre on his head and the Buddhist staff in his hand when the exhibition started. Furthermore, the ceremonies were the same, with cypress fire, recital of the *swork'a*, drumbeating, head shaking with ringing bells, prophesying, whip, and dagger. 756 292

The lamaseries are glad to have a Kurtain, because they enhance the interest at the annual pageant. These yearly exhibitions seem to be the principal job of a Kurtain possessed by a lama deity. Once in a while, however, when troubles occur, when the lamasery is sued at court, he is invited to prophesy the issue of the case, but most of the time the lamas solve their own problems. His position at the lamasery seems to be of a very secondary order, according to what lamas say. 756 571

Later there will be described the role the Kurtain plays in the community of the village, and in the private life of the Monguors.

Among the Wu of the present time in China is encountered a category of possessed men and women who seem to be of the same type as the Monguor Kurtains, who are not admitted into the group of the Wu (as the Kurtains are not admitted into the group of the shamans) because they did not pass the traditional tests of the Wu and did not receive the initiation. It sometimes happens that some of them transfer their business to their sons.[3] Their original possession, their behavior during the possession, are very similar with those of the Kurtains,[4] sitting on a stool before an altar, drowsily staring, yawning, shaking the head, furiously playing with a sword, prophesying and expelling evil spirits.[5] They are called *fa chang*, "Chief of Magic," while the real Wu is called *shih kung*, "Master," or *fa shih*, "Master of magic." 756 171

My data, as given above, seem not to tally completely with the very valuable study of F. Dominik Schröder in *Anthropos* **47**: 27–33, 237–248, 1952, but they are based on notes collected among the Monguors, and among lamas who lived over practically the whole region, and may contribute to an understanding of the subject. 114

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[3] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1263.
[4] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1274.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1276.

[p.94 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

in front of all the spirits invited the day before, talking with them and asking for their protection upon the village. The guardian of the temple, acting as representative of the whole village, kneels behind them with incense sticks in his joined hands, answering and repeating the prayers. The rite lasts for about an hour. 796 756

Around ten o'clock a lunch is served to the shamans and wine is poured in profusion. All the villagers, dressed in their festival best, flock to the temple to attend the ceremony of the possession of the chief of the shamans by the White Tiger spirit.

For a long time the shamans play and have fun. While the apprentices beat drums and cymbals, they start dancing; they get excited, display all kinds of acrobatics; dance on their knees holding their heels in their hands; dance on their heads; turn cartwheels; keep whirling; jostle one another. They are stimulated to compete with one another in accomplishing the queerest eccentricities. It is not unusual for a couple to get into a quarrel and start fighting and for one or another to fall down in a fainting fit. [535] [578]

When the excitement reaches fever pitch, the chief of the shamans exchanges his cap of the god of the Five Roads for the black cap with long tail. With his arm nude, the whip fixed into the collar, drum in hand, he starts a wild dance which lasts for a long time. He stops once in a while and cracks the whip. He takes threatening and aggressive attitudes, brawls loudly and indistinctly, and grins, distorting mouth and jaw bone. With his whole body writhing and supposed to be possessed by the White Tiger spirit, he cuts his arm with a razor, making it bleed. The women rush to the shaman and apply paper to the wound. These papers are efficacious talismans for the protection of children, and are sewn on their clothes by their mothers. In former times, old Monguors said, potent shamans pierced their cheeks with an arrow and bent the blade of a sword predicting the future with wonderful accuracy, but today shamans can no longer do that. These rites are in line with the activities of Wu and shamans.[8] [785]

GREETING OF THE GODDESS OF JOY

Around two o'clock the rite of *ying hsi-niang* is performed, the meeting with, and the greeting of, the Goddess of Joy. This rite is purely shamanistic. The Chinese perform a similar but more quiet rite, on New Year's day, meeting and greeting the "spirit" of joy. Monguor youngsters like to imitate the Chinese and enjoy the same merriment. However, the real Monguor rite is the following one performed by the shaman: [776]

On the large threshing floor of the village is placed a table with offerings. The villagers sit around the edges of the floor in order that the shaman may have room for the performance and the evolutions. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail, and keeping

[8] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212. [p. 109 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

SHAMANS AND BEWITCHMENT

The shaman is the recognized protector against all 756
kinds of evil influences and bewitching. Monguors are 755
scared to be in the neighborhood of very old trees and Obos. A very old tree, it is said, is about to become a spirit and even a man, because the essence of the tree has grown out of its perfection. Thus, the very old tree of the village of Lei-chia-p'u in the Sa-t'ang Valley, it is said, takes a walk at night and harms the people it encounters. It is also said that it is very dangerous for pregnant women to walk in the village at night. The same belief is prevalent about old statues and about Obos on small passes. The shaman is invited by the neighbors of these dangerous objects to preserve them against their baneful influences and to neutralize their ill-omened forces. Lamas are invited by the people living near such Obos to read texts and do Wei-sang, hoping they will not harm them.

Bewitchment is the last resource for avenging in- [691 578] 754
justices and outrages, which cannot be avenged by legal and overt means, and for doing harm to an enemy by a hidden means. Such acts are considered by the Monguors to be a direct resort to black magic, and in order to neutralize or to perform a bewitchment, they usually invite a black shaman, but it is not exceptional to encounter a white shaman doing the job. Bewitchment is, most of the time, performed in case of lawsuits for properties that have been unjustly decided, in cases of eloped women who cannot be brought back home, for presumption of theft, in cases of jealousy and hatred between two wealthy families.

In 1918 a Monguor living in the Lu men cheng Valley was sued at the Chinese court by a rich Chinese, and jailed for a few months. When he was liberated, he invited a black shaman who prepared some small wooden planks, on which he painted cabalistic designs with the blood of a white dog. The Monguor buried them in the cemetery of the rich Chinese, according to the prescriptions of the shaman. During one year, three persons died in the family of the Chinese. The Chinese then invited a celebrated black shaman to neutralize the evil influences which were harming him and his family. It happened that the celebrated black shaman was the knave who had prepared the planks for the Monguor! He told the rich Chinese to be suspicious, for a foe of his might have buried bewitched planks in his cemetery. He received his salary and went home. The planks were found. The Chinese sued the Monguor at the court of the T'u-ssu, because mandarins do not care for such troubles. The Monguor was compelled to invite twelve shamans in order to undo the spell.

Another fact, well known over the country in 1914 because a whole village and a living Buddha were involved, casts light on this psychology of the Monguors. Tjaar tseem, the limping chief of the village of Ch'üelung-ku, was sued at the Chinese court by Chao, the

[p. 129 (12)]

of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*a*. *Sung Shih* **492**: 14*a–b*). In 175x
1065 Chiossulo appointed Tung Chan chief of the tribes. He governed 600,000 subjects. The emperor ratified the appointment in 1068, granted to the new 175x
chief the titles previously bestowed upon the father, 648
and seized the opportunity to send Chinese officials to help him administer Huangchung. Tung Chan was a faithful defender of the empire. When the Hsi Hsia in 1070 invaded East Kansu, he attacked them, thus breaking the impact of the invasion. In 1081, 120,000 of his troops fought the Hsi Hsia at the side of the imperial armies. He and his wife were repeatedly bestowed with more and more honorific titles. The Hsi Hsia tried to persuade him to transfer his allegiance to them, but he refused the offer. Thereupon the Hsi Hsia invaded Huangchung and laid siege to his city of Mao-ch'uan. He raised the siege making peace with the Hsi Hsia against the orders of the emperor. He died in 1086 (*Annals* of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*b*. *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 11*b*. *Sung Shih* **492**: 16*b*).

Jealousy and hatred long smoldered among the wives [628
of Chiossulo. At the death of the lama Li Li-tsun, the 578]
dismissed minister, Chiossulo, to humiliate his daughter, had moved her to Kuo Chou, and then a large number of tribes of the Li clan had seceded and moved to the southern part of East Kansu. In 1057, advised by her brother, she had left Kuo Chou and fled with her sons to the city of Tsun K'o, situated in the main territory of the Li clan. Chiossulo, in order to avoid more trouble with the powerful Li clan, appointed her sons as chiefs of the tribes of Ni-ku and T'ao and Ho-chou in East Kansu and the emperor granted them official titles.

However, hatred was already too deeply embedded in the hearts of the Li clan, and Mou Cheng, son of the second wife of Chiossulo, started trouble in East Kansu in 1064, conniving with the Hsi Hsia. The Hsi Hsia were defeated and Mou Cheng submitted to the emperor and received new important titles. At the death of Chiossulo in 1065, Mou Cheng, the leader of the opposition, followed by an important number of clans and in connivance with the Hsi Hsia, was again on the warpath in 1072 in East Kansu. More Chinese armies arrived, cities were taken and retaken, and the wife of Mou Cheng and his children were taken prisoner by General Wang Ch'ao. East Kansu was laid waste. Finally after two years of destruction, Mou Cheng with eighteen chiefs of tribes submitted to China. Again more new important titles were granted to him and even the name of the Sung dynasty, Chao, was bestowed (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 10, 12. *Annals* of Hsining **31B**: 33, 3, 4, 5. *Sung Shih* **492**: 14, 16).

The legitimate son of Tung Chan having died, he 175x
appointed in 1086 as his successor, A li ku, the son of 643
his beloved concubine, a boy born in Khotan from an [597]
unknown father, causing forever the ruin of the T'u-fan 648
kingdom built by Tung Chan. The emperor ratified

[P.20 (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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discharged his office with distinction until his dying day. The faithfulness of the Monguor t'u-ssu will become more and more manifest during the reigns of the subsequent Ming emperors.

M 175x 648

MONGUORS OF HUANGCHUNG DURING THE REIGN OF EMPEROR CH'ENG TSUNG (YUNG LO), 1403–1424

M 175x

T'ai Tsung, first emperor of the Ming, had appointed as successor his grandson, Huei Ti, an inexperienced young boy. His uncle, the Prince of Yen, youngest son of the emperor, revolted and defeated his nephew in a four year struggle.[74] He ascended the throne in 1403. He was called by the name of the period of his reign, Yung Lo.

[578] 643

Yung Lo, who must have known T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who during 1380–1387 had fought the brigands of the Mongol Emperor T'o ku ssu in Liao-tung, had called the Kansu troops to join his army. T'u-ssu Tuan Chou, who had succeeded his deceased father, went with his troops to rescue Yung Lo in 1399. He died on the field of battle. Yung Lo rewarded the faithful t'u-ssu, granting to his clan the name of Ch'i and giving to the clan chief a mansion in the city of Hsining, and posthumously bestowing upon him the title of Piao-ch'i chiang-chun (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 13*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 44*b*).

M 175x 648 614 553

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yi also had taken the side of Yung Lo in his revolt against Huei Ti. He was rewarded with the office of Chih-huei t'ung-chih in Lu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*). During this period more troubles occurred in Huangchung. Lu T'u-ssu Kung Pu shih chieh repelled the invasion of the Mongol Pu Yen ta shih in 1402, who looted the region of Liang-chow. The t'u-ssu offered to Emperor Yung Lo in 1403 the captured prisoners and a tribute of horses. He was promoted to centurion in Chuang Lang.

M 175x 648

The same year, 1402, the turbulent I lin sheng pen revolted again in Kokonor and looted the region of Kui Te and the southern valley of Hsining. T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i went to fight the rebel and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 12*b*). The troubled conditions in Huangchung at that time seem to have been the reason why no more t'u-ssu participated in the struggle of Yung Lo against Huei Ti.

The new emperor had to contend with the tremendous problem of the Mongols, and this dangerous prospect was not bright. During the reign of his father (1368–1398) nine expeditions had to be launched against them. A constant struggle against the empire and endless dissension of the different tribes among themselves was to be expected. The struggle between

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

[74] In Monguors II: 16, 21, 22, are recorded the history of the foundation of the monastery of Ch'u T'an by San la, and the wonderful legends circulating among the lamas related to the mysterious disappearance of Emperor Huei Ti, who became lama in the monastery of Ch'u T'an, settled there and died.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

devotion to the empire. Emperor Yung Lo whom he had served in the expeditions in the desert had given him a precious sword and a famous horse. In 1425 Li Yin had fought the brigands in Anting and at the head of his soldiers had attacked the brigands and himself had killed many among them. He had captured a booty of 130,000 cattle. The emperor had sent minister Yang Yung to congratulate him. His merits were unusual and therefore he received in his dream a visit from the god of war . . . all these circumstances we have recorded on the stele, etc.

Without doubt the titles received by Li Yin, the building of the temple and the name given to it by the emperor himself, the stele, and the wonderful dreams went straight to the heart of the clan members and strengthened the cohesion of the Li clan. All these circumstances normally seem to have been conducive at that time to the building of an elaborate clan cemetery and to the erection in 1426 of the famous "spirit way stele" in honor of Li Nan-ko, the founder of the clan, father of Li Yin.

However, the behavior of Li Yin, puffed up with pride, had changed after he had been honored so magnificently by the emperor. The Governor of Ninghsia, Shih Chao, who had previously been Governor of Hsining, accused him of fostering subversive intentions. Li Yin could disprove the accusation. In Hsining he had assembled 700 families, fugitives from justice, whom he protected. He had settled them in the country and had given them land to till. But they harmed their neighbors, stealing and upsetting the country. Again complaints were lodged with the board of military justice, and Li Yin was ordered to turn over his tenants to the civil authority. In 1432 Ch'i Ch'eng, descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, was his father's lawful successor to the office of t'u-ssu. The bold Li Yin, not bothering to offend the prominent Ch'i t'u-ssu clan, supported as successor to the t'u-ssu office Chien Tsang, the nephew of Ch'i Ch'eng, who was the son of his sister. He appointed murderers to kill Ch'i Ch'eng. He was accused again. This time the military judges rolled all the accusations into one, condemned him to prison, to the revocation of his titles and honors and to capital punishment. In 1437 the emperor pardoned him, allowing him a small emolument. Soon thereafter he died (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

HUANGCHUNG T'U-SSU UNDER THE SUBSEQUENT EMPERORS

After the death of Yung Lo, (1424) the alarming confusion and struggle continued unabated among the eastern and western Mongols, both groups appointing their own Khans, who were merely nominal supreme chiefs and actually blind tools in the hands of Togon and A-lu-t'ai who controlled the two groups. A-lu-t'ai, weakened after many encounters with the Chinese and Oirat troops; was finally defeated and killed by the Oirat, Togon, in 1434; and the hegemony of the Oirats

on his second ascension to the throne, and to present his offices in these times of troubles which beset the empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and somewhat later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them. The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and devastating the country. The officials in the capital grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his troops to move. He was committed to prison and deliberation concerning capital punishment was held. The emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportunity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the Mongols in the regions of Yenan and Suei-te (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*b*). 175 648 [624] [554] [681]

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of Li Wen? 175x 662

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450–1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs and the most prominent officials, some of them friends and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions seethed with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals. Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung. 578

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching Ti the capital beseiged by Esen in 1449. During the illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot preparing the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthronement of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his rivals and seven executions of the most prominent officials followed. He was bestowed with the title of Pilar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky. It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, proclaimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung. The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poisoned himself. His father was committed to jail and ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta- 175x 668 [787] [657]

[P.40(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

with troops (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 6*b*) who, in concert with the t'u-ssu troops, exterminated the groups of brigands still roaming in the country without chiefs, and they induced the rebel Tibetan tribes to surrender. The commanders started repairing the cities, villages and fortresses in Huangchung. 175x 648

In 1646 T'u-ssu Ch'eng was appointed commander in Chuang Lang by the Manchu Prince Su and given the title of Piao-ch'i Chiang-chun. At that time groups of brigands plundered the country of Sung Shan I north of Chuang Lang. The son of T'u-ssu Ch'eng pursued and exterminated them and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*).

However, the Chinese abhorred and hated the uncouth Manchu barbarians. Many among the governors and commanders could not resist the temptation of espousing the cause of the crumbled dynasty. The opposition would last for eighteen years before the entire empire would be conquered by the Manchus. Several times their empire met precarious circumstances, but party intrigues and jealousies among the Chinese divided them, and never could they offer a permanent united front against the conquerors. [578]

The whereabouts of the heir apparent to the Ming throne being unknown, several princes of the imperial family arose in the provinces and tried to restore the dynasty. Prince Kuei succeeded in the formation in Kiangsi Province of a coalition of governors and military commanders, and the news spread like a prairie fire over the entire empire. Several governors and commanders in north China who had surrendered at the arrival of the Manchu troops, waited for the signal of the general uprising. A storm was brewing even in the remote northern region of Kanchow, Liangchow, etc. Two chiefs of the Mohammedan colony of Kanchow, Ting Kuo-tung and Milayin, started the revolt against the Ch'ing dynasty (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*). They joined the group of Chou Shih-chuan, a scion of the Ming princes, and enrolled as many Tibetans and brigands of Li Tze-ch'eng as possible. The Chinese officials of Kanchow and Liangchow followed in their wake.[88] 175x 669

At the end of the Ming dynasty in North Kansu, Huangchung, and East Kansu, in nearly all the important cities and villages along the trade routes, colonies of Mohammedans were established, having their mosques and religious leaders who were obeyed and honored by their people. Meng Ch'iao-fang, conversant with this situation, informed the emperor about his apprehensions concerning the participation of the Mohammedans in the revolt. He wrote that an order issued by their religious chiefs would suffice to enroll all the Mohammedans of Kansu in the insurrection, and then he indicated the cities and villages in Kansu where the most important groups of Mohammedans existed (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 1*a–b;* 34: 1*b*, 2*b*). 175x 162 795

[88] E. H. Parker, Kansu Mussulmans, *China Review* 16: 335, 1887.

[P. 53(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9.

from wars and revolts, never had suffered as much as in 1723–1724. 175x 727

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS

After relating the successful repression by General Nien Keng-yao of the terrible revolt of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas in 1723–1724 in Huangchung, something should be said concerning two Manchu princes, accused by the general before Emperor Yung Cheng, of having contributed of their own money to the building of a Catholic church in Hsining in 1723–1724. 175x 798

This is the first document concerning the existence of a Catholic church in Hsining and consequently of a Catholic community. It seems unusual to see a general make such an accusation directly to the emperor, at a time when the conjunctures of war absorbed all his forces and energies (July 1, 1724). [795]

Emperor K'ang Hsi died on December 20, 1722. His fourth son, Yung Cheng, ascended the throne in 1723. According to the time-honored custom, some of the brothers of the new emperor assumed an attitude of menacing hostility toward him. The Emperor Yung Cheng suspected his ninth brother, Sessaka, of being the chief of the discontented faction and sent him (April 15, 1723) far away to Hsining to fight the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas under the command of General Nien Keng-yao. Together with Sessaka two sons of the Manchu Prince Surniana were also sent, the sixth, Lessihin, and the twelfth.[94] [443]

Surniana, a brother of the late Emperor K'ang Hsi, member of the oldest branch of the Manchu dynasty, had been a notorious governor in Liaotung province and was the chief of one of the eight Manchu banners. He was suspected by Emperor Yung Cheng of being a sympathizer and supporter of the Sessaka group. He and his entire family were banished to Yu Wei, on the northern outskirts of the empire. His properties were confiscated, his three hundred servants and slaves taken away, all his dignities removed, and he and his family reduced to the state of subjects. The wealthy Surniana had thirteen sons and sixteen daughters. Most of the these princes and princesses were Catholics. The sixth son, Lessihin, was baptized before he left for Hsining and the twelfth son when he arrived at Hsining. They were confined in separate houses and guarded by soldiers. 175x 798 578

The reason for these troubles were the accusations sent September 7, 1723, by the Viceroy of Chekiang and Fukien provinces to the tribunal of rites, concerning the building of Catholic churches in the provinces, the customs observed by the Catholics, the large number of priests in the country, etc. The viceroy favored a

[94] The charge seems to have been based on slander. Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses 3: 366–465, Paris, Paul Daffis, 7 rue Guenegaud, 1877. Histoire Generale de la Chine, De Mailla. 11: 373–408, Paris, Clousier, rue Saint Jacques, 1880.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

prompt prosecution and quick forwarding of the accusations to the emperor. The emperor sanctioned the accusations January 1, 1724. An edict was sent throughout the provinces on February 11, 1724. Probably on account of this edict and the connections of the Surniana family with the Sessaka faction, General Nien Keng-Yao accused both sons of Surniana on July 1, 1724. In February, 1725, both sons were ordered to join their family, already banished to Yu Wei. In June, 1725, both were carried from Yu Wei to Peking, bound in chains, and condemned to die in prison. The twelfth son died in prison after two years of suffering, and the sixth son died in prison a couple of years later. These are the conjunctures of the accusations against the sons of the Surniana in 1724 by General Nien Keng-yao. They reveal the existence of a Catholic community and the building of a church in Hsining.[94a] 175x 798 578

Recently in Volume 18 (1959) of *Monumenta Serica*, I encountered the very interesting article, "The Description and Map of Kansu by Giovanni Battista Maoletti De Serravalle," by Professor B. Szczeniak, Notre Dame University, dealing with the same subject. 175x 113

Maoletti was born in Serravalle, near Milan, in 1669. He entered the order of the Franciscans in 1689. In 1705 he arrived in Canton and went from Sian (Shensi) to Lanchow (Kansu) in 1710. He was chased from there by bonzes in 1713, and moved to Liangchow and Hsining (Kansu) where he worked until 1716. He had been appointed Administrator of the vicariate of Hukwang, but left China during the persecution in 1724. He died on the way to Canton on January 14, 1725. The report had been written by Maoletti in Hsining, where he lived from 1713 to 1716. Maoletti's map was made four to five years before the *K'ang Hsi* or Jesuit Atlas was printed in 1719. It is not a studied piece of cartography, but a sketch-map to illustrate a mission report.

The map and the description of Kansu and Kokonor at this date is the more significant, for only a short time later great changes were brought about by the Jungar invasion of Tibet (1717), and again by the terrible revolt in 1723–1724 of Mongols and Tibetans of Kokonor and Huang-chung, and Lamas. The report is interesting for it deals with many details about places and people and the products of the country,—rhubarb, musk, and coal, silver and gold mines. (*Monumenta Serica* **18**: 294–298, 1959.)

Professor B. Szczesniak, in his very interesting article, also notes the work of F. Dehergne, S.J., "Les Missions du Nord de la Chine vers 1700," Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu **24**, 1955. Both sources help to give a view of the mission work in remote Kansu during the period of revolts.

The Maoletti report, following the map, is alive with interest in the Tartars (Mongols) who figure so prominently on the map, with the eagerness to further mission work among them, and with details about places and people. Maoletti's interest for the conversion of the Mongols is manifest in many places of the report. He is pleased to note that north of Topa sits a prince who is lord of Topa— 175x 797

[94a] *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses* 2: 366–465, Paris, Paul Daffis, 7 rue Guenegaud, 1877. De Mailla, *Histoire Generale de la Chine* **11**: 373–408, Paris, Clousier, Rue Saint Jacques, 1880.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

231 441 [237] donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel relatively well because they have not been confined and fed in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from there to Europe and America for making brushes.

236 237 443 439 The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this buying is done directly in the homes of families that have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buying in small quantities is done by the peddlars, especially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments, [431] and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small quantities of grain, wool, or skins. [203] It is customary for Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as they travel.

442 296 543 Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs. Two or three times a year every important monastery holds special religious performances, around which there spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes, wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack [232] doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose diseases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses, cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

543 579 Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and attract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable distances. In the afternoons there are horse races and wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymaking, and often, when there has been too much drinking, fights between clans and villages.

463 439 484 A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods, attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

Finally, in 1885 the branch declared its independence 175
and claimed to be possessor of the pasture and farm 792
grounds and the forests formerly entrusted to its care 578
by the mother monastery. A serious fight at close quarters occurred in the mother lamasery.

Ch'ü-t'an sued the branch to vindicate its rights of 691
proprietor of all the domains of Ch'ü-t'an. The lawsuit 792
was carried to the Court of Justice of the Subprefecture 662
of Nien-pe and lasted for two years. The Chinese officials, lavishly bribed by both groups, finally sent the lawsuit to the Court of the Prefecture of Hsining in order that their friends and superiors might have the opportunity to acquire some wealth and promote the cause of justice. Again, the lamas stubbornly spent their money for two years. Still unwilling to accept the verdict of the judges, the suit was sent to the Supreme Court of the capital of the province. Here the Chinese officials were very happy to meet the interested customers, and the gullible lamas started immediately to sow again, seeds of wealth and happiness in the gardens of the highest officials. For sixteen years the clever officials kept the wheels turning, encouraging both groups, exciting passions and stubbornness, promising to both sides a successful conclusion. The gullible lamas spent money, and the officials milked the meek cows dry. Finally, the wealth of the mother lamasery was exhausted first, so that the branch lamasery won the suit. The branch, during all the trouble, relied on the forests, sold wood, and was in a more advantageous position to "defend its rights." Throughout this long period the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung tried several times to spread oil on the troubled waters and settle the question amicably, but to no avail.

The loss of face for the mother monastery was too 627
humiliating. At night its lamas went to Yao-ts'ao-t'ai 579
and burned its temples; the next day the lamas of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai went at noon to Ch'ü-t'an and burned the palaces of the Living Buddha and killed two lamas. In 1905 the two groups, both bled white, agreed to have the question settled by Living Buddhas. An indemnity was fixed for the two lamas who had been killed, and because the damage caused by the fires was considered to be equal, the problem was settled.

In 1915 there were 285 lamas at Yao-ts'ao-t'ai: at the mother monastery there were only fifty or sixty, most of them children. Five hundred and fifty lamas had left the mother monastery, with four minor Living Buddhas, because they had been compelled to contribute to the expenses caused by the suit, and to fulfill the corvées imposed in connection with it. The administration of the mother monastery, in former times so flourishing and wealthy, was reduced to a minimum. One lama administered the property, a precentor led the prayers in the temple, and all the other duties were fulfilled by the Living Buddha himself. The homes formerly occupied by the six hundred lamas were inhabited by Monguor, Tibetan, and Chinese families.

[p.24(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

three colleges, and Chiar-too-ssu. Forty lamaseries established north of the Hsining River and in the prefectures of P'ing fan, Liang-chou, Kan-chou and Su-chou, originated from Erh-ku-lung or its subsidiaries and were built between 1604 and 1723. 175 792

The prodigious activity in Huang-chung and the flourishing of the monasteries are, beyond doubt, indebted to the position of eminence enjoyed at court by the three learned Monguor lamas and their reincarnations, and to the initial impulse given to Erh-ku-lung by its first Sumpas. Not only Huang-chung, but the whole Yellow Church derived benefits from the zeal of these fervent Monguors. Their influence was also tremendous upon the chiefs of Outer and Inner Mongolia. In Mongolia the fervor of the converted old adherents of the Red Sect to the Yellow Sect can be ascribed in great part to the influence of the Monguor lamas appointed by the emperor as their spiritual guides. This fact also accounts for the large number of Mongol lamas living in the monasteries of Huang-chung. The Mongol monasteries are also indebted to them for the development and organization of their studies on a serious basis. Their learned books were among those used in the Mongol colleges. Most of their teachers had been pupils of these eminent lamas who had studied at Erh-ku-lung, noted as the highest center of learning at that time. Back in their country they vied in building monasteries.[125]

The position of these learned scholars in Peking and the patronage of the Manchu emperors contributed to the development of that copious production, of encyclopedic and compilatory character, which marks the 18th century in Tibetan literary history.[126] [212]

REVOLT OF BLO-BZAN BSTAN-DSIN AND THE LAMAS

The year 1723 marks a turning point in the history of Lamaism in Huang-chung, and ends with one of those tragedies with which history is replete. At the time, Lamaism rode the crest of the wave of glory and success, monasteries and their affiliates dotted the country of Hsining, especially north of the river and far into the Nan-shan. The number of lamas was countless, the people paid enthusiastic adoration to their Living Buddhas. Each family offered one or more of its sons to the service of Buddha. Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662–1722) lavishly bestowed his favors upon Huang-chung, promoting Chang-chia to be the first lama in rank in Peking, and T'u-kuan to be the second. He invested them with diplomatic missions in Tibet and promoted them as the spiritual guides of the Mongol princes. 175 771

The country was at peace and the future filled with the greatest promise, when suddenly, like a colossus on feet of clay, the luxurious Lamaist institution crumbled and collapsed. The lamasery of Erh-ku-lung with 175 579 771

[125] Huth, *op. cit.*, 372–374.
[126] Petech, *op. cit.*, 242. [p. 34 (A)]

its 2,500 lamas, from which had radiated a prodigious force of expansion for 120 years, had all its temples, stupas, and homes of lamas burned to the ground; 17 villages and 7,000 houses were destroyed. Full scale fighting erupted between the lamas and the subjects of the monastery, against the emperor's army; 6,000 were killed. At Seerkok, the branch of Erh-ku-lung having 2,000 lamas, not a single temple, stupa, or home was left; 700 lamas and 2,000 of its fighting subjects were killed. The chief of the monastery, Chie-bzan Rimpoche, was beheaded. Ch'i-chia-ssu, with its two branches, was leveled to the ground; 500 fighting lamas and 1,000 subjects were killed. The monastery of Chie-bzan vanished in flames; 800 lamas perished or fled. The monastery of Shih-men, a center of revolt, disappeared in a blaze and 700 fighting lamas and subjects were killed. All the lamaseries and important branches situated north of the river were completely ruined; their lamas were either killed or they had fled. At the monastery of Kumbum 300 lamas were beheaded, fled, or were killed. All the temples and homes of lamas were burned, except the head temple.

Nien Keng-yao, commanding the imperial army, said that because of the furious armed resistance displayed by the lamas he had to punish them.[127] The head of the monastery, the mK'ampo, surrendered. The Chinese general informed the emperor about his prisoner. He suggested that by no means should clemency be shown toward him, for he had been the cause of all the trouble, stirring the lamas and the people to revolt. Since nothing more is said about him in the *Shih-lu*, the *Tung-hua-lu* or the *Sheng-wu-chi*, it can be supposed that he was beheaded.[128] During the revolt, two more prominent Living Buddhas were beheaded, Temma grutchen and Nga-ch'i T'u-men-han.[129]

Nothing is recorded about the famous monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, and I have found it impossible to get any information whether or not it participated in the troubles. Lamas like to keep secret in their fold this dishonorable page of their history. This sudden disaster, which ruined all the institutions of Lamaism in Huang-chung, had more far-reaching harmful consequences in the future, from which Lamaism never recovered.

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[127] *Shih-lu, Yung-cheng*, ts'e 145, Chüan 14, 10.

[128] These facts are far from the legend as spread by Filchner: that the Ch'i-T'u-ssu was guarantee for Kumbum, that he was the protector of the monastery and that the amban himself could not interfere with the problem of Kumbum. In reminiscence of this fact, the grateful lamas knelt in greeting to the Ch'i T'u-ssu when he attended the festivals at the lamasery. In fact it was customary for the lamas to greet in corps all the T'u-ssu who attended the festivals with their retinue. The same honor was displayed for the Li T'u-ssu and for the Ch'i T'u-ssu at Erh-ku-lung. All the T'u-ssu who fought on the side of the Chinese at that time were intelligent enough to understand that it was not the time to interfere with the problem.

[129] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 46–48, who relies on *Tung-hua-lu, Shih-lu, Shen-wu-chi* for the period of Yung-cheng. *Annals* of the province, ch. 46; 55*b*–56*a*, 56*b*.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

WHAT WERE THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THESE CALAMITIES?

The troubles in Lhasa at the beginning of the eighteenth century ruined the influence and power of the Qoshot Mongols in Tibet who had founded the realm of the Dalai Lama.[130] bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, the grandson of Gushi, devising the unification of the Qoshots and the revival in his person of the imperial dream of Gushi, assumed the title of Dalai Hung-T'aichi, and broke into open rebellion against China in the eighth month (September, 1723).[131] His rebellion did not have much appeal for the divided Qoshots, and his power was greatly enfeebled. However, having obtained the tremendous support of the mK'ampo Nomun-khan, superior and chief of Kumbum and his nephew, who called all the lamas and Tibetans of Huang-chung to take sides with him, Bstan-dsin started invading the Chinese frontier and Huang-chung. 175

Since it was feared that Bstan-dsin would perturb Tibet, the Chinese authorities acted with great promptness.[132] Nien Keng-Yao, marshal for the pacification of the distant countries, and General Yüeh Chung-ch'i were provided with strict instructions to furnish a drastic example for the government which had so lavishly bestowed unusual favors on the lamas of Huang-chung. Nien Keng-yao disposed of 900,000 soldiers,[133] of whom 3,000 were soldiers of the Monguor T'u-ssu. He crushed the revolt by March, 1724, and made Bstan-dsin flee with but a few men. The example was drastic. The revolted lamas and tribes were severely punished, and the monasteries destroyed. In the reports of General Funingga, concerning the quelling of the revolt of bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, written in the Manchu language, and sent to the emperor from Hsining, not a single word is encountered about the part played by the Hsining lamas in the revolt or of the drastic repression by Nien Keng-yao, although Funingga three times had defeated the Moslems and Tibetans who helped bLo-bzan. It is not easy to guess the reason for this reticence.[134] 175 579

WHERE WERE THE THREE CELEBRITIES OF ERH-KU-LUNG AT THAT TIME?

The Chang-chia of that time, the second, was still a boy seven years of age. The lamas of Erh-ku-lung had hidden him at the monastery of Chiar-too. Nien Keng-yao, according to orders of Peking, brought the boy there. The whereabouts of T'u-kuan seem mysterious. In 1720 he was in Lhasa, vested with a diplomatic mis- 175

[130] Here the consequences of the revolt relative to Lamaism are exposed. The political aspects are dealt with in Schram, *op. cit.*, 36–37.

[131] Petech, *op. cit.*, 82.

[132] *Ibid.*

[133] *Tung-hua-lu, Yung-cheng* 3: 29.

[134] *Berichte des Generals Funingga*, 18 *Jahrhundert*, 104–114, 1953.

[p. 35 (A)]

sion, but he seems to have been back in Peking before 1723. Perhaps he remained at the capital, because Huth [135] tells us that the emperor told him that he was worried about the events in Huang-chung. However, Schuleman says [136] that having been "condoned" he was "brought" to Peking and, a few years later (1729), thanks to his counsel and influence, the emperor allowed the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok to be rebuilt and he contributed to their reconstruction.[137] At that time Sumpa was still a minor Living Buddha, studying at Lhasa. In his later works Sumpa came to the fore with stern uncompromising character in the cause of principles, condemning the acts of lamas who killed human beings. In caustic and cutting terms he frankly put all the blame of these tragic events on the mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the chiefs of the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, and on the lamas who caused the ruin of all the monasteries, the destruction of their property, and the death of their subjects, whom they had forced to take their side in the trouble. He defended the line of action and the policy of the emperor and did not put a shadow of blame on the drastic means used by the Chinese officers to crush the revolt.[138] 175

CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLT

The regulations governing Lamaism in Huang-chung after the repression of the revolt were as drastic as the repression itself. They show that the emperor was bursting with indignation, at the appalling ingratitude of the monasteries, for he resolved in dead earnest to use an iron policy in handling the turbulent lamas. All the titles and seals of "teachers of the empire" (*kuo-shih*) and "Masters in Dhyana" (*Ch'an-shih*), granted to outstanding and meritorious lamas during the Ming dynasty, were recalled. The complement of lamas was not to exceed three hundred men for the big monasteries, and ten or more for the small monasteries. Lamas were not allowed to have more than one disciple. 175 792 579

Twice a year the Chinese officials were to investigate the monasteries for observance of regulations for which the abbots had been made responsible, to check the number of lamas, and to prevent the concealing of weapons. All the subjects of the lamaseries had to become subjects of the Chinese administration, and the land taxes accruing to the lamas had to be collected by Chinese officials. The subjects of monasteries became liable to corvées imposed by the Chinese for building cities, digging canals, and for the army. Trials and suits were brought under the jurisdiction of the Chinese courts. Every year the Chinese officials had to grant

[135] Huth, *op. cit.*, 285.
[136] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 179.
[137] Petech, *op. cit.*, 87.
[138] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 47.

[p. 35(8)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

each lama a certain amount of wheat and a fixed sum of silver as compensation for the withdrawn taxes.[139] 175 792 579

The revolt of 1723 ruined the former wealth and prestige of the lamaseries. The Chinese officials, who before 1723 had acted reluctantly as humble servants of the chiefs of the lamaseries for fear of the emperor, became their superiors. They acted as such especially in courts of justice, when monasteries and lamas accused each other, or when Chinese brought suit against monasteries. In the minds of the Chinese officials the prestige of Chang-chia and other Hutukhtus of Huang-chung had slipped down many rungs of the ladder of glory. Hutukhtus had to remain in Peking where an honorable office was assigned to them, principally in order to make hostages of them and to prevent new revolts of lamas. Their powers were reduced to honorary dimensions. (The iron hand in the velvet glove!)

Regardless of the fact that titles and distinctions had been granted to the lamas, these drastic regulations were never revoked. Before 1723 the lamas were in the lap of luxury; they collected taxes on their fields which were tilled by their subjects. Now, this primary source of wealth vanished, and their land became of less value.

The boundaries of the extensive properties granted them by the emperors had never been accurately drawn. For the most part, monasteries had simply occupied land adjacent to their property, for at that time they were omnipotent. For more than a century, suits followed concerning the delimitation of the boundaries, which continually shrank, the Chinese officials being eager to sell land to Chinese.

The official revenues of the lamas were restricted to the collection of rents and to a pitifully small amount of wheat and a little silver granted to them yearly.[140] The officials soon substituted poor, cheaper barley for the wheat, and the weight of the grain received was below the official weight; silver was converted into cash and the profit on the exchange went into the pockets of the officials. The subjects of the lamaseries were now subject to the Chinese officials, under whose jurisdiction they were liable to corvée. They were thus withdrawn from the influence of the lamaseries. The once powerful lamas swallowed the bitter pill; evil times had befallen them. The consequences of the revolt of 1723, which had brought Lamaism to such a pass, still prevailed under the Republic.

CONDITIONS OF ERH-KU-LUNG IN 1910–1920

The number of lamas had shrunk from 2,500 in 1723 to 270. Only two of the four former colleges still existed. Eleven minor Living Buddhas inhabited the monastery. The temples, homes for lamas and Living Buddhas, and administrative buildings, had been re- 175 792

[139] *Shen-wu-chi*, ch. 5, p. 12; *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 525; *Fan-pu*, 1, p. 7a; *Tung-hua-lu*, *Yung cheng*, *op. cit.* 4: 34–36.
[140] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, p. 12a.

[p. 36(A)]

Buddhas. The special *swork'a* or prayer honoring his deity is read by the lamas, and the Kurtain is proclaimed to be a genuinely possessed man. Then he is ordered to memorize his *swork'a* and to recite it before each performance, it being an invitation to his deity to descend into him. 756 787

Then follow the usual recommendations given to all Kurtains about continence on the day of a performance, not to act when his wife is giving birth and at mourning time, not to indulge in wine, to keep his weapons (sword, whip, and dagger) in a decent place and not to use them for other purposes; to give a performance at the monastery at the annual pageant time and in the families where his deity is specially honored, and always stress is put on the obligation to be loyal, honest, and dependable, so as not to cast a blight on the institution. Every time I heard this last recommendation, I remembered what the Monguors had said so many times, that among the Kurtains more dubious fellows are encountered than among the shamans, and for that reason the shamans are invited more by them than the Kurtains. They always added the story of the famous Kurtain of Toolong, which was seared in their mind. It seems really typical and sheds an unfavorable light on the institution. [944]

Many years ago, the Kurtain of Toolong used to predict whether there would be outbreaks of arson in autumn when the crops were heaped upon the threshing floor. In this way he earned a pretty good living, because the crops of the people who had invited him for the performance of his rites were preserved and those of the incredulous people were burned at night. The whole country was really disturbed. However, suspicions arose and the arsonist was taken redhanded one night. He turned out to be the old father of the Kurtain. The chief and the elders of the village hung the old man by his thumbs from a tree and he received a well-deserved lashing to make him reveal the instigator of the arson. Reeling with dizziness and pain, welts and bruises all over his body, the father accused his son, and the Kurtain was hung up and tortured. The infuriated villagers came within a hair of killing him. His mandate of disciple of the spirit was gone forever. Such events are very prejudicial to the Kurtains. They cast a blemish on their group and are commented on all over the country for years, and so the saying goes that there are few good genuine Kurtains, and for that reason all have to be tested.[2] 756 685 [627]

Some of the Kurtains not only upset the villagers once in a while, but even land the monasteries in serious trouble. A fact well known in the country runs, that on the fifteenth of the first moon in 1914, the lamas of the important lamasery of Seerkok invited their Kurtain, possessed by the deity Kortong, to the ceremony carried out in honor of the deity, with great pomp and display. 756 579

[2] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1238, notes a similar case of a *Wu* arsonist.

[p.93(A)]

The feast is celebrated all over the country. The 756
Kurtain is dressed by the lamas in a splendid, long green 579
gown with large sleeves, cut according to the style of the gown worn by Taoist priests. On his back are fixed a couple of small flags, and on his head he wears a helmet. He wears a sword, and holds in his hands a bow and three arrows. He is costumed like the warriors often seen in the theatrical exhibitions performed by Chinese actors.

The Living Buddha Kortong, incarnation of the deity, opened the pageant in the main temple, sitting on his throne presiding over the ceremony. The lamas, cross-legged, sat in a circle in the temple. The Kurtain sat on his low Chinese table in the center of the gathering of the monks with his legs sprawled wide apart. The throng crowded into the forecourt, following the display by looking through the open doors of the temple. The lamas started singing in unison the *swork'a*, and the Kurtain shook his head, ringing his small bells. Becoming excited, he danced his furious dance, worked himself into a frenzy, and played with his sword, whip, and dagger. Then he ran out of the temple, shot three arrows in the air, drank a draught of ox blood out of a bucket and spat it on some handfuls of barley which he threw in the direction of the audience, who tried to catch them in the skirts of their gowns. These grains are supposed to cure all kinds of illness and procure [942] fertility for the women. However, the grains once they fall on the ground lose their magical efficacy.

Then followed the customary questions. The Kurtain all of a sudden again became so mad and wild as to unsheath his sword, and killed an employee of the tribunal of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung, who was attending the show. The Kurtain fled after his savage exploit and disappeared. The lamasery was saddled with the trouble and had to pay a very substantial indemnity. This fact, well known all over the country, is always recalled when Monguors talk about the violence and ferocity of the possessed Kurtains. It is no wonder that, during the exhibitions of Kurtains in the village temples, some people are often frightened out of their wits, take to their heels in panic, and leave the temple.

It happens more often that the Kurtain troubles the 756
feast of the spring, performed by shamans in the village. 578
At the moment when the people are devoutly and happily listening to the prophesies of the shamans, concerning the auspicious prospects for the harvest, a Kurtain arises and furiously asserts that his spirit has revealed to him that terrible hailstorms will destroy the crops of the village. In the southern valley, in the village called "the Eleventh House of the Li T'u-ssu," in 1914, a serious fight started between the shamans and the Kurtain, who was carried away unconscious. The Kurtain brought suit against the shamans at the Chinese court. The prefect delegated the guild of the Taoist priests to settle this matter between religious people.

[p. 93(B)]

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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brigands captured. The army returned with a booty of 300,000 camels, horses, sheep, and cows (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 26*b*, 27*a*).

M 175x 648 [726]

Se-ngo-ko, chief of a Tibetan tribe, was accustomed to stealing horses of neighboring tribes. The commander of Hsining, Mu Su, could not apprehend him. Later the thief arrived at Hsining to sell horses. The commander seized the horses, convinced they were stolen ones, but they were his own. The tribes were upset and about to start a revolt. Li Wen accused the imprudent commander, and the tribes were pacified. Li Wen was promoted (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 38*a*).

HM 175 648 [685]

In 1442 T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 13*a*) was ordered to garrison the commanderies of Ah-tuan and Ch'u-hsien, to protect Anting, and to induce the scattered tribes to come back to their lands and surrender. In 1445 the Oirat chief Esen, who had succeeded his father Togon, who had died in 1439, attacked and occupied Hami. In 1447 Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 12*b*), t'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), and t'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of commander Jen I in Sha Chou. In 1448 Wa lo, chief of the Tibetan Pa-sha tribes started plundering Huangchung. T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien was ordered to fight Wa lo. He succeeded in killing the chief. These tribes had submitted in 1380, their chief controlled 30 or more tribes, which inhabited a country as large as 500 li, starting 60 li north of Hsining and running to the borders of the Ta-t'ung River. Pa Sha was ill-famed for its predatoriness (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 13*a*; 19: 7*b*). In 1450 T'u-ssu Chao and T'u-ssu Lu repelled Mongol invaders in Kao-ssu-yuan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*). In 1452 T'u-ssu Ch'eng followed commander Su Chieh, fighting Mongols who were plundering Nan-chuan. They pursued them to Su-wu-shan and captured their chiefs (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*).

During the Cheng T'ung period (1436–50) at the time the northwestern part of Kansu was riven by inroads of Mongols and the t'u-ssu were fighting the Mongols in Kansu and in Turkistan, Liu Ch'uan, commander in Kuei Te (situated south of Hsining on the southern borders of the Yellow River), induced 72 tribes of Tibetans to surrender, promoted cultivation and farming among them, established a tea bureau and every year exchanged 1,740 horses for tea, protected the traders and the communications in the country, built a route and relays connecting the important city of Ho Chou with Kuei Te. The country of Kuei Te was at peace and the people enjoyed the trustful and honest commander (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 16*a*).

M [437 491]

The chronicles of the Lu t'u-ssu clan note that during 1450–1464 raids had to be intermittently repelled along the Liangchow and Kanchow borders, perpetrated by the same eastern Mongol groups and some Oirat groups, which ventured to lay waste and devastate even

M 175x 579 HM 175 579

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

Chuang-lang, Ch'ing-yang, and East Kansu. The raids furnished to the invaders a considerable amount of loot and fostered their predatory instincts. The example set by the Mongols whetted the appetite for plunder among the Tibetan tribes also. The people lived in desperate conditions, and the t'u-ssu troops had always to be ready to comply with the orders of military commanders.

M 175x [579] HM 175 [579] M [511]

This note, recorded in the Lu chronicles, is quite acceptable for the reason that during just these years a tremendous confusion reigned in Mongolia, and the Mongol tribes located along the Kanchow and Liang-chow borders had nobody to care for them, for the Oirats, now at the summit of their power, had thought themselves strong enough to challenge the Chinese empire.

HEIGHT OF OIRAT HEGEMONY

M 175x HM 175 M HM 622 648 [662] 668

To Esen, the powerful Oirat chief, had been promised an imperial princess by the eunuch Wang Chen, the favorite of the emperor. He had not notified the emperor of this promise and when the envoys of Esen arrived at court with the nuptial presents they were refused. In the autumn of 1449 the humiliated Esen began raids on the empire frontiers and approached Ta-t'ung. An army of half a million men was raised in a hurry, and sent against the Oirats. The emperor accompanied the army. His troops were routed, the emperor was taken prisoner, the remnants of the army tumbled back to Peking, and the capital was in jeopardy. Ching Ti, the brother of Emperor Ying Tsung, ascended the throne in 1450. The Oirats were unable to seize the capital. After endless deliberations, the released imperial prisoner reentered Peking in the eighth moon, after an absence of one year.

Esen, swollen with pride after his resounding victory over the empire, his ambition soaring to the throne, proclaimed himself emperor of the Mongols in 1454; but two of his commanders revolted against him in 1455, he fled and was killed the same year. For the time being the balance of political power of the Oirats shifted to the eastern Mongols who struggled again for the hegemony. One of the commanders who had killed Esen was killed by Polai, a tribal chieftain of the Ta-tan Mongols. Po-lai enthroned a new Khan, Markorgis, the son of T'o-to-pu-hua, known under the name of Hsiao-wang-tsu, the little king, and began with raids on the frontiers of the empire.[80]

In 1457 Emperor Ching Ti fell ill, the secluded Yin Tsung ascended the throne for the second time and thereafter his brother died.

T'U-SSU LI WEN

M 175x 648

The same year T'u-ssu Li Wen arrived at Peking from Hsining with his army, to congratulate Yin Tsung

[80] H. Serruys, *op. cit.*, 85; Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 58-60.

[P.40(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

REVOLT OF TIBETAN TRIBES IN HUANGCHUNG

175x
563
579

Really desperate times were still in store for the population of Huangchung, for a half-century to come. This time the troubles were caused by the Tibetan tribes from Huangchung itself. After the restless Pa sha tribes had been defeated in 1516 by the Chinese army, some of their sub-tribes were exterminated or disintegrated. The chief of the Tsan-tsa tribe, one of the sub-tribes of Pa sha, succeeded in gathering some tribes under his leadership and in controlling 1,500 families. Other tribes living in the northwest of Hsining joined the group. Among them was the strong Tibetan Erh-chia-ting tribe. They beseiged the city of Nienpei in 1550 and laid waste the country. Commander T'ang Yung beat the brigands. However, the brigands, using the time-honored ruse of a feigned retreat, killed the commander in an ambuscade.

In 1551 all the tribes northeast of Hsining plundered the Hung-nai valley. They administered to the Chinese army a crushing defeat; three officers and two thousand soldiers died on the field of battle. T'u-ssu Ch'i, Li, Hsin, and Wang participated in the battle (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 15, 16; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 34).

The next year small groups of Kokonor brigands made raids in Yen-mei-ch'uan, north of Hsining, but were chased away (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 16).

In 1553 Tsan-tsa tribes with those of Erh-chia-ting again plundered the villages north of Hsining and Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 16; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 34).

In 1554 Kokonor brigands plundered Sa-t'ang valley and were beaten. They fled toward the southern valleys of Hsining, where they plundered for five days. On the arrival of the army they fled to the western valley of Hsining, but were put to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 34; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 16).

Tsan-tsa and Erh-chia-ting tribes in 1557 again raided the valleys south of Nienpei and plundered the lamasery of Ch'u-t'an-sse. Pursued by the army they plundered the valleys situated north of the Hsining River. More Tibetan tribes had joined the group, the Hung-mao, the La-tsa, the Ko-tsa, etc. The depredation in the country was wicked and ruthless. The t'u-ssu had to defend their own fortresses and villages. In the meantime Altan, the brother of Jinong beseiged the city of Kanchow calling all the Mongol brigands of the country, and went with his new army to Peking, plundering on the way the villages and cities of Shan-tan, Yung-ch'ang and Liangchow (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 16; 19: 7a; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 34, 35) in Kansu.

The raids of Kokonor brigands and Tibetans raged unchecked during 1558 in all of Huangchung. The situation was out of control, the plight was desperate. T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47), and Yeh (*An-*

nals of Kansu 42: 52) had died in recent actions, and the troops suffered many reverses. Most of the armies, most of the time, did not fight, but liked better to stay at bay behind walls and barricade themselves in the cities. There were very few pitched battles on a large scale. In the meantime, the brigandage grew with the passing of the years, for it proved to be beneficial to the brigands, who at the same time revenged themselves on their former oppressors, murdering anyone who made a stand. The confidence in the empire, among the population beset with starvation and abject poverty, was shaken, and there was nothing to relieve the dreariness of life. The outlook remained gloomy and no new troops arrived in the country. 175x 563 579

One can hardly understand why, in such critical circumstances, no more troops should have been sent to Huangchung and Kansu by the emperor, to save the starved and pillaged people and prevent the total ruin of the country. However, the troubles which beset Kansu were not the only ones with which the empire had to cope. During the entire reign of Emperor Cheng Te (1605–1622) the borders of the empire from Kansu up to Peking itself had been exposed to persistent and incessant attacks of Mongols, under the command of Dayan. In 1516 two groups, one of seventy, the other of fifty thousand Mongols, invaded Hsuan-hua-fu in Shansi Province. The conditions were similar during the reign of Chia Ching (1522–1567). In 1532 Hsiao Wang-tze with 100,000 men invaded the empire. In 1536 Chi Nang controlled 100,000 soldiers and raided Ninghsia, Tatung, and Hsuan-hua, and in 1544 the country around the capital was devastated and looted of its wealth. In 1550 the Mongols administered a crushing defeat to the Chinese armies and reached the northern gate of the capital where for eight days they laid waste the country and returned to the desert carrying with them a huge amount of booty. The raids, whetting the appetite for plunder, were resumed every year in the northern country. In 1561 they camped again under the walls of the capital. The raids continued unabated until finally in 1570 peace was granted to Altan (Dayan's grandson), who had sued for peace since 1542. Then markets were opened for his tribes and the title of Shun-i-wang bestowed upon him: The Obedient and Righteous Prince! 175x 648 175x 579

These circumstances explain why the brigands in Kansu had been fought in a nearly desultory fashion for half a century. They explain also the danger looming over the Ming dynasty, on account of the still strong savage Mongol forces and the lack of discipline and direction in the army. 175x 648

The same conditions continued for more than a half century for the same reasons, lack of discipline and direction on the part of the army, and unity among the Mongols, strengthened by the benefits to be expected from the amount of loot furnished by the forays. Even when later the Mongols divided in two groups, each

[P. 46 (A)]

China; markets were accorded to his tribes and he was created "the Obedient and Righteous Prince"! However, the perspicacious Governor Wang Ch'ung-ku asked for a declaration of submission from other chieftains, such as Chinang and T'uman. T'uman refused boldly.[82] Apparently groups of Mongols, dissatisfied with the peace concluded by Altan, had already decided to gather under the banner of T'uman, liking better their adventurous life of looting and plundering than the submission to China. The group was strong and numerous, and administered, during the following years, many crushing defeats to China. Altan, however, endeavored to make his people desist from raids,[83] but he did not succeed in controlling his sons, nephews, and other relatives in Kansu and Huangchung. Since in 1559 Altan had sent his sons to occupy Kokonor and Sung-shan many Mongol chieftains, mostly nephews and cousins had followed them. They had forced the Tibetans to recognize their lordship, bring tribute and help them in the raids made in Kansu. They wrought tremendous havoc among the Tibetan tribes. The Chinese troops fought many losing battles and lost many officers and soldiers. Pin-tu and Ping-tu groups were the scourge of Kansu province. Altan was succeeded by his son Huang-t'ai-chi in 1583, and by his grandson Ch'ih-li-ko in 1587, who was unable to control his people. The emperor, in 1591, ordered the suspension of trade with his tribes (Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 141). From the death of Altan on, Huangchung suffered tremendously for years, on account of the savage raids of the relatives of Altan, whose real nature immediately asserted itself in all its crudity and brutality.

In 1572 the Tibetan Erh-chia-ting tribes again plundered Hsining country. Their chief was captured and killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

In 1573 General Ta Yun rebuilt and fortified the city of Nienpei exposed to the recurrent raids from the Tibetan tribes living north of the cities of Hsining and Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

The fortifications of the city of Hsining were again overhauled and improved in 1575, and the city was enlarged in the prospect of troubles on account of the building of the temple in Kokonor, the opening of markets and the incessant arrival of more Mongols (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*).

Altan arrived at Kokonor in 1577 to meet the great lama (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*). The *Annals* of Hsining record (20: 14) that a lama of Wu-sse-tsang (on the borders of Szechwan Province) was proclaimed Living Buddha. The shrewd Ping-tu, knowing the religiosity of the Tibetans, proposed to build two temples, one in Kokonor and one in Chia-yu-kuan and to invite the Living Buddha. He intended to secure the support of the Tibetans by pretending to be fond of Buddhism. The question was vividly discussed in

[82] Pokotilov, 129.
[83] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 137-141.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Peking, and the emperor agreed. Ping-tu forced the tribes to build a road to Wu-ssu-tsang in order to meet the lama. The entire Szechwan province was upset for fear of invasion by the savage Kokonor brigands. The governor wrote Altan to order his sons to desist from plundering the country. Altan answered that the only reason for the behavior of his sons was the lack of any markets where they could fill their needs. In 1574 markets were opened for Pin-tu and Ping-tu and the emperor granted to the temple of Kokonor the name Yin-hua-sse and the title of vice-commander to Ping-tu. However, the sons and cousins and nephews of Altan plundered as before. Again the officials asked Altan to reprimand them. Altan arrived with his army feigning to meet the lama; however he had an axe to grind with Oirats, his old foes. Coming back, he asked the governor to allow all the Mongol chieftains to attend a meeting with the lama in Kokonor. The Tibetans, taken with panic at the sight of the demonstration of power and magnificence, fled in all directions. Altan returned to the north (1577) but Ho-lo-ch'ih and Yung-chao-pu, his nephew and cousin, and others refused to leave Kokonor, and Ping-tu started plundering the Tibetans again. The officials immediately asked the emperor to close the markets. Altan reprimanded his son and urged him to return the stolen people and cattle. However, Ho-lo-ch'ih continued looting (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 13, 14).[84]

175x 648 662 579 [437 647] [437 647]

In 1579 the governor of Hsining was engaged in developing agriculture in Huangchung. He gathered the destitute people who had fled with fear of the Mongol brigands, located them in villages, provided them with grain and oxen, dug irrigation canals, etc. In each village he opened a school. He gathered more than 100,000 families, and more uncultivated land was tilled. When Altan left the country in 1577 he had asked him to leave peacefully and to protect the country against more raids by his people (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20).

175x 241 652 [313]

Ha-tsa, a Tibetan tribe of Kokonor, raided the western valley of Hsining in 1580, but was repelled. Two

175x 579 648

[84] René Grousset, *Empire des Steppes*, 592, Paris, Payot: The Ordos Mongols started professing the lamaism of the Yellow Church from 1566 on. The *jinong* Khutukh Setsen Hung-t'ai-chi of the Uchin banner, coming back from an expedition in Tibet in 1566, had invited lamas to accompany him to Ordos and convert the Mongols to lamaism. The fervent *jinong* succeeded in converting his grand-uncle Altan who at that time was in the heyday of his power (1576). Altan and his grand-nephew invited the chief of the Yellow Church, the great lama bSod-nams rgya-mtso to come to Kokonor. The Mongols met him magnificently and opened with him an official convention at which was laid the foundation of the Yellow Church among the Mongols (1577), and Altan honored the great lama with the title of Dalai Lama, which title is still borne at present by his successors. The Dalai Lama, returning to Lhasa, appointed the Living Buddha Dongkur Manjucri in Kukuhoto the residence of Altan. The Dalai Lama left Lhasa again to travel to Ordos in 1586 for the performance of the cremation ceremonies of Altan who had died in 1583.

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centurions pursued them to Kokonor and perished in an ambuscade (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 15*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 35*b*). 175 579 648

In the autumn of 1583 Chulit'u, a Mongol chieftain of the group of Pin-tu from Sung Shan, in combination with the chieftain Yung Chao-pu of Kokonor, nephew of Altan, invaded the Sa-t'ang valley in Hsining with 8,000 horses. They killed and wounded more than 1,200 Tibetans, men and women, and drove away with them more than 4,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*).

In 1585 the Kotsa tribe invaded the valleys south of Hsining and was repelled (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*).

In 1586, in the sixth moon, the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih of Kokonor with Tibetans subject to him, numbering 10,000 horses, invaded Hsining, killed 500 surrendered Tibetans and stole 4,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*). At the same time Chuang T'u-lai from Kokonor raided Nienpei plundering many villages, while the brigands of Pin-tu and Sung Shan invaded the Yen-meich'uan valley, north of Hsining. They were repelled by the commander Wang Shih-te helped by the *t'u-ssu*. T'u-ssu Na was killed pursuing the brigands to Pien-Tu-Ku (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*; 31: 18).

The next year the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih in combination with Hung-mao tribes invaded the western valleys of Hsining, killed few people but stole 3,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33, 28*b*).

The Oirat Wa-la-t'a-pu-nmang, who had joined the Kokonor brigands with 5,000 Tibetans, invaded the valleys south of Hsining in 1588. He stole 1,400 cattle and 700 horses from the Chinese army. The Chinese army suffered a crushing defeat. Three t'u-ssu, Li, Ch'eng, and Chao were killed and 800 soldiers, among them 40 centurions (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*a*; 33: 29*a*).

In 1589 the Tibetan Ha-tsa tribes raided Sanch'uan south of Nienpei. The centurion Liu Ts'ung-jen repelled them and was killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*a*). At the same time the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih of Kokonor invaded the valleys south of Hsining and Nienpei with 500 horses, joined Chineng, the grand-nephew of Altan, and Tsaisengfu and Mangko-tsu, belonging to the Pin-tu group of Sung Shan with [792] 4,000 horses. They beseiged the monastery of Ch'u-t'an-sse for seven days, killing many people and burning the houses. The monastery offered them some hundreds of oxen and horses and they left. T'u-ssu Yeh and Wang pursued them and were killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19; 33: 19*a*).

In 1590 the Tibetan Tsantsa tribes plundered Sa T'ang valley and were repelled but a centurion was killed. Ch'ih-li-ko, who in 1587 had received the title of Obedient and Righteous Prince and was the second successor of Altan, accompanied the Dalai Lama with his army on his way back to Lhasa after the perform-

[P. 48(A)]

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ance of the ceremonies for Altan. After having lingered for a while in Kokonor, he assisted on his way back home in the plundering of the cities and the regions of T'ao and Ming Chou by the Mongols. The same year the brigands Tsai-Seng-fu and Achihtu of the Pin-tu group of Sung Shan plundered the Lungpu tribes southwest of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 19). Tibetan tribes from Szechwan came to finish the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou and were repelled. Then the turbulent Ho-lo-ch'ih looted Lin-T'ao region (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 36). 175x 579 648

HELP SENT BY THE EMPEROR

The situation in East Kansu and Huangchung in 1590 was completely out of control. The country was entirely laid waste and devastated, the Mongol brigands and the Tibetans had incessantly overrun the country, the Chinese forces could not contravene their strength. Many surrendered Tibetan tribes had disintegrated. had disappeared, had been exterminated; the cattle were stolen; many young women had been abducted and many had fled and hidden in the mountains. The depredation of the country was wicked and ruthless and the destitution of the people was tragic. 175x 648 727

A note in the *Annals* of Hsining (33: 19*a*) records to what extent and in what way the Mongol brigands of Kokonor had terrorized, and subjected, reduced to the level of slaves the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor, East Kansu and Huangchung. The chieftain Yung-chao-pu, nephew of Altan, controlled at the time of his arrival in the Kokonor only 1,000 subjects: at present he controlled more than 10,000. The chief Sang-ehr-huang t'ai-chi formerly controlled 800 subjects but now 3,000. The chieftains Kosina and Lashala formerly controlled 4,000 people each but now each of them controlled 10,000 and more. The number of the subjects controlled by the other chiefs is not known.

Finally in 1590 the emperor sent Cheng Lo, president of the ministry of war, to cope with the situation (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 36). 175x 648 [645]

On the first moon of the following year Cheng Lo sent Colonel Shih Chia with the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Te, to call the Tibetan tribes to surrender; 165 tribes numbering 74,710 persons surrendered (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*b*; 25: 20*a–b*; 33: 16*b*). Among the surrendered tribes in Huangchung are noted the Hung-mao tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 7*a*), the Lapu-erh tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 7*a*), the Lungpu tribes led by their lama Sonanchintso (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 3*a–b*), the 29 Tsan-tsa tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 4*b*), and the Sukomi tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 5*b*).

In the ninth moon he sent the brigade General Wang Shih-te, the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Lu Kuang-tsu and groups of surrendered Tibetan tribes, seething with hatred against the Mongol brigands and eager to avenge all the sufferings they had endured, to fight the Mon-

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gols in Kokonor and burn the temple built by Altan. They returned in a flush of triumph with 1,200 captured families. The number of brigands they killed is not known. The Brigadier General Chiao Chi defeated tribes of Ho-lo-ch'ih with the help of Tibetans and beheaded 120 of his men (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 36*b*; *Annals* of Hsining **31**: 18*b*). 175x 648

The energic Cheng Lo must have commanded at the time of his arrival in Huangchung a fair number of fresh troops. Otherwise the shaken confidence in the empire among the Tibetan tribes would not have been restored so quickly. In two years time the outlook had changed and become bright and full of hope for the people, beset for ten years with starvation, squalor and misery, and anxious uncertainty.

The same year the markets, opened for the Mongols in Kansu, were closed on account of their incessant raids and brigandage. The Obedient and Righteous Prince Ch'ih-li-k'o who had assisted at the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou, sent back the abducted people and stolen cattle and presented excuses to the emperor (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 20*a–b*). [647 437]

In 1594 orders were given to repair and improve again the fortifications of the city of Hsining. More villages and military colonies were built. Maybe the officials had seen some new straws in the wind (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 19*a*). A strong group of Kokonor brigands arrived to plunder the valleys south of Hsining. The Chinese generals Liu Mei-Kuan, Ta Yun, T'ien Yueh had called all the t'u-ssu of Huangchung and captured groups of Tibetans to defend the country. They used flanking movements, skillfully settled ambuscades, and administered a crushing defeat to the raiders, 680 of whom were beheaded. A few months later the brigands came back with all the brigands of Nalu, to loot the valleys west of Hsining. The same generals, t'u-ssu, and Tibetans obtained a resounding victory and killed 700 and more brigands, among them some chieftains (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 37*b*; *Annals* of Hsining **31**: 19*a*). 175x 579 [712]

These two victories were the most important ever won in Huangchung. In the report relating the military presentation are encountered the names of the most meritorious military and civil officials who had contributed to the success. We encounter among them the names of T'u-ssu Lu Kuang-tsu, Li Yu-mao, Li Hsien-hua, Ch'eng San-chi, Ch'i Ping-chung and Ch'i Te (*Annals* of Hsining **33**: 23*a–b*). A delegate of the ministry of war was sent with titles and gifts to reward the meritorious officials. 175x 648 703

Immediately after the victories, in 1596, orders were sent to the military officials to build more walls especially along the roads used by the invaders of Kokonor and Sung Shan, to build fortresses at strategic points and more villages in the valleys for the farmers. The officials expected that the brigands would not take these blows lying down but would avenge themselves by means of new raids. In Cheng-hai-pu in the western 175x 712

[P.49(A)]

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the Khoshot tribes (Oirats) went to Kokonor with his armies. He conquered Kokonor, Tsaidam and East Tibet, defeated the enemies of the Dalai Lama, occupied Lhasa and proclaimed in 1642 the Dalai Lama Nag-dbang bLo-bzang temporal and spiritual sovereign of Central Tibet.[85] 175x

From 1597 until 1642 no events are recorded in either *Annals* concerning Huangchung. The country enjoyed a relative peace, while its borderlands still suffered raids from the same Mongols.

THE MONGUORS AND THE FALL OF THE MING DYNASTY 175x 648

Desperate times were still in store for the Monguors and their t'u-ssu, and tremendous sacrifices were still requested from them to save the tottering dynasty, but the Monguors with their t'u-ssu stood loyal as a rock to the end.

The restless Mongol tribes had, during two and a half centuries, harrassed the dynasty, administering many crushing defeats to the armies, devastating the border provinces of the empire, and the neighborhood of the capital, causing the ruin and the revolt of the Tibetans, draining the resources of the empire and weakening the discipline of the armies and administrations. This sword of Damocles was still hanging over the dynasty when another ominous plague threatened the empire, the plague of brigands from inside the empire. The Ming dynasty was so effete her fall was imminent.

During the T'ien-ch'i period (1621–1627) Chinese brigands led by Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung ruthlessly murdered the people and savagely devastated the cities and villages, to the point that the exasperated Chinese population hoped for new rulers.[86]

According to the Lu chronicles, in 1628 a severe famine desolated the region of Yenan and Suei-te (Shensi), so many times plundered by Mongols during two and one-half centuries. Wang Chia-yun, a native of Fu-ku, stirred the starving people to band together and go plundering through the country. Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung, planning a revolution against the dynasty, seized the opportunity to organize the already plundering groups of brigands and realize their plan. 175x 579 668

During 1628–1640 the revolution raged unchecked. The rumors spread like a prairie fire in Huangchung and North Kansu, and the population was frightened out of its wits, when the brigands poured from Hsi-an through the Kuan-chung pass toward Kansu. 175x 669

In 1641 the old Hsining t'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien (descendant of the Myriarch Kung-k'o-hsin-chi, founder of the Ch'i clan) and his two sons, Hsing-chu and P'ing-chu, invited to a secret convention to discuss

[85] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 603.

[86] Erich Hauer, Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung, Ein Beitrag zum Ende der Ming Dynasty, *Asia Major*, Vol. secundum fasc. 3/4: 436 sq., 1925.

capture the cities lost at the hands of the revolting Ming commanders. He recovered all the cities, one after the other, Lanchow, Ho Chou, T'ao Chou, Lin T'ao and Kuei Te, and saved the beseiged city of Kung Ch'ang. The brother of T'u-ssu Lu was killed in the fight at Ho-ya-lung (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 60). In a little more than three years Meng Ch'iao-fang had recovered one hundred and more cities and fortified villages (*Annals* of Hsining **26**: 1, 2). T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 2) and T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 3) fought at Kuei Te. After these arduous campaigns the Monguor troops were released, and could start repairing the tremendous havoc wrought by the Mongol brigands of Kokonor and Sung Shan I, and by the rebel Tibetans, during the last 150 years of the Ming regime. In the meantime the Manchu armies conquered more provinces in the empire and still had intermittent revolts to quell in the very south of East Kansu and on the Szechwan borders. 175x 648

In 1660 a revolt is recorded of the Mohammedan Ta Erh-han, a member of the Yeh t'u-ssu, who induced Tibetans of Kokonor to help plunder the valley of Milaku, the region situated on the northern borders of the Yellow River south of Nienpei. The guard of the Milaku region had been entrusted to the Yeh t'u-ssu since the Yuan and Ming times. The faithful T'u-ssu Yeh killed the rebel and nine of his men, and captured two others whom he delivered to Hsining. The invaders fled to Kokonor. The Yeh t'u-ssu was a clan of Mohammedans from Turkistan which was settled in Milaku in Yuan times (Monguors I: 32; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 52*b*). Later, at the time of the revolt of Wu San-kuei in 1673, a group of the Yeh clan started following the rebels. The faithful t'u-ssu again succeeded in quelling the revolt, killing many of them. He was promoted to secretary commander as a reward for his faithfulness (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 52*b*). 175x 579

In 1665 Huai Erh-lai, a Tibetan from Kokonor, with his two brothers and their tribes, looted the country along the trade road between Kanchow and Liang-chow. Wang Chin-pao, the commander of Hsining, repulsed the brigands (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 46*a*). T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47*b*) and T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 46*b*) helped him.

The tremendous rebellion of Wu San-kuei, the first benefactor of the Ch'ing dynasty, who had put the Manchus in possession of the empire started at the end of the year 1673. The revolt spread through eleven of the eighteen provinces of the empire, and required eight years for its suppression. East Kansu was soon lost to the Manchus and the cities of Lanchow, Ho Chou, T'aochow, Lin T'ao, Kung Ch'ang, etc. were taken by the rebels. The bridge of Lanchow, which secured the communication between East and West Kansu, was broken up. In that way no armies along West Kansu could come to the rescue of East Kansu. However, General Wang Chin-pao of Hsining rushed to Lanchow with his army and all the Monguor troops under com- 175x 648 579

[P.54(B)]

mand of T'u-ssu Ch'i Pei-chai (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 3; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). The Monguors, familiar with the customs of the country, prepared fifty or more rafts of sheep and ox skins, and crossed the river at night in the locality of Chang Chia Wan. In the morning they unexpectedly met a large group of rebels in Hsin Ch'eng and administered a crushing defeat to them. They arrived at Lanchow which was unprepared to meet the enemy, and the city was recovered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a–b*). T'u-ssu Ch'i was appointed defender of the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). Then the Hsining troops of Wang Chin-pao and the Monguor troops helped recover, one after another, all the cities of East Kansu, with other Manchu troops. T'u-ssu Li commanded 1,000 of his Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*b*), and T'u-ssu Kan and Ah 300 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 50, 51). Then the t'u-ssu participated in the seige and the recovering of the city of P'ing Liang, and the capture of the rebel governor Wang Fu-ch'eng. The Lu t'u-ssu sent 400 *tan* of wheat to the hungry Monguor soldiers beseiging P'ing Liang, which was recovered in 1678. Wu San-kuei died August 17, 1678. After a campaign of six years the t'u-ssu returned to Huangchung with their troops. 175x 648 579

In 1677 groups of Tibetans, in combination with Uighurs, had attacked Salar villages. Probably during the insurrection of Wu San-kuei, Salar brigands had plundered them. The Manchu army had put them to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 50*a–b*). In 1681 they returned to avenge the previously unsuccessful attack. Under the leadership of the Tibetan Huang La T'aichi they attacked the village of Su Chih and killed many Salars. The Manchu commander at night attacked the camp of the aggressors and killed many of them. They fled toward the Lao Ya pass and occupied it, blocking the communications. Troops had to come from Liangchow to repel and pursue them (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 51). 175x 628

In 1689 a tremendous famine desolated East Kansu. It was followed by revolts of hungry people. In 1691 the revolt, led by a Taoist priest, had spread over the entire country. Troops of all the commanderies of Kansu were summoned, the revolt lasted until 1693 (*Annals* of Kansu 56: 45*b*). The Monguor t'u-ssu did not move into East Kansu. They had to protect their own country against inroads of poor and destitute people and forestall uprisings of the army in Huangchung, which was lacking food and was restless, for the crops in Huangchung had been bad also. In 1702, 50,000 *tan* of rice were sent from Sian to Huangchung for the troops (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*b*). 175x [731 79.5] 579

In 1693 T'u-ssu Li Hsia, assistant commander in Hsining, informed the emperor concerning the situation in the Pe-ta region, in the northern valley of Hsining. In 1647, after the rebel Mohammedans and Chinese of Kanchow had tried to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to revolt but had hit a severe blow on the border of the Tatung River, the Chinese who had fol-

lowed them dared not return to Kanchow, for fear of severe punishments. They liked better to settle in the region of Pe-ta, situated 120 li north of Hsining, outside the jurisdiction of the prefecture, and belonging to the Mongols. They tilled the soil and built houses. More people had joined their group which already numbered 10,000 families in 1693. They brought the regulatory *t'ien pa* (land) taxes to the Mongols. T'u-ssu Li, having investigated the circumstances with other commanders, reported that the Pe-ta region had become a favorite thoroughfare along which Mongols and Tibetans traveled, spying on Huangchung. The group of settlers conversant with the Chinese regions where they constantly traveled also supplied them with information. Lamas traveled the whole year long on their way to Tibet without regulatory passes, etc. The t'u-ssu proposed to compel the entire group of settlers to return to their original countries, for the offense of having revolted had long since been forgiven, and to forbid the bringing of the *t'ien pa* taxes to the Mongol princes, according to the regulations issued by the Manchu emperor in 1658. He proposed to forbid lamas to travel to Tibet through the Pe-ta region, but to travel with passports secured on fixed passes. If serious measures were not taken, sooner or later troubles would arise, all the more since Tibet is for the moment seriously troubled and Galdan is disturbing the empire. Nobody knows what would be in store in the future. If the Mongol princes and settlers would not comply with the regulations, the army should be used to compel them to obey (*Annals* of Hsining **34**: 5*a*).

T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai, brother of T'u-ssu Ch'i Pe-chai, having graduated from the military academy and in 1673 fought the rebel Wu San-kuei in combination with all the Monguor t'u-ssu, had been promoted to second captain in Wei Yuan Pu. He had also fought rebels in Chin Chou and Li Hsien in East Kansu, had been promoted to major and transferred with his troops to Chang Chia Ku north of Peking in Chihli Province, to participate in the war the emperor was waging against the Jungar (Oirat) chief Galdan. After the death of the Oirat chief Yeh Hsien, who had captured the Ming emperor and proclaimed himself emperor of all the Mongols and had been killed in 1455, the Oirats had divided into four groups. Galdan, chief of the Choros group and the Jungar tribes, dreamed of building a new Jungar empire and expelling the Manchus from China.

Galdan, having already conquered Kashgaria, Turfan and Hami, and been ruling over Central Asia, had still to win the four Khalkha groups in order to control the united Mongol race. In 1688 he invaded their territory. The Khalkhas fled to Tumet and asked the emperor for protection. In 1690 Galdan had struck a severe blow at Kalgan. In 1696 the emperor, himself leading one of his three armies, went to meet Galdan in the Kerulen region. T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai

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should have been cognizant of the fact and have considered the boy as the legitimate successor of Nag Dzang. However, the shrewd *desi*, offended by the growing interference of the emperor and of the Khoshot prince in Tibetan affairs, kept secret from the outer world both the death of the Dalai Nag dzang and the appointment of the reincarnation. He himself planned to rule the kingdom politically. Galdan who had been lama in Lhasa had been the friend of the Dalai and the *desi*, who at the time of his struggle with the Khalkhas had imprudently spoken in his favor near the emperor. In 1689 the distrusting emperor started inquiring into the matter and knew that the old Dalai had died in 1680–1681. He suspected connivance between the *desi* and the Jungars. After the crushing defeat administered to Galdan in 1696, the emperor learned that Galdan would fly to Tibet to build a new army. The emperor back in Peking immediately sent to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor the order to apprehend Galdan, his family and followers in order to check their faithfulness to the empire. However, Galdan had fled to the west and died in 1697. The princes of Kokonor, in order to dispel the suspicion of the emperor concerning their faithfulness, gathered in a group of thirty-one presided over by an eminent lama and swore allegiance to the empire. It seems that on account of the unanimous testimony of faithfulness sent to the emperor, the princes, being all descendants of Ku Shih Khan, were awarded titles.[91]

However, the *Annals* of Hsining present another version: the emperor, preoccupied with the troubled situation in Tibet and Kokonor, ordered the lama Chang Nan to *erh chih* (induce to submission) the princes of Kokonor. Having obeyed, the emperor granted titles to the descendants of Ku Shih Khan: to Blo bzang tan chin, the title of prince, to the others the titles of *Pei-le, Pei-tse, Kung, T'aichi*. A yearly allowance in silver was also granted. They were requested to bring tribute to the capital. As long as the lama was in Hsining the princes were loyal and dependable. Later Chinese officials were appointed to care for them (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 16*b*).

In the *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52, is recorded in 1708 a serious revolt of Hsi Ku Tibetans, in the region of Wen Hsien in the farthest southern corner of East Kansu. The Hsi Ku tribes are the Hsi La Ku tribes, the Shera Uighurs, the Yellow Tibetans, already noted (pp. 17, 18). They were still autonomous in 1708 and had their own chiefs, and joined in the revolt. They depended upon the Yang t'u-ssu, and their chiefs were granted titles after the revolt by the emperor, thanks to the intercession of the Yang t'u-ssu.

In 1718 the Board of Agriculture of Hsining announced that 14,678 acres of uncultivated land were still available for cultivation.

[91] Maurice Courant, *L'Asie centrale au XVII et XVIII siècles. Empire Kalmouk ou Empire Mantchou*, 62, 72, 73, Paris, Picard, 1912.

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still available for culture. More troops had arrived in Hsining on account of the troubles in Tibet and those in Turkistan caused by the Jungars. Troops had to be fed and more grain was required (*Annals of* Hsining 31: 21*a*). 175x

The period of troubles and calamities originating from Kokonor and already long present in Huangchung started in 1723.

Tsewang Rabdan, nephew of the late Galdan, had succeeded his uncle as chief of the Jungars (1697). He was as hostile to the emperor as his uncle, and was as good a friend of the *desi* Sangs rgyas as his uncle. The sixth Dalai Lama, appointed by the *desi* and the Panchen Lama and enthroned in 1697, had proved to be a debauched man. In 1701 the Kokonor Prince La Tsang, protector of the Yellow Church, the Jungar chief Tsewang Rabdan and a delegate of the emperor compelled him to resign. He obeyed but, backed by the *desi*, he reserved for himself the temporal rights of his kingdom. Prince La Tsang confined the *desi* to prison and killed him. The emperor appointed La Tsang to the office of *desi* and ordered him to bring to Peking the dethroned Dalai Lama. However, many lamas and Tibetans still favored him and objected strongly. Finally the unpopular La Tsang succeeded in 1706 in moving the escort to Peking. The caravan was attacked on the way by lamas and Tibetans, and the Dalai was killed. La Tsang, in concert with the Panchen lama, appointed as sixth reincarnation, the lama Yeches, but he was taken in ill grace by lamas and Tibetans. All the more rumors were spread that in Li T'ang the genuine reincarnation was born. The emperor, to nip in the bud all these rumors, confined the Li T'ang reincarnation and his parents in the lamasery of Kumbum in Hsining. Despite the protestations of lamas, and even of many of the princes of Kokonor, the enthroning of the sixth Dalai Lama Yeches was ordered by the emperor and performed in 1710. 175x 648 795

The Jungar chief Tsewang Rabdan was incensed by the repeated intrusions of the emperor in the affairs of Tibet, conversant with the animosity instilled in the hearts of the lamas of the entire Yellow Church and of the Tibetan tribes against the Chinese empire, conscious of the hatred fostered in the whole nation against the Khoshot La Tsang, who had dethroned their Dalai Lama and was told to have him murdered on the way to Peking. Well informed about the anti-Chinese dispositions of even the princes of Kokonor, Rabdan considered the time ripe to take possession of Tibet and Kokonor, and to rule the Yellow Church. He resolved to pose as the savior of the religion, leading his armies to Hsining to bring to Lhasa the Dalai Lama, the idol of the nation, together with lamas and the princes of Kokonor. His first army marching on Hsining was defeated, but the second, commanded by his brother Tsereng Dondoub, reached Lhasa in 1717, defended by Prince La Tsang. Treacherously, a city gate was 175x 579 795

[P.57(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

175x 795 579

opened and for three days the wild Jungars destroyed and looted the temples and the city, killing many people. La Tsang was killed.

175x 648

The emperor could not take this affront lying down. However, his first punitive expedition to Lhasa was defeated in 1718. The second in 1720 parted in two columns, one leaving Szechwan Province, the other starting from Hsining. On the way both encountered Jungar troops which were defeated, fled and left Tibet. T'u-ssu Lu T'i-sin was taken ill at that time and sent his son Lu Hua-lin, commanding his troops, to participate in the expedition. Back in Huangchung he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel in the Hsining army, and later colonel in Liangchow and brigadier general in Kanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The emperor, cognizant of the growing animosity of the lamas and the people against his appointed Dalai Lama Yeches, and of the aversion aroused in the hearts of the lamas and the Tibetans against the savage Jungars who had looted their temples and carried away the riches of the nation and killed many people, conversant with their eagerness to see enthroned in Lhasa the Dalai Lama secluded in Kumbum, resolved to send the lama to Lhasa with the Hsining army and to enthrone him as a new sixth Dalai Lama. The decision seemed to him apt to reconquer the sympathy of the Tibetans and the lamas, and to plant in their hearts aversion for the Jungars, who were waging war with him in Central Asia with an eye on Tibet.

175x 662 643 648 795

The emperor, averred politician, in order to assure the success of his plan, ordered the Monguor Living Buddha, T'u Kuan, chief of the renowned Monguor monastery of Erh Ku Lung in Hsining, a learned man of high repute in Tibet and Mongolia, to convey the Kumbum Lama to Lhasa in the capacity of imperial envoy. He bestowed him with the title of Huthukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas, in order to dignify his position. He gave him letters and unusual gifts to bring to the Panchen Lama and to the heads of the most important monasteries in Tibet, his former teachers and friends. The Kumbum Dalai Lama, brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence and enthroned in 1720, was enthusiastically congratulated by the lamas and the Tibetans. This act put an end to the autonomy of Tibet and of the Yellow Church. The Monguors were proud of their Huthukhtu (Monguors II: 31). The sixth Dalai Lama Yeches was dethroned and called to Peking in order to prevent possible complications.[92]

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[92] Maurice Courant, *op. cit.*, 76–77. W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China 1644–1908, *T'oung-pao*, 1–92, 1910. E. Haenich, Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas unter der Gegenwärtigen Dynasty, *T'oung-pao*, 197–235, 375–424, 1911. Réné Grousset, *op. cit.* Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ching Period*, Washington, 1943. L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century*, Lieden, Brill, 1950. H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, I, *passim*.

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REVOLT OF 1723–1724

After the successful enthronement of the Dalai Lama in Lhasa in 1720, it seems that a period of peace was to be expected. However Huangchung had to go through a new tremendous ordeal of destruction, ruin, and ruthless murder, caused by the revolt of the Khoshot Prince of Kokonor, bLo-bzang tan-chin, a grandson of Ku Shih Khan.

All the princes of Kokonor had participated in the Lhasa expedition in 1720 and had seen their wishes fulfilled by the enthronement of their beloved Dalai Lama. On account of the troubles in Lhasa which had lasted for so many years, related to the enthronements and the depositions of Dalai Lamas and the interference of the Chinese emperor in Tibetan affairs, the princes must have shared for a long time the grudge and the hatred of the lamas and the Tibetans against the Chinese empire.

Back in Kokonor the ambitious Prince bLo-bzang tan-chin had started dreaming about the unification under his command of all the Kokonor tribes, and at the rebuilding of the nation of his ancestor Ku Shih Khan. He enticed the Kokonor princes and the chiefs at a convention in Ch'a han t'o lo hai to swear to renounce the titles previously granted to them by the emperor. He started calling himself Dalai hun t'aichi in order to induce them to follow his example. It was an act of rebellion against the empire. However two princes Ch'a han tan-chin and Ah-erh-te-mi refused to follow his injunctions; they compelled their troops to abandon him. A fight was about to start between them but, deeming their forces too inferior to those of bLo bzang, Ch'a han tan-chin, first sent his wife and 140 of his people to the pass of Lao Ya Kuan outside the great wall of the city of Ho Chou. Ch'ang Chou vice-president of the administrative organ of Hsining invited him to move his people into the city of Ho Chou, and ordered him to leave the defense of the pass to his troops. bLo bzang prepared to cross the Yellow River to fight. This happened in the eighth moon of 1723 (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 52*a–b*).

But Nien Keng-yao, Governor General of Szechwan and Shensi provinces, and Yueh Chung-ch'i, commander in chief of the troops of Szechwan, had already arrived from Szechwan Province with their troops to quell the revolt. The Chinese had long since had first-hand information concerning the unrest brewing in Kokonor. They knew that Ch'a-han nomenhan, appointed by Lhasa as chief of the lamasery of Kumbum, had pledged allegiance to bLo-bzang, that princes of Kokonor in combination with all the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor depending upon bLo-bzang, and those of Hsining, subjects of the monasteries, and others were ready to revolt with the lamas of Huangchung.

In the tenth moon the revolt burst forth like a pent-up stream; 200,000 rebels invaded Hsining, stealing cattle, burning villages, and fighting with the troops.

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The situation was very serious, because the revolt spread over the whole country of Huangchung and was general. In the northern part of Huangchung, the monastery of Erh Ku Lung alone controlled forty daughter monasteries. Each monastery was a center of revolt, situated in a tortuous valley, guarded by towering mountains, for Huangchung is a mountainous country with poor means of communication, with almost impassable trails, and passes hard to overcome and control. 175x 648 579 [792]

However, Nien Keng-yao was equal to the situation and extensive powers had been granted to him. He had called from Szechwan, Shensi, and Kansu provinces combat troops inured to hardships, and had chosen capable officers whom he appointed to jobs that gave them full scope for their abilities. He called the Monguor t'u-ssu and ordered 2,000 of their troops, conversant with the intricate geography of the country and conversant with the chiefs of the tribes who lived in their neighborhood. He called all available resources into play.

Everywhere the lamas, the Kokonor Mongols and the Tibetans were the most furious fighters. This seems to point to the fact that they seethed with the greatest hatred against the empire, despite all the favors the lamas had received from the emperors. Nien Keng-yao understood that he had to fight savage and enraged enemies. He went about the job with draconian severity and acted without let-up and with incredible speed.

In the tenth moon the northern, western, and southern valleys of Hsining were cleared by three armies and the besieged fortresses saved. Many, many rebels were slaughtered. In the eleventh moon one army cleared the region of Chuang Lang and defeated Tibetan tribes. Another had to return to the Tatung valley, north of Hsining, to finish drastically the new rebellion.

bLo-bzang, considering the overwhelming forces marshalled against him and their ruthless behavior, asked to surrender. This was refused. More troops arrived at the rebelling monastery of Ch'i Chia Sse where 500 lamas and 1,000 Tibetans were mercilessly killed in the fight.

In the twelfth moon, Mongol Khoshot princes surrendered with more than 100,000 of their followers, while the army still defeated the rebelling Tibetans in the region of Kuei Te, where the monasteries were burned down.

In the first moon of 1724 the armies had to fight the monasteries of Erh Ku Lung, Kuo Mang (Seerkok), and Ch'ieh bzang, the most important centers of resistance. The lamas of Erh Ku Lung had called to arms all their subjects, who awaited the army in resolute array; 13,000 of their subjects were killed in the action. The number of lamas killed is not noted, but it is recorded that they fought furiously, that 700 lamas were killed in Seerkok alone (Monguors II: 34–37). 175x 792 579

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5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The three biggest monasteries in the country were burned to the ground, also 7,000 houses and 17 villages of the subjects of the monastery of Erh Ku Lung. The whole country was a ruin. 175x 792 579

In the second moon a crushing defeat was administered to bLo-bzang in Kokonor by General Yueh Chung-ch'i; 8,000 of his troops were killed in several encounters, and 10,000 surrendered. bLo-bzang fled riding a white camel. Another army led by Nien Keng-yao, consisting mostly of Monguor soldiers, burned the monastery of Shih Men Sse, where 600 lamas and Tibetans were killed and a huge quantity of weapons was found hidden.

In the third moon Yueh Chung-ch'i went again to Kokonor in pursuit of bLo-bzang, clearing the country of the scattered rebels. Arriving at their central camp unawares, he captured the mother of bLo-bzang, his sister-in-law, and a large number of people and horses. Eight princes submitted. The Kokonor troops had been dashed into rout and ruin.

In the fourth moon the T'ieh Pu tribes from the region of Ho Chou, depending upon bLo-bzang, had started plundering while the troops were fighting in Kokonor. General Nien destroyed 41 of their villages and received the surrender of 37. Two thousand Tibetans had been killed and many had been captured with a number of cattle.

In the fifth moon General Yueh cleared the region between Chuang Lang and Liangchow from where the troops had incessantly been attacked. The Tibetan tribes and the lamas were defeated, several thousands of Tibetans captured, and the monasteries Chu Kung, Chiarto, Hoki, Nan Ch'ung, Simi and T'ien T'ang destroyed or burned. Then the army cleared the region of Cho Tze Shan. Most of the Monguor troops had participated in the punitive expedition.

In the tenth moon bLo-bzang was still not captured. An army was sent again to find him. Only one of his important officers and his wife were captured, but 33 princes submitted.[93]

It is hard to understand the reticence concerning the destruction of the entire monastery of Kumbum and the killing of eight of their most prominent lamas, for whom eight stupas were later erected. Now the Chinese call Kumbum the "monastery of the eight stupas." Nothing is said either, in the *Annals* of Kansu, concerning the beheading of two Living Buddhas (Monguors I: 34–37; II: 25, 26). 175x 792

THE T'U-SSU HAD PARTICIPATED IN QUELLING THE REVOLT

175x 624

T'u-ssu Ch'i Tsai-hsuan in 1723 had guarded the Ta Hsia rapids with his troops, in order to impede fleeing lamas and Tibetans from spreading the revolt

[93] *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52–58; 42: 24a. *Annals* of Hsining 16a–b. bLo-bzang had fled to the Jungars, where his friend Tsewang Rabdan protected him.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Huangchung and the Monguors, after the troubles of 1723–1724, enjoyed peace for sixty years. All that time they assisted in the complete change of the administration and of the country, caused by the confiscation of the large properties and Tibetan tribes which belonged to the lamas. They assisted in the rebuilding of cities, villages and fortifications, schools and granaries, and rebuilt and overhauled their own properties. Every day new regulations were issued to which everybody had to comply, and everywhere Chinese officials and bureaus were encountered. The Chinese officials played the capital role in the country. A large army occupied the country. The influence the t'u-ssu had enjoyed during centuries was waning rapidly.

FIRST MOHAMMEDAN REVOLT—WAHHABISM

All of a sudden in 1781 the terrible revolt broke out among the Mohammedans in Kansu. It portended ominous events.

The Salars, Turks, originating from Turkistan (Samarkand, according to the traditions) inhabited during the Yuan time both borders of the Yellow River, in the region of Hsun Hua T'ing in East Kansu, and in the regions of Pa Yen Jung in southern Huangchung. The time of their arrival in Kansu is unknown, but certainly they lived in that region at the end of the Yuan because two of their chiefs had already surrendered to the Ming in 1370, and received the office of t'u-ssu. The Salars live in thirteen groups called *kong*. The four upper and the four lower groups are called the eight inside Salar *kong* and are controlled by their t'u-ssu. The remaining five groups, called the outside Salar *kong*, are controlled by the subprefecture of Pa Yen Jung (Monguors I: 22, 23). Han Pao-yuan, t'u-ssu of the four upper Salar groups, lives with his subjects in the region of Hsun Hua. His subjects adopted the surname of Han. Han Sha-pa, t'u-ssu of the four lower Salar groups, inhabits the region east of Hsun Hua. His subjects adopted the surname of Ma (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Both t'u-ssu are the founders of the two Salar groups. The Salars profess Islam, but all over the country among their neighbors are many Chinese Mohammedans.

Wahhabism, a sect founded by Ibn Abd-al-Wahhab who died in 1787, aimed at the revival of the primitive orthodoxy of Islam and the abolition of the innovations contrary to the Sunni. He reacted violently against, at that time, the more and more popular cult of the Saints, Prophets, and the Graves.[98]

It happened that in 1762 a Mohammedan from Anting in Kansu, called Ma Ming-hsin, arrived back in Hsun Hua from a pilgrimage (to Mecca?). On his way he had been captivated by the violent discussions, at that time in full swing, relating to the new sect of the

[98] Henri Masse, *L'Islam*, 208–209, Paris, Armand Colin, 1930.

Wahhabits, and had witnessed the fanaticism and the successes reaped by its promoters. He was enthusiastic about the idea of a return to the original orthodoxy. On his arrival, he posed in the Hsun Hua community as the possessor of the genuine doctrine and the champion of the religion founded by Mohammed and his companions. In the services in the mosques he urged the recitation of prayers with a loud voice, for it was the rite practiced in the new sect. It tremendously shocked the other Mohammedan communities, used to reciting the texts in a low voice, so that they accused the disturbers of the religion to the officials. The Salar, Su Forty-three, with other Salars, invited Ma Ming-hsin as teacher and head of all the Mohammedan communities of Hsun Hua. Bitter discussions arose between the two groups, and forty adherents of the old religion were killed. An accusation was dispatched to the governor in Lanchow, who immediately sent two military officials with their troops to Hsun Hua to quell the revolt. However, the new religious group had already grown so fast and become so numerous, that Su Forty-three was able to beat the troops, kill the officials, and occupy the city of Ho Chou. New troops which arrived did not dare go to Ho Chou and they garrisoned in Ti-tao. Then the new religious rebels ran to Lanchow. They defeated the 800 poor troops of Lanchow, besieged the city, occupied the western corner of the city, and broke up the bridge over the Yellow River. New troops came from Kanchow and Szechwan. In the meantime, the officials of Anting had captured Ma Ming-hsin, the fomenter of the revolt in the city and sent him to the prison of Lanchow. The rebels requested their leader. From upon the city wall, the official made him exhort the rebels to keep quiet and return home. It did not work. Then Ma Ming-hsin was killed with his son.

Just at that time T'u-ssu Lu Fan, from Lien Ch'eng, had arrived with 300 Monguor troops and was attacked by the rebels. His troops were nearly all killed and the t'u-ssu was wounded. Then the rebels retired to the nearby Hua Lin mountains and prepared entrenchments. General A Kuei was called from Szechwan to quell the revolt. The army dared not attack the fanatic rebels in the mountains. The Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu, leading his Salar Mohammedan troops of the old religion, was first to attack and enter the mountains. He was very successful. Later he recovered the city of Ho Chou. More troops arrived from Szechwan and Mongol troops from Alashan. In the mountainous country they administered a crushing defeat to the rebels who fled to the Hua Lin temple. It was burned down with the rebels inside. Few escaped, among them Su Forty-three, who was captured and killed. The revolt was quelled. Then followed the murdering of the entire families of hundreds of the adherents to the sect, forbidden to pray with a loud voice, to collect money and alms, etc.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Where were the Monguor t'u-ssu during the revolt? 175x
The defeat of the troops of T'u-ssu Lu Fan has been 709
related. He was rewarded later by the honor of wear- 624
ing the double peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57).

The five outer Salar groups, adherents of the new 175x
religion, inhabited Pa Yen Jung situated south of Nien- 648
pei. The danger of inroads on and the plundering of [795]
these groups had to be forestalled. Lu Chen-hsien, member of the t'u-ssu clan, guarded with the troops the region of Hsiang T'ang and Huei Ho Tung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 60).

T'u-ssu Kan San Yuen-pao guarded the city of Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Chou Lin guarded the passes of Ch'i Shih near Pa Yen Jung and Feng T'ai Shan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51). T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the city of Nienpei and was later called to Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai helped guard the city of Ti-tao in East Kansu with 200 Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the Hsiao Hsia pass near Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu who had fought in Lan- [703]
chow and recovered Ho Chou, was rewarded by the honor to wear the Blue Plume or Crow feather, and received the button of the second degree, worn on the cap (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*).

The Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Lanchow and was rewarded with the same honor as the former Salar t'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*a*).

Huangchung had been spared from inroads and devastation.

YEN CH'A HUI REVOLT

After the death of Ma Ming-hsin in Lanchow in 175x
1781, T'ien Wu, a fanatic *ahong*, leader of the new sect 795
in Fu Ch'iang in East Kansu, was proclaimed chief of 648
the new sect. At that time the Chinese officials were 579 ●
brutally murdering the entire families of the rebels, and 798
rumors were spread that all the Mohammedans of the old and new sects were to be killed. Already in 1782, in Shih Feng Pao, in the T'ung Wei district, T'ien Wu had started digging entrenchments and moving the wives and children to strongholds in the mountains, weapons had been prepared and flags, etc. Around Ku Yuen and Fu Ch'iang encounters continued unabated between the army and the rebels, who grew stronger and stronger by the accrual of countless adherents of the old sect. In 1784 T'ien Wu was wounded in a fight in Fu Ch'iang and died. The rebels, beaten in many encounters, fled to the Shin Feng Pao mountains where they finally were exterminated, and 3,000 wives and children brutally murdered. The revolt was quelled.

During the revolt T'u-ssu Lu Fan had helped guard 175x
the city of Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*) and 579

[P.64(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

T'u-ssu Lu yin, member of the Lu clan, guarded the Yang-chia temple region (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 58). 175x 579

T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the Ping Ku pass near Lien Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuen guarded the Lu P'an Shan region and was later called to guard Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a*–*b*).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai with 300 Monguors guarded the Kuan Miao T'an in Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). T'u-ssu Chao Huai-peh guarded the Ping Ku pass with Kan T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the bridge in Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu fought in Fu Ch'iang and was rewarded with the title of lieutenant colonel (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Fu Ch'iang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*).

Huangchung again had escaped devastation, but East Kansu for the second time had to bear the brunt of the revolt. The country and the people suffered tremendously for the officials were determined to annihilate completely the adherents of the sect and their families.[96]

NEW SECT IN HSINING

However, the sect of the new religion was already rooted too deep in the minds of the Kansu Mohammedans to get rid of it by crushing two revolts and killing many people. In 1789 a small group of adherents to the sect were discovered among the Mohammedans in Hsining by the officials. They held meetings and created disturbances in the Mohammedan colony. They were captured, a number of them killed with their families, the rest exiled to Ho Lun Chiang by order of the emperor.[97] 179x 795 [798]

The sect of the White Lotus religion had already spread in five provinces in 1796. It would still last seven years before it would be quelled. In 1798 a strong group of 12,000 rebels invaded East Kansu in the third moon, parted in two groups and started devastating and plundering the country. All available troops were ordered to come to the rescue of the Shensi and Kansu troops. T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun went with 300 Monguor soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu went with his soldiers of the old religion (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu also went to the rescue and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*a*). The remaining t'u-ssu protected the borders of Huangchung along the Yellow River. 175x 795 579 648

In the seventh moon of 1800 the country was at peace (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 59–61). Huangchung 175x 579

[96] Both revolts are summarized according to *Annals* of Kansu 47: 1–3. J. J. M. De Groot, *Sectarianism and religious persecution in China*, 311–327, sq., Amsterdam, Muller, 1903. Commandant d'Ollone, *Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois*, 229, sq., Paris, Leroux, 1911.

[97] J. J. M. De Groot, *op. cit.*, 327.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

again had escaped devastation, but East Kansu had borne for the third time the brunt of the revolt.[98] 175x 579

In 1806 tremendous rains ruined the districts of Chang Hsien, Ming Chou, and Leang Tang. Inundations of the Yellow River followed in the southern part of East Kansu. Cattle were drowned, many villages no longer existed, and the poor and destitute Tibetan tribes started plundering the country. T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-ming was sent in 1807 to Ch'i Chia Chai to guard the banks of the Yellow River where the people were used to crossing it, in order to prevent inroads of starving, pillaging people into Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 46*a–b*).

TIBETAN REVENGE UPON THE MONGOLS OF KOKONOR

In 1822 a revolt of twenty-three Tibetan tribes broke out in the regions of Hsun Hua and Kuei Te. The Mongols in 1509 had invaded Kokonor, the pasture grounds of the Tibetans. They had occupied the best pastures and relegated the Tibetans to poor and small pastures, or annihilated them entirely. This situation had lasted until 1726 when each tribe became the proprietor of the grounds it occupied, but the Khoshots were favored by the fact that they remained the proprietors of the large and best pastures stolen from the Tibetans in 1509. The glorious period of the Khoshots was at a very low ebb and the Tibetans deemed the opportunity at hand to recover their old pastures, to chase the hated, enfeebled Mongols and to occupy the pastures on the northern borders of the Yellow River which were in the hands of the Khoshots. 175x 628

A long period of devastation and murder succeeded. The Tibetan lama Chaghan Nom-un Khan was one of the leaders of the revolt. Many Khoshots left the country. The revolt spread rapidly. Many Tibetan tribes of the Kanchow and Yung Ch'ang and Liangchow regions joined the revolt and plundered the lands of the Mongols. Those of Liangchow attacked Mongol tribes in Sung Shan and stole 4,000 cattle, those of Kanchow plundered the Uighur tribes in the vicinity of the city, etc. The whole country was upset: the army was in a hurry. Except for an inroad in Tatung and one in Hsiao Hsia, Huangchung was not devastated. The officials removed from the lama the tribes he controlled. The revolt was not quelled until 1854, after thirty years. No notes are recorded concerning the movement of Monguor troops against the revolting Tibetans (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 62*a–b*).

The empire had a bad time, for in the meantime revolts raged unchecked in the provinces of middle and north China. A new uprising of the White Lotus sect had started in 1831. The sect continued its ravages and destruction under new names. The revolt was followed in 1850 by the insurrection of the Taiping, which 175x 579 795

[98] J. J. De Groot, *op. cit.*, 363, sq.

[P. 65(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

lasted until 1864, during which 20 million people of Kiangsu province were killed. Simultaneously the Nien Fei sect (mounted brigands) started its ravages in 1850. This revolt ended in 1868, having devastated the same provinces of the empire. 175x 795 579

In Turkistan the Mohammedan Chang Ko Erh revolted in 1826. He conquered Turkistan and in 1828 the city of Suchow in North Kansu, situated along the well-known trade road to Central Asia. The regular troops of Liangchow, Kanchow, and Hsining were moved in a hurry to cope with the invasion which threatened to overrun Kansu. The Monguor troops had not been called to come to the rescue of the army. However, T'u-ssu Lu had sent grain to Suchow to feed the hungry troops. He was rewarded with the button of the second degree worn on the cap (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The long exhausting war of China with the Jungars ended in 1857 and a new Mohammedan uprising broke out in Turkistan in 1864. It lasted until 1876 and conquered the entire region of the Tarim basin. 175x 648 [703] [579]

REVOLT OF THE EAST KANSU AND HUANGCHUNG MOHAMMEDANS, 1860–1873

The revolt is summarized according to the *Annals* of Kansu 47: 4 sq. 175x 795

In 1859 the Mohammedan Ma-ha-pu-tu revolted in the eastern suburb of the city of Ho Chou in East Kansu. The revolt was soon quelled. The reason for the revolt is not noted. 579 628

In 1860 the Salars of Hsun Hua in East Kansu and those of Pa Yen Jung in Huangchung revolted in combination with the Mohammedans of the Shensi province, far more numerous than the Salars. A group started plundering in the Ho Chou region, and a group (that of the Salars of Pa Yen Jung who lived in Huangchung south of the subprefecture of Nienpei, north of the Yellow River) invaded the southern valleys of Hsining.

In 1861 these groups, drawing near Hsining, were put to flight by the commander Chao Erh-hsun, but they popped up in the eastern valley of Hsining, burning, destroying villages, and killing many people. The local militia could not withstand their fierce attacks.

In 1862 the rebels having no aim beyond plunder and the satisfaction of seeing their hatred against the Chinese fulfilled, roamed in strong groups all over Huangchung and East Kansu. Every day more Mohammedans of Kansu joined their groups. The lamas, Nangso, and Tibetans fought with the army. Some groups were victorious; some suffered hard reverses. The Salar t'u-ssu of the four upper and lower groups submitted with the Shensi Mohammedans in Tsa Pa Ch'eng. The suspicious officials nonetheless accepted their surrender, because the Nien Fei and Fa Fei brigands roamed in the vicinity of T'ungkuan, and they

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were afraid these brigands would join the rebel Mohammedans. 175 × 795

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Hsing-nan was ordered to join the troops of General Fan Pei-lin and guard the passes of Cha Ssu Kuan and Ch'ing Ling nao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). T'u-ssu Ch'i Ch'eng-kao joined the army, fighting the rebels on the passes (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a*). T'u-ssu Chao Yung-li guarded the passes in Pa Yen Jung country, and was rewarded with the two-eyed peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). 579 628 [703]

T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun, having the title of brigadier general, fought with 500 of his troops around Hsining. He was helped by his nephew Lu Su-chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57, 60).

In 1863 the revolt was growing more intensive every day. East Kansu suffered tremendously.

In the tenth moon rebels of the district of Ninghsia, led by Ma Hua-lung [99] took the important city of Ninghsia by storm. The city was devastated. Many fires were set and tens of thousands of Chinese were killed. Thereafter Ma Hua-lung besieged and captured the city of Ling Chou where he killed 20,000 Chinese.

In the tenth moon Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining. For a long time dissension concerning the old and the new religion divided the Hsining Mohammedans into two camps. Governor Yu T'ung invited the Mohammedan chief Ma Wen-i to patch up the trouble and to make them desist from plundering the country. Both parties consented but a strong group of Salars and Shensi Mohammedans arrived, besieged the city, and then plundered the country. During the year 1863 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to garrison in Sheng T'ang and Ch'i-li-pu, and guard the western highway *Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*b*). [798]

In 1864 the revolt raged unchecked in East Kansu, and the city of Hsun Hua was taken by storm, followed by a tremendous massacre of the Chinese population. Another Mohammedan group attacked the city of Donkir west of Hsining, but was beaten. It invaded the Sina valley and was put to flight. Long before the attack of the city, dissension among the Mohammedans concerning the two religions had divided them into two groups. The old group was called the great group (*ta hueï*), the adherents of the new religion, the group of the flowered temple (*hua sse*). The first group disapproved of the attack on the city and called into the city 1,000 of its members from outside. The Chinese population of [563]

[99] The Moslem Ma Hua-lung, back from Turkistan, had founded a new sect in Chin Chi Pu in the prefecture of Ninghsia. He claimed to have received revelations from Allah. The people honored him as an equal of Mohammed. He was to be succeeded by his descendant after his death as chief of the sect. However, after his death, his son-in-law and his grandson struggled for the succession, and the sect parted in two groups. He did not proscribe attendance at the mosques, but he recommended praying at home, two or three families together, praying in a loud voice, with the palms of the hands turned upward. The sect spread even as far as Szechwan and Yunnan provinces (d'Ollone, *op. cit.*, 374).

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the city was grateful and ready to help them. The second group called three thousand outsiders. However, the attackers were beaten by the old group, the local militia of the Chinese population. 175x 795 579 628

In 1865 the depredation of the cities of Ku Lang, Yung Ch'ang, Shan Tan, and Kanchow, situated on the trade road to Turkistan, was wicked and ruthless. The rebels carried by storm the city of Suchow, and a terrible massacre of the population took place; 10,000 Chinese were killed. The pass of Chia Yu Kuan was captured by the rebels. At the time the rebels passed Liangchow, many Mohammedans from the vicinity fled into the city for shelter. The official, unable to put reliance on them and suspecting their connivance with the rebels, massacred them all in the city.

In the third moon the city of Hsining was besieged for a second time. The rebels were put to flight. Then they attacked the city of Donkir again. They were chased and looted several villages. At that time the dissension among the two groups had subsided. Mohammedans of Hsining attacked the city of Lao Ya Ch'eng but were beaten.

T'u-ssu Ah helped defend the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). T'u-ssu Chou Hsieh-chi died on the field of battle defending the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51*a*). T'u-ssu Hsin, after the defense of the city, disappeared in the mountains and returned only in 1886 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 53*b*). During the whole year the Mohammedans had devastated East Kansu and Huangchung.

During 1866–1867 the attacks continued, and the army resisted in the same desultory fashion. The power of the Mohammedans was too strong and that of the army too feeble and uncoordinated. All these expeditions were in the nature of pillaging parties, which were murdering and kidnapping people, and carrying away all the valuables they could find. They stirred the bitter hatred which burned in the hearts of the Chinese against the Mohammedans, and that of the Mohammedans against the Chinese.

In 1868 the Mohammedans of Hsining again looted the Donkir region and were defeated in Shen Chung. Their chief Ah Wu was captured and killed with 1,300 of his brigands.

In the tenth moon, the new governor general of Shensi-Kansu, Tso Tsung-t'ang, appointed in 1866, arrived with his troops to quell the revolt.

In 1869–1870 the general first attacked the most important center of the uprising. He quelled the revolt of Ma Hua-lung and cleared the Ninghsia district of rebels. He acted as ruthlessly with the Mohammedans as they had behaved with the Chinese. The massacre [798] of the Mohammedans was tremendous. The stronghold of Chin Chi Pu, the center of the revolt, was burned to the ground with the defenders of the city who fought with the courage of despair. Nothing was heard of them any more. Ling Wu was taken in the same way and few defenders escaped.

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The Mohammedan population of Ninghsia was very dense. It inhabited many important villages. One village after another was destroyed but a few Mohammedans managed to escape toward Shensi or Huangchung. The army commanders of Ninghsia and the local militia, which had suffered so many reverses and lost many soldiers at the hands of the Mohammedans, were in high spirits and revenged themselves against their former oppressors. In the meantime the revolt went on in the other prefectures of Kansu-Shensi. 175 795 579 628

In 1871 Ma Hua-lung, who had surrendered the previous year, was killed with his father, his son, brothers, and the commander of his troops. The revolt was quelled in the prefecture of Ninghsia.

In the third moon the city of Lien Ch'eng, the stronghold of the Lu t'u-ssu, was attacked by the rebels. The attack failed and the rebels were put to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*b*).

In 1872, in the third moon, Tso Tsung-t'ang, leading his army, went to Hsining. The Mohammedans of Hsining, in combination with Salars and Shensi rebels, were at that time plundering the country, killing people, and converting their villages into fortresses, in expectation of attacks from the Chinese army. Tso Tsung-t'ang followed the tactics he had successfully used in Ninghsia, and before long he had the situation in hand. In combination with the Hsining troops he cleared the country, destroying the villages of Mohammedans one after another, and killing all the Mohammedans he could lay hand on. The figure of those killed ran into the ten thousands. More than 100 villages had been destroyed. The Mohammedan population of the Hsining country was very dense. This fact gives an insight into the power of the Mohammedans in the country, and the difficulty for small armies assigned to defend definite countries, and, without coordination among them to cope with the situation. [798]

In the seventh moon the general moved to Lanchow to recommence the same tactics, annihilating the strongholds, killing and demoralizing the rebels.

In the eleventh moon several thousand Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining again. Among them were Salars of the two Salar t'u-ssu from Hsun Hua, the four upper and lower kungs, Mohammedans from Shensi province and from the suburbs of Hsining. The situation in Hsining seems to have been critical, for troops were sent by General Tso Tsung-t'ang from Lanchow. The troops could not cross the Tat'ung River, the boats having been burned by the rebels. The T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng, living on the borders of the river, immediately called his people to prepare a floating bridge, and the troops arrived on time in Hsining. The army administered a crushing defeat to the rebels, destroyed the Mohammedan suburb of Hsining, and the massacre followed. Then the local Mohammedans sued for peace and surrender in concert with the Salars. The officials suspected their faithfulness. They retired

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and started plundering again. They were pursued, and 3,000 among them were killed. The remaining Salars fled to Pa Yien Jung and the surrender of the Hsining Mohammedans was accepted. The Hsining revolt was quelled. The Mohammedans had suffered tremendous losses.

In 1873, in the first moon, the troops recovered the subprefecture of Tat'ung and cleared the country in the same ruthless way. For many months the army had tried to recover the city of Suchow, situated on the trade road to Turkistan. In the Suchow area the Mohammedan population was very dense. Troops were sent from Lanchow and Hsining, but did not succeed in the action. Finally, in October, Tso Tsung-t'ang himself arrived with more troops from Lanchow. In November the city was recovered, the country cleared, and the Mohammedan population of the whole country massacred.

The same year the cities of Hsun Hua and Ho Chou were recovered and the country cleared. The number of the slaughtered Mohammedans in the cities and the surrounding villages was tremendous. Huangchung and East Kansu were pacified. Both Chinese and Mohammedans had borne the brunt of the revolt, and suffered equally.

During this last revolt, 1860–1873, a relatively few number of notes are encountered concerning the role played by the t'u-ssu and their troops. The fact is quite understandable. Mohammedan groups were running all over the whole country, and the forces of the regular army were insufficient to cope with the situation on a large scale. The t'u-ssu had to protect their own strongholds and fortified villages which sheltered their subjects, in the way the officials had to protect the cities with their population. Huangchung had suffered terribly and the destroyed villages and cities told the tale. The Monguors had had a bad time, but comparatively few had lost their lives, having hid and resisted the rebels in the strongholds of their t'u-ssu. The loss of cattle, houses, etc., was tremendous.

For the second time dissension concerning the old and new religion had caused a terrible revolt. The fanatic Salars, as well as the Chinese Mohammedans, had been responsible for all the harm suffered in Kansu and Shensi. However, every time their revolt had been on the brink of disaster, both groups forgot their dissension about religion and together fought fanatically their common enemy, the army of the hated Chinese.

REVOLT OF MOHAMMEDANS IN 1895–1896

During the revolt of the Mohammedans in 1860–1873, many cities and villages of Huangchung had been devastated and many, many thousands of Chinese and Mohammedans killed. During the following twenty-two years, the country had more or less recovered from the disaster, when a new revolt of the Mohammedans

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broke out, as terrible as the preceding, and forecasting anew many days and nights of black despair. The news of a revolt of the Mohammedans was enough to cause a feeling of awe all over the country. 175x 795 579 628

This time the revolt started in Hsun Hua in East Kansu where, in 1762, Ma Ming-hsin, coming back from a pilgrimage, had founded his new religion. It was caused by dissension among the Mohammedans of Hsun Hua concerning the old and new religions. Han Mu-li was the leader of the old religion group, and Han Ssu the leader of the new religion group. Fifty thousand Salars prepared to join the revolt. In Hsun Hua, at that time, there was a garrison of only five to six thousand soldiers.

The viceroy of the provinces of Shen Kan Yang, Ch'ang-chun, was informed. Immediately he ordered the commanders of Kanchow, Hsining, and Turkistan to move their troops around the Hsun Hua region, in order to encircle the revolt (*Annals* of Kansu 47: 63*b*, 64*a*). The troops arrived too late, the city of Hsun Hua was already besieged by Han Mu-li and the Salars, the Mohammedans of Ho Chou, Hai Ch'eng, and Pa Yen Jung. Nienpei had already joined the revolt (*Annals* of Kansu 5: 49, 58*a–b*).

But there is another version of the cause of the revolt. The troubles arose in Hsun Hua from the dissensions related to the old and new religions, in the first moon of 1895. Then the viceroy sent Commander Lei Cheng-kuan immediately to garrison with his troops in the city of Ho Chou, in order to prevent the spread of the revolt. However, the whole region was upset on account of the misconduct of the troops of Ho Chou. Two Mohammedan leaders of Hsun Hua went to see the commander in Ho Chou, asking to put his troops in order. He killed the two leaders and then the revolt started and spread like a prairie fire. Hsun Hua was besieged by Salars, Ho Chou and Hai Ch'eng joined the revolt.

Later, the investigations of the conduct of Commander Lei Cheng-kuan disclosed that the reason for the misconduct of the soldiers of his troops had been the overdue payment of his soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 5: 42*a–b*, 43*a*).

Then followed many reverses and small successes of the Chinese troops, the flight of the besiegers of Hsun Hua in the fifth moon, and the spread of the revolt in Huangchung. In the sixth moon the Mohammedans of Hsining revolted, and with them all the Mohammedans of the whole country: Tatung and Pe-ta were besieged and captured. The Chinese troops were unable to cope with the revolt.

General Teng Tsen of Hsining asked for permission to order the enrollment of 200 soldiers of each of the tribes in the country (*Annals* of Kansu 47: 64).[100]

This note seems to point to the enrollment of the Monguor troops and their t'u-ssu, besides that of the

[100] d'Ollone, *op. cit.* 21: 299.

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Tibetan tribes. However, nowhere is recorded in this section the name of a t'u-ssu. Records about the t'u-ssu do not reach as far as 1895. 175x 795 579 628

Here we must close the chapter of the history of the Monguors during the Ch'ing dynasty, but a few words more will help one to understand the terrible devastation wrought in Huangchung during this revolt.

In the tenth moon, when the situation was completely out of hand, General Tung Fu-hsiang arrived with a strong army from Turkistan. He first went to Ho Chou and Hsun Hua, the centers of the revolt, ruthlessly murdering the Mohammedans in the way they had behaved with the Chinese. Then he pacified the Salars of Pa Yen Jung and the entire region south of Nienpei, along the northern borders of the Yellow River, all in the same bloody way. He went to Tat'ung and Pe-ta, and reached all the strongholds and fortified villages of the Mohammedans north, south, and east of Hsining, one after another, devastating the country and slaughtering the people.

In the second moon of 1896 the revolt was quelled. The remaining Mohammedans, having no way to live, fled toward Kokonor. The Tibetans and Mongols in Kokonor had been prevented from keeping in readiness to exterminate the rebels, pursued by the army. Small groups of them fled to Turkistan across the southern mountain range and submitted to the officials of Turkistan; most of them died from starvation and cold in the middle of the winter.

In 1920, traveling in the country, one encountered ruined villages and cities which told the story of both terrible Mohammedan revolts and this made it easy to understand the hatred which today still smolders in the hearts of Chinese and Mohammedans against each other in Kansu province. 175x

This first part of the book sheds light on the hopeless situation on the frontier regions during the Ming time. 175x 105

On the one hand, the uncouth Mongols were unable to organize a united front for the recovery of their lost empire; they were divided and subdivided in groups, fighting each other under the leadership of chieftains, seething with hatred and killing one another. They tumbled back into barbarism, invading the frontier regions, plundering, ravaging the country, abducting and killing the people. In Huangchung, East Kansu, and Kokonor they ruined and scattered the Tibetan tribes, reducing them to the level of slaves.

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/39 cont'd/

535 In the evening of the last day of the year, in the kitchen, in
302 front of the fireplace and before the image of the god of the hearth, they plait the bride's hair in the fashion of married women. The groom arrives, the whole family is together; the engaged couple kneel and bow three times to the god of the hearth. The marriage ceremony is completed! They prostrate themselves to their parents and to the whole family; a little extra is served at the meal, and they wish one another better days and a return of good fortune.

463 On the first days of the new year the parents invite the go-
465 between, they dine the best they can, they pour gin, and the young
58 couple prostrate themselves to him. Then they offer the go-between the usual present of the poor, either a string of cash or a string of cash and 400 cash. They make excuses for the little that they can offer, they thank him effusively, and then they have discharged their obligations.

585 When the bride's family is very poor, it happens that the groom's family (mother-in-law and go-between) take the girl to their home when she is only nine or ten years old or even younger. They keep her in the family as an unmarried girl until she has reached 15; /40/ then the last day of the year she is married as described above. Marriage without ceremonies is also practiced in the [illegible] month of the year when there is a sudden death near the time of the wedding in one of the families of the engaged couple; the same would the girl's parents die; then the groom's family hastens to take the girl home to marry her when she is about 15.

765 Among the more Chinese T'ou-jen, upon the death of the
585 parents of one of the parties several days before the wedding, they follow the Chinese custom, which consists in celebrating the marriage without paying attention to the death. The festivities take place with the usual vigor. Only on the day after the wedding do the lamentations and the great mourning begin; the death is announced everywhere and preparations for the funeral are made.

/84 cont'd/

593 make her life more bearable, make difficulties with the family of
574 the parents-in-law, and instead of doing good to their daughter they make her situation more and more difficult.

422 Besides these abnormal visits, it is necessary to point out a
58 custom completely singular in a patriarchal organization, with the system of the "large family," in which the daughter-in-law and all that belongs to her is the property of her husband and his family. This custom is that the young married woman keeps her jewels, her ornaments, her best clothes, and all that is dear to her not at the home of her husband but at her own mother's. There she has two or three trunks which her parents take care of but whose keys she keeps. On festive occasions the married woman herself goes to her parents' home to get her best clothes, or she sends someone to get them. Yet at her husband's home /85/ she also has one or two trunks in which she keeps her less important things and those of her children. This general custom offends neither the husband nor his family; all the same it may be the occasion of many disagreeable consequences. Indeed, it is thanks to this "strongbox" that dishonest women find a place to conceal things unfairly acquired in the family of the parents-in-law; again it is there that the presents offered by a too assiduous lover repose, etc. The T'ou-jen all recognize that this custom is not ideal, but they are powerless to make it disappear. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, p. 61: The adoption of a woman by the new clan is symbolised by a prayer addressed to the spirits of her husband's clan and a visit to the tomb of her husband's ancestors. Besides, in the course of the marriage ceremony she must execute some other rites symbolising her adoption by her husband's clan.

Among the northern Tungus the woman, after she is married, is not so closely bound at her husband's clan, and she is always considered as belonging to her mother's clan.

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576 and a felt hat which is a simpler edition of the ceremonial
606 hat with its additional ornament of a miniature spear
291 and shield.

MARRIAGE AND ITS REGULATION

•581 Because of the veneration of ancestors and the neces-
858 sity for having male children in order to carry on the ancestral cult, marriage is not an optional but a necessary part of Monguor life, except of course for lamas. The poorest people will scrimp and save in order to be able to meet the expenses of getting a bride for a son. They will sell animals and land, and go into debt. When a paternal inheritance is divided, money must first be set aside to provide wives for the brothers who are not yet married. People will be consoled or resigned at the death of a husband or wife, but never for the death of an only son, and the sweetest consolation of an old man nearing death is to have married all his sons and to have cradled his grandsons. When two old Monguors meet for the first time, the polite greeting includes the question, "are all your sons married and do you have grandsons?"

582 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There is absolute prohibition against marrying a girl belonging to the same clan. Within the clan, therefore, there are no marriages between nobles and commoners, because all bear the same clan name. It has already been noted above, however, that there began to be exceptions to this rule among the commoners in the period of decay and breakdown of the Monguor society, partly because the commoners are in fact not the actual descendants of the ancestors of the noble clan but merely "assimilated" as a result of being the subjects of the noble clan, with the result that poor nobles began to marry their daughters to sons of commoners. It has also been noted that this loosening of the rules among the commoners was aided by the enrollment of Tibetans and Chinese in the Monguor clans; Tibetan and Chinese women were frequently married by Monguor commoners, and occasionally by the nobles.

The rule of exogamy makes impossible marriage between the children of two brothers, but marriages between the children of a brother and a sister are allowable and even frequent, because the sister married out of her brother's clan and her children and his children therefore have different clan names. Very often, also, when family *A* gives a girl to family *B*, family *B* reciprocates by giving a girl to be married to a boy of family *A*. In all marriages, however, boys and girls must be of the same generation—a custom which may be the result of Chinese influence.

581 The influence of wealth on marriage is of several
565 kinds. The fact that chiefs of clans and rich nobles and rich commoners are prone to marry girls from rich families, including Chinese families, has already been mentioned. The influence of wealth is also shown when

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581 a well-to-do family needing more work done in the
565 household arranges for a son who is still a child to marry a grown-up girl. It is not surprising that such marriages are frequently followed by the elopement of the poor bride with a lover of her own choosing. The
583 case corresponding to that of the bride brought into the family for the sake of her working power is that of the
587 poor young man who goes to work in a family not his own, perhaps for years, in order to earn a bride from that family. To work for a bride in this manner is to lose a certain amount of status socially, since it requires that the young man live in a household where all the male members of the family have status and rights, and he alone is an outsider. A widow usually becomes the second wife of one of her husband's brothers if the family is still living united, but not if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately. More and more, in the decline of the old Monguor society, it has become usual for the widow to make her own choice of a second husband. If, instead of going to one of her husband's brothers, she marries a man of her own choice, it is customary for her new husband to bring her home secretly and at night, for fear that she may be kidnapped on the road by some other aspiring lover—a practice that seems to indicate that an unprotected widow is, or was in the past, "fair game."

583 Two exceptional kinds of marriage I have dealt with in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen.*
588 These are the "marriage to the pole," when a girl remains in the family in which she was born, but takes lovers and bears children, who instead of having the clan name of their father or fathers inherit the clan name of their mother's brothers and are treated as if they belonged to the patrilineal clan; and the "marriage to the girdle" when a girl, unmarried and living in her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves her his girdle to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.[3] Both of these customs appear to have been borrowed by the Monguors from the Tibetans.

The price paid for the bride is the subject of considerable negotiations between the families concerned, conducted by a go-between. It is usual for a girl to be a couple of years older than her husband, and the usual age for marriage is when the boy is fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen. Divorce and repudiation by the husband are rather rare.[4]

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

562 The status of the wife is inferior to that of the hus-
581 band, as is inevitable in a society in which social rights and family property are regarded as belonging primarily

[3] See above, p. 78, n. 5.

[4] Here only a few data are given about marriage customs, since I have already published an extensive monograph on this subject; see *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kansou.*

[P. 87b]

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581

to the male side of the family. When a girl marries, her family is regarded, not as "acquiring" relations-in-law, but as "losing" the girl; hence the fundamental attitude that the husband's family is "buying" the girl and her own family "selling" her. Since by this transfer her labor and productive power are lost to the family in which she was born, the family, in arranging the match, attempts to recover the capital value of the girl and this makes it impossible to consider her wishes in making the marriage. The interests of the family come first. The same considerations apply both to the inheritance of a widow by one of her husband's brothers, and the comparable custom, known to have been observed in the ancient Mongol society from which the Monguors are descended, under which a son inherited the wives of his father, except for his own mother. Both customs can clearly be referred to the view that these women, having been acquired at the expense of the family or clan, must be retained within the family. To the Chinese the idea that a son should inherit his father's secondary wives is abhorrent, and therefore the disappearance of this custom probably began when the Monguors submitted to the Ming dynasty, although the dying out of the custom must also have been encouraged by the decrease of polygamy for reasons that have been described above.

Wives accept their inferior status without resentment. Their individual outlook is conditioned by the social atmosphere in which they have been brought up. When they were children, they realized that women were more proud of bearing sons than daughters. They knew that women who had no sons felt inferior. When they were big enough to work, they lived, worked, and ate in the kitchen with the daughters-in-law, while the male members of their family ate in the main room. Even if an uncle or brother took his meal in the kitchen, he had to be served respectfully by the womenfolk. Girls grew up accustomed to the rule that they could eat only after the men had finished. Consequently, a Monguor girl does not expect to find anything different in the family into which she marries.

Inferior status does not mean that a wife can be considered a slave. On this subject I cannot agree with the many writers who have maintained that among the pastoral nomadic societies of Asia the status of a wife is essentially that of a slave, and that the slave status derives from an anciently universal practice of marriage by capture. We know from history—for example, from the *Secret History of the Mongols*—that wives were captured. We know also that in the marriage customs of the pastoral Mongols of today there are ceremonies or practices that suggest a tradition of marriage by capture. We know also that the capture of women was one of the causes of the chronic warfare among the Mongols of old; but all of this does not prove that capture was the sole and universal method of acquiring wives. The

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562 chronic warfare among the ancient Mongols and Turks required alliances as well as feuds.

581 Hence the institution, known to be very early, of "pairs" of clans, each regularly taking its wives from the other in a sort of marriage alliance.[5] An association of this kind was a natural basis for alliance in war, since each clan would not only be aiding an ally but contributing to the security of its own daughters.[6]

512 181 Among pastoral nomads the traditional life of the man, especially the married man, is one of long periods of idleness, spent largely in gossip and visiting, alternating with short periods of intense activity—in former times. defensive and offensive warfare, and in modern times the periods of migration, especially spring and autumn migration, and the periods spent by a man when he is summoned for obligatory service under the clan or tribal chief. The Monguors, as descendants of nomads, have inherited this tradition. The Monguor men, however, because of the change to an agricultural economy, cannot be quite as lazy as pastoral nomads. Farming cannot be profitable unless the men do their share of the work; but in spite of the example of patient toil set them by their Chinese neighbors, the Monguor men are never as industrious as the Chinese.

512 462 In the home, the kitchen and all things concerning food, the preparation of meals and cleaning up after meals are women's work. Women also collect the fuel, consisting chiefly of the droppings of cows, horses, and sheep, which after being collected have to be dried in the sun until they are combustible. In the early morning when the cocks are still crowing to announce the coming day the wives start working while their husbands go on sleeping. First the wife must go to the well with a wooden cask on her back to fetch water. Then she boils water in the iron cauldron, set in the hearth, to make tea. While she is making the tea she carries hot water to her husband for washing. While the husband is drinking his early morning tea the wife dresses and washes the children, prepares breakfast and carries a

[5] Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols,* as cited, 58. "Les Mongols des XIe–XIIIe siècles devaient parfois aller chercher très loin leurs femmes, et s'accorder avec un clan éloigné. En effect, . . . les pâturages étaient distribuées de telle manière chez les anciens Mongols, que souvent on ne recontrait aux alentours aucun répresentant d'un clan étranger. . . . Ceci explique, les réminiscences anciennes aidant, la fréquence des rapts; les femmes etaient enlevées de force chaque fois que l'occasion favorable s'en présentait.

"On relève fréquemment l'usage pour un clan de choisir ses promises dans un autre clan, mais toujours le même. Les membres de ces clans s'accordent mutuellement le titre d' 'allié,' de parent par alliance, '*quda.*' Parfois l'échange des jeunes filles à marier donne lieu à des traités en règle entre clans." (Note that side by side with the word *quda* there is the word which in modern Mongol is *hadam* and in Monguor *gadim*—see the Monguor relationship terms as given above—which expresses "relationship with a woman married into my clan, or a man who has married a woman from my clan."—O. L.)

[6] It is possible that this kind of association also helps to account for the importance of the maternal uncle, as "the man who has interest in both clans."—O. L.

[P. 88 b]

/5/

Preliminary Notes

000 1) General necessity for marriage.

2) Necessity for male descendants.

It seems that two remarks are necessary for a good understanding of this study. It is evident that in order to judge a painting, one must not see it at night in the light of a candle, but during the day in the light desired by the artist; one must even be at the right spot to observe what the author wished to put in it; then only will one understand his work.

Now concerning marriage among the T'ou-jen, the ways of thinking of the East and the West differing completely, it is easy not to see the facts in their true light.

The ways and customs of a people find their explanation in its present-day or former ways of thinking and philosophy. Whether this philosophy be good or bad, we do not judge here, but we must see the facts while seeing through ourselves in order to understand them. To observers with different ways of thinking, the same facts may seem rational and honest to some and puerile and full of horror to others.

1. General Necessity for Marriage

581 589 We Europeans do not find it strange to meet people who are not married; we are not surprised to see bachelors in our offices, at our meetings, at our parties; the idea does not occur to us that being unmarried incriminates them; although deep down we feel that this situation is abnormal, we find, outside of religious principles, enough reasons, if not to justify being single, at least to excuse it.

/6/ Now such a point of view does not exist among the T'ou-jen. No T'ou-jen will understand that a man who is not a monk, who is not a lama, is not married unless he is physically incapable of it.

581 589 183 Also among the T'ou-jen it is polite to find out whether all the sons are already married; to satisfy this law of marriage, one will go

581 /6 cont'd/
589 as far as selling all that one possesses, one's lands, houses, and ani-
183 mals, and will live in indigence; at the death of the parents, the elder married sons, in the case where the possessions are about to be divided up, must, before all else, put aside the sums required for the marriage of the younger unmarried sons; the parents, at the approach of death, will feel the greatest relief in the fact that they have gotten all their sons married. In order to permit the poor to marry, recourse is had to all kinds of contrivances, which very often are only imposed by reason of their primordial goal, which is that of marriage, and which scorn many obligations which in "justice" would seem, at the least, to have to be taken into greater consideration. One will find decisions which will appear unjust, but when one studies this mental attitude, which gives proportion to everything, one will understand that among the T'ou-jen the other principles yield to it and are sacrificed.

554 Marriage, for the T'ou-jen people, is the great affair in life,
581 obligatory above all else. One is no longer an honorable man when one is not married; this is because they believe that man has the duty to live according to natural law, that is, to marry and procreate children.

623 One day one of my catechists was invited to sit with the elders
627 of the village to judge the case of a penniless young man who had
689 run off with a girl of good rank. They had been brought back after
588 an escapade of three years, with a child born during the flight.

The young man was on his knees, his hands tied behind his back, imploring the clemency of the judges and of the whole assembled village. /7/ Despairing, he was saying, of ever being able to marry because of his extreme poverty, he had believed it permissible to act in this way, in order to be able to do his duty and marry. "I have been unjust toward the girl's parents, but I submit myself in advance to make all the reparations possible that will be required of me...." The girl also cries for mercy: "I could have hoped for a better match," she admits, "but I followed this young man to be gracious; without me, he would never have been able to marry...."

681 After an important palaver the offending couple was punished, and the judges found a way to indemnify the injured family and to legalize this union.

/7 cont'd/

627 The argument of the judges, before the whole village and the
581 families in question, is very instructive for us. The young man, they
181 said, has not respected the customs of our race, furthermore, he has been unjust with respect to the girl's family; these are grave errors; after the principal accusers, tirades are heard on the necessity of marriage and the indigence of the unfortunate man; finally, he is excused by going back to the extreme obligation to marry. As for the girl, disobedience is censured and the rights of the parents are loudly proclaimed, but she was brave in offering the young man the chance to marry, for marriage is a duty.

We should scarcely admit such reasons; and so I remarked to my catechist and explained to him that in my opinion this was only the commonplace story of a couple who loved each other. "That is possible," he replied, "but it is certain that the young man thought above all of the duty of marriage, and it is poverty which induced him to leave with the girl; as for the girl, she was courageous." It was the same argument. I encountered therefore the same way of thinking in my catechist.

This case would probably be resolved in the same way in the West as in the East, that is to say the union would be legalized; but the motives which would be invoked would be completely different.

/8/ This fact was for me a revelation at the time, and I was able to verify it many times later; it made me acquainted with the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of the general necessity for marriage.

2. Necessity for Male Descendants

858 Another mental habit among the T'ou-jen is an excessive de-
562 sire to see children born, and especially male children.
181 In Europe one is not too concerned when a family has no chil-
581 dren or when there are only girls. Among the T'ou-jen the greatest of misfortunes is the absence of male children. It is necessary to be in the Orient to "live" the text of canon law: Matrimonii finis primarius est procreatio atque educatio prolis /"The primary purpose

/8 cont'd/

858 of marriage is the procreation and rearing of offspring"/. The son is
562 the dream of the Orient. One will resign oneself to poverty, but one
181 will never be consoled for not having a son; one will be consoled over
581 the death of a husband or wife, but one will continue to weep for the loss of an only son. The fact of having no son will be interpreted as a punishment of heaven for sins committed in former lives. One will disregard expenses required for good works and pilgrimages in the interest of producing a male child. Extraordinarily noisy celebrations will be given upon the birth of a first-born son, in which the whole village will take part. The greatest happiness of a T'ou-jen woman will be that of having many sons; so that when one lives in T'ou-jen country, one thinks involuntarily of the Roman mother of the Gracchi presenting her children to her friends, saying, "Here are my jewels." One rarely sees alms refused to the numerous religious and lay beggars; it is because the terrible curse they are accustomed to offer, "Be without descendants," is feared. On the contrary, after receiving alms, the beggar will thank the giver by wishing him a numerous male posterity.

181 We must therefore expect to see matrimonial customs strongly
595 influenced by this way of thinking. Thus, when the wife has no children or no sons, it seems natural /9/ to everyone to take a second wife and even a third. Every T'ou-jen, even the most upright, if means permit, will act in this way. He will not lose the esteem of his fellows in the least for doing so; all of them will even advise him to do so, the most religious man as well as the most pious woman. When the first wife has borne sons, and the husband takes a second, nothing shocking is seen in it, for the more sons one has, the better it is.

I always remember the discussions I had with T'ou-jen friends on the subject of polygamy. I admit that it seemed to me that my arguments did not convince them, even that they were not understood. The good fortune of having sons was for them too sublime an entity to be capable of being put on the same level with the family troubles which polygamy entails; if the bringing up of children of different mothers must leave something to be desired, this disadvantage is a negligible quantity in their eyes, even a quantity of lower order

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582 605 the mother in marriage and now we give you back her daughter to marry your son." The Chinese do not have this expression, as a scholar pointed out to me with a touch of scorn. When the daughter of brothers marries the son of her paternal aunt, which frequently occurs among the Chinese and the T'ou-jen, it is said of this alliance "that the niece goes to join her aunt."

584 184 At any rate one should not conclude from the above that today among the T'ou-jen all marriages are contracted, from generation to generation, regularly and necessarily, between members of the same families; one must not infer that the daughters-in-law in one family are always cousins; neither should one believe that people do not become united with "foreign" families in our use of the word. Present-[605 day conditions are no longer those of former times; the truth is that 582] marriages between cousins (of brothers and sisters) are still very numerous. But since one family may be allied in this way to five or six others, and since one seeks avidly to remain always in the same circle of alliances, it is natural that unions between relatives will be more numerous than those between strictly "foreign" families.

582 This custom is of capital importance. Why does one seek and hold in such high honor these unions between families with which one already has former kin relations? This is an old and general custom. Why, above all, is the notion of tao ts'in, "returning the marriage," considered to be sacrosanct among the T'ou-jen? When a brother asks his sister for a daughter to marry his son, she cannot refuse under any pretext. Why? No one knows. Why does marriage generally remain circumscribed within a restricted circle of families? Why should a practice so generalized and deeply rooted in custom have to be recalled in the traditional short speech of the master of ceremonies of the bride's family on the wedding day at the bridegroom's house, even when the /17/ husband and wife belong to absolutely unrelated families? Even then it is supposed that they were related a long time ago, and that the present marriage renews the old relationships!

581 To understand this practice, should one not recall that all the T'ou-jen formerly lived in a nomadic state? These groups living in the immense steppes of Asia had necessarily to look for support from other nomadic groups, wandering like themselves and seeking support

Mo /17 cont'd/
581 like themselves, for fear of being absorbed or exterminated by other clans stronger than they. Now what is more natural for making these supports as firm and durable as possible than family unions incessantly renewed by marriage?

Mo 614 581 As a matter of fact the youth of the two groups are then mutually exchanged in marriage, and the young people constitute reciprocal guarantees by founding new families on one side and the other. What is more natural than that the pact concluded between two groups be sealed by a series of marriages? When one reads the history of the Mongols, one learned that a certain clan always used to take its wives from a certain other one; that peace was sealed by marriages; that pacts were guaranteed by matrimonial alliances. This is the natural and necessary economy of the nomadic state. Formerly, the purpose of marriage was not only to found a family, but very often to bring together groups of families, or whole clans.

When within this sphere of ideas one understands the expression tao-ts'in with its character of supreme obligation, of sacredness, one easily finds an explanation for it; similarly, one easily understands the custom of marriage between young people of groups already related. Vestiges are found here of the nomadic state where such alliances were a necessity. But as an organ useless to the body slowly atrophies and its reason for being in the end is no longer understood, so the customs under consideration, having become useless to the Mo present-day agrarian economy and practiced /18/ less and less, have Ml ended up by no longer being understood by the people. (1)
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1. Vladimirtsov, The Life of Ghingis Khan, p. 10. "The tribal constitution of the Mongols implied exogamy, that is to say, it obliged the men of a given clan to take wives from some other clan that was not considered closely akin to their own....Owing to the constant feuds, wars and raids, the kidnapping of marriageable women was a frequent occurrence (witness the case of Yesugei-Begatur himself)... another solution was for the clans to conclude

Mo Ml 584

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agreements for mutual exchange of women. The respective members of the two clans that had entered on such agreement called each other "Kuda"...." /Cited in English./

Mo 104 581 The word Kuda is found as goda in the Monguor dialect as in all the other Mongol dialects; among the Monguor it has lost its primary sense. The custom according to which the members of two clans exchanged girls in marriage no longer exists. The word guda today is the name which the members of two families related by the marriage of one of their children give to each other.

Mo 582 The conclusion then will be that we see the law of exogamy practiced largely mitigated by that of endogamy, which causes many wives, even in our day, to be taken from among the daughters of paternal aunts. (2)

2. I do not believe it is necessary to refer to totemism in order to explain the law of exogamy which presides over marriages among the T'ou-jen. The conditions of nomadic life amply provide an explanation for this practice; secondly, exogamy is not essentially totemic; thirdly, totemism among the Mongols in general has not been proved. When we deal with religious life among the T'ou-jen, we shall see, nevertheless, two facts which may attract attention to this question: we shall see the erection of the pole at the festivals given after planting, and we shall have two youth festivals.

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N *563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren.
M 592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually
554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N *563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional
M part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the
581 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon-
562 gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an-
[769] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered
[771] a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their live-
stock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently
*563 the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con-
M siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen
584 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage
583 age for boys is between 14-16.
582 Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab-
N solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is
*563 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob-
M served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage
614 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the
582 weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re-
565 garded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it
has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy
rules need not be observed as strictly.

N Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but
*563 does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a
M sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different
582 clan.

M A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family,
[587] usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband.
However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance
and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she
wants.

N Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from
*563 the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage
M to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan,
588 but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patri-
lineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as
members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the
belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has
relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be
"married" if she becomes pregnant.

N The relationship between two families connected by marriage
*563 is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being
M part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence
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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

618 In a clan structure grouped under a single clan name, the principle of exogamy is in theory supposed to be
•582 strict, but the practice varies somewhat from the theory, again indicating that the nominal clan includes a true genealogical clan together with families that have been assimilated to the clan. In a Monguor clan it is, for example, permitted for Monguor men to marry girls of families of known Chinese or Tibetan origin who have enrolled in the clan. I have also been told that among some groups of the commoners in the Li and Lu clans, Monguor boys marry Monguor girls of the same clan. They claim that in permitting such marriages they follow the practice of the Chinese, who allow marriages between families bearing the same surname (especially if it is one of the very common surnames), if the two clans are considered to be descended in fact from different original ancestors. Exogamy is, however, strictly observed among the noble or elite families who do claim true genealogical descent from a common ancestor; but once in a while a poor noble marries the daughter of a commoner of his clan.

If we may accept it as proved that the commoners are of different descent from the nobles, we are still faced with the problem of determining the real origin of the commoners. The Monguors, when asked about the difference between nobles and commoners, say that "things have always been that way." It is not surprising to find among the nobles, however, vestiges of a tradition explaining how they acquired their subject commoners. I have been told by no less than three T'u-ssu—the Ch'i, Li, and Ah—that the commoners are descendants of tribes which had been conquered by the ancestors of the T'u-ssu.

PROCESS OF CLAN FORMATION AT THE TIME OF CHINGIS KHAN

618 For a comparison we may turn to the record of what
175 is known about the way that Chingis Khan allocated territories and subjects to his sons, brothers, and leading generals. Vladimirtsov has described how Chingis assigned territories to the nobility that he created as a result of his conquests, and how he gave them sometimes whole tribes and sometimes fragments of tribes to live in these territories and be ruled by them.[4] The result was a social structure in which—as we see in miniature in the surviving Monguor society—the nobility were quite clear about their claims of descent, either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors," while the subject population, of diverse origin, were less clear about their genealogies but closely associated with their rulers in a manner that remained partly tribal but had become partly feudal. Under this system, there was a protocol which nominally required each ruling prince or noble to furnish to his sovereign a

ing the name of their suzerain clan, under the orders of the latter."

[4] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 124, 125, 127. [p. 396]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

576 and a felt hat which is a simpler edition of the ceremonial
606 hat with its additional ornament of a miniature spear
291 and shield.

MARRIAGE AND ITS REGULATION

581 Because of the veneration of ancestors and the neces-
858 sity for having male children in order to carry on the ancestral cult, marriage is not an optional but a necessary part of Monguor life, except of course for lamas. The poorest people will scrimp and save in order to be able to meet the expenses of getting a bride for a son. They will sell animals and land, and go into debt. When a paternal inheritance is divided, money must first be set aside to provide wives for the brothers who are not yet married. People will be consoled or resigned at the death of a husband or wife, but never for the death of an only son, and the sweetest consolation of an old man nearing death is to have married all his sons and to have cradled his grandsons. When two old Monguors meet for the first time, the polite greeting includes the question, "are all your sons married and do you have grandsons?"

582 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There is absolute prohibition against marrying a girl belonging to the same clan. Within the clan, therefore, there are no marriages between nobles and commoners, because all bear the same clan name. It has already been noted above, however, that there began to be exceptions to this rule among the commoners in the period of decay and breakdown of the Monguor society, partly because the commoners are in fact not the actual descendants of the ancestors of the noble clan but merely "assimilated" as a result of being the subjects of the noble clan, with the result that poor nobles began to marry their daughters to sons of commoners. It has also been noted that this loosening of the rules among the commoners was aided by the enrollment of Tibetans and Chinese in the Monguor clans; Tibetan and Chinese women were frequently married by Monguor commoners, and occasionally by the nobles.

The rule of exogamy makes impossible marriage between the children of two brothers, but marriages between the children of a brother and a sister are allowable and even frequent, because the sister married out of her brother's clan and her children and his children therefore have different clan names. Very often, also, when family *A* gives a girl to family *B*, family *B* reciprocates by giving a girl to be married to a boy of family *A*. In all marriages, however, boys and girls must be of the same generation—a custom which may be the result of Chinese influence.

581 The influence of wealth on marriage is of several
565 kinds. The fact that chiefs of clans and rich nobles and rich commoners are prone to marry girls from rich families, including Chinese families, has already been mentioned. The influence of wealth is also shown when

[P. 87a]

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Chapter I

Marriage by Purchase

583 The purchase of the wife by the husband's family is the common form of marriage among the T'ou-jen today. This form of marriage occurs in three different cases, each of which has its customs and special rights:

A. Marriage with a young girl as the official wife
B. Marriage with a widow as the official wife
C. Marriage with a young girl or widow as the second wife, or polygamy

A. Marriage with a Young Girl as the Official Wife

Summary. -- 1. Parties to the marriage. 2. Social position of the future partners with respect to marriage. 3. When the marriage proposal is made. 4. How it is made. 5. Discussion of the bride price. 6. Delivery of the presents. 7. Age required for marriage. 8. Setting of the wedding date and last arrangements. 9. Presentation of last gifts and invitation to the wedding. 10. Wedding without ceremonies. 11. Farewell dinner at the daughter-in-law's home. 12. Getting of the bride. 13. The bride's arrival in her new family. 14. Gifts to the bridegroom's family. 15. The wedding. 16. Opening of the daughter-in-law's mouth. 17. Dinner. 18. Gifts to the family of the daughter-in-law. 19. Departure of the guests. 20. Visits after the wedding. 21. Relations of the newly married couple with the daughter-in-law's family.

1. Parties to the Marriage

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It is natural that those who have the means choose a young girl for a wife; moreover, this is almost a necessity, because they marry young. Ordinary unions are therefore contracted between young people.

582 /12/ The first question which arises is this: With whom may marriage be contracted?

M /12 cont'd/
582 The general rule which governs the unions of T'ou-jen young people is very simple. It requires only that the husband and wife not bear the same name, therefore that they belong to different families. There are no exceptions to this rule. Moreover, it is the
M [17] same rule which exists among the Chinese and the Turco-Mongolian peoples.

M Now the T'ou-jen claim that formerly all the people of the
551 same t'ou-se were called by the name of the t'ou-se; a chief and his people thus constituted a clan. This is possible and even probable, for among the Mongols, who are racial brothers of the T'ou-jen, members of the same clan have the same name. (1) Today,

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1. The Life of Ghingis Khan, by Prof. Vladimirtsov, p. 5: The habit of minor tribes of adopting the appellation of some powerful and related neighbour even though they might be in hostile relations with the latter, is reported by the ethnologists of various parts of the world, e.g. from the Caucasus, the Altai, and contemporary Mongolia.

As the Tartar tribe was numerous, and had by the twelfth century acquired considerable importance, members of the other Mongol clans often adopted the famous name of Tartar, so that their own tribal name ceased to be known except to their nearest neighbours. /Cited in English./

P. 64: Temuchin after having brought all the tribes of Mongolia into subjection is proclaimed Ghingis Khan in 1206 at the sources of the Onon. "The Borjigin clan had once more revived the greatness and the glory of the Mongol name, and all the peoples of their race would henceforward be designated as Mongols. All the

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Noyans, Bagaturs, Beks and Tegins, all the aristocracy now became the Vassals of the clan of Mongol and accepted its name. For the first time the united nation had a common name and the name soon became so glorious that every nomad was proud to call himself a Mongol. /Cited in English./

A similar custom existed among the T'ou-jen. Indeed, we know the case of a group of more than a hundred families under the Iang t'ou-se of Tchouo-ni-tse who came to live in the Choei-mouo-keou of Sining belonging to the Li t'ou-se. The whole group changed its name from Iang to Li and acknowledged Li t'ou-se as its chief.

M 551 /13/ however, due to historic events which we shall relate in their place, families under the same t'ou-se no longer bear the same name.

M 582 178 Hence, in this case, formerly the prohibition against marriage between young people bearing the same name corresponded to that forbidding marriage between members of the same tribe or clan. This prohibition makes us think of the great law of exogamy in all its breadth; an exogamy affecting not only the family but also the clan, since here the two merge. Whatever may have been the case in the past, the law of exogamy today bears only on the single family.

M 551 613 The T'ou-jen consider that the notion of name is exactly equivalent to that of family. All those who do not bear the same name, even though they are descended directly from the same ancestor, are foreigners /i.e., outsiders/ to the family. Here is a conception laden with consequences: daughters given in marriage and, taking the name of their husbands, will consequently leave the family and will become outsiders; they will no longer be buried in the family M [614] cemetery; since their children bear a different name, they will also be foreigners to the family of the mother. It follows from this that M 582 605 since they do not bear the same name, there is no obstacle to the 171 marriage of the children of the two families. Thus one regularly sees

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582 unions between the children of brothers and sisters. Moreover, it is
605 the same practice which exists among the Mongols.
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A similar custom is found among the Chinese; however, the principle "another name, another family" is not pushed to the extreme. Actually, in China one sees marriages between the sons of a sister and the daughters of her brothers, but not the other way around, between the sons of brothers and the daughters of their sisters.

Another kind of alliance much sought after among the T'ou-jen is that contracted between the sons and daughters of two sisters. Two sisters married into two different families bear different names: consequently, their children are free to intermarry. /14/ The same practice is found among the Chinese.

Mo Let us point out still another kind of alliance very frequent
582 nowadays among this people; it consists in the exchange of daughters.
171 Family A gives its daughter in marriage to the son of family B, and family B at the same time offers its daughter in marriage to the son of family A. This custom is also very frequent among the Chinese and the Manchu. (1)

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1. Some notes collected in Mr. Shirokogoroff's excellent study, Social Organisation of the Manchus, Shanghai, 1924, will broaden our horizon. Since the T'ou-jen whom we are discussing are Mongols and Mongolized Cha-t'ouo, it is instructive to compare their customs with those of the Manchu, who, says Mr. Shirokogoroff, p. 168, "do not understand their name as an original ethnical name, but merely as a name of the power that includes different political and ethnical groups (the Mongols and others) into a new political unit." P. 167: "a) Klaproth asserted that the Manchu language is an amalgamation of the Tungus and the Mongol languages influenced above all by Turkic. b) He has shown the intercourse and assimilation of different groups,

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Korean, Tungus, Mongols, and so on. c) I have expounded ... that the Manchus are an amalgamation from the physical standpoint, and that in general the so-called "Mongol race" is merely hypothesis insufficiently based on the superficial impression of the travellers." P. 11: "The Manchus recognize the following three groups, viz., 1) the ancient Manchus, 2) the modern (new) Manchus, 3) the Mongol-Manchus." /Cited in English./ These notes on the subject of the Manchu enter therefore within the framework of our subject. In spite of the enormous distance which separates Kansu from Manchuria, and the total absence of relations between the Manchu and the T'ou-jen, we find that many practices are absolutely identical among the two peoples; others, in the course of centuries, have undergone changes, which were different in the two camps, due to the presence of neighboring peoples with customs different from theirs; in more than one case, it is enough to look at corresponding customs in order to understand their alteration or, evolution.

Ma Mo 171

Ma Mo 582

"Up to the present time the practice of exchange of women is one of the preferred ways to get a wife (among the Manchus). Among some other Tungus groups this is the only practical way of marrying." Shirokogoroff, p. 69. /Cited in English, with interpolation in French, indicated by parentheses./

Mo 582 605

/15/ When the sister's daughter marries one of the sons of her maternal uncles, this union is called tao-t'sin, which means "returning the marriage" in this sense (1) "that formerly you /16/ gave us

/16 cont'd/

582 605 the mother in marriage and now we give you back her daughter to marry your son." The Chinese do not have this expression, as a scholar pointed out to me with a touch of scorn. When the daughter of brothers marries the son of her paternal aunt, which frequently occurs among the Chinese and the T'ou-jen, it is said of this alliance "that the niece goes to join her aunt."

584 184 At any rate one should not conclude from the above that today among the T'ou-jen all marriages are contracted, from generation to generation, regularly and necessarily, between members of the same families; one must not infer that the daughters-in-law in one family are always cousins; neither should one believe that people do not become united with "foreign" families in our use of the word. Present-[605 day conditions are no longer those of former times; the truth is that 582] marriages between cousins (of brothers and sisters) are still very numerous. But since one family may be allied in this way to five or six others, and since one seeks avidly to remain always in the same circle of alliances, it is natural that unions between relatives will be more numerous than those between strictly "foreign" families.

582 This custom is of capital importance. Why does one seek and hold in such high honor these unions between families with which one already has former kin relations? This is an old and general custom. Why, above all, is the notion of tao ts'in, "returning the marriage," considered to be sacrosanct among the T'ou-jen? When a brother asks his sister for a daughter to marry his son, she cannot refuse under any pretext. Why? No one knows. Why does marriage generally remain circumscribed within a restricted circle of families? Why should a practice so generalized and deeply rooted in custom have to be recalled in the traditional short speech of the master of ceremonies of the bride's family on the wedding day at the bridegroom's house, even when the /17/ husband and wife belong to absolutely unrelated families? Even then it is supposed that they were related a long time ago, and that the present marriage renews the old relationships!

581 To understand this practice, should one not recall that all the T'ou-jen formerly lived in a nomadic state? These groups living in the immense steppes of Asia had necessarily to look for support from other nomadic groups, wandering like themselves and seeking support

Mo /17 cont'd/
581 like themselves, for fear of being absorbed or exterminated by other clans stronger than they. Now what is more natural for making these supports as firm and durable as possible than family unions incessantly renewed by marriage?

Mo 614 As a matter of fact the youth of the two groups are then mutual-
581 ly exchanged in marriage, and the young people constitute reciprocal guarantees by founding new families on one side and the other. What is more natural than that the pact concluded between two groups be sealed by a series of marriages? When one reads the history of the Mongols, one learned that a certain clan always used to take its wives from a certain other one; that peace was sealed by marriages; that pacts were guaranteed by matrimonial alliances. This is the natural and necessary economy of the nomadic state. Formerly, the purpose of marriage was not only to found a family, but very often to bring together groups of families, or whole clans.

000 When within this sphere of ideas one understands the expression tao-ts'in with its character of supreme obligation, of sacredness, one easily finds an explanation for it; similarly, one easily understands the custom of marriage between young people of groups already related. Vestiges are found here of the nomadic state where such alliances were a necessity. But as an organ useless to the body slowly atrophies and its reason for being in the end is no longer understood, so the customs under consideration, having become useless to the
Mo present-day agrarian economy and practiced /18/ less and less, have
M1 ended up by no longer being understood by the people. (1)
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1. Vladimirtsov, The Life of Ghingis Khan, p. 10. "The tribal constitution of the Mongols implied exogamy, that is to say, it obliged the men of a given clan to take wives from some other clan that was not considered close-
Mo ly akin to their own....Owing to the constant
M1 feuds, wars and raids, the kidnapping of
584 marriageable women was a frequent occurrence (witness the case of Yesugei-Begatur himself)... another solution was for the clans to conclude

Mo M1 584 /18 cont'd/

agreements for mutual exchange of women. The respective members of the two clans that had entered on such agreement called each other "Kuda"...." /Cited in English./

Mo 104 581 The word Kuda is found as goda in the Monguor dialect as in all the other Mongol dialects; among the Monguor it has lost its primary sense. The custom according to which the members of two clans exchanged girls in marriage no longer exists. The word guda today is the name which the members of two families related by the marriage of one of their children give to each other.

Mo 582 The conclusion then will be that we see the law of exogamy practiced largely mitigated by that of endogamy, which causes many wives, even in our day, to be taken from among the daughters of paternal aunts. (2)

2. I do not believe it is necessary to refer to totemism in order to explain the law of exogamy which presides over marriages among the T'ou-jen. The conditions of nomadic life amply provide an explanation for this practice; secondly, exogamy is not essentially totemic; thirdly, totemism among the Mongols in general has not been proved. When we deal with religious life among the T'ou-jen, we shall see, nevertheless, two facts which may attract attention to this question: we shall see the erection of the pole at the festivals given after planting, and we shall have two youth festivals.

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Mo 582 /18 cont'd/

When the T'ou-jen give their children in marriage, nowadays at least, they attach importance to the degree of generation of the two parties: thus a nephew will never be able to marry his aunt, or an uncle his niece. The two parties must always be of the same generation.

Mo 587 563 This same law operates among the Chinese. Among the T'ou-jen, however, it is not so strict as among the Chinese in the case of marriages between the widow of an elder brother and his younger brother. /19/ Among the Chinese of the country, an elder brother will be able to marry the widow of his younger brother, but never vice versa.

Mo 582 563 As for marriages of T'ou-jen with Chinese girls, they are strongly discouraged by the elders of the tribe as being the great cause of their denationalization. Nonetheless, nowadays these marriages are more and more frequent, all the more so because of the example set by the clan chiefs. These unions precipitate the progress of the T'ou-jen people toward absorption in the Chinese nation.

Mo 563 582 Very often one sees the T'ou-jen give their daughters in marriage to Tibetans. The seminomadic Tibetans, their neighbors, even seem to seek them because of their fecundity, which is well known in the region. On the other hand, it is astonishing to see how easily T'ou-jen girls adjust among the Tibetans and adopt their ways.

Ma (1) 582

1. Among the Manchu the laws regarding the "parties" to a marriage are more complicated than among the T'ou-jen. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 65 and following, says:

The women that may marry a man are limited to three restrictions: 1. the absolute prohibition, which they do not transgress, i.e. the prohibition to marry within the clan: (this law is explained as follows:) the general prohibition is to

/19 cont'd./

Ma 582

marry within the "mokun" two groups of clan members, who have two different ancestors in the fifth /sic/ senior class, and form of them two exogamic groups (mokun) with separate spirits, rites and shamans. 2. the facultative prohibition, i.e. the prohibition to marry within that clan, with which the man's clan is bound by some relationship of clans, or religious connection, or some degree of relationship within the mother's clan: (which comes back to the following formula:) all my class (of generation equal to mine) women belonging to other clans are my facultative wives; 3. the incidental prohibition... (for example, for widows, widowers, etc.). /Cited in English, with interpolations in French, indicated by underline./

Mo 582

In the same way, marriages between young people of neighboring families are strongly discouraged. In this regard the T'ou-jen quote the Chinese saying: Liuen pou tso leang kia, toei men pou ts'iu ts'in kia: "Two different families do not live in the same courtyard, /20/ one does not contract marriage with the family opposite." This is to avoid difficulties which might then easily arise.

Mo 584

2. Social Position of the Future Partners with Respect to Marriage

Separation of the sexes does not exist among the T'ou-jen as it exists among the Chinese, either before or after marriage. Let us, nevertheless, beware of concluding from this that there is betrothal preceding marriage. Among the T'ou-jen there is no mutual promise of marriage made between the interested parties with a certain solemnity; moreover, love does not precede the unions. The future partners do not make their choice after knowing each other.

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584 poor to ask for a girl in marriage and which later, having arrived in easier circumstances, has the means for it. These are always exceptional cases.

As a general rule parents ask for a girl in marriage for their son when she is very young, that is, when she is three or four years old. It even happens rather often that the promise of marriage is made before the birth of the children, provided the children to be born are of different sex. The promise is then repeated in front of the guests at the churching feast, and later the official betrothal formalities will be carried out. (1)

1. Match-making can be effected before the birth of the bride and groom. In this case if the sex of the child does not correspond to the supposition of the parents, they await the birth of other children. The Manchus suppose this custom to be of a very old origin. Shirokogoroff, p. 72. /Cited in English./

582 /22/ One could conclude from the above that the ages of the partners do not differ too much in many cases. In general, however, with the exception of the case last cited, it must be said that the bride is usually one or two years older than the groom; it even happens, and unfortunately the case is not rare, that the bride is 17 years old when the groom is scarcely ten or eleven. These are sad unions, arranged by selfish mothers-in-law, who see in the daughter-in-law a servant, and in the marriage of the son a lightening of their own work. These marriages take place when the girl is 17 and the son is still a child in all the full sense of the term. (1)

1. The brides are about the same age of the grooms i.e. 21. However it occurs very often that the bride is older than the groom. I know some cases when the wives are 5 - 6 years older than their husbands.

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This may occur for example, when the parents of a young man need a working woman in the house and take before the wedding, a small girl as the future wife of their son who dies before the wedding is accomplished: then the girl becomes the wife of the following son. It is seldom that the husband is older than his wife. In the condition of the Manchu social system all these combinations are quite natural, because the parents or clan relatives who marry their children have as the purpose of marriage not only marriage as such, but rather the obtaining of new working member for the family. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64. /Cited in English./

M 584 The age at which a marriage proposal is made for a girl and the way in which the mother-in-law seeks her own advantage in the matter suffice to prove that those concerned have nothing to do with it and that their marriage is solely the business of their parents.

4. How Is a Marriage Proposal Made?

M 584 787 Since marriage is the most important event in the family, it is natural that it should have a religious character and begin with a religious rite. They thus begin with an examination of the year, month, day, and hour of birth of the future partners /23/ in order to find out whether the union will be prolific and fortunate. (1)

M HM 584

1. Voyage à travers la Mongolie, en 1820 et 1821 /Trip to Peking across Mongolia in 1820 and 1821/ by Timkovski, translated and published with corrections by Klaproth in 1827, Vol. 2, p. 306. Before a marriage

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(among the Mongols) may be concluded, it is necessary to calculate with the aid of books under what signs the future husband and wife were born, so that the heavenly body which governs the birth of the latter may not be harmful to that of the former, nor dominate it: which means that the woman must not govern the household.

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The Mongols count 12 signs which correspond to our months; they are: 1, mouse; 2, ox; 3, tiger; 4, hare; 5, dragon; 6, serpent; 7, horse; 8, ram; 9, monkey; 10, hen; 11, dog; 12, pig. The fifth year, also called ibeghel, is the year in which it is always permitted to marry. As for the seventh kharchi, it is the opposite: for example, if the girl was born under the sign of the mouse and the ox, and the boy under those of the dragon and the monkey, then the marriage is permitted. But if one of the two was born under the sign of the mouse and the other under that of the horse, in this case, even though they are of different lineage, the union cannot take place. The Mongols still claim that the ox and the tiger, the hen and the horse, and the monkey are of opposite constellations, pernicious signs, "Kharchi" which are decidedly unfavorable to marriages.

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The marriage having been recognized as likely to be fecund and peaceful, they will proceed to the marriage proposal. At the beginning of the first negotiations, they will be careful to insinuate that the alliance has been predicted to be a happy one. Nevertheless,

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Mo 584 431 A visitor who has come to offer presents is never allowed to leave without being given a gift. The receptacle which he brought cannot leave the house empty. Before, at each visit, they were careful to return to the go-between his jug filled with gin; the same will be done later.

7. Age Required for Marriage

Mo 582 The age required for marriage is 15 years; these 15 years are supposedly reached at the age of 14, after the winter solstice. The age of the bride varies from 15 to 17. The girls rarely pass this age without being married. This is because there are moral reasons for this general rule; as a matter of fact, the T'ou-jen claim that girls are "big" toward that age, and that there must be no more delay in Mo [80] marrying them off. Rarely girls are married at 13. Marriage never takes place when the age of the bride is an even number.

As for the age of the groom, there is no fixed rule; they do not bother about the even or odd number of years of his age. He can marry at ten, at 20, as well as at 30. Those who have the means ordinarily do not pass 17 without marrying. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, p. 64: The Manchus consider as necessary, almost obligatory to marry their sons by the age of 21, and usually all Manchu young men are married before reaching this age. If this is not done "everybody will laugh" say the Manchus, because the clan to which the unmarried young man belongs may be supposed to be "inactive, weak and poor." /Cited in English./

/35/ 8. Setting of the Wedding Date; Negotiations concerning the Last Arrangements

Mo 584 When the fiancée has reached the required age for marriage, the custom is that the mother-in-law, rarely the future father-in-law,

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583 clothing and jewellery up to the sum of $100 -300. If the bridegroom's clan refuses, the wedding may be adjourned for a period of two years. They can refuse to give the bride three times, but finally they are obliged to give her without supplementary "kalin". In such case, for the bride the age of 27 years is limit beyond which she cannot be kept in her clan. So that the matrimonial periods are the ages of 15, 17, 19, or 16, 18, 20... However if the matrimonial parties are on good terms the payment of the supplementary "kalin" can be omitted. Some days, 5 or 6 before the wedding, the bridegroom's clan people bring the supplementary "kalin" which they transmit solemnly to the bride's father or his substitute. /Cited in English./

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/38/ 9. Delivery of the Presents and Invitation to the Wedding

583 About ten days before the wedding, the go-between and several members of the bride's family go to deliver the gifts agreed upon; in addition they bring 12 loaves of bread, a sheep, a goat, and the pieces of meat called mutsé, a term which the people did not succeed in explaining to me; only one knows by that that all the girls of the bride's neighborhood and the married girls in her family are invited.

583 After taking tea, they show the clothes, the hat, the eardrops...
584 so that they may be examined in detail. From time to time it happens that at this moment new difficulties again arise. Such and such a piece is refused.... Another must be substituted for it in haste or the wedding will be postponed until later. They demand everything up to the last cash before allowing the bride to leave;

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1. Customs of the same kind in which women play an important role in similar circumstances are found among the Miao of Kweichow. Cf. Anthropos, 6th year, Schotter, "Notes ethnologiques sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou."

Likewise among the Lolo of Szechwan a custom is found that is absolutely identical to the one we have just described among the T'ou-jen. "Enquête sur les barbares du Liang-chan /Investigation of the Barbarians of Liang-chan/" in Politique de Péking, June 20, 1931: "When the bearers of the bride arrive at her house, the women of her family begin to sprinkle them with water either with pails or hand pumps. The bearers must let them do it, they are not permitted to avoid the sprinkling."

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After they have tidied their clothes, the three or four visitors are ushered into the room. They kneel before the religious image hung on the wall opposite the entrance door and get ready to kneel before the members of the family who hasten to stop them. Out of a bag they take two big jugs of gin closed by a lozenge with the traditional strand of wool, and two legs of mutton. They present the legs and apologize, saying that in other days their ancestors offered two sheep to the women. Then turning to the men, they present the gin, saying that in the old days it was customary to offer two goatskin bottles; but times are no longer like that; anyway, what we present is given wholeheartedly. Then they spread a piece of red cloth two feet long on the table and put 12 loaves of bread on it, adding the veil of red or green cloth for the bride, a comb with an even number of teeth, the helmet of copper or silver with which she will cover her head, the red cords to plait into her hair,

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587 he could rely on, came to abduct the newly married widow in broad
583 daylight. It is probable that she consented to being abducted; for living with her new husband for a month, she had been able to judge him. It is equally probable that the go-betweens and the former parents-in-law of the widow were in on it; perhaps the neighbors who did not sympathize with Tchao were not strangers to it either, for they did not budge when the people came to abduct the widow. Tchao goes to the Chinese city to bring suit. The Chinese judgment
[672] was the following: The widow must be sent back to her parents' home and neither Tchao nor Tchang may marry her.

According to T'ou-jen custom, the woman would have had to stay with Tchang, and Tchao by reason of not having paid the agreed-upon sum in time lost entirely all right over the widow.

7. Vestiges of Marriage by Abduction among the T'ou-jen

587 One can conclude from the preceding that nowadays the pur-
671 chase of the wife by the husband is the legal form of marriage, while
● 582 also recognizing as legal the abduction of a widow, on condition that the owners be indemnified.

583 One can believe that formerly the custom of abduction must have been general and that it was practiced for marriages of girls. Indeed, numerous vestiges of abduction are found in the customs surrounding the marriage of girls. When the son-in-law with his companions comes to get the bride, why does he find the door of the house shut? Why is it necessary to end up by breaking it in and receiving an avalanche of water on the head? This certainly is an assault on the girl's dwelling. When they sing at the door and ask that it be opened, one feels that this way is not natural and that in addition there is no sense to it. Besides, the song has nothing in it that is prescribed, when everything else in the customs is clearly fixed, even the speeches that are made. Why this thick veil /97/ which envelops the bride's head and which does not allow her to see; it is even tied around the neck with a red cord. Is it not to bandage the eyes of a person who is being abducted? At the moment of carrying the bride outside, why this abruptness, the door of the room which

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if the girl before the wedding becomes pregnant. In such a case she can be taken by capture and neither feast nor wedding are celebrated. The capture is usually effected by the bridegroom himself helped by 5 - 6 young men of his clan. The act of capture is always followed by insults and violations towards the bride. If she cries and prays to defend her, her relatives do not venture to intervene.

This is a sole case when the Manchus use "marriage by capture." Any other customs connected directly or indirectly, or survivals of them cannot be mentioned among the Manchus. /Cited in English, with interpolation in French in parentheses. /

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I think, however, I have to explain by abduction the rite according to which they cover, only for an instant, the bride's head with a piece of red silk taken away as quickly as possible by the bridegroom. Likewise I see a vestige of abduction in the fact that the bridegroom and his band find the door of the bride's house shut when they go to get her. Without invoking abduction it is impossible to explain the custom which requires that they carry the bride away with haste and throw her into the wagon, that in addition they only half harness the animals to leave as quickly as possible, and stop outside to arrange the harnesses, etc.

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Schotter, "Notes sur les tribus du Koei-Tcheou," Anthropos, 6th year,

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p. 320: There are (among the Hé-miao) abductions with tacit consent. It is then to avoid all expense. P. 342: One likewise finds vestiges of abduction among the Song-kia-tse.

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit. /"Das Recht der Polarvoelker (The Law of the Polar Peoples)," Anthropos, 1928-29/, pp. 119-120, 121. Marriage by Capture and Elopement. As in the Old Australian Culture according to Graebner, marriage by capture should, according to him (Schmidt, Koppers), be a normal legal institution among the pastoral peoples and also the polar peoples among them, whom he includes in the northern group. Now it is true that the procurement of women by force for marriage is found among almost all polar peoples, and it is not at all uncommon. Once upon a time, however, (marriage by capture) supposedly was a legal custom, at least in former times. /Cited in English./

583 some which taken separately admit of another explanation. But is it not rational to explain them in this sense when, on the one hand, abduction is still practiced today for widows, and when, on the [587] other hand, some /details/ are found among them which are certainly not explainable without admitting abduction? Thus one can be tempted to explain the following of the bride by the girls of the village as being one step in conducting their friend. But then why do they take the horse's bridle and try to prevent his departure, and why is this ceremony called "pursuit of the lady?" One can find fault again with the fact that the bride's own brothers /99/ carry her out of the room, and with this other that a member of the family

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Mo 587 595

brothers, but this marriage is considered as if she would marry a man of a foreign clan. Thus the custom known as the levirate as a matrimonia form is not practised among the Manchus. P. 70-71: The widow cannot be remarried if she has a son of age over 12. If a widower marry a widow, the marriage between their children born before their second marriage is strictly prohibited. /Cited in English./ This is not the case among the T'ou-jen.

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Nevertheless, the Li t'ou-se, present head of one of the most important T'ou-jen clans, forbade marriages of widows of an elder brother to one of the younger brothers of the dead man either as official wife or as second wife. The Chinese disapprove of such unions, and the Li t'ou-se made this prohibition so as not to scandalize them. He made inquiries about marriages in his clan, and punished those who had disregarded his orders. The fine consisted of a pig to be offered to his ancestors; he wished by respect for his ancestors to protest his attachment to the old customs of the race.

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Mo 582 587

/104/ The elders used to claim nevertheless that these unions were permitted by custom. (1) I believe it all the more willingly

1. Bartold, Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion, (1928), p. 390: The custom of marrying the father's widow was still maintained among the Uighurs, but has now disappeared among the Mongols under the influence of Buddhism. /Cited in English./

when I think of an old custom of the Mongols, brothers by race of the T'ou-jen, which permitted the sons to marry even the concubines of their dead father, with the exception of marrying their own mother; and I believe it also because this prohibition does not exist in the other T'ou-jen clans.

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T 101 Evenki. The southern group includes the Manchu, the Goldi, the Olca, etc. The difference between the dialects of the two groups is not so clear as that which is met in the great subdivisions of the Indo-European languages. S. O. T., p. 51.

T 177 167 Now one finds among the Tungus all possible degrees of "Mongolization," with respect to language and customs, from the slightest to the most complete, especially in the northern group. This fact explains why distinguished linguists have gone as far as to deny even the existence of the Tungus as an independent unit. S. O. T., p. 87.

"Along with the penetration of the Mongol culture into the body of the northern Tungus complex, the intercourse between the Mongols and the Tungus grew so that they intermixed and crossed. Naturally the anthropological elements characteristic of Mongol ethnical groups... have also penetrated these northern groups to such an extent that some former northern groups have become entirely modified in their original physical features....By this method, a complete "Mongolization" of the Tungus has been and is still in operation...." S. O. T., p. 87. /Cited in English./

T 60 177 The Tungus formerly had a matriarchal organization which they exchanged for a patriarchal organization. With the new customs they borrowed, for what pertains to marriage, new terms to designate them; now it is a certain fact that all these terms are of Turco-Mongol origin. S. O. T., p. 242.

In the course of our work we have given notes relative to the southern group of the Tungus (Manchu group); here we give those relative to the northern group, more Mongolized than the southern group. Mo T Thus our documentation will embrace the two groups.

583 As for the first paragraph, "Parties to the Marriage," p. 12, we /162/ establish among the northern Tungus as among the T'ou-jen the law of exogamy:

Op. cit., 210... "among the Tungus marriage within the clan is considered as incest and is prohibited, i.e. a man may marry no woman born in his clan. Exogamy is the backbone of the Tungus social organisation....Exogamy is one of the oldest institutions among the Tungus." One even meets endogamy, and, on page 336, this law is explained by migrations in distant places and the absence of

Mo T 582 /162 cont'd/
peoples of the same race, "among some groups this practice has been established as a custom." /Quotations cited in English./

T 583 P. 14. Exchange of girls; op. cit., 220: "Marriage by exchange is still the ... most favoured form of getting wife." /Cited in English./

P. 15. Marriages, Tao-ts'in marriages between cousins, etc., op. cit., 213:

"Among all groups, marriage between cross-cousins is considered as a preferential mating.... Marriage with the father's sister's children is allowed, as is observed among the Manchus." Op. cit., 214: "The mode of marrying most preferred is that when a brother and sister are exchanged against a brother and sister." /Cited in English./

P. 17. Practice of exchange of women between two clans. Op. cit., 212: "Among the Tungus it is of very common occurrence that two clans are bound by a systematic exchange of women, so that the mother's clan provides the women." /Cited in English./

T 584 P. 20. The social position of the future husband and wife with respect to marriage is the same as among the T'ou-jen. Op. cit., 222: "Among the khingan Tungus, the girl is not consulted in principle. She can thus be married against her will /cited in English/."

T 584 Op. cit., 224: "Match-making and marriages are not private and personal affairs but a clan affair, and the Kalym constitutes an essential element of marriage.... The girl may be present (at the match-making) but custom requires that she must not show that the discussion concerns her. In the presence of the match-makers nobody consults her at all." /Cited in English./

T 582 P. 21. Children given in marriage before birth. Op. cit., 219: "... most of them are sometimes betrothed from early childhood and even before birth, as among the Manchus, and as commonly practised among the Chinese /cited in English/." As far as the Chinese are concerned, I believe the statement is too general.

P. 21. Respective ages of the bride and groom. Op. cit., 219: "Generally speaking the Tungus prefer an equal age in husband and wife. However under the stress of economical needs the Tungus sometimes marry a woman to a young boy in order to get a working woman /cited in English/."

A lot of anecdotes, overlaid with fabulous legends, 756
are told about powerful shamans who lived in former 538
times. A famous shaman of Too long was invited to cure a dying man. The man died before his arrival. The soul of the shaman, after the completion of certain rites, went to see Erlik Khan, the King of Hell, and examining the files he found that the man had died several years before his destined time. The soul of the shaman came back; he performed a set of new rites and the man came to life and lived for several more years. I wondered how such anecdotes, known all over Asia, were spread among the Monguors. The overall con- [868]
clusion, after all the talks about old famous shamans, was always: "We no longer have the stuff of which shamans are made, for the apprentices are no longer trained in the right way."

MONGUOR SHAMANS AND NEUROSIS

What about the general statement of the ethnologists 756
that shamans are victims of neurosis? It is said of the 158
brutal training of the apprentices among the nomads, in opposition to the most elementary principles of pedagogy, that nothing could have been devised, better calculated to unseat the reason and to form pitiable neurotics of them.

In former times, according to the Monguors, the training of the Monguor shamans must have been very similar. The recent cases of the two apprentices of the old Lu shaman seem to evidence this assumption. On the other hand, it is a known fact that among the hereditary diseases neurosis is the most frequently inherited. Because children of shamans must marry children of [582]
shamans, the danger of inheritance is increased and it creates a predisposition to produce more easily suggestions and hallucinations among the members of such families. The fact of the suicide of the boy No, unwilling to become a shaman, is suggestive. It seems, therefore, not too far fetched to suppose that the shamans and their apprentices easily get the conviction of seeing spirits and hearing them talk. Because they will see and hear them, they act accordingly, notwithstanding their actual superficial training. On the other hand, for neurosis, as for all diseases, the question of plus and minus is always open, but the morbid basis of the disease is always existent.

Some of the shamans performing the rites seem to act as though in a play, straining for effects. They give the profession a black eye, while others seem to mean business and to act as real shamans. After all, the fact remains that shamans never dare to quit the profession, notwithstanding that it is a poor means of livelihood.

SHAMAN DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS

DRESSES

The shaman when not performing rites for communi- 756
ties or private families, dresses in the same way as the 292
Monguors, but while acting as shaman he wears a special

[P.82(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

with the same foes; and again in 1872, at the time of the revolt of the Mohammedans, when the clan built a floating bridge to pass the Tatung River, for the army had to reach Hsining and was blocked at Lien Ch'eng. 175x

The conclusion seems to be that a sword of Damocles swayed above the clan for as long a time as the seceders were alive and assuming an attitude of menacing hostility every time an opportunity would occur.

CONCLUSION

The study ends with the biographies of the ancestors of the most prominent among the clans, the Lu clan, which shed light on the family life of the t'u-ssu and the process of Sinicization in the center of the family. 175x 622 565

This section of the Biographies shows the mentality of the chiefs of the clans and their entire families. All the chiefs of the Monguor clans at the beginning of the Ming dynasty were uncouth barbarians, admiring the Chinese civilization, feeling themselves humiliated in the presence of the Chinese. Hence the eagerness in the families of the chiefs of all the clans to learn the Cninese language, to adopt Chinese customs, to have in the family members honored with literary degrees, to see their chiefs dignified with Chinese military titles and promotions. The Chinese knew very well these dispositions and fostered them, granting military titles one after another, even bestowing upon some among them, the title of Duke of Hui Ning and Duke of Kao Yang. 156 177

The chiefs of the clans married girls of prominent Chinese officials, and married their girls to important Chinese officials and prominent Chinese families. After a couple of generations the mentality and customs in the family had completely changed. Dinners had become Chinese dinners, clothing Chinese clothing, jewelry Chinese jewelry, furniture in the houses Chinese furniture, and the walls were adorned with Chinese inscriptions and paintings. A hall to the ancestors had been built in the mansion of the chief of the clan where sacrifices were offered according to the Chinese pattern, and rich Monguors liked to display luxury in the Chinese fashion. The introduction of Chinese women into the families of the chiefs of the clan had changed entirely the mind of the family and stimulated its Sinicization. But in China the corners are never wholly square. These Sinicized Monguors profess a Confucianism that allows them to practice, even fervently, lamaism and shamanism, that allows them to burn down and rebuild monasteries, to be proprietors of monasteries and to have sons who become lamas and even Living Buddhas. 175x 177 [582]

The family chronicles of the Lu clan are a great help for the comprehension of the social life of the Monguor clans and also of the attitude of the Chinese administration, related to the policy adopted toward the Mongol and Tibetan brigands on the frontiers. 114

/The Monguors/

000 kitchens."

N *563 M 601 59 . For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption of sons by childless couples is practiced.

N *563 M 565 582 614 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband. Relationship between two families connected by marriage is clearly seen in the special role of the maternal uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

N *563 M 421 The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that, under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's share.

N *563 361 III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial characteristics but as to their function in the social organization. The counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or "directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the observance of government regulations. The larger villages have their own "family protective associations" and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such organization, but are recognized by the county administration as self-administering units.

N [171] [241] N *563 621 [631] [622] N [701]

N *563 621 631 It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions as hsiang, chen and chü between the villages and the county organizations. It seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions

N *563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren.
M 592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually
554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N *563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional
M part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the
581 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon-
562 gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an-
[769] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered
[171] a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their live-
stock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently
*563 the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con-
M siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen
584 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage
583 age for boys is between 14-16.
582 Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab-
N solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is
*563 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob-
M served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage
614 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the
582 weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re-
565 garded as not being purely preserved, There is a feeling that it
has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy
rules need not be observed as strictly.

N Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but
*563 does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a
M sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different
582 clan.

M A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family,
[587] usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband.
However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance
and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she
wants.

N Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from
*563 the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage
M to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan,
588 but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patri-
lineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as
members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the
belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has
relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be
"married" if she becomes pregnant.

N The relationship between two families connected by marriage
*563 is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being
M part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence
604

684 husband—or rather, usually, from her mother-in-law. When brought back she endures one hundred lashes on the back, and is led to her husband's house with the same "ceremonial" as related above, after having asked for a guarantor and made her thumb-print on a statement. Once in a while, also, a future son-in-law who is working for his future father-in-law, in order to marry the daughter, disappears with the daughter. After one or two years they return, and ordinarily the parents are delighted to see them again, and no more complaints are made.

525 681 593 In cases of gambling, a fine is imposed on the offenders for the upkeep of the temple or to defray the expenses of the religious celebrations performed by the shaman at the village in spring and autumn. All kinds of interesting and dramatic cases occur. Wives complain about their husbands; widows who do not intend to remarry complain about members of the family prodding and teasing them to remarry; widows willing to remarry are hindered from remarrying; or the price for a bride is not paid at the fixed time; or a betrothal is broken off, etc.

627 Two particular cases may be described in detail, because of the light they cast on the type of cases handled by chiefs and elders, and on Monguor society in general.

In the first case, in the valley of Hungnai, in 1918, Chang Chia-pa, a Chinese whose family had been enrolled in a Monguor clan for many generations, had a daughter married "with the girdle" [5] who was the mother of a lovely boy. He also had a son, a daughter-in-law, and grandchildren. The girl of the girdle, who was always having trouble with her sister-in-law, finally could not stand any more, married a man named Hou Yu-liang as his concubine, and took her son with her. Hou paid her father four hundred strings of cash for her.

After five or six years, during the festivities held at the second moon in Weiyuanp'u, a Chinese peddler from Ho-nan province, named Li, made trouble with Hou Yu-liang for having, as he complained, married the

585 [5] When a girl who is unwilling to marry has relations with a guest, custom requires that the guest present his girdle (sash) to the girl. In the event that she subsequently becomes pregnant, she performs the rites of marriage with the sash, and she is thenceforth known as "Mrs. So-and-So" (guest's name), and the son as "boy so-and-so," even if the guest never comes back during her whole life.

The importance of the girdle is worth noting. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, according to Fr. Mostaert, when on the day set for the marriage the groom falls ill and is unable to attend the ceremony, his girdle is sent to the bride and she performs the rite of marriage with it. I never met such a case among the Monguors, and it appears that the girdle is used among the Ordos Mongols in circumstances quite different from those in which it is used among the Monguors. We note also that kidnapped widows prove before the court of the village their unwillingness to marry so-and-so by showing the girdle which was exchanged with so-and-so. Father Mostaert told me that when shamans in the Ordos perform their rites, removal of the girdle is one of the most important acts. This custom is unknown among the Monguor shamans.

[p. 786]

627 mother of his son. The peddler was accompanied by the brother of the girl's father who had a grudge against him. The girl of the girdle did not even recognize the peddler, but since her son had always been called Li, and since she herself had for five or six years always been called Mrs. Li, the peddler, with the girl's uncle as "witness," threatened to accuse her and her husband in a Chinese court. Hou, afraid of the terrible expenses consequent on involvement in a Chinese court action—which in any case might not save him his beloved concubine—preferred to settle the trouble by compromise. He invited the chief of the village and the elders, his maternal uncle and some of his friends, and after a long "interesting" meeting, crowded with the most ticklish details, it was decided that Hou should pay 160 strings of cash to the presumed father and apologize, bringing the traditional offering of a sheep with paper pasted on its horns and a piece of red cloth on its back—all to the accompaniment of firecrackers.

•583 627 The second case concerned the kidnapping of a widow. In theory it is up to a widow to make her own decision about a second marriage, but at the same time the custom exists of kidnapping the widow when she is conducted at night to the home of her second husband. In Sopokou [6] lived the widow of Hla Reng. A man named Chang, of Ch'ichialin, who intended to marry her, heard that she had already consented to marry a man named Li, and that they had exchanged girdles as tokens of their mutual consent.

Chang, unwilling to give up the widow, called together thirty or more youngsters with clubs, in order to kidnap her on her way to her second husband. But having been misled about the day of her departure, and finding no widow along the road, Chang and his gang decided that she must be still at her old home, and resolved to kidnap her there. Among the kidnappers was her own nephew, who being familiar with the house of his aunt was charged with keeping the watchdog quiet. The group entered, smashing the door, and at the same time the candle inside the room was blown out. The woman was hurriedly seized and gagged, and a piece of red cloth wrapped around her head. Four men carried her out and lifted her onto a mule. A man jumped up behind her on the mule, holding her around the body, and the armed group in deep silence, at full speed, riding by side roads, in the dead of night, reached the home of Chang.

Then, consternation! The nephew recognized that the kidnapped woman was not his aunt, but the wife of a neighbor who had been staying for a few days with the widow. In the scurry and confusion, the widow had hidden herself in the corner of the room under some sacks. The whole group apologized and offered to take

[6] A name probably meaning "Needle Valley," from Monguor *subuge*, "needle" (de Smedt and Mostaert, *Dictionnaire*); but possibly from Mongol *subag*, "a canal."—O. L.

[P. 79a]

583 the woman back to her husband that very same night. But the clever woman refused, and nobody dared to
627 touch her again. At dawn the funny story spread like a prairie fire all over the country. The most stoic elders who had not laughed for years burst into peals of merriment. The chief of the village and the elders restrained the furious husband from bringing an action at the Chinese court. On the threshing floor the problem was tackled with the whole village in attendance. The decision was that the wife should be brought back home, preceded by a group of musicians and a sheep with paper pasted on its horns, a piece of red cloth on its back and firecrackers going off all along the road, and that a dinner should be prepared for the husband, the chief of the village and the elders.

An elder of the village, a celebrated patcher-up of troubles, told me that cases of kidnapping are usually not so dramatic. Most of the time, if a widow is being compelled to marry a man she does not like, and if she already has a man friend, she notifies him about the time and the circumstances of her departure, and he kidnaps her on the way, often after a severe fight. Later, on the threshing floor, after she has testified that she will marry her friend and that they have already exchanged girdles, the friend is required to reimburse the disappointed suitor for all his expenses and whatever part of the bride price he has already paid for the widow. (The marriage price for a widow is paid in two installments, one before she leaves home and one after she has reached the home of her new husband.) But when a widow is kidnapped against her own will, and refuses to marry the kidnapper, the decision made on the threshing floor by the chief of the village and the elders goes in her favor.

627 All cases are exposed and discussed in the open air, with all the villagers in attendance including youngsters and children, who thus get their social and family education through naked facts. The veil of privacy is ripped from all the miseries and realities of life before the eyes of the young, who are more sophisticated in such social knowledge than people in the Western world. A record of each case is filed in the "archives" of the chief of the village, and four strings of cash are set aside, to be offered to the T'u-ssu at the time of his triennial visit.

623 In most villages the influence wielded by the elders is remarkable. There are very few quarrels they are unable to patch up. Their skill seems to be based on long experience and a flair for grasping the core of problems rooted in the passions of human nature. They are supported by the reverence and esteem cultivated in the family circle for old age, which ensures attendance at their meetings and respect for their opinions. This kind of authority is even more important than the support they receive from the T'u-ssu. At the same time the fact that their meetings are public, and that the villagers can freely state their opinions and defend their rights puts pressure on the elders to act according to justice and in conformity with accepted opinion. Plaintiffs and de-

[P. 796]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

581 a well-to-do family needing more work done in the
565 household arranges for a son who is still a child to marry a grown-up girl. It is not surprising that such marriages are frequently followed by the elopement of the poor bride with a lover of her own choosing. The
583 case corresponding to that of the bride brought into the family for the sake of her working power is that of the
587 poor young man who goes to work in a family not his own, perhaps for years, in order to earn a bride from that family. To work for a bride in this manner is to lose a certain amount of status socially, since it requires that the young man live in a household where all the male members of the family have status and rights, and he alone is an outsider. A widow usually becomes the second wife of one of her husband's brothers if the family is still living united, but not if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately. More and more, in the decline of the old Monguor society, it has become usual for the widow to make her own choice of a second husband. If, instead of going to one of her husband's brothers, she marries a man of her own choice, it is customary for her new husband to bring her home secretly and at night, for fear that she may be kidnapped on the road by some other aspiring lover—a practice that seems to indicate that an unprotected widow is, or was in the past, "fair game."

583 Two exceptional kinds of marriage I have dealt with in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen.*
588 These are the "marriage to the pole," when a girl remains in the family in which she was born, but takes lovers and bears children, who instead of having the clan name of their father or fathers inherit the clan name of their mother's brothers and are treated as if they belonged to the patrilineal clan; and the "marriage to the girdle" when a girl, unmarried and living in her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves her his girdle to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.[3] Both of these customs appear to have been borrowed by the Monguors from the Tibetans.

The price paid for the bride is the subject of considerable negotiations between the families concerned, conducted by a go-between. It is usual for a girl to be a couple of years older than her husband, and the usual age for marriage is when the boy is fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen. Divorce and repudiation by the husband are rather rare.[4]

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

562 The status of the wife is inferior to that of the hus-
581 band, as is inevitable in a society in which social rights and family property are regarded as belonging primarily

[3] See above, p. 78, n. 5.

[4] Here only a few data are given about marriage customs, since I have already published an extensive monograph on this subject; see *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kansou.*

[P. 87b]

604 in the family of their husbands, it was customary for their mothers to tell their daughters secretly that they might 681 secure a small private herd of animals by enlisting the aid of their elder brothers, who were to approach the father on auspicious occasions and ask for a gift of new born lambs or calves for their sisters. Every year at New Year's time the father was usually in a happy mood, and on the days that lambs or calves were born, the girls would worry their elder brothers and rarely failed to see their wishes fulfilled. Once the animals were obtained they were entrusted to the elder brother's care, marked on the ear with a special mark, and the brother would keep them for the sister in the family herd. On the day [583] of her wedding, a daughter would thus possess a small herd of her own.

Again on the day of her marriage and even after marriage, a daughter would approach her elder brother in an attempt to obtain some more cows. After marriage, a girl never mixed her small herd with the herds of her husband but continued to keep it in the herd of her oldest brother. Whenever she returned home to visit her mother, she examined her little treasure, collected the lamb skins and wool, and used them or sold them for herself and her children.

583 Furthermore, on the day of her marriage, the daughter of a well-to-do family was usually given some land, 604 called "cosmetic" or "paint" fields—i.e. fields whose revenue was to be used for her own personal use. The revenue from such lands became her own private income and savings. When she died, the revenue could be collected by her children. She was the real owner of the land and possessed the right to transfer it, but before transferring it, she had to inform the family of her intentions and to offer the family the first opportunity to reclaim it. When a woman acquired such lands it was again her oldest brother who took care of the land and planted, weeded, and harvested it for his sister.

I also met six young women who owned thirty or more poplar trees, planted for them by their brothers, on the edge of the fields of their parents, when they were girls of about eight or ten years of age. After fifteen years the trees had become a valuable item of capital.

604 The bond which developed between a brother and sister and which continued after the sister's marriage was extended to the sister's children. Children saw their mother's great affection for her own elder brother and *vice versa*. They knew that their mother had a small private treasure entrusted to him, from which they hoped to benefit eventually. The mother made the children feel toward her brother the way she herself felt. Hence love and esteem grew on both sides and as his sister's children grew up and married, their maternal uncle became their benefactor in the normal exigencies of life, as well as their avenger and disciplinarian in abnormal crises like those noted above.

This relationship between a brother and his sister and sister's children formed the basis for the beneficent and

[P. 96 b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

428 If one of the sons has died without having sons of his
596 own and without having adopted a son, his share is divided among his brothers.

If, in order to acquire a wife, a man has contracted to work all his life in his wife's family he loses all right of
583 inheritance in his family of origin, although he retains his original surname or clan name. Such a man may
428 try to claim a share in the inheritance of his wife's family, but the claim is usually contested and settled by some sort of compromise—indicating that this kind of marriage is in itself a makeshift, not fully provided for by the rules and customs of the society. As I have pointed out in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen* (p. 118–119) the right of such a man to inherit from his family of origin is academic, since he would not have left his family for the sake of this kind of marriage unless his family had been so poor that it could offer him no inheritance worth having.

The customs of inheritance show the difference between "marriage with the pole" and "marriage with the girdle." The girl who "marries with the pole" does not leave the clan or lose her clan name; consequently, her children, by unknown or unacknowledged fathers, bear the clan name and remain in the clan, which entitles them to a share in the inheritance as if their mother had in fact been their father. In the case of the girl who "marries with the girdle" on the other hand the father is known and acknowledged, as explained above. The girl takes the clan name of this man, even though he may never return, and consequently her child or children do not bear her clan name and are not entitled to share in the inheritance.

428 It is fully in accordance with the patrilineal principle that husband and wife do not inherit from each other or from each other's families. An exception to this rule is that the widow of the head of an extended family always receives some land and livestock from her husband. The exception is only partial and temporary however, as the widow lives with one of her sons, generally the youngest, who inherits this property after her death.[39]

Because of the strong influence of Tibetan society on that of the Monguors, a word should be said about the Tibetan rules of inheritance. In my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen* (p. 49), I mentioned that in the speech made by the master of ceremonies at a Mon-

[39] This arrangement corresponds to the ancient custom in pastoral nomadic society under which (*a*) the sons as they grew up were provided with wives and given a share of the cattle, whereupon they could move away and set up independent camps, leaving the youngest son as guardian of the parents in their old age and sole heir to the residual family property at their death; and (*b*) if a man had secondary wives, these were, at his death, inherited by his sons with the exception that the first wife could not be inherited by any of the sons and no secondary wife could be inherited by her own son, thus making it necessary to provide for the senior wife until her death. These principles are obviously rooted in the fact that when livestock, instead of land, are the most important property, dispersal may be convenient in order to avoid crowding the pastures.—O. L. [p. 108 b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

439 presents for this sworn brother, who then notifies his
484 tribe not to molest the caravan. The traditional presents
608 consist of bolts of satin and silk, or a load of cotton
651 textiles or sugar or Chinese vermicelli. The next day, when the caravan chief and his local sworn brother meet, the caravan chief asks politely whether he can help his brother by carrying some things for him on the way back. The local sworn brother just as politely names some purchases that he would like made for him in Hsining or Lhasa, for which he offers to pay. The two understand each other's meaning perfectly, and the following year the caravan leader will bring as presents the goods that have been indicated. Thus in fact the caravan takes its way through each territory by a form of taxation in the guise of presents.[8]

431 On the way back from Tibet the Monguors bring with
484 them *p'ulu*, a kind of woolen serge woven in Tibet in narrow bands, either dyed red or purple, or white with crosses of red or blue dyed in the fabric by the "tie and dye" method. This material, which sheds water, is greatly valued by both Tibetans and Monguors. The Monguors also bring back from Tibet incense, dates, and saffron, which they sell to Chinese, the saffron being used more for medicine than as a condiment. At the market in the frontier town of Dankar I once bought some dishes that had just been brought in from Lhasa with the Kuopa caravan. These dishes bore the trademark of "Regout, Maestricht, Holland" and had traveled from Europe to Calcutta, from Calcutta to Lhasa, and from Lhasa, loaded on yaks, to the frontier of China.

439 The young Monguors who have once worked with
484 the caravan seem to catch the fever of travel and want to go back to Tibet again and again. The older people,
583 with the wisdom of experience, explain the mystery. The reason is, they say, the ease—and variety—of getting temporarily married in Tibet. The traveler who wants to strike up a temporary relationship with a woman in Tibet shaves his head just before his caravan arrives at its destination. This makes him look like a lama, and a Tibetan girl will readily "marry" him, assuming that he has no permanent obligations to a wife at home. If he were to wear a "pig-tail," the girl might be a little more hesitant, fearing that the "marriage" would last only until he wanted to go home. When he does want to leave such a temporary wife, however, the rascally traveler simply grows his "pig-tail" again on the next stage of his journey. In this way, the enterprising caravan man can sample the joys of marriage in a number of places.

DWELLINGS

342 The construction and disposition of the houses of the Monguors having been described in Chapter IV, it

[8] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, as cited, 54, describes this form of the "sworn brother" relationship as a "guest-host" relationship, and gives valuable details on both Tibetan and Muslim caravan trade.—O. L.

[P 116a]

/9 cont'd/

181 595 compared to the happiness of having descendants. This way of thinking has distant origins; the T'ou-jen inherited it from their ancestors, and they have kept it scrupulously for centuries. Let us not be surprised therefore that because of it certain customs which seem inadmissible and shocking to us appear reasonable and justifiable to the T'ou-jen.

We shall set forth in what follows the matrimonial customs of a people which is convinced of the duty of marrying, and which expects male descendants from marriage.

/10/ Division of the Study

583 Marriage is the legal union of a man and woman. But with the T'ou-jen the daughter being the property of the parents, in the true sense of the term, an indemnity is imposed on the one who wishes to marry her.

This indemnity is paid in two ways; either by purchase or by the furnishing of his person or his services for the benefit of the owner of the girl.

[587] The marriage of widows, which still often takes place nowadays in the ancient form of abduction, nevertheless falls in the category of marriage by purchase; for after having taken the widow to a safe place, a discussion is held about her price. Therefore, we shall deal successively with:

I. Marriage by purchase
II. Marriage by furnishing one's services or person
III. Abnormal marriages
IV. Divorce, repudiation, and exchange of wives
V. Runaway wives
VI. The matriarchate

/11/

Chapter I

Marriage by Purchase

583 The purchase of the wife by the husband's family is the common form of marriage among the T'ou-jen today. This form of marriage occurs in three different cases, each of which has its customs and special rights:

A. Marriage with a young girl as the official wife
B. Marriage with a widow as the official wife
C. Marriage with a young girl or widow as the second wife, or polygamy

A. Marriage with a Young Girl as the Official Wife

Summary. -- 1. Parties to the marriage. 2. Social position of the future partners with respect to marriage. 3. When the marriage proposal is made. 4. How it is made. 5. Discussion of the bride price. 6. Delivery of the presents. 7. Age required for marriage. 8. Setting of the wedding date and last arrangements. 9. Presentation of last gifts and invitation to the wedding. 10. Wedding without ceremonies. 11. Farewell dinner at the daughter-in-law's home. 12. Getting of the bride. 13. The bride's arrival in her new family. 14. Gifts to the bridegroom's family. 15. The wedding. 16. Opening of the daughter-in-law's mouth. 17. Dinner. 18. Gifts to the family of the daughter-in-law. 19. Departure of the guests. 20. Visits after the wedding. 21. Relations of the newly married couple with the daughter-in-law's family.

1. Parties to the Marriage

584 It is natural that those who have the means choose a young girl for a wife; moreover, this is almost a necessity, because they marry young. Ordinary unions are therefore contracted between young people.

582 /12/ The first question which arises is this: With whom may marriage be contracted?

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584 the family of the fiancée will not neglect also to have the case ex-
787 amined by competent people. If there is a discrepancy between the two predictions, a third examination will be held.

If the alliance is sincerely desired on both sides, the solution will be quickly satisfactory; for the diviner knows the people he is dealing with.

In the opposite case, the examiner, a diplomat when necessary, will give an ill-omened solution, and the marriage will be shelved. This is a good way for one side to politely refuse a marriage proposal, and for the other to understand the refusal, without loss of face.

They say that nobody would dare do without this preliminary rite. This is easy to believe for anyone who is aware of the /24/ mania of this people for consulting fate for all events of any importance, all the more when it is a question, under the circumstances, of an act with such grave and far-reaching consequences...and in spite of everything, they often disregard this when the proposed match has won their approval.

584 But by whom is this horoscope read?
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[771] The yellow lamas and the shamans, in Monguor bo, are never consulted, although lamaism and shamanism are the T'ou-jen's own religions. On this occasion they have recourse to the Chinese Ing-lang sien-cheng /lit., practitioner of Yin and Yang/ (diviner) or to the lamas of the red sect. The reason for this choice has always remained a mystery to me; no T'ou-jen was able to explain it.

584 This formality carried out, the father or mother of the future bridegroom, on the occasion of a visit to the parents of the future bride, proposes the marriage. The answer having been favorable,
583 "the mother alone" goes to the home of the family of the future
584 daughter-in-law to offer the parents eight, ten, or 12 steamed rolls (it must always be an even number), four feet of red cloth, a pair of shoes for the little daughter-in-law, and several lengths of red cord, which are customarily plaited into a girl's braids.

They take tea, they chat, the little chosen one presents herself, they talk of marriage, and the future mother-in-law takes her leave. The gifts have been accepted, the girl has presented

/24 cont'd/

583 herself, the marriage is therefore set. No longer is it kept from any-
584 one; on the contrary, they are careful to make the news known. But if, for example, before this formal visit of the future mother-in-law, the fiancée's family has changed its mind, the gifts would be left intact on the table, they would talk amiably about the weather, the girl would not appear, no allusion to the projected marriage would be made, the gifts would be politely returned at the time of departure, and the alliance would be given up. Only after these formalities have been completed, will the family of the future bridegroom secure a go-between.

171 /25/ This second formal visit by the mother then is definitely
584 binding. This custom is abnormal in a patriarchal economy. (1)

1. The bride's father, according to the customs refuses the proposals, but they do not take as serious this answer, and some time later they send to the bride's father the match-makers who propose for his daughter some price (kalin). If the two families are already connected by the matrimonial relations, the "kalin" is only a formality....

Usually the bride's father consults his wife; if he decides the question without consulting her, she can protest, but her protest is not taken in consideration. Then her husband's youngest brother intervenes, and advises the bride's mother to accept her husband's decision. After this formality is completed, she must agree to the inevitable thing. But if they address the demand to the bride's mother, her words have the same value as that of the bride's father and never can be changed. If they address the

171 /25 cont'd/
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demand to the bride's father's youngest brother (it is supposed the father is dead), he does not answer without consulting the bride's mother and usually he acts according to her wish. Shirokogoroff, pp. 72, 73. /Cited in English./

584 5. Discussion of the Bride Price and Deciding on the Wedding Gifts

Contrary to Chinese practice which requires two go-betweens, a T'ou-jen ordinarily engages only one, a friend of the family.

One is in no hurry to get a go-between. When the girl is only four or five years old, one waits two or three years more, indeed even longer, before giving this invitation. The promise of marriage having been made to the mother-in-law, there is no longer anything to fear; only at each New Year and at the festival of the fifteenth [431] day of the eighth moon, they call on each other, exchange small gifts, and call each other Guda, "relatives by alliance," all this in order to refresh the memory.

In exceptional cases, where the girl has reached marriageable age at the time of the marriage proposal, they do not delay in making use of the services of a go-between.

584 After choosing an auspicious day for this important matter, the go-between leaves with the traditional gifts: a small jug of gin [777 corked with a red (a color /26/ which brings good luck) lozenge and 431] a strand of sheep's wool tied around the neck. Upon his arrival he puts his gift on the small table on the k'ang and pompously greets the fiancée's family with bows. They understand one another without saying a word; they drink tea, they smoke a pipe, and the go-between broaches his subject after pouring the gin for everyone present. "Now," he says, "since you have decided between yourselves on the marriage of your children, kindly set the day to decide on the gifts and discuss the traditional formalities. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, p. 73: The negotiations are always followed by

Mo 583 584 171

/26 cont'd/

a dinner with moderate libations, which made the bride's father more yielding on the question of the dimensions of the "kalin" (earnest). The final conditions are elaborated usually in the state of profound drunkenness. The "kalin" must be definitely fixed during these negotiations. It consists usually of pigs, from two to eight, always in pairs, which must be given after the match-making, some years later and just before the wedding. The pigs can also be commuted by money. Moreover they give yearly $10 (or Russian roubles) for the bride's clothing and also yearly, namely in the last month of the year, they give $1 - 5 for artificial flowers and paints.... In general all calculations concerning the "kalin" payments are made in pigs. The Manchus never calculate it in horse or cattle units.

Mo 583 171

The Mongols use as unit the horse, the reindeer. Tungus, the reindeer. It is interesting to note that the Dahurs who live in very close neighborhood with the Manchus, Mongols and Tungus, for this purpose use as unit clothing. -- (as do the T'ou-jen and the Miao of Yunnan, Kweichow.) /Cited in English, with two interpolations in French, indicated by underline./

AM 584

Timkovski, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 307: Among the Mongols the marriage proposal is made through outsiders. The consent having been given, the father

/28 cont'd/

583 For families of average circumstances (I am speaking of the years 1915 - 20) they decide that they will pay for the daughter-in-law:

Twenty-four strings of cash (a string of cash at that time was worth about one dollar, and the dollar about three francs).

In addition there will be given 24 pieces of cloth for making clothes, of which 12 of the best quality are to be used for the outside of the garment and 12 of lesser quality for the lining; there will be green, black, red, and violet pieces of cloth (eight feet of calico were equivalent to a piece of Chinese cloth).

After that a mare is still necessary, and its age and quality will be decided after a new discussion.

[565] They will recall with pride the ancient tradition of the race, which has never permitted marriages without the giving of mares. Among poor families, by force of circumstances, they do without this tradition, but custom always requires that it be recalled even so.

In general, in rich families payment will consist of:

25 dollars,
16 or 20 pieces of silk or satin,
60 strings of cash,
and finally the traditional mare.

There are exceptions to the rule; thus I have known a case where 50 strings of cash, two pieces of cloth, one mare, and two cows were given; another case in which were given 24 strings of cash, 14 pieces of cloth, and a mare; still another in which 30 strings of cash, 18 pieces of cloth, a mare, and a cow were given.

584 When an agreement has been reached, the final formalities are still to come. The speakers will make apologies: "We must admit," they will say, "that the sum and /29/ gifts on which we have agreed do not come up to your expectations. But we have had in mind, above all, the happiness of your daughter; the better off the bridegroom's family will be, the happier your daughter; and then also harmony between the two families is worth more than all the gold in the world; your daughter will be the first to profit by this arrangement; she will be treated all the better; in short, you also want her good fortune above all." Then they will praise the

/29 cont'd/

584 virtues of the bridegroom and his family and predict such a fine future for the girl that the whole family will end up by being satisfied in spite of themselves.

However, they will leave a door open in case the bridegroom's family should refuse their assent. They will explain therefore that they will still have all the trouble in the world in having their propo-
[583] sitions accepted by the bridegroom's family. When they leave they will take back on behalf of the bride's family two jugs of gin, three feet of green cloth, and three lengths of green cord for plaiting in the hair.

The bridegroom's family waits with impatience. A report must now be given of the whole discussion, and especially of its practical conclusions. Then it is the other side of the picture, and with all the eloquence of which they are capable, they try to present the propositions as being eminently advantageous; they put forth the difficulties they have had to overcome in order to get there, then also, there is the girl who will make an admirable wife....

Ordinarily they resign themselves and accept the propositions; but it also may happen that the discussions have to be undertaken again at a second session, which is not auspicious. Nevertheless, it is extremely rare that they do not succeed in coming to terms and in reaching an understanding.

587 Let us note that in the marriage of a girl, even though there is only one single go-between, no marriage contract is written nor even a list of the gifts to be offered; while in the marriage of a widow, although there are two go-betweens, a contract is necessary, duly signed by the widow's parents-in-law and the go-betweens.

/30/ 6. Delivery of the Presents Demanded for the Bride

583 a) When do they proceed to the delivery of the presents?

In the exceptional case where the girl is thirteen or fourteen years old when she is sought in marriage, then during the month following the choice of gifts, they try to offer what was agreed upon.

In other cases where the formalities were decided when the girl was still little, they usually wait until she has reached her

Mo /30 cont'd/
583 eleventh or twelfth year. It may also happen that everything is given at one time after one year, and again that it is done in two or three installments. The custom is therefore that it takes a long time. (1)

HM 583

1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 308: Among the Mongols the payment of the bride price is not always made at one time; it takes place at different periods according to the wealth of the bridegroom, and these payments are sometimes extended for a period of six or seven years. The animals are delivered in the fall, each female is counted as two head.

HM [31]

Mo 584 But why these beatings about the bush which seem so petty? It is because we are dealing with practical people who consider everything, even the life and death of the girl. Indeed, if the girl were to die after the earnest has been given, the latter would not be given back; even if by chance there is another younger daughter in the family, one would not have the right to demand her to replace the dead girl. Nevertheless, if the families are well disposed and sincerely want to be allied by the marriage of their children, the negotiations are begun again, and they end up by giving the younger daughter after receiving several pieces of cloth and several dollars in compensation. Likewise, if the bridegroom dies and there is another younger unmarried son, one does not have the right to demand the bride for him; but there is always a way to reach an understanding, as in the preceding case, all the more because the difference in age between husband and wife /31/ is not taken into consideration among the T'ou-jen. It is therefore the general rule not to be in a hurry to give the earnest. However, there are laudable exceptions; it happens that more correct people are found who after two or three months fulfill this obligation.

/31 cont'd/

584 This mania for exploiting one another, which shows one small aspect of the race, is manifested at different times in the matrimonial customs; but this aspect being general, it does not offend any T'ou-jen.

●583 b) How does one proceed to the delivery of the presents?

The go-between goes to the home of the bride, this time with two jugs of gin, stoppered with the lozenge and tied with the wool. The purpose of the visit is twofold: the first is to set the day of the ceremony, the second is to try to bargain again on what had been agreed upon to spend for the girl, "for the bridegroom's family is very poor, they have recently had misfortunes, losses of livestock, unforeseen expenses; in spite of all their good intentions they have not yet been able to buy the full number of required gifts, in short, it will be necessary to be generous this time and give ever so little 'face' to the go-between...."

583 584 It is good form to yield at least something. When they yield, they proceed by pairs, for example two strings of cash, two pieces of cloth....The concessions made, the day of the ceremony is set.

584 If the daughter-in-law's family is poor and the son-in-law's wealthy, the go-between will propose to the latter that they invite the poor family to their home so that the ceremony can take place impressively. In this case, the earnest will be given at the groom's home in the presence of the go-between.

583 The delivery of the presents is generally not made without ceremony. It is the occasion of a little festival in the bride's family, in which the go-between, the groom's father, his maternal uncles, his older brothers, the advocates of a little while ago, in all seven or eight people, participate.

/32/ The go-between, taking the jug brought from the groom's home, offers to all the bride's family a tiny cup of gin; then he [301] spreads on a table the marriage gifts, to which have been added: two artificial flowers which will be stuck in the bride's hair, two bricks of rouge, a piece of black crepe which will serve as a veil, a pair of eardrops, a pair of artistically embroidered shoes.

/32 cont'd/

583 The two parties both make excuses to the other: one for its poverty and the hard times, "I could not offer more, but what is offered is given wholeheartedly"; the other for its indigence, "I was forced to ask for much too much, but now I am more than satisfied with the gifts...."

584 Then when all have taken their places again, the go-between rises and proposes to the family that they present the "flower," that is, the little bride.

They hasten to spread out a red rug or piece of red felt in the middle of the room, and the little bride, chaperoned by a young girl, appears before the assemblage. The two girls hold each other by the hand.

[303] The bride has risen early in the morning, has washed with all kinds of soap, and her hair has been dressed by the most skillful woman in the neighborhood. She has put on her handsomest finery, she has beautiful flowers in her hair, and she is made up in such a way as to be longer recognizable. Her companion, a little girl like herself, has a more modest toilette; she has no flowers in her hair, she wears a black veil on her head. They are certainly "the amazon and the little white goose"; no chance of making a mistake who is the bride.

[516 576] They advance toward the middle of the rug, facing the future father-in-law, let go their hands, bow respectfully, kneel, bow their foreheads to the ground three times, rise, and begin the same prostration over again three times. This is the ancient Chinese greeting on grand occasions. Everything is done gravely and sedately. They are well-trained T'ou-jen girls! Also their childhood games are [524] only the apprenticeship /33/ for the ceremonial. All girls play at ceremonies; they adore them. This is characteristic of the Orient.

583 584 One sees that the "flower" is aware of her own important and that of the moment; she tries to make a good impression on the assemblage, and the future father-in-law smiles, becomes young again, throws on the rug with a generous gesture two or three handfuls of red lozenges and a handful of cash, emblems of good fortune and wealth. The guests do the same. The girls pick up everything,

/33 cont'd/

583 584 bow gravely, and without having opened their mouths go away to share the lozenges and the cash.

The go-between rises and says aloud: "The flower has just been presented, let us proceed to the recognition of the alliance of the two families and the exchange of wine."

The two fathers-in-law rise and go to kneel in the middle of the rug, after bowing to each other. The go-between puts in the hand of each a little cup of gin, which they exchange and drink.

584 788 539 The cups are filled four times in a row, and they exchange them four times; those present recite aloud one of the four following couplets:

Si che iang koang	May the feast be brilliant
man siu hoa	May flowers abound.
tse suen hoa	May the flowers which are the sons and grandsons
leang mien tch'a	Bloom on both sides (to the glory of the two families).
leang kia hi ngai	May the two families be happy
tso ts'in kia	To be related to each other.
sin ts'in kia	May the new family by marriage
mou tan hoa	Be like a peony (emblem of good fortune).

584 [262] /34/ Then the two fathers-in-law rise and propose that all present drink in their turn. A light meal is served consisting of boiled mutton cut in pieces, bread, and noodles in the Chinese style....

The bride's family takes care to put into the father-in-law's carpetbag two strings of cash and several loaves of bread, always an even number; the other guests receive two loaves each. The jug is given back filled with gin.

/35 cont'd/

[584] goes to her home with the traditional presents: gin, eight or ten
[583] loaves of bread, four feet of red cloth. The go-between is not present.

This visit is ordinarily made toward the fifteenth day of the eighth moon, which is one of the great festivals of the year. After putting down her gifts, the visitor pretends to kneel to greet the family ceremoniously, but this is forestalled. Tea and bread are served. Then the visitor herself takes her jug and pours gin for those present, a sign that she comes on an important mission. After this, she speaks of the wedding and asks that the day for it be set.

Appearances require that the bride's family pretend to wish to put off the wedding. "They love the girl so much, she is so good to her parents, so devoted, they will never be able to separate themselves from her." They beg that she be left with them for two or three more years. The daughter, in the kitchen, must weep aloud meanwhile...finally they end up by yielding with tears in their eyes.

Several days afterward the groom's family invites a Chinese diviner or a red lama, two members of the bride's family, her parents, and the go-between. The auspicious day is chosen with all possible respect, for on the happy wedding day will depend in great measure the good fortune of the married couple. This choice is of greatest importance.

[585 178] In the family of the Li t'ou-se no weddings will be seen in the third and the ninth month of the year. In the old days the people whom he governs did the same; nowadays the people bother less and less with this custom.

[585] /36/ The wedding day being set, discussions are begun on the subject of the last arrangements. Well-to-do families make weddings the biggest festivity of their lives. The arrangements for this festivity are made by common agreement between the two families after a laborious discussion.

The bride's family: "I have then made the sacrifice of my daughter for a certain day, but have you arranged all that is necessary for the wedding? Have you prepared for my daughter a headdress of silver strips, skirts, clothes...."

Again, much is asked in order to obtain little. The mother-in-law makes excuses: We are poor, times are bad...but she protests.

/36 cont'd/

584 the attentions with which she will surround the bride....Again, the go-between by means of eloquence must run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

[583 431] For people of average means, at this second settlement, they ordinarily end up by promising for the bride:

a headdress of copper strips,
eardrops of silver or silvered copper,
a cloth skirt,
cloth trousers,
a pair of leggings for boots,
a hat cover of red cloth for the wedding day and another of green cloth.

Rich families manage to give a hat of silver strips or silvered copper, one or two pairs of silver eardrops, and several silk garments. If the bridegroom's family is too accommodating, it will be well exploited.

After that they come to the negotiations about the dinner. The bride's family begins by asking for their guests a dinner of 80 to 100 places. New palavers...the go-between ends up by getting them to content themselves with about 40 places on their part. Among rich families a dinner of 100 places is required.

/37/ But what dinner will you give? We must have a Chinese dinner of 12 or 16 large bowls. We do not wish to lose face, it is the least that you can give us, we have continually made concessions for everything, on this point we cannot yield. New exploits of eloquence on the part of the go-between, -- "Until now I have been able to arrange everything to the satisfaction of both families, I hope you will let me keep face until the end. I have always succeeded in marriage discussions, and I hope that this time it will work again. Let us see; plates and dishes are necessary for a Chinese dinner; no way to find them in the whole country. An excellent cook is necessary, where is he? A room for the dinner is necessary, where is it to be found? And then, we are not Chinese. Let us follow the customs of our ancestors and give a big T'ou-jen dinner. [273] I insist upon gin of superior quality and in sufficient quantity, two

584 [273] /37 cont'd/

pounds per person; I demand big and fat sheep...," and everything is settled.

And to say that the two parties knew the conclusions of the discussion beforehand! Palavering is necessary, one must give oneself importance; then, speechifying and chattering are the principal and the most agreeable pastime of people who almost never work in their lives.

585 Most weddings take place after the work in the fields is over, in the months of October, November, and December. About this time the animals are fat, the barns full of grain, and there is something with which to distill, oneself, a kind of gin with spelt. However, one does see rich families who, to demonstrate abundance and well-being, celebrate the marriages of their children in the months of May, June, and July, which are called the "empty" months. (1)

584 1. Shirokogoroff, p. 76: Some time before the wedding they fix a happy day for the ceremony of wedding in accordance with Chinese manual...by Chinese sien-sheng. /Cited in English./

P. 74: Some time before the wedding, the representatives of the bridegroom's clan in a large number, and connected by friendship with the bride's clan people, call upon the bride's father or his substitute, to fix exactly the day of the wedding. But the bride's father refuses to do it. /38/ Then the bridegroom's representatives propose to him a supplementary "kalin". In the past time this consisted only of a pig, which was eaten during the wedding, but it has grown with time and at the present time it can be valued at $100 - 300 paid in pigs or money or goods. Besides, the bridegroom's clan must give some silk

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/38 cont'd/

583 clothing and jewellery up to the sum of $100 -300. If the bridegroom's clan refuses, the wedding may be adjourned for a period of two years. They can refuse to give the bride three times, but finally they are obliged to give her without supplementary "kalin". In such case,
582 for the bride the age of 27 years is limit beyond which she cannot be kept in her clan. So that the matrimonial periods are the ages of 15, 17, 19, or 16, 18, 20... However if the matrimonial parties are on good terms the payment of the supplementary "kalin" can be omitted. Some days, 5 or 6 before the wedding, the bridegroom's clan people bring the supplementary "kalin" which they transmit solemnly to the bride's father or his substitute. /Cited in English./

/38/ 9. Delivery of the Presents and Invitation to the Wedding

583 About ten days before the wedding, the go-between and several members of the bride's family go to deliver the gifts agreed upon; in addition they bring 12 loaves of bread, a sheep, a goat, and the pieces of meat called mutsé, a term which the people did not succeed in explaining to me; only one knows by that that all the girls of the bride's neighborhood and the married girls in her family are invited.

583 After taking tea, they show the clothes, the hat, the eardrops...
584 so that they may be examined in detail. From time to time it happens that at this moment new difficulties again arise. Such and such a piece is refused.... Another must be substituted for it in haste or the wedding will be postponed until later. They demand everything up-to the last cash before allowing the bride to leave;

Mc /38 cont'd/
583 for they know that after her departure they will not be able to get
584 anything more.

10. Marriage without Ceremonies

Mc 585 When a girl has reached marriageable age and the families are too poor to permit themselves the luxury of grand festivities, they proceed in a very simple fashion which they call /39/ "marriage without ceremonies," that is, the girl is taken away without any ceremonies. That is always done the last month of the year, on the ninth, tenth, or eleventh day. The mother-in-law in the company of the go-between goes to get the girl. They take tea with her family, they are served a piece of meat and some bread; then the two of them take the girl away on foot. If the distance is great, they go on horseback. When they arrive at the home of the groom, there is no festivity. The bride, still wearing her hair as unmarried girls wear it, becomes a member of the family as an unmarried girl. (1)

Mc 585

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 65: The Manchus also adopt the following practice: they take into the family where there is a boy a small girl for whom they pay her parents a price arranged and she lives in the position of a bride until the boy reached the age of 17, 18. Then they have the marriage ceremony and the young man becomes a husband. They follow this practice when the girl's parents are poor and have many daughters and the boy's parents need a working member in the family. P. 75: When the girl reached the age of 15, 17 years, they make a very modest wedding. /Cited in English./

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pigs. With their tsao tchou, i.e., "pigs which live on plants," they are the great suppliers of pigs for the capital of the province.

M 585 431 583

We have arrived at the chief attraction of the wedding.

They begin by spreading out the presents the parents made to their girl and to the family of the bride /sic/. This display is presented on the doors laid out for the purpose in front of the shamanistic fire within the tables. For people of average means the gifts are usually composed of the following pieces:

For the girl:
1) three long garments of checked calico with lining, a green garment, another of red, a third violet
2) two long plain garments, blue and black
3) two skirts
4) one long padded garment
5) three plain trousers
6) three or four waistcoats (bolero type), blue, black, violet
7) one large hat for feast days
8) several belts each 12 feet long, parti-colored or embroidered
9) four or five pairs of sleeves in varied colors
10) five or six pairs of artistically embroidered sleeves
11) some ten pairs of leggings
12) a long garment of black sheep's wool
13) a belt of black sheep's wool (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 308: (among the Mongols) when everything is agreed upon, the parents of the bride are obligated to construct for her a yurt, provided with everything necessary for a household, /47/ so that she does not need to ask for anything from others. Then she is given all that concerns her toilette and even a saddled horse on which she is to go to her husband's home.

/47 cont'd/

585 431 583 For the son-in-law:

1) Chinese cap
2) lined or plain garment of checked calico, blue in color
3) belt of red cloth 12 feet long
4) leggings or boots, never trousers
5) a big Tibetan k'ata, which will be put around his neck (1)

1. K'ata (Tibetan, khabtags) ... is a pale-blue silk scarf, very primitively woven; it is offered among the T'ou-jen to persons whom one wishes to honor or from whom one expects a service; it is even offered to the gods. Very pretty ones are found, blue or white, of first quality, very long, with Buddhist pictures; they are offered only on important occasions and to persons of note.

For the grandfather: a piece of felt

585 431 583 602 [287]

For the grandmother: a long, plain garment or a skirt
For the son-in-law's father: a piece of felt
For the son-in-law's mother: a long garment or a skirt
For the paternal uncles of son-in-law: a pillow
For the paternal aunts of the son-in-law: leggings
For the son-in-law's brothers: leggings, pillow, or k'ata
For the little sisters of the son-in-law: two feet of white cloth serving as a handkerchief
For the big sisters of the son-in-law: a piece of red cloth four feet long
For the maternal uncle of the son-in-law: the gift of honor, a big k'ata, and a string of large cash strung on red cord with a strand of white wool
For the go-between: a pair of boots and a string of cash or six strings of cash and a pillow.

In rich families the fabrics will be of the best quality; in addition they will have a hat of silver strips, two or three pairs of ear-

583 /47 cont'd/
585 drops, silver rings.... It even happens that rich people give their
431 daughter several /48/ arpents of land, which are called ngusge
602 gadiziar (ngusge, "rouge"; gadiziar, "land"), i.e., the land which
[425] procures the girl's rouge, with the condition that the husband must sow it and give the revenue from it to his wife. Thereafter, if the son-in-law's family is ever forced to sell these lands, the first offer will have to be made to the wife's family.

423 About 30 years ago, the Ma family of Ma-lin-keou had re-
583 ceived in marriage a girl, Pao, who had received from her parents some "rouge lands." The Ma family became poor and mortaged these lands to the Pao family; later it sold them to the Heou family. The Pao, basing their right on the Chinese axiom, "He who holds a mortgage has prior right of purchase," brought an action against the Ma and demanded the turning over of the lands. But then the Pao family appeared and claimed these lands as being the "rouge lands" given to their aunt at the time of her marriage. The Chinese court recognized this custom and decided in their favor.

This same custom is still found among the Mongols. Recently, the king of Ogat of the confederation of Olantsi'ah, giving his daughter in marriage to the king of Hang King of the confederation of the Orto, gave her on this occasion part of the lands of Saimoor (30 li southwest of the Christendom of Sin-tao-k'iao, Mission of Ming-Ha).

585 As for the gifts of which I have spoken above, there are
583 numerous variants; I know a case where the girl was given only six long garments; another where she was given ten; everything depends on the financial situation of the family.

The women in particular are very much interested in the gifts; they examine the fabrics and the finish of the embroideries, especially those on the sleeves and the two ends of the belts. Months and months of work are often ~~put on~~ these pieces. When the examination is finished, the bride is brought in.

She is carried on a small, low Chinese table, which has been covered /49/ previously with red felt. She is put down between the sacred fire and the display of presents. This is her first and only
[302] appearance at this festivity. She is bareheaded and wears the hair style of unmarried girls:

M /50 cont'd/
585 Why is the maternal uncle invited to stand near the girl during the
614 whole speech, and why does the maternal clan have precedence at
604 the festivity and at the dinner? Why is the paternal clan in the very background all this day, when it is nevertheless the one which is giving its daughter in marriage and which has the duty to defend her? Also abnormal is this custom which fixes only the gifts to be offered to the girl by the maternal aunts and uncles and not those to be given by her paternal uncles and aunts. Finally, why attach more importance to this festivity than to the one at the son-in-law's home?

M 585 Let us remember that this ceremony is held around a shamanistic
795 fire and not before an image of Buddha, although Buddhism is with-
771 out question the primary religion of the country, and that in spite of the fact that the whole clan includes numerous lamas among its members, shamanism is actually the old religion of the T'ou-jen.

M 585 Let us note again that the master of ceremonies, when he takes the floor, recalls the faraway past in which the daughter still inherited from her parents half as much as a son. One would say it was a history lesson.

We are here in the presence of a very old ceremony, one which is completely abnormal in a patriarchal organization.

M After the speech and the girl's departure, the guests are in-
[262] vited to sit down; gin is served, and they play mora noisily; they sing and smoke while waiting for the Chinese noodles to be served.

M /51/ The master of ceremonies arranges the gifts in chests,
585 and all the pieces are numbered, so that the next day at the dinner
583 at the son-in-law's home, when he again takes the floor, he can take them out without difficulty. (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 308: (Mongols) As soon as the livestock has been delivered to the future wife's father (the German translation of the same work says that he himself comes to the future husband's home to get them), he gives a feast which is soon reciprocated by the husband-to-be for the relatives and

/51 cont'd/

585 all until the next day, which is the day of the wedding dinner at the home of the son-in-law; we have seen that the number of guests invited to this dinner is prescribed. He will therefore have to politely send some away. To this end he comes to each person who will be sent away, without saying any more, bringing four loaves of bread and one or two pieces of raw meat. This is called pou fen tse, "to complete the dinner." They understand and leave with many polite phrases.

583 431

/52/ The ones chosen for the feast the next day try to find lodging for the night, either with neighbors or in the home of the bride; some of them celebrate very late into the night and pass the time singing and drinking. This part of the festivity is often less attractive for us, since the girl spoils its freshness. It has the disadvantage of sending to the wedding dinner the next day at the son-in-law's home many guests with heavy heads and in bad humor because of fatigue from a tiring trip and a night without refreshing sleep.

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533 585

The T'ou-jen like to sing at weddings. Their own repertory in the language of the country is not very wide, so they ordinarily sing Tibetan songs. One of the very rare songs in the Monguor language is the one about the origin of the mythical bird Chong-nirwa. (1) It is very often sung at weddings.

[177]

104 773

1. Chong is probably the Buddhist Garuda called K'yun in Tibetan. Grunwedel says in Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet u. der Mongolei /Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia/, p. 25: semidivine being, deadly enemy of the Naga, a mounted bird, the king of the feathered /tribe/ and his kinsmen.... P. 191, ... is always represented in Lamaism with a thick body, human arms, on which the wings are located, and the horned head of a bird. He is part of the company of the formidable gods and plays

Mo 585 /56 cont'd/

Then the bridegroom's party without saying the purpose of their visit insists in being let in. After long negotiations they let them enter in, for a price of 5 - 7 - 9 pieces of red paper, symbolizing money, some black beans and charcoal, all made of paper. If the weather is not cold the negotiations are very long. /Cited in English./

Mo 583 585 /56/ When they have arrived at the home of the bride, they find the door shut and barricaded. They knock at the door for a long time, calling the people. The women answer from inside, but they refuse to open the door. Then the companions beg them by singing. This song is improvised on a desired /youlu/ melody. They sing, for example, that they have come by mountains and valleys..., which they are careful to describe...; the family is renowned for its hospitality; why don't they open up this time? They are so tired, they come from so far, they are good people..., but they do not speak of the purpose of their trip. The women answer by singing, "We will open the door to you if you can answer our questions." Again improvisations. An example: Did the sun precede the moon, or the moon the sun? Did the bow exist before the arrow, or the arrow before the bow? Did the jug exist before the cup, or the cup before the jug? Answer: The moon was before the sun..., etc. Why so? The sun came second for heating; the bow followed the arrow for the happiness of military men, the pitcher for the good of hosts.

Mo 585 It is obviously very pointless; it is endless; let us note that one is quickly in trivialities and broad jokes.

The women end up by drawing the bolts noisily, but they continue to push against the door. The men /57/ outside push with vigor, while somebody throws an avalanche of water on their heads from above. The son-in-law keeps his distance. Finally the door is opened. (1)

Mo 587 606 /89 cont'd/
mother-in-law two bricks of tea, which is what they call k'ai k'eou ts'ien, i.e., "the cash which open her mouth"; next they promise the father-in-law 12 strings of cash, called tchou hoen ts'ien, i.e., "the cash which make him take upon himself the responsibility for the marriage." (1) Then they discuss the price of the widow, a

Ma [587]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: The Manchus do not pay "kalin" if the woman demanded is a widow. /Cited in English./

price which ordinarily varies between 150 and 200 strings of cash. Again, since it will be necessary to write a contract, and since all the grandfathers, uncles, and brothers will have to affix their signatures to it, /90/ they discuss the price and the number of signers at the rate of three strings of cash per signature. Three or four relatives of the family take part in this discussion, which always takes place at night.

Mo [583] This sum is called ming ts'ien /"money in the open"/, i.e., the official or public price of the widow. Very often it happens that one or another member of the family secretly lets it be known that he opposes this marriage and that he will cause difficulties.

Ordinarily these recalcitrants take advantage of their relationship to make some easy money. They take them privately and discusses with them in secret the sum of money which their consent is worth. This is the ngan ts'ien, i.e., "the secret money," which very often is far from being insignificant. It is what makes people say that the expenditures made for widows, particularly for those who are going to be second wives, are based on the wealth of the suitor.

Mo 587 585 These negotiations with the surly relatives having produced results and the price being agreed upon, the suitor must make his decision. When consent is given, he does not pay the money; he will pay only on the day when the widow has crossed the threshold of his house. We have seen exactly the opposite for the marriage of

/91 cont'd/

587 widow-daughter only when the go-betweens have paid them ing ts'in ts'ien, i.e., "cash for cooperation in the marriage," ordinarily 12 strings of cash. This sum paid, no time is lost; they hurry to put the widow in the saddle, the band surrounds her and leaves post-haste, taking care to go a roundabout way in order to escape all risk and conduct her safe and sound to the home of her new husband.

On arrival she dismounts; a fire is lighted in great haste in front of the house, and the widow is presented with the paper which one burns for the dead. She kneels and burns it in memory of her dead husband; then she offers up a libation of gin for him. She stands and looks into space for several moments. /92/ This is the wang [782 heou k'an /"taking the last look"/, the farewell look toward her 372] dead husband. She passes over the fire so that all the bad influences which could have attached themselves to her, or the bad spirits which could have followed her, will vanish. Having crossed the fire, she enters the house only after taking off her little felt hat and undoing her hair, which she rolls up carelessly and puts back under her hat. She will wear her hair in the style of the women of the clan or village to which she is henceforth deemed to belong.

The armed band is invited to a light meal composed of bread, meat, tea, and gin. The widow takes tea with the women of the family.

4. Settling of Accounts

537 The widow is not secure so long as the accounts are not settled
583 and the contract is not signed; so they hurry first thing in the morning
177 to finish the business. The go-betweens first pay secret sums to the grumblers, then accounts are settled with the parents-in-law and the widow. For this purpose they are asked to go, not to the home of the new husband, but to a friend's home or to a remote place. The price of a girl is paid in full, while that of a widow is subject to bold acts of stinginess. Only judge: 600 cash are worth 1,000; at present animals must be accepted in place of paying in silver, and they are evaluated at double their value. They give cloth which they claim

/92 cont'd/

587 is too expensive, then they tear a piece of cloth in two to make it
177 count for two pieces. It is the famous koa-fou ts'ien, i.e., "the
583 price of widows." It is a practice which the T'ou-jen learned from the Chinese, who are past masters in such matters.

587 But although custom admits these practices, it is not rare that
178 the settling of accounts degenerates into brawls. The contract is written and signed this same day, and the signers are /93/ reimbursed. The mother-in-law is offered the pieces of tea which were promised to her so that she would consent to the marriage, and the father receives his tchou hoen ts'ien.

5. Marriage of Widows

587 A marriage ceremony takes place the same day if possible or the next day. They invite to the home of the new son-in-law the father and mother, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters of the newly taken away widow. It is a little group of eight, ten, or 15 persons, among whom the go-betweens are counted.

Tea, bread, gin are served as usual; then the parents give their daughter a new long gown, and to the son-in-law a felt hat and a belt. Often they add a pair of shoes for the new mother-in-law, and a k'ata for the father-in-law.

A table is set up in front of a religious image. Two lighted lamps are placed on it; a rug is spread out in front of the table. The widow clothed in the new gown which she has just received from her parents and the son-in-law also wearing the new hat and belt make the great prostration in the Chinese manner, first to heaven and the multifarious spirits, then to their parents and the elders of the family, third to the family related through marriage and to the clan. The sacred shamanistic fire is absent.

The father-in-law then presents four strings of cash to his new son-in-law as a token of their alliance; the whole family together politely refuses them. Three strings of cash are given to those who wrote the contract and to the go-betweens; then a light meal is served. At the departure of the guests, they are not given meat to take away; the hosts are satisfied to offer several loaves of bread.

/93 cont'd/

587 [604] The customary proceedings of the marriage of a widow then are very simple; the maternal uncle who plays the most important role at the marriage of girls does not even appear. The great preoccupation of the T'ou-jen in the marriage of a widow is to take her away from a rival /94/ and to conduct her without let or hindrance to her new domicile.

6. Two Typical Abductions of Widows

587 583 The following incidents throw a true light on the T'ou-jen way of thinking concerning the marriage of widows.

At the place Souo-pou-keou lived a widow of a certain Hla Rong. A Tchang of Ki-kia-lin, wishing to marry her, learned that he was too late; the widow had already given her consent to another and had exchanged tokens with him. Tchang wanted her at any price. He proposed therefore to abduct her by force, then to get in touch with the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow to give them the earnest. If such affairs are taken to court, reimbursement of the earnest is required from the abductors, then the woman is [671] granted to them. These abductions are thus recognized by the law. Tchang calls upon the help of about 30 trustworthy men, well armed, to take away the widow from the hands of his rival's band the night when the rival would take her to his home. The abductors were at their post, but the other band did not arrive. Believing therefore that they had been fooled, they decided to go to the widow's house, take it by assault, and abduct the widow.

Tchang counted as head of his band the widow's nephew, who could inform them about the arrangement of the house. They burst into the courtyard, they force the doors, they gag the woman, four of them carry her outside, they put her on the horse, and they flee [492] hurriedly. Meanwhile the nephew had been taking care of the dogs and had opened the great door.

The journey went on in the greatest silence. After 15 kilometers of forced march they arrived home, removed the gag from the woman, and untied her hands. What was their surprise when in

/94 cont'd/

587 the darkness they heard the woman affirm that they had been mistaken;
583 that she was a neighbor who had come to keep the widow company; that she was married and /95/ that her husband was very much alive, and that the person they were looking for had hidden behind a wardrobe at the moment of danger. Consternation!

What to do? Sending back the woman was a loss of face, and then she did not want to go back.

[627 684] The incident was known everywhere in the region from the next day on; the widow's parents and the husband of the abducted woman were already getting ready to bring suit against the woman's abductors. The elders of the village knew that it was a mistake and proposed to arrange the affair amicably.

There was a palaver and a dinner, which my catchist attended. The conclusion of the discussion was that the young wife was to be taken back on horseback with a band at the head of the procession and a salvo of firecrackers. A sheep with a scarf of red cloth on its horns was to be offered, and apologies were to be made. They laughed heartily in the region at the unfortunate nephew who had presided at the abduction of his aunt.... The young widow meanwhile was married to the man of her choice.

Another very interesting incident for understanding the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of abduction and the conditions which permit it is the following:

A young widow of Pien-tan, after negotiations in due form, was taken at night to the home of a Tchao of Na-ling keou. Tchao, who was known for his avarice and had a very bad reputation, tried to pick a quarrel with the go-betweens on the subject of the widow's price, although the sum had already been agreed on. He wanted to be shrewd. Since the widow was at his house, he hoped to drag out the settlement of accounts and to get out of it by giving only part of it the agreed-upon price. After three weeks the matter was still dragging on, nothing had yet been paid, and consequently the contract had not yet been signed. New palaver in the courtyard of the pagoda two li distant from his house. Now in the absence of Tchao, a certain Tchang of Tong-keou, accompanied /96/ by several men

/96 cont'd/

587 he could rely on, came to abduct the newly married widow in broad
583 daylight. It is probable that she consented to being abducted; for living with her new husband for a month, she had been able to judge him. It is equally probable that the go-betweens and the former parents-in-law of the widow were in on it; perhaps the neighbors who did not sympathize with Tchao were not strangers to it either, for they did not budge when the people came to abduct the widow.

[672] Tchao goes to the Chinese city to bring suit. The Chinese judgment was the following: The widow must be sent back to her parents' home and neither Tchao nor Tchang may marry her.

According to T'ou-jen custom, the woman would have had to stay with Tchang, and Tchao by reason of not having paid the agreed-upon sum in time lost entirely all right over the widow.

7. Vestiges of Marriage by Abduction among the T'ou-jen

587 One can conclude from the preceding that nowadays the pur-
671 chase of the wife by the husband is the legal form of marriage, while
582 also recognizing as legal the abduction of a widow, on condition that the owners be indemnified.

583 One can believe that formerly the custom of abduction must have been general and that it was practiced for marriages of girls. Indeed, numerous vestiges of abduction are found in the customs surrounding the marriage of girls. When the son-in-law with his companions comes to get the bride, why does he find the door of the house shut? Why is it necessary to end up by breaking it in and receiving an avalanche of water on the head? This certainly is an assault on the girl's dwelling. When they sing at the door and ask that it be opened, one feels that this way is not natural and that in addition there is no sense to it. Besides, the song has nothing in it that is prescribed, when everything else in the customs is clearly fixed, even the speeches that are made. Why this thick veil /97/ which envelops the bride's head and which does not allow her to see; it is even tied around the neck with a red cord. Is it not to bandage the eyes of a person who is being abducted? At the moment of carrying the bride outside, why this abruptness, the door of the room which

/97 cont'd/

Mo 583 is opened with a din, this headlong haste while she is carried away, and why the cries and sobs of the girl?

Again there is the father who gets on the horse to make the circuit of the open area three times, gesticulating with the iang hstia and calling his daughter constantly by name, and the latter on horseback in the middle of the area answers sobbing, "I am here, yes, here"... is this not sham pursuit? Must one not explain in the same sense of abduction the custom according to which the women of the house, those of the neighborhood, and the girls continue to pursue the bride, taking the horse by the bridel? And must one not take in this sense the expression which names this custom "pursuit of the lady?"

All this nuptial procession formed by the people of the maternal clan, does it not represent the people of the family who pursue the abducted daughter?

Think again of this man on horseback behind the bride and who holds her in his arms. Is this the gesture of abduction? Why must the bride lament during the whole trip, and why according to custom can she not speak to anyone?

It is the son-in-law himself who takes his bride off her horse, his own capture. Upon arrival he shuts the girl up in a room with her companion and does not give her anything to eat or drink. And again, why this prolonged silence until after the marriage? Is it the girl sulking?

Remember the wedding festivity, which ends brutally by the taking away of animals and the scuffle which often follows; would that not mean that the parents are avenging themselves for the abduction of the girl?....And to say that still in our day, the festivity /98/ often degenerates into quarrels and fights?

All these details taken together prove the existence of the abduction (1) of girls in the past. Among these details there are

Ma 583 848

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 76:
The "kalin" (earnest for the bride) is not paid or is paid after a long delay,

/98 cont'd/

Mo 583 848

if the girl before the wedding becomes pregnant. In such a case she can be taken by capture and neither feast nor wedding are celebrated. The capture is usually effected by the bridegroom himself helped by 5 - 6 young men of his clan. The act of capture is always followed by insults and violations towards the bride. If she cries and prays to defend her, her relatives do not venture to intervene.

This is a sole case when the Manchus use "marriage by capture." Any other customs connected directly or indirectly, or survivals of them cannot be mentioned among the Manchus. /Cited in English, with interpolation in French in parentheses. /

Mo 583

I think, however, I have to explain by abduction the rite according to which they cover, only for an instant, the bride's head with a piece of red silk taken away as quickly as possible by the bridegroom. Likewise I see a vestige of abduction in the fact that the bridegroom and his band find the door of the bride's house shut when they go to get her. Without invoking abduction it is impossible to explain the custom which requires that they carry the bride away with haste and throw her into the wagon, that in addition they only half harness the animals to leave as quickly as possible, and stop outside to arrange the harnesses, etc.

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Schotter, "Notes sur les tribus du Koei-Tcheou," Anthropos, 6th year,

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p. 320: There are (among the Hé-miao) abductions with tacit consent. It is then to avoid all expense. P. 342: One likewise finds vestiges of abduction among the Song-kia-tse.

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit. /"Das Recht der Polarvoelker (The Law of the Polar Peoples)," Anthropos, 1928-29/, pp. 119-120, 121. Marriage by Capture and Elopement. As in the Old Australian Culture according to Graebner, marriage by capture should, according to him (Schmidt, Koppers), be a normal legal institution among the pastoral peoples and also the polar peoples among them, whom he includes in the northern group. Now it is true that the procurement of women by force for marriage is found among almost all polar peoples, and it is not at all uncommon. Once upon a time, however, (marriage by capture) supposedly was a legal custom, at least in former times. /Cited in English./

583 some which taken separately admit of another explanation. But is it not rational to explain them in this sense when, on the one hand, abduction is still practiced today for widows, and when, on the [587] other hand, some /details/ are found among them which are certainly not explainable without admitting abduction? Thus one can be tempted to explain the following of the bride by the girls of the village as being one step in conducting their friend. But then why do they take the horse's bridle and try to prevent his departure, and why is this ceremony called "pursuit of the lady?" One can find fault again with the fact that the bride's own brothers /99/ carry her out of the room, and with this other that a member of the family

/99 cont'd/

583 rides pillion and holds her in his arms. But it is necessary to take account of the circumstances in which the girl is carried away; it is done running, while closing the door with a crash, while the girl sobs, etc. Surely it is not the brother's place to carry his sister outside in a case of abduction, nor that of a member of the family to ride pillion, to hold the girl in his arms. We are here in the presence of an old custom belonging to an outdated organization and whose sense and memory the T'ou-jen have lost. Ever since, it is not surprising to note meaningless actions and anomalies. Besides, it is the general law which rules customs no longer understood. The more one goes ahead in time, the less one understands them, and the more one distorts them.

/100/ . C. Polygamy

595 Summary. -- 1. Polygamy exists but is not general. 2. The four categories of polygamists. 3. Procedure for the purchase of a concubine. 4. Position of the second wife with respect to the official wife.

1. Polygamy Exists: It Is Not General

One can expect to meet polygamy among the T'ou-jen when one understands their thinking as to the necessity of having male descendants. When one considers their ideas on the subject of the position of a widow who has children in the T'ou-jen family system, as well as their way of thinking on the subject of the position of a woman, on whom rests all the work in the country. However, when one thinks of the generally poor circumstances of the people, it is easy to admit that polygamy cannot be general. The economic condition is here one of the largest factors in the question of polygamy.

The T'ou-jen, living nowadays in an agrarian state, inhabit a country which is not precisely a "promised land" for the tiller of the soil. The climate is generally cold, the country is mountainous,

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587 come the incoherences we have been able to establish in the present-day rites of the marriage of widows. Neither should the existence of the practice of abduction of widows be supposed for this period. It is therefore natural to conclude that, for all this period, the marriage of girls is to be considered as the only and true marriage, and that the practice of abduction existed only for them. This fact has its importance again in the question of polygamy among the T'ou-jen, because it explains a special category of polygamy still practiced nowadays. The T'ou-jen, no longer having any recollection of this institution which existed among his ancestors, today seeks an arbitrary explanation for this problem.

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101 /111/ Northern and central Asia has been the theater of numerous migrations, peaceful and otherwise, in historic and prehistoric times, of peoples having extremely varied social organizations. From this come the analogies and the ethnological borrowings ascertained among the peoples on both sides of the Bering Strait, and among the "middle and western Eurasians."

114 I summarize in this place the monumenta ethnographica which shed a new light on the chapter on "marriage by purchase" among the T'ou-jen, whose ancestors, Mongols and Cha-t'ou, were nomads.

For this purpose I use the judicious inclusive study of Dr. Herbert König, "Das Recht der Polarvölker, IV. Das Eherecht der Polarvölker," Anthropos (1928-29).

583 171 Anthropos, 1929, p. 101, Bride Price /Brautkauf/ among the Central and Western Eurasians ... Bride-price marriage coincides in distribution almost exactly with the peoples in the polar region who have an aristocratic social organization. It is specifically reported and described in detail for the Tungus, Jakut, Samojed, Ostjak, and Lapps, and, to be sure, as a unique way of concluding marriage. Page 104. The picture

/111 cont'd/

500 that the Eskimo present in the east of the polar region is not as uniform. /Cited in German./

Anthropos, 1929, p. 129. The central North Asiatics stand in contrast with all the peoples (polar peoples) named. Exogamy prevails among the Samojed, Ostjak, Jakut, Tungus, and Dolgan. This extends not only to the kin groups but to the whole tribe. /Cited in German./

Page 130. A kind of exogamy such as is present among these peoples requires that membership in a given community (marriage class in this case) be reckoned either on the father's side or on the mother's side, and, of course, for the simple reason .... /Cited in German./

Page 117. The betrothal of children, that is, the designation of two people for marriage before puberty, or even before the birth of one or both of them /cited in German/ ... (is found among all the peoples of the polar region).

584 Page 102. Customarily, an intermediary appears, usually the father or some other close male relative of the bridegroom, who negotiates with the father of the bride and often receives compensation for his trouble, perhaps in the form of property. /Cited in German./

Page 102. The price for the bride is determined according to the wealth of the participants and is paid in property, for example, in valuable pelts. /Cited in German./

Page 102. The bride price is paid either immediately or in installments. In the latter case the bridegroom can take his bride only when the last installment has been paid, although often he has already slept with her. /Cited in German./

Page 103. I have already said that among the peoples being discussed here a bride price /Mirgift/ is always expected. In the specific reports concerning this, almost all the authors agree. /Cited in German./

Herbert Koenig, "Das Ehereht der Polarvoelker," Anthropos, 1929, pp. 136-137. Polygamy and Similar Situations... In the whole polar region polygamy lawfully

/111 cont'd/

595 prevails. One can marry as many women as he wants and can support.... The reasons for the polar men taking a second wife are the wish to acquire additional help in the household and the wish for children, the latter in the case of sterility of the first, whom it is economically impossible simply to divorce. Moreover, the first wife always continues to be the most respected; among the Jukagir there are various designations. For example, the second is known as "little wife," but the third is characterized as a concubine. /Cited in German./

As for monogamy, Herb. Koenig says: ... Monogamy, actually the most common because of the economic situation ... /cited in German/.

/112/ Chapter II

Marriages by the Furnishing of One's Services or Person

593 All the marriages described above are concluded by purchase, either of a girl or of a widow. The new category of unions in which the wife is no longer bought offers to poor needy people the only means of being able to marry. People of average means will prefer to purchase a girl for their son rather than to lay themselves open to a whole series of disagreeable consequences totally inherent in this kind of union involving furnishing of services or one's person.

So the disadvantages must be really serious for even the T'ouen to advise against them, these people whom we have seen to be such great lovers of small profits.

These alliances are therefore "nowadays" solely practiced by young people who have no other means of marrying and who are resigned to these sacrifices in the hope of descendants and in order to fulfill the obligation to marry.

The division of the chapter will therefore be: Furnishing of services to marry:

/112 cont'd/

583 A. A widow

B. A girl, or the question of husband-sons-in-law

A. Marriage of a Widow

587 One marries a widow without having to pay for her when she is indigent and finds herself after the death of her husband with three or four children; when furthermore she is alone in the world by reason of the fact that she has no brothers-in-law, or if she has, they are too poor to provide for her needs. This is then the case of widows without means of subsistence.

583 /113/ There are naturally few with a taste for this kind of
587 marriage, for those who venture into such will have to raise another person's children, who, sooner or later, if they do not return bad for good, will at least be very little grateful for the care which has been given them. This kind of marriage is literally that called by the Chinese tchao fou lang tse, i.e., "looking for a husband who will feed the children." Although these unions are not advantageous for the husband, nevertheless there are always poor men of some age who, attracted by the hope of offspring, decide to expose themselves to the dangers of such a union, or who rather allow themselves tobe tempted by the widow. Indeed, the terms of this marriage say clearly that it is the widow who is seeking the husband. That says enough,
587 that these unions are not highly prized. In such a marriage, the two
587 parties agree on it first between themselves. Their decision made, they themselves invite a go-between, who will go to see the paternal uncles and the grandparents of the children. The T'ou-jen family has an agnatic base, and the family system is that of the large family
589 with community of property. On the death of the husband; the
621 widow remains therefore within the domain of the community; consequently, it will be necessary to recognize her owners. But since this property is rather a burden for them, it will be easy to come to an agreement. Furthermore, the widow's family knows that if it is not accommodating, the widow will be able to give them a lot of trouble.

Ma 428 589 425 /115 cont'd/ [Manchu]

property, as a rule, becomes her husband's property and through the husband this property is transmitted to a foreign clan.

Ma 597 589 If the widow has succeeded and some time later is going to be remarried, her property must be transferred to the person who can be her heir. However if the widow and her daughters keep the property during several years (5-6), the widow can remarry and reserve her rights to her property. Besides there is a peculiar form of inheritance by adoption. If the deceased has no son and his brother succeeds him and assumes the care of the widow, he gives to her his son for adoption.

Ma 428 The property never can be inherited in the female line by the relatives of motherline filiation. /Cited in English./

Ma 582 585 There are cases in which a boy can marry a girl without having to pay for her. This kind of marriage today is contracted solely by poor young people. It is the case of saying: timeo Danaos et dona ferentes /"I fear Danaos and the bearing of gifts"/. In the Orient girls are not given as presents; altruism has not evolved to this point. Because a young man loves a girl seriously, that is not a reason for giving her to him free.

/116/

000 B. Marriage of a Girl, or the Question of Husband-sons-in-law

Summary. -- 1. Exchange of a girl for the furnishing of services until the death of the parents-in-law. 2. Exchange of a girl for the furnishing of services for a fixed number of years. 3. Purchase of a girl and search for a son-in-law who will serve their parents-

/116 cont'd/

000 in-law until death. 4. Furnishing of one's person by adoption in order to obtain a wife.

1. Exchange of a Girl for the Furnishing of Service until the Death of the Parents

Mo ●583 608 606 Let us suppose parents, poor or rich, advanced in age, and having a single daughter. If the family is well-to-do, in time it will have procured a second wife; nevertheless the case occurs in which it has not done so. The parents prize their daughter and are persuaded that she cannot do without them and will never leave them. Convinced wrongly or rightly of the attachment their daughter feels Mo [591] for them, they look for a way to avoid being separated from her by giving her a husband who will come to live with them and work their lands. The daughter will bear children who will be the joy of their old age, and the son-in-law will be a pious son to them who will serve them until the time when they go to join their ancestors. That is at least the explanation given for this custom by present-day T'ou-jen.

The girl's parents, without practicing adoption as such, accept the son-in-law in their home as a member of the family and give him their daughter without requiring pecuniary compensation. The son-in-law gets a go-between and two guarantors; a contract is written in which it is stipulated that he will stay with his parents-in-law and /117/ serve them until their death.

Mo 606 591 Among the T'ou-jen what is the legal position of such a son-in-law with respect to his own family and that of his wife?

The case in question is a pure and simple practice belonging to the matriarchate system. It is, indeed, the case of husband-son-in-law who go to live with the parents-in-law for life and who receive the daughter in marriage in exchange for their services. (1) They

Ma 425 606 608

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 142-143: The transmission of a property through the woman from a clan to another one takes place in the case where the male person

/117 cont'd/

Ma 606 608 591

marriage, he becomes the head of the family.... /Cited in German./

Ma Mo 583

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 114. Bride Service of the Wife. Concerning the institution of bride service of the wife, examples are known to me from three places in the polar region, one of which, however, I must immediately reject as very doubtful.... The origin of this custom has not yet been determined. /Cited in German./ I cannot keep myself from thinking that we find ourselves here before badly controlled facts, and that instead of explaining them by Brautdienste der Frau, /"bride service of the wife"/, one must look for their reason for existing, either in the generosity of the bridegroom's family toward that of the poor bride or in the lack of workers in the bridegroom's family or in the case of the death of the parents, etc., as the facts prove among the T'ou-jen and the Manchu. Besides we are here before the very frequent case of the T'ong-yang si-fou-tse which is met everywhere in China, i.e., a poor girl, usually not yet marriageable, is accepted into the family as the future bride of a son. She will be married when the two reach marriageable age. It is not a question of Brautdienste der Frau nor a question of Erprobung des Mädchens /"testing the girls"/.

/120 cont'd/

361 place of origin. Now among the T'ou-jen of this area, a good many
831 have come to practice again the former custom of husband-sons-in-
law practiced by the Tibetans, their neighbors. As soon as they ar-
608 rive in the region they no longer give their daughters in marriage out-
184 side the house, but they seek a /121/ husband-son-in-law for them;
583 on the other hand, they send their sons to become husband-sons-in-
law in other families. Among many of these T'ou-jen, the sons no longer enjoy even the right of inheritance in their own family, where the daughters have become the sole heirs; in other families they continue to inherit beside their sisters. They are thus passing through a period of transition. One T'ou-jen family after the other adopts the customs of the Tibetans, at first some of the customs and only in part, and gradually they become Tibetanized. Besides, it is a fact that the Tibetan environment is not distasteful to them, and that T'ou-jen girls given in marriage to Tibetans quickly feel at home.

562 The T'ou-jen of the Sining region, speaking of their brothers
184 of Koei-tê, say, laughing, that among the latter the wife is owner
177 and mistress of the home; niu-jen tang ts'ai, that the men do not count there, that there are women there who themselves send away their husbands, that women are found there who have more than one husband, and that the old men there are to be pitied. Thus Tibetan customs.

178 How must one explain the deformation of the practice of
608 husband-sons-in-law among the T'ou-jen?
[177]

First, it is necessary to know that the Mohammedan revolutions decimated the T'ou-jen population in Kansu. Some T'ou-jen, in order to remake their groups and get rents for their lands, adopted in their clans numerous heterogeneous Chinese and Tibetan elements; other T'ou-jen headmen never succeeded in rebuilding the ruins. Add to that the use of opium which especially undermined the families of the headmen and put them in debt and impoverished them; it is thus not surprising that the power and also the influence of the t'ou-
[622] se were decidedly impaired. The prime blow of all was more and more frequent recourse to Chinese magistrates on the part of the T'ou-jen. In the old days, say the elders, the t'ou-se alone was

/121 cont'd/

608 178 our judge in case of litigation; nobody would have dared to address himself to the Chinese mandarins for fear of reprisals on the part of the t'ou-se. I believe we /122/ must look in this direction for the solution to our problem. As a matter of fact, the Chinese court [428] recognizes only the sons' right of inheritance and, lacking them, that of members of the paternal side. In case of litigation, the paternal side is always sure to win its case against an only daughter, and the brother husband-son-in-law, as long as adoption has not been practiced, can always hope to see his rights recognized in his original family. Several verdicts of this kind suffice to deform a custom and create a completely new attitude. In addition, a tested virtue is necessary to be able to resist such temptations!

2. Exchange of a Girl for Furnishing of Services for a Fixed Number of Years

583 565 466 Everyday experience having proved that the preceding solution is not practical, say the T'ou-jen, there are people who look for another, more psychological in actual fact. Indeed, the sight of the end of one's own troubles in a future relatively near at hand gives the courage to remain faithful to duty. A family of poor or even average means can promise to give their daughter to a poor young man provided that he binds himself to work five, eight, ten, or 12 years for them.

675 466 606 583 The contracts for these marriages are generally made by the parents themselves, with one or two individuals who act as guarantors for the son-in-law. While in the preceding case the girl can be nubile at the time when a husband is being found for her, in the present case the arrangement always takes place when the girl is only seven, eight, or ten years old at the most. As for the age of the son-in-law, there is nothing definite: he can be ten or 12 years old as well as 30 and even more. When the girl is 15, they will have a little festival, and she will wear her hair in the fashion of married women; then she is married.

Why this engagement when the girl is still a child? /123/ It it because they know one another in the country and do not want to

/123 cont'd/

Mo 675 606 466 583 be duped all down the line. As a matter of fact, as soon as the girl is 15 and is married, she, like her husband, will want to be more free. She will let him persuade her that one can work everywhere and that there is nothing more to be gained in the home of the parents-in-law. One day there is an argument in the family, and the couple disappears. Now at this moment the family of the parents-in-law will already have profited by at least several years of work by the son-in-law. It rarely happens that the son-in-law is faithful to his pledges to the end. It is then a frail alliance.

Mo 608 606 583 171 The present case is the usual case of husband-sons-in-law. It enjoys a very wide diffusion all over Asia, among the Turkish, Mongol, and Manchu peoples and among the peoples of northern Asia (1).

Ma 606 608 583

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: There is also a very interesting custom of getting a wife by personal work in the house of the future father-in-law. A poor man who cannot pay "kalim" through the intermediary of some person asks the bride's father to give him his daughter against his personal work in the house of his future father-in-law. The minimum period of this is three years and the maximum ten years. The future son-in-law lives in the house of his future father-in-law, but he always has his separated spirits and goes to his clan's meetings and sacrifices. After the fixed period is expired, they make a very modest wedding and the young husband brings his wife to his own house or lives in the house of his wife's father as a workman at a fixed salary. Sometimes the father-in-law gives the

/123 cont'd/

Mo 606 608 583

young couple some means to start an independent household. This custom is very broadly practised by the Manchus who consider it as one of the most ancient and purely national institutions. /Cited in English./

Mo [584]

Dr. Herbert Koenig, op. cit., pp. 109-110: The essence of this way of concluding a marriage lies in the fact that the bridegroom thereby begins his wooing, that he performs the most menial work for his future father-in-law, who treats him almost like a slave.... In this case, too, an intermediary sometimes is involved, usually the father, some other close relative, or even a friend, who asks the father of the bride whether the suitor can begin his service for the girl. Page 656: Thus, bride service in all likelihood is limited to the Asiatic side of the Bering Strait and the Aleutians and is lacking among the Eskimo. /Cited in German./

Mo 608 606 583 171

and everywhere they seem to hold this practice in respect. /124/ Among the T'ou-jen, according to what one can see, it creates a good many disagreeable situations; thus it is not surprising to hear the elders declare that this custom is practiced much less nowadays than in the good old days. This custom is still found rather often among the Chinese of Kansu.

3. Purchase of a Girl and Search for a Son-in-law Who Will Serve Their Parents-in-law until Death

Mo 608 583

Another still more risky combination is one often found in reasonably well-to-do families which have no child. They buy a girl,

/124 cont'd/

608 583 they get a husband for her, and they hope that the couple will stay with their benefactors to serve them until their death. This is then the foremost case which occurs with the least chance of success, since the feelings of this stranger will not be comparable to those of a daughter of their own. If there is no hope for them of great material advantages, the couple ends up by going away.

4. Furnishing of One's Person by Adoption in Order to Obtain a Wife

597 583 606 In this category we see the principle of the patriarchate triumphing. This fourth combination is one found in rather rich families who have only one daughter and who adopt a son-in-law in order to give him as a husband to their daughter. The purpose of this arrangement, according to the T'ou-jen, is not to be separated from their daughter and to make her and the son-in-law their lawful heirs.

Now so that this may be possible in a patriarchal system, the son-in-law must exchange his family name for that of his parents-in-law. He must separate himself radically from his own parents and clan in order to recognize his parents-in-law and all /125/ their clan as his own. He must give himself completely to this family, he must make offerings to their ancestors; and in this way he will be able to continue the family line, and at his death be buried in their cemetery. This is, then, the furnishing of services for life at the same time as that of oneself in all its breadth.

From this it is understandable that such an arrangement must raise difficulties on the part of the family; so a whole series of formalities is required in order to bring it about. The father of the family begins by inviting his brothers and announcing his irrevocable decision. So that they will sign the contract of adoption and admit the new son-in-law into the family circle, he will propose bequeathing to them several plots of land after his death; the rest of the holdings will have to fall to the son-in-law and his wife. All that does not proceed without long discussions. Finally, the contract of adoption is signed on the occasion of a family dinner, where the son-in-law makes the great prostration to his new parents; he bows to the religious image honored in the house and burns cypress branches; his

Mo /125 cont'd/
597 name is inscribed in the family register in the presence of the whole
606 family; he goes to the clan cemetery to make offerings to the ances-
583 tors of his new parents, and goes to the village pagoda to venerate the loca deities, protectors of his adoptive family. (1) This arrange-

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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 61:
The adoption of men (among the Manchu) is practised only for children. When the child becomes 6-7 years old the couple who adopt it organize a sacrifice to their clan spirits. They declare to the spirits and to the child adopted, that such and such person is adopted in the clan, and that this person leaves his former clan and spirits and enters into this clan. /Cited in English; French interpolation in parentheses/.

ment presents all the necessary guarantees for a serious and lasting union... but at the price of what sacrifices on the part of the son-in-law.

/126/ Chapter III

Abnormal Marriage

Mo 588 We have seen all the troubles brought on by marriages of girls exchanged for the furnishing either of the person of the son-in-law or his services for a fixed period or for life. Nevertheless, this whole series of marriages is more or less understandable to the European mind; the two series of alliances which follow no longer are. They are the marriages:

/147 cont'd/

586 Indeed, the parents claim that their daughter, as a consequence
681 of bad treatment on the part of the parents-in-law, was forced to leave home, ran away, and must have perished nobody knows where. The parents-in-law are therefore responsible for her death..., and the discussion begins. On both sides they are convinced that the daughter is just as guilty as the parents-in-law, if not more; they also know very well that the daughter is alive. Everyone understands that the parents want to profit by the occasion in order to raise money on the backs of their family by marriage. After long discussions, which can last two days and more, they end up by having to give to the parents of the runaway a sum of two to three hundred strings of cash as indemnity for the daughter-in-law, who is deemed to be lost. A contract is written by which it is recognized that the affair is shelved forever and that in the future the parents-in-law will no longer be able to try to pick a quarrel with the son-in-law nor extort money a second time...; furthermore, should the daughter return, they bind themselves to pay back the indemnity. As for this last clause, it is gone with the wind; the adage says besides: "Once the flesh has entered the wolf's mouth, it is not easy to pull it out again."

586 Nevertheless, if the daughter comes back after several years
583 with her lover, or if she has been taken and brought back forcibly,
681 they act as above with the runaways of this category; however they require more serious guarantees and a larger indemnity on the part of the lover's family. It happens very often that on /148/ this occasion they sell the woman to her lover if he has the wherewithal to pay for her. They likewise sell him the children born during the long absence. If the wife is not sold, she goes back to her home and is again admitted into the family circle with the children born to her while away, for, says the adage: "What grows on my land is mine and what my wife gives birth to is mine."

586 However one can believe that the parents are scarcely delighted
593 with such presents, especially when children are not lacking in their home. Indeed, the adage says: "The cow to be robust must run on the mountain, but it must come home to the stable." If the comparison is not elegant, it makes one think of the nomadic life. The

old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Each claimed to be 754
the proprietor of a small mountain. The Living Buddha lost his suit and the limping Tjaar tseen became the most celebrated man in the country. The Buddha invited three black shamans to bewitch the limping Tjaar tseen, and accused him again. He lost the second lawsuit also. Raging, the Buddha invited three black shamans to cast more efficacious spells. The chief of the village did not care any more, and the villagers graze their ~~herds on the~~ mountain to the present day. This fact is interesting for us because a Living Buddha, on two occasions, invited black shamans.

Hu, a rich Monguor, compelled a poor Monguor to [583]
sell to him his beautiful and willing young wife. The poor Monguor, using his last resource, invited a black shaman to bewitch his wife. The black shaman prepared skulls of a dog and of a fox, and a horn of a black goat. Inside each he enclosed three slips of paper on which he had designed cabalistic signs with dog blood around the name of the wife. The three items were buried at night under the entrance door of the courtyard of Hu, with the mouth of the skulls facing his living room. The young wife became sick. Shamans were invited to discover the cause of the illness and to neutralize the evil influences, but to no avail. The wife died and the shaman, it was said, was powerless against a punishment of Heaven and the spirits. But there was no peace in the courtyard; at night, noises disturbed the rest. Black shamans were invited for three days and they found the skulls. The poor man was accused before the T'u-ssu, but the T'u-ssu did not pay any attention because the behavior of the rich Monguor was supposed to have been unjust. It is the usual trick of the black shamans to bury magical things under the lintels of doors or in cemeteries.

In countries where there are no newspapers, such 203
tales are spread like prairie fires, by peddlers, and 754
commented on and believed, especially when outstanding persons are involved. They create the trend of mind of the people and make them fear so much the black shamans living south of the Hsining River, who are said to use beads made from human bones, to blow a trumpet made from the bone of a young woman who committed suicide, to wear a girdle made from the skin of such a woman, to braid into the enormous pigtail, coiled around the head, the hair of such a woman, and to use drums made from skulls of young girls. The most terrifying tales are told about them and they are believed by the people.

RITES CONCERNING THE GUARDIAN SPIRITS OF THE WEALTH OF THE FAMILY

771
According to the Monguors, persons who commit 635
injustices are pursued by the guardian spirit of the 556
wealth of the victim of the injustice, who causes them

[p. 130(A)]

N *563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren.
M 592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually
554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N *563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional
M part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the
581 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon-
562 gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an-
[769] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered
[171] a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their live-
stock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N *563 Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently
M the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con-
584 siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen
583 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage
582 age for boys is between 14-16.

Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab-
N solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is
*563 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob-
M served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage
614 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the
582 weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re-
565 garded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it
has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy
rules need not be observed as strictly.

N Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but
*563 does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a
M sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different
582 clan.

A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family,
M usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband.
[587] However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance
and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she
wants.

N Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from
*563 the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage
M to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan,
588 but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patri-
lineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as
members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the
belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has
relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be
"married" if she becomes pregnant.

N The relationship between two families connected by marriage
*563 is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being
M part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence
604

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

241 cold to grow wheat from the beginning and has first to
243 be loosened up and warmed by the sun.

The customs connected with weeding during the growing season are especially worth noting. Men and
241 women take part, the women going to the fields in their best clothes which they change for their working clothes
533 when the work begins. Men and women squat on their heels and work along the furrows of grain, singing as
584 they work. One group answers the songs sung by another group and from time to time all burst into laughter and giggles because these songs are licentious and full of sexual references. Sometimes a man or woman sings a solo, to which all reply in chorus. If a traveler should happen to pass, especially a woman, one of the workers who has a knack for making up a song impromptu will start to sing a description of the traveler, full of suggestive remarks about the supposed purpose of the traveler's journey, with endless lascivious verses about "the way of the lonely hind roaming in search of the stag," and so forth. Only the young people take part in this work, while their elders remain in the family courtyard.

This licentiousness is associated only with the weeding season. The Chinese of this region do not have a similar custom. There are comparable customs, however, in Tibet and also in Southeast Asia; and there were comparable customs among the ancient Sienpi and the ancient Turks. It is open to question whether the Shat'o brought the custom with them when they settled in the region, or whether the Monguors learned it from the Tibetans[6] or the Sienpi.

241 The crops are either plucked by hand or harvested with a sickle, the work being done by both men and women. The threshing is done on the village threshing floor with a primitive stone roller pulled by oxen, horses, mules, or donkeys.

In addition to field agriculture there are small gardens close to each courtyard where the women plant vegetables such as onions, garlic, rape, leek, cabbage, pimento, spinach, watermelons, and cantaloupes.

PASTORAL ECONOMY

231 Livestock still rank as the second most important economic resource of the Monguors. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys, and pigs and wherever the pastures are sufficient they own as many sheep and cows as possible. Horses are important for prestige,

[6] For references to Southeast Asia (Annam, Cambodia, Laos, the White Tai, the Karens of Burma, the Angami Nagas of Assam, and the Miaos and Yaos of Southwest China), see Christopher Fürer-Haimendorff in *Anthropos* **30**: 916, 1935. See also A. Lietard, *Les Lolo-p'o*, 152, Münster i. W., Aschendorfsche Verlag, 1913, and D. Doutreligne in *Anthropos* **25**: 163, 1930; also F. M. Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, 224, Hong Kong, Imprimerie des missions étrangères, 1930. For ancient China see H. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 237, Paris, Boccard, 1927 and R. Granet, *La civilization chinoise* **1**: 190, Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

[p. 112a]

/11/

Chapter I

Marriage by Purchase

583 The purchase of the wife by the husband's family is the common form of marriage among the T'ou-jen today. This form of marriage occurs in three different cases, each of which has its customs and special rights:

A. Marriage with a young girl as the official wife
B. Marriage with a widow as the official wife
C. Marriage with a young girl or widow as the second wife, or polygamy

A. Marriage with a Young Girl as the Official Wife

Summary. -- 1. Parties to the marriage. 2. Social position of the future partners with respect to marriage. 3. When the marriage proposal is made. 4. How it is made. 5. Discussion of the bride price. 6. Delivery of the presents. 7. Age required for marriage. 8. Setting of the wedding date and last arrangements. 9. Presentation of last gifts and invitation to the wedding. 10. Wedding without ceremonies. 11. Farewell dinner at the daughter-in-law's home. 12. Getting of the bride. 13. The bride's arrival in her new family. 14. Gifts to the bridegroom's family. 15. The wedding. 16. Opening of the daughter-in-law's mouth. 17. Dinner. 18. Gifts to the family of the daughter-in-law. 19. Departure of the guests. 20. Visits after the wedding. 21. Relations of the newly married couple with the daughter-in-law's family.

584

1. Parties to the Marriage

It is natural that those who have the means choose a young girl for a wife; moreover, this is almost a necessity, because they marry young. Ordinary unions are therefore contracted between young people.

532 /12/ The first question which arises is this: With whom may marriage be contracted?

/16 cont'd/

582 605 the mother in marriage and now we give you back her daughter to marry your son." The Chinese do not have this expression, as a scholar pointed out to me with a touch of scorn. When the daughter of brothers marries the son of her paternal aunt, which frequently occurs among the Chinese and the T'ou-jen, it is said of this alliance "that the niece goes to join her aunt."

584 184 At any rate one should not conclude from the above that today among the T'ou-jen all marriages are contracted, from generation to generation, regularly and necessarily, between members of the same families; one must not infer that the daughters-in-law in one family are always cousins; neither should one believe that people do not become united with "foreign" families in our use of the word. Present-[605 day conditions are no longer those of former times; the truth is that 582] marriages between cousins (of brothers and sisters) are still very numerous. But since one family may be allied in this way to five or six others, and since one seeks avidly to remain always in the same circle of alliances, it is natural that unions between relatives will be more numerous than those between strictly "foreign" families.

582 This custom is of capital importance. Why does one seek and hold in such high honor these unions between families with which one already has former kin relations? This is an old and general custom. Why, above all, is the notion of tao ts'in, "returning the marriage," considered to be sacrosanct among the T'ou-jen? When a brother asks his sister for a daughter to marry his son, she cannot refuse under any pretext. Why? No one knows. Why does marriage generally remain circumscribed within a restricted circle of families? Why should a practice so generalized and deeply rooted in custom have to be recalled in the traditional short speech of the master of ceremonies of the bride's family on the wedding day at the bridegroom's house, even when the /17/ husband and wife belong to absolutely unrelated families? Even then it is supposed that they were related a long time ago, and that the present marriage renews the old relationships!

581 To understand this practice, should one not recall that all the T'ou-jen formerly lived in a nomadic state? These groups living in the immense steppes of Asia had necessarily to look for support from other nomadic groups, wandering like themselves and seeking support

Mo /17 cont'd/
581 like themselves, for fear of being absorbed or exterminated by other clans stronger than they. Now what is more natural for making these supports as firm and durable as possible than family unions incessantly renewed by marriage?

Mo 614 581 As a matter of fact the youth of the two groups are then mutually exchanged in marriage, and the young people constitute reciprocal guarantees by founding new families on one side and the other. What is more natural than that the pact concluded between two groups be sealed by a series of marriages? When one reads the history of the Mongols, one learned that a certain clan always used to take its wives from a certain other one; that peace was sealed by marriages; that pacts were guaranteed by matrimonial alliances. This is the natural and necessary economy of the nomadic state. Formerly, the purpose of marriage was not only to found a family, but very often to bring together groups of families, or whole clans.

000 When within this sphere of ideas one understands the expression tao-ts'in with its character of supreme obligation, of sacredness, one easily finds an explanation for it; similarly, one easily understands the custom of marriage between young people of groups already related. Vestiges are found here of the nomadic state where such alliances were a necessity. But as an organ useless to the body slowly atrophies and its reason for being in the end is no longer understood, so the customs under consideration, having become useless to the Mo present-day agrarian economy and practiced /18/ less and less, have Mi ended up by no longer being understood by the people. (1)
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1. Vladimirtsov, The Life of Ghingis Khan, p. 10. "The tribal constitution of the Mongols implied exogamy, that is to say, it obliged the men of a given clan to take wives from some other clan that was not considered closely akin to their own....Owing to the constant feuds, wars and raids, the kidnapping of marriageable women was a frequent occurrence (witness the case of Yesugei-Begatur himself)... another solution was for the clans to conclude

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agreements for mutual exchange of women. The respective members of the two clans that had entered on such agreement called each other "Kuda"...." /Cited in English./

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The word Kuda is found as goda in the Monguor dialect as in all the other Mongol dialects; among the Monguor it has lost its primary sense. The custom according to which the members of two clans exchanged girls in marriage no longer exists. The word guda today is the name which the members of two families related by the marriage of one of their children give to each other.

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The conclusion then will be that we see the law of exogamy practiced largely mitigated by that of endogamy, which causes many wives, even in our day, to be taken from among the daughters of paternal aunts. (2)

2. I do not believe it is necessary to refer to totemism in order to explain the law of exogamy which presides over marriages among the T'ou-jen. The conditions of nomadic life amply provide an explanation for this practice; secondly, exogamy is not essentially totemic; thirdly, totemism among the Mongols in general has not been proved. When we deal with religious life among the T'ou-jen, we shall see, nevertheless, two facts which may attract attention to this question: we shall see the erection of the pole at the festivals given after planting, and we shall have two youth festivals.

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marry within the "mokun" two groups of clan members, who have two different ancestors in the fifth /sic/ senior class, and form of them two exogamic groups (mokun) with separate spirits, rites and shamans. 2. the facultative prohibition, i.e. the prohibition to marry within that clan, with which the man's clan is bound by some relationship of clans, or religious connection, or some degree of relationship within the mother's clan: (which comes back to the following formula:) all my class (of generation equal to mine) women belonging to other clans are my facultative wives; 3. the incidental prohibition... (for example, for widows, widowers, etc.). /Cited in English, with interpolations in French, indicated by underline./

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In the same way, marriages between young people of neighboring families are strongly discouraged. In this regard the T'ou-jen quote the Chinese saying: Liang pou tso leang kia, tso men pou tsin tsin kia: "Two different families do not live in the same courtyard, /20/ one does not contract marriage with the family opposite." This is to avoid difficulties which might then easily arise.

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2. Social Position of the Future Partners with Respect to Marriage

Separation of the sexes does not exist among the T'ou-jen as it exists among the Chinese, either before or after marriage. Let us, nevertheless, beware of concluding from this that there is betrothal preceding marriage. Among the T'ou-jen there is no mutual promise of marriage made between the interested parties with a certain solemnity; moreover, love does not precede the unions. The future partners do not make their choice after knowing each other.

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584 Custom requires that the engaged couple not have relations before marriage and that they avoid each other as much as possible.

[593] We are in the Orient. Parents are absolute masters of their children. They do not conceive of marriage as being their children's personal business. With them marriage is today a family matter, as it was formerly that of the whole group, or the community.

181 178 Nowadays the T'ou-jen family seeks its own advantages in it, and the interested parties find it natural that the general welfare precedes the individual welfare, just as formerly their families, living in clans, in compact groups, found it natural that the welfare of their private families be subordinated to that of the whole group.

584 The evolution of the T'ou-jen individual today has not yet reached the point where his personal interest takes precedence over that of his family. Parents alone, then, decide the marriages of their children, and the latter find this custom rational and accept, with their fatalistic way of thinking, the often deplorable consequences of it.

/21/ However, it can happen, when a girl has not been sought in marriage at an early age, which is unusual, that the young people have talked about things other than the fine weather. In these cases it is natural that there are preferences and that the parents take them into account, provided they are not injurious to the interests of the family and especially those of the mother-in-law. But this case is the very great exception because the children are already betrothed before they have been able to make a choice.

3. When the Marriage Proposal Is Made

The marriage proposal is rarely made after the young people are old enough to understand the importance of this act and are capable of manifesting their preferences. Besides, nobody has ever thought of waiting until the children were old enough, for marriage is the task of the parents and not of the children. But such a case can occur upon the death of one of the betrothed persons toward the time of the marriage; again, it can occur in a family which was too

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534 poor to ask for a girl in marriage and which later, having arrived in easier circumstances, has the means for it. These are always exceptional cases.

As a general rule parents ask for a girl in marriage for their son when she is very young, that is, when she is three or four years old. It even happens rather often that the promise of marriage is made before the birth of the children, provided the children to be born are of different sex. The promise is then repeated in front of the guests at the churching feast, and later the official betrothal formalities will be carried out. (1)

1. Match-making can be effected before the birth of the bride and groom. In this case if the sex of the child does not correspond to the supposition of the parents, they await the birth of other children. The Manchus suppose this custom to be of a very old origin. Shirokogoroff, p. 72. /Cited in English./

532 /22/ One could conclude from the above that the ages of the partners do not differ too much in many cases. In general, however, with the exception of the case last cited, it must be said that the bride is usually one or two years older than the groom; it even happens, and unfortunately the case is not rare, that the bride is 17 years old when the groom is scarcely ten or eleven. These are sad unions, arranged by selfish mothers-in-law, who see in the daughter-in-law a servant, and in the marriage of the son a lightening of their own work. These marriages take place when the girl is 17 and the son is still a child in all the full sense of the term. (1)

1. The brides are about the same age of the grooms i.e. 21. However it occurs very often that the bride is older than the groom. I know some cases when the wives are 5 - 6 years older than their husbands.

2: Schram--23 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
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This may occur for example, when the parents of a young man need a working woman in the house and take before the wedding, a small girl as the future wife of their son who dies before the wedding is accomplished: then the girl becomes the wife of the following son. It is seldom that the husband is older than his wife. In the condition of the Manchu social system all these combinations are quite natural, because the parents or clan relatives who marry their children have as the purpose of marriage not only marriage as such, but rather the obtaining of new working member for the family. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64. /Cited in English./

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The age at which a marriage proposal is made for a girl and the way in which the mother-in-law seeks her own advantage in the matter suffice to prove that those concerned have nothing to do with it and that their marriage is solely the business of their parents.

4. How Is a Marriage Proposal Made?

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Since marriage is the most important event in the family, it is natural that it should have a religious character and begin with a religious rite. They thus begin with an examination of the year, month, day, and hour of birth of the future partners /23/ in order to find out whether the union will be prolific and fortunate. (1)

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1. Voyage à travers la Mongolie, en 1820 et 1821 /Trip to Peking across Mongolia in 1820 and 1821/ by Timkovski, translated and published with corrections by Klaproth in 1827, Vol. 2, p. 306. Before a marriage

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(among the Mongols) may be concluded, it is necessary to calculate with the aid of books under what signs the future husband and wife were born, so that the heavenly body which governs the birth of the latter may not be harmful to that of the former, nor dominate it: which means that the woman must not govern the household.

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The Mongols count 12 signs which correspond to our months; they are: 1, mouse; 2, ox; 3, tiger; 4, hare; 5, dragon; 6, serpent; 7, horse; 8, ram; 9, monkey; 10, hen; 11, dog; 12, pig. The fifth year, also called ibeghel, is the year in which it is always permitted to marry. As for the seventh kharchi, it is the opposite: for example, if the girl was born under the sign of the mouse and the ox, and the boy under those of the dragon and the monkey, then the marriage is permitted. But if one of the two was born under the sign of the mouse and the other under that of the horse, in this case, even though they are of different lineage, the union cannot take place. The Mongols still claim that the ox and the tiger, the hen and the horse, and the monkey are of opposite constellations, pernicious signs, "Kharchi" which are decidedly unfavorable to marriages.

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The marriage having been recognized as likely to be fecund and peaceful, they will proceed to the marriage proposal. At the beginning of the first negotiations, they will be careful to insinuate that the alliance has been predicted to be a happy one. Nevertheless,

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584 the family of the fiancée will not neglect also to have the case ex-
787 amined by competent people. If there is a discrepancy between the two predictions, a third examination will be held.

If the alliance is sincerely desired on both sides, the solution will be quickly satisfactory; for the diviner knows the people he is dealing with.

In the opposite case, the examiner, a diplomat when necessary, will give an ill-omened solution, and the marriage will be shelved. This is a good way for one side to politely refuse a marriage proposal, and for the other to understand the refusal, without loss of face.

They say that nobody would dare do without this preliminary rite. This is easy to believe for anyone who is aware of the /24/ mania of this people for consulting fate for all events of any importance, all the more when it is a question, under the circumstances, of an act with such grave and far-reaching consequences...and in spite of everything, they often disregard this when the proposed match has won their approval:

584 But by whom is this horoscope read?

743 [771] The yellow lamas and the shamans, in Monguor bo, are never consulted, although lamaism and shamanism are the T'ou-jen's own religions. On this occasion they have recourse to the Chinese Ing-kang sien-cheng /lit., practitioner of Yin and Yang/ (diviner) or to the lamas of the red sect. The reason for this choice has always remained a mystery to me; no T'ou-jen was able to explain it.

584 This formality carried out, the father or mother of the future bridegroom, on the occasion of a visit to the parents of the future bride, proposes the marriage. The answer having been favorable,
583 "the mother alone" goes to the home of the family of the future
584 daughter-in-law to offer the parents eight, ten, or 12 steamed rolls (it must always be an even number), four feet of red cloth, a pair of shoes for the little daughter-in-law, and several lengths of red cord, which are customarily plaited into a girl's braids.

They take tea, they chat, the little chosen one presents herself, they talk of marriage, and the future mother-in-law takes her leave. The gifts have been accepted, the girl has presented

/24 cont'd/

583 herself, the marriage is therefore set. No longer is it kept from any-
584 one; on the contrary, they are careful to make the news known. But if, for example, before this formal visit of the future mother-in-law, the fiancée's family has changed its mind, the gifts would be left intact on the table, they would talk amiably about the weather, the girl would not appear, no allusion to the projected marriage would be made, the gifts would be politely returned at the time of departure, and the alliance would be given up. Only after these formalities have been completed, will the family of the future bridegroom secure a go-between.

171 /25/ This second formal visit by the mother then is definitely
584 binding. This custom is abnormal in a patriarchal economy. (1)

> 1. The bride's father, according to the customs refuses the proposals, but they do not take as serious this answer, and some time later they send to the bride's father the match-makers who propose for his daughter some price (kalin). If the two families are already connected by the matrimonial relations, the "kalin" is only a formality....
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> Usually the bride's father consults his wife; if he decides the question without consulting her, she can protest, but her protest is not taken in consideration. Then her husband's youngest brother intervenes, and advises the bride's mother to accept her husband's decision. After this formality is completed, she must agree to the inevitable thing. But if they address the demand to the bride's mother, her words have the same value as that of the bride's father and never can be changed. If they address the

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demand to the bride's father's youngest brother (it is supposed the father is dead), he does not answer without consulting the bride's mother and usually he acts according to her wish. Shirokogoroff, pp. 72, 73. /Cited in English./

584 5. Discussion of the Bride Price and Deciding on the Wedding Gifts

Contrary to Chinese practice which requires two go-betweens, a T'ou-jen ordinarily engages only one, a friend of the family.

One is in no hurry to get a go-between. When the girl is only four or five years old, one waits two or three years more, indeed even longer, before giving this invitation. The promise of marriage having been made to the mother-in-law, there is no longer anything to fear; only at each New Year and at the festival of the fifteenth [431] day of the eighth moon, they call on each other, exchange small gifts, and call each other Guda, "relatives by alliance," all this in order to refresh the memory.

In exceptional cases, where the girl has reached marriageable age at the time of the marriage proposal, they do not delay in making use of the services of a go-between.

584 After choosing an auspicious day for this important matter, the go-between leaves with the traditional gifts: a small jug of gin [577 431] corked with a red (a color /26/ which brings good luck) lozenge and a strand of sheep's wool tied around the neck. Upon his arrival he puts his gift on the small table on the k'ang and pompously greets the fiancée's family with bows. They understand one another without saying a word; they drink tea, they smoke a pipe, and the go-between broaches his subject after pouring the gin for everyone present. "Now," he says, "since you have decided between yourselves on the marriage of your children, kindly set the day to decide on the gifts and discuss the traditional formalities. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, p. 73: The negotiations are always followed by

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a dinner with moderate libations, which made the bride's father more yielding on the question of the dimensions of the "kalin" (earnest). The final conditions are elaborated usually in the state of profound drunkenness. The "kalin" must be definitely fixed during these negotiations. It consists usually of pigs, from two to eight, always in pairs, which must be given after the match-making, some years later and just before the wedding. The pigs can also be commuted by money. Moreover they give yearly $10 (or Russian roubles) for the bride's clothing and also yearly, namely in the last month of the year; they give $1 - 5 for artificial flowers and paints.... In general all calculations concerning the "kalin" payments are made in pigs. The Manchus never calculate it in horse or cattle units.

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The Mongols use as unit the horse, the reindeer. Tungus, the reindeer. It is interesting to note that the Dahurs who live in very close neighborhood with the Manchus, Mongols and Tungus, for this purpose use as unit clothing. -- (as do the T'ou-jen and the Miao of Yunnan, Kweichow.) /Cited in English, with two interpolations in French, indicated by underline./

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Timkovski, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 307: Among the Mongols the marriage proposal is made through outsiders. The consent having been given, the father

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this object must naturally be very important; with poor people the bride price rarely exceeds 400 head of livestock of different kinds.

Schotter, Anthropos, notes on tribes..., p. 344: At their betrothal the Inag-hoang-miao barbarians give a horse as earnest.

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This day is again a lucky day, chosen in advance. The day being set, leaves taken, and the go-between returns to the family of the son-in-law to congratulate it on the good intentions he believes he has found at the home of the bride's parents.

On the day agreed upon the go-between comes to get final instructions before going to the bride's home. At the bridegroom's home he finds two relatives of the family, who are good speakers and have been invited by the family to accompany him and help him in the discussion. Tea /27/ and gin are drunk, and the family earnestly begs the three friends to do their utmost to avoid big expenses for them.

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Having arrived at the bride's home with the traditional small jug, they find two relatives of this family also, who have been invited to take the family's part in the discussions. They do not delay in beginning after the presentation of the gin. On both sides care has been taken to invite the best speakers. These discussions differ entirely from those of the Chinese.

When the T'ou-jen have the floor, they keep it for ten, fifteen minutes without being interrupted; they make real little speeches. They tell you the most ordinary things with imperturbable seriousness, and everyone present listens with the liveliest interest. One after the other starts over again from the beginning; there is no end to it. On the whole they know in advance on both sides, considering the circumstances of the family, where the discussion will end. But /28/ custom requires a brilliant contest in eloquence. One side demands the impossible, and the other offers a ridiculous minimum. Finally, they end up by following the customs which are the rule.

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583 For families of average circumstances (I am speaking of the years 1915 - 20) they decide that they will pay for the daughter-in-law:

Twenty-four strings ~~of cash~~ (a string of cash at that time was worth about one dollar, and the dollar about three francs).

In addition there will be given 24 pieces of cloth for making clothes, of which 12 of the best quality are to be used for the outside of the garment and 12 of lesser quality for the lining; there will be green, black, red, and violet pieces of cloth (eight feet of calico were equivalent to a piece of Chinese cloth).

After that a mare is still necessary, and its age and quality will be decided after a new discussion.

[565] They will recall with pride the ancient tradition of the race, which has never permitted marriages without the giving of mares. Among poor families, by force of circumstances, they do without this tradition, but custom always requires that it be recalled even so.

In general, in rich families payment will consist of:

25 dollars,
16 or 20 pieces of silk or satin,
60 strings of cash,
and finally the traditional mare.

There are exceptions to the rule; thus I have known a case where 50 strings of cash, two pieces of cloth, one mare, and two cows were given; another case in which were given 24 strings of cash, 14 pieces of cloth, and a mare; still another in which 30 strings of cash, 18 pieces of cloth, a mare, and a cow were given.

584 When an agreement has been reached, the final formalities are still to come. The speakers will make apologies: "We must admit," they will say, "that the sum and /29/ gifts on which we have agreed do not come up to your expectations. But we have had in mind, above all, the happiness of your daughter; the better off the bridegroom's family will be, the happier your daughter; and then also harmony between the two families is worth more than all the gold in the world; your daughter will be the first to profit by this arrangement; she will be treated all the better; in short, you also want her good fortune above all." Then they will praise the

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584 virtues of the bridegroom and his family and predict such a fine future for the girl that the whole family will end up by being satisfied in spite of themselves.

However, they will leave a door open in case the bridegroom's family should refuse their assent. They will explain therefore that they will still have all the trouble in the world in having their propo-
[583] sitions accepted by the bridegroom's family. When they leave they will take back on behalf of the bride's family two jugs of gin, three feet of green cloth, and three lengths of green cord for plaiting in the hair.

The bridegroom's family waits with impatience. A report must now be given of the whole discussion, and especially of its practical conclusions. Then it is the other side of the picture, and with all the eloquence of which they are capable, they try to present the propositions as being eminently advantageous; they put forth the difficulties they have had to overcome in order to get there, then also, there is the girl who will make an admirable wife....

Ordinarily they resign themselves and accept the propositions; but it also may happen that the discussions have to be undertaken again at a second session, which is not auspicious. Nevertheless, it is extremely rare that they do not succeed in coming to terms and in reaching an understanding.

587 Let us note that in the marriage of a girl, even though there is only one single go-between, no marriage contract is written nor even a list of the gifts to be offered; while in the marriage of a widow, although there are two go-betweens, a contract is necessary, duly signed by the widow's parents-in-law and the go-betweens.

/30/ 6. Delivery of the Presents Demanded for the Bride

583 a) When do they proceed to the delivery of the presents?

In the exceptional case where the girl is thirteen or fourteen years old when she is sought in marriage, then during the month following the choice of gifts, they try to offer what was agreed upon.

In other cases where the formalities were decided when the girl was still little, they usually wait until she has reached her

2: Schram--33 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
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583 eleventh or twelfth year. It may also happen that everything is given at one time after one year, and again that it is done in two or three installments. The custom is therefore that it takes a long time. (1)

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1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 308: Among the Mongols the payment of the bride price is not always made at one time; it takes place at different periods according to the wealth of the bridegroom, and these payments are sometimes extended for a period of six or seven years. The animals are delivered in the fall, each female is counted as two head.

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Mo 584 But why these beatings about the bush which seem so petty? It is because we are dealing with practical people who consider everything, even the life and death of the girl. Indeed, if the girl were to die after the earnest has been given, the latter would not be given back; even if by chance there is another younger daughter in the family, one would not have the right to demand her to replace the dead girl. Nevertheless, if the families are well disposed and sincerely want to be allied by the marriage of their children, the negotiations are begun again, and they end up by giving the younger daughter after receiving several pieces of cloth and several dollars in compensation. Likewise, if the bridegroom dies and there is another younger unmarried son, one does not have the right to demand the bride for him; but there is always a way to reach an understanding, as in the preceding case, all the more because the difference in age between husband and wife /31/ is not taken into consideration among the T'ou-jen. It is therefore the general rule not to be in a hurry to give the earnest. However, there are laudable exceptions; it happens that more correct people are found who after two or three months fulfill this obligation.

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584 This mania for exploiting one another, which shows one small aspect of the race, is manifested at different times in the matrimonial customs; but this aspect being general, it does not offend any T'ou-jen.

583 b) How does one proceed to the delivery of the presents?

The go-between goes to the home of the bride, this time with two jugs of gin, stoppered with the lozenge and tied with the wool. The purpose of the visit is twofold: the first is to set the day of the ceremony, the second is to try to bargain again on what had been agreed upon to spend for the girl, "for the bridegroom's family is very poor, they have recently had misfortunes, losses of livestock, unforeseen expenses; in spite of all their good intentions they have not yet been able to buy the full number of required gifts, in short, it will be necessary to be generous this time and give ever so little 'face' to the go-between...."

583 584 It is good form to yield at least something. When they yield, they proceed by pairs, for example two strings of cash, two pieces of cloth....The concessions made, the day of the ceremony is set.

584 If the daughter-in-law's family is poor and the son-in-law's wealthy, the go-between will propose to the latter that they invite the poor family to their home so that the ceremony can take place impressively. In this case, the earnest will be given at the groom's home in the presence of the go-between.

583 The delivery of the presents is generally not made without ceremony. It is the occasion of a little festival in the bride's family, in which the go-between, the groom's father, his maternal uncles, his older brothers, the advocates of a little while ago, in all seven or eight people, participate.

/32/ The go-between, taking the jug brought from the groom's home, offers to all the bride's family a tiny cup of gin; then he [301] spreads on a table the marriage gifts, to which have been added: two artificial flowers which will be stuck in the bride's hair, two bricks of rouge, a piece of black crepe which will serve as a veil, a pair of eardrops, a pair of artistically embroidered shoes.

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583 The two parties both make excuses to the other: one for its poverty and the hard times, "I could not offer more, but what is offered is given wholeheartedly"; the other for its indigence, "I was forced to ask for much too much, but now I am more than satisfied with the gifts...."

●584 Then when all have taken their places again, the go-between rises and proposes to the family that they present the "flower," that is, the little bride.

They hasten to spread out a red rug or piece of red felt in the middle of the room, and the little bride, chaperoned by a young girl, appears before the assemblage. The two girls hold each other by the hand.

[302] The bride has risen early in the morning, has washed with all kinds of soap, and her hair has been dressed by the most skillful woman in the neighborhood. She has put on her handsomest finery, she has beautiful flowers in her hair, and she is made up in such a way as to be longer recognizable. Her companion, a little girl like herself, has a more modest toilette; she has no flowers in her hair, she wears a black veil on her head. They are certainly "the amazon and the little white goose"; no chance of making a mistake who is the bride.

[516 576] They advance toward the middle of the rug, facing the future father-in-law, let go their hands, bow respectfully, kneel, bow their foreheads to the ground three times, rise, and begin the same prostration over again three times. This is the ancient Chinese greeting on grand occasions. Everything is done gravely and sedately. They are well-trained T'ou-jen girls! Also their childhood games are [524] only the apprenticeship /33/ for the ceremonial. All girls play at ceremonies; they adore them. This is characteristic of the Orient.

583 584 One sees that the "flower" is aware of her own important and that of the moment; she tries to make a good impression on the assemblage, and the future father-in-law smiles, becomes young again, throws on the rug with a generous gesture two or three handfuls of red lozenges and a handful of cash, emblems of good fortune and wealth. The guests do the same. The girls pick up everything,

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583 584 bow gravely, and without having opened their mouths go away to share the lozenges and the cash.

The go-between rises and says aloud: "The flower has just been presented, let us proceed to the recognition of the alliance of the two families and the exchange of wine."

The two fathers-in-law rise and go to kneel in the middle of the rug, after bowing to each other. The go-between puts in the hand of each a little cup of gin, which they exchange and drink.

584 788 539 The cups are filled four times in a row, and they exchange them four times; those present recite aloud one of the four following couplets:

Si che iang koang	May the feast be brilliant
man siu hoa	May flowers abound.
tse suen hoa	May the flowers which are the sons and grandsons
leang mien tch'a	Bloom on both sides (to the glory of the two families).
leang kia hi ngai	May the two families be happy
tso ts'in kia	To be related to each other.
sin ts'in kia	May the new family by marriage
mou tan hoa	Be like a peony (emblem of good fortune).

584 [262] /34/ Then the two fathers-in-law rise and propose that all present drink in their turn. A light meal is served consisting of boiled mutton cut in pieces, bread, and noodles in the Chinese style....

The bride's family takes care to put into the father-in-law's carpetbag two strings of cash and several loaves of bread, always an even number; the other guests receive two loaves each. The jug is given back filled with gin.

/34 cont'd/

Mo 584 431 A visitor who has come to offer presents is never allowed to leave without being given a gift. The receptacle which he brought cannot leave the house empty. Before, at each visit, they were careful to return to the go-between his jug filled with gin; the same will be done later.

7. Age Required for Marriage

Mo 582 The age required for marriage is 15 years; these 15 years are supposedly reached at the age of 14, after the winter solstice. The age of the bride varies from 15 to 17. The girls rarely pass this age without being married. This is because there are moral reasons for this general rule; as a matter of fact, the T'ou-jen claim that girls are "big" toward that age, and that there must be no more delay in Mo [801] marrying them off. Rarely girls are married at 13. Marriage never takes place when the age of the bride is an even number.

As for the age of the groom, there is no fixed rule; they do not bother about the even or odd number of years of his age. He can marry at ten, at 20, as well as at 30. Those who have the means ordinarily do not pass 17 without marrying. (1)

Ma 582

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 64: The Manchus consider as necessary, almost obligatory to marry their sons by the age of 21, and usually all Manchu young men are married before reaching this age. If this is not done "everybody will laugh" say the Manchus, because the clan to which the unmarried young man belongs may be supposed to be "inactive, weak and poor." /Cited in English./

/35/ 8. Setting of the Wedding Date; Negotiations concerning the Last Arrangements

Mo 584 When the fiancée has reached the required age for marriage, the custom is that the mother-in-law, rarely the future father-in-law,

/35 cont'd/

584 goes to her home with the traditional presents: gin, eight or ten
[583] loaves of bread, four feet of red cloth. The go-between is not present.

This visit is ordinarily made toward the fifteenth day of the eighth moon, which is one of the great festivals of the year. After putting down her gifts, the visitor pretends to kneel to greet the family ceremoniously, but this is forestalled. Tea and bread are served. Then the visitor herself takes her jug and pours gin for those present, a sign that she comes on an important mission. After this, she speaks of the wedding and asks that the day for it be set.

Appearances require that the bride's family pretend to wish to put off the wedding. "They love the girl so much, she is so good to her parents, so devoted, they will never be able to separate themselves from her." They beg that she be left with them for two or three more years. The daughter, in the kitchen, must weep aloud meanwhile...finally they end up by yielding with tears in their eyes.

Several days afterward the groom's family invites a Chinese diviner or a red lama, two members of the bride's family, her parents, and the go-between. The auspicious day is chosen with all possible respect, for on the happy wedding day will depend in great measure the good fortune of the married couple. This choice is of greatest importance.

[585 178] In the family of the Li t'ou-se no weddings will be seen in the third and the ninth month of the year. In the old days the people whom he governs did the same; nowadays the people bother less and less with this custom.

[585] /36/ The wedding day being set, discussions are begun on the subject of the last arrangements. Well-to-do families make weddings the biggest festivity of their lives. The arrangements for this festivity are made by common agreement between the two families after a laborious discussion.

The bride's family: "I have then made the sacrifice of my daughter for a certain day, but have you arranged all that is necessary for the wedding? Have you prepared for my daughter a headdress of silver strips, skirts, clothes...."

Again, much is asked in order to obtain little. The mother-in-law makes excuses: We are poor, times are bad...but she protests

/36 cont'd/

384 the attentions with which she will surround the bride....Again, the go-between by means of eloquence must run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

[433 For people of average means, at this second settlement, they 431] ordinarily end up by promising for the bride:

a headdress of copper strips,
eardrops of silver or silvered copper,
a cloth skirt,
cloth trousers,
a pair of leggings for boots,
a hat cover of red cloth for the wedding day and another of green cloth.

Rich families manage to give a hat of silver strips or silvered copper, one or two pairs of silver eardrops, and several silk garments. If the bridegroom's family is too accommodating, it will be well exploited.

After that they come to the negotiations about the dinner. The bride's family begins by asking for their guests a dinner of 80 to 100 places. New palavers...the go-between ends up by getting them to content themselves with about 40 places on their part. Among rich families a dinner of 100 places is required.

/37/ But what dinner will you give? We must have a Chinese dinner of 12 or 16 large bowls. We do not wish to lose face, it is the least that you can give us, we have continually made concessions for everything, on this point we cannot yield. New exploits of eloquence on the part of the go-between, ---"Until now I have been able to arrange everything to the satisfaction of both families. I hope you will let me keep face until the end. I have always succeeded in marriage discussions, and I hope that this time it will work again. Let us see; plates and dishes are necessary for a Chinese dinner; no way to find them in the whole country. An excellent cook is necessary, where is he? A room for the dinner is necessary, where is it to be found? And then, we are not Chinese. Let us follow the customs of our ancestors and give a big T'ou-jen dinner. [273] I insist upon gin of superior quality and in sufficient quantity, two

584 /37 cont'd/

pounds per person; I demand big and fat sheep...," and everything is settled.

And to say that the two parties knew the conclusions of the discussion beforehand! Palavering is necessary, one must give oneself importance; then, speechifying and chattering are the principal and the most agreeable pastime of people who almost never work in their lives.

585 Most weddings take place after the work in the fields is over, in the months of October, November, and December. About this time the animals are fat, the barns full of grain, and there is something with which to distill, oneself, a kind of gin with spelt. However, one does see rich families who, to demonstrate abundance and well-being, celebrate the marriages of their children in the months of May, June, and July, which are called the "empty" months. (1)

584 1. Shirokogoroff, p. 76: Some time before the wedding they fix a happy day for the ceremony of wedding in accordance with Chinese manual....by Chinese sien-sheng. /Cited in English./

P. 74: Some time before the wedding, the representatives of the bridegroom's clan in a large number, and connected by friendship with the bride's clan people, call upon the bride's father or his substitute, to fix exactly the day of the wedding. But the bride's father refuses to do it. /38/ Then the bridegroom's representatives propose to him a supplementary "kalin". In the past time this consisted only of a pig, which was eaten during the wedding, but it has grown with time and at the present time it can be valued at $100 - 300 paid in pigs or money or goods. Besides, the bridegroom's clan must give some silk

583

/38 cont'd/

583 clothing and jewellery up to the sum of $100 -300. If the bridegroom's clan refuses, the wedding may be adjourned for a period of two years. They can refuse to give the bride three times, but finally they are obliged to give her without supplementary "kalin". In such case,
582 for the bride the age of 27 years is limit beyond which she cannot be kept in her clan. So that the matrimonial periods are the ages of 15, 17, 19, or 16, 18, 20... However if the matrimonial parties are on good terms the payment of the supplementary "kalin" can be omitted. Some days, 5 or 6 before the wedding, the bridegroom's clan people bring the supplementary "kalin" which they transmit solemnly to the bride's father or his substitute. /Cited in English./

/38/ 9. Delivery of the Presents and Invitation to the Wedding

583 About ten days before the wedding, the go-between and several members of the bride's family go to deliver the gifts agreed upon; in addition they bring 12 loaves of bread, a sheep, a goat, and the pieces of meat called mutsé, a term which the people did not succeed in explaining to me; only one knows by that that all the girls of the bride's neighborhood and the married girls in her family are invited.

583 After taking tea, they show the clothes, the hat, the eardrops...
584 so that they may be examined in detail. From time to time it happens that at this moment new difficulties again arise. Such and such a piece is refused.... Another must be substituted for it in haste or the wedding will be postponed until later. They demand everything up to the last cash before allowing the bride to leave;

Mo /38 cont'd/
583 for they know that after her departure they will not be able to get
584 anything more.

10. Marriage without Ceremonies

Mo 585 When a girl has reached marriageable age and the families are too poor to permit themselves the luxury of grand festivities, they proceed in a very simple fashion which they call /39/ "marriage without ceremonies," that is, the girl is taken away without any ceremonies. That is always done the last month of the year, on the ninth, tenth, or eleventh day. The mother-in-law in the company of the go-between goes to get the girl. They take tea with her family, they are served a piece of meat and some bread; then the two of them take the girl away on foot. If the distance is great, they go on horseback. When they arrive at the home of the groom, there is no festivity. The bride, still wearing her hair as unmarried girls wear it, becomes a member of the family as an unmarried girl. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, p. 65: The Manchus also adopt the following practice: they take into the family where there is a boy a small girl for whom they pay her parents a price arranged and she lives in the position of a bride until the boy reached the age of 17, 18. Then they have the marriage ceremony and the young man becomes a husband. They follow this practice when the girl's parents are poor and have many daughters and the boy's parents need a working member in the family. P. 75: When the girl reached the age of 15, 17 years, they make a very modest wedding. /Cited in English./

/40 cont'd/

11. Farewell Dinner at the Bride's Home

584 The solemnities begin at the bride's home the day preceding
585 the wedding. They are often richer and noisier than the ones at the groom's home on the day of the wedding. They have a special character. No guest of the groom's family is present at this festivity; it is given solely in honor of the relatives of the bride's family and intimate friends. Nobody is invited. It is up to each one to judge whether his relations with the celebrating family permit his presence. The more influence the family has, the more numerous will be the intimate friends. With us, such an uncertainty about the number of guests would be very annoying for the service and would cause a good many surprises at the dinner. Here, this is the least of their worries, for the custom of bringing loaves of bread in the guise of gifts can provide for every eventuality.

585 In the first place, one notices among the guests the members
[182] of the family of the bride's mother. They will never fail to be present at the festivity. They consider their presence not /41/ only a duty but a right; thus their absence would be unjustifiable. The elders of the mother's clan are always present. Truly odd way of thinking, they do not go to the festivity to enhance its solemnity nor to give evidence of their friendship to the family, but tanquam potestatem habentes /"as having authority"/. They see in the girl who is leaving the family their daughter who is leaving them; they wish to be present at her departure and show themselves her protectors. One feels in this the unity of the family, one sees in it a feeling of strong cohesiveness; it is the clan which is there at the dinner. They will absent themselves from the dinner at the groom's home, but never from the one at the bride's.

Among the guests are also seen the members of the paternal side of the girl, friends and neighbors. The members of the mother's family take precedence at the dinner.

585 The Orient is pre-eminently the land of ceremonies; at fes-
[183] tivities the guests require that they be rigorously observed; if not, although treated royally, they will not be satisfied and in the whole region criticisms will go about at a good round pace.

/111 cont'd/

500 that the Eskimo present in the east of the polar region is not as uniform. /Cited in German./

Anthropos, 1929, p. 129. The central North Asiatics stand in contrast with all the peoples (polar peoples) named. Exogamy prevails among the Samojed, Ostjak, Jakut, Tungus, and Dolgan. This extends not only to the kin groups but to the whole tribe. /Cited in German./

Page 130. A kind of exogamy such as is present among these peoples requires that membership in a given community (marriage class in this case) be reckoned either on the father's side or on the mother's side, and, of course, for the simple reason .... /Cited in German./

104 Page 117. The betrothal of children, that is, the designation of two people for marriage before puberty, or even before the birth of one or both of them /cited in German/ ... (is found among all the peoples of the polar region).

584 Page 102. Customarily, an intermediary appears, usually the father or some other close male relative of the bridegroom, who negotiates with the father of the bride and often receives compensation for his trouble, perhaps in the form of property. /Cited in German./

583 Page 102. The price for the bride is determined according to the wealth of the participants and is paid in property, for example, in valuable pelts. /Cited in German./

Page 102. The bride price is paid either immediately or in installments. In the latter case the bridegroom can take his bride only when the last installment has been paid, although often he has already slept with her. /Cited in German./

Page 103. I have already said that among the peoples being discussed here a bride price /Mitgift/ is always expected. In the specific reports concerning this, almost all the authors agree. /Cited in German./

545 Herbert Koenig, "Das Ehenecht der Polarvoelker," Anthropos, 1929, pp. 136-137. Polygamy and Similar Situations... In the whole polar region polygamy lawfully

/112 cont'd/

583 A. A widow

B. A girl, or the question of husband-sons-in-law

A. Marriage of a Widow

587 One marries a widow without having to pay for her when she is indigent and finds herself after the death of her husband with three or four children; when furthermore she is alone in the world by reason of the fact that she has no brothers-in-law, or if she has, they are too poor to provide for her needs. This is then the case of widows without means of subsistence.

583 /113/ There are naturally few with a taste for this kind of
587 marriage, for those who venture into such will have to raise another person's children, who, sooner or later, if they do not return bad for good, will at least be very little grateful for the care which has been given them. This kind of marriage is literally that called by the Chinese tchao fou iang tse, i.e., "looking for a husband who will feed the children." Although these unions are not advantageous for the husband, nevertheless there are always poor men of some age who, attracted by the hope of offspring, decide to expose themselves to the dangers of such a union, or who rather allow themselves to be tempted by the widow. Indeed, the terms of this marriage say clearly that it is the widow who is seeking the husband. That says enough,
584 that these unions are not highly prized. In such a marriage, the two
587 parties agree on it first between themselves. Their decision made, they themselves invite a go-between, who will go to see the paternal uncles and the grandparents of the children. The T'ou-jen family has an agnatic base, and the family system is that of the large family
589 with community of property. On the death of the husband, the
421 widow remains therefore within the domain of the community; consequently, it will be necessary to recognize her owners. But since this property is rather a burden for them, it will be easy to come to an agreement. Furthermore, the widow's family knows that if it is not accommodating, the widow will be able to give them a lot of trouble.

/114 cont'd/

Mo 587 assets and his widow being the property of his own family, they go back into its domain.

428 593 These conditions show clearly that the widow is considered to have left the family of her former parents-in-law completely; the latter have given up all the rights they had with respect to her and have entrusted the children to her with the obligation to raise them for their clan.

Mo 589

Mo 584 587 675 When such a marriage is made, a contract is always written in duplicate; /115/ one copy is kept by the husband, and the other is given to the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow. In it minute mention is made of properties, debts, ... and then of the obligations of the new husband.

Mo 582 If they remain poor after the marriage and find it impossible to marry off the sons, when the latter have grown up they end up by going away as they wish.

Mo 587 591 There is no abduction to fear in the present case; the marriage takes place very simply and openly. If the widow has plots of land and the husband does not, he comes to live with her; in the opposite case, the widow with the children moves in with him. If neither one nor the other has anything, they look for a place to stay and go to live together. One prostration to heaven and to the spirits, in the presence of the go-between and the parents, and this is all the ceremony of such marriages; add to it another to the parents and to the go-between. (1)

Ma 428 589 425

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit.[1], p. 142: If the widow and her daughters do not wish to be cared for by their husband's and father's brothers, they may also receive a part of the property. This part is equal to that of a brother. In this way the woman may become the owner of land and house. But this ownership can be maintained only during two generations (from mother to daughter) because the bride's

[1. op. cit. ie: Social Organisation of the Manchus --- Analyst.]

N *563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren.
M 592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually
554 consults her father before taking any action.

N *563 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional
M 581 part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the
562 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon-
[769] gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an-
[171] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their livestock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N *563 Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently
M 584 the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to considerable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen
583 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage
582 age for boys is between 14-16.

Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is absolute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is
N *563 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob-
M 614 served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage
582 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the
565 weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is regarded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy rules need not be observed as strictly.

N *563 Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but
M 582 does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different clan.

M [587] A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family, usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband. However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she wants.

N *563 Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from
M 588 the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan, but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patrilineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.

N *563 The relationship between two families connected by marriage
M 604 is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence

684 husband—or rather, usually, from her mother-in-law. When brought back she endures one hundred lashes on the back, and is led to her husband's house with the same "ceremonial" as related above, after having asked for a guarantor and made her thumb-print on a statement.
583 Once in a while, also, a future son-in-law who is working for his future father-in-law, in order to marry the daughter, disappears with the daughter. After one or two years they return, and ordinarily the parents are delighted to see them again, and no more complaints are made.

525 In cases of gambling, a fine is imposed on the of-
681 fenders for the upkeep of the temple or to defray the expenses of the religious celebrations performed by the shaman at the village in spring and autumn. All kinds
543 of interesting and dramatic cases occur. Wives complain about their husbands; widows who do not intend to remarry complain about members of the family prodding and teasing them to remarry; widows willing to remarry are hindered from remarrying; or the price for a bride is not paid at the fixed time; or a betrothal is broken off, etc.

627 Two particular cases may be described in detail, because of the light they cast on the type of cases handled by chiefs and elders, and on Monguor society in general.

In the first case, in the valley of Hungnai, in 1918, Chang Chia-pa, a Chinese whose family had been enrolled in a Monguor clan for many generations, had a daughter married "with the girdle" [5] who was the mother of a lovely boy. He also had a son, a daughter-in-law, and grandchildren. The girl of the girdle, who was always having trouble with her sister-in-law, finally could not stand any more, married a man named Hou Yu-liang as his concubine, and took her son with her. Hou paid her father four hundred strings of cash for her.

After five or six years, during the festivities held at the second moon in Weiyuanp'u, a Chinese peddler from Ho-nan province, named Li, made trouble with Hou Yu-liang for having, as he complained, married the

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•585 [5] When a girl who is unwilling to marry has relations with a guest, custom requires that the guest present his girdle (sash) to the girl. In the event that she subsequently becomes pregnant, she performs the rites of marriage with the sash, and she is thenceforth known as "Mrs. So-and-So" (guest's name), and the son as "boy so-and-so," even if the guest never comes back during her whole life.

The importance of the girdle is worth noting. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, according to Fr. Mostaert, when on the day set for the marriage the groom falls ill and is unable to attend the ceremony, his girdle is sent to the bride and she performs the rite of marriage with it. I never met such a case among the Monguors, and it appears that the girdle is used among the Ordos Mongols in circumstances quite different from those in which it is used among the Monguors. We note also that kidnapped widows prove before the court of the village their unwillingness to marry so-and-so by showing the girdle which was exchanged with so-and-so. Father Mostaert told me that when shamans in the Ordos perform their rites, removal of the girdle is one of the most important acts. This custom is unknown among the Monguor shamans.

[p. 78 b]

/35 cont'd/

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[583] loaves of bread, four feet of red cloth. The go-between is not present.

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Mo /38 cont'd/
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/39 cont'd/

555 In the evening of the last day of the year, in the kitchen, in
302 front of the fireplace and before the image of the god of the hearth, they plait the bride's hair in the fashion of married women. The groom arrives, the whole family is together; the engaged couple kneel and bow three times to the god of the hearth. The marriage ceremony is completed! They prostrate themselves to their parents and to the whole family; a little extra is served at the meal, and they wish one another better days and a return of good fortune.

463 On the first days of the new year the parents invite the go-
465 between, they dine the best they can, they pour gin, and the young
58 couple prostrate themselves to him. Then they offer the go-between the usual present of the poor, either a string of cash or a string of cash and 400 cash. They make excuses for the little that they can offer, they thank him effusively, and then they have discharged their obligations.

535 When the bride's family is very poor, it happens that the groom's family (mother-in-law and go-between) take the girl to their home when she is only nine or ten years old or even younger. They keep her in the family as an unmarried girl until she has reached 15; /40/ then the last day of the year she is married as described above. Marriage without ceremonies is also practiced in the last month of the year when there is a sudden death near the time of the wedding in one of the families of the engaged couple; the same should the girl's parents die; then the groom's family hastens to take the girl home to marry her when she is about 15.

765 Among the more Chinese T'ou jen, upon the death of the
585 parents of one of the parties several days before the wedding, they follow the Chinese custom, which consists in celebrating the marriage without paying attention to the death. The festivities take place with the usual vigor. Only on the day after the wedding do the lamentations and the great mourning begin; the death is announced everywhere and preparations for the funeral are made.

/40 cont'd/

11. Farewell Dinner at the Bride's Home

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585 In the first place, one notices among the guests the members
586 of the family of the bride's mother. They will never fail to be present at the festivity. They consider their presence not /41/ only a duty but a right; thus their absence would be unjustifiable. The elders of the mother's clan are always present. Truly odd way of thinking, they do not go to the festivity to enhance its solemnity nor to give evidence of their friendship to the family, but tanquam potestatem habentes /"as having authority"/. They see in the girl who is leaving the family their daughter who is leaving them; they wish to be present at her departure and show themselves her protectors. One feels in this the unity of the family, one sees in it a feeling of strong cohesiveness; it is the clan which is there at the dinner. They will absent themselves from the dinner at the groom's home, but never from the one at the bride's.

Among the guests are also seen the members of the paternal side of the girl, friends and neighbors. The members of the mother's family take precedence at the dinner.

585 The Orient is pre-eminently the land of ceremonies; at fes-
[183] tivities the guests require that they be rigorously observed; if not, although treated royally, they will not be satisfied and in the whole region criticisms will go about at a good round pace.

/41 cont'd/

585 Care is taken to invite for the event a master of ceremonies (called Lordziwa, from the Tibetan Lo-rgyus, "narration," "speech"); he will be a man highly regarded in the region, eloquent and adroit. He will make all the necessary arrangements, will give orders, will smooth out all the difficulties which could arise, and will pronounce the traditional speeches at the desired moment. He will have at his disposal two well-trained men, whom he will have close at hand and who will serve the guests at the table.

[342 349] The courtyard is made ready for the festivity, for it is there that it will take place; whether it is freezing hard or pouring rain, no matter. Besides, the T'ou-jen houses have no room which could hold 40 or 50 guests. The courtyard usually being rectangular, they build several masonry supports 20 centimeters high, on which are laid planks which serve as tables. These tables are two feet wide. The planks are not fastened together, are not painted, are not /42/ even covered with tablecloths. Fitted together, they form a single piece and are arranged in a horseshoe. /See illustration 5./ The serving is done from inside the tables. The guests are seated on the outside, on pieces of felt spread out on the ground or on straw. Care is taken to hang cloths above the courtyard, which give the illusion of being seated in a vast tent. The decoration of the courtyard consists of some Chinese paper lanterns hung overhead and some red silk streamers, 30 to 40 centimeters wide, draped lengthwise of the courtyard. In a corner two or three Chinese musicians make a racket.

[372] In the middle of the rectangle of tables burns a large fire, the sacred fire of the shamanists. From time to time they throw cypress branches on the fire as incense. Several paces lower than the fire, in the posterior part of the rectangle, are laid out horizontally on two little walls two doors taken off their hinges; they serve as a table where the presents are displayed. Add a few hens which scratch about in the courtyard, several lambs which clutter up the open space, several children who run between one's legs, and that is pretty much the scene of the festivity.

/42 cont'd/

585 The guests have been arriving since ten o'clock in the morning, some on foot, others on horseback. The guests' mounts are attached to ropes tied to stakes driven into the ground in the area in front of the door, just as nomads do in front of the tent. All the neighbors, on duty, await the guests in this area, who as they arrive are conducted into a room in the side buildings of the courtyard. In the room, on the wall facing the door, is hung a religious image. The guest bows to it, kneeling. A Chinese has taken up his stand on the k'ang; he holds a brush in his hand and writes in the register of festivities the name of the guest and notes conscientiously the gifts he brings. The master of ceremonies takes these, thanks the guest, claims that he has been too generous, and the guest /43/ leaves the room.

585 /43/ According to custom, each guest must bring eight loaves of bread cooked in steam; as for the rest, he gives as he pleases. A present of four or six feet of red or green cloth is usually enough. If the guest is an intimate friend of the family, he will give a few feet more, or he will offer a less ordinary kind of cloth, or he will add to his gifts 800 cash strung on a red cord with a strand of white wool at the end. Every family keeps these registers of donors; for later in similar circumstances the register is there to inform them as to the fashion in which the givers will be treated in their turn.

[604] Custom determines only the presents the mother's family will offer. The maternal uncles of the bride must give her a skirt; the maternal aunts give her a pair of boots or a pair of parti-colored sleeves, or a piece of cloth ten feet long. These formalities taken care of, the guest is conducted into the front building where he greets the heads of the family and is immediately served tea with milk and some bread. Having drunk his cup of tea, he leaves the room to make room for other guests and to mingle with the group which is standing in the courtyard.

585 Toward two o'clock in the afternoon no more guests arrive; everyone takes his place in the courtyard in front of the tables set up, the women on one side and the men on the other. If there is a guest of note, he takes his place at the table of honor, which backs [604] up to the front building, with the maternal uncles of the bride.

/43 cont'd/

585 Each guest has settled himself, not without first having made many an excuse and salaam. All follow the gospel which advises taking the last place in order to see oneself forced to go up toward the first ones. It is a real contest of politeness in which the master of ceremonies is forced to intervene with much circumspection. The parents of the bride do not preside at the festivity.

585 264 285 At the table one is all the more at ease if there are fewer /44/ guests. The felt rugs and the litters of straw are very practical "seats" at these wedding dinners, since they permit seating as many people as one wishes. The guests having taken their places, the meal is begun by serving tea with milk and dry bread. Because the interior of the rectangle remains free, the service is done briskly. Do not expect to see beautiful teapots, milk jugs, cups, saucers, plates of fine porcelain. The milk is already poured into the tea in the kitchen; the copper teapots are those of every day; the bread is put around in piles on the tables, the cup is made of white earthenware but without cracks.

585 273 After the tea, well-heated gin is served. It is poured into about 20 small terra cotta cups, which each one passes to the other after drinking two or three swallows. The women drink the gin like the men. They chatter, they smoke, while waiting for the main 585 263 dish, which consists of a sheep served whole and cooked to a turn. 264 The head and the saddle are detached but put back in place so as to give the illusion of one intact piece. Three sheep are served at a time. While the sheep are being admired, the servers distribute to [415] each guest a small wooden receptacle which has the shape of a saucer and in which vinegar is poured. Several wooden boxes con- [263] taining salt and pimento are in the center of the table. The T'ou-jen do not use forks or spoons; the fingers are the main means of eating, as they maneuver with a knife and the pair of chopsticks which each guest carries in a case attached to his belt. The servers take the meat with their fingers, cut it in pieces, and fill the saucers of the guests with it. The meat is eaten seasoned with salt, pimento, [263] and vinegar, and one adds to it a piece of bread. The bones are thrown on the table or on the ground. As soon as the mutton is tackled, complete silence reigns over the assemblage, all of whom

/44 cont'd/

585 maneuver busily. Having no napkin, one ends by licking one's
262 fingers at first, then rubs /15/ them on one's boots to soften the
264 leather. A bowl of bouillon finishes the meal. Gin is poured, and
[527] the table is cleared. This is the famous feast called susen by the T'ou-jen and ts'iuen iang si by the Chinese, "the dinner with the sheep served whole." It is the largest dinner given in the region.

585 It must be admitted that for such a dinner the dishes are neither
261 large in number nor dainty, and that the culinary art has not reached
[252] the heights; but this does not keep the good stomach and the T'ou-jen spirit from being at their zenith. Everything is relative in this world below.

171 This dinner, these hosts, this scene make one think of dinner
264 among nomads on the steppe. There, the dinner is served in a spacious tent; among the T'ou-jen it is given in the courtyard covered with cloth; there, all are seated on the ground on pieces of felt or on straw, here the same; there, rudimentary plates and dishes, here the same; there, the main dish of the grand feasts is sheep served whole, here also. Why don't the T'ou-jen put on a feast like the Chinese, putting some ten tables in a courtyard, each one for eight guests? It is because among the T'ou-jen the old customs of the nomads live again at the important moments of life. Once and for
585 all let us call attention to the vestiges of the ancient nomadic organi-
262 zation of the T'ou-jen, met with on the occasion of a wedding. In the olden times they busied themselves with the raising of large
585 animals (oxen, sheep, horses). The proof of it is that all the presents
431 given in former times and recalled on the occasion of wedding feasts
231 consisted either of horses or oxen; the bride's family used to give an ox to her maternal uncle, a horse to the maternal uncle of the groom, and another horse to the groom himself; the groom's family used to give an ox to the maternal uncle of the bride; they still require a mare as earnest for the girl; the meat at the dinner is invariably
[262] mutton; again it is mutton which is offered at various times, according to matrimonial custom, and it is mutton which is given to the guests at the moment of /46/ departure.

231 Nowhere is pork mentioned as being offered as a gift, although at present the T'ou-jen are occupied principally with the raising of

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/46 cont'd/

pigs. With their tsao tchou, i.e., "pigs which live on plants," they are the great suppliers of pigs for the capital of the province.

We have arrived at the chief attraction of the wedding.

M 585 431 583

They begin by spreading out the presents the parents made to their girl and to the family of the bride /sic/. This display is presented on the doors laid out for the purpose in front of the shamanistic fire within the tables. For people of average means the gifts are usually composed of the following pieces:

For the girl:

1) three long garments of checked calico with lining, a green garment, another of red, a third violet
2) two long plain garments, blue and black
3) two skirts
4) one long padded garment
5) three plain trousers
6) three or four waistcoats (bolero type), blue, black, violet
7) one large hat for feast days
8) several belts each 12 feet long, parti-colored or embroidered
9) four or five pairs of sleeves in varied colors
10) five or six pairs of artistically embroidered sleeves
11) some ten pairs of leggings
12) a long garment of black sheep's wool
13) a belt of black sheep's wool (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 308: (among the Mongols) when everything is agreed upon, the parents of the bride are obligated to construct for her a yurt, provided with everything necessary for a household, /47/ so that she does not need to ask for anything from others. Then she is given all that concerns her toilette and even a saddled horse on which she is to go to her husband's home.

/47 cont'd/

585 431 583 For the son-in-law:
1) Chinese cap
2) lined or plain garment of checked calico, blue in color
3) belt of red cloth 12 feet long
4) leggings or boots, never trousers
5) a big Tibetan k'ata, which will be put around his neck (1)

1. K'ata (Tibetan, khabtags) ... is a pale-blue silk scarf, very primitively woven; it is offered among the T'ou-jen to persons whom one wishes to honor or from whom one expects a service; it is even offered to the gods. Very pretty ones are found, blue or white, of first quality, very long, with Buddhist pictures; they are offered only on important occasions and to persons of note.

For the grandfather: a piece of felt
For the grandmother: a long, plain garment or a skirt
585 431 583 602 [287] For the son-in-law's father: a piece of felt
For the son-in-law's mother: a long garment or a skirt
For the paternal uncles of son-in-law: a pillow
For the paternal aunts of the son-in-law: leggings
For the son-in-law's brothers: leggings, pillow, or k'ata
For the little sisters of the son-in-law: two feet of white cloth serving as a handkerchief
For the big sisters of the son-in-law: a piece of red cloth four feet long
For the maternal uncle of the son-in-law: the gift of honor, a big k'ata, and a string of large cash strung on red cord with a strand of white wool
For the go-between: a pair of boots and a string of cash or six strings of cash and a pillow.

In rich families the fabrics will be of the best quality; in addition they will have a hat of silver strips, two or three pairs of ear-

583 /47 cont'd/
585 drops, silver rings....It even happens that rich people give their
431 daughter several /48/ arpents of land, which are called ngusge
602 gadiziar (ngusge, "rouge"; gadiziar, "land"), i.e., the land which
[425] procures the girl's rouge, with the condition that the husband must sow it and give the revenue from it to his wife. Thereafter, if the son-in-law's family is ever forced to sell these lands, the first offer will have to be made to the wife's family.

423 About 30 years ago, the Ma family of Na-lin-keou had re-
583 ceived in marriage a girl, Pao, who had received from her parents some "rouge lands." The Ma family became poor and mortaged these lands to the Pen family; later it sold them to the Heou family. The Pens, basing their right on the Chinese axiom, "He who holds a mortgage has prior right of purchase," brought an action against the Mas and demanded the turning over of the lands. But then the Pao family appeared and claimed these lands as being the "rouge lands" given to their aunt at the time of her marriage. The Chinese court recognized this custom and decided in their favor.

This same custom is still found among the Mongols. Recently, the king of Orat of the confederation of Olanish'ah, giving his daughter in marriage to the king of Hang King of the confederation of the Ortos, gave her on this occasion part of the lands of Sainnoor (30 li southwest of the Christendom of San-tao-k'iao, Mission of Ning-Hia).

585 As for the gifts of which I have spoken above, there are
583 numerous variants; I knew a case where the girl was given only six long garments; another where she was given ten; everything depends on the financial situation of the family.

The women in particular are very much interested in the gifts; they examine the fabrics and the finish of the embroideries, especially those on the sleeves and the two ends of the belts. Months and months of work are often put on these pieces. When the examination is finished, the bride is brought in.

She is carried on a small, low Chinese table, which has been covered /49/ previously with red felt. She is put down between the sacred fire and the display of presents. This is her first and only
[302] appearance at this festivity. She is bareheaded and wears the hair style of unmarried girls.

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585 604 The master of ceremonies moves toward the girl's maternal uncle, makes three bows in the Chinese manner, and invites him to take his place beside her. The uncle comes forward, stands beside the girl. The assemblage rises and stares silently at the scene.

The master of ceremonies presents a cup of wine to the maternal uncle and invites him to empty it. He reiterates the gesture three times. After this he offers to the seated girl two cups, which she grasps in each hand; he puts in them a red lozenge and pours wine in them. She holds the full cups in front of her at the level of her mouth. At this moment the master of ceremonies makes this speech to her:

"Your maternal uncle, the master of your bones, is at your side; the whole family is present here; your departure is set for tomorrow. From the time of our ancestors, at the dividing up of the family property, one whole part used to revert to the son, and to the daughter half of this amount. Present times no longer permit such a division, there comes to you no more than several pieces of clothing"; then, he names one by one the gifts which the family gives her and shows them to those present, without forgetting to state the color, the quality of the fabric.... He likewise enumerates the gifts prepared for the son-in-law and his family. Addressing himself again to the girl, he says, "Your parents have certainly done all that they could for you; and they would have done more, but their means did not permit it. Be glad, be very grateful to your parents, do not forget them, see, your maternal uncle and the whole family will always be 'at your back.' " Then the girl weeps bitterly, and according to custom she must manifest the greatest sorrow.

The whole assemblage is under the spell of the moment, a tear forms in many eyes. Two women come /50/ to get the girl and take her back....

585 614 604 This ceremony gives one something to think about, all the more because it is not explainable in a patriarchal organization where the daughter is the true property of her father, her grandfather, or rather the paternal clan. What is this maternal uncle with all his clan doing, he who will always be the protector of the girl, who will always be "at her back?" This duty is really incumbent on the paternal clan.

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M 585 614 604 Why is the maternal uncle invited to stand near the girl during the whole speech, and why does the maternal clan have precedence at the festivity and at the dinner? Why is the paternal clan in the very background all this day, when it is nevertheless the one which is giving its daughter in marriage and which has the duty to defend her? Also abnormal is this custom which fixes only the gifts to be offered to the girl by the maternal aunts and uncles and not those to be given by her paternal uncles and aunts. Finally, why attach more importance to this festivity than to the one at the son-in-law's home?

M 585 795 771 Let us remember that this ceremony is held around a shamanistic fire and not before an image of Buddha, although Buddhism is without question the primary religion of the country, and that in spite of the fact that the whole clan includes numerous lamas among its members, shamanism is actually the old religion of the T'ou-jen.

M 585 Let us note again that the master of ceremonies, when he takes the floor, recalls the faraway past in which the daughter still inherited from her parents half as much as a son. One would say it was a history lesson.

We are here in the presence of a very old ceremony, one which is completely abnormal in a patriarchal organization.

After the speech and the girl's departure, the guests are invited to sit down; gin is served, and they play more noisily; they sing and smoke while waiting for the Chinese noodles to be served.

M [262]

M 585 583 /51/ The master of ceremonies arranges the gifts in chests, and all the pieces are numbered, so that the next day at the dinner at the son-in-law's home, when he again takes the floor, he can take them out without difficulty. (1)

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1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 308: (Mongols) As soon as the livestock has been delivered to the future wife's father (the German translation of the same work says that he himself comes to the future husband's home to get them), he gives a feast which is soon reciprocated by the husband-to-be for the relatives and

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affinal kin of the girl. The young man, accompanied by his family and friends, sometimes up to a hundred persons, goes to the father-in-law's with several dishes of cooked mutton; the rich have up to 20 different dishes brought along with a great quantity of brandy and khadak; all the guests are already assembled in the yurt of the latter. After they have worshiped the idols, they present khadak to the father-in-law, the mother-in-law, and the closest relatives. Then all the guests go out from the yurt, sit down in a circle, and the meal begins; it consists of meat, wine, and tea in bricks. When the feast is over, the husband with his followers sometimes goes to repeat it at the homes of other close relatives of the wife-to-be. This feast is called khorim kourghetzou, "offer of the nuptial feast." Then it is that the husband-to-be, and often his father and mother, receive rich clothing on behalf of the future wife. Moreover, the husband does not have the satisfaction of courting his future wife, for according to the custom of the Mongols, from the day of betrothal she must avoid any meeting not only with her lover but even with his parents. It is also at this feast that, in response to the solicitations of the future husband's mother, the two parties consult the lama who chooses a lucky day for the wedding.

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The festivity draws to a close. The master of ceremonies who has counted the guests has ascertained that he cannot keep them

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585 all until the next day, which is the day of the wedding dinner at the home of the son-in-law; we have seen that the number of guests invited to this dinner is prescribed. He will therefore have to politely send some away. To this end he comes to each person who will be sent away, without saying any more, bringing four loaves of bread and one or two pieces of raw meat. This is called pou fen tse, "to complete the dinner." They understand and leave with many polite phrases.

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/52/ The ones chosen for the feast the next day try to find lodging for the night, either with neighbors or in the home of the bride; some of them celebrate very late into the night and pass the time singing and drinking. This part of the festivity is often less attractive for us, since the gin spoils its freshness. It has the disadvantage of sending to the wedding dinner the next day at the son-in-law's home many guests with heavy heads and in bad humor because of fatigue from a tiring trip and a night without refreshing sleep.

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The T'ou-jen like to sing at weddings. Their own repertory in the language of the country is not very wide, so they ordinarily sing Tibetan songs. One of the very rare songs in the Monguor language is the one about the origin of the mythical bird Chong-tirwa. (1) It is very often sung at weddings.

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1. Chong is probably the Buddhist Garuda called K'yun in Tibetan. Grunwedel says in Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet u. der Mongolei /Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia/, p. 25: semidivine being, deadly enemy of the Naga, a mounted bird, the king of the feathered /tribe/ and his kinsmen.... P. 191, ... is always represented in Lamaism with a thick body, human arms, on which the wings are located, and the horned head of a bird. He is part of the company of the formidable gods and plays

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539 body without succeeding. The fire goes out continually. She takes
831 her big hairpin and throws it into the fire. The fire flares up and bites the corpse for a moment, then goes out again. She throws on it in turn the copper cup attached to her headdress, her ring, her eardrops; then, taking off all her clothes, she throws them one by one into the fire, and each time the fire burns the corpse a little more. Finally, she jumps into the fire. The fire shoots up, glowing, at once and consumes the two lovers. A tree is seen to come out of the ground at the spot; it has two branches which intertwine but separate above. The husband of the dead wife, in a transport of rage, runs up with his axe to separate the two branches....O, marvel, two wonderful birds fly away from the knot. They were the Chong-[illegible]. (1)

[17]

1. This very old legend is found all over Asia in many various forms. Etudes asiatiques /Asiatic Studies/, published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Far-Eastern School, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 35, "The Peacocks Flew Away"... third-century Chinese poem by d'Aurouseau, and Vol. 1, p. 189, notes 1 and 2, Annamite poem, translated and annotated by G. Cordier.

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533 Another song which the T'ou-jen never fail to sing at a wedding
539 dinner is a Tibetan song. It is enjoyed all the more because it is accompanied by dancing and gestures. It lends itself to a very expressive mimicry. It tells the story of a T'ou-jen Judith. In the T'ou-jen region of Lien-tch'eng the brigand Wang-mang had been terrorizing the region for years. In spite of the magnificent rewards promised by the emperor of China to anyone who could catch him, nobody /54/ was succeeding in taking or killing him; for he was vulnerable only under the armpit. The wife of a T'ou-jen military man by the name of Lou, known in the country for her marvelous beauty, succeeds in seducing Wang-mang, and at night in his tent

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539 she drives home the dagger under the armpit of Wang-mang, who is sleeping dead drunk beside her.

A flying courier carried the news of this exploit to Peking. The Judith saw herself bestowed with honorary titles, and her husband received the hereditary position of t'ou-se of Lien-tch'eng. This is the origin of the glory of the Lou clan.

In the lamasery at Lien-tch'eng are still kept two dried-up black hands, which are claimed to be those of Wang-mang. The T'ou-jen regard them with veneration. Unfortunately, they are two right hands! In addition, the origin of the function of t'ou-se of the Lou clan is entirely otherwise, as we shall see in the historical part of our work. The only fact to be retained from this legend is that there was in the region a robber named Wang-mang.

12. Getting the Bride

585 The Chinese diviner or the red lama has previously set the favorable hour at which the bride is to leave her paternal home. This departure can be set for any hour of the day or night. Therefore everything is prepared in order that the ceremonial be finished by the favorable hour of departure, which is called the mari funigu, or the hour when one mounts the saddle. The bridegroom goes to get his bride, with two companions well versed in the ways and cus-
585 toms and knowing how to sing well; often the go-between goes with
292 them. The son-in-law has put on his best /55/ clothes and wears the great ceremonial hat with red fringe (the one of the ancient dynasty of the Manchu); red cords are plaited into his hair. He carries a bow of olden times; on the end of the bow is attached a strand of red wool. A quiver worn on a strap over his shoulder con-
[411] tains four arrows. Upon his return home he will hang the bow above the window of the nuptial room where his wife will be brought, and the four arrows will be hung in each corner of the room. According to custom, the companions must wear a long, white garment of sheep's wool, a garment rarely worn by the men in the area.

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The son-in-law always rides horseback on this occasion. If the distance is great, the two companions will also ride horseback; if it is short they will go on foot. They lead the horse which the bride will mount. This horse must be a mare or a stallion; if it is a mare, it cannot be pregnant. The horse's trappings are of no importance. They have been careful to put a bag full of straw on the horse's mane, on which the bride will lean during the whole trip; a rug or a piece of red felt covers the saddle; the horse wears small bells. The companions drag along a two-year-old sheep, which they will offer to the family upon their arrival. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, Social Organization of the Manchus, p. 77: When the day of wedding is fixed, they send invitations written on red paper to all relatives and honorary guests....All acts concerning the wedding ceremonies, invitations of the guests, presents and so on must be registered in a special book and made according to the calendar and hours fixed in advance....

The day before the day of the wedding, they go to bring the bride to the bridegroom's father's house...in a special carriage.... As soon as the carriage is ready for the road, the bridegroom kneels down in front to "inbe" (wooden screen put in the yard) and several times touches the soil soundly with his forehead. They burn as incense the Chinese ajen hen, fixed in a cup with the black beans, that have generally a very important part during the wedding ceremony.... Usually they leave the bridegroom's house in the afternoon calculating to arrive at the bride's house before the

Mo 585 /56 cont'd/

Then the bridegroom's party without saying the purpose of their visit insists in being let in. After long negotiations they let them enter in, for a price of 5 - 7 - 9 pieces of red paper, symbolising money, some black beans and charcoal, all made of paper. If the weather is not cold the negotiations are very long. /Cited in English./

Mo 583 585 /56/ When they have arrived at the home of the bride, they find the door shut and barricaded. They knock at the door for a long time, calling the people. The women answer from inside but they refuse to open the door. Then the companions beg them by singing. This song is improvised on a desired /voulu/ melody. They sing, for example, that they have come by mountains and valleys..., which they are careful to describe...; the family is renowned for its hospitality; why don't they open up this time? They are so tired, they come from so far, they are good people..., but they do not speak of the purpose of their trip. The women answer by singing, "We will open the door to you if you can answer our questions." Again improvisations. An example: Did the sun precede the moon, or the moon the sun? Did the bow exist before the arrow, or the arrow before the bow? Did the jug exist before the cup, or the cup before the jug? Answer: The moon was before the sun..., etc. Why so? The sun came second for heating; the bow followed the arrow for the happiness of military men, the pitcher for the good of hosts.

Mo 585 It is obviously very pointless; it is endless; let us note that one is quickly in trivialities and broad jokes.

The women end up by drawing the bolts noisily, but they continue to push against the door. The men /57/ outside push with vigor, while somebody throws an avalanche of water on their heads from above. The son-in-law keeps his distance. Finally the door is opened. (1)

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1. Customs of the same kind in which women play an important role in similar circumstances are found among the Miao of Kweichow. Cf. Anthropos, 6th year, Schotter, "Notes ethnologiques sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou."

Likewise among the Lolo of Szechwan a custom is found that is absolutely identical to the one we have just described among the T'ou-jen. "Enquête sur les barbares du Liang-chan /Investigation of the Barbarians of Liang-chan/" in Politique de Péking, June 20, 1931: "When the bearers of the bride arrive at her house, the women of her family begin to sprinkle them with water either with pails or hand pumps. The bearers must let them do it, they are not permitted to avoid the sprinkling."

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After they have tidied their clothes, the three or four visitors are ushered into the room. They kneel before the religious image hung on the wall opposite the entrance door and get ready to kneel before the members of the family who hasten to stop them. Out of a bag they take two big jugs of gin closed by a lozenge with the traditional strand of wool, and two legs of mutton. They present the legs and apologize, saying that in other days their ancestors offered two sheep to the women. Then turning to the men, they present the gin, saying that in the old days it was customary to offer two goatskin bottles; but times are no longer like that; anyway, what we present is given wholeheartedly. Then they spread a piece of red cloth two feet long on the table and put 12 loaves of bread on it, adding the veil of red or green cloth for the bride, a comb with an even number of teeth, the helmet of copper or silver with which she will cover her head, the red cords to plait into her hair,

Mo 582 292

585 /57 cont'd/
[292] the eardrops, as well as the large pin which fastens the headdress to the coil of hair.

The dinner is not delayed; a sheep is served whole, as well as a dish of noodles. Things are not dragged out. Let us note that the guests who have spent the night are at the dinner and are present at the farewell ceremonies.

/58/ The two companions rise, take out from their bags two new jugs of gin, and offer a round to everyone present, bidding them to help everything go off in good order, for the ceremonial hour designated for taking away the bride has struck. They open the second flask immediately, pour for everybody in the same way, "and until," they say, "is to invite you all to the wedding dinner, which will take place today at our place."

Then they proceed to the dressing of the bride. She is seated in
[77] a side room on a little Chinese table on which is unfolded a piece of red felt. The bridegroom is invited by the family to enter the room. The bride keeps her eyes lowered and does not even greet him. It is the bridegroom's task to undo the unmarried girl's braid of his bride. There are always three red strings in the coil of hair; the bridegroom takes them out and puts one in his pocket. The two others will then be attached to the iang hstia (1) and kept in the family so that the

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1. The iang hstia is the family's good-luck talisman. It is an iron rod two to three feet long fixed in a bulky and wide wooden base. Attached to it are little strands of wool, hair from the tails of cows and pigs and from horse manes', red strings, ends of k'ata; on the base, carved in the shape of a saucer, are seen grains of wheat, millet, colza.... The iang hstia is held in honor by the family; it has its place beside the spirit which is honored there, and is itself honored. The T'ou-jen believe that

/58 cont'd/

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their good fortune is attached to the persons of their children, to the animals they raise, to the grain they cultivate. When a daughter is given in marriage, it is good fortune which goes away; when animals are sold, it is wealth which abandons them.... Now to keep good fortune and wealth from leaving the family, they take from the braid of the daughter given in marriage the two red strings, which they attach to the tang hsia, they take hairs from the animals, they keep some grains of the cereals they sell. Favors received from spirits cannot be sold; so they believe they are in order with the spirits by keeping a souvenir of the favors received. They will therefore kneel before the tang hsia as before the spirits.

585 family's good fortune may not go away with the daughter who is leaving the home. The son-in-law takes the new comb he has brought, passes it three times through his own hair, then three times through that of his bride. The third time he leaves it in her hair and goes out of the room.

The door of the room is closed, and the women inside comb and dress the bride. The two recent singers /59/ had brought a red [822] garment for her, because the bride must be dressed all in red today. Nevertheless, she sometimes covers her head with a green veil. The two companions stay in front of the bride's room and intone the song of the toilette while the women inside hurry to finish their task. They are heard singing, "We who are named Li have come to the home of the honorable Wang family with a comb having an even number of teeth; we have not learned to comb hair, we beg you, comb the girl's hair with art in our place.... We have brought earrings, we beg you to put them on her," and so on for all the pieces of attire.

/59 cont'd/

585 And they continue to sing, "On the spot where the bride is seated, later will sit sons and grandsons....On the ground she treads on you will find grain, money, wealth...."

585 292 The toilette is finished. A veil of coarse red cloth entirely envelops the bride's head and is tied around her neck with a red cord so that she cannot see anything any more. There are some areas where the veil is no longer tied around the neck.

585 [262] Meanwhile, the master of ceremonies has laid out before the religious image a table on which is noticed a cup of milk, a cypress branch to which is attached a strand of wool, a bushel measure containing wheat, with a prayer book in Tibetan characters on top of the grain, another lighted lamp, and a bundle of chopsticks. If there is a red lama in the house, he begins to intone the farewell prayers. The mother of the girl is seated alone on the ground in front of the table, facing the image. The door opens with a die. The bride, veiled and yelling, is carried seated on a piece of felt, either by four women or by a brother, who holds her in his arms. They run around the table, carrying the bride. They leave the room abruptly, and at the moment of leaving, one of the women carriers /60/ takes the chopsticks laid on the bushel of grain and throws them impetuously on the mother's knees. Everything is done with precipitation and abruptness. The singers continue their songs while ghe girl is carried outside. "When your daughter comes back, your courtyard will be full of horses and oxen, your house will be rebuilt with a second story and a veranda, the lintel of the door will have become one of gold." They continue their songs outside: "It is the auspicious time to mount on horseback; it is the auspicious time for the horsemen to mount in the saddle; it is time to take the great highway to the north (or to the south)."

The bride is put in the saddle by her brothers, and the singers do not stop singing while dancing in cadence and making their long white garments float. There are places where a man also mounts on horseback behind the bride and holds her in his arms. This rider is a member of the family but never one of her brothers.

The son-in-law and the go-between have gone ahead. The horse which the bride rides is led to the middle of the area in front

Mo /60 cont'd/
585 of the house. Her father, also on horseback and holding the lang hstia in his hands, gesticulates like a madman, pretending to stop his daughter's departure. His horse is led three times around the open space; he calls his daughter with loud cries. She answers each time, shouting, "I am here, yes, here." On the third time around the father on horseback is led into his house but on the side opposite to the one from which his daughter will go.

The side from which the departure is to be made has been carefully indicated by the diviner; it is the way on which the spirit of good fortune awaits. Then the women of the family, those of the neighborhood, and the neighborhood girls run after the bride's horse and keep him from advancing. The singers throw them some cash to make them let go the bridle, but the girls continue to follow the bride the whole day. They hold each other's hands, sing, and caper. This scene does not lack picturesqueness and poetry. They follow their friend to the bridegroom's house, and they go around the farm, /61/ singing and holding each other by the hand. The bridegroom's family then gives each girl three cash, three loaves of bread cooked in oil, and a piece of pork, and they go back without going in. (1)

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[585]

1. Schotter, "Notes ethnogr. sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou," Anthropos, 6th year, Vol. 2, p. 320: If you meet a group of young Miao girls on the highway, it will be a bride going on foot with her companions to her husband's house. The joyful troop will come back the same day of the wedding.

Mo 585 This practice is called āgu dzüradzin (āgu, i.e., "paternal aunt," term of respect for women; dzüradzin, i.e., "to follow," "to run after someone"). It is the pursuit of the lady.

The bride must have a companion; for this, they always look for a beautiful young woman who is alert and resourceful, who will follow her on horseback. She is always a woman who has children; a little page, riding pillion, clings behind her.

M 585 /61 cont'd/

[431 178] According to what they claim, in former times the bride's parents used to make the present of a handsome horse to the son-in-law at the moment of departure. The custom does not appear to exist any longer.

M [593] The bride's father and mother do not participate in the festivity, but her brothers, sisters, uncles, and aunts are all present.

When the bride is on the way, all the guests who stayed overnight follow in a group; the gift bearers wind up the procession. The bride laments all the way, leaning on the bag of straw placed on the horse's neck, her head always enveloped in the coarse veil. These tears, these sobs, constitute a real elegy. She addresses herself aloud to her parents, her brothers, her sisters; she has a good memory about each one of them; she calls to mind their goodness, the gifts; she recalls the animals in the stable, her paternal home... then she is M [606] afraid of the future, of her parents-in-law, whom she does not know; she is afraid of being cursed by her mother-in-law, afraid that the name of her mother will be used in order to curse her. Often in these elegies there are splendid sallies, very naive, very deeply felt; the M [607] girls also /62/ learn this kind of literature in their play; the sisters-in-law teach them, and they teach one another. It is an elegy based on life. Similarly touching ones are heard at burials. (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 309 and following. On the preceding day, two lamas go on behalf of the husband-to-be to find out from the parents of the bride whether any obstacles have arisen (German translation: The Mongols do not have the custom of going to get the bride. The evening before the departure they content themselves with sending two men for....). As the day nears, the wife-to-be pays visits to her closest relatives and spends at least one night at the home of each of them having a good time, going walking with her friends, who

/62 cont'd/

HM 585

friends (German translation: vigorous women friends), and more particularly in former days when the bride was tied, when she was held back by the sleeves of her dress, or when they were attached to the yurt. At half a verst of the way /translator's note: possibly "halfway"/, the husband-to-be sends wine and meat to refresh the bride and those who accompany her. Upon her arrival she remains surrounded by her companions until her yurt is ready. As soon as she enters it, she is seated on a bed. The numerous plaits of hair which she wore as a girl are undone, her coral ornaments are removed, and after they put some ornaments on the two plaits left, she is dressed in the clothes that a married woman wears.

HM 301

M 585

Because of her regrets and sorrow the bride does not address herself to anyone during the whole trip; according to custom, she cannot speak to anyone. The bridegroom's family sends two groups to meet the procession, and a third waits near the house. The two groups greet the guests on the road and offer them tea and gin. They have lighted a large fire right in the road where the guests can warm themselves in the winter and light their pipe. They get off their horses to go near the fire, then the procession continues.

M [571 777 484]

Since all marriages are always celebrated on special auspicious days, it is not rare to see nuptial processions meet. The custom then is that the processions stop. The young T'ou-jen bride, who has carefully put away her new comb in a piece of red cloth, takes it out and exchanges it with the unknown bride. Without speaking to each other and without being able to see each other, sobbing, they exchange their good-luck tokens. Touching little scene.

Mo 585 484 784

/63/ The travelers who meet a nuptial procession always make a detour to avoid it for fear that the evil spirit which is supposed to follow the bride will bring them misfortune. (1)

Ma 585

1. Shirokogoroff, pp. 80-81: (Those who have come to get the bride dine after taking tea.) An old experienced man, who must belong to the bride's clan, gives orders (master of ceremonies)....(Two girls of the bride's clan and a little boy are seated at dinner near the friend who comes to get the bride. In the morning, people get up early and eat. The bridegroom steals the chopsticks he has used and goes out into the courtyard....) During this meal the bride's clan women dress the bride. During the dressing she cries, or pretends to cry. When she is ready, nobody says her goodbye, and (the master of ceremonies) cries: the bride is ready. Then the bridegroom and all his party run hastily towards the carriage to put as quickly as possible the horses on the carriage. At the same time the crying and resisting bride is carried by her brothers, who throw her into the carriage that must be run out the yard as soon as possible. After this it can be stopped to arrange the harness. Usually the bride's brothers escort on horseback the bridal caravan. The customs of the ancient Manchus differ a little from these of the modern Manchus. For ex.: the bridegroom enters the bride's house only with his aid...prays to the bride's clan spirits...after this sits down on a small basket (for chickens /in English/) to await

/63 cont'd/

Ma 585

the ritual meal. When the meal is ready they invite him to take a very modest place near the door on the right "k'ang," while his aid and driver occupy the principal place. The bridegroom and his aid do not steal the chopsticks. When the bride is put into the carriage the bridegroom goes to thank the bride's mother,...before going away he prays once more the bride's clan's spirits. (The presents from the bride's family and from her mother's brother and his wife are taken to the son-in-law's home the very morning of the wedding day. The women who accompany the convoy will open the boxes with much ceremony and will allow the gifts received by the bride to be admired....) /Cited in English with connecting phrases in French, indicated by parentheses./

/64/ 13. Arrival of the Bride in her New Family

Mo 585

The procession has arrived at its destination. Two young women are there waiting for the bride outside the great door. Their ages and the animals of their cycle must be in complete harmony with those of the bride; moreover, they cannot be widows nor pregnant, and all their children must be alive.

The bridegroom helps his bride down from her horse; first he puts her on a little Chinese table and then on a piece of red or white felt in front of another little table on which have been placed two cups of tea and two plates of bread. A bushel of bran has been put at the door. With the bride standing on the felt, the two women hasten to put under her arm a small jug of gin in which a pair of chopsticks have been put. A piece of red cloth covers the neck and

/64 cont'd/

585 envelops the chopsticks. Then the son-in-law places himself on the left side of the bride, near enough to her so that his arm touches hers, and so that she knows when she must go ahead and stop. At the moment when they enter the courtyard, pieces of red felt are spread in their path one after the other. Cash, symbol of wealth, are thrown in front of them, and likewise wheat, symbol of fecundity. The couple is led straight to the kitchen where the T'ou-jen honor the god of the hearth. There the jug and the chopsticks which she held are taken from the bride, and these objects are put down before the god of the hearth, whom the bride salutes with three prostrations. (1)

1. "Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen /On Fire Worship among the Mongols/," by N. Poppe, Asia Major, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 141-142.

[776 782] As can be seen from the above, much depends on the fire god. It is no wonder, then, that the young bride, when she first steps across the threshold of the new house, must bow in front of the hearth. By this act she puts herself under the protection of the fire god, since this same figure is the guardian spirit of the family. /Cited in German./

/65/ We have seen that at the bride's departure chopsticks were thrown on her mother's lap. This gesture meant that she no longer belonged to the clan; here, as soon as she arrives, she is incorporated into the bridegroom's family by being offered another pair of chopsticks and presenting them to the god of the hearth. From the kitchen she is led to the nuptial chamber, her head still veiled. On the four corners of the k'ang (1) have been put several cash, two

[354] 1. K'ang: stove used in the north, on which the family spends the night.

packages of sugar, and some red lozenges.

/65 cont'd/

585 Four bundles of straw burn at the four corners of the courtyard; it is hoped that the smoke will rise straight up. An oil lamp, in which [354] two wicks of equal length have been placed, is put in front of the religious image in the main building and is lighted as soon as the bride has entered the nuptial chamber. They look at the lamp attentively without touching it in order to see which of the two wicks, the one on the right side or the one on the left, will go out first. In this is seen an omen for the long life of the husband and wife; the right wick designates the girl, the left the boy.

The bride's maid of honor accepted the cup of gin presented to her when she dismounted. She dipped her finger in it and sprinkled some toward the four cardinal directions; then she touched the wine with her lips. She did the same for the bread and tea which were presented. Only after performing this rite did she follow the bride into the nuptial chamber, whose door was closed behind her. She is not given anything to eat or drink as long as the marriage rite is not finished.

As soon as the bride crossed the threshold of the door and entered the courtyard, the go-between took his place in the middle of it, [262] holding in his hands a cup of flour made from parched wheat; he ate some flour and drank some gin each time the bride passed through the courtyard, either going to the kitchen or returning to the nuptial chamber.

The other guests do not enter then but go toward the open area in front of the house. A little table has been placed /66/ in the middle of the area, and on it are seen a well-done sheep, several more legs of mutton, a pig's head, some sausages....In front of the [262 604] table is spread out a piece of red felt on which is seated the bridegroom's maternal uncle. Here he seems to fill the post of head of the family as did the maternal uncle of the bride in his niece's family. Gin is being warmed over a small fire.

Upon the arrival of the guests the bridegroom's father has gone to meet them with the traditional k'ata on both hands. He greets each of them by putting the k'ata on their hands. This is the ceremony of welcome.

/66 cont'd/

585 A member of the family says aloud, "The sheep will be divided into five parts. The first will be for the maternal uncle, the second for the father, the third and fourth for each of the two singers, and the fifth for the master of ceremonies. Then the guests tackle the legs of mutton, the sausages, etc. After this appetizer the guests of the bride's family are invited to enter the courtyard. The placement of the tables for the feast inside the courtyard is the same as at the bride's home on the day of the dinner.

[604 262] The bride's maternal uncle and the go-between are invited to be seated in the place of honor. Tea is poured, and loaves of bread cooked in steam are served hot. As soon as the tea is drunk, the two singers from before appear, holding in their hands a teapot whose spout is coated with butter. They pour the buttered tea for all those present, who understand by this rite that they are asked to give up their places to the guests of the bridegroom's family, who will be served tea and bread like them. The bridegroom's family has treated its own guests in the same way as the bride's family treated its guests: introduction into a side room, presentation of gifts, notation in the register....(1)

[71]

1. Shirokogoroff, pp. 82, 83, 84: Every guest is obliged to give some present which cannot be less than $1 in value, or in money. They have a special book in which they inscribe all guests' names and presents. The guests whose presents are of value are inscribed in a red paper, which is fixed near the front door. Finally the bride and bridegroom arrive, they descend from the carriage outside the yard. The women who arrived with them conduct the bride and bridegroom by the hands to the screen. /Cited in English./

/67/

14. Gifts of the Bride's Family to that of the Bridegroom

585 431 All the guests remain standing at the back of the courtyard, and it is before them that the presents from the bride's family are taken out of the boxes. They are displayed on the doors inside the rectangle of tables. First the new clothes which her parents give to her are handed over to the bride, and her maid of honor hurries to put them on her in her room. There are also the new clothes for the bridegroom, who likewise puts them on.

The bride's family's master of ceremonies takes his place inside the rectangle of tables near the sacred fire. The bride, dressed in her new clothes, the veil always on her head, leaves her room and is led by her maid of honor inside the rectangle on the right side of the red felt. The bridegroom takes his place beside her on the left, his arm touching the bride's. A young man places himself behind him; the bride's maid of honor is behind her. They kneel on the pieces of felt, having in front of them a table on which two lighted lamps are placed, and on whose four corners are put four small packages of cash.

The master of ceremonies begins his speech: "We, the bride's family, have invited as guests the go-between, the maternal and paternal uncles and aunts of the bride, as well as their sons and daughters...." All the guests from the bride's clan come forward to take their places in the upper part of the courtyard. The master of ceremonies speaking in the name of the bride's family first presents the k'ata to each guest of the groom's family; then gin is poured for everyone. "Now," he continues, "I have a word to say: before the wolf, the dog is afraid to bark; before great men, little people are afraid to open their mouths. If what I am going to say is well said, do not praise me; if what I am going to say is badly said, excuse me.... /68/ In olden times the ancestors used to proceed to marriages only when the limits of the lands were well established. (Nobody [423] has been able to explain this passage to me; this fact seems to lack sense as much in a nomadic organization as in the present-day agrarian one in which the T'ou-jen live. Actually, today the T'ou-jen

585 /68 cont'd/
431 are all owners with personal title, all their properties are demarcated;
423 therefore it is no longer a question of demarcating lands. Is this an allusion to a previous social condition no longer remembered?)

585 "Generations have succeeded generations. When an idol of
539 Buddha is old and lusterless and when it is giled anew, it is again shining and beautiful to see; when one puts a brand-new border around an old garment, the garment has gained much by it; when to the old relations between families new ones are added, they become all the stronger. Among you was born a boy who had all the virtues of the lion; among us was born a girl like the "khuī t'shiąn" (mythological bird). It was the ideal combination for a marriage. But how would this union have been able to be accomplished? (The cupbearer pours wine for the go-between and bows to him.) If one does not see clouds in the sky, no rain will fall; if there are no go-betweens on the earth, there will be no marriages. (1) What was too high, you, go-between,

1. Compare Anthropos, 6th year, p. 320, Schotter, "Notes ethnogra. sur tribus du Koei tcheou": Just as thunder and lightning pave the way for rain, so go-betweens are necessary to pave the way for marriages.

have lowered; what was too low, you have raised; the high and the low have met on the same level like the lever arm of the balance. You have leveled off the way on which the two parties have traveled.

"In olden times they used to thank the go-between for his services by dressing him in new clothes from head to foot; but the feeble means of our poor family allow us to offer you only a pair of boots and a string of cash. We hope nevertheless that you will be satisfied."

585 /69/ After giving the gift to the go-between the orator usually
608 addresses the maternal uncle of the bridegroom. The cupbearer bows to him and pours gin for him. "When a son," he says, "has no wai-kia (the son calls his mother's family wai-kia /Chinese term for one's mother's family, literally, "outside family"/, i.e., all her relatives,

585 /69 cont'd/
608 brothers, sisters...), then when the son sees that his mother has no relatives, it is a sign for him that his mother's origin is not pure. When a wife has no niang-kia /literally, "wife's family"/ (the wife
608 calls her own parents, brothers and sisters her niang-kia), then when
585 the relatives of a wife are not known, it is a sign for her that her
431 origin is doubtful. Formerly, a handsome horse used to be given to
[604] the bride's maternal uncle, master of his sister's children. But times are changed; although you are the principal guest, nowadays we give only the k'ata; we give you a fine one, a big one, do not refuse it...." Then the orator addresses the parents of the bridegroom: "During the day your heart, always occupied with the children, cannot be at rest; even at night, you cannot sleep. Such solicitude truly deserves several garments and fine gifts; but you know our indigence; when we stretch out our arms, the sleeves of our garments are too short and the arms stick out from them; at night when we stretch out our legs, our feet stick out from the covers, which are too short. What misery! If we had been able to follow the inclinations of our hearts, you would have had splendid gifts." Then the cupbearer advances toward the grandfather, bows to him, and presents gin to him. "Grandfather," continues the orator, "we present you with a brand-new piece of felt, unfortunately it is too narrow, too short, too thin, and it is badly made in the bargain, but deign to accept it anyway."

The cupbearer advances toward the grandmother. "We give you a garment made of very bad cloth and very badly made, but deign to accept it"; and the ceremony continues thus in the same vein for the father, mother, etc., as was said in No. 11. This scene is often rather picturesque and /70/ brightens up faces; the grandfather must sit down on the piece of felt, the grandmother is dressed in the garment, they have a good time....

585 The orator addresses the bride and groom last: "In olden times,"
431 he says, "sons-in-law used to receive several complete costumes; moreover, they were given in hand a fine bow, a quiver, and arrows; in addition a fine horse. Unfortunately, those good times have vanished, and the parents-in-law offer you only..." (see No. 11).

2: Schram--78 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

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/70 cont'd/

"And you, our daughter, you are also the child of your times. Formerly, the gifts which the parents gave to their daughter were so numerous that they had to be transported on wagons or a whole herd of oxen was loaded with them. We give you the following gifts (see No. 11). Truly they are insignificant; it is as if we were giving a naked daughter to the mother-in-law.

'To you all, relatives by marriage, we pour wine, be indulgent and content.' Then the master of ceremonies out loud orders the bride and groom to kneel to the whole assemblage; then wine is poured for all the guests. (1)

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1. Father De Smedt gives me a variation of the master of ceremonies' speech, although noting that the T'ou-jen from whom he got it even told him that he had forgotten a good deal about the subject. Although this speech is incomplete, it contains variations which are worth the trouble of being kept: "A dog does not dare bark in the presence of a tiger, thus it is not fitting for a little man like me to speak before an assemblage as respectable as yours. A horse of small size does not run fast, they say; thus the words of a man without merit are insignificant. If you succeed in understanding my words, do not attach any importance to them; if you do not understand them, do not make fun of me. When an old statue is newly gilded, when a brand-new border is put on an old garment.... Thus it is a praiseworthy practice always to become related to families with which marriages have been contracted for many generations...." The rest is about as we have related above.

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Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 305. The dowry of the girl consists,

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apart from clothing and utensils, of a certain quantity of ewes and horses (among the Mongols).

/71/ 15. The Wedding

M ●585 Then they proceed to the marriage ceremony as such. This most solemn ceremony of all recalls Biblical times to us, first because of its profoundly religious character, and then because of the old man officiating.

M [603 604] Actually, this office belongs by right to the grandfather in the bridegroom's family. When the grandfathers are dead, the maternal uncle takes their place. The name given to the old man who officiates is very characteristic: he is called šürödźin khun, which means literally "the man who gives the blessing." Indeed, it is the old man who orders the prostrations to be made to heaven, to the spirits, to the members of the family and clan, and it is he who pronounces the wishes for good fortune and prosperity, the bringing about of which is awaited from heaven and the spirits. Thus we are in the presence of a religious rite in the full force of the term, a rite which reveals the capital importance attached to marriage. Besides it leaves an unusual impression on the assemblage.

All those present are standing. The bridegroom is on his knees at the left of the bride, whose head is still enveloped in the red cloth; the maid of honor is on her knees behind the bride, likewise a young man behind the bridegroom. Then the grandfather advances and takes his place standing near the sacred fire; he orders in the midst of the greatest silence:

M 585 181 THAT THE FIRST PROSTRATION BE MADE TO HEAVEN AND TO THE MULTIFARIOUS SPIRITS.

Dē thurōŋ thorguē šge thiaŋgeri olon phurgán ńiandu murgu.

The bride and groom, the maid of honor and the young man make the great Chinese prostration: three genuflections and as many bows, touching the ground with the forehead. All is done solemnly and simultaneously.

/72/

585 THAT THE SECOND PROSTRATION BE MADE TO THE FATHER
181 AND MOTHER AND TO THE PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY.

Dē gŏrda thorguē āni āwa khudugu šgesdu murgu.

THAT THE THIRD BE MADE TO THE PERSONS OF THE MOTHER'S CLAN AND TO THE WHOLE CLAN.

Dē gŭrānda thorguē urug tharug imag saru ñiandu murgu.

Then in the midst of the greatest silence he continues in a solemn voice:

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO BUILD SEVEN FARMS!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO BUILD HOUSES WITH A SECOND STORY AND A VERANDA!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO SHEAR SEVERAL HUNDRED SHEEP ANNUALLY!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO MOUNT HUNDREDS OF HORSES AND RAISE HERDS OF HUNDREDS OF OXEN!

MAY YOUR SONS BE NUMEROUS: SO THAT YOU MAY SEE YOUR GRANDSONS STILL MORE NUMEROUS!

MAY YOUR FAMILY BE FECUND AND OVERFLOWING WITH PROSPERITY LIKE THE SEA WHICH OVERFLOWS!

MAY YOU BE DURABLE AS IRON!

MAY YOU DAY BY DAY BECOME RICHER AND MORE POWERFUL LIKE FIRE ON WHICH OIL IS POURED!

585 Then the old men and the parents throw some cash on the felt at the feet of the young couple. The maid of honor removes the veil from the young wife and leads her into the nuptial chamber. The two lamps which burn on the table in the middle of the courtyard are taken away to be put before the religious image, where they will burn as long as there is any oil.

[793] Let us note the absence at this marriage ceremony of any religious personnel, shaman, lama, tao-jen /Taoist priest/; let us notice in addition that it does not take place in a temple, but that it is performed in the home, under the authority of the head of the family, in front of the ancient shamanistic sacred fire, and under the patronage of "heaven and the multifarious spirits." Marriage among the T'ou-jen is then, incontestably, /73/ something other than a simple union of the sexes. The wishes for prosperity enunciated

2. Schram--81 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
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Manchu AG4

/73 cont'd/

Mo 585

by the "old man who blesses" for the benefit of the young married couple make one see clearly what is expected of this union, on whose behalf is awaited the bringing about of these wishes, and how marriage is viewed in time; certainly it is not regarded as a temporary union. (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 311. The bride is dressed in the clothes of a married woman and taken to the home of her father-in-law to make a bow (mourgoulekou) to him. She finds gathered there all the relatives and friends of her future husband. During the reading of the prayers of the ritual, her face is hidden, and following the various movements of a man who serves as a guide for her and who is always chosen as being of the same age as she, she bows first toward the fire, then toward the father and mother and the other closest relatives of her husband-to-be; all give her their blessing (youroughel) aloud. During this ceremony, clothing and other objects are distributed to them on her behalf. The father-in-law, according to a previous agreement, has chosen those which suit him....Then the bride returns to her yurt.

Mo 585

Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 82, 83, 84: Finally the bride and bridegroom arrive, they descend from the carriage outside the yard.... The woman who arrived with them conducts the bride and bridegroom by the hands to the screen: they put the bride by the bridegroom's right hand and burn Chinese incense. The bride and

/73 cont'd/

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16. Opening of the Daughter-in-law's Mouth

Until now the wife has not yet opened her mouth; her head has always been enveloped in the veil until the end of the marriage ceremony. On no pretext has she been able to say a word since her departure from her home. All the guests have had their /74/ eyes fixed upon her; uttering a single word would be considered one of the most fatal omens for the future. She is even forbidden to satisfy her natural needs, and in anticipation of that she has abstained from drinking the day before.

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Her mouth must be opened by the mother-in-law in person.

Led back into the nuptial chamber after the marriage ceremony, she has been served tea and bread still in silence. Then comes the mother-in-law, who sits down on the k'ang and tells her point-blank, "Starting from today you are forbidden to divulge anything that goes on in the family, and anything that will happen in the future. You will not repeat within the family what you will hear outside. A daughter-in-law's mouth must be 'hard' (do not tell anything) with respect to people outside, it must be 'flexible' toward her relatives."

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The daughter-in-law answers affirmatively, her mouth is opened. They talk again together for several minutes. Henceforward the wife is permitted to talk with her maid of honor in the nuptial chamber; the women who are at the festivity go to wish her good day.

17. The Dinner

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The guests of the two families have taken their places at the tables prepared for the dinner. (1) The maternal uncle, the go-

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 84: (A dinner is served in the Chinese style. A master of ceremonies conducts the proceedings.) The clan people and especially the family members eat after the guests. When the meal approaches its end, they bring to the bride's place the ritual meal

585 171 /74 cont'd/

of 6 cups and 6 plates. The bride is sitting now dressed as a married woman and turning her face to the wall (like the Chinese). The bridegroom arrives with a boy and without seeing the bride's face, eats his first meal in the presence of his future wife. The bridegroom repeats his visits to the bride during this day six times. /Cited in English with interpolations in French, indicated by parentheses./

between, and all the daughter-in-law's family occupy the first places.

585 262 264 This is the big dinner with the whole sheep. They always begin by offering gin. First the elders of the son-in-law's family /75/ pour it three times for the daughter-in-law's family; then the new husband's father and mother themselves present three cups to the new relatives; next comes the son-in-law, who also in his turn offers gin to his new family. The dinner proceeds as at the daughter-in-law's home.

585 431 18. Gifts of the Son-in-law's Family to the Daughter-in-law's Family

They begin by distributing to each guest a piece of raw meat of the weight of a leg of mutton. The guest puts it in his carpetbag. The guests cannot go back home with empty hands; that would be a great affront to them. One can judge the quantity of meat necessary [262] for such a wedding. That again breathes of the nomad, who lives on herds and with whom meat constitutes the basic food.

After this distribution of meat, the son-in-law enters the courtyard, leading a horse; he has attached a piece of red cloth to its mane. At the same time several cows, sheep, donkeys, and goats are led into the same courtyard where the guests are.

/75 cont'd/

585 431 The master of ceremonies of the son-in-law's family then takes the floor to distribute the traditional gifts to the daughter-in-law's family. The son-in-law remains kneeling, holding his horse by the bridle.

585 604 431 The master of ceremonies first addresses the maternal uncle of the daughter-in-law. The cupbearer bows to him and offers gin to him three times in a row. He begins with the saying, "Nan tch'ou wai kia, niu tch'ou niang kio," i.e., "the boy has the physique and the moral nature of his mother's family, and the girl those of her own relatives /parents/.

"Now you, maternal uncle, you are the representative of the family stock of our new daughter-in-law; it is fitting therefore to present to you, /76/ before doing so to all the others, our respectful compliments. We offer you the great ritual k'ata and a sheep. We should give you a cow according to tradition, but times have changed. Receive with good will." Formerly, the maternal uncle used to receive a cow on behalf of his mother's family; today he is given a sheep as at the home of the son-in-law. Next he addresses the go-between, for whom they pour the gin...."Formerly the go-between was given a complete costume, but times are no longer the same.... We present to you a string of cash, be satisfied...."

585 431 Then it is the turn of the bride's maid of honor; they pour gin for her. They give her a piece of cloth four feet long, a goat, 600 cash. But she hastens to protest with vehemence (it is the tradition), which provokes the laughter of the assemblage. She is given the traditional 800 cash.

The little page comes and receives 200 cash for riding the horse. The bearers of the boxes containing the bride's gifts receive 400 cash apiece; then all the members of the bride's family receive the k'ata. The master of ceremonies sits down, pretending to have finished his task.

585 431 231 But then comes what is called the suhuta, the final ceremony. In cauda venenum /"poison in the tail"/. The master of ceremonies from the daughter-in-law's family, as well as several elders of the family, stands up indignant; they manifest with vehemence the desire

/76 cont'd/

585 to see the old traditions observed and protest against innovations.
431 In this case it is a question of having themselves granted several
231 more head of livestock. The other side understands immediately that the festivity will not end peacefully without the giving of some animals. It is the moment for the master of ceremonies from the son-in-law's family to show eloquence and tact. He rises and proclaims that peace between the two families is more important than several animals. "We want a lasting and peaceful alliance," /77/ cries he. "We must have concord and harmony. We ask no better than to satisfy your wishes. Choose our best beasts, but leave us at least several old and thin animals, for we are poor, we still have to live. But peace above all, and also the welfare of the children. Do not forget that two animals are necessary for the plow and that if you take one of them, we shall no longer be able to work our lands; you will not be able to do any more with one single animal; then leave face also to your son-in-law. We know the traditions, but times are no longer the same, and customs also change a little."

During this speech one of the guests of the daughter-in-law's family has already detached the piece of red cloth from the horse's mane, which signifies that the horse is considered as secured, ready to be taken away. The son-in-law leads the horse out of the courtyard. Two or three members of the daughter-in-law's family who have gotten together in advance mark about ten animals with butter. The son-in-law's family is displeased...they get angry...they push
[604] one another...they shout.... Then the daughter-in-law's maternal uncle, the representative of the whole clan, rises and asks how many animals have been marked. "Ten," they answer him, for example. "Ah, good," says he, "we shall take these ten away." The owners complain...they beg...they do not let anything leave the courtyard...all the son-in-law's family kneel before the maternal uncle, imploring him. In the end they agree on two-thirds or on half of the animals already marked. The horse is taken away as well as another animal; the rest of the animals will be taken the next day.

It sometimes happens that the scene does not end so peaceably. Indeed, it is known that the son-in-law's family has hidden its best

585 /77 cont'd/
231 animals with neighbors or elsewhere; it allows only a few old nags
431 to be seen, which it does not even intend to give up.

It is at this moment that the little peculiarities of the race be-
[571 come apparent in all their crudeness. We have been able to notice
578] in all the phases of T'ou-jen marriage this mania for mutual exploi-
tation. /78/ At this hour one sees the two clans together, equally avid, and each of the two, under the pressure of the moment, feels itself united and strong. The voice of blood makes itself heard quickly, brutal, demanding. It is no longer a question of civilities and ceremonies, and it is not at all rare that the festivity degenerates into quarrels and scuffles.

585 In this moment one sees that marriage among the T'ou-jen is
614 not a disinterested affair but an affair of the clan, of the community, among whom the general good takes precedence over everything.

After such eventualities of a T'ou-jen wedding, it is natural enough when one meets those who are coming from a wedding to ask them whether all went well, or whether there wasn't some trouble!

Now one understands the importance attached to the role of master of ceremonies. It is he who must prevent these difficulties, who must judge when it is necessary to yield and how far the concession can go. He must have the required tact and the appropriate word which all will be pleased to hear. He will be listened to all the more if he is highly esteemed by both sides.

585 In two circumstances this cry of the blood among the T'ou-jen
578 is brutal and terrible: at the end of the ceremonies of a marriage,
571 and on the occasion of the negotiations after the suicide of a daughter-in-law.

The Pei family was giving a daughter in marriage to the Li family. The Pei grandfather, known for his extraordinary cupidity, had enjoined his master of ceremonies to demand the finest horse in the Li family's stable, a horse highly reputed in the region. When the moment came they demanded the horse, but the horse was not there. They looked in vain at the homes of the relatives and neighbors; the horse remained impossible to find. Coarse words were exchanged, and they came to blows. The festivity ended without any

585 /78 cont'd/
578 more being served to drink and without the distribution of the fare-
571 well gifts.

The next day the Peis got ready to bring an action before the t'ou-se. The customs had not been observed, /79/ the farewell gifts
[431] had not even been given, people had fought, etc.... The injured side demands indemnities for the injuries and apologies for the discourtesies.

[627] The elders of the region come to see the Peis and propose to settle the affair amicably. Negotiations...dinner...and practical conclusion: the Lis will make apologies and will offer a sheep to the Peis, then the two families will renew kin relationships.

After rounding this dangerous cape, they breathe again and quickly serve gin to distract their minds. Each one having taken his place again at the table, Chinese noodles are served to finish up.

585 The son-in-law's family invites its master of ceremonies to
431 distribute the farewell gifts. It is the pou fen se /"supplementary shares"/ complement of the dinner. According to custom, they give to each person of a generation above that of the daughter-in-law eight loaves of bread and two pieces of meat. To the persons of the same generation and to those of lower generation they give four loaves of bread and one piece of meat. Then they think also of the persons who should have been present and who have excused themselves; they likewise prepare for them their loaves of bread and pieces of meat. In the evening at the moment of departure it is not rare to see the guests go away with one or two loads of bread and meat. It would be a discourtesy to refuse the gifts. They claim that formerly, at the moment of departure, the son-in-law's family used to give to the daughter-in-law's family "the lama's part." It consisted of two pieces of meat and eight loaves of bread, which were taken to the lamasery the next day.

The custom of asking for the lama's part has continued to exist in different places, but that of taking the gift to the lamasery has disappeared.

/79 cont'd/

19. Departure of the Guests

585 These wedding dinners always end in the evening. /80/ Most of the guests get ready to leave about this time. However, one always finds a group who will spend the night drinking and singing.

[273] As soon as they get ready to leave, they shut up the young bride in the room; the custom is that she does not say good-by to the guests. At the departure the young women of the family and the young neighbor women are at the door, provided with a jug of gin, to offer the stirrup cup. The departure itself constitutes a rejoicing. The women who have prepared flour of parched wheat try to smear the faces of those who are leaving. They shove each other, they chase one another; several women take the men while others daub them...they defend themselves.... The departure is always very noisy. They mount the drunkards on the horses, they go away and come back to take a last glass.... It goes without saying that drink takes many victims at these festivities. On these days one can determine the truth of the saying, "The camel, as soon as he sees the willow, can no longer be held back; the T'ou-jen, as soon as he sees gin, no longer is in control of himself." At nightfal the son-in-law enters the nuptial chamber where he finds his young wife and the maid of honor. Since the door of the room stays open, all the members of the family and the guests who have stayed late follow with their eyes the rite which takes place. The young married couple first make a prostration to the maid of honor, who wishes them all the good luck imaginable while presenting to them two cups of gin tied together with a red cord. The young couple must drink in concert. She pours for them three times in succession while the group on the outside makes the warmest wishes. The newly married couple make a second prostration to the maid of honor and to the whole group as thanks; the maid of honor leaves them, closing the door of the nuptial chamber. The lamp in the room must not go out for three nights. (1) The following morning the

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 86: (These rites are more complicated among the Manchu:)

/81 cont'd/

Ma 585 The following night the proof of virginity is required. /Cited in English, with French interpolations indicated by parentheses./

Mo 585 /81/ maid of honor comes to arrange the hair-do of the young wife in the manner of the women of the place.

20. Visits after the Wedding

Mo 574 585 Mo [262] The third day after the wedding, the father and mother of the young wife come to make a visit to the newly related family. This visit is called "opening a new road," tying new relationships. They bring a jug of gin, loaves of bread, dry Chinese noodles, and come, they say, to invite the son-in-law to come to their home. It is customary that on this day the young wife prepares the dinner. They make her take a practical examination of her culinary knowledge. It is she also who serves the last dish of the dinner and clears the table. The guests praise her and throw several cash for her into the empty cups. In the evening the guests go home.

The next day the father-in-law, the son-in-law, and the young wife go, the three of them, to return the visit to the parents-in-law. They bring two jugs of gin and loaves of bread. The married couple make the great prostration to the members of the family who are of generations above their own. In the evening the father and the son-in-law go back home /82/ and leave the young wife with her parents for several days. After choosing an auspicious day, one of her brothers will take her back to her husband's home. (1)

HM 585 754

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 312: A month later the young wife sets out with her husband or with one of her close relatives to pay a visit to her parents, which she repeats several months or a year later. (German translation: and stays with them for several months, indeed often for a year.)

/82 cont'd/

21. Relations of the Married Couple with the Daughter-in-law's Family

593 585 a) Relations of the married daughter with her own family after the wedding.

The daughter-in-law is incorporated into the family of her [776 782] husband. We have seen that upon her arrival at the door of the house she was given chopsticks and a jug of gin, and that then she was taken to the kitchen to honor the god of the hearth of her new family by prostrating herself three times and presenting her offering of gin and her chopsticks.

Henceforth she will call the members of her husband's family by the same name that he calls them; in speaking of them to a third person she will add the term gadin, which means relatives by marriage.

Because the husband's family bought her, she has become its property; her original family no longer has any rights over her. One /83/ expects therefore that the relations of the married daughter with her own family would be broken, or at least that they would be very much reduced. Now this is not the case, as the long and frequent visits she continues to make to her parents after the wedding prove, as well as the custom of keeping her valuables and her clothes in her original family.

593 574 As a matter of fact, custom has it that the husband takes his wife and children to the home of their relatives in the first month of the year. His wife will stay with her family for ten or 20 days, often for even a month. When this period has gone by, her brother takes her back to her parents-in-law. Toward the fifth of the fifth moon the husband takes her to her family for the second time. This visit is shorter; after a few days her brother takes her back. About the fifteenth of the eighth moon the husband takes her to her parents' home for the third time. This time she stays there 15 or 20 days or even a month. The fourth visit to her family takes place in the last [527] month of the year and lasts about 20 days. Her brother brings her back for the festival of the god of the hearth, a festival which

Mo 171 /85 cont'd/

> In her husband's clan, she keeps her own spirits and sho /sic/ can never be relatively to the new spirits equal to the persons born in her husband's clan. /Cited in English./

b) Relations of the son-in-law with the family of his parents-in-law.

Mo 606 The son-in-law addresses the members of his wife's family in the same way that he addresses those of his own family, but adding the term gadin in speaking of them to a third person.

There are two official visits to be made each year to his parents-in-law; the first at the new year and the second on the fifteenth of the eighth moon. In addition, it is his duty to go to ask about the health of his parents-in-law when they are sick. Likewise he will take part in the festivities which are given at their home on the occasion of a marriage, upon the birth of a first-born child, ...and he will never be absent from the mournings of the family.

It is to be noted that he will always take an active part in festivities and mournings; he does not mix with the guests, he does not have his place at dinner with the guests; but being considered as a member of the family, he will help with the preparations, he will receive the /86/ guests upon their arrival, and he will dine in the kitchen with the members of the family of his parents-in-law. Again it is his duty to lend a hand to his parents-in-law when they have to use force to defend their rights, as, for example, on the occasion of the suicide or the repudiation of one of his wife's sisters. However, the adage says that relationships must not be too intimate with a related family, and that one must avoid all kinds of commercial transactions. (1)

Mo [762]

Mi Mo 585

> 1. I summarize in this note, according to l'Histoire des Miao /The History of the Miao/ by Savina, 2nd ed. (1930), pp. 226-229, several resemblances

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/86 cont'd/

found between Miao and T'ou-jen weddings. The importance attached in ethnology to this people is well known. P.W. Koppers, "Die Frage des Mutterrechts und des Totemismus im alten China /The Question of Mother-right and Totemism in Old China/," p. 996: ...just as the original homogeneity of the Tungus and Tung-hu is so probable...it seems to me that the ancient connection between the Tungus (Proto-Tungus, Pre-Chinese) and Miao-tze has been demonstrated equally as plausibly /cited in German/. Anthropos, 1930.

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First, marriages[1] are almost always celebrated at about the same time, November, December, January. One marries young, between 15 and 20 years. Prognostications are necessary in order to be able to marry. The parents decide on the marriage of their children. The wedding meal is always twofold, i.e., taken in two places, at the home of the bridegroom's parents and at the home of the bride's. If the latter is to leave the paternal home to go to be the daughter-in-law in her bridegroom's home, the first meal is taken at her home. On the other hand, it is taken at the bridegroom's home if he is to go to be the son-in-law at the home of the bride's parents. Then there are also husband-sons-in-law. The dinner menu: corn meal, alcohol, pork if desired. The meal is served on tables improvised for the occasion, planks held up by stakes; the meat put on leaves is

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[262]

1 [marriages: Miao marriages --- Analyst]

[MIAO]

/86 cont'd/

Mi 585 [262]

eaten first while drinking alcohol; it is only at the end that the corn meal is brought.... Each guest presents a coin upon his arrival. At the end of the evening meal the newly married man makes the ritual prostrations to the ancestors in the presence of all the assembled relatives, and without pronouncing a single word. He is assisted by his best man, who makes the same prostrations as he, and by an old man who enumerates aloud all the duties he will have to carry out henceforth in the tribe. Then they count the money contributed by the guests, and they take an inventory of the young wife's trousseau. This trousseau consists of clothes, skirts, turbans, belts, puttees, pieces of cloth, etc. Men and women examine...and admire the embroideries. The young wife in a corner weeps and sings to her companions the naive song of the bride...which recalls the elegy of the T'ou-jen bride on the road. At the departure of the guests the door is barricaded with a fagot to prevent the newly married wife from leaving. She watches her relatives leave through the slits of the partition.

Mi [583]

Mo [585 171]

We have spoken in the course of this work, following the notes of Father Schotter, of the girls who accompany the bride to the bridegroom's home.

Mi 582

Monogamy and exogamy seem to have always existed among the Miao. There exists also a law, or rather a custom which

Mo /89 cont'd/
587 mother-in-law two bricks of tea, which is what they call k'ai k'eou
606 ts'ien, i.e., "the cash which open her mouth"; next they promise the father-in-law 12 strings of cash, called tchou hoen ts'ien, i.e., "the cash which make him take upon himself the responsibility for the marriage." (1) Then they discuss the price of the widow, a

Ma [587]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: The Manchus do not pay "kalin" if the woman demanded is a widow. /Cited in English./

price which ordinarily varies between 150 and 200 strings of cash. Again, since it will be necessary to write a contract, and since all the grandfathers, uncles, and brothers will have to affix their signatures to it, /90/ they discuss the price and the number of signers at the rate of three strings of cash per signature. Three or four relatives of the family take part in this discussion, which always takes place at night.

Mo [583] This sum is called ming ts'ien /"money in the open"/, i.e., the official or public price of the widow. Very often it happens that one or another member of the family secretly lets it be known that he opposes this marriage and that he will cause difficulties.

Ordinarily these recalcitrants take advantage of their relationship to make some easy money. They take them privately and discusses with them in secret the sum of money which their consent is worth. This is the ngan ts'ien, i.e., "the secret money," which very often is far from being insignificant. It is what makes people say that the expenditures made for widows, particularly for those who are going to be second wives, are based on the wealth of the suitor.

Mo These negotiations with the surly relatives having produced
587 results and the price being agreed upon, the suitor must make his
● 585 decision. When consent is given, he does not pay the money; he will pay only on the day when the widow has crossed the threshold of his house. We have seen exactly the opposite for the marriage of

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587 [585] girls; they are allowed to leave home only when the very last cash has been paid.

This is because there are so many unforeseen events in this kind of marriage: the widow can deceive the suitor, the parents-in-law can play bad tricks on him, the parents of the widow can do the same, an unknown man can abduct her forcibly at night....Because of these risks the go-betweens do not dare demand payment of the sum before the widow is at her husband's home. A second precaution to take in order to avoid subsequent difficulties consists in the writing of a contract duly signed by the whole family of the parents-in-law, which is scarcely required for the marriage of girls. The marriage contract of a widow is signed only when she has entered the house of her /91/ husband and the money is counted on the table. In the old days, it is said, they used to do without a contract, and they contented themselves with taking the widow's ring, breaking it in two, and giving half to each party.

It is in the evening or at night that they go to get widows, and that is always done without anyone's knowledge. These precautions are needed when one knows the way of thinking of the T'ou-jen, according to which the widow belongs to anyone who can take her. [589] When a widow has made her choice and the negotiations have been begun, she will no longer dare to leave her house; in the evening she will call trusted men, who will mount guard, armed to the teeth. Her parents will be careful to distribute the sa lou ts'ien /"money to block the road"/ to the neighbors: This is the money bestowed on the neighbors so that they will defend the widow in case of an abduction.

3. Departure of the Widow

A band of ten to 20 men armed with swords, sticks, guns... go away in the night and in the greatest silence to get the widow. The greater the danger appears, the larger will be the escort. The widow is at the home of her parents or has gone to some agreed-upon place. The parents will consent to the departure of their

/153 cont'd/

604 These facts make understandable the expression so often met in this study, "tnat the maternal uncle is really the master of the bones of his sister's children."

604 b) Permission to bury the dead is given by the maternal uncle.
764 After what we have just said, is it not natural that the T'ou-jen call the maternal uncle at the death of his sister and her children? Burial will never take place as long as he has not given his permission. In the case of rumors about the unnatural death of a person under his jurisdiction, he will examine the body. It is to recognize his rights that the family will call him each time that a burial takes place to inspect the body, and they will humbly beg him to give permission /154/ for burial or cremation. When they bury in the Chinese manner, they present to the maternal uncle the axe and the wedge for closing the cover of the coffin. This is what the Chinese do also.

604 c) Precedence of the maternal uncle at the wedding.
585 In the light of these facts, is it not easy to understand the importance that the T'ou-jen attach, at the time of marriage, to the mother's clan and to the maternal uncle in particular? He presides then at the festivity at his sister's home. They offer him the great gift of honor. He is invited to remain standing beside the bride during the speech of the master of ceremonies, who names him at this moment the master of the bones of his sister's children. At the home of the son-in-law it is he again who is the great guest and who receives the gift of honor. If there are neither grandfather or old men, it is he who conducts the wedding ceremony, who orders the prostrations, and says the blessings. At the time of the carrying off of the animals and of the uproar at the end of the wedding festivity, it is he again who settles the quarrel in the name of his sister's family, and it is before him that the son-in-law's whole family prostrate themselves. At the dinner at the bridegroom's home, the master of ceremonies emphasizes the importance of the maternal clan: "The man as well as the woman must have a maternal clan so that they can prove their origin." They scarcely speak of the paternal clan. Addressing himself to him a second time, the master of ceremonies says: "The man is indebted to the maternal clan for his qualities, as the woman is to her family's clan." Not the least allusion to the paternal clan.

/154 cont'd/

3. Importance of the Mother, the Daughter-in-law, the Child, the Maternal Clan

593 a) Abnormal interference in the marriage of her children.
562 In a patriarchal organization the wife does not own anything, she does not count; even her children do not belong to her. Is it not necessary therefore to explain the predominant position of the mother in the marriage rites as being a vestige of a /155/ former matriarchate?
593 Indeed, the wedding "seems" even in our day to be the business
562 of the mother alone. Without speaking of the marriage promises
585 made between mothers as yet only pregnant, we have seen that the official request for the bride is made by the mother alone. The consent given to the mother alone enjoys all the necessary guarantees so that they can allow themselves to wait four or five years more before getting a go-between. Likewise, when the earnest is discussed, it is again the mother alone who goes to ask for the girl to be married at an early date; only after the mother's request does the go-between appear in order to set the date and the rest. For marriages without ceremony it is the mother again who, with the go-between, goes in complete simplicity to get the bride who is poor. This fact is very significant. Along the way, what the sobbing bride fears most is that they will curse her by cursing her mother; this is the greatest injury that can be done to her.
606 When one examines present-day customs concerning young
587 widows, one finds it abnormal in a patriarchal organization that the
593 young widow after the 49 days of mourning goes back to her mother's family to stay there until her second marriage. Indeed, she is the property pure and simple of her parents-in-law. It is likewise abnormal that the go-betweens, at the time of the second marriage, address themselves to her own parents before addressing her mother-in-law. Does not that recall the time when the daughter was married at home and had no mother-in-law?

After addressing the mother, the go-between goes to the home of the widow's parents-in-law, and there again he accosts first the mother-in-law, just as if she had the widow-bride at her disposal

/157 cont'd/

Ma 574 593

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 90-91: The second long visit of the newly married wife in her mother's house may be also understood as a survival of the customs that prescribed to the newly married wife to keep her place in her mother's house. Furthermore the Manchus never say "the wife's father's clan" but "the wife's mother's clan." At the same time they say " he husband's clan" and "the husband's father's clan." Thus all these facts cannot be explained without a supposition of the materline clan system in the past. /Cited in English./

Mo 562 421 593 574 her finest clothes, her ornaments, her jewels, and everything that is dear to her. One keeps one's treasures at one's home; now, the home of the daughter-in-law does not seem to be near her husband. This last custom, which still effectively recognizes that the wife today has certain property rights, does not belong to a patriarchal organization; furthermore, we saw in the speech of the master of ceremonies that formerly the daughter enjoyed property rights since in her own family she inherited half of a son's share.

e) Festivities at the birth of daughters.

Mo 527 844 We shall describe elsewhere the extraordinary noisy festivities in which the whole village takes part, given on the occasion of the birth of the first child of a daughter-in-law, whether this child be a son or daughter, the celebration is equally solemn. Now such a festivity upon the birth of a daughter is again absolutely abnormal in a patriarchal system, where only the male descendant counts. We must Mo note that already in many T'ou-jen families this festivity is celebrated [171] only upon the birth of the first son. This celebration is absolutely inconceivable to a Chinese mind.

f) Wedding dinner at the bride's home.

Mo ● 585 562 In a patriarchal system how does one justify the dinner given at the bride's home for the members of her family alone on the eve of

Mo /157 cont'd/
585 her departure? The wedding festivity takes place in the patriarchal
562 system in the bridegroom's family on the same day as the marriage.
Mo The departure of the daughter cannot be considered as a reason for
[171] rejoicing; also this custom is not found in China. Is it not also a custom of olden times, when one celebrated the arrival of the son-in-law and his entry into the family?

4. Husband-sons-in-law

Mo We have described above the different forms taken by the
608 husband-sons-in-law practice. The great frequency of this practice
591 in spite of all the troubles it entails, /158/ again brings us back to the
606 former matriarchate. (1) But let us put aside the "fact itself" of this

> 1. I know only one single case in which a T'ou-jen woman governed her clan. It is that of the widow of the Lou t'ou-se. It is an isolated case, completely acci-
> Mo [592] dental and recent. I see in it no relation whatever with the matriarchate which formerly existed among the T'ou-jen.

institution which is essentially matriarchal in order to explain some strange vestiges still met with today relative to this practice.

Formerly, the husband-son-in-law, living in his wife's family, had necessarily to be considered as an intimate member of the family. Now can one not see a vestige of this position of the son-in-law in the fact that at the time of celebrations and of mourning, the son-in-law does not have his place at the dinner among the guests? On the contrary, even today, he is relegated to the kitchen among the intimates of the family. Celebrations and mournings are not a time of rejoicing for him, of feasting and of drinking bouts, but a time during which work is required of him which is considerable and very disagreeable.

Ma We have seen that among the Manchu, when the son-in-law
606 comes to get his bride, he honors first the spirits of that family, then

2: Schram--192 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Mongubr AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

/173 cont'd/

M 113

pp. 1, 2, 3, gives by his bibliography an idea of the present state of the Mongol philological problem.

M 121

whom all degrees of Mongolization are found, /174/ and then to those concerning the Miao and the Lo-lo P'o.

M 585

When one studies the T'ou-jen matrimonial ritual all alone without taking into account the rituals of the other groups, it is an eminently solemn rite which immediately impresses one and which shows itself to be the high moment of the whole wedding. It is indeed the moment when the bride and groom, kneeling one beside the other in the presence of the whole assemblage, standing and silent, of the guests of the two families, give together the three great ritual prostrations "to heaven and to the multifarious spirits," then to the parents and to all the assemblage, while "the old man who blesses" pronounces the good wishes, which say clearly what is meant by the union of the two persons on whom every eye is fixed. When the good wishes are pronounced and the prostrations made, the bride's veil is removed and she is taken to the nuptial chamber as if to signify the end of the great act. If there is a solemn moment in the T'ou-jen wedding, it is certainly this one.

Now we find this rite in all T'ou-jen weddings: in the marriage without ceremony of poor girls, in that of widows without support, and even in the abnormal marriages to the prayer poles and the belt. When all the other rites are missing, the prostration to heaven or to the spirits made by the bride and groom is never omitted. This leads one to believe that in the eyes of the T'ou-jen this rite is by far the most important.

M 585 171

Now, shall we find a similar rite in the other groups? Among the Mongols one meets a scene nearly identical to the one seen among the T'ou-jen; but one is very surprised not to see the groom take part in it beside the kneeling bride. Indeed, the bride alone is brought into the father-in-law's home where the parents and friends of the future wife are gathered; ritual prayers are read; three prostrations are given by the bride to the fire, to the father and mother, to the bride's parents; all give her their blessings aloud. /175/ (Cf. page 81.)

/175 cont'd/

585 171 Among the Tungus of the northern group and especially among those of Transbaikalia, the bridal couple come together "to bow to" the guests seated around the fire; the latter kiss the bride's hand and mouth ... a shaman meanwhile intones good wishes for them. (Cf. page 183.) (The author notes Russian influence expressly for this group.)

Among the nomads of the same group, the bride alone is taken in before the father-in-law and kneels before him and the elders of the clan, others throw offerings into the fire.... (Cf. p. 184.)

Among the Tungus of the southern group, especially among the Manchu, the bridal couple kneel together upon their arrival in the husband's courtyard and make three prostrations to heaven and earth and burn incense. (Cf. p. 81.)

Among the Miao it is the groom alone who makes the ritual prostrations in the presence of the relatives gathered together, and an old man enumerates all the duties which he will have to perform henceforward in the tribe. (Cf. p. 99.)

Among the Lo-lo P'o the bride alone makes the prostrations in the kitchen to the god of the hearth. (Cf. page 190.)

Therefore it can be established that one finds only among the T'ou-jen and Manchu the ritual prostrations to the spirits, etc., "made together by the bridal couple"; however, among the Manchu the ceremony is carried out with much less solemnity than among the T'ou-jen.

585 177 Now on the one hand these two peoples are the most Sinicized of all the peoples in question, and on the other hand, it is precisely among the Chinese that one sees practiced the rite of ritual prostrations "made together by the bridal couple" to heaven and earth and to the spirits. One would thus be led to suppose that we are dealing here with a Chinese rite which the T'ou-jen and Manchu have adopted and which the T'ou-jen especially have /176/ admirably thrown into relief in a setting of Mongol origin. Besides, one would be led to make the not-at-all commonplace observation that a rite attributed to the neighbors constitutes today, among the T'ou-jen at least, the high moment of the wedding for the reason that this rite must have responded singularly well to the natural and religious aspirations of the people. But let us undeceive ourselves. This fact is not so Chinese as it may seem

/176 cont'd/

585 on first sight. The base of it is Mongol; what is Chinese is only acci-
177 dental; this is the presence of the groom beside the bride and the part he takes in a ceremony which already used to exist.

Certainly it is hard for us to understand a wedding in which the two parties do not carry out some rite together, or at least where the two parties are not present. This, nevertheless, is what we have seen among all these peoples except the T'ou-jen and the Manchu.

585 What is the high point of the wedding among these peoples?
171 It seems to me that it is still when the bride is brought in before her parents-in-law, the members of her bridegroom's clan, and all the guests to make all alone the ritual prostrations, to pay her respects and recognize her subjection. It is precisely then that among the Mongol "the ritual prayers are read ... and all give her their blessings" (cf. p. 81), that among the Tungus of Transbaikalia "a shaman meanwhile intones good wishes" (cf. p. 183), that among the Miao "while the groom is on his knees, an old man enumerates all the duties he will have to carry out." (Cf. p. 99.)

It would be very interesting for us to know these "ritual prayers and blessings given by all," these "wishes intoned by the shaman," and these "duties enumerated by the old man," for I think it is just at that moment, and at that moment alone, that the true meaning of the festive event is revealed by the wishes made and the blessings implored and wished. And from whom are these blessings awaited? Who will bring about these wishes? These wishes must present a good deal of resemblance with those /177/ made among the T'ou-jen in similar circumstances, and I cannot keep from supposing that this moment of the festival must be just as impressive and just as important in these groups as among the T'ou-jen.

585 I allow myself therefore to insist on this ceremony, all the more
114 because it is especially with respect to it that we have the fewest details and that it is often passed by unnoticed in the things relative to marriage.

585 If one turns up one's nose at this rite, then marriage simply loses its meaning among these peoples, since it is reduced to the simple acquisition by purchase of a new member on the part of the bridegroom's family, to the discussions about the price of the girl, to

/177 cont'd/

585 the payment of the purchase price, and to the delivery of the "merchandise" by her owners; in addition one has the admission of the girl into the bridegroom's clan and the sacrifice made by her to the god of the hearth of her new family: the whole followed by a dinner and entertainment.

But finally, why spend money for a girl? Why admit a new member into the family? Why is marriage among these peoples the great work of life? They know well why, these peoples! I suppose that they say so like the T'ou-jen in the ritual prayers, in the blessings: that they say it to those from whom they await its realization, and that exactly at the moment when the bride makes the prostrations.

This is why I consider this ceremony as the chief ceremony in marriage among these peoples.

105 The few rare materials which this study presents to us prove amply that the civilization of the T'ou-jen is far from being homogenous, and that we find ourselves here in the presence of cultural elements belonging to different types of culture.

/178/ After studying the history of this people in Kansu, its environment, its neighbors, its social, political, and religious life, we shall be better able to understand the complexity of its civilization and the origin of the cultural elements we find in it.

The T'ou-jen, separated radically for hundreds of years from other groups of their race, confined in a lost corner of Kansu, surrounded by peoples having a culture of a type different from theirs, and having themselves changed their kind of life since their arrival in the new habitat, present a very complex problem to us, whose data must be well known before it can be solved.

114 So we reserve our conclusions for later, trying above all to furnish as faithfully, as completely, as possible all the ethnologic and historic materials.

2: Schram--199 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Young T'ou-jen married woman in festive dress, an enormous headdress on her head. She wears the costume peculiar to the T'ou-jen.

2: Schram--200 M-4, 5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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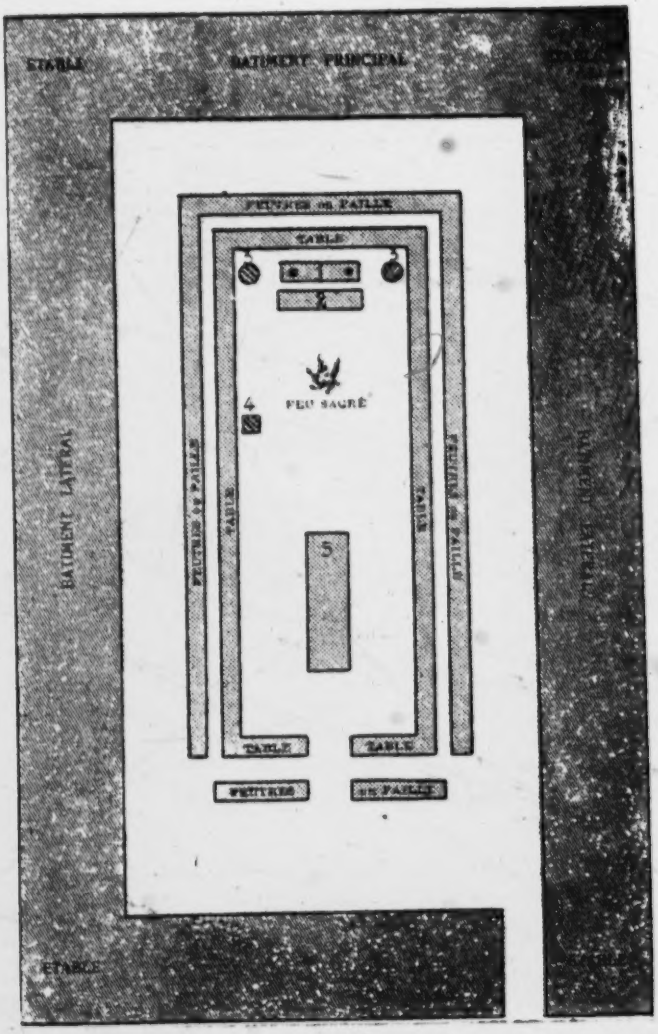

Plan of a T'ou-jen courtyard.

1. Table with the two lamps.
2. Red felt.
3. Place of the cupbearer.
4. Seat of the master of ceremonies.
5. Table where the gifts are spread out.

[50 cont.]
777 always inside the house. In such a case the arrow is not made or
*778 consecrated by a lama or Bon priest (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 52.] For the preparation of the urn, cf. the section: "The Earth-god Urn."

Attachments: Always and in all cases hadas and sheep wool are attached to the arrow. If the arrow is consecrated, a small copper mirror is usually also attached to it. -- When
[237] an animal is sold or given away, some of its hair is tied to the
[432] arrow, as in the case of horses, donkeys, and mules. The hair is taken from the mane or tail. Similarly, when a sheep is sold some wool is also tied on. Hog bristles, however, may never be tied to the arrow of good fortune. -- After a child's first haircut,
[302] on the first birthday, the downy hairs that have been cut off are
[852] rolled into a little ball, and a thread is drawn out of it, with which the ball is tied to the arrow; similarly the bow and arrow that the child seized as an oracle on this occasion is tied to it. -- When a daughter is married, a number of small strips of cloth
• [585] are cut from the seam of her bridal [51] dress for the arrow. Also some hair of the bride, which was combed out during the hair-dressing and adornment on the eve of her being taken away, is carefully collected and attached to the arrow of good fortune (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 52-53.] The fact that sheep wool is always attached to the arrow, as to the obo, seems to be connected with the sheep of good fortune; cf. below. F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148) would like to connect the little balls of wool (cotton) with the thread figures (mdos), which hold fast the demons. -- Occasionally, silk threads in the five sacred colors are also added. Hair

[51 cont.]

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[Foreign text pp. 52-53 cont.]
from a cow, when it is sold, is also tied to the arrow, but in no case hog bristles, as for example, L. Schram (Mariage, p. 58) maintains. L. Schram in this place generally confuses the arrow of good fortune with the spirit-spear. He designates with iang hstia a [53] "tige en fer"[iron shaft], which stands in a "gros et large socle" [large and wide base] and has a length of "deux à trois pieds" [two to three feet]. It is accorded a veneration "comme devant les esprits" [as before the spirits]. This never applies to a yãnsdzia, however, but in part only to a small spirit-spear. In the case of the latter, the tip and iron foot are visible so that it gives the impression of being entirely of iron. It is likewise stuck in a large stand and may have a length of about a meter. According to my informant, the arrow of good fortune is not venerated like a spirit among the Tujen, whereas the spear is. The other statements, however, fit the arrow of good fortune.

The urn also receives additions. For instance, some kernels of grain are always thrown into it when some is sold. Furthermore, during the night when the bride is fetched, the [585] bridegroom's family brings a hada and bran for the bride's riding animal. Part of the bran is poured into the urn and the hada is tied to the arrow of good fortune.

Safekeeping: If the arrow of good fortune was consecrated and stuck in an urn or a bushel, the latter must always stand together with the arrow in the main house on the chest in front

[51 cont.]

777 of the Buddha image or, in case there is a chapel, kept in the
*778 chapel. If it is stuck somewhere without an urn, this must also always be in the main house.

777 Construction and consecration: The arrow without the urn
*778 is prepared and provided with the attachment by the master of the household himself without any kind of ceremony. It is then
782 fumigated once and stuck in its place with an incense offering.

In the case of an arrow with an urn, the lama is invited with the usual formalities. He makes his torma, sets up the little water-bowls, etc., just as on other occasions. Then he prays for a day or more and gives the prayer of consecration over the arrow. During this prayer the arrow is fumigated with cypress incense. Then the pot is brought, washed, and fumigated, while the lama prepares the scroll. The latter is also fumigated. After that, the grain is poured into the urn and the arrow stuck in it. The master of the household places the pot with the arrow in front of the lama on the kang, and the latter then attaches the individual objects. Each piece is first held in the incense and then handed to the lama. Everything is accompanied by the lama's prayer. It is also permissible for other persons, for example, the master of the household, to tie on the attachments. -- The master of the household then places the arrow-urn on the chest in front of the god's image with the usual offering gifts: little water-bowls, wine, grain, butter, milk, bread, etc. Outside in the yard the great incense offering is made, and inside all those present make a three-fold kowtow before the new arrow of good fortune. During the entire veneration, however, the lama remains seated on the kang and prays.

777 At noon a family festival[1] is celebrated with a banquet,
*778 and there is singing and drinking into the night. The lama stays until the following morning.
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[787] Use and significance: The arrow is never used for soothsaying because it cannot become the seat of a spirit, like the
[585] spirit-spear, for instance (5). Only once is it taken out of the

1 [to celebrate the consecration of the arrow of good fortune - ANALYST]

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5. [Foreign text p. 53.] The informant firmly insisted upon this statement, although the consecration, beribboning, mirror, and bells seem to argue that the arrow is a seat of the spirit.

777 house, namely, during the wedding. While the bride, amidst
*778 the weeping and wailing of the women, is led out to the thresh-
585 ing floor and mounts the riding animal, the father takes the arrow of good fortune and runs back and forth with it behind the bride, calling out the name of his daughter, who is led on the riding animal three times around the threshing floor before she rides off. The father wants to keep back the good fortune.

[52] The arrow holds together the good fortune and well-
[171] being of the household, as do the god of wealth and the treasure-
[432] urn among the Chinese. For that reason something is held back as "seed" and "root" from everything that is sold and attached to the arrow or added to the urn (6). With her marriage, the

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6. [Foreign text pp. 53-55.] One receives differing information among the people concerning the word yãṅsdzia. Some say yãṅ means "good fortune," whereas the informant subscribes more to the meaning "germ," root, seed, guarantee of good fortune." In the region of Bengbar (Hsi-ch'uan) the arrow is called yãṅbō. The ... bō could not be explained by anyone. The people derived the yãṅ from the Tibetan and said it meant "good fortune." Undoubtedly it is identical with the Tibetan g.yaṅ. The Chinese word ying-pao mentioned by F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 139) is phonetically very reminiscent of the designation yãṅbō. The Tujen have a third expression for

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
the arrow of good fortune in the word yãṅdar. They interpret the yãṅ as "good fortune" and the dar as "to increase." The old man, however, would not let the dar be applied to the entire arrow, but only to the hada attached to it, and he is correct in this, for dar in Tibetan signifies "cloth, silk." He stated that the whole thing, including the urn, is always only called yãṅsdzia. It is unclear to me what the sdzia in this combination actually means. It is doubtful that it is a literary botching of mda', "arrow."

In order to determine the meaning of the arrow of good fortune in more detail, it is best to start from the Tib. word g, yaṅ. According to Ch. Das, the sense of wealth, fullness of life, treasures, state of well-being is connected with g, yaṅ. This is apparent from the corresponding combinations with g, yaṅ (cf. pp. 1149ff.). The very essence of good fortune, however, seems to be the sheep; metaphorically it is simply called g, yaṅ-dkar, "the white good-fortune." White is also the color of good fortune. But how, then, is the arrow of good fortune to be comprehended as the carrier of good fortune?

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Its peculiar character becomes clearest at the wedding ceremony. When the bride departs from the parental house and is led three times around the threshing floor on horseback, the father of the bride runs behind the bride three times

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.] with the arrow of good fortune and calls out her name. Meanwhile the attendants sing a song in which they conjure everything that the bride takes with her onto the arrow as a "germ," so that it might stay behind. -- The urn that holds the grain brought by the bride-fetchers is a similar matter. This urn is called g, yaṅ-bum in Tibetan and its meaning corresponds with that given by Ch. Das (p. 1150). It contains treasures: gold, silver, money, ornaments, etc. The arrow of good fortune and the urn of good fortune thus carry the germs and vital power of all the blessings of good fortune of the kin group [Sippe], be they animals, human beings, [54] treasures, or seed. They not only carry them, but also guarantee their preservation and increase. This conception, however, is not only found among the Tujen.

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The shepherd-nomads have a custom similar to that of the Tujen and the agricultural Fandse with their arrow of good fortune. When they sell animals, they tie some of the wool or hair to the tent post or to a string inside the tent. (G. Montell, p. 49, illustration, reports something similar from the Mongols.) This post or string has a special relationship to heaven. Among the agriculturalists the urn appears in accordance with the importance of the agricultural products. Thus, the Chinese likewise have a pao-p'ing, "treasure-vase"; similarly, the Lolo have an ancestral chest in which

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
they keep the ornaments and mementos of the kin group in order to have a guarantee for the good fortune and wealth of the family; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa: I chia. Above all, the arrow of good fortune seems to be of great importance among the Bon; cf. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 190, 184, 178. It plays a special role in the wedding customs of the Bon, as H. Francke has described them in the wedding songs. The wedding customs of the Tujen and their songs show a certain relationship with these Bon customs, which in itself is not surprising since up to the most recent times the Bon religion in Amdo had a strong influence. The conception of the tribal animals, mother-animals, mother-treasures, to which all other earthly animals, treasures, etc. go back, however, belongs to the world-view of the Bon; cf. H. Francke; Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 8 ff. The tribal animals are also celebrated in song by the Tujen in a song-cycle bearing the name xoni, "sheep." This song-cycle actually stems from the Amdo-Fandse, among whom it is called g, yaṅ-dkar, "white good-fortune," or g, yaṅ-dkar lug, "sheep of the white good-fortune." Although various animals are celebrated in song, the sheep stands in the center as the supreme blessing of good fortune.

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If one ties these conceptions together, it may be stated of the yãṅsdzia: It bears within it the germs and origins of the gifts of fortune of this world. Living beings are allied more with heaven (are

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
perhaps to be interpreted as astral), and the seeds, together with the other treasures, more with earth. The arrow represents the connection of the two (heavenly post, heavenly rope). This idea also fits in well with the pre-Buddhistic -- shamanistic world-picture with the world mountain and the individual realms. Cf. for instance, the representation in the mountain torma at the ritual of the pole-goat, where all of creation is put in miniature on a mandala. A germinally pre-formed world which maintains the actual, large world through its vital power is always fundamental. -- It would be interesting to pursue these conceptions across Asia; perhaps even the Inao and the "sending off" of the Ainu are connected with them.

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The arrow of good fortune and the customs connected with it have passed into Buddhism and are practiced in all lamic monasteries. The arrow is found everywhere. The most important ceremony is the summoning of good fortune (g.yaṅ 'gug). This ceremony is reported in detail in F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, pp. 139-147), where further details concerning the Lamaistic use of the [55] arrow can also be found, but this does not belong here. Only one parallel with the popular custom among the Tujen should be mentioned, where Lessing describes the procession with the arrow of good fortune (p. 146): "After this interlude, the procession continues its way and finally returns to Hall II. They have absorbed all they can the elixir

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
or vital forces (rasayana, Tib. bcud len, Mong. sime, shime) of heaven and earth, sun and moon, rivers and lakes, trees and herbs" [cited in English]. This corresponds precisely to the above-mentioned wedding ceremony of the Tujen at the departure of the bride, where likewise "the germs, vital force" are conjured in song onto the arrow with which the father runs behind the bride.

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The Tujen word for this "germ, seed," etc. in the songs is furie; cf. Schröder, Hochzeitslieder" [Wedding Songs]. furie is the Mongolic üre (DMF, p. 111) and in meaning corresponds, like sime, to the Tibetan bcud in bcud len. len signifies "to seize, to grasp, to gather" (Ch. Das, p. 1220), and bcud, "sap, moistness, essence, force," etc. (p. 394). The meaning that my informant gave for the word yãn is identical with this; cf. above. With regard to the expression bcud-len, Ch. Das writes (p. 394): "the art of extracting essences for prolonging health and longevity, such essences as being of different kinds ..." [cited in English]. He also mentions in particular the earth-force: "sa-yi bcud, the essence of the earth, by which the produce of the field, medicinal plants and precious metals and stones, etc., are said by Tibetans to be produced; therefore this essence is the natural fecundity of the soil ..." [cited in English]. More about this in another place (in the myth about the origin of agriculture).

[585] bride leaves the family, but it is desired that good fortune and wealth should not leave the home with her. For that reason clothing and bits of hair are also preserved on the arrow.

765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The
[262] food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[585] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
[783] along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
[796] also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not officiate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean, and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

[783] After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automatically lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had
[777] been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own
[791] family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved,
[782] it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul. One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[231 cont.]

776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieńgëre dardzia, heaven has
[192] punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means
literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly
horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud per-
son: "tolgue dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike
a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a mar-
riage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard
before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first
place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the
Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without
burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as
concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is
sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and
shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair.
(Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.)
Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness:
"We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge
tieńgërni amudadzi, nigë nisëni dzawa dañlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is
regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram,
op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called
in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this
marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). --
The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to
[831] heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzün
tieńgërde fdzë bölgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down
for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception
of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of
rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

to become a subject of a lamasery, had to be relieved of 622
military service, corvée, and allegiance to his clan chief. The loss of a subject for the clan chief meant loss of a soldier, a tiller of his soil, and a payer of land taxes—a considerable detriment to his power and his wealth. It is obvious that the loss of a couple of families did not matter too much, but the loss of numerous families would have disturbed the clan chiefs and made them try to prevent the illegal desertion of their subjects.

However, at that time Lamaism was at the height of its glory and power. Even the discontented Chinese officials had no way to oppose the omnipotent Living Buddhas pampered at the court in Peking, and could not lend a helping hand to the T'u-ssu, urging the return of their subjects and bringing suit over the encroachment on their rights. The T'u-ssu, willy-nilly, saw their subjects leave them in large numbers, lured by the more favorable conditions of living offered by the lamaseries.

In this way the lamaseries assembled the group of 792
subjects referred to by the author of the *Annals*, who of 566
their own free will became genuine monastery serfs ("Shabinar"), free of allegiance to their clan chiefs. In 1723, being the actual serfs of the lamaseries, they were compelled to fight at the side of the lamas, their chiefs, against the Chinese armies, according to the general conditions imposed on serfs and subjects.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE SUBJECTS IN RELATION TO THE LAMASERIES

Notwithstanding the drastic regulations decreed after 1723 in order to loose completely all the ties which bound the subjects to the lamaseries, and to avoid revolts in the future, the subjects still continue to recognize some obligations to the lamaseries.

Farmers Offering Oil and Pigs

From 1723 until 1910, the so-called subjects paid 792
their rent in kind and carried it to the monastery; the #27
farmers were organized in villages, and each village 566
continued to offer as before, in the autumn of each year, a certain number of pounds of vegetable oil to the intendancy whose fields they tilled; it was considered as an offering for the lamps in the temples of the intendency. In addition, every year in the New Year season they continued to bring to the same intendancy a pig weighing 120 pounds. If the scale did not tip 120 pounds, the weight lacking was made up in pork. In former times when subjects married, it was customary for the family of the bride to demand from the family of the bridegroom a portion for the lamas. This [585]
consisted of 30 pounds of pork, and was offered to the intendancy on which the family of the bride depended. At present the 30 pounds of pork are still asked for and presented to the family of the bride, but the meat no longer reaches the intendancy.

[p. 47 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

part of the investiture ceremony of the emperor.[12] During the funeral ceremonies for the emperor, the new emperor, facing the fire, made a libation and bowed thrice.[13] At the end of the year, in front of the hall (in open air), an offering of salt and sheep fat was made to the god of the fire by the shamans, and the emperor bowed twice before the fire.[14] 372 776

Butter was the original offering for the fire god among the Mongols and the Aryans.[15] Fire is worshipped among the Monguors in two ways: by fire in the open air, and fire on the hearth.

FIRE IN THE OPEN AIR

At marriages, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard where the marriage rites are performed and the dinner is served. The prostrations "to Heaven and to all the spirits" are made by the young couple in front of the fire. When the bride leaves the home of her parents a fire is built in the courtyard and speeches are made; the dinner is taken in front of the fire.[16] 585 372

During the celebration of the rite of the sixtieth birthday a big fire is built in the courtyard. First of all, at midnight on New Year's, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard and prostrations are given. The fire is not allowed to go out during the whole day, and this rite is performed before all the other rites.

In the temple yard of the village, the same rite is performed on New Year's in the same way. On the fifteenth of the first moon, a big cypress fire is kindled in the middle of the threshing floor, and small fires are built all around, over which men and women jump, singing, merrymaking, and making fun on stilts. During the whole performance of many rites enacted by lamas and shamans, very often a big cypress fire is kindled, as will be noted later.

MAGICAL POWER OF THE FIRE

Already the well-known Wei-sang has been noted, which seems to be an offering diffusing fragrance in honor of the spirits. It accompanies many rites. But fire is not only used to convey to the spirits the good feelings of the people, but often its magical power is expected to drive away evil spirits, even at the time of epidemics, epizootics, or when calamities intermittently harm the family. 372 789

When mourners return from funerals, they jump over a fire kindled at the entrance of the courtyard, so as not to be pursued and harmed by the souls of the deceased. [764]

[12] *Ibid.*, 223, 239, 274.

[13] *Ibid.*, 279.

[14] *Ibid.*, 267–317.

[15] Poppe, *op. cit.* 142. Edward Washburn Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 106. Agni, the fire god in old Hinduism, is a mediator between god and man, carrying to Heaven the offerings (p. 445). The ram is the sacred beast of Agni, who is seen riding a ram (p. 449). At New Year's festival on the second day is the celebration of Agni.

[16] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, *op. cit.*, 42–71.

[p.120(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

If, however, black and white rites do not work, the Monguors call for the Taoist priest, who paints all the items used (the wood, etc.), with a coat of goat blood. He binds the logs in a bundle by means of goat guts, and sprinkles goat blood upon the burning fire. The rite is called the "red Wei-sang." 372 789

These facts give evidence of the importance attached by the Monguors to the fire for purifying from uncleanliness and preventing harm caused by evil spirits. They show their devotion for the fire by having a big cypress fire kindled during the performance of religious rites and the most important moments of life, as at marriages or the celebration of the sixtieth birthday. However, fire does not only play an important role in the life of the Monguors in the open air; its role is as important in the private life of the families where it is worshipped under the form of the "fire of the hearth," the "hearth god."

THE HEARTH FIRE

795

Among the Monguors, the Chinese, and the Tibetans, the cult of the hearth god belongs entirely to the department of the women. Everywhere, the temple of the hearth god is the kitchen. 776 372

No wonder that the hearth god is supposed to be interested in a special way in the fecundity of the wives and the protection of the children, and that it is honored at fixed times by its own ritual. [842]

FIRE AND FECUNDITY

When the Monguor bride arrives at the home of the bridegroom, she does not prostrate herself before her parents-in-law or before the guests, but is led straight to the kitchen. Here she worships the god of the hearth giving three prostrations, burning incense, offering a bottle of wine and her chopsticks, which she has brought with her. 585 354 776 372

It was noted in the first volume of this study that the youngest couple in the family always lives in the kitchen, where the god of the hearth is honored, because the Monguors say that in that way fecundity is assured. Women who have plenty of children and do not wish to have more will leave the kitchen and live in another room. It has been noted that, among the Mongols, the youngest son inherits his father's hearth, occupies his tent, and is called the prince of the fire. [428]

When poor people cannot afford the luxury of a lavish marriage, nor invite guests, they marry the young couple in the kitchen "before the god of the hearth." The makeup of the new bride is done before the god of the hearth and not in the living room.[19]

An unusual practice relates to the fecundity assumed to be bestowed on women by means of the cult of the spirit of the fire (and of the god of the hearth). On the fifteenth of the first moon, at night, on the edge of the big threshing floor of the village, a number of small heaps of cypress boughs are kindled. While musicians 842 372 776

[19] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, 39.

[p. 121 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

and this is also true among the Mongols[4] and the 796
Buriats.[5] If, then, the rite of the sacred animal, which 782
is specifically and characteristically an ancient nomad rite, is never directed to Heaven, one would not expect the harvest rite, if it were simply a later substitute for the rite of the sacred animal, to be directed to Heaven; but since this rite, uniquely and exceptionally among the Monguors, is in fact directed to Heaven, there is strong reason to infer that the harvest rite of the Monguors is a borrowing of the identical harvest rite of the Chinese of the Hsining region.

In all other circumstances, the "spirit of Heaven" is 796
honored in conjunction with "all the spirits" by means of a single rite performed for them in a group, and by means of the same offering. At the morning Wei-sang, made by the head of the family, a cry is uttered, "Heaven and all the spirits" (some Monguors add the name of the guardian deity of the family), and three prostrations are made for all of them, while the offering burns. On New Year's eve, the chief and elders of the village, after lighting a big fire in the temple yard, prostrate themselves three times for the group "Heaven and all the spirits."

In every family, on New Year's eve, a big fire is lit and the same rite performed. During the celebration of a sixtieth birthday a fire is lit in the courtyard and the hero of the feast performs this same rite. The last rite, in order to be preserved from hail, is performed by all the villagers on top of the highest mountain of the village, where all the statues of the temple are carried and a big Wei-sang performed, and there the protection of "Heaven and all the spirits" is implored. At [585]
marriages, the new couple prostrate themselves before a big fire in the courtyard, for "Heaven and all the spirits" in keeping with the command of the master of ceremonies.[6]

Two exceptions are to be recalled, which have already 776
been noted, concerning the rite on the Obo and the offering of a sheep to the guardian deity of the family. On these occasions the "spirit of Heaven" receives its part of the offer first, followed immediately by an identical offering for "all the spirits."

These two facts and that of the thanksgiving rite in the temple, to be sure, give evidence for the prominence of "Heaven" and apparently manifest its honorary position among the Monguors. Surely they help the Monguors remember this honorary prominence every time the formula, "Heaven and all the spirits," is used.

It is noteworthy that Heaven and all the spirits are always honored in the open air, in courtyards, on top of a roof, or on top of a mountain, never inside a temple or a living room. In old China, "all the spirits" were

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[4] See above, p. 119; also Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 90.

[5] Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 240.

[6] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kan-sou*, 71, Changhai, Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932. The same rite is recorded among the Mongols, by Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 74, and among the Buriats, *ibid.*, 301.

[p. 151(B)]

/132 cont'd/
588 Chinese of Honan, accompanied by an uncle of the lady formerly
593 married to the belt, accosted Hou Iu-leang and reproached him for having taken his wife. The latter no longer recognized the individual; but, since he had a witness, since the child was formerly called by his name and the mother had also born this name, the supposed husband felt himself very much within his rights and threatened Mr. Hou with a lawsuit.

/133/ Hou, fearing the heavy expenses of the Chinese courts and not sure of a fair verdict, preferred to settle the affair amicably. He called upon the heads of the village and those of his clan, and the conclusion was that Hou had to pay the unknown man 80 strings of cash and that the father who had sold his daughter had to offer him a sheep and make apologies to him. This story thus proves that this category of marriages is officially recognized among the T'ou-jen.

/134/ Chapter IV

Divorce, Repudiation, Exchange of Wives

586 One can expect divorces and repudiations, owing to the too
184 great freedom which exists between the sexes. These two forms of termination of marriage rarely occur when there are several children in the family. Repudiation occurs more rarely than divorce, and the latter is not so frequent as one might suppose at first sight. Let us still remember that divorce and repudiation, like all the great acts
[671] of life, marriage, adoption, etc., are effected without the intervention of law courts. As long as they can arrange things among themselves, they do not resort to the law; they call upon its help when all other means of conciliation are exhausted.

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A. Divorce

586 Summary. -- 1. Right of divorce, theory and practice. 2. Causes of divorce. 3. Procedure.

1. Right of Divorce, Theory and Practice

Divorce among the T'ou-jen takes on a special character, that of the sale of the wife by the husband with her consent. The definition of divorce is fully realized in it: the dissolving of the marriage ties in view of the respective interests of the husband and wife.

[562] /135/ In theory the wife's right to separate from her husband and ask for divorce is not recognized; the reason for it is that the wife is considered as the pure and simple property of the husband who bought her. On the contrary, the husband's right, in theory, to send his wife away, to sell her with her consent, as well as to do it in spite of her, is recognized. Moreover, he has the right to repudiate her by sending her back to her parents.

[614] 627 586 Although this theory has the force of law, I have nevertheless known the case of a rich woman bringing suit through the head of the clan, the t'ou-se, to obtain a divorce. An only daughter, when very young she had married a poor young man who had come to live at her home and serve her parents until their death. Now the husband-son-in-law in question was dissipating her fortune. The clans of the girl's mother and father as well as the elders of the village together presented a petition to the t'ou-se in which they confirmed the facts and asked the t'ou-se to grant the divorce. The divorce was granted. They based their argument on the fact that the wife had been given to the husband-son-in-law in exchange for the good services he was to render to the parents-in-law and the family; now he had not been faithful to his pledges....

586 The case of divorce occurs in practice in the following form: when the couple are no longer getting along, the wife has already found, in most cases, someone who wants to obtain her. If she has not yet found anyone, the husband will urge her to look for someone

/135 cont'd/

586 and will if need be help her in the task. Thus the wife maintains face; she will be able to say that she did not want her husband any more, and he will not have any difficulties with his wife's family either, since it is the daughter who wanted to go away. In the end, the husband will even profit greatly by the sale of his wife. On the other hand, if the wife insists on not wanting to look for another match, the husband will be patient and will not resort to repudiation except as a last extreme. That is the ordinary course of the preambles to divorce.

/136/ 2. Causes of Divorce

593 The causes of divorce appear to be more or less numerous.
586 The primary and most ordinary cause is certainly interest in another person, which brings on mutual and daily increasing aversion between the husband and wife. A wife can fall and that is understood; the husband will even allow his wife not to come home at night from time to time, for he himself does not come home regularly every evening, either. Grounds for divorce require regular and therefore public relations.

626 Do not think, however, that husbands give complete freedom
837 to their wives; do not believe that all husbands are indifferent to
539 these things. They tell about a good many cases in which the wife and her lover, having been surprised at night, were tied together or tied to a stake, beaten, etc., by the heads of the village with whom
837 the husband had lodged a complaint. The families of the guilty ones
672 were called, they had to act as guarantors for their members; then the guilty man had to offer his apologies to the injured husband and give him a pig, a sheep, etc. The level of morality among the T'ou-jén has not yet fallen so low that they no longer know their duties and rights in these matters. So it is not rare to see a husband beat his wife and to hear the wife, on her knees, beg her husband, "Big brother, pardon me this time; big brother, treat me with indulgence this time, that won't happen any more." Now one does not ask pardon and one does not allow oneself to be beaten when one's conscience is clear.

/136 cont'd/

586 Polygamy often leads to divorce. The too marked attentions
595 of the husband for the second wife embitter the official wife and make her look for another husband. Polygamy is the sure means foreseen by the husband to get rid of his wife whom he no longer loves in order to take another who is to his taste. Once the latter is married, the first will consent to being sold and will be forced indirectly to get another suitor. /137/

586 Bad treatment which a husband makes his wife undergo does not constitute grounds for divorce. Brutality of the husband can at the most force the wife to flee to her parents. Then the family, the maternal uncle at the head, will come to demand explanations and will require guarantees for the future; after which the wife will return home. If the brutality continues, the wife herself will look for another match, and they will proceed to divorce.

They do not divorce because of sterility but take a second wife. Bodily faults of the wife are rarely grounds for divorce. In this case, because it is hard for the wife herself to find a match; no other resort is left to the husband except repudiation.

A husband who has ascertained that his wife steals, wastes his property; etc., will try to make her life impossible and to force her indirectly to get a purchaser in order to be able to get a divorce. They are always afraid of repudiation.

In the case that the daughter-in-law does not get along with the mother-in-law, if the couple get along well together, they will try to have a division of the property so that they can live separately. If, on the other hand, the couple do not get along, they will proceed as in the preceding cases...and will be divorced.

Here again as everywhere else one perceives the shortcoming of the race. The pursuit of small profits manifests itself in everything. They will be patient for years, they will humiliate themselves as far as urging the wife to get another match, for the price of the sale of the wife is coveted above all. However, in the end this price will be determined in direct proportion, on the one hand, to the aversion felt for the wife, and on the other hand, to the wealth of the suitor, as well as to the passion he feels for the woman who

/137 cont'd/
586 is for sale. These prices are as a general rule higher than those paid for a widow or a girl.

The agreement is generally concluded in the following manner: /138/ After the husband and wife have consulted together and the wife has found a place to go, the husband invites to his house two go-betweens, his uncles, and his brothers. He admits to them that the situation is impossible and that he wants to get rid of his wife; that she has found a prospective husband and that she is in agreement with him. Several days later the go-betweens one evening invite "to their home" the husband, his uncles, his brothers, the wife's prospective husband, and two or three of his friends. They first discuss the price of the woman. For people of average means, the price will vary between 200 and 300 strings of cash. Then they talk over the sum demanded by the signers of the contract, who as always try to profit by these transactions. The amount of money these people claim is sometimes very considerable and can represent half of the woman's price; it is because as members of the family, they do not permit this dishonor. Then comes the discussion of the sum which will be given to the woman's parents-in-law, who are supposed to oppose the divorce also, for they especially are sensitive to this loss of face for the whole family. This sum can go from ten to 50 strings of cash. The money stipulated for a divorce is required up to the last cash. The prospective husband puts the money into the hands of the go-betweens, who will give it to those who have a right to it after the signing of the contract.

586 This contract will never be written in any house but in a re-
675 mote place, a ravine or a mountain cave. The first signer is the
587 husband. He must sign with the left thumb and the right toe; for this purpose they smear the thumb and toe with ink and put them on the contract; then come the other signers, who sign by hand. When the contract is signed, the go-betweens go to get the woman and present her to her new owner. After all is arranged and the wife is already in her new dwelling, the go-betweens go to pay a visit to the wife's parents in order to announce the new marriage of their daughter to them and to bring a little gift on behalf of the new

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586 son-in-law. At the same time they invite them /139/ to come to
675 the home of the new son-in-law to be present at the wedding, which
587 is conducted according to the custom for the marriage of widows.

The go-betweens have a rather easy task at the home of the wife's parents, since it is their daughter who has herself sought a match and has been the cause of the divorce.

586 It is superfluous to say that divorces are viewed with disfavor. They always advise against taking a wife whose husband is living, for one does not divorce a good wife. These are costly and very risky marriages in this sense, that often harmony does not prevail very long between the new husband and wife. Also the adage says: He who has money does not buy the wife of a husband who is still living; he who has cash does not acquire lands situated on river banks (for fear of erosion).

The cause of the rarity of divorces and repudiations is to be sought in the dishonor which T'ou-jen common sense believes to be attached to them. This thesis is easily proved by the fact that they precisely allege dishonor to the family in order to be able to extort a large sum of money from the purchaser. Now the T'ou-jen do not let go of their money without serious reason! This thesis is again proved by the really lugubrious circumstances which accompany divorce and repudiation; these contracts are signed at night...in a cave, signed by the toe..., while all those present talk only of dishonor.... Now these circumstances of time, place, manner are not those of an honorable act. These circumstances leave a deep impression on the people. In addition, they always speak of a divorced woman with scorn, and of the man who married her. When they say that she is a houo jen ts'i, i.e., "the wife of a living man," they do not ask any further explanation; the situation is deemed to be known.

When, on the other hand, one thinks an instant about the solemnities which accompany the weddings of girls, of the expenses which are borne, and the trouble the whole clan, /140/ the friends, and neighbors take to pay their respects; when one thinks of the blessings which are wished for the couple and begged from heaven and the multifarious spirits, it is not surprising that the T'ou-jen believe

/140 cont'd/

586 that marriage is not a commonplace act in a man's life, that it is not an affair of a few days or years, or that it is an act depending on the whims and passions of a moment. In order to understand this way of thinking one must take the facts as a whole. I think many authors speak too lightly of this question in ethnographies.

B. Repudiation

What we have called divorce is the sale of the wife by the husband, but with her consent and after she has found someone of her choice to marry.

Repudiation occurs when the husband no longer wants anything to do with his wife, so that he sends her back to her parents or her brothers or sells her in spite of her wishes. Repudiation rarely occurs; it is always very discreditable for the family as well as for the wife herself.

First the wife's parents see the material side in repudiation. Who will maintain the woman henceforward? The brothers and the sisters-in-law on their part are scarcely delighted with such a present; and then who else will want this unfortunate woman? The woman understands better than anybody her situation and her future, so she will insinuate through a third person that there is nothing left for her but suicide. Terrible weapon, which will make the husband stop and think.

586 When repudiation is decided upon, the family of the repudiated
672 wife begins by demanding a large indemnity from their daughter's husband for the dishonor he does them, then a sum for the support of the woman. If need be, the whole family, /141/ men and women, will go and settle down at the husband's home to make an uproar for several days; or they will forcibly take away his livestock, etc. If the husband risks daring to sell the wife against her wishes, he will find it difficult to find someone to whom to sell her; the purchaser will also be afraid of reprisals from the woman's family. It is not easy to find people willing to write these contracts for an insignificant

M /141 cont'd/
586 sum or to find signers and go-betweens, for nobody wants to expose
672 himself to the vengeance of the family of the repudiated wife. I knew a case where all was ready for the repudiation of a woman who was claimed to be badly formed physically. Since the family was
M rich, it was on the point of turning up its nose at all threats. At the
[762] last moment it changed its mind when it learned that the wife had just procured opium to end her life.

M Thus those who do not fear exposing themselves to such troubles
586 will repudiate their wives. Fortunately, these people are extremely
432 rare.

It must therefore be admitted that in this respect the T'ou-jen have not undergone the pernicious influence of their neighbors and masters, the Chinese, among whom repudiation and the sale of the wife often occur in normal times. One will never see T'ou-jen women sold in great numbers in time of famine as is seen in China even today. One will not meet T'ou-jen who will take a mortage on their wives, as I have seen happen twice among the Chinese. One will never see the T'ou-jen put a woman on the mountain of filial piety as I once saw done. Although with them the wife must work very hard, she is more highly esteemed and respected than in China.

M If, however, repudiation does take place, they begin by getting
586 go-betweens, who will go to consult with the wife's family. When the discussions have reached an end and the money demanded has been promised, the contract is written and signed as for divorce. The go-between, after bringing the promised sum to the family of the
M repudiated woman, /142/ will go to get the latter and present her to
[858] her parents. The children in this case stay with the husband's family. (1)

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1. Timkovski, Voyage à Pékin, Vol. 2, p. 313: (Mongols.) Divorce is very frequent; the least dissatisfaction on one side or the other is enough to have it declared. If the husband wants to be separated from his wife without a

/142 cont'd/

Mo 586

(earnest). They pay it back only in the case, if it is paid and the bride runs away with someone else just before the wedding. Such cases are absolutely exceptional ... all this question must be reported to the clan. /Cited in English, with French interpolation, indicated by parentheses./

Mo 586 A case can occur in which the wife is the only guilty one. It is natural then that the wife's family does not require compensation, etc. I have never, however, heard it said that the guilty wife's family had to give back to the injured son-in-law the earnest received at the time of the marriage.

Mo 586 554 /143/ On the question of repudiation let us note that it is necessary to take account of many circumstances, of which one of the main ones is the economic status of the wife's family, the influence this family enjoys in the region, and above all the fact of having among its members people who will know how to cope with the husband's family in spite of everything. One must also take into account the power of the husband's family, which if it has influential protectors can allow itself to be prepared for all eventualities. In the Orient especially, it is not enough to have rights, it is necessary to be able to defend them.

C. Exchange of Married Women

Mo 437 593 587 I cannot pass by in silence the case of four families of Hong-ngai-tse-keou, who without recourse to divorce or repudiation got rid of their wives by mutually exchanging them, without further ceremony; the children remained in the families where they were born. All was arranged without go-betweens, contract, or expenses, by common agreement among those concerned.

These are the only cases of this practice which have come to my knowledge, and I think they are isolated cases which prove

/146 cont'd/

578 amuse herself... and has already had too many relations... one fine
593 day she disappears. This is the big affliction of the region. When a wife has run away, they immediately guess who her accomplice is; but it is necessary to be able to locate them. If the inquiries made about them are fruitless, after several days the son-in-law will go to his wife's family, pretending to believe that his dear better half is at their home and that he will find out about her return. This is also a way of informing the parents about their daughter's flight.

If after five or six months the fugitive has not come back, her parents require the son-in-law, accompanied by two aides, to go to get her at his expense; there is always some indication as to where she is. If they have exact information, they go to the headmen of the place to demand that they get hold of the fugitives so that they can bring them back home tied up.

684 Upon their return to the village, the village heads and the
627 members of the families of the lover and the wife are called. In the
681 presence of the whole populace, who very much relish this kind of distraction, the village heads begin the preliminary investigation of the affair. The case is examined to the bottom, and finally the lover is badly beaten and hung up by the thumbs until someone turns up who will act as guarantor for him. Then comes the woman, who is beaten on her bare back with leather lashes for as long as she does not manifest her regrets while adding good resolves for the future. Then the two culprits are taken through the village and exposed to the mockery of all; a herald precedes them, beating a drum and proclaiming their crime. It may happen that an indemnity on the part of the lover's family may be asked for the wrong done to the husband.

586 /147/ The wife goes back into the house; if she brings a child
681 born during the escapade, he is accepted into the family.

But it may also happen that the runaways are not found. Then after two or three years of vain search, the wife's parents demand a settlement of accounts. The parents-in-law then invite the parents of the runaway daughter-in-law, as well as her maternal uncles, the village heads, and several friends who are good speakers, for it will be a question of tseou che jen ming, i.e., "the indemnity (to the parents) for the loss of their daughter occasioned by her running away."

/147 cont'd/

586 Indeed, the parents claim that their daughter, as a consequence
681 of bad treatment on the part of the parents-in-law, was forced to leave home, ran away, and must have perished nobody knows where. The parents-in-law are therefore responsible for her death..., and the discussion begins. On both sides they are convinced that the daughter is just as guilty as the parents-in-law, if not more; they also know very well that the daughter is alive. Everyone understands that the parents want to profit by the occasion in order to raise money on the backs of their family by marriage. After long discussions, which can last two days and more, they end up by having to give to the parents of the runaway a sum of two to three hundred strings of cash as indemnity for the daughter-in-law, who is deemed to be lost. A contract is written by which it is recognized that the affair is shelved forever and that in the future the parents-in-law will no longer be able to try to pick a quarrel with the son-in-law nor extort money a second time...; furthermore, should the daughter return, they bind themselves to pay back the indemnity. As for this last clause, it is gone with the wind; the adage says besides: "Once the flesh has entered the wolf's mouth, it is not easy to pull it out again."

586 Nevertheless, if the daughter comes back after several years
583 with her lover, or if she has been taken and brought back forcibly,
681 they act as above with the runaways of this category; however they require more serious guarantees and a larger indemnity on the part of the lover's family. It happens very often that on /148/ this occasion they sell the woman to her lover if he has the wherewithal to pay for her. They likewise sell him the children born during the long absence. If the wife is not sold, she goes back to her home and is again admitted into the family circle with the children born to her while away, for, says the adage: "What grows on my land is mine and what my wife gives birth to is mine."

586 However one can believe that the parents are scarcely delighted
593 with such presents, especially when children are not lacking in their home. Indeed, the adage says: "The cow to be robust must run on the mountain, but it must come home to the stable." If the comparison is not elegant, it makes one think of the nomadic life. The

Mo /148 cont'd/
586 children are accepted in the family to keep the daughter-in-law
593 home better, say the T'ou-jen, and to avoid a second escapade. Then, if later one wants to get rid of them, one will send the boys to the lamasery to devote themselves to the service of Buddha; as for the girls, they will be given in marriage. I confess I have not met polyandry among the T'ou-jen.

Mo Likewise, prostitution in the strict sense of the word is not
548 known. Although there are the series of prayer-post wives and belt wives, they cannot be classed in this category. Indeed, they consider themselves as being married, and they are considered as such, and furthermore they hardly ply the trade of prostitutes. (1)

Ma [548]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 152: Prostitution as a social phenomenon among the Manchus is unknown. /Cited in English./

Mo Celibacy is practiced solely by the lamas of the yellow sect,
589 and the T'ou-jen furnish a sizable contingent to this religious body.
793 They are the only bachelors among the T'ou-jen. There is no lamasery for women in the country; all the women without exception
Mo practice marriage under one or the other of the forms we have de-
[302] scribed above. It happens at the very most that one meets widows or women of advanced age who shave their heads and devote themselves especially to prayer while staying at home.

/149/ Chapter VI

The Matriarchate

006 Summary: -- A. Present-day patriarchal state. System of the large family. B. Former matriarchate proved by: (1) Double burial. (2) The relations of the maternal uncle with the family of his sister

N over his sister's children. His rights in this regard are manifested
*563 mainly in three cases: (1) upon the natural death of his sister's
M children, they cannot be buried without his permission. The
604 maternal uncle is considered "master of the bones" of the deceased, and has the right to permit the burial, to impede it or to prevent it. (2) If they have been murdered or have committed suicide, he is required to initiate and execute vengeance for the blood of his sister's child. (3) When they are subject to punishment for violating the society's rules, the maternal uncle must punish the children of his sister. Such punishment may range from capital to very minor forms.

N Divorce is extremely rare among the Mongours. So, too, are
*563 cases of repudiation or desertion by the husband. Schram does
M not mention the way in which a divorce is finalized, nor how long
• 586 a waiting period, if any, after divorce before remarriage is permitted.

N Cases of adultery are extremely rare in Mongour society.
*563 The people are engrossed constantly with the problem of making
M a living, and they have little time for complicated affairs. The
837 close physical proximity of life in an extended family makes it extremely difficult for anyone's lengthy absence or a stranger's presence in the home to go unnoticed. Schram concludes that

M "The morality of the Mongours who live in villages and are occu-
[577] pied with farming, is undoubtedly on a higher standard than that
[184] of the nomad Mongols. Mongour families on the average seemed
[114] to me to be happy families that work hard but enjoy life."

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

V. FAMILY LIFE

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

596 The general principles of the Monguor family system have already been given above in Chapter III, and need here be recapitulated only very briefly. Until 1911–1922, when these notes were made, the Monguor family was a patrilineal, extended, patrilocal family. The extended family was under the authority of the grandfather, or of the great-grandfather if he survived. No family of which I had any knowledge exceeded four generations. The whole extended family lives in dwellings grouped around a common courtyard. The property and wealth are collectively owned by the whole group, but with authority over the property unequally concentrated in the senior generation. This manner of life is graphically described by the Monguors in expressions (used also by the Chinese and possibly borrowed from the Chinese) as "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." While these sayings may be borrowed from the Chinese, the underlying principle, that of the hearth and the fire-spirit of the hearth, belongs independently to the nomad tradition from which the Monguors are descended.

Conversely, the break-up of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families composing the extended family sets up its own kitchen, hearth, and chimney and begins to cook its own food separately. This means that it is parting from the extended family to which it belongs and founding a new extended family. The son who thus sets up separately becomes independent of the orders of the senior whom he formerly acknowledged as head of his family; he is beginning to work for himself and to retain any money that comes into his hands, instead of turning it over to the head of the family. When a son begins to act in this independent manner, the neighbors gossip, the family itself is uneasy, and it is recognized that the old family is breaking up.

596 It should not be assumed that polygamy is a regular characteristic of the extended family. Polygamy is
•587 very decidedly an economic question. On the one hand, polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard, because it gives rise to quarrels among wives, and on the other hand there are few Monguors who are economically able to afford a household with more than one wife. If one of the sons living in the common courtyard should venture to ask the head of the family to provide him with a concubine (perhaps because his wife is barren) all the other daughters-in-law are jealous and their husbands share with them because they feel that the cost of the concubine means that the favored brother is being given more than his share of the family's
[762] capital. If the tormenting of the other daughters-in-law should drive the concubine to despair, she might commit suicide; and a suicide always means the complete ruin of the family.

[P. 816]

596 Theoretically, it might be argued that a son who had left the extended family to live separately would be free
•587 to take a concubine. In practice, he is rarely able to do so because the commonest reason for leaving the extended family is that it has become too poor to support all its members. The son who is starting life separately is, therefore, usually starting as a man too poor to afford a concubine.

587 Polygamy is, however, not frowned on in the case of a small family consisting of husband and wife, economically well off but without children. In order to prevent the line from dying out, thus breaking the continuity in the ancestor-cult, it is quite proper to take a concubine, even if the couple has already adopted a child. Polygamy is also not unusual in a small family in which there are children, if the family are well off; in such cases, if the wife does not object, her husband takes a concubine and the concubine helps her in her housework.

In one case in my experience, in a rich family consisting of husband, wife, and one son, who was already married, the mother objected to her husband taking a concubine, but did not mind arranging for a second wife for her son; the arrangement was one that provided an extra worker in the family.

The Monguors make a distinction between polygamy, as described above, and the levirate. In a family in which there are several sons, all of them married and having children, if one of the sons dies, the widow becomes the second wife of one of his brothers (usually a younger brother). The distinction between the levirate and polygamy is clear. Polygamy requires the expenditure of family funds for the acquisition of a second wife or concubine. In the levirate, the bride-price has already been paid; if the widow should leave the family in order to marry an outsider of her choice, she would be a loss to the family and it is proper, therefore, to make an arrangement that keeps her in the family. The levirate is, however, only practiced when brothers are still living together in the extended family, and when the widow consents.

THE FAMILY CHIEF

572 The position of chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first
611 wife of the previous head of the family. If at this moment the extended family should break up, instead of continuing to live together, the eldest son is privileged to receive a larger share of the fields and cattle forming the common property, and his own eldest son shares this privilege, also receiving a cow or horse, or a field. This rule of succession and inheritance is followed by both nobles and commoners.

592 In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. He repre-

[P. 82a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

581 a well-to-do family needing more work done in the
565 household arranges for a son who is still a child to marry a grown-up girl. It is not surprising that such marriages are frequently followed by the elopement of the poor bride with a lover of her own choosing. The
583 case corresponding to that of the bride brought into the family for the sake of her working power is that of the
587 poor young man who goes to work in a family not his own, perhaps for years, in order to earn a bride from that family. To work for a bride in this manner is to lose a certain amount of status socially, since it requires that the young man live in a household where all the male members of the family have status and rights, and he alone is an outsider. A widow usually becomes the second wife of one of her husband's brothers if the family is still living united, but not if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately. More and more, in the decline of the old Monguor society, it has become usual for the widow to make her own choice of a second husband. If, instead of going to one of her husband's brothers, she marries a man of her own choice, it is customary for her new husband to bring her home secretly and at night, for fear that she may be kidnapped on the road by some other aspiring lover—a practice that seems to indicate that an unprotected widow is, or was in the past, "fair game."

583 Two exceptional kinds of marriage I have dealt with in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen.*
588 These are the "marriage to the pole," when a girl remains in the family in which she was born, but takes lovers and bears children, who instead of having the clan name of their father or fathers inherit the clan name of their mother's brothers and are treated as if they belonged to the patrilineal clan; and the "marriage to the girdle" when a girl, unmarried and living in her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves her his girdle to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.[3] Both of these customs appear to have been borrowed by the Monguors from the Tibetans.

The price paid for the bride is the subject of considerable negotiations between the families concerned, conducted by a go-between. It is usual for a girl to be a couple of years older than her husband, and the usual age for marriage is when the boy is fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen. Divorce and repudiation by the husband are rather rare.[4]

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

562 The status of the wife is inferior to that of the hus-
581 band, as is inevitable in a society in which social rights and family property are regarded as belonging primarily

[3] See above, p. 78, n. 5.

[4] Here only a few data are given about marriage customs, since I have already published an extensive monograph on this subject; see *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kansou.*

[P. 87b]

/9 cont'd/

181 compared to the happiness of having descendants. This way of think-
595 ing has distant origins; the T'ou-jen inherited it from their ancestors, and they have kept it scrupulously for centuries. Let us not be surprised therefore that because of it certain customs which seem inadmissible and shocking to us appear reasonable and justifiable to the T'ou-jen.

We shall set forth in what follows the matrimonial customs of a people which is convinced of the duty of marrying, and which expects male descendants from marriage.

/10/ Division of the Study

583 Marriage is the legal union of a man and woman. But with the T'ou-jen the daughter being the property of the parents, in the true sense of the term, an indemnity is imposed on the one who wishes to marry her.

This indemnity is paid in two ways; either by purchase or by the furnishing of his person or his services for the benefit of the owner of the girl.

[587] The marriage of widows, which still often takes place nowadays in the ancient form of abduction, nevertheless falls in the category of marriage by purchase; for after having taken the widow to a safe place, a discussion is held about her price. Therefore, we shall deal successively with:

I. Marriage by purchase
II. Marriage by furnishing ones services or person
III. Abnormal marriages
IV. Divorce, repudiation, and exchange of wives
V. Runaway wives
VI. The matriarchate

Mo /18 cont'd/
582 When the T'ou-jen give their children in marriage, nowadays at least, they attach importance to the degree of generation of the two parties: thus a nephew will never be able to marry his aunt, or an uncle his niece. The two parties must always be of the same generation.

Mo This same law operates among the Chinese. Among the T'ou-
587 jen, however, it is not so strict as among the Chinese in the case of
563 marriages between the widow of an elder brother and his younger brother. /19/ Among the Chinese of the country, an elder brother will be able to marry the widow of his younger brother, but never vice versa.

Mo As for marriages of T'ou-jen with Chinese girls, they are strong-
582 ly discouraged by the elders of the tribe as being the great cause of
563 their denationalization. Nonetheless, nowadays these marriages are more and more frequent, all the more so because of the example set by the clan chiefs. These unions precipitate the progress of the T'ou-jen people toward absorption in the Chinese nation.

Mo Very often one sees the T'ou-jen give their daughters in mar-
563 riage to Tibetans. The seminomadic Tibetans, their neighbors,
582 even seem to seek them because of their fecundity, which is well known in the region. On the other hand, it is astonishing to see how easily T'ou-jen girls adjust among the Tibetans and adopt their ways.

Ma (1)
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1. Among the Manchu the laws regarding the "parties" to a marriage are more complicated than among the T'ou-jen. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 65 and following, says:

The women that may marry a man are limited to three restrictions: 1. the absolute prohibition, which they do not transgress; i.e. the prohibition to marry within the clan: (this law is explained as follows:) the general prohibition is to

/29 cont'd/

584 virtues of the bridegroom and his family and predict such a fine future for the girl that the whole family will end up by being satisfied in spite of themselves.

However, they will leave a door open in case the bridegroom's family should refuse their assent. They will explain therefore that they will still have all the trouble in the world in having their propo-
[583] sitions accepted by the bridegroom's family. When they leave they will take back on behalf of the bride's family two jugs of gin, three feet of green cloth, and three lengths of green cord for plaiting in the hair.

The bridegroom's family waits with impatience. A report must now be given of the whole discussion, and especially of its practical conclusions. Then it is the other side of the picture, and with all the eloquence of which they are capable, they try to present the propositions as being eminently advantageous; they put forth the difficulties they have had to overcome in order to get there, then also, there is the girl who will make an admirable wife....

Ordinarily they resign themselves and accept the propositions; but it also may happen that the discussions have to be undertaken again at a second session, which is not auspicious. Nevertheless, it is extremely rare that they do not succeed in coming to terms and in reaching an understanding.

587 Let us note that in the marriage of a girl, even though there is only one single go-between, no marriage contract is written nor even a list of the gifts to be offered; while in the marriage of a widow, although there are two go-betweens, a contract is necessary, duly signed by the widow's parents-in-law and the go-betweens.

/30/ 6. Delivery of the Presents Demanded for the Bride

583 a) When do they proceed to the delivery of the presents?

In the exceptional case where the girl is thirteen or fourteen years old when she is sought in marriage, then during the month following the choice of gifts, they try to offer what was agreed upon.

In other cases where the formalities were decided when the girl was still little, they usually wait until she has reached her

2: Schram--99 M-4, 5(1915-1920). 1932 AE9 Mongur AE9
Miao AE5

/86 cont'd/

Mi 582

has the force of law, which requires taking a wife of one's own race.
Savina, Hist. des Miao, p. 284.

/87/ 8. Marriages of Widows as Official Wives

Mo 587 589

Summary. -- 1. Rights of widows, theory and practice. 2. Procedure for the purchase of a widow. 3. Departure of the widow. 4. Settling of accounts. 5. Marriage of widows. 6. Two typical abductions of widows. 7. Vestiges of marriage by abduction among the T'ou-jen.

1. Rights of Widows, Theory and Practice

When parents give a daughter in marriage, they say, "We have taken leave of our daughter," or "We have given our daughter," or even with a slight scorn "We have sold her"; which denotes clearly that a girl's marriage is not her own affair but definitely the business of her parents. On the other hand, when a widow marries, they say, "She has found a man," that is, that she herself has chosen her husband and that she has acted in complete freedom. Besides, the adage says, "Ts'ien kia yeou tié-niang, heou-kia yeou pen-jen," i.e., the first marriage is arranged by the parents, subsequent marriages no longer depend on the parents but on the widow herself.

The terminology used to indicate these two kinds of marriages, as well as this adage, both throw light on the new situation of a woman in widowhood. Everything depends on her; she will remarry or not, and she will choose by herself the husband she wants. At least this is the theory. Yet in practice her right will be respected as long as her owners find no disadvantage in the decision taken by her. It may even happen that she is married off by force by her parents-in-law, and even that she is simply abducted by an unknown man. This is to say that everywhere praxis differ a speculations /"practice differs from theory"/. But /88/ let us remember this: in case of litigation, everywhere among the T'ou-jen, the rights of the widow

Mo [183]

Mo /88 cont'd/
537 will be invoked, and these rights will form the basis of the discus-
589 sion.

Therefore after the death of the husband, according to custom
Mo the widow will stay in the home of her parents-in-law 49 days.
[765] These days are called days of mourning. When this period of time has gone by, she will definitely be able to leave her parents-in-law and go back to her own family. That is her right.

Mo Nevertheless I have known more than one case where young
589 widows did not wait for the 49 days to pass before leaving the parents-in-law; they simply fled. This happens when they had wind of the dealings of the parents-in-law, who were getting ready to sell them against their wishes. The right of widows is then a precarious right. A widow without sons looks quickly for a match, for she knows well that if she does not look for him herself, her hand will be forced. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, Social Organization of the Manchus, pp. 70, 71: There are some peculiarities as to the widow's and the widower's marriage. The widow can be remarried according to her personal choice and wish. None of her clan, i.e. her husband's clan, can force her to do it. The late husband's younger brother is always obliged to take care of the widow and his brother's children. The widow has the right to request the separation of her family from the rest of her husband's family and in this case she inherits all the property of her husband. /Cited in English./

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614-
589

P. 54: If a widow declares to the Mokunda (the clan chief) that she does not wish to be remarried, but the relatives of her late husband persist on it,

/88 cont'd/

Ma 614 589

the Mokunda may decide if she shall be remarried or not, and usually he takes the widow's interest into consideration. /Cited in English, with French interpolation indicated by parentheses./

2. Procedure for the Purchase of a Widow

Mo 587 [765]

Let us suppose that a young widow has returned to her parents' home 89 days after the death of her husband. It is one of the facts of the day, known immediately throughout the whole region, all the more because everybody knows she is waiting for a match. The candidates who have already made inquiries ask through a go-between or even personally for an interview with the widow. This interview ordinarily takes place at the home of a neighbor or friend. If the /90/ negotiations have results, the two parties generally give each other a token; the widow gives her ring or her earrings or her bracelet, the future husband invariably gives his belt. These tokens bestow the right to act with force in case of contest, of rivalry, or of resistance on the part of the widow's owners. Only a few days after the interview, for such marriages move with precipitation and in the greatest secrecy for fear that the widow will be abducted by a rival, the suitor sends to the widow's "own" parents two go-betweens. They present themselves with the traditional jug of gin and arrange for the earnest, which is here insignificant. It generally does not exceed about ten strings of cash. It is a pure formality. They leave from home, enjoining the greatest secrecy, to go to the home of the former parents-in-law of the widow in order to obtain their consent and to discuss the price. The parents-in-law are indeed the owners of the widow.

Mo 587 606

When the parents-in-law are well disposed and willing to discuss in question, they are offered a jug of gin; in the opposite case the jug is taken away, and plans are made to abduct the widow by force and as quickly as possible. But when all goes well, the go-betweens come back the second day and begin by promising the

/89 cont'd/

Mo 587 606 mother-in-law two bricks of tea, which is what they call k'ai k'eou ts'ien, i.e., "the cash which open her mouth"; next they promise the father-in-law 12 strings of cash, called tchou hoen ts'ien, i.e., "the cash which make him take upon himself the responsibility for the marriage." (1) Then they discuss the price of the widow, a

Mo [587]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: The Manchus do not pay "kalin" if the woman demanded is a widow. /Cited in English./

price which ordinarily varies between 150 and 200 strings of cash. Again, since it will be necessary to write a contract, and since all the grandfathers, uncles, and brothers will have to affix their signatures to it, /90/ they discuss the price and the number of signers at the rate of three strings of cash per signature. Three or four relatives of the family take part in this discussion, which always takes place at night.

Mo [583] This sum is called ming ts'ien /"money in the open"/, i.e., the official or public price of the widow. Very often it happens that one or another member of the family secretly lets it be known that he opposes this marriage and that he will cause difficulties.

Ordinarily these recalcitrants take advantage of their relationship to make some easy money. They take them privately and discuss with them in secret the sum of money which their consent is worth. This is the ngan ts'ien, i.e., "the secret money," which very often is far from being insignificant. It is what makes people say that the expenditures made for widows, particularly for those who are going to be second wives, are based on the wealth of the suitor.

Mo 587 585 These negotiations with the surly relatives having produced results and the price being agreed upon, the suitor must make his decision. When consent is given, he does not pay the money; he will pay only on the day when the widow has crossed the threshold of his house. We have seen exactly the opposite for the marriage of

/90 cont'd/

587 [585] girls; they are allowed to leave home only when the very last cash has been paid.

This is because there are so many unforeseen events in this kind of marriage: the widow can deceive the suitor, the parents-in-law can play bad tricks on him, the parents of the widow can do the same, an unknown man can abduct her forcibly at night....Because of these risks the go-betweens do not dare demand payment of the sum before the widow is at her husband's home. A second precaution to take in order to avoid subsequent difficulties consists in the writing of a contract duly signed by the whole family of the parents-in-law, which is scarcely required for the marriage of girls. The marriage contract of a widow is signed only when she has entered the house of her /91/ husband and the money is counted on the table. In the old days, it is said, they used to do without a contract, and they contented themselves with taking the widow's ring, breaking it in two, and giving half to each party.

It is in the evening or at night that they go to get widows, and that is always done without anyone's knowledge. These precautions are needed when one knows the way of thinking of the T'ou-jen, according to which the widow belongs to anyone who can take her. [589] When a widow has made her choice and the negotiations have been begun, she will no longer dare to leave her house; in the evening she will call trusted men, who will mount guard, armed to the teeth. Her parents will be careful to distribute the sa lou ts'ien /"money to block the road"/ to the neighbors: This is the money bestowed on the neighbors so that they will defend the widow in case of an abduction.

3. Departure of the Widow

A band of ten to 20 men armed with swords, sticks, guns... go away in the night and in the greatest silence to get the widow. The greater the danger appears, the larger will be the escort. The widow is at the home of her parents or has gone to some agreed-upon place. The parents will consent to the departure of their

/91 cont'd/

587 widow-daughter only when the go-betweens have paid them ing ts'in ts'ien, i.e., "cash for cooperation in the marriage," ordinarily 12 strings of cash. This sum paid, no time is lost; they hurry to put the widow in the saddle, the band surrounds her and leaves post-haste, taking care to go a roundabout way in order to escape all risk and conduct her safe and sound to the home of her new husband.

On arrival she dismounts; a fire is lighted in great haste in front of the house, and the widow is presented with the paper which one burns for the dead. She kneels and burns it in memory of her dead husband; then she offers up a libation of gin for him. She stands and looks into space for several moments. /92/ This is the wang
[782 heou k'an /"taking the last look"/, the farewell look toward her
372] dead husband. She passes over the fire so that all the bad influences which could have attached themselves to her, or the bad spirits which could have followed her, will vanish. Having crossed the fire, she enters the house only after taking off her little felt hat and undoing her hair, which she rolls up carelessly and puts back under her hat. She will wear her hair in the style of the women of the clan or village to which she is henceforth deemed to belong.

The armed band is invited to a light meal composed of bread, meat, tea, and gin. The widow takes tea with the women of the family.

4. Settling of Accounts

597 The widow is not secure so long as the accounts are not settled
583 and the contract is not signed; so they hurry first thing in the morning
177 to finish the business. The go-betweens first pay secret sums to the grumblers, then accounts are settled with the parents-in-law and the widow. For this purpose they are asked to go, not to the home of the new husband, but to a friend's home or to a remote place. The price of a girl is paid in full, while that of a widow is subject to bold acts of stinginess. Only judge: 600 cash are worth 1,000; at present animals must be accepted in place of paying in silver, and they are evaluated at double their value. They give cloth which they claim

/92 cont'd/

587 is too expensive, then they tear a piece of cloth in two to make it
177 count for two pieces. It is the famous koa-fou ts'ien, i.e., "the
583 price of widows." It is a practice which the T'ou-jen learned from the Chinese, who are past masters in such matters.

587 But although custom admits these practices, it is not rare that
178 the settling of accounts degenerates into brawls. The contract is written and signed this same day, and the signers are /93/ reimbursed. The mother-in-law is offered the pieces of tea which were promised to her so that she would consent to the marriage, and the father receives his tchou hoen ien.

5. Marriage of Widows

587 A marriage ceremony takes place the same day if possible or the next day. They invite to the home of the new son-in-law the father and mother, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters of the newly taken away widow. It is a little group of eight, ten, or 15 persons, among whom the go-betweens are counted.

Tea, bread, gin are served as usual; then the parents give their daughter a new long gown, and to the son-in-law a felt hat and a belt. Often they add a pair of shoes for the new mother-in-law, and a k'ata for the father-in-law.

A table is set up in front of a religious image. Two lighted lamps are placed on it; a rug is spread out in front of the table. The widow clothed in the new gown which she has just received from her parents and the son-in-law also wearing the new hat and belt make the great prostration in the Chinese manner, first to heaven and the multifarious spirits, then to their parents and the elders of the family, third to the family related through marriage and to the clan. The sacred shamanistic fire is absent.

The father-in-law then presents four strings of cash to his new son-in-law as a token of their alliance; the whole family together politely refuses them. Three strings of cash are given to those who wrote the contract and to the go-betweens; then a light meal is served. At the departure of the guests, they are not given meat to take away; the hosts are satisfied to offer several loaves of bread.

/93 cont'd/

587 [604] The customary proceedings of the marriage of a widow then are very simple; the maternal uncle who plays the most important role at the marriage of girls does not even appear. The great preoccupation of the T'ou-jen in the marriage of a widow is to take her away from a rival /94/ and to conduct her without let or hindrance to her new domicile.

6. Two Typical Abductions of Widows

587 583 The following incidents throw a true light on the T'ou-jen way of thinking concerning the marriage of widows.

At the place Souo-pou-keou lived a widow of a certain Hla Rong. A Tchang of Ki-kia-lin, wishing to marry her, learned that he was too late; the widow had already given her consent to another and had exchanged tokens with him. Tchang wanted her at any price. He proposed therefore to abduct her by force, then to get in touch with the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow to give them the earnest. If such affairs are taken to court, reimbursement of the earnest is required from the abductors, then the woman is [671] granted to them. These abductions are thus recognized by the law. Tchang calls upon the help of about 30 trustworthy men, well armed, to take away the widow from the hands of his rival's band the night when the rival would take her to his home. The abductors were at their post, but the other band did not arrive. Believing therefore that they had been fooled, they decided to go to the widow's house, take it by assault, and abduct the widow.

Tchang counted as head of his band the widow's nephew, who could inform them about the arrangement of the house. They burst into the courtyard, they force the doors, they gag the woman, four of them carry her outside, they put her on the horse, and they flee [492] hurriedly. Meanwhile the nephew had been taking care of the dogs and had opened the great door.

The journey went on in the greatest silence. After 15 kilometers of forced march they arrived home; removed the gag from the woman, and untied her hands. What was their surprise when in

/94 cont'd/

587 the darkness they heard the woman affirm that they had been mistaken;
583 that she was a neighbor who had come to keep the widow company; that she was married and /95/ that her husband was very much alive, and that the person they were looking for had hidden behind a wardrobe at the moment of danger. Consternation!

What to do? Sending back the woman was a loss of face, and then she did not want to go back.

[627 The incident was known everywhere in the region from the
684] next day on; the widow's parents and the husband of the abducted woman were already getting ready to bring suit against the woman's abductors. The elders of the village knew that it was a mistake and proposed to arrange the affair amicably.

There was a palaver and a dinner, which my catchist attended. The conclusion of the discussion was that the young wife was to be taken back on horseback with a band at the head of the procession and a salvo of firecrackers. A sheep with a scarf of red cloth on its horns was to be offered, and apologies were to be made. They laughed heartily in the region at the unfortunate nephew who had presided at the abduction of his aunt.... The young widow meanwhile was married to the man of her choice.

Another very interesting incident for understanding the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of abduction and the conditions which permit it is the following:

A young widow of Pien-tan, after negotiations in due form, was taken at night to the home of a Tchao of Na-ling keou. Tchao, who was known for his avarice and had a very bad reputation, tried to pick a quarrel with the go-betweens on the subject of the widow's price, although the sum had already been agreed on. He wanted to be shrewd. Since the widow was at his house, he hoped to drag out the settlement of accounts and to get out of it by giving only part of it the agreed-upon price. After three weeks the matter was still dragging on, nothing had yet been paid, and consequently the contract had not yet been signed. New palaver in the courtyard of the pagoda two li distant from his house. Now in the absence of Tchao, a certain Tchang of Tong-keou, accompanied /96/ by several men

/96 cont'd/

587 he could rely on, came to abduct the newly married widow in broad
583 daylight. It is probable that she consented to being abducted; for living with her new husband for a month, she had been able to judge him. It is equally probable that the go-betweens and the former parents-in-law of the widow were in on it; perhaps the neighbors who did not sympathize with Tchao were not strangers to it either, for they did not budge when the people came to abduct the widow.

[672] Tchao goes to the Chinese city to bring suit. The Chinese judgment was the following: The widow must be sent back to her parents' home and neither Tchao nor Tchang may marry her.

According to T'ou-jen custom, the woman would have had to stay with Tchang, and Tchao by reason of not having paid the agreed-upon sum in time lost entirely all right over the widow.

7. Vestiges of Marriage by Abduction among the T'ou-jen

587 One can conclude from the preceding that nowadays the pur-
671 chase of the wife by the husband is the legal form of marriage, while
582 also recognizing as legal the abduction of a widow, on condition that the owners be indemnified.

583 One can believe that formerly the custom of abduction must have been general and that it was practiced for marriages of girls. Indeed, numerous vestiges of abduction are found in the customs surrounding the marriage of girls. When the son-in-law with his companions comes to get the bride, why does he find the door of the house shut? Why is it necessary to end up by breaking it in and receiving an avalanche of water on the head? This certainly is an assault on the girl's dwelling. When they sing at the door and ask that it be opened, one feels that this way is not natural and that in addition there is no sense to it. Besides, the song has nothing in it that is prescribed, when everything else in the customs is clearly fixed, even the speeches that are made. Why this thick veil /97/ which envelops the bride's head and which does not allow her to see; it is even tied around the neck with a red cord. Is it not to bandage the eyes of a person who is being abducted? At the moment of carrying the bride outside, why this abruptness, the door of the room which

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p. 320: There are (among the Hé-miao) abductions with tacit consent. It is then to avoid all expense. P. 342: One likewise finds vestiges of abduction among the Song-kia-tse.

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit. /"Das Recht der Polarvoelker (The Law of the Polar Peoples)," Anthropos, 1928-29/, pp. 119-120, 121. Marriage by Capture and Elopement. As in the Old Australian Culture according to Graebner, marriage by capture should, according to him (Schmidt, Koppers), be a normal legal institution among the pastoral peoples and also the polar peoples among them, whom he includes in the northern group. Now it is true that the procurement of women by force for marriage is found among almost all polar peoples, and it is not at all uncommon. Once upon a time, however, (marriage by capture) supposedly was a legal custom, at least in former times. /Cited in English./

583 some which taken separately admit of another explanation. But is it not rational to explain them in this sense when, on the one hand, abduction is still practiced today for widows, and when, on the [587] other hand, some /details/ are found among them which are certainly not explainable without admitting abduction? Thus one can be tempted to explain the following of the bride by the girls of the village as being one step in conducting their friend. But then why do they take the horse's bridle and try to prevent his departure, and why is this ceremony called "pursuit of the lady?" One can find fault again with the fact that the bride's own brothers /99/ carry her out of the room, and with this other that a member of the family

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Mo 595 589 Besides sterility and scarcity of children, which are above all the determining and positive causes of polygamy, there is another cause which is rather passive-negative in the sense that polygamy in this case is rather necessitated by circumstances which do not depend on the wife and is brought on by the situation in which she finds herself. This is the case of the widow upon the decease of the husband among the T'ou-jen.

Mo 587 595 The young widow, who has ordinarily borne several children, finds herself at this moment of her life completely perplexed: to remarry is to run toward the unknown and to abandon her children, who, in her opinion, will be unhappy for the rest of their lives. How can she live without these children? Staying in the family as a widow is advised against for her because of her relative youth... /103/ moreover one of her sons will perhaps be able to marry in two or three years... the position of mother-in-law appeals to her. The family of the parents-in-law understands also what it will lose upon the departure of this fertile woman, and what her children will lose. In this case the mother-in-law, during the 49 days following the death, proposes to the widow that she not leave them and that she marry one of the brothers of the dead man. If there are unmarried sons in the family, a match from among them is proposed to her, the difference in age between husband and wife having little importance in T'ou-jen country. If all the sons are married, she can remarry as the second wife of one of her husband's brothers, little does it matter whether he is older or younger than the dead man.

That is a case of polygamy very common among widows who have children. It is the levirate. Although in theory widows are free to go back to their maternal families after the 49 days of mourning and to marry again at another wedding, they very often remain as the second wife of one of the brothers of the dead husband in order to take care of their children. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64: The widow can marry anyone of her husband's clan members except his

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Mo 587 595

brothers, but this marriage is considered as if she would marry a man of a foreign clan. Thus the custom known as the levirate as a matrimonia form is not practised among the Manchus. P. 70-71: The widow cannot be remarried if she has a son of age over 12. If a widower marry a widow, the marriage between their children born before their second marriage is strictly prohibited. /Cited in English./ This is not the case among the T'ou-jen.

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Nevertheless, the Li t'ou-se, present head of one of the most important T'ou-jen clans, forbade marriages of widows of an elder brother to one of the younger brothers of the dead man either as official wife or as second wife. The Chinese disapprove of such unions, and the Li t'ou-se made this prohibition so as not to scandalize them. He made inquiries about marriages in his clan, and punished those who had disregarded his orders. The fine consisted of a pig to be offered to his ancestors; he wished by respect for his ancestors to protest his attachment to the old customs of the race.

Mo 582 587

/104/ The elders used to claim nevertheless that these unions were permitted by custom. (1) I believe all the more willingly

1. Bartold, Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion, (1928), p. 390: The custom of marrying the father's widow was still maintained among the Uighurs, but has now disappeared among the Mongols under the influence of Buddhism. /Cited in English./

when I think of an old custom of the Mongols, brothers by race of the T'ou-jen, which permitted the sons to marry even the concubines of their dead father, with the exception of marrying their own mother, and I believe it also because this prohibition does not exist in the other T'ou-jen clans.

/104 cont'd/

595 The T'ou-jen find this kind of polygamy rational when they
587 think of the sad condition in which orphans are put, who, they say, will have to count solely on the grandparents alone, who are already old. I believe that the true explanation of this fact must be found in the former custom which did not permit widows to leave the clan.

Notice with respect to this very special category of polygamists the very special manner in which one speaks of these marriages. One does not say that the widow looked for a husband, as one says in the case of widows who remarry outside the clan of the parents-in-law, but one says satun xâgu, "to cover the shadow." (2) Is it the

[587 775]

2. It is perhaps useful to note in connection with the expression "to cover the shadow," the way of thinking of the Ou-hoan, Sien-pi peoples (Tong hou peoples) on the subject of the condition of widows in the world beyond. Parker, A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 2nd ed., p. 85: (The widow after being remarried either to her husband's brothers or to his paternal uncles...) "after death reverted to her first husband in the next world." /Cited in English, with introductory part in French./

new husband who covers the shadow of his dead brother, so that this shadow will do no more evil? Among the T'ou-jen the shamans claim that all illnesses are caused by the passage of the shadow of a dead person over the body of a person in good health.

587 Yet it happens, when widows are no longer young, that they
589 stay in the family of their parents-in-law without remarrying, sole-
765 ly in order to care for their children. When /105/ widows who have not remarried bear another child during the two years following the death of the husband, such a case does not surprise the T'ou-jen too much; the child is supposed to be the child of the dead man. It is

Mo /105 cont'd/
587 then called, if it is a son, either, according to the Chinese custom,
589 Hiao cheng tse, i.e., "/son/ born during the mourning period," or
765 else, according to the T'ou-jen custom, xara khû, i.e., "black
[177] son," which again means "son of mourning" since black is the color
[822] of mourning among the T'ou-jen; they say "to wear black" for "to be in mourning." Black was formerly also the color of mourning among the Mongols. When widows who have not remarried bear
Mo [847 children after two years, it happens that these children are abandoned
848] or that they are drowned right after birth, especially if they are girls. That happens when the family has many children, or when some of
Mo [792] the neighbors wants to feed the poor being. When the newborn is a son, they will keep him, but he will not inherit family property, and as a general rule they will send him at about the age of nine or ten to a lamasery to remain a bachelor. This is the most practical solution for avoiding difficulties in the family later. (1)

Ma [847 848]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 77: The Manchus are very strict in killing illegitimate children, i.e. the children born by unmarried girls and widows.
The other Tungus groups consider girls who have children as the best for marriage, because these girls have the proof of their fecundity. /Cited in English./

Mo 595 c) The third category of polygamists is met in well-to-do families who lack workers.

Mo 461 462 595 We have seen that all the work, so to speak, is assigned to the wife; the household duties, the care of the livestock, and a large part of the work in the fields. A T'ou-jen wife actually kills herself with work. It is painful to us to look at these men with the nomadic instinct, do-nothings, idlers, spare themselves the least fatigue. It can happen, therefore, in families which have much

/107 cont'd/

595 [604] family to announce his intention to them. The envoy will bring the traditional jug of gin and will say that their daughter has given her consent to her husband's wishes for such and such a reason. Then he will beg the parents not to make difficulties for the son-in-law. His mission will be easy to carry out when it is a question of sterility, of widowhood, or of lack of workers. He will meet difficulties, often serious, when he has a case in the fourth category of polygamists to present.

595 762 The purpose of this interview is above all to come to an understanding with this family, who will claim to have given their daughter to be the sole mistress of the house. Then, it is a precautionary measure. Experience has taught that these unions are often disastrous, and that it is among them that the greatest number of suicide is found. Now we know the T'ou-jens' profound fear of suicides, which regularly ruin the families concerned. In case of suicide, the clans of the mother and father of the unfortunate woman present themselves in order to demand an account of the death of their daughter. If before concubinage it has been possible to obtain the consent of the family, later, if ever the misfortune comes, there will be more chance for an understanding. The husband first asks for his wife's consent because he also knows that suicide is her supreme weapon and that he can do nothing against it.

595 587 The second wife that the T'ou-jen takes is either a girl or a widow. If she is a widow, they follow the procedure for the marriage of widows; the price of a concubine widow is double or triple that of an official wife. If the second wife is a girl, they go through all the phases of the marriage of girls.

545 Well-to-do families rarely give their daughters to be concubines. Poor families will "resign themselves" to it wholeheartedly, fascinated by the extraordinary compensations which they receive for this "sacrifice." The price of girl concubines /108/ go up to 300 strings of cash and more, without counting the clothes, the dinner, and the rest; which proves abundantly that the financial situation plays a fundamental role in polygamy.

000 /109 cont'd/
595 and in part that of polygamy. We wish to speak /110/ of the custom
587 which says that widows upon the death of their husbands should not leave the husband's family but be remarried, either to the dead man's brother or to his paternal uncle.

595 We cannot attach too much importance to this institution,
587 first because of its universality, then because of its great age and
171 the length of its existence. Indeed, this practice has been in force among all the nomadic peoples who have wandered in the immense steppes of northern and southern Asia, as Chinese history attests. (1)

1. Parker, A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 2nd ed., p. 4: A universal custom, which as we shall see, extended for a thousand years over the whole of Tartary, was for the son to take over his deceased father's wives (with exception of his own natural mother) and for younger brothers to take over the widows of their elder brethren. It does not appear quite certain whether the son or the brother had first choice; perhaps the brother only took when there was no son, possible vice-versa. /Cited in English./ Parker, p. 19, cites this practice among the Hiung-nu; p. 85, among the Wu hwan and Sien-pi; p. 109, among the T'u-yu-hun. Barthold cites it among the Ouigour and Mongols, cf. note, p. 104.

587 As a consequence of this fact it is not a question of speaking in any way of widow marriage for all this period of history. Widows used to simply pass to other members of the same family. From that

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587 come the incoherences we have been able to establish in the present-day rites of the marriage of widows. Neither should the existence of the practice of abduction of widows be supposed for this period. It is therefore natural to conclude that, for all this period, the marriage of girls is to be considered as the only and true marriage, and that the practice of abduction existed only for them. This fact has its importance again in the question of polygamy among the T'ou-jen, because it explains a special category of polygamy still practiced nowadays. The T'ou-jen, no longer having any recollection of this institution which existed among his ancestors, today seeks an arbitrary explanation for this problem.

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101 /111/ Northern and central Asia has been the theater of numerous migrations, peaceful and otherwise, in historic and prehistoric times, of peoples having extremely varied social organizations. From this come the analogies and the ethnological borrowings ascertained among the peoples on both sides of the Bering Strait, and among the "middle and western Eurasians."

114 I summarize in this place the monumenta ethnographica which shed a new light on the chapter on "marriage by purchase" among the T'ou-jen, whose ancestors, Mongols and Cha-t'ou, were nomads.

For this purpose I use the judicious inclusive study of Dr. Herbert König, "Das Recht der Polarvölker, IV. Das Eherecht der Polarvölker," Anthropos (1928-29).

583 171 Anthropos, 1929, p. 101, Bride Price /Brautkauf/ among the Central and Western Eurasians ... Bride-price marriage coincides in distribution almost exactly with the peoples in the polar region who have an aristocratic social organization. It is specifically reported and described in detail for the Tungus, Jakut, Samojed, Ostjak, and Lapps, and, to be sure, as a unique way of concluding marriage. Page 104. The picture

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583 A. A widow

B. A girl, or the question of husband-sons-in-law

A. Marriage of a Widow

587 One marries a widow without having to pay for her when she is indigent and finds herself after the death of her husband with three or four children; when furthermore she is alone in the world by reason of the fact that she has no brothers-in-law, or if she has, they are too poor to provide for her needs. This is then the case of widows without means of subsistence.

583 /113/ There are naturally few with a taste for this kind of
587 marriage, for those who venture into such will have to raise another person's children, who, sooner or later, if they do not return bad for good, will at least be very little grateful for the care which has been given them. This kind of marriage is literally that called by the Chinese tchao fou iang tse, i.e., "looking for a husband who will feed the children." Although these unions are not advantageous for the husband, nevertheless there are always poor men of some age who, attracted by the hope of offspring, decide to expose themselves to the dangers of such a union, or who rather allow themselves tobe tempted by the widow. Indeed, the terms of this marriage say clearly that it is the widow who is seeking the husband. That says enough,
584 that these unions are not highly prized. In such a marriage, the two
587 parties agree on it first between themselves. Their decision made, they themselves invite a go-between, who will go to see the paternal uncles and the grandparents of the children. The T'ou-jen family has an agnatic base, and the family system is that of the large family
589 with community of property. On the death of the husband, the
421 widow remains therefore within the domain of the community; consequently, it will be necessary to recognize her owners. But since this property is rather a burden for them, it will be easy to come to an agreement. Furthermore, the widow's family knows that if it is not accommodating, the widow will be able to give them a lot of trouble.

/113 cont'd/

587 593 [764] The conditions the family lays down are the following: the sons will remain the descendants of the dead man; they will continue to bear his name and will later be buried in their father's cemetery. The new husband will bring them up and feed them. When they reach marriageable age, he will buy them a wife, or he will give the family the required sum ad hoc; then he will be able to send away the married ones, who will provide for their own subsistence. As for the daughters, he will be able to sell them. Since he obligates himself for expenses which so many burdens necessitate, the family does not demand any compensation for the widow.

587 589 578 421 /114/ It often happens that as a consequence of misunderstandings and quarrels, the brothers divide up the property and debts among themselves and form independent families. When a widow of such a family wants to remarry, the family requires the new husband to recognize the debts of the dead man; and the creditors exert pressure on the family to prevent the marriage in case of refusal; but if they are lucky enough to be dealing with a virago who threatens to come with her children and live with them, the difficulties vanish, the debts are put on the children's account and will be demanded later when the children are grown.

587 428 593 In the case where the widow with her children has inherited several plots of land from her dead husband, the new husband will be able to work them to support his family, but he will not be able to sell them since they are the property of the male orphans /sic/. Once they are married, the latter can demand these lands and send their foster father away with their mother, which often happens; if they get along well, they stay together. If, on the other hand, the new husband has lands of his own, and the widow does not, he maintains the family, gets the sons married, and sends them away. If, during the marriage the family becomes richer, if the patrimony increases, and children are born of the new marriage, the children of the first husband will receive the share of their dead father plus half of the lands and assets acquired after the second marriage. The personal properties of the new husband are inherited by his own children. If the husband happens to die without leaving children, his personal

/114 cont'd/

Mo 587 assets and his widow being the property of his own family, they go back into its domain.

428 593 These conditions show clearly that the widow is considered to have left the family of her former parents-in-law completely; the Mo 589 latter have given up all the rights they had with respect to her and have entrusted the children to her with the obligation to raise them for their clan.

Mo 584 When such a marriage is made, a contract is always written in duplicate; /115/ one copy is kept by the husband, and the other is 587 given to the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow. In it, 675 minute mention is made of properties, debts, ... and then of the obligations of the new husband.

Mo 582 If they remain poor after the marriage and find it impossible to marry off the sons, when the latter have grown up they end up by going away as they wish.

Mo 587 There is no abduction to fear in the present case; the marriage 591 takes place very simply and openly. If the widow has plots of land and the husband does not, he comes to live with her; in the opposite case, the widow with the children moves in with him. If neither one nor the other has anything, they look for a place to stay and go to live together. One prostration to heaven and to the spirits, in the presence of the go-between and the parents, and this is all the ceremony of such marriages; add to it another to the parents and to the go-between. (1)

Mo 428 589 425

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit.[1], p. 142: If the widow and her daughters do not wish to be cared for by their husband's and father's brothers, they may also receive a part of the property. This part is equal to that of a brother. In this way the woman may become the owner of land and house. But this ownership can be maintained only during two generations (from mother to daughter) because the bride's

[1. Op. cit. ie: Social Organisation of the Manchus --- Analyst.]

/137 cont'd/

586 is for sale. These prices are as a general rule higher than those paid for a widow or a girl.

The agreement is generally concluded in the following manner: /138/ After the husband and wife have consulted together and the wife has found a place to go, the husband invites to his house two go-betweens, his uncles, and his brothers. He admits to them that the situation is impossible and that he wants to get rid of his wife; that she has found a prospective husband and that she is in agreement with him. Several days later the go-betweens one evening invite "to their home" the husband, his uncles, his brothers, the wife's prospective husband, and two or three of his friends. They first discuss the price of the woman. For people of average means, the price will vary between 200 and 300 strings of cash. Then they talk over the sum demanded by the signers of the contract, who as always try to profit by these transactions. The amount of money these people claim is sometimes very considerable and can represent half of the woman's price; it is because as members of the family, they do not permit this dishonor. Then comes the discussion of the sum which will be given to the woman's parents-in-law, who are supposed to oppose the divorce also, for they especially are sensitive to this loss of face for the whole family. This sum can go from ten to 50 strings of cash. The money stipulated for a divorce is required up to the last cash. The prospective husband puts the money into the hands of the go-betweens, who will give it to those who have a right to it after the signing of the contract.

586 This contract will never be written in any house but in a re-
675 mote place, a ravine or a mountain cave. The first signer is the
● 587 husband. He must sign with the left thumb and the right toe; for this purpose they smear the thumb and toe with ink and put them on the contract; then come the other signers, who sign by hand. When the contract is signed, the go-betweens go to get the woman and present her to her new owner. After all is arranged and the wife is already in her new dwelling, the go-betweens go to pay a visit to the wife's parents in order to announce the new marriage of their daughter to them and to bring a little gift on behalf of the new

/138 cont'd/

586 son-in-law. At the same time they invite them /139/ to come to
675 the home of the new son-in-law to be present at the wedding, which
587 is conducted according to the custom for the marriage of widows.

The go-betweens have a rather easy task at the home of the wife's parents, since it is their daughter who has herself sought a match and has been the cause of the divorce.

586 It is superfluous to say that divorces are viewed with disfavor. They always advise against taking a wife whose husband is living, for one does not divorce a good wife. These are costly and very risky marriages in this sense, that often harmony does not prevail very long between the new husband and wife. Also the adage says: He who has money does not buy the wife of a husband who is still living; he who has cash does not acquire lands situated on river banks (for fear of erosion).

The cause of the rarity of divorces and repudiations is to be sought in the dishonor which T'ou-jen common sense believes to be attached to them. This thesis is easily proved by the fact that they precisely allege dishonor to the family in order to be able to extort a large sum of money from the purchaser. Now the T'ou-jen do not let go of their money without serious reason! This thesis is again proved by the really lugubrious circumstances which accompany divorce and repudiation; these contracts are signed at night...in a cave, signed by the toe...., while all those present talk only of dishonor.... Now these circumstances of time, place, manner are not those of an honorable act. These circumstances leave a deep impression on the people. In addition, they always speak of a divorced woman with scorn, and of the man who married her. When they say that she is a houo jen ts'i, i.e., "the wife of a living man," they do not ask any further explanation; the situation is deemed to be known.

When, on the other hand, one thinks an instant about the solemnities which accompany the weddings of girls, of the expenses which are borne, and the trouble the whole clan, /140/ the friends, and neighbors take to pay their respects; when one thinks of the blessings which are wished for the couple and begged from heaven and the multifarious spirits, it is not surprising that the T'ou-jen believe

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Ma 586

(earnest). They pay it back only in the case, if it is paid and the bride runs away with someone else just before the wedding. Such cases are absolutely exceptional ... all this question must be reported to the clan. /Cited in English, with French interpolation, indicated by parentheses./

Mo 586 A case can occur in which the wife is the only guilty one. It is natural then that the wife's family does not require compensation, etc. I have never, however, heard it said that the guilty wife's family had to give back to the injured son-in-law the earnest received at the time of the marriage.

Mo 586 554 /143/ On the question of repudiation let us note that it is necessary to take account of many circumstances, of which one of the main ones is the economic status of the wife's family, the influence this family enjoys in the region, and above all the fact of having among its members people who will know how to cope with the husband's family in spite of everything. One must also take into account the power of the husband's family, which if it has influential protectors can allow itself to be prepared for all eventualities. In the Orient especially, it is not enough to have rights, it is necessary to be able to defend them.

C. Exchange of Married Women

Mo 437 593 587 I cannot pass by in silence the case of four families of Hong-ngai-tse-keou, who without recourse to divorce or repudiation got rid of their wives by mutually exchanging them, without further ceremony; the children remained in the families where they were born. All was arranged without go-betweens, contract, or expenses, by common agreement among those concerned.

These are the only cases of this practice which have come to my knowledge, and I think they are isolated cases which prove

Mo /143 cont'd/
437 nothing. Public opinion strongly disclaimed this practice and the
593 elders did not admit it. (1)
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1. David Macdonald, Moeurs et coutumes des Thibétains /Practices and Customs of the Tibetans/, p. 136: Another singular usage, but one which is practiced only in high circles, is that two men exchange their wives by mutual consent. The latter are consulted on the question, and their consent to the combination must be obtained.

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 137: Wife Exchange. It is also incorrect when Graebner says that it is precisely in the region of the Old Asiatic peoples that the custom flourishes most.... It is much more common generally among the Eskimo tribes known so far, and it is present among practically all of them, while among the Old Asiatics it is not known at all by the Korjak, far from it, and the Jukugir, too, have only a weak tendency toward it. /Cited in German./

Mo /144/ I think I must point out the influence of Tibetan practices
587 especially for this singular case. Indeed, each year one sees several
437 T'ou-jen of Hong-ngai-tse-keou go to Tibet to sell mules from the
593 Sining region. It would not be surprising if these T'ou-jen traders
177 learned about this custom in Tibet and practiced it later.

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3. Importance of the Mother, the Daughter-in-law, the Child, the Maternal Clan

593 562 a) Abnormal interference in the marriage of her children.

In a patriarchal organization the wife does not own anything, she does not count; even her children do not belong to her. Is it not necessary therefore to explain the predominant position of the mother in the marriage rites as being a vestige of a /155/ former matriarchate: 573 Indeed, the wedding "seems" even in our day to be the business of the mother alone. Without speaking of the marriage promises made between mothers as yet only pregnant, we have seen that the official request for the bride is made by the mother alone. The consent given to the mother alone enjoys all the necessary guarantees so that they can allow themselves to wait four or five years more before getting a go-between. Likewise, when the earnest is discussed, it is again the mother alone who goes to ask for the girl to be married at an early date; only after the mother's request does the go-between appear in order to set the date and the rest. For marriages without ceremony it is the mother again who, with the go-between, goes in complete simplicity to get the bride who is poor. This fact is very significant. Along the way, what the sobbing bride fears most is that they will curse her by cursing her mother; this is the greatest injury that can be done to her.

606 587 593 When one examines present-day customs concerning young widows, one finds it abnormal in a patriarchal organization that the young widow after the 49 days of mourning goes back to her mother's family to stay there until her second marriage. Indeed, she is the property pure and simple of her parents-in-law. It is likewise abnormal that the go-betweens, at the time of the second marriage, address themselves to her own parents before addressing her mother-in-law. Does not that recall the time when the daughter was married at home and had no mother-in-law?

After addressing the mother, the go-between goes to the home of the widow's parents-in-law, and there again he accosts first the mother-in-law, just as if she had the widow-bride at her disposal

/155 cont'd/

606 ahead of all the other members of the family. What is typical is that
587 they call the money given to the mother-in-law k'ai k'eou ts'ien,
593 "the sum which opens her mouth," for if she does not open her mouth, that is to say, if she does not consent, the marriage comes to nought. /156/

b) Succession on the maternal side.

562 Without admitting a former matriarchate, how can one explain
593 the situation of the women in the series of marriages to the prayer
88 pole, etc.? In this case the "girl-mother" is seen to enjoy all the rights of a married woman, her children bear her name and inherit in her clan beside the children of her brothers. This is certainly the case which makes kinship, order of succession, and the property of the family pass on the mother's side. This single case which continues to exist in the middle of a patriarchal period in which the children of daughters as well as their mother are considered as outside the family, deserves all attention.

c) Admission into the family of children born of outsider fathers.

562 Is it not permitted to see vestiges of the matriarchate in the great facility with which they admit into the family the children of daughters-in-law and widows, born certainly of fathers who are outsiders: partus sequitur ventrem /"offspring proceed from the womb"/: they recognize only the mother. We have seen that here they are in a period of transition which begins to make this practice more and more difficult.

562 d) Frequent family visits of the daughter-in-law and right to
421 keep her property at her mother's home.
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574 Again what can be said of the abnormal custom which allows the daughter-in-law these frequent visits and these long vacations with her family? This custom is not natural in a patriarchal organization where the daughter-in-law is the property of her husband, and where she must give this clan her life, her time, and all her work. This custom gives the impression that the daughter, after marriage, always continues to live with her own family and not that of her husband, (1) all the more /157/ because she keeps at her parents' home

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] offering is widespread everywhere among the nomads of Tsinghai and has been partially taken over by the Chinese. It is also practiced in all lamic monasteries. Even if it does not come from Buddhism, it has been taken up by it in the ritual and honored with "incense-sutras," which are recited during the burning of aromatic substances in honor of the gods. The additions superimposed on the original simple form also come from Lamaism. Concerning this original form, its origin and religious dedication to heaven, cf. Part Two.

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The purification-fire: Aside from this incense offering, cypress incense is also burned on other occasions, but only for purification, for example, to fumigate the house to drive away the demons, to fumigate the sacrificial sheep, to fumigate the face and hands at religious ceremonies. This fire, however, is accorded no veneration; no kowtow is made before it; it is not sprinkled with water, and no butter or any kind of addition is put in it. It is not an offering. Should someone accidentally burn an actual incense offering, he can use even this for the purpose of purification (9).

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9. [Foreign text p. 49.] On other occasions, too, the fire is used as a means of purification. For instance, according to an ancient custom, a Tujen widow, when she remarries, must step across a fire, just as among the Chia-Fandse the bride is led over fir-tree fire (sung-p'an). The fire-jumping in the night of the full moon after New Year's may have the same significance; cf. "The New Year's Festival," Note 6. Not only the fire has

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

A widow who is remarrying, when she arrives at the door of her new husband's house, jumps over a fire kindled at the entrance of his courtyard, in order that the soul of her deceased husband will no longer follow and harm her. 372 789 [587]

Every time any utensil is supposed to have become impure, it is passed over a fire. The shamans and lamas, before using their religious paraphernalia, smoke them over a fire. [783]

Usually the lamas, at the time of epidemics, try first to cajole and placate these evil doers, hoping that they will stay their calamities, making the magnificent fire offering called *tao Huo-t'an*, "the pouring of a plain of fire." It consists of burning, on a limited surface, a pile of logs of different kinds of wood, reputed to be odoriferous or expensive, with all available kinds of fragrant herbs and spices, dried aromatic flowers, all kinds of grains. The fire is lit by sparks struck from a flint, or by the rays of the sun passing through a magnifying glass, for the fire must be pure also. The fire is kept up by the intermittent pouring of molten butter on it by lamas, who recite texts during seven days in order to win the hearts of the evil doers. They make several *tormas* and design *mandalas* [17] for the arranagement of the logs. The whole is accompanied by an unusual display of the most detailed rites, for which each lama has his own explanation and his own way of acting, ringing bells, beating drums, blowing horns, while the family prostrates itself. This is the famous pouring of fire on a huge surface "in order to gain the good graces of the malignant spirits by a magnificent fire offering." [18]

Some lamas resort, for the same reason, to a "white Wei-sang." One hundred logs of odoriferous wood are white-washed with lime-wash and kindled as described above. The aim of the rite is again to pull the heartstrings of the evil spirits by means of a pure fire offering and to invite them to stop the calamities.

However, when the two rites have proved unsuccessful, the lamas try the "black Wei-sang," using the magical power of the fire for dispelling the evil spirits. In a forlorn and remote spot, a pile of the most inexpensive and dirty wood is prepared with all kinds of smelly herbs and spoiled grain. The fire is kindled with dung and on top of the blazing pile is poured the urine of a black donkey; *tormas* are made with black spoiled flour. Condemning the evil spirits with such an abject fire offering, they hope they will leave the family, or the village, in order to avoid scorn and disdain, and that the magical power of the fire for repelling them will be more effective.

[17] *Mandalas* are so-called "magic circles" by which the divinities are coerced into assisting the votary to reach "the other shore." While they are being made, the makers recite charmed sentences (dharani) supposed to have been composed by several divinities, which are used as incantations for procuring their assistance in peril as well as in ordinary temporal affairs. L. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 144, second ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

[18] Schröder, Der Feuerguss, *op. cit.*, 860.

[p. 120(B)]

N *563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren.
M 592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually
554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N *563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional
M part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the
58 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon-
562 gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an-
[769] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered
[171] a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their live-
stock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently
*563 the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con-
M siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen
584 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage
583 age for boys is between 14-16.
582

Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab-
N solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is
*563 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob-
M served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage
614 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the
582 weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re-
565 garded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it
has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy
rules need not be observed as strictly.

N Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but
*563 does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a
M sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different
582 clan.

M A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family,
[587] usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband.
However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance
and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she
wants.

N Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from
*563 the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage
M to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan,
588 but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patri-
lineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as
members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the
belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has
relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be
"married" if she becomes pregnant.

N The relationship between two families connected by marriage
*563 is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being
M part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence
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N *563 M 769 614 ginning of April according to the lunar calendar, in a festival similar to the Chinese Ch'ing-ming. On this occasion the clan assembles to venerate its ancestors, enjoy a great feast and reunion, and discuss matters of concern to the clan.

On the day of the assembly, the T'u-ssu, the chiefs and elders of the villages and all the family heads go to the graveyard immediately after breakfast, followed by all the other members of the clan. At the graveyard, offerings are made and rites are performed. Then food for the offerings is divided among the families, the oldest generations receiving their portions first.

M [182] [769] This annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of the Mongour clan. One of the family heads, usually of the nobility, is appointed to care for the graveyard during the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions and offerings, and the making of repairs. An assistant is assigned to help him with details.

b. Respect for elders and family heads

N *563 M 554 888 The Mongours once lived without chiefs, but never without village elders. Traditionally, the whole power of the clan was vested in the elders, who had the authority to appoint and dismiss chiefs. The village elders still take the most important part in local administration. Elders need not be rich or from noble stock, but they are men of good reputation from the more outstanding families.

N *563 M 554 592 Heads of families are also honored. At public meetings, all are allowed to express their views and defend their rights, but final decisions are made only after the heads of families have spoken.

c. Adultery

N *563 M 684 Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If caught, the guilty pair is flogged, the woman on her bare back, the man on bare buttocks and thighs, up to a hundred stripes. The man must confront the husband and make apologies, and present him with a sheep or a pig. A trial is held and fingerprints are taken. Then the pair is led through the village with drums beating while they make public confession of their sin, and they must secure an official statement of pardon.

d. Moral and legal concepts

N *563 M 183 M [593] [587] [421] Both moral and legal concepts of the Mongours seem to be based upon customs, tradition and what the community accepts as just. Some typical social values and concepts are: Wrongs must be righted and injustices corrected. Parents have authority over their children, and husbands over their wives. A widow has the right to remarry or to dispose of herself. Private property must be protected. No one has the right to disturb the peace of the community.

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 621 183 178 The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is M [867] dinned into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-ssu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

N *563 M 621 183 177 178 During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

e. Stealing and gambling

N *563 M [685] [673] [525] [794] Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

N *563 M 587 A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

N *563 M 867 Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meeted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

N *563 M 576 264 603 According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge

581 a well-to-do family needing more work done in the
565 household arranges for a son who is still a child to marry a grown-up girl. It is not surprising that such marriages are frequently followed by the elopement of the poor bride with a lover of her own choosing. The
583 case corresponding to that of the bride brought into the family for the sake of her working power is that of the
587 poor young man who goes to work in a family not his own, perhaps for years, in order to earn a bride from that family. To work for a bride in this manner is to lose a certain amount of status socially, since it requires that the young man live in a household where all the male members of the family have status and rights, and he alone is an outsider. A widow usually becomes the second wife of one of her husband's brothers if the family is still living united, but not if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately. More and more, in the decline of the old Monguor society, it has become usual for the widow to make her own choice of a second husband. If, instead of going to one of her husband's brothers, she marries a man of her own choice, it is customary for her new husband to bring her home secretly and at night, for fear that she may be kidnapped on the road by some other aspiring lover—a practice that seems to indicate that an unprotected widow is, or was in the past, "fair game."

583 Two exceptional kinds of marriage I have dealt with in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen.*
588 These are the "marriage to the pole," when a girl remains in the family in which she was born, but takes lovers and bears children, who instead of having the clan name of their father or fathers inherit the clan name of their mother's brothers and are treated as if they belonged to the patrilineal clan; and the "marriage to the girdle" when a girl, unmarried and living in her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves her his girdle to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.[3] Both of these customs appear to have been borrowed by the Monguors from the Tibetans.

The price paid for the bride is the subject of considerable negotiations between the families concerned, conducted by a go-between. It is usual for a girl to be a couple of years older than her husband, and the usual age for marriage is when the boy is fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen. Divorce and repudiation by the husband are rather rare.[4]

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

562 The status of the wife is inferior to that of the hus-
581 band, as is inevitable in a society in which social rights and family property are regarded as belonging primarily

[3] See above, p. 78, n. 5.

[4] Here only a few data are given about marriage customs, since I have already published an extensive monograph on this subject; see *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kansou.*

[P. 87b]

581 /6 cont'd/
589 as far as selling all that one possesses, one's lands, houses, and ani-
183 mals, and will live in indigence; at the death of the parents, the elder married sons, in the case where the possessions are about to be divided up, must, before all else, put aside the sums required for the marriage of the younger unmarried sons; the parents, at the approach of death, will feel the greatest relief in the fact that they have gotten all their sons married. In order to permit the poor to marry, recourse is had to all kinds of contrivances, which very often are only imposed by reason of their primordial goal, which is that of marriage, and which scorn many obligations which in "justice" would seem, at the least, to have to be taken into greater consideration. One will find decisions which will appear unjust, but when one studies this mental attitude, which gives proportion to everything, one will understand that among the T'ou-jen the other principles yield to it and are sacrificed.

554 Marriage, for the T'ou-jen people, is the great affair in life,
581 obligatory above all else. One is no longer an honorable man when one is not married; this is because they believe that man has the duty to live according to natural law, that is, to marry and procreate children.

623 One day one of my catechists was invited to sit with the elders
627 of the village to judge the case of a penniless young man who had
689 run off with a girl of good rank. They had been brought back after
588 an escapade of three years, with a child born during the flight.

The young man was on his knees, his hands tied behind his back, imploring the clemency of the judges and of the whole assembled village. /7/ Despairing, he was saying, of ever being able to marry because of his extreme poverty, he had believed it permissible to act in this way, in order to be able to do his duty and marry. "I have been unjust toward the girl's parents, but I submit myself in advance to make all the reparations possible that will be required of me...." The girl also cries for mercy: "I could have hoped for a better match," she admits, "but I followed this young man to be gracious; without me, he would never have been able to marry...."

681 After an important palaver the offending couple was punished, and the judges found a way to indemnify the injured family and to legalize this union.

Mo /125 cont'd/
597 name is inscribed in the family register in the presence of the whole
606 family; he goes to the clan cemetery to make offerings to the ances-
583 tors of his new parents, and goes to the village pagoda to venerate the loca deities, protectors of his adoptive family. (1) This arrange-

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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 61:
The adoption of men (among the Manchu) is practised only for children. When the child becomes 6-7 years old the couple who adopt it organize a sacrifice to their clan spirits. They declare to the spirits and to the child adopted, that such and such person is adopted in the clan, and that this person leaves his former clan and spirits and enters into this clan. /Cited in English; French interpolation in parentheses/.

ment presents all the necessary guarantees for a serious and lasting union... but at the price of what sacrifices on the part of the son-in-law.

/126/

Chapter III

Abnormal Marriage

Mo
588 We have seen all the troubles brought on by marriages of girls exchanged for the furnishing either of the person of the son-in-law or his services for a fixed period or for life. Nevertheless, this whole series of marriages is more or less understandable to the European mind; the two series of alliances which follow no longer are. They are the marriages:

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588 A. To a prayer pole, a tree, a wall, a lion of baked clay, etc.

B. Marriages to a belt

Let us note that the marriages in the first series are also practiced by the Tibetans of Kansu, who live in a seminomadic and semi-agrarian state; they are not found among the Chinese of the region.

A. Marriages to a Prayer Pole, etc.

114 Let us first put forth the case, then let us justify the classification of this practice in the series of marriages.

One can read in the books which speak of the T'ou-jen that this people includes girls, unmarried all their lives, who, however, bear children just the same. The Chinese books especially try to disparage this people particularly because of this custom. Now, they are mistaken. These superficial observers have understood nothing about the customs of these regions. It is not by this custom that the morality of the T'ou-jen must be judged.

844 [302 554] To be able to bear a child honestly (for there is an honesty also among these peoples), custom /127/ requires, without any exception whatever, that the mother wear her hair in the style of married women; in other words, this is to say that it is necessary to be married to be able to become a mother.

Now it happens that girls not yet given in marriage are pregnant. 848 [847] Two solutions then present themselves: the first is to bring on an abortion or to wait until the child is born to make it disappear or to offer it to anyone who wants it; the second is to change the hair style of the girl, that is to say, to get her married.

588 [848] When the second solution is adopted, they invite three or four neighbors, who with the family are present at the "marriage." They have been careful to prepare the attire of the bride. She arrays herself with it and has her hair done in the style of married women. Two lamps are lighted, and the sacred fire placed in the middle of the courtyard is maintained by means of cypress branches. After spreading out pieces of red felt, they proceed to the marriage, which

/127 cont'd/

588 is usually contracted with the prayer pole, called mané kan, which is found in nearly all courtyards of T'ou-jen residences. (It is a pole set up in the middle of the courtyard, at the top of which float streamers on which are printed lamaic prayers in Tibetan characters.) Often the marriage is also contracted with a wall, with a tree which is in front of the house, with the little lion of baked clay which is above all the house roofs, even with a rock, etc.

The girl kneels three times and each time makes three great prostrations as one does at a wedding. She makes the prostrations in the direction of the prayer pole or the tree or the object she is supposed to be marrying; at the same time she says each time, "Heaven has combed my hair, the prayer pole, etc. is my husband..."; then she makes the same prostrations to her parents and the others present.

588 The children resulting from such a "marriage" are called t'ien
848 cheng tse, i.e., "begotten by heaven," and they bear the name of the mother's family. /128/ These kinds of marriages are not at all numerous, for the reason that nearly all girls are given in marriage at an early age. They occur from time to time, especially in certain regions. The vicinities of Wei-iuen p'ou, Hong-ngai-tsa-keou, and San-tch'oan are the regions where these practices are most frequent.

They occur more rarely in families where there are married sons; they are found most often in families where there are only one or two daughters. These women very often remain in this condition all their lives and continue to become mothers; others do not persist in this abnormal state and end up by marrying someone of their choice.

I have classified this practice in the series of marriages because it creates for the mother and children a legal position identical to that which marriage creates for the married couple and their offspring. In addition, its purpose is manifestly the procreatio et educatio prolis "the procreation and rearing of offspring"/ of the mother's clan.

858 As a matter of fact, the child born of this kind of marriage be-
588 comes legitimate heir of its mother's family; it is, they say, wai-heng ting kieou-kieou, i.e., "the son of a daughter holds the rank of maternal uncle." Even if there are sons in the family who have children, the son of the woman in question will become heir by the

/128 cont'd/

858 same right as his cousins, sons of his mother's brothers. The reason
588 given for this is that the mother, at the time of her son's birth, was no longer a girl but quite married, since she was wearing her hair in the fashion of wives. But suppose that the young woman, as a result of difficulties with a sister-in-law or with her parents, or having simply found a match which she likes, marries again at a "second" wedding, then she can either take her son with her, and he loses
[428] ipso facto his rights to inheritance in his mother's family, and he must change his family name and inherit in the family of his new father (for by the change of name he falls into the category of adoptive children), or else the grandmother opposes the departure /129/ of her daughter's son, and he stays in his mother's family, keeping his rights.

848 It often happens that neither the grandmother nor the mother
792 keeps the child but that they entrust him to a lamasery. Lamas no
178 longer having the right of inheritance, these children disappear from public life. This category of children are sent to the lamasery probably to avoid difficulties which arise later at the time of the division of property, either on the part of the uncles or the nephews, just as when the mother takes the child to the home of her new husband and the latter adopts him as his son, which makes one suppose that these children's right to inherit is nowadays no longer very stable. One feels a period of transition in the custom. We are here in the presence of a practice which must have been more general in olden times and which has its roots in an organization which is not patriarchal.

562 These girl-mothers are received in all groups and are regarded
588 as virtuous women in spite of the fact that people know this custom is
593 considered abominable in the eyes of their Chinese neighbors. These women are recognized as being married; for, they say, their marriage took place in the manner of the marriage of girls, in the courtyard of the house, in front of the sacred fire. Their children are recognized as children of the clan, and they are given the name of their mother. In T'ou-jen families, when a brother dies, leaving only daughters, his brothers inherit his property; the daughters indeed do not inherit; but when this brother has a daughter of the category of which we

/129 cont'd/

562 speak, and when she has a son, then the brothers of the deceased will
588 not have the right to demand his property for themselves. In addition,
593 these same brothers who would not permit their brother to bequeath his property to his daughter and a son-in-law not adopted into the clan recognize the right of inheritance of a niece married to a prayer pole and of her children.

As long as the girl-mother stays home with her children, it is rare that difficulties arise; but often the situation changes when the woman is married at a "second" wedding /130/ and her children are still young. Then the woman's uncles, if she has no brothers, or these brothers if she has any, try to make her take her children with her and have them adopted by the new husband. They want to secure the property of the brother for themselves; for the property of the clan cannot pass to another clan. If the sons of the girl-mother are married at the time when she marries for the second time, there is no longer anything to fear for their rights. Let us note again that for these women, when they later remarry someone of their choice, there is no festivity as at the marriage of girls; they are satisfied with inviting a few neighbors. The second marriage can, in a way, be compared to a widow's marriage; however, such a woman will never have to fear being abducted.

The present case then is very strange in a society which, today, has strictly paternal descent. The fact that these rights are universally recognized is a sign that they date from far back; also the T'ou-jen cannot explain their origin and simply admit the fact.

B. Marriages to a Belt

588 These marriages, although they are as abnormal as those of the
184 preceding series, nevertheless seem to constitute a separate series.
574 First, they are practiced less than those we have just described, and
837 then their origin does not seem to be the same. They find their explanation in the custom of offering, for the night, a girl or a woman to a passing guest; in short, it is prostitution for the sake of hospitality. (1)

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1. Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 140: Guest Prostitution. Guest prostitution, which is found among the polar peoples, also belongs in the same category. It is the custom of giving guests not only accommodations and lodgings, but in addition putting the wife or daughter at their disposal for sexual relations. It is very widespread among the polar peoples, although it is not characteristic. I have found no report of it among the central North Asiatics, with the exception of the Tungus. /Cited in German./

588 This kind of marriage is practiced more where there is /131/
574 no son, but only a nubile daughter who has not yet been given in
837 marriage. These are therefore very rare cases. This custom is again a way for the parents to keep their daughter with them; the daughter can in this way know the advantages of motherhood while taking care of her parents; the latter on their part will not have to be exposed to the risks inherent in the practice of husband-sons-in-law. This is the explanation given by the T'ou-jen.

588 When the father offers his daughter to some passing guest, the
574 latter must give his belt in exchange and leave it with the girl. The importance attached to the belt has never been explained. We have met the belt twice before in the marriage of widows. The guest goes away in the morning and will perhaps never come back; but if the girl is found pregnant, they make her new clothes as well as a married woman's hat; they comb her hair in the bride's style, they invite several neighbors, they put the belt on red felt spread out on the ground. The girl kneels and makes the great prostration to the belt, to her parents, and to those present, saying that she is the wife of the guest. Later, she will give her child the name of the guest and will herself be called by the same name by all the neighbors, although perhaps she will never see this passing traveler again. The

588 /131 cont'd/
574 children born later will continue to be always given the name of the
[858] guest. It goes without saying that the latter does not bother in any way with the support of either the child or the woman.

[428] Important remark: No right of inheritance is recognized for these children in the family of their mother. They are considered as the children of a daughter married to some individual, for they bear another name; now, another name, another family.

588 This curious custom finds its place in the series of marriages
554 because it creates a legal position in favor of the mother identical in every way to that of any married woman. The woman married to a belt is considered the wife of husband X and no one will ever venture to abduct her.

588 /132/ Marriages to a belt and those to prayer poles resemble each other strongly; the manner of celebrating them is the same; women who have contracted these marriages are considered as duly married, and the children, in the two groups, are recognized as legitimate. The only difference between the two groups of marriages lies in the fact that those of the prayer-pole group are recognized by the mother's clan, and those of the other are considered as not belonging to this clan. Those of the prayer-pole group seem to be direct vestiges of one of the stages of the matriarchate; indeed, they bring about inheritance in the family by the daughter. Those of the second group, on the contrary, by the fact that the woman and the children are considered as having left the clan, do not seem to have this origin; but if the prayer-pole marriages had not existed formerly, those of the belt group would never have been practiced.

588 The following item throws a singular light on this category of
593 marriages. A certain Tchang-kia-pa of Hong-ngai-tse-keou had a daughter married to a belt, mother of a small child; in addition, he had a married son at home. As a consequence of continual friction between the daughter married to the belt and the daughter-in-law, the first sought a match, married, and left the paternal home, taking away her son. Thus a certain Hou Iu-leang bought her as his second wife for the sum of 200 strings of cash.

After five or six years, at the time of the great fair and festivities of Wei iuen-p'ou which take place in the second moon, a

/132 cont'd/

588 Chinese of Honan, accompanied by an uncle of the lady formerly
593 married to the belt, accosted Hou Iu-leang and reproached him for having taken his wife. The latter no longer recognized the individual; but, since he had a witness, since the child was formerly called by his name and the mother had also born this name, the supposed husband felt himself very much within his rights and threatened Mr. Hou with a lawsuit.

/133/ Hou, fearing the heavy expenses of the Chinese courts and not sure of a fair verdict, preferred to settle the affair amicably. He called upon the heads of the village and those of his clan, and the conclusion was that Hou had to pay the unknown man 80 strings of cash and that the father who had sold his daughter had to offer him a sheep and make apologies to him. This story thus proves that this category of marriages is officially recognized among the T'ou-jen.

/134/ Chapter IV

Divorce, Repudiation, Exchange of Wives

586 One can expect divorces and repudiations, owing to the too
184 great freedom which exists between the sexes. These two forms of termination of marriage rarely occur when there are several children in the family. Repudiation occurs more rarely than divorce, and the latter is not so frequent as one might suppose at first sight. Let us still remember that divorce and repudiation, like all the great acts
[67] of life, marriage, adoption, etc., are effected without the intervention of law courts. As long as they can arrange things among themselves, they do not resort to the law; they call upon its help when all other means of conciliation are exhausted.

/155 cont'd/

606 ahead of all the other members of the family. What is typical is that
587 they call the money given to the mother-in-law k'ai k'eou ts'ien,
593 "the sum which opens her mouth," for if she does not open her mouth, that is to say, if she does not consent, the marriage comes to nought. /156/

b) Succession on the maternal side.

562 Without admitting a former matriarchate, how can one explain
593 the situation of the women in the series of marriages to the prayer
588 pole, etc.? In this case the "girl-mother" is seen to enjoy all the rights of a married woman, her children bear her name and inherit in her clan beside the children of her brothers. This is certainly the case which makes kinship, order of succession, and the property of the family pass on the mother's side. This single case which continues to exist in the middle of a patriarchal period in which the children of daughters as well as their mother are considered as outside the family, deserves all attention.

c) Admission into the family of children born of outsider fathers.

843 Is it not permitted to see vestiges of the matriarchate in the great facility with which they admit into the family the children of daughters-in-law and widows, born certainly of fathers who are outsiders; partus sequitur ventrem /"offspring proceed from the womb"/: they recognize only the mother. We have seen that here they are in a period of transition which begins to make this practice more and more difficult.

562 d) Frequent family visits of the daughter-in-law and right to
421 keep her property at her mother's home.
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574 Again what can be said of the abnormal custom which allows the daughter-in-law these frequent visits and these long vacations with her family? This custom is not natural in a patriarchal organization where the daughter-in-law is the property of her husband, and where she must give this clan her life, her time, and all her work. This custom gives the impression that the daughter, after marriage, always continues to live with her own family and not that of her husband, (1) all the more /157/ because she keeps at her parents' home

[648 cont.]

766 buried, or simply burned. No death ceremonies are undertaken. At the burning they receive no box, but are reduced to ashes, like the girls.

Like the boys, girls under ten years of age may also be exposed, buried, or burned. The corpse then usually becomes prey for dogs and wolves. Girls over ten years of age, however, must be burned, for at this time menstruation may set in, and their souls are then dangerous demons, of which even the other spirits are afraid (22). The burning is done without any ceremony

[775] [776]

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22. [Foreign text p. 657.] Why the girls are so dangerous could not be clearly established. Perhaps the same notion as is behind the pai-ta lies at the root of it, namely, that the soul leaves this life dissatisfied, that is, that after the girl attained maturity she did not achieve her proper destiny in marriage. There is no death-marriage here, as, for example, in Shantung, so the soul cannot rest in peace. This soul demon, however, is destroyed through burning, according to the statements of the Chinese and Tujen. I know of a case in which a Chinese girl was exhumed and burned two years after her death because something uncanny was always happening in the family and one accident followed another. That, however, did not help either. -- Shamanistic conceptions, too, are certainly suggested. One need only recall that the Bon priests make the bone flute from the bones of such a girl and the whip from her skin.

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[648 cont.]

766 and on the same day on which the girl died. If she died in the morning, she is burned in the evening; if she died in the late evening, she is burned the following morning. A man from her own family takes the corpse just as it is, with the clothes, over his shoulder, carries it to a remote ravine, digs a hole by a copse, piles straw and twigs in it, puts the corpse on top, and burns it. Usually a few other people also help. One does not wait until the dead girl is completely reduced to ashes, but leaves the still smoldering corpse behind and goes home. Dogs and wolves consume the remains. As soon as a girl has been married, however, 764 even if only for a few days, she receives an honorable cremation like any other woman, with all the ceremonies, with prayer, and with a death-box. This also applies to those daughters who [588] have not yet found a man, but who are married to the sky or the mani-tree.

762 If an adult, whether a man or a married woman, has 766 killed himself, he receives the usual cremation ceremonies without fire-pouring and without a death-box. Usually no one [782] is invited to give the prayer. At the final funeral meal, how- [604] ever, the mother's brother will demand a precise accounting concerning the causes of the suicide, especially if a woman is involved, and he will insist upon an honorable death rite with a death-box. Disputes are common at such times.

766 Those who lost their lives through violence, such as drownings, falls from heights, murder, etc., receive a cremation or interment like any other person of the same age.

[649] Those who died outside the yard, be it an ordinary death or through an accident or suicide, are always laid out outside of the compound, say, in a special tent or in a cave. If a suicide has taken place inside the yard, however, the person who has taken his life is laid out in the house.

792 Persons who have died far away are brought home. If 766 this is not possible, for instance, in the case of soldiers, a lama is invited. While praying he writes down the name of the de- [212] ceased on a stiff sheet of paper and sticks it in a measure of grain (wheat), which is then placed on a table in the room into which otherwise the death-box would have been brought. All the same ceremonies are now carried out in front of it, as though

[207 cont.]

775 the Tujen. For instance, one hears little about a Buddhist hell,
171 which plays a much more important role among the neighboring Chinese and is quite graphically portrayed in many temples. It is true that the Tujen like to consider the misfortune in this world as punishment for earlier transgressions. This soul, which
775 one could call "incarnation soul" or "private soul" -- in con-
764 trast to the clan soul -- becomes free for the incarnation through the transforming lotus fire at the cremation. The informant, at any rate, interpreted the lotus-mandala and the fire at the cremation in this sense and ascribed to them a transforming power. This does not mean that this soul remains in the body as long as, say, in an animated corpse. Rather, at the death of the person, the lamas are supposed "to open the way" through prayer, so that the soul may reach Tushita. To what extent such explana-
[171] tions correspond with the orthodox Buddhist doctrine will be left undecided. Any any rate, the conceptions of the people are vague.

775 Even more unclear are the conceptions about the third
776 soul, which is supposed to transform itself into a demon. Nothing is known about its fate and about the cause of such a transformation. Such a soul is feared, however. Perhaps it is this soul that in case of dissatisfaction after the bāda disturbs the
[764] human beings at the command of the clan soul, haunts the
[782] house and yard, and causes sickness and misfortune. At any rate, a great part of the offerings and prayers at the death rites is given out of fear of this soul. The constantly expressed wish to the dead person runs: "Forget us, be content, do not come
775 back." A natural discontent and a kind of missing of life's goal
776 are connected with the soul of unmarried adult girls. It becomes a demon who is so dangerous that even other demons flee
589 from it, for which reason the Bon priests take the material for
[765] their bone flutes, their whip, etc. from the corpses of such girls. The discontent and non-fulfillment can only be accounted for in this case by the unmarried state, which, according to Tujen conceptions, goes against every natural ordinance for a female person. One may suspect that this soul-belief also has a strong
[588] effect on the custom that the Tujen call "to arrange the heavenly

[207 cont.]
775 hairdress," through which a girl is wedded to heaven and is no
776 longer burdened with the contempt suffered by unmarried women
589 (see above). The fear of the female demon-souls [208] is also
588 widespread among the Chinese, and there is only one way of
being safe from them: the cremation. In the customs of the
171 Tsinghai Chinese, this fear and contempt have their basis in the Buddhist conception that a woman is an unclean being and that this uncleanness is only removed through the man and his descendants. This attitude is strengthened through the fervent desire for sons and grandsons, which again is connected with the ancestor cult. These Buddhistic motives are certainly also decisive in part among the Tujen. Among them, too, the
562 woman is regarded as unclean, even if not so harshly as among
783 the Chinese. The veneration of the ancestors plays scarcely any role. Nonetheless, uncleanness and demonism are closely
841 connected. A very common expression runs: pudag̀ ilie, unclean demon; a woman is also pudag̀ during her period.

The demon soul therefore seems to stand in a special relationship with the female principle. This suggests the surmise that it represents the flesh-(body)-soul in the human being, which stands in contrast to the bone-soul. In northeastern Tibet and elsewhere one encounters the conception that the bones of a person come from the man and the flesh from the woman. Among the Tujen, however, this relationship is difficult to determine
614 because it is precisely the bone-soul that is related so closely to the mother's clan. This does not, it is true, exclude an individual assignment to the man (father), but it does not permit it to make its appearance through this unquestionably matriarchal trait.

775 From everything, one can see that the Tujen are little concerned about the after-life of the soul and the beyond. To them it is enough if they are left in peace on earth. The Buddhist conceptions are more theoretical. In actuality one not infrequently encounters a this-worldly fatalism which expresses itself in the saying: "Our life does not have much meaning"
171 (literally: we have lived in vain). Even if the conception of the
769 soul has much similarity to that of the Chinese, the Tujen

[213 cont.]

782 The pig offering proceeds like the sheep offering, however little appropriate the procedure is for this animal. -- The hen offering is done without much ceremony. The animal's head is cut or twisted off, the hen is swung around in a circle so that the blood squirts around, and then it is allowed to fly. I do not know whether the hen is consumed later. It certainly did not happen in several cases observed.

778 782 The animal-consecration is already unequivocally an offering in that the animal is given up by human beings as a voluntary gift to a god and normally may not be used any more.

I could confirm nothing about a human consecration, which Mostaert (DMF, p. 371 under ʼdien) mentions, unless the shaman consecration is meant, or the recommendation of a child to a tutelary spirit whose name it later bears. In any event the vow of virginity could be regarded as an offering to heaven, as a sign of which a girl lets her hair fall down freely; cf. DMF, p. 103. One can also include its counterpart, namely, the marriage of a girl with heaven, whose sign is the "heavenly hairdo"; cf. Schram, Mariage, pp. 127 ff.

[831] [302] [588]

[214] Recipients of the Offering

782 776 To what extent heaven has a share in all offerings and what offerings are reserved for it will be discussed below. The pig is inadmissible as an offering for the higher deities (except for the earth), and the hen likewise. They are the sacrificial animals for lower gods and demons.

Whether there is an actual offering to the demons is questionable. In the case of the ceremonies dealing with the evil spirits, for instance, the demon-escort, the figure-litter, the various tormas, etc., one regards the accompanying gifts, designated as rdzē, as things that the demon needs or likes, for example, the riding animal, the clothes, the money, the wool, etc. Furthermore, aside from the intent to appease and to satisfy, there is also a certain contempt for the demon connected with these gifts, in that raw flesh, leeks, beans, and unclean intestines are offered to it, as though to a wild bestial creature.

[231 cont.]

776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieńgĕre dardzia, heaven has
[192] punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolgue dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair. (Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.) Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness: "We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge tieńgërni amudadzi, nigë nisëni dzawa dañlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram, op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). -- The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to
[831] heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzūn tieńgërde fdzë bōlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

N *563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren. M 592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually 554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N *563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional M 58 part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the 562 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon- [769] gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an- [171] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their live- stock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N *563 Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently M 584 the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con- 583 siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen 582 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage age for boys is between 14-16.

Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab- N *563 solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is M 614 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob- 582 served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage 565 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re- garded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy rules need not be observed as strictly.

N *563 Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but M 582 does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different clan.

M [587] A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family, usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband. However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she wants.

N *563 Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from M 588 the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan, but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patri- lineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.

N *563 The relationship between two families connected by marriage M 604 is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence

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Preliminary Notes

000 1) General necessity for marriage.

2) Necessity for male descendants.

It seems that two remarks are necessary for a good understanding of this study. It is evident that in order to judge a painting, one must not see it at night in the light of a candle, but during the day in the light desired by the artist; one must even be at the right spot to observe what the author wished to put in it; then only will one understand his work.

Now concerning marriage among the T'ou-jen, the ways of thinking of the East and the West differing completely, it is easy not to see the facts in their true light.

The ways and customs of a people find their explanation in its present-day or former ways of thinking and philosophy. Whether this philosophy be good or bad, we do not judge here, but we must see the facts while seeing through ourselves in order to understand them. To observers with different ways of thinking, the same facts may seem rational and honest to some and puerile and full of horror to others.

1. General Necessity for Marriage

581 589 We Europeans do not find it strange to meet people who are not married; we are not surprised to see bachelors in our offices, at our meetings, at our parties; the idea does not occur to us that being unmarried incriminates them; although deep down we feel that this situation is abnormal, we find, outside of religious principles, enough reasons, if not to justify being single, at least to excuse it.

/6/ Now such a point of view does not exist among the T'ou-jen. No T'ou-jen will understand that a man who is not a monk, who is not a lama, is not married unless he is physically incapable of it.

581 589 183 Also among the T'ou-jen it is polite to find out whether all the sons are already married; to satisfy this law of marriage, one will go

581 /6 cont'd/
589 as far as selling all that one possesses, one's lands, houses, and ani-
183 mals, and will live in indigence; at the death of the parents, the elder married sons, in the case where the possessions are about to be divided up, must, before all else, put aside the sums required for the marriage of the younger unmarried sons; the parents, at the approach of death, will feel the greatest relief in the fact that they have gotten all their sons married. In order to permit the poor to marry, recourse is had to all kinds of contrivances, which very often are only imposed by reason of their primordial goal, which is that of marriage, and which scorn many obligations which in "justice" would seem, at the least, to have to be taken into greater consideration. One will find decisions which will appear unjust, but when one studies this mental attitude, which gives proportion to everything, one will understand that among the T'ou-jen the other principles yield to it and are sacrificed.

554 Marriage, for the T'ou-jen people, is the great affair in life,
581 obligatory above all else. One is no longer an honorable man when one is not married; this is because they believe that man has the duty to live according to natural law, that is, to marry and procreate children.

623 One day one of my catechists was invited to sit with the elders
627 of the village to judge the case of a penniless young man who had
689 run off with a girl of good rank. They had been brought back after
588 an escapade of three years, with a child born during the flight.

The young man was on his knees, his hands tied behind his back, imploring the clemency of the judges and of the whole assembled village. /7/ Despairing, he was saying, of ever being able to marry because of his extreme poverty, he had believed it permissible to act in this way, in order to be able to do his duty and marry. "I have been unjust toward the girl's parents, but I submit myself in advance to make all the reparations possible that will be required of me...." The girl also cries for mercy: "I could have hoped for a better match," she admits, "but I followed this young man to be gracious; without me, he would never have been able to marry...."

681 After an important palaver the offending couple was punished, and the judges found a way to indemnify the injured family and to legalize this union.

2: Schram--99 M-4, 5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
Miao AE5

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Mi 582

has the force of law, which requires taking a wife of one's own race.
Savina, Hist. des Miao, p. 284.

/87/ 8. Marriages of Widows as Official Wives

Mo 587 589

Summary. -- 1. Rights of widows, theory and practice. 2. Procedure for the purchase of a widow. 3. Departure of the widow. 4. Settling of accounts. 5. Marriage of widows. 6. Two typical abductions of widows. 7. Vestiges of marriage by abduction among the T'ou-jen.

1. Rights of Widows, Theory and Practice

When parents give a daughter in marriage, they say, "We have taken leave of our daughter," or "We have given our daughter," or even with a slight scorn "We have sold her"; which denotes clearly that a girl's marriage is not her own affair but definitely the business of her parents. On the other hand, when a widow marries, they say, "She has found a man," that is, that she herself has chosen her husband and that she has acted in complete freedom. Besides, the adage says, "Ts'ien kia yeou tié-niang, heou-kia yeou pen-jen," i.e., the first marriage is arranged by the parents, subsequent marriages no longer depend on the parents but on the widow herself.

The terminology used to indicate these two kinds of marriages, as well as this adage, both throw light on the new situation of a woman in widowhood. Everything depends on her; she will remarry or not, and she will choose by herself the husband she wants. At least this is the theory. Yet in practice her right will be respected as long as her owners find no disadvantage in the decision taken by her. It may even happen that she is married off by force by her parents-in-law, and even that she is simply abducted by an unknown man. This is to say that everywhere praxis differt a speculatione /"practice differs from theory"/. But /88/ let us remember this: in case of litigation, everywhere among the T'ou-jen, the rights of the widow

Mo [183]

Mo 587 589

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will be invoked, and these rights will form the basis of the discussion.

Mo [765]

Therefore after the death of the husband, according to custom the widow will stay in the home of her parents-in-law 49 days. These days are called days of mourning. When this period of time has gone by, she will definitely be able to leave her parents-in-law and go back to her own family. That is her right.

Mo 589

Nevertheless I have known more than one case where young widows did not wait for the 49 days to pass before leaving the parents-in-law; they simply fled. This is because they had wind of the dealings of the parents-in-law, who were getting ready to sell them against their wishes. The right of widows is then a precarious right. Also a widow without sons looks quickly for a match, for she knows well that if she does not look for him herself, her hand will be forced. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, Social Organisation of the Manchus, pp. 70, 71. There are some peculiarities as to the widow's and the widower's marriage. The widow can be remarried according to her personal choice and wish. None of her clan, i.e. her husband's clan, can force her to do it. The late husband's younger brother is always obliged to take care of the widow and his brother's children. The widow has the right to request the separation of her family from the rest of her husband's family and in this case she inherits all the property of her husband. /Cited in English./

Ma 614 589

P. 54: If a widow declares to the Mokunda (the clan chief) that she does not wish to be remarried, but the relatives of her late husband persist on it,

/90 cont'd/

587 [585] girls; they are allowed to leave home only when the very last cash has been paid.

This is because there are so many unforeseen events in this kind of marriage: the widow can deceive the suitor, the parents-in-law can play bad tricks on him, the parents of the widow can do the same, an unknown man can abduct her forcibly at night....Because of these risks the go-betweens do not dare demand payment of the sum before the widow is at her husband's home. A second precaution to take in order to avoid subsequent difficulties consists in the writing of a contract duly signed by the whole family of the parents-in-law, which is scarcely required for the marriage of girls. The marriage contract of a widow is signed only when she has entered the house of her /91/ husband and the money is counted on the table. In the old days, it is said, they used to do without a contract, and they contented themselves with taking the widow's ring, breaking it in two, and giving half to each party.

It is in the evening or at night that they go to get widows, and that is always done without anyone's knowledge. These precautions are needed when one knows the way of thinking of the T'ou-jen, according to which the widow belongs to anyone who can take her. [589] When a widow has made her choice and the negotiations have been begun, she will no longer dare to leave her house; in the evening she will call trusted men, who will mount guard, armed to the teeth. Her parents will be careful to distribute the sa lou ts'ien /"money to block the road"/ to the neighbors: This is the money bestowed on the neighbors so that they will defend the widow in case of an abduction.

3. Departure of the Widow

A band of ten to 20 men armed with swords, sticks, guns... go away in the night and in the greatest silence to get the widow. The greater the danger appears, the larger will be the escort. The widow is at the home of her parents or has gone to some agreed-upon place. The parents will consent to the departure of their

/101 cont'd/

Ma 595 842

sterility. In such case both wives are called "grand wife" in opposition to the concubines called "secret (to be hidden) young wife." /Cited in English./

Mo 595 842

exception.

Therefore in well-off families polygamy will often be seen where there are only one or two daughters; and at the same time one will not always meet two wives in rich families where there are very few children. How can one explain these facts?

Mo 593 171

It is that polygamy among the T'ou-jen remains in practice a very delicate and complex problem. In the family circle the T'ou-jen wife occupies a position much more important than the one which the Chinese wife occupies; in addition T'ou-jen family /102/ life is more intimate than Chinese family life. It proceeds from there that the T'ou-jen wife has more influence on the husband than her Chinese sister has. As schools are rare and intellectual formation among the men is almost nil, the wife will not be inferior to men in that direction. Let us suppose now that she has been able to make herself more or less appreciated by her husband, or let us suppose that having one or two children she is categorically opposed to the introduction of a second wife into the home; or let us suppose that she has won over to her side her /his?/ own parents and that they show themselves displeased with the project; or let us suppose that the wife suggests the word suicide... and then how many suppositions are still possible when one knows that the heart of a jealous woman is an inexhaustible source of expedients... and we shall understand that in practice polygamy bristles with numberless difficulties. As a general rule, if there are no serious motives which enter into it, like sterility or one of the causes explained below: a simple stray impulse, a desire of the lower instinct, even wealthiness, these alone are not enough for practicing polygamy.

Mo 595 589

b) The second category of polygamists: widows, or the levirate.

/102 cont'd/

Mo 595 589

Besides sterility and scarcity of children, which are above all the determining and positive causes of polygamy, there is another cause which is rather passive-negative in the sense that polygamy in this case is rather necessitated by circumstances which do not depend on the wife and is brought on by the situation in which she finds herself. This is the case of the widow upon the decease of the husband among the T'ou-jen.

Mo 587 595

The young widow, who has ordinarily borne several children, finds herself at this moment of her life completely perplexed: to remarry is to run toward the unknown and to abandon her children, who, in her opinion, will be unhappy for the rest of their lives. How can she live without these children? Staying in the family as a widow is advised against for her because of her relative youth... /103/ moreover one of her sons will perhaps be able to marry in two or three years... the position of mother-in-law appeals to her. The family of the parents-in-law understands also what it will lose upon the departure of this fertile woman, and what her children will lose. In this case the mother-in-law, during the 49 days following the death, proposes to the widow that she not leave them and that she marry one of the brothers of the dead man. If there are unmarried sons in the family, a match from among them is proposed to her, the difference in age between husband and wife having little importance in T'ou-jen country. If all the sons are married, she can remarry as the second wife of one of her husband's brothers, little does it matter whether he is older or younger than the dead man.

That is a case of polygamy very common among widows who have children. It is the levirate. Although in theory widows are free to go back to their maternal families after the 49 days of mourning and to marry again at another wedding, they very often remain as the second wife of one of the brothers of the dead husband in order to take care of their children. (1)

Ma 587 595

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64: The widow can marry anyone of her husband's clan members except his

/104 cont'd/

595 The T'ou-jen find this kind of polygamy rational when they
587 think of the sad condition in which orphans are put, who, they say, will have to count solely on the grandparents alone, who are already old. I believe that the true explanation of this fact must be found in the former custom which did not permit widows to leave the clan.

Notice with respect to this very special category of polygamists the very special manner in which one speaks of these marriages. One does not say that the widow looked for a husband, as one says in the case of widows who remarry outside the clan of the parents-in-law, but one says sarun xâgu, "to cover the shadow." (2) Is it the

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775]

2. It is perhaps useful to note in connection with the expression "to cover the shadow," the way of thinking of the Ou-hoan, Sien-pi peoples (Tong hou peoples) on the subject of the condition of widows in the world beyond. Parker, A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 2nd ed., p. 85: (The widow after being remarried either to her husband's brothers or to his paternal uncles...) "after death reverted to her first husband in the next world." /Cited in English, with introductory part in French./

new husband who covers the shadow of his dead brother, so that this shadow will do no more evil? Among the T'ou-jen the shamans claim that all illnesses are caused by the passage of the shadow of a dead person over the body of a person in good health.

587 Yet it happens, when widows are no longer young, that they
589 stay in the family of their parents-in-law without remarrying, sole-
765 ly in order to care for their children. When /105/ widows who have not remarried bear another child during the two years following the death of the husband, such a case does not surprise the T'ou-jen too much; the child is supposed to be the child of the dead man. It is

Mo /105 cont'd/
587 then called, if it is a son, either, according to the Chinese custom,
589 Hiao cheng tse, i.e., "/son/ born during the mourning period," or
765 else, according to the T'ou-jen custom, xara khû, i.e., "black
[171] son," which again means "son of mourning" since black is the color
[822] of mourning among the T'ou-jen; they say "to wear black" for "to be in mourning." Black was formerly also the color of mourning among the Mongols. When widows who have not remarried bear
Mo [847 children after two years, it happens that these children are abandoned
848] or that they are drowned right after birth, especially if they are girls. That happens when the family has many children, or when none of
Mo [792] the neighbors wants to feed the poor being. When the newborn is a son, they will keep him, but he will not inherit family property, and as a general rule they will send him at about the age of nine or ten to a lamasery to remain a bachelor. This is the most practical solution for avoiding difficulties in the family later. (1)

Ma [847 848]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 77: The Manchus are very strict in killing illegitimate children, i.e. the children born by unmarried girls and widows.

The other Tungus groups consider girls who have children as the best for marriage, because these girls have the proof of their fecundity. /Cited in English./

Mo 595 c) The third category of polygamists is met in well-to-do families who lack workers.

Mo 461 462 595 We have seen that all the work, so to speak, is assigned to the wife; the household duties, the care of the livestock, and a large part of the work in the fields. A T'ou-jen wife actually kills herself with work. It is painful to us to look at these men with the nomadic instinct, do-nothings, idlers, spare themselves the least fatigue. It can happen, therefore, in families which have much

/112 cont'd/

583 A. A widow

B. A girl, or the question of husband-sons-in-law

A. Marriage of a Widow

587 One marries a widow without having to pay for her when she is indigent and finds herself after the death of her husband with three or four children; when furthermore she is alone in the world by reason of the fact that she has no brothers-in-law, or if she has, they are too poor to provide for her needs. This is then the case of widows without means of subsistence.

583 /113/ There are naturally few with a taste for this kind of
587 marriage, for those who venture into such will have to raise another person's children, who, sooner or later, if they do not return bad for good, will at least be very little grateful for the care which has been given them. This kind of marriage is literally that called by the Chinese tchao fou iang tse, i.e., "looking for a husband who will feed the children." Although these unions are not advantageous for the husband, nevertheless there are always poor men of some age who, attracted by the hope of offspring, decide to expose themselves to the dangers of such a union, or who rather allow themselves tobe tempted by the widow. Indeed, the terms of this marriage say clearly that it is the widow who is seeking the husband. That says enough,
584 that these unions are not highly prized. In such a marriage, the two
587 parties agree on it first between themselves. Their decision made, they themselves invite a go-between, who will go to see the paternal uncles and the grandparents of the children. The T'ou-jen family has an agnatic base, and the family system is that of the large family
589 with community of property. On the death of the husband, the
421 widow remains therefore within the domain of the community; consequently, it will be necessary to recognize her owners. But since this property is rather a burden for them, it will be easy to come to an agreement. Furthermore, the widow's family knows that if it is not accommodating, the widow will be able to give them a lot of trouble.

/113 cont'd/

587 The conditions the family lays down are the following: the
593 sons will remain the descendants of the dead man; they will continue
[764] to bear his name and will later be buried in their father's cemetery. The new husband will bring them up and feed them. When they reach marriageable age, he will buy them a wife, or he will give the family the required sum ad hoc; then he will be able to send away the married ones, who will provide for their own subsistence. As for the daughters, he will be able to sell them. Since he obligates himself for expenses which so many burdens necessitate, the family does not demand any compensation for the widow.

587 /114/ It often happens that as a consequence of misunderstand-
589 ings and quarrels, the brothers divide up the property and debts
578 among themselves and form independent families. When a widow of
421 such a family wants to remarry, the family requires the new husband to recognize the debts of the dead man; and the creditors exert pressure on the family to prevent the marriage in case of refusal; but if they are lucky enough to be dealing with a virago who threatens to come with her children and live with them, the difficulties vanish, the debts are put on the children's account and will be demanded later when the children are grown.

587 In the case where the widow with her children has inherited
428 several plots of land from her dead husband, the new husband will
593 be able to work them to support his family, but he will not be able to sell them since they are the property of the male orphans /sic/. Once they are married, the latter can demand these lands and send the foster father away with their mother, which often happens; if they get along well, they stay together. If, on the other hand, the new husband has lands of his own, and the widow does not, he maintains the family, gets the sons married, and sends them away. If during the marriage the family becomes richer, if the patrimony increases, and children are born of the new marriage, the children of the first husband will receive the share of their dead father plus half of the lands and assets acquired after the second marriage. The personal properties of the new husband are inherited by his own children. If the husband happens to die without leaving children, his personal

/114 cont'd/

Mo 587 assets and his widow being the property of his own family, they go back into its domain.

428 593 These conditions show clearly that the widow is considered to have left the family of her former parents-in-law completely; the Mo 589 latter have given up all the rights they had with respect to her and have entrusted the children to her with the obligation to raise them for their clan.

Mo 584 When such a marriage is made, a contract is always written in duplicate; /115/ one copy is kept by the husband, and the other is 587 given to the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow. In it 675 minute mention is made of properties, debts, ... and then of the obligations of the new husband.

Mo 582 If they remain poor after the marriage and find it impossible to marry off the sons, when the latter have grown up they end up by going away as they wish.

Mo 587 There is no abduction to fear in the present case; the marriage 591 takes place very simply and openly. If the widow has plots of land and the husband does not, he comes to live with her; in the opposite case, the widow with the children moves in with him. If neither one nor the other has anything, they look for a place to stay and go to live together. One prostration to heaven and to the spirits, in the presence of the go-between and the parents, and this is all the ceremony of such marriages; add to it another to the parents and to the go-between. (1)

Mo 428 589 425

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit.[1], p. 142: If the widow and her daughters do not wish to be cared for by their husband's and father's brothers, they may also receive a part of the property. This part is equal to that of a brother. In this way the woman may become the owner of land and house. But this ownership can be maintained only during two generations (from mother to daughter) because the bride's

[1. op. cit. ie: Social Organisation of the Manchus --- Analyst.]

Mo /148 cont'd/
586 children are accepted in the family to keep the daughter-in-law
593 home better, say the T'ou-jen, and to avoid a second escapade. Then, if later one wants to get rid of them, one will send the boys to the lamasery to devote themselves to the service of Buddha; as for the girls, they will be given in marriage. I confess I have not met polyandry among the T'ou-jen.

Mo Likewise, prostitution in the strict sense of the word is not
548 known. Although there are the series of prayer-post wives and belt wives, they cannot be classed in this category. Indeed, they consider themselves as being married, and they are considered as such, and furthermore they hardly ply the trade of prostitutes. (1)

Ma [548]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 152: Prostitution as a social phenomenon among the Manchus is unknown. /Cited in English./

Mo Celibacy is practiced solely by the lamas of the yellow sect,
589 and the T'ou-jen furnish a sizable contingent to this religious body.
793 They are the only bachelors among the T'ou-jen. There is no lamasery for women in the country; all the women without exception
Mo practice marriage under one or the other of the forms we have de-
[302] scribed above. It happens at the very most that one meets widows or women of advanced age who shave their heads and devote themselves especially to prayer while staying at home.

/149/ Chapter VI

The Matriarchate

006 Summary: -- A. Present-day patriarchal state. System of the large family. B. Former matriarchate proved by: (1) Double burial. (2) The relations of the maternal uncle with the family of his sister

[638 cont.]

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[354]
[171]

[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] on the oil. This is to prevent the wick from burning too far down into the bowl; in order to save oil, the lower half is filled with water. -- The Chinese dough-lamp of long life, ch'ang-ming teng, has nothing to do with this lamp; it is unknown to the Tujen.

the deceased's own family must present these gifts. A so-called paper-bowl also stands on the floor next to the bread and the water-lamp. After each meal some tea, soup, or milk is poured into it, and little pieces of meat, bread, vegetable, etc. [264] are thrown in, according to what the family has just eaten. Until the day of cremation the dead is always supposed to partake of the meals of the household. The paper-bowl is an ordinary earthen bowl; it gets its name from the fact that after the paper-burning the charred leaves are thrown in it (11). Along with the

[171]

11. [Foreign text p. 654.] The paper-burning is typically Chinese.

water-lamp it is emptied in front of the gate on the last day, when the death-box leaves the compound for cremation. It is not broken, but may be used again for other purposes.

764 On the third day after the death, the oldest married
782 daughter of the household appears with 12 loaves of bread. Then
593 the family loaves before the death-box are replaced by the daughter's loaves. This is called "bread exchange." This takes place each time a person makes an offering of loaves. The oldest daughter is followed in order by the younger ones, whether or not the corpse has already been put in the box. Unmarried
[589] daughters of the household do not make offerings. Every time
[152] someone offers loaves, he also burns white paper and weeps aloud; the men, it is true, do not weep (24).

[207 cont.]

775 the Tujen. For instance, one hears little about a Buddhist hell,
171 which plays a much more important role among the neighboring Chinese and is quite graphically portrayed in many temples. It is true that the Tujen like to consider the misfortune in this world as punishment for earlier transgressions. This soul, which
775 one could call "incarnation soul" or "private soul" -- in con-
764 trast to the clan soul -- becomes free for the incarnation through the transforming lotus fire at the cremation. The informant, at any rate, interpreted the lotus-mandala and the fire at the cremation in this sense and ascribed to them a transforming power. This does not mean that this soul remains in the body as long as, say, in an animated corpse. Rather, at the death of the person, the lamas are supposed "to open the way" through prayer, so that the soul may reach Tushita. To what extent such explana-
[171] tions correspond with the orthodox Buddhist doctrine will be left undecided. Any any rate, the conceptions of the people are vague.

775 Even more unclear are the conceptions about the third
776 soul, which is supposed to transform itself into a demon. Nothing is known about its fate and about the cause of such a transformation. Such a soul is feared, however. Perhaps it is this soul that in case of dissatisfaction after the bäda disturbs the
[764] human beings at the command of the clan soul, haunts the
[782] house and yard, and causes sickness and misfortune. At any rate, a great part of the offerings and prayers at the death rites is given out of fear of this soul. The constantly expressed wish to the dead person runs: "Forget us, be content, do not come
775 back." A natural discontent and a kind of missing of life's goal
776 are connected with the soul of unmarried adult girls. It becomes a demon who is so dangerous that even other demons flee
589 from it, for which reason the Bon priests take the material for
[765] their bone flutes, their whip, etc. from the corpses of such girls. The discontent and non-fulfillment can only be accounted for in this case by the unmarried state, which, according to Tujen conceptions, goes against every natural ordinance for a female person. One may suspect that this soul-belief also has a strong
[588] effect on the custom that the Tujen call "to arrange the heavenly

[207 cont.]
775 hairdress," through which a girl is wedded to heaven and is no
776 longer burdened with the contempt suffered by unmarried women
589 (see above). The fear of the female demon-souls [208] is also
588 widespread among the Chinese, and there is only one way of
being safe from them: the cremation. In the customs of the
171 Tsinghai Chinese, this fear and contempt have their basis in
the Buddhist conception that a woman is an unclean being and
that this uncleanness is only removed through the man and his
descendants. This attitude is strengthened through the fervent
desire for sons and grandsons, which again is connected with the
ancestor cult. These Buddhistic motives are certainly also
decisive in part among the Tujen. Among them, too, the
562 woman is regarded as unclean, even if not so harshly as among
783 the Chinese. The veneration of the ancestors plays scarcely
any role. Nonetheless, uncleanness and demonism are closely
841 connected. A very common expression runs: pudaǧ ilie, un-
clean demon; a woman is also pudaǧ during her period.

The demon soul therefore seems to stand in a special relationship with the female principle. This suggests the surmise that it represents the flesh-(body)-soul in the human being, which stands in contrast to the bone-soul. In northeastern Tibet and elsewhere one encounters the conception that the bones of a person come from the man and the flesh from the woman. Among the Tujen, however, this relationship is difficult to determine
614 because it is precisely the bone-soul that is related so closely
to the mother's clan. This does not, it is true, exclude an individual assignment to the man (father), but it does not permit it to make its appearance through this unquestionably matriarchal trait.

775 From everything, one can see that the Tujen are little concerned about the after-life of the soul and the beyond. To them it is enough if they are left in peace on earth. The Buddhist conceptions are more theoretical. In actuality one not infrequently encounters a this-worldly fatalism which expresses itself in the saying: "Our life does not have much meaning"
171 (literally: we have lived in vain). Even if the conception of the
769 soul has much similarity to that of the Chinese, the Tujen

/The Monguors/

000kitchens."

N *563 M 601 • 59 . For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption of sons by childless couples is practiced.

N *563 M 565 582 614 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband. Relationship between two families connected by marriage is clearly seen in the special role of the maternal uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

N *563 M 421 The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that, under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's share.

N *563 361 III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial characteristics but as to their function in the social organization. The counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or "directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the observance of government regulations. The larger villages have their own "family protective associations" and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such organization, but are recognized by the county administration as self-administering units.

N [17] [241] N *563 621 [631] [622] N [701]

N *563 621 631 It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions as hsiang, chen and chü between the villages and the county organizations. It seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions

/114 cont'd/

Mo 587 assets and his widow being the property of his own family, they go back into its domain.

428 593 These conditions show clearly that the widow is considered to have left the family of her former parents-in-law completely; the Mo 589 latter have given up all the rights they had with respect to her and have entrusted the children to her with the obligation to raise them for their clan.

Mo 584 When such a marriage is made, a contract is always written in duplicate; /115/ one copy is kept by the husband, and the other is 587 given to the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow. In it 675 minute mention is made of properties, debts, ... and then of the obligations of the new husband.

Mo 582 If they remain poor after the marriage and find it impossible to marry off the sons, when the latter have grown up they end up by going away as they wish.

Mo 587 There is no abduction to fear in the present case; the marriage 591 takes place very simply and openly. If the widow has plots of land and the husband does not, he comes to live with her; in the opposite case, the widow with the children moves in with him. If neither one nor the other has anything, they look for a place to stay and go to live together. One prostration to heaven and to the spirits, in the presence of the go-between and the parents, and this is all the ceremony of such marriages; add to it another to the parents and to the go-between. (1)

Mo 428 589 425

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit.[1], p. 142: If the widow and her daughters do not wish to be cared for by their husband's and father's brothers, they may also receive a part of the property. This part is equal to that of a brother. In this way the woman may become the owner of land and house. But this ownership can be maintained only during two generations (from mother to daughter) because the bride's

[1. op. cit. ie: Social Organisation of the Manchus --- Analyst.]

/116 cont'd/

000 in-law until death. 4. Furnishing of one's person by adoption in order to obtain a wife.

1. Exchange of a Girl for the Furnishing of Service until the Death of the Parents

Mo 583 608 606 Let us suppose parents, poor or rich, advanced in age, and having a single daughter. If the family is well-to-do, in time it will have procured a second wife; nevertheless the case occurs in which it has not done so. The parents prize their daughter and are persuaded that she cannot do without them and will never leave them. Convinced wrongly or rightly of the attachment their daughter feels Mo [591] for them, they look for a way to avoid being separated from her by giving her a husband who will come to live with them and work their lands. The daughter will bear children who will be the joy of their old age, and the son-in-law will be a pious son to them who will serve them until the time when they go to join their ancestors. That is at least the explanation given for this custom by present-day T'ou-jen.

The girl's parents, without practicing adoption as such, accept the son-in-law in their home as a member of the family and give him their daughter without requiring pecuniary compensation. The son-in-law gets a go-between and two guarantors; a contract is written in which it is stipulated that he will stay with his parents-in-law and /117/ serve them until their death.

Mo 606 591 Among the T'ou-jen what is the legal position of such a son-in-law with respect to his own family and that of his wife?

The case in question is a pure and simple practice belonging to the matriarchate system. It is, indeed, the case of husband-son-in-law who go to live with the parents-in-law for life and who receive the daughter in marriage in exchange for their services. (1) They

Mo 425 606 608

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 142-143: The transmission of a property through the woman from a clan to another one takes place in the case where the male person

Mo /157 cont'd/
585 her departure? The wedding festivity takes place in the patriarchal
562 system in the bridegroom's family on the same day as the marriage.
Mo The departure of the daughter cannot be considered as a reason for
[171] rejoicing; also this custom is not found in China. Is it not also a custom of olden times, when one celebrated the arrival of the son-in-law and his entry into the family?

4. Husband-sons-in-law

Mo We have described above the different forms taken by the
608 husband-sons-in-law practice. The great frequency of this practice
591 in spite of all the troubles it entails, /158/ again brings us back to the
606 former matriarchate. (1) But let us put aside the "fact itself" of this

1. I know only one single case in which a T'ou-jen woman governed her clan. It is that of the widow of the Lou t'ou-se. It is an isolated case, completely accidental and recent. I see in it no relation whatever with the matriarchate which formerly existed among the T'ou-jen.

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institution which is essentially matriarchal in order to explain some strange vestiges still met with today relative to this practice.

Formerly, the husband-son-in-law, living in his wife's family, had necessarily to be considered as an intimate member of the family. Now can one not see a vestige of this position of the son-in-law in the fact that at the time of celebrations and of mourning, the son-in-law does not have his place at the dinner among the guests? On the contrary, even today, he is relegated to the kitchen among the intimates of the family. Celebrations and mournings are not a time of rejoicing for him, of feasting and of drinking bouts, but a time during which work is required of him which is considerable and very disagreeable.

Ma We have seen that among the Manchu, when the son-in-law
606 comes to get his bride, he honors first the spirits of that family, then

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

N *563 586 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

M 594 596 [61] [591] N *563 M [556]

A. The Family Organization

Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patrilineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family. In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines, and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

M [361] The extended family has a common courtyard, around which the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus, M [182] [252] the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are M [342] well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. M [264] [342] After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

N *563 M 592 554 [169] The family head is the religious chief, family administrator and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

The Monguors

N *563 M 144 174 sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsining region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 648 175 311 The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

N *563 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342 The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351] The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables

M [343] and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where

M [231] grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [592] [594] The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies

M [354] [362] the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N *563 M 342 594 592 The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside. M [351] [782] [353] [352] Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations. For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is M [252] always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, M [794] mules or donkeys. A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter and wheat flour are luxuries. Only the wealthy can afford fruit. M [412] Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

N *563 M 264 415 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some

596 587 Theoretically, it might be argued that a son who had left the extended family to live separately would be free to take a concubine. In practice, he is rarely able to do so because the commonest reason for leaving the extended family is that it has become too poor to support all its members. The son who is starting life separately is, therefore, usually starting as a man too poor to afford a concubine.

587 Polygamy is, however, not frowned on in the case of a small family consisting of husband and wife, economically well off but without children. In order to prevent the line from dying out, thus breaking the continuity in the ancestor-cult, it is quite proper to take a concubine, even if the couple has already adopted a child. Polygamy is also not unusual in a small family in which there are children, if the family are well off; in such cases, if the wife does not object, her husband takes a concubine and the concubine helps her in her housework.

In one case in my experience, in a rich family consisting of husband, wife, and one son, who was already married, the mother objected to her husband taking a concubine, but did not mind arranging for a second wife for her son; the arrangement was one that provided an extra worker in the family.

The Monguors make a distinction between polygamy, as described above, and the levirate. In a family in which there are several sons, all of them married and having children, if one of the sons dies, the widow becomes the second wife of one of his brothers (usually a younger brother). The distinction between the levirate and polygamy is clear. Polygamy requires the expenditure of family funds for the acquisition of a second wife or concubine. In the levirate, the bride-price has already been paid; if the widow should leave the family in order to marry an outsider of her choice, she would be a loss to the family and it is proper, therefore, to make an arrangement that keeps her in the family. The levirate is, however, only practiced when brothers are still living together in the extended family, and when the widow consents.

THE FAMILY CHIEF

592 611 The position of chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head of the family. If at this moment the extended family should break up, instead of continuing to live together, the eldest son is privileged to receive a larger share of the fields and cattle forming the common property, and his own eldest son shares this privilege, also receiving a cow or horse, or a field. This rule of succession and inheritance is followed by both nobles and commoners.

592 In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. He repre-

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

592 sents the family in attending the general assembly of the clan at the spring ceremony of venerating the ancestors. At such meetings, the older people are always bitter in their condemnation of heads of families who send a delegate instead of attending in person.

592 796 769 Apart from religious practices within the family, the head of the family must also attend when shamanistic ceremonies are staged in the village temple. Within the household, it is his duty every morning to honor "heaven and all the spirits" either on the roof of his house or in the courtyard. A duty that he cannot alienate from himself is the cult of the deity honored by his father; the picture of this deity reverts to him by inheritance. It is also his responsibility to invite either shamans or lamas to his house on various occasions.

592 471 In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. All money coming to any member of the family must be deposited with him. Individuals in the family have no right to keep money for their own use. It is he who sells and buys cattle and grain, and all contracts must be signed by him because only his signature is legally valid for the family. He also buys, sells, or mortgages land. It is his right to decide which member of the family is to become a lama, who is to be sent to school, and who is to serve as a soldier. He directs all the ordinary routine of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns to members of the family their daily duties. If members of the family wish to attend festivals, he must give permission; he must also give permission if a daughter-in-law wants to go home to visit her parents.

[553] 592 He is of course the one who decides on the arrangements for marriages and funerals, and it is his privilege to give names not only to his own children but to grandchildren. He is expected to be just and even-handed in seeing that all members of the family have their fair share of clothes and their fair share of space in living quarters. Inability to handle such matters to the satisfaction of the family often leads to the break-up of an extended family and the building of new chimneys. Authority within the family is balanced by responsibility to the chief of the clan not only for the family itself but for murders or robberies committed on land belonging to the family. In the event that a member of his own family is murdered, he must join with the maternal uncle of the one who has been killed in leading all the men of the family to secure vengeance. When a member of his family brings shame on the family by a crime, such as stealing, and is unwilling to make amends, he must again consult with the maternal uncle of the guilty person and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. In such cases even the death penalty may be exacted without arousing the disapproval of the public authorities.

592 681

592 When visiting a Monguor family, it is always easy to recognize the head of the family. He is better dressed than the others, is almost never without a long-stemmed pipe in his hand, and does not do any hard physical

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

592 work. He entertains the guests, the other members of the family keep respectfully apart. At dinner, he and his wife occupy the places of honor and his food is served to him first. His prestige and the respect shown to him are, however, modified by the necessity for earning respect by proper conduct of the affairs of the family.

BREAKUP OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY

596 The usual time for the breaking up of an extended family is at the death of the grandfather. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More often, the sons divide the property and each one builds his own "chimney"; if he has grown sons of his own, he is already the founder of a new extended family. It is difficult for the oldest son to hold the family together, because, although he has a certain authority, it is not so great as that of a man of a senior generation. It is also at this moment that old quarrels among the wives of the various sons are likely to flare up; each woman, moreover, is eager to seize the opportunity to be recognized as the wife of the head of a new family, exercising authority in her own right over her sons, daughters-in-law, and grandchildren. I have often been told by old men that wives have a bigger stake in founding new families at this moment than do their husbands.

As an example we may take the case of a grandfather who has four sons, each of whom has three or more children. At the grandfather's death, it becomes apparent that the four brothers have different and uncongenial personalities—one perhaps is lazy, making the others feel that they are doing his share of the work and supporting his family for him, while another may be quarrelsome or avaricious. With the authority of the grandfather removed, it also becomes evident that each of the four sisters-in-law has her own personality; or perhaps one has several children and another, having only one, feels that life in the common courtyard means that she has more than her fair share of the household work and helping to look after other people's children. In short, it would be revealed that although there had been unity and harmony in the family during the ten or fifteen years that the grandfather had ruled it with tact, patience, and love for his children and grandchildren, there had nevertheless been underlying strains which, after his death, became strong enough to break up the family. While it is for such reasons that it is extremely rare to find an extended family of four generations holding together after the death of the grandfather, a few such families do hold together, not so much because of family affection as for economic reasons. The moment that an extended family begins to fall apart, its creditors appear, because once they have separated the individual families will no longer acknowledge mutual responsibility. If the extended family is so deeply in debt that after a settlement there would not be enough to divide among the separating families, it may

[P. 83a]

512 bowl of food in to her husband, presenting it to him
462 humbly with both hands. She then folds and stacks along the rear wall of the *k'ang* the felts, skins, and quilts that serve as bedding, and sweeps out the house and courtyard.

462 It is also woman's work to feed the livestock, milk the cows, and go out to fetch earth, carried in a basket
233 on her back, to dump in the stables where the trampling of the animals mixes it with manure and urine which will eventually be carried out to put on the fields as fertilizer. If a cart is needed in the day's work, it is the wife who harnesses the horse or ox. When it is time to grind flour, it is she who does the grinding, either pounding a little at a time in a stone mortar or taking a larger quantity to a grindstone turned by animal power. When it rains, it is her duty to take the small herds of sheep, cows, and horses out to graze in the valley or on the hill slopes, while her husband, smoking his pipe, huddles by the brazier at home to keep warm or goes to visit his friends.

462 Women also work in the fields. On the field nearest home the Monguors use stable manure; on distant fields
241 they use a fertilizer made by burning clods of earth and grass. The wife carries the ashes in a basket on her back and spreads them on the field. Most husbands help their wives in this heavy work, but it seems not to be their duty to do so. Plowing and harrowing are the main agricultural work of the men, but even in this the women frequently help them. It is not unusual to see a woman plowing and harrowing. When the heavy preparatory work has been done, husband and wife together sow and later weed the fields. They also work together in reaping the harvest, carrying it to the threshing floor, and threshing it—though there are a few lazy men who will not work after the sowing and the weeding, leaving the harvesting, carrying, and threshing to the women.

462 Whenever a woman has a few minutes to spare she reaches for her sewing box. Sewing is work that
294 Monguor women love and at which they are very skillful. They can often be seen working at night by the light of a twisted wick spluttering in a saucer of vegetable oil, patching the clothes of the family. A housewife is expected to make all the new clothes for her husband, her children, and herself. Although she is always the first to get up in the morning and the last to go to bed at night, she has a little more spare time in the winter, when there is no work in the fields, and this is the season for sewing.

603 It is the grandmother who manages the whole female side of the community, supervising and allocating work
462 to the daughters-in-law and the older girls. A good manager rotates the work so that each woman will have
•592 an opportunity to do needle work and so that pregnant
606 women get lighter work. It is the grandmother also who soothes the quarrels that inevitably break out in such a family, and endeavors to keep them from be-

[p. 89a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

603 coming serious. At the same time, a grandmother is a
462 woman who by age and rank is entitled to be a little
cranky and to have her peculiar ways. If she cannot keep
the peace and maintain order among the daughters-in-
• 592 law, she appeals to the grandfather, who orders the
husband of the woman who is considered at fault to
606 tackle the problem by admonishing his wife or if necessary by beating her.

Generally speaking, however, such little incidents within the family do not turn out to be serious; a daughter-in-law is expected to be demure and obedient, to hold her tongue and not to display jealousy, but at the same time it is considered only human to allow her to display a little bit of "temperament" from time to time.
562 In spite of the fact that Monguor women do very heavy work, they are usually happy and contented and it is the normal thing for husband and wife, even though they did not make their own marriage, to have real respect and love for each other. In their own little family within the extended family husband and wife usually talk everything over together, giving the wife the feeling that she has a responsible part in their joint concerns; while, as for the husband, it is easy for him to be fond of a wife who is so obedient and works so hard.

In public, Monguor women retain enough of the old nomad tradition to be much more free, especially in their attitudes to and conversations with men, than Chinese women. While they are bound by strict rules of etiquette and are likely to be rebuked by their elders, especially at home, if they infringe these rules, they are not in public at a loss how to behave when they encounter a man; they feel perfectly free to talk with him and they do not blush or look in the other direction, as old-fashioned Chinese women used to do. They enjoy going to the big public festivals at the lamaseries, and to the annual assembly of the clan; they like to sit on the grass in mixed groups, men and women together, talking, laughing, singing, watching dances, and making merry. A woman is not embarrassed to sing a song in public; and when she is dressed in her best clothes she likes to stroll, preening herself, through the crowd, displaying her costume and her magnificent headdress. Nor are women afraid to do their own shopping; at the fairs they confidently examine the wares for sale and hold their own in bargaining over prices. In the country Monguors do not consider it shocking to see a man riding to his fields with his wife riding pillion behind him; and during the long and tedious work of weeding man and wife both like to sing in the open air.

It is perhaps worth making a few brief comparisons between the status of men and women in the Monguor society and in the greater Mongol society from which the Monguors derive. In the thirteenth century William of Rubruck reported of the Mongols that:

> It is the duty of the women to drive the carts, get the dwellings on and off them, milk the cows, make butter and

[p. 89b]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

858 596 family, give them strength and courage in the struggle for the necessities of life, and finally, as I always observed, the love of the grandparents for their grandchildren holds the family united, because only when the grandparents love their children can the daughters-in-law, who are so numerous in the family, forgive each other's and the grandparent's shortcomings and deficiencies. Love for the children is the oil that makes the wheels of the Monguor family turn smoothly. No Monguor can withstand the love displayed for his children.

MORALITY IN THE MONGUOR FAMILY

• 592 577 It is a general phenomenon that husbands and wives who really enjoy the delights of a happy family life do not feel the need of indulging themselves with pleasures shocking to each other's feelings. People engrossed the whole year long with the problem of making ends meet, dispose of little time to spend in that way and cannot afford its costs. In order to understand the problem we must take stock of the peculiar conditions under which the members of an extended family live. The sons, with their wives and children, live in the same courtyard, one next to the other, with the chief of the family and his wife among them. Permission for absence must be granted by the chief of the extended family, and because there is only one small gate to enter the courtyard, every visitor is instantly noticed, the reasons for his visit are discussed by all the daughters-in-law, and the length of his stay is well observed. Every one in the courtyard is the guardian of the other members of the family, and so the opportunity for misbehavior at home is reduced to a minimum. These are the conditions of every extended family. There is no secrecy. They live in glass houses. The opportunity for misbehavior in small families consisting of husband, wife, and small children is greater, although these families have next door neighbors whose tongues they cannot prevent from wagging. A married daughter who visits her parents, sometimes for many weeks, is more free since her parents do not have as much commanding influence upon her as when she was a child. Very long visits of married daughters at the home of their parents are discouraged by the older people, who seem to know more about the matter. Attendance at the public meetings when such problems are tackled in the presence of all the very interested villagers and the infliction of dishonorable punishments undoubtedly have a salutary and preventive effect upon the people; but in the Monguor society, as in all other societies, it happens that once in a while somebody falls from grace.

834 It is not allowed to the young folk to tell smutty jokes in public or to sing lascivious songs in the village; at weeding time, however, obscene songs are sung in the open fields and allowance seems to be made for that custom. At public festivities, at the lamaseries and at the general assembly of the clan, men and women are

[P. 110a]

Mo /157 cont'd/
585 her departure? The wedding festivity takes place in the patriarchal
562 system in the bridegroom's family on the same day as the marriage.
Mo The departure of the daughter cannot be considered as a reason for
[171] rejoicing; also this custom is not found in China. Is it not also a custom of olden times, when one celebrated the arrival of the son-in-law and his entry into the family?

4. Husband-sons-in-law

Mo We have described above the different forms taken by the
608 husband-sons-in-law practice. The great frequency of this practice
591 in spite of all the troubles it entails, /158/ again brings us back to the
606 former matriarchate. (1) But let us put aside the "fact itself" of this

> 1. I know only one single case in which a T'ou-jen woman governed her clan. It is that of the widow of the Lou t'ou-se. It is an isolated case, completely accidental and recent. I see in it no relation whatever with the matriarchate which formerly existed among the T'ou-jen.

Mo
[592]

institution which is essentially matriarchal in order to explain some strange vestiges still met with today relative to this practice.

Formerly, the husband-son-in-law, living in his wife's family, had necessarily to be considered as an intimate member of the family. Now can one not see a vestige of this position of the son-in-law in the fact that at the time of celebrations and of mourning, the son-in-law does not have his place at the dinner among the guests? On the contrary, even today, he is relegated to the kitchen among the intimates of the family. Celebrations and mournings are not a time of rejoicing for him, of feasting and of drinking bouts, but a time during which work is required of him which is considerable and very disagreeable.

Ma We have seen that among the Manchu, when the son-in-law
606 comes to get his bride, he honors first the spirits of that family, then

372 [43 cont.]
782
572
[783]
[575]

[Note on foreign text p. 46 cont.]
takes a second mouthful and lets it run out of the mouth over the cupped hands and washes them; the third mouthful, allowed to run into the hand in the same way, serves to wash the face. This is repeated as desired, until one is clean. In case someone has a washbowl, he may under no circumstances forget to rinse his mouth, because that is part of the purification for a religious ceremony.

and puts them on the incense plate under the mani-tree out in the yard. There he blows on the coals to make a large flame, throws cypress twigs, butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, tea leaves, sugar, and a number of colored threads into it, and finally sprinkles the fire with pure water. Then, when the smoke rises up, the conch is blown, and the master of the house, as well as all those standing by, makes a three-fold [788] kowtow three times in front of the fire. With this the morning offering is concluded, and all go to their daily work.

Details

782 Persons: Usually the master of the household presents the [592] incense offering. In his stead, however, another male member [562] of the family may perform the act, but never women, unless there is no male person in the house and the children are still too small. Women may be present and make the kowtow, just as they also sweep the yard, set the things in readiness, and even hand them over for the offering. The conch is usually blown by someone who does not perform the offering. If the master of the household making the offering does it himself, it is done before the kowtow.

[56 cont.]

782 Now comes the offering. Incense is burned on the fumi-
*778 gating plate under the mani-tree, while a table with the follow-
ing gifts is put in front of it (1): a number of small bowls of

1. [Foreign text p. 60.] One can also burn incense directly at the foot of the tree inside the round manger and set the offerings there.

barley wine, grain, pure water, a large bowl of tea, bread, butter- or oil-lamps, and two vases of colorful flowers. -- The lama comes out, sits down on the opposite side of the central fort on a white felt mat, and gives the consecrating prayer. Meanwhile all those present kowtow and blow the conch.

After the prayer, the offerings are cleared away. Water and wine are poured on the ground, and small pieces of the bread are thrown into the air. The little oil-lamps are left standing. Everything else is taken into the house.

*778 The master of the household gives the guests a meal; they
527 dance and sing and drink into the night in the yard around the
[792] new mani-tree -- The next morning the lama is taken home to the monastery.

Details

791
*778 Persons: For praying, an ordinary lama, not a Living
[782] Buddha, but sometimes a Bon priest, is invited. Everything can
[792] also be done without a lama, but then the performance lasts
[592] only one day because the praying is omitted. In this case the master of the household himself erects the tree. The ceremonies are almost the same as with a lama. The soothsayer, however, may never be lacking, whether or not he is a spear-soothsayer, or the litter-bearers or the table-god soothsayer (2).

[787]

2. [Foreign text p. 60.] The soothsayer is invited in the morning and given hospitality. He calls down the spirit and then determines precisely

[621 cont.]

846 loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter,
431 and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole
[262] in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

[858] Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts
[822] for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

553 Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-
791 soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the master of the household gives the great incense offering in the
[787] yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master
[592] of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the
[778] child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

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3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guānbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guāmbo; ifulā sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sērāṅ (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; laǰdze sērāṅ, pass-peak-palace; tuguān ula, mountain of the Tuguān. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

[621 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 622 cont.] the father or grandfather or someone else in the family was just fifty years old, but the mother's family has no influence on such names. For boys, instead of mdzuo (full) one says serãṅ, that is, roughly "sublime." Other names are, for example, wadma sdziġ, that is, lotus flower, for girls; or wadma sdzia, that is, dedicated to the lotus, for boys. -- The Chinese, too, have a similar custom. They, for example, take a boy to the temple of the black tiger and then call him "dedicated to the black tiger," hei-hu-pao; or "dedicated to the mother," niang-niang-pao, when they have put the child under the protection of the mother-goddess in the temple. The Chinese pao and the sdzia of the Tujen have the same meaning.

[171]

5. [Foreign text p. 622.] sẽrãṅ: Tibetan sraṅ (?) = dwelling, settlement (Unkrig).

553 child to eat; he likewise offers it tea. It is not the child, how-
791 ever, but the mother who eats the gifts. Then everyone makes a threefold kowtow in the house to the soothsayer and the Buddha image, and outside to the sky.

If the spear-spirit desires that the family elder should
[592] give the name, the latter performs the same ceremonies, but the soothsayer supervises the performance with the trembling spear. Also, the kowtow is then made to the family elder. --
553 This ceremony is usually undertaken by the grandfather or
592 father, or by the man who is the master in the family (4). It
[792]

[621 cont.]

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4. [Foreign text p. 622.] A lama can also perform the ceremony. This is rarely done, however. Usually the father or kin-group elder does it.

is never a woman or a relative from the family of the woman in childbed.

Following the name-giving or in the course of the day, the mother with the child in her arms must kowtow to all the guests; for this she receives a small gift of money for the child. -- Towards noon the family holds a general feast, for men and women separately. On this occasion much barley wine is drunk, and there is singing and dancing.

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Reception of the shepherd: Towards evening, when the animals are expected back from the pasture, the father or the mother takes the infant in his arms and takes it out in front of the gate of the yard, where they meet the homecoming herd. The shepherd must give the child some money, and in return the father gives him a loaf of bread which he must eat immediately. This custom is called "to welcome the shepherd"; the Chinese say "to welcome the sheep" (2). -- The guests

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2. [Foreign text p. 622.] The reception of the shepherd is also found among the Chinese, just as the termination of the confinement generally is almost the same among them. In the region of Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) I learned from the missionary there, P. Frick, that the people place the child in the manger so that it may later own many herds and become a good horseman. This custom could not be confirmed for the Tujen.

764 [640 cont.]
[602] relatives do not come (15). The mother's brother is solemnly
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[592]

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15. [Foreign text pp. 654-655.] Three groups of relatives are to be distinguished, which correspond to the kinship divisions of the Chinese there: 1. One's own family, dzienani kudĕ, Chin. pen-chia. To this belong the descendants in a direct line, son, grandson, grandchildren, even the daughters who are already married outside. They live together in one compound. 2. Cousinhood, dzienani šăni, Chin. tang-chia-tzu. These are the father's brothers and cousins, in practice all the relatives with the same family name. -- This group is obligated to provide for the interment, while one's own family (even the daughters) wear mourning dress and are subject to the strict mourning taboos. As soon as the daughters return to their husband's family, however, they take off the mourning. 3. Affinity by marriage, urog, Chin. ch'in-chia, ch'in-ch'i. Since among the Tujen here the Chinese expressions are now in use, the following names should be distinguished: ch'in-chia in the strict sense is the relationship of the sons-in-law with whom the daughters have married. They have another family name, wai-hsing. The family from which the mother comes is called wai-chia; here the brother of the mother is the person of respect who represents her interests. The family from which the mother of the father comes is called wei-chia; here, too, for the

Service for Prayers and Alms Collections:

A strict condition of service continues which compels the farmers of the monastery to invite the lamas of the intendancy, whose fields they till, to perform both public religious rites in the village, and private services in individual families. Lamas of one intendancy or monastery are not allowed to perform these rites among subjects of another intendancy. In the same way, when lamas are touring for alms among the subjects of their own intendancy, lamas of other monasteries are not allowed to tour. 792 571

The intendancies urge the observance of this service even by former tributaries, but it does not always work. The Tibetan tribe of Sumdoo, former tributary of the community of lamas of Erh-ku-lung, accused the intendancy, in 1918, of trying to occupy a part of its territory. The Chinese court, however, recognized the ownership of the debatable ground by the tribe. Sumdoo, having a grudge against the intendancy, invited the intendancy of Seerkok to perform a tribal religious rite. The day preceding the appointed day, a group of furious lamas from Erh-ku-lung, intending to assert their prerogative to conduct the service, arrived and started with the prayers. All the ladies of the tribe, engaged in preparing the food for the three-day solemnity, arrived ranting, panting, and cursing the lamas with feminine fury, and threw their boots at the heads of the bewildered lamas. The lamas, powerless against the infuriated women, returned to their intendancy. 792 571 796 578

The next day, when the solemnities had already been started by the lamas of Seerkok, the intendant of Erh-ku-lung arrived with an imposing retinue to assert his rights. All the men of the tribe vanished, entrusting the emergency to the ladies, who arrived with the same threatening appearance of the former day, and the intendant and his retinue understood that the relations between the intendancy and Sumdoo were sundered forever. This incident illustrates the psychology of the lamas in trying by all means to retain their old rights, even among tributaries with whom all legal connections have been cut off.

Repair of the Lamasery:

The chiefs of the villages inhabited by the subjects of the intendancies are ordered by their respective intendancy to send a fixed number of men to repair the buildings belonging to the intendancy, to chop wood, grind wheat, thresh the harvest, sweep snow, and build roads or bridges. The subjects are still willing to comply with these corvées. 792 466

Travel of the Chief of the Lamasery:

When the supreme chief of the lamasery makes a long journey, the chiefs of the intendancies order the chiefs of the villages to send a couple of horsemen each 792 484 651

[p.48(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

every courtyard there is encountered a guardian deity 776 of the family. 342

SPIRITS HONORED IN THE FAMILIES—PECULIAR CONCEPT

The Monguor concept of the deities honored in the 776 families is very peculiar. Once a family starts wor- 428 shipping a deity, its cult must be continued forever in 782 that family, for fear that the deity, if evicted, might loose 592 its avenging bolts of calamities and disaster, and the long train of miseries would never stop.

According to this conception, at the time of dividing the paternal inheritance the eldest son inherits the cult of the deity previously honored by the father. The duty to continue the old family cult falls upon him. His younger brothers, however, are free to make a choice among all the available deities of Taoism, of Lamaism, even of the Twelve Tengris of the shamans, and to start their newly founded families with a new guardian deity. Every two ar three years all the brothers must still convene in the house of the eldest, to attend a rite celebrated for the old family deity and to contribute to the expenses of the celebration. The tie which binds them to the cult of the old family deity is so strong, that in the event a great calamity overcomes one of the brothers, notwithstanding the fact that he honors his own deity, he will invite all his brothers to worship the old family deity at the home of the eldest brother. The old family deity which had been honored for so many generations is still supposed to harbor in its heart a predilection for all those who honored it. The old Monguor, Li San-ming, told me this in Li chia t'an in 1914, the day after his brothers had worshipped the old family deity at his home.

The fervent cult of the guardian deity of the family is 688 a characteristic of the Monguor family. No Kuang-li 776 of Naring Valley told the story of a poor old widower, 592 Li ssu, living in the village of P'irke in 1908, who could hardly make both ends meet, and who had inherited from his father the picture of Twelve Tengris with the Black Tiger rider of the shamans, which he did not honor. Every time the villagers of P'irke took ill they went to the home of the old man, to honor and to propitiate the spirits, because a certain shaman had said that all the misfortunes occurring in the village were caused by these spirits, who took with bad grace the neglect of the old man. The extremely shy old man tried to make a living out of these circumstances and, stubborn as a mule, he would not allow anyone to honor the spirits in his home, as long as the villagers would not provide for his livelihood, for he knew the villagers were sick with apprehension. But the villagers, as stubborn as he, honored the spirit behind his house, burning incense there.

After his death, his only married daughter, living in the village of Li chia t'ai, inherited his poor house. The villagers of P'irke, having lived under the threat of

[p. 125(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the spirits for so long a time, urged her husband to take 688
with him the fateful picture. The villagers of Li chia 776
t'ai, however, did not allow him to introduce the ill- 592
boding spirits into their village. At night the son-in-law buried the picture in a deserted, ruined house in P'irke. After one or two years the fact became known. The wrath of the P'irke villagers was great enough to bring suit against Li ssu, but the court of Li T'u-ssu ordered the defendant to defray the expenses of inviting twelve shamans (for they honor the twelve spirits) in order to conciliate the spirits, to repair the outrage, and to offer a sheep, incense, and oil. After the preparations were performed, the shamans took with them the picture,[2] and firecrackers were set off. This fact illustrates the peculiar attitude of the Monguors concerning the duty of continuing the cult of the deities honored by the ancestors.

MOST SPIRITS ARE TAOIST

Since nearly every family has an uncle or a son who 771
is a lama, it would seem obvious that most of the deities 776
honored in the families should belong to Lamaism—all the more so because in nearly every valley there is a big or a small wealthy lamasery, and Lamaism reached the highest peak of glory with its celebrated Hutukhtus two centuries ago. However, it seems not to be so. The number of families honoring a Lamaist guardian deity is far smaller than of those honoring Taoist deities, and even the twelve spirits with their black tiger rider of the shamans. This astonishing fact requires an explanation.

The Monguors are a practical people. At the feast of spring, when the shamans invite spirits to come to the temple along the rope, no Lamaist deities are invited, and none arrive. The shamans honor their Tengris and the Taoist spirits, and combat the hail scourge by help from all of them. Honoring at home the same spirits which are honored in the temple of the village will provide more security for their worshippers against the dreaded hail, so most of the Monguors prefer at home the cult of these deities honored by the shamans, who are considered to be more powerful and more expert in this field than the lamas.

The reasons for the Monguor preference for non- 771
Lamaist protector deities, explain why they adopt Taoist 776
or shamanist spirits. It was always said that "Heaven" 592
is never honored as a family spirit. However, in the families, there are encountered the cults of the spirits of the mountain, the earth, the five roads, the dragon king, the mother gooddess, the horse king, and the cow king. The temples of the villages are dedicated to the same spirits. Some families honor the Twelve Tengris of the shamans with the tiger rider. However, most of the Monguors, at the time of the division of the extended family, when they have to choose a new family

[2] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 603. Among the Alar-Buryats, images of family deities must be removed by the shaman who honors the deity.

[p. 126(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

guardian deity do not like the cult of the twelve Tengris, 771
although these are considered the most potent protectors 776
among the spirits. The reason alleged is that these 592
spirits are very touchy and do not allow any lukewarmness in their cult and frequently during the year they urge the offering of a sheep. Therefore, the families which honor them are all families which continue a cult initiated generations ago.

However, families whose children are weakly like to dedicate them for thirteen years to the Twelve Tengris, and after thirteen years perform the rite of liberation from the dedication, and nurture the rooster of longevity. (See Part I: 102–103.)

There still exists an unusual custom concerning the cult of the Twelve Tengris for which I never found an explanation. It is customary that the images of guardian deities should be hung on the northern wall in the living room. The image of the Twelve Tengris, however, is never hung, but is kept rolled up during the whole year and put on the offering table along the wall. Only on the first of the first moon, at New Year's, is it hung for three days, and all the members of the families who, before the division of the extended family group, honored these Twelve Tengris and at present honor other deities as their protectors, are bound to come during these three days to worship the Twelve Tengris of their ancestors.

Another emotional but important reason for preferring the cult of a Taoist deity is that the families enjoy more the rite celebrated by the shaman at home for a Taoist family deity, than the rite performed for a Lamaist family deity. The lamas do not in fact honor the ancestors. They recite texts for one or seven days, make a *torma*, and the monotonous and tedious rite is finished. Because an emotional element governs the choice of the family deity, an outline of the shamanist rite will best explain what is involved.

CULT OF THE FAMILY GUARDIAN DEITY

The biennial or triennial rite is performed in the 795
eleventh month. On the first day of the celebration, 756
the same preparations are made by the shamans and 782
their apprentices as at the feast of the spring in the 592
temple of the village, but on a more reduced scale, in- 776
cluding pasting of banners and streamers, planting of the pole, binding of the rope, baking and steaming of rolls, offering of sheep, thrones for the ancestors, the hearth god, spirits of the horses, the gate, and for the protector spirits of each of the families of the brothers.

At midnight "Heaven and all the spirits" are worshipped in the courtyard by the whole family. Firecrackers are set off. On the morning of the second day the spirits are invoked and come down along the rope. Among them are the gods of the hearth, the granaries, the stables, the doors, the grindstone, the fertilizers, the well, the horses, the cows, and the last three generations of ancestors. There are the usual prostrations, in-

[p. 126 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

cense, and libation for the throne of the ancestors. The 795
spirits are greeted and the offerings enumerated. The 756
shaman holds a long dialogue with the ancestors, asking 782
whether they are happy and will protect the descendants, 592
and makes promises. The whole group enjoys sitting 776
before the gods and the ancestors. The rite of the greeting of the Goddess of Joy and all the performances connected with it are omitted, but at evening follow the lighting of the lamps, the making of the bridge, and the departure of the spirits.

The spirits remain only one day. At night no soul is taken outside the courtyard to nurture the spirits, but during a last wild dance the chief of the shamans jerks off the head of a chicken and the guardian deity of the family is nurtured with its reeking blood. The head of the chicken is put under a box for seven days, the pole is taken down, and jujubes are gathered. After the shamans leave the courtyard, the fire in the hearth is not allowed to die out for seven days, and for seven days no guests or friends are admitted. No food is given to anybody, not even to beggars, no items are loaned out, no animals are sold, and the animals sold before that time are not allowed to be led away. However, things from outside may be accepted and brought into the courtyard.

The real nature of the feast celebrated by the shaman in honor of the family deity consists, it is clear, in honoring the guardian deity of the family and all the spirits presiding over the various departments of the household, together with the ancestors. It seems to be a heterogeneous party in which spirits and ancestors and the members of the present generation participate. The climax of the feast, however, is the entertainment of the ancestors, who are believed to be present in the courtyard, happy to look upon their descendants and disposed to extend their protection over them. The shaman is believed to see the ancestors, hear them speaking, know their intimate feelings, their desires for offerings and their good dispositions, and his dialogue with them is so animated as to give the participants hallucinations and make them happy.

New Catholic converts, talking about this feast, al- 795
ways recognized that before their conversion they en- 776
joyed the entertainment with the ancestors very much, but they never alluded to the presence of the spirits at the feast. Children of new converts often had interesting discussions at school with children more proficient in the doctrine concerning the shaman who had seen their ancestors and heard them speaking, but they never spoke about the other spirits present at such times.

The feast of the family guardian deity seems in fact 592
to have become a feast honoring the ancestors at home. 776
This delight in the presence of the ancestors is not confined to the Monguors. It is interesting to note the similarity of the rite of the invocation of the spirits of departed heroes, which still delights the Ordos Mongols.

[p. 127(A)]

appropriated the tributes brought by chiefs of Tibetan 175x
tribes, protected and hid people prosecuted by the courts 648
of justice, and for more than ten years had fostered subversive influences. T'u-ssu Li Yin, discharged at that time the duty of Chi-hui ch'ien-shih in Hsining, conversant with these facts, killed the lama and his family. The country again enjoyed peace (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 10*a*).

During the Yung Lo period (1403–1425) the military 175x
colonies of Huangchung did not increase in number. 161
The same 7,200 families are recorded as at the end of 592
the Hung-wu period. However, the number of persons constituting these families had decreased by 3,000 (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 15*a*). During the same period four [792]
more temples had been built in Huangchung: Yung-hsing-ssu, situated five li north of the city of Hsining, 1410; Hua-tsang-ssu situated south of the city, 1410; Tsang-chin-ssu situated in the southwestern corner of the city, and Kuang-fu-kuan in the northwestern corner of the city, 1426 (*Annals* of Kansu 30: 45*b*, 46*a*). Emperor Yung Lo had established in the valley of Sha t'ang, 80 li northeast of Hsining, controlled by the Li [233]
t'u-ssu, some pasturage for cavalry horses. In 1378 after the institution of the exchange bureau of tea against horses, 3,500 horses were acquired for the cavalry every year, and had to be fed on pasture.

T'U-SSU LI YIN

In 1426 Li Yin again was ordered to muster the 175x
Monguor troops, and to equip an expedition with the 648
Chih-hui K'ang Chou, against the tribes of Anting and Ch'u Hsien (the old Tunhuang region), in which country the Chinese ambassadors Ch'iao Li-sse and Teng Ch'eng had been plundered and murdered on their way to Turkistan. The Monguor t'u-ssu who participated in the expedition under the command of Li Yin were Li Wen (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*), t'u-ssu Lu, t'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 29*b*), t'u-ssu Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), t'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*b*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 41*a*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*b*), Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*a*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 28: 13*a*). T'u-ssu Chou died on the field of battle during the expedition. Li Yin knew from first-hand information that the commanders of Anting, Ah-san-hsun-san-ho, and San-chi-ssu of Ch'u Hsien were the murderers. He led the army straight to their countries. The murderers fled with their tribes. Li Yin pursued them to the K'unlun mountains, and continued the pursuit several hundred li more, to the Ya-lin pass. There he administered a crushing defeat to them, capturing 1,100 men and 140,000 head of cattle. The brigands of Ch'u Hsien fled further on, but the Prince of Anting, Sang-erh-chia shih-lan, scared to death, went to court to confess his fault.

The emperor praised the military prestation of Li 400

N *563 586 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

M 594 596 [611] [591] N *563 M [556] M [361] M [182] [252] M [342] M [264] [342] N *563 M 592 554 [769]

A. The Family Organization

Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patrilineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family. In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines, and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

The extended family has a common courtyard, around which the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus, the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

The family head is the religious chief, family administrator and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

N *563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren.
M 592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually
554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N *563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional
M part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the
581 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon-
562 gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an-
[769] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered
[171] a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their live-
stock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently
*563 the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con-
M siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen
584 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage
583 age for boys is between 14-16.
582 Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab-
N solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is
*563 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob-
M served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage
614 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the
582 weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re-
565 garded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it
has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy
rules need not be observed as strictly.

N Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but
*563 does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a
M sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different
582 clan.

M A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family,
[587] usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband.
However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance
and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she
wants.

N Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from
*563 the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage
M to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan,
588 but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patri-
lineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as
members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the
belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has
relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be
"married" if she becomes pregnant.

N The relationship between two families connected by marriage
*563 is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being
M part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence
604

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 144 174 sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsining region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 648 175 311 The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

N *563 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342 The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351] The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables

M [343] and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The

M [231] Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [592] [574] The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies

M [354] [352] the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N *563 M 342 591 592 The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 M [351] [782] [353] [352] Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside. Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] M [252] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations. For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, mules or donkeys. A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

M [194]

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter and wheat flour are luxuries. Only the wealthy can afford fruit. Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

M [412]

N *563 M 264 415 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 769 614 ginning of April according to the lunar calendar, in a festival similar to the Chinese Ch'ing-ming. On this occasion the clan assembles to venerate its ancestors, enjoy a great feast and reunion, and discuss matters of concern to the clan.

On the day of the assembly, the T'u-ssu, the chiefs and elders of the villages and all the family heads go to the graveyard immediately after breakfast, followed by all the other members of the clan. At the graveyard, offerings are made and rites are performed. Then food for the offerings is divided among the families, the oldest generations receiving their portions first.

M [182] [767] This annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of the Mongour clan. One of the family heads, usually of the nobility, is appointed to care for the graveyard during the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions and offerings, and the making of repairs. An assistant is assigned to help him with details.

b. Respect for elders and family heads

N *563 M 554 888 The Mongours once lived without chiefs, but never without village elders. Traditionally, the whole power of the clan was vested in the elders, who had the authority to appoint and dismiss chiefs. The village elders still take the most important part in local administration. Elders need not be rich or from noble stock, but they are men of good reputation from the more outstanding families.

N *563 M 554 592 Heads of families are also honored. At public meetings, all are allowed to express their views and defend their rights, but final decisions are made only after the heads of families have spoken.

c. Adultery

N *563 M 684 Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If caught, the guilty pair is flogged, the woman on her bare back, the man on bare buttocks and thighs, up to a hundred stripes. The man must confront the husband and make apologies, and present him with a sheep or a pig. A trial is held and fingerprints are taken. Then the pair is led through the village with drums beating while they make public confession of their sin, and they must secure an official statement of pardon.

d. Moral and legal concepts

N *563 M 183 M [593] [587] [421] Both moral and legal concepts of the Mongours seem to be based upon customs, tradition and what the community accepts as just. Some typical social values and concepts are: Wrongs must be righted and injustices corrected. Parents have authority over their children, and husbands over their wives. A widow has the right to remarry or to dispose of herself. Private property must be protected. No one has the right to disturb the peace of the community.

684 husband—or rather, usually, from her mother-in-law. When brought back she endures one hundred lashes on the back, and is led to her husband's house with the same "ceremonial" as related above, after having asked for a guarantor and made her thumb-print on a statement.

583 Once in a while, also, a future son-in-law who is working for his future father-in-law, in order to marry the daughter, disappears with the daughter. After one or two years they return, and ordinarily the parents are delighted to see them again, and no more complaints are made.

525 681 543 In cases of gambling, a fine is imposed on the offenders for the upkeep of the temple or to defray the expenses of the religious celebrations performed by the shaman at the village in spring and autumn. All kinds of interesting and dramatic cases occur. Wives complain about their husbands; widows who do not intend to remarry complain about members of the family prodding and teasing them to remarry; widows willing to remarry are hindered from remarrying; or the price for a bride is not paid at the fixed time; or a betrothal is broken off, etc.

627 Two particular cases may be described in detail, because of the light they cast on the type of cases handled by chiefs and elders, and on Monguor society in general.

In the first case, in the valley of Hungnai, in 1918, Chang Chia-pa, a Chinese whose family had been enrolled in a Monguor clan for many generations, had a daughter married "with the girdle" [5] who was the mother of a lovely boy. He also had a son, a daughter-in-law, and grandchildren. The girl of the girdle, who was always having trouble with her sister-in-law, finally could not stand any more, married a man named Hou Yu-liang as his concubine, and took her son with her. Hou paid her father four hundred strings of cash for her.

After five or six years, during the festivities held at the second moon in Weiyuanp'u, a Chinese peddler from Ho-nan province, named Li, made trouble with Hou Yu-liang for having, as he complained, married the

585 [5] When a girl who is unwilling to marry has relations with a guest, custom requires that the guest present his girdle (sash) to the girl. In the event that she subsequently becomes pregnant, she performs the rites of marriage with the sash, and she is thenceforth known as "Mrs. So-and-So" (guest's name), and the son as "boy so-and-so," even if the guest never comes back during her whole life.

The importance of the girdle is worth noting. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, according to Fr. Mostaert, when on the day set for the marriage the groom falls ill and is unable to attend the ceremony, his girdle is sent to the bride and she performs the rite of marriage with it. I never met such a case among the Monguors, and it appears that the girdle is used among the Ordos Mongols in circumstances quite different from those in which it is used among the Monguors. We note also that kidnapped widows prove before the court of the village their unwillingness to marry so-and-so by showing the girdle which was exchanged with so-and-so. Father Mostaert told me that when shamans in the Ordos perform their rites, removal of the girdle is one of the most important acts. This custom is unknown among the Monguor shamans.

[p. 78 b]

/20 cont'd/

584 Custom requires that the engaged couple not have relations before marriage and that they avoid each other as much as possible.

[593] We are in the Orient. Parents are absolute masters of their children. They do not conceive of marriage as being their children's personal business. With them marriage is today a family matter, as it was formerly that of the whole group, or the community.

181 Nowadays the T'ou-jen family seeks its own advantages in it,
178 and the interested parties find it natural that the general welfare precedes the individual welfare, just as formerly their families, living in clans, in compact groups, found it natural that the welfare of their private families be subordinated to that of the whole group.

584 The evolution of the T'ou-jen individual today has not yet reached the point where his personal interest takes precedence over that of his family. Parents alone, then, decide the marriages of their children, and the latter find this custom rational and accept, with their fatalistic way of thinking, the often deplorable consequences of it.

/21/ However, it can happen, when a girl has not been sought in marriage at an early age, which is unusual, that the young people have talked about things other than the fine weather. In these cases it is natural that there are preferences and that the parents take them into account, provided they are not injurious to the interests of the family and especially those of the mother-in-law. But this case is the very great exception because the children are already betrothed before they have been able to make a choice.

3. When the Marriage Proposal Is Made

The marriage proposal is rarely made after the young people are old enough to understand the importance of this act and are capable of manifesting their preferences. Besides, nobody has ever thought of waiting until the children were old enough, for marriage is the task of the parents and not of the children. But such a case can occur upon the death of one of the betrothed persons toward the time of the marriage; again, it can occur in a family which was too

M 585 /61 cont'd/

[431 178] According to what they claim, in former times the bride's parents used to make the present of a handsome horse to the son-in-law at the moment of departure. The custom does not appear to exist any longer.

M [593] The bride's father and mother do not participate in the festivity, but her brothers, sisters, uncles, and aunts are all present.

When the bride is on the way, all the guests who stayed overnight follow in a group; the gift bearers wind up the procession. The bride laments all the way, leaning on the bag of straw placed on the horse's neck, her head always enveloped in the coarse veil. These tears, these sobs, constitute a real elegy. She addresses herself aloud to her parents, her brothers, her sisters; she has a good memory about each one of them; she calls to mind their goodness, the gifts; she recalls the animals in the stable, her paternal home... then she is M [606] afraid of the future, of her parents-in-law, whom she does not know; she is afraid of being cursed by her mother-in-law, afraid that the name of her mother will be used in order to curse her. Often in these elegies there are splendid sallies, very naive, very deeply felt; the M [607] girls also /62/ learn this kind of literature in their play; the sisters-in-law teach them, and they teach one another. It is an elegy based on life. Similarly touching ones are heard at burials. (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 309 and following. On the preceding day, two lamas go on behalf of the husband-to-be to find out from the parents of the bride whether any obstacles have arisen (German translation: The Mongols do not have the custom of going to get the bride. The evening before the departure they content themselves with sending two men for....). As the day nears, the wife-to-be pays visits to her closest relatives and spends at least one night at the home of each of them having a good time, going walking with her friends, who

/82 cont'd/

21. Relations of the Married Couple with the Daughter-in-law's Family

593 585 a) Relations of the married daughter with her own family after the wedding.

The daughter-in-law is incorporated into the family of her [776 782] husband. We have seen that upon her arrival at the door of the house she was given chopsticks and a jug of gin, and that then she was taken to the kitchen to honor the god of the hearth of her new family by prostrating herself three times and presenting her offering of gin and her chopsticks.

Henceforth she will call the members of her husband's family by the same name that he calls them; in speaking of them to a third person she will add the term gadin, which means relatives by marriage.

Because the husband's family bought her, she has become its property; her original family no longer has any rights over her. One /83/ expects therefore that the relations of the married daughter with her own family would be broken, or at least that they would be very much reduced. Now this is not the case, as the long and frequent visits she continues to make to her parents after the wedding prove, as well as the custom of keeping her valuables and her clothes in her original family.

593 574 As a matter of fact, custom has it that the husband takes his wife and children to the home of their relatives in the first month of the year. His wife will stay with her family for ten or 20 days, often for even a month. When this period has gone by, her brother takes her back to her parents-in-law. Toward the fifth of the fifth moon the husband takes her to her family for the second time. This visit is shorter; after a few days her brother takes her back. About the fifteenth of the eighth moon the husband takes her to her parents' home for the third time. This time she stays there 15 or 20 days or even a month. The fourth visit to her family takes place in the last [527] month of the year and lasts about 20 days. Her brother brings her back for the festival of the god of the hearth, a festival which

593 /83 cont'd/
574 daughters-in-law cannot miss on any pretext. Each time the trip is
[527] made on horseback, and the husband comes back home the same day or the next.

When the two families live in places too distant from each other, for example, two days or more, the daughter-in-law makes only two visits a year to her parents. The first is made after the sowing, about the third moon, and lasts a month, the second after the threshing of the wheat, about the eleventh moon; it lasts a month and a half or even two months. The daughter-in-law will always be back for the festival of the god of the hearth.

[562] Women over forty can go to their own families whenever they like.

Outside of these customary visits there are cases of sickness in the family, mourning, marriage, celebration for a first-born child, etc., and each time the married daughter does not fail to be present.

/84/ This is the customary thing. However, in practice these visits depend on many circumstances. It may happen that the daughter-in-law's family is poor and does not want to entertain its daughter and her two or three small children. Then these visits will become shorter and less numerous. It may happen that the relations of the daughter-in-law with her family are less intimate, then of course they see one another less. When the parents of the married daughter are dead, the brothers and the sisters-in-law invite their sister less. Likewise when the married daughter has several children, she will not be able to take them all away with her, and she will not want to leave them for as long a time and so often. If the husband and wife get along well together and the daughter-in-law is well treated by the mother-in-law, her visits will naturally be reduced; but although reduced, they are always extraordinarily frequent.

In general, these visits are the cause of many troubles in the two families because they are too prolonged and too frequent. They give the young wife every chance for relations that are not praiseworthy at her place of origin, and these end up by chilling the relationship with her husband. During these visits the daughter often complains about her mother-in-law; then her parents, in order to

/84 cont'd/

593 make her life more bearable, make difficulties with the family of
574 the parents-in-law, and instead of doing good to their daughter they make her situation more and more difficult.

422 Besides these abnormal visits, it is necessary to point out a
58 custom completely singular in a patriarchal organization, with the system of the "large family," in which the daughter-in-law and all that belongs to her is the property of her husband and his family. This custom is that the young married woman keeps her jewels, her ornaments, her best clothes, and all that is dear to her not at the home of her husband but at her own mother's. There she has two or three trunks which her parents take care of but whose keys she keeps. On festive occasions the married woman herself goes to her parents' home to get her best clothes, or she sends someone to get them. Yet at her husband's home /85/ she also has one or two trunks in which she keeps her less important things and those of her children. This general custom offends neither the husband nor his family; all the same it may be the occasion of many disagreeable consequences. Indeed, it is thanks to this "strongbox" that dishonest women find a place to conceal things unfairly acquired in the family of the parents-in-law; again it is there that the presents offered by a too assiduous lover repose, etc. The T'ou-jen all recognize that this custom is not ideal, but they are powerless to make it disappear. (1)

171

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 61: The adoption of a woman by the new clan is symbolised by a prayer addressed to the spirits of her husband's clan and a visit to the tomb of her husband's ancestors. Besides, in the course of the marriage ceremony she must execute some other rites symbolising her adoption by her husband's clan.

Among the northern Tungus the woman, after she is married, is not so closely bound at her husband's clan, and she is always considered as belonging to her mother's clan.

/101 cont'd/

Ma 595 842

sterility. In such case both wives are called "grand wife" in opposition to the concubines called "secret (to be hidden) young wife." /Cited in English./

Mo 595 842

exception.

Therefore in well-off families polygamy will often be seen where there are only one or two daughters; and at the same time one will not always meet two wives in rich families where there are very few children. How can one explain these facts?

Mo 593 171

It is that polygamy among the T'ou-jen remains in practice a very delicate and complex problem. In the family circle the T'ou-jen wife occupies a position much more important than the one which the Chinese wife occupies; in addition T'ou-jen family /102/ life is more intimate than Chinese family life. It proceeds from there that the T'ou-jen wife has more influence on the husband than her Chinese sister has. As schools are rare and intellectual formation among the men is almost nil, the wife will not be inferior to men in that direction. Let us suppose now that she has been able to make herself more or less appreciated by her husband, or let us suppose that having one or two children she is categorically opposed to the introduction of a second wife into the home; or let us suppose that she has won over to her side her /his?/ own parents and that they show themselves displeased with the project; or let us suppose that the wife suggests the word suicide... and then how many suppositions are still possible when one knows that the heart of a jealous woman is an inexhaustible source of expedients... and we shall understand that in practice polygamy bristles with numberless difficulties. As a general rule, if there are no serious motives which enter into it, like sterility or one of the causes explained below: a simple stray impulse, a desire of the lower instinct, even wealthiness, these alone are not enough for practicing polygamy.

Mo 595 589

b) The second category of polygamists: widows, or the levirate.

/113 cont'd/

587 593 764 The conditions the family lays down are the following: the sons will remain the descendants of the dead man; they will continue to bear his name and will later be buried in their father's cemetery. The new husband will bring them up and feed them. When they reach marriageable age, he will buy them a wife, or he will give the family the required sum ad hoc; then he will be able to send away the married ones, who will provide for their own subsistence. As for the daughters, he will be able to sell them. Since he obligates himself for expenses which so many burdens necessitate, the family does not demand any compensation for the widow.

587 589 578 421 /114/ It often happens that as a consequence of misunderstandings and quarrels, the brothers divide up the property and debts among themselves and form independent families. When a widow of such a family wants to remarry, the family requires the new husband to recognize the debts of the dead man; and the creditors exert pressure on the family to prevent the marriage in case of refusal; but if they are lucky enough to be dealing with a virago who threatens to come with her children and live with them, the difficulties vanish, the debts are put on the children's account and will be demanded later when the children are grown.

587 428 593 In the case where the widow with her children has inherited several plots of land from her dead husband, the new husband will be able to work them to support his family, but he will not be able to sell them since they are the property of the male orphans /sic/. Once they are married, the latter can demand these lands and send their foster father away with their mother, which often happens; if they get along well, they stay together. If, on the other hand, the new husband has lands of his own, and the widow does not, he maintains the family, gets the sons married, and sends them away. If, during the marriage the family becomes richer, if the patrimony increases, and children are born of the new marriage, the children of the first husband will receive the share of their dead father plus half of the lands and assets acquired after the second marriage. The personal properties of the new husband are inherited by his own children. If the husband happens to die without leaving children, his personal

/114 cont'd/

Mo 587 assets and his widow being the property of his own family, they go back into its domain.

428 593 These conditions show clearly that the widow is considered to have left the family of her former parents-in-law completely; the Mo 589 latter have given up all the rights they had with respect to her and have entrusted the children to her with the obligation to raise them for their clan.

Mo 584 When such a marriage is made, a contract is always written in duplicate; /115/ one copy is kept by the husband, and the other is 587 given to the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow. In it 675 minute mention is made of properties, debts, ... and then of the obligations of the new husband.

Mo 582 If they remain poor after the marriage and find it impossible to marry off the sons, when the latter have grown up they end up by going away as they wish.

Mo 587 There is no abduction to fear in the present case; the marriage 591 takes place very simply and openly. If the widow has plots of land and the husband does not, he comes to live with her; in the opposite case, the widow with the children moves in with him. If neither one nor the other has anything, they look for a place to stay and go to live together. One prostration to heaven and to the spirits, in the presence of the go-between and the parents, and this is all the ceremony of such marriages; add to it another to the parents and to the go-between. (1)

Mo 428 589 425

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit.[1], p. 142: If the widow and her daughters do not wish to be cared for by their husband's and father's brothers, they may also receive a part of the property. This part is equal to that of a brother. In this way the woman may become the owner of land and house. But this ownership can be maintained only during two generations (from mother to daughter) because the bride's

[1. op. cit. ie: Social Organisation of the Manchus --- Analyst.]

/117 cont'd/

606 lose their rights of inheritance in their family of origin, but since
691 /118/ they are regarded as members of the wife's family, they get back their lost rights. Cases are even cited where they become head in the wife's family. That is the general law fitting this practice.

593 Now the T'ou-jen live at present under a patriarchal system,
608 which is incompatible with this custom. Consequently, it is not
606 surprising that the husband-son-in-law finds himself in a very dis-
554 advantageous position....

[551] Since there has been no adoption of the son-in-law into the wife's family, he continues to be called by the name of his father, he and his children; he continues to be a member of his paternal family, to honor the dead of his father's family, and to lend a hand to his family of origin in cases of vengeance, etc. Thus in theory he keeps the rights of inheritance in his paternal family. But since these sons-in-law usually belong to very poor families, the chance to enjoy their rights of inheritance very rarely presents itself.

I have, however, met the case in question two or three times, and each time the brothers who had stayed home tried to eliminate the husband-son-in-law on the pretext that he had not contributed to the acquiring of the family's property. However, the unfortunate one always succeeded in making the most of his rights, if not wholly at least in part.

That amply proves that the husband-son-in-law living with the parents-in-law to serve them until death is in a false position with respect to his family of origin.

His position with respect to his wife's family is no better. Indeed, under the patriarchal system, succession is paternal. The name of the son-in-law differs from that of his wife's family; now we have seen "another name, another family," the son-in-law then does not have the right of inheritance to make the most of here. This is what explains the fact that one will never see young people of a well-to-do family consent to making themselves husband-sons-in-law, and that only those who have nothing to lose will take this
608 path.

606 /119/ If the parents-in-law are poor, there will be no difficul-
428 ties for this combination on the part of their own family; if, on the

/128 cont'd/

858 same right as his cousins, sons of his mother's brothers. The reason
588 given for this is that the mother, at the time of her son's birth, was no longer a girl but quite married, since she was wearing her hair in the fashion of wives. But suppose that the young woman, as a result of difficulties with a sister-in-law or with her parents, or having simply found a match which she likes, marries again at a "second" wedding, then she can either take her son with her, and he loses
[428] ipso facto his rights to inheritance in his mother's family, and he must change his family name and inherit in the family of his new father (for by the change of name he falls into the category of adoptive children), or else the grandmother opposes the departure /129/ of her daughter's son, and he stays in his mother's family, keeping his rights.

It often happens that neither the grandmother nor the mother
848 keeps the child but that they entrust him to a lamasery. Lamas no
792 longer having the right of inheritance, these children disappear from
178 public life. This category of children are sent to the lamasery probably to avoid difficulties which arise later at the time of the division of property, either on the part of the uncles or the nephews, just as when the mother takes the child to the home of her new husband and the latter adopts him as his son, which makes one suppose that these children's right to inherit is nowadays no longer very stable. One feels a period of transition in the custom. We are here in the presence of a practice which must have been more general in olden times and which has its roots in an organization which is not patriarchal.

562 These girl-mothers are received in all groups and are regarded
588 as virtuous women in spite of the fact that people know this custom is
593 considered abominable in the eyes of their Chinese neighbors. These women are recognized as being married; for, they say, their marriage took place in the manner of the marriage of girls, in the courtyard of the house, in front of the sacred fire. Their children are recognized as children of the clan, and they are given the name of their mother. In T'ou-jen families, when a brother dies, leaving only daughters, his brothers inherit his property; the daughters indeed do not inherit; but when this brother has a daughter of the category of which we

/129 cont'd/

562 speak, and when she has a son, then the brothers of the deceased will
588 not have the right to demand his property for themselves. In addition,
593 these same brothers who would not permit their brother to bequeath his property to his daughter and a son-in-law not adopted into the clan recognize the right of inheritance of a niece married to a prayer pole and of her children.

As long as the girl-mother stays home with her children, it is rare that difficulties arise; but often the situation changes when the woman is married at a "second" wedding /130/ and her children are still young. Then the woman's uncles, if she has no brothers, or these brothers if she has any, try to make her take her children with her and have them adopted by the new husband. They want to secure the property of the brother for themselves; for the property of the clan cannot pass to another clan. If the sons of the girl-mother are married at the time when she marries for the second time, there is no longer anything to fear for their rights. Let us note again that for these women, when they later remarry someone of their choice, there is no festivity as at the marriage of girls; they are satisfied with inviting a few neighbors. The second marriage can, in a way, be compared to a widow's marriage; however, such a woman will never have to fear being abducted.

The present case then is very strange in a society which, today, has strictly paternal descent. The fact that these rights are universally recognized is a sign that they date from far back; also the T'ou-jen cannot explain their origin and simply admit the fact.

B. Marriages to a Belt

588 These marriages, although they are as abnormal as those of the
184 preceding series, nevertheless seem to constitute a separate series.
574 First, they are practiced less than those we have just described, and
837 then their origin does not seem to be the same. They find their explanation in the custom of offering, for the night, a girl or a woman to a passing guest; in short, it is prostitution for the sake of hospitality. (1)

588 /131 cont'd/
574 children born later will continue to be always given the name of the
[858] guest. It goes without saying that the latter does not bother in any way with the support of either the child or the woman.

[428] Important remark: No right of inheritance is recognized for these children in the family of their mother. They are considered as the children of a daughter married to some individual, for they bear another name; now, another name, another family.

588 This curious custom finds its place in the series of marriages
554 because it creates a legal position in favor of the mother identical in every way to that of any married woman. The woman married to a belt is considered the wife of husband X and no one will ever venture to abduct her.

588 /132/ Marriages to a belt and those to prayer poles resemble each other strongly; the manner of celebrating them is the same; women who have contracted these marriages are considered as duly married, and the children, in the two groups, are recognized as legitimate. The only difference between the two groups of marriages lies in the fact that those of the prayer-pole group are recognized by the mother's clan, and those of the other are considered as not belonging to this clan. Those of the prayer-pole group seem to be direct vestiges of one of the stages of the matriarchate; indeed, they bring about inheritance in the family by the daughter. Those of the second group, on the contrary, by the fact that the woman and the children are considered as having left the clan, do not seem to have this origin; but if the prayer-pole marriages had not existed formerly, those of the belt group would never have been practiced.

588 The following item throws a singular light on this category of
593 marriages. A certain Tchang-kia-pa of Hong-ngai-tse-keou had a daughter married to a belt, mother of a small child; in addition, he had a married son at home. As a consequence of continual friction between the daughter married to the belt and the daughter-in-law, the first sought a match, married, and left the paternal home, taking away her son. Thus a certain Hou Iu-leang bought her as his second wife for the sum of 200 strings of cash.

After five or six years, at the time of the great fair and festivities of Wei iuen-p'ou which take place in the second moon, a

/132 cont'd/

588 Chinese of Honan, accompanied by an uncle of the lady formerly
593 married to the belt, accosted Hou Iu-leang and reproached him for having taken his wife. The latter no longer recognized the individual; but, since he had a witness, since the child was formerly called by his name and the mother had also born this name, the supposed husband felt himself very much within his rights and threatened Mr. Hou with a lawsuit.

/133/ Hou, fearing the heavy expenses of the Chinese courts and not sure of a fair verdict, preferred to settle the affair amicably. He called upon the heads of the village and those of his clan, and the conclusion was that Hou had to pay the unknown man 80 strings of cash and that the father who had sold his daughter had to offer him a sheep and make apologies to him. This story thus proves that this category of marriages is officially recognized among the T'ou-jen.

/134/ Chapter IV

Divorce, Repudiation, Exchange of Wives

586 One can expect divorces and repudiations, owing to the too
184 great freedom which exists between the sexes. These two forms of termination of marriage rarely occur when there are several children in the family. Repudiation occurs more rarely than divorce, and the latter is not so frequent as one might suppose at first sight. Let us still remember that divorce and repudiation, like all the great acts
[671] of life, marriage, adoption, etc., are effected without the intervention of law courts. As long as they can arrange things among themselves, they do not resort to the law; they call upon its help when all other means of conciliation are exhausted.

/135 cont'd/

586 and will if need be help her in the task. Thus the wife maintains face; she will be able to say that she did not want her husband any more, and he will not have any difficulties with his wife's family either, since it is the daughter who wanted to go away. In the end, the husband will even profit greatly by the sale of his wife. On the other hand, if the wife insists on not wanting to look for another match, the husband will be patient and will not resort to repudiation except as a last extreme. That is the ordinary course of the preambles to divorce.

/136/ 2. Causes of Divorce

593 The causes of divorce appear to be more or less numerous.
586 The primary and most ordinary cause is certainly interest in another person, which brings on mutual and daily increasing aversion between the husband and wife. A wife can fall and that is understood; the husband will even allow his wife not to come home at night from time to time, for he himself does not come home regularly every evening, either. Grounds for divorce require regular and therefore public relations.

626 Do not think, however, that husbands give complete freedom
837 to their wives; do not believe that all husbands are indifferent to
539 these things. They tell about a good many cases in which the wife and her lover, having been surprised at night, were tied together or tied to a stake, beaten, etc., by the heads of the village with whom
837 the husband had lodged a complaint. The families of the guilty ones
672 were called, they had to act as guarantors for their members; then the guilty man had to offer his apologies to the injured husband and give him a pig, a sheep, etc. The level of morality among the T'ou-jen has not yet fallen so low that they no longer know their duties and rights in these matters. So it is not rare to see a husband beat his wife and to hear the wife, on her knees, beg her husband, "Big brother, pardon me this time; big brother, treat me with indulgence this time, that won't happen any more." Now one does not ask pardon and one does not allow oneself to be beaten when one's conscience is clear.

/142 cont'd/

Ma 586

(earnest). They pay it back only in the case, if it is paid and the bride runs away with someone else just before the wedding. Such cases are absolutely exceptional... all this question must be reported to the clan. /Cited in English, with French interpolation, indicated by parentheses./

Mo 586 A case can occur in which the wife is the only guilty one. It is natural then that the wife's family does not require compensation, etc. I have never, however, heard it said that the guilty wife's family had to give back to the injured son-in-law the earnest received at the time of the marriage.

Mo 586 554 /143/ On the question of repudiation let us note that it is necessary to take account of many circumstances, of which one of the main ones is the economic status of the wife's family, the influence this family enjoys in the region, and above all the fact of having among its members people who will know how to cope with the husband's family in spite of everything. One must also take into account the power of the husband's family, which if it has influential protectors can allow itself to be prepared for all eventualities. In the Orient especially, it is not enough to have rights, it is necessary to be able to defend them.

C. Exchange of Married Women

Mo 437 593 587 I cannot pass by in silence the case of four families of Hong-ngai-tse-keou, who without recourse to divorce or repudiation got rid of their wives by mutually exchanging them, without further ceremony; the children remained in the families where they were born. All was arranged without go-betweens, contract, or expenses, by common agreement among those concerned.

These are the only cases of this practice which have come to my knowledge, and I think they are isolated cases which prove

Mo /143 cont'd/
437 nothing. Public opinion strongly disclaimed this practice and the
593 elders did not admit it. (1)
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1. David Macdonald, Moeurs et coutumes des Thibétains /Practices and Customs of the Tibetans/, p. 136: Another singular usage, but one which is practiced only in high circles, is that two men exchange their wives by mutual consent. The latter are consulted on the question, and their consent to the combination must be obtained.

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 137: Wife Exchange. It is also incorrect when Graebner says that it is precisely in the region of the Old Asiatic peoples that the custom flourishes most.... It is much more common generally among the Eskimo tribes known so far, and it is present among practically all of them, while among the Old Asiatics it is not known at all by the Korjak, far from it, and the Jukugir, too, have only a weak tendency toward it. /Cited in German./

Mo /144/ I think I must point out the influence of Tibetan practices
587 especially for this singular case. Indeed, each year one sees several
437 T'ou-jen of Hong-ngai-tse-keou go to Tibet to sell mules from the
593 Sining region. It would not be surprising if these T'ou-jen traders
177 learned about this custom in Tibet and practiced it later.

/145/

Chapter V

Runaway Wives

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593 It is not rare to see the daughter-in-law flee to the paternal home after a quarrel at the house of the parents-in-law. In this case, the latter /sic/ quietly await the arrival of the son-in-law in order to hear his explanations. If he does not bother with the fugitive, the parents of the runaway woman get a go-between so that he may go to make inquiries. Since usually both sides are at fault, the go-between will come back to bring back the daughter-in-law in order to make her apologize to her parents-in-law; the son-in-law will accompany her to present his apologies also to his wife's parents.

The exhortations to the daughter-in-law are very typical in the sense that they are rather platonic, even fatalistic: You are a daughter-in-law, they will say, therefore you have to suffer some vexations, even some humiliations; but know well that it is not for all your life; for the adage says, one is a daughter-in-law for only 30 years and then one is oneself the mother-in-law for the same term of years. Console yourself!

This running away within the family rarely leads to important consequences, but there is another kind of running away which is much more serious. Indeed, if repudiation rarely occurs and if divorce is not frequent, the flight of a wife with her lover happens oftener.

The causes of such misadventures are the great freedom of relations between the sexes before as well as after marriage, and especially at the time of festivities; the vexations of mothers-in-law, the /146/ unfortunate unions between young people of too different character, and above all the too great difference in age which often exists between husband and wife. The husband is not nubile and the wife is six or seven years older than he; the wife has begun by treating her husband as a child and has enjoyed authority. Later when the husband wants to take up his rights, then it is that the difficulties begin. Furthermore, the wife meanwhile has already learned to

/146 cont'd/

578 amuse herself... and has already had too many relations... one fine
593 day she disappears. This is the big affliction of the region. When a wife has run away, they immediately guess who her accomplice is; but it is necessary to be able to locate them. If the inquiries made about them are fruitless, after several days the son-in-law will go to his wife's family, pretending to believe that his dear better half is at their home and that he will find out about her return. This is also a way of informing the parents about their daughter's flight.

If after five or six months the fugitive has not come back, her parents require the son-in-law, accompanied by two aides, to go to get her at his expense; there is always some indication as to where she is. If they have exact information, they go to the headmen of the place to demand that they get hold of the fugitives so that they can bring them back home tied up.

684 Upon their return to the village, the village heads and the
627 members of the families of the lover and the wife are called. In the
681 presence of the whole populace, who very much relish this kind of distraction, the village heads begin the preliminary investigation of the affair. The case is examined to the bottom, and finally the lover is badly beaten and hung up by the thumbs until someone turns up who will act as guarantor for him. Then comes the woman, who is beaten on her bare back with leather lashes for as long as she does not manifest her regrets while adding good resolves for the future. Then the two culprits are taken through the village and exposed to the mockery of all; a herald precedes them, beating a drum and proclaiming their crime. It may happen that an indemnity on the part of the lover's family may be asked for the wrong done to the husband.

586 /147/ The wife goes back into the house; if she brings a child
681 born during the escapade, he is accepted into the family.

But it may also happen that the runaways are not found. Then after two or three years of vain search, the wife's parents demand a settlement of accounts. The parents-in-law then invite the parents of the runaway daughter-in-law, as well as her maternal uncles, the village heads, and several friends who are good speakers, for it will be a question of tseou che jen ming, i.e., "the indemnity (to the parents) for the loss of their daughter occasioned by her running away."

/147 cont'd/

586 Indeed, the parents claim that their daughter, as a consequence
681 of bad treatment on the part of the parents-in-law, was forced to leave home, ran away, and must have perished nobody knows where. The parents-in-law are therefore responsible for her death..., and the discussion begins. On both sides they are convinced that the daughter is just as guilty as the parents-in-law, if not more; they also know very well that the daughter is alive. Everyone understands that the parents want to profit by the occasion in order to raise money on the backs of their family by marriage. After long discussions, which can last two days and more, they end up by having to give to the parents of the runaway a sum of two to three hundred strings of cash as indemnity for the daughter-in-law, who is deemed to be lost. A contract is written by which it is recognized that the affair is shelved forever and that in the future the parents-in-law will no longer be able to try to pick a quarrel with the son-in-law nor extort money a second time..., furthermore, should the daughter return, they bind themselves to pay back the indemnity. As for this last clause, it is gone with the wind; the adage says besides: "Once the flesh has entered the wolf's mouth, it is not easy to pull it out again."

586 Nevertheless, if the daughter comes back after several years
583 with her lover, or if she has been taken and brought back forcibly,
681 they act as above with the runaways of this category; however they require more serious guarantees and a larger indemnity on the part of the lover's family. It happens very often that on /148/ this occasion they sell the woman to her lover if he has the wherewithal to pay for her. They likewise sell him the children born during the long absence. If the wife is not sold, she goes back to her home and is again admitted into the family circle with the children born to her while away, for, says the adage: "What grows on my land is mine and what my wife gives birth to is mine."

586 However one can believe that the parents are scarcely delighted
593 with such presents, especially when children are not lacking in their home. Indeed, the adage says: "The cow to be robust must run on the mountain, but it must come home to the stable." If the comparison is not elegant, it makes one think of the nomadic life. The

Mo 586 593 /148 cont'd/
children are accepted in the family to keep the daughter-in-law home better, say the T'ou-jen, and to avoid a second escapade. Then, if later one wants to get rid of them, one will send the boys to the lamasery to devote themselves to the service of Buddha; as for the girls, they will be given in marriage. I confess I have not met polyandry among the T'ou-jen.

Mo 548 Likewise, prostitution in the strict sense of the word is not known. Although there are the series of prayer-post wives and belt wives, they cannot be classed in this category. Indeed, they consider themselves as being married, and they are considered as such, and furthermore they hardly ply the trade of prostitutes. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 152: Prostitution as a social phenomenon among the Manchus is unknown. /Cited in English./

Mo 589 793 Celibacy is practiced solely by the lamas of the yellow sect, and the T'ou-jen furnish a sizable contingent to this religious body. They are the only bachelors among the T'ou-jen. There is no lamasery for women in the country; all the women without exception practice marriage under one or the other of the forms we have described above. It happens at the very most that one meets widows or women of advanced age who shave their heads and devote themselves especially to prayer while staying at home.

Mo [302]

/149/ Chapter VI

The Matriarchate

OOC Summary: -- A. Present-day patriarchal state. System of the large family. B. Former matriarchate proved by: (1) Double burial. (2) The relations of the maternal uncle with the family of his sister

/154 cont'd/

3. Importance of the Mother, the Daughter-in-law, the Chilu, the Maternal Clan

593 a) Abnormal interference in the marriage of her children.
562 In a patriarchal organization the wife does not own anything, she does not count; even her children do not belong to her. Is it not necessary therefore to explain the predominant position of the mother in the marriage rites as being a vestige of a /155/ former matriarchate?
593 Indeed, the wedding "seems" even in our day to be the business
562 of the mother alone. Without speaking of the marriage promises
585 made between mothers as yet only pregnant, we have seen that the official request for the bride is made by the mother alone. The consent given to the mother alone enjoys all the necessary guarantees so that they can allow themselves to wait four or five years more before getting a go-between. Likewise, when the earnest is discussed, it is again the mother alone who goes to ask for the girl to be married at an early date; only after the mother's request does the go-between appear in order to set the date and the rest. For marriages without ceremony it is the mother again who, with the go-between, goes in complete simplicity to get the bride who is poor. This fact is very significant. Along the way, what the sobbing bride fears most is that they will curse her by cursing her mother; this is the greatest injury that can be done to her.

606 When one examines present-day customs concerning young
587 widows, one finds it abnormal in a patriarchal organization that the
593 young widow after the 49 days of mourning goes back to her mother's family to stay there until her second marriage. Indeed, she is the property pure and simple of her parents-in-law. It is likewise abnormal that the go-betweens, at the time of the second marriage, address themselves to her own parents before addressing her mother-in-law. Does not that recall the time when the daughter was married at home and had no mother-in-law?

After addressing the mother, the go-between goes to the home of the widow's parents-in-law, and there again he accosts first the mother-in-law, just as if she had the widow-bride at her disposal

/155 cont'd/

606 ahead of all the other members of the family. What is typical is that
587 they call the money given to the mother-in-law k'ai k'eou ts'ien,
593 "the sum which opens her mouth," for if she does not open her mouth, that is to say, if she does not consent, the marriage comes to nought. /156/

b) Succession on the maternal side.

562 Without admitting a former matriarchate, how can one explain
593 the situation of the women in the series of marriages to the prayer
88 pole, etc.? In this case the "girl-mother" is seen to enjoy all the rights of a married woman, her children bear her name and inherit in her clan beside the children of her brothers. This is certainly the case which makes kinship, order of succession, and the property of the family pass on the mother's side. This single case which continues to exist in the middle of a patriarchal period in which the children of daughters as well as their mother are considered as outside the family, deserves all attention.

c) Admission into the family of children born of outsider fathers.

848 Is it not permitted to see vestiges of the matriarchate in the great facility with which they admit into the family the children of daughters-in-law and widows, born certainly of fathers who are outsiders; partus sequitur ventrem /"offspring proceed from the womb"/: they recognize only the mother. We have seen that here they are in a period of transition which begins to make this practice more and more difficult.

562 d) Frequent family visits of the daughter-in-law and right to
421 keep her property at her mother's home.
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574 Again what can be said of the abnormal custom which allows the daughter-in-law these frequent visits and these long vacations with her family? This custom is not natural in a patriarchal organization where the daughter-in-law is the property of her husband, and where she must give this clan her life, her time, and all her work. This custom gives the impression that the daughter, after marriage, always continues to live with her own family and not that of her husband, (1) all the more /157/ because she keeps at her parents' home

/157 cont'd/

Ma 574 593

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 90-91: The second long visit of the newly married wife in her mother's house may be also understood as a survival of the customs that prescribed to the newly married wife to keep her place in her mother's house. Furthermore the Manchus never say "the wife's father's clan" but "the wife's mother's clan." At the same time they say " he husband's clan" and "the husband's father's clan." Thus all these facts cannot be explained without a supposition of the materline clan system in the past. /Cited in English./

Mo 562 421 593 574 her finest clothes, her ornaments, her jewels, and everything that is dear to her. One keeps one's treasures at one's home; now, the home of the daughter-in-law does not seem to be near her husband. This last custom, which still effectively recognizes that the wife today has certain property rights, does not belong to a patriarchal organization; furthermore, we saw in the speech of the master of ceremonies that formerly the daughter enjoyed property rights since in her own family she inherited half of a son's share.

e) Festivities at the birth of daughters.

Mo 527 844 We shall describe elsewhere the extraordinary noisy festivities in which the whole village takes part, given on the occasion of the birth of the first child of a daughter-in-law, whether this child be a son or daughter, the celebration is equally solemn. Now such a festivity upon the birth of a daughter is again absolutely abnormal in a patriarchal system, where only the male descendant counts. We must Mo [171] note that already in many T'ou-jen families this festivity is celebrated only upon the birth of the first son. This celebration is absolutely inconceivable to a Chinese mind.

f) Wedding dinner at the bride's home.

Mo 585 562 In a patriarchal system how does one justify the dinner given at the bride's home for the members of her family alone on the eve of

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IV. Customs concerning the Human Being

* See "Notes," p. 622 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

846 Soon after the birth of a child one makes the happy event
[851] known to the family of the mother of the woman in childbed.
The mother then comes to visit her daughter. The other rela-
[431] tives, however, come only after one month. They bring gifts
and hold a feast. On the morning of this day the child is
[553] solemnly given a name, and in the evening it is brought before
the gate of the yard for the reception of the shepherd. Then
[527] there is singing and drinking and dancing into the night.
[852]

Details

Birth announcement: Three days after the birth of a
[851] boy or girl, the father-in-law of the woman in childbed takes
a little jug of liquor and some oil-baking and goes to the family
[273] of his daughter-in-law. It is immediately apparent why he has
come to visit, and he need only tell the day and the hour of
birth and whether it is a boy or girl. After they have drunk the
[593] liquor, the mother goes directly to her daughter in order to take
care of what needs to be done. She stays there a few days and
then often repeats her visit.

846 Conclusion of the confinement: Exactly 29 days after
431 the birth, in other words, on the thirtieth day, the parents and
nearest relatives of the woman in childbed appear at her
husband's house. They bring clothing for the child [621] and
[262] the woman (a long upper garment and shoes) and, further, four
large loaves of bread, oil-cakes, and other baked goods. The

764 [637 cont.]
465 his work and, in addition, twelve
322 loaves of bread, two ells of white cloth, and a small measure of wheat (six pounds). After the work is done, this measure of wheat is put on the house-
[782] hold altar, and the carpenter puts his tools on it. The master of the household sticks a few burning incense-sticks among them and puts the loaves before them. Then everyone makes a three-
[532] fold kowtow (7). The carpenter does not receive the white cloth until the funeral meal.

Death-box
(Drawing of a Tujen)

[782]
[776]
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7. [Foreign text p. 653.] This ceremony actually has nothing to do with the death-box. It is customary after all carpentry work; it is done to honor the tutelary god of the carpenter, Lu-pan-yeh. It is a Chinese custom.

764 Lying in state: If the box is already available at death, the corpse is immediately put in it. If it is not yet ready, then the people put the dead in a crouching position on the kang or on the floor of the room in which he died. First, however, they lay down a white felt mat as a pad; straw is not used. No one may sleep or live in the same room with the dead, only in an adjoining room. A table with 12 loaves of bread, which come from the deceased's own family, and a water-lamp stand before the crouching corpse.

[462] Putting the corpse in the box is always done by men. The
[593] son puts his father and mother inside. The father, however, never puts his son in; that is taken care of by the young brothers or cousins.

[638 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] on the oil. This is to prevent the wick from burning too far down into the bowl; in order to save oil, the lower half is filled with water. -- The Chinese dough-lamp of long life, ch'ang-ming teng, has nothing to do with this lamp; it is unknown to the Tujen.

the deceased's own family must present these gifts. A so-called paper-bowl also stands on the floor next to the bread and the water-lamp. After each meal some tea, soup, or milk is poured into it, and little pieces of meat, bread, vegetable, etc. [264] are thrown in, according to what the family has just eaten. Until the day of cremation the dead is always supposed to partake of the meals of the household. The paper-bowl is an ordinary earthen bowl; it gets its name from the fact that after the paper-burning the charred leaves are thrown in it (11). Along with the

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11. [Foreign text p. 654.] The paper-burning is typically Chinese.

water-lamp it is emptied in front of the gate on the last day, when the death-box leaves the compound for cremation. It is not broken, but may be used again for other purposes.

764 On the third day after the death, the oldest married daughter of the household appears with 12 loaves of bread. Then 782 the family loaves before the death-box are replaced by the ●593 daughter's loaves. This is called "bread exchange." This takes place each time a person makes an offering of loaves. The oldest daughter is followed in order by the younger ones, whether or not the corpse has already been put in the box. Unmarried [589] daughters of the household do not make offerings. Every time [152] someone offers loaves, he also burns white paper and weeps aloud; the men, it is true, do not weep (24).

[638 cont.]

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24. [Foreign text p. 657.] A custom that is no longer practiced among the Tujen was the eating of oil-dishes on the eve of the cremation, bǎn-sǎń tsinani, that is, one cooks oil-dishes. The daughters and their girls (nieces) brought a measure of wheat flour and a jug of oil. Both would be roasted together in a kettle after the pai-ta and handed around. It was kneaded into dumplings like tsamba. -- Similar old Tujen customs have now been forgotten, according to the informant. The extensive customs of the Chinese are being adopted more and more, and in the foreseeable future the cremation of the dead will have yielded to the Chinese funeral celebration.

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Only after the corpse is in the box do the other relatives come, and the same rite is repeated. These are only the relatives on the father's side, however. The other acquaintances and friends also make an appearance with them. The relatives on the mother's side come only on the day before the cremation, regardless of whether the dead person is a man or a woman.

With regard to the offerings for the dead, one must always distinguish whether a person of an older, a contemporary, or a younger generation is involved. The older generation never makes an offering to the younger, for example, the father never to the son. The man does make an offering to his wife, however, and vice versa. The man also makes an offering to his older sisters-in-law.

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[593]

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Of the offering of 12 loaves of bread that each one brings, he gets two back; ten are used in the house of mourning and are eaten by the relatives or guests. The loaves that are returned are called "returned plate."

[638 cont.]

292 765 [171] Mourning dress: Mourning is worn immediately after the death. It does not consist of a special white garb, as among the Chinese, but only of a change of dress.

During the period of mourning the men remove their colorful vests and take everything colored off their clothing, such as neck bands, sleeve edging, etc. Their long cloak is turned and worn with the lining, or in winter with the fur, on the outside. [302] They do not cut their hair, and they let the beard grow. The red or green trouser belt made of cloth is replaced by [639] a white or black one. Instead of the clothes-belt they wear a thick hemp string.

Like the men, the women also remove the colorful sleeve strips, trouser trimming, and shoe and boot ornamentation, especially everything red. The red or green skirt over the trousers is not worn at all. Instead of the colorful clothes, the woman puts on only a simple upper garment of one color. She takes off the ear pendants, arm bands, and the neck band, and [301] removes from her headdress all lace, tassels, and hanging strings, as well as the silver hair cap [Haarschale] and the little copper plates. She keeps only the simple, rigid frame of the headdress and covers its colorful strips uniformly by sticking green paper on them. She puts a blue cloth made of coarse linen over this as a head veil. She replaces her broad and colorful belt with a hemp string.

[602] [593] All the close relatives are required to wear mourning dress, those who also must give the death-offering. The only exception is the husband upon the death of his wife. He may not wear mourning.

764 782 [602] Prayer service: The prayer service is called "prayer tea." The relatives on the father's side assemble daily in the house of mourning; toward evening they sit on the kang around the open fire in the kitchen and pray the mani for the dead on their mani-string. When they are finished, they receive noodle soup and go home. This prayer service lasts until the day of cremation. One need not sit around the kang fire, however, but can also perform these prayers before the death-box itself.

[646 cont.]
000 each and two ells of cloth.

765 At the next grave festival, which usually falls in the third
[769] lunar month, all the relatives gather at the kin-group cemetery for the offering to the dead; at that time the bone-chest is also transferred to it. A number of men go to the old burial spot at the place of cremation, dig up the chest, and bring [647] it to the cemetery without any ceremony. There they dig a small
[561] hole and put the chest in it. This is done only by men who are
[593] of the same generation as the dead person or of a lower generation. A father, for instance, would never bury his son, nor the uncle his nephew, etc.

765 As soon as the pit has been filled, the offering for the
769 dead takes place; the relatives burn paper and little sticks of incense, set down loaves of bread, meat, etc., pour out tea,
[782] liquor, and soup, and hold a little meal at the grave. Then everyone goes home. -- The transfer of the bones, however, need not be done at the next grave festival; sometimes one waits two or three years. The bones may not be interred, however, outside the period of the grave festival (21).

[192] 21. [Foreign text pp. 656-657.]
The Tujen word sēn-min is evi-
[177] dently merely a phonetic imitation of the Chinese ch'ing-ming. The informant said that the Tujen did not know about the grave festival in olden times, but that they have copied it from the Chinese, which indeed is confirmed by the precisely identical rites and the asserted former exposure of the corpse. -- The postponement [657] of a final interment of the bones until this feast, however, remains unexplained, especially since the Chinese usually bury their dead immediately in the cemetery. The
[777] informant observed in this connection that the Chinese inter their dead on

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

died during the year entered in the family register, and 771
to bring back a piece of pork pie for each of the families 769
in order that they might partake of the sacrificial meal offered to the ancestor at the cemetery. After more than two-hundred years, and notwithstanding the fact that no bonds bound them to the clan, the old ancestor cult still made them remember their origin and bound the clan tightly together.

The chief of the clan, at the time of his triennial 614
visit to the villages, brings with him the picture of the 769
guardian deity of the clan in order that all the villagers may honor it in a group and feel united, putting their hope in the protection of the same deity. A temple is built for the guardian deity of the clan inside the mansion of the clan chief, where it is honored by a lama chaplain every day of the year in order that the clan may be blessed.

This study has made clear the role of the chiefs of the 614
villages in promoting the religious rites against the 771
scourges of hail, epidemics, and epizootics, fixing the rite of the sacred animal, imposing even continence, prohibiting indulgence in liquors and garlic by the performers of certain rites, forbidding the singing of obscene songs in the village during the time the crops are growing in the fields, and assessing every family a certain contribution to defray the cult expenses.

All these religious functions of the chiefs of the clans and the villages promote cohesion among the clan members and strengthen the social structure of the institution. The keen interest displayed by the clan and village chiefs in devising means to avert the harm caused by evil spirits and to provide blessings of the ancestors and all the spirits upon the clan members cannot but tie the entire clan group by closer bonds and make it feel solidarity with the chiefs, in the struggle for life.

The fact of each family having an uncle, son, or 593
nephew among the members of the lamaseries, even 769
Living Buddhas, necessarily welds the families together in a strong united group.

In the Monguor families, the cult of the ancestors participated in by all the members of the extended family at New Year's and on the three days preceeding the clan diet, the cult of its old guardian deity protector inherited in each generation by the eldest son, the celebration every year, with all the members of the extended family contributing toward defraying the expenses to honor it, and the gathering of the whole family before this deity every time a branch of the divided families gets into serious trouble—all these facts provide solidarity in the family by religious means. The family chief not only cares for the administration of the wealth and support of its members, but he is its religious chief who, every morning, honors "Heaven and all the spirits" by means of the Wei-sang in behalf of them, and is their representative at the performance of the public rites in the village. His authority is, in large

[p. 159 (A)]

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part, based on religion and exercised in religious matters. 593 769

In the same way, the chiefs of the villages and the elders not only determine taxes, impose corvées and settle troubles, but preside over and perform religious rites without representatives of religions, on the top of the Obo mountain, or the sacred hill of the village, in time of calamities, on top of the highest mountain of the village, in behalf of all the villagers. They are the priests of the clan, promoting at the clan meeting, during the mediation of troubles, the principles of justice and respect for elders. They defend the traditions and customs of the clan of which the religious rites are a part, and urge their performance. To sum up, of the routine events and observances of village life, eight-tenths are religious.

The religious world to which the Monguors are accustomed is compulsory, and entirely different from that of the Chinese. It makes them feel that they are not Chinese, that the meaning of their lives is not the same as that of the Chinese and therefore that they are tightly bound to the community of their clan. The performance of religious rites over the span of a whole year constitutes a part of their traditions and customs. It helps tremendously in holding them close together, and prevents their absorption into the Chinese nation. 771 [186]

This fact is so striking that Monguors who, on account of political events, have become separated from their original communities, or who publicly have recanted their origin, still know perfectly well that they are Monguors. They always continue to indulge in some religious practices specific to the Monguors. Religion causes them to recall their origin.

XVI. CONCLUSION

The study of the diffusion of Lamaism among the Monguors sheds some light on the policy adopted by the emperors toward Lamaism. 648 771

POLICY OF CHINA TOWARD LAMAISM

It is common knowledge that the emperors promoted Lamaism. This policy has very often been explained as having been a device to debilitate the Mongol and Tibetan tribes, by encouraging enrollment in the monasteries of the largest possible number of the young, most turbulent elements of the tribes. Withdrawing the young from their tumultuous environment weakened the power of the tribes, who were always ready and poised to make inroads and work havoc in the marches on China. The entire history of the marches of China is replete with such tragic events. Alternatively, it has been suggested that this policy was founded on the hope that the barbarians would become peaceful and quiescent through contact with Lamaism.

The truth is that the Chinese were too conversant with their own history and too mindful of the harm

[p. 159(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Hsining city. The city was carried by storm and delivered to sack and slaughter: for the soldiers there was but death. The brigands knew that the t'u-ssu had stirred the people to resist the brigands, and they wreaked ruin on them. The old T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 1*a–b*), and the T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 2*a*). were taken prisoner. The T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuen (of the old Li Wen branch) was killed with his wife and 120 members of his family (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21; 28: 15; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 43*b*). The wife of Li T'ien-yu, the concubine, the two brothers, and 300 persons of his family and servants were killed. The same year the T'u-ssu Yeh kuo-chi, who had been called by the emperor early in 1643 to fight the brigands in Ch'ang p'ing in Liaotung, died on the field of battle in 1643 (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 15). All these t'u-ssu with their families laid down their lives defending the dynasty. 175x 669

Then the brigands went down into the country devastating, burning villages, murdering anyone who made a stand, abducting women, stealing livestock, etc. A group of them went to Kokonor, where all the chiefs surrendered.

The brigands knew that the old T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien had been the promoter of the resistance and had killed their chief Huo Chin. They decided to kill him. His son Hsing-chu spent the entire family fortune, buying 100 fine horses. He went to see the chief of the brigands in P'ing-Jung-i, hoping to redeem his father. The chief not only refused to accept the horses, but told him straight to his face that his father was to be killed. Then his brother Ping-chu protested, saying that his father had not killed Huo Chin, but that he himself was the murderer. The chief looked at him a long time and finally said, you are a filial son. He ordered the father to be bound to a car and to leave for Hsi-an. Hsing-chu cried the whole way home. However, his father was not killed (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 19*a*). 175x 577 593

His father was sent to Hsi-an, together with Li T'ien-yu. In T'ung Kuan they met the Manchu Prince Ah-Ki-Ko (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). Both submitted to the newly established dynasty and were released. The Governor General Meng Ch'iao-fang, sent by the Ch'ing dynasty to pacify Kansu, had already arrived in 1645. He rehabilitated both t'u-ssu in their former office of commander of the clan, enjoining them to pacify the t'u-ssu of Hsining and Ho-hsi, to induce the Tibetans to be submissive, to abstain from revolts and to capture the rebel Tibetan Chao Chin-chung (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 2*a–b*; 31: 21; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 44*b*). To the T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuen who had perished with his wife and 120 members of his family the emperor later ordered built an honorific arch in Hsining with the inscription "Loyal servant and faithful wife, glory of the noble clan" (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 15*b*). 175x [211 703]

[P.52(A)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 769 614 ginning of April according to the lunar calendar, in a festival similar to the Chinese Ch'ing-ming. On this occasion the clan assembles to venerate its ancestors, enjoy a great feast and reunion, and discuss matters of concern to the clan.

On the day of the assembly, the T'u-ssu, the chiefs and elders of the villages and all the family heads go to the graveyard immediately after breakfast, followed by all the other members of the clan. At the graveyard, offerings are made and rites are performed. Then food for the offerings is divided among the families, the oldest generations receiving their portions first.

M [182] [767] This annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of the Mongour clan. One of the family heads, usually of the nobility, is appointed to care for the graveyard during the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions and offerings, and the making of repairs. An assistant is assigned to help him with details.

b. Respect for elders and family heads

N *563 M 554 888 The Mongours once lived without chiefs, but never without village elders. Traditionally, the whole power of the clan was vested in the elders, who had the authority to appoint and dismiss chiefs. The village elders still take the most important part in local administration. Elders need not be rich or from noble stock, but they are men of good reputation from the more outstanding families.

N *563 M 554 592 Heads of families are also honored. At public meetings, all are allowed to express their views and defend their rights, but final decisions are made only after the heads of families have spoken.

c. Adultery

N *563 M 684 Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If caught, the guilty pair is flogged, the woman on her bare back, the man on bare buttocks and thighs, up to a hundred stripes. The man must confront the husband and make apologies, and present him with a sheep or a pig. A trial is held and fingerprints are taken. Then the pair is led through the village with drums beating while they make public confession of their sin, and they must secure an official statement of pardon.

d. Moral and legal concepts

N *563 M 183 M [593] [587] [421] Both moral and legal concepts of the Mongours seem to be based upon customs, tradition and what the community accepts as just. Some typical social values and concepts are: Wrongs must be righted and injustices corrected. Parents have authority over their children, and husbands over their wives. A widow has the right to remarry or to dispose of herself. Private property must be protected. No one has the right to disturb the peace of the community.

N *563 M 562 852 [553]

first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

M [203] [604] [603] [553]

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

M [184]

Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

j. Beard-growing

N *563 M 302 [593] [888]

A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 M 764 [171] [177]

The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

4. Popular beliefs

N *563 M 843 562

Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 777 789

If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.

601 *gadim* (also *gadin*): relatives in law having a different clan name; wife's family in relation to husband's, or husband's family in relation to wife's. *Cf.* Mongol *qadum, qadam;* Ordos *khadam.*

k'adzi: elder sister. *Cf.* Mongol *egeci,* Ordos *egetshi. K'adzi diu,* elder and younger sisters; sisters in general.

khulo: far, distant, remote. *Cf.* Mongol *qola,* Ordos *kholo.*

k'ü: son, boy. *Cf.* Mongol *köbegün,* Ordos *k'ü.*

k'urgen: son-in-law. *Cf.* Mongol *kürgen,* Ordos *k'urgen.*

mula: little, younger, etc. *Cf.* Mongol *miltagar,* flattened.

nagē: maternal uncle. *Cf.* Mongol *nagai,* Ordos *nagä.*

ndāni: genitive plural of the first person.

sge: great, honorable, etc. *Cf.* Mongol *yeke,* Ordos *ikhe.*

sundze (written *sun dze* in text, above): grandson. *Cf.* Chinese *sun-tze.*[1a]

NUCLEAR AND EXTENDED FAMILY

•594 It must not be thought however that children are unable to distinguish between their actual parents and their "classificatory" parents in the extended family. The mother and father and their own children form a well defined "nuclear" family within the extended family. Some authors, in their efforts to stress the importance of the classificatory system, neglect this fact which is obvious to an observer living in actual contact with such a society.[1] The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family, and personal possessions, like clothes and the children's toys, are all kept in this room. A mother sews all the clothes and shoes for her own children. After the main meal of the day, eaten in common with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room. Parents correct and punish their own children, and it is good reason for a quarrel if anybody else dares to punish them. If a child is sick, it calls for its own mother and sleeps beside her. If there is something wrong with the conduct of a woman, the grandfather calls her husband and tells him to discipline his wife and to beat her if need be. Thus the head of the family sets the standard of discipline, but it is the husband who actually exercises discipline. Conversely, if a woman has trouble with other women, she seeks the support of her husband.

603 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather first consults her father and mother before taking action, in his capacity as head of the family, to arrange a match with another family. When such materials as cloth for the making of clothes are to be distributed, it

[1a] For these terms, compare David F. Aberle, *The kinship system of the Kalmuk Mongols,* Univ. of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology, 8. Albuquerque, N. M., Univ. New Mexico Press, 1953, one of the studies completed under the program of Mongol studies at the Johns Hopkins University.

[1] See, for example, M. Granet, *La civilisation chinoise* 1: 185. Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

[p. 85-6]

N
*563 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes
586 goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

M
• 594 A. The Family Organization
596 Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patri-
[611] lineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed
[591] of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The
N extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-
*563 grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family.
M In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines,
[556] and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

M The extended family has a common courtyard, around which
[361] the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus,
M the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its
[182] nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook
[252] its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are
M well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by
[342] the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing.
M After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended
[364] family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.
[342]

The family head is the religious chief, family administrator
N and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each
*563 spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors,
M he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are
592 his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a
554 family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the
[769] village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

/8 cont'd/

858 of marriage is the procreation and rearing of offspring"/. The son is
562 the dream of the Orient. One will resign oneself to poverty, but one
181 will never be consoled for not having a son; one will be consoled over
581 the death of a husband or wife, but one will continue to weep for the loss of an only son. The fact of having no son will be interpreted as a punishment of heaven for sins committed in former lives. One will disregard expenses required for good works and pilgrimages in the interest of producing a male child. Extraordinarily noisy celebrations will be given upon the birth of a first-born son, in which the whole village will take part. The greatest happiness of a T'ou-jen woman will be that of having many sons; so that when one lives in T'ou-jen country, one thinks involuntarily of the Roman mother of the Gracchi presenting her children to her friends, saying, "Here are my jewels." One rarely sees alms refused to the numerous religious and lay beggars; it is because the terrible curse they are accustomed to offer, "Be without descendants," is feared. On the contrary, after receiving alms, the beggar will thank the giver by wishing him a numerous male posterity.

181 We must therefore expect to see matrimonial customs strongly
595 influenced by this way of thinking. Thus, when the wife has no children or no sons, it seems natural /9/ to everyone to take a second wife and even a third. Every T'ou-jen, even the most upright, if means permit, will act in this way. He will not lose the esteem of his fellows in the least for doing so; all of them will even advise him to do so, the most religious man as well as the most pious woman. When the first wife has borne sons, and the husband takes a second, nothing shocking is seen in it, for the more sons one has, the better it is.

I always remember the discussions I had with T'ou-jen friends on the subject of polygamy. I admit that it seemed to me that my arguments did not convince them, even that they were not understood. The good fortune of having sons was for them too sublime an entity to be capable of being put on the same level with the family troubles which polygamy entails; if the bringing up of children of different mothers must leave something to be desired, this disadvantage is a negligible quantity in their eyes, even a quantity of lower order

/9 cont'd/

181 compared to the happiness of having descendants. This way of think-
595 ing has distant origins; the T'ou-jen inherited it from their ancestors, and they have kept it scrupulously for centuries. Let us not be surprised therefore that because of it certain customs which seem inadmissible and shocking to us appear reasonable and justifiable to the T'ou-jen.

We shall set forth in what follows the matrimonial customs of a people which is convinced of the duty of marrying, and which expects male descendants from marriage.

/10/ Division of the Study

583 Marriage is the legal union of a man and woman. But with the T'ou-jen the daughter being the property of the parents, in the true sense of the term, an indemnity is imposed on the one who wishes to marry her.

This indemnity is paid in two ways; either by purchase or by the furnishing of his person or his services for the benefit of the owner of the girl.

[587] The marriage of widows, which still often takes place nowadays in the ancient form of abduction, nevertheless falls in the category of marriage by purchase; for after having taken the widow to a safe place, a discussion is held about her price. Therefore, we shall deal successively with:

I. Marriage by purchase
II. Marriage by furnishing ones services or person
III. Abnormal marriages
IV. Divorce, repudiation, and exchange of wives
V. Runaway wives
VI. The matriarchate

/99 cont'd/

583 rides pillion and holds her in his arms. But it is necessary to take account of the circumstances in which the girl is carried away; it is done running, while closing the door with a crash, while the girl sobs, etc. Surely it is not the brother's place to carry his sister outside in a case of abduction, nor that of a member of the family to ride pillion, to hold the girl in his arms. We are here in the presence of an old custom belonging to an outdated organization and whose sense and memory the T'ou-jen have lost. Ever since, it is not surprising to note meaningless actions and anomalies. Besides, it is the general law which rules customs no longer understood. The more one goes ahead in time, the less one understands them, and the more one distorts them.

/100/ C. Polygamy

595 Summary. -- 1. Polygamy exists but is not general. 2. The four categories of polygamists. 3. Procedure for the purchase of a concubine. 4. Position of the second wife with respect to the official wife.

1. Polygamy Exists. It Is Not General

One can expect to meet polygamy among the T'ou-jen when one understands their thinking as to the necessity of having male descendants. When one considers their ideas on the subject of the position of a widow who has children in the T'ou-jen family system, as well as their way of thinking on the subject of the position of a woman, on whom rests all the work in the country. However, when one thinks of the generally poor circumstances of the people, it is easy to admit that polygamy cannot be general. The economic condition is here one of the largest factors in the question of polygamy.

The T'ou-jen, living nowadays in an agrarian state, inhabit a country which is not precisely a "promised land" for the tiller of the soil. The climate is generally cold, the country is mountainous,

2: Schram--113 M-4,5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
Manchu AG4

Mo 595 /100 cont'd/

the land is limited and rather poor. Now to procure for oneself two wives, maintain them, and raise the children who will be born is assuredly a heavy burden. It will therefore be necessary either to have the means and be more or less rich, or to be forced to it by circumstances. This is what we shall ascertain while examining the various categories of polygamists.

Let us always keep in mind the fact that since polygamy is not at all reprehensible in the eyes of the T'ou-jen, one sees it practiced by the most respectable people.

Is the number of wives limited? How many wives /101/ could one take and still remain an upright man in the eyes of the people? This is an idle question; I know of only a few cases of T'ou-jen who had three wives. I have never heard it said that a T'ou-jen went beyond this number.

2. The Four Categories of Polygamists

Mo 595 842

a) The first category of polygamists includes sterile couples. One sees polygamy where there are no children or where there is a scarcity of children. The necessity of having male children takes precedence over everything in T'ou-jen life. It is this way of thinking which gives the courage to live more poorly, sharing the daily bread, which is already very scarce, with a new life partner; it is again this way of thought which persuades the official wife and makes her allow the husband to take another partner. At the time of family disputes the sterility of the wife is the decisive argument to make her listen to reason and to preach patience and harmony in the family. Thus as a general rule, although the economic condition of the family permits it ever so little, a sterile couple will see a second wife added. (1) Fortunately, sterility always remains the

Mo 595 842

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64: Generally speaking the Manchus do not consider polygamy as a good institution, except in the case of the woman's

/101 cont'd/

Ma 595 842

sterility. In such case, both wives are called "grand wife" in opposition to the concubines called "secret (to be hidden) young wife." /Cited in English./

Mo 595 842

exception.

Therefore in well-off families polygamy will often be seen where there are only one or two daughters; and at the same time one will not always meet two wives in rich families where there are very few children. How can one explain these facts?

Mo 593 171

It is that polygamy among the T'ou-jen remains in practice a very delicate and complex problem. In the family circle the T'ou-jen wife occupies a position much more important than the one which the Chinese wife occupies; in addition T'ou-jen family /102/ life is more intimate than Chinese family life. It proceeds from there that the T'ou-jen wife has more influence on the husband than her Chinese sister has. As schools are rare and intellectual formation among the men is almost nil, the wife will not be inferior to men in that direction. Let us suppose now that she has been able to make herself more or less appreciated by her husband, or let us suppose that having one or two children she is categorically opposed to the introduction of a second wife into the home; or let us suppose that she has won over to her side her /his?/ own parents and that they show themselves displeased with the project; or let us suppose that the wife suggests the word suicide... and then how many suppositions are still possible when one knows that the heart of a jealous woman is an inexhaustible source of expedients... and we shall understand that in practice polygamy bristles with numberless difficulties. As a general rule, if there are no serious motives which enter into it, like sterility or one of the causes explained below: a simple stray impulse, a desire of the lower instinct, even wealthiness, these alone are not enough for practicing polygamy.

Mo 595 589

b) The second category of polygamists: widows, or the levirate.

/102 com'd/

Mo 595 589 Besides sterility and scarcity of children, which are above all the determining and positive causes of polygamy, there is another cause which is rather passive-negative in the sense that polygamy in this case is rather necessitated by circumstances which do not depend on the wife and is brought on by the situation in which she finds herself. This is the case of the widow upon the decease of the husband among the T'ou-jen.

Mo 587 595 The young widow, who has ordinarily borne several children, finds herself at this moment of her life completely perplexed: to remarry is to run toward the unknown and to abandon her children, who, in her opinion, will be unhappy for the rest of their lives. How can she live without these children? Staying in the family as a widow is advised against for her because of her relative youth... /103/ moreover one of her sons will perhaps be able to marry in two or three years... the position of mother-in-law appeals to her. The family of the parents-in-law understands also what it will lose upon the departure of this fertile woman, and what her children will lose. In this case the mother-in-law, during the 49 days following the death, proposes to the widow that she not leave them and that she marry one of the brothers of the dead man. If there are unmarried sons in the family, a match from among them is proposed to her, the difference in age between husband and wife having little importance in T'ou-jen country. If all the sons are married, she can remarry as the second wife of one of her husband's brothers, little does it matter whether he is older or younger than the dead man.

That is a case of polygamy very common among widows who have children. It is the levirate. Although in theory widows are free to go back to their maternal families after the 49 days of mourning and to marry again at another wedding, they very often remain as the second wife of one of the brothers of the dead husband in order to take care of their children. (1)

Ma 587 595

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64: The widow can marry anyone of her husband's clan members except his

/104 cont'd/

595 587 The T'ou-jen find this kind of polygamy rational when they think of the sad condition in which orphans are put, who, they say, will have to count solely on the grandparents alone, who are already old. I believe that the true explanation of this fact must be found in the former custom which did not permit widows to leave the clan.

Notice with respect to this very special category of polygamists the very special manner in which one speaks of these marriages. One does not say that the widow looked for a husband, as one says in the case of widows who remarry outside the clan of the parents-in-law, but one says satun xâgu, "to cover the shadow." (2) Is it the

[587 775]

2. It is perhaps useful to note in connection with the expression "to cover the shadow," the way of thinking of the Ou-hoan, Sien-pi peoples (Tong hou peoples) on the subject of the condition of widows in the world beyond. Parker, A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 2nd ed., p. 85: (The widow after being remarried either to her husband's brothers or to his paternal uncles...) "after death reverted to her first husband in the next world." /Cited in English, with introductory part in French./

new husband who covers the shadow of his dead brother, so that this shadow will do no more evil? Among the T'ou-jen the shamans claim that all illnesses are caused by the passage of the shadow of a dead person over the body of a person in good health.

587 589 765 Yet it happens, when widows are no longer young, that they stay in the family of their parents-in-law without remarrying, solely in order to care for their children. When /105/ widows who have not remarried bear another child during the two years following the death of the husband, such a case does not surprise the T'ou-jen too much; the child is supposed to be the child of the dead man. It is

Mo /105 cont'd/
587 then called, if it is a son, either, according to the Chinese custom,
589 Hiao cheng tse, i.e., "/son/ born during the mourning period," or
765 else, according to the T'ou-jen custom, xara khû, i.e., "black
[177] son," which again means "son of mourning" since black is the color
[822] of mourning among the T'ou-jen; they say "to wear black" for "to be in mourning." Black was formerly also the color of mourning among the Mongols. When widows who have not remarried bear
Mo children after two years, it happens that these children are abandoned
[847 or that they are drowned right after birth, especially if they are girls.
848] That happens when the family has many children, or when none of
Mo the neighbors wants to feed the poor being. When the newborn is
[792] a son, they will keep him, but he will not inherit family property, and as a general rule they will send him at about the age of nine or ten to a lamasery to remain a bachelor. This is the most practical solution for avoiding difficulties in the family later. (1)

Ma
[847
848]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 77: The Manchus are very strict in killing illegitimate children, i.e. the children born by unmarried girls and widows.

The other Tungus groups consider girls who have children as the best for marriage, because these girls have the proof of their fecundity. /Cited in English./

Mo c) The third category of polygamists is met in well-to-do
595 families who lack workers.

We have seen that all the work, so to speak, is assigned to
Mo the wife; the household duties, the care of the livestock, and a large
461 part of the work in the fields. A T'ou-jen wife actually kills her-
462 self with work. It is painful to us to look at these men with the
595 nomadic instinct, do-nothings, idlers, spare themselves the least fatigue. It can happen, therefore, in families which have much

/105 cont'd/

461 livestock, much land, and few workers, that the wife herself proposes
462 to the husband that he take another partner to lighten her work. But
595 then she herself will try /106/ to find a much younger girl than she, less talented, less beautiful, the kind minus habens, /"having less"/, on the whole a person who will not give offense to her and to whom she will be able to give orders. The T'ou-jen women are very shrewd in this regard. I have even twice known the case of a woman shrewder yet; instead of looking for a second wife for her husband, she had found it more practical to give a second wife to her son, who was scarcely seventeen and already had a wife several years older than he. These cases explain again the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of marriage. We have said above that marriage is not the personal affair of those concerned, and that the T'ou-jen see in it something besides the procreation of descendants.

595 d) Fourth category of polygamists: that of those who want to have two wives to enjoy them.

This category is rather rare. It is always dangerous, say the elders, to take a second wife when the first has children and does not want to hear polygamy mentioned. Those who proceed further end up by taking a concubine to sell the official wife, as the adage says. Besides, says another adage, "Women are like medicine; one must not take too much." Polygamy is therefore far from being general among the T'ou-jen. For my part, I believe that this chapter will gain a great deal by being carefully reviewed and corrected in many ethnology books.

3. Procedure for the Purchase of a Concubine

As a general rule, the husband first proposes to his wife that he take a concubine. If the wife will not listen and if the husband is very eager to do it, he will have recourse to a woman friend of his wife or even to one of her parents /relatives?/ in order to convince her. If that does not succeed, the affair is usually /107/ shelved.
[606] If the wife consents, the husband will send someone to the wife's

/107 cont'd/

595 [604] family to announce his intention to them. The envoy will bring the traditional jug of gin and will say that their daughter has given her consent to her husband's wishes for such and such a reason. Then he will beg the parents not to make difficulties for the son-in-law. His mission will be easy to carry out when it is a question of sterility, of widowhood, or of lack of workers. He will meet difficulties, often serious, when he has a case in the fourth category of polygamists to present.

595 762 The purpose of this interview is above all to come to an understanding with this family, who will claim to have given their daughter to be the sole mistress of the house. Then, it is a precautionary measure. Experience has taught that these unions are often disastrous, and that it is among them that the greatest number of suicide is found. Now we know the T'ou-jens' profound fear of suicides, which regularly ruin the families concerned. In case of suicide, the clans of the mother and father of the unfortunate woman present themselves in order to demand an account of the death of their daughter. If before concubinage it has been possible to obtain the consent of the family, later, if ever the misfortune comes, there will be more chance for an understanding. The husband first asks for his wife's consent because he also knows that suicide is her supreme weapon and that he can do nothing against it.

595 587 The second wife that the T'ou-jen takes is either a girl or a widow. If she is a widow, they follow the procedure for the marriage of widows; the price of a concubine widow is double or triple that of an official wife. If the second wife is a girl, they go through all the phases of the marriage of girls.

595 Well-to-do families rarely give their daughters to be concubines. Poor families will "resign themselves" to it wholeheartedly, fascinated by the extraordinary compensations which they receive for this "sacrifice." The price of girl concubines /108/ go up to 300 strings of cash and more, without counting the clothes, the dinner, and the rest; which proves abundantly that the financial situation plays a fundamental role in polygamy.

/108 cont'd/

595 4. Position of the Concubine with Respect to the Official Wife

In theory the official wife is the mistress, she takes precedence over her companion, she gives orders in the house, receives guests in the absence of the husband, converses with them together with him, settles the thousand little matters which occur in the course of the day, has the right to go to festivals before the second wife... and after her death, she will have precedence over the second wife in the cemetery.

But in practice, except for her title and her precedence in the cemetery, everything will depend on the way in which she will be able to deal with her rival and command her husband's respect; if she is the least bit less talented than the rival, her superiority will vanish very quickly.

It is natural besides for the husband to be fonder of the young woman who gives him children than of the great lady who is sterile. The husband would need the tact of a master and that for a whole lifetime in order never to allow this natural inclination, which must cause jealousy in the official wife, to appear. The wife would have to have a heroic character not to become bitter when she notices that she occupies only second place in the heart and the esteem of the husband when it is natural for her to think that she has a right to the first. Now, unfortunately, all T'ou-jen husbands are not masters of tact and all T'ou-jen wives are not heroines in the mastery of the heart. So it is rare that the wives get along well with each other. Nevertheless, if the official wife is in the least capable and the husband is correct, she will be able to take precedence at home and in public, she will be able to demand from her husband /109/ better clothes than those the concubine wears, she will be able to live with her husband in the best room, to have herself served first at meals [578] after the husband, to sit down first after him, etc.... When there is a quarrel between the wives, the husband simply goes walking and comes back when the storm has calmed down.

595 601 The second wife will call the official wife "my big sister," and the official wife will call the second "my sister." When there are children, they will say: "Call me the grandmother of the children" or "Call me the little mother." Similarily, the husband will say: "Where is the children's grandmother; where is the little one?"

Mo /109 cont'd/
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Each of the two women has her chickens, which she has at her disposal as owner, as well as the eggs. The grain left on the flat area after the threshing and winnowing also goes into their private tills. At the time of the opium harvest, what adheres to the lining of the containers reverts to them also; each one therefore has her personal savings.

Mo [276]

Mo 595

I cannot end the chapter on polygamy without concluding that monogamy is in fact the general rule and the moral order among the T'ou-jen, while polygamy constitutes an exception to the rule.

Indeed, one meets polygamy only in special cases, which are sterility, widowhood, and the shortage of workers. The fact that polygamists of the fourth category are by far the least numerous seems to prove the point. (1)

Ma 595

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64: Among the Manchus monogamy is the usual form of marriage. Polygamy if indeed it does occur, is a very exceptional form and can be considered as an incidental institution. According to the Manchus, polygamy is a modern fashion borrowed from the Chinese who especially the rich people use it very largely. The rich Manchus used to have 5, 6 wives until a new law limited the number of wives to two only. There is restriction to taking two sisters as wives, but the Manchus do not like to give two daughters, because other unmarried people may be discontented by it. /Cited in English./

Mo 595

Conclusion. An ethnographic fact of prime important entirely dominates the question of the marriage of girls and widows, and in part that of polygamy.

000 /109 cont'd/
595 and in part that of polygamy. We wish to speak /110/ of the custom
587 which says that widows upon the death of their husbands should not leave the husband's family but be remarried, either to the dead man's brother or to his paternal uncle.

595 We cannot attach too much importance to this institution,
587 first because of its universality, then because of its great age and
171 the length of its existence. Indeed, this practice has been in force among all the nomadic peoples who have wandered in the immense steppes of northern and southern Asia, as Chinese history attests. (1)

1. Parker, A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 2nd ed., p. 4: A universal custom, which as we shall see, extended for a thousand years over the whole of Tartary, was for the son to take over his deceased father's wives (with exception of his own natural mother) and for younger brothers to take over the widows of their elder brethren. It does not appear quite certain whether the son or the brother had first choice; perhaps the brother only took when there was no son, possible vice-versa. /Cited in English./ Parker, p. 19, cites this practice among the Hiung-nu; p. 85, among the Wu hwan and Sien-pi; p. 109, among the T'u-yu-hun. Barthold cites it among the Ouigour and Mongols, cf. note, p. 104.

587 As a consequence of this fact it is not a question of speaking in any way of widow marriage for all this period of history. Widows used to simply pass to other members of the same family. From that

/111 cont'd/

500 that the Eskimo present in the east of the polar region is not as uniform. /Cited in German./

Anthropos, 1929, p. 129. The central North Asiatics stand in contrast with all the peoples (polar peoples) named. Exogamy prevails among the Samojed, Ostjak, Jakut, Tungus, and Dolgan. This extends not only to the kin groups but to the whole tribe. /Cited in German./

Page 130. A kind of exogamy such as is present among these peoples requires that membership in a given community (marriage class in this case) be reckoned either on the father's side or on the mother's side, and, of course, for the simple reason .... /Cited in German./

104 Page 117. The betrothal of children, that is, the designation of two people for marriage before puberty, or even before the birth of one or both of them /cited in German/ ... (is found among all the peoples of the polar region).

584 Page 102. Customarily, an intermediary appears, usually the father or some other close male relative of the bridegroom, who negotiates with the father of the bride and often receives compensation for his trouble, perhaps in the form of property. /Cited in German./

583 Page 102. The price for the bride is determined according to the wealth of the participants and is paid in property, for example, in valuable pelts. /Cited in German./

Page 102. The bride price is paid either immediately or in installments. In the latter case the bridegroom can take his bride only when the last installment has been paid, although often he has already slept with her. /Cited in German./

Page 103. I have already said that among the peoples being discussed here a bride price /Mirgift/ is always expected. In the specific reports concerning this, almost all the authors agree. /Cited in German./

● 545 Herbert Koenig, "Das Eherecht der Polarvoelker," Anthropos, 1929, pp. 136-137. Polygamy and Similar Situations... In the whole polar region polygamy lawfully

/111 cont'd/

595 prevails. One can marry as many women as he wants and can support.... The reasons for the polar men taking a second wife are the wish to acquire additional help in the household and the wish for children, the latter in the case of sterility of the first, whom it is economically impossible simply to divorce. Moreover, the first wife always continues to be the most respected; among the Jukagir there are various designations. For example, the second is known as "little wife," but the third is characterized as a concubine. /Cited in German./

As for monogamy, Herb. Koenig says: ... Monogamy, actually the most common because of the economic situation ... /cited in German/.

/112/ Chapter II

Marriages by the Furnishing of One's Services or Person

583 All the marriages described above are concluded by purchase, either of a girl or of a widow. The new category of unions in which the wife is no longer bought offers to poor needy people the only means of being able to marry. People of average means will prefer to purchase a girl for their son rather than to lay themselves open to a whole series of disagreeable consequences totally inherent in this kind of union involving furnishing of services or one's person.

So the disadvantages must be really serious for even the T'ou-jen to advise against them, these people whom we have seen to be such great lovers of small profits.

These alliances are therefore "nowadays" solely practiced by young people who have no other means of marrying and who are resigned to these sacrifices in the hope of descendants and in order to fulfill the obligation to marry.

The division of the chapter will therefore be: Furnishing of services to marry:

/136 cont'd/

586 Polygamy often leads to divorce. The too marked attentions
595 of the husband for the second wife embitter the official wife and make her look for another husband. Polygamy is the sure means foreseen by the husband to get rid of his wife whom he no longer loves in order to take another who is to his taste. Once the latter is married, the first will consent to being sold and will be forced indirectly to get another suitor. /137/

586 Bad treatment which a husband makes his wife undergo does not constitute grounds for divorce. Brutality of the husband can at the most force the wife to flee to her parents. Then the family, the maternal uncle at the head, will come to demand explanations and will require guarantees for the future; after which the wife will return home. If the brutality continues, the wife herself will look for another match, and they will proceed to divorce.

They do not divorce because of sterility but take a second wife. Bodily faults of the wife are rarely grounds for divorce. In this case, because it is hard for the wife herself to find a match; no other resort is left to the husband except repudiation.

A husband who has ascertained that his wife steals, wastes his property; etc., will try to make her life impossible and to force her indirectly to get a purchaser in order to be able to get a divorce. They are always afraid of repudiation.

In the case that the daughter-in-law does not get along with the mother-in-law, if the couple get along well together, they will try to have a division of the property so that they can live separately. If, on the other hand, the couple do not get along, they will proceed as in the preceding cases...and will be divorced.

Here again as everywhere else one perceives the shortcoming of the race. The pursuit of small profits manifests itself in everything. They will be patient for years, they will humiliate themselves as far as urging the wife to get another match, for the price of the sale of the wife is coveted above all. However, in the end this price will be determined in direct proportion, on the one hand, to the aversion felt for the wife, and on the other hand, to the wealth of the suitor, as well as to the passion he feels for the woman who

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

partly Tibetan and partly Mongol. In not too long a time they would have become thoroughly Tibetan.[41]

ETHNOGRAPHY OF HUANGCHUNG AND EAST KANSU

The preceding notes have an important ethnographic bearing. It has been noted that in 625, for fear of invading T'u-fan of Tibet, several thousand Tang-hsiang from the region of Sung P'an in Szechwan had fled to East Kansu, submitted to China, and had been settled in East Kansu and Mi Chih in Shansi; also that T'u-fan hordes chased the T'u-ku-hun from Huangchung and the Kokonor region and settled in Huangchung in 629. From 763 until 842 the whole of Kansu had been lost to China; the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the country and appointed his officials. Consequently, the bulk of the population of East Kansu consisted of Tang-hsiang and T'u-fan subjects. In 955 the Shat'o nation disintegrated and many Shat'o groups were incorporated in the Tibetan tribes in East Kansu and many fled to Huangchung, joining the Shat'o group which was living there in 939. In 1036 tens of thousands of Uighurs surrendered to Chiossulo who settled them in Huangchung and in East Kansu. In 1368, in the Ming dynasty, some Uighur groups had still kept their tribal organization but, under the leadership of t'u-ssu, others had become mixed with Tibetans and Shat'o in village formations and two groups had conserved their autonomy under the leadership of their own chiefs. When in 1712–1723 these groups revolted against the Ch'ing dynasty, many small groups of Uighurs controlled by t'u-ssu followed the people of their race in the revolt. During the Mongol period (1280–1368) many groups of Mongols settled in East Kansu and Huangchung. After the collapse of their dynasty most of them submitted to the Ming and remained in the country. Some of their chiefs became t'u-ssu and other groups disintegrated and dispersed in the country.

These notes explain what specific tribes constitute the base of the present population in Huangchung and East Kansu and at what time these tribes had arrived in Kansu. During centuries they lived one next to the other, feuding and blending with the few Chinese of the country, forming the compound called Kansu Chinese.

COLLAPSE OF THE T'U-FAN KINGDOM OF HUANGCHUNG

Chiossulo had three wives. The first, belonging to the Ch'iao family, bore one son, Tung-chan; the second, the daughter of the lama Li Li-tsun, the dismissed minister, bore two sons; no notes concern the third. (*Annals*

[41] Mathias Hermann, S.V.D., Uiguren und ihre neuentdekten Nachkommen, *Anthropos*, 78–99, 1940–1941.

[p. 19(B)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 565 554 [466] into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punishment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.

The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 M 614 217 565 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealogies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was N *563 probably considerable social distance between the commoners and M 174 565 the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local M [554] prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 M 621 622 565 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 M 596 [421] [561] [595] Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patrilocal family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four generation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of M [428] chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually M [182] takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his [768] surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. [428] More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

V. FAMILY LIFE

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

•596 The general principles of the Monguor family system have already been given above in Chapter III, and need here be recapitulated only very briefly. Until 1911–1922, when these notes were made, the Monguor family was a patrilineal, extended, patrilocal family. The extended family was under the authority of the grandfather, or of the great-grandfather if he survived. No family of which I had any knowledge exceeded four generations. The whole extended family lives in dwellings grouped around a common courtyard. The property and wealth are collectively owned by the whole group, but with authority over the property unequally concentrated in the senior generation. This manner of life is graphically described by the Monguors in expressions (used also by the Chinese and possibly borrowed from the Chinese) as "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." While these sayings may be borrowed from the Chinese, the underlying principle, that of the hearth and the fire-spirit of the hearth, belongs independently to the nomad tradition from which the Monguors are descended.

Conversely, the break-up of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families composing the extended family sets up its own kitchen, hearth, and chimney and begins to cook its own food separately. This means that it is parting from the extended family to which it belongs and founding a new extended family. The son who thus sets up separately becomes independent of the orders of the senior whom he formerly acknowledged as head of his family; he is beginning to work for himself and to retain any money that comes into his hands, instead of turning it over to the head of the family. When a son begins to act in this independent manner, the neighbors gossip, the family itself is uneasy, and it is recognized that the old family is breaking up.

596 587 It should not be assumed that polygamy is a regular characteristic of the extended family. Polygamy is very decidedly an economic question. On the one hand, polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard, because it gives rise to quarrels among wives, and on the other hand there are few Monguors who are economically able to afford a household with more than one wife. If one of the sons living in the common courtyard should venture to ask the head of the family to provide him with a concubine (perhaps because his wife is barren) all the other daughters-in-law are jealous and their husbands share with them because they feel that the cost of the concubine means that the favored brother is being given more than his share of the family's capital. If the tormenting of the other daughters-in-law should drive the concubine to despair, she might commit suicide; and a suicide always means the complete ruin of the family. [762]

[P. 816]

596 587 Theoretically, it might be argued that a son who had left the extended family to live separately would be free to take a concubine. In practice, he is rarely able to do so because the commonest reason for leaving the extended family is that it has become too poor to support all its members. The son who is starting life separately is, therefore, usually starting as a man too poor to afford a concubine.

587 Polygamy is, however, not frowned on in the case of a small family consisting of husband and wife, economically well off but without children. In order to prevent the line from dying out, thus breaking the continuity in the ancestor-cult, it is quite proper to take a concubine, even if the couple has already adopted a child. Polygamy is also not unusual in a small family in which there are children, if the family are well off; in such cases, if the wife does not object, her husband takes a concubine and the concubine helps her in her housework.

In one case in my experience, in a rich family consisting of husband, wife, and one son, who was already married, the mother objected to her husband taking a concubine, but did not mind arranging for a second wife for her son; the arrangement was one that provided an extra worker in the family.

The Monguors make a distinction between polygamy, as described above, and the levirate. In a family in which there are several sons, all of them married and having children, if one of the sons dies, the widow becomes the second wife of one of his brothers (usually a younger brother). The distinction between the levirate and polygamy is clear. Polygamy requires the expenditure of family funds for the acquisition of a second wife or concubine. In the levirate, the bride-price has already been paid; if the widow should leave the family in order to marry an outsider of her choice, she would be a loss to the family and it is proper, therefore, to make an arrangement that keeps her in the family. The levirate is, however, only practiced when brothers are still living together in the extended family, and when the widow consents.

THE FAMILY CHIEF

592 611 The position of chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head of the family. If at this moment the extended family should break up, instead of continuing to live together, the eldest son is privileged to receive a larger share of the fields and cattle forming the common property, and his own eldest son shares this privilege, also receiving a cow or horse, or a field. This rule of succession and inheritance is followed by both nobles and commoners.

592 In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. He repre-

[P. 82a].

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

592 work. He entertains the guests, the other members of the family keep respectfully apart. At dinner, he and his wife occupy the places of honor and his food is served to him first. His prestige and the respect shown to him are, however, modified by the necessity for earning respect by proper conduct of the affairs of the family.

BREAKUP OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY

596 The usual time for the breaking up of an extended family is at the death of the grandfather. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More often, the sons divide the property and each one builds his own "chimney"; if he has grown sons of his own, he is already the founder of a new extended family. It is difficult for the oldest son to hold the family together, because, although he has a certain authority, it is not so great as that of a man of a senior generation. It is also at this moment that old quarrels among the wives of the various sons are likely to flare up; each woman, moreover, is eager to seize the opportunity to be recognized as the wife of the head of a new family, exercising authority in her own right over her sons, daughters-in-law, and grandchildren. I have often been told by old men that wives have a bigger stake in founding new families at this moment than do their husbands.

As an example we may take the case of a grandfather who has four sons, each of whom has three or more children. At the grandfather's death, it becomes apparent that the four brothers have different and uncongenial personalities—one perhaps is lazy, making the others feel that they are doing his share of the work and supporting his family for him, while another may be quarrelsome or avaricious. With the authority of the grandfather removed, it also becomes evident that each of the four sisters-in-law has her own personality; or perhaps one has several children and another, having only one, feels that life in the common courtyard means that she has more than her fair share of the household work and helping to look after other people's children. In short, it would be revealed that although there had been unity and harmony in the family during the ten or fifteen years that the grandfather had ruled it with tact, patience, and love for his children and grandchildren, there had nevertheless been underlying strains which, after his death, became strong enough to break up the family. While it is for such reasons that it is extremely rare to find an extended family of four generations holding together after the death of the grandfather, a few such families do hold together, not so much because of family affection as for economic reasons. The moment that an extended family begins to fall apart, its creditors appear, because once they have separated the individual families will no longer acknowledge mutual responsibility. If the extended family is so deeply in debt that after a settlement there would not be enough to divide among the separating families, it may

[P. 83a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

596 go on living as a group even though the new head of the family is not obeyed as he should be and each component man-and-wife family is jealous and resentful of the others.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW FAMILIES

Continuing with the example of the four brothers who have been taken as a typical case of the breaking up of an extended family, it will be found that there are no dramatic ceremonies ratifying the establishment of the four new "chimneys." Sometimes the man who is establishing his own "chimney" will kill a sheep, invite some elders and his maternal uncle, offer them wine, and receive their good wishes for a happy future, while his sons and daughters-in-law and the grandchildren prostrate themselves before him and his wife. Thereafter, four new "chimneys" are registered in the archives of the village instead of one.

Generally speaking, it can be said that family ties among the Monguors are not as binding as they used to be. There is an increasing tendency to separate into small families. The bonds and associations of the clan have resisted change more successfully than the extended family.

596 888 Certain aspects of the family, however, remain strong, especially the gradation of respect according to seniority of generation. Children, from their earliest years, are accustomed to seeing each generation show respect to the generations senior to it, especially on formal occasions such as funerals, marriages, the installation of the chief of the clan, and all ceremonies connected with veneration of the ancestors. They grow up accustomed to this kind of respect, which is as important in the community and the clan as it is in the family. The result is a social outlook in which the individual is subordinated to the family and the community.

CLASSIFICATION OF KINSHIP

601 In the classification of relationship, the Monguors use the same term for all members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Thus, I address as "grandfather" not only my own grandfather, but all his brothers and the sons of his father's brothers. The term is *adic*, with differentiation of *sgc* ("big") for those members of this class who are older than my grandfather, and *mula* ("little") for those who are younger. Similarly, I address as *anic* not only my own grandmother but the wives of all the men whom I address as "grandfather," with the same distinction of "big" and "little" for those who are older or younger than my actual grandmother. This term *anic*, which is also the polite expression for "madame," I likewise apply not only to the "grandmothers" who are married to my "grandfathers," but to my grandfather's sisters, because they have the same clan name that he has. In other words, his "sisters" are not only his father's daughters but the daughters of his father's brothers—

[P. 836]

597 before him and was given the name "Tiger." The new father then led the boy to the family graveyard, taking with him some wine, steamed rolls, meat, paper, and sticks of incense. The boy knelt and honored the spirit of the earth with a libation of wine poured on the ground. He then honored his new ancestors, kneeling and prostrating himself and making a burnt offering of paper and incense. Returning home, the boy was congratulated by the guests who called him by his new name, and he in return honored all the guests as a group by prostrating himself nine times. The ceremonies concluded with a dinner for the guests. The boy was happy with his fine new clothes, and willing to stay with a family that was so much better off then the one into which he had been born. His father went home, driving a nice cow before him. The boy was to be considered not only as "belonging" to his new family, but as being descended from his new father's ancestors and as fully integrated into the family.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR IN THE FAMILY

•596 The structure of a Monguor family can be clearly
576 seen when a guest is entertained at dinner. Grand-
father presides, sitting on the *k'ang* or heated sleeping-
264 platform. Grandmother sits down only if invited by the guest to come up on the *k'ang*. If there is no guest, both grandfather and grandmother sit on the *k'ang*. The younger sons squat on their heels on the floor, in front of the *k'ang*, eating with chopsticks out of a bowl held in the left hand; the elder sons are allowed to sit on the edge of the *k'ang*. The staple of the meal is usually barley-flour noodles. Grandfather reaches out from the *k'ang* and puts some meat and vegetables in each bowl. Each, as he finishes his meal, licks his bowl clean and hands it to his wife to be washed. While the grandfather is sitting on the *k'ang*, none of the daughters-in-law may sit on the floor; they must remain standing.

576 It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a
guest. After the food has been eaten, tea is served in
272 the same bowl. Whether food or tea is served, the bowl must always be filled to the brim. Bowls or dishes must always be presented with both hands. Tea is poured with the right hand, while the left hand is held toward the guest, palm upward.

576 One must never step over a person who is sleeping or
lying down. Fathers and daughters-in-law must always
606 keep some distance between them. When there is a
quarrel in the family, the first reproach by a daughter-
291 in-law is always that "distance has not been kept." This standard of propriety is common to Monguors and Chinese. A daughter-in-law is not allowed to appear before the elder generation or guests bareheaded or without wearing either a long gown or a skirt covering her trousered legs. Only when a daughter-in-law is visiting her own mother's home may she go bare-headed. In her husband's home she must always wear a gown.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

608 curing the opportunity to pasture his large flocks of sheep on the Tibetan grazing grounds. Similarly, a
648 Muslim will take the oath with a Monguor in order to increase and improve his wool and skin business by
[282] having, within the territory of the clan of his Monguor friend, a protector for his business and a home at which to stay. The Monguor benefits by being able to stay with his Muslim brother for several days at a time when making trips outside of Monguor territory.

Another special application of the institution of sworn brothers will be noted when we come to the description of the trading caravans that travel into and through Tibetan territory, and of the fishing engaged in by the Monguors in the waters of Kukunor lake.

608 In contrast to the tradition in the time of Chingis Khan that after the death of a sworn brother his son might appeal to the surviving sworn brother, among the Monguors the family of a sworn brother who has died has no continuing obligation. The oath may be taken for a limited period and for the achievement of a specific purpose, and be terminated when the purpose has been achieved. The oath may also be formally terminated under other conditions. Thus, in one case of which I knew, three young men in the district of Tolong took the oath together. Six months later they invited an old man to become their "sworn father." A goat was killed and the ceremony was carried out. For three years the three young men were faithful sworn brothers and showed toward their "sworn father" the devotion of true sons. The relationship was publicly known. After three years, however, gossip began to spread. People wondered why this oath had been taken when the district was at peace. It was suggested that perhaps they had subversive intentions of some kind and that harm might come to the whole community. Eventually the chief and elders of the village summoned both the sworn brothers and their sworn "father" before them and ordered them to abjure their relationship at a ceremony at the village temple, in the presence of the whole community.

Among Monguor women the equivalent or partial equivalent of "blood brotherhood" is to become "dry sisters." This relationship is only between two women; it is not extended to a group of more than two. The two who agree to be "dry sisters" do not swear an oath, but present each other with a piece of clothing and sit down to a meal together. They visit each other at New Year's, on the fifth day of the fifth month, and go to help each other in time of sickness. They invite each other to such celebrations as those for childbirth and marriage.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

428 The division of the inheritance is one of the most diffi-
●596 cult of all problems in the extended family of the patrilineal Monguor society. It usually takes place when the grandfather dies and the sons decide to set up sepa-

[P. 1076]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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rate "chimneys." The decision to separate has usually, in such cases, been foreshadowed by quarrels and resentment among the sons, making it inevitable that when the actual division of the inheritance takes place there are bitter disputes.

In order to make a satisfactory settlement possible, the sons usually invite the chief of the village and the village elders, the senior representatives of their own patrilineal kin, and of course their own maternal uncle and those of their wives to take part in the discussion, which takes place in the open air at the threshing floor, witnessed by the population of the whole village. Such a discussion may take several days. Each maternal uncle is the advocate of his own sister's son, the seniors of the patrilineal kin represent the common interest of the patrilineal line, and the village chief and elders are the voices of the community.

In this discussion every possible proposal and compromise is put forward in order to secure an agreement that will leave no smoldering feud behind among the brothers. Finally contracts are written, a sheep is slaughtered, and a dinner is given to the elders to thank them for their services. The brothers prostrate themselves before each other to signify that, though they have broken up the extended family, they are still on good terms.

The property that is thus divided is of several kinds. Among any people, riches are relative to the economic system as a whole. Since the Monguors have become agricultural, land is the most valuable property. Since the tradition of cattle breeding still continues, however, livestock are also important. In addition houses, agricultural implements, clothes, and money must be considered.

The basis on which division must be determined is the fact that under the patrilineal system the entire extended family, with authority concentrated in the grandfather, is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements, and money, with individual property restricted to a few personal possessions. As long as the extended family holds together, all of its members produce for the common benefit and what is to be done with what they earn is decided by the head of the family.

Since, under the patrilineal system, sons alone may inherit, the property is first divided into as many shares as there are sons with the modification, already noted above, that the eldest son receives an extra large share and the eldest son of the eldest son also receives a special share; a son who has become a lama, however (and therefore will have no legitimate heirs), receives no share at all.

The sons of a son who has died are entitled to receive and divide their father's share. A son who has been adopted by his father's brother inherits from his adopted father and not from his real father. Similarly, a son who has been given to be adopted by a non-related family loses his rights of inheritance in his family of origin.

[p. 108a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

428 If one of the sons has died without having sons of his own and without having adopted a son, his share is divided among his brothers.

596 If, in order to acquire a wife, a man has contracted to work all his life in his wife's family he loses all right of inheritance in his family of origin, although he retains his original surname or clan name. Such a man may try to claim a share in the inheritance of his wife's family, but the claim is usually contested and settled by some sort of compromise—indicating that this kind of marriage is in itself a makeshift, not fully provided for by the rules and customs of the society. As I have pointed out in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen* (p. 118–119) the right of such a man to inherit from his family of origin is academic, since he would not have left his family for the sake of this kind of marriage unless his family had been so poor that it could offer him no inheritance worth having.

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The customs of inheritance show the difference between "marriage with the pole" and "marriage with the girdle." The girl who "marries with the pole" does not leave the clan or lose her clan name; consequently, her children, by unknown or unacknowledged fathers, bear the clan name and remain in the clan, which entitles them to a share in the inheritance as if their mother had in fact been their father. In the case of the girl who "marries with the girdle" on the other hand the father is known and acknowledged, as explained above. The girl takes the clan name of this man, even though he may never return, and consequently her child or children do not bear her clan name and are not entitled to share in the inheritance.

428 It is fully in accordance with the patrilineal principle that husband and wife do not inherit from each other or from each other's families. An exception to this rule is that the widow of the head of an extended family always receives some land and livestock from her husband. The exception is only partial and temporary however, as the widow lives with one of her sons, generally the youngest, who inherits this property after her death.[39]

Because of the strong influence of Tibetan society on that of the Monguors, a word should be said about the Tibetan rules of inheritance. In my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen* (p. 49), I mentioned that in the speech made by the master of ceremonies at a Mon-

[39] This arrangement corresponds to the ancient custom in pastoral nomadic society under which (*a*) the sons as they grew up were provided with wives and given a share of the cattle, whereupon they could move away and set up independent camps, leaving the youngest son as guardian of the parents in their old age and sole heir to the residual family property at their death; and (*b*) if a man had secondary wives, these were, at his death, inherited by his sons with the exception that the first wife could not be inherited by any of the sons and no secondary wife could be inherited by her own son, thus making it necessary to provide for the senior wife until her death. These principles are obviously rooted in the fact that when livestock, instead of land, are the most important property, dispersal may be convenient in order to avoid crowding the pastures.—O. L. [p. 108 b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Women also own personal property, including their clothes and jewelry, which are for the most part presents from the woman's own family. It has also been noted above that it is customary for a girl's maternal uncle to give her, before she is married, some land and calves, or to plant some trees for her, and to give her in addition, when she is married, some land and some more animals. The maternal uncle looks after this property for her. Similarly, sisters entrust their personal treasures to the care of a brother or brothers. Thus a married woman has a kind of insurance in the form of property that is partly in the care of a brother and partly in the care of one of her mother's brothers. (Among the circum-Polar peoples, including the Koryaks, Chukchis, and Lapps there is also "women's property"; livestock belonging to a woman before marriage, or given her by her father at the time of marriage, remain her personal property.) [41]

A woman's property may continue to increase after her marriage. When she goes to visit her own family, they frequently give her presents of cotton cloth, clothes, or money. Monguor women have also adopted from Chinese women the practice of keeping chickens. In the extended family, each daughter-in-law has her own chickens, the eggs of which she collects herself and is allowed to sell. In addition, after the crops are threshed the gleanings on the threshing floor are collected and divided by the daughters-in-law. Similarly when opium is harvested the poppy juice is cooked until it becomes thick and gluey. Each individual family in the extended family cooks its own share of the harvest, which must be poured into the kettle of the head of the family; but each daughter-in-law may keep that part of the opium that sticks to the inside of her own kettle without being scraped off— a valuable saving.

Another perquisite is that when peddlers and traveling merchants come around selling sugar, fruit, candies, and cakes to the women and their children it is not unusual for a daughter-in-law to "steal" a little grain from the family granary, while the parents-in-law pretend not to notice, in order to pay for such purchases.

The jewelry and other little treasures that a woman keeps with her in her husband's family are carefully stored in a locked chest in the woman's own room.

CONCLUSIONS

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The general conclusions to be drawn from these data on family life seems to be that the children are the hub around which the whole Monguor family turns. The chief of the extended family is a happy man at home and is esteemed in the Monguor society only if he has grandchildren; the sons love their wives only when they bear children; the wives feel that they are important in the family only when they have children and sons. The children build up the morale of all the members of the

[41] Hubert Konig, *op. cit.*, 625. [p. 109b]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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family, give them strength and courage in the struggle for the necessities of life, and finally, as I always observed, the love of the grandparents for their grandchildren holds the family united, because only when the grandparents love their children can the daughters-in-law, who are so numerous in the family, forgive each other's and the grandparent's shortcomings and deficiencies. Love for the children is the oil that makes the wheels of the Monguor family turn smoothly. No Monguor can withstand the love displayed for his children.

MORALITY IN THE MONGUOR FAMILY

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It is a general phenomenon that husbands and wives who really enjoy the delights of a happy family life do not feel the need of indulging themselves with pleasures shocking to each other's feelings. People engrossed the whole year long with the problem of making ends meet, dispose of little time to spend in that way and cannot afford its costs. In order to understand the problem we must take stock of the peculiar conditions under which the members of an extended family live. The sons, with their wives and children, live in the same courtyard, one next to the other, with the chief of the family and his wife among them. Permission for absence must be granted by the chief of the extended family, and because there is only one small gate to enter the courtyard, every visitor is instantly noticed, the reasons for his visit are discussed by all the daughters-in-law, and the length of his stay is well observed. Every one in the courtyard is the guardian of the other members of the family, and so the opportunity for misbehavior at home is reduced to a minimum. These are the conditions of every extended family. There is no secrecy. They live in glass houses. The opportunity for misbehavior in small families consisting of husband, wife, and small children is greater, although these families have next door neighbors whose tongues they cannot prevent from wagging. A married daughter who visits her parents, sometimes for many weeks, is more free since her parents do not have as much commanding influence upon her as when she was a child. Very long visits of married daughters at the home of their parents are discouraged by the older people, who seem to know more about the matter. Attendance at the public meetings when such problems are tackled in the presence of all the very interested villagers and the infliction of dishonorable punishments undoubtedly have a salutary and preventive effect upon the people; but in the Monguor society, as in all other societies, it happens that once in a while somebody falls from grace.

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It is not allowed to the young folk to tell smutty jokes in public or to sing lascivious songs in the village; at weeding time, however, obscene songs are sung in the open fields and allowance seems to be made for that custom. At public festivities, at the lamaseries and at the general assembly of the clan, men and women are

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and her children. (3) Importance of the mother, daughter-in-law, children, maternal clan. (4) The practice of husband-sons-in-law.

A. Present-day Patriarchal State System of the Large Family

121 In order to be able to understand a large part of the marriage rites and customs which we have described in this study, one must necessarily admit the hypothesis of a former matriarchate among the T'ou-jen.

546 Indeed, a large part of the marriage customs is unexplainable in the strictly patriarchal organization in which the T'ou-jen live today. Their family organization is that of the "large family." The grandfather is head of the family. His sons and grandsons after marriage continue to live under his authority, in the same courtyard, as long as life together is more or less possible. The grandfather has the community property at his disposals; he makes the sales, the purchases, the borrowings, etc. All that which is acquired by the sons or the grandsons goes back into the collective patrimony, and none of them is an owner with personal title. The grandfather has at his disposal not only the property but even the persons who constitute the family in the sense that he assigns to each one of them his daily /150/ occupations and his mode of life. The children belong neither to the mother nor the father but to the grandfather alone who will make of them monks, farmers, merchants, men of letters, as seems fitting to him. The grandfather alone is responsible before the T'ou-jen headmen for the conduct of all the members of the family. Succession in the family is regularly from father to son; at the death of the head of the family, the sons alone inherit the community property to the exclusion of the daughters. Conclusion: In such a patriarchal system the women and the maternal clan do not count at all.

121 But it has been said with much logic: "Scientific hypotheses are not true...they are convenient." Let us try, then, in order to be

N 563 194 preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. [795] Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' [596] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture [241] goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable [438] role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never [233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays [464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. S [422] Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, S [592] sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly S [614] becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy S [792] exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [422] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N 563 The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and M 233 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, 241 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest [98 that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. [177] They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the N 563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, M 231 mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred [554] only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the M 596 extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy [603] authority over all members of the family. Property is collect- [421] ively owned.

The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain N 563 whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a M 614 Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the 622 head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he 177 directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of 178 the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 565 554 [466] into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punishment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.

The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 M 614 217 565 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealogies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

N *563 M 174 565 M [554] When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 M 621 622 565 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 M 596 [421] [561] [595] Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patrilocal family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four generation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of

M [428] chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually

M [182] [168] [428] takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

N *563 586 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

M 594 596 [61] [591] A. The Family Organization

Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patrilineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The N *563 extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family. M [556] In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines, and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

M [361] The extended family has a common courtyard, around which the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus, M [182] [252] the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by M [342] the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. M [264] [342] After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

The family head is the religious chief, family administrator and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each N *563 spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are M 592 his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a 554 family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the [169] village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

603 is the grandmother who makes the distribution, each nuclear family receiving its proper share. When a mother goes on a visit to her own parents in a different village, it is customary for her to take her children with her, and thus they come to know the parents of their mother, and her maternal uncle, very well.

ADOPTION

•597 The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family. Its importance in this respect is well exemplified when a childless couple want to adopt a child. The custom is to adopt, if possible, the son of one of the brothers of the husband, who is already a classificatory son and bears by right of birth the same clan name. If this is impossible, the next step is to seek a more remotely related classificatory son from a more distant branch of the husband's family, who, though not so closely related, does have the clan name and a male ancestor in common with his adoptive father. Only if no child of the same blood on the father's side is available is a child of different clan ancestry adopted. I once attended a ceremony of adoption in a case of this kind. The child was a Chinese boy being adopted by a Monguor named Kan 75—Kan being his clan name and 75 his personal name, given to him according to a common custom, because that was the age of his grandmother at the time he was born.[2] The child being adopted was a boy of five or six from a poor Chinese family named Liu, which had several boys and was on intimate terms with the family of Kan 75.

A sheep was killed for the ceremony. Those invited included the maternal uncle of Kan 75, one of his classificatory grandfathers, one of his own brothers, the chief of the village, a Chinese scribe, and myself. The boy was brought by his father, just before noon, and was clothed in rags. He was first taken to the kitchen, where he was washed, his hair combed, and he was fitted out with brand new clothes, boots, and hat. While this was being done, the Chinese scribe wrote a contract in two copies, attesting the fact that the boy was being freely given by the Liu family to be adopted by the Kan family. The contract was signed not only by the boy's father and the adopting father, but by the adopting father's maternal uncle, grandfather, brother, and the chief of the village.

The boy was then brought out and prostrated himself, making the *k'o-t'ou* nine times first to his new maternal uncle, then to his new classificatory great-grandfather, then to his new father and mother, then to his new father's brothers, including classificatory brothers.

The new father then asked his grandfather to give the boy a new and propitious name. The boy knelt

[2] A comparable custom is known in Outer Mongolia. The father of the Dilowa Hutukhtu was called 86—using, moreover, the Chinese. Bashiliu, not the Mongol, Nayanjurgan—because he was born when his father was 86. *Autobiography*, unpublished, of the Dilowa Hutukhtu.—O. L.

[P. 86a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

•597 before him and was given the name "Tiger." The new father then led the boy to the family graveyard, taking with him some wine, steamed rolls, meat, paper, and sticks of incense. The boy knelt and honored the spirit of the earth with a libation of wine poured on the ground. He then honored his new ancestors, kneeling and prostrating himself and making a burnt offering of paper and incense. Returning home, the boy was congratulated by the guests who called him by his new name, and he in return honored all the guests as a group by prostrating himself nine times. The ceremonies concluded with a dinner for the guests. The boy was happy with his fine new clothes, and willing to stay with a family that was so much better off then the one into which he had been born. His father went home, driving a nice cow before him. The boy was to be considered not only as "belonging" to his new family, but as being descended from his new father's ancestors and as fully integrated into the family.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR IN THE FAMILY

596 The structure of a Monguor family can be clearly
576 seen when a guest is entertained at dinner. Grand-
father presides, sitting on the *k'ang* or heated sleeping-
264 platform. Grandmother sits down only if invited by the guest to come up on the *k'ang*. If there is no guest, both grandfather and grandmother sit on the *k'ang*. The younger sons squat on their heels on the floor, in front of the *k'ang*, eating with chopsticks out of a bowl held in the left hand; the elder sons are allowed to sit on the edge of the *k'ang*. The staple of the meal is usually barley-flour noodles. Grandfather reaches out from the *k'ang* and puts some meat and vegetables in each bowl. Each, as he finishes his meal, licks his bowl clean and hands it to his wife to be washed. While the grandfather is sitting on the *k'ang*, none of the daughters-in-law may sit on the floor; they must remain standing.

576 It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a
guest. After the food has been eaten, tea is served in
272 the same bowl. Whether food or tea is served, the bowl must always be filled to the brim. Bowls or dishes must always be presented with both hands. Tea is poured with the right hand, while the left hand is held toward the guest, palm upward.

576 One must never step over a person who is sleeping or
lying down. Fathers and daughters-in-law must always
606 keep some distance between them. When there is a
quarrel in the family, the first reproach by a daughter-
291 in-law is always that "distance has not been kept." This standard of propriety is common to Monguors and Chinese. A daughter-in-law is not allowed to appear before the elder generation or guests bareheaded or without wearing either a long gown or a skirt covering her trousered legs. Only when a daughter-in-law is visiting her own mother's home may she go bare-headed. In her husband's home she must always wear a gown

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

843 society are naturally reflected in popular religion. Spe-
cial deities in the lama monasteries are supposed to be
562 interested in these affairs of mankind. The Monguors
often invite lamas to help them with prayers, make vows
to go on pilgrimages to far distant monasteries if they
842 are granted a son, and give alms lavishly. Their reli-
gious interpretation is that lack of sons is a punishment
for sins of the parents in previous incarnations. The
condition of a childless woman is pitiable—she is always
despondent and dejected and drags out a miserable ex-
istence. Not having a son means having no stake in the
family and society in which she lives. Her life is lonely,
for it is not easy for a childless woman to make friends.
I have often had a mother come to me with her childless
daughter-in-law, kneeling, weeping, and begging for
medicine that will make the girl bear a child, repeating
over and over again "Father, the ancestors will have no
one to sacrifice to them, the family will have no poster-
ity." Such pitiful scenes gave me an understanding of
the social outlook of the people among whom I lived; I
could even understand why they indulged in polygamy.

Childlessness is not common among the Monguors, however. On the contrary, a Monguor woman will frequently have six or more surviving children—an astonishingly large number, considering the great amount of hard work that the mother has to do and the fact that, owing to ignorance of the most elementary rules of hygiene, lack of doctors, and miscarriages, fully a third of the children die in early infancy. The Monguors are in fact much more prolific than their kinsmen who are still nomads. One reason for this may be the fact that they live in houses while the children of nomads living in tents
842 are more exposed to variations of temperature. Prob-
164 ably a more important reason is that there is less venereal disease among the Monguors than among nomads. The lamas, most of whom are promiscuous in spite of their vows, and great carriers of venereal disease, have less opportunity to indulge themselves in the crowded and public dwellings of the Monguors than they do among the scattered tents of the nomads.[24] The neighboring Tibetans have a very high opinion of the prolificness of the Monguors. When they are childless, they prefer to adopt a Monguor boy rather than one of their own stock, and they like to marry Monguor girls because they bear
597 more children. The Monguors have no objection to giving a girl to a Tibetan family, especially if it is a rich family.

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[24] In view of the fact that venereal disease is much less common, and families much larger, among the settled agricultural Mongols of southern and eastern Inner Mongolia than among the nomad Mongols, it is also probable that the transition from nomadism to agriculture among the Monguors has led to a stricter morality. When land becomes the principal form of property, the man who owns land wants to make sure that the son who inherits it is his legitimate son, whereas among pastoral Mongols a son, regardless of legitimacy, is a new herdsman, making it possible to look after an increased number of stock.—O. L.

[P. 99-b]

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608 583 they get a husband for her, and they hope that the couple will stay with their benefactors to serve them until their death. This is then the foremost case which occurs with the least chance of success, since the feelings of this stranger will not be comparable to those of a daughter of their own. If there is no hope for them of great material advantages, the couple ends up by going away.

4. Furnishing of One's Person by Adoption in Order to Obtain a Wife

597 583 606 In this category we see the principle of the patriarchate triumphing. This fourth combination is one found in rather rich families who have only one daughter and who adopt a son-in-law in order to give him as a husband to their daughter. The purpose of this arrangement, according to the T'ou-jen, is not to be separated from their daughter and to make her and the son-in-law their lawful heirs.

Now so that this may be possible in a patriarchal system, the son-in-law must exchange his family name for that of his parents-in-law. He must separate himself radically from his own parents and clan in order to recognize his parents-in-law and all /125/ their clan as his own. He must give himself completely to this family, he must make offerings to their ancestors, and in this way he will be able to continue the family line, and at his death be buried in their cemetery. This is, then, the furnishing of services for life at the same time as that of oneself in all its breadth.

From this it is understandable that such an arrangement must raise difficulties on the part of the family; so a whole series of formalities is required in order to bring it about. The father of the family begins by inviting his brothers and announcing his irrevocable decision. So that they will sign the contract of adoption and admit the new son-in-law into the family circle, he will propose bequeathing to them several plots of land after his death; the rest of the holdings will have to fall to the son-in-law and his wife. All that does not proceed without long discussions. Finally, the contract of adoption is signed on the occasion of a family dinner, where the son-in-law makes the great prostration to his new parents; he bows to the religious image honored in the house and burns cypress branches; his

Mo /125 cont'd/
597 name is inscribed in the family register in the presence of the whole
606 family; he goes to the clan cemetery to make offerings to the ances-
583 tors of his new parents, and goes to the village pagoda to venerate the loca deities, protectors of his adoptive family. (1) This arrange-

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1.. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 61: The adoption of men (among the Manchu) is practised only for children. When the child becomes 6-7 years old the couple who adopt it organize a sacrifice to their clan spirits. They declare to the spirits and to the child adopted, that such and such person is adopted in the clan, and that this person leaves his former clan and spirits and enters into this clan. /Cited in English; French interpolation in parentheses/.

ment presents all the necessary guarantees for a serious and lasting union... but at the price of what sacrifices on the part of the son-in-law.

/126/ Chapter III

Abnormal Marriage

Mo 588 We have seen all the troubles brought on by marriages of girls exchanged for the furnishing either of the person of the son-in-law or his services for a fixed period or for life. Nevertheless, this whole series of marriages is more or less understandable to the European mind; the two series of alliances which follow no longer are. They are the marriages:

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*a*. *Sung Shih* **492**: 14*a–b*). In 175x
1065 Chiossulo appointed Tung Chan chief of the tribes. He governed 600,000 subjects. The emperor ratified the appointment in 1068, granted to the new 175x 648
chief the titles previously bestowed upon the father, and seized the opportunity to send Chinese officials to help him administer Huangchung. Tung Chan was a faithful defender of the empire. When the Hsi Hsia in 1070 invaded East Kansu, he attacked them, thus breaking the impact of the invasion. In 1081, 120,000 of his troops fought the Hsi Hsia at the side of the imperial armies. He and his wife were repeatedly bestowed with more and more honorific titles. The Hsi Hsia tried to persuade him to transfer his allegiance to them, but he refused the offer. Thereupon the Hsi Hsia invaded Huangchung and laid siege to his city of Mao-ch'uan. He raised the siege making peace with the Hsi Hsia against the orders of the emperor. He died in 1086 (*Annals* of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*b*. *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 11*b*. *Sung Shih* **492**: 16*b*).

Jealousy and hatred long smoldered among the wives [628
of Chiossulo. At the death of the lama Li Li-tsun, the 578]
dismissed minister, Chiossulo, to humiliate his daughter, had moved her to Kuo Chou, and then a large number of tribes of the Li clan had seceded and moved to the southern part of East Kansu. In 1057, advised by her brother, she had left Kuo Chou and fled with her sons to the city of Tsun K'o, situated in the main territory of the Li clan. Chiossulo, in order to avoid more trouble with the powerful Li clan, appointed her sons as chiefs of the tribes of Ni-ku and T'ao and Ho-chou in East Kansu and the emperor granted them official titles.

However, hatred was already too deeply embedded in the hearts of the Li clan, and Mou Cheng, son of the second wife of Chiossulo, started trouble in East Kansu in 1064, conniving with the Hsi Hsia. The Hsi Hsia were defeated and Mou Cheng submitted to the emperor and received new important titles. At the death of Chiossulo in 1065, Mou Cheng, the leader of the opposition, followed by an important number of clans and in connivance with the Hsi Hsia, was again on the warpath in 1072 in East Kansu. More Chinese armies arrived, cities were taken and retaken, and the wife of Mou Cheng and his children were taken prisoner by General Wang Ch'ao. East Kansu was laid waste. Finally after two years of destruction, Mou Cheng with eighteen chiefs of tribes submitted to China. Again more new important titles were granted to him and even the name of the Sung dynasty, Chao, was bestowed (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 10, 12. *Annals* of Hsining **31B**: 33, 3, 4, 5. *Sung Shih* **492**: 14, 16).

The legitimate son of Tung Chan having died, he 175x
appointed in 1086 as his successor, A li ku, the son of 643
his beloved concubine, a boy born in Khotan from an [517] ●
unknown father, causing forever the ruin of the T'u-fan 648
kingdom built by Tung Chan. The emperor ratified

[P.20 (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

II. THE CHRONICLES OF THE LU CLAN

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Chronicles of families are important historical documents, for they record trustworthy facts not included in the official histories. 175x

In the present chronicle of the Lu clan are recorded the origin of the clan, its relations with the empire, the military art of the time, the civil and military administration, the laws of succession in the t'u-ssu family, the history of the inroads of barbarians and brigands in the country, etc.

I was happy to come into possession of these Chronicles in 1916, thanks to the kindness of General Ma K'o-ch'eng of Hsining. At that time rumors were persistently spread about the abolition of the t'u-ssu institution by the new Republic (1911). The widow of T'u-ssu Lu, a Mongol Khoshot lady, daughter of the Prince of Alashan, administered the tribe, keeping the seal, and caring for her young son. In order to ensure the succession of her son to the office of his father, she had traveled to Hsining to solicit the help of the powerful general by inviting him to be so kind as to become the boy's adoptive father, and at the same time offering him precious gifts. The general accepted the offer, and a few days later the boy arrived at Hsining to recognize the general as his father and to prostrate himself three times before him. Knowing this fact, I asked my friend the general to obtain the Chronicles for me, and so they came into my possession. [14] [97]

NATURE OF THE CHRONICLES

The Chronicles, written in Chinese, consist of two small xylographic volumes. The first one consists of two sections. The first section, only 2 pages, contains a preface and the lists of the genealogies of the chiefs of the tribe to the fifteenth generation. The second section, 52 pages, starts with a preface followed by the records concerning the imperial orders sent to the clan chiefs, the titles and promotions received by them, the inroads of barbarians and brigands into their country, and the wars in which they participated until 1850. 175x 114

The second volume, 20 pages, the third section of the Chronicles, starts with a preface and presents the biographies of the fifteen t'u-ssu who successively controlled the clan until 1850.

Both volumes start with the accession of the Ming dynasty in 1368 and end in 1850 on the death of the fifteenth ancestor of the clan. To each of the two volumes are added two pages, written in Chinese with a pencil, relating facts from 1851 to 1896 and adding the biographies of the sixteenth and seventeenth ancestors. The Chronicles of the Lu Clan given on page 74 seq. are a translation from the Chinese of the two xylographic volumes referred to above.

[P. 70(A)]

113, 60, 61 Monguor AE9

[For discussion of kinship and kin groups among the Monguor of Kansu in relation to the kinship systems of the Altaic-speaking steppe pastoralists, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 312-360.]

Ma /158 cont'd/
606 he is made to sit at the bottom of the k'ang on a little bench during the dinner which precedes the departure, while the drivers of the cart take their places at the table. The bridegroom is not treated as a guest there either.

Mo In the same series of facts must again be classed the presence
601 required of the son-in-law at the home of the parents-in-law when
606 the latter have to defend their rights by force, for example, on the occasion of a suicide or the repudiation of one of their daughters.

The fact that the son-in-law calls all the members of his wife's family by the same name that he calls respectively those of his own family, adding gadin, which means "relative by marriage," is rather significant in itself.

Mo All these facts taken together prove not only the existence of
● 60 the matriarchate among the T'ou-jen at a /159/ previous period, but they even give the illusion, both by their number and by their diversity, that the T'ou-jen still live under this system today. Now that is not true. Their social economy is indubitably patriarchal. The explanation of this fact must be found in this: that they practice these matriarchal rites and customs without understanding them any more, because their ancestors practiced them, because they still continue to
Mo be part of the body of custom. They do not find it strange that the
[604] maternal uncle is called the "master of the bones of his sister's children," that he gives permission to bury the dead, that he presides at weddings, etc. It seems completely natural to them that it is he who enjoys these prerogatives and not the grandfather, solely because he has always enjoyed them. T'ou-jen men of letters, imbued with
Mo Confucianist principles, do not examine this question either, for,
[171] they say, our T'ou-jen ways have always differed from Chinese ways.....
and for them all is accounted for.

Thus it is that one understands the coexistence of two systems diametrically opposed to each other and the extreme slowness with which one passes from one social system to another among these peoples. This is also what explains the great diversity one encounters in the ways and customs of the T'ou-jen when one considers them in detail.

/159 cont'd/

Mo 60 This evolution is most curious. It moves at an uneven rate in different clans; one would even say that it goes only in jumps. The most commonplace circumstances very often can give to the movement an impulse as vigorous as the most tragic events, and that in all senses also. I quote at random: an honorific title given by China to a powerful tribal chieftain; kin relationships of a notable T'ou-jen with an influential Chinese family; marriages with Chinese; quarrels among village heads; the senseless verdict of a Chinese mandarin who understands nothing about T'ou-jen social organization; regularly repeated trips into regions with different customs; conversion to another religion; catastrophes like those of the Mohammedan revolutions, /160/ which, by decimating the people, were the cause of the adoption into certain clans of Tibetan and Chinese groups nearly as numerous as the T'ou-jen group, etc. One would say that there is very little that is constant, regular, foreseen in this whole movement, ... in this evolution.

Mo 64 This chapter on the matriarchate hence was necessary to make understood a great part of the rites and customs we have met in this study; I hope that it has helped to throw the true light, in the light of which one must see the picture which this study is, on marriage among the T'ou-jen.

/161/ Supplementary Notes

Notes on the Tungus

T 17 The printing of the present study was drawing to a close when I was able to procure the work, made by a master's hand, of Mr. Shirokogoroff, Social Organisation of the Northern Tungus, Commercial Press, 1929. The following notes, taken from this work, will complete our study.

T 31 We distinguish among the Tungus a northern and a southern group. The northern group includes the peoples who speak or have spoken the dialects which all take their origin from a mother language,

113, 601 Monguor AE9

[For data on kinship terminology among the Monguor of Kansu, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 352-358.]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

596 go on living as a group even though the new head of the family is not obeyed as he should be and each component man-and-wife family is jealous and resentful of the others.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW FAMILIES

Continuing with the example of the four brothers who have been taken as a typical case of the breaking up of an extended family, it will be found that there are no dramatic ceremonies ratifying the establishment of the four new "chimneys." Sometimes the man who is establishing his own "chimney" will kill a sheep, invite some elders and his maternal uncle, offer them wine, and receive their good wishes for a happy future, while his sons and daughters-in-law and the grandchildren prostrate themselves before him and his wife. Thereafter, four new "chimneys" are registered in the archives of the village instead of one.

Generally speaking, it can be said that family ties among the Monguors are not as binding as they used to be. There is an increasing tendency to separate into small families. The bonds and associations of the clan have resisted change more successfully than the extended family.

596 888 Certain aspects of the family, however, remain strong, especially the gradation of respect according to seniority of generation. Children, from their earliest years, are accustomed to seeing each generation show respect to the generations senior to it, especially on formal occasions such as funerals, marriages, the installation of the chief of the clan, and all ceremonies connected with veneration of the ancestors. They grow up accustomed to this kind of respect, which is as important in the community and the clan as it is in the family. The result is a social outlook in which the individual is subordinated to the family and the community.

CLASSIFICATION OF KINSHIP

• 601 In the classification of relationship, the Monguors use the same term for all members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Thus, I address as "grandfather" not only my own grandfather, but all his brothers and the sons of his father's brothers. The term is *adic*, with differentiation of *sgo* ("big") for those members of this class who are older than my grandfather, and *mula* ("little") for those who are younger. Similarly, I address as *anic* not only my own grandmother but the wives of all the men whom I address as "grandfather," with the same distinction of "big" and "little" for those who are older or younger than my actual grandmother. This term *anic*, which is also the polite expression for "madame," I likewise apply not only to the "grandmothers" who are married to my "grandfathers," but to my grandfather's sisters, because they have the same clan name that he has. In other words, his "sisters" are not only his father's daughters but the daughters of his father's brothers—

[P. 836]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

but not the daughters of his father's sisters, because these women have the names of the clans into which their mothers married, different from the name of my clan.

All the men of the generation of my father, according to the same system of identification, I address as *ada*, *ata*, or *aba*, the terms for "father." In addressing them, I also remember to use the distinction between "big" and "little" according to age. There is, however, one special term: the youngest brother of my father I address as *aga*.

The wives of all those whom I address as "father" I address as *ama* or *ani*, the terms for "mother." In addition to distinguishing between them as "big" and "little" according to age, I address the first wife of one of my fathers as "big" and his concubine as "little."

All the sisters of my father I address as *agu* and their husbands I address as *ayu*.

In my own generation, my brothers include the sons of my father's brothers and my sisters include the daughters of my father's brothers; but the sons and daughters of my father's sisters are not my brothers and sisters. In the brother class, those who are older than I are *aga*, and are classified as "big" and "little" according to whether they are older or younger than each other. Those in the brother classification who are younger than I are my *diu*, and I also make the "big" and "little" distinction according to whether they are older or younger than each other. The general term for "brothers" is *aga-diu*.

Among the wives of my brothers, I call those who are the wives of my older brothers *biergan* and those who are the wives of my younger brothers *diu bieri*.

Among my own sisters, I call those who are older than I *k'ad'zi* and those who are younger than I *fud'zun diu*. The general term for those in my sister-class is *k'ad'zi-diu*. The husbands of my sisters I call *kurgen aga* or *kurgen diu*, according to whether they are senior or junior to me.

If I want to make distinctions in describing those who are in my brother-class, I call those who are the sons of my own father *nige atani aga diu* ("elder and younger brothers of one father"); those who are the actual grandsons of my actual grandfather *nige adieni aga diu* ("elder and younger brothers of one grandfather"); and those who are the grandsons of men in my grandfather-class *khulo aga diu* ("remote elder and younger brothers").

I call *k'u* not only my own sons but the sons of all those in my brother-class, even the most remote.

The wives of my sons I call *k'u bieri*.

I call *fud'zun* not only my own daughters but the daughters of all my brothers. The husbands of my daughters I call *k'urgen*. The sons of my sisters, however, I call *dzie k'u* and the daughters of my sisters I call *dzie fudzun*. In this respect the usage of the Monguors is like that of the Chinese, who call the

[P. 84a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

•601 children of their sisters "outside" relatives, because they bear a different clan name.

My grandsons and all the boys in my grandson-class I call *sun dze k'u* and their wives I call *sun dze bieri*.

My granddaughters and all girls in my granddaughter-class I call *sun dze fu d'zün* and their husbands *sun dze fud'zün k'urgen*.

My maternal uncles, both the actual brothers of my own mother and the brothers of all those who are in my mother-class, I call *nage* or *adziu*.

My mother's sisters I call *anie* ("madame") and their husbands I call *ayu*.

My wife I call *ndani bieri* ("our wife") and she calls me *ndani k'un* ("our man") or *dzanguidie*, "boss," a Chinese loan-word. She may also call me *daxu*, the Monguor term for "boss," or she may address me as "father of my children." If however I should have occasion to beat my wife she will, in appealing for mercy, call me *ago* or "elder brother."

Those who are in the grandfather class of my wife I call *gadim adie*, with distinctions of "big" and "little." Those in the grandmother class of my wife I call *gadim anie*, with distinctions between "big" and "little." Those in my wife's father-class I call *gadim ada* (or *azu*, or *aba*). Those in my wife's mother-class I call *gadim ana* or *gadim anie*.

Those in my wife's brother-class, according to whether they are older or younger than she, I call *gadim aga* or *gadim diu*. Those in my wife's sister-class I call, following the same principle, *gadim k'a d'zi* or *gadim fu d'zün diu*.

My wife calls all those in my brother-class, according to whether they are older or younger than I, *aga* or *diu*. Those in my sister-class she calls, on the same principle, *kadzi* or *fud'zün diu*. The wives of those in my brother-class who are older than I she calls *biergan*, and those who are younger, *diu bieri*; speaking about them with other people, she adds *gadim*, "in-law relative." Two families whose son and daughter marry call themselves *gudor*.

The classificatory system is observed even in the most ordinary family conversation. Thus a father, wanting to send for one of his brothers, will say to a child "call your big father (i.e. my elder brother)" or "call your little father (i.e. my younger brother)." In the same way, if he wants to send for the wife of his elder brother he says "call your big mother." Even children, playing together, speak to each other as "older brother" or "younger brother." Out of courtesy, and because of the universal respect for old age, the classificatory terms are also used "artificially"; old people are addressed as "grandmother," "great-uncle," or "great aunt," even when they are not related.

GLOSSARY OF KINSHIP TERMS

The following glossary is drawn from De Smedt and Mostaert, *Dictionnaire monguor-français*, as already

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cited. A simplified transcription is used, instead of that of De Smedt and Mostaert, with its many diacritical marks. References to "Mongol" are to standard written Mongol, using Mostaert's transcription with slight simplification. References to "Ordos" are to contemporary spoken Ordos Mongol as cited in De Smedt and Mostaert in their dictionary, and again in Mostaert, *Dictionnaire Ordos*, already cited, but using a simplified transcription.

aba: father. *Cf.* Mongol *aba;* Tibetan *'a-pa, 'a-p'a.*

ada: father. *Cf.* Hsining Chinese *ah-ta;* Turkish *ata.*

adie: grandfather. *Cf.* Hsining Chinese *ah-tieh,* grandfather; standard Chinese *tieh,* father.

adieni: possessive of *adie,* grandfather.

ago (also *aguò*): elder brother; term of respect when addressing an equal. *Cf.* Hsining Chinese *ah-ko,* standard Chinese *ko.*

adzi: elder sister. *Cf.* Chinese *chieh.*

aga: elder brother. Cf. Dagor Mongol *aga,* Mongol *aqa,* Ordos *akha,* Turkish *aga.* N.B. The term *aga,* given in the text above as "youngest brother of my father," is written by De Smedt and Mostaert *āga* (with the first *a* long), and the meaning: "Younger brother of my father."

aga diu: elder and younger brother (i.e. "brothers" as an inclusive term).

agu: paternal aunt; term of respect in addressing women. *Cf.* Hsining Chinese *ah-ku;* standard Chinese *ku.*

ama: mother. *Cf.* Hsining Chinese *ah-ma;* Tibetan *'a-ma;* standard Chinese *ma.*

ani: mother. *Cf.* Turkish *ana.*

anie: grandmother. *Cf.* Tibetan *a-ne,* aunt. Also used for "madame."

awa: father. *Cf.* Mongol *aba, abai;* Ordos *awä.*

awni: possessive of *awa,* father.

ayu: husband of a paternal aunt.

bieri: wife, woman. *Cf.* Mongol *beri* and Ordos *bere,* both with the meaning of daughter-in-law, and Kalmuk Mongol *bere,* a young wife.

dakhu: proprietor, master. De Smedt and Mostaert refer, but with a question mark, to Mongol *daruga,* Ordos *daruga* or *dargu.*

diu: younger brother. *Cf.* Mongol *degü,* Ordos *dü.*

dzič: child of a sister or a daughter. *Cf.* Mongol *jige,* Ordos *dzč.*

fud'zün: girl, young girl. *Cf.* Mongol *ökin,* Ordos *o'k'in.* De Smedt-Mostaert refer to *sdzün* as a synonym (or alternative form) of *fudzün,* with further reference to Shirongol *uchin,* "daughter," and *kuchin* or *uchin dyu,* "younger sister." This suggests that we have here a word of the well-known class that once began with an *h,* lost in modern Mongol but sometimes preserved in archaic dialects (e.g. Mongol *arban,* Dagor *harban,* "ten"). In this case, an *h* or *kh* (*velar*) seems to have been replaced by an *f* (*fud'zün*) or a palatalized *s* (*sdzün*).

[p. 85a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

•601 *gadim* (also *gadin*): relatives in law having a different clan name; wife's family in relation to husband's, or husband's family in relation to wife's. *Cf.* Mongol *qadum, qadam;* Ordos *khadam.*

k'adzi: elder sister. *Cf.* Mongol *egeci,* Ordos *egetshi. K'adzi diu,* elder and younger sisters; sisters in general.

khulo: far, distant, remote. *Cf.* Mongol *qola,* Ordos *kholo.*

k'ü: son, boy. *Cf.* Mongol *köbegün,* Ordos *k'ü.*

k'urgen: son-in-law. *Cf.* Mongol *kürgen,* Ordos *k'urgen.*

mula: little, younger, etc. *Cf.* Mongol *miltagar,* flattened.

nagē: maternal uncle. *Cf.* Mongol *nagai,* Ordos *nagä.*

ndāni: genitive plural of the first person.

sge: great, honorable, etc. *Cf.* Mongol *yeke,* Ordos *ikhe.*

sundze (written *sun dze* in text, above): grandson. *Cf.* Chinese *sun-tze.*[18]

NUCLEAR AND EXTENDED FAMILY

594 It must not be thought however that children are unable to distinguish between their actual parents and their "classificatory" parents in the extended family. The mother and father and their own children form a well defined "nuclear" family within the extended family. Some authors, in their efforts to stress the importance of the classificatory system, neglect this fact which is obvious to an observer living in actual contact with such a society.[1] The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family, and personal possessions, like clothes and the children's toys, are all kept in this room. A mother sews all the clothes and shoes for her own children. After the main meal of the day, eaten in common with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room. Parents correct and punish their own children, and it is good reason for a quarrel if anybody else dares to punish them. If a child is sick, it calls for its own mother and sleeps beside her. If there is something wrong with the conduct of a woman, the grandfather calls her husband and tells him to discipline his wife and to beat her if need be. Thus the head of the family sets the standard of discipline, but it is the husband who actually exercises discipline. Conversely, if a woman has trouble with other women, she seeks the support of her husband.

603 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather first consults her father and mother before taking action, in his capacity as head of the family, to arrange a match with another family. When such materials as cloth for the making of clothes are to be distributed, it

[18] For these terms, compare David F. Aberle, *The kinship system of the Kalmuk Mongols,* Univ. of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology, 8, Albuquerque, N. M., Univ. New Mexico Press, 1953, one of the studies completed under the program of Mongol studies at the Johns Hopkins University.

[1] See, for example, M. Granet, *La civilisation chinoise* 1: 185, Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

[P. 85-b]

/108 cont'd/

595 4. Position of the Concubine with Respect to the Official Wife

In theory the official wife is the mistress, she takes precedence over her companion, she gives orders in the house, receives guests in the absence of the husband, converses with them together with him, settles the thousand little matters which occur in the course of the day, has the right to go to festivals before the second wife... and after her death, she will have precedence over the second wife in the cemetery.

But in practice, except for her title and her precedence in the cemetery, everything will depend on the way in which she will be able to deal with her rival and command her husband's respect; if she is the least bit less talented than the rival, her superiority will vanish very quickly.

It is natural besides for the husband to be fonder of the young woman who gives him children than of the great lady who is sterile. The husband would need the tact of a master and that for a whole lifetime in order never to allow this natural inclination, which must cause jealousy in the official wife, to appear. The wife would have to have a heroic character not to become bitter when she notices that she occupies only second place in the heart and the esteem of the husband when it is natural for her to think that she has a right to the first. Now, unfortunately, all T'ou-jen husbands are not masters of tact and all T'ou-jen wives are not heroines in the mastery of the heart. So it is rare that the wives get along well with each other. Nevertheless, if the official wife is in the least capable and the husband is correct, she will be able to take precedence at home and in public, she will be able to demand from her husband /109/ better clothes than those the concubine wears, she will be able to live with her husband in the best room, to have herself served first at meals [578] after the husband, to sit down first after him, etc.... When there is a quarrel between the wives, the husband simply goes walking and comes back when the storm has calmed down.

595 601 The second wife will call the official wife "my big sister," and the official wife will call the second "my sister." When there are children, they will say: "Call me the grandmother of the children" or "Call me the little mother." Similarily, the husband will say: "Where is the children's grandmother; where is the little one?"

Ma /158 cont'd/
606 he is made to sit at the bottom of the k'ang on a little bench during the dinner which precedes the departure, while the drivers of the cart take their places at the table. The bridegroom is not treated as a guest there either.

Mo In the same series of facts must again be classed the presence
601 required of the son-in-law at the home of the parents-in-law when
606 the latter have to defend their rights by force, for example, on the occasion of a suicide or the repudiation of one of their daughters.

The fact that the son-in-law calls all the members of his wife's family by the same name that he calls respectively those of his own family, adding gadin, which means "relative by marriage," is rather significant in itself.

Mo All these facts taken together prove not only the existence of
60 the matriarchate among the T'ou-jen at a /159/ previous period, but they even give the illusion, both by their number and by their diversity, that the T'ou-jen still live under this system today. Now that is not true. Their social economy is indubitably patriarchal. The explanation of this fact must be found in this: that they practice these matriarchal rites and customs without understanding them any more, because their ancestors practiced them, because they still continue to
Mo be part of the body of custom. They do not find it strange that the
[604] maternal uncle is called the "master of the bones of his sister's children," that he gives permission to bury the dead, that he presides at weddings, etc. It seems completely natural to them that it is he who enjoys these prerogatives and not the grandfather, solely because he has always enjoyed them. T'ou-jen men of letters, imbued with
Mo Confucianist principles, do not examine this question either, for,
[171] they say, our T'ou-jen ways have always differed from Chinese ways....., and for them all is accounted for.

Thus it is that one understands the coexistence of two systems diametrically opposed to each other and the extreme slowness with which one passes from one social system to another among these peoples. This is also what explains the great diversity one encounters in the ways and customs of the T'ou-jen when one considers them in detail.

[633 cont.]

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[857]
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[Note on foreign text pp. 634-635 cont.] The informant once mentioned a kind of baptism at which the džawdzi (Tib.) is prayed; in Chinese this prayer is called hsi-lien-ching, prayer of washing the face. Evidently the [635] ceremony observed by Filchner was such a boy's baptism; Om mani padme hum, loc. cit. Later there follows a second consecration for young people, which is called gañsgur (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 below] after the corresponding prayer, in Chinese san-hun ching, prayer of the three souls. So the informant told me. Unfortunately I could no longer record these ceremonies.

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Word List

Age-consecration: šge lama ndziala- = great lama-invitation.

Master of ceremonies: kañguo.

To fetch the hutukhtu: ġdzõ niwa (twice) (or dañwu, if the first time).

Mother's brother: nēgā; achiu (Chin.); ayañ.

[601] Mother's brother's son: ku-chiu (Chin.).

[292] Sash: ġēdzān (Tib. loanword) (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 635.] gēdzān: Tibetan gazn = the yellow sash of the lama costume. -- gōnson: Tib. dgoñ = solitude, soñ = to go away; meaning, "to go into solitude." -- gēlōnba: Tib. dge = virtue, sloñ = to apply oneself, pa = belonging to; meaning, "one who applies himself to virtue." -- gesnien: Tib. dge = virtue, bsñen = to approach. -- gañsgur:

[785]

764 [640 cont.]
[602] relatives do not come (15). The mother's brother is solemnly
[604]

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[171]

15. [Foreign text pp. 654-655.] Three groups of relatives are to be distinguished, which correspond to the kinship divisions of the Chinese there: 1. One's own family, dzienani kudë, Chin. pen-chia. To this belong the descendants in a direct line, son, grandson, grandchildren, even the daughters who are already married outside. They live together in one compound. 2. Cousinhood, dzienani šäni, Chin. tang-chia-tzu. These are the father's brothers and cousins, in practice all the relatives with the same family name. -- This group is obligated to provide for the interment, while one's own family (even the daughters) wear mourning dress and are subject to the strict mourning taboos. As soon as the daughters return to their husband's family, however, they take off the mourning. 3. Affinity by marriage, urog, Chin. ch'in-chia, ch'in-ch'i. Since among the Tujen here the Chinese expressions are now in use, the following names should be distinguished: ch'in-chia in the strict sense is the relationship of the sons-in-law with whom the daughters have married. They have another family name, wai-hsing. The family from which the mother comes is called wai-chia; here the brother of the mother is the person of respect who represents her interests. The family from which the mother of the father comes is called wei-chia; here, too, for the

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[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 654-655 cont.] father his mother's brother is the person of respect, who in case of death demands an accounting. Wei-chia and wai-chia have the same signs; only the pronunciation is different. Literally translated it means [655] "the outside family," in other words, not belonging to the male line. Instead of wai-chia one also says niang-chia, which designates the family from which the mother comes. This expression is also used for the family of the lama, who, of course, is unmarried. -- The wai-chia or niang-chia does not appear until the day before the cremation.

[792]

The mother's brother is solemnly

764 received by the master of ceremonies and led to the death-box.
602 There he and his retinue offer the 12 loaves, burn paper, and
604 kowtow. During this time all the relatives must express great
[782] bereavement and the women utter loud lamentations. The mother's brother also weeps. After this ceremony, the mother's brother is led into the house and onto the kang, where he is given tea and bread. He rests a little while. The other companions are given hospitality outside in the yard where everything is set up for the funeral meal and the ceremony of the accounting.

[641] The mother's brother is led into the yard and sits on a white felt mat which is spread out on the ground directly before the entrance of the main house. He sits with his back to the house, facing the mani-tree. A kang table is put in front of him. The other relatives on the maternal side sit on straw to the right and left of him in a semicircle. Boards which are supposed to represent tables are put in front of them. Now oil-baking, tea, and pastries are brought. The serving is done by the cousin-
[273] hood on the father's side (16). After the first bite, the guests are

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16. [Foreign text p. 655.] At the interment, the Tujen have the

192 [649 cont.]
764 Death box: odõṅ.
Bone-chest: mula odõṅ = little death-box.
[354] Water-lamp: fdzë dzüla.
Paper-bowl: tsialdzë pendzë.
To wear the clothing reversed: diela furula mõsë.
Prayer tea: rgẽ tsia.
[787] Prayer for the dead: xar(i)dzän kunë xuenuo mani sguorluo- = (to pray) in behalf of the deceased person afterwards the mani in the circle.
Prayer fee for the lama: mbõ (Tib. loanword).
Prayer alms: odõṅ dzied = death-box alms.
192 Own family: dzienäni kudë.
601 Relatives on the father's side: dzienani šäni = own relatives, those with the same family name.
Relatives on the mother's side, affinity through marriage: uroġ. Those with different family names.
[608] Artificial kinship: šäni funi = kinship-smoke. Neighbors and friends who take the place of relatives in performing services at the reception of guests, cremation, etc.

[650]
[764] Bone-master, mother's brother: tsiġän yesëni daxu = the owner of the white bones; ku-chu (Chin.).
Mother's brother: nëġä; achiu (Chin.).
Nephew (sister's son): dzie; wai-sheng (Chin.).
Son-in-law: kurgien; nü-hsü (Chin.).
Sister: agü.
Daughter: fsdzün.
192 He died as a rider: tsürog morina bagaldilä sdzia fugudzia.
He died as a settler: sänrëdzi liela guei wõldzia.
764 Burned bones: xuodzën yäsë = dry bones.
Crematory: taw (tab) (Tib.).
Lighting pole: xuämbar.
Lay bonze: lao shih-fu (Chin.) = old master.
Demand for an accounting: bäda; pai-ta (Chin.).
769 Grave festival: ch'ing-ming (Chin.); sëṅ-miṅ (21) [see Note 21
192 above].

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Ch'ang and Li Wen correspond with the names encountered in the lists of the *Annals* of Hsining and Kansu. 175x 614 622

Li Shang-ko
|
Li Mei-chi-lu [601]
|
Li Kuan-chi-lu
|
Li Nan-ko — Ch'ahan Timur
|
Li Yin — Kuan-yin-pao
|
Li Ch'ang — Li Wen

HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE DOCUMENTS

Both important documents manifest the confusion existing in the minds of the Li t'u-ssu and their subjects during and at the end of the Ming dynasty. Both Li clans claim (1) their first ancestor to have been Li K'o-yung, (2) who had received the name of Li, and (3) had been created prince of Chin by the Tang emperor. However, on the spirit way stele in the cemetery, erected in 1427, is chiseled that the original name of the Li K'o-yung clan was Topa, while the genealogical chronicle composed by Yueh Nai around 1644 records that the original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-hsieh. 114 175x 614

The Topa tribe was the leading tribe among one of the two Tibetan Tang-hsiang groups which had fled to Kansu in 627 from Sung P'an-ting (northwest Szechwan), for fear of invading T'u-fan. This group, called P'ing-hsia-p'u, was settled by the Tang emperor in the region of the present Mi Chih Hsien (northwest of Shensi). The group, during the troubles which beset the Tang empire, had founded its own Hsi Hsia kingdom, and from 982 on waged war with the Sung empire. 175x 614

In 808 Shat'o, belonging to the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks, eluded the pursuit of Tibetans and fled from Kanchow through Huangchung and East Kansu to submit to China. They were settled in Ling Chou (Ninghsia), later in Yen Chou and still later eastward through Shansi. They were faithful warriors, who often saved the Tang dynasty. Later they founded their own ephemeral Shat'o dynasties (923–947), whose first emperor originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe.

Yueh Nai, author of the chronicle, writes that the Li clan originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks. He should have known that Li K'o-yung was a Shât'o Turk, that the Shat'o group differed from the Tibetan Hsi Hsia group, and was settled in its own country granted by the emperor, and had its own history. Nonetheless he makes them move into Hsi Hsia, he records two Hsi Hsia leaders, Li Sse-kung and Li Chi-feng, as being ancestors of the Turk Li Nan-ko, and records the offering of four Hsi Hsia districts to the Sung (982) as being an act of his Shat'o ancestor.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

under the Yuan; he therefore lived in Huangchung and not in East Kansu in Feng-Hsiang Fu in the appanage of the Ch'i prince. It was also at that time that the Li clan parted in six branches. But the Li clan never parted in six branches because only two Li clans have existed in Huangchung and not six. 175 614

The *Annals* of Kansu (42: 38), according to "original" documents, record that Li Wen was the son of the first wife of Li Shang-ko and that the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 2*b*, 10*a*), which printed that Li Yin was the uncle of Li Wen are to be amended. Li Wen and Li Yin were first cousins, Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko were brothers. However, the *Annals* do not tell who was the father of Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko.

?

Li Shang-ko — Li Nan-ko

Li Wen (first cousins) — Li Yin

[60]

During the Yuan dynasty, Li Wen discharged the office of Tu chih-hui t'ung-chih (Vice-chairman High Commandant) (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38*a*) and then submitted to the Ming with the officials of Huangchung in a group in 1371. The *Annals* do not note at what time Li Shang-ko died. However the fact, that Li Wen went to submit as chief of the clan means that his father had died before 1371. Because he submitted to the Ming, he and not Li Shang-ko had been granted the office of t'u-ssu. He is considered the founding ancestor of the clan and with him starts the clan cemetery. In this clan cemetery his mound is the principal and highest one. When all the subjects of the clan come yearly to honor him and the later clan ancestors, offerings and libations are first made before his mound and then before the graves of the later ancestors. Li Shang-ko, his father, is not buried in the clan cemetery.

At what time did the Li clan part into two clans? It is certain that before the submission of Li Wen before 1371, the division of the paternal inheritance had long since been accomplished between the two brothers, Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko (or between former clan chiefs), because both clans, in the Yuan dynasty, controlled definite territories, were ordered to guard definite passes and keep always ready a definite number of foot and horse (for all the t'u-ssu were in the Yuan times groups of Mongol soldiers or groups of surrendered tribes enrolled as defenders of the country). Because it is said that during the Ming and Ch'ing times they continued to occupy and defend the same territories and passes, it would seem that before the Li Nan-ko and Li Shang-ko time the division of the clan must have been achieved.

Anyway the problem of the exact time at which the partition of the clans had been achieved is not an easy one to solve, and also the problem concerning Li Wen

[P.30(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

of the seal, controlling the Monguor officials and troops of Chuang Lang. 175x 614

Families have genealogical registers as kingdoms have histories. In olden times during the Chou and Ch'in dynasties, the one hundred-twenty kingdoms each had precious books. When Ssu-Ma Ch'ien composed the Shih-chi (history) he took these books as models. The coordination of the work seemed to be so clear that future genealogical registers were built according to that model. 114

Ssu Ma-ch'ien composed the genealogical registers of the San Tai period (Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties, 2205–250 B.C.). However, from Huang Ti on, the number of generations is hard to determine, and because of this and of the length of time elapsed the registers are contradictory and not entirely reliable. The same problem exists with the genealogical list of Ou-Yang Hsiu and of Su Shih, which were highly esteemed at that time. From Hsun on, Ou-Yang records only five generations for a period of 300 years, and from Tsung on, he records eighteen generations for a period of only 140 years. Checking the list of Su, one notes the omission of Chang Shih from Chou, but we see him go as far upward as Lu-Chung and Kun-wu, and we feel once more its vagueness. It is difficult to rely entirely upon them. 175x 114

The Lu family originates from the imperial family of the Yuan. However, their genealogical register does not go back that far. It reads: "(Reverentially) we dare not to look at the emperor as our ancestor. Our family name Lu started with Lu Hsien, the ancestor of the third generation. However, our first ancestor was Prince of An Ting during the Yuan. This is recorded in the genealogical lists of the Yuan dynasty, and so there is no need to investigate it again. Those who recorded the original name would not have noted it without having proof."[5]

We start with the first section of the genealogical register.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER 175x

Primordial Ancestor	T'o Huan 601
Second generation	Kung-pu-shih-tieh 614
Two sons: Ah-shih-tu succeeded, died soon, Kung-pu-shih-tieh succeeded	
Third generation	Hsien
Fourth generation	Chien
Fifth generation	Lin
Sixth generation	Chin
Seventh generation	Tung
Two sons: Tan succeeded, died soon, Tung succeeded	
Eighth generation	Kuang-tsu
Cheng-wu son of Tan succeeded, died soon. Tung three more sons: Kuang-tsu, Kuang-hsien, Kuang-kuo; Kuang-tsu succeeded	

[5] Yuan Shih, 107, 3*b*, 6*a–b*, 24, 27*b*, 113.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Ninth generation	Yung Ch'ang 175x
Tenth generation	Hung 601
Eleventh generation	Ti Hsin 614
Two sons: Ti Ch'eng succeeded, died soon, Ti Hsin succeeded	
Twelfth generation	Hua Lin
Thirteenth generation	Feng Chu
Fourteenth generation	Fan
Fifteenth generation	Chi Hsun
Sixteenth generation	Cho
Seventeenth generation	Ju Kao

CHRONOLOGICAL BIOGRAPHIES

PREFACE

In former times Huang Li-chou (Huang Tsung-hsi) always said that the science of the composition of chronological biographies is a distinctive branch (of history). 175x

Li Wen-chien composed the chronological biographies of Sires Fan, Han, Fu, Wu Yang, Ssu Ma, and the three Su's. The later generations admired their completeness and correctness. These men had been renowned ministers and eminent scholars.

Kingdoms have official histories. Families have chronological biographies in which men are the warp and years the woof. If the biographies cover only a few years, the collection of the material is easy. In 1643 our family met with the insurrection of Huo Chin during which (our) archives, books, law registers, and official deeds, were consumed by fires set by the brigands. A dynasty is only a fraction of the history, a single man a fraction of a generation, and an event only a fraction of the life of a single man. Weaving with the warp of men and the woof of years, collected over periods of hundreds of years, and then trying to put the events of several hundred years in a one-foot roll is difficult.

Now I summarily coordinate all the events, I record our submission (to the empire) in order to conform with the will of Heaven, I record our military successes, in order to recall the glorious achievements of the ancestors, I note the dates of the birth and the death of the ancestors, the place of their interment, in order that the ulterior generations will remember to make sacrifices to them. I eliminate all doubtful events and avoid writing unchecked facts, in order not to mislead posterity. Facts which have to be believed and are important have to be recorded and insignificant ones omitted. This is the rule of the Ch'un-ch'iu. The dates of the period of the reigns of the emperors are noted with the first day of the moon.

Now we proceed to the second section, the chronological biographies.

Monguor AE9

[p639]

Monguor Kinship Terms

601

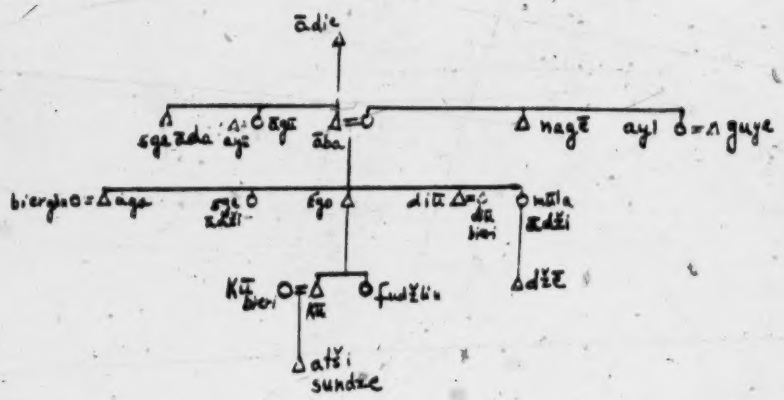
Fa Fa	ñdie * or didie
Fa Fa Ol Br	age ñdie *
Fa Fa Yo Br	mulñ ñdie *
Fa	aba or ñda
Fa Ol Br	age ñda
Fa Yo Bro	mulñ ñda
Ol Br	age or ñdsie
Yo Br	diñ
So	kñ
So So	ñtsi wundre *
Si Ch	dse
Fa Si	ñgu *
Ol Si	age ñdsi *
Yo Si	mulñ ñdsi *
Da	ñudsñ
Mo	ñni
Mo Br	ñdsiñ or ñaye didie
Mo Si	ayi *
Gr Mo	ñnie
Wi	bieri
Sp Ol Br	gudia age
Sp Yo Br	gudia diñ
Sp Ol Br Wi	gudia biergñn
Wi Fa Fa	gudia ñdie *
Hu Mo	gudia ñuñn
Hu Ol Si	gudia ñdsi
Hu Yo Si	gudia diñ
Fa Si Hu	ñuñ or ñudie *
Fa Fa Si Hu	ñuye *
Ol Br Wi	biergñn
Yo Br Wi	diñ bieri
So Wi	kñ bieri

* Chinese origin.

Monguor AE9

Monguor Consanguineal System

LDT



[p 4 v 8]

Mongnor AE9

Monguor Affinal System

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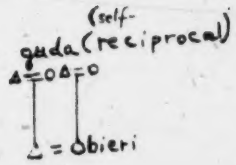

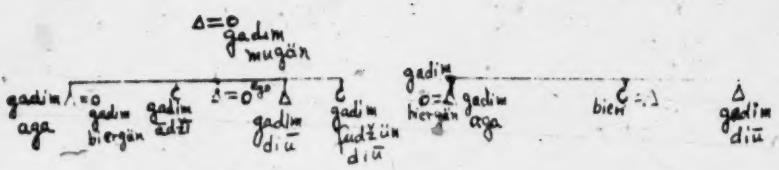

Husband's Kin

Wife's Kin

[p 649]

/The Monguors/

000kitchens."

N *563 M 60 59 . For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption of sons by childless couples is practiced.

N *563 M 565 582 614 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband. Relationship between two families connected by marriage is clearly seen in the special rôle of the maternal uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

N *563 M 421 The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that, under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's share.

N *563 361 III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older N [171] than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is [241] found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether N Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial charac- *563 teristics but as to their function in the social organization. The 621 counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or [631] "directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a [622] village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the observance of government regulations. N [701] The larger villages have their own "family protective associations" and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such organization, but are recognized by the county administration as self-administering units.

N *563 621 631 It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions as hsiang, chen and chü between the villages and the county organizations. It seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions

/40 cont'd/

11. Farewell Dinner at the Bride's Home

584 The solemnities begin at the bride's home the day preceding
585 the wedding. They are often richer and noisier than the ones at the groom's home on the day of the wedding. They have a special character. No guest of the groom's family is present at this festivity; it is given solely in honor of the relatives of the bride's family and intimate friends. Nobody is invited. It is up to each one to judge whether his relations with the celebrating family permit his presence. The more influence the family has, the more numerous will be the intimate friends. With us, such an uncertainty about the number of guests would be very annoying for the service and would cause a good many surprises at the dinner. Here, this is the least of their worries, for the custom of bringing loaves of bread in the guise of gifts can provide for every eventuality.

585 In the first place, one notices among the guests the members
[182] of the family of the bride's mother. They will never fail to be present at the festivity. They consider their presence not /41/ only a duty but a right; thus their absence would be unjustifiable. The elders of the mother's clan are always present. Truly odd way of thinking, they do not go to the festivity to enhance its solemnity nor to give evidence of their friendship to the family, but tanquam potestatem habentes /"as having authority"/. They see in the girl who is leaving the family their daughter who is leaving them; they wish to be present at her departure and show themselves her protectors. One feels in this the unity of the family, one sees in it a feeling of strong cohesiveness; it is the clan which is there at the dinner. They will absent themselves from the dinner at the groom's home, but never from the one at the bride's.

Among the guests are also seen the members of the paternal side of the girl, friends and neighbors. The members of the mother's family take precedence at the dinner.

585 The Orient is pre-eminently the land of ceremonies; at fes-
[183] tivities the guests require that they be rigorously observed; if not, although treated royally, they will not be satisfied and in the whole region criticisms will go about at a good round pace.

/47 cont'd/

585 431 583 For the son-in-law:

1) Chinese cap
2) lined or plain garment of checked calico, blue in color
3) belt of red cloth 12 feet long
4) leggings or boots, never trousers
5) a big Tibetan k'ata, which will be put around his neck (1)

1. K'ata (Tibetan, khabtags) ... is a pale-blue silk scarf, very primitively woven; it is offered among the T'ou-jen to persons whom one wishes to honor or from whom one expects a service; it is even offered to the gods. Very pretty ones are found, blue or white, of first quality, very long, with Buddhist pictures; they are offered only on important occasions and to persons of note.

For the grandfather: a piece of felt

585 431 583 602 [287]

For the grandmother: a long, plain garment or a skirt

For the son-in-law's father: a piece of felt

For the son-in-law's mother: a long garment or a skirt

For the paternal uncles of son-in-law: a pillow

For the paternal aunts of the son-in-law: leggings

For the son-in-law's brothers: leggings, pillow, or k'ata

For the little sisters of the son-in-law: two feet of white cloth serving as a handkerchief

For the big sisters of the son-in-law: a piece of red cloth four feet long

For the maternal uncle of the son-in-law: the gift of honor, a big k'ata, and a string of large cash strung on red cord with a strand of white wool

For the go-between: a pair of boots and a string of cash or six strings of cash and a pillow.

In rich families the fabrics will be of the best quality; in addition they will have a hat of silver strips, two or three pairs of ear-

583 /47 cont'd/
585 drops, silver rings.... It even happens that rich people give their
431 daughter several /48/ arpents of land, which are called ngusge
602 gadiziar (ngusge, "rouge"; gadiziar, "land"), i.e., the land which
[425] procures the girl's rouge, with the condition that the husband must sow it and give the revenue from it to his wife. Thereafter, if the son-in-law's family is ever forced to sell these lands, the first offer will have to be made to the wife's family.

423 About 30 years ago, the Ma family of Na-lin-keou had re-
583 ceived in marriage a girl, Pao, who had received from her parents some "rouge lands." The Ma family became poor and mortaged these lands to the Peq family; later it sold them to the Heou family. The Pens, basing their right on the Chinese axiom, "He who holds a mortgage has prior right of purchase," brought an action against the Mas and demanded the turning over of the lands. But then the Pao family appeared and claimed these lands as being the "rouge lands" given to their aunt at the time of her marriage. The Chinese court recognized this custom and decided in their favor.

This same custom is still found among the Mongols. Recently, the king of Orat of the confederation of Olanish'ah, giving his daughter in marriage to the king of Hang King of the confederation of the Ortos, gave her on this occasion part of the lands of Saimoor (30 li southwest of the Christendom of San-tao-k'iao, Mission of Ning-Hia).

585 As for the gifts of which I have spoken above, there are
583 numerous variants; I knew a case where the girl was given only six long garments; another where she was given ten; everything depends on the financial situation of the family.

The women in particular are very much interested in the gifts; they examine the fabrics and the finish of the embroideries, especially those on the sleeves and the two ends of the belts. Months and months of work are often put on these pieces. When the examination is finished, the bride is brought in.

She is carried on a small, low Chinese table, which has been covered /49/ previously with red felt. She is put down between the sacred fire and the display of presents. This is her first and only
[302] appearance at this festivity. She is bareheaded and wears the hair style of unmarried girls.

[638 cont.]

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24. [Foreign text p. 657.] A custom that is no longer practiced among the Tujen was the eating of oil-dishes on the eve of the cremation, bän-sän tsinani, that is, one cooks oil-dishes. The daughters and their girls (nieces) brought a measure of wheat flour and a jug of oil. Both would be roasted together in a kettle after the pai-ta and handed around. It was kneaded into dumplings like tsamba. -- Similar old Tujen customs have now been forgotten, according to the informant. The extensive customs of the Chinese are being adopted more and more, and in the foreseeable future the cremation of the dead will have yielded to the Chinese funeral celebration.

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Only after the corpse is in the box do the other relatives come, and the same rite is repeated. These are only the relatives on the father's side, however. The other acquaintances and friends also make an appearance with them. The relatives on the mother's side come only on the day before the cremation, regardless of whether the dead person is a man or a woman.

With regard to the offerings for the dead, one must always distinguish whether a person of an older, a contemporary, or a younger generation is involved. The older generation never makes an offering to the younger, for example, the father never to the son. The man does make an offering to his wife, however, and vice versa. The man also makes an offering to his older sisters-in-law.

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Of the offering of 12 loaves of bread that each one brings, he gets two back; ten are used in the house of mourning and are eaten by the relatives or guests. The loaves that are returned are called "returned plate."

[638 cont.]

292 765 [171] Mourning dress: Mourning is worn immediately after the death. It does not consist of a special white garb, as among the Chinese, but only of a change of dress.

During the period of mourning the men remove their colorful vests and take everything colored off their clothing, such as neck bands, sleeve edging, etc. Their long cloak is turned and worn with the lining, or in winter with the fur, on the outside. [302] They do not cut their hair, and they let the beard grow. The red or green trouser belt made of cloth is replaced by [639] a white or black one. Instead of the clothes-belt they wear a thick hemp string.

Like the men, the women also remove the colorful sleeve strips, trouser trimming, and shoe and boot ornamentation, especially everything red. The red or green skirt over the trousers is not worn at all. Instead of the colorful clothes, the woman puts on only a simple upper garment of one color. She takes off the ear pendants, arm bands, and the neck band, and [301] removes from her headdress all lace, tassels, and hanging strings, as well as the silver hair cap [Haarschale] and the little copper plates. She keeps only the simple, rigid frame of the headdress and covers its colorful strips uniformly by sticking green paper on them. She puts a blue cloth made of coarse linen over this as a head veil. She replaces her broad and colorful belt with a hemp string.

[602] [593] All the close relatives are required to wear mourning dress, those who also must give the death-offering. The only exception is the husband upon the death of his wife. He may not wear mourning.

764 782 [602] Prayer service: The prayer service is called "prayer tea." The relatives on the father's side assemble daily in the house of mourning; toward evening they sit on the kang around the open fire in the kitchen and pray the mani for the dead on their mani-string. When they are finished, they receive noodle soup and go home. This prayer service lasts until the day of cremation. One need not sit around the kang fire, however, but can also perform these prayers before the death-box itself.

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764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
782 large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
792 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
465 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
[272] temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
[262] own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people
buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the
temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it.
In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of
butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
[788] temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large
month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and
night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
[556] prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate
to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the
dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name
of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
[432] Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by
the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer
services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain
● 602 a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

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13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] hsiao-tzu in Chinese, who are the male descendants and relatives of the first and second degree, for example, younger brothers, younger cousins, grandsons.

on the mother's side do not appear in the house of mourning until the eve of the cremation.

764 602 604 They must be informed, however, immediately after the death; this is called "death announcement." The master of ceremonies, with a small bottle of liquor, goes to the mother's brother to announce the death of the latter's nephew or niece (14).

[763] [273] [178] [171] [212]

14. [Foreign text p. 654.] In recent times the Tujen announce the death to the mother's brother by means of a written communication, like the Chinese. The original practice, however, is the announcement with the liquor-jug, to which is tied a flock of wool.

[792] [465] The two now consult as to how the funeral solemnities are to be arranged, how many monks are to be invited to pray, how large the fees are to be, etc. The mother's brother is intent upon setting demands as high as possible, whereas the master of ceremonies sets lower ones. Once they have agreed upon [273] the approximate level, they drink the little jug of liquor together. If they do not agree, the master of ceremonies returns home with the liquor and he receives new instructions from the bereaved family. Sometimes this happens two or three times. A final arrangement is not made until the last day at the accounting in the house of mourning.

On the eve of the cremation, the mother's brother, and with him all the male relatives on the mother's side, appears in the yard of the bereaved. The women among the maternal

764 [640 cont.]
[602] relatives do not come (15). The mother's brother is solemnly
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15. [Foreign text pp. 654-655.] Three groups of relatives are to be distinguished, which correspond to the kinship divisions of the Chinese there: 1. One's own family, dzienani kudë, Chin. pen-chia. To this belong the descendants in a direct line, son, grandson, grandchildren, even the daughters who are already married outside. They live together in one compound. 2. Cousinhood, dzienani šäni, Chin. tang-chia-tzu. These are the father's brothers and cousins, in practice all the relatives with the same family name. -- This group is obligated to provide for the interment, while one's own family (even the daughters) wear mourning dress and are subject to the strict mourning taboos. As soon as the daughters return to their husband's family, however, they take off the mourning. 3. Affinity by marriage, uroġ, Chin. ch'in-chia, ch'in-ch'i. Since among the Tujen here the Chinese expressions are now in use, the following names should be distinguished: ch'in-chia in the strict sense is the relationship of the sons-in-law with whom the daughters have married. They have another family name, wai-hsing. The family from which the mother comes is called wai-chia; here the brother of the mother is the person of respect who represents her interests. The family from which the mother of the father comes is called wei-chia; here, too, for the

[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 654-655 cont.] father his mother's brother is the person of respect, who in case of death demands an accounting. Wei-chia and wai-chia have the same signs; only the pronunciation is different. Literally translated it means [655] "the outside family," in other words, not belonging to the male line. Instead of wai-chia one also says niang-chia, which designates the family from which the mother comes. This expression is also used for the family of the lama, who, of course, is unmarried. -- The wai-chia or niang-chia does not appear until the day before the cremation.

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The mother's brother is solemnly

764 received by the master of ceremonies and led to the death-box.
602 There he and his retinue offer the 12 loaves, burn paper, and
604 kowtow. During this time all the relatives must express great
[782] bereavement and the women utter loud lamentations. The mother's brother also weeps. After this ceremony, the mother's brother is led into the house and onto the kang, where he is given tea and bread. He rests a little while. The other companions are given hospitality outside in the yard where everything is set up for the funeral meal and the ceremony of the accounting.

[641] The mother's brother is led into the yard and sits on a white felt mat which is spread out on the ground directly before the entrance of the main house. He sits with his back to the house, facing the mani-tree. A kang table is put in front of him. The other relatives on the maternal side sit on straw to the right and left of him in a semicircle. Boards which are supposed to represent tables are put in front of them. Now oil-baking, tea, and pastries are brought. The serving is done by the cousin-
[273] hood on the father's side (16). After the first bite, the guests are

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16. [Foreign text p. 655.] At the interment, the Tujen have the

[641 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 655 cont.]
following offices: 1. The master of ceremonies. He takes care of everything connected with the customs concerning the dead and the cremation. He is called by the Chinese name sang-kuan, that is, leader of the interment, or hu-sang, that is, protector of the interment. He is usually picked from the cousinhood. 2. The gift-guardian. He takes the offering loaves and keeps them in a special room. In Chinese he is called k'u-kuan, that is, treasure-guardian. -- The Chinese also put a secretary at his disposal, who notes what the individual guests have given. The Tujen do not have this. 3. The host. He is there solely for the lama and provides for his entertainment, for his animals, for the things needed at the ceremony, for paper to burn, etc. The Tujen call him känguo. In his place the Chinese have an incense-manager. 4. The female cook, called dziemā nienie by the Tujen. -- With exception of the känguo and the dziemā nienie, the officiants seem to have been taken over from the Chinese.

764 given some liquor, and the bereaved on the father's side come
604 in the circle with the master of ceremonies and kneel on the
[602] ground before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies
[273] steps forward and invites the mother's brother to take a drink of
[537] liquor. He hands him a hada and a piece of white cloth and requests him to present his wishes for the dead and to release the corpse for the cremation.

[645 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
back and forth, but in all probability it is to catch the mirror images of the boys who have been brought before the Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age, receive the age-consecration and become a member of the monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman, from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring [783] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purifica- [372] tion for the dead, similar to baptism.

764 Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed 766 with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of [792] ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of [372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is desirable, but not essential.

764 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three days for the bone storage. During these three days the members 602 of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there, kowtow, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea. Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the men and women of the deceased's own family and at least one man, but no women, of the related families, and furthermore the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the [782] oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea. After they have then kowtowed, men and women dig the bones 764 out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

601 *gadim* (also *gadin*): relatives in law having a different clan name; wife's family in relation to husband's, or husband's family in relation to wife's. *Cf.* Mongol *qadum, qadam;* Ordos *khadam.*

k'adzi: elder sister. *Cf.* Mongol *egeci,* Ordos *egetshi. K'adzi diu,* elder and younger sisters; sisters in general.

khulo: far, distant, remote. *Cf.* Mongol *qola,* Ordos *kholo.*

k'ü: son, boy. *Cf.* Mongol *köbegün,* Ordos *k'ü.*

k'urgen: son-in-law. *Cf.* Mongol *kürgen,* Ordos *k'urgen.*

mula: little, younger, etc. *Cf.* Mongol *miltagar,* flattened.

nagē: maternal uncle. *Cf.* Mongol *nagai,* Ordos *nagä.*

ndāni: genitive plural of the first person.

sge: great, honorable, etc. *Cf.* Mongol *yeke,* Ordos *ikhe.*

sundze (written *sun dze* in text, above): grandson. *Cf.* Chinese *sun-tze.*[18]

NUCLEAR AND EXTENDED FAMILY

594 It must not be thought however that children are unable to distinguish between their actual parents and their "classificatory" parents in the extended family. The mother and father and their own children form a well defined "nuclear" family within the extended family. Some authors, in their efforts to stress the importance of the classificatory system, neglect this fact which is obvious to an observer living in actual contact with such a society.[1] The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family, and personal possessions, like clothes and the children's toys, are all kept in this room. A mother sews all the clothes and shoes for her own children. After the main meal of the day, eaten in common with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room. Parents correct and punish their own children, and it is good reason for a quarrel if anybody else dares to punish them. If a child is sick, it calls for its own mother and sleeps beside her. If there is something wrong with the conduct of a woman, the grandfather calls her husband and tells him to discipline his wife and to beat her if need be. Thus the head of the family sets the standard of discipline, but it is the husband who actually exercises discipline. Conversely, if a woman has trouble with other women, she seeks the support of her husband.

•603 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather first consults her father and mother before taking action, in his capacity as head of the family, to arrange a match with another family. When such materials as cloth for the making of clothes are to be distributed, it

[18] For these terms, compare David F. Aberle, *The kinship system of the Kalmuk Mongols,* Univ. of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology, 8, Albuquerque, N. M., Univ. New Mexico Press, 1953, one of the studies completed under the program of Mongol studies at the Johns Hopkins University.

[1] See, for example, M. Granet, *La civilisation chinoise* 1: 185, Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

[p. 85-6]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

603 is the grandmother who makes the distribution, each nuclear family receiving its proper share. When a mother goes on a visit to her own parents in a different village, it is customary for her to take her children with her, and thus they come to know the parents of their mother, and her maternal uncle, very well.

ADOPTION

597 The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family. Its importance in this respect is well exemplified when a childless couple want to adopt a child. The custom is to adopt, if possible, the son of one of the brothers of the husband, who is already a classificatory son and bears by right of birth the same clan name. If this is impossible, the next step is to seek a more remotely related classificatory son from a more distant branch of the husband's family, who, though not so closely related, does have the clan name and a male ancestor in common with his adoptive father. Only if no child of the same blood on the father's side is available is a child of different clan ancestry adopted. I once attended a ceremony of adoption in a case of this kind. The child was a Chinese boy being adopted by a Monguor named Kan 75—Kan being his clan name and 75 his personal name, given to him according to a common custom, because that was the age of his grandmother at the time he was born.[2] The child being adopted was a boy of five or six from a poor Chinese family named Liu, which had several boys and was on intimate terms with the family of Kan 75.

A sheep was killed for the ceremony. Those invited included the maternal uncle of Kan 75, one of his classificatory grandfathers, one of his own brothers, the chief of the village, a Chinese scribe, and myself. The boy was brought by his father, just before noon, and was clothed in rags. He was first taken to the kitchen, where he was washed, his hair combed, and he was fitted out with brand new clothes, boots, and hat. While this was being done, the Chinese scribe wrote a contract in two copies, attesting the fact that the boy was being freely given by the Liu family to be adopted by the Kan family. The contract was signed not only by the boy's father and the adopting father, but by the adopting father's maternal uncle, grandfather, brother, and the chief of the village.

The boy was then brought out and prostrated himself, making the *k'o-t'ou* nine times first to his new maternal uncle, then to his new classificatory great-grandfather, then to his new father and mother, then to his new father's brothers, including classificatory brothers.

The new father then asked his grandfather to give the boy a new and propitious name. The boy knelt

[2] A comparable custom is known in Outer Mongolia. The father of the Dilowa Hutukhtu was called 86—using, moreover, the Chinese. Bashiliu, not the Mongol, Nayanjurgan—because he was born when his father was 86. *Autobiography*, unpublished, of the Dilowa Hutukhtu.—O. L.

[p. 86a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

512 bowl of food in to her husband, presenting it to him
462 humbly with both hands. She then folds and stacks along the rear wall of the *k'ang* the felts, skins, and quilts that serve as bedding, and sweeps out the house and courtyard.

462 It is also woman's work to feed the livestock, milk the cows, and go out to fetch earth, carried in a basket
233 on her back, to dump in the stables where the trampling of the animals mixes it with manure and urine which will eventually be carried out to put on the fields as fertilizer. If a cart is needed in the day's work, it is the wife who harnesses the horse or ox. When it is time to grind flour, it is she who does the grinding, either pounding a little at a time in a stone mortar or taking a larger quantity to a grindstone turned by animal power. When it rains, it is her duty to take the small herds of sheep, cows, and horses out to graze in the valley or on the hill slopes, while her husband, smoking his pipe, huddles by the brazier at home to keep warm or goes to visit his friends.

462 Women also work in the fields. On the field nearest home the Monguors use stable manure; on distant fields
241 they use a fertilizer made by burning clods of earth and grass. The wife carries the ashes in a basket on her back and spreads them on the field. Most husbands help their wives in this heavy work, but it seems not to be their duty to do so. Plowing and harrowing are the main agricultural work of the men, but even in this the women frequently help them. It is not unusual to see a woman plowing and harrowing. When the heavy preparatory work has been done, husband and wife together sow and later weed the fields. They also work together in reaping the harvest, carrying it to the threshing floor, and threshing it—though there are a few lazy men who will not work after the sowing and the weeding, leaving the harvesting, carrying, and threshing to the women.

462 Whenever a woman has a few minutes to spare she reaches for her sewing box. Sewing is work that
294 Monguor women love and at which they are very skillful. They can often be seen working at night by the light of a twisted wick spluttering in a saucer of vegetable oil, patching the clothes of the family. A housewife is expected to make all the new clothes for her husband, her children, and herself. Although she is always the first to get up in the morning and the last to go to bed at night, she has a little more spare time in the winter, when there is no work in the fields, and this is the season for sewing.

• 603 It is the grandmother who manages the whole female side of the community, supervising and allocating work
462 to the daughters-in-law and the older girls. A good
592 manager rotates the work so that each woman will have an opportunity to do needle work and so that pregnant
606 women get lighter work. It is the grandmother also who soothes the quarrels that inevitably break out in such a family, and endeavors to keep them from be-

[p. 89a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

603 coming serious. At the same time, a grandmother is a
462 woman who by age and rank is entitled to be a little
592 cranky and to have her peculiar ways. If she cannot keep
606 the peace and maintain order among the daughters-in-law, she appeals to the grandfather, who orders the husband of the woman who is considered at fault to tackle the problem by admonishing his wife or if necessary by beating her.

Generally speaking, however, such little incidents within the family do not turn out to be serious; a daughter-in-law is expected to be demure and obedient, to hold her tongue and not to display jealousy, but at the same time it is considered only human to allow her to display a little bit of "temperament" from time to time.
562 In spite of the fact that Monguor women do very heavy work, they are usually happy and contented and it is the normal thing for husband and wife, even though they did not make their own marriage, to have real respect and love for each other. In their own little family within the extended family husband and wife usually talk everything over together, giving the wife the feeling that she has a responsible part in their joint concerns; while, as for the husband, it is easy for him to be fond of a wife who is so obedient and works so hard.

In public, Monguor women retain enough of the old nomad tradition to be much more free, especially in their attitudes to and conversations with men, than Chinese women. While they are bound by strict rules of etiquette and are likely to be rebuked by their elders, especially at home, if they infringe these rules, they are not in public at a loss how to behave when they encounter a man; they feel perfectly free to talk with him and they do not blush or look in the other direction, as old-fashioned Chinese women used to do. They enjoy going to the big public festivals at the lamaseries, and to the annual assembly of the clan; they like to sit on the grass in mixed groups, men and women together, talking, laughing, singing, watching dances, and making merry. A woman is not embarrassed to sing a song in public; and when she is dressed in her best clothes she likes to stroll, preening herself, through the crowd, displaying her costume and her magnificent headdress. Nor are women afraid to do their own shopping; at the fairs they confidently examine the wares for sale and hold their own in bargaining over prices. In the country Monguors do not consider it shocking to see a man riding to his fields with his wife riding pillion behind him; and during the long and tedious work of weeding man and wife both like to sing in the open air.

It is perhaps worth making a few brief comparisons between the status of men and women in the Monguor society and in the greater Mongol society from which the Monguors derive. In the thirteenth century William of Rubruck reported of the Mongols that:

> It is the duty of the women to drive the carts, get the dwellings on and off them, milk the cows, make butter and

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

EDUCATION OF THE CHILD

603 In their early years children are brought up as much by their grandparents as by their parents. The grandfather and grandmother play with the children all day long, carrying them on their backs, holding them in their arms, fondling them, and making slaves of themselves like devoted nursemaids—and the children love them as they would a nurse. The children know very well that it is to their grandparents that they must look for sweets and candies and extra delicacies, and that when grandfather goes for a walk they may go along with him. Boys and girls are treated with the same affection.

603 606 In this relationship lies the deepest secret of why daughters-in-law become attached to the families into which they marry. Although a girl is not consulted about her marriage, although she comes to know her husband only after she has been married to him, and although she lives in an extended household where she must adjust herself to the other daughters-in-law, the fondness of the grandparents for her children goes a long way to smooth inevitable frictions and jealousies.

882 It is when the boys begin to grow up that they cease to be regarded as children and lose some of their intimate contact with their grandparents. They like to leave the family courtyard to play with other boys; and as they get bigger, small jobs are assigned to them. They begin to go out with the herds and flocks to the pastures, to help with the farming, and to learn from their fathers how to make tools. The girls help their mother in the kitchen, gather fuel, tend animals in the stalls and stables, and learn to sew. Before she is married, each girl works on her "hope chest," and under her mother's direction prepares most of the clothes that she will take with her when she marries, including the embroidered girdle and the monumental ceremonial hat and fancy boots. Through learning to cook and sew, to look after animals, and to understand farming in her own family, a girl learns how to become a good daughter-in-law.

867 The Monguors are not a people who have a fondness for learning. There are few villages that have a school, and in any case girls never go to school. The education for life of both boys and girls is mainly in the family. Children are not prevented from watching and listening to anything that goes on in the crowded extended family and in the village. At a very early age they know which woman in the village is pregnant and when the birth of the child is expected. They know how many animals are owned by each family in the village, how many colts, calves, and lambs there are; how the harvest has turned out and what the current prices are for the horses, cows, sheep, goats, skins, wool, wheat, and millet that the villagers have to sell and what the prices are for the cotton cloth, thread, needles, salt, spices, and so forth that they buy.

A boy accompanies his father to the nearest market town when he goes there to sell wheat and sees the shops, the soldiers, and the crowds. At the monastery festivals

HM 583

/70 cont'd/

apart from clothing and utensils, of a certain quantity of ewes and horses (among the Mongols).

/71/ 15. The Wedding

M 585

Then they proceed to the marriage ceremony as such. This most solemn ceremony of all recalls Biblical times to us, first because of its profoundly religious character, and then because of the old man officiating.

M [603 604]

Actually, this office belongs by right to the grandfather in the bridegroom's family. When the grandfathers are dead, the maternal uncle takes their place. The name given to the old man who officiates is very characteristic: he is called Thrödzin khun, which means literally "the man who gives the blessing." Indeed, it is the old man who orders the prostrations to be made to heaven, to the spirits, to the members of the family and clan, and it is he who pronounces the wishes for good fortune and prosperity, the bringing about of which is awaited from heaven and the spirits. Thus we are in the presence of a religious rite in the full force of the term, a rite which reveals the capital importance attached to marriage. Besides it leaves an unusual impression on the assemblage.

All those present are standing. The bridegroom is on his knees at the left of the bride, whose head is still enveloped in the red cloth; the maid of honor is on her knees behind the bride, likewise a young man behind the bridegroom. Then the grandfather advances and takes his place standing near the sacred fire; he orders in the midst of the greatest silence:

M 585 181

THAT THE FIRST PROSTRATION BE MADE TO HEAVEN AND TO THE MULTIFARIOUS SPIRITS.

Dë thurðŋ thorguë šge thiaŋgeri olon phurgán ñiandu murgu.

The bride and groom, the maid of honor and the young man make the great Chinese prostration: three genuflections and as many bows, touching the ground with the forehead. All is done solemnly and simultaneously.

N 563 194 preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. [195] Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' [596] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture [241] goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable [438] role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never [233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays [144] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese [422] farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is [592] the patriarchal family.

S The Shera Yögur:

[233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old [614] Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [192] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, [422] for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N The Monguors:

563 Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and M Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, 233 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest 241 that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. 198 They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools [177] for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as N 563 the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, M 231 mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred [554] only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the M extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally 596 oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy [603] authority over all members of the family. Property is collect- [421] ively owned.

N The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain 563 whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a M Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the 614 head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he 622 directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of 177 the clan through organization and training of the men. Later 178

N *563 of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

M 576 [264] [603] [554] [561] The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank.

The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little."

M [574] It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

i. Celebrations and festivals

N *563 Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

M 614 796 N *563 M 614 527 273

N *563 M 562 [558] [852] [782] [852] Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is particularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 621 183 178 The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is M [867] dinned into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-ssu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

N *563 M 621 183 177 178 During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

e. Stealing and gambling

N *563 M [685] [673] [525] [794] Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

N *563 M 587 A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

N *563 M 867 Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

N *563 M 576 264 603 According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 562 852 [553] first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

M [203] [604] [603] [553] The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

M [184] Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

j. Beard-growing

N *563 M 302 [593] [886] A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 M 764 [171] [179] The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

4. Popular beliefs

N *563 M 843 562 Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 [789] If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.

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562 rings and four pieces of flowered silk. He ordered his
173 officials to build her a seven-storied mansion at Lien-ch'eng. She was also presented with an inscription reading "She displayed faithfulness," and given a grant of fifty *ch'ing* of land, the revenues of which were to provide her with "toilet expenses," the Chinese expression equivalent to the English "pin money." The grant of land, according to the family chronicle of the Lu T'u-ssu, was in the country of *chun ku erh*.[13] There are also legends of the bravery of the Monguor women during the great Muslim rebellion who joined in the battle just as their husbands were beginning to retreat, and thus turned defeat into victory. According to popular tradition, it was for this exploit that the emperor himself designed the costume that Monguor women wear on ceremonial occasions, including a sleeveless "military" jacket, military skirt, and a miniature shield and spear as part of the headdress.

562 In spite of all these legendary tributes to their ability, however, Monguor women do not play a conspicuous part in politics or administration; with the exception, already noted, that when a T'u-ssu dies leaving a son who has not come of age, the boy's mother acts as regent.

THE MATERNAL UNCLE

604 The relationship between two families connected by marriage is most clearly seen in the role of the maternal uncle, who while not a part of the family of his sister's child exerts, nevertheless, a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

In discussing the role of the maternal uncle, I shall divide my remarks into two parts, dealing first with the most striking aspects of his role, and secondly with the context in which these prominent aspects occur. Since the facts which are to be presented have considerable theoretical importance for the problem of possible matriarchal survivals in a patriarchal kinship system, I shall conclude my observations with a short theoretical analysis.

604 Among the Monguors the special rights of the maternal
764 uncle were most vividly manifest in three circumstances: (1) at the natural death of his sister's children (2) in the event of their having been murdered or having committed suicide, and (3) in situations where they were subject to punishment.

[13] These three Chinese syllables are one of the regular transcriptions of the Mongol term *jun gar*, "left hand" or "left wing." This expression reflects the usual Mongol practice of dividing territories and military organizations into a left (east) and a right (west) wing (the south being "front" and the north "back"). This expression is the origin of the name of the Jungar Mongols, who were the "left wing" of the confederation of Western Mongols in the region of the Altai mountains and the northern part of Sinkiang Province which is therefore still known, in the Western literature, as Jungaria or Zungaria. In this case, however, the reference may be to land taken from some of the Jungar Mongols who eventually migrated into the pastures of the Tibetan plateau near the country of the Monguors.—O. L.

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A. The sister's children were not allowed to be buried without the permission of their maternal uncle.

When a member of the family died, a capable and outstanding man was invited to direct the preparation and the ceremonial of the funeral, and to send people to convey the obituary announcement to all the relatives. It was also his duty to call the deceased's maternal uncle or a member of the maternal uncle's family—e.g. his son or grandson. The maternal uncle was the "master of the bones" [14] of the deceased, and he disposed of the right to permit the burial or to impede and obstruct it, even with violence; consequently he was to be treated with the utmost reverence and respect at that moment.

If the relations between the two families had been unfriendly and hostile before, the maternal uncle and his family did not miss the opportunity to pay off an old grudge, impeding or at least delaying the burial and causing excessive expense to the family. He would assert that the deceased had not been well cared for, that the funeral was too small for a mother who had borne six or more children, worked her fingers to the bone, and never enjoyed any sunshine during her life, although she had been a fine mother and good homemaker, etc. He would require the deceased's family to invite twenty or thirty lamas to pray for forty-nine days, to offer a certain amount of alms to a fixed number of lamasaries, to buy the most expensive grave-clothes for the deceased, etc. In such situations, it was the duty of the director of the funeral to settle the trouble, saving as much money for the family of the deceased as possible by displaying with prodigality the proficiency of his eloquence.

If the two families had always been friendly, on the day of the funeral, before the dinner, the director of the funeral made a speech before the maternal uncle, saying that the deceased had died a natural death, notwithstanding that two or three doctors had been invited and a large amount of money had been spent for medicine; that the whole family to the best of its abilities had tried to assuage the pains and suffering of the deceased, to be agreeable and helpful to him, securing him a happy death, etc. Finally he asked the maternal uncle to examine the deceased and to give the necessary permission for the burial. In localities where the Monguors were used to burying their dead in coffins, as do the Chinese, the eldest son of the deceased knelt during the speech, presenting to the maternal uncle a plate on which was placed a hammer and the wedges with which the cover of the coffin were to be fastened. The maternal uncle himself drove a couple of wedges, after which others completed the fastening. (The same custom exists among the Chinese.) The sons and grandsons

[14] In both Mongol and Chinese usage, "bone" stands for the paternal and "flesh" for the maternal line of descent. Since the clan system was patrilineal, the body was referred to as "bones," even though the maternal uncle, who had jurisdiction in permitting burial, represented the "flesh" rather than the "bone" of the deceased.—O. L.

[p. 916]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

knelt and prostrated themselves, thanking the deceased's maternal uncle.

B. The maternal uncle was required to initiate and execute vengeance for the murder or suicide of his sister's child.

The duty to initiate and execute vengeance fell first on the brothers of the mother of the deceased—i.e. the deceased's maternal uncles—and only secondarily on the deceased's father, brothers, and other paternal kinsmen. Hence, the mother's brothers were the immediate protectors of the lives and well-being of their sister's children and it was they who stepped forward in the event that a man or woman had been murdered in his or her own family, or a married woman had been murdered or had committed suicide in the home of her parents-in-law.

To illustrate the way in which the maternal uncle operated as an avenger, and the relationships which he had with the various other relatives of the deceased, I shall draw on an actual case of suicide which I had the opportunity of observing at first hand.

In November 1915, in Lichiat'an ("the plain of the Li family"), the daughter-in-law of Li Chin-ch'ün, born in the family of Ch'i, was found one morning hanging from a beam. She had had quarrels for many days with her mother-in-law and had been beaten by her husband. Li Chin-ch'ün, sick with fear and apprehension, and with a sense of impending doom, went in a hurry to see the chief of the village and the elders, and begged a man who was on intimate terms with the girl's maternal uncle to convey the terrible news and to invite him to come over in order to permit detachment of the body from the beam and to fix the date for the settlement of the trouble.

A hanging person was not allowed to be detached without permission of the "master of the bones." After the permission had been granted, a shaman was invited who adjured and cursed the evil spirit, feverishly cut the rope with his sword, undressed the victim and cut a small piece of flesh from the hips, which he swallowed. The victim was then deposited on the *k'ang*, or sleeping platform, to await burial after the troubles had been patched up and permission for the burial granted by the girl's maternal uncle.

During the night, with all possible haste, the Li family, aided by some friends and relatives, sent away for safe keeping its best animals and entrusted to these friends and relatives its most precious belongings—clothes, agricultural implements, etc. Hogs and sheep were killed and vast quantities of wine were prepared, in order to deal in the best way with the ill-disposed guests, for on an empty stomach trouble cannot be ironed out; empty bellies do not reason. To meet unknown contingencies which might arise, the father-in-law of the suicide borrowed money at usurious rates, mortgaged some fields, etc., for a suicide ruined a family completely, and there was a saying that: "The value of the life of a person

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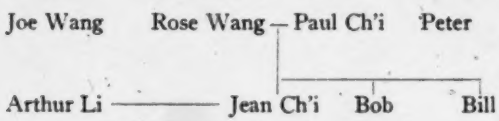
who dies by his own hand, tallies with the whole wealth of the family."

In this concrete case, what relatives were involved? The relatives of the deceased girl, Jean Ch'i,[15] are shown in the following genealogical chart:



Since Jean was the daughter of Rose Wang, Joe Wang, who is Rose's brother, was Jean's maternal uncle and was "the master of the bones" and had to lead the avengers. If Jean had had no real maternal uncle, the duty of leading the avengers would have fallen on her closest male relatives in her mother's lineage.

Since Jean was also the daughter of Paul Ch'i, Paul and his brothers and sons, and his paternal uncles and their sons and grandsons—the whole Ch'i family—were involved. They had to avenge the death of one of their members, but under the leadership of Joe Wang. They would have led the avengers only in default of Jean's maternal uncles.

On the other side, the whole Li family was involved, and with them the maternal uncles of Arthur Li, the husband of the suicide. The latter were invited to take up the cudgels in favor of Arthur and his father.

Thus four families were directly involved in the suicide—two on each side. The position of the avenging group was stronger, for they had a claim to see justice done; the position of the other group was the weaker because they were recognized as in the wrong. The first group emphasized the wickedness of the behavior of the Li family, in order to extort a severe atonement, and the other group tried to minimize the wrong, offering extenuating circumstances, in order to save Arthur and his father.

It should be noted that other families could have been indirectly involved in this case. Joe Wang, the avenger, could have asked his own maternal uncle to assist him, and in default of close members of Joe Wang's lineage, this maternal uncle would have assumed the role of "master of the bones." Similarly, Paul Ch'i could have asked assistance of his own maternal uncle.

On the other side, not only Arthur Li's maternal uncles but also his mother's maternal uncles, and his father's maternal uncles could have been asked to help in the defense.

In other words, aside from the maternal uncle of the deceased, the maternal uncles of any of the principals involved in the ensuing conflict were subject to an appeal for assistance and moral support, and, in the case of the chief avenger, for substitution in role.

It is also to be noted that in any of the clans involved—e.g. Ch'i, Wang, Li—family groups rather than entire

[15] Given names are fictitious.

[p. 92b]

604 clans participated. In this case, Jean Ch'i's brothers, father, father's brothers and the latters' sons were in-
628 volved; in other cases, if the family of the defendant was wealthy, the aggrieved's grandfather, grandfather's brothers and their descendants joined the avenging group in the hopes of profiting during the impoverishment of the defendant's family. But this is usually the limit of involvement of any given clan.

To help himself in this tight spot, the father of Arthur Li invited the chief of the village and the elders to arbitrate the conflict, along with some influential men celebrated in the country for their eloquence and proficiency in the art of patching up troubles, and known to be on intimate terms with the members of the first group. These he promised a fine remuneration in case of success. Such were the actors in the drama which ensued.

On the day appointed for the settlement, the members of the Li family together with Arthur Li's maternal uncles and the chief and elders of the village, went outside the village to greet the "guests"—i.e. the members of the avenging group. They led a sheep whose horns were decorated with red paper and on whose back was bound a piece of red cotton cloth eight feet in length. With them they also took many firecrackers, to be fired in front of the guests as they returned the long way to the Li family's courtyard. This was the customary means for making a public apology.

But the guests did not show up, and for several days the Li family had to send them new invitations every day. This was Joe Wang's way of compelling the Li family to spend money and kill more animals for the invited elders, the rest of the Li relatives and Arthur Li's maternal uncles, who had to be treated with kindness and fed all during the time that Joe Wang was delaying his appearance.

Finally, after five days Joe Wang showed up with the Ch'i family and a retinue of forty or fifty men bearing clubs, etc. The whole Li family knelt and prostrated themselves to make public apology, but not a kind word was spoken by their former friends, who had now become the fiercest enemies. Entering the courtyard, the Wangs and the Ch'is went to see the victim lying on the *k'ang* unwashed and dirty, for no one was allowed to touch the victim before the case was settled. The stench lay heavy on the air, clogged the throat, and made the avengers clench their fists with rage. They breathed fire and brimstone against the Li family. The maternal uncle declared that he was coming to take vengeance, and like a bolt from the blue, he and his followers smashed all the windows and doors and tables and benches and jars and all kinds of tools; the chickens and the dog were clubbed; all the animals in the stables were driven away, etc., adding to the chaos and confusion. Babies squalled, children screamed, the daughters-in-law clutched their children to their breasts, and the whole Li family prostrated themselves, begging for

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•604 628 mercy. The avengers knew no compassion, and every supplication was as a hot coal hissing on ice.

In the meantime the elders had tried to calm them down a little. The neighbors brought tea. The scolding, upbraiding, and cursing having subsided a bit, a dinner was offered. Again some of the avengers carped and complained about the quality of the food, etc. After dinner the palaver began again and went on through the whole night, with endless cursing.

The maternal uncle refused to announce his conditions for settling the trouble. The avenging group ate and drank its fill for three days, and still no solution, no headway was made.

On the fourth day the maternal uncle finally announced his conditions: the important living Buddha of Erhkulung and 20 lamas should be invited to pray for 14 days for the victim; 1,000 pounds of butter should be offered, with an alms of 10,000 taels (ounces of silver) to the same lamasery; and 10,000 taels should be paid to the family of the suicide as atonement.

In the meantime the elders, knowing the ropes, and having the knack of acquiring information, had scanned the avenging group, recognized the most influential men among them, and had already invited them on three separate nights to their homes in order to enjoy a quiet sleep. Here they sounded them out concerning the mind of the maternal uncle about his final solution; some of them ultimately weakened and money was promised to them if they would see that the trouble was settled for a minor sum.

The maternal uncle, however, a very stubborn man, did not yield to the hints and suggestions of his friends. On the fifth day no solution had yet been reached.

It so happened that I was in the neighborhood and that two of the elders knew I was an intimate friend of Joe Wang, the maternal uncle, whose sick wife and son I had helped in critical circumstances. At night I was invited to see the maternal uncle and to persuade him to settle the trouble in a more lenient way, and it was thus that I learned all the circumstances of the appalling affair.

After a new palaver, lasting a whole day and night, the case was settled: only 1,000 taels was to be paid in atonement to the maternal uncle and his family, and the maternal uncle himself should take care of the question of the prayers and alms. This settlement was in fact a subterfuge, because prayers are never said and alms never given in case of suicide, so that in reality the whole atonement price accrued to the maternal uncle (Wang family), and the suicide's paternal relatives (Ch'i family).

Under the settlement, the atonement was to be paid on the nail, according to custom, not as an actual lump sum of 1,000 ounces of silver, but partly in cash and partly in livestock and pieces of cotton cloth. Moreover it was customary in all atonements that 600 coins rated 1,000; that one piece of cloth rated as two pieces.

[p. 93b]

•604 628 and that prices of animals were fixed at double their true value. (The same custom existed for a widow's bride price.)

Nevertheless, the Li family was ruined. The entertainment of so many hostile guests and of the elders for so many days, the money promised in secret at night in order to effect an advantageous settlement, presents given to the elders, etc., constituted the most important expenses. The atonement was, in fact, the least important expense.

The ill-boding arrival of the deceased girl's maternal uncle, accompanied by the members of the Ch'i family breathing vengeance; the empty home in a state of indescribable destruction; the way in which the formerly friendly Li family was slighted, offended, treated with loathing, saddled with debts and ruined; the leaden atmosphere of gloom for so many days—all these tragic events made a deep impression and enhanced the authoritative stature of the maternal uncle, the hub around which turned the entire tragedy. When one has witnessed such a tragedy and seen one group of people on bended knees in supplication, weeping profusely, before another group of hard-hearted people, unwilling to forgive, their eyes red with hatred, rancor and embitterment, the meaning of "blood vengeance" is understood and remembered forever.

604 681 C. Capital and lesser punishments were inflicted by the maternal uncle on his sister's child in certain instances.

The maternal uncle wielded not only the power to permit or to impede the funeral of his sister's children, and to avenge their murder or suicide, but according to custom he had also the right to inflict punishment of various kinds on them. His power to mete out capital punishment may be illustrated by the following two cases of murder, the first involving only one kin group and the second involving two different kin groups.

In May 1914, in the same village of Lichiat'an, a youngster killed the older brother of his father. Subsequent to the division of the partrilineal inheritance the preceding autumn, the father and his brother had become implacable enemies and clashes had occurred between their sons on several occasions.

In this case, the maternal uncle of the murderer was invited together with the village elders and the paternal relatives of the family. The father of the murderer, heavy with despair but hoping that his son would escape with his life, invited men celebrated in the art of patching quarrels, and also the chief and elders of the village. He tried to hide some of his best animals, but no one would help him. The emotion and revulsion which arose in the country at such an unprecedented event had reached fever pitch because in the Monguor patrilineal society (as in that of the Chinese) a father's brother is classified as a "real" father, and therefore in local sentiment the murder was considered tantamount to patricide. The meeting began on the third day and

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lasted for two days, presided over by the maternal uncle of the murderer. Finally, the uncle decided that his sister's son should be buried alive, on the principle of a life for a life; that the murderer's father should defray all the expenses of the coffin, clothes, dinner and ceremonial for his own brother's funeral, should invite lamas to pray, and should give alms to the lamasery.

A document was drawn up in which the maternal uncle testified that he took the responsibility for the punishment, and to this all the chiefs of the families affixed their signatures, testifying that they agreed to abide by the decision of the maternal uncle and that they would not accuse the murderer before a Chinese court. The sons of the murdered uncle had threatened to take the case to a Chinese court, and if that had been done not only would capital punishment have been inflicted, but both families would have been ruined by the Chinese officials. The capital punishment was therefore meted out by the Monguors themselves, the maternal uncle taking the responsibility. Under the then prevailing standards, the Chinese officials, who had both administrative and justiciary powers, would take no notice of such a case of traditional and publicly approved justice unless it were formally brought before them by the relatives of the murdered man.

A deep pit was dug, thorns and brambles were thrown into it, and the murderer, cursed and disowned by his family, naked and bound hand and foot, was pushed into the hole and buried alive.[16] The coffin of the murdered uncle was placed upon the pit and a mound piled over it. The family was ruined.

A similar case happened in 1914 in the valley of Lumench'eng. A wife killed her husband at night with a hammer. In this case, the family of the husband with his maternal uncle was opposed to the family of the wife with her maternal uncle. Since the murder of a husband by his wife also deserves capital punishment in Chinese courts, and since the family of the husband threatened to take the case to the Chinese court, the maternal uncle decreed capital punishment for his niece. She was buried alive.

In addition to capital punishment decreed by the maternal uncle for his sister's children, lesser punishments —often of a severe nature—were also administered.

In 1916, in Tolong,[17] an unmarried youngster was severely beaten by his two brothers at night for theft. He was a black sheep, having brought disrepute on his family. In the morning he was found hanging from a beam. The maternal uncle and the chiefs of the family were invited to a meeting at which it was decided that an atonement should be paid to the maternal uncle.

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[16] It is possible that carrying out of the sentence of death by burying alive is influenced by the idea that, by not shedding blood, the chain of revenge and counter-revenge is broken, and the family of the man thus put to death feels no obligation to take up a new "blood-feud."—O. L.

[17] A place-name probably from Monguor *dolon*, "seven."

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(Later I heard that this decision had been criticized throughout the countryside.)

In 1917, in the valley of Hungnai a youngster of twenty-one, who was always stealing and thus disgracing his honorable family, had his eyes burned out with quicklime in keeping with the decision of his maternal uncle and the chiefs of the family.

In 1914 in Chenfan[18] valley a young woman, the wife of a poor man, eloped with a rich lover, abandoning her husband and two children. After three or four years, disgusted with the lover, she returned to her mother. Her maternal uncle and her parents ordered her to rejoin her former husband and two children. Her husband, however, before accepting her back, urged the maternal uncle to give him an affidavit, testifying that he would not provoke trouble in case the girl committed suicide, for the poor man suspected that she was not willing to return.[19]

It may perhaps seem unbelievable that as late as the period of the Chinese Republic such measures as the inflicting of capital punishment by the people was allowed, without the interference of a court. The explanation is to be found in the old tradition, still persistent at the time, that the courts need take no notice of any crime whatever, if the crime were not brought before a court by someone who had suffered loss or damage through the commission of the crime.

The T'u-ssu, the chiefs, and the elders of the villages, who themselves had no right to inflict capital punishment, knew all the facts of such cases as those I have described, since they were invited as arbiters; but they did not interfere as civil officials, because they were Monguors and they felt it natural and reasonable that each family should itself avenge the murder of a member of the family, without interference from outside authority.

In all these cases the maternal uncle acted as a real "master of the bones" of the children of his sister, notwithstanding that, in this patriarchal family system, both the children of his sister and his sister herself were considered to belong entirely to her husband and his family, in all matters of property and authority except offenses that, without the intervention of the maternal uncle, might result in blood feuds between clans. The maternal uncle did not patch up quarrels, but he did take it upon himself to make decisions; he punished, and he alone took the responsibility for his decisions.

The cases cited above highlight the fact that the maternal uncle was simultaneously a protector and disciplinarian of his sister's children, and that his authority

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[18] A Chinese place name. *Chen* is "to exercise control by means of a military strong point"; *fan* is general for "barbarian," specific for "Tibetan." Hence the name means "military strong point on the Tibetan frontier."—O. L.

[19] I encountered a similar case in a Chinese community. The authority of the maternal uncle is recognized by traditional Chinese law, and Chinese say that when the maternal uncle accuses the children of his sister before a Chinese court, their own parents can do nothing to defend them.

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in these particular situations was the same whether the sister's children remained in the families in which they were born, or married out into other families (in the case of the sister's daughter). This relationship between the maternal uncle and his sister's child leads us to inquire into the nature of the relationship between the maternal uncle and his own family, on the one hand, and the families into which his sister's children were born or married, on the other.

Let us consider the relationship between the family of the maternal uncle and the family into which his sister's children were born. The two families—*A* and *B* respectively—were united directly by the marriage of a girl from family *A* with a man from family *B*, and the children of this couple became members of family *B*. We may suppose that the marriage was made possible originally because the two families would be strengthened rather than weakened. Evidence of this friendly relationship between the two Monguor families at the time of the marriage were the many presents which each lavished upon the other.

What was the effect of the maternal uncle's role as avenger and disciplinarian in strengthening or weakening this bond of friendship? Before children were born of the marriage, if the girl was killed or driven to suicide by members of family *B*, or herself caused the death of a member of family *B*, the two families became hostile, but the responsibility of initiating and executing vengeance or punishment fell on the girl's maternal uncle who was not a member of either family *A* or family *B*, but of a third family, *C*. This man assumed the responsibility for the final action taken, and the hostility between families *A* and *B* was thus given some indirection by the interposition of a third party.

When children were born to the girl in family *B*, her brother in family *A* became the maternal uncle of these children, and subsequently the natural death of these children, or their involvement in family murders and suicides, placed families *A* and *B* in a direct relationship of either hostility or closer friendship with each other, as shown by the following table:

A	*C*		*C*	
Paul Ch'i—	*Rose Wang*	her brother	*Joe Wang*	
B	*A*		*A*	*A*
Arthur Li—	*Jean Ch'i*	her brothers	*Bob Ch'i* and	*Bill Ch'i*
D	*B*		*B*	*B*
Joe Chang—	*Mary Li*	her brothers	*Peter Li* and	*Joe Li*
D			*D*	*D*
Helen Chang		her brothers	*Joe Chang* and	*Peter Chang*

Joe Wang is the maternal uncle of Jean Ch'i, Bob Ch'i, and Bill Ch'i.

Bob Ch'i and Bill Ch'i are the maternal uncles of Mary Li, Peter Li, and Joe Li.

Peter Li and Joe Li are the maternal uncles of Helen, Peter, and Joe Chang.

This relationship was in fact much more likely to be one of closer friendship in such situations. Conflict of interest between the two families would occur if the sis-

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ter's child had wronged or had been wronged by a member of his own family *B*; in such cases the maternal uncle from family *A* would be called in to administer severe punishment to his sister's child, usually against the wishes of at least one or two members of family *B*, or to initiate vengeance against members of family *B* who had wronged his sister's child. Such cases were quite rare.

More frequently, the maternal uncle was called in to support family *B* by leading the vengeance for wrongs against the sister's child committed by members of other families, as in the case of the sister's daughter who was murdered or driven to suicide by her husband and his relatives. He would also be called on to support his sister's son when the latter was himself carrying out vengeance or disciplinary activities as a "master of the bones." Consequently, family *B* looked on the maternal uncle in family *A* more as a source of moral support than as an object of fear.

While hostility was more apt to arise between the maternal uncle and the family into which his sister's daughter married, here again this eventuality was balanced by the fact that the sister's daughter's husband could call on his wife's maternal uncle to assist him in executing his own vengeance or disciplinary action, in the same way that the sister's son could call on the maternal uncle.

In reality, the role of the maternal uncle in Monguor society tended to contribute to, rather than detract from, the friendly relationship between two families connected by marriage. At the time of the marriage, these did not consider the possibility of feuds between themselves, and weddings were not surrounded by an atmosphere of fear and foreboding of future terroristic activity on the part of the maternal uncle.

The situations described above in connection with murder, suicide, and natural death present only one aspect of the maternal uncle's role. Being crises, they were exceptional, and a consideration of them alone might lead one to visualize the maternal uncle only as the primary agent for meting out justice in the families of his sister's children. His role was more complex and consideration must be given to other aspects, ordinarily overlooked, which were more important in the normal course of life and which reveal other strong bonds between the maternal uncle and the families of his sister's children. In order to get a clearer picture, let us next consider the special relationships between a brother and his sister.

We must first take into account the fact that among the Monguors the oldest son was the chief of the family after the death of his father. His sisters and younger brothers were most intimate with him, and would all take council with him. A particularly close relationship usually developed between a sister and her elder brother in regard to property. Although women could not claim any share of the family inheritance, either in their own family or

604 681 in the family of their husbands, it was customary for their mothers to tell their daughters secretly that they might secure a small private herd of animals by enlisting the aid of their elder brothers, who were to approach the father on auspicious occasions and ask for a gift of new born lambs or calves for their sisters. Every year at New Year's time the father was usually in a happy mood, and on the days that lambs or calves were born, the girls would worry their elder brothers and rarely failed to see their wishes fulfilled. Once the animals were obtained they were entrusted to the elder brother's care, marked on the ear with a special mark, and the brother would keep them for the sister in the family herd. On the day [583] of her wedding, a daughter would thus possess a small herd of her own.

Again on the day of her marriage and even after marriage, a daughter would approach her elder brother in an attempt to obtain some more cows. After marriage, a girl never mixed her small herd with the herds of her husband but continued to keep it in the herd of her oldest brother. Whenever she returned home to visit her mother, she examined her little treasure, collected the lamb skins and wool, and used them or sold them for herself and her children.

583 604 Furthermore, on the day of her marriage, the daughter of a well-to-do family was usually given some land, called "cosmetic" or "paint" fields—i.e. fields whose revenue was to be used for her own personal use. The revenue from such lands became her own private income and savings. When she died, the revenue could be collected by her children. She was the real owner of the land and possessed the right to transfer it, but before transferring it, she had to inform the family of her intentions and to offer the family the first opportunity to reclaim it. When a woman acquired such lands it was again her oldest brother who took care of the land and planted, weeded, and harvested it for his sister.

I also met six young women who owned thirty or more poplar trees, planted for them by their brothers, on the edge of the fields of their parents, when they were girls of about eight or ten years of age. After fifteen years the trees had become a valuable item of capital.

604 The bond which developed between a brother and sister and which continued after the sister's marriage was extended to the sister's children. Children saw their mother's great affection for her own elder brother and *vice versa*. They knew that their mother had a small private treasure entrusted to him, from which they hoped to benefit eventually. The mother made the children feel toward her brother the way she herself felt. Hence love and esteem grew on both sides and as his sister's children grew up and married, their maternal uncle became their benefactor in the normal exigencies of life, as well as their avenger and disciplinarian in abnormal crises like those noted above.

This relationship between a brother and his sister and sister's children formed the basis for the beneficent and

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friendly aspect of his relationship both with the family into which his sister married and in which his sister's children were born, and with those families into which his sister's daughters married. The sister's husband's family appreciated the fact that the sister received presents through her elder brother, since her husband and children would indirectly benefit. Moreover, the sister's sons and the husbands of the sister's daughters could call on the sister's brother to act as a go-between when they were bargaining for animals or engaged in court proceedings before the T'u-ssu, to witness contracts for the sale of seeds to the local oil mills, and to help out financially when large debts fell due.

It is apparent therefore that the families into which his sister's children were born or married desired earnestly to cultivate the friendship of the children's maternal uncle, not only because of his position as potential avenging or punishing angel in life and death crises, but also because he could render real aid and support in all ordinary problems both to his sister and to her children. He was in effect not simply a relative, but an intimate friend of the family, and he was given precedence on important occasions relating to his sister's children's status in the society.

When a child was born it was customary to invite its maternal uncle to a feast; when the child was married, both its own maternal uncle and its mother's maternal uncle were invited to the wedding; at New Year's the child was sent to greet its maternal uncle; and finally the maternal uncle was invited to attend the ceremonies for the installation of his sister's son as family chief, or his investiture as T'u-ssu. But the maternal uncle did not arrange marriages nor did he appoint family chiefs. He was simply the most honored guest. For example, I have noted elsewhere [20] that families of ordinary standing were accustomed to present thirteen pieces of clothing to their betrothed daughter, five pieces to her fiancé, one piece to each of her fiancé's paternal grandparents, parents, paternal uncles, maternal aunts, brothers, and sisters. For her maternal uncle was reserved the present of honor—the large official scarf of felicity and a horse. If the girl's fiancé's grandfather were dead, her maternal uncle would be invited to preside at the wedding in his place.

In spite of the maternal uncle's rare intrusion into the affairs of his sister's children in other respects, he was in one kind of problem a meddler. Women are always sensitive about the condition of their daughters and are willing to believe and to magnify all of a daughter's complaints about sufferings inflicted on her by her mother-in-law. If a Monguor woman were an interfering character she could easily attempt to move her brothers to protect their niece, or her sons to protect their sister's child—to intrude, in their interests, into the privacy

[20] L. Schram, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kansou*, 67, Shanghai, *Variétés sinologiques* **58**, Imprimerie de la mission Catholique, 1938.

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604 of a family which knew the great influence and power of the clan of their daughter-in-law's maternal uncle and had in the back of its mind the fear of a possible suicide by the daughter-in-law. A family might have to brook actual infringement of its rights by the maternal uncles, but undue pretensions of authority on the part of a maternal uncle could be considered as occasional excesses such as occur in the accepted behavior of every society.

Considering these facts from a theoretical standpoint, we may ask whether the influence of the maternal uncle in Monguor society was derived wholly from a previous matriarchal family system or was founded in human nature and hence to be considered as natural in both patriarchal and matriarchal systems. We may also ask whether the giving of some fields and animals to the daughter was necessarily related to the female ownership of land in a matriarchal society. Is the fact that the daughter keeps her wealth in her family of origin also related to that system, or may it be explained simply by the daughter's fear lest her savings be confiscated by her husband's family the first time they are in financial straits?

Let us re-examine the facts in the light of this problem. Historically, the clans of the nomad Mongols of Asia appear to have been, like the Monguor clan, an association of consanguine relatives based on the principle of patrilineal descent and exogamy; the clan protected its own members by the institution of blood feud. Furthermore, the clan would avenge the murder of a person belonging to the same "bone"—i.e. persons born into the clan and related to the clan by patrilineal descent, whether such persons remained with the clan or married out into other clans. The duty to take vengeance was incumbent upon the whole clan and lasted as long as the wrong was not avenged. If one generation had been incapable of taking vengeance, then the obligation rested upon the following generation, and so on. Related clans could be called on for aid and support in carrying out vengeance or protection against it.

In view of this principle of blood vengeance, two facts of the Monguor vengeance pattern emerge as peculiar; first, the placing of primary responsibility for initiating the vengeance on the aggrieved's maternal uncle rather than on his paternal kinsmen, and second, the shifting of vengeance from a clan to a family duty.

In the case of Jean Ch'i, considering the old nomadic society from which the Monguors were derived, we might have expected that vengeance would have been initiated by the Ch'i family—her own kin group, or "bone," led by Paul, her father, by Peter and John, her paternal uncles, and by Bob and Bill, her brothers—not by Joe Wang, her maternal uncle.

This form of vengeance appeared to be somewhat incongruous and I asked for explanations in order to understand the trend of mind of the Monguors. The immediate answer was: "A girl is an *outsider* in her own family; she does not belong permanently to the family,

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604 because she will eventually marry into another family; she and her children will bear another surname and she will be buried not in the graveyard of her family of origin, but in the graveyard of her husband's family. If she is killed or commits suicide she has none the less to have her avenger, but since she is an *outsider*, it is appropriate that the brother of her mother assume this duty. Her paternal kinsmen are expected to avenge her death also, but only as second best, following in the wake of the maternal uncles."

When I objected to this explanation on the grounds that in the case of the murder or suicide of Jean's brothers, Bob and Bill, who were not outsiders of the Ch'i family, Joe, their maternal uncle, would have been the leaders of the avengers in precisely the same way, the Monguors answered politely that I was an *outsider* and did not understand the importance of the maternal uncle inside the orbit of the Monguor family.

Other Monguors, in order to support and justify the custom, gave me a most confused and inappropriate explanation: "Brothers and sisters are children of the same bone; members of the same bone have the duty of avenging and protecting each other and upon the most closely related among them the duty was most incumbent and most urgent." This much of the explanation is an aberration which in fact explains the old nomadic and not the Monguor vengeance pattern. From this the explanation went on to say, quite illogically: "Therefore, a mother's brother must protect his sister's children, sisters must respect their brothers, and sister's children are taught to respect and honor their mother's brothers."

This attempt at explanation indicates to me that the Monguors were confused in their thinking on this point, and had not been able to fit this aspect of the role of the maternal uncle consistently into the framework and principles of their patrilineal family system. I am led to suspect that the acknowledgment by them of his right was due to the presence, within their patrilineal society, of principles specific to the matriarchal system.

604 562 What other evidence do we have of such an intrusion? I have previously noted many of them in *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, chapter VI: (1) the abnormal rights of the mother to decide herself about the marriage of her daughter; her consent had to be given even when her daughter was a widow and belonged to the family of her former husband, (2) the right of the mother, in case of the marriage of her son, to go herself to ask for his wife and to fix the date of the marriage before the go-between enters into the action, (3) the fact that in marriages between poor families, the mother-in-law herself went on the last day of the year to bring her future daughter-in-law to her home, (4) the unusual ease in adopting into a family children born of a daughter-in-law who had eloped many years before with a lover, (5) the exceptional marriages with the pole or girdle, so usual with the neighboring Tibetans, (6) the fact that a newborn son was called according to the age of his grand-

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604 562 mother, (7) the unusual fact that young boys worked for years or for a whole lifetime in the home of their father-in-law in order to marry his daughter. These leave no doubt that the patriarchal family system of the Monguors had been contaminated by many practices belonging to the matriarchal system.

604 562 177 What contact did the Monguors have with matriarchal systems?[20a] It is significant that the Monguors in Kansu were not only separated from other Mongols, but were living in the neighborhood of Tibetans and Chinese, and moreover had many of these people enrolled in their clans. Certain features of the Tibetan and Chinese social institutions appear to have been incorporated into the Monguor social organization. Among the Tibetans, the matriarchal system was in full bloom and marriages between Monguors and Tibetans opened the doors for admitting matriarchal customs into the daily routine of life to a very large extent.

The readiness of the Monguors to adopt a whole series of matriarchal traits from the Tibetans is even more understandable in view of the fact that the ancestors of the Mongols and Turks lived at the dawn of history in the neighborhood of peoples practicing the matriarchal system and their patriarchal family system was at that time already contaminated.[21]

Professor Eberhard, doubting the former existence of a "pure" and "original" patriarchal system among the Mongols and Turks, writes:

> I am forced to make the statement that nowhere did I encounter a culture corresponding perfectly to one of the cultures advocated by the theory of culture circles. . . . I harbor suspicions about the real existence of such cultures; for why do we always encounter mixing and mingling of cultures in all circles? How is it possible to prove the real existence of the culture of a circle, in the manner of the system of culture circles, by other than theoretical evidence?[22]

604 177 My overall conclusions therefore are as follows: first, that the role of the maternal uncle as "master of the bones" of his sister's children—i.e. his authority, in matters of life and death, to avenge or punish them—did not originate in the Monguor patrilineal system, but constitutes a usurpation of powers which belonged in another society to members of the same *bone*. Second,

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[20a] In this connection, see the outstanding study by Wilhelm Koppers, Die Frage des Mutterrechts und des Totemismus im alten China, *Anthropos* **8**: 981 sqq., 1930.

[21] W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* **9**, Part 3, Die Religionen der Hirtenvölker: 71, Münster, Aschendorf, 1949. W. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen im alten China*, 176, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

[22] W. Eberhard, *Kulturen und Siedlungen der Randvölker Chinas*, 414, Leiden, Brill, 1942. ". . . so habe ich doch feststellen müssen, dass nirgends in unseren Kulturen sich eine gefunden hat, in der die Kulture 'eines' Kulturkreises volkommen und rein zutage tritt. . . . Ich habe aber doch Bedenken wenn, die Lage wirklich so ist. Wieso soll es immer nur Mischungen gegeben haben? Wodurch (ausser durch formallogische Schlüsse) ist es dann bewiesen, dass je die Kultur existiert hat, die ein solcher Kulturkreis umfasst?"

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that the assumption of this role by the maternal uncle was only one of several non-patriarchal features introduced into the Monguor system as a result of contact with matriarchal systems. Third, that the property, assistance, and respect relationships which existed between a brother and his sister and her children, as described above, were not specific to either the patriarchal or matriarchal systems, but were founded in human nature, in conditions common to both systems. Fourth, I would add that normally the sister and her children are respected and loved in the husband's family and go through life happily—more because the two families are really friendly and intimate than because of the maternal uncle's power to intervene. After all, the solid foundation of families is not fear and hatred but love, and the functions of the maternal uncle must be viewed with not only his emergency powers in mind, but this as well.

THE CHILD

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Among the Monguors, as in most societies in Asia, boys are preferred to girls. The description given by Father J. Van Oost of the favoritism shown toward boys among the Mongols of the Ordos might well have been written of the Monguors:

> He is surrounded with a kind of idolatry. His parents are proud of him; they cater to all his whims; they rush to dry his tears. A mother is always ready to suckle her son whenever he seems to want it, whether it be night or day. He is a petty tyrant who knows how to make himself obeyed, and his mother carries him around on her back when she is doing her household work. . . . If he gets sick, there is a major crisis. They think he is the victim of evil spirits. They resort to superstitious practices and go to fetch a lama who makes divinations, conjures away the spirits and prescribes remedies and talismans.[23]

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When a woman is pregnant the whole village knows about it, and all of the women and girls are eagerly interested. Every soothsayer passing through the village is invited to foretell the sex of the expected child, and all the young wives ask him to foretell also when they themselves may expect a similar blessed event. When a pregnant woman enters a doorway and steps over the threshold, the other women always watch to see which foot she puts forward first. They believe that if she regularly steps over a threshold with the right foot, the child will be a boy; if it is the left foot, it will be a girl. This is because they believe that a son lies on the left side of the womb and a daughter on the right; accordingly, if the left side is heavy the mother will instinctively raise her right foot when making a step upward.[23a]

The festivities for the birth of a first son are especially important, and among the ways of propitiating fate to provide a long life, the selection of a lucky name is particularly important. Matters of such importance in the

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[23] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, as cited, 102.

[23a] Compare the Mongol expression *ḫul kundu*, "leg-heavy," for "pregnant."—O. L.

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/42 cont'd/

585 The guests have been arriving since ten o'clock in the morning, some on foot, others on horseback. The guests' mounts are attached to ropes tied to stakes driven into the ground in the area in front of the door, just as nomads do in front of the tent. All the neighbors, on duty, await the guests in this area, who as they arrive are conducted into a room in the side buildings of the courtyard. In the room, on the wall facing the door, is hung a religious image. The guest bows to it, kneeling. A Chinese has taken up his stand on the k'ang; he holds a brush in his hand and writes in the register of festivities the name of the guest and notes conscientiously the gifts he brings. The master of ceremonies takes these, thanks the guest, claims that he has been too generous, and the guest /43/ leaves the room.

585 431 According to custom, each guest must bring eight loaves of bread cooked in steam; as for the rest, he gives as he pleases. A present of four or six feet of red or green cloth is usually enough. If the guest is an intimate friend of the family, he will give a few feet more, or he will offer a less ordinary kind of cloth, or he will add to his gifts 800 cash strung on a red cord with a strand of white wool at the end. Every family keeps these registers of donors; for later in similar circumstances the register is there to inform them as to the fashion in which the givers will be treated in their turn.

[604] Custom determines only the presents the mother's family will offer. The maternal uncles of the bride must give her a skirt; the maternal aunts give her a pair of boots or a pair of parti-colored sleeves, or a piece of cloth ten feet long. These formalities taken care of, the guest is conducted into the front building where he greets the heads of the family and is immediately served tea with milk and some bread. Having drunk his cup of tea, he leaves the room to make room for other guests and to mingle with the group which is standing in the courtyard.

585 Toward two o'clock in the afternoon no more guests arrive; everyone takes his place in the courtyard in front of the tables set up, the women on one side and the men on the other. If there is a guest of note, he takes his place at the table of honor, which backs [604] up to the front building, with the maternal uncles of the bride.

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585 604 The master of ceremonies moves toward the girl's maternal uncle, makes three bows in the Chinese manner, and invites him to take his place beside her. The uncle comes forward, stands beside the girl. The assemblage rises and stares silently at the scene

The master of ceremonies presents a cup of wine to the maternal uncle and invites him to empty it. He reiterates the gesture three times. After this he offers to the seated girl two cups, which she grasps in each hand; he puts in them a red lozenge and pours wine in them. She holds the full cups in front of her at the level of her mouth. At this moment the master of ceremonies makes this speech to her:

"Your maternal uncle, the master of your bones, is at your side; the whole family is present here; your departure is set for tomorrow. From the time of our ancestors, at the dividing up of the family property, one whole part used to revert to the son, and to the daughter half of this amount. Present times no longer permit such a division, there comes to you no more than several pieces of clothing"; then, he names one by one the gifts which the family gives her and shows them to those present, without forgetting to state the color, the quality of the fabric.... He likewise enumerates the gifts prepared for the son-in-law and his family. Addressing himself again to the girl, he says, "Your parents have certainly done all that they could for you; and they would have done more, but their means did not permit it. Be glad, be very grateful to your parents, do not forget them, see, your maternal uncle and the whole family will always be 'at your back.' " Then the girl weeps bitterly, and according to custom she must manifest the greatest sorrow.

The whole assemblage is under the spell of the moment, a tear forms in many eyes. Two women come /50/ to get the girl and take her back....

585 614 604 This ceremony gives one something to think about, all the more because it is not explainable in a patriarchal organization where the daughter is the true property of her father, her grandfather, or rather the paternal clan. What is this maternal uncle with all his clan doing, he who will always be the protector of the girl, who will always be "at her back?" This duty is really incumbent on the paternal clan.

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585 Why is the maternal uncle invited to stand near the girl during the
614 whole speech, and why does the maternal clan have precedence at
604 the festivity and at the dinner? Why is the paternal clan in the very background all this day, when it is nevertheless the one which is giving its daughter in marriage and which has the duty to defend her? Also abnormal is this custom which fixes only the gifts to be offered to the girl by the maternal aunts and uncles and not those to be given by her paternal uncles and aunts. Finally, why attach more importance to this festivity than to the one at the son-in-law's home?

M 585 Let us remember that this ceremony is held around a shamanistic
795 fire and not before an image of Buddha, although Buddhism is with-
771 out question the primary religion of the country, and that in spite of the fact that the whole clan includes numerous lamas among its members, shamanism is actually the old religion of the T'ou-yen.

M 585 Let us note again that the master of ceremonies, when he takes the floor, recalls the faraway past in which the daughter still inherited from her parents half as much as a son. One would say it was a history lesson.

We are here in the presence of a very old ceremony, one which is completely abnormal in a patriarchal organization.

M [262] After the speech and the girl's departure, the guests are invited to sit down; gin is served, and they play more noisily; they sing and smoke while waiting for the Chinese noodles to be served.

M /51/ The master of ceremonies arranges the gifts in chests,
585 and all the pieces are numbered, so that the next day at the dinner
583 at the son-in-law's home, when he again takes the floor, he can take them out without difficulty. (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 308: (Mongols) As soon as the livestock has been delivered to the future wife's father (the German translation of the same work says that he himself comes to the future husband's home to get them), he gives a feast which is soon reciprocated by the husband-to-be for the relatives and

/65 cont'd/

585 Four bundles of straw burn at the four corners of the courtyard; it is hoped that the smoke will rise straight up. An oil lamp, in which [354] two wicks of equal length have been placed, is put in front of the religious image in the main building and is lighted as soon as the bride has entered the nuptial chamber. They look at the lamp attentively without touching it in order to see which of the two wicks, the one on the right side or the one on the left, will go out first. In this is seen an omen for the long life of the husband and wife; the right wick designates the girl, the left the boy.

The bride's maid of honor accepted the cup of gin presented to her when she dismounted. She dipped her finger in it and sprinkled some toward the four cardinal directions; then she touched the wine with her lips. She did the same for the bread and tea which were presented. Only after performing this rite did she follow the bride into the nuptial chamber, whose door was closed behind her. She is not given anything to eat or drink as long as the marriage rite is not finished.

As soon as the bride crossed the threshold of the door and entered the courtyard, the go-between took his place in the middle of it, [262] holding in his hands a cup of flour made from parched wheat; he ate some flour and drank some gin each time the bride passed through the courtyard, either going to the kitchen or returning to the nuptial chamber.

The other guests do not enter then but go toward the open area in front of the house. A little table has been placed /66/ in the middle of the area, and on it are seen a well-done sheep, several more legs of mutton, a pig's head, some sausages....In front of the [262 604] table is spread out a piece of red felt on which is seated the bridegroom's maternal uncle. Here he seems to fill the post of head of the family as did the maternal uncle of the bride in his niece's family. Gin is being warmed over a small fire.

Upon the arrival of the guests the bridegroom's father has gone to meet them with the traditional k'ata on both hands. He greets each of them by putting the k'ata on their hands. This is the ceremony of welcome.

/66 cont'd/

585 A member of the family says aloud, "The sheep will be divided into five parts. The first will be for the maternal uncle, the second for the father, the third and fourth for each of the two singers, and the fifth for the master of ceremonies. Then the guests tackle the legs of mutton, the sausages, etc. After this appetizer the guests of the bride's family are invited to enter the courtyard. The placement of the tables for the feast inside the courtyard is the same as at the bride's home on the day of the dinner.

[604 262] The bride's maternal uncle and the go-between are invited to be seated in the place of honor. Tea is poured, and loaves of bread cooked in steam are served hot. As soon as the tea is drunk, the two singers from before appear, holding in their hands a teapot whose spout is coated with butter. They pour the buttered tea for all those present, who understand by this rite that they are asked to give up their places to the guests of the bridegroom's family, who will be served tea and bread like them. The bridegroom's family has treated its own guests in the same way as the bride's family treated its guests: introduction into a side room, presentation of gifts, notation in the register....(1)

[171]

1. Shirokogoroff, pp. 82, 83, 84: Every guest is obliged to give some present which cannot be less than $1 in value, or in money. They have a special book in which they inscribe all guests' names and presents. The guests whose presents are of value are inscribed in a red paper, which is fixed near the front door. Finally the bride and bridegroom arrive, they descend from the carriage outside the yard. The women who arrived with them conduct the bride and bridegroom by the hands to the screen. /Cited in English./

585 /69 cont'd/
608 brothers, sisters...), then when the son sees that his mother has no relatives, it is a sign for him that his mother's origin is not pure. When a wife has no niang-kia /literally, "wife's family"/ (the wife
608 calls her own parents, brothers and sisters her niang-kia), then when
585 the relatives of a wife are not known, it is a sign for her that her
431 origin is doubtful. Formerly, a handsome horse used to be given to
[604] the bride's maternal uncle, master of his sister's children. But times are changed; although you are the principal guest, nowadays we give only the k'ata; we give you a fine one, a big one, do not refuse it...." Then the orator addresses the parents of the bridegroom: "During the day your heart, always occupied with the children, cannot be at rest; even at night, you cannot sleep. Such solicitude truly deserves several garments and fine gifts; but you know our indigence; when we stretch out our arms, the sleeves of our garments are too short and the arms stick out from them; at night when we stretch out our legs, our feet stick out from the covers, which are too short. What misery! If we had been able to follow the inclinations of our hearts, you would have had splendid gifts." Then the cupbearer advances toward the grandfather, bows to him, and presents gin to him. "Grandfather," continues the orator, "we present you with a brand-new piece of felt, unfortunately it is too narrow, too short, too thin, and it is badly made in the bargain, but deign to accept it anyway."

The cupbearer advances toward the grandmother. "We give you a garment made of very bad cloth and very badly made, but deign to accept it"; and the ceremony continues thus in the same vein for the father, mother, etc., as was said in No. 11. This scene is often rather picturesque and /70/ brightens up faces; the grandfather must sit down on the piece of felt, the grandmother is dressed in the garment, they have a good time....

585 The orator addresses the bride and groom last: "In olden times,
431 he says, "sons-in-law used to receive several complete costumes; moreover, they were given in hand a fine bow, a quiver, and arrows; in addition a fine horse. Unfortunately, those good times have vanished, and the parents-in-law offer you only..." (see No. 11).

HM 583 /70 cont'd/

apart from clothing and utensils, of a certain quantity of ewes and horses (among the Mongols).

/71/ 15. The Wedding

M 585 Then they proceed to the marriage ceremony as such. This most solemn ceremony of all recalls Biblical times to us, first because of its profoundly religious character, and then because of the old man officiating.

M [603 604] Actually, this office belongs by right to the grandfather in the bridegroom's family. When the grandfathers are dead, the maternal uncle takes their place. The name given to the old man who officiates is very characteristic: he is called šürödźin khun, which means literally "the man who gives the blessing." Indeed, it is the old man who orders the prostrations to be made to heaven, to the spirits, to the members of the family and clan, and it is he who pronounces the wishes for good fortune and prosperity, the bringing about of which is awaited from heaven and the spirits. Thus we are in the presence of a religious rite in the full force of the term, a rite which reveals the capital importance attached to marriage. Besides it leaves an unusual impression on the assemblage.

All those present are standing. The bridegroom is on his knees at the left of the bride, whose head is still enveloped in the red cloth; the maid of honor is on her knees behind the bride, likewise a young man behind the bridegroom. Then the grandfather advances and takes his place standing near the sacred fire; he orders in the midst of the greatest silence:

M 585 181 THAT THE FIRST PROSTRATION BE MADE TO HEAVEN AND TO THE MULTIFARIOUS SPIRITS.

Dē thurōŋ thorguē šge thiaŋgeri olon phurgán ñiandu murgu.

The bride and groom, the maid of honor and the young man make the great Chinese prostration: three genuflections and as many bows, touching the ground with the forehead. All is done solemnly and simultaneously.

/75 cont'd/

585 431 The master of ceremonies of the son-in-law's family then takes the floor to distribute the traditional gifts to the daughter-in-law's family. The son-in-law remains kneeling, holding his horse by the bridle.

585 604 431 The master of ceremonies first addresses the maternal uncle of the daughter-in-law. The cupbearer bows to him and offers gin to him three times in a row. He begins with the saying, "Nan tch'ou wai kia, niu tch'ou niang kio," i.e., "the boy has the physique and the moral nature of his mother's family, and the girl those of her own relatives /parents/.

"Now you, maternal uncle, you are the representative of the family stock of our new daughter-in-law; it is fitting therefore to present to you, /76/ before doing so to all the others, our respectful compliments. We offer you the great ritual k'ata and a sheep. We should give you a cow according to tradition, but times have changed. Receive with good will." Formerly, the maternal uncle used to receive a cow on behalf of his mother's family; today he is given a sheep as at the home of the son-in-law. Next he addresses the go-between, for whom they pour the gin...."Formerly the go-between was given a complete costume, but times are no longer the same.... We present to you a string of cash, be satisfied...."

585 431 Then it is the turn of the bride's maid of honor; they pour gin for her. They give her a piece of cloth four feet long, a goat, 600 cash. But she hastens to protest with vehemence (it is the tradition), which provokes the laughter of the assemblage. She is given the traditional 800 cash.

The little page comes and receives 200 cash for riding the horse. The bearers of the boxes containing the bride's gifts receive 400 cash apiece; then all the members of the bride's family receive the k'ata. The master of ceremonies sits down, pretending to have finished his task.

585 431 231 But then comes what is called the suhuta, the final ceremony. In cauda venenum /"poison in the tail"/. The master of ceremonies from the daughter-in-law's family, as well as several elders of the family, stands up indignant; they manifest with vehemence the desire

/76 cont'd/

585 to see the old traditions observed and protest against innovations.
431 In this case it is a question of having themselves granted several
231 more head of livestock. The other side understands immediately that the festivity will not end peacefully without the giving of some animals. It is the moment for the master of ceremonies from the son-in-law's family to show eloquence and tact. He rises and proclaims that peace between the two families is more important than several animals. "We want a lasting and peaceful alliance," /77/ cries he. "We must have concord and harmony. We ask no better than to satisfy your wishes. Choose our best beasts, but leave us at least several old and thin animals, for we are poor, we still have to live. But peace above all, and also the welfare of the children. Do not forget that two animals are necessary for the plow and that if you take one of them, we shall no longer be able to work our lands; you will not be able to do any more with one single animal; then leave face also to your son-in-law. We know the traditions, but times are no longer the same, and customs also change a little."

During this speech one of the guests of the daughter-in-law's family has already detached the piece of red cloth from the horse's mane, which signifies that the horse is considered as secured, ready to be taken away. The son-in-law leads the horse out of the courtyard. Two or three members of the daughter-in-law's family who have gotten together in advance mark about ten animals with butter. The son-in-law's family is displeased...they get angry...they push
●[604] one another...they shout.... Then the daughter-in-law's maternal uncle, the representative of the whole clan, rises and asks how many animals have been marked. "Ten," they answer him, for example. "Ah, good," says he, "we shall take these ten away." The owners complain...they beg...they do not let anything leave the courtyard...all the son-in-law's family kneel before the maternal uncle, imploring him. In the end they agree on two-thirds or on half of the animals already marked. The horse is taken away as well as another animal; the rest of the animals will be taken the next day.

It sometimes happens that the scene does not end so peaceably. Indeed, it is known that the son-in-law's family has hidden its best

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587 The customary proceedings of the marriage of a widow then are
[604] very simple; the maternal uncle who plays the most important role at the marriage of girls does not even appear. The great preoccupation of the T'ou-jen in the marriage of a widow is to take her away from a rival /94/ and to conduct her without let or hindrance to her new domicile.

6. Two Typical Abductions of Widows

587 The following incidents throw a true light on the T'ou-jen way
583 of thinking concerning the marriage of widows.

At the place Souo-pou-keou lived a widow of a certain Hla Rong. A Tchang of Ki-kia-lin, wishing to marry her, learned that he was too late; the widow had already given her consent to another and had exchanged tokens with him. Tchang wanted her at any price. He proposed therefore to abduct her by force, then to get in touch with the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow to give them the earnest. If such affairs are taken to court, reimbursement of the earnest is required from the abductors, then the woman is
[671] granted to them. These abductions are thus recognized by the law. Tchang calls upon the help of about 30 trustworthy men, well armed, to take away the widow from the hands of his rival's band the night when the rival would take her to his home. The abductors were at their post, but the other band did not arrive. Believing therefore that they had been fooled, they decided to go to the widow's house, take it by assault, and abduct the widow.

Tchang counted as head of his band the widow's nephew, who could inform them about the arrangement of the house. They burst into the courtyard, they force the doors, they gag the woman, four of them carry her outside, they put her on the horse, and they flee
[492] hurriedly. Meanwhile the nephew had been taking care of the dogs and had opened the great door.

The journey went on in the greatest silence. After 15 kilometers of forced march they arrived home, removed the gag from the woman, and untied her hands. What was their surprise when in

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764 form: After incinerating their dead according to Lamaist rites, they gather the remains in a chest ad hoc, and bury them provisionally in a clean, dry place on the slope of a mountain. At the ts'in-ming /ch'ing ming/, the festival of the dead among the Chinese, they disinter the chest to bury it for good in the common cemetery of the clan. This custom is followed even by the T'ou-jen who live beside the cemetery. This practice which the T'ou-jen claim to have been general in the old times nowadays is already no longer seen nowadays in many places.

2. Relations of the Maternal Uncle with the Family of his Sister and her Children

604 Another basic element of the matriarchate is the particular situation which the maternal uncle occupies in this organization where all the rights of the family seem to belong to him.

a) Right of life and death over his sister's children.

[761] Now, even today, among the T'ou-jen the maternal uncle has kept the most important rights over his sister's children; he has even kept the right of life and death over them. Elsewhere I shall describe three true-to-life happenings where one sees the maternal uncle preside over a family council in which, without any subsequent form of trial and without the intervention of the law or the courts, he decides that /152/ his sister's son will be buried alive. Now without the consent of the maternal uncle nobody would dare to make such a decree; no member of the family would dare take upon himself such a responsibility, not even the grandfather, although we are in the patriarchal period. These facts are all the more strange since capital punishment is not even within the jurisdiction of the head t'ou-se.

In its place I shall quote with all the circumstances the case of two brothers who in the lifetime of their widowed mother indirectly caused the suicide of their brother, a rogue of the worst kind, whom they had shut up in a room after beating him; the scamp hung himself. Now, for causing their brother's death, they had to pay an indemnity to their maternal uncle, the master of the bones of his

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604 sister's children. Note that even if the father had been living, the procedure would have been the same.

The maternal uncle plays the principal role in the parleys on [762] the occasion of the suicide of his sister's children. Third series of facts: A young woman, an unbearable scold, had abandoned her poor husband to follow a lover in easier circumstances. After two or three years, since she no longer got along with him either, the woman came back to her family, who wanted to return her to her legitimate husband. Fearing that at the least quarrel she might swallow opium and ruin his family, he required the maternal uncle of the shrew to constitute himself guarantor that there would not be any action on the part of his family in case the woman committed suicide. There was a family council, and the maternal uncle signed a contract in the sense indicated after making strongly virulent admonitions to his niece. The maternal uncle had to make the pledge, and not her own father. I met an absolutely similar case among the Chinese of Kansu.

These three series of facts prove the maternal uncle's rights of life and death over his sister's children. They are all of relatively recent date. In none of these cases was the maternal uncle charged at law. This is therefore proof that present-day custom still accepts these rights.

604 /153/ In China also, moreover, the rights of the maternal
171 uncle are very extensive even today; the Chinese proverb says enough about it, "kieou-fou kao wai-cheng, iang tao tse k'eng pou hia," i.e., "when the maternal uncle makes a charge at law against one of his sister's children, the children's own father can do nothing to defend them." (1) The maternal uncle has the right to punish his

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 144: If the mother should accuse her son, intervention to stop the execution in this case can be made by the mother's brother, who can take the guilty man under his charge....In the intervention

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of the mother's brother, we can see some survival of an ancient form of the Manchu society which was organised on the principle of materline filiation, in which the mother's clan was a natural protector of its members. It is clear that the part of protector was executed by the mother's brother. Even now the mother's brother ... is generally charged with the moral control over his sister's children (as among the Chinese). Therefore he sometimes is obliged to help his sister's children. He is in very peculiar terms with them ... is much beloved by them ... he helps them in matrimonial affairs, he may also intervene in the education of them ... P. 154: The clan organisation in its institutions, as for example, the woman chieftainship, the peculiar rights and duties of the mother's brother, the mother's privilege to prevent her daughter although she is already married, and several others, retains traces of a great influence of the women and their relatives, which show that the Manchus in former times had another system of social organisation. /Cited in English./

P. 91: During the life of a married couple, the wife's mother's clan has no important part, except in the case of divorce, but relations and high consideration of this clan are always strictly maintained. /Cited in English. /

nephews in China.

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604 These facts make understandable the expression so often met in this study, "tnat the maternal uncle is really the master of the bones of his sister's children."

604 764 b) Permission to bury the dead is given by the maternal uncle. After what we have just said, is it not natural that the T'ou-jen call the maternal uncle at the death of his sister and her children? Burial will never take place as long as he has not given his permission. In the case of rumors about the unnatural death of a person under his jurisdiction, he will examine the body. It is to recognize his rights that the family will call him each time that a burial takes place to inspect the body, and they will humbly beg him to give permission /154/ for burial or cremation. When they bury in the Chinese manner, they present to the maternal uncle the axe and the wedge for closing the cover of the coffin. This is what the Chinese do also.

604 585 c) Precedence of the maternal uncle at the wedding. In the light of these facts, is it not easy to understand the importance that the T'ou-jen attach, at the time of marriage, to the mother's clan and to the maternal uncle in particular? He presides then at the festivity at his sister's home. They offer him the great gift of honor. He is invited to remain standing beside the bride during the speech of the master of ceremonies, who names him at this moment the master of the bones of his sister's children. At the home of the son-in-law it is he again who is the great guest and who receives the gift of honor. If there are neither grandfather or old men, it is he who conducts the wedding ceremony, who orders the prostrations, and says the blessings. At the time of the carrying off of the animals and of the uproar at the end of the wedding festivity, it is he again who settles the quarrel in the name of his sister's family, and it is before him that the son-in-law's whole family prostrate themselves. At the dinner at the bridegroom's home, the master of ceremonies emphasizes the importance of the maternal clan: "The man as well as the woman must have a maternal clan so that they can prove their origin." They scarcely speak of the paternal clan. Addressing himself to him a second time, the master of ceremonies says: "The man is indebted to the maternal clan for his qualities, as the woman is to her family's clan." Not the least allusion to the paternal clan.

Ma /158 cont'd/
606 he is made to sit at the bottom of the k'ang on a little bench during the dinner which precedes the departure, while the drivers of the cart take their places at the table. The bridegroom is not treated as a guest there either.

Mo In the same series of facts must again be classed the presence
601 required of the son-in-law at the home of the parents-in-law when
606 the latter have to defend their rights by force, for example, on the occasion of a suicide or the repudiation of one of their daughters.

The fact that the son-in-law calls all the members of his wife's family by the same name that he calls respectively those of his own family, adding gadin, which means "relative by marriage," is rather significant in itself.

Mo All these facts taken together prove not only the existence of
60 the matriarchate among the T'ou-jen at a /159/ previous period, but they even give the illusion, both by their number and by their diversity, that the T'ou-jen still live under this system today. Now that is not true. Their social economy is indubitably patriarchal. The explanation of this fact must be found in this: that they practice these matriarchal rites and customs without understanding them any more, because their ancestors practiced them, because they still continue to
Mo be part of the body of custom. They do not find it strange that the
[604] maternal uncle is called the "master of the bones of his sister's children," that he gives permission to bury the dead, that he presides at weddings, etc. It seems completely natural to them that it is he who enjoys these prerogatives and not the grandfather, solely because he has always enjoyed them. T'ou-jen men of letters, imbued with
Mo Confucianist principles, do not examine this question either, for,
[171] they say, our T'ou-jen ways have always differed from Chinese ways....., and for them all is accounted for.

Thus it is that one understands the coexistence of two systems diametrically opposed to each other and the extreme slowness with which one passes from one social system to another among these peoples. This is also what explains the great diversity one encounters in the ways and customs of the T'ou-jen when one considers them in detail.

[630 cont.]

Details

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The consecrated person: The person may be a woman or a man. He must be advanced in age; usually he is around sixty years old. At this age they are pious and reflective and are better able to observe the prescriptions. Young people are eager for life, violent, and uncontrolled. The consecration is done only by an incarnation, hutukhtu, not by an ordinary lama. [792]

Preparations: The preparations are carried out in consultation with the mother's brother. [604] He determines the day and the hutukhtu who is to be invited. [621] Since the whole village takes part in the celebration, money is saved a long time in advance. [262] Sheep, pigs, or a cow are slaughtered; oil-baking, bread, and oil-sticks, san-tzu, are baked for provisions; the house and yard are put in order, liquor is distilled, new clothes are purchased, and the gifts for the hutukhtu are provided. The latter, a few days in advance, sends one or several monks who put the room in order for him and prepare the kitchen, so that he may live and eat worthily.

Gratulation and reception of guests: On the day set, the person to be consecrated puts on his best clothes and stays in a clean side room. The visitors, relatives, and [631] guests come early in the forenoon. They gratulate the person to be consecrated and bring a gift; [431] usually they wrap a hada around it, which they solemnly hand to the person. The gifts are put on a chest in a room, usually in front of a household altar. Bread, oil-baking, cloth, hadas, silver money, etc. are given. A master of ceremonies is designated so that all may go according to custom and order.

Of the guests, the mother's brother is the person of greatest [604] respect. One goes toward him and hands him a hada. When he comes, the person to be consecrated steps down from the kang and receives him. [431] He then hands the gifts to him and is treated with tea and cake in the place of honor. Then everyone together drinks tea and liquor and breaks pieces of oil-sticks into the bowls. -- Aside from the mother's brother, the daughter's

[631 cont.]

527 778 888 husband and the daughter's children must give a hada and money to the person to be consecrated. In return they later receive greater remuneration when they depart.

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Feast: The feast takes place in the yard, first for the [574] men, then for the women. Three fields are divided off, right [562] and left for guests, and in the center for the mother's brother with the two closest relatives. These three sit on a felt mat on even ground with their backs to the main door of the main house and have before them a low kang table with the dishes; they are served separately by the master of ceremonies. On the two fields to the right and left, straw is scattered in a square; heavy planks are put in front of it and sometimes also mats, which are to represent the tables. In the middle of each square there burns a fire in which tea and liquor are warmed.

[264] The food is introduced with tsamba and tea, which is [574] taken with butter and milk. Mutton or pork follows; the fatter it is, the better liked and more superior it is. A considerable amount is drunk. Rice follows as the main dish, which is mixed with butter and sugar and sweet roots. -- The women eat after the men. -- During the meal there are always some free, who sing and dance.

527 Settling the prayer fee: After the meal, the master of 778 ceremonies pours out liquor for the mother's brother. The 888 sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law kneel down before the 792 mother's brother. The master of ceremonies hands him a hada 604 and starts the negotiations over the price. The mother's brother demands expensive gifts and much money for the lama; the master of ceremonies, through his rhetorical skill, must gradually lower the demands, until finally a suitable sum is agreed upon. Then the sons and daughters stand up, kowtow, thank the mother's brother, and go. This is similar to what is done at the pai-ta before the cremation (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 634.] For further details, see chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation." Here, too, the

[631 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 634 cont.]
prominent position of the mother's brother is particularly striking.

Arrival of the lama: The day before or early in the morning, horsemen have ridden to the lamasery to fetch the hutukhtu. He comes towards midday and is led into the house with the usual ceremonies. On the threshing floor before the yard gate the women dance and sing with all their might. In the yard the incense offering is burned and the conch [632] is blown. The lama is led to the kang in the main house; there he rests and drinks tea.

After a considerable time, the mother's brother and the
[604] master of ceremonies introduce themselves to him, give him a hada, and request him to bless the guests at the celebration. Outside, before the door of the main house, he sits down on a chair, and all pass by with bent heads, the mother's brother first. The hutukhtu touches the crown or the forehead of each
[788] one with his heavy prayer book. This is called the lama-blessing, from which the entire ceremony gets its name (2). --

2. [Foreign text p. 634.] Cf. chapter, "Reception of the Lama." I
[192] could ascertain no name other than lama ndziala; ndziala has a whole series of meanings, among others: to invite a hutukhtu. Because the age-consecration is the greatest familial religious event to which the hutukhtu is invited, it is simply called the "invitation." It is a ceremony in which a special relationship to monasticism is established through the consecration.

The person to be consecrated does not come, but waits until later.

[635 cont.]

764 evening the neighbors and friends gather and pray for the dead, squatting in a circle. Some days before the cremation, the master of ceremonies invites a lama to conduct the death cere-
[792] monies and burn the corpse. First, however, the mother's
[604] brother must release the corpse; this is done the evening before at the meal, when he demands an accounting for the dead person and his interment.

The cremation is undertaken outside the village in a crematory, which on each occasion is built at a different place.
[792] The lama performs almost the same ceremonies on this occasion as at the fire-pouring. After the cremation the remaining bones are kept in a wooden chest and temporarily buried on the spot.
[765] Not until the next spring do the relatives transfer them to the
766 family cemetery. -- Small children are not buried. Adult girls are burned quietly without ceremonies in an isolated place.

765 The strict period of mourning lasts 49 days. As a sign of mourning, the men turn their clothing inside out, and the women remove their ornaments and certain parts of their headdress.

[636] Details

763 Preparation of the corpse: Shortly before death, the men
764 shave first the head and then the beard of the dying person. If death sets in too suddenly, however, so that they can no longer shave him alive, it is left undone. After the shaving, he is undressed and his hands, face, and feet are washed, not the entire body. The men do this for men, the women for women. The women keep their long hair, as do girls. The hair is parted in the center and two three-stranded braids are plaited, which hang down over the breast or the back. In the case of sudden death, the corpse is merely washed and the hair dressed; the washing is then done with only a damp cloth (1).

[823]

1. [Foreign text p. 650.] Why no water may flow over the corpse could not be discovered; probably it is feared that the water would thereby be made impure; it is counted among the basic elements.

[639 cont.]

764 The official prayer-service is undertaken by a lama, if
782 possible by a hutukhtu. He is given a room of his own in the
792 house of mourning, which ordinarily immediately adjoins the room in which the corpse is laid out, so that he can remain on the kang when he recites the office of the dead. A lama never prays directly before the corpse. A hutukhtu visits the house of mourning only on the day before the cremation, and stays there only one night. He also always undertakes the ceremonial cremation with the fire-pouring. Other lamas, on the other hand, may perform services in the house of mourning several days before.

[177] In recent times the Tujen also invite Chinese bonzes for the prayers. They adhere to their own rites. It also happens that bonzes and lamas are invited at the same time. Then the prayer rite is mixed. A cremation, however, is never carried out without some religious officiant first giving the prayers for the dead (12). Lamas of lower rank, who may not undertake the

[123] 12. [Foreign text p. 654.] The Tujen have no difficulties in inviting representatives of various religions for prayers. I was even requested once to give the Christian office of the dead. -- On the other hand, the Chinese Buddhists also invite the lamas to give prayers for the dead.

fire-pouring, or bonzes do not go along to the place of cremation, but remain in the house of mourning.

764 For the prayer, the relatives, lamas, and bonzes re-
782 ceive a corresponding honorarium which is usually fixed by
792 the mother's brother on the occasion of the demand for an ac-
465 counting during the last mourning meal. The Chinese bonzes, to be sure, demand a fixed fee immediately upon being in-
[604] vited; otherwise they do not come at all. The other persons who say prayers, assistants at the cremation, etc. receive compensation in the form of alms on the eve of the cremation or on the morning after the cremation.

[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] hsiao-tzu in Chinese, who are the male descendants and relatives of the first and second degree, for example, younger brothers, younger cousins, grandsons.

on the mother's side do not appear in the house of mourning until the eve of the cremation.

764 They must be informed, however, immediately after the death; this is called "death announcement." The master of
602 ceremonies, with a small bottle of liquor, goes to the mother's
604 brother to announce the death of the latter's nephew or niece (14).

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14.[Foreign text p. 654.] In recent times the Tujen announce the death to the mother's brother by means of a written communication, like the Chinese. The original practice, however, is the announcement with the liquor-jug, to which is tied a flock of wool.

[792] The two now consult as to how the funeral solemnities are to
[465] be arranged, how many monks are to be invited to pray, how large the fees are to be, etc. The mother's brother is intent upon setting demands as high as possible, whereas the master of ceremonies sets lower ones. Once they have agreed upon
[273] the approximate level, they drink the little jug of liquor together. If they do not agree, the master of ceremonies returns home with the liquor and he receives new instructions from the bereaved family. Sometimes this happens two or three times. A final arrangement is not made until the last day at the accounting in the house of mourning.

On the eve of the cremation, the mother's brother, and with him all the male relatives on the mother's side, appears in the yard of the bereaved. The women among the maternal

764 [640 cont.]
[602] relatives do not come (15). The mother's brother is solemnly
[604]

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15. [Foreign text pp. 654-655.] Three groups of relatives are to be distinguished, which correspond to the kinship divisions of the Chinese there: 1. One's own family, dzienani kudē, Chin. pen-chia. To this belong the descendants in a direct line, son, grandson, grandchildren, even the daughters who are already married outside. They live together in one compound. 2. Cousinhood, dzienani šāni, Chin. tang-chia-tzu. These are the father's brothers and cousins, in practice all the relatives with the same family name. -- This group is obligated to provide for the interment, while one's own family (even the daughters) wear mourning dress and are subject to the strict mourning taboos. As soon as the daughters return to their husband's family, however, they take off the mourning. 3. Affinity by marriage, urog, Chin. ch'in-chia, ch'in-ch'i. Since among the Tujen here the Chinese expressions are now in use, the following names should be distinguished: ch'in-chia in the strict sense is the relationship of the sons-in-law with whom the daughters have married. They have another family name, wai-hsing. The family from which the mother comes is called wai-chia; here the brother of the mother is the person of respect who represents her interests. The family from which the mother of the father comes is called wei-chia; here, too, for the

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[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 654-655 cont.] father his mother's brother is the person of respect, who in case of death demands an accounting. Wei-chia and wai-chia have the same signs; only the pronunciation is different. Literally translated it means [655] "the outside family," in other words, not belonging to the male line. Instead of wai-chia one also says niang-chia, which designates the family from which the mother comes. This expression is also used for the family of the lama, who, of course, is unmarried. -- The wai-chia or niang-chia does not appear until the day before the cremation.

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The mother's brother is solemnly

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received by the master of ceremonies and led to the death-box. There he and his retinue offer the 12 loaves, burn paper, and kowtow. During this time all the relatives must express great bereavement and the women utter loud lamentations. The mother's brother also weeps. After this ceremony, the mother's brother is led into the house and onto the kang, where he is given tea and bread. He rests a little while. The other companions are given hospitality outside in the yard where everything is set up for the funeral meal and the ceremony of the accounting.

[641] The mother's brother is led into the yard and sits on a white felt mat which is spread out on the ground directly before the entrance of the main house. He sits with his back to the house, facing the mani-tree. A kang table is put in front of him. The other relatives on the maternal side sit on straw to the right and left of him in a semicircle. Boards which are supposed to represent tables are put in front of them. Now oil-baking, tea, and pastries are brought. The serving is done by the cousinhood on the father's side (16). After the first bite, the guests are

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16. [Foreign text p. 655.] At the interment, the Tujen have the

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[Note on foreign text p. 655 cont.]
following offices: 1. The master of ceremonies. He takes care of everything connected with the customs concerning the dead and the cremation. He is called by the Chinese name sang-kuan, that is, leader of the interment, or hu-sang, that is, protector of the interment. He is usually picked from the cousinhood. 2. The gift-guardian. He takes the offering loaves and keeps them in a special room. In Chinese he is called k'u-kuan, that is, treasure-guardian. -- The Chinese also put a secretary at his disposal, who notes what the individual guests have given. The Tujen do not have this. 3. The host. He is there solely for the lama and provides for his entertainment, for his animals, for the things needed at the ceremony, for paper to burn, etc. The Tujen call him känguo. In his place the Chinese have an incense-manager. 4. The female cook, called dziemā nienie by the Tujen. -- With exception of the känguo and the dziemā nienie, the officiants seem to have been taken over from the Chinese.

764 given some liquor, and the bereaved on the father's side come
●604 in the circle with the master of ceremonies and kneel on the
[602] ground before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies
[273] steps forward and invites the mother's brother to take a drink of
[537] liquor. He hands him a hada and a piece of white cloth and requests him to present his wishes for the dead and to release the corpse for the cremation.

[641 cont.]

764 604 537 [273] The mother's brother puts the hada over his shoulders, takes a swallow of liquor, and begins his speech. Usually he demands an accounting concerning the care of his protégé during the latter's illness and demands the small fees for the prayer service, saying that they should be ashamed of such avarice, the dead had always been a good person, the pride of his family, he deserved better; now at least one should give him a decent death-box and provide the most magnificent cremation possible; far too few lamas had been invited, but now they should recompense them with much money and rice and butter, etc.

[273] Every time that the mother's brother puts forward a wish or a complaint and pauses, the master of ceremonies has his liquor bowl refilled and calls upon him to drink. Then the master of ceremonies replies in the name of the paternal relatives, seeks to invalidate the reproaches, to lessen the demands, and to emphasize the efforts of the family. He says that the most expensive medicines were procured for the deceased during his illness, for how could one neglect such a virtuous person; moreover, everything that the family could do in his honor and for his soul would be done, but one should not demand the impossible; after all, one must die sometime; the times are bad, but they would gladly give the lama that and that, etc. -- So it goes back and forth between the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies, until a course is finally agreed upon and the mother's brother declares that now he is satisfied and will release the corpse. Now the mother's brother is invited to inspect the corpse, but he usually does not do this.

764 604 After this speech, the bereaved arise, kowtow three times before the mother's brother, and return to the deathwatch by the box. The mother's brother follows them and kowtows before the dead. Then alms are distributed to the guests, usually [431] coins. This is called "to do good," for it is advantageous for the deceased. Then the meal for the relatives on the mother's side [735] takes place in a large circle. Usually there is rice, but among poor people only noodle soup.

[775] [177] [642] The ceremony of the demand for an accounting has the purpose of releasing the soul of the dead for the migration

[642 cont.]

764 of the soul, according to the saying: if the mother's brother does
604 not open his mouth, the dead cannot migrate. When the soul has
775 no more demands to make on this world, then it leaves house and
177 home. Its demands are advocated by the mother's brother (17). --

17. [Foreign text pp. 655-656.] The people do not agree about the origin and meaning of this ceremony. The Chinese say that it was copied from them; the Tujen claim that it is an old custom of their ancestors. -- The Chinese also have the name bäda (pai-ta); they also say pai-wai for it. They have no special explanation for pai-ta; they interpret pai-wai as "to profit, to tain an advantage." There is no character for either word. This would not be so important, however, since there is a great number of dialectal expressions for which there are no characters. -- The informant believes that bäda is a Tujen word and means "to profit, to gain," exactly like the Chinese pai-wai. If this custom does not occur farther to the east, which would have to be investigated, then one could conceive of it as a borrowing from the Tujen.

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The pai-ta of the Chinese is somewhat more extensive. First there is the donning of the white mourning cap, tai-hsiao, then the viewing of the corpse, wang-ku, that is, to view the bones; the mother's brother in this role is called ku-chu, that is, bones-master, an expression that the Tujen also have. Then follows the speech of the mother's brother, pai-wai. And when the negotiations on this

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[Note on foreign text pp. 655-656 cont.] occasion are concluded satisfactorily, then there follows first the kowtow with the offering for the dead before the corpse. Concerning the bone relationship, cf. Part 2, I, 2.

The speech of the mother's brother is somewhat different from that of the Tujen. He principally demands a magnificent coffin, elegant death-garments, and many bonzes for the interment. Indeed, he even reclaims things of the dead person, for instance, the cow that provided him with milk, as well as valuables that are desired as mementos, for, he says, since the beloved deceased no longer dwells among his relatives, one wants at least his personal objects out of affection. Everyone knows that this is done less out of affection than out of a desire for gain. [656] The quite un-Chinese demand for the milk cow is striking here, since the Chinese drink practically no milk.

Among the Tujen, the pai-ta makes a somewhat more selfless impression. The negotiations deal primarily with the lamas to be invited and their prayer fee, and this primarily so that the soul of the dead person will be satisfied and set out on its migration.

In the case of the pai-ta, therefore, a twofold viewpoint is to be differentiated, the social, which comes to the fore more among the Chinese, and the religious, which is of more concern among the Tujen. In the first case it is a matter of asserting the rights of the mother's family; in the second case, it is a matter of the conception

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[Note on foreign text pp. 655-656 cont.]
of the souls of the dead, who evidently are regarded as living corpses. This point is decisive in explaining the meaning. It is a matter of the peace and good fortune of the family, which are endangered by a restless soul if it is not satisfied and continues to wander about. This satisfaction is brought about by providing a decent interment (clothing, coffin) and the prayer of the lama. Then "the way is open" for the soul, as the Buddhists say; the significance of the above-mentioned proverb of the Chinese is shown here. How strongly this conception still affects even the Chinese is shown by the recast saying, wai-chia pu k'ai yen, wang-jen pu shang t'ien, that is, if the mother's family does not begin to speak, the dead will not ascend to heaven. -- With all this, however, it becomes clear how strong the rights of the mother's family are, and its concern for its members even beyond death.

If there is no actual mother's brother, then the one nearest to the mother's brother takes his place; this is the one who follows the mother's brother in the inheritance.

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Time of cremation: As soon as the dead person draws his last breath, a relative goes to the soothsayer or Bon priest and has the day of cremation determined by the spirits. He does not enter the compound of the soothsayer, however, but announces himself in front of the large gate of the yard, because since he comes from the house of a dead person, he may not appear before the gods. Aside from the spirit-spear, spirit-table, spirit-litter, and the Bon priest, one may also ask a Chinese lay bonze. Lamas and Taoist bonzes never determine the time. Only the day is given, not the hour. As

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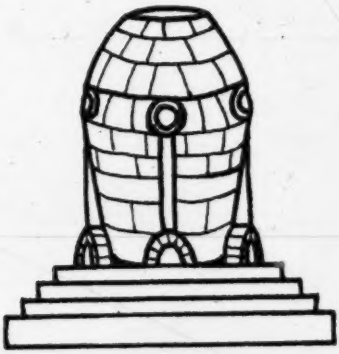

[532]

Crematory, tab.
(Drawing of a Tujen.)

[Note on foreign text pp. 657-658 cont.]
the drawing on it; then the base is built on it. Several sheets are often pasted together. The drawing is sometimes so wide that it sticks out under the base. The ground-drawing naturally also varies in the decoration, but the thunderbolts and the lotus flower are always there. The oven with the corpse is thought of as borne by the lotus flower, out of which come the flames of the transformation of life during the burning. In this connection cf. the section, "The Fire-pouring," Note 4. -- There are certainly connections between the crematory and the bum-pa of the chorten.

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764 The funeral procession: On the morning of the day set, the mother's brother and all the relatives of the deceased burn white paper in front of the box; they kowtow three times and start a loud lamention. Four bearers take the box with the corpse up on

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[648 cont.]

766 and on the same day on which the girl died. If she died in the morning, she is burned in the evening; if she died in the late evening, she is burned the following morning. A man from her own family takes the corpse just as it is, with the clothes, over his shoulder, carries it to a remote ravine, digs a hole by a copse, piles straw and twigs in it, puts the corpse on top, and burns it. Usually a few other people also help. One does not wait until the dead girl is completely reduced to ashes, but leaves the still smoldering corpse behind and goes home. Dogs and wolves consume the remains. As soon as a girl has been married, however, 764 even if only for a few days, she receives an honorable cremation like any other woman, with all the ceremonies, with prayer, and with a death-box. This also applies to those daughters who [588] have not yet found a man, but who are married to the sky or the mani-tree.

762 If an adult, whether a man or a married woman, has 766 killed himself, he receives the usual cremation ceremonies without fire-pouring and without a death-box. Usually no one [782] is invited to give the prayer. At the final funeral meal, how- [604] ever, the mother's brother will demand a precise accounting concerning the causes of the suicide, especially if a woman is involved, and he will insist upon an honorable death rite with a death-box. Disputes are common at such times.

766 Those who lost their lives through violence, such as drownings, falls from heights, murder, etc., receive a cremation or interment like any other person of the same age.

[649] Those who died outside the yard, be it an ordinary death or through an accident or suicide, are always laid out outside of the compound, say, in a special tent or in a cave. If a suicide has taken place inside the yard, however, the person who has taken his life is laid out in the house.

792 Persons who have died far away are brought home. If 766 this is not possible, for instance, in the case of soldiers, a lama is invited. While praying he writes down the name of the de- [212] ceased on a stiff sheet of paper and sticks it in a measure of grain (wheat), which is then placed on a table in the room into which otherwise the death-box would have been brought. All the same ceremonies are now carried out in front of it, as though

[205 cont.]

774 Unequivocal statements concerning the conceptions of the soul among the Tujen could not be secured. It is true that several souls can be inferred from the death customs described, but the naming and peculiar nature of these souls remain vague.

192 Two designations for "soul" come into consideration:
774 namsü (namšë) and suniedzë. The word namsü is seldom used. According to the DMF (256), it corresponds to the Tibetan ñams-su. This independent connection cannot be confirmed in Ch. Das, but ñams alone is found there, p. 476, with the meaning: "...the soul, mind, spirit as an entity" [cited in English]. The su could at most still be an instrumental particle. One will probably not go wrong, therefore, if he equates namsü not with ñams-su, but with the Tibetan rnam šes, pronounced nam-še. Ch. Das (762) translates it with: "...the mind, knowledge, intellect, memory" [cited in English]. H.A.Jäschke, on the other hand, has for it the explanation (315): "3. in popular language: soul, e.g. of the departed..." [cited in English]. The much more frequently used word suniedzë has the same meaning. It is the equivalent of the Mongolic sünesün. Both namsü and suniedzë signify nothing uniform, for there are three souls: nigë
774 kundu ġuran namsü-i, or nigë kundu suniedzë ġuran-i, that is:
775 "There are three souls to a human being"; cf. DMF 256. And of what kind are these souls? toroñ yesë saġdzini, ġuordani sdziewa awura sdzini, ġurandani iliedu furani (cf. DMF 361), that is, "The first guards the bones, the second assumes the rebirth, the third transforms itself into a demon." Mostaert, op. cit., refers to Sanžeev, "Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten [World-view and shamanism of the Alar-Burjat]," Anthropos, 22, 1927, p. 585. The conception of the tripartition,
[171] however, is much more widespread; at any rate in Lamaistically influenced Asia it is found almost everywhere. Even the Tsinghai Chinese know of three souls: one goes into the underworld, one stays with the corpse (bones), one wanders around in the world. What is common to these three souls is that they can separate themselves from the body.

775 The bone-soul remains with the skeleton after death, at
764 least until the rite of the bäda has been completed, whereby it
604 is satisfied and becomes free. Its agent in this ritual and the

[205 cont.]

775 decisive authority is the mother's brother of the deceased. Therefore among the people he is accordingly called tsiğan yesë daxu,
764 that is, "white-bone-master"; Chinese [206] ku-chu, that is,
604 "bone-master." This soul finally becomes free at the cremation, at which, of course, the bones (better: the skeleton) are destroyed except for a few remains. The peculiarity of this soul[1] is its
775 clan [Clan] membership, as is expressed by the name of the
614 mother's brother and his importance. He is the representative
604 of the mother's kin-group [Sippe]. The Tujen, however, like
764 the Mongols and other tribes, determine the kin group according to the bones. Among the Tujen likewise the question as to the family is: "What are your bones," tsini yesë yan-i? Bones and clan (kin group) therefore are equated. Thus one has grounds for maintaining that the bone-soul is borne by the life principle of the clan and propagates itself in the clan. How is unclear. As clan-master, the mother's brother is also bone-master. He exercises more rights over his sister's child than the latter's actual father and also demands the final accounting. But what happens to the thus liberated soul? Perhaps a similar custom among the Manchuria-Tungus, specifically among the Birarčen [Birar] and Kumarčen, provides insight into this. S. M. Shirokogorov reports of their soul-migration into the underworld: "The second river is the Yellow River, after crossing which the soul meets with Mongoldai Nakču, i.e. Mongoldai 'senior of the mother's clan,' which examines the case before allowing the soul to cross the Black River beyond which Inmun-kan reigns" [cited in English] (Psychomental Complex, p. 142; as cited in UdG, X, p. 563). Mongoldai, the master of the mother's clan in the underworld, here does what the bone-master of the dead does in the upper world: he demands an accounting and investigates the condition of the dead person's soul. The result is also the same: the soul becomes free for its migration and the corpse free for the burial. I could not confirm this underworld correspondence for the bāda among the Tujen; at any rate, nothing drew one's attention in this direction. Perhaps the extension of the conception into the
[769] underworld is lacking among them because they practice

[1] [i.e. - the "bone-soul", one of three souls of a human being - ANALYST]

[206 cont.]

775 practically no ancestor cult and therefore know of no ancestor
614 spirit like the Tungusic Mongoldai Nakču. Unconsciously, how-
604 ever, forgotten conceptions might still have an effect. At any
764 rate, a custom that is often explained as thirst for honor and
[769] avarice would in this way find a suitable explanation. In the case of the bǎda the principal demands of the mother's brother are directed at the inviolability of the corpse (= no violent death) and a costly death-box, as well as splendid prayers for the dead. When, in connection with the underworld custom of the Tungus, one assumes that the dead person will reach the clan-master of the underworld in an honorable, fine condition and contented, then the care of the earthly clan-master for his clan members is thereby also documented, and the clan has a good reputation in the beyond. Father W. Schmidt sought to interpret similar conditions among other peoples meaningfully, and, to be sure, in connection with the double interment of the matriarchal agrarian culture. In the latter the fleshly parts are allowed to fall to destruction. They are of no significance for the further existence of the human being. The bones, however, which are carefully cleaned and then finally interred or supplied for the cult, are important. Moon-mythological ideas lie at the bottom of this procedure. The waning moon becomes thinner and thinner, until finally only [207] a "bone" remains, but the latter gradually clothes itself again with "flesh" and grows to become the full moon, a mirror image of the perishing and becoming of man. According to this conception, the skeleton is the "essential," the support; see UdG, X, pp. 742 f. If this meaning of the bones is so harmoniously a part of the moon-mythological matriarchal agricultural culture, then the striking arrangement among the Tujen, bones -- mother's clan -- mother's brother, is also explained. -- The sociological side of this custom will not be dealt with here.

775 The second soul goes to the western paradise (Tushita)
171 and waits there for a new rebirth. The incarnation into lower forms is regarded as punishment for a vicious and evil life, exactly in the sense of the Buddhist-Lamaist wheel of life. These conceptions, however, do not have much force among

guors and Tibetans of Hsining follow the Chinese custom, performing this celebration in their own way on their sixtieth birthdays. The cycle of age is celebrated according to the wealth of the people with more or less festivity, with a master of ceremony, dinners which, as at marriages, are served around a big fire, songs, Members of the family, relatives, chiefs of the village, friends, are invited and offer their congratulations. Poor people are happy to kill a sheep and to entertain fewer guests. Many Monguors and Tibetans are accustomed to add to this celebration a Lamaist religious rite, inviting a Living Buddha, and ostentatiously offering him substantial alms, receiving his blessings and assuming on that day the duty of observing more Lamaist prescriptions, by becoming a kind of lay-monk or lay-nun. Even poor people add this rite, but act in a more modest way. 527

The essence of the rite of the cycle of age among the Monguors consists in the required assistance of the maternal uncle of the subject of the feast. The latter's presence is so important that in case he has departed, a member of his family must take his place. The ceremony consists in a morning rite attended by all the guests, the honoring by the celebrant of "Heaven and all the spirits" in the open courtyard, with the setting off of firecrackers, immediately followed by his honoring the guardian deity of his family on the altar in the living room. The rich and the poor, and those who add the Lamaist rite, always are faithful to the two essential customs. The fact that at this time some invite a Living Buddha and become a lay-monk is accidental, because most of the Monguors enact the celebration without this Lamaist rite. [604]

The men celebrate their cycle of age in a more or less elaborate way, but the women usually celebrate it on a minor scale. The Lamaist rite is usually performed on the same day, so that the expenses of two feasts are avoided and a big attendance is secured, for the Monguors are afraid few people would arrive for the celebration of a Lamaist rite only. It happens that sometimes a man may enact the Lamaist rite before his sixtieth birthday. In fact no time is fixed for the performance of this rite, it can even be done after death. More men than women perform the Lamaist rite, but young people are not interested in it.

In the early morning of the birthday the guests arrive, the members of the family and the relatives offer the traditional scarf and the "ten breads of longevity" and two jars of wine; sons-in-law add three strings of cash. The subject of the feast, holding incense sticks in his joined hands, led by his maternal uncle, proceeds

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the Ch'i-Liang dynasties (479–557) and came in vogue during the T'ang and the Sung. In 729 the imperial birthday was for the first time made a national festival. The institution of letting people join the Buddhist order as monk or nun on the imperial birthday dates from 767; the offering of felicitation to the emperor on his birthday dates from 820. On their birthdays, the T'ang Emperors used to fast, and hence the slaughter of animals was forbidden on these days; this institution dates from 837.

[P138(A)]

toward the middle of the courtyard where a big fire 527
is built, which will not be allowed to go out the whole day. In the presence of all the guests, on the command of the master of the ceremonies, he prostrates himself devoutly three times, honoring "Heaven and all the spirits." Then, led by the maternal uncle and followed by the guests, he enters the living room, and on the command of the master of ceremonies prostrates himself again three times before the house altar, toward the picture of the guardian deity of his family, which usually is a Taoist spirit. Lamps are lit on the adorned altar during the whole day.

Then the celebrant receives congratulations as he sits [604]
on the k'ang, surrounded by the maternal uncle, the chief of the village and the elders, and the members of the family who belong to a higher generation than his own. On the command of the master of ceremonies, first come the members belonging to the generation above his own, bowing their heads and presenting the traditional scarfs. Then arrive the members belonging to his own generation who, in a group, bow their heads and hands nine times and present their scarfs. Then follow the members belonging to younger generations, sons, grandchildren, who, in groups, one after another, prostrate themselves nine times and offer their scarfs. Then the celebrant prostrates himself before his maternal uncle and presents him with a scarf, and all the guests perform the same rite. Finally all the women prostrate themselves in a group before the celebrant and the maternal uncle. Thereafter a cup of wine is presented to the celebrant by the master of ceremonies, who makes the traditional speech with plenty of congratulations. Then follows the breakfast in the courtyard where the guests are accommodated as for the big dinners of marriage and where the celebrated "noodles of longevity" are served.[16]

The noodles are made with white flour of wheat cut in long thin filaments. The celebrant, with the maternal uncle and the most outstanding guests, occupies the middle table in the center of the courtyard, on which, in front of him, are put two empty bowls. Wine is presented and congratulations offered by the master of ceremonies, and all the guests one after another take some noodles out of their bowls and put them in the empty bowls of the celebrant, wishing him a happy new cycle of years. The breakfast of the women is served after that of the men. In the afternoon starts the gala dinner like the dinners at the marriages, followed by merrymaking.

LAMAIST RITE

Those who add the Lamaist rite send some youngsters 527
of the village on good horses to the lamasery after 604
breakfast, in order to invite the Living Buddha, who 792
will arrive at noon. In the meantime, after breakfast, the maternal uncle, in the presence of the guests, starts inquiring about the alms the family has proposed to

[16] Schram, *op. cit.*, 42. [p. 138(B)]

offer to the Living Buddha, and being very exacting, according to the custom, he urges that they should offer five or more horses, two or three hundred sheep, two or three hundred pounds of butter, five hundred dollars. This moment is the very important opportunity for the master of ceremonies to display his utmost oratorical proficiency in behalf of the celebrant who invited him, bringing the amount of required alms to a rational level (which has been fixed beforehand on both sides!). It is a means of making known all over the country the prodigality of the family toward the lamas. 527 604 792

The Living Buddha, with his two or four assistants, is greeted on the threshing floor by all the guests kneeling, holding in their joined hands the incense sticks, and is led to the living room in order to drink tea and rest for a while. Then he comes to sit in the courtyard where he receives the prostrations and scarf of the maternal uncle and of the celebrant, and blesses all the guests, touching each one's head with the ritual red silk tassel attached to a short wooden rod, while the assistants prepare the *torma*. He enters the living room; the celebrant kneels before him, having at his side the maternal uncle. He drinks a first draught of holy water, presented to him by the Living Buddha, and spits the second gulp upon the *torma* placed before him, and swallows a third one. All his sins are spit upon the *torma*; he is interiorly purified, and the *torma* is thrown outside the courtyard.

The Living Buddha, having blown three times upon some spelt, throws it upon him, and the celebrant is smoked with pounded cypress leaves and cones. Holy water is sprinkled upon him with the ritual peacock feathers. Ritual texts are read over him, and the Living Buddha explains before all the guests the obligations [784] inherent in the blessings: to fast on the first and the fifteenth of the month and Wei-sang; to attend the fasting exercises held in the country every year; not to kill any living being, not drink alcohol, eat garlic, leeks, and radishes, nor eat birds and eggs; to abstain from the slightest injustices, to give alms, to pray more Om Mani. Finally a yellow scarf, previously blessed, is put by the Living Buddha on his left shoulder and bound under the right arm. The man has become a lay-monk. He will wear the scarf under or upon his cloths to his dying day, and hang it on the wall at night. Once in a while a very fervent lay-monk is encountered who has shaved his head like the lamas. However, it is reported that many of these lay-monks are not faithful to their obligations, because many perform the rite and invite a Living Buddha in order more to celebrate their cycle of age with greater display and pomp, than to perform an act of religion. Then follows the gala dinner in the courtyard, after which the Living Buddha retires into his private room and remains with the family overnight.

The next morning a breakfast of milk tea, rolls baked in oil, and mutton, is offered to the Living Buddha. While the family kneels in the room, an entire sheep is

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presented to the Living Buddha with the scarf. It is 527
the gift for outstanding persons. Then the master of 604
ceremonies makes his traditional speech. After having 792
thanked the Living Buddha, he starts his usual speech of apology: "We are ashamed to have treated the holy man so irreverently, the meat we prepared was tough and tasteless for it was meat of an old animal. The rolls were badly kneaded and hard, and boiled in rancid oil. The k'ang, on which the holy man slept was not heated enough. The holy man could not sleep a wink the whole night. Our k'ang is too short, the saintly man could not stretch out his noble legs. The felt spread on the k'ang was too thin, his holy limbs must be sore. We are a poor family and should like to offer a herd of sheep. We are ashamed to be only able to offer an old horse, saddled with a broken saddle. Our harvest this year was the worst we ever reaped, so we can afford only to offer a couple of sacks of rancid rolls. To add to our frustration, the wool of our sheep was so bad and short this year, that we can only offer a thin felt poorly prepared by an unskilled artisan. The butter we prepared for the lamas and the lamps is nearly all rancid. What we offer to you is more like a gift offered at a burial than a gift fit for these circumstances." Then the maternal uncle and the celebrant prostrate themselves, apologizing and presenting the scarf. The Living Buddha protests that he is very happy, and thanks the family for its prodigality, and promises his blessings.

At the moment of departure the family kneels with incense sticks in their joined hands at the gate of the courtyard; each of the assistant lamas receive two strings of cash, and the Living Buddha takes with him the packet of dollars. After him follow some youngsters with a beautiful horse, saddled with the finest saddle, and a precious rug upon it, with some animals carrying butter and tea for the lamas of the monastery, rolls, meat and sugar, and the news is spread all over the country that so and so offered such and such gifts with an unusual prodigality.

Poor families offer to the Living Buddha fifty strings of cash instead of a horse. The celebrant who belongs to a still poorer family goes at noon with his maternal uncle to the lamasery, in order to see a Living Buddha who performs the rites upon him and is presented with two strings of cash.[17]

This information was given me by several masters of ceremonies and Monguors who attended the rites, [115] and had themselves performed them.

XIII. DEATH

In connection with the funeral customs of the Mon- 761
guors, a few words should be said about their notions concerning the souls, because these have an important bearing upon the funeral customs.

[17] Schröder, *op. cit.*, *Der Alters Segen*, 630.

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774
sion concerning this subject among the Monguors, who 171
assume that they have three souls.

THE FIRST SOUL

The Monguors used to talk about the soul of the 774
bones,[10] which seems to adhere to the bones in general, 775
not to a definite bone. When the bones are broken or split, the soul seems not to be affected. Consequently, when Monguors kill a sheep, they do not take care to avoid the breaking of the bones. The soul seems never to leave the bones, even during life or after death; it is said to be buried with the bones in the grave, and to remain there adhering to them, and to vanish when the bones vanish. Never is it said that this soul harms people, or is harmed in anyway. However, when the shaman calls back the souls of a sick man supposed to be [756]
harmed by malignant spirits, or by souls of the deceased, the bone soul is called back with the two others.

This peculiar feeling existing over all Asia concern- 761
ing the bones is noteworthy. The bones play a large 774
role in the beliefs of the Mongol and Turkish people, [17]
to which stock the Monguors belong. The Monguors, as well as the Mongols and Turks, when asking for the name of a man's clan, ask for the name of his "bone," and their saying goes that the bones come from the father and the flesh from the mother. This basic principle is so deeply ingrained in their consciousness that when you ask a man or a woman what their bones are, they will always answer by giving the name of the clan of their father and not that of their mother. Everybody is recognized as belonging to the clan of his father. If you ask for the name of the bone of their mother, they will answer by giving the name of their mother's father's clan and not of their mother's mother's clan, for the bones come from the father. This behavior fits perfectly in the frame of a patriarchal society.

However, it is not known at what time specific facts 604
caused the Monguors to go so far as to call their 774
maternal uncle the "master of the bones" of the children 764
of his sister, to acquiesce to his illogical usurpation of the most basic rights belonging to the family chief in a patriarchal society, to allow the maternal uncle to decide, in definite circumstances, about the life and death of these children, and to be their recognized avenger in case of suicide, caused by maltreatment, and to become the only man who can permit the burial of these children.[11] In all nomadic societies in Asia this intrusion is observed on a larger or smaller scale. Even in the Chinese society the maternal uncle plays an important role, presiding over the festivities at marriages and giving permission to bury the children of his sister. The Chinese saying is well known that, when the maternal uncle brings suit at court against the son of his sister, the father of the defendant cannot withstand it, and also the saying that as long as the mother's family (maternal uncle) does not permit burial, the de-

[10] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 2: 205.
[11] Schram, Part I: 91. [p. 140 (B)]

ceased cannot climb to heaven (the soul cannot leave the body).[12] Like the Monguors, they call a son *Ku-hsüeh,* "bone and blood," for his bones come from the father and blood from the mother. Relationship is called *Ku-jou,* "bones and flesh." The examination of the corpse by the maternal uncle before the funeral is called *Yen-ku,* "examining the bones." 604 774 764

However, the usurped rights of the maternal uncle concern only the children of his sister. He is not a chief of a clan, and in all clans men know very well that their clan chief is not a maternal uncle. 604

All the conditions set by the maternal uncle in order to permit burial find their explanation among Monguors and Chinese in the fear, which both harbor, of the harm which the deceased might cause in case he is not decently buried, and the desire to have a splendid burial for a member of their family, which will honor the family and flatter its pride. The Chinese are extravagantly demanding about precious clothes, a nice coffin, musicians, a big dinner, and a large number of Taoist priests. Monguors are also eager for grandeur, but, having no need for these items, put their unreasonable claims in the form of fantastically large alms for lamaseries, three-fourths of which are never agreed upon. This mentality and these facts prove that religious feeling at that time plays a far lesser part in the discussions than the mania for display and worldly glory. Certainly there are devout Lamaists who, at the time of the death of a member of the family, really like to have prayers said for the deceased, spend a lot of money for entertaining lamas, giving alms, burning lamps. However, this is never done without ostentation and without advertising, and they make these claims on the day of the dinner in such a way that the whole gathering may spread the news. 764 604

THE SECOND SOUL

The concept of this soul is more confused than that of the first soul. The second soul is that which will join Buddha in his paradise, or will be condemned by the terrible judge after death to reincarnate, in order to repair injustices. The Monguors at present know perfectly well that after death this soul does not die, and that there is a reward or punishment meted out by the terrible judge. They know perfectly the eighteen hells, from having seen the pictures in the temples and having heard the lamas speak about them. It is one of the most important merits of Lamaism, that it has spread this doctrine to such an extent. The shamans, when performing the spring rites, tell about Erlik, as the lamas tell about the judge of death. The rite which is usually performed in reparation for injustices, so widely spread and practiced, supports the assumption that many 774 775 [772]

[12] This last saying of the Chinese has no meaning for the Monguors, because, immediately after death, the lama opens a way for the escape of the soul through the bregmatic fontanelle by pulling some hairs from the top of the head. The soul is thus already released before the maternal uncle arrives.

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corpse, so say the Monguors. All the neighbors offer 764
their services in order to help carry on the funeral activities, for during the mourning period the members of the family are not allowed to leave their home or to enter the homes of other people, even temples and lamaseries. The whole family of the deceased is tabu.

A capable master of ceremonies is invited to direct the activities of the entire funeral. He starts by inviting lamas, usually of the Red Sect, to indicate the place propitious for the cremation. The incineration of a corpse in the wrong place might seal the fate of a whole family, for, according to the philosophy of the Monguors, the soil belongs to the god of the village, who has to be recognized, and from whom a piece of land must be bought in order to enact this rite peacefully. On a place chosen by the staff-spirit of the lama, the lama spreads a brand new felt, upon which he stretches a piece of red cotton eight feet long. Then, squatting on the felt, he offers incense and throws blessed spelt, reciting texts, ringing bells, and beating the drum. In the meantime, the attendants throw copper coins one after another on the felt. The spot is supposed to be bought, the bargain concluded, and paid for on the nail. The lama arises and announces ceremoniously that the god approves the transaction and will protect the family, averting from them any harm on account of the cremation. He fixes four arrows at the four corner of the spot to indicate its limits, and enjoins the attendants to start the building of an oven.

Lamas of the Yellow Sect, more ritualistic than those of the Red Sect, indulge in designing mandalas for which each of them advances his own peculiar explanation.

Monguors never build an oven without having recognized the god-owner of the spot, but many Monguors prefer to invite a Taoist priest or a Chinese geomancer to perform the rite, which is enacted in nearly the same way by them.[32]

Then the master of ceremonies determines, with a lama of the Red Sect, the day propitious for the cremation. He invites Red or Yellow lamas to come to say prayers, together with the Living Buddha who will perform the cremation and will arrive the evening before the ceremony. The rite is performed usually on the seventh day after the death, very rarely on the twenty-first or the forty-ninth day. The master of ceremonies, at the time he invites the lamas, offers a gift to the lamasery in order that the community of lamas will say the prayers intended to lead the soul straight to paradise, and to help it avoid all kinds of troubles and vampires on this journey.

According to old Monguors, the most important duty [604] ●
of a master of ceremonies is to go himself to invite the maternal uncle in order to determine with him, in private, the amount of alms to be given to the lamas, and in order to know beforehand at what point he will lower

[32] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130; Kervyn, *op. cit.*, 212.

[p. 144(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

his fantastic claims on the day of the funeral. The discussion finished, the traditional cup of wine is poured. 764 [604]

The married daughters with their husbands, if they were not present at the death of the father, arrive as soon as possible with the traditional offering of seven big rolls, each one foot in diameter (which must be burned before the deceased), a sheep, paper and incense sticks, and two strings of copper cash. The offerings are not the same in all villages and poor people present smaller rolls and a hen.

GUESTS AND THE MATERNAL UNCLE

The day before the cremation, all the relatives and friends arrive with the traditional twelve steamed rolls and two-hundred copper coins; they prostrate themselves three times, burning paper and incense sticks before the coffin, called the "sedan chair." All await the arrival of the maternal uncle, who goes directly to prostrate himself and burn paper before the coffin, while the women start with the lamentations. The same rite is observed by the Chinese.[33] Some women have a real knack of touching the deepest feelings of those assembled. Many times I listened to these real masterpieces of elegies: "Father, why did you leave us? We love you so much. Father, Father, did we offend you? Forgive us, we love you so much. Mother cries day and night; she does not eat any more. She loves you so much. Father, come back, for mother's sake, lest she die. Father, who will care for us now, care for mother, and for baby brother, etc., we miss you so much. Who will sow the fields and tend the animals, we do not know all these things. Father, why did you leave us? How will we live any more, you were so good to us when we were sick, etc." All these apostrophes were mixed with tears and heavy sighing. Certainly the origin of the elegiac style is to be sought in similar circumstances. 764 604

In the presence of the whole assembly, the pretended discussion concerning the alms begins between the maternal uncle and the master of ceremonies. Assurance is given of the love of the family for the deceased, and of the care taken of him during his sickness. Finally permission is given for the cremation. Wine is poured, and the whole family kneels and thanks the maternal uncle. The master of ceremonies offers him, as keepsake and remembrance, a nice piece of woolen felt, some of the best clothes of the deceased, and some pieces of his jewelry. However, the maternal uncle must by custom refuse the gifts. The maternal uncle goes, followed by the whole assembly, to prostrate himself before the corpse. The dinner follows, in the open courtyard, after which the whole group prays Om Mani.

Every evening at dusk, beginning on the day of the death, the villagers, with their children, come to say 764

[33] Johannes Ternay, Familienjustiz in Trauerhaus, Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz, *Folklore Studies*, Catholic University of Peking, 1: 103 *sqq.*, 1952.

[p. 144(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the great mourning period is over, and the whole group prostrates itself and thanks the master of ceremonies, who will receive twelve rolls. 764 765

The incineration ceremonies for poor people are obviously less elaborate. The maternal uncle is invited, a Red lama prays for one day, drives away the souls of the deceased, and receives five-hundred copper coins and some rolls. The people themselves perform the incineration, bury the small coffin, and build the tumulus. [604 792]

MOURNING CUSTOMS

The Monguors today still call the mourning period the "black period." A son born after the death of his father is still called a "black son." The old custom of wearing black during the mourning period is still noticeable in the clothes worn by men and women, as will be noted. 765

It is interesting how the use of black as a mourning color has been so widespread in Central Asia among the nomads, even before our era, although in China white was the mourning color from the earliest times. During the Chou dynasty (1122–202 B.C.), while the family dressed in white mourning clothes, the inside of the coffin had to be upholstered with black silk.[37] In 626 B.C. black was already the mourning color for the barbarians living in north China.[38] The Scythians (Yüeh chih) in Samarkand, in A.D. 634, wore black clothes at the time of mourning.[39] In Tibet the head of the king was enveloped with a black turban in the coffin in order to preserve him against evil spirits.[40] The Liao officials (907–1125) blackened the bright parts of their hats for a few days in mourning for the deceased emperor.[41] The maternal uncle of Emperor K'ang hsi died in Wu-lan-pu-tung during the campaign against Galdan in 1695. His ashes were carried to Peking in a small coffin, put in a sedan chair upholstered with black satin, and in Peking the coffin was placed under a canopy of black satin.[42] Black is still the mourning color of the Mongols of the Ordos.[43] 765 171

The Monguors practice the great and small mourning. The great mourning consists of men wearing their coats inside out, not buttoned or fastened, girdling the waist with a hemp rope, and undoing their plaited hair and binding it on the neck with a small hemp rope. The women turn their skirts inside out and do not wear the traditional elaborate headdress. The members of the family of a lower generation than the deceased wear the mourning dress. The relatives, sons-in-law, their wives and children, members of a higher generation, do not 765

[37] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 184.

[38] Couvreur, *Tso Chuan* 1: 431. Zottoli, *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae* 4: 39.

[39] Wieger, *op. cit.*, 1569.

[40] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 191.

[41] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 283.

[42] De Mailla, *Histoire de la Chine* 4: 147, Paris, Clousier, 1778.

[43] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130. [p. 146(A)]

Several times a year youngsters go with the shaman 766
to this place at night, and offer a goat to these dangerous souls, propitiating them in order that they may be peaceful. Often on a dark night youngsters with burning torches and whips go to these places. They throw down the head of a goat, and after making noises, throw away their torches and, in deep silence, run home swiftly along another way, in order to avoid being pursued by the souls, and to cheat them. This happens when a member of the family or an animal is taken ill and the possibility exists that the ailment is caused by such souls.

Black shamans, when board or lodging is refused [754]
them, blow their horn made from a human thigh bone in the direction of these places, calling up all these souls and spirits and ordering them to harm the village. The Monguors are scared to death of such vengeance, especially the vengeance of a young woman who has committed suicide. It is said that the souls of such women are not at peace until they have induced another woman to commit suicide. It is also said that souls of teenagers, for whom prayers have not been said, incite women to commit suicide.

If a suicide occurs, the chief of the village, on behalf of the whole village, invites the shaman, or often three of them, to prevent these additional calamities. For seven days the shamans go at night to the sinister cemetery and dwell there until the morning, beating drums and dancing. They call up these evil souls, talk with them the whole night, flatter, cajole, and comfort them, trying to pursuade them to change their avenging minds, and to exchange their ill dispositions for good ones. They snap their whips, and manipulate their knives to frighten them, and finally give them a goat every night, that they may have a good meal and a good time. When the meal is supposed to be finished, the shamans send the spirits back and return to the village.

This custom reveals a thoroughly shamanistic frame of mind, which fears the souls of the dead and imputes to the dead most of the mischiefs and misfortunes which overcome the family; only the shaman can master these foes of the Monguor society.

BURYING OF THE DEAD

More and more, the Monguors are adopting the cus- 764
tom of burying their deceased instead of cremating them. When the maternal uncle arrives, the deceased [604]
has already been put into a Chinese coffin. Before dying, the sick are washed, shaved, and dressed. Men wear an odd number of garments: three pairs of trousers, socks, three gowns, coats, even furs; women wear two sets, and always the traditional skirt of the Monguors which they never wore, but despised during their whole life, for it is said to be impossible to meet the ancestors without the traditional skirt. Some tea and butter are still put in the mouth (a souvenir of their nomadic origin) along with a "pill of longevity," silver,

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

and jade. A pillow is placed under the head, which is covered with a sheet of white paper and a piece of black cloth. The black cloth is a souvenir of former times, because the Chinese use a piece of red cloth. 764

A Taoist priest fixes the day for the burial. The master of ceremonies invites the maternal uncle (with the same discussion as at the incineration ceremonies). [604] Finally, permission is granted for the burial, and the sons and grandsons of the deceased kneel before the maternal uncle, presenting the hammer and the wedges to fasten the cover of the coffin. The maternal uncle fastens one wedge, and allows the others to finish the job. Some among them still practice the Om Mani rite at night. The offering of the members of the family are still the Monguor offerings, as well as the lamentations. The next day the men follow the coffin on foot to the cemetery, and the women, crying and lamenting, sit on carts. On the third day there follows the ceremony of building the tumulus according to the Monguor custom.

It is not unusual that, at the request of the maternal uncle, some lamas are invited to say prayers at the same time with the Taoist priests. In that case, the lamas say their prayers in a private room next to that of the Taoist priests, since neither cares for the other.

CONFUCIANIST BURIAL OF MONGUORS

Some, among the rich and more educated Monguors, follow the Confucianist rite of putting the coffin in the courtyard with a red curtain hanging before it. 795 766 The members of the family kneel before the coffin and a Chinese literatus, wearing a large red satin scarf on his shoulders, makes the sons kneel in the first row. While the musicians play a soft funeral tune, he reads the panegyric for the deceased whom he proposes as a model for the sons. He then places the panegyric before the coffin; next he goes to the row of daughters and then the row of grandchildren, and each time a new piece is read and deposited before the coffin.

The whole group then follows him in a silent procession to the kitchen, where each takes a cup of noodles and deposits it before the coffin, bowing and prostrating. He leads the whole group in procession behind the curtain. The literatus invites the deceased to take his meal. The whole group coughs one delicate cough, and disappears, tiptoeing into the room, in order not to disturb the deceased while dining. The literatus burns the panegyrics and retires.

The literatus, with some Taoist priests, goes to the nearest temple. Men follow him on foot while women sit on the carts and lament. He enters the temple with the priests only, reads a new panegyric, and makes the announcement of the death to the spirit and bows; then the group returns. It is amazing to see how these rude Monguors can behave with courtesy, like people "to the manner born," and how much they like the rite. Burial follows the next day.

[p. 148 (A)]

N *563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren.
M 592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually
554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N *563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional
M part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the
581 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon-
562 gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an-
[769] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered
[171] a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their live-
stock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently
*563 the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con-
M siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen
584 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage
583 age for boys is between 14-16.
582 Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab-
solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is
N *563 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob-
M served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage
614 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the
582 weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re-
565 garded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it
has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy
rules need not be observed as strictly.

N Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but
*563 does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a
M sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different
582 clan.

M A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family,
[587] usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband.
However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance
and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she
wants.

N Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from
*563 the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage
M to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan,
588 but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patri-
lineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as
members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the
belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has
relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be
"married" if she becomes pregnant.

N The relationship between two families connected by marriage
*563 is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being
M part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence
• 604

N over his sister's children. His rights in this regard are manifested
*563 mainly in three cases: (1) upon the natural death of his sister's
M children, they cannot be buried without his permission. The
604 maternal uncle is considered "master of the bones" of the deceased,
and has the right to permit the burial, to impede it or to prevent
it. (2) If they have been murdered or have committed suicide,
he is required to initiate and execute vengeance for the blood of
his sister's child. (3) When they are subject to punishment for
violating the society's rules, the maternal uncle must punish the
children of his sister. Such punishment may range from capital
to very minor forms.

N Divorce is extremely rare among the Mongours. So, too, are
*563 cases of repudiation or desertion by the husband. Schram does
M not mention the way in which a divorce is finalized, nor how long
586 a waiting period, if any, after divorce before remarriage is permitted.

N Cases of adultery are extremely rare in Mongour society.
*563 The people are engrossed constantly with the problem of making
M a living, and they have little time for complicated affairs. The
837 close physical proximity of life in an extended family makes it
extremely difficult for anyone's lengthy absence or a stranger's
presence in the home to go unnoticed. Schram concludes that
M "The morality of the Mongours who live in villages and are occu-
[577] pied with farming, is undoubtedly on a higher standard than that
[184] of the nomad Mongols. Mongour families on the average seemed
[114] to me to be happy families that work hard but enjoy life."

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 562 852 [553] first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal M [203] [604] [603] [553] uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, al- M [184] though the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

j. Beard-growing

N *563 M 302 [593] [888] A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 M 764 [171] [177] The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

4. Popular beliefs

N *563 M 843 562 Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 777 789 If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.

/12 cont'd/

M 551 171 HM 551 614

Noyans, Bagaturs, Beks and Tegins, all the aristocracy now became the Vassals of the clan of Mongol and accepted its name. For the first time the united nation had a common name and the name soon became so glorious that every nomad was proud to call himself a Mongol. /Cited in English./

A similar custom existed among the T'ou-jen. Indeed, we know the case of a group of more than a hundred families under the Iang t'ou-se of Tchouo-ni-tse who came to live in the Choei-mouo-keou of Sining belonging to the Li t'ou-se. The whole group changed its name from Iang to Li and acknowledged Li t'ou-se as its chief.

M 551 /13/ however, due to historic events which we shall relate in their place, families under the same t'ou-se no longer bear the same name.

M 582 178 Hence, in this case, formerly the prohibition against marriage between young people bearing the same name corresponded to that forbidding marriage between members of the same tribe or clan. This prohibition makes us think of the great law of exogamy in all its breadth; an exogamy affecting not only the family but also the clan, since here the two merge. Whatever may have been the case in the past, the law of exogamy today bears only on the single family.

M 551 613 The T'ou-jen consider that the notion of name is exactly equivalent to that of family. All those who do not bear the same name, even though they are descended directly from the same ancestor, are foreigners /i.e., outsiders/ to the family. Here is a conception laden with consequences: daughters given in marriage and, taking the name of their husbands, will consequently leave the family and will become outsiders; they will no longer be buried in the family M [764] cemetery; since their children bear a different name, they will also be foreigners to the family of the mother. It follows from this that M 582 605 since they do not bear the same name, there is no obstacle to the 171 marriage of the children of the two families. Thus one regularly sees

Mo /13 cont'd/
582 unions between the children of brothers and sisters. Moreover, it is
605 the same practice which exists among the Mongols.
171

A similar custom is found among the Chinese; however, the principle "another name, another family" is not pushed to the extreme. Actually, in China one sees marriages between the sons of a sister and the daughters of her brothers, but not the other way around, between the sons of brothers and the daughters of their sisters.

Another kind of alliance much sought after among the T'ou-jen is that contracted between the sons and daughters of two sisters. Two sisters married into two different families bear different names: consequently, their children are free to intermarry. /14/ The same practice is found among the Chinese.

Mo Let us point out still another kind of alliance very frequent
582 nowadays among this people; it consists in the exchange of daughters.
171 Family A gives its daughter in marriage to the son of family B, and family B at the same time offers its daughter in marriage to the son of family A. This custom is also very frequent among the Chinese and the Manchu. (1)

Ma 1. Some notes collected in Mr. Shirokogoroff's
144 excellent study, Social Organisation of the
551 Manchus, Shanghai, 1924, will broaden our horizon. Since the T'ou-jen whom we are discussing are Mongols and Mongolized Cha-t'ouo, it is instructive to compare their customs with those of the Manchu, who, says Mr. Shirokogoroff, p. 168, "do not understand their name as an original ethnical name, but merely as a name of the power that includes different political and ethnical groups (the Mongols and others) into a new political unit." P. 167: "a) Klaproth asserted that the
Ma Manchu language is an amalgamation of the
197 Tungus and the Mongol languages influenced above all by Turkic. b) He has shown the
Ma intercourse and assimilation of different groups,
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Ma 144

/14 cont'd/

Korean, Tungus, Mongols, and so on. c) I have expounded ... that the Manchus are an amalgamation from the physical standpoint, and that in general the so-called "Mongol race" is merely hypothesis insufficiently based on the superficial impression of the travellers." P. 11: "The Manchus recognize the following three groups, viz., 1) the ancient Manchus, 2) the modern (new) Manchus, 3) the Mongol-Manchus." /Cited in English./ These notes on the subject of the Manchu enter therefore within the framework of our subject. In spite of the enormous distance which separates Kansu from Manchuria, and the total absence of relations between the Manchu and the T'ou-jen, we find that many practices are absolutely identical among the two peoples; others, in the course of centuries, have undergone changes, which were different in the two camps, due to the presence of neighboring peoples with customs different from theirs; in more than one case, it is enough to look at corresponding customs in order to understand their alteration or, evolution.

Ma Mo 171

Ma Mo 582

"Up to the present time the practice of exchange of women is one of the preferred ways to get a wife (among the Manchus). Among some other Tungus groups this is the only practical way of marrying." Shirokogoroff, p. 69. /Cited in English, with interpolation in French, indicated by parentheses./

Mo 582 605

/15/ When the sister's daughter marries one of the sons of her maternal uncles, this union is called tao-t'sin, which means "returning the marriage" in this sense (1) "that formerly you /16/ gave us

/16 cont'd/

582 the mother in marriage and now we give you back her daughter to
605 marry your son." The Chinese do not have this expression, as a scholar pointed out to me with a touch of scorn. When the daughter of brothers marries the son of her paternal aunt, which frequently occurs among the Chinese and the T'ou-jen, it is said of this alliance "that the niece goes to join her aunt."

584 At any rate one should not conclude from the above that today
184 among the T'ou-jen all marriages are contracted, from generation to generation, regularly and necessarily, between members of the same families; one must not infer that the daughters-in-law in one family are always cousins; neither should one believe that people do not become united with "foreign" families in our use of the word. Present-
[605 day conditions are no longer those of former times; the truth is that
582] marriages between cousins (of brothers and sisters) are still very numerous. But since one family may be allied in this way to five or six others, and since one seeks avidly to remain always in the same circle of alliances, it is natural that unions between relatives will be more numerous than those between strictly "foreign" families.

582 This custom is of capital importance. Why does one seek and hold in such high honor these unions between families with which one already has former kin relations? This is an old and general custom. Why, above all, is the notion of tao ts'in, "returning the marriage," considered to be sacrosanct among the T'ou-jen? When a brother asks his sister for a daughter to marry his son, she cannot refuse under any pretext. Why? No one knows. Why does marriage generally remain circumscribed within a restricted circle of families? Why should a practice so generalized and deeply rooted in custom have to be recalled in the traditional short speech of the master of ceremonies of the bride's family on the wedding day at the bridegroom's house, even when the /17/ husband and wife belong to absolutely unrelated families? Even then it is supposed that they were related a long time ago, and that the present marriage renews the old relationships!

581 To understand this practice, should one not recall that all the T'ou-jen formerly lived in a nomadic state? These groups living in the immense steppes of Asia had necessarily to look for support from other nomadic groups, wandering like themselves and seeking support

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[Note on foreign text pp. 654-655 cont.] father his mother's brother is the person of respect, who in case of death demands an accounting. Wei-chia and wai-chia have the same signs; only the pronunciation is different. Literally translated it means [655] "the outside family," in other words, not belonging to the male line. Instead of wai-chia one also says niang-chia, which designates the family from which the mother comes. This expression is also used for the family of the lama, who, of course, is unmarried. -- The wai-chia or niang-chia does not appear until the day before the cremation.

[792]

The mother's brother is solemnly

764 received by the master of ceremonies and led to the death-box.
602 There he and his retinue offer the 12 loaves, burn paper, and
604 kowtow. During this time all the relatives must express great
[782] bereavement and the women utter loud lamentations. The mother's brother also weeps. After this ceremony, the mother's brother is led into the house and onto the kang, where he is given tea and bread. He rests a little while. The other companions are given hospitality outside in the yard where everything is set up for the funeral meal and the ceremony of the accounting.

[641] The mother's brother is led into the yard and sits on a white felt mat which is spread out on the ground directly before the entrance of the main house. He sits with his back to the house, facing the mani-tree. A kang table is put in front of him. The other relatives on the maternal side sit on straw to the right and left of him in a semicircle. Boards which are supposed to represent tables are put in front of them. Now oil-baking, tea, and pastries are brought. The serving is done by the cousin-
[273] hood on the father's side (16). After the first bite, the guests are

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16. [Foreign text p. 655.] At the interment, the Tujen have the

[641 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 655 cont.] following offices: 1. The master of ceremonies. He takes care of everything connected with the customs concerning the dead and the cremation. He is called by the Chinese name sang-kuan, that is, leader of the interment, or hu-sang, that is, protector of the interment. He is usually picked from the cousinhood. 2. The gift-guardian. He takes the offering loaves and keeps them in a special room. In Chinese he is called k'u-kuan, that is, treasure-guardian. -- The Chinese also put a secretary at his disposal, who notes what the individual guests have given. The Tujen do not have this. 3. The host. He is there solely for the lama and provides for his entertainment, for his animals, for the things needed at the ceremony, for paper to burn, etc. The Tujen call him känguo. In his place the Chinese have an incense-manager. 4. The female cook, called dziemä nienie by the Tujen. -- With exception of the känguo and the dziemä nienie, the officiants seem to have been taken over from the Chinese.

764 given some liquor, and the bereaved on the father's side come
604 in the circle with the master of ceremonies and kneel on the
[602] ground before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies
[273] steps forward and invites the mother's brother to take a drink of
[537] liquor. He hands him a hada and a piece of white cloth and requests him to present his wishes for the dead and to release the corpse for the cremation.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

597 before him and was given the name "Tiger." The new father then led the boy to the family graveyard, taking with him some wine, steamed rolls, meat, paper, and sticks of incense. The boy knelt and honored the spirit of the earth with a libation of wine poured on the ground. He then honored his new ancestors, kneeling and prostrating himself and making a burnt offering of paper and incense. Returning home, the boy was congratulated by the guests who called him by his new name, and he in return honored all the guests as a group by prostrating himself nine times. The ceremonies concluded with a dinner for the guests. The boy was happy with his fine new clothes, and willing to stay with a family that was so much better off then the one into which he had been born. His father went home, driving a nice cow before him. The boy was to be considered not only as "belonging" to his new family, but as being descended from his new father's ancestors and as fully integrated into the family.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR IN THE FAMILY

596 The structure of a Monguor family can be clearly
576 seen when a guest is entertained at dinner. Grand-
father presides, sitting on the *k'ang* or heated sleeping-
264 platform. Grandmother sits down only if invited by the guest to come up on the *k'ang*. If there is no guest, both grandfather and grandmother sit on the *k'ang*. The younger sons squat on their heels on the floor, in front of the *k'ang*, eating with chopsticks out of a bowl held in the left hand; the elder sons are allowed to sit on the edge of the *k'ang*. The staple of the meal is usually barley-flour noodles. Grandfather reaches out from the *k'ang* and puts some meat and vegetables into each bowl. Each, as he finishes his meal, licks his bowl clean and hands it to his wife to be washed. While the grandfather is sitting on the *k'ang*, none of the daughters-in-law may sit on the floor; they must remain standing.

576 It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a
272 guest. After the food has been eaten, tea is served in the same bowl. Whether food or tea is served, the bowl must always be filled to the brim. Bowls or dishes must always be presented with both hands. Tea is poured with the right hand, while the left hand is held toward the guest, palm upward.

576 One must never step over a person who is sleeping or
606 lying down. Fathers and daughters-in-law must always
291 keep some distance between them. When there is a quarrel in the family, the first reproach by a daughter-in-law is always that "distance has not been kept." This standard of propriety is common to Monguors and Chinese. A daughter-in-law is not allowed to appear before the elder generation or guests bareheaded or without wearing either a long gown or a skirt covering her trousered legs. Only when a daughter-in-law is visiting her own mother's home may she go bare-headed. In her husband's home she must always wear a gown

[P. 86 b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

576 and a felt hat which is a simpler edition of the ceremonial
606 hat with its additional ornament of a miniature spear
291 and shield.

MARRIAGE AND ITS REGULATION

581 Because of the veneration of ancestors and the neces-
858 sity for having male children in order to carry on the ancestral cult, marriage is not an optional but a necessary part of Monguor life, except of course for lamas. The poorest people will scrimp and save in order to be able to meet the expenses of getting a bride for a son. They will sell animals and land, and go into debt. When a paternal inheritance is divided, money must first be set aside to provide wives for the brothers who are not yet married. People will be consoled or resigned at the death of a husband or wife, but never for the death of an only son, and the sweetest consolation of an old man nearing death is to have married all his sons and to have cradled his grandsons. When two old Monguors meet for the first time, the polite greeting includes the question, "are all your sons married and do you have grandsons?"

582 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There is absolute prohibition against marrying a girl belonging to the same clan. Within the clan, therefore, there are no marriages between nobles and commoners, because all bear the same clan name. It has already been noted above, however, that there began to be exceptions to this rule among the commoners in the period of decay and breakdown of the Monguor society, partly because the commoners are in fact not the actual descendants of the ancestors of the noble clan but merely "assimilated" as a result of being the subjects of the noble clan, with the result that poor nobles began to marry their daughters to sons of commoners. It has also been noted that this loosening of the rules among the commoners was aided by the enrollment of Tibetans and Chinese in the Monguor clans; Tibetan and Chinese women were frequently married by Monguor commoners, and occasionally by the nobles.

The rule of exogamy makes impossible marriage between the children of two brothers, but marriages between the children of a brother and a sister are allowable and even frequent, because the sister married out of her brother's clan and her children and his children therefore have different clan names. Very often, also, when family *A* gives a girl to family *B*, family *B* reciprocates by giving a girl to be married to a boy of family *A*. In all marriages, however, boys and girls must be of the same generation—a custom which may be the result of Chinese influence.

581 The influence of wealth on marriage is of several
565 kinds. The fact that chiefs of clans and rich nobles and rich commoners are prone to marry girls from rich families, including Chinese families, has already been mentioned. The influence of wealth is also shown when

[P. 87a]

512 bowl of food in to her husband, presenting it to him
462 humbly with both hands. She then folds and stacks along the rear wall of the *k'ang* the felts, skins, and quilts that serve as bedding, and sweeps out the house and courtyard.

462 It is also woman's work to feed the livestock, milk the cows, and go out to fetch earth, carried in a basket
233 on her back, to dump in the stables where the trampling of the animals mixes it with manure and urine which will eventually be carried out to put on the fields as fertilizer. If a cart is needed in the day's work, it is the wife who harnesses the horse or ox. When it is time to grind flour, it is she who does the grinding, either pounding a little at a time in a stone mortar or taking a larger quantity to a grindstone turned by animal power. When it rains, it is her duty to take the small herds of sheep, cows, and horses out to graze in the valley or on the hill slopes, while her husband, smoking his pipe, huddles by the brazier at home to keep warm or goes to visit his friends.

462 Women also work in the fields. On the field nearest home the Monguors use stable manure; on distant fields
241 they use a fertilizer made by burning clods of earth and grass. The wife carries the ashes in a basket on her back and spreads them on the field. Most husbands help their wives in this heavy work, but it seems not to be their duty to do so. Plowing and harrowing are the main agricultural work of the men, but even in this the women frequently help them. It is not unusual to see a woman plowing an' harrowing. When the heavy preparatory work has been done, husband and wife together sow and later weed the fields. They also work together in reaping the harvest, carrying it to the threshing floor, and threshing it—though there are a few lazy men who will not work after the sowing and the weeding, leaving the harvesting, carrying, and threshing to the women.

462 Whenever a woman has a few minutes to spare she reaches for her sewing box. Sewing is work that
294 Monguor women love and at which they are very skillful. They can often be seen working at night by the light of a twisted wick spluttering in a saucer of vegetable oil, patching the clothes of the family. A housewife is expected to make all the new clothes for her husband, her children, and herself. Although she is always the first to get up in the morning and the last to go to bed at night, she has a little more spare time in the winter, when there is no work in the fields, and this is the season for sewing.

603 It is the grandmother who manages the whole female side of the community, supervising and allocating work
462 to the daughters-in-law and the older girls. A good
592 manager rotates the work so that each woman will have an opportunity to do needle work and so that pregnant
606 women get lighter work. It is the grandmother also who soothes the quarrels that inevitably break out in such a family, and endeavors to keep them from be-

[p. 89a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

603 coming serious. At the same time, a grandmother is a
462 woman who by age and rank is entitled to be a little
592 cranky and to have her peculiar ways. If she cannot keep
606 the peace and maintain order among the daughters-in-law, she appeals to the grandfather, who orders the husband of the woman who is considered at fault to tackle the problem by admonishing his wife or if necessary by beating her.

Generally speaking, however, such little incidents within the family do not turn out to be serious; a daughter-in-law is expected to be demure and obedient, to hold her tongue and not to display jealousy, but at the same time it is considered only human to allow her to display a little bit of "temperament" from time to time.
562 In spite of the fact that Monguor women do very heavy work, they are usually happy and contented and it is the normal thing for husband and wife, even though they did not make their own marriage, to have real respect and love for each other. In their own little family within the extended family husband and wife usually talk everything over together, giving the wife the feeling that she has a responsible part in their joint concerns; while, as for the husband, it is easy for him to be fond of a wife who is so obedient and works so hard.

In public, Monguor women retain enough of the old nomad tradition to be much more free, especially in their attitudes to and conversations with men, than Chinese women. While they are bound by strict rules of etiquette and are likely to be rebuked by their elders, especially at home, if they infringe these rules, they are not in public at a loss how to behave when they encounter a man; they feel perfectly free to talk with him and they do not blush or look in the other direction, as old-fashioned Chinese women used to do. They enjoy going to the big public festivals at the lamaseries, and to the annual assembly of the clan; they like to sit on the grass in mixed groups, men and women together, talking, laughing, singing, watching dances, and making merry. A woman is not embarrassed to sing a song in public; and when she is dressed in her best clothes she likes to stroll, preening herself, through the crowd, displaying her costume and her magnificent headdress. Nor are women afraid to do their own shopping; at the fairs they confidently examine the wares for sale and hold their own in bargaining over prices. In the country Monguors do not consider it shocking to see a man riding to his fields with his wife riding pillion behind him; and during the long and tedious work of weeding man and wife both like to sing in the open air.

It is perhaps worth making a few brief comparisons between the status of men and women in the Monguor society and in the greater Mongol society from which the Monguors derive. In the thirteenth century William of Rubruck reported of the Mongols that:

> It is the duty of the women to drive the carts, get the dwellings on and off them, milk the cows, make butter and

EDUCATION OF THE CHILD

603 In their early years children are brought up as much by their grandparents as by their parents. The grandfather and grandmother play with the children all day long, carrying them on their backs, holding them in their arms, fondling them, and making slaves of themselves like devoted nursemaids—and the children love them as they would a nurse. The children know very well that it is to their grandparents that they must look for sweets and candies and extra delicacies, and that when grandfather goes for a walk they may go along with him. Boys and girls are treated with the same affection.

603 606 In this relationship lies the deepest secret of why daughters-in-law become attached to the families into which they marry. Although a girl is not consulted about her marriage, although she comes to know her husband only after she has been married to him, and although she lives in an extended household where she must adjust herself to the other daughters-in-law, the fondness of the grandparents for her children goes a long way to smooth inevitable frictions and jealousies.

882 It is when the boys begin to grow up that they cease to be regarded as children and lose some of their intimate contact with their grandparents. They like to leave the family courtyard to play with other boys; and as they get bigger, small jobs are assigned to them. They begin to go out with the herds and flocks to the pastures, to help with the farming, and to learn from their fathers how to make tools. The girls help their mother in the kitchen, gather fuel, tend animals in the stalls and stables, and learn to sew. Before she is married, each girl works on her "hope chest," and under her mother's direction prepares most of the clothes that she will take with her when she marries, including the embroidered girdle and the monumental ceremonial hat and fancy boots. Through learning to cook and sew, to look after animals, and to understand farming in her own family, a girl learns how to become a good daughter-in-law.

867 The Monguors are not a people who have a fondness for learning. There are few villages that have a school, and in any case girls never go to school. The education for life of both boys and girls is mainly in the family. Children are not prevented from watching and listening to anything that goes on in the crowded extended family and in the village. At a very early age they know which woman in the village is pregnant and when the birth of the child is expected. They know how many animals are owned by each family in the village, how many colts, calves, and lambs there are; how the harvest has turned out and what the current prices are for the horses, cows, sheep, goats, skins, wool, wheat, and millet that the villagers have to sell and what the prices are for the cotton cloth, thread, needles, salt, spices, and so forth that they buy.

A boy accompanies his father to the nearest market town when he goes there to sell wheat and sees the shops, the soldiers, and the crowds. At the monastery festivals

M 585 /61 cont'd/

[431 178] According to what they claim, in former times the bride's parents used to make the present of a handsome horse to the son-in-law at the moment of departure. The custom does not appear to exist any longer.

M [593] The bride's father and mother do not participate in the festivity, but her brothers, sisters, uncles, and aunts are all present.

When the bride is on the way, all the guests who stayed overnight follow in a group; the gift bearers wind up the procession. The bride laments all the way, leaning on the bag of straw placed on the horse's neck, her head always enveloped in the coarse veil. These tears, these sobs, constitute a real elegy. She addresses herself aloud to her parents, her brothers, her sisters; she has a good memory about each one of them; she calls to mind their goodness, the gifts; she recalls the animals in the stable, her paternal home... then she is M [606] afraid of the future, of her parents-in-law, whom she does not know; she is afraid of being cursed by her mother-in-law, afraid that the name of her mother will be used in order to curse her. Often in these elegies there are splendid sallies, very naive, very deeply felt; the M [607] girls also /62/ learn this kind of literature in their play; the sisters-in-law teach them, and they teach one another. It is an elegy based on life. Similarly touching ones are heard at burials. (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 309 and following. On the preceding day, two lamas go on behalf of the husband-to-be to find out from the parents of the bride whether any obstacles have arisen (German translation: The Mongols do not have the custom of going to get the bride. The evening before the departure they content themselves with sending two men for....). As the day nears, the wife-to-be pays visits to her closest relatives and spends at least one night at the home of each of them having a good time, going walking with her friends, who

Mo 171 /85 cont'd/

In her husband's clan, she keeps her own spirits and sho /sic/ can never be relatively to the new spirits equal to the persons born in her husband's clan. /Cited in English./

b) Relations of the son-in-law with the family of his parents-in-law.

Mo 606 The son-in-law addresses the members of his wife's family in the same way that he addresses those of his own family, but adding the term gadin in speaking of them to a third person.

There are two official visits to be made each year to his parents-in-law; the first at the new year and the second on the fifteenth of the eighth moon. In addition, it is his duty to go to ask about the health of his parents-in-law when they are sick. Likewise he will take part in the festivities which are given at their home on the occasion of a marriage, upon the birth of a first-born child, ...and he will never be absent from the mournings of the family.

It is to be noted that he will always take an active part in festivities and mournings; he does not mix with the guests, he does not have his place at dinner with the guests; but being considered as a member of the family, he will help with the preparations, he will receive the /86/ guests upon their arrival, and he will dine in the kitchen with the members of the family of his parents-in-law. Again it is his duty to lend a hand to his parents-in-law when they have to use force to defend their rights, as, for example, on the occasion of the suicide or the repudiation of one of his wife's sisters. However, the adage says that relationships must not be too intimate with a related family, and that one must avoid all kinds of commercial transactions. (1)

Mo [762]

Mi Mo 585

1. I summarize in this note, according to l'Histoire des Miao /The History of the Miao/ by Savina, 2nd ed. (1930), pp. 226-229, several resemblances

/88 cont'd/

Ma 614 589

the Mokunda may decide if she shall be remarried or not, and usually he takes the widow's interest into consideration. /Cited in English, with French interpolation indicated by parentheses./

2. Procedure for the Purchase of a Widow

Mo 587 [765]

Let us suppose that a young widow has returned to her parents' home 49 days after the death of her husband. It is one of the facts of the day, known immediately throughout the whole region, all the more because everybody knows she is waiting for a match. The candidates, who have already made inquiries ask through a go-between or even personally for an interview with the widow. This interview ordinarily takes place at the home of a neighbor or friend. If the /89/ negotiations have results, the two parties generally give each other a token; the widow gives her ring or her earrings or her bracelet; the future husband invariably gives his belt. These tokens bestow the right to act with force in case of contest, of rivalry, or of resistance on the part of the widow's owners. Only a few days after the interview, for such marriages move with precipitation and in the greatest secrecy for fear that the widow will be abducted by a rival, the suiter sends to the widow's "own" parents two go-betweens. They present themselves with the traditional jug of gin and arrange for the earnest, which is here insignificant. It generally does not exceed about ten strings of cash. It is a pure formality. They leave from home, enjoining the greatest secrecy, to go to the home of the former parents-in-law of the widow in order to obtain their consent and to discuss the price. The parents-in-law are indeed the owners of the widow.

Mo [301]

Mo 587 606

When the parents-in-law are well disposed and willing to discuss in question, they are offered a jug of gin; in the opposite case the jug is taken away, and plans are made to abduct the widow by force and as quickly as possible. But when all goes well, the go-betweens come back the second day and begin by promising the

Mo /89 cont'd/
587 mother-in-law two bricks of tea, which is what they call k'ai k'eou
606 ts'ien, i.e., "the cash which open her mouth"; next they promise the father-in-law 12 strings of cash, called tchou hoen ts'ien, i.e., "the cash which make him take upon himself the responsibility for the marriage." (1) Then they discuss the price of the widow, a

Ma [587]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75:
The Manchus do not pay "kalin" if the woman demanded is a widow.
/Cited in English./

price which ordinarily varies between 150 and 200 strings of cash. Again, since it will be necessary to write a contract, and since all the grandfathers, uncles, and brothers will have to affix their signatures to it, /90/ they discuss the price and the number of signers at the rate of three strings of cash per signature. Three or four relatives of the family take part in this discussion, which always takes place at night.

Mo [583] This sum is called ming ts'ien /"money in the open"/, i.e., the official or public price of the widow. Very often it happens that one or another member of the family secretly lets it be known that he opposes this marriage and that he will cause difficulties.

Ordinarily these recalcitrants take advantage of their relationship to make some easy money. They take them privately and discusses with them in secret the sum of money which their consent is worth. This is the ngan ts'ien, i.e., "the secret money," which very often is far from being insignificant. It is what makes people say that the expenditures made for widows, particularly for those who are going to be second wives, are based on the wealth of the suitor.

Mo 587 585 These negotiations with the surly relatives having produced results and the price being agreed upon, the suitor must make his decision. When consent is given, he does not pay the money; he will pay only on the day when the widow has crossed the threshold of his house. We have seen exactly the opposite for the marriage of

/105 cont'd/

461 livestock, much land, and few workers, that the wife herself proposes
462 to the husband that he take another partner to lighten her work. But
595 then she herself will try /106/ to find a much younger girl than she, less talented, less beautiful, the kind minus habens, /"having less"/, on the whole a person who will not give offense to her and to whom she will be able to give orders. The T'ou-jen women are very shrewd in this regard. I have even twice known the case of a woman shrewder yet; instead of looking for a second wife for her husband, she had found it more practical to give a second wife to her son, who was scarcely seventeen and already had a wife several years older than he. These cases explain again the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of marriage. We have said above that marriage is not the personal affair of those concerned, and that the T'ou-jen see in it something besides the procreation of descendants.

595 d) Fourth category of polygamists: that of those who want to have two wives to enjoy them.

This category is rather rare. It is always dangerous, say the elders, to take a second wife when the first has children and does not want to hear polygamy mentioned. Those who proceed further end up by taking a concubine to sell the official wife, as the adage says. Besides, says another adage, "Women are like medicine; one must not take too much." Polygamy is therefore far from being general among the T'ou-jen. For my part, I believe that this chapter will gain a great deal by being carefully reviewed and corrected in many ethnology books.

3. Procedure for the Purchase of a Concubine

As a general rule, the husband first proposes to his wife that he take a concubine. If the wife will not listen and if the husband is very eager to do it, he will have recourse to a woman friend of his wife or even to one of her parents /relatives?/ in order to convince her. If that does not succeed, the affair is usually /107/ shelved.
[606] If the wife consents, the husband will send someone to the wife's

/107 cont'd/

595 family to announce his intention to them. The envoy will bring the
[606] traditional jug of gin and will say that their daughter has given her consent to her husband's wishes for such and such a reason. Then he will beg the parents not to make difficulties for the son-in-law. His mission will be easy to carry out when it is a question of sterility, of widowhood, or of lack of workers. He will meet difficulties, often serious, when he has a case in the fourth category of polygamists to present.

595 The purpose of this interview is above all to come to an under-
762 standing with this family, who will claim to have given their daughter to be the sole mistress of the house. Then, it is a precautionary measure. Experience has taught that these unions are often disastrous, and that it is among them that the greatest number of suicide is found. Now we know the T'ou-jens' profound fear of suicides, which regularly ruin the families concerned. In case of suicide, the clans of the mother and father of the unfortunate woman present themselves in order to demand an account of the death of their daughter. If before concubinage it has been possible to obtain the consent of the family, later, if ever the misfortune comes, there will be more chance for an understanding. The husband first asks for his wife's consent because he also knows that suicide is her supreme weapon and that he can do nothing against it.

595 The second wife that the T'ou-jen takes is either a girl or a
587 widow. If she is a widow, they follow the procedure for the marriage of widows; the price of a concubine widow is double or triple that of an official wife. If the second wife is a girl, they go through all the phases of the marriage of girls.

595 Well-to-do families rarely give their daughters to be concubines. Poor families will "resign themselves" to it wholeheartedly, fascinated by the extraordinary compensations which they receive for this "sacrifice." The price of girl concubines /108/ go up to 300 strings of cash and more, without counting the clothes, the dinner, and the rest; which proves abundantly that the financial situation plays a fundamental role in polygamy.

/116 cont'd/

000 in-law until death. 4. Furnishing of one's person by adoption in order to obtain a wife.

1. Exchange of a Girl for the Furnishing of Service until the Death of the Parents

Mo 583 608 606 Let us suppose parents, poor or rich, advanced in age, and having a single daughter. If the family is well-to-do, in time it will have procured a second wife; nevertheless the case occurs in which it has not done so. The parents prize their daughter and are persuaded that she cannot do without them and will never leave them. Convinced wrongly or rightly of the attachment their daughter feels Mo [591] for them, they look for a way to avoid being separated from her by giving her a husband who will come to live with them and work their lands. The daughter will bear children who will be the joy of their old age, and the son-in-law will be a pious son to them who will serve them until the time when they go to join their ancestors. That is at least the explanation given for this custom by present-day T'ou-jen.

The girl's parents, without practicing adoption as such, accept the son-in-law in their home as a member of the family and give him their daughter without requiring pecuniary compensation. The son-in-law gets a go-between and two guarantors; a contract is written in which it is stipulated that he will stay with his parents-in-law and /117/ serve them until their death.

Mo 606 591 Among the T'ou-jen what is the legal position of such a son-in-law with respect to his own family and that of his wife?

The case in question is a pure and simple practice belonging to the matriarchate system. It is, indeed, the case of husband-son-in-law who go to live with the parents-in-law for life and who receive the daughter in marriage in exchange for their services. (1) They

Mo 425 606 608

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 142-143: The transmission of a property through the woman from a clan to another one takes place in the case where the male person

/117 cont'd/

606 lose their rights of inheritance in their family of origin, but since
691 /118/ they are regarded as members of the wife's family, they get back their lost rights. Cases are even cited where they become head in the wife's family. That is the general law fitting this practice.

593 Now the T'ou-jen live at present under a patriarchal system,
608 which is incompatible with this custom. Consequently, it is not
606 surprising that the husband-son-in-law finds himself in a very dis-
554 advantageous position....

[551] Since there has been no adoption of the son-in-law into the wife's family, he continues to be called by the name of his father, he and his children; he continues to be a member of his paternal family, to honor the dead of his father's family, and to lend a hand to his family of origin in cases of vengeance, etc. Thus in theory he keeps the rights of inheritance in his paternal family. But since these sons-in-law usually belong to very poor families, the chance to enjoy their rights of inheritance very rarely presents itself.

I have, however, met the case in question two or three times, and each time the brothers who had stayed home tried to eliminate the husband-son-in-law on the pretext that he had not contributed to the acquiring of the family's property. However, the unfortunate one always succeeded in making the most of his rights, if not wholly at least in part.

That amply proves that the husband-son-in-law living with the parents-in-law to serve them until death is in a false position with respect to his family of origin.

His position with respect to his wife's family is no better. Indeed, under the patriarchal system, succession is paternal. The name of the son-in-law differs from that of his wife's family; now we have seen "another name, another family," the son-in-law then does not have the right of inheritance to make the most of here. This is what explains the fact that one will never see young people of a well-to-do family consent to making themselves husband-sons-in-law, and that only those who have nothing to lose will take this
608 path.
606 /119/ If the parents-in-law are poor, there will be no difficul-
428 ties for this combination on the part of their own family; if, on the

/119 cont'd/

606 608 428 other hand, the family is well-to-do, the brothers of the future father-in-law will not allow his daughter, at his death, to inherit his property, which by right will have to revert to them. They will thus do their utmost early to see that the daughter will be given in marriage outside the family, and they will try to persuade the father to adopt one of their sons. If the father will not hear of it and continues to look for this ideal son-in-law, the family will not be able to gainsay it as long as the parents-in-law are living. The latter on their part will be prepared for eventualities and will try to cash in their real estate so as to be able to favor the daughter. Nevertheless, the son-in-law will always be the bête noire of the family and will be able to expect a thousand annoyances and continual ill will. Upon the death of the parents-in-law, the son-in-law has the right to return with his wife to his original family; but since the latter is usually poor, he will not do it; besides, he knows in advance that he will not be welcome. In the case where his wife's family is rich, they will always leave at least something to the daughter at the time of division of property, for example, several plots of land, a house, etc.; she will never be completely disinherited. Add to that the little bonus she has put aside in advance, and the young couple will have something to live on. The brothers of the husband-son-in-law will not come to beg from him, since the property he possesses is deemed to belong to his wife.

In the case where the parents-in-law are the only representatives of their clan, the position of the husband-son-in-law is more enviable.

I have never seen people look for husband-sons-in-law where there were sons.

The position of the husband-son-in-law with respect to his wife's family is thus again a false position.

606 675 The contracts of such marriages, as a general rule, are not punctiliously observed, especially when the parents-in-law are poor; either the son-in-law ends up by deserting his wife and her /120/ family and goes elsewhere to seek his fortune, or the daughter, loving her husband, flees with him. If people succeed in bringing them back and if they persist in no longer wanting to live with the parents,

/121 cont'd/

608 our judge in case of litigation; nobody would have dared to address
178 himself to the Chinese mandarins for fear of reprisals on the part of the t'ou-se. I believe we /122/ must look in this direction for the solution to our problem. As a matter of fact, the Chinese court
[428] recognizes only the sons' right of inheritance and, lacking them, that of members of the paternal side. In case of litigation, the paternal side is always sure to win its case against an only daughter, and the brother husband-son-in-law, as long as adoption has not been practiced, can always hope to see his rights recognized in his original family. Several verdicts of this kind suffice to deform a custom and create a completely new attitude. In addition, a tested virtue is necessary to be able to resist such temptations!

2. Exchange of a Girl for Furnishing of Services for a Fixed Number of Years

583 Everyday experience having proved that the preceding solution
565 is not practical, say the T'ou-jen, there are people who look for
466 another, more psychological inactual fact. Indeed, the sight of the end of one's own troubles in a future relatively near at hand gives the courage to remain faithful to duty. A family of poor or even average means can promise to give their daughter to a poor young man provided that he binds himself to work five, eight, ten, or 12 years for them.

675 The contracts for these marriages are generally made by the
466 parents themselves, with one or two individuals who act as guarantors
● 606 for the son-in-law. While in the preceding case the girl can be
583 nubile at the time when a husband is being found for her, in the present case the arrangement always takes place when the girl is only seven, eight, or ten years old at the most. As for the age of the son-in-law, there is nothing definite: he can be ten or 12 years old as well as 30 and even more. When the girl is 15, they will have a little festival, and she will wear her hair in the fashion of married women; then she is married.

Why this engagement when the girl is still a child? /123/ It it because they know one another in the country and do not want to

/123 cont'd/

Mo 675 606 466 583 be duped all down the line. As a matter of fact, as soon as the girl is 15 and is married, she, like her husband, will want to be more free. She will let him persuade her that one can work everywhere and that there is nothing more to be gained in the home of the parents-in-law One day there is an argument in the family, and the couple disappears. Now at this moment the family of the parents-in-law will already have profited by at least several years of work by the son-in-law. It rarely happens that the son-in-law is faithful to his pledges to the end. It is then a frail alliance.

Mo 608 606 583 171 The present case is the usual case of husband-sons-in-law. It enjoys a very wide diffusion all over Asia, among the Turkish, Mongol, and Manchu peoples and among the peoples of northern Asia (1),

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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: There is also a very interesting custom of getting a wife by personal work in the house of the future father-in-law. A poor man who cannot pay "kalim" through the intermediary of some person asks the bride's father to give him his daughter against his personal work in the house of his future father-in-law. The minimum period of this is three years and the maximum ten years. The future son-in-law lives in the house of his future father-in-law, but he always has his separated spirits and goes to his clan's meetings and sacrifices. After the fixed period is expired, they make a very modest wedding and the young husband brings his wife to his own house or lives in the house of his wife's father as a workman at a fixed salary. Sometimes the father-in-law gives the

/123 cont'd/

Mo 606 608 583

young couple some means to start an independent household. This custom is very broadly practised by the Manchus who consider it as one of the most ancient and purely national institutions. /Cited in English./

Mo [584]

Dr. Herbert Koenig, op. cit., pp. 109-110: The essence of this way of concluding a marriage lies in the fact that the bridegroom thereby begins his wooing, that he performs the most menial work for his future father-in-law, who treats him almost like a slave.... In this case, too, an intermediary sometimes is involved, usually the father, some other close relative, or even a friend, who asks the father of the bride whether the suitor can begin his service for the girl. Page 656: Thus, bride service in all likelihood is limited to the Asiatic side of the Bering Strait and the Aleutians and is lacking among the Eskimo. /Cited in German./

Mo 608 606 583 171

and everywhere they seem to hold this practice in respect. /124/ Among the T'ou-jen, according to what one can see, it creates a good many disagreeable situations; thus it is not surprising to hear the elders declare that this custom is practiced much less nowadays than in the good old days. This custom is still found rather often among the Chinese of Kansu.

3. Purchase of a Girl and Search for a Son-in-law Who Will Serve Their Parents-in-law until Death

Mo 608 583

Another still more risky combination is one often found in reasonably well-to-do families which have no child. They buy a girl,

/124 cont'd/

608 they get a husband for her, and they hope that the couple will stay
583 with their benefactors to serve them until their death. This is then the foremost case which occurs with the least chance of success, since the feelings of this stranger will not be comparable to those of a daughter of their own. If there is no hope for them of great material advantages, the couple ends up by going away.

4. Furnishing of One's Person by Adoption in Order to Obtain a Wife

597
583 In this category we see the principle of the patriarchate tri-
606 umphing. This fourth combination is one found in rather rich families who have only one daughter and who adopt a son-in-law in order to give him as a husband to their daughter. The purpose of this arrangement, according to the T'ou-jen, is not to be separated from their daughter and to make her and the son-in-law their lawful heirs.

Now so that this may be possible in a patriarchal system, the son-in-law must exchange his family name for that of his parents-in-law. He must separate himself radically from his own parents and clan in order to recognize his parents-in-law and all /125/ their clan as his own. He must give himself completely to this family, he must make offerings to their ancestors, and in this way he will be able to continue the family line, and at his death be buried in their cemetery. This is, then, the furnishing of services for life at the same time as that of oneself in all its breadth.

From this it is understandable that such an arrangement must raise difficulties on the part of the family; so a whole series of formalities is required in order to bring it about. The father of the family begins by inviting his brothers and announcing his irrevocable decision. So that they will sign the contract of adoption and admit the new son-in-law into the family circle, he will propose bequeathing to them several plots of land after his death; the rest of the holdings will have to fall to the son-in-law and his wife. All that does not proceed without long discussions. Finally, the contract of adoption is signed on the occasion of a family dinner, where the son-in-law makes the great prostration to his new parents; he bows to the religious image honored in the house and burns cypress branches; his

2: Schram--142 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
Manchu A64

Mo /125 cont'd/
597 name is inscribed in the family register in the presence of the whole
606 family; he goes to the clan cemetery to make offerings to the ances-
583 tors of his new parents, and goes to the village pagoda to venerate
the local deities, protectors of his adoptive family. (1) This arrange-

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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 61:
The adoption of men (among the Manchu) is practised only for children. When the child becomes 6-7 years old the couple who adopt it organize a sacrifice to their clan spirits. They declare to the spirits and to the child adopted, that such and such person is adopted in the clan, and that this person leaves his former clan and spirits and enters into this clan. /Cited in English; French interpolation in parentheses/.

ment presents all the necessary guarantees for a serious and lasting union... but at the price of what sacrifices on the part of the son-in-law.

/126/ Chapter III

Abnormal Marriage

Mo 588 We have seen all the troubles brought on by marriages of girls exchanged for the furnishing either of the person of the son-in-law or his services for a fixed period or for life. Nevertheless, this whole series of marriages is more or less understandable to the European mind; the two series of alliances which follow no longer are. They are the marriages:

/154 cont'd/

3. Importance of the Mother, the Daughter-in-law, the Child, the Maternal Clan

593 a) Abnormal interference in the marriage of her children.
562 In a patriarchal organization the wife does not own anything, she does not count; even her children do not belong to her. Is it not necessary therefore to explain the predominant position of the mother in the marriage rites as being a vestige of a /155/ former matriarchate?
593 Indeed, the wedding "seems" even in our day to be the business
562 of the mother alone. Without speaking of the marriage promises
585 made between mothers as yet only pregnant, we have seen that the official request for the bride is made by the mother alone. The consent given to the mother alone enjoys all the necessary guarantees so that they can allow themselves to wait four or five years more before getting a go-between. Likewise, when the earnest is discussed, it is again the mother alone who goes to ask for the girl to be married at an early date; only after the mother's request does the go-between appear in order to set the date and the rest. For marriages without ceremony it is the mother again who, with the go-between, goes in complete simplicity to get the bride who is poor. This fact is very significant. Along the way, what the sobbing bride fears most is that they will curse her by cursing her mother; this is the greatest injury that can be done to her.

606 When one examines present-day customs concerning young
587 widows, one finds it abnormal in a patriarchal organization that the
593 young widow after the 49 days of mourning goes back to her mother's family to stay there until her second marriage. Indeed, she is the property pure and simple of her parents-in-law. It is likewise abnormal that the go-betweens, at the time of the second marriage, address themselves to her own parents before addressing her mother-in-law. Does not that recall the time when the daughter was married at home and had no mother-in-law?

After addressing the mother, the go-between goes to the home of the widow's parents-in-law, and there again he accosts first the mother-in-law, just as if she had the widow-bride at her disposal

/155 cont'd/

606 587 593 ahead of all the other members of the family. What is typical is that they call the money given to the mother-in-law k'ai k'eou ts'ien, "the sum which opens her mouth," for if she does not open her mouth, that is to say, if she does not consent, the marriage comes to nought. /156/

b) Succession on the maternal side.

562 593 588 Without admitting a former matriarchate, how can one explain the situation of the women in the series of marriages to the prayer pole, etc.? In this case the "girl-mother" is seen to enjoy all the rights of a married woman, her children bear her name and inherit in her clan beside the children of her brothers. This is certainly the case which makes kinship, order of succession, and the property of the family pass on the mother's side. This single case which continues to exist in the middle of a patriarchal period in which the children of daughters as well as their mother are considered as outside the family, deserves all attention.

c) Admission into the family of children born of outsider fathers.

848 Is it not permitted to see vestiges of the matriarchate in the great facility with which they admit into the family the children of daughters-in-law and widows, born certainly of fathers who are outsiders; partus sequitur ventrem /"offspring proceed from the womb"/: they recognize only the mother. We have seen that here they are in a period of transition which begins to make this practice more and more difficult.

562 621 593 574 d) Frequent family visits of the daughter-in-law and right to keep her property at her mother's home.

Again what can be said of the abnormal custom which allows the daughter-in-law these frequent visits and these long vacations with her family? This custom is not natural in a patriarchal organization where the daughter-in-law is the property of her husband, and where she must give this clan her life, her time, and all her work. This custom gives the impression that the daughter, after marriage, always continues to live with her own family and not that of her husband, (1) all the more /157/ because she keeps at her parents' home

Mo /157 cont'd/
585 her departure? The wedding festivity takes place in the patriarchal
562 system in the bridegroom's family on the same day as the marriage.
Mo The departure of the daughter cannot be considered as a reason for
[171] rejoicing; also this custom is not found in China. Is it not also a custom of olden times, when one celebrated the arrival of the son-in-law and his entry into the family?

4. Husband-sons-in-law

Mo We have described above the different forms taken by the
608 husband-sons-in-law practice. The great frequency of this practice
591 in spite of all the troubles it entails, /158/ again brings us back to the
606 former matriarchate. (1) But let us put aside the "fact itself" of this

> 1. I know only one single case in which a T'ou-jen woman governed her clan. It is that of the widow of the Lou t'ou-se. It is an isolated case, completely accidental and recent. I see in it no relation whatever with the matriarchate which formerly existed among the T'ou-jen.

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institution which is essentially matriarchal in order to explain some strange vestiges still met with today relative to this practice.

Formerly, the husband-son-in-law, living in his wife's family, had necessarily to be considered as an intimate member of the family. Now can one not see a vestige of this position of the son-in-law in the fact that at the time of celebrations and of mourning, the son-in-law does not have his place at the dinner among the guests? On the contrary, even today, he is relegated to the kitchen among the intimates of the family. Celebrations and mournings are not a time of rejoicing for him, of feasting and of drinking bouts, but a time during which work is required of him which is considerable and very disagreeable.

Ma We have seen that among the Manchu, when the son-in-law
606 comes to get his bride, he honors first the spirits of that family, then

Ma /158 cont'd/
606 he is made to sit at the bottom of the k'ang on a little bench during the dinner which precedes the departure, while the drivers of the cart take their places at the table. The bridegroom is not treated as a guest there either.

Mo In the same series of facts must again be classed the presence
601 required of the son-in-law at the home of the parents-in-law when
606 the latter have to defend their rights by force, for example, on the occasion of a suicide or the repudiation of one of their daughters.

The fact that the son-in-law calls all the members of his wife's family by the same name that he calls respectively those of his own family, adding gadin, which means "relative by marriage," is rather significant in itself.

Mo All these facts taken together prove not only the existence of
60 the matriarchate among the T'ou-jen at a /158/ previous period, but they even give the illusion, both by their number and by their diversity, that the T'ou-jen still live under this system today. Now that is not true. Their social economy is indubitably patriarchal. The explanation of this fact must be found in this: that they practice these matriarchal rites and customs without understanding them any more, because their ancestors practiced them, because they still continue to
Mo be part of the body of custom. They do not find it strange that the
[604] maternal uncle is called the "master of the bones of his sister's children," that he gives permission to bury the dead, that he presides at weddings, etc. It seems completely natural to them that it is he who enjoys these prerogatives and not the grandfather, solely because he has always enjoyed them. T'ou-jen men of letters, imbued with
Mo Confucianist principles, do not examine this question either, for,
[171] they say, our T'ou-jen ways have always differed from Chinese ways.....
and for them all is accounted for.

Thus it is that one understands the coexistence of two systems diametrically opposed to each other and the extreme slowness with which one passes from one social system to another among these peoples. This is also what explains the great diversity one encounters in the ways and customs of the T'ou-jen when one considers them in detail.

M 585 /61 cont'd/

[431 178] According to what they claim, in former times the bride's parents used to make the present of a handsome horse to the son-in-law at the moment of departure. The custom does not appear to exist any longer.

M [593] The bride's father and mother do not participate in the festivity, but her brothers, sisters, uncles, and aunts are all present.

When the bride is on the way, all the guests who stayed overnight follow in a group; the gift bearers wind up the procession. The bride laments all the way, leaning on the bag of straw placed on the horse's neck, her head always enveloped in the coarse veil. These tears, these sobs, constitute a real elegy. She addresses herself aloud to her parents, her brothers, her sisters; she has a good memory about each one of them; she calls to mind their goodness, the gifts; she recalls the animals in the stable, her paternal home... then she is M [606] afraid of the future, of her parents-in-law, whom she does not know; she is afraid of being cursed by her mother-in-law, afraid that the name of her mother will be used in order to curse her. Often in these elegies there are splendid sallies, very naive, very deeply felt; the M [607] girls also /62/ learn this kind of literature in their play; the sisters-in-law teach them, and they teach one another. It is an elegy based on life. Similarly touching ones are heard at burials. (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 309 and following. On the preceding day, two lamas go on behalf of the husband-to-be to find out from the parents of the bride whether any obstacles have arisen (German translation: The Mongols do not have the custom of going to get the bride. The evening before the departure they content themselves with sending two men for....). As the day nears, the wife-to-be pays visits to her closest relatives and spends at least one night at the home of each of them having a good time, going walking with her friends, who

/73 cont'd/

16. Opening of the Daughter-in-law's Mouth

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784 Until now the wife has not yet opened her mouth; her head has always been enveloped in the veil until the end of the marriage ceremony. On no pretext has she been able to say a word since her departure from her home. All the guests have had their /74/ eyes fixed upon her; uttering a single word would be considered one of the most fatal omens for the future. She is even forbidden to satisfy her natural needs, and in anticipation of that she has abstained from drinking the day before.

607 Her mouth must be opened by the mother-in-law in person.

554 Led back into the nuptial chamber after the marriage ceremony,
562 she has been served tea and bread still in silence. Then comes the mother-in-law, who sits down on the k'ang and tells her point-blank, "Starting from today you are forbidden to divulge anything that goes on in the family, and anything that will happen in the future. You will not repeat within the family what you will hear outside. A daughter-in-law's mouth must be 'hard' (do not tell anything) with respect to people outside, it must be 'flexible' toward her relatives."

585 The daughter-in-law answers affirmatively, her mouth is opened. They talk again together for several minutes. Henceforward the wife is permitted to talk with her maid of honor in the nuptial chamber; the women who are at the festivity go to wish her good day.

17. The Dinner

585 The guests of the two families have taken their places at the
171 tables prepared for the dinner. (1) The maternal uncle, the go-

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 84: (A dinner is served in the Chinese style. A master of ceremonies conducts the proceedings.) The clan people and especially the family members eat after the guests. When the meal approaches its end, they bring to the bride's place the ritual meal

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

553 taking with him a bottle of wine, a scarf of felicity, and
851 two hundred copper cash strung on a red cord to which a flock of wool is attached. He prostrates himself nine times and invites the grandfather to name the child. The grandfather is seated on the *k'ang* in all his dignity, and the whole family is gathered in the room. The mother, cradling the child in her arms and her eyes wet with tears stands before the grandfather with her husband at her side. The father ceremoniously lays the scarf of felicity across the outstretched hands of the grandfather, and presents a cup of wine. Father and mother prostrate themselves nine times, and the mother then asks the grandfather to bestow on the child a name of good omen. This is the first time that the grandfather has seen the child. Looking like the living image of ancestral pride, he solemnly confers a name and makes the mother a present of a few pierced copper cash—always an even number. He then takes his grandson in his arms and kisses him and the child is then passed on to all the other members of the family who embrace him in the same way, joyfully congratulating the father and mother.

•608 In families where there are few children or where a
851 number of children have died in infancy, it is common to invite the head of a family that is blessed with many
553 children to name the child, thus passing on the "luck" of his own fertile family. This custom is of Chinese origin as is the custom, in poor families, of inviting a rich and respected man to preside at the name-giving ceremony, thus becoming the *kan-fu* or "dry father" (a Chinese term) of the child. This relationship somewhat resembles that of an adoptive father, and the child throughout his life is considered to be in some way related to the family of his "dry father." At the New Year and other important festivals he will always visit his "dry father," showing him much the same kind of affection and respect that he shows to his maternal uncle. The "dry father" keeps up a protective interest in the child and can be expected to help in such things as arranging his marriage; but the relationship is not one of full adoption, in which the child is actually taken into the adopting family.

553 Boys are frequently given the Tibetan names of lamaistic deities or the Chinese names of Taoist deities, or names such as "Longevity," "Felicity," "Peace," "Prosperity," "Strength," "Lion," or "Tiger." (The Tibetan neighbors of the Monguors usually go to a lama of the Red Hat sect to ask him to name a boy according to the character indicated by his horoscope.) Girls are given the names of lamaistic or Taoist female divinities or the names of flowers.

Many children, both boys and girls, are given a name that records the age of their father's mother when they were born, such as "sixty," or "sixty-five." The name of the father's father is given in this way only if the father's mother is no longer living. Among the Chinese of this region, on the other hand, a child is fre-

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

553 quently named according to the age of the grandfather but never according to the age of the grandmother. Among the Manchus, the child is not named until it is a full year old, and it is customary to give the first son the name of the oldest son of the father's oldest brother.[27]

553 608 When, as described above, a man is invited to act as "dry father," the name that he gives to a boy a personal name is his own clan name, combined with the Chinese words *chia pao*, so that the child is known as Lichiapao or Machiapao, "Protected by the Li family," or "Protected by the Ma family." In an analogous way, if an influential man has visited the family about the time when the boy was born, his name may be given to the boy.[28]

553 Sometimes in a poor family the mother will take her son in her arms on the twenty-ninth day and go out to the highway where she will prostrate herself before the first traveler she meets and ask him to give his name to the boy. In such cases, it is good luck if the mother meets an influential person. I myself was once riding on a journey when a woman with a child in her arms prostrated herself before me in this manner. She was a woman who had seen me before and recognized me. Turning her smiling face up to me and with a light in her eyes she said "Are you not the Father? Today I am a happy mother; I will name my child Shenfupao—Protected by the Priest." This custom, it should be noted, is never followed in the case of a first-born son.

While living among the Monguors I never heard names describing bodily deformities, nor names such as Five Pounds, or Seven Pounds, recording the weight of the child at birth, or Big Horse, Second Mule, Small Cow. Such names are used by the Chinese of this region, but not by the Monguors. On the other hand, both Monguors and Chinese sometimes give names such as Bad Son, Whom the Dogs Will Not Eat, Monstrous Boy, Monstrous Girl. Such names are intended to deceive the evil spirits, so that they will pass by the "Bad Boy" and choose some other victim.[29]

553 851 The actual giving of the name, as already described, takes place in the privacy of the father's extended family, without the presence of the mother's relatives or other guests. The mother's parents and her maternal uncles arrive about noon, and at the same time representatives of each family in the village come to take part in the festivities. Tea is first served and then the father and the mother with her child in her arms prostrate themselves nine times before the whole gathering while the mother says "The boy is paying homage."

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[27] Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, as cited, 119.

[28] Thus Chingis Khan was given the name of Temujin, after an important prisoner whom his father had captured at the time he was born.—O. L.

[29] This practice among the Monguors may not be due solely to Chinese influence. Among the Western Mongols, especially the Torguts of the Altai, who are remote from Chinese influence, it is also very common to give names of this kind.—O. L.

[p. 101b]

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867 quarrels among husbands and wives. It is thus that they acquire a training in what is allowed and what is not allowed in their own society, and can absorb exact knowledge of what constitutes authority in the family and the village.

INSTITUTIONAL KINSHIP

608 The custom of "sworn brotherhood" is ancient in Mongol society and is widespread in Asia. The purpose of the institution is to bind together two or more men either for aid and support in general or for specific purposes. Sworn brotherhood is binding only on the individuals concerned and not on family or social groups to which they belong. Men need not belong to the same clan in order to swear brotherhood; in fact the institution probably arose out of the necessity for mutual loyalty in situations not covered by clan or family loyalty. Thus a Monguor will swear brotherhood not only with other Monguors but with Mongols, Tibetans, Chinese, or Muslims. Nor does difference in social condition matter, because a rich man may take the oath with a poor man and even a T'u-ssu with one of his subjects. Women, however, are very seldom "sworn sisters," and man and women are never "sworn brother and sister."

The oath then can be taken under various conditions. Men whose purpose is not honorable will take the oath at night, in secrecy, while those whose purpose is honorable will act quite openly, taking the oath either at the home of one of them or in the village temple.

Among the Monguors the rite requires that a sheep, goat, or chicken be killed, some of its blood gathered in a bowl, and wine added. Holding incense sticks in their joined hands, the two or more men who are going to take the oath of brotherhood prostrate themselves simultaneously before a picture or statue of the temple deity, or before "Heaven and all the spirits." Each then makes a prostration to the other as they swear solemnly an oath of mutual aid and support, calling for punishment from the spirits in case of falsehood or disloyalty. Each puts on the other's head the picture of the spirit who is being invoked, or a book containing Tibetan prayers, and both (or all) drink the blood of the sacrificial animals, mixed with wine.[31] If there are more than two taking the oath, each is given a number and from then on they address each other only by number, as "big brother number 1," "number 2," and so on. While such an oath may be taken perfectly openly, there is often about it an air of secrecy and of something reprehensible, which is not strange in view of the fact that rebellions in China have traditionally been started by bands of sworn brothers.

After the rite has been performed, the brothers present each other with articles of clothing, such as a hat or a pair of boots.

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[31] R. Grousset, *Empire des steppes*, 268. Paris, Payot, 1939, notes that when Wang Khan of the Keraits made peace with Chingis Khan, he sent him "blood contained in a cowhorn," to be used at the time of the swearing of the oath. [P. 106a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

608 The Monguors, in taking this oath, never open a vein and drink their own blood as was done traditionally among the Turks and Mongols, among whom this kind of institutional brotherhood is known by the term *anda*.[32] In this ceremony each man opened a vein in his arm, mixed the blood in a cup with milk or fermented milk-wine, in the presence of witnesses, and thereafter each was not only the sworn brother of the other, but each enjoyed in his blood-brother's clan the same rights and privileges as if he were born from the same womb, and conversely was bound by the obligations expected of an elder or younger brother.[33]

Analogous ceremonies are known from the Polar regions to southern Asia. In the region of the Behring Straits, among the Koryaks, Italmen, and Yukagirs, a dinner is given, at which the men pledge mutual aid. Among the Koryaks and Yukagirs there is an exchange of possessions. Women and girls may also swear friendship or sisterhood in this manner.[34]

Among the Tungus the custom seems to be relatively recent and to have spread directly from the Chinese and indirectly from the Chinese through the Manchus. In taking the oath, the Tungus pray to the spirit of Heaven. Shirokogoroff considers that this is a borrowed custom because within Tungus society the relations of persons belonging to different clans were quite satisfactorily regulated.[35]

In Southwest China, among the Miao of the Province of Kueichou a cat is killed and its blood is mixed with wine and drunk;[36] in another account of Miao ceremony, Legendre notes that there are no religious ceremonies and that a dog is killed and its blood mixed with wine and drunk.[37]

608 782 Monguors, in addition to taking as witnesses "Heaven and all the spirits" or a temple deity, may invoke the buildings of a temple, or a well-known scripture such as the Kandjur or Tandjur, or a Living Buddha. The curses that are invoked in case of disloyalty are worded in such phrases as: "If I break my oath, may I be a man who has eaten the flesh of his own parents"; or "A man

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[32] The difference between *anda* sworn brotherhood and the institution of *nukur*, which has been mentioned above, is that the *nukur* was more purely military; he was a "man-at-arms" who, instead of serving in tribal ranks where loyalty and discipline were automatically covered by tribal sanctions, declared himself to be henceforth the follower of some military leader to whom he owed no blood-allegiance, but to whom henceforth he would profess a loyalty transcending that to clan and tribe. In the *anda* institution there was seniority, but also an equality of brotherhood. In the *nukur* relationship there was the strict subordination of the follower to the leader.—O. L.

[33] Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, 61, Paris, 1896.

[34] Hubert Konig, Das Recht der Polarvölker, *Anthropos* **22**: 736, 1927.

[35] Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Tungus*, as cited, 736.

[36] P. A. Schotter, Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus aborigènes du Kouy-tcheou, *Anthropos* **3**: 419, 1908.

[37] A. F. Legendre, *Le far-west chinois*, 448, Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1910.

[P. 106 b]

608 782 who has eaten the pig of the Dalai Lama"; or "If I break my oath, may I be thrown into the deepest of the eighteen Hells"; or "May I be punished through nine reincarnations"; or "If I am false to my oath, may I be killed"; or "May I have my eyes burned out." The oaths, both positive and negative, are followed by the declaration "Now we are as brothers who have suckled the milk of the same mother."

The oaths are taken very seriously. There is great fear of the retribution for perjury. There is a saying that "Poison kills only the man who drinks it but perjury brings the death of his whole family."

608 Sworn brothers call on each other and present gifts at New Year, at the Spring Festival of the Fifth Moon, and at the Autumn Festival, or "Feast of the Dead" on the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon. They invite each other to marriages and funerals like members of the family. In case of clan blood feud, a sworn brother must give help and support as if he were a blood brother. A case of this kind is recorded among the Mongols of the late twelfth century. The father of Chingis was the sworn brother of Wang Khan of the Keraits. After the death of his father and after his wife had been stolen from him by the Merkits, Chingis and his brother went to Wang Khan and presented him with the sable gown that was part of the dowry of Chingis' wife and begged for his support, and Wang Khan declared war on the Merkits.[26]

In some families, the sons of sworn brothers often swear the same oath, and it is common for sworn brothers to give their children to each other in marriage. Often the ties between sworn brothers are more intense and personal than those of blood brothers.

608 685 Among the variations of the sworn brother relationship, a rich man not engaged in crime himself may become a sworn brother with known thieves as a protection against being robbed by them. An influential man will in fact rarely refuse the oath of brothership if it is proposed to him by a noted thief. In carrying out his side of the relationship the "respectable" sworn brother will help the thief when he is short of money and use his influence to get him off if he has been caught. Most of the thieves and robbers in the Monguor country are sworn brothers, linked in one group, and when one of them takes the oath with a rich man he informs the others and none of them will do the rich man harm.

608 It is also true that honest people take the oath together in order either to strengthen already friendly relations, or to organize themselves as a group for mutual protection. In one case of my own knowledge a poor Monguor swore the oath with a rich man who helped him get his affairs on a sound footing. The poor man was honest and loyal and in time he became a man of substance. The relations between these two were as intimate as if they had been real brothers.

608 648 It is common for a rich Monguor to become the sworn brother of the chief of a Tibetan tribe, as a means of se-

[26] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-khan*, as cited, 27.

[P. 107a]

608 648 [282] curing the opportunity to pasture his large flocks of sheep on the Tibetan grazing grounds. Similarly, a Muslim will take the oath with a Monguor in order to increase and improve his wool and skin business by having, within the territory of the clan of his Monguor friend, a protector for his business and a home at which to stay. The Monguor benefits by being able to stay with his Muslim brother for several days at a time when making trips outside of Monguor territory.

Another special application of the institution of sworn brothers will be noted when we come to the description of the trading caravans that travel into and through Tibetan territory, and of the fishing engaged in by the Monguors in the waters of Kukunor lake.

608 In contrast to the tradition in the time of Chingis Khan that after the death of a sworn brother his son might appeal to the surviving sworn brother, among the Monguors the family of a sworn brother who has died has no continuing obligation. The oath may be taken for a limited period and for the achievement of a specific purpose, and be terminated when the purpose has been achieved. The oath may also be formally terminated under other conditions. Thus, in one case of which I knew, three young men in the district of Tolong took the oath together. Six months later they invited an old man to become their "sworn father." A goat was killed and the ceremony was carried out. For three years the three young men were faithful sworn brothers and showed toward their "sworn father" the devotion of true sons. The relationship was publicly known. After three years, however, gossip began to spread. People wondered why this oath had been taken when the district was at peace. It was suggested that perhaps they had subversive intentions of some kind and that harm might come to the whole community. Eventually the chief and elders of the village summoned both the sworn brothers and their sworn "father" before them and ordered them to abjure their relationship at a ceremony at the village temple, in the presence of the whole community.

Among Monguor women the equivalent or partial equivalent of "blood brotherhood" is to become "dry sisters." This relationship is only between two women; it is not extended to a group of more than two. The two who agree to be "dry sisters" do not swear an oath, but present each other with a piece of clothing and sit down to a meal together. They visit each other at New Year's, on the fifth day of the fifth month, and go to help each other in time of sickness. They invite each other to such celebrations as those for childbirth and marriage.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

428 596 The division of the inheritance is one of the most difficult of all problems in the extended family of the patrilineal Monguor society. It usually takes place when the grandfather dies and the sons decide to set up sepa-

[F 1076]

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226 Tibetan tribe on the shore of the lake from whose ter-
648 ritory they plan to operate, making him a present of the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity and a cask of wine, some tobacco, and noodles. They are then given the chief's permission and the protection of the tribe.
[608] The men of each fishing expedition usually go to the same territory every year and become sworn brothers of the chief or of some important local nomad, in order to make sure that while they are camped by the lake they will be allowed to gather fuel and will have no animals stolen.

226 Each fisherman breaks a hole in the ice, and spreads a couple of sheep skins on which he sits crosslegged, a two-pronged fork in his hands, waiting for fish to come to the surface of the water. The fish is harpooned with the fork and thrown on the ice. The frozen fish are either carried to market, usually at the city of Hsining, by the Monguors themselves or sold to Muslim merchants who make up caravans of twenty or thirty mules or donkeys. These expeditions involve hard work and exposure to the bitter cold, but the business must be remunerative as many Monguors go year after year.

TRADE

463 In the territory inhabited by the Monguors trade,
563 transport, and small industries are mostly in the hands of Chinese and Muslims. The Muslims are an ener-
441 getic and enterprising people, even more hard work-
439 ing and indefatigable than other Chinese. They willingly engage in the arduous work of driving caravans of pack-mules and in running rafts and boats down the Hsining and Upper Yellow Rivers in all weathers. Most of the peddlars are also Muslims, who travel either with a pack on their backs or with a loaded donkey, wandering through the Monguor country from house to house, exchanging cloth, needles, thread, and other small wares for wool, skins, eggs, and grain. In the autumn, Muslim buyers collect sheep and oxen and drive them to Hsining in small herds.

There are very few Chinese peddlars, but the distilleries and flour and oil mills, which require money capital, are run by Chinese, and the Chinese monopolize the pork business, since the Muslims will have nothing to do with pigs. All through the year, and especially during the autumn, while the Muslims are buying up other livestock the Chinese butchers of the cities and towns send their agents into the Monguor villages to buy hogs. The Chinese merchants who do business on a bigger scale than the Muslim peddlars also send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at such large gatherings as the lama monastery festivals and the annual meetings of the Monguor clans.

441 Grain and oil seeds, being the main crops of the Monguors, are also the main commodities of trade. The conversion of grain into alcohol and of oil seeds into oil results in products of higher value in proportion to bulk and weight which can stand the cost of transporta-

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463 Mongolia, some of whom are going to study in the great
439 monasteries of Tibet but many of whom are going on pilgrimage, partly to visit celebrated monasteries and
484 partly just for the fun of traveling and seeing the world. Each traveler with such a caravan must take care of his own food and expenses.

A large number of young Monguors, especially those who can speak Tibetan, take jobs with these caravans. A man who is thus working with a caravan for hire can also, by ancient custom, take with him trade goods for his own private speculation. The Monguors take the big, handsome mules and fast horses bred in their own country, and things like saddle girths woven with white wool, made in the Monguor country and known to sell readily in Tibet. The Monguor mules are especially esteemed in Tibet, and consequently Monguors who have mules or horses to sell will entrust them to a young man working with one of the trading caravans, sharing with him the profit of the venture.

439 The big caravan of the Kuopa Tibetans leaves Hsining during the fourth moon of the lunar calendar and re-
484 turns from Lhasa in the second or third moon of the following year. In 1914, when traveling near the great lake of Kukunor, I met the vanguard of this caravan on its way to Lhasa. The vanguard carried two flags. When it was time to pitch camp for the night, the men showed their veteran skill by the way in which, under the orders of their chief, they staked out the site of the camp. An hour later the main caravan arrived in nine groups of fifty yaks, each of which was separated from the preceding group by a small distance. On each side of the caravan rode Monguors and Tibetans armed with rifles and long swords. Each of the nine groups was accompanied by travelers, some of whom were riding while others walked and led their horses and mules. Each group went straight to the spot that had been staked and roped off for it, unloaded its animals, and pitched a small tent. Some of the men then went out with the animals to pasture near the camp, while the others prepared food. In the early morning the caravan left again, in perfect order. Camp is made in the afternoon and broken in the morning with amazing skill and orderliness; throughout the journey, the pattern of the camp is maintained, so that each group knows exactly where it belongs.

Caravans carrying valuable loads never venture to travel in Tibet without a strong armed guard, for fear of being robbed by the wilder Tibetan tribes, such as
439 the Ngoloks. According to foreign explorers and travelers these large and well defended caravans are
484 seldom attacked, but according to Monguors who have traveled with the caravans the safety of a caravan really
•608 depends on the custom of "sworn brotherhood." In
651 each territory through which the caravan is to travel, the chief of the caravan has a sworn brother who is one of the local chiefs. As the caravan approaches each new tribal territory, two men are sent ahead with valuable

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439 presents for this sworn brother, who then notifies his
484 tribe not to molest the caravan. The traditional presents consist of bolts of satin and silk, or a load of cotton
608 textiles or sugar or Chinese vermicelli. The next day, when the caravan chief and his local sworn brother meet,
651 the caravan chief asks politely whether he can help his brother by carrying some things for him on the way back. The local sworn brother just as politely names some purchases that he would like made for him in Hsining or Lhasa, for which he offers to pay. The two understand each other's meaning perfectly, and the following year the caravan leader will bring as presents the goods that have been indicated. Thus in fact the caravan takes its way through each territory by a form of taxation in the guise of presents.[8]

431 On the way back from Tibet the Monguors bring with
484 them *p'ulu*, a kind of woolen serge woven in Tibet in narrow bands, either dyed red or purple, or white with crosses of red or blue dyed in the fabric by the "tie and dye" method. This material, which sheds water, is greatly valued by both Tibetans and Monguors. The Monguors also bring back from Tibet incense, dates, and saffron, which they sell to Chinese, the saffron being used more for medicine than as a condiment. At the market in the frontier town of Dankar I once bought some dishes that had just been brought in from Lhasa with the Kuopa caravan. These dishes bore the trademark of "Regout, Maestricht, Holland" and had traveled from Europe to Calcutta, from Calcutta to Lhasa, and from Lhasa, loaded on yaks, to the frontier of China.

439 The young Monguors who have once worked with
484 the caravan seem to catch the fever of travel and want to go back to Tibet again and again. The older people,
583 with the wisdom of experience, explain the mystery. The reason is, they say, the ease—and variety—of getting temporarily married in Tibet. The traveler who wants to strike up a temporary relationship with a woman in Tibet shaves his head just before his caravan arrives at its destination. This makes him look like a lama, and a Tibetan girl will readily "marry" him, assuming that he has no permanent obligations to a wife at home. If he were to wear a "pig-tail," the girl might be a little more hesitant, fearing that the "marriage" would last only until he wanted to go home. When he does want to leave such a temporary wife, however, the rascally traveler simply grows his "pig-tail" again on the next stage of his journey. In this way, the enterprising caravan man can sample the joys of marriage in a number of places.

DWELLINGS

342 The construction and disposition of the houses of the Monguors having been described in Chapter IV, it

[8] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, as cited, 54, describes this form of the "sworn brother" relationship as a "guest-host" relationship, and gives valuable details on the Tibetan and Muslim caravan trade.—O. L. [p 116a]

585 /68 cont'd/
431 are all owners with personal title, all their properties are demarcated;
423 therefore it is no longer a question of demarcating lands. Is this an allusion to a previous social condition no longer remembered?)

585 "Generations have succeeded generations. When an idol of
539 Buddha is old and lusterless and when it is gilded anew, it is again shining and beautiful to see; when one puts a brand-new border around an old garment, the garment has gained much by it; when to the old relations between families new ones are added, they become all the stronger. Among you was born a boy who had all the virtues of the lion; among us was born a girl like the "khui t shian" (mythological bird). It was the ideal combination for a marriage. But how would this union have been able to be accomplished? (The cupbearer pours wine for the go-between and bows to him.) If one does not see clouds in the sky, no rain will fall; if there are no go-betweens on the earth, there will be no marriages. (1) What was too high, you, go-between,

1. Compare Anthropos, 6th year, p. 320, Schotter, "Notes ethrogra. sur tribus du Koei tcheou": just as thunder and lightning pave the way for rain, so go-betweens are necessary to pave the way for marriages.

have lowered; what was too low, you have raised; the high and the low have met on the same level like the lever arm of the balance. You have leveled off the way on which the two-parties have traveled.

"In olden times they used to thank the go-between for his services by dressing him in new clothes from head to foot; but the feeble means of our poor family allow us to offer you only a pair of boots and a string of cash. We hope nevertheless that you will be satisfied."

585 /69/ After giving the gift to the go-between the orator usually
608 addresses the maternal uncle of the bridegroom. The cupbearer bows to him and pours gin for him. "When a son," he says, "has no wai-kia (the son calls his mother's family wai-kia /Chinese term for one's mother's family, literally, "outside family"/, i.e., all her relatives,

585 /69 cont'd/
608 brothers, sisters...), then when the son sees that his mother has no relatives, it is a sign for him that his mother's origin is not pure. When a wife has no miang-kia /literally, "wife's family"/ (the wife
608 calls her own parents, brothers and sisters her miang-kia), then when
585 the relatives of a wife are not known, it is a sign for her that her
431 origin is doubtful. Formerly, a handsome horse used to be given to
[604] the bride's maternal uncle, master of his sister's children. But times are changed; although you are the principal guest, nowadays we give only the k'ata; we give you a fine one, a big one, do not refuse it...." Then the orator addresses the parents of the bridegroom: "During the day your heart, always occupied with the children, cannot be at rest; even at night, you cannot sleep. Such solicitude truly deserves several garments and fine gifts; but you know our indigence; when we stretch out our arms, the sleeves of our garments are too short and the arms stick out from them; at night when we stretch out our legs, our feet stick out from the covers, which are too short. What misery! If we had been able to follow the inclinations of our hearts, you would have had splendid gifts." Then the cupbearer advances toward the grandfather, bows to him, and presents gin to him. "Grandfather," continues the orator, "we present you with a brand-new piece of felt, unfortunately it is too narrow, too short, too thin, and it is badly made in the bargain, but deign to accept it anyway."

The cupbearer advances toward the grandmother. "We give you a garment made of very bad cloth and very badly made, but deign to accept it"; and the ceremony continues thus in the same vein for the father, mother, etc., as was said in No. 11. This scene is often rather picturesque and /70/ brightens up faces; the grandfather must sit down on the piece of felt, the grandmother is dressed in the garment, they have a good time....

585 The orator addresses the bride and groom last: "In olden times,
431 he says, "sons-in-law used to receive several complete costumes; moreover, they were given in hand a fine bow, a quiver, and arrows; in addition a fine horse. Unfortunately, those good times have vanished, and the parents-in-law offer you only..." (see No. 11).

/116 cont'd/

in-law until death. 4. Furnishing of one's person by adoption in order to obtain a wife.

1. Exchange of a Girl for the Furnishing of Service until the Death of the Parents

Mo 583 608 606 Let us suppose parents, poor or rich, advanced in age, and having a single daughter. If the family is well-to-do, in time it will have procured a second wife; nevertheless the case occurs in which it has not done so. The parents prize their daughter and are persuaded that she cannot do without them and will never leave them. Convinced wrongly or rightly of the attachment their daughter feels Mo [591] for them, they look for a way to avoid being separated from her by giving her a husband who will come to live with them and work their lands. The daughter will bear children who will be the joy of their old age, and the son-in-law will be a pious son to them who will serve them until the time when they go to join their ancestors. That is at least the explanation given for this custom by present-day T'ou-jen.

The girl's parents, without practicing adoption as such, accept the son-in-law in their home as a member of the family and give him their daughter without requiring pecuniary compensation. The son-in-law gets a go-between and two guarantors; a contract is written in which it is stipulated that he will stay with his parents-in-law and /117/ serve them until their death.

Mo 606 591 Among the T'ou-jen what is the legal position of such a son-in-law with respect to his own family and that of his wife?

The case in question is a pure and simple practice belonging to the matriarchate system. It is, indeed, the case of husband-son-in-law who go to live with the parents-in-law for life and who receive the daughter in marriage in exchange for their services. (1) The

Mo 425 606 608

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 142-143: The transmission of a property through the woman from a clan to another one takes place in the case where the male person

/117 cont'd/

606 lose their rights of inheritance in their family of origin, but since
691 /118/ they are regarded as members of the wife's family, they get back their lost rights. Cases are even cited where they become head in the wife's family. That is the general law fitting this practice.

593 Now the T'ou-jen live at present under a patriarchal system,
608 which is incompatible with this custom. Consequently, it is not
606 surprising that the husband-son-in-law finds himself in a very dis-
554 advantageous position....
[551] Since there has been no adoption of the son-in-law into the wife's family, he continues to be called by the name of his father, he and his children; he continues to be a member of his paternal family, to honor the dead of his father's family, and to lend a hand to his family of origin in cases of vengeance, etc. Thus in theory he keeps the rights of inheritance in his paternal family. But since these sons-in-law usually belong to very poor families, the chance to enjoy their rights of inheritance very rarely presents itself.

I have, however, met the case in question two or three times, and each time the brothers who had stayed home tried to eliminate the husband-son-in-law on the pretext that he had not contributed to the acquiring of the family's property. However, the unfortunate one always succeeded in making the most of his rights, if not wholly at least in part.

That amply proves that the husband-son-in-law living with the parents-in-law to serve them until death is in a false position with respect to his family of origin.

His position with respect to his wife's family is no better. Indeed, under the patriarchal system, succession is paternal. The name of the son-in-law differs from that of his wife's family; now we have seen "another name, another family," the son-in-law then does not have the right of inheritance to make the most of here. This is what explains the fact that one will never see young people of a well-to-do family consent to making themselves husband-sons-in-law, and that only those who have nothing to lose will take this
608 path.
606 /119/ If the parents-in-law are poor, there will be no difficul-
428 ties for this combination on the part of their own family; if, on the

/119 cont'd/

606 608 428

other hand, the family is well-to-do, the brothers of the future father-in-law will not allow his daughter, at his death, to inherit his property, which by right will have to revert to them. They will thus do their utmost early to see that the daughter will be given in marriage outside the family, and they will try to persuade the father to adopt one of their sons. If the father will not hear of it and continues to look for this ideal son-in-law, the family will not be able to gainsay it as long as the parents-in-law are living. The latter on their part will be prepared for eventualities and will try to cash in their real estate so as to be able to favor the daughter. Nevertheless, the son-in-law will always be the bête noire of the family and will be able to expect a thousand annoyances and continual ill will. Upon the death of the parents-in-law, the son-in-law has the right to return with his wife to his original family; but since the latter is usually poor, he will not do it; besides, he knows in advance that he will not be welcome. In the case where his wife's family is rich, they will always leave at least something to the daughter at the time of division of property, for example, several plots of land, a house, etc.; she will never be completely disinherited. Add to that the little bonus she has put aside in advance, and the young couple will have something to live on. The brothers of the husband-son-in-law will not come to beg from him, since the property he possesses is deemed to belong to his wife.

In the case where the parents-in-law are the only representatives of their clan, the position of the husband-son-in-law is more enviable.

I have never seen people look for husband-sons-in-law where there were sons.

The position of the husband-son-in-law with respect to his wife's family is thus again a false position.

606 675 The contracts of such marriages, as a general rule, are not punctiliously observed, especially when the parents-in-law are poor; either the son-in-law ends up by deserting his wife and her /120/ family and goes elsewhere to seek his fortune, or the daughter, loving her husband, flees with him. If people succeed in bringing them back and if they persist in no longer wanting to live with the parents,

/120 cont'd/

M 675 608 an attempt will be made to demand some kind of compensation from the son-in-law, and the affair will be ended.

The conclusion of the chapter will thus be that we are here in the presence of a deformation of the practice of spending a lifetime, on the part of the son-in-law, in the family of his parents-in-law, for the purpose of obtaining their daughter in marriage.

Mo HM 608 Have the T'ou-jen ever practiced this custom in all its fullness? In principle that is not impossible, since one still sees the Manchu practice it as such today, even while having a patriarchal system and paternal succession. In addition, we know that the Mongols, racial brothers of the T'ou-jen, formerly used to follow this custom and that they still practice it. (1) Next, it is very curious to ascertain how

HM [606]

1. Vladimirtsov, Life of Chingis Khan, p. 84: (Yesugey with his son Temuchin (future Chingis Khan) goes to ask in marriage for the latter Börte, daughter of Dai-se-chen.) The proposal was accepted, Yesugey presented Dai-se-chen with his remount horse, and left Temuchin to stay there in the quality of future son-in-law. This, according to the Mongol custom, definitely confirmed Yesugey's decision to become related to the house of Dai-se-chen /cited in English, with introductory sentence in French in parentheses/.

the T'ou-jen easily adopt it again in all its purity as soon as they find themselves again in a place where it is practiced.

M 361 831 The subprefecture of Koei-tê, situated two days' journey to the south of Sining on the shores of the Yellow River in the middle of Tibetan territory, forming there a prosperous Chinese-T'ou-jen oasis, has for a long time been the place of refuge for T'ou-jen who fled with someone else's wife with the intention of never returning to their

/120 cont'd/

361 place of origin. Now among the T'ou-jen of this area, a good many
331 have come to practice again the former custom of husband-sons-in-
law practiced by the Tibetans, their neighbors. As soon as they ar-
608 rive in the region they no longer give their daughters in marriage out-
184 side the house, but they seek a /121/ husband-son-in-law for them;
583 on the other hand, they send their sons to become husband-sons-in-
law in other families. Among many of these T'ou-jen, the sons no
longer enjoy even the right of inheritance in their own family, where
the daughters have become the sole heirs; in other families they con-
tinue to inherit beside their sisters. They are thus passing through a
period of transition. One T'ou-jen family after the other adopts the
customs of the Tibetans, at first some of the customs and only in part,
and gradually they become Tibetanized. Besides, it is a fact that
the Tibetan environment is not distasteful to them, and the T'ou-
jen girls given in marriage to Tibetans quickly feel at home.

562 The T'ou-jen of the Sining region, speaking of their brothers
184 of Koei-tê, say, laughing, that among the latter the wife is owner
177 and mistress of the home, nüü-jen tang ts'ai, that the men do not
count there, that there are women there who themselves send away
their husbands, that women are found there who have more than one
husband, and that the old men there are to be pitied. Thus Tibetan
customs.

178 How must one explain the deformation of the practice of
608 husband-sons-in-law among the T'ou-jen?
177]

First, it is necessary to know that the Mohammedan revolutions
decimated the T'ou-jen population in Kansu. Some T'ou-jen, in
order to remake their groups and get rents for their lands, adopted
in their clans numerous heterogeneous Chinese and Tibetan elements;
other T'ou-jen headmen never succeeded in rebuilding the ruins.
Add to that the use of opium which especially undermined the families
of the headmen and put them in debt and impoverished them; it is
thus not surprising that the power and also the influence of the t'ou-
[622] se were decidedly impaired. The prime blow of all was more and
more frequent recourse to Chinese magistrates on the part of the
T'ou-jen. In the old days, say the elders, the t'ou-se alone was

/121 cont'd/
608 178 our judge in case of litigation; nobody would have dared to address himself to the Chinese mandarins for fear of reprisals on the part of the t'ou-se. I believe we /122/ must look in this direction for the solution to our problem. As a matter of fact, the Chinese court [428] recognizes only the sons' right of inheritance and, lacking them, that of members of the paternal side. In case of litigation, the paternal side is always sure to win its case against an only daughter, and the brother husband-son-in-law, as long as adoption has not been practiced, can always hope to see his rights recognized in his original family. Several verdicts of this kind suffice to deform a custom and create a completely new attitude. In addition, a tested virtue is necessary to be able to resist such temptations!

2. Exchange of a Girl for Furnishing of Services for a Fixed Number of Years

583 Everyday experience having proved that the preceding solution 565 is not practical, say the T'ou-jen, there are people who look for 466 another, more psychological inactual fact. Indeed, the sight of the end of one's own troubles in a future relatively near at hand gives the courage to remain faithful to duty. A family of poor or even average means can promise to give their daughter to a poor young man provided that he binds himself to work five, eight, ten, or 12 years for them.

675 The contracts for these marriages are generally made by the 466 parents themselves, with one or two individuals who act as guarantors 606 for the son-in-law. While in the preceding case the girl can be 583 nubile at the time when a husband is being found for her, in the present case the arrangement always takes place when the girl is only seven, eight, or ten years old at the most. As for the age of the son-in-law, there is nothing definite: he can be ten or 12 years old as well as 30 and even more. When the girl is 15, they will have a little festival, and she will wear her hair in the fashion of married women; then she is married.

Why this engagement when the girl is still a child? /123/ It it because they know one another in the country and do not want to

/123 cont'd/

Mo 675 606 466 583 be duped all down the line. As a matter of fact, as soon as the girl is 15 and is married, she, like her husband, will want to be more free. She will let him persuade her that one can work everywhere and that there is nothing more to be gained in the home of the parents-in-law. One day there is an argument in the family, and the couple disappears. Now at this moment the family of the parents-in-law will already have profited by at least several years of work by the son-in-law. It rarely happens that the son-in-law is faithful to his pledges to the end. It is then a frail alliance.

Mo 608 606 583 171 The present case is the usual case of husband-sons-in-law. It enjoys a very wide diffusion all over Asia, among the Turkish, Mongol, and Manchu peoples and among the peoples of northern Asia (1).

Mo 606 608 583

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: There is also a very interesting custom of getting a wife by personal work in the house of the future father-in-law. A poor man who cannot pay "kalim" through the intermediary of some person asks the bride's father to give him his daughter against his personal work in the house of his future father-in-law. The minimum period of this is three years and the maximum ten years. The future son-in-law lives in the house of his future father-in-law, but he always has his separated spirits and goes to his clan's meetings and sacrifices. After the fixed period is expired, they make a very modest wedding and the young husband brings his wife to his own house or lives in the house of his wife's father as a workman at a fixed salary. Sometimes the father-in-law gives the

/123 cont'd/

Mo 606 608 583

young couple some means to start an independent household. This custom is very broadly practised by the Manchus who consider it as one of the most ancient and purely national institutions. /Cited in English./

Mo [534]

Dr. Herbert Koenig, op. cit., pp. 109-110: The essence of this way of concluding a marriage lies in the fact that the bridegroom thereby begins his wooing, that he performs the most menial work for his future father-in-law, who treats him almost like a slave.... In this case, too, an intermediary sometimes is involved, usually the father, some other close relative, or even a friend, who asks the father of the bride whether the suitor can begin his service for the girl. Page 656: Thus, bride service in all likelihood is limited to the Asiatic side of the Bering Strait and the Aleutians and is lacking among the Eskimo. /Cited in German./

Mo 608 606 583 71

and everywhere they seem to hold this practice in respect. /124/ Among the T'ou-jen, according to what one can see, it creates a good many disagreeable situations; thus it is not surprising to hear the elders declare that this custom is practiced much less nowadays than in the good old days. This custom is still found rather often among the Chinese of Kansu.

3. Purchase of a Girl and Search for a Son-in-law Who Will Serve Their Parents-in-law until Death

Mo 608 583

Another still more risky combination is one often found in reasonably well-to-do families which have no child. They buy a girl,

/124 cont'd/

608 583 they get a husband for her, and they hope that the couple will stay with their benefactors to serve them until their death. This is then the foremost case which occurs with the least chance of success, since the feelings of this stranger will not be comparable to those of a daughter of their own. If there is no hope for them of great material advantages, the couple ends up by going away.

4. Furnishing of One's Person by Adoption in Order to Obtain a Wife

597 583 606 In this category we see the principle of the patriarchate triumphing. This fourth combination is one found in rather rich families who have only one daughter and who adopt a son-in-law in order to give him as a husband to their daughter. The purpose of this arrangement, according to the T'où-jen, is not to be separated from their daughter and to make her and the son-in-law their lawful heirs.

Now so that this may be possible in a patriarchal system, the son-in-law must exchange his family name for that of his parents-in-law. He must separate himself radically from his own parents and clan in order to recognize his parents-in-law and all /125/ their clan as his own. He must give himself completely to this family, he must make offerings to their ancestors, and in this way he will be able to continue the family line, and at his death be buried in their cemetery. This is, then, the furnishing of services for life at the same time as that of oneself in all its breadth.

From this it is understandable that such an arrangement must raise difficulties on the part of the family; so a whole series of formalities is required in order to bring it about. The father of the family begins by inviting his brothers and announcing his irrevocable decision. So that they will sign the contract of adoption and admit the new son-in-law into the family circle, he will propose bequeathing to them several plots of land after his death; the rest of the holdings will have to fall to the son-in-law and his wife. All that does not proceed without long discussion. Finally, the contract of adoption is signed on the occasion of a family dinner, where the son-in-law makes the great prostration to his new parents; he bows to the religious image honored in the house and burns cypress branches; his

Mo /157 cont'd/
585 her departure? The wedding festivity takes place in the patriarchal
562 system in the bridegroom's family on the same day as the marriage.
Mo The departure of the daughter cannot be considered as a reason for
171] rejoicing; also this custom is not found in China. Is it not also a custom of olden times, when one celebrated the arrival of the son-in-law and his entry into the family?

4. Husband-sons-in-law

Mo We have described above the different forms taken by the
● 608 husband-sons-in-law practice. The great frequency of this practice
591 in spite of all the troubles it entails, /158/ again brings us back to the
606 former matriarchate. (1) But let us put aside the "fact itself" of this

1. I know only one single case in which a T'ou-jen woman governed her clan. It is that of the widow of the Lou t'ou-se. It is an isolated case, completely accidental and recent. I see in it no relation whatever with the matriarchate which formerly existed among the T'ou-jen.

Mo
542]

institution which is essentially matriarchal in order to explain some strange vestiges still met with today relative to this practice.

Formerly, the husband-son-in-law, living in his wife's family, had necessarily to be considered as an intimate member of the family. Now can one not see a vestige of this position of the son-in-law in the fact that at the time of celebrations and of mourning, the son-in-law does not have his place at the dinner among the guests? On the contrary, even today, he is relegated to the kitchen among the intimates of the family. Celebrations and mournings are not a time of rejoicing for him, of feasting and of drinking bouts, but a time during which work is required of him which is considerable and very disagreeable.

Ma We have seen that among the Manchu, when the son-in-law
606 comes to get his bride, he honors first the spirits of that family, then

192 [649 cont.]
764 Death box: odõṅ.
Bone-chest: mula odõṅ = little death-box.
[354] Water-lamp: fdzë dzũla.
Paper-bowl: tsialdzë pendzë.
To wear the clothing reversed: diela furula mõsë.
Prayer tea: rgē tsia.
[782] Prayer for the dead: xar(i)dzãn kunë xuenuo mani sguorluo- = (to pray) in behalf of the deceased person afterwards the mani in the circle.
Prayer fee for the lama: mbõ (Tib. loanword).
Prayer alms: odõṅ dzied = death-box alms.
192 Own family: dzienāni kudë.
601 Relatives on the father's side: dzienani šäni = own relatives, those with the same family name.
Relatives on the mother's side, affinity through marriage: urog. Those with different family names.
[608] Artificial kinship: šäni funi = kinship-smoke. Neighbors and friends who take the place of relatives in performing services at the reception of guests, cremation, etc.

[650]
[764] Bone-master, mother's brother: tsigãn yesëni daxu = the owner of the white bones;
ku-chu (Chin.).
Mother's brother: nëgä; achiu (Chin.).
Nephew (sister's son): dzie; wai-sheng (Chin.).
Son-in-law: kurgien; nü-hsü (Chin.).
Sister: agū.
Daughter: fsdzũn.
192 He died as a rider: tsũrog morina bagaldilā sdzia fugudzia.
764 He died as a settler: sãṅrēdzi liela guei wõldzia.
Burned bones: xuodzën yäsë = dry bones.
Crematory: taw (tab) (Tib.).
Lighting pole: xuãmbar.
Lay bonze: lao shih-fu (Chin.) = old master.
Demand for an accounting: bäda; pai-ta (Chin.).
769 Grave festival: ch'ing-ming (Chin.); sëṅ-miṅ (21) [see Note 21
192 above].

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

is the most prolific in lamas." It is a known fact that of 175
old the clan of the Li T'u-ssu was fervently addicted to 792
Buddhism, and that the big monastery of Ta-Fo-ssu was built by the Li clan in Hsining during the Yüan dynasty. During the Ming dynasty a lama of the Li clan received the Karwa privilege, which still exists. The T'u kuan Hutukhtu was born in the Wang tribe, subjects of the Li clan. There are still two minor Li Living Buddhas at the monastery of Erh-ku-lung. In San-ch'uan there also live subjects of Ch'i, Na, and Kan T'u-ssu. Most of the San-ch'uan lamas like to enroll in Kumbum where the key offices are filled by them. It is a public secret that at various times friction and disputes have arisen in Kumbum between groups of [578] lamas competing for the possession of the lucrative offices. As the outcome of this kind of competition, the administration of Kumbum is completely in the hands of Monguor lamas.

The next center of recruitment is the Hung-nai-tzu Valley, the birthplace of the first incarnation of the famous Chang-chia Hutukhtu, and inhabited mostly by Monguors and Tibetans. It is customary among them to have only one of the brothers marry, while the others become lamas. Their devotion to having lamas in the family goes to the extent of buying a boy for the [608] monastery in case no male descendants are born. Several families have become extinct through lack of male descendants.

If account be taken of the number of monasteries and branches founded by Erh-ku-lung during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the fervor of the Monguors for becoming lamas must have been considerable. At present, this fervor has diminished to a large extent. Many families have not provided a lama for at least two generations; the ties which bound them to the lamaseries seem to have become looser.

WAYS AND MEANS OF RECRUITMENT

A lama, possessing some wealth, likes to have a disciple who will help and serve him to his dying day, and enable him to enjoy peacefully a ripe old age. A poor lama cannot afford the luxury of a disciple. According to the regulations of 1723, a lama is allowed to have only one disciple. However, when the rule is relaxed, rich lamas may have two or three; most of the Living Buddhas have two. The lama usually tries to choose his disciple from among his nephews or from among the children of well-to-do families, which later will help to support the disciple and indirectly his master.

The choice is made before the child has reached the age of seven. If the family agrees, the lama offers a ceremonial scarf to the father and a brick of tea to the mother. The agreement cannot thereafter be retracted. At the time the child is seven or eight years of age the mother prepares a lama costume for him. On an auspicious day he is led by his father to the lamasery.

[p. 56(A)]

[12 cont.]

115 sacrifice bread and wine, we, too, had a lord of heaven, we, too,
171 had a holy mother; we, too, burned incense, had consecrated water, blessed houses and cattle; we, too, prayed for the sick and anointed them with oil; we, too, had a baptism; we, too, had a procession through the meadow and prayed for the blessings of good weather; [13] we, too, had a redeemer similar to their Geser; we, too, had temples with solemn prayer and divine service; we, too, had monks and nuns; we, too, had good angels and evil demons.

115 Thus the old man felt more and more at home in our surroundings, even though he no longer spoke of becoming a Christian. In the end his judgment was: "Your religion is better. You help man."

123 As a result of our mutual genuine respect, the old man put me in the right light in his circle of acquaintances, above all among the lamas. They regarded me as one who has religion himself and does not make fun of their gods and monks. Accordingly I was invited one day by a Tujen family to serve as "prayer-sayer" for a funeral service, which, however, I declined. When I entered the Tujen lamasery, the monks assigned me a clean room for the Mass. They understood when I requested pure water for the "sacrifice," and when I preferred not to be interrupted. Then I placed a cross before the images of the Lamaist deities and in the presence of the curious but silent lamas I celebrated the Mass. And just as I never expected the people to kneel, for instance, or to give any other signs of reverence, so they never expected a similar courtesy from us.

[609] By the way, certain travelers report how they had their fortunes told or how they were blessed by this or that hutukhtu, and the like, this makes little impression upon the populace, aside from the fact that the people see through such conduct and often regard it merely as a superfluous gesture of courtesy.

115 In spite of the fact that as the result of this highly satis-
123 factory relationship I was able to see and hear all kinds of things, I am well aware that I by no means learned everything. No one likes to tell a foreigner about all the darker sides of his people or ticklish things. Nor was anything else to be expected in

[28 cont.]

756 crossed under him, his face turned toward the door, and his
787 back to the altar. He has placed his sword across his knees.
He holds a burning stick of incense upright in his hands in front
[576] of his chest, so that the smoke rises into his face. Then he speaks the prayer of invitation to his tutelary spirit. Meanwhile men make smoke around him with incense. Gradually his hands begin to tremble; the movement passes to the arms, chest, and head. Finally his entire body is trembling and shaking, but especially the head with a violence that makes the bells rattle. At this point the stick of incense is taken out of his hand and he is given his sword (6). The spirit has now

6. [Foreign text p. 32.] The little stick is placed in the incense bowl.

[789] descended upon him. He begins to prophesy and to exorcise the demons.

The shaman may also choose another place for the trance, for instance, the temple, the house chapel, a mountain top,
* [778] an obo [a mound of stones dedicated to the mountain spirit], the yard. He never undertakes the trance on the kang in a side room. If there is a god's image with a soul on the household altar, he always sits down facing this image; in the case of the obo he must turn toward the obo. -- In front of the obo or on the mountain top he need not sit on a table, but can kneel on the bare ground. If he undertakes the trance in the yard of a compound, he goes to the side opposite the main house so that he has the round manger with the mani-tree before him and faces the main house. There he kneels upright on a white felt mat. The other ceremonies are the same.

The compound in which he undertakes the trance must first be swept clean; all the rooms are fumigated with incense. The [29] table or the mat on which he kneels must also be
• [609] fumigated. -- There is no taboo for strangers, however; all
[562] may witness the ceremony. Women, however, may not enter the room in which the trance takes place.

[39 cont.]

792 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the reception. The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the
796 gifts are brought after him on animals.
574

[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers. They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.
[465]

351
796 Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is
784 called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the beginning of the performance may not enter the yard. On the other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as
[609] [792] [211] [177]

7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

[534]

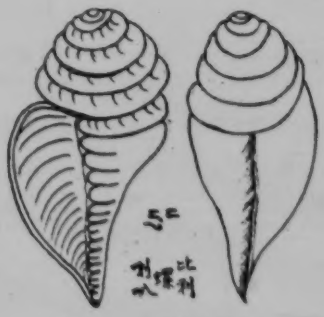

Fig. 6. Shells.

[532]

(Drawing of a Tujen.)

113, 60, 61 Monguor AE9

[For discussion of kinship and kin groups among the Monguor of Kansu in relation to the kinship systems of the Altaic-speaking steppe pastoralists, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 312-360.]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

618 because he is backed by a group of friends. He succeeds
624 to office according to certain definite customs of the clan. The chief must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestor." When a T'u-ssu dies, the heads of all the noble families, together with the most prominent heads of families among the commoners, convene to choose a successor. It may seem anomalous that commoners should take part in the choosing of a new chief. The way in which the lower status of commoners in the ceremonial veneration of the clan ancestor is emphasized has already been described. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles that can never be completely eliminated. Nevertheless, in the last years of the history of the old Monguor society the differences between nobles and commoners had in many ways practically ceased to exist. The heads of prominent commoner families took part in all meetings at which clan affairs were discussed. In the Monguor clans, there were commoners who were wealthier, more learned, more honored in the community, and more proficient in administrative matters than many of the nobles. It even occurred that when there were quarrels among the nobles, distinguished and respected commoners were called in to mediate. It may be, therefore, either that the participation of commoners in the choice of the new chief represents no more than a condescension on the part of the nobles, for the sake of mere civility, or that there is a lingering tradition from the ancient times of tribal history that the choice of the ruling part of the tribe (now the Monguor clan) must be ratified by the consent of the governed part of the tribe.[13]

Examination of the lists of the genealogies of all the Monguor clans as they are recorded in the *Annals* of the Prefecture of Hsining suggests the conclusion that the first son of the first wife of the T'u-ssu regularly succeeded to the office of his father. If the senior son died before his father but left a living son, then this son was entitled to the succession even if he were only an adopted son. In case the senior son died before his father and left no male issue, however, the next senior brother of the T'u-ssu, or that brother's son, was entitled to the succession. In the family chronicles of the Lu clan I have found one exception to this rule, and only one, a case in which the first son of the first wife did not succeed, the succession going instead to the brother next senior to him. I shall deal with this instance in the study of the genealogy of this clan which I am preparing for publication.

618 When a T'u-ssu dies leaving no sons, trouble usually
578 breaks out in the clan because each of the surviving
●611 brothers of the T'u-ssu is eager to secure the succession either for himself or for his own eldest son. In such cases, if one of the contending brothers has more influence in the community than the others, or is richer or more popular with the clan, he succeeds in getting his

[13] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 100. [p. 44a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

618 eldest son chosen and appointed. In one such case, in
578 the clan of the Na T'u-ssu, four T'u-ssu of other clans
611 were invited in to arbitrate, and after discussions which lasted many days the son of a rich man, the third brother of the T'u-ssu who had just died, was agreed on and appointed by the clan.

175 According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 24, p. 8) the
618 last T'u-ssu of the Ming period in the clan of Li, of the line founded by Li Nan-ko, was a man named Li Hua-
578 lung, who died without issue. Li T'ien-yu, the first
611 cousin of Li Hua-lung who had just died, belonging to the same generation in order of descent from the clan ancestor, and of the same house, laid claim to the succession. In order to put an end to trouble within the family, one hundred families of commoners out of the four thousand belonging to the T'u-ssu were given to the contending claimant Li Hua-nao, and consenting to a petition from the nobles who were his relatives in the clan, the Manchu Emperor bestowed on him the title of T'u-ssu. Thus Li Hua-nao became the "founding ancestor" of a new clan, with one hundred families of commoners as subjects.

618 Thus while the historical material seems to show that in most cases the choice and appointment of a new chief of the clan are a mere formality, there are also instances that seem to prove that the rule of succession is not always clear-cut, especially when the T'u-ssu dies
[562] without male issue. In any case, a daughter never suc-
[428] ceeds because the clans are built on a strictly patrilineal family system with male chieftaincy. In this respect, as will be seen below in the chapter dealing with family organization, the rules of ordinary family succession tally with those that govern the succession of the chief of the clan, and the head of the family presides over religious cult practices within the family as the chief presides within the clan.

In case the succeeding son is still a minor, however, his mother is appointed regent by the sovereign state, formerly the Empire and later the Republic. This custom seems to prove that the senior son, even if still a minor, has a specific claim to succeed his father.

There is a discrepancy between the Monguor rule of succession as far as it can be checked by historical documents and an ancient Mongol custom that prevailed up to the time of Chingis Khan, under which the eldest son received his portion of the inheritance while his parents were still living and moved away to live as the head of his own family; the next son, in due course, similarly left the parental camp, and finally the youngest son was left to care for his parents in their old age and to receive the residual inheritance. Under this custom, the original tent, camp, and herds remained with the youngest son, while the most distant related camp was that of his eldest brother, who had moved away first and farthest. Barthold, commenting on this custom, notes that Chingis Khan, during his lifetime, endowed his sons and other relations with appanages, and that Juchi,

[P. 446]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

596 587 Theoretically, it might be argued that a son who had left the extended family to live separately would be free to take a concubine. In practice, he is rarely able to do so because the commonest reason for leaving the extended family is that it has become too poor to support all its members. The son who is starting life separately is, therefore, usually starting as a man too poor to afford a concubine.

587 Polygamy is, however, not frowned on in the case of a small family consisting of husband and wife, economically well off but without children. In order to prevent the line from dying out, thus breaking the continuity in the ancestor-cult, it is quite proper to take a concubine, even if the couple has already adopted a child. Polygamy is also not unusual in a small family in which there are children, if the family are well off; in such cases, if the wife does not object, her husband takes a concubine and the concubine helps her in her housework.

In one case in my experience, in a rich family consisting of husband, wife, and one son, who was already married, the mother objected to her husband taking a concubine, but did not mind arranging for a second wife for her son; the arrangement was one that provided an extra worker in the family.

The Monguors make a distinction between polygamy, as described above, and the levirate. In a family in which there are several sons, all of them married and having children, if one of the sons dies, the widow becomes the second wife of one of his brothers (usually a younger brother). The distinction between the levirate and polygamy is clear. Polygamy requires the expenditure of family funds for the acquisition of a second wife or concubine. In the levirate, the bride-price has already been paid; if the widow should leave the family in order to marry an outsider of her choice, she would be a loss to the family and it is proper, therefore, to make an arrangement that keeps her in the family. The levirate is, however, only practiced when brothers are still living together in the extended family, and when the widow consents.

THE FAMILY CHIEF

592 611 The position of chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head of the family. If at this moment the extended family should break up, instead of continuing to live together, the eldest son is privileged to receive a larger share of the fields and cattle forming the common property, and his own eldest son shares this privilege, also receiving a cow or horse, or a field. This rule of succession and inheritance is followed by both nobles and commoners.

592 In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. He repre-

[P. 82a]

N *563 586 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

M 594 596 [61] [591] N *563 M [556]

A. The Family Organization

Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patrilineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family. In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines, and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

M [361] M [182] [252] M [342] M [264] [342]

The extended family has a common courtyard, around which the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus, the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

N *563 M 592 554 [169]

The family head is the religious chief, family administrator and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

N 563 794 preclude their enjoying any great influence.

[795] The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. [596] Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' [241] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture [438] goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never [233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays [464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese S [422] farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, S [592] sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly S [614] becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy S [792] exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The [422] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

N 563 The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and M 233 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, 241 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest 108 that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. [177] They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the N 563 Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as M 231 the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, [554] mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 M 596 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy [603] authority over all members of the family. Property is collect- [421] ively owned.

N 563 M 614 622 177 178 The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

/12 cont'd/

M 551 171 HM 551 614

Noyans, Bagaturs, Beks and Tegins, all the aristocracy now became the Vassals of the clan of Mongol and accepted its name. For the first time the united nation had a common name and the name soon became so glorious that every nomad was proud to call himself a Mongol. /Cited in English./

A similar custom existed among the T'ou-jen. Indeed, we know the case of a group of more than a hundred families under the Iang t'ou-se of Tchouo-ni-tse who came to live in the Choei-mouo-keou of Sining belonging to the Li t'ou-se. The whole group changed its name from Iang to Li and acknowledged Li t'ou-se as its chief.

M 551 /13/ however, due to historic events which we shall relate in their place, families under the same t'ou-se no longer bear the same name.

M 582 178 Hence, in this case, formerly the prohibition against marriage between young people bearing the same name corresponded to that forbidding marriage between members of the same tribe or clan. This prohibition makes us think of the great law of exogamy in all its breadth; an exogamy affecting not only the family but also the clan, since here the two merge. Whatever may have been the case in the past, the law of exogamy today bears only on the single family.

M 551 613 The T'ou-jen consider that the notion of name is exactly equivalent to that of family. All those who do not bear the same name, even though they are descended directly from the same ancestor, are foreigners /i.e., outsiders/ to the family. Here is a conception laden with consequences: daughters given in marriage and, taking the name of their husbands, will consequently leave the family and will become outsiders; they will no longer be buried in the family M [614] cemetery; since their children bear a different name, they will also be foreigners to the family of the mother. It follows from this that M 582 605 since they do not bear the same name, there is no obstacle to the marriage of the children of the two families. Thus one regularly sees 171

Mo /17 cont'd/
581 like themselves, for fear of being absorbed or exterminated by other clans stronger than they. Now what is more natural for making these supports as firm and durable as possible than family unions incessantly renewed by marriage?

Mo
614 As a matter of fact the youth of the two groups are then mutual-
581 ly exchanged in marriage, and the young people constitute reciprocal guarantees by founding new families on one side and the other. What is more natural than that the pact concluded between two groups be sealed by a series of marriages? When one reads the history of the Mongols, one learned that a certain clan always used to take its wives from a certain other one; that peace was sealed by marriages; that pacts were guaranteed by matrimonial alliances. This is the natural and necessary economy of the nomadic state. Formerly, the purpose of marriage was not only to found a family, but very often to bring together groups of families, or whole clans.

000 When within this sphere of ideas one understands the expression tao-ts'in with its character of supreme obligation, of sacredness, one easily finds an explanation for it; similarly, one easily understands the custom of marriage between young people of groups already related. Vestiges are found here of the nomadic state where such alliances were a necessity. But as an organ useless to the body slowly atrophies and its reason for being in the end is no longer understood, so the customs under consideration, having become useless to the
Mo present-day agrarian economy and practiced /18/ less and less, have
Ml ended up by no longer being understood by the people. (1)
582

1. Vladimirtsov, The Life of Ghingis Khan, p. 10. "The tribal constitution of the Mongols implied exogamy, that is to say, it obliged the men of a given clan to take wives from some other clan that was not considered close-
Mo ly akin to their own....Owing to the constant
Ml feuds, wars and raids, the kidnapping of
584 marriageable women was a frequent occurrence (witness the case of Yesugei-Begatur himself)... another solution was for the clans to conclude

/49 cont'd/

585 604 The master of ceremonies moves toward the girl's maternal uncle, makes three bows in the Chinese manner, and invites him to take his place beside her. The uncle comes forward, stands beside the girl. The assemblage rises and stares silently at the scene

The master of ceremonies presents a cup of wine to the maternal uncle and invites him to empty it. He reiterates the gesture three times. After this he offers to the seated girl two cups, which she grasps in each hand; he puts in them a red lozenge and pours wine in them. She holds the full cups in front of her at the level of her mouth. At this moment the master of ceremonies makes this speech to her:

"Your maternal uncle, the master of your bones, is at your side; the whole family is present here; your departure is set for tomorrow. From the time of our ancestors, at the dividing up of the family property, one whole part used to revert to the son, and to the daughter half of this amount. Present times no longer permit such a division, there comes to you no more than several pieces of clothing"; then, he names one by one the gifts which the family gives her and shows them to those present, without forgetting to state the color, the quality of the fabric.... He likewise enumerates the gifts prepared for the son-in-law and his family. Addressing himself again to the girl, he says, "Your parents have certainly done all that they could for you; and they would have done more, but their means did not permit it. Be glad, be very grateful to your parents, do not forget them, see, your maternal uncle and the whole family will always be 'at your back.'." Then the girl weeps bitterly, and according to custom she must manifest the greatest sorrow.

The whole assemblage is under the spell of the moment, a tear forms in many eyes. Two women come /50/ to get the girl and take her back....

585 614 604 This ceremony gives one something to think about, all the more because it is not explainable in a patriarchal organization where the daughter is the true property of her father, her grandfather, or rather the paternal clan. What is this maternal uncle with all his clan doing, he who will always be the protector of the girl, who will always be "at her back?" This duty is really incumbent on the paternal clan.

M /50 cont'd/
585 Why is the maternal uncle invited to stand near the girl during the
614 whole speech, and why does the maternal clan have precedence at
604 the festivity and at the dinner? Why is the paternal clan in the very background all this day, when it is nevertheless the one which is giving its daughter in marriage and which has the duty to defend her? Also abnormal is this custom which fixes only the gifts to be offered to the girl by the maternal aunts and uncles and not those to be given by her paternal uncles and aunts. Finally, why attach more importance to this festivity than to the one at the son-in-law's home?

M 585 795 771 Let us remember that this ceremony is held around a shamanistic fire and not before an image of Buddha, although Buddhism is without question the primary religion of the country, and that in spite of the fact that the whole clan includes numerous lamas among its members, shamanism is actually the old religion of the T'ou-jen.

M 585 Let us note again that the master of ceremonies, when he takes the floor, recalls the faraway past in which the daughter still inherited from her parents half as much as a son. One would say it was a history lesson.

We are here in the presence of a very old ceremony, one which is completely abnormal in a patriarchal organization.

M [262] After the speech and the girl's departure, the guests are invited to sit down; gin is served, and they play mora noisily; they sing and smoke while waiting for the Chinese noodles to be served.

M 585 583 /51/ The master of ceremonies arranges the gifts in chests, and all the pieces are numbered, so that the next day at the dinner at the son-in-law's home, when he again takes the floor, he can take them out without difficulty. (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 308: (Mongols) As soon as the livestock has been delivered to the future wife's father (the German translation of the same work says that he himself comes to the future husband's home to get them), he gives a feast which is soon reciprocated by the husband-to-be for the relatives and

/77 cont'd/
585 animals with neighbors or elsewhere; it allows only a few old nags
231 to be seen, which it does not even intend to give up.
431

It is at this moment that the little peculiarities of the race be-
[571 come apparent in all their crudeness. We have been able to notice
578] in all the phases of T'ou-jen marriage this mania for mutual exploi-
tation. /78/ At this hour one sees the two clans together, equally avid, and each of the two, under the pressure of the moment, feels itself united and strong. The voice of blood makes itself heard quickly, brutal, demanding. It is no longer a question of civilities and ceremonies, and it is not at all rare that the festivity degenerates into quarrels and scuffles.

585 In this moment one sees that marriage among the T'ou-jen is
614 not a disinterested affair but an affair of the clan, of the community, among whom the general good takes precedence over everything.

After such eventualities of a T'ou-jen wedding, it is natural enough when one meets those who are coming from a wedding to ask them whether all went well, or whether there wasn't some trouble!

Now one understands the importance attached to the role of master of ceremonies. It is he who must prevent these difficulties, who must judge when it is necessary to yield and how far the concession can go. He must have the required tact and the appropriate word which all will be pleased to hear. He will be listened to all the more if he is highly esteemed by both sides.

585 In two circumstances this cry of the blood among the T'ou-jen
578 is brutal and terrible: at the end of the ceremonies of a marriage,
571 and on the occasion of the negotiations after the suicide of a daughter-in-law.

The Pei family was giving a daughter in marriage to the Li family. The Pei grandfather, known for his extraordinary cupidity, had enjoined his master of ceremonies to demand the finest horse in the Li family's stable, a horse highly reputed in the region. When the moment came they demanded the horse, but the horse was not there. They looked in vain at the homes of the relatives and neighbors; the horse remained impossible to find. Coarse words were exchanged, and they came to blows. The festivity ended without any

/134 cont'd/

A. Divorce

586 Summary. -- 1. Right of divorce, theory and practice. 2. Causes of divorce. 3. Procedure.

1. Right of Divorce, Theory and Practice

Divorce among the T'ou-jen takes on a special character, that of the sale of the wife by the husband with her consent. The definition of divorce is fully realized in it: the dissolving of the marriage ties in view of the respective interests of the husband and wife.

[562] /135/ In theory the wife's right to separate from her husband and ask for divorce is not recognized; the reason for it is that the wife is considered as the pure and simple property of the husband who bought her. On the contrary, the husband's right, in theory, to send his wife away, to sell her with her consent, as well as to do it in spite of her, is recognized. Moreover, he has the right to repudiate her by sending her back to her parents.

[614] 627 586 Although this theory has the force of law, I have nevertheless known the case of a rich woman bringing suit through the head of the clan, the t'ou-se, to obtain a divorce. An only daughter, when very young she had married a poor young man who had come to live at her home and serve her parents until their death. Now the husband-son-in-law in question was dissipating her fortune. The clans of the girl's mother and father as well as the elders of the village together presented a petition to the t'ou-se in which they confirmed the facts and asked the t'ou-se to grant the divorce. The divorce was granted. They based their argument on the fact that the wife had been given to the husband-son-in-law in exchange for the good services he was to render to the parents-in-law and the family; now he had not been faithful to his pledges....

586 The case of divorce occurs in practice in the following form: when the couple are no longer getting along, the wife has already found, in most cases, someone who wants to obtain her. If she has not yet found anyone, the husband will urge her to look for someone

[205 cont.]

775 decisive authority is the mother's brother of the deceased. There-
764 fore among the people he is accordingly called tsiġan yesē daxu,
604 that is, "white-bone-master"; Chinese [206] ku-chu, that is, "bone-master." This soul finally becomes free at the cremation, at which, of course, the bones (better: the skeleton) are destroyed except for a few remains. The peculiarity of this soul[1] is its
775 clan [Clan] membership, as is expressed by the name of the
614 mother's brother and his importance. He is the representative
604 of the mother's kin-group [Sippe]. The Tujen, however, like
764 the Mongols and other tribes, determine the kin group according to the bones. Among the Tujen likewise the question as to the family is: "What are your bones," tsini yesē yan-i? Bones and clan (kin group) therefore are equated. Thus one has grounds for maintaining that the bone-soul is borne by the life principle of the clan and propagates itself in the clan. How is unclear. As clan-master, the mother's brother is also bone-master. He exercises more rights over his sister's child than the latter's actual father and also demands the final accounting. But what happens to the thus liberated soul? Perhaps a similar custom among the Manchuria-Tungus, specifically among the Birarčen [Birar] and Kumarčen, provides insight into this. S. M. Shirokogorov reports of their soul-migration into the underworld: "The second river is the Yellow River, after crossing which the soul meets with Mongoldai Nakču, i.e. Mongoldai 'senior of the mother's clan,' which examines the case before allowing the soul to cross the Black River beyond which Inmun-kan reigns" [cited in English] (Psychomental Complex, p. 142; as cited in UdG, X, p. 563). Mongoldai, the master of the mother's clan in the underworld, here does what the bone-master of the dead does in the upper world: he demands an accounting and investigates the condition of the dead person's soul. The result is also the same: the soul becomes free for its migration and the corpse free for the burial. I could not confirm this underworld correspondence for the bāda among the Tujen; at any rate, nothing drew one's attention in this direction. Perhaps the extension of the conception into the
[769] underworld is lacking among them because they practice

[1] [i.e. - the "bone-soul", one of three souls of a human being - ANALYST]

[206 cont.]

775 practically no ancestor cult and therefore know of no ancestor
614 spirit like the Tungusic Mongoldai Nakču. Unconsciously, how-
604 ever, forgotten conceptions might still have an effect. At any
764 rate, a custom that is often explained as thirst for honor and
[769] avarice would in this way find a suitable explanation. In the case of the bāda the principal demands of the mother's brother are directed at the inviolability of the corpse (= no violent death) and a costly death-box, as well as splendid prayers for the dead. When, in connection with the underworld custom of the Tungus, one assumes that the dead person will reach the clan-master of the underworld in an honorable, fine condition and contented, then the care of the earthly clan-master for his clan members is thereby also documented, and the clan has a good reputation in the beyond. Father W. Schmidt sought to interpret similar conditions among other peoples meaningfully, and, to be sure, in connection with the double interment of the matriarchal agrarian culture. In the latter the fleshly parts are allowed to fall to destruction. They are of no significance for the further existence of the human being. The bones, however, which are carefully cleaned and then finally interred or supplied for the cult, are important. Moon-mythological ideas lie at the bottom of this procedure. The waning moon becomes thinner and thinner, until finally only [207] a "bone" remains, but the latter gradually clothes itself again with "flesh" and grows to become the full moon, a mirror image of the perishing and becoming of man. According to this conception, the skeleton is the "essential," the support; see UdG, X, pp. 742 f. If this meaning of the bones is so harmoniously a part of the moon-mythological matriarchal agricultural culture, then the striking arrangement among the Tujen, bones -- mother's clan -- mother's brother, is also explained. -- The sociological side of this custom will not be dealt with here.

775 The second soul goes to the western paradise (Tushita)
171 and waits there for a new rebirth. The incarnation into lower forms is regarded as punishment for a vicious and evil life, exactly in the sense of the Buddhist-Lamaist wheel of life. These conceptions, however, do not have much force among

[207 cont.]
775 hairdress," through which a girl is wedded to heaven and is no
776 longer burdened with the contempt suffered by unmarried women
[589] (see above). The fear of the female demon-souls [208] is also
[588] widespread among the Chinese, and there is only one way of
[171] being safe from them: the cremation. In the customs of the Tsinghai Chinese, this fear and contempt have their basis in the Buddhist conception that a woman is an unclean being and that this uncleanness is only removed through the man and his descendants. This attitude is strengthened through the fervent desire for sons and grandsons, which again is connected with the ancestor cult. These Buddhistic motives are certainly also decisive in part among the Tujen. Among them, too, the
[562] woman is regarded as unclean, even if not so harshly as among
[783] the Chinese. The veneration of the ancestors plays scarcely any role. Nonetheless, uncleanness and demonism are closely
[841] connected. A very common expression runs: pudaǵ ilie, unclean demon; a woman is also pudaǵ during her period.

The demon soul therefore seems to stand in a special relationship with the female principle. This suggests the surmise that it represents the flesh-(body)-soul in the human being, which stands in contrast to the bone-soul. In northeastern Tibet and elsewhere one encounters the conception that the bones of a person come from the man and the flesh from the woman. Among the Tujen, however, this relationship is difficult to determine
[614] because it is precisely the bone-soul that is related so closely to the mother's clan. This does not, it is true, exclude an individual assignment to the man (father), but it does not permit it to make its appearance through this unquestionably matriarchal trait.

775 From everything, one can see that the Tujen are little concerned about the after-life of the soul and the beyond. To them it is enough if they are left in peace on earth. The Buddhist conceptions are more theoretical. In actuality one not infrequently encounters a this-worldly fatalism which expresses itself in the saying: "Our life does not have much meaning"
[171] (literally: we have lived in vain). Even if the conception of the
[769] soul has much similarity to that of the Chinese, the Tujen

[209 cont.]

772 time, an inner significance cannot be denied to it. The air-
778 horse is the symbol and the guarantor of the destiny of the family,
of the kin group. Human destiny, however, is fitted into the
[614] course of the world, just as the kin-group compound occupies its
[357] place in the world-structure. According to Tujen conception, a
compound is not "complete" if the central fort and mani-tree
are lacking. Through them the living space of the kin group is
given conformity with the living space of the other living beings.

The world is no rigid schema, however; this is proved by the significance of the arrow of good fortune. In its way, the arrow of good fortune also represents the world: the [210] urn symbolizes the earth with its fruit; the arrow, the connecting column to the sky. Frequently four other arrows corresponding to the four directions of the compass are added to the central arrow. The vital force in the arrow of good fortune is new and not observable in the other world-representations (central fort, mandala, etc.). The germs of things, the force of increase and of life, are conjured into it. It guarantees wealth, good fortune, and a full life. The tufts of hair from the animals and the grain in the urn signify that these things will not be lost to the owner even when he has sold them. The oracle-toys of the children on the arrow guarantee the development of the young person in the corresponding direction; the hairs and threads of clothing from the bride insure that despite the loss of the daughter her good fortune will not escape. The dynamism of the world is expressed on the arrow of good fortune, whereas on the mandala (central fort, etc.), more the fixed order. Here, however, the cosmic force, the sap of life, and germinal base are not to be conceived as mana, but are to be derived from their connection with the superposed heaven. The astral, heavenly order is not only the model of its earthly mirror-image; it also imparts to the world its force, which permeates both. The references in the chapter on the arrow of good fortune already offer several indications of this. These conceptions can still be pursued much further. Their threads are quite tangled; they extend back to very early cultural forms and are linked with the oldest kind of communication between heaven and earth. Old forms of sacrifice and having the deities present are linked

[249 cont.]

171 since the Buddhists in their victory banner, the rgyal-mtsan, had
778 similar conceptions. The Mongolic Tujen would naturally also
have taken part in this change. Probably the spear-standard was
[174] at the same time also regarded as ancestor spear or clan idol; this
[614] fact is established beyond doubt for the nine-tipped sülde of
Genghis Khan. His spirit and his force have their seat in this
sülde; further details and relationships unfortunately cannot be
presented here; for that, cf., for example, the descriptions by
W. Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ...," in Archiv
für Religionswissenschaft, 25, 1927, pp. 110-115. In any case,
[614] it is striking how [250] each ayil (clan settlement) of the Tujen
is intent upon possessing a spirit-spear. Similar ideas can also
be shown elsewhere. For example, the Bhil in India are
acquainted with the clan spear at religious functions; see
W. Koppers, "Die Bhil ...," pp. 182 ff. Even more clearly
does the similarity with the spirit-spear and the connection
with the clan appear in the case of the clan standard of the
Chewsur [Khevsur]. The form of this standard with its bands,
the little bells, the ball-knob, etc. can scarcely be distin-
guished from the spirit-spear of the Tujen. Also, their clan
priest is practically a shamanistic soothsayer who works with
the spear standard. In view of the great significance that the
standards had among the Turks and Mongols (tuq-banner) and
in view of the lively history of these peoples, influences and
relics in the Caucasus are to be assumed from the first; cf.
Radde, The Chewsuren, pp. 100 ff., and Nioradze, Begrābnis,
pp. 10 ff. -- Sacral spears are abundantly known in Africa,
as are the gods' standards in the ancient Orient. The hitherto
not properly explainable Scythian pole appendages with their
hooks and prongs, perhaps for little bells and other hangings,
may also belong here. It is altogether possible that all these
standards are not simply representations and localizations of
deities, but were also used shamanistically in the manner of
the spirit-spear or the clan standard of the Chewsur.

Further connections also seem to exist between the
spirit-spear and the world-tree or the world-axle. One should
think for instance, of the cosmic significance of the jewel-
spear in the Japanese creation mythology, where it has a

twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or 781
to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one 788
understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the
Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration
to Buddha.

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. 794
The chief of the family is its religious head and its rep- 782
resentative. He worships "Heaven and all the spirits"
on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his
duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each
family honors the image of its family protector-deity.
At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is
the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue wor-
shipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors.
The chief of the family is its representative at the per-
formance of public rites. Attended by his family, he
performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to
start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the
various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the
spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—
and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fin-
gering his prayer beads.

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of 794
the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of 622
the village and its elders administer both the official and
religious life of the people in it. Even as they appor-
tion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth [65]
and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum
for religious services. They impose corvées on the
villagers for municipal functions as well as for such
religious functions as protection against hailstorms or
the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner,
heads of families are summoned to participate in rites
at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain.
The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief.
He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as
the family chief does in his own circle.

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious [64]
life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter.
It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite.
On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image
of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village
may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry
about public worship in the village and the morality of
his subjects.

Religious activities are part of the family and social
life of the Monguor society. Their social organization
is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of
families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All
clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Mon- 771
guors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are 754
not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fer- 756
vent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many
rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism
or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor

[p. 6(A)]

shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

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cordingly, concentrated on the happiness and help needed during their actual lifetime here on earth. 795 776

However, they had populated the world with a host of good and evil spirits on which they thought they depended. They curried the favor of the good spirits and tried to secure their good disposition so that they would stay the hands of the evil spirits, and bless them during their lifetime here on earth. Among those spirits was the Spirit of Heaven, whose nature we have no means of distinguishing from that of the other spirits to whom more sacrifices were offered. (See above, p. 153.) 775 771

The shaman, whom they knew to have access to the world of spirits, was only engaged in providing them with the protection and benefits needed during their life. At present the activities of the shamans are still limited to that same sphere of action. The diffusion of Buddhism opened new vistas in the world of religious thought of the Turkic-Mongol peoples. A Buddha of benevolence appeared, enthroned in a paradise to which all people could have access and where all could enjoy happiness during the time preceding a new, happy rebirth. The concept of this intervening time became so endlessly long that the idea of rebirth was practically forgotten and put aside. However, a more concrete notion of the soul came to be developed. 756 776 771

In addition to the paradises, Buddhism revealed the existence of the eighteen hells and the presence of the terrible judge of the dead who decided about the future, according to acts morally good or bad. The shamans also told about Erlik Khan. However, the Turkic-Mongol tribes living on earth still hoped for blessings here, and were taught that the benevolent Buddha could secure them. Hence, next to the cult of the old spirits was the cult of Buddha, the throng of devotees invoking blessings and protection through the Om Mani. In this way the fervent shamanists became also fervent Lamaists. 775 771

We have no way of making sure what the impact of Nestorianism may have been upon the Turkic-Mongol tribes in later times, in promoting the development of a more concretely defined notion of the "spirit of Heaven," and its preeminence over the other spirits or even how long such an impact may have lasted. We do know, however, that Turkic-Mongol tribes honored Heaven and offered sacrifices to it, as well as to Buddha and all the spirits, and that consequently they were not monotheists.[53]

XV. RELIGION AND THE COHESION OF THE CLAN

The Monguor clans, from the time of their submission to the Chinese empire (1368), were friendly disposed toward the empire. Their chiefs received military titles and offices, and enjoyed the right to admin- 614 648

[53] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217, *et seq.* [p. 15) (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

ister their clans in territories assigned by the emperor. They formed a genuine enclave in a border province of China. It is an enigma how they could keep their social organization for five-hundred years, conserve their traditions, and withstand being absorbed in the Chinese nation. 614 648

The Monguor clans, at the time of their submission to China, were military institutions whose families were organized into groups of 10, 100, and 1,000, each under a chief. On account of the shift from pastoralism toward an agricultural economy, villages became units governed by a chief, two military commanders, and some elders appointed by the T'u-ssu, all belonging, in the beginning, to the nobility. Military service, taxes, and corvees were fixed, and troubles among the villagers were settled by those appointed chiefs in public meetings. Appeal was possible, however, to the higher authority of the T'u-ssu, and as a last resort to the Chinese authority (see Part I: 76). The Monguors thus lived their own lives in their own organized world, under powerful chiefs; their soldiers were always ready to defend the marches on the empire.

On account of the tremendous power and influence radiating from the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and its three celebrated Hutukhtus (who were personal friends of the emperors and from whom they received territorial grants), between 1604 and 1723 many subjects of the T'u-ssu, lured by better conditions of tenantry, became subjects of the lamaseries, exempt from taxes and corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The clan chiefs willy-nilly had to comply with this situation and in order to retrieve their material assets, and to have tenants till their soil, and taxpayers and soldiers, they had to enroll Tibetans and Chinese in their clans. 792 614 175

The double damage wrought to the Monguor clans by this situation became peculiarly conspicuous after the revolt of 1723. Those Monguors who, lured by the hope of better economic conditions, had become subjects of lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas and continued to live as Monguors, segregated from the Chinese, to wear their Monguor dress, keeping their family customs and traditions in marriage, burial, and other festivities, but under lama chiefs instead of clan chiefs. After 1723 their social conditions changed entirely. Becoming Chinese subjects, they could not be reintegrated in their old clans and found themselves isolated in a new world without cohesion or support, and burdened with taxes and corvées. They started to speak Chinese, adopt the Chinese style of dress, marry Chinese girls, be buried according to the Chinese rites. Such was the classical case of the thirteen villages of the Sha-t'ang Valley, which before 1723 depended on Erh-ku-lung. The bulk of the defections among the Monguors was caused by their first becoming subjects of lamaseries, and later being thrown into the hands of Chinese officials, where they lacked the support of their former chiefs and religion. These groups of Monguors re- 614 177 175

[p. 157 (B)]

canted their origin. They still know pretty well that 614
their ancestors were Monguors, however, and after two- 177
hundred years, the women, at death, still have to be 175
laid out in the coffin in the Monguor skirt. "Chinese" of such origin always remained addicted to shamanism and Lamaism, notwithstanding the fact that they also built Taoist temples and supported Taoist priests.

The second thing which turned the Monguor society upside down after 1723 was the improvement of material conditions. Peace and stability having been assured, and areas for expansion having been opened to agriculture, more Chinese moved into the country, commerce started to develop and flourish. New markets were opened by the Chamber of Commerce of Hsining, connected with those of the capital of the province. The Monguors, inpoverished by the previous chronic inroads of Mongols and Tibetans and the recent revolt, were now more prosperous. Many Monguor commoners became rich, even richer and more influential than many member of the nobility, and they began to be appointed chiefs of villages, military commanders, and elders. The nobility correspondingly lost influence and prestige. Because there were Chinese among the commoners, the way of thinking, settling troubles, and administering the villages became more and more Chinese.

The intercourse of the Monguors with the Chinese 177
became more intensive through commercial relations. 614
The richest Monguors started sending their boys to Chinese schools, marrying Chinese girls, who abhorred the dress of the Monguor women, and refused to speak the Monguor language. More and more Monguors, under the impact of Chinese culture, were ashamed of being called barbarians and preferred to claim to be Chinese. Long since, the chiefs of the clans, the T'u-ssu, had set the example by marrying Chinese girls, to such an extent that many among them were unable to speak the language of their subjects. Nationalism in language never having existed among them, the Chinese language began to be used indiscriminately at the village meetings and at the performance of religious rites by shamans and lamas. All official documents were written in Chinese, and so nearly all Monguors understood [191]
and spoke the Chinese language but used their Monguor language when conversing among themselves. However, they remained members of the Monguor clans, even though the Chinese officials did not prevent them from abandoning their clan chiefs with the same rigidity as in former times. They conserved their old customs and traditions and the old social organization.

What was the reason for these facts? On the one 771
hand, the economic benefits attached to the T'u-ssu in- 614
stitution are to be taken into serious consideration. However, on the other hand, the religious factor is not to be overlooked. The entire fabric of the Monguor social organization was woven in an atmosphere of religion which caused them to remember that they were

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

not Chinese and which held them close together. First of all, stress is to be put on the old cult of the ancestors, deeply embedded in the consciousness of the Turco-Mongol tribes. Among the Hsien-pi is already noted the "ox cart with the images or tables of the ancestors"; it is noted among the Ch'i-tan [1] and recorded among the Mongols in the thirteenth century.[2] Among the oldest Turco-Mongols, in the formulas of invocation of spirits, "Ancestors, Heaven and earth spirits, and deities" are included, "ancestors" enjoying the preeminency.[3] Chingis Khan became an important deity among the Mongols. No wonder that the cult of the ancestor of each of the Monguor clans is vital. A new cemetery was built for the founding ancestor, and an ancestor hall, the register of genealogies started with him, and his cult is performed yearly, accompanied by brilliant festivities at the clan diet. It is the big holiday of the whole clan. The accession of the new T'u-ssu is announced to the clan ancestor, whose blessings are asked for every year at the ceremony of the opening of the seal.[4] All the officials of the clan have to honor the ancestor at that time. These observances are a great means of strengthening the cohesion of the clan. 771 614

Like the Mongol tribes who honored their ancestors on an ox cart before their tent, the Monguors never fail to honor their ancestors of the three senior generations of each family at the time of the most important religious rite performed in spring. The cult of the ancestors is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of every family, that the cult of its guardian deity has become that of the ancestors of the three immediate senior generations. 771 769

An interesting fact illustrates this frame of mind. Among the thirteen villages of Sha-t'ang Valley one is called the village of the Kan family. In 1914 fourteen families bearing the name of Kan were still living there. These families, according to their own traditions, are desecendants of the Third House of the Kan T'u-ssu [5] established in the region south of Nien-pei. Before 1723, on account of disturbances in the country and better living conditions in lamasery territory, they moved to Sha-t'ang and became subjects of the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung. After the revolt they became Chinese subjects, without bonds with their old clan.

In 1914 I happened to learn that still, every year, at the time of the worshipping of the ancestor of the Kan clan, a member of the Third House traveled to Mo-tou, the ancestral cemetery, three days distant, to attend the ceremony, to contribute to the expenses of the sacrifice, to bring a fixed amount of copper coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple (fifty coins per member of each of the families), to have the names of the members who

[1] Rolf Stein, *T'oung Pao* 35: 68–69, 1940.
[2] A. Van de Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* 1: 37, 1929.
[3] W. Schmidt, *op. cit.* 9: 13.
[4] L. Schram, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier*, Part I: 48.
[5] Schram, *op. cit.*, 32. [p. 158(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

died during the year entered in the family register, and 771
to bring back a piece of pork pie for each of the families 769
in order that they might partake of the sacrificial meal offered to the ancestor at the cemetery. After more than two-hundred years, and notwithstanding the fact that no bonds bound them to the clan, the old ancestor cult still made them remember their origin and bound the clan tightly together.

The chief of the clan, at the time of his triennial 614
visit to the villages, brings with him the picture of the 769
guardian deity of the clan in order that all the villagers may honor it in a group and feel united, putting their hope in the protection of the same deity. A temple is built for the guardian deity of the clan inside the mansion of the clan chief, where it is honored by a lama chaplain every day of the year in order that the clan may be blessed.

This study has made clear the role of the chiefs of the 614
villages in promoting the religious rites against the 771
scourges of hail, epidemics, and epizootics, fixing the rite of the sacred animal, imposing even continence, prohibiting indulgence in liquors and garlic by the performers of certain rites, forbidding the singing of obscene songs in the village during the time the crops are growing in the fields, and assessing every family a certain contribution to defray the cult expenses.

All these religious functions of the chiefs of the clans and the villages promote cohesion among the clan members and strengthen the social structure of the institution. The keen interest displayed by the clan and village chiefs in devising means to avert the harm caused by evil spirits and to provide blessings of the ancestors and all the spirits upon the clan members cannot but tie the entire clan group by closer bonds and make it feel solidarity with the chiefs, in the struggle for life.

The fact of each family having an uncle, son, or 593
nephew among the members of the lamaseries, even 769
Living Buddhas, necessarily welds the families together in a strong united group.

In the Monguor families, the cult of the ancestors participated in by all the members of the extended family at New Year's and on the three days preceeding the clan diet, the cult of its old guardian deity protector inherited in each generation by the eldest son, the celebration every year, with all the members of the extended family contributing toward defraying the expenses to honor it, and the gathering of the whole family before this deity every time a branch of the divided families gets into serious trouble—all these facts provide solidarity in the family by religious means. The family chief not only cares for the administration of the wealth and support of its members, but he is its religious chief who, every morning, honors "Heaven and all the spirits" by means of the Wei-sang in behalf of them, and is their representative at the performance of the public rites in the village. His authority is, in large

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5: Schram AE9 Monguor AE9

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[For additional information on t'u-ssu, see category 116, pp. 72-114.]

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Uigur AI4

is not recorded. Friction between Uighurs and Shat'o? Not room enough in Tung Ku for the herds? A device to increase the military power of the myriarch? M 175x 648 U 175 648

It is also noted that twelve Pai-tieh tribes and others were controlled by the three Shat'o officials Li, Na, and Chi, who guarded the country 30 li south and west of Hsining. To these three Shat'o chieftains who controlled their own Shat'o subjects, the Pai-tieh tribes and others had been entrusted by the Mongols. Probably they were Uighurs, for they were moved from the Tung-ku region also, and it is noted that their customs and clothes and adornments were the same as those of the western Ch'iangs of the myriarch. M 619 624 563 M [17]

It is further noted that the Shat'o official Li Nan-ko originally controlled the tribes of Tung Ku and the Hula tribes. Probably being a prominent and powerful chieftain, he had enrolled among his Shat'o subjects these Uighur tribes, at the time they fled from Kanchow. At the same time it is recorded that the t'u-ssu Ah, Chao, Yeh, Kan, and Chu controlled the Lu-erh-chia tribes and others, which were in the main similar in customs, clothing and adornments, according to the *Annals*. M [17]

It is noted (Monguors I: 56) that only one large group of Chinese is known to have enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans. The group bears the surname of Pao and is usually called the Yuan Pao group. They are subjects of the Lu t'u-ssu. We were at a loss to explain satisfactorily the name Yuan Pao. The fact had been noted above that the strong Lung K'o tribe, with its 120,000 people, had received, in 1071, from the Sung emperor the name Pao for its faithfulness toward the dynasty. Is it not possible that, during the period of troubles, which lasted for nearly two centuries, the clan disintegrated, that a group moved to Huangchung and lost its language, conserving the name Pao, but, knowing that they were Uighurs, that they preferred to be enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans, as so many Uighurs during the Yuan period? Because this had happened during the Yuan period, they are still called the Pao group of the Yuan time, Yuan Pao chia. M 175x 614 563

It seems conclusively that these tribes were Uighur tribes which, during the Mongol period, had been divided in small units and entrusted to these petty military officials, and appointed as guardians of definite territory and mountain passes in Huangchung in order that they might be able to defend the country more easily. M [624]

SETTLEMENT OF UIGHURS AND SHAT'O IN EAST KANSU

M 175x 614 563 648

The preceding notes explain the settlement of only a relatively small number of Uighurs. But where has the remainder of the several ten thousands of Uighurs been settled? Since the very important Lung K'o tribe was settled in East Kansu, and another Lung-po tribe is rooted in the same region, and on the map a U 175 167 648

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

Lung village is noted near Ming Chou in East Kansu, our investigations are turned in that direction.

From 1086 on, the entire population of Huangchung and parts of East Kansu controlled by the descendants of Chiossulo was intermittently involved in troubles with the Chinese empire, and in 1096 it arose as one man against the Sung empire, combining its forces with those of the Hsi Hsia. The cities of Huangchung were taken and retaken alternatively by Chinese troops and Tibetans, and the whole country was devastated and ruined. The flourishing empire founded by Chiossulo had lasted for only about fifty years. The fateful Huangchung was again controlled by the Sung emperor. After another period of fifty years, during which Chinese and Chin empires fought the Hsi Hsia and then fought among themselves, the Chin empire occupied Huangchung in 1131 and appointed Kuan Shih Ku to control the Ho Chou area and all of Huangchung (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 8*a*).

What happened to the Uighurs from 1086 until 1227? Having been settled in the territories of Chiossulo since 1036, mixed with the Tibetan tribes depending on him, and having pledged allegiance to him, inevitably they had endorsed the policy of the tribes of Huangchung and had a desperate time. During the fifty years of wars and destruction many of these Uighur tribes must have disintegrated and mixed with others. In 1369, at the time the Ming dynasty conquered Kansu, organized the country, and established the régime of the t'u-ssu, the disaster was wrought among the tribes, especially in East Kansu.

Tang-hsiang tribes, in which T'u-fan tribes had mixed, had been settled in East Kansu since 627. Shat'o groups, in 955, had scattered into the remotest southwestern parts of East Kansu, in the region of the upper T'ao River and near the borders of Szechwan. In 1036, in the same region, a large number of Uighurs must have been settled and at the débacle of the Mongol dynasty (1368) many Mongol groups also remained in these countries.

Scanning the list of the t'u-ssu established in that region in Ming times, one wonders to see in the *Annals* of Kansu the clear distinction established among the subjects of the t'u-ssu. Every time, their subject Tibetan tribes are accurately noted as Tibetans, and next to them their native subject tribes. This intended distinction seems to point at genuine Tibetan tribes and at the mixture of Shat'o Uighurs and Mongols qualified as natives.

SARO AND SHERA UIGHURS

In the remote country of the mountainous Ming Chou Hsien at the source of the T'ao River is recorded the T'u-ssu Ma Chin-tung, of Chinese origin, controlling 26 native tribes (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 27*a*). In the same region T'u-ssu Hu Ch'eng controlled 41 vil-

[P.17(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

wan (the bent of the Mongols), and who was assistant official of the administrative body of the province of Kansu, representing all the officials of Huangchung, went to court to surrender (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*b*). Together with him, Li Nan-ko, of Shat'o origin, vice-chairman of the administrative body of Hsining, surrendered with the officials of the entire district (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*), and all the officials received appointments.[61] T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, Li Nan-ko, and all the officials who had surrendered, became the founding ancestors of the t'u-ssu clans[62] in Huangchung (Monguors I: 31). To them is to be added Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, member of the imperial family who had surrendered in 1369. In that way all the officials of the region of Hsining and Nienpei had surrendered and in the next year, 1372, Hsining was created a commandery (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). In the first moon of 1373 the emperor sent the edict to T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh:

I govern the empire; with prominent people of all the world who love justice, I deal with courtesy, granting them offices, in order that they might have the opportunity to manifest their qualities. You, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who have lived long in the western country, have heard about our highly developed culture and have come to my court. I appreciate your intention. Now at the beginning of the establishment of the commandery of Hsining, I especially request your help. I hope you will devote yourself wholeheartedly to the submission of the tribes and the strict observance of the law, in order that the country may enjoy peace. I hope you will respond to my desire to give you this appointment. Have the title of Hsuan-wei chiang-chun (general who manifests his military qualities) and be commander of the commandery of Hsining. Edict, First moon, Sixth year, Hung Wu period. (*Annals* of Hsining 32: 16*a*.)

The *Annals* note that he had received at the time of his surrender in 1371 the hereditary function of secretary commandant. The imperial edict of the first moon of 1373 granted him the function of commander of the commandery. The clan of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was rewarded in 1401 by the emperor with the name Ch'i, when his son Chuan Chou had died on the field of battle.

WHO WERE THE OFFICIALS WHO SURRENDERED IN A GROUP IN 1371?

The Mongol T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh and his 700 families, the Shat'o Li Nan-ko with his 4,000 families, the Shat'o Li Wen nephew of Li Nan-ko, controlling 963 families, and the Shat'o chiefs Na-sha-mi and Chi

[61] *Ming Shih* 330: 2*a*.

[62] I use the term "clan" to refer to a group sharing a common territory, a common surname, and a common chief. Monguor clans consist both of persons who recognize real or traditional kinship ties with the chief, and persons who do not recognize such ties but who have, nevertheless, adopted the surname of the chief and his kinsmen at the time they were integrated in the group.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Pao with their 150 and 90 families, respectively, all 175x surrendered. At the same time five clans surrendered 622 who were recorded in the *Annals* as Monguors: the 614 clans Wang, Kan, Chou, Hsin, and La, with 150, 300, 62, and 100 families, respectively. The Mongol clan Ah with its 150 families surrendered, whose chief discharged during the Yuan the office of secretary of the province of Kansu, and also the Yeh clan with 70 families, Mohammedans of Turkistan, recorded as being of Ch'an-t'ou origin (turbaned heads). The chief of the Yeh clan was secretary of the administrative organ of Kansu during the Yuan. These are the twelve clans which surrendered in a group in 1371.

The date at which the Ch'eng clan, with 150 families, 175x settled in Hsining during the Ming is not recorded. 614 Its clan chief is of Chinese extraction and originated from Shan Yang in Chiang Nan (Chiang Nan became later the Nan Huei and Kiangsu provinces), and its subjects are called "natives."[63] The date at which the Chao clan, 120 families, settled in Huangchung during the Ming also is not recorded. Its chief during the Yuan discharged the duty of myriarch of Chao Tsang, and is noted as being from Min Chou and of Mongol origin. Li Hua-no, an offshoot of the Li Nan-ko [622] branch, and so normally a Shat'o, received from the clan 100 families and became t'u-ssu only in 1645. To this list of 15 t'u-ssu clans is still to be added the clan of the Mongol Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi with his 800 families, who had been the first among the Huangchung t'u-ssu to surrender in 1369. Among them 13 clans [613] were settled in Huangchung in the beginning of the Yuan period in definite territories, and the mountain passes to be guarded by each of them had been indicated. This seems to suggest that all of them were large or minor groups of soldiers, with their chiefs, wardens of the country in behalf of the Yuan. They continued during the Ming, and later during the Ch'ing, to occupy the territories they had occupied during the Yuan, except the two cities of Hsining and Nienpei, and to be charged with the same duties, because the

[63] In Huangchung the subjects of the sixteen t'u-ssu clans living in the country are commonly called Monguors, by the Monguors themselves, whether they are of Mongol, Shat'o, Uighur, Tibetan, or Chinese extraction. The Chinese call them *t'u-jen*, i.e. "natives." Among these natives are people of Mongol, Shat'o, Uighur, and Tibetan stock and even some Chinese who entered the t'u-ssu clans. Tibetans settled in Huangchung, with their own tribal chiefs, are called Hsi-fan, and Mongols living outside Huangchung are called Ta-tse, Ta-ta, T'u-ta, Meng-ku, but never Monguors. The present study deals with the Monguors of Huangchung who speak a peculiar Mongol dialect, not understood by the other Mongols. In Ho Chou region lives a group of Mohammedan Mongols, whose language is very similar to that of the Monguors. However, the group is not called Monguor but Sant'a. The group of Mongols of the Lu t'u-ssu clan of Lien Ch'eng are genuine Monguors and recognized as such by the Monguors of Huangchung. In Chinese studies dealing with the natives of Huangchung, they are all indiscriminately called Meng-ku, Ta-tse, T'u-ta, Ta-ta, Hsi-fan, T'u-jen, and T'u-ming (Monguors I: 31, 32).

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Ming fixed the number of both foot and horse each of them had to keep ready for emergencies and indicated the mountain passes they had to defend. 175x 614

An interesting fact is that all the subjects of the 16 *t'u-ssu* are called *t'u-min* or *t'u-jen* in the *Annals* and by the people. Soldiers in the Yuan time were accompanied by their families. At that time no Chinese lived in Huangchung. Huangchung was the land of the barbarian Monguors, controlled by Monguor chiefs. It is no wonder that when the Chinese started founding Chinese colonies in Huangchung, the colonists called the Monguors natives, and called Hsi-fan the few uninteresting small Tibetan tribes having their own petty chiefs, for their language and customs differed entirely from those of the Monguors. [70]

Still in Huangchung, on the borders of the Yellow River, but not in the prefecture of Hsining, are encountered two groups of Salars (Muslim Turks of Samarkand) who lived in Huangchung during the Yuan time, having no or few relations with the Monguors. They had already surrendered to the Ming on their own account in 1370, and their two chiefs had received an incumbency. The clan chief Han Pao-yuan had received the office of centurion. He controlled the four upper Salar clans (Kung) who had adopted the surname Han and inhabited the region west of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 43*a*). The clan chief Han Shan-pa had also received the office of centurion. He controlled the four lower Salar clans, which had adopted the surname Ma, and inhabited the region east of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 43*b*). The four upper and four lower Salar clans are called the eight inner Salar clans (Nei Pa-kung). There still remain five outer Salar clans (Wai Pa-kung) depending on and controlled by the subprefecture of Pa-yen-jung (Monguors I: 22, 23). 175x 563 648

It is not known at what time the Salars settled in Huangchung. A legend is still spread among them relating to their arrival in the country during the Tang dynasty, 620–905. Anyway, the Salars were settled in Huangchung during the Yuan time (1280–1368) and surrendered to the Ming in 1370.[64] Consequently, in the fifth moon of 1371 the entire population of Huangchung with its chiefs had surrendered to the Ming. 175x 563

MING POLICY TOWARD SURRENDERING TRIBES

The policy adopted by the Ming in Kansu, in order to promote the surrender of the numerous groups of Mongol officials living in that country who still commanded a fair number of soldiers and tribes of Tibetans with soldiers subject to them, which was to appoint the Mongol officials and tribal chiefs officials of the newly established dynasty, retaining control over their 175x 648

[64] William Woodville Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892*, 80, Smithsonian Institution, 1894.

[P.27(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

own troops, seems at first sight to have been a danger- 175x
ous one. The Mings must have known that many 648
armed groups of Mongols had fled to Mongolia; they must have surmised that the heir apparent of the Mongol nation would try to invade China and recover his lost empire, and that in such circumstances the faithfulness of the surrendered Mongol officials in Kansu still commanding their own troops would have been questionable. However, without hesitation and apprehension they went ahead, using from the very beginning the surrendered officials to induce other Mongol officials and Tibetan tribes to surrender. Even from the very beginning they ordered their troops to follow the imperial armies fighting unconquered or revolting tribes of Mongol officials, even ordering their troops to fight Mongol armies at the side of the Chinese armies in expeditions to Mongolia. Several t'u-ssu and hundreds of their soldiers died on the fields of battle; even t'u-ssu were sent with their troops to other provinces to quell revolts. But after every military achievement the emperors never omitted to bestow upon the t'u-ssu awards and titles of which they were unusually fond. In Kansu the number of Mongol officials who rebelled after their surrender was small. Many t'u-ssu later on, remaining [669]
chiefs of their clans, at the same time entered the framework of the civil and military Chinese officials and fulfilled their duties in Chinese territory, receiving the rewards or punishments proper to the office. It may be said that the policy of the Ming in Kansu promoting the surrender of Mongol officers and tribal chiefs was successful and of enormous profit to the dynasty.

ANCESTORS OF THE LI T'U-SSU CLAN

The tradition all over the country and confirmed by 173
both the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 38*a*, 46*b*) and the *An-* 614
nals of Hsining (27: 9*a*–*b*), claims the Li t'u-ssu clans to be the descendants of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung, who had received from the Tang emperor the name Li and been created Prince of Chin in 895. At the time the Tang dynasty had run its course, the Shat'o founded in China, successively, two ephemeral dynasties: Hu Tang (923–936) and Hu Chin (936–947) (Monguors I: 131 appendix, the Shat'o Turks). Among the t'u-ssu in Huangchung are encountered two Li branches: that of Li Nan-ko, to whose son, Li Yin, had been granted in 1425 the title of Earl of Huei Ning, and that of Li Wen, son of Li Shang-ko, on whom had been bestowed the title of Earl of Kaoyang in 1459. During the Yuan, the Li Nan-ko branch guarded the territory of San Ch'uan Valley (since 1930, called the subprefecture of Ming Huo) situated 120 li southeast of Nienpei, and controlled more than 4,000 families, scattered in many villages. The Li Wen clan controlled 963 families scattered in 48 villages and guarded the territory 30 li south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 39*a*, 48*a*). During the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties both branches still occupied and guarded the same territories.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

On account of the fact that the original family chronicles were lost during the troubles which beset the Ming dynasty, the most fantastic legends have come to be spread among the Li Monguors and even among their t'u-ssu, relating to the history of the clan ancestors preceding the Ming period (1368). Some of them circulating among the Li Wen clan have been noted in Monguors I: 26, 27. Concerning the Li Nan-ko branch we possess two recent documents of 1937 and 1941 which Chinese scholars obtained, one from the Li t'u-ssu himself, and one from a clan member. 173 614

The first document, *Studies on Frontier Areas of Kansu, Ch'ing-hai, and Tibet,* by Ma Ho-t'ien[65] records, on page 179, the personal visit of Ma Ho-t'ien to the residence of the Li t'u-ssu in the subprefecture of Ming Hua and his trip to the ancestral cemetery at Hsiang T'ang.[66] [113]

The Li t'u-ssu was so kind as to show the chronicle of his clan. The size of the chronicle is two feet square, the image of the ancestor is depicted on the first page. On the next page is elaborated his history, and so on for each of the ancestors. However, the only trustworthy part of the chronicle is that starting with the surrender of Li Nan-ko to the Ming and relating the succession of the t'u-ssu from 1371 until the present time. The entire text concerning the history of the ancestors preceding Li Nan-ko is unreliable. Then we left the t'u-ssu and went to the ancestral cemetery of the Li Nan-ko branch at Hsiang T'ang.

On page 180:

The cemetery occupies a terrain as large as six acres, enclosed by a mud wall. The central alley, bordered by stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay, leads to a big stele, behind which is said to be the tomb of Li Nan-ko, and in front of which is built a stone table for the offerings to the dead. On the stele are engraved the text of the ratification by the Ch'ing emperor, of the appointment granted by the previous Ming emperor to the incumbent to the office of t'u-ssu, the text of a funeral oration granted by an emperor at the death of a t'u-ssu, also the glorious achievements of the clan and the names of the t'u-ssu who died on the field of battle. On both sides of the avenue are erected the steles of the t'u-ssu of the Li Nan-ko clan dating from the Ming and Ch'ing periods, the most recent dating from the Kuang-su period (1875–1909). Outside the enclosure, at the entrance of the cemetery, are erected two big steles, "the spirit way steles." On the one erected on the eighth moon of 1427 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Nan-ko), who posthumously received the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Pen-chun tu-tu. He is a descendant of Li K'o-yung, whose original name was T'o-pa, to whom was granted the name Li by the Tang emperor. During the Yuan dynasty, Li Shang-ko was functionary at the offices of the prince of Ch'i. To him succeeded consecutively Li Mei-chi-lu, Li Kuan-chi-lu and Li Nan-ko who was T'ung-chih (vice-chairman) of the district of Hsining. He received during the Hung-wu period of the Ming the hereditary duty of Tu-chih-huei-shih (High Commandant). To his son Yin was granted, on account of his merits, the title of Earl of Huei Ning, 173 764 614 [324]

[65] *Kan, Ch'ing-hai, Tsang pien-ch'ü K'ao-ch'a-chi,* Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1947.

[66] Hsiang T'ang is the name of the locality where the cemetery is situated, and means the Hall of Sacrifice, the room where the corpse is laid out.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

and posthumously were bestowed (upon Li Nan-ko) the titles of his son: Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Tso-chun tu-tu-fu. On the second spirit way stele erected on the third moon of 1475 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Li Yin) to whom was granted the title "official who sincerely manifested military achievements" to whom were bestowed, in a special way, the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Chou-kuo Huei Ning-pei (Earl of Huei Ning, pillar of the empire). 173 614 764

The second document is encountered in Shuo-wen-yueh-k'an 3, 10, 1942 (Ch'ung-ch'ing Shuo-wen Yueh-k'an shih). There we meet with the article "Genealogical record of the tribe of the descendants of Li K'o-yung" by Wei Chu-hsien, who passed through the subprefecture of Ming Hua (San Ch'uan Valley) in October 1941. He visited Li Pao-ch'ing, a clan member of the old Li Nan-ko branch, who told him that during the Shun-chih period (1644–1661) a genealogical chronicle had been composed based on all available sources, by Yueh-Nai, secretary of the t'u-ssu for fifteen years, well read in the history of the clan, and that Yueh Nai was a contemporary of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu.[67] 173 614 [113]

I copied the present part of the chronicle composed by Yueh Nai. The original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-yeh. The Tang emperor granted him the name Li and the title of Prince of Chin (895). He saved the Tang dynasty during the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao. Li Ssu-kung moved into Hsi Hsia, Li Chi-feng followed the Sung dynasty, offering the four districts of Yin, Hsia, Suei, Ning.[68] From the Sung until the Yuan, during generations, they lived in Hsi Hsia and were renowned for their military presentations. At the time of the Yuan, Li Shang-ko was T'ung-chih tu-tu-chih (Vice-Chairman of the protectorate office) in Hsining. Then the Li clan divided into six sub-clans, each having its t'u-ssu. The most important among them was the Li Nan-ko clan. During the Ming, Li Nan-ko surrendered with the officials of Huangchung. Then follow the names of the descendants of Li Nan-ko who fulfilled successively the duty of t'u-ssu during the Ming. Finally a genealogical scheme is elaborated, starting with Li Shang-ko, succeeded by his son Li Mei-chi-lu, his grandson Li Kuan-chi-lu, who had two sons Li Nan-ko and Ch'a han Timur. The son of Li Nan-ko was Li Yin, the son of Ch'a Han Timur was Kuan Yin-pao. The son of Li Yin was Li Ch'ang, the son of Kuan Yin-pao was Li Wen. Further the names of the successors of Li 175* [148] 614 622

[67] The shift of the Ming dynasty to that of the Manchu was preceded by a period of troubles. The rebels in Huangchung looted the country of its wealth. T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, still faithful to the Ming, tried to restore order in his territory. In 1644 his wife, concubine, two brothers, and three hundred of his subjects were killed. He himself was taken prisoner by rebels and sent to Sian to the Manchu court. He was accredited in his former duty of t'u-ssu and died as a faithful official of the Manchus (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 2*b*. *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47*b*).

[68] *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 3*b*, happened in 982.

Ch'ang and Li Wen correspond with the names encountered in the lists of the *Annals* of Hsining and Kansu. 175x 614 622

Li Shang-ko
|
Li Mei-chi-lu
|
Li Kuan-chi-lu
|
Li Nan-ko — Ch'ahan Timur
| |
Li Yin — Kuan-yin-pao
| |
Li Ch'ang — Li Wen

[60]

HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE DOCUMENTS

114 175x 614

Both important documents manifest the confusion existing in the minds of the Li t'u-ssu and their subjects during and at the end of the Ming dynasty. Both Li clans claim (1) their first ancestor to have been Li K'o-yung, (2) who had received the name of Li, and (3) had been created prince of Chin by the Tang emperor. However, on the spirit way stele in the cemetery, erected in 1427, is chiseled that the original name of the Li K'o-yung clan was Topa, while the genealogical chronicle composed by Yueh Nai around 1644 records that the original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-hsieh.

175x 614

The Topa tribe was the leading tribe among one of the two Tibetan Tang-hsiang groups which had fled to Kansu in 627 from Sung P'an-ting (northwest Szechwan), for fear of invading T'u-fan. This group, called P'ing-hsia-p'u, was settled by the Tang emperor in the region of the present Mi Chih Hsien (northwest of Shensi). The group, during the troubles which beset the Tang empire, had founded its own Hsi Hsia kingdom, and from 982 on waged war with the Sung empire.

In 808 Shat'o, belonging to the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks, eluded the pursuit of Tibetans and fled from Kanchow through Huangchung and East Kansu to submit to China. They were settled in Ling Chou (Ninghsia), later in Yen Chou and still later eastward through Shansi. They were faithful warriors, who often saved the Tang dynasty. Later they founded their own ephemeral Shat'o dynasties (923–947), whose first emperor originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe.

Yueh Nai, author of the chronicle, writes that the Li clan originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks. He should have known that Li K'o-yung was a Shat'o Turk, that the Shat'o group differed from the Tibetan Hsi Hsia group, and was settled in its own country granted by the emperor, and had its own history. Nonetheless he makes them move into Hsi Hsia, he records two Hsi Hsia leaders, Li Sse-kung and Li Chi-feng, as being ancestors of the Turk Li Nan-ko, and records the offering of four Hsi Hsia districts to the Sung (982) as being an act of his Shat'o ancestor.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Possibly the fact chiseled on the stele, stating that the Li clan had originated from the Topa Hsi Hsia tribe, induced Yueh Nai, who was not conversant with Chinese history, to find a solution combining two impossible data. However, how could the tradition of the origin of the clan have been obliterated to such an extent if stock were taken of the fact that the grandson of Li Nan-ko, Li Kung, who obtained the literary degree of Chin-shih in 1481 and later was promoted minister of the Shang-pao-ssu, certainly must have known all about the Shat'o and the Hsi Hsia history? 175× 614

It is interesting to compare the two documents. Both stele and chronicle start with the same ancestor Li Shang-ko, his son Mei-chi-lu, his grandson Kuan-chi-lu, his great-grandson Li Nan-ko whose son was Li Yin and grandson Li Ch'ang.

However, on the stele the brother of Li Nan-ko, Ch'ahan Timur, and his son and grandson Li Wen, are not mentioned. It has to be kept in mind that the stele is erected in Hsiang T'ang, in the cemetery of the Li Nan-ko branch, and so it is normal that the members of the Li Nan-ko branch only should be recorded on the stele in this cemetery. The Li Wen branch has its own cemetery situated ten li north of Hsining, with its own steles, etc. But it is normal that in the genealogical chronicle of the entire Li clan, composed by Yueh Nai in 1644, the Li Wen branch should be recorded next to that of Li Nan-ko.

Who was Li Shang-ko? On the stele he is noted as having been an official of the Prince of Ch'i, during the Yuan dynasty (1280–1367). His son Li Mei-chi-lu and his grandson Li Kuan-chi-lu are recorded as having held the same office.

The Ch'i princes had been appanaged by the emperor in East Kansu in Feng-hsiang-fu. Among them was the Prince T'o-t'o-nu-erh Fu-ma [69] who was the younger brother of Chang Chi to whom, at the beginning of the Yuan dynasty, Huangchung had been assigned as appanage, and who in 1287 had been ordered by the emperor to reside in Huangchung. Chang Chi must have known the Li clan pretty well.

In the biography of Li Wen, son of Li Shang-ko, in the *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*b*, it is noted that in the Hsuan Te period (1426–1436), Li Wen held the office of Tu chih-huei chien-shih (secretary High Commandant) at the Hsin-tu-ssu in Shensi province. Does this not seem to point to an incumbency near the same Princes of Ch'i? However this seems impossible, because, in 1429 according to the same *Annals* (27: 11), Li Wen and all the t'u-ssu of Huangchung participated in the expedition in Nan Ting and Ch'u Hsien, conducted by Li Yin, and according to the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 38*a*) this expedition started in 1425.

However, according to the genealogical register of Yueh Nai, Li Shang-ko was T'ung-chih tu hu-chih (vice-chairman of the protectorate office) in Hsining

[69] Hambis, *op. cit.*, 108, 49.

under the Yuan; he therefore lived in Huangchung and not in East Kansu in Feng-Hsiang Fu in the appanage of the Ch'i prince. It was also at that time that the Li clan parted in six branches. But the Li clan never parted in six branches because only two Li clans have existed in Huangchung and not six.

The *Annals* of Kansu (42: 38), according to "original" documents, record that Li Wen was the son of the first wife of Li Shang-ko and that the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 2*b*, 10*a*), which printed that Li Yin was the uncle of Li Wen are to be amended. Li Wen and Li Yin were first cousins, Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko were brothers. However, the *Annals* do not tell who was the father of Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko.

?

Li Shang-ko — Li Nan-ko

Li Wen (first cousins) — Li Yin

During the Yuan dynasty, Li Wen discharged the office of Tu chih-huei t'ung-chih (Vice-chairman High Commandant) (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38*a*) and then submitted to the Ming with the officials of Huangchung in a group in 1371. The *Annals* do not note at what time Li Shang-ko died. However the fact, that Li Wen went to submit as chief of the clan means that his father had died before 1371. Because he submitted to the Ming, he and not Li Shang-ko had been granted the office of t'u-ssu. He is considered the founding ancestor of the clan and with him starts the clan cemetery. In this clan cemetery his mound is the principal and highest one. When all the subjects of the clan come yearly to honor him and the later clan ancestors, offerings and libations are first made before his mound and then before the graves of the later ancestors. Li Shang-ko, his father, is not buried in the clan cemetery.

At what time did the Li clan part into two clans? It is certain that before the submission of Li Wen before 1371, the division of the paternal inheritance had long since been accomplished between the two brothers, Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko (or between former clan chiefs), because both clans, in the Yuan dynasty, controlled definite territories, were ordered to guard definite passes and keep always ready a definite number of foot and horse (for all the t'u-ssu were in the Yuan times groups of Mongol soldiers or groups of surrendered tribes enrolled as defenders of the country). Because it is said that during the Ming and Ch'ing times they continued to occupy and defend the same territories and passes, it would seem that before the Li Nan-ko and Li Shang-ko time the division of the clan must have been achieved.

Anyway the problem of the exact time at which the partition of the clans had been achieved is not an easy one to solve, and also the problem concerning Li Wen

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

himself. We know for sure that 1371 was the year of his submission to the Ming, and also the time of his death is historically fixed at 1488. It is hard to explain how this man has been clever enough to be an official during 117 years! 175x 614

THE SPIRIT WAY STELES

In the first document it is noted that the first spirit way stele was erected in 1427 in honor of Li Nan-ko, the first t'u-ssu and founding ancestor of the clan. According to the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 46*b*), Li Nan-ko died in 1407, his son Li Yin received in 1427 the title of Earl of Huei Ning, and the title granted to the son was posthumously bestowed at the same time upon the father (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 10*a*. Annals of Kansu 42: 47). This distinction which, according to the Chinese mentality, primarily honored the father who had reared so glorious a son, obviously seems to have been the cause of the erection of the spirit way stele at the entrance of the clan cemetery in honor of Li Nan-ko in 1427 by Li Yin himself. 175x 764 324

The second spirit way stele was erected in 1475 in honor of Li Yin. Li Yin probably died a few years after 1437. His son, Li Ch'ang, succeeded to his father only in 1457, on account of the discredit weighing upon the clan. Li Ch'ang died in 1493 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 10). Emperor Hsien Tsung only in 1475 promoted Li Ch'ang, and he honored him in a special way at his death, sending splendid funeral gifts and a funeral oration (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 2*b*) written by himself, containing the glorification of the virtues of the deceased. This oration had to be burned before the coffin as a last farewell of the emperor to his faithful subject. The distinguished promotion received from the emperor in 1475 seems to have been the reason for the erection of the spirit way stele by Li Ch'ang to his father Li Yin in 1475, the father upon whom redounded the imperial attention bestowed upon his eminent son. [645]

THE CEMETERY OF HSIANG T'ANG

The cemetery of Hsiang T'ang is definitely the most elaborate cemetery built in the country and it is said to have been erected to glorify the entire Li clan. I trusted this tradition accepted by prominent scholars and officials in the country, who founded their statement on an erroneous text of the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 2*a*) claiming that both Li clans were the descendants of Li Nan-ko (Monguors I: 70, 71). However, not a single stele is encountered in the cemetery pointing to members of the Li Wen clan, which has its own ancestral cemetery at the foot of the Han P'ing mountain, situated ten li north of the city of Hsining, with steles and inscriptions (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 8*a*). This cemetery is not as elaborate as the one of the Li Nan-ko branch with its spirit way steles, etc., but 175x 614 764

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

its central avenue is also bordered with stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay (Monguors 1: 71, note 57), and every year ceremonies are performed in it by the entire clan, in honor of the founding ancestor Li Wen, Earl of Kao Yang, and all the subsequent t'u-ssu of his clan. The Hsiang T'ang cemetery is definitely the cemetery of the Li Nan-ko clan. 175x 614 764

In the Hsiang T'ang cemetery is seen a mound, said to be that of Li Nan-ko, who died in 1407. However, a striking puzzle is the fact that his son, the celebrated Li Yin, Earl of Huei Ning, who died soon after 1437, is buried not in Hsiang T'ang cemetery, but in the forlorn village of Hai Shi Wan, southeast of Nienpei, where a small stele with an inscription is erected, and next to his tomb is the tomb of his son Li Ch'ang, who received promotions in 1475 and the glorifying attention from the emperor at the time of his death in 1493. Still more puzzling is the fact that Li Kung, the eminent great-grandson of Li Nan-ko, the son of Li Ch'ang, who obtained the literary degree of Chin-shih in 1481 and was later promoted minister of the Shang Pao Sse, is buried in the village of Pa-chu-yuan situated southeast of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 17*a*; 27: 10–11; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*, 47*a*). [648]

The fact that these three most eminent t'u-ssu of the clan were not buried in the ancestral cemetery where two spirit way steles were erected seems to suggest that the present elaborate cemetery might have been built in later times. [622]

No notes are available relating to the ancestors of the other chiefs of the Monguor clans.

HISTORY OF HUANGCHUNG AND THE T'U-SSU DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1644)

This chapter reveals on the one hand the tremendous role played by the Huangchung Monguors in the struggle waged by the Ming dynasty against the Mongols during the nearly three centuries of its existence, which several times shook the foundations of the empire. The help they rendered to the dynasty is unprecedented in history. 175x 648

On the other hand, the chapter reveals the weakness of the Ming administration in Huangchung and the ordeal the loyal and dependent Monguors had to undergo to remain faithful to it amidst the wicked and ruthless depredations against their country, disastrous forays of brigands, hunger, disease, and poverty. 175x

T'u-ssu Li Nan-ko, after his surrender with the officials of Hsining in a group in 1371 and his summons to court, was ordered to return to Hsining and to assume the administration of Huangchung. He controlled the country, calling on more tribes to surrender; repaired roads and bridges; organized the system of relays and the communications with the central administration; amassed grain in the public graneries, etc. The same year he defeated and took prisoner a rebel- 648 622

[P. 31(A)]

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discharged his office with distinction until his dying day. The faithfulness of the Monguor t'u-ssu will become more and more manifest during the reigns of the subsequent Ming emperors.

MONGUORS OF HUANGCHUNG DURING THE REIGN OF EMPEROR CH'ENG TSUNG (YUNG LO), 1403–1424

T'ai Tsung, first emperor of the Ming, had appointed as successor his grandson, Huei Ti, an inexperienced young boy. His uncle, the Prince of Yen, youngest son of the emperor, revolted and defeated his nephew in a four year struggle.[74] He ascended the throne in 1403. He was called by the name of the period of his reign, Yung Lo.

Yung Lo, who must have known T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who during 1380–1387 had fought the brigands of the Mongol Emperor T'o ku ssu in Liao-tung, had called the Kansu troops to join his army. T'u-ssu Tuan Chou, who had succeeded his deceased father, went with his troops to rescue Yung Lo in 1399. He died on the field of battle. Yung Lo rewarded the faithful t'u-ssu, granting to his clan the name of Ch'i and giving to the clan chief a mansion in the city of Hsining, and posthumously bestowing upon him the title of Piao-ch'i chiang-chun (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 13*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 44*b*).

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yi also had taken the side of Yung Lo in his revolt against Huei Ti. He was rewarded with the office of Chih-huei t'ung-chih in Lu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*). During this period more troubles occurred in Huangchung. Lu T'u-ssu Kung Pu shih chieh repelled the invasion of the Mongol Pu Yen ta shih in 1402, who looted the region of Liang-chow. The t'u-ssu offered to Emperor Yung Lo in 1403 the captured prisoners and a tribute of horses. He was promoted to centurion in Chuang Lang.

The same year, 1402, the turbulent I lin sheng pen revolted again in Kokonor and looted the region of Kui Te and the southern valley of Hsining. T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i went to fight the rebel and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 12*b*). The troubled conditions in Huangchung at that time seem to have been the reason why no more t'u-ssu participated in the struggle of Yung Lo against Huei Ti.

The new emperor had to contend with the tremendous problem of the Mongols, and this dangerous prospect was not bright. During the reign of his father (1368–1398) nine expeditions had to be launched against them. A constant struggle against the empire and endless dissension of the different tribes among themselves was to be expected. The struggle between

[74] In Monguors II: 16, 21, 22, are recorded the history of the foundation of the monastery of Ch'u T'an by San la, and the wonderful legends circulating among the lamas related to the mysterious disappearance of Emperor Huei Ti, who became lama in the monastery of Ch'u T'an, settled there and died.

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devotion to the empire. Emperor Yung Lo whom he had served in the expeditions in the desert had given him a precious sword and a famous horse. In 1425 Li Yin had fought the brigands in Anting and at the head of his soldiers had attacked the brigands and himself had killed many among them. He had captured a booty of 130,000 cattle. The emperor had sent minister Yang Yung to congratulate him. His merits were unusual and therefore he received in his dream a visit from the god of war . . . all these circumstances we have recorded on the stele, etc.

M 175x 211 539 [703]

Without doubt the titles received by Li Yin, the building of the temple and the name given to it by the emperor himself, the stele, and the wonderful dreams went straight to the heart of the clan members and strengthened the cohesion of the Li clan. All these circumstances normally seem to have been conducive at that time to the building of an elaborate clan cemetery and to the erection in 1426 of the famous "spirit way stele" in honor of Li Nan-ko, the founder of the clan, father of Li Yin.

M 175x 614 626

However, the behavior of Li Yin, puffed up with pride, had changed after he had been honored so magnificently by the emperor. The Governor of Ninghsia, Shih Chao, who had previously been Governor of Hsining, accused him of fostering subversive intentions. Li Yin could disprove the accusation. In Hsining he had assembled 700 families, fugitives from justice, whom he protected. He had settled them in the country and had given them land to till. But they harmed their neighbors, stealing and upsetting the country. Again complaints were lodged with the board of military justice, and Li Yin was ordered to turn over his tenants to the civil authority. In 1432 Ch'i Ch'eng, descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, was his father's lawful successor to the office of t'u-ssu. The bold Li Yin, not bothering to offend the prominent Ch'i t'u-ssu clan, supported as successor to the t'u-ssu office Chien Tsang, the nephew of Ch'i Ch'eng, who was the son of his sister. He appointed murderers to kill Ch'i Ch'eng. He was accused again. This time the military judges rolled all the accusations into one, condemned him to prison, to the revocation of his titles and honors and to capital punishment. In 1437 the emperor pardoned him, allowing him a small emolument. Soon thereafter he died (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

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HUANGCHUNG T'U-SSU UNDER THE SUBSEQUENT EMPERORS

After the death of Yung Lo, (1424) the alarming confusion and struggle continued unabated among the eastern and western Mongols, both groups appointing their own Khans, who were merely nominal supreme chiefs and actually blind tools in the hands of Togon and A-lu-t'ai who controlled the two groups. A-lu-t'ai, weakened after many encounters with the Chinese and Oirat troops; was finally defeated and killed by the Oirat, Togon, in 1434; and the hegemony of the Oirats

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ssu, to which was attached a lama chaplain, who every day offered incense in the temple and also in the ancestor hall to the ancestors of the Lu family. 175x 114

T'O HUAN, FOUNDING ANCESTOR OF THE CLAN

According to the Chronicles of the clan, T'o Huan is its founding ancestor. He was a member of the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty, with the title of Prince of An Ting, since 1313 (Section 1, Preface. Section 3, Biography of T'o Huan, *Yuan Shih*, Chapter 108, 3rd section 24, *27a–b*). 175x 614

In 1368 the Ming emperor entered the capital of the Yuan, whose emperor had fled to Ying Ch'ang with the imperial family. T'o Huan, prevented from accompanying the emperor, arrived in Kansu in 1369. At the end of 1369 or the beginning of 1370, General Teng Yu was sent to invite him to see the emperor. He submitted to the Ming, and was ordered to muster his troops, and he followed General Su Ta in the war against K'uo-k'uo Timur, the last general of the Yuan. In 1375 he helped General Pu Yin to beat the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pâ (Dorjibal). He was invited to court to receive the congratulations of the emperor, but on account of illness he could not obey the order. He died in 1376 (Section 3, biography of T'o Huan, Section 2 and beginning of Section 3, biography of Lu Yung ch'ang and letter of concubine Yang to the emperor).

His oldest son Ah-shih-t'u succeeded him, became blind, and died in 1377. His second son, Kung-pu shih-tieh succeeded in 1378, and is recorded as the ancestor of the second generation. He fought brigands in 1403 and followed the expedition of the emperor against Ah lu t'ai in 1410, and died on the field of battle.

His oldest son Shih-chia succeeded him in 1412 and is recorded as the ancestor of the third generation, with the name Hsien. In 1414 he received from the emperor the name Lu. From that time on, the clan was called Lu clan (T'o Huan was a Mongol belonging to the Borjigin clan of Chingis, he had no family name).

The Chronicle records the history of T'o Huan, the founding ancestor of the clan, and that of the ancestors who succeeded him as chiefs of the clans. It does not pay attention to the other t'u-ssu of the clan, or to groups which branched off, even by sons of T'o Huan, or by members of the principal or lateral branches.

T'o Huan is recorded as having been appointed by the emperor chief of his tribes and controller of the territory he occupied during the Yuan time. [648 624]

The *Annals* of P'ing Fan (1739) record only the title of P'ing-chang cheng-shih of T'o Huan, without noting the title, Prince of An Ting, granted to him by the emperor, although this important fact should have been known among the Lu Monguors. Lu Kuang-tsu, renowned scholar, had already composed his Chronicles between 1602 and 1607 in Lien Ch'eng. The *Annals* bypass Ah-shih-t'u who had succeeded T'o Huan in 1377 and died in the same year, and record Kung- [114]

[P.71(B)] [Text continues on P.72(B)]

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ANCESTORS OF T'O HUAN

Kolgan

Hu Ch'a

Hulut'ai

Yeh Pu Kan | Papala | Yeh Mei Kan

T'o Huan

Pa Chih Han | Ah Shih T'u | Kung Pu Shih Tieh

(T'o Erh Chih P'an)

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pu-shih-tieh, his younger brother, as the ancestor of the second generation without noting that he had died in 1410 on the field of battle, accompanying the emperor on an expedition in Mongolia. The *Annals* note Shih Chia as the ancestor of the third generation without recording his name Hsien, and without noting that he was given the name of Lu on account of the death of his father on the field of battle, but seem to suggest that he had been granted the name of Lu on account of his own merits. Anyway Kung-pu-shih-tieh is the ancestor of the second generation and T'o Huan is the founding ancestor of the clan. 175K 614

The *Annals* of Kansu 42: 55, start with Kung-pu-shih-tieh, a member of the imperial family who led his sons and tribes to submit in 1371, and received the title of Pei fu-chang from the emperor and was ordered to settle in Lien Ch'eng. He received the title of centurion and died in 1410 on the battlefield. However, the *Annals* record that his father was T'o Huan bearing the titles of P'ing-chang Cheng-shih and the dignity of Prince of Wu Ting. In the official *Annals* of the Yuan, Pen chi 24, 27, T'o Huan is not noted on the list of princes of Wu Ting but on those of the princes of An Ting. Not Kung-pu-shih-tieh but T'o Huan according to the Chronicles of the Lu clan, submitted with his sons and tribes, at the end of 1369 or beginning of 1370. T'o Huan fought with the Ming armies in 1370 and 1375 and died in 1376. He acted as chief of the submitted clan. Kung-pu-shih-tieh succeeded only in 1378 and could not have led the tribes to submit in 1371. In the *Annals* it is not noted either that Kung-pu-shih-tieh was the ancestor of the second generation nor the founding ancestor of the clan. In the Kansu *Annals* in the articles concerning the Monguor clan is never noted the number of the ancestors who succeeded each other. Anyway Kung-pu-shih-tieh was

[P. 72(B)]

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a member of the imperial family of the Yuan and the son of T'o Huan.

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KOLGAN

T'o Huan, Prince of An Ting, is a descendant of Chingis Khan (who died in 1227), by his sixth son Kolgan, according to the Chinese sources.[1]

HM 173 643

Kolgan was the sixth son of Chingis, by his fourth wife Kulan, a Merkit beauty offered by the Merkit chief after Chingis had attacked and crushed the tribe.[2] She bore a son Kolgan. He participated in the conquest of Kipchack (Central Russia) with the Mongol princes of all the branches, under the command of Batu, and besieged the city of Ban (Riazan?) in the autumn of 1237. They stormed the city of Iga (?) where Kolgan was mortally wounded.[3]

M 175x 614

K'o Chao-Ming in *Hsin Yuan Shih* 110, 8a, writes: Kulan was the favorite of Chingis, who loved her son Kolgan as much as those of the Empress Borte. Kolgan is recorded as the sixth among the sons of Chingis immediately after the five sons of Empress Borte (*Yuan Shih* 107, 6a). Chingis, in fixing the maintenance of his sons, fixed Kolgan's share nearly equal to those of the five sons of Borte (*Yuan Shih* 95, 5). However,

[1] For the study of the study of the descendants of Kolgan, we follow the Magisterial Study of Louis Hambis, *Le Chapitre CVIII du Yüan che* (64–70) avec notes supplementaires par Paul Pelliot. Supplement au Volume 38 du *T'oung Pao*, Leiden, Brill, 1945. And also *Chapitre CVII du Yüan che* par L. Hambis. Monographies du *T'oung Pao*, 3, Tome I, Leiden, Brill, 1954. There the texts recorded in the official history of the Yuan (1369) concerning the ancestors are discussed relating to Meng wu erh shih chi by Tu Chi (1911), the Cho Keng Lu (1366), the two recent sources composed during the Republic, and the Mohammedan histories by Rashid-ed-Din and Khondemir.

[2] George Vernadski, *The Mongols and Russia*, 26, 1953.

[3] E. Bretschneider, *Médieval Recherches* 1: 315, London, 1910.

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nothing is recorded in the *Yuan Shih* relating to the appanage of Kolgan. Kolgan accompanied Chingis on the expedition in Central Asia and probably died in 1237.

HU CH'A

The son of Kolgan was Hu Ch'a, according to the unanimous testimony of all Chinese and Mohammedan sources.

On the panel recording the princes of Ho Chien, the name of Hu Ch'a is encountered (*Yuan Shih* 107, 6*a*). However, his name is not written on the list of the appanaged princes, but there the name of his son Hulut'ai is written. The date of his promotion as Prince of Ho Chien is not given either, but it is noted on the list of the sustenances and subjects allotted to the Prince of Ho Chien.

Hu Ch'a probably died in 1264.

HULUT'AI

All the Chinese sources unanimously call Hulut'ai the son of Hu Ch'a. Hulut'ai was Prince of Ho Chien, but the Mohammedan sources do not mention it. The history of the Yuan calls him "great prince" (107, 6*b*), and also Prince of Ho Chien and notes the date of his promotion (108, 4). Consequently, he was really Prince of Ho Chien, as his father Hu Ch'a had been. The name of Hulut'ai is written in Chinese in different ways and the same name is encountered among many offspring of the second son of Chingis, Chagatai (Hambis, note 60, 3).

When Kubilai was proclaimed emperor in 1260, his brother Arikboga opposed him, was proclaimed emperor also, and was followed by nearly all the princes of the East and the West. The revolt lasted for more than fifty years.

Hulut'ai received from Emperor Kubilai in 1265 the seal of Prince of Ho Chien and a gift of a thousand *tan* of grain for his destitute subjects, probably to keep him from mixing in the revolt. However, in 1277, at the time Haitu fought Kubilai, Hulut'ai, living among rebel princes, followed Haitu, but in the eighth month he left the rebels and clung again to the faction of Kubilai (*Yuan Shih* 9, 20*b*).

In the history of the Yuan neither the death nor the date of the death of Hulut'ai is noted, but he died before 1287.

THE SONS OF HULUT'AI

All the sources concerning the three first generations of the ancestors of T'o Huan, agree that Kolgan was the primordial ancestor, succeeded by his son Hu Ch'a, and grandson Hulut'ai, who was the son of Hu Ch'a. The confusion in the list of succession starts with the sons of Hulut'ai.

The oldest lists, corroborated by the Mohammedan lists and that of 1911, mention three sons: Yeh Pu Kan,

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Papala, and Yeh Mei Kan. The lists in both recent histories mention four sons: Yeh Pu Kan, Papa, Pei Ta Han, and Yeh Mei Kan. The old lists note Papa to be the son of Yeh Pu Kan. The recent lists note Papa as the brother of Yeh Pu Kan and Papala the son of Yeh Mei Kan and not his brother.

T'o Huan in the three old lists belongs to the fifth generation, in the recent lists to the sixth generation, but in all these lists T'o Huan is recorded as the son of Papala. Anyway T'o Huan is noted as a descendant of Kolgan, whether his father was the son or the grandson of Hulut'ai.

YEH PU KAN

Yeh Pu Kan succeeded to his father Hulut'ai. On all lists he is noted as the son of Hulut'ai.

To Yeh Pu Kan seems to have been granted the dignity of Prince of Ho Chien which had been bestowed upon his grandfather Hu Ch'a and his father Hulut'ai and the reason is that in the history of the Yuan (14, 17*b*) is recorded that his appanage of Ho Chien and his title of Ta lu hua ch'ih had been removed from him in 1287. It thus seems that he had inherited the title from his father and that his father had died before 1287. However, his name is not recorded in the lists of the princes with title (108, 4*a*) but only in those called "great princes" (107, 6*b*).

Also, his grandfather Hu Ch'a (107, 5*a*) is recorded Prince of Ho Chien in the official history and also in the list of the sustenance given to the princes (95, 5*a*). However, his name is not mentioned in the list of Princes of Ho Chien (108, 4*a*). Also, his father Hulut'ai is noted only as "great prince" in 107, 6*b*, but in the principal *Annals* he is recorded as Prince of Ho Chien (6, 2), with the date of the granting of the title and the seal, and also in 108, 4*a*, he is noted as Prince of Ho Chien. Does this fact suggest that only the grandfather and the father had enjoyed the title of Prince of Ho Chien and that after the death of Hulut'ai, the title had no longer been granted to Yeh Pu Kan and later successors? Or is it possible that it had already been removed from Hulut'ai after his revolt in 1277?

Anyway, Yeh Pu Kan's appanage and title were removed from him in 1287 after he had participated in the revolt against Kubilai, in which Hai Tu had lured Na Yen, descendant of Hasar, the fourth brother of Chingis, appanaged in Manchuria.

Marco Polo, at that time at the court of Kubilai, tells that Na Yen was a baptized Nestorian Christian, who in the battle against Kubilai bore a cross, but that this did not avail, because he had revolted against his lord.[4]

Before his revolt Yeh Pu Kan in 1284 had accompanied the imperial Prince Namuhan in the region of Kobdo, to inquire about the line of action of the rebellious and turbulent Mongol princes.

Many hypotheses have been suggested related to the

[4] de Mailla, *Histoire générale de la Chine* 9: 432.

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place the appanage of Yeh Pu Kan was really situated. It seems to have been north of the Altai Mountains, and north of the appanage of the descendants of Chagatai, the second son of Chingis.

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Yeh Pu Kan died in 1288.

YEH MEI KAN, PAPALA, PEITAHAN, AND PAPA

In all the lists of the descendants of Kolgan, Yeh Mei Kan is recorded as the son of Hulut'ai, except in the list of the Cho Keng Lu where he is entirely obliterated. In the history of the Yuan are encountered many Yeh Pu Kan and Yeh Mei Kan and it is not always easy to distinguish them.

In the history of the Yuan (20, *7a*) Yeh Mei Kan the son of Hulut'ai, having simply the title of prince, is recorded as having received a silver gilded seal in 1300 and having died in 1301, and his son Papala as having succeeded him (20, 13). Hambis encounters in the same history two texts concerning Papala: one of 1286 related to an imperial gift for his destitute people, another recorded the granting of the title of "great prince" in 1314 (108, *6b*). On p. 66 Hambis explains the discrepancies between these texts and those related to Yeh Mei Kan, and concludes peremptorily that Papala must have been the brother of Yeh Mei Kan, and not his son, but the son of Hulut'ai. In the Mohammedan lists and in *Yuan Shih hsin pien* he is also noted to be the brother.

The Cho keng lu not only notes Papala as the son of Yeh Mei Kan, but substitutes for him Peitahan, as brother of Yeh Mei Kan. However Peitahan does not belong to the group of the descendants of Hulut'ai, but to that of Chagatai, the second son of Chingis (Hambis, p. 66).

It has been noted that all the old lists of the descendants of Hulut'ai record only three sons. However, the two most recent histories printed after 1911 note four sons: Yeh Pu Kan, Papa, Peitahan, Yeh Mei Kan. Papa noted as the son of Yeh Pu Kan in all the other lists, is noted in both recent works as the brother of Yeh Pu Kan. In all the lists of the descendants of Hulut'ai, Papa is noted as having two sons: Hapin Timur and Wu T'u-sse Timur. Hambis, in his magisterial study, proves conclusively that Papa belongs to the group of the descendants of Chagatai, in which lists he is consigned with his two sons, bearing names entirely the same as those recorded in the Kolgan lists.

The Cho keng lu, in order to make the question more intricate, records the two sons of Papa not to be the sons of Papa, but of T'o Huan! In the family Chronicles, however, these names are not encountered.

T'O HUAN

All the sources, together with the family Chronicles of the Lu clan, unanimously attest T'o Huan to be the son of Papala and descendant of Kolgan in the fifth

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of the seal, controlling the Monguor officials and troops of Chuang Lang. 175x 614

Families have genealogical registers as kingdoms have histories. In olden times during the Chou and Ch'in dynasties, the one hundred-twenty kingdoms each had precious books. When Ssu-Ma Ch'ien composed the Shih-chi (history) he took these books as models. The coordination of the work seemed to be so clear that future genealogical registers were built according to that model. 114

Ssu Ma-ch'ien composed the genealogical registers of the San Tai period (Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties, 2205–250 B.C.). However, from Huang Ti on, the number of generations is hard to determine, and because of this and of the length of time elapsed the registers are contradictory and not entirely reliable. The same problem exists with the genealogical list of Ou-Yang Hsiu and of Su Shih, which were highly esteemed at that time. From Hsun on, Ou-Yang records only five generations for a period of 300 years, and from Tsung on, he records eighteen generations for a period of only 140 years. Checking the list of Su, one notes the omission of Chang Shih from Chou, but we see him go as far upward as Lu-Chung and Kun-wu, and we feel once more its vagueness. It is difficult to rely entirely upon them. 175x 114

The Lu family originates from the imperial family of the Yuan. However, their genealogical register does not go back that far. It reads: "(Reverentially) we dare not to look at the emperor as our ancestor. Our family name Lu started with Lu Hsien, the ancestor of the third generation. However, our first ancestor was Prince of An Ting during the Yuan. This is recorded in the genealogical lists of the Yuan dynasty, and so there is no need to investigate it again. Those who recorded the original name would not have noted it without having proof."[8]

We start with the first section of the genealogical register.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER 175x

Primordial Ancestor	T'o Huan 601
Second generation	Kung-pu-shih-tieh 614
Two sons: Ah-shih-tu succeeded, died soon, Kung-pu-shih-tieh succeeded	
Third generation	Hsien
Fourth generation	Chien
Fifth generation	Lin
Sixth generation	Chin
Seventh generation	Tung
Two sons: Tan succeeded, died soon, Tung succeeded	
Eighth generation	Kuang-tsu
Cheng-wu son of Tan succeeded, died soon. Tung three more sons: Kuang-tsu, Kuang-hsien, Kuang-kuo; Kuang-tsu succeeded	

[8] Yuan Shih, 107, 3b, 6a–b, 24, 27b, 113.

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Ninth generation	Yung Ch'ang 175x
Tenth generation	Hung 601
Eleventh generation	Ti Hsin 614
Two sons: Ti Ch'eng succeeded, died soon, Ti Hsin succeeded	
Twelfth generation	Hua Lin
Thirteenth generation	Feng Chu
Fourteenth generation	Fan
Fifteenth generation	Chi Hsun
Sixteenth generation	Cho
Seventeenth generation	Ju Kao

CHRONOLOGICAL BIOGRAPHIES

PREFACE

In former times Huang Li-chou (Huang Tsung-hsi) always said that the science of the composition of chronological biographies is a distinctive branch (of history). 175x

Li Wen-chien composed the chronological biographies of Sires Fan, Han, Fu, Wu Yang, Ssu Ma, and the three Su's. The later generations admired their completeness and correctness. These men had been renowned ministers and eminent scholars.

Kingdoms have official histories. Families have chronological biographies in which men are the warp and years the woof. If the biographies cover only a few years, the collection of the material is easy. In 1643 our family met with the insurrection of Huo Chin during which (our) archives, books, law registers, and official deeds, were consumed by fires set by the brigands. A dynasty is only a fraction of the history, a single man a fraction of a generation, and an event only a fraction of the life of a single man. Weaving with the warp of men and the woof of years, collected over periods of hundreds of years, and then trying to put the events of several hundred years in a one-foot roll is difficult.

Now I summarily coordinate all the events, I record our submission (to the empire) in order to conform with the will of Heaven, I record our military successes, in order to recall the glorious achievements of the ancestors, I note the dates of the birth and the death of the ancestors, the place of their interment, in order that the ulterior generations will remember to make sacrifices to them. I eliminate all doubtful events and avoid writing unchecked facts, in order not to mislead posterity. Facts which have to be believed and are important have to be recorded and insignificant ones omitted. This is the rule of the Ch'un-ch'iu. The dates of the period of the reigns of the emperors are noted with the first day of the moon.

Now we proceed to the second section, the chronological biographies.

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Chuang Lang. Ju Kao went to call on him. He was invited to dinner, and highly praised by the governor. 175x

The empire was at peace, the troops at rest. Ju Kao executed the orders of his superiors, and controlled his subjects according to the law. According to the seasons he examined farming and the culture of mulberry trees. In his spare time he planted flowers and bamboos and studied calligraphy, in the clerical style, [35] according to the principles of the scholars of the Chin and T'ang dynasties. He was able to write letters as big as the elbow. Most of the inscriptions in our mansions, temples, monasteries, and shops are products of his pencil and admired as gifts of his hand and his artistic talent.

He died in 1891 at the age of sixty-four and received posthumously the title of Cheng-wei-chiang-chun. His wife, the noble Khoshot lady, guarded the seals. She cared for the orphan and controlled the clan. She was intelligent and strong minded.

In 1896 the Mohammedans of Ho Chou and Hsining revolted again. Destitute people fled to Lien Ch'eng. The lady provided them with board and lodging and distributed alms and repaired the city walls. She was clever and was feared and loved by the subjects. Nobody dared to vex her.

She had no children. However, there were three boys of concubines. The first one, Tan Tseng, became a lama, the second one, Yang, died at the time he was adult, the third, Shu, succeeded to the hereditary duty. The lady died at forty-six years of age and received the title of tseng (great-grandmother) Fujen. She was buried at Shang Hsiang T'ang.[10]

FOUNDATION OF A SECOND CLAN WITHIN THE LU CLAN

175x 614

To the study of the Genealogical Register, the biographies and history of the Lu clan, is to be added a note about the founding of a second clan within the Lu clan.

T'o Huan, at the time of his submission to the Ming dynasty, was ordered to settle with his subjects in the country of Chuang Lang, which he had occupied during the Yuan dynasty. Accordingly, he was the recognized

[10] According to the Chronicles of the Lu clan Ju Kao, born in 1830, succeeded as t'u-ssu in 1850 or 1852 and received the diploma of his incumbency only in 1883. He died in 1891 or in 1893.

His wife, a Khoshot lady, died without issue in 1895.

Ju Kao had three sons born by concubines. The third son, Shu, born in 1876 succeeded his father in 1897. Here end the Chronicles.

In 1916 the widow of Shu, also a Khoshot lady, arrived at Hsining imploring General Ma K'o-ch'eng to accept the "dry fatherhood" of her son. A few days later the boy arrived at Hsining to acknowledge his "dry father," his protector. Certainly Shu had died before 1916, leaving a son. The wife of Shu, the Khoshot lady, hoping to see the son succeed her late husband as t'u-ssu, made a trip to Hsining to secure the protection of General Ma K'o-ch'eng, and the realization of her desire.

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

proprietor of the country and the chief of his subjects, who were not allowed to abandon him. The same principle prevailed among the t'u-ssu in Huangchung, and the first appointed t'u-ssu was considered the founding ancestor of the clan, proprietor of the territory, and chief of the subjects. Regularly he was succeeded by his oldest son. Among the Monguors the founding ancestor distributed among his sons a part of the territory with some villages, to provide their sustenance, but he remained the supreme chief of the territory and the subjects. He was always free to dispense some territories to meritorious members of the clan. The sons of the founding ancestor and their descendants constitute the group of the nobles of the clan, forming as many branches as there were sons. Each branch was free to divide among its members the villages, and the land taxes, furnished by the commoners who tilled the soil of their properties and villages. In Huangchung, in time of war, each branch of the nobles was ordered to send a fixed number of soldiers to the t'u-ssu chief of the clan (Monguors I: 41, 42).

In the Genealogical Register and the Biographies of the Lu clan are noted only two sons of T'o Huan: Ah-shih-tu, the oldest, who succeeded and died after a year, and Kung-pu-shih-tieh, the second son, who succeeded from 1378 until 1410, and is recorded as the chief of the clan of the second generation.

In the genealogical records are noted only the t'u-ssu who succeeded to each other, and nothing is recorded about their brothers and sons who were not affiliated with the government of the clan.

Incidentally, there are encountered in the *Annals* of Kansu 42: 55, and in the *Annals* of Chuang Lang 36, some more interesting details related to the Lu clan and its history.

In both *Annals* it is recorded that the oldest son of T'o Huan was not Ah-shih-t'u, but Pa-chih-han. The text reads:

Pa-chih-han, the oldest son of the Prince of Wu Ting, member of the imperial family of the Yuan, fulfilling the duty of P'ing-chang-cheng-shih, submitted with his father to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was promoted secretary commandant. Later the name of Lu was granted to the clan by the emperor. The successive chiefs of the branch of Pa-chih-han fulfilled the hereditary duty of t'u-ssu.

What could have been the reason for the creation of a second t'u-ssu clan at the very beginning, when the Lu clan submitted to the Ming dynasty? By analogy with what happened in the Li clan in 1655, as described in Mongours I: 42, we may suppose that it was due to a quarrel within the ruling family of the clan and that similar troubles between Pa-chih-han and his father T'o Huan or his brothers caused the establishment of a second clan in the Lu clan from the very beginning.

No hints are encountered of troubles in the Lu family

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

at that time, either in the Lu chronicles or in the *Annals* of Kansu 42: 56, and Chuang Lang 36, but both *Annals* record that, at the time Pa-chih-han was appointed t'u-ssu by the emperor with the title of "secretary commandant with seal," T'o Huan offered him some territories and fourteen villages. Nothing is noted about the number of families they contained. T'o Huan at that time controlled ten tribes of Monguors, numbering 3,245 families with 21,686 persons, and the most extensive territories allotted by the emperor to any t'u-ssu in Huangchung. 175x 614

T'u-ssu T'o Huan was entitled "Commandant with Seal" and controlled 300 regular Monguor soldiers, 500 irregular soldiers, and 200 regular Tibetan soldiers. He obeyed the orders of the Chinese General of Hsining in time of war but had himself to provide the equipment (horses, weapons) and sustenance to his soldiers, who were not paid for their military services. He did not pay taxes to the Chinese officials. He received a salary of 76.6 taels.

As "secretary commandant with seal," Pa-chih-han also controlled territories offered "by the clan" but only fifty regular Monguor soldiers. He also obeyed the order of the Chinese general of Hsining in time of war, provided the equipment and sustenance to his soldiers, and paid no taxes to the Chinese officials, but he received an annual salary of only 48.96 taels.[11]

The enormous difference between the poor territories and fourteen villages offered to Pa-chih-han by his father and the extensive territories and cities and villages his father controlled must have opened his eyes to the fact that his right of succession as an eldest son had been by-passed by his father, and he must have felt this as an open insult which could never be forgotten and which sooner or later must be revenged.

Even though we encounter no hints in the family chronicles and in the *Annals* concerning troubles in the Lu family, these circumstances lead us to surmise that something must have been wrong between Pa-chih-han and his father, which might well have caused the formation of a second clan within the Lu clan.

THE PA-CHIH-HAN CLAN

During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) the successors of T'u-ssu Pa-chih-han, endowed with the office of "T'u-ssu secretary commandant with seal," defended the country against the recurrent forays and invasions of Mongols and Tibetans, according to the orders of the general of Hsining. In 1644, at the end of the dynasty, the incumbent T'u-ssu of the Pa-chih-han clan was the secretary commandant Lu Tien, who fought the brigand Li Tze-ch'eng in Huangchung and Kansu. He fought the brigands with his Monguor troops in the same way T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang, "commandant with seal" of the T'o Huan clan, fought them with 175x

[11] *Annals* of Chuang Lang 36a–b.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The emperor himself appoints t'u-ssu and grants their seals and diploma. No officials, even governors, are allowed to appoint t'u-ssu. As an exception, when a new clan splits off from a large clan, a part of the territories and subjects of the clan are granted to the new t'u-ssu by the "old t'u-ssu and the clan chiefs," but in such cases accreditation by the emperor must follow. These facts in the Li and Lu clan have been previously noted. Also every time a new t'u-ssu succeeds to an old one his office must be confirmed by the emperor, with seal and diploma. 175x 622

It is clear then that the status of a chief of a group of seceders from a Monguor clan is that of a military official, obeying the orders of a Chinese military official, who unlawfully enlisted him and granted him the titles and promotions granted to Chinese officials in the Chinese army; it is not the status of a t'u-ssu. Such a seceding chief and his followers, continuing to live in the territories of the clan, among the loyal subjects of the t'u-ssu, are legally still subject to him, although they have ceased to recognize his authority. 175x 614 622 701

How is it possible for two groups of people to live peacefully together on the territory of a chief, whose authority one of them refuses to recognize? How is it possible to have Chinese officials who do not defend the rights of their subjects to secede from the clan? This paradox was realized in 1645, when the seceders of the T'o Huan clan led by T'u-ssu Lu Tien surrendered to Governor Meng Ch'iao-fang, and had their situation "regularized" by the Governor. A look at the chronicles of the Lu clan helps to clarify this confusing problem.[14]

SECEDERS FROM THE LU CLAN IN 1645 175x

In 1645 Prince Yin of the Ch'ing dynasty arrived to call the people of the two rivers to surrender. He himself, a Manchu, well conversant with the mentality and the social institutions of the Mongols and nomadic peoples, and familiar with conditions in the Lu clan, was so shocked by the disorganization and hatred among the eminent families of the clan, that he ordered the noble Lady Yang, concubine of the killed T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang in Lien Ch'eng, to write to the emperor a detailed report with "her blood," concerning the disaster of Lien Ch'eng. The report reads: "The subjects of our clan have been divided among traitors, belonging to eminent families of our tribes, our clan properties have been seized and the hereditary lordship over our tribes usurped."[15]

This report is an eye-opener concerning the events of 1644, the confusion existing in the clan and the hatred among the subjects. Reading the report the first impression is that the Lu P'ei-tso group must be rated among the "traitors belonging to the most eminent families of our tribes" and that the territories

[14] See pp. 89, 101.
[15] See p. 89.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

In the texts of the imperial orders sent to the t'u-ssu concerning the way of waging war with the Mongol brigands who incessantly for five centuries invaded and plundered the frontiers, abducted and killed people, are encountered continually the words "mobilize the troops and kill the brigands," "exterminate the brigands," "you are capable of doing that," "intercept their roads and kill them," "block their ways and kill them," etc., etc. The rage against and the exasperation caused by the Mongol brigands were uppermost in the minds of the Chinese officials and the frontier people. 175x 648

It is a pity that the family chronicles of the other t'u-ssu clans are lost, so we miss the texts of the imperial pronouncements at official burials with the three sacrifices and the imperial oration read before the coffin by a high official delegated by the emperor. The first sacrifice was offered and the oration read on the day of the burial. On the anniversary of the death was offered the second sacrifice and there was read a second oration. After the third year, at the end of the mourning period, followed the last sacrifice and the oration. These orations consisted in the glorification of the deceased, of his virtues and merits, and described what the emperor considered to be the virtues and the merits of the officials he used. They always ended with stereotype phrase, "in case your spirits are still conscious and capable to enjoy and breathe the fragrancy of the sacrifice, accept and enjoy it." This last courtesy of the emperor toward the meritorious t'u-ssu, read by a high official, in the presence of the entire clan, created a special atmosphere of devotion among the Monguors toward the emperor. The texts of these orations are always very interesting and instructive. [703]

THE GLORY OF THE T'U-SSU CLANS OF HUANGCHUNG

175x 614

We have to close the study of the Huangchung Monguors with the list of the names of the Monguor t'u-ssu who died on the field of battle sacrificing their lives for the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties.

This is the most glorious page in the history of the Monguors.

DIED ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE

In 1402 T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi
In 1403 T'u-ssu Ch'i Tuan-chou
In 1410 T'u-ssu Lu Kung-pu-shih-tieh
In 1426 T'u-ssu Chou-yung
In 1511 T'u-ssu Li Ch'eng's son
In 1536 T'u-ssu Hsin Pao
In 1537 T'u-ssu Yeh Luan
In 1559 T'u-ssu Li Ming-mao
In 1586 T'u-ssu Na Wei-liang
In 1588 T'u-ssu Li Chih-hsien
T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih-kang
T'u-ssu Chao and Wu. With these two t'u-ssu 800 soldiers died.

[115(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

175x
614

T'u-ssu Yeh Wei-chien
T'u-ssu Wang Chao
In 1643 T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang
In 1644 T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuan, his wife and 120 members of his family.
Wife of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, his concubine, two brothers, three hundred members of the family.
T'u-ssu Yeh Kuo-chi
In 1646 T'u-ssu Ch'eng Kuang-hsien's son
In 1798 T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu
In 1864 T'u-ssu Chou Hsieh-chi

No record existed relating to the number of all the Monguor soldiers who died on the fields of battle during these five centuries.

HONORIFIC ARCHES AND INSCRIPTIONS

175x
211
703

Honorific Arch was built and inscription sent by the emperor:

In 1475 for T'u-ssu Lu Chien "During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and probity, incessantly exercised fidelity and zeal."

In 1546 for T'u-ssu Lu Chin "Incessantly practiced faithfulness and justice and was illustrious for his dignity and fame."

In 1568 for T'u-ssu Li Kung "Ch'ing Yun, 'Blue Clouds,' means Bright Intelligence. He was an eminent scholar."

In 1612 for T'u-ssu Ch'i Teh "Honorably favored by Heavenly Grace."

In 1616 for T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chung "Served the country, manifested loyalty."

In 1644 for T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuan "Loyal servant and faithful wife, glory of the noble clan."

In 1534 in the city of Hsining was built the HALL OF THE FAITHFUL AND MERITORIOUS OFFICIALS OF HUANGCHUNG.

Four names of t'u-ssu are recorded in the list of these glorious officials. They are:

Li Nan-ko
Li Yin
Ch'eng Chih
Li Ch'ang

IMPERIAL DISTINCTION

After the Hsining troops, seething with hatred against the Mongol brigands of Kokonor, and the son, nephew, and relatives of Altan, had brilliantly demolished the temple in Kokonor, where Altan had met the Dalai Lama, and after two resounding victories had been obtained against these brigands in 1594, reports were sent to the emperor with the names of the meritorious military and civil officials who had contributed to these successful achievements. A delegate of the ministry of war was sent with titles and gifts to reward these

N 563 on, when the Monguors gave up the nomadic way of life and
M 614 became sedentary, the connection with the Chinese became
622 closer and closer and closer until the Monguors finally came
178 under Chinese rule. As the best means of maintaining control
179 over the "frontier barbarians" the Chinese permitted them a certain amount of local self-government; at this time the clan chieftain became a Chinese official, a so-called T'u-ssu or "local chief."

The Monguors were no exception to the rule that all minorities, militarily powerless in comparison with the ruling Chinese, succumbed to the new culture, which, in the minds of the minorities, had always been superior and therefore worthy of imitation. As soon as the minorities were militarily defeated or went into submission voluntarily and deliberately,
M their chieftains proudly received the insignia and title of a
[171] Chinese office. This is true of the Khans of the Mongols, the Büks of the Turks, the rgyal-pos of the Tibetans.

While the Turkic chieftains received the title of Shang-lao (Bük), the Mongolian tribal leaders became Wangs, and the Monguor clan chieftains received the title of T'u-ssu. This institution was installed by the Chinese to administer minority tribes at the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. The
N T'ang annals already report that the Chinese Emperor made
563 hereditary chieftains of frontier territories heads of the Chi-mi-
175 chou, (the predecessor of the T'u-ssu institution). The Yüan
M dynasty already called this office by its present name - T'u-
175 ssu. The Ming dynasty continued to confer this title on Mongol
179 clan chieftains whose clans were by this time mixed with
614 Tibetans, Turks, and Chinese. The Manchu dynasty,(who favored
622 minorities for obvious reasons: (1) the Manchus themselves constituted a minority and (2) maintenance of political equilibrium and balance of power in regard to minorities and indigenous Chinese) extended this system in a way that the various clans gained a limited measure of self-determination and autonomy. However, the ties to the Imperial court and its administrative institutions were, and remained close. Finally, the office of the T'u-ssu remained under the same name during the Republican period of China. In other frontier areas, e.g. in Sinkiang, the names of these offices were different, but they differed only slightly functionally. Father Schram describes the institution as follows: "...the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal non-Chinese peoples attached to, but not yet absorbed into, the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that ofChina as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native Chief" and as Chinese official."

N *563 /Kansu Mongours/

*[175] peacefully, stimulating both agriculture and commerce. Development of the country was dependent on control of the neighbouring
M [175] tribes."

b. language

M [197] The language of the Mongours is completely different from Western or Eastern Mongolian. There is no communication between the Mongours and Torguts or Ölöts, etc.

c. clan divisions

N *563 According to Father Schram there exist six Mongour clans in the Hsi-ning district and ten in the district of Nien-pei. (He uses
M • 614 the term "clan" to designate a group who share a common territory, a common surname and a common chief.) The names of the clans are: (1) Ch'i, whose chief is said to be an offspring of Chingis Khan; (2) Ch'eng; (3) Li; (4) Na; (5) Wang, and (6) Chi. The names of the Nien-pei clans are: (1) Ch'i; (2) Li Nan-ko; (3) Li Hua-nao; (4) Chao; (5) Ah; (6) Kan; (7) Chou; (8) Yeh; (9) Hsin; (10) La. As the names indicate, Chinese influence was strong.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, Tibetan and Chinese frequently were absorbed by the Mongour clans. Mannerheim reports that the Shera Yögur (another subgroup of the Mongours) have preserved their old Mongolian clan names, like Tokshu, Orge, Sultus, Turgush, Kargos, Arlat, Kong, Lantshak, Socka, Kongrott, Temyrt or Temurtshin, Jaglakyr, Tshungsa, Tshangban, Rkomdjuk, Glan, Kyrgyz, Andjan, Tuman and Uirot. There is a strict observance of clan exogamy.

N *563 2. Physical characteristics

M 142 [144] Since the Mongours are either of Mongolian, Turkish (Sha-to), Tibetan, or Chinese extraction, their physical appearance is not at all uniform. Mannerheim's description shows this variety of physical features: The Shera Yögurs are of medium height and not badly built. They have well-formed hands and feet and narrow wrists and ankles. There is nothing about them of the coarse and vulgar appearance which distinguishes the Kalmucks. Stout people are never seen - many of them are even remarkably thin. Their faces are neither exceptionally long and narrow nor short and broad. Though some have pronounced cheekbones, wide cheekbones are rare, and in many individuals they are not at all protruding. The mouth is normal, with neither thin nor thick lips, the nose straight and of a good shape. Some, however, have wide turned-up noses, with very little bridge to them. Among the majority, the distance between the eyes was rather wide. It is overgrown by the eyelid in childhood, but with age, this peculiarity almost disappears. Their eyes are black or dark, with slight changes in them, but no blue eyes were observed by Mannerheim. Their hair is black or quite dark, sometimes curly, the children often having brown hair. The men are never bald, but often become very gray and, judging by the women, the growth of hair is not particularly good. They

N *563 621 fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.

241 Within the household, the composition is similar to that of the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on and a higher frequency of joint-family occupancy. Should the family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

N *563 592 [595] N [768]

C. The Mongours

N *563 M 173 565 At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in Monguor social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

N *563 M 565 [701] Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops depending on the size of the territory and the population of which he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Monguor social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol rule. Generally speaking, the Monguor commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Monguor clans and four general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

M [614]

N *563 M 614 554 M [428] Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Monguor social organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.

N
*563 leadership after his father's death. It is noteworthy that by
M the beginning of the present century, the T'u-ssu was no longer
• 614 living with his noble kinsmen, but was living in a separate and
554 distinct family, each of which formed an independent economic
565 unit. Therefore, some T'u-ssu were rich, others poor, and the status differentiation, that previously had been determined by wealth disappeared. Thereafter, noble families functioned economically in the same manner as their subject families. In each clan the nobles were subdivided into small units called "houses." Some clans have three houses, some four or five, some as many as thirteen. Each noble family recognizes the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called the Great House, the second is called the Second House, and so on.

The number of houses that had been established according to the number of sons of the "founding" ancestor has been retained as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify themselves, for example, by referring to what "house" they belong. Since Ming times, the T'u-ssu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of subject commoners. In former times each group of nobles collectively was the "possessor" of the subjects. Subjects and territory were assumed to have been assigned by the emperor to the clan as a whole. If a noble was at odds with his clan, he could either leave the clan, taking with him a proportionate number of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or he could found a new clan.

Collective ownership of subject commoners by consanguinial noble families is logically stronger in a nomadic economic structure than in an agricultural one. Memories of this concept, however, persist among nomads who have become farmers.

M
[428] The rules of succession to the office of clan chief did not allow for competition. However, there are, in fact, elements of inheritance, of choice or selection, of the consent of the governed, and of appointment by the overlord. Any chief succeeds to office according to definite clan rules, namely, he must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestors." When a T'u-ssu dies, all heads of the clan's noble families together with the heads of prominent commoner families convene to choose a successor. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles, that should prove difficult to eliminate completely.

N
*563 When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-sse, the headmen ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became instead
M Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were
614 modified by their duty to the Chinese rulers. The institution of
554 T'u-ssu or "local chief" was really one that had been developed
648 for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal
175

N *563 M 614 554 648 175 groups on the frontier of the Empire. The T'u-ssu thus had a double role, he functioned as a "native chief" and as a Chinese official.

The most important clan chiefs who were granted the title of T'u-ssu in Ming times were those of the Ch'i and Lu clans, who were descendants of the Imperial House of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan of the Shato Turks. From this time on the Monguours remained faithful defenders of the frontiers, first under the Ming dynasty and later under the Manchu dynasty. The Shato origin of the Li clan is corroborated by the Chinese Annals. Shato tribes are noted to have lived between Hsi-ning and Kan-chou as early as 939. The supposition that tribes of Turkish origin, bearing Turkish names, still live in the country is therefore not unreasonable.

N *563 M 614 175 648 177 During the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Chinese and Tibetan families enrolled in the seventeen Monguor and Shato clans, in addition to the original Mongol stock, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned. It is very likely that, especially in the period from 1368 to 1723, only stray Chinese families enrolled in Monguor clans. Later in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who joined Monguor clans. It must be said, however, that while the Monguors have absorbed or at least partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture is lower than that of the Chinese.

In addition to the Chinese, large numbers of Tibetans enrolled in Monguor clans. However, they have probably joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese. When Chinese M [565] or Tibetans enrolled in the Monguor clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors.

N *563 M 614 554 423 The T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan from the emperor. These territories were usually assigned, according to a military plan, as a buffer zone, at a time when the Monguors were still exclusively nomads. It may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories.

The distinctive mark of the commoner is bondage to his

N *563 M 614 565 554 respective T'u-ssu. Commoners were subjects "granted" to a chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his command in time of war. The military importance of a T'u-ssu was therefore dependent on the number of his families of commoners. Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of slaves, as pointed out previously, the basic distinction between nobles and commoners still existed in recent times. The first duty of a subject was to never abandon his overlord. Ideally speaking, the T'u-ssu and their subjects were bound together for all time. The subjects could not leave their lord in order to pass

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 565 554 [466] into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punishment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.

The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 M 614 317 565 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealogies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

N *563 M 194 565 M [554] When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 M 621 622 565 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 M 596 [421] [561] [595] Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patrilocal family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four generation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of

M [428] chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually

M [182] [168] [428] takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

/The Monguors/

000kitchens."

N *563 M 601 59 . For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption of sons by childless couples is practiced.

N *563 M 565 582 614 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior to that of the husband. Relationship between two families connected by marriage is clearly seen in the special role of the maternal uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

N *563 M 421 The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that, under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's share.

N *563 361 III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older N [171] than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is [241] found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether N Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial charac- *563 teristics but as to their function in the social organization. The 621 counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or [631] "directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a [622] village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the observance of government regulations. N [701] The larger villages have their own "family protective associations" and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such organization, but are recognized by the county administration as self-administering units.

N *563 621 631 It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions as hsiang, chen and chü between the villages and the county organizations. It seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions

N *563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren.
M 592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually
554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N *563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional
M part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the
581 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon-
562 gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an-
[769] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered
[771] a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their live-
stock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently
*563 the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con-
M siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen
584 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage
583 age for boys is between 14-16.
582 Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab-
N solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is
*563 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob-
M served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage
614 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the
582 weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re-
565 garded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it
has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy
rules need not be observed as strictly.

N Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but
*563 does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a
M sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different
582 clan.

M A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family,
[587] usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband.
However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance
and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she
wants.

N Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from
*563 the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage
M to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan,
588 but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patri-
lineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as
members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the
belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has
relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be
"married" if she becomes pregnant.

N The relationship between two families connected by marriage
*563 is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being
M part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence
604

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 4. Work and leisure

The division of labor between men and women is like that of the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing and dance and otherwise enjoy themselves. Because of their hard life, their songs carry a melancholy quality, and their dance is simple.

N 462 533 535 [191]

It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their expert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horseback. There are three which may be played by all ages. One, similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep." Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

S 563 K 52L

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

N *563 F. The Mongours

M 131 361 311 1. The people

The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were formerly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

N *563 M 614 622 [175]

The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers. One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols; another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-

N *563 M 144 174

N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [191] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still M [888] living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

N *563 M 301 Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

a. Ancestor worship

N *563 M 769 614 Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 769 • 614 ginning of April according to the lunar calendar, in a festival similar to the Chinese Ch'ing-ming. On this occasion the clan assembles to venerate its ancestors, enjoy a great feast and reunion, and discuss matters of concern to the clan.

On the day of the assembly, the T'u-ssu, the chiefs and elders of the villages and all the family heads go to the graveyard immediately after breakfast, followed by all the other members of the clan. At the graveyard, offerings are made and rites are performed. Then food for the offerings is divided among the families, the oldest generations receiving their portions first.

M [182] [767] This annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of the Mongour clan. One of the family heads, usually of the nobility, is appointed to care for the graveyard during the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions and offerings, and the making of repairs. An assistant is assigned to help him with details.

b. Respect for elders and family heads

N *563 M 554 888 The Mongours once lived without chiefs, but never without village elders. Traditionally, the whole power of the clan was vested in the elders, who had the authority to appoint and dismiss chiefs. The village elders still take the most important part in local administration. Elders need not be rich or from noble stock, but they are men of good reputation from the more outstanding families.

N *563 M 554 592 Heads of families are also honored. At public meetings, all are allowed to express their views and defend their rights, but final decisions are made only after the heads of families have spoken.

c. Adultery

N *563 M 684 Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If caught, the guilty pair is flogged, the woman on her bare back, the man on bare buttocks and thighs, up to a hundred stripes. The man must confront the husband and make apologies, and present him with a sheep or a pig. A trial is held and fingerprints are taken. Then the pair is led through the village with drums beating while they make public confession of their sin, and they must secure an official statement of pardon.

d. Moral and legal concepts

N *563 M 183 M [593] [587] [421] Both moral and legal concepts of the Mongours seem to be based upon customs, tradition and what the community accepts as just. Some typical social values and concepts are: Wrongs must be righted and injustices corrected. Parents have authority over their children, and husbands over their wives. A widow has the right to remarry or to dispose of herself. Private property must be protected. No one has the right to disturb the peace of the community.

/The Monguors/

N *563 of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

M 576 The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank. [264] [603]

[554] The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. [561] Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little."

M [574] It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

i. Celebrations and festivals

N *563 Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the M 614 cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders 796 and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the N *563 prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to M 614 the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and 527 the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the 273 monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

N *563 Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is par- M 562 ticularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. [558] The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status [852] in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to [782] pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms [852] lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the

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563 Hsining are the remnants of the once much more powerful tribes that withdrew at the beginning of the Mongol dynasty to the Kukunor region. Those who stayed behind submitted to the jurisdiction of the officials of the settled districts. There is little cohesion among them. Those who call themselves a tribe are rarely under the control of a single chief. Tribal matters are more usually disposed of by the elders of the group. The religion of all these Tibetans is Lama Buddhism. The prevailing sect is that of the Yellow Hats or reformed sect, but in the southern districts there is a fairly strong survival of the older Red Hat sect. Shamanism also continues to flourish among the Tibetans, in spite of Buddhism; their shamans are reputed to be the most powerful in the country. There are a few Tibetans living near Hsünhua who have become Muslims.

MONGUORS

563 In the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining there were
175 then living sixteen clans of Monguors, to which should
618 be added the Liench'eng clan, living in the territory of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. The word "clan" has been used in many senses in the literature of the social sciences. It is here used in a special sense, and for lack of a more precise term, to describe a group of people ruled by the same chief, all people born into the clan bearing the same surname as the chief of the clan and living on territory belonging to the chief. The Monguor clans (excepting the Shat'o groups) trace their presence in the Hsining district as far back as the period of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty (1260–1368). On the overthrow of this dynasty they submitted to the Ming dynasty. A fixed territory was then assigned to the chief of each clan. The Tibetans of the Hsining district were assigned territories in the same way at the same time. While the Tibetans were subject to the direct administration of the Chinese sub-prefecture officials, however, the Monguors, in spite of the fact that their territories formed enclaves within the sub-prefectures, were directly administered by their own clan chiefs under a peculiar kind of local autonomy.

MUSLIMS

563 The Hsining district is also an important Muslim stronghold. There are three Muslim groups, of which two still speak a Turkish dialect while one speaks Chinese. According to their own tradition, the Chinese-speaking Muslims are of Turkish origin, but while clinging to their religion they have adopted the Chinese language and many Chinese customs. From the Chinese point of view, however, they remain foreigners and barbarians, and there is cordial mutual dislike between Chinese and Chinese-speaking Muslims. In the Chinese *Annals* I have not been able to find any reference to the date of their earliest settlement in this region, although according to popular tradition they arrived either during

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175 put the rebels down by military force. He increased the harshness of the laws and exiled thousands of peasants to the barren region in order to glorify himself.[18]

This was the historical frame when the Monguor clans settled in the region of Hsining during the Yuan dynasty and when they submitted to the Ming dynasty as defenders of the marches in conjunction with the military colonists, their chiefs becoming Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu, in a country open to the forays and inroads of hostile tribes. In these conditions the Ming proposed to colonize the country.

SETTLEMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF MONGUOR CLANS IN KANSU

•618 I use the term "clan" here to refer to a group sharing a common territory, a common surname, and a common chief. Monguor clans consist both of persons who recognize real or traditional kinship ties with the chief, and persons who do not recognize such ties but who have nevertheless adopted the surname of the chief and his kinsmen during the time that they were integrated into the group.

The current saying in the prefecture of Hsining and the sub-prefecture of Nienpei is that there are sixteen clans of Monguors. According to the *Annals* of Kansu, there are six clans in the prefecture of Hsining, and ten in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei.

618 1. The Ch'i clan, whose chief is recorded as being a
175 true descendant of the imperial family of the Mongol dynasty.[19] Under this dynasty the Chief of the Ch'i
162 clan was always an important official in Kansu, and on the fall of the dynasty the Ch'i T'u-ssu was the first of all the T'u-ssu to submit to the Ming dynasty in 1368, the year of its establishment.

At that time the Ch'i clan numbered eight hundred families of Monguor stock, divided into four sub-clans. In 1644, on the fall of the Ming dynasty, this clan submitted to the Manchu dynasty. It then numbered only seven hundred families, divided into eight sub-clans (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 35*a*–*b*, 36*a*). The territory assigned to them was situated thirty-five miles south of Hsining and they lived in numerous villages.

2. The Ch'eng clan. The T'u-ssu of this clan is the only one of Chinese extraction, the founding ancestor having been born in Shanyang in the province of Chiangnan.[20] His father, who had been an official under the Mongol dynasty, joined the Chinese popular rising against the Mongols. The son, who followed in his father's footsteps, was rewarded with the title and office of T'u-ssu in 1374 and received 120 Monguor families as his subjects. The territory assigned to his clan is

[18] Homer H. Dubs, Wang Mang and his economic reforms, *T'oung-pao* 35: 230–231, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1940.

[19] Ch'i is the Chinese clan name (*hsing*) adopted by the descendants of the Kiyut, a sept of the Borjigit, the clan of Chingis Khan.—O. L.

[20] Now the two provinces of Anhui and Kiangsu.—O. L.

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618 seventeen miles north of Hsining and includes seven villages (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 26*b*, 37*a–b*).

175 3. The Li clan. The T'u-ssu of this clan is of Shat'o stock. The founding ancestor, a prominent official in Hsining under the Mongol dynasty, submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. As a faithful official of the Ming dynasty, he was granted the title of Earl of Kaoyang (Kaoyang Po), the third rank of nobility, for military services rendered to the empire. One of his successors, the T'u-ssu Li Shih-hsien, died in 1427 fighting against Mongol invaders. In 1643 the T'u-ssu Li Hung-hsien, his wife, and 120 men of his family were killed when they refused to surrender to the Chinese peasant rebels whose insurrection opened the way to the Manchu conquest of China.

162

This clan numbered 963 families originally, living in forty-eight villages, ten miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 38*b*, 39*a–b*).

4. The Na clan. The Na T'u-ssu is said to be of Shat'o stock. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming in 1371. The clan numbered only 150 families of Shat'o (Monguors), living in 8 villages three miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 39*b*, 40*a*).

5. The Wang clan. The Wang T'u-ssu, of Monguor stock, submitted to the Ming in 1371. This clan numbered 130 families of Monguor extraction and 18 Tibetan families, living ten miles west of Hsining scattered in eleven villages (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 40*b*, 41*a–b*).

6. The Chi clan. Said to be of Shat'o extraction. The founding ancestor submitted in 1371. The clan included 90 families, living twenty miles west of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 42). About 1875 the T'u-ssu was impeached by his subjects. The Chinese authorities erased his name from the list of T'u-ssu, and the clan passed under direct Chinese administration. The *Annals* do not record this fact.

In the sub-prefecture of Nienpei live ten clans:

1. The Ch'i clan. This clan is not the same as the clan of the same name in Hsining. Its chief is not a descendant of the Mongol imperial family of the Yuän, but is of Monguor stock. His ancestors were among the most influential frontier officials during the Mongol dynasty. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. This clan numbered 700 families of Monguor extraction. The chief lives one mile and a half north of the city of Nienpei. His subjects are scattered in many villages at varying distances from Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 44*b*, 45, 46).

2. The Li Nan-ko clan, of Shat'o stock. In the *Annals* the T'u-ssu is said to be a descendant of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin, whose son founded the dynasty of the Hou T'ang. His son in turn, Li Wen, is recorded as the T'u-ssu of Hsining. This clan numbered 4,000 families of Shat'o stock, living in eight villages or valleys forty miles southeast of Nienpei. Huc

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618 175 162

and Gabet, Potanin, and Rockhill visited Sanch'uan where the mansion of the chief of the clan is located. The son of Li Nan-ko, Li Ying, was granted the title of Earl of Huining (Huining Po), the third rank of nobility, as a reward for military services (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 47, 48). This and the following clan are independent of each other. Each has its own T'u-ssu, and both were recognized under the Manchu dynasty as separate units.

3. The Li Hua-nao clan, also of Shat'o extraction, comprising only 100 families in 1655. The T'u-ssu lives in the city of Nienpei, and his subjects are scattered in villages to the south (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 53). The founding ancestor of this line was made a T'u-ssu only in 1655, in the early years of the Manchu dynasty, and was an offshoot of the line of Li Nan-ko. For some reason not noted in the *Annals* he received from his father or his brother 100 out of the 4,000 families of the original clan and was made a T'u-ssu.

4. The Chao T'u-ssu clan, which submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1370. This clan is of Monguor extraction. Under the Mongol dynasty it moved to Nienpei, after having lived in Mingchou, and was settled fifteen miles north of the city. The clan numbered 120 families, scattered along the valley (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 48–49). At an unknown date and for an unknown reason the T'u-ssu was erased from the list of the T'u-ssu and his subjects passed under ordinary Chinese administration. The *Annals* do not mention the fact.

5. The Ah clan, of Monguor stock, numbered 150 families, and lives seventeen miles east of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 49–50).

6. The Kan clan, of Monguor stock, numbered 300 families. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. The clan is settled 75 miles southeast of Nienpei in the valley of Mo Tou (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*b*–52).

7. The Chou clan, of Monguor stock, numbered only 62 families. It adjoins the Kan clan, living seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*b*, 52).

8. The Yeh clan, a small clan of 70 Muslim families of Turkish stock originating from Sinkiang. The Chinese called them Ch'ant'ou or Turbaned Heads. (See above, p. 34.) They settled in the country under the Mongol dynasty. As a military commander the founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371, together with the other T'u-ssu. The T'u-ssu of this line were eager defenders of the Ming frontier; two of them died in battle, one in 1570, one in 1638. They were settled in the Mila valley forty miles southeast of Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 52, 53). About 1890 the name of the T'u-ssu was erased from the list of T'u-ssu and his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects. The fact is not mentioned in the *Annals*.

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618 9. The Hsin clan, of Monguor stock, comprised 100 families, settled with the Kan seventy-five miles south-
175 east of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42,
162 p. 54). The name of the T'u-ssu was later erased from the list of T'u-ssu.

10. The La clan, a small group of Monguor stock. The number of families is not recorded. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was settled seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei, near the Kan clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54).

618 These are the sixteen groups recorded in the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, and in the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24.
177 They were all living in the country under the Mongol dynasty, and submitted to the Ming. The Ch'eng and Chi groups, in the prefecture of Hsining, and the Chao, Yeh, and Hsin groups, in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, have now "become Chinese," and their chiefs have been erased from the lists of the T'u-ssu.

The chiefs of these Shat'o and Monguor groups still bore Mongol names when they submitted to the Ming. After having held the office of T'u-ssu for two or three generations, the chiefs adopted Chinese surnames and each group then adopted the Chinese surname of its chief.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, and especially after 1723, single Tibetan families or small Tibetan groups were enrolled in nearly all the groups. Still later, Chinese families were accepted in the same way; but the Chinese did not adopt the surname of the chief of the group.

131 The foregoing data show that the habitat of the Monguors is not limited to the district of Hsining. In addi-
[101] tion, it may be noted that the mansion of Lu T'u-ssu, of Monguor extraction, is located at Liench'eng, forty-five miles west of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. This large group call themselves Monguor and the Chinese call them T'u-jen; they are neighbors of the Monguors
624 of Nienpei. In this one group there are no less than seven T'u-ssu, all claiming descent from the imperial family of the founder of the Mongol dynasty. The T'u-ssu of Liench'eng is the head of the whole group. He alone is regarded as the ruler of the subject people and possessor of the territory assigned to them by the Ming
[651] dynasty. The other six T'u-ssu hold only the title, without the powers of chieftainship. In time of war they are bound to obey the order of the senior T'u-ssu; and for revenue each of them is allowed to collect land taxes from a fixed number of villages.

624 The seven T'u-ssu of this group represent seven lines of descent from either the brothers or the sons of the
175 prince of Nanting (the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 50, pp. 55–57, incorrectly name him prince of Wu-ting). His ancestor was Kolgan, son of Chingis Khan by his favorite beauty, Kulan.[21] The prince who was living in the country at the end of the Mongol dynasty submitted

[21] The family chronicles of this clan, which I am preparing for publication, are referred to above. [P. 326]

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769 veneration of the ancestors at the graveyard, the festival, and the meeting of the clan. I shall note here only the facts related to the structure of the clan as manifested in the solemn worship. I shall deal later with the other phases.

In the avenue leading straight from the entrance of the graveyard to the imposing mound of the ancestor the worshippers, holding incense sticks in their hands, stood erect. They were divided into two distinct groups, standing apart but both facing the mound. The offering disposed on a table before the mound included a hog, a pork pie, rolls of steamed bread, dried grapes, sugar, and pears.

As chief of the clan the T'u-ssu stood in front of both groups and performed the libations, the burning of paper, and the offering of the sacrifices.

The first of the two groups mentioned above was disposed in six rows, each of which performed in succession the veneration of the ancestor by prostration. Then the members of the first row, in a group, turned and honored, by bowing, the members of the five other rows. Those of the second row, after having honored the members of the first row by prostrating themselves, turned and honored the members of the next four rows with a simple bow, and so on. The pork pie and the rolls, sacrifices for the ancestor, were then divided among the members of the six rows, who by eating some of the food partook at the graveyard in a sacrificial meal in communion with the ancestor. Later a piece of pork from the hog was offered to each of the families of members of the six rows.

After this sacrificial meal, the large second group approached the mound, and prostrated themselves in a group (not in separate rows), holding incense sticks in their joined hands, to venerate the ancestor. Then, prostrating themselves again in a group, they honored the members of the first group. They did not partake of the sacrificial meal. This concluded the rites at the graveyard.

The members of the first group only then went to the courtyard of Ch'i Sen-k'o (Ch'i the lion),[1] a wealthy Monguor, in order to honor the clan register of genealogy according to regular ritual and to bring it up to date by entering the names of members deceased since the last diet.

769 These rites reveal the internal structure and social organization of the Monguor clan.

•618 The T'u-ssu, as recognized chief of the clan, officiated at the sacrifice, acting in front of the whole clan and in its name.

All members of the clan, as bearers of the same surname, claim descent from a common ancestor, and therefore they assemble at the grave mound of this common ancestor to venerate him collectively.

The general assembly is, however, divided into two

[1] From Monguor *senggi*, Mongol *senggé*, Tibetan *senge*, "lion."

[P. 38a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

769 groups, and the differences between these groups demand analysis.

•618 1. The members of the first group are disposed in six rows which venerate the ancestor in succession and in the same way, but each row honors the others in different ways. The first row honors the five others with a simple bow. The second row honors the first row by prostration, but the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth rows by bowing only. The third row honors the first and second rows by prostration, but the fourth, fifth, and sixth rows only by bowing, and so on down.

2. All the members of the large second group venerate the ancestor by prostration, not in rows of precedence but as a uniform group. They honor the members of the six rows of the first group by the same rite of prostration, and this they also do collectively and simultaneously.

3. The members of the first group, the six rows, partake of the sacrificial meal offered to the ancestor; the members of the second group are excluded from this rite.

4. The members of the first group honor the genealogical register in the presence of the T'u-ssu, and the names of their deceased are carefully inscribed in this register according to a special ritual. The members of the second group are not allowed to honor the register and the names of their deceased are debarred from the precious book.

I was delayed in arriving at a logical analysis of these differences by the existence of a mistaken "folk" concept of the structure of the Monguor clan. According to this popular and universally accepted tradition, all members of the clan bear the same surname, which is the same as that of their chief, and therefore all are assumed to be the descendants of a common ancestor. Moreover, the pattern of actual behavior follows this tradition. In conformity with the principle of patrilineal exogamy, the boys of the clan are not allowed to marry girls of their own clan. In addition, all members of the clan venerate the same founding ancestor, as described above.

Nevertheless the existence of two groups, ritually differentiated from each other, leads inevitably to the conclusion that in each clan the members of the first are true descendants of a common ancestor, while those of the second group are commoners, descendants of other ancestors, who have been assimilated to clan status, though incompletely and at a subordinate level.

The six rows of "true" clan members represent six different generations of descent from the founding ancestor, through his sons.[2] Therefore the members of the senior generation worship the ancestor first, followed by the cadet generations in descending order. Similarly each cadet generation, from second to fifth,

[2] This does *not* mean that a man in the youngest generation had his own father, grandfather, etc., up to the fifth ascending generation still living. It means simply that owing to wide age spreads within any generation, it was ultimately possible to have assembled a group of kinsmen in which six different generations were represented.

[p. 38b]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

769 accords to its seniors a prostration, but to its juniors only a simple bow.

•618 Collectively, the six lines of true genealogical descent form an elite. The "assimilated" commoners are admitted to the general rites and bear the clan name, but are excluded from the inner rites according to the principle that there cannot be actual participation in the veneration of other people's ancestors. Hence also their exclusion from the genealogical register.

The secondary status of the commoners is shown not only by their exclusion from the register and the sacrificial meal in communion with the ancestor, but by their collective prostration before the elite group. The ranking by seniority of generations, so important for the elite group, does not concern them, since those in the elite group are not in fact their kinsmen but simply represent, in a collective, undifferentiated way, the "lords" or descendants of the noble ancestor to whom their own ancestors became subject long ago.

The strongest confirmation, however, of the fact that the commoners are assimilated members of the clan and not true descendants of the clan ancestor is to be found in the fact that their dead are not entered in the genealogical record of the clan and they are not admitted to the rite of honoring the genealogical record. This exclusion would not be possible if they had any real claim to descent from the clan ancestor because in the larger Oriental cultural complex of which they are a marginal society to be debarred from the family register is the most shameful dishonor. Other facts also support the conclusion that commoners do in reality have their own line or lines of descent. They have their own cemeteries. In these cemeteries they carry out their own ceremonies of ancestral veneration, including the sacrificial meal of "communion." There is no indication that these ancestors of the commoners are regarded as offshoots from the line of the noble elite of the clan. Some of the wealthier commoners even have their own genealogical registers; but among all the seventeen Monguor groups, I never heard of a common ancestor of the entire commoner group. This absence of a claim to a common ancestor of the subject group suggests that the subject groups derive originally not from a single subject clan but from a number of subject clans, each with its own ancestor.

Analyses of the kind made above are never made by the Monguors themselves. When asked why all members of the clan, including the subject commoners, bear the same surname as the chief, the stock reply is simply that this has always been customary among them, and really it was so of old.[3]

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[3] B. Y. Vladimirtsov, in his *Régime social des Mongols*, translated by M. Carsow, 88, Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve. 1948 (the original Russian edition was published in Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, 1934), writes that *unagan bogol* (hereditary vassals), and even "simple" *bogol* (slaves) were allowed to keep the memory of their "bones" and their clans, but "migrated in camps bear-

[P. 39a]

618 582 In a clan structure grouped under a single clan name, the principle of exogamy is in theory supposed to be strict, but the practice varies somewhat from the theory, again indicating that the nominal clan includes a true genealogical clan together with families that have been assimilated to the clan. In a Monguor clan it is, for example, permitted for Monguor men to marry girls of families of known Chinese or Tibetan origin who have enrolled in the clan. I have also been told that among some groups of the commoners in the Li and Lu clans, Monguor boys marry Monguor girls of the same clan. They claim that in permitting such marriages they folrow the practice of the Chinese, who allow marriages between families bearing the same surname (especially if it is one of the very common surnames), if the two clans are considered to be descended in fact from different original ancestors. Exogamy is, however, strictly observed among the noble or elite families who do claim true genealogical descent from a common ancestor; but once in a while a poor noble marries the daughter of a commoner of his clan.

If we may accept it as proved that the commoners are of different descent from the nobles, we are still faced with the problem of determining the real origin of the commoners. The Monguors, when asked about the difference between nobles and commoners, say that "things have always been that way." It is not surprising to find among the nobles, however, vestiges of a tradition explaining how they acquired their subject commoners. I have been told by no less than three T'u-ssu—the Ch'i, Li, and Ah—that the commoners are descendants of tribes which had been conquered by the ancestors of the T'u-ssu.

PROCESS OF CLAN FORMATION AT THE TIME OF CHINGIS KHAN

618 175 For a comparison we may turn to the record of what is known about the way that Chingis Khan allocated territories and subjects to his sons, brothers, and leading generals. Vladimirtsov has described how Chingis assigned territories to the nobility that he created as a result of his conquests, and how he gave them sometimes whole tribes and sometimes fragments of tribes to live in these territories and be ruled by them.[4] The result was a social structure in which—as we see in miniature in the surviving Monguor society—the nobility were quite clear about their claims of descent, either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors," while the subject population, of diverse origin, were less clear about their genealogies but closely associated with their rulers in a manner that remained partly tribal but had become partly feudal. Under this system, there was a protocol which nominally required each ruling prince or noble to furnish to his sovereign a

ing the name of their suzerain clan, under the orders of the latter."

[4] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 124, 125, 127. [p. 39 b]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

618 definite number of troops, whenever required, according
175 to the size of his territory and the numbers of the population. Such appanages could be under the rule not only of families descended from the imperial clan, but of families whose "founding ancestors" were antrustions.[5] The origin and social condition of the commoners among the Monguor clans are clearly to be explained in this manner.

It appears probable that the Monguor groups began to form in this way as early as the rule of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty. At the very beginning of the Ming dynasty we find the chiefs of all the Monguor groups submitting to Chinese rule, but we do not find any record of groups of the Monguor type being actually created by the Ming emperors. We may therefore suppose that generally speaking the Monguor commoners of today are the descendants of families who were already subject commoners in the Mongol period before the Ming dynasty, with the later addition of a number of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. As to the manner in which such later additions could be made, I have already mentioned the fact that the Lu T'u-ssu received from the Manchu emperor thirteen Tibetan villages, numbering 2,365 persons to be his commoners and subjects, as a reward for military services rendered during the historical revolt of 1723 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 87).

175 The processes of clan formation thus resulted in the evolution of four kinds of clan chiefs:

618 1. Chiefs who, with their related nobles, claimed descent from the Mongol imperial family of the Yuan;

624 2. Commoners who became chiefs of clans and founded their own noble families;

3. Antrustions, individual warriors, who became chiefs of clans and founded their own noble families;

4. Chiefs of clans who submitted voluntarily to the Yuan dynasty with their nobles and commoners.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHIEFS AND NOBLES IN THE MONGUOR CLANS

175 Among the seventeen Monguor clans, two are re-
624 corded in the *Annals* of Kansu as being descended from the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty: the Ch'i clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 35) and the Lu clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 55). The family chronicles of the Lu clan, as already mentioned, are in my possession and I am planning to edit and publish them.

[5] This term, taken from early European feudalism, is used in the French translation of Vladimirtsov for the Russian term *druzhinnik* which Vladimirtsov uses to translate the Mongol term *nukur*, literally "friend." In the simplest terms, a *nukur* was a free warrior who voluntarily attached himself to the leader of a war-band, establishing a relationship of personal loyalty transcending all clan and other obligations. Some of the greatest commanders who served Chingis Khan began as *nukur*. Mongol *nukur*, Russian *drug*, "friend," whence *druzhinnik*, and Greek ξένος, "guest-friend," all have a root meaning of "other," "foreign" (to my own clan); institutionally they share with Latin *comes*, whence the title "count," the meaning of an association formed personally, not by circumstance of birth.—O. L.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 624 being based on the agnatic principle, the oldest son inherits the leadership of the clan, after the death of his father.

By the beginning of the present century (1911-1922), however, the T'u-ssu was no longer living in one group with his noble kinsmen; he was not the provider of all their needs, including food and clothing; he and his nobles no longer constituted a large family; and T'u-ssu and nobles were no longer living entirely at the expense of the commoners.

The nobles were by this time living in separate and distinct families, each forming an independent economic unit. Consequently some were poor and some rich. In this economic aspect, there was no longer a distinction between nobles and commoners. Noble families bought and sold land, cattle, and grain to each other and to commoners in exactly the same way, and the rise or fall of a family's fortunes depended on the industry or laziness, the good or bad fortune, of its members.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NOBLE HOUSES

175 618 In the inheritance of wealth among nobles, however, there is a peculiar institution to be considered. In each clan the nobles are divided into branches, called "houses." In some clans there are three houses, in others four or five; in the Li clan there are thirteen. Each noble family knows the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called "the great House," the second is called the second House, and so on. Each house comprises the descendants of one of the sons of the founding ancestor of the clan who was appointed T'u-ssu at or soon after the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368. During his life, the wealth, grain, cattle, cultivated land, and money of the founding ancestor were divided among his sons. If there were three sons, the eldest by right of being the first born succeeded his father as T'u-ssu and chief of the clan; but the property of the founding ancestor was divided in three parts. The new T'u-ssu and his two brothers each inherited one part, with only the distinction that the eldest son received a somewhat larger portion of fields and cattle. The privilege of a large portion was passed on to the eldest son in each succeeding generation.[10]

The number of houses established according to the number of the sons of the founding ancestor has continued ever since as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify each other by houses, saying "I belong to" or "he belongs to the third House." In principle, also, the patrimony of each house was permanently established at this first division. In practice, however, if the descendants of either the great House or one of the junior houses

[10] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 224, "the Mongol feudal seigneur . . . usually received his fief by inheritance and transmitted it to his son. Mongol seigneurs apportioned inheritances to their sons during their own lifetime, reserving the essential part of the heritage to the eldest son, after their death." The old custom of preserving the principal fief of the father for the youngest son had disappeared by the time of the Yuan dynasty.

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618 175 grew numerous they could subdivide the patrimony; the new subdivisions would then continue as independent households or families responsible to each other in vicissitudes of wealth or poverty.

In Monguor society since the Ming, only the T'u-ssu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of the commoners. None of the houses disposed of commoners as subjects. It is quite clear, however, that in former times among the nomads each group of nobles was a real possessor of subjects. Subjects and territory were regarded as assigned to the clan by the emperor and were understood to belong to the whole clan and not to the chief alone. Accordingly, when a noble was at odds with the clan, he could leave it, taking with him his portion of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or found a new clan. In this way it often happened that when clans were at war with each other, there would be subgroups in each of them that belonged to the same "bone," although they were engaged in killing each other.[11]

The idea of the collective "ownership," by the blood-related noble families, of the subject commoners persists more strongly under a nomad economy, for obvious reasons, than it does under an agricultural economy, but memories of it persist among nomads who have become farmers. This concept seems to have prevailed among the Shat'o, who before the Ming dynasty were already divided into two groups, one of 4,000 families and one of 963 families. The chiefs of each of these groups were made T'u-ssu. Later, at the end of the Ming dynasty, the T'u-ssu Li Hua-lung of the line of Li Nan-ko died without issue and troubles broke out over the succession. The Manchu empire appointed a claimant named Li T'ien-yu as T'u-ssu, but allowed the troublesome pretender Li Hua-nao to take 100 families from the 4,000-family group, and granted him a separate title of T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24, p. 8).

Trouble among the noble families of the Lu clan seems also to have been the reason why six members of this clan were created T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 52, pp. 58–59). The craving for subjects, based on the old custom, seems to have been the cause of these troubles, although the *Annals* gloss over the matter, as is often done in Chinese chronicles to "save face," by allowing it to be understood that each of the six new T'u-ssu had deserved his appointment through meritorious service on the Tibetan frontier.

624 175 The same lingering tradition that the nobles had or ought to have a right to dispose of a number of subjects may account for the fact that, in lieu of a division of subject commoners among the sons of a founding ancestor, each of the houses was assigned the land tax revenue of a fixed number of villages of commoners. This meant that when the patrimony of the founding ancestor was divided, the land taxes of the villages followed the division of the inheritance. Here again the

[11] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 79.

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taxes are collected from Chinese who graze their herds on the clan territory. When the T'u-ssu sitting in judgment settles a quarrel, he collects a payment. He also expects gifts in cash when he makes his triennial visit to the villages and on the occasion of funerals and marriages.

As opposed to these sources of personal revenue, the T'u-ssu has very few administrative expenses because most administration is carried on through the obligatory services of clan members. The few Chinese secretaries who are employed receive instead of salary the allocation of fields which they are allowed to farm without paying land taxes. Since there are no schools, there is no budget for education, nor is there any expenditure for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of administrative buildings because all such work is done through the levying of obligatory labor, Monguor carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans, in addition to unskilled labor, being available through the institution of obligatory labor services (corvée). Since each village has to provide a fixed number of soldiers, with their full equipment; uniforms, weapons, horses, tents, food, etc., there is no budget for military expenses.

THE CHIEF OF THE CLAN

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The description of the composition of the clan that has been given in the preceding pages raises by implication the problem of the origin and evolution of the clan chief.

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE CLAN CHIEF INSTITUTION

The clan chief is *not an essential element* of the clan. Vladimirtsov,[12] drawing on the Mongol *Secret History* and other chronicle material, demonstrates that, in periods when the pastoral tribes of Mongolia were not unified in large groups under powerful clans, it was quite common to find clans without a regular hereditary aristocracy, led simply by self-constituted chiefs who were heads of families. By way of comparison, it may be noted that most of the small Tibetan tribes of the Hsining region have no aristocracy of chiefs, but are ruled by a sort of council of the heads of families.

The historical and comparative material makes it clear that in clan societies without hereditary chiefs leaders may be designated temporarily and for specific purposes, such as the organization of community hunting drives, raids on other tribes, or defense against raiders. Leadership in such cases may be influenced by, but not solely determined by, seniority in the clan. It may also be influenced by the personal characteristics of resourcefulness or aggressiveness in the man who becomes a leader, or by the number of his relatives and friends and the degree to which they are respected in the community, and, therefore, it may be said that such leadership simultaneously carries a tinge of usurpation by the

[12] *Op. cit.*, 93.

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individual and a tinge of election or delegation by those whom he leads. To the extent that this kind of leadership is not a well-defined institution, it is not surprising to find that the authority of the leader can be contested and that those who do not accept his leadership may leave the clan either to join other clans or to found a new clan.

There is an inherent tendency for such temporary leadership to become institutionalized and hereditary when a leader of commanding personality succeeds in providing his clan with booty and vassals, and lives long enough to prepare the way for a son to succeed him. Permanent and hereditary chiefs may, however, also be imposed by a conquerer. In the case of the Monguors, the new Mongol empire that resulted from the Mongol conquests was powerful enough to assign fixed territories to the Monguor clans and to designate hereditary ruling chiefs, so that chieftanship had already become hereditary and aristocratic. This view is supported by the fact that when the Mongol Empire was overthrown and the Ming dynasty established in 1368, there were no less than seventeen chiefs of Monguor and Shat'o clans who were able to offer their allegiance to the Ming emperor as chiefs whose authority, territory, and subject following were locally recognized.

As the institution of hereditary chief was established or reestablished under the Ming, with the specific title of T'u-ssu, it is clear that it had conserved its social as well as its political and military characteristics, and so in the status and functions of the chief of a clan a number of aspects are to be discerned.

By virtue of his birth in the clan, the clan chief presides over the cult aspects of religion in the clan. He is the chief figure in ceremonies venerating the ancestors; he is the guardian of the genealogical register; he also heads the cult of the guardian deity of the clan, whose temple is maintained in his mansion. He is also the ruler of his clan according to the laws of succession recognized within the clan, and at the same time under the Ming dynasty, the Manchu dynasty and the Chinese Republic, he was, by appointment of the overlord state, the ruler of both the clan and its territory. In all these capacities it was his duty to act as chief of the nobles and lord of the commoners, to preside over the meetings of elders, to adjudicate quarrels, to protect his subjects against infringements on their rights and privileges, and to command the armed forces of the clan in time of war.

RULES OF SUCCESSION OF THE CLAN CHIEF

In the rules of succession to the position of chief, although the office of chief of a clan is not open to competition, there are in fact elements of heredity, of choice or selection, of the consent of the governed, and of appointment by the overlord. A man does not become chief because he has held previous high office, because he has a commanding personality, or because he is a popular leader. Nor can he usurp the leadership

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618 because he is backed by a group of friends. He succeeds
624 to office according to certain definite customs of the clan. The chief must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestor." When a T'u-ssu dies, the heads of all the noble families, together with the most prominent heads of families among the commoners, convene to choose a successor. It may seem anomalous that commoners should take part in the choosing of a new chief. The way in which the lower status of commoners in the ceremonial veneration of the clan ancestor is emphasized has already been described. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles that can never be completely eliminated. Nevertheless, in the last years of the history of the old Monguor society the differences between nobles and commoners had in many ways practically ceased to exist. The heads of prominent commoner families took part in all meetings at which clan affairs were discussed. In the Monguor clans, there were commoners who were wealthier, more learned, more honored in the community, and more proficient in administrative matters than many of the nobles. It even occurred that when there were quarrels among the nobles, distinguished and respected commoners were called in to mediate. It may be, therefore, either that the participation of commoners in the choice of the new chief represents no more than a condescension on the part of the nobles, for the sake of mere civility, or that there is a lingering tradition from the ancient times of tribal history that the choice of the ruling part of the tribe (now the Monguor clan) must be ratified by the consent of the governed part of the tribe.[12]

Examination of the lists of the genealogies of all the Monguor clans as they are recorded in the *Annals* of the Prefecture of Hsining suggests the conclusion that the first son of the first wife of the T'u-ssu regularly succeeded to the office of his father. If the senior son died before his father but left a living son, then this son was entitled to the succession even if he were only an adopted son. In case the senior son died before his father and left no male issue, however, the next senior brother of the T'u-ssu, or that brother's son, was entitled to the succession. In the family chronicles of the Lu clan I have found one exception to this rule, and only one, a case in which the first son of the first wife did not succeed, the succession going instead to the brother next senior to him. I shall deal with this instance in the study of the genealogy of this clan which I am preparing for publication.

618 When a T'u-ssu dies leaving no sons, trouble usually
578 breaks out in the clan because each of the surviving
611 brothers of the T'u-ssu is eager to secure the succession either for himself or for his own eldest son. In such cases, if one of the contending brothers has more influence in the community than the others, or is richer or more popular with the clan, he succeeds in getting his

[12] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 100.

[p. 44a]

618 578 611 eldest son chosen and appointed. In one such case, in the clan of the Na T'u-ssu, four T'u-ssu of other clans were invited in to arbitrate, and after discussions which lasted many days the son of a rich man, the third brother of the T'u-ssu who had just died, was agreed on and appointed by the clan.

175 618 578 611 According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 24, p. 8) the last T'u-ssu of the Ming period in the clan of Li, of the line founded by Li Nan-ko, was a man named Li Hua-lung, who died without issue. Li T'ien-yu, the first cousin of Li Hua-lung who had just died, belonging to the same generation in order of descent from the clan ancestor, and of the same house, laid claim to the succession. In order to put an end to trouble within the family, one hundred families of commoners out of the four thousand belonging to the T'u-ssu were given to the contending claimant Li Hua-nao, and consenting to a petition from the nobles who were his relatives in the clan, the Manchu Emperor bestowed on him the title of T'u-ssu. Thus Li Hua-nao became the "founding ancestor" of a new clan, with one hundred families of commoners as subjects.

618 Thus while the historical material seems to show that in most cases the choice and appointment of a new chief of the clan are a mere formality, there are also instances that seem to prove that the rule of succession is not always clear-cut, especially when the T'u-ssu dies without male issue. In any case, a daughter never succeeds because the clans are built on a strictly patrilineal family system with male chieftaincy. In this respect, as will be seen below in the chapter dealing with family organization, the rules of ordinary family succession tally with those that govern the succession of the chief of the clan, and the head of the family presides over religious cult practices within the family as the chief presides within the clan.

[562] [428]

In case the succeeding son is still a minor, however, his mother is appointed regent by the sovereign state, formerly the Empire and later the Republic. This custom seems to prove that the senior son, even if still a minor, has a specific claim to succeed his father.

There is a discrepancy between the Monguor rule of succession as far as it can be checked by historical documents and an ancient Mongol custom that prevailed up to the time of Chingis Khan, under which the eldest son received his portion of the inheritance while his parents were still living and moved away to live as the head of his own family; the next son, in due course, similarly left the parental camp, and finally the youngest son was left to care for his parents in their old age and to receive the residual inheritance. Under this custom, the original tent, camp, and herds remained with the youngest son, while the most distant related camp was that of his eldest brother, who had moved away first and farthest. Barthold, commenting on this custom, notes that Chingis Khan, during his lifetime, endowed his sons and other relations with appanages, and that Juchi,

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

618 as the eldest son, received the first and most distant appanage.[14] Lattimore, making a generalized comment on the nomadic Mongol society, writes as follows.

> There is a very ancient concept of authority inherent in the life of a people whose mobile property in livestock makes it easy for them to move from one place to another. According to this concept, a "tribe" consists of an indefinite number of "unnoble" families ruled by a hereditary "noble" family. The "chief," who became stabilized as a "prince" when the Manchus ruled Mongolia by remote control, was not necessarily the eldest son of the previous chief. When a chief died his successor was chosen from a "panel," which included not only his own sons but the sons of his brothers. The brothers, uncles and male first cousins of the late chief [on the father's side] formed a clan council of "yesterday's generations" of the hereditary noble family. This clan council chose the new chief from the panel of sons and nephews, which represented "today's generation." This new chief had to be accepted by the tribe. If he were not satisfactory the tribe might demur, either at once or later. The clan council might then recall the chief, replacing him by one of his brothers, one of his male first cousins on the father's side or one of his own sons or nephews in the male line. All this rested on a still more basic sanction: if the chief did not suit the tribe, the tribe or part of the tribe might desert him. They might either run away and join some tribe which had a better chief, or more rarely some new leader might, by proving his efficiency, make himself a new chief and so found a new tribe with a new, hereditary noble family. In short, a chief had ultimately to justify himself by his ability to lead his tribe, as well as by his hereditary claims. The more anxious and dangerous the times the more pressing the demand that he meet the needs of the people.[15]

INSTALLATION OF THE CLAN CHIEF

796 The following account of the installation of the chief
618 of a clan is mostly from information given to me by the T'u-ssu of the Ch'i clan of Nienpei, with whom and with whose family I was on terms of intimate friendship.

An auspicious day is chosen, usually by a lama. The ceremonies begin with a banquet, at which the principal guest is the senior maternal uncle of the chief who is about to be installed. According to the Monguor saying, the brothers of the mother are the "masters of the bones" of the children of their sister. In ordinary life, they are the most honored guests when her children are married, and when her children die they cannot be buried without the permission of a maternal uncle; similarly at this most important moment in the life of a new chief, it is the maternal uncles who hold the place of honor among the guests.

To the feast are invited the heads of the noble families, the most prominent of the non-nobles, the officials of the T'u-ssu administration, and the local officials of the Monguor villages. An old nobleman makes a speech in which he says that on this day the entire clan recognizes its new chief, whom he mentions by name, as chief of

[14] W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, trans. and ed. by H. A. R. Gibb, 392, London, Luzac, 1928.

[15] Owen Lattimore, *Mongol journeys*, 317, New York, Doubleday, 1941.

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796 the clan. The whole clan, he says, is happy to express
618 its obedience and its willingness to help and serve him; the clan hopes that he may be as glorious a chief as his ancestors of old in defending the clan and its component families.

The new-clan chief first kneels down and bows nine times to his maternal uncle; then the noble members of the clan of generations senior to that of the new chief stand in line before him, salute him reverently three times, and join hands. The new chief, at the command of the master of ceremonies, then kneels down and bows nine times to them, touching the earth with his forehead at each bow.

The noble clan members who are of the same generation as the new chief then line up, kneel down, and (again at the command of the master of ceremonies) reverently bow their heads nine times to the earth before their new chief, after which the new chief acknowledges their homage by greeting them in the same way. Finally, the members of generations younger than that of the new chief perform the ceremony, but this time the new chief makes acknowledgment only by a standing bow, not by kneeling and bowing his head to the earth. Finally the whole group of commoners and officials kneel down and bow nine times to the bowing T'u-ssu. The whole group then goes to the hall of the ancestors, where paper and incense are burned by the newly appointed chief. Those present bow their heads reverently while standing in rows according to their rank and generation, in time with the command of the master of ceremonies. The ancestors are thus supposed to have received the announcement of the appointment of the new chief. Then all go to the temple of the guardian deity of the clan.

As I shall discuss the importance of the maternal uncle in Monguor society in a later chapter, I shall here make only a brief comment on the fact that at the significant moment when, in a society organized on a patrilineal family system, the eldest son of the first wife succeeds to office as the chief of the clan, it is his maternal uncle who has the place of honor. The occasion being one in which ancient customs are likely to be preserved, we are entitled to assume that the importance of the maternal uncle goes very far back in the history of Monguor society.

THE CLAN CHIEF BECOMES A CHINESE OFFICIAL

624 The chief of the clan must next be considered in his
175 function as T'u-ssu, an office that he holds by the ap-
618 pointment of the sovereign state of which the Monguor clans are quasi-feudal frontier dependents. Under the Mongol Empire, the Monguors were entitled to consider themselves kinsmen of the Mongol rulers of China. When the Mongol Empire fell and the Chinese Ming dynasty was established, the Monguor chiefs who submitted to it did so as the result of a decision of supreme importance; by adhering to the Ming dynasty they renounced the alternative of retreating into Inner Asia

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with other Mongol tribes, denounced in effect their ties of tribal loyalty to other Mongols, and declared their willingness to serve as feudal subordinates guarding the Chinese frontier against the inroads of Mongols, Tibetans, or other "outer barbarians." When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-ssu, they ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were modified by their duty to the Chinese emperor.

THE T'U-SSU INSTITUTION

The institution of T'u-ssu or "local chief" was one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal groups on the frontier of the Empire. The first historical record of an institution comparable to that of T'u-ssu is to be found in the institution of the Chimichou, under the T'ang dynasty (618–906). Under this institution the T'ang dynasty organized "barbarian" subject tribes in "circumscriptions" ruled by hereditary native chiefs who received investiture from the emperor.[16] The institution of T'u-ssu was known under the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, was reorganized and given its definite form under the Ming dynasty, and was continued under the Manchu dynasty. It survived under the Chinese Republic.

As an institution, the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal, non-Chinese peoples, attached to but not yet absorbed into the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that of China as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native chief" and as Chinese official.

CHOICE OF CLAN CHIEF RATIFIED BY EMPEROR

624 648

The choosing of a new chief by the clan itself has already been described. This choice had then to be ratified. This was done through the administrative office of the T'u-ssu, acting as a bureaucratic office and not as the personal office of the T'u-ssu, which sent an official notice of the death of the previous T'u-ssu to the governor of the Province, to be forwarded to the capital at Peking, giving the day, hour, and circumstances of the death of the T'u-ssu. At the same time a petition was sent, through the same channels, imploring the emperor to appoint to the office of T'u-ssu the man whom the clan had selected as its new chief. In the event that the new chief of the clan was a minor, the petition requested that his mother be appointed regent. The emperor, granting the petition, then appointed the new clan chief to the office of T'u-ssu (or, if the son were a minor, appointed his mother as regent). The mother's regency ended when the son married or when he reached the age

[16] P. Pelliot, *Bulletin de l'école Française d'extrême Orient*, 1125, 1904. Leng Shun-Sheng, T'u-ssu chi tu, in *Frontier affairs* (*Pien cheng Kunglün*) 3 (2): 11–12, 1944. [P. 46a]

425 they want us to sign contracts, have them registered, and pay taxes. In the good old days, as our tradition goes, all these formalities did not exist; when Monguors wanted to bring into cultivation some non-cultivated land in the clan territory, they took possession of it, and paid the regular taxes according to average. When they "passed" the land to some other member of the clan, they fixed the sum to be paid by mutual agreement. No contract was signed. Instead, the outlines of the field were drawn on a plank; the plank was sawn in two pieces, and each took half of it. Now there are too many astute Chinese enrolled in the clan. We Monguors and the T'u-ssu are not so unsophisticated as before, and every day there are more and more formalities.

425 618 This tradition about taking possession of land within the territory of the clan according to the personal needs of the subject, and naturally without prejudice to the interests of others, is instructive and believable. In the Hsifan (Tibetan) tribe of Sumdoo, near the monastery of Erhkulung, the same procedure still prevailed in 1911–1921. There, every member of the clan was free to bring into cultivation non-cultivated land, and to build a house anywhere in the territory of the clan. The man who did so was bound to notify his taking possession of the soil by offering to the chief of the tribe a quarter of a brick of tea and two packets of Chinese vermicelli; no other formalities or expenses. This tribe was still practising far more stock-breeding than agriculture, and was probably very much like the Monguors at the time when they were making the transition from cattle-breeding to farming. Among them, if a man wanted to make money by selling land that he had improved, perhaps by building a house or adding an irrigation ditch, they agreed on a sum and drew on a sheet of paper a map of the field and each took his half of the map. There was no other form of contract, no registration, and no tax. It is remarkable that this old custom of the map as deed of sale and title deed prevailed at late as 1911–1921.

423 618 These customs seem to indicate absolute independence and equality as between individual members of the clan in taking possession of community land in order to make a living. It would seem that all the members of the clan agree with each other's fundamental right to make a living, to improve themselves financially, and to do so by whatever means they personally consider adequate or necessary, as long as these means are not prejudicial to the interests of others.

Looking back to what has been said above about the chief of the clan and the way in which he is "chosen" and appointed by the elders, it is plain that the community, represented by the elders, was originally the possessor and dispenser of the clan territory. The supremacy of the chief came late and was a kind of usurpation. We learn from history that at all times usurpers have existed. It is clear that by the time of Chingis Khan the holder of a fief was the real proprietor. The fief was a definite territory granted the fief-holder. Its inhabitants were his vassals and he was the vassal of the emperor. He was the "owner" of both the vassals and the territory,

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423 618 under the higher "ownership" of the emperor.[42] The chiefs of the Monguors and Shat'o in Kansu must have been feudatories of this kind under the Mongol dynasty. Among nomads living in an extensive territory the territorial rights of the nomad lord over his vassals were not exercised in the same way as among farming and sedentary peoples. They took primarily the form of the power of the chief to order and regulate the movements of herds and herders according to grazing needs at different seasons, to summon men for military service, and to requisition labor for other services.

For the Monguors and Shat'o, living in the relatively small territories assigned to them by the emperor, the problem was not one of wide grazing movement but of concentration for frontier defense. The chiefs were "owners" of the territory, and of the subjects whose military services they commanded, but within the limited territory each clan member was free to settle and cultivate at his own choice, and to treat all uncultivated land as "common pasture" for grazing.

The strongly "individual" character of the right of property in the Monguor society predominates over the social, civil, and political aspects of property, and deserves attention because it is a fundamental principle still fully understood, recognized, and applied by relatively primitive peoples, but often disregarded by sociologists.

T'U-SSU LORD OF THE COMMONERS

566 621 The distinctive mark of a commoner is to be bound to his T'u-ssu. As already explained above, commoners were subjects granted to a chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his command in time of war.[43] Since his subjects were his only source for the recruiting of troops, the military importance of a T'u-ssu corresponded to the number of his families of commoners. Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of the slave, the *nullum caput habens* of the Roman law,[44] the basic distinction between nobles and common-

[42] Compare Lord Bryce's comment, *Holy Roman Empire*, 122–124, 229, New York, Macmillan, 1904, that in feudal Europe "real sovereignty" resided in the fief.—O. L.

[43] An element of agreement or bargaining may also be noted. When the "founding ancestor" submitted to the Ming dynasty, he was already (*a*) the leader of a group of his noble kinsmen and (*b*) in control of a number of commoners, perhaps originally the conquered subjects of his ancestors, perhaps "granted" to his ancestors by the preceding Mongol dynasty. His "bargain" with the Ming was that, without fighting, he offered them his allegiance as the man who was able to bring this military manpower into their service. The part played by the Ming was to accept the "bargain" by confirming and sustaining the T'u-ssu in his primacy among his kinsmen and his lordship over the commoners.—O. L.

[44] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 80. In the old Mongol society the vassals were not slaves. They were allowed to possess their own property, to raise their own cattle. They enjoyed a certain amount of liberty. The suzerain did not absorb all the fruits of their labor. On the other hand, they were bound to serve him in time of peace and to fight for him in time of war; to accompany his clan when they migrated to new pastures, and always

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624 as the seat of authority that is the true center of administration. The tour through his territory seems to recall the older nomad society in its reassertion of personal control over the subjects, securing the cohesion of the clan and binding the subjects to the territory. The procedure may be compared with that of the Mongols, among whom every three years the register of the population is brought up to date and a large meeting of the Banner is held.[53] Among the Manchus, the general meeting of the clan is usually held once a year and never less frequently than once in three years.[54] Among the Monguors, it is to be noted that the T'u-ssu, in addition to his triennial tour, presides once a year over the meeting of the whole clan on the day of the veneration of the ancestors.

THE T'U-SSU LORD OF THE NOBLES

173 At the seat of the T'u-ssu is kept the register of all the noble families and their members. Even the girls are
● 618 noted and the families into which they marry. The difference between this register and the book of genealogies of the nobles lies in the fact that in the book of genealogies the birth of children, whether boys or girls, is not noted. A noble is entered in the book of genealogies as of the day of his death, on which date are noted the day of his birth and the name of his wife. The names of unmarried sons are not inscribed because they have not produced sons for the clan; the names of girls are omitted because they are "outsiders," taking the name of a different clan as soon as they are married. The register of the noble families is more elaborate, because each member of the family, boys and girls alike, is assessed a levy of 50 coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple.

THE TRIENNAL VISIT

624 At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu among the nobles,
574 the register is brought up to date. Because the nobles live scattered in the villages among the commoners and the members of the same House do not necessarily live in the same village, the visit of the T'u-ssu is so ordered that he visits the Houses one after another on fixed days. All members of a House must gather at the home of some one member. They are expected to invite the T'u-ssu and to send horses for his retinue. The picture of the guardian deity of the clan accompanies the T'u-ssu, and a reception is held during which the members of the generation senior to the T'u-ssu bow to him, while members of junior generations prostrate themselves. The hosts must provide a dinner at which the T'u-ssu presides as chief over all his noble kinsmen. Topics of
[431] interest to the nobles are discussed, and though they offer him no money, they present him with a piece of cloth.

[53] E. Timkovskii, *Voyage en Chine par la Mongolie en 1820 et 1821*, 1, 113, 321, Paris, 1827.
[54] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit*, 51.

[P. 66-b]

175 was acting as regent of the most powerful of all the Monguor clans, the Lu clan, went so far as to send valuable presents to the Muslim general, Ma K'o-ch'eng, in Hsining, who was the all-powerful warlord of the region, imploring him to become the "dry father"—that is to say, the adoptive father and protector—of her adopted son of eleven years of age. The general accepted and the boy and his mother traveled the long distance from Liench'eng to Hsining in order to perform the filial rites symbolizing the "dry fatherhood."

•618 769 It was in these circumstances that I had the great good fortune to attend probably the last gathering of a clan that was held with the pomp and splendor of former days. This was the clan of the Ch'i T'u-ssu which carried out the ceremony of venerating the founding ancestor at the old cemetery, called Ch'i-chia fenyuan, or "cemetery of the Ch'i family," at T'angpa. According to the old custom, such an assembly should be held every year at the grave of the founding ancestor, on the Chinese festival of Ch'ing Ming, when ancestors are honored all

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769 over China. The festival, calculated according to the lunar calendar, usually falls about the beginning of
● 618 April. The assembly of the clan is concerned with three matters: the veneration of ancestors, a great feast, and an assize at which all topics concerning the clan are open for discussion.

MONGUOR CEMETERIES

764 It is plain from the descriptions that have already been given that the burial customs of the Monguors in recent
172 times have been heavily overlaid with Chinese borrowings. There are, however, indications of more ancient customs. People told that in 1906, after very heavy rains, a wall near the village of Hsinyuanp'u on the spur of a mountain in the valley of Shat'ang collapsed and a big vaulted burial chamber was revealed. It had been built with very large bricks. It contained a coffin, which had rotted away, in which there was the skeleton of a man. His clothes had rotted, but the remains of a bow, arrows, and quiver were found. Before the coffin there lay the skeleton of a horse. The saddle had also rotted,

[P. 69-6]

692 nobles and non-nobles, chiefs of villages, and officials of the administration in attendance. A large number of Monguors sat around the tent, taking a keen interest in the proceedings. The matters discussed were for the most part of the same kind as those dealt with when the T'u-ssu makes his triennial tour of the villages: taxes and corvées were discussed and fixed, inquiries were made about the observance of traditions, the register of subjects was checked over, military matters were reviewed, and disputes between villages adjudicated. The T'u-ssu appointed or dismissed a number of chiefs, village elders, and military commanders. At these assizes suits may be brought for personal adjudication by the T'u-ssu, who metes out punishment according to custom.

The expenses of this annual assembly are shared by the subjects; while the offerings for the ancestors are paid for by the nobles—a division of expenses that again underlines the difference between the inner clan of common blood-descent and the extended clan of political subjects. Usually by the third day there are no more tents in the valley, the merchants have dispersed, and the T'u-ssu returns to his mansion. Such were the proceedings at the last glorious annual assembly of the clan of the Ch'i-T'u-ssu, which I had the good fortune to attend in 1913.

REMARKS

618 624 The description of the organization of the Monguor clans and their administration is based on the pattern of the large clans. It is easy to understand that the display of pomp at the diets is related to the importance of the clans, the number of their clan members, and their wealth, and also to the wealth and prestige of the T'u-ssu. Small clans finish the three acts of their diet in a single day, always keeping the difference and deference between nobles and commoners at the time of worshipping of the founding ancestor. In small clans however, constituted by only 150 families or so, both groups necessarily are not numerous and the diet is more like a family gathering and is more informal. Since the clan is small, all the circumstances of each family are known by the T'u-ssu and he himself tackles all the problems of the clan with the elders; the collection of land taxes by nobles is necessarily reduced to a minimum, but the nobles are always exempted from taxes and corvées. Corvées are necessarily reduced in the same way, since the mansion of the T'u-ssu is usually a small Chinese courtyard without temples and administrative buildings. Inevitably the distance which separates T'u-ssu from commoners is minimized, because the commoners may confer directly with the T'u-ssu. In the large clan it is not easy for the commoner to meet the T'u-ssu, for soldiers watch the entrance of his mansion, requests have to be written by the secretaries and forwarded by messengers to the lord, and it is uncertain if the lord will allow the Monguor commoner to see him or not. Because the distance

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

618 is strictly kept, the prestige and authority of the lord are
624 inevitably increased.

In small clans, when the T'u-ssu is a haughty and supercilious man, or an opium addict and gambler exacting in his demands for corvées and greedy for the money of his subjects, he is easily criticized and despised because the distance between him and his subjects is reduced, and the commoners get into open arguments with him, and rebel and accuse him in the Chinese court. In the lack of distance between the T'u-ssu and subjects and the waning authority of the T'u-ssu lies the secret of the fact that it is in the small clans that commoners most easily leave their chiefs, giving the Chinese officials the opportunity to reduce both commoners and T'u-ssu to the rank of Chinese subjects and to confiscate their territory. It is no wonder that the clans which have disappeared are the small clans.

IV. THE VILLAGE

FORMATION OF THE VILLAGE

621 The Monguor village consists (1911–1922) of a
361 group of families living in a well defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the chief of the village. Since the villagers all till the soil and keep cattle, the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures.

Most farmers, however, live in small hamlets. The patrilineal family system seems to favor this kind of grouping. When the paternal inheritance is divided, the sons build small houses near the old one, bring new lands under cultivation, and small groups of related families, living close together, spring up all over the territory.

Wealthy Monguors hire poor people to cultivate their fields and herd their cattle, and build small houses for them near their own. Wealthy Monguors also give in to the desires of their wives and daughters-in-law and allow poor relatives to build small houses near their own. They lend them [illegible] to plow their fields, and as they prosper the group increases and the hamlet grows into a village.

361 A third factor promoting the grouping of families
621 was, in the past, the chronic insecurity of the country, ravaged by recurring inroads of Tibetans and Mongols.
721 According to tradition the Monguors, when they first came into this territory, still lived in tents. At that time it was easy to pick up the tent and move out of the path of invasion; but once they began to live in houses, the houses had to be defended. Wealthy people in the outlying territory built a high thick mud wall around their houses. To these enclosures the poor families fled in time of trouble, helping in the defense of the small community. Wealthy people, therefore, liked to see the hamlet increased by the addition of poor families, who provided more manpower for defense. All over the country numerous ruins of strongholds are the enduring witnesses of the bad old times. [p. 73-6]

361 The Ming dynasty was strongest in the first century
621 and a half of its rule. After that, from 1509 to the
founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644, and from
then until 1723, recurrent forays and revolts never left
721 the country at peace. At one time, a Chinese army of
a hundred thousand men had to be sent to garrison this
frontier region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 13*b*). In
1537 orders were given to build more mud walled vil-
lages, and in 1595 orders came again to repair the old
fortifications and to build more new fortified villages
(*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, pp. 15*a*, 19*a*). It is worth
noting that Liench'eng, the seat of the Lu clan, means
"associated cities," since in the region of Liench'eng
thirteen strongholds were built by the T'u-ssu, most of
them still extant.

[712] These notices in the *Annals* suggest that few fortified
villages had previously existed, but that from this time
the population began to group itself around small
strongholds, the more important of which grew into
fortified villages.

•618 The Monguor clan was a military institution, originally
shaped on the Mongol nomadic pattern, with a decimal
701 system of groups of 10, 100, and 1,000 families and a
hierarchy of military command from the largest unit of
361 10,000 down to the smallest of 10. When the Monguors
621 became farmers, the process of settling broke up these
units, with the result that families that had once be-
longed to the same military unit were scattered among
different farming groups. It then became necessary to
make a new military grouping based on the distribution
of villages. This led to a system of villages in which
the head of the village was also the military chief, and
in which the military interest of defense was coordinated
with such community interests as the maintenance of
irrigation canals. The transformation of villages in
which some families were subject to mobilization under
military units in other villages into a system in which the
military unit coincided with the residential community
seems to have been brought about not by planning but
by a natural adjustment.

361 A Monguor village may be described as "loose," in
contrast with the Chinese "compact" village. It is not
a large place included between four strong, thick mud
walls, with a small gate easy to defend, but a defined
territory in which the people live on their farms, scattered
in small groups, under the rule of the chief of the
[311] territory. Each "village" has a share of pasture for the
herds of the whole community and a valley for the cutting
of wood and fuel by all members of the community.

It sometimes has a central stronghold in which live
some twenty or thirty families. Sometimes, though not
usually, the mansion of the T'u-ssu and the administra-
tive buildings of the clan are also within the stronghold,
together with a couple of shops, one of which is always
the indispensable pharmacy with a Chinese "physician."
Again in contrast with the Chinese pattern, there are
rarely any "streets" laid out at right angles, for the

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lasted for two days, presided over by the maternal uncle of the murderer. Finally, the uncle decided that his sister's son should be buried alive, on the principle of a life for a life; that the murderer's father should defray all the expenses of the coffin, clothes, dinner and ceremonial for his own brother's funeral, should invite lamas to pray, and should give alms to the lamasery.

A document was drawn up in which the maternal uncle testified that he took the responsibility for the punishment, and to this all the chiefs of the families affixed their signatures, testifying that they agreed to abide by the decision of the maternal uncle and that they would not accuse the murderer before a Chinese court. The sons of the murdered uncle had threatened to take the case to a Chinese court, and if that had been done not only would capital punishment have been inflicted, but both families would have been ruined by the Chinese officials. The capital punishment was therefore meted out by the Monguors themselves, the maternal uncle taking the responsibility. Under the then prevailing standards, the Chinese officials, who had both administrative and justiciary powers, would take no notice of such a case of traditional and publicly approved justice unless it were formally brought before them by the relatives of the murdered man.

A deep pit was dug, thorns and brambles were thrown into it, and the murderer, cursed and disowned by his family, naked and bound hand and foot, was pushed into the hole and buried alive.[16] The coffin of the murdered uncle was placed upon the pit and a mound piled over it. The family was ruined.

A similar case happened in 1914 in the valley of Lumench'eng. A wife killed her husband at night with a hammer. In this case, the family of the husband with his maternal uncle was opposed to the family of the wife with her maternal uncle. Since the murder of a husband by his wife also deserves capital punishment in Chinese courts, and since the family of the husband threatened to take the case to the Chinese court, the maternal uncle decreed capital punishment for his niece. She was buried alive.

In addition to capital punishment decreed by the maternal uncle for his sister's children, lesser punishments —often of a severe nature—were also administered.

In 1916, in Tolong,[17] an unmarried youngster was severely beaten by his two brothers at night for theft. He was a black sheep, having brought disrepute on his family. In the morning he was found hanging from a beam. The maternal uncle and the chiefs of the family were invited to a meeting at which it was decided that an atonement should be paid to the maternal uncle.

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[16] It is possible that carrying out of the sentence of death by burying alive is influenced by the idea that, by not shedding blood, the chain of revenge and counter-revenge is broken, and the family of the man thus put to death feels no obligation to take up a new "blood-feud."—O. L.

[17] A place-name probably from Monguor *dolon*, "seven."

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tribe, T'u-fan mixed with Tang-hsiang, controlled by Wenpuku; and another important tribe controlled by the lama Li Li-tsung settled in the region of Tsung K'o. A third group is also noted, the group of the Slaves (Wu-mu) who settled in Kuo Chou, 150 li south of Nienpei, in 862.

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To be sure, more insignificant tribes must have settled in Huangchung, but their names and the areas occupied are not recorded. Next to the Tibetan groups is recorded the Shat'o chu-hsieh tribe[35] living in a region 100 li south of Kanchow in 939, stretching from the Nan Shan to Hsining (Monguors I: 13*b*) and encompassing the region of the Tat'ung River. Many Shat'o, after the collapse of their dynasty in 955, had joined this group. These Shat'o were the southern neighbors of the Uighurs of Kanchow for two hundred years, who were a mixture of many tribes blended and fused into the compound that founded the Khanate of Kanchow in 872. Its predatoriness is attested in the history of Turkistan and Kansu.[36] Shat'o and Uighurs, according to the circumstances, had lived congenially together in former times, had combined their forces to fight a common enemy, but had fought against each other every time divergences of interest had arisen. What the relations had been between the Hsining Shat'o and the Kanchow Uighurs in 1036 is not known. The leading tribe among the Kanchow Uighurs was the Lung tribe.[37]

In what areas of Huangchung and east Kansu were these Uighurs and Tibetans settled by Chiossulo in 1036?

Scanning chapter 19 of the *Annals* of Hsining, dealing with the tribes settled in Huangchung in Ming times (1368) (three hundred years after their surrender to Chiossulo) one is amazed to read names of such tribes as Lung-pu, Lung-pen, Lung-wang, and To-lung. One thinks unwillingly that these names might point to tribes which had constituted the important Lung tribe of Kanchow, which might have divided into smaller tribes after the surrender to Chiossulo in 1036. One is surprised to read also that in 1071 the most powerful among the tribes depending on Hsining was the Lung-k'o tribe noted also as the Yu-lung-k'o tribe.[38] In the Lung k'o tribe there were numerous chiefs. The tribe was wealthy and opulent. It was settled in East

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[35] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 89, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[36] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 128–129.

[37] *Wu-tai-shih* 74: 4*a*. Stein, *op. cit.*, 256. The Lung is a branch of the Uighurs of Kanchow whose customs differ little from those of the other Uighurs. The Lung came from Karashar (Yen-ch'i). Lung was the name of the clan chiefs of Karashar. They had settled in Kansu and Yi Chou (region of Hami). Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 128.

[38] Biography of General Wang Ch'ao in *Sung Shih* 87: 20 *a–b*. *Annals* of Kansu 46: 10*b*. *Annals* of Hsining 31: 3*a*, and the important study of Enoki Kazuo, entitled *Osho no kika Keiryaku ni tsuite* (on the Hsi-ho ching-lueh of Wang Ch'ao) in Mokoga Huho, 1, Tokyo, (Meng-ku hsueh pao) 1: 88–167.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

Kansu, in Yen Ch'uan Chai, which is Chang Hsien, situated 50 li southwest of Kung Ch'ang (Enoki, 158). The tribe surrendered to General Wang Ch'ao in 1071 with its 120,000 people. The *Annals* of Kansu 97: 14, record that Wang Ch'ao notified the emperor about the submission of the Lung-k'o tribe and petitioned to reward it with the name Pao (thankful). The request was granted and the emperor added the word Shun to the name, Pao Shun (thankful-faithful). Enoki (p. 111) noted also a Lung-po tribe living in East Kansu in 1071. It had troubles with the Tibetan To-chih tribe. However, the Lung tribes recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining were settled in Huangchung. The Lung-pu, numbering two thousand families, divided into two tribes, was settled south of Hsining on the northern borders of the Yellow River. Its people lived mostly in tents (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 3 *a–b*). The Lung-pen tribe numbering 873 families was settled 60 li west of Hsining. Its people lived partly in a city (fortress), partly in tents. The tribe controlled the Pen-pa-erh[39] tribe, numbering one hundred families settled in the Hsi-shih-hsia (Tsamalung) on the rapids of the Hsining River between Hsining and Don Kir (*Annals* of Hsining 1: 12*a*, 15*a*). The small Lung-wang and To-lung tribes numbering eighty families were settled 80 li east of the city of Tatung on the borders of the Tatung River (*Annals* of Hsining 19, 20*a*) in the region occupied by the Shat'o at the time of their surrender. This seems to suggest that this group was congenial with the Shat'o group.

M 175x 563 167 619
M [345]

UIGHURS AND SUBJECTS OF T'U-SSU

In discussing the commoners, the subjects of the Monguor t'u-ssu (Monguors I: 31–53), it has been noted that during the Mongol period (1280–1368), Ch'i Kung-k'o hsing-chi, a member of the imperial family, had been appointed guardian of the region situated 90 li south of Hsining. He discharged the office of myriarch and evidently controlled his own 10,000 soldiers and their families. However, it is recorded that he governed also eight tribes of Tung Ku and vicinity, descendants of western Ch'iang (western Tibetans). Tung Ku was situated between Hsining and the Ta-tung River, in the region of Tatung, where during the Five Dynasties (907–951) Shat'o tribes lived, joined by other groups of Shat'o after the collapse of their dynasty. These western Ch'iang seem to be Uighurs of the khanate of Kanchow who had settled there in 1036. The Uighurs of Kanchow had come from the west, from Turkistan, and so are called western Tibetans, for all the barbarians are called Tibetans in the *Annals*. For what reason these eight tribes had been moved and put under the control of the myriarch

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[39] *Anthropos* 52: 560 sq., 1957. Dominik Schroder writes a very interesting article: Uber die Chia-Fandse von Bengbar, Tsing-hai (the Pen-pa tribe), und ihre Hochzeitssitten.

[P. 16(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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is not recorded. Friction between Uighurs and Shat'o? Not room enough in Tung Ku for the herds? A device to increase the military power of the myriarch?

It is also noted that twelve Pai-tieh tribes and others were controlled by the three Shat'o officials Li, Na, and Chi, who guarded the country 30 li south and west of Hsining. To these three Shat'o chieftains who controlled their own Shat'o subjects, the Pai-tieh tribes and others had been entrusted by the Mongols. Probably they were Uighurs, for they were moved from the Tung-ku region also, and it is noted that their customs and clothes and adornments were the same as those of the western Ch'iangs of the myriarch.

It is further noted that the Shat'o official Li Nan-ko originally controlled the tribes of Tung Ku and the Hula tribes. Probably being a prominent and powerful chieftain, he had enrolled among his Shat'o subjects these Uighur tribes, at the time they fled from Kanchow. At the same time it is recorded that the t'u-ssu Ah, Chao, Yeh, Kan, and Chu controlled the Lu-erh-chia tribes and others, which were in the main similar in customs, clothing and adornments, according to the *Annals*.

It is noted (Monguors I: 56) that only one large group of Chinese is known to have enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans. The group bears the surname of Pao and is usually called the Yuan Pao group. They are subjects of the Lu t'u-ssu. We were at a loss to explain satisfactorily the name Yuan Pao. The fact had been noted above that the strong Lung K'o tribe, with its 120,000 people, had received, in 1071, from the Sung emperor the name Pao for its faithfulness toward the dynasty. Is it not possible that, during the period of troubles, which lasted for nearly two centuries, the clan disintegrated, that a group moved to Huangchung and lost its language, conserving the name Pao, but, knowing that they were Uighurs, that they preferred to be enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans, as so many Uighurs during the Yuan period? Because this had happened during the Yuan period, they are still called the Pao group of the Yuan time, Yuan Pao chia.

It seems conclusively that these tribes were Uighur tribes which, during the Mongol period, had been divided in small units and entrusted to these petty military officials, and appointed as guardians of definite territory and mountain passes in Huangchung in order that they might be able to defend the country more easily.

SETTLEMENT OF UIGHURS AND SHAT'O IN EAST KANSU

The preceding notes explain the settlement of only a relatively small number of Uighurs. But where has the remainder of the several ten thousands of Uighurs been settled? Since the very important Lung K'o tribe was settled in East Kansu, and another Lung-po tribe is rooted in the same region, and on the map a

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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Lung village is noted near Ming Chou in East Kansu, our investigations are turned in that direction. M 175x

From 1086 on, the entire population of Huangchung and parts of East Kansu controlled by the descendants of Chiossulo was intermittently involved in troubles with the Chinese empire, and in 1096 it arose as one man against the Sung empire, combining its forces with those of the Hsi Hsia. The cities of Huangchung were taken and retaken alternatively by Chinese troops and Tibetans, and the whole country was devastated and ruined. The flourishing empire founded by Chiossulo had lasted for only about fifty years. The fateful Huangchung was again controlled by the Sung emperor. After another period of fifty years, during which Chinese and Chin empires fought the Hsi Hsia and then fought among themselves, the Chin empire occupied Huangchung in 1131 and appointed Kuan Shih Ku to control the Ho Chou area and all of Huangchung (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 8*a*). 614 563 648 U 175 167 648

What happened to the Uighurs from 1086 until 1227? Having been settled in the territories of Chiossulo since 1036, mixed with the Tibetan tribes depending on him, and having pledged allegiance to him, inevitably they had endorsed the policy of the tribes of Huangchung and had a desperate time. During the fifty years of wars and destruction many of these Uighur tribes must have disintegrated and mixed with others. In 1369, at the time the Ming dynasty conquered Kansu, organized the country, and established the régime of the t'u-ssu, the disaster was wrought among the tribes, especially in East Kansu.

Tang-hsiang tribes, in which T'u-fan tribes had mixed, had been settled in East Kansu since 627. Shat'o groups, in 955, had scattered into the remotest southwestern parts of East Kansu, in the region of the upper T'ao River and near the borders of Szechwan. In 1036, in the same region, a large number of Uighurs must have been settled and at the débacle of the Mongol dynasty (1368) many Mongol groups also remained in these countries.

Scanning the list of the t'u-ssu established in that region in Ming times, one wonders to see in the *Annals* of Kansu the clear distinction established among the subjects of the t'u-ssu. Every time, their subject Tibetan tribes are accurately noted as Tibetans, and next to them their native subject tribes. This intended distinction seems to point at genuine Tibetan tribes and at the mixture of Shat'o Uighurs and Mongols qualified as natives. M 175x 563

SARO AND SHERA UIGHURS

In the remote country of the mountainous Ming Chou Hsien at the source of the T'ao River is recorded the T'u-ssu Ma Chin-tung, of Chinese origin, controlling 26 native tribes (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 27*a*). In the same region T'u-ssu Hu Ch'eng controlled 41 vil- M 175x 619 563 U 175 619

[P.17(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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M 175x 619 563 U 175 619

lages of natives, inhabited by 440 families (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 29*b*). This means that the natives of Hu T'u-ssu were no longer organized in tribes as were the subjects of the first Ma T'u-ssu. Still, in the same Ming Chou T'u-ssu Chao Tang-chih-kuan-pu controlled three tribes of Tibetans and eight villages of natives, who later became Chinese (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 30*a*). Also in the same Ming Chou region, another *t'u-ssu*, Chao Cho-ssu-shieh, a chief of nomad Tibetans controlled 43 tribes of Tibetans and 48 tribes of natives. His subjects joined the revolt of the Yellow Tibetans (Uighurs),[40] their neighbors, during the Yung Cheng period (1723–1724). The t'u-ssu lost his office and his subjects were forced into the framework of the Chinese administration and became thoroughly Chinese (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 31*a*). This important text proves definitely the presence of groups of still autonomous Yellow Tibetan (Uighur) tribes controlled by their own chiefs, in whose revolt the forty-eight native tribes joined. It may be supposed that they also were Uighurs still organized in tribes but controlled by the t'u-ssu. In Ti Tao along the same T'ao River the Mongol T'u-ssu Chao T'o-t'ieh-mu-erh controls three tribes of Tibetans and fifteen tribes of natives. In Choni region situated on the same river, between T'ao Chou and Ming Chou, the well-known T'u-ssu Yang controls 520 tribes called Tibetans (*Annals* of Kansu

[40] *T'oung Pao* 14, 1: 149, 1913, records "the Yogur tribes in Kansu are separated in two groups, whose languages are entirely different. The Saro Yogurs (Yellow Tibetans) are Turks, the Shera Yogurs (Black Tibetans) are Mongols. This note is written according to articles of G. F. Mannerheim: A visit to the Saro Yogurs (*Journal de la Société Fino Ougrienne* 28: 2, 1911, and to the article of S. E. Maloff: Restes de Chamanisme chez les Yogurs Jaunes (Saro Yogurs) en Russe, extract de la revue *Jivaia Starina*, 61–74, 1912. Concerning these two groups, the *Annals* of Kansu 42: 87*a*, 88, 89, record: 15 Hsi-la-ku-erh tribes called Huang-fan (Yellow Tibetans, Saro Yogurs) live in the southern mountains (Nan Shan), five in the district of Kanchow, eight in that of Suchow and two in that of Kao T'ai, and also seven T'ang-wu-t'e tribes called Hofan (Black Tibetans, Shera Yogurs). The proper name of the Yellow group is Tan-chih. Formerly it inhabited the commandery of Han-tung (Sha-chou) and is of Mongol origin. It was looted by T'ulufan and moved by Governor Wang Chih into the southern mountains of Kanchow in 1518; it is usually called the Yellow Mongol group. The sources of the Ho River are 100 li southwest of Kanchow. (The sources of the Ho River are far from the regions of the T'ao River, Ming Chou, Ling T'ao.) The west side of the river is entirely inhabited by Yellow Tibetans, the east side by Black Tibetans, also called people of the northern way. The Black Tibetans called T'ang-wu-t'e originated from the Hsi-ch'iang (Western Tibetans) of the Han time (200 B.C.–A.D. 200). In 1696 they were forced to follow Galdan. After the defeat of Galdan, those among them who were engaged in farming, surrendered. In 1698 they received hereditary titles, with official documents and seals, on which were written and engraved Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese characters. Six tribes inhabit Kanchow territory, one inhabits Kao T'ai. These notes, excerpted from the *Annals* of Kansu, deal only with tribes living in the Kanchow territory and in the Suchow area, not with those of Ming Chou.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

42: 32 *a–b*). Among these tribes one is called Shat'o tribe (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 64*a*) and several are called Black Tibetans (Uighurs) (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 67*a*). Also is noted a revolt of Black Tibetan tribes in 1712 in which the Black Tibetans of Yang T'u-ssu joined. The t'u-ssu helped subdue the revolt and titles were granted to thirty-seven tribes of these Black Tibetans (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 32*a*). There are only recorded the most important t'u-ssu. Finally two important groups of Yellow and Black Tibetan tribes (Uighurs) are recorded in that remote mountainous region, which during the Manchu dynasty still lived independently, controlled by their own chiefs, and to which joined the Yellow and Black Tibetans who had submitted to local chieftains.

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The Black Tibetans (Uighurs) living in the T'ao Chou district, depending on the Yang T'u-ssu of Choni, revolted during eleven years from 1868 to 1879.

Since 1822, the rebels of the old White Nenuphar groups, incessantly changing the name of their groups and moving from Szechwan Province, had invaded East Kansu and wrought tremendous havoc among the people of all of East Kansu for more than fifty years. The Tibetan, Uighur, and Shat'o tribes revolted at the same time. All the revolts were directed against the hated Manchu dynasty, a dynasty of barbarian origin which ruled China.

In 1868 the revolt of the Black Tibetans of Yang T'u-ssu had been more or less quelled. It broke out in full swing in 1879 again. According to the *Annals* of Kansu 46: 70*a*, a Black Tibetan, subject of the Yang t'u-ssu, called Cho yang-jen-chieh, living in the Kua-tse-ku, was a shaman by profession. In 1879, during the devastating earthquake of the fifth moon, his wife gave birth to a boy, whom he insidiously had called to be a Living Buddha. The baby was brought to the monastery and the lamas with the shaman, intending to make money, spread the news. During the feast prepared to honor the Living Buddha, attended by a huge crowd making offerings, the shaman, a piece of red cotton rolled on his head and a sword in his girdle, performed the shamanistic rites. Enraptured in a wild trance, he disclosed what his spirit had just imparted to him: the Living Buddha was chosen, the spirit said, to become the emperor of China. All the Black Tibetans of the four tribes were enrolled in the army of the Buddha, weapons were prepared, and the Uighurs attacked the villages of Ah Ho T'an and Yung P'ing and others. At that time the revolt of the White Nenuphar, called by the Chinese the "Hairy brigands," was still raging in East Kansu. Troops soon arrived. The Black Tibetans were beaten and pursued.

M 175x 648 U 175 648

The Governor General Tso Tsung-t'ang sent more troops, ordering them to capture the chiefs of the revolt. The shaman, the Living Buddha, and twenty other men were captured and killed, and T'ao Chou district was

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

province, and T'u-ssu Wang to accompany General Mu Yin to Kan and Su Chou to fight the unfaithful Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa. Two hundred of his soldiers were taken prisoner. Then the army proceeded to Ch'ih Chin in the Gobi where the Mongol Prince I-lien-cheng, his seal and tribes, were captured (*Annals* of Kansu ?: 42*a–b*, 40*a*, 48*b*).

175 648 619

T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh induced the Tibetan chiliarch A-pu to surrender, and in the fourth moon he fought the Tibetan chief I-lin-cheng-pen (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 10*b*).

At the death of the Mongol emperor in 1378, T'o ku-ssu had succeeded to the throne in Mongolia. He was soon on the warpath, mustering two armies in order to invade China, one in the Gobi at Karakorum, and one in North China at Yin Ch'ang. The army at Karakorum suffered a severe defeat at the hand of General Mu Yin in 1380, but the army of Yin Ch'ang was making inroads in Liaotung province.[72]

In 1380 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was called to court and ordered to arrive at Peking with his troops to stem the forays of the Ying Ch'ang brigands of the emperor. At the same time he was granted the title of Hsuan-wei general and the hereditary office of Chih Huei ch'ien shih in Hsining. He fought the brigands at Chin Shan Ssu, at Huo Ho, Yung P'ing, Su Chou, etc. His troops were victorious everywhere. He came back to Hsining after the capture of Na ha ch'u in 1387 (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*b*).

SURRENDER OF TRIBES IN HUANGCHUNG

Two years after the establishment of the exchange bureau the submission of nine Tibetan tribes is recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining, chapter 16. It is hard to find out which among them were Tibetan, Shat'o, or Uighur tribes. At the time of the surrender of Li Nan-ko with the officials of Hsining in 1371, only thirteen tribes had submitted (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 1*b*), and the names of the tribes are not recorded. It may be assumed that the reiterated invitations conveyed by the t'u-ssu to the chiefs of tribes by order of the emperor during eight years had reaped small success. Now, however, the fascination of the profits attached to the tea market had stimulated the tribes to surrender.

[563]

In the northern part of Hsining the submission of two tribes is noted.

The Pa sha tribe lived in tents on a territory larger than 500 square li, situated more than 100 li north of Hsining on the borders of the Tat'ung River. It controlled the Tsan-tsa tribes, the Ssu-erh-ssu-ko and many small tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 7*b*).

The Pa Wa tribe were also nomads, living next to the Pa sha tribe on the borders of the Tat'ung River. This tribe must have been smaller than the Pa sha tribe (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 10*a*).

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[72] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 10–11.

[P. 33(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

At that time the expansive country 40 li north of Hsining was inhabited by nomads and had no cities, villages, or farms. Only after the victory of the Manchus over the lamas and Tibetans in 1723 was colonization immediately started on a large scale, and the cities of Tat'ung and Mao Pei Shen were built. 175 619 648 [63]

West of Hsining, the *Annals* record in 1380 the submission of three tribes. The Si-na tribe lived 60 li west of Hsining on the northwest borders of the Hsining River. In its territory are tents, houses, and fortified villages. Its people practiced farming and cattle breeding. The tribe had a temple and a lama with the title of Kuo-shih (Master of the Kingdom), a silver seal, and an ivory stamp. The tribe numbered 500 families and was taxed 300 horses every year. It controlled the tribe called little Si-na which lived in Ku Shan, southeast of Nienpei, and it was taxed 30 horses. It also controlled the Ssu-ta-la-ma tribe and the Hsieh-erh-chih-kang temple, which were taxed 50 horses (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 8*b*). [361 346 651]

The Chia-erh-chi tribe inhabited the territory situated north of the Si-na tribe. The part of the tribe living inside the wall lived in houses and fortified villages; the part living outside the wall practiced cattle breeding and lived in tents. At the time of disturbances caused by brigands they moved inside the wall. The chief of the tribe was a lama who had the title of Chih-hui. Every year the tribe was taxed 130 horses. The tribe controlled the Lung-pa tribe numbering 100 families which was taxed 150 horses. [345]

In the region west of Hsining, stretching as far as 40 to 60 li, only farming, combined with cattle breeding, seems to have been practiced in 1380 by Tibetan tribes. After 1723 the region beyond was developed. The title of master of the kingdom was probably granted after the surrender of the tribe ruled by the lama. It was the policy during the Hung-wu and the whole Ming period to grant titles to lamas who induced tribes to surrender (Monguors II: 16). The title of Chih-hui borne by the chief is a title of the Ming time. The walls noted in the references were built only after 1546 (*Annals* of Hsining 13: 15). The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 seems to have mixed circumstances existing only after 1546 with those of 1380. [241 273]

Still west of Hsining the nomad Shen-tsang tribe surrendered in 1380. It inhabited a territory situated near Kokonor. At the time of the invasion of the Mongols in 1509 and their occupation of Kokonor, the tribe disappeared (*Annals* of Hsining ?: 5*b*).

In the region of the southern mountains of Hsining, between Hsining and the Yellow River, stretching in an east-west direction as far as Lao Ya Ch'eng, three more tribes surrendered in 1380, all of them living near the northern borders of the Yellow River.

The Tsan-tsa tribe lived in tents and its territory was situated south of the present subprefecture of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*).

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The Ko-tsa tribe, also a tribe of tent-dwellers, lived east of the Tsan-tsa tribe, and southwest of the city of Ku Shan. The tribe numbered 400 families (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*). 175x 619

The Ssu-kuo-mi tribe, also tent dwellers, lived in a territory situated 150 li south of Hsining, on the borders of the Yellow River. It was divided into two tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 5*b*).

1386 MARKS A NEW ERA IN HUANGCHUNG 175x 653 701 331

According to the *Annals* of Hsining 25: 1*a*; 9: 15*b*, Keng Ping-wen was sent to build the city of Hsining with appropriate circumvallations, using troops from all the commanderies of Shensi. The size of the city had to be reduced to half of its former size, with four watch towers on the corners, nineteen more on the walls, and four gates. The note concerning the use of troops of all the commanderies of the province of Shensi seems to point to the fact that few troops and laborers were available in Huangchung in 1386, and that the former city was too extensive, inconvenient for defense, and probably in bad condition. Keng Ping-wen was ordered to build seven relay stations where official couriers could find horses ready to forward the orders without delay to the upper administration, and also five storehouses for provisions, drill fields for the soldiers, and administrative buildings. Four relay stations were built in an eastern direction covering a distance of 220 li, connecting Hsining with the northeastern part of Kansu. One relay was built in Ku Shan, 160 li south of Nien-Pei in the region of the three tribes which had surrendered in 1380. He also built the fortified city of Nien Pei with a Ch'eng-huang temple (spirit protector of the city) (*Annals* of Hsining 14: 16*a*). A Wen Miao (temple for Confucius) had been built in Hsining and a temple for the spirit protector of the city, for the emperor had already, in 1370, ordered these temples to be built in all the cities of the empire.

These few data suggest that the Monguors saw the situation changing in Huangchung after they had surrendered in 1371. In 1372 Hsining had been created a commandery and consequently Chinese officials had been appointed very soon. Without indicating the date of the appointments, the annals (*Annals* of Hsining 23: 5*b*), note that the administration of Huangchung was controlled by two major officials, a civil and a military. The Fen-chou-tao, who resided not in the unimportant Hsining, but in Liangchow, controlled a large area, and the Feng-hsiun-tao who resided in Kaochow controlled the six granaries, the irrigation canals, the finances of the administrative organs and the farming colonies for the whole of Kansu. Only in 1488 a hundred years later, was the civil and military governor of Huangchung Ping-pi-tao appointed with residence in Hsining. Chapter 24 [illegible] records without 175x 648 [624]

[P.34(A)]

N *563 M 142 have very scanty beards, and there is seldom any growth of hair on the body.

e. economic activities

N *563 M [241] [233] [433] The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

M [291] [177] [171] Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to wear only Chinese clothing.

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Ölots and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours now belong to Chinghai Province. Very little is known about the Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokonor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian language. They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölots and the Torguts of Sinkiang.

N [177] N [233]

2. Hordes

N *563 • 619 361 *[175] When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai area he found the following groups of Mongols:

(1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;

(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;

(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;

(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;

(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.

(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.

(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

423 618

under the higher "ownership" of the emperor.[42] The chiefs of the Monguors and Shat'o in Kansu must have been feudatories of this kind under the Mongol dynasty.

Among nomads living in an extensive territory the territorial rights of the nomad lord over his vassals were not exercised in the same way as among farming and sedentary peoples. They took primarily the form of the power of the chief to order and regulate the movements of herds and herders according to grazing needs at different seasons, to summon men for military service, and to requisition labor for other services.

For the Monguors and Shat'o, living in the relatively small territories assigned to them by the emperor, the problem was not one of wide grazing movement but of concentration for frontier defense. The chiefs were "owners" of the territory, and of the subjects whose military services they commanded, but within the limited territory each clan member was free to settle and cultivate at his own choice, and to treat all uncultivated land as "common pasture" for grazing.

The strongly "individual" character of the right of property in the Monguor society predominates over the social, civil, and political aspects of property, and deserves attention because it is a fundamental principle still fully understood, recognized, and applied by relatively primitive peoples, but often disregarded by sociologists.

T'U-SSU LORD OF THE COMMONERS

566 621

The distinctive mark of a commoner is to be bound to his T'u-ssu. As already explained above, commoners were subjects granted to a chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his command in time of war.[43] Since his subjects were his only source for the recruiting of troops, the military importance of a T'u-ssu corresponded to the number of his families of commoners. Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of the slave, the *nullum caput habens* of the Roman law,[44] the basic distinction between nobles and common-

[42] Compare Lord Bryce's comment, *Holy Roman Empire*, 122–124, 229, New York, Macmillan, 1904, that in feudal Europe "real sovereignty" resided in the fief.—O. L.

[43] An element of agreement or bargaining may also be noted. When the "founding ancestor" submitted to the Ming dynasty, he was already (*a*) the leader of a group of his noble kinsmen and (*b*) in control of a number of commoners, perhaps originally the conquered subjects of his ancestors, perhaps "granted" to his ancestors by the preceding Mongol dynasty. His "bargain" with the Ming was that, without fighting, he offered them his allegiance as the man who was able to bring this military manpower into their service. The part played by the Ming was to accept the "bargain" by confirming and sustaining the T'u-ssu in his primacy among his kinsmen and his lordship over the commoners.—O. L.

[44] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 80. In the old Mongol society the vassals were not slaves. They were allowed to possess their own property, to raise their own cattle. They enjoyed a certain amount of liberty. The suzerain did not absorb all the fruits of their labor. On the other hand, they were bound to serve him in time of peace and to fight for him in time of war; to accompany his clan when they migrated to new pastures, and always

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566 .621 ers still existed in 1911–1922, even though the chasm which in former times separated nobles from commoners had almost been bridged in ordinary social life. The commoners were still, however, not allowed to abandon their chiefs. The moment they became able to exercise that freedom, the clans were bound to fall asunder, the troops to disappear, and the T'u-ssu institution to wither away.

The first duty of a subject was never to abandon his lord.[45] The subjects and their descendants were chained with fetters which never could be removed. They could not even of their own decision leave their lord in order to pass into the service of another lord. Under pre-Monguor customary law the death penalty was stipulated for attempting to do so.[46] This conviction of being chained was deeply rooted in the social consciousness of the Monguors and was considered by them to be natural. It was enforced by the right of the T'u-ssu to request from the Chinese officials the extradition of any of his subjects who fled and hid among the Chinese.

624 178

After the great rebellion of the Muslims (1868–1872), however, the military power of the Monguors gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time wielded any considerable influence. The Chinese officials, receiving fewer presents from the impoverished T'u-ssu, were not as willing as before to uphold their rights and privileges. Although there is no documentary evidence that the Chinese were following their traditional policy of unifying the administration by gradually abolishing the privileges of tribes that had become innocuous, perhaps there were secret orders from Peking to neglect the T'u-ssu. The T'u-ssu institution had in fact become obsolete and the imperial authorities must have been aware that this kind of defense of the frontiers was now useless.[47] In any event, less support was henceforth

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to live together with his clan; to help in the pastoral economy and in hunting. It was impossible for them to unbind the fetters which chained them to the suzerain, and so their descendants continued to be the vassals of his clan.

[45] There was a distinction in this respect between nobles and commoners. As shown by the recorded instances, notably in the Li clan (see above, p. 40), a kinsman of the T'u-ssu could, in certain circumstances, split away from the T'u-ssu and, by the decree of the overlord state, take some of the commoners, be allocated a territory, be created himself a T'u-ssu, and become the founder of a new line of nobles ruling over subject commoners. From this aspect the position of a T'u-ssu relative to his noble kinsmen may be described as *primus inter pares* and relative to his commoners as *princeps omnium*.—O. L.

[46] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 153.

[47] The T'u-ssu and the whole antiquated Manchu imperial system were unable to deal with the Muslim insurrection, which was eventually put down by the "new style" Chinese (not Manchu) generals in command of Chinese (not Manchu) troops, with Western arms. One consequence was that it became evident that such frontier feudatories as the Monguors were no longer either useful or dangerous. Even if there were secret orders from Peking to neglect them, therefore, there was no need for such orders. Another consequence was that the "new style" Chinese generals began to become superior in prestige to the Manchu imperial state, and became, in fact, the "founding ancestors" of

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565 Conversely, the nobles were weakened by the fact that
178 their unearned revenue decreased generation by genera-
558 tion, through inheritance and subdivision, so that more
621 and more, if a noble family were locally wealthy and respected, it was not because of its share of taxes but because this particular family was able to produce and conserve wealth in the same manner as the leading commoner families. The ties of such a family with the rest of the nobility were weakened, and its ties with the local village community and its interests were strengthened.

NOBLES AND COMMONERS

565 We may summarize this aspect of the social history of
178 the Monguors by saying that when they first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, the social distance between commoners and nobles must have been very great. With settled life and the increasing domination of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their own ability to manage their own farms, and local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability and not primarily by class. Nobles could, in the conventional form of sale, "pass" their fields to commoners, and commoners to nobles. They bought cattle and grain from each other and sold them to each other. Nobles and commoners, if they had the money, joined together to invest in trade. Apart
565 from the important discrimination in favor of nobles in
178 immunity from taxes and corvées, and immunity from being flogged in court, the principal surviving distinc-
576 tions of the aristocracy are such things as their higher rank at important ceremonies, social precedence at dinners, marriages, funerals, and festivities (even though the noble were a poor man), the custom of calling the nobles "ta jen" (great man), and finally the old custom that when a commoner meets a noble on the road, he must dismount, remove his hat, and unroll his pigtail.

In my own experience, I know of a case of an old man named Chao, of Peiyahua, who, refusing to dismount in this manner, was brought before the T'u-ssu, made to apologize, and required to make an offering of a sheep with red paper pasted on its horns and a piece of red cotton cloth bound on its back, and to present incense and oil to the ancestral temple. It is to the disadvantage, not the advantage, of the nobles as a class that many of them show an overbearing pride. Such men are most conspicuous when, though known to be addicted to opium and gambling, they try to uphold their traditional "rights" by demanding deference from commoners.

THE CLAN ASSEMBLY

175 In the year 1913 the Monguors were entering on a period of trouble and decline. The T'u-ssu institution was threatened. Ever since the beginning of the Chinese Republic in 1911 there had been rumors that the Chinese officials would abolish the institution. The dowager who

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618 is strictly kept, the prestige and authority of the lord are
624 inevitably increased.

In small clans, when the T'u-ssu is a haughty and supercilious man, or an opium addict and gambler exacting in his demands for corvées and greedy for the money of his subjects, he is easily criticized and despised because the distance between him and his subjects is reduced, and the commoners get into open arguments with him, and rebel and accuse him in the Chinese court. In the lack of distance between the T'u-ssu and subjects and the waning authority of the T'u-ssu lies the secret of the fact that it is in the small clans that commoners most easily leave their chiefs, giving the Chinese officials the opportunity to reduce both commoners and T'u-ssu to the rank of Chinese subjects and to confiscate their territory. It is no wonder that the clans which have disappeared are the small clans.

IV. THE VILLAGE

FORMATION OF THE VILLAGE

621 The Monguor village consists (1911–1922) of a
361 group of families living in a well defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the chief of the village. Since the villagers all till the soil and keep cattle, the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures.

Most farmers, however, live in small hamlets. The patrilineal family system seems to favor this kind of grouping. When the paternal inheritance is divided, the sons build small houses near the old one, bring new lands under cultivation, and small groups of related families, living close together, spring up all over the territory.

Wealthy Monguors hire poor people to cultivate their fields and herd their cattle, and build small houses for them near their own. Wealthy Monguors also give in to the desires of their wives and daughters-in-law and allow poor relatives to [illegible] small houses near their own. They lend them [illegible] to plow their fields, and as they prosper the group increases and the hamlet grows into a village.

361 A third factor promoting the grouping of families
621 was, in the past, the chronic insecurity of the country, ravaged by recurring inroads of Tibetans and Mongols.
721 According to tradition the Monguors, when they first came into this territory, still lived in tents. At that time it was easy to pick up the tent and move out of the path of invasion; but once they began to live in houses, the houses had to be defended. Wealthy people in the outlying territory built a high thick mud wall around their houses. To these enclosures the poor families fled in time of trouble, helping in the defense of the small community. Wealthy people, therefore, liked to see the hamlet increased by the addition of poor families, who provided more manpower for defense. All over the country numerous ruins of strongholds are the enduring witnesses of the bad old times. [p. 73-6]

361 The Ming dynasty was strongest in the first century and a half of its rule. After that, from 1509 to the 621 founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644, and from then until 1723, recurrent forays and revolts never left 721 the country at peace. At one time, a Chinese army of a hundred thousand men had to be sent to garrison this frontier region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 13*b*). In 1537 orders were given to build more mud walled villages, and in 1595 orders came again to repair the old fortifications and to build more new fortified villages (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, pp. 15*a*, 19*a*). It is worth noting that Liench'eng, the seat of the Lu clan, means "associated cities," since in the region of Liench'eng thirteen strongholds were built by the T'u-ssu, most of them still extant.

[712] These notices in the *Annals* suggest that few fortified villages had previously existed, but that from this time the population began to group itself around small strongholds, the more important of which grew into fortified villages.

618 The Monguor clan was a military institution, originally shaped on the Mongol nomadic pattern, with a decimal 701 system of groups of 10, 100, and 1,000 families and a 361 hierarchy of military command from the largest unit of 10,000 down to the smallest of 10. When the Monguors 621 became farmers, the process of settling broke up these units, with the result that families that had once belonged to the same military unit were scattered among different farming groups. It then became necessary to make a new military grouping based on the distribution of villages. This led to a system of villages in which the head of the village was also the military chief, and in which the military interest of defense was coordinated with such community interests as the maintenance of irrigation canals. The transformation of villages in which some families were subject to mobilization under military units in other villages into a system in which the military unit coincided with the residential community seems to have been brought about not by planning but by a natural adjustment.

361 A Monguor village may be described as "loose," in contrast with the Chinese "compact" village. It is not a large place included between four strong, thick mud walls, with a small gate easy to defend, but a defined territory in which the people live on their farms, scattered in small groups, under the rule of the chief of the [311] territory. Each "village" has a share of pasture for the herds of the whole community and a valley for the cutting of wood and fuel by all members of the community.

It sometimes has a central stronghold in which live some twenty or thirty families. Sometimes, though not usually, the mansion of the T'u-ssu and the administrative buildings of the clan are also within the stronghold, together with a couple of shops, one of which is always the indispensable pharmacy with a Chinese "physician." Again in contrast with the Chinese pattern, there are rarely any "streets" laid out at right angles, for the

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342 in the center is the living room, and is used for the reception of guests and as the dining room. One of the two smaller rooms on either side of the living room is occupied by the chief of the family and his wife; the room opposite is occupied by the eldest son.

352 The largest part of each dwelling room is occupied by the *k'ang*—a small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, 354 sits, talks, sews, etc. In front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm. In winter the *k'ang* is a wonderful invention. On it are spread felt rugs, and along the wall are folded and piled the covers and skins used at night. Three or four wooden cases along the wall contain the clothes of members of the family and the treasures of the mother (needle box, sewing materials, etc.), and there is also a small cupboard. Along 353 the wall, hung on pegs, are a gun, a stringed musical 259 instrument, clothes, etc. In the corner of the room stands a jar containing fermenting pickled vegetables. 342 Part of the smoke of the oven escapes through a hole pierced in the window and the door is opened when the smoke is too heavy. Beams and rafters are like ebony, blackened by the oily smoke. Around New Year, the walls are whitewashed and two or three pictures of deities are placed on the walls. After a few days the whitewash turns brown and the walls are muddy again.

343 In the northeast corner of the courtyard is the kitchen and in this building the youngest of the married sons lives with his family—for in this blessed corner, according to the shaman, a large progeny is to be expected.[1] The two remaining corners are converted into stables—for these corners, again according to the shaman, are propitious for the reproduction of animals. Sheep and cows are fenced outside the courtyard.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

621 Since nobles and commoners live in the same kind of 184 house and earn their living by the same means, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated. Poor and rich, nobles and commoners, live in the same hamlets, help each other and go in and out of each

[1] This custom preserves the tradition that the youngest son is "guardian of the hearth." There are many evidences that in ancient Turco-Mongol society elder sons moved away at marriage and received at that time their share of the inheritance. The youngest son remained with the parents and received the residual inheritance. Hence, according to Vladmirtsov (*Régime social des Mongols*, 60), the term *otchigin* or *otjigin*, "prince of the fire," for the youngest son. P. Pelliot and L. Hambis (*Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan* 1: 176, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1951) point out that *ot* is Turkish for "fire," while *chigin* is the medieval Mongol form of *tigin* (*tegin*), which though occurring in Turkish is in their opinion of Avar (old Mongol) origin. They point to another word for "youngest son," *otqan*, as "probably" deriving from ot-qan (khan), "sovereign of the fire."—O. L.

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other's houses. Their children play together. In winter the women of noble and commoner families sit in each other's houses sewing clothes. In times of sickness or childbirth, the women of both classes help each other; they cradle and caress each other's children. When trouble breaks out between a mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law, all the neighboring women of both upper and lower classes come around to help patch up the quarrel. Rich and poor know each other's most intimate affairs and talk about them. They know all about each other's wealth or poverty, for the saying goes that the neighbor is the balance which weighs the neighbor's silver. The daily food of rich and poor is just about the same.

The intimacy in the daily family life which derived from the time when nobles and commoners migrated in small nomadic groups with their herds, pitching their tents one next the other, became more and more conventional when they settled down in small villages, and made it possible to bridge the chasm separating upper and lower classes in the official administrative hierarchy; but long before commoners were allowed to participate in the administration, the way had been prepared by the close familiarity in all the small hamlets between women of the two groups in the orbit of the family.

In such problems the overwhelming influence of the women and children is often overlooked. The first step in the leveling of social conditions between nobles and commoners was not set by any order of the T'u-ssu, but by the women and children in their daily familiar life.

The distance between rich and poor families in such a society as that of the Monguors is not so marked as in our society. The sons of the rich work in the fields just like the sons of the poor. They work side by side with the hired men. In the same way the daughters-in-law and daughters of the rich do all the household chores, and go to the fields to do the weeding and to bring in the harvest, as do the wives and daughters of the poor. Only on holidays are they better dressed and decked out with nicer jewelry.

Rich nobles and rich commoners alike hire four or five extra men to till their fields. They keep flocks of one hundred or two hundred sheep, herds of forty or fifty cows, and feed ten or more donkeys, two or three teams of mules, and one hundred or more horses, of which a couple are fast and handsome.

The man of ordinary standing hires one or two men, has fifty or one hundred sheep, ten or twenty cows, some donkeys, and a couple of mules and always has a fast, fine horse. Poor families working for the rich people earn some money and some grain and from some of the fields that they cultivate for the rich keep the harvests for themselves. With the herds of their employer they put a few sheep and a couple of cows or donkeys of their own. Sometimes they have a couple of days off to till their own small fields with the draft animals of their employer. They are dealt with in the

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same way as members of the family; and the relations between employer and hired men are familiar and cordial.

In short there are among the nobles honorable families living in affluence, and among the commoners there are the same kind of fine families. There are among both nobles and commoners less honorable families and even dishonorable ones, addicted to opium, gambling, and the whole train of attendant vices that go with these depravities. Since most families are absorbed with the struggle for life, however, they have little time left to indulge in extravagant vices. Although the villages are not beds of roses, the sociability of life among the Monguors is an attractive feature of their society.

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIALS

621

The highest official in the village is the village chief or headman. Next come the two military commanders, called Ch'ien-tsong and Pa-tsong,[2] and finally the elders. The chief of the village is responsible to the T'u-ssu for his villagers. His powers are granted to him by the T'u-ssu, on the recommendation of the elders. The institution of the office of village chief dates from after the settling down of the Monguors under Ming rule. It was an innovation and an adaptation to a new economic and social status.

In the case of the two military ranks the tradition runs that in former times all the chiefs of villages were nobles who had been appointed as military commanders and who had jurisdiction over administrative as well as military matters. The clan institution having become during, and even before, the Mongol Empire a military institution, all subjects of the clan were enrolled in one or another military unit. No surviving tradition explains the present subordination of the military officers in the village to the village chief; but this subordination must have gone against the grain of the old Mongol military tradition—especially since the chief of the village may be a commoner, not a noble—and it may well be therefore that this subordination began under the Ming dynasty and was a mark of Chinese preference for civil authority over the Mongol tradition of military supremacy.

The institution of village elders may be regarded as a survival from the nomad past of the Monguors. Nomad clans once lived and thrived without chiefs, but never

[2] These two terms are local patois for the Chinese terms Ch'ien-chang and Pai-chang, "commander of a thousand" and "commander of a hundred," which in turn are translations of traditional Mongol terms. It should be noted that since the Monguor villages of recent times do not produce a thousand men at a time to place under a commander, we have here an illustration of the very common phenomenon of the degeneration of titles by stages which may be described as (*a*) high rank; (*b*) high-sounding rank; (*c*) humdrum rank, with no consciousness, in the minds of those who daily use the title, of its original significance. Mongol history is full of this degeneration of titles and honorifics, especially when they are borrowed Chinese terms.—O. L.

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621 without elders. The whole power of the clan was anciently embodied in the elders, who appointed and dismissed the chiefs. It is therefore no wonder that the elders in every village still play, most of the time, the most important part in local administration.

622 The chief of the village is usually selected from among the commoners, but may be a noble. He is always a villager, a man noted for his proficiency in administration and in good repute among the population for his uprightness and readiness to help members of the community. He is not always the richest man in the village, but is almost always chosen from among the most outstanding families in the village. He may even be a Chinese or a Tibetan enrolled in the clan. He is chosen by the elders on the tenth of the tenth moon. The T'u-ssu is then informed and must approve and send a written commission or appointment. Thus there is a compromise between choice by the village elders and appointment at the T'u-ssu's discretion.[8]

The tour of duty of the village chief is for one year, and he can be reappointed. He is the real executive authority of the village, responsible to the T'u-ssu for law and order and representing the village in its relations with the T'u-ssu.

701 The military officers are appointed by the T'u-ssu personally, for an indefinite tenure. In former times they were always nobles, but in the last half-century of the old Monguor society many were commoners; the office had become merely honorary, and some T'u-ssu sold it to the highest bidder. The military officers are in charge of the rolls of the village militia, who are subject to call in times of emergency. In addition a few men are on permanent service as soldiers. In case of war or bandit disorders the two officers take command, and call up all the males of the village.

[796] [431] At New Year the village chief and the two military commanders offer the T'u-ssu the New Year greetings of the village and present him with tea, sugar, 622 raisins, a couple of bottles of wine, and a piece of 701 red silk eight feet in length, a ceremonial scarf and 35,000 pierced copper cash. The same three men

[8] It should be noted, however, that in Mongol society there are many examples of compromise between selection (or approval) from below and appointment (or approval) from above. The emphasis may vary either in times of the strongly centralized power of a Mongol emperor (as under Chingis and his immediate successors), or in periods of subordination of Mongol tribes to centralized empires in China (as under the Ming and Manchu dynasties). There are even traditions that the tribe (of commoners) has the right to repudiate the prince who represents the ruling noble clan; with the proviso, however, that the ruling clan may put forward another of its own members to replace the repudiated prince. It is hard to say definitely that the right of the ruling prince, chief, or T'u-ssu is the oldest right. As Father Schram points out, there are reasons for believing that the authority of a council of elders is even more ancient and fundamental. It may be suggested that in such societies as that of the Monguors the rights of the chief tend to prevail over those of the elders when there is a strong overlord paramount over both chief and elders.—O. L.

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LIMITS OF AUTHORITY OF THE VILLAGE OFFICIALS

•621 While the village officials are expected to deal with all possible disturbances of the peace, there are limits to their authority. The commoners, being the subjects of the T'u-ssu, who merely delegates his powers to the officials whom he appoints, have the right to appeal to him. The appeal, however, can be made only after punishment has been inflicted, in view of the fact that the commoner is also subject to the village authorities. The form of appeal to the higher authority of the T'u-ssu, therefore, is not "the village authorities *intend to be* unjust to me," but "they *have been* unjust to me." The remedy, therefore, calls not merely for preventing the carrying out of a sentence wrongly imposed, but for punishing the lower authority for a mistake made and executed. This view of the working of legal machinery is not peculiarly Monguor; it is Chinese, and indeed found in many Asian societies.

The jurisdiction of the chief of the village is, therefore, limited in two directions. He is circumscribed by custom in his authority over the villagers, and subordinate to the T'u-ssu. On his triennial visit the T'u-ssu always inquires into the administration of the officials, the suits that have been brought before them, and the way in which they have dealt with them. The outlook on these matters of Monguor society as a whole seems to be rooted in the blunt fact that the commoners are descendants of subjected tribes which might have been exterminated by their conquerors, and for which the price of survival was to become the "possessions" of the victors. The ordinary commoner, with only a confused idea about the history of his condition, knows only that he is completely subject to his T'u-ssu, to be ruled according to the customs of the clan.

In most matters the interests of each village are confined to its own territory, the payment of its own taxes, the support of its own quota of soldiers, the providing of its share of the additional levies for marriages and funerals in the T'u-ssu's family, and for the investiture of the T'u-ssu. If for any reason a village feels that it has a complaint to make, it makes its petition at the yearly assembly, or at the time of the ceremony of the opening of the seal, when all the chiefs of villages are gathered around the T'u-ssu.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VILLAGES

621 312 To the extent that villages have few affairs in common, it is easy to be good neighbors. The most frequent cause of trouble between villages is dependence on the same irrigation canal, because villages using the same canal are jointly responsible for its yearly maintenance and for emergency repairs after floods.

Most village irrigation canals tap streams running from the mountains to the Hsining River or the Yellow River. The canals are divided into sections. In a typical case, the take-off section from the mountain

621 stream must be kept in repair by all the people using the water of the canal throughout its length. If section
312 *B*, the middle section of the canal, is to be repaired, the people of section *A* are not concerned. The people of the villages along sections *B* and *C* must do all the work. If section *C* is damaged, the villagers of that section must do all the work alone. Yet there are times when most of the damage is along the lowest section, and the people, getting no help from their upstream neighbors, harbor resentment.

621 Each village is allotted a fixed number of days for the use of water for irrigation. In times of drought, villages
312 will open their outlets from the main canals at night when it is not their turn for water in order to steal
628 water from the section whose turn it is, pretending that the dams broke. It is not uncommon for fights to break out over water-stealing, giving rise to long-lasting and bitter feuds between villages. When there is trouble over water the chiefs and elders of villages not involved in the case are invited to act as arbiters. If the damage done is not too serious, a dinner is given by the offenders and apologies are made; but if the damage is too great, the offending village is required to pay part of the taxes due to the T'u-ssu from the plaintiff village. Even such a settlement, however, may become the beginning of a feud.

621 Minor causes of friction between villages are the stealing of sheaves from the autumn harvest by poor
628 people or, in the spring and summer, damage to the crops of one village by straying animals from another
778 village. The chiefs of the villages concerned patch up such petty troubles without need for arbitration. Every village raises a sacred animal, usually a Tibetan bull yak or a he-goat. These animals are allowed to roam freely and to trespass on fields, and nobody complains of the damage they cause to crops. After a few years, however, a bull begins to turn savage, and sometimes injures people. In 1914 the bull of the village of Narin ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Lungta, who was working in the fields. The village of Narin made apologies, indemnified the family, and killed the bull. The meat was offered to the village of the man who was killed, because the people of a village are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. No further trouble followed from this incident.

628 There is a strict custom that it is not allowed to sing
834 lascivious songs inside a village. The young people of villages that are not friendly sometimes sing such songs
533 in order to tease their neighbors, and fights break out; but if the chiefs of both villages concerned punish the youngsters, there are no further consequences.

628 In summary, it may be said that there are few serious quarrels between villages, except those over canals and irrigation water; in regions where irrigation is not used, in the so-called "dry land," serious quarrels never break out between villages.

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[56 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.]
791 when the ceremony is to begin.
787 The soothsayer himself never takes part. He merely determines the time and names the spirit under whose supervision everything takes place.

*778 [57] Time: The time determined by the soothsayer varies in length: one, three, five, seven days, if a lama comes; otherwise only one day. The raising itself takes one forenoon at most. It is always started in the morning. -- Usually the tree is erected in conjunction with the construction of the central fort. It may also be erected, however, on any other day of the year.

The tree: The tree must always have its bark removed. Its size varies according to the proportions of the yard and the kind of wood. Fir trees are usually the longest. There are no prescriptions concerning the material and the origin of the tree. It may be cut down as desired. Also, there are no special ceremonies connected with it. There are trees up to ten meters in height, especially when it is a matter of mani-masts for the entire village or a monastery. On the average, however, they are five to six meters long (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 60.] Nowadays a complete mani-tree in the center of the yard is found only rarely. Usually an old cracked pole without a flag, to which the animals are tied, stands in the round manger. -- The mani-tree does not need to be confined to the center of the yard. One can also see mani-trees on the massive yard walls, especially where these come together at a corner. There are also communal mani-trees that are erected by an entire village, usually

[621]

[57 cont.]

*778 [621]

[Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.] on a raised terrace with a beautiful incense oven in front of it. Frequently a mani-pole with a fluttering pennant also stands in the center of the obo. The most beautiful and largest mani-trees are found in front of the entrance gates of the Living Buddhas in the lamaseries; they are up to 15 meters long and bear flags up to five or eight meters long which are printed all over with Tibetan texts. -- Mani-poles are found even among the Chinese, although rarely.

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[171]

The tip (4): The tip is cut out of a wooden board as thick

4. [Foreign text p. 60.] This tip also occurs again and again on chorten, temple roofs, coffins, in symbols, etc. -- The large mani-trees mentioned above in front of the yard of the Living Buddhas, however, usually have a golden ball in place of the sun-moon tip.

[792]

as a thumb, in the shape of a sun resting on a half-moon. A small semicircle sits on the sun, and the moon has a handle with which the tip is set on the end of the pole. Everything, sun, half-moon, and handle, is cut out of one piece. This tip, however, does not sit directly on the pole, but instead is stuck through a round wooden plate-sized disk that comes to rest vertically on the end of the pole (5). The sun with its attached

5. [Foreign text p. 60.] The old man knew of no name for the round disk through which the handle of the moon sickle is stuck. He thought

[63 cont.]

Report

*778 On the mountains in the vicinity of the villages, the Tujen like to erect an obo. This is a large stonepile over a pit in which all kinds of things are buried. On these stonepiles stands a large square wooden frame, in which all kinds of weapons, tree twigs, and mani-flags are placed. Frequently several smaller stonepiles run from the obo to the four points of the compass; there will be at least one row in the direction of the mountain ridge.

*778 782 [776] [792] [791] The obo is dedicated to the mountain-spirit. It protects the village and the individual family. The obo is venerated three times each month with an incense offering. Sheep sacrifices also often take place at the obo. On special occasions a lama or Bon priest is invited to pray before the obo. When air-horses are released, it is done preferably from the peak on which an obo stands. -- Every year a large folk festival takes place near the obo.

Details

*778 [621] [628] Place: The obo is always erected on a mountain height. A place by a pass is preferred. It need not be the highest mountain in the area. Each village may have its own obo, or several villages may erect an obo together. In the latter case they agree upon a favorable place between the villages (1).

[171]

1. [Foreign text p. 68.] The obo need not always be on a mountain. In other regions around Sining one finds obos on the plain, for instance, near Fandse and Chiafandse settlements. Even here, however, trees are almost always present. Nevertheless, the Tujen maintain that they would never build an obo on the plain, for, according to them, an obo belongs to the mountain-spirit and must

[63 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 68 cont.] therefore stand on a mountain. -- They take the sacred place quite seriously. Thus, it is striking that for all Tujen villages mountain terrain is set aside, a piece of grass land with forest, where no agriculture may be carried on. Where the Chinese intervene, however, these mountain groves disappear. From these sparse remains one can imagine what the now bare agricultural land looked like in former times.

[621]

*778 784 The mountain on which the obo stands may not be defiled. No fields may be laid out there; the trees may not be cut down; the grass may not be cut; the ground may not be turned up. The animals that live there, for instance, hares, foxes, birds, are not hunted or killed. Everything must be left just as it grows and thrives by nature; the cattle may not graze there at any time. This place, namely, belongs to the mountain-spirit and is called sacred mountain.

[231] [776]

*778 The obo pit: When the obo is erected, a pit is dug. All kinds of valuables are put in it, primarily treasure-urns (earth-god urns), as in the case of the central fort of the compound. The obo is erected by a lama or Bon priest. No [64] Tujen of the present generation has seen this ceremony. The present-day obos still stem from olden times and are more and more falling into disrepair. Therefore no one knows any more precisely what is buried in the obo.

[792] [791] [178]

The stone mound: The height of the mound varies, depending on the circumstances. First an outer wall is put in layers in circular form. A large number of little stones are put inside the circle up to the edge, and these are supposed to be white stones. At every obo veneration additional stones are

[64 cont.]

*778 nowadays the people are too poor. The silk threads and the long silk string are merely a substitute for them. Similarly, gold and silver are scarcely ever thrown on the obo any more.

782 [178] Sometimes a string with 12 mani-flags is also drawn across the nearby pass from the obo-frame or from the mani-pole. This string is of black wool and is called "wolf string." Another string, on which 12 mani-flags are hung, is frequently run from the obo to a tree. This string is white and is called "mani-string."

782 [796] [65] The month offering: Usually the obo is venerated on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of each lunar month (2).

> 2. [Foreign text p. 69.] ~~There is no connection~~ between obo and month. The days mentioned here are generally preferred for offering and cult, and for this the phases of the moon are decisive.

This is done usually by the master of the family. He goes to the obo very early in the morning with a spear or several twigs and all the other necessities.

First he gives the customary incense offering before it. Then he pours a bowl of barley wine on the ground before the incense fire. He places lances and twigs with bunches of wool on the obo, hangs silk threads on the frame, and throws his votive gifts on the mound, namely, butter, tea leaves, money, silver, etc., as much as he can afford. Then he goes around the obo three times from left to right, throws 108 small white [788] stones on it, and in doing so prays the om mani padme hum and in between calls out: "I throw at the white obo." Then he makes a threefold kowtow before the incense fire and facing the obo. During the entire ceremony the conch is blown by his companions. This is not necessary, however.

The sheep sacrifice: There are no definite prescriptions concerning the time of the sheep sacrifice. There are communal [621] sacrifices, at which the entire village participates for village

[65 cont.]

782 concerns, and there are private sacrifices which the individual
[621] gives for his family.

The communal sacrifice is usually given in summer after the erection of the pole-goat for a good harvest. A private sacrifice is undertaken at any time of year according to time and circumstances, for instance, in case of an illness or before an important undertaking. Since one man alone cannot carry out everything for a sacrifice, he invites several other men to it, who help him and afterwards consume the sacrificial meat. The person who makes the offering must also pay the cost.

The sacrificial rite does not differ from that of the other
[231] sheep sacrifice. Thus, the sheep is washed, has milk poured over it, is fumigated, etc. Usually a soothsayer is present.
[791] After the sacrificial meat has been boiled, several bowls of broth
[252] are scooped out. The offering-casts are made with it in the directions indicated by the soothsayer. These are always the same. Three bowls are thrown towards the north for heaven, three bowls each to the east, south, west, and north for the countless spirits, three bowls to the left of the incense offering for the mountain-spirit in the obo, three bowls to the right of the incense offering for the earth-spirit. Then follow three more bowls on the obo, and finally three additional bowls are poured before the spirit-spear. Then follows the offering meal,
[574] at which all the meat is consumed.

Before the sheep offering the general obo-veneration is first undertaken, as at the month offering.

[792] The obo prayer: Frequently a lama or Bon priest is in-
[791] vited to pray before the obo. This may last one to seven days, depending upon the request. Here, too, either the entire
[621] village or an individual person is the petitioner. Everyone pays personally for the expenses arising from it.

The prayer service begins with an incense offering of the people. Meanwhile the lama makes a šdorma. Then the people place the following offerings before the obo: three baked loaves, 13 steamed loaves, a bowl [66] of barley wine, flowers in vases, small bowls with honey, a cup of tea, black and white sugar, a bowl of tsamba with butter-disks.

[68 cont.]

192
*778

[Note on foreign text p. 71 cont.]
la rtse – obo, yar = upward, stod la = upward, to place on top. -- rědziõň: Tibetan žon = to ride. -- yifula: Tibetan ri bo = mountain, hill, lha = spirit. -- ndzigdien: Tibetan 'jig = transitoriness, rten = container. A Buddhistic mode of expression for the world: the ten containers of transitoriness (Unkrig).

Little stonepiles: lawdzē dzidziga = obo chicks.

Obo sheep-offering: lawdzē tada xoni šēňlie = to sacrifice a sheep before the obo.

[782] The lama prays before the obo: lama lawdzē tada mošguni.

The offerings: yilenē šēňlie = total offerings.

To dwell at the obo: lawdze tada sō-.

To set up a tent: bekārge posguo-.

[541] Horse racing: mori holilga = to make horses race.

Whose horse is fast: kāni mori gurdā?

[526] Shooting competition: sēmu sēmuda- = to shoot arrows.

Whose skill with weapons is great: kāni xuawu šgewa?

The young people wrestle: mula kunsgē walde-.

Whose strength is great: kāni kudzi šgewa?

Large and small sing together: šge mulasgē nigē dōlā-.

Whose songs are many: kāni dō uluona?

[541] Obo horse-racing: lawdzē šda rědziõň (Tib. (8) [see Note 8 above].

[527] Obo festival: lawdzē šdodlō, mori holgani = to make the horses run pelting the obo.

[621] [757] The obo protects human beings: lawdzē ayili kun, ase, mulā-sēla, nasā, guosāni furõňlāni = the obo of the village (kin group) protects human beings, animals, little children, from epidemics and strife.

[776] The mountain-spirit: yifu la (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above].

[68 cont.]

192 *778 The game is cared for by the mountain-spirit: lawdzë udaġladzǎn sōwa (or fsŭärëġwa) = birds (or game) are ruled by the obo.

The dog of the mountain-spirit (wolf): yifulani noxuę.
The old people relate legends: šdogu kunsgë xuęńge gulie-.
Whose legends are many: kǎni xuę uluona?
Large and small drink barley wine: šge mulā dërasēńgë udzi-.
Today is good: niudurġuo dur-sēna.
In conviviality let us sit together: suġdzieńge sōldeya!
One does not know today what tomorrow will be: niudurē malōńguni li mudien.
With death it is all over: fugugë bura dzia.
We come into the world for nothing: ndziġdienë (8) [see Note 8 above]) arǎń nigë huę rëdziā- (nigë xue = once).

[Pages 68-71 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[71] 5. The Chorten Chǎmber*

*778 346

* See "Notes," pp. 77-79 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[621] [351] In each Tujen village and sometimes also in individual compounds there is a chorten chamber. The actual name is hundred-thousand-house. This chamber looks like a small temple without doors. In it there are several sacred urns, which are buried under 100,000 small clay cones. In this cone-mountain is stuck the column of the sky, which is covered with all kinds of blessing formulas.

[71 cont.]

346 The chorten chamber is erected by the entire village.
*778 Everyone must give a hand. The lama comes and prays for
[621] seven days, makes a series of tormas, and manufactures the
[792] urns. On the seventh day the chorten chamber is built. Only little windows are left in it. In front of the chorten chamber the men burn incense and move in a circle around the chamber as at the obo. Through the window holes they then again throw in little chorten.

[621] The chorten chamber protects the village and the family
[777] from misfortune. It represses the evil earth-influences. [Fig. 8 appears here.]

Details

[361] Place: The chorten chamber is always erected outside
[791] the compound and outside the village. No attention is paid to paths. The place is more precisely designated by the soothsayer, not by the lama.

[72] Form: The groundplan of the chorten chamber is rectangular. Its size varies greatly. There are small chambers as high as a man and large ones with beautiful tile roofs and columned porticoes. There is never a door in the wall. Only at head level are square peepholes left, an ell square. There is no sun-moon disk on the roof, such as is otherwise common on temples. Usually a beautiful incense oven stands before the chamber. -- There are many kinds of chorten chambers. The one here is the most common; it is called "house-chamber," for there are also some that are not roofed (1).

[192] 1. [Foreign text pp. 77-78.] According to the informant, bẽn designates the same thing as the Tibetan 'bum (in many places also pronounced bẽn), that is, 100,000. kãn is the Tibetan word for house, but it can also mean temple, for example, in the word sdienkãn.

[72 cont.]

346
*778
192

[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.]
a roof; such as dǯẽw-yi and ger-kãṅ. The kãṅ described here is this ger-kãṅ. Actually this name is a tautology, for ger is Mongolic and means house (tent), in other words, the same as the Tibetan kãṅ. Besides these names, there are other special designations for bẽṅkaṅ, such as mani bẽṅkãṅ, tsãla bẽṅkãṅ, dǯõma bẽṅkãṅ, maridzẽ bẽṅkãṅ. Unfortunately all these types could not be inquired into precisely [78], nor likewise the meaning of the name and the contents of the bẽṅkãṅ. The many rẽduombẽṅ (7) [see Note 7 below], pyramid-like stonepiles which hold down evil demons, as is also reported in the Tujen myth of the female man-eater Mãṅgudzẽ, probably also belong among the bẽṅkãṅ. For this function the Chinese have the expression pu mei-ch'i, that is, to plug up the (earth)veins' breath.

*778 Time: The chorten chamber may be erected at any time of the year, although the frost-free period is preferred because of the work on the walls. The soothsayer designates the specific [791] day and hour. -- The preparation, however, takes many weeks because the building material, the urns, and the clay cones must be manufactured. In addition, a small village festival [527] is always connected with the erection and for that reason the time after the harvest is preferred.

[621] Persons: All the persons of the village take part in the [476] preparations, men, women, and children. The leader divides the work among the individual families. At the erection and the [562] consecrating ceremonies, however, only men are active. Women [792] are kept away. -- The consecration of the urns and the service

[74 cont.]

*778

[Note on foreign text p. 78 cont.] noteworthy that at all times the orientation of the tree as it grew must be preserved. -- Nothing further was learned about the name soń-siń. The Chinese expression t'ung t'ien-chu, which is doubtless much more appropriate, is also used there for the center column in Lamaistic temples and for the center pole of the tent. In southern Kansu a large monolith bearing the same name stands somewhere in the mountains, as I was told by a missionary who was an eye-witness. This center pole plays a well-known role in the west of China, so nothing further need be said about it here.

[192]

The chorten: The chorten have the form of small clay cones and look like large eight-turreted chorten. The Chinese call them "red clay clods." Altogether there are supposed to be 100,000 little cones, but this number is not always adhered to, especially if the village is small. Three to four months beforehand, these little clay cones are poured into special wooden molds. The village elders apportion the number for each family.

[624]

The under-surfaces of the still damp little forms are tamped on Tibetan barley and incense which remain stuck to them as they dry. The average size is about the length of a finger; there are also larger ones (4). -- The finished chorten

[192]

4. [Foreign text p. 78.] With reference to the Fandse language, sasa is also pronounced dzadza (ts'a-ts'a). These clay cones not only have the shape (even if only roughly) of chorten, but they also frequently represent sacred figures which, according to the old man's

[630 cont.]

Details

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The consecrated person: The person may be a woman or a man. He must be advanced in age; usually he is around sixty years old. At this age they are pious and reflective and are better able to observe the prescriptions. Young people are eager for life, violent, and uncontrolled. The consecration is done only by an incarnation, hutukhtu, not by an ordinary lama. [792]

Preparations: The preparations are carried out in consultation with the mother's brother. [604] He determines the day and the hutukhtu who is to be invited. [621] Since the whole village takes part in the celebration, money is saved a long time in advance. [262] Sheep, pigs, or a cow are slaughtered; oil-baking, bread, and oil-sticks, san-tzu, are baked for provisions; the house and yard are put in order, liquor is distilled, new clothes are purchased, and the gifts for the hutukhtu are provided. The latter, a few days in advance, sends one or several monks who put the room in order for him and prepare the kitchen, so that he may live and eat worthily.

Gratulation and reception of guests: On the day set, the person to be consecrated puts on his best clothes and stays in a clean side room. The visitors, relatives, and [631] guests come early in the forenoon. They gratulate the person to be consecrated and bring a gift; [431] usually they wrap a hada around it, which they solemnly hand to the person. The gifts are put on a chest in a room, usually in front of a household altar. Bread, oil-baking, cloth, hadas, silver money, etc. are given. A master of ceremonies is designated so that all may go according to custom and order.

Of the guests, the mother's brother is the person of greatest respect. [604] One goes toward him and hands him a hada. When he comes, the person to be consecrated steps down from the kang and receives him. [431] He then hands the gifts to him and is treated with tea and cake in the place of honor. Then everyone together drinks tea and liquor and breaks pieces of oil-sticks into the bowls. -- Aside from the mother's brother, the daughter's

[824 cont.]

241 This is the ceremonial erection of the pole-goat. In
789 the case of the simple type only one misfortune-torma is made,
791 which represents the four others; there is also the weather-
[778] torma. The mountain-torma is omitted and no magical wedges are tied to the goat.

When one has undertaken the ceremonial erection, the
[782] Bon priest must come often during the summer and hold prayer services before the pole-goat. In the autumn, after the harvest,
[465] he receives from each family a certain measure of grain as compensation. In the case of the simple erection, without any summer prayer, only on the day itself is he given a large loaf of bread and a piece of meat from the loin of the goat.

Details

241 Time: The time of the erection is determined by the
789 soothsayer, and in the local temple. It always falls in the period from the thirteenth day in the fifth lunar month to the sixth day
791 in the sixth lunar month. One may also let the Bon priest de-
787 termine the day. He uses three dice for this. He compares the numbers thrown with his soothsaying book and in this manner determines a day (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 829.] The time coincides with that in which the Chinese put their weather forts in order and drive in the thunderbolts (ch'a p'ai).

241 Place: The pole-goat is always erected on the highest
789 mountain in the people's own local area, and only on one mountain and only one goat. Small hamlets or compounds may do
778 it together; then the highest mountain of all these hamlets is
[621] chosen (1). -- The spot on the mountain itself is indicated by
[791]

1. [Foreign text p. 829.] If the mountain is too far away, one sets up a tent and lives there.

[824 cont.]

241 the soothsayer when the pole-goat is raised for the first time.
789 This spot is then always retained. A hole is dug there and covered
with a clod of earth or a rock so that it will not be destroyed by
778 the next year.
[791] The place is never taboo, regardless of whether the
pole-goat stands there or not. One may pasture animals there,
start a fire, etc. Women need not avoid it.

241 [825] Persons: Only a Bon priest may undertake the
789 performance, never a lama or a soothsayer. Nowadays the cus-
tom is scarcely ever practiced because the Bon priests have died
791 out. It is still found only in very remote mountain villages. The
[178] simple ceremony is performed by a Bon priest of the second class,
the solemn ceremony by a Bon priest of the first class because
he has special magical power. The costume is that of the
[292] ordinary people since the Bon priest is, of course, a farmer. He
merely needs to wear the forehead wreath and a long garment.
In addition the following act with him: the seed-master
and his helper, the village elders, and generally all men,
all soothsayers. It is enough, however, if only one soothsayer
is represented, for instance, a sword-shaman, a spirit-table
soothsayer, etc. Women must not witness the ceremony, but
[562] little girls may watch.

241 The pole: It does not matter of what wood and amidst
789 which ceremonies the pole is made. Usually it is a slender
poplar tree ten meters long. The village itself is responsible
778 for this pole. It is used every year and kept in the family of the
[621] annually alternating seed-master. It may be burned, cut up,
etc. when it has served its purpose for several years.

The goat: Ordinarily it is a wool goat; color, age, sex,
size, etc. are unimportant. It is true that the people prefer
horned goats over the hornless. No one cares about the origin
of the goat; it may be purchased, be a gift, etc. After it has
been taken down from the pole in the autumn, the hide belongs
to the seed-master, but it is so dilapidated that it is not usable.

3: Schröder--232 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[831]

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782

3. The Mountain Sheep-offering*

* See "Notes," pp. 834-835 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

After the erection of the pole-goat up to the time of the harvest a sheep is usually offered on a mountain top. This is [621] an occasion for the entire village. The people do this to ask [776] heaven, the mountain-spirit, and the spirits of the four regions of the world to protect the seeds. The offering may be repeated frequently, but only one sheep is offered each time. The [264] sacrificial meat is eaten by the participants at the conclusion.

Details

241 Time: At the erection of the pole-goat the soothsayer 782 determines how frequently during the summer and on what day a sheep is to be offered. He also indicates whether the spirits con- 787 cerned want to have this offering every year; sometimes it is [791] only once, and sometimes several years in succession. If there is no other occasion during this time, this soothsaying retains its validity. After this period has elapsed the soothsaying is done anew. -- If the village has erected a pole-goat, the offering always takes place in the period after it has been erected. If no pole-goat is present, then it may sometimes fall in the time of the erection of the pole-goat.

Place: The offering always takes place on the same mountain on which the pole-goat stands, and in front of the latter. Otherwise the soothsayer determines the spot. It must be kept for the time when the offering is due. For instance,

[831 cont.]

241 782 [Note on foreign text p. 834 cont.] the other hand, it is done for protection against bad weather, it is also popularly done before the pole-goat.

[562] Persons: As is the case for all religious ceremonies, the women are kept away. The participants are the seed-master, the village elders, and all other men and youths. Any kind of [791] soothsayer may appear on this occasion. It is important that at the actual offering some spirit is always summoned by the soothsayer and supervises the performance. -- Participation is also [784] prohibited to all who are in mourning and in whose compound there is a woman in childbed. -- People with empty utensils, for example, empty water pails, baskets, etc., may not come near. For this reason the gong is beaten before the offering, so that such persons will stay away (2).

[787] 2. [Foreign text p. 834.] The fear of an encounter with empty [735] utensils is quite general in Tsinghai. It signifies poverty, vain endeavor, etc. Tujen express the wish, for example, before a journey: huodzën sawa bi pëngë, that is, "may an empty vessel not appear." The Chinese, too, have similar expressions.

241 Sacrificial animal: As sacrificial animal only a sheep 782 is considered, no goat and especially no pig. The sheep may be of any color and sex, even castrated. It must be at least 825 a year old, however. A sheep that is too young would be an insult to the gods, aside from the fact that the meat would not be sufficient for the participants. Usually the [832] sheep is [621] purchased jointly. Every family must provide grain or money for this purpose; the owner is always given compensation. To be [784] sure, the sheep may not come from a family that is taboo at the time, for instance, through bereavement, childbed, sickness, etc.

[832 cont.]

241 Such families, however, must make their contribution. The
782 main thing is that the animal be healthy and without flaw. For
[825] instance, it may not be lame or blind. Also, ugly colors are
[621] avoided, for instance, a white animal with a black head, etc.

Objects used: For the offering one needs several iron kettles, several buckets of water, knives, ladling spoons, cords, blood basins, eating bowls, firewood, etc. In addition, one takes along all the equipment for the incense offering.

Slaughtering: The slaughtering is preceded by a great incense offering, which is maintained by the men throughout the ceremony. Anyone may repeatedly throw cypress twigs into it at will, offer barley wine, etc. At the same time the
[202] conch is steadily blown so that one can hear from afar that an offering is taking place on the mountain.

Young men bring the animal to the spot, untie it, and
241 wash it with their hands from head to tail. Then it is fumigated
782 with incense. Another places a white stone in the fire. When
783 it is hot, he scoops hot water out of a kettle with an iron spoon, puts the stone in the spoon, scatters pounded cypress leaves over it, and with it fumigates the sheep. All the men who helped with the slaughtering wash their hands and faces, rinse out their mouths, and fumigate themselves. All the implements are likewise washed and fumigated.

Now they form a circle around the sheep and pour milk
241 over its head and neck. It does not matter what kind of milk
782 it is. One may also use flour- or tsamba-water or even pure
787 water. A healthy sheep shakes itself at this pouring. This shaking is an indication that the sky accepts the animal. Then the men make a threefold kowtow in a circle around the sheep. After the milk has been poured over it, they let the sheep run free for a few steps and capture it again. In case the animal does not shake itself, they immediately fetch another.

241 The slaughtering is performed by the seed-master. His
782 helpers seize the sheep by its legs and horns, force it down on
231 the ground, and bend back its head so that the throat is tensed.

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 565 554 [466] into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punishment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.

The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 M 614 217 565 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealogies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

N *563 M 174 565 M [554] When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 M 621 622 565 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 M 596 [421] [561] [595] Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patrilocal family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-grandfather if he survived. Not family usually exceeded four generation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of

M [428] chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually

M [182] [168] [428] takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 621 183 178 The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is M [867] dinned into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-ssu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

N *563 M 621 183 177 178 During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

e. Stealing and gambling

N *563 M [685] [673] [525] [794] Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

N *563 M 587 A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

N *563 M 867 Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meeted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

N *563 M 576 264 603 According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

515 by Chinese officials, or on journeys to congratulate
514 Chinese officials on the major feast days of the year. The nobles as a group are also exempted from military service, although the chiefs of the militia of the com-
565 moners, according to tradition, were always chosen from
701 among the nobles in former times. In later times both nobles and commoners have served as commanders and
622 officers.[55]

It is said by the Monguors that in times past it was usually a noble who served as the chief of a village, but that because at present there are very few capable men among the nobles, these duties have devolved on commoners. Similarly, the nobles have lost the monopoly of serving as military officers.

AUTHORITY OF T'U-SSU OVER NOBLES

624 As might be expected the relations between a T'u-ssu
565 and his nobles are of a special kind. It has already been described how, on occasions of special ceremony, a T'u-ssu may actually be expected to prostrate himself before nobles who are members of a generation senior to his own, while they do not have to prostrate themselves to him, but merely clasp their hands and bow their heads. Moreover, while the T'u-ssu takes precedence when he is presiding as chief of the clan at the veneration of the ancestors, at clan meetings, during the triennial visitation, or when nobles or commoners are brought before him in a lawsuit, yet on such occasions as non-official dinners and the marriages of nobles, the T'u-ssu always requests a noble of a generation senior to his own to preside.

624 Difficulties among the nobles most commonly originate
565 either in quarrels over the division of a paternal inheritance or quarrels about the collection of taxes. In order to prevent litigation, the clan elders try to arbitrate
692 such quarrels. Only if they are unsuccessful is a lawsuit brought before the T'u-ssu. If the parties do not agree to the T'u-ssu's verdict, they are free to appeal to a Chinese court. In a case known to me, the eleventh House of the clan of Li T'u-ssu had trouble with its villages over the collection of taxes. Unwilling to abide by the verdict of the T'u-ssu, the members of the House went to the Chinese court. They were severely rebuked, the Chinese judge angrily threatening to abolish the outmoded custom under which the members of a whole clan live at the expense of the commoners.

681 Nobles are never flogged or beaten for transgression of the law, because the lictors are commoners and it is not fitting that commoners should beat nobles.

624 When the T'u-ssu visits his nobles in the course of
565 his triennial tour, they defray his expenses, including those of his retinue, just as do the commoners.

The old nomad custom was that when an individual

[55] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 233, notes that among the Mongols of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, with the decay of the feudal system, the duty of feudal service on the part of a noble to his lord had become more voluntary than obligatory.

621 without elders. The whole power of the clan was anciently embodied in the elders, who appointed and dismissed the chiefs. It is therefore no wonder that the elders in every village still play, most of the time, the most important part in local administration.

622 The chief of the village is usually selected from among the commoners, but may be a noble. He is always a villager, a man noted for his proficiency in administration and in good repute among the population for his uprightness and readiness to help members of the community. He is not always the richest man in the village, but is almost always chosen from among the most outstanding families in the village. He may even be a Chinese or a Tibetan enrolled in the clan. He is chosen by the elders on the tenth of the tenth moon. The T'u-ssu is then informed and must approve and send a written commission or appointment. Thus there is a compromise between choice by the village elders and appointment at the T'u-ssu's discretion.[3]

The tour of duty of the village chief is for one year, and he can be reappointed. He is the real executive authority of the village, responsible to the T'u-ssu for law and order and representing the village in its relations with the T'u-ssu.

701 The military officers are appointed by the T'u-ssu personally, for an indefinite tenure. In former times they were always nobles, but in the last half-century of the old Monguor society many were commoners; the office had become merely honorary, and some T'u-ssu sold it to the highest bidder. The military officers are in charge of the rolls of the village militia, who are subject to call in times of emergency. In addition a few men are on permanent service as soldiers. In case of war or bandit disorders the two officers take command, and call up all the males of the village.

[796] [431] At New Year the village chief and the two military commanders offer the T'u-ssu the New Year greetings of the village and present him with tea, sugar, 622 raisins, a couple of bottles of wine, and a piece of 701 red silk eight feet in length, a ceremonial scarf and 35,000 pierced copper cash. The same three men

[3] It should be noted, however, that in Mongol society there are many examples of compromise between selection (or approval) from below and appointment (or approval) from above. The emphasis may vary either in times of the strongly centralized power of a Mongol emperor (as under Chingis and his immediate successors) or in periods of subordination of Mongol tribes to centralized empires in China (as under the Ming and Manchu dynasties). There are even traditions that the tribe (of commoners) has the right to repudiate the prince who represents the ruling noble clan; with the proviso, however, that the ruling clan may put forward another of its own members to replace the repudiated prince. It is hard to say definitely that the right of the ruling prince, chief, or T'u-ssu is the oldest right. As Father Schram points out, there are reasons for believing that the authority of a council of elders is even more ancient and fundamental. It may be suggested that in such societies as that of the Monguors the rights of the chief tend to prevail over those of the elders when there is a strong overlord paramount over both chief and elders.—O. L.

[P. 76 b]

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represent the village in preparing and managing all celebrations held at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, such as the investiture, marriages, and funerals, the "opening of the seal," and the yearly diet or assembly. They also preside over the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages. Together with the elders they execute justice within the village, carry on the day-to-day administration, defend the rights of the villagers in their relations with the T'u-ssu, and of course oppose all enroachments on their own privileges.

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The elders are appointed by the T'u-ssu himself, for an indefinite period of time. The T'u-ssu selects them from among the outstanding heads of families among nobles and commoners. Most of them are commoners; some are Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the clan. In former times they were granted by the T'u-ssu a copper button to be worn on top of the hat. All matters concerning administration of the village, the apportioning of taxes, and difficulties among the villagers are discussed between the elders, the chief of the village and the two military commanders. Of them all, it is the elders who carry the most weight.

The elders can delegate some of their powers by appointing young commoners to assist the chief of the village, to organize meetings, to summon the villagers, on necessity, and to collect taxes.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES.

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Meetings are the specific form of administration. The villagers are not administered by a small group of autocrats who hold themselves in aloof dignity. All topics of interest to the villagers are discussed in meetings attended by them. At these meetings everybody is allowed to express his views and to defend his rights. Very often the atmosphere of meetings is one of violent agitation and high excitement. It will be recalled that in the ancient form of pastoral nomad government under tribal elders, final decisions were made only after the heads of families had had their say at public meetings. The Monguors, in spite of the passage of many centuries, and after having adopted a sedentary farming economy, still conserve this tradition of their old administrative routine. The public meetings are part of the specific character of government in a Monguor village.

These meetings are not held in the central stronghold built by order of the Chinese, and very seldom in the courtyard of the temple of the village, but in the open air. Every village has its designated place of assembly. Some villagers hold their meetings on the large threshing floor of a particular hamlet of the village; others at a fixed spot in the main valley; others at the foot of a mountain, etc. This tradition of a customary place of assembly, as well as the form of administration, bespeaks the old nomadic customs of the Monguors.

[P.77a]

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TOPICS OF THE MEETINGS

623 651 The most important and delicate topic of discussion at meetings is always the subject of taxes. These taxes are decreed by the T'u-ssu as a lump sum imposed on the entire village. The villagers have then to group themselves by wealth in five classes and to pay more or less taxes according to this classification. The classification of families is a very difficult and delicate problem. In the discussion everybody asserts that he is, and proves himself to be, the poorest man in the village, deserving to be put in the lowest classification. The tax imposed on the village is compared with the taxes on other villages, and the chief of the village is criticized for not having defended the interests of his village. These meetings also fix the date on which the taxes have to be ready either to be carried by the villagers in a group to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, or to be ready for the nobles who come to collect them. Illegal and oppressive exactions by the officials of the T'u-ssu and difficulties with the collecting nobles are discussed, and entrusted to the chief of the village for redress or for conciliation with the T'u-ssu.

623 312 Another important topic is the digging or repairing of irrigation canals. The number of digging days required from each family is adjusted to the amount of land each family cultivates. Quarrels are patched up with families accused of having kept the water from the canal turned into their fields for longer than the allotted time. The proper time is calculated by the time taken to burn a certain number of incense sticks for the irrigation of a determined acreage of fields.

623 651 794 At these meetings the contributions of every family are fixed for the expenses of keeping the village temple in repair and payments to the shamans who perform the two important rites of spring and of protection against storms and hail, and of thanksgiving for the harvest.[4] An apportionment is also made of the liability of members for all kinds of corvées, or obligatory services, religious as well as administrative. The groups of youngsters must be ready day and night to stay in and even sleep in the temple in order to avert the danger of hail and storms in summer. Duties must be assigned also for taking care of the sacred animal of the village, and for preparing the performance of all kinds of religious rites carried out on behalf of the village. Villagers must also be designated for all kinds of corvée service at the mansion of the T'u-ssu.

622 627 The officials must also be prepared to deal with all kinds of problems in the private lives of the villagers (except family vengeance feuds). If a villager has got himself into difficulties or is burdened with troubles not of his own making he goes to the chief of the village, presents to him a scarf of felicity and a bottle of wine, and invites him to iron out the problem. The chief

[4] The religious aspects of Monguor life will be discussed in a second volume, now being prepared for publication.

•622 sends one of his assistants to invite the elders and
627 summons the defendant. If the problem is important, the military commanders are also invited. Problems of this kind include delimitation of the boundaries of fields—a kind of arbitration case often made necessary by contracts drafted ambiguously by incapable men. Cases of dividing a paternal inheritance are often laborious and consume many days. The whole community is
[681] interested in such cases. In personal quarrels, disputes, and fights the offending party may be flogged with up to one hundred stripes. If the complainant has been wounded, the defendant is condemned, in addition, to defray the expenses for the doctor and for medicine and to pay indemnity for a fixed number of days of recuperation.

685 Stealing seems to be an ineradicable evil among the Monguors, and stealing of animals is the worst of all. The Monguors still seem to have the old attitude toward thieving and the stealing of animals, although thieves are severely punished. Among the neighboring nomads, when a man is caught red-handed stealing animals, he is taken to a lonely spot, the tendons of his ankle joints are cut, and he is left, crippled, to die on the spot. The nomads show no pity for cattle thieves. The Monguors do not punish as cruelly and do not inflict capital punishment, but the thief has his hands bound behind his back and is then hung by the thumbs, until he loses consciousness. Water is then poured on his head. When he recovers consciousness, the same sport is repeated two or three times. He is then flogged with up to five hundred stripes, or even more. If a thief is caught the second time, he is sent to the T'u-ssu's prison, and when he emerges from jail, he is a wreck of his former self—provided he escapes at all, by bribing the guards.

People who steal sheaves from the field at harvest time are flogged with up to fifty or one hundred stripes and are led through the village, the sheaves on their back,
[865] crying the whole way long that they are guilty. Boys accused by their parents of disobedience are flogged in the same way, after having been forced to apologize to their parents.

684 In cases of adultery the guilty pair, if caught *in flagrante delictu*, are flogged with up to one hundred stripes or more. The woman is beaten on her bare back with rawhide lash, the man on his bare buttocks and thighs. Apologies are made to the injured husband. A sheep or pig is brought to his home. Fire crackers are set off. The guilty pair ask a guarantor to speak for their proper conduct in the future. An official statement is written attesting the fact of adultery and the supplication for pardon. The two guilty persons place their right thumbs on an inked pad and then make an impression with the thumb on the statement. They are then led through the village, two drums beating before them, while they confess their guilt.

Once in a while a young woman runs away from her

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Chavannes, Turcs Occidentaux /Western Turks/). The Cha-t'ouo to whom Kao-chu-hui's relation refers here, were a tribe of the western Turcs first settled in early times to the east of Barkoul, and after A.D. 808 transferred to the northern borders of Kan-sou, for the sake of protecting them from inroads. /Cited in English, with one interpolation in French indicated by underline./

(620-905); the chronicles of Sining confirm this tradition. The last group came to live in the area either in the Yüan period (1280-1368) or the Ming (1368-1644).

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These two groups speak the same language today, called Monguor by them. The language is very archaic; it reflects the Mongolian of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Let us call to
[113] the attention of those who are interested in the question of the T'ou-jen language the study of Fathers Mostaert and De Smedt published in Anthropos, XXIV-XXV, "Le dialecte monguor, parlé par les Mongols du Kan-sou occidental /The Monguor Dialect, spoken by the Mongols of Western Kansu/." The grammar and the dictionary are in press.

The Cha-t'ouo of whom we speak are then Mongolized today. It should be pointed out that the notions of race and language are subject to caution.

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The T'ou-jen, subject to China, have kept their autonomy under chiefs of their race, recognized by China and called t'ou-se. The Chinese Republic, from its beginning, has shown itself hostile to this autonomous administration and has tried to treat the T'ou-jen as Chinese, subject to the jurisdiction of the mandarins of the place.

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The ways and customs of the T'ou-jen, although influenced by the proximity of the Chinese and the Tibetans, have remained relatively pure. They reveal many a secret of their former social organization and of their nomadic life of yesteryear.

/120 cont'd/

361 place of origin. Now among the T'ou-jen of this area, a good many
831 have come to practice again the former custom of husband-sons-in-
law practiced by the Tibetans, their neighbors. As soon as they ar-
608 rive in the region they no longer give their daughters in marriage out-
184 side the house, but they seek a /121/ husband-son-in-law for them;
583 on the other hand, they send their sons to become husband-sons-in-
law in other families. Among many of these T'ou-jen, the sons no longer enjoy even the right of inheritance in their own family, where the daughters have become the sole heirs; in other families they continue to inherit beside their sisters. They are thus passing through a period of transition. One T'ou-jen family after the other adopts the customs of the Tibetans, at first some of the customs and only in part, and gradually they become Tibetanized. Besides, it is a fact that the Tibetan environment is not distasteful to them, and that T'ou-jen girls given in marriage to Tibetans quickly feel at home.

562 The T'ou-jen of the Sining region, speaking of their brothers
184 of Koei-tê, say, laughing, that among the latter the wife is owner
177 and mistress of the home, niu-jen tang ts'ai, that the men do not count there, that there are women there who themselves send away their husbands, that women are found there who have more than one husband, and that the old men there are to be pitied. Thus Tibetan customs.

178 How must one explain the deformation of the practice of
608 husband-sons-in-law among the T'ou-jen?
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First, it is necessary to know that the Mohammedan revolutions decimated the T'ou-jen population in Kansu. Some T'ou-jen, in order to remake their groups and get rents for their lands, accepted in their clans numerous heterogeneous Chinese and Tibetan elements; other T'ou-jen headmen never succeeded in rebuilding the ruins. Add to that the use of opium which especially undermined the families of the headmen and put them in debt and impoverished them; it is thus not surprising that the power and also the influence of the t'ou-
[622] se were decidedly impaired. The prime blow of all was more and more frequent recourse to Chinese magistrates on the part of the T'ou-jen. In the old days, say the elders, the t'ou-se alone was

twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or 781
to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one 788
understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration to Buddha.

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. 794
The chief of the family is its religious head and its representative. 782 He worships "Heaven and all the spirits" on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each family honors the image of its family protector-deity. At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue worshipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors. The chief of the family is its representative at the performance of public rites. Attended by his family, he performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fingering his prayer beads.

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of 794
the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of 622
the village and its elders administer both the official and religious life of the people in it. Even as they apportion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth [65]
and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum for religious services. They impose corvées on the villagers for municipal functions as well as for such religious functions as protection against hailstorms or the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner, heads of families are summoned to participate in rites at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain. The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief. He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as the family chief does in his own circle.

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious [614]
life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter. It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite. On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry about public worship in the village and the morality of his subjects.

Religious activities are part of the family and social life of the Monguor society. Their social organization is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Mon- 771
guors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are 754
not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fer- 756
vent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor

[p. 6(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

A second fact is encountered in a publication of Ma Fu-hsiang.[27] For many years he was the most prominent official of Hsining engaged with Tibetan and Mongol affairs. Later, he became governor of Suiyüan Province and a member of the Meng-Tsang Yüan in Nanking. The passage from the publication states: 792 578

> More than 100 *li* southeast of Hsining, on the territory of the 'Ten Tribes,' is the Ami chü-lu mountain upon which was built the monastery of Sha-ch'ung which had more than 1,000 lamas. It was there that Tsong khapa had his hair clipped [entered religion], and remained for more than 10 years, starting his studies and religious life, before he went to Tibet (p. 198).

In 1906 the Chinese started digging for gold in the sacred mountain. The lamas, opposed to the digging, fought and two men were killed. The governor of the province ordered punishment to be imposed upon the lamasery with ruthless severity. Ma Fu-hsiang, being acquainted with the Tibetans, sought to settle the question amicably and went to Sha-ch'ung. The rebelling lamas and 1,000 soldiers of the "Ten Tribes" were determined to fight the Chinese troops. During the long period of discussion, the head of the lamasery repeated over and over that the lamasery and the mountain were hallowed places, because it was there that the founder of the Yellow Church had clipped his hair and remained for more than ten years. He protested that by digging at these spots the "artery" of the Yellow Church would be damaged, and the ruin of its religion be made inevitable (p. 190). Finally, as always in the Orient, a way was found to settle the case, by promising that no more digging would be done on the Sacred Mountain; but on the territory of the "Ten Tribes" digging would be allowed (p. 193). This fact gives evidence of the deep-seated conviction among the Tibetans about the veracity of the tradition and infers the existence of the lamasery at the time of the Yüan period (1280–1367). More traditions exist about monasteries having been built during the Yüan period, as related by the lamas, but they are vague and no names or specific places are indicated nor do ruins exist. However, it is not impossible that the traditions point to the hermitages noted in the *Blue Annals*. The building of the big monastery of Ta fo-ssu by one of the important T'u-ssu clans reveals the fact that Lamaism was a living entity among the T'u-ssu and their Monguors. Is it not too far-fetched to suppose that among the T'u-ssu only the Li T'u-ssu were Lamaist, since it is well known that the Ch'i and Lu T'u-ssu in 1644 were proprietors of monasteries constructed by them, although we do not know when they were constructed.[28] Besides, the facts that the monastery of Goorongbzan existed near Sha-ch'ung, and that in the beginning of the Ming a board of lamas was established, suggest the assumption that in Huang-chung during the Yüan period there probably must

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[27] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng Tsang Chuang-k'uang*, Nanking, Chung-Hua yin-shu kung-ssu, 1931.

[28] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 34, p. 3a.

[p.115(B)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The author of the *Annals*, dealing with the diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung, seems to have neglected completely even the existence of Lamaism before the Ming (1368). He seems very articulate concerning the problem, claiming that its diffusion had really started during the first years of the Ming and that, in fact, by the foundation of monasteries, the granting of titles to lamas, the institution of Nang-suo, Karwa, and Ch'an-shih chia, the outlook of the entire country was changed and the possession and population of Huang-chung assured.

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PECULIAR POLICY IN HUANG-CHUNG

Founding of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an

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It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 13*a*, 13*b*) that

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At the beginning of the Ming dynasty San-la, a Tibetan lama of Hsining, wrote a letter to induce the tribes of Han-tung to submit,[40] and built a monastery south of Nien-pei and settled there. He went to court and brought a tribute of horses, and he begged for a rescript to administer the monastery and the tribes, and for the favor of an inscription for the monastery. The Emperor T'ai-tsu (1368–1399), granted his request and favored him with an inscription reading: "Ch'ü-t'an." The Emperor established a board of lamas in Hsining and named San-la the director of the board. From that time on his pupils emulated him in building monasteries; the Emperor bestowed glorious names upon them, and in addition gave rescripts for administering them. Consequently, land and power became monopolized by the barbarian lamas. During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) there were bestowed, piecemeal, on the lamas, the titles of "Ch'an-shih" (Master in Dhyana), "Kuan-ting" (one whose head had been anointed), "Kuo-shih" (master of the empire); some were even given the title of "Ta-Kuo-shih" (great master or teacher of the empire), "Hsi T'ien Fo Tzu" (Buddha of the western Paradise; Amitabha). To all he gave seals and diplomas, and allowed [their dignities] to be transmitted, and they were ordered to bring, once every year, a tribute to the court.

Because the lamas were held in high esteem among the barbarians, the government took advantage of them in order to keep the barbarians in submission. The people of the frontiers considered the dignity of the lamas as most glorious. For that reason, Tibetans and Monguors who had two sons, were certain to have one of them become a lama. Some even preferred not to have an heir, but ordered their sons to enter religious life. Tibetans and Monguors bequeathed their wealth to the monastery with a request for prayers, leaving their descendants destitute. Thus the barbarians became poorer and the monasteries richer. In each tribe there were people who submitted themselves to monasteries and became like a tribe, the subjects of the monastery [Shabinar].[41] The Chinese officials also entrusted the Tibetan monks with the duty of exchanging tea for horses.

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[40] E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches* 2: 218. Han tung "was situated in the land, which in the days of the Han constituted all the district of Tun-Huang."

[41] Shabinar disciples. Shabinars are the supporters of the lamas, giving them material sustenance. At first some disciples performed this task. By extension, it came to mean lay adjuncts of the lamasery, and at present it means the subjects of the lamasery.

[p. 16(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

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The texts are very informative concerning the reason why, and the circumstances in which, titles were granted to lamas, and how Lamaism was as a consequence diffused in the country of Hsining and gained its tremendous influence and power.

The Ming dynasty in 1368 faced a double problem.[43] On the one hand, it had to take possession of the country and to protect it against inroads from turbulent nomadic tribes. On the other hand, the country having been depopulated during the disorders at the end of the previous dynasty, it had to find permanent trustworthy settlers and to attach them to the soil. The first problem was solved by accepting the submission of the groups of Monguors, making their chiefs T'u-ssu, Chinese officials, and wardens of the region and the passes, which they had guarded during the Yüan dynasty, and by means of sending a Chinese army of colonists and released prisoners. The second problem was tackled by favoring lamas, by attracting groups of families subject to them or tribes belonging to them or willing to submit to the empire, and assigning to them vast territories. Lamas were appointed chiefs of the tribes, granted honorable titles and privileges which could be transmitted to their successors. They encouraged the building of monasteries. Mongol tribes from Ordos which invaded Kukunor, driving out or subduing the Tibetan tribes of that country, provided a favorable opportunity to use the influence of the lamas to accept and settle the fleeing Tibetan tribes without territory, who were marauding over the country.

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The evidence for this policy is to be found in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 19, p. 3*b*): "The Tibetan Lung-pu tribe (2,000 families) devastated the country several times. The Chinese armies were unable to make them surrender. Finally the Chinese General Tung-lo invited So-nan-chien-tso, a lama of the monastery of Ta-ming, in order to exhort them to submit." He was successful in his attempt. The author naïvely notes that in the tribe there were "two masters of the empire."

Page 6*a*: "The Lung-pen tribe, administered by a lama, came to settle in the country [and to submit]. Its chief received the title of 'teacher of the empire' and the duty of *Chih-hui*."

Page 6*a*: "The Sina tribe [still governed by a Living Buddha] had a lama with the title of 'teacher of the empire' (because he submitted with his tribe)."

Page 6*a*: "The lama chief of the Ch'ia-erh-chih tribe

other lamas; but to 18 lamas had been granted the titles of *Kuan-ting* or *Ta-kuo-shih*, or both. During the Ching-t'ai period (1450–1456) the titles were granted so profusely that we lose count." P. Pelliot, Les "kouo-cheu ou Maîtres du Royaume" dans le Bouddhisme chinois *T'oung Pao* 12: 671, 1911. The title of "teacher of the empire" was used in China at the time of the northern Chi (550–557); the title is also encountered in north-west India in A.D. 500 and was already known in Central Asia in A.D. 382.

[43] Schram, *op. cit.*, 34.

[p. 17(B)]

SUBJECTS OF THE LAMASERIES

This matter fits into the frame of the material administration of the monasteries. One of the most important duties of the intendants is the administration of the subjects of the monastery, of the community of the lamas, or of the colleges. 792

After the revolt of 1723, when the lamas had compelled their subjects to rebel together with them, all their subjects were withdrawn from them and made subjects of the Chinese officials. The taxes, formerly imposed by the monasteries on their properties for their own benefit, were imposed by the Chinese administration for the benefit of the empire and collected by the Chinese officials, and, because all Chinese subjects were liable to corvées, the newly acquired subjects were made liable to corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The subjects of the monasteries became, at the same time, liable to the Chinese courts of justice, and the old right of the monasteries to judge their subjects was abolished. All the ties which bound the subjects to the monasteries vanished and the possibility of a new revolt stirred up by the monasteries was eliminated. The extensive properties of the monasteries were not confiscated, however, so the people who tilled their fields were still obliged to pay rental in return for the use of the fields, in the same way that rents were paid to other proprietors. This was the status which was decreed after 1723 and which still prevailed in 1910–1920. 792 651

KINDS OF SUBJECTS

The monasteries in Huang-chung, before 1723, seem to have possessed two kinds of subjects: the tillers of their fields and some Tibetan tribes possessing their own territory, which for an unknown reason had become their tributaries. This latter category, according to the regulations of 1723, was entirely set free from all obligations toward the monasteries. 792

The origin of the status of the first category of subjects of the lamaseries, the tillers of the soil, is better known, because in the *Annals* of Hsining ch. 15, pp. 13*a* and 13*b*, the author complains that before 1723 a great many families of barbarians had gone over to the lamaseries, leaving their own chiefs in order to become their subjects, and that accordingly the influence and wealth of the lamaseries had greatly increased.

Today, among the subjects of the lamaseries, the Monguor families are the most numerous; then follow Tibetan and a few Chinese families. This fact seems to suggest that, of old, the Monguors constituted the bulk of the subjects of the lamaseries.

In Part I of this study (p. 60) it was explained that the subjects of the T'u-ssu could never abandon their clan chief, and that, because the T'u-ssu were the wardens of the marches and had soldiers, the Chinese officials had to prevent their subjects from abandoning them. Consequently a subject of a T'u-ssu, in order 622

[p.47(A)]

to become a subject of a lamasery, had to be relieved of 622 military service, corvée, and allegiance to his clan chief. The loss of a subject for the clan chief meant loss of a soldier, a tiller of his soil, and a payer of land taxes—a considerable detriment to his power and his wealth. It is obvious that the loss of a couple of families did not matter too much, but the loss of numerous families would have disturbed the clan chiefs and made them try to prevent the illegal desertion of their subjects.

However, at that time Lamaism was at the height of its glory and power. Even the discontented Chinese officials had no way to oppose the omnipotent Living Buddhas pampered at the court in Peking, and could not lend a helping hand to the T'u-ssu, urging the return of their subjects and bringing suit over the encroachment on their rights. The T'u-ssu, willy-nilly, saw their subjects leave them in large numbers, lured by the more favorable conditions of living offered by the lamaseries.

In this way the lamaseries assembled the group of 792 subjects referred to by the author of the *Annals*, who of 566 their own free will became genuine monastery serfs ("Shabinar"), free of allegiance to their clan chiefs. In 1723, being the actual serfs of the lamaseries, they were compelled to fight at the side of the lamas, their chiefs, against the Chinese armies, according to the general conditions imposed on serfs and subjects.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE SUBJECTS IN RELATION TO THE LAMASERIES

Notwithstanding the drastic regulations decreed after 1723 in order to loose completely all the ties which bound the subjects to the lamaseries, and to avoid revolts in the future, the subjects still continue to recognize some obligations to the lamaseries.

Farmers Offering Oil and Pigs

From 1723 until 1910, the so-called subjects paid 792 their rent in kind and carried it to the monastery; the 427 farmers were organized in villages, and each village 566 continued to offer as before, in the autumn of each year, a certain number of pounds of vegetable oil to the intendancy whose fields they tilled; it was considered as an offering for the lamps in the temples of the intendency. In addition, every year in the New Year season they continued to bring to the same intendancy a pig weighing 120 pounds. If the scale did not tip 120 pounds, the weight lacking was made up in pork. In former times when subjects married, it was customary for the family of the bride to demand from the family of the bridegroom a portion for the lamas. This [585] consisted of 30 pounds of pork, and was offered to the intendancy on which the family of the bride depended. At present the 30 pounds of pork are still asked for and presented to the family of the bride, but the meat no longer reaches the intendancy.

[p. 47 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

sisted of lamas and the subjects of the monastery. However, during the revolt of 1723, the lamaseries were in full bloom, and must have had soldiers, because the Chinese General, Nien Keng-yao, blamed the lamas for fighting furiously, and the monasteries for being the depots of weapons. It may be assumed that after the revolt of 1723 the lamaseries were not allowed to have armies. However, during the revolt of the Moslems in 1895, the lamas of Kumbum attacked the stronghold of the rebels in To-pa as auxiliaries of the Chinese regular armies.[10] Nearly all the monasteries at that time except Kumbum were destroyed and burned.

INTERFERENCE OF THE EMPEROR AND T'U-SSU WITH THE LAMASERIES

In Europe during the Middle Ages, many monasteries and abbeys had a bad time. The princes and kings granted vast domains to religious orders to encourage them to branch out into their territories. The grants were gratefully accepted and abbeys built, but some among the gracious donors, in a surge of religiosity, went so far as to appoint an official for the collection of land taxes and the administration of the domains, whose duty it was to furnish the revenue to the abbots in order to free the monks of material troubles. Often these officials were relatives of the donors, and collected most of the taxes for themselves, and the monasteries, unable to make ends meet and to uphold and develop their institutions, had no means of protesting against the relative of the prince. Very often princes started interfering in the administration of the monasteries and claimed the right to appoint an abbot of their own, often a relative. After unworthy abbots were appointed the monasteries relaxed, with the consequences that might be expected.

I know of only two similar cases of interference in Huang-chung. The Lu T'u-ssu of Lien ch'eng had established three important lamaseries and granted vast domains to them. In 1727 the census records for the monastery of Ku-ch'eng show 140 lamas, for Lien-hua 100, and for Pao-nen-ssu 191, a total of 431 lamas. Next to them the T'u-ssu had founded two smaller monasteries, Hsi ssu and Kan-ch'an ssu, which received smaller domains from him. Two among these five monasteries had no Living Buddhas, so that the T'u-ssu appointed himself the intendant; and every three years, at appointment time, troubles arose.

The case of Ch'ü-t'an has been recorded. According to the legend the monk, Emperor Hui-ti, had appointed his relative hereditary administrator of the domains, and a tablet had been erected testifying to the appointment. The fact is, that the real emperor of the

[10] Susie Carson Rynhart, M.D., *With the Tibetans in tent and temple*, 92, London, Fleming Revell, 1902; see also M. S. Wellby, *Through unknown Tibet*, 281, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1898.

[p. 53 (B)]

Yung-cheng period, not the monk Emperor Hui-ti, had 643
appointed the administrator, who was killed. 175

Possibly the precarious position of the Li and Ch'i 792
T'u-ssu, their financial troubles, which compelled them 622
to mortgage parts of their domains to Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, enfeebled their influence and power, and prevented them from interfering with the administration of the monasteries which had received domains from them in former times. On the other hand, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, before 1723, had prominent Hutukhtus whose influence superseded that of the T'u-ssu. Only these two cases are known to me.

IV. ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAMA-SERIES: EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS 792

It seems necessary in dealing with the educational and religious aspects of a monastery, its rules, discipline, and colleges, to know beforehand to what kind of subjects the initiation into the monastic life and religious training is given. The subjects of the monastery are its main source of lamas.

LAMAS

LACK OF CANDIDATES

The superiors of all the monasteries complained bitterly about the want of religious candidates. In fact they declared that at this time (1911–1920) there existed in Huang-chung only two monasteries still having the four colleges (Kumbum and Sha-ch'ung), and the fact that so many monasteries were shadows of their former selves was the consequence of the lack of religious candidates.

CAUSES CONTRIBUTING TO LACK OF CANDIDATES

The situation in Huang-chung in 1910 was no longer 175
the same as that before 1723. After the crushing of the 177
revolt, the country had enjoyed peace, and developed and prospered tremendously. Chinese settled in great numbers in the thinly populated country, filled with hopes for a comfortable living. Chinese officials became more and more numerous. Chinese *literati* came to take the helm and to enforce on the uncivilized Monguors, Tibetans, and lamas admiration for the superior Chinese civilization.

First of all, the Monguors, not insulated against the impact of Chinese culture because a large number of Chinese had already been enrolled in their clans, and because their T'u-ssu were already far along in the process of Sinicization, underwent the process in differing degrees. In Huang-chung, even as in the northwest border countries of China, the first consequences of the process of Sinicization are a pride in being considered Chinese, and a scorn for lamas, whom they be-

[p. 54(A)]

Huang-chung, and the mother lamaseries became firmly established. 792 775

PROCEDURE OF BECOMING A LIVING BUDDHA IN HUANG-CHUNG

The first incarnations of the five great Hutukhtus started as minor Living Buddhas, in the same way as the innumerable minor Living Buddhas who still spring up every day. A lama who is celebrated for his saintliness and wisdom, for his zeal in the diffusion of the religion, and for his blameless life, and is considered by his friends to have displayed the signs of approaching the final illumination, may be acknowledged by them after his death to be a Bodhisattva, to have renounced the blessedness of Nirvana, and to have made the vow to remain in this world for the salvation of all creatures. However, in Huang-chung the acknowledgment of lamas has to be sanctioned by a Living Buddha, whether a minor or a great one. The Panchen Lama confirmed that Chang-chia was the incarnation of a Dharmasvanin Graspa-odzer [21]; K'ri-c'en Blogros rgyamts'o confirmed the Bodhisattvaship of T'u-kuan.[22] It has already been noted that Chang-chia declared, on a morning in 1913, that the Wang Fa-t'ai of Ch'ie-bzan was a Living Buddha, and the Living Buddha of Ch'ü-t'an declared that the nephew of the Lu T'u-ssu, a Lama of Ta-ssu, was a Living Buddha.

It is a known fact that much private influence is brought to bear in the selection of Living Buddhas, in order to secure the appointment of scions of noble, wealthy, and influential families, or to provide some other benefit. It has already been recorded how the lamas endeavored to obtain the protection of the most powerful T'u-ssu. Therefore, the first incarnation of the series of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was caused to appear in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, and two more Living Buddhas were incarnated in this clan, the old and young Li Living Buddhas. At the beginning of the Ming, a lama of the Li clan had already become a Karwa lama; the Karwa still exists and is administered by a lama of the Li clan. The nephew of the powerful Lu T'u-ssu recently became a Living Buddha, as has been noted and at the same time the branch lamasery of Ta-ssu became independent. One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan was a lama of the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng belonging to the Lu T'u-ssu; one of the incarnations of Chang-chia was born in Too-long, which belongs to the Lu clan. Seerkok, as already noted, arranged to have two of its minor Living Buddhas reincarnated, one in Mongolia and one in Tibet, in order to attract lamas from these countries to fill up its depleted roster, but without avail. 792 662 775 [622]

One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan appeared in Siamar, in the Tibetan family of Ts'e-bdurk, the richest and most influential in the region. The parents, with their daughter, went to Lhasa on a pilgrimage of

[21] Huth, *op. cit.*, 273.
[22] *Ibid.*, 281.

[p. 66 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

no longer have the stuff of shamans, and the belief of the young folk in the gods is waning and fading away. 789 756

OFFER OF BONES TO THE SPIRITS OF HAIL

On the last night of the year, a group of youngsters is called by the chief of the village and ordered to gather sackfuls of bones and to carry them to the mountain top, from where devasting hailstorms usually come destroying the crops in summer. They are ordered to burn the bones to the "spirits of the hail" in order to thank them for their protection during the year and to beg them to extend their protection for the next year. Around New Year's, every family kills sheep or pigs, and bones are available everywhere. All kinds of bones are satisfactory, provided a full sack is secured. It is known that in the arctic culture the peculiar offer to heaven consisted of the offer of the skull and the long bones of animals (for bones contain marrow). It was the offer to the dispenser of life.[12] 782 789 796

Many times I asked for explanations about this rite, but nobody could give any. The answer always was the same: we are accustomed to do so in order that the crops may be protected against hail, and the hail spirits be propitious next year.

LAST REGULATIONS OF THE CHIEF OF THE VILLAGES

In the evening the shamans and the villagers return after having strengthened all the old mounds. The chief of the village makes a stereotyped speech: "In former times, the great emperor of all the Mongols divided his subjects into groups, attached to the service of the spirits of the temple. In keeping with that tradition of our ancestors we designate today groups of two men each who, day and night, will relieve one another and will stay at the temple in order to give warning of impending hailstorms. The two men who will be on duty during the next day, will sleep the night before in the temple, for continence is required of the watchers. When a storm appears in the northwest, they will beat the drums and cymbals, blow the horn, and ring the bell. Another group which we designate today will, when the bell rings, instantly leave their homes and run hurriedly to the principal ritual mound carrying with them the god of the temple in the sedan chair and all the other gods, the drums, cymbals and horn, and banners. They will take with them some black bowls, which will be placed upside down on the center of the mound. In the temple incense and cypress boughs will be offered, the throne (stake) of the god, erected in front of the temple gate, will be thrust deeper in the ground, and the bowls on top of the roof of the entrance will be turned upside down." The speech is finished. The other gods mentioned in the speech are stakes, octagonal in shape, the upper part of which represents a human head. (Taoists use octagonal stakes when they perform the rites against [622]

[12] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 3: 542. [p. 103(B)]

A large part of the hog is instantly prepared for a collective dinner, the remainder being divided in as many parts as there are families in the village. Each family has to partake of the sacrifice and receive a piece of meat and one roll. The manager of the ceremony presides at the division, while shamans and apprentices each receive thirteen rolls and a piece of meat. 796 782

Planks are placed in rows in the temple yard and straw is spread on both sides of them. The audience sits down on the straw and starts dining and drinking. When the sun is about set and the dinner finished, the shamans beat the drums, the audience kneels, the chief of the village pours a last libation on the ground, throws some cypress leaves into the fire and sprinkles water. The pole is taken down while the audience prostrates three times. Paper banners and streamers and inscriptions, are burned in the fire. For that reason some Monguors call the rite "paper burning rite." The villagers go home and the next morning the shamans leave.

MEANING OF THE RITE

The rite is a genuine one of thanksgiving for the harvest reaped, striking in its simplicity. Thanks are given in the temple yard of the god who is the protector of the village—not to that god, but to "Old Father Heaven" only, as is said distinctly by the chief of the village. It has been noted before that "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored inside temples or inside rooms, but always in the open air, in courtyards, on top of the roofs, on high mountains. Here is a case where, during the whole rite, the protector god of the village is not even mentioned, although the rite is performed in its own temple yard. The performance of the rite is perfectly in line with the general worshipping of "Heaven and all the spirits" as practiced by the Monguors. 796 782 776

An amazing fact is that shamans are invited to the ceremony, but at the very moment of the performance of the rite the chief of the village himself acts as sacrificer, as the representative and chief of the community, in the same way as we already noted that the chief of the family gives thanks on the roof of his house to "Heaven and all the spirits," offering the reeking rolls, steamed with the flour of the very first reaped wheat. The role played by the shamans is, in fact, secondary, and seems to have no immediate connection with the rite, but rather with the rites of preventing hailstorms, which had been successful. The invitation to the shamans to participate at the rite appears, except for the fact of the planting and removal of the pole, to be an act of kindness and courtesy of the villagers toward the shamans for their happy achievement. The people give thanks themselves for the harvest reaped to "Old Father Heaven" alone, the "Old Father Heaven" who provided their subsistence. 796 782 [622] [756]

But is this formula not borrowed from the Chinese, who use it under the same circumstances in all their

[p. 117 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

of the fifth month and lasts for 108 days. During the whole period, two lamas at a time are always fasting (taking one meal a day), while the others are free to indulge in food, but during the 108 days the use of meat, garlic, leeks, and radishes is prohibited for all the lamas. Lamas of the Red Sect north of the Hsining River do not perform fasting in a group of their own sect, but always some among them attend the fasting rites practiced by laymen. 735 792

The fast of laymen is an interesting custom, the consequences of which have an important bearing on the formation of the Buddhist frame of mind of the people. The aim of the rite is the purification of sins and happy rebirth in the paradise of one of the Buddhas. [783]

ORGANIZATION AND RULES

The rite is enacted in a group, in a few temples spread over the country, under the direction of a lama of the Yellow Sect, usually a Living Buddha or an old lama celebrated for his proficiency in oratory. At present the fasting exercises are only practiced in six localities, among which four are old Karwas (dating from the Ming period): Tsan-tsa, Pe-cha-erh-te, Marhtsang and Swor. The two others are Sumdo and T'u-kuan. The fasting exercises are never performed for laymen in monasteries. Each of the six groups has its committee which, long before the fixed time, tries to enroll fasters: Monguors, Tibetans, even Chinese, lamas of the Red Sect, men and women. In Sumdo the fasters usually number from twenty to eighty; in Pe-cha-erh-te from ten to thirty; in Marhtsang from ten to thirty; in Swor from twenty to seventy. In 1916 in Pe-cha-erh-te, I met seventeen fasters; in Marhtsang twenty-one. The Monguors of Wei-yüan-p'u and of the northern part of the Hung nai Valley are said to be the most fervent fasters. Always, a large number of men, even chiefs and elders of villages, attend the rite. 795 785 792

During the whole exercise, the fasters do not spend any money. The fast expenses are defrayed by the villagers of the locality where the exercises are held, and by the committee which has a small fund and collects some alms. To contribute to this rite is considered to be a very meritorious act. The day before the beginning of the fast, the chief of the village imposes corvées on some of the youngsters for the carrying of water, chopping of fuel, preparing cypress boughs, grinding flour, cooking, baking rolls and steaming bread, buying butter, tea, sugar, sweeping the floor. At Tsan tsa the fast starts on the fifteenth of the sixth month; at other places usually around the twenty-ninth of the third moon, and lasts for sixteen days. During the three days preceding the fast, the fasters are not allowed to eat garlic, leeks, radishes or meat, or to drink wine, or smoke tobacco, and continence is required. [622 651] [262 784]

The fasters arrive at night, drink tea, eat rolls baked in vegetable oil and go to rest. Men and women have separate rooms; they sleep on straw and cover them-

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4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

wear the mourning dress for members of a lower generation, nor the husband for his wife, and *vice versa*. 765

The great mourning begins at the moment of death and ends after the burying of the small coffin. During these days, it is not permitted to wash face and hands, comb the hair, shave, or leave the courtyard.

It is noteworthy that the Koryaks in Siberia put the clothes on the deceased inside out,[44] and so do the Tibetans.[45] The T'u-yü-hun had a funeral procession when burying the dead, but mourning clothes were removed when the ceremony was over.[46]

After the great mourning, the small mourning starts. Men remove the red fringes from the ceremonial hat. They change the more elaborate girdle for a simple black one, and the embroidered tobacco pouch for an unadorned black one. Women do not wear new clothes; they put aside red and green vestments, using black or dark blue garments instead. However, the piece of blue cloth which covers their headdress is changed to a white one; the red fringes on the headdress are removed and strips of black cloth take their place. Ear and finger rings and all jewelry are prohibited. They are forbidden to attend any festivities, to enter temples or monasteries.

Monguors, mourning their grandparents, wear the mourning dress for a year—in some places, however, only for one-hundred days. Brothers mourn their elder brother only forty-nine days. At that time a lama is invited to say some prayers for one or three days. The entire family goes to the tumulus to burn paper and incense sticks, to offer rolls and a leg of mutton, and to make libations, and prostrate themselves. The women lament, and the small mourning period is over.[47]

It is said that in former times all the Monguors had to follow the mourning rite for one-hundred days upon the death of their T'u-ssu or his lady. At present only the officials of the T'u-ssu observe this rite.[48] [622]

OMINOUS DEATHS AND THE ABODES OF EVIL SPIRITS

WOMEN WHO DIE IN CHILDBIRTH

A woman who dies in childbirth is said to be drowned in a lake of blood. It is a very bad omen for the family. Even a person dying in the courtyard during childbirth is seriously feared after death, and the souls have to be driven away more elaborately. A lama of the Red Sect is invited, and quite often a shaman, because they are more proficient in magic. The 766

[44] Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, *op. cit.*, 3: 421.

[45] David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens au Tibet*, *op. cit.*, 130.

[46] Parker, *op. cit.*, 109.

[47] Serruys, Pei-lou-fong-sou, *Monumenta Serica*, 10: 295, 1945. Among the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600, the mourning period lasted only for seven days. It consisted for the women in not wearing the headdress called Ku-Ku; for the men in removing the button from the hat.

[48] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130–131, notes the elaborate mourning rites and prescriptions at present still used by the Mongols of the Ordos.

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honored in the open air temples being built only for 776
souls of the deceased.[7] Among the Monguors, temples are built for all kinds of spirits. Heaven, however, has no temples.

The Monguors have no special offering for "Heaven." In former times, according to their traditions, horses were offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." At present the sheep is the usual offering. It is offered to all kinds of spirits and on all occasions. Rich people, or large villages, often offer a pig.

The most important event in a Monguor community 241
is the rite performed in spring, in order to obtain 796
blessings upon the community and the crops during the year. All possible spirits are invited into the temple along the rope, except the lama deities. The feast starts at night, with offerings, dances, and drum beating by the shamans for "Heaven and all the spirits"—but nobody attends this night rite, not even the chief or elders of the village! And during the two days that the rite lasts, not a single mention is made of "Heaven"!

The appointment of the new Tu-ssu is announced, not 622
to "Heaven and all the spirits," but to the ancestors and to the protector deity of the clan, with an elaborate ceremonial, and their blessings are implored upon the T'u-ssu and the clan. (See Part I: 46.)

At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages, the image of the guardian deity of the clan is reverently carried to the villages and honored for three days. However, not a single rite is performed for Heaven by the chief of the clan, not even at the yearly cult of the ancestor of the clan, when the entire clan is assembled. (Part I: 37, 64.)

No Monguor hopes his soul will ascend to Heaven 775
and enjoy happiness together with the great "spirit of 772
Heaven," in a place of joy and felicity. The Mongols have no notion of such a place belonging to the "great Heaven"; they only know the luxurious paradise of Buddha, where they are told they will enjoy happiness with Buddha during the period of time preceding a new rebirth, about which they seem to have very little interest.

All these facts seem to prove that at present the Mon- 776
guors are very remiss in the cult of their undefined and 171
vague "spirit of Heaven," who is without departments of activities, having no power over good and evil spirits, and no omnipotence. The "great Heaven" is not the so-called "Hochgott," but a spirit enjoying an honorary prominence.

In connection with this problem, it should be kept in mind that the habit of ascribing prominence to one among the spirits seems to be very old in Asia: "In Babylon and Assyria [3,000 years ago] the principal god of the city which happened to dominate the entire nation, became the supreme god of the realm."[8] "Al-

[7] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 202.

[8] Albert Condamin, S.J., *La religion des Babyloniens et des Assyriens*, 692, Jos. Huby, Christus Beauchesne, Paris, 1923.

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[For additional information on t'u-ssu, see category 116, pp. 72-114.]

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PREFACE

121 This third and last part of the study about the Monguors primarily intends to present the history of the Monguor clans in Huangchung during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, based on the *Annals* of Hsining and the *Annals* of Kansu.

In order to make the history understandable, it has had to be put in the historical framework of the Huangchung country in which it evolved during five centuries.

In Ming times it is mostly the history of inroads into the country by Tibetans and Mongols; during Ch'ing times it is the history of the revolts of Mongols, Tibetans and Mohammedans, which several times ruined the country. Revolts and invasions were fought by Chinese troops unequal to coping with the situation, aided by the Monguor troops.

Part III is the history of the Monguor t'u-ssu clans,[1] called not only to defend their own country in combination with the Chinese army, but also to participate with the Chinese armies in wars in the provinces of Liaotung, Shensi, Shansi, Szechwan, and Yunnan, in Mongolia proper, and in the Tunhuang regions in Turkistan.

The hardships the Monguors endured during these five centuries were terrific, but their faithfulness toward the empire stood as strong as a rock, and is nowhere equally encountered among tribes which had submitted and pledged allegiance to the empire. However, this is overlooked in the official history. The number of Monguor soldiers who died in the wars is not known, but it is known that in each of the Monguor clans one or more of the chiefs died on one or another field of battle. The glorious military achievements of the Monguors are many.

The history of these five centuries is also the history of the development of the country and its thorough Sinisization. The Monguors who had once controlled much of this country saw Chinese officials gradually take into their hands its civil and military administration, trying to relegate them to their own poor country. The Monguors felt that they were barbarians, but they admired the Chinese civilization and aspired to share its benefits. These five centuries are the time of the Sinisization of the Monguors, which started with their chiefs, as among all the nomads. The boys of the

[622 624]

[1] A *t'u-ssu* was the "local chief" of a clan who had been appointed to his office by the sovereign state of which the Monguor clans were quasi-feudal frontier dependants. When the Ming dynasty invested a Monguor clan chief with the title of T'u-ssu he became a Chinese official while continuing to be also the chief of his clan. The institution of t'u-ssu was one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal groups on the frontier of the Empire. See Louis M. J. Schram, The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier. I. Their origin, history, and social organization, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 45–52, 1954 (hereafter referred to as Monguors I).

[P. 3(A)]

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south of Nienpei, Kuo Chou and Mi Chou, had been disestablished (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 12, and 7: 14).

During the Yuan dynasty a military organization had been elaborated in Huangchung providing for the defense of the strategic and vulnerable points of the country. Only two Mongol officers had been sent with their troops to occupy the country: the myriarch Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi, who controlled 10,000 soldiers with their families, and Ch'i-T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, a Mongol officer, who commanded twenty tribes of Chi-pen Mongols. Surrendered tribal local chieftains were enlisted in the cadre of the regular army; they received a title, and were assigned other tribes as subjects, in order to strengthen their military power. Each of them had to defend a definite area and was responsible for the peace of the area. To be sure a high officer controlled this military organization, but only the name of Chang Chi is known, Governor of Huangchung. At the time of the collapse of the Yuan dynasty, this group of officers submitted to the Ming and all of them became t'u-ssu and the founders of the Monguor clans of Huangchung.

It is easy to understand that the troops of Huangchung submitted to the Ming dynasty, in view of the dissensions existing among the Mongol princes at that time, the pitiable flight of the emperor from his capital, the defeat of the Mongol forces and the disintegration of the Mongol nation—all things which were known in the minutest detail by the officials in Huangchung. All the more, what were the conditions in the homelands of the soldiers of Hsining, who long since had been enlisted in the Mongol armies and who had their families following them in Huangchung? They had no way to move. Guarding the country of Huangchung, they had practiced agriculture, and knew they could make a living remaining in the country. There seems to have been no alternative for them, except to wait for the arrival of the new lords of the empire, and then to make the best of a bad situation, offering to remain guardians of the country in behalf of the new masters, as defeated troops in the Orient often used to do for centuries. That the officers, originating from Huangchung, agreed with the decision is not difficult to understand.

CONQUEST OF HUANGCHUNG BY THE MING

CONQUEST OF KANSU

After the death of Emperor Ch'eng Tsung, grandson of Kubilai (1295–1307), no capable emperors succeeded to the throne of the Yuan. During the reign of Emperor Huei Tsung (1333–1368) the provinces situated south of the Yangtse River were lost in 1360 and occupied by several groups of rebels who looted the country of its wealth. Chou Yuan-chang, chief of a group of rebels, succeeded in establishing a provisional government. He defeated or received the alle-

[P.24(A)]

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wan (the bent of the Mongols), and who was assistant 175x
official of the administrative body of the province of 648
Kansu, representing all the officials of Huangchung, went to court to surrender (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*b*). Together with him, Li Nan-ko, of Shat'o origin, vice-chairman of the administrative body of Hsining, surrendered with the officials of the entire district (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*), and all the officials received appointments.[61] T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, Li Nan-ko, and all the officials who had surrendered, became the founding ancestors of the t'u-ssu clans[62] in Huangchung (Monguors I: 31). To them is to be added Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, member of the imperial family who had surrendered in 1369. In that way all the officials of the region of Hsining and Nienpei had surrendered and in the next year, 1372, Hsining was created a commandery (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). In the first moon of 1373 the emperor sent the edict to T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh:

I govern the empire; with prominent people of all the world 175x
who love justice, I deal with courtesy, granting them of- 671
fices, in order that they might have the opportunity to manifest their qualities. You, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who have lived long in the western country, have heard about our highly developed culture and have come to my court. I appreciate your intention. Now at the beginning of the establishment of the commandery of Hsining, I especially request your help. I hope you will devote yourself wholeheartedly to the submission of the tribes and the strict observance of the law, in order that the country may enjoy peace. I hope you will respond to my desire to give you this appointment. Have the title of Hsuan-wei chiang-chun (general who manifests his military qualities) and be commander of the commandery of Hsining. Edict, First moon, Sixth year, Hung Wu period. (*Annals* of Hsining 32: 16*a*.)

The *Annals* note that he had received at the time of his surrender in 1371 the hereditary function of secretary commandant. The imperial edict of the first moon of 1373 granted him the function of commander of the commandery. The clan of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was [614
rewarded in 1401 by the emperor with the name Ch'i, 553]
when his son Chuan Chou had died on the field of battle.

WHO WERE THE OFFICIALS WHO SURRENDERED IN A GROUP IN 1371?

The Mongol T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh and his 700 175x
families, the Shat'o Li Nan-ko with his 4,000 families, 622
the Shat'o Li Wen nephew of Li Nan-ko, controlling 614
963 families, and the Shat'o chiefs Na-sha-mi and Chi

[61] *Ming Shih* 330: 2*a*.

[62] I use the term "clan" to refer to a group sharing a common territory, a common surname, and a common chief. Monguor clans consist both of persons who recognize real or traditional kinship ties with the chief, and persons who do not recognize such ties but who have, nevertheless, adopted the surname of the chief and his kinsmen at the time they were integrated in the group.

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Pao with their 150 and 90 families, respectively, all surrendered. At the same time five clans surrendered who were recorded in the *Annals* as Monguors: the clans Wang, Kan, Chou, Hsin, and La, with 150, 300, 62, and 100 families, respectively. The Mongol clan Ah with its 150 families surrendered, whose chief discharged during the Yuan the office of secretary of the province of Kansu, and also the Yeh clan with 70 families, Mohammedans of Turkistan, recorded as being of Ch'an-t'ou origin (turbaned heads). The chief of the Yeh clan was secretary of the administrative organ of Kansu during the Yuan. These are the twelve clans which surrendered in a group in 1371. 175x 622 614

The date at which the Ch'eng clan, with 150 families, settled in Hsining during the Ming is not recorded. Its clan chief is of Chinese extraction and originated from Shan Yang in Chiang Nan (Chiang Nan became later the Nan Huei and Kiangsu provinces), and its subjects are called "natives."[63] The date at which the Chao clan, 120 families, settled in Huangchung during the Ming also is not recorded. Its chief during the Yuan discharged the duty of myriarch of Chao Tsang, and is noted as being from Min Chou and of Mongol origin. Li Hua-no, an offshoot of the Li Nan-ko branch, and so normally a Shat'o, received from the clan 100 families and became t'u-ssu only in 1645. To this list of 15 t'u-ssu clans is still to be added the clan of the Mongol Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi with his 800 families, who had been the first among the Huangchung t'u-ssu to surrender in 1369. Among them 13 clans were settled in Huangchung in the beginning of the Yuan period in definite territories, and the mountain passes to be guarded by each of them had been indicated. This seems to suggest that all of them were large or minor groups of soldiers, with their chiefs, wardens of the country in behalf of the Yuan. They continued during the Ming, and later during the Ch'ing, to occupy the territories they had occupied during the Yuan, except the two cities of Hsining and Nienpei, and to be charged with the same duties, because the 175x 614 [622] [563]

[63] In Huangchung the subjects of the sixteen t'u-ssu clans living in the country are commonly called Monguors, by the Monguors themselves, whether they are of Mongol, Shat'o, Uighur, Tibetan, or Chinese extraction. The Chinese call them *t'u-jen*, i.e. "natives." Among these natives are people of Mongol, Shat'o, Uighur, and Tibetan stock and even some Chinese who entered the t'u-ssu clans. Tibetans settled in Huangchung, with their own tribal chiefs, are called Hsi-fan, and Mongols living outside Huangchung are called Ta-tse, Ta-ta, T'u-ta, Meng-ku, but never Monguors. The present study deals with the Monguors of Huangchung who speak a peculiar Mongol dialect, not understood by the other Mongols. In Ho Chou region lives a group of Mohammedan Mongols, whose language is very similar to that of the Monguors. However, the group is not called Monguor but Sant'a. The group of Mongols of the Lu t'u-ssu clan of Lien Ch'eng are genuine Monguors and recognized as such by the Monguors of Huangchung. In Chinese studies dealing with the natives of Huangchung, they are all indiscriminately called Meng-ku, Ta-tse, T'u-ta, Ta-ta, Hsi-fan, T'u-jen, and T'u-ming (Monguors I: 31, 32).

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and posthumously were bestowed (upon Li Nan-ko) the titles of his son: Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Tso-chun tu-tu-fu. On the second spirit way stele erected on the third moon of 1475 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Li Yin) to whom was granted the title "official who sincerely manifested military achievements" to whom were bestowed, in a special way, the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Chou-kuo Huei Ning-pei (Earl of Huei Ning, pillar of the empire). 173 614 764

The second document is encountered in Shuo-wen-yueh-k'an 3, 10, 1942 (Ch'ung-ch'ing Shuo-wen Yueh-k'an shih). There we meet with the article "Genealogical record of the tribe of the descendants of Li K'o-yung" by Wei Chu-hsien, who passed through the sub-prefecture of Ming Hua (San Ch'uan Valley) in October 1941. He visited Li Pao-ch'ing, a clan member of the old Li Nan-ko branch, who told him that during the Shun-chih period (1644–1661) a genealogical chronicle had been composed based on all available sources, by Yueh-Nai, secretary of the t'u-ssu for fifteen years, well read in the history of the clan, and that Yueh Nai was a contemporary of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu.[67] 173 614 [113]

I copied the present part of the chronicle composed by Yueh Nai. The original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-yeh. The Tang emperor granted him the name Li and the title of Prince of Chin (895). He saved the Tang dynasty during the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao. Li Ssu-kung moved into Hsi Hsia, Li Chi-feng followed the Sung dynasty, offering the four districts of Yin, Hsia, Suei, Ning.[68] From the Sung until the Yuan, during generations, they lived in Hsi Hsia and were renowned for their military presentations. At the time of the Yuan, Li Shang-ko was T'ung-chih tu-tu-chih (Vice-Chairman of the protectorate office) in Hsining. Then the Li clan divided into six sub-clans, each having its t'u-ssu. The most important among them was the Li Nan-ko clan. During the Ming, Li Nan-ko surrendered with the officials of Huangchung. Then follow the names of the descendants of Li Nan-ko who fulfilled successively the duty of t'u-ssu during the Ming. Finally a genealogical scheme is elaborated, starting with Li Shang-ko, succeeded by his son Li Mei-chi-lu, his grandson Li Kuan-chi-lu, who had two sons Li Nan-ko and Ch'a han Timur. The son of Li Nan-ko was Li Yin, the son of Ch'a Han Timur was Kuan Yin-pao. The son of Li Yin was Li Ch'ang, the son of Kuan Yin-pao was Li Wen. Further the names of the successors of Li 175x [148] 614 622

[67] The shift of the Ming dynasty to that of the Manchu was preceded by a period of troubles. The rebels in Huangchung looted the country of its wealth. T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, still faithful to the Ming, tried to restore order in his territory. In 1644 his wife, concubine, two brothers, and three hundred of his subjects were killed. He himself was taken prisoner by rebels and sent to Sian to the Manchu court. He was accredited in his former duty of t'u-ssu and died as a faithful official of the Manchus (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 2*b*. *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47*b*).

[68] *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 3*b*, happened in 982.

[P.28(B)]

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Ch'ang and Li Wen correspond with the names encountered in the lists of the *Annals* of Hsining and Kansu. 175x 614 622 ●

Li Shang-ko
|
Li Mei-chi-lu [601]
|
Li Kuan-chi-lu
|
Li Nan-ko — Ch'ahan Timur
| |
Li Yin — Kuan-yin-pao
| |
Li Ch'ang — Li Wen

HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE DOCUMENTS

Both important documents manifest the confusion existing in the minds of the Li t'u-ssu and their subjects during and at the end of the Ming dynasty. Both Li clans claim (1) their first ancestor to have been Li K'o-yung, (2) who had received the name of Li, and (3) had been created prince of Chin by the Tang emperor. However, on the spirit way stele in the cemetery, erected in 1427, is chiseled that the original name of the Li K'o-yung clan was Topa, while the genealogical chronicle composed by Yueh Nai around 1644 records that the original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-hsieh. 114 175x 614

The Topa tribe was the leading tribe among one of the two Tibetan Tang-hsiang groups which had fled to Kansu in 627 from Sung P'an-ting (northwest Szechwan), for fear of invading T'u-fan. This group, called P'ing-hsia-p'u, was settled by the Tang emperor in the region of the present Mi Chih Hsien (northwest of Shensi). The group, during the troubles which beset the Tang empire, had founded its own Hsi Hsia kingdom, and from 982 on waged war with the Sung empire. 175x 614

In 808 Shat'o, belonging to the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks, eluded the pursuit of Tibetans and fled from Kanchow through Huangchung and East Kansu to submit to China. They were settled in Ling Chou (Ninghsia), later in Yen Chou and still later eastward through Shansi. They were faithful warriors, who often saved the Tang dynasty. Later they founded their own ephemeral Shat'o dynasties (923–947), whose first emperor originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe.

Yueh Nai, author of the chronicle, writes that the Li clan originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks. He should have known that Li K'o-yung was a Shat'o Turk, that the Shat'o group differed from the Tibetan Hsi Hsia group, and was settled in its own country granted by the emperor, and had its own history. Nonetheless he makes them move into Hsi Hsia; he records two Hsi Hsia leaders, Li Sse-kung and Li Chi-feng, as being ancestors of the Turk Li Nan-ko, and records the offering of four Hsi Hsia districts to the Sung (982) as being an act of his Shat'o ancestor.

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its central avenue is also bordered with stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay (Monguors I: 71, note 57), and every year ceremonies are performed in it by the entire clan, in honor of the founding ancestor Li Wen, Earl of Kao Yang, and all the subsequent t'u-ssu of his clan. The Hsiang T'ang cemetery is definitely the cemetery of the Li Nan-ko clan. 175x 614 764

In the Hsiang T'ang cemetery is seen a mound, said to be that of Li Nan-ko, who died in 1407. However, a striking puzzle is the fact that his son, the celebrated Li Yin, Earl of Huei Ning, who died soon after 1437, is buried not in Hsiang T'ang cemetery, but in the forlorn village of Hai Shi Wan, southeast of Nienpei, where a small stele with an inscription is erected, and next to his tomb is the tomb of his son Li Ch'ang, who received promotions in 1475 and the glorifying attention from the emperor at the time of his death in 1493. [648] Still more puzzling is the fact that Li Kung, the eminent great-grandson of Li Nan-ko, the son of Li Ch'ang, who obtained the literary degree of Chin-shih in 1481 and was later promoted minister of the Shang Pao Sse, is buried in the village of Pa-chu-yuan situated southeast of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 17*a*; 27: 10–11; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*, 47*a*).

The fact that these three most eminent t'u-ssu of the clan were not buried in the ancestral cemetery where two spirit way steles were erected seems to suggest that the present elaborate cemetery might have been built in later times. [622]

No notes are available relating to the ancestors of the other chiefs of the Monguor clans.

HISTORY OF HUANGCHUNG AND THE T'U-SSU DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1644)

This chapter reveals on the one hand the tremendous role played by the Huangchung Monguors in the struggle waged by the Ming dynasty against the Mongols during the nearly three centuries of its existence, which several times shook the foundations of the empire. The help they rendered to the dynasty is unprecedented in history. 175x 648

On the other hand, the chapter reveals the weakness of the Ming administration in Huangchung and the ordeal the loyal and dependent Monguors had to undergo to remain faithful to it amidst the wicked and ruthless depredations against their country, disastrous forays of brigands, hunger, disease, and poverty.

T'u-ssu Li Nan-ko, after his surrender with the officials of Hsining in a group in 1371 and his summons to court, was ordered to return to Hsining and to assume the administration of Huangchung. He controlled the country, calling on more tribes to surrender; repaired roads and bridges; organized the system of relays and the communications with the central administration; amassed grain in the public graneries, etc. The same year he defeated and took prisoner a rebel- 175x 648 622

[P. 31(A)]

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ling chieftain, Ho Chang-tsa (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9–10). M 175x 648 622

The commandery of Hsining was created in 1372 (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). This means that Chinese officials arrived accompanied by some troops to organize the country along the Chinese pattern and to enlist the t'u-ssu in their service.

The Ch'i t'u-ssu, Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, who had surrendered in 1368, was sent in 1372 to the country of the salt lake in Kokonor, where the tribal chief I-lin-chen-pen had revolted. He defeated the turbulent chief and pacified and controlled the country. He induced the Mongol chief Ch'i-chih-sun to surrender (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*a*). M 175x 648

The heir apparent of the Yuan, Ai-ya-shih-li-ta-la, escaping from Ying Ch'ang in 1370, had arrived at Karakorum and been proclaimed emperor. During 1371 he mustered all available troops in order to recover his lost empire. In 1372 the Ming emperor, informed about the military preparations of the Mongols, dispatched three armies, with the order to deal a decisive blow to the Mongol forces in the very heart of their domain. Troops of three t'u-ssu from Huangchung joined the second army commanded by General Feng Sheng: the troops of the Lu t'u-ssu from Lien Ch'eng, and of the T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh and the T'u-ssu Wang Nam-mu-ko, both from Hsining. This army administered a crushing defeat in Liangchow to the forces of the Mongol commander Shih-la-han, and in Yung Ch'ang in Ma Hu Shan, to those of T'o-erh-chih-pa, who had revolted after his surrender and from whom 300 soldiers and 400 horses were captured. Then the troops delivered a severe defeat to the Mongol commander Pu-hua and captured 8,000 families. They went to I-chi-nai-lu (in the Gobi) where they defeated the Mongol Prince Pao Tsang and pursued fleeing Mongols until Kua and Sha Chou. The t'u-ssu troops returned to Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*–44*b*; Ming Shih, Biography Fu Yu-te 129: 8; Pokotilov, 7–8).[70] HM 175 648 HM [723]

The expedition of General Feng Sheng in 1372, with his enlisted t'u-ssu troops, was the first attempt by the Ming to conquer the region of the corridor stretching from Liang and Kan Chou to Turkistan. The corridor, bordered on the north by the Gobi desert, the homeland of the nomads, was exposed to recurrent invasions of Mongols from the desert waste, and during three centuries the t'u-ssu of Huangchung would be ordered to repel their forays. M 175x 648

In 1373 the Mongol Prince Pu-yen-pu-hua, endowed with the title of Prince of Ning by the Mongol emperors, had been appointed by them administrator of the region of An-ting (Turkistan). In 1370 he had re-

[70] D. Pokotilov, *The history of the Eastern Mongols during the Ming from 1368–1634*, translated from the Russian by Rudolf Loewenthal, Chengtu, China, West China University, 1947.

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Chuang-lang, Ch'ing-yang, and East Kansu. The raids furnished to the invaders a considerable amount of loot and fostered their predatory instincts. The example set by the Mongols whetted the appetite for plunder among the Tibetan tribes also. The people lived in desperate conditions, and the t'u-ssu troops had always to be ready to comply with the orders of military commanders.

This note, recorded in the Lu chronicles, is quite acceptable for the reason that during just these years a tremendous confusion reigned in Mongolia, and the Mongol tribes located along the Kanchow and Liang-chow borders had nobody to care for them, for the Oirats, now at the summit of their power, had thought themselves strong enough to challenge the Chinese empire.

HEIGHT OF OIRAT HEGEMONY

To Esen, the powerful Oirat chief, had been promised an imperial princess by the eunuch Wang Chen, the favorite of the emperor. He had not notified the emperor of this promise and when the envoys of Esen arrived at court with the nuptial presents they were refused. In the autumn of 1449 the humiliated Esen began raids on the empire frontiers and approached Ta-t'ung. An army of half a million men was raised in a hurry, and sent against the Oirats. The emperor accompanied the army. His troops were routed, the emperor was taken prisoner, the remnants of the army tumbled back to Peking, and the capital was in jeopardy. Ching Ti, the brother of Emperor Ying Tsung, ascended the throne in 1450. The Oirats were unable to seize the capital. After endless deliberations, the released imperial prisoner reentered Peking in the eighth moon, after an absence of one year.

Esen, swollen with pride after his resounding victory over the empire, his ambition soaring to the throne, proclaimed himself emperor of the Mongols in 1454; but two of his commanders revolted against him in 1455; he fled and was killed the same year. For the time being the balance of political power of the Oirats shifted to the eastern Mongols who struggled again for the hegemony. One of the commanders who had killed Esen was killed by Polai, a tribal chieftain of the Ta-tan Mongols. Po-lai enthroned a new Khan, Markorgis, the son of T'o-to-pu-hua, known under the name of Hsiao-wang-tsu, the little king, and began with raids on the frontiers of the empire.[80]

In 1457 Emperor Ching Ti fell ill, the secluded Yin Tsung ascended the throne for the second time and thereafter his brother died.

T'U-SSU LI WEN

The same year T'u-ssu Li Wen arrived at Peking from Hsining with his army, to congratulate Yin Tsung

[80] H. Serruys, *op. cit.*, 85; Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 58-60.

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cessantly he exercised devotedness and zeal." Lu Fu, the second son of Lu Chien, had accompanied his father on the expeditions and had been named by the emperor "secretary commandant" of the city of Chuang Lang in 1519. The son of Lu Fu, Nen, died on the battlefield fighting Tibetans. His grandson was made "assistant commandant." His great-grandson died with the rank of second captain of the garrison of Hung Ch'eng. The group of the descendants of Lu Fu was one of the most prominent defenders of the Ming dynasty. 175X

In 1648 the Mohammedan Milayin revolted in Kanchow. Lu P'ei-tso with his own army accompanied Lu Tien and other t'u-ssu to quell the revolt and recover the cities of Kanchow and Liangchow. He was given the original title of the family, that of "Assistant Commandant."

His descendants fought in 1723–1724 in Huangchung against the rebel Mongols of Kokonor. In 1781 they fought the Salar revolt and in 1784 the Yen Ch'a revolt of the Mohammedans.

During the whole Ch'ing dynasty the descendants of Lu P'ei-tso, in concert with Manchu and t'u-ssu troops of Huangchung and troops of seceders of the T'o Huan clan, quelled revolts and defended the country. Each in succession received the hereditary title of "Assistant Commandant" and an annual salary of 53.4 taels. The Lu P'ei-tso group lived in the country of Hsi Tat'ung and controlled the valleys of Ma Chuang and Yang Fang. It did not control subjects and had no regular soldiers but in time of war its chiefs called on the descendants of the Lu Fu group. It did not have to pay taxes to the Chinese government.[13]

SOCIAL STATUS OF CHIEFS OF GROUPS OF SECEDERS FROM THE CLAN

175X 622

T'u-ssu are possessors of territories and subjects allotted to them by the emperor, and as beneficiaries of territories, and also the appointed defenders of them have the right to make legal claims against illegal appropriators of their territories. Since subjects are allocated to the t'u-ssu to provide them with defenders of their territories, each t'u-ssu is listed as having a fixed number of regular soldiers. A soldier is not allowed to abandon his chief, a Monguor is not allowed to abandon the t'u-ssu, and it is because the t'u-ssu has to equip his own troops that he is exempt from paying taxes. [65]

By the same reasoning, one who, with his followers, secedes from his t'u-ssu is not legally entitled to either territory or subjects, and ought to be liable to prosecution. Even if he is not prosecuted, he and his group are not exempt from the payment of taxes, because he does not hold a recognized territory, with its attached duties and costs of defense. [626]

[13] *Annals* of Kansu 42: 60*a–b*.

[109(B)]

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The emperor himself appoints t'u-ssu and grants their seals and diploma. No officials, even governors, are allowed to appoint t'u-ssu. As an exception, when a new clan splits off from a large clan, a part of the territories and subjects of the clan are granted to the new t'u-ssu by the "old t'u-ssu and the clan chiefs," but in such cases accreditation by the emperor must follow. These facts in the Li and Lu clan have been previously noted. Also every time a new t'u-ssu succeeds to an old one his office must be confirmed by the emperor, with seal and diploma. 175x 622

It is clear then that the status of a chief of a group of seceders from a Monguor clan is that of a military official, obeying the orders of a Chinese military official, who unlawfully enlisted him and granted him the titles and promotions granted to Chinese officials in the Chinese army; it is not the status of a t'u-ssu. Such a seceding chief and his followers, continuing to live in the territories of the clan, among the loyal subjects of the t'u-ssu, are legally still subject to him, although they have ceased to recognize his authority. 175x 614 622 701

How is it possible for two groups of people to live peacefully together on the territory of a chief, whose authority one of them refuses to recognize? How is it possible to have Chinese officials who do not defend the rights of their subjects to secede from the clan? This paradox was realized in 1645, when the seceders of the T'o Huan clan led by T'u-ssu Lu Tien surrendered to Governor Meng Ch'iao-fang, and had their situation "regularized" by the Governor. A look at the chronicles of the Lu clan helps to clarify this confusing problem.[14]

SECEDERS FROM THE LU CLAN IN 1645

175x

In 1645 Prince Yin of the Ch'ing dynasty arrived to call the people of the two rivers to surrender. He himself, a Manchu, well conversant with the mentality and the social institutions of the Mongols and nomadic peoples, and familiar with conditions in the Lu clan, was so shocked by the disorganization and hatred among the eminent families of the clan, that he ordered the noble Lady Yang, concubine of the killed T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang in Lien Ch'eng, to write to the emperor a detailed report with "her blood," concerning the disaster of Lien Ch'eng. The report reads: "The subjects of our clan have been divided among traitors, belonging to eminent families of our tribes, our clan properties have been seized and the hereditary lordship over our tribes usurped." [15]

This report is an eye-opener concerning the events of 1644, the confusion existing in the clan and the hatred among the subjects. Reading the report the first impression is that the Lu P'ei-tso group must be rated among the "traitors belonging to the most eminent families of our tribes" and that the territories

[14] See pp. 89, 101.
[15] See p. 89.

[110(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (191-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

with the same foe; and again in 1872, at the time of the revolt of the Mohammedans, when the clan built a floating bridge topass the Tatung River, for the army had to reach Hsining and was blocked at Lien Ch'eng. 175x

The conclusion seems to be that a sword of Damocles swayed above the can for as long a time as the seceders were alive and assuming an attitude of menacing hostility every time ai opportunity would occur.

CONCLUSION

The study ends with the biographies of the ancestors of the most prominent among the clans, the Lu clan, which shed light on the family life of the t'u-ssu and the process of Sinicization in the center of the family. 175x 622 565

This section of the Biographies shows the mentality of the chiefs of the clans and their entire families. All the chiefs of the Monguor clans at the beginning of the Ming dynasty were uncouth barbarians, admiring the Chinese civilization, feeling themselves humiliated in the presence of the Chinese. Hence the eagerness in the families of the chiefs of all the clans to learn the Chinese language, to adopt Chinese customs, to have in the family members honored with literary degrees, to see their chiefs dignified with Chinese military titles and promotions. The Chinese knew very well these dispositions and fostered them, granting military titles one after another, even bestowing upon some among them, the title of Duke of Hui Ning and Duke of Kao Yang. 156 177

The chiefs of the clans married girls of prominent Chinese officials, and married their girls to important Chinese officials and prominent Chinese families. After a couple of generations the mentality and customs in the family had completely changed. Dinners had become Chinese dinners, clothing Chinese clothing, jewelry Chinese jewelry, furniture in the houses Chinese furniture, and the walls were adorned with Chinese inscriptions and paintings. A hall to the ancestors had been built in the mansion of the chief of the clan where sacrifices were offered according to the Chinese pattern, and rich Monguors liked to display luxury in the Chinese fashion. The introduction of Chinese women into the families of the chiefs of the clan had changed entirely the mind of the family and stimulated its Sinicization. But in China the corners are never wholly square. These Sinicized Monguors profess a Confucianism that allows them to practice, even fervently, lamaism and shamanism, that allows them to burn down and rebuild monasteries, to be proprietors of monasteries and to have sons who become lamas and even Living Buddhas. 175x 177 [582]

The family chronicles of the Lu clan are a great help for the comprehension of the social life of the Monguor clans and also of the attitude of the Chinese administration, related to the policy adopted toward the Mongol and Tibetan brigands on the frontiers. 714

N 563 M 614 622 178 179 on, when the Monguors gave up the nomadic way of life and became sedentary, the connection with the Chinese became closer and closer and closer until the Monguors finally came under Chinese rule. As the best means of maintaining control over the "frontier barbarians" the Chinese permitted them a certain amount of local self-government; at this time the clan chieftain became a Chinese official, a so-called T'u-ssu or "local chief."

The Monguors were no exception to the rule that all minorities, militarily powerless in comparison with the ruling Chinese, succumbed to the new culture, which, in the minds of the minorities, had always been superior and therefore worthy of imitation. As soon as the minorities were militarily defeated or went into submission voluntarily and deliberately, M [171] their chieftains proudly received the insignia and title of a Chinese office. This is true of the Khans of the Mongols, the Bäks of the Turks, the rgyal-pos of the Tibetans.

While the Turkic chieftains received the title of Shang-lao (Bäk), the Mongolian tribal leaders became Wangs, and the Monguor clan chieftains received the title of T'u-ssu. This institution was installed by the Chinese to administer minority tribes at the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. The T'ang annals already report that the Chinese Emperor made N 563 175 hereditary chieftains of frontier territories heads of the Chi-mi-chou, (the predecessor of the T'u-ssu institution). The Yüan M 175 179 dynasty already called this office by its present name - T'u-ssu. The Ming dynasty continued to confer this title on Mongol 614 622 clan chieftains whose clans were by this time mixed with Tibetans, Turks, and Chinese. The Manchu dynasty,(who favored minorities for obvious reasons: (1) the Manchus themselves constituted a minority and (2) maintenance of political equilibrium and balance of power in regard to minorities and indigenous Chinese) extended this system in a way that the various clans gained a limited measure of self-determination and autonomy. However, the ties to the Imperial court and its administrative institutions were, and remained close. Finally, the office of the T'u-ssu remained under the same name during the Republican period of China. In other frontier areas, e.g. in Sinkiang, the names of these offices were different, but they differed only slightly functionally. Father Schram describes the institution as follows: "...the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal non-Chinese peoples attached to, but not yet absorbed into, the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that ofChina as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native Chief" and as Chinese official."

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 565 554 [466] into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punishment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.

The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 M 614 317 565 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealogies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 M 174 565 M [554]

The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 M 621 • 622 565

Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patrilocal family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four generation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

N *563 M 596 [421] [561] [595] M [428] M [182] [768] [428]

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2
Monguor AE9

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 K 462 533 533 [191]

4. Work and leisure

The division of labor between men and women is like that of the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing and dance and otherwise enjoy themselves. Because of their hard life, their songs carry a meloncholy quality, and their dance is simple.

It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their expert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horseback. There are three which may be played by all ages. One, similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep." Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

S 563 K 526

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

N *563 M 131 361 311

F. The Mongours

1. The people

The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were formerly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

N *563 M 614 622 [195]

The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers. One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols; another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-

N *563 M 144 174

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

622 701 represent the village in preparing and managing all celebrations held at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, such as the investiture, marriages, and funerals, the "opening of the seal," and the yearly diet or assembly. They also preside over the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages. Together with the elders they execute justice within the village, carry on the day-to-day administration, defend the rights of the villagers in their relations with the T'u-ssu, and of course oppose all enroachments on their own privileges.

623 The elders are appointed by the T'u-ssu himself, for an indefinite period of time. The T'u-ssu selects them from among the outstanding heads of families among nobles and commoners. Most of them are commoners; some are Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the clan. In former times they were granted by the T'u-ssu a copper button to be worn on top of the hat. All matters concerning administration of the village, the apportioning of taxes, and difficulties among the villagers are discussed between the elders, the chief of the village and the two military commanders. Of them all, it is the elders who carry the most weight.

The elders can delegate some of their powers by appointing young commoners to assist the chief of the village, to organize meetings, to summon the villagers, on necessity, and to collect taxes.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES

623 184 Meetings are the specific form of administration. The villagers are not administered by a small group of autocrats who hold themselves in aloof dignity. All topics of interest to the villagers are discussed in meetings attended by them. At these meetings everybody is allowed to express his views and to defend his rights. Very often the atmosphere of meetings is one of violent agitation and high excitement. It will be recalled that in the ancient form of pastoral nomad government under tribal elders, final decisions were made only after the heads of families had had their say at public meetings. The Monguors, in spite of the passage of many centuries, and after having adopted a sedentary farming economy, still conserve this tradition of their old administrative routine. The public meetings are part of the specific character of government in a Monguor village.

These meetings are not held in the central stronghold built by order of the Chinese, and very seldom in the courtyard of the temple of the village, but in the open air. Every village has its designated place of assembly. Some villagers hold their meetings on the large threshing floor of a particular hamlet of the village; others at a fixed spot in the main valley; others at the foot of a mountain, etc. This tradition of a customary place of assembly, as well as the form of administration, bespeaks the old nomadic customs of the Monguors.

[P.77a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

TOPICS OF THE MEETINGS

623 651 The most important and delicate topic of discussion at meetings is always the subject of taxes. These taxes are decreed by the T'u-ssu as a lump sum imposed on the entire village. The villagers have then to group themselves by wealth in five classes and to pay more or less taxes according to this classification. The classification of families is a very difficult and delicate problem. In the discussion everybody asserts that he is, and proves himself to be, the poorest man in the village, deserving to be put in the lowest classification. The tax imposed on the village is compared with the taxes on other villages, and the chief of the village is criticized for not having defended the interests of his village. These meetings also fix the date on which the taxes have to be ready either to be carried by the villagers in a group to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, or to be ready for the nobles who come to collect them. Illegal and oppressive exactions by the officials of the T'u-ssu and difficulties with the collecting nobles are discussed, and entrusted to the chief of the village for redress or for conciliation with the T'u-ssu.

623 312 Another important topic is the digging or repairing of irrigation canals. The number of digging days required from each family is adjusted to the amount of land each family cultivates. Quarrels are patched up with families accused of having kept the water from the canal turned into their fields for longer than the allotted time. The proper time is calculated by the time taken to burn a certain number of incense sticks for the irrigation of a determined acreage of fields.

623 651 794 At these meetings the contributions of every family are fixed for the expenses of keeping the village temple in repair and payments to the shamans who perform the two important rites of spring and of protection against storms and hail, and of thanksgiving for the harvest.[4] An apportionment is also made of the liability of members for all kinds of corvées, or obligatory services, religious as well as administrative. The groups of youngsters must be ready day and night to stay in and even sleep in the temple in order to avert the danger of hail and storms in summer. Duties must be assigned also for taking care of the sacred animal of the village, and for preparing the performance of all kinds of religious rites carried out on behalf of the village. Villagers must also be designated for all kinds of corvée service at the mansion of the T'u-ssu.

622 627 The officials must also be prepared to deal with all kinds of problems in the private lives of the villagers (except family vengeance feuds). If a villager has got himself into difficulties or is burdened with troubles not of his own making he goes to the chief of the village, presents to him a scarf of felicity and a bottle of wine, and invites him to iron out the problem. The chief

[4] The religious aspects of Monguor life will be discussed in a second volume, now being prepared for publication.

[P. 776]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

583 the woman back to her husband that very same night. But the clever woman refused, and nobody dared to
627 touch her again. At dawn the funny story spread like a prairie fire all over the country. The most stoic elders who had not laughed for years burst into peals of merriment. The chief of the village and the elders restrained the furious husband from bringing an action at the Chinese court. On the threshing floor the problem was tackled with the whole village in attendance. The decision was that the wife should be brought back home, preceded by a group of musicians and a sheep with paper pasted on its horns, a piece of red cloth on its back and firecrackers going off all along the road, and that a dinner should be prepared for the husband, the chief of the village and the elders.

An elder of the village, a celebrated patcher-up of troubles, told me that cases of kidnapping are usually not so dramatic. Most of the time, if a widow is being compelled to marry a man she does not like, and if she already has a man friend, she notifies him about the time and the circumstances of her departure, and he kidnaps her on the way, often after a severe fight. Later, on the threshing floor, after she has testified that she will marry her friend and that they have already exchanged girdles, the friend is required to reimburse the disappointed suitor for all his expenses and whatever part of the bride price he has already paid for the widow. (The marriage price for a widow is paid in two installments, one before she leaves home and one after she has reached the home of her new husband.) But when a widow is kidnapped against her own will, and refuses to marry the kidnapper, the decision made on the threshing floor by the chief of the village and the elders goes in her favor.

627 All cases are exposed and discussed in the open air, with all the villagers in attendance including youngsters and children, who thus get their social and family education through naked facts. The veil of privacy is ripped from all the miseries and realities of life before the eyes of the young, who are more sophisticated in such social knowledge than people in the Western world. A record of each case is filed in the "archives" of the chief of the village, and four strings of cash are set aside, to be offered to the T'u-ssu at the time of his triennial visit.

623 In most villages the influence wielded by the elders is remarkable. There are very few quarrels they are unable to patch up. Their skill seems to be based on long experience and a flair for grasping the core of problems rooted in the passions of human nature. They are supported by the reverence and esteem cultivated in the family circle for old age, which ensures attendance at their meetings and respect for their opinions. This kind of authority is even more important than the support they receive from the T'u-ssu. At the same time the fact that their meetings are public, and that the villagers can freely state their opinions and defend their rights puts pressure on the elders to act according to justice and in conformity with accepted opinion. Plaintiffs and de-

623 fendants unwilling to abide by the decision of the elders may have recourse to the T'u-ssu; but his verdict very seldom differs from that of the elders.

577 From the foregoing it can be seen that the concepts of the Monguors seem to be based on custom, tradition, and
184 what community opinion accepts as "just." Typical concepts are: wrongs are to be righted; injustices to be corrected; the rights of parents over their children, of husbands over their wives, and of widows to dispose of themselves, are to be asserted and defended; private property is to be protected; no one has the right to disturb the peace of the community. It is apparent also that among the Monguors the villagers in reality govern themselves. Although the elders are backed by the authority of the T'u-ssu, it is the villagers themselves who for the most part patch up their own quarrels, punish faults, right wrongs, and keep the peace.

The system is, in effect, one of democracy. It is only when these democratic practices do not work that recourse is had to the aid and protection of the T'u-ssu.

181 At the village meetings on the threshing floor, overwhelming stress is placed on faithful adherence to the old customs. One of the most important duties of village chiefs is to watch over their observance. The T'u-ssu, on his triennial visit, always makes inquiries on this subject, on which conservatism can be truly called hidebound. When Monguors, especially of the older generation, are heatedly discussing matters of the village, and the supreme argument of "old custom" is brought up, all opposition instantly subsides. The chiefs and elders of villages and the heads of families always urge the observance of traditions. They are firmly convinced that neglect of ancestral custom ruins the stability and prosperity of the clan. On every occasion the younger generation has this injuction dinned into its ears: The chiefs of the villages will curse other chiefs of villages, and T'u-ssu who are careless of old custom. The test of a good village chief or T'u-ssu is unshakable firmness in strict observance of the clan traditions as if they were as unyielding as the laws of nature.

177 When the Chinese Republic began in 1911, however, new ideas which had a baneful repercussion on the minds of young Monguors started to spread. It was almost a hopeless struggle for the elders to try to save the old customs. It then became apparent that the Monguors were in fact not sufficiently insulated from the pressure exerted by new ideas from outside their own society. Their social concepts had gradually been undermined and weakened by the enrollment of Chinese in their clans. Chinese concepts had, unnoticeably, long been seeping into their thought—Chinese had, it must be remembered, risen to be even village elders—and a situation had gradually been created in which the Chinese way of thinking, even if conservative in itself, was disruptive of the old Monguor concepts if it differed from Monguor concepts.

[p. 80a]

581 #6 cont'd/
589 as far as selling all that one possesses, one's lands, houses, and ani-
183 mals, and will live in indigence; at the death of the parents, the elder married sons, in the case where the possessions are about to be divided up, must, before all else, put aside the sums required for the marriage of the younger unmarried sons; the parents, at the approach of death, will feel the greatest relief in the fact that they have gotten all their sons married. In order to permit the poor to marry, recourse is had to all kinds of contrivances, which very often are only imposed by reason of their primordial goal, which is that of marriage, and which scorn many obligations which in "justice" would seem, at the least, to have to be taken into greater consideration. One will find decisions which will appear unjust, but when one studies this mental attitude, which gives proportion to everything, one will understand that among the T'ou-jen the other principles yield to it and are sacrificed.

554 Marriage, for the T'ou-jen people, is the great affair in life,
581 obligatory above all else. One is no longer an honorable man when one is not married; this is because they believe that man has the duty to live according to natural law, that is, to marry and procreate children.

623 One day one of my catechists was invited to sit with the elders
627 of the village to judge the case of a penniless young man who had
689 run off with a girl of good rank. They had been brought back after
588 an escapade of three years, with a child born during the flight.

The young man was on his knees, his hands tied behind his back, imploring the clemency of the judges and of the whole assembled village. /7/ Despairing, he was saying, of ever being able to marry because of his extreme poverty, he had believed it permissible to act in this way, in order to be able to do his duty and marry. "I have been unjust toward the girl's parents, but I submit myself in advance to make all the reparations possible that will be required of me...." The girl also cries for mercy. "I could have hoped for a better match," she admits, "but I followed this young man to be gracious; without me, he would never have been able to marry...."

681 After an important palaver the offending couple was punished, and the judges found a way to indemnify the injured family and to legalize this union.

618 9. The Hsin clan, of Monguor stock, comprised 100 families, settled with the Kan seventy-five miles south-
175 east of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42,
162 p. 54). The name of the T'u-ssu was later erased from the list of T'u-ssu.

10. The La clan, a small group of Monguor stock. The number of families is not recorded. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was settled seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei, near the Kan clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54).

618 These are the sixteen groups recorded in the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, and in the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24.
177 They were all living in the country under the Mongol dynasty, and submitted to the Ming. The Ch'eng and Chi groups, in the prefecture of Hsining, and the Chao, Yeh, and Hsin groups, in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, have now "become Chinese," and their chiefs have been erased from the lists of the T'u-ssu.

The chiefs of these Shat'o and Monguor groups still bore Mongol names when they submitted to the Ming. After having held the office of T'u-ssu for two or three generations, the chiefs adopted Chinese surnames and each group then adopted the Chinese surname of its chief.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, and especially after 1723, single Tibetan families or small Tibetan groups were enrolled in nearly all the groups. Still later, Chinese families were accepted in the same way; but the Chinese did not adopt the surname of the chief of the group.

131 The foregoing data show that the habitat of the Monguors is not limited to the district of Hsining. In addi-
[101] tion, it may be noted that the mansion of Lu T'u-ssu, of Monguor extraction, is located at Lienc'eng, forty-five miles west of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. This large group call themselves Monguor and the Chinese call them T'u-jen; they are neighbors of the Monguors
• 624 of Nienpei. In this one group there are no less than seven T'u-ssu, all claiming descent from the imperial family of the founder of the Mongol dynasty. The T'u-ssu of Lienc'eng is the head of the whole group. He alone is regarded as the ruler of the subject people and possessor of the territory assigned to them by the Ming
[651] dynasty. The other six T'u-ssu hold only the title, without the powers of chieftainship. In time of war they are bound to obey the order of the senior T'u-ssu; and for revenue each of them is allowed to collect land taxes from a fixed number of villages.

624 The seven T'u-ssu of this group represent seven lines of descent from either the brothers or the sons of the
175 prince of Nanting (the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 50, pp. 55–57, incorrectly name him prince of Wu-ting). His ancestor was Kolgan, son of Chingis Khan by his favorite beauty, Kulan.[21] The prince who was living in the country at the end of the Mongol dynasty submitted

[21] The family chronicles of this clan, which I am preparing for publication, are referred to above.

[P. 32-b]

624 175 to the Ming dynasty in 1371 as "founding ancestor" of the present line, and received the most extensive territory of all the Monguor T'u-ssu. The group numbered, according to the *Annals* of 1909, 3,245 families totalling 21,086 persons, and was divided administratively into ten banners. After the historic revolt of the Kukunor Mongols, Tibetans, and lamas, in 1723, the T'u-ssu was rewarded for his military services with the territory and inhabitants of thirteen Tibetan villages, which had belonged to a Mongol chief of Kukunor. These thirteen villages numbered 453 families, totalling 2,365 persons, at a rate of 5.2 persons per family (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 87). This group is the most outstanding among the Monguor people. Many members of these T'u-ssu families were prominent military commanders and civil officials. They wielded the largest influence in the country among the Chinese officials, and were favorably regarded by the emperors of both the Ming and Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasties.

MONGUOR POPULATION FIGURES

161 The Manguor population data at the time of the Ming, taken from the *Annals* of Kansu, printed in 1909, may be summarized as follows:

- Total of families ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu, 11,000
- Families of Monguors belonging to 9 Mongol T'u-ssu, 5,627
- Families of Shat'o Monguors belonging to the 5 Shat'o T'u-ssu, 5,303
- Families of Ch'ant'ou extraction belonging to one Ch'ant'ou T'u-ssu, 70

The number of families belonging to the Monguor La T'u-ssu is not recorded. Taking a rate of five members per family, which seems not to be too high, the number of Monguors living in Old Huang Chung would be 55,000. Adding the 471 Tibetan families ruled by the Lu T'u-ssu and Wang T'u-ssu gives a total of 57,365 ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu.

162 Striking differences in importance and strength among the clans are to be noted: the Lu clan alone ruled 3,699 families (3,246 Monguor, 453 Tibetan), and the three Shat'o Li T'u-ssu ruled 4,963 families. Then there is a sharp drop to the two Ch'i clans with 700 families each, and the remaining clans are insignificant.

It has already been noted that in each of the Monguor clans there are a few Chinese and Tibetan families, which were enrolled at different times.

EXPANSION OF THE MONGUORS OVER THE COUNTRY

175 According to the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 55, and the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24, p. 14*b*, the population of Hsining was very thin at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. The fields around the towns, irrigated by canals, were assigned to the Chinese military colonists.

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618 definite number of troops, whenever required, according
175 to the size of his territory and the numbers of the population. Such appanages could be under the rule not only of families descended from the imperial clan, but of families whose "founding ancestors" were antrustions.[5] The origin and social condition of the commoners among the Monguor clans are clearly to be explained in this manner.

It appears probable that the Monguor groups began to form in this way as early as the rule of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty. At the very beginning of the Ming dynasty we find the chiefs of all the Monguor groups submitting to Chinese rule, but we do not find any record of groups of the Monguor type being actually created by the Ming emperors. We may therefore suppose that generally speaking the Monguor commoners of today are the descendants of families who were already subject commoners in the Mongol period before the Ming dynasty, with the later addition of a number of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. As to the manner in which such later additions could be made, I have already mentioned the fact that the Lu T'u-ssu received from the Manchu emperor thirteen Tibetan villages, numbering 2,365 persons to be his commoners and subjects, as a reward for military services rendered during the historical revolt of 1723 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 87).

175 The processes of clan formation thus resulted in the evolution of four kinds of clan chiefs:

618 1. Chiefs who, with their related nobles, claimed descent from the Mongol imperial family of the Yuan;

•624 2. Commoners who became chiefs of clans and founded their own noble families;

3. Antrustions, individual warriors, who became chiefs of clans and founded their own noble families;

4. Chiefs of clans who submitted voluntarily to the Yuan dynasty with their nobles and commoners.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHIEFS AND NOBLES IN THE MONGUOR CLANS

175 Among the seventeen Monguor clans, two are re-
624 corded in the *Annals* of Kansu as being descended from the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty: the Ch'i clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 35) and the Lu clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 55). The family chronicles of the Lu clan, as already mentioned, are in my possession and I am planning to edit and publish them.

[5] This term, taken from early European feudalism, is used in the French translation of Vladimirtsov for the Russian term *druzhinnik* which Vladimirtsov uses to translate the Mongol term *nukur*, literally, "friend." In the simplest terms, a *nukur* was a free warrior who voluntarily attached himself to the leader of a war-band, establishing a relationship of personal loyalty transcending all clan and other obligations. Some of the greatest commanders who served Chingis Khan began as *nukur*. Mongol *nukur*, Russian *drug*, "friend," whence *druzhinnik*, and Greek ξένος, "guest-friend," all have a root meaning of "other," "foreign" (to my own clan); institutionally they share with Latin *comes*, whence the title "count," the meaning of an association formed personally, not by circumstance of birth.—O. L.

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 624 The Shat'o Turkish clans were already settled in the country before the invasion of the Mongols, and submitted to them when the Mongols founded the Yuan dynasty.[6]

There are no historical references available for the origin of the chiefs and the nobles of the other Monguor clans nor was I ever able to find any surviving traditions on the subject.[7]

They may have been founded by military commanders who were commoners by birth and perhaps antrustions by career. Such founders of clans would be given subject families in reward for their services; and, as the reward would be proportionate to the services rendered, the number of families thus allocated would be larger or smaller. Since commanders had to recruit their troops among their own subjects, the number of families allocated to them as subjects was determined by their military rank. According to this reasoning the military rank of the chiefs of the smaller Monguor clans must have been low. It may be that the small clans were small at the time when they submitted to the Yuan dynasty, and that their chiefs were accordingly made military commanders of small units.

175 The influence wielded by the Shat'o group in Hsining during the Yuan dynasty must have been very important, for at the time of their submission to the Ming, Li Nan-ko held one of the highest civil offices in Hsining, that of T'ungchih, while his nephew held the office of Tutu chihhuei t'ungchih. What could have been the reason for the extraordinarily friendly feelings of the Mongols toward the Shat'o Turks?

The son of Li-K'o-yung, the famous prince of Chin, founded in China the ephemeral dynasty of the Hou T'ang, which lasted only from 923 to 936. After the overthrow of this dynasty, one branch of the Shat'o fled to the Yin-shan range, north of Suiyuan, and was later entrusted with the protection of the northwest frontiers of the Chin empire (1115–1260). These Shat'o were called the Wang-ku (Ongut) of the Yin-shan. A second branch fled to Lin-t'ao, in southern Kansu, where they were known as the Wang-ku of Lin-t'ao. These Shat'o were later transferred by the Chin to Liao-tung (Manchuria). At the beginning of the thirteenth century Alakush Tegin, chief of the Onguts of the Yin-shan, betrayed the Chin emperor and followed and aided Chingis Khan, with whom he entered into alliance in 1206. In 1209 Chingis gave his daughter Alaghi Beki to the eldest son of this Ongut chief. Ongut troops aided the Mongol general Mukhali in subduing China.[8]

[6] *Cf. Wu tai shih chi*, ch. 74, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*; Ponapen edition.

[7] For the founding in Kansu province of a noble family of Uighur origin, under the Yuan dynasty, see F. W. Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 in memory of prince Hindu," *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Stud.* 12 (1 & 2), 1949.—O. L.

[8] P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'extrême orient, *T'oung Pao* 15: 630, 1914. A. J. H. Charignon, *Le livre de Marco Polo* 1: 247–248, Peking, Nachbauer, 1924. H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan and his conquest of North China*, 114–133–139, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950.

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175 But the third branch of the Shat'o[9] was at that time grazing its herds in the country of Huang Chung between Hsining and Kanchou. It may well be that the Mongol invaders were glad to join hands with them in 1226, and to entrust high offices on the Tibetan frontier to their chiefs. Although these Shat'o Turks held high civil offices under the Yuan, however, nothing is known about the military appointments that they held during this period.

DEVELOPMENT OF CLAN STRUCTURE

175 624 While each of the Monguor and Shat'o clans settled in Kansu before the founding of the Ming dynasty, the present rank of the "T'u-ssu" in each clan traces back to an appointment early in the Ming dynasty; and on the date of this appointment depends, in turn, the division of the descendants of the first T'u-ssu into Houses, each with its own property.

THE POSITION OF THE T'U-SSU

The genealogical register of each clan accordingly starts with the appointment of the first T'u-ssu. The family chronicles of the Lu T'u-ssu line start with T'o-Huan (Tögon), who was granted the title of Prince of Nanting under the Mongol emperor, but was first appointed T'u-ssu of the clan by the Ming. In the register of his genealogy are recorded only his descendants; his brothers, kinsmen, and even his parents are not mentioned. In this way he and not his father was established as the founding ancestor of the new clan. It was to him that the Ming Emperor assigned a territory; he was confirmed by the Emperor in the "possession" of his subjects, who were by the imperial decree forbidden to abandon him.

The brothers of such a founding ancestor could not lay any claim either to the possession of any piece of land inside his territory or to any group of his subjects; if they were allowed to live on his territory and received some subjects, it was merely by an act of grace on his part.

Not only does the genealogical register of each clan start with the first T'u-ssu, but at his death the Monguors started building a new cemetery in which the mound of the first T'u-ssu occupied the prominent site, thus indicating the beginning of a new order; at the mound of this founding ancestor, in the "old graveyard," as it is now called, the ancestors are venerated on the day of the yearly diet of the clan. Similarly, the image of the first T'u-ssu occupies the central place in the temple of the ancestors of the clan. All of these facts confirm that the first T'u-ssu is regarded as the founding chief and real origin of the clan.

The T'u-ssu forms a unit with his offspring who are classified as being of his "bone." The Monguor family

[9] According to *H'u Tai shihchi*, ch. 74, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*, Ponapen edition.

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 being based on the agnatic principle, the oldest son in-
herits the leadership of the clan, after the death of his
•624 father.

By the beginning of the present century (1911–1922), however, the T'u-ssu was no longer living in one group with his noble kinsmen; he was not the provider of all their needs, including food and clothing; he and his nobles no longer constituted a large family; and T'u-ssu and nobles were no longer living entirely at the expense of the commoners.

The nobles were by this time living in separate and distinct families, each forming an independent economic unit. Consequently some were poor and some rich. In this economic aspect, there was no longer a distinction between nobles and commoners. Noble families bought and sold land, cattle, and grain to each other and to commoners in exactly the same way, and the rise or fall of a family's fortunes depended on the industry or laziness, the good or bad fortune, of its members.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NOBLE HOUSES

175 In the inheritance of wealth among nobles, however,
there is a peculiar institution to be considered. In each
618 clan the nobles are divided into branches, called "houses." In some clans there are three houses, in others four or five; in the Li clan there are thirteen. Each noble family knows the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called "the great House," the second is called the second House, and so on. Each house comprises the descendants of one of the sons of the founding ancestor of the clan who was appointed T'u-ssu at or soon after the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368. During his life, the wealth, grain, cattle, cultivated land, and money of the founding ancestor were divided among his sons. If there were three sons, the eldest by right of being the first born succeeded his father as T'u-ssu and chief of the clan; but the property of the founding ancestor was divided in three parts. The new T'u-ssu and his two brothers each inherited one part, with only the distinction that the eldest son received a somewhat larger portion of fields and cattle. The privilege of a large portion was passed on to the eldest son in each succeeding generation.[10]

The number of houses established according to the number of the sons of the founding ancestor has continued ever since as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify each other by houses, saying "I belong to" or "he belongs to the third House." In principle, also, the patrimony of each house was permanently established at this first division. In practice, however, if the descendants of either the great House or one of the junior houses

[10] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 224, "the Mongol feudal seigneur . . . usually received his fief by inheritance and transmitted it to his son. Mongol seigneurs apportioned inheritances to their sons during their own lifetime, reserving the essential part of the heritage to the eldest son, after their death." The old custom of preserving the principal fief of the father for the youngest son had disappeared by the time of the Yuan dynasty.

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618 175 grew numerous they could subdivide the patrimony; the new subdivisions would then continue as independent households or families responsible to each other in vicissitudes of wealth or poverty.

In Monguor society since the Ming, only the T'u-ssu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of the commoners. None of the houses disposed of commoners as subjects. It is quite clear, however, that in former times among the nomads each group of nobles was a real possessor of subjects. Subjects and territory were regarded as assigned to the clan by the emperor and were understood to belong to the whole clan and not to the chief alone. Accordingly, when a noble was at odds with the clan, he could leave it, taking with him his portion of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or found a new clan. In this way it often happened that when clans were at war with each other, there would be subgroups in each of them that belonged to the same "bone," although they were engaged in killing each other.[11]

The idea of the collective "ownership," by the blood-related noble families, of the subject commoners persists more strongly under a nomad economy, for obvious reasons, than it does under an agricultural economy, but memories of it persist among nomads who have become farmers. This concept seems to have prevailed among the Shat'o, who before the Ming dynasty were already divided into two groups, one of 4,000 families and one of 963 families. The chiefs of each of these groups were made T'u-ssu. Later, at the end of the Ming dynasty, the T'u-ssu Li Hua-lung of the line of Li Nan-ko died without issue and troubles broke out over the succession. The Manchu empire appointed a claimant named Li T'ien-yu as T'u-ssu, but allowed the troublesome pretender Li Hua-nao to take 100 families from the 4,000-family group, and granted him a separate title of T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24, p. 8).

Trouble among the noble families of the Lu clan seems also to have been the reason why six members of this clan were created T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 52, pp. 58–59). The craving for subjects, based on the old custom, seems to have been the cause of these troubles, although the *Annals* gloss over the matter, as is often done in Chinese chronicles to "save face," by allowing it to be understood that each of the six new T'u-ssu had deserved his appointment through meritorious service on the Tibetan frontier.

624 175 The same lingering tradition that the nobles had or ought to have a right to dispose of a number of subjects may account for the fact that, in lieu of a division of subject commoners among the sons of a founding ancestor, each of the houses was assigned the land tax revenue of a fixed number of villages of commoners. This meant that when the patrimony of the founding ancestor was divided, the land taxes of the villages followed the division of the inheritance. Here again the

[11] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 79. [p. 42a]

624 eldest son, succeeding as the new T'u-ssu by right of
175 being the first born, had a distinguishing privilege. The land taxes due to him (in the form of grain) had to be brought to his mansion, while the junior houses had themselves to collect the taxes from the villages assigned to them.

624 At the beginning of the Ming dynasty, when the
651 houses were first established, the tax revenues must have provided a comfortable living for each house, and it is
175 probable that they needed no other income to live at leisure, at the expense of the commoners. After a few
578 generations, however, as the descendants of each house became more and more numerous, the collection of taxes became increasingly a problem. Divided and subdivided claims to a share of the revenue became insufficient to maintain the claimant families, and were inevitably the cause of quarrels and feuds. In the end, claims to the right to collect subdivided fractions of the land tax became chronic sources of trouble not only among the families constituting the house, but between them and the commoners from whom the revenue was collected.

624 In some houses the constituent families agree with
651 each other to take turns collecting the available revenue, but this leads to disputes every year and sometimes to
578 fierce fighting. It is not unknown for two or three families to go to the villages, trying to collect the land taxes in competition with each other. When this happens, the villagers are angered and demand that the families who lay claim to revenue patch up their quarrels and adjust their claims before the villagers open their granaries. Those who claim a right to collect revenue, on the other hand, resort to various kinds of deceit in trying to extort more from the villages and to get more than the legal or customary amount. In such problems and quarrels the T'u-ssu himself is involved because by tradition it is he and not the houses who fixes the rates at which levies are collected.

624 The sources of income of a T'u-ssu are more varied
651 than those of a noble house. The T'u-ssu collects the land taxes in the villages which form the portion of his
563 own house, and in addition collects a number of special taxes which provide his personal revenue. Most of these taxes are collected from Chinese living or trading within his territory. When Monguors who belong to his clan buy livestock, wool, skins, or grain they do not pay a tax on the transaction. On such transactions the Chinese, however, do pay a tax, and so do Monguors of other clans when they engage in such transactions within the territory of the T'u-ssu. Chinese shopkeepers, blacksmiths, and innkeepers living within the clan territory pay taxes. Imposts are levied on rafts and boats on rivers running through the clan territory. At the diets or clan assemblies, and at festivals at Lama monasteries in the clan territory, taxes are collected from Chinese merchants. Payments must also be made for the registration of title deeds to land and houses, and

[P. 42-b]

624 651 563 taxes are collected from Chinese who graze their herds on the clan territory. When the T'u-ssu sitting in judgment settles a quarrel, he collects a payment. He also expects gifts in cash when he makes his triennial visit to the villages and on the occasion of funerals and marriages.

As opposed to these sources of personal revenue, the T'u-ssu has very few administrative expenses because most administration is carried on through the obligatory services of clan members. The few Chinese secretaries who are employed receive instead of salary the allocation of fields which they are allowed to farm without paying land taxes. Since there are no schools, there is no budget for education, nor is there any expenditure for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of administrative buildings because all such work is done through the levying of obligatory labor. Monguor carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans, in addition to unskilled labor, being available through the institution of obligatory labor services (corvée). Since each village has to provide a fixed number of soldiers, with their full equipment, uniforms, weapons, horses, tents, food, etc., there is no budget for military expenses.

THE CHIEF OF THE CLAN

624 618 The description of the composition of the clan that has been given in the preceding pages raises by implication the problem of the origin and evolution of the clan chief.

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE CLAN CHIEF INSTITUTION

The clan chief is *not an essential element* of the clan. Vladimirtsov,[12] drawing on the Mongol *Secret History* and other chronicle material, demonstrates that, in periods when the pastoral tribes of Mongolia were not unified in large groups under powerful clans, it was quite common to find clans without a regular hereditary aristocracy, led simply by self-constituted chiefs who were heads of families. By way of comparison, it may be noted that most of the small Tibetan tribes of the Hsining region have no aristocracy of chiefs, but are ruled by a sort of council of the heads of families.

The historical and comparative material makes it clear that in clan societies without hereditary chiefs leaders may be designated temporarily and for specific purposes, such as the organization of community hunting drives, raids on other tribes, or defense against raiders. Leadership in such cases may be influenced by, but not solely determined by, seniority in the clan. It may also be influenced by the personal characteristics of resourcefulness or aggressiveness in the man who becomes a leader, or by the number of his relatives and friends and the degree to which they are respected in the community, and, therefore, it may be said that such leadership simultaneously carries a tinge of usurpation by the

[12] *Op. cit.*, 93.

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individual and a tinge of election or delegation by those whom he leads. To the extent that this kind of leadership is not a well-defined institution, it is not surprising to find that the authority of the leader can be contested and that those who do not accept his leadership may leave the clan either to join other clans or to found a new clan.

There is an inherent tendency for such temporary leadership to become institutionalized and hereditary when a leader of commanding personality succeeds in providing his clan with booty and vassals, and lives long enough to prepare the way for a son to succeed him. Permanent and hereditary chiefs may, however, also be imposed by a conquerer. In the case of the Monguors, the new Mongol empire that resulted from the Mongol conquests was powerful enough to assign fixed territories to the Monguor clans and to designate hereditary ruling chiefs, so that chieftanship had already become hereditary and aristocratic. This view is supported by the fact that when the Mongol Empire was overthrown and the Ming dynasty established in 1368, there were no less than seventeen chiefs of Monguor and Shat'o clans who were able to offer their allegiance to the Ming emperor as chiefs whose authority, territory, and subject following were locally recognized.

As the institution of hereditary chief was established or reestablished under the Ming, with the specific title of T'u-ssu, it is clear that it had conserved its social as well as its political and military characteristics, and so in the status and functions of the chief of a clan a number of aspects are to be discerned.

By virtue of his birth in the clan, the clan chief presides over the cult aspects of religion in the clan. He is the chief figure in ceremonies venerating the ancestors; he is the guardian of the genealogical register; he also heads the cult of the guardian deity of the clan, whose temple is maintained in his mansion. He is also the ruler of his clan according to the laws of succession recognized within the clan, and at the same time under the Ming dynasty, the Manchu dynasty and the Chinese Republic, he was, by appointment of the overlord state, the ruler of both the clan and its territory. In all these capacities it was his duty to act as chief of the nobles and lord of the commoners, to preside over the meetings of elders, to adjudicate quarrels, to protect his subjects against infringements on their rights and privileges, and to command the armed forces of the clan in time of war.

RULES OF SUCCESSION OF THE CLAN CHIEF

In the rules of succession to the position of chief, although the office of chief of a clan is not open to competition, there are in fact elements of heredity, of choice or selection, of the consent of the governed, and of appointment by the overlord. A man does not become chief because he has held previous high office, because he has a commanding personality, or because he is a popular leader. Nor can he usurp the leadership

[p.436]

618 because he is backed by a group of friends. He succeeds
624 to office according to certain definite customs of the clan.

The chief must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestor." When a T'u-ssu dies, the heads of all the noble families, together with the most prominent heads of families among the commoners, convene to choose a successor. It may seem anomalous that commoners should take part in the choosing of a new chief. The way in which the lower status of commoners in the ceremonial veneration of the clan ancestor is emphasized has already been described. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles that can never be completely eliminated. Nevertheless, in the last years of the history of the old Monguor society the differences between nobles and commoners had in many ways practically ceased to exist. The heads of prominent commoner families took part in all meetings at which clan affairs were discussed. In the Monguor clans, there were commoners who were wealthier, more learned, more honored in the community, and more proficient in administrative matters than many of the nobles. It even occurred that when there were quarrels among the nobles, distinguished and respected commoners were called in to mediate. It may be, therefore, either that the participation of commoners in the choice of the new chief represents no more than a condescension on the part of the nobles, for the sake of mere civility, or that there is a lingering tradition from the ancient times of tribal history that the choice of the ruling part of the tribe (now the Monguor clan) must be ratified by the consent of the governed part of the tribe.[13]

Examination of the lists of the genealogies of all the Monguor clans as they are recorded in the *Annals* of the Prefecture of Hsining suggests the conclusion that the first son of the first wife of the T'u-ssu regularly succeeded to the office of his father. If the senior son died before his father but left a living son, then this son was entitled to the succession even if he were only an adopted son. In case the senior son died before his father and left no male issue, however, the next senior brother of the T'u-ssu, or that brother's son, was entitled to the succession. In the family chronicles of the Lu clan I have found one exception to this rule, and only one, a case in which the first son of the first wife did not succeed, the succession going instead to the brother next senior to him. I shall deal with this instance in the study of the genealogy of this clan which I am preparing for publication.

618 When a T'u-ssu dies leaving no sons, trouble usually
578 breaks out in the clan because each of the surviving
611 brothers of the T'u-ssu is eager to secure the succession either for himself or for his own eldest son. In such cases, if one of the contending brothers has more influence in the community than the others, or is richer or more popular with the clan, he succeeds in getting his

[13] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 100. [p. 44a]

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796 the clan. The whole clan, he says, is happy to express
618 its obedience and its willingness to help and serve him; the clan hopes that he may be as glorious a chief as his ancestors of old in defending the clan and its component families.

The new clan chief first kneels down and bows nine times to his maternal uncle; then the noble members of the clan of generations senior to that of the new chief stand in line before him, salute him reverently three times, and join hands. The new chief, at the command of the master of ceremonies, then kneels down and bows nine times to them, touching the earth with his forehead at each bow.

The noble clan members who are of the same generation as the new chief then line up, kneel down, and (again at the command of the master of ceremonies) reverently bow their heads nine times to the earth before their new chief, after which the new chief acknowledges their homage by greeting them in the same way. Finally, the members of generations younger than that of the new chief perform the ceremony, but this time the new chief makes acknowledgment only by a standing bow, not by kneeling and bowing his head to the earth. Finally the whole group of commoners and officials kneel down and bow nine times to the bowing T'u-ssu. The whole group then goes to the hall of the ancestors, where paper and incense are burned by the newly appointed chief. Those present bow their heads reverently while standing in rows according to their rank and generation, in time with the command of the master of ceremonies. The ancestors are thus supposed to have received the announcement of the appointment of the new chief. Then all go to the temple of the guardian deity of the clan.

As I shall discuss the importance of the maternal uncle in Monguor society in a later chapter, I shall here make only a brief comment on the fact that at the significant moment when, in a society organized on a patrilineal family system, the eldest son of the first wife succeeds to office as the chief of the clan, it is his maternal uncle who has the place of honor. The occasion being one in which ancient customs are likely to be preserved, we are entitled to assume that the importance of the maternal uncle goes very far back in the history of Monguor society.

THE CLAN CHIEF BECOMES A CHINESE OFFICIAL

•624 The chief of the clan must next be considered in his
175 function as T'u-ssu, an office that he holds by the ap-
618 pointment of the sovereign state of which the Monguor clans are quasi-feudal frontier dependents. Under the Mongol Empire, the Monguors were entitled to consider themselves kinsmen of the Mongol rulers of China. When the Mongol Empire fell and the Chinese Ming dynasty was established, the Monguor chiefs who submitted to it did so as the result of a decision of supreme importance; by adhering to the Ming dynasty they renounced the alternative of retreating into Inner Asia

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with other Mongol tribes, denounced in effect their ties of tribal loyalty to other Mongols, and declared their willingness to serve as feudal subordinates guarding the Chinese frontier against the inroads of Mongols, Tibetans, or other "outer barbarians." When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-ssu, they ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were modified by their duty to the Chinese emperor.

THE T'U-SSU INSTITUTION

The institution of T'u-ssu or "local chief" was one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal groups on the frontier of the Empire. The first historical record of an institution comparable to that of T'u-ssu is to be found in the institution of the Chimichou, under the T'ang dynasty (618–906). Under this institution the T'ang dynasty organized "barbarian" subject tribes in "circumscriptions" ruled by hereditary native chiefs who received investiture from the emperor.[16] The institution of T'u-ssu was known under the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, was reorganized and given its definite form under the Ming dynasty, and was continued under the Manchu dynasty. It survived under the Chinese Republic.

As an institution, the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal, non-Chinese peoples, attached to but not yet absorbed into the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that of China as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native chief" and as Chinese official.

CHOICE OF CLAN CHIEF RATIFIED BY EMPEROR

624 648

The choosing of a new chief by the clan itself has already been described. This choice had then to be ratified. This was done through the administrative office of the T'u-ssu, acting as a bureaucratic office and not as the personal office of the T'u-ssu, which sent an official notice of the death of the previous T'u-ssu to the governor of the Province, to be forwarded to the capital at Peking, giving the day, hour, and circumstances of the death of the T'u-ssu. At the same time a petition was sent, through the same channels, imploring the emperor to appoint to the office of T'u-ssu the man whom the clan had selected as its new chief. In the event that the new chief of the clan was a minor, the petition requested that his mother be appointed regent. The emperor, granting the petition, then appointed the new clan chief to the office of T'u-ssu (or, if the son were a minor, appointed his mother as regent). The mother's regency ended when the son married or when he reached the age

[16] P. Pelliot, *Bulletin de l'école Française d'extrême Orient*, 1125, 1904. Leng Shun-Sheng, T'u-ssu chi tu, in *Frontier affairs* (*Pien cheng Kunglün*) 3 (2): 11–12, 1944. [p. 46a]

624 of sixteen. In 1916 I was present to congratulate the young T'u-ssu of the clan of Lu of Liench'eng when he 648 assumed office after his mother had acted as regent for eight years.

The custom of entrusting the regency to the mother is an old Mongol tradition,[17] which the Ming dynasty recognized and took over. It should be noted that the Ming dynasty, though in its early years it was strong enough to conduct campaigns far afield in Mongolia, never had a firm control of the Mongolian and Inner Asian frontier as a whole. It was, therefore, well pleased when any Mongol tribes submitted of their own free will and was glad to make concessions in the way of recognizing their tribal institutions.

INVESTITURE OF THE T'U-SSU: CEREMONY DIPLOMA, AND SEAL

624 When a T'u-ssu received his Imperial appointment, he was granted a diploma and seal. Only three Mongol 648 T'u-ssu, those of the Lu, Li, and Ch'i clans, received 796 a seal worked in brass, because of the merits of their ancestors in defending the empire against Mongol and Tibetan inroads and rebellious Muslims. The other T'u-ssu were granted a seal worked in wood.[18] These seals, under the Manchu dynasty, were engraved with Chinese and Manchu inscriptions (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 39).

It was the receipt of the diploma and the custody of the seal, equivalent to personal investiture by the emperor, that conferred on the T'u-ssu the power to exercise his functions. On the one hand they symbolized his subjection to the overlord state; on the other hand they symbolized the delegation, by the sovereign overlord, of the power to rule in the territory allocated to the custodian of the seal.

The receipt of the diploma and seal was, therefore, considered the most important moment in the life of the T'u-ssu, and an honor not only to him personally but to the whole clan. The receipt of the diploma and the consignment of the seal into the hands of the T'u-ssu were, therefore, the occasion for a celebration in which the whole clan joyfully took part, willingly contributing money and time in order to make possible a display of pomp and magnificence. The whole clan was in fact called into active service. Each village, according to its importance, was assessed for a contribution of a definite number of sheep, pigs, chickens, and a cow, all of which had to be delivered to the mansion of the chief. Each village was also assessed a certain amount of wheat, a fixed sum of money, and was required to make a

[17] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 67, 68. "Widows with minor children had autocratic power over the possessions of the family until their sons had grown up and married; consequently they took the place of their husbands in all respects and enjoyed their rights."

[18] Seals of higher ranks were carved in jade, gold, silver, etc., indicating that even the highest of the Monguor T'u-ssu were regarded as relatively petty feudatories.—O. L. [P. 46b]

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FIG. 2. Li T'u-ssu and his wife. Taken at his home in Hsining in 1914. According to Li T'u-ssu, he and his wife are wearing the costumes given to his ancestor by the Emperor Shih-Tsung (Yung Cheng period, 1723–35), of the Manchu dynasty, after the victorious campaign against Lobtsang Danzan in 1723, in which this ancestor took an active part on the side of the emperor. The costumes are reverently preserved in the family. It was customary, when a man received such a costume, to present his wife with a costume matching his in its symbols of rank and dignity.

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contribution, on loan, of kettles, bowls, chop sticks, and all kinds of utensils.[19]

A number of young folk, determined by protocol, were summoned from each village to pitch tents in the precincts of the T'u-ssu's mansion, to build small temporary kitchens, to slaughter animals, cook food, serve, grind wheat, chop wood, carry fuel and water, whitewash the whole mansion, and repair the walks and paths in the courtyards of the mansion. Everyone working was fed by his own village. The chiefs of the groups of nobles, and of the villages, were bound to supervise all the preliminary arrangements, and when the actual day of the investiture arrived, they had to attend the ceremony in full official dress and help to entertain the guests.

The Monguor troops were called out in full levy, clad in brand new uniforms which had been sewed by the village women and paid for by the villagers. In addition to neighboring T'u-ssu, the most important Chinese civil and military officials of the prefecture were invited to take part in the celebration. In the old days, before Hsining had become a separate province, a prominent official was sent from Lanchou, capital of the province

[19] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 148, notes the requisitioning of food from the common people for the nobles in Mongolia at and after the time of Chingis Khan. The term for these requisitions is *shi'üsün* (*shüsün*), meaning "ration," "provision." [p. 47a]

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of Kansu, to convey to the T'u-ssu the diploma and seal sent from Peking. For the use of a group of nobles and officials of the T'u-ssu administration a number of the best horses were requisitioned from the Monguor community, equipped with fine saddles and bridles, tassels of red yak hair, and necklaces of small bells. Mounted on these, and escorted by Monguor soldiers, they rode out a long distance beyond the T'u-ssu's village to meet and welcome the official bringing the diploma and seal, who ranked as a delegate from the government at Peking.

At the gate of the T'u-ssu's village or little town a procession was formed. The diploma and seal were displayed on a large silver dish and carried in majesty in a sedan chair, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, standard bearers, and men setting off fire crackers, to the mansion of the T'u-ssu. On the raised platform or porch at the entrance to his mansion the T'u-ssu, surrounded by his oldest nobles, the most distinguished commoners, and all the important guests, knelt to receive the precious diploma and seal presented to him by the delegate. At the command of the master of ceremonies, he clasped his hands and bowed nine times. Kneeling and bowing nine times, the forehead touching the ground each time, is regarded as the homage (*homagium*) or act of fealty of the vassal to his lord.[20]

The newly-invested T'u-ssu then accepted the congratulations of those present and went to the temple of his ancestors, followed by the members of the clan who, ranged in rows according to precedence by generation, joined him in venerating the ancestors, burning incense, kneeling, and bowing, all at the commands of the master of ceremonies. In this way the happy event was announced to the ancestors.

All then went immediately to the other temple within the mansion where the guardian deity (a lamaistic deity) is honored. Again incense was burned and the other ceremonies were performed by the whole group to invoke the protection and blessings of the deity. All then returned to the mansion, in order to take part in the official reception and the presentation of the guests. Each guest offered his congratulations and presented his gifts, consisting usually of inscriptions written by outstanding Chinese calligraphers on silk or satin scrolls, paintings on silk by Chinese artists, or, in recent times, the "western innovation" of small silver shields with engraved inscriptions. The inscriptions convey congratulations, good wishes, or record a commemoration of the happy event.

The nobles of the clan then made their submission to the T'u-ssu, kneeling and bowing nine times, forehead to the ground, at the command of the master of ceremonies, and offering congratulatory scrolls and a sum

[20] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 130, describes the "act of submission" of a vassal in the Mongol empire founded by Chingis Khan in comparable terms, and notes that in feudal Russia, as among the Mongols (and, he might have added, among the Chinese), the kneeling vassal was required to bow until his forehead touched the ground.

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of money fixed by old tradition. Following them the delegates of each village, one after the other, and the officials of the T'u-ssu's own administration went through the same ceremony. If the mother of the T'u-ssu was still alive, she also received scrolls and a gift of money from each group.

During this long ceremony the musicians played and firecrackers were set off. A banquet then began, following the Chinese protocol with presentation of cups and chopsticks to the guests. During the banquet a Chinese theatrical troupe played selected acts from traditional Chinese plays or operas; it was a special courtesy to ask a guest to select something from the repertory. Songs were also sung—usually Tibetan, not Monguor songs—by the best Monguor singers. Banquets were held in the afternoon for three or four days running, attended by three or four hundred guests. These banquets were preceded in the morning by the traditional Mongol sports of horse racing and wrestling.

When, at the end of the celebrations, the delegate who brought the diploma and seal returned to Lanchou or to Peking, he was presented with a couple of fine mules and one of the best and fastest horses in the country, together with a substantial gift of money. His attendants were also given presents according to their rank. These presents were called "The money of the sweat of the horses." [21]

The investiture and festival were an expensive burden on the whole clan and on the T'u-ssu personally. As an example, in the small clan of Chao, consisting of only 140 families, most of them poor, the young man who succeeded to the title of T'u-ssu inherited from his father, an opium addict and gambler, only a burden of insoluble debts, in addition to the old tradition of a glorious past. The funds of the family being depleted, and the subjects not being able to afford the expenses of the investiture, the young heir lost his appointment and his privileges, and his people became ordinary Chinese subjects, bound thenceforth to pay their taxes directly to the Chinese administration. But since in China it is always possible to reach a compromise, the young T'u-ssu, though not invested with official rank, was allowed to collect the taxes from his former subjects on behalf of the Chinese administration, and thus he was still able to make a living.

Throughout the Orient the seal is regarded with a special veneration. It may indeed be said to be the subject of a special cult. An emperor who lost his seal would certainly lose his empire. The loss of the imperial seal has always been considered by the Chinese

[21] To put the servants of the Son of Heaven to trouble was to "cause the horses to sweat." Thus Cleaves, *op. cit.*, 26, notes that, in an inscription, an ancestor is praised because he advised his Uighur ruler to submit to Chingis: " . . . by submitting gracefully without causing the men of the Suu-tu ("fortunate") Chinggis qaγan to suffer and without causing his geldings to sweat. . . ."—O. L.

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historians as a sign that "heaven" removes its mandate from the emperor. When the imperial seal of the T'ang was lost and came into the hands of the King of Chin in 936, the fact was thus explained. In China, under the old order, the seals of officials were always entrusted to their wives, who kept them with their jewelry and asked from their husbands a small sum each time that the seal was taken out to be stamped on an official document. The accumulation of these small sums constituted the savings of the wives of officials. The Monguors took over this custom from the Chinese.

In 1908, three years before the end of the Manchu empire, the T'u-ssu of the Li clan (of Shat'o origin) lost two thousand dollars at gambling. Having no money to pay his debt, harassed day and night by his creditors, he placed his seal of office in their hands as security. This T'u-ssu was the son of the deceased first wife of his father. He had a half-brother whose mother was the second wife of the previous T'u-ssu. This woman paid the gambling debt and thus got possession of the seal, charging a small sum every time that she produced it for the stamping of a document. When she died, her son got possession of the seal, and used it as authority to collect the regular traditional contributions that are expected from the subjects of the clan to pay for the funeral of the wife of a T'u-ssu. By doing this he strengthened his position, because in China, according to classical principles, the person who conducts the funeral is considered to be the lawful heir. Having in this way created the precedent of actually exercising a degree of authority over the subjects of the clan, and having the seal in his possession, it was his intention to make an accusation against his half-brother, on the grounds of misconduct, and to have himself installed as T'u-ssu.

To forestall this move, the gambling T'u-ssu called together the elders of the clan, both noble and non-noble, and also invited three neighboring T'u-ssu to arbitrate the quarrel and get him out of his appalling situation. The meetings went on for many days. The T'u-ssu was bitterly reproached, humiliated, and dressed down. He had to ask pardon for having transgressed the limits of official convention, thus dishonoring his ancestors and his clan. All this time his half-brother, fortified by actual possession of the seal, stoutly defended his right to become T'u-ssu.

The meeting finally came to the decision that the half-brother should give back the seal to the senior brother, but that in compensation he should be allowed to collect the taxes from four villages subject to his brother, and that his descendants should enjoy this privilege in perpetuity. This drastic solution is to be explained only by the old Oriental belief that the man who is in possession of the seal comes into possession also of the powers, rights, and privileges invested in the seal.

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The "locking" and "opening" of the seal emphasized its ritual importance. Every year, as the year drew to an end, on an auspicious day chosen about the twentieth of the twelfth month, it used to be the custom to "lock up" the seals of all Chinese officials. This signified that the officials were taking a vacation and that administrative matters would not be acted on again until after the New Year. The Monguors took over this practice. At the "locking up" of the seal, they invited their officials for dinner, and then all went home.

Soon after the fifteenth of the first moon, an auspicious day was chosen for the "opening of the seal." All officials under the T'u-ssu were required to attend the ceremony, together with the chiefs of villages and the most prominent members of the clan. Disposed in rows, they made the ceremonial prostration nine times before the seal and went to the ancestral temple and the temple of the guardian deity to honor them and to invoke their protection during the new year. An important meeting then followed at which administrative matters were discussed, and this meeting was in turn followed by a dinner. Ordinary routine was then resumed. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, as described by Father Mostaert,[22] a still great reverence is attached to the seal. It is treated as a cult object held in veneration throughout the year, locked in a special ornamented case in the palace of the prince of the Banner, with a lamp burning before it day and night. The opening of the seal is carried out in a more ceremonial manner than among the Monguors. A traditional speech is given by one of the most distinguished officials before the ceremony of veneration is carried out by those present.

ROLE OF CLAN CHIEF AS CHINESE OFFICIAL

WARDEN OF THE MARCHES

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As a vassal of the overlord state in China, the T'u-ssu has the function of a warden of the marches. When the Mongol dynasty fell in 1368, it was already rotten at the core and torn apart by struggles between internal factions. Knowing that all hope for the restoration of a Mongol dynasty was lost, most of the chiefs of Mongol tribes living in Kansu submitted to the Chinese generals who led the Ming armies into this strategic province bordering on Tibet, Central Asia, and Mongolia. The Chinese, for their part, resorted to the policy, familiar to them for some two thousand years, of using barbarian vassals along the frontier as a screen against more remote barbarians.[23] They accordingly granted titles to the chiefs of the tribes that submitted, in order to make use of them in defense against the still hostile

[22] A. Mostaert, "L'ouverture du sceau" et les adresses chez les Ordos. *Monumenta Serica* 1, Fasc. 2: 315, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1935.

[23] The relationship between "inner frontier" and "outer frontier" has been described by Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 86, 238–251, 2nd ed., New York, American Geog. Soc., 1951.

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175 clan with his four thousand families were stationed to guard the mountain passes between the Yellow River and the Hsining River, with the T'u-ssu of the Ah clan and his 150 families to the east of them (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 48*a*–50*b*). On the southern side, between the mountains and the Yellow River there were six T'u-ssu, those of the Wang, Chou, Yeh, Li Hua-nao, Hsin, and La clans, with a total of 632 families, guarding several passes and the boat ferry across the Yellow River (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*a*, 52–54, 57). In the mountains on the north of Nienpei the Ch'i and Chao T'u-ssu with a total of 820 families guarded four important passes (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 46*b*, 49*b*).

The country thus described forms a strategic triangle between P'ingfan, Lanchou, and Nienpei which is the key to the frontier between Kansu province and the Mongolian plateau, through the natural depression which separated the Nan Shan from the Yin Shan. Its importance was recognized as early as the first Han dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 8), when the Chinese occupied it in order to prevent the Hsiungnu in Mongolia, the ancestors of the Huns, from joining hands with the Ch'iang or early Tibetan tribes in Kansu. During the Ming dynasty, Mongol tribes from Alashan and the Ordos, invading Tibet by way of Kukunor, usually forced their passage through this country. Because the ancestors of the T'u-ssu of the Lu clan had already settled in this country under the Mongol dynasty, the Ming dynasty assigned it to the Lu clan, which with its 3,245 families became the guardian of the eight passes in the mountain range called Chitzeshan and the ferry passage across the important Tat'ung River. Their villages were scattered throughout this territory (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 58*a*).

While the Monguors were thus allocated to the valleys leading up to the frontier passes, the Chinese planted colonies of their own people in the vicinity of the main towns. Thus the situation was one in which the Chinese colonies depended for their safety on the loyalty of the Monguors, and the authorities accordingly treated the Monguor T'u-ssu as important people and favored subjects.

GUARDIAN OF THE PEACE IN HIS TERRITORY

624 175 648 The T'u-ssu, though a subordinate official of the Chinese overlord state, was treated as a petty sovereign in his own territory, not to be interfered with by Chinese officials in the administration of his hereditary subjects. Except for capital punishment, the T'u-ssu governed his people according to Monguor custom. His vassal status, however, was shown by the fact that he could be called to account if his administration was unsatisfactory. The T'u-ssu was responsible for maintenance of his own troops, and was expected not only to take the initiative in stopping raids from across the border, but to suppress banditry. He was responsible for the security of the roads passing through his territory and

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624 could be held to account for the murder of any traveler
175 on these roads. Under the Yung Cheng reign of the
648 Manchu dynasty, the important monastery of Erhkulung, in the territory of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, joined in the great insurrection of 1723. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was punished for failing to control the insurgent monks. His subjects were taken away from him and inscribed on the register of Chinese subjects under direct Chinese administration, his territory was confiscated, and he was deprived of his rank. A large number of his subjects, however, revolted against the Chinese and joined the insurrection which was still going on. The Chinese authorities therefore compromised. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was asked to summon his subjects back to their allegiance, and was promised that his forfeited rights and privileges would be restored if he succeeded. The promise was carried out and he was in fact reinstated as T'u-ssu when he contributed to the suppression of the insurrection by bringing his subjects back under control.

651 In connection with this recorded historical incident
648 there may be cited a tradition concerning an ancestor
173 of the T'u-ssu of the Li clan, who was condemned to
624 have his head cut off, his territory confiscated, and his subjects brought under direct Chinese jurisdiction, for failing to crush a revolt. Other T'u-ssu intervened on his behalf, however, because of the meritorious services rendered to the empire by his ancestors, capital punishment was commuted, and he and his descendants were instead to be required to pay in perpetuity a tax called *ch'iu liang*, "the tax of supplication." After one or two years, however, according to the tradition, the humiliating word "supplication" was replaced by the Chinese character meaning "autumn" which is also pronounced *ch'iu*, as a "face-saving" concession. The tradition is supported by the statement in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 16, p. 5*a*) that a special "autumnal tax" was yearly collected from the Li T'u-ssu, but the Li T'u-ssu and his subjects explain away the whole matter by saying that at some time in the past, when the Chinese officials were in difficulties because of insurrections, and were short of grain and flour, the Li T'u-ssu of that time, recalling the favors bestowed on his ancestors for centuries past, magnanimously and voluntarily offered to pay this perpetual "autumn tax." Thus the clan has its own "face-saving" version of the tradition.

EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

651 The emperor, as overlord, had a special interest in
648 the fact that the Monguor troops required neither pay,
624 provisions, nor weapons, but were maintained completely at the expense of their own clans. As compensation, the Chinese officials were not allowed to impose
701 land taxes on the Monguors or to requisition labor services from them. The Monguor soldier, since he was considered to be perpetually on frontier duty, could not also be requisitioned for labor; nor could he be drafted

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into the Chinese army. In order to keep up the Monguor military strength, the emperor did not allow subjects of the clan to abandon their T'u-ssu, and the Chinese officials were ordered to help the T'u-ssu in recovering any subjects who had left their territories. The overlord state thus confirmed the clan rule of the Monguors that the subjects of the clan "belonged" to the chief. While in later times Monguors farming land in territory under direct Chinese administration were required to pay the land tax, they were still exempt from the corvée of forced labor.

651 648 624

In the administration of the law, relations between Monguors and Chinese were "extraterritorial." When a Chinese accused a Monguor, the summons had to be sent to the T'u-ssu, who alone could order his subject to appear at the Chinese court. Chinese allowed by a T'u-ssu to settle in his territory became his subjects, liable to Monguor land taxes, military service, and corvées. Monguor lawsuits had to be brought before the T'u-ssu and his officials. If a Monguor did not agree with the verdict of the T'u-ssu, however, he was allowed to appeal to the Chinese high court; but this right was more theoretical than practical, because the Chinese official, considering the T'u-ssu as a fellow-official, and also not unmindful of presents at New Year and at the four seasons, regularly confirmed the verdict of the T'u-ssu.

When Chinese officials, representing the overlord state, traveled through the territory of a T'u-ssu, roads and bridges had to be put in repair. Similarly, when Chinese troops passing through the territory of a T'u-ssu had to cross a river, the Monguors were required to provide the necessary rafts and boats.

TAXES UPON T'U-SSU AND THEIR SALARY

Under the Ming dynasty, except for the "autumn tax" on the Li T'u-ssu, which has already been mentioned, no taxes were imposed on a T'u-ssu. In this respect there was a marked difference between the T'u-ssu and the chiefs of many Tibetan and Mongol tribes who were required to bring every year, or once in a term of years, a fixed tribute of horses or other products of their territories. The difference is accounted for by the fact that a tribute-paying chief and his subjects were not, like a T'u-ssu and his clan, considered to be on permanent military service.

Under the Manchu dynasty, however, the *Annals* of Kansu record that twelve out of the seventeen T'u-ssu were required to pay land tax. The five that were exempt were the five most influential and powerful: the Lu (3,245 families); two Ch'i (800 and 700 families); two Li (4,000 and 960 families), and Wang (150 families). It is possible that these T'u-ssu were exempt from the tax either because of services rendered during the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 or simply because they were powerful and the Chinese were afraid to impose a tax on them for fear they would revolt. The tax im-

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651 posed on a T'u-ssu was imposed on him personally. He
648 passed it on by making levies on his subjects, but in spite of this their tax was lighter than the tax paid by the Chinese.

●624 In his capacity as a Chinese official, the T'u-ssu was entitled to receive an emolument; but for unknown reasons this stipend was extremely irregular. Seven T'u-ssu received none at all, and of the others the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Hsining received the highest emolument, 146.88 ounces of silver. Next to him came the Lu T'u-ssu with 76.6 ounces. Five others received 50 ounces a year, and the remainder only 40 ounces.[24]

TRIPS OF T'U-SSU TO PEKING

648 The difference between a Monguor T'u-ssu and a
624 tribute-paying chief has been mentioned. Like a T'u-ssu, the tribute-paying chief received a diploma and a seal. Unlike a T'u-ssu, he was required to offer tribute at stated intervals, and the most important privilege enjoyed by him and his people was that of admission to the frontier markets. A Monguor T'u-ssu was not bound to report in person to the capital at stated times, but there were occasions when Monguor T'u-ssu were specially summoned to Peking in order to receive awards for meritorious frontier service. On such occasions, they traveled in state. The Monguors still enjoy recalling the fine show made by these glorious ancestors, even though a levy was made on all the subjects of the T'u-ssu, to provide not only a sum of money for his expenses, but thirty soldiers in new uniforms as his escort and ten servants, five secretaries, and enough horses, well equipped, for the whole retinue, together with provisions for the journey. In addition, the most handsome horses and mules that could be found in the Monguors' country were brought and taken along to be presented to the emperor and high officials. Other products of the country, taken as presents, were musk (for the harem), stag horns in the velvet (a medicine of great repute for old men losing their virility), deer sinews (a famous medicine for rheumatic people), and bear's paws (a renowned dish at official dinners), together with saffron from Tibet.

648 Before his departure, the T'u-ssu paid a farewell visit
624 to the high Chinese officials of the frontier region, who gave him presents and more money toward the expenses
431 of his journey—hoping of course that in Peking he would
439 praise them and their administration in the right quarters. For the whole of his journey the T'u-ssu traveled at the public expense, having permits that entitled him and his retinue to lodging free of taxes and charges. Although the capital expense of the journey was great, it was in fact remunerative both for the T'u-ssu and his retinue. They all enjoyed it, for they benefited by the ancient tradition of the East that nobody travels without

[24] In view of the irregularity and the fact that some T'u-ssu received no yearly allowance, it is possible that these payments were regarded as grants to favored vassals rather than as regular salaries to officials.—O. L.

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648 trading and making a little profit. The T'u-ssu and his
624 retinue took with them whatever they thought might sell
435 advantageously in Peking. For the return journey, they
431 bought in Peking everything that they knew would sell profitably in their home country. The profit was greatly increased by the fact that they traveled free of charge and free of the usual transit taxes. Before they left Peking, moreover, the T'u-ssu received valuable gifts from the emperor, including the traditional ceremonial long coat, the yellow robe worn by officials on state occasions, and pieces of silk and brocade. A visit of this kind to the capital enhanced the stature of the T'u-ssu both among his own subjects and among the Chinese officials, because the rich presents that he took with him provided him with friends and protectors among the high officials at court.

648 Most of the foregoing information was collected in
624 Liench'eng, the T'u-ssu of the Lu clan of Liench'eng having been among the last of the T'u-ssu who visited the emperor. Two old Monguors of this clan liked to talk about this visit on which their grandfathers or great-grandfathers had accompanied the T'u-ssu to the capital, where they had seen the emperor. According to the family chronicles of the clan, this visit was made in 1829–1830 by the T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsün, fifteenth in descent from the "founding ancestor" of the clan. He left Liench'eng on the twenty-sixth of the tenth moon and arrived at Peking on the nineteenth of the twelfth moon. On the twenty-third of the twelfth moon he was granted an audience with the emperor and from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth he was invited to banquets and theatrical performances.

On the first of the first moon, the new year according to the lunar calendar, he accompanied the high official who carried out the rite of congratulating the emperor at the palace called the T'ai Ho Tien, and partook of a dinner of state. On the evening of the same day he attended the theatrical performance played on the ice of the lake called Ying T'ai in the Forbidden City. On the fifteenth of the first moon he accompanied the high officials who attended the fireworks illumination of the Yuan Ming Yuan palace, and was granted the favor of such gifts as the peacock plume, clothes, porcelains, and rare foodstuffs. On the nineteenth he presented his thanks to the emperor and asked for leave to depart. He made his farewells to the high officials, left on the twenty-eighth, and completed the long journey back to Liench'eng on the fifth of the fourth moon.

In the same family chronicle there is recorded the visit paid in 1819 by the T'u-ssu Lu Cho to the Emperor Chia Ch'ing on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday at the summer palace of Jehol. This T'u-ssu left Liench'eng on the nineteenth of the fifth moon and arrived in Jehol on the tenth of the eighth moon. On the twelfth, he was received in audience to greet the emperor in the Lion Garden, where he was accorded the favor of receiving slices of venison sprinkled with pepper and

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648 ginger. On the thirteenth, the emperor graciously accepted the T'u-ssu's presents, consisting of two beautiful
●624 horses and samples of the products of the Monguor country. The T'u-ssu received a peacock plume with button, a straw hat, a collar of the design worn by officials of the fifth rank, a long coat with an embroidered medallion on the chest and back, and an official robe embroidered with dragons; together with a silk girdle, a purse, a knife to be hung from the girdle, a short and long coat of brocade, some small carpets, a splendid saddle rug, tea, and dried fruit. On the fourteenth, after a banquet and theatrical performance, he received a clock and a snuff-box. On the seventeenth, after another banquet, dinner and theatrical display, he received foodstuffs. On the eighteenth still another banquet and the theater again, and at night fire-works. On the nineteenth he went to offer his thanks to the emperor and received two pieces of brocade, two of silk, six of satin, and a piece of dried venison. On the twentieth he bade farewell to the emperor and left on the twenty-first. (Extracts from the family chronicles of Lu.)

These records give an idea of the pomp of such visits under the empire. The visit to the emperor and the honor of seeing him were the dream of a T'u-ssu and the summit of his glory; and the subjects who accompanied him liked to talk about the splendor of the imperial palace, the majesty of the emperor, and his graciousness toward their chief.

THE COMMONERS

174 Having elucidated the questions of the chiefs of the Monguor clans, their function as clan chiefs, the historical position of the first clan chief, the rules of succession and installation, and having explained the new kind of position that was acquired by becoming a Chinese official, with the title and duty of T'u-ssu, there remain the many fascinating problems of the origin and social evolution of the commoners.

To what original tribes did the commoners of the seventeen Monguor clans belong?

MONGOLS

I frequently inquired among both commoners and nobles about the names of the tribes to which they had belonged in time past, but to no avail. Not a single definite answer could be obtained. But since Potanin and Prjevalsku assert that they heard Monguors say that they were of "Chzhahor," or White Mongol, or Karluk origin, and since Father A. De Smedt heard some rare Monguors say that they were of Karluk origin, it is possible that among the commoners there still exist traceable descendants of these tribes. Failing an established tradition among the people themselves, is it possible to trace historically the origin of the commoners given as subjects to the Monguor clan chiefs by the Mongol emperors? The authors of the *Annals* of the prefecture of Hsining and of the province of Kansu,

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177 erals, Ma Fu-hsiang, Ma Hung-k'uei, Ma Hung-pin, and other military leaders all belong to this group.

In the course of the Ming dynasty a few small groups of Mongols who had at first been hostile submitted to the Ming and were settled in Kansu. In the region of Paonan, near Kueite, there still live five groups of these Mongols, whose curious fate it was to become Muslim in religion and Tibetan in language; they are called the Wut'ung [37] Mongols.

All of these groups the Chinese of Hsining call Mongols and not T'u-jen, and the seventeen Monguor clans discussed in this book are unable, because of the peculiar evolution of their own language, to talk with these Mongols in the dialects they speak; they know that they are Mongols, but say that they do not belong to the same stock. A comparative study of the social organization and the language of these groups would be interesting and important, but I have never had the opportunity to undertake it.

THE T'U-SSU AND HIS SUBJECTS

624 Up to this point both nobles and commoners have been referred to as "subjects" of the T'u-ssu. The relation is in fact somewhat complex, involving not only the relations between T'u-ssu and nobles, but those between nobles and commoners.

The T'u-ssu, in the nature of the origin of the T'u-ssu institution, was formerly the ruler of the clan with the support of and by the appointment of the emperor. Although he is of the same "bone" as the nobles, the authority and prestige that set him apart and above the nobles are unlimited. From the point of view of the overlord state, the entire authority in the clan, civil and military, is embodied in him alone, and nobles as well as commoners are his subjects. The only limit on his power is that he cannot inflict capital punishment. He also represents the leadership and prestige of the sacred founding ancestor of the clan.

T'U-SSU ULTIMATE OWNER OF THE CLAN TERRITORY

From the emperor, the T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan. These territories were originally assigned, according to a military plan, to screen the frontier, at a time when the Monguors were still nomads, and it may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories. We must, however, beware of the idea that "nomads" are concerned only with cattle-breeding. Travelers in Mongolia, medieval and modern, have noted—often with astonishment—the wide distribution of farming practiced by nomads. It is true that the farming done by nomads is rudimentary and crude compared with intensive Chinese farming, but it is also true that nomads always attempt a little auxiliary farming wherever climate and soil permit. The Monguors must, at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, have

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[37] Possibly from a mistaken Chinese transcription of Mongol *khotong*, "a Muslim."—O. L.

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ers still existed in 1911–1922, even though the chasm which in former times separated nobles from commoners had almost been bridged in ordinary social life. The commoners were still, however, not allowed to abandon their chiefs. The moment they became able to exercise that freedom, the clans were bound to fall asunder, the troops to disappear, and the T'u-ssu institution to wither away.

The first duty of a subject was never to abandon his lord.[45] The subjects and their descendants were chained with fetters which never could be removed. They could not even of their own decision leave their lord in order to pass into the service of another lord. Under pre-Monguor customary law the death penalty was stipulated for attempting to do so.[46] This conviction of being chained was deeply rooted in the social consciousness of the Monguors and was considered by them to be natural. It was enforced by the right of the T'u-ssu to request from the Chinese officials the extradition of any of his subjects who fled and hid among the Chinese.

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After the great rebellion of the Muslims (1868–1872), however, the military power of the Monguors gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time wielded any considerable influence. The Chinese officials, receiving fewer presents from the impoverished T'u-ssu, were not as willing as before to uphold their rights and privileges. Although there is no documentary evidence that the Chinese were following their traditional policy of unifying the administration by gradually abolishing the privileges of tribes that had become innocuous, perhaps there were secret orders from Peking to neglect the T'u-ssu. The T'u-ssu institution had in fact become obsolete and the imperial authorities must have been aware that this kind of defense of the frontiers was now useless.[47] In any event, less support was henceforth

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to live together with his clan; to help in the pastoral economy and in hunting. It was impossible for them to unbind the fetters which chained them to the suzerain, and so their descendants continued to be the vassals of his clan.

[45] There was a distinction in this respect between nobles and commoners. As shown by the recorded instances, notably in the Li clan (see above, p. 40), a kinsman of the T'u-ssu could, in certain circumstances, split away from the T'u-ssu and, by the decree of the overlord state, take some of the commoners, be allocated a territory, be created himself a T'u-ssu, and become the founder of a new line of nobles ruling over subject commoners. From this aspect the position of a T'u-ssu relative to his noble kinsmen may be described as *primus inter pares* and relative to his commoners as *princeps omnium*.—O. L.

[46] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 153.

[47] The T'u-ssu and the whole antiquated Manchu imperial system were unable to deal with the Muslim insurrection, which was eventually put down by the "new style" Chinese (not Manchu) generals in command of Chinese (not Manchu) troops, with Western arms. One consequence was that it became evident that such frontier feudatories as the Monguors were no longer either useful or dangerous. Even if there were secret orders from Peking to neglect them, therefore, there was no need for such orders. Another consequence was that the "new style" Chinese generals began to become superior in prestige to the Manchu imperial state, and became, in fact, the "founding ancestors" of

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extended to the T'u-ssu, their influence waned and dwindled, and they even became unable to insist on the extradition of fugitive subjects who preferred to become Chinese or to take a chance on earning a living elsewhere.

The cornerstone of the whole institution had always been the power to keep the subjects bound to the chief and to the territory. As this power decreased during the last fifty years of the Manchu dynasty, there were many defections. In the end the only ties still attaching the vassals to their lord were the benefits of living under his administration, because his taxes on his subjects were not as heavy as the taxes imposed on Chinese. If the subjects saw a chance to better themselves in some other way, however, or felt the fetters of the T'u-ssu too chafing, they would say goodbye to their lord and leave him.

A rich subject of the Lu T'u-ssu living in the Lumen Valley, an owner of large herds, left his lord and enrolled in a Tibetan tribe north of Weiyuanp'u, where he secured better pasturage for his flocks and enjoyed about the material advantages that he had enjoyed near his lord. He was soon on his way to becoming a Tibetan, and his Monguor lord could not impede his departure.

About 1890, several groups of Monguors, vassals of different T'u-ssu, enrolled in the Tibetan tribe called "the ten large clans" living in Hasit'an in the subprefecture of Kulang. They left their lords and ceased to recognize any kind of allegiance to them. Because this defection was on a large scale and damaging to their prestige, the T'u-ssu collectively sued for the extradition of their undutiful subjects at the Chinese courts at Nienpei, P'ingfan, and Hsining, and finally at Lanchou. Convinced of their inalienable rights, they persisted, but in 1914, after more than twenty years of unavailing litigation, no decision had been handed down. The disheartened lords swallowed the bitter pill. The breach had been opened in the fortress of their old institution, and it appeared to be doomed. In 1918 I saw the defecting Monguors in Hasit'an. Their womenfolk still wore the distinctive Monguor headgear and dress, and they still spoke the Monguor language, but after one or two generations they would become Tibetans.

Another group of Monguors belonging to the Li T'u-ssu left their lord, repudiated their allegiance to him, and went to live in the territory of the monastery of T'ient'ang. They got into trouble with the Living Buddha of the monastery, who ordered them to wear Tibetan costume.

The Living Buddha Sumpa of the monastery of Erhkulung had acquired a large territory belonging to Mongols living north of the sub-prefecture of Maopeisheng.[48]

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the warlords, the social class that dominated the next generation both within China and on the frontiers.—O. L.

[48] This place name is a Chinese rendering of the Mongol *mu baishing*, "ruined (lit. 'bad') building" (or "fortress"). The ancient word *baishing* is not listed as used by Monguors in De Smedt and Mostaert's *Dictionnaire*.—O. L.

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He gathered several groups of Monguors and founded four Monguor villages, naming them after the villages from which the settlers came. These Monguors still recognize their allegiance to their lords for corvées and other services, but not for land taxes, which they pay to the Buddha.

A colony of Monguors from Shangsukou emigrated to Cholok in Narinkou. They, too, continued to recognize their old lord.

These facts prove that the clan institution of the T'u-ssu was falling asunder by the end of the Manchu dynasty, and also indicate that the Monguors were so prolific that the territory assigned to them by the emperor in 1368 had become too narrow.

TAXES

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The Monguor taxation system bespeaks the nomadic tradition. In former times the importance of a nomad chief was not appraised by the extent of his territory, but by the number of his vassals. The Monguor T'u-ssu still retain this outlook. Their neighbors, the Chinese, impose taxes on the fields, not on the people, but the T'u-ssu impose taxes on the vassals, not on the fields. The vassals, having become farmers, live in villages. The T'u-ssu taxes the village community according to the number and wealth of its families. The heads of families, together with the elders, grade the families in five classes according to their wealth and apportion the taxes among them. Rich people who are traders or have large herds but cultivate little land are more heavily taxed than poor people who cultivate more land. At the lowest level the commoner is taxed without consideration of the source of his income. At this lowest level, the amount of land cultivated necessarily becomes the sole base of taxation, and the nomadic principle of taxing the people is inevitably transformed into the agricultural principle of taxing the land.

It is easy to understand that the distribution of taxes is in many villages the source of troubles and quarrels which the T'u-ssu have to deal with on their triennial visits. Obviously, the system does not fit the framework of the present (1911–1921) economy of the Monguors. If the tax system were to fit the conditions, fields and herds and trade should be subject to differently calculated taxes; but both the Monguors and their T'u-ssu are still dominated by the nomadic tradition, and therefore accept the basic principle that it is the vassal and not the territory that should be taxed.

When the harvest has been reaped and threshed, the servants of the lord go to all the villages, exhorting the villagers to bring their taxes to the mansion of the T'u-ssu immediately. These taxes, levied in kind, constitute the principle income of the lord, who is therefore anxious to have them gathered into his granaries. The emissaries of the T'u-ssu also have their own customs and traditions. They know very well in which village they are entitled by custom to receive a sheep; in which village

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705 and twenty sheep, and loaded with kettles, ropes, felt
175 coverings for tents, lamb skins, and wool.

The Monguor soldier wore a turban of blue or black
714 cotton cloth. The distinctive part of his uniform was a sleeveless jacket of red cotton cloth, with yellow trimmings and a circular patch of white on the chest and back. On these circles were written three Chinese characters reading "Monguor soldier" and the clan name of his T'u-ssu. These white circles on the red jacket made bright targets for the enemy. The soldier was expected to report for duty with an old musket and a sword. For every unit of ten men the village had to provide a tent, a kettle, and one pack horse, in addition to riding horses for the mounted men. The horses are shod only on the forefeet, as in medieval Europe.

651 As has already been described, each T'u-ssu formerly had the responsibility for guarding certain passes leading to the Tibetan plateau. At these passes detachments of Monguor troops were stationed even in times of peace, and at these posts they had the right to collect taxes from caravans. Other traditional taxes and levies were also for the maintenance of troops. Up until recent times, for instance, the Lu T'u-ssu had the right to tax all rafts going down the Tat'ung River past his town of Liench'eng. This tax was collected according to the number of steering sweeps on each raft. The Lu T'u-ssu's soldiers also collected taxes from Chinese traders buying horses, mules, cows, sheep and pigs in
527 his territory. The Monguors were exempted from
651 these taxes. Twice every year the Lu T'u-ssu inspected all his troops in the valley of Kuch'eng ("Old City"). These occasions were celebrated with horse races and wrestling matches, and there was a large market attended by an enormous crowd. The troops collected taxes from merchants attending this market.

701 Soldiers were also required for peace-time duty at
651 the mansion of the T'u-ssu, as sentries, body guards, and official messengers. They also maintained order among the crowds at the great religious celebrations at the monasteries built in the territory of the T'u-ssu, and at the time of the annual clan meeting. On such occasions they also collected taxes from Chinese merchants.

TRIENNIAL INSPECTION

• 624 According to protocol, a T'u-ssu should make an inspection visit every three years (in some cases, every two years) to all the villages of his subjects. This visit is called the "descent among the subjects," and in the course of the visit the T'u-ssu should make a count of the number of his subjects and check on the administration of the villages, in order to make a report to the Chinese officials representing the overlord state. This triennial tour is one of the main sources of income of a T'u-ssu.

The tour begins on an auspicious day fixed by a lama. Monguor soldiers from the first village to be visited on the tour come to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, with some

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

624 of the elders of their village, to escort the T'u-ssu. They bring with them the required number of horses, finely equipped and well broken to the saddle, to be ridden by the T'u-ssu's retinue of ten or more officials and servants. The finest courtyard in the village is prepared for the sojourn of the T'u-ssu, who like a medieval seigneur enjoys the *droit de gite* at each stopping place. The procession is headed by a soldier who carries, strapped diagonally across his back, a rolled-up painting on yellow cotton cloth of the guardian deity of the clan. This picture is to be venerated at each stopping place.

624 651 Outside the village the T'u-ssu is greeted by all the inhabitants, dressed in their best clothes and kneeling and bowing. Although the occasion costs them a great deal of money, their faces are alight with joy and exaltation, because receiving their feudal lord is traditionally a joyful festival.

One of the elders presents to the T'u-ssu a *katag* or ceremonial scarf, laying it across his outstretched hands, and another elder offers him two bottles of wine. A sheep is then led before the T'u-ssu, its horns decorated with red paper and a piece of red cotton cloth strapped on its back. At the same time he is presented with a gift of 30,000 copper coins on a dish. This offering is called the "gift of joyous entrance into the village." 527 264 In former days, the sheep was slaughtered, prepared for the dinner in the evening, and served before the guests as a whole carcass, on an enormous platter. This is the traditional dish for important guests. At the same time, the most delicate piece, the fat tail, together with 1,000 copper coins, is presented to the T'u-ssu on a special plate. In recent times the T'u-ssu sometimes accepts the sheep and orders it to be brought to his palace, together with the spices required for cooking it properly. This amounts to a double charge on the village, because another sheep must be slaughtered for the evening dinner.

624 796 When the T'u-ssu and his retinue reach the courtyard where the T'u-ssu is to stay, the picture of the guardian deity of the clan is displayed in the front room. An oil lamp is lighted and incense is burned before it as long as the T'u-ssu's visit lasts. The community as a group venerate the guardian deity, prostrating themselves; in the front row are the village elders, with sticks of incense in their joined hands. This custom of carrying the guardian deity on the triennial tour of the feudal lord of the clan, giving all the village communities an opportunity to worship it, seems to correspond with the custom of honoring the "spirits of the clan" among the Manchus, as described by Shirokogoroff.[51]

177 792 At present the guardian deities of all the Monguor clans have been taken over by Lamaism. Formerly one or two lamas served as house chaplains at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, praying and burning incense every day at the temple of the guardian deity. Since the destruc-

[51] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, Shanghai, North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924.

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

177 tion of most of the T'u-ssu mansions during the Muslim rebellion, a small room serves as the tem-
792 ple, and there are no longer chaplains on permanent duty except in the three clans of Lu, Li, and Ch'i, where
177 the original temple still exists. The lamaistic deity honored by the clan of the Li T'u-ssu as its guardian is
776 Lhamo-tsang, represented as a black rider on a black mule, wearing a necklace of human skulls. The saddle is covered with a human skin. In her right hand the deity, who is female, grasps a sword, and in her left she holds a bowl made from a human skull. The mule is painted treading in blood. Lhamo is the only female among the eight "protector deities" of lamaism. She is said to be the reincarnation of the wife of Yama and the protector of Lhasa and of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas. Her paraphernalia is said to be provided for her by the gods in order to enable her to carry on her duties as protector.[52] I was unable to find out why, and at what time, the ancestor of the clan chose this monstrous deity as the protector of the clan. Nor is there any surviving tradition to explain what the clan spirits of the Monguors were like before they became modified by Lamaism.

•624 After the veneration of the guardian deity, there is an official reception and congratulations are exchanged.
796 The community then leaves the courtyard and two sentries are posted at the gate to prevent free approach to the T'u-ssu. In assuming this inaccessibility at this point in the protocol, the T'u-ssu marks a departure from the familiarity of the clan or tribe, and puts on the aloofness of a high Chinese official. People who have problems to present to the T'u-ssu must ask the sentries for an audience and explain to them the problem they want to discuss. Those who want to make a legal claim, or to complain against an injustice or against the administration, must put their request in writing, and the requests are then given by the sentry to a secretary who transmits them to the T'u-ssu. Those who write down and forward the request must receive a remuneration.

624 On the following day the T'u-ssu begins a series of meetings with the chief men of the community, the elders, and the military officials. The first item of business is the examination of the village register, which is kept up to date every year. If any subjects have left the territory of the clan, the reasons are discussed and the possibility of bringing them back is considered. Accounts must be rendered of the administration of the village and the division of taxes and corvées. The T'u-ssu is interested in the harvest of the past three years, and in the observance of the old clan customs and traditions, veneration of the ancestors, reverence towards nobles, marriages, divorces, the religious festivals in the spring and autumn, the state of morals in the village, singing of obscene songs in the village, hospitality toward

[52] A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und Mongolei*, 66, 76, 175, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1900 (guide to the Ukhtomskii Collection).

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•624 lamas, the "passing" of land to people who are not members of the clan, etc.

The number of men in the village liable to military
624 service is checked, and the T'u-ssu carries out a military inspection. The troops turn out with their
701 muskets and swords and horses. Tents, cooking kettles, pack animals and pack saddles, and sacks for carrying the flour ration are all inspected. The inspection concludes with a sham attack by the Monguor cavalry at full gallop, the soldiers firing their guns, drawing their swords, and howling and shouting.

The next important procedure is ratification by the
624 T'u-ssu of all the settlements made by the village elders
692 in patching up quarrels during the preceding three years. The custom is that when such a settlement is made, each person involved must pay the elders 2,000 copper coins, and these accumulated sums must be offered to the T'u-ssu. If there are legal suits, as distinguished from these settlements, the T'u-ssu presides over them on the fourth day. To deal with such suits, he is accompanied throughout his journey by the officials of his court of justice and by lictors carrying chains, handcuffs, and batons, and wearing their appropriate costumes.

The custom is that justice be rendered on the threshing
624 floor of the village in the open air. The lord and his
693 secretaries sit at tables. At the left stand two lictors
681 dressed in red cotton and wearing high red harlequin hats, and with batons in their hands. At the right stand two lictors dressed in black. Chains, handcuffs, and batons are laid on the table, and plaintiffs and defendants kneel in front. The punishments inflicted include hanging by the wrists or thumbs, and flogging up to one hundred and even five hundred lashes. The offender is stripped and pegged out face downward, arms and legs spreadeagled. The lictors, armed with short whips or rods, strike the tender inner side of the thighs. Women are flogged on the bare back. The justice meted out is not always as brutal as it appears to be, because the retinue of the T'u-ssu is always venal. They depend on bribery for their income. Although most T'u-ssu do not approve of the corruption indulged in by many of their minor officials, they cannot always prevent it. Suits brought by the Monguors before the T'u-ssu are the delight of his retinue. It is often the crying injustices caused by the venality and peculation of the petty officials that cause Monguors to leave the clan territory and abandon their lord.

The expenses of legal suits, and of the sojourn of the
624 T'u-ssu with his retinue for that day, are paid by the
651 litigants, but all other expenses of the official three-day
691 visit are defrayed by the people of the village. At the end of the visit, the elders and troops of the next village come to escort the T'u-ssu on the next stage of his tour.

624 It may be noted that this triennial tour of the T'u-ssu, accompanied by his court of justice, seems to suggest that it is the T'u-ssu as an individual and not his mansion

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624 as the seat of authority that is the true center of administration. The tour through his territory seems to recall the older nomad society in its reassertion of personal control over the subjects, securing the cohesion of the clan and binding the subjects to the territory. The procedure may be compared with that of the Mongols, among whom every three years the register of the population is brought up to date and a large meeting of the Banner is held.[53] Among the Manchus, the general meeting of the clan is usually held once a year and never less frequently than once in three years.[54] Among the Monguors, it is to be noted that the T'u-ssu, in addition to his triennial tour, presides once a year over the meeting of the whole clan on the day of the veneration of the ancestors.

THE T'U-SSU LORD OF THE NOBLES

173 At the seat of the T'u-ssu is kept the register of all the noble families and their members. Even the girls are 618 noted and the families into which they marry. The difference between this register and the book of genealogies of the nobles lies in the fact that in the book of genealogies the birth of children, whether boys or girls, is not noted. A noble is entered in the book of genealogies as of the day of his death, on which date are noted the day of his birth and the name of his wife. The names of unmarried sons are not inscribed because they have not produced sons for the clan; the names of girls are omitted because they are "outsiders," taking the name of a different clan as soon as they are married. The register of the noble families is more elaborate, because each member of the family, boys and girls alike, is assessed a levy of 50 coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple.

THE TRIENNAL VISIT

624 At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu among the nobles, 574 the register is brought up to date. Because the nobles live scattered in the villages among the commoners and the members of the same House do not necessarily live in the same village, the visit of the T'u-ssu is so ordered that he visits the Houses one after another on fixed days. All members of a House must gather at the home of some one member. They are expected to invite the T'u-ssu and to send horses for his retinue. The picture of the guardian deity of the clan accompanies the T'u-ssu, and a reception is held during which the members of the generation senior to the T'u-ssu bow to him, while members of junior generations prostrate themselves. The hosts must provide a dinner at which the T'u-ssu presides as chief over all his noble kinsmen. Topics of [431] interest to the nobles are discussed, and though they offer him no money, they present him with a piece of cloth

[53] E. Timkovskii, *Voyage en Chine par la Mongolie en 1820 et 1821*, 1, 113, 321, Paris, 1827.

[54] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit*, 51.

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624 574 cloth. On the third day he is invited by the members of the next House.

NOBLES EXEMPTED FROM TAXES, CORVÉES, MILITARY SERVICE

565 651 There are important differences between commoners and nobles in respect to taxes, military duty, and obligatory services. The way in which the nobles as kinsmen by blood of the T'u-ssu are divided into Houses according to seniority of descent from the founding ancestor, and are allocated for their personal revenue the tax income from certain villages, has already been described. The logical counterpart of the fact that the taxes of commoners can be allocated to nobles is the immunity of the nobles themselves from all taxes, obligatory services, and special contributions to the investiture of a T'u-ssu or the expenses of marriages and funerals in his mansion. The T'u-ssu and his noble kinsmen, as members of the same "bone," are thus clearly set apart as the collective "owners" of the commoners who form the larger, "assimilated" clan. Following the same general principle, when commoners bring new fields under cultivation they must pay to the T'u-ssu both a capital price for the acquisition of the land and a tax for the registration of the land as their private property, while nobles may bring new land under cultivation without any payment of any kind, thus demonstrating that they, collectively with the T'u-ssu, are the owners of the territory.

565 651 769 Nobles are, however, by the same logic, subject to contributions for the upkeep of the ancestral temple in the mansion of the T'u-ssu. All nobles of the clan, and even their wives and children, are assessed a levy of 50 copper coins every year for the expenses of the lama chaplain and the cost of oil, paper, and incense. The Monguors say that in former times the nobles were also responsible for the upkeep of the old common cemetery, and that they only later built private cemeteries, but that at present they pass on to the commoners the cost of the upkeep of these cemeteries.

565 651 The custom in regard to corvées is parallel to that regulating the payment of taxes. Though nobles may inherit the right to collect taxes from certain villages, they do not have the right to demand obligatory services; but conversely they themselves are not subject to such services. Because of this, nobles must either till their own fields and watch their own cattle, or hire people to do this work for them. If the village in which they live decides to dig an irrigation canal as a communal project, they do not have to contribute labor but must pay their share of the expenses. The only extraordinary expenses and services that can be demanded of the nobles come under the head of honorable obligations, such as taking part in the entertainment of guests during festivities, contributions to dinners, participation in the veneration of the ancestors and in clan meetings, and serving as representatives of the T'u-ssu at dinners given

565 574

515 by Chinese officials, or on journeys to congratulate
574 Chinese officials on the major feast days of the year. The nobles as a group are also exempted from military
565 service, although the chiefs of the militia of the com-
701 moners, according to tradition, were always chosen from among the nobles in former times. In later times both
622 nobles and commoners have served as commanders and officers.[55]

It is said by the Monguors that in times past it was usually a noble who served as the chief of a village, but that because at present there are very few capable men among the nobles, these duties have devolved on commoners. Similarly, the nobles have lost the monopoly of serving as military officers.

AUTHORITY OF T'U-SSU OVER NOBLES

624 As might be expected the relations between a T'u-ssu
565 and his nobles are of a special kind. It has already been described how, on occasions of special ceremony, a T'u-ssu may actually be expected to prostrate himself before nobles who are members of a generation senior to his own, while they do not have to prostrate themselves to him, but merely clasp their hands and bow their heads. Moreover, while the T'u-ssu takes precedence when he is presiding as chief of the clan at the veneration of the ancestors, at clan meetings, during the triennial visitation, or when nobles or commoners are brought before him in a lawsuit, yet on such occasions as non-official dinners and the marriages of nobles, the T'u-ssu always requests a noble of a generation senior to his own to preside.

624 Difficulties among the nobles most commonly originate
565 either in quarrels over the division of a paternal in-
692 heritance or quarrels about the collection of taxes. In order to prevent litigation, the clan elders try to arbitrate such quarrels. Only if they are unsuccessful is a lawsuit brought before the T'u-ssu. If the parties do not agree to the T'u-ssu's verdict, they are free to appeal to a Chinese court. In a case known to me, the eleventh House of the clan of Li T'u-ssu had trouble with its villages over the collection of taxes. Unwilling to abide by the verdict of the T'u-ssu, the members of the House went to the Chinese court. They were severely rebuked, the Chinese judge angrily threatening to abolish the outmoded custom under which the members of a whole clan live at the expense of the commoners.

681 Nobles are never flogged or beaten for transgression of the law, because the lictors are commoners and it is not fitting that commoners should beat nobles.

624 When the T'u-ssu visits his nobles in the course of
565 his triennial tour, they defray his expenses, including those of his retinue, just as do the commoners.

The old nomad custom was that when an individual

[55] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 233, notes that among the Mongols of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, with the decay of the feudal system, the duty of feudal service on the part of a noble to his lord had become more voluntary than obligatory.

624 565 noble or a group of nobles did not agree with the chief of the clan, they were free to take those commoners who were directly subject to them and to join another clan or found a new clan. The Monguors do not remember that groups of nobles have ever left one clan to join another. The way in which, in the Li clan, a noble who did not agree to the appointment of his nephew as T'u-ssu was given 100 families and allowed to become a small independent T'u-ssu himself, has already been described. This case occurred, however, during the time of troubles when the Ming dynasty fell and the Manchu dynasty was set up. It may, therefore, be interpreted, perhaps, not as a real secession from the clan but rather as a compromise, in a time of uncertainty, to avoid dissension within the clan. Since the Monguor clans are small, and since the nobles do not have commoners who are their own direct subjects, secession from the clan is in fact practically impossible. A single family of nobles, not being able to take a following of commoners with it, would have no bargaining power in attempting to join another clan and could in fact join only if willing to accept commoner status instead of noble status. Thus it can be said that the device of granting to Houses only the right to collect taxes from certain villages, and not the direct "ownership" of the villages, has served to bind the Monguor nobles to their clan and to their territory.

WANING INFLUENCE OF NOBLES

178 565 624 The facts that have here been recited seem to justify the general inference that the transition from a nomadic economy to an agricultural economy resulted in undermining the influence and power formerly wielded by the nobles as a group. On the one hand, all forms of noble power have tended to become more nearly monopolized by the T'u-ssu; on the other hand increasing self-government by the villages and participation by commoners in both civil and military administration has tended to make the power of the T'u-ssu less absolute and more nominal. Farming led to the grouping of the commoners in villages and, therefore, inevitably to new forms of administration and control. Gradually, as it became customary to give village appointments to commoners who were energetic and able instead of to idle nobles who were content to live on their revenues, the nobles were squeezed out. Since the power to appoint chiefs and elders and military commanders remained with the T'u-ssu, his nominal power was increased but since this meant that the actual collection of revenue in the villages and the actual exercise of authority were in the hands of commoners, their real power increased.

[556] This development was probably favored on the one hand by the weakening cohesion of the nobles through their division into Houses, and on the other hand by the increasingly individualistic farming economy, which increased the local respect for families which were of non-noble origin but had become wealthy and influential.

[P. 68a]

764 bushel basket and presented to the person who has been chosen; this act constitutes the act of appointment. The man thus chosen is assigned an assistant to take care of details. This duty is performed in rotation by heads of families..

769 Neither shamans nor lamas take part in this annual
792 veneration of the ancestors. The absence of lamas is particularly striking, because during the year the routine duties of the temple of the guardian deity of the clan are entrusted to one or two lamas, as already described, while three times a year seven lamas take part in special ceremonies of veneration at this temple. The Ch'i T'u-ssu has the right to impose on the monastery of Erhkulung the corvée obligation to provide these lamas, because this monastery was originally built in the territory of the Ch'i clan by express permission, and because it has been given many grants of property by the successive T'u-ssu of the clan.

769 More than any other single ceremony, this annual
527 veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of a Monguor clan. There is a visible effect on the clansmen, who normally live secluded in their remote valleys, when at the assembly they see the pomp and splendor of the parade to the graveyard, the soldiers with banners, the T'u-ssu in his official silk robe, adorned with embroidered patches on the breast with glittering dragons—a present from the Emperor when one of his ancestors visited Peking—and all the outstanding members of both the noble and commoner groups in their robes of ceremony. Even the discrimination between nobles and commoners fosters the sense of hierarchy. There is no doubt that the commoners, like the nobles, feel pride in recalling their old glories and are elated by the ceremonies, the festivities, the singing of old songs, and the horse races, wrestling, and merry-making in the open air.

576 The sense of hierarchy, just mentioned, is well
●624 exemplified by the behavior of Monguors visiting the T'u-ssu or presenting a request to him. The visitor first prostrates himself, then arises, unrolls his "queue" and removes his hat with his right hand, placing it under his left arm. Then, placing his hands together, palm to palm, he approaches the T'u-ssu. If he is asked to sit down, he does not sit but moves to the left side of the T'u-ssu and kneels on the right knee, with the left knee up, placing his hands, still palm to palm, on the left knee, in the Tibetan manner.[58]

Monguors regard it as the worst kind of incivility to start speaking and to keep the hat on the head in the presence of the T'u-ssu. This appears to be a very old Inner Asian symbol of respect. Among the Uighur Turks in the period of the T'ang dynasty (618–906),

[58] Thus the "outside" knee, farthest from the T'u-ssu, is up, "keeping the luck" between the kneeler and the T'u-ssu. This corresponds to the protocol of kneeling in a Mongol tent where the "outside" knee is that which is nearest the door and "keeps the luck," which is concentrated in the shrine at the back of the tent, within the tent.—O. L.

[p. 72a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

576 "when their ministers of state had audience with the Khakhan, etiquette required them to remove the hat and enter with dishevelled hair, something akin to the Hsiungnu custom." [59]
•624

FESTIVAL

527 Chinese merchants, who keep themselves informed of all festival dates among the Monguors, of course gather in great numbers and pitch their tents in the wide valley below the cemetery. The merchants pay taxes for permission to attend such gatherings.

On this occasion, a very large tent was pitched within which the T'u-ssu presided over the festivities, seated in the midst of the nobles, the elders, and all the prominent non-nobles of the clan, receiving the renewed professions of allegiance of his subjects. The chiefs and elders of each village, ceremonially dressed, came up one after another to do homage, bowing kneeling, and performing the *k'o-t'ou* or prostration, taking their time from the master of ceremonies who shouted his directions in a loud voice. The T'u-ssu, at the height of his glory, was happy to entertain each and every man for a few moments. Hundreds of Monguors crowded around, looking on and enjoying the ceremony.

Finally, dinner was eaten by the T'u-ssu and all the chiefs and prominent members of the clan, some seated inside the tent and an overflow outside seated on felt rugs at small tables. The customary whole sheep, the traditional dish of honor of all Inner Asian nomads, was presented to the T'u-ssu. Wine was drunk and tongues began to wag. A couple of girls with pleasing voices were invited to sing the customary songs, outside the tent and in the presence of the crowd. A number of men and women presented graceful dances, each dancing alone without a partner, to the music of a simple guitar-like instrument. Youngsters raced on unsaddled, spirited horses, passing before the tent to cross the finish line, and finally two wrestlers, a Monguor and a Tibetan lama from the monastery of Serkok, were admired and congratulated. A number of Monguors and Tibetans, befuddled with liquor, started fighting, and soldiers closed in on them to restore order. Before sunset most of the crowd had gone, leaving a few small groups still sitting on the ground, singing and making merry.

The Monguors told me that this glorious day seldom passed without a certain amount of disturbance and fighting; but the tradition is that no suits can be brought before the T'u-ssu or the village chiefs for heads smashed, bones broken, and clothes torn on this day of celebration.

ASSIZES OF THE CLAN

692 The next morning the assizes of the clan began inside the big tent, presided over by the T'u-ssu, with the chief

[59] E. H. Parker, *A thousand years of the Tartars*, 211, 2nd ed., London, Kegan, Paul, 1924. (It should be noted, however, that among the Mongols the custom is the opposite; it is an incivility to take off the hat in the presence of a superior.—O. L.)

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

692 nobles and non-nobles, chiefs of villages, and officials of the administration in attendance. A large number of Monguors sat around the tent, taking a keen interest in the proceedings. The matters discussed were for the most part of the same kind as those dealt with when the T'u-ssu makes his triennial tour of the villages: taxes and corvées were discussed and fixed, inquiries were made about the observance of traditions, the register of subjects was checked over, military matters were reviewed, and disputes between villages adjudicated. The T'u-ssu appointed or dismissed a number of chiefs, village elders, and military commanders. At these assizes suits may be brought for personal adjudication by the T'u-ssu, who metes out punishment according to custom.

The expenses of this annual assembly are shared by the subjects, while the offerings for the ancestors are paid for by the nobles—a division of expenses that again underlines the difference between the inner clan of common blood-descent and the extended clan of political subjects. Usually by the third day there are no more tents in the valley, the merchants have dispersed, and the T'u-ssu returns to his mansion. Such were the proceedings at the last glorious annual assembly of the clan of the Ch'i-T'u-ssu, which I had the good fortune to attend in 1913.

REMARKS

618 The description of the organization of the Monguor clans and their administration is based on the pattern •624 of the large clans. It is easy to understand that the display of pomp at the diets is related to the importance of the clans, the number of their clan members, and their wealth, and also to the wealth and prestige of the T'u-ssu. Small clans finish the three acts of their diet in a single day, always keeping the difference and deference between nobles and commoners at the time of worshipping of the founding ancestor. In small clans however, constituted by only 150 families or so, both groups necessarily are not numerous and the diet is more like a family gathering and is more informal. Since the clan is small, all the circumstances of each family are known by the T'u-ssu and he himself tackles all the problems of the clan with the elders; the collection of land taxes by nobles is necessarily reduced to a minimum, but the nobles are always exempted from taxes and corvées. Corvées are necessarily reduced in the same way, since the mansion of the T'u-ssu is usually a small Chinese courtyard without temples and administrative buildings. Inevitably the distance which separates T'u-ssu from commoners is minimized, because the commoners may confer directly with the T'u-ssu. In the large clan it is not easy for the commoner to meet the T'u-ssu, for soldiers watch the entrance of his mansion, requests have to be written by the secretaries and forwarded by messengers to the lord, and it is uncertain if the lord will allow the Monguor commoner to see him or not. Because the distance

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618 is strictly kept, the prestige and authority of the lord are inevitably increased.

624 In small clans, when the T'u-ssu is a haughty and supercilious man, or an opium addict and gambler exacting in his demands for corvées and greedy for the money of his subjects, he is easily criticized and despised because the distance between him and his subjects is reduced, and the commoners get into open arguments with him, and rebel and accuse him in the Chinese court. In the lack of distance between the T'u-ssu and subjects and the waning authority of the T'u-ssu lies the secret of the fact that it is in the small clans that commoners most easily leave their chiefs, giving the Chinese officials the opportunity to reduce both commoners and T'u-ssu to the rank of Chinese subjects and to confiscate their territory. It is no wonder that the clans which have disappeared are the small clans.

IV. THE VILLAGE

FORMATION OF THE VILLAGE

621 361 The Monguor village consists (1911–1922) of a group of families living in a well defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the chief of the village. Since the villagers all till the soil and keep cattle, the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures.

Most farmers, however, live in small hamlets. The patrilineal family system seems to favor this kind of grouping. When the paternal inheritance is divided, the sons build small houses near the old one, bring new lands under cultivation, and small groups of related families, living close together, spring up all over the territory.

Wealthy Monguors hire poor people to cultivate their fields and herd their cattle, and build small houses for them near their own. Wealthy Monguors also give in to the desires of their wives and daughters-in-law and allow poor relatives to build small houses near their own. They lend them oxen to plow their fields, and as they prosper the group increases and the hamlet grows into a village.

361 621 721 A third factor promoting the grouping of families was, in the past, the chronic insecurity of the country, ravaged by recurring inroads of Tibetans and Mongols. According to tradition the Monguors, when they first came into this territory, still lived in tents. At that time it was easy to pick up the tent and move out of the path of invasion; but once they began to live in houses, the houses had to be defended. Wealthy people in the outlying territory built a high thick mud wall around their houses. To these enclosures the poor families fled in time of trouble, helping in the defense of the small community. Wealthy people, therefore, liked to see the hamlet increased by the addition of poor families, who provided more manpower for defense. All over the country numerous ruins of strongholds are the enduring witnesses of the bad old times. [p. 73-6]

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177 by the caravans. Only the guilds of large towns, like
369 Hsining, had connections with the guilds of other cities
441 and could afford the cost of sending boats and rafts to
467 Lanchou, the capital of Kansu. In this way the entire economy was dominated by the city merchants. The fair and festival centers never grew to the extent of themselves becoming important cities, because they were unable to attract permanent merchants, since the attendance of the people was only seasonal and there was no permanent security. These local fairs merely provided the farmers at certain dates with their peculiar usual necessities of life.

177 Merchant activity provoked deep repercussions in the
369 Monguor society, whose nobles and commoners, during
441 centuries of disorder, had lived a rather precarious ex-
651 existence, their economy being limited by the boundaries of their clans and the production only of necessities within their own small groups. Both the economic and the political organization of the Monguor clans had been founded exclusively on the possession of territory. Taxes, corvées, military service, and the administration of justice had been rooted in the ownership of territory by the T'u-ssu, the commoners being affected in a peculiar and disadvantageous way. The collection of the taxes of certain villages by the "houses" of the nobles had, however, been reduced to negligible significance after four centuries, and the financial conditions of nobles and commoners had become more equal. Some of the commoners, who were more numerous than the nobles, had become richer than the best of the nobles, and rivals in wealth even of the T'u-ssu. Since wealth and riches are equated, in Asia, with prestige and authority, it is no wonder that members of the commoner group were easily accepted to fulfill the offices of chiefs and elders in the villages, and that the administration of the villages passed into their hands. In this way the new economic conditions tended to equalize, and perhaps even to reverse, the original social inequality between nobles and commoners. Under the peace and order of the Manchu dynasty, the city merchants were protected. Headstrong and daring young men followed the caravans to Lhasa and made money by selling mules and horses. Monguors could open small shops in the countryside, and invest capital, in association with the Chinese merchants, in oil and flour mills. Fishermen could venture to Kukunor, and others to burn charcoal in the mountains or saw planks to sell in the city. Peace provided the opportunities for taking risks in commerce, and the focus of these opportunities, which transformed both the economic and the social life of the Monguors, was the city.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

624 At the end of this study of the origin and organization
175 of the Monguor clans, their constituent elements, their chiefs, their internal rights and obligations and the actual administration and family and economic life, it is perti-

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nent to review the political character of the T'u-ssu institution, and the reasons for its decay.

There can be no doubt that the T'u-ssu institution was regarded by the rulers of the Empire, whether they were Chinese or Manchu emperors, as a makeshift. The institution of the T'u-ssu as "wardens of the marches," as it had existed under the Mongols, was elaborately established under the Ming dynasty, after 1368, when the main forces of the previous rulers, the Mongols, had been driven out of China but were still dangerous enemies beyond the frontier. The new Chinese rulers were only too glad to accept the submission of the chiefs of small frontier tribes who were willing, in exchange for the continuation of their local powers and privileges, to defend the frontier against their own kinsmen, the Mongols, and against the Tibetans. The device was one familiar to the Chinese tradition of "using barbarians to control barbarians."

Although the Monguors repeatedly proved themselves loyal defenders of the frontier, they had thereafter to contend against a counter-process. Any empire, in exact proportion to the efficiency of its centralized administration, prefers to exercise direct control of its frontiers rather than to depend on vassals who have some degree of local autonomy. Consequently, whenever the central power in China was strong, it tended to take advantage of local dissensions among its frontier vassals in order to deprive them of their privileges and to bring them under direct administration.

The policy of the Chinese empire on its frontiers had always been to absorb barbarians and to make Chinese of them if it could. Until 221 B.C. when the famous Ch'in Shih-Huang unified China for the first time, both Chinese and barbarians lived in tribes under a feudal regime. Ch'in Shih-Huang abolished this regime and organized China under *Chün* and *Hsien*. This was the first radical administrative revolution in China bringing "provincial" subdivisions under a "metropolitan" central administration. People living in the *Chün* and *Hsien* were considered to be Chinese. People still living under a tribal regime were considered to be "barbarians." At the beginning of the Han dynasty, in 202 B.C., the *Hsien* in which Chinese and barbarians lived together, governed by the same Chinese officials, were called *Tao*. Wu-Ti, emperor of the Han dynasty from 140–86 B.C., after his conquests which brought many new barbarian frontier tribes under Chinese rule, tried to make Chinese of them and to include them within the Chinese administrative regime of *Chün* and *Hsien*. His system did not work for long. Intermittent dynastic revolutions, and the numerous and bloody changes of dynasties which lasted for seven centuries, enabled the barbarians to reestablish their old feudal regimes along the northern frontiers. Under the T'ang dynasty, from A.D. 618 to 906, administrative units called Chi-mi Hsien were organized, in which the tribal chiefs served as Chinese officials but were allowed at the same time to administer their tribes

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according to their old customs. They received official appointments from the emperor, and had to bring tribute to him every year or three years, and were granted titles to indicate their feudatory status. The Yuan or Mongol dynasty (1280–1368) allowed non-Chinese "barbarians" to govern themselves according to their own tribal customs. The Ming (1368–1644) at first followed this precedent, appointing tribal chiefs and allowing them to govern their own tribes; but Chinese officials were sent to examine the tribal chiefs and their administration, troops, taxes and corvée systems from time to time. Later they appointed Chinese civil officials, whenever possible, attaching them to the tribal leader who held military command. Among remote tribes this mixed system did not work well, but the next step was to abolish the regime of the hereditary chiefs, hoping by this means to bring division in the tribe and to enfeeble it with every appointment of a new chief. Finally, when this system also did not work well, a ministerial order was given to avoid the word "hereditary" in the official request for the appointment of the new chief. By this device a son was prevented from succeeding his father, unless he presented a fixed sum to the high officials in order that they might overlook the formally enacted law. The Ch'ing dynasty continued the policy of the Ming.[1]

It is clear from this historical sketch that the Chinese empire, whenever it was strong and enjoyed internal peace, tried to absorb autonomous barbarian territorial units and frontier chieftains. It tolerated them only when and where it was unable to absorb them. The T'u-ssu institution may, therefore, certainly be regarded as a device that the Chinese of the Ming dynasty adopted for the defense of the frontier only because they had to. Not confident of their ability to establish direct Chinese rule and administration in Mongolia, their intention was to build up a buffer between themselves and the Inner Asian world of Tibet, Turkistan, and Mongolia. They were content, therefore, to accept the submission of individual frontier tribes which were unable to combine with each other in a strength sufficient to threaten China, but were able to supply small, separate contingents of good warriors to screen and defend the frontiers. The chiefs of such tribes they were willing to reward with honors and military titles; they were equally ready, however, when no danger threatened from beyond the frontier, to depose these border chieftains, to bring their lands under direct Chinese taxation, and their subjects under immediate Chinese jurisdiction.

It is a remarkable fact that the institution should have survived for six centuries. The reason must be that the Ming dynasty was weak along the frontiers during its first decades, and again in the period from 1509 to its fall in 1644, and had to depend on auxiliaries. Under the Manchu dynasty the T'u-ssu were valuable to the

[1] Lung Shun-sheng, Article in Chinese on the T'u-ssu institution, in *Frontier Affairs* 2 (11–12), printed in Chungking during the war, 32nd year of the Republic, 1943.

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175 624 Manchu policy, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of preventing unity among the Eastern, Northern, and Western Mongols. In the nineteenth century, as the dynasty became less Manchu and more Chinese in its characteristics, the T'u-ssu were honored by the court in distant Peking, and were kept loyal and complacent by gifts and grants of honors—a policy ancient and widespread in the Orient.

Practically, the main factor in prolonging the survival of the institution was the feudal right of the T'u-ssu to prevent their subjects from leaving their territories, aided by the fact that because Chinese officials were unable to levy direct taxes on Monguors, life was on the whole somewhat better in Monguor territory than in territory under Chinese administration. As these factors later came to be equalized by the combination of the decreasing power of the T'u-ssu and their increasing exactions from their subjects, the most obvious phenomenon of the breakup of the T'u-ssu institution was the ability of subject Monguors to abandon their T'u-ssu with impunity and move into territory under direct Chinese control.

177 563 Among the disruptive factors within the Monguor society the most powerful was the enrollment of Chinese and Tibetans in the Monguor clans. The Tibetans were culturally more akin to the Monguors than the Chinese, and easily adopted the Monguor costume, traditions, and language; but their matrilineal kinship system undermined the patriarchal clan structure of the Monguors. The Chinese, on the other hand, penetrated the Monguor society without being absorbed by it. When a Chinese asked for the protection of a Monguor T'u-ssu and enrolled in a Monguor clan, it was for the deliberate purpose of making the best of two worlds. His object was not to become a Monguor, but to escape both the taxes that he had to pay to the Chinese authorities and the taxes that, as a Chinese resident or trading in the Monguor community, he had to pay to the Monguor T'u-ssu. With their strong Chinese devotion to their own clans and clan ancestors, such Chinese were unwilling to go so far as to accept the clan name of the T'u-ssu. They tended to continue to regard the Monguors as barbarians, and to resist the adoption of the Monguor costume and language. At the same time they pushed themselves forward in the administration of the villages in which they lived and the clans to which they had become attached, and in so doing their influence was naturally in the direction of the Chinese way of doing things and the Chinese way of thinking.

The infiltration of the Chinese trend of mind into the Monguor family system and social structure was promoted most by those Chinese who became elders and chiefs of villages and officials and secretaries living in the immediate surrounding of the T'u-ssu, drafting and executing his orders to his subjects and discussing administrative topics with him. All official documents were written in Chinese, and in all administrative discussions and meetings the Chinese language prevailed.

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177 563 In cases where the Chinese authorities eventually deposed a T'u-ssu and took his territory and its population under direct Chinese administration, Chinese who had long been domiciled among the Monguors naturally became prominent people under the new dispensation. Thus it is plain that even though the Chinese civil officials were appointed by the T'u-ssu themselves, and not by the higher Chinese authorities, their influence promoted the process of the absorption of the Monguors by Chinese culture.

In the disintegration of the old Monguor society the personal example of the T'u-ssu themselves had a great effect. In the long period of relative peace and stability along the froniter under Manchu rule, the T'u-ssu ceased to receive fresh increments of prestige in their old capacity as military commanders and "wardens of the marches." They, therefore, naturally began to turn toward the standards of prestige accepted in the settled Chinese population. It became usual for T'u-ssu to marry the daughters of rich Chinese officials, or the half-Chinese daughters of other T'u-ssu who had married Chinese. There was thus introduced into the households of the T'u-ssu a Chinese "fine lady" point of view; these ladies despised the costume of the Monguor women as barbarous, they did not learn the Monguor language, their children received a Chinese home education and were sent to Chinese schools, and it thus became more and more common to find T'u-ssu who were unable even to speak with their subjects in their own language. Following the fashion set by their chiefs, many Monguors married the daughters of Chinese domiciled in the clan or Chinese from outside, and as this custom spread a great many Monguors in all the clans came to be ashamed of their Monguor extraction, repudiated their origin, and professed to be of Chinese origin.

177 563 426 Still another disruptive factor was that many T'u-ssu, by mortgaging parts of their territories to Chinese merchants and to lamaseries, as security for loans, lost control over the revenue from land taxes. Under these conditions they still retained the power to requisition corvée labor services; but the exercise of this power emphasized the contrast between the privileges of the chiefs and the obligations of their subjects, and weakened the bonds of loyalty that had once united the nobility and the commoners.

• 624 661 In the meantime, the T'u-ssu institution was also becoming corrupt from within. As the administrative system of the clan was so closely geared to the institution of the corvée, or obligatory labor and services, and military power depended on unpaid conscription, only a few officials received allocations of land, the income from which served as salary. The majority of the minor officials depended on bribery for their cash income, there being unlimited opportunities for bribery in the collection of land and other taxes in the form of gifts from families and individuals who wanted to be excused from compulsory services. Since it was profitable to hold such

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

•624 661 an official position, there was bribery also in the competition for official appointments, and thus the whole administration of the Monguor clans became thoroughly corrupt. The taxable body came to be regarded as a melon to be sliced. Apart from what was absorbed in the lower ranks through corruption, all revenue collected was the perquisite of the T'u-ssu himself. Since nothing was done for public welfare, there were no schools, there was no budget for education, nor was there any expenditure for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of administrative buildings, because all such work was done through the levying of obligatory labor. Monguor carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans in addition to unskilled labor were available through the institution of obligatory labor services.

177 563 During the process of the disintegration of the Monguor society, it remained none the less a going concern up to a certain point. As long as the T'u-ssu retained more than a certain minimum of power and wealth, it was to the advantage of the Chinese officials to cooperate with them in certain ways. Up to this point, therefore, the individual Monguor, even though he suffered from the decay of the society of which he was a part, found it impossible to escape and strike out for himself. If he tried to leave his village and settle in Chinese territory, the Chinese officials would return him to the jurisdiction of his hereditary T'u-ssu. Once the wealth and influence of the T'u-ssu had declined below the minimum, however, it was no longer worth the while of Chinese officials to cooperate with them. At this point the Chinese began to abolish or override the privileges of the T'u-ssu, to take the Monguor districts under their direct administration, and to treat the Monguors in the same way as Chinese. An example of this changing attitude of the Chinese officials has already been referred to in the case of the impoverished Chao T'u-ssu who was unable to afford the expenses of investiture and promptly had his office discontinued. An earlier case was that of the Ch'en T'u-ssu, a supercilious and over-confident man who was so oppressive in his demands for taxes and corvées that he was impeached before the Chinese court by his own subjects, about the year 1875. His territory was confiscated, his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects, and he lost both the office and the title of T'u-ssu.

The Yeh T'u-ssu who did not fight the Muslim rebellion had his territory confiscated, was deposed, and he and his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects.

The latest news I have had from Hsining since the new Communist rulers of China have taken possession of that region is that the T'u-ssu institution has been abolished, that the Monguor women and men have been ordered to change their peculiar Monguor style of dressing and to adopt Chinese costume, and that orders have been given to establish schools in the Monguor villages under Chinese teachers devoted to the new ideology. The two-thousand-year-old Chinese instinct for absorb-

[835 cont.]

241 782 procession moves from the temple directly to the nearest mountain and along the ridges across all the mountains of the entire village area. On each height the customary incense offering is burned by the two men, while the procession itself moves on. Towards midday, however, a halt is made on a height especially designated for this purpose. After the incense offering refreshments [264] are taken. The people bring bread, tea, and soup here in advance. Then the procession marches on. Not until evening does one return to the temple. On the following day the people take the books back to the lama monastery.

[836] **Details**

[562] Persons: Only male persons may take part in the procession, regardless of whether they are adults or boys, so long as they are strong enough to carry the heavy book and can pray the mani. The seed-supervisor determines how many persons each family must provide to make up the number of 108 book-bearers. If there are not enough people in one village, help is brought in from the neighborhood. Chinese are also admitted. -- In fetching and taking the books back to the monastery the number does not matter, so one person may carry two books. The Tibetan books are, to be sure, very large and heavy, since they are bound between two boards.

241 782 624 794 The seed-supervisor is changed every year at the harvest thanksgiving offering. He is charged with taking care of all the religious celebrations of the year. He is not the village mayor, however. Because his main concern is the seed, he is called seed-supervisor. The supervisor of the past year helps him (2).

[171 797] 2. [Foreign text p. 838.] The Chinese, too, have such a religious supervisor who is chosen annually. Usually he is simply called t'ou-jen, that is, head man, or he is also called huei-t'ou, that is, meeting (festival) head; ch'ing-miao t'ou is also used,

[836 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.]
but only for the period of the sowing festival with the cult dances. -- The Christian missionaries have taken over this arrangement for their ecclesiastical celebrations and folk festivals. Thus, besides the community mayors there are also special supervisors who, for instance, organize the festival for processions or at Easter, accommodate the guests, slaughter the festival sheep, etc.

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It is not absolutely necessary for there to be several soothsayers. If a village has several, however, they must all appear. If it has none at all, then it invites at least one from outside. A lama or a Bon priest is never invited.

Time: The time for the procession around the field is determined by the soothsayer at the pole-goat offering in the spring (aradziãñ) on the thirteenth day in the fifth month. The procession itself must always be in the seventh month, when the seed is developing ears, because the greatest danger for the coming harvest is precisely at this time on account of the many and big storms during this month (3). The time is also often

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3. [Foreign text p. 838.] Cf. the sections, "Mountain Sheep-offering" and "Pole-goat."

determined in the lamasery. Since, of course, there are many villages that want to hold the procession, it may happen that two villages set the same time. Therefore the seed-supervisor goes to the monastery a month in advance and inquires when the books are available. The day is determined accordingly. -- It is usually calculated that the ceremony will last three days, one day for fetching the books, one for the procession, and one for

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[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor:	tōrōdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.
Trumpet:	dōṅ; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.
Cymbals:	nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rēbuoġë (?). ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.
Flags:	ch'i-tzu (Chin.).
Books:	luān = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.
Book-bearers:	luān rēgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

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VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

* See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

[254 cont.]

4. Lamaism

779 The preceding accounts have repeatedly demonstrated
792 how great an influence Lamaism exerts upon the people. As the latest form it has also most strongly penetrated the entire religious life; it offers the people a large number of gods and saints; it gives them the mani-trees, prayer mills, treasure urns, chorten chambers, central forts, and obos; they have it to thank for a considerable part of the world-view. To be sure, one must differentiate the ecclesiastical Lamaism of the monasteries and monks from the popular Lamaism, which in its watered-down customs remains unburdened by complicated doctrines and tantristic rites. This popular Lamaism, however, would be unimaginable without the strong support and the permanent effect of the monasteries, which are already so closely linked with the people because their community is constantly renewed from the families of the people. An important piece of the religi-
792 ous picture would therefore be lacking if one did not at least in hasty strokes characterize the monastery, which for the Tujen of that region is their spiritual center. -- The relationships to Kumbum will be passed over, although they are not to be underestimated. One merely needs to recall that it was a Chi-t'u-szu (prince) who at the beginning of the eighteenth century through his personal pledge preserved Kumbum from Chinese revenge and destruction, so that his clan until the most recent
[624] times enjoyed monastic protection and the princes (T'u-szu) themselves on their visits were received by the lamas on their knees; in this connection, cf. Schulemann, p. 179.

The name of the Tujen monastery dGon-luṅ is Tibetan.
[103] dgon (pronounced gon) means literally "solitude, hermitage." In the figurative sense it has become the established expression
[192] for "monastery" (vihāra), because a monastery must be at least 1,000 steps away from any human habitation; cf. Ch. Das, p. 275; luṅ means "valley, district." Thus, dGon-luṅ is best rendered as "monastery-valley" or "monastery-district" or simply
[346] "monastery," for a lama monastery should not be imagined as

A second fact is encountered in a publication of Ma Fu-hsiang.[37] For many years he was the most prominent official of Hsining engaged with Tibetan and Mongol affairs. Later, he became governor of Suiyüan Province and a member of the Meng-Tsang Yüan in Nanking. The passage from the publication states: 792 578

More than 100 *li* southeast of Hsining, on the territory of the 'Ten Tribes,' is the Ami chü-lu mountain upon which was built the monastery of Sha-ch'ung which had more than 1,000 lamas. It was there that Tsong khapa had his hair clipped [entered religion], and remained for more than 10 years, starting his studies and religious life, before he went to Tibet (p. 198).

In 1906 the Chinese started digging for gold in the sacred mountain. The lamas, opposed to the digging, fought and two men were killed. The governor of the province ordered punishment to be imposed upon the lamasery with ruthless severity. Ma Fu-hsiang, being acquainted with the Tibetans, sought to settle the question amicably and went to Sha-ch'ung. The rebelling lamas and 1,000 soldiers of the "Ten Tribes" were determined to fight the Chinese troops. During the long period of discussion, the head of the lamasery repeated over and over that the lamasery and the mountain were hallowed places, because it was there that the founder of the Yellow Church had clipped his hair and remained for more than ten years. He protested that by digging at these spots the "artery" of the Yellow Church would be damaged, and the ruin of its religion be made inevitable (p. 190). Finally, as always in the Orient, a way was found to settle the case, by promising that no more digging would be done on the Sacred Mountain; but on the territory of the "Ten Tribes" digging would be allowed (p. 193). This fact gives evidence of the deep-seated conviction among the Tibetans about the veracity of the tradition and infers the existence of the lamasery at the time of the Yüan period (1280–1367). More traditions exist about monasteries having been built during the Yüan period, as related by the lamas, but they are vague and no names or specific places are indicated nor do ruins exist. However, it is not impossible that the traditions point to the hermitages noted in the *Blue Annals*. The building of the big monastery of Ta fo-ssu by one of the important T'u-ssu clans reveals the fact that Lamaism was a living entity among the T'u-ssu and their Monguors. Is it not too far-fetched to suppose that among the T'u-ssu only the Li T'u-ssu were Lamaist, since it is well known that the Ch'i and Lu T'u-ssu in 1644 were proprietors of monasteries constructed by them, although we do not know when they were constructed.[38] Besides, the facts that the monastery of Goorongbzan existed near Sha-ch'ung, and that in the beginning of the Ming a board of lamas was established, suggest the assumption that in Huang-chung during the Yüan period there probably must

792 627 175 771 792 622 624

[37] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng Tsang Chuang-k'uang*, Nanking, Chung-Hua yin-shu kung-ssu, 1931.

[38] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 34, p. 3a.

[p.115(B)]

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[For additional information on t'u-ssu, see category 116, pp. 72-114.]

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PREFACE

121 This third and last part of the study about the Monguors primarily intends to present the history of the Monguor clans in Huangchung during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, based on the *Annals* of Hsining and the *Annals* of Kansu.

In order to make the history understandable, it has had to be put in the historical framework of the Huangchung country in which it evolved during five centuries.

In Ming times it is mostly the history of inroads into the country by Tibetans and Mongols; during Ch'ing times it is the history of the revolts of Mongols, Tibetans and Mohammedans, which several times ruined the country. Revolts and invasions were fought by Chinese troops unequal to coping with the situation, aided by the Monguor troops.

Part III is the history of the Monguor t'u-ssu clans,[1] called not only to defend their own country in combination with the Chinese army, but also to participate with the Chinese armies in wars in the provinces of Liaotung, Shensi, Shansi, Szechwan, and Yunnan, in Mongolia proper, and in the Tunhuang regions in Turkistan.

The hardships the Monguors endured during these five centuries were terrific, but their faithfulness toward the empire stood as strong as a rock, and is nowhere equally encountered among tribes which had submitted and pledged allegiance to the empire. However, this is overlooked in the official history. The number of Monguor soldiers who died in the wars is not known, but it is known that in each of the Monguor clans one or more of the chiefs died on one or another field of battle. The glorious military achievements of the Monguors are many.

The history of these five centuries is also the history of the development of the country and its thorough Sinisization. The Monguors who had once controlled much of this country saw Chinese officials gradually take into their hands its civil and military administration, trying to relegate them to their own poor country. The Monguors felt that they were barbarians, but they admired the Chinese civilization and aspired to share its benefits. These five centuries are the time of the Sinisization of the Monguors, which started with their chiefs, as among all the nomads. The boys of the

[622 624]

[1] A *t'u-ssu* was the "local chief" of a clan who had been appointed to his office by the sovereign state of which the Monguor clans were quasi-feudal frontier dependants. When the Ming dynasty invested a Monguor clan chief with the title of T'u-ssu he became a Chinese official while continuing to be also the chief of his clan. The institution of t'u-ssu was one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal groups on the frontier of the Empire. See Louis M. J. Schram, The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier. I. Their origin, history, and social organization, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 45–52, 1954 (hereafter referred to as Monguors I).

[P. 3(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

is not recorded. Friction between Uighurs and Shat'o? Not room enough in Tung Ku for the herds? A device to increase the military power of the myriarch?

It is also noted that twelve Pai-tieh tribes and others were controlled by the three Shat'o officials Li, Na, and Chi, who guarded the country 30 li south and west of Hsining. To these three Shat'o chieftains who controlled their own Shat'o subjects, the Pai-tieh tribes and others had been entrusted by the Mongols. Probably they were Uighurs, for they were moved from the Tung-ku region also, and it is noted that their customs and clothes and adornments were the same as those of the western Ch'iangs of the myriarch.

It is further noted that the Shat'o official Li Nan-ko originally controlled the tribes of Tung Ku and the Hula tribes. Probably being a prominent and powerful chieftain, he had enrolled among his Shat'o subjects these Uighur tribes, at the time they fled from Kanchow. At the same time it is recorded that the t'u-ssu Ah, Chao, Yeh, Kan, and Chu controlled the Lu-erh-chia tribes and others, which were in the main similar in customs, clothing and adornments, according to the *Annals*.

It is noted (Monguors I: 56) that only one large group of Chinese is known to have enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans. The group bears the surname of Pao and is usually called the Yuan Pao group. They are subjects of the Lu t'u-ssu. We were at a loss to explain satisfactorily the name Yuan Pao. The fact had been noted above that the strong Lung K'o tribe, with its 120,000 people, had received, in 1071, from the Sung emperor the name Pao for its faithfulness toward the dynasty. Is it not possible that, during the period of troubles, which lasted for nearly two centuries, the clan disintegrated, that a group moved to Huangchung and lost its language, conserving the name Pao, but, knowing that they were Uighurs, that they preferred to be enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans, as so many Uighurs during the Yuan period? Because this had happened during the Yuan period, they are still called the Pao group of the Yuan time, Yuan Pao chia.

It seems conclusively that these tribes were Uighur tribes which, during the Mongol period, had been divided in small units and entrusted to these petty military officials, and appointed as guardians of definite territory and mountain passes in Huangchung in order that they might be able to defend the country more easily.

SETTLEMENT OF UIGHURS AND SHAT'O IN EAST KANSU

The preceding notes explain the settlement of only a relatively small number of Uighurs. But where has the remainder of the several ten thousands of Uighurs been settled? Since the very important Lung K'o tribe was settled in East Kansu, and another Lung-po tribe is rooted in the same region, and on the map a

[P.17(A)]

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The Ko-tsa tribe, also a tribe of tent-dwellers, lived east of the Tsan-tsa tribe, and southwest of the city of Ku Shan. The tribe numbered 400 families (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*). 175x 619

The Ssu-kuo-mi tribe, also tent dwellers, lived in a territory situated 150 li south of Hsining, on the borders of the Yellow River. It was divided into two tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 5*b*).

1386 MARKS A NEW ERA IN HUANGCHUNG 175x

According to the *Annals* of Hsining 25: 1*a*; 9: 15*b*, Keng Ping-wen was sent to build the city of Hsining with appropriate circumvallations, using troops from all the commanderies of Shensi. The size of the city had to be reduced to half of its former size, with four watch towers on the corners, nineteen more on the walls, and four gates. The note concerning the use of troops of all the commanderies of the province of Shensi seems to point to the fact that few troops and laborers were available in Huangchung in 1386, and that the former city was too extensive, inconvenient for defense, and probably in bad condition. Keng Ping-wen was ordered to build seven relay stations where official couriers could find horses ready to forward the orders without delay to the upper administration, and also five storehouses for provisions, drill fields for the soldiers, and administrative buildings. Four relay stations were built in an eastern direction covering a distance of 220 li, connecting Hsining with the northeastern part of Kansu. One relay was built in Ku Shan, 160 li south of Nien-Pei in the region of the three tribes which had surrendered in 1380. He also built the fortified city of Nien Pei with a Ch'eng-huang temple (spirit protector of the city) (*Annals* of Hsining 14: 16*a*). A Wen Miao (temple for Confucius) had been built in Hsining and a temple for the spirit protector of the city, for the emperor had already, in 1370, ordered these temples to be built in all the cities of the empire. 653 701 331

These few data suggest that the Monguors saw the situation changing in Huangchung after they had surrendered in 1371. In 1372 Hsining had been created a commandery and consequently Chinese officials had been appointed very soon. Without indicating the date of the appointments, the annals (*Annals* of Hsining 23: 5*b*), note that the administration of Huangchung was controlled by two major officials, a civil and a military. The Fen-chou-tao, who resided not in the unimportant Hsining, but in Liangchow, controlled a large area, and the Feng-hsiun-tao who resided in Kanchow controlled the six granaries, the irrigation canals, the finances of the administrative organs and the farming colonies for the whole of Kansu. Only in 1488, a hundred years later, was the civil and military governor of Huangchung Ping-pi-tao appointed with residence in Hsining. Chapter 24, 14*a* records without 175x 648 [624]

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5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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against them, under the command of General Ch'u Fu, who blindly rushed into an ambush where his troops were annihilated. The emperor, in order to avenge the failure and redeem the honor off the empire, himself led an expedition against Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai on March 15, 1410. Pen-chia-shih-li suffered a crushing defeat and escaped with a few soldiers, and a severe blow was then administered to A-lu-t'ai.[77] The emperor was back in Peking September 15, 1410. He had ordered the Monguor t'u-ssu to join the expedition.

T'u-ssu Li Yin, son of the late Li Nan-ko mustered the t'u-ssu and their troops. They participated in the expedition under his command. Among them are noted T'u-ssu A (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 49*b*), T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*), T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*a*), T'u-ssu Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35*a*), T'u-ssu Na (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 50*b*), and T'u-ssu Lu. The entire group fought in both battles against Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai. T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu shih chieh, died on the field of battle fighting A-lu-t'ai. On that occasion to the clan of T'o Huan, prince of An Ting, was granted the name of Lu by the emperor, as reward for its devotion to the dynasty.

In 1411 T'u-ssu Lu Hsien joined the expedition commanded by the eunuch Wang An against Mongol tribes roaming in the region of Hsi Liang (north Kansu). The years 1411 and 1412 were times of intermittent forays by splinter groups of the defeated Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai erupting from Mongolia in the Liangchow and Kanchow regions. In 1412 two Chinese commanders, Sung Hu and Li Lin, had been appointed to repel the invasions and several t'u-ssu lent a hand: Li Yin (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 46*a–b*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*b*), Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35*a*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 42*a*), Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 53*b*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 41*a*), and Na (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 39*b*). The invading groups were those of Lao ti han,[78] of Ho lo ch'ih, Pa erh ssu and T'olot'ai. A severe blow was administered to them in Sha Chin Ch'eng (region of Liangchow) and they were pursued to T'ao-lai ch'uan (on the Tat'ong River) where 360 of their brigands were captured with their chiefs. The same year T'u-ssu Lu with commander Ch'eng hai took as prisoners Palima, chief of a group of invaders, and Shih T'ai, chief of another group in the region of Sung Shan I.

In the same year the Oirat chief Ma-ha-mu killed Pen-chia-shi-li and proclaimed as emperor of the Mongols, Delbek son of Pen-chia-shih-li. A-lu-t'ai, his foe, immediately tried to befriend the Chinese, and received the title of Prince of Karakorum. The granting of this title was as a red rag before a bull. Thereupon the enraged Oirat chief mustered his troops to invade China. The emperor himself decided to launch an expedition against the Oirat Ma-ha-mu. It was the age-

[77] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 28; Franke, *op. cit.*, 5–6.
[78] A descendant of Aoluch'ih. Hambis, *op. cit.* **107**: 122, 7.

on his second ascension to the throne, and to present his offices in these times of troubles which beset the empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and somewhat later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them. The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and devastating the country. The officials in the capital grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his troops to move. He was committed to prison and deliberation concerning capital punishment was held. The emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportunity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the Mongols in the regions of Yenan and Suei-te (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*b*).

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of Li Wen?

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450–1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs and the most prominent officials, some of them friends and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions seethed with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals. Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung.

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching Ti the capital beseiged by Esen in 1449. During the illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot preparing the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthronement of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his rivals and seven executions of the most prominent officials followed. He was bestowed with the title of Pilar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky. It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, proclaimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung. The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poisoned himself. His father was committed to jail and ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

colony which the Mongols had handed down to the Ming. 175x

HUANGCHUNG MONGUORS AND THEIR T'U-SSU DURING THE CH'ING DYNASTY (1644–1911)

175x 648

The establishment of a new dynasty in China used to entail desperate times for a long period. The faithful Monguors with their t'u-ssu, after having defended the Ming dynasty to the end, pledged allegiance to, and cast their lot with the new Ch'ing dynasty, and again would prove their faithfulness. This time they had to fight at the side of the Manchu troops against the rebel Chinese officials of Kansu and all China, even though the power of the new dynasty was still problematical, but all of them remained heroically loyal and dependable to the end, suffering hardship and dying for the dynasty. Their faithfulness in such trying and tragic circumstances cannot but be admired. The history of the Monguors is a shining example of faithfulness seldom recorded in history. 175x 577 648

The people in the northern provinces of China had, for many years, had a desperate time on account of the brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng and the invading groups of Manchus looting the country of its wealth. The despairing Ming emperor had hanged himself on April 25, 1644, and Li Tzu-ch'eng had entered the capital and proclaimed himself emperor. The Ming general Wu San-kuei defended the northern part of the great wall of the empire and the pass of Shanhaikuan against invading Manchu plunderers. Considering that the very existence of the empire was at stake and abhorring and loathing the savage brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng, Wu San-kuei invited Manchu troops to come over to annihilate the brigands and save the dynasty. However he had little thought that in making this compact he was sealing the fate of the Chinese empire. He opened the pass, and his troops in combination with those of the Manchus rushed to the capital which they entered on June 6, 1644. The brigand emperor Li Tzu-ch'eng had fled, but the Manchus proclaimed their own emperor and inaugurated their Ch'ing dynasty. On October 7 Li Tzu-ch'eng died. Jealousies and dissensions arose among the chiefs of the brigands and their impact was broken. Immediately Wu-San-kuei, leading his troops in concert with the Manchu army, pursued the brigands and achieved the surrender of the Chinese provinces. 175x 648 [643]

At the end of 1645, T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien and Li T'ien-yu surrendered in T'ung Kuan to the Manchu Prince A-ki-ko, came back to Kansu, and called on General Meng Ch'iao-fang. They were rehabilitated and ordered to induce the surrender of the Monguor t'u-ssu. All the t'u-ssu submitted to the new dynasty (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*a*). Meng Ch'iao-fang immediately sent to Hsining Commanders Chiang San-chih (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 3*b*) and Chang Chi-yao [624]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The three biggest monasteries in the country were burned to the ground, also 7,000 houses and 17 villages of the subjects of the monastery of Erh Ku Lung. The whole country was a ruin. 175x 792 579

In the second moon a crushing defeat was administered to bLo-bzang in Kokonor by General Yueh Chung-ch'i; 8,000 of his troops were killed in several encounters, and 10,000 surrendered. bLo-bzang fled riding a white camel. Another army led by Nien Keng-yao, consisting mostly of Monguor soldiers, burned the monastery of Shih Men Sse, where 600 lamas and Tibetans were killed and a huge quantity of weapons was found hidden.

In the third moon Yueh Chung-ch'i went again to Kokonor in pursuit of bLo-bzang, clearing the country of the scattered rebels. Arriving at their central camp unawares, he captured the mother of bLo-bzang, his sister-in-law, and a large number of people and horses. Eight princes submitted. The Kokonor troops had been dashed into rout and ruin.

In the fourth moon the T'ieh Pu tribes from the region of Ho Chou, depending upon bLo-bzang, had started plundering while the troops were fighting in Kokonor. General Nien destroyed 41 of their villages and received the surrender of 37. Two thousand Tibetans had been killed and many had been captured with a number of cattle.

In the fifth moon General Yueh cleared the region between Chuang Lang and Liangchow from where the troops had incessantly been attacked. The Tibetan tribes and the lamas were defeated, several thousands of Tibetans captured, and the monasteries Chu Kung, Chiarto, Hoki, Nan Ch'ung, Simi and T'ien T'ang destroyed or burned. Then the army cleared the region of Cho Tze Shan. Most of the Monguor troops had participated in the punitive expedition.

In the tenth moon bLo-bzang was still not captured. An army was sent again to find him. Only one of his important officers and his wife were captured, but 33 princes submitted.[93]

It is hard to understand the reticence concerning the destruction of the entire monastery of Kumbum and the killing of eight of their most prominent lamas, for whom eight stupas were later erected. Now the Chinese call Kumbum the "monastery of the eight stupas." Nothing is said either, in the *Annals* of Kansu, concerning the beheading of two Living Buddhas (Monguors I: 34–37; II: 25, 26). 175x 792

THE T'U-SSU HAD PARTICIPATED IN QUELLING THE REVOLT

175x 624

T'u-ssu Ch'i Tsai-hsuan in 1723 had guarded the Ta Hsia rapids with his troops, in order to impede fleeing lamas and Tibetans from spreading the revolt

[93] *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52–58; 42: 24a. *Annals* of Hsining 16a–b. bLo-bzang had fled to the Jungars, where his friend Tsewang Rabdan protected him.

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in the eastern countries. In 1724 he had participated in the destruction of the monastery of Erh Ku Lung, and the defeat of the savage lamas and their subjects. With General Yueh Chung-ch'i he fought in Cho Tze Shan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 46*a*) and escorted the food transport for the troops, which was incessantly attacked by the rebels in the mountains. 175x 624

T'u-ssu Li Shen-ch'eng in 1723, with 300 of his troops, guarded the passes in the Shih Ta mountains, and defeated several groups of Tibetans. In 1724 he administered several blows to the Tibetans in the Cho Tze Shan region, who attacked the food transport escort (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47*a*). The Chiliarch Li Hung-tsung, uncle of T'u-ssu Li Shen-ch'eng, and Li Wen-p'eng, uncle of T'u-ssu Li Yao-ch'eng, fought the rebels in the southern valleys of Hsining, in 1723 in the eleventh moon, and died in action with 14 of their Monguor soldiers (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 18*b*).

T'u-ssu Chao in 1724 fought in Cho Tze Shan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 49*a*).

T'u-ssu Kan Kuo-cheng guarded the ferry on the Yellow River in 1723 (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*a*).

T'u-ssu Yeh Yao-ch'eng guarded the passes in the Shih Ta mountains in 1723 and fought the Tibetans in Pa P'an Shan and in Cho Tze Shan. He escorted the food transport as far as T'ien T'ang Ssu along impassable trails. He helped in the destruction of the T'ien T'ang monastery (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 53).

In 1723 T'u-ssu Li Yao-ch'eng guarded the passes in Shih Ta Shan and fought in Cho Tze Shan and at the T'ien T'ang monastery (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 53*a*).

The participation of T'u-ssu Lu Hua-lin in the Lhasa expedition has been noted.

T'u-ssu Lu Chan, in 1723, guarded the Lao Ya Hsia with T'u-ssu Ch'i Tsai-hsuan. In 1724 he fought with his nephew Lu Wei-fan in Cho Tze Shan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 58*b*).

The Salar T'u-ssu Han Ta-yung quelled the revolt of Tibetans in the Hsun Hua region in 1723. In 1724 he followed General Yueh Chung-ch'i in the expedition to Cho Tze Shan, participated in the destruction of the Monastery of Simi, and fought the Tibetan tribe Hsieh Erh Ssu (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 28*b*).

The revolt, quelled with draconian severity in less than a year, had been the ruin of Huangchung. Not a single valley in the country was encountered through which the troops did not pass, fighting or pursuing the enemy. The number of villages destroyed and burned, and the number of stolen cattle were countless. The number of Tibetans, Mongols and lamas killed rates terribly high. The war was one of the bloodiest. All who made a stand were killed. All the provisions and properties of the people had disappeared. All the lamaseries were destroyed or burned down. The depredation of the country was wicked and ruthless, the destitution of the people tragic. Huangchung, which during the previous centuries had so many times suffered 175x 727

[P. 59(B)]

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Then the governor notified the lamas about the confiscation of their territories and subjects, and informed them about the revocation of the titles of Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih granted to the most prominent among them by the Ming emperors, and an order was given to hand to the Chinese officials the diploma of the promotion granted to them by the emperor. 175x 648 [334]

Most of these titles had been granted to lamas who had induced tribes to submit, and to move into the depopulated Huangchung, especially in the first century and a half of the Ming. At that time these lamas belonged to the Red sect, were married, and lived among the tribes they had induced to submit, but not in monasteries. They had received personally large proprietaries from the emperor, with a document written in their name, and a title. This had been the origin of the Karwas and Nang so (Monguors II: 18, 19). The son of the lama succeeding to the father, inherited the property and the title and was considered to be a lama. This institution lasted until 1723–1724. The entire lama family during all these years had earned a wealthy living, free from taxes and corvees, and received some taxes from the tribesmen. The *Annals* of Hsining noting this fact, and the confiscation of the territories and subjects of the lamas, adds jubilantly, "and so in one day these unjust conditions, existing for centuries, were abolished" (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 22*b*). 175x 742

In the same year, for the very first time in history, officials were appointed by the Szechwan and Kansu provinces to fix the boundaries of both provinces in the Kokonor region, and to designate which among the Tibetan tribes should depend upon each of the provinces (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 13*a*). 175x 624

During the years 1733–1745 orders were repeatedly issued for the building of more graneries in the cities and most important strongholds all over the country, for the amount of grain formerly collected by the lamas and the Khoshot princes was now collected by the officials and had to be stored (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 23*b*, 25*a*). [344 251]

In 1745 the Hsining *Annals* were printed by Yang Yin-ch'u. The first *Annals*, only two small volumes, contained many errors which were amended. 175x 653

In 1759 there was famine in the prefecture of Chuang Lang. Grain was loaned to T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng to help his subjects. The next year also was one of bad crops. Again grain was loaned for distribution to each of the Monguor families of the t'u-ssu for which restitution was to be made after three years (*Annals* of Kansu 2: 29*b*).

The commanderies of Tatung and Kuei Te became subprefectures in 1761 with complete civil and military administrations (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 4, 11*b*, 14). In Pe-ta and Yung nan a brigadier general and a lieutenant colonel with strong garrisons had already been appointed in 1725, after the revolt of bLo-bzang tan-chin (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 71*a*). 175x

[P. 63 (A)]

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Where were the Monguor t'u-ssu during the revolt? 175x

The defeat of the troops of T'u-ssu Lu Fan has been related. He was rewarded later by the honor of wearing the double peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57). 709 624

The five outer Salar groups, adherents of the new religion, inhabited Pa Yen Jung situated south of Nienpei. The danger of inroads on and the plundering of these groups had to be forestalled. Lu Chen-hsien, member of the t'u-ssu clan, guarded with the troops the region of Hsiang T'ang and Huei Ho Tung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 60). 175x 648 [795]

T'u-ssu Kan San Yuen-pao guarded the city of Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Chou Lin guarded the passes of Ch'i Shih near Pa Yen Jung and Feng T'ai Shan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51). T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the city of Nienpei and was later called to Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai helped guard the city of Ti-tao in East Kansu with 200 Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the Hsiao Hsia pass near Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu who had fought in Lanchow and recovered Ho Chou, was rewarded by the honor to wear the Blue Plume or Crow feather, and received the button of the second degree, worn on the cap (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). [703]

The Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Lanchow and was rewarded with the same honor as the former Salar t'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*a*).

Huangchung had been spared from inroads and devastation.

YEN CH'A HUI REVOLT

After the death of Ma Ming-hsin in Lanchow in 1781, T'ien Wu, a fanatic *ahong*, leader of the new sect in Fu Ch'iang in East Kansu, was proclaimed chief of the new sect. At that time the Chinese officials were brutally murdering the entire families of the rebels, and rumors were spread that all the Mohammedans of the old and new sects were to be killed. Already in 1782, in Shih Feng Pao, in the T'ung Wei district, T'ien Wu had started digging entrenchments and moving the wives and children to strongholds in the mountains, weapons had been prepared and flags, etc. Around Ku Yuen and Fu Ch'iang encounters continued unabated between the army and the rebels, who grew stronger and stronger by the accrual of countless adherents of the old sect. In 1784 T'ien Wu was wounded in a fight in Fu Ch'iang and died. The rebels, beaten in many encounters, fled to the Shin Feng Pao mountains where they finally were exterminated, and 3,000 wives and children brutally murdered. The revolt was quelled. 175x 795 648 579 798

During the revolt T'u-ssu Lu Fan had helped guard the city of Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*) and 175x 579

[P.64(B)]

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

and started plundering again. They were pursued, and 175x
3,000 among them were killed. The remaining Salars 795
fled to Pa Yien Jung and the surrender of the Hsining 579
Mohammedans was accepted. The Hsining revolt was 628
quelled. The Mohammedans had suffered tremendous losses.

In 1873, in the first moon, the troops recovered the subprefecture of Tat'ung and cleared the country in the same ruthless way. For many months the army had tried to recover the city of Suchow, situated on the trade road to Turkistan. In the Suchow area the Mohammedan population was very dense. Troops were sent from Lanchow and Hsining, but did not succeed in the action. Finally, in October, Tso Tsung-t'ang himself arrived with more troops from Lanchow. In November the city was recovered, the country cleared, and the Mohammedan population of the whole country massacred.

The same year the cities of Hsun Hua and Ho Chou were recovered and the country cleared. The number of the slaughtered Mohammedans in the cities and the surrounding villages was tremendous. Huangchung and East Kansu were pacified. Both Chinese and Mohammedans had borne the brunt of the revolt, and suffered equally.

During this last revolt, 1860–1873, a relatively few [628] ●
number of notes are encountered concerning the role played by the t'u-ssu and their troops. The fact is quite understandable. Mohammedan groups were running all over the whole country, and the forces of the regular army were insufficient to cope with the situation on a large scale. The t'u-ssu had to protect their own strongholds and fortified villages which sheltered their subjects, in the way the officials had to protect the cities with their population. Huangchung had suffered terribly and the destroyed villages and cities told the tale. The Monguors had had a bad time, but comparatively few had lost their lives, having hid and resisted the rebels in the strongholds of their t'u-ssu. The loss of cattle, houses, etc., was tremendous.

For the second time dissension concerning the old and new religion had caused a terrible revolt. The fanatic Salars, as well as the Chinese Mohammedans, had been responsible for all the harm suffered in Kansu and Shensi. However, every time their revolt had been on the brink of disaster, both groups forgot their dissension about religion and together fought fanatically their common enemy, the army of the hated Chinese.

REVOLT OF MOHAMMEDANS IN 1895–1896

During the revolt of the Mohammedans in 1860–1873, many cities and villages of Huangchung had been devastated and many, many thousands of Chinese and Mohammedans killed. During the following twenty-two years, the country had more or less recovered from the disaster, when a new revolt of the Mohammedans

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

ssu, to which was attached a lama chaplain, who every day offered incense in the temple and also in the ancestor hall to the ancestors of the Lu family. 175x 114

T'O HUAN, FOUNDING ANCESTOR OF THE CLAN

According to the Chronicles of the clan, T'o Huan is its founding ancestor. He was a member of the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty, with the title of Prince of An Ting, since 1313 (Section 1, Preface. Section 3, Biography of T'o Huan, *Yuan Shih*, Chapter 108, 3rd section 24, 27*a–b*). 175x 614

In 1368 the Ming emperor entered the capital of the Yuan, whose emperor had fled to Ying Ch'ang with the imperial family. T'o Huan, prevented from accompanying the emperor, arrived in Kansu in 1369. At the end of 1369 or the beginning of 1370, General Teng Yu was sent to invite him to see the emperor. He submitted to the Ming, and was ordered to muster his troops, and he followed General Su Ta in the war against K'uo-k'uo Timur, the last general of the Yuan. In 1375 he helped General Pu Yin to beat the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa (Dorjibal). He was invited to court to receive the congratulations of the emperor, but on account of illness he could not obey the order. He died in 1376 (Section 3, biography of T'o Huan, Section 2 and beginning of Section 3, biography of Lu Yung ch'ang and letter of concubine Yang to the emperor).

His oldest son Ah-shih-t'u succeeded him, became blind, and died in 1377. His second son, Kung-pu shih-tieh succeeded in 1378, and is recorded as the ancestor of the second generation. He fought brigands in 1403 and followed the expedition of the emperor against Ah lu t'ai in 1410, and died on the field of battle.

His oldest son Shih-chia succeeded him in 1412 and is recorded as the ancestor of the third generation, with the name Hsien. In 1414 he received from the emperor the name Lu. From that time on, the clan was called Lu clan (T'o Huan was a Mongol belonging to the Borjigin clan of Chingis, he had no family name).

The Chronicle records the history of T'o Huan, the founding ancestor of the clan, and that of the ancestors who succeeded him as chiefs of the clans. It does not pay attention to the other t'u-ssu of the clan, or to groups which branched off, even by sons of T'o Huan, or by members of the principal or lateral branches.

T'o Huan is recorded as having been appointed by the emperor chief of his tribes and controller of the territory he occupied during the Yuan time. 648 624

The *Annals* of P'ing Fan (1739) record only the title of P'ing-chang cheng-shih of T'o Huan, without noting the title. Prince of An Ting, granted to him by the emperor, although this important fact should have been known among the Lu Monguors. Lu Kuang-tsu, renowned scholar, had already composed his Chronicles between 1602 and 1607 in Lien Ch'eng. The *Annals* bypass Ah-shih-t'u who had succeeded T'o Huan in 1377 and died in the same year, and record Kung- [114]

[P.71(B)] [Text continues on P.72(B)]

/135 cont'd/

586 and will if need be help her in the task. Thus the wife maintains face; she will be able to say that she did not want her husband any more, and he will not have any difficulties with his wife's family either, since it is the daughter who wanted to go away. In the end, the husband will even profit greatly by the sale of his wife. On the other hand, if the wife insists on not wanting to look for another match, the husband will be patient and will not resort to repudiation except as a last extreme. That is the ordinary course of the preambles to divorce.

/136/ 2. Causes of Divorce

593 The causes of divorce appear to be more or less numerous.
586 The primary and most ordinary cause is certainly interest in another person, which brings on mutual and daily increasing aversion between the husband and wife. A wife can fall and that is understood; the husband will even allow his wife not to come home at night from time to time, for he himself does not come home regularly every evening, either. Grounds for divorce require regular and therefore public relations.

626 Do not think, however, that husbands give complete freedom
837 to their wives; do not believe that all husbands are indifferent to
539 these things. They tell about a good many cases in which the wife and her lover, having been surprised at night, were tied together or tied to a stake, beaten, etc., by the heads of the village with whom
837 the husband had lodged a complaint. The families of the guilty ones
672 were called, they had to act as guarantors for their members; then the guilty man had to offer his apologies to the injured husband and give him a pig, a sheep, etc. The level of morality among the T'ou-jen has not yet fallen so low that they no longer know their duties and rights in these matters. So it is not rare to see a husband beat his wife and to hear the wife, on her knees, beg her husband, "Big brother, pardon me this time; big brother, treat me with indulgence this time, that won't happen any more." Now one does not ask pardon and one does not allow oneself to be beaten when one's conscience is clear.

[231 cont.]

The Power of Heaven

776 Heaven as giver of all benefits. -- As repeatedly appears in the individual chapters, all benefits come from heaven. It [241] gives rain and sunshine, causes the seed to thrive, and protects [782] man and animal from sickness. Man acknowledges this in the offering, especially in the primitial offering and the harvest thank-offering. The grain, the barley, is ultimately traced back to heaven by man. (Cf. above under the primitial offering, agriculture myth, p. 340.) Man owes even his clothing [773] to heaven. Thus it is said at the beginning of the Geser legend: "Heaven provided the benefit of clothing; a boot fell down from heaven (tieńgëre džoǵ nãńladzia; tieńgërdza perlõńgë bõdzi rëdzia)." (Verses 6-7.) -- That other gods are also called upon for various needs does not prejudice the fact that heaven is the cause of even these benefits. The case would only be otherwise if there were things which were ascribed to these spirits to the exclusion of heaven, which, however, cannot be demonstrated from the material available.

776 The moral power of heaven. -- The moral power of 577 heaven is expressed by the fact that man puts his conscience in relation to heaven and acknowledges the latter as binding and 626 entitled to sanction. For that which we would call conscience the Tujen simply uses the word heart (sgil); sgil is not the physi- [192] cal heart, but the inner attitude, heart in the figurative sense. Thus they say, for instance, sen sgil (good heart); tsini sgil diesën ugua (you do not have an honest attitude); tsini sgil ugua (you have no conscience). In these cases the Tujen translates the word sgil with the Chinese leang-hsin (conscience, honest spirit). (Cf. also DMF 348.) Now, as the two prayer formulas that were explained above demonstrate, heaven knows the inner attitude, it knows the heart of a man: "If I did evil to you, heaven knows it," "Heaven is not high, it knows it." Since these sentences are used as oath or vow formulas, it is not simply confirmation of heavenly knowledge that is given by them, but rather one tacitly also presupposes a sanction by

[231 cont.]

776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieńgëre dardzia, heaven has
[192] punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolgue dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair. (Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.) Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness: "We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge tieńgërni amudadzi, nigë nisëni dzawa dañlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram, op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). --
[831] The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzün tieńgërde fdzë bōlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

The Fa't'ai even has the power to redress the mal- 792
administration of the intendancies, but all these powers 794
are more nominal than effective, because the name of 554
the Fa-t'ai-to-be is proposed by the intendancies themselves to the supreme chief of the lamasery. They know very well which Fa-t'ais are bent on reforms and set in their ways, and in order to secure the peace of the lamas and their own, they avoid proposing the name of "trouble makers." The Fa-t'ais, on the other hand, are practical Orientals. They know their appointment lasts for only three years, and that, if they should start with reforms, they would meet with the general covert opposition of the intendancies and of all the lamas, and their reforms would be hamstrung, so why borrow troubles if the next Fa-t'ai would undo what his predecessor had built up?

Therefore, the powers of a Fa-t'ai in Huang-chung are in practice reduced to theoretical and honorary dimensions. They are venerated as the learned supreme teachers of the community and occupy the highest seat in the main temple, next to that of the supreme chief of the lamasery. They very seldom attend the ceremonies in the temple, except when a rich pilgrim invites the community to read texts in his behalf. They attend the ceremony at the time of the festivities in order to enhance the prestige of the community, and march in procession with a stately measured tread to the temple, with the traditional splendor of their retinue. In the fourth, sixth, and eighth months they preach in the temple for the lamas for a few days. The rest of the time they live a happy, peaceful life in their residences, devoting their time to study and meditation, and entrusting, as their predecessors did, the whole direction of the institution to the intendant, who in the final analysis governs the entire institution. Fa-t'ais are inclined more to the speculative than the practical side of life.

A Fa-t'ai has to be a rich man in order to be able to fulfill his office. On the one hand he receives a small salary and at the time of the distribution of alms he receives as many shares as the supreme chief of the lamasery, but the flow of donations is irregular and unpredictable. On the other hand, a Fa-t'ai, several times a year, has to entertain the lamas of the community in a more or less sumptuous manner, with tea, butter, *tsamba*, mutton, beef, rice, raisins, and rolls. Each lama has to take home a fixed number of rolls. These repeated entertainments of lamas, four or five times a year, are the big expenses which a poor Fa-t'ai cannot afford, and they explain why poor but celebrated lamas decline the offer of the office of Fa-t'ai in large communities.

INTENDANT

Every day, during the morning assembly, a few re- [124]
marks are made to the community by the intendant concerning the observance of rules, the decorum required of lamas, the punishments inflicted the previous day

[p. 62(A)]

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for infractions of the rules, the reform of some mis- 792
behavior, the arrival of distinguished guests or pil- [626]
grims, the offer of important gifts, and special reli- 554
gious ceremonies asked for by devout people. Herein 794
consists the entire direction and instruction of the lamas, except for those who study in the colleges.

His role has been explained. He is the chief executive of the institution and administers its wealth. He has his own residence; his courtyard is his court of justice, where all the suits of the lamas and of the subjects are judged. All the officials of the institution receive his orders; he has one or two procurators helping him in the material administration, commanding a number of servants varying in accordance with the importance of the lamasery.

DISCIPLINARIANS

Their function is a really important element in the 792
government of hundreds of uncivilized lamas and turbu- 626
lent young folk living in the same lamasery, most of 794
whom wander correctly along the path of monastic life more from fear of severe corporal punishment than for pure love of Buddha. I never saw a master of discipline in the lamaseries wearing a delightful smile. More often they seemed to be the type of tormentors that might step out of a picture of the Eighteen Buddhist Hells. No wonder the lamas, especially the young folk, dread them.

Usually there are two disciplinarians appointed by the Fa-t'ai for a term of one year. Often they have been proposed for the position by the intendant and his councillors. The disciplinarian presides over a number of lictors. During ceremonies in the temple the disciplinarian maintains order among the older lamas and keeps a constant eye on the novices. A breach of silence or any irreverence is punished instantly by blows from his rawhide whip. He takes note of the presence and absence of lamas at the morning ceremonies, and must investigate to find out whether lamas, not enrolled in the monastery, or laymen, are remaining with their friends at night inside the lamasery, and is responsible in general for the observance of the rules of the monastery.

Permission is required from the intendancy to leave the lamasery for a long time. Business deals are not to be made too ostentatiously. At night lamas may gather with friends to relax, talk, play cards and chess, but are not allowed to make much noise or to disturb the sleep of their neighbors. Gambling is not allowed, [273
nor is the drinking of liquor. At night, the discipli- 525]
narian with some of his lictors, armed with rawhide 784
whips, makes a tour of the lamasery. Lamas found brawling, quarrelling, or fighting are brought to the court of the intendant, where penalties are meted out in various brutal forms. The time of the festivities is a difficult one for the disciplinarians, when merchants pitch their tents, and lamas and people drive bargains.

[p. 62(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Very often fights occur, for no important deal is closed 792
in the Orient without brawling or quarrelling. At that 626
time the disciplinarians and their lictors are on duty 794
all day and night.

At festival time women are allowed in the monastery, and relatives are allowed to visit their lama and stay at night in his home, after permission has been obtained from the intendancy. Several old lamas explained to me that the disciplinarian has to be changed every year in order to prevent the lamas from becoming too well acquainted with him, and arranging by bribery to break the rules. How officials, with such a terrible exterior appearance, can be approached so easily to be bribed is shrouded in mystery. For this reason, in all the lamaseries of Huang-chung the disciplinarians are said to be changed every year.

PRECENTOR—UM-DSE

In every lamasery there is a precentor, the leader of 792
the texts recited at the assemblies in the temple. He 794
is usually a man endowed with a voice that resounds in a deep, low, grave tone. At the same time he is the master of ceremonies who trains the officiants. He opens the prayers in a loud voice, in a special low register, the others taking up the chants in unison at the top of their voices.

COUNCILLORS

In larger lamaseries there are usually four councillors, older lamas, appointed by the Fa-t'ai for three years on the recommendation of the intendant. They constitute in effect, with the intendant, the administrative board of the institution. Before the name of the appointee is proposed to the Fa-t'ai, the intendant refers the proposal to the chief of the lamasery. The result is that the nominally supreme powers of a Fa-t'ai within his institution are in practice curtailed, and the influence wielded by the intendant upon the supreme chief of the lamasery being usually unlimited, the intendant is in reality the supreme ruler of the institution.

The rules to be observed in the lamaseries by all the inmates include the non-admittance of women, the non-admittance at night of laymen, or lamas who are not on the roster, and the obligation to attend the ceremonies prescribed for the members of the community. All other rules conform with the elementary standards of good behavior.

COLLEGES

In important lamaseries, colleges have been estab- 792
lished, theoretically as centers of higher education. 794
Some foreign travelers call them "universities." In 873
Huang-chung the only requirements for becoming a member of one of the four traditional colleges and reaping the benefits of the institution, are to be a member of the organic community of the lamas and to know the prescribed texts recited at the meetings held at the temple of the college. Accordingly, the majority

[p. 63(A)]

More has been done by the chiefs and elders of the villages in promoting justice, creating respect for elders, restoring peace in families, defending the position of the women, preventing adultery, punishing the faults of the youngsters, and making the families happy than by the lamas. 792 626 888

I felt really happy to encounter among this tremendous number of lamas the single exception of the old Living Buddha Li, who in the fasting exercises taught the older people to crave pardon for their faults and to pray, and to hear them say that they were happy to have heard comforting words from the mouth of the old man.

V. THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

GENERAL ASPECTS AND FORMER CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

795 792 175

In Huang-chung, there are not only lamas of the Yellow Sect, the reformed sect of Tsong khapa, but also of the Red Sect, which still adheres to the rules observed before the reform. The red lamas marry, and live, scattered over the country, with their wives and children. They till their fields and raise cattle, indulge in wine and tobacco, eat garlic and nearly all kinds of meat. They perform their rites when invited by the people and live under the direction of a superior, who has far less power over them than the superior of the yellow lamas has over his subjects.

At home they wear the dress of the lay people; when performing rites they wear the usual lama dress—a red gown, the red hat, and a shade before the eyes, adorned with fringes of the five ritual colors. They use the same ritual paraphernalia as the lamas of the Yellow Sect, but they like to use a drum made of two skulls, and to blow a trumpet made of a human thigh bone; they recite their own texts. They seem to lay stress on the cult of water springs. All of them have the duty to perform the Rite of the 108 Springs, which lasts for 129 days, at least once in their lifetime. Some among them perform this rite two or three times. Well versed in magic, they are capable of performing not only the rites performed by the Yellow lamas, but also many other rites prohibited for the Yellow lamas. [792] [534]

All the lamas of Huang-chung belonged to the Red Sect in former times. The lamas of Ch'ü-t'an, the Nang-suo, Karwa lamas, the Dhyana family lamas, the lamas belonging to small monasteries or hermitages,

abstinence from carnal desires, liquor, and he enforced the rules of moral discipline. However, he did not denounce the images worshipped by the old sect, representing men and women in offensive postures, but gave to them a new interpretation of an abstract nature. . . . Externally the two sects do not differ much from each other." And on p. 434: "I am compelled to say that Lamaism has fallen, and that it has assumed a form quite contrary to that to which its great reformer Tsong Khapa elevated it, and I am sincerely sorry for this degeneration." [792 771 175]

[p. 73(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

devotion to the empire. Emperor Yung Lo whom he had served in the expeditions in the desert had given him a precious sword and a famous horse. In 1425 Li Yin had fought the brigands in Anting and at the head of his soldiers had attacked the brigands and himself had killed many among them. He had captured a booty of 130,000 cattle. The emperor had sent minister Yang Yung to congratulate him. His merits were unusual and therefore he received in his dream a visit from the god of war . . . all these circumstances we have recorded on the stele, etc.

M 175x 211 539 [703]

Without doubt the titles received by Li Yin, the building of the temple and the name given to it by the emperor himself, the stele, and the wonderful dreams went straight to the heart of the clan members and strengthened the cohesion of the Li clan. All these circumstances normally seem to have been conducive at that time to the building of an elaborate clan cemetery and to the erection in 1426 of the famous "spirit way stele" in honor of Li Nan-ko, the founder of the clan, father of Li Yin.

M 175x 614 626

However, the behavior of Li Yin, puffed up with pride, had changed after he had been honored so magnificently by the emperor. The Governor of Ninghsia, Shih Chao, who had previously been Governor of Hsining, accused him of fostering subversive intentions. Li Yin could disprove the accusation. In Hsining he had assembled 700 families, fugitives from justice, whom he protected. He had settled them in the country and had given them land to till. But they harmed their neighbors, stealing and upsetting the country. Again complaints were lodged with the board of military justice, and Li Yin was ordered to turn over his tenants to the civil authority. In 1432 Ch'i Ch'eng, descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, was his father's lawful successor to the office of t'u-ssu. The bold Li Yin, not bothering to offend the prominent Ch'i t'u-ssu clan, supported as successor to the t'u-ssu office Chien Tsang, the nephew of Ch'i Ch'eng, who was the son of his sister. He appointed murderers to kill Ch'i Ch'eng. He was accused again. This time the military judges rolled all the accusations into one, condemned him to prison, to the revocation of his titles and honors and to capital punishment. In 1437 the emperor pardoned him, allowing him a small emolument. Soon thereafter he died (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

M 175x 648
M [578]
M [698]
M [626]

HUANGCHUNG T'U-SSU UNDER THE SUBSEQUENT EMPERORS

After the death of Yung Lo, (1424) the alarming confusion and struggle continued unabated among the eastern and western Mongols, both groups appointing their own Khans, who were merely nominal supreme chiefs and actually blind tools in the hands of Togon and A-lu-t'ai who controlled the two groups. A-lu-t'ai, weakened after many encounters with the Chinese and Oirat troops; was finally defeated and killed by the Oirat, Togon, in 1434; and the hegemony of the Oirats

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

cessantly he exercised devotedness and zeal." Lu Fu, the second son of Lu Chien, had accompanied his father on the expeditions and had been named by the emperor "secretary commandant" of the city of Chuang Lang in 1519. The son of Lu Fu, Nen, died on the battlefield fighting Tibetans. His grandson was made "assistant commandant." His great-grandson died with the rank of second captain of the garrison of Hung Ch'eng. The group of the descendants of Lu Fu was one of the most prominent defenders of the Ming dynasty.

In 1648 the Mohammedan Milayin revolted in Kanchow. Lu P'ei-tso with his own army accompanied Lu Tien and other t'u-ssu to quell the revolt and recover the cities of Kanchow and Liangchow. He was given the original title of the family, that of "Assistant Commandant."

His descendants fought in 1723–1724 in Huangchung against the rebel Mongols of Kokonor. In 1781 they fought the Salar revolt and in 1784 the Yen Ch'a revolt of the Mohammedans.

During the whole Ch'ing dynasty the descendants of Lu P'ei-tso, in concert with Manchu and t'u-ssu troops of Huangchung and troops of seceders of the T'o Huan clan, quelled revolts and defended the country. Each in succession received the hereditary title of "Assistant Commandant" and an annual salary of 53.4 taels. The Lu P'ei-tso group lived in the country of Hsi Tat'ung and controlled the valleys of Ma Chuang and Yang Fang. It did not control subjects and had no regular soldiers but in time of war its chiefs called on the descendants of the Lu Fu group. It did not have to pay taxes to the Chinese government.[13]

SOCIAL STATUS OF CHIEFS OF GROUPS OF SECEDERS FROM THE CLAN

T'u-ssu are possessors of territories and subjects allotted to them by the emperor, and as beneficiaries of territories, and also the appointed defenders of them have the right to make legal claims against illegal appropriators of their territories. Since subjects are allocated to the t'u-ssu to provide them with defenders of their territories, each t'u-ssu is listed as having a fixed number of regular soldiers. A soldier is not allowed to abandon his chief, a Monguor is not allowed to abandon the t'u-ssu, and it is because the t'u-ssu has to equip his own troops that he is exempt from paying taxes.

By the same reasoning, one who, with his followers, secedes from his t'u-ssu is not legally entitled to either territory or subjects, and ought to be liable to prosecution. Even if he is not prosecuted, he and his group are not exempt from the payment of taxes, because he does not hold a recognized territory, with its attached duties and costs of defense.

[13] *Annals* of Kansu 42: 60a–b.

[109(B)]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

TOPICS OF THE MEETINGS

623 651 The most important and delicate topic of discussion at meetings is always the subject of taxes. These taxes are decreed by the T'u-ssu as a lump sum imposed on the entire village. The villagers have then to group themselves by wealth in five classes and to pay more or less taxes according to this classification. The classification of families is a very difficult and delicate problem. In the discussion everybody asserts that he is, and proves himself to be, the poorest man in the village, deserving to be put in the lowest classification. The tax imposed on the village is compared with the taxes on other villages, and the chief of the village is criticized for not having defended the interests of his village. These meetings also fix the date on which the taxes have to be ready either to be carried by the villagers in a group to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, or to be ready for the nobles who come to collect them. Illegal and oppressive exactions by the officials of the T'u-ssu and difficulties with the collecting nobles are discussed, and entrusted to the chief of the village for redress or for conciliation with the T'u-ssu.

623 312 Another important topic is the digging or repairing of irrigation canals. The number of digging days required from each family is adjusted to the amount of land each family cultivates. Quarrels are patched up with families accused of having kept the water from the canal turned into their fields for longer than the allotted time. The proper time is calculated by the time taken to burn a certain number of incense sticks for the irrigation of a determined acreage of fields.

623 651 794 At these meetings the contributions of every family are fixed for the expenses of keeping the village temple in repair and payments to the shamans who perform the two important rites of spring and of protection against storms and hail, and of thanksgiving for the harvest.[4] An apportionment is also made of the liability of members for all kinds of corvées, or obligatory services, religious as well as administrative. The groups of youngsters must be ready day and night to stay in and even sleep in the temple in order to avert the danger of hail and storms in summer. Duties must be assigned also for taking care of the sacred animal of the village, and for preparing the performance of all kinds of religious rites carried out on behalf of the village. Villagers must also be designated for all kinds of corvée service at the mansion of the T'u-ssu.

622 627 The officials must also be prepared to deal with all kinds of problems in the private lives of the villagers (except family vengeance feuds). If a villager has got himself into difficulties or is burdened with troubles not of his own making he goes to the chief of the village, presents to him a scarf of felicity and a bottle of wine, and invites him to iron out the problem. The chief

[4] The religious aspects of Monguor life will be discussed in a second volume, now being prepared for publication.

[P. 776]

622 sends one of his assistants to invite the elders and summons the defendant. If the problem is important, •627 the military commanders are also invited. Problems of this kind include delimitation of the boundaries of fields—a kind of arbitration case often made necessary by contracts drafted ambiguously by incapable men. Cases of dividing a paternal inheritance are often laborious and consume many days. The whole community is [681] interested in such cases. In personal quarrels, disputes, and fights the offending party may be flogged with up to one hundred stripes. If the complainant has been wounded, the defendant is condemned, in addition, to defray the expenses for the doctor and for medicine and to pay indemnity for a fixed number of days of recuperation.

685 Stealing seems to be an ineradicable evil among the Monguors, and stealing of animals is the worst of all. The Monguors still seem to have the old attitude toward thieving and the stealing of animals, although thieves are severely punished. Among the neighboring nomads, when a man is caught red-handed stealing animals, he is taken to a lonely spot, the tendons of his ankle joints are cut, and he is left, crippled, to die on the spot. The nomads show no pity for cattle thieves. The Monguors do not punish as cruelly and do not inflict capital punishment, but the thief has his hands bound behind his back and is then hung by the thumbs, until he loses consciousness. Water is then poured on his head. When he recovers consciousness, the same sport is repeated two or three times. He is then flogged with up to five hundred stripes, or even more. If a thief is caught the second time, he is sent to the T'u-ssu's prison, and when he emerges from jail, he is a wreck of his former self—provided he escapes at all, by bribing the guards.

People who steal sheaves from the field at harvest time are flogged with up to fifty or one hundred stripes and are led through the village, the sheaves on their back, [865] crying the whole way long that they are guilty. Boys accused by their parents of disobedience are flogged in the same way, after having been forced to apologize to their parents.

684 In cases of adultery the guilty pair, if caught *in flagrante delictu,* are flogged with up to one hundred stripes or more. The woman is beaten on her bare back with rawhide lash, the man on his bare buttocks and thighs. Apologies are made to the injured husband. A sheep or pig is brought to his home. Fire crackers are set off. The guilty pair ask a guarantor to speak for their proper conduct in the future. An official statement is written attesting the fact of adultery and the supplication for pardon. The two guilty persons place their right thumbs on an inked pad and then make an impression with the thumb on the statement. They are then led through the village, two drums beating before them, while they confess their guilt.

Once in a while a young woman runs away from her

684 husband—or rather, usually, from her mother-in-law. When brought back she endures one hundred lashes on the back, and is led to her husband's house with the same "ceremonial" as related above, after having asked for a guarantor and made her thumb-print on a statement.
585 Once in a while, also, a future son-in-law who is working for his future father-in-law, in order to marry the daughter, disappears with the daughter. After one or two years they return, and ordinarily the parents are delighted to see them again, and no more complaints are made.

525 In cases of gambling, a fine is imposed on the offenders for the upkeep of the temple or to defray the
681 expenses of the religious celebrations performed by the shaman at the village in spring and autumn. All kinds
593 of interesting and dramatic cases occur. Wives complain about their husbands; widows who do not intend to remarry complain about members of the family prodding and teasing them to remarry; widows willing to remarry are hindered from remarrying; or the price for a bride is not paid at the fixed time; or a betrothal is broken off, etc.

•627 Two particular cases may be described in detail, because of the light they cast on the type of cases handled by chiefs and elders, and on Monguor society in general.

In the first case, in the valley of Hungnai, in 1918, Chang Chia-pa, a Chinese whose family had been enrolled in a Monguor clan for many generations, had a daughter married "with the girdle" [5] who was the mother of a lovely boy. He also had a son, a daughter-in-law, and grandchildren. The girl of the girdle, who was always having trouble with her sister-in-law, finally could not stand any more, married a man named Hou Yu-liang as his concubine, and took her son with her. Hou paid her father four hundred strings of cash for her.

After five or six years, during the festivities held at the second moon in Weiyuanp'u, a Chinese peddler from Ho-nan province, named Li, made trouble with Hou Yu-liang for having, as he complained, married the

585 [5] When a girl who is unwilling to marry has relations with a guest, custom requires that the guest present his girdle (sash) to the girl. In the event that she subsequently becomes pregnant, she performs the rites of marriage with the sash, and she is thenceforth known as "Mrs. So-and-So" (guest's name), and the son as "boy so-and-so," even if the guest never comes back during her whole life.

The importance of the girdle is worth noting. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, according to Fr. Mostaert, when on the day set for the marriage the groom falls ill and is unable to attend the ceremony, his girdle is sent to the bride and she performs the rite of marriage with it. I never met such a case among the Monguors, and it appears that the girdle is used among the Ordos Mongols in circumstances quite different from those in which it is used among the Monguors. We note also that kidnapped widows prove before the court of the village their unwillingness to marry so-and-so by showing the girdle which was exchanged with so-and-so. Father Mostaert told me that when shamans in the Ordos perform their rites, removal of the girdle is one of the most important acts. This custom is unknown among the Monguor shamans.

[p. 786]

•627 mother of his son. The peddler was accompanied by the brother of the girl's father who had a grudge against him. The girl of the girdle did not even recognize the peddler, but since her son had always been called Li, and since she herself had for five or six years always been called Mrs. Li, the peddler, with the girl's uncle as "witness," threatened to accuse her and her husband in a Chinese court. Hou, afraid of the terrible expenses consequent on involvement in a Chinese court action—which in any case might not save him his beloved concubine—preferred to settle the trouble by compromise. He invited the chief of the village and the elders, his maternal uncle and some of his friends, and after a long "interesting" meeting, crowded with the most ticklish details, it was decided that Hou should pay 160 strings of cash to the presumed father and apologize, bringing the traditional offering of a sheep with paper pasted on its horns and a piece of red cloth on its back—all to the accompaniment of firecrackers.

583 627 The second case concerned the kidnapping of a widow. In theory it is up to a widow to make her own decision about a second marriage, but at the same time the custom exists of kidnapping the widow when she is conducted at night to the home of her second husband. In Sopokou[6] lived the widow of Hla Reng. A man named Chang, of Ch'ichialin, who intended to marry her, heard that she had already consented to marry a man named Li, and that they had exchanged girdles as tokens of their mutual consent.

Chang, unwilling to give up the widow, called together thirty or more youngsters with clubs, in order to kidnap her on her way to her second husband. But having been misled about the day of her departure, and finding no widow along the road, Chang and his gang decided that she must be still at her old home, and resolved to kidnap her there. Among the kidnappers was her own nephew, who being familiar with the house of his aunt was charged with keeping the watchdog quiet. The group entered, smashing the door, and at the same time the candle inside the room was blown out. The woman was hurriedly seized and gagged, and a piece of red cloth wrapped around her head. Four men carried her out and lifted her onto a mule. A man jumped up behind her on the mule, holding her around the body, and the armed group in deep silence, at full speed, riding by side roads, in the dead of night, reached the home of Chang.

Then, consternation! The nephew recognized that the kidnapped woman was not his aunt, but the wife of a neighbor who had been staying for a few days with the widow. In the scurry and confusion, the widow had hidden herself in the corner of the room under some sacks. The whole group apologized and offered to take

[6] A name probably meaning "Needle Valley," from Monguor *subuge*, "needle" (de Smedt and Mostaert, *Dictionnaire*); but possibly from Mongol *subag*, "a canal."—O. L.

[P. 79a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

583 the woman back to her husband that very same night. But the clever woman refused, and nobody dared to
•627 touch her again. At dawn the funny story spread like a prairie fire all over the country. The most stoic elders who had not laughed for years burst into peals of merriment. The chief of the village and the elders restrained the furious husband from bringing an action at the Chinese court. On the threshing floor the problem was tackled with the whole village in attendance. The decision was that the wife should be brought back home, preceded by a group of musicians and a sheep with paper pasted on its horns, a piece of red cloth on its back and firecrackers going off all along the road, and that a dinner should be prepared for the husband, the chief of the village and the elders.

An elder of the village, a celebrated patcher-up of troubles, told me that cases of kidnapping are usually not so dramatic. Most of the time, if a widow is being compelled to marry a man she does not like, and if she already has a man friend, she notifies him about the time and the circumstances of her departure, and he kidnaps her on the way, often after a severe fight. Later, on the threshing floor, after she has testified that she will marry her friend and that they have already exchanged girdles, the friend is required to reimburse the disappointed suitor for all his expenses and whatever part of the bride price he has already paid for the widow. (The marriage price for a widow is paid in two installments, one before she leaves home and one after she has reached the home of her new husband.) But when a widow is kidnapped against her own will, and refuses to marry the kidnapper, the decision made on the threshing floor by the chief of the village and the elders goes in her favor.

627 All cases are exposed and discussed in the open air, with all the villagers in attendance including youngsters and children, who thus get their social and family education through naked facts. The veil of privacy is ripped from all the miseries and realities of life before the eyes of the young, who are more sophisticated in such social knowledge than people in the Western world. A record of each case is filed in the "archives" of the chief of the village, and four strings of cash are set aside, to be offered to the T'u-ssu at the time of his triennial visit.

623 In most villages the influence wielded by the elders is remarkable. There are very few quarrels they are unable to patch up. Their skill seems to be based on long experience and a flair for grasping the core of problems rooted in the passions of human nature. They are supported by the reverence and esteem cultivated in the family circle for old age, which ensures attendance at their meetings and respect for their opinions. This kind of authority is even more important than the support they receive from the T'u-ssu. At the same time the fact that their meetings are public, and that the villagers can freely state their opinions and defend their rights puts pressure on the elders to act according to justice and in conformity with accepted opinion. Plaintiffs and de-

[P. 796]

581 /6 cont'd/
589 as far as selling all that one possesses, one's lands, houses, and ani-
183 mals, and will live in indigence; at the death of the parents, the elder married sons, in the case where the possessions are about to be divided up, must, before all else, put aside the sums required for the marriage of the younger unmarried sons; the parents, at the approach of death, will feel the greatest relief in the fact that they have gotten all their sons married. In order to permit the poor to marry, recourse is had to all kinds of contrivances, which very often are only imposed by reason of their primordial goal, which is that of marriage, and which scorn many obligations which in "justice" would seem, at the least, to have to be taken into greater consideration. One will find decisions which will appear unjust, but when one studies this mental attitude, which gives proportion to everything, one will understand that among the T'ou-jen the other principles yield to it and are sacrificed.

554 Marriage, for the T'ou-jen people, is the great affair in life,
581 obligatory above all else. One is no longer an honorable man when one is not married; this is because they believe that man has the duty to live according to natural law, that is, to marry and procreate children.

623 One day one of my catechists was invited to sit with the elders
● 627 of the village to judge the case of a penniless young man who had
689 run off with a girl of good rank. They had been brought back after
588 an escapade of three years, with a child born during the flight.

The young man was on his knees, his hands tied behind his back, imploring the clemency of the judges and of the whole assembled village. /7/ Despairing, he was saying, of ever being able to marry because of his extreme poverty, he had believed it permissible to act in this way, in order to be able to do his duty and marry. "I have been unjust toward the girl's parents, but I submit myself in advance to make all the reparations possible that will be required of me...." The girl also cries for mercy: "I could have hoped for a better match," she admits, "but I followed this young man to be gracious; without me, he would never have been able to marry...."

681 After an important palaver the offending couple was punished, and the judges found a way to indemnify the injured family and to legalize this union.

/7 cont'd/

627 The argument of the judges, before the whole village and the
581 families in question, is very instructive for us. The young man, they
181 said, has not respected the customs of our race, furthermore, he has been unjust with respect to the girl's family; these are grave errors; after the principal accusers, tirades are heard on the necessity of marriage and the indigence of the unfortunate man; finally, he is excused by going back to the extreme obligation to marry. As for the girl, disobedience is censured and the rights of the parents are loudly proclaimed, but she was brave in offering the young man the chance to marry, for marriage is a duty.

We should scarcely admit such reasons; and so I remarked to my catechist and explained to him that in my opinion this was only the commonplace story of a couple who loved each other. "That is possible," he replied, "but it is certain that the young man thought above all of the duty of marriage, and it is poverty which induced him to leave with the girl; as for the girl, she was courageous." It was the same argument. I encountered therefore the same way of thinking in my catechist.

This case would probably be resolved in the same way in the West as in the East, that is to say the union would be legalized; but the motives which would be invoked would be completely different.

/8/ This fact was for me a revelation at the time, and I was able to verify it many times later; it made me acquainted with the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of the general necessity for marriage.

2. Necessity for Male Descendants

858 Another mental habit among the T'ou-jen is an excessive de-
562 sire to see children born, and especially male children.
181 In Europe one is not too concerned when a family has no chil-
581 dren or when there are only girls. Among the T'ou-jen the greatest of misfortunes is the absence of male children. It is necessary to be in the Orient to "live" the text of canon law: Matrimonii finis primarius est procreatio atque educatio prolis /"The primary purpose

585 /78 cont'd/
578 more being served to drink and without the distribution of the fare-
571 well gifts.

The next day the Peis got ready to bring an action before the t'ou-se. The customs had not been observed, /79/ the farewell gifts
[431] had not even been given, people had fought, etc.... The injured side demands indemnities for the injuries and apologies for the discourtesies.

[627] The elders of the region come to see the Peis and propose to settle the affair amicably. Negotiations...dinner...and practical conclusion: the Lis will make apologies and will offer a sheep to the Peis, then the two families will renew kin relationships.

After rounding this dangerous cape, they breathe again and quickly serve gin to distract their minds. Each one having taken his place again at the table, Chinese noodles are served to finish up.

585 The son-in-law's family invites its master of ceremonies to
431 distribute the farewell gifts. It is the pou fen tse /"supplementary shares"/ complement of the dinner. According to custom, they give to each person of a generation above that of the daughter-in-law eight loaves of bread and two pieces of meat. To the persons of the same generation and to those of lower generation they give four loaves of bread and one piece of meat. Then they think also of the persons who should have been present and who have excused themselves; they likewise prepare for them their loaves of bread and pieces of meat. In the evening at the moment of departure it is not rare to see the guests go away with one or two loads of bread and meat. It would be a discourtesy to refuse the gifts. They claim that formerly, at the moment of departure, the son-in-law's family used to give to the daughter-in-law's family "the lama's part." It consisted of two pieces of meat and eight loaves of bread, which were taken to the lamasery the next day.

The custom of asking for the lama's part has continued to exist in different places, but that of taking the gift to the lamasery has disappeared.

/94 cont'd/

587 the darkness they heard the woman affirm that they had been mistaken;
583 that she was a neighbor who had come to keep the widow company; that she was married and /95/ that her husband was very much alive, and that the person they were looking for had hidden behind a wardrobe at the moment of danger. Consternation!

What to do? Sending back the woman was a loss of face, and then she did not want to go back.

[627 684] The incident was known everywhere in the region from the next day on; the widow's parents and the husband of the abducted woman were already getting ready to bring suit against the woman's abductors. The elders of the village knew that it was a mistake and proposed to arrange the affair amicably.

There was a palaver and a dinner, which my catchist attended. The conclusion of the discussion was that the young wife was to be taken back on horseback with a band at the head of the procession and a salvo of firecrackers. A sheep with a scarf of red cloth on its horns was to be offered, and apologies were to be made. They laughed heartily in the region at the unfortunate nephew who had presided at the abduction of his aunt.... The young widow meanwhile was married to the man of her choice.

Another very interesting incident for understanding the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of abduction and the conditions which permit it is the following:

A young widow of Pien-tan, after negotiations in due form, was taken at night to the home of a Tchao of Na-ling keou. Tchao, who was known for his avarice and had a very bad reputation, tried to pick a quarrel with the go-betweens on the subject of the widow's price, although the sum had already been agreed on. He wanted to be shrewd. Since the widow was at his house, he hoped to drag out the settlement of accounts and to get out of it by giving only part of it the agreed-upon price. After three weeks the matter was still dragging on, nothing had yet been paid, and consequently the contract had not yet been signed. New palaver in the courtyard of the pagoda two li distant from his house. Now in the absence of Tchao, a certain Tchang of Tong-keou, accompanied /96/ by several men

/134 cont'd/

A. Divorce

586 Summary. -- 1. Right of divorce, theory and practice. 2. Causes of divorce. 3. Procedure.

1. Right of Divorce, Theory and Practice

Divorce among the T'ou-jen takes on a special character, that of the sale of the wife by the husband with her consent. The definition of divorce is fully realized in it: the dissolving of the marriage ties in view of the respective interests of the husband and wife.

[562] /135/ In theory the wife's right to separate from her husband and ask for divorce is not recognized; the reason for it is that the wife is considered as the pure and simple property of the husband who bought her. On the contrary, the husband's right, in theory, to send his wife away, to sell her with her consent, as well as to do it in spite of her, is recognized. Moreover, he has the right to repudiate her by sending her back to her parents.

[614] Although this theory has the force of law, I have nevertheless
●627 known the case of a rich woman bringing suit through the head of the
586 clan, the t'ou-se, to obtain a divorce. An only daughter, when very young she had married a poor young man who had come to live at her home and serve her parents until their death. Now the husband-son-in-law in question was dissipating her fortune. The clans of the girl's mother and father as well as the elders of the village together presented a petition to the t'ou-se in which they confirmed the facts and asked the t'ou-se to grant the divorce. The divorce was granted. They based their argument on the fact that the wife had been given to the husband-son-in-law in exchange for the good services he was to render to the parents-in-law and the family; now he had not been faithful to his pledges....

586 The case of divorce occurs in practice in the following form: when the couple are no longer getting along, the wife has already found, in most cases, someone who wants to obtain her. If she has not yet found anyone, the husband will urge her to look for someone

/146 cont'd/

578 amuse herself... and has already had too many relations... one fine
593 day she disappears. This is the big affliction of the region. When a wife has run away, they immediately guess who her accomplice is; but it is necessary to be able to locate them. If the inquiries made about them are fruitless, after several days the son-in-law will go to his wife's family, pretending to believe that his dear better half is at their home and that he will find out about her return. This is also a way of informing the parents about their daughter's flight.

If after five or six months the fugitive has not come back, her parents require the son-in-law, accompanied by two aides, to go to get her at his expense; there is always some indication as to where she is. If they have exact information, they go to the headmen of the place to demand that they get hold of the fugitives so that they can bring them back home tied up.

684 Upon their return to the village, the village heads and the
627 members of the families of the lover and the wife are called. In the
681 presence of the whole populace, who very much relish this kind of distraction, the village heads begin the preliminary investigation of the affair. The case is examined to the bottom, and finally the lover is badly beaten and hung up by the thumbs until someone turns up who will act as guarantor for him. Then comes the woman, who is beaten on her bare back with leather lashes for as long as she does not manifest her regrets while adding good resolves for the future. Then the two culprits are taken through the village and exposed to the mockery of all; a herald precedes them, beating a drum and proclaiming their crime. It may happen that an indemnity on the part of the lover's family may be asked for the wrong done to the husband.

586 /147/ The wife goes back into the house; if she brings a child
681 born during the escapade, he is accepted into the family.

But it may also happen that the runaways are not found. Then after two or three years of vain search, the wife's parents demand a settlement of accounts. The parents-in-law then invite the parents of the runaway daughter-in-law, as well as her maternal uncles, the village heads, and several friends who are good speakers, for it will be a question of tseou che jen ming, i.e., "the indemnity (to the parents) for the loss of their daughter occasioned by her running away."

A second fact is encountered in a publication of Ma Fu-hsiang.[37] For many years he was the most prominent official of Hsining engaged with Tibetan and Mongol affairs. Later, he became governor of Suiyüan Province and a member of the Meng-Tsang Yüan in Nanking. The passage from the publication states: 792 578

More than 100 *li* southeast of Hsining, on the territory of the 'Ten Tribes,' is the Ami chü-lu mountain upon which was built the monastery of Sha-ch'ung which had more than 1,000 lamas. It was there that Tsong khapa had his hair clipped [entered religion], and remained for more than 10 years, starting his studies and religious life, before he went to Tibet (p. 198).

In 1906 the Chinese started digging for gold in the sacred mountain. The lamas, opposed to the digging, fought and two men were killed. The governor of the province ordered punishment to be imposed upon the lamasery with ruthless severity. Ma Fu-hsiang, being acquainted with the Tibetans, sought to settle the question amicably and went to Sha-ch'ung. The rebelling lamas and 1,000 soldiers of the "Ten Tribes" were determined to fight the Chinese troops. During the long period of discussion, the head of the lamasery repeated over and over that the lamasery and the mountain were hallowed places, because it was there that the founder of the Yellow Church had clipped his hair and remained for more than ten years. He protested that by digging at these spots the "artery" of the Yellow Church would be damaged, and the ruin of its religion be made inevitable (p. 190). Finally, as always in the Orient, a way was found to settle the case, by promising that no more digging would be done on the Sacred Mountain; but on the territory of the "Ten Tribes" digging would be allowed (p. 193). This fact gives evidence of the deep-seated conviction among the Tibetans about the veracity of the tradition and infers the existence of the lamasery at the time of the Yüan period (1280–1367). More traditions exist about monasteries having been built during the Yüan period, as related by the lamas, but they are vague and no names or specific places are indicated nor do ruins exist. However, it is not impossible that the traditions point to the hermitages noted in the *Blue Annals*. The building of the big monastery of Ta fo-ssu by one of the important T'u-ssu clans reveals the fact that Lamaism was a living entity among the T'u-ssu and their Monguors. Is it not too far-fetched to suppose that among the T'u-ssu only the Li T'u-ssu were Lamaist, since it is well known that the Ch'i and Lu T'u-ssu in 1644 were proprietors of monasteries constructed by them, although we do not know when they were constructed.[38] Besides, the facts that the monastery of Goorongbzan existed near Sha-ch'ung, and that in the beginning of the Ming a board of lamas was established, suggest the assumption that in Huang-chung during the Yüan period there probably must

792 627 175 771 792 [622 624]

[37] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng Tsang Chuang-k'uang*, Nanking, Chung-Hua yin-shu kung-ssu, 1931.

[38] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 34, p. 3a.

[p.115(B)]

Finally, in 1885 the branch declared its independence 175
and claimed to be possessor of the pasture and farm 792
grounds and the forests formerly entrusted to its care 578
by the mother monastery. A serious fight at close quarters occurred in the mother lamasery.

Ch'ü-t'an sued the branch to vindicate its rights of 691
proprietor of all the domains of Ch'ü-t'an. The lawsuit 792
was carried to the Court of Justice of the Subprefecture 662
of Nien-pe and lasted for two years. The Chinese officials, lavishly bribed by both groups, finally sent the lawsuit to the Court of the Prefecture of Hsining in order that their friends and superiors might have the opportunity to acquire some wealth and promote the cause of justice. Again, the lamas stubbornly spent their money for two years. Still unwilling to accept the verdict of the judges, the suit was sent to the Supreme Court of the capital of the province. Here the Chinese officials were very happy to meet the interested customers, and the gullible lamas started immediately to sow again, seeds of wealth and happiness in the gardens of the highest officials. For sixteen years the clever officials kept the wheels turning, encouraging both groups, exciting passions and stubbornness, promising to both sides a successful conclusion. The gullible lamas spent money, and the officials milked the meek cows dry. Finally, the wealth of the mother lamasery was exhausted first, so that the branch lamasery won the suit. The branch, during all the trouble, relied on the forests, sold wood, and was in a more advantageous position to "defend its rights." Throughout this long period the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung tried several times to spread oil on the troubled waters and settle the question amicably, but to no avail.

The loss of face for the mother monastery was too 627
humiliating. At night its lamas went to Yao-ts'ao-t'ai 579
and burned its temples; the next day the lamas of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai went at noon to Ch'ü-t'an and burned the palaces of the Living Buddha and killed two lamas. In 1905 the two groups, both bled white, agreed to have the question settled by Living Buddhas. An indemnity was fixed for the two lamas who had been killed, and because the damage caused by the fires was considered to be equal, the problem was settled.

In 1915 there were 285 lamas at Yao-ts'ao-t'ai: at the mother monastery there were only fifty or sixty, most of them children. Five hundred and fifty lamas had left the mother monastery, with four minor Living Buddhas, because they had been compelled to contribute to the expenses caused by the suit, and to fulfill the corvées imposed in connection with it. The administration of the mother monastery, in former times so flourishing and wealthy, was reduced to a minimum. One lama administered the property, a precentor led the prayers in the temple, and all the other duties were fulfilled by the Living Buddha himself. The homes formerly occupied by the six hundred lamas were inhabited by Monguor, Tibetan, and Chinese families.

[p.24(A)]

tery in the most luxurious style. The head temple, with 175
its gilt tiled roof, which had been preserved, was em- 792
bellished and other temples rebuilt. He rebuilt a splen- 346
did palace for himself patterned after the most luxurious palaces in Peking. Chang-chia's Ch'ie-bzan was the wealthiest monastery in the country, with 150 lamas, 2 colleges, and 4 minor Living Buddhas. Most of its wealth was provided by Mongols, among whom the influence and prestige of Chang-chia was proverbial.

Every year, lama expeditions of Ch'ie-bzan traveled 175
in Mongolia in order to collect alms. Chang-chia's 794
prestige was so great that the Queen of the Torgots 648
came to Ch'ie-bzan in 1913, to invite the intendant of the monastery to send an expedition among her tribesmen, for it had been a long time since an expedition had reached her country. I happened to be at Ch'ie-bzan in 1914 when the expedition returned. It had collected 3,000 sheep, 400 horses, and 280 camels, which were loaded with wool and skins.

The breach between T'u-kuan and Sumpa, which oc- 175
curred in 1890, was more tragic. During the rebellion 578
of the Moslems, Sumpa (born in 1854) had fled among 792
the Mongols and Tibetans, north of Kukunor. He met with a Mongol girl, whom he had moved to his branch monastery called Sumpa-ssu. The lama community of Erh-ku-lung, after some years, could no longer stand the disrepute brought on the monastery. It brought [691]
suit against Sumpa before the Amban in the prefectural city of Hsining, claiming he was not a genuine reincarnation. The lama community urged that he be erased from the list of Buddhas, and insisted on the right to search for the genuine reincarnation. For several months the lamas disturbed the whole city with the scandal, and spent money. The Chinese enjoyed all the incidents of the trial. Sumpa lost his face and honor irretrievably. Sumpa, however, was rich and the Amban venal. The Amban finally proposed that Sumpa leave Erh-ku-lung and move to one of his affiliates. This reincarnation (the third) of the illustrious Sumpa, having cut a sorry figure, never returned to Erh-ku-lung, but lived at his branch where, in 1916, his two girls delighted the old age of their father, who was sixty. His eldest daughter had married the son of the chief of the Aruk tribe. In 1916 the old man made a pilgrimage to Lhasa, and the lamas said he was atoning for his sins. No wonder that the Li-fan yüan records lacked information concerning the subsequent reincarnations of the Great Sumpa.

The Living Buddha Ch'ie-bzan of Erh-ku-lung hav- 175
ing a branch monastery of his own, moved into it, 792
appearing at Erh-ku-lung only to attend the festivals. 627
The Living Buddha Wang lived in retired seclusion. 762
Soon after the trial of Sumpa, the minor Living Buddha Tsung-tsa, one of the eleven, followed in the steps of Sumpa and established a family in Tsung-tsa. In the winter of the same year, the minor Living Buddha Seerting was taken and beaten at night by the husband and

[p.3)(A)]

friends of a lady Seerting was "visiting." He was 175
found the next morning hanging from a beam in his 792
palace. The loss of face had been too tremendous. 627
Erh-ku-lung had become a place of unrelieved misery. 762
The year 1890 was one of the most fateful in the history of Erh-ku-lung.

After the withdrawal of Chang-chia Hutukhtu and 175
Sumpa Hutukhtu, T'u-kuan became the actual omnipo- 792
tent chief of the monastery, and acted and was recognized as such. Because it is customary to hush up dishonorable facts deliberately, Chang-chia and Sumpa were very seldom spoken about. It was a long time before I knew they had been the honored co-founders of the monastery.

The former glorious days of Erh-ku-lung vanished. There were no longer learned men at the monastery, which for a century had been the most celebrated center of learning in Huang-chung. Its renown for science passed to the now flourishing monastery of Labrang. The tragic departure of two of its glorious founders put a blight on it, and left a leaden atmosphere of gloom hovering over it. Troubles had succeeded each other. Kumbum, in the meantime, had made great strides, and became the most celebrated monastery of Huang-chung. It was visited by caravans of pilgrims from Mongolia and Tibet, which no longer cared for, or even paid a visit to Erh-ku-lung. Once at the top of the Lamaist world, Erh-ku-lung became a dim shadow of its former self, a second-rate monastery.

III. THE LAMASERIES IN HUANG-CHUNG

THE YELLOW SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG 792

This chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung. The forty-two monasteries and branches situated north of the Hsining River were built according to the pattern of the old mother monastery of Erh-ku-lung. It seems obvious, therefore, to base the study on this initial institution, the most renowned and flourishing in former times. Because all the lamaseries of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung have been organized on the same pattern, a general view of Lamaist institutions can thus be obtained.

The study is founded on facts collected during a 121
stay of many years among the Monguors; which may give a better insight into the matter and reveal the trend of mind of the actors.

THE LAMASERIES OF HUANG-CHUNG INDEPENDENT OF LHASA

All the lamaseries in Huang-chung are autonomous 175
units, independent of Lhasa both in matters of admin- 792
istration and appointment of superiors, even in matters of doctrine. The Achia Lamâ defended the autonomy of Kumbum against the illegal interference of the Dalai Lama in 1908 by committing suicide. This energetic

[p. 37(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

among the intendancies and the impoverished lamas. 792
Saddled with debts, and his plans not working out, he 334
was compelled to give up his ambitious dreams and revert to the ancestral raft.

It is said that this holy man enjoyed the gift of bilocation. The people still state that many times many people saw him directing the shifts of blacksmiths and carpenters on the river, and at the same time saw him in ecstatic rapture in the temple.

It was after his financial collapse that he started the trouble with the disciple of his deceased intendant, which lasted for seven years, in order to retrieve his fortunes, only to land in jail in Seerkok. Finally, having debased his name and position of authority, he moved to one of his affiliates in the region of Kan-chou, where he was still living in 1920. Tenma was a typical figure in the world of Living Buddhas in 1910–1920.

COLLECTION OF ALMS IN FAR-OFF COUNTRIES

Expeditions to far-off countries are an important 792
source of revenue. They last for several months and 434
are organized by the various intendancies in their own 431
behalf. Sometimes the supreme chief of a monastery accompanies the expedition. In 1914 T'u-kuan went to the region of the Yellow Tibetans (Uigurs) living around Su-chou. He left on the second of the second moon and was back at Erh-ku-lung in the tenth moon, with 124 cows, 146 horses, 90 sheep, and 2,000 taels. He seemed to be very happy when I visited him after the trip. During the troubles in 1940, T'u-kuan went to Mongolia, among the Urats, and traveled for four years. He visited me at Man-huei in Hou T'ao. He had a lot of trouble entering Hsining with 300 horses and 200 loaded camels because he was suspected of having had connections with the revolting Mongol, Te wang.

When I was in Kumbum in 1912 I met a returning expedition from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 3,000 sheep, 260 horses, 140 cows, and loaded with butter, wool, skins, and yak hair. All the butchers from Hsining rushed to Kumbum to buy cheap cows and sheep. In December, 1914, I met a caravan of Kumbum returning from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 6,000 sheep, 150 horses, and 200 cows. On the way they had lost 40 horses. They went to Hsining in order to [47] bring suit against the chief of the tribe on whose territory the horses had been lost. The Amban settled the trouble in one session. He ordered that a kettle containing boiling oil be brought to him. Then he ordered both groups to grasp a one dollar piece he had thrown in the boiling oil. The lamas prostrated, apologized and implored for mercy, but the Tibetan chief tucked up his sleeves and went straight to the kettle. The gesture was sufficient for the Amban. The lamas received two hundred lashes, and were put into jail until a fine of two hundred dollars was brought to the court.

[p.45(B)]

roll of the inmates and from that time on he becomes 792
a member of the community, and is able to reap the benefits of his membership. The same rule exists for admission to the colleges.

Nobody cares about the past of the newcomer, nobody inquires about the name of his country, his parents, or the reasons for his arrival. The lamas know very well that inquiries about these matters are of no avail, for if he were a dishonorable man he would certainly not reveal his past. Therefore, it suffices to say that you are coming to worship a certain Buddha honored at the lamasery, and that the period required to satisfy your devotion will probably be long, maybe a year, two years, or more. Then you have to try and find yourself a home in the lamasery, renting a room from a lama, or sharing a room. The proprietor of a courtyard has to report the names of the lamas living in his yard. In small institutions the control is easy, but in large ones, like Kumbum, it is impossible. Frequently, lamas assured me that there was always a number of non-registered lamas, mostly of the traveling businessman type, living at the homes of their friends.

Withdrawal from the lamasery is as easy. Every lama is free to abandon the lamasery forever, at any time. He has only to inform the intendancy of his departure. Only lamas who are guarantors for debts are not allowed to leave, as long as the business is unfinished. A lama is free to sell his courtyard to another lama, and to leave at any time. Usually, a number of lamas leave after the distribution of alms. Once a lama has left the monastery, it has no obligation to care for him any more, unless he has been a guarantor or has committed an injustice against the lamasery. The rector of Chiar-too-ssu, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, left the [892] monastery, bought property adjacent to it, and without changing his lama dress for the clothes of a layman, lived with his wife unmolested. I encountered three or more lama doctors, celebrated for proficiency in their art, who lived with their wives, still wearing their religious garb. Even the son of one of them was dressed as a lama.

If a lama whose name is inscribed on the rolls should be informed by his friends of a charge made against him at the intendancy for moral reasons or theft, he leaves the lamasery in time to avoid the punishments which are meted out with ruthless severity, and moves to another lamasery. Most of the time, a lama would be advised to leave by the intendency itself, for intendancies are reluctant to inflict such punishments, in order to avoid scandal.

In Kumbum, in 1912, I saw a lama, accused by a 792
husband for visiting his wife, beaten unconscious before 627
the main temple, while the community read imprecations. 634
Half his face was blackened with soot; a paper 681
hat, half black, half white, was put on his head; and the traditional oval was impressed on both his cheeks

[p. 71 (B)]

with a burning ram's horn. He was carried outside the monastery wall by lamas. Ashes were spread all the way along in order to prevent his "spirit" from finding the way back to harm the lamasery. A large group of lamas followed. He was thrown on the ground, stripped of all his garments, amid the shouts of the lamas and the long blare of trumpets, and the group returned to the monastery without looking back. A round mark is burned on thieves. It is impossible for those so marked to enter any monastery. 792 627 684 681 [685]

At the time of the festival at Erh-ku-lung in 1912, three young lamas molested a young lady, causing her death. They fled the same night. The whole village of Too-long accused the monastery at Hsining, which was unable to trace the murderers and had to pay an indemnity of 3,000 taels, after spending far more at court. The whole country was bursting with righteous indignation. It was a tremendous loss of face for the lamasery. 792 684 682 [627]

Lamas not only lack the vow of obedience, but also the vow of poverty. It has been explained how lamas retain their own wealth and the means they use for increasing it.[27] Among the lamas are rich individuals enjoying a happy life, possessing a beautiful courtyard, clothed with silk and brocade, riding the finest horses and mules of the country, served by as many lamas as they wish, and there are poor individuals who have trouble making both ends meet—ill fed, ill clothed, working the whole day. Nobody takes care of them because wealth is a personal matter, and no vow of poverty exists. It has been explained how the lack of the vow of poverty is responsible in a large part for the loss of spirit in the monastic life, and how from this lack originate most of the vices encountered among the lamas and the ruination of monasteries. 792 511

Lamas lack the vow of chastity, for chastity reaches farther than celibacy. The Buddhists know this very well and the texts prove it.[28] 792 831

The reform of Tsong-khapa, the founder of the Yellow Sect, aimed at return to the traditional monastic life, based on celibacy and serious study. The sense of the necessity of celibacy still seems to prevail among the Monguor lamas. This assumption seems evidenced by the facts that the communities of lamas bring suit at Chinese courts against even supreme chiefs of lamaseries, and intendants who betray their vows, as was the case with the Living Buddhas Sumpa, Lu-chia, and Min-chu-erh, and even with Li, the intendant of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu. It was the same with the Living Buddha Seerting who was caught red-handed by the [185]

[27] The wealth possessed by a lama, his courtyard, etc. are inherited by his apprentice; in case he dies without having an apprentice, his wealth is sold by the intendancy; prayers are said by the lamas and alms given to them. If a lama who is proprietor of a courtyard marries, his courtyard is taken by the intendancy.

[28] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Morale bouddhique*, 79, Paris, Librairie Nationale, 1927.

[p.72(A)]

Buddhas. The special *swork'a* or prayer honoring his deity is read by the lamas, and the Kurtain is proclaimed to be a genuinely possessed man. Then he is ordered to memorize his *swork'a* and to recite it before each performance, it being an invitation to his deity to descend into him. 756 787

Then follow the usual recommendations given to all Kurtains about continence on the day of a performance, not to act when his wife is giving birth and at mourning time, not to indulge in wine, to keep his weapons (sword, whip, and dagger) in a decent place and not to use them for other purposes; to give a performance at the monastery at the annual pageant time and in the families where his deity is specially honored, and always stress is put on the obligation to be loyal, honest, and dependable, so as not to cast a blight on the institution. Every time I heard this last recommendation, I remembered what the Monguors had said so many times, that among the Kurtains more dubious fellows are encountered than among the shamans, and for that reason the shamans are invited more by them than the Kurtains. They always added the story of the famous Kurtain of Toolong, which was seared in their mind. It seems really typical and sheds an unfavorable light on the institution. [844]

Many years ago, the Kurtain of Toolong used to predict whether there would be outbreaks of arson in autumn when the crops were heaped upon the threshing floor. In this way he earned a pretty good living, because the crops of the people who had invited him for the performance of his rites were preserved and those of the incredulous people were burned at night. The whole country was really disturbed. However, suspicions arose and the arsonist was taken redhanded one night. He turned out to be the old father of the Kurtain. The chief and the elders of the village hung the old man by his thumbs from a tree and he received a well-deserved lashing to make him reveal the instigator of the arson. Reeling with dizziness and pain, welts and bruises all over his body, the father accused his son, and the Kurtain was hung up and tortured. The infuriated villagers came within a hair of killing him. His mandate of disciple of the spirit was gone forever. Such events are very prejudicial to the Kurtains. They cast a blemish on their group and are commented on all over the country for years, and so the saying goes that there are few good genuine Kurtains, and for that reason all have to be tested.[2] 756 685 [627]

Some of the Kurtains not only upset the villagers once in a while, but even land the monasteries in serious trouble. A fact well known in the country runs, that on the fifteenth of the first moon in 1914, the lamas of the important lamasery of Seerkok invited their Kurtain, possessed by the deity Kortong, to the ceremony carried out in honor of the deity, with great pomp and display. 756 579

[2] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1238, notes a similar case of a *W'u* arsonist.

[p.93(A)]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

621 stream must be kept in repair by all the people using the water of the canal throughout its length. If section 312 *B*, the middle section of the canal, is to be repaired, the people of section *A* are not concerned. The people of the villages along sections *B* and *C* must do all the work. If section *C* is damaged, the villagers of that section must do all the work alone. Yet there are times when most of the damage is along the lowest section, and the people, getting no help from their upstream neighbors, harbor resentment.

621 Each village is allotted a fixed number of days for the use of water for irrigation. In times of drought, villages 312 will open their outlets from the main canals at night when it is not their turn for water in order to steal • 628 water from the section whose turn it is, pretending that the dams broke. It is not uncommon for fights to break out over water-stealing, giving rise to long-lasting and bitter feuds between villages. When there is trouble over water the chiefs and elders of villages not involved in the case are invited to act as arbiters. If the damage done is not too serious, a dinner is given by the offenders and apologies are made; but if the damage is too great, the offending village is required to pay part of the taxes due to the T'u-ssu from the plaintiff village. Even such a settlement, however, may become the beginning of a feud.

621 Minor causes of friction between villages are the stealing of sheaves from the autumn harvest by poor 628 people or, in the spring and summer, damage to the crops of one village by straying animals from another 778 village. The chiefs of the villages concerned patch up such petty troubles without need for arbitration. Every village raises a sacred animal, usually a Tibetan bull yak or a he-goat. These animals are allowed to roam freely and to trespass on fields, and nobody complains of the damage they cause to crops. After a few years, however, a bull begins to turn savage, and sometimes injures people. In 1914 the bull of the village of Narin ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Lungta, who was working in the fields. The village of Narin made apologies, indemnified the family, and killed the bull. The meat was offered to the village of the man who was killed, because the people of a village are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. No further trouble followed from this incident.

628 There is a strict custom that it is not allowed to sing 834 lascivious songs inside a village. The young people of villages that are not friendly sometimes sing such songs 533 in order to tease their neighbors, and fights break out; but if the chiefs of both villages concerned punish the youngsters, there are no further consequences.

628 In summary, it may be said that there are few serious quarrels between villages, except those over canals and irrigation water; in regions where irrigation is not used, in the so-called "dry land," serious quarrels never break out between villages.

[P. 81 a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

knelt and prostrated themselves, thanking the deceased's maternal uncle.

B. The maternal uncle was required to initiate and execute vengeance for the murder or suicide of his sister's child.

The duty to initiate and execute vengeance fell first on the brothers of the mother of the deceased—i.e. the deceased's maternal uncles—and only secondarily on the deceased's father, brothers, and other paternal kinsmen. Hence, the mother's brothers were the immediate protectors of the lives and well-being of their sister's children and it was they who stepped forward in the event that a man or woman had been murdered in his or her own family, or a married woman had been murdered or had committed suicide in the home of her parents-in-law.

To illustrate the way in which the maternal uncle operated as an avenger, and the relationships which he had with the various other relatives of the deceased, I shall draw on an actual case of suicide which I had the opportunity of observing at first hand.

In November 1915, in Lichiat'an ("the plain of the Li family"), the daughter-in-law of Li Chin-ch'ün, born in the family of Ch'i, was found one morning hanging from a beam. She had had quarrels for many days with her mother-in-law and had been beaten by her husband. Li Chin-ch'ün, sick with fear and apprehension, and with a sense of impending doom, went in a hurry to see the chief of the village and the elders, and begged a man who was on intimate terms with the girl's maternal uncle to convey the terrible news and to invite him to come over in order to permit detachment of the body from the beam and to fix the date for the settlement of the trouble.

A hanging person was not allowed to be detached without permission of the "master of the bones." After the permission had been granted, a shaman was invited who adjured and cursed the evil spirit, feverishly cut the rope with his sword, undressed the victim and cut a small piece of flesh from the hips, which he swallowed. The victim was then deposited on the *k'ang*, or sleeping platform, to await burial after the troubles had been patched up and permission for the burial granted by the girl's maternal uncle.

During the night, with all possible haste, the Li family, aided by some friends and relatives, sent away for safe keeping its best animals and entrusted to these friends and relatives its most precious belongings—clothes, agricultural implements, etc. Hogs and sheep were killed and vast quantities of wine were prepared, in order to deal in the best way with the ill-disposed guests, for on an empty stomach trouble cannot be ironed out; empty bellies do not reason. To meet unknown contingencies which might arise, the father-in-law of the suicide borrowed money at usurious rates, mortgaged some fields, etc., for a suicide ruined a family completely, and there was a saying that: "The value of the life of a person

[P. 92a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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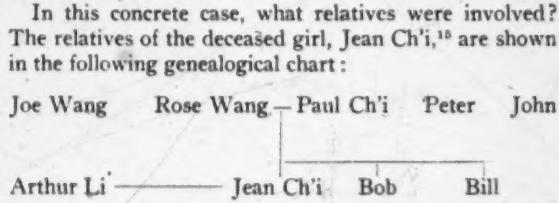
.628

who dies by his own hand, tallies with the whole wealth of the family."

In this concrete case, what relatives were involved? The relatives of the deceased girl, Jean Ch'i,[15] are shown in the following genealogical chart:



Since Jean was the daughter of Rose Wang, Joe Wang, who is Rose's brother, was Jean's maternal uncle and was "the master of the bones" and had to lead the avengers. If Jean had had no real maternal uncle, the duty of leading the avengers would have fallen on her closest male relatives in her mother's lineage.

Since Jean was also the daughter of Paul Ch'i, Paul and his brothers and sons, and his paternal uncles and their sons and grandsons—the whole Ch'i family—were involved. They had to avenge the death of one of their members, but under the leadership of Joe Wang. They would have led the avengers only in default of Jean's maternal uncles.

On the other side, the whole Li family was involved, and with them the maternal uncles of Arthur Li, the husband of the suicide. The latter were invited to take up the cudgels in favor of Arthur and his father.

Thus four families were directly involved in the suicide—two on each side. The position of the avenging group was stronger, for they had a claim to see justice done; the position of the other group was the weaker because they were recognized as in the wrong. The first group emphasized the wickedness of the behavior of the Li family, in order to extort a severe atonement, and the other group tried to minimize the wrong, offering extenuating circumstances, in order to save Arthur and his father.

It should be noted that other families could have been indirectly involved in this case. Joe Wang, the avenger, could have asked his own maternal uncle to assist him, and in default of close members of Joe Wang's lineage, this maternal uncle would have assumed the role of "master of the bones." Similarly, Paul Ch'i could have asked assistance of his own maternal uncle.

On the other side, not only Arthur Li's maternal uncles but also his mother's maternal uncles, and his father's maternal uncles could have been asked to help in the defense.

In other words, aside from the maternal uncle of the deceased, the maternal uncles of any of the principals involved in the ensuing conflict were subject to an appeal for assistance and moral support, and, in the case of the chief avenger, for substitution in role.

It is also to be noted that in any of the clans involved—e.g. Ch'i, Wang, Li—family groups rather than entire

[15] Given names are fictitious.

[p. 92b]

604 clans participated. In this case, Jean Ch'i's brothers,
628 father, father's brothers and the latters' sons were involved; in other cases, if the family of the defendant was wealthy, the aggrieved's grandfather, grandfather's brothers and their descendants joined the avenging group in the hopes of profiting during the impoverishment of the defendant's family. But this is usually the limit of involvement of any given clan.

To help himself in this tight spot, the father of Arthur Li invited the chief of the village and the elders to arbitrate the conflict, along with some influential men celebrated in the country for their eloquence and proficiency in the art of patching up troubles, and known to be on intimate terms with the members of the first group. These he promised a fine remuneration in case of success. Such were the actors in the drama which ensued.

On the day appointed for the settlement, the members of the Li family together with Arthur Li's maternal uncles and the chief and elders of the village, went outside the village to greet the "guests"—i.e. the members of the avenging group. They led a sheep whose horns were decorated with red paper and on whose back was bound a piece of red cotton cloth eight feet in length. With them they also took many firecrackers, to be fired in front of the guests as they returned the long way to the Li family's courtyard. This was the customary means for making a public apology.

But the guests did not show up, and for several days the Li family had to send them new invitations every day. This was Joe Wang's way of compelling the Li family to spend money and kill more animals for the invited elders, the rest of the Li relatives and Arthur Li's maternal uncles, who had to be treated with kindness and fed all during the time that Joe Wang was delaying his appearance.

Finally, after five days Joe Wang showed up with the Ch'i family and a retinue of forty or fifty men bearing clubs, etc. The whole Li family knelt and prostrated themselves to make public apology, but not a kind word was spoken by their former friends, who had now become the fiercest enemies. Entering the courtyard, the Wangs and the Ch'is went to see the victim lying on the *k'ang* unwashed and dirty, for no one was allowed to touch the victim before the case was settled. The stench lay heavy on the air, clogged the throat, and made the avengers clench their fists with rage. They breathed fire and brimstone against the Li family. The maternal uncle declared that he was coming to take vengeance, and like a bolt from the blue, he and his followers smashed all the windows and doors and tables and benches and jars and all kinds of tools; the chickens and the dog were clubbed; all the animals in the stables were driven away, etc., adding to the chaos and confusion. Babies squalled, children screamed, the daughters-in-law clutched their children to their breasts, and the whole Li family prostrated themselves, begging for

604 mercy. The avengers knew no compassion, and every supplication was as a hot coal hissing on ice.

628 In the meantime the elders had tried to calm them down a little. The neighbors brought tea. The scolding, upbraiding, and cursing having subsided a bit, a dinner was offered. Again some of the avengers carped and complained about the quality of the food, etc. After dinner the palaver began again and went on through the whole night, with endless cursing.

The maternal uncle refused to announce his conditions for settling the trouble. The avenging group ate and drank its fill for three days, and still no solution, no headway was made.

On the fourth day the maternal uncle finally announced his conditions: the important living Buddha of Erh-kulung and 20 lamas should be invited to pray for 14 days for the victim; 1,000 pounds of butter should be offered, with an alms of 10,000 taels (ounces of silver) to the same lamasery; and 10,000 taels should be paid to the family of the suicide as atonement.

In the meantime the elders, knowing the ropes, and having the knack of acquiring information, had scanned the avenging group, recognized the most influential men among them, and had already invited them on three separate nights to their homes in order to enjoy a quiet sleep. Here they sounded them out concerning the mind of the maternal uncle about his final solution; some of them ultimately weakened and money was promised to them if they would see that the trouble was settled for a minor sum.

The maternal uncle, however, a very stubborn man, did not yield to the hints and suggestions of his friends. On the fifth day no solution had yet been reached.

It so happened that I was in the neighborhood and that two of the elders knew I was an intimate friend of Joe Wang, the maternal uncle, whose sick wife and son I had helped in critical circumstances. At night I was invited to see the maternal uncle and to persuade him to settle the trouble in a more lenient way, and it was thus that I learned all the circumstances of the appalling affair.

After a new palaver, lasting a whole day and night, the case was settled: only 1,000 taels was to be paid in atonement to the maternal uncle and his family, and the maternal uncle himself should take care of the question of the prayers and alms. This settlement was in fact a subterfuge, because prayers are never said and alms never given in case of suicide, so that in reality the whole atonement price accrued to the maternal uncle (Wang family), and the suicide's paternal relatives (Ch'i family).

Under the settlement, the atonement was to be paid on the nail, according to custom, not as an actual lump sum of 1,000 ounces of silver, but partly in cash and partly in livestock and pieces of cotton cloth. Moreover it was customary in all atonements that 600 coins rated 1,000; that one piece of cloth rated as two pieces.

[p. 93b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

604 628 and that prices of animals were fixed at double their true value. (The same custom existed for a widow's bride price.)

Nevertheless, the Li family was ruined. The entertainment of so many hostile guests and of the elders for so many days, the money promised in secret at night in order to effect an advantageous settlement, presents given to the elders, etc., constituted the most important expenses. The atonement was, in fact, the least important expense.

The ill-boding arrival of the deceased girl's maternal uncle, accompanied by the members of the Ch'i family breathing vengeance; the empty home in a state of indescribable destruction; the way in which the formerly friendly Li family was slighted, offended, treated with loathing, saddled with debts and ruined; the leaden atmosphere of gloom for so many days—all these tragic events made a deep impression and enhanced the authoritative stature of the maternal uncle, the hub around which turned the entire tragedy. When one has witnessed such a tragedy and seen one group of people on bended knees in supplication, weeping profusely, before another group of hard-hearted people, unwilling to forgive, their eyes red with hatred, rancor and embitterment, the meaning of "blood vengeance" is understood and remembered forever.

604 681 C. Capital and lesser punishments were inflicted by the maternal uncle on his sister's child in certain instances.

The maternal uncle wielded not only the power to permit or to impede the funeral of his sister's children, and to avenge their murder or suicide, but according to custom he had also the right to inflict punishment of various kinds on them. His power to mete out capital punishment may be illustrated by the following two cases of murder, the first involving only one kin group and the second involving two different kin groups.

In May 1914, in the same village of Lichiat'an, a youngster killed the older brother of his father. Subsequent to the division of the partrilineal inheritance the preceding autumn, the father and his brother had become implacable enemies and clashes had occurred between their sons on several occasions.

In this case, the maternal uncle of the murderer was invited together with the village elders and the paternal relatives of the family. The father of the murderer, heavy with despair but hoping that his son would escape *with his life*, invited men celebrated in the art of patching quarrels, and also the chief and elders of the village. He tried to hide some of his best animals, but no one would help him. The emotion and revulsion which arose in the country at such an unprecedented event had reached fever pitch because in the Monguor patrilineal society (as in that of the Chinese) a father's brother is classified as a "real" father, and therefore in local sentiment the murder was considered tantamount to patricide. The meeting began on the third day and

[8 cont.]

114 the author owes the safety of the materials collected entirely to the helpfulness of his confreres. In addition to the Fathers Eichinger and Grünewald, S.V.D., I should like to mention here particularly Father Richard Haas, S.V.D., who shortly thereafter was overtaken by a violent death in the Koko Nor steppe.

4. The Sources (the Informant)

115 The informant came from Tuo-chia, that is, "Tuo home," about one kilometer east of Chi-chia-ling, which lies along the mountain route from Kan-chia-pu (in the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) to Pai-nai (in the Ha-la-chih-kou). Tuo-chia gets its name from [103] the informant's kin group [Sippe] and formerly embraced perhaps four farmsteads, [9] of which, however, a part has been destroyed by an avalanche. Today only two farms and the temple remain. The Tuo have not always resided here. They [166] come from the vicinity of the Tujen monastery Rgulõn, where [423] a hundred years ago they owned two large horse pastures. Later one of the ancestors moved to the vicinity of Chi-chia-ling and cultivated the fairly extensive upland which paid tribute to the monastery, but which today is the private property of the Tuo family and pays taxes to the county of Huchu. It consists of about 200 Chinese morgen.

114 The report applies primarily to this region, namely, to the Tujen villages Chi-chia-ling, Ta-yang-chüan, Hsiao-
101 yangchüan, and Sha-pa-kou, up into the Na-ling-kou. Since, however, according to my own observations and the statements of the informant, the customs in the county of Huchu are quite uniform, the area to which it is applicable can be extended farther to include the villages between Huchu and Rgulõn. These [628] villages carry on a very lively traffic with one another and are *extensively interrelated*. As regards numbers, this report covers approximately one quarter of all the Tujen of the Sining region, an area generally regarded as their population center.

115 The old Tuo is kin-group elder and has two younger brothers, who live with him, his sons, his sons' wives, and [776] [553] grandchildren's families. By his first name he is called yifula,

[63 cont.]

Report

*778 On the mountains in the vicinity of the villages, the Tujen like to erect an obo. This is a large stonepile over a pit in which all kinds of things are buried. On these stonepiles stands a large square wooden frame, in which all kinds of weapons, tree twigs, and mani-flags are placed. Frequently several smaller stonepiles run from the obo to the four points of the compass; there will be at least one row in the direction of the mountain ridge.

*778 782 [776] [792] [791] The obo is dedicated to the mountain-spirit. It protects the village and the individual family. The obo is venerated three times each month with an incense offering. Sheep sacrifices also often take place at the obo. On special occasions a lama or Bon priest is invited to pray before the obo. When air-horses are released, it is done preferably from the peak on which an obo stands. -- Every year a large folk festival takes place near the obo.

Details

*778 [621] [628] Place: The obo is always erected on a mountain height. A place by a pass is preferred. It need not be the highest mountain in the area. Each village may have its own obo, or several villages may erect an obo together. In the latter case they agree upon a favorable place between the villages (1).

[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 68.] The obo need not always be on a mountain. In other regions around Sining one finds obos on the plain, for instance, near Pandse and Chiafandse settlements. Even here, however, trees are almost always present. Nevertheless, the Tujen maintain that they would never build an obo on the plain, for, according to them, an obo belongs to the mountain-spirit and must

[625 cont.]

527 dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
[574] moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.

Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared. During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
[782] day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an
[888] offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated, joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon

[113] 3. [Foreign text p. 628.] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.

relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.

From the second day on the people make New Year's
[628] visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

[533] gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
[262] are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
[273] a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
[356] house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

[836 cont.]

241 taking them back. One day can be saved, however, if the books
782 are taken directly to the following neighboring community or fetched from there. In this case the monastery must be notified. The procession must begin at the first sign of dawn because otherwise one day would not be sufficient.

Place: Only one's own village area is considered for the [628] procession.[1] It is not permitted, for instance, that two villages join together and hold only one procession in both areas. Also, [346] the people always gather in the temple, for every village has at [787] least one small temple; no soothsaying is done outside the temple or temple yard.

Objects: The books are not absolutely necessary. A book procession does not take place every year, but usually only every three years. In the other years the procession is held without books. The ceremonies [837] are the same, except that the monastery is not notified when the date is set; two days are saved that would have been necessary for the transportation of the books. Also, the number of participants need not be 108, al- [801] though because of the sacred number it should be aimed at (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 839.] The book-carrying is a widespread custom in all lamic monasteries. In particular one can repeatedly see women who carry the heavy books, volume after volume like a rucksack on their backs, around the prayer halls of the temple, which often goes on for days, chuan miao (Chin.). Many Tujen women make such a vow in times of distress or sickness. -- It should also be recalled that a Tulku [Living Buddha] blesses the faithful by placing the book on their foreheads.

[1] [i.e. - Procession around the field. - ANALYST]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

and their attributions; it is identical, probably, in all 792
the monasteries of Huang-chung.

ENVIRONMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION

In order to gain an insight into the administration of a monastery, of a community of lamas, or of a college, it is not sufficient to know what officials make the wheels turn and what their respective functions are. A knowledge of the environment in which they act is also necessary. This can best be provided by examples, numbered below from 1 to 7. The intendant is ultimately the hub around which the entire administration is built.

(1). In 1914 the Lama Li, intendant of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, moved his two concubines into a nice building situated in the most remote west corner of the monastery. The three intendants of the lama community and the two colleges protested vehemently to the T'u-kuan against the impudence of the intendant and urged his dismissal, but he was only ordered to move his concubines to the "summer palace" of the Hutukhtu himself, a couple of miles distant from the monastery.

Li was a very capable man, well known all over the 792
country. He had often extricated the monastery from 426
very tight spots. A few weeks before he was given the above order, he had succeeded in sending back to Mongolia a strong group of Mongols who had been dispatched by their prince to urge the long delayed payment of an important debt contracted by one of T'u-kuan's former incarnations. For six months the Mongols had been enjoying life, eating the best food, drinking the best wine, and feeding their animals at the expense of the intendancy. They were resolved to leave the monastery only after full payment of the debt. No one had succeeded in persuading them to leave, not even by proposing to pay half of the debt at once and the remainder the following year. Intendant Li, who had been on duty in Lanchou, was finally summoned by the distressed Hutukhtu. After a few days he had succeeded so well as to make the creditors grant "reverentially" the remission of half of the debt and to make them joyfully agree to urge the payment of the remaining half by the next incarnation of T'u-kuan.

T'u-kuan was greatly indebted to his intendant for 792
the many services rendered to him, but at the same time he was unable to dismiss him for fear he would revive many old troubles and harm the monastery. The intendant was thoroughly aware of this predicament and acted impudently, breaking one of the most basic rules of the Yellow Sect, that of celibacy.

(2) A servant of the intendancy of the old and 792
venerated minor Living Buddha Li of Erh-ku-lung in- 691
advertently broke the big tea cauldron belonging to 628
the community of the lamas. The intendant of the [415]
community of lamas stirred up the turbulent lamas who urged old Li to have a new cauldron cast, but the placid

[p.41(A)]

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old Li would not budge. The whole community was humming like a beehive and about to drive the old Li and his intendant out. T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was unable to pour oil on the troubled waters; the furious intendant of the community of lamas, in a flush of excitement, called thirty lamas, went to Hsining and brought an accusation against old Li. At the court the Amban immediately fell under the spell of the placid and respectable Buddha, bent with age, who explained his case peaceably.

The Amban did not allow the thirty or more turbulent lamas to return to the monastery, after they had, with vehemence and arrogance, several times presented their claims before him. He made them wait for the publication of the verdict, and while waiting had them live in Chinese inns, where they spent money every day, bribing the happy officials who would make their hopes run high one day and dash them to the ground on the next, thus making them spend more money. The Living Buddha and his intendant lived at peace at the home of his nephew, the Li T'u-ssu. He was acquainted with the most prominent men in the city, had them working for him and bringing small gifts. After four months the impoverished lamas became as meek as lambs and the Amban deemed the time ripe to pronounce the verdict: "The cauldron had been broken inadvertently. Because the community of lamas drank tea from the cauldron several times every day, the community should bring into his hands $800, and he would take care of the casting of a beautiful cauldron; the intendant and the board of the community should be put in jail until the money was ready." The epilogue of this interesting trial was that after a few days the money was reverentially placed in the hands of the Amban, the intendant and the men of the board were released, and the Amban had a cauldron cast—for $150!

The intendants are powerful elements in a monastery. In this case T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, belonged to the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, as did the venerable old Living Buddha Li. Yet he could not stay the hands of the intendant and the board of the community of the lamas who, incautiously disregarding the relationship between the two venerable living Buddhas were too quick on the trigger in resorting turbulently to the Chinese courts of justice, although they should have known the dangers by experience. The officials know it is impossible to talk sense into such lamas without first making them spend all their money and letting them wait for months at the gate of the court. The lesson given to the lamas is remunerative for the Chinese officials, but the lamas, stubborn as mules, appear again before the judges at the next opportunity, and receive the same lesson all over. Such is the atmosphere of a monastery and its inmates.

(3) Li, the lama intendant, of the Living Buddha Lu, supreme chief of the monastery of Yang-k'uo-erh-ssu,

was officially appointed chiliarch (*ch'ien hu*)[1] by the Amban, with the privilege of judging the subjects of the monastery. He was thus simultaneously a monastic official and a Chinese civil official. He had amassed a comfortable fortune at the expense of the subjects of six villages belonging to the monastery. A shrewd, capable man, in order to assure his position, he cleverly moved his younger sister near the monastery in order to have the young Living Buddha "acquainted" with her. 688 792 578 691

Lamas and subjects urged the dismissal of the intendant. The Buddha refused and threatened to accuse the three ringleaders of the rebellion, but the subjects and lamas went to the court of the subprefect of Nien-pe and accused both the Buddha and the intendant. Knowing that the intendant was rich, the judge examining the case put him in jail on the very first day of the trial, to make him understand that the roles were reversed. The sister of the intendant was called to testify, and the Living Buddha lost face before the people of Nien-pe, who attended all the sessions with the keenest interest. Finally, the Buddha was divested of the privilege of having a chiliarch to judge his subjects, and blushing with shame he received a lecture from the judge on the observance of celibacy in the Yellow Sect. The girl was ordered to move far away from the monastery.

The intendant, dismissed from his office by the judge, was released after several more months. He had spent his whole fortune, and had even been forced to sell his fields, cattle, and two oil mills. During the troubles, 70 of the 150 lamas left the monastery. This intendant caused the ruin of the monastery.

(4) The most beautiful bridge in Kansu is over the Ta-t'ung River, opposite the monastery of T'ien-t'ang-ssu, which before 1723 had had three colleges, two Living Buddhas, and 700 lamas, and at this time still had 200. When the supreme chief of the monastery was only seven years of age, troubles had started between the intendancy of the monastery and that of the community of lamas. Each claimed to be the proprietor of the bridge, with the right to collect tolls. The lamas, divided into two groups, became involved in the troubles. For twelve years both intendancies, accusing each other, moved from city to city and from one court of justice to another, and spent all the money of the respective intendancies. The head temple of the monastery was closed for three years. Finally, the Chinese judges having milked the cows dry, abolished the right of the lamas to receive the toll and took it themselves. The peace of the monastery was disturbed to the point that 120 disgusted lamas left. In 1920 only 80 lamas remained, some old men, but mostly children. The stubborn intendencies had preferred to wreck the 792 578 628

[1] "Chief of 1,000 families" is an official, appointed by the Chinese administration, who controls a tribe or group of people. He imposes corvées, collects taxes for the government, mediates troubles, and awards punishments. Although his subjects very seldom number 1,000 families, the title remains the same.

[p.42(A)]

lamasery rather than accept any of the propositions suggested to end the feud.[3] 792 578

(5) I was told many times, by two honorable intendants, that it was the heated rivalry between the intendancies of the three supreme chiefs of Erh-ku-lung that had, in former times, caused the departure of Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the rift between the supreme chiefs, and the decline of Erh-ku-lung. There must be a grain of truth in the traditions of these experienced men who, better than we, understand the enormous influence exerted by the intendancies upon the Living Buddhas, and the jealousies between the intendancies. 628

(6) Most old lamas have a disciple who, upon their death, becomes their legal heir and proprietor of their entire fortune (home, herds, money, etc.). However, it is a noted fact that it is very difficult for the disciple of an intendant to inherit the fortune of his master. The old intendant of the Tenma Living Buddha, supreme chief of the monastery of Kan-ch'an-ssu, became sick, retired, and declined into that stage of life called "second childhood." His disciple, an intelligent boy of fourteen years, following the advice of his shrewd, experienced maternal uncle, Manguru, chief of a Tibetan tribe in Waza, subject to Tenma, secretly moved the comfortable fortune of his master to the home of his rich uncle. When the master died, Tenma, thinking like every Living Buddha, suspected that his old intendant had amassed a fortune at his expense and went immediately to examine his richly furnished home, hoping to find a colossal fortune. The floors of the rooms were turned over, the chimney broken, the sheep, cow, and horse pens dug up several feet deep, but no silver was found. Railing and raging, the Living Buddha drove into his own pens the 150 cows, 40 horses, and 600 sheep of the deceased. 792 428

The maternal uncle defended the disciple, and protested. After a couple of days the deluded Tenma went to Hsining with an imposing retinue of twenty men in order to accuse the disciple and his uncle at the court of the subprefect, of having stolen the fortune unjustly amassed by the intendant. The disciple and his uncle were flogged and thrown into jail, but did not confess to being guilty. After a few days the shrewd uncle made friends with the underlings of the officials by bribing them. He and the disciple were released, and thereupon rewarded the underlings by showing them the way to extort money from Tenma. After three years, the subprefect declared both the uncle and the disciple innocent. Tenma brought suit again at the court of the Amban, where it dragged on for more than four years more, which made the officials happy. They excited his hatred against the disciple and his uncle. But the disciple and his uncle lived in a small inn and 792 691 428

[3] Reginald Farrer, *Rainbow bridge*, 111, London, Arnold, 1921. Farrer was in T'ien-t'ang-ssu during the summer months, studying the flora of the country. He describes the wonderful bridge and includes a picture of it.

[p. 42 (B)]

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Peking, Nanking, and Shanghai. He rides a bicycle, 795
walks his smallest sons in a European baby carriage, 792
likes photography, delights in playing a phonograph, enjoys working with electricity at home and in the temple. He possesses all kinds of medical instruments and gives injections. He is reputed to be very proficient in magic, and is the most talked-about man in the country.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RED AND YELLOW LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

The feud between the two sects in Huang-chung 795 628 578 792
never seems to have been as fierce as it was in Tibet, where lamas fought each other and destroyed each others' monasteries. The reason seems to be the troubled circumstances in the country. The people, the Red lamas, and their small institutions suffered tremendously on account of the inroads. The whole country was impoverished. The diffusion of the Yellow Sect, under such conditions, necessarily began on a small, unnoticed scale and when peace was restored the Yellow Sect was protected by the emperors and the Red Sect was powerless.

None the less, Reds and Yellows know their history well, and the embers of the old antagonism are still smoldering under the ashes. The troubles between Goorong and Sha-ch'ung, and the vehement protest of all the Yellow Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, when Goorong was trying to occupy the Ta-fo-ssu, give evidence of this. South of the Yellow River, in the subprefecture of Kui-te, lamas of the Yellow Sect recently prevented the Red lamas of Keura from rebuilding their temple. The trouble developed into full-scale fighting, and lamas on both sides were killed. The lamasery of the Yellow Sect was burned to the ground by the Moslem troops, who restored order. The Yellow Living Buddha fled, but the lamasery had to pay a heavy indemnity. On the north of the Hsining River, however, both sects seem to live congenially, because the Yellow Sect is omnipotent and the Reds are a minority, having not a single monastery in the country.

When the Red group of Erh-chia-ting near Erh-ku- 795
lung built a new temple, the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of 792
Erh-ku-lung offered them seven big trees and sent his intendant to attend the ceremony of the inauguration of the temple. The lamasery of Chu-erh, of the Yellow Sect, allowed the Red group to build a temple on its property. Even the intendant of one of its Living Buddhas was a Red lama. In 1915 I saw Red and Yellow lamas performing rites together at the Karwa of the Yellow Chao lama. It has been recorded that the Yellow lama, chief of the Li Karwa, alternately invited four lamas of the Yellow and of the Red Sects to perform the yearly usual rites at his Karwa.

Lamaseries of the Yellow Sect invite Red lamas to perform the rite intended to appease the avenging spirits of persons who have suffered injustices at the hand of the lamasery. The secretary of the Living Buddha Lu

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therefore a member of an alien family can never become 756
a shaman."

When I asked whether all the Monguor shamans served the twelve spirits, the answer was that they did, and then I objected, not understanding why, that the family names of the shamans were not the same. They answered that the spirits had chosen ancestors of different families to become shamans, but all these things had happened centuries ago. This explanation seemed to be full of holes.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF SHAMAN

BEHAVIOR AMONG SHAMANS AND BETWEEN SHAMANS AND MONGUORS

Shamans always said that in the mountains south of 756
the Hsining River were shamans serving only evil 628
spirits, who were therefore called "black shamans." 565
They dedicate themselves to the evil spirits, and to 754
Erlik Khan, their chief, and unleash them to harm the people. The "white shamans" must drive away the evil spirits and undo their harm; they serve only good spirits and are devoted to them in the same way the black shamans are devoted to the evil spirits.

White shamans never have friendly relations with black shamans and never give their daughters to their sons, or take brides for their sons from among them; one group despises the other. The white shamans always boast of their superior power, and the thorough efficacy of their good-spirits over the evil spirits, and are convinced that their group existed long before the black shamans came into existence.

The Monguors are really afraid of the black shamans. They never give their daughters to them, and shun them because they know they are dangerous fellows. When a black shaman is traveling through the country and asks to stay for the night in a Monguor village, the horror-stricken Monguors never dare to refuse to comply with his demand, and so display the most gracious hospitality for fear he might unleash the evil spirits and harm the village. The black shamans know they are shunned and that they have no friends in the world. They are dominated by an inferiority complex. When they encounter anyone on the road, they retire to the wayside and allow the wayfarer to pass first.

This attitude toward the black shamans is understandable, but why it exists in the same way toward the white shamans is an enigma. The white shamans living in the village are always invited by private families and the communities to provide aid and support in all kind of troubles; they are said to be the servants of the good spirits. Notwithstanding this, the Monguors do not like to have friendly, intimate relations with them. The white shamans are never invited to dinners and feasts for births of children, marriages, or funerals. Ordinary people never either marry their girls to sons of white shamans or permit their boys to marry girls of white shamans. No white shaman is

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allowed in the intimacy of the family; he is shunned. 754
He is also dominated by an inferiority complex, and ac- 756
customed to letting a wayfarer pass first on the road. 628
He knows that he does not belong at the top of society, 565
for during the empire, the Monguors say, no shaman was allowed to compete for literary degrees. Their profession was discredited in the same way as that of tailors, barbers, and comedians. The social standing of the shamans and the influence they wielded in former times are really beyond all comparison with their poor condition of today.

But do the Monguors never call the black shamans in [578]
order to perform their rites? A couple of facts will be recorded about Monguors who, in order to take vengeance on enemies, invited black shamans to cast spells upon them at night.

NO ENTHUSIASM AMONG THE MONGUORS FOR THE DUTY OF SHAMAN

It is a well-known fact all over the country that sha- 756
mans generally have an aversion to their office and do not like to carry out their functions, but, bound by the choice of their father shaman, and knowing that a refusal would be fraught with all kinds of evil consequences, they discharge their burdensome, non-remunerative duty. The Monguors say that in families where there are no shamans, permission would never be granted by the parents and the chiefs of the families for a member of the family to become a shaman.

In the Valley of Hung-nai there are no more shamans 756
at present. During the terrible Moslem rebellion, all 798
the shaman families were exterminated. The inhabitants of the valley, afraid of the burdens attached to this profession, no longer allow their sons to become shamans. They prefer to honor the more lenient deities of Lamaism and have their sons become lamas. They invite shamans of other villages to perform shamanistic rites in their village every year in the spring and at hail time; the other rites are all performed by lamas. Shamans, however, according to their own ideology, assert that no more shamans can arise among them.

Several times I heard the typical story, later attested 756
to by No Kuang-li, that when he was a boy a member of his family was ordered by his father shaman to succeed him. The unwilling boy was compelled to accompany his father at the performance of all kinds of rites, to learn the usual prayers, and to submit to the peculiar training. When his father died, the boy tried to get rid of the duty, but the family council decided that he had to comply with the choice made by his father. The boy's nerves were on edge and he went on a rampage; his health was impaired, his mind was seriously affected and he had a mental breakdown. He roamed for months in the mountains, shunning all kinds of people and finally was found hanging from a tree. After so many years this fact was still recorded and explained by the Monguors as being a punishment meted out by the spirit who had selected that boy as its

philosophy, therefore, explains the Rite of the White Tiger performed today by the Monguor shamans against hail, and the same principle (as we will see later) is applied in the rite of the "goat skin" and of the "wooden raven" against hail. The same philosophy is encountered in the facts previously related by Owen Lattimore among the Fishkin Tatars, by W. Heissig in the Kürye-Banner, and by Shirokogoroff among the Tungus. In all the studies concerning shamanism in Asia this philosophy is attested.[54]

774 756 [171]

Therein lies the reason why the Monguor shamans practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris and why it must be said that the Monguor shamans are genuine shamans, belonging to the Altaic classification. No hints are available to suggest that the Twelve Tengris were not the initial spirits to which the ancestor of the Monguor shaman dedicated himself, and we have no hints to fix the time when their ancestor shaman lived. It may only be assumed that the Monguor shamans already served the Tengris at the time of the Yüan dynasty when they settled in Kansu, because their Tengris at that time were represented as Mongol warriors and because the shamans in Mongolia practiced for centuries the subarctic form of shamanism.

MONGUOR SHAMANS ENTER THE TAOIST GUILD

It is a well-known fact that among the 771

South Mongolian tribes of the Ordos, Tümed and Chahar regions as well as among the North Mongolian Khalkha . . . Shamanism and other "unorthodox creeds" had since been "outlawed" by the code of the Jassaktu Khan, by the religious proclamation of Altan Khan (1577) and the corresponding decree of the Siditü Gabcu in Khalkha (1587), [but that] certain undercurrents of a popular Chinese Taoist mysticism, known there under the name of *Bon-po* (Bö), had continued for some while, but at the death of Ligdan Khan (1634) the Yellow Sect was well established in these parts of Mongolia.[55]

"Outlawed" does not mean that these "unorthodox creeds," these Bon-po, etc., disappeared because of codes, proclamations, and decrees, for their existence is still attested; but they were persecuted or their activities were restrained.

The Red Sect, patronized by Mongol and Ming emperors and Mongol chiefs, fought a fierce battle against shamanism and Bön. The Yellow Sect fought against the Red Sects from 1558; to these former edicts may be added that of 1640, which had stipulations concerning the suppression of shamanism. "Forty-eight princes and chiefs of Mongol tribes convened in order to fix the so-called 'Mongol-Oirat regulations.'" Among them were Mongol princes of Khalkha, Jungaria, Kukunor (near Hsining) as well as of Siberia, and later two

771 628

[54] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 94-98, 413.

[55] Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century. *Anthropos* 48: 493, 1953.

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more supplementary decrees of Galdan Hun-tai-ji were added to them.[29]

From 1558 until 1640, regulations of Mongol chiefs followed each other, aiming primarily at the destruction of shamanism. The Monguor shamans must have known these facts, for news spreads rapidly among barbarians. At the same time they saw the favors bestowed in the country on lamaseries, Karwas, and Nang-suos, by the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, and they saw Erh-ku-lung, at the height of its glory, founding successively its forty-two branches, each having celebrated lamas. Life or death was the question for the Monguor shamans of Hsining.

It is tempting to suppose that the shamans, living in the quasi-independent territories of the T'u-ssu, near cities in which lived Taoist priests who were organized in guilds officially recognized by the empire, might have sought refuge with the Taoists in order to save their institution and traditions and that they might willingly have entered the guild of the Taoists, whose gods they worshipped for centuries.

If the shamans themselves had been opposed to enrollment in the guild, which entailed pecuniary disadvantages for them and the performance of non-remunerative rites in the city, surely the T'u-ssu, whose subjects they were, could easily have prevented the infringement of the rights, since their Monguors were only responsible to them for corvées, and since their subjects were not enrolled in Chinese guilds. Precisely herein lies the stress of the assumption that without the willing cooperation of the shamans, shamans never could have entered the guild, and when they entered the guild it was through fear of persecution by the Yellow Sect. According to this assumption, the shamans could have entered the Taoist guilds before the revolt of the lamas in 1723 and the catastrophe which befell Lamaism. It is easy, therefore, to understand the reluctance of the shamans to perform any rites in the temples dedicated to deities of Lamaism or to wear the crown of the five Dhyani. On the other hand they willingly perform rites in all kinds of Taoist temples, except the temples of Kuan-ti (God of War). I never obtained an explanation of this; in the whole Monguor region no Kuan-ti temple exists, while all the temples of the Monguors, which are the centers of the religious life of the village, are Taoist temples, and most of the protectors of the families belong to Taoism. Monguors cannot miss their shamans who only perform rites in Taoist temples.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the Monguor shamans honor two kinds of spirits—one, spirits belonging to Taoism, and the other, spirits belonging to their shamanism proper; that the Monguor shamans are related to the group of old Wu priests

[29] V. A. Riasanovski, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buriats, Kalmaks)*, 29-35, 1929.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*a*. *Sung Shih* **492**: 14*a–b*). In 1065 Chiossulo appointed Tung Chan chief of the tribes. He governed 600,000 subjects. The emperor ratified the appointment in 1068, granted to the new chief the titles previously bestowed upon the father, and seized the opportunity to send Chinese officials to help him administer Huangchung. Tung Chan was a faithful defender of the empire. When the Hsi Hsia in 1070 invaded East Kansu, he attacked them, thus breaking the impact of the invasion. In 1081, 120,000 of his troops fought the Hsi Hsia at the side of the imperial armies. He and his wife were repeatedly bestowed with more and more honorific titles. The Hsi Hsia tried to persuade him to transfer his allegiance to them, but he refused the offer. Thereupon the Hsi Hsia invaded Huangchung and laid siege to his city of Mao-ch'uan. He raised the siege making peace with the Hsi Hsia against the orders of the emperor. He died in 1086 (*Annals* of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*b*. *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 11*b*. *Sung Shih* **492**: 16*b*). 175x 175x 648

Jealousy and hatred long smoldered among the wives of Chiossulo. At the death of the lama Li Li-tsun, the dismissed minister, Chiossulo, to humiliate his daughter, had moved her to Kuo Chou, and then a large number of tribes of the Li clan had seceded and moved to the southern part of East Kansu. In 1057, advised by her brother, she had left Kuo Chou and fled with her sons to the city of Tsun K'o, situated in the main territory of the Li clan. Chiossulo, in order to avoid more trouble with the powerful Li clan, appointed her sons as chiefs of the tribes of Ni-ku and T'ao and Ho-chou in East Kansu and the emperor granted them official titles. [628 578]

However, hatred was already too deeply embedded in the hearts of the Li clan, and Mou Cheng, son of the second wife of Chiossulo, started trouble in East Kansu in 1064, conniving with the Hsi Hsia. The Hsi Hsia were defeated and Mou Cheng submitted to the emperor and received new important titles. At the death of Chiossulo in 1065, Mou Cheng, the leader of the opposition, followed by an important number of clans and in connivance with the Hsi Hsia, was again on the warpath in 1072 in East Kansu. More Chinese armies arrived, cities were taken and retaken, and the wife of Mou Cheng and his children were taken prisoner by General Wang Ch'ao. East Kansu was laid waste. Finally after two years of destruction, Mou Cheng with eighteen chiefs of tribes submitted to China. Again more new important titles were granted to him and even the name of the Sung dynasty, Chao, was bestowed (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 10, 12. *Annals* of Hsining **31B**: 33, 3, 4, 5. *Sung Shih* **492**: 14, 16).

The legitimate son of Tung Chan having died, he appointed in 1086 as his successor, A li ku, the son of his beloved concubine, a boy born in Khotan from an unknown father, causing forever the ruin of the T'u-fan kingdom built by Tung Chan. The emperor ratified 175x 643 [597] 648

[P.20 (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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the eastern and western (Oirat and Kalmuk) Mongols would become especially desperate and obstinate, and Yung Lo would have to launch five campaigns personally into barren Mongolia, and die in that fateful country at the time that the troops from his fifth campaign were on their way back to Peking. During these times of alarming confusion and disorganization in Mongolia, the Monguors of Huangchung had to participate in the expeditions, defend their own country, and die on the fields of battle.[75]

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

The strangled Mongol Emperor T'o-ku-ssu was succeeded by Elbek, who was murdered in 1399 by Ugetch'i, chief of Kirghiz tribes, who tried to establish his hegemony over the Mongol tribes. He was defeated by A-lu-t'ai, chief of the Asods[76] and Ma-ha-mu, chief of the Oirats. In 1403, the eastern Mongols proclaimed as emperor Pen-chia-shih-li, son of Elbek, who was joined by A-lu-t'ai.

In 1403 T'u-ssu Ch'eng under the command of General Chang Fu, was ordered to fight groups of eastern Mongols, subjects of Pen-chia-shih-li, who came from the Gobi desert into the country of Kan and Liangchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37*a*). T'u-ssu Chao joined the same expedition and fought in Yung Ch'ang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*); Ch'eng and T'u-ssu Na fought the same groups in Cheng Fan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*a*; 42: 39*b*). T'u-ssu Wang was sent to I-chi-nai and Pu-yen-mu, north of Kan and Liangchow, to induce Pa tu Timur to surrender (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 41*a*). In the same first year of his reign, Yung Lo, in order to stabilize the conquest of Huangchung, organized military colonies, apportioned land to the colonists, and provided them with grain and oxen and farm implements (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 2*a*).

M [63]

In 1404 T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu chih chieh, was ordered to garrison Cheng Fan and Mao Mu Ch'eng.

M 175x 648

In 1409 T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu shih chieh, was sent to I-chi-nai to care for and organize the surrendered Mongol tribes.

628 HM 175 648

In 1410 Pen-chia-shih-li had offended the Chinese emperor by not caring for his subjects invading the frontiers of Liang and Kanchow. He killed the ambassador who conveyed the protest of the emperor. The emperor retaliated forthwith, granting titles to the Oirat chiefs, the foes of Pen-chia-shih-li. A conflict broke out between the two groups, and to Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai was administered a severe blow at the hand of the Oirat Ma-ha-mu. The emperor took advantage of their reverse and equipped an expedition

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[75] Chinese and Mongol sources are very confusing relating to the history of these times. Pokotilow, *op. cit.*, Wolfgang Franke, Yung Lo's Mongolei-Feldzuge, *Sinologische Arbeiten* 3: 1–54, Peking, Deutschland Institut, 1914. Louis Hambis, *La Haute Asie*, 58–104, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1953. Henry Serrays, Notes on a few Mongolian rulers of the 15th century, *Jour. Orient. Soc.* 76 (2): 82–89, 1956.

[76] Asod-Alains: originating in the Caucasus, their faithful troops had been enlisted in the imperial guard and had followed the defeated Mongols fleeing toward Mongolia.

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5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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against them, under the command of General Ch'u Fu, who blindly rushed into an ambush where his troops were annihilated. The emperor, in order to avenge the failure and redeem the honor of the empire, himself led an expedition against Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai on March 15, 1410. Pen-chia-shih-li suffered a crushing defeat and escaped with a few soldiers, and a severe blow was then administered to A-lu-t'ai.[77] The emperor was back in Peking September 15, 1410. He had ordered the Monguor t'u-ssu to join the expedition.

M 175x 648 628 HM 175 648

T'u-ssu Li Yin, son of the late Li Nan-ko mustered the t'u-ssu and their troops. They participated in the expedition under his command. Among them are noted T'u-ssu A (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51*a*), T'u-ssu Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*a*), T'u-ssu Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 50*b*), and T'u-ssu Lu. The entire group fought in both battles against Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai. T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu shih chieh, died on the field of battle fighting A-lu-t'ai. On that occasion to the clan of T'o Huan, prince of An Ting, was granted the name of Lu by the emperor, as reward for its devotion to the dynasty.

M [624]

In 1411 T'u-ssu Lu Hsien joined the expedition commanded by the eunuch Wang An against Mongol tribes roaming in the region of Hsi Liang (north Kansu). The years 1411 and 1412 were times of intermittent forays by splinter groups of the defeated Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai erupting from Mongolia in the Liangchow and Kanchow regions. In 1412 two Chinese commanders, Sung Hu and Li Lin, had been appointed to repel the invasions and several t'u-ssu lent a hand: Li Yin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51*b*), Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*a*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*a*), Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 53*b*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 41*a*), and Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 39*b*). The invading groups were those of Lao ti han,[78] of Ho lo ch'ih, Pa erh ssu and T'olot'ai. A severe blow was administered to them in Sha Chin Ch'eng (region of Liangchow) and they were pursued to T'ao-lai ch'uan (on the Tat'ong River) where 360 of their brigands were captured with their chiefs. The same year T'u-ssu Lu with commander Ch'eng hai took as prisoners Palima, chief of a group of invaders, and Shih T'ai, chief of another group in the region of Sung Shan I.

M 175x 648 [624] HM 175 648

In the same year the Oirat chief Ma-ha-mu killed Pen-chia-shi-li and proclaimed as emperor of the Mongols, Delbek son of Pen-chia-shih-li. A-lu-t'ai, his foe, immediately tried to befriend the Chinese, and received the title of Prince of Karakorum. The granting of this title was as a red rag before a bull. Thereupon the enraged Oirat chief mustered his troops to invade China. The emperor himself decided to launch an expedition against the Oirat Ma-ha-mu. It was the age-

HM [643]

[77] Poloutilov, *op. cit.*, 28; Franke, *op. cit.*, 5-6.
[78] A descendant of Aoluch'ih. Hambis, *op. cit.* 107: 122, 7.

mand of T'u-ssu Ch'i Pei-chai (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 3; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). The Monguors, familiar with the customs of the country, prepared fifty or more rafts of sheep and ox skins, and crossed the river at night in the locality of Chang Chia Wan. In the morning they unexpectedly met a large group of rebels in Hsin Ch'eng and administered a crushing defeat to them. They arrived at Lanchow which was unprepared to meet the enemy, and the city was recovered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a–b*). T'u-ssu Ch'i was appointed defender of the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). Then the Hsining troops of Wang Chin-pao and the Monguor troops helped recover, one after another, all the cities of East Kansu, with other Manchu troops. T'u-ssu Li commanded 1,000 of his Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*b*), and T'u-ssu Kan and Ah 300 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 50, 51). Then the t'u-ssu participated in the seige and the recovering of the city of P'ing Liang, and the capture of the rebel governor Wang Fu-ch'eng. The Lu t'u-ssu sent 400 *tan* of wheat to the hungry Monguor soldiers beseiging P'ing Liang, which was recovered in 1678. Wu San-kuei died August 17, 1678. After a campaign of six years the t'u-ssu returned to Huangchung with their troops. 175x 648 579

In 1677 groups of Tibetans, in combination with Uighurs, had attacked Salar villages. Probably during the insurrection of Wu San-kuei, Salar brigands had plundered them. The Manchu army had put them to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 50*a–b*). In 1681 they returned to avenge the previously unsuccessful attack. Under the leadership of the Tibetan Huang La T'aichi they attacked the village of Su Chih and killed many Salars. The Manchu commander at night attacked the camp of the aggressors and killed many of them. They fled toward the Lao Ya pass and occupied it, blocking the communications. Troops had to come from Liangchow to repel and pursue them (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 51). 175x 628

In 1689 a tremendous famine desolated East Kansu. It was followed by revolts of hungry people. In 1691 the revolt, led by a Taoist priest, had spread over the entire country. Troops of all the commanderies of Kansu were summoned, the revolt lasted until 1693 (*Annals* of Kansu 56: 45*b*). The Monguor t'u-ssu did not move into East Kansu. They had to protect their own country against inroads of poor and destitute people and forestall uprisings of the army in Huangchung, which was lacking food and was restless, for the crops in Huangchung had been bad also. In 1702, 50,000 *tan* of rice were sent from Sian to Huangchung for the troops (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*b*). 175x [791 795] 579

In 1693 T'u-ssu Li Hsia, assistant commander in Hsining, informed the emperor concerning the situation in the Pe-ta region, in the northern valley of Hsining. In 1647, after the rebel Mohammedans and Chinese of Kanchow had tried to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to revolt but had hit a severe blow on the border of the Tatung River, the Chinese who had fol-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

again had escaped devastation, but East Kansu had borne for the third time the brunt of the revolt.[98] 175x 579

In 1806 tremendous rains ruined the districts of Chang Hsien, Ming Chou, and Leang Tang. Inundations of the Yellow River followed in the southern part of East Kansu. Cattle were drowned, many villages no longer existed, and the poor and destitute Tibetan tribes started plundering the country. T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-ming was sent in 1807 to Ch'i Chia Chai to guard the banks of the Yellow River where the people were used to crossing it, in order to prevent inroads of starving, pillaging people into Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 46*a–b*).

TIBETAN REVENGE UPON THE MONGOLS OF KOKONOR

In 1822 a revolt of twenty-three Tibetan tribes broke out in the regions of Hsun Hua and Kuei Te. The Mongols in 1509 had invaded Kokonor, the pasture grounds of the Tibetans. They had occupied the best pastures and relegated the Tibetans to poor and small pastures, or annihilated them entirely. This situation had lasted until 1726 when each tribe became the proprietor of the grounds it occupied, but the Khoshots were favored by the fact that they remained the proprietors of the large and best pastures stolen from the Tibetans in 1509. The glorious period of the Khoshots was at a very low ebb and the Tibetans deemed the opportunity at hand to recover their old pastures, to chase the hated, enfeebled Mongols and to occupy the pastures on the northern borders of the Yellow River which were in the hands of the Khoshots. 175x 628

A long period of devastation and murder succeeded. The Tibetan lama Chaghan Nom-un Khan was one of the leaders of the revolt. Many Khoshots left the country. The revolt spread rapidly. Many Tibetan tribes of the Kanchow and Yung Ch'ang and Liangchow regions joined the revolt and plundered the lands of the Mongols. Those of Liangchow attacked Mongol tribes in Sung Shan and stole 4,000 cattle, those of Kanchow plundered the Uighur tribes in the vicinity of the city, etc. The whole country was upset: the army was in a hurry. Except for an inroad in Tatung and one in Hsiao Hsia, Huangchung was not devastated. The officials removed from the lama the tribes he controlled. The revolt was not quelled until 1854, after thirty years. No notes are recorded concerning the movement of Monguor troops against the revolting Tibetans (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 62*a–b*).

The empire had a bad time, for in the meantime revolts raged unchecked in the provinces of middle and north China. A new uprising of the White Lotus sect had started in 1831. The sect continued its ravages and destruction under new names. The revolt was followed in 1850 by the insurrection of the Taiping, which 175x 579 795

[98] J. J. De Groot, *op. cit.*, 363, sq.

[P. 65(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

lasted until 1864, during which 20 million people of Kiangsu province were killed. Simultaneously the Nien Fei sect (mounted brigands) started its ravages in 1850. This revolt ended in 1868, having devastated the same provinces of the empire. 175x 795 579

In Turkistan the Mohammedan Chang Ko Erh revolted in 1826. He conquered Turkistan and in 1828 the city of Suchow in North Kansu, situated along the well-known trade road to Central Asia. The regular troops of Liangchow, Kanchow, and Hsining were moved in a hurry to cope with the invasion which threatened to overrun Kansu. The Monguor troops had not been called to come to the rescue of the army. However, T'u-ssu Lu had sent grain to Suchow to feed the hungry troops. He was rewarded with the button of the second degree worn on the cap (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The long exhausting war of China with the Jungars ended in 1857 and a new Mohammedan uprising broke out in Turkistan in 1864. It lasted until 1876 and conquered the entire region of the Tarim basin. 175x 648 [703] [579]

REVOLT OF THE EAST KANSU AND HUANGCHUNG MOHAMMEDANS, 1860–1873

The revolt is summarized according to the *Annals* of Kansu 47: 4 sq. 175x 795

In 1859 the Mohammedan Ma-ha-pu-tu revolted in the eastern suburb of the city of Ho Chou in East Kansu. The revolt was soon quelled. The reason for the revolt is not noted. 579 628

In 1860 the Salars of Hsun Hua in East Kansu and those of Pa Yen Jung in Huangchung revolted in combination with the Mohammedans of the Shensi province, far more numerous than the Salars. A group started plundering in the Ho Chou region, and a group (that of the Salars of Pa Yen Jung who lived in Huangchung south of the subprefecture of Nienpei, north of the Yellow River) invaded the southern valleys of Hsining.

In 1861 these groups, drawing near Hsining, were put to flight by the commander Chao Erh-hsun, but they popped up in the eastern valley of Hsining, burning, destroying villages, and killing many people. The local militia could not withstand their fierce attacks.

In 1862 the rebels having no aim beyond plunder and the satisfaction of seeing their hatred against the Chinese fulfilled, roamed in strong groups all over Huangchung and East Kansu. Every day more Mohammedans of Kansu joined their groups. The lamas, Nangso, and Tibetans fought with the army. Some groups were victorious; some suffered hard reverses. The Salar t'u-ssu of the four upper and lower groups submitted with the Shensi Mohammedans in Tsa Pa Ch'eng. The suspicious officials nonetheless accepted their surrender, because the Nien Fei and Fa Fei brigands roamed in the vicinity of T'ungkuan, and they

LP. 66(A)

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

were afraid these brigands would join the rebel Mohammedans. 175 × 795 579 628

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Hsing-nan was ordered to join the troops of General Fan Pei-lin and guard the passes of Cha Ssu Kuan and Ch'ing Ling nao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). T'u-ssu Ch'i Ch'eng-kao joined the army, fighting the rebels on the passes (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46a). T'u-ssu Chao Yung-[illegible] guarded the passes in Pa Yen Jung country, and was rewarded with the two-eyed peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49a). [703]

T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun, having the title of brigadier general, fought with 500 of his troops around Hsining. He was helped by his nephew Lu Su-chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57, 60).

In 1863 the revolt was growing more intensive every day. East Kansu suffered tremendously.

In the tenth moon rebels of the district of Ninghsia, led by Ma Hua-lung [99] took the important city of Ninghsia by storm. The city was devastated. Many fires were set and tens of thousands of Chinese were killed. Thereafter Ma Hua-lung besieged and captured the city of Ling Chou where he killed 20,000 Chinese.

In the tenth moon Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining. For a long time dissension concerning the old and the new religion divided the Hsining Mohammedans into two camps. Governor Yu T'ung invited the Mohammedan chief Ma Wen-i to patch up the trouble and to make them desist from plundering the country. Both parties consented but a strong group of Salars and Shensi Mohammedans arrived, besieged the city, and then plundered the country. During the year 1863 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to garrison in Sheng T'ang and Ch'i-li-pu, and guard the western highway (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57b). [798]

In 1864 the revolt raged unchecked in East Kansu, and the city of Hsun Hua was taken by storm, followed by a tremendous massacre of the Chinese population. Another Mohammedan group attacked the city of Donkir west of Hsining, but was beaten. It invaded the Sina valley and was put to flight. Long before the attack of the city, dissension among the Mohammedans concerning the two religions had divided them into two groups. The old group was called the great group (*ta hui*), the adherents of the new religion, the group of the flowered temple (*hua ssu*). The first group disapproved of the attack on the city and called into the city 1,000 of its members from outside. The Chinese population of [563]

[99] The Moslem Ma Hua-lung, back from Turkistan, had founded a new sect in Chin Chi Pu in the prefecture of Ninghsia. He claimed to have received revelations from Allah. The people honored him as an equal of Mohammed. He was to be succeeded by his descendant after his death as chief of the sect. However, after his death, his son-in-law and his grandson struggled for the succession, and the sect parted in two groups. He did not proscribe attendance at the mosques, but he recommended praying at home, two or three families together, praying in a loud voice, with the palms of the hands turned upward. The sect spread even as far as Szechwan and Yunnan provinces (d'Ollone, *op. cit.*, 374).

[P. 66(B)]

the city was grateful and ready to help them. The second group called three thousand outsiders. However, the attackers were beaten by the old group, the local militia of the Chinese population. 175x 795 679 628

In 1865 the depredation of the cities of Ku Lang, Yung Ch'ang, Shan Tan, and Kanchow, situated on the trade road to Turkistan, was wicked and ruthless. The rebels carried by storm the city of Suchow, and a terrible massacre of the population took place; 10,000 Chinese were killed. The pass of Chia Yu Kuan was captured by the rebels. At the time the rebels passed Liangchow, many Mohammedans from the vicinity fled into the city for shelter. The official, unable to put reliance on them and suspecting their connivance with the rebels, massacred them all in the city.

In the third moon the city of Hsining was besieged for a second time. The rebels were put to flight. Then they attacked the city of Donkir again. They were chased and looted several villages. At that time the dissension among the two groups had subsided. Mohammedans of Hsining attacked the city of Lao Ya Ch'eng but were beaten.

T'u-ssu Ah helped defend the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). T'u-ssu Chou Hsieh-chi died on the field of battle defending the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51*a*). T'u-ssu Hsin, after the defense of the city, disappeared in the mountains and returned only in 1886 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 53*b*). During the whole year the Mohammedans had devastated East Kansu and Huangchung.

During 1866–1867 the attacks continued, and the army resisted in the same desultory fashion. The power of the Mohammedans was too strong and that of the army too feeble and uncoordinated. All these expeditions were in the nature of pillaging parties, which were murdering and kidnapping people, and carrying away all the valuables they could find. They stirred the bitter hatred which burned in the hearts of the Chinese against the Mohammedans, and that of the Mohammedans against the Chinese.

In 1868 the Mohammedans of Hsining again looted the Donkir region and were defeated in Shen Chung. Their chief Ah Wu was captured and killed with 1,300 of his brigands.

In the tenth moon, the new governor general of Shensi-Kansu, Tso Tsung-t'ang, appointed in 1866, arrived with his troops to quell the revolt.

In 1869–1870 the general first attacked the most important center of the uprising. He quelled the revolt of Ma Hua-lung and cleared the Ninghsia district of rebels. He acted as ruthlessly with the Mohammedans as they had behaved with the Chinese. The massacre [798] of the Mohammedans was tremendous. The stronghold of Chin Chi Pu, the center of the revolt, was burned to the ground with the defenders of the city who fought with the courage of despair. Nothing was heard of them any more. Ling Wu was taken in the same way and few defenders escaped.

[P.67(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The Mohammedan population of Ninghsia was very dense. It inhabited many important villages. One village after another was destroyed but a few Mohammedans managed to escape toward Shensi or Huangchung. The army commanders of Ninghsia and the local militia, which had suffered so many reverses and lost many soldiers at the hands of the Mohammedans, were in high spirits and revenged themselves against their former oppressors. In the meantime the revolt went on in the other prefectures of Kansu-Shensi. 175 795 579 628

In 1871 Ma Hua-lung, who had surrendered the previous year, was killed with his father, his son, brothers, and the commander of his troops. The revolt was quelled in the prefecture of Ninghsia.

In the third moon the city of Lien Ch'eng, the stronghold of the Lu t'u-ssu, was attacked by the rebels. The attack failed and the rebels were put to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*b*).

In 1872, in the third moon, Tso Tsung-t'ang, leading his army, went to Hsining. The Mohammedans of Hsining, in combination with Salars and Shensi rebels, were at that time plundering the country, killing people, and converting their villages into fortresses, in expectation of attacks from the Chinese army. Tso Tsung-t'ang followed the tactics he had successfully used in Ninghsia, and before long he had the situation in hand. In combination with the Hsining troops he cleared the country, destroying the villages of Mohammedans one after another, and killing all the Mohammedans he could lay hand on. The figure of those killed ran into the ten thousands. More than 100 villages had been destroyed. The Mohammedan population of the Hsining country was very dense. This fact gives an insight into the power of the Mohammedans in the country, and the difficulty for small armies assigned to defend definite countries, and, without coordination among them to cope with the situation. [798]

In the seventh moon the general moved to Lanchow to recommence the same tactics, annihilating the strongholds, killing and demoralizing the rebels.

In the eleventh moon several thousand Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining again. Among them were Salars of the two Salar t'u-ssu from Hsun Hua, the four upper and lower kungs, Mohammedans from Shensi province and from the suburbs of Hsining. The situation in Hsining seems to have been critical, for troops were sent by General Tso Tsung-t'ang from Lanchow. The troops could not cross the Tat'ung River, the boats having been burned by the rebels. The T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng, living on the borders of the river, immediately called his people to prepare a floating bridge, and the troops arrived on time in Hsining. The army administered a crushing defeat to the rebels, destroyed the Mohammedan suburb of Hsining, and the massacre followed. Then the local Mohammedans sued for peace and surrender in concert with the Salars. The officials suspected their faithfulness. They retired

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

and started plundering again. They were pursued, and 175x
3,000 among them were killed. The remaining Salars 795
fled to Pa Yien Jung and the surrender of the Hsining 579
Mohammedans was accepted. The Hsining revolt was 628
quelled. The Mohammedans had suffered tremendous losses.

In 1873, in the first moon, the troops recovered the subprefecture of Tat'ung and cleared the country in the same ruthless way. For many months the army had tried to recover the city of Suchow, situated on the trade road to Turkistan. In the Suchow area the Mohammedan population was very dense. Troops were sent from Lanchow and Hsining, but did not succeed in the action. Finally, in October, Tso Tsung-t'ang himself arrived with more troops from Lanchow. In November the city was recovered, the country cleared, and the Mohammedan population of the whole country massacred.

The same year the cities of Hsun Hua and Hó Chou were recovered and the country cleared. The number of the slaughtered Mohammedans in the cities and the surrounding villages was tremendous. Huangchung and East Kansu were pacified. Both Chinese and Mohammedans had borne the brunt of the revolt, and suffered equally.

During this last revolt, 1860–1873, a relatively few [624]
number of notes are encountered concerning the role played by the t'u-ssu and their troops. The fact is quite understandable. Mohammedan groups were running all over the whole country, and the forces of the regular army were insufficient to cope with the situation on a large scale. The t'u-ssu had to protect their own strongholds and fortified villages which sheltered their subjects, in the way the officials had to protect the cities with their population. Huangchung had suffered terribly and the destroyed villages and cities told the tale. The Monguors had had a bad time, but comparatively few had lost their lives, having hid and resisted the rebels in the strongholds of their t'u-ssu. The loss of cattle, houses, etc., was tremendous.

For the second time dissension concerning the old and new religion had caused a terrible revolt. The fanatic Salars, as well as the Chinese Mohammedans, had been responsible for all the harm suffered in Kansu and Shensi. However, every time their revolt had been on the brink of disaster, both groups forgot their dissension about religion and together fought fanatically their common enemy, the army of the hated Chinese.

REVOLT OF MOHAMMEDANS IN 1895–1896

During the revolt of the Mohammedans in 1860–1873, many cities and villages of Huangchung had been devastated and many, many thousands of Chinese and Mohammedans killed. During the following twenty-two years the country had more or less recovered from the disaster, when a new revolt of the Mohammedans

5:Schram M-S (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

broke out, as terrible as the preceding, and forecasting anew many days and nights of black despair. The news of a revolt of the Mohammedans was enough to cause a feeling of awe all over the country. 175X 795 579 628

This time the revolt started in Hsun Hua in East Kansu where, in 1762, Ma Ming-hsin, coming back from a pilgrimage, had founded his new religion. It was caused by dissension among the Mohammedans of Hsun Hua concerning the old and new religions. Han Mu-li was the leader of the old religion group, and Han Ssu the leader of the new religion group. Fifty thousand Salars prepared to join the revolt. In Hsun Hua, at that time, there was a garrison of only five to six thousand soldiers.

The viceroy of the provinces of Shen Kan Yang, Ch'ang-chun, was informed. Immediately he ordered the commanders of Kanchow, Hsining, and Turkistan to move their troops around the Hsun Hua region, in order to encircle the revolt (*Annals* of Kansu 47: 63*b*, 64*a*). The troops arrived too late, the city of Hsun Hua was already besieged by Han Mu-li and the Salars, the Mohammedans of Ho Chou, Hai Ch'eng, and Pa Yen Jung. Nienpei had already joined the revolt (*Annals* of Kansu 5: 49, 58*a*–*b*).

But there is another version of the cause of the revolt. The troubles arose in Hsun Hua from the dissensions related to the old and new religions, in the first moon of 1895. Then the viceroy sent Commander Lei Cheng-kuan immediately to garrison with his troops in the city of Ho Chou, in order to prevent the spread of the revolt. However, the whole region was upset on account of the misconduct of the troops of Ho Chou. Two Mohammedan leaders of Hsun Hua went to see the commander in Ho Chou, asking to put his troops in order. He killed the two leaders and then the revolt started and spread like a prairie fire. Hsun Hua was besieged by Salars, Ho Chou and Hai Ch'eng joined the revolt.

Later, the investigations of the conduct of Commander Lei Cheng-kuan disclosed that the reason for the misconduct of the soldiers of his troops had been the overdue payment of his soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 5: 42*a*–*b*, 43*a*).

Then followed many reverses and small successes of the Chinese troops, the flight of the besiegers of Hsun Hua in the fifth moon, and the spread of the revolt in Huangchung. In the sixth moon the Mohammedans of Hsining revolted, and with them all the Mohammedans of the whole country; Tatung and Po-ta were besieged and captured. The Chinese troops were unable to cope with the revolt.

General Teng Tsen of Hsining asked for permission to order the enrollment of 200 soldiers of each of the tribes in the country (*Annals* of Kansu 47: 64).[100]

This note seems to point to the enrollment of the Monguor troops and their t'u-ssu, besides that of the

[100] d'Ollone, *op. cit.* 21: 299.

[P. 68(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Mongtor AE9

Tibetan tribes. However, nowhere is recorded in this section the name of a t'u-ssu. Records about the t'u-ssu do not reach as far as 1895. 175x 795 579 628

Here we must close the chapter of the history of the Monguors during the Ch'ing dynasty, but a few words more will help one to understand the terrible devastation wrought in Huangchung during this revolt.

In the tenth moon, when the situation was completely out of hand, General Tung Fu-hsiang arrived with a strong army from Turkistan. He first went to Ho Chou and Hsun Hua, the centers of the revolt, ruthlessly murdering the Mohammedans in the way they had behaved with the Chinese. Then he pacified the Salars of Pa Yen Jung and the entire region south of Nienpei, along the northern borders of the Yellow River, all in the same bloody way. He went to Tat'ung and Pe-ta, and reached all the strongholds and fortified villages of the Mohammedans north, south, and east of Hsining, one after another, devastating the country and slaughtering the people.

In the second moon of 1896 the revolt was quelled. The remaining Mohammedans, having no way to live, fled toward Kokonor. The Tibetans and Mongols in Kokonor had been prevented from keeping in readiness to exterminate the rebels, pursued by the army. Small groups of them fled to Turkistan across the southern mountain range and submitted to the officials of Turkistan; most of them died from starvation and cold in the middle of the winter.

In 1920, traveling in the country, one encountered ruined villages and cities which told the story of both terrible Mohammedan revolts and this made it easy to understand the hatred which today still smolders in the hearts of Chinese and Mohammedans against each other in Kansu province. 175x

This first part of the book sheds light on the hopeless situation on the frontier regions during the Ming time. 175x 105

On the one hand, the uncouth Mongols were unable to organize a united front for the recovery of their lost empire: they were divided and subdivided in groups, fighting each other under the leadership of chieftains, seething with hatred and killing one another. They tumbled back into barbarism, invading the frontier regions, plundering, ravaging the country, abducting and killing the people. In Huangchung, East Kansu, and Kokonor they ruined and scattered the Tibetan tribes, reducing them to the level of slaves.

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THE LAND IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVE

131 The Province of Ch'inghai was established only in 1928. Until then, including the entire time during which
•631 I lived there and made my field studies of the Monguors, the present Province of Ch'inghai constituted the Tibetan frontier district of the Province of Kansu. It was divided into seven sub-prefectures. This study is based on the old administrative organization and takes no account of several new sub-prefectures that have since been added. It should be noted that the structure of prefectures and sub-prefectures is that of the Chinese population. Large Tibetan and Mongol groups lived outside of this organization (Kukunor, Tsaidam), and to a large extent administered their own affairs, under

[45] The "lesser inscription" to Kül Tegin, 7 and 8, in Malov, as cited.

[46] The "greater inscription," 6 and 7, in Malov, as cited.

[P. 17c]

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131 the supervision of a governor appointed by the Chinese
631 authorities, who bore the Manchu title of Amban.

THE COUNTRY

133 The mountainous region of Hsining [according to the great French explorer and geographer, Fernand Grenard] belongs to the range of the Nan-shan [southern mountains] whose passes have an average height of 12,900 feet, whose peaks are 14,700 feet high, and whose highest point reaches 18,000 feet. The range of the Nanshan is made up of seven almost parallel stretches of mountains running in an east-west direction, becoming lower and lower toward the eastern end.

The Nanshan range is covered by several feet of loess; the mountain slopes are overspread with pebbles, stone debris, and red deposits of the Gobi, reaching to an altitude of 1500 feet. Between the seven mountain ranges, valleys form several vast corridors, several miles wide; in the

[P. 17d]

At that time the expansive country 40 li north of Hsining was inhabited by nomads and had no cities, villages, or farms. Only after the victory of the Manchus over the lamas and Tibetans in 1723 was colonization immediately started on a large scale, and the cities of Tat'ung and Mao Pei Shen were built.

West of Hsining, the *Annals* record in 1380 the submission of three tribes. The Si-na tribe lived 60 li west of Hsining on the northwest borders of the Hsining River. In its territory are tents, houses, and fortified villages. Its people practiced farming and cattle breeding. The tribe had a temple and a lama with the title of Kuo-shih (Master of the Kingdom), a silver seal, and an ivory stamp. The tribe numbered 500 families and was taxed 300 horses every year. It controlled the tribe called little Si-na which lived in Ku Shan, southeast of Nienpei, and it was taxed 30 horses. It also controlled the Ssu-ta-la-ma tribe and the Hsieh-erh-chih-kang temple, which were taxed 50 horses (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 8*b*).

The Chia-erh-chi tribe inhabited the territory situated north of the Si-na tribe. The part of the tribe living inside the wall lived in houses and fortified villages; the part living outside the wall practiced cattle breeding and lived in tents. At the time of disturbances caused by brigands they moved inside the wall. The chief of the tribe was a lama who had the title of Chih-hui. Every year the tribe was taxed 130 horses. The tribe controlled the Lung-pa tribe numbering 100 families which was taxed 150 horses.

In the region west of Hsining, stretching as far as 40 to 60 li, only farming, combined with cattle breeding, seems to have been practiced in 1380 by Tibetan tribes. After 1723 the region beyond was developed. The title of master of the kingdom was probably granted after the surrender of the tribe ruled by the lama. It was the policy during the Hung-wu and the whole Ming period to grant titles to lamas who induced tribes to surrender (Monguors II: 16). The title of Chih-hui borne by the chief is a title of the Ming time. The walls noted in the references were built only after 1546 (*Annals* of Hsining 13: 15). The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 seems to have mixed circumstances existing only after 1546 with those of 1380.

Still west of Hsining the nomad Shen-tsang tribe surrendered in 1380. It inhabited a territory situated near Kokonor. At the time of the invasion of the Mongols in 1509 and their occupation of Kokonor, the tribe disappeared (*Annals* of Hsining ?: 5*b*).

In the region of the southern mountains of Hsining, between Hsining and the Yellow River, stretching in an east-west direction as far as Lao Ya Ch'eng, three more tribes surrendered in 1380, all of them living near the northern borders of the Yellow River.

The Tsan-tsa tribe lived in tents and its territory was situated south of the present subprefecture of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*).

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M 175x 648 HM 175 648

was achieved. It would reach the summit of its power again under the son of Togon, Esen, who was assassinated in 1455. Then the hegemony would be recovered by the eastern Mongols in 1470, after internal troubles had arisen among the Oirat tribes themselves.

After the death of A-lu-t'ai in 1434 his tribes separated: one group under the leadership of the Khan At'ai settled in I-chi-nai (500 li north of Kanchow), and one group, controlled by T'o-erh-chih-pa, settled in Yeh-k'o-lin-sha-erh-t'an, west of Liangchow. These groups would be the scourge of the countries of northwest Kansu for many years to come. A-lu-t'ai had already made forays in Liangchow in 1428. T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*) and Chi (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 42*a*) had been ordered to fight his turbulent tribes in I-pu-la-shan. In 1433, on account of the insecurity in the country, the commandery of Hsining had been reorganized in Chun-ming chih-huei-shih, six *so* had been established and the villages grouped in four *li*.

M [631]

In 1435 T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*a*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 41*b*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*), and Lu had been ordered to join the expedition of Commander Wang Kui against the tribes of At'ai and T'o-erh-chih-pa in Chengfan, Tsing-shih-shan, and Ho-shan. In 1436 a new expedition was launched against the same Mongol tribes, in which T'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*b*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*b*), and Wang participated (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 41*b*). Then the tribes of At'ai invaded the country of Chuang-lang (P'ing-fan) but were beaten by T'u-ssu Lu, who pursued them to I-pu-la-shan.

In 1437 the same turbulent Mongol groups invaded Liangchow and Chuang-lang again, they were beaten by T'u-ssu Lu and Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*) in Tu-pei-ku and Mi-ho-ch'uan and 1,000 of their horses were captured. In 1438 the same brigands suffered a severe blow in Wei-yun, Pei-ya-wu, and I-pu-la-shan, at the hands of T'u-ssu Lu and Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*).

The Monguors during these times were the faithful defenders not only of northwest Kansu but also of the most western Chinese frontiers, in the commanderies of Han Tung, Ch'u Shien, An Ting, and Ah Tuan. After the successful expedition of Li Yin in 1426, in combination with all the Monguor t'u-ssu, the petty tribes living in this area sustained themselves by pillage and robbery.

In 1429 the Governor of Hsining, Shih Chao, was ordered to prepare an expedition against the Chu-shien and Anting tribes whose chiefs still intercepted and plundered envoys bringing tribute to court. T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*a*), Li Wen (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 11*b*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38*a*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 41*b*), and Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 45*a*) joined the expedition. The fleeing tribes were pursued, severely beaten and 340 of their

M [726]

The power of the lamas consisted in the number of their subject tribes and their expansive territorial possessions. Their properties were confiscated, and their subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials, liable to their corvees, and subject to their land taxes. The revolt had ruined forever the power of the lamas. Then followed a lot more regulations (Monguors II: 34, 49). 175x [66]

However, nothing was changed in the regime of the Monguor institution. Their extensive properties remained intact, and their subjects continued under the administration of their t'u-ssu, because they had been faithful for centuries to the empire, and because this time their support had been of untold value to the army. Even T'u-ssu Lu was especially rewarded for his services, and received more new subjects: the 8 Tibetan villages in the Cho Tzu Shan region, which had belonged to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor, numbering 453 families, totaling 2,365 persons (Monguors I: 33).

This terrible revolt, which had threatened the very existence of Huangchung as part of Kansu Province and the empire, ended with the annexation of Kokonor to the empire, the ruin of the lama institution in Huangchung, and the stabilization of the regime of the t'u-ssu and Monguors in Huangchung. Thanks to the connivance of the Huangchung lamas and Tibetans with the Kokonor Khoshots, all of them seethed with hatred against the empire. [795]

In 1725, the revolt having been quelled, the commandery of Hsining became a prefecture and the So of Nienpei a subprefecture. According to one of the thirteen articles in the memorandum, presented to the throne by the Governor General, Nien Keng-yao, the building was started of three cities in the northern valley of Hsining, in Tatung, in Pe-ta, and in Yung Nan, which countries formerly belonged to the Kokonor Khoshots. Garrisons were appointed in order to forestall inroads of nomads and Jungars, and to provide easy communications between the two cities of Kanchow and Hsining. Tatung became a commandery (*Annals* of Hsining 1: 21*b*). 175x 631

It had been noted that in 1647 after the defeat of the Mohammedans of Kanchow on the Tatung River, trying to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to follow them in the revolt, Chinese of Kanchow who had participated in the expedition dared not return to their original countries, but settled in the extensive pastures of Tatung and Pe-ta, recognized the lordship of the Mongol proprietors and started farming and building houses. It has been noted also that in 1693, after fifty years, the assistant commander of Hsining, T'u-ssu Li Hsia, had reported that already more than 10,000 families were living there. The census of 1730 noted that the population of these settlements, started in 1647, was composed of Chinese, Monguors, Mohammedans, and Tibetans, living in twenty-two villages. The population of two villages was entirely composed of Chinese, 175x 631 162

[P.62(A)]

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one entirely of Tibetans, four completely of Monguors, 175x
one entirely of Mohammedans originating from Liang- 631
chow, one entirely of Mohammedans from Ho Chou, 162
three occupied by Chinese and Mohammedans together, two by Chinese and Tibetans together, four by Chinese and Monguors, and four by Chinese, Mohammedans and Tibetans (*Annals* of Hsining 22: 15*a–b*).

During these ninety years all these people had abandoned their original homes hoping to enjoy more peace in this lonely country. They had developed the country and made possible the building of the two cities of Tatung and Pe-ta. Before that time the northern valley of Hsining was cultivated only as far as the fortress of Hsin Ch'eng, situated 70 li north of Hsining, where a great wall marked the boundaries between Hsining and Kokonor.

In 1726 the newly appointed Governor of Kokonor, 175x
Ta Ting, started with a big retinue of officials and sol- 648
diers to visit all the Tibetan tribes of Huangchung, 631
East Kansu, and Kokonor, depending upon the Khoshot princes and the lamas, taking the census of the people and the herds of each tribe, appointing in each tribe the chief they desired, notifying them that they depended from now on upon the Chinese officials. He fixed the tribute each tribe was to pay yearly, and in- [651]
formed them that all the taxes formerly paid to the princes and lamas, the *t'ien pa* tax, and the incense offering required yearly by the Dalai Lama in Lhasa were abolished. He allotted to each tribe a territory clearly defined, and handed it the deed officially sealed.

Now an idea can be had about the power of the 175x
princes of Kokonor. The governor had to travel as far 648
at Tatung, Kuei Te, Ho Chou, and T'ao Chou in East Kansu, and to Chuang Lang and Liangchow where Tibetan tribes lived, depending upon the princes. The Khoshot Ku Shih-han in 1636 had conquered Kokonor and all the Tibetan tribes of that country, and those formerly dependent upon the Mongols, which later had fled far away from them. They pursued them as far as T'ao Chou and Ho Chou and so they became their subjects again. This had happened at the end of the Ming dynasty and during the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty when China could not care for these countries on account of the troubled conditions. However, Ku Shih-han had been recognized by the Manchu dynasty as chief of Kokonor. In 1642–1644 Ku Shih-han conquered Tibet and offered it to the Dalai Lama who [651]
immediately sent lamas to collect *t'ien pa* and incense offerings from the tribes, which normally had to pay a tax to the princes also. During these times the Khoshots had even been able to receive the submission of Tibetan tribes living as far as Cho Tze Shan, situated inside the prefecture of Chuang Lang, and of the tribes living in the mountains south of Ku Lang, Liangchow, and Yung Ch'ang. This gives an idea about the number of people and warriors they had been able to call to arms in 1723–1724 (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*b*).

[P.62(B)]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

415 planks. Some of these planks are cut to the standard
313 measurements for making coffins, and sold in the towns. Another woodworking trade is the making of pack saddles for donkeys, mules, and oxen, which are sold either in the towns or at fairs.

THE CITY BECOMES THE CENTER OF ECONOMIC LIFE

177 At the end of this chapter it is interesting to consider
369 from what center originated the new economic life of the Monguors, how it developed, and what were the repercussions on the social organization of the Monguor clans, as they evolved away from pastoralism. For nearly four centuries the economic life of the Monguors was fraught with insecurity and calamities, and deprived of the peace that is the first requirement for social welfare. Indeed the economic conditions of the Monguors and of the whole country improved only when the Ch'ing dynasty secured peace, and this improvement depended on the vitality of commerce. No trade of real importance had been able to coexist with insecurity on the roads, since trade requires normal and regular transportation facilities and a safe access to the outlets of commerce. For the center of a developed economy a city is required. In this case the city was Hsining, with its group of professional merchants from all over China, associated in guilds according to the Chinese custom.

177 The prefectural city of Hsining is advantageously situ-
369 ated on the river of the same name, a tributary of the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou, the capital of the province. Hsining is also on the road from Peking
•632 to Lhasa and India. It was the seat of the political and
[487] military administration of the country, and the merchants settled there because it was a fortified and garrisoned city. Under the older order in China important concerns maintained their headquarters in major cities and sent their agents to less secure secondary towns and villages to open branch offices.

177 The merchants of the city monopolized the whole com-
369 merce of the country. They sent out their agents to buy up as much grain, oil, and wine (alcohol) as possible;
441 they bought the products collected by peddlers; their agents pitched their tents at lamasery fairs and festivals
467 and at clan diets, to provide people with groceries, cloth, silk, and hardware. The small shopkeepers scattered over the country bought their wares from the wholesale merchants in Hsining. The guilds enjoyed the privileges of trading with the nomad caravans, which had to stop and unload at their inns in order to sell their merchandise, and to buy through them the things they wanted, such as flour, oil, and cloth.

Farmers were not allowed to sell flour, oil, and other products directly to the caravans. They had to go through the guild of the *Hsieh chia*, those who controlled the "rest places." Thus the guild alone controlled the trade in the high-priced furs and other articles carried

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The colonization of Huang-chung started between 121 and 119 B.C. with the transportation of Chinese families from central China, and criminals released from jail (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, p. 2*b*). In A.D. 9 the colonization system was developed on a larger scale in the same way. In A.D. 132 (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9) after five new colonies were established, the total number reached only ten. Intermittently, new families and criminals had to be sent to replace those who died or ran away (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9*b*). In A.D. 220, after three centuries, the originally walled, small garrison of Hsining was expanded by the building of three new cities, on three sides of it (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 13*a*). For the first time, Hsining started to become a real city, the only one in the whole country.

It is tempting to suppose that, at the time of the expansion of the city, the temple of the "Earth Tower" might have been built, for it could easily have been protected by the garrison troops who farmed the fields around it. On the other hand, it is an historical fact that Buddhism already had a firm toehold in China in the second half of the second century A.D. It seems possible that among these colonists some might have been professing Buddhists when they arrived in Huang-chung, because Buddhism was the religion of the people. If so, Buddhism might have been imported by the colonists and practiced among them during the second century A.D. However, another possibility is not precluded. Monks who were attendants for the early translators of Buddhist texts (A.D. 148) might have settled in the emporium of Liang-chou, diffusing Buddhism as monks used to do in the oasis cities of Turkistan. Some among them might have tried to go to Hsining to spread Buddhism, after the city had been built and relative security provided. However, no historical data are available to support either of these two suppositions.

More can hardly be said about the diffusion of Buddhism in Huang-chung during the first three centuries of our era, because of the lack of historical data.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY HSIEN-PI TRIBES?

The region of Huang-chung, and its neighboring countries, upset during the second and third centuries by three noticeable invasions of Hsien-pi tribes which settled in the country, driving out the larger Tibetan

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border a third colony from the 'Far West,' this time located in modern Kansu. In the list of Hsien dependent on the prefecture of Chang-Yeh we have Li-Chien-Hsien. . . . It is tempting to see in the name of this administrative subdivision of a western Chinese province a variant transcription . . . which is one of the names under which the Roman Orient was known to the Chinese of the Han dynasty. . . . The name of the little Chinese city on the desert road to the West, would indicate that an important Western community must have sent out its sons to the distant land of the Seres to imprint the name of the metropolis on an outpost of the Han Empire." See also M. Medard, Ta-Ts'in, Province romaine en Asie, *Journal de Pékin*, 141 *et. sq.*, 1936.

[p. 10(A)]

products and animals for trading. All year long the 792
silence of the holy places was disturbed by the coming 175
and going of caravans of donkeys carrying grain to the 651
oil and grain mills, and returning with flour and oil 427
which was measured with the usual rumble of noise and cries. Throughout the year, groups of subjects never failed to become involved in trials, defending their rights by roaring and crying with vehemence and passion at the court of lamas. Punishments were meted out with ruthless severity, so that cries and screams could be heard throughout the entire monastery—whetting the curiosity and disturbing the meditation of the monks.

The interest of the subjects was centered only on the 175
monastery. There was no need for them to go to the 633
city, since the necessities of life could be secured at the 792
monastery fairs and nobody cared for the Chinese officials, the lamas being their legal officials. Many, many people had never seen or entered a city. The monasteries and their subjects lived their own life, in their own orbit, alien to the city, just as if Chinese officials did not exist.

These conditions changed after 1723 when the lamas lost their privileges and the country developed economically. From that time on the city became the center of the economic, civil, and administrative life; before that time, it had been primarily a military center, engrossed in the protection of the country.

What was the social position of the subjects of the 175
lama institutions before 1723? It seems that religion 792
must have been a subsidiary and not a primary motive 571
for becoming subjects of the lamas, because all of them were spurred by the hope of earning a better living under the lama regime than under the regimes of the Chinese officials or the Monguor T'u-ssu. Having been driven out of their territories by marauding Mongols, they may have hoped to find a peaceful country within the frontier zone of China, on the domains of the lamas. Being groups or tribes, or single families of destitute people, they were happy to submit to lama chiefs, and they were thankful to them for being accepted as their subjects. They did not lay claim to any rights, and the lamas did not consider that they were entitled to any, because they had achieved nothing that could have supported such claims. In this way the lamas strove to make their domains more and more productive, and were only concerned with the duties to be imposed on the subjects, without paying any attention whatever to rights they might have claimed.

The subjects were all on the same social level; there 175
was no more question of nobles and commoners among 565
them. They were all equally subject to taxes and cor- 792
vées, and all of them were tenants of the fields of the lamas. They enjoyed the rights to live, to till the soil, and to consume the surplus of their labor. Since the lamas never sold their fields, the subjects had no opportunity to become proprietors of the soil, as was the

[p.50(A)]

5.Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

noting a date that on account of the small population 175x
and the extent of the uncultivated land, the Monguors 648
had been ordered to abandon the cultivated land around the cities and fortresses, which would be assigned to artisans and traders and soldiers, and to move to the uncultivated areas they controlled during the Yuan time.

This important note hints at the purpose of the Ming [70]
to found Chinese colonies, and suggests that the soldiers had to till the soil and provide for their subsistence. This is the time honored policy of China, practiced since 118 B.C. by Ho Ch'u-ping in Hsining.

Necessarily more civil and military officials had ar- 175x
rived and new administrative organs had to be created, 633
since the establishment in 1378 of the exchange bureau of tea against horses. More troops, traders, and artisans had flooded into the city, and in 1380 more Tibetan tribes had surrendered. Houses and shops had to be built, caravansaries for Tibetans, arsenals and barracks. Taxes had to be collected, disturbances prevented, justice dispensed, and the city defended. It was plain that Hsining had been chosen to become the pivot of the civil and military administration of entire Huangchung.

In 1387 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, after his 175x
return from the expedition in Liaotung, induced the 648
rebel chiliarch A-pu-ti to surrender, and T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o hsing-ch'i again induced the Tibetan I-lin-cheng-pen (*Annals of Hsining* **31**: 10*b*) and the turbulent Ch'i Chih-hsun to surrender. However, he must not have succeeded in his efforts with Ch'i Chih-hsun because the turbulent Mongol, in 1392, participated in the troubles in Han Tun (Tunhuang) (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 25*b*).

In 1388 at the time the army of the Mongol Emperor T'o-ku ssu had been defeated by the Ming, 200,000 of his soldiers had surrendered and only 40,000 had fled in various directions with the emperor, whose power was completely discredited in the eyes of his officers. He was strangled by one of them in 1388.[73]

In 1391 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was sent to the commandery of Kanchow and was soon called back to Hsining to fight the Tibetan A-li-ta-ah-su. T'u-ssu Kan was ordered to join the expedition of General Sung Sheng at Ha mu li (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 2*b*; **42**: 50*b*).

T'u-ssu T'o erh-chih-shih-chieh died in 1392. He had accumulated thirteen merits during his lifetime and died discharging his office. His son Tuan Chou succeeded his father in 1396 (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 10*b*; **27**: 9*b*; **24**: 7*b*; **27**: 9*b*; *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*b*).

In 1392, t'u-ssu Wang was ordered to follow General Lan Yu, pursuing the turbulent Ch'i Chih-hsun, who at that time was in the region of Han Tun (Tunhuang). On the arrival of Lan Yu most of his tribes fled and were pursued as far as the region of Kokonor. Many were captured with a large number of their cattle.

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[73] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 13.

[p.34(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

x 175 101 133 Huangchung is bounded on the north by the Chi Lien Shan, a range of lower mountains which constitutes the northern end of the Nan Shan range. Being less high and abrupt, it provides an easy access to the countries of Ninghsia, Ordos, and Mongolia. In order to prevent the junction of the barbarians of Mongolia with those of Huangchung, the Chinese General Ho Ch'u-ping, in 116 B.C. (Monguors I: 19) established the first colonies in Huangchung. It was along the natural depressions in the Chi Lien range that the Tibetans many times invaded the country of the Ninghsia, Ordos, and Shansi borders, and that Mongols made inroads from Ordos into Huangchung and Kokonor. On the south side no high mountains or large rivers separate Huangchung from Kokonor and Tibet, through which many roads provide access to Central Asia.

Geographically, Huangchung, bounded by the large Yellow River on the south and east, by low mountains on the north, and spreading wide open toward the southwest facing Kokonor and Tibet, seems to be a peninsula of Kokonor and Tibet protruding into China. x 175 648 Huangchung being more remote from the capital of the empire than East Kansu, the threat of inroads from the empire was apparently less imminent; and the importance of its trade being not comparable with that of the colonies situated in the corridor of West Kansu across the Nan Shan range, fewer colonies had been established there than in East Kansu. Every time rebellions or dynastic troubles occurred in China, the Tibetans of Kokonor helped their brothers of Huangchung destroy the colonies; however, as long as the empire was at peace and its military power intimidated the restless Tibetans, Chinese officials could proceed with collecting the tribute of horses from the tribes governed by their own chiefs, and the ways leading to Kokonor could be guarded.

● [635] The whole of Kansu, populated by barbarians, was for centuries considered as a colony and not as a province proper. Only in 1665 was the province of Kansu established, and even up to the Republic (1911) Kansu was ruled together with Shensi by a viceroy. Only since 1928 has the province of Ch'inghai been established, encompassing Huangchung and a part of Kokonor.

THE POPULATION OF HUANGCHUNG AT THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST BY THE MONGOLS

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE TANG PERIOD

x 175 162 In 1227 when the Mongols conquered Huangchung, the country was inhabited by depleted tribes of Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o, without cohesion among them. The country had passed through the ordeal of centuries of wars, and the Chinese colonies had long since van-x 175 ished.

648 The Tang dynasty (620-906) had been unable to

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

the eastern and western (Oirat and Kalmuk) Mongols would become especially desperate and obstinate, and Yung Lo would have to launch five campaigns personally into barren Mongolia, and die in that fateful country at the time that the troops from his fifth campaign were on their way back to Peking. During these times of alarming confusion and disorganization in Mongolia, the Monguors of Huangchung had to participate in the expeditions, defend their own country, and die on the fields of battle.[75]

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

The strangled Mongol Emperor T'o-ku-ssu was succeeded by Elbek, who was murdered in 1399 by Ugetch'i, chief of Kirghiz tribes, who tried to establish his hegemony over the Mongol tribes. He was defeated by A-lu-t'ai, chief of the Asods [76] and Ma-ha-mu, chief of the Oirats. In 1403, the eastern Mongols proclaimed as emperor Pen-chia-shih-li, son of Elbek, who was joined by A-lu-t'ai.

In 1403 T'u-ssu Ch'eng under the command of General Chang Fu, was ordered to fight groups of eastern Mongols, subjects of Pen-chia-shih-li, who came from the Gobi desert into the country of Kan and Liangchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37*a*). T'u-ssu Chao joined the same expedition and fought in Yung Ch'ang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*); Ch'eng and T'u-ssu Na fought the same groups in Cheng Fan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*a*; 42: 39*b*). T'u-ssu Wang was sent to I-chi-nai and Pu-yen-mu, north of Kan and Liangchow, to induce Pa tu Timur to surrender (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 41*a*). In the same first year of his reign, Yung Lo, in order to stabilize the conquest of Huangchung, organized military colonies, apportioned land to the colonists, and provided them with grain and oxen and farm implements (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 2*a*).

M [33] ●

In 1404 T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu chih chieh, was ordered to garrison Cheng Fan and Mao Mu Ch'eng.

M 175x 648

In 1409 T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu shih chieh, was sent to I-chi-nai to care for and organize the surrendered Mongol tribes.

628 HM 175 648

In 1410 Pen-chia-shih-li had offended the Chinese emperor by not caring for his subjects, invading the frontiers of Liang and Kanchow. He killed the ambassador who conveyed the protest of the emperor. The emperor retaliated forthwith, granting titles to the Oirat chiefs, the foes of Pen-chia-shih-li. A conflict broke out between the two groups, and to Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai was administered a severe blow at the hand of the Oirat Ma-ha-mu. The emperor took advantage of their reverse and equipped an expedition

[703]

[75] Chinese and Mongol sources are very confusing relating to the history of these times. Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, Wolfgang Franke, Yung Lo's Mongolei-Feldzuge, *Sinologische Arbeiten* 3: 1–54, Peking, Deutschland Institut, 1914. Louis Hambis, *La Haute Asie*, 58–104, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1953. Henry Serruys, Notes on a few Mongolian rulers of the 15th century, *Jour. Orient. Soc.* 76 (2): 82–89, 1956.

[76] Asod-Alains: originating in the Caucasus, their faithful troops had been enlisted in the imperial guard and had followed the defeated Mongols fleeing toward Mongolia.

I remarked that the performance of this rite, not kept secret in the fold of the monastery but put completely on public display, was not very honorable for the intendants. The lamas answered, "When squeezed to the wall and when all other rites have been of no avail, the rite has to be performed." Such facts, without stretching the point, are really informative, concerning the type of the intendants. 792 788

The overriding importance attached to the appointment of the intendant, who can make a monastery flourish or ruin it, may be explained by the enormous influence exerted in a monastery by them, which matches that of the supreme chief of the institutions, and the stumbling blocks encountered by the intendants, which endanger the correct fulfilling of their office. They serve also to gain a true insight into the frame of mind of the administrative world of the monasteries.

MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE OF THE LAMASERIES

DOMAINS

During the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties, large domains were granted to the monasteries to provide their means of subsistence. In former times it was easy for the emperors to be lavish in such grants in a sparsely populated country. I never had the opportunity to see the old deeds under which the vast domains of Erh-ku-lung and its flourishing subsidiaries had been granted. Its most important domain is that of the Fan-wu-pu, which it shares with its daughter monastery of Seerkok.[3] 792 423 643 434

The Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa Hutukhtus were the favorite Living Buddhas of the emperors. It seems an obvious assumption that private domains were also granted to each of them, because Chang-chia was able to found on his properties six branches and eleven villages. T'u-kuan founded seven villages and seven affiliates, while Sumpa founded five branches, and further it is said he disposed of more domains than both Chang-chia and T'u-kuan. The tax and rent revenues collected on their private properties must have been considerable because Chang-chia built nine oil and grain mills and T'u-kuan eighteen, in order to dispose of their grain. [256]

[3] The Fan-wu-pu (the five tribes of barbarians) are situated in the region of Wei-yüan-p'u. They are: (1) Pei-tsui-pu (Narin valley), (2) [illegible]n-tsa-pu (east and west Tsan-tsa), (3) Hsieh-tsa-pu, (4) [illegible]u-tsa-pu (near the mountains), and (5) Kuang-hua-pu (west of Wei-Yüan-p'u). The people living in these vast territories were the subjects of these two lamaseries, to which they paid taxes and rent, and were liable for corvées. All the villages from Pei-tsui-pu eastward (Ha-la-chih and Hung nai valleys) belonged to Erh-ku-lung; those westward to Seerkok. In 1910 both lamaseries still collected the rent of these fields, enjoyed the privilege of traveling for alms among these former subjects, and vindicated the right of still being invited by them for the performance of public and private religious activities. In that region the monastery of Erh-ku-lung had built twenty-four oil and grain mills. These domains were administered in former times by the important T'u-kuan and Seerkok Nang suo. [p.43 (B)]

Concerning Seerkok, the former subsidiary of Erh-ku-lung, it is recorded that it disposed of a property 45 miles (150 *li*) in length and 10 miles (30 *li*) wide.[4] Achia Hutukhtu of Kumbum collected taxes and rents from five tribes of farming Tibetans and the inhabitants of seven valleys.[5] The country for 200 *li* around Kumbum belongs to the monastery; several thousand "tame" barbarians are its subjects.[6] Achia Hutukhtu received from the emperor an extensive region for grazing his herds in Chahar (Inner Mongolia). The contract was written by order of the emperor in 1766.[7] Erh-ku-lung received land from the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where a lot of its subjects farmed. After the revolt of 1723, the Ch'i T'u-ssu responsible for the revolt of Erh-ku-lung lost his title and the subjects who farmed his land. Later he was given a chance to regain his title and subjects, if he could bring those who had revolted to submission. He succeeded, and recovered title and subjects, as described in Part I (p. 50).

It has been recorded that Ch'ü-t'an, which was the first lamasery founded by the Ming emperors, received wide domains so that it was able to build the two large branches of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and Hung Shan-ssu (*Annals* of Hsining. ch. 15, p. 13). During the Ming dynasty large domains had also been granted to the Karwa and Nang-suo institutions, as noted above. Most of the minor Living Buddhas also possessed domains granted by T'u-ssu or wealthy people, or which they purchased themselves.

If account is taken of all these facts, it is easy to understand why the Chinese officials, who before 1723 could not collect taxes on all these vast domains, harbored an enormous jealousy, and why they exulted after the revolt when the emperor assigned the collection of these taxes to them. The text of the author of the *Annals* of Hsining records (chap. 31, p. 22) that " . . . in 1727, by decree, the emperor in one day, put an end to calamities lasting hundreds of years." This text, on the one hand, proves the rejoicing of the Chinese officials at that time; on the other hand, the loss of these enormous revenues impoverished the monasteries tremendously. The lamas, however, were very proficient in finding a means to cushion the shock to some extent.[8]

RENTS

After the revolt, the lamas could only receive the rent of their tenants in the way in which a rich landowner received them; but it was customary that the government receive the taxes, not directly from the tenants.

[4] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 5: 123.
[5] *Ibid.*, 143.
[6] *Ibid.*, 11.
[7] *Ibid.*, 143.
[8] In 1948 according to the official data provided by the Bureau of the actual province of Ch'ing-hai (Hsining), only 177 of the 235 lamaseries, owned collectively about 500,000 *mou* (acres) of land and 5,000 to 6,000 head of livestock. Wang Wen-han, *Pien-chiang tung-hsin* 1: 1–7, 1948.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

LAMASERIES AS ADMINISTRATIVE CENTERS OF THE COUNTRY AND CONDITIONS OF THE SUBJECTS BEFORE 1723

792 175

The study of the material aspects of the administration of the monasteries and the status of their subjects in 1910–1920, which are the consequences of the revolt of 1723, provides many facts pointing to the situation as it existed before 1723, and makes possible a reconstruction of the conditions in which the lamaseries flourished and their subjects lived before that fateful date.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) had succeeded in driving the Mongols out of China, there existed in Huang-chung only the two cities of Hsining and Nien pei, and some fortified walled places which were garrisons established in former times to assure the occupation of the always disturbed country. The Ming started anew the colonization of the depopulated country by transplanting from central China 7,200 Chinese families (Part I: p. 30), accepting the submission of the Monguors, and assigning to each of their groups a definite territory, making them wardens of the country and their chiefs officials of the empire, with the prerogatives of the office of T'u-ssu (Part I: 46 sq.). The city of Hsining was more a military than a civil administrative center.

In order to repopulate the country, the Ming adopted the policy of attracting lamas and settling them in the region with the subjects they induced to submit to the empire. It granted them territories and made the lamas the hereditary chieftains of the groups they had brought in. They were responsible for the tribute to be offered to the emperor and had complete jurisdiction over their subjects. Hence the flourishing of lamaseries, Nang-suos, Karwas. The protection bestowed upon the lamas and the immunity granted to them by the emperor made the dissatisfied Chinese officials keep quiet and swallow their national pride. [168 646]

Consequently, large territories were assigned to the Monguor clans and larger or smaller ones to the lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas, whose inhabitants were completely withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials. Besides these autonomous groups there lived, scattered over the country, some small groups of petty Tibetan tribes, remnants of tribes which had fled from Kukunor or Tibet, depending directly upon the Chinese administration. From among those groups, from among the Monguor clans, and from their own subjects, the lama institutions recruited and increased the number of their lamas.

The chiefs of the lama institutions accredited by the emperor lived in their seigniories like princes, surrounded by a large or small retinue, occupying a more or less elaborate residence built within a compound of temples, the quarters of the lamas, and large granaries. They appointed the staffs of lama officials for administering justice among the subjects (officially appointed 792 175 692 [643]

[p.49(A)]

sisted of lamas and the subjects of the monastery. However, during the revolt of 1723, the lamaseries were in full bloom, and must have had soldiers, because the Chinese General, Nien Keng-yao, blamed the lamas for fighting furiously, and the monasteries for being the depots of weapons. It may be assumed that after the revolt of 1723 the lamaseries were not allowed to have armies. However, during the revolt of the Moslems in 1895, the lamas of Kumbum attacked the stronghold of the rebels in To-pa as auxiliaries of the Chinese regular armies.[10] Nearly all the monasteries at that time except Kumbum were destroyed and burned.

INTERFERENCE OF THE EMPEROR AND T'U-SSU WITH THE LAMASERIES

In Europe during the Middle Ages, many monasteries and abbeys had a bad time. The princes and kings granted vast domains to religious orders to encourage them to branch out into their territories. The grants were gratefully accepted and abbeys built, but some among the gracious donors, in a surge of religiosity, went so far as to appoint an official for the collection of land taxes and the administration of the domains, whose duty it was to furnish the revenue to the abbots in order to free the monks of material troubles. Often these officials were relatives of the donors, and collected most of the taxes for themselves, and the monasteries, unable to make ends meet and to uphold and develop their institutions, had no means of protesting against the relative of the prince. Very often princes started interfering in the administration of the monasteries and claimed the right to appoint an abbot of their own, often a relative. After unworthy abbots were appointed the monasteries relaxed, with the consequences that might be expected.

I know of only two similar cases of interference in Huang-chung. The Lu T'u-ssu of Lien ch'eng had established three important lamaseries and granted vast domains to them. In 1727 the census records for the monastery of Ku-ch'eng show 140 lamas, for Lien-hua 100, and for Pao-nen-ssu 191, a total of 431 lamas. Next to them the T'u-ssu had founded two smaller monasteries, Hsi ssu and Kan-ch'an ssu, which received smaller domains from him. Two among these five monasteries had no Living Buddhas, so that the T'u-ssu appointed himself the intendant; and every three years, at appointment time, troubles arose.

The case of Ch'ü-t'an has been recorded. According to the legend the monk, Emperor Hui-ti, had appointed his relative hereditary administrator of the domains, and a tablet had been erected testifying to the appointment. The fact is, that the real emperor of the

[10] Susie Carson Rynhart, M.D., *With the Tibetans in tent and temple*, 92, London, Fleming Revell, 1902; see also M. S. Wellby, *Through unknown Tibet*, 281, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1898.

[p. 53 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Yung-cheng period, not the monk Emperor Hui-ti, had appointed the administrator, who was killed. 643 175

Possibly the precarious position of the Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu, their financial troubles, which compelled them to mortgage parts of their domains to Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, enfeebled their influence and power, and prevented them from interfering with the administration of the monasteries which had received domains from them in former times. On the other hand, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, before 1723, had prominent Hutukhtus whose influence superseded that of the T'u-ssu. Only these two cases are known to me. 792 622

IV. ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAMA-SERIES: EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS 792

It seems necessary in dealing with the educational and religious aspects of a monastery, its rules, discipline, and colleges, to know beforehand to what kind of subjects the initiation into the monastic life and religious training is given. The subjects of the monastery are its main source of lamas.

LAMAS

LACK OF CANDIDATES

The superiors of all the monasteries complained bitterly about the want of religious candidates. In fact they declared that at this time (1911–1920) there existed in Huang-chung only two monasteries still having the four colleges (Kumbum and Sha-ch'ung), and the fact that so many monasteries were shadows of their former selves was the consequence of the lack of religious candidates.

CAUSES CONTRIBUTING TO LACK OF CANDIDATES

The situation in Huang-chung in 1910 was no longer the same as that before 1723. After the crushing of the revolt, the country had enjoyed peace, and developed and prospered tremendously. Chinese settled in great numbers in the thinly populated country, filled with hopes for a comfortable living. Chinese officials became more and more numerous. Chinese *literati* came to take the helm and to enforce on the uncivilized Monguors, Tibetans, and lamas admiration for the superior Chinese civilization. 175 177

First of all, the Monguors, not insulated against the impact of Chinese culture because a large number of Chinese had already been enrolled in their clans, and because their T'u-ssu were already far along in the process of Sinicization, underwent the process in differing degrees. In Huang-chung, even as in the northwest border countries of China, the first consequences of the process of Sinicization are a pride in being considered Chinese, and a scorn for lamas, whom they be-

[p. 54(A)]

fected the imperial family of the founder of the new 795
Mongol nation in a peculiar way.

Chingis, building his new nation, resorted to al- 175
liances with neighboring tribes. He married his fourth 648
son, Tului, to the niece of Toghrul Ong Khan, chief of 643
the powerful Nestorian Kereit tribe. The Nestorian princess bore four sons, among whom was Mönke, the fourth leader of the nation, Khubilai, who became emperor of China, and Hulagu, the ruler of Persia, who also married a Nestorian Kereit princess, the granddaughter of the same Toghrul. The latter had a chapel attached to his camp.

Chingis married his own daughter, Alagai Beki, to Po-yao-ho, the son of the chief of the Nestorian Öngüts, who helped him conquer the Chin. Chingis was so fond of his son-in-law that he made him follow him, with Kulan the well-known favorite, in his conquest of West Turkistan and Khwarezm. The relations between the Nestorian Öngüts and the imperial family were very close. Güyük, the second successor of Chingis and leader of the nation, married his daughter to the son of Po-yao-ho, who had a Christian chapel before his tent. The emperor Khubilai married his daughter to the other son of Po-yao-ho.

No wonder that many Nestorian Kereits and Öngüts 177
occupied important administrative posts in the new na- 797
tion. Chingis himself appointed the Christians Chinkhai 643
and Khadak, and all imperial orders had to bear the signature of Chinkhai. Two chief ministers of Güyük were Christians, as were also the physicians at court. The principal minister of Mönke was the Christian Bolgai. Protection enjoyed by the 30,000 Nestorians in China in the construction of churches and monasteries was due to the emperor, whose mother was a Nestorian and who gave his daughter to a Nestorian prince. Even so, the diffusion of Catholicism by the first missionaries was also made possible and even encouraged by him. The impact of Nestorianism upon the imperial family seems at first sight to have been unusual, but it was in fact merely a veneer overlying a shamanist underground, for soon after Chingis, the Mongol emperors practiced Lamaism to the extent that Peking became a Lamaist city.[27] O. Franke writes about the "Rabies Buddhica" of the Mongol emperors.[28]

Vladimirtsov writes:

Chingis Khan introduced a definite religious idea into 797
the political conception of his own suzerainty and of that 175
of his clan . . . the shaman Kokchu announced that the 643
"Everlasting Blue Sky" favored Chingis who was its own pre-ordained envoy on earth. . . . "The 'Sky' has ordered me to govern all the peoples," Chingis said. . . .

[27] K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, 63–65. Henri Cordier, Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *T'oung Pao* **18**: 56–57, 197. P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extreme Orient, *T'oung Pao* **15**: 627, 1914. P. Pelliot, Les Mongols et la Papauté, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* **23**: 4 seq., 1922–1923; **24**: 46, 1924; **28**: 169, 193–4, 199, 1931–1932. Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

[28] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 522. [p. 154 (B)]

The White Banner was inhabited by the "guardian genius" 797
of Chingis, it would protect his troops and lead them to 175
victory; he would conquer all peoples, for the "Everlasting 643
Blue Sky" had so ordained.[29]

In the same way "Ahura Mazda, among the Achaemenians in Persia, [688–330 B.C.], was said to grant to the great kings their power over other peoples, and to bestow upon them victories."[30] In ancient China "Heaven" was believed either to give or withdraw the emperor's mandate.[31]

Chingis was not only religious, he was superstitious. 175
The need to know the will of "Everlasting Blue Sky" 643
and of "the guardian spirits" was a constant stimulus 771
for communing with "shamans," sorcerers, and divinators.[32] "He believed Kokchu could ascend the 'Sky' and had powerful protectors among the genii."[33] "He instituted the post of *beki* who was to be the state's chief priest, [a shaman], vested with power and officially recognized."[34] "He was fond of Ye-lü Ch'ü-tsai for he was a skillful astrologer."[35] "Chingis viewing all religions with equal favor remained himself a good shamanist, true to the traditions of his people."[36] "He remained a primitive shamanist nomad with a rudimentary sense of moral responsibility to the 'Everlasting Sky' and the 'guardian spirits' and with a fully developed instinct of acquisition."[37]

The impact of Nestorianism among the Mongols was 771
not profound. Professor N. Poppe, reviewing the study of W. Schmidt concerning the religion of the Mongols,[38] notes:

> According to the author the Mongols had monotheism and recognized Heaven as the Supreme power. Heaven was in their opinion, the lord of life and death, was eternal, immortal and omniscient (46–47). The statement about the recognition of that Supreme power by the ancient Mongols is corroborated by quotations of sayings mentioning Heaven and attributed by ancient authors to Chingis Khan, his son Ögedei, the emperors Güyük and Mönke and other historical persons. These sayings were however preserved in writings of various authors who wrote their works much later. Therefore, the question arises whether those sayings are authentic. It is possible that in a number of cases the mention of God as "the creator of the sky and earth" attributed by later writers to the Great Yasa and other documents, reflects ideas inspired in the authors by medieval European theologians, as Dr. Pallisen believes.[39]

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[29] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 65.

[30] Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 306.

[31] H. G. Creel, *Confucious the man and the myth*, 147, New York, John Day Company.

[32] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 81.

[33] *Ibid.*, 82.

[34] *Ibid.*, 77.

[35] *Ibid.*, 105.

[36] *Ibid.*, 109.

[37] *Ibid.*, 167.

[38] *Anthropos* **48**: 327, 1953; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* **10**: 1952.

[39] Nicolaus Pallisen, Die alte Religon des mongolischen Volkes und die Geschichte des Verhältnisses der Mongolen zu anderen Religionen während der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden, 1949.

[p. 155(A)]

wrought by barbarians in their country to indulge in 648
such utopian hopes. They knew too well that more or 771
less powerful tribes never had lived peaceably next to each other; that peace had reigned inside Mongolia and Tibet only as long as an all-powerful chief was able to subdue and to dominate the tribes, but that immediately after his death the tribes had always dispersed and began a new cycle of tribal wars. They knew too that barbarian conquerors had always tried to overcome China and had repeatedly succeeded in founding dynasties. In other circumstances Mongol and Tibetan tribes had only kept quiet along the Chinese frontiers so long as China had been able to wield sufficient military power to impose peace on them. The Chinese also knew very well that Lamaism had never changed the predatory instincts of the barbarians, and that the lamas in Tibet and Huang-chung had been just as savage warriors as the laymen. Once in a while Hutukhtus had tried to mediate the troubles among the tribes, but other influential chiefs of tribes and persons of standing had also tried, with comparable results of success or failure.

It is asserted that the Yellow Sect became an important power among the barbarians from the time when Gushi Khan, after conquering Tibet, installed the Dalai Lama as temporal chief of the country (1636), and that the Manchu dynasty recognized the fact. Before that time Lamaism was divided into sects, which supported the numerous political parties in the country fighting for supremacy. By mixing in politics and wars, and because of lack of unity, the influence of the sects was dissipated. The chiefs of the sects, however, craving titles and privileges, curried the favor of the emperors. The emperors were happy to comply with their requests, appreciating the asset of having friendly disposed influential chiefs in far-off countries, but always waited for an opportunity to use them to further the interests of the empire.

It was in this way that the Ming emperors (1368- 643
1643) favored the lamas in Huang-chung, whatever 648
their sect, by lavishly granting titles and privileges, and 792
contributing to the building of monasteries in order to populate the desolate country, and to keep the Mongol tribes quiet after the overthrow of the Yüan dynasty.

Later on, when Lamaism had become a real power, the Ch'ing dynasty engaged in war with the Kalmuks or Western Mongols. Well aware of the influence which the Yellow Sect wielded among the eastern and western Mongols and its questionable behavior toward the empire, the Ch'ing dynasty imposed its authority on Lhasa by means of its armies, but at the same time granted favors and privileges to the lamas.

The institution of the committee for the translation 814
into Mongol and the printing of Tibetan books dates 663
from the Manchu period. This was a remarkable 648
political provision. The most celebrated and learned lamas and Hutukhtus of the monasteries of Tibet,

[p. 160(A)]

of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*a*. *Sung Shih* **492**: 14*a–b*). In 175x
1065 Chiossulo appointed Tung Chan chief of the tribes. He governed 600,000 subjects. The emperor ratified the appointment in 1068, granted to the new 175x
chief the titles previously bestowed upon the father, 648
and seized the opportunity to send Chinese officials to help him administer Huangchung. Tung Chan was a faithful defender of the empire. When the Hsi Hsia in 1070 invaded East Kansu, he attacked them, thus breaking the impact of the invasion. In 1081, 120,000 of his troops fought the Hsi Hsia at the side of the imperial armies. He and his wife were repeatedly bestowed with more and more honorific titles. The Hsi Hsia tried to persuade him to transfer his allegiance to them, but he refused the offer. Thereupon the Hsi Hsia invaded Huangchung and laid siege to his city of Mao-ch'uan. He raised the siege making peace with the Hsi Hsia against the orders of the emperor. He died in 1086 (*Annals* of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*b*. *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 11*b*. *Sung Shih* **492**: 16*b*).

Jealousy and hatred long smoldered among the wives [628
of Chiossulo. At the death of the lama Li Li-tsun, the 578]
dismissed minister, Chiossulo, to humiliate his daughter, had moved her to Kuo Chou, and then a large number of tribes of the Li clan had seceded and moved to the southern part of East Kansu. In 1057, advised by her brother, she had left Kuo Chou and fled with her sons to the city of Tsun K'o, situated in the main territory of the Li clan. Chiossulo, in order to avoid more trouble with the powerful Li clan, appointed her sons as chiefs of the tribes of Ni-ku and T'ao and Ho-chou in East Kansu and the emperor granted them official titles.

However, hatred was already too deeply embedded in the hearts of the Li clan, and Mou Cheng, son of the second wife of Chiossulo, started trouble in East Kansu in 1064, conniving with the Hsi Hsia. The Hsi Hsia were defeated and Mou Cheng submitted to the emperor and received new important titles. At the death of Chiossulo in 1065, Mou Cheng, the leader of the opposition, followed by an important number of clans and in connivance with the Hsi Hsia, was again on the warpath in 1072 in East Kansu. More Chinese armies arrived, cities were taken and retaken, and the wife of Mou Cheng and his children were taken prisoner by General Wang Ch'ao. East Kansu was laid waste. Finally after two years of destruction, Mou Cheng with eighteen chiefs of tribes submitted to China. Again more new important titles were granted to him, and even the name of the Sung dynasty, Chao, was bestowed (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 10, 12. *Annals* of Hsining **31B**: 33, 3, 4, 5. *Sung Shih* **492**: 14, 16).

The legitimate son of Tung Chan having died, he 175x
appointed in 1086 as his successor, A li ku, the son of 643 ●
his beloved concubine, a boy born in Khotan from an [517]
unknown father, causing forever the ruin of the T'u-fan 648
kingdom built by Tung Chan. The emperor ratified

[P.20 (A)]

the appointment despite the memorial presented to the throne by minister Su Shih (*Annals* of Hsining 33B: 9, 10). The emperor preferred the time-honored policy of his predecessors sowing discord among tribes threatening the empire. He anticipated the annihilation of the tribes by themselves, and the easy recovery of East Kansu and Huangchung. The tribes in favor of the legitimate offspring of the second wife of Chiossulo started a murderous struggle with the tribes following A li ku, backed by Chinese troops. Again the savage propensity for self-destruction among the tribes was soon in full sway and tribes tore themselves to pieces. The emperor granted titles to A li ku and his son and also to the offspring of the second wife of Chiossulo. A war of destruction went on until the death of A li ku in 1096, who had appointed his son as his successor. The appointment was again ratified by the emperor. This time all the T'u-fan, Uighur, and Shat'o tribes revolted against the empire. A strong army of 100,000 invited Hsi Hsia troops came to rescue them in Mao Ch'uan. A tremendous blow was administered to the Chinese. Then the Chinese general, in desperate straits, made an offer of settlement and invited some T'u-fan chiefs to appoint the son of Mou Cheng as chief of the tribes because, he said, he was the genuine offspring of Chiossulo!

175x 643 648 [669]

But it was too late. The tribes did not abide by the decision of the chiefs and had become the irreconcilable enemies of China. Murderous fighting continued, the cities in Huangchung were taken and retaken several times and delivered to sack and slaughter by Chinese troops and then by the rebel tribes indulging in acts of gratuitous cruelty. Villages became clusters of ruined hovels. Many tribes disintegrating, groups of them fled to the southern part of East Kansu and to the borders of Kokonor, but the Chinese troops continued fighting against the Huangchung tribes associated with the Hsi Hsia until 1115, laying waste the whole country (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 1, 14; *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 6, 7). At that time, the Chin empire embarking upon the conquest of China, the Chinese troops were ordered to leave Huangchung. Chin armies peacefully occupied Huangchung in 1131. Huangchung had enjoyed a period of glory and unusual wealth during fifty years (1036–1086) followed by forty-five years of internecine wars among the tribes and savage destruction of the country (1086–1131).

175x 721 175x

From 1131 until the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols in 1227, the history of Huangchung is a blank page. The conquest of East Kansu and the war with China and the Hsi Hsia absorbed the whole forces of the Chin emperor. An official appointed in Ho Chou in East Kansu by the Chin cared for the uninteresting, exhausted, and depleted tribes of Huangchung, with its ruined cities and villages and starving T'u-fan, Tanghsiang, Uighur and Shat'o population. It may be assumed that in these circumstances the pitiful tribes

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

discharged his office with distinction until his dying day. The faithfulness of the Monguor t'u-ssu will become more and more manifest during the reigns of the subsequent Ming emperors.

M 175x 648

MONGUORS OF HUANGCHUNG DURING THE REIGN OF EMPEROR CH'ENG TSUNG (YUNG LO), 1403–1424

M 175x [578] 643

T'ai Tsung, first emperor of the Ming, had appointed as successor his grandson, Huei Ti, an inexperienced young boy. His uncle, the Prince of Yen, youngest son of the emperor, revolted and defeated his nephew in a four year struggle.[74] He ascended the throne in 1403. He was called by the name of the period of his reign, Yung Lo.

M 175x 648 614 553

Yung Lo, who must have known T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who during 1380–1387 had fought the brigands of the Mongol Emperor T'o ku ssu in Liao-tung, had called the Kansu troops to join his army. T'u-ssu Tuan Chou, who had succeeded his deceased father, went with his troops to rescue Yung Lo in 1399. He died on the field of battle. Yung Lo rewarded the faithful t'u-ssu, granting to his clan the name of Ch'i and giving to the clan chief a mansion in the city of Hsining, and posthumously bestowing upon him the title of Piao-ch'i chiang-chun (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 13*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 44*b*).

M 175x 648

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yi also had taken the side of Yung Lo in his revolt against Huei Ti. He was rewarded with the office of Chih-huei t'ung-chih in Lu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*). During this period more troubles occurred in Huangchung. Lu T'u-ssu Kung Pu shih chieh repelled the invasion of the Mongol Pu Yen ta shih in 1402, who looted the region of Liang-chow. The t'u-ssu offered to Emperor Yung Lo in 1403 the captured prisoners and a tribute of horses. He was promoted to centurion in Chuang Lang.

The same year, 1402, the turbulent I lin sheng pen revolted again in Kokonor and looted the region of Kui Te and the southern valley of Hsining. T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i went to fight the rebel and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 12*b*). The troubled conditions in Huangchung at that time seem to have been the reason why no more t'u-ssu participated in the struggle of Yung Lo against Huei Ti.

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

The new emperor had to contend with the tremendous problem of the Mongols, and this dangerous prospect was not bright. During the reign of his father (1368–1398) nine expeditions had to be launched against them. A constant struggle against the empire and endless dissension of the different tribes among themselves was to be expected. The struggle between

[74] In Monguors II: 16, 21, 22, are recorded the history of the foundation of the monastery of Ch'u T'an by San la, and the wonderful legends circulating among the lamas related to the mysterious disappearance of Emperor Huei Ti, who became lama in the monastery of Ch'u T'an, settled there and died.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

old imperial policy to sow strife among the tribes, making them destroy each other. Yung Lo was as frightened of a Mongol power under the leadership of an offspring of the old Chingis Khan family as of one under the leadership of a rising new and tremendous Oirat group. He decided to launch a campaign against the Oirat Ma-ha-mu. M 175x 648 HM 175 648

On April 6, 1414, the emperor himself led the campaign and administered a blow to Ma-ha-mu who escaped in the desert. The emperor was back in Peking on August 15. The Monguor troops of Huangchung had again been called to participate in the expedition. In the following years Alut'ai administered a defeat to the weakened Ma-ha-mu, who died in 1416. Then the emperor recognized the succession of Togon to his father Ma-ha-mu, as chief of the Oirats, and bestowed upon him the title of his father. The flames of hatred of A-lu-t'ai were fanned again against the Oirats and China. In the meantime A-lu-t'ai had secured the help of the Urianghai tribes living on the northern borders of China, which had transferred their allegiance from China to him. He had considered himself strong enough to antagonize China openly. M [643] HM [554]

On April 12, 1422, the emperor started on a third campaign in Mongolia, this time against A-lu-t'ai, and called the Monguor troops. On the arrival of the strong Chinese army, A-lu-t'ai escaped in the desert waste, and the frustrated emperor vented his rage upon the unfaithful Urianghai tribes. The Monguors fought on the borders of the Wu-lang River in Liao-tung and in the Toyen district under command of T'u-ssu Li Yin. T'u-ssu Lu, having captured the Mongol chief Alahan on the Han t'an River, was rewarded with titles, silver, and silk clothes (family chronicle). M [643] M HM [702]

In 1423 the emperor resolved to finish definitely with A-lu-t'ai and started personally with a fourth expedition, calling the Huangchung troops. T'u-ssu Lu, on his way to the north, passed through the country of Ho-lan-shan and encountered the Mongol Prince Chung T'ung and troops of Yeh-hsien, which he captured. Just at the time the expedition was on the move, the Oirat chief Togon administered a blow to A-lu-t'ai, who escaped in the Gobi. The emperor understood that the expedition was doomed. He returned to Peking on December 9.

In 1424 A-lu-t'ai, despite the defeats he had suffered, was still strong enough to plunder the borders of the empire. The frustrated and enraged emperor decided to equip and lead a fifth expedition. All available troops were mustered and the expedition moved the second of May. A-lu-t'ai again vanished in the desert. The Mongols proved once more not to be easy game. The despondent emperor died on his way back to Peking, in Yu-mu-ch'uan, on August 18.[79]

In 1423 a Tibetan lama, Chang ta lama, was living in Hsining, appointed by Emperor Yung Lo as a translator of Tibetan texts. His morals were dissolute. He M 175x 648

[79] Pokotilov. *op. cit.*, 28–32; Franke, *op. cit.*, 5–12.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

While the t'u-ssu and their subjects were fighting and suffering and dying in Hsining, the despairing Ming emperor, on April 25, 1644, had hanged himself in the Wan Sui Shan in Peking. On June 6, 1644, the troops of the new Ch'ing dynasty entered Peking and started at full speed with destruction of the troops of Li Tze-ch'eng who had already proclaimed himself emperor. On October 7, 1644, he ended his life by hanging himself.[87]

The t'u-ssu and their subjects served the Ch'ing dynasty with the same faithfulness they had served the Ming dynasty.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started with the occupation of Huangchung, this was an insecure colony of China, which during the previous dynasties had been lost several times and recovered. The Ming organized the country, providing a civil and military administration on the Chinese pattern. In Huangchung they started with the founding of military colonies, induced the Tibetan tribes to submit to them, established the exchange bureau of tea for horses, favored and protected the arrival of traders from inside China, and promoted agriculture and commerce. They attracted Chinese to settle in the country, built schools, promoted education, and repelled forays of Tibetans and Mongols from outside the Huangchung borders. Huangchung was at peace.

However, in the fateful year 1509 the first group of Mongols arrived and settled in Kokonor, followed by one after another, which ruined and cowed into submission the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor. At the same time the population of Huangchung and East Kansu, from 1509 to 1597, succumbed to the recurrent onslaught of avid, restless and predatory Mongols. The Tibetan tribes, robbed of their cattle, having seen their women and young folk abducted, beset with starvation and abject poverty, started raiding, devastating, and laying waste Huangchung and East Kansu. The army could not deter the forces of destruction. Raids prevailed over the entire northwestern borders of the empire, and the emperor gave the Huangchung officers insufficient reinforcements. It was only in 1590 that the energetic Minister of War, Cheng Lo, commanding new forces, succeeded in defeating the brigands. In the meantime the administration had incessantly built cities, villages, schools, walls, and fortresses all over the country. The aspect of the country had changed completely, despite the desperate times. The country had been organized and the administration established.

During these times, when raids and destruction raged unchecked, Chinese and Shat'o and Uighurs, Tibetans and Monguors had suffered together, helped and sheltered each other, and blended and fused in the compound called the Huangchung population.

In 1644 when the Ch'ing dynasty occupied Huangchung it was no longer the depopulated unorganized

[87] Erich Hauer, *op. cit.*, 488, 494, 497.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

colony which the Mongols had handed down to the Ming. 175x

HUANGCHUNG MONGUORS AND THEIR T'U-SSU DURING THE CH'ING DYNASTY (1644–1911)

175x 648

The establishment of a new dynasty in China used to entail desperate times for a long period. The faithful Monguors with their t'u-ssu, after having defended the Ming dynasty to the end, pledged allegiance to, and cast their lot with the new Ch'ing dynasty, and again would prove their faithfulness. This time they had to fight at the side of the Manchu troops against the rebel Chinese officials of Kansu and all China, even though the power of the new dynasty was still problematical, but all of them remained heroically loyal and dependable to the end, suffering hardship and dying for the dynasty. Their faithfulness in such trying and tragic circumstances cannot but be admired. The history of the Monguors is a shining example of faithfulness seldom recorded in history. 175x 577 648

The people in the northern provinces of China had, for many years, had a desperate time on account of the brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng and the invading groups of Manchus looting the country of its wealth. The despairing Ming emperor had hanged himself on April 25, 1644, and Li Tzu-ch'eng had entered the capital and proclaimed himself emperor. The Ming general Wu San-kuei defended the northern part of the great wall of the empire and the pass of Shanhaikuan against invading Manchu plunderers. Considering that the very existence of the empire was at stake and abhorring and loathing the savage brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng, Wu San-kuei invited Manchu troops to come over to annihilate the brigands and save the dynasty. However he had little thought that in making this compact he was sealing the fate of the Chinese empire. He opened the pass, and his troops in combination with those of the Manchus rushed to the capital which they entered on June 6, 1644. The brigand emperor Li Tzu-ch'eng had fled, but the Manchus proclaimed their own emperor and inaugurated their Ch'ing dynasty. On October 7 Li Tzu-ch'eng died. Jealousies and dissensions arose among the chiefs of the brigands and their impact was broken. Immediately Wu-San-kuei, leading his troops in concert with the Manchu army, pursued the brigands and achieved the surrender of the Chinese provinces. 175x 648 [443]

At the end of 1645, T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien and Li T'ien-yu surrendered in T'ung Kuan to the Manchu Prince A-ki-ko, came back to Kansu, and called on General Meng Ch'iao-fang. They were rehabilitated and ordered to induce the surrender of the Monguor t'u-ssu. All the t'u-ssu submitted to the new dynasty (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*a*). Meng Ch'iao-fang immediately sent to Hsining Commanders Chiang San-chih (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 3*b*) and Chang Chi-yao [424]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

175x
795
579

opened and for three days the wild Jungars destroyed and looted the temples and the city, killing many people. La Tsang was killed.

175x
648

The emperor could not take this affront lying down. However, his first punitive expedition to Lhasa was defeated in 1718. The second in 1720 parted in two columns, one leaving Szechwan Province, the other starting from Hsining. On the way both encountered Jungar troops which were defeated, fled and left Tibet. T'u-ssu Lu T'i-sin was taken ill at that time and sent his son Lu Hua-lin, commanding his troops, to participate in the expedition. Back in Huangchung he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel in the Hsining army, and later colonel in Liangchow and brigadier general in Kanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The emperor, cognizant of the growing animosity of the lamas and the people against his appointed Dalai Lama Yeches, and of the aversion aroused in the hearts of the lamas and the Tibetans against the savage Jungars who had looted their temples and carried away the riches of the nation and killed many people, conversant with their eagerness to see enthroned in Lhasa the Dalai Lama secluded in Kumbum, resolved to send the lama to Lhasa with the Hsining army and to enthrone him as a new sixth Dalai Lama. The decision seemed to him apt to reconquer the sympathy of the Tibetans and the lamas, and to plant in their hearts aversion for the Jungars, who were waging war with him in Central Asia with an eye on Tibet.

175x
662
643
648
795

The emperor, averred politician, in order to assure the success of his plan, ordered the Monguor Living Buddha, T'u Kuan, chief of the renowned Monguor monastery of Erh Ku Lung in Hsining, a learned man of high repute in Tibet and Mongolia, to convey the Kumbum Lama to Lhasa in the capacity of imperial envoy. He bestowed him with the title of Huthukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas, in order to dignify his position. He gave him letters and unusual gifts to bring to the Panchen Lama and to the heads of the most important monasteries in Tibet, his former teachers and friends. The Kumbum Dalai Lama, brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence and enthroned in 1720, was enthusiastically congratulated by the lamas and the Tibetans. This act put an end to the autonomy of Tibet and of the Yellow Church. The Monguors were proud of their Huthukhtu (Monguors II: 31). The sixth Dalai Lama Yeches was dethroned and called to Peking in order to prevent possible complications.[92]

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[92] Maurice Courant, *op. cit.*, 76-77. W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China 1644-1908, *T'oung-pao*, 1-92, 1910. E. Haenich, Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas unter der Gegenwärtigen Dynasty, *T'oung-pao*, 197-235, 375-424, 1911. Réné Grousset, *op. cit.* Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ching Period*, Washington, 1943. L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century*, Lieden, Brill, 1950. H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, I, *passim*.

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from wars and revolts, never had suffered as much as in 1723–1724. 175x 727

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS

After relating the successful repression by General Nien Keng-yao of the terrible revolt of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas in 1723–1724 in Huangchung, something should be said concerning two Manchu princes, accused by the general before Emperor Yung Cheng, of having contributed of their own money to the building of a Catholic church in Hsining in 1723–1724. 175x 798

This is the first document concerning the existence of a Catholic church in Hsining and consequently of a Catholic community. It seems unusual to see a general make such an accusation directly to the emperor, at a time when the conjunctures of war absorbed all his forces and energies (July 1, 1724). [795]

Emperor K'ang Hsi died on December 20, 1722. His fourth son, Yung Cheng, ascended the throne in 1723. According to the time-honored custom, some of the brothers of the new emperor assumed an attitude of menacing hostility toward him. The Emperor Yung Cheng suspected his ninth brother, Sessaka, of being the chief of the discontented faction and sent him (April 15, 1723) far away to Hsining to fight the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas under the command of General Nien Keng-yao. Together with Sessaka two sons of the Manchu Prince Surniana were also sent, the sixth, Lessihin, and the twelfth.[94] [443]

Surniana, a brother of the late Emperor K'ang Hsi, member of the oldest branch of the Manchu dynasty, had been a notorious governor in Liaotung province and was the chief of one of the eight Manchu banners. He was suspected by Emperor Yung Cheng of being a sympathizer and supporter of the Sessaka group. He and his entire family were banished to Yu Wei, on the northern outskirts of the empire. His properties were confiscated, his three hundred servants and slaves taken away, all his dignities removed, and he and his family reduced to the state of subjects. The wealthy Surniana had thirteen sons and sixteen daughters. Most of the these princes and princesses were Catholics. The sixth son, Lessihin, was baptized before he left for Hsining and the twelfth son when he arrived at Hsining. They were confined in separate houses and guarded by soldiers. 175x 798 578

The reason for these troubles were the accusations sent September 7, 1723, by the Viceroy of Chekiang and Fukien provinces to the tribunal of rites, concerning the building of Catholic churches in the provinces, the customs observed by the Catholics, the large number of priests in the country, etc. The viceroy favored a

[94] The charge seems to have been based on slander. Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses 3: 366–465, Paris, Paul Daffis, 7 rue Guenegaud, 1877. Histoire Generale de la Chine, De Mailla. 11: 373–408, Paris, Clousier, rue Saint Jacques, 1880.

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is fighting must be fought, but always at the same time the tribes should be induced to surrender peacefully. The debates lasted for seven years and nothing was done (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 10*b*, 11*a*). Finally in 1530 the Tibetan tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou started plundering the country. The tribes had fled from Kokonor for fear of the Mongols. Their destitution was tragic. Commander Liu Wen-yu, protagonist of the third group, left with his army, but at the same time sent officials to induce the tribes to surrender, promising them help. Among them only twenty-one tribes decided to revolt, the Lung-po (Uighur) tribe being the leader of the group. The commander defeated two tribes, killed 360 rebels and then started peace talks. He succeeded, receiving the surrender of seventy or more tribes. He returned with the army. The regions of T'ao and Ming Chou were at peace. 175x 648 723

The same year, while the tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou, situated south of the Yellow River, were pacified, the Tsantsa tribes, living on the northern bank of the Tatung River, plundered the region of Nienpei, but were defeated in the T'u-ku-hung valley. Splinter groups of Mongols raided Chengfan, and small groups of Kokonor brigands invaded Hsining and were pursued.

In 1534, amidst all these troubles, the Ming dynasty was still interested in education and instruction. More schools were built in several small fortresses, and in Hsining the Hall of the Faithful and Meritorious officials was constructed. On the stele erected inside the hall, we read among the names of the celebrated personalities those of four Monguor t'u-ssu: Li Nan-ko, Li Yin, the Duke of Huei-ming, his son, T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih, and T'u-ssu Li Ch'ang, son of Li Yin (*Annals* of Hsining 35: 9*b*, 10*a*). 175x 871 211

The situation grew worse every day and all of Huangchung was upset. Liu T'ien-ho, vice-president of the ministry of war, was sent in 1536 to direct the military operations in Kansu and Shensi. The third son of Dayan, Barsa Bolot, with his son, the Jinong had settled in Ordos. The turbulent Jinong made raids in Ninghsia, Liang and Kanchow. T'u-ssu Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40), Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49), Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 54), were ordered to help stem the forays. T'u-ssu Hsin died on the field of battle. The Jinong invaded Hsining and hit a severe blow. T'u-ssu Lu and Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52) helped the commander beat the Jinong. 175x 648 [845]

The next year the Kokonor brigands made a raid in Hsining and were severely beaten, twice, at the temple T'ieh-fu, 50 li north of the city.

General Liu T'ien-ho, having studied the situation of the country, ordered first the repair of the walls and towers of the eighteen existing small fortresses and villages and cities, and to start immediately with the building of seventeen new fortified villages. He promoted agriculture around the fortresses, dug irrigation 175x 712 [302 312]

ance of the ceremonies for Altan. After having lingered for a while in Kokonor, he assisted on his way back home in the plundering of the cities and the regions of T'ao and Ming Chou by the Mongols. The same year the brigands Tsai-Seng-fu and Achihtu of the Pin-tu group of Sung Shan plundered the Lungpu tribes southwest of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 19). Tibetan tribes from Szechwan came to finish the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou and were repelled. Then the turbulent Ho-lo-ch'ih looted Lin-T'ao region (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 36). 175x 579 648

HELP SENT BY THE EMPEROR

The situation in East Kansu and Huangchung in 1590 was completely out of control. The country was entirely laid waste and devastated, the Mongol brigands and the Tibetans had incessantly overrun the country, the Chinese forces could not contravene their strength. Many surrendered Tibetan tribes had disintegrated, had disappeared, had been exterminated; the cattle were stolen; many young women had been abducted and many had fled and hidden in the mountains. The depredation of the country was wicked and ruthless and the destitution of the people was tragic. 175x 648 727

A note in the *Annals* of Hsining (**33**: 19*a*) records to what extent and in what way the Mongol brigands of Kokonor had terrorized, and subjected, reduced to the level of slaves the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor, East Kansu and Huangchung. The chieftain Yung-chao-pu, nephew of Altan, controlled at the time of his arrival in the Kokonor only 1,000 subjects: at present he controlled more than 10,000. The chief Sang-ehr-huang t'ai-chi formerly controlled 800 subjects but now 3,000. The chieftains Kosina and Lashala formerly controlled 4,000 people each but now each of them controlled 10,000 and more. The number of the subjects controlled by the other chiefs is not known.

Finally in 1590 the emperor sent Cheng Lo, president of the ministry of war, to cope with the situation (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 18*b*; *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 36). 175x 648 [645]

On the first moon of the following year Cheng Lo sent Colonel Shih Chia with the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Te, to call the Tibetan tribes to surrender; 165 tribes numbering 74,710 persons surrendered (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 18*b*; **25**: 20*a–b*; **33**: 16*b*). Among the surrendered tribes in Huangchung are noted the Hung-mao tribes (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 7*a*), the Lapu-erh tribes (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 7*a*), the Lungpu tribes led by their lama Sonanchintso (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 3*a–b*), the 29 Tsan-tsa tribes (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 4*b*), and the Sukomi tribes (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 5*b*).

In the ninth moon he sent the brigade General Wang Shih-te, the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Lu Kuang-tsu and groups of surrendered Tibetan tribes, seething with hatred against the Mongol brigands and eager to avenge all the sufferings they had endured, to fight the Mon-

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ceived from the Ming emperor the invitation to surrender. In 1373 he had not yet answered the summons, and the prominent T'u-ssu T'o-erh chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce him to submit. In 1374 his delegates arrived at court with the submission. The following year the emperor created the two commanderies of An-ting and A-tuan, and to Pu-yen-pu-hua was granted the title of Prince of An-ting (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 23*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). 175x 648

In 1374 the T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce the barbarians dispersed all over the country of Huangchung to submit to the Ming emperor (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*).

In 1375 T'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of General Pu Yin against the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa in Liangchow, to whose army a severe blow was administered. The rebel managed to escape. The emperor invited T'u-ssu Lu to call at Nanking to receive the imperial congratulations. On account of illness he was prevented from moving to the capital.

In 1376 Hsining T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to participate in another expedition of General Feng Sheng in Liangchow region against the Mongols, plundering the country. Shih-chi-ku, Nan-t'ai and others surrendered with 1,000 men, and also the Mongol T'o-lin, with his 2,200 subjects (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*).

In 1377 T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to join the expedition of General Pu Yin against the Tartar chief Yeh-su-t'o-huo and others who again plundered the Liangchow country. They suffered a severe blow and 1,000 of their brigands were killed. Then T'u-ssu Wang followed the expedition of General Feng Sheng in Kanchow and Suchow where 1,890 families surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*).

In 1378 T'u-ssu Lu Ah-shih-t'u, oldest son of T'o Huan, fought and took prisoner Ta-kuan-tieh-chih, a chief of plundering Tibetans, living in the mountains between Ku Lang and Liangchow.

General Teng Yu in 1370 had pacified the country of Kui Te situated 220 li south of Hsining, on the southern borders of the Yellow River. In 1376 he had founded the So of Kui Te, leaving a garrison of 500 horse troops and 500 colonists, ordering them to till the soil and provide the subsistence of the garrison (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 15*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 57: 2*a*). In 1378 Kui Te was attacked and plundered by the Tibetan Ha la kui (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 25*b*), who also devastated the Kokonor region. T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to fight the brigands (Monguors I: 34).

BUREAU FOR EXCHANGE OF TEA AGAINST HORSES

175x 647 231 437 272

The year 1378 was very important on account of the establishment of the bureau for the exchange of tea against horses. Each year 3,500 horses would be exchanged in the city: first-class horses exchanged for

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120 pounds of tea, second-class horses for 70 pounds of tea, and third-class horses for 50 pounds of tea. Every tribe under submission was taxed a definite number of horses to be exchanged at the bureau.[71]

The very first bureau had been established in 1376 in Ch'in Chou in East Kansu, but on account of the distance between Ch'in Chou and An-ting and A-tuan, and the inconvenience of travel through the provinces, a bureau had later been established in Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 17: 3*b*).

The importance of the trading of tea for horses cannot be overrated. On the one hand, it was a means for the nomads to get rid of their horses and secure tea. Tibetans as well as Mongols cannot do without tea, and the stronger the concoction the more delightful it is to them. Even when traveling or indulging in hunting parties where tea could not be prepared, they chewed the tea leaves. The craving for tea among the nomads may be compared with the craving for opium among addicts. On the other hand, the trade was very beneficial to the Chinese. First of all, the cavalry got its badly needed horses in an easy way, and the officials of the bureau also benefitted. They evaluated the quality of the horses according to the gratuity offered by the nomad, cheating in the quality of the tea, and putting the transaction off indefinitely, making the customers wait for weeks on end, or helping them immediately, according to the gratuity presented. Squeeze was the rule in the bureau.

The first benefitters were the traders. The exchange of horses was a boon for the city. Traders from all over Szechwan and Shensi provinces moved into the city with the wares the nomads needed, in addition to the tea they brought with them. The nomads were allowed to bring more horses than the number taxed, and they carried wool, skins, musk, etc., to be exchanged for wares. The exchange of horses for tea was the yearly opportunity for the nomads to make a trip to the city and to provide for the needs of the family.

This institution was also an effective means of attracting the nomads to surrender, for only surrendered tribes were allowed to enter the city and transact business. After two years the institution reached fruition. It was an attraction, especially during the troubled times which were ahead, when the tribes, indulging in plundering each other, had to get rid of the stolen horses. It was an attraction also because the surrendered tribes enjoyed the protection of the empire.

In 1379 both Hsining Wang and Chao t'u-ssu were ordered to participate in the expedition of General Mu Yin, sent to quell the revolt of the turbulent eighteen tribes in T'ao Chou (Tibetans? Uighurs? Shat'o?) where the chief San Fu Shih was taken prisoner. Then T'u-ssu Chao was enjoined to follow the expedition of General Fu Yu-te against rebel Mongols in Yunnan

[71] Huang Ming su-i k'ao, Wen tien ko shu-chuang, Peiping, Chiang-fu-ssu chieh, 1937.

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of them remained united and strong because of the benefits derived from brigandage and loot. 175x 648

Altan, who controlled all the Mongols, was in 1559 making forays and harrassing China. For a long time he had been conversant with the fertile Kokonor country, the El Dorado of peoples engaged in cattle breeding, and also with the weakness of the Chinese forces which defended the country, and the helplessness of the disunited Tibetan tribes. Being eager to occupy Kokonor he sent to the country his two sons Pin-tu and Ping-tu with several thousands of Mongols. In 1561 Pin-tu occupied and looted the country of Sung-shan-i, situated between Chuang Lang and Ordos. Ping-tu went to Kokonor, plundering and looting East Kansu (*Annals* of Hsining **20**: 12). He defeated the Chinese army sent against him. The Li T'u-ssu died in the battle (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*a*). In 1568, however, he was severely beaten around Kuei Te and lost many of his people (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*a*). In the meantime the Tibetan Tsan-tsa and Ko-tsa tribes had invaded the Ma-ha-la valley in Hsining but were chased away. Mongol groups of Pin-tu made raids from Sung Shan, in the Pa-yen-jung region (Hsining) and were beaten (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 17). Again the military authority ordered walls and small fortresses built on the mountain passes and on the routes used by the brigands to invade the country (*Annals* of Hsining **13**: 9, 10). [712]

In Hsining the bureau for the administration of the military colonies was erected in 1567 (*Annals* of Hsining **23**: 5). [647]

In 1568 the emperor ordered the officials of Hsining to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining for the meritorious T'u-ssu Li Kung, grandson of Li Yin, who in 1481 had passed the literary examination of *chin shih* and fulfilled the office of minister in the Chang-pao-sse. The arch was built on the great street of the eastern gate of the city, and still exists. The emperor granted the honorific inscription chiseled in the arch: Ch'ing Yun (clearing clouds)—meaning bright sky, and thus bright intelligence. 175x 211

In 1569 the Tibetan Ssu-erh-ko and Hung-mao tribes raided Hsining and were administered a blow. Two chiefs of Ssu-erh-ko were taken prisoner, but a Chinese commander was killed by the Hung-mao tribe (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 17). The commander succeeded in inducing the Ssu-erh-ko tribes to surrender and titles were bestowed upon the chieftains of their twelve tribes. They aided in inducing the Hung-mao tribes to surrender and both groups agreed to combat the Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in combination with the Chinese armies (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 19*b*). The Mongol brigand Ping-tu raided the Ta-erh-wan valley in Huangchung from Kokonor and was repelled by the army which lost its commander (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*b*). 175x 648

Altan surrendered in 1570 and concluded peace with

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Peking, and the emperor agreed. Ping-tu forced the tribes to build a road to Wu-ssu-tsang in order to meet the lama. The entire Szechwan province was upset for fear of invasion by the savage Kokonor brigands. The governor wrote Altan to order his sons to desist from plundering the country. Altan answered that the only reason for the behavior of his sons was the lack of any markets where they could fill their needs. In 1574 markets were opened for Pin-tu and Ping-tu and the emperor granted to the temple of Kokonor the name Yin-hua-sse and the title of vice-commander to Ping-tu. However, the sons and cousins and nephews of Altan plundered as before. Again the officials asked Altan to reprimand them. Altan arrived with his army feigning to meet the lama; however he had an axe to grind with Oirats, his old foes. Coming back, he asked the governor to allow all the Mongol chieftains to attend a meeting with the lama in Kokonor. The Tibetans, taken with panic at the sight of the demonstration of power and magnificence, fled in all directions. Altan returned to the north (1577) but Ho-lo-ch'ih and Yung-chao-pu, his nephew and cousin, and others refused to leave Kokonor, and Ping-tu started plundering the Tibetans again. The officials immediately asked the emperor to close the markets. Altan reprimanded his son and urged him to return the stolen people and cattle. However, Ho-lo-ch'ih continued looting (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 13, 14).[84]

175x 648 662 579 [437 647]

175x [437 647]

In 1579 the governor of Hsining was engaged in developing agriculture in Huangchung. He gathered the destitute people who had fled with fear of the Mongol brigands, located them in villages, provided them with grain and oxen, dug irrigation canals, etc. In each village he opened a school. He gathered more than 100,000 families, and more uncultivated land was tilled. When Altan left the country in 1577 he had asked him to leave peacefully and to protect the country against more raids by his people (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20).

175x 241 652 [313]

Ha-tsa, a Tibetan tribe of Kokonor, raided the western valley of Hsining in 1580, but was repelled. Two

175x 579 648

[84] René Grousset, *Empire des Steppes*, 592, Paris, Payot: The Ordos Mongols started professing the lamaism of the Yellow Church from 1566 on. The *jinong* Khutukh Setsen Hung-t'ai-chi of the Uchin banner, coming back from an expedition in Tibet in 1566, had invited lamas to accompany him to Ordos and convert the Mongols to lamaism. The fervent *jinong* succeeded in converting his grand-uncle Altan who at that time was in the heyday of his power (1576). Altan and his grand-nephew invited the chief of the Yellow Church, the great lama bSod-nams rgya-mtso to come to Kokonor. The Mongols met him magnificently and opened with him an official convention at which was laid the foundation of the Yellow Church among the Mongols (1577), and Altan honored the great lama with the title of Dalai Lama, which title is still borne at present by his successors. The Dalai Lama, returning to Lhasa, appointed the Living Buddha Dongkur Manjucri in Kukuhoto the residence of Altan. The Dalai Lama left Lhasa again to travel to Ordos in 1586 for the performance of the cremation ceremonies of Altan who had died in 1583.

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gols in Kokonor and burn the temple built by Altan. They returned in a flush of triumph with 1,200 captured families. The number of brigands they killed is not known. The Brigadier General Chiao Chi defeated tribes of Ho-lo-ch'ih with the help of Tibetans and beheaded 120 of his men (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 36*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*b*). 175x 648

The energic Cheng Lo must have commanded at the time of his arrival in Huangchung a fair number of fresh troops. Otherwise the shaken confidence in the empire among the Tibetan tribes would not have been restored so quickly. In two years time the outlook had changed and become bright and full of hope for the people, beset for ten years with starvation, squalor and misery, and anxious uncertainty.

The same year the markets, opened for the Mongols in Kansu, were closed on account of their incessant raids and brigandage. The Obedient and Righteous Prince Ch'ih-li-k'o who had assisted at the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou, sent back the abducted people and stolen cattle and presented excuses to the emperor (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20*a–b*). [647 437]

In 1594 orders were given to repair and improve again the fortifications of the city of Hsining. More villages and military colonies were built. Maybe the officials had seen some new straws in the wind (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*a*). A strong group of Kokonor brigands arrived to plunder the valleys south of Hsining. The Chinese generals Liu Mei-Kuan, Ta Yun, T'ien Yueh had called all the t'u-ssu of Huangchung and captured groups of Tibetans to defend the country. They used flanking movements, skillfully settled ambuscades, and administered a crushing defeat to the raiders, 680 of whom were beheaded. A few months later the brigands came back with all the brigands of Nalu, to loot the valleys west of Hsining. The same generals, t'u-ssu, and Tibetans obtained a resounding victory and killed 700 and more brigands, among them some chieftains (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 37*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*a*). 175x 579 [712]

These two victories were the most important ever won in Huangchung. In the report relating the military presentation are encountered the names of the most meritorious military and civil officials who had contributed to the success. We encounter among them the names of T'u-ssu Lu Kuang-tsu, Li Yu-mao, Li Hsien-hua, Ch'eng San-chi, Ch'i Ping-chung and Ch'i Te (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 23*a–b*). A delegate of the ministry of war was sent with titles and gifts to reward the meritorious officials. 175x 648 703

Immediately after the victories, in 1596, orders were sent to the military officials to build more walls especially along the roads used by the invaders of Kokonor and Sung Shan, to build fortresses at strategic points and more villages in the valleys for the farmers. The officials expected that the brigands would not take these blows lying down but would avenge themselves by means of new raids. In Cheng-hai-pu in the western 175x 712

While the t'u-ssu and their subjects were fighting and suffering and dying in Hsining, the despairing Ming emperor, on April 25, 1644, had hanged himself in the Wan Sui Shan in Peking. On June 6, 1644, the troops of the new Ch'ing dynasty entered Peking and started at full speed with destruction of the troops of Li Tze-ch'eng who had already proclaimed himself emperor. On October 7, 1644, he ended his life by hanging himself.[87] 175x [643 762]

The t'u-ssu and their subjects served the Ch'ing dynasty with the same faithfulness they had served the Ming dynasty. 175x 648 727

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started with the occupation of Huangchung, this was an insecure colony of China, which during the previous dynasties had been lost several times and recovered. The Ming organized the country, providing a civil and military administration on the Chinese pattern. In Huangchung they started with the founding of military colonies, induced the Tibetan tribes to submit to them, established the exchange bureau of tea for horses, favored and protected the arrival of traders from inside China, and promoted agriculture and commerce. They attracted Chinese to settle in the country, built schools, promoted education, and repelled forays of Tibetans and Mongols from outside the Huangchung borders. Huangchung was at peace. [647 437]

However, in the fateful year 1509 the first group of Mongols arrived and settled in Kokonor, followed by one after another, which ruined and cowed into submission the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor. At the same time the population of Huangchung and East Kansu, from 1509 to 1597, succumbed to the recurrent onslaught of avid, restless and predatory Mongols. The Tibetan tribes, robbed of their cattle, having seen their women and young folk abducted, beset with starvation and abject poverty, started raiding, devastating, and laying waste Huangchung and East Kansu. The army could not deter the forces of destruction. Raids prevailed over the entire northwestern borders of the empire, and the emperor gave the Huangchung officers insufficient reinforcements. It was only in 1590 that the energetic Minister of War, Cheng Lo, commanding new forces, succeeded in defeating the brigands. In the meantime the administration had incessantly built cities, villages, schools, walls, and fortresses all over the country. The aspect of the country had changed completely, despite the desperate times. The country had been organized and the administration established. [655 657 658]

During these times, when raids and destruction raged unchecked, Chinese and Shat'o and Uighurs, Tibetans and Monguors had suffered together, helped and sheltered each other, and blended and fused in the compound called the Huangchung population. 175x 563 571

In 1644 when the Ch'ing dynasty occupied Huangchung it was no longer the depopulated unorganized 175x

[87] Erich Hauer, *op. cit.*, 488, 494, 497.

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should have been cognizant of the fact and have considered the boy as the legitimate successor of Nag Dzang. However, the shrewd *desi*, offended by the growing interference of the emperor and of the Khoshot prince in Tibetan affairs, kept secret from the outer world both the death of the Dalai Nag dzang and the appointment of the reincarnation. He himself planned to rule the kingdom politically. Galdan who had been lama in Lhasa had been the friend of the Dalai and the *desi*, who at the time of his struggle with the Khalkhas had imprudently spoken in his favor near the emperor. In 1689 the distrusting emperor started inquiring into the matter and knew that the old Dalai had died in 1680–1681. He suspected connivance between the *desi* and the Jungars. After the crushing defeat administered to Galdan in 1696, the emperor learned that Galdan would fly to Tibet to build a new army. The emperor back in Peking immediately sent to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor the order to apprehend Galdan, his family and followers in order to check their faithfulness to the empire. However, Galdan had fled to the west and died in 1697. The princes of Kokonor, in order to dispel the suspicion of the emperor concerning their faithfulness, gathered in a group of thirty-one presided over by an eminent lama and swore allegiance to the empire. It seems that on account of the unanimous testimony of faithfulness sent to the emperor, the princes, being all descendants of Ku Shih Khan, were awarded titles.[91]

However, the *Annals* of Hsining present another version: the emperor, preoccupied with the troubled situation in Tibet and Kokonor, ordered the lama Chang Nan to *erh chih* (induce to submission) the princes of Kokonor. Having obeyed, the emperor granted titles to the descendants of Ku Shih Khan: to Blo bzang tan chin, the title of prince, to the others the titles of *Pei-le, Pei-tse, Kung, T'aichi*. A yearly allowance in silver was also granted. They were requested to bring tribute to the capital. As long as the lama was in Hsining the princes were loyal and dependable. Later Chinese officials were appointed to care for them (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 16*b*).

In the *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52, is recorded in 1708 a serious revolt of Hsi Ku Tibetans, in the region of Wen Hsien in the farthest southern corner of East Kansu. The Hsi Ku tribes are the Hsi La Ku tribes, the Shera Uighurs, the Yellow Tibetans, already noted (pp. 17, 18). They were still autonomous in 1708 and had their own chiefs, and joined in the revolt. They depended upon the Yang t'u-ssu, and their chiefs were granted titles after the revolt by the emperor, thanks to the intercession of the Yang t'u-ssu.

In 1718 the Board of Agriculture of Hsining announced that 14,678 acres of uncultivated land were still available for cultivation.

[91] Maurice Courant, *L'Asie centrale au XVII et XVIII siècles. Empire Kalmouk ou Empire Mantchou*, 62, 72, 73, Paris, Picard, 1912.

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624 with other Mongol tribes, denounced in effect their ties
175 of tribal loyalty to other Mongols, and declared their willingness to serve as feudal subordinates guarding the Chinese frontier against the inroads of Mongols,
618 Tibetans, or other "outer barbarians." When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-ssu, they ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were modified by their duty to the Chinese emperor.

THE T'U-SSU INSTITUTION

The institution of T'u-ssu or "local chief" was one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal groups on the frontier of the Empire. The first historical record of an institution comparable to that of T'u-ssu is to be found in the institution of the Chimichou, under the T'ang dynasty (618–906). Under this institution the T'ang dynasty organized "barbarian" subject tribes in "circumscriptions" ruled by hereditary native chiefs who received investiture from the emperor.[16] The institution of T'u-ssu was known under the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, was reorganized and given its definite form under the Ming dynasty, and was continued under the Manchu dynasty. It survived under the Chinese Republic.

As an institution, the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal, non-Chinese peoples, attached to but not yet absorbed into the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that of China as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native chief" and as Chinese official.

CHOICE OF CLAN CHIEF RATIFIED BY EMPEROR

624 The choosing of a new chief by the clan itself has
648 already been described. This choice had then to be ratified. This was done through the administrative office of the T'u-ssu, acting as a bureaucratic office and not as the personal office of the T'u-ssu, which sent an official notice of the death of the previous T'u-ssu to the governor of the Province, to be forwarded to the capital at Peking, giving the day, hour, and circumstances of the death of the T'u-ssu. At the same time a petition was sent, through the same channels, imploring the emperor to appoint to the office of T'u-ssu the man whom the clan had selected as its new chief. In the event that the new chief of the clan was a minor, the petition requested that his mother be appointed regent. The emperor, granting the petition, then appointed the new clan chief to the office of T'u-ssu (or, if the son were a minor, appointed his mother as regent). The mother's regency ended when the son married or when he reached the age

[16] P. Pelliot, *Bulletin de l'école Française d'extrême Orient*, 1125, 1904. Leng Shun-Sheng, T'u-ssu chi tu, in *Frontier affairs* (*Pien cheng Kunglün*) 3 (2): 11–12, 1944.

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624 of sixteen. In 1916 I was present to congratulate the young T'u-ssu of the clan of Lu of Liench'eng when he 648 assumed office after his mother had acted as regent for eight years.

The custom of entrusting the regency to the mother is an old Mongol tradition,[17] which the Ming dynasty recognized and took over. It should be noted that the Ming dynasty, though in its early years it was strong enough to conduct campaigns far afield in Mongolia, never had a firm control of the Mongolian and Inner Asian frontier as a whole. It was, therefore, well pleased when any Mongol tribes submitted of their own free will and was glad to make concessions in the way of recognizing their tribal institutions.

INVESTITURE OF THE T'U-SSU: CEREMONY DIPLOMA, AND SEAL

624 When a T'u-ssu received his Imperial appointment, 648 he was granted a diploma and seal. Only three Mongol 796 T'u-ssu, those of the Lu, Li, and Ch'i clans, received a seal worked in brass, because of the merits of their ancestors in defending the empire against Mongol and Tibetan inroads and rebellious Muslims. The other T'u-ssu were granted a seal worked in wood.[18] These seals, under the Manchu dynasty, were engraved with Chinese and Manchu inscriptions (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 39).

It was the receipt of the diploma and the custody of the seal, equivalent to personal investiture by the emperor, that conferred on the T'u-ssu the power to exercise his functions. On the one hand they symbolized his subjection to the overlord state; on the other hand they symbolized the delegation, by the sovereign overlord, of the power to rule in the territory allocated to the custodian of the seal.

The receipt of the diploma and seal was, therefore, considered the most important moment in the life of the T'u-ssu, and an honor not only to him personally but to the whole clan. The receipt of the diploma and the consignment of the seal into the hands of the T'u-ssu were, therefore, the occasion for a celebration in which the whole clan joyfully took part, willingly contributing money and time in order to make possible a display of pomp and magnificence. The whole clan was in fact called into active service. Each village, according to its importance, was assessed for a contribution of a definite number of sheep, pigs, chickens, and a cow, all of which had to be delivered to the mansion of the chief. Each village was also assessed a certain amount of wheat, a fixed sum of money, and was required to make a

[17] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 67, 68. "Widows with minor children had autocratic power over the possessions of the family until their sons had grown up and married; consequently they took the place of their husbands in all respects and enjoyed their rights."

[18] Seals of higher ranks were carved in jade, gold, silver, etc., indicating that even the highest of the Monguor T'u-ssu were regarded as relatively petty feudatories.—O. L.

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FIG. 2. Li T'u-ssu and his wife. Taken at his home in Hsining in 1914. According to Li T'u-ssu, he and his wife are wearing the costumes given to his ancestor by the Emperor Shih-Tsung (Yung Cheng period, 1723–35), of the Manchu dynasty, after the victorious campaign against Lobtsang Danzan in 1723, in which this ancestor took an active part on the side of the emperor. The costumes are reverently preserved in the family. It was customary, when a man received such a costume, to present his wife with a costume matching his in its symbols of rank and dignity.

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contribution, on loan, of kettles, bowls, chop sticks, and all kinds of utensils.[19]

A number of young folk, determined by protocol, were summoned from each village to pitch tents in the precincts of the T'u-ssu's mansion, to build small temporary kitchens, to slaughter animals, cook food, serve, grind wheat, chop wood, carry fuel and water, whitewash the whole mansion, and repair the walks and paths in the courtyards of the mansion. Everyone working was fed by his own village. The chiefs of the groups of nobles, and of the villages, were bound to supervise all the preliminary arrangements, and when the actual day of the investiture arrived, they had to attend the ceremony in full official dress and help to entertain the guests.

The Monguor troops were called out in full levy, clad in brand new uniforms which had been sewed by the village women and paid for by the villagers. In addition to neighboring T'u-ssu, the most important Chinese civil and military officials of the prefecture were invited to take part in the celebration. In the old days, before Hsining had become a separate province, a prominent official was sent from Lanchou, capital of the province

[19] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 148, notes the requisitioning of food from the common people for the nobles in Mongolia at and after the time of Chingis Khan. The term for these requisitions is *shi'üsün* (*shüsün*), meaning "ration," "provision." [P. 47a]

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of Kansu, to convey to the T'u-ssu the diploma and seal sent from Peking. For the use of a group of nobles and officials of the T'u-ssu administration a number of the best horses were requisitioned from the Monguor community, equipped with fine saddles and bridles, tassels of red yak hair, and necklaces of small bells. Mounted on these, and escorted by Monguor soldiers, they rode out a long distance beyond the T'u-ssu's village to meet and welcome the official bringing the diploma and seal, who ranked as a delegate from the government at Peking.

At the gate of the T'u-ssu's village or little town a procession was formed. The diploma and seal were displayed on a large silver dish and carried in majesty in a sedan chair, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, standard bearers, and men setting off fire crackers, to the mansion of the T'u-ssu. On the raised platform or porch at the entrance to his mansion the T'u-ssu, surrounded by his oldest nobles, the most distinguished commoners, and all the important guests, knelt to receive the precious diploma and seal presented to him by the delegate. At the command of the master of ceremonies, he clasped his hands and bowed nine times. Kneeling and bowing nine times, the forehead touching the ground each time, is regarded as the homage (*homagium*), or act of fealty of the vassal to his lord.[20]

The newly-invested T'u-ssu then accepted the congratulations of those present and went to the temple of his ancestors, followed by the members of the clan who, ranged in rows according to precedence by generation, joined him in venerating the ancestors, burning incense, kneeling, and bowing, all at the commands of the master of ceremonies. In this way the happy event was announced to the ancestors.

All then went immediately to the other temple within the mansion where the guardian deity (a lamaistic deity) is honored. Again incense was burned and the other ceremonies were performed by the whole group to invoke the protection and blessings of the deity. All then returned to the mansion, in order to take part in the official reception and the presentation of the guests. Each guest offered his congratulations and presented his gifts, consisting usually of inscriptions written by outstanding Chinese calligraphers on silk or satin scrolls, paintings on silk by Chinese artists, or, in recent times, the "western innovation" of small silver shields with engraved inscriptions. The inscriptions convey congratulations, good wishes, or record a commemoration of the happy event.

The nobles of the clan then made their submission to the T'u-ssu, kneeling and bowing nine times, forehead to the ground, at the command of the master of ceremonies, and offering congratulatory scrolls and a sum

[20] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 130, describes the "act of submission" of a vassal in the Mongol empire founded by Chingis Khan in comparable terms, and notes that in feudal Russia, as among the Mongols (and, he might have added, among the Chinese), the kneeling vassal was required to bow until his forehead touched the ground.

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of money fixed by old tradition. Following them the delegates of each village, one after the other, and the officials of the T'u-ssu's own administration went through the same ceremony. If the mother of the T'u-ssu was still alive, she also received scrolls and a gift of money from each group.

During this long ceremony the musicians played and firecrackers were set off. A banquet then began, following the Chinese protocol with presentation of cups and chopsticks to the guests. During the banquet a Chinese theatrical troupe played selected acts from traditional Chinese plays or operas; it was a special courtesy to ask a guest to select something from the repertory. Songs were also sung—usually Tibetan, not Monguor songs—by the best Monguor singers. Banquets were held in the afternoon for three or four days running, attended by three or four hundred guests. These banquets were preceded in the morning by the traditional Mongol sports of horse racing and wrestling.

When, at the end of the celebrations, the delegate who brought the diploma and seal returned to Lanchou or to Peking, he was presented with a couple of fine mules and one of the best and fastest horses in the country, together with a substantial gift of money. His attendants were also given presents according to their rank. These presents were called "The money of the sweat of the horses." [21]

The investiture and festival were an expensive burden on the whole clan and on the T'u-ssu personally. As an example, in the small clan of Chao, consisting of only 140 families, most of them poor, the young man who succeeded to the title of T'u-ssu inherited from his father, an opium addict and gambler, only a burden of insoluble debts, in addition to the old tradition of a glorious past. The funds of the family being depleted, and the subjects not being able to afford the expenses of the investiture, the young heir lost his appointment and his privileges, and his people became ordinary Chinese subjects, bound thenceforth to pay their taxes directly to the Chinese administration. But since in China it is always possible to reach a compromise, the young T'u-ssu, though not invested with official rank, was allowed to collect the taxes from his former subjects on behalf of the Chinese administration, and thus he was still able to make a living.

Throughout the Orient the seal is regarded with a special veneration. It may indeed be said to be the subject of a special cult. An emperor who lost his seal would certainly lose his empire. The loss of the imperial seal has always been considered by the Chinese

[21] To put the servants of the Son of Heaven to trouble was to "cause the horses to sweat." Thus Cleaves, *op. cit.*, 26, notes that, in an inscription, an ancestor is praised because he advised his Uighur ruler to submit to Čingis: " . . . by submitting gracefully without causing the men of the Suu-tu ("fortunate") Chinggis qayan to suffer and without causing his geldings to sweat. . . ."—O. L.

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historians as a sign that "heaven" removes its mandate from the emperor. When the imperial seal of the T'ang was lost and came into the hands of the King of Chin in 936, the fact was thus explained. In China, under the old order, the seals of officials were always entrusted to their wives, who kept them with their jewelry and asked from their husbands a small sum each time that the seal was taken out to be stamped on an official document. The accumulation of these small sums constituted the savings of the wives of officials. The Monguors took over this custom from the Chinese.

In 1908, three years before the end of the Manchu empire, the T'u-ssu of the Li clan (of Shat'o origin) lost two thousand dollars at gambling. Having no money to pay his debt, harassed day and night by his creditors, he placed his seal of office in their hands as security. This T'u-ssu was the son of the deceased first wife of his father. He had a half-brother whose mother was the second wife of the previous T'u-ssu. This woman paid the gambling debt and thus got possession of the seal, charging a small sum every time that she produced it for the stamping of a document. When she died, her son got possession of the seal, and used it as authority to collect the regular traditional contributions that are expected from the subjects of the clan to pay for the funeral of the wife of a T'u-ssu. By doing this he strengthened his position, because in China, according to classical principles, the person who conducts the funeral is considered to be the lawful heir. Having in this way created the precedent of actually exercising a degree of authority over the subjects of the clan, and having the seal in his possession, it was his intention to make an accusation against his half-brother, on the grounds of misconduct, and to have himself installed as T'u-ssu.

To forestall this move, the gambling T'u-ssu called together the elders of the clan, both noble and non-noble, and also invited three neighboring T'u-ssu to arbitrate the quarrel and get him out of his appalling situation. The meetings went on for many days. The T'u-ssu was bitterly reproached, humiliated, and dressed down. He had to ask pardon for having transgressed the limits of official convention, thus dishonoring his ancestors and his clan. All this time his half-brother, fortified by actual possession of the seal, stoutly defended his right to become T'u-ssu.

The meeting finally came to the decision that the half-brother should give back the seal to the senior brother, but that in compensation he should be allowed to collect the taxes from four villages subject to his brother, and that his descendants should enjoy this privilege in perpetuity. This drastic solution is to be explained only by the old Oriental belief that the man who is in possession of the seal comes into possession also of the powers, rights, and privileges invested in the seal.

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624 The "locking" and "opening" of the seal emphasized its ritual importance. Every year, as the year drew to
•648 an end, on an auspicious day chosen about the twentieth of the twelfth month, it used to be the custom to "lock
796 up" the seals of all Chinese officials. This signified that the officials were taking a vacation and that administrative matters would not be acted on again until after the New Year. The Monguors took over this practice. At the "locking up" of the seal, they invited their officials for dinner, and then all went home.

Soon after the fifteenth of the first moon, an auspicious day was chosen for the "opening of the seal." All officials under the T'u-ssu were required to attend the ceremony, together with the chiefs of villages and the most prominent members of the clan. Disposed in rows, they made the ceremonial prostration nine times before the seal and went to the ancestral temple and the temple of the guardian deity to honor them and to invoke their protection during the new year. An important meeting then followed at which administrative matters were discussed, and this meeting was in turn followed by a dinner. Ordinary routine was then resumed. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, as described by Father Mostaert,[22] a still great reverence is attached to the seal. It is treated as a cult object held in veneration throughout the year, locked in a special ornamented case in the palace of the prince of the Banner, with a lamp burning before it day and night. The opening of the seal is carried out in a more ceremonial manner than among the Monguors. A traditional speech is given by one of the most distinguished officials before the ceremony of veneration is carried out by those present.

ROLE OF CLAN CHIEF AS CHINESE OFFICIAL

WARDEN OF THE MARCHES

175 As a vassal of the overlord state in China, the T'u-ssu has the function of a warden of the marches. When the Mongol dynasty fell in 1368, it was already rotten at the core and torn apart by struggles between internal factions. Knowing that all hope for the restoration of a Mongol dynasty was lost, most of the chiefs of Mongol tribes living in Kansu submitted to the Chinese generals who led the Ming armies into this strategic province bordering on Tibet, Central Asia, and Mongolia. The Chinese, for their part, resorted to the policy, familiar to them for some two thousand years, of using barbarian vassals along the frontier as a screen against more remote barbarians.[23] They accordingly granted titles to the chiefs of the tribes that submitted, in order to make use of them in defense against the still hostile

[22] A. Mostaert, "L'ouverture du sceau" et les adresses chez les Ordos, *Monumenta Serica* 1, Fasc. 2: 315, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1935.

[23] The relationship between "inner frontier" and "outer frontier" has been described by Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 86, 238–251, 2nd ed., New York, American Geog. Soc., 1951.

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175 clan with his four thousand families were stationed to guard the mountain passes between the Yellow River and the Hsining River, with the T'u-ssu of the Ah clan and his 150 families to the east of them (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 48*a*–50*b*). On the southern side between the mountains and the Yellow River there were six T'u-ssu, those of the Wang, Chou, Yeh, Li Hua-nao, Hsin, and La clans, with a total of 632 families, guarding several passes and the boat ferry across the Yellow River (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*a*, 52–54, 57). In the mountains on the north of Nienpei the Ch'i and Chao T'u-ssu with a total of 820 families guarded four important passes (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 46*b*, 49*b*).

The country thus described forms a strategic triangle between P'ingfan, Lanchou, and Nienpei which is the key to the frontier between Kansu province and the Mongolian plateau, through the natural depression which separated the Nan Shan from the Yin Shan. Its importance was recognized as early as the first Han dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 8), when the Chinese occupied it in order to prevent the Hsiungnu in Mongolia, the ancestors of the Huns, from joining hands with the Ch'iang or early Tibetan tribes in Kansu. During the Ming dynasty, Mongol tribes from Alashan and the Ordos, invading Tibet by way of Kukunor, usually forced their passage through this country. Because the ancestors of the T'u-ssu of the Lu clan had already settled in this country under the Mongol dynasty, the Ming dynasty assigned it to the Lu clan, which with its 3,245 families became the guardian of the eight passes in the mountain range called Chitzeshan and the ferry passage across the important Tat'ung River. Their villages were scattered throughout this territory (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 58*a*).

While the Monguors were thus allocated to the valleys leading up to the frontier passes, the Chinese planted colonies of their own people in the vicinity of the main towns. Thus the situation was one in which the Chinese colonies depended for their safety on the loyalty of the Monguors, and the authorities accordingly treated the Monguor T'u-ssu as important people and favored subjects.

GUARDIAN OF THE PEACE IN HIS TERRITORY

624 The T'u-ssu, though a subordinate official of the Chinese overlord state, was treated as a petty sovereign 175 in his own territory, not to be interfered with by Chinese ●648 officials in the administration of his hereditary subjects. Except for capital punishment, the T'u-ssu governed his people according to Monguor custom. His vassal status, however, was shown by the fact that he could be called to account if his administration was unsatisfactory. The T'u-ssu was responsible for maintenance of his own troops, and was expected not only to take the initiative in stopping raids from across the border, but to suppress banditry. He was responsible for the security of the roads passing through his territory and

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624 could be held to account for the murder of any traveler
on these roads. Under the Yung Cheng reign of the
175 Manchu dynasty, the important monastery of Erhkulung,
in the territory of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, joined in the great
●648 insurrection of 1723. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was punished
for failing to control the insurgent monks. His subjects
were taken away from him and inscribed on the register
of Chinese subjects under direct Chinese administration,
his territory was confiscated, and he was deprived of his
rank. A large number of his subjects, however, revolted
against the Chinese and joined the insurrection which
was still going on. The Chinese authorities therefore
compromised. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was asked to summon
his subjects back to their allegiance, and was promised
that his forfeited rights and privileges would be restored
if he succeeded. The promise was carried out and he
was in fact reinstated as T'u-ssu when he contributed
to the suppression of the insurrection by bringing his
subjects back under control.

651 In connection with this recorded historical incident
there may be cited a tradition concerning an ancestor
648 of the T'u-ssu of the Li clan, who was condemned to
have his head cut off, his territory confiscated, and his
173 subjects brought under direct Chinese jurisdiction, for
failing to crush a revolt. Other T'u-ssu intervened on
624 his behalf, however, because of the meritorious services
rendered to the empire by his ancestors, capital punish-
ment was commuted, and he and his descendants were
instead to be required to pay in perpetuity a tax called
ch'iu liang, "the tax of supplication." After one or
two years, however, according to the tradition, the
humiliating word "supplication" was replaced by the
Chinese character meaning "autumn" which is also
pronounced *ch'iu*, as a "face-saving" concession. The
tradition is supported by the statement in the *Annals* of
Hsining (ch. 16, p. 5*a*) that a special "autumnal tax"
was yearly collected from the Li T'u-ssu, but the Li
T'u-ssu and his subjects explain away the whole matter
by saying that at some time in the past, when the
Chinese officials were in difficulties because of in-
surrections, and were short of grain and flour, the Li
T'u-ssu of that time, recalling the favors bestowed on
his ancestors for centuries past, magnanimously and
voluntarily offered to pay this perpetual "autumn tax."
Thus the clan has its own "face-saving" version of the
tradition.

EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

651 The emperor, as overlord, had a special interest in
the fact that the Monguor troops required neither pay,
648 provisions, nor weapons, but were maintained com-
pletely at the expense of their own clans. As compensa-
624 tion, the Chinese officials were not allowed to impose
land taxes on the Monguors or to requisition labor
701 services from them. The Monguor soldier, since he was
considered to be perpetually on frontier duty, could not
also be requisitioned for labor; nor could he be drafted

[p. 506]

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into the Chinese army. In order to keep up the Monguor military strength, the emperor did not allow subjects of the clan to abandon their T'u-ssu, and the Chinese officials were ordered to help the T'u-ssu in recovering any subjects who had left their territories. The overlord state thus confirmed the clan rule of the Monguors that the subjects of the clan "belonged" to the chief. While in later times Monguors farming land in territory under direct Chinese administration were required to pay the land tax, they were still exempt from the corvée of forced labor.

651 648 624

In the administration of the law, relations between Monguors and Chinese were "extraterritorial." When a Chinese accused a Monguor, the summons had to be sent to the T'u-ssu, who alone could order his subject to appear at the Chinese court. Chinese allowed by a T'u-ssu to settle in his territory became his subjects, liable to Monguor land taxes, military service, and corvées. Monguor lawsuits had to be brought before the T'u-ssu and his officials. If a Monguor did not agree with the verdict of the T'u-ssu, however, he was allowed to appeal to the Chinese high court; but this right was more theoretical than practical, because the Chinese official, considering the T'u-ssu as a fellow-official, and also not unmindful of presents at New Year and at the four seasons, regularly confirmed the verdict of the T'u-ssu.

When Chinese officials, representing the overlord state, traveled through the territory of a T'u-ssu, roads and bridges had to be put in repair. Similarly, when Chinese troops passing through the territory of a T'u-ssu had to cross a river, the Monguors were required to provide the necessary rafts and boats.

TAXES UPON T'U-SSU AND THEIR SALARY

Under the Ming dynasty, except for the "autumn tax" on the Li T'u-ssu, which has already been mentioned, no taxes were imposed on a T'u-ssu. In this respect there was a marked difference between the T'u-ssu and the chiefs of many Tibetan and Mongol tribes who were required to bring every year, or once in a term of years, a fixed tribute of horses or other products of their territories. The difference is accounted for by the fact that a tribute-paying chief and his subjects were not, like a T'u-ssu and his clan, considered to be on permanent military service.

Under the Manchu dynasty, however, the *Annals* of Kansu record that twelve out of the seventeen T'u-ssu were required to pay land tax. The five that were exempt were the five most influential and powerful: the Lu (3,245 families); two Ch'i (800 and 700 families); two Li (4,000 and 960 families), and Wang (150 families). It is possible that these T'u-ssu were exempt from the tax either because of services rendered during the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 or simply because they were powerful and the Chinese were afraid to impose a tax on them for fear they would revolt. The tax im-

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651 posed on a T'u-ssu was imposed on him personally. He
648 passed it on by making levies on his subjects, but in
624 spite of this their tax was lighter than the tax paid by the Chinese.

In his capacity as a Chinese official, the T'u-ssu was entitled to receive an emolument; but for unknown reasons this stipend was extremely irregular. Seven T'u-ssu received none at all, and of the others the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Hsining received the highest emolument, 146.88 ounces of silver. Next to him came the Lu T'u-ssu with 76.6 ounces. Five others received 50 ounces a year, and the remainder only 40 ounces.[24]

TRIPS OF T'U-SSU TO PEKING

648 The difference between a Monguor T'u-ssu and a
624 tribute-paying chief has been mentioned. Like a T'u-ssu, the tribute-paying chief received a diploma and a seal. Unlike a T'u-ssu, he was required to offer tribute at stated intervals, and the most important privilege enjoyed by him and his people was that of admission to the frontier markets. A Monguor T'u-ssu was not bound to report in person to the capital at stated times, but there were occasions when Monguor T'u-ssu were specially summoned to Peking in order to receive awards for meritorious frontier service. On such occasions, they traveled in state. The Monguors still enjoy recalling the fine show made by these glorious ancestors, even though a levy was made on all the subjects of the T'u-ssu, to provide not only a sum of money for his expenses, but thirty soldiers in new uniforms as his escort and ten servants, five secretaries, and enough horses, well equipped, for the whole retinue, together with provisions for the journey. In addition, the most handsome horses and mules that could be found in the Monguors' country were brought and taken along to be presented to the emperor and high officials. Other products of the country, taken as presents, were musk (for the harem), stag horns in the velvet (a medicine of great repute for old men losing their virility), deer sinews (a famous medicine for rheumatic people), and bear's paws (a renowned dish at official dinners), together with saffron from Tibet.

648 Before his departure, the T'u-ssu paid a farewell visit
624 to the high Chinese officials of the frontier region, who
431 gave him presents and more money toward the expenses
439 of his journey—hoping of course that in Peking he would praise them and their administration in the right quarters. For the whole of his journey the T'u-ssu traveled at the public expense, having permits that entitled him and his retinue to lodging free of taxes and charges. Although the capital expense of the journey was great, it was in fact remunerative both for the T'u-ssu and his retinue. They all enjoyed it, for they benefited by the ancient tradition of the East that nobody travels without

[24] In view of the irregularity and the fact that some T'u-ssu received no yearly allowance, it is possible that these payments were regarded as grants to favored vassals rather than as regular salaries to officials.—O. L.

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648 trading and making a little profit. The T'u-ssu and his
624 retinue took with them whatever they thought might sell
435 advantageously in Peking. For the return journey, they
431 bought in Peking everything that they knew *would sell* profitably in their home country. The profit was greatly increased by the fact that they traveled free of charge and free of the usual transit taxes. Before they left Peking, moreover, the T'u-ssu received valuable gifts from the emperor, including the traditional ceremonial long coat, the yellow robe worn by officials on state occasions, and pieces of silk and brocade. A visit of this kind to the capital enhanced the stature of the T'u-ssu both among his own subjects and among the Chinese officials, because the rich presents that he took with him provided him with friends and protectors among the high officials at court.

648 Most of the foregoing information was collected in
624 Liench'eng, the T'u-ssu of the Lu clan of Liench'eng having been among the last of the T'u-ssu who visited the emperor. Two old Monguors of this clan liked to talk about this visit on which their grandfathers or great-grandfathers had accompanied the T'u-ssu to the capital, where they had seen the emperor. According to the family chronicles of the clan, this visit was made in 1829–1830 by the T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsün, fifteenth in descent from the "founding ancestor" of the clan. He left Liench'eng on the twenty-sixth of the tenth moon and arrived at Peking on the nineteenth of the twelfth moon. On the twenty-third of the twelfth moon he was granted an audience with the emperor and from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth he was invited to banquets and theatrical performances.

On the first of the first moon, the new year according to the lunar calendar, he accompanied the high official who carried out the rite of congratulating the emperor at the palace called the T'ai Ho Tien, and partook of a dinner of state. On the evening of the same day he attended the theatrical performance played on the ice of the lake called Ying T'ai in the Forbidden City. On the fifteenth of the first moon he accompanied the high officials who attended the fireworks illumination of the Yuan Ming Yuan palace, and was granted the favor of such gifts as the peacock plume, clothes, porcelains, and rare foodstuffs. On the nineteenth he presented his thanks to the emperor and asked for leave to depart. He made his farewells to the high officials, left on the twenty-eighth, and completed the long journey back to Liench'eng on the fifth of the fourth moon.

In the same family chronicle there is recorded the visit paid in 1819 by the T'u-ssu Lu Cho to the Emperor Chia Ch'ing on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday at the summer palace of Jehol. This T'u-ssu left Liench'eng on the nineteenth of the fifth moon and arrived in Jehol on the tenth of the eighth moon. On the twelfth, he was received in audience to greet the emperor in the Lion Garden, where he was accorded the favor of receiving slices of venison sprinkled with pepper and

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•648 624 ginger. On the thirteenth, the emperor graciously accepted the T'u-ssu's presents, consisting of two beautiful horses and samples of the products of the Monguor country. The T'u-ssu received a peacock plume with button, a straw hat, a collar of the design worn by officials of the fifth rank, a long coat with an embroidered medallion on the chest and back, and an official robe embroidered with dragons; together with a silk girdle, a purse, a knife to be hung from the girdle, a short and long coat of brocade, some small carpets, a splendid saddle rug, tea, and dried fruit. On the fourteenth, after a banquet and theatrical performance, he received a clock and a snuff-box. On the seventeenth, after another banquet, dinner and theatrical display, he received foodstuffs. On the eighteenth still another banquet and the theater again, and at night fire-works. On the nineteenth he went to offer his thanks to the emperor and received two pieces of brocade, two of silk, six of satin, and a piece of dried venison. On the twentieth he bade farewell to the emperor and left on the twenty-first. (Extracts from the family chronicles of Lu.)

These records give an idea of the pomp of such visits under the empire. The visit to the emperor and the honor of seeing him were the dream of a T'u-ssu and the summit of his glory; and the subjects who accompanied him liked to talk about the splendor of the imperial palace, the majesty of the emperor, and his graciousness toward their chief.

THE COMMONERS

174 Having elucidated the questions of the chiefs of the Monguor clans, their function as clan chiefs, the historical position of the first clan chief, the rules of succession and installation, and having explained the new kind of position that was acquired by becoming a Chinese official, with the title and duty of T'u-ssu, there remain the many fascinating problems of the origin and social evolution of the commoners.

To what original tribes did the commoners of the seventeen Monguor clans belong?

MONGOLS

I frequently inquired among both commoners and nobles about the names of the tribes to which they had belonged in time past, but to no avail. Not a single definite answer could be obtained. But since Potanin and Prjevalsku assert that they heard Monguors say that they were of "Chzhahor," or White Mongol, or Karluk origin, and since Father A. De Smedt heard some rare Monguors say that they were of Karluk origin, it is possible that among the commoners there still exist traceable descendants of these tribes. Failing an established tradition among the people themselves, is it possible to trace historically the origin of the commoners given as subjects to the Monguor clan chiefs by the Mongol emperors? The authors of the *Annals* of the prefecture of Hsining and of the province of Kansu,

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608 782 who has eaten the pig of the Dalai Lama"; or "If I break my oath, may I be thrown into the deepest of the eighteen Hells"; or "May I be punished through nine reincarnations"; or "If I am false to my oath, may I be killed"; or "May I have my eyes burned out." The oaths, both positive and negative, are followed by the declaration "Now we are as brothers who have suckled the milk of the same mother."

The oaths are taken very seriously. There is great fear of the retribution for perjury. There is a saying that "Poison kills only the man who drinks it but perjury brings the death of his whole family."

608 Sworn brothers call on each other and present gifts at New Year, at the Spring Festival of the Fifth Moon, and at the Autumn Festival, or "Feast of the Dead" on the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon. They invite each other to marriages and funerals like members of the family. In case of clan blood feud, a sworn brother must give help and support as if he were a blood brother. A case of this kind is recorded among the Mongols of the late twelfth century. The father of Chingis was the sworn brother of Wang Khan of the Keraits. After the death of his father and after his wife had been stolen from him by the Merkits, Chingis and his brother went to Wang Khan and presented him with the sable gown that was part of the dowry of Chingis' wife and begged for his support, and Wang Khan declared war on the Merkits.[38]

In some families, the sons of sworn brothers often swear the same oath, and it is common for sworn brothers to give their children to each other in marriage. Often the ties between sworn brothers are more intense and personal than those of blood brothers.

608 685 Among the variations of the sworn brother relationship, a rich man not engaged in crime himself may become a sworn brother with known thieves as a protection against being robbed by them. An influential man will in fact rarely refuse the oath of brothership if it is proposed to him by a noted thief. In carrying out his side of the relationship the "respectable" sworn brother will help the thief when he is short of money and use his influence to get him off if he has been caught. Most of the thieves and robbers in the Monguor country are sworn brothers, linked in one group, and when one of them takes the oath with a rich man he informs the others and none of them will do the rich man harm.

608 It is also true that honest people take the oath together in order either to strengthen already friendly relations, or to organize themselves as a group for mutual protection. In one case of my own knowledge a poor Monguor swore the oath with a rich man who helped him get his affairs on a sound footing. The poor man was honest and loyal and in time he became a man of substance. The relations between these two were as intimate as if they had been real brothers.

608 648 It is common for a rich Monguor to become the sworn brother of the chief of a Tibetan tribe, as a means of se-

[38] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-khan*, as cited, 27.

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

608 curing the opportunity to pasture his large flocks of sheep on the Tibetan grazing grounds. Similarly, a
•648 Muslim will take the oath with a Monguor in order to increase and improve his wool and skin business by
[282] having, within the territory of the clan of his Monguor friend, a protector for his business and a home at which to stay. The Monguor benefits by being able to stay with his Muslim brother for several days at a time when making trips outside of Monguor territory.

Another special application of the institution of sworn brothers will be noted when we come to the description of the trading caravans that travel into and through Tibetan territory, and of the fishing engaged in by the Monguors in the waters of Kukunor lake.

608 In contrast to the tradition in the time of Chingis Khan that after the death of a sworn brother his son might appeal to the surviving sworn brother, among the Monguors the family of a sworn brother who has died has no continuing obligation. The oath may be taken for a limited period and for the achievement of a specific purpose, and be terminated when the purpose has been achieved. The oath may also be formally terminated under other conditions. Thus, in one case of which I knew, three young men in the district of Tolong took the oath together. Six months later they invited an old man to become their "sworn father." A goat was killed and the ceremony was carried out. For three years the three young men were faithful sworn brothers and showed toward their "sworn father" the devotion of true sons. The relationship was publicly known. After three years, however, gossip began to spread. People wondered why this oath had been taken when the district was at peace. It was suggested that perhaps they had subversive intentions of some kind and that harm might come to the whole community. Eventually the chief and elders of the village summoned both the sworn brothers and their sworn "father" before them and ordered them to abjure their relationship at a ceremony at the village temple, in the presence of the whole community.

Among Monguor women the equivalent or partial equivalent of "blood brotherhood" is to become "dry sisters." This relationship is only between two women; it is not extended to a group of more than two. The two who agree to be "dry sisters" do not swear an oath, but present each other with a piece of clothing and sit down to a meal together. They visit each other at New Year's, on the fifth day of the fifth month, and go to help each other in time of sickness. They invite each other to such celebrations as those for childbirth and marriage.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

428 The division of the inheritance is one of the most diffi-
596 cult of all problems in the extended family of the patrilineal Monguor society. It usually takes place when the grandfather dies and the sons decide to set up sepa-

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231 animals entrusted to them and the skill and devotion
463 needed if the animals are to get the best pasture and to multiply rapidly. Skill is required especially in the lambing season. A shepherd is treated like a member of the family. At each meal one of the daughters-in-law presents him with his bowl of food, with both hands, with the same respect that is shown to the head of the family, and the shepherd's food is as good as that of the head of the family.

231 When there is not enough rain and the pasture is poor, the Monguors will go with a present to the chief
648 of one of the nomad tribes of Tibetans or Mongols, asking permission to graze their stock on his land during the summer. The nomads are always very generous and helpful at such times.

231 The Monguors will never sell an animal, or allow an animal already sold to leave their home, on the first or fifteenth of the moon for fear that prosperity and luck might leave the family. Other beliefs in connection with cattle breeding will be discussed in my later work on the religious life of the Monguors.

231 An old Monguor of some sixty years once told me that
251 during his lifetime he remembered four different occasions on which the cattle herds had been devastated by epizootics. When such a disaster happens, the flesh of the animals who have died of sickness is cut in long, thin strips which are dried in the sun and for the following year the Monguors have tough beef to chew at every meal.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 The Monguors hunt with the gun and with traps and
136 poison, but because the region has become too thickly populated to support a great deal of game there is no hunting on a large scale. The animals hunted are foxes, wolves, musk-deer, hares, and pheasants, while boys like to shoot marmots with matchlock guns. Foxes and wolves are killed sometimes with the gun, but more usually with strychnine bought from the Chinese. First the tracks of the animal to be poisoned are studied in order to determine its habits. Then for several days meat, taken from hares and birds that have been killed by the hunter, is laid out in order to accustom the animal to this kind of feeding. The poison is then set out. Sometimes the strychnine is put inside a ball of meat, but more usually it is put in the hollow of a long, thin bone, the ends of which are sealed with wax. The fox or wolf dies near the place where it has cracked and swallowed such a bone, while strychnine placed in a ball of meat is slower to act and the animal may travel so far that it is difficult to track. Foxes are also taken with iron traps bought from Chinese smiths. The animal to be trapped is first watched carefully for a number of days in order to learn its habits. Then roasted flour is set out for it to feed on, so that it becomes unwary, and finally the trap is baited and set.

The most valuable game is the musk-deer, which is

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224 136 hunted in the forests of Hsimi. This animal has the habit of making and following a small beaten trail along which it goes always to the same place to drop its dung—which is done regularly at the same time of day—and to rub itself against small trees. When such a trail has been found the hunter studies it carefully to determine the best place to attach a running noose to a small tree, which is then bent over and attached to a stake in such a manner that when the deer, going along the trail, puts its head in the noose, the stake is knocked aside, the tree springs up, and the more the deer struggles the more quickly it is strangled. The hunter lies hidden 224 137 watching the trap and the moment the deer is caught he rushes out with a knife to cut out the precious musk pod, which is on the surface of the stomach, near the genitalia. It is believed that the pod must be cut out immediately because otherwise the blood inside the pod will be absorbed into the body of the animal, and the "virtue" of the musk will be lost.

The musk-deer hunters admit that adulteration of this valuable commodity begins the moment that the animal is caught. Musk pods are sold by weight, and therefore as soon as he has cut out the pod the hunter stuffs it with blood and shredded liver from the deer in order to increase the weight. It is seldom that one can buy unadulterated musk in the shops of the Chinese dealers, because in addition to what is done by the hunters themselves to increase the weight, no one knows what the dealers add.

226 648 Although the lamas and most (though not all) Mongols abhor the eating of fish, considering that taking the lives of the fish is a sin that will affect the sinner's next incarnation, the Monguors do engage in considerable fishing in Kukunor.[7] As soon as the lake has frozen in winter, small expeditions go from the Monguor country to the lake. Such an expedition lasts for about two months, and the Monguors are back by New Year's Eve of the lunar calendar, which comes usually toward the end of February or the beginning of March. The Monguors go first to see the chief of the Mongol or

[7] Kukunor, the "Azure Lake," is 230 miles in circumference, at an altitude of 10,900 feet above sea level. (W. W. Rockhill, *The land of the lamas*, 120, New York, Century, 1891.) The water is salty. Two rivers run into the lake, the bottom of which is covered with sand and small stones. One big island rises out of the water and is inhabited by a few lamas, who only in wintertime, when the lake is frozen, can come ashore, since no boats are used on the lake. At that time the Tibetans drive horses and sheep to the island in order that they may graze and breed; colts and lambs bred on the island are assumed to be a blessing for the herds. The famous *Ch'ien-li-ma* (horses which are reputed to run 1,000 *li* or approximately 300 miles in one day) celebrated as long ago as the Han dynasty, are said to be bred on the island, whose grass is reputed wonderfully nutritive for animals. There are three kinds of fishes in the lake, where fish are plentiful: *schizopygopsis przewalskii*, *schizopygopsis leptocephalus*, and *schizopygopsis gracilis*. They weigh from three to five and seven pounds. (Przewalskii, *Reisen in der Mongolei, in das Gebiet der Tanguten und den Wüsten Nordtibets*, 140, Jena, 1873).

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226 Tibetan tribe on the shore of the lake from whose ter-
648 ritory they plan to operate, making him a present of the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity and a cask of wine, some tobacco, and noodles. They are then given the chief's permission and the protection of the tribe.
[608] The men of each fishing expedition usually go to the same territory every year and become sworn brothers of the chief or of some important local nomad, in order to make sure that while they are camped by the lake they will be allowed to gather fuel and will have no animals stolen.

226 Each fisherman breaks a hole in the ice, and spreads a couple of sheep skins on which he sits crosslegged, a two-pronged fork in his hands, waiting for fish to come to the surface of the water. The fish is harpooned with the fork and thrown on the ice. The frozen fish are either carried to market, usually at the city of Hsining, by the Monguors themselves or sold to Muslim merchants who make up caravans of twenty or thirty mules or donkeys. These expeditions involve hard work and exposure to the bitter cold, but the business must be remunerative as many Monguors go year after year.

TRADE

463 In the territory inhabited by the Monguors trade,
transport, and small industries are mostly in the hands
563 of Chinese and Muslims. The Muslims are an ener-
441 getic and enterprising people, even more hard work-
439 ing and indefatigable than other Chinese. They willingly engage in the arduous work of driving caravans of pack-mules and in running rafts and boats down the Hsining and Upper Yellow Rivers in all weathers. Most of the peddlars are also Muslims, who travel either with a pack on their backs or with a loaded donkey, wandering through the Monguor country from house to house, exchanging cloth, needles, thread, and other small wares for wool, skins, eggs, and grain. In the autumn, Muslim buyers collect sheep and oxen and drive them to Hsining in small herds.

There are very few Chinese peddlars, but the distilleries and flour and oil mills, which require money capital, are run by Chinese, and the Chinese monopolize the pork business, since the Muslims will have nothing to do with pigs. All through the year, and especially during the autumn, while the Muslims are buying up other livestock the Chinese butchers of the cities and towns send their agents into the Monguor villages to buy hogs. The Chinese merchants who do business on a bigger scale than the Muslim peddlars also send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at such large gatherings as the lama monastery festivals and the annual meetings of the Monguor clans.

441 Grain and oil seeds, being the main crops of the Monguors, are also the main commodities of trade. The conversion of grain into alcohol and of oil seeds into oil results in products of higher value in proportion to bulk and weight which can stand the cost of transporta-

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173 Prince of Chin. According to the legend this prince,
291 "blessed by heaven and all the spirits," begat thirteen
562 sons from his nine wives. Because he was fond of magnificence and display, he designed a different costume for each wife, and this is supposed to be the origin of the nine main designs of Monguor women's costume to this day.

177 The significance of the Monguor national costume even
648 in recent times is illustrated by the following story, which stirred up interest throughout the Monguor country. In 1913 the Living Buddha of the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu [10] forbade the Monguor women living in his territory to wear their national costume and ordered them to adopt the Tibetan style of dress. Passions ran high against this order. Although the Monguors had for centuries supported the monastery with their offerings, they ceased to appear at the monastery festivals and began to make their offerings to other monasteries. Even the lamas of Monguor origin left the monastery and enrolled in other monasteries. The result was that the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu began to enroll Chinese novices and the whole spirit of the institution was changed.

291 The costumes of the Monguor women are much more
292 elaborate and distinctive than those of the men. Like the
562 men, however, the women do not wear underclothes, nor do they have nightgowns. Their bed is a piece of felt spread on the sleeping platform; there are no sheets or pillowcases, and at night they simply undress and cover themselves with roughly woven blankets or sheepskins.

291 A woman's trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and
562 are fastened around the waist with a rope twisted of sheep's wool. On the legs of the trousers, just below the knee, there is a hem of white cotton cloth. To this hem is sewn the lower leg of the trousers which can easily be removed and replaced, when the women go to festivals, with a leg of finer cloth or of silk or satin, embroidered in red. Ordinarily, the legs of the trousers are stuffed into the tops of the boots, but the ornamental trouser leg can be worn outside the boot. As with men's trousers, the cut is that of Chinese trousers, and the tradition is that in older times trousers were not used at all. The Monguor women of the villages north of the valleys of Weiyüanp'u and Hungnaitze wear trousers only on the coldest winter days and when they go to festivals.

462 Monguor women make their own boots. The sole is
294 made of alternating layers of blue and white cotton cloth pasted together and then stitched, the foot of the boot is made of dark blue cotton cloth, sometimes beautifully embroidered, and the legs are ornamented with patches of dark leather. The foot of the boot may also be made of black cotton cloth, adorned with green

[10] For references to this monastery, see Reginald Farrar, *On the eaves of the world* and *The rainbow bridge*, London, Arnold, 1917 and 1921.

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/2 cont'd/

144 162 Chavannes, Turcs Occidentaux /Western Turks/). The Cha-t'ouo to whom Kao-chu-hui's relation refers here, were a tribe of the western Turcs first settled in early times to the east of Barkoul, and after A.D. 808 transferred to the northern borders of Kan-sou, for the sake of protecting them from inroads. /Cited in English, with one interpolation in French indicated by underline./

(620-905); the chronicles of Sining confirm this tradition. The last group came to live in the area either in the Yüan period (1280-1368) or the Ming (1368-1644).

101 These two groups speak the same language today, called 197 Monguor by them. The language is very archaic; it reflects the Mongolian of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Let us call to [113] the attention of those who are interested in the question of the T'ou-jen language the study of Fathers Mostaert and De Smedt published in Anthropos, XXIV-XXV, "Le dialecte monguor, parlé par les Mongols du Kan-sou occidental /The Monguor Dialect, spoken by the Mongols of Western Kansu/." The grammar and the dictionary are in press.

The Cha-t'ouo of whom we speak are then Mongolized today. It should be pointed out that the notions of race and language are subject to caution.

622 The T'ou-jen, subject to China, have kept their autonomy ●648 under chiefs of their race, recognized by China and called t'ou-se. The Chinese Republic, from its beginning, has shown itself hostile to this autonomous administration and has tried to treat the T'ou-jen as Chinese, subject to the jurisdiction of the mandarins of the place.

177 The ways and customs of the T'ou-jen, although influenced by the proximity of the Chinese and the Tibetans, have remained relatively pure. They reveal many a secret of their former social organization and of their nomadic life of yesteryear.

[5 cont.] Their total number cannot
161 be given with any precision since the official statistics are unreliable. An estimate in a Tsinghai chronicle (1943) sets [6] [map appears here] [7] their total number for Tsinghai at approximately 27,000-30,000; cf. Hsü Kung-wu: Ch'ing-hai chih-lüeh. I have lost the other most recent statistics, especially those of the periodical Hsi-pei-t'ung-hsün. The figure cited by P. M. Hermanns seems to me to be too low; see Hermanns, Nomaden, p. 30.

792 The religious and spiritual center of the Tujen in the county of Huchu is the monastery dGon-luṅ, called Rëgulõn (Rgulõn) in the Tujen language (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 17.] The common Chinese name is Erh-ku-lung szu, more rarely, Yuning szu. Concerning the history and significance of this monastery and its Tulkus [Living Buddhas] (Ch'ang-chia and T'ukuan Hutukhtu), cf. the discussion at the conclusion of the second part.

3. Status and Task of the Investigation

114 There is little to report concerning research on the Tujen.
648 European science did not become aware of this ethnic group until the second half of the last century, after the French missionaries Huc and Gabet traveled through the Koko Nor region on their Tibetan journey (1844-46) and also skirted the homeland of their guide, who was a former Tujen lama; cf. M. Huc, Travels, p. 281. After them other explorers came in contact with the Tujen, for example, Przewalski (1873), Potanin (1884), Rockhill (1891/92). D'Ollone visited a related group in southern Kansu (1906), but not the Tujen of Tsinghai. Similarly, Mannerheim stayed only among the Shera-Yögur, with whom there is an inclination to relate the Tujen. A. Tafel made his Tibetan journey in 1905-1908 and briefly visited the Tujen in the region of the present Huchu. Filchner has not been in the region of the Tujen during his

[7 cont.]

114 travels, although he provides pictures of their dress. It is un-
●648 necessary to cite in detail the literature written by these investigators. For further information, see the essay by A. Mostaert, The Mongols of Kansu; cf. the bibliography at the beginning of this work. Mostaert, however, does not mention A. Tafel.

114 None of these explorers wanted to make special studies of the Tujen, and therefore their reports are brief and more or less general; it could not be otherwise in the case of extensive travel accounts. They are usually content with information about clothing, language, place names, and the presumed origins. The chapter that Tafel devoted to the Tujen is comparatively extensive; see Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], Vol. I, pp. 241-257. Tafel must have had good informants for him to have been able to report so reliably after his two days' stay in Wei-yüan-pu. His brief presentation, to be sure, provides a fairly adequate orientation concerning the problems connected with the Tujen, but it indulges in too many controversial hypotheses regarding the history. It, too, like the reports cited above, provides relatively little material for giving one a picture of the culture of the Tujen.

114 The actual investigation of the Tujen was first instituted
797 by the Scheutvelder missionaries, who at the beginning of our century took up their work in the Amdo region. Father De Smedt soon devoted himself to learning the Tujen language and gathered extensive linguistic material, which, together with the well-known Mongolist P.A. Mostaert, he worked up into three great works: the Phonetics (Anthropos, 24/25), the Monguor-French dictionary [8] (Peking, 1933), and the Monguor grammar (Peking, 1945). P. L. Schram studied the social conditions of the Tujen and published a monograph concerning marriage (Shanghai, 1932) (2). All these works appeared after the

2. [Foreign text p. 17.] Upon the completion of the manuscript, I learned that P. L. Schram has another monograph on the history and social structure of the Tujen in preparation.

[9 cont.]

115 that is, mountain spirit, because he was consecrated to the mountain spirit when he was named. He was born under the sign [776] of the sheep, that is, in the second month; according to [553] European reckoning, this would be March, 1883.

[805] Like all Tujen, the old man is a Lamaist and adheres [771] to the faith and the customs of his fathers. He is known throughout the vicinity as one of the few who are still very well versed in the traditional customs. For that reason he is asked to perform everywhere as master of ceremonies, festive speaker, overseer of sacrifices, and singer. If anyone in that region is asked about usages and customs, the usual answer is: "Go to old Tuo, he knows it best."

115 In addition he has the advantage, rare among the Tujen, of having completed the Chinese classical school. He can read 212 and write very well, better than most of his Chinese neighbors. [871] He understands without difficulty history books, classical authors, local chronicles, etc., which in part are written in the literary [191] language. He does not have a sufficient command of the Fandse language to be able to speak it fluently, but he knows the terms of the lamas and is able to distinguish fairly well as to whether a word is a genuine Tujen word or a Fandse word. He himself in his youth took down in Chinese characters a considerable number of Fandse songs, which he can translate and explain, as well as some legends and speeches. He claims that formerly the Tujen language was also written and that the script has simply been lost. -- He does not speak the language of the Koko 115 Nor Mongols, but he claims that it could be understood if neces- 191 sary. Of course the Tujen live too far away from the Mongols; [648] only those in the vicinity of Huchu have a loose connection with the Mongols on the Tai-t'ung River beyond the Monastery Kuo-mang-szu.

124 [10] In the beginning it was not easy to persuade the old man, who for 20 years had not even been in nearby Sining, to visit me at the mission station at Kan-chia-pu, although the way there was only a two-hour ride. In the late fall of 1946 he came once for only a day. At that time I questioned him about the harvest thank-offering; the result was an article which appeared in Anthropos, 37/40. The old man could not imagine what I

[67 cont.]

539
*778

[Note on foreign text pp. 69-70 cont.]
or in learning anything further about the rites. I was merely told that there is a whole series of obo types, among them some that are not erected by by lamas. Furthermore the objects put in an obo pit were said to vary greatly. Preferably, urns, kettles, and implements were placed there.

In this myth a dog is buried in the obo, and, it seems, a live one. It is treated like other Lamaistic divine figures that are animated by a deity: it receives a silk garment, is sprinkled with holy water, and has spices cast on it; the votive prayer is given. It is a mother dog. The significance of this dog Tsila could not be determined. Presumably it was one of the tribal animals. The Chinese in the Tujen village Hua-ling-kou (Huchu County) claim that the [70] Tujen bury a dog in the obo. This dog is said to be their ancestor. My informant very definitely disputed this, and I was unable to obtain any further information concerning this contention. From where did people get this story? They said that it had been handed down in this form. At any rate, it is striking that the dog occurs in this Tujen myth. On the other hand, it is to be considered that the informant is well acquainted with the disparaging Chinese conception (also in the literature) that the barbarians are descended from dogs. -- The dog also plays a role among the Tujen as the provider of the first barley and furthermore, in connection with the weather fort of the dog yelping at the sky, hao t'ien chen (Chin.).

[648]

775 [636 cont.]
763
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[278]
[192]

[Note on foreign text pp.650-651]. conceptions, to be sure, it cannot ensoul the dead corpse again, but it nonetheless brings the dead to life in another rebirth. -- W. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, also mentions this pill on p. 400 under the name rilu, and in Note 1683 under the Tibetan way of writing it, ril bu. It is clear that the Tujen pronunciation reru (ruru) is merely a corruption of the Tibetan word. Ch. Das has two ways of writing it, ril po and ril bu (with the l silent); he translates both as "ball, globule," [cited in English], and for ril bu he also adds "pill" [cited in English], [651] without any further designations for them (pp. 1184-85). This ruru is to be distinguished from nuru, the Tib. nor bu or cintāmani, the Buddhistic wishing-jewel. -- According to the conception of the lamas and of the people, the ruru pill reproduces itself; cf. the chapter, "Earth-god Urn." Sometimes one meets lamas who firmly believe that Europeans, too, have this wonder pill of long life, which is why they live much longer than the Chinese and the Tibetans; they claim to know that there are people in Europe who are several hundred years old.

[648]

rebirth that he comes from a wealthy position and will again acquire gold and silver. Butter is the most superior daily food and is supposed to be that again in the later life.

[262]

vent shamanists, and provides a reason why Lamaism 771
never succeeded in uprooting shamanism, notwithstanding its overwhelming influence for centuries. Another important factor, without doubt, is in the very nature of the debased Lamaism. Lamas of the Red Sect, who [795]
were the first to come into the country, indulged in nearly all the same magical practices as the old shamans, including bloody sacrifices, except that they performed them in such a way that the people, not interested in philosophical and doctrinal discussions but in having religious men who could avert all kinds of calamities in the most efficient way, jumped to the obvious conclusion that the basic difference existing between shamanism and Lamaism was only a question of more or less proficiency in magical art. Lamaism became a kind of supplementary devotion, stimulating the heart to natural kindness and religiosity, but harmonizing perfectly with all kinds of magical practices, regardless of the performer.

POSITION OF SHAMANISM

The place shamanism occupies in the religious life of 771 756
the Monguors, and its persistence over centuries under the most unfavorable conditions, seems to be an enigma. The lamas, who outnumber the shamans perhaps a hundred to one, are members of a wealthy institution. The few shamans are mostly poor people who derive a precarious existence from the farming of some fields and the fulfilling of their office. Lamas have temples that glisten with gilt; the shamans have none of their own. Lamas are more or less cultured men; most of the shamans are unable to read. The lama institution enjoys [648]
a high prestige among the Chinese officials, and controls nearly all the levers of power in the country; the poor shaman, living in the village with his family, always at the beck and call of the villagers, is an unknown and powerless entity in the official world. But, in spite of these unfavorable conditions, the shaman remains a figure of importance with his own kind of prestige, in the religious life of the Monguors.

For those who are cognizant of the power of the impact of wealth and decorum upon the societies of the Orient, this fact seems hard to understand. Its explanation is to be found in the general belief that the shamans are mightier than the lamas because they are more proficient in magical art, and in the subduing of evil spirits. People steeped in superstition, beset on every side by malignant spirits, confronted by diseases, misfortunes, and evils, have easy recourse to the men they believe might best help them, and whom they believe best master the technique of undoing the harm wrought by uncontrollable forces, namely, the shamans. This belief in the magical superiority of the shaman is so deep-rooted because lamas, and even Living Buddhas, when squeezed to the wall, unable to cope with uncontrollable forces and events, resort occasionally to their last shred of hope, the shaman.

[p.7(8)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Tibetan tribes, remnants of important ones which had 175
fled to Kukunor or Tibet. Mongol troops, divided into small units, were settled with their families under the leadership of clan chiefs at strategic points, in order to prevent possible inroads of hostile neighboring tribes. [563]
A group of Shat'o living in the country since 936 joined the conquerers and was enlisted among the frontier defenders. The descendants of these groups constitute the Monguors to whom this study is devoted. Later there came also groups of Salars, Turks of Samarkand, to whom territories were assigned. More Moslems also settled in the country.[26]

GODAN

The Yüan dynasty is well known for its devotion to 175
Lamaism. In Tibetan and Mongol literature, Godan, 797
the brother of Güyük (the Emperor T'ing tsung, 1246–1251) is celebrated as the first ardent Buddhist Mongol prince who invited to his residence in Hsi-Liang the Sa-Skya Pandita, Chief Abbot of the Sa-Skya sect.

The holy man accepted the invitation and started his "apostolic" journey. He remained seven years in Hsi-Liang successfully diffusing the religion over the entire country.[27]

According to history, the troops of Godan had de- 175
feated the Tibetans northwest of Lhasa in 1239 and 648
destroyed a monastery. The Tibetans asked for negotiations in order to end the war. Godan urged a Tibetan delegate to come to his residence, and Sa-Skya Pandita, to whom this task had been assigned, started his "apostolic" journey on "command" from Godan, in order to avoid the worst. He delivered Tibet into the hands of the Mongol Prince, received a "gold patent," became an official under Godan, and Vice-regent of Tibet. His successors inherited this office.[28] Discontent among the Tibetans over the surrender of Tibet caused a new Mongol expedition to be sent in 1251. More rivalries and discontent had to be crushed again by the Mongol troops in 1267, 1277, 1281, and 1290.[29]

The Mongol emperors, hoping to keep the Tibetans [781]
and Mongols in submission by manifesting reverence for the lamas and promoting their religion, lavishly showered favors and privileges on the lamas and became Lamaists themselves. Emperors and empresses received Lamaist initiation, and the Sa-Skya lama Phagspa, chaplain at court, was allowed to sit next to 175
the emperor.[30] The court of the Mongols was sincerely 771

[26] Louis M. J. Schram, C.I.C.M., The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 23–57, 1954.

[27] Huth, *Geschichte der Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, 130, 1896.

[28] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 8, *et seq.* It is the merit [113]
of Professor Tucci to have shed true light on this old myth about the ardent Buddhist Godan, his invitation to the Sa-Skya Pandita, and the political status of Tibet during the Yüan dynasty. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217–91, 578.

[29] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 18. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217.

[30] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 510–517–522.

[p. 13(8)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The author of the *Annals*, dealing with the diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung, seems to have neglected completely even the existence of Lamaism before the Ming (1368). He seems very articulate concerning the problem, claiming that its diffusion had really started during the first years of the Ming and that, in fact, by the foundation of monasteries, the granting of titles to lamas, the institution of Nang-suo, Karwa, and Ch'an-shih chia, the outlook of the entire country was changed and the possession and population of Huang-chung assured. 175 771 114

PECULIAR POLICY IN HUANG-CHUNG

Founding of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an 175

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 13*a*, 13*b*) that 648 662

At the beginning of the Ming dynasty San-la, a Tibetan lama of Hsining, wrote a letter to induce the tribes of Han-tung to submit,[40] and built a monastery south of Nien-pei and settled there. He went to court and brought a tribute of horses, and he begged for a rescript to administer the monastery and the tribes, and for the favor of an inscription for the monastery. The Emperor T'ai-tsu (1368–1399), granted his request and favored him with an inscription reading: "Ch'ü-t'an." The Emperor established a board of lamas in Hsining and named San-la the director of the board. From that time on his pupils emulated him in building monasteries; the Emperor bestowed glorious names upon them, and in addition gave rescripts for administering them. Consequently, land and power became monopolized by the barbarian lamas. During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) there were bestowed, piecemeal, on the lamas, the titles of "Ch'an-shih" (Master in Dhyana), "Kuan-ting" (one whose head had been anointed), "Kuo-shih" (master of the empire); some were even given the title of "Ta-Kuo-shih" (great master or teacher of the empire), "Hsi T'ien Fo Tzu" (Buddha of the western Paradise; Amitabha). To all he gave seals and diplomas, and allowed [their dignities] to be transmitted, and they were ordered to bring, once every year, a tribute to the court.

Because the lamas were held in high esteem among the barbarians, the government took advantage of them in order to keep the barbarians in submission. The people of the frontiers considered the dignity of the lamas as most glorious. For that reason, Tibetans and Monguors who had two sons, were certain to have one of them become a lama. Some even preferred not to have an heir, but ordered their sons to enter religious life. Tibetans and Monguors bequeathed their wealth to the monastery with a request for prayers, leaving their descendants destitute. Thus the barbarians became poorer and the monasteries richer. In each tribe there were people who submitted themselves to monasteries and became like a tribe, the subjects of the monastery [Shabinar].[41] The Chinese officials also entrusted the Tibetan monks with the duty of exchanging tea for horses. 175 772 622

[40] E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches* 2: 218. Han tung "was situated in the land, which in the days of the Han constituted all the district of Tun-Huang."

[41] Shabinar disciples. Shabinars are the supporters of the lamas, giving them material sustenance. At first some disciples performed this task. By extension, it came to mean lay adjuncts of the lamasery, and at present it means the subjects of the lamasery.

[p. 16(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The support and protection of the Mongols and of the emperors of China saved and established the Yellow Sect, which was on a foundation of rock. In 1717–1719 the Jungar Mongols persecuted the Red Sects and destroyed 550 of their monasteries.[60]

KUMBUM [61]

The insecurity in Huang-chung and the struggle in Tibet among the sects provide an explanation for the late date assigned to the founding of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum. One and a half centuries after the death (1419) of Tsong khapa, the lama Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, in 1560, built some "cells" for himself and his ten monks (hermitage). Later, twenty more cells were added. In 1577, seventeen years later, a temple was built close to the "tower," whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree which at that time must have been 220 years old (1357–1577), and a statue of Maitreya was honored in the temple.[62] According to this tradition and the customs of Buddhist India, a tower must have first been built on the spot of the birth of Tsong khapa to commemorate the event. It is not known when this tower was built.

[60] L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 44, 71, Leiden, Brill, 1950.

[61] Kumbum, the lamasery of the 100,000 images is, at present, the most celebrated lamasery of Huang-chung, because of its precious trees, which are lilacs (Philadelphus, coronarius; see Rockhill, W., *Land of the lamas*, 67). The main tree sprang from the placenta of Tsong khapa (1357) and is said to have 100,000 images of Buddhas growing on its leaves. Much has been written about the tree. On May 6 and October 3, 1912, and on October 10, 1914, Father J. Essens and I read on the leaves only the two letters *Pa*, the thirteenth letter of the alphabet and *Ya*, the twenty-fourth letter, repeated indefinitely, written more or less correctly where the leaves were easy to reach. They were written with the red earth, which Chinese and Tibetan teachers use to correct the compositions of pupils. The sacred leaves are a wonderful panacea, healing all kinds of diseases of men, women, and children. It has been recorded that in Ch'ü-t'an and in Hung-shan-ssu the same kind of miraculous trees are encountered.

It is worth noting what is written regarding the tree (here called a "White Sandalwood") in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomunkhan of Amdo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1887, Part I, No. I, p. 28: "On the birthplace of Tsong khapa there exists a white Sandalwood tree, on every leaf of which, at the time of the reformer's birth, there appeared a picture of the Buddha Senge naro, supernaturally inscribed. Hence, from the circumstance of a 'hundred thousand images of Buddha' having appeared on the leaves, the town and the monastery is called Kumbum. Even at the present age, images are occasionally said to be seen divinely inscribed on the leaves of the Chandan tree and Sugpa trees of the grove. The enemies of the Gelugpa say that the said images are secretly drawn with pins and needles by the Gelugpa monks." The Chinese call Kumbum T'a-erh-ssu, that is, "the lamasery of the [eight] stupas," because at its entrance there are eight stupas said to contain the ashes of eight Living Buddhas killed by General Nien Keng-yao at the time of the revolt of the Kumbum lamas in 1723. Filchner (*Dschamba-ling*, 160) notes: "They were built at the time of the 31st mK'ampo of Kumbus [date not given] by the chief of Roko, native of Amdo, after eight lamas had been killed by a Chinese prince, ruler of the country."

[62] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 29.

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the original community. Chang-chia died (1641?), and was reincarnated for the first time in 1642 near the end of the Ming dynasty, (1643) and became the first Chang-chia Living Buddha.[82] T'u-kuan, a lama born during the Ming dynasty, was chosen Fa-t'ai of Erh-ku-lung in 1672. He died and was reincarnated in 1680[83] and became the first T'u-kuan Living Buddha. 175 792

LAMAISM AT THE END OF THE MING DYNASTY

At the very end of the Ming dynasty (1643), Ch'ü-t'an with more than 600 lamas, having branches with more than 350 lamas, was the leading monastery of Huang-chung. Kumbum began in 1560, and in 1644 was still in its period of development. Nothing is known about Sha-ch'ung, though it must still have existed. The hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, founded in 1604, had developed very fast. It had a Living Buddha boy, the Chang-chia, born in 1642. It expanded rapidly and founded hermitages for its lamas, which must have been numerous. Several Nang-suos, Karwas, and Master in Dhyana institutions existed in the country. Domains were given to many lamas who had induced Tibetans to submit to the empire. A small temple may have been built by them, and probably a few small groups of wandering lamas existed all over the country. This seems to have been the situation of Lamaism in Huang-chung at the end of the Ming dynasty.

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE CH'ING DYNASTY (1644–1911)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE CH'ING

The Ch'ing dynasty continued the policy of the Ming, protecting and promoting Lamaism. Its first act was to recognize the *status quo* of Tibet which emerged after conquest by the Ölöts during the troubled period preceding its accession to power. The Ch'ing dynasty, engaged in a terrible struggle with the western Mongols, the Jungars, which lasted for more than a century, from the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century, understood the need for a pro-Lamaist policy. Lamaism had a firm hold on the western Mongols as well as on the eastern Mongols and in Tibet. The struggle was so fierce as to induce Maurice Courant to include in the title of his book *L'Asie centrale aux XVIIme et XVIIIme siècles,* the question, *"Empire kalmouk ou empire mantchou?"*[84] It is easy to understand that in such conditions the favorable disposition of Tibet toward the dynasty would 175 648

Pa are designated after the names of localities where they were taught and originated. *Karmapa, Bulugpa,* were taken from the names of their respective teachers. *Kahdampa, Dso-gchyenpa, Chhyay Chhempa,* and *Shi chhyepa* were named after their respective rituals and external *Kriya.*

[82] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (4): 12.

[83] *Idem* 3 (5): 12.

[84] *Annales de l'université de Lyon,* n.s., 2, fasc. 24, Lyon, 1912.

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be an immense asset for its policy in Central Asia and in the neighboring countries of China.[85] 175 648

LAMAISM DIFFUSED BY MONGUOR LAMAS OF ERH-KU-LUNG

During the Ch'ing dynasty, Lamaism reached its highest level of influence and power. Four Living Buddhas dominated this period: (1) the Dalai Lama, (2) the Panchen Lama, (3) the rJe-btsun dam-pa of Urga, and (4) the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the Monguor of Erh-ku-lung. The Chang-chia reincarnations were towering personalities. During this period they dominated the Lamaist world of Mongolia, Peking, and Huang-chung, and wielded an important influence in Tibet. 175 792

Next to Chang-chia came the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu and the great Sumpa, as celebrated as Chang-chia for their science, learned works and influence at court. Later on, Min-chu-erh, known as Tsanpo Nomun khan,[86] a learned man and chief of the monastery of Seerkok, an old branch of Erh-ku-lung, followed in the wake of the three preceding Hutukhtus. If the names of the chiefs of the celebrated monastery of Labrang, founded in 1708, who were intimately connected with T'u-kuan, and who obtained imperial favors for them and the title of *Erdeni Nomun han* (Huth, p. 332) are added to the glittering list of prominent personalities of Erh-ku-lung, one is not amazed to read in the relations of the Franciscan Fathers written in 1730 in Tibet:

> In my time nearly all the lecturers and lamas of the universities, masters of the Supreme Lama and of the Grand Lamas, who have been born again, came from Amdo, a province from which they do not draw soldiers, (p. 313). . . . Tibetans are generally intelligent, although not equal to the people of the state of Amdo, who are extremely quick (p. 218).[87]

Without a doubt the monastery of Erh-ku-lung profited by the names of its prominent and learned chiefs and lamas. For a long time it surpassed all the other monasteries of Huang-chung. The number of its lamas reached 2,500 in 1723. Its prodigious activity was responsible for the foundation of all the monasteries north of the Hsining River. Since Lamaism, among the Monguors and their clan chiefs, is intimately connected with the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, whose Living Buddhas were mostly born in their country, it is necessary to study Lamaism among them, in the atmosphere of their beloved monastery. In order to gain an insight into the tremendous influence exerted by the

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[85] Schram, *op. cit.*, 36, 37.

[86] *Nom-un khan*—"King of the Law." This title was given for the first time to Gushi. See Cammann, *Trade through the Himalayas*, 92, note 45, Princeton, N. J., 1951.

[87] Clement R. Markham, *Narratives of the mission of G. Bogle to Tibet*, App. 309, London, 1876; also *Brief account of the Kingdom of Tibet* by Fra Francesco Orazio della Penna di Billi, Klaproth, 1730, from the autograph manuscript of the author.

[p. 28(B)]

emperor appointed him to the office of Jassak Great Lama, the highest office entrusted to lamas in Peking; he bestowed on him the dignity and diploma of Hutukhtu, and a golden seal, together with the eulogistic title, "entirely virtuous, vastly compassionate, great state teacher, one whose head is annointed."[90] He was vested with powers of spiritual control over the Mongols of Chahar. 175 792

The bolt of fame had struck the ambitious Chang-chia. Inner Mongolian, and Khalkha princes and nobles gathered at Dolon nor to adore the great living Buddha.

In 1696–1697, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, already raised to a high pitch of fame in Mongolia and Peking, was delegated by the emperor to go to Lhasa to bring to the recently enthroned sixth Dalai Lama a seal and diploma, and to convey imperial gifts to the Panchen and the chief lamas of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends. This diplomatic mission immensely enhanced the prestige of Chang-chia in the Lamaist world of Tibet. Back in Peking, he was showered with gifts by the emperor. 175 792 648 554

In 1709, when he was on a vacation in Erh-ku-lung, the Monguors, exulting with pride, had a feeling for him that was a little short of idolatrous. He reformed the program of studies at Erh-ku-lung and appointed eminent teachers. It is not amazing that the lamas dreamed up an illustrious pedigree for their distinguished Hutukhtu, the favorite of the emperor and idol of the people, and that they imagined thirteen reincarnations preceding the reigning one. The first was no less than Chan dana, a contemporary and disciple of the Buddha himself. As for these thirteen fabulous reincarnations, it is enough to say that the so-called thirteenth rebirth was that of a boy born in Chang-chia village, who became a simple lama and about whom nothing more is known. During the administration of Sumpa he was a simple lama at Erh-ku-lung. After his death a boy born in I-k'o in 1642 was considered to be his reincarnation and consequently was called the fourteenth Chang-chia. This "fourteenth reincarnation," actually the first, recommended by his teacher to the emperor, was the lucky founder of the glorious series.

Chang-chia Rolpa dorje, the fifteenth reincarnation (1717–1786), in fact the second, was brought to Peking at the age of seven. Considered as a miracle child endowed with an illustrious pedigree, he was the playmate and intimate friend of the imperial princes. In 1734, at the age of seventeen, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Szech' uan (mGar t'ar), with an order to accompany, as imperial envoy, the banished seventh Dalai Lama on his reinstallation in Lhasa. (The Dalai Lama had been banished in 1728.[91]) This second diplomatic mission surrounded the Chang-chia

[90] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, ti 5 p'ien*, 93.
[91] Petech, *op. cit.*, 157.

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reincarnations with an aura of glory. At Lhasa the lamas paid enthusiastic adoration to him. Their devotion went so far as to make them struggle and compete for the drinking of a draught of the water Chang-chia had used for his toilet.[92] Back in Peking, Chang-chia asked the emperor to return to the Dalai Lama the confiscated districts of Lit'ang and Batang, and to grant him a subsidy. Only a subsidy of 5,000 taels was allowed.[93]

Rolpa dorje was also a learned man. His appointment by the emperor as chief of the commission for the revision of the translation into Mongol of the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*,[94] enhanced his prestige in the learned world, even as his learned works were studied in the colleges of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung (Huth, 291). In 1725 the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama received imperial envoys, presenting them with a complete set of the *Kanjur*, together with its supplements, and the complete works of Tsong khapa and the first Chang-chia Hutukhtu.[95]

The Monguor Chang-chia Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung, conspicuous for their great abilities, extensive learning, high position at the Peking court, and former diplomatic missions, wielded an enormous influence in the highest Lamaist circles in Tibet. The appointment by the emperor of the regent Gyal ts'ab in Tibet, during the reign of the eighth Dalai Lama (1759–1804) was obtained by the influence of the Chang-chia II.[96] The influence which the Panchen Lama exercised over the temporal affairs of Tibet and the interest he enjoyed at the Peking court through his friend, Chang-chia, the lama primate, made the emperor, Ch'ien-lung, invite him to Peking, where he arrived in 1780 and died of smallpox.[97]

George Bogle in 1774–1775 was trying to get an agreement from the well-disposed Panchen Lama for Indian trade with Tibet. Even more important than the Panchen's promise to send envoys was his assurance to Bogle that he had written the Grand Lama at Peking, who had great influence with the emperor, informing him that the English were now masters of Bengal, that

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[92] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 99.

[93] Petech, *op. cit.*, 162.

[94] Walter Heissig, Die Mongolischen Publication und Ubersetzungs Wesen der Mandjuzeit, *Sinologica* 3 (3): 205, 1953. Translations of Vols. 1 to 22 of the *Kanjur* by learned Mongol lamas already existed at the time of Ligdan Khan 1604–1634; the translation of 1717–1720 is almost textually the same as the former. The duty of Chang-chia, head of the committee, consisted in supervising the dogmatical genuineness of the translation. The Mongol translation of Dharani was published in 1759. More than 200 translations of Tibetan works still exist in Mongol.

[95] Petech, *op. cit.*, 9. One of the works of the second Chang-chia Hutukhtu is known in Europe through the translation of Eugen Pander, *Das Pantheon des Tschang tscha Hutukhtu*, Berlin, 1890.

[96] Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 46.

[97] *Ibid.*, 47. Schuyler Cammann, The Panchen Lama's visit to China in 1780, *Far Eastern Quart.* 9 (1): 6–18, 1949.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Hastings, their chief, had shown him great favor, and that the English allowed everyone to follow his religion unmolested. He closed with the suggestion that the Grand Lama send some people from China to call on Hastings and to visit the principal temples of Bengal.[98] An interesting note encountered in Gunther Schuleman's work tells that the Chang-chia Hutukhtu asked the emperor to allow the Cossacks, prisoners of war interned in a camp at Albazin on the Amur, to invite a priest or pope, and to build a chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas.[99]

The subsequent Chang-chia incarnations until the present one, the nineteenth, enjoyed the same position of eminence, privileges, and titles in Peking under the Empire and the Republic. At the beginning of the Republic, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu was sent to Mongolia to exhort the princes to recognize the newly founded Republic. He was nominated honorary president of the Committee of Mongol and Tibetan Affairs.[100] All these facts seem to bear out the assertion that the Chang-chia Hutukhtus of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung were towering personalities in the Lamaist world during the Ch'ing dynasty and under the Republic, and that they enhanced the prestige of Lamaism among the Monguors and the Tibetans of Huang-chung. When the Chinese Government fled to Formosa for fear of the Communists, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu accompanied it, and at present is living there.[101]

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[98] Schuyler Cammann, *Trade through the Himalayas*, 49.

[99] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 178.

[100] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*, *op. cit.*, 11. von Stael-Holstein, *op. cit.*, 401, says: "During the Republic the titles of Chang-chia on his visiting card, support the evidence of the high favors bestowed upon him, 'High class adviser at the president's office; inspector of the Lamaist religious establishments in Peking, Inner Mongolia, Chahar, Wü-T'ai-Shan, Jehol, and Dolon nor,'" 1923.

[101] After completing the present study, I had the opportunity to read a most valuable work by Professor Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistischen Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1954. It contains many complementary data concerning the Chang-chia incarnations, and their literary productions, excerpted from Mongol and Tibetan sources, making it possible to complement the information drawn from Chinese sources.

Chang-chia I (1642–1714), by order of Emperor Sheng tsu (K'ang-hsi period 1662–1722) came to Peking in 1693 with an imposing array of fifteen lama scholars, headed by Sumpa, chief of Erh-ku-lung. The emperor granted Sumpa the title of Jassak lama. (At that time Sumpa must have been Sumpa II, a minor Living Buddha.) Each of the fifteen other lamas was granted the title of Sula Blama. Chang-chia asked the emperor for this title as a favor to Sumpa (18). Chang-chia supervised the revision of the Kanjur (19), which had already been started in 1604–1634 by 40 scholars. He was ordered to instruct the Khalkha lamas in Dolon nor and the Mongol princes who attended his lectures, so he wielded a great influence among the princes and lamas in Mongolia (p. 20). In 1710 the emperor contributed to the foundation of the Tantra college in Erh-ku-lung (p. 28). Chang-chia I, a prolific author, died in 1714. The complete works of Chang-chia, written in Tibetan, were translated into Mongol and published in seven volumes in Peking in 1720 (pp. 58, 59). In 1729 there was published in

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co-proprietor and chief of Erh-ku-lung. The figures of these three men throw a lengthening shadow over the glorious monastery of Erh-ku-lung, and over the Lamaist world in Tibet, Mongolia, Peking, and Huang-chung, during the Ch'ing dynasty. 175 792

A boy born in T'u-kuan, located at the foot of the T'u-kuan Mountains close to Erh-ku-lung, became a lama at the former hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, which had rapidly grown under the administration of Sumpa. The boy was born in the Wang chia tribe, subject to the Li T'u-ssu, and is said to have belonged to the Li T'u-ssu clan. It is also told that he was born in the Sina tribe in the Ch'ing-yang-ch'uan, in the village of T'u-kuan. The date of his birth is not recorded. However, it is noted that he fulfilled the office of Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1672, at the time when Chang-chia was studying at Lhasa.[102]

A boy born in 1680 was said to be the reincarnation *of this T'u-kuan Lama and was called the Living Buddha* T'u-kuan Nag'dban C'osky rgyamts'o. The series of the T'u-kuan reincarnations started with him. Upon completing his studies in Tibet, he was chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1705. He founded a hermitage at C'os bzan, where he lived in retired seclusion with seven lamas, meditating and teaching.[103] He was the teacher of the young fifteenth Chang-chia incarnation and the famous Sumpa. He became the equal of Chang-chia when the Emperor K'ang Hsi called him to Peking in 1715, and bestowed on him gifts, the title of Hutukhtu and a seal. He enjoyed the high esteem of the emperor who, in 1719, ordered the lama, Skal-bzan rgya-mts'o, administrator of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu in order to have him administer his monastery.[104] (Something wrong may have happened at Kumbum.) [775] [834]

In 1720 the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was sent on a diplomatic mission to greet the seventh Dalai Lama on the upper reaches of the Yangtse River on his way to Lhasa.[105] The Dalai Lama had been confined at Kumbum for five years. He was brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence. T'u-kuan, in his capacity of imperial envoy, was granted the title of Hutukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas. He assisted at the enthusiastic enthronement of the Dalai Lama and brought letters and imperial gifts to 175 792 648

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provided by the subsequent troubled history of Erh-ku-lung (see below, p. 36).

Summarizing the literary activities of the Chang-chia incarnations, as chiefs of the imperial committee for the printing of Mongol books in Peking, they had printed in Mongol, during a period of 261 years (1650–1911), 108 volumes of the Kanjur, 226 of the Tanjur and 220 other works (2).

These facts afford conclusive evidence of the very important role played by the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung in the diffusion of Lamaism in their own country, and in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet.

[102] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 12.

[103] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283.

[104] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 15.

[105] Petech, *op. cit.*, 60.

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the Panchen Lama and the heads of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends.[106] He enjoyed a tremendous surge of popularity in Tibet and was honored in the same way as Chang-chia. 175 792 64-8 [554]

The fame of Erh-ku-lung thus rose higher and higher. In Huang-chung the Monguors were elated and proud of their glorious monastery and their eminent lamas. Back in Dolon nor, the Mongol and Khalkha princes paid him their adoration with the same devotion they had given to Chang-chia. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu received new titles from the emperor and was showered with favors. A permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He obtained for the Great Lama of the monastery of Labrang the title of Erdeni Nomun khan.[107] While on vacation at Erh-ku-lung, he died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri which belonged to Erh-ku-lung.

His next incarnation was T'u-kuan Blo-bzan C'oskyi Nima, born in 1737. He was a celebrated teacher, well known in the Lamaist world for his proficiency in logic and philosophy. He wrote his famous *History of the Doctrines of the Yellow Sects*, which he finished a year before his death in 1802. According to Baradijn, this work, in twelve chapters, is the only Tibetan study dealing with all the Tibetan sects, including those of India, China, and the old Bön.[108] He received from the emperor the same titles as his predecessor and was granted the same favors and the same permanent duty at Peking. In 1790 he built the temple of Hung-ku-ssu, to which the emperor granted the name of Yen-hai-ssu.[109] He died in 1802. The subsequent incarnations followed in the steps of their predecessors, enjoying the same titles and privileges during the Empire and under the Republic. [114]

Sumpa Hutukhtu

Sumpa Hutukhtu is so called by Sarat Chandra Dass, the celebrated historiographer and chronologist of Tibet. Born in 1704, he is said to be the first reincarnation of the founder of Erh-ku-lung. However, because Erh-ku-lung was founded in 1604, the first Sumpa was supposed to have been a man about twenty or thirty years of age. So it would seem that a second Sumpa was intercalated between them. Sumpa II must have been the reincarnation of Sumpa I; otherwise the denomination of Sumpa is hard to explain. This supposition does not seem to be unusual if we take account of the process used for the first reincarnations of Chang-chia 175 792

[106] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283; Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 178-9.

[107] Huth, *op. cit.*, 287.

[108] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 442, Notes 655 and 656, p. 182. The work has been translated by Sarat Chandra Dass in his Contributions on the religion and history, etc. of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* 50 and 51, 1881-1882. I was surprised to read in it much data about Taoism and Confucianism with which he was very well acquainted.

[109] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5): 12; *Meng-tsung Fo-chiao shih*, *op. cit.*, 148-149.

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tery in the most luxurious style. The head temple, with 175
its gilt tiled roof, which had been preserved, was em- 792
bellished and other temples rebuilt. He rebuilt a splen- 346
did palace for himself patterned after the most luxurious palaces in Peking. Chang-chia's Ch'ie-bzan was the wealthiest monastery in the country, with 150 lamas, 2 colleges, and 4 minor Living Buddhas. Most of its wealth was provided by Mongols, among whom the influence and prestige of Chang-chia was proverbial.

Every year, lama expeditions of Ch'ie-bzan traveled 175
in Mongolia in order to collect alms. Chang-chia's 794
prestige was so great that the Queen of the Torgots 648
came to Ch'ie-bzan in 1913, to invite the intendant of the monastery to send an expedition among her tribesmen, for it had been a long time since an expedition had reached her country. I happened to be at Ch'ie-bzan in 1914 when the expedition returned. It had collected 3,000 sheep, 400 horses, and 280 camels, which were loaded with wool and skins.

The breach between T'u-kuan and Sumpa, which oc- 175
curred in 1890, was more tragic. During the rebellion 578
of the Moslems, Sumpa (born in 1854) had fled among 792
the Mongols and Tibetans, north of Kukunor. He met with a Mongol girl, whom he had moved to his branch monastery called Sumpa-ssu. The lama community of Erh-ku-lung, after some years, could no longer stand the disrepute brought on the monastery. It brought [691]
suit against Sumpa before the Amban in the prefectural city of Hsining, claiming he was not a genuine reincarnation. The lama community urged that he be erased from the list of Buddhas, and insisted on the right to search for the genuine reincarnation. For several months the lamas disturbed the whole city with the scandal, and spent money. The Chinese enjoyed all the incidents of the trial. Sumpa lost his face and honor irretrievably. Sumpa, however, was rich and the Amban venal. The Amban finally proposed that Sumpa leave Erh-ku-lung and move to one of his affiliates. This reincarnation (the third) of the illustrious Sumpa, having cut a sorry figure, never returned to Erh-ku-lung, but lived at his branch where, in 1916, his two girls delighted the old age of their father, who was sixty. His eldest daughter had married the son of the chief of the Aruk tribe. In 1916 the old man made a pilgrimage to Lhasa, and the lamas said he was atoning for his sins. No wonder that the Li-fan yüan records lacked information concerning the subsequent reincarnations of the Great Sumpa.

The Living Buddha Ch'ie-bzan of Erh-ku-lung hav- 175
ing a branch monastery of his own, moved into it, 792
appearing at Erh-ku-lung only to attend the festivals. 627
The Living Buddha Wang lived in retired seclusion. 762
Soon after the trial of Sumpa, the minor Living Buddha Tsung-tsa, one of the eleven, followed in the steps of Sumpa and established a family in Tsung-tsa. In the winter of the same year, the minor Living Buddha Seerting was taken and beaten at night by the husband and

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The appointment of the lama intendant is an act of 792
overriding importance and far-reaching consequences. The supreme chief himself chooses a capable, loyal, and dependable lama and appoints him as Intendant of the Monastery—not of the community of lamas, or of the colleges. The appointment is indefinite and can be transferred to another lama at the will of the supreme chief. Usually, however, it lasts for a lifetime. The intendant is a man of confidence on whom the supreme chief relies completely. He occupies a large courtyard of the administrative buildings constructed in the center of the monastery. The instruments of torture displayed at the gate of his courtyard indicate that he rules its court of justice and is its chief executive by appointment of the proprietor of the monastery.

All important administrative questions of the monastery are discussed between the supreme chief and his intendant: the invitation of the Fa-t'ai's proposed by the boards of the community of lamas and of the colleges, the appointment of procurators and of lay intendants; matters concerning the subjects, the villages, and branches of the monastery; and troubles between lamas or within the community of lamas or the colleges. The intendant knows the lamas of merit and the intrigues, competitions and factions among them. He is invited to attend the meetings between the supreme chief and the boards of the colleges and the community of lamas. Because he is a man of experience, and usually of long residence at that particular lamasery, his advice is respected and usually followed. The ability to mediate is even more important than the manner of authority.

The intendant must be a man who knows the Chinese 792
officials and the intricacies of the courts of justice. He 648
sends the seasonal gifts to the Chinese officials, visits them to knit friendship with them, and knows who among them is well or ill disposed toward the monastery. He also knows the influential persons in the city who are friends of the officials, and who among them can be used if need be for the benefit of the monastery by exerting their influence upon the officials. He visits such people occasionally during the year to offer them gifts, in order to have a foot in the door when needed. Lamas know very well that "Justice cannot stand on its own feet, it needs to be supported and steadied." The intendant must be a man who can see farther ahead than ordinary naive and ignorant lamas and is able, therefore, to dissuade them from bringing lawsuits.

The intendant of the monastery alone disposes of all 792
the wealth of the monastery (not of the wealth of the community of the lamas or of the colleges), its revenues, investment of capital, loans, gifts, and alms received (but not of alms given to the community of lamas or to the colleges). He has to cope with all the expenses of the monastery, and to try to increase the collection of gifts and alms. He is in charge of the provisioning of the monastery, and must see that the procurator secures

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LAMASERIES AS ADMINISTRATIVE CENTERS OF THE COUNTRY AND CONDITIONS OF THE SUBJECTS BEFORE 1723

792 175

The study of the material aspects of the administration of the monasteries and the status of their subjects in 1910–1920, which are the consequences of the revolt of 1723, provides many facts pointing to the situation as it existed before 1723, and makes possible a reconstruction of the conditions in which the lamaseries flourished and their subjects lived before that fateful date.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) had succeeded in driving the Mongols out of China, there existed in Huang-chung only the two cities of Hsining and Nien pei, and some fortified walled places which were garrisons established in former times to assure the occupation of the always disturbed country. The Ming started anew the colonization of the depopulated country by transplanting from central China 7,200 Chinese families (Part I: p. 30), accepting the submission of the Monguors, and assigning to each of their groups a definite territory, making them wardens of the country and their chiefs officials of the empire, with the prerogatives of the office of T'u-ssu (Part I: 46 sq.). The city of Hsining was more a military than a civil administrative center.

In order to repopulate the country, the Ming adopted the policy of attracting lamas and settling them in the region with the subjects they induced to submit to the empire. It granted them territories and made the lamas the hereditary chieftains of the groups they had brought in. They were responsible for the tribute to be offered to the emperor and had complete jurisdiction over their subjects. Hence the flourishing of lamaseries, Nang-suos, Karwas. The protection bestowed upon the lamas and the immunity granted to them by the emperor made the dissatisfied Chinese officials keep quiet and swallow their national pride. [168 648]

Consequently, large territories were assigned to the Monguor clans and larger or smaller ones to the lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas, whose inhabitants were completely withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials. Besides these autonomous groups there lived, scattered over the country, some small groups of petty Tibetan tribes, remnants of tribes which had fled from Kukunor or Tibet, depending directly upon the Chinese administration. From among those groups, from among the Monguor clans, and from their own subjects, the lama institutions recruited and increased the number of their lamas.

The chiefs of the lama institutions accredited by the emperor lived in their seigniories like princes, surrounded by a large or small retinue, occupying a more or less elaborate residence built within a compound of temples, the quarters of the lamas, and large granaries. They appointed the staffs of lama officials for administering justice among the subjects (officially appointed 792 175 692 [643]

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thanksgiving for the honor bestowed upon the family. 792
Some time later, the nephew of T'u-kuan, of the Ts'e- 662
bdurk family became the reincarnation of the Living 775
Buddha of Labrang, the most intimate friend of T'u-kuan for many generations. It was T'u-kuan who, in Peking, obtained the title of Erdeni Nomun-khan for the Living Buddha of Labrang.[23] After the death of the Living Buddha of Labrang, T'u-kuan is invited to cast the horoscope in order to indicate the place where the reincarnation of his friend will occur, and *vice versa*.

SEARCH FOR THE INCARNATION

This problem has been dealt with by many authors. 792
Therefore, only data concerning Huang-chung will here 795
be recorded, because they may help to reveal the social 648
psychology of the Monguor lamas and of the Monguors. Upon the death of one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, the Dalai Lama is invited to cast the horoscope indicating the place of rebirth. Usually two or three boys seem to fulfill the requirements. Their names are sent to Peking and put in the traditional urn, according to the protocol established by imperial edict in 1793,[24] from which one is then drawn. The name drawn is supposed to be that of the genuine incarnation. For minor Living Buddhas, another Living Buddha is requested to render the service.

Usually the place of rebirth is indicated in terms as 792
vague as the oracle of Delphi, and lamas go to find the 795
candidate, but old lamas have admitted to me confi- 662
dentially that soon after the death of a Living Buddha 787
some lamas of the intendancy are sent to investigate where children were born around that time, and in what wealthy family, and actually it is usually one or two years before the horoscope is cast. Sometimes the horoscope is so vague that it is many years before the boy is found. The rebirth of Achia of Kumbum who died tragically in 1909 was found after six years, and two boys fitted the requirements. The two names were sent to Peking, and one was chosen. At that time the lamas of Kumbum were in a hurry, fearing that Achia would no longer reincarnate because of the fateful circumstances of his death. When the boy is found, lamas have him select from among several items displayed (beads, cups, etc.) the things he used in his previous existences. This is performed in the presence of lamas only.

Wonderful legends are told about the reincarnations 538
of Erh-ku-lung. T'u-kuan, bent with age, went on foot 775
to Peking, incognito, in order to heap up piles of merit. At night, in Lien-ch'eng, a good but poor lady prepared his food, and in the morning when he left she offered him her last piece of brick tea. T'u-kuan died in Peking and was reborn in the child to which the poor but charitable lady gave birth. It was her reward.

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[23] Huth, *op. cit.*, 288.

[24] W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung pao* 9 (1): 55, March, 1910.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the lamas living secluded in the mountains, all indulged in magic. It is not known when most of them went over to the Yellow Sect, perhaps between 1600 and 1723; nor is it known when the first lamas of the Yellow Sect penetrated the country, diffusing the reform. If account were taken of the date 1560, when a small hermitage of ten Yellow lamas started at Kumbum, and developed slowly; and the date of 1604 when Erh-ku-lung humbly began, it may be presumed that until that time the Red Sect was the only one prevalent in Huang-chung, living a precarious existence owing to the intermittent inroads and revolts in the country. Only after Gushi Khan had conquered Tibet in 1636 and offered it to the Dalai Lama and after the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) had established the supremacy of the Yellow Sect, and the hated rival sects had been enfeebled. can it be assumed that the Yellow Sect entered a period of success in Huang-chung.

It was often said that, after the encounter of Altan Khan with the Dalai Lama in Kukunor (1577), where Altan proclaimed the Yellow Sect the official religion of the Mongols, and built a temple, the sect started diffusing on a large scale in Huang-chung. This assumption is hard to prove on account of the hatred fostered against the invading Mongols, and the disturbances in the country, for in 1591 the Monguor troops with the Chinese Army burned to the ground the temple built by Altan fifteen years before,[1] and the Mongol, Nairamdahu, persecuted the Yellow Sect in Kukunor in 1633.

PRESENT CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

The conditions under which the Red lamas lived during the Ming period, in the always disturbed country, seem to have been akin with those under which they now live in the region north of the Hsining River. A small number of them are encountered in villages there. Lamas of several villages, constituting a small group, choose from among them a chief, who holds the position for one year. They possess their own small temple where, four times a year, they gather for seven days in order to read their texts, perform their rites, and discuss their own topics with their chief. Some of them have a pupil who receives training from his master. Each of them tries to be invited by the people to perform rites that are paid for. Not having a monastery or a Living Buddha, the institution lacks a backbone.

After 1642, when the Yellow Sect started the practice of Living Buddhas in Huang-chung and developed its strong organization, two of the most important Red groups south of the Hsining River, where the Red lamas were more numerous, managed to have their own Living Buddhas. In the group of Goorong bzan near

[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, 18*b*.

Sha-ch'ung, and the group of Kan-cha Valley which had living Buddhas, the original temple yard became a monastery, and the loose group thus got a chief invested with authority over his subjects and wielding influence in the country. 175 795

The small groups of Red lamas north of the Hsining River, however, had no Living Buddha. Twice a year they invited the Living Buddha of Kan-cha, and four times a year went to Kan-cha, in order to attend their rites, but for a long time now the Living Buddha has only been invited every two or three years, and the lamas seldom go to Kan-cha—all the more since Kan-cha, being in a state of dilapidation, has lost its attractiveness. It had been destroyed by the Moslems in 1868–1872, and its important library of printing blocks was burned; it has not yet been restored.

The monastery of Goorong bzan, however, is flourishing. The Living Buddha is a strong personality bristling with activity. Acknowledged as the most learned Living Buddha, all over the country, even by the lamas of the Yellow Sect, he is trying to restore the former glory of the Red Sect. His difficulties with the lamasery of Sha-ch'ung, and his intentions to restore and occupy the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the center of the city of Hsining, have been recorded. His monastery is in fine shape, the temples are as beautiful as most of the temples of the Yellow Sect. Four times a year more than two hundred of his red lamas convene for seven days, for the reading and explanation of texts, and the performance of their rites. Goorong and the dignitaries of the monastery preside over the convention in the same way as those of the Yellow Sect. [792]

Tibetans like to make pilgrimages to his lamasery and offer their donations. It is a well-known fact in Huang-chung that among the Red lamas there are more learned men than among the Yellow lamas. However, the bulk of them are only versed in the recitation of the texts used at the performance of their rites, and possess only a smattering of knowledge in their religion. They attach an unusual importance to the strictest observance of all the rites during their performances. Their religious training seems to be directed in that way, for they claim that the slightest omission or error in the rites and in the recitation of the texts completely spoils the efficacy of the rite. [648]

The subject of the different kinds of Red Sects and the deities honored in their temples may be passed over here, because it has been dealt with by many authors. The peculiar feature of the Red lamas' institution in Huang-chung is the only subject of our study. 795 792

Among the Red Living Buddhas, the son succeeds the father, as the Living Buddha. Goorong, a tall, upright man of immense strength, hard as nails, begot nine sons from his two wives. Four of his sons are Living Buddhas, three of them in Red monasteries south of the Yellow River. Goorong is called the father of the Living Buddhas. He is a modern man, who has visited

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boundaries of their clan. They are invited in every 756
clan indiscriminately, and even performed rites among Chinese and Tibetans outside the clans.

In some villages there are two or more shamans; in others only one, or none at all. The shamans are independent of each other and are not confederated in a guild. They have no chief to whom they are subjected, but all the shamans are enrolled as members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the Chinese city. The chief of that guild orders them to carry out in the city, in collaboration with them, the rites for saving the moon and the sun at the time of an eclipse. The chief of the guild is appointed by the Chinese officials for the [648] patching up of quarrels among the shamans. In the event that a shaman breaks the rules of the guild, a letter from the chief of the guild to the prefect of the city is sufficient to put the shaman in jail. The shamans have to contribute also toward defraying the expenses of the guild. This fact, as has been noted, is really abnormal and infringes upon the rights of the T'u-ssu. It will be explained later.

In comparing the actual social conditions of the shamans among the Monguors with those of the shamans among the Mongols in former times, it is manifest that shamanism has fallen into decay. "The forest clans often had at their head shaman magicians, who were reputed to have intercourse with the spirits. A shaman that was at the same time the leader of the clan or tribe, bore the title of 'Biki,' a title occasionally borne also by members of the steppe aristrocracy."[9] Sha- [651]
mans were, at that time, exempted from taxes and corvées.

It may be that these ancient conditions account for the tradition, prevalent among the Monguors, that in former times each village had its own shaman and only one; that the temple of the village was administered by the shaman and used for the cult of the spirits of the village, by the villagers only. At present the temple is the property of the village and administered by the community, but still only the villagers are allowed to enter their own temple. There is no admittance for strangers.

WHAT IS A SHAMAN ACCORDING TO THE MONGUORS AND ETHNOLOGISTS?

According to the Monguors, the shaman is a man who interposes between men and spirits, either as a

[9] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis khan*, 4, London, Routledge, 1930. See also Garma Sandschejew, Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Barjaten, *Anthropos* 23: 981, 1928; also S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, Royal Asiatic Society North China Branch Extra Vol. 3: 13, 154, Shanghai, 1924. Also the same author, *Psychomental complex of the Tungus*, 344, 346, 347, London, Trubner, 1935. See also the basic difference existing between the shamans among the Monguors and among the Manchus and Tungus concerning relations with and the position of the shamans in the clan. See also Walter Heissig, A Mongolian source for the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos* 48: 511, 1953.

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the hair coiled inside the cap. All the shamans wear the pigtail, which they coil when performing rites.

Traditional pictures of Taoist saints show that these worthies were wont to wear their hair in a knot on the top of the head. The Manchu Tartars conquered China and compelled the people to adopt their coiffure and shave their heads except on the top, where it was allowed to grow long and be braided as a pigtail. The *sai kung*, like the whole nation, had to submit to this order, but with pious conservatism they have preserved the ancient orthodox fashion on behalf of their altar service; that is to say, while officiating they coil their hair into a knot upon their heads and cover the shaven part around it with a wig of braided human hair.[21]

The Monguor shamans, however, do not wear the wig.

The Manchus not only preserved their traditional style of dress and haircut, they even compelled Chinese men during the period of invasion to adopt Manchu dress, shave their heads, and grow the queue. This enforced change was so bitterly resented by the Chinese that many times they chose rather to die, or lose their heads, than obey the Tartars in these ceremonies. The literary inquisition launched during the Ch'ien-lung period reveals that, in the eighteenth century, a Chinese who yearned for the old cap and garments was still considered a dangerous rebel.[22]

The second headdress has the form of a sack, of black cloth, tightly bound around the head. A tail, three feet in length, is fixed on this cap. Plaited with red rope around a twisted black rope of cloth, the tail which is thin at the bottom and thick at the end, is rolled on the head, but released when the shaman is executing acrobatic evolutions.

The third one is a crown, in form like the *chod pon* of the lamas,[23] divided in front into five parts, bearing a crude picture of the god of the five roads, the Wu-tao-shen, whose disciples the shamans claim to be. (Shamans never wear a crown with the five Dhyani Buddhas; their antagonism toward Lamaism is too pronounced to do that; they never will perform rites in a Buddhist temple of the village.)[24]

THE DRUM

The drum is one of the important implements of a shaman. It is used to invoke the spirits during the performance of the rites; the spirits enter into it and ritual dances are performed in time with the beat. Every shaman has his own drum, and generally another in reserve. Upon the death of the shaman his drum is buried with him in the coffin, for it is a personal object. The boy apprentices receive a drum of smaller dimensions from their father, on the day of their dedication to the twelve spirits. Apprentices who receive part of their

[21] J. J. M. De Groot, *The religious systems of China* 6: Bk. II: 1267, 1910, Leiden, Brill.

[22] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 12, 1949. However, the Chinese were required to change to Manchu dress at the insistence of a Chinese official. See S. Cammann, *China's dragon robes*, 21, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[23] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 92, Paris, Plon, 1929.

[24] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148, Importance of the cap.

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fected the imperial family of the founder of the new 795
Mongol nation in a peculiar way.

Chingis, building his new nation, resorted to al- 175
liances with neighboring tribes. He married his fourth 648
son, Tului, to the niece of Toghrul Ong Khan, chief of 643
the powerful Nestorian Kereit tribe. The Nestorian princess bore four sons, among whom was Mönke, the fourth leader of the nation, Khubilai, who became emperor of China, and Hulagu, the ruler of Persia, who also married a Nestorian Kereit princess, the granddaughter of the same Toghrul. The latter had a chapel attached to his camp.

Chingis married his own daughter, Alagai Beki, to Po-yao-ho, the son of the chief of the Nestorian Öngüts, who helped him conquer the Chin. Chingis was so fond of his son-in-law that he made him follow him, with Kulan the well-known favorite, in his conquest of West Turkistan and Khwarezm. The relations between the Nestorian Öngüts and the imperial family were very close. Güyük, the second successor of Chingis and leader of the nation, married his daughter to the son of Po-yao-ho, who had a Christian chapel before his tent. The emperor Khubilai married his daughter to the other son of Po-yao-ho.

No wonder that many Nestorian Kereits and Öngüts 177
occupied important administrative posts in the new na- 797
tion. Chingis himself appointed the Christians Chinkhai 643
and Khadak, and all imperial orders had to bear the signature of Chinkhai. Two chief ministers of Güyük were Christians, as were also the physicians at court. The principal minister of Mönke was the Christian Bolgai. Protection enjoyed by the 30,000 Nestorians in China in the construction of churches and monasteries was due to the emperor, whose mother was a Nestorian and who gave his daughter to a Nestorian prince. Even so, the diffusion of Catholicism by the first missionaries was also made possible and even encouraged by him. The impact of Nestorianism upon the imperial family seems at first sight to have been unusual, but it was in fact merely a veneer overlying a shamanist underground, for soon after Chingis, the Mongol emperors practiced Lamaism to the extent that Peking became a Lamaist city.[27] O. Franke writes about the "Rabies Buddhica" of the Mongol emperors.[28]

Vladimirtsov writes:

Chingis Khan introduced a definite religious idea into 797
the political conception of his own suzerainty and of that 175
of his clan . . . the shaman Kokchu announced that the 643
"Everlasting Blue Sky" favored Chingis who was its own pre-ordained envoy on earth. . . . "The 'Sky' has ordered me to govern all the peoples," Chingis said. . . .

[27] K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, 63–65. Henri Cordier, Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *T'oung Pao* **18**: 56–57, 197. P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extreme Orient, *T'oung Pao* **15**: 627, 1914. P. Pelliot, Les Mongols et la Papauté, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* **23**: 4 seq., 1922–1923; **24**: 46, 1924; **28**: 169, 193–4, 199, 1931–1932. Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

[28] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 522. [p. 154 (B)]

cordingly, concentrated on the happiness and help needed during their actual lifetime here on earth. 795 776

However, they had populated the world with a host of good and evil spirits on which they thought they depended. They curried the favor of the good spirits and tried to secure their good disposition so that they would stay the hands of the evil spirits, and bless them during their lifetime here on earth. Among those spirits was the Spirit of Heaven, whose nature we have no means of distinguishing from that of the other spirits to whom more sacrifices were offered. (See above, p. 153.) 775 771

The shaman, whom they knew to have access to the world of spirits, was only engaged in providing them with the protection and benefits needed during their life. At present the activities of the shamans are still limited to that same sphere of action. The diffusion of Buddhism opened new vistas in the world of religious thought of the Turkic-Mongol peoples. A Buddha of benevolence appeared, enthroned in a paradise to which all people could have access and where all could enjoy happiness during the time preceding a new, happy rebirth. The concept of this intervening time became so endlessly long that the idea of rebirth was practically forgotten and put aside. However, a more concrete notion of the soul came to be developed. 756 776 771

In addition to the paradises, Buddhism revealed the existence of the eighteen hells and the presence of the terrible judge of the dead who decided about the future, according to acts morally good or bad. The shamans also told about Erlik Khan. However, the Turkic-Mongol tribes living on earth still hoped for blessings here, and were taught that the benevolent Buddha could secure them. Hence, next to the cult of the old spirits was the cult of Buddha, the throng of devotees invoking blessings and protection through the Om Mani. In this way the fervent shamanists became also fervent Lamaists. 775 771

We have no way of making sure what the impact of Nestorianism may have been upon the Turkic-Mongol tribes in later times, in promoting the development of a more concretely defined notion of the "spirit of Heaven," and its preeminence over the other spirits or even how long such an impact may have lasted. We do know, however, that Turkic-Mongol tribes honored Heaven and offered sacrifices to it, as well as to Buddha and all the spirits, and that consequently they were not monotheists.[53]

XV. RELIGION AND THE COHESION OF THE CLAN

The Monguor clans, from the time of their submission to the Chinese empire (1368), were friendly disposed toward the empire. Their chiefs received military titles and offices, and enjoyed the right to admin- 614 648

[53] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217, *et seq.* [p. 15) (A)]

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ister their clans in territories assigned by the emperor. They formed a genuine enclave in a border province of China. It is an enigma how they could keep their social organization for five-hundred years, conserve their traditions, and withstand being absorbed in the Chinese nation. 614 648

The Monguor clans, at the time of their submission to China, were military institutions whose families were organized into groups of 10, 100, and 1,000, each under a chief. On account of the shift from pastoralism toward an agricultural economy, villages became units governed by a chief, two military commanders, and some elders appointed by the T'u-ssu, all belonging, in the beginning, to the nobility. Military service, taxes, and corveés were fixed, and troubles among the villagers were settled by those appointed chiefs in public meetings. Appeal was possible, however, to the higher authority of the T'u-ssu, and as a last resort to the Chinese authority (see Part I: 76). The Monguors thus lived their own lives in their own organized world, under powerful chiefs; their soldiers were always ready to defend the marches on the empire.

On account of the tremendous power and influence radiating from the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and its three celebrated Hutukhtus (who were personal friends of the emperors and from whom they received territorial grants), between 1604 and 1723 many subjects of the T'u-ssu, lured by better conditions of tenantry, became subjects of the lamaseries, exempt from taxes and corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The clan chiefs willy-nilly had to comply with this situation and in order to retrieve their material assets, and to have tenants till their soil, and taxpayers and soldiers, they had to enroll Tibetans and Chinese in their clans. 792 614 175

The double damage wrought to the Monguor clans by this situation became peculiarly conspicuous after the revolt of 1723. Those Monguors who, lured by the hope of better economic conditions, had become subjects of lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas and continued to live as Monguors, segregated from the Chinese, to wear their Monguor dress, keeping their family customs and traditions in marriage, burial, and other festivities, but under lama chiefs instead of clan chiefs. After 1723 their social conditions changed entirely. Becoming Chinese subjects, they could not be reintegrated in their old clans and found themselves isolated in a new world without cohesion or support, and burdened with taxes and corvées. They started to speak Chinese, adopt the Chinese style of dress, marry Chinese girls, be buried according to the Chinese rites. Such was the classical case of the thirteen villages of the Sha-t'ang Valley, which before 1723 depended on Erh-ku-lung. The bulk of the defections among the Monguors was caused by their first becoming subjects of lamaseries, and later being thrown into the hands of Chinese officials, where they lacked the support of their former chiefs and religion. These groups of Monguors re- 614 177 175

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part, based on religion and exercised in religious matters. 593 769

In the same way, the chiefs of the villages and the elders not only determine taxes, impose corvées and settle troubles, but preside over and perform religious rites without representatives of religions, on the top of the Obo mountain, or the sacred hill of the village, in time of calamities, on top of the highest mountain of the village, in behalf of all the villagers. They are the priests of the clan, promoting at the clan meeting, during the mediation of troubles, the principles of justice and respect for elders. They defend the traditions and customs of the clan of which the religious rites are a part, and urge their performance. To sum up, of the routine events and observances of village life, eight-tenths are religious.

The religious world to which the Monguors are accustomed is compulsory, and entirely different from that of the Chinese. It makes them feel that they are not Chinese, that the meaning of their lives is not the same as that of the Chinese and therefore that they are tightly bound to the community of their clan. The performance of religious rites over the span of a whole year constitutes a part of their traditions and customs. It helps tremendously in holding them close together, and prevents their absorption into the Chinese nation. 771 [186]

This fact is so striking that Monguors who, on account of political events, have become separated from their original communities, or who publicly have recanted their origin, still know perfectly well that they are Monguors. They always continue to indulge in some religious practices specific to the Monguors. Religion causes them to recall their origin.

XVI. CONCLUSION

The study of the diffusion of Lamaism among the Monguors sheds some light on the policy adopted by the emperors toward Lamaism. 648 771

POLICY OF CHINA TOWARD LAMAISM

It is common knowledge that the emperors promoted Lamaism. This policy has very often been explained as having been a device to debilitate the Mongol and Tibetan tribes, by encouraging enrollment in the monasteries of the largest possible number of the young, most turbulent elements of the tribes. Withdrawing the young from their tumultuous environment weakened the power of the tribes, who were always ready and poised to make inroads and work havoc in the marches on China. The entire history of the marches of China is replete with such tragic events. Alternatively, it has been suggested that this policy was founded on the hope that the barbarians would become peaceful and quiescent through contact with Lamaism.

The truth is that the Chinese were too conversant with their own history and too mindful of the harm

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wrought by barbarians in their country to indulge in 648
such utopian hopes. They knew too well that more or 771
less powerful tribes never had lived peaceably next to each other; that peace had reigned inside Mongolia and Tibet only as long as an all-powerful chief was able to subdue and to dominate the tribes, but that immediately after his death the tribes had always dispersed and began a new cycle of tribal wars. They knew too that barbarian conquerors had always tried to overcome China and had repeatedly succeeded in founding dynasties. In other circumstances Mongol and Tibetan tribes had only kept quiet along the Chinese frontiers so long as China had been able to wield sufficient military power to impose peace on them. The Chinese also knew very well that Lamaism had never changed the predatory instincts of the barbarians, and that the lamas in Tibet and Huang-chung had been just as savage warriors as the laymen. Once in a while Hutukhtus had tried to mediate the troubles among the tribes, but other influential chiefs of tribes and persons of standing had also tried, with comparable results of success or failure.

It is asserted that the Yellow Sect became an important power among the barbarians from the time when Gushi Khan, after conquering Tibet, installed the Dalai Lama as temporal chief of the country (1636), and that the Manchu dynasty recognized the fact. Before that time Lamaism was divided into sects, which supported the numerous political parties in the country fighting for supremacy. By mixing in politics and wars, and because of lack of unity, the influence of the sects was dissipated. The chiefs of the sects, however, craving titles and privileges, curried the favor of the emperors. The emperors were happy to comply with their requests, appreciating the asset of having friendly disposed influential chiefs in far-off countries, but always waited for an opportunity to use them to further the interests of the empire.

It was in this way that the Ming emperors (1368– 643
1643) favored the lamas in Huang-chung, whatever 648
their sect, by lavishly granting titles and privileges, and 792
contributing to the building of monasteries in order to populate the desolate country, and to keep the Mongol tribes quiet after the overthrow of the Yüan dynasty.

Later on, when Lamaism had become a real power, the Ch'ing dynasty engaged in war with the Kalmuks or Western Mongols. Well aware of the influence which the Yellow Sect wielded among the eastern and western Mongols and its questionable behavior toward the empire, the Ch'ing dynasty imposed its authority on Lhasa by means of its armies, but at the same time granted favors and privileges to the lamas.

The institution of the committee for the translation 814
into Mongol and the printing of Tibetan books dates 663
from the Manchu period. This was a remarkable 648
political provision. The most celebrated and learned lamas and Hutukhtus of the monasteries of Tibet,

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Huang-chung, and Mongolia were appointed members 814
of the committee. They were showered with honorific 663
titles and privileges, and summoned to reside at the 648
capital. The emperors lavishly provided for their expenses and those of their numerous disciples, and secured large temples and residences for their sojourn. The Mongol princes and the lamas of Tibet and Mongolia were elated with the generosity of the emperors and the keen interest and sympathy they displayed for their religion and for their spiritual chiefs. The emperors were happy too, realizing that it paid large dividends to have the most important and esteemed representatives of the lamaseries residing at the capital, in effect as honorable hostages, who had to ask the permission of the emperor every time they wanted to leave the capital.

However, these imperial generosities did not inter- 648
fere with the strong policy implemented by the court in dealing with Tibet and Mongolia. They did not hinder the court in banishing the seventh Dalai Lama to Ssu-ch'uan, or in refusing to comply with the request of the "specially honored" Changchia Hutukhtu, to return to the Dalai Lama the regions of Li t'ang and Ba t'ang. They did not prevent the court from drastically crushing the lama revolt in Huang-chung (1723), or from burning all the monasteries in the country, even those of the "specially honored" Changchia. Later, at the request of the "beloved" Changchia and T'u-kuan, the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok were allowed to be rebuilt. The emperor offered a contribution *ad hoc*, but two steles were to be erected recording the ungratefulness of the lamas and the new humiliating provisions for the lamas by decree of the court. The steles were erected, but built inside a wall and plastered by the lamas so that nobody could read the texts.

The policy of the emperors in promoting Lamaism has to be studied in the light of the facts. They were well aware of the predatory instincts and fickleness of the barbarians, and of the influence the lamas wielded among them. In order to further their own interests and to gain the sympathy of the barbarians, they lavished on the lamas the titles and privileges which they childishly craved; but they were not afraid to deal with the lamas and barbarians with draconian severity, whenever their behavoir was not in line with the imperial policy. An iron hand was in the velvet glove.

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO TRANSFORM THE MONGUOR SOCIETY

This study also sheds light on the failure of Lamaism 797
to transform the Monguor society into a genuine Bud- 771
dhist society. In view of the really amazing bloom of Lamaism of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung between 1600 and 1723, when more than forty monasteries were built in that relatively small country during that short span of time, and taking into account the tremendous number of lamas enrolled in them—one lama at least from every family—and the honors, titles, and privileges

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[For the information related to the relationship of Monguors with Chinese emperors, see category 116, pp. 72-114.]

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PREFACE

t'u-ssu clans attended Chinese schools and many among 121
them obtained literary and military degrees, became Confucianists and officials in the Chinese administration. Meritorious t'u-ssu were rewarded with honorary titles, and the growing standard of civilization in the families of the t'u-ssu chiefs spread among the subjects.

This history also describes the amalgamation of many tribes of diverse origin, among themselves and with the few Chinese of the country, in a compound which constitutes a notable part of today's Huangchung population.

Long times of distress and suffering endured at the hands of a common enemy bring destitute people close together. Tribes come to shelter together, share each other's houses and land, try to talk together, marry, etc., and if the circumstances last for a long time, as was the case in Huangchung, the customs and languages become unified and an amalgamation takes place.

It is in order not to obliterate the different elements of the compound which constitutes the Huangchung population that the study starts with notes relating to the tribes which lived in Huangchung—T'u-fan, Tang- [563]
hsiang, Tibetans, Shat'o Turks, and several thousands of Uighurs—with notes about the time and the circumstances of their arrival, the country in which they were settled, and the part they played in the history of the country of Huangchung.

The notes have not only an ethnographical importance, but also a bearing on the administration of these people, the study of their customs and the religions they practiced.

The history of the Monguor clan of the Lu family, according to its family chronicles is discussed because the Lu clan is the only clan which has been able to keep its chronicles. The chronicles of all the other clans have disappeared during the revolts which ravaged the country many times. The chronicles of the Lu clan, however, shed light on the organization of the other clans, their administration, their relations with the empire, the process of Sinisization, the peculiar mentality of the families of the chiefs of the clans, etc., and complement our knowledge of the Monguor t'u-ssu families.

The history of the Lu family is significant also in 175x
the way it shows the interest of the emperor in the 121
Monguor clans which rendered so much help in the 648 ●
time of the inroads of brigands and the wars with the 703
barbarians. This interest is displayed by the granting of titles and promotions; by inviting the chiefs to the capital, offering dinners and entertainments, making them admire the splendor of the palaces, gratifying them with honorary distinctions such as the peacock plume and the jade girdle, and with gifts of clothing, silks, satins, and porcelains; by ordering the civil authorities to build honorific arches in the cities to honor

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175 the eminent chiefs of the clan; and by delegating high
121 officials to present official burials and sacrifices to the
648 deceased chiefs and to read the sacrificial oration com-
703 posed by the emperor himself as a farewell to the meritorious deceased.

These were some of the means used by the emperor to win the hearts of the Monguors and to make of them defenders of the empire.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge with the appearance of the last part of the study, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation and the American Philosophical Society for the grants which enabled me to complete the work, and to Professor and Mrs. Owen Lattimore for the help they rendered and for their assistance in the preparation of the study.

I cannot conclude without remembering with gratitude the special debt I owe to Miss Theresa A. Tims, and without expressing my sincerest appreciation of her considerable help, graciously rendered, in correcting and preparing the English draft and the editing of the publication with wonderful patience and good humor through long hours.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS

OWEN AND ELEANOR LATTIMORE

114 As the main significance of Father Schram's work is its presentation of historical and sociological material, no attempt has been made, in editing his text, to be over pedantic in the transliteration of Chinese and Mongol names of people, places, institutions or titles. We have adopted instead what we hope are rules of common sense.

For Chinese, the system of transliteration with the widest international acceptance is that of Wade, and we have used it except in the case of geographical names where there is a well-established English spelling. For instance the strict Wade transcription for the name of the city of Lanchow would be Lan Chou, but we use Lanchow because that form is internationally well established. Similarly we write Szechwan (the name of a province) instead of Ssu Ch'uan.

For transcribing Mongol (and Manchu) there is no widely accepted system, but fortunately the sounds of these languages can be indicated with reasonable accu-

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*175 101 133 Huangchung is bounded on the north by the Chi Lien Shan, a range of lower mountains which constitutes the northern end of the Nan Shan range. Being less high and abrupt, it provides an easy access to the countries of Ninghsia, Ordos, and Mongolia. In order to prevent the junction of the barbarians of Mongolia with those of Huangchung, the Chinese General Ho Ch'u-ping, in 116 B.C. (Monguors I: 19) established the first colonies in Huangchung. It was along the natural depressions in the Chi Lien range that the Tibetans many times invaded the country of the Ninghsia, Ordos, and Shansi borders, and that Mongols made inroads from Ordos into Huangchung and Kokonor. On the south side no high mountains or large rivers separate Huangchung from Kokonor and Tibet, through which many roads provide access to Central Asia.

Geographically, Huangchung, bounded by the large Yellow River on the south and east, by low mountains on the north, and spreading wide open toward the southwest facing Kokonor and Tibet, seems to be a peninsula of Kokonor and Tibet protruding into China. *175 648 Huangchung being more remote from the capital of the empire than East Kansu, the threat of inroads from the empire was apparently less imminent; and the importance of its trade being not comparable with that of the colonies situated in the corridor of West Kansu across the Nan Shan range, fewer colonies had been established there than in East Kansu. Every time rebellions or dynastic troubles occurred in China, the Tibetans of Kokonor helped their brothers of Huangchung destroy the colonies; however, as long as the empire was at peace and its military power intimidated the restless Tibetans, Chinese officials could proceed with collecting the tribute of horses from the tribes governed by their own chiefs, and the ways leading to Kokonor could be guarded.

[635] The whole of Kansu, populated by barbarians, was for centuries considered as a colony and not as a province proper. Only in 1665 was the province of Kansu established, and even up to the Republic (1911) Kansu was ruled together with Shensi by a viceroy. Only since 1928 has the province of Ch'inghai been established, encompassing Huangchung and a part of Kokonor.

THE POPULATION OF HUANGCHUNG AT THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST BY THE MONGOLS

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE TANG PERIOD

*175 162 In 1227 when the Mongols conquered Huangchung, the country was inhabited by depleted tribes of Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o, without cohesion among them. The country had passed through the ordeal of centuries of wars, and the Chinese colonies had long since vanished. *175 648

The Tang dynasty (620–906) had been unable to

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*175 648 cope with the turbulent empire of the T'u-fan contemporaneously founded in Lhasa, whose floods of untamed hordes had poured ceaselessly into the regions of Sung P'an in northwest Szechwan, and up into Kokonor, Shensi, and Kansu Provinces. Srong-btsan sgam-po, who had united the T'u-fan tribes into a nation, died in 650. He is credited with having initiated his subjects in Buddhism and in the Indian and Chinese civilizations.[7] Three times, in 730, 783, and 821, the Tang emperors had made treaties with the T'u-fan, fixing the limits of both empires.[8] The text of the last treaty, [131] chiseled on a slab, is still preserved in Lhasa.[9] In Huangchung, in the village of Topa, 60 li west of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 7) and northwest of the city of Tatung (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 17) still exist steles fixing the western limits of Huangchung. The texts are now indecipherable, except for a few characters.

*175 162 The T'u-fan hordes smote upon the region of Sung P'an, in northwest Szechwan, the cradle of the Tibetan Tang-hsiang tribes. In 627 two groups of Tang-hsiang tribes, for fear of the invaders, fled to East Kansu. One group, called Tung-shan-pu, settled in the region of the modern Ch'ing-yang fu in East Kansu; the other group, called P'ing-hsia-pu, settled in the region of Mi Chih, in northwest Shensi. The leading tribe of the last group was the Topa, formerly pressed by the T'u-fan, which had submitted to the T'u-yu-hun.[10]

*175 648 101 The P'ing-hsia-pu tribes of Shensi, during the revolt of Nan Lü Shan (756–764), had helped save the tottering throne of the Tang dynasty. Their chief had been rewarded with the name of the dynasty, Li, and the administration of some districts had been granted to the group. During the internal troubles which several times beset the empire, the P'ing-hsia-pu group had laid the foundation of its own Hsi Hsia Kingdom, and from 982 on it had considered itself strong enough to antagonize the Sung dynasty (960–1280), openly embarking on the conquest of Kansu and Shensi Provinces. The Hsi Hsia realm vanished at the hands of the Mongols in 1226.[11] Not only did these groups of Tang-hsiang tribes submit to China but, in A.D. 631, 300,000 more Tang-hsiang surrendered, pressed by the T'u-fan, and were settled in East Kansu and on the Shensi borders, where sixteen districts were established by the emperor in the countries assigned to them, garrisons established, and Chinese military officials appointed (*Annals* of Kansu 45: 53*a*).

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[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 373.

[8] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 437, 480, 484.

[9] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 484. Li Fan-koei. Inscription of the Sino-Tibetan treaty 821–822. *T'oung Pao* 64: 1 sq., 1956.

[10] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 132. R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia. *Bulletin École Française Extrême Orient* 64: 228, Paris, 1956. Peter Olbricht, Die Tanguten und ihre Geschichte bis zur Grundung von Si-hia. *Central Asiatic Journal* 2: 143. The T'opa founders of the Hsi Hsia might be of Sien-pi origin. 154.

[11] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 133, 134.

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In Kokonor T'u-fan hordes attacked the T'u-yu-hun in 634, and drove them out of the country in 672. The T'u-yu-hun, nomad tribes of Sien-pi origin, had been settled in Kokonor since A.D. 280 and, facing extermination after decades of savage wars with the T'u-fan, succeeded in being transplanted by the Chinese in 672 into the region of Ling Wu (Ninghsia) in Ming-sha hsien.[13]

Huangchung (Hsining region) was already invaded by T'u-fan in 629. The T'u-fan administered several crushing defeats to the Chinese troops on the Kokonor borders, in Huangchung and in East Kansu. After the resounding victory of the T'u-fan in 678, the Tang-hsiang tribes settled previously in East Kansu, despairing of the aid and protection of the emperor, submitted to the T'u-fan, and with them fought the Chinese troops, devastating the country. These disastrous events continued indefinitely. The emperor having fled from his capital in 756 on account of the rebellion of An Lu-shan, T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang of East Kansu combined, captured in 763 the capital of the empire, burned the palaces, and looted the city and the neighboring country. The whole of Kansu was lost. The Tsan-p'u of Lhasa appointed his T'u-fan officials and military commanders in Huangchung and East Kansu.[13] The rebellion of the Chinese governors against the emperor had started in 783 and lasted until 787. In 783 the thread of destruction hanging like a Damocles sword over the dynasty, the emperor concluded the negotiation of a treaty with the Tsan-p'u, already initiated in 780. The T'u-fan would help the emperor out of his difficulty and be rewarded with four more prefectures situated southeast of P'ing-liang in East Kansu. The T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang had helped recover the lost capital in 784, but the Chinese refused to give up the four prefectures. The enraged Tibetans furiously invaded the Wei Valley, occupied Yen and Hsia Chou in Shensi and the whole region inside the Yellow River bend, looting and laying waste the countryside. Adding to the frustration of the Chinese, Tibetan armies administered the most crushing defeat to them in Turkistan in 791. Except for Turfan, Turkistan was lost to the Chinese. In 822 there followed the humiliating treaty by which China renounced its rights over Turkistan, over the whole of Kansu and some parts of Shensi. However, forays by savage Tibetan tribes did not cease.[14]

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[13] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 397. Schram, Monguors I: 19. *Annals* of Kansu 45: 55a. R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* 44: 223.

[13] The Tsan-p'u was the representative of the T'u-fan hierarchy; he presided over the tribes who had pledged allegiance or had been subdued; he was the arbiter of the frequently conflicting interests arising among them. The stronger the repute of the Tsan-p'u the richer the pillages to be expected, and the stronger were the bonds which tied the nation together.

[14] *Annals* of Kansu 45: 51, 62. Ch'u T'ang Shu, 146: 3–5. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 398, 399, 433, 439, 466, 469, 480, 484. *Annals* of Hsining 30: 25–30.

[P. 10(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

x 175 648 In 842 the Tsan-p'u Ta-mo died without issue, whereupon bitter feuds and sharp cleavages appeared among the T'u-fan governors and military commanders in East Kansu, Huangchung, and Tibet. The doom of the Tibetan nation was sealed, and the time seemed propitious to the Chinese for the recovery of East Kansu and Huangchung. But already in 842, Lun K'ung-jo, a T'u-fan military commander, proclaimed himself supreme chief of all the tribes settled in East Kansu and Huangchung. However, in Hsining there was a T'u-fan governor, Chang-pe-pe, appointed by the former Tsan-p'u. The two groups fought until 850. Chang-pe-pe, betrayed by some of his commanders, was forced to flee across Kanchow to Turkistan with 2,000 men of his group, pursued by Lun K'ung-jo and his 5,000 soldiers to Kua Chou. Before his flight, Chang-pe-pe had entrusted the defense of the city of Hsining to his faithful commander T'o-pa-huai-kuang. Lun K'ung-jo, hearing that the city of Hsining was occupied by T'o-pa-huai-kuang, hurried back and in a rage savagely laid waste the whole of Huangchung and eight cities and districts in East Kansu. After his brutal behavior his troops refused to follow him. He settled in Kuo Chou in Huangchung with the last 200 of his followers. He was beheaded in 866 by the T'u-fan commander of Hsining, T'o-pa-huai-kuang, who sent his head to the emperor. During these troubles Chinese troops had recovered nearly the whole of East Kansu and accepted the submission of the Tibetans of East Kansu (*Annals* of Kansu **45**: 65*a*, 66*b*. *Annals* of Hsining **30**: 30, 30*a*, 31*a*).

The *Annals* of Kansu record (**45**: 66*b*) that in 851 the independent Chinese commander Chang I-ch'ao received the appointment of military commander of the Chinese Kuei-i troops garrisoned in Sha Chou. Formerly he had occupied on his own account ten cities, and had sent his brother to offer them to the emperor. The *Annals* of Hsining (**30**: 30, 31*a*) record that Chang I-ch'ao pacified Hsining and Kuo Chou in 851 and in that way East Kansu and Huangchung were completely recovered after ninety years (763–852).[15] The *Annals* of Hsining (**30**: 30, 31*a*) also note that the Uighur commander Pukukun of Besbalik occupied the fateful city of Hsining in 866 and both *Annals* finally note: "at these times China was beset with many problems and its orders were not obeyed by the Kuei-i troops." The *Annals* of Kansu add: "in 872 the Uighurs captured Kanchow and many more districts." The history of Huangchung and Turkistan is very confused for this period.

x 175 The point of ruin and disintegration was reached among the Tibetan tribes, in East Kansu and Huangchung, after ten years of bloody fights between Lun K'ung-jo and Chang-pe-pe. The havoc savagely wrought among the tribes, tearing asunder their own tribes, transferring allegiance from one chief to another,

[15] Hamilton, *op. cit.* **10**: 13–16, 94–95, 128–129.

[P. 19(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

*175 and systematically devastating the country in which they lived, explains a fact unique in history. The slaves possessed by the tribes (victims of wars apportioned to the chiefs) being without lords or depending on proprietors who could no longer control them or afford to nourish them, were able to abandon their chiefs and to establish a tribe of their own, called in history the Slave Tribe, "Hun-pu" or "Wu-mu." The slaves submitted in a group to the emperor in 862; they were settled in several districts of Kansu and even of Tunhuang, where they engaged in farming. A group of them was settled in Kuo Chou in Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu 45: 66*b*. *Annals* of Hsining 30: 30, 31*a*).[16]

*175 However, China was not able to pay much attention
648 to East Kansu and Huangchung during the next twenty-five years (852–875). In 875 the terrible revolution of Huang Ch'ao started which lasted for nine years, followed by the disastrous armed competitions among the Chinese generals, and the end of the effete Tang dynasty in 906.

Then five insignificant dynasties, called Wu Tai, or the Five Dynasties, succeeded one another, accompanied by ruthless wars and destruction (907–960).[17]

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE WU TAI (FIVE DYNASTIES) PERIOD, 907–960

*175 Three important facts have to be recorded concerning Huangchung during the Five Dynasties (907–960). First, the presence in Huangchung in 939, in the country situated between Kanchow and Hsining, of Shat'o Chu-hsieh tribes belonging to the group of the founders of the petty Shat'o Hu Tang dynasty (923–936), attested in *Wu-tai shih-chi* (74: 10*b*, 11*a*). At what time or in what circumstances these tribes had settled in that part of Huangchung is not known (*Monguors*, I: 30). However, the powerful Monguor clan of the Li t'u-ssu originated later from among the Shat'o Chu-hsieh tribes of that country.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE SHAT'O NATION AND HUANGCHUNG AND EAST KANSU

*175 The second fact is the disintegration of the Shat'o
648 nation. In 947 K'ai-p'ing fu the capital of the Shat'o
563 Hu-tsin dynasty was taken by the Ch'i-tan. The Shat'o emperor and his family were deported to Huang Lung in northern Manchuria. The Ch'i-tan emperor, for fear of the revolting governor of Szechwan Province, had decided to garrison the numerous defeated Shat'o troops on the frontiers of Szechwan, and to send their wives and children into north Shansi as security for the fidelity of their husbands, promising to relieve them every year for a visit to their families.

Ho Chien, of Uighur origin, governor of the three districts of Chin, Chieh, and Ch'eng Chou in East

[16] Stein, *op. cit.* 44: 228.
[17] Hamilton, *op. cit.* 108, 128–129.

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 Kansu, faithful retainer of the Shat'o dynasty, distrust-
648 ing these promises and enraged on account of the ruth-
565 less behavior of the Ch'i-tan, refused to surrender his troops to them and to defend their frontiers. He offered his troops and the districts he controlled to the governor of Szechwan. During these fateful times of wars and slaughter, the petty Hu Han (947–950) and Hu Chu (951–960) dynasties had succeeded successively to the Hu Chin dynasty of the Shat'o, and in 955 the governor of Szechwan and the troops of Ho Chien were defeated by Emperor Shi Tsung of the Hu Chu dynasty.

Now was the propitious time for the Shat'o troops to vanish with their families in Kansu among the Tibetans, for east, north, and northwest China were troubled by wars. Kansu, during the time of the ephemeral Shat'o dynasties (923–947) had constituted an integral part of their empire, and the Shat'o officials were cognizant of the chiefs of the Tibetan tribes living in East Kansu and Huangchung. The poor and destitute Shat'o having no way to move, many individuals and minor and major groups among them must have been happy to enlist and to disappear among the Tibetan tribes, acknowledging the authority of the chieftains and accepting the name of their tribe. They must have preferred to flee to the most remote mountainous southern part of East Kansu. Incidentally, it is noted among the 520 tribes of the powerful Tibetan chief, the later t'u-ssu Yang settled in the remote T'ao Chou, a tribe called the Shat'o tribe (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 64). A group of Ongutt Shat'o had fled to remote Lin T'ao, the region of the Tibetans. "They were Nestorians, they were taken prisoners by the Chin (1125–1235) and settled in Manchuria in the beginning of the twelfth century."[18]

Many groups among them fled to Huangchung and settled in the region between Kanchow and Hsining, joining the Shat'o who were living there in 939 (Monguors I) for at the time the Monguors conquered Hsining the entire region 60 li north and northwest of Hsining was inhabited by Shat'o.

That in 947 the Shat'o easily dispersed among the Tibetans, acknowledging their chiefs as their own, is quite normal, for their national pride must have been at very low ebb. Their petty first dynasty (923–936) had been controlled by three emperors of three different families and by a fourth whose mother only was known. The second dynasty (936–946) had been controlled by a Shat'o commander who had usurped the imperial power. The protracted wars had exhausted the discontented tribes, who did not know for whom they were fighting. The family of the founding ancestor of the nation had been obliterated and its doom sealed.[19]

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[18] P. Pelliot, Chrètiens d'Asie centrale and d'Extreme Orient, *T'oung Pao*, 15 (5): 630, 1914.

[19] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 42, 55, 58, 68, 1948.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Tibet AJ2

FIRST DATA ABOUT BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

M 175x 792

The third fact is the foundation in 940 of the monastery of Dantig (Sha-ch'ung) situated southeast of Hsining, on the northern bank of the Yellow River. It was founded by dGeba rab-gsal, a lama of the Zin-dpon hermitage, who had been ordained by three lamas who had fled from Tibet on account of the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa, and had arrived in Hsining, via Khotan, and the country of the Hor (Uighurs). At that time in the region of Dantig there already existed great hermitages. The three learned men of Tibet were buried in a temple at Hsining. In sPari (the region between the Tatung River and the Nan Shan to P'ing Fan), there exists a stone pillar with the names of the three men chiseled on it. Later six more celebrated lamas fled from Tibet to Hsining. Probably the building of these hermitages happened during the span of time between the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet by Sron-btsan sgam-po who died in 650 and its persecution in 841 and especially during the years 756 until 842, when the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the entire Huangchung and East Kansu and appointed his officials. Lamas must have followed the invading T'u-fan tribes and built the hermitages and the temple in Hsining.[20] However, we have to take stock of the very judicious remark of Professor Tucci that at that time Buddhism was spread by single lama hermits and not by groups of organized monks as was the case after the reform of Tsung Khapa, born in 1354.

HT 797 648

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE SUNG PERIOD, 960–1280

M 175x 648

The Sung dynasty succeeded the fateful Five Dynasties in 960. However, it could not interfere effectively with Huangchung before 1086. Its action was limited to granting titles to Tibetan chieftains. During one and one-half centuries (875–1036) Huangchung was a no-man's-land inhabited by depleted predatory tribes each of them obeying a chieftain and having troubles among themselves (*Annals* of Hsining 30: 1, 2). Several inroads were made by them on the frontiers. They used to lie athwart the trade roads, pillaging traders and ambassadors coming to court with wares and tribute, making them prisoners and selling them and their wares and tribute.[21] Nobody could cross their country without taking his life in his hands.

M [487 484]

The waxing power of the turbulent Hsi Hsia and their inroads into East Kansu and persistent threats of invasions in Huangchung after 982 must have seriously intimidated the scattered Tibetan tribes in Huangchung and East Kansu, facing extermination one after another,

[20] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 2 (1): 63, 1949. E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism* by Buston Rin-po-che, 2: 201, 1931. Monguors II: 12, 13.

[21] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 108.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Tibet AJ2

because in 1008 Wen-pu-ku,[22] chief of the important T'u-fan tribe of Mao-ch'uan (the actual subprefecture Nien-pe), went to court to surrender, leading forty-five other T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang tribes of Ho-shi.[23] However, perspicacious T'u-fan leaders should long since have considered a wrong policy the reliance upon the protection of the Sung dynasty, which had to contend with serious troubles from inside and to fight the empire of the Liao barbarians in north China and at the same time to repell the invasions of the turbulent Hsi Hsia in East Kansu and Shensi. Therefore some of them must have considered that the genuine solution of the problem would be not to rely upon China, but upon themselves, rebuilding a T'u-fan Kingdom and welding the tribes in a unit under the chieftainship of a descendant of the founder of the kingdom.

M 175 X 648

Ho-lang-yeh-hsien, T'u-fan chief of Ho Chou tribes in East Kansu, was by accident or design in Kao Ch'ang in 1008 as the guest of the T'u-fan tribes of the petty Mo-yu kingdom. There he met a handsome and intelligent boy of twelve years of age, called Chiossulo, a genuine offspring of the imperial Tsan-p'u family of Lhasa.[24] He invited the boy to Ho Chou. The lama Li Li-tsun, chief of the important tribe of Tsung K'o[25] and Wen-pu-ku the powerful chief of the tribes of Mao Ch'uan made an agreement with Ho Chou, and succeeded in moving the boy to Kuo Chou in Huangchung, acknowledging him as their chief. Confidence revived among the federated tribes in Huangchung and Ho Chou. Chiossulo was moved into the city of Tsung K'o and Li Lama appointed as minister. As cohesion among the tribes increased, the old predatory instinct was revived. In 1015 the lama, puffed up with pride, went plundering with the T'u-fan of Niku (region of the actual Lanchow) but was defeated by the Chinese general Ts'ao Wei in San-tu-ku and in the region of Hsi Liang. After these disastrous expeditions Chiossulo dismissed his minister, abhorred by the tribes. He left Tsung K'o, moved to Mao-ch'uan, and appointed Wen-pu-ku his minister.

M 175 X 648
HT 648

In 1016 Chiossulo deputed chiefs of his tribes to convey to the court excuses for the inroads made by Li Lama, presenting his submission and a gift of 583 horses. At the same time, on account of the persistent

[22] Stein, *op. cit.*, 232.

[23] *Sung Shih* 492: 8, 9, 10.

[24] "The T'u-fan dynasty founded in the 7th century by Srong-btsan sgam-po, consisted of tribes, not always on good terms with one another, welded into temporary unity. When king Lang-dharma started the persecution of Buddhism in 842 and was murdered the same year, the dynasty fell, never to rise again, and its military power vanished. However, the royal family was not wiped out with the end of the dynasty. Indeed Lang-dharma's descendants succeeded in founding some new petty kingdoms in the farthest regions of Tibet" (Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 3, Roma, 1949). The Mo-yu kingdom in Kao-ch'ang must have been a kingdom of the same pattern (*Sung Shih* 492: 2b).

[25] Tsung K'o is the region situated southwest of P'ing-jung-i which is located 80 li east of Hsining.

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Mongguor AE9
Historical Tibet AJ2
Uigur AI4

inroads of Hsi Hsia on the Huangchung borders and in East Kansu, the deputation proposed to the emperor that he fight Hsi Hsia in combination with the 60,000 troops Chiossulo commanded. The proposition was hotly debated among the ministers. The emperor, afraid of the revival of a new and terrible Tsan-p'u power, and distrusting the inconstancy and predatoriness of the barbarians, refused the offer. Thereupon the embittered Chiossulo invaded Fu Ch'iang in South Kansu with his troops of Huangchung and Ho Chou, but suffered a striking defeat at the hand of General Ts'ao Wei (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 6*b*). The commander of the troops of Ho Chou abandoned Chiossulo and submitted to the emperor, enfeebling the position of Chiossulo. In 1028 Hsi Hsia, invading West Kansu, liquidated the kingdom of the Uighurs in Kanchow and so the threat of invasion became more imminent.

M 175X 648 HT 648

Chiossulo and his minister submitted to the emperor in 1032 and were bestowed with titles. However, the Minister Wen Pu Ku revolted against Chiossulo, who killed him and later moved to Hsining. Chiossulo having troubles in his own backyard, Li Yuan-hao, King of Hsi Hsia, seized the opportunity to invade Hsining in 1035, but Chiossulo administered a tremendous defeat. This victory rendered him the master of all of Huangchung.

M 175X 648

Li Yuen-hao conquered the districts of Su, Kua, and Sha Chou in West Kansu, commanding the trade roads to Central Asia, in 1036, and started moving T'u-fan and Uighur tribes into his kingdom of Hsi Hsia. Then many T'u-fan tribes, among them the tribes of Niku and several ten thousands of Uighurs preferred to flee to Chiossulo, pledge allegiance to him and settle in Huangchung. The scant population of Huangchung increased to the point where Chiossulo became the ruler of 600,000 subjects and Hsining started flourishing. The Uighurs, reputed traders, used to travel between Central Asia, China, and the Liao empire, and were familiar with the roads running from Hsining through Kokonor and the passes in the Nan Shan leading to Kao Ch'ang[26] and Central Asia. "The traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to Hsining." Hsining thrived with trade; wealth and riches poured into the country and at the same time agriculture developed.[27]

U 175 484

M 175X

SEVERAL TEN THOUSANDS OF UIGHURS FLED TO HUANGCHUNG

M U 167 648

Now the emperor was in a hurry to send an official to congratulate Chiossulo for his resounding victory over the Hsi Hsia, bringing him the titles of military governor of East Kansu and supreme chief of Mao-

M 175X U 175

[26] Kao Ch'ang is also called Turfan, Hsi Chou. In that region must have been the kingdom of Mo-yu where Chiossulo was born.

[27] *Sung Shih*, **492**: 8, 10, 11, 13. *Sung Shih* **251**: 13. *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 6, 7, 8. *Annals* of Hsining **30B**: 1, 2, 3; **33A-B**.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

ch'uan (i.e., of the entire Huangchung), a gift of 20,000 pieces of silk and a salary, making him understand that he was an official of the empire. At the same time he enjoined him to attack Hsi Hsia in Liangchow. Chiossulo judged his troops too feeble to risk the venture. Another official arrived with the same order. This time Chiossulo treated him very roughly. His behavior was not that of a subject treating with the emperor, but rather that of a nephew talking about an uncle,[28] because two Chinese princesses, Wen Ch'eng in 643 and Kin Ch'eng in 710, had been married to princes of the imperial Tsan-p'u house of Lhasa. The Chinese official readily understood the attitude of Chiossulo and informed the emperor (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 8*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 2*a*). During thirty years Chiossulo did not care for the empire which intermittently waged war with Hsi Hsia in East Kansu and Shensi with varied fortune, nor did he care for the Chinese officials whom the emperor tried to appoint in Huangchung; he cared only for his own kingdom, appointing his officials in Huangchung and on the East Kansu borders. Huangchung was the only country where people lived peacefully engrossed in agriculture and where trade boomed.

M U 167 648 M 175x U 175

HSINING IN THE HEYDAY OF ITS GLORY

Chiossulo was in the heyday of his glory. He rebuilt the city of Hsining. According to the notes recorded by a Chinese official who at that time had been sent to confer with Chiossulo,[29] the circumference of the city was 20 li. The city was protected by a strong, high wall dotted with towers, and eight gates secured access to the city. In the center of this enormous city was constructed a large fortress having four strong towers at the corners. This fortress must have corresponded to the actual city of Hsining and the enormous outer city must have been built to secure a refuge for the surrounding people and their herds at the time of inroads from invading tribes. Chiossulo resided in the fortress in a sumptuous palace, whose roofs were covered with glazed tiles. In this city was a large hall built on a terrace having eight steps and a sumptuous entrance supported by huge pillars. The administration buildings were constructed inside the city, two small palaces for the princesses of the Ch'i Tan and of the Hsi Hsia, and a splendid temple in which was throned a gilded Buddha statue, ten feet high, adorned with strings of pearls and a precious mantle.

M 175x 361 M [341] M [792 532]

[28] A. Rona Tas, Social terms in the list of grants of the Tibetan Tunhuang Chronicle, *Acta Orientalia*, V, 5: 266, 1955. Relationship between the Chinese emperor and the Tibetan king, of uncle and nephew on the maternal side, essentially reflects the Tibetan avuncular system; this relationship, which used to determine the mutual position of the two rulers, is rooted in social history.

[29] Enoki, *op. cit.*, 90, 91. Oshono kika keiryaku ni tsuite (On the *Hsi-ho ching-luch* of Wang Ch'ao) in Mokoga Huho, Tokyo (*Meng-ku hsueh-pao*,) I, Shuo fu, 15: 12 *a–b*.

[p.13(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

might be reason to think seriously of the thesis of the influence of Iranian dualism upon the shamanism of the Monguors and upon that encountered in west China in a contact zone of Tibetan and Chinese populations. He notes that attention has already long ago been drawn to the Iranian elements in Central Asian shamanism. Since it is known that several ten thousands of Manichean Uighurs pledged allegiance to Chiossulo in 1036 and that they were settled in Huangchung and in East Kansu up to the borders of Szechwan, it is easy to agree with the suggestion. Without doubt Iranian elements had had time enough to influence the shamanism of Kansu, for my notes were recorded in 1910–1920, after these Manicheans had lived in the country for six centuries. Iranian influence upon the shamanism of Central Asia may be explained in the same way. The Uighur kingdom was liquidated in 840 by the Kirghiz, after the Uighurs had been converted to Manicheism eighty years earlier. Then they roamed in Turkistan and on the China borders carrying with them their Manicheism and came in contact with the shamanism of Central Asia.

M 175x 795 756

SETTLEMENT OF THE UIGHURS

M 175x 167 563 U 167 175

The arrival of thousands of Tibetans and several ten thousands of Uighurs all fleeing at the same time into Huangchung, driving before them their herds, carrying their belongings, etc., should have created a tremendous and delicate problem for Chiossulo to cope with. All these turbulent people had to be settled without hurting the feelings of the Tibetan tribes subject to him and already living in the country. This tremendous number of tribes must have upset the whole country, as many groups must have tried to occupy the territories which seemed fitting to them and have caused endless troubles.

M U [648] M 175x 167 563 U 175 167

The *Annals* of Hsining (4: 19*a*) dealing with the geography of the country note incidently that five thousand T'u-fan horsemen arrived at the well of Fu-t'i, and drove Uighurs who had settled there back to their own country. This well is situated near the well-known old fortress of Shih-pu-ch'eng (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 3*a–b*). This reveals how delicate a problem Chiossulo had to contend with, and indicates the attitude of the Tibetans toward the Uighurs intruding into their country.

It is impossible to find out which among the numerous tribe names recorded in the *Annals* for the first time in Ming times (1368) are Uighur, Tibetan, or Shat'o names, because all the tribes are generally recorded as being Tibetans.

What tribes were settled in Huangchung in 1008 when the twelve-year-old Chiossulo arrived in the country?

In Mao Ch'uan, the actual subprefecture of Nienpei, is recorded the presence of the important Tibetan

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

Kansu, in Yen Ch'uan Chai, which is Chang Hsien, situated 50 li southwest of Kung Ch'ang (Enoki, 158). The tribe surrendered to General Wang Ch'ao in 1071 with its 120,000 people. The *Annals* of Kansu 97: 14, record that Wang Ch'ao notified the emperor about the submission of the Lung-k'o tribe and petitioned to reward it with the name Pao (thankful). The request was granted and the emperor added the word Shun to the name, Pao Shun (thankful-faithful). Enoki (p. 111) noted also a Lung-po tribe living in East Kansu in 1071. It had troubles with the Tibetan To-chih tribe. However, the Lung tribes recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining were settled in Huangchung. The Lung-pu, numbering two thousand families, divided into two tribes, was settled south of Hsining on the northern borders of the Yellow River. Its people lived mostly in tents (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 3 *a–b*). The Lung-pen tribe numbering 873 families was settled 60 li west of Hsining. Its people lived partly in a city (fortress), partly in tents. The tribe controlled the Pen-pa-erh[39] tribe numbering one hundred families settled in the Hsi-shih-hsia (Tsamalung) on the rapids of the Hsining River between Hsining and Don Kir (*Annals* of Hsining **1**: 12*a*, 15*a*). The small Lung-wang and To-lung tribes numbering eighty families were settled 80 li east of the city of Tatung on the borders of the Tatung River (*Annals* of Hsining 19, 20*a*) in the region occupied by the Shat'o at the time of their surrender. This seems to suggest that this group was congenial with the Shat'o group.

M 175x 563 167 619
M [345]

UIGHURS AND SUBJECTS OF T'U-SSU

In discussing the commoners, the subjects of the Monguor t'u-ssu (Monguors I: 31–53), it has been noted that during the Mongol period (1280–1368), Ch'i Kung-k'o hsing-chi, a member of the imperial family, had been appointed guardian of the region situated 90 li south of Hsining. He discharged the office of myriarch and evidently controlled his own 10,000 soldiers and their families. However, it is recorded that he governed also eight tribes of Tung Ku and vicinity, descendants of western Ch'iang (western Tibetans). Tung Ku was situated between Hsining and the Ta-tung River, in the region of Tatung, where during the Five Dynasties (907–951) Shat'o tribes lived, joined by other groups of Shat'o after the collapse of their dynasty. These western Ch'iang seem to be Uighurs of the khanate of Kanchow who had settled there in 1036. The Uighurs of Kanchow had come from the west, from Turkistan, and so are called western Tibetans, for all the barbarians are called Tibetans in the *Annals*. For what reason these eight tribes had been moved and put under the control of the myriarch

M 175x 648
U 175 648

[39] *Anthropos* **52**: 560 sq., 1957. Dominik Schroder writes a very interesting article: Uber die Chia-Fandse von Bengbar, Tsing-hai (the Pen-pa tribe), und ihre Hochzeitssitten.

[P. 16(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

is not recorded. Friction between Uighurs and Shat'o? Not room enough in Tung Ku for the herds? A device to increase the military power of the myriarch?

It is also noted that twelve Pai-tieh tribes and others were controlled by the three Shat'o officials Li, Na, and Chi, who guarded the country 30 li south and west of Hsining. To these three Shat'o chieftains who controlled their own Shat'o subjects, the Pai-tieh tribes and others had been entrusted by the Mongols. Probably they were Uighurs, for they were moved from the Tung-ku region also, and it is noted that their customs and clothes and adornments were the same as those of the western Ch'iangs of the myriarch.

It is further noted that the Shat'o official Li Nan-ko originally controlled the tribes of Tung Ku and the Hula tribes. Probably being a prominent and powerful chieftain, he had enrolled among his Shat'o subjects these Uighur tribes, at the time they fled from Kanchow. At the same time it is recorded that the t'u-ssu Ah, Chao, Yeh, Kan, and Chu controlled the Lu-erh-chia tribes and others, which were in the main similar in customs, clothing and adornments, according to the *Annals*.

It is noted (Monguors I: 56) that only one large group of Chinese is known to have enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans. The group bears the surname of Pao and is usually called the Yuan Pao group. They are subjects of the Lu t'u-ssu. We were at a loss to explain satisfactorily the name Yuan Pao. The fact had been noted above that the strong Lung K'o tribe, with its 120,000 people, had received, in 1071, from the Sung emperor the name Pao for its faithfulness toward the dynasty. Is it not possible that, during the period of troubles, which lasted for nearly two centuries, the clan disintegrated, that a group moved to Huangchung and lost its language, conserving the name Pao, but, knowing that they were Uighurs, that they preferred to be enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans, as so many Uighurs during the Yuan period? Because this had happened during the Yuan period, they are still called the Pao group of the Yuan time, Yuan Pao chia.

It seems conclusively that these tribes were Uighur tribes which, during the Mongol period, had been divided in small units and entrusted to these petty military officials, and appointed as guardians of definite territory and mountain passes in Huangchung in order that they might be able to defend the country more easily.

SETTLEMENT OF UIGHURS AND SHAT'O IN EAST KANSU

The preceding notes explain the settlement of only a relatively small number of Uighurs. But where has the remainder of the several ten thousands of Uighurs been settled? Since the very important Lung K'o tribe was settled in East Kansu, and another Lung-po tribe is rooted in the same region, and on the map a

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

Lung village is noted near Ming Chou in East Kansu, our investigations are turned in that direction.

From 1086 on, the entire population of Huangchung and parts of East Kansu controlled by the descendants of Chiossulo was intermittently involved in troubles with the Chinese empire, and in 1096 it arose as one man against the Sung empire, combining its forces with those of the Hsi Hsia. The cities of Huangchung were taken and retaken alternatively by Chinese troops and Tibetans, and the whole country was devastated and ruined. The flourishing empire founded by Chiossulo had lasted for only about fifty years. The fateful Huangchung was again controlled by the Sung emperor. After another period of fifty years, during which Chinese and Chin empires fought the Hsi Hsia and then fought among themselves, the Chin empire occupied Huangchung in 1131 and appointed Kuan Shih Ku to control the Ho Chou area and all of Huangchung (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 8*a*).

What happened to the Uighurs from 1086 until 1227? Having been settled in the territories of Chiossulo since 1036, mixed with the Tibetan tribes depending on him, and having pledged allegiance to him, inevitably they had endorsed the policy of the tribes of Huangchung and had a desperate time. During the fifty years of wars and destruction many of these Uighur tribes must have disintegrated and mixed with others. In 1369, at the time the Ming dynasty conquered Kansu, organized the country, and established the régime of the t'u-ssu, the disaster was wrought among the tribes, especially in East Kansu.

Tang-hsiang tribes, in which T'u-fan tribes had mixed, had been settled in East Kansu since 627. Shat'o groups, in 955, had scattered into the remotest southwestern parts of East Kansu, in the region of the upper T'ao River and near the borders of Szechwan. In 1036, in the same region, a large number of Uighurs must have been settled and at the débacle of the Mongol dynasty (1368) many Mongol groups also remained in these countries.

Scanning the list of the t'u-ssu established in that region in Ming times, one wonders to see in the *Annals* of Kansu the clear distinction established among the subjects of the t'u-ssu. Every time, their subject Tibetan tribes are accurately noted as Tibetans, and next to them their native subject tribes. This intended distinction seems to point at genuine Tibetan tribes and at the mixture of Shat'o Uighurs and Mongols qualified as natives.

SARO AND SHERA UIGHURS

In the remote country of the mountainous Ming Chou Hsien at the source of the T'ao River is recorded the T'u-ssu Ma Chin-tung, of Chinese origin, controlling 26 native tribes (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 27*a*). In the same region T'u-ssu Hu Ch'eng controlled 41 vil-

[P.17(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

42: 32 *a–b*). Among these tribes one is called Shat'o tribe (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 64*a*) and several are called Black Tibetans (Uighurs) (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 67*a*). Also is noted a revolt of Black Tibetan tribes in 1712 in which the Black Tibetans of Yang T'u-ssu joined. The t'u-ssu helped subdue the revolt and titles were granted to thirty-seven tribes of these Black Tibetans (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 32*a*). There are only recorded the most important t'u-ssu. Finally two important groups of Yellow and Black Tibetan tribes (Uighurs) are recorded in that remote mountainous region, which during the Manchu dynasty still lived independently, controlled by their own chiefs, and to which joined the Yellow and Black Tibetans who had submitted to local chieftains.

M 175x 619 563 U 175 619

The Black Tibetans (Uighurs) living in the T'ao Chou district, depending on the Yang T'u-ssu of Choni, revolted during eleven years from 1868 to 1879.

Since 1822, the rebels of the old White Nenuphar groups, incessantly changing the name of their groups and moving from Szechwan Province, had invaded East Kansu and wrought tremendous havoc among the people of all of East Kansu for more than fifty years. The Tibetan, Uighur, and Shat'o tribes revolted at the same time. All the revolts were directed against the hated Manchu dynasty, a dynasty of barbarian origin which ruled China.

In 1868 the revolt of the Black Tibetans of Yang T'u-ssu had been more or less quelled. It broke out in full swing in 1879 again. According to the *Annals* of Kansu 46: 70*a*, a Black Tibetan, subject of the Yang t'u-ssu, called Cho yang-jen-chieh, living in the Kua-tse-ku, was a shaman by profession. In 1879, during the devastating earthquake of the fifth moon, his wife gave birth to a boy, whom he insidiously had called to be a Living Buddha. The baby was brought to the monastery and the lamas with the shaman, intending to make money, spread the news. During the feast prepared to honor the Living Buddha, attended by a huge crowd making offerings, the shaman, a piece of red cotton rolled on his head and a sword in his girdle, performed the shamanistic rites. Enraptured in a wild trance, he disclosed what his spirit had just imparted to him: the Living Buddha was chosen, the spirit said, to become the emperor of China. All the Black Tibetans of the four tribes were enrolled in the army of the Buddha, weapons were prepared, and the Uighurs attacked the villages of Ah Ho T'an and Yung P'ing and others. At that time the revolt of the White Nenuphar, called by the Chinese the "Hairy brigands," was still raging in East Kansu. Troops soon arrived. The Black Tibetans were beaten and pursued.

M 175x 648 U 175 648

The Governor General Tso Tsung-t'ang sent more troops, ordering them to capture the chiefs of the revolt. The shaman, the Living Buddha, and twenty other men were captured and killed, and T'ao Chou district was

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AIH

at peace. This typical incident depicts the true mentality of the barbarian tribes at that time, and the impact of shamanism and Buddhism upon these old Manicheans.

M 175x 648 U 175 648

MA-T'I SSU, THE HORSESHOE MONASTERY

M 792

In the southern mountains of the subprefecture of Yung Ch'ang, in 1912, Fathers Essens, Selosse, and I visited a small group of Uighurs, living in the Ma-t'i Ssu-ku, the valley of the monastery of the Horseshoe. We saw two temples built in the rock. The upper temple was administered by lamas, the lower one by a couple of Chinese monks.

M 173

In the red sandstone of the mountain was a deep cave, where the lamas pointed to a large horseshoe imprinted on the floor. It was said to be the print of the shoe of the horse mounted in time of war by the legendary Gesar, who later became a Chinese god of war. Maybe for that reason Chinese monks live there. An iron stake was also planted in the cave on which two heavy chains were attached, said to be the chains with which Gesar restrained his terrible mastiffs. Legends were told claiming that Gesar had lived in the valley and built the temples.

M 792

At present the temple is an affiliate of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung belonging to the Living Buddha T'u-kuan. In one of his previous existences he had bought some land in that country, the revenues from which were used for the support of the lamas and the payment of yearly interest on the capital invested by the Living Buddha. The lama director of the monastery is responsible for the administration of the monastery and is appointed by the Living Buddha (Monguors II: 52).

M 175x 648 U 175 648

The monastery of the Horseshoe seems to have existed long before the T'u-kuan Living Buddhas and the monastery of Erh-ku-long existed (1604), for we read in the *Annals* of Kansu 97: 37, that a lama from Tibet living in Ma-t'i Ssu, named Pa-shih-ha, was appointed by the Dalai Lama to collect from the Uighurs of the country the *t'ien-pa*, the yearly field tax, and to send it to Lhasa. It is noted also that the Uighurs of the country, every time they killed an ox or a sheep, had to offer to the lamas of Ma-t'i Ssu some meat or a skin for the support of the lamas. Did the Horseshoe monastery or hermitage already exist before the Khoshot Kushihhan had conquered Tibet and offered it to the Dalai Lama in 1642? It seems to be a very old hermitage on account of the legends claiming its origin date from the time of Gesar.

U 175

The *Annals* of Kansu claim also that the Uighurs living in the Horseshoe region were Yellow and Black Tibetans (shera saro Uighurs). When these Uighurs had settled in that country is unknown. They were engaged partly in farming but mostly in cattle breeding. Their daughters married Tibetan boys; their boys married Tibetan girls. The clothes of the women were

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

partly Tibetan and partly Mongol. In not too long a time they would have become thoroughly Tibetan.[41]

U 175

ETHNOGRAPHY OF HUANGCHUNG AND EAST KANSU

M 175x 648 167

The preceding notes have an important ethnographic bearing. It has been noted that in 625, for fear of invading T'u-fan of Tibet, several thousand Tang-hsiang from the region of Sung P'an in Szechwan had fled to East Kansu, submitted to China, and had been settled in East Kansu and Mi Chih in Shansi; also that T'u-fan hordes chased the T'u-ku-hun from Huang-chung and the Kokonor region and settled in Huang-chung in 629. From 763 until 842 the whole of Kansu had been lost to China; the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the country and appointed his officials. Consequently, the bulk of the population of East Kansu consisted of Tang-hsiang and T'u-fan subjects. In 955 the Shat'o nation disintegrated and many Shat'o groups were incorporated in the Tibetan tribes in East Kansu and many fled to Huangchung, joining the Shat'o group which was living there in 939. In 1036 tens of thousands of Uighurs surrendered to Chiossulo who settled them in Huangchung and in East Kansu. In 1368, in the Ming dynasty, some Uighur groups had still kept their tribal organization but, under the leadership of t'u-ssu, others had become mixed with Tibetans and Shat'o in village formations and two groups had conserved their autonomy under the leadership of their own chiefs. When in 1712–1723 these groups revolted against the Ch'ing dynasty, many small groups of Uighurs controlled by t'u-ssu followed the people of their race in the revolt. During the Mongol period (1280–1368) many groups of Mongols settled in East Kansu and Huangchung. After the collapse of their dynasty most of them submitted to the Ming and remained in the country. Some of their chiefs became t'u-ssu and other groups disintegrated and dispersed in the country.

M [563]

These notes explain what specific tribes constitute the base of the present population in Huangchung and East Kansu and at what time these tribes had arrived in Kansu. During centuries they lived one next to the other, feuding and blending with the few Chinese of the country, forming the compound called Kansu Chinese.

COLLAPSE OF THE T'U-FAN KINGDOM OF HUANGCHUNG

M 175x [595]

Chiossulo had three wives. The first, belonging to the Ch'iao family, bore one son, Tung-chan; the second, the daughter of the lama Li Li-tsun, the dismissed minister, bore two sons; no notes concern the third (*Annals*

[41] Mathias Hermann, S.V.D., Uiguren und ihre neuentdekten Nachkommen, *Anthropos*, 78–99, 1940–1941.

[p. 19(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*a*. *Sung Shih* **492**: 14*a–b*). In 175x
1065 Chiossulo appointed Tung Chan chief of the tribes. He governed 600,000 subjects. The emperor ratified the appointment in 1068, granted to the new 175x
chief the titles previously bestowed upon the father, 648
and seized the opportunity to send Chinese officials to help him administer Huangchung. Tung Chan was a faithful defender of the empire. When the Hsi Hsia in 1070 invaded East Kansu, he attacked them, thus breaking the impact of the invasion. In 1081, 120,000 of his troops fought the Hsi Hsia at the side of the imperial armies. He and his wife were repeatedly bestowed with more and more honorific titles. The Hsi Hsia tried to persuade him to transfer his allegiance to them, but he refused the offer. Thereupon the Hsi Hsia invaded Huangchung and laid siege to his city of Mao-ch'uan. He raised the siege making peace with the Hsi Hsia against the orders of the emperor. He died in 1086 (*Annals* of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*b*. *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 11*b*. *Sung Shih* **492**: 16*b*).

Jealousy and hatred long smoldered among the wives [628
of Chiossulo. At the death of the lama Li Li-tsun, the 578]
dismissed minister, Chiossulo, to humiliate his daughter, had moved her to Kuo Chou, and then a large number of tribes of the Li clan had seceded and moved to the southern part of East Kansu. In 1057, advised by her brother, she had left Kuo Chou and fled with her sons to the city of Tsun K'o, situated in the main territory of the Li clan. Chiossulo, in order to avoid more trouble with the powerful Li clan, appointed her sons as chiefs of the tribes of Ni-ku and T'ao and Ho-chou in East Kansu and the emperor granted them official titles.

However, hatred was already too deeply embedded in the hearts of the Li clan, and Mou Cheng, son of the second wife of Chiossulo, started trouble in East Kansu in 1064, conniving with the Hsi Hsia. The Hsi Hsia were defeated and Mou Cheng submitted to the emperor and received new important titles. At the death of Chiossulo in 1065, Mou Cheng, the leader of the opposition, followed by an important number of clans and in connivance with the Hsi Hsia, was again on the warpath in 1072 in East Kansu. More Chinese armies arrived, cities were taken and retaken, and the wife of Mou Cheng and his children were taken prisoner by General Wang Ch'ao. East Kansu was laid waste. Finally after two years of destruction, Mou Cheng with eighteen chiefs of tribes submitted to China. Again more new important titles were granted to him and even the name of the Sung dynasty, Chao, was bestowed (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 10, 12. *Annals* of Hsining **31B**: 33, 3, 4, 5. *Sung Shih* **492**: 14, 16).

The legitimate son of Tung Chan having died, he 175x
appointed in 1086 as his successor, A li ku, the son of 643
his beloved concubine, a boy born in Khotan from an [597]
unknown father, causing forever the ruin of the T'u-fan 648
kingdom built by Tung Chan. The emperor ratified

[P.20 (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

the appointment despite the memorial presented to the throne by minister Su Shih (*Annals* of Hsining 33B: 9, 10). The emperor preferred the time-honored policy of his predecessors sowing discord among tribes threatening the empire. He anticipated the annihilation of the tribes by themselves, and the easy recovery of East Kansu and Huangchung. The tribes in favor of the legitimate offspring of the second wife of Chiossulo started a murderous struggle with the tribes following A li ku, backed by Chinese troops. Again the savage propensity for self-destruction among the tribes was soon in full sway and tribes tore themselves to pieces. The emperor granted titles to A li ku and his son and also to the offspring of the second wife of Chiossulo. A war of destruction went on until the death of A li ku in 1096, who had appointed his son as his successor. The appointment was again ratified by the emperor. This time all the T'u-fan, Uighur, and Shat'o tribes revolted against the empire. A strong army of 100,000 invited Hsi Hsia troops came to rescue them in Mao Ch'uan. A tremendous blow was administered to the Chinese. Then the Chinese general, in desperate straits, made an offer of settlement and invited some T'u-fan chiefs to appoint the son of Mou Cheng as chief of the tribes because, he said, he was the genuine offspring of Chiossulo!

But it was too late. The tribes did not abide by the decision of the chiefs and had become the irreconcilable enemies of China. Murderous fighting continued, the cities in Huangchung were taken and retaken several times and delivered to sack and slaughter by Chinese troops and then by the rebel tribes indulging in acts of gratuitous cruelty. Villages became clusters of ruined hovels. Many tribes disintegrating, groups of them fled to the southern part of East Kansu and to the borders of Kokonor, but the Chinese troops continued fighting against the Huangchung tribes associated with the Hsi Hsia until 1115, laying waste the whole country (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 1, 14; *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 6, 7). At that time, the Chin empire embarking upon the conquest of China, the Chinese troops were ordered to leave Huangchung. Chin armies peacefully occupied Huangchung in 1131. Huangchung had enjoyed a period of glory and unusual wealth during fifty years (1036–1086) followed by forty-five years of internecine wars among the tribes and savage destruction of the country (1086–1131).

From 1131 until the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols in 1227, the history of Huangchung is a blank page. The conquest of East Kansu and the war with China and the Hsi Hsia absorbed the whole forces of the Chin emperor. An official appointed in Ho Chou in East Kansu by the Chin cared for the uninteresting, exhausted, and depleted tribes of Huangchung, with its ruined cities and villages and starving T'u-fan, Tang-hsiang, Uighur and Shat'o population. It may be assumed that in these circumstances the pitiful tribes

[p.20(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

Sixty years after Huangchung had been conquered by Subudei (1227) the civil and military organization of the country was started. We do not know who cared for Huangchung before that time. Only *Hsin Yuan Shih* **48**: 5*a* records that for the first time, in 1269, after forty years, in Ho-chou (East Kansu) a bureau for the pacification of the T'u-fan (T'u-fan hsuan-wei-sse) had been established, and it may be presumed that Ho Chou kept an eye on Huangchung from that time on. However, Ao-lu-ch'ih controlled the Tibetans (*Annals* of Hsining **23**: 3*a*). Finally in 1286 Hsining was created a district (chou) depending on the military commandery (Tsung-kuan-fu) of the circuit (Lu) of I-chi-nai, situated 500 li northeast of Suchow in the Gobi. Regular civil and military officials were appointed (*Annals* of Hsining **22**: 5*a*) and the institution of the graneries established, from which we can infer that land taxes were imposed (*Annals* of Hsining **31B**, 8*b*; *Hsin Yuan Shih* **48**: 24*a*). In 1287 Chang Chi received the title of Prince of Ning P'u, prince of the second degree, with the duty of military commander and governor of Huangchung and with the order to garrison the country (*Annals* of Hsining **32B**: 8*b*; *Yuan Shih* **14**: 13*b*, 27, 60; *Ming Shih* **330**: 1*b*). This seems to indicate that Chang Chi, before that time, had not resided in his appanage and had not administered it, although he had been entitled to receive some revenues from it. He had been a simple commander of his own troops, always available to be sent by his superiors where emergencies arose. It was in that way that his troops had fought under the command of Ao-lu-ch'ih in 1275, that in 1288 he was ordered, in combination with other commanders, to fight Kaidu, who attacked the frontiers of Kansu (*Yuan Shih* **15**: 1*b*) and that in 1289 he helped to quell the revolt of Shiliemen (*Yuan Shih* **15**:14*a*). The date of the death of Chang Chi is not recorded. It is only noted that his wife received a title in 1317 and a gift in silver and cash (*Yuan Shih* **26**: 2*b*, 3*a*, 26).[47]

M 175x HM 648 HM [631] HM [631]

The fact that in 1286 the granary offices were established and land taxes imposed proves that in Huangchung land was tilled. Consequently, the country must have recovered more or less from the tremendous devastation wrought by the disastrous wars, which had lasted for forty-five years preceding the conquest of Huangchung by the Chin (1131) and during their peaceful occupation of the country, which lasted for a century (1131–1227). The depleted tribes of T'u-fan, Uighurs, and Shat'o, having lost most of their herds, would have been forced to concentrate on farming in order to earn a living, and to indulge in some trade and manufacture according to the circumstances. It may be supposed that, since the time of the conquest of Hsining by the Mongols (1227), troops, accompanied by their families as was the rule, occupied the country and practiced agriculture as did previous Chinese colonists, for no

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

[47] Hambis, *op. cit.* **108**: 160–162.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

granaries existed before 1286, and no officials to provide for the subsistence of the soldiers. Moreover, it is a fact of common knowledge that Kubilai ordered the Mongol troops to farm and to defend the country at the same time.[48] This is borne out also by the fact that at the time the Ming dynasty (1368) started establishing Chinese colonies in Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 55; *Annals* of Hsining 24: 14*b*, and Monguors I: 30, 33), the conquered Mongol troops had to leave the irrigated country around the cities and were relegated to side valleys. The memory of this fateful decision, made by the Ming, was still fresh among the Monguors in 1910, and their tradition went so far as to claim their ancestors as the initial diggers of the irrigation canals and the inaugurators of agriculture in the country.

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

We get the confirmation of this fact from the celebrated Marco Polo, who with his father Nicolo and his uncle Matteo, went to Hsining in 1274, on his way from Venice to Peking. He writes, "the population of this country consists chiefly of idolators (Shamanists, lamaists) but there are also some Mohammedans and Christians (Nestorians) . . . the inhabitants employ themselves in trade and manufacturing. They have grain in abundance."[49]

M 175x 113 HM 175 113

Probably Marco Polo made this statement because the Mongol troops and the Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o farmed in Huangchung. This text proves also that probably during the century of peace preceding the conquest of Hsining by the Mongols, some Mohammedans and Nestorians from Turkistan had returned to Hsining, which they had known since the time of Chiossulo (1038), to engage in trade.

HM [244]

However, because the note of Marco Polo dates from 1274, we have to consider that during the campaigns of Chingis Khan in Turkistan, which had started in 1209, the Mongols had come in close contact with Mohammedans and Uighurs.[50] The influence exerted at court by the Mohammedan Yalavach is well known. It was so striking that Empress Toragana had to remove and demote him at the time he tried to impede the succession of Guyuk to Ogodei, planned by the empress.[51]

M 175x HM 175

According to H. F. Schurmann, in the early years of the Mongolian rule in North China a great number of Central Asiatic merchants had moved into China and organized in the corporation known as "Ortaq." Ortaq means "partner" or companion. These merchants were financial "partners" of members of the imperial family and nobility, from whom they received sizable amounts of silver as loans. This capital they used to expand their trade activities. In addition, many of them func-

HM [244]

M 175x 652 HM 175 652

[48] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 562.

[49] *The travels of Marco Polo*, translated and edited by W. Marsden, reedited by Thomas Right, 135–138, Everyman's Library, J. M. Dent, London, 1950.

[50] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 483.

[51] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 276, 306.

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Historical Mongolia AH2

M 175x [652] HM 175 [652]

tioned as tax farmers who collected revenues and taxes from the appanages of their benefactors. The financial administration of the appanages prior to the year 1260 was in the hands of the feudatories and not in the hands of the imperial government. After 1260 the situation changed radically; the newly established central government by Kubilai took over the financial administration of all parts of the realm. The revenues of the feudatories from their appanages were collected by officials of the central government and then turned over to the feudatories.[52] Consequently, Mohammedans must have lived in Hsining since 1260, caring for the control of the appanage of Chang Chi, and it is quite possible that other Mohammedans and Uighur Nestorians would have moved to Huangchung to indulge in trade during the Mongol period, even long before 1260. Later it will be noted that during the Mongol period Mohammedan Salars and the clan of the later Yeh T'u-ssu moved into Huangchung.

In the *Annals* of Hsining **31B**: 8*b*, is still noted the appointment in 1303 of the Prince of Hsining, Ch'u Pei,[53] as commander of all the troops of Kansu. However, no movement of troops is noted.

Also it is recorded in 1324 that Ch'u Pei rescued from famine the troops of the Prince of Hsi-p'ing (*Annals* of Hsining **31B**: 8*b*). Ho-lu-ch'ih, Prince of Hsi-p'ing, had died soon after 1303 in Ninghsia, his son Pu-ti-ma-ti-chia had inherited the title of his father, and later in 1337 the grandson Kuan-pu-pa. Thus Pu-ti-ma-ti-chia received help from Hsining and his troops were garrisoned in Lan, Kuan, and Lingwu.[54]

The *Annals* of Hsining note that in 1329 to Sulaiman[55] was granted the title of Prince of Hsining (and not of Hsip'ing), and that in 1332 on account of his military achievements, the emperor created four appointments of "preceptor of the prince." A seal was cast and bestowed upon the prince by the emperor. However, Sulaiman never lived in Hsining.

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

Two names of pacifiers of T'u-fan are also mentioned in the *Annals* of Hsining **22**: 3*b*, Chin-ch'a-t'ai[56] and Cho-chi-ssu-pan.

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[52] H. F. Schurmann, reviewing Herbert Franke's Geld und Wirtschaft in China der Mongolenherrschaft, in H.J.O.A.S., Vol. 15, June 25.

[53] *Yuan Shih* **21**: 6*a*; Hambis, *op. cit.* **108**: 113 and **107**: 92, 8.

[54] *Hsin Yuan Shih* **114**: 7*b*, 8*a*, *b*; Hambis, *op. cit.* **108**: 141–143.

[55] *Yuan Shih* **36**: 4*b*; *Annals* of Hsining **31B**: 9*a*; Hambis, *op. cit.* **108**: 103.

[56] Chin Ch'a-t'ai was the second son of Kochkar, great-grandson of Barchug, idukut (chief) of an Uighur tribe, which pledged allegiance to Chingis Khan in 1209 in Turkistan. The tribe remained faithful to the Mongol dynasty. Chin Ch'a-t'ai in 1318, refused the titles of Idukut and of prince of Kao Ch'ang, granted to his nephew T'ieh-mu-erh-pu-huo, who asked the emperor to bestow them upon his uncle (Hambis, *op. cit.* **8**: 132, note 3; *Hsin Yuan Shih* **116**: 7*b*).

Francis Woodman Cleaves, The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1372 in memory of Prince Hindu, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* **12** (142): 1 sq., June, 1949.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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In Kuei Te, south of Hsining, on the bank of the Yellow River, a fortress had been built and a garrison established by the troops of Huangchung during the period Chih-yuan (between 1335 and 1340), in order to prevent inroads in Huangchung by T'u-fan or Tang-hsiang from East Kansu. Terrible famines, started in 1337, desolated East Kansu for years, and T'u-fan plundered East Kansu, pillaging more than two hundred cities and villages (*Annals* of Hsining 9: 11*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 21*b*). Another important fortress was built 140 li west of the city of Yung Nan, northwest of Hsining, called the triangle city (San-chiao-ch'eng) and a strong garrison established. It controlled the routes leading from Kokonor to Suchow, Kanchow and Liangchow, I-chi-nai and Ch'ih-chin (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 18*a–b*) and prevented inroads of T'u-fan and attacks of Mongols during the terrible revolt of Kaidu against Kubilai.

M 175x 648 [71]
HM 175 648 [71]

In both *Annals* nothing is noted relating to lamas traveling through Huangchung troubling the people, as is noted concerning lamas traveling through East Kansu on their way from Lhasa to Peking. Maybe the lamas knew that the country was too poor and entirely devastated and so they preferred to travel through East Kansu.

M 175x [48]
HM 175 [48]

These are the poor records collected in the *Annals* of Hsining and of the province of Kansu, concerning the history of Huangchung during the period of the Yuan. No records are available, as is the case for the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, relating to the distribution and amount of land, salt, and mill taxes, or relating to the exchange of tea against horses, bureaus for which were established in East Kansu, in T'ao Chou and Kung-ch'ang (*Annals* of Hsining 17: 36). No records are available concerning the size of the population, the number of tribes living in the country, or the economic situation, or even the building of a single school or of Confucian or Taoist temples. There is only noted the existence of the Buddhist temple Ta Fo Ssu (*Annals* of Hsining 15: 1*b*) built by the ancestors of the Li t'u-ssu clan during the Yuan period (Monguors II: 14). However, in the *Annals* it is carefully recorded that the Ming started with the erection of schools, the building of cities and hotels for the officials (*Annals* of Hsining 14: 4*b*, 6*a*, 10*a*), and so we may conclude that during the last years of the Sung dynasty and the ravaging wars waged by tribes for forty-five years, enraged against the Chinese, taking and retaking and destroying cities, etc., few public institutions and buildings would have been left in the cities, and that nothing would have been done by the Yuan for the reconstruction of the country. The Mongol troops engaged in agriculture guarded the thinly populated country. That the country was thinly populated is borne out by the fact that the Ming rewarded lamas for alluring Tibetans to settle in the country (Monguors II: 16, 17), and also by the fact that two cities, situated

HM [16]
HM [34]

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south of Nienpei, Kuo Chou and Mi Chou, had been disestablished (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 12, and 7: 14).

During the Yuan dynasty a military organization had been elaborated in Huangchung providing for the defense of the strategic and vulnerable points of the country. Only two Mongol officers had been sent with their troops to occupy the country: the myriarch Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi, who controlled 10,000 soldiers with their families, and Ch'i-T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, a Mongol officer, who commanded twenty tribes of Chi-pen Mongols. Surrendered tribal local chieftains were enlisted in the cadre of the regular army; they received a title, and were assigned other tribes as subjects, in order to strengthen their military power. Each of them had to defend a definite area and was responsible for the peace of the area. To be sure a high officer controlled this military organization, but only the name of Chang Chi is known, Governor of Huangchung. At the time of the collapse of the Yuan dynasty, this group of officers submitted to the Ming and all of them became t'u-ssu and the founders of the Monguor clans of Huangchung.

It is easy to understand that the troops of Huangchung submitted to the Ming dynasty, in view of the dissensions existing among the Mongol princes at that time, the pitiable flight of the emperor from his capital, the defeat of the Mongol forces and the disintegration of the Mongol nation—all things which were known in the minutest detail by the officials in Huangchung. All the more, what were the conditions in the homelands of the soldiers of Hsining, who long since had been enlisted in the Mongol armies and who had their families following them in Huangchung? They had no way to move. Guarding the country of Huangchung, they had practiced agriculture, and knew they could make a living remaining in the country. There seems to have been no alternative for them, except to wait for the arrival of the new lords of the empire, and then to make the best of a bad situation, offering to remain guardians of the country in behalf of the new masters, as defeated troops in the Orient often used to do for centuries. That the officers, originating from Huangchung, agreed with the decision is not difficult to understand.

CONQUEST OF HUANGCHUNG BY THE MING

CONQUEST OF KANSU

After the death of Emperor Ch'eng Tsung, grandson of Kubilai (1295–1307), no capable emperors succeeded to the throne of the Yuan. During the reign of Emperor Huei Tsung (1333–1368) the provinces situated south of the Yangtse River were lost in 1360 and occupied by several groups of rebels who looted the country of its wealth. Chou Yuan-chang, chief of a group of rebels, succeeded in establishing a provisional government. He defeated or received the alle-

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dynasty, must have deeply impressed the other Kansu princes and officials, who had also received the same invitation to surrender. In the same year another Monguor prince of Huangchung, member of the imperial family, Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, surrendered. He had been appointed by the Yuan emperor guardian of the region 90 li south of Hsining, had discharged the office of myriarch with golden badge and purple tassel, was official of the Li-wen-so of the province of Kansu and enjoyed the title of duke. His subjects numbered 800 families organized in four tribes, scattered in many villages in the region south of Hsining, noted for the forays of savage and predatory Tibetans (Monguors I: 53; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 35). He was the first among the Monguor t'u-ssu of Huangchung who surrendered. 175x

In 1370, on the third moon, K'uo K'uo Timur attacked with a new army the Ming troops in the Lanchow region, but suffered a crushing defeat at Shen-erh-ku, at the hand of Su Ta. Here 1,800 princes and officials were taken prisoner and 80,000 soldiers died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 22*b*). General Li Wen-chung, moving from Peking in pursuit of the Yuan emperor, reached in the fifth moon of the same year, the imperial family in Yin-ch'ang, where the last emperor of the Yuan had died a month before. He took prisoner the grandson of the emperor, the empresses, and princesses, etc. Only the heir apparent to the throne escaped toward Karakorum. 175x 648 669

Su Ta seized the opportunity of his victory to send all over the country Hsiu Yung-te, secretary general of the administrative organ of Shensi province, again inviting the officials to submit, while he continued the conquest of the cities and regions situated in the southeast of Kansu. Here the Yuan had established Hsuan-wei-sse (pacification commanderies) and many myriarchies and chyliarchies, with Mongol incumbents endowed with hereditary titles, commanding a thousand or ten thousand soldiers with their families. The administrative center of the country was Ho Chou (*Yuan Shih* 60: 10*a,b*; *Hsin Yuan Shih* 48: 8–11). 175x 648

The invitation to submission reached fruition, for in the sixth moon the Tibetan Suo-nan-pu, who had filled during the Yuan the important office of pacification commander and controlled forty-eight Tibetan tribes, arrived at the headquarters of General Teng Yu, offering the emblems and documents of his office, received from the Yuan. Later the name Ho was granted to him and the office of assistant commander of the commanderies of Ho Chou and Wei Chou. Together with the powerful Suo-nan-pu the Tibetan tribes living in the districts of Chi Ch'eng, T'ao Chou, and Min Chou, and the eighteen tribes of Chieh and Wen Chou surrendered.

In the same sixth moon, the Prince of Wu Ching, Bu Ma La, pacifier of the western regions, descendant of Ao-lu-ch'ih, the seventh son of Kubulai, following

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in the wake of the Lu and Ch'i princes, surrendered with all the Tibetan tribes subject to him.[59] 175x 648

In the eighth moon, after receiving the invitation conveyed by the "interpreter introducer" Kung-k'o So-nan, the prince of Kao Ch'ang, Huo Chang, and the prince of Ch'i, Sang Ko, and Dorjibal, surrendered with their subjects.[60]

In 1371, on the third moon, another conquered Mongol prince, T'o-li-pe-lai, was sent to the still unconquered Mongol officials in Kansu with summons to transfer their allegiance to the new Ming dynasty. The repeated sending of messengers with summons for peaceful surrender, and the ceaseless surrender of Mongol princes and officials in Kansu, point to the presence of the tremendous number of Mongols living in that province at that time, mixed with Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o, and at the number of officials who still seemed to "wait and see."

GENERAL SURRENDER OF THE MONGUOR OFFICIALS IN HUANGCHUNG

The Monguor officials in Huangchung still waited, despite the two summonses they had received in 1369 and 1370. To be sure an atmosphere of dark apprehension and portent must have hung over Huangchung after the flight of the imperial family, the capture of the capital, the creation of the new dynasty, the crushing defeats of the armies of K'uo K'uo Temur and the daily surrender of Mongol princes and officials east and west in their neighborhood. They must have realized that no peg remained on which to hang a last shred of hope for the restoration of their crumbled dynasty, and that a return toward Mongolia boded hopeless ills. In many councils there must have been discussed on the one hand all those fateful circumstances, and the presence at their very door of the victorious armies of Su Ta. On the other hand they must have appreciatively considered the fact of the reappointment in their former offices of the conquered officials. Then unexpectedly, in the third moon in 1371, was delivered the last summons to surrender, by the Mongol Prince T'o-li-pe-lai. This time the decision was readily taken; the officials would submit and remain the guardians of the country in behalf of the new emperor.

On the fifth moon the Mongol, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who controlled twenty tribes of Chi-pen Mongols composed of 700 families settled near Nien-pe in Ta-tse-

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[59] *Ming Shih*, 331, 1*b*; *Ming Hung-wu Shih-lu*, 53, 15.

[60] Huo Chang is a descendant in the eighth generation of the Uighur chief Barchuk, who submitted to Chingis Khan in Turkistan in 1209. From Nanuril, his descendant of the fourth generation, who died in 1318, and was the first Prince of Kao-ch'ang, the list of successions is confusing. The same is true of Sangko and Dorjibal. Sangko is noted as Prince of Kao-Ch'ang and Dorjibal as Prince of Ch'i!

Hambis, *op. cit.* 108: 7, 50, 132, 133; *Hsin Yuan Shih* 116: 5*b*, 7*a*, 9*b*; F. W. Cleaves, The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362, 25 sq., H.J.A.S., Vol. 1949, N. 1-2.

wan (the bent of the Mongols), and who was assistant official of the administrative body of the province of Kansu, representing all the officials of Huangchung, went to court to surrender (*Annals* of Hsining 27 : 9*b*). Together with him, Li Nan-ko, of Shat'o origin, vice-chairman of the administrative body of Hsining, surrendered with the officials of the entire district (*Annals* of Hsining 31 : 9; *Annals* of Kansu 42 : 46*b*), and all the officials received appointments.[61] T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, Li Nan-ko, and all the officials who had surrendered, became the founding ancestors of the t'u-ssu clans[62] in Huangchung (Monguors I : 31). To them is to be added Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, member of the imperial family who had surrendered in 1369. In that way all the officials of the region of Hsining and Nienpei had surrendered and in the next year, 1372, Hsining was created a commandery (*Annals* of Hsining 31 : 9*b*). In the first moon of 1373 the emperor sent the edict to T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh: 175x 648

> I govern the empire; with prominent people of all the world who love justice, I deal with courtesy, granting them offices, in order that they might have the opportunity to manifest their qualities. You, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who have lived long in the western country, have heard about our highly developed culture and have come to my court. I appreciate your intention. Now at the beginning of the establishment of the commandery of Hsining, I especially request your help. I hope you will devote yourself wholeheartedly to the submission of the tribes and the strict observance of the law, in order that the country may enjoy peace. I hope you will respond to my desire to give you this appointment. Have the title of Hsuan-wei chiang-chun (general who manifests his military qualities) and be commander of the commandery of Hsining. Edict, First moon, Sixth year, Hung Wu period. (*Annals* of Hsining 32: 16*a*.) 175x 671

The *Annals* note that he had received at the time of his surrender in 1371 the hereditary function of secretary commandant. The imperial edict of the first moon of 1373 granted him the function of commander of the commandery. The clan of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was rewarded in 1401 by the emperor with the name Ch'i, when his son Chuan Chou had died on the field of battle. [614 553]

WHO WERE THE OFFICIALS WHO SURRENDERED IN A GROUP IN 1371?

The Mongol T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh and his 700 families, the Shat'o Li Nan-ko with his 4,000 families, the Shat'o Li Wen nephew of Li Nan-ko, controlling 963 families, and the Shat'o chiefs Na-sha-mi and Chi 175x 622 614

[61] *Ming Shih* 330 : 2*a*.

[62] I use the term "clan" to refer to a group sharing a common territory, a common surname, and a common chief. Monguor clans consist both of persons who recognize real or traditional kinship ties with the chief, and persons who do not recognize such ties but who have, nevertheless, adopted the surname of the chief and his kinsmen at the time they were integrated in the group.

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Ming fixed the number of both foot and horse each of them had to keep ready for emergencies and indicated the mountain passes they had to defend. 175x 614

An interesting fact is that all the subjects of the 16 *t'u-ssu* are called *t'u-min* or *t'u-jen* in the *Annals* and by the people. Soldiers in the Yuan time were accompanied by their families. At that time no Chinese lived in Huangchung. Huangchung was the land of the barbarian Monguors, controlled by Monguor chiefs. It is no wonder that when the Chinese started founding Chinese colonies in Huangchung, the colonists called the Monguors natives, and called Hsi-fan the few uninteresting small Tibetan tribes having their own petty chiefs, for their language and customs differed entirely from those of the Monguors. [70]

Still in Huangchung, on the borders of the Yellow River, but not in the prefecture of Hsining, are encountered two groups of Salars (Muslim Turks of Samarkand) who lived in Huangchung during the Yuan time, having no or few relations with the Monguors. They had already surrendered to the Ming on their own account in 1370, and their two chiefs had received an incumbency. The clan chief Han Pao-yuan had received the office of centurion. He controlled the four upper Salar clans (Kung) who had adopted the surname Han and inhabited the region west of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 43*a*). The clan chief Han Shan-pa had also received the office of centurion. He controlled the four lower Salar clans, which had adopted the surname Ma, and inhabited the region east of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 43*b*). The four upper and four lower Salar clans are called the eight inner Salar clans (Nei Pa-kung). There still remain five outer Salar clans (Wai Pa-kung) depending on and controlled by the subprefecture of Pa-yen-jung (Monguors I: 22, 23). 175x 563 648

It is not known at what time the Salars settled in Huangchung. A legend is still spread among them relating to their arrival in the country during the Tang dynasty, 620–905. Anyway, the Salars were settled in Huangchung during the Yuan time (1280–1368) and surrendered to the Ming in 1370.[64] Consequently, in the fifth moon of 1371 the entire population of Huangchung with its chiefs had surrendered to the Ming. 175x 563

MING POLICY TOWARD SURRENDERING TRIBES

The policy adopted by the Ming in Kansu, in order to promote the surrender of the numerous groups of Mongol officials living in that country who still commanded a fair number of soldiers and tribes of Tibetans with soldiers subject to them, which was to appoint the Mongol officials and tribal chiefs officials of the newly established dynasty, retaining control over their 175x 648

[64] William Woodville Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892*, 80, Smithsonian Institution, 1894.

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own troops, seems at first sight to have been a dangerous one. The Mings must have known that many armed groups of Mongols had fled to Mongolia; they must have surmised that the heir apparent of the Mongol nation would try to invade China and recover his lost empire, and that in such circumstances the faithfulness of the surrendered Mongol officials in Kansu still commanding their own troops would have been questionable. However, without hesitation and apprehension they went ahead, using from the very beginning the surrendered officials to induce other Mongol officials and Tibetan tribes to surrender. Even from the very beginning they ordered their troops to follow the imperial armies fighting unconquered or revolting tribes of Mongol officials, even ordering their troops to fight Mongol armies at the side of the Chinese armies in expeditions to Mongolia. Several t'u-ssu and hundreds of their soldiers died on the fields of battle; even t'u-ssu were sent with their troops to other provinces to quell revolts. But after every military achievement the emperors never omitted to bestow upon the t'u-ssu awards and titles of which they were unusually fond. In Kansu the number of Mongol officials who rebelled after their surrender was small. Many t'u-ssu later on, remaining chiefs of their clans, at the same time entered the framework of the civil and military Chinese officials and fulfilled their duties in Chinese territory, receiving the rewards or punishments proper to the office. It may be said that the policy of the Ming in Kansu promoting the surrender of Mongol officers and tribal chiefs was successful and of enormous profit to the dynasty.

ANCESTORS OF THE LI T'U-SSU CLAN

The tradition all over the country and confirmed by both the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 38*a*, 46*b*) and the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 9*a–b*), claims the Li t'u-ssu clans to be the descendants of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung, who had received from the Tang emperor the name Li and been created Prince of Chin in 895. At the time the Tang dynasty had run its course, the Shat'o founded in China, successively, two ephemeral dynasties: Hu Tang (923–936) and Hu Chin (936–947) (Monguors I: 131 appendix, the Shat'o Turks). Among the t'u-ssu in Huangchung are encountered two Li branches: that of Li Nan-ko, to whose son, Li Yin, had been granted in 1425 the title of Earl of Huei Ning, and that of Li Wen, son of Li Shang-ko, on whom had been bestowed the title of Earl of Kaoyang in 1459. During the Yuan, the Li Nan-ko branch guarded the territory of San Ch'uan Valley (since 1930, called the subprefecture of Ming Huo) situated 120 li southeast of Nienpei, and controlled more than 4,000 families, scattered in many villages. The Li Wen clan controlled 963 families scattered in 48 villages and guarded the territory 30 li south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 39*a*, 48*a*). During the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties both branches still occupied and guarded the same territories.

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and posthumously were bestowed (upon Li Nan-ko) the titles of his son: Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Tso-chun tu-tu-fu. On the second spirit way stele erected on the third moon of 1475 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Li Yin) to whom was granted the title "official who sincerely manifested military achievements" to whom were bestowed, in a special way, the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Chou-kuo Huei Ning-pei (Earl of Huei Ning, pillar of the empire). 173 614 764

The second document is encountered in Shuo-wen-yueh-k'an 3, 10, 1942 (Ch'ung-ch'ing Shuo-wen Yueh-k'an shih). There we meet with the article "Genealogical record of the tribe of the descendants of Li K'o-yung" by Wei Chu-hsien, who passed through the subprefecture of Ming Hua (San Ch'uan Valley) in October 1941. He visited Li Pao-ch'ing, a clan member of the old Li Nan-ko branch, who told him that during the Shun-chih period (1644–1661) a genealogical chronicle had been composed based on all available sources, by Yueh-Nai, secretary of the t'u-ssu for fifteen years, well read in the history of the clan, and that Yueh Nai was a contemporary of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu.[87] 173 614 [113]

I copied the present part of the chronicle composed by Yueh Nai. The original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-yeh. The Tang emperor granted him the name Li and the title of Prince of Chin (895). He saved the Tang dynasty during the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao. Li Ssu-kung moved into Hsi Hsia, Li Chi-feng followed the Sung dynasty, offering the four districts of Yin, Hsia, Suei, Ning.[88] From the Sung until the Yuan, during generations, they lived in Hsi Hsia and were renowned for their military presentations. At the time of the Yuan, Li Shang-ko was T'ung-chih tu-tu-chih (Vice-Chairman of the protectorate office) in Hsining. Then the Li clan divided into six sub-clans, each having its t'u-ssu. The most important among them was the Li Nan-ko clan. During the Ming, Li Nan-ko surrendered with the officials of Huangchung. Then follow the names of the descendants of Li Nan-ko who fulfilled successively the duty of t'u-ssu during the Ming. Finally a genealogical scheme is elaborated, starting with Li Shang-ko, succeeded by his son Li Mei-chi-lu, his grandson Li Kuan-chi-lu, who had two sons Li Nan-ko and Ch'a han Timur. The son of Li Nan-ko was Li Yin, the son of Ch'a Han Timur was Kuan Yin-pao. The son of Li Yin was Li Ch'ang, the son of Kuan Yin-pao was Li Wen. Further the names of the successors of Li 175x [148] 614 622

[87] The shift of the Ming dynasty to that of the Manchu was preceded by a period of troubles. The rebels in Huangchung looted the country of its wealth. T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, still faithful to the Ming, tried to restore order in his territory. In 1644 his wife, concubine, two brothers, and three hundred of his subjects were killed. He himself was taken prisoner by rebels and sent to Sian to the Manchu court. He was accredited in his former duty of t'u-ssu and died as a faithful official of the Manchus (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 2*b*. *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47*b*).

[88] *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 3*b*, happened in 982.

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himself. We know for sure that 1371 was the year of his submission to the Ming, and also the time of his death is historically fixed at 1488. It is hard to explain how this man has been clever enough to be an official during 117 years! 175x 614

THE SPIRIT WAY STELES

In the first document it is noted that the first spirit way stele was erected in 1427 in honor of Li Nan-ko, the first t'u-ssu and founding ancestor of the clan. According to the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 46*b*), Li Nan-ko died in 1407, his son Li Yin received in 1427 the title of Earl of Huei Ning, and the title granted to the son was posthumously bestowed at the same time upon the father (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 10*a*. Annals of Kansu 42: 47). This distinction which, according to the Chinese mentality, primarily honored the father who had reared so glorious a son, obviously seems to have been the cause of the erection of the spirit way stele at the entrance of the clan cemetery in honor of Li Nan-ko in 1427 by Li Yin himself. 175x 764 324

The second spirit way stele was erected in 1475 in honor of Li Yin. Li Yin probably died a few years after 1437. His son, Li Ch'ang, succeeded to his father only in 1457, on account of the discredit weighing upon the clan. Li Ch'ang died in 1493 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 10). Emperor Hsien Tsung only in 1475 promoted Li Ch'ang, and he honored him in a special way at his death, sending splendid funeral gifts and a funeral oration (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 2*b*) written by himself, containing the glorification of the virtues of the deceased. This oration had to be burned before the coffin as a last farewell of the emperor to his faithful subject. The distinguished promotion received from the emperor in 1475 seems to have been the reason for the erection of the spirit way stele by Li Ch'ang to his father Li Yin in 1475, the father upon whom redounded the imperial attention bestowed upon his eminent son. [645]

THE CEMETERY OF HSIANG T'ANG

The cemetery of Hsiang T'ang is definitely the most elaborate cemetery built in the country and it is said to have been erected to glorify the entire Li clan. I trusted this tradition accepted by prominent scholars and officials in the country, who founded their statement on an erroneous text of the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 2*a*) claiming that both Li clans were the descendants of Li Nan-ko (Monguors I: 70, 71). However, not a single stele is encountered in the cemetery pointing to members of the Li Wen clan, which has its own ancestral cemetery at the foot of the Han P'ing mountain, situated ten li north of the city of Hsining, with steles and inscriptions (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 8*a*). This cemetery is not as elaborate as the one of the Li Nan-ko branch with its spirit way steles, etc., but 175x 614 764

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its central avenue is also bordered with stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay (Monguors I: 71, note 57), and every year ceremonies are performed in it by the entire clan, in honor of the founding ancestor Li Wen, Earl of Kao Yang, and all the subsequent t'u-ssu of his clan. The Hsiang T'ang cemetery is definitely the cemetery of the Li Nan-ko clan. 175x 614 764

In the Hsiang T'ang cemetery is seen a mound, said to be that of Li Nan-ko, who died in 1407. However, a striking puzzle is the fact that his son, the celebrated Li Yin, Earl of Huei Ning, who died soon after 1437, is buried not in Hsiang T'ang cemetery, but in the forlorn village of Hai Shi Wan, southeast of Nienpei, where a small stele with an inscription is erected, and next to his tomb is the tomb of his son Li Ch'ang, who received promotions in 1475 and the glorifying attention from the emperor at the time of his death in 1493. Still more puzzling is the fact that Li Kung, the eminent great-grandson of Li Nan-ko, the son of Li Ch'ang, who obtained the literary degree of Chin-shih in 1481 and was later promoted minister of the Shang Pao Sse, is buried in the village of Pa-chu-yuan situated southeast of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 17*a*; 27: 10–11; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*, 47*a*). [648]

The fact that these three most eminent t'u-ssu of the clan were not buried in the ancestral cemetery where two spirit way steles were erected seems to suggest that the present elaborate cemetery might have been built in later times. [622]

No notes are available relating to the ancestors of the other chiefs of the Monguor clans.

HISTORY OF HUANGCHUNG AND THE T'U-SSU DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1644)

This chapter reveals on the one hand the tremendous role played by the Huangchung Monguors in the struggle waged by the Ming dynasty against the Mongols during the nearly three centuries of its existence, which several times shook the foundations of the empire. The help they rendered to the dynasty is unprecedented in history. 175x 648

On the other hand, the chapter reveals the weakness of the Ming administration in Huangchung and the ordeal the loyal and dependent Monguors had to undergo to remain faithful to it amidst the wicked and ruthless depredations against their country, disastrous forays of brigands, hunger, disease, and poverty.

T'u-ssu Li Nan-ko, after his surrender with the officials of Hsining in a group in 1371 and his summons to court, was ordered to return to Hsining and to assume the administration of Huangchung. He controlled the country, calling on more tribes to surrender; repaired roads and bridges; organized the system of relays and the communications with the central administration; amassed grain in the public graneries, etc. The same year he defeated and took prisoner a rebel- 175x 648 622

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ling chieftain, Ho Chang-tsa (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9–10).

The commandery of Hsining was created in 1372 (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). This means that Chinese officials arrived accompanied by some troops to organize the country along the Chinese pattern and to enlist the t'u-ssu in their service.

The Ch'i t'u-ssu, Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, who had surrendered in 1368, was sent in 1372 to the country of the salt lake in Kokonor, where the tribal chief I-lin-chen-pen had revolted. He defeated the turbulent chief and pacified and controlled the country. He induced the Mongol chief Ch'i-chih-sun to surrender (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*a*).

The heir apparent of the Yuan, Ai-ya-shih-li-ta-la, escaping from Ying Ch'ang in 1370, had arrived at Karakorum and been proclaimed emperor. During 1371 he mustered all available troops in order to recover his lost empire. In 1372 the Ming emperor, informed about the military preparations of the Mongols, dispatched three armies, with the order to deal a decisive blow to the Mongol forces in the very heart of their domain. Troops of three t'u-ssu from Huangchung joined the second army commanded by General Feng Sheng: the troops of the Lu t'u-ssu from Lien Ch'eng, and of the T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh and the T'u-ssu Wang Nam-mu-ko, both from Hsining. This army administered a crushing defeat in Liangchow to the forces of the Mongol commander Shih-la-han, and in Yung Ch'ang in Ma Hu Shan, to those of T'o-erh-chih-pa, who had revolted after his surrender and from whom 300 soldiers and 400 horses were captured. Then the troops delivered a severe defeat to the Mongol commander Pu-hua and captured 8,000 families. They went to I-chi-nai-lu (in the Gobi) where they defeated the Mongol Prince Pao Tsang and pursued fleeing Mongols until Kua and Sha Chou. The t'u-ssu troops returned to Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*–44*b*; Ming Shih, Biography Fu Yu-te 129: 8; Pokotilov, 7–8).[70]

The expedition of General Feng Sheng in 1372, with his enlisted t'u-ssu troops, was the first attempt by the Ming to conquer the region of the corridor stretching from Liang and Kan Chou to Turkistan. The corridor, bordered on the north by the Gobi desert, the homeland of the nomads, was exposed to recurrent invasions of Mongols from the desert waste, and during three centuries the t'u-ssu of Huangchung would be ordered to repel their forays.

In 1373 the Mongol Prince Pu-yen-pu-hua, endowed with the title of Prince of Ning by the Mongol emperors, had been appointed by them administrator of the region of An-ting (Turkistan). In 1370 he had re-

[70] D. Pokotilov, *The history of the Eastern Mongols during the Ming from 1368–1634*, translated from the Russian by Rudolf Loewenthal, Chengtu, China, West China University, 1947.

[P. 31(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

ceived from the Ming emperor the invitation to surrender. In 1373 he had not yet answered the summons, and the prominent T'u-ssu T'o-erh chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce him to submit. In 1374 his delegates arrived at court with the submission. The following year the emperor created the two commanderies of An-ting and A-tuan, and to Pu-yen-pu-hua was granted the title of Prince of An-ting (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 23*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). 175x 648

In 1374 the T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce the barbarians dispersed all over the country of Huangchung to submit to the Ming emperor (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*).

In 1375 T'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of General Pu Yin against the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa in Liangchow, to whose army a severe blow was administered. The rebel managed to escape. The emperor invited T'u-ssu Lu to call at Nanking to receive the imperial congratulations. On account of illness he was prevented from moving to the capital.

In 1376 Hsining T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to participate in another expedition of General Feng Sheng in Liangchow region against the Mongols, plundering the country. Shih-chi-ku, Nan-t'ai and others surrendered with 1,000 men, and also the Mongol T'o-lin, with his 2,200 subjects (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*).

In 1377 T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to join the expedition of General Pu Yin against the Tartar chief Yeh-su-t'o-huo and others who again plundered the Liangchow country. They suffered a severe blow and 1,000 of their brigands were killed. Then T'u-ssu Wang followed the expedition of General Feng Sheng in Kanchow and Suchow where 1,890 families surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*).

In 1378 T'u-ssu Lu Ah-shih-t'u, oldest son of T'o Huan, fought and took prisoner Ta-kuan-tieh-chih, a chief of plundering Tibetans, living in the mountains between Ku Lang and Liangchow.

General Teng Yu in 1370 had pacified the country of Kui Te situated 220 li south of Hsining, on the southern borders of the Yellow River. In 1376 he had founded the So of Kui Te, leaving a garrison of 500 horse troops and 500 colonists, ordering them to till the soil and provide the subsistence of the garrison (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 15*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 57: 2*a*). In 1378 Kui Te was attacked and plundered by the Tibetan Ha la kui (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 25*b*), who also devastated the Kokonor region. T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to fight the brigands (Monguors I: 34).

BUREAU FOR EXCHANGE OF TEA AGAINST HORSES

175x 647 231 437 272

The year 1378 was very important on account of the establishment of the bureau for the exchange of tea against horses. Each year 3,500 horses would be exchanged in the city: first-class horses exchanged for

[P. 32(A)]

120 pounds of tea, second-class horses for 70 pounds of tea, and third-class horses for 50 pounds of tea. Every tribe under submission was taxed a definite number of horses to be exchanged at the bureau.[71] 175x 647 231 437

The very first bureau had been established in 1376 in Ch'in Chou in East Kansu, but on account of the distance between Ch'in Chou and An-ting and A-tuan, and the inconvenience of travel through the provinces, a bureau had later been established in Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 17: 3*b*). 272

The importance of the trading of tea for horses cannot be overrated. On the one hand, it was a means for the nomads to get rid of their horses and secure tea. Tibetans as well as Mongols cannot do without tea, and the stronger the concoction the more delightful it is to them. Even when traveling or indulging in hunting parties where tea could not be prepared, they chewed the tea leaves. The craving for tea among the nomads may be compared with the craving for opium among addicts. On the other hand, the trade was very beneficial to the Chinese. First of all, the cavalry got its badly needed horses in an easy way, and the officials of the bureau also benefitted. They evaluated the quality of the horses according to the gratuity offered by the nomad, cheating in the quality of the tea, and putting the transaction off indefinitely, making the customers wait for weeks on end, or helping them immediately, according to the gratuity presented. Squeeze was the rule in the bureau. 175x 443 231 272

The first benefitters were the traders. The exchange of horses was a boon for the city. Traders from all over Szechwan and Shensi provinces moved into the city with the wares the nomads needed, in addition to the tea they brought with them. The nomads were allowed to bring more horses than the number taxed, and they carried wool, skins, musk, etc., to be exchanged for wares. The exchange of horses for tea was the yearly opportunity for the nomads to make a trip to the city and to provide for the needs of the family. 175x 443

This institution was also an effective means of attracting the nomads to surrender, for only surrendered tribes were allowed to enter the city and transact business. After two years the institution reached fruition. It was an attraction, especially during the troubled times which were ahead, when the tribes, indulging in plundering each other, had to get rid of the stolen horses. It was an attraction also because the surrendered tribes enjoyed the protection of the empire. 175x 443 648

In 1379 both Hsining Wang and Chao t'u-ssu were ordered to participate in the expedition of General Mu Yin, sent to quell the revolt of the turbulent eighteen tribes in T'ao Chou (Tibetans? Uighurs? Shat'o?) where the chief San Fu Shih was taken prisoner. Then T'u-ssu Chao was enjoined to follow the expedition of General Fu Yu-te against rebel Mongols in Yunnan 175x 648

[71] Huang Ming su-i k'ao, Wen tien ko shu-chuang, Peiping, Chiang-fu-ssu chieh, 1937.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

province, and T'u-ssu Wang to accompany General Mu Yin to Kan and Su Chou to fight the unfaithful Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa. Two hundred of his soldiers were taken prisoner. Then the army proceeded to Ch'ih Chin in the Gobi where the Mongol Prince I-lien-cheng, his seal and tribes, were captured (*Annals* of Kansu ?: 42*a–b*, 40*a*, 48*b*). 175 648 619

T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh induced the Tibetan chiliarch A-pu to surrender, and in the fourth moon he fought the Tibetan chief I-lin-cheng-pen (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 10*b*).

At the death of the Mongol emperor in 1378, T'o ku-ssu had succeeded to the throne in Mongolia. He was soon on the warpath, mustering two armies in order to invade China, one in the Gobi at Karakorum, and one in North China at Yin Ch'ang. The army at Karakorum suffered a severe defeat at the hand of General Mu Yin in 1380, but the army of Yin Ch'ang was making inroads in Liaotung province.[72]

In 1380 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was called to court and ordered to arrive at Peking with his troops to stem the forays of the Ying Ch'ang brigands of the emperor. At the same time he was granted the title of Hsuan-wei general and the hereditary office of Chih Huei ch'ien shih in Hsining. He fought the brigands at Chin Shan Ssu, at Huo Ho, Yung P'ing, Su Chou, etc. His troops were victorious everywhere. He came back to Hsining after the capture of Na ha ch'u in 1387 (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*b*).

SURRENDER OF TRIBES IN HUANGCHUNG

Two years after the establishment of the exchange bureau the submission of nine Tibetan tribes is recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining, chapter 16. It is hard to find out which among them were Tibetan, Shat'o, or Uighur tribes. At the time of the surrender of Li Nan-ko with the officials of Hsining in 1371, only thirteen tribes had submitted (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 1*b*), and the names of the tribes are not recorded. It may be assumed that the reiterated invitations conveyed by the t'u-ssu to the chiefs of tribes by order of the emperor during eight years had reaped small success. Now, however, the fascination of the profits attached to the tea market had stimulated the tribes to surrender. [563]

In the northern part of Hsining the submission of two tribes is noted.

The Pa sha tribe lived in tents on a territory larger than 500 square li, situated more than 100 li north of Hsining on the borders of the Tat'ung River. It controlled the Tsan-tsa tribes, the Ssu-erh-ssu-ko and many small tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 7*b*).

The Pa Wa tribe were also nomads, living next to the Pa sha tribe on the borders of the Tat'ung River. This tribe must have been smaller than the Pa sha tribe (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 10*a*).

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[72] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 10-11.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

At that time the expansive country 40 li north of Hsining was inhabited by nomads and had no cities, villages, or farms. Only after the victory of the Manchus over the lamas and Tibetans in 1723 was colonization immediately started on a large scale, and the cities of Tat'ung and Mao Pei Shen were built.

West of Hsining, the *Annals* record in 1380 the submission of three tribes. The Si-na tribe lived 60 li west of Hsining on the northwest borders of the Hsining River. In its territory are tents, houses, and fortified villages. Its people practiced farming and cattle breeding. The tribe had a temple and a lama with the title of Kuo-shih (Master of the Kingdom), a silver seal, and an ivory stamp. The tribe numbered 500 families and was taxed 300 horses every year. It controlled the tribe called little Si-na which lived in Ku Shan, southeast of Nienpei, and it was taxed 30 horses. It also controlled the Ssu-ta-la-ma tribe and the Hsieh-erh-chih-kang temple, which were taxed 50 horses (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 8*b*).

The Chia-erh-chi tribe inhabited the territory situated north of the Si-na tribe. The part of the tribe living inside the wall lived in houses and fortified villages; the part living outside the wall practiced cattle breeding and lived in tents. At the time of disturbances caused by brigands they moved inside the wall. The chief of the tribe was a lama who had the title of Chih-hui. Every year the tribe was taxed 130 horses. The tribe controlled the Lung-pa tribe numbering 100 families which was taxed 150 horses.

In the region west of Hsining, stretching as far as 40 to 60 li, only farming, combined with cattle breeding, seems to have been practiced in 1380 by Tibetan tribes. After 1723 the region beyond was developed. The title of master of the kingdom was probably granted after the surrender of the tribe ruled by the lama. It was the policy during the Hung-wu and the whole Ming period to grant titles to lamas who induced tribes to surrender (Monguors II: 16). The title of Chih-hui borne by the chief is a title of the Ming time. The walls noted in the references were built only after 1546 (*Annals* of Hsining 13: 15). The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 seems to have mixed circumstances existing only after 1546 with those of 1380.

Still west of Hsining the nomad Shen-tsang tribe surrendered in 1380. It inhabited a territory situated near Kokonor. At the time of the invasion of the Mongols in 1509 and their occupation of Kokonor, the tribe disappeared (*Annals* of Hsining ?: 5*b*).

In the region of the southern mountains of Hsining, between Hsining and the Yellow River, stretching in an east-west direction as far as Lao Ya Ch'eng, three more tribes surrendered in 1380, all of them living near the northern borders of the Yellow River.

The Tsan-tsa tribe lived in tents and its territory was situated south of the present subprefecture of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*).

The Ko-tsa tribe, also a tribe of tent-dwellers, lived east of the Tsan-tsa tribe, and southwest of the city of Ku Shan. The tribe numbered 400 families (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*). 175x 619

The Ssu-kuo-mi tribe, also tent dwellers, lived in a territory situated 150 li south of Hsining, on the borders of the Yellow River. It was divided into two tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 5*b*).

1386 MARKS A NEW ERA IN HUANGCHUNG 175x 653 701 331

According to the *Annals* of Hsining 25: 1*a*; 9: 15*b*, Keng Ping-wen was sent to build the city of Hsining with appropriate circumvallations, using troops from all the commanderies of Shensi. The size of the city had to be reduced to half of its former size, with four watch towers on the corners, nineteen more on the walls, and four gates. The note concerning the use of troops of all the commanderies of the province of Shensi seems to point to the fact that few troops and laborers were available in Huangchung in 1386, and that the former city was too extensive, inconvenient for defense, and probably in bad condition. Keng Ping-wen was ordered to build seven relay stations where official couriers could find horses ready to forward the orders without delay to the upper administration, and also five storehouses for provisions, drill fields for the soldiers, and administrative buildings. Four relay stations were built in an eastern direction covering a distance of 220 li, connecting Hsining with the northeastern part of Kansu. One relay was built in Ku Shan, 160 li south of Nien-Pei in the region of the three tribes which had surrendered in 1380. He also built the fortified city of Nien Pei with a Ch'eng-huang temple (spirit protector of the city) (*Annals* of Hsining 14: 16*a*). A Wen Miao (temple for Confucius) had been built in Hsining and a temple for the spirit protector of the city, for the emperor had already, in 1370, ordered these temples to be built in all the cities of the empire.

These few data suggest that the Monguors saw the situation changing in Huangchung after they had surrendered in 1371. In 1372 Hsining had been created a commandery and consequently Chinese officials had been appointed very soon. Without indicating the date of the appointments, the annals (*Annals* of Hsining 23: 5*b*), note that the administration of Huangchung was controlled by two major officials, a civil and a military. The Fen-chou-tao, who resided not in the unimportant Hsining, but in Liangchow, controlled a large area, and the Feng-hsiun-tao who resided in Kanchow controlled the six granaries, the irrigation canals, the finances of the administrative organs and the farming colonies for the whole of Kansu. Only in 1488, a hundred years later, was the civil and military governor of Huangchung Ping-pi-tao appointed with residence in Hsining. Chapter 24, 14*a* records [illegible] 175x 648 [624]

[P. 34(A)]

noting a date that on account of the small population 175x
and the extent of the uncultivated land, the Monguors 648
had been ordered to abandon the cultivated land around the cities and fortresses, which would be assigned to artisans and traders and soldiers, and to move to the uncultivated areas they controlled during the Yuan time.

This important note hints at the purpose of the Ming [701]
to found Chinese colonies, and suggests that the soldiers had to till the soil and provide for their subsistence. This is the time honored policy of China, practiced since 118 B.C. by Ho Ch'u-ping in Hsining.

Necessarily more civil and military officials had ar- 175x
rived and new administrative organs had to be created, 633
since the establishment in 1378 of the exchange bureau of tea against horses. More troops, traders, and artisans had flooded into the city, and in 1380 more Tibetan tribes had surrendered. Houses and shops had to be built, caravansaries for Tibetans, arsenals and barracks. Taxes had to be collected, disturbances prevented, justice dispensed, and the city defended. It was plain that Hsining had been chosen to become the pivot of the civil and military administration of entire Huangchung.

In 1387 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, after his 175x
return from the expedition in Liaotung, induced the 648
rebel chiliarch A-pu-ti to surrender, and T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o hsing-ch'i again induced the Tibetan I-lin-cheng-pen (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 10*b*) and the turbulent Ch'i Chih-hsun to surrender. However, he must not have succeeded in his efforts with Ch'i Chih-hsun because the turbulent Mongol, in 1392, participated in the troubles in Han Tun (Tunhuang) (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 25*b*).

In 1388 at the time the army of the Mongol Emperor T'o-ku ssu had been defeated by the Ming, 200,000 of his soldiers had surrendered and only 40,000 had fled in various directions with the emperor, whose power was completely discredited in the eyes of his officers. He was strangled by one of them in 1388.[73]

In 1391 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was sent to the commandery of Kanchow and was soon called back to Hsining to fight the Tibetan A-li-ta-ah-su. T'u-ssu Kan was ordered to join the expedition of General Sung Sheng at Ha mu li (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 2*b*; 42: 50*b*).

T'u-ssu T'o erh-chih-shih-chieh died in 1392. He had accumulated thirteen merits during his lifetime and died discharging his office. His son Tuan Chou succeeded his father in 1396 (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 10*b*; 27: 9*b*; 24: 7*b*; 27: 9*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 35*b*).

In 1392, t'u-ssu Wang was ordered to follow General Lan Yu, pursuing the turbulent Ch'i Chih-hsun, who at that time was in the region of Han Tun (Tunhuang). On the arrival of Lan Yu most of his tribes fled and were pursued as far as the region of Kokonor. Many were captured with a large number of their cattle.

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[73] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 13.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

FIRST LAMASERY BUILT BY EMPEROR— CREATION OF BOARD OF LAMAS

175x 643 792

The lama San la of Hsining wrote a letter to the tribes of Han Tun to induce them to surrender and some tribes did so. The Annals of Hsining 15: 12*a*, note the surrender of the tribes, the tribute of horses offered by them, the appointment of Lama San la as chief of the surrendered tribes, the building of a lamasery south of Nien Pei, the name of Ch'u T'an bestowed upon the lamasery by the emperor, the first creation of the Board of Lamas in Hsining, and the appointment of San la as its director (Monguors II: 16–17). The example set by the emperor encouraged many lamas to act in the way of San la, attracting tribes to move into Huangchung, etc. So nan chi li ssu, the chief of the Han Tun tribes which did not follow the exhortations of San la, surrendered later, in 1397, and their chief was appointed Chih huei ch'ien shih in Han Tun. In the *Annals* of Hsining 15: 1*b*, is noted an inscription "appeased Tibetans" bestowed by the emperor upon the temple Ta-fu-ssu, built in Hsining during the Yuan by the ancestors of the Shat'o Li Nan-ko (Monguors II: 14), and there is recorded the building of the temple Kung-t'ung ssu in the city (*Annals* of Hsining 15: 2*a*). At the end of the same year T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to join the expedition of General Lan Yu against the rebel Mongol Yueh Lu Timur in Chien Ch'ang in Szechwan province. The rebel was captured and killed (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*a*; 46: 25*b*).

DEATH OF EMPEROR T'AI TSUNG (HUNG-WU), 1398

175x [6] 648

T'ai Tsung, the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, died in 1398.

Since 1371, the date of the submission of the t'u-ssu of Huangchung, the circumstances of the country had changed entirely, the economy had developed, the population had increased, and the influence of lamaism had extended, thanks to the granting of titles and domains to lamas and the founding of peculiar institutions for those among them who induced tribes to submit and to move into the country (Monguors II: 16–18). However, the most important increase of the population was caused by the moving into Huangchung of 7,200 families of Chinese soldiers, numbering 15,854 persons, during the Hung Wu period, to start the first military colonies (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 15*a*). The civil and military administration of the country had progressively been organized and the conquest of Huangchung stabilized. During the Hung Wu period the Monguor t'u-ssu had proved their faithfulness to the Ming dynasty. They had promoted the stabilization of the country and fought for the empire in the farflung provinces of Liaotung, Yunnan, Szechwan, and Turkistan, and the prominent T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh had

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discharged his office with distinction until his dying day. The faithfulness of the Monguor t'u-ssu will become more and more manifest during the reigns of the subsequent Ming emperors.

M 175x 648

MONGUORS OF HUANGCHUNG DURING THE REIGN OF EMPEROR CH'ENG TSUNG (YUNG LO), 1403–1424

M 175x [578] 643

T'ai Tsung, first emperor of the Ming, had appointed as successor his grandson, Huei Ti, an inexperienced young boy. His uncle, the Prince of Yen, youngest son of the emperor, revolted and defeated his nephew in a four year struggle.[74] He ascended the throne in 1403. He was called by the name of the period of his reign, Yung Lo.

M 175x 648 614 553

Yung Lo, who must have known T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who during 1380–1387 had fought the brigands of the Mongol Emperor T'o ku ssu in Liao-tung, had called the Kansu troops to join his army. T'u-ssu Tuan Chou, who had succeeded his deceased father, went with his troops to rescue Yung Lo in 1399. He died on the field of battle. Yung Lo rewarded the faithful t'u-ssu, granting to his clan the name of Ch'i and giving to the clan chief a mansion in the city of Hsining, and posthumously bestowing upon him the title of Piao-ch'i chiang-chun (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 13*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 44*b*).

M 175x 648

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yi also had taken the side of Yung Lo in his revolt against Huei Ti. He was rewarded with the office of Chih-huei t'ung-chih in Lu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*). During this period more troubles occurred in Huangchung. Lu T'u-ssu Kung Pu shih chieh repelled the invasion of the Mongol Pu Yen ta shih in 1402, who looted the region of Liang-chow. The t'u-ssu offered to Emperor Yung Lo in 1403 the captured prisoners and a tribute of horses. He was promoted to centurion in Chuang Lang.

The same year, 1402, the turbulent I lin sheng pen revolted again in Kokonor and looted the region of Kui Te and the southern valley of Hsining. T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i went to fight the rebel and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 12*b*). The troubled conditions in Huangchung at that time seem to have been the reason why no more t'u-ssu participated in the struggle of Yung Lo against Huei Ti.

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

The new emperor had to contend with the tremendous problem of the Mongols, and this dangerous prospect was not bright. During the reign of his father (1368–1398) nine expeditions had to be launched against them. A constant struggle against the empire and endless dissension of the different tribes among themselves was to be expected. The struggle between

[74] In Monguors II: 16, 21, 22, are recorded the history of the foundation of the monastery of Ch'u T'an by San la, and the wonderful legends circulating among the lamas related to the mysterious disappearance of Emperor Huei Ti, who became lama in the monastery of Ch'u T'an, settled there and died.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

the eastern and western (Oirat and Kalmuk) Mongols would become especially desperate and obstinate, and Yung Lo would have to launch five campaigns personally into barren Mongolia, and die in that fateful country at the time that the troops from his fifth campaign were on their way back to Peking. During these times of alarming confusion and disorganization in Mongolia, the Monguors of Huangchung had to participate in the expeditions, defend their own country, and die on the fields of battle.[75]

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

The strangled Mongol Emperor T'o-ku-ssu was succeeded by Elbek, who was murdered in 1399 by Ugetch'i, chief of Kirghiz tribes, who tried to establish his hegemony over the Mongol tribes. He was defeated by A-lu-t'ai, chief of the Asods [76] and Ma-ha-mu, chief of the Oirats. In 1403, the eastern Mongols proclaimed as emperor Pen-chia-shih-li, son of Elbek, who was joined by A-lu-t'ai.

In 1403 T'u-ssu Ch'eng under the command of General Chang Fu, was ordered to fight groups of eastern Mongols, subjects of Pen-chia-shih-li, who came from the Gobi desert into the country of Kan and Liangchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37*a*). T'u-ssu Chao joined the same expedition and fought in Yung Ch'ang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*); Ch'eng and T'u-ssu Na fought the same groups in Cheng Fan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*a*; 42: 39*b*). T'u-ssu Wang was sent to I-chi-nai and Pu-yen-mu, north of Kan and Liangchow, to induce Pa tu Timur to surrender (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 41*a*). In the same first year of his reign, Yung Lo, in order to stabilize the conquest of Huangchung, organized military colonies, apportioned land to the colonists, and provided them with grain and oxen and farm implements (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 2*a*).

M [636]

In 1404 T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu chih chieh, was ordered to garrison Cheng Fan and Mao Mu Ch'eng.

M 175x 648 628

In 1409 T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu shih chieh, was sent to I-chi-nai to care for and organize the surrendered Mongol tribes.

HM 175 648

In 1410 Pen-chia-shih-li had offended the Chinese emperor by not caring for his subjects invading the frontiers of Liang and Kanchow. He killed the ambassador who conveyed the protest of the emperor. The emperor retaliated forthwith, granting titles to the Oirat chiefs, the foes of Pen-chia-shih-li. A conflict broke out between the two groups, and to Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai was administered a severe blow at the hand of the Oirat Ma-ha-mu. The emperor took advantage of their reverse and equipped an expedition

[703]

[75] Chinese and Mongol sources are very confusing relating to the history of these times. Pokotiloy, *op. cit.*, Wolfgang Franke, Yung Lo's Mongolei-Feldzuge, *Sinologische Arbeiten* 3: 1-54, Peking, Deutschland Institut, 1914. Louis Hambis, *La Haute Asie*, 58-104, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1953. Henry Serruys, Notes on a few Mongolian rulers of the 15th century, *Jour. Orient. Soc.* 76 (2): 82-89, 1956.

[76] Asod-Alains: originating in the Caucasus, their faithful troops had been enlisted in the imperial guard and had followed the defeated Mongols fleeing toward Mongolia.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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against them, under the command of General Ch'u Fu, who blindly rushed into an ambush where his troops were annihilated. The emperor, in order to avenge the failure and redeem the honor of the empire, himself led an expedition against Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai on March 15, 1410. Pen-chia-shih-li suffered a crushing defeat and escaped with a few soldiers, and a severe blow was then administered to A-lu-t'ai.[77] The emperor was back in Peking September 15, 1410. He had ordered the Monguor t'u-ssu to join the expedition.

M 175x 648 628 HM 175 648

T'u-ssu Li Yin, son of the late Li Nan-ko mustered the t'u-ssu and their troops. They participated in the expedition under his command. Among them are noted T'a-ssu A (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 49*b*), T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*), T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*a*), T'u-ssu Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35*a*), T'u-ssu Na (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 50*b*), and T'u-ssu Lu. The entire group fought in both battles against Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai. T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu shih chieh, died on the field of battle fighting A-lu-t'ai. On that occasion to the clan of T'o Huan, prince of An Ting, was granted the name of Lu by the emperor, as reward for its devotion to the dynasty.

M [624]

In 1411 T'u-ssu Lu Hsien joined the expedition commanded by the eunuch Wang An against Mongol tribes roaming in the region of Hsi Liang (north Kansu). The years 1411 and 1412 were times of intermittent forays by splinter groups of the defeated Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai erupting from Mongolia in the Liangchow and Kanchow regions. In 1412 two Chinese commanders, Sung Hu and Li Lin, had been appointed to repel the invasions and several t'u-ssu lent a hand: Li Yin (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 46*a–b*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*b*), Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35*a*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 42*a*), Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 53*b*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 41*a*), and Na (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 39*b*). The invading groups were those of Lao ti han,[78] of Ho lo ch'ih, Pa erh ssu and T'olot'ai. A severe blow was administered to them in Sha Chin Ch'eng (region of Liangchow) and they were pursued to T'ao-lai ch'uan (on the Tat'ong River) where 360 of their brigands were captured with their chiefs. The same year T'u-ssu Lu with commander Ch'eng hai took as prisoners Palima, chief of a group of invaders, and Shih T'ai, chief of another group in the region of Sung Shan I.

M 175x 648 [624] HM 175 648

In the same year the Oirat chief Ma-ha-mu killed Pen-chia-shi-li and proclaimed as emperor of the Mongols, Delbek son of Pen-chia-shih-li. A-lu-t'ai, his foe, immediately tried to befriend the Chinese, and received the title of Prince of Karakorum. The granting of this title was as a red rag before a bull. Thereupon the enraged Oirat chief mustered his troops to invade China. The emperor himself decided to launch an expedition against the Oirat Ma-ha-mu. It was the age-

HM [643]

[77] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 28; Franke, *op. cit.*, 5–6.
[78] A descendant of Aoluch'ih. Hambis, *op. cit.* **107**: 122, 7.

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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old imperial policy to sow strife among the tribes, making them destroy each other. Yung Lo was as frightened of a Mongol power under the leadership of an offspring of the old Chingis Khan family as of one under the leadership of a rising new and tremendous Oirat group. He decided to launch a campaign against the Oirat Ma-ha-mu.

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

On April 6, 1414, the emperor himself led the campaign and administered a blow to Ma-ha-mu who escaped in the desert. The emperor was back in Peking on August 15. The Monguor troops of Huangchung had again been called to participate in the expedition. In the following years Alut'ai administered a defeat to the weakened Ma-ha-mu, who died in 1416. Then the emperor recognized the succession of Togon to his father Ma-ha-mu, as chief of the Oirats, and bestowed upon him the title of his father. The flames of hatred of A-lu-t'ai were fanned again against the Oirats and China. In the meantime A-lu-t'ai had secured the help of the Urianghai tribes living on the northern borders of China, which had transferred their allegiance from China to him. He had considered himself strong enough to antagonize China openly.

M [643] HM [554]

On April 12, 1422, the emperor started on a third campaign in Mongolia, this time against A-lu-t'ai, and called the Monguor troops. On the arrival of the strong Chinese army, A-lu-t'ai escaped in the desert waste, and the frustrated emperor vented his rage upon the unfaithful Urianghai tribes. The Monguors fought on the borders of the Wu-lang River in Liao-tung and in the Toyen district under command of T'u-ssu Li Yin. T'u-ssu Lu, having captured the Mongol chief Alahan on the Han t'an River, was rewarded with titles, silver, and silk clothes (family chronicle).

M [643] M HM [702]

In 1423 the emperor resolved to finish definitely with A-lu-t'ai and started personally with a fourth expedition, calling the Huangchung troops. T'u-ssu Lu, on his way to the north, passed through the country of Ho-lan-shan and encountered the Mongol Prince Chung T'ung and troops of Yeh-hsien, which he captured. Just at the time the expedition was on the move, the Oirat chief Togon administered a blow to A-lu-t'ai, who escaped in the Gobi. The emperor understood that the expedition was doomed. He returned to Peking on December 9.

In 1424 A-lu-t'ai, despite the defeats he had suffered, was still strong enough to plunder the borders of the empire. The frustrated and enraged emperor decided to equip and lead a fifth expedition. All available troops were mustered and the expedition moved the second of May. A-lu-t'ai again vanished in the desert. The Mongols proved once more not to be easy game. The despondent emperor died on his way back to Peking, in Yu-mu-ch'uan, on August 18.[79]

In 1423 a Tibetan lama, Chang ta lama, was living in Hsining, appointed by Emperor Yung Lo as a translator of Tibetan texts. His morals were dissolute. He

M 175x 648

[79] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 28–32; Franke, *op. cit.*, 5–12.

[P. 37(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

appropriated the tributes brought by chiefs of Tibetan tribes, protected and hid people prosecuted by the courts of justice, and for more than ten years had fostered subversive influences. T'u-ssu Li Yin, discharged at that time the duty of Chi-hui ch'ien-shih in Hsining, conversant with these facts, killed the lama and his family. The country again enjoyed peace (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 10*a*). 175x 648

During the Yung Lo period (1403–1425) the military colonies of Huangchung did not increase in number. The same 7,200 families are recorded as at the end of the Hung-wu period. However, the number of persons constituting these families had decreased by 3,000 (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 15*a*). During the same period four more temples had been built in Huangchung: Yung-hsing-ssu, situated five li north of the city of Hsining, 1410; Hua-tsang-ssu situated south of the city, 1410; Tsang-chin-ssu situated in the southwestern corner of the city, and Kuang-fu-kuan in the northwestern corner of the city, 1426 (*Annals* of Kansu 30: 45*b*, 46*a*). Emperor Yung Lo had established in the valley of Sha t'ang, 80 li northeast of Hsining, controlled by the Li t'u-ssu, some pasturage for cavalry horses. In 1378 after the institution of the exchange bureau of tea against horses, 3,500 horses were acquired for the cavalry every year, and had to be fed on pasture. 175x 161 592 [792] [233]

T'U-SSU LI YIN

In 1426 Li Yin again was ordered to muster the Monguor troops, and to equip an expedition with the Chih-hui K'ang Chou, against the tribes of Anting and Ch'u Hsien (the old Tunhuang region), in which country the Chinese ambassadors Ch'iao Li-sse and Teng Ch'eng had been plundered and murdered on their way to Turkistan. The Monguor t'u-ssu who participated in the expedition under the command of Li Yin were Li Wen (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*), t'u-ssu Lu, t'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 29*b*), t'u-ssu Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), t'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*b*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 41*a*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*b*), Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*a*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 28: 13*a*). T'u-ssu Chou died on the field of battle during the expedition. Li Yin knew from first-hand information that the commanders of Anting, Ah-san-hsun-san-ho, and San-chi-ssu of Ch'u Hsien were the murderers. He led the army straight to their countries. The murderers fled with their tribes. Li Yin pursued them to the K'unlun mountains, and continued the pursuit several hundred li more, to the Ya-lin pass. There he administered a crushing defeat to them, capturing 1,100 men and 140,000 head of cattle. The brigands of Ch'u Hsien fled further on, but the Prince of Anting, Sang-erh-chia shih-lan, scared to death, went to court to confess his fault. 175x 648

The emperor praised the military prestation of Li 800

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The emperor praised the military prestation of Li

Yin and sent delegates from Peking with laudatory letters and with the order to come to Peking, the expenses to be defrayed by the empire. He received the promotion of Yu-fu tso-tu-tu and rich gifts. The next year he was honored with the title of Duke of Hui Ning, and received an emolument every year of 1,100 *tan* of grain. At the same time the emperor, with delicate attention, bestowed upon his deceased father, Li Nan-ko, the same title of Duke of Hui Ning (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

Li Yin seemed to have reached the summit of a glorious career. However, a more eminent honor was in store for him. His merits would be chiseled on a stele in a temple built by himself to remind future generations of the imperial dignities bestowed upon him.

In the Kuang-fu-kuan, a temple built in 1426 in the northeast corner of the city of Hsining, the following is chiseled on a stele (*Annals* of Kansu 30: 45*a–b*; *Annals* of Hsining 35: 6*a–b*):

In 1422 in the eighth moon, Emperor Yung Lo, on his way back from an expedition in the desert took a breath in Yu-lin (Shensi) and called to his tent the officials who had won the most distinguished merits during the expedition. He granted Li Yin the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Pillar of the Empire and Duke of Hui Ning. Then the duke asked the emperor for permission to build in Hsining a temple in honor of the god of the war, in order to show gratitude for the blessings bestowed upon the empire and the people, and to secure more blessings in the future. The emperor agreed. Back home, Li Yin ordered, a few days later, the building of the temple. In the tenth moon of 1426 he informed the emperor about the completion of the construction. The emperor granted to the temple the name "Kuang-fu-kuan" (Taoist temple of glory and felicity), and appointed five Taoist priests for the performance of the sacrifices and worship in the temple.

One evening Li Yin was dreaming: he heard a man saying to him, "The God of War will appear." Instantly he dressed and adjusted his hat. Another man arrived carrying a tray with fine dishes. He invited Li Yin to come to his home to enjoy the dishes. Li Yin could not understand the circumstances of such an invitation. He thought it should be a spirit. Then he invited this man to come to his home. They were about to start with the dinner when all of a sudden the man said, "The spirit is there." Li Yin opened the door. He saw a man perfectly dressed, riding a white horse with a beautiful saddle and escorted by a numerous retinue. The man was like a king. The Taoist priest Ho Chao-tsung accompanied him, dressed in Taoist fashion, holding a book in his hands. He asked Li Yin: "The god will go first to the temple of the King Li. Is that correct?" Li Yin answered that he would first call at the Ning-fan Sau (the temple of the appeased Tibetans). The entire group left. The sky was bright. On the way they passed a beautiful high building, enclosed by a high wall. They said, "The man who is living here does not belong to the lower range of society." They arrived at the gate of the temple. Li Yin dismounted from his horse. He was terrified. This happened on the eighth day of the seventh moon in 1423. In the winter of the same year the Duke was invited to see the emperor in Peking. He received his titles and precious gifts and returned to Hsining. What the Duke saw in his dream was the appearance of the god of war. It was a reward for his

[P. 38(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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devotion to the empire. Emperor Yung Lo whom he had served in the expeditions in the desert had given him a precious sword and a famous horse. In 1425 Li Yin had fought the brigands in Anting and at the head of his soldiers had attacked the brigands and himself had killed many among them. He had captured a booty of 130,000 cattle. The emperor had sent minister Yang Yung to congratulate him. His merits were unusual and therefore he received in his dream a visit from the god of war . . . all these circumstances we have recorded on the stele, etc.

Without doubt the titles received by Li Yin, the building of the temple and the name given to it by the emperor himself, the stele, and the wonderful dreams went straight to the heart of the clan members and strengthened the cohesion of the Li clan. All these circumstances normally seem to have been conducive at that time to the building of an elaborate clan cemetery and to the erection in 1426 of the famous "spirit way stele" in honor of Li Nan-ko, the founder of the clan, father of Li Yin.

However, the behavior of Li Yin, puffed up with pride, had changed after he had been honored so magnificently by the emperor. The Governor of Ninghsia, Shih Chao, who had previously been Governor of Hsining, accused him of fostering subversive intentions. Li Yin could disprove the accusation. In Hsining he had assembled 700 families, fugitives from justice, whom he protected. He had settled them in the country and had given them land to till. But they harmed their neighbors, stealing and upsetting the country. Again complaints were lodged with the board of military justice, and Li Yin was ordered to turn over his tenants to the civil authority. In 1432 Ch'i Ch'eng, descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, was his father's lawful successor to the office of t'u-ssu. The bold Li Yin, not bothering to offend the prominent Ch'i t'u-ssu clan, supported as successor to the t'u-ssu office Chien Tsang, the nephew of Ch'i Ch'eng, who was the son of his sister. He appointed murderers to kill Ch'i Ch'eng. He was accused again. This time the military judges rolled all the accusations into one, condemned him to prison, to the revocation of his titles and honors and to capital punishment. In 1437 the emperor pardoned him, allowing him a small emolument. Soon thereafter he died (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

HUANGCHUNG T'U-SSU UNDER THE SUBSEQUENT EMPERORS

After the death of Yung Lo, (1424) the alarming confusion and struggle continued unabated among the eastern and western Mongols, both groups appointing their own Khans, who were merely nominal supreme chiefs and actually blind tools in the hands of Togon and A-lu-t'ai who controlled the two groups. A-lu-t'ai, weakened after many encounters with the Chinese and Oirat troops; was finally defeated and killed by the Oirat, Togon, in 1434; and the hegemony of the Oirats

[P. 38(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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M 175x 648 HM 175 648

was achieved. It would reach the summit of its power again under the son of Togon, Esen, who was assassinated in 1455. Then the hegemony would be recovered by the eastern Mongols in 1470, after internal troubles had arisen among the Oirat tribes themselves.

After the death of A-lu-t'ai in 1434 his tribes separated: one group under the leadership of the Khan At'ai settled in I-chi-nai (500 li north of Kanchow), and one group, controlled by T'o-erh-chih-pa, settled in Yeh-k'o-lin-sha-erh-t'an, west of Liangchow. These groups would be the scourge of the countries of northwest Kansu for many years to come. A-lu-t'ai had already made forays in Liangchow in 1428. T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*) and Chi (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 42*a*) had been ordered to fight his turbulent tribes in I-pu-la-shan. In 1433, on account of the insecurity in the country, the commandery of Hsining had been reorganized in Chun-ming chih-huei-shih, six *so* had been established and the villages grouped in four *li*.

M [631]

In 1435 T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*a*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 41*b*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*), and Lu had been ordered to join the expedition of Commander Wang Kui against the tribes of At'ai and T'o-erh-chih-pa in Chengfan, Tsing-shih-shan, and Ho-shan. In 1436 a new expedition was launched against the same Mongol tribes, in which T'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*b*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*b*), and Wang participated (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 41*b*). Then the tribes of At'ai invaded the country of Chuang-lang (P'ing-fan) but were beaten by T'u-ssu Lu, who pursued them to I-pu-la-shan.

In 1437 the same turbulent Mongol groups invaded Liangchow and Chuang-lang again, they were beaten by T'u-ssu Lu and Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*) in Tu-pei-ku and Mi-ho-ch'uan and 1,000 of their horses were captured. In 1438 the same brigands suffered a severe blow in Wei-yun, Pei-ya-wu, and I-pu-la-shan, at the hands of T'u-ssu Lu and Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*).

The Monguors during these times were the faithful defenders not only of northwest Kansu but also of the most western Chinese frontiers, in the commanderies of Han Tung, Ch'u Shien, An Ting, and Ah Tuan. After the successful expedition of Li Yin in 1426, in combination with all the Monguor t'u-ssu, the petty tribes living in this area sustained themselves by pillage and robbery.

In 1429 the Governor of Hsining, Shih Chao, was ordered to prepare an expedition against the Chu-shien and Anting tribes whose chiefs still intercepted and plundered envoys bringing tribute to court. T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*a*), Li Wen (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 11*b*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38*a*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 41*b*), and Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 45*a*) joined the expedition. The fleeing tribes were pursued, severely beaten and 340 of their

M [726]

[P.39(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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brigands captured. The army returned with a booty of 300,000 camels, horses, sheep, and cows (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 26*b*, 27*a*).

Se-ngo-ko, chief of a Tibetan tribe, was accustomed to stealing horses of neighboring tribes. The commander of Hsining, Mu Su, could not apprehend him. Later the thief arrived at Hsining to sell horses. The commander seized the horses, convinced they were stolen ones, but they were his own. The tribes were upset and about to start a revolt. Li Wen accused the imprudent commander, and the tribes were pacified. Li Wen was promoted (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 12*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38*a*).

In 1442 T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 13*a*) was ordered to garrison the commanderies of Ah-tuan and Ch'u-hsien, to protect Anting, and to induce the scattered tribes to come back to their lands and surrender. In 1445 the Oirat chief Esen, who had succeeded his father Togon, who had died in 1439, attacked and occupied Hami. In 1447 Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 45*a*; *Annals* of Hsining **31**: 12*b*), t'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*), and t'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of commander Jen I in Sha Chou. In 1448 Wa lo, chief of the Tibetan Pa-sha tribes started plundering Huangchung. T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien was ordered to fight Wa lo. He succeeded in killing the chief. These tribes had submitted in 1380, their chief controlled 30 or more tribes, which inhabited a country as large as 500 li, starting 60 li north of Hsining and running to the borders of the Ta-t'ung River. Pa Sha was ill-famed for its predatoriness (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 13*a*; **19**: 7*b*). In 1450 T'u-ssu Chao and T'u-ssu Lu repelled Mongol invaders in Kao-ssu-yuan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*). In 1452 T'u-ssu Ch'eng followed commander Su Chieh, fighting Mongols who were plundering Nan-chuan. They pursued them to Su-wu-shan and captured their chiefs (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*).

During the Cheng T'ung period (1436–50) at the time the northwestern part of Kansu was riven by inroads of Mongols and the t'u-ssu were fighting the Mongols in Kansu and in Turkistan, Liu Ch'uan, commander in Kuei Te (situated south of Hsining on the southern borders of the Yellow River), induced 72 tribes of Tibetans to surrender, promoted cultivation and farming among them, established a tea bureau and every year exchanged 1,740 horses for tea, protected the traders and the communications in the country, built a route and relays connecting the important city of Ho Chou with Kuei Te. The country of Kuei Te was at peace and the people enjoyed the trustful and honest commander (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 16*a*).

The chronicles of the Lu t'u-ssu clan note that during 1450–1464 raids had to be intermittently repelled along the Liangchow and Kanchow borders, perpetrated by the same eastern Mongol groups and some Oirat groups, which ventured to lay waste and devastate even

M 175 x 648 [726]
HM 175 648 [685]
M [437 491]
M 175 x 579
HM 175 579

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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Chuang-lang, Ch'ing-yang, and East Kansu. The raids furnished to the invaders a considerable amount of loot and fostered their predatory instincts. The example set by the Mongols whetted the appetite for plunder among the Tibetan tribes also. The people lived in desperate conditions, and the t'u-ssu troops had always to be ready to comply with the orders of military commanders.

M 175x [579] HM 175 [579] M [511]

This note, recorded in the Lu chronicles, is quite acceptable for the reason that during just these years a tremendous confusion reigned in Mongolia, and the Mongol tribes located along the Kanchow and Liang-chow borders had nobody to care for them, for the Oirats, now at the summit of their power, had thought themselves strong enough to challenge the Chinese empire.

HEIGHT OF OIRAT HEGEMONY

M 175x HM 175 M HM 622 648 [662] 668

To Esen, the powerful Oirat chief, had been promised an imperial princess by the eunuch Wang Chen, the favorite of the emperor. He had not notified the emperor of this promise and when the envoys of Esen arrived at court with the nuptial presents they were refused. In the autumn of 1449 the humiliated Esen began raids on the empire frontiers and approached Ta-t'ung. An army of half a million men was raised in a hurry, and sent against the Oirats. The emperor accompanied the army. His troops were routed, the emperor was taken prisoner, the remnants of the army tumbled back to Peking, and the capital was in jeopardy. Ching Ti, the brother of Emperor Ying Tsung, ascended the throne in 1450. The Oirats were unable to seize the capital. After endless deliberations, the released imperial prisoner reentered Peking in the eighth moon, after an absence of one year.

Esen, swollen with pride after his resounding victory over the empire, his ambition soaring to the throne, proclaimed himself emperor of the Mongols in 1454; but two of his commanders revolted against him in 1455, he fled and was killed the same year. For the time being the balance of political power of the Oirats shifted to the eastern Mongols who struggled again for the hegemony. One of the commanders who had killed Esen was killed by Polai, a tribal chieftain of the Ta-tan Mongols. Po-lai enthroned a new Khan, Markorgis, the son of T'o-to-pu-hua, known under the name of Hsiao-wang-tsu, the little king, and began with raids on the frontiers of the empire.[80]

In 1457 Emperor Ching Ti fell ill, the secluded Yin Tsung ascended the throne for the second time and thereafter his brother died.

T'U-SSU LI WEN

M 175x 648

The same year T'u-ssu Li Wen arrived at Peking from Hsining with his army, to congratulate Yin Tsung

[80] H. Serruys, *op. cit.*, 85; Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 58-60.

[P.40(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

on his second ascension to the throne, and to present his offices in these times of troubles which beset the empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and somewhat later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them. The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and devastating the country. The officials in the capital grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his troops to move. He was committed to prison and deliberation concerning capital punishment was held. The emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportunity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the Mongols in the regions of Yenan and Suei-te (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*b*).

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of Li Wen?

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450–1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs and the most prominent officials, some of them friends and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions seethed with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals. Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung.

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching Ti the capital beseiged by Esen in 1449. During the illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot preparing the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthronement of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his rivals and seven executions of the most prominent officials followed. He was bestowed with the title of Pilar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky. It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, proclaimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung. The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poisoned himself. His father was committed to jail and ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta-

[P.40(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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The officials of Ta-t'ung were promoted. However, Li Wen was bypassed. Deeming that he had provided the judges with the most important data, he could not stand being ignored and waited for an opportunity to avenge himself on the promoted officials. Consequently he did not fight in 1460, giving them the opportunity to show their gratefulness and abilities to the emperor. Later in Yenan and in Suei-te he succeeded in fighting the Mongols and was promoted to tutu T'ung chih. During the period Ch'eng hua (1465–1488) he was sent to Hami with Commander Liu Wen. The expedition was unsuccessful. He died during the first years of the Hung-chih period (1488–1506) and was rehabilitated with the title of Duke of Kao Yang in the first years of the Cheng-te period (1506–1521) (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*a*). In 1468, during the time Li Wen was participating in the unsuccessful expedition in Hami, his young son Li Yung had been promoted to centurion and thereafter Chih-huei ch'ien-shih (*Annals* of Hsining 24: 8*b*). This seems to suggest that after the punishment of Li Wen, the emperor must have been informed about the way in which he had acted, and have forgotten about it.

In a former chapter have been related the promotion of T'u-ssu Li Yin, as Duke of Huei Ning, his dishonorable behavior, his punishment, his death soon after 1437, and the promotion of his son Li Ch'ang in 1457. For twenty years the clan had been discredited on account of the behavior of Li Yin. But in 1457 Li Wen, the cousin of Li Yin, went to Peking with his army to congratulate Emperor Yin Tsung on being enthroned for the second time. The delighted emperor promoted him twice and Li Wen may have seized this opportunity to recommend Li Ch'ang, the son of his cousin Li Yin, and to remind the emperor of the merits of his grandfather Li Nan-ko, who had induced the t'u-ssu of Huangchung to surrender in 1371. Li Wen and Li Yin were the sons of the brothers of Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko. The emperor at that time was in high spirits, enjoying the jubilations of the entire population of the capital. Moreover ascensions to the throne were customarily accompanied by a general amnesty and this seems to explain why the son of Li Yin, just at that time (1457), started receiving distinguished promotions one after another, and after his death in 1493 an imperial funeral oration. In that way the honor of the entire clan was redeemed in Huangchung, and Li Ch'ang erected the spirit way stele for his father Li Yin in 1475.

HEGEMONY OF THE WESTERN MONGOLS

After the death of Esen in 1455, whose empire reached from Lake Balkash to the Great Wall of China, conflicts arose among the eastern and western Mongols and among the eastern groups themselves. The Ta-t'an (Tatars) Po-lai and Mao-li-hai tried to control the eastern Mongols, who grew more and more independ-

[P.41(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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ent. They secured the help of the Urianghai tribes whose chief was Tolohan. They appointed their Khan (Hsiao-wang-tze) and incessantly made inroads on the borders of the empire, seizing rich booty. Po-lai killed Hsiao-wang-tze and Mao-li-hai killed Po-lai. The Ordos Mongols appointed the Khan Mantulu who defeated Tolohan and Mao-li-hai. The latter died on the battlefield and dissension continued unabated. In 1470 the widow of Mantulu secured the proclamation of Dayan as sovereign of the Mongols and controlled the tribes herself. Dayan, a boy seven years of age, was the only descendant of the house of Kubilai. He married in 1481 and was proclaimed Khan of the Great Yuan (1470–1543). He united and laboriously grouped the tribes in right and left wings and divided and appanaged them among his sons. The eastern Mongols seemed united, but each time at the death of the father, the appanage was divided among the sons and so the power of the appanages and tribes diminished after each division, and sons and cousins were torn with inner conflicts. At the time of the Manchu dynasty (1644) the tribes had become an easy prey for the new rulers of China.

HM 175 648
HM [422]

In 1450 the eastern Mongols under the leadership of the chieftain Ah-lo-ch'u had started settling in Ordos and in 1457 were firmly established there.[81] From Ordos they could more easily make inroads into Huangchung, Shansi, Shensi, etc. Desperate times were to be expected for Huangchung. However, the Monguor t'u-ssu and their subjects stood faithful and loyal as a rock, defending the dynasty for two more centuries.

M 175 x 648 ●
HM 175 648

The strong Tibetan Pa Sha tribe of Huangchung, which lived in tents between the Tatung River and the city of Tatung, had surrendered in 1380, and whose chief had been killed by Ch'i Hsien during his raid in 1448, started a raid in 1457 on a large scale, just at the time the Ta-t'an Po-lai, chief of the western Mongols, invaded the frontiers of Ninghsia (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 28*a*). They raided the countries of Liangchow, Yung Ch'ang and Chuang Lang, and on their way home devastated and plundered the country of Huangchung, killing Chinese officials and capturing a huge number of cattle of the surrendered Tibetan tribes. Finally the Chinese troops from the commanderies of Kansu arrived, and administered a crushing defeat, killing 7,700 Pa Sha brigands (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 7*a–b;* 31: 12*b*). The Lu t'u-ssu had defended Chuang Lang and the other t'u-ssu had defended their own villages.

In 1461 Po-lai with an army of more than 10,000 Mongols arrived at Chuang Lang and made forays in Liangchow. The Chinese army was defeated, but more troops arrived and beat Po-lai who sent envoys suing for peace. Every year he sent tribute, but continued his raids. T'u-ssu Lu (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 28*a*), t'u-ssu Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), and t'u-ssu

HM [723]

[81] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 72.

[P. 41 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*) had fought with the Chinese army. M 175x 648

In 1463 the Pa Sha tribe made a foray again in the Sa-t'ang Valley but was repelled (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 12*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 28*a*). HM 175 648

In 1464 again the Pa Sha tribe raided Huangchung. This time the Chinese army entered their country and exterminated some of their tribes (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 28*b*).

T'u-ssu Lu followed the commanders Liu Yu and Shih Hsiang-chung in 1468, repelling the brigand Manssu in Ku Yuan. He fled to his fortress Shih-ch'eng. The army, having lost many soldiers, finally captured the fortress; the brigand was captured, sent to Peking, and killed (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 29*a*).

In 1470 T'ing Chang built more schools in Hsining. Shih Chao had built the first schools in 1428 (*Annals* of Kansu 31: 12*b*). M [371]

In 1472 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to help repel the Ordos Mongols making raids in Yenan and Suei-te. At the same time incursive Mongol tribes made forays in the regions of Chin-pien-i (Ku-lang). T'u-ssu Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*a*), T'u-ssu Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), followed the Chinese troops, beat the brigands and pursued them as far as Hua-ling-erh.

T'u-ssu Li Wen and Commander Liu Wen were sent to Hami in 1473 to investigate the troubled conditions prevailing in the country. Having secured the promise of help from the Ch'ih-chin and Han Tun tribes, they sent an army to Hami in 1474. Upon the arrival of the army both tribes refused to move. Li Wen, deeming his forces too feeble to fight the enemy, returned to Kansu.

In 1475 Emperor Hsien Tsung ordered the local officials to erect an honorific arch in front of the mansion of the T'u-ssu Lu Chien, granting the inscription *"During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and probity, incessantly he exercised fidelity and zeal."* M 175x 648 703

It has been noted that the erection of the spirit way stèle in honor of Li Yin happened in the very same year, 1475.

In 1480 T'u-ssu Lu Chien was promoted lieutenant colonel in Hsining.

In 1482 the tribes of Ch'ih-chin and Han Tun with the help of Chinese troops and T'u-ssu Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*a*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), attacked and conquered Hami.

In 1488, ninety years after the surrender of the *t'u-ssu* in a group in Huangchung (1371), there was appointed a military and administrative tao t'ai (ping pi tao), a governor, vested with civil and military powers (*Annals* of Hsining 22: 5*b*; 23: 4*a–b*) with residence in the city of Hsining. There was also established a bureau of customs, and a bureau of colonization. In the city of Nienpei, in the strongholds of Chinghai, Kuei Te was appointed a major, in the fortress in the M 175x 727

[P. 42(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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northern valley, and Ku Shan and San Ch'uan second captains. In the city of Hsining there were appointed a secretary commandant, a high commandant, seven assistant commandants, seven secretary commandants (among them are noted many t'u-ssu) a director of education, and a secretary. In Nienpei was appointed a Chiliarch with seven under-chiliarchs, nine centurions, twenty-nine second centurions. In Hsining a general director was appointed in each of the departments: for graneries, feed for horses, taxes, and exchange bureaus, in each of the seven relays. These regulations seem to suggest that Huangchung was no more a depopulated and uninteresting country. However, the appointment of the overwhelming number of military officials seems to suggest that the authority did not deem the peace prospects to be very bright, and that more troubles had to be expected.

M 175x 727

In 1484 the Ordos Mongols made a raid in Yung Ch'ang. T'u-ssu Lu defended the country and was beseiged in the city for several days. He made sallies one after another and succeeded in escaping. More raids were made in Liangchow and P'ing Liang in 1497 and in Kanchow in 1498 by Hsiao Wang-tze. T'u-ssu Lu, T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35), and T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38) helped the Chinese commander administer a severe blow to the raider.

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

T'u-ssu Lu participated in an expedition in 1499 against the eighteen tribes (Uighur Shat'o) of Chieh Chou in south Kansu, and sent prisoners to the capital. In the same year T'su-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35*b*) and T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38) participated in the expedition against Ordos brigands in Pei-ta-ch'uan (Ling Chou).

T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to chase the Mongols who obstructed the communications along the route leading from Yung-ch'ang to Kanchow and Suchow. Ch'i T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35), back from the expedition in Pei-ta-ch'uan in 1499, was ordered to accompany the Governor Yin Ch'ing, investing in Hami the Prince Chung Shun, Shenpa, as chief of the country (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 12*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35). In 1500 the turbulent Hsiao Wang-tze settled in Ordos, from where he continued his forays. In 1504 he raided Shuei-ts'ao-ku and Hung-ch'eng-tze and was repelled.

In 1507 Mongol brigands, passing through Ming-shuei-ku in the P'ing-liang region, were defeated by General Wu Ch'i and T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35; **42**: 44).

RUIN OF HUANGCHUNG

M 175x 648

The year 1507 was fateful in the history of Huang-chung and all of Kansu. It marked the ruin of the whole country for a century. Until that time Huang-chung and Kansu had suffered only from intermittent, transient, but disastrous raids from incursive Mongols whose aim did not reach beyond plunder. Dayan, the ambitious young Hsiao Wang-tze, who was laboriously

[P.42(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2
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striving for the unification and the subjection of the tribes under his leadership, had appointed one of his sons commander of tribes. He was killed by his subjects. The rebelling chief I-pu-la, apprehensive of the vengeance of Dayan, seceded and fled with his tribes to Liangchow. He asked the commander of Liangchow to allot a territory to him and promised to live in peace with the empire. The petition was refused. The Mongols, incensed by the refusal, for ten days wreaked their vengeance, devastating and laying waste the country. On their way westward they plundered the tribes of the Prince of Anting and stole his seals and diplomas. They reached Kokonor in 1509 and occupied the territory (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 13*a–b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 31*a*).

M 175x 648

Kokonor at that time was the country of the Tibetans. The behavior of the savage Mongols was unusually ruthless. On their arrival they murdered Tibetans, reduced the young folk to the level of slaves, stole their wives and cattle. Cowed by their truculent manner, some Tibetan tribes fled to Tibet, some to East Kansu and Huangchung. The destitution of the fleeing tribes was tragic. On their way they plundered the country and Kansu was upset. But some tribes returned to Kokonor and submitted to the invaders. Being conversant with Kansu, they accompanied and led the Mongol forays and plundered in combination with them. The Tibetan tribes submitted to China and East Kansu and Huangchung were plundered. Despairing of the help of China, their ingrained predatory nature soon asserted itself and they revolted and went plundering on their own account. Every time Mongol tribes in Mongolia had a score to settle with Dayan, they seceded and fled to Kokonor adding strength to the Kokonor group.

M 175x 648 HM HT 175 648

Huangchung and East Kansu, which during the previous centuries had been laid waste and destroyed so many times, had to pass again through the ordeals of war and destruction at the hands of Mongols and rebel Tibetans for a whole century, and to have their economic life disrupted and shattered.

In 1510 T'u-ssu Lu, Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38*a*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*), Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*), and t'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*a*) under command of the Lieutenant Colonel of Chuang-lang administered a blow at Hsiao Wang-tze in Huei-huei-mu and captured a considerable number of his oxen and horses. Hsiao Wang-tze pursued the seceding tribe of I-pu-la. Having met defeat at Huei-huei-mu, he was pursued to Yenan and beaten again in Shih-p'eng-ku, P'o shan-ku and T'ung-ssu-p'u.

In 1511 the Kokonor brigand I-pu-la made a raid in Yung-ch'ang and Cheng-fan, but suffered a defeat. Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*b*), Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), Yeh t'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*b*) participated in the punitive expedition. From now

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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on recurrent raids of Kokonor brigands will be recorded incessantly. The hardships doled out by the Monguors and t'u-ssu during a century will be tremendous.

M
175x
648

In the fifth moon the Kokonor brigands invaded the northern valley of Hsining and were repelled. All the t'u-ssu of Hsining under command of Wang Yung helped in the action. The son of T'u-ssu Li died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38*a*), in Ta-la-tu-ch'uan. T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 45), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 22) and Kan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 50*b*) pursued the retreating raiders and slaughtered many among them in Hung-yang t'an.

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648

In 1514 Tibetan tribes from around Kokonor, in combination with Mongol brigands, invaded the southern valleys of Hsining and Nienpei. All the t'u-ssu of Hsining helped Commander Chin Mao repel the invaders. However, they were severely beaten, and T'u-ssu Ch'eng died in the battle of Pien-tu-ling (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*).

The situation drifted to a critical point and then finally a Chinese army of 10,000 men was equipped to chase the brigands from Kokonor. The brigands, informed about the serious military preparations, left Kokonor, passed the Yellow River at Ho Chou, plundered and slaughtered savagely the subject Tibetan tribes, in the commanderies of T'ao and Ming Chou, and invaded Sung P'an and Mao Chou in Szechwan Province. When they were informed that the Chinese army had left Kokonor, they returned to Kokonor.

At that time the Hsiao Wang-tze invited I-pu-la etc., to return to their original country. Complying with the invitation, he moved his tribes to the north, but soon news was broken about the intention of Hsiao Wang-tze to kill him. He returned to Kokonor (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 13*a–b*).

In 1515 Tibetan tribes living in the mountains between Liangchow and P'ing-fan had plundered envoys from Turkistan bringing tribute to the emperor. T'u-ssu Lu was sent to punish them. He killed many of them in Sha-chin-ku and Ho-shih-ku.

The next year a group of Ordos brigands invaded and devastated Ku-yuen and P'ing-liang. T'u-ssu Wang (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 40*b*), T'u-ssu Na (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 39*b*), and T'u-ssu Lu were ordered to help in the punitive expedition.

In 1517 many Tibetan tribes who suffered on account of the brigands felt their old predatory instinct reviving. The conditions in Huangchung grew worse every day. The chief of the Lung-pu and Wu-ssu-pa-erh tribes (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 13*a–b*), controlling 2,000 families, nomadizing on a territory 200 li wide between Hsining and Kokonor, revolted. The Chinese Chiliarch Li Wen quelled the revolt. Then the tribes revolted on a large scale, defeated and killed the Chiliarch. Finally the lama of the Ta-ming temple succeeded in inducing them to surrender (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 31; *Annals* of Hsining **31**: 14*a*).

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5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Tibet AJ2

In the same year the Ko-tsa Tibetan tribe which had surrendered in 1380, whose chief controlled 400 families and nomadized southwest of Ku Shan along the northern borders of the Yellow River, plundered the lamasery of Hung-hua. Captains Kao Hsien and Yang Yu with T'u-ssu Lu (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: **4**; **31**: **14**) pursued and defeated the rebels in the mountains of Pa-yen-jung (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 31*a*). HT 175 648

In 1520–1521 T'u-ssu Lu twice repelled Ordos brigands invading Ku Yuan and Chuang Lang. M 113

The very first *Annals* of Hsining composed by the scholar Chang Chih were printed in 1520 (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 15*a*).

The Chinese army revolted in Kanchow in 1522. The Tibetan tribes in Huangchung seized the opportunity to plunder the country (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 14*a*). Governor Cheng Yang could not control the situation. At the same time 20,000 Ordos brigands invaded Ku Yuan, P'ing Liang, Chin Chou, killed the military officials Yang Hung and Liu Tuan, terribly devastated the country and killed and captured more than 10,000 people (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 31*b*). M 175x 648 HT 175 648

In 1525 Pu-erh-hai, a Mongol chief, had a score to settle with Dayan. In order to avoid his vengeance he joined the I-pu-la group. On his way to Kokonor he plundered the country. He was defeated by Yang Chung aided by T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38*a*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 42*a*) and T'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 32*b*). The next year T'u-ssu Lu was impeached by the officials of Cheng-fan and Hsining. He was removed from office (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 14*a–b*; **27**: 15).

After the officials had lost control over Huangchung in 1522 they convened to discuss these disastrous circumstances and find a solution. There was complete absence of direction and the officials were at loggerheads with one another. One group among them stubbornly defended the policy of Tuan Ying who, seventeen centuries earlier, had exterminated the Tibetans in order to pacify the country. At present, they said, the conditions are favorable, the Kokonor brigands control only two or three thousand Mongol horse and foot; from the moment the troops are moved the Tibetan tribes will abandon them. The other group obstinately advocated the policy of Chao Ch'ung-kuo who also, seventeen centuries before, won over the Tibetan tribes, granting titles to the chiefs, opening markets, etc. They said, "Because their army at present is in poor shape and money is lacking, this policy is the only one possible." The third group was as stubborn as the other two: Tuan Ying had exterminated the Tibetans and won only a barren worthless country, void of people. Chao Ch'ung-kuo had fooled himself, and after a couple of years the country had been out of control. Both generals had applied their policy to the utmost and failed. The right way is a middle way, the way of wise moderation; whoever M 175x 643 723

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

is fighting must be fought, but always at the same time the tribes should be induced to surrender peacefully. The debates lasted for seven years and nothing was done (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 10*b*, 11*a*). Finally in 1530 the Tibetan tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou started plundering the country. The tribes had fled from Kokonor for fear of the Mongols. Their destitution was tragic. Commander Liu Wen-yu, protagonist of the third group, left with his army, but at the same time sent officials to induce the tribes to surrender, promising them help. Among them only twenty-one tribes decided to revolt, the Lung-po (Uighur) tribe being the leader of the group. The commander defeated two tribes, killed 360 rebels and then started peace talks. He succeeded, receiving the surrender of seventy or more tribes. He returned with the army. The regions of T'ao and Ming Chou were at peace. 175x 643 723

The same year, while the tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou, situated south of the Yellow River, were pacified, the Tsantsa tribes, living on the northern bank of the Tatung River, plundered the region of Nienpei, but were defeated in the T'u-ku-hung valley. Splinter groups of Mongols raided Chengfan, and small groups of Kokonor brigands invaded Hsining and were pursued.

In 1534, amidst all these troubles, the Ming dynasty was still interested in education and instruction. More schools were built in several small fortresses, and in Hsining the Hall of the Faithful and Meritorious officials was constructed. On the stele erected inside the hall, we read among the names of the celebrated personalities those of four Monguor t'u-ssu: Li Nan-ko, Li Yin, the Duke of Huei-ming, his son, T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih, and T'u-ssu Li Ch'ang, son of Li Yin (*Annals* of Hsining 35: 9*b*, 10*a*). 175x 871 211

The situation grew worse every day and all of Huangchung was upset. Liu T'ien-ho, vice-president of the ministry of war, was sent in 1536 to direct the military operations in Kansu and Shensi. The third son of Dayan, Barsa Bolot, with his son, the Jinong had settled in Ordos. The turbulent Jinong made raids in Ninghsia, Liang and Kanchow. T'u-ssu Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40), Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49), Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 54), were ordered to help stem the forays. T'u-ssu Hsin died on the field of battle. The Jinong invaded Hsining and hit a severe blow. T'u-ssu Lu and Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52) helped the commander beat the Jinong. 175x 648 [645]

The next year the Kokonor brigands made a raid in Hsining and were severely beaten, twice, at the temple T'ieh-fu, 50 li north of the city.

General Liu T'ien-ho, having studied the situation of the country, ordered first the repair of the walls and towers of the eighteen existing small fortresses and villages and cities, and to start immediately with the building of seventeen new fortified villages. He promoted agriculture around the fortresses, dug irrigation 175x 712 [302 312]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

canals, helped the people with grain and oxen, etc. He built the two large cities of Pa-yien-jung and San-ch'uan, south of Nienpei, and established there two strong garrisons, in order to control the whole region north of the Yellow River, reaching from the south of Hsining to Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu 24: 18; 23: 16). At that time the only fortified villages were near the mansions of the t'u-ssu, where in time of troubles the people found shelter with their cattle and helped to defend the fortress, and from which they attacked and pursued brigands. Only near these fortresses were living and farming possible. No wonder that the helpless scattered tribes incessantly revolted, plundered on their own account, or joined the invaders after having been plundered. 175x 712 [502 312]

In 1537 groups of Ordos brigands raided the fortress of Cheng-ch'iang-I, situated between Liangchow and Lanchow. T'u-ssu Yeh defended the fortress heroically and died in the battle. The people esteemed his brave conduct and erected a stele in commemoration inside the village. 175x 648 [211]

In 1541 the Jinong from Ordos raided Hsia-ch'uan-ku in Huangchung; a crushing defeat was administered to him by General Liu T'ien-ho in Ho-shuei-wan. His son Chin-shao was killed in the battle. T'u-ssu Lu, Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40), Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45) participated in the action. Groups belonging to the Tsa tsa tribes of Huangchung plundered San-ch'uan and were chased by T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45), and Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38).

In 1543 the turbulent Jinong, leading a strong army, arrived at Kokonor, where he defeated I-pu-la, and captured half of his followers. I-pu-la fled to Mongolia plundering the Liangchow country on his way back. The Jinong was the grandson of Dayan and had a score to settle with I-pu-la, who, seceding with his tribes, had offended his grandfather Dayan. I-pu-la had raided and plundered Huangchung, had scattered or subdued and ruined the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor during thirty-four years (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 15*b*; 20: 12*a*). Pu-erh-hai, a Mongol chieftain who had joined I-pu-la in 1525, had already abandoned I-pu-la, and had hidden in the mountains to avoid the Jinong. Previously he had manifested his intention to submit to China and was better disposed toward the Tibetans. Many tribes returned to Kokonor hoping to enjoy a precarious peace for some years (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 12*b*). The same year T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to lead his troops to Tatung in Shansi province to help chase the invading Mongols.

In 1546 the emperor ordered the officials to erect an Honorific Arch glorifying the merits of T'u-ssu Lu. [211]

Until 1549 the students in Hsining had been unable to pass the literary examination and acquire titles. This year, on account of the new regulations, diplomas were granted in Hsining. 175x 871

[P. 45 (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

nals of Kansu 42: 52) had died in recent actions, and the troops suffered many reverses. Most of the armies, most of the time, did not fight, but liked better to stay at bay behind walls and barricade themselves in the cities. There were very few pitched battles on a large scale. In the meantime, the brigandage grew with the passing of the years, for it proved to be beneficial to the brigands, who at the same time revenged themselves on their former oppressors, murdering anyone who made a stand. The confidence in the empire, among the population beset with starvation and abject poverty, was shaken, and there was nothing to relieve the dreariness of life. The outlook remained gloomy and no new troops arrived in the country. 175x 563 579

One can hardly understand why, in such critical circumstances, no more troops should have been sent to Huangchung and Kansu by the emperor, to save the starved and pillaged people and prevent the total ruin of the country. However, the troubles which beset Kansu were not the only ones with which the empire had to cope. During the entire reign of Emperor Cheng Te (1605–1622) the borders of the empire from Kansu up to Peking itself had been exposed to persistent and incessant attacks of Mongols, under the command of Dayan. In 1516 two groups, one of seventy, the other of fifty thousand Mongols, invaded Hsuan-hua-fu in Shansi Province. The conditions were similar during the reign of Chia Ching (1522–1567). In 1532 Hsiao Wang-tze with 100,000 men invaded the empire. In 1536 Chi Nang controlled 100,000 soldiers and raided Ninghsia, Tatung, and Hsuan-hua, and in 1544 the country around the capital was devastated and looted of its wealth. In 1550 the Mongols administered a crushing defeat to the Chinese armies and reached the northern gate of the capital where for eight days they laid waste the country and returned to the desert carrying with them a huge amount of booty. The raids, whetting the appetite for plunder, were resumed every year in the northern country. In 1561 they camped again under the walls of the capital. The raids continued unabated until finally in 1570 peace was granted to Altan (Dayan's grandson), who had sued for peace since 1542. Then markets were opened for his tribes and the title of Shun-i-wang bestowed upon him. The Obedient and Righteous Prince! 175x 648 175x 579

These circumstances explain why the brigands in Kansu had been fought in a nearly desultory fashion for half a century. They explain also the danger looming over the Ming dynasty, on account of the still strong savage Mongol forces and the lack of discipline and direction in the army. 175x 648

The same conditions continued for more than a half century for the same reasons, lack of discipline and direction on the part of the army, and unity among the Mongols, strengthened by the benefits to be expected from the amount of loot furnished by the forays. Even when later the Mongols divided in two groups, each

[P. 46 (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

of them remained united and strong because of the benefits derived from brigandage and loot. 175x 648

Altan, who controlled all the Mongols, was in 1559 making forays and harrassing China. For a long time he had been conversant with the fertile Kokonor country, the El Dorado of peoples engaged in cattle breeding, and also with the weakness of the Chinese forces which defended the country, and the helplessness of the disunited Tibetan tribes. Being eager to occupy Kokonor he sent to the country his two sons Pin-tu and Ping-tu with several thousands of Mongols. In 1561 Pin-tu occupied and looted the country of Sung-shan-i, situated between Chuang Lang and Ordos. Ping-tu went to Kokonor, plundering and looting East Kansu (*Annals* of Hsining **20**: 12). He defeated the Chinese army sent against him. The Li T'u-ssu died in the battle (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*a*). In 1568, however, he was severely beaten around Kuei Te and lost many of his people (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*a*). In the meantime the Tibetan Tsan-tsa and Ko-tsa tribes had invaded the Ma-ha-la valley in Hsining but were chased away. Mongol groups of Pin-tu made raids from Sung Shan, in the Pa-yen-jung region (Hsining) and were beaten (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 17). Again the military authority ordered walls and small fortresses built on the mountain passes and on the routes used by the brigands to invade the country (*Annals* of Hsining **13**: 9, 10). [712]

In Hsining the bureau for the administration of the military colonies was erected in 1567 (*Annals* of Hsining **23**: 5). [647]

In 1568 the emperor ordered the officials of Hsining to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining for the meritorious T'u-ssu Li Kung, grandson of Li Yin, who in 1481 had passed the literary examination of *chin shih* and fulfilled the office of minister in the Chang-pao-sse. The arch was built on the great street of the eastern gate of the city, and still exists. The emperor granted the honorific inscription chiseled in the arch: Ch'ing Yun (clearing clouds)—meaning bright sky, and thus bright intelligence. 175x 211

In 1569 the Tibetan Ssu-erh-ko and Hung-mao tribes raided Hsining and were administered a blow. Two chiefs of Ssu-erh-ko were taken prisoner, but a Chinese commander was killed by the Hung-mao tribe (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 17). The commander succeeded in inducing the Ssu-erh-ko tribes to surrender and titles were bestowed upon the chieftains of their twelve tribes. They aided in inducing the Hung-mao tribes to surrender and both groups agreed to combat the Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in combination with the Chinese armies (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 19*b*). The Mongol brigand Ping-tu raided the Ta-erh-wan valley in Huangchung from Kokonor and was repelled by the army which lost its commander (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*b*). 175x 648

Altan surrendered in 1570 and concluded peace with

[P. 46(B)]

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China: markets were accorded to his tribes and he was created "the Obedient and Righteous Prince"! However, the perspicacious Governor Wang Ch'ung-ku asked for a declaration of submission from other chieftains, such as Chinang and T'uman. T'uman refused boldly.[82] Apparently groups of Mongols, dissatisfied with the peace concluded by Altan, had already decided to gather under the banner of T'uman, liking better their adventurous life of looting and plundering than the submission to China. The group was strong and numerous, and administered, during the following years, many crushing defeats to China. Altan, however, endeavored to make his people desist from raids,[83] but he did not succeed in controlling his sons, nephews, and other relatives in Kansu and Huangchung. Since in 1559 Altan had sent his sons to occupy Kokonor and Sung-shan many Mongol chieftains, mostly nephews and cousins had followed them. They had forced the Tibetans to recognize their lordship, bring tribute and help them in the raids made in Kansu. They wrought tremendous havoc among the Tibetan tribes. The Chinese troops fought many losing battles and lost many officers and soldiers. Pin-tu and Ping-tu groups were the scourge of Kansu province. Altan was succeeded by his son Huang-t'ai-chi in 1583, and by his grandson Ch'ih-li-ko in 1587, who was unable to control his people. The emperor, in 1591, ordered the suspension of trade with his tribes (Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 141). From the death of Altan on, Huangchung suffered tremendously for years, on account of the savage raids of the relatives of Altan, whose real nature immediately asserted itself in all its crudity and brutality.

175x 648 175x 579 648

In 1572 the Tibetan Erh-chia-ting tribes again plundered Hsining country. Their chief was captured and killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

In 1573 General Ta Yun rebuilt and fortified the city of Nienpei exposed to the recurrent raids from the Tibetan tribes living north of the cities of Hsining and Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

The fortifications of the city of Hsining were again overhauled and improved in 1575, and the city was enlarged in the prospect of troubles on account of the building of the temple in Kokonor, the opening of markets and the incessant arrival of more Mongols (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*).

[712 346]

Altan arrived at Kokonor in 157[illegible] to meet the great lama (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*). The *Annals* of Hsining record (20: 14) that a lama of Wu-sse-tsang (on the borders of Szechwan Province) was proclaimed Living Buddha. The shrewd Ping-tu, knowing the religiosity of the Tibetans, proposed to build two temples, one in Kokonor and one in Chia-yu-kuan and to invite the Living Buddha. He intended to secure the support of the Tibetans by pretending to be fond of Buddhism. The question was vividly discussed in

175x 648 662 579

[82] Pokotilov, 129.
[83] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 137-141.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Peking, and the emperor agreed. Ping-tu forced the tribes to build a road to Wu-ssu-tsang in order to meet the lama. The entire Szechwan province was upset for fear of invasion by the savage Kokonor brigands. The governor wrote Altan to order his sons to desist from plundering the country. Altan answered that the only reason for the behavior of his sons was the lack of any markets where they could fill their needs. In 1574 markets were opened for Pin-tu and Ping-tu and the emperor granted to the temple of Kokonor the name Yin-hua-sse and the title of vice-commander to Ping-tu. However, the sons and cousins and nephews of Altan plundered as before. Again the officials asked Altan to reprimand them. Altan arrived with his army feigning to meet the lama; however he had an axe to grind with Oirats, his old foes. Coming back, he asked the governor to allow all the Mongol chieftains to attend a meeting with the lama in Kokonor. The Tibetans, taken with panic at the sight of the demonstration of power and magnificence, fled in all directions. Altan returned to the north (1577) but Ho-lo-ch'ih and Yung-chao-pu, his nephew and cousin, and others refused to leave Kokonor, and Ping-tu started plundering the Tibetans again. The officials immediately asked the emperor to close the markets. Altan reprimanded his son and urged him to return the stolen people and cattle. However, Ho-lo-ch'ih continued looting (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 13, 14).[84]

In 1579 the governor of Hsining was engaged in developing agriculture in Huangchung. He gathered the destitute people who had fled with fear of the Mongol brigands, located them in villages, provided them with grain and oxen, dug irrigation canals, etc. In each village he opened a school. He gathered more than 10,000 families, and more uncultivated land was tilled. When Altan left the country in 1577 he had asked him to leave peacefully and to protect the country against more raids by his people (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20).

Ha-tsa, a Tibetan tribe of Kokonor, raided the western valley of Hsining in 1580, but was repelled. Two

[84] René Grousset, *Empire des Steppes*, 592, Paris, Payot: The Ordos Mongols started professing the lamaism of the Yellow Church from 1566 on. The *jinong* Khutukh' Setsen Hung-t'ai-chi of the Uchin banner, coming back from an expedition in Tibet in 1566, had invited lamas to accompany him to Ordos and convert the Mongols to lamaism. The fervent *jinong* succeeded in converting his grand-uncle Altan who at that time was in the heyday of his power (1576). Altan and his grand-nephew invited the chief of the Yellow Church, the great lama bSod-nams rgya-mtso to come to Kokonor. The Mongols met him magnificently and opened with him an official convention at which was laid the foundation of the Yellow Church among the Mongols (1577), and Altan honored the great lama with the title of Dalai Lama, which title is still borne at present by his successors. The Dalai Lama, returning to Lhasa, appointed the Living Buddha Dongkur Manjucri in Kukuhoto the residence of Altan. The Dalai Lama left Lhasa again to travel to Ordos in 1586 for the performance of the cremation ceremonies of Altan who had died in 1583.

[P. 47(B)]

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centurions pursued them to Kokonor and perished in an ambuscade (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 15*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 35*b*). 175 579 643

In the autumn of 1583 Chulit'u, a Mongol chieftain of the group of Pin-tu from Sung Shan, in combination with the chieftain Yung Chao-pu of Kokonor, nephew of Altan, invaded the Sa-t'ang valley in Hsining with 8,000 horses. They killed and wounded more than 1,200 Tibetans, men and women, and drove away with them more than 4,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*).

In 1585 the Kotsa tribe invaded the valleys south of Hsining and was repelled (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*).

In 1586, in the sixth moon, the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih of Kokonor with Tibetans subject to him, numbering 10,000 horses, invaded Hsining, killed 500 surrendered Tibetans and stole 4,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*). At the same time Chuang T'u-lai from Kokonor raided Nienpei plundering many villages, while the brigands of Pin-tu and Sung Shan invaded the Yen-meich'uan valley, north of Hsining. They were repelled by the commander Wang Shih-te helped by the *t'u-ssu*. T'u-ssu Na was killed pursuing the brigands to Pien-Tu-Ku (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*; 31: 18).

The next year the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih in combination with Hung-mao tribes invaded the western valleys of Hsining, killed few people but stole 3,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33, 28*b*).

The Oirat Wa-la-t'a-pu-nmang, who had joined the Kokonor brigands with 5,000 Tibetans, invaded the valleys south of Hsining in 1588. He stole 1,400 cattle and 700 horses from the Chinese army. The Chinese army suffered a crushing defeat. Three t'u-ssu, Li, Ch'eng, and Chao were killed and 800 soldiers, among them 40 centurions (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*a*; 33: 29*a*).

In 1589 the Tibetan Ha-tsa tribes raided San-ch'uan south of Nienpei. The centurion Liu Ts'ung-jen repelled them and was killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*a*). At the same time the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih of Kokonor invaded the valleys south of Hsining and Nienpei with 500 horses, joined Chineng, the grand-nephew of Altan, and Tsaisengfu and Mangko-tsu, belonging to the Pin-tu group of Sung Shan with [79a] 4,000 horses. They beseiged the monastery of Ch'u-t'an-sse for seven days, killing many people and burning the houses. The monastery offered them some hundreds of oxen and horses and they left. T'u-ssu Yeh and Wang pursued them and were killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19; 33: 19*a*).

In 1590 the Tibetan Tsantsa tribes plundered Sa T'ang valley and were repelled but a centurion was killed. Ch'ih-li-ko, who in 1587 had received the title of Obedient and Righteous Prince and was the second successor of Altan, accompanied the Dalai Lama with his army on his way back to Lhasa after the perform-

[P. 48(A)]

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ance of the ceremonies for Altan. After having lingered for a while in Kokonor, he assisted on his way back home in the plundering of the cities and the regions of T'ao and Ming Chou by the Mongols. The same year the brigands Tsai-Seng-fu and Achihtu of the Pin-tu group of Sung Shan plundered the Lungpu tribes southwest of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 19). Tibetan tribes from Szechwan came to finish the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou and were repelled. Then the turbulent Ho-lo-ch'ih looted Lin-T'ao region (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 36). 175x 579 648

HELP SENT BY THE EMPEROR

The situation in East Kansu and Huangchung in 1590 was completely out of control. The country was entirely laid waste and devastated, the Mongol brigands and the Tibetans had incessantly overrun the country, the Chinese forces could not contravene their strength. Many surrendered Tibetan tribes had disintegrated, had disappeared, had been exterminated; the cattle were stolen; many young women had been abducted and many had fled and hidden in the mountains. The depredation of the country was wicked and ruthless and the destitution of the people was tragic. 175x 648 727

A note in the *Annals* of Hsining (33: 19*a*) records to what extent and in what way the Mongol brigands of Kokonor had terrorized, and subjected, reduced to the level of slaves the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor, East Kansu and Huangchung. The chieftain Yung-chao-pu, nephew of Altan, controlled at the time of his arrival in the Kokonor only 1,000 subjects: at present he controlled more than 10,000. The chief Sang-ehr-huang t'ai-chi formerly controlled 800 subjects but now 3,000. The chieftains Kosina and Lashala formerly controlled 4,000 people each but now each of them controlled 10,000 and more. The number of the subjects controlled by the other chiefs is not known.

Finally in 1590 the emperor sent Cheng Lo, president of the ministry of war, to cope with the situation (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 36). 175x 648 [645]

On the first moon of the following year Cheng Lo sent Colonel Shih Chia with the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Te, to call the Tibetan tribes to surrender; 165 tribes numbering 74,710 persons surrendered (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*b*; 25: 20*a–b*; 33: 16*b*). Among the surrendered tribes in Huangchung are noted the Hung-mao tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 7*a*), the Lapu-erh tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 7*a*), the Lungpu tribes led by their lama Sonanchintso (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 3*a–b*), the 29 Tsan-tsa tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 4*b*), and the Sukomi tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 5*b*).

In the ninth moon he sent the brigade General Wang Shih-te, the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Lu Kuang-tsu and groups of surrendered Tibetan tribes, seething with hatred against the Mongol brigands and eager to avenge all the sufferings they had endured, to fight the Mon-

[P.48(B)]

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gols in Kokonor and burn the temple built by Altan. They returned in a flush of triumph with 1,200 captured families. The number of brigands they killed is not known. The Brigadier General Chiao Chi defeated tribes of Ho-lo-ch'ih with the help of Tibetans and beheaded 120 of his men (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 36*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*b*). 175x 648

The energic Cheng Lo must have commanded at the time of his arrival in Huangchung a fair number of fresh troops. Otherwise the shaken confidence in the empire among the Tibetan tribes would not have been restored so quickly. In two years time the outlook had changed and become bright and full of hope for the people, beset for ten years with starvation, squalor and misery, and anxious uncertainty.

The same year the markets, opened for the Mongols in Kansu, were closed on account of their incessant raids and brigandage. The Obedient and Righteous Prince Ch'ih-li-k'o who had assisted at the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou, sent back the abducted people and stolen cattle and presented excuses to the emperor (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20*a–b*). [647 437]

In 1594 orders were given to repair and improve again the fortifications of the city of Hsining. More villages and military colonies were built. Maybe the officials had seen some new straws in the wind (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*a*). A strong group of Kokonor brigands arrived to plunder the valleys south of Hsining. The Chinese generals Liu Mei-Kuan, Ta Yun, T'ien Yueh had called all the t'u-ssu of Huangchung and captured groups of Tibetans to defend the country. They used flanking movements, skillfully settled ambuscades, and administered a crushing defeat to the raiders, 680 of whom were beheaded. A few months later the brigands came back with all the brigands of Nalu, to loot the valleys west of Hsining. The same generals, t'u-ssu, and Tibetans obtained a resounding victory and killed 700 and more brigands, among them some chieftains (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 37*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*a*). 175x 579 [712]

These two victories were the most important ever won in Huangchung. In the report relating the military presentation are encountered the names of the most meritorious military and civil officials who had contributed to the success. We encounter among them the names of T'u-ssu Lu Kuang-tsu, Li Yu-mao, Li Hsien-hua, Ch'eng San-chi, Ch'i Ping-chung and Ch'i Te (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 23*a–b*). A delegate of the ministry of war was sent with titles and gifts to reward the meritorious officials. 175x 648 703

Immediately after the victories, in 1596, orders were sent to the military officials to build more walls especially along the roads used by the invaders of Kokonor and Sung Shan, to build fortresses at strategic points and more villages in the valleys for the farmers. The officials expected that the brigands would not take these blows lying down but would avenge themselves by means of new raids. In Cheng-hai-pu in the western 175x 712

[P.49(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

valley of Hsining, 60 li distant from the city on the way to Kokonor, a strong fortified city was built and a strong garrison appointed. The place controlled the western valley and the raids from Kokonor. In Chung-tsai in the Sa-t'ang valley, which so many times had been looted by invading Tibetans, a strong fortress was also built and a garrison appointed. The same dispositions were taken to improve the strength of the cities of Pa-yen-jung and San Ch'uan against brigands of Sung Shan and Ordos. For the first time troops were available to occupy permanently the strategic points in the country and from the t'u-ssu were required good soldiers to share with the Chinese troops the burden of the defense of the strongholds (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 29*b*, 30*a*). General Liu Mei-kuan started with the exploitation of iron ore in the mountains north of Hsining, three foundries were built and blacksmiths started preparing weapons to be distributed among the subdued tribes. To the nineteen tribes of Komi numbering 7,000 people, reputed first-rate warriors, were sent military instructors with weapons, to drill them. The director of colonization reported that 80,000 acres of uncultivated land were still available to farmers. To destitute Tibetans of Kokonor and East Kansu, pouring into the country every day, were given land to till and grain and oxen. Orders were sent to promote education, build schools in each village and improve existing ones (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*b*; 25: 23*b*; 35: 24).

175x 712 175x 701 [327] 175x 708 659

In a report sent by General T'ien Yueh is encountered an interesting note relating to the education given to the people of north Kansu and Huangchung in these desperate times. In each of the schools of the city of Kanchow, sixty or seventy students attend the lessons of three teachers. In each of the schools of the cities of Kao T'ai, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, Liangchow, Cheng Fan and Chuang Lang are encountered only thirty or forty students, in the smallest of these cities only twenty or thirty students. In each of the schools are two teachers. Then follows an exhortation to promote education (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 20*a*).

175x 871

In the same year, 1596, after the brilliant victories, the country seeming radiant and everywhere walls and fortresses being built, the lamas of T'a-erh-sse (Kumbum) (situated 40 li south of Hsining) decided to build a wall around the hermitages existing at that time. In 1560 some cells had been built for ten monks and, in 1577, a small temple next to a tower whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree, the glory of Kumbum (Monguors II: 25 sq.).

175x 712 346

The same year the brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih, feeling insecure in Kokonor, intending to leave the country and to return to Ordos, asked to pass through Huangchung. The request was refused. He passed the Yellow River, looted T'ao and Ho Chou and was pursued in his flight to the Ordos (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*).

175x 721 648

The La-pu-erh tribe boldly repelled alone an attack of Kokonor brigands, killing fifteen brigands and cap-

[P.49(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

turing thirty horses (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*). 175x
The Wa-la tribes, afraid of the Chinese army, moved to 721
a salt lake deeper into Kokonor. 648

In 1597, however, Kokonor brigands still raided surrendered Tibetan tribes in the Hsining region. They were vigorously repelled from the Mang-la valley (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52). Chih-li-ko, Ordos brigand, raided the borders of Huangchung; 60 of his brigands were killed and 3,300 surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*).

The same year Liu Mei-kuan and Lung-yin finished 175x
the editing of a set of new *Annals*. However, a note 213
is added, no woodblocks had been carved, only a few texts existed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*; 27: 14, 15), and most of them were indecipherable.

In 1598 the Ordos Mongol Ch'ih-li-ko intended to 175x
reoccupy and to pasture in Sung Shan. He was re- 648
pelled and suffered a defeat in Liu Ko Chin. In the fifth moon he plundered the Wolanko region and was repelled again. In the fifth moon one of his tribes, the Shao-hai-hai tribe, surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*). In the seventh moon Generals T'ien Yueh and Ta Yun definitely cleared the Sung Shan region of brigands. The chieftains Pin-tu, A-shih-tu, Tsai-cheng, Chih-li-ko had long infested the Huangchung and East Kansu countries. This time the brigands were chased as far as 500 li (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*). In the eleventh month the Mongol Hao-erh-ch'i occupied Sung Shan. The Chinese Commander Li Wen and surrendered Tibetan tribes repelled them and administered a severe blow. They built a wall as long as 400 li, indicating that Sung Shan belonged to China [712] proper and was no longer the country of the barbarians (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 3*b*).

In 1600 Sung Shan, the country from which during many years many raids had been perpetrated, was cleared of brigands and integrated into China. No more raids are recorded of Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in Huangchung. For some time the Ordos brigands tried to recover Sung Shan and make forays in East Kansu, T'ao and Ming Chou, Liangchow, Chengfan, Ninghsia, but Huangchung enjoyed relative and temporary peace.

Kokonor brigands having lost many tribes previously subject to them, raided T'ao and Ming Chou to subdue Tibetan tribes not yet surrendered to China. They suffered a severe blow and 5,000 Tibetans surrendered to China (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*).

The year 1604 is important in the history of lamaism 175x
in Huangchung. On the northwest of the so many 792
times devastated Sa-t'ang valley, on the borders of one 795
of the small affluents of the Sa-t'ang River, a Tibetan lama Diasai, belonging to the Saskya sect, started the building of the humble hermitage of Erh-ku-lung. The hermitage developed to the point that it became the first lamasery of Huangchung for many centuries and founded all over the country forty daughter monasteries. Its Living Buddhas, Chang Chia, T'u Kuan

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175x
792
795

and Sung Pa, were learned men and enjoyed prestige in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet (Monguors II: 27, sq.).

175x
648

In 1607 the Brigadier General, T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chai, with his troops, was ordered to help General Ta Yun repel the raids of Kokonor brigands who in combination with Ordos brigands invaded and looted Chengfan and Liangchow. They repelled them, administering a severe blow (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 39).

175x
703
211

In 1612 the emperor ordered an honorific arch built to the meritorious Brigadier General Ch'i Teh, and sent the inscription to be chiseled on it: "Honorably favored by Heavenly Grace." The arch was built on the west street of the city of Hsining and still exists. Ch'i Teh is a descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i-Kung-ko-hsing-chi, who during the Yuan period fulfilled the duty of myriarch, with golden badge and purple tassel, in the region 90 li south of Hsining. The Ch'i t'u-ssu clan should have been well acquainted with the Tibetan tribes living south of Hsining. No wonder the Ch'i Teh T'u-ssu was called upon by minister of war Cheng Lo in 1591, together with Colonel Shih Chia, to induce the Tibetan tribes to surrender. His successful efforts must have been the reason for the imperial distinction (*Annals* of Hsining 10: 4*b*; 27: 28).

175x
648

In 1616 the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Ping-chung (descendant of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh) appointed at Yung Ch'ang, saw the Mongol Yin-ting-ssu-ts'ing arriving with 1,000 horses to besiege the city. He controlled only 300 men but fought for two days and nights, defending the city. He himself killed three Mongol brigands. When auxiliary troops arrived he himself immediately pursued the enemy and saved all the people and cattle captured by the Mongols. The grateful people of Yung-ch'ang erected in the city a stele in commemoration of his heroic behavior. The stele still exists. Commended by his superiors for his leadership and energy, he was ordered, in 1621, to move with his troops to Liaotung Province (north of Peking) to defend the region of the Pu River. When he arrived, Liao Yang was already captured. Ten thousand more soldiers were put under his command. He remained in Liao tung for two more years. Later he encountered at P'ing-yang the Manchu troops invading China. In a pitched battle he was wounded by two sword cuts and three arrow hits. He was helped on his horse by his soldiers but died on the way. On account of his meritorious achievements, the emperor bestowed upon him the title of "T'ai-tze-t'ai-pao" "Junior guardian of the heir apparent," and an imperial oration was granted at his funeral and an order given to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining with the inscription: "Served the country, manifested loyalty." The arch still exists. It was built in the large south street of the city (*Annals* of Hsining 10: 4*b*; 27: 21*a–b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*a–b*).

[554
211]

[211
703]

175x

A very important date in the history of Kokonor, Tibet and lamaism is 1636. Ku-Shih-han, chieftain of

[P. 50(B)]

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the Khoshot tribes (Oirats) went to Kokonor with his armies. He conquered Kokonor, Tsaidam and East Tibet, defeated the enemies of the Dalai Lama, occupied Lhasa and proclaimed in 1642 the Dalai Lama Nag-dbang bLo-bzang temporal and spiritual sovereign of Central Tibet.[65] 175x

From 1597 until 1642 no events are recorded in either *Annals* concerning Huangchung. The country enjoyed a relative peace, while its borderlands still suffered raids from the same Mongols.

THE MONGUORS AND THE FALL OF THE MING DYNASTY 175x 648

Desperate times were still in store for the Monguors and their t'u-ssu, and tremendous sacrifices were still requested from them to save the tottering dynasty, but the Monguors with their t'u-ssu stood loyal as a rock to the end.

The restless Mongol tribes had, during two and a half centuries, harrassed the dynasty, administering many crushing defeats to the armies, devastating the border provinces of the empire, and the neighborhood of the capital, causing the ruin and the revolt of the Tibetans, draining the resources of the empire and weakening the discipline of the armies and administrations. This sword of Damocles was still hanging over the dynasty when another ominous plague threatened the empire, the plague of brigands from inside the empire. The Ming dynasty was so effete her fall was imminent.

During the T'ien-ch'i period (1621–1627) Chinese brigands led by Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung ruthlessly murdered the people and savagely devastated the cities and villages, to the point that the exasperated Chinese population hoped for new rulers.[66]

According to the Lu chronicles, in 1628 a severe famine desolated the region of Yenan and Suei-te (Shensi), so many times plundered by Mongols during two and one-half centuries. Wang Chia-yun, a native of Fu-ku, stirred the starving people to band together and go plundering through the country. Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung, planning a revolution against the dynasty, seized the opportunity to organize the already plundering groups of brigands and realize their plan. 175x 579 668

During 1628–1640 the revolution raged unchecked. The rumors spread like a prairie fire in Huangchung and North Kansu, and the population was frightened out of its wits, when the brigands poured from Hsi-an through the Kuan-chung pass toward Kansu. 175x 669

In 1641 the old Hsining t'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien (descendant of the Myriarch Kung-k'o-hsin-chi, founder of the Ch'i clan) and his two sons, Hsing-chu and P'ing-chu, invited to a secret convention to discuss

[65] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 603.

[66] Erich Hauer, Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung, Ein Beitrag zum Ende der Ming Dynasty, *Asia Major*, Vol. secundum fasc. 3/4: 436 sq., 1925.

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While the t'u-ssu and their subjects were fighting and suffering and dying in Hsining, the despairing Ming emperor, on April 25, 1644, had hanged himself in the Wan Sui Shan in Peking. On June 6, 1644, the troops of the new Ch'ing dynasty entered Peking and started at full speed with destruction of the troops of Li Tze-ch'eng who had already proclaimed himself emperor. On October 7, 1644, he ended his life by hanging himself.[87]

The t'u-ssu and their subjects served the Ch'ing dynasty with the same faithfulness they had served the Ming dynasty.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started with the occupation of Huangchung, this was an insecure colony of China, which during the previous dynasties had been lost several times and recovered. The Ming organized the country, providing a civil and military administration on the Chinese pattern. In Huangchung they started with the founding of military colonies, induced the Tibetan tribes to submit to them, established the exchange bureau of tea for horses, favored and protected the arrival of traders from inside China, and promoted agriculture and commerce. They attracted Chinese to settle in the country, built schools, promoted education, and repelled forays of Tibetans and Mongols from outside the Huangchung borders. Huangchung was at peace.

However, in the fateful year 1509 the first group of Mongols arrived and settled in Kokonor, followed by one after another, which ruined and cowed into submission the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor. At the same time the population of Huangchung and East Kansu, from 1509 to 1597, succumbed to the recurrent onslaught of avid, restless and predatory Mongols. The Tibetan tribes, robbed of their cattle, having seen their women and young folk abducted, beset with starvation and abject poverty, started raiding, devastating, and laying waste Huangchung and East Kansu. The army could not deter the forces of destruction. Raids prevailed over the entire northwestern borders of the empire, and the emperor gave the Huangchung officers insufficient reinforcements. It was only in 1590 that the energetic Minister of War, Cheng Lo, commanding new forces, succeeded in defeating the brigands. In the meantime the administration had incessantly built cities, villages, schools, walls, and fortresses all over the country. The aspect of the country had changed completely, despite the desperate times. The country had been organized and the administration established.

During these times, when raids and destruction raged unchecked, Chinese and Shat'o and Uighurs, Tibetans and Monguors had suffered together, helped and sheltered each other, and blended and fused in the compound called the Huangchung population.

In 1644 when the Ch'ing dynasty occupied Huangchung it was no longer the depopulated unorganized

[87] Erich Hauer, *op. cit.*, 488, 494, 497.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

colony which the Mongols had handed down to the Ming. 175x

HUANGCHUNG MONGUORS AND THEIR T'U-SSU DURING THE CH'ING DYNASTY (1644–1911)

175x 648

The establishment of a new dynasty in China used to entail desperate times for a long period. The faithful Monguors with their t'u-ssu, after having defended the Ming dynasty to the end, pledged allegiance to, and cast their lot with the new Ch'ing dynasty, and again would prove their faithfulness. This time they had to fight at the side of the Manchu troops against the rebel Chinese officials of Kansu and all China, even though the power of the new dynasty was still problematical, but all of them remained heroically loyal and dependable to the end, suffering hardship and dying for the dynasty. Their faithfulness in such trying and tragic circumstances cannot but be admired. The history of the Monguors is a shining example of faithfulness seldom recorded in history. 175x 577 648

The people in the northern provinces of China had, for many years, had a desperate time on account of the brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng and the invading groups of Manchus looting the country of its wealth. The despairing Ming emperor had hanged himself on April 25, 1644, and Li Tzu-ch'eng had entered the capital and proclaimed himself emperor. The Ming general Wu San-kuei defended the northern part of the great wall of the empire and the pass of Shanhaikuan against invading Manchu plunderers. Considering that the very existence of the empire was at stake and abhorring and loathing the savage brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng, Wu San-kuei invited Manchu troops to come over to annihilate the brigands and save the dynasty. However he had little thought that in making this compact he was sealing the fate of the Chinese empire. He opened the pass, and his troops in combination with those of the Manchus rushed to the capital which they entered on June 6, 1644. The brigand emperor Li Tzu-ch'eng had fled, but the Manchus proclaimed their own emperor and inaugurated their Ch'ing dynasty. On October 7 Li Tzu-ch'eng died. Jealousies and dissensions arose among the chiefs of the brigands and their impact was broken. Immediately Wu-San-kuei, leading his troops in concert with the Manchu army, pursued the brigands and achieved the surrender of the Chinese provinces. 175x 648 [443]

At the end of 1645, T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien and Li T'ien-yu surrendered in T'ung Kuan to the Manchu Prince A-ki-ko, came back to Kansu, and called on General Meng Ch'iao-fang. They were rehabilitated and ordered to induce the surrender of the Monguor t'u-ssu. All the t'u-ssu submitted to the new dynasty (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*a*). Meng Ch'iao-fang immediately sent to Hsining Commanders Chiang San-chih (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 3*b*) and Chang Chi-yao [424]

[P.53(A)]

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with troops (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 6*b*) who, in concert with the t'u-ssu troops, exterminated the groups of brigands still roaming in the country without chiefs, and they induced the rebel Tibetan tribes to surrender. The commanders started repairing the cities, villages and fortresses in Huangchung. 175x 648

In 1646 T'u-ssu Ch'eng was appointed commander in Chuang Lang by the Manchu Prince Su and given the title of Piao-ch'i Chiang-chun. At that time groups of brigands plundered the country of Sung Shan I north of Chuang Lang. The son of T'u-ssu Ch'eng pursued and exterminated them and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*).

However, the Chinese abhorred and hated the uncouth Manchu barbarians. Many among the governors and commanders could not resist the temptation of espousing the cause of the crumbled dynasty. The opposition would last for eighteen years before the entire empire would be conquered by the Manchus. Several times their empire met precarious circumstances, but party intrigues and jealousies among the Chinese divided them, and never could they offer a permanent united front against the conquerors. [578]

The whereabouts of the heir apparent to the Ming throne being unknown, several princes of the imperial family arose in the provinces and tried to restore the dynasty. Prince Kuei succeeded in the formation in Kiangsi Province of a coalition of governors and military commanders, and the news spread like a prairie fire over the entire empire. Several governors and commanders in north China who had surrendered at the arrival of the Manchu troops, waited for the signal of the general uprising. A storm was brewing even in the remote northern region of Kanchow, Liangchow, etc. Two chiefs of the Mohammedan colony of Kanchow, Ting Kuo-tung and Milayin, started the revolt against the Ch'ing dynasty (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*). They joined the group of Chou Shih-chuan, a scion of the Ming princes, and enrolled as many Tibetans and brigands of Li Tze-ch'eng as possible. The Chinese officials of Kanchow and Liangchow followed in their wake.[88] 175x 669

At the end of the Ming dynasty in North Kansu, Huangchung, and East Kansu, in nearly all the important cities and villages along the trade routes, colonies of Mohammedans were established, having their mosques and religious leaders who were obeyed and honored by their people. Meng Ch'iao-fang, conversant with this situation, informed the emperor about his apprehensions concerning the participation of the Mohammedans in the revolt. He wrote that an order issued by their religious chiefs would suffice to enroll all the Mohammedans of Kansu in the insurrection, and then he indicated the cities and villages in Kansu where the most important groups of Mohammedans existed (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 1*a–b;* 34: 1*b*, 2*b*). 175x 162 795

[88] E. H. Parker, Kansu Mussulmans, *China Review* 16: 335, 1887.

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General Meng Ch'iao-fang seems to have trusted the 175x
faithfulness of the Monguor t'u-ssu of Huangchung 795
and therefore decided to stabilize his position first in Hsining before attacking Kanchow, Liangchow, etc., notwithstanding that in Hsining a strong Mohammedan colony existed. Therefore, in 1645 he sent two commanders to Hsining, and at the end of 1646 he sent another commander with troops, Ma Ju-shin, probably foreseeing imminent troubles.

In 1647 the rebels of Kanchow aimed to join the 175x
already revolting Mohammedan groups in East Kansu. 669
Dissension seems to have existed among the Mohammedan colonies of Hsining and those of Kanchow, Liangchow, etc. Anyway the rebel Mohammedans, Chinese, and Tibetans united, led by the two Mohammedan chiefs Ting Kuo-tung and Milayin, and marched their troops first towards Hsining in order to compel the Mohammedan colony and the whole region of Huangchung to follow in their wake. On the borders of the Tatung River, north of Hsining, a ruthless battle was fought by the Manchu commanders of Hsining, supported by all the Huangchung troops of the t'u-ssu and a resounding victory was obtained (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*a*). The Hsining Mohammedans refused to mix in the revolt, maybe for fear of the overwhelming Manchu and Monguor forces guarding the country. Anyway, the victory secured a temporary peace in the country of Huangchung.

In 1648, after this victory, Meng Ch'iao-fang started attacking the cities of North Kansu. The cities of Liangchow and Yung Ch'ang surrendered, but Major Ma Hu-ya resisted in Kanchow. The city was carried by storm, the commander, eighteen officials, and eighty others were killed. The resistance of the rebels of Suchow was more serious. The city suffered tremendously, the commander and many people were killed (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 1, 3). T'u-ssu Li fought in Kanchow and Suchow with 500 soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*), helped by Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 54), Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*a*), and Ch'i t'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*). Meng Ch'iao-fang, informed that the rebels (*Annals* of Kansu 56: 40*a*) had proposed to move to East Kansu after the defeat on the Tatung River, had appointed t'u-ssu to guard the passes and the roads leading to East Kansu. T'u-ssu Ch'i Pei-chai (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*b*) fought the rebels in Chin Pien I, T'u-ssu Ch'i Ta-hsun (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*) in Ta Tsing, T'u-ssu Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36) and T'u-ssu Lu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 59*b*) fought them in Wu Chao Lin. T'u-ssu Kan with three hundred of his soldiers guarded the ferry on the Yellow River. However, the rebels managed to reach East Kansu and succeeded in capturing within a few months the cities of Lanchow, Ho Chou, T'ao Chou, Lin T'ao, and Kuei Te, and beseiged the city of Kung Ch'ang.

In 1649 Meng Ch'iao-fang led his army and all the 175x
troops of the t'u-ssu to East Kansu, in order to re- 648

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capture the cities lost at the hands of the revolting Ming commanders. He recovered all the cities, one after the other, Lanchow, Ho Chou, T'ao Chou, Lin T'ao and Kuei Te, and saved the beseiged city of Kung Ch'ang. The brother of T'u-ssu Lu was killed in the fight at Ho-ya-lung (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 60). In a little more than three years Meng Ch'iao-fang had recovered one hundred and more cities and fortified villages (*Annals* of Hsining **26**: 1, 2). T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 2) and T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 3) fought at Kuei Te. After these arduous campaigns the Monguor troops were released, and could start repairing the tremendous havoc wrought by the Mongol brigands of Kokonor and Sung Shan I, and by the rebel Tibetans, during the last 150 years of the Ming regime. In the meantime the Manchu armies conquered more provinces in the empire and still had intermittent revolts to quell in the very south of East Kansu and on the Szechwan borders. 175x 648

In 1660 a revolt is recorded of the Mohammedan Ta Erh-han, a member of the Yeh t'u-ssu, who induced Tibetans of Kokonor to help plunder the valley of Milaku, the region situated on the northern borders of the Yellow River south of Nienpei. The guard of the Milaku region had been entrusted to the Yeh t'u-ssu since the Yuan and Ming times. The faithful T'u-ssu Yeh killed the rebel and nine of his men, and captured two others whom he delivered to Hsining. The invaders fled to Kokonor. The Yeh t'u-ssu was a clan of Mohammedans from Turkistan which was settled in Milaku in Yuan times (Monguors I: 32; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 52*b*). Later, at the time of the revolt of Wu San-kuei in 1673, a group of the Yeh clan started following the rebels. The faithful t'u-ssu again succeeded in quelling the revolt, killing many of them. He was promoted to secretary commander as a reward for his faithfulness (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 52*b*). 175x 579

In 1665 Huai Erh-lai, a Tibetan from Kokonor, with his two brothers and their tribes, looted the country along the trade road between Kanchow and Liangchow. Wang Chin-pao, the commander of Hsining, repulsed the brigands (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 46*a*). T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47*b*) and T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 46*b*) helped him.

The tremendous rebellion of Wu San-kuei, the first benefactor of the Ch'ing dynasty, who had put the Manchus in possession of the empire started at the end of the year 1673. The revolt spread through eleven of the eighteen provinces of the empire, and required eight years for its suppression. East Kansu was soon lost to the Manchus and the cities of Lanchow, Ho Chou, T'aochow, Lin T'ao, Kung Ch'ang, etc. were taken by the rebels. The bridge of Lanchow, which secured the communication between East and West Kansu, was broken up. In that way no armies along West Kansu could come to the rescue of East Kansu. However, General Wang Chin-pao of Hsining rushed to Lanchow with his army and all the Monguor troops under com- 175x 648 579

[P.54(B)]

mand of T'u-ssu Ch'i Pei-chai (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 3; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). The Monguors, familiar with the customs of the country, prepared fifty or more rafts of sheep and ox skins, and crossed the river at night in the locality of Chang Chia Wan. In the morning they unexpectedly met a large group of rebels in Hsin Ch'eng and administered a crushing defeat to them. They arrived at Lanchow which was unprepared to meet the enemy, and the city was recovered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a–b*). T'u-ssu Ch'i was appointed defender of the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). Then the Hsining troops of Wang Chin-pao and the Monguor troops helped recover, one after another, all the cities of East Kansu, with other Manchu troops. T'u-ssu Li commanded 1,000 of his Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*b*), and T'u-ssu Kan and Ah 300 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 50, 51). Then the t'u-ssu participated in the seige and the recovering of the city of P'ing Liang, and the capture of the rebel governor Wang Fu-ch'eng. The Lu t'u-ssu sent 400 *tan* of wheat to the hungry Monguor soldiers beseiging P'ing Liang, which was recovered in 1678. Wu San-kuei died August 17, 1678. After a campaign of six years the t'u-ssu returned to Huangchung with their troops. 175x 648 579

In 1677 groups of Tibetans, in combination with Uighurs, had attacked Salar villages. Probably during the insurrection of Wu San-kuei, Salar brigands had plundered them. The Manchu army had put them to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 50*a–b*). In 1681 they returned to avenge the previously unsuccessful attack. Under the leadership of the Tibetan Huang La T'aichi they attacked the village of Su Chih and killed many Salars. The Manchu commander at night attacked the camp of the aggressors and killed many of them. They fled toward the Lao Ya pass and occupied it, blocking the communications. Troops had to come from Liangchow to repel and pursue them (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 51). 175x 628

In 1689 a tremendous famine desolated East Kansu. It was followed by revolts of hungry people. In 1691 the revolt, led by a Taoist priest, had spread over the entire country. Troops of all the commanderies of Kansu were summoned, the revolt lasted until 1693 (*Annals* of Kansu 56: 45*b*). The Monguor t'u-ssu did not move into East Kansu. They had to protect their own country against inroads of poor and destitute people and forestall uprisings of the army in Huangchung, which was lacking food and was restless, for the crops in Huangchung had been bad also. In 1702, 50,000 *tan* of rice were sent from Sian to Huangchung for the troops (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*b*). 175x [751 795] 579

In 1693 T'u-ssu Li Hsia, assistant commander in Hsining, informed the emperor concerning the situation in the Pe-ta region, in the northern valley of Hsining. In 1647, after the rebel Mohammedans and Chinese of Kanchow had tried to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to revolt but had hit a severe blow on the border of the Tatung River, the Chinese who had fol-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

lowed them dared not return to Kanchow, for fear of severe punishments. They liked better to settle in the region of Pe-ta, situated 120 li north of Hsining, outside the jurisdiction of the prefecture, and belonging to the Mongols. They tilled the soil and built houses. More people had joined their group which already numbered 10,000 families in 1693. They brought the regulatory *t'ien pa* (land) taxes to the Mongols. T'u-ssu Li, having investigated the circumstances with other commanders, reported that the Pe-ta region had become a favorite thoroughfare along which Mongols and Tibetans traveled, spying on Huangchung. The group of settlers conversant with the Chinese regions where they constantly traveled also supplied them with information. Lamas traveled the whole year long on their way to Tibet without regulatory passes, etc. The t'u-ssu proposed to compel the entire group of settlers to return to their original countries, for the offense of having revolted had long since been forgiven, and to forbid the bringing of the *t'ien pa* taxes to the Mongol princes, according to the regulations issued by the Manchu emperor in 1658. He proposed to forbid lamas to travel to Tibet through the Pe-ta region, but to travel with passports secured on fixed passes. If serious measures were not taken, sooner or later troubles would arise, all the more since Tibet is for the moment seriously troubled and Galdan is disturbing the empire. Nobody knows what would be in store in the future. If the Mongol princes and settlers would not comply with the regulations, the army should be used to compel them to obey (*Annals* of Hsining **34**: 5*a*).

T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai, brother of T'u-ssu Ch'i Pe-chai, having graduated from the military academy and in 1673 fought the rebel Wu San-kuei in combination with all the Monguor t'u-ssu, had been promoted to second captain in Wei Yuan Pu. He had also fought rebels in Chin Chou and Li Hsien in East Kansu, had been promoted to major and transferred with his troops to Chang Chia Ku north of Peking in Chihli Province, to participate in the war the emperor was waging against the Jungar (Oirat) chief Galdan. After the death of the Oirat chief Yeh Hsien, who had captured the Ming emperor and proclaimed himself emperor of all the Mongols and had been killed in 1455, the Oirats had divided into four groups. Galdan, chief of the Choros group and the Jungar tribes, dreamed of building a new Jungar empire and expelling the Manchus from China.

Galdan, having already conquered Kashgaria, Turfan and Hami, and been ruling over Central Asia, had still to win the four Khalkha groups in order to control the united Mongol race. In 1688 he invaded their territory. The Khalkhas fled to Tumet and asked the emperor for protection. In 1690 Galdan had struck a severe blow at Kalgan. In 1696 the emperor, himself leading one of his three armies, went to meet Galdan in the Kerulen region. T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai

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(*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a*) with his troops accompanied the emperor. Galdan fled but was met by the army of General Fei Yang-ku who completely annihilated his army at Chao Mu To. The Khalkhas reoccupied their country. 175x 648

In 1697 the emperor went with his armies to Ninghsia in order to destroy entirely the Jungar forces. Again T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai with his troops followed the imperial army. However Galdan died May 3, 1697, and the emperor returned to Peking. The t'u-ssu was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the Ho Pa division in Shansi, then brigadier general in Chin Hua in Chekiang Province. In 1713, upon his retirement, he fulfilled the duty of assistant commander of his clan. At his death the emperor honored him with a funeral oration.[89] [703]

In 1703 the Khoshot Mongols of Kokonor submitted to the empire. The emperor conferred on the descendants of Ku Shih Khan, bLo-bzang tanchin, and others the titles of Prince, Pei-le, Pei-tse, Kung, T'aichi (*Annals* of Kansu 64: 52*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 22*a*).

This record points to the troubles in Lhasa which had long threatened Huangchung and the Monguors. Ku Shih Khan, chief of a Khoshot group (one of the four Oirat groups), had invaded and conquered Kokonor, Tsaidam, and Kham in 1636, and had been invited by the fifth Dalai Lama, Nag dzang bLo bzang, chief of the Yellow Sect, to help him in the struggle against a Tibetan prince, fanatic adherent of the old Red Sect, who had occupied Lhasa. He defeated the prince, installed the Dalai in Lhasa, proclaimed him Sovereign of Central Tibet and assumed the duty of protector of the Yellow Church.[90] Ku Shih Khan had been under the Manchu suzerainty since 1637. He died in 1656. His son Dayan, his grandson Dalai, and his great-grandson La tsang assumed the same duty. The Dalai entrusted the temporal administration of his kingdom to an official called a *desi*. In 1670 the *desi* revolted. On the request of the Dalai Lama, Dayan quelled the revolt and committed the *desi* to prison. Sangs rgyas rgya mcho was appointed to the *desi* office. The Dalai died in 1680–1681. The *desi*, with the Panchen Lama, appointed as reincarnation of the Dalai Lama a boy born a year after his death, called Chang Yang bLo bzang, the sixth Dalai Lama. The Tibetans and lamas 175x 795 648 [775]

[89] *Annals* of Hsining 28: 4*a*. *Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*b*. Réné Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 607, 610, Paris, Payot, 1935.

[90] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 59–70, Roma, La Liberia della Stato., 1949. The Dalai Lama who died in 1680–1681 had built up a mighty kingdom and the supremacy of the Yellow Sect over all Tibet, leaning on the power of the Mongols, who were foreigners, arousing the suspicions of the Tibetans and the jealousy of the other sects and the old nobility. At the same time he had laid the foundation of the ruin of his kingdom, having recognized the right of some Mongol tribes to act as patrons over his lands, being bound in that way to the vicissitudes of political events. He had to take side with his protectors, later the Jungars, in their struggle with the Chinese empire.

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should have been cognizant of the fact and have considered the boy as the legitimate successor of Nag Dzang. However, the shrewd *desi*, offended by the growing interference of the emperor and of the Khoshot prince in Tibetan affairs, kept secret from the outer world both the death of the Dalai Nag dzang and the appointment of the reincarnation. He himself planned to rule the kingdom politically. Galdan who had been lama in Lhasa had been the friend of the Dalai and the *desi*, who at the time of his struggle with the Khalkhas had imprudently spoken in his favor near the emperor. In 1689 the distrusting emperor started inquiring into the matter and knew that the old Dalai had died in 1680–1681. He suspected connivance between the *desi* and the Jungars. After the crushing defeat administered to Galdan in 1696, the emperor learned that Galdan would fly to Tibet to build a new army. The emperor back in Peking immediately sent to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor the order to apprehend Galdan, his family and followers in order to check their faithfulness to the empire. However, Galdan had fled to the west and died in 1697. The princes of Kokonor, in order to dispel the suspicion of the emperor concerning their faithfulness, gathered in a group of thirty-one presided over by an eminent lama and swore allegiance to the empire. It seems that on account of the unanimous testimony of faithfulness sent to the emperor, the princes, being all descendants of Ku Shih Khan, were awarded titles.[91]

However, the *Annals* of Hsining present another version: the emperor, preoccupied with the troubled situation in Tibet and Kokonor, ordered the lama Chang Nan to *erh chih* (induce to submission) the princes of Kokonor. Having obeyed, the emperor granted titles to the descendants of Ku Shih Khan: to Blo bzang tan chin, the title of prince, to the others the titles of *Pei-le, Pei-tse, Kung, T'aichi*. A yearly allowance in silver was also granted. They were requested to bring tribute to the capital. As long as the lama was in Hsining the princes were loyal and dependable. Later Chinese officials were appointed to care for them (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 16*b*).

In the *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52, is recorded in 1708 a serious revolt of Hsi Ku Tibetans, in the region of Wen Hsien in the farthest southern corner of East Kansu. The Hsi Ku tribes are the Hsi La Ku tribes, the Shera Uighurs, the Yellow Tibetans, already noted (pp. 17, 18). They were still autonomous in 1708 and had their own chiefs, and joined in the revolt. They depended upon the Yang t'u-ssu, and their chiefs were granted titles after the revolt by the emperor, thanks to the intercession of the Yang t'u-ssu.

In 1718 the Board of Agriculture of Hsining announced that 14,678 acres of uncultivated land were still available for culture.

[91] Maurice Courant, *L'Asie centrale au XVII et XVIII siècles. Empire Kalmouk ou Empire Mantchou*, 62, 72, 73, Paris, Picard, 1912.

5:Schran M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

still available for culture. More troops had arrived in Hsining on account of the troubles in Tibet and those in Turkistan caused by the Jungars. Troops had to be fed and more grain was required (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*a*). 175x

The period of troubles and calamities originating from Kokonor and already long present in Huangchung started in 1723.

Tsewang Rabdan, nephew of the late Galdan, had succeeded his uncle as chief of the Jungars (1697). He was as hostile to the emperor as his uncle, and was as good a friend of the *desi* Sangs rgyas as his uncle. The sixth Dalai Lama, appointed by the *desi* and the Panchen Lama and enthroned in 1697, had proved to be a debauched man. In 1701 the Kokonor Prince La Tsang, protector of the Yellow Church, the Jungar chief Tsewang Rabdan and a delegate of the emperor compelled him to resign. He obeyed but, backed by the *desi*, he reserved for himself the temporal rights of his kingdom. Prince La Tsang confined the *desi* to prison and killed him. The emperor appointed La Tsang to the office of *desi* and ordered him to bring to Peking the dethroned Dalai Lama. However, many lamas and Tibetans still favored him and objected strongly. Finally, the unpopular La Tsang succeeded in 1706 in moving the escort to Peking. The caravan was attacked on the way by lamas and Tibetans, and the Dalai was killed. La Tsang, in concert with the Panchen lama, appointed as sixth reincarnation, the lama Yeches, but he was taken in ill grace by lamas and Tibetans. All the more rumors were spread that in Li T'ang the genuine reincarnation was born. The emperor, to nip in the bud all these rumors, confined the Li T'ang reincarnation and his parents in the lamasery of Kumbum in Hsining. Despite the protestations of lamas, and even of many of the princes of Kokonor, the enthroning of the sixth Dalai Lama Yeches was ordered by the emperor and performed in 1710. 175x 648 795

The Jungar chief Tsewang Rabdan was incensed by the repeated intrusions of the emperor in the affairs of Tibet, conversant with the animosity instilled in the hearts of the lamas of the entire Yellow Church and of the Tibetan tribes against the Chinese empire, conscious of the hatred fostered in the whole nation against the Khoshot La Tsang, who had dethroned their Dalai Lama and was told to have him murdered on the way to Peking. Well informed about the anti-Chinese dispositions of even the princes of Kokonor, Rabdan considered the time ripe to take possession of Tibet and Kokonor, and to rule the Yellow Church. He resolved to pose as the savior of the religion, leading his armies to Hsining to bring to Lhasa the Dalai Lama, the idol of the nation, together with lamas and the princes of Kokonor. His first army marching on Hsining was defeated, but the second, commanded by his brother Tsereng Dondoub, reached Lhasa in 1717, defended by Prince La Tsang. Treacherously, a city gate was 175x 579 795

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

175x 795 579

opened and for three days the wild Jungars destroyed and looted the temples and the city, killing many people. La Tsang was killed.

175x 648

The emperor could not take this affront lying down. However, his first punitive expedition to Lhasa was defeated in 1718. The second in 1720 parted in two columns, one leaving Szechwan Province, the other starting from Hsining. On the way both encountered Jungar troops which were defeated, fled and left Tibet. T'u-ssu Lu T'i-sin was taken ill at that time and sent his son Lu Hua-lin, commanding his troops, to participate in the expedition. Back in Huangchung he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel in the Hsining army, and later colonel in Liangchow and brigadier general in Kanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The emperor, cognizant of the growing animosity of the lamas and the people against his appointed Dalai Lama Yeches, and of the aversion aroused in the hearts of the lamas and the Tibetans against the savage Jungars who had looted their temples and carried away the riches of the nation and killed many people, conversant with their eagerness to see enthroned in Lhasa the Dalai Lama secluded in Kumbum, resolved to send the lama to Lhasa with the Hsining army and to enthrone him as a new sixth Dalai Lama. The decision seemed to him apt to reconquer the sympathy of the Tibetans and the lamas, and to plant in their hearts aversion for the Jungars, who were waging war with him in Central Asia with an eye on Tibet.

175x 662 643 648 795

The emperor, averred politician, in order to assure the success of his plan, ordered the Monguor Living Buddha, T'u Kuan, chief of the renowned Monguor monastery of Erh Ku Lung in Hsining, a learned man of high repute in Tibet and Mongolia, to convey the Kumbum Lama to Lhasa in the capacity of imperial envoy. He bestowed him with the title of Huthukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas, in order to dignify his position. He gave him letters and unusual gifts to bring to the Panchen Lama and to the heads of the most important monasteries in Tibet, his former teachers and friends. The Kumbum Dalai Lama, brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence and enthroned in 1720, was enthusiastically congratulated by the lamas and the Tibetans. This act put an end to the autonomy of Tibet and of the Yellow Church. The Monguors were proud of their Huthukhtu (Monguors II: 31). The sixth Dalai Lama Yeches was dethroned and called to Peking in order to prevent possible complications.[92]

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[92] Maurice Courant, *op. cit.*, 76-79. W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China 1644-1908, *T'oung-pao*, 1-92, 1910. E. Haenich, Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas unter der Gegenwärtigen Dynasty, *T'oung-pao*, 197-235, 375-424, 1911. René Grousset, *op. cit.* Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ching Period*, Washington, 1943. L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century*, Lieden, Brill, 1950. H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, I, *passim*.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

REVOLT OF 1723–1724

After the successful enthronement of the Dalai Lama in Lhasa in 1720, it seems that a period of peace was to be expected. However Huangchung had to go through a new tremendous ordeal of destruction, ruin, and ruthless murder, caused by the revolt of the Khoshot Prince of Kokonor, bLo-bzang tan-chin, a grandson of Ku Shih Khan.

All the princes of Kokonor had participated in the Lhasa expedition in 1720 and had seen their wishes fulfilled by the enthronement of their beloved Dalai Lama. On account of the troubles in Lhasa which had lasted for so many years, related to the enthronements and the depositions of Dalai Lamas and the interference of the Chinese emperor in Tibetan affairs, the princes must have shared for a long time the grudge and the hatred of the lamas and the Tibetans against the Chinese empire.

Back in Kokonor the ambitious Prince bLo-bzang tan-chin had started dreaming about the unification under his command of all the Kokonor tribes, and at the rebuilding of the nation of his ancestor Ku Shih Khan. He enticed the Kokonor princes and the chiefs at a convention in Ch'a han-t'o lo hai to swear to renounce the titles previously granted to them by the emperor. He started calling himself Dalai hun t'aichi in order to induce them to follow his example. It was an act of rebellion against the empire. However two princes Ch'a han tan-chin and Ah-erh-te-mi refused to follow his injunctions; they compelled their troops to abandon him. A fight was about to start between them but, deeming their forces too inferior to those of bLo bzang, Ch'a han tan-chin, first sent his wife and 140 of his people to the pass of Lao Ya Kuan outside the great wall of the city of Ho Chou. Ch'ang Chou vice-president of the administrative organ of Hsining invited him to move his people into the city of Ho Chou, and ordered him to leave the defense of the pass to his troops. bLo bzang prepared to cross the Yellow River to fight. This happened in the eighth moon of 1723 (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 52*a–b*).

But Nien Keng-yao, Governor General of Szechwan and Shensi provinces, and Yueh Chung-ch'i, commander in chief of the troops of Szechwan, had already arrived from Szechwan Province with their troops to quell the revolt. The Chinese had long since had first-hand information concerning the unrest brewing in Kokonor. They knew that Ch'a-han nomenhan, appointed by Lhasa as chief of the lamasery of Kumbum, had pledged allegiance to bLo-bzang, that princes of Kokonor in combination with all the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor depending upon bLo-bzang, and those of Hsining, subjects of the monasteries, and others were ready to revolt with the lamas of Huangchung.

In the tenth moon the revolt burst forth like a pent-up stream; 200,000 rebels invaded Hsining, stealing cattle, burning villages, and fighting with the troops.

[P. 58 (A)]

The situation was very serious, because the revolt spread over the whole country of Huangchung and was general. In the northern part of Huangchung, the monastery of Erh Ku Lung alone controlled forty daughter monasteries. Each monastery was a center of revolt, situated in a tortuous valley, guarded by towering mountains, for Huangchung is a mountainous country with poor means of communication, with almost impassable trails, and passes hard to overcome and control. 175x 648 579 [792]

However, Nien Keng-yao was equal to the situation and extensive powers had been granted to him. He had called from Szechwan, Shensi, and Kansu provinces combat troops inured to hardships, and had chosen capable officers whom he appointed to jobs that gave them full scope for their abilities. He called the Monguor t'u-ssu and ordered 2,000 of their troops, conversant with the intricate geography of the country and conversant with the chiefs of the tribes who lived in their neighborhood. He called all available resources into play.

Everywhere the lamas, the Kokonor Mongols and the Tibetans were the most furious fighters. This seems to point to the fact that they seethed with the greatest hatred against the empire, despite all the favors the lamas had received from the emperors. Nien Keng-yao understood that he had to fight savage and enraged enemies. He went about the job with draconian severity and acted without let-up and with incredible speed.

In the tenth moon the northern, western, and southern valleys of Hsining were cleared by three armies and the besieged fortresses saved. Many, many rebels were slaughtered. In the eleventh moon one army cleared the region of Chuang Lang and defeated Tibetan tribes. Another had to return to the Tatung valley, north of Hsining, to finish drastically the new rebellion.

bLo-bzang, considering the overwhelming forces marshalled against him and their ruthless behavior, asked to surrender. This was refused. More troops arrived at the rebelling monastery of Ch'i Chia Sse where 500 lamas and 1,000 Tibetans were mercilessly killed in the fight.

In the twelfth moon, Mongol Khoshot princes surrendered with more than 100,000 of their followers, while the army still defeated the rebelling Tibetans in the region of Kuei Te, where the monasteries were burned down.

In the first moon of 1724 the armies had to fight the monasteries of Erh Ku Lung, Kuo Mang (Seerkok), and Ch'ieh bzang, the most important centers of resistance. The lamas of Erh Ku Lung had called to arms all their subjects, who awaited the army in resolute array; 13,000 of their subjects were killed in the action. The number of lamas killed is not noted, but it is recorded that they fought furiously, that 700 lamas were killed in Seerkok alone (Monguors II: 34–37). 175x 792 579

[P.58(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Two days east of Hsining, at the junction of the Hsining and Tatung Rivers, in Chang Ch'uan Ku, was a Catholic community. These seem to have been the four communities existing in the region of Hsining in 1715. 175x 797

In most of the important cities in the northern part of Kansu Catholic communities existed in 1716, with churches or oratories. Lanchow had two churches since 1699, depending on the Tung t'ang of Peking (Dehergne p. 287). Kanchow had its church since 1660. In Suchow was a group of worshippers of the Cross. Maoletti, before 1713, during his stay in Liangchow, founded fifteen communities (two churches in Liangchow and one in Yung Ning P'u).

In the eastern part of Kansu, in many of the important cities, Christian communities were also encountered, with or without churches, in 1716.

Dehergne, p. 282, notes that in the middle of the seventeenth century the Jesuit missions flourished in Shensi and numbered 12,000 Christians. In 1683 Christians were in twenty-three cities of the province.

In the five prefectures of Shensi there were Christians in 1700. In 1699 there were five residences of fathers and sixteen Jesuit churches (Dehergne, p. 275).

In Turkistan in 1708, there were some Christians in Ili and Hami (Dehergne, p. 287, No. 89). During the Ch'ien Lung period, 1776–1796, many Catholics were relegated to Ili for the sake of religion (Dehergne, p. 287, 288) and also to Hsi Tatung, four days distant from Hsining (Dehergne, 289, 293).

This is a sketch of the conjectures in Shensi, Shansi, Huangchung, and Kansu concerning the mission work around 1700, according to the report of Maoletti and Dehergne.

HUANGCHUNG REORGANIZED

Nien Keng-yao, the pacification of the country having come to a successful close, presented to the throne a memorandum in thirteen articles, on the methods of pacifying the Mongols, Tibetans, and the lamas. The first article was radical: All the revolts originated on account of the too extensive power of the chiefs. The Tibetan tribes, depending upon the authority of the Supreme Khoshot Chief, have to be withdrawn from him and organized in independent units, living in their own territories allotted by the emperor, ruled by their own chiefs appointed by and responsible only to the Chinese administration. The Khoshot and other Mongol tribes, who at present depend upon the authority of one single supreme chief, have to be divided into single independent units. Titles have to be granted to each of the chieftains, and territories have to be allotted to them by the Chinese administration. Each tribal chief is to be responsible for the administration of his tribe under the supervision of the Chinese authority. The entire administrative physiognomy of Kokonor changed at once, and Kokonor was annexed to the empire. 175x 648

one entirely of Tibetans, four completely of Monguors, 175x
one entirely of Mohammedans originating from Liang- 631
chow, one entirely of Mohammedans from Ho Chou, 162
three occupied by Chinese and Mohammedans together, two by Chinese and Tibetans together, four by Chinese and Monguors, and four by Chinese, Mohammedans and Tibetans (*Annals* of Hsining 22: 15*a–b*).

During these ninety years all these people had abandoned their original homes hoping to enjoy more peace in this lonely country. They had developed the country and made possible the building of the two cities of Tatung and Pe-ta. Before that time the northern valley of Hsining was cultivated only as far as the fortress of Hsin Ch'eng, situated 70 li north of Hsining, where a great wall marked the boundaries between Hsining and Kokonor.

In 1726 the newly appointed Governor of Kokonor, 175x
Ta Ting, started with a big retinue of officials and sol- 648
diers to visit all the Tibetan tribes of Huangchung, 631
East Kansu, and Kokonor, depending upon the Khoshot princes and the lamas, taking the census of the people and the herds of each tribe, appointing in each tribe the chief they desired, notifying them that they depended from now on upon the Chinese officials. He fixed the tribute each tribe was to pay yearly, and in- [651]
formed them that all the taxes formerly paid to the princes and lamas, the *t'ien pa* tax, and the incense offering required yearly by the Dalai Lama in Lhasa were abolished. He allotted to each tribe a territory clearly defined, and handed it the deed officially sealed.

Now an idea can be had about the power of the 175x
princes of Kokonor. The governor had to travel as far 648
at Tatung, Kuei Te, Ho Chou, and T'ao Chou in East Kansu, and to Chuang Lang and Liangchow where Tibetan tribes lived, depending upon the princes. The Khoshot Ku Shih-han in 1636 had conquered Kokonor and all the Tibetan tribes of that country, and those formerly dependent upon the Mongols, which later had fled far away from them. They pursued them as far as T'ao Chou and Ho Chou and so they became their subjects again. This had happened at the end of the Ming dynasty and during the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty when China could not care for these countries on account of the troubled conditions. However, Ku Shih-han had been recognized by the Manchu dynasty as chief of Kokonor. In 1642–1644 Ku Shih-han conquered Tibet and offered it to the Dalai Lama who [651]
immediately sent lamas to collect *t'ien pa* and incense offerings from the tribes, which normally had to pay a tax to the princes also. During these times the Khoshots had even been able to receive the submission of Tibetan tribes living as far as Cho Tze Shan, situated inside the prefecture of Chuang Lang, and of the tribes living in the mountains south of Ku Lang, Liangchow, and Yung Ch'ang. This gives an idea about the number of people and warriors they had been able to call to arms in 1723–1724 (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*b*).

[P.62(B)]

Then the governor notified the lamas about the confiscation of their territories and subjects, and informed them about the revocation of the titles of Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih granted to the most prominent among them by the Ming emperors, and an order was given to hand to the Chinese officials the diploma of the promotion granted to them by the emperor. 175x 648 [334]

Most of these titles had been granted to lamas who had induced tribes to submit, and to move into the depopulated Huangchung, especially in the first century and a half of the Ming. At that time these lamas belonged to the Red sect, were married, and lived among the tribes they had induced to submit, but not in monasteries. They had received personally large proprietaries from the emperor, with a document written in their name, and a title. This had been the origin of the Karwas and Nang so (Monguors II: 18, 19). The son of the lama succeeding to the father, inherited the property and the title and was considered to be a lama. This institution lasted until 1723–1724. The entire lama family during all these years had earned a wealthy living, free from taxes and corvees, and received some taxes from the tribesmen. The *Annals* of Hsining noting this fact, and the confiscation of the territories and subjects of the lamas, adds jubilantly, "and so in one day these unjust conditions, existing for centuries, were abolished" (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 22*b*). 175x 792

In the same year, for the very first time in history, officials were appointed by the Szechwan and Kansu provinces to fix the boundaries of both provinces in the Kokonor region, and to designate which among the Tibetan tribes should depend upon each of the provinces (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 13*a*). 175x 624

During the years 1733–1745 orders were repeatedly issued for the building of more graneries in the cities and most important strongholds all over the country, for the amount of grain formerly collected by the lamas and the Khoshot princes was now collected by the officials and had to be stored (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 23*b*, 25*a*). [344 251]

In 1745 the Hsining *Annals* were printed by Yang Yin-ch'u. The first *Annals*, only two small volumes, contained many errors which were amended. 175x 653

In 1759 there was famine in the prefecture of Chuang Lang. Grain was loaned to T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng to help his subjects. The next year also was one of bad crops. Again grain was loaned for distribution to each of the Monguor families of the t'u-ssu for which restitution was to be made after three years (*Annals* of Kansu 2: 29*b*).

The commanderies of Tatung and Kuei Te became subprefectures in 1761 with complete civil and military administrations (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 4, 11*b*, 14). In Pe-ta and Yung nan a brigadier general and a lieutenant colonel with strong garrisons had already been appointed in 1725, after the revolt of bLo-bzang tan-chin (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 71*a*). 175x

[P. 63 (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Huangchung and the Monguors, after the troubles of 1723–1724, enjoyed peace for sixty years. All that time they assisted in the complete change of the administration and of the country, caused by the confiscation of the large properties and Tibetan tribes which belonged to the lamas. They assisted in the rebuilding of cities, villages and fortifications, schools and granaries, and rebuilt and overhauled their own properties. Every day new regulations were issued to which everybody had to comply, and everywhere Chinese officials and bureaus were encountered. The Chinese officials played the capital role in the country. A large army occupied the country. The influence the t'u-ssu had enjoyed during centuries was waning rapidly. 175x

FIRST MOHAMMEDAN REVOLT—WAHHABISM

All of a sudden in 1781 the terrible revolt broke out among the Mohammedans in Kansu. It portended ominous events. 175x 795 579 648

The Salars, Turks, originating from Turkistan (Samarkand, according to the traditions) inhabited during the Yuan time both borders of the Yellow River, in the region of Hsun Hua T'ing in East Kansu, and in the regions of Pa Yen Jung in southern Huangchung. The time of their arrival in Kansu is unknown, but certainly they lived in that region at the end of the Yuan because two of their chiefs had already surrendered to the Ming in 1370, and received the office of t'u-ssu. The Salars live in thirteen groups called *kong*. The four upper and the four lower groups are called the eight inside Salar *kong* and are controlled by their t'u-ssu. The remaining five groups, called the outside Salar *kong*, are controlled by the subprefecture of Pa Yen Jung (Monguors I: 22, 23). Han Pao-yuan, t'u-ssu of the four upper Salar groups, lives with his subjects in the region of Hsun Hua. His subjects adopted the surname of Han. Han Sha-pa, t'u-ssu of the four lower Salar groups, inhabits the region east of Hsun Hua. His subjects adopted the surname of Ma (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Both t'u-ssu are the founders of the two Salar groups. The Salars profess Islam, but all over the country among their neighbors are many Chinese Mohammedans.

Wahhabism, a sect founded by Ibn Abd-al-Wahhab who died in 1787, aimed at the revival of the primitive orthodoxy of Islam and the abolition of the innovations contrary to the Sunni. He reacted violently against, at that time, the more and more popular cult of the Saints, Prophets, and the Graves.[95]

It happened that in 1762 a Mohammedan from Anting in Kansu, called Ma Ming-hsin, arrived back in Hsun Hua from a pilgrimage (to Mecca?). On his way he had been captivated by the violent discussions, at that time in full swing, relating to the new sect of the

[95] Henri Masse, *L'Islam*, 208–209, Paris, Armand Colin, 1930.

[P.63(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Wahhabits, and had witnessed the fanaticism and the successes reaped by its promoters. He was enthusiastic about the idea of a return to the original orthodoxy. On his arrival, he posed in the Hsun Hua community as the possessor of the genuine doctrine and the champion of the religion founded by Mohammed and his companions. In the services in the mosques he urged the recitation of prayers with a loud voice, for it was the rite practiced in the new sect. It tremendously shocked the other Mohammedan communities, used to reciting the texts in a low voice, so that they accused the disturbers of the religion to the officials. The Salar, Su Forty-three, with other Salars, invited Ma Ming-hsin as teacher and head of all the Mohammedan communities of Hsun Hua. Bitter discussions arose between the two groups, and forty adherents of the old religion were killed. An accusation was dispatched to the governor in Lanchow, who immediately sent two military officials with their troops to Hsun Hua to quell the revolt. However, the new religious group had already grown so fast and become so numerous, that Su Forty-three was able to beat the troops, kill the officials, and occupy the city of Ho Chou. New troops which arrived did not dare go to Ho Chou and they garrisoned in Ti-tao. Then the new religious rebels ran to Lanchow. They defeated the 800 poor troops of Lanchow, besieged the city, occupied the western corner of the city, and broke up the bridge over the Yellow River. New troops came from Kanchow and Szechwan. In the meantime, the officials of Anting had captured Ma Ming-hsin, the fomenter of the revolt in the city and sent him to the prison of Lanchow. The rebels requested their leader. From upon the city wall, the official made him exhort the rebels to keep quiet and return home. It did not work. Then Ma Ming-hsin was killed with his son.

175x 795 579 648

[78]

Just at that time T'u-ssu Lu Fan, from Lien Ch'eng, had arrived with 300 Monguor troops and was attacked by the rebels. His troops were nearly all killed and the t'u-ssu was wounded. Then the rebels retired to the nearby Hua Lin mountains and prepared entrenchments. General A Kuei was called from Szechwan to quell the revolt. The army dared not attack the fanatic rebels in the mountains. The Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu, leading his Salar Mohammedan troops of the old religion, was first to attack and enter the mountains. He was very successful. Later he recovered the city of Ho Chou. More troops arrived from Szechwan and Mongol troops from Alashan. In the mountainous country they administered a crushing defeat to the rebels who fled to the Hua Lin temple. It was burned down with the rebels inside. Few escaped, among them Su Forty-three, who was captured and killed. The revolt was quelled. Then followed the murdering of the entire families of hundreds of the adherents to the sect, forbidden to pray with a loud voice, to collect money and alms, etc.

[P.64(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Where were the Monguor t'u-ssu during the revolt? 175x
The defeat of the troops of T'u-ssu Lu Fan has been 703
related. He was rewarded later by the honor of wear- 624
ing the double peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57).

The five outer Salar groups, adherents of the new 175x
religion, inhabited Pa Yen Jung situated south of Nien- 648
pei. The danger of inroads on and the plundering of [795]
these groups had to be forestalled. Lu Chen-hsien, member of the t'u-ssu clan, guarded with the troops the region of Hsiang T'ang and Huei Ho Tung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 60).

T'u-ssu Kan San Yuen-pao guarded the city of Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Chou Lin guarded the passes of Ch'i Shih near Pa Yen Jung and Feng T'ai Shan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51). T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the city of Nienpei and was later called to Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai helped guard the city of Ti-tao in East Kansu with 200 Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the Hsiao Hsia pass near Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu who had fought in Lan- [703]
chow and recovered Ho Chou, was rewarded by the honor to wear the Blue Plume or Crow feather, and received the button of the second degree, worn on the cap (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*).

The Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Lanchow and was rewarded with the same honor as the former Salar t'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*a*).

Huangchung had been spared from inroads and devastation.

YEN CH'A HUI REVOLT

After the death of Ma Ming-hsin in Lanchow in 175x
1781, T'ien Wu, a fanatic *ahong*, leader of the new sect 795
in Fu Ch'iang in East Kansu, was proclaimed chief of 648
the new sect. At that time the Chinese officials were 579
brutally murdering the entire families of the rebels, and 798
rumors were spread that all the Mohammedans of the old and new sects were to be killed. Already in 1782, in Shih Feng Pao, in the T'ung Wei district, T'ien Wu had started digging entrenchments and moving the wives and children to strongholds in the mountains, weapons had been prepared and flags, etc. Around Ku Yuen and Fu Ch'iang encounters continued unabated between the army and the rebels, who grew stronger and stronger by the accrual of countless adherents of the old sect. In 1784 T'ien Wu was wounded in a fight in Fu Ch'iang and died. The rebels, beaten in many encounters, fled to the Shin Feng Pao mountains where they finally were exterminated, and 3,000 wives and children brutally murdered. The revolt was quelled.

During the revolt T'u-ssu Lu Fan had helped guard 175x
the city of Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*) and 579

[P.64(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

T'u-ssu Lu yin, member of the Lu clan, guarded the Yang-chia temple region (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 58). 175x 579

T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the Ping Ku pass near Lien Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuen guarded the Lu P'an Shan region and was later called to guard Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai with 300 Monguors guarded the Kuan Miao T'an in Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). T'u-ssu Chao Huai-peh guarded the Ping Ku pass with Kan T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the bridge in Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu fought in Fu Ch'iang and was rewarded with the title of lieutenant colonel (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Fu Ch'iang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*).

Huangchung again had escaped devastation, but East Kansu for the second time had to bear the brunt of the revolt. The country and the people suffered tremendously for the officials were determined to annihilate completely the adherents of the sect and their families.[96]

NEW SECT IN HSINING

However, the sect of the new religion was already rooted too deep in the minds of the Kansu Mohammedans to get rid of it by crushing two revolts and killing many people. In 1789 a small group of adherents to the sect were discovered among the Mohammedans in Hsining by the officials. They held meetings and created disturbances in the Mohammedan colony. They were captured, a number of them killed with their families, the rest exiled to Ho Lun Chiang by order of the emperor.[97] 179x 795 [798]

The sect of the White Lotus religion had already spread in five provinces in 1796. It would still last seven years before it would be quelled. In 1798 a strong group of 12,000 rebels invaded East Kansu in the third moon, parted in two groups and started devastating and plundering the country. All available troops were ordered to come to the rescue of the Shensi and Kansu troops. T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun went with 300 Monguor soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu went with his soldiers of the old religion (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu also went to the rescue and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*a*). The remaining t'u-ssu protected the borders of Huangchung along the Yellow River. 175x 795 579 648

In the seventh moon of 1800 the country was at peace (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 59–61). Huangchung 175x 579

[96] Both revolts are summarized according to *Annals* of Kansu 47: 1–3. J. J. M. De Groot, *Sectarianism and religious persecution in China*, 311–327, sq., Amsterdam, Muller, 1903. Commandant d'Ollone, *Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois*, 229, sq., Paris, Leroux, 1911.

[97] J. J. M. De Groot, *op. cit.*, 327.

[P. 65(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

lasted until 1864, during which 20 million people of Kiangsu province were killed. Simultaneously the Nien Fei sect (mounted brigands) started its ravages in 1850. This revolt ended in 1868, having devastated the same provinces of the empire. 175x 795 579

In Turkistan the Mohammedan Chang Ko Erh revolted in 1826. He conquered Turkistan and in 1828 the city of Suchow in North Kansu, situated along the well-known trade road to Central Asia. The regular troops of Liangchow, Kanchow, and Hsining were moved in a hurry to cope with the invasion which threatened to overrun Kansu. The Monguor troops had not been called to come to the rescue of the army. However, T'u-ssu Lu had sent grain to Suchow to feed the hungry troops. He was rewarded with the button of the second degree worn on the cap (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 57*a*). The long exhausting war of China with the Jungars ended in 1857 and a new Mohammedan uprising broke out in Turkistan in 1864. It lasted until 1876 and conquered the entire region of the Tarim basin. 175x 648 [703] [579]

REVOLT OF THE EAST KANSU AND HUANGCHUNG MOHAMMEDANS, 1860–1873

The revolt is summarized according to the *Annals* of Kansu **47**: 4 sq. 175x 795

In 1859 the Mohammedan Ma-ha-pu-tu revolted in the eastern suburb of the city of Ho Chou in East Kansu. The revolt was soon quelled. The reason for the revolt is not noted. 579 628

In 1860 the Salars of Hsun Hua in East Kansu and those of Pa Yen Jung in Huangchung revolted in combination with the Mohammedans of the Shensi province, far more numerous than the Salars. A group started plundering in the Ho Chou region, and a group (that of the Salars of Pa Yen Jung who lived in Huangchung south of the subprefecture of Nienpei, north of the Yellow River) invaded the southern valleys of Hsining.

In 1861 these groups, drawing near Hsining, were put to flight by the commander Chao Erh-hsun, but they popped up in the eastern valley of Hsining, burning, destroying villages, and killing many people. The local militia could not withstand their fierce attacks.

In 1862 the rebels having no aim beyond plunder and the satisfaction of seeing their hatred against the Chinese fulfilled, roamed in strong groups all over Huangchung and East Kansu. Every day more Mohammedans of Kansu joined their groups. The lamas, Nangso, and Tibetans fought with the army. Some groups were victorious; some suffered hard reverses. The Salar t'u-ssu of the four upper and lower groups submitted with the Shensi Mohammedans in Tsa Pa Ch'eng. The suspicious officials nonetheless accepted their surrender, because the Nien Fei and Fa Fei brigands roamed in the vicinity of T'ungkuan, and they

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

On the other hand, the few demoralized Chinese 175x
troops, unable to cope with the situation, tried only to 105
defend the few cities and strongholds, barricading themselves behind the walls, looking at the destruction wrought around them. Their forces were too feeble to pursue mighty bands of invaders. They were afraid to enter into the barren unknown Mongolian and Tibetan countries, exposed to ambushes of enemies, to lack of food and provisions, and to extermination. The defenders of the cities had little or no communications between them as the country was too extensive. They did not muster their scattered forces to fight in pitched battles and liked better to take it easy behind the fortified walls.

All the imperial orders issued to the officers during 175x
the Ming time, as will also be read in the second section 648 ●
of the Chronicles, enjoined them to obey their superior 105
officers and not to act independently; to send messengers to keep contact with each other; to muster troops and fight in pitched battles; not to be lazy, sitting with a wait-and-see attitude behind fortified walls; and always with threats of severe punishment for high as well as for low officers, who did not comply with the orders.

Very seldom was a new strong army sent to save a critical situation. When this happened the invaders fled, but they returned after the departure of the troops.

In these circumstances it is easy to understand that a lot of abuses must have existed among the troops garrisoned for long times in the frontier regions.

The imperial orders constantly enjoined the officers not to mix with the affairs of the civil administration, not to oppress the people, or impose taxes, exactions, etc. The people during the Ming dynasty suffered during two centuries from the inroads of barbarians, the oppression of the troops, and the maladministration of a dynasty becoming more and more effete.

In the Ch'ing dynasty the invasions of Mongols subsided a little until 1723, when bLo-bzang tan-chin launched his terrible revolt which might have caused the loss of Huangchung. Fortunately it was quelled with troops of Szechwan commanded by chiefs equal to the situation.

Then the revolts of the Mohammedans, more ruthless than those of the Mongols wrought terrible havoc, and a tremendous number of Chinese, as well as Mohammedans, lost their lives.

The Monguors had a hard time during these centuries, but remained faithful defenders of the empire.

[P. 69(B)]

5:Schram M-S (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

ssu, to which was attached a lama chaplain, who every day offered incense in the temple and also in the ancestor hall to the ancestors of the Lu family. 175x 114

T'O HUAN, FOUNDING ANCESTOR OF THE CLAN

According to the Chronicles of the clan, T'o Huan is its founding ancestor. He was a member of the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty, with the title of Prince of An Ting, since 1313 (Section 1, Preface. Section 3, Biography of T'o Huan, *Yuan Shih*, Chapter 108, 3rd section 24, 27*a–b*). 175x 614

In 1368 the Ming emperor entered the capital of the Yuan, whose emperor had fled to Ying Ch'ang with the imperial family. T'o Huan, prevented from accompanying the emperor, arrived in Kansu in 1369. At the end of 1369 or the beginning of 1370, General Teng Yü was sent to invite him to see the emperor. He submitted to the Ming, and was ordered to muster his troops, and he followed General Su Ta in the war against K'uo-k'uo Timur, the last general of the Yuan. In 1375 he helped General Pu Yin to beat the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa (Dorjibal). He was invited to court to receive the congratulations of the emperor, but on account of illness he could not obey the order. He died in 1376 (Section 3, biography of T'o Huan, Section 2 and beginning of Section 3, biography of Lu Yung ch'ang and letter of concubine Yang to the emperor).

His oldest son Ah-shih-t'u succeeded him, became blind, and died in 1377. His second son, Kung-pu shih-tieh succeeded in 1378, and is recorded as the ancestor of the second generation. He fought brigands in 1403 and followed the expedition of the emperor against Ah lu t'ai in 1410, and died on the field of battle.

His oldest son Shih-chia succeeded him in 1412 and is recorded as the ancestor of the third generation, with the name Hsien. In 1414 he received from the emperor the name Lu. From that time on, the clan was called Lu clan (T'o Huan was a Mongol belonging to the Borjigin clan of Chingis, he had no family name).

The Chronicle records the history of T'o Huan, the founding ancestor of the clan, and that of the ancestors who succeeded him as chiefs of the clans. It does not pay attention to the other t'u-ssu of the clan, or to groups which branched off, even by sons of T'o Huan, or by members of the principal or lateral branches.

T'o Huan is recorded as having been appointed by the emperor chief of his tribes and controller of the territory he occupied during the Yuan time. [648 624]

The *Annals* of P'ing Fan (1739) record only the title of P'ing-chang cheng-shih of T'o Huan, without noting the title, Prince of An Ting, granted to him by the emperor, although this important fact should have been known among the Lu Monguors. Lu Kuang-tsu, renowned scholar, had already composed his Chronicles between 1602 and 1607 in Lien Ch'eng. The *Annals* bypass Ah-shih-t'u who had succeeded T'o Huan in 1377 and died in the same year, and record Kung- [114]

[P.71(B)] [Text continues on P.72(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

In the texts of the imperial orders sent to the t'u-ssu concerning the way of waging war with the Mongol brigands who incessantly for five centuries invaded and plundered the frontiers, abducted and killed people, are encountered continually the words "mobilize the troops and kill the brigands," "exterminate the brigands," "you are capable of doing that," "intercept their roads and kill them," "block their ways and kill them," etc., etc. The rage against and the exasperation caused by the Mongol brigands were uppermost in the minds of the Chinese officials and the frontier people. 175x 648

It is a pity that the family chronicles of the other t'u-ssu clans are lost, so we miss the texts of the imperial pronouncements at official burials with the three sacrifices and the imperial oration read before the coffin by a high official delegated by the emperor. The first sacrifice was offered and the oration read on the day of the burial. On the anniversary of the death was offered the second sacrifice and there was read a second oration. After the third year, at the end of the mourning period, followed the last sacrifice and the oration. These orations consisted in the glorification of the deceased, of his virtues and merits, and described what the emperor considered to be the virtues and the merits of the officials he used. They always ended with stereotype phrase, "in case your spirits are still conscious and capable to enjoy and breathe the fragrancy of the sacrifice, accept and enjoy it." This last courtesy of the emperor toward the meritorious t'u-ssu, read by a high official, in the presence of the entire clan, created a special atmosphere of devotion among the Monguors toward the emperor. The texts of these orations are always very interesting and instructive. [703]

THE GLORY OF THE T'U-SSU CLANS OF HUANGCHUNG

175x 614

We have to close the study of the Huangchung Monguors with the list of the names of the Monguor t'u-ssu who died on the field of battle sacrificing their lives for the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties.

This is the most glorious page in the history of the Monguors.

DIED ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE

In 1402 T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi
In 1403 T'u-ssu Ch'i Tuan-chou
In 1410 T'u-ssu Lu Kung-pu-shih-tieh
In 1426 T'u-ssu Chou-yung
In 1511 T'u-ssu Li Ch'eng's son
In 1536 T'u-ssu Hsin Pao
In 1537 T'u-ssu Yeh Luan
In 1559 T'u-ssu Li Ming-mao
In 1586 T'u-ssu Na Wei-liang
In 1588 T'u-ssu Li Chih-hsien
T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih-kang
T'u-ssu Chao and Wu. With these two t'u-ssu 800 soldiers died.

[115(A)]

N *563 M 614 554 565 leadership after his father's death. It is noteworthy that by the beginning of the present century, the T'u-ssu was no longer living with his noble kinsmen, but was living in a separate and distinct family, each of which formed an independent economic unit. Therefore, some T'u-ssu were rich, others poor, and the status differentiation, that previously had been determined by wealth disappeared. Thereafter, noble families functioned economically in the same manner as their subject families. In each clan the nobles were subdivided into small units called "houses." Some clans have three houses, some four or five, some as many as thirteen. Each noble family recognizes the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called the Great House, the second is called the Second House, and so on.

The number of houses that had been established according to the number of sons of the "founding" ancestor has been retained as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify themselves, for example, by referring to what "house" they belong. Since Ming times, the T'u-ssu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of subject commoners. In former times each group of nobles collectively was the "possessor" of the subjects. Subjects and territory were assumed to have been assigned by the emperor to the clan as a whole. If a noble was at odds with his clan, he could either leave the clan, taking with him a proportionate number of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or he could found a new clan.

Collective ownership of subject commoners by consanguinial noble families is logically stronger in a nomadic economic structure than in an agricultural one. Memories of this concept, however, persist among nomads who have become farmers.

M [428] The rules of succession to the office of clan chief did not allow for competition. However, there are, in fact, elements of inheritance, of choice or selection, of the consent of the governed, and of appointment by the overlord. Any chief succeeds to office according to definite clan rules, namely, he must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestors." When a T'u-ssu dies, all heads of the clan's noble families together with the heads of prominent commoner families convene to choose a successor. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles, that should prove difficult to eliminate completely.

N *563 M 614 554 648 175 When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-sse, the headmen ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became instead Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were modified by their duty to the Chinese rulers. The institution of T'u-ssu or "local chief" was really one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal

N *563 M 614 554 648 175 groups on the frontier of the Empire. The T'u-ssu thus had a double role, he functioned as a "native chief" and as a Chinese official.

The most important clan chiefs who were granted the title of T'u-ssu in Ming times were those of the Ch'i and Lu clans, who were descendants of the Imperial House of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan of the Shato Turks. From this time on the Monguours remained faithful defenders of the frontiers, first under the Ming dynasty and later under the Manchu dynasty. The Shato origin of the Li clan is corroborated by the Chinese Annals. Shato tribes are noted to have lived between Hsi-ning and Kan-chou as early as 939. The supposition that tribes of Turkish origin, bearing Turkish names, still live in the country is therefore not unreasonable.

N *563 M 614 175 648 177 During the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Chinese and Tibetan families enrolled in the seventeen Monguor and Shato clans, in addition to the original Mongol stock, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned. It is very likely that, especially in the period from 1368 to 1723, only stray Chinese families enrolled in Monguor clans. Later in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who joined Monguor clans. It must be said, however, that while the Monguors have absorbed or at least partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture is lower than that of the Chinese.

In addition to the Chinese, large numbers of Tibetans enrolled in Monguor clans. However, they have probably joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese. When Chinese M [565] or Tibetans enrolled in the Monguor clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors.

N *563 M 614 554 423 The T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan from the emperor. These territories were usually assigned, according to a military plan, as a buffer zone, at a time when the Monguors were still exclusively nomads. It may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories.

The distinctive mark of the commoner is bondage to his respective T'u-ssu. Commoners were subjects "granted" to a N *563 M 614 565 554 chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his command in time of war. The military importance of a T'u-ssu was therefore dependent on the number of his families of commoners. Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of slaves, as pointed out previously, the basic distinction between nobles and commoners still existed in recent times. The first duty of a subject was to never abandon his overlord. Ideally speaking, the T'u-ssu and their subjects were bound together for all time. The subjects could not leave their lord in order to pass

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 144 174 sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsi-ning region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, N *563 M 648 175 311 meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

N *563 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342 The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351] The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables M [343] and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The M [231] Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [592] [574] The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort [354] [352] of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N *563 M 342 591 592 The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-

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618 9. The Hsin clan, of Monguor stock, comprised 100
175 families, settled with the Kan seventy-five miles south-
162 east of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54). The name of the T'u-ssu was later erased from the list of T'u-ssu.

10. The La clan, a small group of Monguor stock. The number of families is not recorded. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was settled seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei, near the Kan clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54).

618 These are the sixteen groups recorded in the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, and in the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24.
179 They were all living in the country under the Mongol dynasty, and submitted to the Ming. The Ch'eng and Chi groups, in the prefecture of Hsining, and the Chao, Yeh, and Hsin groups, in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, have now "become Chinese," and their chiefs have been erased from the lists of the T'u-ssu.

The chiefs of these Shat'o and Monguor groups still bore Mongol names when they submitted to the Ming. After having held the office of T'u-ssu for two or three generations, the chiefs adopted Chinese surnames and each group then adopted the Chinese surname of its chief.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, and especially after 1723, single Tibetan families or small Tibetan groups were enrolled in nearly all the groups. Still later, Chinese families were accepted in the same way; but the Chinese did not adopt the surname of the chief of the group.

131 The foregoing data show that the habitat of the Monguors is not limited to the district of Hsining. In addi-
[101] tion, it may be noted that the mansion of Lu T'u-ssu, of Monguor extraction, is located at Lienc'eng, forty-five miles west of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. This large group call themselves Monguor and the Chinese call them T'u-jen; they are neighbors of the Monguors
624 of Nienpei. In this one group there are no less than seven T'u-ssu, all claiming descent from the imperial family of the founder of the Mongol dynasty. The T'u-ssu of Lienc'eng is the head of the whole group. He alone is regarded as the ruler of the subject people and possessor of the territory assigned to them by the Ming
[651] dynasty. The other six T'u-ssu hold only the title, without the powers of chieftainship. In time of war they are bound to obey the order of the senior T'u-ssu; and for revenue each of them is allowed to collect land taxes from a fixed number of villages.

624 The seven T'u-ssu of this group represent seven lines of descent from either the brothers or the sons of the
175 prince of Nanting (the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 50, pp. 55–57, incorrectly name him prince of Wu-ting). His ancestor was Kolgan, son of Chingis Khan by his favorite beauty, Kulan.[21] The prince who was living in the country at the end of the Mongol dynasty submitted

[21] The family chronicles of this clan, which I am preparing for publication, are referred to above.

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624 175 eldest son, succeeding as the new T'u-ssu by right of being the first born, had a distinguishing privilege. The land taxes due to him (in the form of grain) had to be brought to his mansion, while the junior houses had themselves to collect the taxes from the villages assigned to them.

624 651 175 578 At the beginning of the Ming dynasty, when the houses were first established, the tax revenues must have provided a comfortable living for each house, and it is probable that they needed no other income to live at leisure, at the expense of the commoners. After a few generations, however, as the descendants of each house became more and more numerous, the collection of taxes became increasingly a problem. Divided and subdivided claims to a share of the revenue became insufficient to maintain the claimant families, and were inevitably the cause of quarrels and feuds. In the end, claims to the right to collect subdivided fractions of the land tax became chronic sources of trouble not only among the families constituting the house, but between them and the commoners from whom the revenue was collected.

624 651 578 In some houses the constituent families agree with each other to take turns collecting the available revenue, but this leads to disputes every year and sometimes to fierce fighting. It is not unknown for two or three families to go to the villages, trying to collect the land taxes in competition with each other. When this happens, the villagers are angered and demand that the families who lay claim to revenue patch up their quarrels and adjust their claims before the villagers open their granaries. Those who claim a right to collect revenue, on the other hand, resort to various kinds of deceit in trying to extort more from the villages and to get more than the legal or customary amount. In such problems and quarrels the T'u-ssu himself is involved because by tradition it is he and not the houses who fixes the rates at which levies are collected.

624 651 563 The sources of income of a T'u-ssu are more varied than those of a noble house. The T'u-ssu collects the land taxes in the villages which form the portion of his own house, and in addition collects a number of special taxes which provide his personal revenue. Most of these taxes are collected from Chinese living or trading within his territory. When Monguors who belong to his clan buy livestock, wool, skins, or grain they do not pay a tax on the transaction. On such transactions the Chinese, however, do pay a tax, and so do Monguors of other clans when they engage in such transactions within the territory of the T'u-ssu. Chinese shopkeepers, blacksmiths, and innkeepers living within the clan territory pay taxes. Imposts are levied on rafts and boats on rivers running through the clan territory. At the diets or clan assemblies, and at festivals at Lama monasteries in the clan territory, taxes are collected from Chinese merchants. Payments must also be made for the registration of title deeds to land and houses, and

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taxes are collected from Chinese who graze their herds on the clan territory. When the T'u-ssu sitting in judgment settles a quarrel, he collects a payment. He also expects gifts in cash when he makes his triennial visit to the villages and on the occasion of funerals and marriages.

As opposed to these sources of personal revenue, the T'u-ssu has very few administrative expenses because most administration is carried on through the obligatory services of clan members. The few Chinese secretaries who are employed receive instead of salary the allocation of fields which they are allowed to farm without paying land taxes. Since there are no schools, there is no budget for education, nor is there any expenditure for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of administrative buildings because all such work is done through the levying of obligatory labor. Monguor carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans, in addition to unskilled labor, being available through the institution of obligatory labor services (corvée). Since each village has to provide a fixed number of soldiers, with their full equipment, uniforms, weapons, horses, tents, food, etc., there is no budget for military expenses.

THE CHIEF OF THE CLAN

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The description of the composition of the clan that has been given in the preceding pages raises by implication the problem of the origin and evolution of the clan chief.

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE CLAN CHIEF INSTITUTION

The clan chief is *not an essential element* of the clan. Vladimirtsov,[12] drawing on the Mongol *Secret History* and other chronicle material, demonstrates that, in periods when the pastoral tribes of Mongolia were not unified in large groups under powerful clans, it was quite common to find clans without a regular hereditary aristocracy, led simply by self-constituted chiefs who were heads of families. By way of comparison, it may be noted that most of the small Tibetan tribes of the Hsining region have no aristocracy of chiefs, but are ruled by a sort of council of the heads of families.

The historical and comparative material makes it clear that in clan societies without hereditary chiefs leaders may be designated temporarily and for specific purposes, such as the organization of community hunting drives, raids on other tribes, or defense against raiders. Leadership in such cases may be influenced by, but not solely determined by, seniority in the clan. It may also be influenced by the personal characteristics of resourcefulness or aggressiveness in the man who becomes a leader, or by the number of his relatives and friends and the degree to which they are respected in the community, and, therefore, it may be said that such leadership simultaneously carries a tinge of usurpation by the

[12] *Op. cit.*, 93.

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624 could be held to account for the murder of any traveler
175 on these roads. Under the Yung Cheng reign of the
648 Manchu dynasty, the important monastery of Erhkulung, in the territory of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, joined in the great insurrection of 1723. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was punished for failing to control the insurgent monks. His subjects were taken away from him and inscribed on the register of Chinese subjects under direct Chinese administration, his territory was confiscated, and he was deprived of his rank. A large number of his subjects, however, revolted against the Chinese and joined the insurrection which was still going on. The Chinese authorities therefore compromised. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was asked to summon his subjects back to their allegiance, and was promised that his forfeited rights and privileges would be restored if he succeeded. The promise was carried out and he was in fact reinstated as T'u-ssu when he contributed to the suppression of the insurrection by bringing his subjects back under control.

651 In connection with this recorded historical incident
648 there may be cited a tradition concerning an ancestor
173 of the T'u-ssu of the Li clan, who was condemned to have his head cut off, his territory confiscated, and his subjects brought under direct Chinese jurisdiction, for
624 failing to crush a revolt. Other T'u-ssu intervened on his behalf, however, because of the meritorious services rendered to the empire by his ancestors, capital punishment was commuted, and he and his descendants were instead to be required to pay in perpetuity a tax called *ch'iu liang*, "the tax of supplication." After one or two years, however, according to the tradition, the humiliating word "supplication" was replaced by the Chinese character meaning "autumn" which is also pronounced *ch'iu*, as a "face-saving" concession. The tradition is supported by the statement in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 16, p. 5*a*) that a special "autumnal tax" was yearly collected from the Li T'u-ssu, but the Li T'u-ssu and his subjects explain away the whole matter by saying that at some time in the past, when the Chinese officials were in difficulties because of insurrections, and were short of grain and flour, the Li T'u-ssu of that time, recalling the favors bestowed on his ancestors for centuries past, magnanimously and voluntarily offered to pay this perpetual "autumn tax." Thus the clan has its own "face-saving" version of the tradition.

EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

651 The emperor, as overlord, had a special interest in
648 the fact that the Monguor troops required neither pay, provisions, nor weapons, but were maintained com-
624 pletely at the expense of their own clans. As compensa-
701 tion, the Chinese officials were not allowed to impose land taxes on the Monguors or to requisition labor services from them. The Monguor soldier, since he was considered to be perpetually on frontier duty, could not also be requisitioned for labor; nor could he be drafted

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

651 648 624 701 into the Chinese army. In order to keep up the Monguor military strength, the emperor did not allow subjects of the clan to abandon their T'u-ssu, and the Chinese officials were ordered to help the T'u-ssu in recovering any subjects who had left their territories. The overlord state thus confirmed the clan rule of the Monguors that the subjects of the clan "belonged" to the chief. While in later times Monguors farming land in territory under direct Chinese administration were required to pay the land tax, they were still exempt from the corvée of forced labor.

651 648 624 In the administration of the law, relations between Monguors and Chinese were "extraterritorial." When a Chinese accused a Monguor, the summons had to be sent to the T'u-ssu, who alone could order his subject to appear at the Chinese court. Chinese allowed by a T'u-ssu to settle in his territory became his subjects, liable to Monguor land taxes, military service, and corvées. Monguor lawsuits had to be brought before the T'u-ssu and his officials. If a Monguor did not agree with the verdict of the T'u-ssu, however, he was allowed to appeal to the Chinese high court; but this right was more theoretical than practical, because the Chinese official, considering the T'u-ssu as a fellow-official, and also not unmindful of presents at New Year and at the four seasons, regularly confirmed the verdict of the T'u-ssu.

When Chinese officials, representing the overlord state, traveled through the territory of a T'u-ssu, roads and bridges had to be put in repair. Similarly, when Chinese troops passing through the territory of a T'u-ssu had to cross a river, the Monguors were required to provide the necessary rafts and boats.

TAXES UPON T'U-SSU AND THEIR SALARY

Under the Ming dynasty, except for the "autumn tax" on the Li T'u-ssu, which has already been mentioned, no taxes were imposed on a T'u-ssu. In this respect there was a marked difference between the T'u-ssu and the chiefs of many Tibetan and Mongol tribes who were required to bring every year, or once in a term of years, a fixed tribute of horses or other products of their territories. The difference is accounted for by the fact that a tribute-paying chief and his subjects were not, like a T'u-ssu and his clan, considered to be on permanent military service.

Under the Manchu dynasty, however, the *Annals* of Kansu record that twelve out of the seventeen T'u-ssu were required to pay land tax. The five that were exempt were the five most influential and powerful: the Lu (3,245 families); two Ch'i (800 and 700 families); two Li (4,000 and 960 families), and Wang (150 families). It is possible that these T'u-ssu were exempt from the tax either because of services rendered during the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 or simply because they were powerful and the Chinese were afraid to impose a tax on them for fear they would revolt. The tax im-

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651 648 624 posed on a T'u-ssu was imposed on him personally. He passed it on by making levies on his subjects, but in spite of this their tax was lighter than the tax paid by the Chinese.

In his capacity as a Chinese official, the T'u-ssu was entitled to receive an emolument; but for unknown reasons this stipend was extremely irregular. Seven T'u-ssu received none at all, and of the others the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Hsining received the highest emolument, 146.88 ounces of silver. Next to him came the Lu T'u-ssu with 76.6 ounces. Five others received 50 ounces a year, and the remainder only 40 ounces.[24]

TRIPS OF T'U-SSU TO PEKING

648 624 The difference between a Monguor T'u-ssu and a tribute-paying chief has been mentioned. Like a T'u-ssu, the tribute-paying chief received a diploma and a seal. Unlike a T'u-ssu, he was required to offer tribute at stated intervals, and the most important privilege enjoyed by him and his people was that of admission to the frontier markets. A Monguor T'u-ssu was not bound to report in person to the capital at stated times, but there were occasions when Monguor T'u-ssu were specially summoned to Peking in order to receive awards for meritorious frontier service. On such occasions, they traveled in state. The Monguors still enjoy recalling the fine show made by these glorious ancestors, even though a levy was made on all the subjects of the T'u-ssu, to provide not only a sum of money for his expenses, but thirty soldiers in new uniforms as his escort and ten servants, five secretaries, and enough horses, well equipped, for the whole retinue, together with provisions for the journey. In addition, the most handsome horses and mules that could be found in the Monguors' country were brought and taken along to be presented to the emperor and high officials. Other products of the country, taken as presents, were musk (for the harem), stag horns in the velvet (a medicine of great repute for old men losing their virility), deer sinews (a famous medicine for rheumatic people), and bear's paws (a renowned dish at official dinners), together with saffron from Tibet.

648 624 431 439 Before his departure, the T'u-ssu paid a farewell visit to the high Chinese officials of the frontier region, who gave him presents and more money toward the expenses of his journey—hoping of course that in Peking he would praise them and their administration in the right quarters. For the whole of his journey the T'u-ssu traveled at the public expense, having permits that entitled him and his retinue to lodging free of taxes and charges. Although the capital expense of the journey was great, it was in fact remunerative both for the T'u-ssu and his retinue. They all enjoyed it, for they benefited by the ancient tradition of the East that nobody travels without

[24] In view of the irregularity and the fact that some T'u-ssu received no yearly allowance, it is possible that these payments were regarded as grants to favored vassals rather than as regular salaries to officials.—O. L.

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He gathered several groups of Monguors and founded four Monguor villages, naming them after the villages from which the settlers came. These Monguors still recognize their allegiance to their lords for corvées and other services, but not for land taxes, which they pay to the Buddha.

A colony of Monguors from Shangsukou emigrated to Cholok in Narinkou. They, too, continued to recognize their old lord.

These facts prove that the clan institution of the T'u-ssu was falling asunder by the end of the Manchu dynasty, and also indicate that the Monguors were so prolific that the territory assigned to them by the emperor in 1368 had become too narrow.

TAXES

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The Monguor taxation system bespeaks the nomadic tradition. In former times the importance of a nomad chief was not appraised by the extent of his territory, but by the number of his vassals. The Monguor T'u-ssu still retain this outlook. Their neighbors, the Chinese, impose taxes on the fields, not on the people, but the T'u-ssu impose taxes on the vassals, not on the fields. The vassals, having become farmers, live in villages. The T'u-ssu taxes the village community according to the number and wealth of its families. The heads of families, together with the elders, grade the families in five classes according to their wealth and apportion the taxes among them. Rich people who are traders or have large herds but cultivate little land are more heavily taxed than poor people who cultivate more land. At the lowest level the commoner is taxed without consideration of the source of his income. At this lowest level, the amount of land cultivated necessarily becomes the sole base of taxation, and the nomadic principle of taxing the people is inevitably transformed into the agricultural principle of taxing the land.

It is easy to understand that the distribution of taxes is in many villages the source of troubles and quarrels which the T'u-ssu have to deal with on their triennial visits. Obviously, the system does not fit the framework of the present (1911–1921) economy of the Monguors. If the tax system were to fit the conditions, fields and herds and trade should be subject to differently calculated taxes; but both the Monguors and their T'u-ssu are still dominated by the nomadic tradition, and therefore accept the basic principle that it is the vassal and not the territory that should be taxed.

When the harvest has been reaped and threshed, the servants of the lord go to all the villages, exhorting the villagers to bring their taxes to the mansion of the T'u-ssu immediately. These taxes, levied in kind, constitute the principle income of the lord, who is therefore anxious to have them gathered into his granaries. The emissaries of the T'u-ssu also have their own customs and traditions. They know very well in which village they are entitled by custom to receive a sheep; in which village,

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•651 a goat; in which small village a chicken; where they may collect a fixed number of loaves of steamed bread and where they are to be presented with a stack of pancakes cooked in oil, exactly the height of two chopsticks.

The villagers must themselves bring their grain to the mansion, where the granaries occupy a large space. The number of granaries indicates the importance of the T'u-ssu, the number of his subjects, and the extent of the fields they cultivate. The grain is measured and checked at the granary. The T'u-ssu uses a measure bigger than the official measure.[49] The grain is poured out of the sack into the measure so that it forms a cone projecting above the measure. The cone is then scraped level with a stick, and the surplus grain falls to the ground. This surplus, in addition to all grain falling beside the measure when poured from the sacks, belongs to the servitors of the T'u-ssu. This odious practice, always bitterly criticized by the commoners, was adopted from the Chinese. Commoners bringing their land taxes in grain are allowed to stay overnight at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, and are given a meal of noodles as gratuity.

When the Li T'u-ssu mortgaged some fields to the Living Buddha of Erhkulung, his subjects farming these fields were jubilant because the Buddha used the official measure to measure the taxes and did not allow the use of these hateful tricks at the expense of the farmers.

Notwithstanding all these odious practices used by the T'u-ssu, however, the taxes imposed on the subjects were not so great a burden as those imposed by the Chinese administration on the Chinese. This difference was the greatest political asset of the T'u-ssu and the reason why their commoners remained vassals, and did not demand that they be allowed to come under Chinese jurisdiction.

When a T'u-ssu mortgages fields to monasteries or to the Chinese, the taxes of the farmers are made over to the new lord; but the farmers remain the subjects of the T'u-ssu and are still liable to corvées and military service. When a T'u-ssu sells his fields outright for cash, however, he may also free his subjects from the corvée. By doing so, he "loses" these subjects. While the vassals tilling the soil of a T'u-ssu must pay land taxes, Monguors "passing" their fields to other vassals in order to get a high price, take on themselves the obligation to go on paying the taxes on the land. The result of this mortgaging of the indefinite future for the

[49] During the first month of the year the T'u-ssu has to send to the Chinese officials in the nearest important city (Hsining or Nienpei) the grain-measures, weights, and scales used in the territory under his jurisdiction to be verified for honesty by comparison with the official weights and measures. One of the responsibilities of the T'u-ssu is to see that these standards are maintained by the shopkeepers and traders in his territory. The surveillance of these matters is a source of income for the T'u-ssu's underlings. The T'u-ssu uses the official measure when selling his stored grain; but in spite of his zeal for the observation of proper standards by his subjects, he uses his private—and larger—measure when weighing in the grain collected from them as taxes.

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sake of the fleeting present is the kind of tax called "taxes without fatherhood." Comparable to this kind of transaction is the custom according to which, when a widow remarries, her new husband sometimes accepts the obligation to pay the taxes on the fields cultivated by her deceased husband; thus, though he does not have to pay a bride-price, he does have to pay, year after year, taxes on land which still belongs to and is still cultivated by the family of his wife's late husband.

CORVÉES

The principle of the corvée, to which the Monguors are still liable, is founded upon the vassalage under which the nomads were anciently bound to the "service" of their chief. When they neither tilled the soil nor paid land taxes, they were none the less real vassals. It is plain that farming and land taxes are innovations in the Monguor economy, and do not in themselves determine vassalage, since a Monguor who does not farm is just as much a vassal as one who farms. This is proved by the fact, cited above, that Monguors who farm fields mortgaged by their chiefs to a monastery, and pay their land taxes to the monastery, are still vassals of the T'u-ssu and liable to corvée. Monguors who farm land in Chinese territory and pay their land tax to the Chinese administration may also still remain liable for corvée to the T'u-ssu, instead of to the Chinese authorities.

A T'u-ssu may call upon those of his subjects who are commoners for the repair and upkeep of his mansion, which is a real castle. In former times this upkeep was one of the important obligatory services or corvées. The mansion was built on the pattern of a Chinese *yamen* or combined official residence and government office. It was surrounded by thick, high walls with towers at the four corners, and had a moat outside the wall. The space within the walls was divided into large courtyards containing administrative offices, a prison, an armory for weapons, granaries, stables, and flour mills in addition to a temple of the guardian deity of the clan, the hall of the ancestors, and a garden. Most of the buildings had mud walls and thatched roofs, requiring endless repairs, especially after heavy rain. There was also a long, narrow passage parallel to one of the outer walls which was originally a target range for archers, later used for shooting with rifles. There are only three such mansions still standing—those of the Lu T'u-ssu of Lienchʼeng, the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Nienpei, and of the T'a-wu Li T'u-ssu of Sanch'uan. The others were all burned and destroyed in the long history of frontier inroads by Mongols and Tibetans and above all in the succession of terrible Muslim rebellions. The new mansions that were built to replace those destroyed are on a much more modest scale.

For the upkeep of the mansion, the planting of trees, repair of roads and bridges, and the digging of canals each Monguor is called up in rotation for a fixed number of days. He must bring his own tools, and his food is provided by his village. For special occasions, such

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651 as the ceremony of the investiture which has already been mentioned, extra services are required for white-washing, work in the kitchen, and so forth. Obligatory services and gifts in kind are also required when the son or daughter of a T'u-ssu is married. Each village must then provide a fixed number of sheep, pigs, and cattle and also a contribution of 50,000 copper coins. These celebrations last for three days, with dinners that may be attended by as many as three or four hundred guests, at which all the nobles and important commoners must be on duty.

Among the Monguors as among the Chinese a funeral is a festival. The funeral of a T'u-ssu, of one or his wives, or of a married son is a great occasion. An official invitation is sent to each village, and on the invitation is listed the required offering of gifts in kind and cash. For the funeral of the T'u-ssu, of one of his wives, or of his eldest son, 50,000 copper coins are solicited. Nobles and the important commoners who are invited to take part in the procession as mourners must be dressed, in the Chinese style, in a long white gown. Each village must provide a number of gowns, and the women of the village must buy the white cotton cloth and sew the gowns. Invitations are sent to Chinese officials, to T'u-ssu, and to important people, and Monguor commoners have to forward these messages as a corvée service. Dinners are prepared for as many as a thousand persons. The funeral procession passes through the village or town with banners and streamers. The lamas of the monasteries in the clan territory are required to take part in the funeral, chanting prayers, and must be fed for several days. The ceremonies may last for a week, and the entertainment may require the slaughtering of ten or more oxen, a hundred sheep, and fifty hogs.

In preparation for such a funeral, all the old graves in the cemetery must be put in good condition; and after the burial of a T'u-ssu a guard must be kept over the cemetery, day and night, for a whole year. Each village in rotation provides a guard for ten days. In mourning for a T'u-ssu, his officials remove from their hats for a full year the button, of different material and colors according to rank, which is the token of their office.

MILITARY SERVICE

701 Traditionally, the most important duty of the Monguors was military service. Military organization followed the conventional Mongol decimal structure, the smallest unit consisting of ten men. The most important officers were "commanders of one hundred" and "commanders of a thousand." Each T'u-ssu stood at the head of his own forces. Originally, the officers were always nobles. In later times, this tradition decayed and the T'u-ssu became accustomed to selling the office of "commander of a thousand" to the highest bidder, noble or commoner. The names of the commanders had to be submitted to the military commander of Hsining. It is hardly surprising therefore that during the great

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701 Muslim rebellion of 1868–1875 the "commanders of a thousand" vanished and the "commanders of one hundred," who had not purchased their rank, turned out to be the real leaders.

Each village knows the number of men that it must provide for military service. In some villages the farmers agree among themselves, designating each family that is to provide a soldier when there is a call for service. Another method is for the village to hire young men whenever there is a call for troops from the T'u-ssu. In some villages the custom is to set aside fields, known as "fields for the expenses of horses and soldiers," the income from which is used to meet the military obligations of the village. These fields are made over, as their private property, to families which agree to provide soldiers. Such fields are free of taxes, and the families owning them have the right to "pass" them to other families, in which case the new owners assume the obligation attached to the fields. Military equipment in the form of weapons, uniforms, kettles, tents, and horses "passes" together with the fields. Because a family owning such fields is exempt from taxes, it receives no indemnity if a son of the family is killed on military service; on the contrary, it must provide another man to take the place of the one killed. In villages that do not follow this system, the families of soldiers killed in action must be indemnified. In such villages, every time that men are called up for active service the indemnity to be provided in case of death is debated in long and earnest village meetings.

In one case known to me, all ten soldiers of the village of Lichiachai were killed in the great Muslim rebellion of 1868–1875. After this disaster no one dared to take over possession of the "fields for the expenses of horses and soldiers" and assume the responsibility of military service. In consequence, it became the custom in this village for the whole community to farm these fields, without taxes, the income providing a fund from which the village hired and equipped its contingent of ten soldiers.

701 Another typical case is that of Yangch'üan, the village in which the sixth House of the Li clan collects its land
●651 taxes. In 1876, after the Muslim rebellion there were no more people in the village. The T'u-ssu and the sixth House were eager to get farmers who would pay the taxes and provide the squad of ten soldiers that constituted the obligations of this village. A group of Chinese were willing to enroll into the clan, farm the land and pay the taxes, but refused to assume the burden of equipping ten soldiers. Finally the sixth House agreed to assume the military burden, if the farmers would agree to provide the fodder of ten horses, amounting to two *tan* of peas. After a few years the sixth House started asking for four *tan* of peas. The farmers complained to the T'u-ssu and the rate was fixed at three *tan*. In 1882, however, pressure was put on the farmers to provide in addition to the fodder for them the

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ten horses. The farmers brought a suit against the sixth House in the Chinese court. The case dragged on for many years, during which both sides spent a great deal of money, and finally the farmers were compelled to give four *tan* of peas. But during the subsequent Muslim rebellion of 1891–1895 the sixth House absconded and the farmers were compelled to provide ten soldiers and horses, together with fodder and equipment. After the rebellion new complaints followed one after another and finally in 1918 the stubborn villagers refused to recognize any military burden.

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The small scale of traditional frontier warfare is shown by the fact that only one T'u-ssu was called upon to furnish as many as 300 soldiers, 100 of them mounted. The contingent of another T'u-ssu was 150, including 50 mounted men; two others had to furnish 100 men each, 5 of them mounted (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42; *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 18, pp. 3*a*, 4*a*). Among these figures I have not been able to find those for the contingent of the Lu T'u-ssu. If his contingent numbered 300, like that of the Li T'u-ssu, the total for all the Monguors would be only 1,275 men. But it is said that he disposed of 700 Monguor soldiers and 300 lama soldiers.[50] The Monguor troops, except for those hired by their own villages, received no pay, but when they were on active service the imperial commissary provided them with salt, tea, and flour. The troops were, however, entitled to any booty that they could capture. In the Ming dynasty, according to the *Annals* of the Province, ch. 42, p. 47*a*, an expedition was sent to Turkistan (Sinkiang) to punish the tribes of Hantung and Chiuhsien in 1423. This expedition was commanded by Li Ying, who had the title of Count (Po) of Hui-ning. His forces consisted mostly of Monguors, and they returned with a booty of more than 140,000 cattle. More recently, in 1918, a group of Monguor soldiers participated as volunteers in an expedition against the Ngolok Tibetans of Kukunor. They returned after half a year, each man with a booty of nine cows

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[50] In time of war, however, it is evident that some T'u-ssu, at least, were able to raise more troops than the number required of them according to the formal lists. Thus in the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 the Chinese general Yüeh Chung-ch'i enrolled 2,000 Monguor troops for the defense of the passes, according to the *Tung Hua Lu*, a Manchu imperial chronicle, 3rd vol. of the reign of Yung Cheng, 1st year, p. 29; a thousand Monguors of the Lu T'u-ssu fought at Chitzeshan, according to the *Ch'ing Shih-lu*, an archive of materials collected for the writing of a formal history of the Manchu dynasty, Bk. 144, ch. 13, p. 8; Monguors (number not given) commanded by Chiang Tung destroyed the monastery of Shihmen and killed seven hundred lamas and Tibetans according to the same source, Bk. 145, ch. 16, p. 28, and others helped to quell the revolt in the region of Kueite, according to the *Huang Ch'ing Fan-pu Yao-lüeh*, an imperial publication dealing with "barbarian" affairs, ch. 11, p. 7*a*. Previous to this, in 1720, Monguor troops of the Li T'u-ssu had accompanied the Manchu-Chinese expedition sent to drive the Jungar Mongols out of Lhasa, according to the *Wei Tsang T'ung-chih* (*Annals* of Central Tibet, ch. 13, p. 2*b*), and *Annals* of the Province of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 38*b*.

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705 and twenty sheep, and loaded with kettles, ropes, felt
175 coverings for tents, lamb skins, and wool.

The Monguor soldier wore a turban of blue or black
714 cotton cloth. The distinctive part of his uniform was a sleeveless jacket of red cotton cloth, with yellow trimmings and a circular patch of white on the chest and back. On these circles were written three Chinese characters reading "Monguor soldier" and the clan name of his T'u-ssu. These white circles on the red jacket made bright targets for the enemy. The soldier was expected to report for duty with an old musket and a sword. For every unit of ten men the village had to provide a tent, a kettle, and one pack horse, in addition to riding horses for the mounted men. The horses are shod only on the forefeet, as in medieval Europe.

651 As has already been described, each T'u-ssu formerly had the responsibility for guarding certain passes leading to the Tibetan plateau. At these passes detachments of Monguor troops were stationed even in times of peace, and at these posts they had the right to collect taxes from caravans. Other traditional taxes and levies were also for the maintenance of troops. Up until recent times, for instance, the Lu T'u-ssu had the right to tax all rafts going down the Tat'ung River past his town of Lienchʼeng. This tax was collected according to the number of steering sweeps on each raft. The Lu T'u-ssu's soldiers also collected taxes from Chinese traders buying horses, mules, cows, sheep and pigs in
527 his territory. The Monguors were exempted from
651 these taxes. Twice every year the Lu T'u-ssu inspected all his troops in the valley of Kuchʼeng ("Old City"). These occasions were celebrated with horse races and wrestling matches, and there was a large market attended by an enormous crowd. The troops collected taxes from merchants attending this market.

701 Soldiers were also required for peace-time duty at
651 the mansion of the T'u-ssu, as sentries, body guards, and official messengers. They also maintained order among the crowds at the great religious celebrations at the monasteries built in the territory of the T'u-ssu, and at the time of the annual clan meeting. On such occasions they also collected taxes from Chinese merchants.

TRIENNIAL INSPECTION

624 According to protocol, a T'u-ssu should make an inspection visit every three years (in some cases, every two years) to all the villages of his subjects. This visit is called the "descent among the subjects," and in the course of the visit the T'u-ssu should make a count of the number of his subjects and check on the administration of the villages, in order to make a report to the Chinese officials representing the overlord state. This triennial tour is one of the main sources of income of a T'u-ssu.

The tour begins on an auspicious day fixed by a lama. Monguor soldiers from the first village to be visited on the tour come to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, with some

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624 of the elders of their village, to escort the T'u-ssu. They bring with them the required number of horses, finely equipped and well broken to the saddle, to be ridden by the T'u-ssu's retinue of ten or more officials and servants. The finest courtyard in the village is prepared for the sojourn of the T'u-ssu, who like a medieval seigneur enjoys the *droit de gîte* at each stopping place. The procession is headed by a soldier who carries, strapped diagonally across his back, a rolled-up painting on yellow cotton cloth of the guardian deity of the clan. This picture is to be venerated at each stopping place.

624 Outside the village the T'u-ssu is greeted by all the
•651 inhabitants, dressed in their best clothes and kneeling and bowing. Although the occasion costs them a great deal of money, their faces are alight with joy and exaltation, because receiving their feudal lord is traditionally a joyful festival.

One of the elders presents to the T'u-ssu a *katag* or ceremonial scarf, laying it across his outstretched hands, and another elder offers him two bottles of wine. A sheep is then led before the T'u-ssu, its horns decorated with red paper and a piece of red cotton cloth strapped on its back. At the same time he is presented with a gift of 30,000 copper coins on a dish. This offering is called the "gift of joyous entrance into the village."
527 In former days, the sheep was slaughtered, prepared
264 for the dinner in the evening, and served before the guests as a whole carcass, on an enormous platter. This is the traditional dish for important guests. At the same time, the most delicate piece, the fat tail, together with 1,000 copper coins, is presented to the T'u-ssu on a special plate. In recent times the T'u-ssu sometimes accepts the sheep and orders it to be brought to his palace, together with the spices required for cooking it properly. This amounts to a double charge on the village, because another sheep must be slaughtered for the evening dinner.

624 When the T'u-ssu and his retinue reach the courtyard
796 where the T'u-ssu is to stay, the picture of the guardian deity of the clan is displayed in the front room. An oil lamp is lighted and incense is burned before it as long as the T'u-ssu's visit lasts. The community as a group venerate the guardian deity, prostrating themselves; in the front row are the village elders, with sticks of incense in their joined hands. This custom of carrying the guardian deity on the triennial tour of the feudal lord of the clan, giving all the village communities an opportunity to worship it, seems to correspond with the custom of honoring the "spirits of the clan" among the Manchus, as described by Shirokogoroff.[51]

177 At present the guardian deities of all the Monguor
792 clans have been taken over by Lamaism. Formerly one or two lamas served as house chaplains at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, praying and burning incense every day at the temple of the guardian deity. Since the destruc-

[51] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, Shanghai, North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924.

[P. 65a]

624 lamas, the "passing" of land to people who are not members of the clan, etc.

The number of men in the village liable to military
624 service is checked, and the T'u-ssu carries out a military inspection. The troops turn out with their
701 muskets and swords and horses. Tents, cooking kettles, pack animals and pack saddles, and sacks for carrying the flour ration are all inspected. The inspection concludes with a sham attack by the Monguor cavalry at full gallop, the soldiers firing their guns, drawing their swords, and howling and shouting.

624 The next important procedure is ratification by the T'u-ssu of all the settlements made by the village elders
692 in patching up quarrels during the preceding three years. The custom is that when such a settlement is made, each person involved must pay the elders 2,000 copper coins, and these accumulated sums must be offered to the T'u-ssu. If there are legal suits, as distinguished from these settlements, the T'u-ssu presides over them on the fourth day. To deal with such suits, he is accompanied throughout his journey by the officials of his court of justice and by lictors carrying chains, handcuffs, and batons, and wearing their appropriate costumes.

624 The custom is that justice be rendered on the threshing
693 floor of the village in the open air. The lord and his secretaries sit at tables. At the left stand two lictors
681 dressed in red cotton and wearing high red harlequin hats, and with batons in their hands. At the right stand two lictors dressed in black. Chains, handcuffs, and batons are laid on the table, and plaintiffs and defendants kneel in front. The punishments inflicted include hanging by the wrists or thumbs, and flogging up to one hundred and even five hundred lashes. The offender is stripped and pegged out face downward, arms and legs spreadeagled. The lictors, armed with short whips or rods, strike the tender inner side of the thighs. Women are flogged on the bare back. The justice meted out is not always as brutal as it appears to be, because the retinue of the T'u-ssu is always venal. They depend on bribery for their income. Although most T'u-ssu do not approve of the corruption indulged in by many of their minor officials, they cannot always prevent it. Suits brought by the Monguors before the T'u-ssu are the delight of his retinue. It is often the crying injustices caused by the venality and peculation of the petty officials that cause Monguors to leave the clan territory and abandon their lord.

624 The expenses of legal suits, and of the sojourn of the T'u-ssu with his retinue for that day, are paid by the
• 651 litigants, but all other expenses of the official three-day visit are defrayed by the people of the village. At the
691 end of the visit, the elders and troops of the next village come to escort the T'u-ssu on the next stage of his tour.

624 It may be noted that this triennial tour of the T'u-ssu, accompanied by his court of justice, seems to suggest that it is the T'u-ssu as an individual and not his mansion

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

624 574 cloth. On the third day he is invited by the members of the next House.

NOBLES EXEMPTED FROM TAXES, CORVÉES, MILITARY SERVICE

565 651 There are important differences between commoners and nobles in respect to taxes, military duty, and obligatory services. The way in which the nobles as kinsmen by blood of the T'u-ssu are divided into Houses according to seniority of descent from the founding ancestor, and are allocated for their personal revenue the tax income from certain villages, has already been described. The logical counterpart of the fact that the taxes of commoners can be allocated to nobles is the immunity of the nobles themselves from all taxes, obligatory services, and special contributions to the investiture of a T'u-ssu or the expenses of marriages and funerals in his mansion. The T'u-ssu and his noble kinsmen, as members of the same "bone," are thus clearly set apart as the collective "owners" of the commoners who form the larger, "assimilated" clan. Following the same general principle, when commoners bring new fields under cultivation they must pay to the T'u-ssu both a capital price for the acquisition of the land and a tax for the registration of the land as their private property, while nobles may bring new land under cultivation without any payment of any kind, thus demonstrating that they, collectively with the T'u-ssu, are the owners of the territory.

565 651 769 Nobles are, however, by the same logic, subject to contributions for the upkeep of the ancestral temple in the mansion of the T'u-ssu. All nobles of the clan, and even their wives and children, are assessed a levy of 50 copper coins every year for the expenses of the lama chaplain and the cost of oil, paper, and incense. The Monguors say that in former times the nobles were also responsible for the upkeep of the old common cemetery, and that they only later built private cemeteries, but that at present they pass on to the commoners the cost of the upkeep of these cemeteries.

565 651 The custom in regard to corvées is parallel to that regulating the payment of taxes. Though nobles may inherit the right to collect taxes from certain villages, they do not have the right to demand obligatory services; but conversely they themselves are not subject to such services. Because of this, nobles must either till their own fields and watch their own cattle, or hire people to do this work for them. If the village in which they live decides to dig an irrigation canal as a communal project, they do not have to contribute labor but must pay their share of the expenses. The only extraordinary expenses and services that can be demanded of the nobles come under the head of honorable obligations, such as taking part in the entertainment of guests during festivities, contributions to dinners, participation in the veneration of the ancestors and in clan meetings, and serving as representatives of the T'u-ssu at dinners given

565 574

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TOPICS OF THE MEETINGS

623 651 The most important and delicate topic of discussion at meetings is always the subject of taxes. These taxes are decreed by the T'u-ssu as a lump sum imposed on the entire village. The villagers have then to group themselves by wealth in five classes and to pay more or less taxes according to this classification. The classification of families is a very difficult and delicate problem. In the discussion everybody asserts that he is, and proves himself to be, the poorest man in the village, deserving to be put in the lowest classification. The tax imposed on the village is compared with the taxes on other villages, and the chief of the village is criticized for not having defended the interests of his village. These meetings also fix the date on which the taxes have to be ready either to be carried by the villagers in a group to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, or to be ready for the nobles who come to collect them. Illegal and oppressive exactions by the officials of the T'u-ssu and difficulties with the collecting nobles are discussed, and entrusted to the chief of the village for redress or for conciliation with the T'u-ssu.

623 312 Another important topic is the digging or repairing of irrigation canals. The number of digging days required from each family is adjusted to the amount of land each family cultivates. Quarrels are patched up with families accused of having kept the water from the canal turned into their fields for longer than the allotted time. The proper time is calculated by the time taken to burn a certain number of incense sticks for the irrigation of a determined acreage of fields.

623 651 794 At these meetings the contributions of every family are fixed for the expenses of keeping the village temple in repair and payments to the shamans who perform the two important rites of spring and of protection against storms and hail, and of thanksgiving for the harvest.[4] An apportionment is also made of the liability of members for all kinds of corvées, or obligatory services, religious as well as administrative. The groups of youngsters must be ready day and night to stay in and even sleep in the temple in order to avert the danger of hail and storms in summer. Duties must be assigned also for taking care of the sacred animal of the village, and for preparing the performance of all kinds of religious rites carried out on behalf of the village. Villagers must also be designated for all kinds of corvée service at the mansion of the T'u-ssu.

622 627 The officials must also be prepared to deal with all kinds of problems in the private lives of the villagers (except family vengeance feuds). If a villager has got himself into difficulties or is burdened with troubles not of his own making he goes to the chief of the village, presents to him a scarf of felicity and a bottle of wine, and invites him to iron out the problem. The chief

[4] The religious aspects of Monguor life will be discussed in a second volume, now being prepared for publication.

463 Mongolia, some of whom are going to study in the great
439 monasteries of Tibet but many of whom are going on
484 pilgrimage, partly to visit celebrated monasteries and partly just for the fun of traveling and seeing the world. Each traveler with such a caravan must take care of his own food and expenses.

A large number of young Monguors, especially those who can speak Tibetan, take jobs with these caravans. A man who is thus working with a caravan for hire can also, by ancient custom, take with him trade goods for his own private speculation. The Monguors take the big, handsome mules and fast horses bred in their own country, and things like saddle girths woven with white wool, made in the Monguor country and known to sell readily in Tibet. The Monguor mules are especially esteemed in Tibet, and consequently Monguors who have mules or horses to sell will entrust them to a young man working with one of the trading caravans, sharing with him the profit of the venture.

439 The big caravan of the Kuopa Tibetans leaves Hsining
484 during the fourth moon of the lunar calendar and returns from Lhasa in the second or third moon of the following year. In 1914, when traveling near the great lake of Kukunor, I met the vanguard of this caravan on its way to Lhasa. The vanguard carried two flags. When it was time to pitch camp for the night, the men showed their veteran skill by the way in which, under the orders of their chief, they staked out the site of the camp. An hour later the main caravan arrived in nine groups of fifty yaks, each of which was separated from the preceding group by a small distance. On each side of the caravan rode Monguors and Tibetans armed with rifles and long swords. Each of the nine groups was accompanied by travelers, some of whom were riding while others walked and led their horses and mules. Each group went straight to the spot that had been staked and roped off for it, unloaded its animals, and pitched a small tent. Some of the men then went out with the animals to pasture near the camp, while the others prepared food. In the early morning the caravan left again, in perfect order. Camp is made in the afternoon and broken in the morning with amazing skill and orderliness; throughout the journey, the pattern of the camp is maintained, so that each group knows exactly where it belongs.

Caravans carrying valuable loads never venture to travel in Tibet without a strong armed guard, for fear of being robbed by the wilder Tibetan tribes, such as
439 the Ngoloks. According to foreign explorers and
484 travelers these large and well defended caravans are seldom attacked, but according to Monguors who have
608 traveled with the caravans the safety of a caravan really depends on the custom of "sworn brotherhood." In
651 each territory through which the caravan is to travel, the chief of the caravan has a sworn brother who is one of the local chiefs. As the caravan approaches each new tribal territory, two men are sent ahead with valuable

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439 presents for this sworn brother, who then notifies his
484 tribe not to molest the caravan. The traditional presents
608 consist of bolts of satin and silk, or a load of cotton
651 textiles or sugar or Chinese vermicelli. The next day, when the caravan chief and his local sworn brother meet, the caravan chief asks politely whether he can help his brother by carrying some things for him on the way back. The local sworn brother just as politely names some purchases that he would like made for him in Hsining or Lhasa, for which he offers to pay. The two understand each other's meaning perfectly, and the following year the caravan leader will bring as presents the goods that have been indicated. Thus in fact the caravan takes its way through each territory by a form of taxation in the guise of presents.[8]

431 On the way back from Tibet the Monguors bring with
484 them *p'ulu*, a kind of woolen serge woven in Tibet in narrow bands, either dyed red or purple, or white with crosses of red or blue dyed in the fabric by the "tie and dye" method. This material, which sheds water, is greatly valued by both Tibetans and Monguors. The Monguors also bring back from Tibet incense, dates, and saffron, which they sell to Chinese, the saffron being used more for medicine than as a condiment. At the market in the frontier town of Dankar I once bought some dishes that had just been brought in from Lhasa with the Kuopa caravan. These dishes bore the trademark of "Regout, Maestricht, Holland" and had traveled from Europe to Calcutta, from Calcutta to Lhasa, and from Lhasa, loaded on yaks, to the frontier of China.

439 The young Monguors who have once worked with
484 the caravan seem to catch the fever of travel and want to go back to Tibet again and again. The older people,
583 with the wisdom of experience, explain the mystery. The reason is, they say, the ease—and variety—of getting temporarily married in Tibet. The traveler who wants to strike up a temporary relationship with a woman in Tibet shaves his head just before his caravan arrives at its destination. This makes him look like a lama, and a Tibetan girl will readily "marry" him, assuming that he has no permanent obligations to a wife at home. If he were to wear a "pig-tail," the girl might be a little more hesitant, fearing that the "marriage" would last only until he wanted to go home. When he does want to leave such a temporary wife, however, the rascally traveler simply grows his "pig-tail" again on the next stage of his journey. In this way, the enterprising caravan man can sample the joys of marriage in a number of places.

DWELLINGS

342 The construction and disposition of the houses of the Monguors having been described in Chapter IV, it

[8] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, as cited, 54, describes this form of the "sworn brother" relationship as a "guest-host" relationship, and gives valuable details on both Tibetan and Muslim caravan trade.—O. L. [P. 116a]

286 wool and spinning them with the aid of a clay spindle. Grown men spin while they are walking and boys while they are watching the herds at pasture.

The weaver is a professional who is invited to visit a household that has laid by a supply of yarn. He loads the pieces of his portable loom on a donkey, and works for a daily wage. He also makes sacks of goat hair. Sometimes he works in his own home, with yarn that is brought to him. For this kind of work, the yarn is weighed and the price is fixed according to the amount of yarn that is brought by the customer and the measurement of the cloth to be delivered. Since the yarns are spun by children and adults, at all times of the day, and are very irregular, the fabric produced from them is used to make working gowns and jackets for men and women and is extremely coarse and primitive. It sheds water well, since the wool has not been washed in hot water and the yarn retains its natural fat.

287 Felt making is also the work of professionals. For this a kind of screen is used, made of reeds. The screen is laid on the ground and the loose wool is piled on it. Each layer of wool is wetted down with hot water. The screen is then rolled up with the wool, and this bundle is then rolled back and forth for a long time in order to mat the fibers together. The felt is then dried in the sun and is ready for use. The same artisan makes, from fine selected wool, the round felt hats that the Monguors wear. When the round piece of felt has been made and is still wet, it is stretched over a mold to form the hat.

281 The preparation of the furs used by the Monguors is a household industry. The sheep and goat skins are washed, the fat is scraped off, and the skins are dried. They are then steeped in an earthenware jar containing a mixture of salt, flour, and the yeast that is used for fermenting wine, in the proportions of one handful of salt, one pound of flour, and one brick of yeast for each skin. The steeping lasts for fourteen days in the summer or twenty-one days in winter. When the steeping has been completed, the skins are washed in the river, dried in the shade, and are then ready for use. Coats made of such skins are cut and sewn by a professional artisan at the home of the Monguor customer.

326 Silversmiths make earrings, bracelets, finger rings, and the plates, cups, and pins that are used for the headdresses. They also make the sheaths that hold knife and chopsticks. The work done by Monguor silversmiths can always be distinguished from that done by Chinese, but as their work is done for a small population, it is bound to remain on a very small scale.

467 In spite of the fact that the Monguors, as subjects of their own T'u-ssu, are exempt in general from Chinese
651 demands for corvée labor, in recent years carpenters and stonecutters who make millstones have been affected by these demands. The Chinese officials make their demands on the professional guilds; the individual worker is not paid for such work, and his guild must pay him when he has been summoned for unpaid official work.

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FIG. 8. Spinning handicraft. Two girls of Monguor origin, whose parents had attached themselves to a group of Tibetans enrolled as subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu. They wear the Tibetan clothes typical of the Huari region north of Hsining. The elder girl is spinning thread, which passes over a hook at the end of the stick thrust into her collar at the back of the neck. She keeps a bundle of wool in the bosom of her gown and from it twists the yarn which is rolled on to the spindle which she holds in her left hand. The thread then passes over the hook of the stick, to stretch and straighten it. The younger sister is fluffing a bundle of wool to prepare it for her elder sister.

467 Monguor artisans engaged in such work must perforce
651 join the Chinese guilds when they are summoned to work on official buildings.

The shamans are also affected by the need for association with a guild. Whenever there is an eclipse of
756 the sun or moon the shamans are likely to be summoned
177 to the nearest Chinese town to help, by their incantations,
467 with the "liberation" of the sun or moon. In this they are associated with the Chinese Taoist priests. I knew of one case in which there was a quarrel between the shamans of two Monguor villages. They brought their disagreement before the chief of the religious corporation, a Taoist priest, who settled the matter.

462 The question of the origin of specialized artisan crafts is an interesting problem. In the case of the Monguors, most work is done in the household and there is little need for specialized skills. When there is such a need, moreover, most people cannot afford to hire a skilled craftsman to come from a Chinese town. These con-

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179 by the caravans. Only the guilds of large towns, like
Hsining, had connections with the guilds of other cities
369 and could afford the cost of sending boats and rafts to
441 Lanchou, the capital of Kansu. In this way the entire
economy was dominated by the city merchants. The
467 fair and festival centers never grew to the extent of
themselves becoming important cities, because they were
unable to attract permanent merchants, since the attendance of the people was only seasonal and there was no permanent security. These local fairs merely provided the farmers at certain dates with their peculiar usual necessities of life.

177 Merchant activity provoked deep repercussions in the
Monguor society, whose nobles and commoners, during
369 centuries of disorder, had lived a rather precarious ex-
existence, their economy being limited by the boundaries
441 of their clans and the production only of necessities
within their own small groups. Both the economic
651 and the political organization of the Monguor clans
had been founded exclusively on the possession of territory. Taxes, corvées, military service, and the administration of justice had been rooted in the ownership of territory by the T'u-ssu, the commoners being affected in a peculiar and disadvantageous way. The collection of the taxes of certain villages by the "houses" of the nobles had, however, been reduced to negligible significance after four centuries, and the financial conditions of nobles and commoners had become more equal. Some of the commoners, who were more numerous than the nobles, had become richer than the best of the nobles, and rivals in wealth even of the T'u-ssu. Since wealth and riches are equated, in Asia, with prestige and authority, it is no wonder that members of the commoner group were easily accepted to fulfill the offices of chiefs and elders in the villages, and that the administration of the villages passed into their hands. In this way the new economic conditions tended to equalize, and perhaps even to reverse, the original social inequality between nobles and commoners. Under the peace and order of the Manchu dynasty, the city merchants were protected. Headstrong and daring young men followed the caravans to Lhasa and made money by selling mules and horses. Monguors could open small shops in the countryside, and invest capital, in association with the Chinese merchants, in oil and flour mills. Fishermen could venture to Kukunor, and others to burn charcoal in the mountains or saw planks to sell in the city. Peace provided the opportunities for taking risks in commerce, and the focus of these opportunities, which transformed both the economic and the social life of the Monguors, was the city.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

624 At the end of this study of the origin and organization
175 of the Monguor clans, their constituent elements, their
chiefs, their internal rights and obligations and the actual
administration and family and economic life, it is perti-

[255 cont.]

792 monastery could be obtained on account of the brevity of the visit.
175 The Sining chronicle reports nothing about it. Originally it seems to have been a Tibetan establishment. Until its destruction dGon-luñ possessed great importance in Ambo. Then it was overshadowed by other monasteries. The patriotic monks in the first year of Emperor Yung-cheng had put themselves on the side of the Mongolic Koko Nor prince (ch'en-wang) bLo-bzan bsTan-'dsin. The consequence of this was that dGon-luñ was destroyed by a Chinese punitive expedition in the year 1723 along with several other monasteries, among which was also sGo-mañ-dgon (gSer-k'og-dgon-pa). Upon the request of the Tuguän Hutukhtu, who at that time resided in Peking, the emperor permitted the monastery to be rebuilt in 1733, as well as sGo-mañ-dgon; cf. Hsü Kung-wu, pp. 113, 115; Schulemann, p. 179; Sining-Chronicle. After this reconstruction dGon-luñ received the official name Yu-ning-szu and a memorial stone on which these events were noted. The text of this stone is reprinted in the Sining chronicle. One cannot see the stone itself. The lamas have immured it in order to be rid of the honorable but unpleasant memory. About 60 years ago the new monastery had to endure the Dunganen rebellion, which claimed the lives of many Tujen. It never again reached its old dimensions, of which an isolated remnant still remains, namely, the temple with the gurtum-deity dPekar and the spirit-spear of the monastery soothsayer.

[256] Today the monastery is under the county government of Huchu. Formerly it was independent with its lands,
792 [657] forests, and pastures and controlled many taxable Tujen villages. It numbers about 300 monks and several Tulkus, who are almost all Tujen. As affiliates under the supreme Tulku, the Tuguän Hutukhtu, its administrator mentioned to me also the following lamaseries: Man-t'ou-szu, a few kilometers northwest; Chin(g)-kang-ta-szu, 20 kilometers to the north; Chang-chia-szu, 65 kilometers southeast near Lotu; Hua-yüan-szu, 12 kilometers to the south, a Bon monastery; Hung-ku-szu, in the Lianchow region (Kansu); Ma-t'i(eh)-szu, in the Kanchow region (Kansu). These connections indicate how far the significance of the monastery must have extended. From the beginning it has been

twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or 781
to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one 768
understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration to Buddha.

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. 794
The chief of the family is its religious head and its rep- 782
resentative. He worships "Heaven and all the spirits" on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each family honors the image of its family protector-deity. At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue worshipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors. The chief of the family is its representative at the performance of public rites. Attended by his family, he performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fingering his prayer beads.

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of 794
the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of 622
the village and its elders administer both the official and religious life of the people in it. Even as they apportion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth [65] ●
and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum for religious services. They impose corvées on the villagers for municipal functions as well as for such religious functions as protection against hailstorms or the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner, heads of families are summoned to participate in rites at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain. The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief. He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as the family chief does in his own circle.

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious [614]
life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter. It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite. On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry about public worship in the village and the morality of his subjects.

Religious activities are part of the family and social life of the Monguor society. Their social organization is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Mon- 771
guors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are 754
not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fer- 756
vent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor

[p. 6(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

of his family assembled and protested, urging that a 792
boy, a nephew of the family, be adopted by the lord 554
as his apprentice, and that a testament should be writ- 428
ten and signed by the officials of the village, in order to make sure that after the death of the lord, the domain and his private property (sheep, cows, horses) would be bequeathed to the apprentice. The apprentice would first have to be sent to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to receive a serious religious education. Not long after the birth of a child to the lord and his wife, the lord died. His wife received a small field and some cattle, but the Karwa was inherited by the apprentice. The domain passes at every generation to a member of the same family (from uncle to nephew). The family retains the right to keep an eye on the regular succession, and so in the country a Karwa is considered to be the property of the Karwa lama and his family. This fact reveals a social tradition existing throughout the country, and the pride of the old families to whose lama a Karwa had been granted by the emperors in former times.

This pride appears to be the reason why, when a lama lord dies without having adopted an apprentice, the whole family convenes and decides to offer the domain to a lama member of the family. However, when there is not such a lama, the members of the family divide among them the domain and private property of the deceased, and the Karwa vanishes.

Ch'an-shih-chia ("Master in Dhyana" families) 175

This institution, dating from the Ming, seems to be 792
in the line of the Karwa. In Huang-chung there was 554
attached to the title of Ch'an-shih ("Master in Dhy- [651]
ana"), the privilege of receiving every year from the Chinese administration a fixed quantity of wheat. At the same time, if the lama happened to acquire some fields on which to build a grain or oil mill, his fields and mills were exempt from taxes. The title of Ch'an-shih appears to have been hereditary. This seems to be the reason why the people always talk of Master in Dhyana "families" and seldom of Master in Dhyana lamas. In the country north of the Hsining River, with which I was best acquainted, there were still several Masters in Dhyana, independent of any monastery, living next to their relatives and each having a small temple of his own. The family tried to provide a nephew as an apprentice, for such a lama would upon the death of his master become Master in Dhyana by the transfer of the original seal and the original patent letters.

Most of these Masters in Dhyana lived in opulence, 554
their families being exempted from land taxes because 428
they were supposed to till the fields of the lama. In Suo-pu-t'an I encountered the Shih-hu Ch'an-shih-chia, a layman, who enjoyed, with his family, the privileges of a Ch'an-shih lama. Since there had been no lama in the family to succeed the previous master he had in-

[p. 20(A)]

Concerning Seerkok, the former subsidiary of Erh-ku-lung, it is recorded that it disposed of a property 45 miles (150 *li*) in length and 10 miles (30 *li*) wide.[4] Achia Hutukhtu of Kumbum collected taxes and rents from five tribes of farming Tibetans and the inhabitants of seven valleys.[5] The country for 200 *li* around Kumbum belongs to the monastery; several thousand "tame" barbarians are its subjects.[6] Achia Hutukhtu received from the emperor an extensive region for grazing his herds in Chahar (Inner Mongolia). The contract was written by order of the emperor in 1766.[7] Erh-ku-lung received land from the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where a lot of its subjects farmed. After the revolt of 1723, the Ch'i T'u-ssu responsible for the revolt of Erh-ku-lung lost his title and the subjects who farmed his land. Later he was given a chance to regain his title and subjects, if he could bring those who had revolted to submission. He succeeded, and recovered title and subjects, as described in Part I (p. 50).

It has been recorded that Ch'ü-t'an, which was the first lamasery founded by the Ming emperors, received wide domains so that it was able to build the two large branches of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and Hung Shan-ssu (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 15, p. 13). During the Ming dynasty large domains had also been granted to the Karwa and Nang-suo institutions, as noted above. Most of the minor Living Buddhas also possessed domains granted by T'u-ssu or wealthy people, or which they purchased themselves.

If account is taken of all these facts, it is easy to understand why the Chinese officials, who before 1723 could not collect taxes on all these vast domains, harbored an enormous jealousy, and why they exulted after the revolt when the emperor assigned the collection of these taxes to them. The text of the author of the *Annals* of Hsining records (chap. 31, p. 22) that " . . . in 1727, by decree, the emperor in one day, put an end to calamities lasting hundreds of years." This text, on the one hand, proves the rejoicing of the Chinese officials at that time; on the other hand, the loss of these enormous revenues impoverished the monasteries tremendously. The lamas, however, were very proficient in finding a means to cushion the shock to some extent.[8]

RENTS

After the revolt, the lamas could only receive the rent of their tenants in the way in which a rich landowner received them; but it was customary that the government receive the taxes, not directly from the tenants,

[4] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 5: 123.
[5] *Ibid.*, 143.
[6] *Ibid.*, 11.
[7] *Ibid.*, 143.
[8] In 1948 according to the official data provided by the Bureau of the actual province of Ch'ing-hai (Hsining), only 177 of the 235 lamaseries, owned collectively about 500,000 *mou* (acres) of land and 5,000 to 6,000 head of livestock. Wang Wen-han, *Pien-chiang tung-hsin* 1: 1–7, 1948.

but from the landowner who, in case the tenant dis- 792
appeared or became insolvent, was responsible for the 427
tax. In this way the lamas who were landowners had 651
to collect the official taxes from their tenants, and ac- 434
company the endless caravans of their tenants' donkeys
carrying grain to the official granaries. Before the [492]
journey to the granary started, however, each tenant
had to measure the grain in the presence of the lamas
and with the measure supplied by the lamas, the ca- [804]
pacity of which was greater than the official one; this
enabled the lamas to set aside a valuable surplus over
the vast amount of official taxes.

The properties of the lamaseries, consisting of ex- 792
tensive territories, contain a large part of waste and 423
untilled land on which no taxes are imposed. The 651
industrious intendants developed these properties by [311
means of irrigation canals, and called in new farmers to
till the new fields. The legal amount of taxes, however, 312]
has always remained the same as the initial amount, be- 434
cause the intendants, by means of collusion and bribery,
easily succeed in gaining over the tax collectors. In
this way the revenues of the intendancies are greatly
increased, and they still receive surreptitiously a very
large revenue. Moreover, they are able to store the
surplus, which they can grind or sell when prices are
highest.

HERDS

Sheep, cows, and horses constitute, for many in- 792
tendancies, a source of revenue. Large herds are grazed 434
in Kukunor or Mongolia where the pastures are larger, 233
smaller herds in the country for local use. Mongol
princes and Tibetan chiefs of tribes are always ready to
help the monasteries. A contract is made with herds-
men by which the first calves, colts, and lambs belong
to the owner, the second-born to the herdsman, and so
on. Every three years a lama inspector of the in-
tendancy examines the accounts of the herdsmen and
settles with them the number of animals to be sold, and
the herdsmen show the skins of the animals which died
during the three-year period. If they cannot produce
the skins of the dead animals it is assumed that they
sold the animals and they must pay the owner of the
herds.

OIL AND GRAIN MILLS

These mills are a large source of revenue. The mon- 792
astery proper of Erh-ku-lung is owner of twenty-four 434
oil and grain mills; the T'u-kuan himself has eighteen, 256
Chang-chia nine. The mills are leased by Monguors or
Chinese. The rent of oil mills is 300 pounds of oil for
a season's use, besides which it must press the oil be-
longing to the monastery. The grain miller must grind
the grain of the intendancy and at the New Year sea-
son give a pig weighing 120 pounds. Most of the oil
which is not consumed in the kitchen in the preparation
of food, or in the lamps in the temples and homes, is
sent by raft to Lan-chou, the capital of the province.

[p.44 (B)]

The oil trade is a very important and lucrative business. Flour is sold in Hsining. The taxes imposed on the mills are very heavy, but the monasteries still enjoy the old privilege granted before 1723, and are exempted from these taxes. Even families in which a Living Buddha has been born enjoy the same privilege, for instance, the Lan family living in Hung nai tzu Valley. Every year, however, the family has to offer 10 pounds of oil at Erh-ku-lung to the intendancy of its Buddha, deceased a century ago. The lamas claim the privilege, which was granted during the Yung lo period (1403–1424), because oil is consumed in the lamps of the temples before the Buddhas, and flour is used by the lamas, the servants of Buddha. 792 [438] 434 651

FORESTS

Only two monasteries possess extensive forests—Seerkok and T'ien-T'ang. Because wood is very scarce in the northern part of the province, forests are an important source of revenue. 792 434 314

TOLL ON BRIDGES

The history of the famous bridge of T'ien T'ang has been recorded. For many years it was a source of large revenue, which finally caused its ruin. 792 434 [494]

The monastery of Kan-ch'an, belonging to the famous Tenma, receives toll on a raft, which ferries passengers across the Ta-t'ung River. Tenma is a very well-known man in the country. His first incarnation, a learned man, was appointed Fa-t'ai in Erh-ku-lung by the first Chang-chia (Huth, p. 279). It is related that he caused the ruin of Erh-ku-lung. In 1723 bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, chief of the revolt, was a prisoner in Hsining, and about to be executed. He heard that Tenma was in the city. Through the guardians of the jail, he implored him to write a letter to the Chinese generals in order to save his life. Tenma, unaware of the consequences of such an act, wrote the letter. The generals got the impression that Erh-ku-lung was mixed up with the revolt, and they destroyed the monastery. This is a fine story, manufactured on the ground out of whole cloth, in order to free the old mother monastery from blame, but why was the blame put on Tenma? 505 175

For many years during the period of my stay, the young Tenma, swelling with ambition, was the most talked-of man in the country for his audacious plan to construct a European suspension bridge over the river, like those in photographs he had seen in magazines. He started buying all the available iron in the country, felling all the big trees growing on the domain of the monastery, and building a large brickyard. Blacksmiths, carpenters, and bricklayers worked for four years. He built four great towers, two on each side of the river. The blacksmiths made enormous iron chains, too heavy to manipulate or to move. He exhausted the entire treasure of the monastery. Troubles started 792 334

[p.45(A)]

In 1914, in Nien pe, I encountered the unusual case 792
of a lama not enlisted in any monastery, who came back 434
from Mongolia with 40 loaded camels, to the home of his brother in Kang-tzu Valley, after a trip which had lasted for sixteen years. The shrewd lama had collected alms for himself! He died a few days after his return. His brother thereafter was a rich man.

A large capital investment is required for such ex- 792
peditions. The intendancies buy all kinds of things 484
used by the nomad Tibetans and Mongols. They carry 434
prayer books, paintings and statues of Buddhas, spoons, 443
wooden cups, teapots, kettles, thread of all colors, needles, boots, cotton, silk, satin, combs, tobacco, saddles from Peking, bridles, stirrups, finger and ear rings, charm boxes, toothpicks, ear probers, tweezers, prickers (necessary for the performance of the toilet), cheap synthetic jewelry, and tea.

All these things are loaded on oxen and entrusted to loyal and dependable lamas of the intendancies who set out on the journey. All along the way they sell their wares, adding to each item a scarf of felicity, blessed by their Buddha at home. The trade is carried on by [437]
barter. They accept wool, skins, yak hair, butter, sheep, cows, and horses, claiming they are collecting alms. When the animals they collect along the way become too numerous, they hire Tibetans or Mongols to help drive them. Because they get twice or thrice the cost of the wares and because labor has little value, these expeditions are really remunerative. However, if it happens that a caravan of another intendancy precedes their own, and the Tibetans or Mongols do not need anything more, then "fishing after the net is a losing business"; but according to the figures noted above, the expeditions are usually very profitable.

TAXES

At the seasonal festivals, held on the grounds of the 792
monastery, taxes are collected by the lamas from the 434
merchants of the city, who pitch their tents and do busi- [65]
ness on their territory, and from the Tibetans and Monguors who sell animals and their primitive homespun products.

MONEYLENDING

Lending of money at the Chinese legal rate of 30 per 792
cent interest is the most important source of revenue 434
for the intendancies. The lending of money is far more 426
remunerative than the purchase of land and mortgages, which afford more security. However, the intendancies prefer the bigger interest.

Intendancies dispose of capital to secure the annual subsidy granted to the lamas, the purchase of the important quantity of butter to be burned in the temple lamps, the expenses for the purchase of all the items required for the expeditions in Mongolia, Kukunor and Ts'aidam, and the expenses of the fixed festivals held at the monasteries. Besides these the intendancies dis-

[p. 46 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

SUBJECTS OF THE LAMASERIES

This matter fits into the frame of the material ad- 792
ministration of the monasteries. One of the most important duties of the intendants is the administration of the subjects of the monastery, of the community of the lamas, or of the colleges.

After the revolt of 1723, when the lamas had com- 792
pelled their subjects to rebel together with them, all 651
their subjects were withdrawn from them and made subjects of the Chinese officials. The taxes, formerly imposed by the monasteries on their properties for their own benefit, were imposed by the Chinese administration for the benefit of the empire and collected by the Chinese officials, and, because all Chinese subjects were liable to corvées, the newly acquired subjects were made liable to corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The subjects of the monasteries became, at the same time, liable to the Chinese courts of justice, and the old right of the monasteries to judge their subjects was abolished. All the ties which bound the subjects to the monasteries vanished and the possibility of a new revolt stirred up by the monasteries was eliminated. The extensive properties of the monasteries were not confiscated, however, so the people who tilled their fields were still obliged to pay rental in return for the use of the fields, in the same way that rents were paid to other proprietors. This was the status which was decreed after 1723 and which still prevailed in 1910–1920.

KINDS OF SUBJECTS

The monasteries in Huang-chung, before 1723, seem 792
to have possessed two kinds of subjects: the tillers of their fields and some Tibetan tribes possessing their own territory, which for an unknown reason had become their tributaries. This latter category, according to the regulations of 1723, was entirely set free from all obligations toward the monasteries.

The origin of the status of the first category of subjects of the lamaseries, the tillers of the soil, is better known, because in the *Annals* of Hsining ch. 15, pp. 13*a* and 13*b*, the author complains that before 1723 a great many families of barbarians had gone over to the lamaseries, leaving their own chiefs in order to become their subjects, and that accordingly the influence and wealth of the lamaseries had greatly increased.

Today, among the subjects of the lamaseries, the Monguor families are the most numerous; then follow Tibetan and a few Chinese families. This fact seems to suggest that, of old, the Monguors constituted the bulk of the subjects of the lamaseries.

In Part I of this study (p. 60) it was explained that 622
the subjects of the T'u-ssu could never abandon their clan chief, and that, because the T'u-ssu were the wardens of the marches and had soldiers, the Chinese officials had to prevent their subjects from abandoning them. Consequently a subject of a T'u-ssu, in order

[p.47(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Service for Prayers and Alms Collections:

A strict condition of service continues which com- 592
pels the farmers of the monastery to invite the lamas 571
of the intendancy, whose fields they till, to perform both public religious rites in the village, and private services in individual families. Lamas of one intendancy or monastery are not allowed to perform these rites among subjects of another intendancy. In the same way, when lamas are touring for alms among the subjects of their own intendancy, lamas of other monasteries are not allowed to tour.

The intendancies urge the observance of this service 792
even by former tributaries, but it does not always 571
work. The Tibetan tribe of Sumdoo, former tributary 79.
of the community of lamas of Erh-ku-lung, accused the 578
intendancy, in 1918, of trying to occupy a part of its territory. The Chinese court, however, recognized the ownership of the debatable ground by the tribe. Sumdoo, having a grudge against the intendancy, invited the intendancy of Seerkok to perform a tribal religious rite. The day preceding the appointed day, a group of furious lamas from Erh-ku-lung, intending to assert their prerogative to conduct the service, arrived and started with the prayers. All the ladies of the tribe, engaged in preparing the food for the three-day solemnity, arrived ranting, panting, and cursing the lamas with feminine fury, and threw their boots at the heads of the bewildered lamas. The lamas, powerless against the infuriated women, returned to their intendancy.

The next day, when the solemnities had already been started by the lamas of Seerkok, the intendant of Erh-ku-lung arrived with an imposing retinue to assert his rights. All the men of the tribe vanished, entrusting the emergency to the ladies, who arrived with the same threatening appearance of the former day, and the intendant and his retinue understood that the relations between the intendancy and Sumdoo were sundered forever. This incident illustrates the psychology of the lamas in trying by all means to retain their old rights, even among tributaries with whom all legal connections have been cut off.

Repair of the Lamasery:

The chiefs of the villages inhabited by the subjects 792
of the intendancies are ordered by their respective in- 466
tendancy to send a fixed number of men to repair the buildings belonging to the intendancy, to chop wood, grind wheat, thresh the harvest, sweep snow, and build roads or bridges. The subjects are still willing to comply with these corvées.

Travel of the Chief of the Lamasery:

When the supreme chief of the lamasery makes a 792
long journey, the chiefs of the intendancies order the 484
chiefs of the villages to send a couple of horsemen each 651

[p.48(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to make up his retinue, and it even happens that a 792
couple of men are asked for from former tributaries. 484
The subjects are thus liable to the corvées of the mon- 651
astery and at the same time to Chinese official corvées.

Administration of Justice

All the subjects of the monasteries are liable to the 792
Chinese courts of justice. It would seem logical to 691
have abolished all the old courts of justice existing at the monasteries, but all intendants still dispense justice to their subjects, expose at the gate of their intendancy the instruments of torture, and have their own jails. The intendants of Erh-ku-lung, Kumbum and Seerkok are even recognized officially by the Amban as ch'ien-hu, i.e., civil officials having the right to judge subjects.

In 1916 the minor Living Buddha of the monastery 792
of Dia-ik, fired by ambition and knowing my good rela- 692
tions with the Amban, importuned me for weeks to have me recommend him for the office of ch'ien-hu. He became ch'ien-hu not only of his subjects, but of the three former tributary Tibetan tribes depending on his previous incarnations. In 1917, with an air of exulting pride, he broke the news to me of having obtained in Peking the title of Hutukhtu. It is hard for a western mind to unravel these administrative mysteries.

The subjects enjoy the right of bringing suit at the 792
Chinese courts, but often they do not do so for fear of 692
retaliation by the intendancies, which they are unable 661
to match. However, since the Republic, more and more cases have been initiated by subjects who, victims of crying injustices, have plucked up their courage to challenge their intendants, because their minds were not insulated from the modern principles taught by teachers and officials. Nothwithstanding the change in the social psychology of the subjects, the intendants, the builders of big fortunes, continue to plant in the hearts of their subjects the seeds of aversion and hatred against themselves. Many of them collect the rent from their subjects with measures greater than the legal one, compelling them to fill them to the point where the grain spills on the ground, and not allowing them to collect the spilled surplus, which they appropriate. Being the most important businessmen in the country, they impose corvées on the subjects in order to carry on their own business, and when the patience of the subjects is worn thin, the clash comes, causing the ruin of the monastery. Such were the conditions prevailing between the subjects and the monasteries in 1910–1920. The monasteries had in the end succeeded in maintaining a firm grip on their subjects, notwithstanding the aim of the regulations, decreed after the revolt of 1723, to withdraw them from the baneful influence of the monasteries.

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chiliarchs still exist in Kumbum, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok), meting out punishments (instruments of torture are still displayed at lama courts), and imprisonment (the prison of Seerkok still exists); caring for the preservation of peace and order in the territories assigned to them, inquiring about travelers passing through it; administering the distribution of fields, the imposition and collection of taxes, the imposition of tolls on bridges (the bridge of T'ien t'ang and raft of Kan ch'an), and the imposition of corvées. 792 175 692

At the time of the inroads of marauding Mongol and Tibetan tribes, the revolts of Moslems, and the lama revolt against China in 1723, the subjects were compelled by the lamas to take sides with them in combat and in defending the lamaseries and their territories. In short, the privileges bestowed upon the chiefs of the lama institutions before 1723 were far-reaching. They were units, scattered over the country, administering their subjects according to their own rules and customs, entirely free from the interference of Chinese officials.

The lamaseries were the administrative centers of the groups subordinated to them. All the country's wealth flowed into their granaries and treasuries. Moreover, the lamas tended herds of cows, sheep, and horses, built oil and grain mills, and received donations. The lamaseries were the only places where huge sums of money could be borrowed (Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu borrowed money from them by mortgaging parts of their properties). They removed the wealth of the country from circulation and hoarded it or used it to found new lama communities (the tremendous branching out of monasteries between 1600 and 1723). They did not even use it for charitable institutions for the people of the country. 792 175 425 426

The lamaseries, originally built in lonely places and in remote valleys, in order that the monks would not be disturbed in their meditations and studies by the tumult of the world, were in olden times the most animated places of the country. In autumn the subjects carried taxes and rents on long caravans of donkeys to their granaries. The measuring of grain went on, as it did all over Asia, with rumbling noise and cries, bursting with activity for weeks in succession. At the time of exchanging tea for horses all the subjects were interested in the assessment of the horses. The tumult and discussions on the grounds of the monastery lasted for days and days. The selection of the horses for tribute to the emperor was conducted with like tumult and confusion, and often for the same length of time. Two or three times a year large festivals were held at the monasteries. They were attended by all the people of the country interested in horse racing, wrestling, singing, dancing, and in the big fairs held at that time. Chinese traders came from the city, pitched their tents, paid toll to the lamas, and sold their wares. The Monguors and Tibetans also arrived with their homespun 792 175 651 427 554 443

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products and animals for trading. All year long the 792
silence of the holy places was disturbed by the coming 175
and going of caravans of donkeys carrying grain to the 651
oil and grain mills, and returning with flour and oil 427
which was measured with the usual rumble of noise and cries. Throughout the year, groups of subjects never failed to become involved in trials, defending their rights by roaring and crying with vehemence and passion at the court of lamas. Punishments were meted out with ruthless severity, so that cries and screams could be heard throughout the entire monastery—whetting the curiosity and disturbing the meditation of the monks.

The interest of the subjects was centered only on the 175
monastery. There was no need for them to go to the 633
city, since the necessities of life could be secured at the 792
monastery fairs and nobody cared for the Chinese officials, the lamas being their legal officials. Many, many people had never seen or entered a city. The monasteries and their subjects lived their own life, in their own orbit, alien to the city, just as if Chinese officials did not exist.

These conditions changed after 1723 when the lamas lost their privileges and the country developed economically. From that time on the city became the center of the economic, civil, and administrative life; before that time, it had been primarily a military center, engrossed in the protection of the country.

What was the social position of the subjects of the 175
lama institutions before 1723? It seems that religion 792
must have been a subsidiary and not a primary motive 571
for becoming subjects of the lamas, because all of them were spurred by the hope of earning a better living under the lama regime than under the regimes of the Chinese officials or the Monguor T'u-ssu. Having been driven out of their territories by marauding Mongols, they may have hoped to find a peaceful country within the frontier zone of China, on the domains of the lamas. Being groups or tribes, or single families of destitute people, they were happy to submit to lama chiefs, and they were thankful to them for being accepted as their subjects. They did not lay claim to any rights, and the lamas did not consider that they were entitled to any, because they had achieved nothing that could have supported such claims. In this way the lamas strove to make their domains more and more productive, and were only concerned with the duties to be imposed on the subjects, without paying any attention whatever to rights they might have claimed.

The subjects were all on the same social level; there 175
was no more question of nobles and commoners among 565
them. They were all equally subject to taxes and cor- 792
vées, and all of them were tenants of the fields of the lamas. They enjoyed the rights to live, to till the soil, and to consume the surplus of their labor. Since the lamas never sold their fields, the subjects had no opportunity to become proprietors of the soil, as was the

[p. 50 (A)]

boundaries of their clan. They are invited in every 756
clan indiscriminately, and even performed rites among Chinese and Tibetans outside the clans.

In some villages there are two or more shamans; in others only one, or none at all. The shamans are independent of each other and are not confederated in a guild. They have no chief to whom they are subjected, but all the shamans are enrolled as members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the Chinese city. The chief of that guild orders them to carry out in the city, in collaboration with them, the rites for saving the moon and the sun at the time of an eclipse. The chief of the guild is appointed by the Chinese officials for the [648]
patching up of quarrels among the shamans. In the event that a shaman breaks the rules of the guild, a letter from the chief of the guild to the prefect of the city is sufficient to put the shaman in jail. The shamans have to contribute also toward defraying the expenses of the guild. This fact, as has been noted, is really abnormal and infringes upon the rights of the T'u-ssu. It will be explained later.

In comparing the actual social conditions of the shamans among the Monguors with those of the shamans among the Mongols in former times, it is manifest that shamanism has fallen into decay. "The forest clans often had at their head shaman magicians, who were reputed to have intercourse with the spirits. A shaman that was at the same time the leader of the clan or tribe, bore the title of 'Biki,' a title occasionally borne also by members of the steppe aristrocracy."* Sha- [651]
mans were, at that time, exempted from taxes and corvées.

It may be that these ancient conditions account for the tradition, prevalent among the Monguors, that in former times each village had its own shaman and only one; that the temple of the village was administered by the shaman and used for the cult of the spirits of the village, by the villagers only. At present the temple is the property of the village and administered by the community, but still only the villagers are allowed to enter their own temple. There is no admittance for strangers.

WHAT IS A SHAMAN ACCORDING TO THE MONGUORS AND ETHNOLOGISTS?

According to the Monguors, the shaman is a man who interposes between men and spirits, either as a

* Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis khan*, 4, London, Routledge, 1930. See also Garma Sandschejew, Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Barjaten, *Anthropos* 23: 981, 1928; also S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, Royal Asiatic Society North China Branch Extra Vol. 3: 13, 154, Shanghai, 1924. Also the same author, *Psychomental complex of the Tungus*, 344, 346, 347, London, Trubner, 1935. See also the basic difference existing between the shamans among the Monguors and among the Manchus and Tungus concerning relations with and the position of the shamans in the clan. See also Walter Heissig, A Mongolian source for the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos* 48: 511, 1953.

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of the fifth month and lasts for 108 days. During the 735
whole period, two lamas at a time are always fasting 792
(taking one meal a day), while the others are free to indulge in food, but during the 108 days the use of meat, garlic, leeks, and radishes is prohibited for all the lamas. Lamas of the Red Sect north of the Hsining River do not perform fasting in a group of their own sect, but always some among them attend the fasting rites practiced by laymen.

The fast of laymen is an interesting custom, the con- [783]
sequences of which have an important bearing on the formation of the Buddhist frame of mind of the people. The aim of the rite is the purification of sins and happy rebirth in the paradise of one of the Buddhas.

ORGANIZATION AND RULES

The rite is enacted in a group, in a few temples 795
spread over the country, under the direction of a lama 785
of the Yellow Sect, usually a Living Buddha or an old 792
lama celebrated for his proficiency in oratory. At present the fasting exercises are only practiced in six localities, among which four are old Karwas (dating from the Ming period): Tsan-tsa, Pe-cha-erh-te, Marhtsang and Swor. The two others are Sumdo and T'u-kuan. The fasting exercises are never performed for laymen in monasteries. Each of the six groups has its committee which, long before the fixed time, tries to enroll fasters: Monguors, Tibetans, even Chinese, lamas of the Red Sect, men and women. In Sumdo the fasters usually number from twenty to eighty; in Pe-cha-erh-te from ten to thirty; in Marhtsang from ten to thirty; in Swor from twenty to seventy. In 1916 in Pe-cha-erh-te, I met seventeen fasters; in Marhtsang twenty-one. The Monguors of Wei-yüan-p'u and of the northern part of the Hung nai Valley are said to be the most fervent fasters. Always, a large number of men, even chiefs and elders of villages, attend the rite.

During the whole exercise, the fasters do not spend any money. The fast expenses are defrayed by the villagers of the locality where the exercises are held, and by the committee which has a small fund and collects some alms. To contribute to this rite is considered to be a very meritorious act. The day before the beginning of the fast, the chief of the village im- [622
poses corvées on some of the youngsters for the carry- 651]
ing of water, chopping of fuel, preparing cypress boughs, grinding flour, cooking, baking rolls and steaming bread, buying butter, tea, sugar, sweeping the floor. At Tsan tsa the fast starts on the fifteenth of the sixth month; at other places usually around the twenty-ninth of the third moon, and lasts for sixteen days. During the three days preceding the fast, the fasters are not [262
allowed to eat garlic, leeks, radishes or meat, or to drink 784]
wine, or smoke tobacco, and continence is required.

The fasters arrive at night, drink tea, eat rolls baked in vegetable oil and go to rest. Men and women have separate rooms; they sleep on straw and cover them-

[P. 133(B)]

At that time the expansive country 40 li north of Hsining was inhabited by nomads and had no cities, villages, or farms. Only after the victory of the Manchus over the lamas and Tibetans in 1723 was colonization immediately started on a large scale, and the cities of Tat'ung and Mao Pei Shen were built.

West of Hsining, the *Annals* record in 1380 the submission of three tribes. The Si-na tribe lived 60 li west of Hsining on the northwest borders of the Hsining River. In its territory are tents, houses, and fortified villages. Its people practiced farming and cattle breeding. The tribe had a temple and a lama with the title of Kuo-shih (Master of the Kingdom), a silver seal, and an ivory stamp. The tribe numbered 500 families and was taxed 300 horses every year. It controlled the tribe called little Si-na which lived in Ku Shan, southeast of Nienpei, and it was taxed 30 horses. It also controlled the Ssu-ta-la-ma tribe and the Hsieh-erh-chih-kang temple, which were taxed 50 horses (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 8*b*).

The Chia-erh-chi tribe inhabited the territory situated north of the Si-na tribe. The part of the tribe living inside the wall lived in houses and fortified villages; the part living outside the wall practiced cattle breeding and lived in tents. At the time of disturbances caused by brigands they moved inside the wall. The chief of the tribe was a lama who had the title of Chih-hui. Every year the tribe was taxed 130 horses. The tribe controlled the Lung-pa tribe numbering 100 families which was taxed 150 horses.

In the region west of Hsining, stretching as far as 40 to 60 li, only farming, combined with cattle breeding, seems to have been practiced in 1380 by Tibetan tribes. After 1723 the region beyond was developed. The title of master of the kingdom was probably granted after the surrender of the tribe ruled by the lama. It was the policy during the Hung-wu and the whole Ming period to grant titles to lamas who induced tribes to surrender (Monguors II: 16). The title of Chih-hui borne by the chief is a title of the Ming time. The walls noted in the references were built only after 1546 (*Annals* of Hsining 13: 15). The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 seems to have mixed circumstances existing only after 1546 with those of 1380.

Still west of Hsining the nomad Shen-tsang tribe surrendered in 1380. It inhabited a territory situated near Kokonor. At the time of the invasion of the Mongols in 1509 and their occupation of Kokonor, the tribe disappeared (*Annals* of Hsining ?: 5*b*).

In the region of the southern mountains of Hsining, between Hsining and the Yellow River, stretching in an east-west direction as far as Lao Ya Ch'eng, three more tribes surrendered in 1380, all of them living near the northern borders of the Yellow River.

The Tsan-tsa tribe lived in tents and its territory was situated south of the present subprefecture of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*).

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

one entirely of Tibetans, four completely of Monguors, 175x
one entirely of Mohammedans originating from Liang- 631
chow, one entirely of Mohammedans from Ho Chou, 162
three occupied by Chinese and Mohammedans together, two by Chinese and Tibetans together, four by Chinese and Monguors, and four by Chinese, Mohammedans and Tibetans (*Annals* of Hsining 22: 15*a–b*).

During these ninety years all these people had abandoned their original homes hoping to enjoy more peace in this lonely country. They had developed the country and made possible the building of the two cities of Tatung and Pe-ta. Before that time the northern valley of Hsining was cultivated only as far as the fortress of Hsin Ch'eng, situated 70 li north of Hsining, where a great wall marked the boundaries between Hsining and Kokonor.

In 1726 the newly appointed Governor of Kokonor, 175x
Ta Ting, started with a big retinue of officials and sol- 648
diers to visit all the Tibetan tribes of Huangchung, 631
East Kansu, and Kokonor, depending upon the Khoshot princes and the lamas, taking the census of the people and the herds of each tribe, appointing in each tribe the chief they desired, notifying them that they depended from now on upon the Chinese officials. He fixed the tribute each tribe was to pay yearly, and in- [651]
formed them that all the taxes formerly paid to the princes and lamas, the *t'ien pa* tax, and the incense offering required yearly by the Dalai Lama in Lhasa were abolished. He allotted to each tribe a territory clearly defined, and handed it the deed officially sealed.

Now an idea can be had about the power of the 175x
princes of Kokonor. The governor had to travel as far 648
at Tatung, Kuei Te, Ho Chou, and T'ao Chou in East Kansu, and to Chuang Lang and Liangchow where Tibetan tribes lived, depending upon the princes. The Khoshot Ku Shih-han in 1636 had conquered Kokonor and all the Tibetan tribes of that country, and those formerly dependent upon the Mongols, which later had fled far away from them. They pursued them as far as T'ao Chou and Ho Chou and so they became their subjects again. This had happened at the end of the Ming dynasty and during the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty when China could not care for these countries on account of the troubled conditions. However, Ku Shih-han had been recognized by the Manchu dynasty as chief of Kokonor. In 1642–1644 Ku Shih-han conquered Tibet and offered it to the Dalai Lama who [651]
immediately sent lamas to collect *t'ien pa* and incense offerings from the tribes, which normally had to pay a tax to the princes also. During these times the Khoshots had even been able to receive the submission of Tibetan tribes living as far as Cho Tze Shan, situated inside the prefecture of Chuang Lang, and of the tribes living in the mountains south of Ku Lang, Liangchow, and Yung Ch'ang. This gives an idea about the number of people and warriors they had been able to call to arms in 1723–1724 (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*b*).

[P.162(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

cessantly he exercised devotedness and zeal." Lu Fu, 175X the second son of Lu Chien, had accompanied his father on the expeditions and had been named by the emperor "secretary commandant" of the city of Chuang Lang in 1519. The son of Lu Fu, Nen, died on the battlefield fighting Tibetans. His grandson was made "assistant commandant." His great-grandson died with the rank of second captain of the garrison of Hung Ch'eng. The group of the descendants of Lu Fu was one of the most prominent defenders of the Ming dynasty.

In 1648 the Mohammedan Milayin revolted in Kanchow. Lu P'ei-tso with his own army accompanied Lu Tien and other t'u-ssu to quell the revolt and recover the cities of Kanchow and Liangchow. He was given the original title of the family, that of "Assistant Commandant."

His descendants fought in 1723–1724 in Huangchung against the rebel Mongols of Kokonor. In 1781 they fought the Salar revolt and in 1784 the Yen Ch'a revolt of the Mohammedans.

During the whole Ch'ing dynasty the descendants of Lu P'ei-tso, in concert with Manchu and t'u-ssu troops of Huangchung and troops of seceders of the T'o Huan clan, quelled revolts and defended the country. Each in succession received the hereditary title of "Assistant Commandant" and an annual salary of 53.4 taels. The Lu P'ei-tso group lived in the country of Hsi Tat'ung and controlled the valleys of Ma Chuang and Yang Fang. It did not control subjects and had no regular soldiers but in time of war its chiefs called on the descendants of the Lu Fu group. It did not have to pay taxes to the Chinese government.[13]

SOCIAL STATUS OF CHIEFS OF GROUPS OF SECEDERS FROM THE CLAN

175X 622

T'u-ssu are possessors of territories and subjects allotted to them by the emperor, and as beneficiaries of territories, and also the appointed defenders of them have the right to make legal claims against illegal appropriators of their territories. Since subjects are allocated to the t'u-ssu to provide them with defenders of their territories, each t'u-ssu is listed as having a fixed number of regular soldiers. A soldier is not allowed to abandon his chief, a Monguor is not allowed to abandon the t'u-ssu, and it is because the t'u-ssu has to equip his own troops that he is exempt from [65] paying taxes.

By the same reasoning, one who, with his followers, [626] secedes from his t'u-ssu is not legally entitled to either territory or subjects, and ought to be liable to prosecution. Even if he is not prosecuted, he and his group are not exempt from the payment of taxes, because he does not hold a recognized territory, with its attached duties and costs of defense.

[13] *Annals* of Kansu 42: 60a–b.

[109(B)]

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

granaries existed before 1286, and no officials to provide for the subsistence of the soldiers. Moreover, it is a fact of common knowledge that Kubilai ordered the Mongol troops to farm and to defend the country at the same time.[48] This is borne out also by the fact that at the time the Ming dynasty (1368) started establishing Chinese colonies in Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 55; *Annals* of Hsining **24**: 14*b*, and Monguors I: 30, 33), the conquered Mongol troops had to leave the irrigated country around the cities and were relegated to side valleys. The memory of this fateful decision, made by the Ming, was still fresh among the Monguors in 1910, and their tradition went so far as to claim their ancestors as the initial diggers of the irrigation canals and the inaugurators of agriculture in the country.

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

We get the confirmation of this fact from the celebrated Marco Polo, who with his father Nicolo and his uncle Matteo, went to Hsining in 1274, on his way from Venice to Peking. He writes, "the population of this country consists chiefly of idolators (Shamanists, lamaists) but there are also some Mohammedans and Christians (Nestorians) . . . the inhabitants employ themselves in trade and manufacturing. They have grain in abundance."[49]

M 175x 113 HM 175 113

Probably Marco Polo made this statement because the Mongol troops and the Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o farmed in Huangchung. This text proves also that probably during the century of peace preceding the conquest of Hsining by the Mongols, some Mohammedans and Nestorians from Turkistan had returned to Hsining, which they had known since the time of Chiossulo (1038), to engage in trade.

HM [244]

However, because the note of Marco Polo dates from 1274, we have to consider that during the campaigns of Chingis Khan in Turkistan, which had started in 1209, the Mongols had come in close contact with Mohammedans and Uighurs.[50] The influence exerted at court by the Mohammedan Yalavach is well known. It was so striking that Empress Toragana had to remove and demote him at the time he tried to impede the succession of Guyuk to Ogodei, planned by the empress.[51]

M 175x HM 175

According to H. F. Schurmann, in the early years of the Mongolian rule in North China a great number of Central Asiatic merchants had moved into China and organized in the corporation known as "Ortaq." Ortaq means "partner" or companion. These merchants were financial "partners" of members of the imperial family and nobility, from whom they received sizable amounts of silver as loans. This capital they used to expand their trade activities. In addition, many of them func-

HM [244]
M 175x 652 HM 175 652

[48] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 562.

[49] *The travels of Marco Polo*, translated and edited by W. Marsden, reedited by Thomas Right, 135–138, Everyman's Library, J. M. Dent, London, 1950.

[50] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 483.

[51] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 276, 306.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

tioned as tax farmers who collected revenues and taxes from the appanages of their benefactors. The financial administration of the appanages prior to the year 1260 was in the hands of the feudatories and not in the hands of the imperial government. After 1260 the situation changed radically; the newly established central government by Kubilai took over the financial administration of all parts of the realm. The revenues of the feudatories from their appanages were collected by officials of the central government and then turned over to the feudatories.[52] Consequently, Mohammedans must have lived in Hsining since 1260, caring for the control of the appanage of Chang Chi, and it is quite possible that other Mohammedans and Uighur Nestorians would have moved to Huangchung to indulge in trade during the Mongol period, even long before 1260. Later it will be noted that during the Mongol period Mohammedan Salars and the clan of the later Yeh T'u-ssu moved into Huangchung.

M 175x [652] HM 175 [652]

In the *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 8*b*, is still noted the appointment in 1303 of the Prince of Hsining, Ch'u Pei,[53] as commander of all the troops of Kansu. However, no movement of troops is noted.

Also it is recorded in 1324 that Ch'u Pei rescued from famine the troops of the Prince of Hsi-p'ing (*Annals* of Hsining 31B: 8*b*). Ao-lu-ch'ih, Prince of Hsi-p'ing, had died soon after 1303 in Ninghsia, his son Pu-ti-ma-ti-chia had inherited the title of his father, and later in 1337 the grandson Kuan-pu-pa. Thus Pu-ti-ma-ti-chia received help from Hsining and his troops were garrisoned in Lan, Kuan, and Lingwu.[54]

The *Annals* of Hsining note that in 1329 to Sulaiman[55] was granted the title of Prince of Hsining (and not of Hsip'ing), and that in 1332 on account of his military achievements, the emperor created four appointments of "preceptor of the prince." A seal was cast and bestowed upon the prince by the emperor. However, Sulaiman never lived in Hsining.

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

Two names of pacifiers of T'u-fan are also mentioned in the *Annals* of Hsining 22: 3*b*, Chin-ch'a-t'ai[56] and Cho-chi-ssu-pan.

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[52] H. F. Schurmann, reviewing Herbert Franke's Geld and Wirtschaft in China der Mongolenherrschaft, in H.J.O.A.S., Vol. 15, June 25.

[53] *Yuan Shih* 21: 6*a*; Hambis, *op. cit.* 108: 113 and 107: 92, 8.

[54] *Hsin Yuan Shih* 114: 7*b*, 8*a*, *b*; Hambis, *op. cit.* 108: 141–143.

[55] *Yuan Shih* 36: 4*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 9*a*; Hambis, *op. cit.* 108: 103.

[56] Chin Ch'a-t'ai was the second son of Kochkar, great-grandson of Barchug, idukut (chief) of an Uighur tribe, which pledged allegiance to Chingis Khan in 1209 in Turkistan. The tribe remained faithful to the Mongol dynasty. Chin Ch'a-t'ai in 1318, refused the titles of Idukut and of prince of Kao Ch'ang, granted to his nephew T'ieh-mu-erh-pu-huo, who asked the emperor to bestow them upon his uncle (Hambis, *op. cit.* 8: 132, note 3; *Hsin Yuan Shih* 116: 7*b*).

Francis Woodman Cleaves, The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1372 in memory of Prince Hindu, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 12 (142): 1 sq., June, 1949.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Peking, and the emperor agreed. Ping-tu forced the tribes to build a road to Wu-ssu-tsang in order to meet the lama. The entire Szechwan province was upset for fear of invasion by the savage Kokonor brigands. The governor wrote Altan to order his sons to desist from plundering the country. Altan answered that the only reason for the behavior of his sons was the lack of any markets where they could fill their needs. In 1574 markets were opened for Pin-tu and Ping-tu and the emperor granted to the temple of Kokonor the name Yin-hua-sse and the title of vice-commander to Ping-tu. However, the sons and cousins and nephews of Altan plundered as before. Again the officials asked Altan to reprimand them. Altan arrived with his army feigning to meet the lama; however he had an axe to grind with Oirats, his old foes. Coming back, he asked the governor to allow all the Mongol chieftains to attend a meeting with the lama in Kokonor. The Tibetans, taken with panic at the sight of the demonstration of power and magnificence, fled in all directions. Altan returned to the north (1577) but Ho-lo-ch'ih and Yung-chao-pu, his nephew and cousin, and others refused to leave Kokonor, and Ping-tu started plundering the Tibetans again. The officials immediately asked the emperor to close the markets. Altan reprimanded his son and urged him to return the stolen people and cattle. However, Ho-lo-ch'ih continued looting (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 13, 14).[84]

In 1579 the governor of Hsining was engaged in developing agriculture in Huangchung. He gathered the destitute people who had fled with fear of the Mongol brigands, located them in villages, provided them with grain and oxen, dug irrigation canals, etc. In each village he opened a school. He gathered more than 100,000 families, and more uncultivated land was tilled. When Altan left the country in 1577 he had asked him to leave peacefully and to protect the country against more raids by his people (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20).

Ha-tsa, a Tibetan tribe of Kokonor, raided the western valley of Hsining in 1580, but was repelled. Two

[84] René Grousset, *Empire des Steppes*, 592, Paris, Payot: The Ordos Mongols started professing the lamaism of the Yellow Church from 1566 on. The *jinong* Khutukh Setsen Hung-t'ai-chi of the Uchin banner, coming back from an expedition in Tibet in 1566, had invited lamas to accompany him to Ordos and convert the Mongols to lamaism. The fervent *jinong* succeeded in converting his grand-uncle Altan who at that time was in the heyday of his power (1576). Altan and his grand-nephew invited the chief of the Yellow Church, the great lama bSod-nams rgya-mtso to come to Kokonor. The Mongols met him magnificently and opened with him an official convention at which was laid the foundation of the Yellow Church among the Mongols (1577), and Altan honored the great lama with the title of Dalai Lama, which title is still borne at present by his successors. The Dalai Lama, returning to Lhasa, appointed the Living Buddha Dongkur Manjucri in Kukuhoto the residence of Altan. The Dalai Lama left Lhasa again to travel to Ordos in 1586 for the performance of the cremation ceremonies of Altan who had died in 1583.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The Ko-tsa tribe, also a tribe of tent-dwellers, lived east of the Tsan-tsa tribe, and southwest of the city of Ku Shan. The tribe numbered 400 families (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*). 175x 619

The Ssu-kuo-mi tribe, also tent dwellers, lived in a territory situated 150 li south of Hsining, on the borders of the Yellow River. It was divided into two tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 5*b*).

1386 MARKS A NEW ERA IN HUANGCHUNG 175x 653 701 231

According to the *Annals* of Hsining 25: 1*a*; 9: 15*b*, Keng Ping-wen was sent to build the city of Hsining with appropriate circumvallations, using troops from all the commanderies of Shensi. The size of the city had to be reduced to half of its former size, with four watch towers on the corners, nineteen more on the walls, and four gates. The note concerning the use of troops of all the commanderies of the province of Shensi seems to point to the fact that few troops and laborers were available in Huangchung in 1386, and that the former city was too extensive, inconvenient for defense, and probably in bad condition. Keng Ping-wen was ordered to build seven relay stations where official couriers could find horses ready to forward the orders without delay to the upper administration, and also five storehouses for provisions, drill fields for the soldiers, and administrative buildings. Four relay stations were built in an eastern direction covering a distance of 220 li, connecting Hsining with the northeastern part of Kansu. One relay was built in Ku Shan, 160 li south of Nien-Pei in the region of the three tribes which had surrendered in 1380. He also built the fortified city of Nien Pei with a Ch'eng-huang temple (spirit protector of the city) (*Annals* of Hsining 14: 16*a*). A Wen Miao (temple for Confucius) had been built in Hsining and a temple for the spirit protector of the city, for the emperor had already, in 1370, ordered these temples to be built in all the cities of the empire.

These few data suggest that the Monguors saw the situation changing in Huangchung after they had surrendered in 1371. In 1372 Hsining had been created a commandery and consequently Chinese officials had been appointed very soon. Without indicating the date of the appointments, the annals (*Annals* of Hsining 23: 5*b*), note that the administration of Huangchung was controlled by two major officials, a civil and a military. The Fen-chou-tao, who resided not in the unimportant Hsining, but in Liangchow, controlled a large area, and the Feng-hsiun-tao who resided in Kanchow controlled the six granaries, the irrigation canals, the finances of the administrative organs and the farming colonies for the whole of Kansu. Only in 1488, a hundred years later, was the civil and military governor of Huangchung Ping-pi-tao appointed with residence in Hsining. Chapter 24, 14a, records without 175x 648 [624]

[P.34(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

While the t'u-ssu and their subjects were fighting and suffering and dying in Hsining, the despairing Ming emperor, on April 25, 1644, had hanged himself in the Wan Sui Shan in Peking. On June 6, 1644, the troops of the new Ch'ing dynasty entered Peking and started at full speed with destruction of the troops of Li Tze-ch'eng who had already proclaimed himself emperor. On October 7, 1644, he ended his life by hanging himself.[87] 175x [643 762]

The t'u-ssu and their subjects served the Ch'ing dynasty with the same faithfulness they had served the Ming dynasty. 175x 648 727

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started with the occupation of Huangchung, this was an insecure colony of China, which during the previous dynasties had been lost several times and recovered. The Ming organized the country, providing a civil and military administration on the Chinese pattern. In Huangchung they started with the founding of military colonies, induced the Tibetan tribes to submit to them, established the exchange bureau of tea for horses, favored and protected the arrival of traders from inside China, and promoted agriculture and commerce. They attracted Chinese to settle in the country, built schools, promoted education, and repelled forays of Tibetans and Mongols from outside the Huangchung borders. Huangchung was at peace. [647 437]

However, in the fateful year 1509 the first group of Mongols arrived and settled in Kokonor, followed by one after another, which ruined and cowed into submission the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor. At the same time the population of Huangchung and East Kansu, from 1509 to 1597, succumbed to the recurrent onslaught of avid, restless and predatory Mongols. The Tibetan tribes, robbed of their cattle, having seen their women and young folk abducted, beset with starvation and abject poverty, started raiding, devastating, and laying waste Huangchung and East Kansu. The army could not deter the forces of destruction. Raids prevailed over the entire northwestern borders of the empire, and the emperor gave the Huangchung officers insufficient reinforcements. It was only in 1590 that the energetic Minister of War, Cheng Lo, commanding new forces, succeeded in defeating the brigands. In the meantime the administration had incessantly built cities, villages, schools, walls, and fortresses all over the country. The aspect of the country had changed completely, despite the desperate times. The country had been organized and the administration established. [655 657 658]

During these times, when raids and destruction raged unchecked, Chinese and Shat'o and Uighurs, Tibetans and Monguors had suffered together, helped and sheltered each other, and blended and fused in the compound called the Huangchung population. 175x 563 571

In 1644 when the Ch'ing dynasty occupied Huangchung it was no longer the depopulated unorganized 175x

[87] Erich Hauer, *op. cit.*, 488, 494, 497.

[P. 52 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Then the governor notified the lamas about the confiscation of their territories and subjects, and informed them about the revocation of the titles of Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih granted to the most prominent among them by the Ming emperors, and an order was given to hand to the Chinese officials the diploma of the promotion granted to them by the emperor. 175x 648 [334]

Most of these titles had been granted to lamas who had induced tribes to submit, and to move into the depopulated Huangchung, especially in the first century and a half of the Ming. At that time these lamas belonged to the Red sect, were married, and lived among the tribes they had induced to submit, but not in monasteries. They had received personally large proprietaries from the emperor, with a document written in their name, and a title. This had been the origin of the Karwas and Nang so (Monguors II: 18, 19). The son of the lama succeeding to the father, inherited the property and the title and was considered to be a lama. This institution lasted until 1723–1724. The entire lama family during all these years had earned a wealthy living, free from taxes and corvees, and received some taxes from the tribesmen. The *Annals* of Hsining noting this fact, and the confiscation of the territories and subjects of the lamas, adds jubilantly, "and so in one day these unjust conditions, existing for centuries, were abolished" (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 22*b*). 175x 792

In the same year, for the very first time in history, officials were appointed by the Szechwan and Kansu provinces to fix the boundaries of both provinces in the Kokonor region, and to designate which among the Tibetan tribes should depend upon each of the provinces (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 13*a*). 175x 624

During the years 1733–1745 orders were repeatedly issued for the building of more graneries in the cities and most important strongholds all over the country, for the amount of grain formerly collected by the lamas and the Khoshot princes was now collected by the officials and had to be stored (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 23*b*, 25*a*). [344 251]

In 1745 the Hsining *Annals* were printed by Yang Yin-ch'u. The first *Annals*, only two small volumes, contained many errors which were amended. 175x 653

In 1759 there was famine in the prefecture of Chuang Lang. Grain was loaned to T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng to help his subjects. The next year also was one of bad crops. Again grain was loaned for distribution to each of the Monguor families of the t'u-ssu for which restitution was to be made after three years (*Annals* of Kansu 2: 29*b*).

The commanderies of Tatung and Kuei Te became subprefectures in 1761 with complete civil and military administrations (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 4, 11*b*, 14). In Pe-ta and Yung nan a brigadier general and a lieutenant colonel with strong garrisons had already been appointed in 1725, after the revolt of bLo-bzang tan-chin (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 71*a*). 175x

[P. 63(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

While the t'u-ssu and their subjects were fighting and suffering and dying in Hsining, the despairing Ming emperor, on April 25, 1644, had hanged himself in the Wan Sui Shan in Peking. On June 6, 1644, the troops of the new Ch'ing dynasty entered Peking and started at full speed with destruction of the troops of Li Tze-ch'eng who had already proclaimed himself emperor. On October 7, 1644, he ended his life by hanging himself.[87] 175x [643 762]

The t'u-ssu and their subjects served the Ch'ing dynasty with the same faithfulness they had served the Ming dynasty. 175x 648 727

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started with the occupation of Huangchung, this was an insecure colony of China, which during the previous dynasties had been lost several times and recovered. The Ming organized the country, providing a civil and military administration on the Chinese pattern. In Huangchung they started with the founding of military colonies, induced the Tibetan tribes to submit to them, established the exchange bureau of tea for horses, favored and protected the arrival of traders from inside China, and promoted agriculture and commerce. They attracted Chinese to settle in the country, built schools, promoted education, and repelled forays of Tibetans and Mongols from outside the Huangchung borders. Huangchung was at peace. [647 437]

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The t'u-ssu and their subjects served the Ch'ing dynasty with the same faithfulness they had served the Ming dynasty. 175x 648 727

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started with the occupation of Huangchung, this was an insecure colony of China, which during the previous dynasties had been lost several times and recovered. The Ming organized the country, providing a civil and military administration on the Chinese pattern. In Huangchung they started with the founding of military colonies, induced the Tibetan tribes to submit to them, established the exchange bureau of tea for horses, favored and protected the arrival of traders from inside China, and promoted agriculture and commerce. They attracted Chinese to settle in the country, built schools, promoted education, and repelled forays of Tibetans and Mongols from outside the Huangchung borders. Huangchung was at peace. [647 437]

However, in the fateful year 1509 the first group of Mongols arrived and settled in Kokonor, followed by one after another, which ruined and cowed into submission the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor. At the same time the population of Huangchung and East Kansu, from 1509 to 1597, succumbed to the recurrent onslaught of avid, restless and predatory Mongols. The Tibetan tribes, robbed of their cattle, having seen their women and young folk abducted, beset with starvation and abject poverty, started raiding, devastating, and laying waste Huangchung and East Kansu. The army could not deter the forces of destruction. Raids prevailed over the entire northwestern borders of the empire, and the emperor gave the Huangchung officers insufficient reinforcements. It was only in 1590 that the energetic Minister of War, Cheng Lo, commanding new forces, succeeded in defeating the brigands. In the meantime the administration had incessantly built cities, villages, schools, walls, and fortresses all over the country. The aspect of the country had changed completely, despite the desperate times. The country had been organized and the administration established. [558 657 658]

During these times, when raids and destruction raged unchecked, Chinese and Shat'o and Uighurs, Tibetans and Monguors had suffered together, helped and sheltered each other, and blended and fused in the compound called the Huangchung population. 175x 563 571

In 1644 when the Ch'ing dynasty occupied Huangchung it was no longer the depopulated unorganized 175x

[87] Erich Hauer, *op. cit.*, 488, 494, 497.

[P. 52 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

valley of Hsining, 60 li distant from the city on the way to Kokonor, a strong fortified city was built and a strong garrison appointed. The place controlled the western valley and the raids from Kokonor. In Chung-tsai in the Sa-t'ang valley, which so many times had been looted by invading Tibetans, a strong fortress was also built and a garrison appointed. The same dispositions were taken to improve the strength of the cities of Pa-yen-jung and San Ch'uan against brigands of Sung Shan and Ordos. For the first time troops were available to occupy permanently the strategic points in the country and from the t'u-ssu were required good soldiers to share with the Chinese troops the burden of the defense of the strongholds (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 29*b*, 30*a*). General Liu Mei-kuan started with the exploitation of iron ore in the mountains north of Hsining, three foundries were built and blacksmiths started preparing weapons to be distributed among the subdued tribes. To the nineteen tribes of Komi numbering 7,000 people, reputed first-rate warriors, were sent military instructors with weapons, to drill them. The director of colonization reported that 80,000 acres of uncultivated land were still available to farmers. To destitute Tibetans of Kokonor and East Kansu, pouring into the country every day, were given land to till and grain and oxen. Orders were sent to promote education, build schools in each village and improve existing ones (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*b*; 25: 23*b*; 35: 24).

175x 712 175x 701 [327] 175x 708 659

In a report sent by General T'ien Yueh is encountered an interesting note relating to the education given to the people of north Kansu and Huangchung in these desperate times. In each of the schools of the city of Kanchow, sixty or seventy students attend the lessons of three teachers. In each of the schools of the cities of Kao T'ai, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, Liangchow, Cheng Fan and Chuang Lang are encountered only thirty or forty students, in the smallest of these cities only twenty or thirty students. In each of the schools are two teachers. Then follows an exhortation to promote education (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 20*a*).

175x 871

In the same year, 1596, after the brilliant victories, the country seeming radiant and everywhere walls and fortresses being built, the lamas of T'a-erh-sse (Kumbum) (situated 40 li south of Hsining) decided to build a wall around the hermitages existing at that time. In 1560 some cells had been built for ten monks and, in 1577, a small temple next to a tower whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree, the glory of Kumbum (Monguors II: 25 sq.).

175x 712 346

The same year the brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih, feeling insecure in Kokonor, intending to leave the country and to return to Ordos, asked to pass through Huangchung. The request was refused. He passed the Yellow River, looted T'ao and Ho Chou and was pursued in his flight to the Ordos (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*).

175x 721 648

The La-pu-erh tribe boldly repelled alone an attack of Kokonor brigands, killing fifteen brigands and cap-

177 In cases where the Chinese authorities eventually deposed
563 a T'u-ssu and took his territory and its population under direct Chinese administration, Chinese who had long been domiciled among the Monguors naturally became prominent people under the new dispensation. Thus it is plain that even though the Chinese civil officials were appointed by the T'u-ssu themselves, and not by the higher Chinese authorities, their influence promoted the process of the absorption of the Monguors by Chinese culture.

In the disintegration of the old Monguor society the personal example of the T'u-ssu themselves had a great effect. In the long period of relative peace and stability along the froniter under Manchu rule, the T'u-ssu ceased to receive fresh increments of prestige in their old capacity as military commanders and "wardens of the marches." They, therefore, naturally began to turn toward the standards of prestige accepted in the settled Chinese population. It became usual for T'u-ssu to marry the daughters of rich Chinese officials, or the half-Chinese daughters of other T'u-ssu who had married Chinese. There was thus introduced into the households of the T'u-ssu a Chinese "fine lady" point of view; these ladies despised the costume of the Monguor women as barbarous, they did not learn the Monguor language, their children received a Chinese home education and were sent to Chinese schools, and it thus became more and more common to find T'u-ssu who were unable even to speak with their subjects in their own language. Following the fashion set by their chiefs, many Monguors married the daughters of Chinese domiciled in the clan or Chinese from outside, and as this custom spread a great many Monguors in all the clans came to be ashamed of their Monguor extraction, repudiated their origin, and professed to be of Chinese origin.

177 Still another disruptive factor was that many T'u-ssu,
563 by mortgaging parts of their territories to Chinese merchants and to lamaseries, as security for loans, lost con-
426 trol over the revenue from land taxes. Under these conditions they still retained the power to requisition corvée labor services; but the exercise of this power emphasized the contrast between the privileges of the chiefs and the obligations of their subjects, and weakened the bonds of loyalty that had once united the nobility and the commoners.

624 In the meantime, the T'u-ssu institution was also be-
661 coming corrupt from within. As the administrative system of the clan was so closely geared to the institution of the corvée, or obligatory labor and services, and military power depended on unpaid conscription, only a few officials received allocations of land, the income from which served as salary. The majority of the minor officials depended on bribery for their cash income, there being unlimited opportunities for bribery in the collection of land and other taxes in the form of gifts from families and individuals who wanted to be excused from compulsory services. Since it was profitable to hold such

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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an official position, there was bribery also in the competition for official appointments, and thus the whole administration of the Monguor clans became thoroughly corrupt. The taxable body came to be regarded as a melon to be sliced. Apart from what was absorbed in the lower ranks through corruption, all revenue collected was the perquisite of the T'u-ssu himself. Since nothing was done for public welfare, there were no schools, there was no budget for education, nor was there any expenditure for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of administrative buildings, because all such work was done through the levying of obligatory labor. Monguor carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans in addition to unskilled labor were available through the institution of obligatory labor services.

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During the process of the disintegration of the Monguor society, it remained none the less a going concern up to a certain point. As long as the T'u-ssu retained more than a certain minimum of power and wealth, it was to the advantage of the Chinese officials to cooperate with them in certain ways. Up to this point, therefore, the individual Monguor, even though he suffered from the decay of the society of which he was a part, found it impossible to escape and strike out for himself. If he tried to leave his village and settle in Chinese territory, the Chinese officials would return him to the jurisdiction of his hereditary T'u-ssu. Once the wealth and influence of the T'u-ssu had declined below the minimum, however, it was no longer worth the while of Chinese officials to cooperate with them. At this point the Chinese began to abolish or override the privileges of the T'u-ssu, to take the Monguor districts under their direct administration, and to treat the Monguors in the same way as Chinese. An example of this changing attitude of the Chinese officials has already been referred to in the case of the impoverished Chao T'u-ssu who was unable to afford the expenses of investiture and promptly had his office discontinued. An earlier case was that of the Ch'en T'u-ssu, a supercilious and over-confident man who was so oppressive in his demands for taxes and corvées that he was impeached before the Chinese court by his own subjects, about the year 1875. His territory was confiscated, his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects, and he lost both the office and the title of T'u-ssu.

The Yeh T'u-ssu who did not fight the Muslim rebellion had his territory confiscated, was deposed, and he and his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects.

The latest news I have had from Hsining since the new Communist rulers of China have taken possession of that region is that the T'u-ssu institution has been abolished, that the Monguor women and men have been ordered to change their peculiar Monguor style of dressing and to adopt Chinese costume, and that orders have been given to establish schools in the Monguor villages under Chinese teachers devoted to the new ideology. The two-thousand-year-old Chinese instinct for absorb-

[p. 130 b]

to make up his retinue, and it even happens that a 792
couple of men are asked for from former tributaries. 484
The subjects are thus liable to the corvées of the mon- 651
astery and at the same time to Chinese official corvées.

Administration of Justice

All the subjects of the monasteries are liable to the 792
Chinese courts of justice. It would seem logical to 691
have abolished all the old courts of justice existing at the monasteries, but all intendants still dispense justice to their subjects, expose at the gate of their intendancy the instruments of torture, and have their own jails. The intendants of Erh-ku-lung, Kumbum and Seerkok are even recognized officially by the Amban as ch'ien-hu, i.e., civil officials having the right to judge subjects.

In 1916 the minor Living Buddha of the monastery 792
of Dia-ik, fired by ambition and knowing my good rela- 692
tions with the Amban, importuned me for weeks to have me recommend him for the office of ch'ien-hu. He became ch'ien-hu not only of his subjects, but of the three former tributary Tibetan tribes depending on his previous incarnations. In 1917, with an air of exulting pride, he broke the news to me of having obtained in Peking the title of Hutukhtu. It is hard for a western mind to unravel these administrative mysteries.

The subjects enjoy the right of bringing suit at the 792
Chinese courts, but often they do not do so for fear of 692
retaliation by the intendancies, which they are unable 661
to match. However, since the Republic, more and more cases have been initiated by subjects who, victims of crying injustices, have plucked up their courage to challenge their intendants, because their minds were not insulated from the modern principles taught by teachers and officials. Nothwithstanding the change in the social psychology of the subjects, the intendants, the builders of big fortunes, continue to plant in the hearts of their subjects the seeds of aversion and hatred against themselves. Many of them collect the rent from their subjects with measures greater than the legal one, compelling them to fill them to the point where the grain spills on the ground, and not allowing them to collect the spilled surplus, which they appropriate. Being the most important businessmen in the country, they impose corvées on the subjects in order to carry on their own business, and when the patience of the subjects is worn thin, the clash comes, causing the ruin of the monastery. Such were the conditions prevailing between the subjects and the monasteries in 1910–1920. The monasteries had in the end succeeded in maintaining a firm grip on their subjects, notwithstanding the aim of the regulations, decreed after the revolt of 1723, to withdraw them from the baneful influence of the monasteries. [p.48(B)]

The power of the lamas consisted in the number of their subject tribes and their expansive territorial possessions. Their properties were confiscated, and their subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials, liable to their corvees, and subject to their land taxes. The revolt had ruined forever the power of the lamas. Then followed a lot more regulations (Monguors II: 34, 49). 175x [661]

However, nothing was changed in the regime of the Monguor institution. Their extensive properties remained intact, and their subjects continued under the administration of their t'u-ssu, because they had been faithful for centuries to the empire, and because this time their support had been of untold value to the army. Even T'u-ssu Lu was especially rewarded for his services, and received more new subjects: the 8 Tibetan villages in the Cho Tzu Shan region, which had belonged to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor, numbering 453 families, totaling 2,365 persons (Monguors I: 33).

This terrible revolt, which had threatened the very existence of Huangchung as part of Kansu Province and the empire, ended with the annexation of Kokonor to the empire, the ruin of the lama institution in Huangchung, and the stabilization of the regime of the t'u-ssu and Monguors in Huangchung. Thanks to the connivance of the Huangchung lamas and Tibetans with the Kokonor Khoshots, all of them seethed with hatred against the empire. [795]

In 1725, the revolt having been quelled, the commandery of Hsining became a prefecture and the So of Nienpei a subprefecture. According to one of the thirteen articles in the memorandum, presented to the throne by the Governor General, Nien Keng-yao, the building was started of three cities in the northern valley of Hsining, in Tatung, in Pe-ta, and in Yung Nan, which countries formerly belonged to the Kokonor Khoshots. Garrisons were appointed in order to forestall inroads of nomads and Jungars, and to provide easy communications between the two cities of Kanchow and Hsining. Tatung became a commandery (*Annals* of Hsining 1: 21*b*). 175x 631

It had been noted that in 1647 after the defeat of the Mohammedans of Kanchow on the Tatung River, trying to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to follow them in the revolt, Chinese of Kanchow who had participated in the expedition dared not return to their original countries, but settled in the extensive pastures of Tatung and Pe-ta, recognized the lordship of the Mongol proprietors and started farming and building houses. It has been noted also that in 1693, after fifty years, the assistant commander of Hsining, T'u-ssu Li Hsia, had reported that already more than 10,000 families were living there. The census of 1730 noted that the population of these settlements, started in 1647, was composed of Chinese, Monguors, Mohammedans, and Tibetans, living in twenty-two villages. The population of two villages was entirely composed of Chinese, 175x 631 162

[P.62(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

have existed more insignificant hermitages, scattered over the country. The lack of historical data does not permit further assertion about the diffusion of Lamaism during the Yüan period. 175 771 792

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1643)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE MING

The emperors of the Ming dynasty followed in the wake of those of the Yüan dynasty, protecting and promoting Lamaism among the Tibetans and the Mongols, in order to hold in subjection the turbulent tribes living in remote countries. This policy indeed was less expensive than that of venturesome military expeditions. 175 662 771

The perspicacious Chinese Ming emperors from the very beginning grasped the capital flaw inherent in the policy of the Yüan, in regard to Tibet. Khubilai must have known that the Tibet of the thirteenth century was not the Tibet of the seventh and eighth centuries, when the Tibetan tribes, united by powerful chiefs and allured by the prospect of plundering, marauded over the western and southern frontiers of China, and in 763 even plundered the capital of China with 200,000 men. Tibet of the thirteenth century was a disintegrated country, divided among antagonistic aristocratic families, each claiming to be the protector and defender of its preferred lama sect and powerful lamasery. The armed struggles between these families had involved, necessarily, the sects they protected, and caused the sects to fight on the side of their protectors and to ruin each other. Thus the doctrinal divergences between the sects seem not to have been the capital cause of the fierce hostility among them.[39]

The appointment of the Sa-Skya great lama as Viceregent of Tibet at the time Godan had fanned the flame of the long-standing animosity and hatred among the aristocratic families and sects, to the extent that five times Mongol armies had to be sent to quell the revolts. Notwithstanding this initial political blunder, Khubilai and his successors continued to extend their special protection to the Sa-Skya sect and to lavish on it the highest possible marks of honor at court.

However, at the end of the Mongol dynasty the powerful aBrigumpa sect had succeeded in overthrowing the Sa-Skya. Therefore, from the very beginning, the Ming dynasty avoided having to back and restore the supremacy of the decaying Sa-Skya or to patronize the most powerful aBrigumpa. It lavishly granted the same titles and favors to chiefs and influential lamas of different sects, using them for its political purposes. On the one hand, all the rival Lamaist sects had to stand on the same footing, and had to curry favors with the emperors, but, on the other hand, more and more favors had to be granted, and Lamaism reached a very high degree in Huang-chung.

[39] Tucci, *op. cit.*, 39, *et seq.* [p. 16(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The author of the *Annals*, dealing with the diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung, seems to have neglected completely even the existence of Lamaism before the Ming (1368). He seems very articulate concerning the problem, claiming that its diffusion had really started during the first years of the Ming and that, in fact, by the foundation of monasteries, the granting of titles to lamas, the institution of Nang-suo, Karwa, and Ch'an-shih chia, the outlook of the entire country was changed and the possession and population of Huang-chung assured.

175 771 114

PECULIAR POLICY IN HUANG-CHUNG

Founding of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an

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It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 13*a*, 13*b*) that

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> At the beginning of the Ming dynasty San-la, a Tibetan lama of Hsining, wrote a letter to induce the tribes of Han-tung to submit,[40] and built a monastery south of Nien-pei and settled there. He went to court and brought a tribute of horses, and he begged for a rescript to administer the monastery and the tribes, and for the favor of an inscription for the monastery. The Emperor T'ai-tsu (1368–1399), granted his request and favored him with an inscription reading: "Ch'ü-t'an." The Emperor established a board of lamas in Hsining and named San-la the director of the board. From that time on his pupils emulated him in building monasteries; the Emperor bestowed glorious names upon them, and in addition gave rescripts for administering them. Consequently, land and power became monopolized by the barbarian lamas. During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) there were bestowed, piecemeal, on the lamas, the titles of "Ch'an-shih" (Master in Dhyana), "Kuan-ting" (one whose head had been anointed), "Kuo-shih" (master of the empire); some were even given the title of "Ta-Kuo-shih" (great master or teacher of the empire), "Hsi T'ien Fo Tzu" (Buddha of the western Paradise; Amitabha). To all he gave seals and diplomas, and allowed [their dignities] to be transmitted, and they were ordered to bring, once every year, a tribute to the court.
>
> Because the lamas were held in high esteem among the barbarians, the government took advantage of them in order to keep the barbarians in submission. The people of the frontiers considered the dignity of the lamas as most glorious. For that reason, Tibetans and Monguors who had two sons, were certain to have one of them become a lama. Some even preferred not to have an heir, but ordered their sons to enter religious life. Tibetans and Monguors bequeathed their wealth to the monastery with a request for prayers, leaving their descendants destitute. Thus the barbarians became poorer and the monasteries richer. In each tribe there were people who submitted themselves to monasteries and became like a tribe, the subjects of the monastery [Shabinar].[41] The Chinese officials also entrusted the Tibetan monks with the duty of exchanging tea for horses.

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[40] E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches* 2: 218. Han tung "was situated in the land, which in the days of the Han constituted all the district of Tun-Huang."

[41] Shabinar disciples. Shabinars are the supporters of the lamas, giving them material sustenance. At first some disciples performed this task. By extension, it came to mean lay adjuncts of the lamasery, and at present it means the subjects of the lamasery.

[p. 16(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The first Ming emperor was delighted with the good will and efforts of San-la in bringing the Tibetan tribes into submission; he aimed to set an example of his high appreciation for the achievement, by rewarding San-la in an unusual way, thereby encouraging other lamas to follow his example. San-la appears to have been the first lama to act in this way, which explains the emphasis on his career in the *Annals* and the mention of him also in the general history of the Ming dynasty (ch. 300, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is further recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a* of the *Annals*, concerning the appreciation of the Ming emperors for San-la and his brothers that:

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> . . . in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) an imperial rescript was sent to build a monastery [presumably with a large sum of money]; two lamas of the group received the distinction of Kuo-shih ["teacher of the empire"], three received that of Master in Dhyana; a vast territory was granted; a gold and a silver seal were bestowed, each being 14 inches in circumference; one square jade seal, two ivory ones, and the inscription for a stele. During the Hung-hsi and Hsüan-te periods (1425–35) two texts, composed by the emperors, were again granted for two more steles.

This last text, encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining, is excerpted from the *Ming shih* (ch. 330, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is very informative concerning the pro-Lamaist policy of the Ming, and the position of Lamaism in the country of Hsining at that time. According to the text, the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) was the beginning of the granting of titles to "influential lamas," which explains why no title is recorded for the meritorious San-la who received the chieftainship of the tribes and of the lamasery in the beginning of the Hung-wu period (1368–1399). The same practice concerning the granting of titles, found in the *Ming-shih* (ch. 330, p. 4*a*), mentions that in 1426 the additional title of "great teacher of the empire" and the honor of the fourth official grade had been bestowed on five lamas of note, to whom the title of "teacher of the empire" had previously been granted (1403–1424), because of their merits in helping to quell the revolts. The title "Master in Dhyana" and the honor of the sixth official grade had been granted probably for similar reasons.[42]

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[42] The granting of titles, however, did not start with the Ming; the *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih, Chüan chou* (p. 27*a*) records: "Kubilai [1280–1295] in the beginning [of his reign] granted the title of Ta-kuo-shih great teacher of the empire, to the Sa-Skya lama, Phagspa, and later bestowed on him the title of 'great king of the precious law,' *Ta-pao-fa-wang*. When he spoke to him he called him, honorably, *Ti-shih*, 'teacher of the emperor'; at the same time to lama Tan-pa was granted the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and the number of those upon whom this title had been bestowed was not restricted to one. During the Hung-wu period [1368–1398] the titles of 'teacher of the empire' and 'great teacher of the empire' were only granted to four or five lamas. During the Yung-lo period [1403–1424] the title of 'king of the law' had been granted to two lamas, and that of 'Buddha of the western Paradise' to two

[p. 17(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

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The texts are very informative concerning the reason why, and the circumstances in which, titles were granted to lamas, and how Lamaism was as a consequence diffused in the country of Hsining and gained its tremendous influence and power.

The Ming dynasty in 1368 faced a double problem.[43] On the one hand, it had to take possession of the country and to protect it against inroads from turbulent nomadic tribes. On the other hand, the country having been depopulated during the disorders at the end of the previous dynasty, it had to find permanent trustworthy settlers and to attach them to the soil. The first problem was solved by accepting the submission of the groups of Monguors, making their chiefs T'u-ssu, Chinese officials, and wardens of the region and the passes, which they had guarded during the Yüan dynasty, and by means of sending a Chinese army of colonists and released prisoners. The second problem was tackled by favoring lamas, by attracting groups of families subject to them or tribes belonging to them or willing to submit to the empire, and assigning to them vast territories. Lamas were appointed chiefs of the tribes, granted honorable titles and privileges which could be transmitted to their successors. They encouraged the building of monasteries. Mongol tribes from Ordos which invaded Kukunor, driving out or subduing the Tibetan tribes of that country, provided a favorable opportunity to use the influence of the lamas to accept and settle the fleeing Tibetan tribes without territory, who were marauding over the country.

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The evidence for this policy is to be found in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 19, p. 3*b*): "The Tibetan Lung-pu tribe (2,000 families) devastated the country several times. The Chinese armies were unable to make them surrender. Finally the Chinese General Tung-lo invited So-nan-chien-tso, a lama of the monastery of Ta-ming, in order to exhort them to submit." He was successful in his attempt. The author naïvely notes that in the tribe there were "two masters of the empire."

Page 6*a*: "The Lung-pen tribe, administered by a lama, came to settle in the country [and to submit]. Its chief received the title of 'teacher of the empire' and the duty of *Chih-hui*."

Page 6*a*: "The Sina tribe [still governed by a Living Buddha] had a lama with the title of 'teacher of the empire' (because he submitted with his tribe)."

Page 6*a*: "The lama chief of the Ch'ia-erh-chih tribe

other lamas; but to 18 lamas had been granted the titles of *Kuan-ting* or *Ta-kuo-shih*, or both. During the Ching-t'ai period (1450–1456) the titles were granted so profusely that we lose count." P. Pelliot, Les "kouo-cheu ou Maîtres du Royaume" dans le Bouddhisme chinois *T'oung Pao* 12: 671, 1911. The title of "teacher of the empire" was used in China at the time of the northern Chi (550–557); the title is also encountered in north-west India in A.D. 500 and was already known in Central Asia in A.D. 382.

[43] Schram, *op. cit.*, 34.

[p. 17(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

bore the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and fulfilled the duty of *Chih-hui*," for the same reason. 792 554

Page 8*b*: "The Ssu-hou-mi tribe had a lama 'teacher of the empire' who had been granted a golden seal." (This unusual favor must have been granted for the same sort of reason.) 662 175

Page 10*b*: "The Ssu-ngo-ssu-ko tribe, always revolting and plundering, submitted after a lama had settled among them; also the Hsiao-cha-erh tribe (p. 11*a*) settled inside the wall and submitted after a lama living in the western mountains of Su-chou had been sent from Tibet for that purpose. The Pen-la tribe submitted after a lama coming from the south had settled among them." Three more tribes governed by lamas submitted; the Na-erh-pu (p. 5*a*), the Yeh-ch'ü (p. 6*a*), and the Nan-ta (p. 6*b*).

The submission of tribes induced by lamas started at the very beginning of the Ming (1368), and continued during the entire Ming period. The country thus became populated by tribes which professed the Lamaism of the Red Sect. The strong appeal to submit was, on the one hand, the insecurity in the region of Kukunor and, on the other hand, the benefits which attached to submission.

THREE PECULIAR INSTITUTIONS FOR LAMAS

From the very beginning the Ming created in Huang-chung for these lama chiefs three peculiar institutions: the Nang-suo,[44] the Karwa, and the Ch'an shih chia. Nang-suo and Karwa consisted basically of the granting of a territory, the fixing of a yearly tribute, the recognition of the chieftainship of the lama who had brought in the tribe, and of the heritability of that chieftainship. The Ch'an shih chia also enjoyed the privilege of heredity and a yearly allowance of wheat-flour, but no territories were granted to them. 175 792 554 793

This peculiar characteristic of heredity for lamas is explained by the fact that at that time they must have belonged to the Red Sect, and have been married. Red lamas living in the same tribe must have had a chieftain among them who had been granted the privilege of having the chieftainship transferred upon his death to his son. The difference between Nang-suo and Karwa chiefs was that the Nang-suo chief was the leader of a group or community of lamas, so constituted that the entire group was interested in his privileges and benefits. The Karwa chief was a single lama presiding over a small group of subjects. His privileges included only his own family and private interests. The Ch'an shih chia's privileges applied only to him personally. Another important difference between Nang-suo and Karwa was that later, when a group of Red lamas adhered to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privileges of their chief lama were transferred to the intendancy of the monastery, while the privileges of a Karwa chief

[44] Mathias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, 262, Wien, Herold, 1949.

[p. 18(A)]

Finally, in 1885 the branch declared its independence 175
and claimed to be possessor of the pasture and farm 792
grounds and the forests formerly entrusted to its care 578
by the mother monastery. A serious fight at close quarters occurred in the mother lamasery.

Ch'ü-t'an sued the branch to vindicate its rights of 691
proprietor of all the domains of Ch'ü-t'an. The lawsuit 792
was carried to the Court of Justice of the Subprefecture 662
of Nien-pe and lasted for two years. The Chinese officials, lavishly bribed by both groups, finally sent the lawsuit to the Court of the Prefecture of Hsining in order that their friends and superiors might have the opportunity to acquire some wealth and promote the cause of justice. Again, the lamas stubbornly spent their money for two years. Still unwilling to accept the verdict of the judges, the suit was sent to the Supreme Court of the capital of the province. Here the Chinese officials were very happy to meet the interested customers, and the gullible lamas started immediately to sow again, seeds of wealth and happiness in the gardens of the highest officials. For sixteen years the clever officials kept the wheels turning, encouraging both groups, exciting passions and stubbornness, promising to both sides a successful conclusion. The gullible lamas spent money, and the officials milked the meek cows dry. Finally, the wealth of the mother lamasery was exhausted first, so that the branch lamasery won the suit. The branch, during all the trouble, relied on the forests, sold wood, and was in a more advantageous position to "defend its rights." Throughout this long period the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung tried several times to spread oil on the troubled waters and settle the question amicably, but to no avail.

The loss of face for the mother monastery was too 627
humiliating. At night its lamas went to Yao-ts'ao-t'ai 579
and burned its temples; the next day the lamas of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai went at noon to Ch'ü-t'an and burned the palaces of the Living Buddha and killed two lamas. In 1905 the two groups, both bled white, agreed to have the question settled by Living Buddhas. An indemnity was fixed for the two lamas who had been killed, and because the damage caused by the fires was considered to be equal, the problem was settled.

In 1915 there were 285 lamas at Yao-ts'ao-t'ai: at the mother monastery there were only fifty or sixty, most of them children. Five hundred and fifty lamas had left the mother monastery, with four minor Living Buddhas, because they had been compelled to contribute to the expenses caused by the suit, and to fulfill the corvées imposed in connection with it. The administration of the mother monastery, in former times so flourishing and wealthy, was reduced to a minimum. One lama administered the property, a precentor led the prayers in the temple, and all the other duties were fulfilled by the Living Buddha himself. The homes formerly occupied by the six hundred lamas were inhabited by Monguor, Tibetan, and Chinese families.

[p.24(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Achia.'"[74] However, the myth of his previous existences was deeply rooted. "In 1686, a previous existence of Achia, the 16th, is said to have resided in the Yung-ho-kung temple of Peking, which had only been made a monastery in 1743. The roster of famous workers on the committee of translators at that time does not contain the name Achia."[75] 175 214 814

The emperor, after having drastically quelled the lama revolt, permitted the rebuilding of the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, giving them the text of a less honorable stele to be carved, and imposing on Erh-ku-lung the new name of Yu-ning-ssu, and on Seerkok that of Kuang-hui-ssu. The chief of the monastery of Seerkok (Chie bsan rimpoche) having been beheaded, the Dalai lama in 1727 sent to Peking a learned lama, Tsanpo of Amdo, whom he himself had previously honored by the title of Nomun-kan. In order to rebuild Seerkok, the emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu[76] and he became Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the new chief and proprietor of Seerkok. Since the chiefs of Erh-ku-lung had not plotted in the revolt, they were left undisturbed. Is it far-fetched to suppose that after the disappearance of mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the request of the Dalai Lama, Achia became the new chief and proprietor of Kumbum in 1746 in the same way that Min chu-erh had become chief of Seerkok? It would have been a fine political gesture for the emperor to ennoble the father of Tsong khapa, chief of the Yellow Church, in order to regain the sympathy of the lamas of the whole Yellow Sect whose group in Hsining he had punished so severely for their irresponsible behavior. It is probably a unique case in the history of Lamaist reincarnations that a layman then became reincarnated as a Living Buddha. 175 662 792

ERH-KU-LUNG

While Kumbum was outgrowing its infantile period, there occurred the humble beginning of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung (1604), on the northern side of the 175 792 346

[74] Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistische Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, 109, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1954.

[75] *Ibid.*, 110.

[76] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 2: 125. However, Tsampo Nomun-khan of Amdo writes about himself in his well-known Geographical work, 29: "North of Ssi ling is the great monastery of Gahdan Tam Chhoi ling (seat of lama Tsampo Nomun-khan) in ancient times called Amdo Gomang gonpa; at present known as Serkhang gonpa." Sarat Chandra Das adds: "The author is an incarnation of an eminent lama named Tag tse chove, who was invited to be the abbot of the monastery. There are 2,000 monks, many know the Tshan nid philosophy." The work of Tsampo has to be read cautiously. Before 1723 there were 2,000 lamas; at the time of his arrival Seerkok was destroyed. On pages 29 and 30 he gives the names of 18 monasteries built north of Erh-ku-lung and says: "The monasteries are mostly subordinate to the Kumbum and Tsampopa [himself] abbots, in consequence of which those under Je gampo and Phagden have been converted in Gelugpa institutions." However, these institutions had been founded by Erh-ku-lung and nine of them by Seerkok, which abbots had always belonged to the Gelugpa or Yellow Sect.

[p. 26(B)]

Huang-chung, and the mother lamaseries became firmly established. 792 775

PROCEDURE OF BECOMING A LIVING BUDDHA IN HUANG-CHUNG

The first incarnations of the five great Hutukhtus started as minor Living Buddhas, in the same way as the innumerable minor Living Buddhas who still spring up every day. A lama who is celebrated for his saintliness and wisdom, for his zeal in the diffusion of the religion, and for his blameless life, and is considered by his friends to have displayed the signs of approaching the final illumination, may be acknowledged by them after his death to be a Bodhisattva, to have renounced the blessedness of Nirvana, and to have made the vow to remain in this world for the salvation of all creatures. However, in Huang-chung the acknowledgment of lamas has to be sanctioned by a Living Buddha, whether a minor or a great one. The Panchen Lama confirmed that Chang-chia was the incarnation of a Dharmasvanin Graspa-odzer [21]; K'ri-c'en Blogros rgyamts'o confirmed the Bodhisattvaship of T'u-kuan.[22] It has already been noted that Chang-chia declared, on a morning in 1913, that the Wang Fa-t'ai of Ch'ie-bzan was a Living Buddha, and the Living Buddha of Ch'ü-t'an declared that the nephew of the Lu T'u-ssu, a Lama of Ta-ssu, was a Living Buddha.

It is a known fact that much private influence is brought to bear in the selection of Living Buddhas, in order to secure the appointment of scions of noble, wealthy, and influential families, or to provide some other benefit. It has already been recorded how the lamas endeavored to obtain the protection of the most powerful T'u-ssu. Therefore, the first incarnation of the series of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was caused to appear in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, and two more Living Buddhas were incarnated in this clan, the old and young Li Living Buddhas. At the beginning of the Ming, a lama of the Li clan had already become a Karwa lama; the Karwa still exists and is administered by a lama of the Li clan. The nephew of the powerful Lu T'u-ssu recently became a Living Buddha, as has been noted and at the same time the branch lamasery of Ta-ssu became independent. One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan was a lama of the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng belonging to the Lu T'u-ssu; one of the incarnations of Chang-chia was born in Too long, which belongs to the Lu clan. Seerkok, as already noted, arranged to have two of its minor Living Buddhas reincarnated, one in Mongolia and one in Tibet, in order to attract lamas from these countries to fill up its depleted roster, but without avail. 792 662 775 [622]

One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan appeared in Siamar, in the Tibetan family of Ts'e-bdurk, the richest and most influential in the region. The parents, with their daughter, went to Lhasa on a pilgrimage of

[21] Huth, *op. cit.*, 273.
[22] *Ibid.*, 281.

[p. 66 (B)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

thanksgiving for the honor bestowed upon the family. 792
Some time later, the nephew of T'u-kuan, of the Ts'e- 662
bdurk family became the reincarnation of the Living 775
Buddha of Labrang, the most intimate friend of T'u-kuan for many generations. It was T'u-kuan who, in Peking, obtained the title of Erdeni Nomun-khan for the Living Buddha of Labrang.[23] After the death of the Living Buddha of Labrang, T'u-kuan is invited to cast the horoscope in order to indicate the place where the reincarnation of his friend will occur, and *vice versa*.

SEARCH FOR THE INCARNATION

This problem has been dealt with by many authors. 792
Therefore, only data concerning Huang-chung will here 795
be recorded, because they may help to reveal the social 648
psychology of the Monguor lamas and of the Monguors. Upon the death of one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, the Dalai Lama is invited to cast the horoscope indicating the place of rebirth. Usually two or three boys seem to fulfill the requirements. Their names are sent to Peking and put in the traditional urn, according to the protocol established by imperial edict in 1793,[24] from which one is then drawn. The name drawn is supposed to be that of the genuine incarnation. For minor Living Buddhas, another Living Buddha is requested to render the service.

Usually the place of rebirth is indicated in terms as 792
vague as the oracle of Delphi, and lamas go to find the 795
candidate, but old lamas have admitted to me confi- 662
dentially that soon after the death of a Living Buddha 787
some lamas of the intendancy are sent to investigate where children were born around that time, and in what wealthy family, and actually it is usually one or two years before the horoscope is cast. Sometimes the horoscope is so vague that it is many years before the boy is found. The rebirth of Achia of Kumbum who died tragically in 1909 was found after six years, and two boys fitted the requirements. The two names were sent to Peking, and one was chosen. At that time the lamas of Kumbum were in a hurry, fearing that Achia would no longer reincarnate because of the fateful circumstances of his death. When the boy is found, lamas have him select from among several items displayed (beads, cups, etc.) the things he used in his previous existences. This is performed in the presence of lamas only.

Wonderful legends are told about the reincarnations 538
of Erh-ku-lung. T'u-kuan, bent with age, went on foot 775
to Peking, incognito, in order to heap up piles of merit. At night, in Lien-ch'eng, a good but poor lady prepared his food, and in the morning when he left she offered him her last piece of brick tea. T'u-kuan died in Peking and was reborn in the child to which the poor but charitable lady gave birth. It was her reward.

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[23] Huth, *op. cit.*, 288.

[24] W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung pao* 9 (1): 55, March, 1910.

[p.67(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

Chuang-lang, Ch'ing-yang, and East Kansu. The raids furnished to the invaders a considerable amount of loot and fostered their predatory instincts. The example set by the Mongols whetted the appetite for plunder among the Tibetan tribes also. The people lived in desperate conditions, and the t'u-ssu troops had always to be ready to comply with the orders of military commanders.

M 175x [579] HM 175 [579] M [511]

This note, recorded in the Lu chronicles, is quite acceptable for the reason that during just these years a tremendous confusion reigned in Mongolia, and the Mongol tribes located along the Kanchow and Liang-chow borders had nobody to care for them, for the Oirats, now at the summit of their power, had thought themselves strong enough to challenge the Chinese empire.

HEIGHT OF OIRAT HEGEMONY

M 175x HM 175 M HM 622 648 [662] 668

To Esen, the powerful Oirat chief, had been promised an imperial princess by the eunuch Wang Chen, the favorite of the emperor. He had not notified the emperor of this promise and when the envoys of Esen arrived at court with the nuptial presents they were refused. In the autumn of 1449 the humiliated Esen began raids on the empire frontiers and approached Ta-t'ung. An army of half a million men was raised in a hurry, and sent against the Oirats. The emperor accompanied the army. His troops were routed, the emperor was taken prisoner, the remnants of the army tumbled back to Peking, and the capital was in jeopardy. Ching Ti, the brother of Emperor Ying Tsung, ascended the throne in 1450. The Oirats were unable to seize the capital. After endless deliberations, the released imperial prisoner reentered Peking in the eighth moon, after an absence of one year.

Esen, swollen with pride after his resounding victory over the empire, his ambition soaring to the throne, proclaimed himself emperor of the Mongols in 1454; but two of his commanders revolted against him in 1455, he fled and was killed the same year. For the time being the balance of political power of the Oirats shifted to the eastern Mongols who struggled again for the hegemony. One of the commanders who had killed Esen was killed by Polai, a tribal chieftain of the Ta-tan Mongols. Po-lai enthroned a new Khan, Markorgis, the son of T'o-to-pu-hua, known under the name of Hsiao-wang-tsu, the little king, and began with raids on the frontiers of the empire.[80]

In 1457 Emperor Ching Ti fell ill, the secluded Yin Tsung ascended the throne for the second time and thereafter his brother died.

T'U-SSU LI WEN

M 175x 648

The same year T'u-ssu Li Wen arrived at Peking from Hsining with his army, to congratulate Yin Tsung

[80] H. Serruys, *op. cit.*, 85; Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 58-60.

[P.40(A)]

on his second ascension to the throne, and to present his offices in these times of troubles which beset the empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and somewhat later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them. The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and devastating the country. The officials in the capital grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his troops to move. He was committed to prison and deliberation concerning capital punishment was held. The emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportunity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the Mongols in the regions of Yenan and Suei-te (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*b*).

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of Li Wen?

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450–1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs and the most prominent officials, some of them friends and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions seethed with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals. Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung.

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching Ti the capital beseiged by Esen in 1449. During the illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot preparing the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthronement of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his rivals and seven executions of the most prominent officials followed. He was bestowed with the title of Pilar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky. It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, proclaimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung. The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poisoned himself. His father was committed to jail and ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

China; markets were accorded to his tribes and he was created "the Obedient and Righteous Prince"! However, the perspicacious Governor Wang Ch'ung-ku asked for a declaration of submission from other chieftains, such as Chinang and T'uman. T'uman refused boldly.[82] Apparently groups of Mongols, dissatisfied with the peace concluded by Altan, had already decided to gather under the banner of T'uman, liking better their adventurous life of looting and plundering than the submission to China. The group was strong and numerous, and administered, during the following years, many crushing defeats to China. Altan, however, endeavored to make his people desist from raids,[83] but he did not succeed in controlling his sons, nephews, and other relatives in Kansu and Huangchung. Since in 1559 Altan had sent his sons to occupy Kokonor and Sung-shan many Mongol chieftains, mostly nephews and cousins had followed them. They had forced the Tibetans to recognize their lordship, bring tribute and help them in the raids made in Kansu. They wrought tremendous havoc among the Tibetan tribes. The Chinese troops fought many losing battles and lost many officers and soldiers. Pin-tu and Ping-tu groups were the scourge of Kansu province. Altan was succeeded by his son Huang-t'ai-chi in 1583, and by his grandson Ch'ih-li-ko in 1587, who was unable to control his people. The emperor, in 1591, ordered the suspension of trade with his tribes (Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 141). From the death of Altan on, Huangchung suffered tremendously for years, on account of the savage raids of the relatives of Altan, whose real nature immediately asserted itself in all its crudity and brutality.

In 1572 the Tibetan Erh-chia-ting tribes again plundered Hsining country. Their chief was captured and killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

In 1573 General Ta Yun rebuilt and fortified the city of Nienpei exposed to the recurrent raids from the Tibetan tribes living north of the cities of Hsining and Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

The fortifications of the city of Hsining were again overhauled and improved in 1575, and the city was enlarged in the prospect of troubles on account of the building of the temple in Kokonor, the opening of markets and the incessant arrival of more Mongols (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*).

Altan arrived at Kokonor in 1577 to meet the great lama (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*). The *Annals* of Hsining record (20: 14) that a lama of Wu-sse-tsang (on the borders of Szechwan Province) was proclaimed Living Buddha. The shrewd Ping-tu, knowing the religiosity of the Tibetans, proposed to build two temples, one in Kokonor and one in Chia-yu-kuan and to invite the Living Buddha. He intended to secure the support of the Tibetans by pretending to be fond of Buddhism. The question was vividly discussed in

[82] Pokotilov, 129.
[83] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 137-141.

[P.47(A)]

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Peking, and the emperor agreed. Ping-tu forced the tribes to build a road to Wu-ssu-tsang in order to meet the lama. The entire Szechwan province was upset for fear of invasion by the savage Kokonor brigands. The governor wrote Altan to order his sons to desist from plundering the country. Altan answered that the only reason for the behavior of his sons was the lack of any markets where they could fill their needs. In 1574 markets were opened for Pin-tu and Ping-tu and the emperor granted to the temple of Kokonor the name Yin-hua-sse and the title of vice-commander to Ping-tu. However, the sons and cousins and nephews of Altan plundered as before. Again the officials asked Altan to reprimand them. Altan arrived with his army feigning to meet the lama; however he had an axe to grind with Oirats, his old foes. Coming back, he asked the governor to allow all the Mongol chieftains to attend a meeting with the lama in Kokonor. The Tibetans, taken with panic at the sight of the demonstration of power and magnificence, fled in all directions. Altan returned to the north (1577) but Ho-lo-ch'ih and Yung-chao-pu, his nephew and cousin, and others refused to leave Kokonor, and Ping-tu started plundering the Tibetans again. The officials immediately asked the emperor to close the markets. Altan reprimanded his son and urged him to return the stolen people and cattle. However, Ho-lo-ch'ih continued looting (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 13, 14).[84]

175x 648 662 579 [437 647] [437 647]

In 1579 the governor of Hsining was engaged in developing agriculture in Huangchung. He gathered the destitute people who had fled with fear of the Mongol brigands, located them in villages, provided them with grain and oxen, dug irrigation canals, etc. In each village he opened a school. He gathered more than 100,000 families, and more uncultivated land was tilled. When Altan left the country in 1577 he had asked him to leave peacefully and to protect the country against more raids by his people (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20).

175x 241 652 [313]

Ha-tsa, a Tibetan tribe of Kokonor, raided the western valley of Hsining in 1580, but was repelled. Two

175x 579 648

[84] René Grousset, *Empire des Steppes*, 592, Paris, Payot: The Ordos Mongols started professing the lamaism of the Yellow Church from 1566 on. The *jinong* Khutukh Setsen Hung-t'ai-chi of the Uchin banner, coming back from an expedition in Tibet in 1566, had invited lamas to accompany him to Ordos and convert the Mongols to lamaism. The fervent *jinong* succeeded in converting his grand-uncle Altan who at that time was in the heyday of his power (1576). Altan and his grand-nephew invited the chief of the Yellow Church, the great lama bSod-nams rgya-mtso to come to Kokonor. The Mongols met him magnificently and opened with him an official convention at which was laid the foundation of the Yellow Church among the Mongols (1577), and Altan honored the great lama with the title of Dalai Lama, which title is still borne at present by his successors. The Dalai Lama, returning to Lhasa, appointed the Living Buddha Dongkur Manjucri in Kukuhoto the residence of Altan. The Dalai Lama left Lhasa again to travel to Ordos in 1586 for the performance of the cremation ceremonies of Altan who had died in 1583.

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should have been cognizant of the fact and have considered the boy as the legitimate successor of Nag Dzang. However, the shrewd *desi*, offended by the growing interference of the emperor and of the Khoshot prince in Tibetan affairs, kept secret from the outer world both the death of the Dalai Nag dzang and the appointment of the reincarnation. He himself planned to rule the kingdom politically. Galdan who had been lama in Lhasa had been the friend of the Dalai and the *desi*, who at the time of his struggle with the Khalkhas had imprudently spoken in his favor near the emperor. In 1689 the distrusting emperor started inquiring into the matter and knew that the old Dalai had died in 1680–1681. He suspected connivance between the *desi* and the Jungars. After the crushing defeat administered to Galdan in 1696, the emperor learned that Galdan would fly to Tibet to build a new army. The emperor back in Peking immediately sent to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor the order to apprehend Galdan, his family and followers in order to check their faithfulness to the empire. However, Galdan had fled to the west and died in 1697. The princes of Kokonor, in order to dispel the suspicion of the emperor concerning their faithfulness, gathered in a group of thirty-one presided over by an eminent lama and swore allegiance to the empire. It seems that on account of the unanimous testimony of faithfulness sent to the emperor, the princes, being all descendants of Ku Shih Khan, were awarded titles.[91]

175x 795 648 [662]

However, the *Annals* of Hsining present another version: the emperor, preoccupied with the troubled situation in Tibet and Kokonor, ordered the lama Chang Nan to *erh chih* (induce to submission) the princes of Kokonor. Having obeyed, the emperor granted titles to the descendants of Ku Shih Khan: to Blo bzang tan chin, the title of prince, to the others the titles of *Pei-le, Pei-tse, Kung, T'aichi*. A yearly allowance in silver was also granted. They were requested to bring tribute to the capital. As long as the lama was in Hsining the princes were loyal and dependable. Later Chinese officials were appointed to care for them (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 16*b*).

[662]

In the *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52, is recorded in 1708 a serious revolt of Hsi Ku Tibetans, in the region of Wen Hsien in the farthest southern corner of East Kansu. The Hsi Ku tribes are the Hsi La Ku tribes, the Shera Uighurs, the Yellow Tibetans, already noted (pp. 17, 18). They were still autonomous in 1708 and had their own chiefs, and joined in the revolt. They depended upon the Yang t'u-ssu, and their chiefs were granted titles after the revolt by the emperor, thanks to the intercession of the Yang t'u-ssu.

175x 579

In 1718 the Board of Agriculture of Hsining announced that 14,678 acres of uncultivated land were still available for culture.

175x [647]

[91] Maurice Courant, *L'Asie centrale au XVII et XVIII siècles, Empire Kalmouk ou Empire Mantchou*, 62, 72, 73, Paris, Picard, 1912.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

175x
795
579

opened and for three days the wild Jungars destroyed and looted the temples and the city, killing many people. La Tsang was killed.

175x
648

The emperor could not take this affront lying down. However, his first punitive expedition to Lhasa was defeated in 1718. The second in 1720 parted in two columns, one leaving Szechwan Province, the other starting from Hsining. On the way both encountered Jungar troops which were defeated, fled and left Tibet. T'u-ssu Lu T'i-sin was taken ill at that time and sent his son Lu Hua-lin, commanding his troops, to participate in the expedition. Back in Huangchung he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel in the Hsining army, and later colonel in Liangchow and brigadier general in Kanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The emperor, cognizant of the growing animosity of the lamas and the people against his appointed Dalai Lama Yeches, and of the aversion aroused in the hearts of the lamas and the Tibetans against the savage Jungars who had looted their temples and carried away the riches of the nation and killed many people, conversant with their eagerness to see enthroned in Lhasa the Dalai Lama secluded in Kumbum, resolved to send the lama to Lhasa with the Hsining army and to enthrone him as a new sixth Dalai Lama. The decision seemed to him apt to reconquer the sympathy of the Tibetans and the lamas, and to plant in their hearts aversion for the Jungars, who were waging war with him in Central Asia with an eye on Tibet.

175x
662
643
648
795

The emperor, averred politician, in order to assure the success of his plan, ordered the Monguor Living Buddha, T'u Kuan, chief of the renowned Monguor monastery of Erh Ku Lung in Hsining, a learned man of high repute in Tibet and Mongolia, to convey the Kumbum Lama to Lhasa in the capacity of imperial envoy. He bestowed him with the title of Huthukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas, in order to dignify his position. He gave him letters and unusual gifts to bring to the Panchen Lama and to the heads of the most important monasteries in Tibet, his former teachers and friends. The Kumbum Dalai Lama, brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence and enthroned in 1720, was enthusiastically congratulated by the lamas and the Tibetans. This act put an end to the autonomy of Tibet and of the Yellow Church. The Monguors were proud of their Huthukhtu (Monguors II: 31). The sixth Dalai Lama Yeches was dethroned and called to Peking in order to prevent possible complications.[92]

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[92] Maurice Courant, *op. cit.*, 76-77. W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China 1644-1908, *T'oung-pao*, 1-92, 1910. E. Haenich, Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas unter der Gegenwärtigen Dynasty, *T'oung-pao*, 197-235, 375-424, 1911. Réné Grousset, *op. cit.* Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ching Period*, Washington, 1943. L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century*, Lieden, Brill, 1950. H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, I, *passim*.

wrought by barbarians in their country to indulge in 648
such utopian hopes. They knew too well that more or 771
less powerful tribes never had lived peaceably next to each other; that peace had reigned inside Mongolia and Tibet only as long as an all-powerful chief was able to subdue and to dominate the tribes, but that immediately after his death the tribes had always dispersed and began a new cycle of tribal wars. They knew too that barbarian conquerors had always tried to overcome China and had repeatedly succeeded in founding dynasties. In other circumstances Mongol and Tibetan tribes had only kept quiet along the Chinese frontiers so long as China had been able to wield sufficient military power to impose peace on them. The Chinese also knew very well that Lamaism had never changed the predatory instincts of the barbarians, and that the lamas in Tibet and Huang-chung had been just as savage warriors as the laymen. Once in a while Hutukhtus had tried to mediate the troubles among the tribes, but other influential chiefs of tribes and persons of standing had also tried, with comparable results of success or failure.

It is asserted that the Yellow Sect became an important power among the barbarians from the time when Gushi Khan, after conquering Tibet, installed the Dalai Lama as temporal chief of the country (1636), and that the Manchu dynasty recognized the fact. Before that time Lamaism was divided into sects, which supported the numerous political parties in the country fighting for supremacy. By mixing in politics and wars, and because of lack of unity, the influence of the sects was dissipated. The chiefs of the sects, however, craving titles and privileges, curried the favor of the emperors. The emperors were happy to comply with their requests, appreciating the asset of having friendly disposed influential chiefs in far-off countries, but always waited for an opportunity to use them to further the interests of the empire.

It was in this way that the Ming emperors (1368– 643
1643) favored the lamas in Huang-chung, whatever 648
their sect, by lavishly granting titles and privileges, and 792
contributing to the building of monasteries in order to populate the desolate country, and to keep the Mongol tribes quiet after the overthrow of the Yüan dynasty.

Later on, when Lamaism had become a real power, the Ch'ing dynasty engaged in war with the Kalmuks or Western Mongols. Well aware of the influence which the Yellow Sect wielded among the eastern and western Mongols and its questionable behavior toward the empire, the Ch'ing dynasty imposed its authority on Lhasa by means of its armies, but at the same time granted favors and privileges to the lamas.

The institution of the committee for the translation 814
into Mongol and the printing of Tibetan books dates 663
from the Manchu period. This was a remarkable 648
political provision. The most celebrated and learned lamas and Hutukhtus of the monasteries of Tibet,

[p. 160(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Huang-chung, and Mongolia were appointed members of the committee. They were showered with honorific titles and privileges, and summoned to reside at the capital. The emperors lavishly provided for their expenses and those of their numerous disciples, and secured large temples and residences for their sojourn. The Mongol princes and the lamas of Tibet and Mongolia were elated with the generosity of the emperors and the keen interest and sympathy they displayed for their religion and for their spiritual chiefs. The emperors were happy too, realizing that it paid large dividends to have the most important and esteemed representatives of the lamaseries residing at the capital, in effect as honorable hostages, who had to ask the permission of the emperor every time they wanted to leave the capital.

However, these imperial generosities did not interfere with the strong policy implemented by the court in dealing with Tibet and Mongolia. They did not hinder the court in banishing the seventh Dalai Lama to Ssu-ch'uan, or in refusing to comply with the request of the "specially honored" Changchia Hutukhtu, to return to the Dalai Lama the regions of Li t'ang and Ba t'ang. They did not prevent the court from drastically crushing the lama revolt in Huang-chung (1723), or from burning all the monasteries in the country, even those of the "specially honored" Changchia. Later, at the request of the "beloved" Changchia and T'u-kuan, the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok were allowed to be rebuilt. The emperor offered a contribution *ad hoc*, but two steles were to be erected recording the ungratefulness of the lamas and the new humiliating provisions for the lamas by decree of the court. The steles were erected, but built inside a wall and plastered by the lamas so that nobody could read the texts.

The policy of the emperors in promoting Lamaism has to be studied in the light of the facts. They were well aware of the predatory instincts and fickleness of the barbarians, and of the influence the lamas wielded among them. In order to further their own interests and to gain the sympathy of the barbarians, they lavished on the lamas the titles and privileges which they childishly craved; but they were not afraid to deal with the lamas and barbarians with draconian severity, whenever their behavoir was not in line with the imperial policy. An iron hand was in the velvet glove.

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO TRANSFORM THE MONGUOR SOCIETY

This study also sheds light on the failure of Lamaism to transform the Monguor society into a genuine Buddhist society. In view of the really amazing bloom of Lamaism of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung between 1600 and 1723, when more than forty monasteries were built in that relatively small country during that short span of time, and taking into account the tremendous number of lamas enrolled in them—one lama at least from every family—and the honors, titles, and privileges

[p-160(B)]

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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Chuang-lang, Ch'ing-yang, and East Kansu. The raids furnished to the invaders a considerable amount of loot and fostered their predatory instincts. The example set by the Mongols whetted the appetite for plunder among the Tibetan tribes also. The people lived in desperate conditions, and the t'u-ssu troops had always to be ready to comply with the orders of military commanders.

This note, recorded in the Lu chronicles, is quite acceptable for the reason that during just these years a tremendous confusion reigned in Mongolia, and the Mongol tribes located along the Kanchow and Liang-chow borders had nobody to care for them, for the Oirats, now at the summit of their power, had thought themselves strong enough to challenge the Chinese empire.

HEIGHT OF OIRAT HEGEMONY

To Esen, the powerful Oirat chief, had been promised an imperial princess by the eunuch Wang Chen, the favorite of the emperor. He had not notified the emperor of this promise and when the envoys of Esen arrived at court with the nuptial presents they were refused. In the autumn of 1449 the humiliated Esen began raids on the empire frontiers and approached Ta-t'ung. An army of half a million men was raised in a hurry, and sent against the Oirats. The emperor accompanied the army. His troops were routed, the emperor was taken prisoner, the remnants of the army tumbled back to Peking, and the capital was in jeopardy. Ching Ti, the brother of Emperor Ying Tsung, ascended the throne in 1450. The Oirats were unable to seize the capital. After endless deliberations, the released imperial prisoner reentered Peking in the eighth moon, after an absence of one year.

Esen, swollen with pride after his resounding victory over the empire, his ambition soaring to the throne, proclaimed himself emperor of the Mongols in 1454; but two of his commanders revolted against him in 1455, he fled and was killed the same year. For the time being the balance of political power of the Oirats shifted to the eastern Mongols who struggled again for the hegemony. One of the commanders who had killed Esen was killed by Polai, a tribal chieftain of the Ta-tan Mongols. Po-lai enthroned a new Khan, Markorgis, the son of T'o-to-pu-hua, known under the name of Hsiao-wang-tsu, the little king, and began with raids on the frontiers of the empire.[80]

In 1457 Emperor Ching Ti fell ill, the secluded Yin Tsung ascended the throne for the second time and thereafter his brother died.

T'U-SSU LI WEN

The same year T'u-ssu Li Wen arrived at Peking from Hsining with his army, to congratulate Yin Tsung

[80] H. Serruys, *op. cit.*, 85; Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 58–60.

on his second ascension to the throne, and to present his offices in these times of troubles which beset the empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and somewhat later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them. The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and devastating the country. The officials in the capital grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his troops to move. He was committed to prison and deliberation concerning capital punishment was held. The emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportunity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the Mongols in the regions of Yenan and Suei-te (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*b*).

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of Li Wen?

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450–1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs and the most prominent officials, some of them friends and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions seethed with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals. Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung.

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching Ti the capital beseiged by Esen in 1449. During the illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot preparing the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthronement of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his rivals and seven executions of the most prominent officials followed. He was bestowed with the title of Pilar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky. It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, proclaimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung. The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poisoned himself. His father was committed to jail and ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

the Khoshot tribes (Oirats) went to Kokonor with his armies. He conquered Kokonor, Tsaidam and East Tibet, defeated the enemies of the Dalai Lama, occupied Lhasa and proclaimed in 1642 the Dalai Lama Nag-dbang bLo-bzang temporal and spiritual sovereign of Central Tibet.[85] 175x

From 1597 until 1642 no events are recorded in either *Annals* concerning Huangchung. The country enjoyed a relative peace, while its borderlands still suffered raids from the same Mongols.

THE MONGUORS AND THE FALL OF THE MING DYNASTY

175x 648

Desperate times were still in store for the Monguors and their t'u-ssu, and tremendous sacrifices were still requested from them to save the tottering dynasty, but the Monguors with their t'u-ssu stood loyal as a rock to the end.

The restless Mongol tribes had, during two and a half centuries, harrassed the dynasty, administering many crushing defeats to the armies, devastating the border provinces of the empire, and the neighborhood of the capital, causing the ruin and the revolt of the Tibetans, draining the resources of the empire and weakening the discipline of the armies and administrations. This sword of Damocles was still hanging over the dynasty when another ominous plague threatened the empire, the plague of brigands from inside the empire. The Ming dynasty was so effete her fall was imminent.

During the T'ien-ch'i period (1621–1627) Chinese brigands led by Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung ruthlessly murdered the people and savagely devastated the cities and villages, to the point that the exasperated Chinese population hoped for new rulers.[86]

According to the Lu chronicles, in 1628 a severe famine desolated the region of Yenan and Suei-te (Shensi), so many times plundered by Mongols during two and one-half centuries. Wang Chia-yun, a native of Fu-ku, stirred the starving people to band together and go plundering through the country. Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung, planning a revolution against the dynasty, seized the opportunity to organize the already plundering groups of brigands and realize their plan. 175x 579 668

During 1628–1640 the revolution raged unchecked. The rumors spread like a prairie fire in Huangchung and North Kansu, and the population was frightened out of its wits, when the brigands poured from Hsi-an through the Kuan-chung pass toward Kansu. 175x 669

In 1641 the old Hsining t'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien (descendant of the Myriarch Kung-k'o-hsin-chi, founder of the Ch'i clan) and his two sons, Hsing-chu and P'ing-chu, invited to a secret convention to discuss

[85] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 603.

[86] Erich Hauer, Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung, Ein Beitrag zum Ende der Ming Dynasty, *Asia Major*, Vol. secundum fasc. 3/4: 436 sq., 1925.

/The Monguors/

N *563 men make their own pipes from the leg bone of a sheep. The
M 276 smoking kit, a small pouch holding tobacco, a pinch of tinder
[372] and some small flints, hangs on the belt at the waist. The light is obtained by striking tinder against the flint.

c. Clothing

N *563 The Mongours have always been proud of their national cos-
M 291 tume, though since the enrollment of some Chinese into their
[177] clans, a few communities have adopted Chinese clothing. During the rule of the Chinese Nationalist government, most of the Mongours kept their own costume. According to Father Schram,
M [668] who made a thorough investigation of the people, they were not
[177] allowed to wear the national costume after the Communists conquered their country in 1949. It is not known whether the Communists are continuing their policy of obliterating the distinct costumes and traditions of the small minorities.

M [171] The clothing of the Mongours is not greatly different from that of the Mongols. Traditionally, the men dress much less elaborately than the women. A man ordinarily wears a dark blue cotton gown, similar to that of the Chinese, that opens on the right side and hangs a little below the knees. The upper part of the gown is loose and a sash or belt is worn at the waist, making a copious pocket in which the man carries his eating bowl and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown of roughly woven white wool. Festival gowns of the rich are of silk or satin, and a vest or sleeveless jacket is worn over the gown. The ordinary man wears a cotton gown and jacket for festive occasions, with a plain silk or cotton sash.

In the old days, men wore trousers only when they went to town. Now they regularly wear blue cotton trousers cut in the Chinese style, with the legs stuffed into their cloth-topped knee boots. The tops of dress boots are sometimes embroidered. In winter, leather boots are worn. Few Mongours wear underclothing, and neither men nor women wear stockings.

M [301] Almost every young man wears a silver-plated bracelet carved with Chinese designs, and most men wear finger rings set with coral or turquoise.

The woman's gown is very full, has wide sleeves, and hangs to her heels. It overlaps in front, and buttons down the left side. An outer gown of coarse, unwashed wool is used as a working garment. Because of the natural oil in the wool, the gown sheds water well. A sash or girdle holds both gowns at the waist. Generally the poor do not wear trousers, the two gowns being their only garments.

N *563 Well-to-do women have elaborate and gaily colored festival
M 292 dresses, fancy trousers and false sleeves. Like the Mongol women, they wear fancy headdresses and boots for dress occasions. At such times the outer gown is left off and the inner

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

for the next two years collecting alms; Seerkok offered a thousand big trees, Labrang $6,000, Erh-ku-lung $1,000. After three years the temple was rebuilt. 175 792

In 1910 the same thing happened at the monastery of Chu erh under similar circumstances.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE LAMAS

FA-T'AI, CALLED "MASTER OF THE DOCTRINE" ("LOB-PON" OR "MK'AMPO")

792

The supreme chief of this independent institution is the Fa-t'ai. His office is the most honorable one a lama may fill. Fa-t'ais are chosen from among respectable lamas with a blameless record, celebrated for their knowledge. Not only lamas are invited to that office, but even Living Buddhas. Most of the eminent lamas in the country have been Fa-t'ais in nearly all the big lamaseries in Huang-chung. It has been recorded that a lama, even a Living Buddha, who is a member of an affiliate, never declines the invitation to fill this office at the mother house. Each college also has its own Fa-t'ai. 794 534

The office of Fa-t'ai is held for a term of three years only. The intendancy proposes to the supreme chief of the lamasery the name of the desired lama, and, on obtaining the consent of the supreme chief, sends lamas with the invitations. The Fa-t'ai lives in a beautiful residence and has as many lama servants as he desires. He is supposed to be the spiritual director of the institution which invited him, and to possess the power to reform the behavior of the lamas and to urge even stricter observance of the rules. It has been recorded how the stubborn Sumpa of Erh-ku-lung demanded in Lhasa the complete neutrality of the lamas of his community at the time when all the lamas of Lhasa prepared to participate in the civil war, and that finally the example set by him was followed by all the lamaseries of Lhasa. The same thing happened in Kumbum in 1895 at the time of the rebellion of the Moslems. The Fa-t'ai (m'Kampo) was the Living Buddha Mina, [669] a quiet and peaceful man, who ordered the lamas to prepare only to defend the lamasery in case of attack. However, Shertoch, another Living Buddha of Kumbum, more turbulent and still recalling the destruction of the monastery except for the temple containing the celebrated tree during the revolt of 1862–1874, stirred the lamas to attack the enemy in the Moslem stronghold of T'opa, fighting on the side of the Chinese Army. After the first attacks had been unsuccessful, and several lamas had been killed, the war party grew bitter against Mina, who had to resign the post of Fa-t'ai and for some time was in fear of his life.[10] Achia, the chief and proprietor of Kumbum must have been an irresolute man, for he did not interfere even in such critical circumstances.

[10] Wellby, *op. cit.*, 281. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 72, 92.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

the appointment despite the memorial presented to the throne by minister Su Shih (*Annals* of Hsining 33B: 9, 10). The emperor preferred the time-honored policy of his predecessors sowing discord among tribes threatening the empire. He anticipated the annihilation of the tribes by themselves, and the easy recovery of East Kansu and Huangchung. The tribes in favor of the legitimate offspring of the second wife of Chiossulo started a murderous struggle with the tribes following A li ku, backed by Chinese troops. Again the savage propensity for self-destruction among the tribes was soon in full sway and tribes tore themselves to pieces. The emperor granted titles to A li ku and his son and also to the offspring of the second wife of Chiossulo. A war of destruction went on until the death of A li ku in 1096, who had appointed his son as his successor. The appointment was again ratified by the emperor. This time all the T'u-fan, Uighur, and Shat'o tribes revolted against the empire. A strong army of 100,000 invited Hsi Hsia troops came to rescue them in Mao Ch'uan. A tremendous blow was administered to the Chinese. Then the Chinese general, in desperate straits, made an offer of settlement and invited some T'u-fan chiefs to appoint the son of Mou Cheng as chief of the tribes because, he said, he was the genuine offspring of Chiossulo!

175x 643 648 [669]

But it was too late. The tribes did not abide by the decision of the chiefs and had become the irreconcilable enemies of China. Murderous fighting continued, the cities in Huangchung were taken and retaken several times and delivered to sack and slaughter by Chinese troops and then by the rebel tribes indulging in acts of gratuitous cruelty. Villages became clusters of ruined hovels. Many tribes disintegrating, groups of them fled to the southern part of East Kansu and to the borders of Kokonor, but the Chinese troops continued fighting against the Huangchung tribes associated with the Hsi Hsia until 1115, laying waste the whole country (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 1, 14; *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 6, 7). At that time, the Chin empire embarking upon the conquest of China, the Chinese troops were ordered to leave Huangchung. Chin armies peacefully occupied Huangchung in 1131. Huangchung had enjoyed a period of glory and unusual wealth during fifty years (1036–1086) followed by forty-five years of internecine wars among the tribes and savage destruction of the country (1086–1131).

175x 721 175x

From 1131 until the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols in 1227, the history of Huangchung is a blank page. The conquest of East Kansu and the war with China and the Hsi Hsia absorbed the whole forces of the Chin emperor. An official appointed in Ho Chou in East Kansu by the Chin cared for the uninteresting, exhausted, and depleted tribes of Huangchung, with its ruined cities and villages and starving T'u-fan, Tang-hsiang, Uighur and Shat'o population. It may be assumed that in these circumstances the pitiful tribes

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

dynasty, must have deeply impressed the other Kansu princes and officials, who had also received the same invitation to surrender. In the same year another Monguor prince of Huangchung, member of the imperial family, Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, surrendered. He had been appointed by the Yuan emperor guardian of the region 90 li south of Hsining, had discharged the office of myriarch with golden badge and purple tassel, was official of the Li-wen-so of the province of Kansu and enjoyed the title of duke. His subjects numbered 800 families organized in four tribes, scattered in many villages in the region south of Hsining, noted for the forays of savage and predatory Tibetans (Monguors 1: 53; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 35). He was the first among the Monguor t'u-ssu of Huangchung who surrendered. 175x

In 1370, on the third moon, K'uo K'uo Timur attacked with a new army the Ming troops in the Lanchow region, but suffered a crushing defeat at Shen-erh-ku, at the hand of Su Ta. Here 1,800 princes and officials were taken prisoner and 80,000 soldiers died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 22*b*). General Li Wen-chung, moving from Peking in pursuit of the Yuan emperor, reached in the fifth moon of the same year, the imperial family in Yin-ch'ang, where the last emperor of the Yuan had died a month before. He took prisoner the grandson of the emperor, the empresses, and princesses, etc. Only the heir apparent to the throne escaped toward Karakorum. 175x 648 669

Su Ta seized the opportunity of his victory to send all over the country, Hsiu Yung-te, secretary general of the administrative organ of Shensi province, again inviting the officials to submit, while he continued the conquest of the cities and regions situated in the southeast of Kansu. Here the Yuan had established Hsuan-wei-sse (pacification commanderies) and many myriarchies and chyliarchies, with Mongol incumbents endowed with hereditary titles, commanding a thousand or ten thousand soldiers with their families. The administrative center of the country was Ho Chou (*Yuan Shih* 60: 10*a*,*b*; *Hsin Yuan Shih* 48: 8–11). 175x 648

The invitation to submission reached fruition, for in the sixth moon the Tibetan Suo-nan-pu, who had filled during the Yuan the important office of pacification commander and controlled forty-eight Tibetan tribes, arrived at the headquarters of General Teng Yu, offering the emblems and documents of his office, received from the Yuan. Later the name Ho was granted to him and the office of assistant commander of the commanderies of Ho Chou and Wei Chou. Together with the powerful Suo-nan-pu the Tibetan tribes living in the districts of Chi Ch'eng, T'ao Chou, and Min Chou, and the eighteen tribes of Chieh and Wen Chou surrendered.

In the same sixth moon, the Prince of Wu Ching, Bu Ma La, pacifier of the western regions, descendant of Ao-lu-ch'ih, the seventh son of Kubulai, following

own troops, seems at first sight to have been a dangerous one. The Mings must have known that many armed groups of Mongols had fled to Mongolia; they must have surmised that the heir apparent of the Mongol nation would try to invade China and recover his lost empire, and that in such circumstances the faithfulness of the surrendered Mongol officials in Kansu still commanding their own troops would have been questionable. However, without hesitation and apprehension they went ahead, using from the very beginning the surrendered officials to induce other Mongol officials and Tibetan tribes to surrender. Even from the very beginning they ordered their troops to follow the imperial armies fighting unconquered or revolting tribes of Mongol officials, even ordering their troops to fight Mongol armies at the side of the Chinese armies in expeditions to Mongolia. Several t'u-ssu and hundreds of their soldiers died on the fields of battle; even t'u-ssu were sent with their troops to other provinces to quell revolts. But after every military achievement the emperors never omitted to bestow upon the t'u-ssu awards and titles of which they were unusually fond. In Kansu the number of Mongol officials who rebelled after their surrender was small. Many t'u-ssu later on, remaining chiefs of their clans, at the same time entered the framework of the civil and military Chinese officials and fulfilled their duties in Chinese territory, receiving the rewards or punishments proper to the office. It may be said that the policy of the Ming in Kansu promoting the surrender of Mongol officers and tribal chiefs was successful and of enormous profit to the dynasty.

ANCESTORS OF THE LI T'U-SSU CLAN

The tradition all over the country and confirmed by both the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 38*a*, 46*b*) and the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 9*a*–*b*), claims the Li t'u-ssu clans to be the descendants of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung, who had received from the Tang emperor the name Li and been created Prince of Chin in 895. At the time the Tang dynasty had run its course, the Shat'o founded in China, successively, two ephemeral dynasties: Hou Tang (923–936) and Hu Chin (936–947) (Monguors I: 131 appendix, the Shat'o Turks). Among the t'u-ssu in Huangchung are encountered two Li branches: that of Li Nan-ko, to whose son, Li Yin, had been granted in 1425 the title of Earl of Huei Ning, and that of Li Wen, son of Li Shang-ko, on whom had been bestowed the title of Earl of Kaoyang in 1459. During the Yuan, the Li Nan-ko branch guarded the territory of San Ch'uan Valley (since 1930, called the subprefecture of Ming Huo) situated 120 li southeast of Nienpei, and controlled more than 4,000 families, scattered in many villages. The Li Wen clan controlled 963 families scattered in 48 villages and guarded the territory 30 li south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 39*a*, 48*a*). During the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties both branches still occupied and guarded the same territories.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

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The restless Mongol tribes had, during two and a half centuries, harrassed the dynasty, administering many crushing defeats to the armies, devastating the border provinces of the empire, and the neighborhood of the capital, causing the ruin and the revolt of the Tibetans, draining the resources of the empire and weakening the discipline of the armies and administrations. This sword of Damocles was still hanging over the dynasty when another ominous plague threatened the empire, the plague of brigands from inside the empire. The Ming dynasty was so effete her fall was imminent.

During the T'ien-ch'i period (1621–1627) Chinese brigands led by Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung ruthlessly murdered the people and savagely devastated the cities and villages, to the point that the exasperated Chinese population hoped for new rulers.[89]

According to the Lu chronicles, in 1628 a severe famine desolated the region of Yenan and Suei-te (Shensi), so many times plundered by Mongols during two and one-half centuries. Wang Chia-yun, a native of Fu-ku, stirred the starving people to band together and go plundering through the country. Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung, planning a revolution against the dynasty, seized the opportunity to organize the already plundering groups of brigands and realize their plan. 175x 579 668

During 1628–1640 the revolution raged unchecked. The rumors spread like a prairie fire in Huangchung and North Kansu, and the population was frightened out of its wits, when the brigands poured from Hsi-an through the Kuan-chung pass toward Kansu. 175x 669

In 1641 the old Hsining t'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien (descendant of the Myriarch Kung-k'o-hsin-chi, founder of the Ch'i clan) and his two sons, Hsing-chu and P'ing-chu, invited to a secret convention to discuss

[88] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 603.

[89] Erich Haser, Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung, Ein Beitrag zum Ende der Ming Dynasty, *Asia Major*, Vol. secundum fasc. 3/4: 436 sq., 1925.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

the situation, the official Hu Lien-ch'i, the t'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang from Lien-ch'eng, the t'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu from Nienpei (descendant of Li Nan-ko, founder of the clan), and others, including Wang Chung, chief of the strong Tibetan tribe of Cheng Chung. They decided to defend the country, chose Hu Lien-ch'i their own lieutenant colonel, drank blood, and swore to die for the dynasty (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 1). 175* 669

In the spring of 1642 the Tibetan tribes of Hsining revolted. The military commander Ma Kuang quelled the revolt, killing more than 700 rebels. Then he accepted the submission of 38 tribes (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 20*b*; *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 42*a*).

In the autumn Li Tze-ch'eng sent to Huangchung and North Kansu his commander Huo Chin, with a strong army. He attacked the city of Hsining. The Hsining troops administered a crushing blow and he went to North Kansu to conquer the cities of Suchow, Kanchow, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, and Liangchow. Suchow was taken, devastated and 4,700 people and troops were killed (*Annals* of Kansu **56**: 38*b*); then the other cities surrendered one after another without fighting (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 20*b*; *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 43*b*).

In the autumn of 1643 Huo Chin returned from Kanchow to avenge the previous defeat suffered in Hsining. He went along with Hsi Ta-tung. He was conversant with the dissensions existing among the subjects of the Lu t'u-ssu clan, part of whom considered the resistance useless, after more than half of China was lost at the hands of the brigands. One of the influential members of the clan, Lu Wen-lin, had sown strife in the clan and even led an army of brigands to occupy Chuang-lang. However, the stubborn T'u-ssu Lu fought back nine attacks of the army of Huo Chin in Hsi-Ta-tung. Both armies suffered many losses, and finally the t'u-ssu retreated with his outnumbered troops into his fortified city of Lien-ch'eng. The city was taken and the t'u-ssu tied in front of the gate of the city. He refused obstinately to surrender, swore and insulted the brigands. He was put to the sword with many of his soldiers. His son, a young boy, and his daughter were abducted. This happened in February, 1644 (Lu Chronicles, *Annals* of Hsining **28**: 15, 16).

In 1644 Huo Chin went with his army to conquer [725] Hsining, and met the Hsining army. The defenders of Hsining, conversant with the strength of the enemy army and in order to check the advance of the enemy, had used Tibetans set in ambush on the way the brigands had to pass, stretching ropes and digging holes in the ground. The enemy horse was unaware of the traps laid for them and rushed furiously on the Hsining army which was waiting behind the ambushes in a resolute array. More than a thousand brigands were killed, among them their commander Huo Chin.

The brigand vice-commander, Hsin Wei-chung, mustered the troops and went immediately to attack

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Hsining city. The city was carried by storm and de- 175x
livered to sack and slaughter: for the soldiers there 669
was but death. The brigands knew that the t'u-ssu had stirred the people to resist the brigands, and they wreaked ruin on them. The old T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 1*a–b*), and the T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 2*a*) were taken prisoner. The T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuen (of the old Li Wen branch) was killed with his wife and 120 members of his family (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21; 28: 15; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 43*b*). The wife of Li T'ien-yu, the concubine, the two brothers, and 300 persons of his family and servants were killed. The same year the T'u-ssu Yeh kuo-chi, who had been called by the emperor early in 1643 to fight the brigands in Ch'ang p'ing in Liaotung, died on the field of battle in 1643 (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 15). All these t'u-ssu with their families laid down their lives defending the dynasty.

Then the brigands went down into the country devastating, burning villages, murdering anyone who made a stand, abducting women, stealing livestock, etc. A group of them went to Kokonor, where all the chiefs surrendered.

The brigands knew that the old T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing- 175x
chien had been the promoter of the resistance and had 577
killed their chief Huo Chin. They decided to kill him. 593
His son Hsing-chu spent the entire family fortune, buying 100 fine horses. He went to see the chief of the brigands in P'ing-Jung-i, hoping to redeem his father. The chief not only refused to accept the horses, but told him straight to his face that his father was to be killed. Then his brother Ping-chu protested, saying that his father had not killed Huo Chin, but that he himself was the murderer. The chief looked at him a long time and finally said, you are a filial son. He ordered the father to be bound to a car and to leave for Hsi-an. Hsing-chu cried the whole way home. However, his father was not killed (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 19*a*).

His father was sent to Hsi-an, together with Li 175x
T'ien-yu. In T'ung Kuan they met the Manchu Prince Ah-Ki-Ko (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). Both submitted to the newly established dynasty and were released. The Governor General Meng Ch'iao-fang, sent by the Ch'ing dynasty to pacify Kansu, had already arrived in 1645. He rehabilitated both t'u-ssu in their former office of commander of the clan, enjoining them to pacify the t'u-ssu of Hsining and Ho-hsi, to induce the Tibetans to be submissive, to abstain from revolts and to capture the rebel Tibetan Chao Chin-chung (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 2*a–b*; 31: 21; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 44*b*). To the T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuen who had [211
perished with his wife and 120 members of his family 703]
the emperor later ordered built an honorific arch in Hsining with the inscription "Loyal servant and faithful wife, glory of the noble clan" (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 15*b*).

[P.52(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

with troops (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 6*b*) who, in concert with the t'u-ssu troops, exterminated the groups of brigands still roaming in the country without chiefs, and they induced the rebel Tibetan tribes to surrender. The commanders started repairing the cities, villages and fortresses in Huangchung. 175x 648

In 1646 T'u-ssu Ch'eng was appointed commander in Chuang Lang by the Manchu Prince Su and given the title of Piao-ch'i Chiang-chun. At that time groups of brigands plundered the country of Sung Shan I north of Chuang Lang. The son of T'u-ssu Ch'eng pursued and exterminated them and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*).

However, the Chinese abhorred and hated the uncouth Manchu barbarians. Many among the governors and commanders could not resist the temptation of espousing the cause of the crumbled dynasty. The opposition would last for eighteen years before the entire empire would be conquered by the Manchus. Several times their empire met precarious circumstances, but party intrigues and jealousies among the Chinese divided them, and never could they offer a permanent united front against the conquerors. [578]

The whereabouts of the heir apparent to the Ming throne being unknown, several princes of the imperial family arose in the provinces and tried to restore the dynasty. Prince Kuei succeeded in the formation in Kiangsi Province of a coalition of governors and military commanders, and the news spread like a prairie fire over the entire empire. Several governors and commanders in north China who had surrendered at the arrival of the Manchu troops, waited for the signal of the general uprising. A storm was brewing even in the remote northern region of Kanchow, Liangchow, etc. Two chiefs of the Mohammedan colony of Kanchow, Ting Kuo-tung and Milayin, started the revolt against the Ch'ing dynasty (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*). They joined the group of Chou Shih-chuan, a scion of the Ming princes, and enrolled as many Tibetans and brigands of Li Tze-ch'eng as possible. The Chinese officials of Kanchow and Liangchow followed in their wake.[88] 175x 669

At the end of the Ming dynasty in North Kansu, Huangchung, and East Kansu, in nearly all the important cities and villages along the trade routes, colonies of Mohammedans were established, having their mosques and religious leaders who were obeyed and honored by their people. Meng Ch'iao-fang, conversant with this situation, informed the emperor about his apprehensions concerning the participation of the Mohammedans in the revolt. He wrote that an order issued by their religious chiefs would suffice to enroll all the Mohammedans of Kansu in the insurrection, and then he indicated the cities and villages in Kansu where the most important groups of Mohammedans existed (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 1*a–b*; 34: 1*b*, 2*b*). 175x 162 795

[88] E. H. Parker, Kansu Mussulmans, *China Review* 16: 335, 1887.

[P. 53(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

General Meng Ch'iao-fang seems to have trusted the faithfulness of the Monguor t'u-ssu of Huangchung and therefore decided to stabilize his position first in Hsining before attacking Kanchow, Liangchow, etc., notwithstanding that in Hsining a strong Mohammedan colony existed. Therefore, in 1645 he sent two commanders to Hsining, and at the end of 1646 he sent another commander with troops, Ma Ju-shin, probably foreseeing imminent troubles. 175x 795

In 1647 the rebels of Kanchow aimed to join the already revolting Mohammedan groups in East Kansu. Dissension seems to have existed among the Mohammedan colonies of Hsining and those of Kanchow, Liangchow, etc. Anyway the rebel Mohammedans, Chinese, and Tibetans united, led by the two Mohammedan chiefs Ting Kuo-tung and Milayin, and marched their troops first towards Hsining in order to compel the Mohammedan colony and the whole region of Huangchung to follow in their wake. On the borders of the Tatung River, north of Hsining, a ruthless battle was fought by the Manchu commanders of Hsining, supported by all the Huangchung troops of the t'u-ssu and a resounding victory was obtained (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*a*). The Hsining Mohammedans refused to mix in the revolt, maybe for fear of the overwhelming Manchu and Monguor forces guarding the country. Anyway, the victory secured a temporary peace in the country of Huangchung. 175x 669

In 1648, after this victory, Meng Ch'iao-fang started attacking the cities of North Kansu. The cities of Liangchow and Yung Ch'ang surrendered, but Major Ma Hu-ya resisted in Kanchow. The city was carried by storm, the commander, eighteen officials, and eighty others were killed. The resistance of the rebels of Suchow was more serious. The city suffered tremendously, the commander and many people were killed (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 1, 3). T'u-ssu Li fought in Kanchow and Suchow with 500 soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*), helped by Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 54), Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*a*), and Ch'i t'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*). Meng Ch'iao-fang, informed that the rebels (*Annals* of Kansu 56: 40*a*) had proposed to move to East Kansu after the defeat on the Tatung River, had appointed t'u-ssu to guard the passes and the roads leading to East Kansu. T'u-ssu Ch'i Pei-chai (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*b*) fought the rebels in Chin Pien I, T'u-ssu Ch'i Ta-hsun (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*) in Ta Tsing, T'u-ssu Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36) and T'u-ssu Lu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 59*b*) fought them in Wu Chao Lin. T'u-ssu Kan with three hundred of his soldiers guarded the ferry on the Yellow River. However, the rebels managed to reach East Kansu and succeeded in capturing within a few months the cities of Lanchow, Ho Chou, T'ao Chou, Lin T'ao, and Kuei Te, and beseiged the city of Kung Ch'ang.

In 1649 Meng Ch'iao-fang led his army and all the troops of the t'u-ssu to East Kansu, in order to re- 175x 648

[P. 54(A)]

/93 cont'd/

587 [604] The customary proceedings of the marriage of a widow then are very simple; the maternal uncle who plays the most important role at the marriage of girls does not even appear. The great preoccupation of the T'ou-jen in the marriage of a widow is to take her away from a rival /94/ and to conduct her without let or hindrance to her new domicile.

6. Two Typical Abductions of Widows

587 583 The following incidents throw a true light on the T'ou-jen way of thinking concerning the marriage of widows.

At the place Souo-pou-keou lived a widow of a certain Hla Rong. A Tchang of Ki-kia-lin, wishing to marry her, learned that he was too late; the widow had already given her consent to another and had exchanged tokens with him. Tchang wanted her at any price. He proposed therefore to abduct her by force, then to get in touch with the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow to give them the earnest. If such affairs are taken to court, reimbursement of the earnest is required from the abductors, then the woman is [671] granted to them. These abductions are thus recognized by the law. Tchang calls upon the help of about 30 trustworthy men, well armed, to take away the widow from the hands of his rival's band the night when the rival would take her to his home. The abductors were at their post, but the other band did not arrive. Believing therefore that they had been fooled, they decided to go to the widow's house, take it by assault, and abduct the widow.

Tchang counted as head of his band the widow's nephew, who could inform them about the arrangement of the house. They burst into the courtyard, they force the doors, they gag the woman, four of them carry her outside, they put her on the horse, and they flee [492] hurriedly. Meanwhile the nephew had been taking care of the dogs and had opened the great door.

The journey went on in the greatest silence. After 15 kilometers of forced march they arrived home, removed the gag from the woman, and untied her hands. What was their surprise when in

/96 cont'd/

587 he could rely on, came to abduct the newly married widow in broad
583 daylight. It is probable that she consented to being abducted; for living with her new husband for a month, she had been able to judge him. It is equally probable that the go-betweens and the former parents-in-law of the widow were in on it; perhaps the neighbors who did not sympathize with Tchao were not strangers to it either, for they did not budge when the people came to abduct the widow. Tchao goes to the Chinese city to bring suit. The Chinese judgment
[672] was the following: The widow must be sent back to her parents' home and neither Tchao nor Tchang may marry her.

According to T'ou-jen custom, the woman would have had to stay with Tchang, and Tchao by reason of not having paid the agreed-upon sum in time lost entirely all right over the widow.

7. Vestiges of Marriage by Abduction among the T'ou-jen

587 One can conclude from the preceding that nowadays the pur-
671 chase of the wife by the husband is the legal form of marriage, while
582 also recognizing as legal the abduction of a widow, on condition that the owners be indemnified.

583 One can believe that formerly the custom of abduction must have been general and that it was practiced for marriages of girls. Indeed, numerous vestiges of abduction are found in the customs surrounding the marriage of girls. When the son-in-law with his companions comes to get the bride, why does he find the door of the house shut? Why is it necessary to end up by breaking it in and receiving an avalanche of water on the head? This certainly is an assault on the girl's dwelling. When they sing at the door and ask that it be opened, one feels that this way is not natural and that in addition there is no sense to it. Besides, the song has nothing in it that is prescribed, when everything else in the customs is clearly fixed, even the speeches that are made. Why this thick veil /97/ which envelops the bride's head and which does not allow her to see; it is even tied around the neck with a red cord. Is it not to bandage the eyes of a person who is being abducted? At the moment of carrying the bride outside, why this abruptness, the door of the room which

/132 cont'd/

588 Chinese of Honan, accompanied by an uncle of the lady formerly
593 married to the belt, accosted Hou Iu-leang and reproached him for having taken his wife. The latter no longer recognized the individual; but, since he had a witness, since the child was formerly called by his name and the mother had also born this name, the supposed husband felt himself very much within his rights and threatened Mr. Hou with a lawsuit.

/133/ Hou, fearing the heavy expenses of the Chinese courts and not sure of a fair verdict, preferred to settle the affair amicably. He called upon the heads of the village and those of his clan, and the conclusion was that Hou had to pay the unknown man 80 strings of cash and that the father who had sold his daughter had to offer him a sheep and make apologies to him. This story thus proves that this category of marriages is officially recognized among the T'ou-jen.

/134/ Chapter IV

Divorce, Repudiation, Exchange of Wives

586 One can expect divorces and repudiations, owing to the too
184 great freedom which exists between the sexes. These two forms of termination of marriage rarely occur when there are several children in the family. Repudiation occurs more rarely than divorce, and the latter is not so frequent as one might suppose at first sight. Let us still remember that divorce and repudiation, like all the great acts
[671] of life, marriage, adoption, etc., are effected without the intervention of law courts. As long as they can arrange things among themselves, they do not resort to the law; they call upon its help when all other means of conciliation are exhausted.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

wan (the bent of the Mongols), and who was assistant official of the administrative body of the province of Kansu, representing all the officials of Huangchung, went to court to surrender (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*b*). Together with him, Li Nan-ko, of Shat'o origin, vice-chairman of the administrative body of Hsining, surrendered with the officials of the entire district (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*), and all the officials received appointments.[61] T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, Li Nan-ko, and all the officials who had surrendered, became the founding ancestors of the t'u-ssu clans[62] in Huangchung (Monguors I: 31). To them is to be added Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, member of the imperial family who had surrendered in 1369. In that way all the officials of the region of Hsining and Nienpei had surrendered and in the next year, 1372, Hsining was created a commandery (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). In the first moon of 1373 the emperor sent the edict to T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh:

I govern the empire; with prominent people of all the world who love justice, I deal with courtesy, granting them offices, in order that they might have the opportunity to manifest their qualities. You, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who have lived long in the western country, have heard about our highly developed culture and have come to my court. I appreciate your intention. Now at the beginning of the establishment of the commandery of Hsining, I especially request your help. I hope you will devote yourself wholeheartedly to the submission of the tribes and the strict observance of the law, in order that the country may enjoy peace. I hope you will respond to my desire to give you this appointment. Have the title of Hsuan-wei chiang-chun (general who manifests his military qualities) and be commander of the commandery of Hsining. Edict, First moon, Sixth year, Hung Wu period. (*Annals* of Hsining 32: 16*a*.)

The *Annals* note that he had received at the time of his surrender in 1371 the hereditary function of secretary commandant. The imperial edict of the first moon of 1373 granted him the function of commander of the commandery. The clan of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was rewarded in 1401 by the emperor with the name Ch'i, when his son Chuan Chou had died on the field of battle.

WHO WERE THE OFFICIALS WHO SURRENDERED IN A GROUP IN 1371?

The Mongol T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh and his 700 families, the Shat'o Li Nan-ko with his 4,000 families, the Shat'o Li Wen nephew of Li Nan-ko, controlling 963 families, and the Shat'o chiefs Na-sha-mi and Chi

[61] *Ming Shih* 330: 2*a*.

[62] I use the term "clan" to refer to a group sharing a common territory, a common surname, and a common chief. Monguor clans consist both of persons who recognize real or traditional kinship ties with the chief, and persons who do not recognize such ties but who have, nevertheless, adopted the surname of the chief and his kinsmen at the time they were integrated in the group.

/96 cont'd/

587 he could rely on, came to abduct the newly married widow in broad
583 daylight. It is probable that she consented to being abducted; for living with her new husband for a month, shè had been able to judge him. It is equally probable that the go-betweens and the former parents-in-law of the widow were in on it; perhaps the neighbors who did not sympathize with Tchao were not strangers to it either, for they did not budge when the people came to abduct the widow. Tchao goes to the Chinese city to bring suit. The Chinese judgment
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/135 cont'd/

586 and will if need be help her in the task. Thus the wife maintains face; she will be able to say that she did not want her husband any more, and he will not have any difficulties with his wife's family either, since it is the daughter who wanted to go away. In the end, the husband will even profit greatly by the sale of his wife. On the other hand, if the wife insists on not wanting to look for another match, the husband will be patient and will not resort to repudiation except as a last extreme. That is the ordinary course of the preambles to divorce.

/136/ 2. Causes of Divorce

593 The causes of divorce appear to be more or less numerous.
586 The primary and most ordinary cause is certainly interest in another person, which brings on mutual and daily increasing aversion between the husband and wife. A wife can fall and that is understood; the husband will even allow his wife not to come home at night from time to time, for he himself does not come home regularly every evening, either. Grounds for divorce require regular and therefore public relations.

626 Do not think, however, that husbands give complete freedom
837 to their wives; do not believe that all husbands are indifferent to
539 these things. They tell about a good many cases in which the wife and her lover, having been surprised at night, were tied together or tied to a stake, beaten, etc., by the heads of the village with whom
837 the husband had lodged a complaint. The families of the guilty ones
672 were called, they had to act as guarantors for their members; then the guilty man had to offer his apologies to the injured husband and give him a pig, a sheep, etc. The level of morality among the T'ou-jen has not yet fallen so low that they no longer know their duties and rights in these matters. So it is not rare to see a husband beat his wife and to hear the wife, on her knees, beg her husband, "Big brother, pardon me this time; big brother, treat me with indulgence this time, that won't happen any more." Now one does not ask pardon and one does not allow oneself to be beaten when one's conscience is clear.

/140 cont'd/

586 that marriage is not a commonplace act in a man's life, that it is not an affair of a few days or years, or that it is an act depending on the whims and passions of a moment. In order to understand this way of thinking one must take the facts as a whole. I think many authors speak too lightly of this question in ethnographies.

B. Repudiation

What we have called divorce is the sale of the wife by the husband, but with her consent and after she has found someone of her choice to marry.

Repudiation occurs when the husband no longer wants anything to do with his wife, so that he sends her back to her parents or her brothers or sells her in spite of her wishes. Repudiation rarely occurs; it is always very discreditable for the family as well as for the wife herself.

First the wife's parents see the material side in repudiation. Who will maintain the woman henceforward? The brothers and the sisters-in-law on their part are scarcely delighted with such a present; and then who else will want this unfortunate woman? The woman understands better than anybody her situation and her future, so she will insinuate through a third person that there is nothing left for her but suicide. Terrible weapon, which will make the husband stop and think.

586 When repudiation is decided upon, the family of the repudiated
672 wife begins by demanding a large indemnity from their daughter's husband for the dishonor he does them, then a sum for the support of the woman. If need be, the whole family, /141/ men and women, will go and settle down at the husband's home to make an uproar for several days; or they will forcibly take away his livestock, etc. If the husband risks daring to sell the wife against her wishes, he will find it difficult to find someone to whom to sell her; the purchaser will also be afraid of reprisals from the woman's family. It is not easy to find people willing to write these contracts for an insignificant

M /141 cont'd/
586 sum or to find signers and go-betweens, for nobody wants to expose
672 himself to the vengeance of the family of the repudiated wife. I knew a case where all was ready for the repudiation of a woman who was claimed to be badly formed physically. Since the family was rich, it was on the point of turning up its nose at all threats. At the
M [762] last moment it changed its mind when it learned that the wife had just procured opium to end her life.

M Thus those who do not fear exposing themselves to such troubles
586 will repudiate their wives. Fortunately, these people are extremely
432 rare.

It must therefore be admitted that in this respect the T'ou-jen have not undergone the pernicious influence of their neighbors and masters, the Chinese, among whom repudiation and the sale of the wife often occur in normal times. One will never see T'ou-jen women sold in great numbers in time of famine as is seen in China even today. One will not meet T'ou-jen who will take a mortage on their wives, as I have seen happen twice among the Chinese. One will never see the T'ou-jen put a woman on the mountain of filial piety as I once saw done. Although with them the wife must work very hard, she is more highly esteemed and respected than in China.

M If, however, repudiation does take place, they begin by getting
586 go-betweens, who will go to consult with the wife's family. When the discussions have reached an end and the money demanded has been promised, the contract is written and signed as for divorce. The go-between, after bringing the promised sum to the family of the repudiated woman, /142/ will go to get the latter and present her to
M [858] her parents. The children in this case stay with the husband's family. (1)

HM 586

1. Timkovski, Voyage à Pékin, Vol. 2, p. 313: (Mongols.) Divorce is very frequent; the least dissatisfaction on one side or the other is enough to have it declared. If the husband wants to be separated from his wife without a

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The groups join each other on the way. Friendly 796
and high-spirited, they start early in the morning, with 782
banners, drum, and cymbals in the lead. The sedan chairs are put in a row at the foot of the high hill of the temple of the god Erh-lang. The stalwart fellows, with clubs clenched in their fists, are guards of honor of the goddesses, who stay next to their respective sedan chairs, waiting to climb the hill. The tradition runs that the crops of the village whose goddess first reaches the temple will be infallibly and positively protected against hail and prodigiously blessed. As soon as the cry for departure is howled out, the thirteen groups feverishly run to the top of the hill with their goddesses, howling, cursing, cutting their way, thrusting at one another, climbing by fits and starts, falling, leaping, jumping like savages, foaming at the mouth. The chair of the goddess who makes the mark is placed nearest the throne of the god. The door of the temple is closed. The fellows take their meal and rest in the side rooms of the temple.

They return home the next day. On the way back the villagers stand waiting on the road in order to learn whether their goddess won the race or not. On the trip to the temple the fellows were friendly to one another; on the return, however, the groups are excited, angry and seething with jealousy and frequently have a serious fight with clubs. In 1913 the sedan chair of the victorious goddess of the village of Wu-ch'i was smashed, but according to custom no suits are allowed [672] for smashed heads, broken noses, bleeding faces, and torn clothes. After the famous expedition, the villages start their rites against hail in the village.

The aim of the pilgrimage of the goddesses to the temple of the god Erh-lang is to obtain his protection from hail and special blessings upon the crops of the village. They are dressed in full attire and decked out in jewels. What is the reason for sending goddesses to call on the god Erh-lang and to try and court his favors? Why is the call not made to another god such as the god of the Five Roads, the recognized protector from hail?

All over the country, Erh-lang is said to be the god [776] of the River of Hsining, whose course he ordered, and to be interested in preserving the country from hail. He is said to have opened the rocks of Hsiao hsia (the

celebrated sacred spring. They carry with them the statue of [171] the god of the rain (the dragon king) from their village temple and put it in the cave, next to that of the goddess, for a whole night, in order that the goddess may sooth the ruffled feathers of the angered dragon king, and move him to pour down streams of rain to save the dying crops. Potanin, who traveled in Kansu in 1884–1886 [*Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina, tsentral'naya Mongoliya*, 334, 1893], notes a similar practice among the Monguors of San ch'uan, subjects of the Hsia-wu T'u-ssu, in order to obtain rain. Potanin, *ibid.*, 409, also notes the struggle against hail practiced among those Monguors by their shamans, but because his description fails to point to the building of mounds, the white tiger, Wu-tao-shen, etc., he seems not to have understood the core of the rites. (I am indebted to Father J. Spriet for the translation of these passages.)

[p. 102(B)]

/114 cont'd/

Mo 587 428 593 assets and his widow being the property of his own family, they go back into its domain.

These conditions show clearly that the widow is considered to have left the family of her former parents-in-law completely; the Mo 589 latter have given up all the rights they had with respect to her and have entrusted the children to her with the obligation to raise them for their clan.

Mo 584 587 675 When such a marriage is made, a contract is always written in duplicate; /115/ one copy is kept by the husband, and the other is given to the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow. In it minute mention is made of properties, debts, ... and then of the obligations of the new husband.

Mo 582 If they remain poor after the marriage and find it impossible to marry off the sons, when the latter have grown up they end up by going away as they wish.

Mo 587 591 There is no abduction to fear in the present case; the marriage takes place very simply and openly. If the widow has plots of land and the husband does not, he comes to live with her; in the opposite case, the widow with the children moves in with him. If neither one nor the other has anything, they look for a place to stay and go to live together. One prostration to heaven and to the spirits, in the presence of the go-between and the parents, and this is all the ceremony of such marriages; add to it another to the parents and to the go-between. (1)

Mo 428 589 425

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit.[1], p. 142: If the widow and her daughters do not wish to be cared for by their husband's and father's brothers, they may also receive a part of the property. This part is equal to that of a brother. In this way the woman may become the owner of land and house. But this ownership can be maintained only during two generations (from mother to daughter) because the bride's

[1. op. cit. ie: Social Organisation of the Manchus --- Analyst.]

/119 cont'd/

606 other hand, the family is well-to-do, the brothers of the future father-
608 in-law will not allow his daughter, at his death, to inherit his prop-
428 erty, which by right will have to revert to them. They will thus do their utmost early to see that the daughter will be given in marriage outside the family, and they will try to persuade the father to adopt one of their sons. If the father will not hear of it and continues to look for this ideal son-in-law, the family will not be able to gainsay it as long as the parents-in-law are living. The latter on their part will be prepared for eventualities and will try to cash in their real estate so as to be able to favor the daughter. Nevertheless, the son-in-law will always be the bête noire of the family and will be able to expect a thousand annoyances and continual ill will. Upon the death of the parents-in-law, the son-in-law has the right to return with his wife to his original family; but since the latter is usually poor, he will not do it; besides, he knows in advance that he will not be welcome. In the case where his wife's family is rich, they will always leave at least something to the daughter at the time of division of property, for example, several plots of land, a house, etc.; she will never be completely disinherited. Add to that the little bonus she has put aside in advance, and the young couple will have something to live on. The brothers of the husband-son-in-law will not come to beg from him, since the property he possesses is deemed to belong to his wife.

In the case where the parents-in-law are the only representatives of their clan, the position of the husband-son-in-law is more enviable.

I have never seen people look for husband-sons-in-law where there were sons.

The position of the husband-son-in-law with respect to his wife's family is thus again a false position.

606 The contracts of such marriages, as a general rule, are not
675 punctiliously observed, especially when the parents-in-law are poor; either the son-in-law ends up by deserting his wife and her /120/ family and goes elsewhere to seek his fortune, or the daughter, loving her husband, flees with him. If people succeed in bringing them back and if they persist in no longer wanting to live with the parents,

/120 cont'd/

M 675 608 an attempt will be made to demand some kind of compensation from the son-in-law, and the affair will be ended.

The conclusion of the chapter will thus be that we are here in the presence of a deformation of the practice of spending a lifetime, on the part of the son-in-law, in the family of his parents-in-law, for the purpose of obtaining their daughter in marriage.

Mo HM 608 Have the T'ou-jen ever practiced this custom in all its fullness? In principle that is not impossible, since one still sees the Manchu practice it as such today, even while having a patriarchal system and paternal succession. In addition, we know that the Mongols, racial brothers of the T'ou-jen, formerly used to follow this custom and that they still practice it. (1) Next, it is very curious to ascertain how

HM [606]

1. Vladimirtsov, Life of Chingis Khan, p. 87. (Yesugey with his son Temuchin (future Chingis Khan) goes to ask in marriage for the latter Börte, daughter of Dai-se-chen.) The proposal was accepted, Yesugey presented Dai-se-chen with his remount horse, and left Temuchin to stay there in the quality of future son-in-law. This, according to the Mongol custom, definitely confirmed Yesugey's decision to become related to the house of Dai-se-chen /cited in English, with introductory sentence in French in parentheses/.

the T'ou-jen easily adopt it again in all its purity as soon as they find themselves again in a place where it is practiced.

M 361 831 The subprefecture of Koei-tê, situated two days' journey to the south of Sining on the shores of the Yellow River in the middle of Tibetan territory, forming there a prosperous Chinese-T'ou-jen oasis, has for a long time been the place of refuge for T'ou-jen who fled with someone else's wife with the intention of never returning to their

/121 cont'd/

608 178 our judge in case of litigation; nobody would have dared to address himself to the Chinese mandarins for fear of reprisals on the part of the t'ou-se. I believe we /122/ must look in this direction for the solution to our problem. As a matter of fact, the Chinese court [428] recognizes only the sons' right of inheritance and, lacking them, that of members of the paternal side. In case of litigation, the paternal side is always sure to win its case against an only daughter, and the brother husband-son-in-law, as long as adoption has not been practiced, can always hope to see his rights recognized in his original family. Several verdicts of this kind suffice to deform a custom and create a completely new attitude. In addition, a tested virtue is necessary to be able to resist such temptations!

2. Exchange of a Girl for Furnishing of Services for a Fixed Number of Years

583 565 466 Everyday experience having proved that the preceding solution is not practical, say the T'ou-jen, there are people who look for another, more psychological inactual fact. Indeed, the sight of the end of one's own troubles in a future relatively near at hand gives the courage to remain faithful to duty. A family of poor or even average means can promise to give their daughter to a poor young man provided that he binds himself to work five, eight, ten, or 12 years for them.

675 466 606 583 The contracts for these marriages are generally made by the parents themselves, with one or two individuals who act as guarantors for the son-in-law. While in the preceding case the girl can be nubile at the time when a husband is being found for her, in the present case the arrangement always takes place when the girl is only seven, eight, ~~or ten~~ years old at the most. As for the age of the son-in-law, there is nothing definite: he can be ten or 12 years old as well as 30 and even more. When the girl is 15, they will have a little festival, and she will wear her hair in the fashion of married women; then she is married.

Why this engagement when the girl is still a child? /123/ It it because they know one another in the country and do not want to

/123 cont'd/

Mo ●675 606 466 583

be duped all down the line. As a matter of fact, as soon as the girl is 15 and is married, she, like her husband, will want to be more free. She will let him persuade her that one can work everywhere and that there is nothing more to be gained in the home of the parents-in-law. One day there is an argument in the family, and the couple disappears. Now at this moment the family of the parents-in-law will already have profited by at least several years of work by the son-in-law. It rarely happens that the son-in-law is faithful to his pledges to the end. It is then a frail alliance.

Mo 608 606 583 171

The present case is the usual case of husband-sons-in-law. It enjoys a very wide diffusion all over Asia, among the Turkish, Mongol, and Manchu peoples and among the peoples of northern Asia (1).

Mo 606 608 583

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: There is also a very interesting custom of getting a wife by personal work in the house of the future father-in-law. A poor man who cannot pay "kalim" through the intermediary of some person asks the bride's father to give him his daughter against his personal work in the house of his future father-in-law. The minimum period of this is three years and the maximum ten years. The future son-in-law lives in the house of his future father-in-law, but he always has his separated spirits and goes to his clan's meetings and sacrifices. After the fixed period is expired, they make a very modest wedding and the young husband brings his wife to his own house or lives in the house of his wife's father as a workman at a fixed salary. Sometimes the father-in-law gives the

/137 cont'd/

586 is for sale. These prices are as a general rule higher than those paid for a widow or a girl.

The agreement is generally concluded in the following manner: /138/ After the husband and wife have consulted together and the wife has found a place to go, the husband invites to his house two go-betweens, his uncles, and his brothers. He admits to them that the situation is impossible and that he wants to get rid of his wife; that she has found a prospective husband and that she is in agreement with him. Several days later the go-betweens one evening invite "to their home" the husband, his uncles, his brothers, the wife's prospective husband, and two or three of his friends. They first discuss the price of the woman. For people of average means, the price will vary between 200 and 300 strings of cash. Then they talk over the sum demanded by the signers of the contract, who as always try to profit by these transactions. The amount of money these people claim is sometimes very considerable and can represent half of the woman's price; it is because as members of the family, they do not permit this dishonor. Then comes the discussion of the sum which will be given to the woman's parents-in-law, who are supposed to oppose the divorce also, for they especially are sensitive to this loss of face for the whole family. This sum can go from ten to 50 strings of cash. The money stipulated for a divorce is required up to the last cash. The prospective husband puts the money into the hands of the go-betweens, who will give it to those who have a right to it after the signing of the contract.

586 This contract will never be written in any house but in a re-
675 mote place, a ravine or a mountain cave. The first signer is the
587 husband. He must sign with the left thumb and the right toe; for this purpose they smear the thumb and toe with ink and put them on the contract; then come the other signers, who sign by hand. When the contract is signed, the go-betweens go to get the woman and present her to her new owner. After all is arranged and the wife is already in her new dwelling, the go-betweens go to pay a visit to the wife's parents in order to announce the new marriage of their daughter to them and to bring a little gift on behalf of the new

/138 cont'd/

586 son-in-law. At the same time they invite them /139/ to come to
675 the home of the new son-in-law to be present at the wedding, which
587 is conducted according to the custom for the marriage of widows.

The go-betweens have a rather easy task at the home of the wife's parents, since it is their daughter who has herself sought a match and has been the cause of the divorce.

586 It is superfluous to say that divorces are viewed with disfavor. They always advise against taking a wife whose husband is living, for one does not divorce a good wife. These are costly and very risky marriages in this sense, that often harmony does not prevail very long between the new husband and wife. Also the adage says: He who has money does not buy the wife of a husband who is still living; he who has cash does not acquire lands situated on river banks (for fear of erosion).

The cause of the rarity of divorces and repudiations is to be sought in the dishonor which T'ou-jen common sense believes to be attached to them. This thesis is easily proved by the fact that they precisely allege dishonor to the family in order to be able to extort a large sum of money from the purchaser. Now the T'ou-jen do not let go of their money without serious reason! This thesis is again proved by the really lugubrious circumstances which accompany divorce and repudiation; these contracts are signed at night...in a cave, signed by the toe...., while all those present talk only of dishonor.... Now these circumstances of time, place, manner are not those of an honorable act. These circumstances leave a deep impression on the people. In addition, they always speak of a divorced woman with scorn, and of the man who married her. When they say that she is a houo jen ts'i, i.e., "the wife of a living man," they do not ask any further explanation; the situation is deemed to be known.

When, on the other hand, one thinks an instant about the solemnities which accompany the weddings of girls, of the expenses which are borne, and the trouble the whole clan, /140/ the friends, and neighbors take to pay their respects; when one thinks of the blessings which are wished for the couple and begged from heaven and the multifarious spirits, it is not surprising that the T'ou-jen believe

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 621 183 178 The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is M [867] dinned into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-ssu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

N *563 M 621 183 177 178 During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

e. Stealing and gambling

N *563 M Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

[685] [673] [525] [794] Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

N *563 M 587 A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

N *563 M 867 Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meeted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

N *563 M 576 264 603 According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge

681

681 SANCTIONS--incidence and distribution of the major types of sanctions; capital punishment (e.g., hanging, decapitation, strangling, burning, dismembering); corporal punishment (e.g., flogging, mutilation, torture); property sanctions (e.g., damages, fines, confiscation); public humiliation (e.g., ridicule, pillory); deprivation of civil rights (e.g., enslavement, outlawry, imprisonment); theory of sanctions; systematization of sanctions (e.g., wergild, criminal codes); purpose of sanctions (e.g., compensation, punishment, prevention); penology; recipient of fines, damages, confiscated property (e.g., state, injured party); etc. See also:

Formal justice 69
Social control 626
Informal justice 627
Prisons and penal labor 697

624 lamas, the "passing" of land to people who are not members of the clan, etc.

The number of men in the village liable to military
624 service is checked, and the T'u-ssu carries out a military inspection. The troops turn out with their
701 muskets and swords and horses. Tents, cooking kettles, pack animals and pack saddles, and sacks for carrying the flour ration are all inspected. The inspection concludes with a sham attack by the Monguor cavalry at full gallop, the soldiers firing their guns, drawing their swords, and howling and shouting.

624 The next important procedure is ratification by the T'u-ssu of all the settlements made by the village elders
692 in patching up quarrels during the preceding three years. The custom is that when such a settlement is made, each person involved must pay the elders 2,000 copper coins, and these accumulated sums must be offered to the T'u-ssu. If there are legal suits, as distinguished from these settlements, the T'u-ssu presides over them on the fourth day. To deal with such suits, he is accompanied throughout his journey by the officials of his court of justice and by lictors carrying chains, handcuffs, and batons, and wearing their appropriate costumes.

624 The custom is that justice be rendered on the threshing
693 floor of the village in the open air. The lord and his secretaries sit at tables. At the left stand two lictors
•681 dressed in red cotton and wearing high red harlequin hats, and with batons in their hands. At the right stand two lictors dressed in black. Chains, handcuffs, and batons are laid on the table, and plaintiffs and defendants kneel in front. The punishments inflicted include hanging by the wrists or thumbs, and flogging up to one hundred and even five hundred lashes. The offender is stripped and pegged out face downward, arms and legs spreadeagled. The lictors, armed with short whips or rods, strike the tender inner side of the thighs. Women are flogged on the bare back. The justice meted out is not always as brutal as it appears to be, because the retinue of the T'u-ssu is always venal. They depend on bribery for their income. Although most T'u-ssu do not approve of the corruption indulged in by many of their minor officials, they cannot always prevent it. Suits brought by the Monguors before the T'u-ssu are the delight of his retinue. It is often the crying injustices caused by the venality and peculation of the petty officials that cause Monguors to leave the clan territory and abandon their lord.

624 The expenses of legal suits, and of the sojourn of the T'u-ssu with his retinue for that day, are paid by the
651 litigants, but all other expenses of the official three-day visit are defrayed by the people of the village. At the
691 end of the visit, the elders and troops of the next village come to escort the T'u-ssu on the next stage of his tour.

624 It may be noted that this triennial tour of the T'u-ssu, accompanied by his court of justice, seems to suggest that it is the T'u-ssu as an individual and not his mansion

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

515 by Chinese officials, or on journeys to congratulate
514 Chinese officials on the major feast days of the year. The nobles as a group are also exempted from military
565 service, although the chiefs of the militia of the com-
701 moners, according to tradition, were always chosen from among the nobles in former times. In later times both
622 nobles and commoners have served as commanders and officers.[55]

It is said by the Monguors that in times past it was usually a noble who served as the chief of a village, but that because at present there are very few capable men among the nobles, these duties have devolved on commoners. Similarly, the nobles have lost the monopoly of serving as military officers.

AUTHORITY OF T'U-SSU OVER NOBLES

624 As might be expected the relations between a T'u-ssu
565 and his nobles are of a special kind. It has already been described how, on occasions of special ceremony, a T'u-ssu may actually be expected to prostrate himself before nobles who are members of a generation senior to his own, while they do not have to prostrate themselves to him, but merely clasp their hands and bow their heads. Moreover, while the T'u-ssu takes precedence when he is presiding as chief of the clan at the veneration of the ancestors, at clan meetings, during the triennial visitation, or when nobles or commoners are brought before him in a lawsuit, yet on such occasions as non-official dinners and the marriages of nobles, the T'u-ssu always requests a noble of a generation senior to his own to preside.

624 Difficulties among the nobles most commonly originate
565 either in quarrels over the division of a paternal in-
692 heritance or quarrels about the collection of taxes. In order to prevent litigation, the clan elders try to arbitrate such quarrels. Only if they are unsuccessful is a lawsuit brought before the T'u-ssu. If the parties do not agree to the T'u-ssu's verdict, they are free to appeal to a Chinese court. In a case known to me, the eleventh House of the clan of Li T'u-ssu had trouble with its villages over the collection of taxes. Unwilling to abide by the verdict of the T'u-ssu, the members of the House went to the Chinese court. They were severely rebuked, the Chinese judge angrily threatening to abolish the outmoded custom under which the members of a whole clan live at the expense of the commoners.

681 Nobles are never flogged or beaten for transgression of the law, because the lictors are commoners and it is not fitting that commoners should beat nobles.

624 When the T'u-ssu visits his nobles in the course of
565 his triennial tour, they defray his expenses, including those of his retinue, just as do the commoners.

The old nomad custom was that when an individual

[55] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 233, notes that among the Mongols of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, with the decay of the feudal system, the duty of feudal service on the part of a noble to his lord had become more voluntary than obligatory.

622 sends one of his assistants to invite the elders and summons the defendant. If the problem is important,
627 the military commanders are also invited. Problems of this kind include delimitation of the boundaries of fields—a kind of arbitration case often made necessary by contracts drafted ambiguously by incapable men. Cases of dividing a paternal inheritance are often laborious and consume many days. The whole community is interested in such cases. In personal quarrels, disputes, [681] and fights the offending party may be flogged with up to one hundred stripes. If the complainant has been wounded, the defendant is condemned, in addition, to defray the expenses for the doctor and for medicine and to pay indemnity for a fixed number of days of recuperation.

685 Stealing seems to be an ineradicable evil among the Monguors, and stealing of animals is the worst of all. The Monguors still seem to have the old attitude toward thieving and the stealing of animals, although thieves are severely punished. Among the neighboring nomads, when a man is caught red-handed stealing animals, he is taken to a lonely spot, the tendons of his ankle joints are cut, and he is left, crippled, to die on the spot. The nomads show no pity for cattle thieves. The Monguors do not punish as cruelly and do not inflict capital punishment, but the thief has his hands bound behind his back and is then hung by the thumbs, until he loses consciousness. Water is then poured on his head. When he recovers consciousness, the same sport is repeated two or three times. He is then flogged with up to five hundred stripes, or even more. If a thief is caught the second time, he is sent to the T'u-ssu's prison, and when he emerges from jail, he is a wreck of his former self—provided he escapes at all, by bribing the guards.

People who steal sheaves from the field at harvest time are flogged with up to fifty or one hundred stripes and are led through the village, the sheaves on their back, [865] crying the whole way long that they are guilty. Boys accused by their parents of disobedience are flogged in the same way, after having been forced to apologize to their parents.

684 In cases of adultery the guilty pair, if caught *in flagrante delictu*, are flogged with up to one hundred stripes or more. The woman is beaten on her bare back with rawhide lash, the man on his bare buttocks and thighs. Apologies are made to the injured husband. A sheep or pig is brought to his home. Fire crackers are set off. The guilty pair ask a guarantor to speak for their proper conduct in the future. An official statement is written attesting the fact of adultery and the supplication for pardon. The two guilty persons place their right thumbs on an inked pad and then make an impression with the thumb on the statement. They are then led through the village, two drums beating before them, while they confess their guilt.

Once in a young woman runs away from her

684 husband—or rather, usually, from her mother-in-law. When brought back she endures one hundred lashes on the back, and is led to her husband's house with the same "ceremonial" as related above, after having asked for a guarantor and made her thumb-print on a statement. 583 Once in a while, also, a future son-in-law who is working for his future father-in-law, in order to marry the daughter, disappears with the daughter. After one or two years they return, and ordinarily the parents are delighted to see them again, and no more complaints are made.

525 In cases of gambling, a fine is imposed on the offenders for the upkeep of the temple or to defray the 681 expenses of the religious celebrations performed by the shaman at the village in spring and autumn. All kinds 593 of interesting and dramatic cases occur. Wives complain about their husbands; widows who do not intend to remarry complain about members of the family prodding and teasing them to remarry; widows willing to remarry are hindered from remarrying; or the price for a bride is not paid at the fixed time; or a betrothal is broken off, etc.

627 Two particular cases may be described in detail, because of the light they cast on the type of cases handled by chiefs and elders, and on Monguor society in general.

In the first case, in the valley of Hungnai, in 1918, Chang Chia-pa, a Chinese whose family had been enrolled in a Monguor clan for many generations, had a daughter married "with the girdle" [5] who was the mother of a lovely boy. He also had a son, a daughter-in-law, and grandchildren. The girl of the girdle, who was always having trouble with her sister-in-law, finally could not stand any more, married a man named Hou Yu-liang as his concubine, and took her son with her. Hou paid her father four hundred strings of cash for her.

After five or six years, during the festivities held at the second moon in Weiyuanp'u, a Chinese peddler from Ho-nan province, named Li, made trouble with Hou Yu-liang for having, as he complained, married the

585 [5] When a girl who is unwilling to marry has relations with a guest, custom requires that the guest present his girdle (sash) to the girl. In the event that she subsequently becomes pregnant, she performs the rites of marriage with the sash, and she is thenceforth known as "Mrs. So-and-So" (guest's name), and the son as "boy so-and-so," even if the guest never comes back during her whole life.

The importance of the girdle is worth noting. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, according to Fr. Mostaert, when on the day set for the marriage the groom falls ill and is unable to attend the ceremony, his girdle is sent to the bride and she performs the rite of marriage with it. I never met such a case among the Monguors, and it appears that the girdle is used among the Ordos Mongols in circumstances quite different from those in which it is used among the Monguors. We note also that kidnapped widows prove before the court of the village their unwillingness to marry so-and-so by showing the girdle which was exchanged with so-and-so. Father Mostaert told me that when shamans in the Ordos perform their rites, removal of the girdle is one of the most important acts. This custom is unknown among the Monguor shamans.

[p. 78 b]

592 sents the family in attending the general assembly of the clan at the spring ceremony of venerating the ancestors. At such meetings, the older people are always bitter in their condemnation of heads of families who send a delegate instead of attending in person.

592 Apart from religious practices within the family, the head of the family must also attend when shamanistic
796 ceremonies are staged in the village temple. Within the household, it is his duty every morning to honor "heaven
769 and all the spirits" either on the roof of his house or in the courtyard. A duty that he cannot alienate from himself is the cult of the deity honored by his father; the picture of this deity reverts to him by inheritance. It is also his responsibility to invite either shamans or lamas to his house on various occasions.

592 In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. All money coming to
471 any member of the family must be deposited with him. Individuals in the family have no right to keep money for their own use. It is he who sells and buys cattle and grain, and all contracts must be signed by him because only his signature is legally valid for the family. He also buys, sells, or mortgages land. It is his right to decide which member of the family is to become a lama, who is to be sent to school, and who is to serve as a soldier. He directs all the ordinary routine of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns to members of the family their daily duties. If members of the family wish to attend festivals, he must give permission; he must also give permission if a daughter-in-law wants to go home to visit her parents.

[553] He is of course the one who decides on the arrange-
ments for marriages and funerals, and it is his privilege
592 to give names not only to his own children but to grandchildren. He is expected to be just and even-handed in seeing that all members of the family have their fair share of clothes and their fair share of space in living quarters. Inability to handle such matters to the satisfaction of the family often leads to the break-up of an extended family and the building of new chimneys. Authority within the family is balanced by responsibility to the chief of the clan not only for the family itself but for murders or robberies committed on land belonging
592 to the family. In the event that a member of his own family is murdered, he must join with the maternal uncle
681 of the one who has been killed in leading all the men of the family to secure vengeance. When a member of his family brings shame on the family by a crime, such as stealing, and is unwilling to make amends, he must again consult with the maternal uncle of the guilty person and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. In such cases even the death penalty may be exacted without arousing the disapproval of the public authorities.

592 When visiting a Monguor family, it is always easy to recognize the head of the family. He is better dressed than the others, is almost never without a long-stemmed pipe in his hand, and does not do any hard physical

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604 628 and that prices of animals were fixed at double their true value. (The same custom existed for a widow's bride price.)

Nevertheless, the Li family was ruined. The entertainment of so many hostile guests and of the elders for so many days, the money promised in secret at night in order to effect an advantageous settlement, presents given to the elders, etc., constituted the most important expenses. The atonement was, in fact, the least important expense.

The ill-boding arrival of the deceased girl's maternal uncle, accompanied by the members of the Ch'i family breathing vengeance; the empty home in a state of indescribable destruction; the way in which the formerly friendly Li family was slighted, offended, treated with bathing, saddled with debts and ruined; the leaden atmosphere of gloom for so many days—all these tragic events made a deep impression and enhanced the authoritative stature of the maternal uncle, the hub around which turned the entire tragedy. When one has witnessed such a tragedy and seen one group of people on bended knees in supplication, weeping profusely, before another group of hard-hearted people, unwilling to forgive, their eyes red with hatred, rancor and embitterment, the meaning of "blood vengeance" is understood and remembered forever.

604 681 C. Capital and lesser punishments were inflicted by the maternal uncle on his sister's child in certain instances.

The maternal uncle wielded not only the power to permit or to impede the funeral of his sister's children, and to avenge their murder or suicide, but according to custom he had also the right to inflict punishment of various kinds on them. His power to mete out capital punishment may be illustrated by the following two cases of murder, the first involving only one kin group and the second involving two different kin groups.

In May 1914, in the same village of Lichiat'an, a youngster killed the older brother of his father. Subsequent to the division of the partrilineal inheritance the preceding autumn, the father and his brother had become implacable enemies and clashes had occurred between their sons on several occasions.

In this case, the maternal uncle of the murderer was invited together with the village elders and the paternal relatives of the family. The father of the murderer, heavy with despair but hoping that his son would escape with his life, invited men celebrated in the art of patching quarrels, and also the chief and elders of the village. He tried to hide some of his best animals, but no one would help him. The emotion and revulsion which arose in the country at such an unprecedented event had reached fever pitch because in the Monguor patrilineal society (as in that of the Chinese) a father's brother is classified as a "real" father, and therefore in local sentiment the murder was considered tantamount to patricide. The meeting began on the third day and

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604 681 (Later I heard that this decision had been criticized throughout the countryside.)

In 1917, in the valley of Hungnai a youngster of twenty-one, who was always stealing and thus disgracing his honorable family, had his eyes burned out with quicklime in keeping with the decision of his maternal uncle and the chiefs of the family.

In 1914 in Chenfan[18] valley a young woman, the wife of a poor man, eloped with a rich lover, abandoning her husband and two children. After three or four years, disgusted with the lover, she returned to her mother. Her maternal uncle and her parents ordered her to rejoin her former husband and two children. Her husband, however, before accepting her back, urged the maternal uncle to give him an affidavit, testifying that he would not provoke trouble in case the girl committed suicide, for the poor man suspected that she was not willing to return.[19]

It may perhaps seem unbelievable that as late as the period of the Chinese Republic such measures as the inflicting of capital punishment by the people was allowed, without the interference of a court. The explanation is to be found in the old tradition, still persistent at the time, that the courts need take no notice of any crime whatever, if the crime were not brought before a court by someone who had suffered loss or damage through the commission of the crime.

The T'u-ssu, the chiefs, and the elders of the villages, who themselves had no right to inflict capital punishment, knew all the facts of such cases as those I have described, since they were invited as arbiters; but they did not interfere as civil officials, because they were Monguors and they felt it natural and reasonable that each family should itself avenge the murder of a member of the family, without interference from outside authority.

In all these cases the maternal uncle acted as a real "master of the bones" of the children of his sister, notwithstanding that, in this patriarchal family system, both the children of his sister and his sister herself were considered to belong entirely to her husband and his family, in all matters of property and authority except offenses that, without the intervention of the maternal uncle, might result in blood feuds between clans. The maternal uncle did not patch up quarrels, but he did take it upon himself to make decisions; he punished, and he alone took the responsibility for his decisions.

The cases cited above highlight the fact that the maternal uncle was simultaneously a protector and disciplinarian of his sister's children, and that his authority

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[18] A Chinese place name. *Chen* is "to exercise control by means of a military strong point"; *fan* is general for "barbarian," specific for "Tibetan." Hence the name means "military strong point on the Tibetan frontier."—O. L.

[19] I encountered a similar case in a Chinese community. The authority of the maternal uncle is recognized by traditional Chinese law, and Chinese say that when the maternal uncle accuses the children of his sister before a Chinese court, their own parents can do nothing to defend them.

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in these particular situations was the same whether the sister's children remained in the families in which they were born, or married out into other families (in the case of the sister's daughter). This relationship between the maternal uncle and his sister's child leads us to inquire into the nature of the relationship between the maternal uncle and his own family, on the one hand, and the families into which his sister's children were born or married, on the other.

Let us consider the relationship between the family of the maternal uncle and the family into which his sister's children were born. The two families—*A* and *B* respectively—were united directly by the marriage of a girl from family *A* with a man from family *B*, and the children of this couple became members of family *B*. We may suppose that the marriage was made possible originally because the two families would be strengthened rather than weakened. Evidence of this friendly relationship between the two Monguor families at the time of the marriage were the many presents which each lavished upon the other.

What was the effect of the maternal uncle's role as avenger and disciplinarian in strengthening or weakening this bond of friendship? Before children were born of the marriage, if the girl was killed or driven to suicide by members of family *B*, or herself caused the death of a member of family *B*, the two families became hostile, but the responsibility of initiating and executing vengeance or punishment fell on the girl's maternal uncle who was not a member of either family *A* or family *B*, but of a third family, *C*. This man assumed the responsibility for the final action taken, and the hostility between families *A* and *B* was thus given some indirection by the interposition of a third party.

When children were born to the girl in family *B*, her brother in family *A* became the maternal uncle of these children, and subsequently the natural death of these children, or their involvement in family murders and suicides, placed families *A* and *B* in a direct relationship of either hostility or closer friendship with each other, as shown by the following table:

A	*C*		*C*
Paul Ch'i—	*Rose Wang*	her brother	*Joe Wang*
B	*A*	*A*	*A*
Arthur Li—	*Jean Ch'i*	her brothers	*Bob Ch'i* and *Bill Ch'i*
D	*B*	*B*	*B*
Joe Chang—	*Mary Li*	her brothers	*Peter Li* and *Joe Li*
D		*D*	*D*
Helen Chang		her brothers	*Joe Chang* and *Peter Chang*

Joe Wang is the maternal uncle of Jean Ch'i, Bob Ch'i, and Bill Ch'i.
Bob Ch'i and Bill Ch'i are the maternal uncles of Mary Li, Peter Li, and Joe Li.
Peter Li and Joe Li are the maternal uncles of Helen, Peter, and Joe Chang.

This relationship was in fact much more likely to be one of closer friendship in such situations. Conflict of interest between the two families would occur if the sis-

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ter's child had wronged or had been wronged by a member of his own family *B*; in such cases the maternal uncle from family *A* would be called in to administer severe punishment to his sister's child, usually against the wishes of at least one or two members of family *B*, or to initiate vengeance against members of family *B* who had wronged his sister's child. Such cases were quite rare.

More frequently, the maternal uncle was called in to support family *B* by leading the vengeance for wrongs against the sister's child committed by members of other families, as in the case of the sister's daughter who was murdered or driven to suicide by her husband and his relatives. He would also be called on to support his sister's son when the latter was himself carrying out vengeance or disciplinary activities as a "master of the bones." Consequently, family *B* looked on the maternal uncle in family *A* more as a source of moral support than as an object of fear.

While hostility was more apt to arise between the maternal uncle and the family into which his sister's daughter married, here again this eventuality was balanced by the fact that the sister's daughter's husband could call on his wife's maternal uncle to assist him in executing his own vengeance or disciplinary action, in the same way that the sister's son could call on the maternal uncle.

In reality, the role of the maternal uncle in Monguor society tended to contribute to, rather than detract from, the friendly relationship between two families connected by marriage. At the time of the marriage, these did not consider the possibility of feuds between themselves, and weddings were not surrounded by an atmosphere of fear and foreboding of future terroristic activity on the part of the maternal uncle.

The situations described above in connection with murder, suicide, and natural death present only one aspect of the maternal uncle's role. Being crises, they were exceptional, and a consideration of them alone might lead one to visualize the maternal uncle only as the primary agent for meting out justice in the families of his sister's children. His role was more complex and consideration must be given to other aspects, ordinarily overlooked, which were more important in the normal course of life and which reveal other strong bonds between the maternal uncle and the families of his sister's children. In order to get a clearer picture, let us next consider the special relationships between a brother and his sister.

We must first take into account the fact that among the Monguors the oldest son was the chief of the family after the death of his father. His sisters and younger brothers were most intimate with him, and would all take council with him. A particularly close relationship usually developed between a sister and her elder brother in regard to property. Although women could not claim any share of the family inheritance, either in their own family or

604 681 in the family of their husbands, it was customary for their mothers to tell their daughters secretly that they might secure a small private herd of animals by enlisting the aid of their elder brothers, who were to approach the father on auspicious occasions and ask for a gift of new born lambs or calves for their sisters. Every year at New Year's time the father was usually in a happy mood, and on the days that lambs or calves were born, the girls would worry their elder brothers and rarely failed to see their wishes fulfilled. Once the animals were obtained they were entrusted to the elder brother's care, marked on the ear with a special mark, and the brother would keep them for the sister in the family herd. On the day [583] of her wedding, a daughter would thus possess a small herd of her own.

Again on the day of her marriage and even after marriage, a daughter would approach her elder brother in an attempt to obtain some more cows. After marriage, a girl never mixed her small herd with the herds of her husband but continued to keep it in the herd of her oldest brother. Whenever she returned home to visit her mother, she examined her little treasure, collected the lamb skins and wool, and used them or sold them for herself and her children.

583 604 Furthermore, on the day of her marriage, the daughter of a well-to-do family was usually given some land, called "cosmetic" or "paint" fields—i.e. fields whose revenue was to be used for her own personal use. The revenue from such lands became her own private income and savings. When she died, the revenue could be collected by her children. She was the real owner of the land and possessed the right to transfer it, but before transferring it, she had to inform the family of her intentions and to offer the family the first opportunity to reclaim it. When a woman acquired such lands it was again her oldest brother who took care of the land and planted, weeded, and harvested it for his sister.

I also met six young women who owned thirty or more poplar trees, planted for them by their brothers, on the edge of the fields of their parents, when they were girls of about eight or ten years of age. After fifteen years the trees had become a valuable item of capital.

604 The bond which developed between a brother and sister and which continued after the sister's marriage was extended to the sister's children. Children saw their mother's great affection for her own elder brother and *vice versa*. They knew that their mother had a small private treasure entrusted to him, from which they hoped to benefit eventually. The mother made the children feel toward her brother the way she herself felt. Hence love and esteem grew on both sides and as his sister's children grew up and married, their maternal uncle became their benefactor in the normal exigencies of life, as well as their avenger and disciplinarian in abnormal crises like those noted above.

This relationship between a brother and his sister and sister's children formed the basis for the beneficent and

581 /6 cont'd/
589 as far as selling all that one possesses, one's lands, houses, and ani-
183 mals, and will live in indigence; at the death of the parents, the elder married sons, in the case where the possessions are about to be divided up, must, before all else, put aside the sums required for the marriage of the younger unmarried sons; the parents, at the approach of death, will feel the greatest relief in the fact that they have gotten all their sons married. In order to permit the poor to marry, recourse is had to all kinds of contrivances, which very often are only imposed by reason of their primordial goal, which is that of marriage, and which scorn many obligations which in "justice" would seem, at the least, to have to be taken into greater consideration. One will find decisions which will appear unjust, but when one studies this mental attitude, which gives proportion to everything, one will understand that among the T'ou-jen the other principles yield to it and are sacrificed.

554 Marriage, for the T'ou-jen people, is the great affair in life,
581 obligatory above all else. One is no longer an honorable man when one is not married; this is because they believe that man has the duty to live according to natural law, that is, to marry and procreate children.

623 One day one of my catechists was invited to sit with the elde
627 of the village to judge the case of a penniless young man who had
689 run off with a girl of good rank. They had been brought back after
588 an escapade of three years, with a child born during the flight.

The young man was on his knees, his hands tied behind his back, imploring the clemency of the judges and of the whole assembled village. /7/ Despairing, he was saying, of ever being able to marry because of his extreme poverty, he had believed it permissible to act in this way, in order to be able to do his duty and marry. "I have been unjust toward the girl's parents, but I submit myself in advance to make all the reparations possible that will be required of me...." The girl also cries for mercy: "I could have hoped for a better match," she admits, "but I followed this young man to be gracious; without me, he would never have been able to marry...."

681 After an important palaver the offending couple was punished, and the judges found a way to indemnify the injured family and to legalize this union.

/146 cont'd/

578 amuse herself... and has already had too many relations... one fine
593 day she disappears. This is the big affliction of the region. When a wife has run away, they immediately guess who her accomplice is; but it is necessary to be able to locate them. If the inquiries made about them are fruitless, after several days the son-in-law will go to his wife's family, pretending to believe that his dear better half is at their home and that he will find out about her return. This is also a way of informing the parents about their daughter's flight.

If after five or six months the fugitive has not come back, her parents require the son-in-law, accompanied by two aides, to go to get her at his expense; there is always some indication as to where she is. If they have exact information, they go to the headmen of the place to demand that they get hold of the fugitives so that they can bring them back home tied up.

684 Upon their return to the village, the village heads and the
627 members of the families of the lover and the wife are called. In the
●681 presence of the whole populace, who very much relish this kind of distraction, the village heads begin the preliminary investigation of the affair. The case is examined to the bottom, and finally the lover is badly beaten and hung up by the thumbs until someone turns up who will act as guarantor for him. Then comes the woman, who is beaten on her bare back with leather lashes for as long as she does not manifest her regrets while adding good resolves for the future. Then the two culprits are taken through the village and exposed to the mockery of all; a herald precedes them, beating a drum and proclaiming their crime. It may happen that an indemnity on the part of the lover's family may be asked for the wrong done to the husband.

586 /147/ The wife goes back into the house; if she brings a child
681 born during the escapade, he is accepted into the family.

But it may also happen that the runaways are not found. Then after two or three years of vain search, the wife's parents demand a settlement of accounts. The parents-in-law then invite the parents of the runaway daughter-in-law, as well as her maternal uncles, the village heads, and several friends who are good speakers, for it will be a question of tseou che jen ming, i.e., "the indemnity (to the parents) for the loss of their daughter occasioned by her running away."

/147 cont'd/

586 Indeed, the parents claim that their daughter, as a consequence
681 of bad treatment on the part of the parents-in-law, was forced to leave home, ran away, and must have perished nobody knows where. The parents-in-law are therefore responsible for her death..., and the discussion begins. On both sides they are convinced that the daughter is just as guilty as the parents-in-law, if not more; they also know very well that the daughter is alive. Everyone understands that the parents want to profit by the occasion in order to raise money on the backs of their family by marriage. After long discussions, which can last two days and more, they end up by having to give to the parents of the runaway a sum of two to three hundred strings of cash as indemnity for the daughter-in-law, who is deemed to be lost. A contract is written by which it is recognized that the affair is shelved forever and that in the future the parents-in-law will no longer be able to try to pick a quarrel with the son-in-law nor extort money a second time...; furthermore, should the daughter return, they bind themselves to pay back the indemnity. As for this last clause, it is gone with the wind; the adage says besides: "Once the flesh has entered the wolf's mouth, it is not easy to pull it out again."

586 Nevertheless, if the daughter comes back after several years
583 with her lover, or if she has been taken and brought back forcibly,
681 they act as above with the runaways of this category; however they require more serious guarantees and a larger indemnity on the part of the lover's family. It happens very often that on /148/ this occasion they sell the woman to her lover if he has the wherewithal to pay for her. They likewise sell him the children born during the long absence. If the wife is not sold, she goes back to her home and is again admitted into the family circle with the children born to her while away, for, says the adage: "What grows on my land is mine and what my wife gives birth to is mine."

586 However one can believe that the parents are scarcely delighted
593 with such presents, especially when children are not lacking in their home. Indeed, the adage says: "The cow to be robust must run on the mountain, but it must come home to the stable." If the comparison is not elegant, it makes one think of the nomadic life. The

case with the subjects of the T'u-ssu, and so no out- 175
standing rich families could rise up among them. Since 565
the entire administration was carried on exclusively 792
by lamas, the subjects could hardly incur any important social prestige within their circle, or become leading personalities, and certainly not during the entire Ming period (1368–1644) when intermittent troubles and interruptions of trade curtailed the opportunity to become rich. Accordingly, the lamas effectively controlled the subjects and their domains.

As no written code of law existed, the lama officials 175
helped themselves with a house law on a grand scale, 792
by imposing taxes, corvées, and tribute, mediating 692
troubles in families, meting out punishments and imprisonments for crying injustices. The subjects, pinning their hope on a better living, were submissive and obedient, simply because the chief lama was their lord.

It is easy to understand that the subjects of the monasteries enjoyed no rights of their own, but they depended entirely on the administration of the chief of the monastery and his lama officials.

It may be supposed, however, that capital punish- [683] ●
ment of the subjects of the monasteries was reserved to the emperor, as it was in the case of subjects of the T'u-ssu. It is not known whether, before 1723, the right of recourse of the subjects to a higher Chinese court existed or not. If it did exist, it must have been nominal, as it is at present.

The living conditions of the subjects, however, must 175
have been for the most part bearable, as evidenced by 792
the fact that so many people applied to the lamaseries 571
to become subjects. Only after 1723 are a few cases known of subjects revolting against the chief lama and his officials, such as the case of Yang-kuo-erh-ssu, and that of the subjects of the Sina tribe, who preferred to become Chinese subjects rather than remain subjects of the lamas. On the other hand, the unbelievably large number of lamas from among the subjects, since every family had a son or an uncle lama, must have disposed the families favorably toward the monasteries and their chiefs, and made the subjects overlook the shortcomings and deficiencies inherent in any human institution.

The reasons why the privileged status of the monasteries lasted for so long in Huang-chung were, first, the insecurity of the country, especially after 1509, and then the influence of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus in Peking.

The chiefs of the monasteries were, at the same time, 175
the temporal and the spiritual chiefs of the subjects. 792
The subjects were compelled to invite the lamas on 794
whom they depended to recite texts in behalf of the families or of the communities, or to perform public or private ceremonies, to the exclusion of lamas of other communities, at such times as epidemics, epizootics, the burying of the dead. They had to make donations at fixed times, when their lamas, their chiefs, came touring for alms among them. Corvées were imposed at the time of celebrations and festivities at their lamaseries.

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roll of the inmates and from that time on he becomes 792
a member of the community, and is able to reap the benefits of his membership. The same rule exists for admission to the colleges.

Nobody cares about the past of the newcomer, nobody inquires about the name of his country, his parents, or the reasons for his arrival. The lamas know very well that inquiries about these matters are of no avail, for if he were a dishonorable man he would certainly not reveal his past. Therefore, it suffices to say that you are coming to worship a certain Buddha honored at the lamasery, and that the period required to satisfy your devotion will probably be long, maybe a year, two years, or more. Then you have to try and find yourself a home in the lamasery, renting a room from a lama, or sharing a room. The proprietor of a courtyard has to report the names of the lamas living in his yard. In small institutions the control is easy, but in large ones, like Kumbum, it is impossible. Frequently, lamas assured me that there was always a number of non-registered lamas, mostly of the traveling businessman type, living at the homes of their friends.

Withdrawal from the lamasery is as easy. Every lama is free to abandon the lamasery forever, at any time. He has only to inform the intendancy of his departure. Only lamas who are guarantors for debts are not allowed to leave, as long as the business is unfinished. A lama is free to sell his courtyard to another lama, and to leave at any time. Usually, a number of lamas leave after the distribution of alms. Once a lama has left the monastery, it has no obligation to care for him any more, unless he has been a guarantor or has committed an injustice against the lamasery. The rector of Chiar-too-ssu, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, left the [892]
monastery, bought property adjacent to it, and without changing his lama dress for the clothes of a layman, lived with his wife unmolested. I encountered three or more lama doctors, celebrated for proficiency in their art, who lived with their wives, still wearing their religious garb. Even the son of one of them was dressed as a lama.

If a lama whose name is inscribed on the rolls should be informed by his friends of a charge made against him at the intendancy for moral reasons or theft, he leaves the lamasery in time to avoid the punishments which are meted out with ruthless severity, and moves to another lamasery. Most of the time, a lama would be advised to leave by the intendency itself, for intendancies are reluctant to inflict such punishments, in order to avoid scandal.

In Kumbum, in 1912, I saw a lama, accused by a 792
husband for visiting his wife, beaten unconscious before 627
the main temple, while the community read impreca- 684
tions. Half his face was blackened with soot; a paper 681
hat, half black, half white, was put on his head; and the traditional oval was impressed on both his cheeks

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with a burning ram's horn. He was carried outside the monastery wall by lamas. Ashes were spread all the way along in order to prevent his "spirit" from finding the way back to harm the lamasery. A large group of lamas followed. He was thrown on the ground, stripped of all his garments, amid the shouts of the lamas and the long blare of trumpets, and the group returned to the monastery without looking back. A round mark is burned on thieves. It is impossible for those so marked to enter any monastery. 792 627 694 601 [685]

At the time of the festival at Erh-ku-lung in 1912, three young lamas molested a young lady, causing her death. They fled the same night. The whole village of Too-long accused the monastery at Hsining, which was unable to trace the murderers and had to pay an indemnity of 3,000 taels, after spending far more at court. The whole country was bursting with righteous indignation. It was a tremendous loss of face for the lamasery. 792 684 682 [627]

Lamas not only lack the vow of obedience, but also the vow of poverty. It has been explained how lamas retain their own wealth and the means they use for increasing it.[27] Among the lamas are rich individuals enjoying a happy life, possessing a beautiful courtyard, clothed with silk and brocade, riding the finest horses and mules of the country, served by as many lamas as they wish, and there are poor individuals who have trouble making both ends meet—ill fed, ill clothed, working the whole day. Nobody takes care of them because wealth is a personal matter, and no vow of poverty exists. It has been explained how the lack of the vow of poverty is responsible in a large part for the loss of spirit in the monastic life, and how from this lack originate most of the vices encountered among the lamas and the ruination of monasteries. 792 511

Lamas lack the vow of chastity, for chastity reaches farther than celibacy. The Buddhists know this very well and the texts prove it.[28] 792 831

The reform of Tsong-khapa, the founder of the Yellow Sect, aimed at return to the traditional monastic life, based on celibacy and serious study. The sense of the necessity of celibacy still seems to prevail among the Monguor lamas. This assumption seems evidenced by the facts that the communities of lamas bring suit at Chinese courts against even supreme chiefs of lamaseries, and intendants who betray their vows, as was the case with the Living Buddhas Sumpa, Lu-chia, and Min-chu-erh, and even with Li, the intendant of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu. It was the same with the Living Buddha Seerting who was caught red-handed by the [185]

[27] The wealth possessed by a lama, his courtyard, etc. are inherited by his apprentice; in case he dies without having an apprentice, his wealth is sold by the intendancy; prayers are said by the lamas and alms given to them. If a lama who is proprietor of a courtyard marries, his courtyard is taken by the intendancy.

[28] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Morale bouddhique*, 79. Paris, Librairie Nationale, 1927.

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5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

on his second ascension to the throne, and to present his offices in these times of troubles which beset the empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and somewhat later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them. The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and devastating the country. The officials in the capital grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his troops to move. He was committed to prison and deliberation concerning capital punishment was held. The emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportunity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the Mongols in the regions of Yenan and Suei-te (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28a; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11b). 175 648 [624] [654] [681]

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of Li Wen? 175* 662 578

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450–1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs and the most prominent officials, some of them friends and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions seethed with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals. Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung.

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching Ti the capital beseiged by Esen in 1449. During the illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot preparing the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthronement of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his rivals and seven executions of the most prominent officials followed. He was bestowed with the title of Pilar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky. It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, proclaimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung. The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poisoned himself. His father was committed to jail and ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta- 175* 668 [787] [651]

[P.40(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

with a burning ram's horn. He was carried outside the monastery wall by lamas. Ashes were spread all the way along in order to prevent his "spirit" from finding the way back to harm the lamasery. A large group of lamas followed. He was thrown on the ground, stripped of all his garments, amid the shouts of the lamas and the long blare of trumpets, and the group returned to the monastery without looking back. A round mark is burned on thieves. It is impossible for those so marked to enter any monastery. 792 627 684 681 [685]

At the time of the festival at Erh-ku-lung in 1912, three young lamas molested a young lady, causing her death. They fled the same night. The whole village of Too-long accused the monastery at Hsining, which was unable to trace the murderers and had to pay an indemnity of 3,000 taels, after spending far more at court. The whole country was bursting with righteous indignation. It was a tremendous loss of face for the lamasery. 792 684 682 [627]

Lamas not only lack the vow of obedience, but also the vow of poverty. It has been explained how lamas retain their own wealth and the means they use for increasing it.[27] Among the lamas are rich individuals enjoying a happy life, possessing a beautiful courtyard, clothed with silk and brocade, riding the finest horses and mules of the country, served by as many lamas as they wish, and there are poor individuals who have trouble making both ends meet—ill fed, ill clothed, working the whole day. Nobody takes care of them because wealth is a personal matter, and no vow of poverty exists. It has been explained how the lack of the vow of poverty is responsible in a large part for the loss of spirit in the monastic life, and how from this lack originate most of the vices encountered among the lamas and the ruination of monasteries. 792 511

Lamas lack the vow of chastity, for chastity reaches farther than celibacy. The Buddhists know this very well and the texts prove it.[28] 792 831

The reform of Tsong-khapa, the founder of the Yellow Sect, aimed at return to the traditional monastic life, based on celibacy and serious study. The sense of the necessity of celibacy still seems to prevail among the Monguor lamas. This assumption seems evidenced by the facts that the communities of lamas bring suit at Chinese courts against even supreme chiefs of lamaseries, and intendants who betray their vows, as was the case with the Living Buddhas Sumpa, Lu-chia, and Min-chu-erh, and even with Li, the intendant of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu. It was the same with the Living Buddha Seerting who was caught red-handed by the [185]

[27] The wealth possessed by a lama, his courtyard, etc. are inherited by his apprentice; in case he dies without having an apprentice, his wealth is sold by the intendancy; prayers are said by the lamas and alms given to them. If a lama who is proprietor of a courtyard marries, his courtyard is taken by the intendancy.

[28] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Morale bouddhique*, 79, Paris, Librairie Nationale, 1927.

[p.72(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

examines their position. "All right!" he cries. "all 796
events will be all right this year, the village will enjoy 756
peace and thrive; this year you will be preserved from 782
hail!" A piece of red cloth is tied with a red rope on the bottle, which is put under the empty container inside the temple for seven days.

After all the rites have been accomplished, the villagers go home taking with them their own thrones of the ancestors and as many paper banners and streamers as possible, in order to place them with the deities honored at home. The shamans and the elders have a meal and plenty of wine for the whole night. The next morning the shamans leave; they came riding empty-handed on a donkey, and go back driving the donkey, laden with rolls and offerings, some wheat, and a meager payment in cash.

FEAR OF HUMAN SACRIFICES

During the second, third, and fourth months, the time 782
during which these rites are performed in one village 784
after another, everywhere children are encountered 789
wearing around their necks strips of filthy, stinking 751
cloth, with which the women had wrapped their feet (for they do not wear stockings). The heads of some children are covered with a handkerchief containing dog hair; the foreheads of some children are scratched and lightly wounded. Several times a day the children are enjoined not to eat jujubes or nuts lying along the way or in the temple yards, for fear that the spirits, avid for human sacrifices, might allure the [illegible] and take their souls. Everywhere it is said that, notwithstanding the rites taking the place of the former human sacrifices, once in a while some of the spirits take a child. All these practices are used in order to frighten the spirits and to preserve the children desired by this kind of evil spirit. If, during these months, a child dies, everybody is convinced that his soul has been taken by the terrible spirits.

These practices give evidence that the belief in human 782
sacrifices required by spirits is deeply ingrained in the minds of the people. At that time, meeting children so [115]
arrayed affords a fine opportunity to collect details about the rites of spring, and the talks of the shamans, and to get an insight into the religious trend of mind of the people. These facts make it plain that the Monguor shamans, honoring Taoist spirits and performing most of the rites of the Wu of China and of the shamans living in the neighboring countries, have preserved their urge for human sacrifices. The Monguor shamans nurture the weakened, exhausted spirits in the temples with captured human souls. The burying of the Chinese beggar in the mound, in order to succeed in the struggle against the hail spirits, and the occasional capturing of a boy for the same purpose, facts attested by many trustworthy men, give evidence of the assumption. However, constraint is imposed [682]
upon them by a more civilized environment than that

[p. 112 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

of Tibet. Chinese laws, and the presence of their 782
powerful enemies, the lamas, ready to harm their in- [B82]
stitution constrain them to act cautiously and to re-
strain their savage nature.

The rites against hail, performed after the rites just described, have been recorded in Chapter IX.

CULT OF THE MOUNTAINS

The cult of the mountains must be very old. It seems 795
not to have originated in Lamaism, and does not fit in the frame of its philosophy, but rather to have been accepted and ritualized by it to a very large extent.

Concerning the Monguors it has been noted, that the 175
Shat'o, like most of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, 795
made sacrifices on top of the mountains and that the horse was their most important offering.[10] It is a fact of common knowledge that in old times the Mongols also honored the gods of the mountains. Chingis Khan lived in this atmosphere. Temuchin (Chingis Khan), in order to avoid a band of Merkits, galloped away to Mount Burkan Kaldun. Having escaped alive, he exclaimed, lifting his face to the sky: "Mount Burkan has protected my miserable life; henceforward, I will ever sacrifice to it and bequeath to my sons and grandsons the duty of sacrificing to it."[11]

The Monguors explain the cult of the Obos and of 795
the sacred hill of the village by asserting that the coun- 776
try between the Ta-t'ung and Hsining Rivers belongs to five powerful spirits or deities who reside on the tops of the five highest mountains of the country, where celebrated Obos are built for them. These spirits claim the worship of the people living on their territory, grazing herds and farming. They are kind to their worshippers, protecting their herds and fields, but they punish the unbelievers. "It is our duty to honor them," say the Monguors earnestly, "for if we were remiss in our duty we would surely court disaster."

These five spirits do not possess the entire territory in a group, but each of them is supposed to wield power over the country surrounding its own mountain. Consequently it receives offerings and worship only from the people living within its supposed circumscription.

Besides these five important mountain spirits, other less important ones are honored, mostly on the passes or on higher mountains. Their cult is not general, but is practiced only by the people living near the passes and by travelers.

In connection with this peculiar mentality about the 795
territory having its proprietors is to be noted the cult of 778
the sacred hill honored in each Monguor village, for in

[10] Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers, op. cit.*, 91.

[11] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan, op. cit.*, 29. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The mountain of God*, A study in early religion and kingship, 7: 170, London, Bernard Quaritch, 1953: "Fundamentally the 'old Asiatic Religion' is the worship of the divinity of earth and its energies concentrated in some mountain and in the superhuman virtue of kingship." Reviewed by Clarence H. Hamilton in *Far Eastern Quart.* 13 (3): 370, 1954.

[p. 112 (B)]

622 sends one of his assistants to invite the elders and summons the defendant. If the problem is important, 627 the military commanders are also invited. Problems of this kind include delimitation of the boundaries of fields—a kind of arbitration case often made necessary by contracts drafted ambiguously by incapable men. Cases of dividing a paternal inheritance are often laborious and consume many days. The whole community is [681] interested in such cases. In personal quarrels, disputes, and fights the offending party may be flogged with up to one hundred stripes. If the complainant has been wounded, the defendant is condemned, in addition, to defray the expenses for the doctor and for medicine and to pay indemnity for a fixed number of days of recuperation.

685 Stealing seems to be an ineradicable evil among the Monguors, and stealing of animals is the worst of all. The Monguors still seem to have the old attitude toward thieving and the stealing of animals, although thieves are severely punished. Among the neighboring nomads, when a man is caught red-handed stealing animals, he is taken to a lonely spot, the tendons of his ankle joints are cut, and he is left, crippled, to die on the spot. The nomads show no pity for cattle thieves. The Monguors do not punish as cruelly and do not inflict capital punishment, but the thief has his hands bound behind his back and is then hung by the thumbs, until he loses consciousness. Water is then poured on his head. When he recovers consciousness, the same sport is repeated two or three times. He is then flogged with up to five hundred stripes, or even more. If a thief is caught the second time, he is sent to the T'u-ssu's prison, and when he emerges from jail, he is a wreck of his former self—provided he escapes at all, by bribing the guards.

People who steal sheaves from the field at harvest time are flogged with up to fifty or one hundred stripes and are led through the village, the sheaves on their back, [865] crying the whole way long that they are guilty. Boys accused by their parents of disobedience are flogged in the same way, after having been forced to apologize to their parents.

• 684 In cases of adultery the guilty pair, if caught *in flagrante delictu*, are flogged with up to one hundred stripes or more. The woman is beaten on her bare back with rawhide lash, the man on his bare buttocks and thighs. Apologies are made to the injured husband. A sheep or pig is brought to his home. Fire crackers are set off. The guilty pair ask a guarantor to speak for their proper conduct in the future. An official statement is written attesting the fact of adultery and the supplication for pardon. The two guilty persons place their right thumbs on an inked pad and then make an impression with the thumb on the statement. They are then led through the village, two drums beating before them, while they confess their guilt.

Once in a while a young woman runs away from her

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

684 husband—or rather, usually, from her mother-in-law. When brought back she endures one hundred lashes on the back, and is led to her husband's house with the same "ceremonial" as related above, after having asked for a guarantor and made her thumb-print on a statement.
583 Once in a while, also, a future son-in-law who is working for his future father-in-law, in order to marry the daughter, disappears with the daughter. After one or two years they return, and ordinarily the parents are delighted to see them again, and no more complaints are made.

525 In cases of gambling, a fine is imposed on the of-
681 fenders for the upkeep of the temple or to defray the expenses of the religious celebrations performed by the shaman at the village in spring and autumn. All kinds
593 of interesting and dramatic cases occur. Wives complain about their husbands; widows who do not intend to remarry complain about members of the family prodding and teasing them to remarry; widows willing to remarry are hindered from remarrying; or the price for a bride is not paid at the fixed time; or a betrothal is broken off, etc.

627 Two particular cases may be described in detail, because of the light they cast on the type of cases handled by chiefs and elders, and on Monguor society in general.

In the first case, in the valley of Hungnai, in 1918, Chang Chia-pa, a Chinese whose family had been enrolled in a Monguor clan for many generations, had a daughter married "with the girdle"[5] who was the mother of a lovely boy. He also had a son, a daughter-in-law, and grandchildren. The girl of the girdle, who was always having trouble with her sister-in-law, finally could not stand any more, married a man named Hou Yu-liang as his concubine, and took her son with her. Hou paid her father four hundred strings of cash for her.

After five or six years, during the festivities held at the second moon in Weiyuanp'u, a Chinese peddler from Ho-nan province, named Li, made trouble with Hou Yu-liang for having, as he complained, married the

585 [5] When a girl who is unwilling to marry has relations with a guest, custom requires that the guest present his girdle (sash) to the girl. In the event that she subsequently becomes pregnant, she performs the rites of marriage with the sash, and she is thenceforth known as "Mrs. So-and-So" (guest's name), and the son as "boy so-and-so," even if the guest never comes back during her whole life.

The importance of the girdle is worth noting. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, according to Fr. Mostaert, when on the day set for the marriage the groom falls ill and is unable to attend the ceremony, his girdle is sent to the bride and she performs the rite of marriage with it. I never met such a case among the Monguors, and it appears that the girdle is used among the Ordos Mongols in circumstances quite different from those in which it is used among the Monguors. We note also that kidnapped widows prove before the court of the village their unwillingness to marry so-and-so by showing the girdle which was exchanged with so-and-so. Father Mostaert told me that when shamans in the Ordos perform their rites, removal of the girdle is one of the most important acts. This custom is unknown among the Monguor shamans.

[p. 786]

/94 cont'd/

587 the darkness they heard the woman affirm that they had been mistaken;
583 that she was a neighbor who had come to keep the widow company; that she was married and /95/ that her husband was very much alive, and that the person they were looking for had hidden behind a wardrobe at the moment of danger. Consternation!

What to do? Sending back the woman was a loss of face, and then she did not want to go back.

[627 684] The incident was known everywhere in the region from the next day on; the widow's parents and the husband of the abducted woman were already getting ready to bring suit against the woman's abductors. The elders of the village knew that it was a mistake and proposed to arrange the affair amicably.

There was a palaver and a dinner, which my catchist attended. The conclusion of the discussion was that the young wife was to be taken back on horseback with a band at the head of the procession and a salvo of firecrackers. A sheep with a scarf of red cloth on its horns was to be offered, and apologies were to be made. They laughed heartily in the region at the unfortunate nephew who had presided at the abduction of his aunt.... The young widow meanwhile was married to the man of her choice.

Another very interesting incident for understanding the T'oujen way of thinking on the subject of abduction and the conditions which permit it is the following:

A young widow of Pien-tan, after negotiations in due form, was taken at night to the home of a Tchao of Na-ling keou. Tchao, who was known for his avarice and had a very bad reputation, tried to pick a quarrel with the go-betweens on the subject of the widow's price, although the sum had already been agreed on. He wanted to be shrewd. Since the widow was at his house, he hoped to drag out the settlement of accounts and to get out of it by giving only part of it the agreed-upon price. After three weeks the matter was still dragging on, nothing had yet been paid, and consequently the contract had not yet been signed. New palaver in the courtyard of the pagoda two li distant from his house. Now in the absence of Tchao, a certain Tchang of Tong-keou, accompanied /96/ by several men

/146 cont'd/

578 amuse herself... and has already had too many relations... one fine
593 day she disappears. This is the big affliction of the region. When a wife has run away, they immediately guess who her accomplice is; but it is necessary to be able to locate them. If the inquiries made about them are fruitless, after several days the son-in-law will go to his wife's family, pretending to believe that his dear better half is at their home and that he will find out about her return. This is also a way of informing the parents about their daughter's flight.

If after five or six months the fugitive has not come back, her parents require the son-in-law, accompanied by two aides, to go to get her at his expense; there is always some indication as to where she is. If they have exact information, they go to the headmen of the place to demand that they get hold of the fugitives so that they can bring them back home tied up.

684 Upon their return to the village, the village heads and the
627 members of the families of the lover and the wife are called. In the
681 presence of the whole populace, who very much relish this kind of distraction, the village heads begin the preliminary investigation of the affair. The case is examined to the bottom, and finally the lover is badly beaten and hung up by the thumbs until someone turns up who will act as guarantor for him. Then comes the woman, who is beaten on her bare back with leather lashes for as long as she does not manifest her regrets while adding good resolves for the future. Then the two culprits are taken through the village and exposed to the mockery of all; a herald precedes them, beating a drum and proclaiming their crime. It may happen that an indemnity on the part of the lover's family may be asked for the wrong done to the husband.

586 /147/ The wife goes back into the house; if she brings a child
681 born during the escapade, he is accepted into the family.

But it may also happen that the runaways are not found. Then after two or three years of vain search, the wife's parents demand a settlement of accounts. The parents-in-law then invite the parents of the runaway daughter-in-law, as well as her maternal uncles, the village heads, and several friends who are good speakers, for it will be a question of tseou che jen ming, i.e., "the indemnity (to the parents) for the loss of their daughter occasioned by her running away."

roll of the inmates and from that time on he becomes 792
a member of the community, and is able to reap the benefits of his membership. The same rule exists for admission to the colleges.

Nobody cares about the past of the newcomer, nobody inquires about the name of his country, his parents, or the reasons for his arrival. The lamas know very well that inquiries about these matters are of no avail, for if he were a dishonorable man he would certainly not reveal his past. Therefore, it suffices to say that you are coming to worship a certain Buddha honored at the lamasery, and that the period required to satisfy your devotion will probably be long, maybe a year, two years, or more. Then you have to try and find yourself a home in the lamasery, renting a room from a lama, or sharing a room. The proprietor of a courtyard has to report the names of the lamas living in his yard. In small institutions the control is easy, but in large ones, like Kumbum, it is impossible. Frequently, lamas assured me that there was always a number of non-registered lamas, mostly of the traveling businessman type, living at the homes of their friends.

Withdrawal from the lamasery is as easy. Every lama is free to abandon the lamasery forever, at any time. He has only to inform the intendancy of his departure. Only lamas who are guarantors for debts are not allowed to leave, as long as the business is unfinished. A lama is free to sell his courtyard to another lama, and to leave at any time. Usually, a number of lamas leave after the distribution of alms. Once a lama has left the monastery, it has no obligation to care for him any more, unless he has been a guarantor or has committed an injustice against the lamasery. The rector of Chiar-too-ssu, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, left the [792] monastery, bought property adjacent to it, and without changing his lama dress for the clothes of a layman, lived with his wife unmolested. I encountered three or more lama doctors, celebrated for proficiency in their art, who lived with their wives, still wearing their religious garb. Even the son of one of them was dressed as a lama.

If a lama whose name is inscribed on the rolls should be informed by his friends of a charge made against him at the intendancy for moral reasons or theft, he leaves the lamasery in time to avoid the punishments which are meted out with ruthless severity, and moves to another lamasery. Most of the time, a lama would be advised to leave by the intendency itself, for intendancies are reluctant to inflict such punishments, in order to avoid scandal.

In Kumbum, in 1912, I saw a lama, accused by a 792
husband for visiting his wife, beaten unconscious before 627
the main temple, while the community read impreca- 684
tions. Half his face was blackened with soot; a paper 681
hat, half black, half white, was put on his head; and the traditional oval was impressed on both his cheeks

[p. 71 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

with a burning ram's horn. He was carried outside the monastery wall by lamas. Ashes were spread all the way along in order to prevent his "spirit" from finding the way back to harm the lamasery. A large group of lamas followed. He was thrown on the ground, stripped of all his garments, amid the shouts of the lamas and the long blare of trumpets, and the group returned to the monastery without looking back. A round mark is burned on thieves. It is impossible for those so marked to enter any monastery. 792 627 684 681 [685]

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[28] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Morale bouddhique*, 79. Paris, Librairie Nationale, 1927.

[p.72(A)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 769 614 ginning of April according to the lunar calendar, in a festival similar to the Chinese Ch'ing-ming. On this occasion the clan assembles to venerate its ancestors, enjoy a great feast and reunion, and discuss matters of concern to the clan.

On the day of the assembly, the T'u-ssu, the chiefs and elders of the villages and all the family heads go to the graveyard immediately after breakfast, followed by all the other members of the clan. At the graveyard, offerings are made and rites are performed. Then food for the offerings is divided among the families, the oldest generations receiving their portions first.

M [182] [767] This annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of the Mongour clan. One of the family heads, usually of the nobility, is appointed to care for the graveyard during the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions and offerings, and the making of repairs. An assistant is assigned to help him with details.

b. Respect for elders and family heads

N *563 M 554 888 The Mongours once lived without chiefs, but never without village elders. Traditionally, the whole power of the clan was vested in the elders, who had the authority to appoint and dismiss chiefs. The village elders still take the most important part in local administration. Elders need not be rich or from noble stock, but they are men of good reputation from the more outstanding families.

N *563 M 554 592 Heads of families are also honored. At public meetings, all are allowed to express their views and defend their rights, but final decisions are made only after the heads of families have spoken.

c. Adultery

N *563 M 684 Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If caught, the guilty pair is flogged, the woman on her bare back, the man on bare buttocks and thighs, up to a hundred stripes. The man must confront the husband and make apologies, and present him with a sheep or a pig. A trial is held and fingerprints are taken. Then the pair is led through the village with drums beating while they make public confession of their sin, and they must secure an official statement of pardon.

d. Moral and legal concepts

N *563 M 183 M [593] [587] [421] Both moral and legal concepts of the Mongours seem to be based upon customs, tradition and what the community accepts as just. Some typical social values and concepts are: Wrongs must be righted and injustices corrected. Parents have authority over their children, and husbands over their wives. A widow has the right to remarry or to dispose of herself. Private property must be protected. No one has the right to disturb the peace of the community.

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N *563 M 554 592 Heads of families are also honored. At public meetings, all are allowed to express their views and defend their rights, but final decisions are made only after the heads of families have spoken.

c. Adultery

N *563 M ● 684 Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If caught, the guilty pair is flogged, the woman on her bare back, the man on bare buttocks and thighs, up to a hundred stripes. The man must confront the husband and make apologies, and present him with a sheep or a pig. A trial is held and fingerprints are taken. Then the pair is led through the village with drums beating while they make public confession of their sin, and they must secure an official statement of pardon.

d. Moral and legal concepts

N *563 M 183 M [593] [587] [421] Both moral and legal concepts of the Mongours seem to be based upon customs, tradition and what the community accepts as just. Some typical social values and concepts are: Wrongs must be righted and injustices corrected. Parents have authority over their children, and husbands over their wives. A widow has the right to remarry or to dispose of herself. Private property must be protected. No one has the right to disturb the peace of the community.

622 sends one of his assistants to invite the elders and summons the defendant. If the problem is important,
627 the military commanders are also invited. Problems of this kind include delimitation of the boundaries of fields—a kind of arbitration case often made necessary by contracts drafted ambiguously by incapable men. Cases of dividing a paternal inheritance are often laborious and consume many days. The whole community is
[681] interested in such cases. In personal quarrels, disputes, and fights the offending party may be flogged with up to one hundred stripes. If the complainant has been wounded, the defendant is condemned, in addition, to defray the expenses for the doctor and for medicine and to pay indemnity for a fixed number of days of recuperation.

•685 Stealing seems to be an ineradicable evil among the Monguors, and stealing of animals is the worst of all. The Monguors still seem to have the old attitude toward thieving and the stealing of animals, although thieves are severely punished. Among the neighboring nomads, when a man is caught red-handed stealing animals, he is taken to a lonely spot, the tendons of his ankle joints are cut, and he is left, crippled, to die on the spot. The nomads show no pity for cattle thieves. The Monguors do not punish as cruelly and do not inflict capital punishment, but the thief has his hands bound behind his back and is then hung by the thumbs, until he loses consciousness. Water is then poured on his head. When he recovers consciousness, the same sport is repeated two or three times. He is then flogged with up to five hundred stripes, or even more. If a thief is caught the second time, he is sent to the T'u-ssu's prison, and when he emerges from jail, he is a wreck of his former self—provided he escapes at all, by bribing the guards.

People who steal sheaves from the field at harvest time are flogged with up to fifty or one hundred stripes and are led through the village, the sheaves on their back,
[865] crying the whole way long that they are guilty. Boys accused by their parents of disobedience are flogged in the same way, after having been forced to apologize to their parents.

684 In cases of adultery the guilty pair, if caught *in flagrante delictu*, are flogged with up to one hundred stripes or more. The woman is beaten on her bare back with rawhide lash, the man on his bare buttocks and thighs. Apologies are made to the injured husband. A sheep or pig is brought to his home. Fire crackers are set off. The guilty pair ask a guarantor to speak for their proper conduct in the future. An official statement is written attesting the fact of adultery and the supplication for pardon. The two guilty persons place their right thumbs on an inked pad and then make an impression with the thumb on the statement. They are then led through the village, two drums beating before them, while they confess their guilt.

Once in a while a young woman runs away from her

608 782 who has eaten the pig of the Dalai Lama"; or "If I break my oath, may I be thrown into the deepest of the eighteen Hells"; or "May I be punished through nine reincarnations"; or "If I am false to my oath, may I be killed"; or "May I have my eyes burned out." The oaths, both positive and negative, are followed by the declaration "Now we are as brothers who have suckled the milk of the same mother."

The oaths are taken very seriously. There is great fear of the retribution for perjury. There is a saying that "Poison kills only the man who drinks it but perjury brings the death of his whole family."

608 Sworn brothers call on each other and present gifts at New Year, at the Spring Festival of the Fifth Moon, and at the Autumn Festival, or "Feast of the Dead" on the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon. They invite each other to marriages and funerals like members of the family. In case of clan blood feud, a sworn brother must give help and support as if he were a blood brother. A case of this kind is recorded among the Mongols of the late twelfth century. The father of Chingis was the sworn brother of Wang Khan of the Keraits. After the death of his father and after his wife had been stolen from him by the Merkits, Chingis and his brother went to Wang Khan and presented him with the sable gown that was part of the dowry of Chingis' wife and begged for his support, and Wang Khan declared war on the Merkits.[38]

In some families, the sons of sworn brothers often swear the same oath; and it is common for sworn brothers to give their children to each other in marriage. Often the ties between sworn brothers are more intense and personal than those of blood brothers.

608 685 Among the variations of the sworn brother relationship, a rich man not engaged in crime himself may become a sworn brother with known thieves as a protection against being robbed by them. An influential man will in fact rarely refuse the oath of brothership if it is proposed to him by a noted thief. In carrying out his side of the relationship the "respectable" sworn brother will help the thief when he is short of money and use his influence to get him off if he has been caught. Most of the thieves and robbers in the Monguor country are sworn brothers, linked in one group, and when one of them takes the oath with a rich man he informs the others and none of them will do the rich man harm.

608 It is also true that honest people take the oath together in order either to strengthen already friendly relations, or to organize themselves as a group for mutual protection. In one case of my own knowledge a poor Monguor swore the oath with a rich man who helped him get his affairs on a sound footing. The poor man was honest and loyal and in time he became a man of substance. The relations between these two were as intimate as if they had been real brothers.

608 648 It is common for a rich Monguor to become the sworn brother of the chief of a Tibetan tribe, as a means of se-

[38] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-khan*, as cited, 27.

[P. 107a]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

with a burning ram's horn. He was carried outside the monastery wall by lamas. Ashes were spread all the way along in order to prevent his "spirit" from finding the way back to harm the lamasery. A large group of lamas followed. He was thrown on the ground, stripped of all his garments, amid the shouts of the lamas and the long blare of trumpets, and the group returned to the monastery without looking back. A round mark is burned on thieves. It is impossible for those so marked to enter any monastery. 792 627 684 601 [685]

At the time of the festival at Erh-ku-lung in 1912, three young lamas molested a young lady, causing her death. They fled the same night. The whole village of Too-long accused the monastery at Hsining, which was unable to trace the murderers and had to pay an indemnity of 3,000 taels, after spending far more at court. The whole country was bursting with righteous indignation. It was a tremendous loss of face for the lamasery. 792 684 682 [627]

Lamas not only lack the vow of obedience, but also the vow of poverty. It has been explained how lamas retain their own wealth and the means they use for increasing it.[27] Among the lamas are rich individuals enjoying a happy life, possessing a beautiful courtyard, clothed with silk and brocade, riding the finest horses and mules of the country, served by as many lamas as they wish, and there are poor individuals who have trouble making both ends meet—ill fed, ill clothed, working the whole day. Nobody takes care of them because wealth is a personal matter, and no vow of poverty exists. It has been explained how the lack of the vow of poverty is responsible in a large part for the loss of spirit in the monastic life, and how from this lack originate most of the vices encountered among the lamas and the ruination of monasteries. 792 511

Lamas lack the vow of chastity, for chastity reaches farther than celibacy. The Buddhists know this very well and the texts prove it.[28] 792 831

The reform of Tsong-khapa, the founder of the Yellow Sect, aimed at return to the traditional monastic life, based on celibacy and serious study. The sense of the necessity of celibacy still seems to prevail among the Monguor lamas. This assumption seems evidenced by the facts that the communities of lamas bring suit at Chinese courts against even supreme chiefs of lamaseries, and intendants who betray their vows, as was the case with the Living Buddhas Sumpa, Lu-chia, and Min-chu-erh, and even with Li, the intendant of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu. It was the same with the Living Buddha Seerting who was caught red-handed by the [185]

[27] The wealth possessed by a lama, his courtyard, etc. are inherited by his apprentice; in case he dies without having an apprentice, his wealth is sold by the intendancy; prayers are said by the lamas and alms given to them. If a lama who is proprietor of a courtyard marries, his courtyard is taken by the intendancy.

[28] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Morale bouddhique*, 79, Paris, Librairie Nationale, 1927.

[p. 72 (A)]

Buddhas. The special *swork'a* or prayer honoring his deity is read by the lamas, and the Kurtain is proclaimed to be a genuinely possessed man. Then he is ordered to memorize his *swork'a* and to recite it before each performance, it being an invitation to his deity to descend into him. 756 787

Then follow the usual recommendations given to all Kurtains about continence on the day of a performance, not to act when his wife is giving birth and at mourning time, not to indulge in wine, to keep his weapons (sword, whip, and dagger) in a decent place and not to use them for other purposes; to give a performance at the monastery at the annual pageant time and in the families where his deity is specially honored, and always stress is put on the obligation to be loyal, honest, and dependable, so as not to cast a blight on the institution. Every time I heard this last recommendation, I remembered what the Monguors had said so many times, that among the Kurtains more dubious fellows are encountered than among the shamans, and for that reason the shamans are invited more by them than the Kurtains. They always added the story of the famous Kurtain of Toolong, which was seared in their mind. It seems really typical and sheds an unfavorable light on the institution. [844]

Many years ago, the Kurtain of Toolong used to predict whether there would be outbreaks of arson in autumn when the crops were heaped upon the threshing floor. In this way he earned a pretty good living, because the crops of the people who had invited him for the performance of his rites were preserved and those of the incredulous people were burned at night. The whole country was really disturbed. However, suspicions arose and the arsonist was taken redhanded one night. He turned out to be the old father of the Kurtain. The chief and the elders of the village hung the old man by his thumbs from a tree and he received a well-deserved lashing to make him reveal the instigator of the arson. Reeling with dizziness and pain, welts and bruises all over his body, the father accused his son, and the Kurtain was hung up and tortured. The infuriated villagers came within a hair of killing him. His mandate of disciple of the spirit was gone forever. Such events are very prejudicial to the Kurtains. They cast a blemish on their group and are commented on all over the country for years, and so the saying goes that there are few good genuine Kurtains, and for that reason all have to be tested.[2] 756 685 [627]

Some of the Kurtains not only upset the villagers once in a while, but even land the monasteries in serious trouble. A fact well known in the country runs, that on the fifteenth of the first moon in 1914, the lamas of the important lamasery of Seerkok invited their Kurtain, possessed by the deity Kortong, to the ceremony carried out in honor of the deity, with great pomp and display. 756 579

[2] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1238, notes a similar case of a *H'u* arsonist.

[p.93(A)]

old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Each claimed to be 754
the proprietor of a small mountain. The Living Buddha lost his suit and the limping Tjaar tseen became the most celebrated man in the country. The Buddha invited three black shamans to bewitch the limping Tjaar tseen, and accused him again. He lost the second lawsuit also. Raging, the Buddha invited three black shamans to cast more efficacious spells. The chief of the village did not care any more, and the villagers graze their herds on the mountain to the present day. This fact is interesting for us because a Living Buddha, on two occasions, invited black shamans.

Hu, a rich Monguor, compelled a poor Monguor to [583]
sell to him his beautiful and willing young wife. The poor Monguor, using his last resource, invited a black shaman to bewitch his wife. The black shaman prepared skulls of a dog and of a fox, and a horn of a black goat. Inside each he enclosed three slips of paper on which he had designed cabalistic signs with dog blood around the name of the wife. The three items were buried at night under the entrance door of the courtyard of Hu, with the mouth of the skulls facing his living room. The young wife became sick. Shamans were invited to discover the cause of the illness and to neutralize the evil influences, but to no avail. The wife died and the shaman, it was said, was powerless against a punishment of Heaven and the spirits. But there was no peace in the courtyard; at night, noises disturbed the rest. Black shamans were invited for three days and they found the skulls. The poor man was accused before the T'u-ssu, but the T'u-ssu did not pay any attention because the behavior of the rich Monguor was supposed to have been unjust. It is the usual trick of the black shamans to bury magical things under the lintels of doors or in cemeteries.

In countries where there are no newspapers, such 203
tales are spread like prairie fires, by peddlers, and 754
commented on and believed, especially when outstanding persons are involved. They create the trend of mind of the people and make them fear so much the black shamans living south of the Hsining River, who are said to use beads made from human bones, to blow a trumpet made from the bone of a young woman who committed suicide, to wear a girdle made from the skin of such a woman, to braid into the enormous pigtail, coiled around the head, the hair of such a woman, and to use drums made from skulls of young girls. The most terrifying tales are told about them and they are believed by the people.

RITES CONCERNING THE GUARDIAN SPIRITS OF THE WEALTH OF THE FAMILY

777
According to the Monguors, persons who commit 635
injustices are pursued by the guardian spirit of the 556
wealth of the victim of the injustice, who causes them

[p. 130(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to suffer from all kinds of mischief and misfortune.[11] 777
Persons guilty of injustices have the problem of finding 685
a means of appeasing that spirit and of remaining in 556
possession of the stolen wealth by taking restitution. Lamas of both sects are conversant with the practice. Lamas of the Yellow Sect perform the rite for those of the Red Sect, and *vice versa;* but never for a lama of the same sect.

Five lamas enact the rite, which lasts for seven days. 792
The first day, helped by a carpenter, they build a 685
rudimentary sedan chair with thin lathes, and paste on 782
it plenty of colored paper. Four flags are set up, one 556
on each of the four corners. In the sedan chair are deposited five small paper bags, each containing a handful of five kinds of grain, five kinds of thread of the five sacred colors, some packets of wool, some rolls, white and red sugar, raisins, dried apricots, some meat and some new garments of the very cheapest kind. The sedan chair is placed in the center of the living room. In front of it, in the courtyard, an enormous bull head made of paper and having two terrifying horns painted red is put in a large caldron. A lamp is lit before the caldron. A piece of black cloth about two feet wide is stretched in a square around the caldron and sedan chair and is supposed to represent the wall of a city. An opening is left where the cloth meets and is called the city gate. Outside the city walls are planted painted spears and swords, one next to the other. In front of the city gate a stake is planted on which cabalistic designs are written with red ink. The stake is supposed to be the seat of the spirit who is the avenger of injustices.

The lamas, twice every day, sit in front of the stake, ringing bells, rattling drums, manipulating the ritual daggers, and reciting texts. Absorbed in meditation, they stare for a long time at the stake. Finally, they start imploring the spirit not to release its avenging bolts, inviting it to take a look at the magnificent sedan chair upholstered with satin and brocade and adorned

[11] The notion of a guardian spirit of the family wealth among the Mongols seems to be general and old. "This housegod was commonly called, 'the very old grandmother.'" Kovalevski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français,* 215*b*, Kazan, 1844, gives a description of this deity which accords well with that of Yüan times: "gardien de la maison, de la famille et tous les biens. Chez les shamans on le fait des peaux de moutons et de différents torchons de toile." See also Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *op. cit.,* 511. According to Hoffman, *op. cit.,* 174, the fear of a spirit avenging injustices caused to families is familiar to the Tibetans too. The old Bön religion in Tibet honored a protector-spirit of the wealth of the individual, called *Nor-Lha.* Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Altaischen Völker,* 276, 1938. Many Turkish tribes believe each man has a special protector spirit, from the time of his birth, who protects him and his cattle. In the tents is encountered an image of this spirit and daily an offering is made for it. J. F. Rock, The Na-khi naga cult and related ceremonies, *Serie Orientale,* Roma, IV, Part I, 1952, The Naga spirits guard grains and riches. There are Naga spirits of cultivated fields, of villages, of the ground upon which houses are built, etc.

[p. 130(B)]

with silk flags, to look at the hundreds of measures of 772
grain put into the chair, the hundreds of pounds of 685
sugar and raisins, the hundreds of rich garments, and 782
the herd of sheep which follows the chair (for the few 556
pieces of meat are called a "herd of sheep"), and so on, for the other items. They implore it to look at the unusual prodigality of the customer, who is a fervent adherent of the faith. After the parody is played, the lamas have a good time visiting the neighbors. On the seventh day, at night, all the neighbors help escort the troublesome spirit outside the village, forming an imposing cortege with banners flying and drums, horns, and some rifles, and carrying the sedan chair, the caldron and bull head, the spears and swords. The lamas blow the trumpets made from a human femur. The bull head, spears, and swords are buried in a deep hole; a big fire is lit and the pit is filled, at full speed, flush with the ground. The stake is thrust into it; the whole group howls and curses the avenger, rifles are fired, trumpets blown, and the lamas return. The sedan chair is emptied by the neighbors. Restitution is thus made, the avenging spirit is appeased and thrust into the hole, and the thief remains possessor of his thievery.

A rich man, Lo san lao, who lived in Ha-la-chih 425
Valley, had succeeded in bringing to his home the fine 782
young lady of the poor Monguor Li sse of Naring 789
Valley. Calamities then troubled his family, and he invited Yellow lamas to perform the rite. They placed in the sedan chair a fine paper lady. The rite of the caldron and bull head was carried out, and the avenging spirit was thrust into the hole. Restitution was thus made by means of a paper lady, but he remained the possessor of the real one.

After many years this rite as performed by Red [792]
lamas, invited by the famous Sumpa Hutukhtu in order to compensate for the injustices perpetrated by his intendants, is still talked about in the country. The splendid sedan chair was on this occasion lavishly filled with precious items. A beautiful horse which followed the cortege was abandoned for the neighbors. After the bull head had been buried and the avenging spirit thrust into the hole, hundreds of people had tried to capture the horse.

The claims of justice are deeply embedded in the 181
consciousness of the people, and the necessity of restitution for injustices is always advocated by the lamas, although the magical rite of restitution seems to be a mockery of its real intent. Justice seems to rank first among the virtues.

In connection with this peculiar mentality concerning 776
the spirit who is the avenger of injustices is to be noted 425
the cult of the Sturlong spirit. This spirit is supposed to guard the wealth of the family with ruthless severity. It does not allow anything of value belonging to the family which honors it to be taken away. It is honored as a family deity, mostly among the Monguors of the

[p. 131(A)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 621 183 178 The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is M [867] dinned into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-ssu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

N *563 M 621 183 177 178 During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

e. Stealing and gambling

N *563 M Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

[685] [673] [525] [794] Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

N *563 M 587 A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

N *563 M 867 Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meeted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

N *563 M 576 264 603 According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge

on his second ascension to the throne, and to present his offices in these times of troubles which beset the empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and somewhat later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them. The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and devastating the country. The officials in the capital grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his troops to move. He was committed to prison and deliberation concerning capital punishment was held. The emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportunity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the Mongols in the regions of Yenan and Suei-te (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*b*).

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of Li Wen?

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450–1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs and the most prominent officials, some of them friends and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions seethed with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals. Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung.

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching Ti the capital beseiged by Esen in 1449. During the illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot preparing the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthronement of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his rivals and seven executions of the most prominent officials followed. He was bestowed with the title of Pilar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky. It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, proclaimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung. The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poisoned himself. His father was committed to jail and ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta-

[841 cont.]

778
825

[Note on foreign text pp. 842-843 cont.]
chiang. The rules mentioned here lead one to surmise that conceptions from lunar mythology (black-white, circular horns) are involved here. The preference for male animals, with the exception of the mules, is also striking. -- This rule is also decisive in profane life. People who have a high opinion of themselves ride only male horses (gelding), but female mules; the reddish-brown color with white mane and white tail is regarded as elegant. White eye-rings, belly covering, and white mouth are highly esteemed for all riding animals of whatever color and help to determine the price. -- It is also interesting that among the goats the lamas prefer not black, but reddish-brown bucks.

[554]
[492]

[435]

The old man said that the ordinary people would not bother with these rules unless they gave the animal to the monastery. Otherwise the color, age, sex, castration, etc. were unimportant, so long as the animal had no physical defects.

The released animals usually stay with their own herd or in the house, for they are used to it. If they run away, nobody bothers about it. A family always keeps horses, mules, and cattle at home and uses them as before. This was not the case originally, however; it is a deviation from the old custom, brought about by poverty and work in the fields.

[178]

A consecrated animal may never be killed. It must die a natural death. If it is eaten by a wolf, it need not be replaced. If an evildoer kills the consecrated animal, then the punishment of heaven or of the consecration-deity will strike him. Also, under no circumstances may one slaughter a consecrated animal for the offering; this would be tantamount to ordinary killing.

[688]

[782]

[846 cont.]

789 If an evildoer steals the animal or the things,[1] the
776 demon will punish him.
688

Word List

192 Demon escort: rëdzõnwa (Tib.?) gargani = one takes away
789 that which is to be taken away.
[778] The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].
Saddlebag: dadzë (Chin. loanword).
Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[847]

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3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

751
755
789 Report

. . . In order to protect the children from misfortune, one
791 invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then
[777] they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they
[778] make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.

On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter
[782] and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing. There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

1 [i.e. - the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST]

old Li would not budge. The whole community was 792
humming like a beehive and about to drive the old Li 691
and his intendant out. T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was unable 628
to pour oil on the troubled waters; the furious intendant of the community of lamas, in a flush of excitement, called thirty lamas, went to Hsining and brought an accusation against old Li. At the court the Amban immediately fell under the spell of the placid and respectable Buddha, bent with age, who explained his case peaceably.

The Amban did not allow the thirty or more turbulent lamas to return to the monastery, after they had, with vehemence and arrogance, several times presented their claims before him. He made them wait for the publication of the verdict, and while waiting had them live in Chinese inns, where they spent money every day, bribing the happy officials who would make their hopes run high one day and dash them to the ground on the next, thus making them spend more money. The Living Buddha and his intendant lived at peace at the home of his nephew, the Li T'u-ssu. He was acquainted with the most prominent men in the city, had them working for him and bringing small gifts. After four months the impoverished lamas became as meek as lambs and the Amban deemed the time ripe to pronounce the verdict: "The cauldron had been broken inadvertently. Because the community of lamas drank tea from the cauldron several times every day, the community should bring into his hands $800, and he would take care of the casting of a beautiful cauldron; the intendant and the board of the community should be put in jail until the money was ready." The epilogue of this interesting trial was that after a few days the money was reverentially placed in the hands of the Amban, the intendant and the men of the board were released, and the Amban had a cauldron cast—for $150!

The intendants are powerful elements in a monastery. In this case T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, belonged to the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, as did the venerable old Living Buddha Li. Yet he could not stay the hands of the intendant and the board of the community of the lamas who, incautiously disregarding the relationship between the two venerable living Buddhas were too quick on the trigger in resorting turbulently to the Chinese courts of justice, although they should have known the dangers by experience. The officials know it is impossible to talk sense into such lamas without first making them spend all their money and letting them wait for months at the gate of the court. The lesson given to the lamas is remunerative for the Chinese officials, but the lamas, stubborn as mules, appear again before the judges at the next opportunity, and receive the same lesson all over. Such is the atmosphere of a monastery and its 688
inmates. 792

(3) Li, the lama intendant, of the Living Buddha Lu, 691
supreme chief of the monastery of Yang-k'uo-erh-ssu, 578

[p.41(B)]

was officially appointed chiliarch (*ch'ien hu*)[1] by the Amban, with the privilege of judging the subjects of the monastery. He was thus simultaneously a monastic official and a Chinese civil official. He had amassed a comfortable fortune at the expense of the subjects of six villages belonging to the monastery. A shrewd, capable man, in order to assure his position, he cleverly moved his younger sister near the monastery in order to have the young Living Buddha "acquainted" with her. 688 792 578 691

Lamas and subjects urged the dismissal of the intendant. The Buddha refused and threatened to accuse the three ringleaders of the rebellion, but the subjects and lamas went to the court of the subprefect of Nien-pe and accused both the Buddha and the intendant. Knowing that the intendant was rich, the judge examining the case put him in jail on the very first day of the trial, to make him understand that the roles were reversed. The sister of the intendant was called to testify, and the Living Buddha lost face before the people of Nien-pe, who attended all the sessions with the keenest interest. Finally, the Buddha was divested of the privilege of having a chiliarch to judge his subjects, and blushing with shame he received a lecture from the judge on the observance of celibacy in the Yellow Sect. The girl was ordered to move far away from the monastery.

The intendant, dismissed from his office by the judge, was released after several more months. He had spent his whole fortune, and had even been forced to sell his fields, cattle, and two oil mills. During the troubles, 70 of the 150 lamas left the monastery. This intendant caused the ruin of the monastery.

(4) The most beautiful bridge in Kansu is over the Ta-t'ung River, opposite the monastery of T'ien-t'ang-ssu, which before 1723 had had three colleges, two Living Buddhas, and 700 lamas, and at this time still had 200. When the supreme chief of the monastery was only seven years of age, troubles had started between the intendancy of the monastery and that of the community of lamas. Each claimed to be the proprietor of the bridge, with the right to collect tolls. The lamas, divided into two groups, became involved in the troubles. For twelve years both intendancies, accusing each other, moved from city to city and from one court of justice to another, and spent all the money of the respective intendancies. The head temple of the monastery was closed for three years. Finally, the Chinese judges having milked the cows dry, abolished the right of the lamas to receive the toll and took it themselves. The peace of the monastery was disturbed to the point that 120 disgusted lamas left. In 1920 only 80 lamas remained, some old men, but mostly children. The stubborn intendencies had preferred to wreck the 792 578 628

[1] "Chief of 1,000 families" is an official, appointed by the Chinese administration, who controls a tribe or group of people. He imposes corvées, collects taxes for the government, mediates troubles, and awards punishments. Although his subjects very seldom number 1,000 families, the title remains the same.

[p.42(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

every courtyard there is encountered a guardian deity of the family. 776 342

SPIRITS HONORED IN THE FAMILIES—PECULIAR CONCEPT

The Monguor concept of the deities honored in the families is very peculiar. Once a family starts worshipping a deity, its cult must be continued forever in that family, for fear that the deity, if evicted, might loose its avenging bolts of calamities and disaster, and the long train of miseries would never stop. 776 428 782 592

According to this conception, at the time of dividing the paternal inheritance the eldest son inherits the cult of the deity previously honored by the father. The duty to continue the old family cult falls upon him. His younger brothers, however, are free to make a choice among all the available deities of Taoism, of Lamaism, even of the Twelve Tengris of the shamans, and to start their newly founded families with a new guardian deity. Every two ar three years all the brothers must still convene in the house of the eldest, to attend a rite celebrated for the old family deity and to contribute to the expenses of the celebration. The tie which binds them to the cult of the old family deity is so strong, that in the event a great calamity overcomes one of the brothers, notwithstanding the fact that he honors his own deity, he will invite all his brothers to worship the old family deity at the home of the eldest brother. The old family deity which had been honored for so many generations is still supposed to harbor in its heart a predilection for all those who honored it. The old Monguor, Li San-ming, told me this in Li chia t'an in 1914, the day after his brothers had worshipped the old family deity at his home.

The fervent cult of the guardian deity of the family is a characteristic of the Monguor family. No Kuang-li of Naring Valley told the story of a poor old widower, Li ssu, living in the village of P'irke in 1908, who could hardly make both ends meet, and who had inherited from his father the picture of Twelve Tengris with the Black Tiger rider of the shamans, which he did not honor. Every time the villagers of P'irke took ill they went to the home of the old man, to honor and to propitiate the spirits, because a certain shaman had said that all the misfortunes occurring in the village were caused by these spirits, who took with bad grace the neglect of the old man. The extremely shy old man tried to make a living out of these circumstances and, stubborn as a mule, he would not allow anyone to honor the spirits in his home, as long as the villagers would not provide for his livelihood, for he knew the villagers were sick with apprehension. But the villagers, as stubborn as he, honored the spirit behind his house, burning incense there. 688 776 592

After his death, his only married daughter, living in the village of Li chia t'ai, inherited his poor house. The villagers of P'irke, having lived under the threat of

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the spirits for so long a time, urged her husband to take with him the fateful picture. The villagers of Li chia t'ai, however, did not allow him to introduce the ill-boding spirits into their village. At night the son-in-law buried the picture in a deserted, ruined house in P'irke. After one or two years the fact became known. The wrath of the P'irke villagers was great enough to bring suit against Li ssu, but the court of Li T'u-ssu ordered the defendant to defray the expenses of inviting twelve shamans (for they honor the twelve spirits) in order to conciliate the spirits, to repair the outrage, and to offer a sheep, incense, and oil. After the preparations were performed, the shamans took with them the picture,[2] and firecrackers were set off. This fact illustrates the peculiar attitude of the Monguors concerning the duty of continuing the cult of the deities honored by the ancestors.

MOST SPIRITS ARE TAOIST

Since nearly every family has an uncle or a son who is a lama, it would seem obvious that most of the deities honored in the families should belong to Lamaism—all the more so because in nearly every valley there is a big or a small wealthy lamasery, and Lamaism reached the highest peak of glory with its celebrated Hutukhtus two centuries ago. However, it seems not to be so. The number of families honoring a Lamaist guardian deity is far smaller than of those honoring Taoist deities, and even the twelve spirits with their black tiger rider of the shamans. This astonishing fact requires an explanation.

The Monguors are a practical people. At the feast of spring, when the shamans invite spirits to come to the temple along the rope, no Lamaist deities are invited, and none arrive. The shamans honor their Tengris and the Taoist spirits, and combat the hail scourge by help from all of them. Honoring at home the same spirits which are honored in the temple of the village will provide more security for their worshippers against the dreaded hail, so most of the Monguors prefer at home the cult of these deities honored by the shamans, who are considered to be more powerful and more expert in this field than the lamas.

The reasons for the Monguor preference for non-Lamaist protector deities, explain why they adopt Taoist or shamanist spirits. It was always said that "Heaven" is never honored as a family spirit. However, in the families, there are encountered the cults of the spirits of the mountain, the earth, the five roads, the dragon king, the mother gooddess, the horse king, and the cow king. The temples of the villages are dedicated to the same spirits. Some families honor the Twelve Tengris of the shamans with the tiger rider. However, most of the Monguors, at the time of the division of the extended family, when they have to choose a new family

[2] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 603. Among the Alar-Buryats, images of family deities must be removed by the shaman who honors the deity.

[p. 126(A)]

581 /6 cont'd/
589 as far as selling all that one possesses, one's lands, houses, and ani-
183 mals, and will live in indigence; at the death of the parents, the elder married sons, in the case where the possessions are about to be divided up, must, before all else, put aside the sums required for the marriage of the younger unmarried sons; the parents, at the approach of death, will feel the greatest relief in the fact that they have gotten all their sons married. In order to permit the poor to marry, recourse is had to all kinds of contrivances, which very often are only imposed by reason of their primordial goal, which is that of marriage, and which scorn many obligations which in "justice" would seem, at the least, to have to be taken into greater consideration. One will find decisions which will appear unjust, but when one studies this mental attitude, which gives proportion to everything, one will understand that among the T'ou-jen the other principles yield to it and are sacrificed.

554 Marriage, for the T'ou-jen people, is the great affair in life,
581 obligatory above all else. One is no longer an honorable man when one is not married; this is because they believe that man has the duty to live according to natural law, that is, to marry and procreate children.

623 One day one of my catechists was invited to sit with the elders
627 of the village to judge the case of a penniless young man who had
689 run off with a girl of good rank. They had been brought back after
588 an escapade of three years, with a child born during the flight.

The young man was on his knees, his hands tied behind his back, imploring the clemency of the judges and of the whole assembled village. /7/ Despairing, he was saying, of ever being able to marry because of his extreme poverty, he had believed it permissible to act in this way, in order to be able to do his duty and marry. "I have been unjust toward the girl's parents, but I submit myself in advance to make all the reparations possible that will be required of me...." The girl also cries for mercy: "I could have hoped for a better match," she admits, "but I followed this young man to be gracious; without me, he would never have been able to marry...."

681 After an important palaver the offending couple was punished, and the judges found a way to indemnify the injured family and to legalize this union.

624 lamas, the "passing" of land to people who are not members of the clan, etc.

624 The number of men in the village liable to military service is checked, and the T'u-ssu carries out a
701 military inspection. The troops turn out with their muskets and swords and horses. Tents, cooking kettles, pack animals and pack saddles, and sacks for carrying the flour ration are all inspected. The inspection concludes with a sham attack by the Monguor cavalry at full gallop, the soldiers firing their guns, drawing their swords, and howling and shouting.

624 The next important procedure is ratification by the T'u-ssu of all the settlements made by the village elders
692 in patching up quarrels during the preceding three years. The custom is that when such a settlement is made, each person involved must pay the elders 2,000 copper coins, and these accumulated sums must be offered to the T'u-ssu. If there are legal suits, as distinguished from these settlements, the T'u-ssu presides over them on the fourth day. To deal with such suits, he is accompanied throughout his journey by the officials of his court of justice and by lictors carrying chains, handcuffs, and batons, and wearing their appropriate costumes.

624 The custom is that justice be rendered on the threshing
693 floor of the village in the open air. The lord and his secretaries sit at tables. At the left stand two lictors
681 dressed in red cotton and wearing high red harlequin hats, and with batons in their hands. At the right stand two lictors dressed in black. Chains, handcuffs, and batons are laid on the table, and plaintiffs and defendants kneel in front. The punishments inflicted include hanging by the wrists or thumbs, and flogging up to one hundred and even five hundred lashes. The offender is stripped and pegged out face downward, arms and legs spreadeagled. The lictors, armed with short whips or rods, strike the tender inner side of the thighs. Women are flogged on the bare back. The justice meted out is not always as brutal as it appears to be, because the retinue of the T'u-ssu is always venal. They depend on bribery for their income. Although most T'u-ssu do not approve of the corruption indulged in by many of their minor officials, they cannot always prevent it. Suits brought by the Monguors before the T'u-ssu are the delight of his retinue. It is often the crying injustices caused by the venality and peculation of the petty officials that cause Monguors to leave the clan territory and abandon their lord.

624 The expenses of legal suits, and of the sojourn of the T'u-ssu with his retinue for that day, are paid by the
651 litigants, but all other expenses of the official three-day visit are defrayed by the people of the village. At the
•691 end of the visit, the elders and troops of the next village come to escort the T'u-ssu on the next stage of his tour.

624 It may be noted that this triennial tour of the T'u-ssu, accompanied by his court of justice, seems to suggest that it is the T'u-ssu as an individual and not his mansion

/117 cont'd/

606 lose their rights of inheritance in their family of origin, but since
691 /118/ they are regarded as members of the wife's family, they get back their lost rights. Cases are even cited where they become head in the wife's family. That is the general law fitting this practice.

593 Now the T'ou-jen live at present under a patriarchal system,
608 which is incompatible with this custom. Consequently, it is not
606 surprising that the husband-son-in-law finds himself in a very dis-
554 advantageous position....

[551] Since there has been no adoption of the son-in-law into the wife's family, he continues to be called by the name of his father, he and his children; he continues to be a member of his paternal family, to honor the dead of his father's family, and to lend a hand to his family of origin in cases of vengeance, etc. Thus in theory he keeps the rights of inheritance in his paternal family. But since these sons-in-law usually belong to very poor families, the chance to enjoy their rights of inheritance very rarely presents itself.

I have, however, met the case in question two or three times, and each time the brothers who had stayed home tried to eliminate the husband-son-in-law on the pretext that he had not contributed to the acquiring of the family's property. However, the unfortunate one always succeeded in making the most of his rights, if not wholly at least in part.

That amply proves that the husband-son-in-law living with the parents-in-law to serve them until death is in a false position with respect to his family of origin.

His position with respect to his wife's family is no better. Indeed, under the patriarchal system, succession is paternal. The name of the son-in-law differs from that of his wife's family; now we have seen "another name, another family," the son-in-law then does not have the right of inheritance to make the most of here. This is what explains the fact that one will never see young people of a well-to-do family consent to making themselves husband-sons-in-law, and that only those who have nothing to lose will take this
608 path.
606 /119/ If the parents-in-law are poor, there will be no difficul-
428 ties for this combination on the part of their own family; if, on the

tainous country. It was inhabited by two or three 792
hundred lamas of Tibetan origin, and had four colleges. The Abbot told me the monastery had been founded by a lama of Amdo, called Don dub. During the Yüan dynasty he had studied in Tibet. He was a learned man. The Abbot pointed to a stupa built on [94-6]
top of the temple and said it contained the relics of the founder. He went on to explain that Don dub had been the Teacher of Tsong khapa (born in 1357, ten years before the end of the Yüan dynasty) who started his religious career at Sha-ch'üng, and that the teacher brought his pupil to Lhasa when he was sixteen years of age. Then the Abbot led me to a nice building claiming it was there Tsong khapa had lived.[34]

It is not known what kind of monastery Sha-ch'ung 175
was in the beginning; whether it was a small hermitage 792
where a few unmarried Red lamas lived together or only a temple where some married Red lamas gathered at fixed times. The latter, depending more or less on a chief chosen from among them, scattered over the country, their pupils living with them, farming or raising cattle and performing cultural rites when invited by the people to do so. Important lamaseries could hardly have existed at that time, because of the disturbed circumstances. Even if Sha-ch'ung was not the hermitage of Dantig, built in 940 by dGe-ba rab-gsal, it certainly existed at the end of the Yüan dynasty. Two facts seem to support the tradition.

Sha-ch'ung in 1916 was a neighbor of the most im- 792
portant monastery of the Red Sect, whose Living 578
Buddha, Goorongbzan, presided over a group of more than two hundred lamas of his sect. The same year both lamaseries claimed to be possessors of a strip of intervening pasture, and had a fight at close quarters. Many lamas on both sides were wounded. Ma k'o-ch'en, the Moslem commander of Hsining, and sworn brother of Goorongbzan, put an end to the feud which had lasted for centuries. He adjudicated the possession [69]
of the debatable pasture to Goorong, who produced deeds dating from the period of the Yüan, but which the former officials would never recognize because of the influence wielded by the Yellow Sect. This fact supports the evidence of the tradition according to which both lamaseries had existed during the Yüan. The old feud was rooted in the fact that Sha-ch'ung, which belonged to the Red Sect, later went over to the Yellow Sect, while the monastery of Goorong clung to its original Red Sect.

[34] E. Obermiller, Tsunkhaba le Pandit, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 2: 321, Louvain, Istas, 1934-1935. L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 2nd ed., 59, W. Heffer, Cambridge, 1934. Wilhelm Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling*, 175, Leipzig, 1933. The confirmation of this tradition is found in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo, translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Pt. I, 1: 27, "Chya Khyung, the seat of Chhoije Tondub Rinchhen, contains his tomb as well as the residence of Tsong khapa."

[p. 15(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Finally, in 1885 the branch declared its independence 175
and claimed to be possessor of the pasture and farm 792
grounds and the forests formerly entrusted to its care 578
by the mother monastery. A serious fight at close quarters occurred in the mother lamasery.

Ch'ü-t'an sued the branch to vindicate its rights of 691
proprietor of all the domains of Ch'ü-t'an. The lawsuit 792
was carried to the Court of Justice of the Subprefecture 662
of Nien-pe and lasted for two years. The Chinese officials, lavishly bribed by both groups, finally sent the lawsuit to the Court of the Prefecture of Hsining in order that their friends and superiors might have the opportunity to acquire some wealth and promote the cause of justice. Again, the lamas stubbornly spent their money for two years. Still unwilling to accept the verdict of the judges, the suit was sent to the Supreme Court of the capital of the province. Here the Chinese officials were very happy to meet the interested customers, and the gullible lamas started immediately to sow again, seeds of wealth and happiness in the gardens of the highest officials. For sixteen years the clever officials kept the wheels turning, encouraging both groups, exciting passions and stubbornness, promising to both sides a successful conclusion. The gullible lamas spent money, and the officials milked the meek cows dry. Finally, the wealth of the mother lamasery was exhausted first, so that the branch lamasery won the suit. The branch, during all the trouble, relied on the forests, sold wood, and was in a more advantageous position to "defend its rights." Throughout this long period the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung tried several times to spread oil on the troubled waters and settle the question amicably, but to no avail.

The loss of face for the mother monastery was too 627
humiliating. At night its lamas went to Yao-ts'ao-t'ai 579
and burned its temples; the next day the lamas of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai went at noon to Ch'ü-t'an and burned the palaces of the Living Buddha and killed two lamas. In 1905 the two groups, both bled white, agreed to have the question settled by Living Buddhas. An indemnity was fixed for the two lamas who had been killed, and because the damage caused by the fires was considered to be equal, the problem was settled.

In 1915 there were 285 lamas at Yao-ts'ao-t'ai: at the mother monastery there were only fifty or sixty, most of them children. Five hundred and fifty lamas had left the mother monastery, with four minor Living Buddhas, because they had been compelled to contribute to the expenses caused by the suit, and to fulfill the corvées imposed in connection with it. The administration of the mother monastery, in former times so flourishing and wealthy, was reduced to a minimum. One lama administered the property, a precentor led the prayers in the temple, and all the other duties were fulfilled by the Living Buddha himself. The homes formerly occupied by the six hundred lamas were inhabited by Monguor, Tibetan, and Chinese families.

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tery in the most luxurious style. The head temple, with 175
its gilt tiled roof, which had been preserved, was em- 792
bellished and other temples rebuilt. He rebuilt a splen- 346
did palace for himself patterned after the most luxuri-
ous palaces in Peking. Chang-chia's Ch'ie-bzan was
the wealthiest monastery in the country, with 150 lamas,
2 colleges, and 4 minor Living Buddhas. Most of its
wealth was provided by Mongols, among whom the in-
fluence and prestige of Chang-chia was proverbial.

Every year, lama expeditions of Ch'ie-bzan traveled 175
in Mongolia in order to collect alms. Chang-chia's 794
prestige was so great that the Queen of the Torgots 648
came to Ch'ie-bzan in 1913, to invite the intendant of
the monastery to send an expedition among her tribes-
men, for it had been a long time since an expedition
had reached her country. I happened to be at Ch'ie-
bzan in 1914 when the expedition returned. It had
collected 3,000 sheep, 400 horses, and 280 camels, which
were loaded with wool and skins.

The breach between T'u-kuan and Sumpa, which oc- 175
curred in 1890, was more tragic. During the rebellion 578
of the Moslems, Sumpa (born in 1854) had fled among 792
the Mongols and Tibetans, north of Kukunor. He met
with a Mongol girl, whom he had moved to his branch
monastery called Sumpa-ssu. The lama community
of Erh-ku-lung, after some years, could no longer stand
the disrepute brought on the monastery. It brought [691]
suit against Sumpa before the Amban in the prefectural
city of Hsining, claiming he was not a genuine re-
incarnation. The lama community urged that he be
erased from the list of Buddhas, and insisted on the
right to search for the genuine reincarnation. For
several months the lamas disturbed the whole city with
the scandal, and spent money. The Chinese enjoyed
all the incidents of the trial. Sumpa lost his face and
honor irretrievably. Sumpa, however, was rich and
the Amban venal. The Amban finally proposed that
Sumpa leave Erh-ku-lung and move to one of his affili-
ates. This reincarnation (the third) of the illustrious
Sumpa, having cut a sorry figure, never returned to
Erh-ku-lung, but lived at his branch where, in 1916,
his two girls delighted the old age of their father, who
was sixty. His eldest daughter had married the son
of the chief of the Aruk tribe. In 1916 the old man
made a pilgrimage to Lhasa, and the lamas said he
was atoning for his sins. No wonder that the Li-fan
yüan records lacked information concerning the subse-
quent reincarnations of the Great Sumpa.

The Living Buddha Ch'ie-bzan of Erh-ku-lung hav- 175
ing a branch monastery of his own, moved into it, 792
appearing at Erh-ku-lung only to attend the festivals. 627
The Living Buddha Wang lived in retired seclusion. 762
Soon after the trial of Sumpa, the minor Living Buddha
Tsung-tsa, one of the eleven, followed in the steps of
Sumpa and established a family in Tsung-tsa. In the
winter of the same year, the minor Living Buddha Seer-
ting was taken and beaten at night by the husband and

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and their attributions; it is identical, probably, in all 792
the monasteries of Huang-chung.

ENVIRONMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION

In order to gain an insight into the administration of a monastery, of a community of lamas, or of a college, it is not sufficient to know what officials make the wheels turn and what their respective functions are. A knowledge of the environment in which they act is also necessary. This can best be provided by examples, numbered below from 1 to 7. The intendant is ultimately the hub around which the entire administration is built.

(1). In 1914 the Lama Li, intendant of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, moved his two concubines into a nice building situated in the most remote west corner of the monastery. The three intendants of the lama community and the two colleges protested vehemently to the T'u-kuan against the impudence of the intendant and urged his dismissal, but he was only ordered to move his concubines to the "summer palace" of the Hutukhtu himself, a couple of miles distant from the monastery.

Li was a very capable man, well known all over the 792
country. He had often extricated the monastery from 426
very tight spots. A few weeks before he was given the above order, he had succeeded in sending back to Mongolia a strong group of Mongols who had been dispatched by their prince to urge the long delayed payment of an important debt contracted by one of T'u-kuan's former incarnations. For six months the Mongols had been enjoying life, eating the best food, drinking the best wine, and feeding their animals at the expense of the intendancy. They were resolved to leave the monastery only after full payment of the debt. No one had succeeded in persuading them to leave, not even by proposing to pay half of the debt at once and the remainder the following year. Intendant Li, who had been on duty in Lanchou, was finally summoned by the distressed Hutukhtu. After a few days he had succeeded so well as to make the creditors grant "reverentially" the remission of half of the debt and to make them joyfully agree to urge the payment of the remaining half by the next incarnation of T'u-kuan.

T'u-kuan was greatly indebted to his intendant for 792
the many services rendered to him, but at the same time he was unable to dismiss him for fear he would revive many old troubles and harm the monastery. The intendant was thoroughly aware of this predicament and acted impudently, breaking one of the most basic rules of the Yellow Sect, that of celibacy.

(2) A servant of the intendancy of the old and 792
venerated minor Living Buddha Li of Erh-ku-lung in- 691
advertently broke the big tea cauldron belonging to 428
the community of the lamas. The intendant of the [415]
community of lamas stirred up the turbulent lamas who urged old Li to have a new cauldron cast, but the placid

[p.41(A)]

old Li would not budge. The whole community was humming like a beehive and about to drive the old Li and his intendant out. T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was unable to pour oil on the troubled waters; the furious intendant of the community of lamas, in a flush of excitement, called thirty lamas, went to Hsining and brought an accusation against old Li. At the court the Amban immediately fell under the spell of the placid and respectable Buddha, bent with age, who explained his case peaceably.

The Amban did not allow the thirty or more turbulent lamas to return to the monastery, after they had, with vehemence and arrogance, several times presented their claims before him. He made them wait for the publication of the verdict, and while waiting had them live in Chinese inns, where they spent money every day, bribing the happy officials who would make their hopes run high one day and dash them to the ground on the next, thus making them spend more money. The Living Buddha and his intendant lived at peace at the home of his nephew, the Li T'u-ssu. He was acquainted with the most prominent men in the city, had them working for him and bringing small gifts. After four months the impoverished lamas became as meek as lambs and the Amban deemed the time ripe to pronounce the verdict: "The cauldron had been broken inadvertently. Because the community of lamas drank tea from the cauldron several times every day, the community should bring into his hands $800, and he would take care of the casting of a beautiful cauldron; the intendant and the board of the community should be put in jail until the money was ready." The epilogue of this interesting trial was that after a few days the money was reverentially placed in the hands of the Amban, the intendant and the men of the board were released, and the Amban had a cauldron cast—for $150!

The intendants are powerful elements in a monastery. In this case T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, belonged to the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, as did the venerable old Living Buddha Li. Yet he could not stay the hands of the intendant and the board of the community of the lamas who, incautiously disregarding the relationship between the two venerable living Buddhas were too quick on the trigger in resorting turbulently to the Chinese courts of justice, although they should have known the dangers by experience. The officials know it is impossible to talk sense into such lamas without first making them spend all their money and letting them wait for months at the gate of the court. The lesson given to the lamas is remunerative for the Chinese officials, but the lamas, stubborn as mules, appear again before the judges at the next opportunity, and receive the same lesson all over. Such is the atmosphere of a monastery and its inmates.

(3) Li, the lama intendant, of the Living Buddha Lu, supreme chief of the monastery of Yang-k'uo-erh-ssu,

[p.41(8)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

was officially appointed chiliarch (*ch'ien hu*) [1] by the 688
Amban, with the privilege of judging the subjects of 792
the monastery. He was thus simultaneously a monastic 578
official and a Chinese civil official. He had amassed a 691
comfortable fortune at the expense of the subjects of six villages belonging to the monastery. A shrewd, capable man, in order to assure his position, he cleverly moved his younger sister near the monastery in order to have the young Living Buddha "acquainted" with her.

Lamas and subjects urged the dismissal of the intendant. The Buddha refused and threatened to accuse the three ringleaders of the rebellion, but the subjects and lamas went to the court of the subprefect of Nien-pe and accused both the Buddha and the intendant. Knowing that the intendant was rich, the judge examining the case put him in jail on the very first day of the trial, to make him understand that the roles were reversed. The sister of the intendant was called to testify, and the Living Buddha lost face before the people of Nien-pe, who attended all the sessions with the keenest interest. Finally, the Buddha was divested of the privilege of having a chiliarch to judge his subjects, and blushing with shame he received a lecture from the judge on the observance of celibacy in the Yellow Sect. The girl was ordered to move far away from the monastery.

The intendant, dismissed from his office by the judge, was released after several more months. He had spent his whole fortune, and had even been forced to sell his fields, cattle, and two oil mills. During the troubles, 70 of the 150 lamas left the monastery. This intendant caused the ruin of the monastery.

(4) The most beautiful bridge in Kansu is over the 792
Ta-t'ung River, opposite the monastery of T'ien-t'ang- 578
ssu, which before 1723 had had three colleges, two 628
Living Buddhas, and 700 lamas, and at this time still had 200. When the supreme chief of the monastery was only seven years of age, troubles had started between the intendancy of the monastery and that of the community of lamas. Each claimed to be the proprietor of the bridge, with the right to collect tolls. The lamas, divided into two groups, became involved in the troubles. For twelve years both intendancies, accusing each other, moved from city to city and from one court of justice to another, and spent all the money of the respective intendancies. The head temple of the monastery was closed for three years. Finally, the Chinese judges having milked the cows dry, abolished the right of the lamas to receive the toll and took it themselves. The peace of the monastery was disturbed to the point that 120 disgusted lamas left. In 1920 only 80 lamas remained, some old men, but mostly children. The stubborn intendencies had preferred to wreck the

[1] "Chief of 1,000 families" is an official, appointed by the Chinese administration, who controls a tribe or group of people. He imposes corvées, collects taxes for the government, mediates troubles, and awards punishments. Although his subjects very seldom number 1,000 families, the title remains the same.

[p.42(A)]

lamasery rather than accept any of the propositions suggested to end the feud.[3] 792 578

(5) I was told many times, by two honorable intendants, that it was the heated rivalry between the intendancies of the three supreme chiefs of Erh-ku-lung that had, in former times, caused the departure of Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the rift between the supreme chiefs, and the decline of Erh-ku-lung. There must be a grain of truth in the traditions of these experienced men who, better than we, understand the enormous influence exerted by the intendancies upon the Living Buddhas, and the jealousies between the intendancies. 628

(6) Most old lamas have a disciple who, upon their death, becomes their legal heir and proprietor of their entire fortune (home, herds, money, etc.). However, it is a noted fact that it is very difficult for the disciple of an intendant to inherit the fortune of his master. The old intendant of the Tenma Living Buddha, supreme chief of the monastery of Kan-ch'an-ssu, became sick, retired, and declined into that stage of life called "second childhood." His disciple, an intelligent boy of fourteen years, following the advice of his shrewd, experienced maternal uncle, Manguru, chief of a Tibetan tribe in Waza, subject to Tenma, secretly moved the comfortable fortune of his master to the home of his rich uncle. When the master died, Tenma, thinking like every Living Buddha, suspected that his old intendant had amassed a fortune at his expense and went immediately to examine his richly furnished home, hoping to find a colossal fortune. The floors of the rooms were turned over, the chimney broken, the sheep, cow, and horse pens dug up several feet deep, but no silver was found. Railing and raging, the Living Buddha drove into his own pens the 150 cows, 40 horses, and 600 sheep of the deceased. 792 428

The maternal uncle defended the disciple, and protested. After a couple of days the deluded Tenma went to Hsining with an imposing retinue of twenty men in order to accuse the disciple and his uncle at the court of the subprefect, of having stolen the fortune unjustly amassed by the intendant. The disciple and his uncle were flogged and thrown into jail, but did not confess to being guilty. After a few days the shrewd uncle made friends with the underlings of the officials by bribing them. He and the disciple were released, and thereupon rewarded the underlings by showing them the way to extort money from Tenma. After three years, the subprefect declared both the uncle and the disciple innocent. Tenma brought suit again at the court of the Amban, where it dragged on for more than four years more, which made the officials happy. They excited his hatred against the disciple and his uncle. But the disciple and his uncle lived in a small inn and 792 691 428

[3] Reginald Farrer, *Rainbow bridge*, 111, London, Arnold, 1921. Farrer was in T'ien-t'ang-ssu during the summer months, studying the flora of the country. He describes the wonderful bridge and includes a picture of it.

[p. 42 (B)]

did not spend much money. Tenma, with his retinue, 792
living according to his station, giving bribes and send- 691
ing gifts, spent lavishly. Finally, the disgusted Amban, 428
in order to end the trouble, delegated his power to the Living Buddha of Seerkok.

The intendant of the living Buddha of Seerkok, prompted by the Amban, settled the question after two or three sessions. He condemned Tenma to pay 3,000 taels to the disciple as indemnity for carrying away the cattle. Tenma protested. He was put in the jail [697] of the monastery and manacled. After two months he agreed to pay the alloted sum, and so was released.

Epilogue: For seven years, the stubborn Manguru was the most talked of man in the country because of his courageous resistance to the Living Buddha. He decided to rehabilitate the poor man, on whose chieftain's prestige his tribe depended. He bought a nice black horse, a fine Peking saddle, put a piece of yellow satin on the top of it, and, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, he and the disciple prostrated themselves and, apologizing, presented the horse.

This case is unique in the annals of Lamaism in Hsining. A stubborn Living Buddha, condemned by the intendancy of Seerkok, was put in jail and manacled. What was the cause of the trouble? Living Buddhas were eternally suspicious of the honesty of their intendants. Noteworthy also is the fact that the maternal uncle, not his father or brother, defended the disciple. In the tribe of Manguru matriarchy is still prevalent.

(7) Last of all, a very important psychology is to 792
be noted regarding injustices perpetrated among the 796
Monguors and Tibetans, and among lamas as well as among Living Buddhas. When an injustice is committed, its perpetrators are pursued by the enraged guardian spirit that protects the wealth of the family involved. According to this philosophy, when intermittent calamities or misfortunes occur in a family and weigh it down, magical rites are to be performed to propitiate the enraged pursuing spirit. (This rite will be studied later.)

This rite was ordered to be performed at his branch 792
monastery by the poor Sumpa Hutukhtu when, after 788
his voluntary banishment, one misfortune succeeded another. He claimed that the misfortunes were caused by the injustices perpetrated by the former and present intendants of his monastery, who had aroused the avenging bolts of the guardian spirits of the families who had suffered their injustices. The same rite was performed at Erh-ku-lung in 1919, on the orders of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, after he had vainly built a Bumkhang in 1917, in order to put an end to the misfortunes which ruined the monastery. It was performed at Seerkok in 1920, on the orders of the supreme chief of the monastery, Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, in the same circumstances, and the same explanation was openly proclaimed by both prominent chiefs of the most important monasteries. [p. 43(A)]

to make up his retinue, and it even happens that a 792
couple of men are asked for from former tributaries. 484
The subjects are thus liable to the corvées of the mon- 651
astery and at the same time to Chinese official corvées.

Administration of Justice

All the subjects of the monasteries are liable to the 792
Chinese courts of justice. It would seem logical to 691
have abolished all the old courts of justice existing at the monasteries, but all intendants still dispense justice to their subjects, expose at the gate of their intendancy the instruments of torture, and have their own jails. The intendants of Erh-ku-lung, Kumbum and Seerkok are even recognized officially by the Amban as ch'ien-hu, i.e., civil officials having the right to judge subjects.

In 1916 the minor Living Buddha of the monastery 792
of Dia-ik, fired by ambition and knowing my good rela- 692
tions with the Amban, importuned me for weeks to have me recommend him for the office of ch'ien-hu. He became ch'ien-hu not only of his subjects, but of the three former tributary Tibetan tribes depending on his previous incarnations. In 1917, with an air of exulting pride, he broke the news to me of having obtained in Peking the title of Hutukhtu. It is hard for a western mind to unravel these administrative mysteries.

The subjects enjoy the right of bringing suit at the 792
Chinese courts, but often they do not do so for fear of 692
retaliation by the intendancies, which they are unable 661
to match. However, since the Republic, more and more cases have been initiated by subjects who, victims of crying injustices, have plucked up their courage to challenge their intendants, because their minds were not insulated from the modern principles taught by teachers and officials. Nothwithstanding the change in the social psychology of the subjects, the intendants, the builders of big fortunes, continue to plant in the hearts of their subjects the seeds of aversion and hatred against themselves. Many of them collect the rent from their subjects with measures greater than the legal one, compelling them to fill them to the point where the grain spills on the ground, and not allowing them to collect the spilled surplus, which they appropriate. Being the most important businessmen in the country, they impose corvées on the subjects in order to carry on their own business, and when the patience of the subjects is worn thin, the clash comes, causing the ruin of the monastery. Such were the conditions prevailing between the subjects and the monasteries in 1910–1920. The monasteries had in the end succeeded in maintaining a firm grip on their subjects, notwithstanding the aim of the regulations, decreed after the revolt of 1723, to withdraw them from the baneful influence of the monasteries.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Even this kind of trouble is mild enough. It is more serious when the pupil accuses his master in the Chinese court, alleging that living with his master is impossible, and demanding a part of his wealth. Such impudent acts of audacity happen from time to time. I asked the subprefects of Tat'ung and Nien-pei, and the Amban, about the reasons given for such accusations. All three told me, "Father, you do not know the secrets of the monasteries. The alleged reasons are always, in the long run, the same as those used by the daughters-in-law when they accuse their fathers-in-law."

A lama cannot stand having such accusations put on public display by an unscrupulous pupil who aims at getting hold of his wealth, for even if he wins the suit, his entire wealth has vanished. The pupil knows perfectly well how much his master is worth, and tells the officials and the underlings of the court how much they can expect to benefit. Such a suit makes the court happy. An intelligent lama, therefore, always tries to invite influential people to mediate the quarrel and to work out an agreement, consenting to give up a part of his fortune and to separate from the pupil. The lama can then begin again with another pupil, while he still has something to his name.

The life of a lama is not a bed of roses. Even if he should be an affluent individual, insecurity over the attitude of his uneducated pupil, fears of having the pupil accuse him at the Chinese courts, and the possibility of losing his fortune, must always hover in the background.

The life of the pupil is not a bed of roses either.[8] Not having received any real religious education, having no serious occupation, living a lazy life, the prospect of having to serve, who knows for how many years, a master who is becoming old and has many weaknesses and imperfections, is not alluring. On the other hand, being in the prime of life, used to engaging in domestic duties, enjoying the company of young people of dubious behavior, the pupil is not disposed to dedicate all his energy to study and devote himself entirely to a perfect monastic life.

These seemed to be the conditions prevailing between masters and pupils in the monasteries of Huang-chung in 1910–1920, which became evident after observing the lama life at close quarters for several years.

THE IDEAL MONGUOR LAMA IN HUANG-CHUNG

It was always very interesting to inquire, among well-acquainted, serious lamas, and among young pupils, how a "good" lama behaved the whole day long. The answers given are summed up in the following statement, bearing evidences of a long-standing tradition and of a general uniformity in the concept of a "model," or "ideal" lama.

In the very early morning the master awakens his

[8] Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 129, 130, 131.

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BEHAVIOR OF THE LIVING BUDDHAS OF HUANG-CHUNG

Some facts will explain this matter better than philosophical considerations. 792

In 1916 the Living Buddha of the monastery of Sha-ku-ssu (Yung ch'ang hsien), an old branch of Erh-ku-lung, was an inveterate opium addict and had ruined his monastery. In order to retrieve his financial position in an easy way, he called on the Living Buddha of the monastery of Nan-ying (Liang chou), saying that he remembered in all the minutest detail having loaned, five generations ago, to his honorable confrere of Nan-ying, three herds of horses, five of sheep, three of cows, and 300 taels, and that this debt had never been paid; because he was poor and his confrere rich he would like to have his confrere take care of the matter. 276 691 157

The answer of the equally shrewd confrere was that he did not at all remember such an enormous debt, although he remembered in all possible detail the events that had happened during five generations. Thereupon the living Buddha of Sha-ku-ssu brought suit against his confrere at the Court of Justice in Liang-chou, claiming that his confrere knew all about the question, but that his pathological craving for money made him throttle his conscience and commit this crying injustice. The confrere reciprocated along the same line, exposing the opium addict before the interested audience; but because in China a rich man must always give up some of his rights in favor of the poor, the rich Living Buddha was ordered to give ten horses, and his poor confrere was able to continue smoking his opium for some time. [696]

The reason alleged by the opium smoker should be well known among lamas and Living Buddhas. It was the same that was used by the Dalai Lama at Kumbum in 1909. In autumn he arrived at Kumbum with the traditional splendor of an Oriental potentate. Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese ran to Kumbum to honor him. The Dalai Lama and his retinue were savage and arrogant; their animals were turned loose among the crops in the fields. Every day troubles arose over the sheep and flour offered by the mandarins, and the Dalai Lama, swayed by foolish pride and insolence, insisted on transferring three lama officials of Kumbum. Achia, defending his rights, denied the Dalai Lama permission to interfere with his administration of the lamasery. 792 157 578

The reason alleged by the Dalai Lama was that in one of his previous existences he remembered having been an incarnation of Achia and supreme chief of Kumbum. But Achia, without losing his balance, flatly denied the fact because he did not remember such an incarnation. Furthermore, he pointed out that the Dalai Lama was the incarnation of Tsong khapa, who was the incarnation of Chen-resig, while he himself was the incarnation of Tsong-khapa's father. He wondered how a son could behave so insolently and impudently

[P.69(B)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

SHAMANS AND BEWITCHMENT

The shaman is the recognized protector against all 756
kinds of evil influences and bewitching. Monguors are 755
scared to be in the neighborhood of very old trees and Obos. A very old tree, it is said, is about to become a spirit and even a man, because the essence of the tree has grown out of its perfection. Thus, the very old tree of the village of Lei-chia-p'u in the Sa-t'ang Valley, it is said, takes a walk at night and harms the people it encounters. It is also said that it is very dangerous for pregnant women to walk in the village at night. The same belief is prevalent about old statues and about Obos on small passes. The shaman is invited by the neighbors of these dangerous objects to preserve them against their baneful influences and to neutralize their ill-omened forces. Lamas are invited by the people living near such Obos to read texts and do Wei-sang, hoping they will not harm them.

Bewitchment is the last resource for avenging in- [691] 578
justices and outrages, which cannot be avenged by 754
legal and overt means, and for doing harm to an enemy by a hidden means. Such acts are considered by the Monguors to be a direct resort to black magic, and in order to neutralize or to perform a bewitchment, they usually invite a black shaman, but it is not exceptional to encounter a white shaman doing the job. Bewitchment is, most of the time, performed in case of lawsuits for properties that have been unjustly decided, in cases of eloped women who cannot be brought back home, for presumption of theft, in cases of jealousy and hatred between two wealthy families.

In 1918 a Monguor living in the Lu men cheng Valley was sued at the Chinese court by a rich Chinese, and jailed for a few months. When he was liberated, he invited a black shaman who prepared some small wooden planks, on which he painted cabalistic designs with the blood of a white dog. The Monguor buried them in the cemetery of the rich Chinese, according to the prescriptions of the shaman. During one year, three persons died in the family of the Chinese. The Chinese then invited a celebrated black shaman to neutralize the evil influences which were harming him and his family. It happened that the celebrated black shaman was the knave who had prepared the planks for the Monguor! He told the rich Chinese to be suspicious, for a foe of his might have buried bewitched planks in his cemetery. He received his salary and went home. The planks were found. The Chinese sued the Monguor at the court of the T'u-ssu, because mandarins do not care for such troubles. The Monguor was compelled to invite twelve shamans in order to undo the spell.

Another fact, well known over the country in 1914 because a whole village and a living Buddha were involved, casts light on this psychology of the Monguors. Tjaar tseen, the limping chief of the village of Ch'üe-lung-ku, was sued at the Chinese court by Chao, the

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624 lamas, the "passing" of land to people who are not members of the clan, etc.

624 The number of men in the village liable to military service is checked, and the T'u-ssu carries out a
701 military inspection. The troops turn out with their muskets and swords and horses. Tents, cooking kettles, pack animals and pack saddles, and sacks for carrying the flour ration are all inspected. The inspection concludes with a sham attack by the Monguor cavalry at full gallop, the soldiers firing their guns, drawing their swords, and howling and shouting.

624 The next important procedure is ratification by the T'u-ssu of all the settlements made by the village elders
692 in patching up quarrels during the preceding three years. The custom is that when such a settlement is made, each person involved must pay the elders 2,000 copper coins, and these accumulated sums must be offered to the T'u-ssu. If there are legal suits, as distinguished from these settlements, the T'u-ssu presides over them on the fourth day. To deal with such suits, he is accompanied throughout his journey by the officials of his court of justice and by lictors carrying chains, handcuffs, and batons, and wearing their appropriate costumes.

624 The custom is that justice be rendered on the threshing
693 floor of the village in the open air. The lord and his secretaries sit at tables. At the left stand two lictors
681 dressed in red cotton and wearing high red harlequin hats, and with batons in their hands. At the right stand two lictors dressed in black. Chains, handcuffs, and batons are laid on the table, and plaintiffs and defendants kneel in front. The punishments inflicted include hanging by the wrists or thumbs, and flogging up to one hundred and even five hundred lashes. The offender is stripped and pegged out face downward, arms and legs spreadeagled. The lictors, armed with short whips or rods, strike the tender inner side of the thighs. Women are flogged on the bare back. The justice meted out is not always as brutal as it appears to be, because the retinue of the T'u-ssu is always venal. They depend on bribery for their income. Although most T'u-ssu do not approve of the corruption indulged in by many of their minor officials, they cannot always prevent it. Suits brought by the Monguors before the T'u-ssu are the delight of his retinue. It is often the crying injustices caused by the venality and peculation of the petty officials that cause Monguors to leave the clan territory and abandon their lord.

624 The expenses of legal suits, and of the sojourn of the T'u-ssu with his retinue for that day, are paid by the
651 litigants, but all other expenses of the official three-day visit are defrayed by the people of the village. At the
691 end of the visit, the elders and troops of the next village come to escort the T'u-ssu on the next stage of his tour.

624 It may be noted that this triennial tour of the T'u-ssu, accompanied by his court of justice, seems to suggest that it is the T'u-ssu as an individual and not his mansion

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565 by Chinese officials, or on journeys to congratulate
574 Chinese officials on the major feast days of the year. The nobles as a group are also exempted from military
565 service, although the chiefs of the militia of the com-
701 moners, according to tradition, were always chosen from among the nobles in former times. In later times both
622 nobles and commoners have served as commanders and officers.[55]

It is said by the Monguors that in times past it was usually a noble who served as the chief of a village, but that because at present there are very few capable men among the nobles, these duties have devolved on commoners. Similarly, the nobles have lost the monopoly of serving as military officers.

AUTHORITY OF T'U-SSU OVER NOBLES

624 As might be expected the relations between a T'u-ssu
565 and his nobles are of a special kind. It has already been described how, on occasions of special ceremony, a T'u-ssu may actually be expected to prostrate himself before nobles who are members of a generation senior to his own, while they do not have to prostrate themselves to him, but merely clasp their hands and bow their heads. Moreover, while the T'u-ssu takes precedence when he is presiding as chief of the clan at the veneration of the ancestors, at clan meetings, during the triennial visitation, or when nobles or commoners are brought before him in a lawsuit, yet on such occasions as non-official dinners and the marriages of nobles, the T'u-ssu always requests a noble of a generation senior to his own to preside.

624 Difficulties among the nobles most commonly originate
565 either in quarrels over the division of a paternal inheritance or quarrels about the collection of taxes. In order to prevent litigation, the clan elders try to arbitrate
692 such quarrels. Only if they are unsuccessful is a lawsuit brought before the T'u-ssu. If the parties do not agree to the T'u-ssu's verdict, they are free to appeal to a Chinese court. In a case known to me, the eleventh House of the clan of Li T'u-ssu had trouble with its villages over the collection of taxes. Unwilling to abide by the verdict of the T'u-ssu, the members of the House went to the Chinese court. They were severely rebuked, the Chinese judge angrily threatening to abolish the outmoded custom under which the members of a whole clan live at the expense of the commoners.

681 Nobles are never flogged or beaten for transgression of the law, because the lictors are commoners and it is not fitting that commoners should beat nobles.

624 When the T'u-ssu visits his nobles in the course of
565 his triennial tour, they defray his expenses, including those of his retinue, just as do the commoners.

The old nomad custom was that when an individual

[55] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 233, notes that among the Mongols of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, with the decay of the feudal system, the duty of feudal service on the part of a noble to his lord had become more voluntary than obligatory.

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

576 624 "when their ministers of state had audience with the Khakhan, etiquette required them to remove the hat and enter with dishevelled hair, something akin to the Hsiungnu custom." [59]

FESTIVAL

527 Chinese merchants, who keep themselves informed of all festival dates among the Monguors, of course gather in great numbers and pitch their tents in the wide valley below the cemetery. The merchants pay taxes for permission to attend such gatherings.

On this occasion, a very large tent was pitched within which the T'u-ssu presided over the festivities, seated in the midst of the nobles, the elders, and all the prominent non-nobles of the clan, receiving the renewed professions of allegiance of his subjects. The chiefs and elders of each village, ceremonially dressed, came up one after another to do homage, bowing kneeling, and performing the *k'o-t'ou* or prostration, taking their time from the master of ceremonies who shouted his directions in a loud voice. The T'u-ssu, at the height of his glory, was happy to entertain each and every man for a few moments. Hundreds of Monguors crowded around, looking on and enjoying the ceremony.

Finally, dinner was eaten by the T'u-ssu and all the chiefs and prominent members of the clan, some seated inside the tent and an overflow outside seated on felt rugs at small tables. The customary whole sheep, the traditional dish of honor of all Inner Asian nomads, was presented to the T'u-ssu. Wine was drunk and tongues began to wag. A couple of girls with pleasing voices were invited to sing the customary songs, outside the tent and in the presence of the crowd. A number of men and women presented graceful dances, each dancing alone without a partner, to the music of a simple guitar-like instrument. Youngsters raced on unsaddled, spirited horses, passing before the tent to cross the finish line, and finally two wrestlers, a Monguor and a Tibetan lama from the monastery of Serkok, were admired and congratulated. A number of Monguors and Tibetans, befuddled with liquor, started fighting, and soldiers closed in on them to restore order. Before sunset most of the crowd had gone, leaving a few small groups still sitting on the ground, singing and making merry.

The Monguors told me that this glorious day seldom passed without a certain amount of disturbance and fighting; but the tradition is that no suits can be brought before the T'u-ssu or the village chiefs for heads smashed, bones broken, and clothes torn on this day of celebration.

ASSIZES OF THE CLAN

• 692 The next morning the assizes of the clan began inside the big tent, presided over by the T'u-ssu, with the chief

[59] E. H. Parker, *A thousand years of the Tartars*, 211, 2nd ed., London, Kegan, Paul, 1924. (It should be noted, however, that among the Mongols the custom is the opposite; it is an incivility to take off the hat in the presence of a superior.—O. L.)

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1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

692 nobles and non-nobles, chiefs of villages, and officials of the administration in attendance. A large number of Monguors sat around the tent, taking a keen interest in the proceedings. The matters discussed were for the most part of the same kind as those dealt with when the T'u-ssu makes his triennial tour of the villages: taxes and corvées were discussed and fixed, inquiries were made about the observance of traditions, the register of subjects was checked over, military matters were reviewed, and disputes between villages adjudicated. The T'u-ssu appointed or dismissed a number of chiefs, village elders, and military commanders. At these assizes suits may be brought for personal adjudication by the T'u-ssu, who metes out punishment according to custom.

The expenses of this annual assembly are shared by the subjects, while the offerings for the ancestors are paid for by the nobles—a division of expenses that again underlines the difference between the inner clan of common blood-descent and the extended clan of political subjects. Usually by the third day there are no more tents in the valley, the merchants have dispersed, and the T'u-ssu returns to his mansion. Such were the proceedings at the last glorious annual assembly of the clan of the Ch'i-T'u-ssu, which I had the good fortune to attend in 1913.

REMARKS

618 The description of the organization of the Monguor
624 clans and their administration is based on the pattern of the large clans. It is easy to understand that the display of pomp at the diets is related to the importance of the clans, the number of their clan members, and their wealth, and also to the wealth and prestige of the T'u-ssu. Small clans finish the three acts of their diet in a single day, always keeping the difference and deference between nobles and commoners at the time of worshipping of the founding ancestor. In small clans however, constituted by only 150 families or so, both groups necessarily are not numerous and the diet is more like a family gathering and is more informal. Since the clan is small, all the circumstances of each family are known by the T'u-ssu and he himself tackles all the problems of the clan with the elders; the collection of land taxes by nobles is necessarily reduced to a minimum, but the nobles are always exempted from taxes and corvées. Corvées are necessarily reduced in the same way, since the mansion of the T'u-ssu is usually a small Chinese courtyard without temples and administrative buildings. Inevitably the distance which separates T'u-ssu from commoners is minimized, because the commoners may confer directly with the T'u-ssu. In the large clan it is not easy for the commoner to meet the T'u-ssu, for soldiers watch the entrance of his mansion, requests have to be written by the secretaries and forwarded by messengers to the lord, and it is uncertain if the lord will allow the Monguor commoner to see him or not. Because the distance

to make up his retinue, and it even happens that a 792
couple of men are asked for from former tributaries. 484
The subjects are thus liable to the corvées of the mon- 651
astery and at the same time to Chinese official corvées.

Administration of Justice

All the subjects of the monasteries are liable to the 792
Chinese courts of justice. It would seem logical to 691
have abolished all the old courts of justice existing at the monasteries, but all intendants still dispense justice to their subjects, expose at the gate of their intendancy the instruments of torture, and have their own jails. The intendants of Erh-ku-lung, Kumbum and Seerkok are even recognized officially by the Amban as ch'ien-hu, i.e., civil officials having the right to judge subjects.

In 1916 the minor Living Buddha of the monastery 792
of Dia-ik, fired by ambition and knowing my good rela- 692
tions with the Amban, importuned me for weeks to have me recommend him for the office of ch'ien-hu. He became ch'ien-hu not only of his subjects, but of the three former tributary Tibetan tribes depending on his previous incarnations. In 1917, with an air of exulting pride, he broke the news to me of having obtained in Peking the title of Hutukhtu. It is hard for a western mind to unravel these administrative mysteries.

The subjects enjoy the right of bringing suit at the 792
Chinese courts, but often they do not do so for fear of 692
retaliation by the intendancies, which they are unable 661
to match. However, since the Republic, more and more cases have been initiated by subjects who, victims of crying injustices, have plucked up their courage to challenge their intendants, because their minds were not insulated from the modern principles taught by teachers and officials. Nothwithstanding the change in the social psychology of the subjects, the intendants, the builders of big fortunes, continue to plant in the hearts of their subjects the seeds of aversion and hatred against themselves. Many of them collect the rent from their subjects with measures greater than the legal one, compelling them to fill them to the point where the grain spills on the ground, and not allowing them to collect the spilled surplus, which they appropriate. Being the most important businessmen in the country, they impose corvées on the subjects in order to carry on their own business, and when the patience of the subjects is worn thin, the clash comes, causing the ruin of the monastery. Such were the conditions prevailing between the subjects and the monasteries in 1910–1920. The monasteries had in the end succeeded in maintaining a firm grip on their subjects, notwithstanding the aim of the regulations, decreed after the revolt of 1723, to withdraw them from the baneful influence of the monasteries.

[p.48(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

LAMASERIES AS ADMINISTRATIVE CENTERS OF THE COUNTRY AND CONDITIONS OF THE SUBJECTS BEFORE 1723

792 175

The study of the material aspects of the administration of the monasteries and the status of their subjects in 1910–1920, which are the consequences of the revolt of 1723, provides many facts pointing to the situation as it existed before 1723, and makes possible a reconstruction of the conditions in which the lamaseries flourished and their subjects lived before that fateful date.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) had succeeded in driving the Mongols out of China, there existed in Huang-chung only the two cities of Hsining and Nien pei, and some fortified walled places which were garrisons established in former times to assure the occupation of the always disturbed country. The Ming started anew the colonization of the depopulated country by transplanting from central China 7,200 Chinese families (Part I: p. 30), accepting the submission of the Monguors, and assigning to each of their groups a definite territory, making them wardens of the country and their chiefs officials of the empire, with the prerogatives of the office of T'u-ssu (Part I: 46 sq.). The city of Hsining was more a military than a civil administrative center.

In order to repopulate the country, the Ming adopted the policy of attracting lamas and settling them in the region with the subjects they induced to submit to the empire. It granted them territories and made the lamas the hereditary chieftains of the groups they had brought in. They were responsible for the tribute to be offered to the emperor and had complete jurisdiction over their subjects. Hence the flourishing of lamaseries, Nang-suos, Karwas. The protection bestowed upon the lamas and the immunity granted to them by the emperor made the dissatisfied Chinese officials keep quiet and swallow their national pride. [168 648]

Consequently, large territories were assigned to the Monguor clans and larger or smaller ones to the lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas, whose inhabitants were completely withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials. Besides these autonomous groups there lived, scattered over the country, some small groups of petty Tibetan tribes, remnants of tribes which had fled from Kukunor or Tibet, depending directly upon the Chinese administration. From among those groups, from among the Monguor clans, and from their own subjects, the lama institutions recruited and increased the number of their lamas.

The chiefs of the lama institutions accredited by the emperor lived in their seigniories like princes, surrounded by a large or small retinue, occupying a more or less elaborate residence built within a compound of temples, the quarters of the lamas, and large granaries. They appointed the staffs of lama officials for administering justice among the subjects (officially appointed 792 175 692 [643]

[p.49(A)]

chiliarchs still exist in Kumbum, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok), meting out punishments (instruments of torture are still displayed at lama courts), and imprisonment (the prison of Seerkok still exists); caring for the preservation of peace and order in the territories assigned to them, inquiring about travelers passing through it; administering the distribution of fields, the imposition and collection of taxes, the imposition of tolls on bridges (the bridge of T'ien t'ang and raft of Kan ch'an), and the imposition of corvées. 792 175 692

At the time of the inroads of marauding Mongol and Tibetan tribes, the revolts of Moslems, and the lama revolt against China in 1723, the subjects were compelled by the lamas to take sides with them in combat and in defending the lamaseries and their territories. In short, the privileges bestowed upon the chiefs of the lama institutions before 1723 were far-reaching. They were units, scattered over the country, administering their subjects according to their own rules and customs, entirely free from the interference of Chinese officials.

The lamaseries were the administrative centers of the groups subordinated to them. All the country's wealth flowed into their granaries and treasuries. Moreover, the lamas tended herds of cows, sheep, and horses, built oil and grain mills, and received donations. The lamaseries were the only places where huge sums of money could be borrowed (Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu borrowed money from them by mortgaging parts of their properties). They removed the wealth of the country from circulation and hoarded it or used it to found new lama communities (the tremendous branching out of monasteries between 1600 and 1723). They did not even use it for charitable institutions for the people of the country. 792 175 425 426

The lamaseries, originally built in lonely places and in remote valleys, in order that the monks would not be disturbed in their meditations and studies by the tumult of the world, were in olden times the most animated places of the country. In autumn the subjects carried taxes and rents on long caravans of donkeys to their granaries. The measuring of grain went on, as it did all over Asia, with rumbling noise and cries, bursting with activity for weeks in succession. At the time of exchanging tea for horses all the subjects were interested in the assessment of the horses. The tumult and discussions on the grounds of the monastery lasted for days and days. The selection of the horses for tribute to the emperor was conducted with like tumult and confusion, and often for the same length of time. Two or three times a year large festivals were held at the monasteries. They were attended by all the people of the country interested in horse racing, wrestling, singing, dancing, and in the big fairs held at that time. Chinese traders came from the city, pitched their tents, paid toll to the lamas, and sold their wares. The Monguors and Tibetans also arrived with their homespun 792 175 651 427 [554 443]

[p. 49 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongur AE9

case with the subjects of the T'u-ssu, and so no out- 175
standing rich families could rise up among them. Since 565
the entire administration was carried on exclusively 792
by lamas, the subjects could hardly incur any important social prestige within their circle, or become leading personalities, and certainly not during the entire Ming period (1368–1644) when intermittent troubles and interruptions of trade curtailed the opportunity to become rich. Accordingly, the lamas effectively controlled the subjects and their domains.

As no written code of law existed, the lama officials 175
helped themselves with a house law on a grand scale, 792
by imposing taxes, corvées, and tribute, mediating 692
troubles in families, meting out punishments and imprisonments for crying injustices. The subjects, pinning their hope on a better living, were submissive and obedient, simply because the chief lama was their lord.

It is easy to understand that the subjects of the monasteries enjoyed no rights of their own, but they depended entirely on the administration of the chief of the monastery and his lama officials.

It may be supposed, however, that capital punish- [681]
ment of the subjects of the monasteries was reserved to the emperor, as it was in the case of subjects of the T'u-ssu. It is not known whether, before 1723, the right of recourse of the subjects to a higher Chinese court existed or not. If it did exist, it must have been nominal, as it is at present.

The living conditions of the subjects, however, must 175
have been for the most part bearable, as evidenced by 792
the fact that so many people applied to the lamaseries 571
to become subjects. Only after 1723 are a few cases known of subjects revolting against the chief lama and his officials, such as the case of Yang-kuo-erh-ssu, and that of the subjects of the Sina tribe, who preferred to become Chinese subjects rather than remain subjects of the lamas. On the other hand, the unbelievably large number of lamas from among the subjects, since every family had a son or an uncle lama, must have disposed the families favorably toward the monasteries and their chiefs, and made the subjects overlook the shortcomings and deficiencies inherent in any human institution.

The reasons why the privileged status of the monasteries lasted for so long in Huang-chung were, first, the insecurity of the country, especially after 1509, and then the influence of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus in Peking.

The chiefs of the monasteries were, at the same time, 175
the temporal and the spiritual chiefs of the subjects. 792
The subjects were compelled to invite the lamas on 794
whom they depended to recite texts in behalf of the families or of the communities, or to perform public or private ceremonies, to the exclusion of lamas of other communities, at such times as epidemics, epizootics, the burying of the dead. They had to make donations at fixed times, when their lamas, their chiefs, came touring for alms among them. Corvées were imposed at the time of celebrations and festivities at their lamaseries.

[p. 50 (B)]

624 lamas, the "passing" of land to people who are not members of the clan, etc.

The number of men in the village liable to military
624 service is checked, and the T'u-ssu carries out a military inspection. The troops turn out with their
701 muskets and swords and horses. Tents, cooking kettles, pack animals and pack saddles, and sacks for carrying the flour ration are all inspected. The inspection concludes with a sham attack by the Monguor cavalry at full gallop, the soldiers firing their guns, drawing their swords, and howling and shouting.

624 The next important procedure is ratification by the T'u-ssu of all the settlements made by the village elders
692 in patching up quarrels during the preceding three years. The custom is that when such a settlement is made, each person involved must pay the elders 2,000 copper coins, and these accumulated sums must be offered to the T'u-ssu. If there are legal suits, as distinguished from these settlements, the T'u-ssu presides over them on the fourth day. To deal with such suits, he is accompanied throughout his journey by the officials of his court of justice and by lictors carrying chains, handcuffs, and batons, and wearing their appropriate costumes.

624 The custom is that justice be rendered on the threshing
693 floor of the village in the open air. The lord and his secretaries sit at tables. At the left stand two lictors
681 dressed in red cotton and wearing high red harlequin hats, and with batons in their hands. At the right stand two lictors dressed in black. Chains, handcuffs, and batons are laid on the table, and plaintiffs and defendants kneel in front. The punishments inflicted include hanging by the wrists or thumbs, and flogging up to one hundred and even five hundred lashes. The offender is stripped and pegged out face downward, arms and legs spreadeagled. The lictors, armed with short whips or rods, strike the tender inner side of the thighs. Women are flogged on the bare back. The justice meted out is not always as brutal as it appears to be, because the retinue of the T'u-ssu is always venal. They depend on bribery for their income. Although most T'u-ssu do not approve of the corruption indulged in by many of their minor officials, they cannot always prevent it. Suits brought by the Monguors before the T'u-ssu are the delight of his retinue. It is often the crying injustices caused by the venality and peculation of the petty officials that cause Monguors to leave the clan territory and abandon their lord.

624 The expenses of legal suits, and of the sojourn of the T'u-ssu with his retinue for that day, are paid by the
651 litigants, but all other expenses of the official three-day visit are defrayed by the people of the village. At the
691 end of the visit, the elders and troops of the next village come to escort the T'u-ssu on the next stage of his tour.

624 It may be noted that this triennial tour of the T'u-ssu, accompanied by his court of justice, seems to suggest that it is the T'u-ssu as an individual and not his mansion

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

BEHAVIOR OF THE LIVING BUDDHAS OF HUANG-CHUNG

Some facts will explain this matter better than philosophical considerations. 792

In 1916 the Living Buddha of the monastery of Sha-ku-ssu (Yung ch'ang hsien), an old branch of Erh-ku-lung, was an inveterate opium addict and had ruined his monastery. In order to retrieve his financial position in an easy way, he called on the Living Buddha of the monastery of Nan-ying (Liang chou), saying that he remembered in all the minutest detail having loaned, five generations ago, to his honorable confrere of Nan-ying, three herds of horses, five of sheep, three of cows, and 300 taels, and that this debt had never been paid; because he was poor and his confrere rich he would like to have his confrere take care of the matter. 276 691 157

The answer of the equally shrewd confrere was that he did not at all remember such an enormous debt, although he remembered in all possible detail the events that had happened during five generations. Thereupon the living Buddha of Sha-ku-ssu brought suit against his confrere at the Court of Justice in Liang-chou, claiming that his confrere knew all about the question, but that his pathological craving for money made him throttle his conscience and commit this crying injustice. The confrere reciprocated along the same line, exposing the opium addict before the interested audience; but because in China a rich man must always give up some of his rights in favor of the poor, the rich Living Buddha was ordered to give ten horses, and his poor confrere was able to continue smoking his opium for some time. [696]

The reason alleged by the opium smoker should be well known among lamas and Living Buddhas. It was the same that was used by the Dalai Lama at Kumbum in 1909. In autumn he arrived at Kumbum with the traditional splendor of an Oriental potentate. Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese ran to Kumbum to honor him. The Dalai Lama and his retinue were savage and arrogant; their animals were turned loose among the crops in the fields. Every day troubles arose over the sheep and flour offered by the mandarins, and the Dalai Lama, swayed by foolish pride and insolence, insisted on transferring three lama officials of Kumbum. Achia, defending his rights, denied the Dalai Lama permission to interfere with his administration of the lamasery. 792 157 578

The reason alleged by the Dalai Lama was that in one of his previous existences he remembered having been an incarnation of Achia and supreme chief of Kumbum. But Achia, without losing his balance, flatly denied the fact because he did not remember such an incarnation. Furthermore, he pointed out that the Dalai Lama was the incarnation of Tsong khapa, who was the incarnation of Chen-resig, while he himself was the incarnation of Tsong-khapa's father. He wondered how a son could behave so insolently and impudently

[P.69(B)]

did not spend much money. Tenma, with his retinue, 792
living according to his station, giving bribes and send- 691
ing gifts, spent lavishly. Finally, the disgusted Amban, 428
in order to end the trouble, delegated his power to the Living Buddha of Seerkok.

The intendant of the living Buddha of Seerkok, prompted by the Amban, settled the question after two or three sessions. He condemned Tenma to pay 3,000 taels to the disciple as indemnity for carrying away the cattle. Tenma protested. He was put in the jail [697] ● of the monastery and manacled. After two months he agreed to pay the alloted sum, and so was released.

Epilogue: For seven years, the stubborn Manguru was the most talked of man in the country because of his courageous resistance to the Living Buddha. He decided to rehabilitate the poor man, on whose chieftain's prestige his tribe depended. He bought a nice black horse, a fine Peking saddle, put a piece of yellow satin on the top of it, and, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, he and the disciple prostrated themselves and, apologizing, presented the horse.

This case is unique in the annals of Lamaism in Hsining. A stubborn Living Buddha, condemned by the intendancy of Seerkok, was put in jail and manacled. What was the cause of the trouble? Living Buddhas were eternally suspicious of the honesty of their intendants. Noteworthy also is the fact that the maternal uncle, not his father or brother, defended the disciple. In the tribe of Manguru matriarchy is still prevalent.

(7) Last of all, a very important psychology is to 792
be noted regarding injustices perpetrated among the 796
Monguors and Tibetans, and among lamas as well as among Living Buddhas. When an injustice is committed, its perpetrators are pursued by the enraged guardian spirit that protects the wealth of the family involved. According to this philosophy, when intermittent calamities or misfortunes occur in a family and weigh it down, magical rites are to be performed to propitiate the enraged pursuing spirit. (This rite will be studied later.)

This rite was ordered to be performed at his branch 792
monastery by the poor Sumpa Hutukhtu when, after 788
his voluntary banishment, one misfortune succeeded another. He claimed that the misfortunes were caused by the injustices perpetrated by the former and present intendants of his monastery, who had aroused the avenging bolts of the guardian spirits of the families who had suffered their injustices. The same rite was performed at Erh-ku-lung in 1919, on the orders of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, after he had vainly built a Bumkhang in 1917, in order to put an end to the misfortunes which ruined the monastery. It was performed at Seerkok in 1920, on the orders of the supreme chief of the monastery, Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, in the same circumstances, and the same explanation was openly proclaimed by both prominent chiefs of the most important monasteries. [p.43(A)]

S:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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devotion to the empire. Emperor Yung Lo whom he had served in the expeditions in the desert had given him a precious sword and a famous horse. In 1425 Li Yin had fought the brigands in Anting and at the head of his soldiers had attacked the brigands and himself had killed many among them. He had captured a booty of 130,000 cattle. The emperor had sent minister Yang Yung to congratulate him. His merits were unusual and therefore he received in his dream a visit from the god of war . . . all these circumstances we have recorded on the stele, etc.

Without doubt the titles received by Li Yin, the building of the temple and the name given to it by the emperor himself, the stele, and the wonderful dreams went straight to the heart of the clan members and strengthened the cohesion of the Li clan. All these circumstances normally seem to have been conducive at that time to the building of an elaborate clan cemetery and to the erection in 1426 of the famous "spirit way stele" in honor of Li Nan-ko, the founder of the clan, father of Li Yin.

However, the behavior of Li Yin, puffed up with pride, had changed after he had been honored so magnificently by the emperor. The Governor of Ninghsia, Shih Chao, who had previously been Governor of Hsining, accused him of fostering subversive intentions. Li Yin could disprove the accusation. In Hsining he had assembled 700 families, fugitives from justice, whom he protected. He had settled them in the country and had given them land to till. But they harmed their neighbors, stealing and upsetting the country. Again complaints were lodged with the board of military justice, and Li Yin was ordered to turn over his tenants to the civil authority. In 1432 Ch'i Ch'eng, descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, was his father's lawful successor to the office of t'u-ssu. The bold Li Yin, not bothering to offend the prominent Ch'i t'u-ssu clan, supported as successor to the t'u-ssu office Chien Tsang, the nephew of Ch'i Ch'eng, who was the son of his sister. He appointed murderers to kill Ch'i Ch'eng. He was accused again. This time the military judges rolled all the accusations into one, condemned him to prison, to the revocation of his titles and honors and to capital punishment. In 1437 the emperor pardoned him, allowing him a small emolument. Soon thereafter he died (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

HUANGCHUNG T'U-SSU UNDER THE SUBSEQUENT EMPERORS

After the death of Yung Lo, (1424) the alarming confusion and struggle continued unabated among the eastern and western Mongols, both groups appointing their own Khans, who were merely nominal supreme chiefs and actually blind tools in the hands of Togon and A-lu-t'ai who controlled the two groups. A-lu-t'ai, weakened after many encounters with the Chinese and Oirat troops; was finally defeated and killed by the Oirat, Togon, in 1434; and the hegemony of the Oirats

624 could be held to account for the murder of any traveler
on these roads. Under the Yung Cheng reign of the
175 Manchu dynasty, the important monastery of Erhkulung,
in the territory of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, joined in the great
648 insurrection of 1723. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was punished
for failing to control the insurgent monks. His subjects
were taken away from him and inscribed on the register
of Chinese subjects under direct Chinese administration,
his territory was confiscated, and he was deprived of his
rank. A large number of his subjects, however, revolted
against the Chinese and joined the insurrection which
was still going on. The Chinese authorities therefore
compromised. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was asked to summon
his subjects back to their allegiance, and was promised
that his forfeited rights and privileges would be restored
if he succeeded. The promise was carried out and he
was in fact reinstated as T'u-ssu when he contributed
to the suppression of the insurrection by bringing his
subjects back under control.

651 In connection with this recorded historical incident
there may be cited a tradition concerning an ancestor
648 of the T'u-ssu of the Li clan, who was condemned to
have his head cut off, his territory confiscated, and his
173 subjects brought under direct Chinese jurisdiction, for
failing to crush a revolt. Other T'u-ssu intervened on
624 his behalf, however, because of the meritorious services
rendered to the empire by his ancestors, capital punish-
ment was commuted, and he and his descendants were
instead to be required to pay in perpetuity a tax called
ch'iu liang, "the tax of supplication." After one or
two years, however, according to the tradition, the
humiliating word "supplication" was replaced by the
Chinese character meaning "autumn" which is also
pronounced *ch'iu,* as a "face-saving" concession. The
tradition is supported by the statement in the *Annals* of
Hsining (ch. 16, p. 5*a*) that a special "autumnal tax"
was yearly collected from the Li T'u-ssu, but the Li
T'u-ssu and his subjects explain away the whole matter
by saying that at some time in the past, when the
Chinese officials were in difficulties because of in-
surrections, and were short of grain and flour, the Li
T'u-ssu of that time, recalling the favors bestowed on
his ancestors for centuries past, magnanimously and
voluntarily offered to pay this perpetual "autumn tax."
Thus the clan has its own "face-saving" version of the
tradition.

EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

651 The emperor, as overlord, had a special interest in
the fact that the Monguor troops required neither pay,
648 provisions, nor weapons, but were maintained com-
pletely at the expense of their own clans. As compensa-
624 tion, the Chinese officials were not allowed to impose
land taxes on the Monguors or to requisition labor
● 701 services from them. The Monguor soldier, since he was
considered to be perpetually on frontier duty, could not
also be requisitioned for labor; nor could he be drafted

[p. 50-b]

651 648 624 •701 into the Chinese army. In order to keep up the Monguor military strength, the emperor did not allow subjects of the clan to abandon their T'u-ssu, and the Chinese officials were ordered to help the T'u-ssu in recovering any subjects who had left their territories. The overlord state thus confirmed the clan rule of the Monguors that the subjects of the clan "belonged" to the chief. While in later times Monguors farming land in territory under direct Chinese administration were required to pay the land tax, they were still exempt from the corvée of forced labor.

651 648 624 In the administration of the law, relations between Monguors and Chinese were "extraterritorial." When a Chinese accused a Monguor, the summons had to be sent to the T'u-ssu, who alone could order his subject to appear at the Chinese court. Chinese allowed by a T'u-ssu to settle in his territory became his subjects, liable to Monguor land taxes, military service, and corvées. Monguor lawsuits had to be brought before the T'u-ssu and his officials. If a Monguor did not agree with the verdict of the T'u-ssu, however, he was allowed to appeal to the Chinese high court; but this right was more theoretical than practical, because the Chinese official, considering the T'u-ssu as a fellow-official, and also not unmindful of presents at New Year and at the four seasons, regularly confirmed the verdict of the T'u-ssu.

When Chinese officials, representing the overlord state, traveled through the territory of a T'u-ssu, roads and bridges had to be put in repair. Similarly, when Chinese troops passing through the territory of a T'u-ssu had to cross a river, the Monguors were required to provide the necessary rafts and boats.

TAXES UPON T'U-SSU AND THEIR SALARY

Under the Ming dynasty, except for the "autumn tax" on the Li T'u-ssu, which has already been mentioned, no taxes were imposed on a T'u-ssu. In this respect there was a marked difference between the T'u-ssu and the chiefs of many Tibetan and Mongol tribes who were required to bring every year, or once in a term of years, a fixed tribute of horses or other products of their territories. The difference is accounted for by the fact that a tribute-paying chief and his subjects were not, like a T'u-ssu and his clan, considered to be on permanent military service.

Under the Manchu dynasty, however, the *Annals* of Kansu record that twelve out of the seventeen T'u-ssu were required to pay land tax. The five that were exempt were the five most influential and powerful: the Lu (3,245 families); two Ch'i (800 and 700 families); two Li (4,000 and 960 families), and Wang (150 families). It is possible that these T'u-ssu were exempt from the tax either because of services rendered during the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 or simply because they were powerful and the Chinese were afraid to impose a tax on them for fear they would revolt. The tax im-

[p. 51a]

651 as the ceremony of the investiture which has already been mentioned, extra services are required for white-washing, work in the kitchen, and so forth. Obligatory services and gifts in kind are also required when the son or daughter of a T'u-ssu is married. Each village must then provide a fixed number of sheep, pigs, and cattle and also a contribution of 50,000 copper coins. These celebrations last for three days, with dinners that may be attended by as many as three or four hundred guests, at which all the nobles and important commoners must be on duty.

Among the Monguors as among the Chinese a funeral is a festival. The funeral of a T'u-ssu, of one or his wives, or of a married son is a great occasion. An official invitation is sent to each village, and on the invitation is listed the required offering of gifts in kind and cash. For the funeral of the T'u-ssu, of one of his wives, or of his eldest son, 50,000 copper coins are solicited. Nobles and the important commoners who are invited to take part in the procession as mourners must be dressed, in the Chinese style, in a long white gown. Each village must provide a number of gowns, and the women of the village must buy the white cotton cloth and sew the gowns. Invitations are sent to Chinese officials, to T'u-ssu, and to important people, and Monguor commoners have to forward these messages as a corvée service. Dinners are prepared for as many as a thousand persons. The funeral procession passes through the village or town with banners and streamers. The lamas of the monasteries in the clan territory are required to take part in the funeral, chanting prayers, and must be fed for several days. The ceremonies may last for a week, and the entertainment may require the slaughtering of ten or more oxen, a hundred sheep, and fifty hogs.

In preparation for such a funeral, all the old graves in the cemetery must be put in good condition; and after the burial of a T'u-ssu a guard must be kept over the cemetery, day and night, for a whole year. Each village in rotation provides a guard for ten days. In mourning for a T'u-ssu, his officials remove from their hats for a full year the button, of different material and colors according to rank, which is the token of their office.

MILITARY SERVICE

•701 Traditionally, the most important duty of the Monguors was military service. Military organization followed the conventional Mongol decimal structure, the smallest unit consisting of ten men. The most important officers were "commanders of one hundred" and "commanders of a thousand." Each T'u-ssu stood at the head of his own forces. Originally, the officers were always nobles. In later times, this tradition decayed and the T'u-ssu became accustomed to selling the office of "commander of a thousand" to the highest bidder, noble or commoner. The names of the commanders had to be submitted to the military commander of Hsining. It is hardly surprising therefore that during the great

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1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

701 Muslim rebellion of 1868–1875 the "commanders of a thousand" vanished and the "commanders of one hundred," who had not purchased their rank, turned out to be the real leaders.

Each village knows the number of men that it must provide for military service. In some villages the farmers agree among themselves, designating each family that is to provide a soldier when there is a call for service. Another method is for the village to hire young men whenever there is a call for troops from the T'u-ssu. In some villages the custom is to set aside fields, known as "fields for the expenses of horses and soldiers," the income from which is used to meet the military obligations of the village. These fields are made over, as their private property, to families which agree to provide soldiers. Such fields are free of taxes, and the families owning them have the right to "pass" them to other families, in which case the new owners assume the obligation attached to the fields. Military equipment in the form of weapons, uniforms, kettles, tents, and horses "passes" together with the fields. Because a family owning such fields is exempt from taxes, it receives no indemnity if a son of the family is killed on military service; on the contrary, it must provide another man to take the place of the one killed. In villages that do not follow this system, the families of soldiers killed in action must be indemnified. In such villages, every time that men are called up for active service the indemnity to be provided in case of death is debated in long and earnest village meetings.

In one case known to me, all ten soldiers of the village of Lichiachai were killed in the great Muslim rebellion of 1868–1875. After this disaster no one dared to take over possession of the "fields for the expenses of horses and soldiers" and assume the responsibility of military service. In consequence, it became the custom in this village for the whole community to farm these fields, without taxes, the income providing a fund from which the village hired and equipped its contingent of ten soldiers.

701 651 Another typical case is that of Yangch'üan, the village in which the sixth House of the Li clan collects its land taxes. In 1876, after the Muslim rebellion there were no more people in the village. The T'u-ssu and the sixth House were eager to get farmers who would pay the taxes and provide the squad of ten soldiers that constituted the obligations of this village. A group of Chinese were willing to enroll into the clan, farm the land and pay the taxes, but refused to assume the burden of equipping ten soldiers. Finally the sixth House agreed to assume the military burden, if the farmers would agree to provide the fodder of ten horses, amounting to two *tan* of peas. After a few years the sixth House started asking for four *tan* of peas. The farmers complained to the T'u-ssu and the rate was fixed at three *tan*. In 1882, however, pressure was put on the farmers to provide in addition to the fodder for them the

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

701 651 ten horses. The farmers brought a suit against the sixth House in the Chinese court. The case dragged on for many years, during which both sides spent a great deal of money, and finally the farmers were compelled to give four *tan* of peas. But during the subsequent Muslim rebellion of 1891–1895 the sixth House absconded and the farmers were compelled to provide ten soldiers and horses, together with fodder and equipment. After the rebellion new complaints followed one after another and finally in 1918 the stubborn villagers refused to recognize any military burden.

701 The small scale of traditional frontier warfare is shown by the fact that only one T'u-ssu was called upon to furnish as many as 300 soldiers, 100 of them mounted. The contingent of another T'u-ssu was 150, including 50 mounted men; two others had to furnish 100 men each, 5 of them mounted (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42; *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 18, pp. 3*a*, 4*a*). Among these figures I have not been able to find those for the contingent of the Lu T'u-ssu. If his contingent numbered 300, like that of the Li T'u-ssu, the total for all the Monguors would be only 1,275 men. But it is said that he disposed of 700 Monguor soldiers and 300 lama soldiers.[30] The Monguor troops, except for those hired by their own villages, received no pay, but when they were on active service the imperial commissary provided them with salt, tea, and flour. The troops were, however, entitled to any booty that they could capture. In the Ming dynasty, according to the *Annals* of the Province, ch. 42, p. 47*a*, an expedition was sent to Turkistan (Sinkiang) to punish the tribes of Hantung and Chiuhsien in 1423. This expedition was commanded by Li Ying, who had the title of Count (Po) of Hui-ning. His forces consisted mostly of Monguors, and they returned with a booty of more than 140,000 cattle. More recently, in 1918, a group of Monguor soldiers participated as volunteers in an expedition against the Ngolok Tibetans of Kukunor. They returned after half a year, each man with a booty of nine cows

705 175

[30] In time of war, however, it is evident that some T'u-ssu, at least, were able to raise more troops than the number required of them according to the formal lists. Thus in the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 the Chinese general Yueh Chung-ch'i enrolled 2,000 Monguor troops for the defense of the passes, according to the *Tung Hua Lu*, a Manchu imperial chronicle, 3rd vol. of the reign of Yung Cheng, 1st year, p. 29; a thousand Monguors of the Lu T'u-ssu fought at Chitaeshan, according to the *Ch'ing Shih-lu*, an archive of materials collected for the writing of a formal history of the Manchu dynasty, Bk. 144, ch. 13, p. 8; Monguors (number not given) commanded by Chiang Tung destroyed the monastery of Shihmen and killed seven hundred lamas and Tibetans according to the same source, Bk. 145, ch. 16, p. 28, and others helped to quell the revolt in the region of Kuetie, according to the *Huang Ch'ing Fan-pu Yao-lüeh*, an imperial publication dealing with "barbarian" affairs, ch. 11, p. 7*a*. Previous to this, in 1720, Monguor troops of the Li T'u-ssu had accompanied the Manchu-Chinese expedition sent to drive the Jungar Mongols out of Lhasa, according to the *Wei Tsang T'ung-chih* (*Annals* of Central Tibet, ch. 13, p. 2*b*), and *Annals* of the Province of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 38*b*.

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705 175 and twenty sheep, and loaded with kettles, ropes, felt coverings for tents, lamb skins, and wool.

714 The Monguor soldier wore a turban of blue or black cotton cloth. The distinctive part of his uniform was a sleeveless jacket of red cotton cloth, with yellow trimmings and a circular patch of white on the chest and back. On these circles were written three Chinese characters reading "Monguor soldier" and the clan name of his T'u-ssu. These white circles on the red jacket made bright targets for the enemy. The soldier was expected to report for duty with an old musket and a sword. For every unit of ten men the village had to provide a tent, a kettle, and one pack horse, in addition to riding horses for the mounted men. The horses are shod only on the forefeet, as in medieval Europe.

651 As has already been described, each T'u-ssu formerly had the responsibility for guarding certain passes leading to the Tibetan plateau. At these passes detachments of Monguor troops were stationed even in times of peace, and at these posts they had the right to collect taxes from caravans. Other traditional taxes and levies were also for the maintenance of troops. Up until recent times, for instance, the Lu T'u-ssu had the right to tax all rafts going down the Tat'ung River past his town of Liench'eng. This tax was collected according to the number of steering sweeps on each raft. The Lu T'u-ssu's soldiers also collected taxes from Chinese traders buying horses, mules, cows, sheep and pigs in 527 his territory. The Monguors were exempted from 651 these taxes. Twice every year the Lu T'u-ssu inspected all his troops in the valley of Kuch'eng ("Old City"). These occasions were celebrated with horse races and wrestling matches, and there was a large market attended by an enormous crowd. The troops collected taxes from merchants attending this market.

• 701 Soldiers were also required for peace-time duty at 651 the mansion of the T'u-ssu, as sentries, body guards, and official messengers. They also maintained order among the crowds at the great religious celebrations at the monasteries built in the territory of the T'u-ssu, and at the time of the annual clan meeting. On such occasions they also collected taxes from Chinese merchants.

TRIENNIAL INSPECTION

624 According to protocol, a T'u-ssu should make an inspection visit every three years (in some cases, every two years) to all the villages of his subjects. This visit is called the "descent among the subjects," and in the course of the visit the T'u-ssu should make a count of the number of his subjects and check on the administration of the villages, in order to make a report to the Chinese officials representing the overlord state. This triennial tour is one of the main sources of income of a T'u-ssu.

The tour begins on an auspicious day fixed by a lama. Monguor soldiers from the first village to be visited on the tour come to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, with some

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624 lamas, the "passing" of land to people who are not members of the clan, etc.

624 The number of men in the village liable to military service is checked, and the T'u-ssu carries out a military inspection. The troops turn out with their
•701 muskets and swords and horses. Tents, cooking kettles, pack animals and pack saddles, and sacks for carrying the flour ration are all inspected. The inspection concludes with a sham attack by the Monguor cavalry at full gallop, the soldiers firing their guns, drawing their swords, and howling and shouting.

624 The next important procedure is ratification by the T'u-ssu of all the settlements made by the village elders
692 in patching up quarrels during the preceding three years. The custom is that when such a settlement is made, each person involved must pay the elders 2,000 copper coins, and these accumulated sums must be offered to the T'u-ssu. If there are legal suits, as distinguished from these settlements, the T'u-ssu presides over them on the fourth day. To deal with such suits, he is accompanied throughout his journey by the officials of his court of justice and by lictors carrying chains, handcuffs, and batons, and wearing their appropriate costumes.

624 The custom is that justice be rendered on the threshing
693 floor of the village in the open air. The lord and his secretaries sit at tables. At the left stand two lictors
681 dressed in red cotton and wearing high red harlequin hats, and with batons in their hands. At the right stand two lictors dressed in black. Chains, handcuffs, and batons are laid on the table, and plaintiffs and defendants kneel in front. The punishments inflicted include hanging by the wrists or thumbs, and flogging up to one hundred and even five hundred lashes. The offender is stripped and pegged out face downward, arms and legs spreadeagled. The lictors, armed with short whips or rods, strike the tender inner side of the thighs. Women are flogged on the bare back. The justice meted out is not always as brutal as it appears to be, because the retinue of the T'u-ssu is always venal. They depend on bribery for their income. Although most T'u-ssu do not approve of the corruption indulged in by many of their minor officials, they cannot always prevent it. Suits brought by the Monguors before the T'u-ssu are the delight of his retinue. It is often the crying injustices caused by the venality and peculation of the petty officials that cause Monguors to leave the clan territory and abandon their lord.

624 The expenses of legal suits, and of the sojourn of the T'u-ssu with his retinue for that day, are paid by the
651 litigants, but all other expenses of the official three-day visit are defrayed by the people of the village. At the
691 end of the visit, the elders and troops of the next village come to escort the T'u-ssu on the next stage of his tour.

624 It may be noted that this triennial tour of the T'u-ssu, accompanied by his court of justice, seems to suggest that it is the T'u-ssu as an individual and not his mansion

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565 by Chinese officials, or on journeys to congratulate
574 Chinese officials on the major feast days of the year. The nobles as a group are also exempted from military
565 service, although the chiefs of the militia of the com-
701 moners, according to tradition, were always chosen from among the nobles in former times. In later times both
622 nobles and commoners have served as commanders and officers.[55]

It is said by the Monguors that in times past it was usually a noble who served as the chief of a village, but that because at present there are very few capable men among the nobles, these duties have devolved on commoners. Similarly, the nobles have lost the monopoly of serving as military officers.

AUTHORITY OF T'U-SSU OVER NOBLES

624 As might be expected the relations between a T'u-ssu
565 and his nobles are of a special kind. It has already been described how, on occasions of special ceremony, a T'u-ssu may actually be expected to prostrate himself before nobles who are members of a generation senior to his own, while they do not have to prostrate themselves to him, but merely clasp their hands and bow their heads. Moreover, while the T'u-ssu takes precedence when he is presiding as chief of the clan at the veneration of the ancestors, at clan meetings, during the triennial visitation, or when nobles or commoners are brought before him in a lawsuit, yet on such occasions as non-official dinners and the marriages of nobles, the T'u-ssu always requests a noble of a generation senior to his own to preside.

624 Difficulties among the nobles most commonly originate
565 either in quarrels over the division of a paternal inheritance or quarrels about the collection of taxes. In
692 order to prevent litigation, the clan elders try to arbitrate such quarrels. Only if they are unsuccessful is a lawsuit brought before the T'u-ssu. If the parties do not agree to the T'u-ssu's verdict, they are free to appeal to a Chinese court. In a case known to me, the eleventh House of the clan of Li T'u-ssu had trouble with its villages over the collection of taxes. Unwilling to abide by the verdict of the T'u-ssu, the members of the House went to the Chinese court. They were severely rebuked, the Chinese judge angrily threatening to abolish the outmoded custom under which the members of a whole clan live at the expense of the commoners.

681 Nobles are never flogged or beaten for transgression of the law, because the lictors are commoners and it is not fitting that commoners should beat nobles.

624 When the T'u-ssu visits his nobles in the course of
565 his triennial tour, they defray his expenses, including those of his retinue, just as do the commoners.

The old nomad custom was that when an individual

[55] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 233, notes that among the Mongols of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, with the decay of the feudal system, the duty of feudal service on the part of a noble to his lord had become more voluntary than obligatory.

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361 The Ming dynasty was strongest in the first century
621 and a half of its rule. After that, from 1509 to the
721 founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644, and from then until 1723, recurrent forays and revolts never left the country at peace. At one time, a Chinese army of a hundred thousand men had to be sent to garrison this frontier region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 13*b*). In 1537 orders were given to build more mud walled villages, and in 1595 orders came again to repair the old fortifications and to build more new fortified villages (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, pp. 15*a*, 19*a*). It is worth noting that Liench'eng, the seat of the Lu clan, means "associated cities," since in the region of Liench'eng thirteen strongholds were built by the T'u-ssu, most of them still extant.

[712] These notices in the *Annals* suggest that few fortified villages had previously existed, but that from this time the population began to group itself around small strongholds, the more important of which grew into fortified villages.

618 The Monguor clan was a military institution, originally
● 701 shaped on the Mongol nomadic pattern, with a decimal
361 system of groups of 10, 100, and 1,000 families and a
621 hierarchy of military command from the largest unit of 10,000 down to the smallest of 10. When the Monguors became farmers, the process of settling broke up these units, with the result that families that had once belonged to the same military unit were scattered among different farming groups. It then became necessary to make a new military grouping based on the distribution of villages. This led to a system of villages in which the head of the village was also the military chief, and in which the military interest of defense was coordinated with such community interests as the maintenance of irrigation canals. The transformation of villages in which some families were subject to mobilization under military units in other villages into a system in which the military unit coincided with the residential community seems to have been brought about not by planning but by a natural adjustment.

361 A Monguor village may be described as "loose," in contrast with the Chinese "compact" village. It is not a large place included between four strong, thick mud walls, with a small gate easy to defend, but a defined territory in which the people live on their farms, scattered in small groups, under the rule of the chief of the [311] territory. Each "village" has a share of pasture for the herds of the whole community and a valley for the cutting of wood and fuel by all members of the community.

It sometimes has a central stronghold in which live some twenty or thirty families. Sometimes, though not usually, the mansion of the T'u-ssu and the administrative buildings of the clan are also within the stronghold, together with a couple of shops, one of which is always the indispensable pharmacy with a Chinese "physician." Again in contrast with the Chinese pattern, there are rarely any "streets" laid out at right angles, for the

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621 without elders. The whole power of the clan was anciently embodied in the elders, who appointed and dismissed the chiefs. It is therefore no wonder that the elders in every village still play, most of the time, the most important part in local administration.

622 The chief of the village is usually selected from among the commoners, but may be a noble. He is always a villager, a man noted for his proficiency in administration and in good repute among the population for his uprightness and readiness to help members of the community. He is not always the richest man in the village, but is almost always chosen from among the most outstanding families in the village. He may even be a Chinese or a Tibetan enrolled in the clan. He is chosen by the elders on the tenth of the tenth moon. The T'u-ssu is then informed and must approve and send a written commission or appointment. Thus there is a compromise between choice by the village elders and appointment at the T'u-ssu's discretion.[3]

The tour of duty of the village chief is for one year, and he can be reappointed. He is the real executive authority of the village, responsible to the T'u-ssu for law and order and representing the village in its relations with the T'u-ssu.

•701 The military officers are appointed by the T'u-ssu personally, for an indefinite tenure. In former times they were always nobles, but in the last half-century of the old Monguor society many were commoners; the office had become merely honorary, and some T'u-ssu sold it to the highest bidder. The military officers are in charge of the rolls of the village militia, who are subject to call in times of emergency. In addition a few men are on permanent service as soldiers. In case of war or bandit disorders the two officers take command, and call up all the males of the village.

[796] [431] At New Year the village chief and the two military commanders offer the T'u-ssu the New Year greetings of the village and present him with tea, sugar, 622 raisins, a couple of bottles of wine, and a piece of 701 red silk eight feet in length, a ceremonial scarf and 35,000 pierced copper cash. The same three men

[3] It should be noted, however, that in Mongol society there are many examples of compromise between selection (or approval) from below and appointment (or approval) from above. The emphasis may vary either in times of the strongly centralized power of a Mongol emperor (as under Chingis and his immediate successors) or in periods of subordination of Mongol tribes to centralized empires in China (as under the Ming and Manchu dynasties). There are even traditions that the tribe (of commoners) has the right to repudiate the prince who represents the ruling noble clan; with the proviso, however, that the ruling clan may put forward another of its own members to replace the repudiated prince. It is hard to say definitely that the right of the ruling prince, chief, or T'u-ssu is the oldest right. As Father Schram points out, there are reasons for believing that the authority of a council of elders is even more ancient and fundamental. It may be suggested that in such societies as that of the Monguors the rights of the chief tend to prevail over those of the elders when there is a strong overlord paramount over both chief and elders.—O. L.

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

622 701 represent the village in preparing and managing all celebrations held at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, such as the investiture, marriages, and funerals, the "opening of the seal," and the yearly diet or assembly. They also preside over the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages. Together with the elders they execute justice within the village, carry on the day-to-day administration, defend the rights of the villagers in their relations with the T'u-ssu, and of course oppose all enroachments on their own privileges.

623 The elders are appointed by the T'u-ssu himself, for an indefinite period of time. The T'u-ssu selects them from among the outstanding heads of families among nobles and commoners. Most of them are commoners; some are Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the clan. In former times they were granted by the T'u-ssu a copper button to be worn on top of the hat. All matters concerning administration of the village, the apportioning of taxes, and difficulties among the villagers are discussed between the elders, the chief of the village and the two military commanders. Of them all, it is the elders who carry the most weight.

The elders can delegate some of their powers by appointing young commoners to assist the chief of the village, to organize meetings, to summon the villagers, on necessity, and to collect taxes.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES

623 184 Meetings are the specific form of administration. The villagers are not administered by a small group of autocrats who hold themselves in aloof dignity. All topics of interest to the villagers are discussed in meetings attended by them. At these meetings everybody is allowed to express his views and to defend his rights. Very often the atmosphere of meetings is one of violent agitation and high excitement. It will be recalled that in the ancient form of pastoral nomad government under tribal elders, final decisions were made only after the heads of families had had their say at public meetings. The Monguors, in spite of the passage of many centuries, and after having adopted a sedentary farming economy, still conserve this tradition of their old administrative routine. The public meetings are part of the specific character of government in a Monguor village.

These meetings are not held in the central stronghold built by order of the Chinese, and very seldom in the courtyard of the temple of the village, but in the open air. Every village has its designated place of assembly. Some villagers hold their meetings on the large threshing floor of a particular hamlet of the village; others at a fixed spot in the main valley; others at the foot of a mountain, etc. This tradition of a customary place of assembly, as well as the form of administration, bespeaks the old nomadic customs of the Monguors.

[P.77a]

fluential family of the Lu T'u-ssu and the Prince of Alashan, and a new monastery was born. The community of Erh-ku-lung was powerless. 175 792 794

It sometimes happens that a branch not having its own Living Buddha does not wait to declare its independence. Chai-ya, a small branch of forty lamas dependent on T'u-kuan, possessed some forests; the selling of trees was its primary source of revenues. The subprefect of P'ing-fan confiscated the forest in 1912. At the time, rumors were spread all over the country concerning the confiscation of the domains of all the monasteries. T'u-kuan, deeming it not the appropriate time to accuse the subprefect at the capital of the province, did not help the branch to recover the forest. The frustrated and infuriated branch boldly declared its independence and thereafter had no further relations with the founder. 571

Kalang, an old, independent affiliate of Labrang, founded its own branch, Pi-t'ang. Pi-t'ang flourished and Kalang declined. Pi-t'ang prepared to invite a Living Buddha to move into its establishment, but Kalang refused permission. The lamas of the lamaseries fought among themselves in 1912, and the Moslem General, Ma K'o-ch'en, sent troops to quell the troubles. In 1915 the country was troubled by the Pai Lang (White Wolf) brigands, and the old feud flared up again. Kalang accused Pi-t'ang at the subprefecture of Hsün-hua. Finally Kalang refused to accept the verdict of the subprefect and prepared to fight Pi-t'ang. The general, Ma K'o-ch'en of Hsining, sent his troops, and twenty-one fighting lamas of Kalang and seven Moslem soldiers were killed. Kalang had to pay an indemnity of $10,000 for the soldiers killed. The members of the intendancy were put into jail and Pi-t'ang was declared independent by the Moslem general. These facts give an insight into the problems of the subsidiaries, the very loose ties which knit mother and daughter houses, the reasons which cause a scission, and the ways in which their separation may be achieved and independence acquired. Very often the part played by the intendants is paramount in creating the breach between mother and daughter houses.

LAMA ARMY

At present, the lamaseries of Huang-chung no longer have a regular armed force of lamas who are maintained by the lamasery, as is still the rule in Tibet. The only record encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 28, p 13) concerning a lama army is a supplication sent to the emperor during Cheng-te period (1506–1521) by the Chinese officials of Hsining, asking that the farmers of Hsining be exempted from the burden of supporting the lama army. At that time there existed only the important lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an, with its subsidiaries, some Nang-suos and Karwas, and the lamasery of Shachün. From the relatively small number of lamas at that time, it may be assumed that the lama army con- 175 792 701

[p.53(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

sisted of lamas and the subjects of the monastery. However, during the revolt of 1723, the lamaseries were in full bloom, and must have had soldiers, because the Chinese General, Nien Keng-yao, blamed the lamas for fighting furiously, and the monasteries for being the depots of weapons. It may be assumed that after the revolt of 1723 the lamaseries were not allowed to have armies. However, during the revolt of the Moslems in 1895, the lamas of Kumbum attacked the stronghold of the rebels in To-pa as auxiliaries of the Chinese regular armies.[10] Nearly all the monasteries at that time except Kumbum were destroyed and burned.

INTERFERENCE OF THE EMPEROR AND T'U-SSU WITH THE LAMASERIES

In Europe during the Middle Ages, many monasteries and abbeys had a bad time. The princes and kings granted vast domains to religious orders to encourage them to branch out into their territories. The grants were gratefully accepted and abbeys built, but some among the gracious donors, in a surge of religiosity, went so far as to appoint an official for the collection of land taxes and the administration of the domains, whose duty it was to furnish the revenue to the abbots in order to free the monks of material troubles. Often these officials were relatives of the donors, and collected most of the taxes for themselves, and the monasteries, unable to make ends meet and to uphold and develop their institutions, had no means of protesting against the relative of the prince. Very often princes started interfering in the administration of the monasteries and claimed the right to appoint an abbot of their own, often a relative. After unworthy abbots were appointed the monasteries relaxed, with the consequences that might be expected.

I know of only two similar cases of interference in Huang-chung. The Lu T'u-ssu of Lien ch'eng had established three important lamaseries and granted vast domains to them. In 1727 the census records for the monastery of Ku-ch'eng show 140 lamas, for Lien-hua 100, and for Pao-nen-ssu 191, a total of 431 lamas. Next to them the T'u-ssu had founded two smaller monasteries, Hsi ssu and Kan-ch'an ssu, which received smaller domains from him. Two among these five monasteries had no Living Buddhas, so that the T'u-ssu appointed himself the intendant; and every three years, at appointment time, troubles arose.

The case of Ch'ü-t'an has been recorded. According to the legend the monk, Emperor Hui-ti, had appointed his relative hereditary administrator of the domains, and a tablet had been erected testifying to the appointment. The fact is, that the real emperor of the

[10] Susie Carson Rynhart, M.D., *With the Tibetans in tent and temple*, 92, London, Fleming Revell, 1902; see also M. S. Wellby, *Through unknown Tibet*, 281, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1898.

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south of Nienpei, Kuo Chou and Mi Chou, had been disestablished (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 12, and 7: 14).

During the Yuan dynasty a military organization had been elaborated in Huangchung providing for the defense of the strategic and vulnerable points of the country. Only two Mongol officers had been sent with their troops to occupy the country: the myriarch Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi, who controlled 10,000 soldiers with their families, and Ch'i-T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, a Mongol officer, who commanded twenty tribes of Chi-pen Mongols. Surrendered tribal local chieftains were enlisted in the cadre of the regular army; they received a title, and were assigned other tribes as subjects, in order to strengthen their military power. Each of them had to defend a definite area and was responsible for the peace of the area. To be sure a high officer controlled this military organization, but only the name of Chang Chi is known, Governor of Huangchung. At the time of the collapse of the Yuan dynasty, this group of officers submitted to the Ming and all of them became t'u-ssu and the founders of the Monguor clans of Huangchung.

It is easy to understand that the troops of Huangchung submitted to the Ming dynasty, in view of the dissensions existing among the Mongol princes at that time, the pitiable flight of the emperor from his capital, the defeat of the Mongol forces and the disintegration of the Mongol nation—all things which were known in the minutest detail by the officials in Huangchung. All the more, what were the conditions in the homelands of the soldiers of Hsining, who long since had been enlisted in the Mongol armies and who had their families following them in Huangchung? They had no way to move. Guarding the country of Huangchung, they had practiced agriculture, and knew they could make a living remaining in the country. There seems to have been no alternative for them, except to wait for the arrival of the new lords of the empire, and then to make the best of a bad situation, offering to remain guardians of the country in behalf of the new masters, as defeated troops in the Orient often used to do for centuries. That the officers, originating from Huangchung, agreed with the decision is not difficult to understand.

CONQUEST OF HUANGCHUNG BY THE MING

CONQUEST OF KANSU

After the death of Emperor Ch'eng Tsung, grandson of Kubilai (1295–1307), no capable emperors succeeded to the throne of the Yuan. During the reign of Emperor Huei Tsung (1333–1368) the provinces situated south of the Yangtse River were lost in 1360 and occupied by several groups of rebels who looted the country of its wealth. Chou Yuan-chang, chief of a group of rebels, succeeded in establishing a provisional government. He defeated or received the alle-

[P.24(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Ming fixed the number of both foot and horse each of them had to keep ready for emergencies and indicated the mountain passes they had to defend. 175x 614

An interesting fact is that all the subjects of the 16 *t'u-ssu* are called *t'u-min* or *t'u-jen* in the *Annals* and by the people. Soldiers in the Yuan time were accompanied by their families. At that time no Chinese lived in Huangchung. Huangchung was the land of the barbarian Monguors, controlled by Monguor chiefs. It is no wonder that when the Chinese started founding Chinese colonies in Huangchung, the colonists called the Monguors natives, and called Hsi-fan the few uninteresting small Tibetan tribes having their own petty chiefs, for their language and customs differed entirely from those of the Monguors. [70]

Still in Huangchung, on the borders of the Yellow River, but not in the prefecture of Hsining, are encountered two groups of Salars (Muslim Turks of Samarkand) who lived in Huangchung during the Yuan time, having no or few relations with the Monguors. They had already surrendered to the Ming on their own account in 1370, and their two chiefs had received an incumbency. The clan chief Han Pao-yuan had received the office of centurion. He controlled the four upper Salar clans (Kung) who had adopted the surname Han and inhabited the region west of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*a*). The clan chief Han Shan-pa had also received the office of centurion. He controlled the four lower Salar clans, which had adopted the surname Ma, and inhabited the region east of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). The four upper and four lower Salar clans are called the eight inner Salar clans (Nei Pa-kung). There still remain five outer Salar clans (Wai Pa-kung) depending on and controlled by the subprefecture of Pa-yen-jung (Monguors I: 22, 23). 175x 563 648

It is not known at what time the Salars settled in Huangchung. A legend is still spread among them relating to their arrival in the country during the Tang dynasty, 620–905. Anyway, the Salars were settled in Huangchung during the Yuan time (1280–1368) and surrendered to the Ming in 1370.[44] Consequently, in the fifth moon of 1371 the entire population of Huangchung with its chiefs had surrendered to the Ming. 175x 563

MING POLICY TOWARD SURRENDERING TRIBES

The policy adopted by the Ming in Kansu, in order to promote the surrender of the numerous groups of Mongol officials living in that country who still commanded a fair number of soldiers and tribes of Tibetans with soldiers subject to them, which was to appoint the Mongol officials and tribal chiefs officials of the newly established dynasty, retaining control over their 175x 648

[44] William Woodville Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892*, 80, Smithsonian Institution, 1894.

[P.27(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Mongoor AE9

The Ko-tsa tribe, also a tribe of tent-dwellers, lived east of the Tsan-tsa tribe, and southwest of the city of Ku Shan. The tribe numbered 400 families (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*). 175x 619

The Ssu-kuo-mi tribe, also tent dwellers, lived in a territory situated 150 li south of Hsining, on the borders of the Yellow River. It was divided into two tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 5*b*).

1386 MARKS A NEW ERA IN HUANGCHUNG 175x

According to the *Annals* of Hsining 23: 1*a*; 9: 15*b*, Keng Ping-wen was sent to build the city of Hsining with appropriate circumvallations, using troops from all the commanderies of Shensi. The size of the city had to be reduced to half of its former size, with four watch towers on the corners, nineteen more on the walls, and four gates. The note concerning the use of troops of all the commanderies of the province of Shensi seems to point to the fact that few troops and laborers were available in Huangchung in 1386, and that the former city was too extensive, inconvenient for defense, and probably in bad condition. Keng Ping-wen was ordered to build seven relay stations where official couriers could find horses ready to forward the orders without delay to the upper administration, and also five storehouses for provisions, drill fields for the soldiers, and administrative buildings. Four relay stations were built in an eastern direction covering a distance of 220 li, connecting Hsining with the northeastern part of Kansu. One relay was built in Ku Shan, 160 li south of Nien-Pei in the region of the three tribes which had surrendered in 1380. He also built the fortified city of Nien Pei with a Ch'eng-huang temple (spirit protector of the city) (*Annals* of Hsining 14: 16*a*). A Wen Miao (temple for Confucius) had been built in Hsining and a temple for the spirit protector of the city, for the emperor had already, in 1370, ordered these temples to be built in all the cities of the empire. 657 701 231

These few data suggest that the Monguors saw the situation changing in Huangchung after they had surrendered in 1371. In 1372 Hsining had been created a commandery and consequently Chinese officials had been appointed very soon. Without indicating the date of the appointments, the annals (*Annals* of Hsining 23: 5*b*), note that the administration of Huangchung was controlled by two major officials, a civil and a military. The Fen-chou-tao, who resided not in the unimportant Hsining, but in Liangchow, controlled a large area, and the Feng-hsiun-tao who resided in Kanchow controlled the six granaries, the irrigation canals, the finances of the administrative organs and the farming colonies for the whole of Kansu. Only in 1488, a hundred years later, was the civil and military governor of Huangchung Ping-pi-tao appointed with residence in Hsining. Chapter 24, 14a records [illegible] 175x 648 [624]

[P. 34(A)]

noting a date that on account of the small population 175x
and the extent of the uncultivated land, the Monguors 648
had been ordered to abandon the cultivated land around the cities and fortresses, which would be assigned to artisans and traders and soldiers, and to move to the uncultivated areas they controlled during the Yuan time.

This important note hints at the purpose of the Ming [70] ●
to found Chinese colonies, and suggests that the soldiers had to till the soil and provide for their subsistence. This is the time honored policy of China, practiced since 118 B.C. by Ho Ch'u-ping in Hsining.

Necessarily more civil and military officials had ar- 175x
rived and new administrative organs had to be created, 633
since the establishment in 1378 of the exchange bureau of tea against horses. More troops, traders, and artisans had flooded into the city, and in 1380 more Tibetan tribes had surrendered. Houses and shops had to be built, caravansaries for Tibetans, arsenals and barracks. Taxes had to be collected, disturbances prevented, justice dispensed, and the city defended. It was plain that Hsining had been chosen to become the pivot of the civil and military administration of entire Huangchung.

In 1387 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, after his 175x
return from the expedition in Liaotung, induced the 648
rebel chiliarch A-pu-ti to surrender, and T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o hsing-ch'i again induced the Tibetan I-lin-cheng-pen (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 10*b*) and the turbulent Ch'i Chih-hsun to surrender. However, he must not have succeeded in his efforts with Ch'i Chih-hsun because the turbulent Mongol, in 1392, participated in the troubles in Han Tun (Tunhuang) (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 25*b*).

In 1388 at the time the army of the Mongol Emperor T'o-ku ssu had been defeated by the Ming, 200,000 of his soldiers had surrendered and only 40,000 had fled in various directions with the emperor, whose power was completely discredited in the eyes of his officers. He was strangled by one of them in 1388.[73]

In 1391 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was sent to the commandery of Kanchow and was soon called back to Hsining to fight the Tibetan A-li-ta-ah-su. T'u-ssu Kan was ordered to join the expedition of General Sung Sheng at Ha mu li (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 2*b*; 42: 50*b*).

T'u-ssu T'o erh-chih-shih-chieh died in 1392. He had accumulated thirteen merits during his lifetime and died discharging his office. His son Tuan Chou succeeded his father in 1396 (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 10*b*; 27: 9*b*; 24: 7*b*; 27: 9*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 35*b*).

In 1392, t'u-ssu Wang was ordered to follow General Lan Yu, pursuing the turbulent Ch'i Chih-hsun, who at that time was in the region of Han Tun (Tunhuang). On the arrival of Lan Yu most of his tribes fled and were pursued as far as the region of Kokonor. Many were captured with a large number of their cattle.

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[73] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 13.

[p.34(B)]

valley of Hsining, 60 li distant from the city on the way to Kokonor, a strong fortified city was built and a strong garrison appointed. The place controlled the western valley and the raids from Kokonor. In Chung-tsai in the Sa-t'ang valley, which so many times had been looted by invading Tibetans, a strong fortress was also built and a garrison appointed. The same dispositions were taken to improve the strength of the cities of Pa-yen-jung and San Ch'uan against brigands of Sung Shan and Ordos. For the first time troops were available to occupy permanently the strategic points in the country and from the t'u-ssu were required good soldiers to share with the Chinese troops the burden of the defense of the strongholds (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 29*b*, 30*a*). General Liu Mei-kuan started with the exploitation of iron ore in the mountains north of Hsining, three foundries were built and blacksmiths started preparing weapons to be distributed among the subdued tribes. To the nineteen tribes of Komi numbering 7,000 people, reputed first-rate warriors, were sent military instructors with weapons, to drill them. The director of colonization reported that 80,000 acres of uncultivated land were still available to farmers. To destitute Tibetans of Kokonor and East Kansu, pouring into the country every day, were given land to till and grain and oxen. Orders were sent to promote education, build schools in each village and improve existing ones (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*b*; 25: 23*b*; 35: 24).

175x 712 175x 701 [327] 175x 708 659

In a report sent by General T'ien Yueh is encountered an interesting note relating to the education given to the people of north Kansu and Huangchung in these desperate times. In each of the schools of the city of Kanchow, sixty or seventy students attend the lessons of three teachers. In each of the schools of the cities of Kao T'ai, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, Liangchow, Cheng Fan and Chuang Lang are encountered only thirty or forty students, in the smallest of these cities only twenty or thirty students. In each of the schools are two teachers. Then follows an exhortation to promote education (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 20*a*).

175x 871

In the same year, 1596, after the brilliant victories, the country seeming radiant and everywhere walls and fortresses being built, the lamas of T'a-erh-sse (Kumbum) (situated 40 li south of Hsining) decided to build a wall around the hermitages existing at that time. In 1560 some cells had been built for ten monks and, in 1577, a small temple next to a tower whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree, the glory of Kumbum (Monguors II: 25 sq.).

175x 712 346

The same year the brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih, feeling insecure in Kokonor, intending to leave the country and to return to Ordos, asked to pass through Huangchung. The request was refused. He passed the Yellow River, looted T'ao and Ho Chou and was pursued in his flight to the Ordos (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*).

175x 721 648

The La-pu-erh tribe boldly repelled alone an attack of Kokonor brigands, killing fifteen brigands and cap-

[P.49(B)]

The emperor himself appoints t'u-ssu and grants their seals and diploma. No officials, even governors, are allowed to appoint t'u-ssu. As an exception, when a new clan splits off from a large clan, a part of the territories and subjects of the clan are granted to the new t'u-ssu by the "old t'u-ssu and the clan chiefs," but in such cases accreditation by the emperor must follow. These facts in the Li and Lu clan have been previously noted. Also every time a new t'u-ssu succeeds to an old one his office must be confirmed by the emperor, with seal and diploma. 175x 622

It is clear then that the status of a chief of a group of seceders from a Monguor clan is that of a military official, obeying the orders of a Chinese military official, who unlawfully enlisted him and granted him the titles and promotions granted to Chinese officials in the Chinese army; it is not the status of a t'u-ssu. Such a seceding chief and his followers, continuing to live in the territories of the clan, among the loyal subjects of the t'u-ssu, are legally still subject to him, although they have ceased to recognize his authority. 175x 614 622 701

How is it possible for two groups of people to live peacefully together on the territory of a chief, whose authority one of them refuses to recognize? How is it possible to have Chinese officials who do not defend the rights of their subjects to secede from the clan? This paradox was realized in 1645, when the seceders of the T'o Huan clan led by T'u-ssu Lu Tien surrendered to Governor Meng Ch'iao-fang, and had their situation "regularized" by the Governor. A look at the chronicles of the Lu clan helps to clarify this confusing problem.[14]

SECEDERS FROM THE LU CLAN IN 1645 175x

In 1645 Prince Yin of the Ch'ing dynasty arrived to call the people of the two rivers to surrender. He himself, a Manchu, well conversant with the mentality and the social institutions of the Mongols and nomadic peoples, and familiar with conditions in the Lu clan, was so shocked by the disorganization and hatred among the eminent families of the clan, that he ordered the noble Lady Yang, concubine of the killed T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang in Lien Ch'eng, to write to the emperor a detailed report with "her blood," concerning the disaster of Lien Ch'eng. The report reads: "The subjects of our clan have been divided among traitors, belonging to eminent families of our tribes, our clan properties have been seized and the hereditary lordship over our tribes usurped." [15]

This report is an eye-opener concerning the events of 1644, the confusion existing in the clan and the hatred among the subjects. Reading the report the first impression is that the Lu P'ei-tso group must be rated among the "traitors belonging to the most eminent families of our tribes" and that the territories

[14] See pp. 89, 101.
[15] See p. 89.

[110(A)]

N *563 621 241 fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.

Within the household, the composition is similar to that of the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on and a higher frequency of joint-family occupancy. Should the family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

N *563 592 [595] N [768]

C. The Mongours

N *563 M 173 565 At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in Monguor social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

N *563 M 565 [701] Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops depending on the size of the territory and the population of which he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Monguor social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol rule. Generally speaking, the Monguor commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Monguor clans and four general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

M [614]

N *563 M 614 554 M [428] Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Monguor social organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

lowed them dared not return to Kanchow, for fear of 175x
severe punishments. They liked better to settle in the 579
region of Pe-ta, situated 120 li north of Hsining, outside the jurisdiction of the prefecture, and belonging to the Mongols. They tilled the soil and built houses. 175x
More people had joined their group which already 648
numbered 10,000 families in 1693. They brought the regulatory *t'ien pa* (land) taxes to the Mongols. T'u-ssu Li, having investigated the circumstances with other commanders, reported that the Pe-ta region had become a favorite thoroughfare along which Mongols and Tibetans traveled, spying on Huangchung. The group of settlers conversant with the Chinese regions where they constantly traveled also supplied them with information. Lamas traveled the whole year long on their way to Tibet without regulatory passes, etc. The t'u-ssu proposed to compel the entire group of settlers to return to their original countries, for the offense of having revolted had long since been forgiven, and to forbid the bringing of the *t'ien pa* taxes to the Mongol princes, according to the regulations issued by the Manchu emperor in 1658. He proposed to forbid lamas to travel to Tibet through the Pe-ta region, but to travel with passports secured on fixed passes. If serious measures were not taken, sooner or later troubles would arise, all the more since Tibet is for the moment seriously troubled and Galdan is disturbing the empire. Nobody knows what would be in store in the future. If the Mongol princes and settlers would not comply with the regulations, the army should be used to compel them to obey (*Annals* of Hsining 34: 5*a*).

T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai, brother of T'u-ssu Ch'i [702]
Pe-chai, having graduated from the military academy and in 1673 fought the rebel Wu San-kuei in combination with all the Monguor t'u-ssu, had been promoted to second captain in Wei Yuan Pu. He had also fought rebels in Chin Chou and Li Hsien in East Kansu, had been promoted to major and transferred with his troops to Chang Chia Ku north of Peking in Chihli Province, to participate in the war the emperor was waging against the Jungar (Oirat) chief Galdan. After the death of the Oirat chief Yeh Hsien, who had captured the Ming emperor and proclaimed himself emperor of all the Mongols and had been killed in 1455, the Oirats had divided into four groups. Galdan, chief of the Choros group and the Jungar tribes, dreamed of building a new Jungar empire and expelling the Manchus from China.

Galdan, having already conquered Kashgaria, Turfan and Hami, and been ruling over Central Asia, had still to win the four Khalkha groups in order to control the united Mongol race. In 1688 he invaded their territory. The Khalkhas fled to Tumet and asked the emperor for protection. In 1690 Galdan had struck a severe blow at Kalgan. In 1696 the emperor, himself leading one of his three armies, went to meet Galdan in the Kerulen region. T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

t'u-ssu clans attended Chinese schools and many among 121
them obtained literary and military degrees, became Confucianists and officials in the Chinese administration. Meritorious t'u-ssu were rewarded with honorary titles, and the growing standard of civilization in the families of the t'u-ssu chiefs spread among the subjects.

This history also describes the amalgamation of many tribes of diverse origin, among themselves and with the few Chinese of the country, in a compound which constitutes a notable part of today's Huangchung population.

Long times of distress and suffering endured at the hands of a common enemy bring destitute people close together. Tribes come to shelter together, share each other's houses and land, try to talk together, marry, etc., and if the circumstances last for a long time, as was the case in Huangchung, the customs and languages become unified and an amalgamation takes place.

It is in order not to obliterate the different elements of the compound which constitutes the Huangchung population that the study starts with notes relating to the tribes which lived in Huangchung—T'u-fan, Tang- [563]
hsiang, Tibetans, Shat'o Turks, and several thousands of Uighurs—with notes about the time and the circumstances of their arrival, the country in which they were settled, and the part they played in the history of the country of Huangchung.

The notes have not only an ethnographical importance, but also a bearing on the administration of these people, the study of their customs and the religions they practiced.

The history of the Monguor clan of the Lu family, according to its family chronicles is discussed because the Lu clan is the only clan which has been able to keep its chronicles. The chronicles of all the other clans have disappeared during the revolts which ravaged the country many times. The chronicles of the Lu clan, however, shed light on the organization of the other clans, their administration, their relations with the empire, the process of Sinisization, the peculiar mentality of the families of the chiefs of the clans, etc., and complement our knowledge of the Monguor t'u-ssu families.

The history of the Lu family is significant also in 175x
the way it shows the interest of the emperor in the 121
Monguor clans which rendered so much help in the 648
time of the inroads of brigands and the wars with the 703
barbarians. This interest is displayed by the granting of titles and promotions; by inviting the chiefs to the capital, offering dinners and entertainments, making them admire the splendor of the palaces, gratifying them with honorary distinctions such as the peacock plume and the jade girdle, and with gifts of clothing, silks, satins, and porcelains; by ordering the civil authorities to build honorific arches in the cities to honor

[P. 3(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 the eminent chiefs of the clan; and by delegating high
121 officials to present official burials and sacrifices to the
648 deceased chiefs and to read the sacrificial oration com-
703 posed by the emperor himself as a farewell to the meritorious deceased.

These were some of the means used by the emperor to win the hearts of the Monguors and to make of them defenders of the empire.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge with the appearance of the last part of the study, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation and the American Philosophical Society for the grants which enabled me to complete the work, and to Professor and Mrs. Owen Lattimore for the help they rendered and for their assistance in the preparation of the study.

I cannot conclude without remembering with gratitude the special debt I owe to Miss Theresa A. Tims, and without expressing my sincerest appreciation of her considerable help, graciously rendered, in correcting and preparing the English draft and the editing of the publication with wonderful patience and good humor through long hours.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS

OWEN AND ELEANOR LATTIMORE

114 As the main significance of Father Schram's work is its presentation of historical and sociological material, no attempt has been made, in editing his text, to be over pedantic in the transliteration of Chinese and Mongol names of people, places, institutions or titles. We have adopted instead what we hope are rules of common sense.

For Chinese, the system of transliteration with the widest international acceptance is that of Wade, and we have used it except in the case of geographical names where there is a well-established English spelling. For instance the strict Wade transcription for the name of the city of Lanchow would be Lan Chou, but we use Lanchow because that form is internationally well established. Similarly we write Szechwan (the name of a province) instead of Ssu Ch'uan.

For transcribing Mongol (and Manchu) there is no widely accepted system, but fortunately the sounds of these languages can be indicated with reasonable accu-

[P. 4(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

old imperial policy to sow strife among the tribes, making them destroy each other. Yung Lo was as frightened of a Mongol power under the leadership of an offspring of the old Chingis Khan family as of one under the leadership of a rising new and tremendous Oirat group. He decided to launch a campaign against the Oirat Ma-ha-mu.

On April 6, 1414, the emperor himself led the campaign and administered a blow to Ma-ha-mu who escaped in the desert. The emperor was back in Peking on August 15. The Monguor troops of Huangchung had again been called to participate in the expedition. In the following years Alut'ai administered a defeat to the weakened Ma-ha-mu, who died in 1416. Then the emperor recognized the succession of Togon to his father Ma-ha-mu, as chief of the Oirats, and bestowed upon him the title of his father. The flames of hatred of A-lu-t'ai were fanned again against the Oirats and China. In the meantime A-lu-t'ai had secured the help of the Urianghai tribes living on the northern borders of China, which had transferred their allegiance from China to him. He had considered himself strong enough to antagonize China openly.

On April 12, 1422, the emperor started on a third campaign in Mongolia, this time against A-lu-t'ai, and called the Monguor troops. On the arrival of the strong Chinese army, A-lu-t'ai escaped in the desert waste, and the frustrated emperor vented his rage upon the unfaithful Urianghai tribes. The Monguors fought on the borders of the Wu-lang River in Liao-tung and in the Toyen district under command of T'u-ssu Li Yin. T'u-ssu Lu, having captured the Mongol chief Alahan on the Han t'an River, was rewarded with titles, silver, and silk clothes (family chronicle).

In 1423 the emperor resolved to finish definitely with A-lu-t'ai and started personally with a fourth expedition, calling the Huangchung troops. T'u-ssu Lu, on his way to the north, passed through the country of Ho-lan-shan and encountered the Mongol Prince Chung T'ung and troops of Yeh-hsien, which he captured. Just at the time the expedition was on the move, the Oirat chief Togon administered a blow to A-lu-t'ai, who escaped in the Gobi. The emperor understood that the expedition was doomed. He returned to Peking on December 9.

In 1424 A-lu-t'ai, despite the defeats he had suffered, was still strong enough to plunder the borders of the empire. The frustrated and enraged emperor decided to equip and lead a fifth expedition. All available troops were mustered and the expedition moved the second of May. A-lu-t'ai again vanished in the desert. The Mongols proved once more not to be easy game. The despondent emperor died on his way back to Peking, in Yu-mu-ch'uan, on August 18.[79]

In 1423 a Tibetan lama, Chang ta lama, was living in Hsining, appointed by Emperor Yung Lo as a translator of Tibetan texts. His morals were dissolute. He

[79] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 28–32; Franke, *op. cit.*, 5–12.

[P. 37(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The emperor praised the military prestation of Li Yin and sent delegates from Peking with laudatory letters and with the order to come to Peking, the expenses to be defrayed by the empire. He received the promotion of Yu-fu tso-tu-tu and rich gifts. The next year he was honored with the title of Duke of Hui Ning, and received an emolument every year of 1,100 *tan* of grain. At the same time the emperor, with delicate attention, bestowed upon his deceased father, Li Nan-ko, the same title of Duke of Hui Ning (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47a; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11a).

Li Yin seemed to have reached the summit of a glorious career. However, a more eminent honor was in store for him. His merits would be chiseled on a stele in a temple built by himself to remind future generations of the imperial dignities bestowed upon him.

In the Kuang-fu-kuan, a temple built in 1426 in the northeast corner of the city of Hsining, the following is chiseled on a stele (*Annals* of Kansu 30: 45a–*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 35: 6a–*b*):

In 1422 in the eighth moon, Emperor Yung Lo, on his way back from an expedition in the desert took a breath in Yu-lin (Shensi) and called to his tent the officials who had won the most distinguished merits during the expedition. He granted Li Yin the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Pillar of the Empire and Duke of Hui Ning. Then the duke asked the emperor for permission to build in Hsining a temple in honor of the god of the war, in order to show gratitude for the blessings bestowed upon the empire and the people, and to secure more blessings in the future. The emperor agreed. Back home, Li Yin ordered, a few days later, the building of the temple. In the tenth moon of 1426 he informed the emperor about the completion of the construction. The emperor granted to the temple the name "Kuang-fu-kuan" (Taoist temple of glory and felicity), and appointed five Taoist priests for the performance of the sacrifices and worship in the temple.

One evening Li Yin was dreaming: he heard a man saying to him, "The God of War will appear." Instantly he dressed and adjusted his hat. Another man arrived carrying a tray with fine dishes. He invited Li Yin to come to his home to enjoy the dishes. Li Yin could not understand the circumstances of such an invitation. He thought it should be a spirit. Then he invited this man to come to his home. They were about to start with the dinner when all of a sudden the man said, "The spirit is there." Li Yin opened the door. He saw a man perfectly dressed, riding a white horse with a beautiful saddle and escorted by a numerous retinue. The man was like a king. The Taoist priest Ho Chao-tsung accompanied him, dressed in Taoist fashion, holding a book in his hands. He asked Li Yin: "The god will go first to the temple of the King Li. Is that correct?" Li Yin answered that he would first call at the Ning-fan Ssu (the temple of the appeased Tibetans). The entire group left. The sky was bright. On the way they passed a beautiful high building, enclosed by a high wall. They said, "The man who is living here does not belong to the lower range of society." They arrived at the gate of the temple. Li Yin dismounted from his horse. He was terrified. This happened on the eighth day of the seventh moon in 1423. In the winter of the same year the Duke was invited to see the emperor in Peking. He received his titles and precious gifts and returned to Hsining. What the Duke saw in his dream was the appearance of the god of war. It was a reward for his

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

devotion to the empire. Emperor Yung Lo whom he had served in the expeditions in the desert had given him a precious sword and a famous horse. In 1425 Li Yin had fought the brigands in Anting and at the head of his soldiers had attacked the brigands and himself had killed many among them. He had captured a booty of 130,000 cattle. The emperor had sent minister Yang Yung to congratulate him. His merits were unusual and therefore he received in his dream a visit from the god of war . . . all these circumstances we have recorded on the stele, etc.

M 175x 211 539 [703]

Without doubt the titles received by Li Yin, the building of the temple and the name given to it by the emperor himself, the stele, and the wonderful dreams went straight to the heart of the clan members and strengthened the cohesion of the Li clan. All these circumstances normally seem to have been conducive at that time to the building of an elaborate clan cemetery and to the erection in 1426 of the famous "spirit way stele" in honor of Li Nan-ko, the founder of the clan, father of Li Yin.

M 175x 614 626

However, the behavior of Li Yin, puffed up with pride, had changed after he had been honored so magnificently by the emperor. The Governor of Ninghsia, Shih Chao, who had previously been Governor of Hsining, accused him of fostering subversive intentions. Li Yin could disprove the accusation. In Hsining he had assembled 700 families, fugitives from justice, whom he protected. He had settled them in the country and had given them land to till. But they harmed their neighbors, stealing and upsetting the country. Again complaints were lodged with the board of military justice, and Li Yin was ordered to turn over his tenants to the civil authority. In 1432 Ch'i Ch'eng, descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, was his father's lawful successor to the office of t'u-ssu. The bold Li Yin, not bothering to offend the prominent Ch'i t'u-ssu clan, supported as successor to the t'u-ssu office Chien Tsang, the nephew of Ch'i Ch'eng, who was the son of his sister. He appointed murderers to kill Ch'i Ch'eng. He was accused again. This time the military judges rolled all the accusations into one, condemned him to prison, to the revocation of his titles and honors and to capital punishment. In 1437 the emperor pardoned him, allowing him a small emolument. Soon thereafter he died (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

M 175x 648 M [578] M [698] M [626]

HUANGCHUNG T'U-SSU UNDER THE SUBSEQUENT EMPERORS

After the death of Yung Lo, (1424) the alarming confusion and struggle continued unabated among the eastern and western Mongols, both groups appointing their own Khans, who were merely nominal supreme chiefs and actually blind tools in the hands of Togon and A-lu-t'ai who controlled the two groups. A-lu-t'ai, weakened after many encounters with the Chinese and Oirat troops; was finally defeated and killed by the Oirat, Togon, in 1434; and the hegemony of the Oirats

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*) had fought with the Chinese army.

M 175x 648

In 1463 the Pa Sha tribe made a foray again in the Sa-t'ang Valley but was repelled (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 12*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 28*a*).

HM 175 648

In 1464 again the Pa Sha tribe raided Huangchung. This time the Chinese army entered their country and exterminated some of their tribes (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 28*b*).

T'u-ssu Lu followed the commanders Liu Yu and Shih Hsiang-chung in 1468, repelling the brigand Manssu in Ku Yuan. He fled to his fortress Shih-ch'eng. The army, having lost many soldiers, finally captured the fortress; the brigand was captured, sent to Peking, and killed (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 29*a*).

In 1470 T'ing Chang built more schools in Hsining. Shih Chao had built the first schools in 1428 (*Annals* of Kansu 31: 12*b*).

M [371]

In 1472 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to help repel the Ordos Mongols making raids in Yenan and Suei-te. At the same time incursive Mongol tribes made forays in the regions of Chin-pien-i (Ku-lang). T'u-ssu Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*a*), T'u-ssu Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), followed the Chinese troops, beat the brigands and pursued them as far as Hua-ling-erh.

T'u-ssu Li Wen and Commander Liu Wen were sent to Hami in 1473 to investigate the troubled conditions prevailing in the country. Having secured the promise of help from the Ch'ih-chin and Han Tun tribes, they sent an army to Hami in 1474. Upon the arrival of the army both tribes refused to move. Li Wen, deeming his forces too feeble to fight the enemy, returned to Kansu.

In 1475 Emperor Hsien Tsung ordered the local officials to erect an honorific arch in front of the mansion of the T'u-ssu Lu Chien, granting the inscription *"During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and probity, incessantly he exercised fidelity and zeal."*

M 175x 648 703

It has been noted that the erection of the spirit way stele in honor of Li Yin happened in the very same year, 1475.

In 1480 T'u-ssu Lu Chien was promoted lieutenant colonel in Hsining.

In 1482 the tribes of Ch'ih-chin and Han Tun with the help of Chinese troops and T'u-ssu Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*a*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), attacked and conquered Hami.

In 1488, ninety years after the surrender of the *t'u-ssu* in a group in Huangchung (1371), there was appointed a military and administrative tao t'ai (ping pi tao), a governor, vested with civil and military powers (*Annals* of Hsining 22: 5*b*; 23: 4*a*–*b*) with residence in the city of Hsining. There was also established a bureau of customs, and a bureau of colonization. In the city of Nienpei, in the strongholds of Chinghai, Kuei Te was appointed a major, in the fortress in the

M 175x 727

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

gols in Kokonor and burn the temple built by Altan. They returned in a flush of triumph with 1,200 captured families. The number of brigands they killed is not known. The Brigadier General Chiao Chi defeated tribes of Ho-lo-ch'ih with the help of Tibetans and beheaded 120 of his men (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 36*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*b*). 175x 648

The energic Cheng Lo must have commanded at the time of his arrival in Huangchung a fair number of fresh troops. Otherwise the shaken confidence in the empire among the Tibetan tribes would not have been restored so quickly. In two years time the outlook had changed and become bright and full of hope for the people, beset for ten years with starvation, squalor and misery, and anxious uncertainty.

The same year the markets, opened for the Mongols in Kansu, were closed on account of their incessant raids and brigandage. The Obedient and Righteous Prince Ch'ih-li-k'o who had assisted at the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou, sent back the abducted people and stolen cattle and presented excuses to the emperor (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20*a–b*). [647 437]

In 1594 orders were given to repair and improve again the fortifications of the city of Hsining. More villages and military colonies were built. Maybe the officials had seen some new straws in the wind (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*a*). A strong group of Kokonor brigands arrived to plunder the valleys south of Hsining. The Chinese generals Liu Mei-Kuan, Ta Yun, T'ien Yueh had called all the t'u-ssu of Huangchung and captured groups of Tibetans to defend the country. They used flanking movements, skillfully settled ambuscades, and administered a crushing defeat to the raiders, 680 of whom were beheaded. A few months later the brigands came back with all the brigands of Nalu, to loot the valleys west of Hsining. The same generals, t'u-ssu, and Tibetans obtained a resounding victory and killed 700 and more brigands, among them some chieftains (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 37*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*a*). 175x 579 [712]

These two victories were the most important ever won in Huangchung. In the report relating the military presentation are encountered the names of the most meritorious military and civil officials who had contributed to the success. We encounter among them the names of T'u-ssu Lu Kuang-tsu, Li Yu-mao, Li Hsien-hua, Ch'eng San-chi, Ch'i Ping-chung and Ch'i Te (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 23*a–b*). A delegate of the ministry of war was sent with titles and gifts to reward the meritorious officials. 175x 648 703

Immediately after the victories, in 1596, orders were sent to the military officials to build more walls especially along the roads used by the invaders of Kokonor and Sung Shan, to build fortresses at strategic points and more villages for the farmers. The officials expected that the brigands would not take these blows lying down but would avenge themselves by means of new raids. In Cheng-hai-pu in the western 175x 712

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

and Sung Pa, were learned men and enjoyed prestige in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet (Monguors II: 27, sq.). 175x 792 795

In 1607 the Brigadier General, T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chai, with his troops, was ordered to help General Ta Yun repel the raids of Kokonor brigands who in combination with Ordos brigands invaded and looted Chengfan and Liangchow. They repelled them, administering a severe blow (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 39). 175x 648

In 1612 the emperor ordered an honorific arch built to the meritorious Brigadier General Ch'i Teh, and sent the inscription to be chiseled on it: "Honorably favored by Heavenly Grace." The arch was built on the west street of the city of Hsining and still exists. Ch'i Teh is a descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i-Kung-ko-hsing-chi, who during the Yuan period fulfilled the duty of myriarch, with golden badge and purple tassel, in the region 90 li south of Hsining. The Ch'i t'u-ssu clan should have been well acquainted with the Tibetan tribes living south of Hsining. No wonder the Ch'i Teh T'u-ssu was called upon by minister of war Cheng Lo in 1591, together with Colonel Shih Chia, to induce the Tibetan tribes to surrender. His successful efforts must have been the reason for the imperial distinction (*Annals* of Hsining 10: 4*b*; 27: 28). 175x 703 211

In 1616 the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Ping-chung (descendant of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh) appointed at Yung Ch'ang, saw the Mongol Yin-ting-ssu-ts'ing arriving with 1,000 horses to besiege the city. He controlled only 300 men but fought for two days and nights, defending the city. He himself killed three Mongol brigands. When auxiliary troops arrived he himself immediately pursued the enemy and saved all the people and cattle captured by the Mongols. The grateful people of Yung-ch'ang erected in the city a stele in commemoration of his heroic behavior. The stele still exists. Commended by his superiors for his leadership and energy, he was ordered, in 1621, to move with his troops to Liaotung Province (north of Peking) to defend the region of the Pu River. When he arrived, Liao Yang was already captured. Ten thousand more soldiers were put under his command. He remained in Liao tung for two more years. Later he encountered at P'ing-yang the Manchu troops invading China. In a pitched battle he was wounded by two sword cuts and three arrow hits. He was helped on his horse by his soldiers but died on the way. On account of his meritorious achievements, the emperor bestowed upon him the title of "T'ai-tze-t'ai-pao" "Junior guardian of the heir apparent," and an imperial oration was granted at his funeral and an order given to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining with the inscription: "Served the country, manifested loyalty." The arch still exists. It was built in the large south street of the city (*Annals* of Hsining 10: 4*b*; 27: 21*a–b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*a–b*). 175x 648 [534 211] [211 703]

A very important date in the history of Kokonor, Tibet and lamaism is 1636. Ku-Shih-han, chieftain of 175x

[P. 50(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Mongnor AE9

Hsining city. The city was carried by storm and de- 175x
livered to sack and slaughter: for the soldiers there 669
was but death. The brigands knew that the t'u-ssu had stirred the people to resist the brigands, and they wreaked ruin on them. The old T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 1*a–b*), and the T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 2*a*) were taken prisoner. The T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuen (of the old Li Wen branch) was killed with his wife and 120 members of his family (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21; 28: 15; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 43*b*). The wife of Li T'ien-yu, the concubine, the two brothers, and 300 persons of his family and servants were killed. The same year the T'u-ssu Yeh kuo-chi, who had been called by the emperor early in 1643 to fight the brigands in Ch'ang p'ing in Liaotung, died on the field of battle in 1643 (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 15). All these t'u-ssu with their families laid down their lives defending the dynasty.

Then the brigands went down into the country devastating, burning villages, murdering anyone who made a stand, abducting women, stealing livestock, etc. A group of them went to Kokonor, where all the chiefs surrendered.

The brigands knew that the old T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing- 175x
chien had been the promoter of the resistance and had 577
killed their chief Huo Chin. They decided to kill him. 593
His son Hsing-chu spent the entire family fortune, buying 100 fine horses. He went to see the chief of the brigands in P'ing-Jung-i, hoping to redeem his father. The chief not only refused to accept the horses, but told him straight to his face that his father was to be killed. Then his brother Ping-chu protested, saying that his father had not killed Huo Chin, but that he himself was the murderer. The chief looked at him a long time and finally said, you are a filial son. He ordered the father to be bound to a car and to leave for Hsi-an. Hsing-chu cried the whole way home. However, his father was not killed (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 19*a*).

His father was sent to Hsi-an, together with Li 175x
T'ien-yu. In T'ung Kuan they met the Manchu Prince Ah-Ki-Ko (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). Both submitted to the newly established dynasty and were released. The Governor General Meng Ch'iao-fang, sent by the Ch'ing dynasty to pacify Kansu, had already arrived in 1645. He rehabilitated both t'u-ssu in their former office of commander of the clan, enjoining them to pacify the t'u-ssu of Hsining and Ho-hsi, to induce the Tibetans to be submissive, to abstain from revolts and to capture the rebel Tibetan Chao Chin-chung (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 2*a–b*; 31: 21; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 44*b*). To the T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuen who had [211
perished with his wife and 120 members of his family 703]
the emperor later ordered built an honorific arch in Hsining with the inscription "Loyal servant and faithful wife, glory of the noble clan" (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 15*b*).

[P.52(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

(*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a*) with his troops accompanied the emperor. Galdan fled but was met by the army of General Fei Yang-ku who completely annihilated his army at Chao Mu To. The Khalkhas reoccupied their country. 175x 648

In 1697 the emperor went with his armies to Ninghsia in order to destroy entirely the Jungar forces. Again T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai with his troops followed the imperial army. However Galdan died May 3, 1697, and the emperor returned to Peking. The t'u-ssu was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the Ho Pa division in Shansi, then brigadier general in Chin Hua in Chekiang Province. In 1713, upon his retirement, he fulfilled the duty of assistant commander of his clan. At his death the emperor honored him with a funeral oration.[89] [703]

In 1703 the Khoshot Mongols of Kokonor submitted to the empire. The emperor conferred on the descendants of Ku Shih Khan, bLo-bzang tanchin, and others the titles of Prince, Pei-le, Pei-tse, Kung, T'aichi (*Annals* of Kansu 64: 52*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 22*a*).

This record points to the troubles in Lhasa which had long threatened Huangchung and the Monguors. Ku Shih Khan, chief of a Khoshot group (one of the four Oirat groups), had invaded and conquered Kokonor, Tsaidam, and Kham in 1636, and had been invited by the fifth Dalai Lama, Nag dzang bLo bzang, chief of the Yellow Sect, to help him in the struggle against a Tibetan prince, fanatic adherent of the old Red Sect, who had occupied Lhasa. He defeated the prince, installed the Dalai in Lhasa, proclaimed him Sovereign of Central Tibet and assumed the duty of protector of the Yellow Church.[90] Ku Shih Khan had been under the Manchu suzerainty since 1637. He died in 1656. His son Dayan, his grandson Dalai, and his great-grandson La tsang assumed the same duty. The Dalai entrusted the temporal administration of his kingdom to an official called a *desi*. In 1670 the *desi* revolted. On the request of the Dalai Lama, Dayan quelled the revolt and committed the *desi* to prison. Sangs rgyas rgya mcho was appointed to the *desi* office. The Dalai died in 1680–1681. The *desi*, with the Panchen Lama, appointed as reincarnation of the Dalai Lama a boy born a year after his death, called Chang Yang bLo bzang, the sixth Dalai Lama. The Tibetans and lamas [775] 175x 795 648

[89] *Annals* of Hsining 28: 4*a*. *Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*b*. Réné Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 607, 610, Paris, Payot, 1935.

[90] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 59–70, Roma, La Libreria della Stato, 1949. The Dalai Lama who died in 1680–1681 had built up a mighty kingdom and the supremacy of the Yellow Sect over all Tibet, leaning on the power of the Mongols, who were foreigners, arousing the suspicions of the Tibetans and the jealousy of the other sects and the old nobility. At the same time he had laid the foundation of the ruin of his kingdom, having recognized the right of some Mongol tribes to act as patrons over his lands, being bound in that way to the vicissitudes of political events. He had to take side with his protectors, later the Jungars, in their struggle with the Chinese empire.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Where were the Monguor t'u-ssu during the revolt? 175x

The defeat of the troops of T'u-ssu Lu Fan has been related. He was rewarded later by the honor of wearing the double peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57). 709 624

The five outer Salar groups, adherents of the new religion, inhabited Pa Yen Jung situated south of Nienpei. The danger of inroads on and the plundering of these groups had to be forestalled. Lu Chen-hsien, member of the t'u-ssu clan, guarded with the troops the region of Hsiang T'ang and Huei Ho Tung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 60). 175x 648 [795]

T'u-ssu Kan San Yuen-pao guarded the city of Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Chou Lin guarded the passes of Ch'i Shih near Pa Yen Jung and Feng T'ai Shan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51). T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the city of Nienpei and was later called to Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai helped guard the city of Ti-tao in East Kansu with 200 Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the Hsiao Hsia pass near Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu who had fought in Lanchow and recovered Ho Chou, was rewarded by the honor to wear the Blue Plume or Crow feather, and received the button of the second degree, worn on the cap (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). [703]

The Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Lanchow and was rewarded with the same honor as the former Salar t'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*a*).

Huangchung had been spared from inroads and devastation.

YEN CH'A HUI REVOLT

After the death of Ma Ming-hsin in Lanchow in 1781, T'ien Wu, a fanatic *ahong*, leader of the new sect in Fu Ch'iang in East Kansu, was proclaimed chief of the new sect. At that time the Chinese officials were brutally murdering the entire families of the rebels, and rumors were spread that all the Mohammedans of the old and new sects were to be killed. Already in 1782, in Shih Feng Pao, in the T'ung Wei district, T'ien Wu had started digging entrenchments and moving the wives and children to strongholds in the mountains, weapons had been prepared and flags, etc. Around Ku Yuen and Fu Ch'iang encounters continued unabated between the army and the rebels, who grew stronger and stronger by the accrual of countless adherents of the old sect. In 1784 T'ien Wu was wounded in a fight in Fu Ch'iang and died. The rebels, beaten in many encounters, fled to the Shin Feng Pao mountains where they finally were exterminated, and 3,000 wives and children brutally murdered. The revolt was quelled. 175x 795 648 579 798

During the revolt T'u-ssu Lu Fan had helped guard the city of Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*) and 175x 579

[P.64(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

lasted until 1864, during which 20 million people of Kiangsu province were killed. Simultaneously the Nien Fei sect (mounted brigands) started its ravages in 1850. This revolt ended in 1868, having devastated the same provinces of the empire. 175x 795 579

In Turkistan the Mohammedan Chang Ko Erh revolted in 1826. He conquered Turkistan and in 1828 the city of Suchow in North Kansu, situated along the well-known trade road to Central Asia. The regular troops of Liangchow, Kanchow, and Hsining were moved in a hurry to cope with the invasion which threatened to overrun Kansu. The Monguor troops had not been called to come to the rescue of the army. However, T'u-ssu Lu had sent grain to Suchow to feed the hungry troops. He was rewarded with the button of the second degree worn on the cap (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57a). The long exhausting war of China with the Jungars ended in 1857 and a new Mohammedan uprising broke out in Turkistan in 1864. It lasted until 1876 and conquered the entire region of the Tarim basin. 175x 648 [703] [579]

REVOLT OF THE EAST KANSU AND HUANGCHUNG MOHAMMEDANS, 1860–1873

The revolt is summarized according to the *Annals* of Kansu 47: 4 sq. 175x 795

In 1859 the Mohammedan Ma-ha-pu-tu revolted in the eastern suburb of the city of Ho Chou in East Kansu. The revolt was soon quelled. The reason for the revolt is not noted. 579 628

In 1860 the Salars of Hsun Hua in East Kansu and those of Pa Yen Jung in Huangchung revolted in combination with the Mohammedans of the Shensi province, far more numerous than the Salars. A group started plundering in the Ho Chou region, and a group (that of the Salars of Pa Yen Jung who lived in Huangchung south of the subprefecture of Nienpei, north of the Yellow River) invaded the southern valleys of Hsining.

In 1861 these groups, drawing near Hsining, were put to flight by the commander Chao Erh-hsun, but they popped up in the eastern valley of Hsining, burning, destroying villages, and killing many people. The local militia could not withstand their fierce attacks.

In 1862 the rebels having no aim beyond plunder and the satisfaction of seeing their hatred against the Chinese fulfilled, roamed in strong groups all over Huangchung and East Kansu. Every day more Mohammedans of Kansu joined their groups. The lamas, Nangso, and Tibetans fought with the army. Some groups were victorious; some suffered hard reverses. The Salar t'u-ssu of the four upper and lower groups submitted with the Shensi Mohammedans in Tsa Pa Ch'eng. The suspicious officials nonetheless accepted their surrender, because the Nien Fei and Fa Fei brigands roamed in the vicinity of T'ungkuan, and they

[P. 66(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

were afraid these brigands would join the rebel Mohammedans. 175 795

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Hsing-nan was ordered to join the troops of General Fan Pei-lin and guard the passes of Cha Ssu Kuan and Ch'ing Ling nao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). T'u-ssu Ch'i Ch'eng-kao joined the army, fighting the rebels on the passes (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46). T'u-ssu Chao Yung-li guarded the passes in Pa Yen Jung country, and was rewarded with the two-eyed peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49a). 579 628 [703]

T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun, having the title of brigadier general, fought with 500 of his troops around Hsining. He was helped by his nephew Lu Su-chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57, 60).

In 1863 the revolt was growing more intensive every day. East Kansu suffered tremendously.

In the tenth moon rebels of the district of Ninghsia, led by Ma Hua-lung [99] took the important city of Ninghsia by storm. The city was devastated. Many fires were set and tens of thousands of Chinese were killed. Thereafter Ma Hua-lung besieged and captured the city of Ling Chou where he killed 20,000 Chinese.

In the tenth moon Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining. For a long time dissension concerning the old and the new religion divided the Hsining Mohammedans into two camps. Governor Yu T'ung invited the Mohammedan chief Ma Wen-i to patch up the trouble and to make them desist from plundering the country. Both parties consented but a strong group of Salars and Shensi Mohammedans arrived, besieged the city, and then plundered the country. During the year 1863 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to garrison in Sheng T'ang and Ch'i-li-pu, and guard the western highway *Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*b*). [791]

In 1864 the revolt raged unchecked in East Kansu, and the city of Hsun Hua was taken by storm, followed by a tremendous massacre of the Chinese population. Another Mohammedan group attacked the city of Donkir west of Hsining, but was beaten. It invaded the Sina valley and was put to flight. Long before the attack of the city, dissension among the Mohammedans concerning the two religions had divided them into two groups. The old group was called the great group (*ta hui*), the adherents of the new religion, the group of the flowered temple (*hua ssc*). The first group disapproved of the attack on the city and called into the city 1,000 of its members from outside. The Chinese population of [563]

[99] The Moslem Ma Hua-lung, back from Turkistan, had founded a new sect in Chin Chi Pu in the prefecture of Ninghsia. He claimed to have received revelations from Allah. The people honored him as an equal of Mohammed. He was to be succeeded by his descendant after his death as chief of the sect. However, after his death, his son-in-law and his grandson struggled for the succession, and the sect parted in two groups. He did not proscribe attendance at the mosques, but he recommended praying at home, two or three families together, praying in a loud voice, with the palms of the hands turned upward. The sect spread even as far as Szechwan and Yunnan provinces (d'Ollone, *op. cit.*, 374).

[P. 66(B)]

from my late father Jen Tsung, whose tablet is honored in the ancestral temple on the place Chao and whose succession I received, an imperial order relating to the affair of the brigands of An Ting and other places who had plundered and killed the imperial ambassadors, to lead your troops to exterminate them, to bring peace in that country, and put an end to the miseries of the people. You have capably complied with the order of the emperor. Acting with zeal and courage, you led your strong troops into the den of the brigands, killing and capturing more than 1,000 men and capturing booty of 130,000 camels, horses, cows, and sheep, suppressing even the vestiges of the brigands, rendering peace to the people, so that the communications (with central Asia) might start again and no more troubles occur (on the highway). I praise your faithfulness and zeal. When I ascended the throne I appointed generals to keep peace in the frontier regions. If all of them will expend their forces in that way, peace can easily be enjoyed and great success achieved. Who among the generals of former times are equal to you? 175x

Now by special favor I send Yang Yun, chief of the ministry of civil appointments, to congratulate you.

The captives, camels, and horses have to be sent to the capital, cows and sheep have to be distributed among the officers and troops who participated in the expedition. You will soon come to court, the expenses defrayed by the empire, in order to comply with my sentiments. [29]

On the eleventh moon he obeyed and went to the capital. He received silver, flowered silk, precious trinkets, and paper money. [703]

1426. On the eleventh of the first moon the imperial order arrived at the quarters of the commandant of Chuang Lang, to choose 260 officers and soldiers who formerly served in the cavalry and put them under the command of high secretary Commandant Lu Hsien to receive training in the defense of the frontiers. They may expect to be transferred soon. Obey and act according to the order.

1427. The chief of the Tibetan Erh-chia tribe revolted but the revolt was quelled by Lu Hsien.

On the twentieth of the twelfth moon the imperial order was received:

We informed the Prince of An Ting, I p'an tan, of the An Ting commandery, the secretary commandant Ah la ch'i pa and others, concerning the mission of the eunuch Hu Hsien and others to Wu-sse-tsang. Order your 3,000 officers and soldiers to protect the ambassadors, under command of high secretary-commandant Lu Hsien and the chiliarch Li Pao-tung. They have to wait for the ambassadors on Sse ha erh ma yang. They have to encounter the ambassadors in a group. Do not disobey the order or commit errors. It is the aim of the order.

1428. The ambassadors, protected on the way, arrived at Ao Chieh Ch'uan. The Lama Cheng nan ho pa of the Erh-chia tribe had moved far away. Lu Hsien treated his troops well on the way.

The imperial order of the twentieth of the eleventh moon informed the high commandant Lu Hsien and the quarters of the commandery of Chuang Lang, to call immediately the troops which have received training.

Each of them must carry his weapons and ride his horse, provisions will be delivered at the passes. Lu Hsien will

5:Schram M-S (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

plunder. The eunuch Meng T'ai, General Wei yin, Wu Cheng, and others assembled to devise means either to induce them to submission or to exterminate them. I received the report of Meng T'ai. You will inquire which among the tribes causes troubles, and how many horse troops will be required for an expedition against it. You will submit your plan with the minutest details. At the arrival of the imperial order you will immediately choose and move the troops in full number, prepare the weapons and provisions. Each of the commandants will have to assume his responsibilities. Have council with them, related to the date to start the expedition, the way to follow, and the place where they will fight. You will wait until the arrival of the fixed date and move according to orders you will receive from Meng T'ai, Wei yin, Wu Cheng, and others. Expend your forces unanimously, pursuing the Tibetan brigands either to exterminate them or to induce them to submission and pacify the country. It is strictly forbidden to have discordances among you, and to let slip away favorable opportunities. I hope you will endeavor to obey the order. This is the aim of the order. 175x

Emperor Ying Tsung died. Hsien Tsung ascended the throne.

Imperial order of the twenty-eighth of the second moon to Lu Chien, assistant commandant and second captain in Hung Ch'eng:

At the beginning of my accession I consider your zeal and fulfillment of your office. I have to be generous according favors. I hope you will respond to my grand sentiments, exercising more and more your faithfulness and sincerity in the office I entrust to you. This is the aim of the order.

The emperor sent a gift of 200 taels and the lining and facing of silk gowns. [703]

In the winter the Tibetan Huang-tu-erh tribe revolted again. Lu Chien quelled the revolt and pacified the country.

1465. Lu Chien on account of his merits was promoted to high commandant, piao-ch'i general, Shu-tu-tu Ch'ien-shih with the function of lieutenant colonel of the left, defender of Chuang Lang.

Imperial order of the twenty-eighth of the fifth moon:

Lu Chien, high commandant, according to the decision of my councilors you are capable of combining plans and you are courageous and you have already defended Chuang Lang. Immediately at the arrival of the order, with 400 officers and soldiers you commanded before, foot and horse, Monguors and Chinese, move to Chuang Lang to defend the country, exercise the troops, repair the city walls to prevent attacks of the brigands. If alarms are reported, act according to the conditions. As formerly you will have to obey the orders of the commandant in chief of Kansu. Each time you will have to discuss the circumstances and together with the high commandant Chao Yin arrive at a decision before moving. Do not obstinately cling to your own ideas, resisting stubbornly and harming the country. Be honest and just, amend your shortcomings in order to control better your inferiors. It is not allowed to use officers and troops by imposing corvées in your own interest, and so neglect their military training and the defense of the country. It is not permitted to indulge in your whims toward your inferiors and disturb the people by taxes and exactions. If you disobey these rules you will not be forgiven. I hope you will obey reverentially. This is the aim of the imperial order.

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5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

At the moment you receive the order, organize and muster your cavalry instantly, watch the strategic points, block the roads of the brigands, and kill them. Do not hesitate a moment or let slip a favorable opportunity. If you disobey you will be punished. I hope you will look at the order with reverence. This is the reason for the order. 175X

Imperial order of the fifteenth of the eleventh moon:

Lu Chien, assistant chairman at the military headquarters (a title) and defender of Chuang Lang: the high commandant Hsuan Yu reports news of the commanders of the six commanderies of Tat'ung: the ninth of the eleventh moon, seven Mongol horsemen destroyed the great wall and crossed the frontier, shot arrows and wounded soldiers. From Pien Ti Ku it is announced that since the sixth of the tenth moon, much smoke and many tents are seen in the far distance in the northwestern direction. It seems that Pei Chia Sse Lan mustered his troops and is camping near the frontiers in order to invade and plunder the country. We have to be ready to resist the brigands. The New Year is not far away. I fear that some commandants might be remiss in their duty on account of the New Year festivities, that some might impose corvées on the soldiers, send them outside the frontiers to collect fuel, and have hunting parties to provide meat for New Year's, thereby tempting the brigands to make a sudden inroad. The losses suffered would be heavy.

I order you to control strictly the troops, to enforce the day and night watches, to keep the troops in full strength, to sharpen the weapons just as if the enemy were in front of you. When the enemy starts the invasion, inform the commandants and act according to the circumstances, attack the enemy, or consolidate the city walls, or burn the surrounding country to dispel amongst the enemy the temptation to make inroads. Try to resist the enemy and to insure the peace. I hope you will carry out your duty, remembering that peace cannot be enjoyed by taking it easy. To be entrapped in the snares of the enemy will not be forgiven. Use prudence. This is the reason for the order.

1475. An imperial order enjoins the local officials to build an honorific arch in front of the mansion of Lu Chien. The emperor sent the inscription to manifest his affection toward him. It reads: "During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and sincerity, incessantly he exercised devotedness and zeal." [703 211]

1480. Lu Chien was promoted to lieutenant colonel and defender of Hsining. Imperial order of the thirteenth of the fifth moon:

Lu Chien, assistant chairman at the military headquarters (a title not a function), I order you to fulfill the function of lieutenant colonel. You will still care for the defense of Chuang Lang and assume at the same time the defense of the country of Hsining.

You will train Chinese and Monguor foot and horse, repair the city walls, deal with officers and soldiers with kindness, prevent inroads of brigands. In time of alarm act according to the circumstances. You will still obey the orders of the commandant in chief and the Governor of Kansu. You will be honest and just, amend your shortcomings in order to command more effectively your inferiors. Do not use troops for your own interests, imposing corvées for your private use, impeding the military training and the defense of the country. Do not indulge in whims in commanding inferiors, imposing taxes and ex-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

rebels. After the revolt was quelled, he received a laudatory imperial order, the peacock plume with coral button on the cap, pieces of silk and satin, and silver. 175x [205]

1784. On the fourth moon revolt of the Yen Ch'a Hui (Mohammedans) Fan again defended Lanchow, the capital of the province. After the revolt was quelled he received gifts from the emperor, and money to be distributed among the soldiers.

1785. Fan asked for permission to call on the emperor at the capital. The permission was granted. On account of illness he could not move. Again he received silk and satin.

1786. On the tenth of the eleventh moon he called on the emperor. On the twenty-first of the twelfth moon he saw the emperor at the Ying Hua Tien, and was granted the peacock plume and coral button, dresses, and precious trinkets.

1787. On the fifteenth of the eleventh moon, Fan died. His son Chi Hsun being too young to succeed, his mother the noble dame Sun kept the seals (administered the tribes).

1791. The Chinese army fought the Kokonor rebel K'uo Erh K'o. The widow sent a million pounds of fuel for the troops in Donkir.

1792. On the seventh of the first moon an imperial order was received, which reported a letter written by the widow to the emperor.

The Lady Lu Sun, caring for the seals of the t'u-ssu of Chuang Lang, reports: Learning that the army was quelling the revolt of K'uo Erh K'o, I was happy to send a million pounds of fuel for the army. The young t'u-ssu carried the fuel to Donkir. T'u-ssu Lu Fan of Chuang Lang during his life expended his forces participating in punitive expeditions. After the revolt of the Mohammedans was quelled, I rewarded him with the peacock plume. Now the lady Lu Sun, his wife, learning that the troops were fighting the rebel K'uo Erh K'o, prepared and sent a million pounds of fuel to the army. The t'u-ssu lady of the frontiers, understood faithfulness and justice. She is to be praised. I reward her with two pieces of satin. To her son, Chi Hsun, though he is only fifteen years of age, I give permission to succeed to the hereditary office of t'u-ssu, with the title of commandant, and reward him with the peacock plume in order to manifest my beneficial commendation toward you. Receive with reverence this imperial order.

FIFTEENTH GENERATION: LU CHI-HSUN

1797. On the seventh of the eleventh moon, my father was buried in Shang Hsiang T'ang.

1799. On the twentieth of the second moon the noble dame Sun died. She was buried next to her husband in Shang Hsiang T'ang, on the fifteenth of the tenth moon.

1801. On the nineteenth of the first moon was born Chou, the oldest son of the first lady.

1809. Chi Hsun asked through his superior, permission to go and congratulate the emperor at the capital, on the anniversary of his fiftieth birthday. He received

[P.90(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

the report of Huo Tu-t'ung, Governor of Shensi and Kansu provinces. 175x

I received the imperial order, reading "for anniversaries of the fiftieth birthday, the rule of felicitating is not used." No need for him to come to the capital to display his solicitude. Later when the rules of felicitating will be performed, the t'u-ssu may send his supplication to come to the capital, through your hands." Then you will report again, and after deliberation the permission will be accorded. Receive the order with respect.

1819. Imperial order of the seventeenth of the first moon:

Lu Chi Hsun, t'u-ssu of Chuang Lang, asks for permission to come to the capital to present his congratulations, for my anniversary of sixty years of age. It is the proper time and the t'u-ssu desires to come. I agree. According to the rules in former times, the trip of the t'u-ssu to the capital was defrayed by the empire. He will come along the way of the couriers, but notice that I do not order the t'u-ssu and others to come to the capital. I order the t'u-ssu to travel with the T'u-lu-fan, Mohammedan prince of the second degree, and with the Mohammedan prince of the second degree of Hami. They will arrive at Je Ho Erh, on the first of the eighth moon. After having called the emperor, having done the prostrations and presented the congratulations, they will return to Kansu. Receive this order with reverence.

On the nineteenth of the fifth moon Chi Hsun left. On the tenth of the eighth moon he arrived in Je Ho Erh. On the twelfth he met the emperor in the lion garden. He was granted slices of dry deer meat, spiced with pepper and ginger. On the thirteenth, the emperor was so kind as to accept his two beautiful horses and the products of the country. He accepted them all. Chi Hsun was rewarded with the peacock plume and coral button, the official straw hat, the collar (worn by officials of the fifth degree), the long coat adorned with embroidered breast plates, the dress adorned with dragon designs, silk cinctures, an embroidered purse, a dagger worn at the cincture, a small coat, a long brocade dress, carpets, a horse saddle, and other things. 175x 703 ● 471 [262]

On the fourteenth he was invited to dinner and to the comedy. He received again a collar made with silk from Ch'ang Chou in Fukien, a purse, a dagger, fringes fixed on the hats, tea, and dry fruit.

On the sixteenth he was again invited to dinner and the comedy, and received a clock and snuff box. On the seventeenth, dinner again and attendance at the comedy, and at the fireworks at night. On the nineteenth he thanked the emperor, and received two pieces of brocade, two pieces of silk from Ch'ang Chou, and six pieces of satin and a piece of dry deer meat. On the twentieth he bade farewell to the emperor. The next day he left for Kansu, with permits from the ministry of war to travel at the expense of the empire, permits for the soldiers of his retinue, and another for the passage of his cars free of toll and taxes. He was back in Lien Ch'eng on the fourth of the eleventh moon.

1824. The Mongol Khoshot, daughter of the Prince 175x

[P.91(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

of Alashan, arrived to marry, as first lady, Chou, the 175x
son of Chi Hsun. Chou was born in 1801.

1826. The Mohammedan Chang Ko Erh revolted in Turkistan and captured four cities. The rebel was captured and brought to the capital.

1828. Imperial order:

> Lu Chi Hsun, t'u-ssu of Chuang Lang, enobled with the third degree and peacock plume, our troops have been victorious and you fulfilled many duties imposed by the army. You went to the country of Chung Wei to buy camels for the army, you acted carefully and very quickly, the order was executed with accuracy. This means devotedness to the empire. Lu Chi Hsun, I reward you with the button of the second degree, to manifest my praise and appreciation. Receive the order with reverence.

1829. A revolt broke out in Turkistan again. Lu Chi Hsun was ordered by the viceroy of Shensi and Kansu provinces, and by the bureau of provisions for the army, to buy camels and lead them as fast as possible to the troops fighting in Turkistan. On the ninth moon the revolt was quelled. Lu Chi Hsun asked for permission to go to the capital to thank the emperor. The viceroy requested the permission for him. The emperor agreed. On the twenty-sixth of the tenth moon he started on the trip. On the nineteenth of the twelfth moon he arrived at Peking. On the twenty-third he called on the emperor. From the twenty-fourth until the twenty-ninth he enjoyed dinners with the emperor and attended the comedies. He received food from the emperor.

1830. On New Year's he congratulated the emperor in the T'ai Ho Tien, had dinner, assisted at the ceremonies, and at night enjoyed the comedy on the ice in Ying T'ai. On the fifteenth he enjoyed the illumination at the Yuan Ming Yuan, and was rewarded with the [713] ●
peacock plume, clothes, porcelains, and foodstuffs.

On the nineteenth he thanked the emperor and bade farewell.

On the twenty-eighth he moved back home, with permits from the ministry of war to travel at the expense of the empire, free from taxes and tolls for him and his retinue. On the fifth of the fourth moon he arrived at Lien Ch'eng.

On the twenty-third of the twelfth moon a grandson, Ju Kao, was born to the first lady.

1835. On the twenty-eighth of the ninth moon his oldest son, Chou, died.

SIXTEENTH GENERATION: LU K'UNG-CHAO (CHO)

Cho never succeeded his father and was never a t'u-ssu. There is no reason to call him ancestor of the sixteenth generation. He was born in 1801, married a Khoshot princess from Alashan in 1824, and died in 1835, leaving a son Ju Kao, born in 1830. At that time his father Chi Hsun controlled the troops and administered the tribes, and remained t'u-ssu until his death in 1850.

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In the texts of the imperial orders sent to the t'u-ssu concerning the way of waging war with the Mongol brigands who incessantly for five centuries invaded and plundered the frontiers, abducted and killed people, are encountered continually the words "mobilize the troops and kill the brigands," "exterminate the brigands," "you are capable of doing that," "intercept their roads and kill them," "block their ways and kill them," etc., etc. The rage against and the exasperation caused by the Mongol brigands were uppermost in the minds of the Chinese officials and the frontier people. 175x 648

It is a pity that the family chronicles of the other t'u-ssu clans are lost, so we miss the texts of the imperial pronouncements at official burials with the three sacrifices and the imperial oration read before the coffin by a high official delegated by the emperor. The first sacrifice was offered and the oration read on the day of the burial. On the anniversary of the death was offered the second sacrifice and there was read a second oration. After the third year, at the end of the mourning period, followed the last sacrifice and the oration. These orations consisted in the glorification of the deceased, of his virtues and merits, and described what the emperor considered to be the virtues and the merits of the officials he used. They always ended with stereotype phrase, "in case your spirits are still conscious and capable to enjoy and breathe the fragrancy of the sacrifice, accept and enjoy it." This last courtesy of the emperor toward the meritorious t'u-ssu, read by a high official, in the presence of the entire clan, created a special atmosphere of devotion among the Monguors toward the emperor. The texts of these orations are always very interesting and instructive. [703]

THE GLORY OF THE T'U-SSU CLANS OF HUANGCHUNG

175x 614

We have to close the study of the Huangchung Monguors with the list of the names of the Monguor t'u-ssu who died on the field of battle sacrificing their lives for the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties.

This is the most glorious page in the history of the Monguors.

DIED ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE

In 1402 T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi
In 1403 T'u-ssu Ch'i Tuan-chou
In 1410 T'u-ssu Lu Kung-pu-shih-tieh
In 1426 T'u-ssu Chou-yung
In 1511 T'u-ssu Li Ch'eng's son
In 1536 T'u-ssu Hsin Pao
In 1537 T'u-ssu Yeh Luan
In 1559 T'u-ssu Li Ming-mao
In 1586 T'u-ssu Na Wei-liang
In 1588 T'u-ssu Li Chih-hsien
T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih-kang
T'u-ssu Chao and Wu. With these two t'u-ssu 800 soldiers died.

[115(A)]

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175x
614

T'u-ssu Yeh Wei-chien
T'u-ssu Wang Chao
In 1643 T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang
In 1644 T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuan, his wife and 120 members of his family.
Wife of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, his concubine, two brothers, three hundred members of the family.
T'u-ssu Yeh Kuo-chi
In 1646 T'u-ssu Ch'eng Kuang-hsien's son
In 1798 T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu
In 1864 T'u-ssu Chou Hsieh-chi

No record existed relating to the number of all the Monguor soldiers who died on the fields of battle during these five centuries.

HONORIFIC ARCHES AND INSCRIPTIONS

175x
211
703

Honorific Arch was built and inscription sent by the emperor:

In 1475 for T'u-ssu Lu Chien "During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and probity, incessantly exercised fidelity and zeal."
In 1546 for T'u-ssu Lu Chin "Incessantly practiced faithfulness and justice and was illustrious for his dignity and fame."
In 1568 for T'u-ssu Li Kung "Ch'ing Yun, 'Blue Clouds,' means Bright Intelligence. He was an eminent scholar."
In 1612 for T'u-ssu Ch'i Teh "Honorably favored by Heavenly Grace."
In 1616 for T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chung "Served the country, manifested loyalty."
In 1644 for T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuan "Loyal servant and faithful wife, glory of the noble clan."

In 1534 in the city of Hsining was built the HALL OF THE FAITHFUL AND MERITORIOUS OFFICIALS OF HUANGCHUNG.

Four names of t'u-ssu are recorded in the list of these glorious officials. They are:

Li Nan-ko
Li Yin
Ch'eng Chih
Li Ch'ang

IMPERIAL DISTINCTION

After the Hsining troops, seething with hatred against the Mongol brigands of Kokonor, and the son, nephew, and relatives of Altan, had brilliantly demolished the temple in Kokonor, where Altan had met the Dalai Lama, and after two resounding victories had been obtained against these brigands in 1594, reports were sent to the emperor with the names of the meritorious military and civil officials who had contributed to these successful achievements. A delegate of the ministry of war was sent with titles and gifts to reward these

[115(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

officials. Among the names of these meritorious officials we read these of the Monguor t'u-ssu:

175K
211
763

Lu Kuang-tsu
Li Yu-mao
Li Hsien-hua
Ch'eng San-chi
Ch'i Ping-chung
Ch'i Teh

STELES ERECTED BY THANKFUL PEOPLE FOR MERITORIOUS T'U-SSU

In 1537 T'u-ssu Yeh Luan pacified the region of Cheng-ch'iang-i and was besieged in the fortress by several groups of Mongol brigands. He fought bravely. Nearly all his soldiers were killed, but he still fought with the courage of despair. Finally he was killed. The thankful people of the country erected a stele in Cheng-ch'iang-i in commemoration of his heroic achievement. The stele still exists.

In 1616 T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chung, appointed in Yung-ch'ang, was besieged by the Mongol Yin-ting-ssu-ts'ing and his 1,000 troops. Controlling only 300 soldiers, he fought during two days and nights. When the auxiliary troops arrived, instantly Ch'i Ping-chung pursued the enemy and recaptured the abducted people and stolen animals. The thankful people erected a stele in the city of Yung-ch'ang in commemoration of his glorious performance.

[116(A)]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

701 651 ten horses. The farmers brought a suit against the sixth House in the Chinese court. The case dragged on for many years, during which both sides spent a great deal of money, and finally the farmers were compelled to give four *tan* of peas. But during the subsequent Muslim rebellion of 1891–1895 the sixth House absconded and the farmers were compelled to provide ten soldiers and horses, together with fodder and equipment. After the rebellion new complaints followed one after another and finally in 1918 the stubborn villagers refused to recognize any military burden.

701 The small scale of traditional frontier warfare is shown by the fact that only one T'u-ssu was called upon to furnish as many as 300 soldiers, 100 of them mounted. The contingent of another T'u-ssu was 150, including 50 mounted men; two others had to furnish 100 men each, 5 of them mounted (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42; *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 18, pp. 3*a*, 4*a*). Among these figures I have not been able to find those for the contingent of the Lu T'u-ssu. If his contingent numbered 300, like that of the Li T'u-ssu, the total for all the Monguors would be only 1,275 men. But it is said that he disposed of 700 Monguor soldiers and 300 lama soldiers.[30] The Monguor troops, except for those hired by their own villages, received no pay, but when they were on active service the imperial commissary provided them with salt, tea, and flour. The troops were, however, entitled to any booty that they could capture. In the Ming dynasty, according to the *Annals* of the Province, ch. 42, p. 47*a*, an expedition was sent to Turkistan (Sinkiang) to punish the tribes of Hantung and Chiuhsien in 1423. This expedition was commanded by Li Ying, who had the title of Count (Po) of Hui-ning. His forces consisted mostly of Monguors, and they returned with a booty of more than 140,000 cattle. More recently, in 1918, a group of Monguor soldiers participated as volunteers in an expedition against the Ngolok Tibetans of Kukunor They returned after half a year, each man with a booty of nine cows

•705 175

[30] In time of war, however, it is evident that some T'u-ssu, at least, were able to raise more troops than the number required of them according to the formal lists. Thus in the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 the Chinese general Yueh Chung-ch'i enrolled 2,000 Monguor troops for the defense of the passes, according to the *Tung Hua Lu*, a Manchu imperial chronicle, 3rd vol. of the reign of Yung Cheng, 1st year, p. 29; a thousand Monguors of the Lu T'u-ssu fought at Chitzeshan, according to the *Ch'ing Shih-lu*, an archive of materials collected for the writing of a formal history of the Manchu dynasty, Bk. 144, ch. 13, p. 8; Monguors (number not given) commanded by Chiang Tung destroyed the monastery of Shihmen and killed seven hundred lamas and Tibetans according to the same source, Bk. 145, ch. 16, p. 28, and others helped to quell the revolt in the region of Kueite, according to the *Huang Ch'ing Fan-pu Yao-lüeh*, an imperial publication dealing with "barbarian" affairs, ch. 11, p. 7*a*. Previous to this, in 1720, Monguor troops of the Li T'u-ssu had accompanied the Manchu-Chinese expedition sent to drive the Jungar Mongols out of Lhasa, according to the *Wei Tsang T'ung-chih* (*Annals* of Central Tibet, ch. 13, p. 2*b*), and *Annals* of the Province of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 38*b*.

[P.64a]

705 175 and twenty sheep, and loaded with kettles, ropes, felt coverings for tents, lamb skins, and wool.

714 The Monguor soldier wore a turban of blue or black cotton cloth. The distinctive part of his uniform was a sleeveless jacket of red cotton cloth, with yellow trimmings and a circular patch of white on the chest and back. On these circles were written three Chinese characters reading "Monguor soldier" and the clan name of his T'u-ssu. These white circles on the red jacket made bright targets for the enemy. The soldier was expected to report for duty with an old musket and a sword. For every unit of ten men the village had to provide a tent, a kettle, and one pack horse, in addition to riding horses for the mounted men. The horses are shod only on the forefeet, as in medieval Europe.

651 As has already been described, each T'u-ssu formerly had the responsibility for guarding certain passes leading to the Tibetan plateau. At these passes detachments of Monguor troops were stationed even in times of peace, and at these posts they had the right to collect taxes from caravans. Other traditional taxes and levies were also for the maintenance of troops. Up until recent times, for instance, the Lu T'u-ssu had the right to tax all rafts going down the Tat'ung River past his town of Lienchʼeng. This tax was collected according to the number of steering sweeps on each raft. The Lu T'u-ssu's soldiers also collected taxes from Chinese traders buying horses, mules, cows, sheep and pigs in 527 his territory. The Monguors were exempted from 651 these taxes. Twice every year the Lu T'u-ssu inspected all his troops in the valley of Kuch'eng ("Old City"). These occasions were celebrated with horse races and wrestling matches, and there was a large market attended by an enormous crowd. The troops collected taxes from merchants attending this market.

701 Soldiers were also required for peace-time duty at 651 the mansion of the T'u-ssu, as sentries, body guards, and official messengers. They also maintained order among the crowds at the great religious celebrations at the monasteries built in the territory of the T'u-ssu, and at the time of the annual clan meeting. On such occasions they also collected taxes from Chinese merchants.

TRIENNIAL INSPECTION

624 According to protocol, a T'u-ssu should make an inspection visit every three years (in some cases, every two years) to all the villages of his subjects. This visit is called the "descent among the subjects," and in the course of the visit the T'u-ssu should make a count of the number of his subjects and check on the administration of the villages, in order to make a report to the Chinese officials representing the overlord state. This triennial tour is one of the main sources of income of a T'u-ssu.

The tour begins on an auspicious day fixed by a lama. Monguor soldiers from the first village to be visited on the tour come to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, with some

[P. 64-b]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

valley of Hsining, 60 li distant from the city on the way to Kokonor, a strong fortified city was built and a strong garrison appointed. The place controlled the western valley and the raids from Kokonor. In Chung-tsai in the Sa-t'ang valley, which so many times had been looted by invading Tibetans, a strong fortress was also built and a garrison appointed. The same dispositions were taken to improve the strength of the cities of Pa-yen-jung and San Ch'uan against brigands of Sung Shan and Ordos. For the first time troops were available to occupy permanently the strategic points in the country and from the t'u-ssu were required good soldiers to share with the Chinese troops the burden of the defense of the strongholds (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 29*b*, 30*a*). General Liu Mei-kuan started with the exploitation of iron ore in the mountains north of Hsining, three foundries were built and blacksmiths started preparing weapons to be distributed among the subdued tribes. To the nineteen tribes of Komi numbering 7,000 people, reputed first-rate warriors, were sent military instructors with weapons, to drill them. The director of colonization reported that 80,000 acres of uncultivated land were still available to farmers. To destitute Tibetans of Kokonor and East Kansu, pouring into the country every day, were given land to till and grain and oxen. Orders were sent to promote education, build schools in each village and improve existing ones (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*b*; 25: 23*b*; 35: 24).

175x 712 175x 701 [327] 175x 708 659

In a report sent by General T'ien Yueh is encountered an interesting note relating to the education given to the people of north Kansu and Huangchung in these desperate times. In each of the schools of the city of Kanchow, sixty or seventy students attend the lessons of three teachers. In each of the schools of the cities of Kao T'ai, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, Liangchow, Cheng Fan and Chuang Lang are encountered only thirty or forty students, in the smallest of these cities only twenty or thirty students. In each of the schools are two teachers. Then follows an exhortation to promote education (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 20*a*).

175x 871

In the same year, 1596, after the brilliant victories, the country seeming radiant and everywhere walls and fortresses being built, the lamas of T'a-erh-sse (Kumbum) (situated 40 li south of Hsining) decided to build a wall around the hermitages existing at that time. In 1560 some cells had been built for ten monks and, in 1577, a small temple next to a tower whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree, the glory of Kumbum (Monguors II: 25 sq.).

175x 712 346

The same year the brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih, feeling insecure in Kokonor, intending to leave the country and to return to Ordos, asked to pass through Huangchung. The request was refused. He passed the Yellow River, looted T'ao and Ho Chou and was pursued in his flight to the Ordos (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*).

175x 721 648

The La-pu-erh tribe boldly repelled alone an attack of Kokonor brigands, killing fifteen brigands and cap-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 Ti Tao, which means "the way of the barbarians," and
101 is a reminder of these fateful days.[5] It was in order to cope with this crucial problem that so many Chinese military colonies had been established in East Kansu during the Tang dynasty, the Wu Tai (or Five Dynas-
[711] ties), and the Sung and Ming dynasties, and that intermittently new colonies and fortresses had to be built in order to stem the invasions and revolts of Tang-hsiang, T'u-fan, Hsi Hsia, and Mongols.[6] The Mongols at the time of their conquest of China had a lot of trouble in East Kansu and West Shensi, subduing the Tibetan and Uighur tribes which during the previous dynasties had submitted to China but whose loyalty and dependence always remained questionable.

[5] See the remarkable study of Owen Lattimore, *The frontier in history*, X Congresso internazionale di Science Storiche, Roma, 4: 11, Settembre 1955. Relazioni 1: 106, Firenze, 1955.

[6] Franke, *op. cit.* 3: 22, 1937. *Annals* of Kansu 45: 12. In 1096 more than fifty forts and colonies had been built against the Hsi Hsia in one year.

[P. 8(c)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

In Kuei Te, south of Hsining, on the bank of the Yellow River, a fortress had been built and a garrison established by the troops of Huangchung during the period Chih-yuan (between 1335 and 1340), in order to prevent inroads in Huangchung by T'u-fan or Tang-hsiang from East Kansu. Terrible famines, started in 1337, desolated East Kansu for years, and T'u-fan plundered East Kansu, pillaging more than two hundred cities and villages (*Annals* of Hsining 9: 11*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 21*b*). Another important fortress was built 140 li west of the city of Yung Nan, northwest of Hsining, called the triangle city (San-chiao-ch'eng) and a strong garrison established. It controlled the routes leading from Kokonor to Suchow, Kanchow and Liangchow, I-chi-nai and Ch'ih-chin (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 18*a–b*) and prevented inroads of T'u-fan and attacks of Mongols during the terrible revolt of Kaidu against Kubilai.

M 175x 648 [71] HM 175 648 [71]

In both *Annals* nothing is noted relating to lamas traveling through Huangchung troubling the people, as is noted concerning lamas traveling through East Kansu on their way from Lhasa to Peking. Maybe the lamas knew that the country was too poor and entirely devastated and so they preferred to travel through East Kansu.

M 175x [484] HM 175 [484]

These are the poor records collected in the *Annals* of Hsining and of the province of Kansu, concerning the history of Huangchung during the period of the Yuan. No records are available, as is the case for the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, relating to the distribution and amount of land, salt, and mill taxes, or relating to the exchange of tea against horses, bureaus for which were established in East Kansu, in T'ao Chou and Kung-ch'ang (*Annals* of Hsining 17: 36). No records are available concerning the size of the population, the number of tribes living in the country, or the economic situation, or even the building of a single school or of Confucian or Taoist temples. There is only noted the existence of the Buddhist temple Ta Fo Ssu (*Annals* of Hsining 15: 1*b*) built by the ancestors of the Li t'u-ssu clan during the Yuan period (Monguors II: 14). However, in the *Annals* it is carefully recorded that the Ming started with the erection of schools, the building of cities and hotels for the officials (*Annals* of Hsining 14: 4*b*, 6*a*, 10*a*), and so we may conclude that during the last years of the Sung dynasty and the ravaging wars waged by tribes for forty-five years, enraged against the Chinese, taking and retaking and destroying cities, etc., few public institutions and buildings would have been left in the cities, and that nothing would have been done by the Yuan for the reconstruction of the country. The Mongol troops engaged in agriculture guarded the thinly populated country. That the country was thinly populated is borne out by the fact that the Ming rewarded lamas for alluring Tibetans to settle in the country (Monguors II: 16, 17), and also by the fact that two cities, situated

HM [161]
HM [314]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

361 The Ming dynasty was strongest in the first century
621 and a half of its rule. After that, from 1509 to the
721 founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644, and from then until 1723, recurrent forays and revolts never left the country at peace. At one time, a Chinese army of a hundred thousand men had to be sent to garrison this frontier region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 13*b*). In 1537 orders were given to build more mud walled villages, and in 1595 orders came again to repair the old fortifications and to build more new fortified villages (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, pp. 15*a*, 19*a*). It is worth noting that Liench'eng, the seat of the Lu clan, means "associated cities," since in the region of Liench'eng thirteen strongholds were built by the T'u-ssu, most of them still extant.

[712] These notices in the *Annals* suggest that few fortified villages had previously existed, but that from this time the population began to group itself around small strongholds, the more important of which grew into fortified villages.

618 The Monguor clan was a military institution, originally
701 shaped on the Mongol nomadic pattern, with a decimal
361 system of groups of 10, 100, and 1,000 families and a
621 hierarchy of military command from the largest unit of 10,000 down to the smallest of 10. When the Monguors became farmers, the process of settling broke up these units, with the result that families that had once belonged to the same military unit were scattered among different farming groups. It then became necessary to make a new military grouping based on the distribution of villages. This led to a system of villages in which the head of the village was also the military chief, and in which the military interest of defense was coordinated with such community interests as the maintenance of irrigation canals. The transformation of villages in which some families were subject to mobilization under military units in other villages into a system in which the military unit coincided with the residential community seems to have been brought about not by planning but by a natural adjustment.

361 A Monguor village may be described as "loose," in contrast with the Chinese "compact" village. It is not a large place included between four strong, thick mud walls, with a small gate easy to defend, but a defined territory in which the people live on their farms, scattered in small groups, under the rule of the chief of the [311] territory. Each "village" has a share of pasture for the herds of the whole community and a valley for the cutting of wood and fuel by all members of the community.

It sometimes has a central stronghold in which live some twenty or thirty families. Sometimes, though not usually, the mansion of the T'u-ssu and the administrative buildings of the clan are also within the stronghold, together with a couple of shops, one of which is always the indispensable pharmacy with a Chinese "physician." Again in contrast with the Chinese pattern, there are rarely any "streets" laid out at right angles, for the

[P. 74a]

is fighting must be fought, but always at the same time the tribes should be induced to surrender peacefully. The debates lasted for seven years and nothing was done (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 10*b*, 11*a*). Finally in 1530 the Tibetan tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou started plundering the country. The tribes had fled from Kokonor for fear of the Mongols. Their destitution was tragic. Commander Liu Wen-yu, protagonist of the third group, left with his army, but at the same time sent officials to induce the tribes to surrender, promising them help. Among them only twenty-one tribes decided to revolt, the Lung-po (Uighur) tribe being the leader of the group. The commander defeated two tribes, killed 360 rebels and then started peace talks. He succeeded, receiving the surrender of seventy or more tribes. He returned with the army. The regions of T'ao and Ming Chou were at peace. 175x 648 723

The same year, while the tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou, situated south of the Yellow River, were pacified, the Tsantsa tribes, living on the northern bank of the Tatung River, plundered the region of Nienpei, but were defeated in the T'u-ku-hung valley. Splinter groups of Mongols raided Chengfan, and small groups of Kokonor brigands invaded Hsining and were pursued.

In 1534, amidst all these troubles, the Ming dynasty was still interested in education and instruction. More schools were built in several small fortresses, and in Hsining the Hall of the Faithful and Meritorious officials was constructed. On the stele erected inside the hall, we read among the names of the celebrated personalities those of four Monguor t'u-ssu: Li Nan-ko, Li Yin, the Duke of Huei-ming, his son, T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih, and T'u-ssu Li Ch'ang, son of Li Yin (*Annals* of Hsining 35: 9*b*, 10*a*). 175x 871 211

The situation grew worse every day and all of Huangchung was upset. Liu T'ien-ho, vice-president of the ministry of war, was sent in 1536 to direct the military operations in Kansu and Shensi. The third son of Dayan, Barsa Bolot, with his son, the Jinong had settled in Ordos. The turbulent Jinong made raids in Ninghsia, Liang and Kanchow. T'u-ssu Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40), Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49), Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 54), were ordered to help stem the forays. T'u-ssu Hsin died on the field of battle. The Jinong invaded Hsining and hit a severe blow. T'u-ssu Lu and Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52) helped the commander beat the Jinong. 175x 648 [845]

The next year the Kokonor brigands made a raid in Hsining and were severely beaten, twice, at the temple T'ieh-fu, 50 li north of the city.

General Liu T'ien-ho, having studied the situation of the country, ordered first the repair of the walls and towers of the eighteen existing small fortresses and villages and cities, and to start immediately with the building of seventeen new fortified villages. He promoted agriculture around the fortresses, dug irrigation 175x 712 [802 312]

[P. 44 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

canals, helped the people with grain and oxen, etc. He built the two large cities of Pa-yien-jung and San-ch'uan, south of Nienpei, and established there two strong garrisons, in order to control the whole region north of the Yellow River, reaching from the south of Hsining to Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu 24: 18; 23: 16). At that time the only fortified villages were near the mansions of the t'u-ssu, where in time of troubles the people found shelter with their cattle and helped to defend the fortress, and from which they attacked and pursued brigands. Only near these fortresses were living and farming possible. No wonder that the helpless scattered tribes incessantly revolted, plundered on their own account, or joined the invaders after having been plundered. 175x 712 [502 312]

In 1537 groups of Ordos brigands raided the fortress of Cheng-ch'iang-I, situated between Liangchow and Lanchow. T'u-ssu Yeh defended the fortress heroically and died in the battle. The people esteemed his brave conduct and erected a stele in commemoration inside the village. 175x 648 [21]

In 1541 the Jinong from Ordos raided Hsia-ch'uan-ku in Huangchung; a crushing defeat was administered to him by General Liu T'ien-ho in Ho-shuei-wan. His son Chin-shao was killed in the battle. T'u-ssu Lu, Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40), Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45) participated in the action. Groups belonging to the Tsa tsa tribes of Huangchung plundered San-ch'uan and were chased by T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45), and Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38).

In 1543 the turbulent Jinong, leading a strong army, arrived at Kokonor, where he defeated I-pu-la, and captured half of his followers. I-pu-la fled to Mongolia plundering the Liangchow country on his way back. The Jinong was the grandson of Dayan and had a score to settle with I-pu-la, who, seceding with his tribes, had offended his grandfather Dayan. I-pu-la had raided and plundered Huangchung, had scattered or subdued and ruined the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor during thirty-four years (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 15*b*; 20: 12*a*). Pu-erh-hai, a Mongol chieftain who had joined I-pu-la in 1525, had already abandoned I-pu-la, and had hidden in the mountains to avoid the Jinong. Previously he had manifested his intention to submit to China and was better disposed toward the Tibetans. Many tribes returned to Kokonor hoping to enjoy a precarious peace for some years (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 12*b*). The same year T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to lead his troops to Tatung in Shansi province to help chase the invading Mongols.

In 1546 the emperor ordered the officials to erect an Honorific Arch glorifying the merits of T'u-ssu Lu. [21]

Until 1549 the students in Hsining had been unable to pass the literary examination and acquire titles. This year, on account of the new regulations, diplomas were granted in Hsining. 175x 871

[P. 45 (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

of them remained united and strong because of the benefits derived from brigandage and loot. 175x 648

Altan, who controlled all the Mongols, was in 1559 making forays and harrassing China. For a long time he had been conversant with the fertile Kokonor country, the El Dorado of peoples engaged in cattle breeding, and also with the weakness of the Chinese forces which defended the country, and the helplessness of the disunited Tibetan tribes. Being eager to occupy Kokonor he sent to the country his two sons Pin-tu and Ping-tu with several thousands of Mongols. In 1561 Pin-tu occupied and looted the country of Sung-shan-i, situated between Chuang Lang and Ordos. Ping-tu went to Kokonor, plundering and looting East Kansu (*Annals* of Hsining **20**: 12). He defeated the Chinese army sent against him. The Li T'u-ssu died in the battle (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*a*). In 1568, however, he was severely beaten around Kuei Te and lost many of his people (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*a*). In the meantime the Tibetan Tsan-tsa and Ko-tsa tribes had invaded the Ma-ha-la valley in Hsining but were chased away. Mongol groups of Pin-tu made raids from Sung Shan, in the Pa-yen-jung region (Hsining) and were beaten (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 17). Again the military authority ordered walls and small fortresses built on the mountain passes and on the routes used by the brigands to invade the country (*Annals* of Hsining **13**: 9, 10). [72]

In Hsining the bureau for the administration of the military colonies was erected in 1567 (*Annals* of Hsining **23**: 5). [647]

In 1568 the emperor ordered the officials of Hsining to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining for the meritorious T'u-ssu Li Kung, grandson of Li Yin, who in 1481 had passed the literary examination of *chin shih* and fulfilled the office of minister in the Chang-pao-sse. The arch was built on the great street of the eastern gate of the city, and still exists. The emperor granted the honorific inscription chiseled in the arch: Ch'ing Yun (clearing clouds)—meaning bright sky, and thus bright intelligence. 175x 211

In 1569 the Tibetan Ssu-erh-ko and Hung-mao tribes raided Hsining and were administered a blow. Two chiefs of Ssu-erh-ko were taken prisoner, but a Chinese commander was killed by the Hung-mao tribe (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 17). The commander succeeded in inducing the Ssu-erh-ko tribes to surrender and titles were bestowed upon the chieftains of their twelve tribes. They aided in inducing the Hung-mao tribes to surrender and both groups agreed to combat the Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in combination with the Chinese armies (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 19*b*). The Mongol brigand Ping-tu raided the Ta-erh-wan valley in Huangchung from Kokonor and was repelled by the army which lost its commander (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*b*). 175x 648

Altan surrendered in 1570 and concluded peace with

[P. 46(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

China; markets were accorded to his tribes and he was created "the Obedient and Righteous Prince"! However, the perspicacious Governor Wang Ch'ung-ku asked for a declaration of submission from other chieftains, such as Chinang and T'uman. T'uman refused boldly.[52] Apparently groups of Mongols, dissatisfied with the peace concluded by Altan, had already decided to gather under the banner of T'uman, liking better their adventurous life of looting and plundering than the submission to China. The group was strong and numerous, and administered, during the following years, many crushing defeats to China. Altan, however, endeavored to make his people desist from raids,[53] but he did not succeed in controlling his sons, nephews, and other relatives in Kansu and Huangchung. Since in 1559 Altan had sent his sons to occupy Kokonor and Sung-shan many Mongol chieftains, mostly nephews and cousins had followed them. They had forced the Tibetans to recognize their lordship, bring tribute and help them in the raids made in Kansu. They wrought tremendous havoc among the Tibetan tribes. The Chinese troops fought many losing battles and lost many officers and soldiers. Pin-tu and Ping-tu groups were the scourge of Kansu province. Altan was succeeded by his son Huang-t'ai-chi in 1583, and by his grandson Ch'ih-li-ko in 1587, who was unable to control his people. The emperor, in 1591, ordered the suspension of trade with his tribes (Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 141). From the death of Altan on, Huangchung suffered tremendously for years, on account of the savage raids of the relatives of Altan, whose real nature immediately asserted itself in all its crudity and brutality.

175x 648 175x 579 648

In 1572 the Tibetan Erh-chia-ting tribes again plundered Hsining country. Their chief was captured and killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

In 1573 General Ta Yun rebuilt and fortified the city of Nienpei exposed to the recurrent raids from the Tibetan tribes living north of the cities of Hsining and Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

The fortifications of the city of Hsining were again overhauled and improved in 1575, and the city was enlarged in the prospect of troubles on account of the building of the temple in Kokonor, the opening of markets and the incessant arrival of more Mongols (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*).

[712 346]

Altan arrived at Kokonor in 1577 to meet the great lama (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*). The *Annals* of Hsining record (20: 14) that a lama of Wu-sse-tsang (on the borders of Szechwan Province) was proclaimed Living Buddha. The shrewd Ping-tu, knowing the religiosity of the Tibetans, proposed to build two temples, one in Kokonor and one in Chia-yu-kuan and to invite the Living Buddha. He intended to secure the support of the Tibetans by pretending to be fond of Buddhism. The question was vividly discussed in

175x 648 662 579

[52] Pokotilov, 129.
[53] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 137-141.

[P.47(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

gols in Kokonor and burn the temple built by Altan. They returned in a flush of triumph with 1,200 captured families. The number of brigands they killed is not known. The Brigadier General Chiao Chi defeated tribes of Ho-lo-ch'ih with the help of Tibetans and beheaded 120 of his men (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 36*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*b*). 175x 648

The energic Cheng Lo must have commanded at the time of his arrival in Huangchung a fair number of fresh troops. Otherwise the shaken confidence in the empire among the Tibetan tribes would not have been restored so quickly. In two years time the outlook had changed and become bright and full of hope for the people, beset for ten years with starvation, squalor and misery, and anxious uncertainty.

The same year the markets, opened for the Mongols in Kansu, were closed on account of their incessant raids and brigandage. The Obedient and Righteous Prince Ch'ih-li-k'o who had assisted at the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou, sent back the abducted people and stolen cattle and presented excuses to the emperor (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20*a–b*). [647 437]

In 1594 orders were given to repair and improve again the fortifications of the city of Hsining. More villages and military colonies were built. Maybe the officials had seen some new straws in the wind (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*a*). A strong group of Kokonor brigands arrived to plunder the valleys south of Hsining. The Chinese generals Liu Mei-Kuan, Ta Yun, T'ien Yueh had called all the t'u-ssu of Huangchung and captured groups of Tibetans to defend the country. They used flanking movements, skillfully settled ambuscades, and administered a crushing defeat to the raiders, 680 of whom were beheaded. A few months later the brigands came back with all the brigands of Nalu, to loot the valleys west of Hsining. The same generals, t'u-ssu, and Tibetans obtained a resounding victory and killed 700 and more brigands, among them some chieftains (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 37*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*a*). 175x 579 [712]

These two victories were the most important ever won in Huangchung. In the report relating the military presentation are encountered the names of the most meritorious military and civil officials who had contributed to the success. We encounter among them the names of T'u-ssu Lu Kuang-tsu, Li Yu-mao, Li Hsien-hua, Ch'eng San-chi, Ch'i Ping-chung and Ch'i Te (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 23*a–b*). A delegate of the ministry of war was sent with titles and gifts to reward the meritorious officials. 175x 648 703

Immediately after the victories, in 1596, orders were sent to the military officials to build more walls especially along the roads used by the invaders of Kokonor and Sung Shan, to build fortresses at strategic points and more villages in the valleys for the farmers. The officials expected that the brigands would not take these blows lying down but would avenge themselves by means of new raids. In Cheng-hai-pu in the western 175x 712

[P.49(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

valley of Hsining, 60 li distant from the city on the way to Kokonor, a strong fortified city was built and a strong garrison appointed. The place controlled the western valley and the raids from Kokonor. In Chung-tsai in the Sa-t'ang valley, which so many times had been looted by invading Tibetans, a strong fortress was also built and a garrison appointed. The same dispositions were taken to improve the strength of the cities of Pa-yen-jung and San Ch'uan against brigands of Sung Shan and Ordos. For the first time troops were available to occupy permanently the strategic points in the country and from the t'u-ssu were required good soldiers to share with the Chinese troops the burden of the defense of the strongholds (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 29*b*, 30*a*). General Liu Mei-kuan started with the exploitation of iron ore in the mountains north of Hsining, three foundries were built and blacksmiths started preparing weapons to be distributed among the subdued tribes. To the nineteen tribes of Komi numbering 7,000 people, reputed first-rate warriors, were sent military instructors with weapons, to drill them. The director of colonization reported that 80,000 acres of uncultivated land were still available to farmers. To destitute Tibetans of Kokonor and East Kansu, pouring into the country every day, were given land to till and grain and oxen. Orders were sent to promote education, build schools in each village and improve existing ones (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*b*; 25: 23*b*; 35: 24).

175x 712 175x 701 [327] 175x 708 659

In a report sent by General T'ien Yueh is encountered an interesting note relating to the education given to the people of north Kansu and Huangchung in these desperate times. In each of the schools of the city of Kanchow, sixty or seventy students attend the lessons of three teachers. In each of the schools of the cities of Kao T'ai, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, Liangchow, Cheng Fan and Chuang Lang are encountered only thirty or forty students, in the smallest of these cities only twenty or thirty students. In each of the schools are two teachers. Then follows an exhortation to promote education (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 20*a*).

175x 871

In the same year, 1596, after the brilliant victories, the country seeming radiant and everywhere walls and fortresses being built, the lamas of T'a-erh-sse (Kumbum) (situated 40 li south of Hsining) decided to build a wall around the hermitages existing at that time. In 1560 some cells had been built for ten monks and, in 1577, a small temple next to a tower whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree, the glory of Kumbum (Monguors II: 25 sq.).

175x 712 346

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[P.49(B)]

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705 175 and twenty sheep, and loaded with kettles, ropes, felt coverings for tents, lamb skins, and wool.

714 The Monguor soldier wore a turban of blue or black cotton cloth. The distinctive part of his uniform was a sleeveless jacket of red cotton cloth, with yellow trimmings and a circular patch of white on the chest and back. On these circles were written three Chinese characters reading "Monguor soldier" and the clan name of his T'u-ssu. These white circles on the red jacket made bright targets for the enemy. The soldier was expected to report for duty with an old musket and a sword. For every unit of ten men the village had to provide a tent, a kettle, and one pack horse, in addition to riding horses for the mounted men. The horses are shod only on the forefeet, as in medieval Europe.

651 As has already been described, each T'u-ssu formerly had the responsibility for guarding certain passes leading to the Tibetan plateau. At these passes detachments of Monguor troops were stationed even in times of peace, and at these posts they had the right to collect taxes from caravans. Other traditional taxes and levies were also for the maintenance of troops. Up until recent times, for instance, the Lu T'u-ssu had the right to tax all rafts going down the Tat'ung River past his town of Liench'eng. This tax was collected according to the number of steering sweeps on each raft. The Lu T'u-ssu's soldiers also collected taxes from Chinese traders buying horses, mules, cows, sheep and pigs in 527 his territory. The Monguors were exempted from 651 these taxes. Twice every year the Lu T'u-ssu inspected all his troops in the valley of Kuch'eng ("Old City"). These occasions were celebrated with horse races and wrestling matches, and there was a large market attended by an enormous crowd. The troops collected taxes from merchants attending this market.

701 Soldiers were also required for peace-time duty at 651 the mansion of the T'u-ssu, as sentries, body guards, and official messengers. They also maintained order among the crowds at the great religious celebrations at the monasteries built in the territory of the T'u-ssu, and at the time of the annual clan meeting. On such occasions they also collected taxes from Chinese merchants.

TRIENNIAL INSPECTION

624 According to protocol, a T'u-ssu should make an inspection visit every three years (in some cases, every two years) to all the villages of his subjects. This visit is called the "descent among the subjects," and in the course of the visit the T'u-ssu should make a count of the number of his subjects and check on the administration of the villages, in order to make a report to the Chinese officials representing the overlord state. This triennial tour is one of the main sources of income of a T'u-ssu.

The tour begins on an auspicious day fixed by a lama. Monguor soldiers from the first village to be visited on the tour come to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, with some

[P. 64-b]

618 is strictly kept, the prestige and authority of the lord are inevitably increased.

624 In small clans, when the T'u-ssu is a haughty and supercilious man, or an opium addict and gambler exacting in his demands for corvées and greedy for the money of his subjects, he is easily criticized and despised because the distance between him and his subjects is reduced, and the commoners get into open arguments with him, and rebel and accuse him in the Chinese court. In he lack of distance between the T'u-ssu and subjects and the waning authority of the T'u-ssu lies the secret of he fact that it is in the small clans that commoners most easily leave their chiefs, giving the Chinese officials the opportunity to reduce both commoners and T'u-ssu to he rank of Chinese subjects and to confiscate their territory. It is no wonder that the clans which have disappeared are the small clans.

IV. THE VILLAGE

FORMATION OF THE VILLAGE

621 The Monguor village consists (1911–1922) of a group of families living in a well defined territory and
361 subject to the immediate authority of the chief of the village. Since the villagers all till the soil and keep cattle, the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures.

Most farmers, however, live in small hamlets. The patrilineal family system seems to favor this kind of grouping. When the paternal inheritance is divided, the sons build small houses near the old one, bring new lands under cultivation, and small groups of related families, living close together, spring up all over the territory.

Wealthy Monguors hire poor people to cultivate their fields and herd their cattle, and build small houses for them near their own. Wealthy Monguors also give in to the desires of their wives and daughters-in-law and allow poor relatives to build small houses near their own. They lend them oxen to plow their fields, and as they prosper the group increases and the hamlet grows into a village.

361 A third factor promoting the grouping of families
621 was, in the past, the chronic insecurity of the country, ravaged by recurring inroads of Tibetans and Mongols.
721 According to tradition the Monguors, when they first came into this territory, still lived in tents. At that time it was easy to pick up the tent and move out of the path of invasion; but once they began to live in houses, the houses had to be defended. Wealthy people in the outlying territory built a high thick mud wall around their houses. To these enclosures the poor families fled in time of trouble, helping in the defense of the small community. Wealthy people, therefore, liked to see the hamlet increased by the addition of poor families, who provided more manpower for defense. All over the country numerous ruins of strongholds are the enduring witnesses of the bad old times. [p. 73-6]

361 The Ming dynasty was strongest in the first century
and a half of its rule. After that, from 1509 to the
621 founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644, and from
then until 1723, recurrent forays and revolts never left
721 the country at peace. At one time, a Chinese army of
a hundred thousand men had to be sent to garrison this
frontier region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 13*b*). In
1537 orders were given to build more mud walled vil-
lages, and in 1595 orders came again to repair the old
fortifications and to build more new fortified villages
(*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, pp. 15*a*, 19*a*). It is worth
noting that Liench'eng, the seat of the Lu clan, means
"associated cities," since in the region of Liench'eng
thirteen strongholds were built by the T'u-ssu, most of
them still extant.

[712] These notices in the *Annals* suggest that few fortified
villages had previously existed, but that from this time
the population began to group itself around small
strongholds, the more important of which grew into
fortified villages.

618 The Monguor clan was a military institution, originally
shaped on the Mongol nomadic pattern, with a decimal
701 system of groups of 10, 100, and 1,000 families and a
hierarchy of military command from the largest unit of
361 10,000 down to the smallest of 10. When the Monguors
621 became farmers, the process of settling broke up these
units, with the result that families that had once be-
longed to the same military unit were scattered among
different farming groups. It then became necessary to
make a new military grouping based on the distribution
of villages. This led to a system of villages in which
the head of the village was also the military chief, and
in which the military interest of defense was coordinated
with such community interests as the maintenance of
irrigation canals. The transformation of villages in
which some families were subject to mobilization under
military units in other villages into a system in which the
military unit coincided with the residential community
seems to have been brought about not by planning but
by a natural adjustment.

361 A Monguor village may be described as "loose," in
contrast with the Chinese "compact" village. It is not
a large place included between four strong, thick mud
walls, with a small gate easy to defend, but a defined
territory in which the people live on their farms, scattered
in small groups, under the rule of the chief of the
[311] territory. Each "village" has a share of pasture for the
herds of the whole community and a valley for the cutting
of wood and fuel by all members of the community.

It sometimes has a central stronghold in which live
some twenty or thirty families. Sometimes, though not
usually, the mansion of the T'u-ssu and the administra-
tive buildings of the clan are also within the stronghold,
together with a couple of shops, one of which is always
the indispensable pharmacy with a Chinese "physician."
Again in contrast with the Chinese pattern, there are
rarely any "streets" laid out at right angles, for the

[P. 74a]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

the appointment despite the memorial presented to the throne by minister Su Shih (*Annals* of Hsining 33B: 9, 10). The emperor preferred the time-honored policy of his predecessors sowing discord among tribes threatening the empire. He anticipated the annihilation of the tribes by themselves, and the easy recovery of East Kansu and Huangchung. The tribes in favor of the legitimate offspring of the second wife of Chiossulo started a murderous struggle with the tribes following A li ku, backed by Chinese troops. Again the savage propensity for self-destruction among the tribes was soon in full sway and tribes tore themselves to pieces. The emperor granted titles to A li ku and his son and also to the offspring of the second wife of Chiossulo. A war of destruction went on until the death of A li ku in 1096, who had appointed his son as his successor. The appointment was again ratified by the emperor. This time all the T'u-fan, Uighur, and Shat'o tribes revolted against the empire. A strong army of 100,000 invited Hsi Hsia troops came to rescue them in Mao Ch'uan. A tremendous blow was administered to the Chinese. Then the Chinese general, in desperate straits, made an offer of settlement and invited some T'u-fan chiefs to appoint the son of Mou Cheng as chief of the tribes because, he said, he was the genuine offspring of Chiossulo!

175x 643 648 [669]

But it was too late. The tribes did not abide by the decision of the chiefs and had become the irreconcilable enemies of China. Murderous fighting continued, the cities in Huangchung were taken and retaken several times and delivered to sack and slaughter by Chinese troops and then by the rebel tribes indulging in acts of gratuitous cruelty. Villages became clusters of ruined hovels. Many tribes disintegrating, groups of them fled to the southern part of East Kansu and to the borders of Kokonor, but the Chinese troops continued fighting against the Huangchung tribes associated with the Hsi Hsia until 1115, laying waste the whole country (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 1, 14; *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 6, 7). At that time, the Chin empire embarking upon the conquest of China, the Chinese troops were ordered to leave Huangchung. Chin armies peacefully occupied Huangchung in 1131. Huangchung had enjoyed a period of glory and unusual wealth during fifty years (1036–1086) followed by forty-five years of internecine wars among the tribes and savage destruction of the country (1086–1131).

175x 721 175x

From 1131 until the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols in 1227, the history of Huangchung is a blank page. The conquest of East Kansu and the war with China and the Hsi Hsia absorbed the whole forces of the Chin emperor. An official appointed in Ho Chou in East Kansu by the Chin cared for the uninteresting, exhausted, and depleted tribes of Huangchung, with its ruined cities and villages and starving T'u-fan, Tanghsiang, Uighur and Shat'o population. It may be assumed that in these circumstances the pitiful tribes

[p.20(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

valley of Hsining, 60 li distant from the city on the way to Kokonor, a strong fortified city was built and a strong garrison appointed. The place controlled the western valley and the raids from Kokonor. In Chung-tsai in the Sa-t'ang valley, which so many times had been looted by invading Tibetans, a strong fortress was also built and a garrison appointed. The same dispositions were taken to improve the strength of the cities of Pa-yen-jung and San Ch'uan against brigands of Sung Shan and Ordos. For the first time troops were available to occupy permanently the strategic points in the country and from the t'u-ssu were required good soldiers to share with the Chinese troops the burden of the defense of the strongholds (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 29*b*, 30*a*). General Liu Mei-kuan started with the exploitation of iron ore in the mountains north of Hsining, three foundries were built and blacksmiths started preparing weapons to be distributed among the subdued tribes. To the nineteen tribes of Komi numbering 7,000 people, reputed first-rate warriors, were sent military instructors with weapons, to drill them. The director of colonization reported that 80,000 acres of uncultivated land were still available to farmers. To destitute Tibetans of Kokonor and East Kansu, pouring into the country every day, were given land to till and grain and oxen. Orders were sent to promote education, build schools in each village and improve existing ones (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*b*; 25: 23*b*; 35: 24).

175x 712 175x 701 [327] 175x 708 659

In a report sent by General T'ien Yueh is encountered an interesting note relating to the education given to the people of north Kansu and Huangchung in these desperate times. In each of the schools of the city of Kanchow, sixty or seventy students attend the lessons of three teachers. In each of the schools of the cities of Kao T'ai, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, Liangchow, Cheng Fan and Chuang Lang are encountered only thirty or forty students, in the smallest of these cities only twenty or thirty students. In each of the schools are two teachers. Then follows an exhortation to promote education (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 20*a*).

175x 871

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5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Tibet AJ2

In the same year the Ko-tsa Tibetan tribe which had surrendered in 1380, whose chief controlled 400 families and nomadized southwest of Ku Shan along the northern borders of the Yellow River, plundered the lamasery of Hung-hua. Captains Kao Hsien and Yang Yu with T'u-ssu Lu (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 4; **31**: 14) pursued and defeated the rebels in the mountains of Pa-yen-jung (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 31*a*). HT 175 648

In 1520–1521 T'u-ssu Lu twice repelled Ordos brigands invading Ku Yuan and Chuang Lang. M 113

The very first *Annals* of Hsining composed by the scholar Chang Chih were printed in 1520 (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 15*a*).

The Chinese army revolted in Kanchow in 1522. The Tibetan tribes in Huangchung seized the opportunity to plunder the country (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 14*a*). Governor Cheng Yang could not control the situation. At the same time 20,000 Ordos brigands invaded Ku Yuan, P'ing Liang, Chin Chou, killed the military officials Yang Hung and Liu Tuan, terribly devastated the country and killed and captured more than 10,000 people (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 31*b*). M 175x 648 HT 175 648

In 1525 Pu-erh-hai, a Mongol chief, had a score to settle with Dayan. In order to avoid his vengeance he joined the I-pu-la group. On his way to Kokonor he plundered the country. He was defeated by Yang Chung aided by T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38*a*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 42*a*) and T'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 32*b*). The next year T'u-ssu Lu was impeached by the officials of Cheng-fan and Hsining. He was removed from office (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 14*a–b*; **27**: 15).

After the officials had lost control over Huangchung in 1522 they convened to discuss these disastrous circumstances and find a solution. There was complete absence of direction and the officials were at loggerheads with one another. One group among them stubbornly defended the policy of Tuan Ying who, seventeen centuries earlier, had exterminated the Tibetans in order to pacify the country. At present, they said, the conditions are favorable, the Kokonor brigands control only two or three thousand Mongol horse and foot; from the moment the troops are moved the Tibetan tribes will abandon them. The other group obstinately advocated the policy of Chao Ch'ung-kuo who also, seventeen centuries before, won over the Tibetan tribes, granting titles to the chiefs, opening markets, etc. They said, "Because their army at present is in poor shape and money is lacking, this policy is the only one possible." The third group was as stubborn as the other two: Tuan Ying had exterminated the Tibetans and won only a barren worthless country, void of people. Chao Ch'ung-kuo had fooled himself, and after a couple of years the country had been out of control. Both generals had applied their policy to the utmost and failed. The right way is a middle way, the way of wise moderation; whoever M 175x 648 723

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

is fighting must be fought, but always at the same time the tribes should be induced to surrender peacefully. The debates lasted for seven years and nothing was done (*Annals* of Hsining **20**: 10*b*, 11*a*). Finally in 1530 the Tibetan tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou started plundering the country. The tribes had fled from Kokonor for fear of the Mongols. Their destitution was tragic. Commander Liu Wen-yu, protagonist of the third group, left with his army, but at the same time sent officials to induce the tribes to surrender, promising them help. Among them only twenty-one tribes decided to revolt, the Lung-po (Uighur) tribe being the leader of the group. The commander defeated two tribes, killed 360 rebels and then started peace talks. He succeeded, receiving the surrender of seventy or more tribes. He returned with the army. The regions of T'ao and Ming Chou were at peace. 175x 648 723

The same year, while the tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou, situated south of the Yellow River, were pacified, the Tsantsa tribes, living on the northern bank of the Tatung River, plundered the region of Nienpei, but were defeated in the T'u-ku-hung valley. Splinter groups of Mongols raided Chengfan, and small groups of Kokonor brigands invaded Hsining and were pursued.

In 1534, amidst all these troubles, the Ming dynasty was still interested in education and instruction. More schools were built in several small fortresses, and in Hsining the Hall of the Faithful and Meritorious officials was constructed. On the stele erected inside the hall, we read among the names of the celebrated personalities those of four Monguor t'u-ssu: Li Nan-ko, Li Yin, the Duke of Huei-ming, his son, T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih, and T'u-ssu Li Ch'ang, son of Li Yin (*Annals* of Hsining **35**: 9*b*, 10*a*). 175x 871 211

The situation grew worse every day and all of Huangchung was upset. Liu T'ien-ho, vice-president of the ministry of war, was sent in 1536 to direct the military operations in Kansu and Shensi. The third son of Dayan, Barsa Bolot, with his son, the Jinong had settled in Ordos. The turbulent Jinong made raids in Ninghsia, Liang and Kanchow. T'u-ssu Wang (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 40), Na (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 49), Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 54), were ordered to help stem the forays. T'u-ssu Hsin died on the field of battle. The Jinong invaded Hsining and hit a severe blow. T'u-ssu Lu and Ah (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 52) helped the commander beat the Jinong. 175x 648 [845]

The next year the Kokonor brigands made a raid in Hsining and were severely beaten, twice, at the temple T'ieh-fu, 50 li north of the city.

General Liu T'ien-ho, having studied the situation of the country, ordered first the repair of the walls and towers of the eighteen existing small fortresses and villages and cities, and to start immediately with the building of seventeen new fortified villages. He promoted agriculture around the fortresses, dug irrigation 175x 712 [502 312]

[P. 44 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

the situation, the official Hu Lien-ch'i, the t'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang from Lien-ch'eng, the t'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu from Nienpei (descendant of Li Nan-ko, founder of the clan), and others, including Wang Chung, chief of the strong Tibetan tribe of Cheng Chung. They decided to defend the country, chose Hu Lien-ch'i their own lieutenant colonel, drank blood, and swore to die for the dynasty (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 1). 175* 669

In the spring of 1642 the Tibetan tribes of Hsining revolted. The military commander Ma Kuang quelled the revolt, killing more than 700 rebels. Then he accepted the submission of 38 tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 42*a*).

In the autumn Li Tze-ch'eng sent to Huangchung and North Kansu his commander Huo Chin, with a strong army. He attacked the city of Hsining. The Hsining troops administered a crushing blow and he went to North Kansu to conquer the cities of Suchow, Kanchow, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, and Liangchow. Suchow was taken, devastated and 4,700 people and troops were killed (*Annals* of Kansu 56: 38*b*); then the other cities surrendered one after another without fighting (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 43*b*).

In the autumn of 1643 Huo Chin returned from Kanchow to avenge the previous defeat suffered in Hsining. He went along with Hsi Ta-tung. He was conversant with the dissensions existing among the subjects of the Lu t'u-ssu clan, part of whom considered the resistance useless, after more than half of China was lost at the hands of the brigands. One of the influential members of the clan, Lu Wen-lin, had sown strife in the clan and even led an army of brigands to occupy Chuang-lang. However, the stubborn T'u-ssu Lu fought back nine attacks of the army of Huo Chin in Hsi-Ta-tung. Both armies suffered many losses, and finally the t'u-ssu retreated with his outnumbered troops into his fortified city of Lien-ch'eng. The city was taken and the t'u-ssu tied in front of the gate of the city. He refused obstinately to surrender, swore and insulted the brigands. He was put to the sword with many of his soldiers. His son, a young boy, and his daughter were abducted. This happened in February, 1644 (Lu Chronicles, *Annals* of Hsining 28: 15, 16).

In 1644 Huo Chin went with his army to conquer Hsining, and met the Hsining army. The defenders of Hsining, conversant with the strength of the enemy army and in order to check the advance of the enemy, had used Tibetans set in ambush on the way the brigands had to pass, stretching ropes and digging holes in the ground. The enemy horse was unaware of the traps laid for them and rushed furiously on the Hsining army which was waiting behind the ambushes in a resolute array. More than a thousand brigands were killed, among them their commander Huo Chin. [725]

The brigand vice-commander, Hsin Wei-chung, mustered the troops and went immediately to attack

[P.51(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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M 175x 648 HM 175 648

was achieved. It would reach the summit of its power again under the son of Togon, Esen, who was assassinated in 1455. Then the hegemony would be recovered by the eastern Mongols in 1470, after internal troubles had arisen among the Oirat tribes themselves.

After the death of A-lu-t'ai in 1434 his tribes separated: one group under the leadership of the Khan At'ai settled in I-chi-nai (500 li north of Kanchow), and one group, controlled by T'o-erh-chih-pa, settled in Yeh-k'o-lin-sha-erh-t'an, west of Liangchow. These groups would be the scourge of the countries of northwest Kansu for many years to come. A-lu-t'ai had already made forays in Liangchow in 1428. T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*) and Chi (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*a*) had been ordered to fight his turbulent tribes in I-pu-la-shan. In 1433, on account of the insecurity in the country, the commandery of Hsining had been reorganized in Chun-ming chih-huei-shih, six *so* had been established and the villages grouped in four *li*.

M [631]

In 1435 T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51*a*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 41*b*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), and Lu had been ordered to join the expedition of Commander Wang Kui against the tribes of At'ai and T'o-erh-chih-pa in Chengfan, Tsing-shih-shan, and Ho-shan. In 1436 a new expedition was launched against the same Mongol tribes, in which T'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51*b*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51*b*), and Wang participated (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 41*b*). Then the tribes of At'ai invaded the country of Chuang-lang (P'ing-fan) but were beaten by T'u-ssu Lu, who pursued them to I-pu-la-shan.

In 1437 the same turbulent Mongol groups invaded Liangchow and Chuang-lang again, they were beaten by T'u-ssu Lu and Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*) in Tu-pei-ku and Mi-ho-ch'uan and 1,000 of their horses were captured. In 1438 the same brigands suffered a severe blow in Wei-yun, Pei-ya-wu, and I-pu-la-shan, at the hands of T'u-ssu Lu and Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*).

The Monguors during these times were the faithful defenders not only of northwest Kansu but also of the most western Chinese frontiers, in the commanderies of Han Tung, Ch'u Shien, An Ting, and Ah Tuan. After the successful expedition of Li Yin in 1426, in combination with all the Monguor t'u-ssu, the petty tribes living in this area sustained themselves by pillage and robbery.

In 1429 the Governor of Hsining, Shih Chao, was ordered to prepare an expedition against the Chu-shien and Anting tribes whose chiefs still intercepted and plundered envoys bringing tribute to court. T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51*a*), Li Wen (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 38*a*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 41*b*), and Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*a*) joined the expedition. The fleeing tribes were pursued, severely beaten and 340 of their

M [726]

[P.39(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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brigands captured. The army returned with a booty of 300,000 camels, horses, sheep, and cows (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 26*b*, 27*a*).

M 175x 648 [726]

Se-ngo-ko, chief of a Tibetan tribe, was accustomed to stealing horses of neighboring tribes. The commander of Hsining, Mu Su, could not apprehend him. Later the thief arrived at Hsining to sell horses. The commander seized the horses, convinced they were stolen ones, but they were his own. The tribes were upset and about to start a revolt. Li Wen accused the imprudent commander, and the tribes were pacified. Li Wen was promoted (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 12*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38*a*).

HM 175 648 [685]

In 1442 T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 13*a*) was ordered to garrison the commanderies of Ah-tuan and Ch'u-hsien, to protect Anting, and to induce the scattered tribes to come back to their lands and surrender. In 1445 the Oirat chief Esen, who had succeeded his father Togon, who had died in 1439, attacked and occupied Hami. In 1447 Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 45*a*; *Annals* of Hsining **31**: 12*b*), t'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*), and t'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of commander Jen I in Sha Chou. In 1448 Wa lo, chief of the Tibetan Pa-sha tribes started plundering Huangchung. T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien was ordered to fight Wa lo. He succeeded in killing the chief. These tribes had submitted in 1380, their chief controlled 30 or more tribes, which inhabited a country as large as 500 li, starting 60 li north of Hsining and running to the borders of the Ta-t'ung River. Pa Sha was ill-famed for its predatoriness (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 13*a*; **19**: 7*b*). In 1450 T'u-ssu Chao and T'u-ssu Lu repelled Mongol invaders in Kao-ssu-yuan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*). In 1452 T'u-ssu Ch'eng followed commander Su Chieh, fighting Mongols who were plundering Nan-chuan. They pursued them to Su-wu-shan and captured their chiefs (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*).

During the Cheng T'ung period (1436–50) at the time the northwestern part of Kansu was riven by inroads of Mongols and the t'u-ssu were fighting the Mongols in Kansu and in Turkistan, Liu Ch'uan, commander in Kuei Te (situated south of Hsining on the southern borders of the Yellow River), induced 72 tribes of Tibetans to surrender, promoted cultivation and farming among them, established a tea bureau and every year exchanged 1,740 horses for tea, protected the traders and the communications in the country, built a route and relays connecting the important city of Ho Chou with Kuei Te. The country of Kuei Te was at peace and the people enjoyed the trustful and honest commander (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 16*a*).

M [437 491]

The chronicles of the Lu t'u-ssu clan note that during 1450–1464 raids had to be intermittently repelled along the Liangchow and Kanchow borders, perpetrated by the same eastern Mongol groups and some Oirat groups, which ventured to lay waste and devastate even

M 175x 579 HM 175 579

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*a*) had fought with the Chinese army. M 175x 648

In 1463 the Pa Sha tribe made a foray again in the Sa-t'ang Valley but was repelled (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 12*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 28*a*). HM 175 648

In 1464 again the Pa Sha tribe raided Huangchung. This time the Chinese army entered their country and exterminated some of their tribes (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 28*b*).

T'u-ssu Lu followed the commanders Liu Yu and Shih Hsiang-chung in 1468, repelling the brigand Manssu in Ku Yuan. He fled to his fortress Shih-ch'eng. The army, having lost many soldiers, finally captured the fortress; the brigand was captured, sent to Peking, and killed (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 29*a*).

In 1470 T'ing Chang built more schools in Hsining. Shih Chao had built the first schools in 1428 (*Annals* of Kansu **31**: 12*b*). M 871

In 1472 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to help repel the Ordos Mongols making raids in Yenan and Suei-te. At the same time incursive Mongol tribes made forays in the regions of Chin-pien-i (Ku-lang). T'u-ssu Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 52*a*), T'u-ssu Ah (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 49*b*), T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*), followed the Chinese troops, beat the brigands and pursued them as far as Hua-ling-erh.

T'u-ssu Li Wen and Commander Liu Wen were sent to Hami in 1473 to investigate the troubled conditions prevailing in the country. Having secured the promise of help from the Ch'ih-chin and Han Tun tribes, they sent an army to Hami in 1474. Upon the arrival of the army both tribes refused to move. Li Wen, deeming his forces too feeble to fight the enemy, returned to Kansu.

In 1475 Emperor Hsien Tsung ordered the local officials to erect an honorific arch in front of the mansion of the T'u-ssu Lu Chien, granting the inscription *"During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and probity, incessantly he exercised fidelity and zeal."* M 175x 648 703

It has been noted that the erection of the spirit way stele in honor of Li Yin happened in the very same year, 1475.

In 1480 T'u-ssu Lu Chien was promoted lieutenant colonel in Hsining.

In 1482 the tribes of Ch'ih-chin and Han Tun with the help of Chinese troops and T'u-ssu Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 52*a*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*), attacked and conquered Hami.

In 1488, ninety years after the surrender of the *t'u-ssu* in a group in Huangchung (1371), there was appointed a military and administrative tao t'ai (ping pi tao), a governor, vested with civil and military powers (*Annals* of Hsining **22**: 5*b*; **23**: 4*a–b*) with residence in the city of Hsining. There was also established a bureau of customs, and a bureau of colonization. In the city of Nienpei, in the strongholds of Chinghai, Kuei Te was appointed a major, in the fortress in the M 175x 727

[P. 42(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

M 175 x 727

northern valley, and Ku Shan and San Ch'uan second captains. In the city of Hsining there were appointed a secretary commandant, a high commandant, seven assistant commandants, seven secretary commandants (among them are noted many t'u-ssu) a director of education, and a secretary. In Nienpei was appointed a Chiliarch with seven under-chiliarchs, nine centurions, twenty-nine second centurions. In Hsining a general director was appointed in each of the departments: for graneries, feed for horses, taxes, and exchange bureaus, in each of the seven relays. These regulations seem to suggest that Huangchung was no more a depopulated and uninteresting country. However, the appointment of the overwhelming number of military officials seems to suggest that the authority did not deem the peace prospects to be very bright, and that more troubles had to be expected.

M 175 x 648 HM 175 648

In 1484 the Ordos Mongols made a raid in Yung Ch'ang. T'u-ssu Lu defended the country and was beseiged in the city for several days. He made sallies one after another and succeeded in escaping. More raids were made in Liangchow and P'ing Liang in 1497 and in Kanchow in 1498 by Hsiao Wang-tze. T'u-ssu Lu, T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35), and T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38) helped the Chinese commander administer a severe blow to the raider.

T'u-ssu Lu participated in an expedition in 1499 against the eighteen tribes (Uighur Shat'o) of Chieh Chou in south Kansu, and sent prisoners to the capital. In the same year T'su-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35*b*) and T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38) participated in the expedition against Ordos brigands in Pei-ta-ch'uan (Ling Chou).

T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to chase the Mongols who obstructed the communications along the route leading from Yung-ch'ang to Kanchow and Suchow. Ch'i T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35), back from the expedition in Pei-ta-ch'uan in 1499, was ordered to accompany the Governor Yin Ch'ing, investing in Hami the Prince Chung Shun, Shenpa, as chief of the country (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 12*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35). In 1500 the turbulent Hsiao Wang-tze settled in Ordos, from where he continued his forays. In 1504 he raided Shuei-ts'ao-ku and Hung-ch'eng-tze and was repelled.

In 1507 Mongol brigands, passing through Ming-shuei-ku in the P'ing-liang region, were defeated by General Wu Ch'i and T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35; **42**: 44).

RUIN OF HUANGCHUNG

M 175 x 648

The year 1507 was fateful in the history of Huangchung and all of Kansu. It marked the ruin of the whole country for a century. Until that time Huangchung and Kansu had suffered only from intermittent, transient, but disastrous raids from incursive Mongols whose aim did not reach beyond plunder. Dayan, the ambitious young Hsiao Wang-tze, who was laboriously

[P.42(B)]

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

ance of the ceremonies for Altan. After having lingered for a while in Kokonor, he assisted on his way back home in the plundering of the cities and the regions of T'ao and Ming Chou by the Mongols. The same year the brigands Tsai-Seng-fu and Achihtu of the Pin-tu group of Sung Shan plundered the Lungpu tribes southwest of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 19). Tibetan tribes from Szechwan came to finish the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou and were repelled. Then the turbulent Ho-lo-ch'ih looted Lin-T'ao region (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 36). 175* 579 648

HELP SENT BY THE EMPEROR

The situation in East Kansu and Huangchung in 1590 was completely out of control. The country was entirely laid waste and devastated, the Mongol brigands and the Tibetans had incessantly overrun the country, the Chinese forces could not contravene their strength. Many surrendered Tibetan tribes had disintegrated, had disappeared, had been exterminated; the cattle were stolen; many young women had been abducted and many had fled and hidden in the mountains. The depredation of the country was wicked and ruthless and the destitution of the people was tragic. 175* 648 727

A note in the *Annals* of Hsining (33: 19*a*) records to what extent and in what way the Mongol brigands of Kokonor had terrorized, and subjected, reduced to the level of slaves the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor, East Kansu and Huangchung. The chieftain Yung-chao-pu, nephew of Altan, controlled at the time of his arrival in the Kokonor only 1,000 subjects: at present he controlled more than 10,000. The chief Sang-ehr-huang t'ai-chi formerly controlled 800 subjects but now 3,000. The chieftains Kosina and Lashala formerly controlled 4,000 people each but now each of them controlled 10,000 and more. The number of the subjects controlled by the other chiefs is not known.

Finally in 1590 the emperor sent Cheng Lo, president of the ministry of war, to cope with the situation (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 36). 175* 648 [645]

On the first moon of the following year Cheng Lo sent Colonel Shih Chia with the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Te, to call the Tibetan tribes to surrender; 165 tribes numbering 74,710 persons surrendered (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*b*; 25: 20*a–b*; 33: 16*b*). Among the surrendered tribes in Huangchung are noted the Hung-mao tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 7*a*), the Lapu-erh tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 7*a*), the Lungpu tribes led by their lama Sonanchintso (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 3*a–b*), the 29 Tsan-tsa tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 4*b*), and the Sukomi tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 5*b*).

In the ninth moon he sent the brigade General Wang Shih-te, the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Lu Kuang-tsu and groups of surrendered Tibetan tribes, seething with hatred against the Mongol brigands and eager to avenge all the sufferings they had endured, to fight the Mon-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

While the t'u-ssu and their subjects were fighting and suffering and dying in Hsining, the despairing Ming emperor, on April 25, 1644, had hanged himself in the Wan Sui Shan in Peking. On June 6, 1644, the troops of the new Ch'ing dynasty entered Peking and started at full speed with destruction of the troops of Li Tze-ch'eng who had already proclaimed himself emperor. On October 7, 1644, he ended his life by hanging himself.[87]

The t'u-ssu and their subjects served the Ch'ing dynasty with the same faithfulness they had served the Ming dynasty.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started with the occupation of Huangchung, this was an insecure colony of China, which during the previous dynasties had been lost several times and recovered. The Ming organized the country, providing a civil and military administration on the Chinese pattern. In Huangchung they started with the founding of military colonies, induced the Tibetan tribes to submit to them, established the exchange bureau of tea for horses, favored and protected the arrival of traders from inside China, and promoted agriculture and commerce. They attracted Chinese to settle in the country, built schools, promoted education, and repelled forays of Tibetans and Mongols from outside the Huangchung borders. Huangchung was at peace.

However, in the fateful year 1509 the first group of Mongols arrived and settled in Kokonor, followed by one after another, which ruined and cowed into submission the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor. At the same time the population of Huangchung and East Kansu, from 1509 to 1597, succumbed to the recurrent onslaught of avid, restless and predatory Mongols. The Tibetan tribes, robbed of their cattle, having seen their women and young folk abducted, beset with starvation and abject poverty, started raiding, devastating, and laying waste Huangchung and East Kansu. The army could not deter the forces of destruction. Raids prevailed over the entire northwestern borders of the empire, and the emperor gave the Huangchung officers insufficient reinforcements. It was only in 1590 that the energetic Minister of War, Cheng Lo, commanding new forces, succeeded in defeating the brigands. In the meantime the administration had incessantly built cities, villages, schools, walls, and fortresses all over the country. The aspect of the country had changed completely, despite the desperate times. The country had been organized and the administration established.

During these times, when raids and destruction raged unchecked, Chinese and Shat'o and Uighurs, Tibetans and Monguors had suffered together, helped and sheltered each other, and blended and fused in the compound called the Huangchung population.

In 1644 when the Ch'ing dynasty occupied Huangchung it was no longer the depopulated unorganized

[87] Erich Hauer, *op. cit.*, 488, 494, 497.

[P. 52 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

in the eastern countries. In 1724 he had participated in the destruction of the monastery of Erh Ku Lung, and the defeat of the savage lamas and their subjects. With General Yueh Chung-ch'i he fought in Cho Tze Shan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a*) and escorted the food transport for the troops, which was incessantly attacked by the rebels in the mountains. 175x 624

T'u-ssu Li Shen-ch'eng in 1723, with 300 of his troops, guarded the passes in the Shih Ta mountains, and defeated several groups of Tibetans. In 1724 he administered several blows to the Tibetans in the Cho Tze Shan region, who attacked the food transport escort (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*). The Chiliarch Li Hung-tsung, uncle of T'u-ssu Li Shen-ch'eng, and Li Wen-p'eng, uncle of T'u-ssu Li Yao-ch'eng, fought the rebels in the southern valleys of Hsining, in 1723 in the eleventh moon, and died in action with 14 of their Monguor soldiers (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 18*b*).

T'u-ssu Chao in 1724 fought in Cho Tze Shan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*).

T'u-ssu Kan Kuo-cheng guarded the ferry on the Yellow River in 1723 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51*a*).

T'u-ssu Yeh Yao-ch'eng guarded the passes in the Shih Ta mountains in 1723 and fought the Tibetans in Pa P'an Shan and in Cho Tze Shan. He escorted the food transport as far as T'ien T'ang Ssu along impassable trails. He helped in the destruction of the T'ien T'ang monastery (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 53).

In 1723 T'u-ssu Li Yao-ch'eng guarded the passes in Shih Ta Shan and fought in Cho Tze Shan and at the T'ien T'ang monastery (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 53*a*).

The participation of T'u-ssu Lu Hua-lin in the Lhasa expedition has been noted.

T'u-ssu Lu Chan, in 1723, guarded the Lao Ya Hsia with T'u-ssu Ch'i Tsai-hsuan. In 1724 he fought with his nephew Lu Wei-fan in Cho Tze Shan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 58*b*).

The Salar T'u-ssu Han Ta-yung quelled the revolt of Tibetans in the Hsun Hua region in 1723. In 1724 he followed General Yueh Chung-ch'i in the expedition to Cho Tze Shan, participated in the destruction of the Monastery of Simi, and fought the Tibetan tribe Hsieh Erh Ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*b*).

The revolt, quelled with draconian severity in less than a year, had been the ruin of Huangchung. Not a single valley in the country was encountered through which the troops did not pass, fighting or pursuing the enemy. The number of villages destroyed and burned, and the number of stolen cattle were countless. The number of Tibetans, Mongols and lamas killed rates terribly high. The war was one of the bloodiest. All who made a stand were killed. All the provisions and properties of the people had disappeared. All the lamaseries were destroyed or burned down. The depredation of the country was wicked and ruthless, the destitution of the people tragic. Huangchung, which during the previous centuries had so many times suffered 175x 727

[P. 59(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

from wars and revolts, never had suffered as much as in 1723–1724. 175x 727

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS

After relating the successful repression by General Nien Keng-yao of the terrible revolt of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas in 1723–1724 in Huangchung, something should be said concerning two Manchu princes, accused by the general before Emperor Yung Cheng, of having contributed of their own money to the building of a Catholic church in Hsining in 1723–1724. 175x 798

This is the first document concerning the existence of a Catholic church in Hsining and consequently of a Catholic community. It seems unusual to see a general make such an accusation directly to the emperor, at a time when the conjunctures of war absorbed all his forces and energies (July 1, 1724). [795]

Emperor K'ang Hsi died on December 20, 1722. His fourth son, Yung Cheng, ascended the throne in 1723. According to the time-honored custom, some of the brothers of the new emperor assumed an attitude of menacing hostility toward him. The Emperor Yung Cheng suspected his ninth brother, Sessaka, of being the chief of the discontented faction and sent him (April 15, 1723) far away to Hsining to fight the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas under the command of General Nien Keng-yao. Together with Sessaka two sons of the Manchu Prince Surniana were also sent, the sixth, Lessihin, and the twelfth.[94] [643]

Surniana, a brother of the late Emperor K'ang Hsi, member of the oldest branch of the Manchu dynasty, had been a notorious governor in Liaotung province and was the chief of one of the eight Manchu banners. He was suspected by Emperor Yung Cheng of being a sympathizer and supporter of the Sessaka group. He and his entire family were banished to Yu Wei, on the northern outskirts of the empire. His properties were confiscated, his three hundred servants and slaves taken away, all his dignities removed, and he and his family reduced to the state of subjects. The wealthy Surniana had thirteen sons and sixteen daughters. Most of the these princes and princesses were Catholics. The sixth son, Lessihin, was baptized before he left for Hsining and the twelfth son when he arrived at Hsining. They were confined in separate houses and guarded by soldiers. 175x 798 578

The reason for these troubles were the accusations sent September 7, 1723, by the Viceroy of Chekiang and Fukien provinces to the tribunal of rites, concerning the building of Catholic churches in the provinces, the customs observed by the Catholics, the large number of priests in the country, etc. The viceroy favored a

[94] The charge seems to have been based on slander. Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses 3: 366–465, Paris, Paul Daffis, 7 rue Guenegaud, 1877. Histoire Generale de la Chine, De Mailla. 11: 373–408, Paris, Clousier, rue Saint Jacques, 1880.

[P. 60(A)]

[866 cont.]

782 [792] The place for the black fire-pouring is usually a remote ravine. One pitches black tents and lives there several days with the lama in solitude. In no case may one undertake the black fire-pouring in the vicinity of temples or human habitations.

[731] [755] [777] In case of epidemics, the black fire-pouring is used preferably, in order to annoy the demons of sickness and thus to drive them away, for with them the misfortune, too, disappears.

[776] Meaning: The fire-pouring is an offering for the gods; [792] through it they are supposed to be induced to turn away misfortune and sickness (7). The seven-day prayer of the lama is [755]

782 372

7. [Foreign text pp. 868-869.] The whole gives very much the impression of a fire-offering. The informant, however, thought that it had nothing to do with it. According to him it was an offering to the appropriate Buddhas. The fire-god was also venerated with it, as the torma proved, but this was not the main thing. Nevertheless there is no doubt but that a fire-offering, Homa, is involved (cf. Lessing, loc. cit.). The Tujen name alone cannot be interpreted other than as a corruption of the Tibetan sbyin-sreg. sbyin is pronounced jin, which is very clearly to be seen in Note 8 (źüin-tsëġ). Ch. Das, p. 940, writes under sbyin-sreg: "burnt offerings as made by Tantrik Buddhists, ... sbyin-sreg-gi [869] rdsas clarified butter, articles necessary for burnt sacrifices. ... sbyin-sreg-gi yam-šiṅ ... first wood necessary for the offering" [cited in English]. (For yam-šiṅ, cf. the Tujen foreign word yiew-siṅ.) "Homa is the

[776]

[204 cont.]

776 of the Bon, the Däntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance among the people that might be expected. They know of [796] Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth [535] day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha, [791] and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call [788] sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full [756] warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people. Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called [753] ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune, [777] failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the [731] plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom [782] the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are combated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the Däntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

IX. PUBLIC RITES

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN REGARD TO HAILSTORMS

In the mind of the Monguors is seared the belief in an incredibly prodigious medley of gods, malignant spirits, and ferocious ghosts, and consequently all events in life, happy or unhappy, must be approached from that angle. 782 731

In this chapter will be considered the calamity most dreaded by the Monguors, which does the most harm and ruins them most frequently. It is the scourge of hailstorms, which every year ruin the crops of many villages, reducing the already narrow margin of subsistence of the villagers to a minimum, and bringing many families to the verge of famine. [132]

It is obvious that this calamity is supposedly caused by malignant spirits and it is no wonder that the whole religious energy of the people is bent on securing all available means and ways to avoid disaster. No wonder that the people, scared to death, seek refuge in religion against a scourge caused by evil spirits—first of all in the religion credited with the greatest potency, without refusing the help of others less potent, imploring the aid of good spirits, and engaging in a life and death struggle with the evil spirits. 821 829

In all their village temples, accordingly, one encounters the picture of the god of the Five Roads, the Taoist combatant of hailstorms, amidst the awful scenery, previously described, whether or not the temple is dedicated to it. The shaman is invited to perform his most efficient rites against hail because he is believed the most conspicuous for his great abilities in the field. All the Taoist spirits, to whom temples in the country are dedicated, are invited by the shaman to come down into the temple yard and to participate in the performance of the rite in spring. The shaman conveys to them the sympathy of the villagers and their gracious offer of hospitality, in order that they might help their village, and after the shamanist rites have been performed the villagers still indulge in Lamaist activities against hailstorms. 782 796 789

No wonder that, from New Year's on, the villagers are obsessed by the problem, and never fail where a Kurtain is possessed by the god of the Five Roads, to invite him on the third day of the year for an exhibition

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the study of F. Franz Eichinger, Kinderlosigkeit und ihre Bekampfung in der Volksmedizin, *ibid.* 167 sq., is very instructive and unique. The author, during two years as member of the Chinese Health Committee in Ming-hsien, Lin t'ao, Ho-chou, and Labrang (East Kansu), traveled four months with the committee in the region of Hsining, Kung-ho, Hsing-hai (Monguor territory) and seized the exceptional opportunity to gather ethnological notes, which open vistas in this special field and give a better understanding of the frame of mind of the family concerning this capital topic: the care of children, the means of getting this blessing, the fear of being bereaved of them and the physical causes of this bereavement. [113]

[p.97(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the chief of the village asks him or her whether "Heaven and all the spirits" will really preserve the crops. 782 789

At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion. [731]

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages situated in the Sha-t'ang Valley, which have a goddess in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death, without wearing the Monguor skirt!" [9] 175 177

On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple and spend a night with him. The tradition requires that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.[10] [772] 796 782 [784]

[9] I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

[10] The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a [171]

[A102(A)]

hail.) A grim, ghastly mask and a piece of red cloth 782
are fixed on the head of the stake. A small Chinese 789
table, covered with strips of red cloth to which is at- 796
tached a copper mirror, is considered to be a spirit in the same way.

FIGHTING THE HAILSTORMS

When the hailstorm appears threatening and the evil 731
spirits are about to loose their avenging bolts, the 789
youngsters on the top of the hill wave banners, beat drums and cymbals, blow the horn, brandish aggressively the sedan chair with the god sitting inside, and the stake gods, in the direction of the storm, howl, curse the evil spirits by means of the most obscene vocabulary, and take obscene attitudes in order to frighten them. I saw such a scene in the village of T'ao chia chai, a Chinese village of which some people were Christians, and was told that the Monguors act in just the same way.

If the storm is avoided, incense is burned, prostrations are made, and the group comes back, proud and high spirited because their performance achieved victory. But if the storm breaks with lightning, lighting up the whole valley, and thunder rumbling terrifyingly, pouring down torrents of water and rattling hail, the whole group starts fleeing in confusion, with the sedan chair and all the gods, straight down the hill, through the fields and the rivers to the temple. It is said that when this happens the youngsters lose control over the gods they are carrying; that the gods, defeated by mightier ones, unable to withstand the struggle, abandon the battlefield and themselves flee, irresistibly pulling with them their carriers, without caring for roads, precipices, or rivers. The terror throws the village into confusion and consternation. The gods could not stand against the terrible evil spirits of the hail; hopes are frustrated and the crops destroyed. The prospect of bad times, with privations and sufferings, haunts every family.

SHAMANS AND STATUES OF THE TEMPLES

The statues in temples are assumed by the Monguors 778
to be the seat of the spirits. Several facts have already 532
been recorded, in keeping with that assumption. Statues 756
decide about the invitation of the shaman for the performance of the new rites against hail. They pull their carriers irresistibly over fields and precipices, or make themselves so heavy as to become immovable and crush the carriers under their weight. According to the Monguors, the unusual power residing in the statue is due to special rites performed by the shamans.

In the stomach of every statue is a square opening capable of being closed and opened. Every time a new statue is made, the shaman is invited to animate it by means of dancing, beating drums, and inserting in the hole a live snake, a live raven, a live frog, and the intestines of a sheep and a pig. All these items have to

[p. 104(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

OM MANI DAYS AND BUMKHANG

It has been noted that in many villages an additional 796
temple besides the community temple, had been built 792
and dedicated by zealous villagers to a Buddhist deity. Every year, in summertime, some lamas, very often of the Red Sect, are invited to perform the rite of the Om Mani. Butter, flour of roasted spelt, and tea are collected among the villagers. The lamas prepare the *tormas*, the cups with water, spices and flowers, the 108 lamps, recite texts, beat drums, ring bells. After the texts are recited the villagers start to make the thousand circumambulations around the temple, saying "Om Mani," spinning the prayer wheels, and moving from east to west in the ritual way. Old and young are keenly interested in the practice and all help to perform the thousand turns. Three lamas sit on a woolen carpet outside the temple, noting the number of turns performed by each villager who comes to have his merits noted. It is a busy day for the lama accountants. It is an interesting rite, performed in high spirits by the whole community. Youngsters run around the temple, competing in speed, praying "Om Mani" while old people walk, absorbed in devotion.

Another quite different Om Mani rite is enacted six times a year by older people, mostly women, members of an Om Mani society, which has a small fund for securing tea and rolls for the devotees. It consists of circumambulations around a Bumkhang, and the turning of prayer wheels, but in a west to east direction. The number of circumambulations is not fixed. All day long the moving devotees go on continuously. At least one lady has to be on the way at all times saying "Om Mani." At the time of calamities the whole population performs the rite.

Bumkhang means "home of the 100,000." Outside 731
of many villages is built a small Lamaist construction 792
at the time calamities afflict the village: epidemics, epi- [946]
zootics, diseases, drought, too much rain. According to the Monguor tradition these mischievous plottings of evil spirits have to be neutralized by magical means by lamas of the Red Sect. They are reputed to be more skilled than lamas of the Yellow Sect in indicating, by means of the deity whom they personally honor and invite to descend into their staff, the way along which these evils are approaching the village, and by what magical means the way can be blocked. Because the rite is thoroughly magical, the circumambulation is made from west to east, and the prayer wheels are turned in the same direction, the opposite way from that prescribed by the Yellow Sect.

Museum of Oriental Ethnology, *Folklore Studies*, Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China) 222 sq., 1952; also Der Hundekopfdämon im Volksglauben des Westtales under des Chinesichs Tibetischen Kontakgebietes im Osttales von Kuei-te in der Provinz Ch'inghai, 143, where the same belief is noted concerning the cat and the dog among the Tibetans of Penpa, neighbors of the Monguors. See also Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, Fuchs I, 40.

[p. 132(A)]

Such constructions are never built inside the villages 731
or monasteries, but outside of them, maybe along a 792
road, or on a small elevation, but always close to the 346
village and on the spot indicated by the Red lama. In 1917 the young T'u Kuan Hutukhtu, advised by old devout lamas, decided to build such a temple along the main way leading to his monastery. At that time one lawsuit was succeeding another and calamities desolated his lamasery. He ordered each of his lamas to mold with red clay a fixed number of small flat rectangular Buddha images, called *Tsa-tsa*. They worked for weeks, for 100,000 images were needed. In the meantime mud bricks were prepared and carpenters invited for the building of the frame of a rectangular temple, having no doors but only a square hole on each side for the windows. At the same time five Red lamas, qualified for the job, were invited to build the home of the 100,000 Tsa-tsa according to the liturgical rules. To explain the shamanist rites against hail, the most incoherent and unimaginable items required by the shamans have been recorded, and the way the pit was dug and the items buried in it. The Red lamas required the intendant of the T'u kuan to prepare the same items (except for the corpse of a child, the living snake, rooster and dog), but all the things had to be stolen in order to be effective, and all were marked with cabalistic designs. Because the Red lamas do not use a corpse, a living snake, rooster, or dog, it has been said that their rite is not as effective against hail as that of the shamans.

On the auspicious night, the Red lamas, dressed in 731
their red clothes and barefooted, with a piece of red 782
cloth around their heads, descended into the pit to bury the items, in the same way that the shamans bury items at the time they build the mound against hail, and in the same kind of pit, communicating by signs. Meanwhile, all the lamas of the monastery circumambulated the pit from west to east, flying banners, beating drums, blowing shells, throwing stones, howling and cursing in the direction of the supposed fiend, and a big cypress fire was kept burning the whole night. Finally, after the pit had been filled flush with the ground, a stake was thrust into it on which cabalistic characters had been written with red earth and encircled with the blood of a white dove. What spirit the stake represented, which would block the influxes, was not told, but it was said that it was not the White Tiger. At dawn the carpenters erected upon the pit the consecrated frame of the building, and lamas started using mud bricks to build a wall inside the frame four or five feet high, the stake being in the middle of the building. Then a big Wei-sang was kindled, pounded cones and leaves of cypress were spread on the ground, and the lamas paved the floor with the clay images, one next to the other. Then followed a new layer of pounded cypress and a new layer of images, and so on, until the 100,000 images were disposed in layers inside the building.

[p. 132 (B)]

When the building of the walls was finished, the images 731
having been smoked beforehand, and blessed with 782
ritual water, and having had rice thrown upon them, were stored inside. Finally a roof covered the construction and a verandah with some prayer wheels was built around it, with an oven in front for Wei-sang. Each lama received from the Hutukhtu, as remuneration for the molding of images, a piece of cloth large enough to make a new lama costume.

When, at the time of epidemics, the Om Manis and cir- 731
cumambulations have seemed ineffective, the people 782
conclude that the Bumkhang has lost its energy, and a 789
new rite is enacted in order to strengthen its impaired capacities. The Red lamas are again invited. They read texts for seven days, and thrust a new stake in the ground before the Bumkhang, at night, while the people howl. They act exactly in the same way as the shamans who strengthen debilitated hail mounds. Because this act is not seldom performed for old Bumkhangs of villages, it seems to suggest that all the Bumkhangs in the country were built on the same pattern. This was the only Bumkhang built during my stay in the country, but old Monguors told me that all the Bumkhangs were constructed in the same way, not in order to be endowed with blessings, but in order to avert calamities plotted by evil spirits, and to block the way along which the bad influxes enter the village. The facts (1) of circumambulating in a counter-clockwise direction, (2) the way of building the Bumkhang, (3) the use of the heterogeneous items, (4) the thrusting of the stake god into it, and (5) the manner of strengthening the impaired magical power of the Bumkhang all over the country, seem to support the assumption that the Bumkhang built at Erh-ku-lung by order of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, a lama of the Yellow Sect, and all the other Bumkhangs follow thoroughly magical rites belonging to the same category as the rites performed on the hail mounds built by the shamans.

It is noteworthy that no urns are buried inside the Bumkhang and that no pole is set up inside of it, to represent the "pillar of Heaven." A couple of beams support the roof of the small building, but the magical stake god is thrust into the center of the building amidst the 100,000 clay Buddha figures.

This description does not tally with the interesting [114]
study of Dom. Schröder (p. 266). It is recorded according to my notes written at the time when the Bumkhang of Erh-ku-lung was built, and investigations were made concerning these buildings existing in the country.

FASTING RITES AMONG THE MONGUORS

Fasting is practiced in the country situated north of 785
the Hsining River by lamas of the Yellow and the Red 792
Sects and by laymen; shamans are not interested in fasting exercises. At Erh-ku-lung the rite is compulsory for all lamas. It starts on the twenty-ninth

[p. 133(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

mand of T'u-ssu Ch'i Pei-chai (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 3; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). The Monguors, familiar with the customs of the country, prepared fifty or more rafts of sheep and ox skins, and crossed the river at night in the locality of Chang Chia Wan. In the morning they unexpectedly met a large group of rebels in Hsin Ch'eng and administered a crushing defeat to them. They arrived at Lanchow which was unprepared to meet the enemy, and the city was recovered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a–b*). T'u-ssu Ch'i was appointed defender of the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). Then the Hsining troops of Wang Chin-pao and the Monguor troops helped recover, one after another, all the cities of East Kansu, with other Manchu troops. T'u-ssu Li commanded 1,000 of his Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*b*), and T'u-ssu Kan and Ah 300 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 50, 51). Then the t'u-ssu participated in the seige and the recovering of the city of P'ing Liang, and the capture of the rebel governor Wang Fu-ch'eng. The Lu t'u-ssu sent 400 *tan* of wheat to the hungry Monguor soldiers beseiging P'ing Liang, which was recovered in 1678. Wu San-kuei died August 17, 1678. After a campaign of six years the t'u-ssu returned to Huangchung with their troops. 175x 648 579

In 1677 groups of Tibetans, in combination with Uighurs, had attacked Salar villages. Probably during the insurrection of Wu San-kuei, Salar brigands had plundered them. The Manchu army had put them to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 50*a–b*). In 1681 they returned to avenge the previously unsuccessful attack. Under the leadership of the Tibetan Huang La T'aichi they attacked the village of Su Chih and killed many Salars. The Manchu commander at night attacked the camp of the aggressors and killed many of them. They fled toward the Lao Ya pass and occupied it, blocking the communications. Troops had to come from Liangchow to repel and pursue them (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 51). 175x 628

In 1689 a tremendous famine desolated East Kansu. It was followed by revolts of hungry people. In 1691 the revolt, led by a Taoist priest, had spread over the entire country. Troops of all the commanderies of Kansu were summoned, the revolt lasted until 1693 (*Annals* of Kansu 56: 45*b*). The Monguor t'u-ssu did not move into East Kansu. They had to protect their own country against inroads of poor and destitute people and forestall uprisings of the army in Huangchung, which was lacking food and was restless, for the crops in Huangchung had been bad also. In 1702, 50,000 *tan* of rice were sent from Sian to Huangchung for the troops (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*b*). 175x [731 795] 579

In 1693 T'u-ssu Li Hsia, assistant commander in Hsining, informed the emperor concerning the situation in the Pe-ta region, in the northern valley of Hsining. In 1647, after the rebel Mohammedans and Chinese of Kanchow had tried to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to revolt but had hit a severe blow on the border of the Tatung River, the Chinese who had fol-

I: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

273 at New Year and at weddings, funerals, and other festivals. The women do the distilling. Drinking too [733] much is a weakness of Monguor men, and the women also like to drink a cup. As the distilling is crude, the liquor is by no means a healthy drink. In order to avoid drunken fights at the great spring and autumn festivals, liquor is drunk only at the end of the festivities.

276 Monguor men smoke all day long, using Chinese tobacco and the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl holding less than a thimbleful of tobacco. Often, instead of buying a wooden pipe stem from a peddler, the men make them for themselves, using the leg bone of a sheep. The pipe is hung from the belt, balanced by a small pouch which contains tinder and some small flints and has a steel 'keel.' To strike a light, a piece of flint and a pinch of tinder are held between forefinger and thumb and struck against the steel. Women seldom smoke.

733 The practice of smoking opium has to some extent spread from the Chinese to the Monguors, and wherever there is an opium addict the whole family is sure to be ruined. Some T'u-ssu allow their subjects to raise opium, while others forbid it.

CLOTHING AND HEADDRESSES

291 For centuries the Monguors have been proud of their national costume, though it is true that in some Monguor communities Chinese clothing had become commoner than the Monguor costume by 1922. The adoption of Chinese clothing is probably due to the fact that the Monguor costume was despised by the Chinese wives of chiefs of clans and rich men. The enrollment of Chinese families in the Monguor clans has also had an influence. In 1949 the Communists, when they overran the Monguor country, forbade the wearing of the national costume—presumably as part of a policy of obliterating the separate customs and traditions of small minorities.

The traditional men's costume is much less elaborate than that of the women. The trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and are cut in the Chinese style with a loose crotch and baggy seat. It is said that in former days the men did not wear trousers at all, and even today the old men living north of Weiyuanp'u do not wear trousers under their gowns unless they are going to town.* Monguor boots resemble Tibetan boots, having a "shoe" made like a moccasin and a cloth leg reaching [274] to the knee. The legs of the trousers are stuffed into the boots. Sometimes the leg of the boot is embroidered. In winter some Monguors wear leather boots bought in the city.

* It is possible that the Monguor tradition on this subject is confused. Trousers have been part of the Mongol costume from ancient times. On the other hand, the Tibetans, especially the nomad Tibetans, do not wear trousers, and it is possible that the custom among some Monguors of not wearing trousers is due to Tibetan influence. On the subject see Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, Vienna, Verlag Herold, 1949, and Ekvall, *op. cit.*—O. L.

[P. 188a]

[636 cont.]

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[766]

[Note on foreign text pp. 652-653 cont.] yellow shoulder-cloth, on the other hand, which a dead person with age-consecration wears, must be burned with the corpse, just like the sash that he received at that time.

this must be done while the corpse is still flexible. Once it is rigid, it maintains its position virtually unchanged.

The death-box. The death-box is made either long be-
[171] fore death or not until death has taken place, as among the Chinese where the coffin is sometimes ready decades before-
[735] hand. Only poor people do not make the death-box until after the death. The box is always made of wood, but it does not matter what kind of wood it is made of; after all, it is not buried, as is the coffin among the Chinese, but is burned with the dead person. The box has the height of a litter or sedan chair; the dead person fits exactly into it. The bottom of the box extends into four carrying beams, [637] similar to a
[532] flat litter. The box [illustration appears here], however is not
[171] a simple wooden chest, but represents a small temple with roof and doors and often very rich carving, similar to death-box of the Chinese bonze (6). Unlike the latter, however, it has a sun

6. [Foreign text p. 653.] in the case of the coffin of the Taoshih the sun-moon attachment, the movable back wall, and the carrying pole are lacking. The corpse is usually put inside through the front door or from above, because the roof piece is removable.

and moon in the center of the roof, similar to the tip of a mani-pole; this is generally regarded as necessary. The box
[556] is painted and decorated according to the wealth, piety, and
[322] affection of the relatives.

There are no definite ritual prescriptions for the prep-
[465] aration of the box. The carpenter receives the usual fee for

[641 cont.]

764 604 537 [273] The mother's brother puts the hada over his shoulders, takes a swallow of liquor, and begins his speech. Usually he demands an accounting concerning the care of his protégé during the latter's illness and demands the small fees for the prayer service, saying that they should be ashamed of such avarice, the dead had always been a good person, the pride of his family, he deserved better; now at least one should give him a decent death-box and provide the most magnificent cremation possible; far too few lamas had been invited, but now they should recompense them with much money and rice and butter, etc.

[273] Every time that the mother's brother puts forward a wish or a complaint and pauses, the master of ceremonies has his liquor bowl refilled and calls upon him to drink. Then the master of ceremonies replies in the name of the paternal relatives, seeks to invalidate the reproaches, to lessen the demands, and to emphasize the efforts of the family. He says that the most expensive medicines were procured for the deceased during his illness, for how could one neglect such a virtuous person; moreover, everything that the family could do in his honor and for his soul would be done, but one should not demand the impossible; after all, one must die sometime; the times are bad, but they would gladly give the lama that and that, etc. -- So it goes back and forth between the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies, until a course is finally agreed upon and the mother's brother declares that now he is satisfied and will release the corpse. Now the mother's brother is invited to inspect the corpse, but he usually does not do this.

764 604 After this speech, the bereaved arise, kowtow three times before the mother's brother, and return to the deathwatch by the box. The mother's brother follows them and kowtows before the dead. Then alms are distributed to the guests, usually [431] coins. This is called "to do good," for it is advantageous for the deceased. Then the meal for the relatives on the mother's side [735] takes place in a large circle. Usually there is rice, but among poor people only noodle soup.

[775] [177] [642] The ceremony of the demand for an accounting has the purpose of releasing the soul of the dead for the migration

[831 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 834 cont.] the other hand, it is done for protection against bad weather, it is also popularly done before the pole-goat.

[562] Persons: As is the case for all religious ceremonies, the women are kept away. The participants are the seed-master, the village elders, and all other men and youths. Any kind of [791] soothsayer may appear on this occasion. It is important that at the actual offering some spirit is always summoned by the soothsayer and supervises the performance. -- Participation is also [784] prohibited to all who are in mourning and in whose compound there is a woman in childbed. -- People with empty utensils, for example, empty water pails, baskets, etc., may not come near. For this reason the gong is beaten before the offering, so that such persons will stay away (2).

[787]

[735]

2. [Foreign text p. 834.] The fear of an encounter with empty utensils is quite general in Tsinghai. It signifies poverty, vain endeavor, etc. Tujen express the wish, for example, before a journey: huodzën sawa bi pëngë, that is, "may an empty vessel not appear." The Chinese, too, have similar expressions.

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Sacrificial animal: As sacrificial animal only a sheep is considered, no goat and especially no pig. The sheep may be of any color and sex, even castrated. It must be at least a year old, however. A sheep that is too young would be an insult to the gods, aside from the fact that the meat would not be sufficient for the participants. Usually the [832] sheep is [621] purchased jointly. Every family must provide grain or money for this purpose; the owner is always given compensation. To be [784] sure, the sheep may not come from a family that is taboo at the time, for instance, through bereavement, childbed, sickness, etc.

351 [40 cont.]
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784
211
[177]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] maintains that formerly the Tujen used no sieve and that they learned of it from the Chinese. Nowadays paper is commonly used when it is a matter of a taboo that is not connected with the prayer service. Thus the people stick a rectangular piece of red paper to the gate intrados, on the right when, for example, there is sickness in the compound, and on the left when a woman is in confinement there. White paper is used when someone has died, a custom that probably comes from the Chinese.

[574] The taboo always lasts for several days, three, five, seven, always an odd number, and always as long as the lama is staying [792] at the house, as well as two days afterwards. If, for example, the lama is there only one day, the taboo lasts three days; if he is there three days, it lasts five days, etc. If he is in the house for seven days, however, the taboo lasts for an entire week after his departure (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 42-43.] The taboo regulations mentioned here also apply to other religious ceremonies, even when no lama or Bon priest is invited. The taboo is then in force for only three days, however. -- Even the best friends are not admitted into the house, but are dealt with by the gate of the yard. For this reason they must first call out loudly so that someone will come out.

[43] Sometimes the people also say that in case of illness the yard is marked not out of fear of the spirits, but

[151]

351 [40 cont.]
796
784
211
757

[Note on foreign text p. 43 cont.]
rather in order to give strangers a signal so that they will not be infected and will stay outside.

Word List

192
792 Lama: lama; ho-shang (Chin.).
Lama of the Yellow Sect: gelõñba (Tib.); sira lama.
Lama of the Red Sect: fulan lama.
Great lama: šge lama; ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.).
Small lama: mula lama.
Hutukhtu (6): sañ (10); šge sañ = great H.; mula sañ = small H.
huo-fuo (Chin.) = Living Buddha; fo-yeh = Buddha.

6. [Foreign text p. 42.] The common people know little about the hierarchy among the monks. They know great and small lamas. Among the great they count the hutukhtu, the tsüordzi and the känbõ. According to their conception, a great lama is especially learned, knows many magical practices, and therefore has special power. The small lamas have only a little learning and are able to perform only minor ceremonies, for instance, the obo prayer.

[775] The hutukhtus are regarded as Buddhic incarnations. In this the common people do not differentiate between Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Among them everything is fuo-yeh, that is, Buddha-Father. They use this Chinese name for everything that is the seat of the spirit or a spirit itself, in other words, also for the incarnations

[778]
[775]

[68 cont.]

192
*778

[Note on foreign text p. 71 cont.]
la rtse – obo, yar = upward, stod la = upward, to place on top. -- rēdziõñ: Tibetan žon = to ride. -- yifula: Tibetan ri bo = mountain, hill, lha = spirit. -- ndziġdien: Tibetan 'jig = transitoriness, rten = container. A Buddhistic mode of expression for the world: the ten containers of transitoriness (Unkrig).

Little stonepiles: lawdzē dzidziġa = obo chicks.

Obo sheep-offering: lawdzē tada xoni šēṅlie = to sacrifice a sheep before the obo.

[782] The lama prays before the obo: lama lawdzē tada mošguni.

The offerings: yilenē šēṅlie = total offerings.

To dwell at the obo: lawdze tada sō-.

To set up a tent: bekārge posġuo-.

[541] Horse racing: mori holilġa = to make horses race.

Whose horse is fast: kāni mori gurdā?

[526] Shooting competition: sēmu sēmuda- = to shoot arrows.

Whose skill with weapons is great: kāni xuawu šgewa?

The young people wrestle: mula kunsgē walde-.

Whose strength is great: kāni kudzi šgewa?

Large and small sing together: šge mulasgē nigē dōlā-.

Whose songs are many: kāni dō uluona?

[541] Obo horse-racing: lawdzē šda rēdziõñ (Tib. (8) [see Note 8 above].

[527] Obo festival: lawdzē šdodlō, mori holġani = to make the horses run pelting the obo.

[621] [757] The obo protects human beings: lawdzē ayili kun, ase, mulā-sēla, nasā, ġuosāni furõñlāni = the obo of the village (kin group) protects human beings, animals, little children, from epidemics and strife.

[776] The mountain-spirit: yifu la (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above].

[76 cont.]

*778 and incense, as an obo is. On these occasions new clay cones
346 are thrown into it through the gaps. Usually this is on the first,
782 eighth, and fifteenth day of the month. At other times, too, however, in case of emergency and misfortune, the people venerate the chorten chamber. The procession always goes from west to east, in other words, not in the direction of the course of the sun.

*778 Meaning: The chorten chamber is connected with the
[776] mountain-spirit and earth-god. The column establishes the
[772] connection with the sky. The chamber holds down the hostile
[751] earth-influences. Thus it protects against misfortune and illness (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 79.] The urn, the mountain, and the tree are essential for the bẽ̃ṅkãṅ. Therefore it belongs in the same conceptual
[772] realm as the central fort in the yard, namely, the widespread myth of heaven and earth, joined (or separated) by the world-tree. In this connection, in the case of the central fort the mani-flag might be Lamaist-secondary, and in the case of the chorten chamber the sasa-mountain, which consists of the mani-cones, as they are sometimes called. -- Now that a house is built over it, it is probably quite secondary. It evidently only has the function of protection and no inner relationship to its contents. It is striking that the sky column likewise is not erected as the bearer of the ridge-piece; it is freestanding and does not extend to the beam.
[171] Also, in the case of the customs

[846 cont.]

789 If an evildoer steals the animal or the things,[1] the
776 demon will punish him.
688

Word List

192 Demon escort: rëdzõňwa (Tib.?) ġarġani = one takes away
789 that which is to be taken away.
[778] The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].
Saddlebag: dadzë (Chin. loanword).
Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[847]

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3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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[777]
[778]
[782]

Report

. . . In order to protect the children from misfortune, one invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.

On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing. There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

1 [i.e. - the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST.]

[847 cont.]

Details

789
757 Time: Ordinarily the ceremony takes place when a child
755 is sick. It can also be undertaken, however, as a preventive measure against [848] sickness. Then the third or ninth month is chosen by preference.

789 Place: One stays in one's own house and does not go into
791 the local temple; the Bon priests also live in the compound. The place is taboo during these days. The burning of the objects must always be done outside the place.

789 The prayer service: For the prayer service the Bon priests
782 bring along a large double drum, which is suspended from a
791 beam (1), and, furthermore, sounding plates, a hand bell,
[534]

1. [Foreign text p. 849.] By means of a ring the drum is suspended from a beam in the room with a cord. The Bon sticks one finger of his left hand through the second ring on the drum and thus pulls the drum tight so that it does not swing back and forth. At the same time he also holds in his left hand a sounding plate. In his right hand he has drum sticks and the second sounding plate, so that through skillful handling he can beat both instruments at the same time.

bone flute, and Tibetan prayer texts. The prayer service takes place four times a day, namely, at sunrise, after the morning tea, at noon, and in the evening; the incense offering is made in the yard each time.

examines their position. "All right!" he cries. "all 796
events will be all right this year, the village will enjoy 756
peace and thrive; this year you will be preserved from 782
hail!" A piece of red cloth is tied with a red rope on the bottle, which is put under the empty container inside the temple for seven days.

After all the rites have been accomplished, the villagers go home taking with them their own thrones of the ancestors and as many paper banners and streamers as possible, in order to place them with the deities honored at home. The shamans and the elders have a meal and plenty of wine for the whole night. The next morning the shamans leave; they came riding empty-handed on a donkey, and go back driving the donkey, laden with rolls and offerings, some wheat, and a meager payment in cash.

FEAR OF HUMAN SACRIFICES

During the second, third, and fourth months, the time 782
during which these rites are performed in one village 784
after another, everywhere children are encountered 789
wearing around their necks strips of filthy, stinking 751
cloth, with which the women had wrapped their feet (for they do not wear stockings). The heads of some children are covered with a handkerchief containing dog hair; the foreheads of some children are scratched and lightly wounded. Several times a day the children are enjoined not to eat jujubes or nuts lying along the way or in the temple yards, for fear that the spirits, avid for human sacrifices, might allure them and take their souls. Everywhere it is said that, notwithstanding the rites taking the place of the former human sacrifices, once in a while some of the spirits take a child. All these practices are used in order to frighten the spirits and to preserve the children desired by this kind of evil spirit. If, during these months, a child dies, everybody is convinced that his soul has been taken by the terrible spirits.

These practices give evidence that the belief in human 782
sacrifices required by spirits is deeply ingrained in the minds of the people. At that time, meeting children so [115]
arrayed affords a fine opportunity to collect details about the rites of spring, and the talks of the shamans, and to get an insight into the religious trend of mind of the people. These facts make it plain that the Monguor shamans, honoring Taoist spirits and performing most of the rites of the Wu of China and of the shamans living in the neighboring countries, have preserved their urge for human sacrifices. The Monguor shamans nurture the weakened, exhausted spirits in the temples with captured human souls. The burying of the Chinese beggar in the mound, in order to succeed in the struggle against the hail spirits, and the occasional capturing of a boy for the same purpose, facts attested by many trustworthy men, give evidence of the assumption. However, constraint is imposed [682]
upon them by a more civilized environment than that

[p. 112 (A)]

753

753 THEORY OF DISEASE--extent of the attribution of disease to natural causes, to sorcery, and to supernatural aggression; prevalent theories of the supernatural causation of disease (e.g., soul loss, spirit possession, object intrusion, poison, evil eye, violation of taboos, pollution or contagion); special notions about loathsome diseases (e.g., leprosy); scientific theories of disease (e.g., transmission through germs); etc. See also:

Religious and magical beliefs 77
Incidence of disease 164
Medical research 742
Conception of the causes of death 761
Development of biological science 815
Knowledge and beliefs concerning human physiology 827
Interpretation of mental disorders 828

[862 cont.]

782 3. Two pieces of wood from the red and white sandal tree.
824 4. A large quantity of burning-spices, which the family itself must provide: white rape kernels, white hemp seeds, black hemp seeds, wheat, Tibetan barley, white peas, glutenous rice, white barley, certain Tibetan herbs, Tibetan flowers, a Tibetan species of reed-grass, and white grass from Tsinghai. 5. Consecration-wood. The consecration-wood varies according to the type of fire-pouring. For the [863] white fire-pouring one uses branches of the white poplar; in all there are 46 pairs of pieces of branch. Every piece has a length of nine fingerbreadths and must have formed three side twigs. These side twigs are cut off at a length of three fingerbreadths. The cut surfaces of the pieces must all run at right angles, not at a slant. The bark is left on; one may not damage it, otherwise the gift-master and his [753] relatives will later have a bad skin-eruption. In order to avoid its becoming torn, the cut surface is smeared with butter. Instead of poplar wood, tamarisk wood is also permitted. This by nature is very straight and free of branches. For this reason, in contrast to the pieces of poplar, they may not show any branch attachments. The length, however, must be the same. The color of the tamarisk wood is red (2). 6. The six spices of

2. [Foreign text p. 867.] Nothing could be discovered about the symbolism of the various types of wood. That would be interesting, especially on account of the requirement of the branch attachments.

the incense offering. They are likewise provided by the gift-master. 7. The 74 types of earth-god spices, which the lama brings with him, already pounded to powder.

782 Preparation of the burnt offerings: The lama prepares
[792] the burnt offerings on the afternoon of the sixth day. In each case he puts one kind of the burning-spices in an earthen vessel, mixes it with the five kinds of grain, pours liquid butter over it,

[204 cont.]

776 of the Bon, the Däntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance among the people that might be expected. They know of [796] Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth [535] day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha, [791] and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call [788] sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full [756] warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people. Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called [753] ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune, [777] failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the [731] plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are com- [782] bated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the Däntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171] are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
769 ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
[764] the deceased would remain among the living and would need to
partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are
[782] so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
[573] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined
[753] is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said
that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape
of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
[756] soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This
[755] catching of the soul is called: suniedzē xura-. It is unclear from
this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same
as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central
Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru
(rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun,
moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the
earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals.
Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the under-
world and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety
or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found
most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less
clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the
chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-
drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

4: Schrank-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

and the group then marched three times around the 782
Obo. I heard the details of this unusual rite from 786
Monguors who had attended the ceremony.

Just as women are not allowed to enter the temples of the spirits of the Obo, and are excluded from the rites performed at the top of the Obo in the sixth moon, they were also excluded from these rites of restoration of the forces of the spirit of the Sha-t'ang valley. It is [562] for this reason that the Obo festivities, horse races, wrestling, in the sixth moon, are performed at the foot of the mountain, so that women can attend. When women encounter an Obo on their way, they always avoid passing in front of it—the "front" being usually the south or southeast.

The mentality of the Monguors regarding the spirit of the Obo explains their reverence for them. A Monguor will always dismount from his horse when he passes an Obo. He will never fail to add some white stones to the heap, to cry at the top of his voice, honoring the spirit, to prostrate himself nine times, to throw some coins, some flour, a roll of bread on the stone heap, or to smear some butter on the offering table.[21]

It is not only the common people who act in this way. I saw the T'u-kuan Living Buddha, when passing the Obo of Sung-hua-ting, send some lamas ahead to perform the rite of Wei-sang.

CULT OF THE SACRED HILL OF THE VILLAGE

The cult of the sacred hill of the village is performed 795
like the cult of the Obos. A small Obo is built on 782
top of the hill, and a pole is erected. Under the pole is buried the "precious bottle" (urn), the specific offer to the earth god; ropes with flags are attached to the pole and spears planted in the stone heap piled around the pole. Obviously, the dimensions of this Obo are smaller than those of the Obos of the five mountain spirits, and perhaps because of this they are not called Obo, but the "sacred hill of the village."[22]

On New Year's each family sends a member to the sacred hill to enact the rite of Wei-sang and libation. On the fifteenth of the first moon the chiefs of the villages, with the elders and the inhabitants, officially go to the sacred hill, offering a sheep, performing Wei-sand, burying an urn, and making a libation. On the third of the fifth moon a similar group performs the same rites, in order to strengthen the vitality of the spirit of the sacred hill, which, according to the Monguors, must be in full strength in order to help avert hailstorms. Epidemics and epizootics are supposed to be caused by the outraged spirit of the sacred hill, [753] which must be propitiated by a sheep offering and Wei-sang rite, performed by the whole village.

Devout people go on the first and fifteenth of the month to perform Wei-sang and libation. Monguors

[21] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 63.

[22] R. Rahmann, Remarks on the sacrifice of Heaven of the Na-khi, *Monumenta Serica* 13: 406 *sqq.*, 1948.

[p.115(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

In the Ordos region there is encountered a text which 769
is still recited at the festivities in honor of Khutuktai Setsen Kung Taiji, great-grandfather of Sanang Setsen, by a lay official called *djumu*, who presides over the sacrifices offered on the grave of the hero being worshipped. Father Mostaert has called my attention to the fact that such invocations always start with the invitation to come down and to rest for awhile in the midst of the congregation. The invitation is first to Chingis Khan, his wives, his sons, and ministers, and continues with the same invitation to the hero honored at the moment, followed by an invitation to his glorious descendants, the spirits of earth, and the four points of the compass. Then the spirits are invited to enjoy the offerings, which are enumerated, and to extend their protection over the worshippers. Such conventions of the Mongols of the Ordos take place, like those of the Monguors, in the presence of a great number of invited spirits and departed ancestors, who are supposed to descend among the worshippers.[2]

SPIRITS EXPELLED FROM THE FAMILIES

In order to avoid repetitious descriptions of practices 753
concerning the curing of ailments, prevention of diseases among children, and means to undo the harm wrought in families by evil spirits, which are encountered in all the books dealing with shamanism and Lamaism, and are nearly the same everywhere, only a few practices will here be recorded revealing the peculiar ways and psychology of the Monguors.

The Monguors, nominally fervent adherents of Lamaism, ought to ascribe ailments and all kinds of mischief and calamities to their own acts in some former life, according to the law of retribution. They should, therefore, wait peacefully for a happy recovery and for an end to the calamities. In fact, however, as soon as a member of the family takes ill, or some harm is done, without inquiring a bit about the possible natural causes of the disease or other trouble, they imagine themselves confronted by evil spirits, or having themselves stirred the spleen of some spirit. Accordingly, they do not invite a doctor and try medicines, or try to help themselves, but run in a hurry to the man who can withstand the evil spirits, conjure them and drive them away. Such men are always at hand—lamas of the Yellow and Red Sects, white or black shamans, and the Kurtain.

The first problem facing all these troubled people is 755
to detect the trouble-making spirit, and then to find the means either to placate the spirit, or to combat it and drive it away.

The theatrical Kurtain, possessed by his spirit, declares with his head shaking that in his trance he knows the culprit, and starts immediately with wild evolutions to combat it and drive it out of the house with his

[2] F. A. Mostaert, Ordosica, *Bull. Catholic Univ. of Peking*, Nov. 1934: 58.

[p. 127 (B)]

Seerting group, but also among some families living in 776
the Hung-nai and Ha-la-chih Valleys. It is said that 425
long ago an old lama of Sung-chan-i (P'ing-fan hsien) introduced the cult of this spirit in the country. It has only one eye in front, and its image is honored not in the living room but behind the entrance gate of the courtyard. Many Monguors do not like to marry their daughters into families where this spirit is honored, and those who honor it are afraid to get rid of its cult, for fear of calamities. The spirit notices all visitors and watches to see whether some evil intent is not lurking behind the visit. It is said that when an undesired guest lingers waiting for dinner, Sturlong causes him tremendous intestinal troubles so that he has to run [753
away. At the time when the dowry for a girl of the 574]
family is discussed, and the head of the family suggests that the part required by the lord of the family is not yet fixed, the go-betweens understand the hint and promise a goat for Sturlong. On the wedding day, a few moments before the bride will leave, a goat is set before Sturlong who avidly devours its prey and does not notice the bride leaving. At the time an animal is to be sold, its price is discussed not at the home of the proprietor but outside the courtyard, in order to avoid Sturlong knowing about it.

Still another spirit is honored, which steals in be- 776
half of the families that honor it. Its cult is practiced especially in the Hung nai Valley. The Chinese call it *Mao-kui-shen* "cat spirit." It is a male spirit for which young women prepare a blanket at night, and which they "serve." On the tenth moon it steals grain and brings it to the granaries of its devotees. If guests arrive unexpectedly at noon and the food prepared is not sufficient, it is so potent that it can add food enough for all the guests by unknown means. When thieves come at night, it spirits away the things they intend to steal. However, it cannot steal Chinese coins, because Chinese characters are stamped on them; it cannot steal cloth in behalf of its devotees, because on both ends of a piece of cloth are printed the brands of the fabric. It cannot take things out of a closet which is tightly closed, but when the door is open it takes what it needs. It likes to drink liquor. A young woman poured liquor for it, one cup after another, until the cup remained full. In the blanket she found a drunken cat, which her husband killed. These tales resemble [171]
those recounted by the Mongols, concerning the well-known fox-spirit.[12]

[12] Here should be noted the very interesting study of F. A. Oberle, S.V.D., dealing with a similar frame of mind, with practices, some similar and some differing, encountered among the Tibetans of the region of Kui-te, 200 li south of Hsining on the right bank of the Yellow River, and among a group of Tibetans living 60 li west of Hsining called Chia-hsi-fan by the Chinese, i.e., Tibetans living in houses in contrast to the Tibetans living in tents. However, I never heard the Monguors explaining the rites performed against the avenger of the family wealth, suggesting the avenger having the appearance of a "Hundskopfdämon," an evil spirit with a dog head. See

[p. 131(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Does the joke played during the spring feasts between the shamans, concerning the making of men and women by the good Tengris, and the storm caused by the nefarious Erlik in order to disturb the good actions of Tengris, not warrant also the same assumption? Or is the struggle between two opposite powers a specific characteristic of shamanism? If so, it is no wonder that shamanism was a field well prepared for the planting of Manichaeism, with its dualistic principle of light and darkness, whose powers were engaged in an endless struggle. 771

BEHAVIOR OF THE MONGUORS TOWARDS HEAVEN

The whole day long the Monguors, like their neighbors the Chinese, use the word "Heaven" in their conversation. They use the Chinese expressions: "Heaven knows it," "Heaven sees all things," "It is impossible to cheat Heaven," "Heaven punishes him," "Heaven rejects him," "Heaven does not bless him," "Heaven determines destiny," "It was decided by Heaven"; even a child born out of wedlock or by a girl married with the pole, is called "born by Heaven." 772

One can easily be impressed by this fact and induced, at first glance, to believe that the Monguors are very dutiful toward Heaven, and harbor convictions that they depend entirely on Heaven; that they trust in Heaven alone in all circumstances of life, and that Heaven is considered the omnipotent, omniscient, equitable regulator of the universe and its inhabitants. However, when a happy event is announced they clap their hands, and with a gleam in their eyes happily say, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when bad news is broken they say pitifully and sorrowfully, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when they are suffering with pain, or when a calamity is imminent, they will sigh imploringly, crying, "Om Mani, Om Mani . . . help us!" The first cry of the heart is never a cry toward "Heaven" but the Om Mani to Buddha, for everybody knows that Buddha, who knows all things, is the personification of benevolence, always willing to help. 772 788 776

What is the factual position of Heaven in the fabric of the daily life of the Monguors? After the first surge of emotion and the cry to the benevolent Buddha, the "practical" Monguors start reasoning about the causes of the mischief. Because their world is crowded with mischievous spirits, they try to detect the mischief-maker, or to determine whom among the spirits they have injured. When a member of the family is smitten with a severe disease, they suspect that they have offended the god who is the proprietor of the soil of their courtyard, the god of the hearth, the guardian deity of the family, or that they are the victims of the pranks of some evil spirit or of roaming souls which they had neglected to feed. Epizootics and epidemics, are supposed to be sent by the offended god who is the proprietor of the village or of the Obo. Lack of success 772 776 [753]

[p. 150 (3)]

782 [822 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text p. 823 cont.]
detail, he gave the answer: "That was too much for one afternoon." Moreover, he had described the festival as it had taken place in his little village. It had always been celebrated very simply there; now he had let the festival die out completely for his village, and they would go to the neighboring village of Chichialing, where it is much longer and larger.

[178]

Here, too, nothing is presented in detail about the individual parts, as in the other chapters, because the material is too extensive and forms a subject in itself, which is to be dealt with in connection with shamanism. It should be stated in advance here, however, that they are probably not Tujen shamans, but Chinese shamans, who are found scattered over wide areas of western China.

[756]

Report

241 The sowing festival and the festival of the harvest thanks-
782 giving are completely identical. Only in the autumn people have more flour and meat to celebrate the festival. Both festivals last several days. A definite number of days is not pre-
[756] scribed. At the festival one differentiates between the offering
[535] and the dances of the shamans. The offering is undertaken by
[443] the seed-master or the village elder. The dances last for an entire day; usually a market is also connected with them.

The shamans erect a pole in the temple yard, pray
241 several days, send out sicknesses on the first evening, and from
782 a distance kill children or cause them to become unconscious.
756 In the evening of the final day, before they take down the pole,
754 they take the sicknesses back; then the people struck by them become healthy again.

[864]

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792
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[171]

(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
756 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[754] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
292 village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
[534] val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[778] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-
pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip
[142] with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the
gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical.
[171] Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the following day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed.
[333] The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or 781
to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one 788
understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration to Buddha.

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. 794
The chief of the family is its religious head and its rep- 782
resentative. He worships "Heaven and all the spirits" on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each family honors the image of its family protector-deity. At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue worshipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors. The chief of the family is its representative at the performance of public rites. Attended by his family, he performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fingering his prayer beads.

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of 794
the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of 622
the village and its elders administer both the official and religious life of the people in it. Even as they apportion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth [65]
and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum for religious services. They impose corvées on the villagers for municipal functions as well as for such religious functions as protection against hailstorms or the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner, heads of families are summoned to participate in rites at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain. The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief. He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as the family chief does in his own circle.

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious [614]
life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter. It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite. On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry about public worship in the village and the morality of his subjects.

Religious activities are part of the family and social life of the Monguor society. Their social organization is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Mon- 771
guors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are 754
not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fer- 756
vent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor

[p. 6(A)]

shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

[p. 68]

therefore a member of an alien family can never become 756
a shaman."

When I asked whether all the Monguor shamans served the twelve spirits, the answer was that they did, and then I objected, not understanding why, that the family names of the shamans were not the same. They answered that the spirits had chosen ancestors of different families to become shamans, but all these things had happened centuries ago. This explanation seemed to be full of holes.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF SHAMAN

BEHAVIOR AMONG SHAMANS AND BETWEEN SHAMANS AND MONGUORS

Shamans always said that in the mountains south of 756
the Hsining River were shamans serving only evil 628
spirits, who were therefore called "black shamans." 565
They dedicate themselves to the evil spirits, and to 754
Erlik Khan, their chief, and unleash them to harm the people. The "white shamans" must drive away the evil spirits and undo their harm; they serve only good spirits and are devoted to them in the same way the black shamans are devoted to the evil spirits.

White shamans never have friendly relations with black shamans and never give their daughters to their sons, or take brides for their sons from among them; one group despises the other. The white shamans always boast of their superior power, and the thorough efficacy of their good spirits over the evil spirits, and are convinced that their group existed long before the black shamans came into existence.

The Monguors are really afraid of the black shamans. They never give their daughters to them, and shun them because they know they are dangerous fellows. When a black shaman is traveling through the country and asks to stay for the night in a Monguor village, the horror-stricken Monguors never dare to refuse to comply with his demand, and so display the most gracious hospitality for fear he might unleash the evil spirits and harm the village. The black shamans know they are shunned and that they have no friends in the world. They are dominated by an inferiority complex. When they encounter anyone on the road, they retire to the wayside and allow the wayfarer to pass first.

This attitude toward the black shamans is understandable, but why it exists in the same way toward the white shamans is an enigma. The white shamans living in the village are always invited by private families and the communities to provide aid and support in all kind of troubles; they are said to be the servants of the good spirits. Notwithstanding this, the Monguors do not like to have friendly, intimate relations with them. The white shamans are never invited to dinners and feasts for births of children, marriages, or funerals. Ordinary people never either marry their girls to sons of white shamans or permit their boys to marry girls of white shamans. No white shaman is

allowed in the intimacy of the family; he is shunned. 754
He is also dominated by an inferiority complex, and ac- 756
customed to letting a wayfarer pass first on the road. 628
He knows that he does not belong at the top of society, 565
for during the empire, the Monguors say, no shaman was allowed to compete for literary degrees. Their profession was discredited in the same way as that of tailors, barbers, and comedians. The social standing of the shamans and the influence they wielded in former times are really beyond all comparison with their poor condition of today.

But do the Monguors never call the black shamans in [575]
order to perform their rites? A couple of facts will be recorded about Monguors who, in order to take vengeance on enemies, invited black shamans to cast spells upon them at night.

NO ENTHUSIASM AMONG THE MONGUORS FOR THE DUTY OF SHAMAN

It is a well-known fact all over the country that sha- 756
mans generally have an aversion to their office and do not like to carry out their functions, but, bound by the choice of their father shaman, and knowing that a refusal would be fraught with all kinds of evil consequences, they discharge their burdensome, non-remunerative duty. The Monguors say that in families where there are no shamans, permission would never be granted by the parents and the chiefs of the families for a member of the family to become a shaman.

In the Valley of Hung-nai there are no more shamans 756
at present. During the terrible Moslem rebellion, all 798
the shaman families were exterminated. The inhabitants of the valley, afraid of the burdens attached to this profession, no longer allow their sons to become shamans. They prefer to honor the more lenient deities of Lamaism and have their sons become lamas. They invite shamans of other villages to perform shamanistic rites in their village every year in the spring and at hail time; the other rites are all performed by lamas. Shamans, however, according to their own ideology, assert that no more shamans can arise among them.

Several times I heard the typical story, later attested 756
to by No Kuang-li, that when he was a boy a member of his family was ordered by his father shaman to succeed him. The unwilling boy was compelled to accompany his father at the performance of all kinds of rites, to learn the usual prayers, and to submit to the peculiar training. When his father died, the boy tried to get rid of the duty, but the family council decided that he had to comply with the choice made by his father. The boy's nerves were on edge and he went on a rampage; his health was impaired, his mind was seriously affected and he had a mental breakdown. He roamed for months in the mountains, shunning all kinds of people and finally was found hanging from a tree. After so many years this fact was still recorded and explained by the Monguors as being a punishment meted out by the spirit who had selected that boy as its

SHAMANS AND BEWITCHMENT

The shaman is the recognized protector against all 756 kinds of evil influences and bewitching. Monguors are 755 scared to be in the neighborhood of very old trees and Obos. A very old tree, it is said, is about to become a spirit and even a man, because the essence of the tree has grown out of its perfection. Thus, the very old tree of the village of Lei-chia-p'u in the Sa-t'ang Valley, it is said, takes a walk at night and harms the people it encounters. It is also said that it is very dangerous for pregnant women to walk in the village at night. The same belief is prevalent about old statues and about Obos on small passes. The shaman is invited by the neighbors of these dangerous objects to preserve them against their baneful influences and to neutralize their ill-omened forces. Lamas are invited by the people living near such Obos to read texts and do Wei-sang, hoping they will not harm them.

Bewitchment is the last resource for avenging in- [691 578] justices and outrages, which cannot be avenged by 754 legal and overt means, and for doing harm to an enemy by a hidden means. Such acts are considered by the Monguors to be a direct resort to black magic, and in order to neutralize or to perform a bewitchment, they usually invite a black shaman, but it is not exceptional to encounter a white shaman doing the job. Bewitchment is, most of the time, performed in case of lawsuits for properties that have been unjustly decided, in cases of eloped women who cannot be brought back home, for presumption of theft, in cases of jealousy and hatred between two wealthy families.

In 1918 a Monguor living in the Lu men cheng Valley was sued at the Chinese court by a rich Chinese, and jailed for a few months. When he was liberated, he invited a black shaman who prepared some small wooden planks, on which he painted cabalistic designs with the blood of a white dog. The Monguor buried them in the cemetery of the rich Chinese, according to the prescriptions of the shaman. During one year, three persons died in the family of the Chinese. The Chinese then invited a celebrated black shaman to neutralize the evil influences which were harming him and his family. It happened that the celebrated black shaman was the knave who had prepared the planks for the Monguor! He told the rich Chinese to be suspicious, for a foe of his might have buried bewitched planks in his cemetery. He received his salary and went home. The planks were found. The Chinese sued the Monguor at the court of the T'u-ssu, because mandarins do not care for such troubles. The Monguor was compelled to invite twelve shamans in order to undo the spell.

Another fact, well known over the country in 1914 because a whole village and a living Buddha were involved, casts light on this psychology of the Monguors. Tjaar tseen, the limping chief of the village of Ch'üe-lung-ku, was sued at the Chinese court by Chao, the

[p. 129 (18)]

old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Each claimed to be 754 the proprietor of a small mountain. The Living Buddha lost his suit and the limping Tjaar tseen became the most celebrated man in the country. The Buddha invited three black shamans to bewitch the limping Tjaar tseen, and accused him again. He lost the second lawsuit also. Raging, the Buddha invited three black shamans to cast more efficacious spells. The chief of the village did not care any more, and the villagers graze their herds on the mountain to the present day. This fact is interesting for us because a Living Buddha, on two occasions, invited black shamans.

Hu, a rich Monguor, compelled a poor Monguor to [583] sell to him his beautiful and willing young wife. The poor Monguor, using his last resource, invited a black shaman to bewitch his wife. The black shaman prepared skulls of a dog and of a fox, and a horn of a black goat. Inside each he enclosed three slips of paper on which he had designed cabalistic signs with dog blood around the name of the wife. The three items were buried at night under the entrance door of the courtyard of Hu, with the mouth of the skulls facing his living room. The young wife became sick. Shamans were invited to discover the cause of the illness and to neutralize the evil influences, but to no avail. The wife died and the shaman, it was said, was powerless against a punishment of Heaven and the spirits. But there was no peace in the courtyard; at night, noises disturbed the rest. Black shamans were invited for three days and they found the skulls. The poor man was accused before the T'u-ssu, but the T'u-ssu did not pay any attention because the behavior of the rich Monguor was supposed to have been unjust. It is the usual trick of the black shamans to bury magical things under the lintels of doors or in cemeteries.

In countries where there are no newspapers, such 203 tales are spread like prairie fires, by peddlers, and 754 commented on and believed, especially when outstanding persons are involved. They create the trend of mind of the people and make them fear so much the black shamans living south of the Hsining River, who are said to use beads made from human bones, to blow a trumpet made from the bone of a young woman who committed suicide, to wear a girdle made from the skin of such a woman, to braid into the enormous pigtail, coiled around the head, the hair of such a woman, and to use drums made from skulls of young girls. The most terrifying tales are told about them and they are believed by the people.

RITES CONCERNING THE GUARDIAN SPIRITS OF THE WEALTH OF THE FAMILY

According to the Monguors, persons who commit 777 635 556 injustices are pursued by the guardian spirit of the wealth of the victim of the injustice, who causes them

[p. 130(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Several times a year youngsters go with the shaman 766
to this place at night, and offer a goat to these dangerous souls, propitiating them in order that they may be peaceful. Often on a dark night youngsters with burning torches and whips go to these places. They throw down the head of a goat, and after making noises, throw away their torches and, in deep silence, run home swiftly along another way, in order to avoid being pursued by the souls, and to cheat them. This happens when a member of the family or an animal is taken ill and the possibility exists that the ailment is caused by such souls.

Black shamans, when board or lodging is refused [754]
them, blow their horn made from a human thigh bone in the direction of these places, calling up all these souls and spirits and ordering them to harm the village. The Monguors are scared to death of such vengeance, especially the vengeance of a young woman who has committed suicide. It is said that the souls of such women are not at peace until they have induced another woman to commit suicide. It is also said that souls of teenagers, for whom prayers have not been said, incite women to commit suicide.

If a suicide occurs, the chief of the village, on behalf of the whole village, invites the shaman, or often three of them, to prevent these additional calamities. For seven days the shamans go at night to the sinister cemetery and dwell there until the morning, beating drums and dancing. They call up these evil souls, talk with them the whole night, flatter, cajole, and comfort them, trying to pursuade them to change their avenging minds, and to exchange their ill dispositions for good ones. They snap their whips, and manipulate their knives to frighten them, and finally give them a goat every night, that they may have a good meal and a good time. When the meal is supposed to be finished, the shamans send the spirits back and return to the village.

This custom reveals a thoroughly shamanistic frame of mind, which fears the souls of the dead and imputes to the dead most of the mischiefs and misfortunes which overcome the family; only the shaman can master these foes of the Monguor society.

BURYING OF THE DEAD

More and more, the Monguors are adopting the cus- 764
tom of burying their deceased instead of cremating them. When the maternal uncle arrives, the deceased [604]
has already been put into a Chinese coffin. Before dying, the sick are washed, shaved, and dressed. Men wear an odd number of garments: three pairs of trousers, socks, three gowns, coats, even furs; women wear two sets, and always the traditional skirt of the Monguors which they never wore, but despised during their whole life, for it is said to be impossible to meet the ancestors without the traditional skirt. Some tea and butter are still put in the mouth (a souvenir of their nomadic origin) along with a "pill of longevity," silver,

[p. 147 (B)]

852 may be either a real brother or a classificatory brother) is introduced to the guests. He takes a taper sputtering in vegetable oil, lights a lamp with it, and carries the lamp into the courtyard, offers it to Heaven, and all the spirits, burns boughs of cypress, and, accompanied by his brother, makes nine prostrations to Heaven and all the spirits. Returning to the main room, he makes the same offerings and prostrations to his tutelary spirit.

The boy then pours wine for each of the guests, beginning with his maternal uncle, inviting them to drink and be happy. Noodles are then served to all, but the boy's own bowl is only partly filled, in order to allow each of the guests to put some of his noodles in the boy's bowl, congratulating him cordially and wishing him a long and happy life. The significance of this part of the ceremony is that the longevity of the old men present is supposed to be conferred upon the boy, assuring him a long life. I was fortunate enough to witness this simple and wonderful rite and was delighted to see how the old men carried it out in a manner imbued with religious feeling and kindliness.

778 Parents who do not "dedicate" a child also protect them with talismans. If they go to a lama, he will write 755 a Tibetan prayer which he wraps in red cotton cloth to be hung around the neck of the child with a thin cord. At night it must be hung on a nail on the wall. If the child forgets to take it off and hang it up, it is considered to have been defiled and must be purified in the smoke of cypress boughs in order to restore its efficacy. If they go to a Chinese Taoist priest, he will write the Chinese character for "longevity" on a sheet of paper, adding a cabalistic design. The paper is then wrapped in red cotton cloth, folded in a triangle, and sewed on the back of the child's clothes. Either a lama or a Taoist priest will perform this service in return for a small present.

858 Respect for the lives of children is deeply rooted in the patrilineal family system. The rare instances of infanticide that I noted in my earlier study, *Le mariage chez les T'u-jen* (p. 105) are due to the influence of the Chinese, among whom this practice is not unusual. Among the Monguors, children are the golden threads interwoven in the fabric of life. A mother is bound by her love for her children and rarely leaves her hearth to live with another man. Her orientation toward her children is fortified by the respect for family obligations in which she herself has been brought up. Mothers who are unable to suckle their children easily find another woman in the village who will act as wet nurse. If a mother dies leaving young children, everyone is willing to help take care of them. When a child is sick, the whole village is in a hustle and bustle to try to help save its life, and when a child dies the consternation and sorrow are general and real. The religious observances on behalf of sick children will be discussed in a future work on the religious life of the Monguors. [P. 104 b]

[30 cont.]

756 sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary
*778 spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front
[776] of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he
[782] sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.

The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit
[439] are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery
[792] markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

756 Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his
776 tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration: the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in general the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the tutelary spirit of the shaman.

756 Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to
463 prophesy, heal the sick, conjure away storms, drive away demons. He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests, or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect a mani-tree, but he may set up an ordinary mani-flag on the yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the pole-goat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate at funerals and weddings.

●755 The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold.
756 The following is the most common. First of all the shaman
[787] puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open [31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly steeped. Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the sick person to drink.

756 In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to
783 demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[34 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 35 cont.] menstruated; others maintain the opposite. At any rate, she has to be an unmarried person. In this connection cf. what is said in the section concerning death customs and cremation: that they are demons and are especially feared by demons.

791 [789] Activities: A special activity of the Bon priests is the erection of the pole-goat and conjuring away storms, as well as the making and conjuring of the figure-litter. Otherwise they have almost the same activities as the other soothsayers: they designate lucky days for housebuilding, traveling, etc.; they question fate concerning sickness and medicine, For soothsaying, [787] however, they use no special instruments; instead they have books from which they take everything. There are also Bon [755] priests who have learned to take the pulse and to prescribe medicines and are able to cure without magic. -- The Bon priests do not go into a trance, but only pray (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 35] The Bon are regarded with a kind of secret fear by the Tujen. They also have something to do with springs and mountains. It is said that they often dwell alone in tents in remote ravines and at wells throughout the summer. There they pray, conjure away storms, etc. Perhaps this seclusion contributes to the fact that all kinds of uncanny machinations are reported of them.

Word List

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Shepherd-Bon: sënogsa (snagsa) (7); ch'an-t'ou peng-po (Chin.) = Bon with queue wound up.

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.]
"trumpet." Judging by the sign, however, this la-pa is itself a Chinese imitation of a foreign word. The Tsinghai Chinese have the designation pi-li for the shell-horn, but this evidently comes from the Tujen verb pilie (to blow), for instance, dõngë pilie = to blow the conch. The Chinese say ch'uei pi-li for this. Otherwise, the Chinese name for the Triton horn is simply luo (lo), and the conch-goddess taken over from Buddhism (Tib. Duṅ-ma, Sanskr. Mangala śankha) is called pao-lo t'ien-nü, "heavenly elf of the preciousness-conch"; cf. Pander-Grünwedel, Pantheon, p. 105, No. 294; p. 115.

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The shell-horn and its cultic use is old and widespread in India and the South Seas and has been taken over into Buddhism. The function of the conch in the Lamaist cult naturally cannot be explored further here. For an understanding of the Tujen custom, however, the following should be noted. The blowing of the conch brings harmony into the universe and [49] can release the hunger-spirits (Preta) and lead them into the paradise of joys (Tushita); cf. Pander-Grünwedel, loc. cit. Shells whose spirals do not run from right to left, as is usual, but the opposite way are especially valuable; cf. Ch. Das (p. 628): duṅ-dkar gyas 'k'il (Sanskr. dakṣiṇā varta śankha). The sound of such a conch cures sickness, and, if it is kept in the house, it pacifies quarrels and disturbances and guarantees harmony in the family. That

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[846 cont.]

789 If an evildoer steals the animal or the things,[1] the
776 demon will punish him.
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Word List

192 Demon escort: rēdzõňwa (Tib.?) ġarġani = one takes away
789 that which is to be taken away.
[778] The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].
Saddlebag: dadzē (Chin. loanword).
Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

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3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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789 Report

791 . . . In order to protect the children from misfortune, one
[777] invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then
[778] they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they
[782] make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.

On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing. There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

1 [ie - the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST.]

[847 cont.]

Details

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Time: Ordinarily the ceremony takes place when a child is sick. It can also be undertaken, however, as a preventive measure against [848] sickness. Then the third or ninth month is chosen by preference.

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Place: One stays in one's own house and does not go into the local temple; the Bon priests also live in the compound. The place is taboo during these days. The burning of the objects must always be done outside the place.

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The prayer service: For the prayer service the Bon priests bring along a large double drum, which is suspended from a beam (1), and, furthermore, sounding plates, a hand bell,

1. [Foreign text p. 849.] By means of a ring the drum is suspended from a beam in the room with a cord. The Bon sticks one finger of his left hand through the second ring on the drum and thus pulls the drum tight so that it does not swing back and forth. At the same time he also holds in his left hand a sounding plate. In his right hand he has drum sticks and the second sounding plate, so that through skillful handling he can beat both instruments at the same time.

bone flute, and Tibetan prayer texts. The prayer service takes place four times a day, namely, at sunrise, after the morning tea, at noon, and in the evening; the incense offering is made in the yard each time.

[848 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether the horse's skull represents the riding animal of the spirit could not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another torma is also made.

789 [849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day
[787] the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books
[791] the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away.
[532] They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum, sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the torma.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the torma is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen.
[782] The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long
[171] migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this custom.

[755]

4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This ceremony is very similar to the figure-conjuration of the shamans

[849 cont.]

784
755

[Note on foreign text p. 850 cont.] and to the demon-escort. I could not ascertain from the notes whether the Bon priest touches the sick person with the figures and thus transfers the sickness to them, as is the case with the shamanistic figure-conjuration. Cf. the following chapter, Note 5.

Word List

192
784 Figure-litter: šergundi; made up of šē (Tib.) = demon,
[778] rēgun = nine (Tib.); ndi (Tib. ?) = complete (3) (5).

3. [Foreign text p. 850.] This explanation by the informant is uncertain.

5. [Foreign text p. 850.] šergundi: Tibetan bse = demon, dgu = nine, k'ri (pronounced thi) = litter. Meaning: nine-demons' litter. -- šbawog: Tibetan sbal (pronounced bal) = toad, frog; nag = black (Unkrig).

[791] Bon priest: xuāndzie (xuāndie).
[778] Demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.).
[825] Sheep: xoni.
Goat: imā.
Hen: tagu.
Pig: xge.
Dog: nogue (noxue).
Snake: mogue.
Frog: šbawog (5) [see Note 5 above].
Horse: mori.
Cattle: ulā.

192 [849 cont.]
789 Raven's feather: kērie fōdē.
He has painted the demon on paper: tsialdzērē ilieni xuarladzia.
[778] Horse's skull: mori tolguē yāsē.
Little-bearer: ndi kurgēdzin kun = men accompanying the whole (litter?) away.

[Pages 849-850 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[850]

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4. The Figure-conjuration * (1)

* See "Notes," pp. 851-182 [of foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

• 755
[192]

1. [Foreign text p. 851.] I could not obtain any clarification concerning the actual name. It seems that the rdzōṅ in rdzōṅwa is the same as in dzōṅrē. The ceremony is quite similar to the one with the figure-litter.

[789]

Report

[756] In case of very severe illness one invites in a shaman who makes a series of figures, touches the sick person with them, and takes away the figures in the evening for burning.

[789] Afterwards he buries a series of objects in order to hold down the sickness-demon. The compound remains taboo for [357] all strangers during this time, three, five, seven, or nine days, [784] depending upon the sickness involved.

[850 cont.]

Details

755 778 532 [171] [789]

The figures: Nine kinds of things are needed for the figure-conjuration. 1. Five little paper men (2). They are

2. [Foreign text p. 851.] The Chinese, too, have these paper figures at their demon exorcisms; they call them wu-tao shen. Among them, however, it is not clear whether five or only one demon is involved. They are mentioned once in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien as wu-tao lei-shen, that is, five-way thunder-spirits, which punish human beings through wind, rain, water, fire, and epidemics.

about 10 to 20 centimeters high and of the type of the Chinese paper figures that are burned at the burial. Only here they wear Tujen dress, which depends on whether male or female demons are involved. One can also simply cut them out of a piece of strong paper, but usually they are stuck together in the form of a figure with the help of stalks of grass. 2. Five little tsamba men. They are not colored, but retain the characteristic tsamba color. Also, they wear no clothing and are represented as sexless. 3. A pig made of tsamba. 4. A hen or a cock made of tsamba. 5. A dog made of tsamba. 6. A sheep made of tsamba. 7. A goat of tsamba. 8. A cow of tsamba. 9. A horse of tsamba. These figures [756] are made by shamans with the help of a skillful man, in a way similar to the figures of the figure-litter.

755 782 Then they are put on a tray with the following accompanying gifts: a piece of raw pork, beef, or mutton, some pieces of cloth and threads in the five sacred colors for the five little men, and bread and money. The tray is set before the household altar, and a burning dough-lamp and a basin with cypress incense or a number of incense sticks are put in front of it.

[850 cont.]

755 The conjuration: As soon as it is dark the gurtum goes
756 into a trance in the usual fashion before the household altar.
[787] Then he rises, fights [851] the demons with his sword in the air, and goes to the sick person. The tray is brought after him. With his one free hand he takes one figure after another from the tray, touches the affected places on the patient with them while constantly swinging the sword and murmuring magic words, and puts them back on the tray (5).

[171]
[789]

5. [Foreign text p. 852.] The custom of transferring sickness to animals or animal figures is also reported of Siberian shamans elsewhere. In this case, however, the similarity with the above-described Bon custom is to be noted. Originally actual animals might have been sacrificed. It was Buddhism that first combated these sacrifices and abolished them. Then substitute figures arose for them. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 176 and 263, writes in this connection: "...prohibits for the hated rivals the sacrifice of animals. In this connection the interesting fact is mentioned that the Bon-po were forced to make images of yaks and sheep out of grain mush, as well as wooden deer heads with wide horns, which henceforth had to serve as substitutes at the sacrificial ceremonies. The first-mentioned dough figures, made by means of wooden molds, are still found today, it is worthy of note, even in the rites of the Lamaists"; cf. loc. cit., where the literature is also cited.

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[851 cont.]

755 Then he storms out into the street, and the men follow
756 him with the things while he fights on with his sword. As soon as they are out of the village and reach a crossroads, they stop. A man piles a back-basket full of straw on the ground, and the things from the tray are thrown into it. Then the whole thing is set afire. They do not wait any longer, but quickly go home.

755 Burial of the magic objects: The shaman designates a
789 spot on the ground in front of the yard gate; the men immedi-
[787] ately dig a pit there. The shaman, still in a trance, puts nine
[756] kinds of things in it. First he puts a black food bowl on the floor of the pit; he puts red-hot coals in the food bowl, pours pure water over them, and puts in an iron knife, a small bow and arrow, a magic wooden dagger, a black chain (3), and a piece

[778]

3. [Foreign text pp. 851-852.] The magic dagger and the black chain are also used in connection with the pole-goat; cf. the appropriate section. No clarification could be obtained concerning the type of wood used for this dagger. The informant called it [852] siraldzin; he translated it with the Chinese huang-san (shan) tzu in the sense of yellow-mountain (wood). In the DMF there is the translation "armoise," Artemisia. This could not possibly be involved here. It must be a very hard kind of wood.

of iron from a town gate. He inverts a large earthen vessel over the whole (4); the men fill the pit and level it off so that one

4. [Foreign text p. 852.] The chain binds the demons, and the vessel caps them.

[851 cont.]

755 can no longer see where the things are buried.

[789] [787] [756] Now all go into the house. The shaman awakes from his trance.

Word List

192 755 Figure-conjuration: rdzõ̀nwa (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1 above], (5) [see Note 5 above], (6)

6. [Foreign text p. 852] rdzõ̀nwa or dzõ̀nre: At the base of these two words lies the Tibetan stem rdsons = to take away (pronounced: dzon). siradzin: Mongolic sira modon = yellow-wood. It is an especially hard kind of wood, Phellodendron amurense (Unkrig).

[778] Figures (little men): rdzõ̀nrë (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Raw meat: tõgõ maxa.

Black food-bowl: xara iga.

Black vessel: xara pëndzë.

Knife: tsidëguo.

Magic dagger: siral(dzin) (6) [see Note 6 above] mpuru = yellow-wood magic-dagger.

Chain: fsiasga.

Iron from the town gate: badzër-udie timur.

000 [Pages 851-852 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[852] 5. The Washing of the Sick*

* See "Notes," p. 854 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation the notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[852 cont.] 5. The Washing of the Sick

Report

755 The washing of the sick is undertaken by the sword-
[756] shaman at the coming of darkness. He puts himself in a trance
[787] as is customary during the incense offering, then throws a few kernels of Tibetan barley on his breast-mirror, which is held flat, and prophesies which illness is involved; then he under-
[357] takes the ceremonies. The taboo for the compound begins on
[784] the following day and, depending on the declaration of the shaman, may last three, five, or seven days.

The ceremony has three parts: the actual washing, fire-blowing, and the healing drink. The things needed for the washing are provided by the family itself.

Details

The washing of the sick: The washing takes place in the kitchen. The following things are needed for it: seven bowls of fresh water, an iron knife, a door lock, seven white stones, a bowl of liquor, some flowers, three, five, and seven pieces of paper with certain prayer texts, seven different things in all.

755 Now in the kitchen the hearth kettle is washed, fumi-
756 gated, and placed on the fire. The master of the household lights the fire and throws [853] incense twigs into it. Now the
[787] shaman, already in a trance, comes out of the main house into the kitchen; in his right hand he holds his spirit-sword, while he keeps his left hand free for the various actions.

First the seven bowls of water are poured into the kettle, and the shaman throws incense twigs and Tibetan barley into it. Then he thrusts his sword through his clothes into his chest as
[783] proof of his power and in order to purify himself. No blood flows.

Meanwhile the sick person is brought into the kitchen. The shaman bares the chest of the patient and thrusts the above-mentioned knife midway into it. No blood may flow. If the
[787] sick person bleeds, then he will not be healed; if he does not bleed, he will be saved. The shaman plasters the wound with one of the prayer sheets; he throws the knife into the kettle.

[853 cont.]

755 During this time a man heats the seven white stones in
756 the hearth fire until they are red-hot. Then he takes them out with an iron spoon and with it hands them to the shaman. The latter takes one stone after another in his mouth and spits them into the kettle. Then he throws the other things, the lock, the flowers, and the prayer texts, into the water and finally pours in the bowl of liquor. Now the sick person is completely disrobed, and the shaman washes him from top to bottom with his one free hand, scooping the boiling water out of the kettle with his hand. Then the sick person is put back on his kang in the house.

The water remains in the kettle, on the following two days, when the shaman has already gone, the people must repeat the washing. On the third day they pour out the water in front of the yard gate. They can use the things, the lock, knife, etc., again for ordinary purposes.

755 The fire-blowing: After the washing the shaman goes into the room of the sick person. During this time the men in
372 the yard start a strong fire with sheep dung and wood. They put
756 a plowshare in it and make it white-hot. A man puts a stick through the white-hot plowshare and takes it in to the shaman,
[787] who is still in a trance, but has given his sword to another man. Now he seizes the glowing plowshare with both hands with a hada that hangs from his breast-mirror, licks it with his bare tongue, takes a respectable mouthful of liquor, and turns to the sick person. He blows the alcohol out of his mouth over the
[273] plowshare in strong blasts, which each time makes a burst of fire shoot out toward the sick person. Then he takes the plowshare in front of the gate and places it at the foot of the yard wall. There the men immediately throw earth over it and wall it in.

755 The drink of the sick: Now the shaman again goes into
756 the room of the sick person. A man extends an iron spoon to him. He rips off a piece of the hada on his protective-mirror, places it in the spoon, and throws a few barley kernels in it. Then a man pours water into the spoon until it is full, holds it

[853 cont.]

755 in the hearth fire until the water boils and the cloth and barley are thoroughly boiled. He hands this decoction to the sick person 756 who must drink it down immediately. With that the ceremony is ended.

[854] The shaman rests from his exertions, eats his supper, and goes home.

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Word List

Washing the sick:	ġuāndzi (xuāndzie) fdzë šdani = the shaman boils water.
[756] Sword-shaman:	sgurdien.
Knife:	tsidiġuo.
Lock:	tsūrġuo.
Red-hot stone:	sōdaṅ; ts'u-t'an (ch'ū-t'an) (Chin.).
Barley liquor:	miṅ-liu dērasē.
Flowers:	tsidziġ.
Prayer texts:	dzayaṅ (1).

1. dzayāṅ: Mongolic ḍayaġan (pronounced ḍayan) = fortune, fate, etc.; meaning: prayer of fate (Unkrig).

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6. The House-purification *

* See "Notes," p. 855. [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

755 If someone is seriously ill, then the shaman, with the 789 men of the household, undertakes a house-purification. On this 756 occasion the demon is conjured out of the house in a straw doll, [783] dragged out of the village, and burned.

[854 cont.]

Details

755 789 [416] Things: Seven things are needed for the exorcism: 1. A torch. It consists of a stick wrapped with straw and soaked in oil. At least one torch is needed, but usually there are several. 2. A measure of small pebbles of any color. 3. An oil-pan. This is usually only a large iron spoon that is filled with oil and glowing coals to make a strong flame. 4. Bow and arrow. The arrow is wrapped with wadding at the tip; it is soaked in oil and lighted. 5. A hemp whip. It is usually very long, up to two meters. To make it, three tapering strands of hemp are plaited into a braid that is so thick at one end that it can just be held in the hand, whereas the other end tapers to a fine point so that it will crack well. 6. A live hen of any color or sex. 7. A straw man (3). It is very simple. One takes a long

[778] [171]

3. [Foreign text 855.] The Chinese, too, often use these straw dolls, which they throw on the field or on crossroads, likewise without shamans. -- In the Tujen monastery of the Yellow Sect, Rgulõn, I once also saw Bon priests who had been invited by the monastery to undertake a demon-conjuration on the fifteenth day of each month. They also made a straw man and said that the Namśri was conjured into it by their prayers. On the last morning, before sunrise, they tied this straw doll to a manipole and hacked it to pieces with their knives.

smooth wisp of straw, bends it in the middle, ties off the upper third with pieces of straw so that a head is formed, and transversely through this third draws a smaller wisp which represents the arms. -- All these things are provided by the people themselves.

[854 cont.]

755 789 [756] [787] Exorcism: Towards evening, when darkness begins to fall, the shaman goes into a trance before the household altar (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 855.] Before the exorcism the shaman divines, with barley on his protective mirror, which demon is involved.

During this time a man runs out of the village with the hen to a crossroads, twists or hacks off the hen's head, and with the fluttering [855] hen squirts the blood in all directions of the compass. [787] Then he throws away the hen as food for the demon and goes home. -- The straw man is put on the threshold of the main house or in the yard.

755 789 756 [787] [273] As soon as the shaman is in a trance, he jumps up and, running in wild leaps through all the rooms of the compound, performs the sword battle against the demon. The men follow him. Stones hail down on the ground. One circles around in the rooms with the torches. One man holds the oil-pan, takes mouthfuls of liquor, and blows it over the fire into the room, so that each time a red flash shoots out. Others crack the whip from room to room and shoot burning arrows at the floor. In this way the demon is driven into the straw doll. This is dragged by a hemp string or a straw rope out of the gate over the village street to the nearest crossroads, where the hen is lying. The shaman follows, fighting with his sword; stones, blows, fire-arrows, and flashes of fire rain down on the doll. It is left lying at the crossroads. The men pour the oil out of the pan over it, throw the torches, arrows, stones, etc. on it, and leave it smoldering (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 855.] This form of exorcism is the simplest of all. Usually all kinds of other ceremonies are connected with it. I once saw such a sword-shaman as he was trying to heal a child among the Chinese. He cast

[855 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.]
about himself with sword and lance, hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up a straw man, swung a winnowing shovel and a sieve, danced, and foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

192

Word List

755 House-purification: rdzõňwa (rẽdzõňwa).
789 The torch: huo-pa (Chin.).
[416] The stones: tašẽ; sa-shih (Chin.).
Oil-basin: ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
Fire-arrow: ġal sëmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
Fire-bow: ġal lẽmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
The hemp whip: uluosẽ yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
The hen: taġū; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here = to live.
[778] The straw man: šdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

[856]

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7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[866 cont.]

782 The place for the black fire-pouring is usually a remote
[792] ravine. One pitches black tents and lives there several days with the lama in solitude. In no case may one undertake the black fire-pouring in the vicinity of temples or human habitations.

[731] In case of epidemics, the black fire-pouring is used
[755] preferably, in order to annoy the demons of sickness and thus to
[777] drive them away, for with them the misfortune, too, disappears.
[776]

Meaning: The fire-pouring is an offering for the gods;
[792] through it they are supposed to be induced to turn away mis-
[755] fortune and sickness (7). The seven-day prayer of the lama is

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7. [Foreign text pp. 868-869.] The whole gives very much the impression of a fire-offering. The informant, however, thought that it had nothing to do with it. According to him it was an offering to the appropriate
[776] Buddhas. The fire-god was also venerated with it, as the torma proved, but this was not the main thing. Nevertheless there is no doubt but that a fire-offering, Homa, is involved (cf. Lessing, loc. cit.). The Tujen name alone cannot be interpreted other than as a corruption of the Tibetan sbyin-sreg. sbyin is pronounced jin, which is very clearly to be seen in Note 8 (źüin-tsëg). Ch. Das, p. 940, writes under sbyin-sreg: "burnt offerings as made by Tantrik Buddhists, ... sbyin-sreg-gi [869] rdsas clarified butter, articles necessary for burnt sacrifices. ... sbyin-sreg-gi yam-ǰin ... first wood necessary for the offering" [cited in English]. (For yam-ǰin, cf. the Tujen foreign word yiew-siṅ.) "Homa is the

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171] are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
[769] ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
[764] stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that the deceased would remain among the living and would need to
[782] partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
[513] even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
[753] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
[756] for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
[755] soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This catching of the soul is called: suniedzë xura-. It is unclear from this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru (rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun, moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals. Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the underworld and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

[The bō or Drum-Shamans]

[235 cont.]

756 and, depending upon the region, various local spirits. These
[776] gods predominantly come from the Taoist pantheon.

[789] [236] Activity. -- Their principal task is the weather
[241] conjuration, the sowing and harvest festivals, and curing sick-
[755] nesses.

756 Peculiarity. -- The bō or fa-shih are differentiated from
787 the other shamans by the fact that they have no trance. If one questions the people about it, one always receives the same answer: "fa-shih pu fa shen (the fashih do not go into ectascy)." Now that is not entirely correct. Namely, at the conclusion of the sowing or harvest festival, one of them attempts an imitation of the trance and wounds himself with the knife. This is called: "fa ta-shen (to produce a great trance)." It is not a trance at all, but at most a relic suggesting it; I was able to observe it several times. Thus the people are basically right when they do not accord ecstasy to them. -- The people sum up the main
756 characteristic, however, in the saying: "fa-shih ch'uei ku, t'iao
535 shen (the fashih beat the drum and perform spirit dances)." Drum and dance are the most outstanding. They always dance in groups before the image of the great mother in order to please her, or also before the sacrificial pig. These are not shamanistic individual dances in order to induce a trance, but are cultic group-dances that follow a definite ritual. One can therefore designate them as drum- or dance-shamans, although true shamanistic features are scarcely present any more.

Classification

171 Relationship to the more recent Siberian shamanism.
756 -- There are few similarities with Siberian shamanism. One could regard the drum as the most important continuation from Siberian shamanism. The relationship with the Tungusic and Mongolic-Manchurian shamanism is stronger. The drum has almost exactly the same execution and the same appendages as, for example, among the Mongols of the Kürie-Banner. (Cf.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

The support and protection of the Mongols and of the emperors of China saved and established the Yellow Sect, which was on a foundation of rock. In 1717–1719 the Jungar Mongols persecuted the Red Sects and destroyed 550 of their monasteries.[60] 175 648 771 [789]

KUMBUM [61]

The insecurity in Huang-chung and the struggle in Tibet among the sects provide an explanation for the late date assigned to the founding of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum. One and a half centuries after the death (1419) of Tsong khapa, the lama Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, in 1560, built some "cells" for himself and his ten monks (hermitage). Later, twenty more cells were added. In 1577, seventeen years later, a temple was built close to the "tower," whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree which at that time must have been 220 years old (1357–1577), and a statue of Maitreya was honored in the temple.[62] According to this tradition and the customs of Buddhist India, a tower must have first been built on the spot of the birth of Tsong khapa to commemorate the event. It is not known when this tower was built. 175 792 346

[60] L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 44, 71, Leiden, Brill, 1950.

[61] Kumbum, the lamasery of the 100,000 images is, at present, the most celebrated lamasery of Huang-chung, because of its precious trees, which are lilacs (Philadelphus, coronarius; see Rockhill, W., *Land of the lamas*, 67). The main tree sprang from the placenta of Tsong khapa (1357) and is said to have 100,000 images of Buddhas growing on its leaves. Much has been written about the tree. On May 6 and October 3, 1912, and on October 10, 1914, Father J. Essens and I read on the leaves only the two letters *Pa*, the thirteenth letter of the alphabet and *Ya*, the twenty-fourth letter, repeated indefinitely, written more or less correctly where the leaves were easy to reach. They were written with the red earth, which Chinese and Tibetan teachers use to correct the compositions of pupils. The sacred leaves are a wonderful panacea, healing all kinds of diseases of men, women, and children. It has been recorded that in Ch'ü-t'an and in Hung-shan-ssu the same kind of miraculous trees are encountered. [792 137 756]

It is worth noting what is written regarding the tree (here called a "White Sandalwood") in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomunkhan of Amdo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1887, Part I, No. I, p. 28: "On the birthplace of Tsong khapa there exists a white Sandalwood tree, on every leaf of which, at the time of the reformer's birth, there appeared a picture of the Buddha Senge naro, supernaturally inscribed. Hence, from the circumstance of a 'hundred thousand images of Buddha' having appeared on the leaves, the town and the monastery is called Kumbum. Even at the present age, images are occasionally said to be seen divinely inscribed on the leaves of the Chandan tree and Sugpa trees of the grove. The enemies of the Gelugpa say that the said images are secretly drawn with pins and needles by the Gelugpa monks." The Chinese call Kumbum T'a-erh-ssu, that is, "the lamasery of the [eight] stupas," because at its entrance there are eight stupas said to contain the ashes of eight Living Buddhas killed by General Nien Keng-yao at the time of the revolt of the Kumbum lamas in 1723. Filchner (*Dschamba-ling*, 160) notes: "They were built at the time of the 31st mK'ampo of Kumbus [date not given] by the chief of Roko, native of Amdo, after eight lamas had been killed by a Chinese prince, ruler of the country."

[62] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 29.

[p. 25(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

In the Ordos region there is encountered a text which 769
is still recited at the festivities in honor of Khutuktai Setsen Kung Taiji, great-grandfather of Sanang Setsen, by a lay official called *djumu*, who presides over the sacrifices offered on the grave of the hero being worshipped. Father Mostaert has called my attention to the fact that such invocations always start with the invitation to come down and to rest for awhile in the midst of the congregation. The invitation is first to Chingis Khan, his wives, his sons, and ministers, and continues with the same invitation to the hero honored at the moment, followed by an invitation to his glorious descendants, the spirits of earth, and the four points of the compass. Then the spirits are invited to enjoy the offerings, which are enumerated, and to extend their protection over the worshippers. Such conventions of the Mongols of the Ordos take place, like those of the Monguors, in the presence of a great number of invited spirits and departed ancestors, who are supposed to descend among the worshippers.[3]

SPIRITS EXPELLED FROM THE FAMILIES

In order to avoid repetitious descriptions of practices 753
concerning the curing of ailments, prevention of diseases among children, and means to undo the harm wrought in families by evil spirits, which are encountered in all the books dealing with shamanism and Lamaism, and are nearly the same everywhere, only a few practices will here be recorded revealing the peculiar ways and psychology of the Monguors.

The Monguors, nominally fervent adherents of Lamaism, ought to ascribe ailments and all kinds of mischief and calamities to their own acts in some former life, according to the law of retribution. They should, therefore, wait peacefully for a happy recovery and for an end to the calamities. In fact, however, as soon as a member of the family takes ill, or some harm is done, without inquiring a bit about the possible natural causes of the disease or other trouble, they imagine themselves confronted by evil spirits, or having themselves stirred the spleen of some spirit. Accordingly, they do not invite a doctor and try medicines, or try to help themselves, but run in a hurry to the man who can withstand the evil spirits, conjure them and drive them away. Such men are always at hand—lamas of the Yellow and Red Sects, white or black shamans, and the Kurtain.

The first problem facing all these troubled people is 755
to detect the trouble-making spirit, and then to find the means either to placate the spirit, or to combat it and drive it away.

The theatrical Kurtain, possessed by his spirit, declares with his head shaking that in his trance he knows the culprit, and starts immediately with wild evolutions to combat it and drive it out of the house with his

[3] F. A. Mostaert, Ordosica, *Bull. Catholic Univ. of Peking*, Nov. 1934: 58. [p.127 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

sword. A couple of devout old Monguors reverently 755
told me that on sick people the Kurtain practiced washing with boiling water, piercing his chest and that of the patient with his sword, putting in his mouth red-hot stones and vomiting them out again, but they themselves had never seen the Kurtain practicing these actions. All other Monguors, however, burst into peals of laughter when I inquired about these tales.[4]

White shamans get indications about the evil-doer by listening to their drum, wherein their Tengris reveal the culprit and the means of combatting it; or they use their staff, by means of which their Tengris inform them. The Red lamas use the staff into which descends the deity whom they peculiarly honor, in order to be able to undo the harm. They say that they invite not an unknown spirit but the deity to which they are devoted to enter the staff, for evil spirits could also possess the staff and lead them astray. The shaman, worked into a frenzy, combats and drives out the spirit with whip, spear, and sword (but he does not use the sword at the time of the spring rite). Red lamas read texts for some days and make *tormas*, and are as capable as the shaman is in practicing the rites of the scape-goat,[5] or that of the sedan chair, in which the evil spirit is carried away and buried in a pit;[6] or the torturing of the straw doll, or the cypress burning with plenty of aromatics, or the black, white, and red Wei-sang rite.[7] Shamans, when healing the sick, use the rope[8] along which the escaped souls of the patients are called back, captured in a bottle, and restored to them. Yellow lamas are invited by the Monguors to read texts and make *tormas* for seven days when things go wrong. They also practice the rite of the scape-goat and the burying of different kinds of urns[9] in order to conciliate the earth god.

All of them, shamans and lamas, perform upon the sick the practice, well known all over Asia, of applying over the entire body pieces of bread and paper soaked in water, and saying, "Those who came from the north, go back to the north and wait at a crossroad for other wayfarers." They repeat the same words for each of the points of the compass and then the used bread and paper are brought to a crossroad and thrown on it. A goat is killed and the head is thrown in the direction of the cemetery of the wicked people. Nobody dares to eat such heads. All the rites performed by shamans, Kurtains, and Red lamas are accompanied by terrible noisemaking and crying and theatrical evolutions. After all holes in the walls have been plugged and the doors closed and sealed, in order to prevent the evil

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[4] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 852, *Krankenwaschung.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 844, *Dämonengeleit.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 847, *Figurensanft.*
[7] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 860, *Der Feuerguss.*
[8] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 581. It is strange how all over Asia souls and spirits are supposed to walk on ropes.
[9] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 856, *Erdgott-urne.* [p. 128(A)]

spirit from escaping, the foe is searched for in all the 755
nooks and corners of the rooms and stables. A terrible struggle with it is engaged in with swords and whips. It is tortured and finally driven away to a crossroad at night, with the help of the neighbors firing guns. These rites have been described hundreds of times.

Some of the answers supplied by the spirits of the staff to shamans and lamas concerning the causes of mischief and calamity among the Monguors are worthy of notice.

The goddess, sitting in the imposing sedan chair in 776
the middle of the temple of the village, receiving the 755
worshipping villagers and smelling the incense smoke, is, none the less, in an ill mood and bad tempered, because, like many of her sex, being fond of a new piece of clothing, she wants a new mantle. The shaman says: "She has worn the mantle for five or more years; its color has faded; it has been mended so many times by the thrifty villagers, that really, she can hardly keep it on her shoulders; she is ashamed to be greeted and approached by people who are better clad than she. Give a fine new mantle to your goddess and the disease will vanish." Or it is said that the goddess, while visiting the god Erh-lang, had lost her earrings which must be replaced.

Once it was the deity honored by the family in the 755
living room which resented the family's neglect and disregard of it. An act of propitiation had to be performed and a sheep or goat offered in reparation. Once it was the shadow of a deceased member of the family which passed over the sick, eager to take with it another member of the family. Once it was the Twelve Tengris, weak and starving for lack of being nourished by a sacrifice during many months, who drastically urged a sacrifice. Once it was the case of a spell cast upon the sick by a fiendish neighbor. A solution has to be found for all such cases, using one of the means noted above.

The following should be noted for its philosophical interest. When the shadow of a deceased is supposed to have caused the disease, the shaman, having made a straw manikin and transfixed it with the dagger, and pulled it burning outside the courtyard, traces outside the gate three small circles and one bigger in size. He pours in each several cups of noodles and tea. The food in the three small circles is intended to feed the ancestors of the three immediate senior generations of the sick man, and the food in the big one is intended for the roaming alien souls. Ancestors of no more than three generations are fed, because those of older generations are supposed to have vanished. The same custom has been noted at the feast of the Spring.

SPIRITS EXPELLED FROM THE VILLAGES

Not only individual families are supposed to be 783
harmed by evil spirits. The entire village may be haunted by spirits, and so every year in wintertime the

[p. 128 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

SHAMANS AND BEWITCHMENT

The shaman is the recognized protector against all 756
kinds of evil influences and bewitching. Monguors are 755
scared to be in the neighborhood of very old trees and Obos. A very old tree, it is said, is about to become a spirit and even a man, because the essence of the tree has grown out of its perfection. Thus, the very old tree of the village of Lei-chia-p'u in the Sa-t'ang Valley, it is said, takes a walk at night and harms the people it encounters. It is also said that it is very dangerous for pregnant women to walk in the village at night. The same belief is prevalent about old statues and about Obos on small passes. The shaman is invited by the neighbors of these dangerous objects to preserve them against their baneful influences and to neutralize their ill-omened forces. Lamas are invited by the people living near such Obos to read texts and do Wei-sang, hoping they will not harm them.

Bewitchment is the last resource for avenging in- 691 578 754
justices and outrages, which cannot be avenged by legal and overt means, and for doing harm to an enemy by a hidden means. Such acts are considered by the Monguors to be a direct resort to black magic, and in order to neutralize or to perform a bewitchment, they usually invite a black shaman, but it is not exceptional to encounter a white shaman doing the job. Bewitchment is, most of the time, performed in case of lawsuits for properties that have been unjustly decided, in cases of eloped women who cannot be brought back home, for presumption of theft, in cases of jealousy and hatred between two wealthy families.

In 1918 a Monguor living in the Lu men cheng Valley was sued at the Chinese court by a rich Chinese, and jailed for a few months. When he was liberated, he invited a black shaman who prepared some small wooden planks, on which he painted cabalistic designs with the blood of a white dog. The Monguor buried them in the cemetery of the rich Chinese, according to the prescriptions of the shaman. During one year, three persons died in the family of the Chinese. The Chinese then invited a celebrated black shaman to neutralize the evil influences which were harming him and his family. It happened that the celebrated black shaman was the knave who had prepared the planks for the Monguor! He told the rich Chinese to be suspicious, for a foe of his might have buried bewitched planks in his cemetery. He received his salary and went home. The planks were found. The Chinese sued the Monguor at the court of the T'u-ssu, because mandarins do not care for such troubles. The Monguor was compelled to invite twelve shamans in order to undo the spell.

Another fact, well known over the country in 1914 because a whole village and a living Buddha were involved, casts light on this psychology of the Monguors. Tjaar tseen, the limping chief of the village of Ch'üe-lung-ku, was sued at the Chinese court by Chao, the

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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FIG. 8. Spinning handicraft. Two girls of Monguor origin, whose parents had attached themselves to a group of Tibetans enrolled as subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu. They wear the Tibetan clothes typical of the Huari region north of Hsining. The elder girl is spinning thread, which passes over a hook at the end of the stick thrust into her collar at the back of the neck. She keeps a bundle of wool in the bosom of her gown and from it twists the yarn which is rolled on to the spindle which she holds in her left hand. The thread then passes over the hook of the stick, to stretch and straighten it. The younger sister is fluffing a bundle of wool to prepare it for her elder sister.

467 Monguor artisans engaged in such work must perforce
651 join the Chinese guilds when they are summoned to work on official buildings.

The shamans are also affected by the need for asso-
756 ciation with a guild. Whenever there is an eclipse of
177 the sun or moon the shamans are likely to be summoned to the nearest Chinese town to help, by their incantations,
467 with the "liberation" of the sun or moon. In this they are associated with the Chinese Taoist priests. I knew of one case in which there was a quarrel between the shamans of two Monguor villages. They brought their disagreement before the chief of the religious corporation, a Taoist priest, who settled the matter.

462 The question of the origin of specialized artisan crafts is an interesting problem. In the case of the Monguors, most work is done in the household and there is little need for specialized skills. When there is such a need, moreover, most people cannot afford to hire a skilled craftsman to come from a Chinese town. These con-

[P. 126 b]

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor AE9

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/Information on religious specialists has been filed as follows:

756 - drum-shaman or bo (fa-shih)

756 - gurtum or warrior-shaman

791 - spirit-spear sooth-sayer

791 - bon priest

792 - lamas

[18 cont.]

Details

791 The soothsayer: The soothsayer is called "the one who
787 seizes the consecrated." He has a close relationship with the spirit, but is not possessed by it. He, however, is not master over his movements, but the spirit is. [19] The latter shakes the spear and the soothsayer's arms. The soothsayer does not
[756] go into ecstasy like other shamans, among whom the entire body quivers.

Not everyone is capable of being moved by the spirit and of learning its meaning. Only by experimentation does one discover this characteristic; this usually happens when one is alone in a lonely place. When there is no soothsayer in a locality, the people request one person or another whom they regard as suitable to try it, especially when it is urgently necessary, for instance, in case of an approaching thunderstorm or sudden sickness. There are no special schools or teachers. Spear-soothsaying is not passed down in the family.

791 The spear-soothsayers constitute a special type that is
756 different from other soothsayers and shamans. Each one practices his profession for himself. They have no relations of any kind among themselves and have no special social position or rights. [Fig. 1 appears here.] Also, they have no special doctrines or secrets, as do certain shamans, for instance. They are ordinary farmers with wife and child.

It is true that lamas, Bon priests, and other shamans can prophesy with the spear, but not all of them, and it has nothing to do with their status. For that reason they do not wear their own official costume for it, unless they happen to be wearing it already.

The spear-soothsayer is not tied to one specific spirit, as is the sword-shaman, for instance, who can only call down his tutelary spirit. A spear-soothsayer can prophesy with all spears and all spirits at any time of the day or night and at any place, even if he should wander a thousand miles away.

791 Hence the spear-soothsayer is the one most frequently used by the Tujen. There is one in almost every village, and he is easy to find because no special moral and social

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 24 cont.]
spear must always be consecrated to
the same deity as the old one.

Spear shaft: sdzida gändzë (Chin.) = spear shaft.
Spear foot: sdzida xuędë = spear end.
Two-edged tip: nieṅgän tolġue = flat tip.
Three-edged tip: ġuran bulõṅdë tolġue = three edges tip.
Four-edged tip: dieran bulõṅdë tolġue = four edges tip.
Trident tip: ġuran salã tolġue = three prongs tip.
The spear is shaking: šdien (purġan, šdiendõṅ) bõdzia (9).

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9. [Foreign text pp. 25-26.] The Tujen never say šdiendzën bõdzia, that is, the soothsayer is shaking. They do say sgurdien bõdzia, that is, the shaman is shaking. In the case of shamans they will never say purġan bõdzia, that is, the spirit is shaking. These distinctions are to be noted; bõ- is reserved for that which is in motion, that is, the spear and the shaman, in other words šdien (= šdiendõṅ or purġãn) and sgurdien. bõ- actually means (come down, descend, begin, start work," and refers to the medium of the spirit, not to the spirit itself, for the latter's descent is designated by kur- (kuru-), that is, "to arrive." This differentiates the peculiarity of the trance from the activity of the soothsayer. The Chinese, too, express a clear differentiation here. For the trance they say fashen-tzu, that is, to bring the body to a state of excitement; for the calling of the spirit for soothsaying, they say ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, to invite the Buddha(father).

Indeed, the way the soothsayers work is easy to differentiate from that of the shaman. I was able to observe both

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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.]
repeatedly. There are two kinds of communication with the spirit. In the case of spear-soothsaying the center of movement lies in the spear and stays there. The spear shakes and draws only the soothsayer's arms and a little of the upper part of his body into the movement. The body is still; there is only an autonomous movement of the spear. At the same time the soothsayer is wholly aware of his surroundings; he observes everything that goes on about him and hears everything, even when he bends down to the spear and seems to speak with the spirit in it. When he speaks in the name of the spirit, he does so in a light, normal voice. When he is done, he sets the spear aside the way a craftsman lays down his tool. There is no excitement in the whole affair. -- It is different in the case of the shaman trance. The shaman, too, has weapons, for instance, sword and spear. I was able to observe in the clouds of incense how first the spear tip began to tremble, then the shaft. From the shaft the shaking went over to the arm, then on the chest to the next arm, and finally to the head and the entire body. The center of movement then lies in the shaman himself. He becomes pale or quite red. The heavy, much-too-large helmet is placed on his head, but because of his swelling head it nonetheless sits firmly. He foams at the mouth and speaks disjointed words in various languages. He is entirely inwardly directed and takes no notice of his

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.]
surroundings. To him everything is in a state of excitement and trembling. After the trance he is exhausted and has to rest for several hours.

For the conclusion of the spear-soothsaying there is the expression ǯdien (ǯdiendõn) dżuoladzia, that is, the spear is ready. For the cessation in the case of the [26] shaman one says sgurdien dõnladzia, that is, the shaman is finished. The actual meaning of dżuo- and dõn- has never been clear to me.

000 [Pages 23-26 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[27] 2. The Gurtum (Sword-shaman)*

* See "Notes," pp. 31-33 [of the original text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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The sword-shaman has as his most important weapon the sword, with which he fights against the demons. He always performs his ceremonies in a trance condition. Then his tutelary deity descends upon him and endows him with great powers.

Whether one becomes a shaman depends upon his ability to go into a trance. Some inherit it in the family. Many of them experiment in a lonely spot. As soon as one has learned
[792] how to do it, he goes to a lamic monastery. There he is tested to see if he is genuine. If he is genuine, he receives instruction and an amulet. Every year, however, he must return once to his teacher in order to train himself further.

[27 cont.]

756 The sword-shamans heal the sick, drive away demons, and
[789] practice soothsaying. In so doing, they wound themselves and
the sick with the sword and burn themselves with fire, but if
[787] they are true shamans, this does not harm them.

Details

756 Dress: The shamans wear an ordinary long garment. Some-
292 times they also put on a robe similar to that of the Chinese
293 bonze, except that it is red. They girdle themselves with a
*778 red belt. On the chest they wear an amulet with a god's figure
[171] or a little bag with the hada [scarf-like ceremonial cloth] that
the lama has given them at the consecration. It is their
tutelary spirit. They throw the wide shoulder-collar over it,
which falls with the points over the chest, back, and shoulders.
It is of various colors and often beautifully cut. They hang the
[325] breast-mirror on a red string over the shoulder collar. Formerly
this was made of gold; now it is made of copper. The shaman
rubs it to a shine with incense ashes. The mirror is round and
has a diameter of 15 to 20 centimeters. In the middle it has
a round protuberance, on which the tutelary deity's name is
sometimes inscribed in Tibetan signs. Several colorful hada-
cloths are suspended from the two eyelets of the mirror. --
756 On their heads the shamans wear a red headcloth. It is about
292 50 to 80 centimeters square. One tip is cut off to a breadth
of about 20 centimeters; at these cut ends there are two red
bands; the cloth looks like an irregular pentagon. They sew
five small copper horse-rattles on the cut edge. The cloth is
thrown over the head in such a fashion that the edge with the
little bells runs across the forehead and the other tips fall down
over the ears and shoulders. They fasten the cloth on the
back of the head with the bands. -- Over this headcloth they
then tie a five-part crown similar to that of the lamas (4).

*[778] 4. [Foreign text p. 32.] The headcloth
is not always of this kind. There are also
cloths that are larger and that have no
bells. In this case the shaman ties on a

[27 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 32 cont.] special forehead-band with the little bells. -- The crown is not always necessary. The images found on the five prongs are supposed to be determined by the tutelary spirit. I have also seen crowns that bear no images, but only Tibetan signs.

The crown bears five Buddha images or five death's-heads or other signs. -- The articles of clothing are procured by the shaman himself. There are also certain prescriptions as to how they are to be treated.

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[28] The equipment: The shaman must always have a sword. It is the seat of his tutelary spirit. The sword is usually two-edged. It has no colored bands. The handle is made of wood. The same rules apply for the making of the sword as for the spirit-spear. The sword is wrapped together with the crown inside the red headcloth and is placed upright in the house on his household altar. He burns incense and kowtows in front of it (1).

1. [Foreign text pp. 31-32.] In this kind of shamanism the sword seems to be essential.

It was impossible to find out in what way the sword is the seat of the tutelary spirit. It may be that it is constantly the seat of the spirit, but perhaps it is so only temporarily. The question is the same as in the case of the spirit-spear. The fact that the bands, the mirror, and the bells are often lacking argues against a permanent seat. On the other hand, one also finds swords that are provided with these. -- I once saw in a Chinese temple the sword of a deceased shaman, which

[28 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 31-32 cont.]
was kept there for his successor. It was two-edged and on one side bore the Bear constellation engraved on it; on the other side was the name ... niang-niang, that is, ... mother. The name of that goddess has escaped me.

[32] The swords used by the shaman, however, are not always two-edged. The informant, it is true, claims that this is the case for the shamans of the Tujen; he commented that the Tujen formerly had had no two-edged swords, with the exception of their shamans. Among the same Chinese shamans, however, I also saw single-edged swords, which are called ma-tao, that is, horse-swords; they are easy to swing and formerly were used by horsemen.

[484]

Even while traveling, the shaman treats his sword with care and reverence. He wraps it in the red head-cloth and carries it upright in his arm in front of his chest, almost the way one carries a small child. When he puts up at an inn, he places it in a clean spot and first pays it reverence. At night he puts it under his neck roll. I was able to observe this on various occasions en route.

Besides the sword, which he must always use, the shaman has other objects that he can use, depending upon the kind of demons or ceremonies, for example: the hemp whip, which usually has a carved handle with a snake's head or death's-head; the demon fetters, likewise made of hemp with iron

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[28 cont.]

756 rings at the end; the spirit-spear; the winnowing tray and the
*778 sieve (2).--He must make this equipment himself in accordance

2. [Foreign text p. 32.] In the case of one other temple shaman I also saw the bow and arrow as equipment. Incidentally, the shaman carries all the customary weapons. -- The spirit-sling is twisted out of hemp, wrapped in red cloth, and is about one meter long. The iron rings on it have a symbolic significance that I have forgotten. The Chinese, so far as I can recall, call the sling k'un-hsien-sheng, that is, spirit-binding string. In the accompanying photograph the shaman holds the sling with the ring in his left thumb.

[411]

with certain rules. He keeps it at home on the altar of his tutelary deity with the sword and the god's image.

756 The trance: The trance usually takes place in the house
787 in front of the altar. The shaman rinses out his mouth, washes
[783] his hands and face, presents an incense offering in the yard or
[782] before the altar, kowtows before the sword, and puts on his garb (3). The incense fire is maintained in the yard by other

3. [Foreign text p. 32.] He always puts on his costume with prayer.

men who also blow the conch (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 32.] Some claim that the shaman has to wash himself once more before the trance.

[576] Now a long, low table is placed in front of the altar, and the shaman sits on it in the Buddha position with his legs

[28 cont.]

756 787 [576] crossed under him, his face turned toward the door, and his back to the altar. He has placed his sword across his knees. He holds a burning stick of incense upright in his hands in front of his chest, so that the smoke rises into his face. Then he speaks the prayer of invitation to his tutelary spirit. Meanwhile men make smoke around him with incense. Gradually his hands begin to tremble; the movement passes to the arms, chest, and head. Finally his entire body is trembling and shaking, but especially the head with a violence that makes the bells rattle. At this point the stick of incense is taken out of his hand and he is given his sword (6). The spirit has now

6. [Foreign text p. 32.] The little stick is placed in the incense bowl.

[789] descended upon him. He begins to prophesy and to exorcise the demons.

The shaman may also choose another place for the trance, for instance, the temple, the house chapel, a mountain top, * [778] an obo [a mound of stones dedicated to the mountain spirit], the yard. He never undertakes the trance on the kang in a side room. If there is a god's image with a soul on the household altar, he always sits down facing this image; in the case of the obo he must turn toward the obo. -- In front of the obo or on the mountain top he need not sit on a table, but can kneel on the bare ground. If he undertakes the trance in the yard of a compound, he goes to the side opposite the main house so that he has the round manger with the mani-tree before him and faces the main house. There he kneels upright on a white felt mat. The other ceremonies are the same.

The compound in which he undertakes the trance must first be swept clean; all the rooms are fumigated with incense. The [29] table or the mat on which he kneels must also be [609] fumigated. -- There is no taboo for strangers, however; all [562] may witness the ceremony. Women, however, may not enter the room in which the trance takes place.

[29 cont.]

756 787 Soothsaying: In the common form of soothsaying, the petitioner kowtows to the shaman in the trance and presents his request. He may also let an experienced man do the asking. The soothsayer then holds his breast-shield flat on his left hand, takes barley kernels from a little plate with the tip of the sword, and scatters them on the shield. From the pattern of the kernels he now gives his answer. Often he also moves in a violent trance and mumbles all kinds of disjointed words which a practiced man quickly writes down on paper and which afterwards are interpreted. In the trance, the soothsayer may speak any language, Tibetan, Chinese, Tujen, Mongolic, even if he has not learned it.

This soothsaying also precedes all the other ceremonies that he performs during the trance, such as exorcising demons, healing the sick, etc.

Calling: The shamans are always men. When someone [562] thinks that he has the ability to go into a trance, he goes to a quiet, remote spot and experiments with a staff, a sword, etc. In time he becomes proficient. He also becomes aware of which spirit takes possession of him. Frequently the people in [792] the village propose to a young man that he should try it once. * [778] If he then succeeds, they suggest that he have himself consecrated in the lamic monastery. -- Most shamans take up this 756 calling of their own accord. Those who receive the art from their fathers are not common. The shamans are always healthy, [158] normal men; they are only more easily excitable (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 32.] They do not form an organization of their own. True, I have been repeatedly told that in the sixth month on the first (?) or fifteenth day the shamans of the Hsi-ch'uan gather in a village near Tuopa (west of Hei-tsuei-p'u) and organize a kind of trance competition for an entire day. This custom, however, is supposedly recent.

[29 cont.]

●756 Consecration: Once the young man has tested himself
787 and feels secure, he takes 12 loaves of steamed bread, three
792 loaves of baked bread, money, and a hada, and goes to the
*778 monastery. There he hands the gifts to a schooled lama with special praying power and requests the consecration.

First a test takes place. With the usual ceremonies, the shaman must put himself in a trance. He must indicate given objects; thorns are scattered on the floor and he is challenged to sit on them; whips are lashed in his direction, and in every possible way attempts are made to intimidate him. If he is a genuine shaman in a genuine trance, he is not afraid and is not injured. If his state is not genuine, he becomes frightened, backs away, or comes out of the trance.

At this point the presiding lama takes a hada (13),

[192] 13. [Foreign text p. 33.] Hada, Tib. k'a btags, is a scarf-like ceremonial cloth.

slings it around the shaman's neck, and asks which tutelary spirit revealed itself to him. The shaman then pronounces the name, kneels, and receives from the lama the instructions concerning his duties as shaman. Among these are the taboo and purification prescriptions, for example: he may not officiate when he
[783] is in mourning or when his wife is in confinement; also during this time he may not worship his tutelary spirit; after sexual intercourse and after enjoyment of tobacco and a considerable amount of liquor, he is unclean (11), and he must purify himself

[273] 11. [Foreign text p. 33.] Actually, liquor is not prohibited for the shamans. Here a Buddhistic prescription seems to be in effect, but in a weakened form, for a moderate consumption of liquor does not make the shaman unclean, only drunkenness does, although in the eyes of the Tujen this by no means represents anything morally objectionable.

[29 cont.]

•756 787 792 before the [30] individual acts by inflicting wounds with the sword, piercing his chest, licking red-hot iron, etc. Along with this instruction, which is contained in certain Tibetan books, the lama says the prayer of consecration over him.

*778 [783] Then the shaman rises and washes his hands, face, and head with the water from the lama's holy can. He must likewise first rinse out his mouth. Then barley is thrown over him and he is fumigated with incense. The lama takes the hada that he had slung around his neck, makes a knot in it, folds it together, sticks it in a little rectangular red or yellow bag, and hangs this around the shaman; it is the amulet of his tutelary spirit and is called "protective fort" (8). In place of this hada,

8. [Foreign text p. 32.] It is unclear whether this hada is the seat of the tutelary spirit. In any case it is to be regarded as a protective amulet.

or together with this hada, the shaman may also wear on his chest a large case containing the figure of his tutelary spirit (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 32-33.] The consecration ceremony might lead one to believe that the shaman is only capable of performing his office by means of it. In itself it has nothing to do with shamanizing. It is merely an official confirmation of one's capabilities, and also the people desire it. There are also shamans, however, who have not been consecrated in the monastery, especially among the people mixed with Chinese.

[184]

The consecration appears to admit the shamans to the position of lay monks, for among the monks there are also those who act as shamans and have certain prescriptions. Thus on the route from Hei-tsuei-tzu

[30 cont.]

●756
787
792
*778

[Note on foreign text pp. 32-33 cont.]
to Shang-wu-chwang there is a village with a small lamasery [33] from which the shamans of Kumbum come, who appear especially on New Year's. As a missionary tells me, in the village there in quite recent times a young man was doing exercises almost daily, going into a trance on the river bank, fighting with a sword, shooting arrows, etc.

In any case all the lamaseries attach great importance to having a shaman who, possessed by the tutelary spirit dPekar, prophesies on New Year's. I observed these shamans in Kuo-mang-szu and Kumbum. In the Tujen lamasery, where a living shaman-monk was not to be found, I saw on New Year's a life-sized figure set up in full shaman regalia. At the sooth-
[791] saying on the fifteenth day, however, the spear-soothsayer acted in his stead in the temple yard, where the dances take place, before the hutukhtu, the assembled monks, and all the people. In Kuo-mang-
[562] szu I even saw a woman appear in the temple as a shaman, but she did not represent the usual type of sgurdien.

The lama does not put the shaman costume on his protégé. Usually he comes to the monastery without any costume and does not see to it until later. Frequently his own village helps to provide it. He makes the two-edged sword himself or has it made by the smith.

756 The tutelary spirit: The tutelary spirit always reveals
776 itself to the shaman; a lama cannot designate a tutelary spirit for anyone. The shaman often calls himself "spirit-
*[778] disciple" or "spirit-protégé." The spirit has its seat in the

[30 cont.]

756 sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary
*778 spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front
[776] of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he
[782] sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.

The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit
[439] are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery
[792] markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

756 Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his
776 tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration: the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in general the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the tutelary spirit of the shaman.

756 Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to
463 prophesy, heal the sick, conjure away storms, drive away demons. He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests, or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect a mani-tree, but he may set up an ordinary mani-flag on the yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the pole-goat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate at funerals and weddings.

755 The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold.
756 The following is the most common. First of all the shaman
[787] puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open [31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly steeped. Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the sick person to drink.

756 In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to
783 demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[31 cont.]

Word List

192
● 756 The sword-shaman: sgurdien; gurdien (Tib. Tujen) (10); ku-wai-tien (Chin.); fa-la-tzu (Chin.); fa-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); nañsuo (Tib.); Yao-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); shen-ti-tzu (Chin.) = spirit disciple.

10. [Foreign text p. 33.] The Tujen strictly differentiate the sgurdien from the bō, the Chinese fa-shih, drum-shaman. The Chinese also make this distinction. They call the gurtum ku-êrh-tien or ku-wai-tien, which is nothing other than a phonetic imitation of the word sgurdien, which in turn comes from the Tibetan sku-rten, "body container." The gurtum is regarded as the container, the carrier of his tutelary god. See the precise explanation of the name in Part Two, "The Shaman Character of the Gurtum."

[787] To go into a trance: sgurdien bōdzia = the shaman has come down, (that is, he has begun to shake); fa-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to excite the body; yao-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to shake the body.

[782] The prayer of invitation (before the trance): ġsolkā (Tib. loan-word); ch'ing-tsan (Chin.) = praise.

Consecration prayer of the lama over the shaman: guo šguē (Tib. and Tuj.).

[792] Great lama: ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.) = lama with great power for prayer and magic.

*[778] The table upon which the shaman goes into a trance: t'iao-chuo-tzu (Chin.) = long table.

[31 cont.]

192 The shaman's sword: aradzi = two-edged sword; wadăm (Tib.) (12); chien (Chin.).

•756

*[778]

12. [Foreign text p. 33.] wadam: Tibetan dpa-gdam = sword. -- sõnkuor: Tibetan skyon = protection, 'k'or = little disks (Unkrig).

[776] The tutelary-spirit -- hada: šdien = the consecrated, as it is called before it is stuck in the bag; sõnkuor (Tib. loanword) (12) [see note 12 above] = protective fort, as it is called when it is inside the bag; the amulet is also called this.

*[778] Chest-mirror: mälõn (Tib. loanword); hu-hsin ching (Chin.) = the mirror protecting the heart.

Headcloth: tolgue bãnladzin = the head covering. pao-chin = packing cloth (Chin.).

Rattles: xõnguor; ling-êrh (Chin.).

Plowshare: timur ndziesẽ; t'ieh-hua (Chin.).

Thorns: huang-ts'ê (Chin.).

[789] To banish devils: ilie sdzira; pudag sdzira = to banish filth.

Recompense for the shaman: hsiang-ch'ien = incense money.

[Pages 31-33 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[33] 3. The Bon Priest*

791

* See "Notes," pp. 34-35 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are two kinds of Bon priests: the nomads and the

3: Schröder--85 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[46 cont.]

[Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

115
[142] a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling
[291] in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autum
[302] of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer,
792 1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the
796 conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the
[534] monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guāmbasoma) in the vicinity
[292] of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense
[782] Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In
[778] front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the
756 background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-
szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-
reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan.
Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to
enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof;
this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand
* [778] the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching
line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not
[292] wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is
very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter:
"The Gurtum.")

782 [822 cont.]

241
114

[Note on foreign text p. 823 cont.]
detail, he gave the answer: "That was too much for one afternoon." Moreover, he had described the festival as it had taken place in his little village. It had always been celebrated very simply there; now he had let the festival [178] die out completely for his village, and they would go to the neighboring village of Chichialing, where it is much longer and larger.

Here, too, nothing is presented in detail about the individual parts, as in the other chapters, because the material is too extensive and forms a subject in itself, which is to be dealt with in connection with shamanism. It should be [756] stated in advance here, however, that they are probably not Tujen shamans, but Chinese shamans, who are found scattered over wide areas of western China.

Report

241 The sowing festival and the festival of the harvest thanks-
782 giving are completely identical. Only in the autumn people have more flour and meat to celebrate the festival. Both festivals last several days. A definite number of days is not pre-
[756] scribed. At the festival one differentiates between the offering
[535] and the dances of the shamans. The offering is undertaken by the seed-master or the village elder. The dances last for an
[443] entire day; usually a market is also connected with them.

The shamans erect a pole in the temple yard, pray
241 several days, send out sicknesses on the first evening, and from
782 a distance kill children or cause them to become unconscious.
756 In the evening of the final day, before they take down the pole,
754 they take the sicknesses back; then the people struck by them become healthy again.

[822 cont.]

241 782 756 [292] The shamans are always men (2). They wear women's

2. [Foreign text p. 823.] The name for these shamans is bö, in other words, the typical Mongolic word. The Tujen strictly differentiate them from the other shamans and the Bon priests. They are the cult dancers designated by the Chinese as fa-shih, that is, sorcerer, or shih-kung, that is, teacher, whose chief goddess is the Niang-niang, that is, mother.

[776]

[534] clothes and a woman's hairdo. Their drum consists of an iron or wooden ring over which is stretched a sheepskin. They carry [535] the litter of the mother-goddess onto a threshing floor and dance before it. During the dance the drums are beaten. They do all [787] kinds of acrobatic feats, and one of them goes into a great trance and wounds himself.

241 782 The sowing festival takes place during the period from the third to the fifth month, the harvest festival in the ninth or tenth month. No village celebrates both festivals. There is no harvest festival where the sowing festival is held, and there is no sowing festival where there is a harvest festival.

[823] At the sowing festival one prays for protection against storms and for rain; at the harvest festival one expresses thanks for the harvest. [The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

600

2. The Pole-goat *

* See "Notes," pp. 829-830 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designation for them in the text.]

[844 cont.]

789 and releases the animal. It may run where it will; no one pays
[825] any attention to it.

Details

789 Persons: The demon-releasing may be undertaken by: a
792 lama, but not a hutukhtu, a Bon priest, a shaman, a spear-
soothsayer, or other soothsayers with litter, table-god, etc. The
791 six-day prayer service, however, is undertaken only by lamas
757 and Bon priests; this is the great releasing, [845] whereas the
ceremony performed by a shaman or soothsayer alone is the
little releasing. Even though at the great releasing the lama may
do everything himself, usually a soothsayer nonetheless goes
along (spear, litter, etc.). The members of the family take
care of everything else, getting the animals ready, gifts, etc.

789 The animals: The animals permissible are: horses,
825 cattle, sheep, goats, hens, and cocks. Those not permitted are
dogs, pigs, mules, half-yaks. Dogs and pigs are regarded as un-
[783] clean. Mules and half-yaks are incapable of reproduction; for
this reason, too, one does not take castrated animals. The rules
connected with the animal-consecration do not apply here. The
animals are ridden by the demons and carry the burdens on their
travels. The hens, however, can be burdened; one simply lets
them fly. They are therefore usually used only for the "little
releasing." Special ceremonies, such as washing and fumigating,
are not performed on the animals; also color and age are unim-
portant.

782
789 The travel provisions: The following things are packed
in the travel bag, which is usually woven out of wool: money
[484] (any kind of money, just so long as it is in circulation at the
[415] time), cloth (for instance, cotton, silk, linen, of any color),
a strand of unspun wool, cotton or silk threads (no wool threads),
tea leaves, baked or steamed loaves in any number desired, a
food bowl of porcelain or clay (no ordinary wooden one), new
men's clothing, elegant boots, cloth shoes, an elegant cap or an

[845 cont.]

789 spear-soothsayer amidst constant shaking; he must remain until
792 the end. They go in front of the yard gate. There another man
[791] waits with the animal. The master of the household places the saddlebag on the unbridled and unsaddled animal and leads it away by the head harness, followed by the lama, spear-soothsayer, and the other men. The procession goes out of the village by the usual route. Outside the village he leads the animal a distance across the fields, takes off its head harness, and chases it away, and to be sure in an uninhabited direction so that it cannot immediately run back into the village. On the [846] spot at which the animal was released, the lama sets down the torma. Before it a man erects a small wall of clay bricks with the broad side facing the village, so that the demon will not come back again. Then all go home. The animal is not supposed to run home again; no one bothers about what happens to it. It belongs to the demon. In case it does come running back again later, it is driven off with blows of a stick.

789 The simple releasing: Besides this ceremonial form,
791 there is also a simple releasing, which takes only half a day
● 757 or a whole day. One invites a shaman or a soothsayer, who escorts the things away. On this occasion there is no praying and no torma is made. The master of the household holds a hen in readiness and brings the traveling clothes and food on a tray before the household altar. The soothsayer or shaman invokes the spirit and, followed by the master of the household, goes with the tray out into the field. There a large pile of straw is heaped up. The things on the tray are flung into it and the whole is set afire. While the flames beat upward, the hen is allowed to fly away. -- If a soothsayer officiates, then the performance usually takes place in the morning. If a shaman undertakes the releasing, then it is not done until the late evening at the coming of darkness. The shaman follows
[787] in a state of trance and swings his sword in battle against the demon. Even if the shaman at the "great releasing" follows the lama in place of a spear-soothsayer, he performs this
[535] sword dance, but this is always in broad daylight (2).

192 [849 cont.]
Raven's feather: kērie fōdē.
789 He has painted the demon on paper: tsialdzērē ilieni xuarladzia.
[778] Horse's skull: mori tolguē yāsē.
Little-bearer: ndi kurgēdzin kun = men accompanying the whole (litter?) away.

[Pages 849-850 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[850]

000

4. The Figure-conjuration * (1)

* See "Notes," pp. 851-182 [of foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

755
[192]

1. [Foreign text p. 851.] I could not obtain any clarification concerning the actual name. It seems that the rdzõn in rdzõnwa is the same as in dzõnrē. The ceremony is quite similar to the one with the figure-litter.

[789]

Report

[756] In case of very severe illness one invites in a shaman who makes a series of figures, touches the sick person with them, and takes away the figures in the evening for burning.

[789] Afterwards he buries a series of objects in order to hold
[351] down the sickness-demon. The compound remains taboo for
[784] all strangers during this time, three, five, seven, or nine days, depending upon the sickness involved.

[850 cont.]

Details

755 778 532 [171] [789]

The figures: Nine kinds of things are needed for the figure-conjuration. 1. Five little paper men (2). They are

> 2. [Foreign text p. 851.] The Chinese, too, have these paper figures at their demon exorcisms; they call them wu-tao shen. Among them, however, it is not clear whether five or only one demon is involved. They are mentioned once in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien as wu-tao lei-shen, that is, five-way thunder-spirits, which punish human beings through wind, rain, water, fire, and epidemics.

about 10 to 20 centimeters high and of the type of the Chinese paper figures that are burned at the burial. Only here they wear Tujen dress, which depends on whether male or female demons are involved. One can also simply cut them out of a piece of strong paper, but usually they are stuck together in the form of a figure with the help of stalks of grass. 2. Five little tsamba men. They are not colored, but retain the characteristic tsamba color. Also, they wear no clothing and are represented as sexless. 3. A pig made of tsamba. 4. A hen or a cock made of tsamba. 5. A dog made of tsamba. 6. A sheep made of tsamba. 7. A goat of tsamba. 8. A cow of tsamba. 9. A horse of tsamba. These figures [756] are made by shamans with the help of a skillful man, in a way similar to the figures of the figure-litter.

755 782

Then they are put on a tray with the following accompanying gifts: a piece of raw pork, beef, or mutton, some pieces of cloth and threads in the five sacred colors for the five little men, and bread and money. The tray is set before the household altar, and a burning dough-lamp and a basin with cypress incense or a number of incense sticks are put in front of it.

[850 cont.]

755 The conjuration: As soon as it is dark the gurtum goes into a trance in the usual fashion before the household altar. 756 Then he rises, fights [851] the demons with his sword in the air, [787] and goes to the sick person. The tray is brought after him. With his one free hand he takes one figure after another from the tray, touches the affected places on the patient with them while constantly swinging the sword and murmuring magic words, and puts them back on the tray (5).

[171] [789]

5. [Foreign text p. 852.] The custom of transferring sickness to animals or animal figures is also reported of Siberian shamans elsewhere. In this case, however, the similarity with the above-described Bon custom is to be noted. Originally actual animals might have been sacrificed. It was Buddhism that first combated these sacrifices and abolished them. Then substitute figures arose for them. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 176 and 263, writes in this connection: "...prohibits for the hated rivals the sacrifice of animals. In this connection the interesting fact is mentioned that the Bon-po were forced to make images of yaks and sheep out of grain mush, as well as wooden deer heads with wide horns, which henceforth had to serve as substitutes at the sacrificial ceremonies. The first-mentioned dough figures, made by means of wooden molds, are still found today, it is worthy of note, even in the rites of the Lamaists"; cf. loc. cit., where the literature is also cited.

755 782

[851 cont.]

755 Then he storms out into the street, and the men follow
756 him with the things while he fights on with his sword. As soon as they are out of the village and reach a crossroads, they stop. A man piles a back-basket full of straw on the ground, and the things from the tray are thrown into it. Then the whole thing is set afire. They do not wait any longer, but quickly go home.

755 Burial of the magic objects: The shaman designates a
789 spot on the ground in front of the yard gate; the men immedi-
[787] ately dig a pit there. The shaman, still in a trance, puts nine
[756] kinds of things in it. First he puts a black food bowl on the floor of the pit; he puts red-hot coals in the food bowl, pours pure water over them, and puts in an iron knife, a small bow and arrow, a magic wooden dagger, a black chain (3), and a piece

[778]

3. [Foreign text pp. 851-852.] The magic dagger and the black chain are also used in connection with the pole-goat; cf. the appropriate section. No clarification could be obtained concerning the type of wood used for this dagger. The informant called it [852] siraldzin; he translated it with the Chinese huang-san (shan) tzu in the sense of yellow-mountain (wood). In the DMF there is the translation "armoise," Artemisia. This could not possibly be involved here. It must be a very hard kind of wood.

of iron from a town gate. He inverts a large earthen vessel over the whole (4); the men fill the pit and level it off so that one

4. [Foreign text p. 852.] The chain binds the demons, and the vessel caps them.

[851 cont.]

755 can no longer see where the things are buried.

[789] Now all go into the house. The shaman awakes from his
[787] trance.
[756]

Word List

192 Figure-conjuration: rdzõ̀nwa (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1 above], (5) [see Note 5 above], (6)
755

6. [Foreign text p. 852] rdzõ̀nwa or dzõ̀nre: At the base of these two words lies the Tibetan stem rdsons = to take away (pronounced: dzon). siradzin: Mongolic sira modon = yellow-wood. It is an especially hard kind of wood, Phellodendron amurense (Unkrig).

[778] Figures (little men): rdzõ̀nrë (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Raw meat: tõgõ maxa.
Black food-bowl: xara iga.
Black vessel: xara pëndzë.
Knife: tsidëguo.
Magic dagger: siral(dzin) (6) [see Note 6 above] mpuru = yellow-wood magic-dagger.
Chain: fsiasga.
Iron from the town gate: badzër-udie timur.

000 [Pages 851-852 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[852] 5. The Washing of the Sick*

* See "Notes," p. 854 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation the notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[852 cont.] 5. The Washing of the Sick

Report

755 The washing of the sick is undertaken by the sword-
[756] shaman at the coming of darkness. He puts himself in a trance
[787] as is customary during the incense offering, then throws a few kernels of Tibetan barley on his breast-mirror, which is held flat, and prophesies which illness is involved; then he under-
[35] takes the ceremonies. The taboo for the compound begins on
[784] the following day and, depending on the declaration of the shaman, may last three, five, or seven days.

The ceremony has three parts: the actual washing, fire-blowing, and the healing drink. The things needed for the washing are provided by the family itself.

Details

The washing of the sick: The washing takes place in the kitchen. The following things are needed for it: seven bowls of fresh water, an iron knife, a door lock, seven white stones, a bowl of liquor, some flowers, three, five, and seven pieces of paper with certain prayer texts, seven different things in all.

755 Now in the kitchen the hearth kettle is washed, fumi-
756 gated, and placed on the fire. The master of the household lights the fire and throws [853] incense twigs into it. Now the
[787] shaman, already in a trance, comes out of the main house into the kitchen; in his right hand he holds his spirit-sword, while he keeps his left hand free for the various actions.

First the seven bowls of water are poured into the kettle, and the shaman throws incense twigs and Tibetan barley into it. Then he thrusts his sword through his clothes into his chest as
[783] proof of his power and in order to purify himself. No blood flows.

Meanwhile the sick person is brought into the kitchen. The shaman bares the chest of the patient and thrusts the above-mentioned knife midway into it. No blood may flow. If the
[787] sick person bleeds, then he will not be healed; if he does not bleed, he will be saved. The shaman plasters the wound with one of the prayer sheets; he throws the knife into the kettle.

[853 cont.]

755 During this time a man heats the seven white stones in the hearth fire until they are red-hot. Then he takes them out
756 with an iron spoon and with it hands them to the shaman. The latter takes one stone after another in his mouth and spits them into the kettle. Then he throws the other things, the lock, the flowers, and the prayer texts, into the water and finally pours in the bowl of liquor. Now the sick person is completely disrobed, and the shaman washes him from top to bottom with his one free hand, scooping the boiling water out of the kettle with his hand. Then the sick person is put back on his kang in the house.

The water remains in the kettle, on the following two days, when the shaman has already gone, the people must repeat the washing. On the third day they pour out the water in front of the yard gate. They can use the things, the lock, knife, etc., again for ordinary purposes.

755 The fire-blowing: After the washing the shaman goes into the room of the sick person. During this time the men in
372 the yard start a strong fire with sheep dung and wood. They put
756 a plowshare in it and make it white-hot. A man puts a stick
[787] through the white-hot plowshare and takes it in to the shaman, who is still in a trance, but has given his sword to another man. Now he seizes the glowing plowshare with both hands with a hada that hangs from his breast-mirror, licks it with his bare tongue, takes a respectable mouthful of liquor, and turns to the sick person. He blows the alcohol out of his mouth over the
[273] plowshare in strong blasts, which each time makes a burst of fire shoot out toward the sick person. Then he takes the plowshare in front of the gate and places it at the foot of the yard wall. There the men immediately throw earth over it and wall it in.

755 The drink of the sick: Now the shaman again goes into
756 the room of the sick person. A man extends an iron spoon to him. He rips off a piece of the hada on his protective-mirror, places it in the spoon, and throws a few barley kernels in it. Then a man pours water into the spoon until it is full, holds it

[853 cont.]

755 in the hearth fire until the water boils and the cloth and barley are thoroughly boiled. He hands this decoction to the sick person
● 756 who must drink it down immediately. With that the ceremony is ended.

[854] The shaman rests from his exertions, eats his supper, and goes home.

192
755

Word List

Washing the sick: ġuāndzi (xuāndzie) fdzē ʼsdani = the shaman boils water.

[756] Sword-shaman: sgurdien.
Knife: tsidiġuo.
Lock: tsūrġuo.
Red-hot stone: sōdaṅ; ts'u-t'an (ch'ü-t'an) (Chin.).
Barley liquor: miṅ-liu dērasë.
Flowers: tsidziġ.
Prayer texts: dzayaṅ (1).

1. dzayāṅ: Mongolic ḍayaġan (pronounced ḍayan) = fortune, fate, etc.; meaning: prayer of fate (Unkrig).

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6. The House-purification *

* See "Notes," p. 855. [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

755 If someone is seriously ill, then the shaman, with the
789 men of the household, undertakes a house-purification. On this
756 occasion the demon is conjured out of the house in a straw doll,
[783] dragged out of the village, and burned.

[854 cont.]

755 789 Exorcism: Towards evening, when darkness begins to fall, the shaman goes into a trance before the household altar (1).

[756] [787]

1. [Foreign text p. 855.] Before the exorcism the shaman divines, with barley on his protective mirror, which demon is involved.

During this time a man runs out of the village with the hen to a crossroads, twists or hacks off the hen's head, and with the fluttering [855] hen squirts the blood in all directions of the compass. [782] Then he throws away the hen as food for the demon and goes home. -- The straw man is put on the threshold of the main house or in the yard.

755 789 756 As soon as the shaman is in a trance, he jumps up and, running in wild leaps through all the rooms of the compound, performs the sword battle against the demon. The men follow him. Stones hail down on the ground. One circles around in the rooms with the torches. One man holds the oil-pan, takes [787] mouthfuls of liquor, and blows it over the fire into the room, so that each time a red flash shoots out. [273] Others crack the whip from room to room and shoot burning arrows at the floor. In this way the demon is driven into the straw doll. This is dragged by a hemp string or a straw rope out of the gate over the village street to the nearest crossroads, where the hen is lying. The shaman follows, fighting with his sword; stones, blows, fire-arrows, and flashes of fire rain down on the doll. It is left lying at the crossroads. The men pour the oil out of the pan over it, throw the torches, arrows, stones, etc. on it, and leave it smoldering (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 855.] This form of exorcism is the simplest of all. Usually all kinds of other ceremonies are connected with it. I once saw such a sword-shaman as he was trying to heal a child among the Chinese. He cast

[855 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.]
about himself with sword and lance, hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up a straw man, swung a winnowing shovel and a sieve, danced, and foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

192

Word List

755 House-purification: rdzõňwa (rëdzõňwa).
789 The torch: huo-pa (Chin.).
[416] The stones: tašë; sa-shih (Chin.).
Oil-basin: ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
Fire-arrow: ġal sëmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
Fire-bow: ġal lëmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
The hemp whip: uluosë yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
The hen: taġū; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here = to live.
[778] The straw man: šdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

[856]

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7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[861 cont.]

782 outside for the ceremony, and the lama makes another torma of
792 pure butter. He takes this outside and puts it on the drawing of the burning-place. Then the ceremony of the fire-pouring follows, at which all kinds of wood and spices are burned.

The lama continues to pray until evening. The following morning he receives his fee and is taken back to the monastery. Sometimes, however, one keeps him a few more days for prayers. -- After the fire-pouring the yard remains taboo for at least another week.

[784] [351]

Details

[756] Persons: The fire-pouring may not be undertaken by shamans, but only by lamas. These are not ordinary lamas, however. Only the three top classes are considered for it: the Hutukhtu, the Tsüordzi, and the Känpo. Usually three lamas are needed. It suffices if one of them belongs to the higher rank, but one often invites more (1).

[791]

1. [Foreign text p. 867.] Other Tujen claim that a Bon priest could also undertake the fire-pouring, which, after all, is to be expected, at least in the case of the black fire-pouring. The old informant, however, and other people, too, decidedly contest this. According to them, only a lama (gelõngba) is to be considered for this; the Bon priests, they claim, concern themselves only with demon exorcism.

782 The fire-pouring may be ordered by a private person (man or woman), by an individual family, or by the entire village. -- During the ceremony, the general avoidance pre-
[562] scriptions apply. Women may be present, but may not assist.

[864]

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a

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[171]

c

d

(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
756 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[754] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
[292] shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
[534] village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
[778] val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[142] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-
pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip
with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the
gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest
Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The
Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
[171] graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical.
Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs
concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his
percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his
instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the follow-
ing day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless
one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing
to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed.
[333] The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[204 cont.]

776 of the Bon, the Dăntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance among the people that might be expected. They know of [796] Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth [535] day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha, [791] and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call [788] sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This [756] Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people. Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called [753] ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune, [777] failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the [731] plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are com- [782] bated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the Dăntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171] are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
[769] ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
[764] stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that the deceased would remain among the living and would need to
[782] partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
[513] even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
[753] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
[756] for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
[755] soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This catching of the soul is called: suniedzẽ xura-. It is unclear from this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru (rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun, moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals. Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the underworld and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

[214 cont.]

782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types of prayer under the expression yandzila-, to implore, to request, and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer, however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which
[463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the
[792] lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people
[791] connect praying with these professions is shown by the common designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the
[192] Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen, that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom mosē, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching. In the eyes of the people *this is the classical*, correct prayer, something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of
[791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests, Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely linked.

5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

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174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

[217 cont.]

771 Now, concerning the elements which make up these
174 customs, they fall almost entirely into four groups, each of which constitutes a special layer. These four layers are: the belief in a supreme god, shamanism, the Bon religion, and Lamaism. The layers, however, cannot simply be taken out of the whole structure, freed from all the extra features, and connected with a larger pervading stratum of the Central Asiatic religions. This is only possible in a larger context and would go beyond the bounds of this work, for the parts in question are of considerable temporal depth and embrace many peoples. In addition these layers have interpenetrated one another in that in each case the later one has absorbed the elements of the preceding ones. Thus, Lamaism, in spite of its original enmity toward the Bon religion, has nonetheless adopted much from it. The Bon faith, on the other hand, in turn has a strong shamanistic base, and an old sky-cult runs through all the layers.

771 A discussion of the two high religions, of the Bon and of
128 Lamaism, in their connection with the belief of the Tujen would go too far. Shamanism can more readily be delimited, but it
756 cannot be exhaustively presented either. So there remains the old sky-cult as a belief in a supreme god. This will be dealt with quite extensively in the following, whereas in the case of shamanism the presentation must be limited to a theoretical sketch. A special work will deal with it in detail for the whole western Chinese border region. The Bon religion and Lamaism will only be touched upon briefly.

II. The Layers of the Tujen Religion

114 771 1. The Belief in a Supreme God

In this section it is necessary to refer not only to the customs but also to the other sources and the scanty literature. Aside from the DMF and Mariage (by Schram), which offer a sparse yield for the religion, the other sources are still unpublished.
[538] They are available in the original texts, however. These are the Geser legend, the agriculture legend, the Moschus deer (the first part of the song cycle known under the name xoni, sheep), and a series of other songs and fairy tales, of which the wedding songs are appearing (Folklore Studies, Tokyo, 1952).

[225 cont.]

782 more suitable for heaven (8). The relationship to the supreme

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8. Above all the rising smoke connects this offering to heaven; the expression ǧarǧa, to make rise, is especially to be noted here. The smoke is like a living column of heaven or a living road to heaven. The shamanistic significance of the incense offering comes from this; not only promotes the trance, but is at the same time the path and motive power of the journey to heaven. The first emperor of the Geser legend demands, for instance, that during his journey to heaven the incense offering not be interrupted; the rising smoke strikes against the gate of heaven and opens the entrance for him, and he shoots his incompetent companion on the tip of his arrow into the rising column of smoke, in which he descends to earth.

[756]

[773]

being is also expressed, for example, in the wedding songs from Khalatse (western Tibet). There, according to Francke, op. cit., pp. 25 f., it is said: "This blue smoke that rises upward signifies that no trouble will arise with brGya-byin, the lord of the gods."

The Sheep Offering

[825] The sheep as a sacrificial animal, according to the material available, is reserved in a special way for heaven and the mountain-spirit, even though it may also be offered to the other gods. It is never offered to the mountain-spirit alone without heaven, however. There are sheep offerings that apply only to heaven, namely at the sowing and harvest

[241]

[229 cont.]

776 concerned about the well-being of the people, it is striking that
171 he is not linked with the protection of seed and harvest. Otherwise, however, his tasks correspond to those of heaven, even if he is primarily a nature god who shares his character with the lord of the animals and forests of many Siberian peoples.

776 Nonetheless there is a difference between him and heaven. First of all heaven is given precedence, even in connection with all offerings to the mountain-spirit, for instance, the obo offering. Whereas the mountain-spirit has a fixed residence in the obo, his fort, and therefore is tied to the place, heaven retains its freedom with regard to locality. The mountain-spirit can also be a tutelary spirit of the human beings who are named after him; as assisting spirit he may enter into the shaman and take possession of him in the trance. This is altogether out of the question for heaven. People are surprised if one even asks about it. There are pictures and flags of the mountain spirit; he can animate a spirit-spear. Heaven is formless, imageless; no one knows what it looks like. -- Heaven has an exalted uniqueness even in contrast to the mountain-spirit.

[553] [756] [787]

174 Besides the mountain-spirit the earth-deity has its seat
776 in the obo, and, to be sure, in the layer of earth. Its name
[192] glu is doubtless the Tibetan klu, Naga, dragon. In Mongolic the word for it is lu, which is also much in use in the Tujen language. It corresponds to the Chinese lung (dragon). The customs with the earth-god urn show the earth deity of the Tujen more in the Bonistic realm of the Naga cult than in the Mongolic. It is quite possible that two types have mixed here or that the ancient Mongolic has been covered by the later Bonistic-Lamaistic. According to Pallisen (op. cit., pp. 159 f.), the ancient Mongols practiced a cult of the earth-deity, who is probably to be thought of as female. There it bears the name itoga or, in the prevocalic version, etügen, and is conceived as the tutelary deity of the homeland earth. The characteristics that are attributed to this deity correspond to those of the mountain-spirit. It is also to be surmised that this deity is to be associated with the female shamans, who call themselves udugan

[234 cont.]

777 god of good fortune. It seems that further reminders of these
776 times still echo in the Tujen songs: of the fate of the Mongols,
171 which is based on good fortune; or of the sülde of the khan, which invisibly protects his subjects (UdG., loc. cit.). -- Whatever the connections may be, neither according to Uno Harva nor according to Banzarov-Schmidt nor in the conception of the Tujen themselves is there a fate or good fortune that is independent of the rule of heaven.

772 Summary. -- Everything that has been said about heaven
776 proves it to be an independent deity existing for itself, sharply separated from all other gods, ruling them and dominating the entire world. Its name is "heaven," not in the physical but in the personal sense. Everything pantheistic and animistic and every mana concept remains far removed from it. To be sure, it is not one god [monotheism] in the strict sense, but an authentic supreme god, a towering unique phenomenon among all the other deities. Because of this uniqueness the statement of A. Tafel about the Tujen can now be repeated in its correct interpretation: "Many say they have only one single god in which they believe."

[235] 2. Shamanism

121 Whereas the discussion of the belief in a supreme god
• 756 could be confined to the region of the Tujen themselves and the corresponding sources, this is not possible for shamanism, for which reason a detailed presentation would not be suitable for this work. It is reserved for a special study. Here the ground-plan can only be drawn in a sketchy fashion, merely representing a theory, because the detailed proofs must be omitted here. The question runs: Of what type is Tujen shamanism and where is it to be classified from the religio-historical standpoint? -- Three types are found among the Tujen: bö-shamanism (drum-shamans), gurtum-shamanism (warrior-shamans), and idol-shamanism (with the spear-soothsayer).

[235 cont.]

a) The bō or Drum-shamans

Characterization

756
192 The name: The Tujen name current throughout the land, bō, corresponds to the written Mongolic būge. Koval. (1242) gives for it the Chinese equivalent wu-jen, the Manchurian saman, the Tatar bugu, and the Tibetan lha-pa. The Russian expressions means: shaman, sorcerer; he translates it into French as: chaman, enchanteur. The Mongolic būge and all the other translations cited do not have any uniform meaning and can be used for the various types of shamans, exorcists, and even sorcerers.

The Chinese in the area and the Tujen translate bō with fashih, or somewhat contemptuously with shih-kung. The fa-shih call themselves only by this special name. According to communications (P.P. Eichinger, Bockwinkel), the name wu-shih is also in use in southern Kansu. It is important that all these designations are never permissible for the gurtum. The fa-shih are a special group that is to be clearly defined. (Space forbids going into an explanation of the names here.)

757
292 Clothing and equipment. -- The fa-shih wear an old woman's costume without sleeves and usually patterned with pictures of dragons. Normally they have no head covering, [531] but their hair is pinned up in the fashion of an old Chinese [302] style for women, unless they are wearing an appropriate wig with hairknots, hair-bowl, and hairpin.. These are not always available, however. On special occasions, they don the well-known five-part Buddhistic crown called p'ai-tzu.

756 Their essential equipment consists of the hoop drum, the hemp whip, and a three-pronged broad dagger. Other objects are added according to their functions.

756 Gods. -- Their principal deity is the great mother (ta
776 niang-niang), also called mother of the nine heavens (chiu t'ien nai-nai). In addition, they also venerate the black tiger

[The bō or Drum-Shamans]

[235 cont.]

756 and, depending upon the region, various local spirits. These
776 gods predominantly come from the Taoist pantheon.

789 [236] Activity. -- Their principal task is the weather
241 conjuration, the sowing and harvest festivals, and curing sick-
755 nesses.

756 Peculiarity. -- The bō or fa-shih are differentiated from
787 the other shamans by the fact that they have no trance. If one questions the people about it, one always receives the same answer: "fa-shih pu fa shen (the fashih do not go into ectascy)." Now that is not entirely correct. Namely, at the conclusion of the sowing or harvest festival, one of them attempts an imitation of the trance and wounds himself with the knife. This is called: "fa ta-shen (to produce a great trance)." It is not a trance at all, but at most a relic suggesting it; I was able to observe it several times. Thus the people are basically right when they do not accord ecstasy to them. -- The people sum up the main
756 characteristic, however, in the saying: "fa-shih ch'uei ku, t'iao
535 shen (the fashih beat the drum and perform spirit dances)." Drum and dance are the most outstanding. They always dance in groups before the image of the great mother in order to please her, or also before the sacrificial pig. These are not shamanistic individual dances in order to induce a trance, but are cultic group-dances that follow a definite ritual. One can therefore designate them as drum- or dance-shamans, although true shamanistic features are scarcely present any more.

Classification

171 Relationship to the more recent Siberian shamanism.
756 -- There are few similarities with Siberian shamanism. One could regard the drum as the most important continuation from Siberian shamanism. The relationship with the Tungusic and Mongolic-Manchurian shamanism is stronger. The drum has almost exactly the same execution and the same appendages as, for example, among the Mongols of the Kūrie-Banner. (Cf.

[236 cont.]
171 Heissig, "Shamanen," Folklore Studies, 3, 1944, p. 72, Figs. 1-
756 7; likewise Shirokogorov, Psychomental Complex, pp. 297 f.) The absence of the trance seems to fit in least of all with Siberian shamanism.

The relationship to China. -- First the distribution must be considered. According to personal observations and various reports by the Chinese and missionaries, the fashih type is spread over all of Kansu and Shansi and into the interior of the coastal provinces Hopeh and Shantung. In the Amdo region he is found wherever there are Chinese settlements, especially in the vicinity of Sining and Kweiteh (on the Yellow River). In type he fits in well with an agricultural people, precisely through the emphasis of the harvest ceremony and of the female appearance.

Almost all the origin reports that I was able to gather attest to the descent of the fashih from a woman, a first shamaness. She was brought to life from a female skeleton through a magic incantation by T'ai-shang lao-chün (a title of Lao-tzu) and received from him her shamanistic powers. In southern Hopeh today the fashih are still predominantly women. -- Furthermore, the fashih are always associated with the spirits of the dead and ancestors, which likewise agrees with the Chinese mentality.

[237] The origin legends and the deities also point to a close connection with Wuism or Taoism. (Cf. De Groot, Religious System, Vol. VI, Part II, 1187 ff.) The god-litter with the niang-niang is almost the same as the one pictured there. The Taoists, sworn enemies of the fashih, claim that the latter split off from them as a false sect. Whereas the Taoists represented an official and respected religion, the fashih, as bearers of the shen-chiao (spirit religion), led a despised existence up to the most recent times.

174 The position in Tsinghai. -- Apparently this Chinese
756 shamanism also came to Amdo with the Chinese settlers. There it has adopted various elements, diluted its original shamanistic character, and fostered the cultic group-dance. Since the

[237 cont.]

174 weather conjuration from the Bon was much practiced there, it also took this over, which, indeed, was close to it in type. 756 Probably the weather-conjuring Bon were absorbed by them.

The Tujen have likewise permitted their Mongolic shamanism to flow into this fashih shamanism and have transferred to it the original name, bō. A Tujen bō once said: "We have a common root with the Mongolic shamans." This shamanism has remained remote from Lamaism, as well as from the gurtum; a certain rivalry exists between it and them.

The question of the bō or fa-shih demands an extensive presentation of Chinese shamanism generally, which has already been undertaken.

b) The Gurtum or Warrior-shamans

Characterization

756 292 Appearance. -- Among the Tujen the gurtum wears a red cloak that is held together with a cloth belt, a shoulder collar, a chest mirror, a Lamaistic amulet or a hada (ceremonial cloth) in the chest bag, a headcloth that covers the eyes, a garland of bells around his forehead, and on top of it the five-part Lamaistic crown. The most important piece of his equipment is the sword, without which he does not shamanize at all, so that really one should call the Tujen gurtum a "sword-shaman." He also uses other weapons, however, such as the spirit-spear and the knife. At major ceremonies he also works with sieve, winnowing-fan, and five little paper men called wu-tao shen in Chinese, which could be translated as "five-direction spirits."

The whole type of the gurtum is that of a warrior who exorcises misfortune in the demon battle. Aside from this popular image of his appearance, which is fairly complete, there are also simple, degenerated types who wear only the most necessary equipment, say, the headcloth, the chest [177] mirror, and the sword, even over a modern European suit. At solemn sword battles, however, they also appear in full regalia.

[237 cont.]

756 292 The most distinguished form of the gurtum is undoubtedly the Lamaistic temple-shaman. He appears in magnificent battle dress, with bow and arrow and [238] spirit-spear. On his back he carries little flags, like the former Chinese general, and thereby identifies himself as the leader of an army whose parts are represented precisely by these flags. When one sees these gurtum -- for instance, in Kumbum or Kuo-mang-szu -- one involuntarily thinks of the traditional heroes of the Chinese theater. On the other hand, in the rest of their equipment they remind one of the Lamaistic war gods who are regarded as protectors of the dogma. To be sure, in individual instances there are variations, but in general the type of these temple shamans remains the same, and they are designated in general by the same name as the people's gurtum.

756 Written Chinese also has the name hu-fa, which is a translation of c'os skyoṅ or Dharmapala. J. F. Rock also emphasizes their similarity to an army leader: "The Dharmapāla are demon-generals who execute the will of the tutelaries, or demon-kings. They are hideous and fierce-looking and each commands a horde of demons" [cited in English] (Na-khi Kingdom, I, p. 210, Note 26).

192 756 The shaman character. -- The word "gurtum," in Tujen sgurdien, in Chinese ku-erh-tien or ku-wai-tien, stems from Tibetan Lamaistic terminology. It comes from the word sku-rten, and not, as F. Lessing believes, from skur-bltams, body shakers (F. Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143). According to Ch. Das (536), rten signifies something that supports, bears, or contains something; sku-rten, according to him, means the same as: the bearer or the container of a person himself, an image of the gods or Buddha. On page 89 he gives sku-rten as an abbreviation of the three aspects sku, gsuṅ, t'ugs-rten. According to page 91, sku-gsuṅ-t'ugs are the body, speech, and thinking, in other words the three realms of human behavior or suffering: deed, word, thought. Concerning the cosmic mythological co-ordination of these aspects with the world directions and the five c'os skyoṅ, cf. further below. The expression sku-rten, in other words, signifies that the gurtum is the container of a deity

[238 cont.]

756 [192] that acts, speaks, and thinks in him. This, however, is nothing other than an express possession-shamanism reduced to a simple Busshistic formula. The gurtum represents a deity.

756 171 Whether one may appeal to the gurtum in the "classical" sense as a shaman is a question that can only be answered with the final clarification of the shaman concept. In the investigation of shamanism up to now there has been too much concern with its Siberian form and special emphasis on the flight of the soul into the beyond as a "classical" characteristic, especially with the "bird type" of shaman (9). This is not the place to

[114]

9. The one-sided preference for Siberian shamanism is also unfortunately found in the excellent work by Mircea Eliade, Le Chamanisme, in which, to be sure, there are comparisons with other parts of the earth, and the "southern" and Buddhist influences are also taken into consideration, but they are dealt with only as secondary and unimportant; above all, however, the so characteristic stamp of Lamaistic shamanism in the figure of the gurtum is completely passed over.

go into this question in greater detail, which is reserved for later [239] treatment. It should nonetheless be stated in advance that the gurtum is a true shaman of the same shamanistic rank as the Siberian. Anyone who has had an opportunity to observe a gurtum will not regard him simply as one possessed. The gurtum is likewise as bound to the ritual requirements and forms as, say, his Siberian colleague: call (vision), tutelary spirit, testing, dress and equipment, ecstasy, etc. In addition, there is much to indicate that formerly he was also familiar with the flight of the soul.

[239 cont.]

756 The religious character. -- What has been said up to now about the nature and activities of the gurtum shows that they rest upon a passive and receptive basic attitude, a basic attitude that seems to be at variance with the warrior-shaman. The relationship of dependency, however, in the realm of "divine" possession, with regard to the possessor-spirit, is unequivocal. The active ability to coerce, the arbitrariness, which represents the basic element of magic, is lacking. The basis is religious, not magical.

[787] The gurtum himself can do nothing about his calling. It comes over him unwilled, sometimes against his will. One day he is seized by the spirit in a vision, put in ecstasy, and recognizes by sight his future possessor. This being chosen is 756 acknowledged most strikingly in the search for a shaman by the 792 monasteries. Even though the individual monasteries are anxious to have a gurtum, no monastery can designate or train one of its inmates for this purpose, although this would be expected in the case of tantristic Lamaism. They remain for years without the coveted shamanistic soothsayer, until one day someone who was chosen by a deity to be its vessel is found. The calling is a free gift that is not hereditary. It is known of the monastery Kumbum that for a long time it was punished by having to do without a gurtum in whom the oracle-god made himself present.

756 Everything that the gurtum does is done in the power of his possessor-spirit, like an instrument, and not because of cer- 787 tain actions, gestures, or formulas. The inducing of ecstasy is not a way of forcing the spirit to come down, but a ceremonial force transmitted through the calling, which does not rob the spirit of its freedom. The shaman only receives this power from his tutelary lord himself, and to be sure under certain preconditions, such as continence, donning the attire, invitation prayer. This prayer, as its name indicates, is not a magical [782] formula, but praise and a request; it does not have any effect in itself, just as the donning of the equipment alone would not draw down the deity.

Likewise the taming of the demons in the spirit battle of the trance, the soothsaying, healing, etc. are done through

[239 cont.]
756 the spirit in the shaman; he is actually the warrior, the sooth-
[787] sayer, the healer. His presence is essential. Therefore the
people also fall down before the gurtum and venerate him like
[782] a god. Finally, even the shaman himself has the duty of venerating
his tutelary spirit; he must burn incense for it, make offerings,
and pray to it. -- This religious character of the gurtum, how-
ever, by no means excludes all magic. His special position
suggests [240] that he also engages in magical practices, but
then not in his character as a shaman but as a human being
whom one especially trusts since he is in communication with
the spirit world; cf. above, p. 330.

Classification

171 Present-day Chinese shamanism in the form of the fashih,
756 wushih, or shihkung, as well as the earlier Wuism, has no direct
connection with the gurtum. The Chinese shamans are female
oriented, directed toward agriculture, and pass down their office
within the kin group; they have the dance and the drum, the
trance has become vestigial, and the rites are overlaid with
Taoistic elements. None of this applies to the gurtum. He is
the type of the manly warrior, knows no drum but weapons, and
no dance but battle. He cannot pass down his office, but re-
ceives it through individual calling. A certain enmity between
him and the fashih has already been indicated.

The present-day Siberian shaman likewise has a differ-
ent appearance. He, too, knows the drum and for the most part
practices a kind of dance. The shaman costume is not the uni-
form type like that of the gurtum and is hung with all kinds of
things, iron, feathers, figures, etc. In ecstasy he imitates the
[787] ascent to heaven or the journey of the soul which I could not
find in the case of the gurtum, even though Lessing (Mongolen,
p. 148) indicates such. Furthermore, there exists between this
type of shaman, who in Mongolic is called bö (böge) and in
Tujen bō, and the gurtum a conscious contrast which Lessing,

[240 cont.]

171 loc. cit., also emphasizes. W. Heissig, too, has encountered
756 the difference between these two groups among the East Mongols; cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," p. 40. There the gurtum are also called "Lajing." Exactly like the Tujen, the Chinese, too, differentiate between the bö (fashih) and the gurtum (fa-la-tzu or ku-erh-tien).

Beyond doubt, therefore, the gurtum in his present form
[779] is affiliated with Lamaism. First of all his area of distribution coincides with that of Lamaism. One finds the gurtum in Tibet, Amdo, and Mongolia. To designate him as specifically Mongolic, as is done occasionally in the expression "the Mongolic gurtum," is misleading. To be sure he was described predominantly by travelers in the Mongolic region, but detailed studies concerning him were hitherto lacking. There is no original Mongolic name for the gurtum, and the general term bö (böge, bügü) for shaman is not applicable to him. All names are Tibetan.

756 But what position does the gurtum occupy in Lamaism?
776 His main task seems to be exhausted in the representation of the tutelary gods who constitute a special conceptual realm.
779 The three aspects that are included under the word sku have
174 already been indicated "gurtum." The Lamaistic tutelary deities also bear the collective name "the five bodies," along with the other name, "the five kings" (Mongolic: tabun xaǧan) or "the protectors of the [241] doctrine" (Tibetan: c'os skyoṅ). R. Bleichsteiner in his article "Srog-bdag, the lord of life" (Archiv für Völkerkunde, Vienna, V, 1950, pp. 104-138) has indicated the relationships between the three aspects, the directions and world-guardians, who to be sure correspond to the five tutelary lords. Evidently elements of various origins have been combined here in the speculative melting pot of Buddhism through the popular paralleling of microcosm and macrocosm. The presence of these figures and the cultic utilization are accomplished through the gurtum or, as he is also called as presenter of the tutelary deities, the sruṅ-ba (ma). In the case of the people's gurtum this relationship likewise makes itself apparent through the use of the wu-tao-shen cut in paper in various colors, which were mentioned earlier. It seems, however, that this relationship is more

174 [241 cont.]
756 external and applies to the actual temple-gurtum, whereas the
779 people's gurtum is more strongly connected with the mountain-
[776] spirit and obo.

The foreign character of the gurtum in Lamaism. -- Even though the present-day figure of the gurtum, as was just stressed, belongs to Lamaism according to his appearance, his name, and his conceptual realm, this affiliation is not as close as it might seem.

In the first place the shamanistic basis of the gurtum points away from Lamaism. To be sure, tantristic Lamaism has its special presuppositions for the vivifying and presenting of deities; in this connection cf. Glasenapp, in ZDMG, 90, 1936, p. 552 (cited from Hoffmann, Quellen, p. 206), and H. Findeisen, Eine Erscheinung Yamantakas [An Appearance of Yamantaka], pp. 2 f. The ensouling of the gods' idols also lies in this direction. These presuppositions, however, are not decisive for the shaman-nature of the gurtum. The religious character of the gurtum shuns these magically colored rites. His calling and his power are independent of Lamaism. The shaman is a layman. The same is confirmed by W. Heissig (op. cit., p. 40): "The Layičing, however, belongs to no spiritual community, but is a layman." Only when he has become a shaman does he receive his confirmation in the monastery and Lamaistic instruction. The customs described in the first part concerning the gurtum and the helplessness of the monasteries in the search for a temple-shaman illuminate this
[792] fact sufficiently. This naturally does not exclude the possibility that in individual cases a shaman's calling may fall to a lama. This is not the rule, however, as the great number of people's gurtums outside the monastery proves, at least in the Koko Nor region.

Furthermore, the tutelary gods represented in the
174 gurtum do not seem to be at home in Lamaism; in the case of
756 the people's gurtum with his link to the popular mountain-spirit,
776 this is to be expected from the outset, but it is no less true for
779 the c'os-skyoṅ, for where is the boundary line between the

174 [241 cont.]
original and the borrowed to be drawn in Lamaism? Bleichsteiner
756 (op. cit., p. 111) writes: "The relationships of Pekar and the
776 five kings generally are so manifold and complicated that an
779 unravelling seems to be enormously difficult." This one fact, however, is probably firmly established: two of these kings, Pekar and dGra-lha, come from the pre-Buddhist realm.

[242] Even the name Pekar, of the possessor-spirit of that famous state-oracle of gNas-c'uṅ, in its many forms has no satisfactory Lamaistic explanation. Although Tucci may have recently confirmed the view of Grünwedel, who in agreement with Schiefner derives the name dPe-kar from the Sanskrit word vihārā (= monastery), this explanation nonetheless gives too much the impression of an "ad hoc" one, because Pekar is just moved up as monastery protector. Bleichsteiner, unconvinced by this interpretation, increases the explanations of the name by one new one and derives the word Pekar from the Iranian; cf. A. Grünwedel, Mythologie, p. 182, Note 2; R. Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 107 and 111 f.

Even more decisively than the name Pekar, Bleichsteiner designates the figure of Pekar as foreign: "With the exception of the legend ..., according to which the great magician Padmasambhava is supposed to have brought the demon Pehar or Pekar from the Indian monastery Odantapuri to the monastery founded by him, bSam-yas, as guardian and treasure protector, the sources concerning his origin from East Turkistan are fairly well in agreement." By way of confirmation he further cites Tucci: "The last-named investigator regards Pekar as a foreign tribal god that was later introduced into Tibet and converted to Buddhism by Padmasambhava." Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 110, 111; cf. also H. Hoffmann, Quellen, p. 163.

Just as Pekar is the most important representative of the five world-guardians, or of the five c'os-skyoṅ, so dGra-lha is the main figure among the five personal tutelary spirits, who with Srog-bdag also has been moved up among the cosmic world-guardians. Here, too, the co-ordination of microcosm and macrocosm and their mutual interpenetration are to be emphasized. dGra-lha, who like Pekar appears as warrior, belongs

[242 cont.]

174 in the pre-Buddhist Bon layer. There can be no doubt about this
756 after the expositions of Bleichsteiner, who bases himself on
776 Hoffman; cf. Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 108 and 118 f.;
779 Hoffmann, Quellen, pp. 171 f. Here let it be noted that among the Tsinghai Chinese these personal tutelary spirits are found in a Buddhist transformation, and to be sure in the so-called "golden lamps" which every man carries unseen on his body, and two of them on his shoulders.

It is unnecessary here to discuss the other figures of the five kings, since at this point no clarity concerning them can be obtained. The world-picture to which they belong, in spite of all the Buddhistic features, has such a broad base that it extends from Central Asia to India and into the ancient Orient, for even the world-mountain conception and the world-directions arrangement with corresponding guardians does not come from Buddhism in the final analysis, even though -- taken over and reinterpreted by it -- it may have been brought as on a "vessel" over extensive parts of the Orient.

The mountain-spirit, the principal tutelary spirit of the people's gurtum, is so evidently pre-Buddhist that it need not be discussed further here. It will be referred to again in the description of the weather forts in Tsinghai. Hoffmann (Quellen, pp. 159 and 166) has given a report concerning the mountain-spirits, with references to the pertinent literature. He classifies them as pre-Buddhist [243] gods under the type of the rGyal-po, to which the c'os-skyoṅ also belong. The picture of the mountain-god Kangchendzönga permits one to see a certain similarity with the gurtum (pp. 166-167).

The position of the gurtum within Lamaism thus shows that he was not there originally. Both his being a shaman as such and the possessor-spirits represented by him come from earlier, non-Buddhist layers. Only the adaptation and
174 serviceability for the Buddhist community as its tutelary lord
756 (monastery), the speculative classification under the "aspects,"
779 the ritual embellishments during the testing and functioning of the gurtum, certain prayers, and finally the assimilation to the dress of the Buddhist deities are Lamaist, in other words,

[243 cont.]
756 all more or less unimportant elements. The type of the pro-
174 tective warrior, however, goes uniformly through the various
[779] representations. Thus the question of the origin of the gurtum becomes the question of the origin of the warrior-shaman.

The Origin of the Warrior-shaman

This question cannot be exhaustively dealt with here within the framework of a presentation of the Tujen religion, since it is closely connected with the origin of shamanism in general. The following points are therefore to be regarded merely as sketchy hints for a later investigation.

Warrior-shamans and Bon religion. H. Hoffmann writes in his book (Quellen, p. 194) of the gNas c'un oracle: "He is, therefore, a living relic of the Bon religion in Lamaism, and to be sure of that side of the Bon religion that is extremely close to the shamanism of the Siberian peoples ..." On page 205 he comes back to the same observation after he has set forth in the same chapter the shamanistic elements in the Bon religion. The type of the Bon shaman pictured there, however, does not correspond to the type of the gurtum or warrior-shaman. The clothing is different, and the Bon shaman works with the hoop drum covered on one side (cf. op. cit., p. 201). A kind of kettledrum is also used. On his drum the Bon-pa rides heavenward in ecstasy. Hoffman quite correctly links this type of shaman with the present-day Siberian form of shamanism (pp. 202 f.). Two important elements, the hoop drum
[774] and the flight of the soul, do not appear with the warrior-shaman. To be sure, in the temple, as I was able to observe in Kumbum and Kuomang-szu, large, double-sided drums were likewise beaten as the gurtum was transported into the trance, but only by the assisting lamas, and to be sure they were the drums that are otherwise used at the religious service. The hoop drum, however, of which Hoffman (op. cit., p. 203) gives an illustration, is not used. In the case of the gurtum the
[787] necessary connection between the drum and the ascent to

[243 cont.]

174 heaven is completely lacking. The type of Bon shamanism de-
● 756 scribed here seems rather to have its vestiges among the fashih
[789] in the Chinese Koko Nor region, whose close connection to the Bon religion was already surmised above, especially since these fashih (or bö) [244] are very frequently represented precisely in the region of Kuei-tê on the same river where today the Bon religion is still fairly strong. -- It is not to be disputed in any way that the type of the gNas-c'uń oracle is a survival from the Bon religion. However, just as the Bon religion generally is not a homogeneous structure, so the shamanism contained in it would also not have been of a uniform type. And precisely if the gNas-c'uń oracle is a survival from the Bon religion, this proves that here, too, as elsewhere, at least two shaman types were present: the Siberian drum-shamans and the warrior-shamans (10). An element that Hoffmann clearly characterizes,

10. The gurtum type of the gNas-c'uń oracle can be linked much better to Gšen-rab itself or to the Dto-mba Shi-lo of the Na-khi, the founder of Bon shamanism. The sign for Dto-mba Shi-lo is Ssu, in other words, the ancestor, tutelary god, and in the final analysis the god of life of the Na-khi family; cf. J.F. Rock, "Dto-mba Shi-lo," p. 45, Note 2. This establishes the connection with the basic figures of the other possessor-spirits of the gurtum,
776] who, to be sure, finally manifest themselves likewise as god of life. -- Furthermore, the Dto-mbas with their swords and demon battles ("sham battles" [cited in English]) resemble the gurtum; cf. J.F. Rock, op. cit., p. 77, Pl. 12.

however, must be considered in the case of the warrior-shaman,

174 [244 cont.]
756 namely, the connections between bird and shaman (p. 199 f.).

756 Warrior-shaman and tutelary-spirit heroes. -- In shamanism the tutelary or helping spirits play a decisive role. In the
776 case of the possession-shaman, and therefore also in the case of the warrior-shaman, these spirits are at the same time the possessor-spirits. What is most important about the warrior-figures of the tutelary spirits of the temple-shamans has already been said, when mention was made of the five kings, especially Pekar and dGra-lha.

The dGra-lha of the Tibetans has a counterpart in the
171 good-fortune tutelary lord of the Mongols as he has already been
756 described above in the section on the cult of heaven (p. 359),
776 and to be sure in the figure of the dsayači and its extension in the sülde. The warlike character of the sülde tengri has been described in detail by the Mongol Dordschi Banzarov in his "Černaja vjera ili šamanstvo u Mongolov" (1846). Only a characteristic quotation from the version of Father W. Schmidt (UdG, X, p. 79) is to be given here: "The nine sülde-tengri, according to their character, are always there in order to protect us. They are represented in a warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone, in the manner of riders, dressed in armor, wearing helmets on their heads, armed with swords and spears, holding a knout in one hand, a flag in the other. They are accompanied by falcons, as well as by a lion, a panther, bears and dogs." Father W. Schmidt notes in connection with this description: "Banzarow, as he states, has taken this presentation from Volume IV of the work by Mergen Diyanči; he wrote the book concerning the offerings presented to these genii." (UdG, loc. cit.) Concerning the relationship of the dGra-lha to the sülde or to the Mongolic good-fortune tengri and their warlike character, as well as their representation in the banner and on flags (jusun-sülde), Lüdtke has given a report, referring to Potanin, Waddel, Grünwedel, and other Russian as well as Mongolic sources; [245] See Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ...," op. cit., pp. 110-115. A supernatural double of the human being, who is conceived as a warlike tutelary lord and who shares and influences the weal and woe

[245 cont.]

171 of his protégé, is involved here; in this connection cf. also
●756 Bleichsteiner (or Hoffmann), "Srog-bdag," pp. 118 f. It is not
776 possible to give here all the models and possible archetypes of these warlike doubles and "alter egos." They are very widely distributed in space and time, as is the belief in tutelary spirits generally, and extend back over the archaic high cultures into still earlier times (Megalithic); cf. Dominik Wölfel, Die Religionen des vorindogermanischen Europa. A special development is represented by the sülde banner of the Mongolic khans, which also attests to the fact that in the case of these tutelary spirits true localizations and seizure are involved.

174 That these tutelary spirits are connected with ancestors,
756 and in part identical with them, can likewise be amply docu-
776 mented, as it is repeatedly emphasized in the shamanism. One special feature is still to be pointed out: the shamanistic use of armor and weapons. My informant told me that the Tujen
[523] formerly had brought the weapons and equipment of famous popular heroes into the temple where they were stored. Then
[787] when a shaman who had been called put on this equipment, the powers and the spirit of the hero descended upon him. The shift of an old popular custom into Lamaism is evident here, for prior to this the protector and guardian of the ayil (tribe) was the mountain-spirit in the obo; he watched over the weapons, and in former times arms were also buried in the obo; cf. above, pp. 351 f., and the chapter on the obo, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation]. Just as the popular festivals were later transferred from the obo to the Lamaistic temple, this also happened with the weapons and equipment and the associated donning of them by the shaman. This also explains the especially close connection of the people's gurtum with the mountain-spirit and obo and his warlike character still today. It is well-known that the obo has a special connection with the tribal lord and the latter's descendants. Like-
[773] wise it is told of Geser, who, to be sure, according to the Tujen version, was also the ancestor of the Tujen, how he donned the supernatural armor which is kept in readiness for the special task of the battle against the ills of mankind in heaven.

[245 cont.]

171 Heissig reports similarly of the East Mongols: "In the
756 monasteries, according to tradition, weapons, helmet, and
776 war harnesses of famous, perhaps legendary Mongolic heroes are preserved... These heroes and their arms bear the name Coyjing (lit. coyijung). Once or twice every month, after previous praying and fasting, a number of lama-monks in the Küriye-Banner are supposed to clothe themselves with the armor of the Coyijing and seize the weapons belonging to them. The spirits and powers of the heroes immediately come over their bearers and equipment. The lamas go into ecstasy..."; cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," op. cit., p. 41. Coyjing, of course, refers to the Tibetan co's-skyoṅ. Here, too, however, the old conception
[523] continues to have its effect of preserving the powers of the old heroes for the succeeding generations by preserving the equipment and weapons.

756 [246] One could call this custom a shamanistic preserva-
523 tion of antiquities. At any rate, every visitor of Lamaistic temples and shrines is struck by the ample store of weapons, banners, etc. Perhaps the Tujen custom of presenting the clothing of the deceased to the monastery also goes back to this conception, even though today they are merely thought of as a bosë, a prayer fee. When a monastery lacks a shaman who can don the armor, an artificial figure is dressed in it. I once saw such a statue equipped with ancient weapons and exhibited in a sitting position in the gate of the soothsayer-temple at dGon-luṅ, just as the gurtum at the beginning of his trance is seated in the temple facing the image of his tutelary spirit. The people moved past this image and gave it the appropriate veneration. This figure is likewise called sgurdien.

171 The warrior-shaman is widespread, and was even in pre-
756 Lamaistic times. B. Laufer presents clear evidence for its presence in ancient China in his book, Chinese Clay Figures. He presents several illustrations of excavated statuettes and dates these back to the Chou period, to an "archaic period" [cited in English]); cf. the legend for Plate XVII. Laufer describes these figures expressly as shamans "in the act of throwing a spear during a struggle with demons" [cited in English]. On

[246 cont.]

171 page 277, he goes into greater detail regarding the interpretation
756 of these figures: "In the grim faces ... the demoniacal power of these armored knights ... is well represented. The helmet-mask is formed by a bird's head with a strong flavor of the Indian Garuda ... a shawl is elegantly draped around the shoulders, and tied in a knot over the chest, the two iron breastplates being visible beneath it" [cited in English]. -- In other words, the same type of warrior as in the case of the gurtum is involved: with helmet, weapons, shoulder hanging, demon battle, etc. -- Certainly further evidence for ancient China could be cited, say, in conjunction with the recent publications of C. Hentze. -- Likewise such types may be demonstrable for India, Indonesia, and the ancient Near East in connection with the ancient Iranian warrior gods and the corresponding figures in Hinduism, Indra, Shiva, etc.; in this connection cf. R. Bleichstein (based on Grünwedel), op. cit., pp. 111-124.

174 Warrior shaman and bird. -- The connections between
756 bird and shamanism are stressed often enough in the literature. The bird type of shaman is one of the basic types. Usually,
825 the original ancestor of the shaman, or the first shaman, is a bird or incarnated in a bird. The heroes of the folktales, how-
[773] ever, are also often linked with a bird ancestor. For instance, the Geser of the Tujen is supposed to have been sent to earth as a cuckoo. If this relationship applies generally, then the warrior-shaman in particular can be linked with the bird figure. There has been an attempt to show that his armor goes back to the feather armor, in other words, to the shaman attire of the bird type. I cannot go further into the sources here. The feather helmet of the ancient Chinese shaman mentioned by B. Laufer and the feather-ornamented helmet of the gNas-c'un gurtum, as well as the report by Georgi in his "Alphabetum Tibetanum," point in this direction.

174 [247] This connection between warrior and bird only
756 becomes meaningful if one understands it as a solarization of the ancestor hero. Both the mythologies of the most ancient Chinese excavations (cf. the works by C. Hentze) and the

[247 cont.]

174 Indic -- Ancient-Oriental conceptions show the bird (the Indian
●756 Garuda) as a symbol of light in contrast to darkness which is popularly conceived as a snake (Garuda -- snake). The winged sun is a well-known phenomenon in Chinese antiquity, in the archaic cultures of the Near East, and in the religion of the Central American high cultures, as is the equating of sun bird and king or hero in Egypt. This motif of light battling against darkness, of the bird of light against the snake of darkness, is also so widespread in America that recently Paul Radin has set it up as a fundamental life-interpretation of the peoples; cf. Radin, "The Basic Myth of the American Indians," Eranos, 1949.

The warrior-shaman in the final analysis is none other than the mythical first bird that stands in a special relationship with the human ancestors and battles the forces of darkness, the evil in the world. He is thus drawn into the very ancient mythology of mankind and the very ancient experience of the battle between light and darkness as it has been formulated, say, by Von Ow for the life-interpretation of the Avesta: "The Eranic religion penetrated deeply into private life. According to the Avesta, the principal task was: to battle against the forces of darkness. This idea is supposedly symbolized by the clothing of the Eranian, which is regarded as armor" (Ow, Hom, pp. 142 f.).

The bird symbolism of shamanism is ambiguous. In Siberian shamanism the characteristic of flight comes more to the fore, in gurtum-shamanism more the characteristic of light. Finally, it is common to both that the shaman is defender of life. Light is life and stands in contrast to darkness and death. Therefore the shaman as representative of light and of life is necessarily also fighter and warrior.

c) Summary

174 Thus the circle closes around the Lamaistic gurtum.
756 The Lamaistic gurtum arose from two components, one pre-Lamais-
779 tic and one Lamaistic. The pre-Lamaistic component is the warrior-shaman. This in turn has two components; a special one, the development of the outward appearance from the fighting light-bird; and a general

[247 cont.]

174 one, the shaman as representative of the god of life (characterized by the tree of life, etc.).

756 Among the people Buddhism found in the warrior-shaman
779 a type which could be "converted" especially easily. It connected the tutelary figures of its religion with this popular shaman. It had been especially prepared for this type of possession-shamanism through the tantrist-magical realizations so that it could easily absorb it. What then remained of other shaman types was branded and fought as xara nom, black belief, by the new "orthodox" shamanism with the spread of Lamaism. This [248] opposition, dealt with much in the literature, is aptly characterized by Lessing in a conversation with his teacher: "... 'Then is a gurtum not a shaman?' I asked him. 'By no means, something much higher. What he invokes, those are the authentic spirits, not the unclean ones of the Bö (written in Mong. böge, shaman)' ..." (Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143).

d) Idol-shamanism

756 In what follows the justification for speaking of idol-
791 shamanism as a special matter will automatically appear. One
[778] could also call it simply "thing-shamanism," because a thing represents the person as shaman. Among the shamanistic idols the spirit-spear of the Tujen occupies a favored position.

The Spirit-spear

The relationship of soothsayer and spear. -- Here the difference in the shamanizing of a gurtum and that of a spear-soothsayer should be recalled (cf. the appropriate chapters in the first part, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 18-33 [pp. 21-50 above in the HRAF translation]. Whereas the gurtum is completely
[787] possessed and in this state psychically closes himself off from the outside world, the spear-soothsayer remains in control of himself and awake. He does not go into ecstasy; only the spear is possessed by the spirit and affects the soothsayer. The soothsayer,

[248 cont.]

756 it is true, must have the special ability to "activate" the spear
791 and to interpret its movements in order to learn what the spirit in the spear wants, but he himself is not inwardly filled by it.

756 On the other hand, the relationship between spirit and
791 spear is much closer. It is the seat of the spirit and is treated
778 as such. Like a shaman it receives a consecration, is clothed with an "official garb": with bands, little bells, and mirrors. The people venerate it like a god that is present. In order to enter actively into a relationship with the world of men through soothsaying, healing, and exorcising evil, or in order to have an active effect on the outside world, this spear-idol needs a middleman who takes it in his hand and to whom it "speaks." This is the "idol-holder," the sdiendzẽn, rten 'dsin. He is not called a shaman, for it is not he, the soothsayer, but the possessed spear that is actually the shaman. The soothsayer is, as it were, merely a living extension of the idol, its loud-speaker.

778 How is the spear to be classified? As the spear is now used, it is to be regarded as a special kind of idol, as its name as spirit seat already suggests. The Tibetan compound rten-mduñ is not found in Ch. Das. However, analogous to the name sku-rten (gurtum) and corresponding to the character of the spear, the rten can here mean nothing other than container or visible representation of the deity: a weapon as seat of the deity. This suggests the question: Was the spirit-spear independent from the outset, or is it merely the tool of a shaman?

171 The spirit-spear as independent idol, in other words,
778 not as equipment of the shaman, is distributed throughout the Tujen and agricultural region of eastern Amdo. [249] One finds it frequently in temples and in family chapels, even among the Chinese. To what extent the Tangut nomads there possess it is beyond my knowledge. The spear must have had an
[174] independent significance in Lamaism even in early times, however, for one frequently encounters it in Lamic monasteries, and usually in conjunction with other standards (banners). The Geography of the Minchu-Hutukhtu is able to report: "In

[251 cont.]

171 conceptual cycle from China either; there, too, to be sure, there
778 is a determining constellation called a 'standard,' not on the pole, however, but rather on the ecliptic" (op. cit., p. 117). At any rate, the astral spear or the standard is not merely the property of the Mongols (12). Here the similarity with the

> 12. The military flag cult of the Chinese in its well-known form is too recent to permit any ancient my. mythological conclusions; cf., for instance, Doolittle, Social Life, pp. 287 f.

cosmically conceived arrow of good fortune that was dealt with earlier should also be pointed out; see above, p. 321. -- After these references, which refer more or less to the spear alone, its significance in shamanism is easier to understand.

756 Spirit-spear and shaman. -- The spirit-spear stands in a
778 two-fold relationship with the shaman, once as world-tree and as weapon, and then as something independent and representative of the shaman.

171 In the case of Siberian shamanism, for which the sym-
756 bolism of the journey to heaven is so important, the shaman climbs up on the ladder, the tree, the pole, the bridge, etc.
778 into the world beyond. In the rite, therefore, the most varied representations of this earth-heaven connection appear. What, then, is more obvious than that the spear with its symbolism as world-tree or peak of the world-mountain should be drawn into it? Unfortunately, the evidence for a ritual use of the spear as heaven-ladder (bridge, bow) among the Central Asiatic peoples seems to be difficult to obtain. It must be all the more surprising that among the remote Australians the spear fulfills this function. M. Eliade cites Pettazzoni in this connection and says in his excellent work, Le Chamanisme, pp. 426 f.: "The bow being unknown in Australia, its place in the myth is taken by a lance which bears a long piece of material; the

[251 cont.]
756 lance having been implanted in the celestial vault, the hero
778 climbs all the way up with the help of the pennant" [translated
[171] from French].

However frequently the spirit-spear is used independently of a true shaman among the Tujen, it nonetheless is frequently enough part of the equipment of the gurtum. In his hand it is an important weapon. Just as the weapons and the armor of the ancient hero-ancestors endow him with special powers, so doubtless also does the ancestor spear. In the already-cited Geser
[773] legend of the Tujen, Geser takes the heavenly weapons for himself, which are all provided with the adjective sdier, for instance, sdier lēmu, sdier sēmu, etc., sacred arrow and bow. The things designated with sdier, however, are all adorned in a manner similar to the spirit-spear, above all with the colorful bands. This is supposed to express a consecration, a sacral
174 character. -- Now, however, when there is no true shaman, nothing remains but to make the spirit-spear independent.

756 It must represent the shaman and accordingly receives
778 a perfected outfit and an additional consecration, whereby,
791 as original weapon, it becomes an independent idol. It becomes tutelary-spirit possessed. As seat of the sūlde it is from the outset already especially fitted for this. Since, however, it is not alive and cannot appear as a human being, [252] a man is appointed for it, the soothsayer. The latter takes over part of the operations of a true shaman, but without becoming the seat of a spirit himself. There takes place, as it were, a distribution of shamanistic functions: the essential, inner ones are peculiar to the spear; the unessential, outer ones to the soothsayer (13).

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13. The shaman attire in other regions also has great similarity with the spear as spirit seat and effective unity with the shaman. It is "saturated" by spirits, who give signs of life by trembling, moving, etc.; cf. Eliade (Shirokogorov), Le Chamanisme, p. 143. Even though the spear as shaman equipment shares this property with the attire, this alone

[252 cont.]

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still cannot explain its great significance and use.

The Other Idols

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Just as the spirit-spear is the seat of a deity which is activated by a middleman, so also is a series of other idols. These may be: the table, the spirit-litter, weather club, carriage axles, noodle roller, etc. Of these the spirit-table and the god-litter are the most important.

The spirit-table bears its name unjustly, for it is not a [776] table, but the representation of an animal deity, the black tiger. This is confirmed by the fact that it is consecrated at the consecration of this tiger and is regarded as possessed by the latter. Furthermore, the intestines of the tiger are attached under the top, which, however, are not visible to the eye.

[787] The soothsaying with the table is done exactly as with the spear, except that it is held by two persons.

This deity, according to all the statements, is peculiar to the Chinese shamans. That it was originally foreign to the [776] Tujen is proved precisely by the superficial name given it, sirie purgan (table-deity), where in reality the top forms the back, the table legs are the tiger's legs, and the underside bears the intestines.

The spirit-litter has no Tujen name at all, but is simply called, as in Chinese, chiao-tzu or niang-niang chiao-tzu (litter of the mother). The litter is not the main thing, but the god's [532] figure sitting in it, which is executed as realistically as possible, with magnificent clothes, real hair, and flesh-colored face. The interior likewise contains the intestines, the heart, and the maternal organs. The figure is consecrated with the litter, at which time the inner organs are put inside.

This goddess likewise belongs to the Chinese shamans (fashih), who also undertake its animation. Frequently,

[252 cont.]
778 however, the lamas in the monastery do this. For soothsaying
791 the litter is taken up on the shoulders of four men, who then
[787] involuntarily follow the movements of the deity.

Summary

●756 Both idol-shamanism and gurtum-shamanism form a unity
787 in their appearance. They have in common: the clothing
791 (= beribboning), the metal disks, the little bells or rattles, and possession by a spirit. They both belong in the conceptual realm of the connection [253] between heaven and earth and of the world- or shaman-tree that is hung with bells and mirrors; in this connection cf. the myths of the Golden or the songs of the Tujen, which tell about a tree that bears the sun, moon, and stars in its top. In the case of the human shaman all functions are united in one bearer, whereas in idol-shamanism these functions are divided between man and thing, but this division in turn constitutes a unity in the activities. There arises here the fundamental question: Is not the entire idol cult to be understood ultimately from this shamanistic standpoint? Does it not gain its real significance only through the living person? Certainly a great deal of what has hitherto been designated as "fetishism" or "idol cult" is at bottom merely a variant of shamanism, a static permanent form of that which the shaman represents for only a short period of time with great psychic upheaval: a direct link with the spirit world, culturally regularized, and ritually developed; making present and vivifying deities and demons that the human being wants to have with him.

Here it should be once more emphasized that these ideas are merely a sketch for a theory whose detailed presentation does not belong here.

3. The Bon Religion

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779 Among the Bon there are three groups: the shepherd-Bon, the farmer-Bon, and the monastery-Bon. This division

[257 cont.]

792 went there. Pander speaks (op. cit., p. 204) of Man-tzu or Chinese from Sining, who were accommodated in 13 temples in Peking (1889). These Man-tzu (= barbarians), however, could only have been Tujen, for the Chinese are not Lamaists, and the Tibetans (Fan-tzu) are specifically named by Pander. The monastery Sung-chu-szu is regarded expressly as a Tujen lamasery. Even today (at least up until 1948) almost all its monks come from the Sining region and are Tujen, as the monks from this monastery related during a visit home. To be sure the number has shrunk greatly.

771 792 These are all facts that must be taken into account in judging the Lamaism of the Tujen. The people are proud of their famous monastery. It is their pilgrimage center. Young [788] and old gather there at the festivals. They hold horse races [527] and sing their old popular airs there. At the temple festivals with the magnificent dances the Lamist doctrine is deepened [796] and clarified. In the venerable halls filled with incense they see their gods in magnificent statues, painted on silk, on walls [778] and altars. There lie also the heavy sacred books of the Kandjur and Tandjur, which they bear on their backs around the sanctuary in order to free themselves from affliction or to fulfill a vow. In the temples and yards they watch the monks hold learned disputations, read the scriptures, recite the prayers. They invite them to undertake solemn religious services in their compounds, to give their children their names, to consecrate the old, [258] to bless the young, to pray for the dead, to cre- [574] mate the corpses. The lama is a frequent and welcome guest in the family. Generally, the people seem to link themselves [756] to the monastic life at the important stages of life. Even the shaman receives his consecration in the monastery. Every [778] family was proud if one of its sons became a lama; indeed, it was even an unwritten law.

771 792 177 So it was, at least until the most recent times. Today, however, the young people no longer want to know anything about becoming a lama. They prefer to attend the Chinese schools and are intent on the new education. They despise the old and do not take it seriously anymore. What the

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or 781
to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one 788
understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration to Buddha.

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. 794
The chief of the family is its religious head and its representative. 782 He worships "Heaven and all the spirits" on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each family honors the image of its family protector-deity. At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue worshipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors. The chief of the family is its representative at the performance of public rites. Attended by his family, he performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fingering his prayer beads.

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of 794
the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of 622
the village and its elders administer both the official and religious life of the people in it. Even as they apportion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth [65]
and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum for religious services. They impose corvées on the villagers for municipal functions as well as for such religious functions as protection against hailstorms or the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner, heads of families are summoned to participate in rites at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain. The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief. He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as the family chief does in his own circle.

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious [64]
life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter. It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite. On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry about public worship in the village and the morality of his subjects.

Religious activities are part of the family and social life of the Monguor society. Their social organization is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Mon- 771
guors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are 754
not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fer- 756
vent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor

[p. 6(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

vent shamanists, and provides a reason why Lamaism 771
never succeeded in uprooting shamanism, notwithstanding its overwhelming influence for centuries. Another important factor, without doubt, is in the very nature of the debased Lamaism. Lamas of the Red Sect, who [795]
were the first to come into the country, indulged in nearly all the same magical practices as the old shamans, including bloody sacrifices, except that they performed them in such a way that the people, not interested in philosophical and doctrinal discussions but in having religious men who could avert all kinds of calamities in the most efficient way, jumped to the obvious conclusion that the basic difference existing between shamanism and Lamaism was only a question of more or less proficiency in magical art. Lamaism became a kind of supplementary devotion, stimulating the heart to natural kindness and religiosity, but harmonizing perfectly with all kinds of magical practices, regardless of the performer.

POSITION OF SHAMANISM

The place shamanism occupies in the religious life of 771
the Monguors, and its persistence over centuries under 756
the most unfavorable conditions, seems to be an enigma. The lamas, who outnumber the shamans perhaps a hundred to one, are members of a wealthy institution. The few shamans are mostly poor people who derive a precarious existence from the farming of some fields and the fulfilling of their office. Lamas have temples that glisten with gilt; the shamans have none of their own. Lamas are more or less cultured men; most of the shamans are unable to read. The lama institution enjoys [648]
a high prestige among the Chinese officials, and controls nearly all the levers of power in the country; the poor shaman, living in the village with his family, always at the beck and call of the villagers, is an unknown and powerless entity in the official world. But, in spite of these unfavorable conditions, the shaman remains a figure of importance with his own kind of prestige, in the religious life of the Monguors.

For those who are cognizant of the power of the impact of wealth and decorum upon the societies of the Orient, this fact seems hard to understand. Its explanation is to be found in the general belief that the shamans are mightier than the lamas because they are more proficient in magical art, and in the subduing of evil spirits. People steeped in superstition, beset on every side by malignant spirits, confronted by diseases, misfortunes, and evils, have easy recourse to the men they believe might best help them, and whom they believe best master the technique of undoing the harm wrought by uncontrollable forces, namely, the shamans. This belief in the magical superiority of the shaman is so deep-rooted because lamas, and even Living Buddhas, when squeezed to the wall, unable to cope with uncontrollable forces and events, resort occasionally to their last shred of hope, the shaman.

[p.7(8)]

Confidence in the power of the shaman is so strong among the Monguors and over the whole country, that even Sinicized Mongours and neighboring Chinese from outside the clans never fail to invite the shaman to their homes, even though they have long since abandoned the lamas. Before Buddhism and Lamaism were diffused in central Asia and Tibet, these countries were entirely shamanist. There is much evidence today to show that shamanism still occupies a prominent place in the religious life of these peoples. Mme David-Neel assumes that in spite of the fact that the Tibetans are considered to be Lamaists, most of them, except the learned lamas, are shamanists.[4]

II. INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM AND LAMAISM IN HSINING (HUANG-CHUNG)

NO HISTORICAL DATA BEFORE 1227 IN THE ANNALS OF HSINING

OLD OCCUPANTS OF HUANG-CHUNG WERE NOT BUDDHISTS

The *Annals* of Hsining do not record a single fact concerning either the time or the way Buddhism first was introduced in what is now the Hsining region. Dealing with the temples and monasteries built in the country, the author of the *Annals*, in concluding ch. 15, p. 13*a* incidentally notes: ". . . the country of Huang-chung [Hsining], being properly the region of the Hsiao Yüeh-chih [Indo European Scythians], which had been lost several times at the hands of the Tibetans and the barbarians, it is no wonder that [there] Buddhists are numerous and Taoists are few in number." The author seems to suppose that these Scythians and Tibetans were Buddhist at that early time, but in ch. 30, pp. 1–12 (the only pages concerned with these early Scythians and Tibetans), he does not record any fact concerning Buddhism in regard to either these Scythians or these Tibetans.

No evidence can be offered concerning these Scythians to support the assertion of the profession of Buddhism by that "small branch of Hsining Hsiao Yüeh-chih."[1] However, the main branch of the Yüeh-chih

[4] Alexandra David-Neel, *Au Pays des brigands gentilshommes* 101, Paris, Plon, 1933.

[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30. According to the *Annals*, the Hsiung-nu Khan, Mao Tun, having killed the king of the Scythians (202–201 B.C.), a small and feeble branch among them settled in the mountains and mixed with the Tibetans (p. 1*b*). They submitted to the Chinese General Ho Ch'ü-ping (121–119 B.C.) and lived among the Chinese (colonists). They lived in seven groups, numbering in all 9000 or more soldiers, spread over the region of Huang-chung to Ling-chü (colony near Kukunor) (p. 2*a*). During the period Hung-Yüan (A.D. 89–105), refusing to revolt with the Tibetan Mi-T'ang tribes, they helped the Chinese General Tung Hsün crush the revolt. Tung-Hsün gave them the title of *I-Ts'ung-Ch'iang*, and *I-Ts'ung-Hu* (loyally following Tibetans and barbarians, re-

[p. 8(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the well bubbles, for providing them with water during the whole year. 792 795 799

HERMITS

In the region of Hsining there lived, around 1880–1895, only two hermits. One lived in the region of Waza in a cave in the mountains, and the other in the mountains around Hsien-mi. Both were strangers, who never divulged their names, or country of origin. They were not attached to any monastery and had no relations with the neighboring people. Each had a donkey which he used when he went to collect some flour and tea, for which they graciously thanked the donors and then returned to their caves. If some gifts were offered to them, they brought them to the monasteries and prostrated themselves before the closed doors of the temples for a whole day, and then returned to their caves without having said a single word to the lamas. The people said that they heard them reciting texts, ringing bells and beating drums the whole day long. Twice a day they built a fire and prepared their meals. They did not visit the people and did not like to have the people visit them; they refused all invitations to say prayers at the homes of the Monguors. During the terrible epizootics which decimated the cattle all over the country (1890–1893), they refused requests to pray for peace in the country. Their mysterious behavior intrigued the people, who could not get in touch with them. Then they disappeared, and nothing more was heard about them. They were not the kind of miracle workers so often described in records of travelers. 792 [342]

Monguors, talking about them, affirmed that in former times many lamas lived a sheltered life in caves, and possessed the art of working miracles. [789]

In 1723, at the time of the revolt of the lamas and the destruction of the monastery of Seerkok where 2,000 lamas lived, it is said that the General Nien Keng-yao destroyed more than 1,000 caves in that country.[4] Because lamas in former times received the same education as at present, and were as eager for wealth and worldly glory as those of today, one is inclined to doubt such a fantastic number of hermits. I am inclined to think that genuine hermits did not grow on every bush, and that all these wonders and miracles did not occur at every street corner.

VI. SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is not an investigation of the origin of shamanism or its philosophy and religious fundamentals. Rather it aims to be a description of the type of the Monguor shaman, his training in 1911–1921, the spirits 756

[4] Han, Ju-lin, *Pien-cheng kung-lün*, 3 (I) : 47. The text does not say that recluses lived in them. [p.96(B)]

he honored, and the rites he performed. It will afford an opportunity to study a shamanism influenced by Taoism, honoring Taoist gods, but conserving its original character and living congenially with Taoism. The suppleness of shamanism which, according to the circumstances, adapts itself as well to Lamaism as to Taoism, adopting heterodox doctrines and honoring alien gods,[1] challenges belief. However, it discloses the power of which it disposes, conserving its original rites which betray its origin and basic character. It is interesting to note how rites resist the wear of time better than doctrines.

The facts were all gathered during the ten years I lived among the Monguors, and were checked many times by shamans, chiefs and elders of villages, men and women, and children in the schools, all of whom had attended shamanist rites their whole life long. I attended their rites several times. Since I was best acquainted with the rites of the region situated north of the Hsining River, most of the facts concern that region.

The Mongols call the shamans *BÖ*, the Monguors call them *BÖ*, on account of the lack of the vowel Ö in their dialect. *BÖ* and *BÖ* seem to be a genuine Mongol term. The Chinese of Huang-chung call them *Fa-Shih*, "Master of Magic."

It is not easy to give a definition of shamanism and of shamans who live in a world beset with innumerable good and evil spirits with which the objective of their life is to deal.

The study of shamanism is still very confused, and authors are even unable to find a definition with which they will all agree. W. Schmidt defines the shaman as "a man who is supposed to have the power of making his own person a dwelling place for the spirits, who will speak out of him, but he keeps the power to dominate those spirits and to subdue them to his own will and wishes."[2]

Mircea Eliade, describing the shamanism of Asia, stresses primarily the phenomena of ecstasies and of trance, by means of which the shamans enter in communication with all kinds of spirits—originally with the Supreme Spirit of Heaven, who corresponds morphologically with the Supreme Spirits of the archaic religions—and with the souls of ancestors and the departed. This communication with spirits, residing in the three worlds (heaven, earth, underworld) is symbolized by ascensions to heaven of the shaman or descents into the underworld, the calling down of spirits along the rope or the ladder. The basic element of shamanism consists not of the incorporation of spirits

[1] Walter Heissig, Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer im Küriye-Banner, *Folklore Studies*, Catholic University of Peking, 3: 1, 1944. This very interesting study reveals the way shamanism adapted itself to Lamaism.

[2] W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Freiburg in der Schweiz, Paulus Verlag, 9: 243, 1949.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

by the shaman but of the ecstasy caused by the ascension or descent.[3]

Åke Ohlmarks considers arctic and subarctic shamanism. The arctic "genuine shamanism" is founded on a psycho-pathologic base, and originated in the arctic regions out of the hysteria peculiar to this region; the subarctic shamanism originated in primeval magic influenced by the arctic shamanism. The shaman, by means of ecstasy, provides communication between the three worlds, connected by means of an axis (tree, post, or rope) along which move spirits and souls, including those of the sacrificed victims.[4]

In the course of this study reference will be made frequently to the Bön religion, because many facts relating to shamanism are encountered also in Bön, and even in Lamaism. A few words regarding Bön seem to be advisable.

According to Helmut Hoffman[5] the meaning of Bön is not known (p. 137). Bon is the old religion of the Tibetans which existed before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet in the seventh century (p. 135). It is the Tibetan form of a primitive animism that once spread all over Northern and Central Asia, this animism often being thoroughly blended with genuine shamanist principles (p. 208). At present, the systematized Bön religion is a composite. Its original nucleus was the belief in and fear of good and evil spirits (p. 135) and the worship of Heaven considered as a god of the universe, "Weltgott" (p. 156). Around this nucleus was built a façade made up of elements of the debased but more developed Buddhism (Lamaism) (p. 138), in which also animist-shamanist principles played and still play a prominent part (p. 197). Bön, in competing with Lamaism, adopted many of its rites and institutions and composed its literature according to the pattern of Lamaism.

In the primitive Bön, existing before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet, Heaven was worshipped not only as an impersonal power, but also as a personal God (p. 156). Hence communication between Heaven and earth was secured by means of a rope or ladder, the "way of the spirits" (p. 153), and by means of the post supposed to reach heaven.[6] Bön likes to emphasize

[3] Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase*, 434, 439, Paris, Payot, 1951. See also the interesting review of this book by Dominic Shröder, in *Anthropos* 48 (3–4): 671, 1953.

[4] Åke Ohlmarks, *Studien zum Problem des Shamanismus*, 83, Kopenhagen, Gleerup, 1939. See also Horst Kichner, Ein archäologischer Beitrage zur Urgeschichte des Shamanismus, *Anthropos* 47 (1–2): 244, 1952. 47: 1952, No. 1–2, 244. David F. Aberle, "Arctic hysteria" and Latah in Mongolia, *Trans. N. Y. Acad. Sci.*, ser. 2, 7: 291, 1952.

[5] Helmut Hoffmann, Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon Religion, *Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur*, 4, 1950.

[6] Edward Washburn Hopkins, *The religions of India*, 378, Boston, 1895. In early Hinduism there existed already "a festivity for Indra, extending over two days, and marked by the erection of a pole in honor of the god."

the cosmic tree on the mount Meru. In addition the whole series of good and evil spirits were both honored and combatted in the effort to make them inoffensive. Hoffmann concludes that it is hard to trace a sharp dividing line between the old Bön and shamanism. 756 771

It is instructive to read the review of Helmut Hoffmann by R. A. Stein [7] in order to get an idea of the confusion still persisting regarding the subject. Stein holds that the definition of Bön, said to be the religion of the Tibetans before the introduction of Buddhism, is not easy to write down, because Bön as a religious system is only known in its later state of development when it seems to be a variant of Lamaism. Bön conserves more archaic traits of the old popular religion than Lamaism does, but it does not enjoy a monopoly (p. 98), because the facts relating to Bön are encountered in Lamaism as well as in shamanism. The problem of the Iranian origin of Bön is difficult to solve (p. 99). The fact that the Bön worshipped the spirit of Heaven as a personal Supreme Deity seems to have to be taken with cautiousness (p. 101).

Kawaguchi [8] notes that originally Bönism very much resembled Hinduism, but now in theory it is almost Buddhism. Shorn of its sacrifices, its toleration of marriage and use of intoxicants, it is only Buddhism under another name.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE MONGUOR SHAMANS WITHIN THE CLAN

The social conditions of the shamans are the same as those of the commoners of the clan. They are not exempted from land taxes and corvées, but no special corvées are imposed upon them by the chiefs of the villages. They receive remuneration for the performance of rites in behalf of the community. The shamans enjoy no privileges in the Monguor community as was the rule in the time of Chingis Khan. 756 554

The Monguor shamans do not live in monasteries, where they might give spiritual help to the people; they live in various parts of the villages, each with his wife and children. Their economic mainstay is tilling the soil and breeding cattle; their subsidiary occupation is the performance of shamanistic rites either for the community of the village or for private families when invited by them. The margin of subsistence of most of the shamans is rather narrow. 756

No bonds tie them to the village where they are living; shamans of distant villages are invited by the villagers, and the shamans living in the village are frequently overlooked. Some shamans, celebrated all over the country for their proficiency in the art, are invited more often than others by village communities or private families. [571]

The activities of the shamans are not limited by the

[7] R. A. Stein, *Journal Asiatique*, 1952: 97.

[8] Ekai Kawaguchi (Late rector of Gohyakurakan Monastery), *Three years in Tibet*, [31], Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

[p. 78(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

boundaries of their clan. They are invited in every clan indiscriminately, and even performed rites among Chinese and Tibetans outside the clans. 756

In some villages there are two or more shamans; in others only one, or none at all. The shamans are independent of each other and are not confederated in a guild. They have no chief to whom they are subjected, but all the shamans are enrolled as members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the Chinese city. The chief of that guild orders them to carry out in the city, in collaboration with them, the rites for saving the moon and the sun at the time of an eclipse. The chief of the guild is appointed by the Chinese officials for the patching up of quarrels among the shamans. In the event that a shaman breaks the rules of the guild, a letter from the chief of the guild to the prefect of the city is sufficient to put the shaman in jail. The shamans have to contribute also toward defraying the expenses of the guild. This fact, as has been noted, is really abnormal and infringes upon the rights of the T'u-ssu. It will be explained later. [648]

In comparing the actual social conditions of the shamans among the Monguors with those of the shamans among the Mongols in former times, it is manifest that shamanism has fallen into decay. "The forest clans often had at their head shaman magicians, who were reputed to have intercourse with the spirits. A shaman that was at the same time the leader of the clan or tribe, bore the title of 'Biki,' a title occasionally borne also by members of the steppe aristocracy."[9] Shamans were, at that time, exempted from taxes and corvées. [651]

It may be that these ancient conditions account for the tradition, prevalent among the Monguors, that in former times each village had its own shaman and only one; that the temple of the village was administered by the shaman and used for the cult of the spirits of the village, by the villagers only. At present the temple is the property of the village and administered by the community, but still only the villagers are allowed to enter their own temple. There is no admittance for strangers.

WHAT IS A SHAMAN ACCORDING TO THE MONGUORS AND ETHNOLOGISTS?

According to the Monguors, the shaman is a man who interposes between men and spirits, either as a

[9] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis khan*, 4, London, Routledge, 1930. See also Garma Sandschejew, Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Barjaten, *Anthropos* 23: 981, 1928; also S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, Royal Asiatic Society North China Branch Extra Vol. 3: 13, 154, Shanghai, 1924. Also the same author, *Psychomental complex of the Tungus*, 344, 346, 347, London, Trubner, 1935. See also the basic difference existing between the shamans among the Monguors and among the Manchus and Tungus concerning relations with and the position of the shamans in the clan. See also Walter Heissig, A Mongolian source for the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos* 48: 511, 1953.

[p. 78(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

friend of each, in case of good spirits or, as a protector of men in case of evil spirits. He devotes himself, and gives himself up wholly to the service of certain definite spirits which take possession of him, and which he gathers in his drum. They sometimes speak by means of his mouth, help him to call up other spirits which he sees and hears talking in his drum, and with which he is able to speak. The spirits help him to arrange appointments with other spirits, bestowing blessings and boons, and helping him combat evil ones, which play havoc and work damage. According to the Monguors, he is a more powerful man than others, able to save the villagers when their happiness is imperiled and the world in a mess.

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Why did the shaman devote himself to the service of his special spirits? In very old times one of his ancestors, according to the shamans, had been singled out and ordered by these special spirits to devote himself to their service. These spirits had ordered him to continue this service, generation after generation, and had promised to shower blessings on him, and to help him in averting troubles from his customers. These spirits taught the initial shaman the method of serving them, of beating drums, of performing rites, and today's shamans have to discipline their behavior according to these instructions. Thus every shaman is a descendant of an initial shaman chosen and compelled to serve certain definite spirits. The initial shaman now being in contact with these spirits still provides his descendant shamans with the means of communication with them, and secures their aid and support for the successful achievement of their duty. This seems to be the specific belief of the shamans themselves, and of the Monguors about the shamans.

According to the ethnologists, "the strongest evidence of the ingenuity of the shaman lies in the fact that the shaman possesses the power to take into himself spirits, which speak by means of his mouth, but which he controls and makes obedient to himself." [10] Ethnologists assert that, physically, shamans suffer from nervous diseases, and are easily excited.[11] They are unbalanced people with a marked disposition to all kinds of illusions and hallucinations.[12] Cases of epilepsy, idiocy, mental breakdown, and insanity have been noted among the shamans.[13] This record is not very flattering or inspiring.

SUCCESSION OF THE SHAMANS

The care and the protection shown by the spirits for their initial shaman and his successors are most effective. They interfere even with the choice of the boy who has to succeed to the incumbency of a shaman, by

[10] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 9: 243.

[11] Georg Nioradze, *Der Schamanismus bei den Siberischen Völkern*, 50, Stuttgart, Strecker und Schröder, 1925.

[12] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 977.

[13] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 3. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 7. [p. 79(A)]

guiding the father shaman to indicate which among his 756
sons fills the bill of requirements in the most appropriate way. The general belief among the Monguors is that the avocation of a shaman does not depend on the individual or on any other person, but on the spirits, who select the person who is to discharge the duty.

The succession, according to the Monguors, is necessarily inherited by one of the sons of a shaman. This is explained according to the Monguor mentality. It has been noted that, since the worshipping of a spirit once begun by a family should never be discontinued, for fear of calamities which would be sent by the abandoned spirit, the eldest son therefore has to perpetuate its cult. In a more imperative way, when the head of a family has dedicated himself to the cult of a spirit, the duty of a member of the same family to continue this dedication is far more urgent. Since it can never be neglected, one of the sons has to assume the duty.

When a shaman, however, has no sons, he indicates his successor among the sons of his brothers and adopts him. The boy will inherit his wealth and substance and become a shaman. If he did not adopt a son during his life, a family council convenes in order to indicate one of their boys to succeed to the deceased shaman, for the future of the whole family is at stake. The Monguors harbor a deep conviction that the whole family is responsible for the continuation of the dedication of a member to the cult of the spirits, and that the family would not be able to withstand the calamities entailed by such neglect.

The Monguors say that in former times, when the [462]
shaman had no sons, one of his daughters discharged the duty, but at present there are no more female shamans. Many times I received from the Monguors this explanation which, according to their trend of mind, seemed logical.

When I asked the shamans why they accepted only their sons or nephews as pupils, and never sons belonging to families in which there were no shamans, they always answered that such boys could not become shamans. They said their old ancestor had been chosen and ordered by the Twelve Tengris themselves to honor them; that the way of practicing their art had been taught to him by the Twelve Tengris themselves and that consequently their "family" had to discharge this duty. "We have to honor our shaman ancestors," they said. "because when we are fulfilling our duty their spirits come to us, helping us serve the tengris; they know the way of approaching the tengris; they live with them and know them, make them take possession of us, and make them help us in every way. Without the spirits of our ancestors we are unable to perform the rites, to call up our Tengris and to combat evil spirits. The spirits of our ancestors know us, and protect us, because we are their descendants, and so do the Twelve Tengris; but our ancestors will not help strangers and our Tengris recognize only our family as their servants;

[p. 79 (B)]

therefore a member of an alien family can never become 756
a shaman."

When I asked whether all the Monguor shamans served the twelve spirits, the answer was that they did, and then I objected, not understanding why, that the family names of the shamans were not the same. They answered that the spirits had chosen ancestors of different families to become shamans, but all these things had happened centuries ago. This explanation seemed to be full of holes.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF SHAMAN

BEHAVIOR AMONG SHAMANS AND BETWEEN SHAMANS AND MONGUORS

Shamans always said that in the mountains south of 756
the Hsining River were shamans serving only evil 628
spirits, who were therefore called "black shamans." 565
They dedicate themselves to the evil spirits, and to 754
Erlik Khan, their chief, and unleash them to harm the people. The "white shamans" must drive away the evil spirits and undo their harm; they serve only good spirits and are devoted to them in the same way the black shamans are devoted to the evil spirits.

White shamans never have friendly relations with black shamans and never give their daughters to their sons, or take brides for their sons from among them; one group despises the other. The white shamans always boast of their superior power, and the thorough efficacy of their good spirits over the evil spirits, and are convinced that their group existed long before the black shamans came into existence.

The Monguors are really afraid of the black shamans. They never give their daughters to them, and shun them because they know they are dangerous fellows. When a black shaman is traveling through the country and asks to stay for the night in a Monguor village, the horror-stricken Monguors never dare to refuse to comply with his demand, and so display the most gracious hospitality for fear he might unleash the evil spirits and harm the village. The black shamans know they are shunned and that they have no friends in the world. They are dominated by an inferiority complex. When they encounter anyone on the road, they retire to the wayside and allow the wayfarer to pass first.

This attitude toward the black shamans is understandable, but why it exists in the same way toward the white shamans is an enigma. The white shamans living in the village are always invited by private families and the communities to provide aid and support in all kind of troubles; they are said to be the servants of the good spirits. Notwithstanding this, the Monguors do not like to have friendly, intimate relations with them. The white shamans are never invited to dinners and feasts for births of children, marriages, or funerals. Ordinary people never either marry their girls to sons of white shamans or permit their boys to marry girls of white shamans. No white shaman is

[p.80(A)]

allowed in the intimacy of the family; he is shunned. 754
He is also dominated by an inferiority complex, and ac- 756
customed to letting a wayfarer pass first on the road. 628
He knows that he does not belong at the top of society, 565
for during the empire, the Monguors say, no shaman was allowed to compete for literary degrees. Their profession was discredited in the same way as that of tailors, barbers, and comedians. The social standing of the shamans and the influence they wielded in former times are really beyond all comparison with their poor condition of today.

But do the Monguors never call the black shamans in [574]
order to perform their rites? A couple of facts will be recorded about Monguors who, in order to take vengeance on enemies, invited black shamans to cast spells upon them at night.

NO ENTHUSIASM AMONG THE MONGUORS FOR THE DUTY OF SHAMAN

It is a well-known fact all over the country that sha- 756
mans generally have an aversion to their office and do not like to carry out their functions, but, bound by the choice of their father shaman, and knowing that a refusal would be fraught with all kinds of evil consequences, they discharge their burdensome, non-remunerative duty. The Monguors say that in families where there are no shamans, permission would never be granted by the parents and the chiefs of the families for a member of the family to become a shaman.

In the Valley of Hung-nai there are no more shamans 756
at present. During the terrible Moslem rebellion, all 798
the shaman families were exterminated. The inhabitants of the valley, afraid of the burdens attached to this profession, no longer allow their sons to become shamans. They prefer to honor the more lenient deities of Lamaism and have their sons become lamas. They invite shamans of other villages to perform shamanistic rites in their village every year in the spring and at hail time; the other rites are all performed by lamas. Shamans, however, according to their own ideology, assert that no more shamans can arise among them.

Several times I heard the typical story, later attested 756
to by No Kuang-li, that when he was a boy a member of his family was ordered by his father shaman to succeed him. The unwilling boy was compelled to accompany his father at the performance of all kinds of rites, to learn the usual prayers, and to submit to the peculiar training. When his father died, the boy tried to get rid of the duty, but the family council decided that he had to comply with the choice made by his father. The boy's nerves were on edge and he went on a rampage; his health was impaired, his mind was seriously affected and he had a mental breakdown. He roamed for months in the mountains, shunning all kinds of people and finally was found hanging from a tree. After so many years this fact was still recorded and explained by the Monguors as being a punishment meted out by the spirit who had selected that boy as its

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4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

minister. Such recollected facts always sear the mind of the Monguors, convincing them that the spirit is to be obeyed, and that it is a terrible spirit. 756

When we take stock of what has been said of the behavior of the Monguors toward the shamans, the inferiority complex of the shamans, the exacting requirements of the spirit, and the poor remuneration of the office, it is no wonder that the shamans do not enjoy their profession and meet their obligations with revulsion. What is more remarkable is that the same trend of mind exists among all the shamans all over Asia.[14]

DEDICATION AND TRAINING OF THE MONGUOR SHAMANS[15]

Usually the son succeeds the father, and the father is the trainer of his son; the father has no other apprentices. However, during the slack season of agricultural routine, it is not unusual to see sons of different shamans staying for a couple of months with a shaman relative, celebrated for the proficiency of his art. The boys recognize the shaman as their master.

The training of the shaman boy starts when he is about ten years of age. At that time the father invites the elders of his family and some shamans, he kills a sheep and performs the ceremony of the dedication. The boy kneels with incense sticks in his joined hands. The shamans beat drums, perform a dance before the picture of the twelve spirits especially honored by them, and before the staff placed before the picture. A shaman, holding the staff in his hands, then invites the spirits to descend into it. When the staff starts shaking, he makes the announcement to the spirits of the dedication of the boy to their service, and asks them whether or not they approve the dedication of the boy. The invited spirits make the staff shiver and shake more and more in the hands of the shaman. The shaman states that the boy is accepted and dedicated for his whole life to the Twelve Tengris; that they will help him, but will get him into serious trouble if he gives only lip service to them; that he is no longer his own master, but is linked to them by the dedication; then he describes the most terrible calamities which are in store for undutiful shamans, while the staff shakes feverishly in his hands. A dance is performed around the boy while drums are beaten and the ceremony is completed. The gamut of all kind of misfortunes and calamities visited on undutiful shamans will be dinned in his ears in all circumstances, so that the boy, living in an atmosphere of fear and apprehensions, will reach his manhood. Stress is to be put on the fact that the shaman is dedicated to the Twelve Tengris who descended into the staff. 756 768

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[14] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 977. Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 55-56. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 248-706.

[15] See also Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 249, *sq.*, for shamanism among the Daghor Mongols.

[p.81 (A)]

4; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

 756 868

A small drum is prepared for the boy and the father teaches him to beat it in the right tempo; he teaches him the usual prayers. Every day in the morning and at evening he will sit cross-legged with his father in front of the picture and the staff, beating the drum, receiving instruction and asking for explanations. The father teaches him the pasting of flags and streamers with white, red, and yellow paper, the cutting of all kinds of paper designs; the kneading of all kind of dough figures used during the rites; the application on red paper of the usual seals. He also teaches him the different kinds of dancing, and how to attack imagined spirits or defend himself against them, with sword and spear; and how to use the whip, the staff, and the knife. Special stress is put on athletic exercises in order to strengthen and supple the muscles and bones, and also on all kinds of acrobatics, climbing up poles, jumping on tables, executing dangerous pirouettes. Because all the shamanist [535] rites are accompanied by dances, peculiar stress is put on moving with grace and elegance with measured steps to the beating of the drum. The best dancers among the shamans are very celebrated all over the country. All shamans are acrobats and fine dancers.

Most shamans are proficient in the art of producing tones and words without any motion of the mouth, so that the listeners are induced to refer the sound to spirits speaking in the drum and answering the questions proposed to them by the shaman. They are wonderful ventriloquists. This art is used at the time the spirits are called up in the drums, and long conversations are held between them and the shamans.

The apprentice, from the very beginning, accompanies his father in performing shamanist rites. He learns with enthusiasm and vigor, for the boy is eager to beat drums, play the acrobat, dance with the elders and imitate them, but at the same time he sees and hears his father conjuring the spirits, calling them up, attacking and chasing evil spirits. He sees the awful rictus of his mouth and jaws, the painful contortions of his whole body; he hears him, worked into a frenzy, predicting the future; and sees his eyes in a fixed stare. Hundreds of times he sees and hears the same rites performed for sick men, and hears the shaman talking to the villagers at the general rites of spring and autumn. Because the [796] same things are said and done over and over again, he remembers them all by heart. The novelty, however, of beating drums, wears off very fast, and unconsciously he starts living in a new world of spirits, acting and thinking in the way of the shamans. He believes his father and the other shamans, he becomes hypnotized by their words, gestures, and acts, and he starts seeing and hearing spirits himself. He gets the conviction that, protected by the twelve spirits to whom he is dedicated, he can also subdue evil spirits and act as the agent of good ones, and he becomes a shaman.

Helping his father and other shamans for years and having himself alone performed rites, eventually when

[p.81 (B)]

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his father becomes old and retires, he accepts his incumbency. No more formalities are required, for he is not the shaman attached to the village and does not live at its expense. 756 868

INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS TRAINING OF THE APPRENTICES

The intellectual education of shamans is of a very low standard. Shamans are unable to read Mongol or Tibetan books. Their prayers are said in Chinese, but because the apprentices never attend schools, they are not able to read Chinese books or to write a letter. [212] The elders teach them to write a small number of Chinese characters, used on the few inscriptions pasted on the pole or on the doors and walls of the temples, but most of the time they print the inscriptions by means of engraved wooden blocks. They have, however, a few small prayer books written in Chinese and copied by the most intelligent among them, or by Monguor friends. [212] These prayer books are not printed. Monguors and shamans assured me that they did not possess any books explaining their doctrine. No wonder that the instruction differs, from teacher to teacher. It was always impossible to get a coherent explanation from the shamans about religious subjects. They do not pore over books or rack their brains over theories or philosophical or religious problems. [779] Their science is more one of fantasies, anecdotes, and miraculous tales concerning a number of spirits, told during the performance of the rites. I suppose the instruction of the apprentices would consist of being taught about the same items dealing with the spirits honored by the shamans at the rites of spring and autumn. [796] More will be said about the subject.

The conclusion seems to be that the intellectual and religious training of most of the shamans is neglected and only superficial, and that the physical training ranks first. Many apprentices, in order to perform their physical training and acrobatics, go for months to shamans celebrated in that field. Finally it is said that the education of the apprentices is carried on by accompanying the shamans; their eyes and ears are their real teachers. Some exceptions, however, seem to have existed always, even in these latter times.

Many times I heard the Monguors speaking about a famous old Lu shaman, who died around 1904. The old man went every year to the mountains of Waza with his own apprentice and the apprentices of other shamans. They lived in the caverns, fasting the whole time and sleeping only a few hours during the day. All night they were honoring their spirits, fondling and cajoling them and learning about fighting the evil spirits in the mountains, who every night attacked and combatted them. When they left the mountains, they were exhausted and emaciated from the exertion. The apprentices of the old Lu were said to be the best shamans in the country. Two among them are said to have died by jumping over a precipice in the mountains.

[P.82(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

A lot of anecdotes, overlaid with fabulous legends, 756
are told about powerful shamans who lived in former 538
times. A famous shaman of Too long was invited to cure a dying man. The man died before his arrival. The soul of the shaman, after the completion of certain rites, went to see Erlik Khan, the King of Hell, and examining the files he found that the man had died several years before his destined time. The soul of the shaman came back; he performed a set of new rites and the man came to life and lived for several more years. I wondered how such anecdotes, known all over Asia, were spread among the Monguors. The overall con- [868]
clusion, after all the talks about old famous shamans, was always: "We no longer have the stuff of which shamans are made, for the apprentices are no longer trained in the right way."

MONGUOR SHAMANS AND NEUROSIS

What about the general statement of the ethnologists 756
that shamans are victims of neurosis? It is said of the 158
brutal training of the apprentices among the nomads, in opposition to the most elementary principles of pedagogy, that nothing could have been devised, better calculated to unseat the reason and to form pitiable neurotics of them.

In former times, according to the Monguors, the training of the Monguor shamans must have been very similar. The recent cases of the two apprentices of the old Lu shaman seem to evidence this assumption. On the other hand, it is a known fact that among the hereditary diseases neurosis is the most frequently inherited. Because children of shamans must marry children of [582]
shamans, the danger of inheritance is increased and it creates a predisposition to produce more easily suggestions and hallucinations among the members of such families. The fact of the suicide of the boy No, unwilling to become a shaman, is suggestive. It seems, therefore, not too far fetched to suppose that the shamans and their apprentices easily get the conviction of seeing spirits and hearing them talk. Because they will see and hear them, they act accordingly, notwithstanding their actual superficial training. On the other hand, for neurosis, as for all diseases, the question of plus and minus is always open, but the morbid basis of the disease is always existent.

Some of the shamans performing the rites seem to act as though in a play, straining for effects. They give the profession a black eye, while others seem to mean business and to act as real shamans. After all, the fact remains that shamans never dare to quit the profession, notwithstanding that it is a poor means of livelihood.

SHAMAN DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS

DRESSES

The shaman when not performing rites for communi- 756
ties or private families, dresses in the same way as the 292
Monguors, but while acting as shaman he wears a special

[P.82(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

costume, as follows: a long Chinese gown of black cloth, 756
with a large flat collar, in the manner of the Taoist 292
priests, crossing over the chest and buttoned on the left side. Over the gown he wears a coat of silk, adorned with flowers or dragons, having large sleeves and reaching below the knees. The coat is similar to the one worn under the empire by distinguished Chinese. The black color of the gown is unusual in the country and is confined to the shamans. Stress should be put on the startling difference existing between the simple official dress of the Monguor shaman and the official dress of many shamans among the nomads, whose main article of costume consists of a large mantle adorned with superstitious paraphernalia and symbols. Clothed in the mantle the shamans feel themselves possessed by their spirits; without it, they cannot perform their rites. This mantle is said to be worn by the black shamans living in the mountains south of the Hsining River. No traditions are prevalent to the effect that the Monguor shamans used the mantle in former times, but it is always said that they never wore it.

CINCTURE

The long black gown is belted by a long strip of black 756
cotton, wrapped a couple of times around the waist, as 293
all lay people do. The shamanists among the Mongols of Ordos take off their girdle [16] four times a year, while performing their important rite by means of prostrations, facing the sun. Chingis having escaped with his life from pursuing brigands took off his girdle, put it around his neck, and facing the sun, prostrated nine times.[17] Among the Monguors the girdle has not the same importance. Monguor shamans and shamanists never take off the sash when they honor "Heaven and all the spirits" or perform rites.

The Mongols of Ordos, if the bridegroom happens to become sick on the day of the marriage, marry the bride with his belt.[18] The Monguors do not perform such marriages, but when a girl has relations with a traveling guest, she asks for his girdle and name. If she becomes pregnant, she ceremoniously marries the girdle, is called Mrs. so-and-so, according to the name of the guest, and her child is similarly named.[19]

CAPS [20]

The Monguor shamans use three kinds of caps, all 756
three black in color: the first is a kind of toque, a brim- 292
less pliable bonnet having a tassel of dog hair on top. 302
This cap is similar to that of the Chinese Taoist priests. On the top of the cap, next to the tassel of dog hair, a hole is left through which is seen a hairpin which holds

[16] A. Mostaert, *Dictionaire Ordos*, 84.

[17] P. Pelliot, *Œuvres posthumes, Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Chap. II, paragraph 103, Paris, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1949.

[18] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 176.

[19] L. Schram, *Mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, 130.

[20] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148.

[p.83(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the hair coiled inside the cap. All the shamans wear the pigtail, which they coil when performing rites. 756 292 302

Traditional pictures of Taoist saints show that these worthies were wont to wear their hair in a knot on the top of the head. The Manchu Tartars conquered China and compelled the people to adopt their coiffure and shave their heads except on the top, where it was allowed to grow long and be braided as a pigtail. The *sai kung*, like the whole nation, had to submit to this order, but with pious conservatism they have preserved the ancient orthodox fashion on behalf of their altar service; that is to say, while officiating they coil their hair into a knot upon their heads and cover the shaven part around it with a wig of braided human hair.[21] [175]

The Monguor shamans, however, do not wear the wig.

The Manchus not only preserved their traditional style of dress and haircut, they even compelled Chinese men during the period of invasion to adopt Manchu dress, shave their heads, and grow the queue. This enforced change was so bitterly resented by the Chinese that many times they chose rather to die, or lose their heads, than obey the Tartars in these ceremonies. The literary inquisition launched during the Ch'ien-lung period reveals that, in the eighteenth century, a Chinese who yearned for the old cap and garments was still considered a dangerous rebel.[22] [148]

The second headdress has the form of a sack, of black cloth, tightly bound around the head. A tail, three feet in length, is fixed on this cap. Plaited with red rope around a twisted black rope of cloth, the tail which is thin at the bottom and thick at the end, is rolled on the head, but released when the shaman is executing acrobatic evolutions.

The third one is a crown, in form like the *chod pon* of the lamas,[23] divided in front into five parts, bearing a crude picture of the god of the five roads, the Wu-tao-shen, whose disciples the shamans claim to be. (Shamans never wear a crown with the five Dhyani Buddhas; their antagonism toward Lamaism is too pronounced to do that; they never will perform rites in a Buddhist temple of the village.)[24]

THE DRUM

The drum is one of the important implements of a shaman. It is used to invoke the spirits during the performance of the rites; the spirits enter into it and ritual dances are performed in time with the beat. Every shaman has his own drum, and generally another in reserve. Upon the death of the shaman his drum is buried with him in the coffin, for it is a personal object. The boy apprentices receive a drum of smaller dimensions from their father, on the day of their dedication to the twelve spirits. Apprentices who receive part of their 756 334 [166]

[21] J. J. M. De Groot, *The religious systems of China* 6: Bk. II: 1267, 1910, Leiden, Brill.

[22] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 12, 1949. However, the Chinese were required to change to Manchu dress at the insistence of a Chinese official. See S. Cammann, *China's dragon robes*, 21, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[23] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 92, Paris, Plon, 1929.

[24] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148, Importance of the cap. [p.83(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Apprentices who receive part of their training for a couple of years from another shaman, during the summer time, and who acknowledge him as their master, offer him a gown upon completion of their education. In return, they receive a drum from him. The rules of apprenticeship among the shamans are the same as those already noted for other apprentices, such as carpenters. 756 534 [874]

The overwhelming magical significance attached to the drum by the nomad shamans is lacking among the Monguor shamans. Among the nomads, when the apprentice, after completing his depressing training, beats the drum for the first time, he becomes hypnotized and tranced.[25] Although the Monguor shamans consider the drum a sacred magical object, the same overriding importance is not attached to it.

The drum is built in a primitive way. A handle is attached to an iron circle with iron rings, which produce noise when the drum is beaten. On the iron circle is stretched a piece of goatskin, which has been soaked in water and shaved. On its surface are often painted crude pictures of heaven, with the sun, moon, the big and the little dippers, stars and clouds. The drumstick is usually made from peachwood or strips of goat hide twisted together.

THE KNIFE

The shamans use a knife when driving away the evil spirits. The knife is twelve inches long and two inches wide, and pointed at the end. To the handle are attached noisemaking iron rings. Sometimes the Chinese knife used for cutting noodles is substituted. 756 413 293

THE MAGIC STAFF

The staff, which is of wood, seems to be an important tool.[26] To the top is affixed a copper mirror surmounted by a three-pronged iron fork to which tassels of red rope are attached. The staff ends in an iron point, so that it may be planted erect in the ground during the time when council with the spirit is asked for. The magic staff is a tool used by lamas and Taoists as well as by shamans. The staff of the lamas differs from that of the shamans in that the mirror is surmounted by a copper skull, while above the skull is the point of a spear. The staff of the Taoists has an octagonal shaft with an iron point on top.

Each time, before performing a rite, the shaman asks his spirits in the staff about the most fitting rite for the circumstance, the sacrifice to be offered. The answer is supplied by the twelve spirits making the arms of the shaman shiver, and so he knows how to conjure evil spirits who harm persons, families, or herds. It is always called *Yang-t'ou san-ch'iang*. (I could never get an explanation of this Chinese term.) The staff is used when the shamans go into private families in order 756 793

[25] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 79.

[26] Ugo Holmbergs, Siberian mythology, in *Mythology of all races* 4: 522, Boston, 1927.

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to drive away evil spirits. It is not used during the ceremonies celebrated in the temple of the village. The staff is considered to be endowed with magical power and is planted before the picture of the Twelve Tengris honored by the shaman at his home. It is honored like an idol; the shaman burns incense and prostrates himself before it. 756 793

Every time a shaman uses his tools they have to be purified. By smoking them above a fire of cypress boughs. It is said that some laymen who honor a special spirit are able to use a staff and to call their spirit into it.

SPIRITS HONORED BY THE SHAMANS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans involves the very interesting question of how and to what extent shamanism and Taoism became mixed and interwoven among the Monguor shamans—a question which is all the more interesting because it has often been written that shamanism and Taoism are strongly linked together. In order to tackle the problem it is necessary to determine whether the spirits honored by shamans and Taoists are the same, whether the ways of worshipping them are similar, and what may have been the reason for the intermixture of the two religions. 756 177 171

SHAMANS, DISCIPLES OF THE TAOIST GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The most baffling and confusing fact in this respect is that all the Monguor shamans overtly claim to be disciples of the "god of the five roads," the Wu-tao-shen, who is a Taoist god. 756 776 171

When the chiefs of the villages invite a shaman to perform his rites of spring or autumn for the community, they send one of the elders with an official invitation written on a slip of red paper, "to [sir] Hsien-sheng so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads." During the Mongol dynasty the term *Hsien-sheng* was only used for Taoist priests. On New Year's the shamans send to the chiefs of the villages and to outstanding people a card reading, "Happy Congratulations of so-and-so, disciple of the god of the five roads." It has already been noted that the crown worn by the Monguor shamans represents the god of the Five Roads, that one of the caps worn during the performance of the rites is the cap of the Taoist priests, and that the pattern of their gown, except for its color, is the same as that of the Taoist priests. It has been noted that the Monguor shamans are members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the city. When a shaman dies he is buried wearing the crown of the god of the Five Roads. If one adds that many of the temples in the villages in which the shamans perform their rites are dedicated to the god of the Five Roads, and that at the same time more Taoist statues are honored in them, it gives the impression that the shamans are a kind of Taoist. Not only does the cult of the god of

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the Five Roads link them to Taoism, but also the cults of Lung-wang (the Dragon King, provider of rain), Niang-Niang (the Mother Goddess of children), Ho Hu (provider of rain), Hsüan-t'an (guardian deity against hail), Ma-wang (the Horse King, protector of horses), and Ts'ai Shen (the god of wealth). During the performance of their rites these gods are called up, and are supposed to come to attend the gathering of the community. The dialogues between the shamans and the Taoist deities gave the illusion of attending a real Taoist assembly.

All these facts evidence the assumption that the shamans worship the gods of Taoism.

"GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS"

The Monguor shamans during the performance of their rites in spring and autumn never fail to assert before the public that they are the real disciples of the god of the five roads, who was created god by the emperors of the Chou dynasty (1122–256 B.C.) and that the General Chiang Tze-ya ordered them to worship him, teaching them the way of honoring him, and promising that he would provide his aid and support to them in the most trying and straightened circumstances, and would never falter.

This explanation, in crude Taoistic fashion, is a far cry from that of nomad shamans who assert that the good spirits had sent from heaven a shaman eagle to teach their ancestors the way of combatting the evil spirits,[27] and from the explanation given by the same Monguor shamans that their ancestors were chosen by the Twelve Tengris. These ambiguous and equivocal explanations seem really to cancel one another out. According to their own explanation their shamanism is ultimately founded on a mandate received from a Chinese general.[28]

The real history of the famous god of the Five Roads I never had the opportunity to find out. In some temples I read the two following inscriptions, "Duke Mu of Ch'in raised him by imperial patent to Wu-tao; prince Chuang of Ch'u gave him, by imperial grace, the title of General"; and "General Mountain before the carriage of King Chou: the spirit of T'ai mountain raised him to Wu-tao." These two inscriptions seem to be as apocryphal as the saying of the shamans, and assign to a period earlier than reliably recorded history the creation of the god. The cult of the god of the Five Roads, however, seems to be widespread along the northwestern borders of China. I met it from

[27] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 2–3.

[28] Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1658–1659, 1841, Ho Kien-fu, 1903. Chiang Tze-ya was traditionally the Shang general who became a counsellor to the founder of the Chou dynasty. He died in 1120 B.C.; twelve centuries later, during the Han dynasty, he became a very popular god of all kinds of pickled stuff. In 731, during the T'ang, he was created "war god" by the Taoist Emperor Huang-tsung, and an order was given to build temples to him.

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Hsining across Ning-hsia to Sui-yuan, and Father W. Grootaers noted in the region of Wan-ch'üan (Kalgan), 109 temples of the Wu-tao shen,[29] most of them smaller than they had once been. The representations of the god of the Five Roads in the temples are all very similar. The reason for this similarity in temples so distant one from another may be that the Chinese painters used printed books in which they found the stereotypes and traditional representations of the whole series of spirits. They also used books containing all kinds of inscriptions appropriate to the different special spirits and to the spirits in general, and this explains the uniformity of the inscriptions and paintings encountered all over the country.[30]

TEMPLES OF THE GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The abode of the god consists generally of three rooms (*chien*) situated on the north side of a mud or brick walled courtyard. On each side of the courtyard are another three or more rooms for storage of all kind of paraphernalia used for processions and for the kitchen. The entrance is in front of the abode of the god. According to the topography of the country the temple is sometimes built against a mountain without taking account of the points of the compass. In the middle of the three rooms of the front building there is always placed a sedan chair in which is the statue of a female deity clad with a more or less precious robe, or there is the statue of a male deity, such as Wu-tao or Lung-wang. The female deity usually represents the goddess, Niang Niang (mother goddess of children); seldom, Shui-mu, the goddess of the water. The statue seems to be the center of attention for the whole building. It is carried in procession when the people are praying for rain, or for protection against hail. Every year the statues of the goddesses of the temples of Sha-t'ang Valley are carried to the temple of the god Erh-lang,[31] locked up with the god for one night and brought back the next day. The god is said to enjoy the visits of all the goddesses. This curious custom will be discussed later.

On the walls of the three rooms are frescoes depicting the god of the Five Roads, who is never alone, but associated with other gods. In the central panel the god sits on a large chair, represented in the customary fashion of a corpulent Chinese general, with long black beard, military cap, red coat over armor, large loose

[29] William A. Grootaers, Temples and history of Wan-ch'üan, *Monumenta Serica*, 13: 232, 1948. What is said in this very valuable study, in Chap. 2, on the Wu-tao temples, concerning the arrangements of the temples, the images and frescoes, even the inscriptions, tallies completely with my former notes. This is the first and only study made in China concerning all the temples built in a limited area affording interesting data for the history of religion and the history of the country.

[30] *Ibid.*, 239.

[31] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 263. The identity of this spirit seems not to be the same in North and Middle China.

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belt at the waist, the legs sprawled apart, boots with thick soles on the feet, and a sword in the hand. On the eastern panel is painted another general, the god of the Mountain (Shan Shen) in nearly the same posture. On the western panel is painted an older man with white beard, vest, a yellow robe, hands hidden in his large sleeves; he is the god of the Earth (T'u-ti Shen). Why these three gods are always placed together is a mystery. 756 776 346 532

In the foreground of the three images on the east is the god P'an-tze, the judge, holding in his hands the "register of the living and the dead" (Sheng-ssu p'u). On the west is a horned, black-faced devil with red skin, holding the "Tablet to hook souls" (K'u hun p'ai). It is a strange gathering of disparate gods whose association is a puzzle. The association of these gods in the same temple explains the fact that some shamans, when performing rites, wear a crown with only one image, that of the god of the Five Roads, while others wear a crown with three images (Wu-tao, Mountain god, Earth god), and some wear the crown with five images, adding P'an-tze and the black-faced devil. It is no wonder that one also sees in some temples of the god of the Five Roads the inscription: "Wu-tao, Mountain god, and Earth god, protect this village, that it may get peace." All these disconcerting anomalies do not bother either the shamans or the Monguors.

In temples, so far distant from one another, we find not only similarity in the representation of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, but even in the subjects painted on the frescoes on both the side walls of the temple. Father Grootaers calls the subject, "the pursuit of the evil ones," explaining that "the god honored in the temple is shown on horseback, engaged in a pursuit against the powers of evil, which he then brings back enchained."[32] What, however, may have been the original mystical or ascetic meaning is not known, but the subject seems wonderfully adapted to the circumstances of the country of Hsining and the mentality of the people. The region of Hsining is mountainous. The most terrible yearly scourges, dreaded by the people, are the summer hailstorms devastating their crops. They are supposed to be produced by evil spirits, who must be combatted and subdued. The specific means used by the shamans in order to protect the crops against that scourge will be recorded later.

On the eastern wall is painted the picture of a hailstorm. The pictures in Hsining are more fantastic and in better keeping with the imagination of a Chinese painter than the pictures seen by Father Grootaers. An old, wickedly shrewd Chinese woman with disheveled hair blows wind and storm by means of a pair of bellows. A fat Chinese, elaborately vested, extends his arms, and black, threatening clouds gush effusively out 756 532

[32] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 220. [p.86(A)]

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of his large sleeves—he is the spirit of the clouds. Another corpulent Chinese god pours a torrent of rain out of the urn of the rainbow, which he holds in his hands. A Chinese girl, standing in the sky, flashes two metal mirrors producing terrific lightning. A spirit with athletic appearance, having a couple of long wings attached to his back, clashes a hammer and chisel together with fury, producing thunder. All over the scene big hailstones rattle down on crops and herds of fleeing sheep and cows and people with bleeding faces. Horses, cows, sheep, birds, serpents, and a couple of men lie dead on the ground. In the sky the three famous gods on horseback, with a whole retinue of dragon riders led by the devil, and the judge accompanied by a wolf and tiger, start the pursuit of the evil doers. It is a terrific picture for people who know by experience the havoc wrought on their crops by hailstorms. 756 532

In front of this awful picture on the western wall is displayed the pageant of the victorious return of the gods and their retinue, riding spirited horses, with banners on high, tiger and wolf with mouths and teeth red with blood from devouring the evil doers. The whole procession is proceeding toward the gate of a walled town where an immense crowd, on bended knees, waits to thank and congratulate the gods.

These two pictures are never lacking, either in the temples of the dragon gods of Ho-hu, Hsüan-T'an, or in those of the goddesses of children. This fact is really significant and reveals the people's dread of hailstorms.

The God of the Five Roads with his associates, over whom he seems to preside, is supposed to be a protector against hailstorms, so much dreaded by the people.

All these cumulative facts prove without question that the Monguor shamans have adopted the gods of Taoism and honor them. [177]

SHAMANS AND THEIR OWN TWELVE TENGRIS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans is not exhausted by the cult of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, since they still honor their own old spirits, calling them, "Our Twelve good Tengris, the most potent among the spirits." The young shamans are dedicated to the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads. Moreover, the shamans honor at home the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads. 756 776 532

Who are the Tengris? Most of the pictures I saw were very primitive and painted by shamans themselves; those painted by Chinese artists were better. The pictures represented four rows of three Chinese warriors riding horses and wearing bow and quiver; a man on foot, with bow and quiver, accompanied each of the soldiers. In the center of the picture there was painted a man, not a warrior, bigger in size than the others, dressed in black, with a black face and beard, riding a white tiger and holding in his hand a knotty staff. I was curious about them, and was told that the black tiger rider was the chieftain, the leader of the

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group, and also, that on old images painted before the Moslem rebellion, the twelve warriors and their servants were represented as Mongols, and not Chinese, and further, that a couple of modern shamans recently added to their pictures of the warriors, three Chinese girls riding on horseback, whom they called the "three small grandmothers," the *San Hsiao Niang Niang*. 756 776 532

The conviction existing among the Monguor shamans that the Twelve Tengris are their original and proper spirits is too general and too definite, and the behavior of the shamans toward them is too significant to be simply ignored or explained away. Further, the Monguors and the shamans know very well that shamans are not Taoist priests, and for that reason they call them *Bö* or *Fa shih*, "Masters of Magic," and not *Tao-shih*, "Masters of Tao," and they know very well that the rites performed by the shamans are not the same as those performed by Taoist priests in the country. Therefore, a rational explanation should exist.

CULT OF THE TWELVE TENGRIS TRACED

In the last month of the year the houses had to be cleansed and purified of all kinds of evil influences and spirits. At the palace of the prince a group of young boys, frightening and cursing the evil spirits hidden in the rooms, cried out that the "12 spirits" were on the way to hunt down and annihilate them; a group of 12 men, disguised as animals, led by the official exorcist (*Fang hsiang*) started pursuing the evil spirits.[33] 756 776 796

The eleventh on the list of the pursuing spirits was the "tiger," who was reputed the fiercest destroyer of all producers of calamities. Tigers are supposed to be the fiercest enemies of evil spirits . . . the tiger was the first dancer among the 12 performers of the rite.[34]

The tiger was the white tiger.[35]

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[33] Henri Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 246, Paris, Boccard, 1927.

[34] Marcel Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine antique*, 319, 299–320, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

[35] *Ibid.*, 306. Ch. de Harlez, *Le livre des esprits et des immortels*, 176, Bruxelles, F. Hayez, 1893: "The nature of the white tiger, according to the *Shen-hsien t'ung chien* (18th century) seems to be at least ambiguous . . . the tiger is the strongest expression of the *Yang* principle (principle of power); the tiger lives 1,000 years and becomes white only after 500 years; its claws and the powder obtained by the burning of its skin are the most powerful; the thunder is its voice, talismans; or is produced by the noise of walking heavenly tigers. . . . In the regions of the west, at Fung lung, lived a white tiger accustomed to drinking human blood; every year the people offered a human sacrifice to it in order that it might desist from killing men. Chang Tao-ling (patron of the Taoists) ordered it to desist from this practice; the tiger left the country and disappeared forever. . . ."

Owen Lattimore, The gold tribe 'Fishkin Tatars' of the lower Sungari, *Memoirs Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* 40: 62, 1933: " . . . spirits like the bear, and especially the tiger, seem to be extremely rare as familiars (of the shamans), though they appear sometimes as enemies in the course of 'great spirit' ceremonies . . . I have heard only once of a shaman who apparently had a tiger familiar; he was regarded as a person much to be dreaded." "Shamans rely on animal spirits, the eagle, sturgeon, weasel, the *ulki* (an animal of the squirrel family), and otter appear to be the commonest familiars [of the shamans]."

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On the doors, on New Year's, was pasted the image of the tiger.[36] 756 776

These texts excerpted from the book *Lün heng* written by Wang Ch'ung, who died in A.D. 80–100, record rites practiced during the centuries before our era, and reveal that the twelve spirits were supposed the most powerful in the matter of driving out evil spirits, and that among the twelve, the White Tiger was paramount. 796

The cult of the twelve spirits led by their chieftan (Fang hsiang) combatting evil spirits seems to have been very popular in China. It was very tenacious, for it was still performed during the Liao dynasty, A.D. 907–1125. Wittfogel and Feng note: " . . . at the end of the year, 12 shamans, led by a great 'Wu,' sang, shouted, rang bells, and walked (or danced) around the tents with arrows in their hands, fighting off the spirits. Then they retreated to special tents for seven days." [37]

The cult of the twelve spirits of the Monguor shamans seems to be related to the old cult of the twelve spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount, the whole group being led by a chieftain, the Fang hsiang. Although in their pictures twelve warriors are represented plus the black rider on a white tiger, they always call the picture "the picture of the Twelve Tengris," and not the picture of thirteen spirits, or the picture of the White Tiger. They assert that they are the servants of the twelve spirits, their apprentices are dedicated to the twelve spirits, and the Monguors who honor the picture at home as a protector of the family always call it, "The picture of the Twelve Tengris." They no longer know that the twelve warriors represented, in old times, twelve spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount. However, all these facts seem to evidence that it is deeply ingrained in their consciousness that they honor Twelve Tengris, and no more, which are the enemies and destroyers of evil spirits. What is really astonishing is that, notwithstanding that the origin of the cult is completely lost, they continue to paint twelve warriors, and to put in the center of the picture a big white tiger mounted by a rider holding, not weapons, but a knotty staff in his hand. In this way the prominent role played in old times by the white tiger seems to be conserved, for a tiger occupies the center of the picture. What is even 756 776 [532]

W. Heissig, Schamanen im Kürye-Banner, *Folklore Studies* 3: 1: 44, Peking, 1944. The shaman in the Kürye-Banner wears an apron during the performances, representing the skin of a brown spotted tiger.

Doolittle, *Social life of the Chinese*, 229. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 146. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* 1: 344–352; 2: 144, 160, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

[36] Granet, *op. cit.*, 336.

[37] Karl A. Wittfogel and Féng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, (907–1125), *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 218, 1949. See also Eberhard, "Ich habe es fur sehr wahrscheinlich dass die Tiertanze der No-Feste auf Turkestanischen fremde Einflüsse zuruck gehen," *Lokalkulturen, op. cit.* 1: 188.

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more astonishing is that the most potent rite performed 756 ●
by the shamans against hail is called all over the coun- 776
try, the Rite of the White Tiger, and that inside the mound built at that time is buried the effigy of the White Tiger with the black rider. Even today they still call the black rider the leader of the whole group, but nobody is able to explain why he is represented with a coat of black paint.

The three essential elements of the old cult are still represented in the picture, the twelve warriors representing the animals, the White Tiger being the most prominent, and the leader being the Fang hsiang of olden times.

Still another conclusion is to be drawn from the tradition that in former times, before the revolts of the Moslems, the twelve warriors were represented as Mongol warriors, and the fact that the twelve warriors are called *Tengris*, the Mongol term for a "heavenly being," and not *shen*, the Chinese term for a "spirit," notwithstanding that they call the other spirits by the Chinese name. Therefore, it seems obvious that the ancestors of the Monguor shamans must have belonged to the groups of Mongols who were settled in the country of Huang-chung by the Yüan dynasty, and that they came to Hsining bringing with them their Tengris from Mongolia. Monguor shamans seem to be of barbarian rather than Chinese stock.

Still another problem remains unsolved. The Mon- 756
guors are a fusion of two important groups, Mongols 184
and Shat'o Turks. We seem to be able to detect the [174]
share of the shamans of the Mongol group in the shamanism of the Monguors, but what has been the share of the Shat'o group? To be sure, the Shat'o were as shamanist as the other Turkish groups of Asia. Did they practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris before they settled in the country in 939? What kind of shamanism did they practice? It would be very interesting to know something about the cult of the Twelve Tengris and the role of the White Tiger among them in former times, but no data are available concerning their shamanism and at present the shamanist practices in the different groups of Monguors seem to be all the same.

We only know that the Shat'o who founded the dynasties of Hou T'ang and Hou Chin, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, honored the old Turkish "God of Heaven." After their conquest of North China the Hou Chin emperor, in 927, made offerings at the winter equinox, outside the city, to the "Barbarian God" at the hill of the White Marshal. When the emperor died, two of his best horses were sacrificed on the Western Mountain. The horse was the most important offering among all the Turkish tribes. Sacrifices were made on the tops of mountains. They liked to worship mountains. The Shat'o liked to visit the Buddhist caves of Lungmen. It is well known that the Turks had a cave myth and that with it was connected a cave

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cult—but in spite of these scanty facts our problem remains unsolved.[38] 756 184

MONGUOR SHAMANS—WU OF OLD CHINA—SHAMANS OF CENTRAL ASIA

The leader of the twelve spirits is, according to the texts, the Fang hsiang, an exorcist belonging to the class of sorcerers who were specialists in the art of neutralizing all kinds of harmful influences and used by the princes for that purpose.[39] "This group, called *Wu*, was an old priesthood of China, spontaneously produced by the animistic religion . . . it still bore supreme sway in the former Han dynasty" (202 B.C.–A.D. 8).[40] The Wu included the kinds of male and female shamans that are encountered all over Asia (Wu are recorded among the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C.).[41] They were proficient in exorcising spirits of evil and illness, calling down gods and human spirits, going into trances and being possessed, telling the future.[42] Later the Wu were recognized by the official priesthood, who used them in their official ceremonies for calling down spirits and regulating the seats of the gods at sacrifices.[43] 756

In the *Chou-li*, 1122–256 B.C., are recorded the duties performed at court by these *Wu* scorcerers many centuries before our era, in summoning good spirits in order to drive out evil ones.[44]

Wittfogel and Feng write:

> In our translation we have called the *wu*, shamans. This term is generally used to designate the religious functionaries of Inner and Northern Asia, whose status does not depend upon an officially institutionalized position but is derived from power received "directly from the spirits as a gift or grant." In Asia two types of shamans may be distinguished—the arctic and subarctic. The latter exhibit less ecstasy and only rarely have recourse to frenzy or trance in the performance of their magic and prayers. Among the Ch'i-tan, as among most Altaic peoples, shamanism was definitely "subarctic" and possession was more the exception than the rule.[45]

The Wu in China up to the present time act in the same way, using bells, drums, swords, scepter, whip, dagger, dancing, and the calling down of spirits.[46] At present they are called *Shih-kung* (masters). They represent themselves publicly as priests of Taoism.[47] Chinese law considers them as belonging to the wide class of secular Taoist priests.[48] The capacity of be- [171]

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[38] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerers and rulers*, 92–95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[39] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 200.

[40] J. J. De Groot, *The religious system of China* 6: 1206, Leiden, Brill, 1910.

[41] *Ibid.*, 1201.

[42] *Ibid.*, 1190.

[43] *Ibid.*, 1191.

[44] Edouard Biot, *Le Tcheouli ou rites du Tcheou* 2: 102, 103, Paris, Duprat, 1851.

[45] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 217. See also page 291, note.

[46] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212.

[47] *Ibid.*, 1245.

[48] *Ibid.*, 1251. [p.88 (B)]

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coming Shih-kung can hardly be obtained except by inheritance, from a line of able priestly ancestors. They adopt no pupil who is not the son of a colleague,[49] and they use Taoist gods for their own purpose.[50] 756

CULT OF THE TWELVE TENGRIS SPECIFICALLY SHAMANIST

The Monguor shamans seem to belong to the Altaic classification. The traditions concerning the antiquity of the cult of the Twelve Tengris and the preference of the Monguor shamans for the cult are not to be overlooked. An obvious reason for this preference may be found in the fact that the range of activities of the Tengris is more far reaching than that of the Wu tao shen, the god of the Five Roads, because the Tengris combat all kinds of evil spirits while the god of the Five Roads and his associates combat only the hail spirits.

However, the basic reason for the preference among the shamans for the cult of the Twelve Tengris is deeply rooted in the peculiar philosophy of shamanism as it exists in Asia. According to Dioszegi, there existed 774 756

> two notions, from the time Shamanism was still in formation, concerning the combats of the shamans with evil spirits: the first assumes that the shaman himself, having taken the shape of an animal, is engaged in the struggle; the second, that the guardian spirit of the shaman, having taken the shape of an animal, waged war.[51]

The Tungus tell of two shamans who changed themselves into bear and tiger, fighting in the presence of the people, and of shamans who assume one of the animal spirit forms to travel a long way.[52] Concerning this philosophy Shirokogoroff notes:

> . . . the group of spirits associated, at least by name, with animals is very numerous . . . by the Northern Tungus these are not considered as animals but manifestations assumed by the spirits; there are the tiger, bear, wolf, fox, snake, dragon, deer, roe-deer, dog, horse, carp, cuckoos, falcons, hawks, eagle, etc.[53]

The old specific shamanist concept concerning animal-like beings (spirits) waging war with evil spirits lies at the base of the Tengris cult. It was realized in the rite of the twelve animal spirits who, long before our era, drove the evil spirits out of the palace of the prince.

This peculiar old philosophy must have caused the ancestors of our Monguor shamans to choose for themselves the cult of the Twelve Tengris and to dedicate themselves to these animal-like Tengris. Today the Monguor shamans unconsciously continue to perform the same dedication and to practice the same cult. The

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[49] *Ibid.*, 1252.

[50] *Ibid.*, 1254.

[51] Dioszegi, Le combat sous forme d'animal des chamans, *Acta Orientalia* 2: 315, Budapest, 1952.

[52] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 371.

[53] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 174. [p.89 (A)]

philosophy, therefore, explains the Rite of the White Tiger performed today by the Monguor shamans against hail, and the same principle (as we will see later) is applied in the rite of the "goat skin" and of the "wooden raven" against hail. The same philosophy is encountered in the facts previously related by Owen Lattimore among the Fishkin Tatars, by W. Heissig in the Kürye-Banner, and by Shirokogoroff among the Tungus. In all the studies concerning shamanism in Asia this philosophy is attested.[54]

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Therein lies the reason why the Monguor shamans practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris and why it must be said that the Monguor shamans are genuine shamans, belonging to the Altaic classification. No hints are available to suggest that the Twelve Tengris were not the initial spirits to which the ancestor of the Monguor shaman dedicated himself, and we have no hints to fix the time when their ancestor shaman lived. It may only be assumed that the Monguor shamans already served the Tengris at the time of the Yüan dynasty when they settled in Kansu, because their Tengris at that time were represented as Mongol warriors and because the shamans in Mongolia practiced for centuries the subarctic form of shamanism.

MONGUOR SHAMANS ENTER THE TAOIST GUILD

It is a well-known fact that among the

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South Mongolian tribes of the Ordos, Tümed and Chahar regions as well as among the North Mongolian Khalkha . . . Shamanism and other "unorthodox creeds" had since been "outlawed" by the code of the Jassaktu Khan, by the religious proclamation of Altan Khan (1577) and the corresponding decree of the Siditü Gabcu in Khalkha (1587), [but that] certain undercurrents of a popular Chinese Taoist mysticism, known there under the name of *Bon-po* (Bö), had continued for some while, but at the death of Ligdan Khan (1634) the Yellow Sect was well established in these parts of Mongolia.[55]

"Outlawed" does not mean that these "unorthodox creeds," these Bon-po, etc., disappeared because of codes, proclamations, and decrees, for their existence is still attested; but they were persecuted or their activities were restrained.

The Red Sect, patronized by Mongol and Ming emperors and Mongol chiefs, fought a fierce battle against shamanism and Bön. The Yellow Sect fought against the Red Sects from 1558; to these former edicts may be added that of 1640, which had stipulations concerning the suppression of shamanism. "Forty-eight princes and chiefs of Mongol tribes convened in order to fix the so-called 'Mongol-Oirat regulations.'" Among them were Mongol princes of Khalkha, Jungaria, Kukunor (near Hsining) as well as of Siberia, and later two

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[54] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 94-98, 413.

[55] Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos* 48: 493, 1953.

[p.89 (B)]

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more supplementary decrees of Galdan Hun-tai-ji were added to them.[56] 771 628

From 1558 until 1640, regulations of Mongol chiefs followed each other, aiming primarily at the destruction of shamanism. The Monguor shamans must have known these facts, for news spreads rapidly among barbarians. At the same time they saw the favors bestowed in the country on lamaseries, Karwas, and Nang-suos, by the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, and they saw Erh-ku-lung, at the height of its glory, founding successively its forty-two branches, each having celebrated lamas. Life or death was the question for the Monguor shamans of Hsining. 756 175 795 575

It is tempting to suppose that the shamans, living in the quasi-independent territories of the T'u-ssu, near cities in which lived Taoist priests who were organized in guilds officially recognized by the empire, might have sought refuge with the Taoists in order to save their institution and traditions and that they might willingly have entered the guild of the Taoists, whose gods they worshipped for centuries.

If the shamans themselves had been opposed to enrollment in the guild, which entailed pecuniary disadvantages for them and the performance of non-remunerative rites in the city, surely the T'u-ssu, whose subjects they were, could easily have prevented the infringement of the rights, since their Monguors were only responsible to them for corvées, and since their subjects were not enrolled in Chinese guilds. Precisely herein lies the stress of the assumption that without the willing cooperation of the shamans, shamans never could have entered the guild, and when they entered the guild it was through fear of persecution by the Yellow Sect. According to this assumption, the shamans could have entered the Taoist guilds before the revolt of the lamas in 1723 and the catastrophe which befell Lamaism. It is easy, therefore, to understand the reluctance of the shamans to perform any rites in the temples dedicated to deities of Lamaism or to wear the crown of the five Dhyani. On the other hand they willingly perform rites in all kinds of Taoist temples, except the temples of Kuan-ti (God of War). I never obtained an explanation of this; in the whole Monguor region no Kuan-ti temple exists, while all the temples of the Monguors, which are the centers of the religious life of the village, are Taoist temples, and most of the protectors of the families belong to Taoism. Monguors cannot miss their shamans who only perform rites in Taoist temples.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the Monguor shamans honor two kinds of spirits—one, spirits belonging to Taoism, and the other, spirits belonging to their shamanism proper; that the Monguor shamans are related to the group of old Wu priests 756 [776]

[56] V. A. Riasanovski, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buriats, Kalmuks)*, 29-35, 1929. [A 90(A)]

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existing in China from the dawn of history, who are 756
considered akin with the shamans of Central Asia; that the Monguor shamans probably entered the guild of the Taoist priests before the catastrophe which befell Lamaism in 1723 in order to save their institution, but that they still harbor the conviction that they are genuine shamans and not Taoist priests. The fact that during the performance of their rites they act as shamans, and not as Taoist priests, will give evidence for this assumption.

VII. THE KURTAIN

THE TYPE OF THE KURTAIN

Among the Monguors there is encountered still another type of possessed man whom they call a *Kurtain* (Tibetan, *Skurgdien*), and whom the Chinese call *Fa-la-shih* or *Ku-wai-tien*. He is found most frequently in genuine Monguor families, and plays an important role in the religious life of the Monguors.

A farmer, shepherd, or laborer—anybody, old or young, poor or rich, even a lama may become a Kurtain but well-to-do or rich men seldom do so. Several times I was told, by old Monguors, that in former times in San-ch'uan a woman subject of the Li T'u-ssu discharged that duty.

A Kurtain is a man who, all of a sudden, is seen to 756
be possessed by some spirit. It happens most often at 757
the time of a terrific storm, when he is helping combat the hail spirits, or at the feast in the spring when he sees a possessed shaman worked into a frenzy, or at night while attending the awful ceremonies which are performed to appease the avenging spirit of a suicide. Suddenly he starts speaking indistinctly, nervously gesticulating with his arms and hands, acting in an unusual way. Arriving at the temple supported and led by his companions, he declares himself to be possessed by so-and-so, a spirit who compels him to be his disciple. Such Kurtains, the Monguors told me, are usually the genuinely possessed. They always added, however, that they suspected the authenticity of Kurtains who become possessed by dint of weeks and weeks of exacting exercises in which they study how to imitate the behavior and trances of old Kurtains.

The "Kurtainship" is never inherited in the family. 756
The possessed is singled out by the spirit himself to be his disciple, and after his death, the spirit chooses another disciple in another family. Thus, no duty is imposed on the family to continue providing a successor to the Kurtain, and the honoring of this spirit. Kurtains are not like the shamans described above, whose families are bound to continue the service of the Twelve Tengris accepted by their ancestors. Shaman boys must receive a training by their masters in order to learn how to become possessed. Upon the genuine Kurtain, however, the possession is forced unexpectedly and then

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for the first time the Kurtain starts an exacting training 756
which lasts for several weeks. This consists of dancing, vaulting, fencing practices, for he has to be in top trim in order to appear on the stage. He must discipline himself to the rules of a possessed man, in order to acquire the required disposition favorable to ulterior possession by his spirit.

It is customary for spirits to have only one disciple in the village. When he dies another appears, usually after a short time, but occasionally even after a long time, to discharge the duty. When a Kurtain grows old, his spirit abandons him and chooses a younger man to take his place. Kurtains, according to the Monguors, are very often really savage and violent when they are in the full bloom of their youth. The people are more scared of them than of shamans. Later, as they grow older, they become more moderate and calm. The genuine Kurtains, according to the Monguors, have their nerves easily excited. They do not look straight at the interlocutor, shun the company of men, and are rather fond of not talking. I got the same impression. Monguors do not trust much those who brag and boast about their prodigious achievements. It is also said that many Kurtains have their nerves on edge and feel excited and anxious between the fifteenth and the twentieth of the month. They feel hysterical and terrified at the time of storms.

BY WHAT SPIRITS ARE KURTAINS POSSESSED?

The Kurtains, who are not very numerous, are said 756
to be mostly possessed by spirits of Taoism, never by 776
the Twelve Tengris of the shamans or by the Heavenly Spirit. It has already been said that many temples of the villages are dedicated to the "Wu-tao-shen," some to the dragon spirit, others to the spirit of horses, or the spirit of cows; a few to Ho-hu and to the Mother goddess, to the god of Riches and Wealth, but in all those temples there is always in evidence a nice sedan chair where the statue of the Mother goddess or the dragon god or Wu-tao is enthroned. The reason is that it is customary to have a sedan chair in each village to be carried in the processions. Most of the Monguors honor at home the picture of the same Taoist spirits, although some honor Lamaistic deities. It has been noted above that in a few villages there is also a Buddhist temple apart from the temple of the village, but these temples are never the center of the religious life of the village. No wonder that most of the Kurtains claim to be the disciples of Taoist spirits. A few Kurtains claim to be possessed by deities of Lamaism.

AUTHORIZATION OF TESTS OF THE KURTAINS

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The Monguors, having found themselves tricked many times, harbor a guarded and skeptical mood, and distrust new Kurtains. Since they suspect the au-

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thenticity of their possession, the Kurtain has to provide 756
evidence of being possessed, which has to be tested and 571
checked by qualified men, before they can enjoy the benefit of a "diploma" showing their credentials. Not only the Monguors but the lamas ask for a serious test.

If the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a Lamaist 756
deity whose incarnation is living at the lamasery, the 787
test is provided by this Living Buddha himself, who 571
is the best qualified man for the examination. If there is no such incarnation at the lamasery, the Kurtain has to invite the Living Buddha, or a Fa-t'ai, to offer him a gift, and implore him to make the test. In case the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism, the chiefs of the village urge him to pass the test before a Living Buddha anyhow, for only the Living Buddhas are supposed to possess the required yardsticks *ad hoc*. Old Kurtains cannot test the authenticity of new Kurtains. In the event the Kurtain declares himself to be possessed by a deity of Lamaism, the community of the village defrays the expenses required for the test. If he declares himself to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism he has to defray the expenses himself.

The test of a Kurtain possessed by a Taoist spirit is 756
carried out as follows: the Living Buddha, who sits on 787
his throne under the porch of the main temple with all the lamas, while the temple yard is packed to capacity with a curious and interested crowd, orders the Kurtain to sit beneath the steps.

The Kurtain wears the usual gown worn by the Monguors (seldom a red one) bound round the waist with a sash of red cloth. On a piece of red cloth, covering his head, is fixed a small copper mirror, shining on his forehead; a large red ribbon encircles his head, on which are sewn a lot of small bells. If he happens to be possessed by the spirit Wu tao shen, the spirit of the five roads, he wears a crown of that spirit. Over a large "cloud collar,"[1] which comes down over his shoulders, passes a red rope to which is attached a bigger copper mirror adorned by red, yellow, green, and blue ribbons or *khata*, dangling on his chest. On his back are sewn a couple of red and green handkerchiefs.

He sits erect on a low Chinese table, his legs always [514]
sprawled apart, imitating the exact posture of the god of the Five Roads, even though he may be possessed by the dragon god. The representation of this Chinese warrior, his theatrical attitude seen everywhere in all the temples, must have impressed the Monguors to a very large extent. On the knees of the Kurtain is

[1] This collar seems to hint at a part of the garments worn by the old Mongol princes "Ils (les princes) ont encore une autre forme (l'habit): un collet nommé 'Jaqa' sur les épaules et sur le dos, et qui finit des deux cotés en pointe aigue; il ressemble à un echiquier. Ce bord pend sur les deux épaules. Il est toujours fait en brocart ou en peau de zibeline." H. Serruys, *Pei-lou jong-sou*, Les coûtumes des esclaves septentrionaux, *Monumenta Serica* 10: 145, 1945. For the "cloud collar" (*Yün-chien*), see S. Cammann, The symbolism of the cloud collar motif, *Art Bull.*, March, 1951.

[p. 91 (B)]

placed a sword, and near him a dagger and a long whip. 756 ●
He never uses the drum, which is the specific tool of 787
the shamans.

Shamans, Kurtains, and all kinds of people possessed by good spirits, are everywhere accustomed to assuming the duty of defending their customers against evil spirits. They are fighters and protectors and therefore use all the weapons befitting the job. The Kurtain, in his theatrical attitude, is most aggressive; in his acts he is violent and savage. Shamans, however, by means of their elegant dances, first try to soothe the ruffled feathers of the malignant spirits and to make their spirit protectors feel well disposed.

A fire of cypress twigs is lit before the Kurtain, who prays some version of Om Mani or the *swork'a* prayer of his spirit protector, inviting him to descend into him, while the lamas beat the drums. The Kurtain becomes excited and starts shaking his head, causing the small bells attached to his headdress to ring, making sounds like the bells on the bridle of a running horse. He shakes them more and more furiously, for a long time, becoming more and more excited, and is supposed to be possessed. The shaking of the head is the specific behavior of the Kurtain; hence the Chinese all over the country call him the "head shaking Kurtain"—*Yao t'eou fa-la-shih*. Then the Living Buddha starts asking him about the danger of hailstorms in the next summer, about the next harvest, the peace in the country, in the village, in the lamasery. Then, jumping up on his feet, he does a really furious dance. Bounding savagely, he works himself into a frenzy and starts playing with his sword, cutting and fencing against imagined spirits. He grabs the whip and beats it against the ground with deafening blows. Chasing and pursuing spirits, he jumps in all directions pretending to pierce with his dagger one enemy after another. Finally, dripping with sweat, having used all his weapons, one after another, he is ordered by the Living Buddha to sit down and keep quiet.

Then the Living Buddha asks him of whose spirit he is the disciple, and asks for explanations and the history of his spirit. In the event that the answers satisfy the Buddha and the dances are in conformity with the choreographic rules, the Buddha puts a *khatag* around his neck and declares that he is the genuine disciple of so-and-so (a spirit). Holding in his hands some ropes of cloth, dyed red, he blows on them several times, as Living Buddhas do when they bestow special blessings. He ties them around the neck of the dancer, takes a handful of barley and throws it on him, saying: "Spirit so-and-so is truly your spirit, act accordingly in order to honor him." The Kurtain is then declared officially to be the accredited disciple of the spirit, and all the evidence seems to substantiate the fact of his possession. Having succeeded in the test, the esteem of the people follows the Kurtain in the wake of his achievement. His prestige is enhanced, and surrounded with an aura of success, he will start a new career.

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However, if he does not satisfy the requirements, and does not acquit himself creditably, if his answers are wrong and his dances inadequate and inelegant, he fails abjectly. The angry Buddha, rebuking and snubbing him, pulls off one of his boots and throws it contemptuously and disdainfully at the head of the Kurtain, upbraiding his impudent audacity, saying: "You are not possessed by a spirit, but by an ox, go on." All hopes of the candidate are dashed forever; the trust of the people in him is uprooted. He goes away discomfited, dishonorably evicted, and the possession is finished. The Kurtain cannot withstand the verdict of a Buddha who blocks his way. Twice I attended such a test, once at the monastery of T'ien-t'ang and once at Ch'ie-bzan. I inquired about the fantastic tales current all over the country, concerning the fact that the authenticity of the Kurtains can be tested by making them lick white-hot iron, pierce their chest with a sword, walk and sit on thorns. Always the answers were that in olden times when the Kurtains were more potent, they could stand such tests, but the present Kurtains are not made of the same stuff as in olden times, and therefore these tests can no longer be made. 756 787

TESTS OF THE KURTAINS POSSESSED BY A LAMAIST DEITY

The Kurtains possessed by Lamaist deities seem to have possessions of a lower grade. The Kurtain of Seerkok was said to be possessed by the deity Kortong (?) whose incarnation was one of the minor Living Buddhas staying at the monastery. The Kurtain of Erh-ku-lung was possessed by the minor deity Niebturk bzan whose incarnation, of second or third rank, was living at the monastery. The pictures of both deities, which I saw at the Karwa of these incarnations, represented the familiar type of the hundreds of Buddhas quietly sitting crosslegged absorbed in meditation, but the men they possessed were none the less furious Kurtains. Learned lamas did not have any knowledge of Kurtains possessed by the so-called guardians of the faith, which are pictured as terrible, cruel warriors. They asserted that all the possessions were manifestations of minor deities, and they could not easily explain how furious Kurtains were possessed by peaceful deities. Concerning the question of the possession of a lama by a Lamaist deity, they deemed it possible, but did not remember such cases in the country.

I never had the opportunity to attend a test ceremony for the kind of Kurtains possessed by Lamaist deities, but the information acquired from Living Buddhas, lamas, and laymen, seemed to show that little difference existed between the tests of both kinds of Kurtains. The subjects, their avocation, and training are similar, as well as the theatrical performance in the court of the main temple. The Kurtain is attired in the same way and uses the same weapons in the same way; but he must wear on his head the crown of the five Dhyana [115]

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Buddhas. The special *swork'a* or prayer honoring his deity is read by the lamas, and the Kurtain is proclaimed to be a genuinely possessed man. Then he is ordered to memorize his *swork'a* and to recite it before each performance, it being an invitation to his deity to descend into him. 756 787

Then follow the usual recommendations given to all Kurtains about continence on the day of a performance, not to act when his wife is giving birth and at mourning time, not to indulge in wine, to keep his weapons (sword, whip, and dagger) in a decent place and not to use them for other purposes; to give a performance at the monastery at the annual pageant time and in the families where his deity is specially honored, and always stress is put on the obligation to be loyal, honest, and dependable, so as not to cast a blight on the institution. Every time I heard this last recommendation, I remembered what the Monguors had said so many times, that among the Kurtains more dubious fellows are encountered than among the shamans, and for that reason the shamans are invited more by them than the Kurtains. They always added the story of the famous Kurtain of Toolong, which was seared in their mind. It seems really typical and sheds an unfavorable light on the institution. [844]

Many years ago, the Kurtain of Toolong used to predict whether there would be outbreaks of arson in autumn when the crops were heaped upon the threshing floor. In this way he earned a pretty good living, because the crops of the people who had invited him for the performance of his rites were preserved and those of the incredulous people were burned at night. The whole country was really disturbed. However, suspicions arose and the arsonist was taken redhanded one night. He turned out to be the old father of the Kurtain. The chief and the elders of the village hung the old man by his thumbs from a tree and he received a well-deserved lashing to make him reveal the instigator of the arson. Reeling with dizziness and pain, welts and bruises all over his body, the father accused his son, and the Kurtain was hung up and tortured. The infuriated villagers came within a hair of killing him. His mandate of disciple of the spirit was gone forever. Such events are very prejudicial to the Kurtains. They cast a blemish on their group and are commented on all over the country for years, and so the saying goes that there are few good genuine Kurtains, and for that reason all have to be tested.[2] 756 685 [627]

Some of the Kurtains not only upset the villagers once in a while, but even land the monasteries in serious trouble. A fact well known in the country runs, that on the fifteenth of the first moon in 1914, the lamas of the important lamasery of Seerkok invited their Kurtain, possessed by the deity Kortong, to the ceremony carried out in honor of the deity, with great pomp and display. 756 579

[2] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1238, notes a similar case of a Hu arsonist.

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The feast is celebrated all over the country. The 756
Kurtain is dressed by the lamas in a splendid, long green 579
gown with large sleeves, cut according to the style of the gown worn by Taoist priests. On his back are fixed a couple of small flags, and on his head he wears a helmet. He wears a sword, and holds in his hands a bow and three arrows. He is costumed like the warriors often seen in the theatrical exhibitions performed by Chinese actors.

The Living Buddha Kortong, incarnation of the deity, opened the pageant in the main temple, sitting on his throne presiding over the ceremony. The lamas, cross-legged, sat in a circle in the temple. The Kurtain sat on his low Chinese table in the center of the gathering of the monks with his legs sprawled wide apart. The throng crowded into the forecourt, following the display by looking through the open doors of the temple. The lamas started singing in unison the *swork'a*, and the Kurtain shook his head, ringing his small bells. Becoming excited, he danced his furious dance, worked himself into a frenzy, and played with his sword, whip, and dagger. Then he ran out of the temple, shot three arrows in the air, drank a draught of ox blood out of a bucket and spat it on some handfuls of barley which he threw in the direction of the audience, who tried to catch them in the skirts of their gowns. These grains are supposed to cure all kinds of illness and procure [842] fertility for the women. However, the grains once they fall on the ground lose their magical efficacy.

Then followed the customary questions. The Kurtain all of a sudden again became so mad and wild as to unsheath his sword, and killed an employee of the tribunal of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung, who was attending the show. The Kurtain fled after his savage exploit and disappeared. The lamasery was saddled with the trouble and had to pay a very substantial indemnity. This fact, well known all over the country, is always recalled when Monguors talk about the violence and ferocity of the possessed Kurtains. It is no wonder that, during the exhibitions of Kurtains in the village temples, some people are often frightened out of their wits, take to their heels in panic, and leave the temple.

It happens more often that the Kurtain troubles the 756
feast of the spring, performed by shamans in the village. 578
At the moment when the people are devoutly and happily listening to the prophesies of the shamans, concerning the auspicious prospects for the harvest, a Kurtain arises and furiously asserts that his spirit has revealed to him that terrible hailstorms will destroy the crops of the village. In the southern valley, in the village called "the Eleventh House of the Li T'u-ssu," in 1914, a serious fight started between the shamans and the Kurtain, who was carried away unconscious. The Kurtain brought suit against the shamans at the Chinese court. The prefect delegated the guild of the Taoist priests to settle this matter between religious people.

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The Kurtain was obliged to apologize to the shamans, 756
offering a sheep, and also had to offer a sheep to the 578
deity who protected the village.

During the exhibitions at Erh-ku-lung, the Kurtain 756
was decked in a splendid, long green gown, belonging 292
to the lamasery and fashioned according to that of the Taoist priests. He wore on his head the mitre of a Living Buddha. He did not wear his helmet or the sword; his appearance was less warrior-like and terrible than that of the Kurtain of Seerkok, although he seemed still to represent the type of Chinese theatrical general, with flags on his back, sitting with open sprawled legs, in spite of having had the Buddhist mitre on his head and the Buddhist staff in his hand when the exhibition started. Furthermore, the ceremonies were the same, with cypress fire, recital of the *swork'a*, drumbeating, head shaking with ringing bells, prophesying, whip, and dagger.

The lamaseries are glad to have a Kurtain, because 756
they enhance the interest at the annual pageant. These 571
yearly exhibitions seem to be the principal job of a Kurtain possessed by a lama deity. Once in a while, however, when troubles occur, when the lamasery is sued at court, he is invited to prophesy the issue of the case, but most of the time the lamas solve their own problems. His position at the lamasery seems to be of a very secondary order, according to what lamas say.

Later there will be described the role the Kurtain plays in the community of the village, and in the private life of the Monguors.

Among the Wu of the present time in China is en- 756
countered a category of possessed men and women who 171
seem to be of the same type as the Monguor Kurtains, who are not admitted into the group of the Wu (as the Kurtains are not admitted into the group of the shamans) because they did not pass the traditional tests of the Wu and did not receive the initiation. It sometimes happens that some of them transfer their business to their sons.[3] Their original possession, their behavior during the possession, are very similar with those of the Kurtains,[4] sitting on a stool before an altar, drowsily staring, yawning, shaking the head, furiously playing with a sword, prophesying and expelling evil spirits.[5] They are called *fa chang*, "Chief of Magic," while the real Wu is called *shih kung*, "Master," or *fa shih*, "Master of magic."

My data, as given above, seem not to tally completely 114
with the very valuable study of F.-Dominik Schröder in *Anthropos* **47**: 27–33, 237–248, 1952, but they are based on notes collected among the Monguors, and among lamas who lived over practically the whole region, and may contribute to an understanding of the subject.

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[3] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1263.
[4] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1274.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1276.

[p.94 (A)]

4; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

RITE OF THE WHITE TIGER

The most important rite against hail is the one called the Rite of the White Tiger, performed by the shaman. Once in a while a Taoist priest and even a Red lama try to enact it. However, the following year a shaman is invited again by the distrustful villagers, for the rite belongs to the black magical art and is more in keeping with the attributions of the shaman.

It is performed in May, before the time of the hailstorms. The original and complete rite is not enacted every year, but certainly it will never be omitted the year after the crops have been destroyed. If a year passes peacefully, then the following year only a supplementary rite will be enacted, strengthening the original one. If for many years the crops have been preserved, the original rite will nevertheless be performed again, for fear the original magical power may have faded.

It will be noted that the shaman deposited, in the temple under the bushel, the bottle he used for capturing a human soul with which he nurtured the spirits. The seventh day after the performance of the spring rites, the chief of the village and the elders go to the temple to take the bottle and bushel away, and they ring the temple bell. A member of each family arrives carrying incense sticks; the sedan chair, with the statue inside, is moved into the middle of the courtyard of the temple. All those present, holding incense sticks, kneel before the sedan chair, and the chief of the village asks the god whether it is certain the crops will be reaped peacefully, and whether the hail will be certain not to play havoc. Despite the formal promises of the shaman seven days ago, suspicions are still harbored. Then according to the ceremony already noted (the sedan chair crushing the carriers, etc.) and according to the pointers given by the spirit, the chief of the village decides to invite the shaman.

The shaman and three or four of his confreres examine the country and fix the place where the rite is to be performed. It is always within the boundaries of the village, on a hill or hillock, usually at the northwest corner, because hailstorms usually come from that direction. An auspicious day is chosen for the performance, and a list of all the required items for the rite is given by the shamans to the chief of the village. Here is what the list transmitted to the chief of the village of Toolong by the shaman contained: 20 black bowls; 15 wooden stakes, 2 feet in length; 15 tiles, 15 bricks, 15 eggs; 15 wooden planks, two feet long and 2 inches thick; 5 small hand mills, 5 axles and a cart wheel; an iron chain, which had been used to tie a dog, and a lock; 5 bell neckstraps with bells which had been used on horses; a mill stone, the corpse of a boy or baby, a living white dog and a white cock, water drawn from 10 different wells, 5 lions made of glazed pottery, used to adorn roofs; 6 earthen jars, among them 2 of bigger size, and a kettle; a pivot of a millstone, a pivot of threshing rolls, 2 threshing rolls, a plowshare, a harrow,

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

some iron taken from 4 city gates, some earth gathered 789
on four city walls, earth collected on 5 different moun- 796
tains, some earth taken in the prison of the city, 12 756
kinds of medicines; a small wooden white tiger, his rider painted black; 2 Buddha images, 2 mantles worn by statues in temples, bones of a dog, 2 skulls of a wolf and of a fox, a human skeleton, a pair of filthy trousers of a young woman, a living cat, a snake and a wooden raven. (Is it possible to imagine a more heterogeneous collection of items?)

On all these items are painted cabalistic designs, which are encircled with vermilion and painted with a brush dipped in the mixed blood of a white dog, cat, and cock.[1] All the items, in order to be effective, are to be stolen from other villages. Young folk are designated by the chief of the village to steal the required items, and if they do not succeed in the job, they have to buy the objects with their own money. If such thieves are accused at the court of the T'u-ssu, the community has to indemnify the defendant. At the times when these rites are performed, everybody in the country watches at night. All the stolen items are locked up in the temple and guarded at night by elder people, whose sleep is not so sound as that of young men. Deep secrecy is kept about the required items.

On the evening of the day fixed, the shamans arrive, clothed in the black gown; the chief of the shamans alone wears the flowery coat. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail. After sunset the villagers arrive and the temple is closed tightly. A hog and a sheep are offered, while the attendants prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks, and the shamans dance and beat drums. In the deepest silence, they go to the place prepared for the rite, holding banners. All the heterogeneous items required are loaded into a cart. A hole fifteen feet in depth has been dug beforehand. Its upper part is shaped in a circle, the middle part is square, and the lowest part triangular.

The chief of the shamans descends into the pit alone. His whole body is enveloped in red cloth; he wears a [292
cincture made of hemp, such as the people wear at 764]
funerals. Holding in his hands the whip and the ritual knife, he takes off his shoes and hose and puts on shoes made from hemp ropes. His pigtail is unplaited, and his hair disheveled. Some youngsters, their heads enveloped in a red cloth, descend with him into the pit. They communicate by signs and tokens, for it is forbidden to utter a single word inside the pit. The shamans beat the drums outside the pit.

In the center of the triangle one of the biggest jars 782
is deposited, inside of which are put the corpse of the 756
baby or boy, and the different sorts of earth. All items 796
are covered with a piece of red cloth and the kettle is 789
inverted over them. The chain is wrapped around the jar and fastened with the lock. The pair of trousers,

[1] Johann Frick, How blood is used in magic and medicine in Ch'inghai Province, *Anthropos* 46 (5–6): 954, 1951.

[p.98(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the skeleton, bones and skulls are deposited around the jar, with the living snake enclosed in a basket. The triangle is filled with earth, level with the base of the square. Then five stakes are fixed in the earth, and bowls, eggs, bricks, tiles, lions and hand mills are put around them. In the midst are erected the threshing rolls, on which is put the millstone, in the center of which is fixed a stake to support the cart wheel, to which the planks are nailed; the interspaces are filled with the remaining items. The whole is covered with boughs, and the pit is filled with earth level with the ground. 756 796 782 789

The attendants start howling like madmen, jumping and leaping around the pit in the pitch dark night, brandishing banners, while shamans dance, and beat drums and cymbals. The cart axle, sharpened to a stake, is fixed in the earth upon the pit; on it is written "Throne of the White Tiger." Some bowls placed upside down and bricks and tiles are put around the stake and the tiger; four more stakes are fixed in the ground according to the four points of the compass, and a mound is erected upon the pit. Next to the mound is placed a big wooden box containing the living white dog; a small mound is erected upon it so that the dog may see the light and breathe air through a hole. The dog will live for some days; it will howl and finally die.[2] On the other side of the big mound is erected a similar small mound, opposite the dog's mound, in which is

[2] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 271, note 166, note that both the Liao (Khitan) and the Chin (Jurchen) sacrificed dogs. M. Granet, *Danses et légendes*, 527, records that in ancient China men used to pull the ears of a dog to make him bark, in order to drive away the bird-demon. W. Koppers, Der Hund in der Mythologie der Zirkumpazifischen Völker, *Wiener Beiträge*, 386, 1930, records that the Yao tribe buried a live dog, together with a live thief, in order that the spirit of the thief should stay in the grave; also 378, the cow used at the sacrifice for the dog ancestor of the Yao had to be stolen, in the same way that the Monguors have to steal the dog for the hail rite, and other items. [171]

Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 92, a similar case of burying a dog alive is noted: "In case of some very bad disease the Manchus sometimes bury a live dog and cat near the entrance of the house. The dog and cat may move, which may be seen a certain time after the burial when the earth is reopened; it is considered as a very bad sign if they should go away together." He further notes, p. 92, that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat; p. 210, that dogs carry the souls in the lower world; p. 179, that dog blood, like dog skins, make the clan spirits run away; dog meat is tabooed. Doolittle, *op. cit.*, 231, notes in China a heavenly dog who devours small children and is combated by a giant, represented surrounded by children shooting arrows against a dog walking on the clouds. The barking of a dog at night frightens the evil spirits. De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 464, records that the crowing of the rooster frightens the spirits at night and in the morning. A wooden rooster is put above the entrance of the courtyard to frighten the evil spirits. A living rooster is attached to the coffin when it is carried to the grave, in order that it may frighten evil spirits. In time of epidemics a white living rooster is carried, fixed on top of a stick, in the processions. See also Eliade, *op. cit.*, 405; Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, *op. cit.* 1: 29, 38; the same, *Randvölker Chinas*, *op. cit.*, 38.

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entombed the living cock in a box. It will live and die under the same circumstances as the dog. 756 796

I was told by several reliable old men that years ago an old Chinese begger instead of a dog had been buried alive, and that once in a while a little child, stolen in a far-off village, is still buried if, for three or more years in succession, hail has struck the village. The shaman in such cases requires it. Mothers told me that the elders always enjoin them to watch the small children with special care during the time these rites are performed. 782 789

When the rite is completed all the participants face the northwest, the direction from which the hailstorms usually come, and throw stones at the evil spirits, howling like madmen, uttering the most obscene threats, and taking the wildest aggressive attitudes, while the shamans crack their whips and dance a threatening dance, conjuring the evil spirit in wild gyrations. The wild act is performed three times. On the spot a big fire is lit with cypress boughs, and all the attendants, shamans included, jump over it in order that the evil spirits may no longer follow them, and in order to get purified. After a last dance in the temple yard, the whole audience enjoy themselves, making fun, eating the pork and mutton, and drinking plenty of wine.

During the whole month, day and night, corvées are imposed by the chief of the village on different shifts of four young men, relieving one another, in order to watch the mound. A small cabin is built for the watchers. Nobody is allowed to approach the mound during the whole month.

This rite gives an insight into the power wielded by the shamans and their controlling influence upon the people, who even resort to human sacrifices, when required by them. The secret about these facts is strictly kept, men are enjoined not to talk about it with women and children, and only after years, and in general terms, do the facts incidentally leak out. Among the Twelve Tengris is the famous White Tiger, the dread and terror of evil spirits, and for that reason the rite is called the Rite of the White Tiger.

THE RITES OF THE TAOISTS AGAINST HAIL

The Taoists are mostly invited to perform their rite in neighboring villages inhabited by Chinese. Once in a while they are invited by Monguors who recanted their origin, but often, when the hail has struck these villages, the more efficient Monguor shaman with a greater reputation is invited the following year to try his rites, even by Chinese. 782 789

The Taoists use three kinds of rites: the rite of the spirit Wang-lin-kuan, of the goddess Niang-Niang, and of the five thunderbolts (wu-tien-cheng). Here, also, is a mystifying thing. Although the Taoists in the country do not overtly honor the White Tiger, they always write the name of the White Tiger on the stake

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small rapids), 30 *li* east of Hsining, causing the region 796
of Hsining, which was a large lake in former times, to 782
dry up. He is said to have been a beautiful man, with strong classical features, taller than the men of today, and endowed with fabulous strength. He played with huge rocks as children play with marbles, and was very fond of two enormous dogs which he tied to the rocks of Hsiao hsia with chains so heavy that only he could move them. He is represented in the temple as a man of gigantic proportions, sitting on a large throne wearing yellow robes and cap, and the insignia of an official.

Father Grootaers [11] encountered this god in sixteen Erh-lang temples in Wan-Ch'üan, and notes that Erh-lang, son of Li Ping of the Han dynasty (A.D. 25–220) was famous for his works on dikes in Ssu-ch'uan Province, and became an object of the cult. However, he notes that another Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien of the Sung dynasty (beginning of the twelfth century A.D.) is also renowned for the same kind of work, and is represented with a dog at his feet. This detail, encountered in the temples of Wan ch'üan, enabled Father Grootaers, because of an inscription found on a fresco in the grottoes of P'u-fo ssu, to assume that the Erh-lang of Wan ch'üan must be the son of Yang Chien, object of a cult in Hopei Province. It seems possible that, on account of the popular tradition, the Erh-lang of Hsining with his enormous two dogs and heavy chains must also be Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien. However, how Erh-lang became the object of a cult in Hsining, and at what time, are facts shrouded in mystery. Anyway, Erh-lang, the beautiful god, is said to enjoy the annual visits of the fine goddesses of Sha t'ang Valley and to extend his protection from hail and blessings upon the crops in thanks for their gracious call.

The observance by the young people of twenty-one 821
days of continence and the restraint from indulgence in 782
wine and garlic and onions, the sending of the goddesses for a call on a god, and the custom of locking them up for a night in the temple in order to court the sympathy of the god and to reap the benefit of his protection, open up some chinks, letting in some light into the disturbed religious frame of mind of the people. Significant also is the extent of the fear of hail which makes them resort to all available means in order to get help and assistance against it.

OLD CUSTOM RECALLED

Old Monguors always recall that in former times, 789
when the shamans were still proficient in their art, it 756
was said they never failed to combat the hail. They threw stones stained with blood of white dogs in the direction of the hail spirits, shot with bloody arrows and moved stuffed horse skins. But now the shamans

[11] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 262–263. See *Folklore Studies Supplement No. 1:* 229, 1952, Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien is said to have buried two of the nine suns in the region of Kui-te (south of Hsining), and the hot wells existing in the region are thus explained. See Eberhard, *op. cit.*, *Lokalkulturen, Fuchs* 1: 40.

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no longer have the stuff of shamans, and the belief of the young folk in the gods is waning and fading away. 789 756

OFFER OF BONES TO THE SPIRITS OF HAIL

On the last night of the year, a group of youngsters is called by the chief of the village and ordered to gather sackfuls of bones and to carry them to the mountain top, from where devasting hailstorms usually come destroying the crops in summer. They are ordered to burn the bones to the "spirits of the hail" in order to thank them for their protection during the year and to beg them to extend their protection for the next year. Around New Year's, every family kills sheep or pigs, and bones are available everywhere. All kinds of bones are satisfactory, provided a full sack is secured. It is known that in the arctic culture the peculiar offer to heaven consisted of the offer of the skull and the long bones of animals (for bones contain marrow). It was the offer to the dispenser of life.[12] 782 789 796

Many times I asked for explanations about this rite, but nobody could give any. The answer always was the same: we are accustomed to do so in order that the crops may be protected against hail, and the hail spirits be propitious next year.

LAST REGULATIONS OF THE CHIEF OF THE VILLAGES

In the evening the shamans and the villagers return after having strengthened all the old mounds. The chief of the village makes a stereotyped speech: "In former times, the great emperor of all the Mongols divided his subjects into groups, attached to the service of the spirits of the temple. In keeping with that tradition of our ancestors we designate today groups of two men each who, day and night, will relieve one another and will stay at the temple in order to give warning of impending hailstorms. The two men who will be on duty during the next day, will sleep the night before in the temple, for continence is required of the watchers. When a storm appears in the northwest, they will beat the drums and cymbals, blow the horn, and ring the bell. Another group which we designate today will, when the bell rings, instantly leave their homes and run hurriedly to the principal ritual mound carrying with them the god of the temple in the sedan chair and all the other gods, the drums, cymbals and horn, and banners. They will take with them some black bowls, which will be placed upside down on the center of the mound. In the temple incense and cypress boughs will be offered, the throne (stake) of the god, erected in front of the temple gate, will be thrust deeper in the ground, and the bowls on top of the roof of the entrance will be turned upside down." The speech is finished. The other gods mentioned in the speech are stakes, octagonal in shape, the upper part of which represents a human head. (Taoists use octagonal stakes when they perform the rites against [622]

[12] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 3: 542. [p. 103(B)]

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hail.) A grim, ghastly mask and a piece of red cloth 782
are fixed on the head of the stake. A small Chinese 789
table, covered with strips of red cloth to which is at- 796
tached a copper mirror, is considered to be a spirit in the same way.

FIGHTING THE HAILSTORMS

When the hailstorm appears threatening and the evil 731
spirits are about to loose their avenging bolts, the 789
youngsters on the top of the hill wave banners, beat drums and cymbals, blow the horn, brandish aggressively the sedan chair with the god sitting inside, and the stake gods, in the direction of the storm, howl, curse the evil spirits by means of the most obscene vocabulary, and take obscene attitudes in order to frighten them. I saw such a scene in the village of T'ao chia chai, a Chinese village of which some people were Christians, and was told that the Monguors act in just the same way.

If the storm is avoided, incense is burned, prostrations are made, and the group comes back, proud and high spirited because their performance achieved victory. But if the storm breaks with lightning, lighting up the whole valley, and thunder rumbling terrifyingly, pouring down torrents of water and rattling hail, the whole group starts fleeing in confusion, with the sedan chair and all the gods, straight down the hill, through the fields and the rivers to the temple. It is said that when this happens the youngsters lose control over the gods they are carrying; that the gods, defeated by mightier ones, unable to withstand the struggle, abandon the battlefield and themselves flee, irresistibly pulling with them their carriers, without caring for roads, precipices, or rivers. The terror throws the village into confusion and consternation. The gods could not stand against the terrible evil spirits of the hail; hopes are frustrated and the crops destroyed. The prospect of bad times, with privations and sufferings, haunts every family.

SHAMANS AND STATUES OF THE TEMPLES

The statues in temples are assumed by the Monguors 778
to be the seat of the spirits. Several facts have already 532
been recorded, in keeping with that assumption. Statues 756
decide about the invitation of the shaman for the performance of the new rites against hail. They pull their carriers irresistibly over fields and precipices, or make themselves so heavy as to become immovable and crush the carriers under their weight. According to the Monguors, the unusual power residing in the statue is due to special rites performed by the shamans.

In the stomach of every statue is a square opening capable of being closed and opened. Every time a new statue is made, the shaman is invited to animate it by means of dancing, beating drums, and inserting in the hole a live snake, a live raven, a live frog, and the intestines of a sheep and a pig. All these items have to

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be purified by smoking over cypress boughs, and a 778
sacrifice of a sheep or a hog is required. Every three 530
years the stomach is opened and the decayed animating 756
items are removed. New ones must take their place, because after three years their power has faded away. The Monguors invite the shaman most proficient in this art to perform the rite, since magical efficacy does not seem to be the same among all shamans and for that reason statues are assumed to be the seats of the spirits.

The statues in Lamaist temples need, in the same way, magical bowels; however, the lamas put Tibetan texts inside the statues. The magical power of the statues lasts as long as the Tibetan texts are uninjured.

The role played by the snake in the therapy of debilitated spirits is noteworthy. It will be seen later that the old mountain spirit of the Obo, protector and proprietor of the valley of Sha-t'ang, was healed and rejuvenated by a lot of medicines, among which the snake ranked first.

The table often mentioned above is said to be the seat of the White Tiger, and is used everywhere. It is a low Chinese table, adorned with strips of red cloth or silk and a small copper mirror in front. The four legs represent the legs of the tiger, while on the underpart of the table are painted the intestines and genitalia. It must be animated by the shaman. Often used instead of the sedan chair, it is carried by four men whom it crushes beneath it, or pulls fore or aft when asked for a decision.

CONCLUSION

This chapter gives supporting evidence for the as- 821
sumption that in the fabric of the religious life of the 829
Monguors, the struggle against the hail spirits and the 771
means of avoiding harm from them are a real obsession and play an overwhelming part. All summer this fear troubles the peace of mind, and mars the happiness especially of older people and chiefs of families. No wonder that every day around noon Monguors start examining the northwest corner of the sky. Everybody, putting on a brave front, brags and boasts about the efficacy of the rites, trying to bolster their wavering courage, but telling beads and muttering "Om Mani," hoping that finally Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" will help them.

Another conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the shamanist White Tiger bears the brunt of the struggle against the evil spirits of hail, and that the Taoist god of the Five Roads and his associates who are magnificiently enthroned in all the village temples, on whose walls they score brilliant successes defeating the evil hail spirits, play a very modest secondary role in the rank and file of the other good spirits and Buddhist deities supposed to lend a hand in the struggle. The Monguors have remained as convinced shamanists as the Turco-Mongol tribes of former times.

The struggle against the hail spirits by an entire com-

[p. 104 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The day before the feast, a couple of shamans arrive 796
with their apprentices, to paint and paste paper flags and streamers, print flower designs and inscriptions, and prepare the "thrones" of the spirits expected to attend the meeting. A "throne" is a sheet of red paper on which are printed the words, "throne of god so-and so." It is pasted on the wall of the courtyard of the temple. A large sheet, that is a big throne, is prepared for the souls of the la[illegible]hree generations of deceased villagers. In the middle of the courtyard the shamans erect a pole thirty feet high,[2] to the top of which is pasted a triangular banner made of red paper, trimmed with yellow paper strips. Under the banner is fixed a circle covered with yellow paper; a bit lower is hooked horizontally a two-pronged fork with two rolls impaled on the prongs, and nine streamers with flower designs and inscriptions pasted on its handle. Supplementary streamers, always attached to the pole, are offered in thanksgiving for a happy delivery or recovery from illness. In front of the pole a long table is prepared for the offerings. The statues of the gods honored in the temple and the god sitting in the sedan chair are set out in front of the table. Before the "throne of the souls of the deceased villagers" are placed the offerings of the community: tea, wine, rolls, raisins, noodles, meat. A long rope is fixed on the roof of the entrance gate, and is pulled to the top of the pole, from which it falls down on the long offering table. Halfway down the rope from the top of the pole, a long bag of cloth is attached containing nuts, peas, and jujubes, all made of dough. The rope is called the "highway rope" (*ma-lu-sheng*), the rope along which the spirits will come down and depart. It is made with hemp shackles and is supposed to be endowed with celebrated magical power, since the spirits walked on it. The shackles are very effective talismans for the protection of the sick and small children.

At midnight the two shamans and their apprentices [756] ●
honor "Heaven and all the spirits" in the courtyard. They offer on a plate small rolls in which are fixed candles made of paper imbued with oil. They also light some butter lamps, set off fire crackers, prostrate themselves and beat drums and cymbals. They take a meal and then go to rest.

The feast, organized in order to reap a good harvest, starts by honoring "Heaven and all the spirits" at night, under the twinkling stars, in the courtyard of the

[2] The pole and the rope play an important role in the ceremonies performed by the shamans in the village temple, and in those performed in private families in honor of their guardian deities. Pole and rope assured communication between the gods and man. Pole and rope must be planted and attached by the shamans in order to be efficacious. The manikan pole (see above, p. 95, n. 1), planted in the courtyard is said by many people to have the same meaning. Because the pole and rope rites are so unusually suggestive, they are enjoyed by the people, and their use is widely spread all over Asia by shamans. Shirokogoroff notes the rites among the Tungus (*Psychomental complex*, 336), etc. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 120, 368, 381.

[p. 106(B)]

temple. Shamans devoted to the cult of evil spirits 796
would not perform that rite, say the Monguors. Neither the chiefs of the village, the elders, nor the people attend this midnight rite. Around eight or nine o'clock the following morning, six or eight more shamans arrive. Drums are beaten, and the chief of the village and the elders arrive to greet them. All the villagers go to the temple. Most of them bring their private offerings of rolls, wine, incense sticks, paper, while some among them paste on the wall of the temple the throne of their own ancestors and place some offerings before it. The temple is crowded to capacity with people dressed in their festival best. The shamans finish their meal, drink wine, and start the rites with the invocation of the spirits.

FIRST DAY

INVOCATION OF THE SPIRITS

The shamans, wearing the black gown, flower-deco- 796
rated silk coat, and the crown of the god of the Five 756
Roads, stand erect before the pole and start beating the drums. The villagers prostrate themselves nine times toward the pole, in time with the command of the chief of the village, holding incense sticks in joined hands, and sit on their heels waiting. The elders sit in the first rows. The shamans start dancing before the pole, keeping time with the beating of the drums and cymbals; they become more and more excited, when all of a sudden their chief points at the rope fixed on top of the roof of the entrance gate and cries: "Here they are, the Twelve Tengris!" and continuing to point at the rope, he follows them with his finger and eyes, just as if he were seeing the spirits climbing along the rope that reaches to the top of the pole. He grasps the end of the rope lying on the table, and runs with it, straight to the throne (sheet of red paper on the wall) prepared for the Twelve Tengris and their leader. He holds reverently the end of the rope against the throne, so that the spirits may step unhurt onto the throne. The other shamans and the apprentices run to the throne and prostrate themselves; the whole audience prostrates itself with incense sticks in the hands and the chief shaman starts greeting the spirits: "We are so glad to honor you"—and the audience repeats each time the words of the shamans and prostrates itself—"You must be tired from the long journey. . . . It is kind of you to have come so far. . . . We are very happy to honor you. . . . Please sit down among us, the throne is a poor one, but be so kind as to excuse us. . . ." Then the shamans ask them about the coming of the other spirits, whether they have already started their journey. Suddenly he points again at the roof of the gate, and sees the God of the Five Roads with his four associates. Then one after another come the god of the highest Obo of the region, the dragon god, the dragons of the five lakes, of the four seas, of the nine rivers, of the eight streams, of the new rain; the goddesses of the nine heavens, the three girl goddesses, the heavenly gen-

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erals, the heavenly warriors, the god of the wind, the gods honored in the Monguor villages, then the spirits honored in the private families of the village, the souls of the last three generations of ancestors of the villagers.[3] Every guest is ushered to his throne, greeted, and congratulated in the same way. The shaman has a gentle talk with each of them, while the audience prostrates itself in reverential silence. Finally, drum and cymbals are beaten and the shamans dance with feverish gusto, the dance of thanksgiving for the arrival of all the guests, in order to make them happy. 796 756

ENTERTAINMENT OF THE SPIRITS

Then follows the next act—making the spirits propitious and well disposed (*nan shen*). The shamans and the apprentices kneel in rows before the pole, with incense sticks in their joined hands in the same way as the audience. It is the most important and enjoyed moment of the day. It reveals the peculiar, but typical, religious frame of mind of shamans and Monguors. In the deepest and most solemn silence, the chief of the shamans starts talking with the spirits. He gives a detailed account of all the offerings displayed on the table and before the thrones of the gods—sheep, pig. "All these offerings are brought by the people who are kneeling before you . . . notwithstanding the fact they all had a hard time this year, they enjoyed spending that money for you. If it were possible, they would have given more . . . please enjoy their offerings. . . . You are their superiors, their chiefs, your power is unlimited. . . . All these people trust in you and are confident of you. . . . You came from so far, climbing high mountains, crossing dangerous rivers . . . in order to sit down for a while with them in this poor courtyard.

[3] A couple of facts already encountered reveal two principles of the philosophy of the shamans concerning the duration of the existence of the spirits and the human souls. Spirits are not eternal; they weaken and become exhausted and old and consequently fade away. The famous White Tiger on the old mounds became old and had to receive new invigoration; a typical fact will be recorded of the great spirit of one of the five great Obos of the country, which had become old and had to be rejuvenated. Spirits are not eternal; even the spirits of the statues become completely exhausted after three years, and every three years the shaman has to replace the exhausted forces with brand new ones. [779 776]

The souls of the deceased of only the last three generations are honored and nurtured at the time of the rite of spring. When illness is ascribed to malignant souls of the deceased, the shaman, outside the courtyard, traces three small circles, and one more expansive; food is placed in the three small ones to nurture the souls of the deceased ancestors of the last three generations only; in the big circle is placed food for the roaming alien souls. These facts reveal an articulate belief that souls of the ancestors last three generations only, and also that hungry souls are dangerous beings. [775 765]

In old China the souls of the deceased kings after five generations, princes after three, nobles after one, lost their original protecting power and were relegated among those of the group to whom personal offerings were refused (H. Maspero, *Chine antique, op. cit.*, 186). They were already far on the way toward decaying and fading away.

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. . . These people are very happy and thankful for your 796
kindness. . . they are happy to be so close to you, and 756
they all hope you will be so kind as to preserve the peace of the village, protect the mountains and pastures, the crops and the herds against hail, and protect the children and the elders."

During the talk of the shaman, the people repeat his words while prostrating themselves. Some among the shamans really have the knack of saying things that go to the marrow of the bones. Such shamans are always invited, and are beloved by the people. Their talk is long or short, according to the inspiration of the moment and the circumstances, and at that moment the audience is in a really prayerful mood.

After the speech, all the shamans start their most gracious dance, honoring the kind spirits. Then for a long, long while the shamans sit down. They beat the drums softly, and the chief shaman, the whole time listening to his drum, makes the statement in stereotyped terms that "The gods just finished their council and have decided that during the three summer months, the crops will be protected against hail and the village will enjoy peace. The gods have decided that during the three winter months the people and the herds will enjoy peace and be preserved from illnesses. It has been decided by the gods and the decision is irreversible." The people prostrate themselves thankfully, repeating: "Irreversible." Then the gods decide that for the faithful, who are not remiss in the duty of burning incense every day during the four seasons, thieves will not find a way to come into their houses; that wolves, prowling to harm the herds, will no longer be able to open their mouths; that the swords of brigands, if they come, will bend and be useless; that childless women will enjoy this year the hope of giving birth to a boy.

After the promises of the gods, the souls of three generations of deceased villagers are honored. The shamans, standing erect before their throne, beat drums and prostrate several times, pouring wine before their throne, making the libation. Then the chief shaman gives them an account of all the offerings deposited before them by their descendants. He invites them to taste the offerings and to enjoy them, repeating several times that the descendants are happy to be in their presence and the attendants repeat his words. Finally a last dance is performed before the pole, prostrations are made, and the attendants leave the temple. By then the sun is setting, the gathering having lasted a whole day.

The shamans are very proficient in the art of predicting and promising the blessings really desired by the villagers. Although all the promises will not be implemented, the people leave the temple in a happy mood, hopeful and satisfied, for everybody likes the predictions concerning the fulfillment of his hopes and wishes. The children in the schools and the women remember very well the details of these talks, which

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have gone straight to their hearts. In order not to get a warped view of the talks of the shamans at these religious feasts, it must be said that the talks were not always sugary and sweet, adorned with delightful promises fitting the moods and feelings of the audience. Two unusual events happened, one in Too long in 1909, and the other in Hsin yüan-p'u in 1914 at the feast of spring. These were described to me several times by different Monguors and Chinese, because they were so well known for their unusualness and because they were fraught with terrible forebodings. 796 756

During the rites, at the moment when the people, kneeling in deep religious silence, were waiting for happy promises of the spirits, the shaman, listening to the spirits speaking in his drum, threw the attendance into confusion and terror, declaring the inauspicious disposition of the spirits, and foretelling threatening calamities in store for the villagers, such as hail, epizootics, diseases. The shaman saw in his drum the aversion in the hearts of the spirits and heard the bitter words on their tongues, because of the lack of fervor in the cult of the guardian spirit of the village; the disregard of the youth for them; the lasting feuds and discords among the families of the village, unwilling to overlook their petty differences.

The distressed audience was suddenly thrown into the throes of despair. All hope for blessings was dashed to the ground and crumbled in a heap. Everybody shuddered at the thought of hail and diseases. The audience, caught in a web of indecision, did not dare to laugh the threats to scorn. Predictions of impending calamities are never viewed in a light vein. The congregation was like a ship without a rudder, lashed by big waves of fear and apprehensions. Then the chief of the village said, "Let us prostrate ourselves and ask for forgiveness for our shortcomings and deficiencies," and he asked the shaman for a solution of the problem. In Hsin-yüan p'u the shamans agreed to attempt to propitiate the spirits, although, according to them, only a small hope remained. In desperation, trying to propitiate the angry spirits about to loose their avenging bolts, they danced their gentlest dances, listening to the drum, talking with the spirits, leaning towards the drums, flattering, cajoling, wheedling, apologizing, promising for the future, while the audience prostrated itself incessantly. Finally the chief of the shamans, with a glint of victory in his eyes, declared that the scales of mercy had been successfully weighted, but that an additional pig had to be offered. Breathing vows of deathless devotion, the audience was happy; solace had been brought to their sadness. Such scenes are recorded by the people to their dying day, with all the details.

In Too long, however, the angry spirits stuck by their decision. The shamans recommenced their dances, the people prostrated themselves, and the shamans, unsuccessful in pulling the heartstrings of the gods, de-

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clared that their power was too weak and unavailing, 796
that more shamans would have to be invited, and that a 756
big hog would have to be prepared. A few days later more shamans succeeded in the same way as in Hsin-yüan p'u.

This shamanist rite of the first day tallies wonderfully [171]
with that of the Wu among the Chinese and the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C. At the time of the state sacrifices, the Wu were ordered to call down the gods and human ancestors and to lead them to their "thrones," beating drums and dancing while a band of Chinese musicians played appropriate music. They pierced the future, knew the wishes of the gods and the ancestors, knew the desired sacrifices, and were proficient in predictions.[4]

Taoist priests in the country never perform such rites, 792
which are peculiar to the Monguor shamans, who after so many centuries have preserved them faithfully. They give an insight into what, centuries ago, was the religious practice of the Chinese and the surrounding barbarians, and what it is at present among the Monguors. The fantastic invitation and calling down of the spirits, their coming one after another along the rope, which the shaman pretends to see moving with his own eyes, with whom he talks, as if to persons in front of him, whom he greets cordially, is straight in the hallucinatory line specific to shamans. The best among the shamans go so far as to communicate their feelings by means of words and gestures to the well-disposed audience already believing in the reality of the rite and in the capacity of the shaman to see and communicate with gods and souls. They go so far as to make the 796
people feel happy to approach, face to face, the spirits and souls; to sit in their presence; to honor them, and trust entirely in them. To be sure, a religious feeling is awakened by the shamans at the meeting. All my [781]
Monguor informants asserted they were happy at that time and enjoyed the rite.

This is the only time during a whole year, when the community of a village prays and honors its gods and ancestors in a group. It was said that nobody would miss attending this rite. No wonder that the Monguors esteem and love their shamans, especially since the lamas never practice such a rite for a whole community.

RITES OF THE SECOND DAY

The second day is a busy one, since four rites are 796
performed: (1) possession by the White Tiger spirit, 756
(2) the greeting of the Goddess of Joy, (3) leave-taking of the spirits, and (4) the nurturing of the spirits of the temple.

POSSESSION BY THE WHITE TIGER

Very early in the morning, after breakfast, the shamans, beating drums and cymbals, sit around the pole

[4] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1188–1190; 1201–1208, 1247.

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in front of all the spirits invited the day before, talking with them and asking for their protection upon the village. The guardian of the temple, acting as representative of the whole village, kneels behind them with incense sticks in his joined hands, answering and repeating the prayers. The rite lasts for about an hour. 796 756

Around ten o'clock a lunch is served to the shamans and wine is poured in profusion. All the villagers, dressed in their festival best, flock to the temple to attend the ceremony of the possession of the chief of the shamans by the White Tiger spirit.

For a long time the shamans play and have fun. While the apprentices beat drums and cymbals, they start dancing; they get excited, display all kinds of acrobatics; dance on their knees holding their heels in their hands; dance on their heads; turn cartwheels; keep whirling; jostle one another. They are stimulated to compete with one another in accomplishing the queerest eccentricities. It is not unusual for a couple to get into a quarrel and start fighting and for one or another to fall down in a fainting fit. [535] [578]

When the excitement reaches fever pitch, the chief of the shamans exchanges his cap of the god of the Five Roads for the black cap with long tail. With his arm nude, the whip fixed into the collar, drum in hand, he starts a wild dance which lasts for a long time. He stops once in a while and cracks the whip. He takes threatening and aggressive attitudes, brawls loudly and indistinctly, and grins, distorting mouth and jaw bone. With his whole body writhing and supposed to be possessed by the White Tiger spirit, he cuts his arm with a razor, making it bleed. The women rush to the shaman and apply paper to the wound. These papers are efficacious talismans for the protection of children, and are sewn on their clothes by their mothers. In former times, old Monguors said, potent shamans pierced their cheeks with an arrow and bent the blade of a sword predicting the future with wonderful accuracy, but today shamans can no longer do that. These rites are in line with the activities of Wu and shamans.[5] [785]

GREETING OF THE GODDESS OF JOY

Around two o'clock the rite of *ying hsi-niang* is performed, the meeting with, and the greeting of, the Goddess of Joy. This rite is purely shamanistic. The Chinese perform a similar but more quiet rite, on New Year's day, meeting and greeting the "spirit" of joy. Monguor youngsters like to imitate the Chinese and enjoy the same merriment. However, the real Monguor rite is the following one performed by the shaman: [776]

On the large threshing floor of the village is placed a table with offerings. The villagers sit around the edges of the floor in order that the shaman may have room for the performance and the evolutions. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail, and keeping

[5] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212. [p. 109 (B)]

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time with the beating of drums and cymbals perform their wildest dances for a long time. Usually three or four among them seem to be possessed. All of a sudden the chief of the shamans becomes excited to fever pitch, and howls "go to the goddess." Then, followed by the other shamans, he grasps a chicken and, dancing with fury, bites its neck and jerks off its head in a wild movement. Grimacing with distorted face, and glittering eyes, he throws the bleeding chicken head in the supposed direction of the goddess, uttering dreary cries and indistinct sounds. After the rite is accomplished, the people go home for dinner. It is indeed a savage means of greeting "a goddess of joy," with a bleeding head and with such wild appearance. 796 756

The split-personality of the "good" shaman who the first day was so gentle, so kind, so considerate for the spirits, shows up more and more; he has to see blood and to offer bloody sacrifices.

LEAVE-TAKING OF THE SPIRITS

After sunset all the villagers come to the temple. In some villages the women are not allowed to attend the evening rites, but elders asserted that in former times the women were admitted everywhere. [562]

A hundred small lamps are prepared, the cup made with dough and the wick with twisted cotton wool. Into the cup is poured vegetable oil. The lamps are displayed in rows on the offering table in front of the pole and the statues. The shamans first perform the usual dance, keeping time to the beating of the drums. The leave taking of the guest spirits is called the "opening of the highway" (*k'ai ma-lu*). A bridge[8] is to be built over which the guests are supposed to pass. A big roll is put on each of the four corners of the table, and a larger one in the middle; a paper banner is placed on each of the five rolls. A lamp is lit near the banners and a plate put near each of them; on the middle plate is placed the head of a chicken. [354]

The chief of the shamans asks the shamans and the apprentices for the meaning of the five rolls. The five rolls mean the five mountains; the five lamps, the five lakes; the five wicks, the five dragons; the banners, the incense which billows up into the sky. Why is the head of a chicken put on the middle plate? In order to steady the *Yin-Yang* (male and female principle of the Taoists). The chief shaman writes, around the roll in the center, the eight Chinese cyclical characters and asks for the explanation of each of them. If one of the shamans or apprentices is unable to answer he is scolded and upbraided in front of the whole gathering.

A bridge is constructed for the spirits from one end of the table to the other by disposing two rows of rolls in which are planted brand new chopsticks; on both sides of the bridge are planted incense sticks in smaller rolls. The shaman asks again for explanations: Is there still another way existing above that bridge or not? An- [442]

[8] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 419. [p. 110(A)]

swer: the galaxy. Who walks on the milky way? Yü 796
Huang,[7] preceded by the green dragon and the White 756
Tiger. Under the bridge is there still another bridge
or not? The dangerous bridge leading to Hell, over [775]
which passes the king of Hell, Erlik, preceded by the spirit with the head of a cow and the spirit with the head of a horse, and where spirits are waiting, who devour passing souls. What is our bridge? The bridge of the spirits.

The building of the bridge of the spirits and the con- 796
fused explanations of the shamans, mixed with Taoist, 756
shamanist, and Bön principles, reveals, nevertheless, 772
the philosophy claiming the existence of three worlds: 779
the upper, middle, and lower worlds, each with its own population.[8] A hint has already been given of this philosophy, in describing the rite of the stretched goat skin and the molding of clay figures, etc. At any rate the bridge provides a wonderful opportunity for the shamans to display their philosophical abilities and their proficiency in the art of telling of the nine and more heavens, one more beautiful than the other; the eighteen hells, dark and terrifying; the severe judgments after death presided over by Erlik or the Chinese Yen wang; the explanation of the three souls; shamans flying on drums to heaven, are unique occasions for story-tellers, sparkling with wit, to reap big successes.

At that time, shamans never fail to explain the ap- 776
pointment of their ancestor shaman by Chiang Tze-ya 538
as servant of the god of the Five Roads; they never
fail to narrate captivating episodes from the epic of Gesar. All kinds of problems are dealt with, and a lot of fun is had. The most ridiculous answers are given to the most ridiculous questions. One shaman asks for the explanation of why in each wheat grain there is always a small groove? The answer is that in the beginning of the world there was no wheat. Tengri made a wheat grain, but it seemed to be too big; with the nail of his right thumb he parted the grain in two parts. Still it seemed to be too big, and so he parted it again and then a third time. The fourth time, just when he was about to cut the grain in two parts again, it appeared to be all right without cutting through it, so he left the grain only half cut through, and so all grains of wheat have a little groove in them. This story was told to me several times by children who attended the meeting and said that the shaman told them so.

Another story, which gives us a better insight into 796
the nature of that kind of meeting, is told when a sha- 756
man is asked at what time and why men started seducing 831
women, and women started eloping? An interesting 773
sociological and moral question! Tengri wanted to have men and women. After kneading red earth and water a whole day, he moulded seven men; then he

[7] The most popular god of modern China who received letters patent from the Emperor in A.D. 1017. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, *op. cit.*, 1846.

[8] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 138. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

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took straw, and with fine cord tied it in the shape of seven women. The fourteen manikins were put in the sun to dry into shape; the tengris went to sleep. Erlik, chief of the underworld and antagonist of the Tengri, made a terrific storm rage and one of the straw ladies finally blew away. When these thirteen figures came to life, one of the men was lacking a wife. Monguors enjoy this story and ask the shamans to tell it every year. Another of the big subjects dealt with at the meetings is that of bad dreams. Because the meetings often end in telling smutty and filthy stories, women in many villages do not attend the evening meetings. The shamans at that time compete with one another for winning the highest marks in that kind of virtuosity. Often the chiefs of the villages, when they invite the shamans, enjoin them not to go beyond certain limits. 796 756 831 773

When the meeting starts to drag, the chief of the shamans makes preparations for the leave-taking of the spirits. The shamans perform a dance, while the audience kneels. The shaman again enjoins the people to ask for benedictions. He has a last talk with the spirits, thanks them for the visit, reminding them of their promises, and invites them ceremoniously, one after another, to return to their splendid abodes calling them by the most pompous titles. Firecrackers are set off, and shamans dance; the people prostrate themselves and the spirits go back along the rope to their abodes. 756 776

While the shaman throws three handfuls of wheat and jujubes into the air, the people try to catch them, as they fall, in their skirts; they mix them with the seeds for next year. A hard pull on the rope fixed on the pole breaks the bag containing jujubes made with dough, coins, and peas. Everybody tries to grab a couple of them, for having been touched by the coming and going of the spirits they enjoy their celebrated magical power. Sick persons eat them in order to be healed, and women so as to become pregnant. The fork with the two rolls is unbalanced; the rolls fall and are picked up; they are reduced to crumbs and are panaceas against all kind of ailments.

NURTURING OF THE GODS OF THE TEMPLE

This rite is the last one and may be the most important. The shamans explain that the spirits in the temples are to be nurtured once a year, in order that they may be able to protect the village against hail. Here the split personality of the Monguor shamans shows up in its crudest reality. [776] 796 756 782

The shamans explain, and the Monguors strongly believe their explanation, that in former times a human sacrifice was urged every year by the spirits. Other shamans say that the sacrifice was needed only every seven years, in order to ward off hail, epidemics, epizootics, etc.* The present rite takes the place of the

* This tradition, concerning the yearly human sacrifice demanded by the spirits, seems to point to the fact that in old

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former human sacrifices; consequently blood and the soul of a deceased person is needed for the nurturing of the spirits.

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The rite is performed at night. The shamans and the young folk leave the temple in order to capture the soul of a deceased human being. Sometimes they go far away, according to the indication of their spirits. Five fortresses are built by means of incense sticks planted in the ground in the form of a square, one at each corner according to the points of the compass, and one in the center. Circles are drawn around each of them. Then follows the beating of the drums and cymbals, dances, and cracking of the whips on the ground. The chief of the shamans howls at the top of his voice, "Is the northern fortress already built?" All the shamans answer by howling in the same way; this is repeated for each of the fortresses. Nuts and dates are thrown by the chief of the shamans on the four corners, and on the center; he throws some of them into the air, to attract the roaming souls of deceased people. A bottle is planted in an inclined position in a bushel containing wheat, and is supported by burning incense sticks. The shamans start their wildest dance, drearily howling at the tops of their voices, and cracking whips, in the middle of the pitch-dark night. The burning incense sticks no longer support the bottle, and it falls flat; the chief of the shamans rushes to the bottle, grasps it, and runs as fast as possible to the temple, followed by the other shamans and the young folk.

The temple gate is shut tightly. A new wild dance follows, until all of a sudden the chief of the shamans grasps a chicken, jerks off its head, and gathers its blood in a pot. He cries again, asking the gathering three times, "Are the souls here?" and runs inside the temple rooms and presents the bottle containing the gathered souls at the mouth of each of the statues and the painted gods on the walls, cajoling, wheedling and caressing them saying, "Eat, eat please! Do you like it? It is a wonderful meal, eat some more, there is plenty." Then taking the pot with blood he performs the same ceremony, "Drink, drink!" The spirits are nurtured.

He takes the pot containing the horoscope sticks placed in the temple, throws them on the ground and

times the White Tiger devoured a person every year, as mentioned above. There is a widespread belief in human sacrifices demanded by spirits in India and Tibet (A. David Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 207, Paris, Plon, 1929. L. A. Waddell, *op. cit.*, 516). It is noted by Helmut Hoffmann (*op. cit.*, 175), as practiced by the Hsienpi in Manchuria and Mongolia at the beginning of the year; it was well known in China in former times (De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 79. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, Index, Sacrifices Humains, 2164). Helmut Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 161-162, also notes spirits called *Sri* eagerly attacking small children, sucking their blood, and devouring them. Garma Sanschejew (*op. cit.*, 592), notes among the shamans belief in a kind of spirit eager to attack and devour the children; parents know that when children start crying suddenly such spirits are around. No wonder that this belief, spread all over Asia, is still very strong at present among the Monguors.

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examines their position. "All right!" he cries. "all events will be all right this year, the village will enjoy peace and thrive; this year you will be preserved from hail!" A piece of red cloth is tied with a red rope on the bottle, which is put under the empty container inside the temple for seven days. 796 756 782

After all the rites have been accomplished, the villagers go home taking with them their own thrones of the ancestors and as many paper banners and streamers as possible, in order to place them with the deities honored at home. The shamans and the elders have a meal and plenty of wine for the whole night. The next morning the shamans leave; they came riding empty-handed on a donkey, and go back driving the donkey, laden with rolls and offerings, some wheat, and a meager payment in cash.

FEAR OF HUMAN SACRIFICES

During the second, third, and fourth months, the time during which these rites are performed in one village after another, everywhere children are encountered wearing around their necks strips of filthy, stinking cloth, with which the women had wrapped their feet (for they do not wear stockings). The heads of some children are covered with a handkerchief containing dog hair; the foreheads of some children are scratched and lightly wounded. Several times a day the children are enjoined not to eat jujubes or nuts lying along the way or in the temple yards, for fear that the spirits, avid for human sacrifices, might allure them and take their souls. Everywhere it is said that, notwithstanding the rites taking the place of the former human sacrifices, once in a while some of the spirits take a child. All these practices are used in order to frighten the spirits and to preserve the children desired by this kind of evil spirit. If, during these months, a child dies, everybody is convinced that his soul has been taken by the terrible spirits. 782 784 789 751

These practices give evidence that the belief in human sacrifices required by spirits is deeply ingrained in the minds of the people. At that time, meeting children so arrayed affords a fine opportunity to collect details about the rites of spring, and the talks of the shamans, and to get an insight into the religious trend of mind of the people. These facts make it plain that the Monguor shamans, honoring Taoist spirits and performing most of the rites of the Wu of China and of the shamans living in the neighboring countries, have preserved their urge for human sacrifices. The Monguor shamans nurture the weakened, exhausted spirits in the temples with captured human souls. The burying of the Chinese beggar in the mound, in order to succeed in the struggle against the hail spirits, and the occasional capturing of a boy for the same purpose, facts attested by many trustworthy men, give evidence of the assumption. However, constraint is imposed upon them by a more civilized environment than that 782 [115] [682]

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people leave, and the spirit of the mountain enjoys in 775
undisturbed silence his ownership over the country. 776

Concerning the offering of sheep, Monguors assert that in former times their ancestors offered a horse on top of the mountains, but that at present, for lack of horses, a sheep is offered and not a pig, because the offer of a sheep is more convenient; a sheep can be driven to the top of the mountain, a pig has to be carried; the killing of a sheep takes less time and requires less utensils, which are not available on top of the mountain.

THE SICK OBO SPIRIT HEALED

The villages situated in the valley of Sha-t'ang, be- 782
longing to the circumscription of the big spirit of the 756
celebrated Obo Lung-wang, had poor crops, spoiled by very bad hailstorms, for three years in succession. The saying went that the vitality of the spirit was declining and that it could no longer prevent these terrific calamities. The shamans were invited to restore its debilitated strength. The chiefs and elders of all the villages together with the inhabitants went in a group to the Obo, with a group of shamans, headed by drums and flags. A big cypress fire was built; the people knelt around the Obo with incense sticks in their hands. The shamans, beating drums, danced in front of the Obo; the eldest among them, in pathetic terms, invited the sick spirit to sit down in the midst of its devoted worshippers. He spoke to the spirit in the sweetest way, just as if he was in its presence and was seeing it, caressing, consoling, and comforting the old spirit. He invited it to look at the kneeling worshippers, and protested that they really loved it, and the shamans would offer a dance in order to entertain the old spirit.

After the dance was performed, in the most gracious way, the sick spirit was supposed to be happy. The shaman, like a good mother, persuaded the spirit to take some medicines in the most affable way. He said that he had prepared for it the most efficient medicine, that it had never failed to restore the strength of Obo spirits. The shaman dug a deep hole near the Obo. The precious bottles of each village were put into it first, then a box containing seventy living snakes [20] of different kinds and colors. The shaman explained to the spirit the different kinds of ailments healed by the different kinds of snakes, and then the hole was filled up. Each village offered its sheep, firecrackers were set off, prostrations, libations and Wei-sang rites were conducted, and a last dance was performed by the shamans. Then the medical performance was closed. The spirit was supposed to be bursting with vitality again,

[20] Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex*, 182. The Tungus use the snakes for making poisonous bullets. The big snake is styled by the shamans the most important spirit who gives advice to the shaman, p. 246. See also Waddell, *op. cit.*, 368, *Snakes and Nagas*; also Heissig, *op. cit.*, 48, Spirits who cause diseases flee from the snakes.

[p. 115 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 A E9 Monguor AE9

and the group then marched three times around the Obo. I heard the details of this unusual rite from Monguors who had attended the ceremony. 782 786

Just as women are not allowed to enter the temples of the spirits of the Obo, and are excluded from the rites performed at the top of the Obo in the sixth moon, they were also excluded from these rites of restoration of the forces of the spirit of the Sha-t'ang valley. It is for this reason that the Obo festivities, horse races, wrestling, in the sixth moon, are performed at the foot of the mountain, so that women can attend. When women encounter an Obo on their way, they always avoid passing in front of it—the "front" being usually the south or southeast. [562]

The mentality of the Monguors regarding the spirit of the Obo explains their reverence for them. A Monguor will always dismount from his horse when he passes an Obo. He will never fail to add some white stones to the heap, to cry at the top of his voice, honoring the spirit, to prostrate himself nine times, to throw some coins, some flour, a roll of bread on the stone heap, or to smear some butter on the offering table.[21]

It is not only the common people who act in this way. I saw the T'u-kuan Living Buddha, when passing the Obo of Sung-hua-ting, send some lamas ahead to perform the rite of Wei-sang.

CULT OF THE SACRED HILL OF THE VILLAGE

The cult of the sacred hill of the village is performed like the cult of the Obos. A small Obo is built on top of the hill, and a pole is erected. Under the pole is buried the "precious bottle" (urn), the specific offer to the earth god; ropes with flags are attached to the pole and spears planted in the stone heap piled around the pole. Obviously, the dimensions of this Obo are smaller than those of the Obos of the five mountain spirits, and perhaps because of this they are not called Obo, but the "sacred hill of the village."[22] 795 782

On New Year's each family sends a member to the sacred hill to enact the rite of Wei-sang and libation. On the fifteenth of the first moon the chiefs of the villages, with the elders and the inhabitants, officially go to the sacred hill, offering a sheep, performing Wei-sand, burying an urn, and making a libation. On the third of the fifth moon a similar group performs the same rites, in order to strengthen the vitality of the spirit of the sacred hill, which, according to the Monguors, must be in full strength in order to help avert hailstorms. Epidemics and epizootics are supposed to be caused by the outraged spirit of the sacred hill, which must be propitiated by a sheep offering and Wei-sang rite, performed by the whole village. [753]

Devout people go on the first and fifteenth of the month to perform Wei-sang and libation. Monguors

[21] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 63.

[22] R. Rahmann, Remarks on the sacrifice of Heaven of the Na-khi, *Monumenta Serica* 13: 406 sqq., 1948.

[p. 115 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to it, in the way the Monguors are used to doing at the 795
time of the offering to the guardian deity of the family.[24] 782

RITES OF AUTUMN

THANKSGIVING RITE

The autumn feast, called by the Monguors "Thanks- 796
giving meeting,"[4] is intended as an act of thanksgiving for the harvest reaped.

In the ninth or the tenth month, when the harvest is reaped and threshed, the chief of the village convenes with the elders to agree upon the choice of the shamans who should be invited, and upon the manager and the helpers who should be appointed in order to prepare the feast. Usually small villages invite one shaman, [756] bigger villages two or four; the number of the shamans invited depends also on the abundance or meagerness of the harvest. The shamans are usually chosen from among those who performed the rites in spring or the rites against hail.

The appointed manager of the ceremonies goes, taking with him a bottle of wine, the ceremonial scarf, and an invitation written on red paper "to the master of magic, so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads"; he fixes with him the date for the ceremony, suiting his convenience. At that time the shamans are very busy performing the same rites in a number of villages. Because the rites of spring had been performed by shamans, shamans should be invited for the present rite and not lamas or Taoist priests.

Each family of the village contributes its part of the required wheat flour for the steaming of rolls, the needed barley for the distillation of wine, and cash for buying the sacrificial hog or sheep. Big villages sacrifice a hog, small villages a sheep. The appointed preparers of rolls and wine take the oath not to eat the rolls or to drink the wine before they have been offered to the spirits.

The evening before the feast day, the shamans and their apprentices arrive in order to prepare the pole and flag, to paste paper banners and streamers, and to print some Chinese inscriptions on red paper. The items are fixed and pasted on the walls and doors of the temple yard, the display of red and green and yellow paper banners turning the usual feeling of monotony and loneliness of the temple yard into one of joy and happiness.

The ceremony starts in the early morning at sunrise, with the erection of the pole. On top of the pole a white cloth flag is attached on which are printed Tibetan prayers or cabalistic designs. To the middle of the pole paper streamers are attached. While the pole is being put down into the hole of the big stone, designated for that purpose, the shamans beat the drums, build a fire in the yard, throw some cypress leaves into it, and sprinkle water on it. On windy days stones are heaped

[24] See Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 96, for the more elaborate Oho cult in the Narobanchin territory; 178, among the Chahar Mongols; 256, Dagor Mongols.

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around the base of the pole to steady it. The villagers do not participate at the erection of the pole. After the shamans' breakfast, taken with some of the elders, the bell of the temple is rung and the drums are beaten to call the people for the ceremony. 796

A group of young folk had already been sent early in the morning to all the hills, situated within the boundaries of the village, where rites had been performed against hail, to remove the stakes, the raven, the hammers, manikins, and goat skin, planted by the shamans in the spring. All these items are stored in the side rooms of the temple. Although the shamans did not accompany the group removing the items, it is said that their presence is required in order to store them.

The long offering table is removed from the temple and placed in front of the pole. A big fire is built in front of the pole and the table, in the center of the temple yard; cypress boughs are thrown into the flames and water sprinkled on the fire. Shamans and helpers purify their hands and utensils in the smoke of the cypress boughs. In the early morning the hog is killed by cutting its throat. The blood is collected, the skin shaved, bowels cleansed, and blood mixed with flour and spices is stuffed into them, and they are exposed on the offering table. The victim is washed and smoked above the fire only. If a sheep is offered, water is poured into the ears, or milk is poured on its back (never done for a pig); the throat is cut and the blood collected and filled into the bowels in the same way. The sheep is skinned and put on the table upon the skin in its entirety, without the head; thirteen big rolls are deposited next to the victim (thirteen rolls are offered to spirits and shamans, and only twelve to the dead), at the time of burial, with a vase containing vegetable oil, a jar containing wine and two bushels with wheat, some peas, spelt, and linseed, the kind of crops reaped by the Monguors. All these offerings are the gifts of the community.

In the meantime, the villagers arrive at the temple: men, women and children, with their own offerings of rolls, meat, raisins, cookies, which they deposit on the table.

The shamans, wearing the flowery coat and the crown of the god of the Five Roads, start the rite by a beating of the drums. The audience kneels in a half circle around the fire, in front of the pole and the table. The chief and the elders of the village, in the first row, hold incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the village pours first a libation of milk and wine on the ground before the fire and throws several handfuls of pounded cypress cones and leaves on the fire and sprinkles water. When the smoke billows in the air, he kneels, and prostrating himself says, "Old Father Heaven you know that we thank you for the harvest," and the whole audience prostrates itself three times in deep silence. Then the shamans beat drums in a slow tempo and the thanksgiving ceremony is finished. 796 756

[p.110(A)]

-4; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

A large part of the hog is instantly prepared for a collective dinner, the remainder being divided in as many parts as there are families in the village. Each family has to partake of the sacrifice and receive a piece of meat and one roll. The manager of the ceremony presides at the division, while shamans and apprentices each receive thirteen rolls and a piece of meat. 796 782

Planks are placed in rows in the temple yard and straw is spread on both sides of them. The audience sits down on the straw and starts dining and drinking. When the sun is about set and the dinner finished, the shamans beat the drums, the audience kneels, the chief of the village pours a last libation on the ground, throws some cypress leaves into the fire and sprinkles water. The pole is taken down while the audience prostrates three times. Paper banners and streamers and inscriptions, are burned in the fire. For that reason some Monguors call the rite "paper burning rite." The villagers go home and the next morning the shamans leave.

MEANING OF THE RITE

The rite is a genuine one of thanksgiving for the harvest reaped, striking in its simplicity. Thanks are given in the temple yard of the god who is the protector of the village—not to that god, but to "Old Father Heaven" only, as is said distinctly by the chief of the village. It has been noted before that "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored inside temples or inside rooms, but always in the open air, in courtyards, on top of the roofs, on high mountains. Here is a case where, during the whole rite, the protector god of the village is not even mentioned, although the rite is performed in its own temple yard. The performance of the rite is perfectly in line with the general worshipping of "Heaven and all the spirits" as practiced by the Monguors. 796 782 776

An amazing fact is that shamans are invited to the ceremony, but at the very moment of the performance of the rite the chief of the village himself acts as sacrificer, as the representative and chief of the community, in the same way as we already noted that the chief of the family gives thanks on the roof of his house to "Heaven and all the spirits," offering the reeking rolls, steamed with the flour of the very first reaped wheat. The role played by the shamans is, in fact, secondary, and seems to have no immediate connection with the rite, but rather with the rites of preventing hailstorms, which had been successful. The invitation to the shamans to participate at the rite appears, except for the fact of the planting and removal of the pole, to be an act of kindness and courtesy of the villagers toward the shamans for their happy achievement. The people give thanks themselves for the harvest reaped to "Old Father Heaven" alone, the "Old Father Heaven" who provided their subsistence. 796 782 [622] [756]

But is this formula not borrowed from the Chinese, who use it under the same circumstances in all their

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guardian deity do not like the cult of the twelve Tengris, 771
although these are considered the most potent protectors 776
among the spirits. The reason alleged is that these 592
spirits are very touchy and do not allow any lukewarmness in their cult and frequently during the year they urge the offering of a sheep. Therefore, the families which honor them are all families which continue a cult initiated generations ago.

However, families whose children are weakly like to dedicate them for thirteen years to the Twelve Tengris, and after thirteen years perform the rite of liberation from the dedication, and nurture the rooster of longevity. (See Part I: 102–103.)

There still exists an unusual custom concerning the cult of the Twelve Tengris for which I never found an explanation. It is customary that the images of guardian deities should be hung on the northern wall in the living room. The image of the Twelve Tengris, however, is never hung, but is kept rolled up during the whole year and put on the offering table along the wall. Only on the first of the first moon, at New Year's, is it hung for three days, and all the members of the families who, before the division of the extended family group, honored these Twelve Tengris and at present honor other deities as their protectors, are bound to come during these three days to worship the Twelve Tengris of their ancestors.

Another emotional but important reason for preferring the cult of a Taoist deity is that the families enjoy more the rite celebrated by the shaman at home for a Taoist family deity, than the rite performed for a Lamaist family deity. The lamas do not in fact honor the ancestors. They recite texts for one or seven days, make a *torma*, and the monotonous and tedious rite is finished. Because an emotional element governs the choice of the family deity, an outline of the shamanist rite will best explain what is involved.

CULT OF THE FAMILY GUARDIAN DEITY

The biennial or triennial rite is performed in the 795
eleventh month. On the first day of the celebration, 756
the same preparations are made by the shamans and 782
their apprentices as at the feast of the spring in the 592
temple of the village, but on a more reduced scale, in- 776
cluding pasting of banners and streamers, planting of the pole, binding of the rope, baking and steaming of rolls, offering of sheep, thrones for the ancestors, the hearth god, spirits of the horses, the gate, and for the protector spirits of each of the families of the brothers.

At midnight "Heaven and all the spirits" are worshipped in the courtyard by the whole family. Firecrackers are set off. On the morning of the second day the spirits are invoked and come down along the rope. Among them are the gods of the hearth, the granaries, the stables, the doors, the grindstone, the fertilizers, the well, the horses, the cows, and the last three generations of ancestors. There are the usual prostrations, in-

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cense, and libation for the throne of the ancestors. The 795
spirits are greeted and the offerings enumerated. The 756
shaman holds a long dialogue with the ancestors, asking 782
whether they are happy and will protect the descendants, 592
and makes promises. The whole group enjoys sitting 776
before the gods and the ancestors. The rite of the greeting of the Goddess of Joy and all the performances connected with it are omitted, but at evening follow the lighting of the lamps, the making of the bridge, and the departure of the spirits.

The spirits remain only one day. At night no soul is taken outside the courtyard to nurture the spirits, but during a last wild dance the chief of the shamans jerks off the head of a chicken and the guardian deity of the family is nurtured with its reeking blood. The head of the chicken is put under a box for seven days, the pole is taken down, and jujubes are gathered. After the shamans leave the courtyard, the fire in the hearth is not allowed to die out for seven days, and for seven days no guests or friends are admitted. No food is given to anybody, not even to beggars, no items are loaned out, no animals are sold, and the animals sold before that time are not allowed to be led away. However, things from outside may be accepted and brought into the courtyard.

The real nature of the feast celebrated by the shaman in honor of the family deity consists, it is clear, in honoring the guardian deity of the family and all the spirits presiding over the various departments of the household, together with the ancestors. It seems to be a heterogeneous party in which spirits and ancestors and the members of the present generation participate. The climax of the feast, however, is the entertainment of the ancestors, who are believed to be present in the courtyard, happy to look upon their descendants and disposed to extend their protection over them. The shaman is believed to see the ancestors, hear them speaking, know their intimate feelings, their desires for offerings and their good dispositions, and his dialogue with them is so animated as to give the participants hallucinations and make them happy.

New Catholic converts, talking about this feast, al- 795
ways recognized that before their conversion they en- 776
joyed the entertainment with the ancestors very much, but they never alluded to the presence of the spirits at the feast. Children of new converts often had interesting discussions at school with children more proficient in the doctrine concerning the shaman who had seen their ancestors and heard them speaking, but they never spoke about the other spirits present at such times.

The feast of the family guardian deity seems in fact 592
to have become a feast honoring the ancestors at home. 776
This delight in the presence of the ancestors is not confined to the Monguors. It is interesting to note the similarity of the rite of the invocation of the spirits of departed heroes, which still delights the Ordos Mongols.

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evil spirits hidden in the village have to be expelled. 783
Usually the shaman is invited to drive them out. Sometimes a lama of the Red Sect is invited.

The shaman molds a small manikin with red earth 756
and straw. It is carried from house to house by four 783
young boys. Five boys, six years of age, run in front, each having half of his face blackened with soot and half whitened with flour. Carrying a bow, hammer, spear, and knife, they enter every courtyard, shouting at the top of their voices, leaping and gesticulating. Each member of the family rubs his face with a piece of a roll and red dyed cotton, and then puts these two items in a basket before the manikin. The whole group, with the shaman, then goes to the place reputed to be the abode of evil spirits. They light a big fire and burn the manikin and all the items. The shaman performs the dance which makes the evil spirits harmless, curses them and threatens to torture them if they dare to come again. This rite is also performed every time epidemics, such as measles, harm the village.

This rite to chase the evil spirits of the year, performed at the end of the year by the shaman, accompanied by boys six years of age whose faces are half blackened with soot and half whitened with flour, recalls the rite performed by the Wu shaman in old China. It is recorded as early as the Han dynasty (202 B.C.). The *fang hsiang* Wu led boys under the age of puberty, who were the principal performers of the rite. They beat drums, cursed and drove out the evil spirits. The boys did not wear a cap and gown of the same color, but a red cap and black gown.[10] It is strange how this old rite is still performed on the borders of Tibet after so many centuries, for the same purpose and at the same season, by the Monguor shaman, accompanied by immature boys, whose faces are bicolored as was the dress of the boys in ancient times.

In all the lamaseries in the country on the twenty- 783
ninth of the last moon, the lamas drive out the evil 792
spirits hidden in the monastery. Several *torma* are prepared, a big one painted with a coat of red paint. Texts, liturgical incantations and curses are recited by the lamas in the temple. The lamas, in a group, bring the ominous *torma* out of the monastery to a lonely, deep valley where a big fire is kindled. The *tormas* are burned with the same recitation of liturgical curses, and the lamas return at full speed without looking backward. At the same time, in most of the monasteries, there is pasted up an enormous head of a bull, made of paper, on which are written the names of the Chinese generals, Nien Keng-yao and Yueh Chung-ch'i, who in 1723 burned their lamaseries. They hope that the bull spirit may still molest their foes in their graves. In Kumbum the rite is performed after the festivities of the fifteenth of the first moon.

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[10] M. Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, 300-301.

[p. 129 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

SHAMANS AND BEWITCHMENT

The shaman is the recognized protector against all 756 kinds of evil influences and bewitching. Monguors are 755 scared to be in the neighborhood of very old trees and Obos. A very old tree, it is said, is about to become a spirit and even a man, because the essence of the tree has grown out of its perfection. Thus, the very old tree of the village of Lei-chia-p'u in the Sa-t'ang Valley, it is said, takes a walk at night and harms the people it encounters. It is also said that it is very dangerous for pregnant women to walk in the village at night. The same belief is prevalent about old statues and about Obos on small passes. The shaman is invited by the neighbors of these dangerous objects to preserve them against their baneful influences and to neutralize their ill-omened forces. Lamas are invited by the people living near such Obos to read texts and do Wei-sang, hoping they will not harm them.

Bewitchment is the last resource for avenging in- [691 578] justices and outrages, which cannot be avenged by 754 legal and overt means, and for doing harm to an enemy by a hidden means. Such acts are considered by the Monguors to be a direct resort to black magic, and in order to neutralize or to perform a bewitchment, they usually invite a black shaman, but it is not exceptional to encounter a white shaman doing the job. Bewitchment is, most of the time, performed in case of lawsuits for properties that have been unjustly decided, in cases of eloped women who cannot be brought back home, for presumption of theft, in cases of jealousy and hatred between two wealthy families.

In 1918 a Monguor living in the Lu men cheng Valley was sued at the Chinese court by a rich Chinese, and jailed for a few months. When he was liberated, he invited a black shaman who prepared some small wooden planks, on which he painted cabalistic designs with the blood of a white dog. The Monguor buried them in the cemetery of the rich Chinese, according to the prescriptions of the shaman. During one year, three persons died in the family of the Chinese. The Chinese then invited a celebrated black shaman to neutralize the evil influences which were harming him and his family. It happened that the celebrated black shaman was the knave who had prepared the planks for the Monguor! He told the rich Chinese to be suspicious, for a foe of his might have buried bewitched planks in his cemetery. He received his salary and went home. The planks were found. The Chinese sued the Monguor at the court of the T'u-ssu, because mandarins do not care for such troubles. The Monguor was compelled to invite twelve shamans in order to undo the spell.

Another fact, well known over the country in 1914 because a whole village and a living Buddha were involved, casts light on this psychology of the Monguors. Tjaar tseen, the limping chief of the village of Ch'üe-lung-ku, was sued at the Chinese court by Chao, the

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SOULS

The concept of the soul is one of the most confused all over Asia. Chinese claim to have two souls: the *p'o* and the *hun*. The p'o appears at the moment of conception, the hun at the time of birth. At death, they are separated; the p'o dwelling with the corpse, the hun going to Heaven, to the domain of Shang ti. Hungry p'o become malignant kuei. However, according to old theories, they live only for three years after death. In later times it was imagined that there was a place for the p'o similar to that of the hun. When the mourning period is finished, the deceased becomes an ancestor.[1]

Pure shamanism—i.e., shamanism before its contact with Lamaism,—had no conception of another world or a realm of death; but another realm to which only the shaman had admission, which became adorned with many attributes of the Lamaistic Hades, as appears later in the more recent shamanistic incantations. In pure shamanism, the ghost and spirits of the dead remained in this world at their burial sites. These sites developed into haunted places, and through fear were tabu to all but the shamans who have power over these ghosts and spirits.[2]

Johannes de Plano Carpini (1246–1247) claimed that the Mongols had no notion about heaven or hell, but asserted that they entered another world after death, where they could tend animals,[3] and that their deceased, under the form of dolls, were put on a wagon guarded by shamans and honored on certain days. Later on, good men became good spirits, and so the entire branch of Chingis Khan became good spirits. Owing to Tibetan Buddhist influences, souls were incarnated in other men.[4] A judgment after death was supposed to take place, and a heaven and a hell and even a kind of purgatory to exist.[5] Schmidt concludes his synthesis of the religion of the oldest Turks by saying, "Because the soul is thought to have the shape of a bird, and because death is called 'flying away,' it seems to point to a flight to Heaven," so that a heaven might haxe existed.[6] The souls of princes were probably thought to enter Heaven where they lived in the way they lived on earth.[7]

The Buriats speak in a very confused manner about three souls.[8] The Yakuts believe the shaman has three souls, "the air soul," "the earth soul," and "the mother soul." During his childhood the threefold soul is taken away by the spirits, and his mother soul takes the shape of a "fantastic female."[9] These facts suffice to give an idea about the confusion reigning in Central Asia about the soul, and they prepare us to expect the same confu-

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[1] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 186.
[2] Heissig, *op. cit.*, 510.
[3] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 194, 195.
[4] Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 105.
[5] *Ibid.*, 108–110.
[6] *Ibid.* **9**: 65.
[7] *Ibid.*, 35.
[8] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, *Anthropos* **23**: 578, 1928.
[9] Dioszegi, Le combat sous forme d'animal des chamans, *Acta Orientalia*, 316, 1952.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

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sion concerning this subject among the Monguors, who 171
assume that they have three souls.

THE FIRST SOUL

The Monguors used to talk about the soul of the 774
bones,[10] which seems to adhere to the bones in general, 775
not to a definite bone. When the bones are broken or split, the soul seems not to be affected. Consequently, when Monguors kill a sheep, they do not take care to avoid the breaking of the bones. The soul seems never to leave the bones, even during life or after death; it is said to be buried with the bones in the grave, and to remain there adhering to them, and to vanish when the bones vanish. Never is it said that this soul harms people, or is harmed in anyway. However, when the shaman calls back the souls of a sick man supposed to be [756] harmed by malignant spirits, or by souls of the deceased, the bone soul is called back with the two others.

This peculiar feeling existing over all Asia concern- 76
ing the bones is noteworthy. The bones play a large 774
role in the beliefs of the Mongol and Turkish people, [170]
to which stock the Monguors belong. The Monguors, as well as the Mongols and Turks, when asking for the name of a man's clan, ask for the name of his "bone," and their saying goes that the bones come from the father and the flesh from the mother. This basic principle is so deeply ingrained in their consciousness that when you ask a man or a woman what their bones are, they will always answer by giving the name of the clan of their father and not that of their mother. Everybody is recognized as belonging to the clan of his father. If you ask for the name of the bone of their mother, they will answer by giving the name of their mother's father's clan and not of their mother's mother's clan, for the bones come from the father. This behavior fits perfectly in the frame of a patriarchal society.

However, it is not known at what time specific facts 604
caused the Monguors to go so far as to call their 774
maternal uncle the "master of the bones" of the children 764
of his sister, to acquiesce to his illogical usurpation of the most basic rights belonging to the family chief in a patriarchal society, to allow the maternal uncle to decide, in definite circumstances, about the life and death of these children, and to be their recognized avenger in case of suicide, caused by maltreatment, and to become the only man who can permit the burial of these children.[11] In all nomadic societies in Asia this intrusion is observed on a larger or smaller scale. Even in the Chinese society the maternal uncle plays an important role, presiding over the festivities at marriages and giving permission to bury the children of his sister. The Chinese saying is well known that, when the maternal uncle brings suit at court against the son of his sister, the father of the defendant cannot withstand it, and also the saying that as long as the mother's family (maternal uncle) does not permit burial, the de-

[10] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 2: 205.
[11] Schram, Part I: 91. [p. 140 (B)]

cordingly, concentrated on the happiness and help needed during their actual lifetime here on earth. 795 776

However, they had populated the world with a host of good and evil spirits on which they thought they depended. They curried the favor of the good spirits and tried to secure their good disposition so that they would stay the hands of the evil spirits, and bless them during their lifetime here on earth. Among those spirits was the Spirit of Heaven, whose nature we have no means of distinguishing from that of the other spirits to whom more sacrifices were offered. (See above, p. 153.) 775 771

The shaman, whom they knew to have access to the world of spirits, was only engaged in providing them with the protection and benefits needed during their life. At present the activities of the shamans are still limited to that same sphere of action. The diffusion of Buddhism opened new vistas in the world of religious thought of the Turkic-Mongol peoples. A Buddha of benevolence appeared, enthroned in a paradise to which all people could have access and where all could enjoy happiness during the time preceding a new, happy rebirth. The concept of this intervening time became so endlessly long that the idea of rebirth was practically forgotten and put aside. However, a more concrete notion of the soul came to be developed. 756 776 771

In addition to the paradises, Buddhism revealed the existence of the eighteen hells and the presence of the terrible judge of the dead who decided about the future, according to acts morally good or bad. The shamans also told about Erlik Khan. However, the Turkic-Mongol tribes living on earth still hoped for blessings here, and were taught that the benevolent Buddha could secure them. Hence, next to the cult of the old spirits was the cult of Buddha, the throng of devotees invoking blessings and protection through the Om Mani. In this way the fervent shamanists became also fervent Lamaists. 775 771

We have no way of making sure what the impact of Nestorianism may have been upon the Turkic-Mongol tribes in later times, in promoting the development of a more concretely defined notion of the "spirit of Heaven," and its preeminence over the other spirits or even how long such an impact may have lasted. We do know, however, that Turkic-Mongol tribes honored Heaven and offered sacrifices to it, as well as to Buddha and all the spirits, and that consequently they were not monotheists.[53]

XV. RELIGION AND THE COHESION OF THE CLAN

The Monguor clans, from the time of their submission to the Chinese empire (1368), were friendly disposed toward the empire. Their chiefs received military titles and offices, and enjoyed the right to admin- 614 648

[53] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217, *et seq.* [p. 15) (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

1274 and also of Nestorians, probably traders as were the Moslems, originating from Kao Ch'ang. 175x 439 563

BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

The history of Chiossulo has an important bearing upon the history of Buddhism in Huangchung and upon the specific character of Shamanism in the country. 175x 795

In Part II (8–14) it is noted that, according to the *Annals* of Hsining, the first Buddhist temple in Hsining, the Ta Fo Ssu, had been built during the Yuan period (1280–1368). Since I was conversant with the history of Chiossulo, I suggested on page 12 that most probably during the occupation of Kansu by the Tsan p'u of Lhasa from 763 until 842, lamas would have followed the conquerors and spread Buddhism in Kansu. However, the first historical data are recorded in the *Blue Annals* translated by Roerich, where is noted the foundation of the monastery of Dantig in 940, on the northern borders of the Yellow River in Huangchung, and at the same time that in that country great hermitages already existed. These annals also note the existence in the city of Hsining of a Buddhist temple where Buddhist monks had been buried. These are the first historical data which prove that Buddhism was practiced in Huangchung before 940. Since the description of the city of Hsining during the reign of Chiossulo, who died in 1065, is available, we know that the city of Hsining was a Lhasa in miniature, where lamas stood at the helm, and that therefore, long before the Yuan period, Buddhism flourished on a very large scale.

SHAMANISM AND MANICHEISM

The Uighurs were converted to Manicheism in 762–763 and professed Buddhism and Nestorianism at the same time. At the time of their khanate in Kanchow in 872 their official religion was still Manicheism. Manicheism is based upon the doctrine of the existence of two distinct principles of good and evil, and of two distinct beings impersonating good and evil, both eternal, independent, and mutually antipathetic.

The shamanism of the Monguors (Monguors II: 94–97) has been explained on the one hand by the overwhelming fear of evil spirits existing among the shamanists, and on the other hand by the recognition of their dependence on good spirits in all the circumstances of life. The struggle between both groups of spirits has been recorded during the typical rite against hail. Then the people carry all their good spirits into the fields in the direction of the threatening clouds, and cry to them to fight the evil hail spirits, which they curse awfully. If it happens nonetheless that the crops are destroyed, the people sigh with despair saying: "the good spirits could not match the evil ones." 175x 795 756

Professor Wolfram Eberhard,[34] reviewing the chapter on shamanism, suggested judiciously that there

[34] Wolfram Eberhard, *Jour. Amer. Oriental Soc.* 4: 284, 1957.

[P.15(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

might be reason to think seriously of the thesis of the influence of Iranian dualism upon the shamanism of the Monguors and upon that encountered in west China in a contact zone of Tibetan and Chinese populations. He notes that attention has already long ago been drawn to the Iranian elements in Central Asian shamanism. Since it is known that several ten thousands of Manichean Uighurs pledged allegiance to Chiossulo in 1036 and that they were settled in Huangchung and in East Kansu up to the borders of Szechwan, it is easy to agree with the suggestion. Without doubt Iranian elements had had time enough to influence the shamanism of Kansu, for my notes were recorded in 1910–1920, after these Manicheans had lived in the country for six centuries. Iranian influence upon the shamanism of Central Asia may be explained in the same way. The Uighur kingdom was liquidated in 840 by the Kirghiz, after the Uighurs had been converted to Manicheism eighty years earlier. Then they roamed in Turkistan and on the China borders carrying with them their Manicheism and came in contact with the shamanism of Central Asia.

M 175x 745 756

SETTLEMENT OF THE UIGHURS

M 175x 167 563 U 167 175

The arrival of thousands of Tibetans and several ten thousands of Uighurs all fleeing at the same time into Huangchung, driving before them their herds, carrying their belongings, etc., should have created a tremendous and delicate problem for Chiossulo to cope with. All these turbulent people had to be settled without hurting the feelings of the Tibetan tribes subject to him and already living in the country. This tremendous number of tribes must have upset the whole country, as many groups must have tried to occupy the territories which seemed fitting to them and have caused endless troubles.

M U [648] M 175x 167 563 U 175 167

The *Annals* of Hsining (4: 19*a*) dealing with the geography of the country note incidently that five thousand T'u-fan horsemen arrived at the well of Fu-t'i, and drove Uighurs who had settled there back to their own country. This well is situated near the well-known old fortress of Shih-pu-ch'eng (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 3*a–b*). This reveals how delicate a problem Chiossulo had to contend with, and indicates the attitude of the Tibetans toward the Uighurs intruding into their country.

It is impossible to find out which among the numerous tribe names recorded in the *Annals* for the first time in Ming times (1368) are Uighur, Tibetan, or Shat'o names, because all the tribes are generally recorded as being Tibetans.

What tribes were settled in Huangchung in 1008 when the twelve-year-old Chiossulo arrived in the country?

In Mao Ch'uan, the actual subprefecture of Nienpei, is recorded the presence of the important Tibetan

[45 cont.]

783
372
782

[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] this purificatory effect, however, but also the incense itself. This is shown by its name, "purity-wood," and by the use of bsañs as a verb, which, according to Ch. Das (p. 1316), means "to cleanse, to remove" [cited in English]. For this reason incense is also scattered in the water with the red-hot stone (ch'ü-t'an) that is used for cultic purification.

Word List

192 Cypress tree: šgua sdziödzē (3) [see Note 3 above].
782 Cypress: šgua.
[824] Cypress incense: fdzañ (šdzañ, dzañ, sañ) (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba offering: fdzañ sdzam (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba (profane): talġa (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 49.] talġa: Tib. t'al ba or t'al k'a = powder, dust, ash; Mong. talxa = flour, rye flour, barley flour.

ġlu-smän: Tib. klu sman = the dragon medicine, bot. Angelica. There are four kinds, of which the black and the white are the best. The white Angelica is used against sickness from the earth-dragon. In Mongolic it is called luus-un em = dragon-medicine.

[824]
[757]

snaġsog: Tib. sna = many, and ts'ogs = kind. lisi = Tib. li-si = Carophyllus. gušgum: Tib. gur-gum = saffron, crocus. sēsmiel: Tib. sug-smel (rmel) = cardamom; Chin. pai-tou kuan

[824]

twenty Tibetan soldiers, were flogged on such occasions 792
in order to make a drastic example of them. Whenever 157
people had a serious conflict, this Living Buddha was invited as arbitrator. He extended his zeal with prodigality, indulging his greedy fondness for display, and cultivating his reputation for knowing how to straighten out problems that seemed to be in a hopeless muddle. These activities absorbed all of his time and energy.

Cha-ik Hutukhtu followed in the wake of the Living Buddha of Siamar, building up his influence among the Chinese officials by means of gifts and visits, and by obtaining of the illustrious title Hutukhtu. He was never at home.

The Living Buddha Pu of Seerkok was fond of beautiful and fast horses. Every three days he participated [526] in the morning races in the city of Hsining, riding his own horses in competition with the Moslems, who raised the best horses in the country. He was a better success at riding horses and breeding them than in philosophy and metaphysics; he was never seen in the temple.

The supreme chief of Seerkok, incarnation of the celebrated and learned Min-chu-erh, had a job at Nanking in the Bureau of Tibetan and Mongol affairs, but spent all of his spare time in Shanghai, indulging in expensive distractions and sorely depleting the funds of his intendancy. Back in Hsining, the community of the lamas stirred up trouble by not allowing him to return to the monastery, and preparing to bring suit against him at court, claiming that he was not the genuine incarnation. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu told me in Man hui, Hou-t'ao, in 1940 that he had sent his intendant to Seerkok in order to avoid scandal and to smooth the ruffled feathers of the lamas, and that after several weeks, Min-chu-erh, his behavior having been on display in the city of Hsining, had succeeded in returning to Seerkok, protected by a retinue of thirty Moslem soldiers loaned by General Ma Erh-hsiang.

It was delightful to encounter once in a while a good Living Buddha, who was really loved by the people. In Hsien mi monastery the Goomang Buddha, an old man, was engaged all year long in making up packages containing medicine, on which he blew his blessings and which he distributed gratis to people who come from far away to receive them. It was a panacea, which [757] healed all kind of diseases of men, women, and children.

Dealing with fasting rites for laymen, there will be recorded the example of a really outstanding Living Buddha, the old Li. Modest and unassuming, adored by the people, his preaching developed and revived the sense of religiosity and of justice and humanity. His beneficent influence radiated far beyond the circle of fasters, into families and the administration of villages. He was at that time, among the Living Buddhas, the only educator of the Monguors, a benefactor of the Monguor society. [p.70(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

proficient in the art of gelding, are well known to the 742
farmers and can earn money by this skill. Others, skilled in the diseases of domestic animals, are busy all year writing prescriptions and selling medicines.

Still others work as doctors and earn a pretty good living. After examining the six different pulses of the patient, an agreement is made. The doctor guarantees [759] the cure after a certain number of days, and demands immediate payment of an agreed sum, or of an animal, according to the seriousness of the disease. Then follows the prescription and the medicine. Other lamas are engaged in the tailoring business and sell cloth, silk, and brocade. Lamas like to be hired by devout people to make pilgrimages to celebrated monasteries for their intention. I once saw a lama reading texts for three days in the temple of medicine. Two bricks of tea put near him were the salary for the reading, which had been requested by a sick Monguor. I was told at Kumbum that many lamas, hired by Monguors or Tibetans, made a good living by prostrating themselves 108 times every day, for a fixed number of days, [758] before a celebrated temple. Lamas try to be invited by their family, relatives, or friends of the family to pray at their home for several days for an agreed intention. If a sheep or goat is given as payment, they manage to put them, ear-marked, into the herds of some family, and thus in time many lamas come to own a small herd.

If you need some musk or saffron, or *p'ulu* cloth* or other products of Tibet, within an hour a lama will show up with what you want, ready to close a deal. It is the same if you need animals or a fine Peking saddle. A few lamas travel over the country to sell books. Lamas who have money in hand are ready to lend it, providing there are satisfactory guarantees. If you are calling on lamas and a lama visitor shows up, they talk business after a few minutes, always business. It was interesting to ask the young lama boys about the means used by the lamas to earn a living. They knew perfectly well how each lama made money, what his profits were, and how much he owned.

It is easy to understand that the mind of a people endowed with such a roving eye for business is not bent on prayers and meditations, and that such people are not committed to monastic life with passionate devotion. Perhaps the environment in which the lamas live, their daily conversations, the successes scored by lamas in trade, stimulate the passion to acquire more and more wealth in order to be able to live at ease in a

* W. W. Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891-92*, 67, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1894, describes *p'ulu* as woolen fabric woven in pieces, usually thirty feet long and about nine inches wide. The best kinds of this cloth come from Ulterior Tibet. The most popular colors are red, purple, striped and white with red and blue dyed crosses. The fabric is used in China to cover saddles or trim seats of carts. "*P'ulu*" is the Chinese transcription of the Tibetan name of this cloth, "*p'ruk*." [p. 60(B)]

/151 cont'd/

764 form: After incinerating their dead according to Lamaist rites, they gather the remains in a chest ad hoc, and bury them provisionally in a clean, dry place on the slope of a mountain. At the ts'in-ming /ch'ing ming/, the festival of the dead among the Chinese, they disinter the chest to bury it for good in the common cemetery of the clan. This custom is followed even by the T'ou-jen who live beside the cemetery. This practice which the T'ou-jen claim to have been general in the old times nowadays is already no longer seen nowadays in many places.

2. Relations of the Maternal Uncle with the Family of his Sister and her Children

604 Another basic element of the matriarchate is the particular situation which the maternal uncle occupies in this organization where all the rights of the family seem to belong to him.

a) Right of life and death over his sister's children.

[761] Now, even today, among the T'ou-jen the maternal uncle has kept the most important rights over his sister's children; he has even kept the right of life and death over them. Elsewhere I shall describe three true-to-life happenings where one sees the maternal uncle preside over a family council in which, without any subsequent form of trial and without the intervention of the law or the courts, he decides that /152/ his sister's son will be buried alive. Now without the consent of the maternal uncle nobody would dare to make such a decree; no member of the family would dare take upon himself such a responsibility, not even the grandfather, although we are in the patriarchal period. These facts are all the more strange since capital punishment is not even within the jurisdiction of the head t'ou-se.

In its place I shall quote with all the circumstances the case of two brothers who in the lifetime of their widowed mother indirectly caused the suicide of their brother, a rogue of the worst kind, whom they had shut up in a room after beating him; the scamp hung himself. Now, for causing their brother's death, they had to pay an indemnity to their maternal uncle, the master of the bones of his

presented to the Living Buddha with the scarf. It is the gift for outstanding persons. Then the master of ceremonies makes his traditional speech. After having thanked the Living Buddha, he starts his usual speech of apology: "We are ashamed to have treated the holy man so irreverently, the meat we prepared was tough and tasteless for it was meat of an old animal. The rolls were badly kneaded and hard, and boiled in rancid oil. The k'ang, on which the holy man slept was not heated enough. The holy man could not sleep a wink the whole night. Our k'ang is too short, the saintly man could not stretch out his noble legs. The felt spread on the k'ang was too thin, his holy limbs must be sore. We are a poor family and should like to offer a herd of sheep. We are ashamed to be only able to offer an old horse, saddled with a broken saddle. Our harvest this year was the worst we ever reaped, so we can afford only to offer a couple of sacks of rancid rolls. To add to our frustration, the wool of our sheep was so bad and short this year, that we can only offer a thin felt poorly prepared by an unskilled artisan. The butter we prepared for the lamas and the lamps is nearly all rancid. What we offer to you is more like a gift offered at a burial than a gift fit for these circumstances." Then the maternal uncle and the celebrant prostrate themselves, apologizing and presenting the scarf. The Living Buddha protests that he is very happy, and thanks the family for its prodigality, and promises his blessings.

At the moment of departure the family kneels with incense sticks in their joined hands at the gate of the courtyard; each of the assistant lamas receive two strings of cash, and the Living Buddha takes with him the packet of dollars. After him follow some youngsters with a beautiful horse, saddled with the finest saddle, and a precious rug upon it, with some animals carrying butter and tea for the lamas of the monastery, rolls, meat and sugar, and the news is spread all over the country that so and so offered such and such gifts with an unusual prodigality.

Poor families offer to the Living Buddha fifty strings of cash instead of a horse. The celebrant who belongs to a still poorer family goes at noon with his maternal uncle to the lamasery, in order to see a Living Buddha who performs the rites upon him and is presented with two strings of cash.[17]

This information was given me by several masters of ceremonies and Monguors who attended the rites, and had themselves performed them.

XIII. DEATH

In connection with the funeral customs of the Monguors, a few words should be said about their notions concerning the souls, because these have an important bearing upon the funeral customs.

[17] Schröder, *op. cit.*, *Der Alters Segen*, 630.

774
sion concerning this subject among the Monguors, who 171
assume that they have three souls.

THE FIRST SOUL

The Monguors used to talk about the soul of the 774
bones,[10] which seems to adhere to the bones in general, 775
not to a definite bone. When the bones are broken or split, the soul seems not to be affected. Consequently, when Monguors kill a sheep, they do not take care to avoid the breaking of the bones. The soul seems never to leave the bones, even during life or after death; it is said to be buried with the bones in the grave, and to remain there adhering to them, and to vanish when the bones vanish. Never is it said that this soul harms people, or is harmed in anyway. However, when the shaman calls back the souls of a sick man supposed to be [756]
harmed by malignant spirits, or by souls of the deceased, the bone soul is called back with the two others.

This peculiar feeling existing over all Asia concern- 761
ing the bones is noteworthy. The bones play a large 774
role in the beliefs of the Mongol and Turkish people, [171]
to which stock the Monguors belong. The Monguors, as well as the Mongols and Turks, when asking for the name of a man's clan, ask for the name of his "bone," and their saying goes that the bones come from the father and the flesh from the mother. This basic principle is so deeply ingrained in their consciousness that when you ask a man or a woman what their bones are, they will always answer by giving the name of the clan of their father and not that of their mother. Everybody is recognized as belonging to the clan of his father. If you ask for the name of the bone of their mother, they will answer by giving the name of their mother's father's clan and not of their mother's mother's clan, for the bones come from the father. This behavior fits perfectly in the frame of a patriarchal society.

However, it is not known at what time specific facts 604
caused the Monguors to go so far as to call their 774
maternal uncle the "master of the bones" of the children 764
of his sister, to acquiesce to his illogical usurpation of the most basic rights belonging to the family chief in a patriarchal society, to allow the maternal uncle to decide, in definite circumstances, about the life and death of these children, and to be their recognized avenger in case of suicide, caused by maltreatment, and to become the only man who can permit the burial of these children.[11] In all nomadic societies in Asia this intrusion is observed on a larger or smaller scale. Even in the Chinese society the maternal uncle plays an important role, presiding over the festivities at marriages and giving permission to bury the children of his sister. The Chinese saying is well known that, when the maternal uncle brings suit at court against the son of his sister, the father of the defendant cannot withstand it, and also the saying that as long as the mother's family (maternal uncle) does not permit burial, the de-

[10] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 2: 205.
[11] Schram, Part I: 91. [p. 140 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

new beliefs have entered their minds. However, for how long a time will the existence of this soul last? Even though the lamas speak of a quasi-endless paradise with Buddha, and of successive rebirths, the Monguors honor the souls of only three older generations at the feast of spring, at the celebration of the family guardian deity, and at the time when shamans expel evil spirits from sick men. After that the souls seem to be finished. 774 775

The second soul seems to be more independent of the body than the first one, because, during sleep, dreaming, and fainting fits, it may wander to far-off countries, and later recall what it saw or heard, and how it acted in these countries. At the moment of death, the family, on the roof of the house, implores it not to leave them. The shaman, curing the sick, calls this soul back with the two others along the rope. Immediately after death, the lama releases this soul through the bregmatic fontenelle. Surely, threfore, this soul leaves the body after death. 774 775 761

However, its existence has always been precarious. During life it was subject to being harmed by nefarious spirits, and after death, lamas must say prayers to help it reach paradise safely, in order that vampires may not devour it on the way. In the same way, the shamans at the feast of spring tell about the dangerous crossing of the bridge after death, and about vampires waiting for these souls.[13]

Siberian shamans travel to heaven in order to bring back souls abducted by evil spirits.[14] The Tungus believe that the soul remains for a certain time near the body,[15] and then a dog carries it into the lower world;[16] that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat,[17] and that a raven looks for the souls traveling, after death, to the lower world and brings the news to the soul's owner.[18] The release of the soul is a very important function of the shamans.[19] [171]

The Monguors do not say in which part of the body the soul is located, or from where it originated. At the feast of spring, however, the shamans, when making fun, tell in a jocular manner how Tengri made seven men and seven women. The Tungus believe that the souls are given by the spirit;[20] they also say that the death of a man results in the birth of a new soul in the other (upper) world, and that the soul may be sent to a newborn human being.[21] Among the Ch'i-tan is recorded a sacrifice offered by the emperor in the tenth month, to the god of the sacred Black Mountain, who cares for the souls of the populace.[22] 774 775

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[13] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 191, 192.
[14] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 179.
[15] Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex*, 215.
[16] *Ibid.*, 210.
[17] *Ibid.*, 92.
[18] *Ibid.*, 142.
[19] *Ibid.*, 276.
[20] *Ibid.*, 128.
[21] *Ibid.*, 297.
[22] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 204–214. [p.141(B)]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

V. FAMILY LIFE

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

596 The general principles of the Monguor family system have already been given above in Chapter III, and need here be recapitulated only very briefly. Until 1911–1922, when these notes were made, the Monguor family was a patrilineal, extended, patrilocal family. The extended family was under the authority of the grandfather, or of the great-grandfather if he survived. No family of which I had any knowledge exceeded four generations. The whole extended family lives in dwellings grouped around a common courtyard. The property and wealth are collectively owned by the whole group, but with authority over the property unequally concentrated in the senior generation. This manner of life is graphically described by the Monguors in expressions (used also by the Chinese and possibly borrowed from the Chinese) as "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." While these sayings may be borrowed from the Chinese, the underlying principle, that of the hearth and the fire-spirit of the hearth, belongs independently to the nomad tradition from which the Monguors are descended.

Conversely, the break-up of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families composing the extended family sets up its own kitchen, hearth, and chimney and begins to cook its own food separately. This means that it is parting from the extended family to which it belongs and founding a new extended family. The son who thus sets up separately becomes independent of the orders of the senior whom he formerly acknowledged as head of his family; he is beginning to work for himself and to retain any money that comes into his hands, instead of turning it over to the head of the family. When a son begins to act in this independent manner, the neighbors gossip, the family itself is uneasy, and it is recognized that the old family is breaking up.

596 587 It should not be assumed that polygamy is a regular characteristic of the extended family. Polygamy is very decidedly an economic question. On the one hand, polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard, because it gives rise to quarrels among wives, and on the other hand there are few Monguors who are economically able to afford a household with more than one wife. If one of the sons living in the common courtyard should venture to ask the head of the family to provide him with a concubine (perhaps because his wife is barren) all the other daughters-in-law are jealous and their husbands share with them because they feel that the cost of the concubine means that the favored brother is being given more than his share of the family's capital. If the tormenting of the other daughters-in-law should drive the concubine to despair, she might commit suicide; and a suicide always means the complete ruin of the family. [762]

[P. 816]

Mo 171 /85 cont'd/

In her husband's clan, she keeps her own spirits and sho /sic/ can never be relatively to the new spirits equal to the persons born in her husband's clan. /Cited in English./

b) Relations of the son-in-law with the family of his parents-in-law.

Mo 606 The son-in-law addresses the members of his wife's family in the same way that he addresses those of his own family, but adding the term gadin in speaking of them to a third person.

There are two official visits to be made each year to his parents-in-law; the first at the new year and the second on the fifteenth of the eighth moon. In addition, it is his duty to go to ask about the health of his parents-in-law when they are sick. Likewise he will take part in the festivities which are given at their home on the occasion of a marriage, upon the birth of a first-born child, ...and he will never be absent from the mournings of the family.

It is to be noted that he will always take an active part in festivities and mournings; he does not mix with the guests, he does not have his place at dinner with the guests; but being considered as a member of the family, he will help with the preparations, he will receive the /86/ guests upon their arrival, and he will dine in the kitchen with the members of the family of his parents-in-law. Again it is his duty to lend a hand to his parents-in-law when they have to use force to defend their rights, as, for example, on the occasion of the suicide or the repudiation of one of his wife's sisters. However, the adage says that relationships must not be too intimate with a related family, and that one must avoid all kinds of commercial transactions. (1)

Mo [762]

Mi Mo 585

1. I summarize in this note, according to l'Histoire des Miao /The History of the Miao/ by Savina, 2nd ed. (1930), pp. 226-229, several resemblances

/107 cont'd/

595 [606] family to announce his intention to them. The envoy will bring the traditional jug of gin and will say that their daughter has given her consent to her husband's wishes for such and such a reason. Then he will beg the parents not to make difficulties for the son-in-law. His mission will be easy to carry out when it is a question of sterility, of widowhood, or of lack of workers. He will meet difficulties, often serious, when he has a case in the fourth category of polygamists to present.

595 762 The purpose of this interview is above all to come to an understanding with this family, who will claim to have given their daughter to be the sole mistress of the house. Then, it is a precautionary measure. Experience has taught that these unions are often disastrous, and that it is among them that the greatest number of suicide is found. Now we know the T'ou-jens' profound fear of suicides, which regularly ruin the families concerned. In case of suicide, the clans of the mother and father of the unfortunate woman present themselves in order to demand an account of the death of their daughter. If before concubinage it has been possible to obtain the consent of the family, later, if ever the misfortune comes, there will be more chance for an understanding. The husband first asks for his wife's consent because he also knows that suicide is her supreme weapon and that he can do nothing against it.

595 587 The second wife that the T'ou-jen takes is either a girl or a widow. If she is a widow, they follow the procedure for the marriage of widows; the price of a concubine widow is double or triple that of an official wife. If the second wife is a girl, they go through all the phases of the marriage of girls.

595 Well-to-do families rarely give their daughters to be concubines. Poor families will "resign themselves" to it wholeheartedly, fascinated by the extraordinary compensations which they receive for this "sacrifice." The price of girl concubines /108/ go up to 300 strings of cash and more, without counting the clothes, the dinner, and the rest; which proves abundantly that the financial situation plays a fundamental role in polygamy.

M /141 cont'd/
586 sum or to find signers and go-between, for nobody wants to expose
672 himself to the vengeance of the family of the repudiated wife. I knew a case where all was ready for the repudiation of a woman who was claimed to be badly formed physically. Since the family was
M rich, it was on the point of turning up its nose at all threats. At the
[762] last moment it changed its mind when it learned that the wife had just procured opium to end her life.

M Thus those who do not fear exposing themselves to such troubles
586 will repudiate their wives. Fortunately, these people are extremely
432 rare.

It must therefore be admitted that in this respect the T'ou-jen have not undergone the pernicious influence of their neighbors and masters, the Chinese, among whom repudiation and the sale of the wife often occur in normal times. One will never see T'ou-jen women sold in great numbers in time of famine as is seen in China even today. One will not meet T'ou-jen who will take a mortage on their wives, as I have seen happen twice among the Chinese. One will never see the T'ou-jen put a woman on the mountain of filial piety as I once saw done. Although with them the wife must work very hard, she is more highly esteemed and respected than in China.

M If, however, repudiation does take place, they begin by getting
586 go-betweens, who will go to consult with the wife's family. When the discussions have reached an end and the money demanded has been promised, the contract is written and signed as for divorce. The go-between, after bringing the promised sum to the family of the
M repudiated woman, /142/ will go to get the latter and present her to
[858] her parents. The children in this case stay with the husband's family. (1)

HM
586

1. Timkovski, Voyage à Pékin, Vol. 2, p. 313: (Mongols.) Divorce is very frequent; the least dissatisfaction on one side or the other is enough to have it declared. If the husband wants to be separated from his wife without a

/152 cont'd/

604 sister's children. Note that even if the father had been living, the procedure would have been the same.

The maternal uncle plays the principal role in the parleys on [762] the occasion of the suicide of his sister's children. Third series of facts: A young woman, an unbearable scold, had abandoned her poor husband to follow a lover in easier circumstances. After two or three years, since she no longer got along with him either, the woman came back to her family, who wanted to return her to her legitimate husband. Fearing that at the least quarrel she might swallow opium and ruin his family, he required the maternal uncle of the shrew to constitute himself guarantor that there would not be any action on the part of his family in case the woman committed suicide. There was a family council, and the maternal uncle signed a contract in the sense indicated after making strongly virulent admonitions to his niece. The maternal uncle had to make the pledge, and not her own father. I met an absolutely similar case among the Chinese of Kansu.

These three series of facts prove the maternal uncle's rights of life and death over his sister's children. They are all of relatively recent date. In none of these cases was the maternal uncle charged at law. This is therefore proof that present-day custom still accepts these rights.

604 171 /153/ In China also, moreover, the rights of the maternal uncle are very extensive even today; the Chinese proverb says enough about it, "kieou-fou kao wai-cheng, iang lao tse k'eng pou hia," i.e., "when the maternal uncle makes a charge at law against one of his sister's children, the children's own father can do nothing to defend them." (1) The maternal uncle has the right to punish his

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 144: If the mother should accuse her son, intervention to stop the execution in this case can be made by the mother's brother, who can take the guilty man under his charge.... In the intervention

[648 cont.]

766 and on the same day on which the girl died. If she died in the morning, she is burned in the evening; if she died in the late evening, she is burned the following morning. A man from her own family takes the corpse just as it is, with the clothes, over his shoulder, carries it to a remote ravine, digs a hole by a copse, piles straw and twigs in it, puts the corpse on top, and burns it. Usually a few other people also help. One does not wait until the dead girl is completely reduced to ashes, but leaves the still smoldering corpse behind and goes home. Dogs and wolves consume the remains. As soon as a girl has been married, however, 764 even if only for a few days, she receives an honorable cremation like any other woman, with all the ceremonies, with prayer, and with a death-box. This also applies to those daughters who [588] have not yet found a man, but who are married to the sky or the mani-tree.

● 762 If an adult, whether a man or a married woman, has 766 killed himself, he receives the usual cremation ceremonies without fire-pouring and without a death-box. Usually no one [782] is invited to give the prayer. At the final funeral meal, how- [604] ever, the mother's brother will demand a precise accounting concerning the causes of the suicide, especially if a woman is involved, and he will insist upon an honorable death rite with a death-box. Disputes are common at such times.

766 Those who lost their lives through violence, such as drownings, falls from heights, murder, etc., receive a cremation or interment like any other person of the same age.

[649] Those who died outside the yard, be it an ordinary death or through an accident or suicide, are always laid out outside of the compound, say, in a special tent or in a cave. If a suicide has taken place inside the yard, however, the person who has taken his life is laid out in the house.

792 Persons who have died far away are brought home. If 766 this is not possible, for instance, in the case of soldiers, a lama is invited. While praying he writes down the name of the de- [212] ceased on a stiff sheet of paper and sticks it in a measure of grain (wheat), which is then placed on a table in the room into which otherwise the death-box would have been brought. All the same ceremonies are now carried out in front of it, as though

tery in the most luxurious style. The head temple, with 175
its gilt tiled roof, which had been preserved, was em- 792
bellished and other temples rebuilt. He rebuilt a splen- 346
did palace for himself patterned after the most luxurious palaces in Peking. Chang-chia's Ch'ie-bzan was the wealthiest monastery in the country, with 150 lamas, 2 colleges, and 4 minor Living Buddhas. Most of its wealth was provided by Mongols, among whom the influence and prestige of Chang-chia was proverbial.

Every year, lama expeditions of Ch'ie-bzan traveled 175
in Mongolia in order to collect alms. Chang-chia's 794
prestige was so great that the Queen of the Torgots 648
came to Ch'ie-bzan in 1913, to invite the intendant of the monastery to send an expedition among her tribesmen, for it had been a long time since an expedition had reached her country. I happened to be at Ch'ie-bzan in 1914 when the expedition returned. It had collected 3,000 sheep, 400 horses, and 280 camels, which were loaded with wool and skins.

The breach between T'u-kuan and Sumpa, which oc- 175
curred in 1890, was more tragic. During the rebellion 578
of the Moslems, Sumpa (born in 1854) had fled among 792
the Mongols and Tibetans, north of Kukunor. He met with a Mongol girl, whom he had moved to his branch monastery called Sumpa-ssu. The lama community of Erh-ku-lung, after some years, could no longer stand the disrepute brought on the monastery. It brought [691]
suit against Sumpa before the Amban in the prefectural city of Hsining, claiming he was not a genuine reincarnation. The lama community urged that he be erased from the list of Buddhas, and insisted on the right to search for the genuine reincarnation. For several months the lamas disturbed the whole city with the scandal, and spent money. The Chinese enjoyed all the incidents of the trial. Sumpa lost his face and honor irretrievably. Sumpa, however, was rich and the Amban venal. The Amban finally proposed that Sumpa leave Erh-ku-lung and move to one of his affiliates. This reincarnation (the third) of the illustrious Sumpa, having cut a sorry figure, never returned to Erh-ku-lung, but lived at his branch where, in 1916, his two girls delighted the old age of their father, who was sixty. His eldest daughter had married the son of the chief of the Aruk tribe. In 1916 the old man made a pilgrimage to Lhasa, and the lamas said he was atoning for his sins. No wonder that the Li-fan yüan records lacked information concerning the subsequent reincarnations of the Great Sumpa.

The Living Buddha Ch'ie-bzan of Erh-ku-lung hav- 175
ing a branch monastery of his own, moved into it, 792
appearing at Erh-ku-lung only to attend the festivals. 627
The Living Buddha Wang lived in retired seclusion. 762
Soon after the trial of Sumpa, the minor Living Buddha Tsung-tsa, one of the eleven, followed in the steps of Sumpa and established a family in Tsung-tsa. In the winter of the same year, the minor Living Buddha Seerting was taken and beaten at night by the husband and

[p.37(A)]

friends of a lady Seerting was "visiting." He was 175
found the next morning hanging from a beam in his 792
palace. The loss of face had been too tremendous. 627
Erh-ku-lung had become a place of unrelieved misery. 762
The year 1890 was one of the most fateful in the history of Erh-ku-lung.

After the withdrawal of Chang-chia Hutukhtu and 175
Sumpa Hutukhtu, T'u-kuan became the actual omnipo- 792
tent chief of the monastery, and acted and was recognized as such. Because it is customary to hush up dishonorable facts deliberately, Chang-chia and Sumpa were very seldom spoken about. It was a long time before I knew they had been the honored co-founders of the monastery.

The former glorious days of Erh-ku-lung vanished. There were no longer learned men at the monastery, which for a century had been the most celebrated center of learning in Huang-chung. Its renown for science passed to the now flourishing monastery of Labrang. The tragic departure of two of its glorious founders put a blight on it, and left a leaden atmosphere of gloom hovering over it. Troubles had succeeded each other. Kumbum, in the meantime, had made great strides, and became the most celebrated monastery of Huang-chung. It was visited by caravans of pilgrims from Mongolia and Tibet, which no longer cared for, or even paid a visit to Erh-ku-lung. Once at the top of the Lamaist world, Erh-ku-lung became a dim shadow of its former self, a second-rate monastery.

III. THE LAMASERIES IN HUANG-CHUNG

THE YELLOW SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG 792

This chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung. The forty-two monasteries and branches situated north of the Hsining River were built according to the pattern of the old mother monastery of Erh-ku-lung. It seems obvious, therefore, to base the study on this initial institution, the most renowned and flourishing in former times. Because all the lamaseries of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung have been organized on the same pattern, a general view of Lamaist institutions can thus be obtained.

The study is founded on facts collected during a 121
stay of many years among the Monguors; which may give a better insight into the matter and reveal the trend of mind of the actors.

THE LAMASERIES OF HUANG-CHUNG INDEPENDENT OF LHASA

All the lamaseries in Huang-chung are autonomous 175
units, independent of Lhasa both in matters of admin- 792
istration and appointment of superiors, even in matters of doctrine. The Achia Lama defended the autonomy of Kumbum against the illegal interference of the Dalai Lama in 1908 by committing suicide. This energetic

[p. 37(B)]

toward his father, and he could not understand how the 792
same individual could happen to be the incarnation of 157
the father and the son. Then Achia talked to him like 578
a father, telling him to be more circumspect and to behave more decently, for many tales were already spreading about his behavior with Tibetan women. Liberties of that kind, he said, outraging the Lamaist conventions, were not allowed at Kumbum. The lamas of Kumbum, breathing fire and brimstone, prepared their weapons and called together lamas of neighboring monasteries. The officials of Hsining (the Amban, the General, the tao-t'ai, and the prefect) were in a hurry, and went to Kumbum with troops in order to prevent a clash. Finally, in order to get rid of the Dalai Lama as fast as possible, they decided to let him appoint three lama officials and then to depose them after his departure. The Dalai Lama left, and the three appointed officials also left as quickly as possible for fear of being killed by the Kumbum lamas. The deposed officials assumed their jobs again, but Achia, deeming that he had irretrievably lost face, cut his throat. Several times I heard this tragic story, told by the Amban himself and by the officials at Kumbum. [762]

The Dalai Lama cut a sorry figure in Hsining in 792
1909. The residence of Achia, destroyed by fire in 157
1895, was still not rebuilt in 1914, although all the materials for the reconstruction had been ready since 1909. The wood had been offered by the Tibetan Chief, Kach-htjir, and a contract had been written by the intendancy, promising Kach-htjir and his relatives the privilege of always staying at the residence, whenever they visited Kumbum.

Chao, the Living Buddha of Sia-mar, was a most celebrated man all over the country for his skill in patching up troubles, his unusual eloquence, proficiency in using the double-edged sword, of menaces and threats, soft words and blandishments. However, his influence lay in his cultivated acquaintance with the Chinese officials, to whom he paid visits and offered lavish gifts, and whom in due time he would use and provide with lawsuits that would benefit them. He was credited with having marvelous abilities and of being a powerful man. The saying went around that his special [828]
kind of intelligence weighed so heavily on one side of his body, that the soles of a new pair of shoes, after a few days, were always run down on the same side—the side where his intelligence was pressing the most.

He had obtained the office of chiliarch, the old privilege of judging the numerous tribes formerly subjected to his predecessors. He started abolishing, among his subjects, the smoking and planting of opium, with Draconian severity, and flogging and fining addicts of alcohol. He compelled the Chinese, to whom his subjects had transferred lands, to return the fields. Wherever there happened to be a festival, he pitched his tent and waited to render justice. Young women who had eloped and had been brought back by his retinue of

[p.70 (A)]

villagers, who also did not permit such liberties to Living Buddhas. Feeling the stigma attached to his exposure, he committed suicide. It also seems to be evidenced by the fact that penalties are still inflicted upon lamas, in the crudest forms, for infraction of this rule. This stigma is still attached to those who fail to meet their moral obligations. 772 831 [762]

The reform by means of serious study, however, seems to be a failure among the Monguor lamas of the present times. Among so many Monguor Living Buddhas and lamas, only the Living Buddha Chao-hsi of Kumbum enjoyed some repute, but in order to cause the lamas to attend his instructions, special benefits had to be provided for them. Very few among the Living Buddhas and lamas are interested in study at the present time, and, having nothing to occupy them all day, become involved in vice. Army officers and directors of schools are aware of the necessity of keeping young folk busy the whole day long, alternating fixed jobs with recreation. The lamas, however, except for attendance at the morning convention, which lasts only an hour, have to kill time making their own living. [185] 772 461

In the whole region of Hsining not a single school has been established by the rich monasteries, in order to promote the instruction of the Monguors and the Tibetans. Even at present in the lamaseries not a single elementary school exists for the lama boys, and no religious education is given to them. Not a single lama takes care of the spiritual needs and instruction of the adherents to their religion who live in a given area. Not a single hospital has been founded in order to assuage the pains and sufferings of the sick Monguors and Tibetans. The universal charity of Lamaism does not consist in love for one's neighbor, but in a platonic compassion for the universal sufferings of humanity and of all living things and for the impermanence of all existing beings. Lamas are not sisters of charity; they pass the sick draped in their cloak of indifference.[29] 772 871

[29] Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, 373, notes: "Among Buddhist believers there has been scarcely anyone who has ever given any thought to social problems. The priests of ancient times were generally recluses who paid no attention whatever to the application of their religion to the needs of the practical world or to making the principles of true Buddhism as distinct as possible." [792 771 175]

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist, conversant with the Tibetan language and literature, went to Tibet to study Lamaism, and wrote an instructive note on Lamaism (p. 410). "I confine myself only to a popular exposition of the subject. Lamaism is constituted by two main branches; the older, the 'red cap sect' subdivided into many branches, and the later, the 'yellow cap sect.' They all agree upon cardinal points and in the formula for attaining perfection. The founder of the old sect was a Tantric priest, 'Lobon Padma Chungne' born in Cabul. He enjoined on his disciples the practices of flesh-eating, marriage, and drinking liquors, in order to attain Buddhahood . . . details I cannot give, for they are full of obscenity. The old sect, extremely popular in Tibet, has undergone considerable modification by lamas. . . . I note the reaction against the old sect by Atisha [from India, eleventh century], later by Tsong Khapa [fifteenth century]. The principle of Tsong Khapa was that priesthood must stand on asceticism. Therefore he urged

[p.72 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

While the t'u-ssu and their subjects were fighting and suffering and dying in Hsining, the despairing Ming emperor, on April 25, 1644, had hanged himself in the Wan Sui Shan in Peking. On June 6, 1644, the troops of the new Ch'ing dynasty entered Peking and started at full speed with destruction of the troops of Li Tze-ch'eng who had already proclaimed himself emperor. On October 7, 1644, he ended his life by hanging himself.[87] 175x [643 762]

The t'u-ssu and their subjects served the Ch'ing dynasty with the same faithfulness they had served the Ming dynasty. 175x 648 727

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started with the occupation of Huangchung, this was an insecure colony of China, which during the previous dynasties had been lost several times and recovered. The Ming organized the country, providing a civil and military administration on the Chinese pattern. In Huangchung they started with the founding of military colonies, induced the Tibetan tribes to submit to them, established the exchange bureau of tea for horses, favored and protected the arrival of traders from inside China, and promoted agriculture and commerce. They attracted Chinese to settle in the country, built schools, promoted education, and repelled forays of Tibetans and Mongols from outside the Huangchung borders. Huangchung was at peace. [647 437]

However, in the fateful year 1509 the first group of Mongols arrived and settled in Kokonor, followed by one after another, which ruined and cowed into submission the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor. At the same time the population of Huangchung and East Kansu, from 1509 to 1597, succumbed to the recurrent onslaught of avid, restless and predatory Mongols. The Tibetan tribes, robbed of their cattle, having seen their women and young folk abducted, beset with starvation and abject poverty, started raiding, devastating, and laying waste Huangchung and East Kansu. The army could not deter the forces of destruction. Raids prevailed over the entire northwestern borders of the empire, and the emperor gave the Huangchung officers insufficient reinforcements. It was only in 1590 that the energetic Minister of War, Cheng Lo, commanding new forces, succeeded in defeating the brigands. In the meantime the administration had incessantly built cities, villages, schools, walls, and fortresses all over the country. The aspect of the country had changed completely, despite the desperate times. The country had been organized and the administration established. [653 657 658]

During these times, when raids and destruction raged unchecked, Chinese and Shat'o and Uighurs, Tibetans and Monguors had suffered together, helped and sheltered each other, and blended and fused in the compound called the Huangchung population. 175x 563 571

In 1644 when the Ch'ing dynasty occupied Huangchung it was no longer the depopulated unorganized 175x

[87] Erich Hauer, *op. cit.*, 488, 494, 497.

[P. 52 (B)]

[633 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 635 cont.]
Tib. dbaṅ = force, bskur = to consecrate, to transfer. This is a ceremony of the transference of force, at which each lama receives a secret name (Unkrig).

To admit to lama standing with prayer: gẽsnien dʒẽwla-.
[785] To observe a day of meditation: pi-chai (Chin.); gõṅsõṅ (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Member of the Yellow Church: gẽlõṅba (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Pages 634-635 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[635] 5. Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation*

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* See "Notes," pp. 650-658 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

763 If someone is close to death, his clothes are taken off,
764 if he is wearing any on the kang. He is washed, shaved, or in the case of a woman the hair is dressed, and tied in a crouching position immediately after the last breath. A piece of cloth is thrown over the shoulder, which is the sole garment of the dead.

764 Then he is put in a death-box, which looks like a portable house, and propped up with straw. The box is placed on the floor in a room, and the closest relatives hold a death-watch there. At each meal the people bring some of the food in front of the death-box, burn paper, and kowtow. Each

[635 cont.]

764 evening the neighbors and friends gather and pray for the dead, squatting in a circle. Some days before the cremation, the master of ceremonies invites a lama to conduct the death cere-
[792] monies and burn the corpse. First, however, the mother's
[604] brother must release the corpse; this is done the evening before at the meal, when he demands an accounting for the dead person and his interment.

The cremation is undertaken outside the village in a crematory, which on each occasion is built at a different place.
[792] The lama performs almost the same ceremonies on this occasion as at the fire-pouring. After the cremation the remaining bones are kept in a wooden chest and temporarily buried on the spot.
[765] Not until the next spring do the relatives transfer them to the
766 family cemetery. -- Small children are not buried. Adult girls are burned quietly without ceremonies in an isolated place.

765 The strict period of mourning lasts 49 days. As a sign of mourning, the men turn their clothing inside out, and the women remove their ornaments and certain parts of their headdress.

[636] Details

763 Preparation of the corpse: Shortly before death, the men
764 shave first the head and then the beard of the dying person. If death sets in too suddenly, however, so that they can no longer shave him alive, it is left undone. After the shaving, he is undressed and his hands, face, and feet are washed, not the entire body. The men do this for men, the women for women. The women keep their long hair, as do girls. The hair is parted in the center and two three-stranded braids are plaited, which hang down over the breast or the back. In the case of sudden death, the corpse is merely washed and the hair dressed; the washing is then done with only a damp cloth (1).

[823]

1. [Foreign text p. 650.] Why no water may flow over the corpse could not be discovered; probably it is feared that the water would thereby be made impure; it is counted among the basic elements.

[636 cont.]

775 763 778 [262] [278]

Before the dying person draws his last breath, someone puts a mani-ball, a piece of gold, a piece of silver, and a piece of butter in his mouth. The mani-ball guarantees him an advanced age after the later rebirth (2). Gold and silver testify at the

2. [Foreign text pp. 650-651.] According to the informant, in the case of the mani-ball, mani-ruru, the pill that the Chinese call chen-ling wan, that is, the soul-shaking pill, is involved. According to Taoistic reports in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien, spirit-mirror, this pill is made from the sap of the legendary fan-hun-shu, that is, the soul-restoring tree. This tree grows on the coast of the western ocean. It is of black wood. If one strikes it, it sounds like the growling of a bull. Its root is brewed into a thick brew, and out of this brew the pill is made. The pill has an exceedingly strong scent (the tree can also be smelled miles away). This scent is called fan-hun hsiang, that is, soul-restoring scent. If after someone dies he is touched with this pill within three days or it is burned before him so that the smoke passes over him, or if the pill is put in his mouth, then he comes to life again. Under the Han emperors this kind of incense was supplied as tribute from the Yüeh-chih and supposedly brought dead persons to life in the palace. This pill also plays an important role in the medicine of the lamas. It is the so-called pill of immortality. The Tujen buy this pill in the monasteries. Its color is red. According to their

775 [636 cont.]
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[278]
[192]

[Note on foreign text pp.650-651]. conceptions, to be sure, it cannot ensoul the dead corpse again, but it nonetheless brings the dead to life in another rebirth. -- W. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, also mentions this pill on p. 400 under the name rilu, and in Note 1683 under the Tibetan way of writing it, ril bu. It is clear that the Tujen pronunciation reru (ruru) is merely a corruption of the Tibetan word. Ch. Das has two ways of writing it, ril po and ril bu (with the l silent); he translates both as "ball, globule," [cited in English], and for ril bu he also adds "pill" [cited in English], [651] without any further designations for them (pp. 1184-85). This ruru is to be distinguished from nuru, the Tib. nor bu or cintāmani, the Buddhistic wishing-jewel. -- According to the conception of the lamas and of the people, the ruru pill reproduces itself; cf. the chapter, "Earth-god Urn." Sometimes one meets lamas who firmly believe that Europeans, too, have this wonder pill of long life, which is why they live much longer than the Chinese and the Tibetans; they claim to know that there are people in Europe who are several hundred years old.

[648]

rebirth that he comes from a wealthy position and will again acquire gold and silver. Butter is the most superior daily food and is supposed to be that again in the later life.

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[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] hsiao-tzu in Chinese, who are the male descendants and relatives of the first and second degree, for example, younger brothers, younger cousins, grandsons.

on the mother's side do not appear in the house of mourning until the eve of the cremation.

764 602 604 They must be informed, however, immediately after the death; this is called "death announcement." The master of ceremonies, with a small bottle of liquor, goes to the mother's brother to announce the death of the latter's nephew or niece (14).

[763] [273] [178] [171] [212]

14. [Foreign text p. 654.] In recent times the Tujen announce the death to the mother's brother by means of a written communication, like the Chinese. The original practice, however, is the announcement with the liquor-jug, to which is tied a flock of wool.

[792] [465] The two now consult as to how the funeral solemnities are to be arranged, how many monks are to be invited to pray, how large the fees are to be, etc. The mother's brother is intent upon setting demands as high as possible, whereas the master of ceremonies sets lower ones. Once they have agreed upon [273] the approximate level, they drink the little jug of liquor together. If they do not agree, the master of ceremonies returns home with the liquor and he receives new instructions from the bereaved family. Sometimes this happens two or three times. A final arrangement is not made until the last day at the accounting in the house of mourning.

On the eve of the cremation, the mother's brother, and with him all the male relatives on the mother's side, appears in the yard of the bereaved. The women among the maternal

[642 cont.]

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[177]

[Note on foreign text pp. 655-656 cont.] of the souls of the dead, who evidently are regarded as living corpses. This point is decisive in explaining the meaning. It is a matter of the peace and good fortune of the family, which are endangered by a restless soul if it is not satisfied and continues to wander about. This satisfaction is brought about by providing a decent interment (clothing, coffin) and the prayer of the lama. Then "the way is open" for the soul, as the Buddhists say; the significance of the above-mentioned proverb of the Chinese is shown here. How strongly this conception still affects even the Chinese is shown by the recast saying, wai-chia pu k'ai yen, wang-jen pu shang t'ien, that is, if the mother's family does not begin to speak, the dead will not ascend to heaven. -- With all this, however, it becomes clear how strong the rights of the mother's family are, and its concern for its members even beyond death.

If there is no actual mother's brother, then the one nearest to the mother's brother takes his place; this is the one who follows the mother's brother in the inheritance.

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[763]

Time of cremation: As soon as the dead person draws his last breath, a relative goes to the soothsayer or Bon priest and has the day of cremation determined by the spirits. He does not enter the compound of the soothsayer, however, but announces himself in front of the large gate of the yard, because since he comes from the house of a dead person, he may not appear before the gods. Aside from the spirit-spear, spirit-table, spirit-litter, and the Bon priest, one may also ask a Chinese lay bonze. Lamas and Taoist bonzes never determine the time. Only the day is given, not the hour. As

thereupon swallowed opium and also died. Because 764-
this case had involved the village and caused a lot of [766]
trouble, the chief of the village, with the maternal uncles, decided that they were unworthy to be cremated and buried them in the same pit. In Part I, other similar cases have been recorded.

The old Turco-Mongols buried their dead;[26] the old [171]
Hsiung-nu buried their dead also, as did the Hsien-pi.[27] The Ch'itan did not bury the corpses, but placed them in trees for three years, and then removed the bones and buried them.[28] This custom is widely distributed in northern Eurasia from the Tungus to the Lapps.

Monguors follow the Chinese custom in disposing of children who have died during the first month of age. They burn them and bury them in the k'ang, for it is said to be harmful to bring such corpses out of the room. Children of less than ten years of age are enveloped in straw and thrown in a lonely spot and disposed of by dogs and rapacious animals. Children who die under fifteen years of age are usually cremated without any ceremony, and their bones are not cared for. Young people under twenty years of age, dying in the morning, are cremated at evening; those who die at night are cermated in the early morning. Unmarried youngsters are cremated without any ceremony, and prayers are not said for them; their bones are collected after the cremation and buried in the abode of the wicked people. In the Ordos these dead are supposed to become vampires and to cause many deaths.[29]

In the case of married people dying without children, [766]
the maternal uncle is invited, a lama says some prayers, the harmful souls are driven out of the home, and cremation is without ceremony. Their bones are buried in the same terrible abode. However, in case both are aged, prayers are said for several days. After cremation the bones are collected and buried in the family cemetery, at the request of the maternal uncle. According to the Monguors, the aged dead are no longer abandoned in valleys, on account of the density of the population, and the custom of cutting the dead into pieces to feed the vultures has never been practised.

DEATH

When a Monguor is dying, the women of the family, 763 ●
from the roof of the house, call on his spirit not to abandon them, crying that they are preparing for it a delicious dish, apologizing for their shortcomings, and with tears and sighs giving assurance of their love, in a most pathetic way. If a child is dying, women on the roof cry and call his name, wave his best clothes and pretend that cookies and candies are waiting for him. This is an age-old custom practiced in China from the

[26] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* 2: 120–126. Parker, *A thousand years of the Tartars*, 86.
[27] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 15–86, 104.
[28] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 204. [p. 143(A)]
[29] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

earliest times.[30] If the sick man has a painful agony, 763
lamas are invited to pray for a fast departure or revival, according to the fate fixed for him; they beat drums and ring bells, around the sick man, making a terrible noise, and finally they help him to confide in Buddha. After the last breath has been drawn, they pull some hair out of the top of the head in order that his souls may escape through the bregmatic fontanelle. When death is approaching, his face and hands are washed, and he is shaved. Some Monguors undress him completely; others put his best clothes on him. It is said that in former times all the dying were undressed. In China it is a capital sin for a son to let his parents die without having dressed them in their best clothes. The Mongols, however, not only undress the dying person but bring him into the courtyard, for nobody is allowed to die in the home.[31]

Immediately after death, all the jewels are removed, 764
the hair unplaited, and some butter and tea leaves put into the mouth. Some Monguors add a "pill of immortality," bought in the Chinese pharmacies or in the lamaseries; some are fond of adding a precious stone or a piece of silver, as the Chinese used to do. The knees of the dead are drawn up under the chin, the hands placed on the chest and bound with a hemp rope, and a piece of white cloth is placed on the shoulders. Often the corpse is put into a sack of white cloth, and a gown and a scarf put upon it. Much has been written concerning the position of the dead, and many contradictory explanations offered by lamas, shamans, and laymen. A piece of yellow cloth is put on the shoulders of those who had become lay-monks or lay-nuns and burned with them. At that time most of the Monguors, old and young, who during their lifetime had not performed the rite to become a lay-monk, invite a lama who pours water on a mirror in which is reflected the face of the deceased, thus making him a lay monk.

The toilet is made by members of the deceased's own generation, except that sons care for their parents. During the laying out of the dead, the women start the lamentations on the roof, in the courtyard, or at the gate, so that the whole village knows of the death. A coffin is made by the carpenter, large enough to contain the corpse in a squatting position; it will be more or less elaborately decorated, according to the wealth of the family and the line of generation of the deceased. In the coffin is also placed a dough roll, according to the Chinese custom, for which contradictory Taoist explanations are given. A small coffin is prepared for the bones collected after the cremation. The corpse is put in the coffin as soon as it is ready, before which is placed a small table with twelve rolls and a lamp. Paper is burned, and at every meal a cup, with the same meal prepared for the family, is put before the deceased. Sons and relatives relieve each other day and night to keep watch, in order that rats and cats may not spoil the

[30] Couvreur, *Li-ki*, 1: 85–181, Ho-Kien-fu, 1927.
[31] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 635. Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126.

[p. 143 (B)]

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769 618 over China. The festival, calculated according to the lunar calendar, usually falls about the beginning of April. The assembly of the clan is concerned with three matters: the veneration of ancestors, a great feast, and an assize at which all topics concerning the clan are open for discussion.

MONGUOR CEMETERIES

764 172 It is plain from the descriptions that have already been given that the burial customs of the Monguors in recent times have been heavily overlaid with Chinese borrowings. There are, however, indications of more ancient customs. People told that in 1906, after very heavy rains, a wall near the village of Hsinyuanp'u on the spur of a mountain in the valley of Shat'ang collapsed and a big vaulted burial chamber was revealed. It had been built with very large bricks. It contained a coffin, which had rotted away, in which there was the skeleton of a man. His clothes had rotted, but the remains of a bow, arrows, and quiver were found. Before the coffin there lay the skeleton of a horse. The saddle had also rotted,

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764 but it could be seen that the materials of the saddle had
172 included copper and iron. As this discovery was made six years before I arrived in the country, I was unable to gather more details from the local people, who were totally uninterested in archaeological discoveries. The bricks of the tomb were said to have been carried away and used by the villagers, and the place could no longer be identified.

We know from numerous archaeological excavations that such tombs were built by the Turkish and Mongol tribes of Inner Asia and Northern Mongolia from ancient down to medieval times. These tombs are related in design to the tombs of the ancient Chou kings in China in the first millennium B.C. They consist essentially of an excavated chamber, its walls shored up either with timber or, in China, with bricks, and a great tumulus heaped up over the grave.[56] In the grave were placed horses and sometimes wives and servants who had been sacrificed to be buried with the deceased. Does the horse-burial tomb in the Monguor country belong to this tradition? This question I cannot answer, as I was unable to inspect the tomb.

At present there exist only two ancestral burial mounds which, according to Monguor tradition, contain such burial chambers. One is that of the Ch'i clan in Nienpei built in the garden of the mansion, in which are buried the more recent ancestors of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, and the other that of the Lu clan in Liench'eng. For other clans, there are conflicting traditions. Some say that in former times a number of clans had similar ancestral mounds, but that they were destroyed by Muslims. This tradition is not supported by such evidence as the ruins of burial places of this kind; on the other hand, in all the oldest cemeteries there is merely a big mound over the grave of the founding ancestor, without burial chambers, and therefore graves with such chambers are not only exceptional but of late construction.

173 As for the valley in which the horse-burial was dis-
172 covered, it is said that it was once inhabited by the Li clan, which is of Shat'o Turkish origin. Near the place where the burial-chamber was found there are still the ruins of an old fortress which is said locally to have been built by the famous Li, Prince of Chin. Although it is quite probable that the Shat'o Turks once occupied this valley, it is certain that the famous Prince Li never lived there. It is possible that his name has been attached in folk tradition to some other once-famous Shat'o chief; but it does not seem likely that this chief, whoever he was, was a direct ancestor of the present clan, because the Li clan holds its assembly in the valley of Hanp'ingshan, five miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 4, p. 3).

764 The Sanch'uan branch of the same clan, south of Nienpei, holds its diet at Hsiangt'ang, at the junction of the Tat'ung and Hsining Rivers. Here stands the most elaborate cemetery in the whole country. It seems to

[56] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* 2: 121, Liepzig, 1893. [p.70a]

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764

be of later date, and to have been built to glorify the Li clan. Along the approach avenue are two beautiful steles honoring the two most illustrious members of the two branches of the clan, Li Wen of the Hsining branch and Li Yin of the southern branch, though neither of them is actually buried here. They bore respectively the titles of Earl of Kaoyang and Earl of Huining, according to the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 7, pp. 8, 17. The cemetery, enclosed by a mud wall, stands against the mountain and overlooks the river. Within it a large avenue bordered by stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay leads to a big stele on which is engraved the history of the clan, with its claim to descent from Li K'o-yung and the record that its chief, Li Nan-ko, submitted to the Ming and was granted hereditary chieftainship of the clan, later confirmed by the Manchu dynasty. The glorious titles of Li Wen and Li Yin are then recorded once more, together with names of members of the clan who died defending the empire, and finally there is the text of an imperially-granted funereal inscription. The cemetery contains a number of beautiful steles from the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, the most recent dating from the period of Kuang Hsü (1875–1909). Among those commemorated are Li Nan-ko, Li Wen and Li Yin who are not buried there; except for Li Wen, all those commemorated belong to the southern branch. Many of these steles are said to have been bought and engraved in Peking, and to have been granted by emperors. As the presence of a stele is no guarantee that the deceased is buried there, it is hard to say when the cemetery was actually built.

It should be noted that, under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has long been the general Monguor custom to cremate the dead, the funeral rites being carried out by lamas; but it is also a general tradition that in ancient times burial was general. T'u-ssu, however, are always buried—the aristocratic tradition being, in this instance, stronger than the religious influence.

During the six or seven centuries that the Monguors have held their present frontier territories, many private cemeteries have been built by both nobles and commoners, separate from the burial places of the founding ancestors, in which there was no more burial space left. The Monguors honor their more recent ancestors at these separate burial places, three days before the spring equinox, which gives them time to attend the annual assembly a few days later.

The cemeteries of the Monguors are laid out like those of the Chinese. They are square in shape and enclosed by a mud wall. Against the back or northern wall stands the high mound over the remains of the founding ancestor. Before the mound there stands an upright sepulchral stone slab on which are carved Chinese characters reading "thrones of the deity of the earth and of the souls of the ancestors." In front of the slab is a stone table for offerings. An avenue leads straight from the entrance of the cemetery to the high mound.

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764 In the more recent graveyards the date of the setting up of the stone and the name of the deceased can still be read, but on the older monuments nothing is legible, not only because the soft stone of the region weathers badly but because the Monguors have scratched and defaced the stones.[57] On both sides of the approach avenue there are smaller mounds, in rows, each with a stone table for offerings. Husband and wife are buried under the same mound, and as the rows of graves correspond to descent by generations, the number of generations buried in the cemetery can easily be determined.

WORSHIPPING OF THE ANCESTORS

769 On the occasion that I attended, the T'u-ssu went after breakfast to the cemetery, preceded by more than fifty soldiers and followed by the heads of the noble and non-noble families, the chiefs and elders of the villages, and the officials of his administration. In 1913 all of these personages were still wearing the old official Chinese costume customary under the Manchu Empire: a silk gown, a long silk outergown, satin boots, and a hat with a red fringe and a button on top corresponding to the grade of official rank. Hundreds of Monguor women flocked to the cemetery in their brightest attire, and men and children of the clan followed the ceremonial parade. A table bearing a large hog and a pork pie which had been prepared from the head of the hog stood next to the offering table. Alongside the offering table were also laid out twelve rolls of steamed bread, wine, tea, paper and incense sticks. On the offering table there stood a loaf of bread shaped like a dish, into the hollow of which were poured oil, flour, and roasted wheat.

The master of ceremonies, in a loud voice, ordered the nobles to line up in rows according to their generation. The non-nobles formed in rows also, standing behind the nobles and separated from them by a perceptible distance.

The next order was to adjust hats and clothes and to

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[57] The Monguors have a custom of scratching and defacing the steles in front of the grave mounds of the founding ancestors of clans and also of other celebrated ancestors, because they believe these chips have medicinal properties. Grinding the fragments to dust, they mix them with the medicines prescribed by physicians. In my own time a large part of the stele of the founding ancestor of the Ch'i clan had already disappeared and the inscription was illegible. I noticed even more defacement of the stele of the ancestor of the Li clan in Hanp'ingshan. This old cemetery is more elaborate than other Monguor cemeteries: on both sides of the large avenue leading to the central mound are animals carved in stone. This practice is allowed only for high officials. All these animals had been defaced in the same way by the Monguors.

D. C. Graham, Notes on the primitive religion of the Chinese in Szech'uan, *Jour. West China Border Research Society* 1 (1): 53, Chengtu, Canadian Mission Press, 1922–1923, writes that "in the Po-chih Miao near Sui-fu, Szech'uan . . . is a stone still worshipped, and for a few cash one can purchase a tiny bit of the rock which will cause him to recover from illness if he will grind it to sand, soak in water, and then drink the water."

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769 stand erect with arms stretched at the side. This was followed by an order to "worship the spirit of the earth." On this order the T'u-ssu, alone, went straight to the offering table before the central mound, prostrated himself, knelt and bowed nine times before the stele, and poured wine on the ground as a libation to the spirit of the earth. At the next order, "worship the ancestors!" the T'u-ssu, still alone, knelt and prostrated himself nine times before the stele, pouring the ritual libation of wine on the stone table, and performed the same rite at each end of the stone tables in front of the smaller mounds. A libation of tea was then poured in the same way, paper was burned, and incense sticks fixed on every small mound and on the central table in front of the great mound.

Again hats and clothes were adjusted, and at the order of the master of ceremonies the members of the oldest living generation lined up before the stele, and taking their time from his commands bowed, prostrated themselves, and knelt nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and so on. The rites performed by each group of the nobles and by the commoners have already been related above (pp. 60 sq.) as has also the sacrificial communion with the founding ancestor. At each distribution of pie and bread, the oldest generation received its portion first. Later the carcass of the pig was divided in the same way, and portions of the pie and the pork were reserved to be sent to noble members of the clan who had been unable to attend the assembly.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER

173 769 The ceremony of veneration is followed by bringing up to date the genealogical register of the descendants of the founding ancestor, in the presence of the T'u-ssu and the whole noble group. In noble families, when a father, mother, or some other member of a family dies, the Monguors write the name of the deceased, the names of his parents, and the hour and day of his birth and death on a slip of red paper. This slip is impaled on a chopstick, which is planted in a bowl containing wheat, placed reverently before the picture of the Lama Buddhist or Taoist deity particularly honored in that family. The slip of paper is later removed, brought to the annual assembly, and presented to the T'u-ssu by the kneeling son of the deceased, who holds incense sticks in his joined hands. The name of the deceased is then entered in the register. After the book has been wrapped again in its yellow silk, the son first arises from his kneeling position and then prostrates himself three times. Unmarried persons are not noted in the book. In cases of adoption, the fact of adoption is recorded.

764 After these ceremonies the care of the cemetery is entrusted to one of the nobles for the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions, offerings, and the making of repairs. After a short deliberation to determine the selection, a bowl of bread is put in a

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764 bushel basket and presented to the person who has been chosen; this act constitutes the act of appointment. The man thus chosen is assigned an assistant to take care of details. This duty is performed in rotation by heads of families.

769 Neither shamans nor lamas take part in this annual
792 veneration of the ancestors. The absence of lamas is particularly striking, because during the year the routine duties of the temple of the guardian deity of the clan are entrusted to one or two lamas, as already described, while three times a year seven lamas take part in special ceremonies of veneration at this temple. The Ch'i T'u-ssu has the right to impose on the monastery of Erhkulung the corvée obligation to provide these lamas, because this monastery was originally built in the territory of the Ch'i clan by express permission, and because it has been given many grants of property by the successive T'u-ssu of the clan.

769 More than any other single ceremony, this annual
527 veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of a Monguor clan. There is a visible effect on the clansmen, who normally live secluded in their remote valleys, when at the assembly they see the pomp and splendor of the parade to the graveyard, the soldiers with banners, the T'u-ssu in his official silk robe, adorned with embroidered patches on the breast with glittering dragons—a present from the Emperor when one of his ancestors visited Peking—and all the outstanding members of both the noble and commoner groups in their robes of ceremony. Even the discrimination between nobles and commoners fosters the sense of hierarchy. There is no doubt that the commoners, like the nobles, feel pride in recalling their old glories and are elated by the ceremonies, the festivities, the singing of old songs, and the horse races, wrestling, and merry-making in the open air.

576 The sense of hierarchy, just mentioned, is well
624 exemplified by the behavior of Monguors visiting the T'u-ssu or presenting a request to him. The visitor first prostrates himself, then arises, unrolls his "queue" and removes his hat with his right hand, placing it under his left arm. Then, placing his hands together, palm to palm, he approaches the T'u-ssu. If he is asked to sit down, he does not sit but moves to the left side of the T'u-ssu and kneels on the right knee, with the left knee up, placing his hands, still palm to palm, on the left knee, in the Tibetan manner.[58]

Monguors regard it as the worst kind of incivility to start speaking and to keep the hat on the head in the presence of the T'u-ssu. This appears to be a very old Inner Asian symbol of respect. Among the Uighur Turks in the period of the T'ang dynasty (618–906),

[58] Thus the "outside" knee, farthest from the T'u-ssu, is up, "keeping the luck" between the kneeler and the T'u-ssu. This corresponds to the protocol of kneeling in a Mongol tent where the "outside" knee is that which is nearest the door and "keeps the luck," which is concentrated in the shrine at the back of the tent, within the tent.—O. L.

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562 rings and four pieces of flowered silk. He ordered his officials to build her a seven-storied mansion at Lien-ch'eng. She was also presented with an inscription 173 reading "She displayed faithfulness," and given a grant of fifty *ch'ing* of land, the revenues of which were to provide her with "toilet expenses," the Chinese expression equivalent to the English "pin money." The grant of land, according to the family chronicle of the Lu T'u-ssu, was in the country of *chun ku erh*.[13] There are also legends of the bravery of the Monguor women during the great Muslim rebellion who joined in the battle just as their husbands were beginning to retreat, and thus turned defeat into victory. According to popular tradition, it was for this exploit that the emperor himself designed the costume that Monguor women wear on ceremonial occasions, including a sleeveless "military" jacket, military skirt, and a miniature shield and spear as part of the headdress.

562 In spite of all these legendary tributes to their ability, however, Monguor women do not play a conspicuous part in politics or administration; with the exception, already noted, that when a T'u-ssu dies leaving a son who has not come of age, the boy's mother acts as regent.

THE MATERNAL UNCLE

604 The relationship between two families connected by marriage is most clearly seen in the role of the maternal uncle, who while not a part of the family of his sister's child exerts, nevertheless, a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

In discussing the role of the maternal uncle, I shall divide my remarks into two parts, dealing first with the most striking aspects of his role, and secondly with the context in which these prominent aspects occur. Since the facts which are to be presented have considerable theoretical importance for the problem of possible matriarchal survivals in a patriarchal kinship system, I shall conclude my observations with a short theoretical analysis.

604 764 Among the Monguors the special rights of the maternal uncle were most vividly manifest in three circumstances: (1) at the natural death of his sister's children (2) in the event of their having been murdered or having committed suicide, and (3) in situations where they were subject to punishment.

[13] These three Chinese syllables are one of the regular transcriptions of the Mongol term *jun gar*, "left hand" or "left wing." This expression reflects the usual Mongol practice of dividing territories and military organizations into a left (east) and a right (west) wing (the south being "front" and the north "back"). This expression is the origin of the name of the Jungar Mongols, who were the "left wing" of the confederation of Western Mongols in the region of the Altai mountains and the northern part of Sinkiang Province which is therefore still known, in the Western literature, as Jungaria or Zungaria. In this case, however, the reference may be to land taken from some of the Jungar Mongols who eventually migrated into the pastures of the Tibetan plateau near the country of the Monguors.—O. L.

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A. The sister's children were not allowed to be buried without the permission of their maternal uncle.

When a member of the family died, a capable and outstanding man was invited to direct the preparation and the ceremonial of the funeral, and to send people to convey the obituary announcement to all the relatives. It was also his duty to call the deceased's maternal uncle or a member of the maternal uncle's family—e.g. his son or grandson. The maternal uncle was the "master of the bones" [14] of the deceased, and he disposed of the right to permit the burial or to impede and obstruct it, even with violence; consequently he was to be treated with the utmost reverence and respect at that moment.

If the relations between the two families had been unfriendly and hostile before, the maternal uncle and his family did not miss the opportunity to pay off an old grudge, impeding or at least delaying the burial and causing excessive expense to the family. He would assert that the deceased had not been well cared for, that the funeral was too small for a mother who had borne six or more children, worked her fingers to the bone, and never enjoyed any sunshine during her life, although she had been a fine mother and good homemaker, etc. He would require the deceased's family to invite twenty or thirty lamas to pray for forty-nine days, to offer a certain amount of alms to a fixed number of lamasaries, to buy the most expensive grave-clothes for the deceased, etc. In such situations, it was the duty of the director of the funeral to settle the trouble, saving as much money for the family of the deceased as possible by displaying with prodigality the proficiency of his eloquence.

If the two families had always been friendly, on the day of the funeral, before the dinner, the director of the funeral made a speech before the maternal uncle, saying that the deceased had died a natural death, notwithstanding that two or three doctors had been invited and a large amount of money had been spent for medicine; that the whole family to the best of its abilities had tried to assuage the pains and suffering of the deceased, to be agreeable and helpful to him, securing him a happy death, etc. Finally he asked the maternal uncle to examine the deceased and to give the necessary permission for the burial. In localities where the Monguors were used to burying their dead in coffins, as do the Chinese, the eldest son of the deceased knelt during the speech, presenting to the maternal uncle a plate on which was placed a hammer and the wedges with which the cover of the coffin were to be fastened. The maternal uncle himself drove a couple of wedges, after which others completed the fastening. (The same custom exists among the Chinese.) The sons and grandsons

[14] In both Mongol and Chinese usage, "bone" stands for the paternal and "flesh" for the maternal line of descent. Since the clan system was patrilineal, the body was referred to as "bones," even though the maternal uncle, who had jurisdiction in permitting burial, represented the "flesh" rather than the "bone" of the deceased.—O. L.

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knelt and prostrated themselves, thanking the deceased's maternal uncle.

B. The maternal uncle was required to initiate and execute vengeance for the murder or suicide of his sister's child.

The duty to initiate and execute vengeance fell first on the brothers of the mother of the deceased—i.e. the deceased's maternal uncles—and only secondarily on the deceased's father, brothers, and other paternal kinsmen. Hence, the mother's brothers were the immediate protectors of the lives and well-being of their sister's children and it was they who stepped forward in the event that a man or woman had been murdered in his or her own family, or a married woman had been murdered or had committed suicide in the home of her parents-in-law.

To illustrate the way in which the maternal uncle operated as an avenger, and the relationships which he had with the various other relatives of the deceased, I shall draw on an actual case of suicide which I had the opportunity of observing at first hand.

In November 1915, in Lichiat'an ("the plain of the Li family"), the daughter-in-law of Li Chin-ch'ün, born in the family of Ch'i, was found one morning hanging from a beam. She had had quarrels for many days with her mother-in-law and had been beaten by her husband. Li Chin-ch'ün, sick with fear and apprehension, and with a sense of impending doom, went in a hurry to see the chief of the village and the elders, and begged a man who was on intimate terms with the girl's maternal uncle to convey the terrible news and to invite him to come over in order to permit detachment of the body from the beam and to fix the date for the settlement of the trouble.

A hanging person was not allowed to be detached without permission of the "master of the bones." After the permission had been granted, a shaman was invited who adjured and cursed the evil spirit, feverishly cut the rope with his sword, undressed the victim and cut a small piece of flesh from the hips, which he swallowed. The victim was then deposited on the *k'ang*, or sleeping platform, to await burial after the troubles had been patched up and permission for the burial granted by the girl's maternal uncle.

During the night, with all possible haste, the Li family, aided by some friends and relatives, sent away for safe keeping its best animals and entrusted to these friends and relatives its most precious belongings—clothes, agricultural implements, etc. Hogs and sheep were killed and vast quantities of wine were prepared, in order to deal in the best way with the ill-disposed guests, for on an empty stomach trouble cannot be ironed out; empty bellies do not reason. To meet unknown contingencies which might arise, the father-in-law of the suicide borrowed money at usurious rates, mortgaged some fields, etc., for a suicide ruined a family completely, and there was a saying that: "The value of the life of a person

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M 551 171 HM 551 614

Noyans, Bagaturs, Beks and Tegins, all the aristocracy now became the Vassals of the clan of Mongol and accepted its name. For the first time the united nation had a common name and the name soon became so glorious that every nomad was proud to call himself a Mongol. /Cited in English./

A similar custom existed among the T'ou-jen. Indeed, we know the case of a group of more than a hundred families under the Iang t'ou-se of Tchouo-ni-tse who came to live in the Choei-mouo-keou of Sining belonging to the Li t'ou-se. The whole group changed its name from Iang to Li and acknowledged Li t'ou-se as its chief.

M 551 /13/ however, due to historic events which we shall relate in their place, families under the same t'ou-se no longer bear the same name.

M 582 178 Hence, in this case, formerly the prohibition against marriage between young people bearing the same name corresponded to that forbidding marriage between members of the same tribe or clan. This prohibition makes us think of the great law of exogamy in all its breadth; an exogamy affecting not only the family but also the clan, since here the two merge. Whatever may have been the case in the past, the law of exogamy today bears only on the single family.

M 551 613 The T'ou-jen consider that the notion of name is exactly equivalent to that of family. All those who do not bear the same name, even though they are descended directly from the same ancestor, are foreigners /i.e., outsiders/ to the family. Here is a conception laden with consequences: daughters given in marriage and, taking the name of their husbands, will consequently leave the family and will become outsiders; they will no longer be buried in the family cemetery; since their children bear a different name, they will also be foreigners to the family of the mother. It follows from this that since they do not bear the same name, there is no obstacle to the marriage of the children of the two families. Thus one regularly sees

M [614] M 582 .05 171

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587 593 [764] The conditions the family lays down are the following: the sons will remain the descendants of the dead man; they will continue to bear his name and will later be buried in their father's cemetery. The new husband will bring them up and feed them. When they reach marriageable age, he will buy them a wife, or he will give the family the required sum ad hoc; then he will be able to send away the married ones, who will provide for their own subsistence. As for the daughters, he will be able to sell them. Since he obligates himself for expenses which so many burdens necessitate, the family does not demand any compensation for the widow.

587 589 578 721 /114/ It often happens that as a consequence of misunderstandings and quarrels, the brothers divide up the property and debts among themselves and form independent families. When a widow of such a family wants to remarry, the family requires the new husband to recognize the debts of the dead man; and the creditors exert pressure on the family to prevent the marriage in case of refusal; but if they are lucky enough to be dealing with a virago who threatens to come with her children and live with them, the difficulties vanish, the debts are put on the children's account and will be demanded later when the children are grown.

587 428 593 In the case where the widow with her children has inherited several plots of land from her dead husband, the new husband will be able to work them to support his family, but he will not be able to sell them since they are the property of the male orphans /sic/. Once they are married, the latter can demand these lands and send their foster father away with their mother, which often happens; if they get along well, they stay together. If, on the other hand, the new husband has lands of his own, and the widow does not, he maintains the family, gets the sons married, and sends them away. If during the marriage the family becomes richer, if the patrimony increases, and children are born of the new marriage, the children of the first husband will receive the share of their dead father plus half of the lands and assets acquired after the second marriage. The personal properties of the new husband are inherited by his own children. If the husband happens to die without leaving children, his personal

/150 cont'd/

121 able to leave hypothesis and move on the ground of truth, to prove by the vestiges met with in the daily customs the existence of the matriarchate among the T'ou-jen in a former period.

121 The thesis is all the more interesting because it concerns former
177 nomads formerly occupied with the raising of large animals, nomads of Mongol and Cha-t'ouo origin, speaking today the Monguor language, a Mongol dialect.

The matriarchal institution in the Mongol branch of the T'ou-jen must be anterior by a good deal to their immigration to Kansu, which dates from the time of either the Yüan or the Ming dynasty; for, in those times, the Mongols practiced the patriarchate. As for the social institutions of the Cha-t'ouo branch at the time of its settlement in Kansu, we have no certain data.

121 To prove the thesis I shall make use of materials which will be found explained more at length in other subsequent studies, as well as those met in the present monograph.

/151/ B. Ancient Matriarchate

1. Double Burial

764 In comparative ethnology double burial is considered as a specific element of the matriarchate. (1) Now the T'ou-jen groups

1. Anthropos, 1930, p. 992. "Die Frage des Mutterrechts," by W. Koppers: In the light of comparative ethnology, the double funeral appears to be a peculiarity of pronounced mother-right culture. /Cited in German./

[77] which have undergone the influence of Chinese civilization for so many centuries still practice this custom nowadays in the following

/151 cont'd/

764 form: After incinerating their dead according to Lamaist rites, they gather the remains in a chest ad hoc, and bury them provisionally in a clean, dry place on the slope of a mountain. At the ts'in-ming /ch'ing ming/, the festival of the dead among the Chinese, they disinter the chest to bury it for good in the common cemetery of the clan. This custom is followed even by the T'ou-jen who live beside the cemetery. This practice which the T'ou-jen claim to have been general in the old times nowadays is already no longer seen nowadays in many places.

2. Relations of the Maternal Uncle with the Family of his Sister and her Children

604 Another basic element of the matriarchate is the particular situation which the maternal uncle occupies in this organization where all the rights of the family seem to belong to him.

a) Right of life and death over his sister's children.

[761] Now, even today, among the T'ou-jen the maternal uncle has kept the most important rights over his sister's children; he has even kept the right of life and death over them. Elsewhere I shall describe three true-to-life happenings where one sees the maternal uncle preside over a family council in which, without any subsequent form of trial and without the intervention of the law or the courts, he decides that /152/ his sister's son will be buried alive. Now without the consent of the maternal uncle nobody would dare to make such a decree; no member of the family would dare take upon himself such a responsibility, not even the grandfather, although we are in the patriarchal period. These facts are all the more strange since capital punishment is not even within the jurisdiction of the head t'ou-se.

In its place I shall quote with all the circumstances the case of two brothers who in the lifetime of their widowed mother indirectly caused the suicide of their brother, a rogue of the worst kind, whom they had shut up in a room after beating him; the scamp hung himself. Now, for causing their brother's death, they had to pay an indemnity to their maternal uncle, the master of the bones of his

/153 cont'd/

604 These facts make understandable the expression so often met in this study, "tnat the maternal uncle is really the master of the bones of his sister's children."

604 764 b) Permission to bury the dead is given by the maternal uncle. After what we have just said, is it not natural that the T'ou-jen call the maternal uncle at the death of his sister and her children? Burial will never take place as long as he has not given his permission. In the case of rumors about the unnatural death of a person under his jurisdiction, he will examine the body. It is to recognize his rights that the family will call him each time that a burial takes place to inspect the body, and they will humbly beg him to give permission /154/ for burial or cremation. When they bury in the Chinese manner, they present to the maternal uncle the axe and the wedge for closing the cover of the coffin. This is what the Chinese do also.

604 585 c) Precedence of the maternal uncle at the wedding. In the light of these facts, is it not easy to understand the importance that the T'ou-jen attach, at the time of marriage, to the mother's clan and to the maternal uncle in particular? He presides then at the festivity at his sister's home. They offer him the great gift of honor. He is invited to remain standing beside the bride during the speech of the master of ceremonies, who names him at this moment the master of the bones of his sister's children. At the home of the son-in-law it is he again who is the great guest and who receives the gift of honor. If there are neither grandfather or old men, it is he who conducts the wedding ceremony, who orders the prostrations, and says the blessings. At the time of the carrying off of the animals and of the uproar at the end of the wedding festivity, it is he again who settles the quarrel in the name of his sister's family, and it is before him that the son-in-law's whole family prostrate themselves. At the dinner at the bridegroom's home, the master of ceremonies emphasizes the importance of the maternal clan: "The man as well as the woman must have a maternal clan so that they can prove their origin." They scarcely speak of the paternal clan. Addressing himself to him a second time, the master of ceremonies says: "The man is indebted to the maternal clan for his qualities, as the woman is to her family's clan." Not the least allusion to the paternal clan.

[633 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 635 cont.]
Tib. dbaṅ = force, bskur = to consecrate, to transfer. This is a ceremony of the transference of force, at which each lama receives a secret name (Unkrig).

To admit to lama standing with prayer: gẽsnien dżëwla-.
[785] To observe a day of meditation: pi-chai (Chin.); gõṅsõṅ (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Member of the Yellow Church: gẽlõṅba (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Pages 634-635 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[635] 5. Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation*

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* See "Notes," pp. 650-658 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

763 If someone is close to death, his clothes are taken off,
764 if he is wearing any on the kang. He is washed, shaved, or in the case of a woman the hair is dressed, and tied in a crouching position immediately after the last breath. A piece of cloth is thrown over the shoulder, which is the sole garment of the dead.

764 Then he is put in a death-box, which looks like a portable house, and propped up with straw. The box is placed on the floor in a room, and the closest relatives hold a death-watch there. At each meal the people bring some of the food in front of the death-box, burn paper, and kowtow. Each

[635 cont.]

764 evening the neighbors and friends gather and pray for the dead, squatting in a circle. Some days before the cremation, the master of ceremonies invites a lama to conduct the death cere-
[792] monies and burn the corpse. First, however, the mother's
[604] brother must release the corpse; this is done the evening before at the meal, when he demands an accounting for the dead person and his interment.

The cremation is undertaken outside the village in a crematory, which on each occasion is built at a different place.
[792] The lama performs almost the same ceremonies on this occasion as at the fire-pouring. After the cremation the remaining bones are kept in a wooden chest and temporarily buried on the spot.
[765] Not until the next spring do the relatives transfer them to the
766 family cemetery. -- Small children are not buried. Adult girls are burned quietly without ceremonies in an isolated place.

765 The strict period of mourning lasts 49 days. As a sign of mourning, the men turn their clothing inside out, and the women remove their ornaments and certain parts of their headdress.

[636] Details

763 Preparation of the corpse: Shortly before death, the men
764 shave first the head and then the beard of the dying person. If death sets in too suddenly, however, so that they can no longer shave him alive, it is left undone. After the shaving, he is undressed and his hands, face, and feet are washed, not the entire body. The men do this for men, the women for women. The women keep their long hair, as do girls. The hair is parted in the center and two three-stranded braids are plaited, which hang down over the breast or the back. In the case of sudden death, the corpse is merely washed and the hair dressed; the washing is then done with only a damp cloth (1).

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1. [Foreign text p. 650.] Why no water may flow over the corpse could not be discovered; probably it is feared that the water would thereby be made impure; it is counted among the basic elements.

[636 cont.]

764 As soon as no sign of life can be seen from the dead person, he is immediately put in a crouching position, before the corpse becomes rigid, on the kang on which he died (3). With

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3. [Foreign text pp. 651-652.] The conceptions of the people vary concerning the crouch-box and the crouch-seat. Nothing concerning an ancient origin is known to them. Some believe that the corpse is put in a crouching position only because otherwise it would not fit in the death-box; in this case the box is viewed as primary and more important. The informant says to this that formerly the Tujen were unacquainted with cremation and did not have any death-boxes either. This was first introduced by the lamas. The dead were exposed on the mountains for the animals to devour, as the Fandse do today. He himself would prefer to be buried in Chinese fashion; he feared being tied up and cremated.

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Others maintain that the Tujen buried their dead in coffins in former times. As proof they cite the case of an old Tujen village in Yungchwan where coffins were exposed by a mountain slide; these stemmed at least from the early Ming period. This evidence, however, indicates little when one considers that as early as the Han period Chinese military expeditions took place in the nearby Huchu valley.

Even without cremation, however, the death-box is found in Tsinghai, for instance, in the Bengbar Valley, a branch

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[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.]
valley in Hsi-ch'uan. The so-called Chia Hsifan (Village Fandse), who originally were Mongols and are Sinicized today, live there. They, too, exactly like the Tujen, put the dead in a crouching position in the crouch-box, although they do not cremate them, but bury them.

Furthermore, the Taoist monks and people who died in a sitting position are buried sitting in the crouch-box. There is an interesting corresponding expression for the death of such people, sōwā guei wōldzia, he has departed sitting, in Chinese tsuo-hua, that is, to be transformed sitting. The word sō- can mean "to sit" as well as "to contemplate." Such people are regarded as saints who, in contemplation, pass into another world. A death in this position is also regarded as especially honorable. A chorten is usually erected on the graves of these people. -- For the Taoist sitting burial, cf. the picture. This photograph was posed. The Taoist priest of Kanchiapu was happy to have himself photographed in his death-box and showed how he would be placed in the box. He kept this box standing in his temple and with pride showed each visitor this beautifully painted piece of carving. A very fine picture is also to be found in F. Dransmann, T'aishan-Kūfu Guide, p. 19. It is the mummy of the Taoist priest Suin, who at the time of Kanghsi worked for 60 years on the T'aishan and, crouching in the death-box, [652]was buried there in the "Grotto of the Immortal" (hsien-

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[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.]
jen tung). -- For the sitting burial in eastern Tibet, cf. Tafel, Tibetreise, I, 236-237, with drawing.

It is known everywhere that Tulkus and other lamas are cremated. In this connection cf. the description in Filchner, Kumbum, pp. 240-242. In the case of the sitting position of the lamas, the Taoist monks, and those who died in contemplation, however, the position is that of a sitting Buddha, with legs folded under and the hands at rest, whereas the position among the Tujen and the Chiafandse is quite different, namely, the fetal position.

Other explanations of the Tujen, perhaps the most widespread, say that the human being rests in this position in the mother's womb and is born so; naked and in the same position he then again goes back into the womb of rebirth, just as he came (reversed, to be sure). In this comparison, the earth or fire as the symbol of motherhood thrusts itself upon one, and the death-box (or among other peoples the sack or coffin) as symbolic womb. -- This explanation of the people has the most to it. It is grounded in very ancient religio-cosmogonic thought processes which closely connect birth and death. Skeletons in a crouching position occur from many cultures, and people in a fetal crouching position are repeatedly represented in the archaic high cultures, and to be sure in connection with the devouring

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[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.] figures (Chin. t'ao-t'ieh) and the underworld. Professor C. Hentze in his most recent works has extensively revealed these connections, and one is referred to them here. -- I learned nothing concerning the conception that the dead must be placed in a sleeping position, although it is known that the nomads there on the Koko Nor sleep in this position, which can sometimes also be observed among Chinese and Tujen during the day.

764 the arms bent, the hands are put with the palms together and pressed upright against the chest so that they touch the chin. The thumbs are not crossed. The wrists are tied together with a hemp string and this is placed around the neck so that the hands stay together and cannot fall forward. Then the thighs are pressed firmly against the chest and arms and the calves against the thighs, so that the feet and seat rest in one plane. The feet are wound with a hemp string so that they will stay in position (4). Now one takes a quadrangular piece of cloth,

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4. [Foreign text p. 652.] The binding of the corpse is not regarded as tying down the dead person to prevent him from returning, as is the intention among the Chinese with the tying together of the feet. The informant claims that the binding has only the purpose of making the crouching position secure.

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In view of the otherwise common use of sheep wool, it is striking that only hemp strings are taken. As a reason the people say that if one took wool, the dead would be reborn as an

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[Note on foreign text p. 652 cont.]
animal with wool. In the case of hemp this is impossible, for one is not transformed into a plant.

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The informant claimed to know nothing about hemp as a means of frightening off demons, as, for example, in the case of the hemp whip of the shamans. It may be that Chinese influence makes itself felt here, for the Chinese, too, use only hemp in connection with the dead, and it also plays an important role in the mourning costume (hemp belt, hair string, hemp veil, etc.). Strict mourning is therefore called simply "hemp mourning," ma-hsiao, among the Chinese.

764 about two ells square, cuts a round hole in the middle, and throws it over the dead person's head in such a way that the tips fall over the chest, back, and shoulders. This cloth is [766] called "death garment." It is yellow for persons who have received the age-consecration, white for young people. It does not matter what kind of cloth it is made of (5). -- All

5. [Foreign text pp. 652-653.]
The shoulder-throw is strongly reminiscent of the shoulder-collars of the shamans. A connection could not be discovered. The Tujen maintain that the cloth is usually taken off before cremation: later one uses it as an amulet, since it has great healing and protective power. With regard to this, the informant observed that one could indeed take off the white shoulder-cloth before cremation, but that it had no magical power and was used for profane purposes. The

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[Note on foreign text pp. 652-653 cont.]
yellow shoulder-cloth, on the other hand, which a dead person with age-consecration wears, must be burned with the corpse, just like the sash that he received at that time.

this must be done while the corpse is still flexible. Once it is rigid, it maintains its position virtually unchanged.

The death-box. The death-box is made either long be-
[171] fore death or not until death has taken place, as among the Chinese where the coffin is sometimes ready decades before-
[735] hand. Only poor people do not make the death-box until after the death. The box is always made of wood, but it does not matter what kind of wood it is made of; after all, it is not buried, as is the coffin among the Chinese, but is burned with the dead person. The box has the height of a litter or sedan chair; the dead person fits exactly into it. The bottom of the box extends into four carrying beams, [637] similar to a
[532] flat litter. The box [illustration appears here], however is not
[171] a simple wooden chest, but represents a small temple with roof and doors and often very rich carving, similar to death-box of the Chinese bonze (6). Unlike the latter, however, it has a sun

6. [Foreign text p. 653.] in the case of the coffin of the Taoshih the sun-moon attachment, the movable back wall, and the carrying pole are lacking. The corpse is usually put inside through the front door or from above, because the roof piece is removable.

and moon in the center of the roof, similar to the tip of a mani-pole; this is generally regarded as necessary. The box
[556] is painted and decorated according to the wealth, piety, and
[322] affection of the relatives.

There are no definite ritual prescriptions for the prep-
[465] aration of the box. The carpenter receives the usual fee for

764 [637 cont.]
465 his work and, in addition, twelve
322 loaves of bread, two ells of white cloth, and a small measure of wheat (six pounds). After the work is done, this measure of wheat is put on the house-
[782] hold altar, and the carpenter puts his tools on it. The master of the household sticks a few burning incense-sticks among them and puts the loaves before them. Then everyone makes a three-
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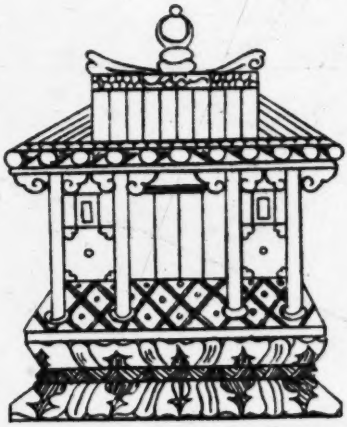

Death-box
(Drawing of a Tujen)

fold kowtow (7). The carpenter does not receive the white cloth until the funeral meal.

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7. [Foreign text p. 653.] This ceremony actually has nothing to do with the death-box. It is customary after all carpentry work; it is done to honor the tutelary god of the carpenter, Lu-pan-yeh. It is a Chinese custom.

764 Lying in state: If the box is already available at death, the corpse is immediately put in it. If it is not yet ready, then the people put the dead in a crouching position on the kang or on the floor of the room in which he died. First, however, they lay down a white felt mat as a pad; straw is not used. No one may sleep or live in the same room with the dead, only in an adjoining room. A table with 12 loaves of bread, which come from the deceased's own family, and a water-lamp stand before the crouching corpse.

[462] Putting the corpse in the box is always done by men. The
[593] son puts his father and mother inside. The father, however, never puts his son in; that is taken care of by the young brothers or cousins.

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764 cousins. Female persons are also put in the box by men. Then, after the corpse has been propped up with straw, a board is slid in at the back from above. The men then wash their hands. The box is put in a room and placed on four raised clay bricks, so that it will be easy to pick it up later to carry it. A white felt mat is usually spread out beforehand. The box of a deceased master of the household or his wife always stands in the main house; in other cases it is put in the room in which the dead person used to live.

Next to the box there is a small, coffin-like little casket whose lid is pegged down like those of the Chinese coffins. It is the little casket in which the bones that remain after cremation are kept. Usually a rolling pin (noodle roller), which was 412 made at the same time as the coffin or death-box, leans 764 against the box (8). [638] Other rolling pins are not used at [322] all.

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8. [Foreign text p. 653.] This custom, too, seems to have been borrowed from the Chinese. The rolling pin is called mien-kan or kan-ch'ang in Chinese. On the average it is one meter long and three to four centimeters thick. It is used principally to roll noodles. The rolling pin is also called pai-hu by the Chinese, that is, white tiger, because it can become the seat of the tiger god for soothsaying or shamanistic ceremonies, just as the spirit-spear becomes the seat of the spirit. The rolling pin is also handled in the following way: a man takes it with both hands and calls down the demon into it; then the roller shakes and trembles.

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The enemy of the rolling pin is the threshing roller, lu-chu. It represents the dark (green) dragon, ch'ing-lung,

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[Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.] the declared opponent of the white tiger. -- Furthermore, the white tiger is powerless against anything that comes from the dead or is connected with the dead; he fears coffins, death-boxes, burials, etc. For that reason coffin-making is the best opportunity for making a rolling pin, and therefore the rolling pin is propped against the death-box. The relationship of the tiger to the rolling pin is thereby neutralized. -- People very rarely have a rolling pin made other than at the time of a burial; the carpenter must then plane the pole on a threshing roller, the enemy of the white tiger. The millstone also has an effect similar to that of the threshing roller, for it crushes the provider of the "white," that is, the grain from which the flour comes.

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764 all. As in the case of the crouching corpse, a small kang table with the gifts to the dead is also placed before the death-box.
171 Men and women kowtow before it, burn white paper, like the
[782] Chinese, and weep aloud (9).

9. [Foreign text p. 653.] Aside from the bone-casket I once saw a small wooden casket of coffin-like form beside a death-box. The people said a small manlike doll lay in it. It was supposed to keep misfortune and death away from the house. The informant had not yet seen that and thought that this custom had come from

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[Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.]
the Chinese. Among the Chinese I learned the following: If someone died on an unlucky day -- which the geomancer determines -- there is danger that he will take someone else from the family with him into the beyond. In order to prevent this, the family provides a substitute at the interment. They lay a human figure made of apricot or peach wood, which the demons particularly fear, in a miniature coffin. At the interment this miniature coffin is buried at the base of the grave and the actual coffin is put on top of it. -- The Tujen bury the miniature coffin under the bone-chest. The Chinese name for this custom is ch'ung-sang, that is, double interment. One would do better to translate it as "accompanying interment." It clearly has nothing to do with an escort for the dead and the double interment in the usual sense. A kind of after-consumer [Nachzehrer] is involved here.

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Gifts for the dead: The Tujen make an offering of 12 loaves of bread and a water-lamp before the dead (10). First,

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10. [Foreign text p. 654.] Death-gifts and offering regulations correspond with those of the Chinese. The water-lamp, shui-teng, is an earthen bowl which is half-filled with water, beans are usually also added. A layer of oil is poured on the water. A little wooden plate, into which a wick is stuck, floats

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] on the oil. This is to prevent the wick from burning too far down into the bowl; in order to save oil, the lower half is filled with water. -- The Chinese dough-lamp of long life, ch'ang-ming teng, has nothing to do with this lamp; it is unknown to the Tujen.

the deceased's own family must present these gifts. A so-called paper-bowl also stands on the floor next to the bread and the water-lamp. After each meal some tea, soup, or milk is poured into it, and little pieces of meat, bread, vegetable, etc. [264] are thrown in, according to what the family has just eaten. Until the day of cremation the dead is always supposed to partake of the meals of the household. The paper-bowl is an ordinary earthen bowl; it gets its name from the fact that after the paper-burning the charred leaves are thrown in it (11). Along with the

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11. [Foreign text p. 654.] The paper-burning is typically Chinese.

water-lamp it is emptied in front of the gate on the last day, when the death-box leaves the compound for cremation. It is not broken, but may be used again for other purposes.

764 On the third day after the death, the oldest married daughter of the household appears with 12 loaves of bread. Then 782 the family loaves before the death-box are replaced by the 593 daughter's loaves. This is called "bread exchange." This takes place each time a person makes an offering of loaves. The oldest daughter is followed in order by the younger ones, whether or not the corpse has already been put in the box. Unmarried [589] daughters of the household do not make offerings. Every time [152] someone offers loaves, he also burns white paper and weeps aloud; the men, it is true, do not weep (24).

[638 cont.]

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24. [Foreign text p. 657.] A custom that is no longer practiced among the Tujen was the eating of oil-dishes on the eve of the cremation, bän-sän tsinani, that is, one cooks oil-dishes. The daughters and their girls (nieces) brought a measure of wheat flour and a jug of oil. Both would be roasted together in a kettle after the pai-ta and handed around. It was kneaded into dumplings like tsamba. -- Similar old Tujen customs have now been forgotten, according to the informant. The extensive customs of the Chinese are being adopted more and more, and in the foreseeable future the cremation of the dead will have yielded to the Chinese funeral celebration.

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Only after the corpse is in the box do the other relatives come, and the same rite is repeated. These are only the relatives on the father's side, however. The other acquaintances and friends also make an appearance with them. The relatives on the mother's side come only on the day before the cremation, regardless of whether the dead person is a man or a woman.

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With regard to the offerings for the dead, one must always distinguish whether a person of an older, a contemporary, or a younger generation is involved. The older generation never makes an offering to the younger, for example, the father never to the son. The man does make an offering to his wife, however, and vice versa. The man also makes an offering to his older sisters-in-law.

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Of the offering of 12 loaves of bread that each one brings, he gets two back; ten are used in the house of mourning and are eaten by the relatives or guests. The loaves that are returned are called "returned plate."

[638 cont.]

292 765 [171] Mourning dress: Mourning is worn immediately after the death. It does not consist of a special white garb, as among the Chinese, but only of a change of dress.

During the period of mourning the men remove their colorful vests and take everything colored off their clothing, such as neck bands, sleeve edging, etc. Their long cloak is turned and worn with the lining, or in winter with the fur, on the outside. [302] They do not cut their hair, and they let the beard grow. The red or green trouser belt made of cloth is replaced by [639] a white or black one. Instead of the clothes-belt they wear a thick hemp string.

Like the men, the women also remove the colorful sleeve strips, trouser trimming, and shoe and boot ornamentation, especially everything red. The red or green skirt over the trousers is not worn at all. Instead of the colorful clothes, the woman puts on only a simple upper garment of one color. She takes off the ear pendants, arm bands, and the neck band, and [301] removes from her headdress all lace, tassels, and hanging strings, as well as the silver hair cap [Haarschale] and the little copper plates. She keeps only the simple, rigid frame of the headdress and covers its colorful strips uniformly by sticking green paper on them. She puts a blue cloth made of coarse linen over this as a head veil. She replaces her broad and colorful belt with a hemp string.

[602] [593] All the close relatives are required to wear mourning dress, those who also must give the death-offering. The only exception is the husband upon the death of his wife. He may not wear mourning.

● 764 782 [602] Prayer service: The prayer service is called "prayer tea." The relatives on the father's side assemble daily in the house of mourning; toward evening they sit on the kang around the open fire in the kitchen and pray the mani for the dead on their mani-string. When they are finished, they receive noodle soup and go home. This prayer service lasts until the day of cremation. One need not sit around the kang fire, however, but can also perform these prayers before the death-box itself.

[639 cont.]

764 782 792 The official prayer-service is undertaken by a lama, if possible by a hutukhtu. He is given a room of his own in the house of mourning, which ordinarily immediately adjoins the room in which the corpse is laid out, so that he can remain on the kang when he recites the office of the dead. A lama never prays directly before the corpse. A hutukhtu visits the house of mourning only on the day before the cremation, and stays there only one night. He also always undertakes the ceremonial cremation with the fire-pouring. Other lamas, on the other hand, may perform services in the house of mourning several days before.

[177] In recent times the Tujen also invite Chinese bonzes for the prayers. They adhere to their own rites. It also happens that bonzes and lamas are invited at the same time. Then the prayer rite is mixed. A cremation, however, is never carried out without some religious officiant first giving the prayers for the dead (12). Lamas of lower rank, who may not undertake the

[123] 12. [Foreign text p. 654.] The Tujen have no difficulties in inviting representatives of various religions for prayers. I was even requested once to give the Christian office of the dead. -- On the other hand, the Chinese Buddhists also invite the lamas to give prayers for the dead.

fire-pouring, or bonzes do not go along to the place of cremation, but remain in the house of mourning.

764 782 792 465 [604] For the prayer, the relatives, lamas, and bonzes receive a corresponding honorarium which is usually fixed by the mother's brother on the occasion of the demand for an accounting during the last mourning meal. The Chinese bonzes, to be sure, demand a fixed fee immediately upon being invited; otherwise they do not come at all. The other persons who say prayers, assistants at the cremation, etc. receive compensation in the form of alms on the eve of the cremation or on the morning after the cremation.

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764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
782 large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
792 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
465 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
[272] temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
[262] own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people
[788] buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the
[556] temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it.
[432] In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of
butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large
month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and
night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate
to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the
dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name
of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by
the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer
services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
602 Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain
a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

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13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] hsiao-tzu in Chinese, who are the male descendants and relatives of the first and second degree, for example, younger brothers, younger cousins, grandsons.

on the mother's side do not appear in the house of mourning until the eve of the cremation.

764 They must be informed, however, immediately after the death; this is called "death announcement." The master of
602 ceremonies, with a small bottle of liquor, goes to the mother's
604 brother to announce the death of the latter's nephew or niece (14).

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14. [Foreign text p. 654.] In recent times the Tujen announce the death to the mother's brother by means of a written communication, like the Chinese. The original practice, however, is the announcement with the liquor-jug, to which is tied a flock of wool.

[792] The two now consult as to how the funeral solemnities are to
[465] be arranged, how many monks are to be invited to pray, how large the fees are to be, etc. The mother's brother is intent upon setting demands as high as possible, whereas the master of ceremonies sets lower ones. Once they have agreed upon
[273] the approximate level, they drink the little jug of liquor together. If they do not agree, the master of ceremonies returns home with the liquor and he receives new instructions from the bereaved family. Sometimes this happens two or three times. A final arrangement is not made until the last day at the accounting in the house of mourning.

On the eve of the cremation, the mother's brother, and with him all the male relatives on the mother's side, appears in the yard of the bereaved. The women among the maternal

764 [640 cont.]
[602] relatives do not come (15). The mother's brother is solemnly
[604]

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15. [Foreign text pp. 654-655.] Three groups of relatives are to be distinguished, which correspond to the kinship divisions of the Chinese there: 1. One's own family, dzienani kudē, Chin. pen-chia. To this belong the descendants in a direct line, son, grandson, grandchildren, even the daughters who are already

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married outside. They live together in one compound. 2. Cousinhood, dzienani šāni, Chin. tang-chia-tzu. These are the father's brothers and cousins, in practice all the relatives with the same family name. -- This group is obligated to provide for the interment, while one's own family (even the daughters) wear mourning dress and are subject to the strict mourning taboos. As soon as the daughters return to their husband's family, however, they take off the mourning. 3. Affinity by marriage, urog, Chin. ch'in-chia, ch'in-ch'i.

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Since among the Tujen here the Chinese expressions are now in use, the following names should be distinguished: ch'in-chia in the strict sense is the relationship of the sons-in-law with whom the daughters have married. They have another family name, wai-hsing. The family from which the mother comes is called wai-chia; here the brother of the mother is the person of respect who represents her interests. The family from which the mother of the father comes is called wei-chia; here, too, for the

[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 654-655 cont.] father his mother's brother is the person of respect, who in case of death demands an accounting. Wei-chia and wai-chia have the same signs; only the pronunciation is different. Literally translated it means [655] "the outside family," in other words, not belonging to the male line. Instead of wai-chia one also says niang-chia, which designates the family from which the mother comes. This expression is also used for the family of the lama, who, of course, is unmarried. -- The wai-chia or niang-chia does not appear until the day before the cremation.

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The mother's brother is solemnly
764 received by the master of ceremonies and led to the death-box.
602 There he and his retinue offer the 12 loaves, burn paper, and
604 kowtow. During this time all the relatives must express great
[782] bereavement and the women utter loud lamentations. The mother's brother also weeps. After this ceremony, the mother's brother is led into the house and onto the kang, where he is given tea and bread. He rests a little while. The other companions are given hospitality outside in the yard where everything is set up for the funeral meal and the ceremony of the accounting.

[641] The mother's brother is led into the yard and sits on a white felt mat which is spread out on the ground directly before the entrance of the main house. He sits with his back to the house, facing the mani-tree. A kang table is put in front of him. The other relatives on the maternal side sit on straw to the right and left of him in a semicircle. Boards which are supposed to represent tables are put in front of them. Now oil-baking, tea, and pastries are brought. The serving is done by the cousin-
[273] hood on the father's side (16). After the first bite, the guests are

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16. [Foreign text p. 655.] At the interment, the Tujen have the

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[Note on foreign text p. 655 cont.]
following offices: 1. The master of ceremonies. He takes care of everything connected with the customs concerning the dead and the cremation. He is called by the Chinese name sang-kuan, that is, leader of the interment, or hu-sang, that is, protector of the interment. He is usually picked from the cousinhood. 2. The gift-guardian. He takes the offering loaves and keeps them in a special room. In Chinese he is called k'u-kuan, that is, treasure-guardian. -- The Chinese also put a secretary at his disposal, who notes what the individual guests have given. The Tujen do not have this. 3. The host. He is there solely for the lama and provides for his entertainment, for his animals, for the things needed at the ceremony, for paper to burn, etc. The Tujen call him kängüo. In his place the Chinese have an incense-manager. 4. The female cook, called dziemā nienie by the Tujen. -- With exception of the kängüo and the dziemā nienie, the officiants seem to have been taken over from the Chinese.

764 given some liquor, and the bereaved on the father's side come
604 in the circle with the master of ceremonies and kneel on the
[602] ground before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies
[273] steps forward and invites the mother's brother to take a drink of
[537] liquor. He hands him a hada and a piece of white cloth and requests him to present his wishes for the dead and to release the corpse for the cremation.

[641 cont.]

764 604 537 [273] The mother's brother puts the hada over his shoulders, takes a swallow of liquor, and begins his speech. Usually he demands an accounting concerning the care of his protégé during the latter's illness and demands the small fees for the prayer service, saying that they should be ashamed of such avarice, the dead had always been a good person, the pride of his family, he deserved better; now at least one should give him a decent death-box and provide the most magnificent cremation possible; far too few lamas had been invited, but now they should recompense them with much money and rice and butter, etc.

[273] Every time that the mother's brother puts forward a wish or a complaint and pauses, the master of ceremonies has his liquor bowl refilled and calls upon him to drink. Then the master of ceremonies replies in the name of the paternal relatives, seeks to invalidate the reproaches, to lessen the demands, and to emphasize the efforts of the family. He says that the most expensive medicines were procured for the deceased during his illness, for how could one neglect such a virtuous person; moreover, everything that the family could do in his honor and for his soul would be done, but one should not demand the impossible; after all, one must die sometime; the times are bad, but they would gladly give the lama that and that, etc. -- So it goes back and forth between the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies, until a course is finally agreed upon and the mother's brother declares that now he is satisfied and will release the corpse. Now the mother's brother is invited to inspect the corpse, but he usually does not do this.

764 604 After this speech, the bereaved arise, kowtow three times before the mother's brother, and return to the deathwatch by the box. The mother's brother follows them and kowtows before the dead. Then alms are distributed to the guests, usually [431] coins. This is called "to do good," for it is advantageous for the deceased. Then the meal for the relatives on the mother's side [735] takes place in a large circle. Usually there is rice, but among poor people only noodle soup.

[775] [177] [642] The ceremony of the demand for an accounting has the purpose of releasing the soul of the dead for the migration

[642 cont.]

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of the soul, according to the saying: if the mother's brother does not open his mouth, the dead cannot migrate. When the soul has no more demands to make on this world, then it leaves house and home. Its demands are advocated by the mother's brother (17). --

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17. [Foreign text pp. 655-656.] The people do not agree about the origin and meaning of this ceremony. The Chinese say that it was copied from them; the Tujen claim that it is an old custom of their ancestors. -- The Chinese also have the name bäda (pai-ta); they also say pai-wai for it. They have no special explanation for pai-ta; they interpret pai-wai as "to profit, to tain an advantage." There is no character for either word. This would not be so important, however, since there is a great number of dialectal expressions for which there are no characters. -- The informant believes that bäda is a Tujen word and means "to profit, to gain," exactly like the Chinese pai-wai. If this custom does not occur farther to the east, which would have to be investigated, then one could conceive of it as a borrowing from the Tujen.

The pai-ta of the Chinese is somewhat more extensive. First there is the donning of the white mourning cap, tai-hsiao, then the viewing of the corpse, wang-ku, that is, to view the bones; the mother's brother in this role is called ku-chu, that is, bones-master, an expression that the Tujen also have. Then follows the speech of the mother's brother, pai-wai. And when the negotiations on this

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[Note on foreign text pp. 655-656 cont.]
occasion are concluded satisfactorily, then there follows first the kowtow with the offering for the dead before the corpse. Concerning the bone relationship, cf. Part 2, I, 2.

The speech of the mother's brother is somewhat different from that of the Tujen. He principally demands a magnificent coffin, elegant death-garments, and many bonzes for the interment. Indeed, he even reclaims things of the dead person, for instance, the cow that provided him with milk, as well as valuables that are desired as mementos, for, he says, since the beloved deceased no longer dwells among his relatives, one wants at least his personal objects out of affection. Everyone knows that this is done less out of affection than out of a desire for gain. [656] The quite un-Chinese demand for the milk cow is striking here, since the Chinese drink practically no milk.

Among the Tujen, the pai-ta makes a somewhat more selfless impression. The negotiations deal primarily with the lamas to be invited and their prayer fee, and this primarily so that the soul of the dead person will be satisfied and set out on its migration.

In the case of the pai-ta, therefore, a twofold viewpoint is to be differentiated, the social, which comes to the fore more among the Chinese, and the religious, which is of more concern among the Tujen. In the first case it is a matter of asserting the rights of the mother's family; in the second case, it is a matter of the conception

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[Note on foreign text pp. 655-656 cont.] of the souls of the dead, who evidently are regarded as living corpses. This point is decisive in explaining the meaning. It is a matter of the peace and good fortune of the family, which are endangered by a restless soul if it is not satisfied and continues to wander about. This satisfaction is brought about by providing a decent interment (clothing, coffin) and the prayer of the lama. Then "the way is open" for the soul, as the Buddhists say; the significance of the above-mentioned proverb of the Chinese is shown here. How strongly this conception still affects even the Chinese is shown by the recast saying, wai-chia pu k'ai yen, wang-jen pu shang t'ien, that is, if the mother's family does not begin to speak, the dead will not ascend to heaven. -- With all this, however, it becomes clear how strong the rights of the mother's family are, and its concern for its members even beyond death.

If there is no actual mother's brother, then the one nearest to the mother's brother takes his place; this is the one who follows the mother's brother in the inheritance.

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Time of cremation: As soon as the dead person draws his last breath, a relative goes to the soothsayer or Bon priest and has the day of cremation determined by the spirits. He does not enter the compound of the soothsayer, however, but announces himself in front of the large gate of the yard, because since he comes from the house of a dead person, he may not appear before the gods. Aside from the spirit-spear, spirit-table, spirit-litter, and the Bon priest, one may also ask a Chinese lay bonze. Lamas and Taoist bonzes never determine the time. Only the day is given, not the hour. As

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764 a rule, all young people under 20 years of age, whether male or
[766] female, are cremated in the evening at sundown. Persons over 20 years of age are cremated in the morning at sunrise. The place of cremation is prepared the day before.

Place of cremation: The place of cremation is usually chosen by the master of ceremonies after consultation with the members of the family. Only ground that belongs to the deceased's own family or to the relatives on the father's side is considered. A dead person may never be cremated on strange soil or on land that belongs to the maternal relatives. Special preference is given to a spot on a steep ridge between fields, because the fire for the oven can most easily be set there. In
241 choosing the spot, one must see to it that the smoke will not
764 blow across a sown field. Therefore, after the sowing festival in the spring, a remote place is chosen in a ravine or on a
178 mountain where there are no more fields. Aside from the fact that the seed would be trampled, the smoke of a burning corpse is harmful for the growth and the harvest. Therefore nowadays, when even the most remote little mountain patches are planted, cremation is increasingly on the wane, especially in the valleys, and the dead are buried in coffins (19).

[177] [Foreign text p. 656.] This may not be the most decisive reason for the disappearance of the custom, however, but rather the general Sinicization. In remote ravines everywhere a place can still be found for cremation, for even the Chinese in the valleys cremate their adult, unmarried daughters in such remote places.

764 If the fire-pouring is undertaken at the cremation, then
792 the lama himself goes out to the field the day before and
782 chooses a suitable spot. For this purpose he kneads a large torma

[642 cont.]

764 in the house and takes the torma to the place where he wants the
792 crematory to be built. The incense offering is then made in
782 front of the torma, but without any extra features, except tsamba and butter; the lama sprinkles the fire with holy water. While he then prays on a white felt mat, the others kowtow. In this
[776] way the lama requests the place for the cremation from the mountain-spirit; the incense and the torma are meant for the mountain-spirit. In making the choice, the lama takes into account the evenness of the ground, since for these ceremonies he needs a suitable place for the table and the mat he sits on.

764 [643] Erection of the crematory: Now [illustration ap-
333 pears here] an oven is built out of clay bricks. The torma is set to one side, and no further attention is paid to it. First the men build a quadrangular base, about two ells high and two ells wide; on this they erect the round crematory, about four ells high. It looks like a barrel. On the west side a broad longitudinal slit remains open, through which the corpse is set inside. On each side of the base a large hole is left for the firing. The oven is calked with clay and lime and then is painted white (25).

25. Foreign text pp. 657-658.] The crematory may be made in various forms. The one copied from the crematory of the lamas (cf. the drawing made by a Tujen) is regarded as the most superior one. Similarities with the understructure of the chorten cannot be
[778] denied. On graves of persons who died sitting up, I saw chorten which represented an almost exact copy of the crematory, only slightly more rounded. -- When the fire-pouring is undertaken
[532] at the cremation, the ground-drawing is naturally also made, and usually not on the ground itself, [658] but rather one puts down a large leaf of paper with

[643 cont.]

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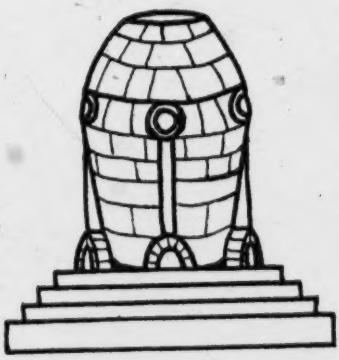

Crematory, tab.
(Drawing of a Tujen.)

[Note on foreign text pp. 657-658 cont.]
the drawing on it; then the base is built on it. Several sheets are often pasted together. The drawing is sometimes so wide that it sticks out under the base. The ground-drawing naturally also varies in the decoration, but the thunderbolts and the lotus flower are always there. The oven with the corpse is thought of as borne by the lotus flower, out of which come the flames of the transformation of life during the burning. In this connection cf. the section, "The Fire-pouring," Note 4. -- There are certainly connections between the crematory and the bum-pa of the chorten.

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[604] The funeral procession: On the morning of the day set, the mother's brother and all the relatives of the deceased burn white paper in front of the box; they kowtow three times and start a loud lamention. Four bearers take the box with the corpse up on

[643 cont.]

764 their shoulders and carry it out to the yard gate. Before the gate the water-lamp and the paper basin are emptied. Here, too, the straw that served the bereaved as an underlayer during the deathwatch is burned. The procession goes to the crematory at a rapid pace. Old and young, men and women, follow in colorful confusion.

Young boys go with them. They carry straw, firewood, cypress twigs, a wooden bed or a door for the lama, a white felt mat, and a large iron kettle for melting the butter. At the oven, the men place the box on the ground. The relatives once more burn paper and throw themselves down to kowtow. Then
764 the master of ceremonies steps forward and addresses a few words
537 of farewell to the deceased. He says approximately the following: We have done what we could for you; we invited the lamas, we have prayed, we have given alms. We have made a beautiful box for you; you can be content. Therefore think no more of us and do not return to disturb the peace of our house. Be without care; we shall not forget you and shall continue to pray for you and to make offerings to you.

764 After this speech he distributes money among those
[431] present. This is alms and is called "box-money." Now the
[533] women once more begin the lamentation. They have a certain melody and express their grief in impromptu words. Then all go home. Only the master of ceremonies, two fire guards, the sons-in-law, the nephews, and the lama remain. The fire is serviced only by the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The sons-in-law and nephews assist with other operations.

Putting the corpse inside: The men who remained behind bring the litter to the west side of the oven where the broad slit was left. They put the litter with the back to this opening and draw the wooden wall out, so that the corpse is exposed in the back. Meanwhile the [644] fire guards have piled cypress twigs and wood on the oven floor. The corpse is now put on the firewood in the oven, the back to the east, the face to the west.
[775] Then the slit is walled off. The face must be turned to the
[823] west because the realm of the blessed is located there, to which he must now migrate.

[644 cont.]

764 The lama now takes his place on the bed or the door,
792 over which a white mat has been spread, on the west side of the oven. His face is turned toward the east, facing that of the dead person. Before him stands a little kang table with his cult implements. Next to it lie two pieces of sacking, on which two white cloth runners have been spread; the little plates with the spices and the materials for the fire-pouring (cf. the appropriate section) stand on that. On the white cloth there is also a tray with a torma. The lama prepared it in the morning
[778] in the house of mourning and brought it along. This torma rep-
[775] resents a spirit that protects the dead person and leads him westward into the land of rebirth. -- The lama comes from the west, the land of the Buddhas, and goes to the east; therefore he is seated opposite the dead person.

764 The fire preparation: Now the iron kettle is put on three
372 stones and a great fire is kindled under it; it does not matter how this fire is made. Several lumps of butter are thrown into the kettle and allowed to melt. The men then make the
[792] lighting pole, while the lama begins the prayers for the dead.

The lighting pole is a stick two to three meters long. Any wood desired can be used for it. A thick strand of cotton wadding is wound on one end. The master of ceremonies now brings a paper lantern, in which there is a small butter-lamp. It must be a butter-lamp; an oil-lamp or a candle is not permitted. In olden times there were no butter-lamps either, but wooden splinters from the oil fir. This lamp may not be lighted with ordinary fire, for instance, with the fire from the butter-kettle. It must be new fire which is struck from the flint on the first blow. If the master of ceremonies does not get a spark the first time, he may not try it a second time with the same stone. For this reason he keeps a whole series of flint stones in readiness (18). Now if the spark has fallen on the

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18. [Foreign text 656.] In recent times matches are also used instead of the flint stones. In this case, too,

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[644 cont.]

[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
however, the match must burn at the first stroke; otherwise one throws it away and takes a second one.

tinder at the first blow and has ignited it, then the master of ceremonies takes a handful of straw, holds the glowing tinder in it, and blows the whole thing into a bright flame, with which he lights the butter-lamp. Then he soaks the lighting pole in the butter-kettle containing the fluid butter, holds it over the butter-lamp in the lantern until the head of cotton wadding flares up brightly, and lights the oven with it through the four fire holes. Meanwhile the lama proceeds with his prayers. As soon as the flames rise high, the master of ceremonies takes the soul-guide torma and throws it from above into the oven onto the corpse; it is burned with it. Then the lama undertakes the fire-pouring.

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Cremation and fire-pouring: The ceremony of the fire-pouring is the same as on other occasions. Only here the butter and the spices are thrown onto the [645] corpse in the oven, for which the lama holds the pouring-tube over the edge of the oven. The spices, however, are thrown into the flames by the master of ceremonies. The lama takes only a pinch each time and puts it on a [illustration appears here] little plate which the master of ceremonies holds in his hand. When the butter and the spices are used up, the lama ends his prayer and goes to the house. With him go the master of ceremonies, the sons-in-law, and the nephews.

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Only the two fire guards remain behind. They shatter the box, burn it with the corpse, and wait until the corpse is completely reduced to ashes. This takes several hours. Then they put the little bone-casket that was brought along in one of the fire holes without the bones and cover it with earth. They put boards over the still smoldering oven, which they weight with rocks and lumps of earth so that dogs and wolves cannot get in, and then they go home. They leave the oven alone. After three days the bones are stored.

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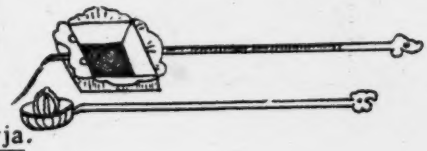
764 All who participated at the cremation wash their hands and fumigate them in a great incense fire in front of the yard [783] gate. Then they drink tea and hold a funeral meal. The lama [792] usually returns to his monastery on the same day.

[415] Ladling spoon and pouring tube. In the spoon, the thunderbolt, rdo-rja. [532] (Drawing of a Tujen.]



764 The fire-pouring is undertaken only in the case of those 795 persons who have received a Buddhist baptism. Old people in addition also receive the age-consecration and are regarded as lay 792 monks. If someone has died without the Buddhist baptism, it [778] is performed after death. This is done by the lama with the help of a chest mirror. Since no water may flow over the dead person, the lama holds the chest shield in front of him so that the head is mirrored in it. He pours the consecrated water from his can over this mirror image and gives the baptismal prayer (20).

20. [Foreign text p. 656.] The fact that no water may flow over the dead person is not the only reason for the washing in the mirror. The mirror image is washed [778] even in the case of living persons, just as at the consecration of Buddha images. In this connection cf. also Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141. In the passage, "Then he takes a little metal mirror, points its front side in all directions, and sprinkles it with a few drops of water from his cult vessel," it is not a matter of simply turning the mirror

[645 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
back and forth, but in all probability it is to catch the mirror images of the boys who have been brought before the Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age, receive the age-consecration and become a member of the monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman, from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring [783] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purifica- [372] tion for the dead, similar to baptism.

764 Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then
766 no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of [792] ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of [372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is desirable, but not essential.

764 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three
602 days for the bone storage. During these three days the members of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there, kowtow, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea. Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the men and women of the deceased's own family and at least one man, but no women, of the related families, and furthermore the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the [782] oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea.
764 After they have then kowtowed, men and women dig the bones out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

[646 cont.]

764 the little bones go into it, however, for it is only an ell long and two handbreadths high. The lid is pegged down, like a Chinese coffin. The remaining bones are carried by hand, aprons, or in a back-basket to the nearest mountain height. Animals as a rule do not eat them because they are burned. Only sheep like to nibble on them. The bones decompose very rapidly, however.

The bone-chest is placed in the oven, weighted down with clay bricks, and then the oven is torn down so that it forms a little mound with the chest buried under it. This is always done if the cremation has taken place after the harvest during the period before the grave festival in the third month.

[765] [769] At the grave festival, the Chinese ch'ing-ming, the bone-chest is buried in the communal family cemetery. The place of the cremation is leveled.

If the cremation is after the grave festival, then the oven is, to be sure, torn down and the place again cultivated, but the bone-chest is not buried at the place of the oven, but on a remote ridge of arable land in a field belonging to

[765] the deceased's own family. Only at the next grave festival in the following year is it transferred to the family cemetery.

If the cremation has taken place on a distant mountain far from the family, then a tent is pitched there to wait until the third day, the bones are stored, and the chest is brought down in order to bury it on the ridge of a field on one's

[776] [778] [823] own land. Such a cremation may never be undertaken on the peak of a mountain, but about halfway up. The peak is sacred to the mountain-spirit and may not be desecrated.

If the bone-chest has been buried in the oven or field, then the relatives burn white paper before it, throw pieces of bread on the bone-grave, and pour out tea before it for the dead. Then they kowtow and go home. The guests are treated with tsamba and butter in the house of mourning. The

[465] master of ceremonies receives 12 loaves of bread and two ells of white cloth; the two fire guards are given six loaves each and two ells of cloth.

[647 cont.]

765 [769] [777] [764]

[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days [177] memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown [782] and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowa- [178] days the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

765 784 [574] [796] [262]

Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[262] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
[585] also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not officiate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean,
[783] [796] and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automati-
[783] cally lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul
[777] haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one
[791] questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved, it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul.
[782] One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[648 cont.]

766 and on the same day on which the girl died. If she died in the morning, she is burned in the evening; if she died in the late evening, she is burned the following morning. A man from her own family takes the corpse just as it is, with the clothes, over his shoulder, carries it to a remote ravine, digs a hole by a copse, piles straw and twigs in it, puts the corpse on top, and burns it. Usually a few other people also help. One does not wait until the dead girl is completely reduced to ashes, but leaves the still smoldering corpse behind and goes home. Dogs and wolves consume the remains. As soon as a girl has been married, however, ●764 even if only for a few days, she receives an honorable cremation like any other woman, with all the ceremonies, with prayer, and with a death-box. This also applies to those daughters who [588] have not yet found a man, but who are married to the sky or the mani-tree.

762 If an adult, whether a man or a married woman, has 766 killed himself, he receives the usual cremation ceremonies without fire-pouring and without a death-box. Usually no one [782] is invited to give the prayer. At the final funeral meal, how- [604] ever, the mother's brother will demand a precise accounting concerning the causes of the suicide, especially if a woman is involved, and he will insist upon an honorable death rite with a death-box. Disputes are common at such times.

766 Those who lost their lives through violence, such as drownings, falls from heights, murder, etc., receive a cremation or interment like any other person of the same age.

[649] Those who died outside the yard, be it an ordinary death or through an accident or suicide, are always laid out outside of the compound, say, in a special tent or in a cave. If a suicide has taken place inside the yard, however, the person who has taken his life is laid out in the house.

792 Persons who have died far away are brought home. If 766 this is not possible, for instance, in the case of soldiers, a lama is invited. While praying he writes down the name of the de- [212] ceased on a stiff sheet of paper and sticks it in a measure of grain (wheat), which is then placed on a table in the room into which otherwise the death-box would have been brought. All the same ceremonies are now carried out in front of it, as though

[649 cont.]

792 an actual corpse were present. On the day set this sheet of paper
766 is burned in the field, but quite simply, without any oven and without a lama. No one bothers with the ashes. The lama writes
[212] the name on a second sheet, however, and this is put in the bone-chest, which is buried at the place of the burning (23) until the

[171]

23. [Foreign text p. 657.] The neighboring Chinese have a similar custom. They place the ancestral tablet of the dead person in a little coffin and bury it in the cemetery. This interment has legal force; when it is undertaken, it is regarded as proof that the person is actually dead. A parallel is found among the Chinese in the proxy wedding with a stuffed straw-man.

[212] transfer to the kin-group cemetery takes place at the grave festival. -- The signs that the lama writes are Tibetan.

Word List

192
764 Cremation: ġaldë awu- = to put in the fire.

To die: ugei (guei) wōldzia = he has passed away.

He died sitting: sōwa guei wōldzia; tsuo-hua (Chin.) = transformed sitting.

Death of a bonze: niesā sdzia = he has flown away. yū-hua (Chin.) = feathered transformed.

Death of a lama: siaġladzia = he has turned to nothing.

[775] He is reborn: härga (xara) rēdzia = he has come back; sdziewa.

One has put him in the crouching position: ndāñlalġadzia = he has been put in equilibrium.

The dead person: guei woldzān kun = departed person.

Death clothing (shoulder hanging): bōw-la (Tib. loanword) = white garment.

Death lament: dō tedzi ula.

192 [649 cont.]
764 Death box: odõṅ.
Bone-chest: mula odõṅ = little death-box.
[354] Water-lamp: fdzë dzüla.
Paper-bowl: tsialdzë pendzë.
To wear the clothing reversed: diela furula mõsë.
Prayer tea: rgē tsia.
[785] Prayer for the dead: xar(i)dzän kunë xuenuo mani sguorluo- = (to pray) in behalf of the deceased person afterwards the mani in the circle.
Prayer fee for the lama: mbõ (Tib. loanword).
Prayer alms: odõṅ dzied = death-box alms.
192 Own family: dzienāni kudë.
601 Relatives on the father's side: dzienani šäni = own relatives, those with the same family name.
Relatives on the mother's side, affinity through marriage: urog. Those with different family names.
[608] Artificial kinship: šäni funi = kinship-smoke. Neighbors and friends who take the place of relatives in performing services at the reception of guests, cremation, etc.

[650]
[764] Bone-master, mother's brother: tsigän yesëni daxu = the owner of the white bones;
ku-chu (Chin.).
Mother's brother: nëgä; achiu (Chin.).
Nephew (sister's son): dzie; wai-sheng (Chin.).
Son-in-law: kurgien; nü-hsü (Chin.).
Sister: agü.
Daughter: fsdzün.
192 He died as a rider: tsürog morina bagaldilā sdzia fugudzia.
764 He died as a settler: sänrëdzi liela guei wõldzia.
Burned bones: xuodzën yäsë = dry bones.
Crematory: taw (tab) (Tib.).
Lighting pole: xuämbar.
Lay bonze: lao shih-fu (Chin.) = old master.
Demand for an accounting: bäda; pai-ta (Chin.).
769 Grave festival: ch'ing-ming (Chin.); sën-min (21) [see Note 21
192 above].

[864]

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a

b

782
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764
[171]

c

d

(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
756 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[757] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
[292] shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
[534] village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
[778] val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[142] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-
pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip
with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the
gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest
Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The
Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
[171] graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical.
Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs
concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his
percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his
instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the follow-
ing day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless
one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing
to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed.
[333] The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[205 cont.]

774 Unequivocal statements concerning the conceptions of the soul among the Tujen could not be secured. It is true that several souls can be inferred from the death customs described, but the naming and peculiar nature of these souls remain vague.

192 Two designations for "soul" come into consideration:
774 namsü (namšë) and suniedzë. The word namsü is seldom used. According to the DMF (256), it corresponds to the Tibetan ñams-su. This independent connection cannot be confirmed in Ch. Das, but ñams alone is found there, p. 476, with the meaning: "...the soul, mind, spirit as an entity" [cited in English]. The su could at most still be an instrumental particle. One will probably not go wrong, therefore, if he equates namsü not with ñams-su, but with the Tibetan rnam šes, pronounced nam-še. Ch. Das (762) translates it with: "...the mind, knowledge, intellect, memory" [cited in English]. H.A. Jäschke, on the other hand, has for it the explanation (315): "3. in popular language: soul, e.g. of the departed..." [cited in English]. The much more frequently used word suniedzë has the same meaning. It is the equivalent of the Mongolic sünesün. Both namsü and suniedzë signify nothing uniform, for there are three souls: nigë
774 kundu ġuran namsü-i, or nigë kundu suniedzë ġuran-i, that is:
775 "There are three souls to a human being"; cf. DMF 256. And of what kind are these souls? toroñ yesë saġdzini, ġuordani sdziewa awura sdzini, ġurandani iliedu furani (cf. DMF 361), that is, "The first guards the bones, the second assumes the rebirth, the third transforms itself into a demon." Mostaert, op. cit., refers to Sanžeev, "Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten [World-view and shamanism of the Alar-Burjat]," Anthropos, 22, 1927, p. 585. The conception of the tripartition,
[171] however, is much more widespread; at any rate in Lamaistically influenced Asia it is found almost everywhere. Even the Tsinghai Chinese know of three souls: one goes into the underworld, one stays with the corpse (bones), one wanders around in the world. What is common to these three souls is that they can separate themselves from the body.

775 The bone-soul remains with the skeleton after death, at
764 least until the rite of the bäda has been completed, whereby it
604 is satisfied and becomes free. Its agent in this ritual and the

[205 cont.]

775 decisive authority is the mother's brother of the deceased. Therefore among the people he is accordingly called tsiğan yesë daxu,
764 that is, "white-bone-master"; Chinese [206] ku-chu, that is,
604 "bone-master." This soul finally becomes free at the cremation, at which, of course, the bones (better: the skeleton) are destroyed except for a few remains. The peculiarity of this soul[1] is its
775 clan [Clan] membership, as is expressed by the name of the
614 mother's brother and his importance. He is the representative
604 of the mother's kin-group [Sippe]. The Tujen, however, like
764 the Mongols and other tribes, determine the kin group according to the bones. Among the Tujen likewise the question as to the family is: "What are your bones," tsini yesë yan-i? Bones and clan (kin group) therefore are equated. Thus one has grounds for maintaining that the bone-soul is borne by the life principle of the clan and propagates itself in the clan. How is unclear. As clan-master, the mother's brother is also bone-master. He exercises more rights over his sister's child than the latter's actual father and also demands the final accounting. But what happens to the thus liberated soul? Perhaps a similar custom among the Manchuria-Tungus, specifically among the Birarčen [Birar] and Kumarčen, provides insight into this. S. M. Shirokogorov reports of their soul-migration into the underworld: "The second river is the Yellow River, after crossing which the soul meets with Mongoldai Nakču, i.e. Mongoldai 'senior of the mother's clan,' which examines the case before allowing the soul to cross the Black River beyond which Inmun-kan reigns" [cited in English] (Psychomental Complex, p. 142; as cited in UdG, X, p. 563). Mongoldai, the master of the mother's clan in the underworld, here does what the bone-master of the dead does in the upper world: he demands an accounting and investigates the condition of the dead person's soul. The result is also the same: the soul becomes free for its migration and the corpse free for the burial. I could not confirm this underworld correspondence for the bāda among the Tujen; at any rate, nothing drew one's attention in this direction. Perhaps the extension of the conception into the
[769] underworld is lacking among them because they practice

[1] [i.e. - the "bone-soul", one of three souls of a human being - ANALYST]

[206 cont.]

775 practically no ancestor cult and therefore know of no ancestor
614 spirit like the Tungusic Mongoldai Nakču. Unconsciously, how-
604 ever, forgotten conceptions might still have an effect. At any
764 rate, a custom that is often explained as thirst for honor and
[769] avarice would in this way find a suitable explanation. In the case of the bäda the principal demands of the mother's brother are directed at the inviolability of the corpse (= no violent death) and a costly death-box, as well as splendid prayers for the dead. When, in connection with the underworld custom of the Tungus, one assumes that the dead person will reach the clan-master of the underworld in an honorable, fine condition and contented, then the care of the earthly clan-master for his clan members is thereby also documented, and the clan has a good reputation in the beyond. Father W. Schmidt sought to interpret similar conditions among other peoples meaningfully, and, to be sure, in connection with the double interment of the matriarchal agrarian culture. In the latter the fleshly parts are allowed to fall to destruction. They are of no significance for the further existence of the human being. The bones, however, which are carefully cleaned and then finally interred or supplied for the cult, are important. Moon-mythological ideas lie at the bottom of this procedure. The waning moon becomes thinner and thinner, until finally only [207] a "bone" remains, but the latter gradually clothes itself again with "flesh" and grows to become the full moon, a mirror image of the perishing and becoming of man. According to this conception, the skeleton is the "essential," the support; see UdG, X, pp. 742 f. If this meaning of the bones is so harmoniously a part of the moon-mythological matriarchal agricultural culture, then the striking arrangement among the Tujen, bones -- mother's clan -- mother's brother, is also explained. -- The sociological side of this custom will not be dealt with here.

775 The second soul goes to the western paradise (Tushita)
171 and waits there for a new rebirth. The incarnation into lower forms is regarded as punishment for a vicious and evil life, exactly in the sense of the Buddhist-Lamaist wheel of life. These conceptions, however, do not have much force among

[207 cont.]

775 the Tujen. For instance, one hears little about a Buddhist hell,
171 which plays a much more important role among the neighboring Chinese and is quite graphically portrayed in many temples. It is true that the Tujen like to consider the misfortune in this world as punishment for earlier transgressions. This soul, which
775 one could call "incarnation soul" or "private soul" -- in con-
764 trast to the clan soul -- becomes free for the incarnation through the transforming lotus fire at the cremation. The informant, at any rate, interpreted the lotus-mandala and the fire at the cremation in this sense and ascribed to them a transforming power. This does not mean that this soul remains in the body as long as, say, in an animated corpse.. Rather, at the death of the person, the lamas are supposed "to open the way" through prayer, so that the soul may reach Tushita. To what extent such explana-
[171] tions correspond with the orthodox Buddhist doctrine will be left undecided. Any any rate, the conceptions of the people are vague.

775 Even more unclear are the conceptions about the third
776 soul, which is supposed to transform itself into a demon. Nothing is known about its fate and about the cause of such a transformation. Such a soul is feared, however. Perhaps it is this soul that in case of dissatisfaction after the bāda disturbs the
[764] human beings at the command of the clan soul, haunts the
[782] house and yard, and causes sickness and misfortune. At any rate, a great part of the offerings and prayers at the death rites is given out of fear of this soul. The constantly expressed wish to the dead person runs: "Forget us, be content, do not come
775 back." A natural discontent and a kind of missing of life's goal
776 are connected with the soul of unmarried adult girls. It becomes a demon who is so dangerous that even other demons flee
589 from it, for which reason the Bon priests take the material for
[765] their bone flutes, their whip, etc. from the corpses of such girls. The discontent and non-fulfillment can only be accounted for in this case by the unmarried state, which, according to Tujen conceptions, goes against every natural ordinance for a female
[588] person. One may suspect that this soul-belief also has a strong effect on the custom that the Tujen call "to arrange the heavenly

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171] are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
[769] ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
[764] stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
[782] the deceased would remain among the living and would need to partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
[513] even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
[753] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
[756] for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
[755] soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This catching of the soul is called: suniedzë xura-. It is unclear from this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru (rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun, moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals. Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the underworld and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

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I. INTENSIVENESS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS AND THE POSITION OF ITS FORMS

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC RELIGIOUS LIFE

The religious life of the Monguors is very intensive, and not a superficial veneer that scales off easily. Indeed, it has not only a private and a family characteristic, but a social and compulsory aspect, as well.

A missionary, accustomed to living with Chinese, is quite surprised when he comes among the Monguors, by their almost continuous recitation of *Om Mani Padme H'um.*[1] It is repeated by old and young, both men and women, hundreds of times a day, under all circumstances. The mind of the Monguor appears to be fixed on religion in a most unusual way. Mothers, kissing and cuddling their babies, like to say happily, over and over, "Om Mani," "Om Mani," as if thanking Buddha (*Avalokita*) for the baby. The sick, suffering on the *k'ang*,[2] find relief in sighing Om Mani the whole day, hoping to be cured. When hailstorms threaten crops, Om Mani will be said hundreds of times by every terrified farm family, in the hope that Buddha will make the wind change the course of the clouds. When someone in the village dies, all the villagers gather at night in the courtyard of the deceased, where they sit for many hours saying the Om Mani for the deceased.

[1] The formula *Om Mani Padme H'um* has always been and still is an enigma. All attempts to explain it remain unsatisfactory. Each lama of a sect, each student of things Tibetan has proposed his own explanation. It appears to be of Hindu origin and not Tibetan. Some trace its appearance in Tibet back to the eighteenth, fourteenth, and thirteenth centuries; and even to the seventh century. See P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 24: 395, 1924. The explanation of the formula seems to vindicate *mani padme* as a vocative of *Manipadma*, the proper name of a female deity.

[2] A small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In the front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm.

[p.5(A)]

some iron taken from 4 city gates, some earth gathered 789
on four city walls, earth collected on 5 different moun- 796
tains, some earth taken in the prison of the city, 12 756
kinds of medicines; a small wooden white tiger, his rider painted black; 2 Buddha images, 2 mantles worn by statues in temples, bones of a dog, 2 skulls of a wolf and of a fox, a human skeleton, a pair of filthy trousers of a young woman, a living cat, a snake and a wooden raven. (Is it possible to imagine a more heterogeneous collection of items?)

On all these items are painted cabalistic designs, which are encircled with vermilion and painted with a brush dipped in the mixed blood of a white dog, cat, and cock.[1] All the items, in order to be effective, are to be stolen from other villages. Young folk are designated by the chief of the village to steal the required items, and if they do not succeed in the job, they have to buy the objects with their own money. If such thieves are accused at the court of the T'u-ssu, the community has to indemnify the defendant. At the times when these rites are performed, everybody in the country watches at night. All the stolen items are locked up in the temple and guarded at night by elder people, whose sleep is not so sound as that of young men. Deep secrecy is kept about the required items.

On the evening of the day fixed, the shamans arrive, clothed in the black gown; the chief of the shamans alone wears the flowery coat. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail. After sunset the villagers arrive and the temple is closed tightly. A hog and a sheep are offered, while the attendants prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks, and the shamans dance and beat drums. In the deepest silence, they go to the place prepared for the rite, holding banners. All the heterogeneous items required are loaded into a cart. A hole fifteen feet in depth has been dug beforehand. Its upper part is shaped in a circle, the middle part is square, and the lowest part triangular.

The chief of the shamans descends into the pit alone. His whole body is enveloped in red cloth; he wears a [292
cincture made of hemp, such as the people wear at 764]
funerals. Holding in his hands the whip and the ritual knife, he takes off his shoes and hose and puts on shoes made from hemp ropes. His pigtail is unplaited, and his hair disheveled. Some youngsters, their heads enveloped in a red cloth, descend with him into the pit. They communicate by signs and tokens, for it is forbidden to utter a single word inside the pit. The shamans beat the drums outside the pit.

In the center of the triangle one of the biggest jars 782
is deposited, inside of which are put the corpse of the 756
baby or boy, and the different sorts of earth. All items 796
are covered with a piece of red cloth and the kettle is 789
inverted over them. The chain is wrapped around the jar and fastened with the lock. The pair of trousers,

[1] Johann Frick, How blood is used in magic and medicine in Ch'inghai Province, *Anthropos* 46 (5-6): 954, 1951.

[p.98(B)]

part of the investiture ceremony of the emperor.[12] During the funeral ceremonies for the emperor, the new emperor, facing the fire, made a libation and bowed thrice.[13] At the end of the year, in front of the hall (in open air), an offering of salt and sheep fat was made to the god of the fire by the shamans, and the emperor bowed twice before the fire.[14] 372 776

Butter was the original offering for the fire god among the Mongols and the Aryans.[15] Fire is worshipped among the Monguors in two ways: by fire in the open air, and fire on the hearth.

FIRE IN THE OPEN AIR

At marriages, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard where the marriage rites are performed and the dinner is served. The prostrations "to Heaven and to all the spirits" are made by the young couple in front of the fire. When the bride leaves the home of her parents a fire is built in the courtyard and speeches are made; the dinner is taken in front of the fire.[16] 585 372

During the celebration of the rite of the sixtieth birthday a big fire is built in the courtyard. First of all, at midnight on New Year's, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard and prostrations are given. The fire is not allowed to go out during the whole day, and this rite is performed before all the other rites.

In the temple yard of the village, the same rite is performed on New Year's in the same way. On the fifteenth of the first moon, a big cypress fire is kindled in the middle of the threshing floor, and small fires are built all around, over which men and women jump, singing, merrymaking, and making fun on stilts. During the whole performance of many rites enacted by lamas and shamans, very often a big cypress fire is kindled, as will be noted later.

MAGICAL POWER OF THE FIRE

Already the well-known Wei-sang has been noted, which seems to be an offering diffusing fragrance in honor of the spirits. It accompanies many rites. But fire is not only used to convey to the spirits the good feelings of the people, but often its magical power is expected to drive away evil spirits, even at the time of epidemics, epizootics, or when calamities intermittently harm the family. 372 789

When mourners return from funerals, they jump over a fire kindled at the entrance of the courtyard, so as not to be pursued and harmed by the souls of the deceased. [764]

[12] *Ibid.*, 223, 239, 274.

[13] *Ibid.*, 279.

[14] *Ibid.*, 267–317.

[15] Poppe, *op. cit.* 142. Edward Washburn Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 106. Agni, the fire god in old Hinduism, is a mediator between god and man, carrying to Heaven the offerings (p. 445). The ram is the sacred beast of Agni, who is seen riding a ram (p. 449). At New Year's festival on the second day is the celebration of Agni.

[16] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, *op. cit.*, 42–71.

[p.120(A)]

774
sion concerning this subject among the Monguors, who 171
assume that they have three souls.

THE FIRST SOUL

The Monguors used to talk about the 'soul of the 774
bones,[10] which seems to adhere to the bones in general, 775
not to a definite bone. When the bones are broken or split, the soul seems not to be affected. Consequently, when Monguors kill a sheep, they do not take care to avoid the breaking of the bones. The soul seems never to leave the bones, even during life or after death; it is said to be buried with the bones in the grave, and to remain there adhering to them, and to vanish when the bones vanish. Never is it said that this soul harms people, or is harmed in anyway. However, when the shaman calls back the souls of a sick man supposed to be [756]
harmed by malignant spirits, or by souls of the deceased, the bone soul is called back with the two others.

This peculiar feeling existing over all Asia concern- 761
ing the bones is noteworthy. The bones play a large 774
role in the beliefs of the Mongol and Turkish people, [170]
to which stock the Monguors belong. The Monguors, as well as the Mongols and Turks, when asking for the name of a man's clan, ask for the name of his "bone," and their saying goes that the bones come from the father and the flesh from the mother. This basic principle is so deeply ingrained in their consciousness that when you ask a man or a woman what their bones are, they will always answer by giving the name of the clan of their father and not that of their mother. Everybody is recognized as belonging to the clan of his father. If you ask for the name of the bone of their mother, they will answer by giving the name of their mother's father's clan and not of their mother's mother's clan, for the bones come from the father. This behavior fits perfectly in the frame of a patriarchal society.

However, it is not known at what time specific facts 604
caused the Monguors to go so far as to call their 774
maternal uncle the "master of the bones" of the children 764
of his sister, to acquiesce to his illogical usurpation of the most basic rights belonging to the family chief in a patriarchal society, to allow the maternal uncle to decide, in definite circumstances, about the life and death of these children, and to be their recognized avenger in case of suicide, caused by maltreatment, and to become the only man who can permit the burial of these children.[11] In all nomadic societies in Asia this intrusion is observed on a larger or smaller scale. Even in the Chinese society the maternal uncle plays an important role, presiding over the festivities at marriages and giving permission to bury the children of his sister. The Chinese saying is well known that, when the maternal uncle brings suit at court against the son of his sister, the father of the defendant cannot withstand it, and also the saying that as long as the mother's family (maternal uncle) does not permit burial, the de-

[10] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 2: 205.
[11] Schram, Part I: 91. [p. 140 (B)]

ceased cannot climb to heaven (the soul cannot leave the body).[12] Like the Monguors, they call a son *Ku-hsüeh,* "bone and blood," for his bones come from the father and blood from the mother. Relationship is called *Ku-jou,* "bones and flesh." The examination of the corpse by the maternal uncle before the funeral is called *Yen-ku,* "examining the bones." 604 774 764

However, the usurped rights of the maternal uncle concern only the children of his sister. He is not a chief of a clan, and in all clans men know very well that their clan chief is not a maternal uncle. 604

All the conditions set by the maternal uncle in order to permit burial find their explanation among Monguors and Chinese in the fear, which both harbor, of the harm which the deceased might cause in case he is not decently buried, and the desire to have a splendid burial for a member of their family, which will honor the family and flatter its pride. The Chinese are extravagantly demanding about precious clothes, a nice coffin, musicians, a big dinner, and a large number of Taoist priests. Monguors are also eager for grandeur, but, having no need for these items, put their unreasonable claims in the form of fantastically large alms for lamaseries, three-fourths of which are never agreed upon. This mentality and these facts prove that religious feeling at that time plays a far lesser part in the discussions than the mania for display and worldly glory. Certainly there are devout Lamaists who, at the time of the death of a member of the family, really like to have prayers said for the deceased, spend a lot of money for entertaining lamas, giving alms, burning lamps. However, this is never done without ostentation and without advertising, and they make these claims on the day of the dinner in such a way that the whole gathering may spread the news. 764 604

THE SECOND SOUL

The concept of this soul is more confused than that of the first soul. The second soul is that which will join Buddha in his paradise, or will be condemned by the terrible judge after death to reincarnate, in order to repair injustices. The Monguors at present know perfectly well that after death this soul does not die, and that there is a reward or punishment meted out by the terrible judge. They know perfectly the eighteen hells, from having seen the pictures in the temples and having heard the lamas speak about them. It is one of the most important merits of Lamaism, that it has spread this doctrine to such an extent. The shamans, when performing the spring rites, tell about Erlik, as the lamas tell about the judge of death. The rite which is usually performed in reparation for injustices, so widely spread and practiced, supports the assumption that many 774 775 [772]

[12] This last saying of the Chinese has no meaning for the Monguors, because, immediately after death, the lama opens a way for the escape of the soul through the bregmatic fontanelle by pulling some hairs from the top of the head. The soul is thus already released before the maternal uncle arrives.

[p. 141 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

THE THIRD SOUL

The behavior of the Monguors toward this soul illustrates the basic approach prevailing all over Asia to the problem of the soul. The Monguors care more for this soul than for the other two because they are afraid of it. It becomes after death a kind of demon, ill-disposed toward its own family, harming its cattle and its wealth. This assumption is evidenced by their unkind attitude toward it, an attitude which shocks us. When the corpse is carried out of the courtyard, the lamas and the members of the family who are still in the courtyard, cry: "Do not come back and harm us, forget us forever and go to dwell elsewhere." The evening before the cremation, after all the guests have left, having said with devotion their Om Mani for a long time, the lamas immediately brutally chase the soul out of the courtyard and all the rooms. At the very moment of the cremation, the master of ceremonies makes the last traditional speech, before the oven, addressing the corpse: "We lavishly spent money and performed all the possible rites for your well-being, now go away and never come back to disturb us or to harm us.[23] Forget us forever; we will pray for you and make offerings!" The fear of the departed is a real obsession. Most of the harm suffered is ascribed to them. Many of the deceased are supposed to be peculiarly fiendish and are buried in special cemeteries, where the shamans have to be invited to keep them quiet. They like to live in lonely spots and empty ruined houses, and have to be fed, because when they become hungry they are dangerous.

However, all the distinctions concerning the three souls, based on observed facts and customs, do not bother the average Monguors. They do not care for the nature of these three souls, how long they live, when they will vanish—all they know is that they leave the body at death. However, they are accustomed to feed the souls of three generations. They do not care to which, among the three souls, offerings are made at the time of the spring rites performed by the shaman, or at the time of the cult of the family deity, or on their own graves a few days before the worshipping of the ancestor of the clan. Even the lama or shaman, calling back the soul of a sick man, calls all three of them back.

CEMETERIES

Since the submission of the Monguors to the Ming dynasty (in 1368), the chief of each of the groups, receiving the title and duty of T'u-ssu, became the ancestor-founder of his group. Their pictures then began to occupy the center of the new ancestral hall. The family register began with their name, and their grave became the head mound, which today is seen in all the old cemeteries where the yearly worship of the ancestors is held. T'u-ssu never have been cremated.[24]

[23] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos, op. cit.*, 130. Louis M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes Mongols*, 211, Genbloux, Duculot, 1947.

[24] Schram, Part I: 59-70.

On the death of the first T'u-ssu his eldest son succeeded, and the others became the founders of Junior "houses." Some of them immediately built their own cemetery, and others later. When cemeteries had no more room, some branches of noble families again built new cemeteries, and so on. The richest among the commoners followed the example set by the nobles, and buried the remains of the bones, after cremation, in their own cemetery. Many ceased to practice cremation. The Chinese enrolled in the clans had always buried their dead in their cemeteries, and now many Monguors have their own cemeteries. The poor among them bury the bones remaining after cremation in a corner of their fields, or in a lonely spot. Three days before the official ancestor worship in April, each group honors its dead in its own cemetery, according to the usual rite, with prostrations, libations, offerings, and a sacrificial meal. It is on that day that the bones remaining after cremation of the persons of their family who died during the year are buried in their cemeteries, and the names of the deceased are entered in the family register. 175 764

What happened to the dead of the Monguors during the Yüan period (1280–1368) is not at present known. Some people say that the dead were buried in lonely places, that cemeteries did not exist, and no further offerings were made for the dead, after burial. Later, during the Ming, only two clans, the Ch'i and the Lu, built inside their mansion garden a big mound with a spacious room where the coffins of the later T'u-ssu are conserved.[23]

The whole clan of the Li T'u-ssu never bury their dead in the third and the eighth months; these months are said to be fateful for them on account of Lu Men-cheng. I never could get an explanation either of this fact or of Lu Men-cheng. 764

DIFFERENT MODES OF DISPOSING OF THE DEAD

The enrollment of Chinese in the clans, the examples set by the T'u-ssu and the chiefs of the houses, the impact of the Chinese culture from which the Monguors became less and less insulated, and also the fact that cremation bears a tinge of dishonor among the Chinese (because it is only used for those who have caused harm to the family) led many Monguors to resort early to the burying of the dead. According to many Monguors, cremation had been introduced by the lamas, because it was a lucrative rite for them. Since in nearly every family there were lamas, the rite easily spread. However, according to other Monguors, incineration provides more benefits for the souls, while burying bears a tinge of dishonor. I was told of a Monguor woman who had abandoned her husband in order to live with another man in Hung nai Valley, the man died and she [766]

[23] However, as will be recorded in Part III, the Lu clan, according to its family chronicle, had an ancestral cemetery in Hsi Ta-t'ung during the Yüan period. [p.142(B)]

thereupon swallowed opium and also died. Because 764
this case had involved the village and caused a lot of [766]
trouble, the chief of the village, with the maternal uncles, decided that they were unworthy to be cremated and buried them in the same pit. In Part I, other similar cases have been recorded.

The old Turco-Mongols buried their dead;[26] the old [171]
Hsiung-nu buried their dead also, as did the Hsien-pi.[27] The Ch'itan did not bury the corpses, but placed them in trees for three years, and then removed the bones and buried them.[28] This custom is widely distributed in northern Eurasia from the Tungus to the Lapps.

Monguors follow the Chinese custom in disposing of children who have died during the first month of age. They burn them and bury them in the k'ang, for it is said to be harmful to bring such corpses out of the room. Children of less than ten years of age are enveloped in straw and thrown in a lonely spot and disposed of by dogs and rapacious animals. Children who die under fifteen years of age are usually cremated without any ceremony, and their bones are not cared for. Young people under twenty years of age, dying in the morning, are cremated at evening; those who die at night are cermated in the early morning. Unmarried youngsters are cremated without any ceremony, and prayers are not said for them; their bones are collected after the cremation and buried in the abode of the wicked people. In the Ordos these dead are supposed to become vampires and to cause many deaths.[29]

In the case of married people dying without children, [766]
the maternal uncle is invited, a lama says some prayers, the harmful souls are driven out of the home, and cremation is without ceremony. Their bones are buried in the same terrible abode. However, in case both are aged, prayers are said for several days. After cremation the bones are collected and buried in the family cemetery, at the request of the maternal uncle. According to the Monguors, the aged dead are no longer abandoned in valleys, on account of the density of the population, and the custom of cutting the dead into pieces to feed the vultures has never been practised.

DEATH

When a Monguor is dying, the women of the family, 763
from the roof of the house, call on his spirit not to abandon them, crying that they are preparing for it a delicious dish, apologizing for their shortcomings, and with tears and sighs giving assurance of their love, in a most pathetic way. If a child is dying, women on the roof cry and call his name, wave his best clothes and pretend that cookies and candies are waiting for him. This is an age-old custom practiced in China from the

[26] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* 2: 120–126. Parker, *A thousand years of the Tartars*, 86.
[27] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 15–86, 104.
[28] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 204. [p. 143(A)]
[29] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126.

earliest times.[30] If the sick man has a painful agony, 763
lamas are invited to pray for a fast departure or revival, according to the fate fixed for him; they beat drums and ring bells, around the sick man, making a terrible noise, and finally they help him to confide in Buddha. After the last breath has been drawn, they pull some hair out of the top of the head in order that his souls may escape through the bregmatic fontanelle. When death is approaching, his face and hands are washed, and he is shaved. Some Monguors undress him completely; others put his best clothes on him. It is said that in former times all the dying were undressed. In China it is a capital sin for a son to let his parents die without having dressed them in their best clothes. The Mongols, however, not only undress the dying person but bring him into the courtyard, for nobody is allowed to die in the home.[31]

Immediately after death, all the jewels are removed, 764
the hair unplaited, and some butter and tea leaves put into the mouth. Some Monguors add a "pill of immortality," bought in the Chinese pharmacies or in the lamaseries; some are fond of adding a precious stone or a piece of silver, as the Chinese used to do. The knees of the dead are drawn up under the chin, the hands placed on the chest and bound with a hemp rope, and a piece of white cloth is placed on the shoulders. Often the corpse is put into a sack of white cloth, and a gown and a scarf put upon it. Much has been written concerning the position of the dead, and many contradictory explanations offered by lamas, shamans, and laymen. A piece of yellow cloth is put on the shoulders of those who had become lay-monks or lay-nuns and burned with them. At that time most of the Monguors, old and young, who during their lifetime had not performed the rite to become a lay-monk, invite a lama who pours water on a mirror in which is reflected the face of the deceased, thus making him a lay monk.

The toilet is made by members of the deceased's own generation, except that sons care for their parents. During the laying out of the dead, the women start the lamentations on the roof, in the courtyard, or at the gate, so that the whole village knows of the death. A coffin is made by the carpenter, large enough to contain the corpse in a squatting position; it will be more or less elaborately decorated, according to the wealth of the family and the line of generation of the deceased. In the coffin is also placed a dough roll, according to the Chinese custom, for which contradictory Taoist explanations are given. A small coffin is prepared for the bones collected after the cremation. The corpse is put in the coffin as soon as it is ready, before which is placed a small table with twelve rolls and a lamp. Paper is burned, and at every meal a cup, with the same meal prepared for the family, is put before the deceased. Sons and relatives relieve each other day and night to keep watch, in order that rats and cats may not spoil the

[30] Couvreur, *Li-ki*, 1: 85–181, Ho-Kien-fu, 1927.
[31] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 635. Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126.

[p. 143 (B)]

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corpse, so say the Monguors. All the neighbors offer 764 their services in order to help carry on the funeral activities, for during the mourning period the members of the family are not allowed to leave their home or to enter the homes of other people, even temples and lamaseries. The whole family of the deceased is tabu.

A capable master of ceremonies is invited to direct the activities of the entire funeral. He starts by inviting lamas, usually of the Red Sect, to indicate the place propitious for the cremation. The incineration of a corpse in the wrong place might seal the fate of a whole family, for, according to the philosophy of the Monguors, the soil belongs to the god of the village, who has to be recognized, and from whom a piece of land must be bought in order to enact this rite peacefully. On a place chosen by the staff-spirit of the lama, the lama spreads a brand new felt, upon which he stretches a piece of red cotton eight feet long. Then, squatting on the felt, he offers incense and throws blessed spelt, reciting texts, ringing bells, and beating the drum. In the meantime, the attendants throw copper coins one after another on the felt. The spot is supposed to be bought, the bargain concluded, and paid for on the nail. The lama arises and announces ceremoniously that the god approves the transaction and will protect the family, averting from them any harm on account of the cremation. He fixes four arrows at the four corner of the spot to indicate its limits, and enjoins the attendants to start the building of an oven.

Lamas of the Yellow Sect, more ritualistic than those of the Red Sect, indulge in designing mandalas for which each of them advances his own peculiar explanation.

Monguors never build an oven without having recognized the god-owner of the spot, but many Monguors prefer to invite a Taoist priest or a Chinese geomancer to perform the rite, which is enacted in nearly the same way by them.[32]

Then the master of ceremonies determines, with a lama of the Red Sect, the day propitious for the cremation. He invites Red or Yellow lamas to come to say prayers, together with the Living Buddha who will perform the cremation and will arrive the evening before the ceremony. The rite is performed usually on the seventh day after the death, very rarely on the twenty-first or the forty-ninth day. The master of ceremonies, at the time he invites the lamas, offers a gift to the lamasery in order that the community of lamas will say the prayers intended to lead the soul straight to paradise, and to help it avoid all kinds of troubles and vampires on this journey.

According to old Monguors, the most important duty [604] of a master of ceremonies is to go himself to invite the maternal uncle in order to determine with him, in private, the amount of alms to be given to the lamas, and in order to know beforehand at what point he will lower

[32] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130; Kervyn, *op. cit.*, 212.

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his fantastic claims on the day of the funeral. The discussion finished, the traditional cup of wine is poured. 764 [604]

The married daughters with their husbands, if they were not present at the death of the father, arrive as soon as possible with the traditional offering of seven big rolls, each one foot in diameter (which must be burned before the deceased), a sheep, paper and incense sticks, and two strings of copper cash. The offerings are not the same in all villages and poor people present smaller rolls and a hen.

GUESTS AND THE MATERNAL UNCLE

The day before the cremation, all the relatives and friends arrive with the traditional twelve steamed rolls and two-hundred copper coins; they prostrate themselves three times, burning paper and incense sticks before the coffin, called the "sedan chair." All await the arrival of the maternal uncle, who goes directly to prostrate himself and burn paper before the coffin, while the women start with the lamentations. The same rite is observed by the Chinese.[33] Some women have a real knack of touching the deepest feelings of those assembled. Many times I listened to these real masterpieces of elegies: "Father, why did you leave us? We love you so much. Father, Father, did we offend you? Forgive us, we love you so much. Mother cries day and night; she does not eat any more. She loves you so much. Father, come back, for mother's sake, lest she die. Father, who will care for us now, care for mother, and for baby brother, etc., we miss you so much. Who will sow the fields and tend the animals, we do not know all these things. Father, why did you leave us? How will we live any more, you were so good to us when we were sick, etc." All these apostrophes were mixed with tears and heavy sighing. Certainly the origin of the elegiac style is to be sought in similar circumstances. 764 604

In the presence of the whole assembly, the pretended discussion concerning the alms begins between the maternal uncle and the master of ceremonies. Assurance is given of the love of the family for the deceased, and of the care taken of him during his sickness. Finally permission is given for the cremation. Wine is poured, and the whole family kneels and thanks the maternal uncle. The master of ceremonies offers him, as keepsake and remembrance, a nice piece of woolen felt, some of the best clothes of the deceased, and some pieces of his jewelry. However, the maternal uncle must by custom refuse the gifts. The maternal uncle goes, followed by the whole assembly, to prostrate himself before the corpse. The dinner follows, in the open courtyard, after which the whole group prays Om Mani.

Every evening at dusk, beginning on the day of the death, the villagers, with their children, come to say 764

[33] Johannes Ternay, Familienjustiz in Trauerhaus, Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz, *Folklore Studies*, Catholic University of Peking, 1: 103 *sqq.*, 1952.

[p. 144(B)]

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Om Mani. The rite may last for two or three hours, 764
during which time two servings of tea are drunk. After the rite is finished, noodles are offered to the assembly. It is really edifying to see the courtyard crowded with people, kneeling and squatting close together, and to hear them repeat in unison, slowly and with devotion, after the cavernous voice of the lama, innumerable monotone Om Manis. One feels at that time that the Monguors are a religious people.

The custom of gathering at night to pray for the deceased seems to have been practiced by nomads long before Lamaism was born. Parker, dealing with the funeral rites of the Hsien-pi as translated from the Chinese annals notes: "On the day of the funeral the relatives and the intimates assemble at night time and sit in a circle; two men pronounce an incantation so that [775] the soul may pass unmolested by the Ghouls to the red mountains." This fact is noted as having existed before our era, two thousand years ago. It is interesting to encounter at the same time of night a similar religious rite for the same purpose among the Monguors, who were formerly nomads. It is said by them that they are very fond of the rite.[34]

CREMATION [35]

During the six days preceding the cremation, three lamas (rich people invite five or seven) pray for the dead in a private room. On the sixth day a minor Living Buddha arrives with a couple of lama assistants. At night, after the departure of the guests, the lamas drive out the souls of the dead in the usual way, and throw the nefarious *torma* on a crossroad; the neighbors cry and shoot rifles. In the very early morning, the lamas pray before the corpse, beating drums and ringing bells, so that the awakened neighbors soon arrive. Tea is drunk, lamentations are made, and the sedan chair is carried at a fast pace to the place of cremation. It is not permitted to rest on the way, or to put down the sedan chair, lest the spirit of that spot be injured. At the moment of departure, the lamas adjure the souls not to come back.

Only among a few groups of Monguors are women, the daughters of the deceased, allowed to follow the [184 562 431] cortege lamenting, supported and steadied by other women. Arriving at the spot they are invited to go back home; they receive a piece of cloth, a pair of trousers, and a gown in order to return easily. On a spot indicated by a Red lama or a Taoist priest the neighbors have built, the day before, a rudimentary oven which has an opening on each of the four sides. The master of ceremonies for the last time adjures the dead not to come back or to harm the family. The corpse is put in a caldron in the oven. The wood of the sedan chair, broken into pieces, is put in the oven. A lama strikes fire with a flint and lights the oven. Twenty

[34] Parker, *op. cit.*, 86.
[35] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 42. [p. 145 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

pounds of butter boil in another caldron. The Living Buddha, in full attire with the mitre of the five Dyhana Buddhas on his head, squats on a felt in front of a table, with dishes containing spelt, rice, spices, and holy water. He recites the prayers, with a curtain between him and the oven, lest the sight of the burning corpse might desecrate his eyes. He orders a lama to throw the blessed spelt and spices on the burning corpse and puts some butter into a small ladle held by the lama, who pours it on the corpse. 764 [792]

When the rite is finished the group prostrates itself and cries to the smoking corpse for the last time, "Do not harm the family," and returns. All of them jump over a fire built before the courtyard, wash their hands, and rub them over a long knife used to cut straw. Noodles without meat are prepared for all of them, and they say five-hundred Om Manis. The lama receives his alms (always in an odd number) and returns to the monastery. The horse of the deceased father or the valuable headdress of the deceased mother will be brought to the monastery with a couple of pieces of best clothes to be sold by the lamas, and to have prayers said according to the value of the sale of the items.[88] The clothes carried by the horse are to be put on the saddle with the collar and arms on the left side; a horse is mounted on the right side. 764 768

In the meantime, the sons and sons-in-law have tended the oven and closed the four openings. After three days the members of the family and relatives open the oven, pick out the bones with chopsticks and put them into the small coffin prepared for this. The remaining fragments of bones and ashes are gathered up in the skirts of the gown and scattered on the mountain. It is said that sheep are very fond of such bones. The cremation must not be performed in cultivated areas, it has to be done in deep valleys or lonely spots. Every year after the shamanist springtime feast, this prohibition is expressly announced. The sons and sons-in-law bury the small coffin in their fields or near the oven, and make a small tumulus. While the sons are kneeling before the tumulus, the sons-in-law and married and unmarried daughters bring some earth a couple of times in the skirts of their gowns, and spread it on top of the tumulus. Paper is burned, a lamp made of dough is lit, libations and prostrations are made and lamentations are uttered. The coffin will be dug up again the following April, on the feast of the worship of the ancestors buried in the family cemetery, and the name of the deceased will be noted on the genealogical register (see Part I: 71). After the tumulus rite is performed 764 765 [784]

[88] A similar custom is encountered among the Mongols: Serruys, *op. cit.*, 137. The barbarians (i.e., the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600) invited lamas to recite prayers for the dead for seven days. They gave to the lamas in remuneration the best horse, which the deceased loved most; his best clothes and his coat of armor, and all the oxen and horses which the family received from friends and relatives as mourning gifts. See also Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126, and Kervyn, *op. cit.*, 112.

[p. 145 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the great mourning period is over, and the whole group prostrates itself and thanks the master of ceremonies, who will receive twelve rolls. 764 765

The incineration ceremonies for poor people are obviously less elaborate. The maternal uncle is invited, a Red lama prays for one day, drives away the souls of the deceased, and receives five-hundred copper coins and some rolls. The people themselves perform the incineration, bury the small coffin, and build the tumulus. [604 792]

MOURNING CUSTOMS

The Monguors today still call the mourning period the "black period." A son born after the death of his father is still called a "black son." The old custom of wearing black during the mourning period is still noticeable in the clothes worn by men and women, as will be noted. 765

It is interesting how the use of black as a mourning color has been so widespread in Central Asia among the nomads, even before our era, although in China white was the mourning color from the earliest times. During the Chou dynasty (1122–202 B.C.), while the family dressed in white mourning clothes, the inside of the coffin had to be upholstered with black silk.[37] In 626 B.C. black was already the mourning color for the barbarians living in north China.[38] The Scythians (Yüeh chih) in Samarkand, in A.D. 634, wore black clothes at the time of mourning.[39] In Tibet the head of the king was enveloped with a black turban in the coffin in order to preserve him against evil spirits.[40] The Liao officials (907–1125) blackened the bright parts of their hats for a few days in mourning for the deceased emperor.[41] The maternal uncle of Emperor K'ang hsi died in Wu-lan-pu-tung during the campaign against Galdan in 1695. His ashes were carried to Peking in a small coffin, put in a sedan chair upholstered with black satin, and in Peking the coffin was placed under a canopy of black satin.[42] Black is still the mourning color of the Mongols of the Ordos.[43] 765 171

The Monguors practice the great and small mourning. The great mourning consists of men wearing their coats inside out, not buttoned or fastened, girdling the waist with a hemp rope, and undoing their plaited hair and binding it on the neck with a small hemp rope. The women turn their skirts inside out and do not wear the traditional elaborate headdress. The members of the family of a lower generation than the deceased wear the mourning dress. The relatives, sons-in-law, their wives and children, members of a higher generation, do not 765

[37] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 184.

[38] Couvreur, *Tso Chuan* 1: 431. Zottoli, *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae* 4: 39.

[39] Wieger, *op. cit.*, 1569.

[40] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 191.

[41] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 283.

[42] De Mailla, *Histoire de la Chine* 4: 147, Paris, Clousier, 1778.

[43] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130. [p. 146(A)]

Several times a year youngsters go with the shaman 766
to this place at night, and offer a goat to these dangerous souls, propitiating them in order that they may be peaceful. Often on a dark night youngsters with burning torches and whips go to these places. They throw down the head of a goat, and after making noises, throw away their torches and, in deep silence, run home swiftly along another way, in order to avoid being pursued by the souls, and to cheat them. This happens when a member of the family or an animal is taken ill and the possibility exists that the ailment is caused by such souls.

Black shamans, when board or lodging is refused [754]
them, blow their horn made from a human thigh bone in the direction of these places, calling up all these souls and spirits and ordering them to harm the village. The Monguors are scared to death of such vengeance, especially the vengeance of a young woman who has committed suicide. It is said that the souls of such women are not at peace until they have induced another woman to commit suicide. It is also said that souls of teenagers, for whom prayers have not been said, incite women to commit suicide.

If a suicide occurs, the chief of the village, on behalf of the whole village, invites the shaman, or often three of them, to prevent these additional calamities. For seven days the shamans go at night to the sinister cemetery and dwell there until the morning, beating drums and dancing. They call up these evil souls, talk with them the whole night, flatter, cajole, and comfort them, trying to pursuade them to change their avenging minds, and to exchange their ill dispositions for good ones. They snap their whips, and manipulate their knives to frighten them, and finally give them a goat every night, that they may have a good meal and a good time. When the meal is supposed to be finished, the shamans send the spirits back and return to the village.

This custom reveals a thoroughly shamanistic frame of mind, which fears the souls of the dead and imputes to the dead most of the mischiefs and misfortunes which overcome the family; only the shaman can master these foes of the Monguor society.

BURYING OF THE DEAD

More and more, the Monguors are adopting the cus- 764
tom of burying their deceased instead of cremating them. When the maternal uncle arrives, the deceased [604]
has already been put into a Chinese coffin. Before dying, the sick are washed, shaved, and dressed. Men wear an odd number of garments: three pairs of trousers, socks, three gowns, coats, even furs; women wear two sets, and always the traditional skirt of the Monguors which they never wore, but despised during their whole life, for it is said to be impossible to meet the ancestors without the traditional skirt. Some tea and butter are still put in the mouth (a souvenir of their nomadic origin) along with a "pill of longevity," silver,

[p. 147 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

and jade. A pillow is placed under the head, which is covered with a sheet of white paper and a piece of black cloth. The black cloth is a souvenir of former times, because the Chinese use a piece of red cloth. 764

A Taoist priest fixes the day for the burial. The master of ceremonies invites the maternal uncle (with the same discussion as at the incineration ceremonies). [604] Finally, permission is granted for the burial, and the sons and grandsons of the deceased kneel before the maternal uncle, presenting the hammer and the wedges to fasten the cover of the coffin. The maternal uncle fastens one wedge, and allows the others to finish the job. Some among them still practice the Om Mani rite at night. The offering of the members of the family are still the Monguor offerings, as well as the lamentations. The next day the men follow the coffin on foot to the cemetery, and the women, crying and lamenting, sit on carts. On the third day there follows the ceremony of building the tumulus according to the Monguor custom.

It is not unusual that, at the request of the maternal uncle, some lamas are invited to say prayers at the same time with the Taoist priests. In that case, the lamas say their prayers in a private room next to that of the Taoist priests, since neither cares for the other.

CONFUCIANIST BURIAL OF MONGUORS

Some, among the rich and more educated Monguors, 795 follow the Confucianist rite of putting the coffin in the 766 courtyard with a red curtain hanging before it. The members of the family kneel before the coffin and a Chinese literatus, wearing a large red satin scarf on his shoulders, makes the sons kneel in the first row. While the musicians play a soft funeral tune, he reads the panegyric for the deceased whom he proposes as a model for the sons. He then places the panegyric before the coffin; next he goes to the row of daughters and then the row of grandchildren, and each time a new piece is read and deposited before the coffin.

The whole group then follows him in a silent procession to the kitchen, where each takes a cup of noodles and deposits it before the coffin, bowing and prostrating. He leads the whole group in procession behind the curtain. The literatus invites the deceased to take his meal. The whole group coughs one delicate cough, and disappears, tiptoeing into the room, in order not to disturb the deceased while dining. The literatus burns the panegyrics and retires.

The literatus, with some Taoist priests, goes to the nearest temple. Men follow him on foot while women sit on the carts and lament. He enters the temple with the priests only, reads a new panegyric, and makes the announcement of the death to the spirit and bows; then the group returns. It is amazing to see how these rude Monguors can behave with courtesy, like people "to the manner born," and how much they like the rite. Burial follows the next day.

[p. 148(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

On account of the fact that the original family chronicles were lost during the troubles which beset the Ming dynasty, the most fantastic legends have come to be spread among the Li Monguors and even among their t'u-ssu, relating to the history of the clan ancestors preceding the Ming period (1368). Some of them circulating among the Li Wen clan have been noted in Monguors I: 26, 27. Concerning the Li Nan-ko branch we possess two recent documents of 1937 and 1941 which Chinese scholars obtained, one from the Li t'u-ssu himself, and one from a clan member. 173 614

The first document, *Studies on Frontier Areas of Kansu, Ch'ing-hai, and Tibet*, by Ma Ho-t'ien[65] records, on page 179, the personal visit of Ma Ho-t'ien to the residence of the Li t'u-ssu in the subprefecture of Ming Hua and his trip to the ancestral cemetery at Hsiang T'ang.[66] [113]

The Li t'u-ssu was so kind as to show the chronicle of his clan. The size of the chronicle is two feet square, the image of the ancestor is depicted on the first page. On the next page is elaborated his history, and so on for each of the ancestors. However, the only trustworthy part of the chronicle is that starting with the surrender of Li Nan-ko to the Ming and relating the succession of the t'u-ssu from 1371 until the present time. The entire text concerning the history of the ancestors preceding Li Nan-ko is unreliable. Then we left the t'u-ssu and went to the ancestral cemetery of the Li Nan-ko branch at Hsiang T'ang.

On page 180:

The cemetery occupies a terrain as large as six acres, enclosed by a mud wall. The central alley, bordered by stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay, leads to a big stele, behind which is said to be the tomb of Li Nan-ko, and in front of which is built a stone table for the offerings to the dead. On the stele are engraved the text of the ratification by the Ch'ing emperor, of the appointment granted by the previous Ming emperor to the incumbent to the office of t'u-ssu, the text of a funeral oration granted by an emperor at the death of a t'u-ssu, also the glorious achievements of the clan and the names of the t'u-ssu who died on the field of battle. On both sides of the avenue are erected the steles of the t'u-ssu of the Li Nan-ko clan dating from the Ming and Ch'ing periods, the most recent dating from the Kuang-su period (1875–1909). Outside the enclosure, at the entrance of the cemetery, are erected two big steles, "the spirit way steles." On the one erected on the eighth moon of 1427 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Nan-ko), who posthumously received the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Pen-chun tu-tu. He is a descendant of Li K'o-yung, whose original name was T'o-pa, to whom was granted the name Li by the Tang emperor. During the Yuan dynasty, Li Shang-ko was functionary at the offices of the prince of Ch'i. To him succeeded consecutively Li Mei-chi-lu, Li Kuan-chi-lu and Li Nan-ko who was T'ung-chih (vice-chairman) of the district of Hsining. He received during the Hung-wu period of the Ming the hereditary duty of Tu-chih-huei-shih (High Commandant). To his son Yin was granted, on account of his merits, the title of Earl of Huei Ning. 173 764 614 [324]

[65] *Kan, Ch'ing-hai, Tsang pien-ch'ü K'ao-ch'a-chi*, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1947.

[66] Hsiang T'ang is the name of the locality where the cemetery is situated, and means the Hall of Sacrifice, the room where the corpse is laid out.

[P.28(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

and posthumously were bestowed (upon Li Nan-ko) the titles of his son: Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Tso-chun tu-tu-fu. On the second spirit way stele erected on the third moon of 1475 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Li Yin) to whom was granted the title "official who sincerely manifested military achievements" to whom were bestowed, in a special way, the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Chou-kuo Huei Ning-pei (Earl of Huei Ning, pillar of the empire). 173 614 764

The second document is encountered in Shuo-wen-yueh-k'an 3, 10, 1942 (Ch'ung-ch'ing Shuo-wen Yueh-k'an shih). There we meet with the article "Genealogical record of the tribe of the descendants of Li K'o-yung" by Wei Chu-hsien, who passed through the subprefecture of Ming Hua (San Ch'uan Valley) in October 1941. He visited Li Pao-ch'ing, a clan member of the old Li Nan-ko branch, who told him that during the Shun-chih period (1644–1661) a genealogical chronicle had been composed based on all available sources, by Yueh-Nai, secretary of the t'u-ssu for fifteen years, well read in the history of the clan, and that Yueh Nai was a contemporary of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu.[87] 173 614 [113]

I copied the present part of the chronicle composed by Yueh Nai. The original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-yeh. The Tang emperor granted him the name Li and the title of Prince of Chin (895). He saved the Tang dynasty during the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao. Li Ssu-kung moved into Hsi Hsia, Li Chi-feng followed the Sung dynasty, offering the four districts of Yin, Hsia, Suei, Ning.[88] From the Sung until the Yuan, during generations, they lived in Hsi Hsia and were renowned for their military presentations. At the time of the Yuan, Li Shang-ko was T'ung-chih tu-tu-chih (Vice-Chairman of the protectorate office) in Hsining. Then the Li clan divided into six sub-clans, each having its t'u-ssu. The most important among them was the Li Nan-ko clan. During the Ming, Li Nan-ko surrendered with the officials of Huangchung. Then follow the names of the descendants of Li Nan-ko who fulfilled successively the duty of t'u-ssu during the Ming. Finally a genealogical scheme is elaborated, starting with Li Shang-ko, succeeded by his son Li Mei-chi-lu, his grandson Li Kuan-chi-lu, who had two sons Li Nan-ko and Ch'a han Timur. The son of Li Nan-ko was Li Yin, the son of Ch'a Han Timur was Kuan Yin-pao. The son of Li Yin was Li Ch'ang, the son of Kuan Yin-pao was Li Wen. Further the names of the successors of Li 175x [B48] 614 622

[87] The shift of the Ming dynasty to that of the Manchu was preceded by a period of troubles. The rebels in Huangchung looted the country of its wealth. T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, still faithful to the Ming, tried to restore order in his territory. In 1644 his wife, concubine, two brothers, and three hundred of his subjects were killed. He himself was taken prisoner by rebels and sent to Sian to the Manchu court. He was accredited in his former duty of t'u-ssu and died as a faithful official of the Manchus (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 2*b*. *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47*b*).

[88] *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 3*b*, happened in 982.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

himself. We know for sure that 1371 was the year of his submission to the Ming, and also the time of his death is historically fixed at 1488. It is hard to explain how this man has been clever enough to be an official during 117 years! 175x 614

THE SPIRIT WAY STELES

In the first document it is noted that the first spirit way stele was erected in 1427 in honor of Li Nan-ko, the first t'u-ssu and founding ancestor of the clan. According to the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 46*b*), Li Nan-ko died in 1407, his son Li Yin received in 1427 the title of Earl of Huei Ning, and the title granted to the son was posthumously bestowed at the same time upon the father (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 10*a*. Annals of Kansu 42: 47). This distinction which, according to the Chinese mentality, primarily honored the father who had reared so glorious a son, obviously seems to have been the cause of the erection of the spirit way stele at the entrance of the clan cemetery in honor of Li Nan-ko in 1427 by Li Yin himself. 175x 764 324

The second spirit way stele was erected in 1475 in honor of Li Yin. Li Yin probably died a few years after 1437. His son, Li Ch'ang, succeeded to his father only in 1457, on account of the discredit weighing upon the clan. Li Ch'ang died in 1493 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 10). Emperor Hsien Tsung only in 1475 promoted Li Ch'ang, and he honored him in a special way at his death, sending splendid funeral gifts and a funeral oration (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 2*b*) written by himself, containing the glorification of the virtues of the deceased. This oration had to be burned before the coffin as a last farewell of the emperor to his faithful subject. The distinguished promotion received from the emperor in 1475 seems to have been the reason for the erection of the spirit way stele by Li Ch'ang to his father Li Yin in 1475, the father upon whom redounded the imperial attention bestowed upon his eminent son. [648]

THE CEMETERY OF HSIANG T'ANG

The cemetery of Hsiang T'ang is definitely the most elaborate cemetery built in the country and it is said to have been erected to glorify the entire Li clan. I trusted this tradition accepted by prominent scholars and officials in the country, who founded their statement on an erroneous text of the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 2*a*) claiming that both Li clans were the descendants of Li Nan-ko (Monguors I: 70, 71). However, not a single stele is encountered in the cemetery pointing to members of the Li Wen clan, which has its own ancestral cemetery at the foot of the Han P'ing mountain, situated ten li north of the city of Hsining, with steles and inscriptions (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 8*a*). This cemetery is not as elaborate as the one of the Li Nan-ko branch with its spirit way steles, etc., but 175x 614 764

[D 3a (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

its central avenue is also bordered with stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay (Monguors I: 71, note 57), and every year ceremonies are performed in it by the entire clan, in honor of the founding ancestor Li Wen, Earl of Kao Yang, and all the subsequent t'u-ssu of his clan. The Hsiang T'ang cemetery is definitely the cemetery of the Li Nan-ko clan. 175x 614 764

In the Hsiang T'ang cemetery is seen a mound, said to be that of Li Nan-ko, who died in 1407. However, a striking puzzle is the fact that his son, the celebrated Li Yin, Earl of Huei Ning, who died soon after 1437, is buried not in Hsiang T'ang cemetery, but in the forlorn village of Hai Shi Wan, southeast of Nienpei, where a small stele with an inscription is erected, and next to his tomb is the tomb of his son Li Ch'ang, who received promotions in 1475 and the glorifying attention from the emperor at the time of his death in 1493. Still more puzzling is the fact that Li Kung, the eminent great-grandson of Li Nan-ko, the son of Li Ch'ang, who obtained the literary degree of Chin-shih in 1481 and was later promoted minister of the Shang Pao Sse, is buried in the village of Pa-chü-yuan situated southeast of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 17*a*; 27: 10–11; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*, 47*a*). [648]

The fact that these three most eminent t'u-ssu of the clan were not buried in the ancestral cemetery where two spirit way steles were erected seems to suggest that the present elaborate cemetery might have been built in later times. [622]

No notes are available relating to the ancestors of the other chiefs of the Monguor clans.

HISTORY OF HUANGCHUNG AND THE T'U-SSU DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1644)

This chapter reveals on the one hand the tremendous role played by the Huangchung Monguors in the struggle waged by the Ming dynasty against the Mongols during the nearly three centuries of its existence, which several times shook the foundations of the empire. The help they rendered to the dynasty is unprecedented in history. 175x 648

On the other hand, the chapter reveals the weakness of the Ming administration in Huangchung and the ordeal the loyal and dependent Monguors had to undergo to remain faithful to it amidst the wicked and ruthless depredations against their country, disastrous forays of brigands, hunger, disease, and poverty. 175x

T'u-ssu Li Nan-ko, after his surrender with the officials of Hsining in a group in 1371 and his summons to court, was ordered to return to Hsining and to assume the administration of Huangchung. He controlled the country, calling on more tribes to surrender; repaired roads and bridges; organized the system of relays and the communications with the central administration; amassed grain in the public graneries, etc. The same year he defeated and took prisoner a rebel- 648 622

[P. 31(A)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.
M 562 852 [553]

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.
M [203] [604] [603] [553]

Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.
M [184]

j. Beard-growing

N *563 A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.
M 302 [593] [888]

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.
M 764 [191] [199]

4. Popular beliefs

N *563 Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.
M 843 562

N *563 If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.
M 553 777 789

/39 cont'd/

535 In the evening of the last day of the year, in the kitchen, in
302 front of the fireplace and before the image of the god of the hearth, they plait the bride's hair in the fashion of married women. The groom arrives, the whole family is together; the engaged couple kneel and bow three times to the god of the hearth. The marriage ceremony is completed! They prostrate themselves to their parents and to the whole family; a little extra is served at the meal, and they wish one another better days and a return of good fortune.

463 On the first days of the new year the parents invite the go-
465 between, they dine the best they can, they pour gin, and the young
58 couple prostrate themselves to him. Then they offer the go-between the usual present of the poor, either a string of cash or a string of cash and 400 cash. They make excuses for the little that they can offer, they thank him effusively, and then they have discharged their obligations.

585 When the bride's family is very poor, it happens that the groom's family (mother-in-law and go-between) take the girl to their home when she is only nine or ten years old or even younger. They keep her in the family as an unmarried girl until she has reached 15; /40/ then the last day of the year she is married as described above. Marriage without ceremonies is also practiced in the month of the year when there is a sudden death near the time of the wedding in one of the families of the engaged couple; the same if the girl's parents die; then the groom's family hastens to take the girl home to marry her when she is about 15.

765 Among the more Chinese Tibetan, upon the death of the
585 parents of one of the parties several days before the wedding, they follow the Chinese custom, which consists in celebrating the marriage without paying attention to the death. The festivities take place with the usual vigor. Only on the day after the wedding do the lamentations and the great mourning begin; the death is announced everywhere and preparations for the funeral are made.

Mo 587 589 /88 cont'd/
will be invoked, and these rights will form the basis of the discussion.

Therefore after the death of the husband, according to custom
Mo the widow will stay in the home of her parents-in-law 49 days.
[765] These days are called days of mourning. When this period of time has gone by, she will definitely be able to leave her parents-in-law and go back to her own family. That is her right.

Mo 589 Nevertheless I have known more than one case where young widows did not wait for the 49 days to pass before leaving the parents-in-law; they simply fled. This is because they had wind of the dealings of the parents-in-law, who were getting ready to sell them against their wishes. The right of widows is then a precarious right. Also a widow without sons looks quickly for a match, for she knows well that if she does not look for him herself, her hand will be forced. (1)

Ma 587

1. Shirokogoroff, Social Organization of the Manchus, pp. 70, 71: These are some peculiarities as to the widow's and the widower's marriage. The widow can be remarried according to her personal choice and wish. None of her clan, i.e. her husband's clan, can force her to do it. The late husband's younger brother is always obliged to take care of the widow and his brother's children. The widow has the right to request the separation of her family from the rest of her husband's family and in this case she inherits all the property of her husband. /Cited in English./

Ma 614 589 P. 54: If a widow declares to the Mokunda (the clan chief) that she does not wish to be remarried, but the relatives of her late husband persist on it,

/88 cont'd/

Ma 614 589

the Mokunda may decide if she shall be remarried or not, and usually he takes the widow's interest into consideration. /Cited in English, with French interpolation indicated by parentheses./

2. Procedure for the Purchase of a Widow

Mo 587 [765]

Let us suppose that a young widow has returned to her parents' home 49 days after the death of her husband. It is one of the facts of the day, known immediately throughout the whole region, all the more because everybody knows she is waiting for a match. The candidates who have already made inquiries ask through a go-between or even personally for an interview with the widow. This interview ordinarily takes place at the home of a neighbor or friend. If the /88/ negotiations have results, the two parties generally give each other a token; the widow gives her ring or her earrings or her bracelet; the future husband invariably gives his belt. These tokens bestow the right to act with force in case of contest, of rivalry, or of resistance on the part of the widow's owners. Only a few days after the interview, for such marriages move with precipitation and in the greatest secrecy for fear that the widow will be abducted by a rival, the suitor sends to the widow's "own" parents two go-betweens. They present themselves with the traditional jug of gin and arrange for the earnest, which is here insignificant. It generally does not exceed about ten strings of cash. It is a pure formality. They leave from home, enjoining the greatest secrecy, to go to the home of the former parents-in-law of the widow in order to obtain their consent and to discuss the price. The parents-in-law are indeed the owners of the widow.

Mo 587 606

When the parents-in-law are well disposed and willing to discuss in question, they are offered a jug of gin; in the opposite case the jug is taken away, and plans are made to abduct the widow by force and as quickly as possible. But when all goes well, the go-betweens come back the second day and begin by promising the

/104 cont'd/

595 The T'ou-jen find this kind of polygamy rational when they
587 think of the sad condition in which orphans are put, who, they say, will have to count solely on the grandparents alone, who are already old. I believe that the true explanation of this fact must be found in the former custom which did not permit widows to leave the clan.

Notice with respect to this very special category of polygamists the very special manner in which one speaks of these marriages. One does not say that the widow looked for a husband, as one says in the case of widows who remarry outside the clan of the parents-in-law, but one says sarun xâgu, "to cover the shadow." (2) Is in the

[587
715]

2. It is perhaps useful to note in connection with the expression "to cover the shadow," the way of thinking of the Ou-hoan, Sien-pi peoples (Tong hou peoples) on the subject of the condition of widows in the world beyond. Parker, A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 2nd ed., p. 85: (The widow after being remarried either to her husband's brothers or to his paternal uncles...) "after death reverted to her first husband in the next world." /Cited in English, with introductory part in French./

new husband who covers the shadow of his dead brother, so that this shadow will do no more evil? Among the T'ou-jen the shamans claim that all illnesses are caused by the passage of the shadow of a dead person over the body of a person in good health.

587 Yet it happens, when widows are no longer young, that they
589 stay in the family of their parents-in-law without remarrying, sole-
765 ly in order to care for their children. When /105/ widows who have not remarried bear another child during the two years following the death of the husband, such a case does not surprise the T'ou-jen too much; the child is supposed to be the child of the dead man. It is

Mo 587 589 765 [172] [822] Mo [847 848] Mo [792]

/105 cont'd/
then called, if it is a son, either, according to the Chinese custom, Hiao cheng tse, i.e., "/son/ born during the mourning period," or else, according to the T'ou-jen custom, xara khû, i.e., "black son," which again means "son of mourning" since black is the color of mourning among the T'ou-jen; they say "to wear black" for "to be in mourning." Black was formerly also the color of mourning among the Mongols. When widows who have not remarried bear children after two years, it happens that these children are abandoned or that they are drowned right after birth, especially if they are girls. That happens when the family has many children, or when none of the neighbors wants to feed the poor being. When the newborn is a son, they will keep him, but he will not inherit family property, and as a general rule they will send him at about the age of nine or ten to a lamasery to remain a bachelor. This is the most practical solution for avoiding difficulties in the family later. (1)

Mo [847 848]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 77: The Manchus are very strict in killing illegitimate children, i.e. the children born by unmarried girls and widows.

The other Tungus groups consider girls who have children as the best for marriage, because these girls have the proof of their fecundity. /Cited in English./

Mo 595

c) The third category of polygamists is met in well-to-do families who lack workers.

Mo 461 462 595

We have seen that all the work, so to speak, is assigned to the wife; the household duties, the care of the livestock, and a large part of the work in the fields. A T'ou-jen wife actually kills herself with work. It is painful to us to look at these men with the nomadic instinct, do-nothings, idlers, spare themselves the least fatigue. It can happen, therefore, in families which have much

[22 cont.]

346 must have its own door to the outside. The chapel may not be
*778 constructed in such a way that it can also be reached through another room that is occupied. It must be located in the main
[783] house. In order to avoid any danger of pollution, the chapel is preferably erected on the roof of the main house. The sooth-
[791] sayer determines in what part or on what side of the main house it should be. Aside from silence, the reason for this strict sep-
[783] aration from the other rooms is that in crossing other rooms one may become unclean, especially if the rooms are accessible to the women.

783 Prescriptions for purity: Ordinarily, any man or boy may
*[778] touch the spear, fetch it, and take it away. They may also enter the chapel at will. Women, however, may never touch
[562] the spear or visit the chapel. They are always regarded as unclean. There are also certain taboos, however, for the men.

The man's wife or any other woman in the family may not be in confinement. Not until ten days after the conclusion
[846] of the confinement, that is, 40 days after the birth, is the man pure again. If he has visited another family in which there is a woman in childbed, he is pure immediately after the conclusion of the confinement, that is, 30 days after the birth.

Those in mourning are unclean for 49 days, if they are
[765] members of the dead person's own family. If the parents have died, the children are regarded as unclean for 100 days. If someone participated in the obsequies of another family, he is unclean for only three days.

These prescriptions for purity also apply to the soothsayer.
[791] He may not enter the chapel during this time, and especially
*[778] may not touch the spear or even practice soothsaying. When this period has elapsed, the men are automatically pure again; there is no special purification ceremony (1).

[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 26.] The prescriptions for purification are the same as among the Chinese in Tsinghai; they apply for all religious activities and temple visits. The Chinese also have

[34 cont.]

000 represent long hair.

791 Equipment: Like the lamas, they have a bell, a large, two-
778 sided drum, a small double-drum (hourglass drum); for exorcising
534 demons they use a whip made of human skin and a bone flute.
Furthermore, they have Tibetan books, sounding boards, and
[789] thunderbolt.

[765] The drum was formerly made of human skulls, over which human skin was stretched for the drumhead. The whip had a handle of human bones. The flute was made of the shinbone of a full-grown girl who had not yet married and had lost her life through suicide or an accident. It is open at one end and cut off smoothly. This end serves as mouthpiece and is inlaid with metal. The other end has a small hole on each of the two condyles. The flute is wrapped with the girl's skin; it is sewed tight (5). The same skin is also used for plaiting the whip and

5. [Foreign text p. 35.] The reports vary concerning the bone from which the flute is made. Most of them say that it is the shinbone; others claim that it is the thigh bone. I did not learn anywhere that the periosteum had to be eaten. -- The flute has an uncannily plaintive tone; it has an especially penetrating effect at night, when it is often heard in lamaseries. -- The Bon also try to drive away
[789] unpleasant events with the sound of the flute, for example, a punitive expedition, tax collectors, soldiers, etc., as happened in Kweiteh, for instance.

covering the drum. There are certain regulations for the manufacture of these objects. The Bon priest makes the implements himself (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 35.] What is here said concerning the making of the flute, drum, and whip is confirmed by other people, but no one has seen how they are made in detail. Some say it has to be a girl who has not yet

[635 cont.]

764 evening the neighbors and friends gather and pray for the dead, squatting in a circle. Some days before the cremation, the master of ceremonies invites a lama to conduct the death cere-
[792] monies and burn the corpse. First, however, the mother's
[604] brother must release the corpse; this is done the evening before at the meal, when he demands an accounting for the dead person and his interment.

The cremation is undertaken outside the village in a crematory, which on each occasion is built at a different place.
[792] The lama performs almost the same ceremonies on this occasion as at the fire-pouring. After the cremation the remaining bones are kept in a wooden chest and temporarily buried on the spot.
[765] Not until the next spring do the relatives transfer them to the
766 family cemetery. -- Small children are not buried. Adult girls are burned quietly without ceremonies in an isolated place.

765 The strict period of mourning lasts 49 days. As a sign of mourning, the men turn their clothing inside out, and the women remove their ornaments and certain parts of their headdress.

[636] Details

763 Preparation of the corpse: Shortly before death, the men
764 shave first the head and then the beard of the dying person. If death sets in too suddenly, however, so that they can no longer shave him alive, it is left undone. After the shaving, he is undressed and his hands, face, and feet are washed, not the entire body. The men do this for men, the women for women. The women keep their long hair, as do girls. The hair is parted in the center and two three-stranded braids are plaited, which hang down over the breast or the back. In the case of sudden death, the corpse is merely washed and the hair dressed; the washing is then done with only a damp cloth (1).

[823]

1. [Foreign text p. 650.] Why no water may flow over the corpse could not be discovered; probably it is feared that the water would thereby be made impure; it is counted among the basic elements.

[638 cont.]

292 765 [171] Mourning dress: Mourning is worn immediately after the death. It does not consist of a special white garb, as among the Chinese, but only of a change of dress.

During the period of mourning the men remove their colorful vests and take everything colored off their clothing, such as neck bands, sleeve edging, etc. Their long cloak is turned and worn with the lining, or in winter with the fur, on the outside. [302] They do not cut their hair, and they let the beard grow. The red or green trouser belt made of cloth is replaced by [639] a white or black one. Instead of the clothes-belt they wear a thick hemp string.

Like the men, the women also remove the colorful sleeve strips, trouser trimming, and shoe and boot ornamentation, especially everything red. The red or green skirt over the trousers is not worn at all. Instead of the colorful clothes, the woman puts on only a simple upper garment of one color. She takes off the ear pendants, arm bands, and the neck band, and [301] removes from her headdress all lace, tassels, and hanging strings, as well as the silver hair cap [Haarschale] and the little copper plates. She keeps only the simple, rigid frame of the headdress and covers its colorful strips uniformly by sticking green paper on them. She puts a blue cloth made of coarse linen over this as a head veil. She replaces her broad and colorful belt with a hemp string.

[602] [593] All the close relatives are required to wear mourning dress, those who also must give the death-offering. The only exception is the husband upon the death of his wife. He may not wear mourning.

764 782 [602] Prayer service: The prayer service is called "prayer tea." The relatives on the father's side assemble daily in the house of mourning; toward evening they sit on the kang around the open fire in the kitchen and pray the mani for the dead on their mani-string. When they are finished, they receive noodle soup and go home. This prayer service lasts until the day of cremation. One need not sit around the kang fire, however, but can also perform these prayers before the death-box itself.

[646 cont.]

764 the little bones go into it, however, for it is only an ell long and two handbreadths high. The lid is pegged down, like a Chinese coffin. The remaining bones are carried by hand, aprons, or in a back-basket to the nearest mountain-height. Animals as a rule do not eat them because they are burned. Only sheep like to nibble on them. The bones decompose very rapidly, however.

The bone-chest is placed in the oven, weighted down with clay bricks, and then the oven is torn down so that it forms a little mound with the chest buried under it. This is always done if the cremation has taken place after the harvest during the period before the grave festival in the third month.

[765] At the grave festival, the Chinese ch'ing-ming, the bone-chest
[769] is buried in the communal family cemetery. The place of the cremation is leveled.

If the cremation is after the grave festival, then the oven is, to be sure, torn down and the place again cultivated, but the bone-chest is not buried at the place of the oven, but on a remote ridge of arable land in a field belonging to
[765] the deceased's own family. Only at the next grave festival in the following year is it transferred to the family cemetery.

If the cremation has taken place on a distant mountain far from the family, then a tent is pitched there to wait until the third day, the bones are stored, and the chest is brought down in order to bury it on the ridge of a field on one's
[776] own land. Such a cremation may never be undertaken on the
[778] peak of a mountain, but about halfway up. The peak is
[823] sacred to the mountain-spirit and may not be desecrated.

If the bone-chest has been buried in the oven or field, then the relatives burn white paper before it, throw pieces of bread on the bone-grave, and pour out tea before it for the dead. Then they kowtow and go home. The guests are treated with tsamba and butter in the house of mourning. The
[465] master of ceremonies receives 12 loaves of bread and two ells of white cloth; the two fire guards are given six loaves each and two ells of cloth.

[646 cont.]
000 each and two ells of cloth.

765 At the next grave festival, which usually falls in the third
[769] lunar month, all the relatives gather at the kin-group cemetery for the offering to the dead; at that time the bone-chest is also transferred to it. A number of men go to the old burial spot at the place of cremation, dig up the chest, and bring [647] it to the cemetery without any ceremony. There they dig a small
[561] hole and put the chest in it. This is done only by men who are
[593] of the same generation as the dead person or of a lower generation. A father, for instance, would never bury his son, nor the uncle his nephew, etc.

765 As soon as the pit has been filled, the offering for the
769 dead takes place; the relatives burn paper and little sticks of incense, set down loaves of bread, meat, etc., pour out tea,
[782] liquor, and soup, and hold a little meal at the grave. Then everyone goes home. -- The transfer of the bones, however, need not be done at the next grave festival; sometimes one waits two or three years. The bones may not be interred, however, outside the period of the grave festival (21).

[192] 21. [Foreign text pp. 656-657.]
The Tujen word sẽh̀-miǹ is evi-
[177] dently merely a phonetic imitation of the Chinese ch'ing-ming. The informant said that the Tujen did not know about the grave festival in olden times, but that they have copied it from the Chinese, which indeed is confirmed by the precisely identical rites and the asserted former exposure of the corpse. -- The postponement [657] of a final interment of the bones until this feast, however, remains unexplained, especially since the Chinese usually bury their dead immediately in the cemetery. The
[777] informant observed in this connection that the Chinese inter their dead on

[647 cont.]

765 [769] [777] [764]

[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days [177] memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown [782] and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowa- [178] days the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

765 784 Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they [574] want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even [796] more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to [262] undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

[647 cont.]
765 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The
784 food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[262] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
[585] also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune
to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not offici-
[783] ate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean,
[796] and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automati-
[783] cally lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul
[777] haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one
[791] questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved, it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul.
[782] One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[826 cont.]

241 789 778 [791] The wedges: After making the torma the Bon priest inscribes the wedges. They are provided by the seed-master. They have the form of the Lamaistic magic dagger; they are three-edged, seven inches (23 centimeters) long, and one inch (3.3 centimeters) wide. Only the hardest wood is used; in that region there are only the three kinds: huang-san-tzu, hei-ts'u, hua-mu (7).

[824]

7. [Foreign text p. 830.] The names could not be identified; huang-san-tzu seems to be black sandalwood; hua-mu is birch. In any case it is supposed to be the hardest wood that can be found. Among the kinds of wood there, birch is in fact regarded as one of the hardest; people even make wheel rims out of it.

It does not matter whether all of them are made from one of these kinds or whether all the kinds are used. There are five wedges in all. The head of the wedge is notched into three parts (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 829.] The shape of the magic dagger varies. The grip in particular varies, but usually it is three stepped death's-heads. The daggers that I saw were all of iron. I also heard, however, that formerly there were daggers of human bones. In this way the three-edged pointed shape and the bone knob could be easily explained; it would also fit in well with the skull drum, skin whip, bone flute, etc. -- The black color signifies iron.

[765]

[828 cont.]

241
789
821

[Note on foreign text p. 830 cont.]
weather conjuration of this region still seems to be an inheritance from the Bon. The conditions and customs connected with it are strongly reminiscent of the description given by A. Tafel for the Bon in eastern Tibet, Tibetreise, II, pp. 198 ff.

241 789 778 The first four tormas represent evil demons. They are driven away by the throwing. The extra features are given so that they will be content and will not return; they are things which one needs in daily life.

[782] The second torma, weather-torma, represents the spirits of the weather ministry. The extra features are an offering to make them favorably disposed.

The mountain-torma represents the world-mountain. Sun and moon circle around it. This mountain is the spirit paradise. It is put under the pole so that the spirits will withdraw into this paradise and leave the human beings.

The wedges represent the magic dagger of the smith-god and his subordinates. They are the chief weapons against demons. [791] The Bon priest is also a pupil and subordinate of this smith-god. He especially venerates him and likewise uses the three-edged magic dagger in conjuring away the demons. At the temple [535] dances (tscham dances) the subordinate spirits of the weather-smith-god also appear with the dagger. Lamas never use the dagger. The three notches form three knobs which are supposed to represent the human skull. The demons especially fear this, [765] like all things that come from the dead, such as the bone flute, the whip of human skin, and the skull drum.

192 [829] Word List

241 789 The pole-goat: aradziãn (Tib. loanword) = to stretch out the goat.

[778] ima rëdziala (Tujen) = to stretch out the goat.

The goat: ima; chũ-la (Chin.); chia-la (Chin.).

[207 cont.]

775 the Tujen. For instance, one hears little about a Buddhist hell,
171 which plays a much more important role among the neighboring Chinese and is quite graphically portrayed in many temples. It is true that the Tujen like to consider the misfortune in this world as punishment for earlier transgressions. This soul, which
775 one could call "incarnation soul" or "private soul" -- in con-
764 trast to the clan soul -- becomes free for the incarnation through the transforming lotus fire at the cremation. The informant, at any rate, interpreted the lotus-mandala and the fire at the cremation in this sense and ascribed to them a transforming power. This does not mean that this soul remains in the body as long as, say, in an animated corpse. Rather, at the death of the person, the lamas are supposed "to open the way" through prayer, so that the soul may reach Tushita. To what extent such explana-
[171] tions correspond with the orthodox Buddhist doctrine will be left undecided. Any any rate, the conceptions of the people are vague.

775 Even more unclear are the conceptions about the third
776 soul, which is supposed to transform itself into a demon. Nothing is known about its fate and about the cause of such a transformation. Such a soul is feared, however. Perhaps it is this soul that in case of dissatisfaction after the bäda disturbs the
[764] human beings at the command of the clan soul, haunts the
[782] house and yard, and causes sickness and misfortune. At any rate, a great part of the offerings and prayers at the death rites is given out of fear of this soul. The constantly expressed wish to the dead person runs: "Forget us, be content, do not come
775 back." A natural discontent and a kind of missing of life's goal
776 are connected with the soul of unmarried adult girls. It be-
589 comes a demon who is so dangerous that even other demons flee from it, for which reason the Bon priests take the material for
[765] their bone flutes, their whip, etc. from the corpses of such girls. The discontent and non-fulfillment can only be accounted for in this case by the unmarried state, which, according to Tujen conceptions, goes against every natural ordinance for a female person. One may suspect that this soul-belief also has a strong
[588] effect on the custom that the Tujen call "to arrange the heavenly

[253 cont.]

791 is a purely popular one, and nothing about the inner relationship
779 of these groups to one another is indicated by it; they are probably not essentially different. The farmer-Bon have become most superficial and degenerate. They still wear as their sole distinguishing mark only the artificial brush garland, in order thus to imitate the massive braided turban of the shepherd-Bon; they have practically died out. -- The most important cultic
[765] implements of the Bon are taken from the human corpse: the
[534] double skull-drum covered with human skin, the whip plaited out of human skin (and probably with a bone handle), the thigh-bone flute, and the bone dagger. These implements are supposed to be taken from the corpse of an unmarried adult female person. By the special relationship to skeleton and corpse alone,
[174] the Bon might acknowledge an ancient Tibetan home, which, to be sure, is not only called the "snow land," but also the "land of corpses."

[989] Even though the Bon have much in common with the lamas, there is a series of ceremonies reserved for them, especially the various types of demon exorcism. They are even invited into the monastery by the lamas on the first and fifteenth day of every month, where they undertake these rites. Nothing more about a former opposition between
178 Buddhism and the Bon religion is to be noted here. It shares
791 with Lamaism the fate of gradual disappearance; indeed, in
779 its official form it has already preceded it in this. It is a striking fact that both the Bon religion and Lamaism wane as Chinese agriculture expands, although precisely the sedentary life [254] of the lamas in the large monasteries and the performance of the weather conjuration of the Bon should be especially appropriate for an agricultural culture. The reasons are certainly not religious in nature.

174 The Tujen, however, have probably preserved much
791 more of the Bon tradition than is recognizable at first glance.
779 The marriage customs and the popular poetry probably contain a great deal that would make this ancient layer clear and permit it to be followed deep into Tibet. It is difficult, however, to free everything from the Lamaistic embellishments.

erals, the heavenly warriors, the god of the wind, the 796
gods honored in the Monguor villages, then the spirits 756
honored in the private families of the village, the souls of the last three generations of ancestors of the villagers.[8] Every guest is ushered to his throne, greeted, and congratulated in the same way. The shaman has a gentle talk with each of them, while the audience prostrates itself in reverential silence. Finally, drum and cymbals are beaten and the shamans dance with feverish gusto, the dance of thanksgiving for the arrival of all the guests, in order to make them happy.

ENTERTAINMENT OF THE SPIRITS

Then follows the next act—making the spirits propitious and well disposed (*nan shen*). The shamans and the apprentices kneel in rows before the pole, with incense sticks in their joined hands in the same way as the audience. It is the most important and enjoyed moment of the day. It reveals the peculiar, but typical, religious frame of mind of shamans and Monguors. In the deepest and most solemn silence, the chief of the shamans starts talking with the spirits. He gives a detailed account of all the offerings displayed on the table and before the thrones of the gods—sheep, pig. "All these offerings are brought by the people who are kneeling before you . . . notwithstanding the fact they all had a hard time this year, they enjoyed spending that money for you. If it were possible, they would have given more . . . please enjoy their offerings. . . . You are their superiors, their chiefs, your power is unlimited. . . . All these people trust in you and are confident of you. . . . You came from so far, climbing high mountains, crossing dangerous rivers . . . in order to sit down for a while with them in this poor courtyard.

[8] A couple of facts already encountered reveal two principles [779
of the philosophy of the shamans concerning the duration of
the existence of the spirits and the human souls. Spirits are 776]
not eternal; they weaken and become exhausted and old and consequently fade away. The famous White Tiger on the old mounds became old and had to receive new invigoration; a typical fact will be recorded of the great spirit of one of the five great Obos of the country, which had become old and had to be rejuvenated. Spirits are not eternal; even the spirits of the statues become completely exhausted after three years, and every three years the shaman has to replace the exhausted forces with brand new ones.

The souls of the deceased of only the last three generations are honored and nurtured at the time of the rite of spring. When illness is ascribed to malignant souls of the deceased, the [775
shaman, outside the courtyard, traces three small circles, and
one more expansive; food is placed in the three small ones to 765]
nurture the souls of the deceased ancestors of the last three generations only; in the big circle is placed food for the roaming alien souls. These facts reveal an articulate belief that souls of the ancestors last three generations only, and also that hungry souls are dangerous beings.

In old China the souls of the deceased kings after five generations, princes after three, nobles after one, lost their original protecting power and were relegated among those of the group to whom personal offerings were refused (H. Maspero, *Chine antique, op. cit.*, 186). They were already far on the way toward decaying and fading away.

[p. 107 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

pounds of butter boil in another caldron. The Living 764
Buddha, in full attire with the mitre of the five Dyhana [792]
Buddhas on his head, squats on a felt in front of a table, with dishes containing spelt, rice, spices, and holy water. He recites the prayers, with a curtain between him and the oven, lest the sight of the burning corpse might desecrate his eyes. He orders a lama to throw the blessed spelt and spices on the burning corpse and puts some butter into a small ladle held by the lama, who pours it on the corpse.

When the rite is finished the group prostrates itself 764
and cries to the smoking corpse for the last time, "Do 768
not harm the family," and returns. All of them jump over a fire built before the courtyard, wash their hands, and rub them over a long knife used to cut straw. Noodles without meat are prepared for all of them, and they say five-hundred Om Manis. The lama receives his alms (always in an odd number) and returns to the monastery. The horse of the deceased father or the valuable headdress of the deceased mother will be brought to the monastery with a couple of pieces of best clothes to be sold by the lamas, and to have prayers said according to the value of the sale of the items.[36] The clothes carried by the horse are to be put on the saddle with the collar and arms on the left side; a horse is mounted on the right side.

In the meantime, the sons and sons-in-law have 764
tended the oven and closed the four openings. After 765
three days the members of the family and relatives open the oven, pick out the bones with chopsticks and put them into the small coffin prepared for this. The remaining fragments of bones and ashes are gathered up in the skirts of the gown and scattered on the mountain. It is said that sheep are very fond of such bones. The cremation must not be performed in cultivated areas, it has to be done in deep valleys or lonely spots. Every [784]
year after the shamanist springtime feast, this prohibition is expressly announced. The sons and sons-in-law bury the small coffin in their fields or near the oven, and make a small tumulus. While the sons are kneeling before the tumulus, the sons-in-law and married and unmarried daughters bring some earth a couple of times in the skirts of their gowns, and spread it on top of the tumulus. Paper is burned, a lamp made of dough is lit, libations and prostrations are made and lamentations are uttered. The coffin will be dug up again the following April, on the feast of the worship of the ancestors buried in the family cemetery, and the name of the deceased will be noted on the genealogical register (see Part I: 71). After the tumulus rite is performed

[36] A similar custom is encountered among the Mongols: Serruys, *op. cit.*, 137. The barbarians (i.e., the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600) invited lamas to recite prayers for the dead for seven days. They gave to the lamas in remuneration the best horse, which the deceased loved most; his best clothes and his coat of armor, and all the oxen and horses which the family received from friends and relatives as mourning gifts. See also Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126, and Kervyn, *op. cit.*, 112.

[p. 145 (B)]

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the great mourning period is over, and the whole group prostrates itself and thanks the master of ceremonies, who will receive twelve rolls. 764 765

The incineration ceremonies for poor people are obviously less elaborate. The maternal uncle is invited, a Red lama prays for one day, drives away the souls of the deceased, and receives five-hundred copper coins and some rolls. The people themselves perform the incineration, bury the small coffin, and build the tumulus. [604 792]

MOURNING CUSTOMS

The Monguors today still call the mourning period the "black period." A son born after the death of his father is still called a "black son." The old custom of wearing black during the mourning period is still noticeable in the clothes worn by men and women, as will be noted. 765

It is interesting how the use of black as a mourning color has been so widespread in Central Asia among the nomads, even before our era, although in China white was the mourning color from the earliest times. During the Chou dynasty (1122–202 B.C.), while the family dressed in white mourning clothes, the inside of the coffin had to be upholstered with black silk.[37] In 626 B.C. black was already the mourning color for the barbarians living in north China.[38] The Scythians (Yüeh chih) in Samarkand, in A.D. 634, wore black clothes at the time of mourning.[39] In Tibet the head of the king was enveloped with a black turban in the coffin in order to preserve him against evil spirits.[40] The Liao officials (907–1125) blackened the bright parts of their hats for a few days in mourning for the deceased emperor.[41] The maternal uncle of Emperor K'ang hsi died in Wu-lan-pu-tung during the campaign against Galdan in 1695. His ashes were carried to Peking in a small coffin, put in a sedan chair upholstered with black satin, and in Peking the coffin was placed under a canopy of black satin.[42] Black is still the mourning color of the Mongols of the Ordos.[43] 765 171

The Monguors practice the great and small mourning. The great mourning consists of men wearing their coats inside out, not buttoned or fastened, girdling the waist with a hemp rope, and undoing their plaited hair and binding it on the neck with a small hemp rope. The women turn their skirts inside out and do not wear the traditional elaborate headdress. The members of the family of a lower generation than the deceased wear the mourning dress. The relatives, sons-in-law, their wives and children, members of a higher generation, do not 765

[37] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 184.

[38] Couvreur, *Tso Chuan* 1: 431. Zottoli, *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae* 4: 39.

[39] Wieger, *op. cit.*, 1569.

[40] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 191.

[41] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 283.

[42] De Mailla, *Histoire de la Chine* 4: 147, Paris, Clousier, 1778.

[43] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130. [p. 146(A)]

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wear the mourning dress for members of a lower generation, nor the husband for his wife, and *vice versa*. 765

The great mourning begins at the moment of death and ends after the burying of the small coffin. During these days, it is not permitted to wash face and hands, comb the hair, shave, or leave the courtyard.

It is noteworthy that the Koryaks in Siberia put the clothes on the deceased inside out,[44] and so do the Tibetans.[45] The T'u-yü-hun had a funeral procession when burying the dead, but mourning clothes were removed when the ceremony was over.[46]

After the great mourning, the small mourning starts. Men remove the red fringes from the ceremonial hat. They change the more elaborate girdle for a simple black one, and the embroidered tobacco pouch for an unadorned black one. Women do not wear new clothes; they put aside red and green vestments, using black or dark blue garments instead. However, the piece of blue cloth which covers their headdress is changed to a white one; the red fringes on the headdress are removed and strips of black cloth take their place. Ear and finger rings and all jewelry are prohibited. They are forbidden to attend any festivities, to enter temples or monasteries.

Monguors, mourning their grandparents, wear the mourning dress for a year—in some places, however, only for one-hundred days. Brothers mourn their elder brother only forty-nine days. At that time a lama is invited to say some prayers for one or three days. The entire family goes to the tumulus to burn paper and incense sticks, to offer rolls and a leg of mutton, and to make libations, and prostrate themselves. The women lament, and the small mourning period is over.[47]

It is said that in former times all the Monguors had to follow the mourning rite for one-hundred days upon the death of their T'u-ssu or his lady. At present only [622] the officials of the T'u-ssu observe this rite.[48]

OMINOUS DEATHS AND THE ABODES OF EVIL SPIRITS

WOMEN WHO DIE IN CHILDBIRTH

A woman who dies in childbirth is said to be 766 drowned in a lake of blood. It is a very bad omen for the family. Even a person dying in the courtyard during childbirth is seriously feared after death, and the souls have to be driven away more elaborately. A lama of the Red Sect is invited, and quite often a shaman, because they are more proficient in magic. The

[44] Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, *op. cit.*, 3: 421.

[45] David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens ou Tibet*, *op. cit.*, 130.

[46] Parker, *op. cit.*, 109.

[47] Serruys, Pei-lou-fong-sou, *Monumenta Serica*, 10: 295, 1945. Among the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600, the mourning period lasted only for seven days. It consisted for the women in not wearing the headdress called Ku-Ku; for the men in removing the button from the hat.

[48] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130–131, notes the elaborate mourning rites and prescriptions at present still used by the Mongols of the Ordos.

[p 146(B)]

[633 cont.]

527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
792 brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
[431] oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[465] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him. A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
[792] after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed
[766] by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
[262] longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation. This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[635 cont.]

764 evening the neighbors and friends gather and pray for the dead, squatting in a circle. Some days before the cremation, the master of ceremonies invites a lama to conduct the death cere-
[792] monies and burn the corpse. First, however, the mother's
[604] brother must release the corpse; this is done the evening before at the meal, when he demands an accounting for the dead person and his interment.

The cremation is undertaken outside the village in a crematory, which on each occasion is built at a different place.
[792] The lama performs almost the same ceremonies on this occasion as at the fire-pouring. After the cremation the remaining bones are kept in a wooden chest and temporarily buried on the spot.
[765] Not until the next spring do the relatives transfer them to the
766 family cemetery. -- Small children are not buried. Adult girls are burned quietly without ceremonies in an isolated place.

765 The strict period of mourning lasts 49 days. As a sign of mourning, the men turn their clothing inside out, and the women remove their ornaments and certain parts of their headdress.

[636] Details

763 Preparation of the corpse: Shortly before death, the men
764 shave first the head and then the beard of the dying person. If death sets in too suddenly, however, so that they can no longer shave him alive, it is left undone. After the shaving, he is undressed and his hands, face, and feet are washed, not the entire body. The men do this for men, the women for women. The women keep their long hair, as do girls. The hair is parted in the center and two three-stranded braids are plaited, which hang down over the breast or the back. In the case of sudden death, the corpse is merely washed and the hair dressed; the washing is then done with only a damp cloth (1).

[823]

1. [Foreign text p. 650.] Why no water may flow over the corpse could not be discovered; probably it is feared that the water would thereby be made impure; it is counted among the basic elements.

[636 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 652 cont.]
animal with wool. In the case of hemp this is impossible, for one is not transformed into a plant.

[789]

The informant claimed to know nothing about hemp as a means of frightening off demons, as, for example, in the case of the hemp whip of the shamans. It may be that Chinese influence makes itself felt here, for the Chinese, too, use only hemp in connection with the dead, and it also plays an important role in the mourning costume (hemp belt, hair string, hemp veil, etc.). Strict mourning is therefore called simply "hemp mourning," ma-hsiao, among the Chinese.

764 about two ells square, cuts a round hole in the middle, and throws it over the dead person's head in such a way that the tips fall over the chest, back, and shoulders. This cloth is [766] called "death garment." It is yellow for persons who have received the age-consecration, white for young people. It does not matter what kind of cloth it is made of (5). -- All

5. [Foreign text pp. 652-653.]
The shoulder-throw is strongly reminiscent of the shoulder-collars of the shamans. A connection could not be discovered. The Tujen maintain that the cloth is usually taken off before cre-
[789] mation: later one uses it as an amulet, since it has great healing and protective power. With regard to this, the informant observed that one could indeed take off the white shoulder-cloth before crema-
[766] tion, but that it had no magical power and was used for profane purposes. The

[636 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 652-653 cont.] yellow shoulder-cloth, on the other hand, which a dead person with age-consecration wears, must be burned with the corpse, just like the sash that he received at that time.

this must be done while the corpse is still flexible. Once it is rigid, it maintains its position virtually unchanged.

The death-box. The death-box is made either long be-
[171] fore death or not until death has taken place, as among the Chinese where the coffin is sometimes ready decades before-
[735] hand. Only poor people do not make the death-box until after the death. The box is always made of wood, but it does not matter what kind of wood it is made of; after all, it is not buried, as is the coffin among the Chinese, but is burned with the dead person. The box has the height of a litter or sedan chair; the dead person fits exactly into it. The bottom of the box extends into four carrying beams, [637] similar to a
[532] flat litter. The box [illustration appears here], however is not
[171] a simple wooden chest, but represents a small temple with roof and doors and often very rich carving, similar to death-box of the Chinese bonze (6). Unlike the latter, however, it has a sun

6. [Foreign text p. 653.] in the case of the coffin of the Taoshih the sun-moon attachment, the movable back wall, and the carrying pole are lacking. The corpse is usually put inside through the front door or from above, because the roof piece is removable.

and moon in the center of the roof, similar to the tip of a mani-pole; this is generally regarded as necessary. The box
[556] is painted and decorated according to the wealth, piety, and
[322] affection of the relatives.

There are no definite ritual prescriptions for the prep-
[465] aration of the box. The carpenter receives the usual fee for

[642 cont.]

764 a rule, all young people under 20 years of age, whether male or
[766] female, are cremated in the evening at sundown. Persons over
20 years of age are cremated in the morning at sunrise. The
place of cremation is prepared the day before.

Place of cremation: The place of cremation is usually chosen by the master of ceremonies after consultation with the members of the family. Only ground that belongs to the deceased's own family or to the relatives on the father's side is considered. A dead person may never be cremated on strange soil or on land that belongs to the maternal relatives. Special preference is given to a spot on a steep ridge between fields, because the fire for the oven can most easily be set there. In
241 choosing the spot, one must see to it that the smoke will not
764 blow across a sown field. Therefore, after the sowing festival
in the spring, a remote place is chosen in a ravine or on a
178 mountain where there are no more fields. Aside from the fact that the seed would be trampled, the smoke of a burning corpse is harmful for the growth and the harvest. Therefore nowadays, when even the most remote little mountain patches are planted, cremation is increasingly on the wane, especially in the valleys, and the dead are buried in coffins (19).

[177] [Foreign text p. 656.] This may not be the most decisive reason for the disappearance of the custom, however, but rather the general Sinicization. In remote ravines everywhere a place can still be found for cremation, for even the Chinese in the valleys cremate their adult, unmarried daughters in such remote places.

764 If the fire-pouring is undertaken at the cremation, then
792 the lama himself goes out to the field the day before and
782 chooses a suitable spot. For this purpose he kneads a large torma

[645 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
back and forth, but in all probability it is to catch the mirror images of the boys who have been brought before the Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age, receive the age-consecration and become a member of the monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman, from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring [783] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purifica- [372] tion for the dead, similar to baptism.

764 Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then
766 no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of [792] ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of [372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is desirable, but not essential.

764 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three days for the bone storage. During these three days the members
602 of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there, kowtow, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea. Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the men and women of the deceased's own family and at least one man, but no women, of the related families, and furthermore the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the [792] oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea.
764 After they have then kowtowed, men and women dig the bones out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The
[262] food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[585] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
[783] along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
[796] also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not officiate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean, and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

[783] After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automatically lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul
[777] haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one
[791] questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved, it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul.
[782] One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the lama makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[648 cont.]

766 buried, or simply burned. No death ceremonies are undertaken. At the burning they receive no box, but are reduced to ashes, like the girls.

Like the boys, girls under ten years of age may also be exposed, buried, or burned. The corpse then usually becomes prey for dogs and wolves. Girls over ten years of age, however, must be burned, for at this time menstruation may set in, and their souls are then dangerous demons, of which even the other spirits are afraid (22). The burning is done without any ceremony

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22. [Foreign text p. 657.] Why the girls are so dangerous could not be clearly established. Perhaps the same notion as is behind the pai-ta lies at the root of it, namely, that the soul leaves this life dissatisfied, that is, that after the girl attained maturity she did not achieve her proper destiny in marriage. There is no death-marriage here, as, for example, in Shantung, so the soul cannot rest in peace. This soul demon, however, is destroyed through burning, according to the statements of the Chinese and Tujen. I know of a case in which a Chinese girl was exhumed and burned two years after her death because something uncanny was always happening in the family and one accident followed another. That, however, did not help either. -- Shamanistic conceptions, too, are certainly suggested. One need only recall that the Bön priests make the bone flute from the bones of such a girl and the whip from her skin.

[588]

[648 cont.]

766 and on the same day on which the girl died. If she died in the morning, she is burned in the evening; if she died in the late evening, she is burned the following morning. A man from her own family takes the corpse just as it is, with the clothes, over his shoulder, carries it to a remote ravine, digs a hole by a copse, piles straw and twigs in it, puts the corpse on top, and burns it. Usually a few other people also help. One does not wait until the dead girl is completely reduced to ashes, but leaves the still smoldering corpse behind and goes home. Dogs and wolves consume the remains. As soon as a girl has been married, however, 764 even if only for a few days, she receives an honorable cremation like any other woman, with all the ceremonies, with prayer, and with a death-box. This also applies to those daughters who [588] have not yet found a man, but who are married to the sky or the mani-tree.

762 If an adult, whether a man or a married woman, has 766 killed himself, he receives the usual cremation ceremonies without fire-pouring and without a death-box. Usually no one [782] is invited to give the prayer. At the final funeral meal, how- [604] ever, the mother's brother will demand a precise accounting concerning the causes of the suicide, especially if a woman is involved, and he will insist upon an honorable death rite with a death-box. Disputes are common at such times.

766 Those who lost their lives through violence, such as drownings, falls from heights, murder, etc., receive a cremation or interment like any other person of the same age.

[649] Those who died outside the yard, be it an ordinary death or through an accident or suicide, are always laid out outside of the compound, say, in a special tent or in a cave. If a suicide has taken place inside the yard, however, the person who has taken his life is laid out in the house.

792 Persons who have died far away are brought home. If 766 this is not possible, for instance, in the case of soldiers, a lama is invited. While praying he writes down the name of the de- [212] ceased on a stiff sheet of paper and sticks it in a measure of grain (wheat), which is then placed on a table in the room into which otherwise the death-box would have been brought. All the same ceremonies are now carried out in front of it, as though

[649 cont.]

792 an actual corpse were present. On the day set this sheet of paper
766 is burned in the field, but quite simply, without any oven and without a lama. No one bothers with the ashes. The lama writes
[212] the name on a second sheet, however, and this is put in the bone-chest, which is buried at the place of the burning (23) until the

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23. [Foreign text p. 657.] The neighboring Chinese have a similar custom. They place the ancestral tablet of the dead person in a little coffin and bury it in the cemetery. This interment has legal force; when it is undertaken, it is regarded as proof that the person is actually dead. A parallel is found among the Chinese in the proxy wedding with a stuffed straw-man.

[212] transfer to the kin-group cemetery takes place at the grave festival. -- The signs that the lama writes are Tibetan.

Word List

192
764 Cremation: galdë awu- = to put in the fire.

To die: ugei (guei) wōldzia = he has passed away.

He died sitting: sōwa guei wōldzia; tsuo-hua (Chin.) = transformed sitting.

Death of a bonze: niesā sdzia = he has flown away. yü-hua (Chin.) = feathered transformed.

Death of a lama: siagladzia = he has turned to nothing.

[775] He is reborn: härga (xara) rëdzia = he has come back; sdziewa.

One has put him in the crouching position: ndañlalgadzia = he has been put in equilibrium.

The dead person: guei woldzān kun = departed person.

Death clothing (shoulder hanging): bōw-la (Tib. loanword) = white garment.

Death lament: dō tedzi ula.

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the hair coiled inside the cap. All the shamans wear the pigtail, which they coil when performing rites. 756 292 302

Traditional pictures of Taoist saints show that these worthies were wont to wear their hair in a knot on the top of the head. The Manchu Tartars conquered China and compelled the people to adopt their coiffure and shave their heads except on the top, where it was allowed to grow long and be braided as a pigtail. The *soi kung*, like the whole nation, had to submit to this order, but with pious conservatism they have preserved the ancient orthodox fashion on behalf of their altar service; that is to say, while officiating they coil their hair into a knot upon their heads and cover the shaven part around it with a wig of braided human hair.[21] [175]

The Monguor shamans, however, do not wear the wig.

The Manchus not only preserved their traditional style of dress and haircut, they even compelled Chinese men during the period of invasion to adopt Manchu dress, shave their heads, and grow the queue. This enforced change was so bitterly resented by the Chinese that many times they chose rather to die, or lose their heads, than obey the Tartars in these ceremonies. The literary inquisition launched during the Ch'ien-lung period reveals that, in the eighteenth century, a Chinese who yearned for the old cap and garments was still considered a dangerous rebel.[22] [648]

The second headdress has the form of a sack, of black cloth, tightly bound around the head. A tail, three feet in length, is fixed on this cap. Plaited with red rope around a twisted black rope of cloth, the tail which is thin at the bottom and thick at the end, is rolled on the head, but released when the shaman is executing acrobatic evolutions.

The third one is a crown, in form like the *chod pon* of the lamas,[23] divided in front into five parts, bearing a crude picture of the god of the five roads, the Wu-tao-shen, whose disciples the shamans claim to be. (Shamans never wear a crown with the five Dhyani Buddhas; their antagonism toward Lamaism is too pronounced to do that; they never will perform rites in a Buddhist temple of the village.)[24]

THE DRUM

The drum is one of the important implements of a shaman. It is used to invoke the spirits during the performance of the rites; the spirits enter into it and ritual dances are performed in time with the beat. Every shaman has his own drum, and generally another in reserve. Upon the death of the shaman his drum is buried with him in the coffin, for it is a personal object. The boy apprentices receive a drum of smaller dimensions from their father, on the day of their dedication to the twelve spirits. Apprentices who receive part of their 756 534 [766]

[21] J. J. M. De Groot, *The religious systems of China* 6: Bk. II: 1267, 1910, Leiden, Brill.

[22] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 12, 1949. However, the Chinese were required to change to Manchu dress at the insistence of a Chinese official. See S. Cammann, *China's dragon robes*, 21, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[23] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 92, Paris, Plon, 1929.

[24] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148, Importance of the cap. [p.83(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

On the death of the first T'u-ssu his eldest son succeeded, and the others became the founders of Junior "houses." Some of them immediately built their own cemetery, and others later. When cemeteries had no more room, some branches of noble families again built new cemeteries, and so on. The richest among the commoners followed the example set by the nobles, and buried the remains of the bones, after cremation, in their own cemetery. Many ceased to practice cremation. The Chinese enrolled in the clans had always buried their dead in their cemeteries, and now many Monguors have their own cemeteries. The poor among them bury the bones remaining after cremation in a corner of their fields, or in a lonely spot. Three days before the official ancestor worship in April, each group honors its dead in its own cemetery, according to the usual rite, with prostrations, libations, offerings, and a sacrificial meal. It is on that day that the bones remaining after cremation of the persons of their family who died during the year are buried in their cemeteries, and the names of the deceased are entered in the family register. 175 764

What happened to the dead of the Monguors during the Yüan period (1280–1368) is not at present known. Some people say that the dead were buried in lonely places, that cemeteries did not exist, and no further offerings were made for the dead, after burial. Later, during the Ming, only two clans, the Ch'i and the Lu, built inside their mansion garden a big mound with a spacious room where the coffins of the later T'u-ssu are conserved.[25]

The whole clan of the Li T'u-ssu never bury their dead in the third and the eighth months; these months are said to be fateful for them on account of Lu Men-cheng. I never could get an explanation either of this fact or of Lu Men-cheng. 764

DIFFERENT MODES OF DISPOSING OF THE DEAD

The enrollment of Chinese in the clans, the examples set by the T'u-ssu and the chiefs of the houses, the impact of the Chinese culture from which the Monguors became less and less insulated, and also the fact that cremation bears a tinge of dishonor among the Chinese (because it is only used for those who have caused harm to the family) led many Monguors to resort early to the burying of the dead. According to many Monguors, cremation had been introduced by the lamas, because it was a lucrative rite for them. Since in nearly every family there were lamas, the rite easily spread. However, according to other Monguors, incineration provides more benefits for the souls, while burying bears a tinge of dishonor. I was told of a Monguor woman who had abandoned her husband in order to live with another man in Hung nai Valley, the man died and she [766]

[25] However, as will be recorded in Part III, the Lu clan, according to its family chronicle, had an ancestral cemetery in Hsi Ta-t'ung during the Yüan period. [p.142(B)]

thereupon swallowed opium and also died. Because 764
this case had involved the village and caused a lot of [766]
trouble, the chief of the village, with the maternal uncles, decided that they were unworthy to be cremated and buried them in the same pit. In Part I, other similar cases have been recorded.

The old Turco-Mongols buried their dead;[26] the old [171]
Hsiung-nu buried their dead also, as did the Hsien-pi.[27] The Ch'itan did not bury the corpses, but placed them in trees for three years, and then removed the bones and buried them.[28] This custom is widely distributed in northern Eurasia from the Tungus to the Lapps.

Monguors follow the Chinese custom in disposing of children who have died during the first month of age. They burn them and bury them in the k'ang, for it is said to be harmful to bring such corpses out of the room. Children of less than ten years of age are enveloped in straw and thrown in a lonely spot and disposed of by dogs and rapacious animals. Children who die under fifteen years of age are usually cremated without any ceremony, and their bones are not cared for. Young people under twenty years of age, dying in the morning, are cremated at evening; those who die at night are cermated in the early morning. Unmarried youngsters are cremated without any ceremony, and prayers are not said for them; their bones are collected after the cremation and buried in the abode of the wicked people. In the Ordos these dead are supposed to become vampires and to cause many deaths.[29]

In the case of married people dying without children, [766]
the maternal uncle is invited, a lama says some prayers, the harmful souls are driven out of the home, and cremation is without ceremony. Their bones are buried in the same terrible abode. However, in case both are aged, prayers are said for several days. After cremation the bones are collected and buried in the family cemetery, at the request of the maternal uncle. According to the Monguors, the aged dead are no longer abandoned in valleys, on account of the density of the population, and the custom of cutting the dead into pieces to feed the vultures has never been practised.

DEATH

When a Monguor is dying, the women of the family, 763
from the roof of the house, call on his spirit not to abandon them, crying that they are preparing for it a delicious dish, apologizing for their shortcomings, and with tears and sighs giving assurance of their love, in a most pathetic way. If a child is dying, women on the roof cry and call his name, wave his best clothes and pretend that cookies and candies are waiting for him. This is an age-old custom practiced in China from the

[26] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* 2: 120–126. Parker, *A thousand years of the Tartars*, 86.
[27] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 15–86, 104.
[28] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 204. [p. 143(A)]
[29] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

wear the mourning dress for members of a lower generation, nor the husband for his wife, and *vice versa*. 765

The great mourning begins at the moment of death and ends after the burying of the small coffin. During these days, it is not permitted to wash face and hands, comb the hair, shave, or leave the courtyard.

It is noteworthy that the Koryaks in Siberia put the clothes on the deceased inside out,[44] and so do the Tibetans.[45] The T'u-yü-hun had a funeral procession when burying the dead, but mourning clothes were removed when the ceremony was over.[46]

After the great mourning, the small mourning starts. Men remove the red fringes from the ceremonial hat. They change the more elaborate girdle for a simple black one, and the embroidered tobacco pouch for an unadorned black one. Women do not wear new clothes; they put aside red and green vestments, using black or dark blue garments instead. However, the piece of blue cloth which covers their headdress is changed to a white one; the red fringes on the headdress are removed and strips of black cloth take their place. Ear and finger rings and all jewelry are prohibited. They are forbidden to attend any festivities, to enter temples or monasteries.

Monguors, mourning their grandparents, wear the mourning dress for a year—in some places, however, only for one-hundred days. Brothers mourn their elder brother only forty-nine days. At that time a lama is invited to say some prayers for one or three days. The entire family goes to the tumulus to burn paper and incense sticks, to offer rolls and a leg of mutton, and to make libations, and prostrate themselves. The women lament, and the small mourning period is over.[47]

It is said that in former times all the Monguors had to follow the mourning rite for one-hundred days upon the death of their T'u-ssu or his lady. At present only [622] the officials of the T'u-ssu observe this rite.[48]

OMINOUS DEATHS AND THE ABODES OF EVIL SPIRITS

WOMEN WHO DIE IN CHILDBIRTH

A woman who dies in childbirth is said to be drowned in a lake of blood. It is a very bad omen for the family. Even a person dying in the courtyard during childbirth is seriously feared after death, and the souls have to be driven away more elaborately. A lama of the Red Sect is invited, and quite often a shaman, because they are more proficient in magic. The 766

[44] Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, *op. cit.*, 3: 421.

[45] David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens au Tibet*, *op. cit.*, 130.

[46] Parker, *op. cit.*, 109.

[47] Serruys, Pei-lou-fong-sou, *Monumenta Serica*, 10: 295, 1945. Among the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600, the mourning period lasted only for seven days. It consisted for the women in not wearing the headdress called Ku-Ku; for the men in removing the button from the hat.

[48] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130–131, notes the elaborate mourning rites and prescriptions at present still used by the Mongols of the Ordos.

[p 146(B)]

lama says special prayers, drives away the ominous souls, makes *tormas* and a straw manikin, which is pierced with daggers, set on fire, and pulled burning out of the courtyard. The cremation is performed without ceremonies, the woman is carried away in the sedan-chair through a hole pierced in the wall of the courtyard, and the bones are buried in the abode of the evil spirits. The maternal uncle attends the rite; there is no dinner and no Om Mani prayers are said at night. The Mongols of the Ordos do not permit the deceased to be carried through the gate of the courtyard.[49] Neither do the nomads of Siberia.[50]

However, the Monguors prefer to invite at such times a Taoist priest, because his rite seems more efficient. He plants a post in the courtyard on top of which is the flag of the souls, *Hun-fan*. A rope leading from the top of the post is attached to the sedan chair in which the deceased woman has been placed in a squatting position. A rooster's head is cut off, and its blood gathered in a pot. The praying Taoist throws into the blood 360 coins, one after another, which the kneeling husband collects, one after another, each time calling the name of his wife. When the rite is finished the souls are supposed to be saved from the blood lake. Then follows the driving away of the souls, the carrying through the wall, the cremation performed by themselves and the burying of the bones in the abode of the wicked people.

SUICIDES

In Part I: 91 sqq., of this study the difficulties of obtaining permission for the incineration of a person who committed suicide have been described. After the permission has been obtained the shaman drives away the souls and the deceased is carried in the sedan-chair to the crematory. The collected bones are never buried in the family cemetery, but in the abode for ominous people, because it is said that these souls would harm the dead of the family buried next to them, and incite them to help wreak their vengeance.

In such ominous places are buried the bones of unmarried youngsters and adults who hated their family, thieves, murderers, persons who died from plague, people blind in both eyes, lame in both legs, deaf mutes. Every village has one or two places reputed to be the abode of evil spirits. They are situated outside the village and after sunset nobody dares to pass through such places. The souls of young women who suffered maltreatment from mothers or sisters-in-law gather in these places to wait for an opportunity to pay off an old grudge; souls of people who suffered injustices wait there to wreak vengeance.

Usually the shaman—very very seldom a Red lama—is invited to drive away and chastise these evil doers.

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[49] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, *op. cit.*, 129.

[50] Nioradze, *Der Schamanismus bei den Siberischen Völkern*, 25.

[p. 147 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Several times a year youngsters go with the shaman 766
to this place at night, and offer a goat to these dangerous souls, propitiating them in order that they may be peaceful. Often on a dark night youngsters with burning torches and whips go to these places. They throw down the head of a goat, and after making noises, throw away their torches and, in deep silence, run home swiftly along another way, in order to avoid being pursued by the souls, and to cheat them. This happens when a member of the family or an animal is taken ill and the possibility exists that the ailment is caused by such souls.

Black shamans, when board or lodging is refused [754]
them, blow their horn made from a human thigh bone in the direction of these places, calling up all these souls and spirits and ordering them to harm the village. The Monguors are scared to death of such vengeance, especially the vengeance of a young woman who has committed suicide. It is said that the souls of such women are not at peace until they have induced another woman to commit suicide. It is also said that souls of teenagers, for whom prayers have not been said, incite women to commit suicide.

If a suicide occurs, the chief of the village, on behalf of the whole village, invites the shaman, or often three of them, to prevent these additional calamities. For seven days the shamans go at night to the sinister cemetery and dwell there until the morning, beating drums and dancing. They call up these evil souls, talk with them the whole night, flatter, cajole, and comfort them, trying to pursuade them to change their avenging minds, and to exchange their ill dispositions for good ones. They snap their whips, and manipulate their knives to frighten them, and finally give them a goat every night, that they may have a good meal and a good time. When the meal is supposed to be finished, the shamans send the spirits back and return to the village.

This custom reveals a thoroughly shamanistic frame of mind, which fears the souls of the dead and imputes to the dead most of the mischiefs and misfortunes which overcome the family; only the shaman can master these foes of the Monguor society.

BURYING OF THE DEAD

More and more, the Monguors are adopting the cus- 764
tom of burying their deceased instead of cremating them. When the maternal uncle arrives, the deceased [604]
has already been put into a Chinese coffin. Before dying, the sick are washed, shaved, and dressed. Men wear an odd number of garments: three pairs of trousers, socks, three gowns, coats, even furs; women wear two sets, and always the traditional skirt of the Monguors which they never wore, but despised during their whole life, for it is said to be impossible to meet the ancestors without the traditional skirt. Some tea and butter are still put in the mouth (a souvenir of their nomadic origin) along with a "pill of longevity," silver,

4: Schram M45 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

and jade. A pillow is placed under the head, which is 764
covered with a sheet of white paper and a piece of black cloth. The black cloth is a souvenir of former times, because the Chinese use a piece of red cloth.

A Taoist priest fixes the day for the burial. The master of ceremonies invites the maternal uncle (with [604]
the same discussion as at the incineration ceremonies). Finally, permission is granted for the burial, and the sons and grandsons of the deceased kneel before the maternal uncle, presenting the hammer and the wedges to fasten the cover of the coffin. The maternal uncle fastens one wedge, and allows the others to finish the job. Some among them still practice the Om Mani rite at night. The offering of the members of the family are still the Monguor offerings, as well as the lamentations. The next day the men follow the coffin on foot to the cemetery, and the women, crying and lamenting, sit on carts. On the third day there follows the ceremony of building the tumulus according to the Monguor custom.

It is not unusual that, at the request of the maternal uncle, some lamas are invited to say prayers at the same time with the Taoist priests. In that case, the lamas say their prayers in a private room next to that of the Taoist priests, since neither cares for the other.

CONFUCIANIST BURIAL OF MONGUORS

Some, among the rich and more educated Monguors, 795
follow the Confucianist rite of putting the coffin in the 766
courtyard with a red curtain hanging before it. The members of the family kneel before the coffin and a Chinese literatus, wearing a large red satin scarf on his shoulders, makes the sons kneel in the first row. While the musicians play a soft funeral tune, he reads the panegyric for the deceased whom he proposes as a model for the sons. He then places the panegyric before the coffin; next he goes to the row of daughters and then the row of grandchildren, and each time a new piece is read and deposited before the coffin.

The whole group then follows him in a silent procession to the kitchen, where each takes a cup of noodles and deposits it before the coffin, bowing and prostrating. He leads the whole group in procession behind the curtain. The literatus invites the deceased to take his meal. The whole group coughs one delicate cough, and disappears, tiptoeing into the room, in order not to disturb the deceased while dining. The literatus burns the panegyrics and retires.

The literatus, with some Taoist priests, goes to the nearest temple. Men follow him on foot while women sit on the carts and lament. He enters the temple with the priests only, reads a new panegyric, and makes the announcement of the death to the spirit and bows; then the group returns. It is amazing to see how these rude Monguors can behave with courtesy, like people "to the manner born," and how much they like the rite. Burial follows the next day.

[p. 148 (A)]

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INCINERATION OF LAMAS

Lamas of the Yellow Sect are cremated after death. Often lamas of the Red Sect invite those of the Yellow Sect to perform the rite for them, but seldom do lamas of the Yellow Sect invite those of the Red Sect for the same purpose. Lamas are lowered into the crematory oven, while laymen are put into the oven through one of its side openings. Their bones are collected on the third day and spread on the mountain. The bones of the minor Living Buddhas are collected after incineration and put in a *chorten* built for this purpose. The corpses of the Hutukhtus usually are not cremated but are placed in salt, in a squatting, crosslegged position. The dried mummy decked out in its best clothes and a mitre with the five Dhyana Buddha images is enclosed in a chorten. But if they are incinerated, their bones and ashes are pounded and enclosed in a small silver chorten exposed in the temple.

At the death of the Lu chia Living Buddha, the Fa t'ai of the monastery of [illegible]en T'ang was invited to perform the cremation rites. For forty-nine days prayers were said at the lamasery. The tribes subject to the lamasery offered alms, and a delegation of each tribe attended the dinner. The intendancy sent alms to nine of the most important monasteries in order to have them say prayers and to entertain their communities. For forty-nine days the lamas of the lamasery of the deceased living Buddha were not allowed to ride a horse or to leave the monastery.

FUNERAL OF THE SHAMANS

Shamans are always buried in their own fields, in Chinese coffins. The shaman is dressed in his best ceremonial costume, gown, long flowery coat, and the crown of the Wu-tao-shen on his head. His drum, sword, dagger, whip, and staff are put into the coffin and buried with him. Chinese inscriptions with cabalistic signs are pasted on the coffin.

The shamans come from all over the country to perform their rites, along with all the apprentices who studied their art with the deceased. On the first day his courtyard is cleaned, paper flags are hung, and Chinese inscriptions with cabalistic designs are pasted on the doors. At night, in a group, they recite Chinese texts for a long time, using a written book of their own; they beat drums and dance around the coffin, which has been placed in the courtyard. On the second day five tables are superimposed one above the other the chief shaman, in full attire, climbs on the uppermost table and dances on it, in time with the beating of the drums. He swings two paper flags held in his hands, while the other shamans perform the most wild evolutions around the coffin. At night hundreds of lamps are lit in the courtyard and the shamans beat drums, dance, and recite texts.

In the early morning of the third day the coffin is

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

carried to the burying spot by the shamans, running at a fast pace. Paper is burned with the flags and inscriptions, while the shamans prostrate themselves holding incense sticks in their joined hands. After the pit has been filled, each shaman carries three buckets of water and pours them on it. Then they build the small tumulus and return home, running without looking back at the tomb. They have a breakfast of noodles, without meat. All together they make a terrifying noise and drive the evil spirits out of the home. Except for the members of their own families and relatives, no other people attend the burial, because they are afraid of the magicians.

XIV. CULT OF HEAVEN

THE MEANING OF THE FORMULA "HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS"

Several times in the present study there has been noted the stereotype formula, "Heaven and all the spirits," used during the performance of religious rites. Monguors in their own language are accustomed to saying *"Tiengere uluon purgan"* meaning "Heaven and all the spirits," and even *"Sge Tiengere uluon purgan,"* that is "Great Heaven and all the spirits."

Because "Heaven" is always invoked in conjunction with "all the spirits," it seems obvious that Heaven is considered by them to be a being, belonging in the category of the living spirits, and that it is not supposed to be the material sky.[1]

At present, the Monguors call all the spirits Tengri or purgan.[2] The shamans serve their Twelve Tengris and many families honor the Twelve Tengri as the family protectors. The Obo spirit, the earth goddess, Lung wang the dragon king, Wú tao, the goddess of children, are all called Purgan and Tengri. However, when speaking about a definite spirit, they call it by its proper name. The Obo spirit is called Yifula, the goddess of the earth, Etogen, the god of the rain, Lung

[1] Professor N. Poppe, in reviewing W. Schmidt's *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Bd.* X in *Anthropos*, **48**: 328, 1953, notes: "Should tengri be understood as Heaven or God. . . . I think this question can be answered in favour of the word God." He adds: "No matter what the exact meaning was in the usage of the pagan Mongols of the 13th and 14th centuries," its equivalent in the official translation into the languages spoken by Christian peoples was "Deus" or "God." Schmidt, in reviewing N. Pallisen's *Die alte Religion des Mongolischen Volkes wahrend der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden* in *Anthropos* **48**: 623, 1953, notes: "Pallisen stellt fest, dass zunächst Gotthimmel als Eigenname bedeutete, dann aber zum Gattungnamen Gott wurde. . . . Zuverlässige Nachrichten über Himmel als Schöpfer in der Religion der Mongolen des 12 und 13 jhdt. liegen night vor." (The word *Purgan*, it should be noted, is the Monguor form of the word more familiar in its standard Mongol form, *Burkhan*.)

[2] Concerning the word Purgan, see Francis Woodman Cleaves, The Bodistw-a Cari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur of 1312 by Cosgi Odsir, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 17: 91, note 29; and 100, note 118, 1954.

[p. 149(A)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 769 614 ginning of April according to the lunar calendar, in a festival similar to the Chinese Ch'ing-ming. On this occasion the clan assembles to venerate its ancestors, enjoy a great feast and reunion, and discuss matters of concern to the clan.

On the day of the assembly, the T'u-ssu, the chiefs and elders of the villages and all the family heads go to the graveyard immediately after breakfast, followed by all the other members of the clan. At the graveyard, offerings are made and rites are performed. Then food for the offerings is divided among the families, the oldest generations receiving their portions first.

M [182] [767] This annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of the Mongour clan. One of the family heads, usually of the nobility, is appointed to care for the graveyard during the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions and offerings, and the making of repairs. An assistant is assigned to help him with details.

b. Respect for elders and family heads

N *563 M 554 888 The Mongours once lived without chiefs, but never without village elders. Traditionally, the whole power of the clan was vested in the elders, who had the authority to appoint and dismiss chiefs. The village elders still take the most important part in local administration. Elders need not be rich or from noble stock, but they are men of good reputation from the more outstanding families.

N *563 M 554 592 Heads of families are also honored. At public meetings, all are allowed to express their views and defend their rights, but final decisions are made only after the heads of families have spoken.

c. Adultery

N *563 M 684 Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If caught, the guilty pair is flogged, the woman on her bare back, the man on bare buttocks and thighs, up to a hundred stripes. The man must confront the husband and make apologies, and present him with a sheep or a pig. A trial is held and fingerprints are taken. Then the pair is led through the village with drums beating while they make public confession of their sin, and they must secure an official statement of pardon.

d. Moral and legal concepts

N *563 M 183 M [593] [587] [421] Both moral and legal concepts of the Mongours seem to be based upon customs, tradition and what the community accepts as just. Some typical social values and concepts are: Wrongs must be righted and injustices corrected. Parents have authority over their children, and husbands over their wives. A widow has the right to remarry or to dispose of herself. Private property must be protected. No one has the right to disturb the peace of the community.

pounds of butter boil in another caldron. The Living 764
Buddha, in full attire with the mitre of the five Dyhana [792]
Buddhas on his head, squats on a felt in front of a table, with dishes containing spelt, rice, spices, and holy water. He recites the prayers, with a curtain between him and the oven, lest the sight of the burning corpse might desecrate his eyes. He orders a lama to throw the blessed spelt and spices on the burning corpse and puts some butter into a small ladle held by the lama, who pours it on the corpse.

When the rite is finished the group prostrates itself 764
and cries to the smoking corpse for the last time, "Do 768
not harm the family," and returns. All of them jump over a fire built before the courtyard, wash their hands, and rub them over a long knife used to cut straw. Noodles without meat are prepared for all of them, and they say five-hundred Om Manis. The lama receives his alms (always in an odd number) and returns to the monastery. The horse of the deceased father or the valuable headdress of the deceased mother will be brought to the monastery with a couple of pieces of best clothes to be sold by the lamas, and to have prayers said according to the value of the sale of the items.[38] The clothes carried by the horse are to be put on the saddle with the collar and arms on the left side; a horse is mounted on the right side.

In the meantime, the sons and sons-in-law have 764
tended the oven and closed the four openings. After 765
three days the members of the family and relatives open the oven, pick out the bones with chopsticks and put them into the small coffin prepared for this. The remaining fragments of bones and ashes are gathered up in the skirts of the gown and scattered on the mountain. It is said that sheep are very fond of such bones. The cremation must not be performed in cultivated areas, it has to be done in deep valleys or lonely spots. Every [784]
year after the shamanist springtime feast, this prohibition is expressly announced. The sons and sons-in-law bury the small coffin in their fields or near the oven, and make a small tumulus. While the sons are kneeling before the tumulus, the sons-in-law and married and unmarried daughters bring some earth a couple of times in the skirts of their gowns, and spread it on top of the tumulus. Paper is burned, a lamp made of dough is lit, libations and prostrations are made and lamentations are uttered. The coffin will be dug up again the following April, on the feast of the worship of the ancestors buried in the family cemetery, and the name of the deceased will be noted on the genealogical register (see Part I: 71). After the tumulus rite is performed

[38] A similar custom is encountered among the Mongols: Serruys, *op. cit.*, 137. The barbarians (i.e., the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600) invited lamas to recite prayers for the dead for seven days. They gave to the lamas in remuneration the best horse, which the deceased loved most; his best clothes and his coat of armor, and all the oxen and horses which the family received from friends and relatives as mourning gifts. See also Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126, and Kervyn, *op. cit.*, 112.

[p. 145 (B)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 565 554 [466] into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punishment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.

The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 M 614 217 565 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealogies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

N *563 M 174 565 M [554] When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 M 621 622 565 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 M 596 [421] [561] [595] Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patrilocal family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four generation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

M [428] M [182] [768] [428]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 yao, whose office was that of "warden of the marches." Monasteries in Hsining were pillaged and burned, nobles and ecclesiastical dignitaries were degraded in rank, and the administration of the Kukunor-Hsining region brought under tighter control. Throughout the region, administrative units and the local distribution of Mongols and Tibetans, lasting until the end of the Manchu dynasty, date from the measures taken at this time.[39]

The Monguors, however, retained their political status, for it is said in the *Huang Ch'ing Fanpu Yao Lüeh* (ch. 11, p. 7*a*), that "their troops under the command of the T'itu Yueh Chung-ch'i, the right hand of general Nien Keng-yao, fought in the repression of the lamaseries and of the Tibetans and Mongols." It was as reward for his outstanding services that the Lu T'u-ssu received a group of thirteen Tibetan villages as his subjects.

A memorable date in the history of Hsining is 1723; from that time on it was effectively organized on the pattern of a Chinese prefecture, peace was restored, and both agriculture and trade began to flourish.

This year was also a turning point in the history of the Monguor clans; the Monguors became definitely stabilized in their agricultural economy and expanded all over the country, many of them leaving their chiefs; new means of living were available, and consequently many changes occurred in their social organization.

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE MONGUOR CLAN

COMPOSITION OF THE CLAN

769 In 1913 the festival of Ch'ing Ming, one of the most important all over China for the veneration of ancestors, fell on April 5. On that day I attended the famous yearly diet of the Ch'i clan, held in T'angpa at the graveyard of the founding ancestor of the clan. This diet was celebrated throughout the region for its display of pomp and grandeur; but that year all who attended were afraid that this might be the last such diet to be held. The atmosphere was heavy with depression and dejection, for rumors were current that the institution of T'u-ssu might be abolished by the Chinese Republic which two years before had replaced the Manchu Empire. The other clans had cancelled their celebrations, and in fact this proved to be the last such assembly ever held with the old magnificence and splendor.

The diet was a real revelation for me, a veritable seminar in ethnology. It was divided into three phases: the

[39] Petech, *op. cit.*, 82–88. It is characteristic of China, with its vast extent and poor communications, that regions and regional history are strongly marked. Often a region, especially a frontier region, is more strongly affected by some great local event than by much greater, but more distant events that merely threw a shadow in passing. Thus the Lobsang Dantsin revolt, though of minor importance in the histories of either China or Tibet, was of major importance in its effects and lasting consequences in the region of Hsining and in the destiny of the Monguors.—O. L.

[p. 376]

769 veneration of the ancestors at the graveyard, the festival, and the meeting of the clan. I shall note here only the facts related to the structure of the clan as manifested in the solemn worship. I shall deal later with the other phases.

In the avenue leading straight from the entrance of the graveyard to the imposing mound of the ancestor the worshippers, holding incense sticks in their hands, stood erect. They were divided into two distinct groups, standing apart but both facing the mound. The offering disposed on a table before the mound included a hog, a pork pie, rolls of steamed bread, dried grapes, sugar, and pears.

As chief of the clan the T'u-ssu stood in front of both groups and performed the libations, the burning of paper, and the offering of the sacrifices.

The first of the two groups mentioned above was disposed in six rows, each of which performed in succession the veneration of the ancestor by prostration. Then the members of the first row, in a group, turned and honored, by bowing, the members of the five other rows. Those of the second row, after having honored the members of the first row by prostrating themselves, turned and honored the members of the next four rows with a simple bow, and so on. The pork pie and the rolls, sacrifices for the ancestor, were then divided among the members of the six rows, who by eating some of the food partook at the graveyard in a sacrificial meal in communion with the ancestor. Later a piece of pork from the hog was offered to each of the families of members of the six rows.

After this sacrificial meal, the large second group approached the mound, and prostrated themselves in a group (not in separate rows), holding incense sticks in their joined hands, to venerate the ancestor. Then, prostrating themselves again in a group, they honored the members of the first group. They did not partake of the sacrificial meal. This concluded the rites at the graveyard.

The members of the first group only then went to the courtyard of Ch'i Sen-k'o (Ch'i the lion),[1] a wealthy Monguor, in order to honor the clan register of genealogy according to regular ritual and to bring it up to date by entering the names of members deceased since the last diet.

769 These rites reveal the internal structure and social organization of the Monguor clan.

618 The T'u-ssu, as recognized chief of the clan, officiated at the sacrifice, acting in front of the whole clan and in its name.

All members of the clan, as bearers of the same surname, claim descent from a common ancestor, and therefore they assemble at the grave mound of this common ancestor to venerate him collectively.

The general assembly is, however, divided into two

[1] From Monguor *senggi*, Mongo' *senge*, Tibetan *senge*, "lion."

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groups, and the differences between these groups demand analysis.

1. The members of the first group are disposed in six rows which venerate the ancestor in succession and in the same way, but each row honors the others in different ways. The first row honors the five others with a simple bow. The second row honors the first row by prostration, but the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth rows by bowing only. The third row honors the first and second rows by prostration, but the fourth, fifth, and sixth rows only by bowing, and so on down.

2. All the members of the large second group venerate the ancestor by prostration, not in rows of precedence but as a uniform group. They honor the members of the six rows of the first group by the same rite of prostration, and this they also do collectively and simultaneously.

3. The members of the first group, the six rows, partake of the sacrificial meal offered to the ancestor; the members of the second group are excluded from this rite.

4. The members of the first group honor the genealogical register in the presence of the T'u-ssu, and the names of their deceased are carefully inscribed in this register according to a special ritual. The members of the second group are not allowed to honor the register and the names of their deceased are debarred from the precious book.

I was delayed in arriving at a logical analysis of these differences by the existence of a mistaken "folk" concept of the structure of the Monguor clan. According to this popular and universally accepted tradition, all members of the clan bear the same surname, which is the same as that of their chief, and therefore all are assumed to be the descendants of a common ancestor. Moreover, the pattern of actual behavior follows this tradition. In conformity with the principle of patrilineal exogamy, the boys of the clan are not allowed to marry girls of their own clan. In addition, all members of the clan venerate the same founding ancestor, as described above.

Nevertheless the existence of two groups, ritually differentiated from each other, leads inevitably to the conclusion that in each clan the members of the first are true descendants of a common ancestor, while those of the second group are commoners, descendants of other ancestors, who have been assimilated to clan status, though incompletely and at a subordinate level.

The six rows of "true" clan members represent six different generations of descent from the founding ancestor, through his sons.[2] Therefore the members of the senior generation worship the ancestor first, followed by the cadet generations in descending order. Similarly each cadet generation, from second to fifth,

[2] This does *not* mean that a man in the youngest generation had his own father, grandfather, etc., up to the fifth ascending generation still living. It means simply that owing to wide age spreads within any generation, it was ultimately possible to have assembled a group of kinsmen in which six different generations were represented.

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accords to its seniors a prostration, but to its juniors only a simple bow.

Collectively, the six lines of true genealogical descent form an elite. The "assimilated" commoners are admitted to the general rites and bear the clan name, but are excluded from the inner rites according to the principle that there cannot be actual participation in the veneration of other people's ancestors. Hence also their exclusion from the genealogical register.

The secondary status of the commoners is shown not only by their exclusion from the register and the sacrificial meal in communion with the ancestor, but by their collective prostration before the elite group. The ranking by seniority of generations, so important for the elite group, does not concern them, since those in the elite group are not in fact their kinsmen but simply represent, in a collective, undifferentiated way, the "lords" or descendants of the noble ancestor to whom their own ancestors became subject long ago.

The strongest confirmation, however, of the fact that the commoners are assimilated members of the clan and not true descendants of the clan ancestor is to be found in the fact that their dead are not entered in the genealogical record of the clan and they are not admitted to the rite of honoring the genealogical record. This exclusion would not be possible if they had any real claim to descent from the clan ancestor because in the larger Oriental cultural complex of which they are a marginal society to be debarred from the family register is the most shameful dishonor. Other facts also support the conclusion that commoners do in reality have their own line or lines of descent. They have their own cemeteries. In these cemeteries they carry out their own ceremonies of ancestral veneration, including the sacrificial meal of "communion." There is no indication that these ancestors of the commoners are regarded as offshoots from the line of the noble elite of the clan. Some of the wealthier commoners even have their own genealogical registers; but among all the seventeen Monguor groups, I never heard of a common ancestor of the entire commoner group. This absence of a claim to a common ancestor of the subject group suggests that the subject groups derive originally not from a single subject clan but from a number of subject clans, each with its own ancestor.

Analyses of the kind made above are never made by the Monguors themselves. When asked why all members of the clan, including the subject commoners, bear the same surname as the chief, the stock reply is simply that this has always been customary among them, and really it was so of old.[8]

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[8] B. Y. Vladimirtsov, in his *Régime social des Mongols*, translated by M. Carsow, 88, Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve. 1948 (the original Russian edition was published in Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, 1934), writes that *unagan bogol* (hereditary vassals), and even "simple" *bogol* (slaves) were allowed to keep the memory of their "bones" and their clans, but "migrated in camps bear-

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

624 574 cloth. On the third day he is invited by the members of the next House.

NOBLES EXEMPTED FROM TAXES, CORVÉES, MILITARY SERVICE

565 651 There are important differences between commoners and nobles in respect to taxes, military duty, and obligatory services. The way in which the nobles as kinsmen by blood of the T'u-ssu are divided into Houses according to seniority of descent from the founding ancestor, and are allocated for their personal revenue the tax income from certain villages, has already been described. The logical counterpart of the fact that the taxes of commoners can be allocated to nobles is the immunity of the nobles themselves from all taxes, obligatory services, and special contributions to the investiture of a T'u-ssu or the expenses of marriages and funerals in his mansion. The T'u-ssu and his noble kinsmen, as members of the same "bone," are thus clearly set apart as the collective "owners" of the commoners who form the larger, "assimilated" clan. Following the same general principle, when commoners bring new fields under cultivation they must pay to the T'u-ssu both a capital price for the acquisition of the land and a tax for the registration of the land as their private property, while nobles may bring new land under cultivation without any payment of any kind, thus demonstrating that they, collectively with the T'u-ssu, are the owners of the territory.

565 651 769 Nobles are, however, by the same logic, subject to contributions for the upkeep of the ancestral temple in the mansion of the T'u-ssu. All nobles of the clan, and even their wives and children, are assessed a levy of 50 copper coins every year for the expenses of the lama chaplain and the cost of oil, paper, and incense. The Monguors say that in former times the nobles were also responsible for the upkeep of the old common cemetery, and that they only later built private cemeteries, but that at present they pass on to the commoners the cost of the upkeep of these cemeteries.

565 651 The custom in regard to corvées is parallel to that regulating the payment of taxes. Though nobles may inherit the right to collect taxes from certain villages, they do not have the right to demand obligatory services; but conversely they themselves are not subject to such services. Because of this, nobles must either till their own fields and watch their own cattle, or hire people to do this work for them. If the village in which they live decides to dig an irrigation canal as a communal project, they do not have to contribute labor but must pay their share of the expenses. The only extraordinary expenses and services that can be demanded of the nobles come under the head of honorable obligations, such as taking part in the entertainment of guests during festivities, contributions to dinners, participation in the veneration of the ancestors and in clan meetings, and serving as representatives of the T'u-ssu at dinners given

565 574

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1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 was acting as regent of the most powerful of all the Monguor clans, the Lu clan, went so far as to send valuable presents to the Muslim general, Ma K'o-ch'eng, in Hsining, who was the all-powerful warlord of the region, imploring him to become the "dry father"—that is to say, the adoptive father and protector—of her adopted son of eleven years of age. The general accepted and the boy and his mother traveled the long distance from Liench'eng to Hsining in order to perform the filial rites symbolizing the "dry fatherhood."

618 It was in these circumstances that I had the great good fortune to attend probably the last gathering of a •769 clan that was held with the pomp and splendor of former days. This was the clan of the Ch'i T'u-ssu which carried out the ceremony of venerating the founding ancestor at the old cemetery, called Ch'i-chia fenyuan, or "cemetery of the Ch'i family," at T'angpa. According to the old custom, such an assembly should be held every year at the grave of the founding ancestor, on the Chinese festival of Ch'ing Ming, when ancestors are honored all

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over China. The festival, calculated according to the lunar calendar, usually falls about the beginning of April. The assembly of the clan is concerned with three matters: the veneration of ancestors, a great feast, and an assize at which all topics concerning the clan are open for discussion.

MONGUOR CEMETERIES

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It is plain from the descriptions that have already been given that the burial customs of the Monguors in recent times have been heavily overlaid with Chinese borrowings. There are, however, indications of more ancient customs. People told that in 1906, after very heavy rains, a wall near the village of Hsinyuanp'u on the spur of a mountain in the valley of Shat'ang collapsed and a big vaulted burial chamber was revealed. It had been built with very large bricks. It contained a coffin, which had rotted away, in which there was the skeleton of a man. His clothes had rotted, but the remains of a bow, arrows, and quiver were found. Before the coffin there lay the skeleton of a horse. The saddle had also rotted,

[p. 69-b]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

764 In the more recent graveyards the date of the setting up of the stone and the name of the deceased can still be read, but on the older monuments nothing is legible, not only because the soft stone of the region weathers badly but because the Monguors have scratched and defaced the stones.[57] On both sides of the approach avenue there are smaller mounds, in rows, each with a stone table for offerings. Husband and wife are buried under the same mound, and as the rows of graves correspond to descent by generations, the number of generations buried in the cemetery can easily be determined.

WORSHIPPING OF THE ANCESTORS

769 On the occasion that I attended, the T'u-ssu went after breakfast to the cemetery, preceded by more than fifty soldiers and followed by the heads of the noble and non-noble families, the chiefs and elders of the villages, and the officials of his administration. In 1913 all of these personages were still wearing the old official Chinese costume customary under the Manchu Empire: a silk gown, a long silk outergown, satin boots, and a hat with a red fringe and a button on top corresponding to the grade of official rank. Hundreds of Monguor women flocked to the cemetery in their brightest attire, and men and children of the clan followed the ceremonial parade. A table bearing a large hog and a pork pie which had been prepared from the head of the hog stood next to the offering table. Alongside the offering table were also laid out twelve rolls of steamed bread, wine, tea, paper and incense sticks. On the offering table there stood a loaf of bread shaped like a dish, into the hollow of which were poured oil, flour, and roasted wheat.

The master of ceremonies, in a loud voice, ordered the nobles to line up in rows according to their generation. The non-nobles formed in rows also, standing behind the nobles and separated from them by a perceptible distance.

The next order was to adjust hats and clothes and to

[57] The Monguors have a custom of scratching and defacing the steles in front of the grave mounds of the founding ancestors of clans and also of other celebrated ancestors, because they believe these chips have medicinal properties. Grinding the fragments to dust, they mix them with the medicines prescribed by physicians. In my own time a large part of the stele of the founding ancestor of the Ch'i clan had already disappeared and the inscription was illegible. I noticed even more defacement of the stele of the ancestor of the Li clan in Hanp'ingshan. This old cemetery is more elaborate than other Monguor cemeteries: on both sides of the large avenue leading to the central mound are animals carved in stone. This practice is allowed only for high officials. All these animals had been defaced in the same way by the Monguors.

D. C. Graham, Notes on the primitive religion of the Chinese in Szech'uan, *Jour. West China Border Research Society* 1 (1): 53, Chengtu, Canadian Mission Press, 1922–1923, writes that "in the Po-chih Miao near Sui-fu, Szech'uan . . . is a stone still worshipped, and for a few cash one can purchase a tiny bit of the rock which will cause him to recover from illness if he will grind it to sand, soak in water, and then drink the water."

769 stand erect with arms stretched at the side. This was followed by an order to "worship the spirit of the earth." On this order the T'u-ssu, alone, went straight to the offering table before the central mound, prostrated himself, knelt and bowed nine times before the stele, and poured wine on the ground as a libation to the spirit of the earth. At the next order, "worship the ancestors!" the T'u-ssu, still alone, knelt and prostrated himself nine times before the stele, pouring the ritual libation of wine on the stone table, and performed the same rite at each end of the stone tables in front of the smaller mounds. A libation of tea was then poured in the same way, paper was burned, and incense sticks fixed on every small mound and on the central table in front of the great mound.

Again hats and clothes were adjusted, and at the order of the master of ceremonies the members of the oldest living generation lined up before the stele, and taking their time from his commands bowed, prostrated themselves, and knelt nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and so on. The rites performed by each group of the nobles and by the commoners have already been related above (pp. 60 sq.) as has also the sacrificial communion with the founding ancestor. At each distribution of pie and bread, the oldest generation received its portion first. Later the carcass of the pig was divided in the same way, and portions of the pie and the pork were reserved to be sent to noble members of the clan who had been unable to attend the assembly.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER

173 The ceremony of veneration is followed by bringing
769 up to date the genealogical register of the descendants of the founding ancestor, in the presence of the T'u-ssu and the whole noble group. In noble families, when a father, mother, or some other member of a family dies, the Monguors write the name of the deceased, the names of his parents, and the hour and day of his birth and death on a slip of red paper. This slip is impaled on a chopstick, which is planted in a bowl containing wheat, placed reverently before the picture of the Lama Buddhist or Taoist deity particularly honored in that family. The slip of paper is later removed, brought to the annual assembly, and presented to the T'u-ssu by the kneeling son of the deceased, who holds incense sticks in his joined hands. The name of the deceased is then entered in the register. After the book has been wrapped again in its yellow silk, the son first arises from his kneeling position and then prostrates himself three times. Unmarried persons are not noted in the book. In cases of adoption, the fact of adoption is recorded.

764 After these ceremonies the care of the cemetery is entrusted to one of the nobles for the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions, offerings, and the making of repairs. After a short deliberation to determine the selection, a bowl of bread is put in a

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

764 bushel basket and presented to the person who has been chosen; this act constitutes the act of appointment. The man thus chosen is assigned an assistant to take care of details. This duty is performed in rotation by heads of families..

769 792 Neither shamans nor lamas take part in this annual veneration of the ancestors. The absence of lamas is particularly striking, because during the year the routine duties of the temple of the guardian deity of the clan are entrusted to one or two lamas, as already described, while three times a year seven lamas take part in special ceremonies of veneration at this temple. The Ch'i T'u-ssu has the right to impose on the monastery of Erhkulung the corvée obligation to provide these lamas, because this monastery was originally built in the territory of the Ch'i clan by express permission, and because it has been given many grants of property by the successive T'u-ssu of the clan.

769 527 More than any other single ceremony, this annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of a Monguor clan. There is a visible effect on the clansmen, who normally live secluded in their remote valleys, when at the assembly they see the pomp and splendor of the parade to the graveyard, the soldiers with banners, the T'u-ssu in his official silk robe, adorned with embroidered patches on the breast with glittering dragons—a present from the Emperor when one of his ancestors visited Peking—and all the outstanding members of both the noble and commoner groups in their robes of ceremony. Even the discrimination between nobles and commoners fosters the sense of hierarchy. There is no doubt that the commoners, like the nobles, feel pride in recalling their old glories and are elated by the ceremonies, the festivities, the singing of old songs, and the horse races, wrestling, and merry-making in the open air.

576 624 The sense of hierarchy, just mentioned, is well exemplified by the behavior of Monguors visiting the T'u-ssu or presenting a request to him. The visitor first prostrates himself, then arises, unrolls his "queue" and removes his hat with his right hand, placing it under his left arm. Then, placing his hands together, palm to palm, he approaches the T'u-ssu. If he is asked to sit down, he does not sit but moves to the left side of the T'u-ssu and kneels on the right knee, with the left knee up, placing his hands, still palm to palm, on the left knee, in the Tibetan manner.[58]

Monguors regard it as the worst kind of incivility to start speaking and to keep the hat on the head in the presence of the T'u-ssu. This appears to be a very old Inner Asian symbol of respect. Among the Uighur Turks in the period of the T'ang dynasty (618–906),

[58] Thus the "outside" knee, farthest from the T'u-ssu, is up, "keeping the luck" between the kneeler and the T'u-ssu. This corresponds to the protocol of kneeling in a Mongol tent where the "outside" knee is that which is nearest the door and "keeps the luck," which is concentrated in the shrine at the back of the tent, within the tent.—O. L.

[p. 72a]

592 sents the family in attending the general assembly of the clan at the spring ceremony of venerating the ancestors. At such meetings, the older people are always bitter in their condemnation of heads of families who send a delegate instead of attending in person.

592 Apart from religious practices within the family, the head of the family must also attend when shamanistic
796 ceremonies are staged in the village temple. Within the household, it is his duty every morning to honor "heaven
• 769 and all the spirits" either on the roof of his house or in the courtyard. A duty that he cannot alienate from himself is the cult of the deity honored by his father; the picture of this deity reverts to him by inheritance. It is also his responsibility to invite either shamans or lamas to his house on various occasions.

592 In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. All money coming to
471 any member of the family must be deposited with him. Individuals in the family have no right to keep money for their own use. It is he who sells and buys cattle and grain, and all contracts must be signed by him because only his signature is legally valid for the family. He also buys, sells, or mortgages land. It is his right to decide which member of the family is to become a lama, who is to be sent to school, and who is to serve as a soldier. He directs all the ordinary routine of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns to members of the family their daily duties. If members of the family wish to attend festivals, he must give permission; he must also give permission if a daughter-in-law wants to go home to visit her parents.

[553] He is of course the one who decides on the arrange-
ments for marriages and funerals, and it is his privilege
592 to give names not only to his own children but to grandchildren. He is expected to be just and even-handed in seeing that all members of the family have their fair share of clothes and their fair share of space in living quarters. Inability to handle such matters to the satisfaction of the family often leads to the break-up of an extended family and the building of new chimneys. Authority within the family is balanced by responsibility to the chief of the clan not only for the family itself but for murders or robberies committed on land belonging
592 to the family. In the event that a member of his own family is murdered, he must join with the maternal uncle
681 of the one who has been killed in leading all the men of the family to secure vengeance. When a member of his family brings shame on the family by a crime, such as stealing, and is unwilling to make amends, he must again consult with the maternal uncle of the guilty person and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. In such cases even the death penalty may be exacted without arousing the disapproval of the public authorities.

592 When visiting a Monguor family, it is always easy to recognize the head of the family. He is better dressed than the others, is almost never without a long-stemmed pipe in his hand, and does not do any hard physical

[P. 82 b]

[623 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.] down again and grasped a seal. She then no longer paid any attention to the things that lay before her. And now the result: this girl became chancellor of an imperial realm." -- The oracle at this birthday celebration corresponds essentially with that of the Tujen.

527

The Tujen celebrate birthdays otherwise, too, both men and women, but only from the forty-fifth year on. A feast is held, at which all the relatives take part. As presents, nine loaves of bread are customary. Eight steamed loaves signify the eight genii, pa-hsien, and one loaf represents the god of age, shou-hsing (star of age). Towards sundown, all go outside to the graves and give the ancestral offering. Then they go home and drink and dance into the night. -- As the names show, this custom is also borrowed from the Chinese. The Tujen originally had no ancestral offering; to the Chinese, on the other hand, the arrow of good fortune and the dance with song are foreign.

[769]

[177]
[769]

Word List

192

[844] To give birth: tōrō-.
[527] Birthday: tōrōdzān udur; or contracted, tōrōdzūdur.
To celebrate the birthday: tōrōdzūdur noġdzi-.
That woman has given birth: nie bieri tōrōdzia.
When were you born? tsini kidzie tōrōwa?
Yes, I am really celebrating: noġdzidza ligunadzi.

[646 cont.]

764 the little bones go into it, however, for it is only an ell long and two handbreadths high. The lid is pegged down, like a Chinese coffin. The remaining bones are carried by hand, aprons, or in a back-basket to the nearest mountain height. Animals as a rule do not eat them because they are burned. Only sheep like to nibble on them. The bones decompose very rapidly, however.

The bone-chest is placed in the oven, weighted down with clay bricks, and then the oven is torn down so that it forms a little mound with the chest buried under it. This is always done if the cremation has taken place after the harvest during the period before the grave festival in the third month. [765] At the grave festival, the Chinese ch'ing-ming, the bone-chest is buried in the communal family cemetery. The place of the [769] cremation is leveled.

If the cremation is after the grave festival, then the oven is, to be sure, torn down and the place again cultivated, but the bone-chest is not buried at the place of the oven, but on a remote ridge of arable land in a field belonging to [765] the deceased's own family. Only at the next grave festival in the following year is it transferred to the family cemetery.

If the cremation has taken place on a distant mountain far from the family, then a tent is pitched there to wait until the third day, the bones are stored, and the chest is brought down in order to bury it on the ridge of a field on one's [776] own land. Such a cremation may never be undertaken on the [778] peak of a mountain, but about halfway up. The peak is [823] sacred to the mountain-spirit and may not be desecrated.

If the bone-chest has been buried in the oven or field, then the relatives burn white paper before it, throw pieces of bread on the bone-grave, and pour out tea before it for the dead. Then they kowtow and go home. The guests are treated with tsamba and butter in the house of mourning. The [465] master of ceremonies receives 12 loaves of bread and two ells of white cloth; the two fire guards are given six loaves each and two ells of cloth.

[646 cont.]
000 each and two ells of cloth.

765 At the next grave festival, which usually falls in the third
[769] lunar month, all the relatives gather at the kin-group cemetery for the offering to the dead; at that time the bone-chest is also transferred to it. A number of men go to the old burial spot at the place of cremation, dig up the chest, and bring [647] it to the cemetery without any ceremony. There they dig a small
[561] hole and put the chest in it. This is done only by men who are
[593] of the same generation as the dead person or of a lower generation. A father, for instance, would never bury his son, nor the uncle his nephew, etc.

765 As soon as the pit has been filled, the offering for the
769 dead takes place; the relatives burn paper and little sticks of incense, set down loaves of bread, meat, etc., pour out tea,
[782] liquor, and soup, and hold a little meal at the grave. Then everyone goes home. -- The transfer of the bones, however, need not be done at the next grave festival; sometimes one waits two or three years. The bones may not be interred, however, outside the period of the grave festival (21).

[192] 21. [Foreign text pp. 656-657.]
The Tujen word sën-min is evi-
[177] dently merely a phonetic imitation of the Chinese ch'ing-ming. The informant said that the Tujen did not know about the grave festival in olden times, but that they have copied it from the Chinese, which indeed is confirmed by the precisely identical rites and the asserted former exposure of the corpse. -- The postponement [657] of a final interment of the bones until this feast, however, remains unexplained, especially since the Chinese usually bury their dead immediately in the cemetery. The
[777] informant observed in this connection that the Chinese inter their dead on

[647 cont.]

765
[769]
[777]

[764]

[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days [177] memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown [782] and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowa- [178] days the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

765 Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day
784 after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they [574] want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even [796] more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to [262] undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The
[262] food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[585] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
[783] along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
[796] also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not officiate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean, and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

[783] After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automatically lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had
[777] been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own
[791] family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved,
[782] it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul. One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

192 [649 cont.]
764 Death box: odõṅ.
Bone-chest: mula odõṅ = little death-box.
[354] Water-lamp: fdzë dzũla.
Paper-bowl: tsialdzë pendzë.
To wear the clothing reversed: diela furula mõsë.
Prayer tea: rgē tsia.
[782] Prayer for the dead: xar(i)dzãn kunë xuenuo mani sguorluo- = (to pray) in behalf of the deceased person afterwards the mani in the circle.
Prayer fee for the lama: mbõ (Tib. loanword).
Prayer alms: odõṅ dzied = death-box alms.
192 Own family: dzienãni kudë.
601 Relatives on the father's side: dzienani šãni = own relatives, those with the same family name.
Relatives on the mother's side, affinity through marriage: uroġ. Those with different family names.
[608] Artificial kinship: šãni funi = kinship-smoke. Neighbors and friends who take the place of relatives in performing services at the reception of guests, cremation, etc.

[650]
[764] Bone-master, mother's brother: tsiġãn yesëni daxu = the owner of the white bones;
ku-chu (Chin.).
Mother's brother: nëġä; achiù (Chin.).
Nephew (sister's son): dzie; wai-sheng (Chin.).
Son-in-law: kurgien; nü-hsü (Chin.).
Sister: agũ.
Daughter: fsdzũn.
192 He died as a rider: tsũrog morina bagaldilã sdzia fugudzia.
764 He died as a settler: sãṅrëdzi liela guei wõldzia.
Burned bones: xuodzën yäsë = dry bones.
Crematory: taw (tab) (Tib.).
Lighting pole: xuãmbar.
Lay bonze: lao shih-fu (Chin.) = old master.
Demand for an accounting: bäda; pai-ta (Chin.).
● 769 Grave festival: ch'ing-ming (Chin.); sëṅ-miṅ (21) [see Note 21
192 above].

[205 cont.]

775 decisive authority is the mother's brother of the deceased. There-
764 fore among the people he is accordingly called tsiğan yesē daxu,
604 that is, "white-bone-master"; Chinese [206] ku-chu, that is, "bone-master." This soul finally becomes free at the cremation, at which, of course, the bones (better: the skeleton) are destroyed except for a few remains. The peculiarity of this soul[1] is its
775 clan [Clan] membership, as is expressed by the name of the
614 mother's brother and his importance. He is the representative
604 of the mother's kin-group [Sippe]. The Tujen, however, like
764 the Mongols and other tribes, determine the kin group according to the bones. Among the Tujen likewise the question as to the family is: "What are your bones," tsini yesē yan-i? Bones and clan (kin group) therefore are equated. Thus one has grounds for maintaining that the bone-soul is borne by the life principle of the clan and propagates itself in the clan. How is unclear. As clan-master, the mother's brother is also bone-master. He exercises more rights over his sister's child than the latter's actual father and also demands the final accounting. But what happens to the thus liberated soul? Perhaps a similar custom among the Manchuria-Tungus, specifically among the Birarčen [Birar] and Kumarčen, provides insight into this. S. M. Shirokogorov reports of their soul-migration into the underworld: "The second river is the Yellow River, after crossing which the soul meets with Mongoldai Nakču, i.e. Mongoldai 'senior of the mother's clan,' which examines the case before allowing the soul to cross the Black River beyond which Inmun-kan reigns" [cited in English] (Psychomental Complex, p. 142; as cited in UdG, X, p. 563). Mongoldai, the master of the mother's clan in the underworld, here does what the bone-master of the dead does in the upper world: he demands an accounting and investigates the condition of the dead person's soul. The result is also the same: the soul becomes free for its migration and the corpse free for the burial. I could not confirm this underworld correspondence for the bāda among the Tujen; at any rate, nothing drew one's attention in this direction. Perhaps the extension of the conception into the
[769] underworld is lacking among them because they practice

[1] [i.e. - the "bone-soul", one of three souls of a human being - ANALYST]

[206 cont.]

775 practically no ancestor cult and therefore know of no ancestor
614 spirit like the Tungusic Mongoldai Nakču. Unconsciously, how-
604 ever, forgotten conceptions might still have an effect. At any
764 rate, a custom that is often explained as thirst for honor and
[769] avarice would in this way find a suitable explanation. In the case of the bäda the principal demands of the mother's brother are directed at the inviolability of the corpse (= no violent death) and a costly death-box, as well as splendid prayers for the dead. When, in connection with the underworld custom of the Tungus, one assumes that the dead person will reach the clan-master of the underworld in an honorable, fine condition and contented, then the care of the earthly clan-master for his clan members is thereby also documented, and the clan has a good reputation in the beyond. Father W. Schmidt sought to interpret similar conditions among other peoples meaningfully, and, to be sure, in connection with the double interment of the matriarchal agrarian culture. In the latter the fleshly parts are allowed to fall to destruction. They are of no significance for the further existence of the human being. The bones, however, which are carefully cleaned and then finally interred or supplied for the cult, are important. Moon-mythological ideas lie at the bottom of this procedure. The waning moon becomes thinner and thinner, until finally only [207] a "bone" remains, but the latter gradually clothes itself again with "flesh" and grows to become the full moon, a mirror image of the perishing and becoming of man. According to this conception, the skeleton is the "essential," the support; see UdG, X, pp. 742 f. If this meaning of the bones is so harmoniously a part of the moon-mythological matriarchal agricultural culture, then the striking arrangement among the Tujen, bones -- mother's clan -- mother's brother, is also explained. -- The sociological side of this custom will not be dealt with here.

775 The second soul goes to the western paradise (Tushita)
171 and waits there for a new rebirth. The incarnation into lower forms is regarded as punishment for a vicious and evil life, exactly in the sense of the Buddhist-Lamaist wheel of life. These conceptions, however, do not have much force among

[207 cont.]
775 hairdress," through which a girl is wedded to heaven and is no
776 longer burdened with the contempt suffered by unmarried women
[589] (see above). The fear of the female demon-souls [208] is also
[588] widespread among the Chinese, and there is only one way of
being safe from them: the cremation. In the customs of the
[171] Tsinghai Chinese, this fear and contempt have their basis in
the Buddhist conception that a woman is an unclean being and
that this uncleanness is only removed through the man and his
descendants. This attitude is strengthened through the fervent
desire for sons and grandsons, which again is connected with the
ancestor cult. These Buddhistic motives are certainly also
decisive in part among the Tujen. Among them, too, the
[562] woman is regarded as unclean, even if not so harshly as among
[783] the Chinese. The veneration of the ancestors plays scarcely
any role. Nonetheless, uncleanness and demonism are closely
connected. A very common expression runs: pudag̀ ilie, un-
[841] clean demon; a woman is also pudag̀ during her period.

The demon soul therefore seems to stand in a special relationship with the female principle. This suggests the surmise that it represents the flesh-(body)-soul in the human being, which stands in contrast to the bone-soul. In northeastern Tibet and elsewhere one encounters the conception that the bones of a person come from the man and the flesh from the woman. Among the Tujen, however, this relationship is difficult to determine
[614] because it is precisely the bone-soul that is related so closely to the mother's clan. This does not, it is true, exclude an individual assignment to the man (father), but it does not permit it to make its appearance through this unquestionably matriarchal trait.

775 From everything, one can see that the Tujen are little concerned about the after-life of the soul and the beyond. To them it is enough if they are left in peace on earth. The Buddhist conceptions are more theoretical. In actuality one not infrequently encounters a this-worldly fatalism which expresses itself in the saying: "Our life does not have much meaning"
[171] (literally: we have lived in vain). Even if the conception of the
[769] soul has much similarity to that of the Chinese, the Tujen

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they [171] are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer- [769] ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under- [764] stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that [782] the deceased would remain among the living and would need to partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off [513] even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness, [753] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils, [756] for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the [755] soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This catching of the soul is called: suniedzē xura-. It is unclear from this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds [171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru (rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun, moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals. Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the underworld and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during [778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

In the Ordos region there is encountered a text which 769
is still recited at the festivities in honor of Khutuktai Setsen Kung Taiji, great-grandfather of Sanang Setsen, by a lay official called *djumu*, who presides over the sacrifices offered on the grave of the hero being worshipped. Father Mostaert has called my attention to the fact that such invocations always start with the invitation to come down and to rest for awhile in the midst of the congregation. The invitation is first to Chingis Khan, his wives, his sons, and ministers, and continues with the same invitation to the hero honored at the moment, followed by an invitation to his glorious descendants, the spirits of earth, and the four points of the compass. Then the spirits are invited to enjoy the offerings, which are enumerated, and to extend their protection over the worshippers. Such conventions of the Mongols of the Ordos take place, like those of the Monguors, in the presence of a great number of invited spirits and departed ancestors, who are supposed to descend among the worshippers.[3]

SPIRITS EXPELLED FROM THE FAMILIES

In order to avoid repetitious descriptions of practices 753
concerning the curing of ailments, prevention of diseases among children, and means to undo the harm wrought in families by evil spirits, which are encountered in all the books dealing with shamanism and Lamaism, and are nearly the same everywhere, only a few practices will here be recorded revealing the peculiar ways and psychology of the Monguors.

The Monguors, nominally fervent adherents of Lamaism, ought to ascribe ailments and all kinds of mischief and calamities to their own acts in some former life, according to the law of retribution. They should, therefore, wait peacefully for a happy recovery and for an end to the calamities. In fact, however, as soon as a member of the family takes ill, or some harm is done, without inquiring a bit about the possible natural causes of the disease or other trouble, they imagine themselves confronted by evil spirits, or having themselves stirred the spleen of some spirit. Accordingly, they do not invite a doctor and try medicines, or try to help themselves, but run in a hurry to the man who can withstand the evil spirits, conjure them and drive them away. Such men are always at hand—lamas of the Yellow and Red Sects, white or black shamans, and the Kurtain.

The first problem facing all these troubled people is 755
to detect the trouble-making spirit, and then to find the means either to placate the spirit, or to combat it and drive it away.

The theatrical Kurtain, possessed by his spirit, declares with his head shaking that in his trance he knows the culprit, and starts immediately with wild evolutions to combat it and drive it out of the house with his

[3] F. A. Mostaert, Ordosica, *Bull. Catholic Univ. of Peking*, Nov. 1934: 58.

[p.127 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

not Chinese and which held them close together. First of all, stress is to be put on the old cult of the ancestors, deeply embedded in the consciousness of the Turco-Mongol tribes. Among the Hsien-pi is already noted the "ox cart with the images or tables of the ancestors"; it is noted among the Ch'i-tan [1] and recorded among the Mongols in the thirteenth century.[2] Among the oldest Turco-Mongols, in the formulas of invocation of spirits, "Ancestors, Heaven and earth spirits, and deities" are included, "ancestors" enjoying the preeminency.[3] Chingis Khan became an important deity among the Mongols. No wonder that the cult of the ancestor of each of the Monguor clans is vital. A new cemetery was built for the founding ancestor, and an ancestor hall, the register of genealogies started with him, and his cult is performed yearly, accompanied by brilliant festivities at the clan diet. It is the big holiday of the whole clan. The accession of the new T'u-ssu is announced to the clan ancestor, whose blessings are asked for every year at the ceremony of the opening of the seal.[4] All the officials of the clan have to honor the ancestor at that time. These observances are a great means of strengthening the cohesion of the clan.

Like the Mongol tribes who honored their ancestors on an ox cart before their tent, the Monguors never fail to honor their ancestors of the three senior generations of each family at the time of the most important religious rite performed in spring. The cult of the ancestors is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of every family, that the cult of its guardian deity has become that of the ancestors of the three immediate senior generations.

An interesting fact illustrates this frame of mind. Among the thirteen villages of Sha-t'ang Valley one is called the village of the Kan family. In 1914 fourteen families bearing the name of Kan were still living there. These families, according to their own traditions, are desecendants of the Third House of the Kan T'u-ssu [5] established in the region south of Nien-pei. Before 1723, on account of disturbances in the country and better living conditions in lamasery territory, they moved to Sha-t'ang and became subjects of the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung. After the revolt they became Chinese subjects, without bonds with their old clan.

In 1914 I happened to learn that still, every year, at the time of the worshipping of the ancestor of the Kan clan, a member of the Third House traveled to Mo-tou, the ancestral cemetery, three days distant, to attend the ceremony, to contribute to the expenses of the sacrifice, to bring a fixed amount of copper coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple (fifty coins per member of each of the families), to have the names of the members who

[1] Rolf Stein, *T'oung Pao* 35: 68–69, 1940.
[2] A. Van de Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* 1: 37, 1929.
[3] W. Schmidt, *op. cit.* 9: 13.
[4] L. Schram, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier*, Part I: 48.
[5] Schram, *op. cit.*, 32.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

died during the year entered in the family register, and 771
to bring back a piece of pork pie for each of the families 769
in order that they might partake of the sacrificial meal offered to the ancestor at the cemetery. After more than two-hundred years, and notwithstanding the fact that no bonds bound them to the clan, the old ancestor cult still made them remember their origin and bound the clan tightly together.

The chief of the clan, at the time of his triennial 614
visit to the villages, brings with him the picture of the 769
guardian deity of the clan in order that all the villagers may honor it in a group and feel united, putting their hope in the protection of the same deity. A temple is built for the guardian deity of the clan inside the mansion of the clan chief, where it is honored by a lama chaplain every day of the year in order that the clan may be blessed.

This study has made clear the role of the chiefs of the 614
villages in promoting the religious rites against the 771
scourges of hail, epidemics, and epizootics, fixing the rite of the sacred animal, imposing even continence, prohibiting indulgence in liquors and garlic by the performers of certain rites, forbidding the singing of obscene songs in the village during the time the crops are growing in the fields, and assessing every family a certain contribution to defray the cult expenses.

All these religious functions of the chiefs of the clans and the villages promote cohesion among the clan members and strengthen the social structure of the institution. The keen interest displayed by the clan and village chiefs in devising means to avert the harm caused by evil spirits and to provide blessings of the ancestors and all the spirits upon the clan members cannot but tie the entire clan group by closer bonds and make it feel solidarity with the chiefs, in the struggle for life.

The fact of each family having an uncle, son, or 593
nephew among the members of the lamaseries, even 769
Living Buddhas, necessarily welds the families together in a strong united group.

In the Monguor families, the cult of the ancestors participated in by all the members of the extended family at New Year's and on the three days preceeding the clan diet, the cult of its old guardian deity protector inherited in each generation by the eldest son, the celebration every year, with all the members of the extended family contributing toward defraying the expenses to honor it, and the gathering of the whole family before this deity every time a branch of the divided families gets into serious trouble—all these facts provide solidarity in the family by religious means. The family chief not only cares for the administration of the wealth and support of its members, but he is its religious chief who, every morning, honors "Heaven and all the spirits" by means of the Wei-sang in behalf of them, and is their representative at the performance of the public rites in the village. His authority is, in large

[p. 159 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

part, based on religion and exercised in religious 593
matters. 769

In the same way, the chiefs of the villages and the elders not only determine taxes, impose corvées and settle troubles, but preside over and perform religious rites without representatives of religions, on the top of the Obo mountain, or the sacred hill of the village, in time of calamities, on top of the highest mountain of the village, in behalf of all the villagers. They are the priests of the clan, promoting at the clan meeting, during the mediation of troubles, the principles of justice and respect for elders. They defend the traditions and customs of the clan of which the religious rites are a part, and urge their performance. To sum up, of the routine events and observances of village life, eight-tenths are religious.

The religious world to which the Monguors are ac- 771
customed is compulsory, and entirely different from that of the Chinese. It makes them feel that they are not Chinese, that the meaning of their lives is not the same as that of the Chinese and therefore that they are tightly bound to the community of their clan. The performance of religious rites over the span of a whole year constitutes a part of their traditions and customs. It helps tremendously in holding them close together, and [186]
prevents their absorption into the Chinese nation.

This fact is so striking that Monguors who, on account of political events, have become separated from their original communities, or who publicly have recanted their origin, still know perfectly well that they are Monguors. They always continue to indulge in some religious practices specific to the Monguors. Religion causes them to recall their origin.

XVI. CONCLUSION

The study of the diffusion of Lamaism among the 648
Monguors sheds some light on the policy adopted by 771
the emperors toward Lamaism.

POLICY OF CHINA TOWARD LAMAISM

It is common knowledge that the emperors promoted Lamaism. This policy has very often been explained as having been a device to debilitate the Mongol and Tibetan tribes, by encouraging enrollment in the monasteries of the largest possible number of the young, most turbulent elements of the tribes. Withdrawing the young from their tumultuous environment weakened the power of the tribes, who were always ready and poised to make inroads and work havoc in the marches on China. The entire history of the marches of China is replete with such tragic events. Alternatively, it has been suggested that this policy was founded on the hope that the barbarians would become peaceful and quiescent through contact with Lamaism.

The truth is that the Chinese were too conversant with their own history and too mindful of the harm

[p. 159(B)]

N
*563 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes
586 goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

M
594 A. The Family Organization
596 Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patri-
[611] lineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed
[591] of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The
N extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-
*563 grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family.
M In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines,
[556] and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

M The extended family has a common courtyard, around which
[361] the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus,
M the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its
[182] nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook
[252] its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are
M well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by
[342] the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing.
M After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended
[264] family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.
[342]

The family head is the religious chief, family administrator
N and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each
*563 spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors,
M he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are
592 his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a
554 family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the
[769] village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

N *563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren.
M 592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually
554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N *563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional
M part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the
58 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon-
562 gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an-
[769] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered
[171] a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their live-
stock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently
*563 the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con-
M siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen
584 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage
583 age for boys is between 14-16.
582 Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab-
N solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is
*563 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob-
M served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage
614 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the
582 weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re-
565 garded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it
has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy
rules need not be observed as strictly.

N Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but
*563 does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a
M sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different
582 clan.

A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family,
M usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband.
[587] However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance
and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she
wants.

N Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from
*563 the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage
M to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan,
588 but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patri-
lineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as
members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the
belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has
relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be
"married" if she becomes pregnant.

N The relationship between two families connected by marriage
*563 is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being
M part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence
604

N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [171] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still M [888] living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

N *563 M 301 Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M • 769 614 a. Ancestor worship

Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-

N *563 M 769 614 ginning of April according to the lunar calendar, in a festival similar to the Chinese Ch'ing-ming. On this occasion the clan assembles to venerate its ancestors, enjoy a great feast and reunion, and discuss matters of concern to the clan.

On the day of the assembly, the T'u-ssu, the chiefs and elders of the villages and all the family heads go to the graveyard immediately after breakfast, followed by all the other members of the clan. At the graveyard, offerings are made and rites are performed. Then food for the offerings is divided among the families, the oldest generations receiving their portions first.

M [182] [767] This annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of the Mongour clan. One of the family heads, usually of the nobility, is appointed to care for the graveyard during the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions and offerings, and the making of repairs. An assistant is assigned to help him with details.

b. Respect for elders and family heads

N *563 M 554 888 The Mongours once lived without chiefs, but never without village elders. Traditionally, the whole power of the clan was vested in the elders, who had the authority to appoint and dismiss chiefs. The village elders still take the most important part in local administration. Elders need not be rich or from noble stock, but they are men of good reputation from the more outstanding families.

N *563 M 554 592 Heads of families are also honored. At public meetings, all are allowed to express their views and defend their rights, but final decisions are made only after the heads of families have spoken.

c. Adultery

N *563 M 684 Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If caught, the guilty pair is flogged, the woman on her bare back, the man on bare buttocks and thighs, up to a hundred stripes. The man must confront the husband and make apologies, and present him with a sheep or a pig. A trial is held and fingerprints are taken. Then the pair is led through the village with drums beating while they make public confession of their sin, and they must secure an official statement of pardon.

d. Moral and legal concepts

N *563 M 183 M [593] [587] [421] Both moral and legal concepts of the Mongours seem to be based upon customs, tradition and what the community accepts as just. Some typical social values and concepts are: Wrongs must be righted and injustices corrected. Parents have authority over their children, and husbands over their wives. A widow has the right to remarry or to dispose of herself. Private property must be protected. No one has the right to disturb the peace of the community.

Mo M1 584 /18 cont'd/

agreements for mutual exchange of women. The respective members of the two clans that had entered on such agreement called each other "Kuda"...." /Cited in English./

Mo 104 581 The word Kuda is found as goda in the Monguor dialect as in all the other Mongol dialects; among the Monguor it has lost its primary sense. The custom according to which the members of two clans exchanged girls in marriage no longer exists. The word guda today is the name which the members of two families related by the marriage of one of their children give to each other.

Mo 582 The conclusion then will be that we see the law of exogamy practiced largely mitigated by that of endogamy, which causes many wives, even in our day, to be taken from among the daughters of paternal aunts. (2)

2. I do not believe it is necessary to refer to totemism in order to explain the law of exogamy which presides over marriages among the T'ou-jen. The conditions of nomadic life amply provide an explanation for this practice; secondly, exogamy is not essentially totemic; thirdly, totemism among the Mongols in general has not been proved. When we deal with religious life among the T'ou-jen, we shall see, nevertheless, two facts which may attract attention to this question: we shall see the erection of the pole at the festivals given after planting; and we shall have two youth festivals.

Mo [77]

/23 cont'd/

584 the family of the fiancée will not neglect also to have the case ex-
787 amined by competent people. If there is a discrepancy between the two predictions, a third examination will be held.

If the alliance is sincerely desired on both sides, the solution will be quickly satisfactory; for the diviner knows the people he is dealing with.

In the opposite case, the examiner, a diplomat when necessary, will give an ill-omened solution, and the marriage will be shelved. This is a good way for one side to politely refuse a marriage proposal, and for the other to understand the refusal, without loss of face.

They say that nobody would dare do without this preliminary rite. This is easy to believe for anyone who is aware of the /24/ mania of this people for consulting fate for all events of any importance, all the more when it is a question, under the circumstances, of an act with such grave and far-reaching consequences...and in spite of everything, they often disregard this when the proposed match has won their approval.

584 But by whom is this horoscope read?

793 The yellow lamas and the shamans, in Monguor bo, are never
[771] consulted, although lamaism and shamanism are the T'ou-jen's own religions. On this occasion they have recourse to the Chinese Ing-lang sien-cheng /lit., practitioner of Yin and Yang/ (diviner) or to the lamas of the red sect. The reason for this choice has always remained a mystery to me; no T'ou-jen was able to explain it.

584 This formality carried out, the father or mother of the future bridegroom, on the occasion of a visit to the parents of the future bride, proposes the marriage. The answer having been favorable,
583 "the mother alone" goes to the home of the family of the future
584 daughter-in-law to offer the parents eight, ten, or 12 steamed rolls (it must always be an even number), four feet of red cloth, a pair of shoes for the little daughter-in-law, and several lengths of red cord, which are customarily plaited into a girl's braids.

They take tea, they chat, the little chosen one presents herself, they talk of marriage, and the future mother-in-law takes her leave. The gifts have been accepted, the girl has presented

M /50 cont'd/
585 Why is the maternal uncle invited to stand near the girl during the
614 whole speech, and why does the maternal clan have precedence at
604 the festivity and at the dinner? Why is the paternal clan in the very background all this day, when it is nevertheless the one which is giving its daughter in marriage and which has the duty to defend her? Also abnormal is this custom which fixes only the gifts to be offered to the girl by the maternal aunts and uncles and not those to be given by her paternal uncles and aunts. Finally, why attach more im-
M portance to this festivity than to the one at the son-in-law's home?
585 Let us remember that this ceremony is held around a shamanistic
795 fire and not before an image of Buddha, although Buddhism is with-
771 out question the primary religion of the country, and that in spite of the fact that the whole clan includes numerous lamas among its
M members, shamanism is actually the old religion of the T'ou-jen.
585 Let us note again that the master of ceremonies, when he takes the floor, recalls the faraway past in which the daughter still inherited from her parents half as much as a son. One would say it was a history lesson.

We are here in the presence of a very old ceremony, one which is completely abnormal in a patriarchal organization.

After the speech and the girl's departure, the guests are in-
M vited to sit down; gin is served, and they play mora noisily; they
[262] sing and smoke while waiting for the Chinese noodles to be served.

M /51/ The master of ceremonies arranges the gifts in chests,
585 and all the pieces are numbered, so that the next day at the dinner
583 at the son-in-law's home, when he again takes the floor, he can take them out without difficulty. (1)

HM
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1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 308: (Mongols) As soon as the livestock has been delivered to the future wife's father (the German translation of the same work says that he himself comes to the future husband's home to get them), he gives a feast which is soon reciprocated by the husband-to-be for the relatives and

[9 cont.]

115 that is, mountain spirit, because he was consecrated to the
[776] mountain spirit when he was named. He was born under the sign
553 of the sheep, that is, in the second month; according to
European reckoning, this would be March, 1883.

805 Like all Tujen, the old man is a Lamaist and adheres
[771] to the faith and the customs of his fathers. He is known throughout the vicinity as one of the few who are still very well versed in the traditional customs. For that reason he is asked to perform everywhere as master of ceremonies, festive speaker, overseer of sacrifices, and singer. If anyone in that region is asked about usages and customs, the usual answer is: "Go to old Tuo, he knows it best."

115 In addition he has the advantage, rare among the Tujen,
212 of having completed the Chinese classical school. He can read
[871] and write very well, better than most of his Chinese neighbors. He understands without difficulty history books, classical authors, local chronicles, etc., which in part are written in the literary
[191] language. He does not have a sufficient command of the Fandse language to be able to speak it fluently, but he knows the terms of the lamas and is able to distinguish fairly well as to whether a word is a genuine Tujen word or a Fandse word. He himself in his youth took down in Chinese characters a considerable number of Fandse songs, which he can translate and explain, as well as some legends and speeches. He claims that formerly the Tujen language was also written and that the script has simply been lost. -- He does not speak the language of the Koko
115 Nor Mongols, but he claims that it could be understood if neces-
191 sary. Of course the Tujen live too far away from the Mongols;
[648] only those in the vicinity of Huchu have a loose connection with the Mongols on the Tai-t'ung River beyond the Monastery Kuo-mang-szu.

124 [10] In the beginning it was not easy to persuade the old man, who for 20 years had not even been in nearby Sining, to visit me at the mission station at Kan-chia-pu, although the way there was only a two-hour ride. In the late fall of 1946 he came once for only a day. At that time I questioned him about the harvest thank-offering; the result was an article which appeared in Anthropos, 37/40. The old man could not imagine what I

3: Schröder--309 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

Conclusion*

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*For the first part of this work, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 1-79, 620-658, 822-870 [the "First Part" above in the HRAF translation]. A supplement to the bibliogtaphy there, pp. 2-4 [see foreign text; the bibliography was not reproduced for the translation], will be found at the end of this article; see below p. 259 [see foreign text].

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Second Part: Analysis

An all-round picture of the Tujen religion can only be drawn within the frame of a broader cultural view, for which the other records from the rich treasure of legends and songs are also utilized. Over and above this, a judgment concerning the cultural and religious historical-relationships requires a comparison [171] with the neighboring Chinese, Tangut, Mongols, and Yugur (1).

[174]

1. A comparison with both the eastern part of north China (Tungus) and the southwest would also be very informative. The tradition of the Tujen speaks of an eastern origin, and the peoples upon whom they are superimposed in the present-day Amdo originally belonged to the Ch'iang, of whom large parts migrated toward the south into present-day Kham, Szechwan, and Yunnan. This conception has been advocated for a long time by the Chinese; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder: Die Fandse, pp. 1 f. It has now been confirmed by Professor Doctor J. F. Rock for the Na-khi. A comparison

[202 cont.]

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with their religion is justified all the more since it has preserved the pre-Buddhistic form in a much less corrupted state than the religion of the mother country, which lies within the effective range of the Yellow Church (Kumbum); see below, pp. 390 ff. In addition the Na-khi possess a religious literature in which the old customs are unequivocally fixed, and which J.F.Rock has worked over and published; for this whole subject, cf. J.F.Rock, Na-khi Kingdom; id., Naga Cult, I, pp. 2 f., and Muan Bpö, p. 7. Unfortunately, these works, which represent a treasure trove for knowledge of the pre-Buddhist belief in the Chinese-Tibetan border region, could not be adequately quoted here.

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It is true that in the notes of the first part extensive consideration was given to this, so that now it is already established that the religion of the Tujen and of their Lamaistic neighbors do not differ from each other in many ways. A further analysis and summary of the question, however, [203] would grow into a series of special essays that would go too far beyond this work, which, after all, is primarily intended to be a survey.

The present material, however, is ample enough to characterize the basic features of the religious framework, which even a later and more precise treatment will scarcely change. This characterization will be attempted in a cross- and longitudinal section. The one offers a total picture of the religious world-view; the other shows the more or less interpenetrating layers of the religion.

[211 cont.]

772 the many riddle-songs of the Tujen, when they sing of the tree,
[533] which bears the sun, moon, and stars in its crown; cf., for example, Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder," loc. cit., Song I and II.
[171] Further connections will be passed over here. Only the great similarity of these songs to the wedding songs of western Tibet will be mentioned; see Francke, Tibetische Hochzeitslieder [Tibetan Wedding Songs].

772 With this harmonious conception of the world and its
779 close connection with human beings, one would also expect a projection of the macrocosm into the microcosm. In Lamaism, of course, these correspondences are carried through to the smallest detail and find their symbolic representation in the well-known syllable-monogram, the rnam bču dbaṅ idan; in this connection, cf. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, pp. 160 f. These minute correspondences of the Lamaist monks, however, are too artificial for the people. They know nothing about them. Security in the great cosmos in which they literally build suffices for them. This world-feeling does not enter into sophisticated speculations.

[212] 3. The Religious Cult

a) The Basic Psychic Attitude

771 The inner attitude of the people toward the good spirits
776 is the consciousness of dependence upon them. They determine the well-being in this world, which, after all, is the focal point of thought, for one does not think much about the beyond. Hence the first thing a person does when misfortune or an unusual situation surprises him is to turn to a spirit, a mightier being, which can help here. How much this attitude dominates the common man is apparent from the above-mentioned basic thoughts of the informant, which provided the articulation of all the customs: "... now I shall tell you first what we do for the good fortune of the family, etc."; cf. "Introduction," Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 15 [p. 16 above in the HRAF translation]. Everything is thereby subordinated to the religious

[212 cont.]

771 utilitarian idea. The Tujen give their offerings and prayers in
776 order to make the spirit world favorably inclined toward them
for the purpose of earthly well-being. They are not so submis-
[782] sive to the harmful demons, however, but instead face them
[789] with greater hostility and try to vanquish them with the help
of the good spirits or through magic.

b) The Offering

The Types of Offering

782 The Tujen distinguish the following types according to what is offered: the incense offering, food and drink offering, slaughtered offering, animal-consecration. -- Aside from the incense offering and the animal-consecration, they have a
[192] common name for the offering, namely, šeńlie, which corresponds to the Chinese hsien. Thus, they say, for instance, šdimie šeńlie-, to offer bread; tsidzig šeńlie-, to offer flowers; xonini šeńlie-, to offer a sheep (cf. DMF 376). This expression šeńlie may not be used for anything else.

The incense offering, which originally was an aromatic offering, has now been greatly extended by all kinds of additions, such as butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, silk threads. Here, too, however, the rule against giving anything that smells unpleasant is maintained. The use of butter and
[174] tsamba, which are the staple foods of the nomads there, implies an old pastoral custom. Concerning the original incense offering, cf. the chapter further below, "The Belief in a Supreme God."

The food offering principally includes bread, wine, butter, tsamba. One puts them down before the spirit, for instance, before the household altar, the obo, the mani-tree, the god's image, etc. When they are taken away and consumed, some is thrown to the deity concerned. Liquids are poured on the ground or squirted into the air. The custom of
[264] throwing something to the spirits before each meal belongs here, too.

[214 cont.]

782 This is intended to make him satisfied so that he will go away
776 and not return. Any feeling of awe and submissiveness, such as is characteristic towards a higher spirit and is manifested in the offering, is lacking. A similar notion of fear plays a contributing role here, which one also entertains for the souls of the dead, of whom it is expected that they will not molest human beings and will be content.

The Executers of the Offering

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771 All these offerings can be assigned primarily to the people as chief bearers. It is the most important religious activity of the ordinary people. It presupposes little, namely, a gift and an attitude. It requires no special schooling, no involved ritual, and no learning of prayers. The offerers are the family head, the seed-master, or the village elders. It is precisely these laymen themselves who at the purely Lamaistic ceremonies or those of the Bon and shamans perform the actual offering operation, for example, at the harvest thanksgiving festival and at the erection of the pole-goat or the central fort. Even the tormas, which, of course, can in part be regarded as offerings, are usually set up or carried outside by men from among the people.

c) The Prayer

782 The spontaneous and freely-formulated prayer is a natural matter-of-course among the Tujen. They are also conscious of this form of prayer when they maintain: "We farmers have forgotten our old prayers; everyone prays with his own words." (Cf. Schröder: "Herbst-Dankopfer [Harvest Thank-offering]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-1945, p. 872.)

Besides these spontaneous utterances they also still know
782 simple, brief prayer formulas to heaven and the gods, as when
788 they say, "Oh you spirits, do not be like human beings!" or when they uninterruptedly recite on their prayer-string "Om

[214 cont.]

782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types of prayer under the expression yandzila-, to implore, to request, and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer, however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which
[463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the
[792] lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people
[791] connect praying with these professions is shown by the common designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen,
[192] that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom mošē, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching. In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer, something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of
[791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests, Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely linked.

5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

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174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

[215 cont.]

•771 structure that has developed in the course of centuries. It is
174 similar to the religion of the Mongols generally, which Pallisen in his dissertation would like to designate as syncretism. This is found even more among the Kansu Mongols, the Tujen. This syncretism is understandable for two reasons, one psychological and one historical.

Viewed psychologically, the East Asian, including the Mongol, is inclined to negotiation, to compromise, and to understanding toleration. The informant has formulated this accurately: "All religions are good. The goal is the same, only the paths are different" (cf. "Introduction," Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 12)[p. 12 above in the HRAF translation]. One does not want to bind himself exclusively to one particular way, but wants to examine everything from a practical utilitarian viewpoint to see what is conducive to his happiness and well-being. One tries this with all the gods and is gladly prepared to take up into his heaven any useful spirit. Even Christianity in China would [216] long ago have fallen victim to this inclination, if it were not so decisively intent on a dogmatic and ritual separation. Otherwise one could soon rediscover it with its figures of saints, doctrines, and rites, say, in Lamaism, just as in actual fact such an influence is assumed from early Christian times.

The history and distribution of the Tujen has greatly favored this spiritual readiness and has brought them into close contact with the various religions. Whoever the original Tujen may be, all those who have reported about them are agreed that they have an active history of migration behind them and that their basic stock is Mongolic. Aside from their migrations, perhaps for several centuries in their present location, even if they have maintained their linguistic and racial peculiarities, they have had active intercourse with the most varied peoples, such as the Tangut, the former rulers of Amdo, with the Mongols of the various waves of invasion, and finally with the Chinese pressing in after them. Probably their original faith in pre-Lamaistic times was determined extensively by the Bon doctrine of the Tangut, until the Yellow Church from neighboring Kumbum then brought all Amdo under its influence. Finally,

[216 cont.]

771 Chinese civilization, which with agriculture also brought corre-
174 sponding religious customs with it, passed over them, even if it has only slightly penetrated into the religion.

This peculiar position, conditioned by history and en-
771 vironment, makes the religion of the Tujen a significant subject
792 in the religious history of Amdo and of the Chinese border region
174 generally, so that it is actually no longer simply a matter of the religion of the Tujen alone. The Tujen monks seem to have been aware of this advantageous position and have actively taken part in the investigation of the forms of belief of the border land, especially that of Lamaism. Through this they have won a certain learned and religio-political influence. An example of this is given by Cybikov in his introduction to the "Lam rim c'en po" (pp. XVI-XVII, translated by W.A.Unkrig), where he speaks of the Ch'ang-chia hutukhtu, who, as is known, comes from the Tujen lamasery Erh-ku-lung: "But whatever the situation may be. The home of the Ch'ang-ch'a hutukhtus occupies such a position between China, Mongolia, the East Tibetans, the Tangut, and formerly also the Uigur, that it had to serve as an arena for the contact between these peoples and for the formation of a tribe in which is embodied the traits of all four of these peoples. If one takes a look at the present-day situation exclusively, without historical considerations, according to our view it has contributed greatly to the fact that these lamas had to gain enormous influence on Tibetan and Mongolic affairs and on the relationship of these peoples to the Manchu dynasty." I found this confirmed when I visited the lamasery there. If we also disregard the observation of Cybikov concerning the ethnic formation of the Tujen, it must nevertheless be admitted that this people has taken over many religious traits from its neighbors. It is therefore also no accident that it was precisely a Tulku (Tuguān
[538] hutukhtu) from the Tujen monastery [217] who in the eighteenth century wrote the only known Tibetan book about all the Tibetan sects, including the Bon. He had the most varied forms constantly and directly before his eyes, just as even today the religious customs of the Tujen still represent a living catalogue of patterns in this respect.

[217 cont.]

771 174 Now, concerning the elements which make up these customs, they fall almost entirely into four groups, each of which constitutes a special layer. These four layers are: the belief in a supreme god, shamanism, the Bon religion, and Lamaism. The layers, however, cannot simply be taken out of the whole structure, freed from all the extra features, and connected with a larger pervading stratum of the Central Asiatic religions. This is only possible in a larger context and would go beyond the bounds of this work, for the parts in question are of considerable temporal depth and embrace many peoples. In addition these layers have interpenetrated one another in that in each case the later one has absorbed the elements of the preceding ones. Thus, Lamaism, in spite of its original enmity toward the Bon religion, has nonetheless adopted much from it. The Bon faith, on the other hand, in turn has a strong shamanistic base, and an old sky-cult runs through all the layers.

771 128 756 A discussion of the two high religions, of the Bon and of Lamaism, in their connection with the belief of the Tujen would go too far. Shamanism can more readily be delimited, but it cannot be exhaustively presented either. So there remains the old sky-cult as a belief in a supreme god. This will be dealt with quite extensively in the following, whereas in the case of shamanism the presentation must be limited to a theoretical sketch. A special work will deal with it in detail for the whole western Chinese border region. The Bon religion and Lamaism will only be touched upon briefly.

II. The Layers of the Tujen Religion

114 771 1. The Belief in a Supreme God

In this section it is necessary to refer not only to the customs but also to the other sources and the scanty literature. Aside from the DMF and Mariage (by Schram), which offer a sparse yield for the religion, the other sources are still unpublished. They are available in the original texts, however. These are [538] the Geser legend, the agriculture legend, the Moschus deer (the first part of the song cycle known under the name xoni, sheep), and a series of other songs and fairy tales, of which the wedding songs are appearing (Folklore Studies, Tokyo, 1952).

[217 cont.]

771 776 The belief in a supreme god among the Tujen must have been known to the people themselves at an early date. Tafel noted in his fairly reliable chapter: "The Turen [sic] of Weiyüanpu are a very curious tribe. Many say that they have only one single god in which they believe. But they are, like the [218] Chinese, also Buddhists" (Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], I, p. 246). The author unfortunately does not tell who these "many" are. Probably they are the Tujen themselves. Tafel is right insofar as a true monotheism is unknown to the Tujen. On the other hand they do not share the same Buddhism with the Chinese. The Tujen are Lamaists, the Chinese, on the other hand, never or only as an exception. From the customs observed, it now appears incontestably that the so-called one god of the Tujen is a supreme god who is venerated in the form of the heavens. One must, therefore, start from "heaven." [821]

a) The Name "Heaven"

rëǧuo

772 776 192 [821] For "heaven" the Tujen know two expressions, namely, rëǧuo and tieńgëre. The word rëǧuo is little used and then only in the sense of the physical sky, firmament. It agrees entirely with its Mongolic equivalent oktarǧui, which is to be equated with the Tibetan mk'a or nam mk'a or gnam, and means: sky, empty space above the air, firmament, vault of the heavens, ether, atmosphere, air. Cf. Kovalevski, p. 430. Even among the following expressions that include oktarǧui, there is none in which oktarǧui is comprehended as a deity or spirit. Cf. op. cit., pp. 430-433. Thus it must be sharply distinguished from tengri (tieńgëre) and cannot be used synonymously with the latter. Only in the sense of the physical sky do they overlap. Among the Tujen, reǧuo is chiefly regarded as light-sky, bearer of brightness. One therefore likes to add the adjective kuǧuo (blue, light, bright), for instance, kuǧuo rëǧuo undurwa (the blue sky is high). The kuǧuo rëǧuo (light sky) stands in contrast to the xara gadzier (dark earth). An appropriate bird is assigned to [825] [539]

[257 cont.]

792 went there. Pander speaks (op. cit., p. 204) of Man-tzu or Chinese from Sining, who were accommodated in 13 temples in Peking (1889). These Man-tzu (= barbarians), however, could only have been Tujen, for the Chinese are not Lamaists, and the Tibetans (Fan-tzu) are specifically named by Pander. The monastery Sung-chu-szu is regarded expressly as a Tujen lamasery. Even today (at least up until 1948) almost all its monks come from the Sining region and are Tujen, as the monks from this monastery related during a visit home. To be sure the number has shrunk greatly.

771 *These are all facts* that must be taken into account in judging the Lamaism of the Tujen. The people are proud of 792 their famous monastery. It is their pilgrimage center. Young [788] and old gather there at the festivals. They hold horse races [527] and sing their old popular airs there. At the temple festivals with the magnificent dances the Lamist doctrine is deepened [796] and clarified. In the venerable halls filled with incense they [778] see their gods in magnificent statues, painted on silk, on walls and altars. There lie also the heavy sacred books of the Kandjur and Tandjur, which they bear on their backs around the sanctuary in order to free themselves from affliction or to fulfill a vow. In the temples and yards they watch the monks hold learned disputations, read the scriptures, recite the prayers. They invite them to undertake solemn religious services in their compounds, to give their children their names, to consecrate the old, [258] to bless the young, to pray for the dead, to cre- [574] mate the corpses. The lama is a frequent and welcome guest in the family. Generally, the people seem to link themselves [752] to the monastic life at the important stages of life. Even the [778] shaman receives his consecration in the monastery. Every family was proud if one of its sons became a lama; indeed, it was even an unwritten law.

771 So it was, at least until the most recent times. Today, however, the young people no longer want to know anything 792 about becoming a lama. They prefer to attend the Chinese 177 schools and are intent on the new education. They despise the old and do not take it seriously anymore. What the

[258 cont.]

771 Minchu Hutukhtu wrote a hundred years ago in his "Geography
792 of Tibet" has already become true: "This home of the second
177 Victorious Tsongkhapa was at one time famous in all Tibet ... Now, however, it is not only under the pressure of the deluded Chinese and Mussulmanic doctrine, but there approaches the time when Tibetans and Mongols will believe the Kung-tzu, Lao-tzu, or the teacher Naniku of Ssei"; MS, loc. cit. If one thinks of the most recent events, even in that remote area, then one sees even this melancholy prophecy surpassed, for even the doctrines of a K'ung-tzu and Lao-tzu will no longer draw the Tujen into their jurisdiction. They, too, already belong to the past.

Conclusion

174 In the course of the work it became increasingly clear
771 that the religion of the Tujen no longer represents anything uniform and independent. Rather, it grew from roots of various origins into a colorful composite that is based on the varied past of the Tujen and their present-day homeland which lies in the middle between various peoples. In particular, however, Lamaism
[779] has fostered these international connections, even to Lhasa and Peking, and has contributed decisively to religious assimilation. In this respect, the Tujen share their fate with the neighboring peoples insofar as they are not Chinese. Their belief is linked to a common layer, which, as Lamaistic popular religion, extends over the entire area of influence of the Yellow Church. Thus, the principal questions raised earlier concerning shamanism, the Bon religion, the cult of heaven, etc. are not questions that can be resolved from the point of view of the Tujen alone. Their religion has a much more general significance. To be sure, a number of special characteristics can be established. These do not suffice, however, for drawing definite conclusions concerning the origin and ethnic affiliation of the people. And even less do they permit the delimitation of any individual Tujen groups, which certainly are present. As sources for such cultural-historical and ethnic relationships, almost

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174 only the language with the folk literature still remains, perhaps
771 also the dress, but above all the tradition and the written history, which are chiefly contained in Chinese reports. This does not mean that the religion and ethnology are not to be considered; rather, they must be drawn upon in a complementary and explanatory fashion. [259] It is too late, however, to arrive at clear results in a purely folkloristic or ethnological way. That might still have been possible perhaps 50 years ago.

174 Now, however, the Sinicization of the Tujen approaches
177 its conclusion. For a long time with respect to religion they had
771 a strong support in the Lamaistic world and defied the Chinese influence, although they had taken over their agriculture many generations ago. Today, however, they have detached themselves from this support; indeed, the support itself has already become very decayed. The reasons for this cannot be discussed here. The Tujen are giving up themselves, their language, their religion. When their children have become grandparents, Chinese culture will again have incorporated into itself a new domain which will be differentiated from the other provinces only insofar as the Chinese proverb can be applied: "At ten miles the language is different, at a hundred the custom." -- And yet all are "Chinese." [The supplement to the bibliography appears here; see foreign text.]

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[For the materials on the social function of religion in Huang-chung, see category 116, pp. 157A-159B.]

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The origin, history, and social organization of the Monguors were studied in Part I,[1] together with the family and economic life. Their religious life is here dealt with as Part II of the same study.

It is common knowledge that the private and public religious life of the Monguors is intensive, and that the Monguors are as fervently Lamaist as shamanist, and also practise rites belonging to neither of these religions.

In dealing with the Lamaism of the Monguors, the purpose is not to study the origin, the history, and the philosophy of Lamaism in general in Tibet and Mongolia; instead, in the first part of the study, emphasis is put on the historical frame within which Lamaism was diffused in the limited region of Huang-chung.

The study is based on local chronicles, the Chinese histories, and all available sources, and also on the experience of a long stay among the people. The author hopes that he has thus attained insight into the history of the introduction, growth, flourishing, and crises of Lamaism, depending on peculiar circumstances of persons, events, and times.

The part played by the Chinese emperors in the diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung will be noted, the reasons of the imperial policy explained, and the peculiar legal institutions that were established to promote Lamaism will be recorded.

Local history will provide the data regarding the times, the places, and the peculiar circumstances in which monasteries were founded, and will point to the outstanding position occupied by the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung, situated in the heart of the Monguor country north of the Hsining River. Erh-ku-lung surpassed all the lamaseries of the country for a century. Animated with prodigious activity it founded forty-two daughter lamaseries, enrolling a tremendous number of the Monguor male population in its institutions.

The local history will reveal also that some of the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung were learned authors of books, and directors of the imperial committee for the translation of the Kanjur and Tanjur from Tibetan into Mongol and that important diplomatic missions in Tibet were entrusted to them by the emperors who appointed them as spiritual directors of the Mongol princes, and from whom they received honorary offices at the capital.

Their influence reached as far as Peking, Mongolia, and Tibet. The colleges of Erh-ku-lung were attended by lamas from Kansu, Mongolia, and Tibet who, upon returning to their own countries, founded monasteries on the pattern of Erh-ku-lung.

These historical facts will explain the influence exerted by the Monguor lamas upon Lamaism, and upon

[1] Louis M. J. Schram, The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, Their origin, history, and social organization, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1), 1954.

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the population of Huang-chung. Note must be taken of these historical facts in order to explain the actual religious mentality of the people of Huang-chung.

In the same way historical events will explain the tremendous crises which affected Lamaism in Huang-chung, and the actual position it occupies in the Hsining country.

A chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung, their material, educational, and religious aspects; their means of subsistence; the subjects of the lamaseries, branch monasteries, lamas, and living Buddhas. In this chapter, details of the numerical strength of lamas, in proportion to the population as a whole, are given. These figures throw light on a subject which has been somewhat distorted by past estimates. They show that the proportion of lamas to the total population is much lower than we have been led to expect. These figures are probably more reliable than those of past estimates; certainly they are more circumstantial.

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The inferior position of the Lamaism of the Red Sect in the region will also be better understood when put in its historical frame.

Similarly, the shamanism of the Monguors is approached from the angles of its peculiar connections with Taoism, the conservation of its ritual proper, and its historical connections with the "wuism" of old China and the shamanism of Central Asia. Emphasis is put also on its overwhelming importance in the religious life of the Monguors.

The second part of the study is devoted to the practical aspects of the religious life of the Monguors, its environment of fear and apprehension, and the role occupied in the fabric of daily life respectively by Lamaism and shamanism, and the various rites alien to both religions.

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The describing of monasteries, Lamaist monuments, iconography, programs of studies in colleges, theatrical exhibitions by lamas, festivities, and shamanist rites, has been avoided in this part, since all are encountered hundreds of times in books dealing with the subject. Instead, emphasis is put on the specific Monguor aspects of the religious life and rites that are peculiar to them, in order to understand the religious mentality of the representatives of the religions.

A chapter will deal with the death and burial customs, and still another with the cult of "Heaven and all the spirits."

The last chapter of the study will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping the Monguors to keep their identity, traditions and customs, strengthening the social structure of the clans, and preventing their absorption in the Chinese nation.

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I. INTENSIVENESS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS AND THE POSITION OF ITS FORMS

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC RELIGIOUS LIFE

The religious life of the Monguors is very intensive, and not a superficial veneer that scales off easily. Indeed, it has not only a private and a family characteristic, but a social and compulsory aspect, as well.

A missionary, accustomed to living with Chinese, is quite surprised when he comes among the Monguors, by their almost continuous recitation of *Om Mani Padme H'um.*[1] It is repeated by old and young, both men and women, hundreds of times a day, under all circumstances. The mind of the Monguor appears to be fixed on religion in a most unusual way. Mothers, kissing and cuddling their babies, like to say happily, over and over, "Om Mani," "Om Mani," as if thanking Buddha (*Avalokita*) for the baby. The sick, suffering on the *k'ang*,[2] find relief in sighing Om Mani the whole day, hoping to be cured. When hailstorms threaten crops, Om Mani will be said hundreds of times by every terrified farm family, in the hope that Buddha will make the wind change the course of the clouds. When someone in the village dies, all the villagers gather at night in the courtyard of the deceased, where they sit for many hours saying the Om Mani for the deceased.

[1] The formula *Om Mani Padme H'um* has always been and still is an enigma. All attempts to explain it remain unsatisfactory. Each lama of a sect, each student of things Tibetan has proposed his own explanation. It appears to be of Hindu origin and not Tibetan. Some trace its appearance in Tibet back to the eighteenth, fourteenth, and thirteenth centuries; and even to the seventh century. See P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 24: 395, 1924. The explanation of the formula seems to vindicate *mani padme* as a vocative of *Manipadma*, the proper name of a female deity.

[2] A small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In the front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm.

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twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or 781
to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one 788
understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration to Buddha.

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. 794
The chief of the family is its religious head and its representative. 782 He worships "Heaven and all the spirits" on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each family honors the image of its family protector-deity. At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue worshipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors. The chief of the family is its representative at the performance of public rites. Attended by his family, he performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fingering his prayer beads.

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of 794
the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of 622
the village and its elders administer both the official and religious life of the people in it. Even as they apportion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth [65]
and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum for religious services. They impose corvées on the villagers for municipal functions as well as for such religious functions as protection against hailstorms or the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner, heads of families are summoned to participate in rites at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain. The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief. He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as the family chief does in his own circle.

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious [614]
life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter. It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite. On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry about public worship in the village and the morality of his subjects.

Religious activities are part of the family and social life of the Monguor society. Their social organization is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Mon- 771
guors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are 754
not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fer- 756
vent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor

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shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

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understand the striking incompatibility which exists 829
between the religious and philosophical principles of 771
these religions, while we see the paradox of things which cannot coexist logically, actually coexisting in a very smooth and natural way. The Monguors believe that each of these religions is right, and practice them according to their various circumstances of life. While their knowledge about dogmas and religion is limited and unstable, their religious spirit is unusually developed. What is the reason for this trend of mind, this carelessness concerning differences between religions and philosophical principles? Our illusions and misunderstandings occur because we compare the conversion to Lamaism of the Mongols and the Monguors with the conversion to Christianity of peoples in ancient times, and assume that a similar change of mind took place among the Monguors. We envision churches filled to capacity for weekly worship, people receiving instructions about definite dogmas, children attending parochial schools, learning prayers, studying religion, and being educated in their belief, and we also envision a group of religious leaders, proficient in the religious sciences, but none of these exist or form a part of Lamaism.

The vast and splendid temples in the monasteries 792
are not churches or places where the faithful fulfill in 794
common their religious duties. Lamas recite texts in 796
the temples; laymen do not. There are no spiritual 771
leaders, skilled in religious sciences, to preach and instruct the faithful. Nowhere are there parochial schools for children; nor is anything done to provide serious religious education for the people. Lamaists are like stray sheep without shepherds, for nowhere is there a pastor or rector taking care of definite groups of the faithful. In teaching Christianity, new notions and principles were instilled in the minds of prospective converts. Their incompatibility with the principles of other religions was explained. The prospective converts were taught that they must live according to the principles of Christianity; that in order to do this they would have to change from their way of life to the Christian way, by changing their conduct, feelings, habits, and way of thinking. None of these things are taught about Lamaism. The religious value of the faith is never explained. No zeal is displayed in order to form serious types of Lamaists. The lama does not care about the shaman as he performs his rites; the shaman does not mind, and acts in like manner; the Taoist, considered as the second best, does not bother, for he is very happy to be invited and to earn some money. Shamans are considered the most potent men in certain circumstances, while lamas are believed to be the appropriate performers of certain kinds of rites. Consequently, the two religions are considered equally necessary and equally right.

The fact that serious Lamaists are not formed ap- 771
pears to be responsible for the Mongours still being fer-

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vent shamanists, and provides a reason why Lamaism never succeeded in uprooting shamanism, notwithstanding its overwhelming influence for centuries. Another important factor, without doubt, is in the very nature of the debased Lamaism. Lamas of the Red Sect, who were the first to come into the country, indulged in nearly all the same magical practices as the old shamans, including bloody sacrifices, except that they performed them in such a way that the people, not interested in philosophical and doctrinal discussions but in having religious men who could avert all kinds of calamities in the most efficient way, jumped to the obvious conclusion that the basic difference existing between shamanism and Lamaism was only a question of more or less proficiency in magical art. Lamaism became a kind of supplementary devotion, stimulating the heart to natural kindness and religiosity, but harmonizing perfectly with all kinds of magical practices, regardless of the performer.

POSITION OF SHAMANISM

The place shamanism occupies in the religious life of the Monguors, and its persistence over centuries under the most unfavorable conditions, seems to be an enigma. The lamas, who outnumber the shamans perhaps a hundred to one, are members of a wealthy institution. The few shamans are mostly poor people who derive a precarious existence from the farming of some fields and the fulfilling of their office. Lamas have temples that glisten with gilt; the shamans have none of their own. Lamas are more or less cultured men; most of the shamans are unable to read. The lama institution enjoys a high prestige among the Chinese officials, and controls nearly all the levers of power in the country; the poor shaman, living in the village with his family, always at the beck and call of the villagers, is an unknown and powerless entity in the official world. But, in spite of these unfavorable conditions, the shaman remains a figure of importance with his own kind of prestige, in the religious life of the Monguors.

For those who are cognizant of the power of the impact of wealth and decorum upon the societies of the Orient, this fact seems hard to understand. Its explanation is to be found in the general belief that the shamans are mightier than the lamas because they are more proficient in magical art, and in the subduing of evil spirits. People steeped in superstition, beset on every side by malignant spirits, confronted by diseases, misfortunes, and evils, have easy recourse to the men they believe might best help them, and whom they believe best master the technique of undoing the harm wrought by uncontrollable forces, namely, the shamans. This belief in the magical superiority of the shaman is so deep-rooted because lamas, and even Living Buddhas, when squeezed to the wall, unable to cope with uncontrollable forces and events, resort occasionally to their last shred of hope, the shaman.

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Confidence in the power of the shaman is so strong among the Monguors and over the whole country, that even Sinicized Mongours and neighboring Chinese from outside the clans never fail to invite the shaman to their homes, even though they have long since abandoned the lamas. Before Buddhism and Lamaism were diffused in central Asia and Tibet, these countries were entirely shamanist. There is much evidence today to show that shamanism still occupies a prominent place in the religious life of these peoples. Mme David-Neel assumes that in spite of the fact that the Tibetans are considered to be Lamaists, most of them, except the learned lamas, are shamanists.[4]

II. INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM AND LAMAISM IN HSINING (HUANG-CHUNG)

NO HISTORICAL DATA BEFORE 1227 IN THE ANNALS OF HSINING

OLD OCCUPANTS OF HUANG-CHUNG WERE NOT BUDDHISTS

The *Annals* of Hsining do not record a single fact concerning either the time or the way Buddhism first was introduced in what is now the Hsining region. Dealing with the temples and monasteries built in the country, the author of the *Annals*, in concluding ch. 15, p. 13a incidentally notes: ". . . the country of Huang-chung [Hsining], being properly the region of the Hsiao Yüeh-chih [Indo European Scythians], which had been lost several times at the hands of the Tibetans and the barbarians, it is no wonder that [there] Buddhists are numerous and Taoists are few in number." The author seems to suppose that these Scythians and Tibetans were Buddhist at that early time, but in ch. 30, pp. 1–12 (the only pages concerned with these early Scythians and Tibetans), he does not record any fact concerning Buddhism in regard to either these Scythians or these Tibetans.

No evidence can be offered concerning these Scythians to support the assertion of the profession of Buddhism by that "small branch of Hsining Hsiao Yüeh-chih."[1] However, the main branch of the Yüeh-chih

[4] Alexandra David-Neel, *Au Pays des brigands gentilshommes* 101, Paris, Plon, 1933.

[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30. According to the *Annals*, the Hsiung-nu Khan, Mao Tun, having killed the king of the Scythians (202–201 B.C.), a small and feeble branch among them settled in the mountains and mixed with the Tibetans (p. 1*b*). They submitted to the Chinese General Ho Ch'ü-ping (121–119 B.C.) and lived among the Chinese (colonists). They lived in seven groups, numbering in all 9000 or more soldiers, spread over the region of Huang-chung to Ling-chü (colony near Kukunor) (p. 2*a*). During the period Hung-Yüan (A.D. 89–105), refusing to revolt with the Tibetan Mi-T'ang tribes, they helped the Chinese General Tung Hsün crush the revolt. Tung-Hsün gave them the title of *I-Ts'ung-Ch'iong*, and *I-Ts'ung-Hu* (loyally following Tibetans and barbarians, re-

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tribes, chased from Mongolia and Turkistan by the Hsiung-nu between 176 and 165 B.C., finally became unified, and founded the realm of Kushana (between Iran and India), in the first half of our era.[2] When that branch adopted Buddhism is not known, but its third king, Kanishka (A.D. 80–11–, or A.D. 120–162), was a fervent protector of Buddhism. 175 771

The Tibetans of Huang-chung, in those early times, were still buried in barbaric darkness. It was much later, around A.D. 630–650, that Buddhism was first spread among them, and even then it had little appeal for the people on account of the strong opposition of the native *Bön* religion. The second attempt at diffusion by Padmasambhava a century later (775–788 or 797), was more successful.[3] Conclusively, Buddhism had not been spread during this period among these Scythians or the Tibetans. [77]

FIRST TEMPLE BUILT IN HUANG-CHUNG

Buddhism "seems," however, to have been spread into the country in the first centuries of our era, because the author of the *Annals* (ch. 15, p. 2*b*) mentions the "monastery" Pei Ch'an-ssu, and notes: ". . . the 'monastery' is situated five *li* outside the northern gate of the city of Hsining, at the foot of the 'Earth Tower Mountain'"; it is the very oldest monastery of which Han-yin tells: ". . . north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the monastery of the 'Earth Tower.'" 175 792

According to the Chinese "Dictionary of Famous Men of China," (*Chung-kuo ming-jen ts'e tien*) Han-yin was a native of Tun-Huang (Nan hsi-chou) who fulfilled important functions on behalf of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün (A.D. 401–439), the king of the ephemeral realm of Pei Liang. Han-yin was the author of several books, among them *The Annals of the Thirteen Chou*. In these *Annals* (p. 8), we read:

> the *Shui-ching-chu* records: north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the 'Earth Tower' temple, (*shen-ssu*); according to the *Shui-ching-chu* the river Huang, turning to the east, passes on the southern side of the 'Earth Tower'; the tower on the northern side leans against the mountain, the original crest being 300 feet high, and looks steep, as if it were artificially cut; at the foot of the tower are the remainders of old walls and of carved walls of the temple (or temples).

spectively), which titles are recorded on pp. 6*a*–11*b*. Every time they took sides with the Chinese in quelling the intermittent revolts of Tibetans. In A.D. 184 (p. 11*b*) during the revolt of the Yellow Turbans, which accelerated the fall of the later Han dynasty (A.D. 220), the Scythians revolted with the Tibetan Hsien-lin tribes, and from that time on, their name disappears from the *Annals*; nothing more seems to be known about them.

Ed. Chavannes, Les Pays d'occident d'après Le Wei Lio, *T'oung Pao*, 6: 527–528, 1905.

[2] René Grousset, *Histoire de l'extrême Orient*, 60, 61, 64, Paris, Geuthner, 1929.

[3] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 361. Bacot, Jacques, Le Mariage chinois du roi Tibetain Sron-bcan-sgan-po, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, 7, Juillet, Louvain, Istas, 1935.

"The Tibetan chronicles show that in the IXth century, Buddhism had only passed the frontiers of Tibet without having either affected the mind of the people or even the court."

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temple must indeed have been devoted to the worship 175
of Buddha at some time; otherwise the name *Pei Ch'an-* 792
ssu would remain inexplicable. These facts seem to lead to the supposition that the original temple, already ruined in A.D. 265, must have been built by the early Chinese frontier colonists; and because it was not then called by the term *ssu*, the specific appellation for Buddhist temples, but *shen-ssu*, it must have been devoted to the worship of the spirits (of the locality), in the old Chinese manner. Later, after A.D. 520, the ruined original temple must have been converted into a Buddhist temple of the Dhyana sect. From that time on the people must have started calling it *Pei Ch'an-ssu*. Later still the temple, after having been changed to the cult of Taoist spirits, seems to have retained the Buddhist appellation, and the author of the *Annals* seems to have supposed erroneously that the temple was originally a Buddhist temple.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY COLONISTS OR BY MONKS FROM TURKISTAN?

Buddhism was introduced in China "officially" be- 175
tween A.D. 64 and 67 by way of Turkistan,[7] before 771
the time of King Kanishka of Kushana (80–110 or 120– 797
162), whose realm was situated on the celebrated commercial road connecting the Roman Empire with India and China.[8] Buddhism had been diffused into the petty realms of central Asia, with which the *Chinese generals* waged war for two centuries (121 B.C.–A.D. 101).[9] The first translators of Buddhist scriptures, mostly of Iranian and Scythian origin, came to China from Turkistan in A.D. 148.[10] All these missionaries, on their way to China, passed through Liang-chou which at that time was one of the most important emporiums in west China. Here lived businessmen from remote countries, subjects of the Roman Empire.[11]

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[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 1: 410, " . . . nothing is known for sure about the way or the time Buddhism was first diffused in China." However, Franke wrote earlier, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12: 217, 1909, " . . . Buddhism was firmly established in China in the second half of the first century A.D.; it made big strides during the middle of the second century, and rode the crest of the waves during the second half of the fourth century." Grousset, *op. cit.*, 244: "In 65 A.D. there existed sporadically in Kiangsu Buddhist communities, protected by the brother of Emperor Ming-ti. The diffusion of Buddhism seems only to have started on some large scale during the middle of the second century A.D. . . ."

[8] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 55: " . . . the transcontinental silk trade road, running through Kashgaria (Turkistan) and Iran, was already open in the second century B.C."

[9] O. Franke, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, " . . . during the three first centuries of our era, Buddhism must have been diffused from Gandhara and Kashmir into Turkistan."

[10] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 245.

[11] Peter Boodberg, Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 1: 289, Cambridge, November, 1936, "Besides the two 'Aryan' colonies in Shensi, there are reasons to believe that there existed on the Chinese [113]

[A 9(B)]

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The colonization of Huang-chung started between 121 and 119 B.C. with the transportation of Chinese families from central China, and criminals released from jail (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, p. 2*b*). In A.D. 9 the colonization system was developed on a larger scale in the same way. In A.D. 132 (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9) after five new colonies were established, the total number reached only ten. Intermittently, new families and criminals had to be sent to replace those who died or ran away (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9*b*). In A.D. 220, after three centuries, the originally walled, small garrison of Hsining was expanded by the building of three new cities, on three sides of it (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 13*a*). For the first time, Hsining started to become a real city, the only one in the whole country.

It is tempting to suppose that, at the time of the expansion of the city, the temple of the "Earth Tower" might have been built, for it could easily have been protected by the garrison troops who farmed the fields around it. On the other hand, it is an historical fact that Buddhism already had a firm toehold in China in the second half of the second century A.D. It seems possible that among these colonists some might have been professing Buddhists when they arrived in Huang-chung, because Buddhism was the religion of the people. If so, Buddhism might have been imported by the colonists and practiced among them during the second century A.D. However, another possibility is not precluded. Monks who were attendants for the early translators of Buddhist texts (A.D. 148) might have settled in the emporium of Liang-chou, diffusing Buddhism as monks used to do in the oasis cities of Turkistan. Some among them might have tried to go to Hsining to spread Buddhism, after the city had been built and relative security provided. However, no historical data are available to support either of these two suppositions.

More can hardly be said about the diffusion of Buddhism in Huang-chung during the first three centuries of our era, because of the lack of historical data.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY HSIEN-PI TRIBES?

The region of Huang-chung, and its neighboring countries, upset during the second and third centuries by three noticeable invasions of Hsien-pi tribes which settled in the country, driving out the larger Tibetan

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border a third colony from the 'Far West,' this time located in modern Kansu. In the list of Hsien dependent on the prefecture of Chang-Yeh we have Li-Chien-Hsien. . . . It is tempting to see in the name of this administrative subdivision of a western Chinese province a variant transcription . . . which is one of the names under which the Roman Orient was known to the Chinese of the Han dynasty. . . . The name of the little Chinese city on the desert road to the West, would indicate that an important Western community must have sent out its sons to the distant land of the Seres to imprint the name of the metropolis on an outpost of the Han Empire." See also M. Medard, Ta-Ts'in, Province romaine en Asie, *Journal de Pékin*, 141 *et. sq.*, 1936.

tribes[12] and assimilating the smaller ones, changed the whole of the population. This raises the question whether Buddhism was spread into the country by these Hsien-pi tribes. It could hardly have been spread by the group of nomadic Hsien-pi tribes called *T'u-fa* which, coming along the Yin-Shan, settled in the region between Lan-chou and Hsining during the second century A.D.[13] No historical data exist concerning the diffusion of Buddhism along the Yin-Shan at that time. Consequently, these Hsien-pi tribes did not spread Buddhism in Huang-chung at the time of their arrival.[14] Two centuries later they founded an ephemeral realm called "Nan-liang," having its capital in Hsining (339–414). For the same reason, Buddhism cannot have been spread at the time of the arrival of the second group of Hsien-pi, called the Ch'i-fu tribes, which in the third century A.D. came from the northern desert, where they lived as nomads along the same Yin-Shan, and then settled in the country of the T'ao River, south of Hsining. They founded the ephemeral realm of Hsi Ch'ing (385–431) with its capital in Ho-chou.[15] Nor can Buddhism, again for the same reason, have been spread at the time of the arrival of a third strong group of Hsien-pi, the T'u-yü-hun tribes which, living as nomads along the same Yin-Shan, settled in A.D. 280 in the neighboring region of Hsining and in Kukunor, and founded a realm which lasted until 672. At the time of the invasions by these Hsien-pi tribes in the country of Huang-chung, they were still buried in barbaric darkness.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY THE BUDDHIST KINGS OF LIANG-CHOU?

This interesting problem will be approached from geographical and historical aspects. The countries of Huang-chung and Liang-chou are separated by the Nan-Shan (southern mountain range), across which many low passes facilitate communication. During the Hou-Han dynasty Huang-chung depended on Liang-chou.[16] Later on, it was conquered and governed successively by the kings of the ephemeral realms of Ch'ien-Liang, Hou-Liang, and Pei Liang, who resided at the important emporium of Liang-chou.[17]

[12] Wieger, *Textes historiques* 2: 1207–1208, Ho-chien Fu, Imprimerie de Hien-hien, 1904.

[13] O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches, op. cit.* 2: 112.

[14] James A. Ware, Wei-shou on Buddhism, *T'oung Pao* 30: 126, 1933. "Before the Wei had established their realm in the north. . . . They had not yet heard of Buddha, or if they had, they had not yet put their trust in him." Wei, alias Yüan Wei, ruled over varying portions of North China from 386.

[15] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 85.

[16] *Yüan huo Chün-hsien chih*, ch. 29, p. 15.

[17] Wolfram Eberhard, *Das Toba Reich in Nord China*, 180, Leiden, Brill. In 439 T'o-pa Wei conquered Pei Liang, the last of the petty realms which had successively settled in Liang-chou from 345 on. These realms had so monopolized the entire trade of Central Asia that Liang-chou became the most important colony of foreign traders, whose caravans arrived incessantly.

[p. 10(8)]

The Chin dynasty, which started in A.D. 265, had been unable to control its empire, which was invaded by the northern barbarians. The governors of the distant Liang-chou, according to the circumstances, recognized the authority of either the empire or one of the nearest new barbarian kingdoms (Chao, Ch'ing, Wei), or both at the same time, or even declared themselves independent, founding their own kingdoms and expanding their power and influence as far as Turkistan and Huang-chung (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, pp. 14–17). 175

From 345 until 439 Liang-chou was not only the most important emporium of the West but also the most active cultural center of Buddhism. 175 771

The kings of Ch'ien-Liang (345–385) promoted and protected Buddhism.[18] The kings of Hou-Liang (385–401) were as fervent protectors of Buddhism as the kings of Ch'ien-Liang.[19] However, Buddhism reached its highest degree of intellectual activity during the period of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün of Pei Liang (401–439), who controlled Turkistan and nearly the entire east of modern Kansu.[20] His counselor was the celebrated Dharmaksema.[21] One is easily tempted to suppose that Buddhism was diffused on a large scale in the countries subjected to unusually fervent Buddhist rulers—and all the more since during the period of 401–439, two thousand families from Liang-chou were transported to Huang-chung (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, p. 176), three thousand from Yung-ch'ang (ch. 30, p. 18*a*), and five thousand from Ho-chou (ch. 30, p. 18*b*). It seems to be an axiom that in Asia, and especially among [167]

Because China at that time was involved in endless wars, many Chinese from Ho-pei, allured by the prospects of peaceful living and profitable trading, moved into Liang-chou. The acquisition of the wealthy and rich emporium of Liang-chou had also been the motive for the expedition of the T'o-pa and the destruction of Pei Liang. The Chinese population of Liang-chou, according to the custom during these ages, were then taken slaves to populate the realm of the T'o-pa.

[18] They built the big monastery and superb tower in the city of Liang-chou, the first grottos of *Sha-chou* (Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1185), and supported Chih-shih-lün, an Upsaka of the country of the Yüeh-chih, who translated in Liang-chou four volumes of Buddhist texts (*A catalogue of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, App. II, No. 35, p. 398, Bunyiu Nanjio, 1930), and the Chinese *Sramana* Chu Fu-nien who translated 12 works (Catalogue . . . App. II, No. 58, p. 405).

[19] The king's counselor was the Indian monk, Kumarajiva, who translated the 200 and more volumes of the Sutralankara (*Nanjio catalogue*, App. II, No. 59, p. 407) in Liang-chou. They built a tower and a monastery in the city, said to contain the relics of the monk (*Annals* of Liang-chou, 30*a*); the monk was very proficient in foretelling the future (*ibid.*, 34*b*, 35*a*.)

[20] *The Bunyiu Nanjio catalogue of Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka* mentions no less than nine names of learned foreign monks working in Liang-chou, supported by the king, translating 82 works from Indian and Sanskrit into Chinese (App. II, p. 410, No. 61, pp. 64–72). Nan-yang-hu, the nephew of the king was a translator (App. II, No. 83). Walter Fuchs, Zür technischen Organisation der Übersetzungen buddhistischer Schriften in Chinesische, *Asia Major* 6: 84, 1930.

[21] *Annals* of Liang-chou, 34*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 196. Ware, *op. cit.* 2: 133.

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the nomadic tribes, subjects adopted the religion professed by their kings or chiefs. Even in Europe there existed the sayings: *Regis ad exemplar* ("Subjects follow the pattern set by the king"), *cujus regio ejus religio* ("Let the religion of each state follow that of its prince"). However, not a single fact is recorded in the *Annals* concerning the building of Buddhist temples or monasteries in Huang-chung during this century of intensive cultural Buddhist activity promoted by the conquerers and rulers of Huang-chung in their capital of Liang-chou. This fact seems to challenge belief. Possibly the insecurity in the country on account of the military actions accompanying the conquest, carried on by the three successive rulers in the span of a century (345–439), and the disturbances following the transportation of such important groups of families, afford the explanation. Perhaps the Buddhist cultural activities did not appeal so much to the people, as to the court and the administrative centers of the capital, and so the impact of Buddhism remained confined to the area of the capital.

The T'o-pa Wei conquered the kingdom of Pei Liang in 439, but at the time it was involved in a serious persecution of Buddhism (438–452).[22] From 445 until 635 endless troubles occurred in Huang-chung, on account of the intermittent inroads of the T'u-yü-hun from Kukunor, and the T'o-pa, Sui, and T'ang dynasties successively had to wage war with them (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 20*b*–24*b*). In 663 there started the intermittent inroads of the T'u-fan until 866 (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 25*a*–31*a*). During the Wu-tai period (907–960) China was unable to control Huang-chung. The Sung dynasty (920–1227) was powerless against the Hsi-Hsia and Chin, which successively occupied Huang-chung, but which themselves had trouble with the T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang (*Annals*, ch. 31, pp. 1*a*–8*b*). Finally, the Mongols conquered Huang-chung in 1227 and brought peace into the country. No wonder, during these eight centuries of intermittent troubles and change in the population, Buddhist activities were very limited, and the few existing institutions in depopulated Huang-chung were of minor importance.

HISTORICAL DATA ACCORDING TO TIBETAN SOURCES

However, the lack of information in the *Annals* of Hsining relating to this period is compensated for by data provided by the Tibetan *Blue Annals* of 'Gos lo-tsa-la composed between A.D. 1476 and 1478.[23]

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[22] Ware, *op. cit.*, 135, " . . . when in the period T'ai-yen (435–440) the province of Liang was conquered and its population moved to the capital, the monks and Buddhist paraphernalia all came East, and the counterfeit teaching increased far and wide. Presently, owing to the large number of Sramanas, an Imperial order was given to unfrock those under 50 years of age."

[23] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1949: 1; 1953: 11. *The Blue Annals* and the *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston Rin-po-

[P. 11(B)]

Buddhism, introduced in Tibet during the reign of King Sron-btsan sgam-po, who died in A.D. 650 or 698, was persecuted by King Lang Darma in either 841 or 901. The persecution lasted for 70 or 108 years. However, the doctrine continued to exist in Western Tibet (mNa-ris). 175 771 [798]

In Book II of the *Blue Annals* (pp. 65–66) it is stated that:

> dGe-ba rab-gsal started his religious life at the hermitage of Zin-dpon. Three hermits [24] had fled via Khotan, to the country of Hor (Uigur kingdom), during the persecution and proceeding to Amdo met with dGe-ba rab-gsal, born in 892 in the village of Jya-zur situated north of Hsün-hua on the northern bank of the Yellow River. One of these "Three Learned Men of Tibet" ordained dGe-ba rab-sgal who went to Kan-chou (Kansu) for study but could not enter Tibet on account of the famine. In a vision he saw "Asuras" known as the "Nine Brother Dwarfs" residing in the neighborhood of Mount Dantig, who invited him to go to their place where there are great hermitages "promising to become his lay supporters."
>
> In order to combat certain Yogis existing there, he laid the foundation of the monastery of Dantig, disciples joined him; he resided there for 35 years and died at 84 (975). Other celebrated fugitives of Tibet, called "The Six Men from *dbUs* and *gTsan*," who inaugurated the revival of Buddhism in Tibet, had met with dGe-ba rab-sgal, and had their ordination ceremony presided over by his disciple.

The text of the *Blue Annals* presents evidences of the existence of the hermitage of Zin-dpon and the founding of a hermitage at Mount Dantig by dGe-ba rab-gsal in the country where, during that period, there existed "great hermitages."

The text (*Blue Annals*, 65) fixing the location of Mount Dantig notes: "Ri Dantig is situated on the bank of the rMa-chu or Huang-ho, southeast of Kum-'bum and north of Hsün-hua." In the Introduction (p. 17), the author notes that "dGe-ba rab-gsal was born in 892 in Tsong-ka bDe-khams" (north Amdo; according to a local tradition his native village was Jya-zur, situated on the northern bank of the rMa-chu, north of Hsün-hua).

The location of Mount Dantig on which dGe-ba rab-gsal built his hermitage in A.D. 940, southeast of Hsining on the northern bank of the Yellow River, seems to correspond perfectly with that of the Mount Ami ch'ü-lu situated 140 *li* southeast of Hsining on which is built the actually still existing picturesque monastery of Sha-ch'ung. In 1910 its origin had been lost, but various surviving traditions attributed its origin to the Yüan

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che composed in 1322, partly translated by E. Obermiller, 1931, are the main sources of information for all later historical compilations in Tibet. *Ibid.*, Introduction, 1.

[24] *Idem*, 63, cites Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism*. Obermiller, *Blue annals*, 2: 201. The three men are called *Bodhi-kyi mkhas-pa mi-gsum* or The Three Learned Men of Tibet. They are buried in a temple at Hsining. In dPari, north of Hsining, there exists a stone pillar with the names of three men mentioned on it (verbal communication of Rev. dGe-dun Chos-'phel). I never heard about such facts during my sojourn in the country.

[p. 12(A)]

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period (1280–1368). The site of the hermitage of Zin-dpon being less picturesque, it is hard to identify it with the monastery of Goorong bzan which is a neighbor of Sha-ch'ung.[88]

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[88] R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* 44: 229, 1951, identifies Sha-ch'ung (Sha-ch'ung of the Hsining *Annals*) with the monastery of the Rock of Bya-k'yun, below the city of Kui-te, south of Hsining, in the region of the Tibetans situated behind Tsong-ko. He gives details (p. 230) concerning the region of Tsong-ko situated between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng, where he notes the river of Tsong running in the valley between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng. The *Annals* of Hsining provide more details; "the River Tsong is east of the city (subprefecture of Nien-pei) (ch. 4, p. 15*a*). The valley of Tsong is situated 30 *li* west of the Great Rapids" (ch. 4, p. 10*b*), which are *circa* 30 *li* east of Nien-pei. "The River Tsong-ko which is north of the old city of Tsong-ko is [also known as] the River of Hsining [Huang-shui]; when the river reaches the city of Tsong-ko it is then called Tsong-ko River. The river changes its name according to the places [through which it flows] (ch. 4, p. 17*a*). South of the subprefecture of Nien-pei, there exists a city of Tsong-ko." The Sung *Annals* note: "The city of Lung-chih, which is the old city of Tsong-ko, depended on the Chou of Hsining. Concerning old Lung-chih there are three: at the time of the Han dynasties the city was situated west of the actual Ning-I [Hsining] in the *Chün* of the western Sea (Kukunor); at the time of the Sui and T'ang dynasties Lung-chih was situated to the southwest of the actual Nien-pei near the Yellow River; at the time of the Sung dynasty it was located to the south of Nien-pei; therefore, it is an error to say indiscriminately that the old city of Tsong-ko was only one city."

Shih-ch'eng (ch. 7, p. 13*a*) "is situated south of Nien-pei near the Yellow River." But ch. 7, p. 14 notes: "south of Nien-pei is the old city of Hua-ch'eng, which is properly the city of Shih-ch'eng established by the Hu-Wei; because in that region there was a Hua-lung valley, its name was changed to that of Hua-ch'eng hsien in 568 and in 712 the T'ang emperor adopted this appellation." (See also article *K'uo-chou*, *Annals*, ch. 7, pp. 12*a* and *b*.) However, ch. 4, p. 10 notes: "To the northwest of Hsining (region of the Kukunor) is a river running eastward (River of Hsining) passing south of Shih-ch'eng, which joins the river of the northern valley." This text and the former one concerning Tsong-ko seem to point to the strange fact that there have existed in the region of Kukunor a Tsong-ko and a Shih-ch'eng, before two cities called by the same names were established in the region south of Nien-pei.

In modern times the region south of Nien-pei near the Yellow River was separated from Nien-pei by the Ch'ing dynasty and organized as the T'ing of Pa-yen-jung. The Chinese Republic changed the name of Pa-yen-jung to Hua-lung hsien in honor of the old Hua-ch'eng hsien, of 568, which at that time had taken over the place called Shih-ch'eng.

Conclusively, the former Tsong River joined the river of Hsining *circa* 10 *li* below Nien-pei; the region of Tsong-ko, Shih ch'eng in later times, was situated in the country south of Nien-pei and constitutes now, completely or at least for its largest part, the territory of Hua-lung hsien, near southwest of Nien-pei and really behind Tsong-ko as Stein notes: ". . . and southwest in Hua-lung hsien near the Yellow River is Sha-ch'ung."

More is available concerning the Tibetan tribes of Tsong-ko and the neighborhood from 1096 on (ch. 31, p. 1 *sq.*) fighting against and exterminating each other in the nomadic pattern; also about the Tsong-ko lama Li li-tsun, who married his daughter to the powerful Tibetan chief Kio-sse-louo, etc., which point to the fact that at that time these lamas belonged to the group of the Red Sect which was permitted marriage (ch.

[103]

[p. 12(B)]

Thus, in 940 dGeba rab-gsal, who had started his religious life in the monastery of Zin-dpon, built a monastery in Dantig. At that time there existed in that region "great hermitages" and a temple in Hsining, where the three learned men from Tibet were buried. Later their names were chiseled on a stone pillar in dPari (the region between the Ta t'ung River and Nanshan, reaching to P'ing fan). At what time were the "great hermitages," the monastery of Zin-dpon, and the temple at Hsining built? Were there at that time hermitages in dPari? 175 772

The *Annals of Kansu* 45, 65–66, and the *Annals of Hsining* 30A, 30 a, b, record that during the span of time from the period of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet (some years before 650 or 696), until its persecution (in 841 or 901), the T'ufan occupied Huang chung and Lungyu from 756 until 842, under the leadership of successive descendants of the imperial T'ufan family (Tsanpu), who appointed their own officials in the country without interference by the Chinese empire. It seems appropriate to assume that Tibetan lamas would at that time have followed the T'ufan tribes in Huang chung, and have built the "great hermitages" and the temple in Hsining, being encouraged by the Tsanpu leaders, the promoters of Buddhism. Thus Buddhism would have been diffused in Huang chung between 756–842 by lamas from Tibet and that is why "great hermitages" and the temple in Hsining existed before 940. 175 [772]

The minor importance of these institutions founded in troubled times, the loss of traditions concerning their origin, and the minor interest of the Chinese scholars for Lamaism, explain the lack of records in the Chinese *Annals*.

Conclusively, from the very beginning of the Chinese colonization of Huang chung until its conquest by the Mongols in 1227, the foundation of the hermitage of Dantig in 940, and the existence at that time, of "great hermitages" in that region, and of a Buddhist temple in the city of Hsining, are the only Lamaist institutions concerning which historical records exist. 175 771

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE YUAN DYNASTY (1280–1367)

When the Mongols conquered Huang-chung, the country was nearly depopulated. They found a few 175

31, p. 2*b*). Also, more is available concerning the subject in *Kansu chüan shen Hsin-t'ung-chih*, 1909, ch. 46, pp. 6*b*, 7*a* and 7*b*. See also Wolfram Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* 1: 20, Brill, Leiden, 1942, Shih ch'eng, alte Hsiung-nu Gebiet.

Incidentally, I encountered in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1887, Pt. 1, No. 1, p. 28: "The north of Machhu is occupied by Chinese, Tibetans, Hor, Mohammedans [this seems to be the region of Pa-yen Jung], in the east of this tract lie the districts called Tantig and Yantig in which Tantig Shelgi is a sacred place." The location seems to be the region directly south of Nien pei. However, in 1910 no monastery existed in that region. [103]

[p. 13 (A)]

Tibetan tribes, remnants of important ones which had 175
fled to Kukunor or Tibet. Mongol troops, divided into small units, were settled with their families under the leadership of clan chiefs at strategic points, in order to prevent possible inroads of hostile neighboring tribes. [563]
A group of Shat'o living in the country since 936 joined the conquerers and was enlisted among the frontier defenders. The descendants of these groups constitute the Monguors to whom this study is devoted. Later there came also groups of Salars, Turks of Samarkand, to whom territories were assigned. More Moslems also settled in the country.[26]

GODAN

The Yüan dynasty is well known for its devotion to 175
Lamaism. In Tibetan and Mongol literature, Godan, 797
the brother of Güyük (the Emperor T'ing tsung, 1246–1251) is celebrated as the first ardent Buddhist Mongol prince who invited to his residence in Hsi-Liang the Sa-Skya Pandita, Chief Abbot of the Sa-Skya sect.

The holy man accepted the invitation and started his "apostolic" journey. He remained seven years in Hsi-Liang successfully diffusing the religion over the entire country.[27]

According to history, the troops of Godan had de- 175
feated the Tibetans northwest of Lhasa in 1239 and 648
destroyed a monastery. The Tibetans asked for negotiations in order to end the war. Godan urged a Tibetan delegate to come to his residence, and Sa-Skya Pandita, to whom this task had been assigned, started his "apostolic" journey on "command" from Godan, in order to avoid the worst. He delivered Tibet into the hands of the Mongol Prince, received a "gold patent," became an official under Godan, and Vice-regent of Tibet. His successors inherited this office.[28] Discontent among the Tibetans over the surrender of Tibet caused a new Mongol expedition to be sent in 1251. More rivalries and discontent had to be crushed again by the Mongol troops in 1267, 1277, 1281, and 1290.[29]

The Mongol emperors, hoping to keep the Tibetans [781]
and Mongols in submission by manifesting reverence for the lamas and promoting their religion, lavishly showered favors and privileges on the lamas and became Lamaists themselves. Emperors and empresses received Lamaist initiation, and the Sa-Skya lama Phagspa, chaplain at court, was allowed to sit next to 175
the emperor.[30] The court of the Mongols was sincerely 771

[26] Louis M. J. Schram, C.I.C.M., The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 23–57, 1954.

[27] Huth, *Geschichte der Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, 130, 1896.

[28] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 8, *et seq.* It is the merit [113]
of Professor Tucci to have shed true light on this old myth about the ardent Buddhist Godan, his invitation to the Sa-Skya Pandita, and the political status of Tibet during the Yüan dynasty. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217–91, 578.

[29] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 18. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217.

[30] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 510–517–522.

[p. 13(8)]

Buddhist, and Peking was a Buddhist city. However, the Mongols also favored all religions—shamanism, Nestorianism, Catholicism. 175 771

The impact of Lamaism during the Yüan dynasty was limited to Peking. The number of conversions to Lamaism in Mongolia, and the number of monasteries, were insignificant, since when Altan, Khan of T'umed in 1578, proclaimed the Yellow Church the official religion of the Mongols, the Red Church was very nearly extinct. Possibly the appeal of Lamaism to the Mongols at that time was very limited because the marvels performed by the Red lamas (such as making rain, dispelling hail, predicting the future, rising in the air, subduing evil spirits, protecting the herds by sorcery) had already been performed by their own old shamans for centuries. So, for them, Lamaism could have seemed but another form of their own shamanism. [184]

TA-FO-SSU

In the long list of monasteries and temples recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining, there is mention only of the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the heart of the city, with the note: " . . . it is an old monastery built by the Mongols, to which was granted during the Hung-wu period of the Ming (1368–99), the inscription 'Pacified Tibetans' " (*Annals* ch. 15, p. 1*b*). The temple complex in 1915, although in a state of total dilapidation, gave evidence that it must have constituted a fine monastery in former times. The main temple (two stories high) contained three huge statues of Buddhas, nine meters in height. The ruins of four smaller temples were still in existence, as well as a great number of small rooms, the habitations of former lamas. This temple was built by the ancestors of the Li T'u-ssu who fulfilled in Hsining the important office of Yu-ch'eng at the end of the Yüan dynasty. The clan of the Li T'u-ssu belonged to the Ch'u-yüeh tribe of the Shat'o group which founded the Later T'ang and the Later Chin dynasties (923–947). The Shat'o were Buddhists, and the emperors of their dynasties liked to visit the caves of Lung-men where they prayed for rain and snow.[31] They honored especially the Buddhist deity, Pishamen (*Vaisrayana*), one of the "Four Heavenly Kings," guardians of the four directions.[32] This devotion must have been old, because it is said that "Li K'o-yung as a youth once prayed in the temple of Vaisrayana." [33] No wonder then that the Li clan built the celebrated Ta-fo-ssu. However, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, the Shat'o had two religions. Besides Buddhism, the old Turkish "God of Heaven" was still worshipped by them. After the conquest of North China, the Shat'o also worshipped the gods of the Chinese official religion.[34] 175 792 346 [771]

[31] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[32] *Ibid.*, 96.

[33] *Ibid.*, 92.

[34] *Ibid.*, 94. Schram, *op. cit.*, 30.

[P. 14(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

A second fact is encountered in a publication of Ma Fu-hsiang.[37] For many years he was the most prominent official of Hsining engaged with Tibetan and Mongol affairs. Later, he became governor of Suiyüan Province and a member of the Meng-Tsang Yüan in Nanking. The passage from the publication states: 792 578

> More than 100 *li* southeast of Hsining, on the territory of the 'Ten Tribes,' is the Ami chü-lu mountain upon which was built the monastery of Sha-ch'ung which had more than 1,000 lamas. It was there that Tsong khapa had his hair clipped [entered religion], and remained for more than 10 years, starting his studies and religious life, before he went to Tibet (p. 198).

In 1906 the Chinese started digging for gold in the sacred mountain. The lamas, opposed to the digging, fought and two men were killed. The governor of the province ordered punishment to be imposed upon the lamasery with ruthless severity. Ma Fu-hsiang, being acquainted with the Tibetans, sought to settle the question amicably and went to Sha-ch'ung. The rebelling lamas and 1,000 soldiers of the "Ten Tribes" were determined to fight the Chinese troops. During the long period of discussion, the head of the lamasery repeated over and over that the lamasery and the mountain were hallowed places, because it was there that the founder of the Yellow Church had clipped his hair and remained for more than ten years. He protested that by digging at these spots the "artery" of the Yellow Church would be damaged, and the ruin of its religion be made inevitable (p. 190). Finally, as always in the Orient, a way was found to settle the case, by promising that no more digging would be done on the Sacred Mountain; but on the territory of the "Ten Tribes" digging would be allowed (p. 193). This fact gives evidence of the deep-seated conviction among the Tibetans about the veracity of the tradition and infers the existence of the lamasery at the time of the Yüan period (1280–1367). More traditions exist about monasteries having been built during the Yüan period, as related by the lamas, but they are vague and no names or specific places are indicated nor do ruins exist. However, it is not impossible that the traditions point to the hermitages noted in the *Blue Annals*. The building of the big monastery of Ta fo-ssu by one of the important T'u-ssu clans reveals the fact that Lamaism was a living entity among the T'u-ssu and their Monguors. Is it not too far-fetched to suppose that among the T'u-ssu only the Li T'u-ssu were Lamaist, since it is well known that the Ch'i and Lu T'u-ssu in 1644 were proprietors of monasteries constructed by them, although we do not know when they were constructed.[38] Besides, the facts that the monastery of Goorongbzan existed near Sha-ch'ung, and that in the beginning of the Ming a board of lamas was established, suggest the assumption that in Huang-chung during the Yüan period there probably must

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[37] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng Tsang Chuang-k'uang*, Nanking, Chung-Hua yin-shu kung-ssu, 1931.

[38] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 34, p. 3a.

[p.115(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

have existed more insignificant hermitages, scattered over the country. The lack of historical data does not permit further assertion about the diffusion of Lamaism during the Yüan period. 175 771 792

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1643)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE MING

The emperors of the Ming dynasty followed in the wake of those of the Yüan dynasty, protecting and promoting Lamaism among the Tibetans and the Mongols, in order to hold in subjection the turbulent tribes living in remote countries. This policy indeed was less expensive than that of venturesome military expeditions. 175 662 771

The perspicacious Chinese Ming emperors from the very beginning grasped the capital flaw inherent in the policy of the Yüan, in regard to Tibet. Khubilai must have known that the Tibet of the thirteenth century was not the Tibet of the seventh and eighth centuries, when the Tibetan tribes, united by powerful chiefs and allured by the prospect of plundering, marauded over the western and southern frontiers of China, and in 763 even plundered the capital of China with 200,000 men. Tibet of the thirteenth century was a disintegrated country, divided among antagonistic aristocratic families, each claiming to be the protector and defender of its preferred lama sect and powerful lamasery. The armed struggles between these families had involved, necessarily, the sects they protected, and caused the sects to fight on the side of their protectors and to ruin each other. Thus the doctrinal divergences between the sects seem not to have been the capital cause of the fierce hostility among them.[39]

The appointment of the Sa-Skya great lama as Vice-regent of Tibet at the time Godan had fanned the flame of the long-standing animosity and hatred among the aristocratic families and sects, to the extent that five times Mongol armies had to be sent to quell the revolts. Notwithstanding this initial political blunder, Khubilai and his successors continued to extend their special protection to the Sa-Skya sect and to lavish on it the highest possible marks of honor at court.

However, at the end of the Mongol dynasty the powerful aBrigumpa sect had succeeded in overthrowing the Sa-Skya. Therefore, from the very beginning, the Ming dynasty avoided having to back and restore the supremacy of the decaying Sa-Skya or to patronize the most powerful aBrigumpa. It lavishly granted the same titles and favors to chiefs and influential lamas of different sects, using them for its political purposes. On the one hand, all the rival Lamaist sects had to stand on the same footing, and had to curry favors with the emperors, but, on the other hand, more and more favors had to be granted, and Lamaism reached a very high degree in Huang-chung.

[39] Tucci, *op. cit.*, 39, *et seq.* [p. 16 (A)]

The author of the *Annals*, dealing with the diffusion 175
of Lamaism in Huang-chung, seems to have neglected 771
completely even the existence of Lamaism before the 114
Ming (1368). He seems very articulate concerning the problem, claiming that its diffusion had really started during the first years of the Ming and that, in fact, by the foundation of monasteries, the granting of titles to lamas, the institution of Nang-suo, Ka'wa, and Ch'an-shih chia, the outlook of the entire country was changed and the possession and population of Huang-chung assured.

PECULIAR POLICY IN HUANG-CHUNG

Founding of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an 175

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 13*a*, 648
13*b*) that 662

At the beginning of the Ming dynasty San-la, a Tibetan lama of Hsining, wrote a letter to induce the tribes of Han-tung to submit,[40] and built a monastery south of Nien-pei and settled there. He went to court and brought a tribute of horses, and he begged for a rescript to administer the monastery and the tribes, and for the favor of an inscription for the monastery. The Emperor T'ai-tsu (1368–1399), granted his request and favored him with an inscription reading: "Ch'ü-t'an." The Emperor established a board of lamas in Hsining and named San-la the director of the board. From that time on his pupils emulated him in building monasteries; the Emperor bestowed glorious names upon them, and in addition gave rescripts for administering them. Consequently, land and power became monopolized by the barbarian lamas. During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) there were bestowed, piecemeal, on the lamas, the titles of "Ch'an-shih" (Master in Dhyana), "Kuan-ting" (one whose head had been anointed), "Kuo-shih" (master of the empire); some were even given the title of "Ta-Kuo-shih" (great master or teacher of the empire), "Hsi T'ien Fo Tzu" (Buddha of the western Paradise; Amitabha). To all he gave seals and diplomas, and allowed [their dignities] to be transmitted, and they were ordered to bring, once every year, a tribute to the court.

Because the lamas were held in high esteem among the 175
barbarians, the government took advantage of them in 792
order to keep the barbarians in submission. The people of 622
the frontiers considered the dignity of the lamas as most glorious. For that reason, Tibetans and Monguors who had two sons, were certain to have one of them become a lama. Some even preferred not to have an heir, but ordered their sons to enter religious life. Tibetans and Monguors bequeathed their wealth to the monastery with a request for prayers, leaving their descendants destitute. Thus the barbarians became poorer and the monasteries richer. In each tribe there were people who submitted themselves to monasteries and became like a tribe, the subjects of the monastery [Shabinar].[41] The Chinese officials also entrusted the Tibetan monks with the duty of exchanging tea for horses.

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[40] E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches* 2: 218. Han tung "was situated in the land, which in the days of the Han constituted all the district of Tun-Huang."

[41] Shabinar disciples. Shabinars are the supporters of the lamas, giving them material sustenance. At first some disciples performed this task. By extension, it came to mean lay adjuncts of the lamasery, and at present it means the subjects of the lamasery.

[p. 16(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Ch'ü-t'an was the only monastery in Huang-chung 792
where laymen and lamas lived in the same compound. 342
This fact reveals the mentality of the lamas and the customs of that time. These details were obtained from Living Buddhas and old lamas of Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, and in Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung, and among chiefs of the villages near these places.

STAGNATION IN THE DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM

The building of the splendid monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, 175
the exceptionally favorable disposition of the emperors [771
toward Lamaism, the lavish granting of titles and 797]
privileges to lamas who induced Tibetans to submit, all seemed to augur a period of intensive diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung. However, for two centuries Ch'ü-t'an remained the only important monastery in the whole country. Two reasons seem to account for 792
this: the insecurity in the region of Huang-chung, and 175
the violent struggle in Tibet between the sects, which depleted the forces of expansion of Lamaism abroad.

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, pp. 12*b*–19*a*) that during the period 1448–1600 there were thirty-seven inroads of Mongols from Kukunor, the Ordos, neighboring Tibetan tribes, or revolts of Tibetans. Fortunately, the construction of Ch'ü-t'an was completed (1426–1436) before the troubles started. Certainly troubled times are not propitious for the building of big monasteries, so Nang-suos and Karwas necessarily remained humble institutions.

Conditions in Tibet were just as unfavorable: Tsong 175
khapa died in 1419. The five biggest monasteries of 771
his sect were built before 1437. The rival Red Sects were still so aggressive as to dare to build their monasteries close to those of the Yellow Sect, and were even able to hinder the lamas of the Yellow Sect from attending (1498–1518) the famous sMon lam New Year religious festival, instituted by Tsong khapa himself.[55] In 1537 eighteen monasteries of the Yellow Sect were destroyed. In 1553 a war broke out with the Galdan monastery.[56] In 1621–1631 Mongols were called in by the Dalai Lama to rescue his sect,[57] but the Mongol Nairamdahu, an adherent of the Red Sect, fled from Mongolia to Kukunor in 1633 and persecuted the Yellow Sect which had spread.[58] Finally, in 1642, Tibet was conquered by the Ölöt Mongols whose chief, Gushi, offered it to the Dalai Lama. Although it is recognized that the effective power of the Dalai began with the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam (1542–1587), his political power was still scanty and questionable; it only began to develop with the Fifth Dalai Lama, Nag-dban Blo bzang (1617–1682), when Gushi Khan renewed in his favor the endowment conferred by Khubilai on the Sa-Skya.[59]

[55] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 39.
[56] *Ibid.*, 40.
[57] *Ibid.*, 58.
[58] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 132; also Huth, *op. cit.*, 51, 248–253.
[59] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 48.

[p.24(8)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The support and protection of the Mongols and of the emperors of China saved and established the Yellow Sect, which was on a foundation of rock. In 1717–1719 the Jungar Mongols persecuted the Red Sects and destroyed 550 of their monasteries.[60]

175 648 771 [789]

KUMBUM [61]

The insecurity in Huang-chung and the struggle in Tibet among the sects provide an explanation for the late date assigned to the founding of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum. One and a half centuries after the death (1419) of Tsong khapa, the lama Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, in 1560, built some "cells" for himself and his ten monks (hermitage). Later, twenty more cells were added. In 1577, seventeen years later, a temple was built close to the "tower," whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree which at that time must have been 220 years old (1357–1577), and a statue of Maitreya was honored in the temple.[62] According to this tradition and the customs of Buddhist India, a tower must have first been built on the spot of the birth of Tsong khapa to commemorate the event. It is not known when this tower was built.

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[60] L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 44, 71, Leiden, Brill, 1950.

[61] Kumbum, the lamasery of the 100,000 images is, at present, the most celebrated lamasery of Huang-chung, because of its precious trees, which are lilacs (Philadelphus, coronarius; see Rockhill, W., *Land of the lamas*, 67). The main tree sprang from the placenta of Tsong khapa (1357) and is said to have 100,000 images of Buddhas growing on its leaves. Much has been written about the tree. On May 6 and October 3, 1912, and on October 10, 1914, Father J. Essens and I read on the leaves only the two letters *Pa*, the thirteenth letter of the alphabet and *Ya*, the twenty-fourth letter, repeated indefinitely, written more or less correctly where the leaves were easy to reach. They were written with the red earth, which Chinese and Tibetan teachers use to correct the compositions of pupils. The sacred leaves are a wonderful panacea, healing all kinds of diseases of men, women, and children. It has been recorded that in Ch'ü-t'an and in Hung-shan-ssu the same kind of miraculous trees are encountered.

[792 137 755]

It is worth noting what is written regarding the tree (here called a "White Sandalwood") in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomunkhan of Amdo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1887, Part I, No. I, p. 28: "On the birthplace of Tsong khapa there exists a white Sandalwood tree, on every leaf of which, at the time of the reformer's birth, there appeared a picture of the Buddha Senge naro, supernaturally inscribed. Hence, from the circumstance of a 'hundred thousand images of Buddha' having appeared on the leaves, the town and the monastery is called Kumbum. Even at the present age, images are occasionally said to be seen divinely inscribed on the leaves of the Chandan tree and Sugpa trees of the grove. The enemies of the Gelugpa say that the said images are secretly drawn with pins and needles by the Gelugpa monks." The Chinese call Kumbum T'a-erh-ssu, that is, "the lamasery of the [eight] stupas," because at its entrance there are eight stupas said to contain the ashes of eight Living Buddhas killed by General Nien Keng-yao at the time of the revolt of the Kumbum lamas in 1723. Filchner (*Dschamba-ling*, 160) notes: "They were built at the time of the 31st mK'ampo of Kumbus [date not given] by the chief of Roko, native of Amdo, after eight lamas had been killed by a Chinese prince, ruler of the country."

[62] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 29.

[p. 25(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

In 1578, a year after the building of the first temple, the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam, had his historical meeting with Altan Khan of the T'umed, at which the Yellow Sect was proclaimed the religion of the Mongols. It is amazing that neither of them, during their long stay at Kukunor, visited Kumbum (only three days distant), the birthplace of the founder of the sect, or called on Achia, incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa, or took a glance at the first Yellow Sect temple and the miraculous tree. Possibly the temple had not yet been built nor the legend of the tree spread, nor the incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa recognized. However, four years later, in 1582, the Dalai, on his way to the Ordos, visited Kumbum where he founded a school for the explanation of the sacred texts (the school only started in 1600 or 1612) and then went for a long rest, not to Kumbum where the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father must have been, but to the monastery of Ribo Nantig (Huth, 227). Perhaps it was not convenient for the Dalai Lama to take a rest at the insignificant monastery of Kumbum, where neither a school nor the incarnation of Achia yet existed.

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In 1600 the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan, on his way to Lhasa for his enthronement, passed through Kukunor, where he remained for three months without even paying a visit to Kumbum and the precious tree or to Achia, the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father! (Huth, 238). In 1652 the Fifth Dalai Lama on his way to Peking did not visit Kumbum. Was Kumbum still so insignificant at that time?[63] According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 4*b* and 5*a*), the decision to build a monastery on a large scale was made only in 1596. This decision does not seem impossible when it is connected with the fact that in 1593 new Chinese troops and colonists arrived in Huang-chung, making the peace prospects seem even brighter (ch. 31 p. 19*a*). At any rate, the monastery of Kumbum appears to have developed very slowly. Its first Tsan njid temple was erected in 1600 or 1612,[64] the Sutra temple of Mysticism in 1649,[65] the palace for the Khampo in 1687,[66] the Pakar temple in 1692,[67] Duinkhor Kalacakra College in 1825,[68] College of Medicine in 1850,[69] and the celebrated gilt tiled roof was put on the temple in 1883.[70] Ac-

175 792 346

[63] W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung Pao* 11: 14, 1910. Huth, *op. cit.*, 268.

[64] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 93.

[65] *Ibid.*, 124.

[66] *Ibid.*, 237.

[67] *Ibid.*, 230.

[68] *Ibid.*, 137.

[69] *Ibid.*, 65.

[70] *Ibid.*, 28. Because so much has been written about Kumbum, this study has been confined to the points relating to our subject. The major part of the lama population of Kumbum in 1910–1920 consisted of lamas of Monguor and Tibetan origin from Huang-chung; lamas of Mongolia have always been numerous, while lamas of Tibet constituted a minor group. Since the troubles in Kumbum in 1908–1909, between the Dalai Lama and Achia Hutukhtu, the proprietor of the monastery—reincarnation of the father of Tsong khapa—which ended with

[p. as (B)]

The Monguor Sumpa was a prolific author, who wrote about all the important subjects related to the curriculum of the studies of lamas. In the official records in Peking, preserved in the Li-fan-Yüan (1793), concerning the subsequent reincarnations of Sumpa, it is said they are indistinct and vague; that maybe they are recorded in Lhasa at the office of the Dalai Lama.[113] 175 792

The two Living Buddhas, Chie bzan and Wang, members of the board of five of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, led a sheltered life in their residences and nothing is recorded concerning them.

SUBSIDIARY LAMASERIES FOUNDED BY ERH-KU-LUNG

The influence exerted upon the country of Huang-Shung, and especially upon the country north of the Hsining River, by the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and its three celebrated personalities was tremendous. The whole country, void of monasteries before 1600, became dotted with institutions of the Yellow Sect, depending on Erh-ku-lung. This unusual fervor for the diffusion of Lamaism seems to account for the disappearance of nearly all the small institutions of the Red Sect in that country, and their absorption into the fold of the Yellow Sect. The forces of expansion radiating from Ch'ü-p'an, Sha-ch'ung, and Kumbum situated south of the Hsining River, never before 1723 matched those radiating from Erh-ku-lung. The reason might be the lack of celebrated, learned, influential monks enjoying the favors of the emperors. This seems to account for the fact that at present a number of small Red communities and two important monasteries of the Red Sect still exist in the country south of the Hsining River. 175 771 792

Sumpa Damchos, the first administrator of Erh-ku-lung, must have been a very capable and intelligent man, devoted to the diffusion of Lamaism. He built his monastery on a solid foundation to prepare learned and pious men. He sent the best of his novices to Tibet to study, and organized studies at home. In the very beginning (1604) he founded the hermitage of Rgyud pagrva,[114] the monastery of Hsien-mi-ssu. In 1915 it was inhabited by 4 Living Buddhas and 160 lamas; it also established two colleges. He founded the hermitage of T'an-rim tarpa, where the young Chang-chia, at the age of five, started his religious life.[115] In 1651, when Chang-chia and T'u-kuan were still children, he sent the vice-administrator of Erh-ku-lung, Dongrub rgyamat'so, of Mongol origin, to Ta- 175 792

each subject the main works. He intended to write an encyclopedia from which an idea could be had of the formation and spread of Buddhist thought. . . . It is a rich encyclopedia; harmonious composition is missing. Its value: it purports to be a *summa* of Tibetan historical traditions in which chronicles, myths, saints' lives, political changes, religious doctrines are met, in whose harmony the fortunes of the sacred doctrine of Tsung khapa become a reality and are developed."

[113] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (4): 16.

[114] *Idem* 1: 45.

[115] Huth, *op. cit.*, 272.

[P, 33(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

three colleges, and Chiar-too-ssu. Forty lamaseries established north of the Hsining River and in the prefectures of P'ing fan, Liang-chou, Kan-chou and Su-chou, originated from Erh-ku-lung or its subsidiaries and were built between 1604 and 1723. 175 772

The prodigious activity in Huang-chung and the flourishing of the monasteries are, beyond doubt, indebted to the position of eminence enjoyed at court by the three learned Monguor lamas and their reincarnations, and to the initial impulse given to Erh-ku-lung by its first Sumpas. Not only Huang-chung, but the whole Yellow Church derived benefits from the zeal of these fervent Monguors. Their influence was also tremendous upon the chiefs of Outer and Inner Mongolia. In Mongolia the fervor of the converted old adherents of the Red Sect to the Yellow Sect can be ascribed in great part to the influence of the Monguor lamas appointed by the emperor as their spiritual guides. This fact also accounts for the large number of Mongol lamas living in the monasteries of Huang-chung. The Mongol monasteries are also indebted to them for the development and organization of their studies on a serious basis. Their learned books were among those used in the Mongol colleges. Most of their teachers had been pupils of these eminent lamas who had studied at Erh-ku-lung, noted as the highest center of learning at that time. Back in their country they vied in building monasteries.[128]

The position of these learned scholars in Peking and the patronage of the Manchu emperors contributed to the development of that copious production, of encyclopedic and compilatory character, which marks the 18th century in Tibetan literary history.[129] [212]

REVOLT OF BLO-BZAN BSTAN-DSIN AND THE LAMAS

The year 1723 marks a turning point in the history of Lamaism in Huang-chung, and ends with one of those tragedies with which history is replete. At the time, Lamaism rode the crest of the wave of glory and success, monasteries and their affiliates dotted the country of Hsining, especially north of the river and far into the Nan-shan. The number of lamas was countless, the people paid enthusiastic adoration to their Living Buddhas. Each family offered one or more of its sons to the service of Buddha. Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662–1722) lavishly bestowed his favors upon Huang-chung, promoting Chang-chia to be the first lama in rank in Peking, and T'u-kuan to be the second. He invested them with diplomatic missions in Tibet and promoted them as the spiritual guides of the Mongol princes. 175 771

The country was at peace and the future filled with the greatest promise, when suddenly, like a colossus on feet of clay, the luxurious Lamaist institution crumbled and collapsed. The lamasery of Erh-ku-lung with 175 579 771

[128] Huth, *op. cit.*, 372–374.
[129] Petech, *op. cit.*, 242. [p. 34(A)]

its 2,500 lamas, from which had radiated a prodigious force of expansion for 120 years, had all its temples, stupas, and homes of lamas burned to the ground; 17 villages and 7,000 houses were destroyed. Full scale fighting erupted between the lamas and the subjects of the monastery, against the emperor's army; 6,000 were killed. At Seerkok, the branch of Erh-ku-lung having 2,000 lamas, not a single temple, stupa, or home was left; 700 lamas and 2,000 of its fighting subjects were killed. The chief of the monastery, Chie-bzan Rimpoche, was beheaded. Ch'i-chia-ssu, with its two branches, was leveled to the ground; 500 fighting lamas and 1,000 subjects were killed. The monastery of Chie-bzan vanished in flames; 800 lamas perished or fled. The monastery of Shih-men, a center of revolt, disappeared in a blaze and 700 fighting lamas and subjects were killed. All the lamaseries and important branches situated north of the river were completely ruined; their lamas were either killed or they had fled. At the monastery of Kumbum 300 lamas were beheaded, fled, or were killed. All the temples and homes of lamas were burned, except the head temple. 175 579 771

Nien Keng-yao, commanding the imperial army, said that because of the furious armed resistance displayed by the lamas he had to punish them.[127] The head of the monastery, the mK'ampo, surrendered. The Chinese general informed the emperor about his prisoner. He suggested that by no means should clemency be shown toward him, for he had been the cause of all the trouble, stirring the lamas and the people to revolt. Since nothing more is said about him in the *Shih-lu*, the *Tung-hua-lu* or the *Sheng-wu-chi*, it can be supposed that he was beheaded.[128] During the revolt, two more prominent Living Buddhas were beheaded, Temma grutchen and Nga-ch'i T'u-men-han.[129]

Nothing is recorded about the famous monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, and I have found it impossible to get any information whether or not it participated in the troubles. Lamas like to keep secret in their fold this dishonorable page of their history. This sudden disaster, which ruined all the institutions of Lamaism in Huang-chung, had more far-reaching harmful consequences in the future, from which Lamaism never recovered. [712]

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[127] *Shih-lu, Yung-cheng*, ts'e 145, Chüan 14, 10.

[128] These facts are far from the legend as spread by Filchner: that the Ch'i-T'u-ssu was guarantee for Kumbum, that he was the protector of the monastery and that the amban himself could not interfere with the problem of Kumbum. In reminiscence of this fact, the grateful lamas knelt in greeting to the Ch'i T'u-ssu when he attended the festivals at the lamasery. In fact it was customary for the lamas to greet in corps all the T'u-ssu who attended the festivals with their retinue. The same honor was displayed for the Li T'u-ssu and for the Ch'i T'u-ssu at Erh-ku-lung. All the T'u-ssu who fought on the side of the Chinese at that time were intelligent enough to understand that it was not the time to interfere with the problem.

[129] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 46–48, who relies on *Tung-hua-lu*, *Shih-lu*, *Shen-wu-chi* for the period of Yung-cheng. *Annals* of the province, ch. 46; 55*b*–56*a*, 56*b*.

[p.34(B)]

villagers, who also did not permit such liberties to Living Buddhas. Feeling the stigma attached to his exposure, he committed suicide. It also seems to be evidenced by the fact that penalties are still inflicted upon lamas, in the crudest forms, for infraction of this rule. This stigma is still attached to those who fail to meet their moral obligations. 772 831 [762]

The reform by means of serious study, however, seems to be a failure among the Monguor lamas of the present times. Among so many Monguor Living Buddhas and lamas, only the Living Buddha Chao-hsi of Kumbum enjoyed some repute, but in order to cause the lamas to attend his instructions, special benefits had to be provided for them. Very few among the Living Buddhas and lamas are interested in study at the present time, and, having nothing to occupy them all day, become involved in vice. Army officers and directors of schools are aware of the necessity of keeping young folk busy the whole day long, alternating fixed jobs with recreation. The lamas, however, except for attendance at the morning convention, which lasts only an hour, have to kill time making their own living. [185] 792 461

In the whole region of Hsining not a single school has been established by the rich monasteries, in order to promote the instruction of the Monguors and the Tibetans. Even at present in the lamaseries not a single elementary school exists for the lama boys, and no religious education is given to them. Not a single lama takes care of the spiritual needs and instruction of the adherents to their religion who live in a given area. Not a single hospital has been founded in order to assuage the pains and sufferings of the sick Monguors and Tibetans. The universal charity of Lamaism does not consist in love for one's neighbor, but in a platonic compassion for the universal sufferings of humanity and of all living things and for the impermanence of all existing beings. Lamas are not sisters of charity; they pass the sick draped in their cloak of indifference.[29] 772 871

[29] Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, 373, notes: "Among Buddhist believers there has been scarcely anyone who has ever given any thought to social problems. The priests of ancient times were generally recluses who paid no attention whatever to the application of their religion to the needs of the practical world or to making the principles of true Buddhism as distinct as possible." [792 771 175]

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist, conversant with the Tibetan language and literature, went to Tibet to study Lamaism, and wrote an instructive note on Lamaism (p. 410). "I confine myself only to a popular exposition of the subject. Lamaism is constituted by two main branches; the older, the 'red cap sect' subdivided into many branches, and the later, the 'yellow cap sect.' They all agree upon cardinal points and in the formula for attaining perfection. The founder of the old sect was a Tantric priest, 'Lobon Padma Chungne' born in Cabul. He enjoined on his disciples the practices of flesh-eating, marriage, and drinking liquors, in order to attain Buddhahood . . . details I cannot give, for they are full of obscenity. The old sect, extremely popular in Tibet, has undergone considerable modification by lamas. . . . I note the reaction against the old sect by Atisha [from India, eleventh century], later by Tsong Khapa [fifteenth century]. The principle of Tsong Khapa was that priesthood must stand on asceticism. Therefore he urged

[p.72 (B)]

More has been done by the chiefs and elders of the villages in promoting justice, creating respect for elders, restoring peace in families, defending the position of the women, preventing adultery, punishing the faults of the youngsters, and making the families happy than by the lamas. 792 626 888

I felt really happy to encounter among this tremendous number of lamas the single exception of the old Living Buddha Li, who in the fasting exercises taught the older people to crave pardon for their faults and to pray, and to hear them say that they were happy to have heard comforting words from the mouth of the old man.

V. THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

GENERAL ASPECTS AND FORMER CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG 795 792 175

In Huang-chung, there are not only lamas of the Yellow Sect, the reformed sect of Tsong khapa, but also of the Red Sect, which still adheres to the rules observed before the reform. The red lamas marry, and live, scattered over the country, with their wives and children. They till their fields and raise cattle, indulge in wine and tobacco, eat garlic and nearly all kinds of meat. They perform their rites when invited by the people and live under the direction of a superior, who has far less power over them than the superior of the yellow lamas has over his subjects.

At home they wear the dress of the lay people; when performing rites they wear the usual lama dress—a red gown, the red hat, and a shade before the eyes, adorned with fringes of the five ritual colors. They use the same ritual paraphernalia as the lamas of the Yellow Sect, but they like to use a drum made of two skulls, and to blow a trumpet made of a human thigh bone; they recite their own texts. They seem to lay stress on the cult of water springs. All of them have the duty to perform the Rite of the 108 Springs, which lasts for 129 days, at least once in their lifetime. Some among them perform this rite two or three times. Well versed in magic, they are capable of performing not only the rites performed by the Yellow lamas, but also many other rites prohibited for the Yellow lamas. [292] [534]

All the lamas of Huang-chung belonged to the Red Sect in former times. The lamas of Ch'ü-t'an, the Nang-suo, Karwa lamas, the Dhyana family lamas, the lamas belonging to small monasteries or hermitages,

abstinence from carnal desires, liquor, and he enforced the rules of moral discipline. However, he did not denounce the images worshipped by the old sect, representing men and women in offensive postures, but gave to them a new interpretation of an abstract nature. . . . Externally the two sects do not differ much from each other." And on p. 434: "I am compelled to say that Lamaism has fallen, and that it has assumed a form quite contrary to that to which its great reformer Tsong Khapa elevated it, and I am sincerely sorry for this degeneration." 792 771 175

[p. 73(A)]

he honored, and the rites he performed. It will afford 756
an opportunity to study a shamanism influenced by Taoism, honoring Taoist gods, but conserving its original character and living congenially with Taoism. The suppleness of shamanism which, according to the cir- [177]
cumstances, adapts itself as well to Lamaism as to Taoism, adopting heterodox doctrines and honoring alien gods,[1] challenges belief. However, it discloses the power of which it disposes, conserving its original rites which betray its origin and basic character. It is interesting to note how rites resist the wear of time better than doctrines.

The facts were all gathered during the ten years I lived among the Monguors, and were checked many times by shamans, chiefs and elders of villages, men and women, and children in the schools, all of whom had attended shamanist rites their whole life long. I at- [123]
tended their rites several times. Since I was best acquainted with the rites of the region situated north of the Hsining River, most of the facts concern that region.

The Mongols call the shamans *BÖ*, the Monguors call them *BŌ*, on account of the lack of the vowel Ö in [178]
their dialect. *BŌ* and *BÖ* seem to be a genuine Mongol term. The Chinese of Huang-chung call them *Fa-Shih*, "Master of Magic."

It is not easy to give a definition of shamanism and of shamans who live in a world beset with innumerable good and evil spirits with which the objective of their life is to deal.

The study of shamanism is still very confused, and 756
authors are even unable to find a definition with which 771
they will all agree. W. Schmidt defines the shaman as "a man who is supposed to have the power of making his own person a dwelling place for the spirits, who will speak out of him, but he keeps the power to dominate those spirits and to subdue them to his own will and wishes."[2]

Mircea Eliade, describing the shamanism of Asia, stresses primarily the phenomena of ecstasies and of trance, by means of which the shamans enter in communication with all kinds of spirits—originally with the Supreme Spirit of Heaven, who corresponds morpho- logically with the Supreme Spirits of the archaic re- [176]
ligions—and with the souls of ancestors and the departed. This communication with spirits, residing in the three worlds (heaven, earth, underworld) is symbolized by ascensions to heaven of the shaman or descents into the underworld, the calling down of spirits along the rope or the ladder. The basic element of shamanism consists not of the incorporation of spirits

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[1] Walter Heissig, Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer im Küriye-Banner, *Folklore Studies*, Catholic University of Peking, 3: 1, 1944. This very interesting study reveals the way shamanism adapted itself to Lamaism.

[2] W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Freiburg in der Schweiz, Paulus Verlag, 9: 243, 1949.

[p.77(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

by the shaman but of the ecstasy caused by the ascension or descent.[3]

Åke Ohlmarks considers arctic and subarctic shamanism. The arctic "genuine shamanism" is founded on a psycho-pathologic base, and originated in the arctic regions out of the hysteria peculiar to this region; the subarctic shamanism originated in primeval magic influenced by the arctic shamanism. The shaman, by means of ecstasy, provides communication between the three worlds, connected by means of an axis (tree, post, or rope) along which move spirits and souls, including those of the sacrificed victims.[4]

In the course of this study reference will be made frequently to the Bön religion, because many facts relating to shamanism are encountered also in Bön, and even in Lamaism. A few words regarding Bön seem to be advisable.

According to Helmut Hoffman[5] the meaning of Bön is not known (p. 137). Bon is the old religion of the Tibetans which existed before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet in the seventh century (p. 135). It is the Tibetan form of a primitive animism that once spread all over Northern and Central Asia, this animism often being thoroughly blended with genuine shamanist principles (p. 208). At present, the systematized Bön religion is a composite. Its original nucleus was the belief in and fear of good and evil spirits (p. 135) and the worship of Heaven considered as a god of the universe, "Weltgott" (p. 156). Around this nucleus was built a façade made up of elements of the debased but more developed Buddhism (Lamaism) (p. 138), in which also animist-shamanist principles played and still play a prominent part (p. 197). Bön, in competing with Lamaism, adopted many of its rites and institutions and composed its literature according to the pattern of Lamaism.

In the primitive Bön, existing before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet, Heaven was worshipped not only as an impersonal power, but also as a personal God (p. 156). Hence communication between Heaven and earth was secured by means of a rope or ladder, the "way of the spirits" (p. 153), and by means of the post supposed to reach heaven.[6] Bön likes to emphasize

[3] Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase*, 434, 439, Paris, Payot, 1951. See also the interesting review of this book by Dominic Shröder, in *Anthropos* 48 (3–4): 671, 1953.

[4] Åke Ohlmarks, *Studien zum Problem des Shamanismus*, 83, Kopenhagen, Gleerup, 1939. See also Horst Kichner, Ein archäologischer Beitrage zur Urgeschichte des Shamanismus, *Anthropos* 47 (1–2): 244, 1952. 47: 1952, No. 1–2, 244. David F. Aberle, "Arctic hysteria" and Latah in Mongolia, *Trans. N. Y. Acad. Sci.*, ser. 2, 7: 291, 1952.

[5] Helmut Hoffmann, Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon Religion, *Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur*, 4, 1950.

[6] Edward Washburn Hopkins, *The religions of India*, 378, Boston, 1895. In early Hinduism there existed already "a festivity for Indra, extending over two days, and marked by the erection of a pole in honor of the god."

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the cosmic tree on the mount Meru. In addition the whole series of good and evil spirits were both honored and combatted in the effort to make them inoffensive. Hoffmann concludes that it is hard to trace a sharp dividing line between the old Bön and shamanism. 756 771

It is instructive to read the review of Helmut Hoffmann by R. A. Stein [7] in order to get an idea of the confusion still persisting regarding the subject. Stein holds that the definition of Bön, said to be the religion of the Tibetans before the introduction of Buddhism, is not easy to write down, because Bön as a religious system is only known in its later state of development when it seems to be a variant of Lamaism. Bön conserves more archaic traits of the old popular religion than Lamaism does, but it does not enjoy a monopoly (p. 98), because the facts relating to Bön are encountered in Lamaism as well as in shamanism. The problem of the Iranian origin of Bön is difficult to solve (p. 99). The fact that the Bön worshipped the spirit of Heaven as a personal Supreme Deity seems to have to be taken with cautiousness (p. 101).

Kawaguchi [8] notes that originally Bönism very much resembled Hinduism, but now in theory it is almost Buddhism. Shorn of its sacrifices, its toleration of marriage and use of intoxicants, it is only Buddhism under another name.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE MONGUOR SHAMANS WITHIN THE CLAN

The social conditions of the shamans are the same as those of the commoners of the clan. They are not exempted from land taxes and corvées, but no special corvées are imposed upon them by the chiefs of the villages. They receive remuneration for the performance of rites in behalf of the community. The shamans enjoy no privileges in the Monguor community as was the rule in the time of Chingis Khan. 756 554

The Monguor shamans do not live in monasteries, where they might give spiritual help to the people; they live in various parts of the villages, each with his wife and children. Their economic mainstay is tilling the soil and breeding cattle; their subsidiary occupation is the performance of shamanistic rites either for the community of the village or for private families when invited by them. The margin of subsistence of most of the shamans is rather narrow. 756

No bonds tie them to the village where they are living; shamans of distant villages are invited by the villagers, and the shamans living in the village are frequently overlooked. Some shamans, celebrated all over the country for their proficiency in the art, are invited more often than others by village communities or private families. [571]

The activities of the shamans are not limited by the

[7] R. A. Stein, *Journal Asiatique*, 1952: 97.

[8] Ekai Kawaguchi (Late rector of Gohyakurakan Monastery), *Three years in Tibet*, 131, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

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philosophy, therefore, explains the Rite of the White Tiger performed today by the Monguor shamans against hail, and the same principle (as we will see later) is applied in the rite of the "goat skin" and of the "wooden raven" against hail. The same philosophy is encountered in the facts previously related by Owen Lattimore among the Fishkin Tatars, by W. Heissig in the Kürye-Banner, and by Shirokogoroff among the Tungus. In all the studies concerning shamanism in Asia this philosophy is attested.[54]

Therein lies the reason why the Monguor shamans practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris and why it must be said that the Monguor shamans are genuine shamans, belonging to the Altaic classification. No hints are available to suggest that the Twelve Tengris were not the initial spirits to which the ancestor of the Monguor shaman dedicated himself, and we have no hints to fix the time when their ancestor shaman lived. It may only be assumed that the Monguor shamans already served the Tengris at the time of the Yüan dynasty when they settled in Kansu, because their Tengris at that time were represented as Mongol warriors and because the shamans in Mongolia practiced for centuries the subarctic form of shamanism.

MONGUOR SHAMANS ENTER THE TAOIST GUILD

It is a well-known fact that among the

> South Mongolian tribes of the Ordos, Tümed and Chahar regions as well as among the North Mongolian Khalkha . . . Shamanism and other "unorthodox creeds" had since been "outlawed" by the code of the Jassaktu Khan, by the religious proclamation of Altan Khan (1577) and the corresponding decree of the Siditü Gabcu in Khalkha (1587), [but that] certain undercurrents of a popular Chinese Taoist mysticism, known there under the name of *Bon-po* (Bö), had continued for some while, but at the death of Ligdan Khan (1634) the Yellow Sect was well established in these parts of Mongolia.[55]

"Outlawed" does not mean that these "unorthodox creeds," these Bon-po, etc., disappeared because of codes, proclamations, and decrees, for their existence is still attested; but they were persecuted or their activities were restrained.

The Red Sect, patronized by Mongol and Ming emperors and Mongol chiefs, fought a fierce battle against shamanism and Bön. The Yellow Sect fought against the Red Sects from 1558; to these former edicts may be added that of 1640, which had stipulations concerning the suppression of shamanism. "Forty-eight princes and chiefs of Mongol tribes convened in order to fix the so-called 'Mongol-Oirat regulations.'" Among them were Mongol princes of Khalkha, Jungaria, Kukunor (near Hsining) as well as of Siberia, and later two

[54] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 94-98, 413.

[55] Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century. *Anthropos* 48: 493, 1953.

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more supplementary decrees of Galdan Hun-tai-ji were added to them.[58]

From 1558 until 1640, regulations of Mongol chiefs followed each other, aiming primarily at the destruction of shamanism. The Monguor shamans must have known these facts, for news spreads rapidly among barbarians. At the same time they saw the favors bestowed in the country on lamaseries, Karwas, and Nang-suos, by the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, and they saw Erh-ku-lung, at the height of its glory, founding successively its forty-two branches, each having celebrated lamas. Life or death was the question for the Monguor shamans of Hsining.

It is tempting to suppose that the shamans, living in the quasi-independent territories of the T'u-ssu, near cities in which lived Taoist priests who were organized in guilds officially recognized by the empire, might have sought refuge with the Taoists in order to save their institution and traditions and that they might willingly have entered the guild of the Taoists, whose gods they worshipped for centuries.

If the shamans themselves had been opposed to enrollment in the guild, which entailed pecuniary disadvantages for them and the performance of non-remunerative rites in the city, surely the T'u-ssu, whose subjects they were, could easily have prevented the infringement of the rights, since their Monguors were only responsible to them for corvées, and since their subjects were not enrolled in Chinese guilds. Precisely herein lies the stress of the assumption that without the willing cooperation of the shamans, shamans never could have entered the guild, and when they entered the guild it was through fear of persecution by the Yellow Sect. According to this assumption, the shamans could have entered the Taoist guilds before the revolt of the lamas in 1723 and the catastrophe which befell Lamaism. It is easy, therefore, to understand the reluctance of the shamans to perform any rites in the temples dedicated to deities of Lamaism or to wear the crown of the five Dhyani. On the other hand they willingly perform rites in all kinds of Taoist temples, except the temples of Kuan-ti (God of War). I never obtained an explanation of this; in the whole Monguor region no Kuan-ti temple exists, while all the temples of the Monguors, which are the centers of the religious life of the village, are Taoist temples, and most of the protectors of the families belong to Taoism. Monguors cannot miss their shamans who only perform rites in Taoist temples.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the Monguor shamans honor two kinds of spirits—one, spirits belonging to Taoism, and the other, spirits belonging to their shamanism proper; that the Monguor shamans are related to the group of old Wu priests

[58] V. A. Riasanovski, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buriats, Kalmuks)*, 29-35, 1929.

771 628 756 175 795 575 756 [776] [A 90(A)]

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VIII. PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS

Having explained the internal structure and organization of Lamaism and shamanism among the Monguors during the period of 1910–1920, and having characterized the ministers of both religions, Living Buddhas, lamas, shamans, and Kurtains, it remains to study in what ways these religions are practiced, and what is the frame of mind of the Monguors toward these religions. 128

After having explained the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live, first the public rites performed in their society will be dealt with, and then the private rites enacted by them. A chapter will deal with their death and burial customs. Another chapter will deal with the cult of "Heaven and all the Spirits."

The last chapter will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping to preserve the identity of the Monguors, maintaining their traditions and customs, and strengthening the social structure of the clans in order to prevent their absorption by the Chinese.

It should be borne in mind that among the Monguor clans of Hsining, some are of Turkish and some of Mongol origin, but that from the earliest times in Central Asia tribes mixed with tribes; tribes were torn to pieces and scattered over enormous distances, and absorbed by other tribes. On the other hand, it must be remembered that our Monguors, before they were converted to Lamaism, were religious groups who prayed. Among them sacrifices were offered by the heads of the families and of the tribes, and by the shamans. They had previously met peoples practicing Buddhism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism, and also Chinese Taoists, Confucianists, and Buddhists. Even after becoming professing Lamaists, they still remained shamanist, and preserved notions and practices originating from other religious sources. 771

It is a real paradox that Lamaism, contaminated with magic which is diametrically opposed to any religion, denying theoretically the existence of a soul and of God and spirits, has created among its adepts a new enthusiasm of fervor and religiosity. By means of stressing the principle of reversion of merits, it developed the notion of personal responsibility and of duty, by teaching that all good and bad events in this life depend on the performance in the present or former existences of good or bad deeds. Although, according to the fundamental doctrine of Buddhism, the bad acts are irreparable, means are provided to extenuate their inevitable consequences, and even to transfer acquired merits to others, and hence arose the doctrine of universal charity, the alluring physiognomy of Buddhism. 779

However, the Monguors and Tibetans of Huangchung, in a way that is even illogical, do not take account of the philosophical aspects of Lamaism. They do not care for the doctrinal discussions concerning the 829

[p.94(B)]

be purified by smoking over cypress boughs, and a 778
sacrifice of a sheep or a hog is required. Every three 532
years the stomach is opened and the decayed animating 756
items are removed. New ones must take their place, because after three years their power has faded away. The Monguors invite the shaman most proficient in this art to perform the rite, since magical efficacy does not seem to be the same among all shamans and for that reason statues are assumed to be the seats of the spirits.

The statues in Lamaist temples need, in the same way, magical bowels; however, the lamas put Tibetan texts inside the statues. The magical power of the statues lasts as long as the Tibetan texts are uninjured.

The role played by the snake in the therapy of debilitated spirits is noteworthy. It will be seen later that the old mountain spirit of the Obo, protector and proprietor of the valley of Sha-t'ang, was healed and rejuvenated by a lot of medicines, among which the snake ranked first.

The table often mentioned above is said to be the seat of the White Tiger, and is used everywhere. It is a low Chinese table, adorned with strips of red cloth or silk and a small copper mirror in front. The four legs represent the legs of the tiger, while on the underpart of the table are painted the intestines and genitalia. It must be animated by the shaman. Often used instead of the sedan chair, it is carried by four men whom it crushes beneath it, or pulls fore or aft when asked for a decision.

CONCLUSION

This chapter gives supporting evidence for the as- 821
sumption that in the fabric of the religious life of the 829
Monguors, the struggle against the hail spirits and the 771
means of avoiding harm from them are a real obsession and play an overwhelming part. All summer this fear troubles the peace of mind, and mars the happiness especially of older people and chiefs of families. No wonder that every day around noon Monguors start examining the northwest corner of the sky. Everybody, putting on a brave front, brags and boasts about the efficacy of the rites, trying to bolster their wavering courage, but telling beads and muttering "Om Mani," hoping that finally Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" will help them.

Another conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the shamanist White Tiger bears the brunt of the struggle against the evil spirits of hail, and that the Taoist god of the Five Roads and his associates who are magnificiently enthroned in all the village temples, on whose walls they score brilliant successes defeating the evil hail spirits, play a very modest secondary role in the rank and file of the other good spirits and Buddhist deities supposed to lend a hand in the struggle. The Monguors have remained as convinced shamanists as the Turco-Mongol tribes of former times.

The struggle against the hail spirits by an entire com-

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munity, obeying day and night the orders of the chief of the village, pooling all its efforts and putting them at his disposition, reveals the old clan spirit of nomads united in the struggle against forces from abroad; it reveals that the entire community resorts unanimously to religious practices in order to preserve its means of subsistence and that religion in time of fear and distress is a means of securing the cohesion of the group. The civil and religious authority vested in the same chief make religion a constituent of the social organization. This note will be brought out several times further on, in the study of the religious life of the Monguors.[18] 821 829 771

X. VARIOUS PUBLIC RITES

PUBLIC RITES ON NEW YEAR'S

At midnight on New Year's the bell of the temple of the village rings. A group of villagers, comprised of a member of each family, led by the chief of the village, the military commanders and the elders, arrive to honor "Heaven and all the spirits" in the courtyard of the temple, by lighting a big cypress fire, offering steamed bread, raisins, and butter, pouring a libation of wine, and prostrating themselves holding incense sticks in their hands. The chief of the village says: "Heaven and all the spirits, we thank you for all the blessings of the past year, bless us during this New Year, give us good crops, and guard us from hail." Then they return home in order to perform the traditional family rites of New Year's. 796

On the third, as already noted, the chief of the village, the elders, and a member of each family go to the temple of the village in order to learn the prophecy of the sedan chair or table god, about the events of the New Year. In villages where there is a Kurtain possessed by the spirit of the temple, he is invited for an exhibition, which is attended by the whole community. This New Year's exhibition is the only public office discharged by the Kurtain in the community. After the exhibition there follows the Rite of the Sacred Animal.

During the first month of the New Year, in the villages where there is a temple dedicated to a Lamaist deity, some lamas are usually invited by the community to say prayers for three to seven days, for the peace of the villagers.

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[18] Potanin, *op. cit.*, 397–399 *sqq.*, describes accurately the interesting elaborate rite performed by shamans, enthroning a new image of a Taoist deity (the dragon king), as the new family protector in a Monguor family (probably at the moment of the division of the family inheritance). The performance is a blend of shamanist and Taoist rites. The opening of the eyes of the image and its animation, etc., are performed in the genuine Taoist fashion. The shamanism of this group of Monguors seems to be more adulterated than that of the Monguors living on the northern side of the Hsining River; the deities they honor are all Taoist deities.

[p.105 (A)]

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the spirits for so long a time, urged her husband to take with him the fateful picture. The villagers of Li chia t'ai, however, did not allow him to introduce the ill-boding spirits into their village. At night the son-in-law buried the picture in a deserted, ruined house in P'irke. After one or two years the fact became known. The wrath of the P'irke villagers was great enough to bring suit against Li ssu, but the court of Li T'u-ssu ordered the defendant to defray the expenses of inviting twelve shamans (for they honor the twelve spirits) in order to conciliate the spirits, to repair the outrage, and to offer a sheep, incense, and oil. After the preparations were performed, the shamans took with them the picture,[2] and firecrackers were set off. This fact illustrates the peculiar attitude of the Monguors concerning the duty of continuing the cult of the deities honored by the ancestors.

MOST SPIRITS ARE TAOIST

Since nearly every family has an uncle or a son who is a lama, it would seem obvious that most of the deities honored in the families should belong to Lamaism—all the more so because in nearly every valley there is a big or a small wealthy lamasery, and Lamaism reached the highest peak of glory with its celebrated Hutukhtus two centuries ago. However, it seems not to be so. The number of families honoring a Lamaist guardian deity is far smaller than of those honoring Taoist deities, and even the twelve spirits with their black tiger rider of the shamans. This astonishing fact requires an explanation.

The Monguors are a practical people. At the feast of spring, when the shamans invite spirits to come to the temple along the rope, no Lamaist deities are invited, and none arrive. The shamans honor their Tengris and the Taoist spirits, and combat the hail scourge by help from all of them. Honoring at home the same spirits which are honored in the temple of the village will provide more security for their worshippers against the dreaded hail, so most of the Monguors prefer at home the cult of these deities honored by the shamans, who are considered to be more powerful and more expert in this field than the lamas.

The reasons for the Monguor preference for non-Lamaist protector deities, explain why they adopt Taoist or shamanist spirits. It was always said that "Heaven" is never honored as a family spirit. However, in the families, there are encountered the cults of the spirits of the mountain, the earth, the five roads, the dragon king, the mother gooddess, the horse king, and the cow king. The temples of the villages are dedicated to the same spirits. Some families honor the Twelve Tengris of the shamans with the tiger rider. However, most of the Monguors, at the time of the division of the extended family, when they have to choose a new family

[2] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 603. Among the Alar-Buryats, images of family deities must be removed by the shaman who honors the deity.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

guardian deity do not like the cult of the twelve Tengris, 771
although these are considered the most potent protectors 776
among the spirits. The reason alleged is that these 592
spirits are very touchy and do not allow any lukewarmness in their cult and frequently during the year they urge the offering of a sheep. Therefore, the families which honor them are all families which continue a cult initiated generations ago.

However, families whose children are weakly like to dedicate them for thirteen years to the Twelve Tengris, and after thirteen years perform the rite of liberation from the dedication, and nurture the rooster of longevity. (See Part I: 102–103.)

There still exists an unusual custom concerning the cult of the Twelve Tengris for which I never found an explanation. It is customary that the images of guardian deities should be hung on the northern wall in the living room. The image of the Twelve Tengris, however, is never hung, but is kept rolled up during the whole year and put on the offering table along the wall. Only on the first of the first moon, at New Year's, is it hung for three days, and all the members of the families who, before the division of the extended family group, honored these Twelve Tengris and at present honor other deities as their protectors, are bound to come during these three days to worship the Twelve Tengris of their ancestors.

Another emotional but important reason for preferring the cult of a Taoist deity is that the families enjoy more the rite celebrated by the shaman at home for a Taoist family deity, than the rite performed for a Lamaist family deity. The lamas do not in fact honor the ancestors. They recite texts for one or seven days, make a *torma*, and the monotonous and tedious rite is finished. Because an emotional element governs the choice of the family deity, an outline of the shamanist rite will best explain what is involved.

CULT OF THE FAMILY GUARDIAN DEITY

The biennial or triennial rite is performed in the 795
eleventh month. On the first day of the celebration, 756
the same preparations are made by the shamans and 782
their apprentices as at the feast of the spring in the 592
temple of the village, but on a more reduced scale, in- 776
cluding pasting of banners and streamers, planting of the pole, binding of the rope, baking and steaming of rolls, offering of sheep, thrones for the ancestors, the hearth god, spirits of the horses, the gate, and for the protector spirits of each of the families of the brothers.

At midnight "Heaven and all the spirits" are worshipped in the courtyard by the whole family. Firecrackers are set off. On the morning of the second day the spirits are invoked and come down along the rope. Among them are the gods of the hearth, the granaries, the stables, the doors, the grindstone, the fertilizers, the well, the horses, the cows, and the last three generations of ancestors. There are the usual prostrations, in-

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village started ridiculing and deprecating him. Buddha 539
could not stand this, and made five tongues protrude out of the chief's mouth and made him fall dead on the spot, after which the village became a barren waste.

Another of the Living Buddha's topics, several times repeated to me, was that all the Monguor and Tibetan tribes would disappear, many families already being without male issue. The reason, he said, is that nearly all the departed already dwell in paradise and wait there for us, so that now the faster Monguors and Tibetans disappear, the sooner paradise will be furnished with happy inhabitants. "Make your sons become lamas," he would say, "for lamas surely arrive in paradise. However, among the dying, only those who, at the very moment of their death, trust in Buddha may hope to be reborn in a lotus near Buddha, where for thousands of years they will be happy, and where all the inhabitants will be taller and stronger and more beautiful than we are here."

Such are the topics of most of the preaching during 538
the fast exercises. Many times the fasters repeated that they loved the old Li because after every preaching he made them crave for pardon for all their sins, and because he could say the Om Manis over his beads with a wonderful unction. He had touched the hearts of the people.

IMPACT OF THE FASTING RITES UPON MONGUOR SOCIETY

Although these exercises were only attended by a 771
relatively small number of older people, their impact 785
upon the families cannot be overestimated, because the 869
old people repeated at home the topics of the lectures and the anecdotes, and because, since the authority with which the old people are vested in a patriarchal society is supreme, they cultivated in the orbit of the family the sense of religiosity; the habit of praying and of craving for pardon. Chiefs, and elders of villages who had attended the meetings, unconsciously and unwittingly were guided by these principles in the administration of the village and in the patching up of troubles. The impact was all the more important because, year after year, the exercises were repeated by the adored old Li, a man with an illustrious pedigree, a scion of the noble and wealthy family of the Li T'u-ssu. The old Li was a personality who provoked a revival of religious feeling in the country.

The anecdotes, ingenuously narrated in the schools by the children, had led me to make inquiries among the fasters themselves about the fast exercises, which before had seemed to me to be an unimportant institution, attended by old women without any bearing on the religious life of the communities. However, taking account of the overall number of the yearly participants in the six centers, and the number of men who attended them, even chiefs of villages and elders, and of the fact that in a patriarchal society the old people wield a supreme influence and also of the strong personality of

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the old Li, I understood that for a people endowed with 771
these religious convictions, Om Manis were the sheet 785
anchor when things got stormy, and that they could fall 869
on their knees and crave for pardon for their sins and pray, when hailstorms mistreated their means of subsistence.

Probably the fast exercises were, at that time, one of the mightiest means for promoting the religious feeling inherent in Lamaism. Although the lamas never preach for laymen, in the monasteries, and although a lama only has a talk with them once in a while about religion, and although there are no schools run by lamas, the people knew by means of these fasting exercises that an all-powerful being exists whom the lamas call Buddha, who is all benevolence and goodness, and ready to forgive and to help. They knew the difference between the good Buddhas and the spirits, among which some were really evil beings trying to harm them, and others were so touchy that a trifle could upset them. They knew that a terrible omniscient judge of death exists who controls heaven and the eighteen hells, who decides about their future, according to their acts. They knew that at death their existence was not finished.

However, if account be taken also of what the shamans say at the feasts of the communities and the magical performances enacted by them in behalf of the community and private families, their savage struggle with evil spirits, the ownership of the country and the villages by powerful spirits, the cult of the ancestors subject to decay, the importance of the hearth god and all the spirits who are considered to administer independently their own departments, with punishments or blessings, who are supposed to know the acts of the people and their feelings toward them, it is easy to understand also why a tremendous confusion should exist in their religious thought processes, and why they should act according to the circumstances in unforeseen and confusing ways.

PRODIGALITY OF THE MONGUORS CONCERNING CULT AND RELIGION

175
In 1914 a strong group of four or five hundred lamas, 792
clad in rags and dirt, passed through the city of Hsining on the way to Seerkok. They were lamas of the Yellow Sect, belonging to different lamaseries situated south of the Yellow River. The whole country was upset. Rumors were spread concerning an impending revolt, organized by the lamas against the newly established Chinese Republic. Spies were sent all over the country in order to discover clues. After a few days the officials announced that the group had been invited by Seerkok in order to pray for blessings upon the Republic.

The fear of the lamas turned after a few days into a reputation for fantastic sainthood, and Monguors and Tibetans ran to Seerkok in order to offer gifts. The richest families competed with each other to provide the expenses for entertaining for one day these saintly

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

wang, the god who protects against hail, Wu tao. Although they are accustomed to saying that all the spirits are Tengri and Purgan, they seem to prefer to use the term Tengri. *Purgan* seems to be a relatively recent term, introduced after Lamaism had been spread among them, for they seem to prefer "Purgan" when speaking about gods of Lamaism. However, they always say that *"uluon purgan"* means all the spirits, and not only the Lamaist deities. 776

Because in the formula *"Tiengere,"* often *"Sge Tiengere,"* "Heaven," "Great Heaven" are always used first, it is obvious that the "spirit of Heaven" seems to be prominent among the spirits in the mind of the Monguors. This prominence of Heaven is shown by the Monguors in a very conspicuous way at the time when a sheep is offered to the guardian spirit of the family, by the fact that, first of all, a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown toward Heaven in the courtyard, with the cry, "Heaven." Then a second piece is cut and thrown in the courtyard with the cry, "All the spirits," and finally the sheep is offered to the guardian deity. It is shown also at the time of the offering of a sheep to the Obo spirit on top of the mountain, when three ladles of broth are thrown in the air—first, for "Heaven," and then, consecutively, three ladles to each [823] of the four points of the compass for all the spirits, *"Uluon purgan."*

However, is it permitted, on account of this striking 771 prominence, to jump to the conclusion that the "spirit 776 of Heaven," or "Great Heaven" is a monotheos, and that the Monguors of 1910–1920 were monotheists? Monotheists are considered as worshipping but one God. People who worship and offer sacrifices to Heaven and all the spirits are consequently considered polytheists, no matter how prominent the "spirit of Heaven" may be.

Does this formula justify the conclusion that the "spirit of Heaven" is the chief of all the spirits, whom they all have to obey; that the "spirit of Heaven" alone administers the departments both blessings and punishments, and that the "spirit of Heaven" is omnipotent?[3]

When I asked the Monguors about the abode of the 772 spirits, they always pondered for a few moments, as if they did not understand the meaning of my question, and then they answered: "Of course the spirits are everywhere." Indeed it seemed obvious, in view of my European frame of mind, to interpret the expression, "Heaven and all the spirits" as meaning that all the spirits enjoyed happiness together in Heaven with their supreme chief, the great spirit of Heaven. However, the Monguors assured me that the spirits are independent of one another, and independent of the spirit called Heaven; that each of them administers its own department, and that they all know the intimate feelings and behavior of the people toward them and bless or punish accordingly. Therefore, the Monguors are afraid to [782] offend any of them and propitiate the spirit they are

[3] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217. [p. 149 (B)]

supposed to have offended. It is for that reason that 772
during the rite of spring all the spirits are invited by 772
the shamans to come down along the rope to be honored by the villagers so that all of them may extend their protection.

In the Halachih Valley, among subjects of the Lu 776
T'u-ssu, I encountered the following case. At the time 428
of division of a parental inheritance, a son considered that the decision made by the elders of the village was unjust toward him, and at the very moment when he should have appended his signature, he ran into the courtyard, pencil in hand, crying toward the sky: "Twelve Tengris, protectors of our family, you know that the division is unjust, that I am compelled to apply my signature." Then he entered the room and signed. In such circumstances the ultimate recourse of every Chinese would inevitably be to invoke "Old Father Heaven" and never another spirit.

Carpenters, building a temple in Sumdoo, having 776
had trouble with the chief of the tribe, proposed to go 466
to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to take the oath before the statue of Buddha. The chief answered, "No need to go so far, take the oath here, Buddha is everywhere; he will know it."

The belief that all the spirits are everywhere, know 776
all things, bless and punish independently, and that they are just and equitable, is deeply ingrained in the minds of the Monguors of today. It is easy to understand that in a society in which each department is administered by a particular spirit, independent and omnipotent in its sphere, little room is left for the activities of the "spirit of Heaven"; that finally "Heaven," the "Great Heaven," occupies a role of honorary dimensions and nominal importance, and the characteristics and activities of the "spirit of Heaven" among the Monguors are hard to define.

Can "Heaven," which is unable to control the good spirits, control the evil spirits? According to the Monguors, no spirit can control the department of its neighbor, and so in case of interference of evil spirits, magical devices are contrived in order to drive away and combat the evildoers and make them harmless. The good spirits, however, are invited to participate in the struggle against them. When the spirits of hail threaten the village with devastation, magic devices are used by the shamans, and the spirit protectors of the village are carried to the battlefield, and Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" are invoked. If they are unable to match their opponents, they abandon the struggle, rushing with their carriers through rivers and precipices. Good spirits can lend a hand in the struggle, but they may lose the battle and—so much for "Heaven and all the spirits." Facts speak for themselves.

Is not this fierce struggle between good and evil 771
spirits, between representatives of two opposite worlds, reminiscent of Manichaeism, fervently practiced by Turkic peoples in Central Asia during the last centuries of the first millennium? [p. 150(A)]

Does the joke played during the spring feasts be- 771
tween the shamans, concerning the making of men and women by the good Tengris, and the storm caused by the nefarious Erlik in order to disturb the good actions of Tengris, not warrant also the same assumption? Or is the struggle between two opposite powers a specific characteristic of shamanism? If so, it is no wonder that shamanism was a field well prepared for the planting of Manichaeism, with its dualistic principle of light and darkness, whose powers were engaged in an endless struggle.

BEHAVIOR OF THE MONGUORS TOWARDS HEAVEN

The whole day long the Monguors, like their neigh- 772
bors the Chinese, use the word "Heaven" in their conversation. They use the Chinese expressions: "Heaven knows it," "Heaven sees all things," "It is impossible to cheat Heaven," "Heaven punishes him," "Heaven rejects him," "Heaven does not bless him," "Heaven determines destiny," "It was decided by Heaven"; even a child born out of wedlock or by a girl married with the pole, is called "born by Heaven."

One can easily be impressed by this fact and induced, 772
at first glance, to believe that the Monguors are very 788
dutiful toward Heaven, and harbor convictions that they 776
depend entirely on Heaven; that they trust in Heaven alone in all circumstances of life, and that Heaven is considered the omnipotent, omniscient, equitable regulator of the universe and its inhabitants. However, when a happy event is announced they clap their hands, and with a gleam in their eyes happily say, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when bad news is broken they say pitifully and sorrowfully, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when they are suffering with pain, or when a calamity is imminent, they will sigh imploringly, crying, "Om Mani, Om Mani . . . help us!" The first cry of the heart is never a cry toward "Heaven" but the Om Mani to Buddha, for everybody knows that Buddha, who knows all things, is the personification of benevolence, always willing to help.

What is the factual position of Heaven in the fabric 772
of the daily life of the Monguors? After the first surge 776
of emotion and the cry to the benevolent Buddha, the "practical" Monguors start reasoning about the causes of the mischief. Because their world is crowded with mischievous spirits, they try to detect the mischief-maker, or to determine whom among the spirits they have injured. When a member of the family is smitten [753]
with a severe disease, they suspect that they have offended the god who is the proprietor of the soil of their courtyard, the god of the hearth, the guardian deity of the family, or that they are the victims of the pranks of some evil spirit or of roaming souls which they had neglected to feed. Epizootics and epidemics, are supposed to be sent by the offended god who is the proprietor of the village or of the Obo. Lack of success

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

though Babylonians and Assyrians had a trend toward monotheism, they never fulfilled it. They always preserved their monarchic polytheism with a prominent god, chief of an army of innumerable gods."[9] In Persia, at the time of the Achaemenians (688–333 B.C.), Ahura Mazda received the highest worship instead of the god of Heaven, and was assumed to be preeminent among the other deities.[10] It is interesting to encounter today the same trend of mind among the Buriats. 776 171

In general all Buriat groups have their own supreme deities, either special to themselves or shared with the rest of the Buriat world; with these deities they stand in a relationship of direct descent and they invoke the deities in time of need. The supreme ancestor of a given group may be one to whom that group attributes the descent of all Buriats.[11]

In concluding this section it is appropriate to remember that it is a fact that the true concept of a creation *ex nihilo* has not been found in any philosophical system or religion except the Biblical revelation; even the specific concept of the transcendency of God has not been expressed by any philosophical system or religion except Christianity. [77] 171

In order to understand the psychology of the Monguors regarding the "spirit of Heaven," it seems advantageous to recall first what is known about the subject among the old Turkic-Mongol tribes, ancestors of the Monguors; second, to recall the religious experiences through which these tribes passed at the hand of foreign religions diffused in their countries. It will be well also to consider the impact of Nestorianism, especially upon the Mongols upon whom the Monguors depended, and the effects of this impact in relation to the idea of the "spirit of Heaven."

CULT OF HEAVEN AMONG THE TURKIC-MONGOLS

It is common knowledge that the Turkic-Mongol[12] tribes of Central Asia, according to historical data, rec- 776 171

[9] *Ibid.*, 698.

[10] Albert Carnoy, *La religion des Perses*, 306, Jos. Huby Christus, Paris, Beauchesne, 1923.

[11] Professor Lawrence Krader, Buriat Religion and Society, *Southwestern Jour. Anthropology* 10 (3): 339, 1954.

[12] René Grousset, *Empire Mongol, Ire phase*, 1–3, De Boddard, Paris, 1941. Only on linguistic grounds can we vindicate the existence of an Altaic group including Turks, Tungus, and Mongols. Only from the sixth century A.D. was the term "Turk" used for one of the proto-Turkic tribes. In the twelfth century appeared the term "Mongols" as generic name of the proto-Mongol tribes. Earlier, however, the Hsiungnu tribes (third century B.C to second century A.D.), and T'opa tribes (who occupied North China in the fifth and sixth centuries) spoke Turkic languages; the Hsienpi (second century), the Juan-Juan in Mongolia, the Hephthalites in Turkestan (fifth century), and the Ch'i-tan (who occupied North China 907–1125) spoke Mongol languages. The Hsiungnu Turks dominated Central Asia until the second century, A.D., the Hsienpi Mongols dominated East Mongolia in the second century A.D.; T'opa Turkic tribes succeeded in the struggle for domination

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The White Banner was inhabited by the "guardian genius" of Chingis, it would protect his troops and lead them to victory; he would conquer all peoples, for the "Everlasting Blue Sky" had so ordained.[29] 797 175 643

In the same way "Ahura Mazda, among the Achaemenians in Persia, [688–330 B.C.], was said to grant to the great kings their power over other peoples, and to bestow upon them victories."[30] In ancient China "Heaven" was believed either to give or withdraw the emperor's mandate.[31]

Chingis was not only religious, he was superstitious. The need to know the will of "Everlasting Blue Sky" and of "the guardian spirits" was a constant stimulus for communing with "shamans," sorcerers, and divinators.[32] "He believed Kokchu could ascend the 'Sky' and had powerful protectors among the genii."[33] "He instituted the post of *beki* who was to be the state's chief priest, [a shaman], vested with power and officially recognized."[34] "He was fond of Ye-lü Ch'ü-tsai for he was a skillful astrologer."[35] "Chingis viewing all religions with equal favor remained himself a good shamanist, true to the traditions of his people."[36] "He remained a primitive shamanist nomad with a rudimentary sense of moral responsibility to the 'Everlasting Sky' and the 'guardian spirits' and with a fully developed instinct of acquisition."[37] 175 643 771

The impact of Nestorianism among the Mongols was not profound. Professor N. Poppe, reviewing the study of W. Schmidt concerning the religion of the Mongols,[38] notes: 771

> According to the author the Mongols had monotheism and recognized Heaven as the Supreme power. Heaven was in their opinion, the lord of life and death, was eternal, immortal and omniscient (46–47). The statement about the recognition of that Supreme power by the ancient Mongols is corroborated by quotations of sayings mentioning Heaven and attributed by ancient authors to Chingis Khan, his son Ögedei, the emperors Güyük and Mönke and other historical persons. These sayings were however preserved in writings of various authors who wrote their works much later. Therefore, the question arises whether those sayings are authentic. It is possible that in a number of cases the mention of God as "the creator of the sky and earth" attributed by later writers to the Great Yasa and other documents, reflects ideas inspired in the authors by medieval European theologians, as Dr. Pallisen believes.[39]

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[29] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 65.

[30] Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 306.

[31] H. G. Creel, *Confucious the man and the myth*, 147, New York, John Day Company.

[32] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 81.

[33] *Ibid.*, 82.

[34] *Ibid.*, 77.

[35] *Ibid.*, 105.

[36] *Ibid.*, 109.

[37] *Ibid.*, 167.

[38] *Anthropos* **48**: 327, 1953; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* **10**: 1952.

[39] Nicolaus Pallisen, Die alte Religon des mongolischen Volkes und die Geschichte des Verhältnisses der Mongolen zu anderen Religionen während der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden, 1949.

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We have to take into consideration also the fact that 175
many of the historians of this Mongol period, such as 771
Rashid ed-Din (1302), Djouwayni (1260), and others, were Moslems, who might easily have been influenced by the tenets of their own religion in this matter, and have reflected these ideas in their writings.

Besides the very serious doubts concerning the authenticity of the texts, there arise problems of the value of these texts in explaining the cult of Heaven as it existed before Chingis and before the imperial family professed (?) or protected Nestorianism, and also the question of the real impact of Nestorianism inside the imperial family through cult and rites, and upon the bulk of tribes which are called Mongol. P. Pelliot states that "Nestorianism was the religion of most Turkic tribes and perhaps of a few genuine Mongols." [40]

It is common knowledge, corroborated by the testimony of travelers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,[41] that the Mongols and Turks during the Yüan dynasty worshipped a host of spirits and Öngüts, and were as fervent addicts of shamanism as Chingis himself.

Professor Louis Hambis writes: "The Mongols at the time of Chingis did not honor a Supreme God, but they worshipped Heaven and Earth, and their formula for taking an oath started with an invocation to the god of heaven and to the deity of earth." [42]

René Grousset notes that: "When Chingis started with his campaign against the Naiman, he made solemn sacrifices to the Banner, in which the 'Sulde,' the protector spirits of his army, were supposed to reside." [43]

At present there exists the same confusion concerning the notion of Heaven among the Mongols of the Ordos as among the Monguors.[44] No wonder that after the overthrow of the Mongol dynasty, which had long since become thoroughly Buddhist, Nestorianism almost completely disappeared from among them.[45]

NESTORIANISM AMONG THE MONGUORS

Among the Monguors and the Chinese of the region 775
of Hsining, I never encountered any facts pointing to the possibility that Nestorianism had been practiced in former times. Yet Marco Polo (born in Venice in 1254), during his long stay in Kan chou in 1274, must have made an excursion to Hsining with his father *Nicolo and his Uncle Matteo. Among many minute de*tails concerning Hsining he records: "The population

[40] P. Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extreme Orient, op. cit.*, 643.

[41] A. Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, 231, 232, Puaracchi, Firensie, 1929.

[42] Pelliot and Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, 411, Leiden, Brill, 1951.

[43] Grousset, *Empire Mongol, Ire Phase, op. cit.*, 159.

[44] A Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos*, Peking, Catholic University, 1947.

[45] *Ibid., Bull. Catholic University of Peking* 9, Nov. 1934; Ordosica; Les Erkut, descendants des Chrétiens médiévaux chez les Mongols Ordos. [p. 155 (B)]

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legiance to him.[51] War broke out and finally a new dynasty arose, the Hou Han, 947–950. 175 795

Did the defeated Shat'o troops of the Hou Chin join the faithful governor? Did they submit to the new Hou Han dynasty and remain in their own country? Did the Öngüts of the northern bend of the Yellow River come over to lend a hand? For how long did the Öngüts remain in that troubled country? At least the Öngüts of Lin T'ao were taken prisoners and transplanted to Manchuria, not by the Liao (907–1125) but by the Kin (1125–1235).

It is common knowledge that the Öngüts of both Shat'o dynasties (923–947) were fervent adherents of Buddhism, as were the Shat'o of Hsining, who built the imposing monastery of Ta-fo-ssu in the very center of the city of Hsining (1280–1368). (See Chap. II, p. 14.)

Even if we suppose that Nestorianism were diffused among the Hsining Shat'o, certainly it would not have been done by the Buddhist Shat'o dynasties, but by the Shat'o from the northern bend of the Yellow River, who immigrated into Lin T'ao, if at that time they were already Nestorians. Furthermore, can the apparitions in the vision of the emperor T'ai tsung definitely be explained as Nestorian images worshipped by the Lin T'ao Öngüts, or could they have been Buddhist or Manichean images? This question is still controversial.[52]

All that I can say in summing up is that I never could succeed in tracing any evidence that Nestorianism was ever professed by the Shat'o of Hsining.

CONCLUSION OF THE CHAPTER

If the Heaven beliefs of the Turkic-Mongol tribes are to be assessed in conjunction with what is known about the Monguors, whose ancestors settled in Huang-chung in 1227, at the time of the death of Chingis Khan, then taking into account the Monguor formula of "Heaven and all the spirits," the cult of an undefined Heaven, the host of honored spirits and the predilection for shamanism which survived the intensive indoctrination of Lamaism experienced by the Monguors in Huang-chung, it seems sound to assume that among other Mongol tribes "Heaven" must have occupied a similar position of honorary preeminence. 795 776 771

The tangled problem may be summarized as follows. 795

In former times the old Turkic-Mongol tribes had no notion of a heaven or a hell where, after death, men would be rewarded for their merits or punished for their sins. They lacked the notion of an immortal soul. The soul, after having dwelt for a short while near the burial place, or in an undefined underworld, was supposed to vanish. Even at present the Monguors believe that their ancestors vanish after three generations. Their aspirations and hopes were, ac- 776 775 771

[51] *Idem.* 4: 68.

[52] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 308–309. [p. 156(B)]

cordingly, concentrated on the happiness and help needed during their actual lifetime here on earth. 795 776

However, they had populated the world with a host of good and evil spirits on which they thought they depended. They curried the favor of the good spirits and tried to secure their good disposition so that they would stay the hands of the evil spirits, and bless them during their lifetime here on earth. Among those spirits was the Spirit of Heaven, whose nature we have no means of distinguishing from that of the other spirits to whom more sacrifices were offered. (See above, p. 153.) 775 771

The shaman, whom they knew to have access to the world of spirits, was only engaged in providing them with the protection and benefits needed during their life. At present the activities of the shamans are still limited to that same sphere of action. The diffusion of Buddhism opened new vistas in the world of religious thought of the Turkic-Mongol peoples. A Buddha of benevolence appeared, enthroned in a paradise to which all people could have access and where all could enjoy happiness during the time preceding a new, happy rebirth. The concept of this intervening time became so endlessly long that the idea of rebirth was practically forgotten and put aside. However, a more concrete notion of the soul came to be developed. 756 776 771

In addition to the paradises, Buddhism revealed the existence of the eighteen hells and the presence of the terrible judge of the dead who decided about the future, according to acts morally good or bad. The shamans also told about Erlik Khan. However, the Turkic-Mongol tribes living on earth still hoped for blessings here, and were taught that the benevolent Buddha could secure them. Hence, next to the cult of the old spirits was the cult of Buddha, the throng of devotees invoking blessings and protection through the Om Mani. In this way the fervent shamanists became also fervent Lamaists. 775 771

We have no way of making sure what the impact of Nestorianism may have been upon the Turkic-Mongol tribes in later times, in promoting the development of a more concretely defined notion of the "spirit of Heaven," and its preeminence over the other spirits or even how long such an impact may have lasted. We do know, however, that Turkic-Mongol tribes honored Heaven and offered sacrifices to it, as well as to Buddha and all the spirits, and that consequently they were not monotheists.[53]

XV. RELIGION AND THE COHESION OF THE CLAN

The Monguor clans, from the time of their submission to the Chinese empire (1368), were friendly disposed toward the empire. Their chiefs received military titles and offices, and enjoyed the right to admin- 614 648

[53] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217, *et seq.* [p. 157) (A)]

canted their origin. They still know pretty well that 614
their ancestors were Monguors, however, and after two- 177
hundred years, the women, at death, still have to be 175
laid out in the coffin in the Monguor skirt. "Chinese" of such origin always remained addicted to shamanism and Lamaism, notwithstanding the fact that they also built Taoist temples and supported Taoist priests.

The second thing which turned the Monguor society upside down after 1723 was the improvement of material conditions. Peace and stability having been assured, and areas for expansion having been opened to agriculture, more Chinese moved into the country, commerce started to develop and flourish. New markets were opened by the Chamber of Commerce of Hsining, connected with those of the capital of the province. The Monguors, inpoverished by the previous chronic inroads of Mongols and Tibetans and the recent revolt, were now more prosperous. Many Monguor commoners became rich, even richer and more influential than many member of the nobility, and they began to be appointed chiefs of villages, military commanders, and elders. The nobility correspondingly lost influence and prestige. Because there were Chinese among the commoners, the way of thinking, settling troubles, and administering the villages became more and more Chinese.

The intercourse of the Monguors with the Chinese 777
became more intensive through commercial relations. 614
The richest Monguors started sending their boys to Chinese schools, marrying Chinese girls, who abhorred the dress of the Monguor women, and refused to speak the Monguor language. More and more Monguors, under the impact of Chinese culture, were ashamed of being called barbarians and preferred to claim to be Chinese. Long since, the chiefs of the clans, the T'u-ssu, had set the example by marrying Chinese girls, to such an extent that many among them were unable to speak the language of their subjects. Nationalism in language never having existed among them, the Chinese language began to be used indiscriminately at the village meetings and at the performance of religious rites by shamans and lamas. All official documents were written in Chinese, and so nearly all Monguors understood [191]
and spoke the Chinese language but used their Monguor language when conversing among themselves. However, they remained members of the Monguor clans, even though the Chinese officials did not prevent them from abandoning their clan chiefs with the same rigidity as in former times. They conserved their old customs and traditions and the old social organization.

What was the reason for these facts? On the one 771
hand, the economic benefits attached to the T'u-ssu in- 614
stitution are to be taken into serious consideration. However, on the other hand, the religious factor is not to be overlooked. The entire fabric of the Monguor social organization was woven in an atmosphere of religion which caused them to remember that they were

[p. 158(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

not Chinese and which held them close together. First of all, stress is to be put on the old cult of the ancestors, deeply embedded in the consciousness of the Turco-Mongol tribes. Among the Hsien-pi is already noted the "ox cart with the images or tables of the ancestors"; it is noted among the Ch'i-tan [1] and recorded among the Mongols in the thirteenth century.[2] Among the oldest Turco-Mongols, in the formulas of invocation of spirits, "Ancestors, Heaven and earth spirits, and deities" are included, "ancestors" enjoying the preeminency.[3] Chingis Khan became an important deity among the Mongols. No wonder that the cult of the ancestor of each of the Monguor clans is vital. A new cemetery was built for the founding ancestor, and an ancestor hall, the register of genealogies started with him, and his cult is performed yearly, accompanied by brilliant festivities at the clan diet. It is the big holiday of the whole clan. The accession of the new T'u-ssu is announced to the clan ancestor, whose blessings are asked for every year at the ceremony of the opening of the seal.[4] All the officials of the clan have to honor the ancestor at that time. These observances are a great means of strengthening the cohesion of the clan.

Like the Mongol tribes who honored their ancestors on an ox cart before their tent, the Monguors never fail to honor their ancestors of the three senior generations of each family at the time of the most important religious rite performed in spring. The cult of the ancestors is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of every family, that the cult of its guardian deity has become that of the ancestors of the three immediate senior generations.

An interesting fact illustrates this frame of mind. Among the thirteen villages of Sha-t'ang Valley one is called the village of the Kan family. In 1914 fourteen families bearing the name of Kan were still living there. These families, according to their own traditions, are desecendants of the Third House of the Kan T'u-ssu [5] established in the region south of Nien-pei. Before 1723, on account of disturbances in the country and better living conditions in lamasery territory, they moved to Sha-t'ang and became subjects of the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung. After the revolt they became Chinese subjects, without bonds with their old clan.

In 1914 I happened to learn that still, every year, at the time of the worshipping of the ancestor of the Kan clan, a member of the Third House traveled to Mo-tou, the ancestral cemetery, three days distant, to attend the ceremony, to contribute to the expenses of the sacrifice, to bring a fixed amount of copper coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple (fifty coins per member of each of the families), to have the names of the members who

[1] Rolf Stein, *T'oung Pao* 35: 68–69, 1940.
[2] A. Van de Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* 1: 37, 1929.
[3] W. Schmidt, *op. cit.* 9: 13.
[4] L. Schram, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier*, Part I: 48.
[5] Schram, *op. cit.*, 32.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

died during the year entered in the family register, and 771
to bring back a piece of pork pie for each of the families 769
in order that they might partake of the sacrificial meal offered to the ancestor at the cemetery. After more than two-hundred years, and notwithstanding the fact that no bonds bound them to the clan, the old ancestor cult still made them remember their origin and bound the clan tightly together.

The chief of the clan, at the time of his triennial 614-
visit to the villages, brings with him the picture of the 769
guardian deity of the clan in order that all the villagers may honor it in a group and feel united, putting their hope in the protection of the same deity. A temple is built for the guardian deity of the clan inside the mansion of the clan chief, where it is honored by a lama chaplain every day of the year in order that the clan may be blessed.

This study has made clear the role of the chiefs of the 614
villages in promoting the religious rites against the 771
scourges of hail, epidemics, and epizootics, fixing the rite of the sacred animal, imposing even continence, prohibiting indulgence in liquors and garlic by the performers of certain rites, forbidding the singing of obscene songs in the village during the time the crops are growing in the fields, and assessing every family a certain contribution to defray the cult expenses.

All these religious functions of the chiefs of the clans and the villages promote cohesion among the clan members and strengthen the social structure of the institution. The keen interest displayed by the clan and village chiefs in devising means to avert the harm caused by evil spirits and to provide blessings of the ancestors and all the spirits upon the clan members cannot but tie the entire clan group by closer bonds and make it feel solidarity with the chiefs, in the struggle for life.

The fact of each family having an uncle, son, or 593
nephew among the members of the lamaseries, even 769
Living Buddhas, necessarily welds the families together in a strong united group.

In the Monguor families, the cult of the ancestors participated in by all the members of the extended family at New Year's and on the three days preceeding the clan diet, the cult of its old guardian deity protector inherited in each generation by the eldest son, the celebration every year, with all the members of the extended family contributing toward defraying the expenses to honor it, and the gathering of the whole family before this deity every time a branch of the divided families gets into serious trouble—all these facts provide solidarity in the family by religious means. The family chief not only cares for the administration of the wealth and support of its members, but he is its religious chief who, every morning, honors "Heaven and all the spirits" by means of the Wei-sang in behalf of them, and is their representative at the performance of the public rites in the village. His authority is, in large

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part, based on religion and exercised in religious 593
matters. 769

In the same way, the chiefs of the villages and the elders not only determine taxes, impose corvées and settle troubles, but preside over and perform religious rites without representatives of religions, on the top of the Obo mountain, or the sacred hill of the village, in time of calamities, on top of the highest mountain of the village, in behalf of all the villagers. They are the priests of the clan, promoting at the clan meeting, during the mediation of troubles, the principles of justice and respect for elders. They defend the traditions and customs of the clan of which the religious rites are a part, and urge their performance. To sum up, of the routine events and observances of village life, eight-tenths are religious.

The religious world to which the Monguors are accustomed is compulsory, and entirely different from that of the Chinese. It makes them feel that they are not Chinese, that the meaning of their lives is not the same as that of the Chinese and therefore that they are tightly bound to the community of their clan. The performance of religious rites over the span of a whole year constitutes a part of their traditions and customs. It helps tremendously in holding them close together, and [186] prevents their absorption into the Chinese nation. 771

This fact is so striking that Monguors who, on account of political events, have become separated from their original communities, or who publicly have recanted their origin, still know perfectly well that they are Monguors. They always continue to indulge in some religious practices specific to the Monguors. Religion causes them to recall their origin.

XVI. CONCLUSION

The study of the diffusion of Lamaism among the 648
Monguors sheds some light on the policy adopted by 771
the emperors toward Lamaism.

POLICY OF CHINA TOWARD LAMAISM

It is common knowledge that the emperors promoted Lamaism. This policy has very often been explained as having been a device to debilitate the Mongol and Tibetan tribes, by encouraging enrollment in the monasteries of the largest possible number of the young, most turbulent elements of the tribes. Withdrawing the young from their tumultuous environment weakened the power of the tribes, who were always ready and poised to make inroads and work havoc in the marches on China. The entire history of the marches of China is replete with such tragic events. Alternatively, it has been suggested that this policy was founded on the hope that the barbarians would become peaceful and quiescent through contact with Lamaism.

The truth is that the Chinese were too conversant with their own history and too mindful of the harm

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wrought by barbarians in their country to indulge in 648
such utopian hopes. They knew too well that more or 771
less powerful tribes never had lived peaceably next to each other; that peace had reigned inside Mongolia and Tibet only as long as an all-powerful chief was able to subdue and to dominate the tribes, but that immediately after his death the tribes had always dispersed and began a new cycle of tribal wars. They knew too that barbarian conquerors had always tried to overcome China and had repeatedly succeeded in founding dynasties. In other circumstances Mongol and Tibetan tribes had only kept quiet along the Chinese frontiers so long as China had been able to wield sufficient military power to impose peace on them. The Chinese also knew very well that Lamaism had never changed the predatory instincts of the barbarians, and that the lamas in Tibet and Huang-chung had been just as savage warriors as the laymen. Once in a while Hutukhtus had tried to mediate the troubles among the tribes, but other influential chiefs of tribes and persons of standing had also tried, with comparable results of success or failure.

It is asserted that the Yellow Sect became an important power among the barbarians from the time when Gushi Khan, after conquering Tibet, installed the Dalai Lama as temporal chief of the country (1636), and that the Manchu dynasty recognized the fact. Before that time Lamaism was divided into sects, which supported the numerous political parties in the country fighting for supremacy. By mixing in politics and wars, and because of lack of unity, the influence of the sects was dissipated. The chiefs of the sects, however, craving titles and privileges, curried the favor of the emperors. The emperors were happy to comply with their requests, appreciating the asset of having friendly disposed influential chiefs in far-off countries, but always waited for an opportunity to use them to further the interests of the empire.

It was in this way that the Ming emperors (1368– 643
1643) favored the lamas in Huang-chung, whatever 648
their sect, by lavishly granting titles and privileges, and 792
contributing to the building of monasteries in order to populate the desolate country, and to keep the Mongol tribes quiet after the overthrow of the Yüan dynasty.

Later on, when Lamaism had become a real power, the Ch'ing dynasty engaged in war with the Kalmuks or Western Mongols. Well aware of the influence which the Yellow Sect wielded among the eastern and western Mongols and its questionable behavior toward the empire, the Ch'ing dynasty imposed its authority on Lhasa by means of its armies, but at the same time granted favors and privileges to the lamas.

The institution of the committee for the translation 814
into Mongol and the printing of Tibetan books dates 663
from the Manchu period. This was a remarkable 648
political provision. The most celebrated and learned lamas and Hutukhtus of the monasteries of Tibet,

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Huang-chung, and Mongolia were appointed members 814
of the committee. They were showered with honorific 663
titles and privileges, and summoned to reside at the 648
capital. The emperors lavishly provided for their expenses and those of their numerous disciples, and secured large temples and residences for their sojourn. The Mongol princes and the lamas of Tibet and Mongolia were elated with the generosity of the emperors and the keen interest and sympathy they displayed for their religion and for their spiritual chiefs. The emperors were happy too, realizing that it paid large dividends to have the most important and esteemed representatives of the lamaseries residing at the capital, in effect as honorable hostages, who had to ask the permission of the emperor every time they wanted to leave the capital.

However, these imperial generosities did not inter- 648
fere with the strong policy implemented by the court in dealing with Tibet and Mongolia. They did not hinder the court in banishing the seventh Dalai Lama to Ssu-ch'uan, or in refusing to comply with the request of the "specially honored" Changchia Hutukhtu, to return to the Dalai Lama the regions of Li t'ang and Ba t'ang. They did not prevent the court from drastically crushing the lama revolt in Huang-chung (1723), or from burning all the monasteries in the country, even those of the "specially honored" Changchia. Later, at the request of the "beloved" Changchia and T'u-kuan, the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok were allowed to be rebuilt. The emperor offered a contribution *ad hoc,* but two steles were to be erected recording the ungratefulness of the lamas and the new humiliating provisions for the lamas by decree of the court. The steles were erected, but built inside a wall and plastered by the lamas so that nobody could read the texts.

The policy of the emperors in promoting Lamaism has to be studied in the light of the facts. They were well aware of the predatory instincts and fickleness of the barbarians, and of the influence the lamas wielded among them. In order to further their own interests and to gain the sympathy of the barbarians, they lavished on the lamas the titles and privileges which they childishly craved; but they were not afraid to deal with the lamas and barbarians with draconian severity, whenever their behavoir was not in line with the imperial policy. An iron hand was in the velvet glove.

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO TRANSFORM THE MONGUOR SOCIETY

This study also sheds light on the failure of Lamaism 797
to transform the Monguor society into a genuine Bud- 771
dhist society. In view of the really amazing bloom of Lamaism of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung between 1600 and 1723, when more than forty monasteries were built in that relatively small country during that short span of time, and taking into account the tremendous number of lamas enrolled in them—one lama at least from every family—and the honors, titles, and privileges

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granted to the religious chiefs, one could easily suppose that the entire population must have become fervent Lamaists, and that an all-pervading energy radiating from Lamaism must have animated the entire social, family, and clan system. It is easy to suppose that Lamaism, controlling all the levers of power and wealth, and ruling over its own subjects, must have penetrated all the relations of life and colored all the institutions, producing uniformity in religious thinking, improving customs, and eliminating all kinds of unorthodox doctrines.

However, this is thinking in terms of what Christianity performed in the Middle Ages when the corporations, the guilds, the feudal system, the monarchy, the social habits of the people, their studies, even their amusements all stemmed from the same ecclesiastical teaching, when the church was the very heart of Christianity. The present study reveals that Lamaism was far from being the center of the religious life in the Monguor society, and that it did not succeed in eliminating shamanism. Even the coloring of the old religious rites, performed by the chiefs of the villages or the chiefs of the families, though tinged with Lamaism, did not succeed in making the Monguors live in a genuine Lamaist atmosphere.

The most baffling fact, after so many centuries, is that the temple of the community in all the Monguor villages is not dedicated to a Lamaist deity, but to Taoist or shamanist deities. In many villages a Lamaist temple was built next to the community temple, but it was never the center of the official religious activities of the villagers. More astonishing is the fact that the religious activities conducted in the village temple on behalf of the community are never performed by lamas, but by shamans or by the chiefs of the villages.

The most important rite of the year is celebrated in the spring in the village temple, in order that the harvest will be blessed. It is attended by the entire community and is performed by "shamans" who invite Taoist and shamanist spirits, *with the exclusion of Lamaist deities,* to preside over the rite and to extend their protection over the harvest.

The elaborate rites devised to obtain protection against the terrible scourge of hailstorms are performed by shamans. The Lamaist rite of the procession with the 108 sacred books is merely added as an extra precaution.

The most important rite celebrated with devotion by each family for its guardian spirit is performed by shamans, because most of these spirits are Taoist or shamanist.

Lamaism not only met with dismal failure in its struggle for the eviction of these all-important shamanist rites, but it never succeeded in impressing a Lamaist interpretation on the old rites performed by the chiefs of the villages or the chiefs of the families.

The thanksgiving rites for the harvest, performed in

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the village temple by the chief of the village, and by each family chief on the roof of his home, are not enacted with gratitude to Buddha. The presence of the shamans in the village temple on this occasion, does not seem to be related to the ceremony, as already explained. Nor did the lamas take over the rite of the sacred animals, so important to the Monguors. This rite is still performed by the chiefs of the villages, or the chiefs of families, who consecrate their herds to the protector spirits of their villages or of their families. Buddha is not substituted as protector of the herds.

The daily morning Wei-sang, an offering and invocation to "Heaven and all the spirits" performed by all the family chiefs, has never been changed into an offering and an invocation to Buddha, although some Om Manis are added, especially at times of trouble in the family.

After the cult of the Obo has been performed by the chiefs of the villages, some lamas chant texts in honor of the "Obo Spirits." Lamas do not interfere with the cult of the fire or the cult of the hearth god; neither do they pray for the blessings of Buddha upon marriages, nor have they endeavored to make the Monguors change the famous formula, "Heaven and all the spirits," into a formula invoking Buddha.

However, when troubles occur which disturb and frighten the families, the Monguors indiscriminately have recourse to lamas, shamans, or Kurtains, inviting those deemed to be the most potent in subduing evil spirits, or in propitiating the infuriated good spirits.

The only field reserved entirely for the activities of the lamas is that of the incineration of people who died peacefully. Shamans take care of the abodes of the wicked souls.

It is clear, therefore, that an all-pervading energy did not radiate from Lamaism to animate the entire social and family life. The cult of Lamaist deities, mixed with that of good and evil spirits, did not create an atmosphere in which Lamaism could produce uniformity in religious thinking and penetrate all the relations of life. If we add the fact that no churches existed where the Monguors could pray in groups and receive religious instruction, it is no wonder that the impact of Lamaism was not intensive.

However, the impact of the daily relations of the Monguors with their lama sons, uncles and relatives, the fast rites, is not to be overlooked, for it accounts for the fact that general Lamaist notions about the Buddhist heavens and their eighteen hells, the paradise of the benevolent Buddha, the terrible judgment of the acts of everybody after death, reincarnation, the sense of responsibility, did penetrate to a certain extent into Monguor society. The endless repetition of the Om Mani formula by lamas and their affirmation that salvation is only possible by recourse to the benevolent Buddha, who is always ready to forgive, to help, and to save anybody, account for the fantastic use of the Om Mani in the daily life of the Monguors, living in a world of fear

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and apprehension of evil spirits. The emotional factor 771
inherent in Lamaism, stimulating the gratifying hope of salvation in the presence of Buddha in his paradise, is not deemed by them to be incompatible with the performance of shamanist rites and with the worshipping of shamanist and Taoist spirits. The various reincarnations of outstanding and minor Living Buddhas within the Monguor clans and the families of the clan chiefs, explain the fact that Lamaist deities have been chosen as guardian deities of the clans, and that a temple had been built for them in the mansion of the clan chief. However, this did not bother the clan chiefs in worshipping the clan ancestors, with a display of pomp and magnificence, with all their subjects.

In conclusion it must be said that Lamaism has not

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succeeded either in uprooting the shamanist and Taoist rites practiced by the Monguors or in penetrating all the relations of life, but that by adding its new rites to the existing ones it did succeed in stimulating the element of religiousness among the Monguors, in laying stress upon new notions of responsibility, heaven and hell, in giving better moral guidance to the acts of daily life, and finally, in giving some meaning to life, which shamanism had never done. Lamaism did not attain its goal of transforming the Monguor society as did Christianity in the societies of the Middle Ages. More could hardly have been expected from Lamaism debased as it was by Tantrism, whose chiefs in Huang-chung themselves indulged in shamanist practices when they felt the pressure of an emergency.

[p. 162(B)]

/Kansu Monguors/

N *563 M 142 have very scanty beards, and there is seldom any growth of hair on the body.

e. economic activities

N *563 M [241] [233] [433] The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

M [291] [177] [171] Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to wear only Chinese clothing.

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Olots and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

N [177] Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours now belong to Chinghai Province. Very little is known about the Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokonor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian

N [233] language. They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölöts and the Torguts of Sinkiang.

2. Hordes

N *563 619 361 *[175] When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai area he found the following groups of Mongols:

(1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;

(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;

(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;

(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;

(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.

(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.

(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;

[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
they keep the ornaments and mementos of the kin group in order to have a guarantee for the good fortune and wealth of the family; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa: I chia. Above all, the arrow of good fortune seems to be of great importance among the Bon; cf. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 190, 184, 178. It plays a special role in the wedding customs of the Bon, as H. Francke has de-
[585] scribed them in the wedding songs. The wedding customs of the Tujen and their songs show a certain relationship with these Bon customs, which in itself is not surprising
[177] since up to the most recent times the Bon religion in Amdo had a strong influence. The conception of the tribal animals, mother-animals, mother-treasures, to which all other earthly animals, treasures, etc. go back, however, belongs to the world-view of the Bon; cf. H. Francke; Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 8 ff. The tribal ani-
[533] mals are also celebrated in song by the Tujen in a song-cycle bearing the name xoni, "sheep." This song-cycle actually stems from the Amdo-Fandse, among whom it is called g, yaṅ-dkar, "white good-fortune," or g, yaṅ-dkar lug, "sheep of the white good-fortune." Although vari-
[825] ous animals are celebrated in song, the sheep stands in the center as the supreme blessing of good fortune.

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If one ties these conceptions together, it may be stated of the yãṅsdzia: It bears within it the germs and origins of the gifts of fortune of this world. Living be-
[772] ings are allied more with heaven (are

[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
perhaps to be interpreted as astral), and the seeds, together with the other treasures, more with earth. The arrow represents the connection of the two (heavenly post, heavenly rope). This idea also fits in well with the pre-Buddhistic -- shamanistic world-picture with the world mountain and the individual realms. Cf. for instance, the representation in the mountain torma at the ritual of the pole-goat, where all of creation is put in miniature on a mandala. A germinally pre-formed world which maintains the actual, large world through its vital power is always fundamental. -- It would be interesting to pursue these conceptions across Asia; perhaps even the Inao and the "sending off" of the Ainu are connected with them.

[772]

The arrow of good fortune and the customs connected with it have passed into Buddhism and are practiced in all lamic monasteries. The arrow is found everywhere. The most important ceremony is the summoning of good fortune (g.yaṅ 'gug). This ceremony is reported in detail in F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, pp. 139-147), where further details concerning the Lamaistic use of the [55] arrow can also be found, but this does not belong here. Only one parallel with the popular custom among the Tujen should be mentioned, where Lessing describes the procession with the arrow of good fortune (p. 146): "After this interlude, the procession continues its way and finally returns to Hall II. They have absorbed all they can the elixir

[585]

[59 cont.]

*778 [777] [772] Meaning: The mani-tree guarantees good fortune and peace for the household, yard, and people. The air-horse is a symbol of fate. On its back it bears the precious stone of good fortune: nuru. The tree represents the world-mountain. Around its peak circle sun, moon, and stars, and below lies the world with the people, with house and yard and herds (9).

[351]

9. [Foreign text pp. 61-62.] This explanation by the informant indicates that only with the raising of the mani-pole is the compound complete, part of the world order, as is also expressed in other songs. It is based upon the Lamaistic conception of the world, according to which the world-mountain is in the center and everything else is situated around it. Among the lamas one always finds this interpretation, as it is presented symbolically in the monogram found everywhere, the nantšu wãńdãh. To be sure, the Tujen know nothing of the detailed interpretations of this monogram (cf. Note 3), nor of the parallel between this cosmic interpretation and the human body. -- Here it should also be noted that in this symbol the flat disk under the moon sickle is lacking, and furthermore that the colors are different; the small flame on the sun is green, the sun itself white, the moon sickle red; cf. Unkrig in Filchner: Kumbum, pp. 160-161.

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[62] The word sdzi-ńkuor and the informant's translation, "center-round," phonetically and semantically give precisely the Tibetan word dkyil 'k'or; cf. DMF, p. 387, and Ch. Das, p. 56.

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[Note on foreign text pp. 61-62 cont.] The various meanings of dkyil 'k'or are given there, particularly as the equivalent of the Sanskritic word mandala, the magical circles and figures and representations of the divine dwellings, etc. (cf. the chapter, "The Pole-Goat"); furthermore, for the conception of the universe under consideration here, "According to the Buddhist cosmogony there are sa-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of earth, c'u-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of water, the ocean, rluṅ-gi dkyil 'k'or the atmosphere, me-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of fire; each forming a stratum over the other. The upper stratum, i.e. that which is beyond the atmosphere, is called the sphere of fire or light [cited in English] (Ch. Das, loc. cit.). If one puts this orthodox Lamaist explanation beside the old man's explanation, he sees how indigenous and alive this conception is among the Tujen, how it is literally built into the existential sphere.

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The air-horse does not really seem to belong in this conceptual picture, and it could not be learned from the informant what the air-horse, in other words, the mani-flag, has to do with the world mountain, why it is attached to it. He thought that it would hang high on it and could flutter well in the wind, and, with its prayer and magical formulas, it would be the same as a prayer-mill that is likewise turned by the wind on the roof. Other

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[Note on foreign text pp. 61-62 cont.] explanations do not connect the air-horse with the round manger, either. Thus, one can hear that the magical formulas and prayers are carried to heaven on the air-horse. Others, again, believe that the air-horses are ridden by the wandering restless spirits and souls of the dead; in this way they would find the right way and come to rest. According to them, this is also the reason why these paper horses are released in such large numbers. Then the spirits are appeased and would no longer visit and molest human beings.

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Word List

(Cf. the drawing)

The mani-tree (tree and flag together): dardzioġ (Tib.).
The mast: dardzioġ gändzë (Chin.); mani-kan-tzu (Chin.).
The sun: nara.
The moon: sara.
For the round disk and the piece on the sun there are no specified Tujen names.
The cover: rdziala ntsam (Tib.); san (Chin.) = screen (6) [see Note 6 above].
The flag: dardzioġ (Tib.); ta-ch'iu (Chin.); ki mori = air horse;
loñsda (Tib.); lu-ma (Chin.) = horse of good fortune;
lung-ma (Chin.) = dragon-horse (10).

10. [Foreign text pp. 62-63.] loñsda is the Tibetan rluṅ rta, air-horse; ki-mori is the literal Tujen translation of it.

C3: Schröder--125 M-5 (1946-1949) 1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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[Note on foreign text pp. 69-70 cont.]
But this dog in the weather fort is connected with the dog of the same name of the hero Geser, hao t'ien ch'üan (Chin.).

For the rest, the basic features of the obo veneration appear in this myth: casting votive gifts, the circling (that is, on horseback, as is said to be done still among the neighboring Mongols), incense offerings. -- Weapons are not mentioned, but the cypress twigs that are stuck on the white stonepile are. -- And above all it is noteworthy that the obo is erected on the world-mountain and this probably gives the real connection and deeper meaning, which by no means need be Buddhist.

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This suggestion would also correspond to what, for example, Bastian writes (Chinareisen [China Travels], pp. 395 ff.), that the obo represents the mountain Sumeru. And the many small stonepiles in the direction of the various points of the compass thus also fit into the same world-picture. Cf. Unkrig in Filchner: Kumbum, Note 1638.

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The mani-strings are evidently likewise a Lamaistic product, perhaps a substitute for the sheep's shoulder bones formerly hung from them, which Bastian, loc. cit. p. 601, mentions. The Tujen no longer know anything about these shoulder blades. It cannot be explained why the two strings, the black and the white, are differentiated in this way here.

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*778 and incense, as an obo is. On these occasions new clay cones are thrown into it through the gaps. Usually this is on the first, 346 eighth, and fifteenth day of the month. At other times, too, 782 however, in case of emergency and misfortune, the people venerate the chorten chamber. The procession always goes from west to east, in other words, not in the direction of the course of the sun.

*778 Meaning: The chorten chamber is connected with the [776] mountain-spirit and earth-god. The column establishes the connection with the sky. The chamber holds down the hostile [772] earth-influences. Thus it protects against misfortune and ill- [751] ness (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 79.] The urn, the mountain, and the tree are essential for the beñkañ. Therefore it belongs in the same conceptual [772] realm as the central fort in the yard, namely, the widespread myth of heaven and earth, joined (or separated) by the world-tree. In this connection, in the case of the central fort the mani-flag might [illegible] Lamaist-secondary, and in the [illegible] of the chorten chamber the sasa-mountain, which consists of the mani-cones, as they are sometimes called. -- Now that a house is built over it, it is probably quite secondary. It evidently only has the function of protection and no inner relationship to its contents. It is striking that the sky column likewise is not erected as the bearer of the ridge-piece; it is freestanding and does not extend to the beam. [171] Also, in the case of the customs

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782 also draws two crossed thunderbolts in the center of the rectangle (4).

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4. [Foreign text pp. 867-868.] As other people and lamas relate, there is a great assortment of different ground-drawings which evidently merely represent variations of the mandala. My informant, for instance, had one of his relatives draw the above-described figure. He explained it in the following way [868] (see figure below): The thunderbolts represent the four principal directions and the four directions between them. The circle with the crossed thunderbolts signifies the foundation of the world-mountain rirā (Sumeru), for this rests on a golden disk. The thunderbolts signify the rest and stability and durability of the world's foundation. Originally they were supposedly made of gold as a sign of their indestructibility. The peonies are supposed to be the sumbol of the flourishing familial good fortune. The same meaning also underlies the thunderbolt that is

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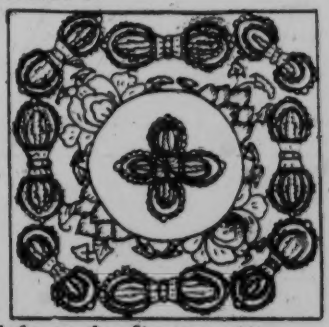

Mandala at the fire-pouring. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

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775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171] are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
769 ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
764 stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
782 the deceased would remain among the living and would need to partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
513 even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
753 indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
756 for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
755 soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This catching of the soul is called: suniedzẽ xura-. It is unclear from this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru (rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun, moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals. Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the under-world and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

[209 cont.]

772 The sky-column and world-mountain (world-tree) are emphasized
778 above all at the central fort and the chorten chamber. In both cases, however, a strong emphasis on the realm of the underworld, which is represented by the urns, is also striking. The latter are nothing other than the realm of the Nagas, who play such an important role in the Bon religion and point to the pre-Buddhistic roots of the conception of the world. The arrangement of the urns and of the scrolls in the urns mirrors the world order in the four directions of the compass and their center.
[782] The treasure urns thus represent the wealth of the earth. At the same time they are regarded as an offering to the earth-deities, whereas the main urn is the dwelling of the deities. To what extent magical effects are intended still remains to be investigated. In this connection one must also take into consideration the burying of objects in general, as, for instance, in the case of the obo, the weather fort, the warding-off magic against sickness, the construction of a compound, etc.

The air-horse on the mani-tree (mani-flag) seems to be less closely connected with the world-mountain. Indeed, it is frequently set up separately. The connection with the mani-tree is probably due to the circumstance that it simultaneously represents the four directions of the compass (2). At the same

2. The five cloth tabs on the mani-flag (cf. Anthropos 47, 1952, p. 56, Fig. 7 [see p. 100 above in the HRAF translation]) are evidently a curtailment and combination of formerly variously colored air-horse flags; four of these are regarded as the bearers of the air-horse- or wind-master and are arranged according to the four directions of the compass. This conclusion comes from a Tibetan text, for whose French résumé I am indebted to Professor Doctor R. Stein (Paris).

[209 cont.]

772 778 [614] [351] time, an inner significance cannot be denied to it. The air-horse is the symbol and the guarantor of the destiny of the family, of the kin group. Human destiny, however, is fitted into the course of the world, just as the kin-group compound occupies its place in the world-structure. According to Tujen conception, a compound is not "complete" if the central fort and mani-tree are lacking. Through them the living space of the kin group is given conformity with the living space of the other living beings.

The world is no rigid schema, however; this is proved by the significance of the arrow of good fortune. In its way, the arrow of good fortune also represents the world: the [210] urn symbolizes the earth with its fruit; the arrow, the connecting column to the sky. Frequently four other arrows corresponding to the four directions of the compass are added to the central arrow. The vital force in the arrow of good fortune is new and not observable in the other world-representations (central fort, mandala, etc.). The germs of things, the force of increase and of life, are conjured into it. It guarantees wealth, good fortune, and a full life. The tufts of hair from the animals and the grain in the urn signify that these things will not be lost to the owner even when he has sold them. The oracle-toys of the children on the arrow guarantee the development of the young person in the corresponding direction; the hairs and threads of clothing from the bride insure that despite the loss of the daughter her good fortune will not escape. The dynamism of the world is expressed on the arrow of good fortune, whereas on the mandala (central fort, etc.), more the fixed order. Here, however, the cosmic force, the sap of life, and germinal base are not to be conceived as mana, but are to be derived from their connection with the superposed heaven. The astral, heavenly order is not only the model of its earthly mirror-image; it also imparts to the world its force, which permeates both. The references in the chapter on the arrow of good fortune already offer several indications of this. These conceptions can still be pursued much further. Their threads are quite tangled; they extend back to very early cultural forms and are linked with the oldest kind of communication between heaven and earth. Old forms of sacrifice and having the deities present are linked

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with it (3).

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3. The arrow of good fortune, in other words, occupies the place of the tree of life, to which men, animals, and plants owe their existence and their development; cf. Uno Holmberg, Der Baum des Lebens [The Tree of Life], p. 69 f. Among the Na-khi this tree of life is the juniper tree (Juniperus). The well-being, wealth, and the unfolding of life of human beings are ascribed to it; cf. J.F.Rock, Muan Bpö, pp. 21, 42, 94. As the wood of life, the arrow of good fortune in the house also represents the world axis, similar to the central column in temples, chortens, god-figures (human spinal column), which is designated by the Tibetan name srog ši̇n, that is, the wood of life. H.A.Jäschke (Dictionary, p. 585) translates the expression with "axle, axle tree" [cited in English]. As a supplement, let it be mentioned that this srog ši̇n is probably also the equivalent for the Tujen name of the sky-column (sõn-ši̇n) in the chorten chamber; cf. Anthropos 47, 1952, pp. 76, 78, 79 [pp. 143, 137, 143, in the HRAF translation]. (Personal suggestion from Professor Doctor R. Stein).

The conception of the arrow of good fortune as a personification of the god of life is no longer vital among the Tujen. That it may have this significance is proved by the Na-khi in southwestern China. Instead of the treasure urn with

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the arrow of good fortune of the Tujen, they have a basket. In it, among other things, there is a miniature tower; it represents the god of life, called Ssu, Tibetan srog lha. The basket is his home. The miniature tower (t'a, "pagoda") may also be replaced by an arrow, so that this represents the god of life; cf. J. F. Rock, Naga Cult, pp. 146, 250, 251 (according to a personal communication). The significance of the god of life and his home agrees with the significance of the arrow of good fortune and the treasure urn. -- S. Hummel has also pointed to the arrow as the bearer of reproductive power and of the cosmic vital force; cf. Geheimnisse tibetischer Malereien [Secret Tibetan Paintings], pp. 8-14 passim.

Very ancient and widespread representations are involved here. The connection of god of life and ancestor and his seat in an urn or basket, etc. can be followed all the way to Indochina; and in the burial urns and Shang bronzes in ancient China are probably to be seen the forerunners of the pagoda as seat of the god of life or ancestors, whose modern modification is the ancestral tablet, and in a certain sense also the hearth-god tsao-chün, which is also called ssu-ming (director of life). This as a brief reference.

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A special work concerning the

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gurtum-shamans will go into the ideology underlying the whole (god of life, god of war, god of wealth, Pekar, tree of life, arrow of good fortune, spear, ancestral tablets, etc.); cf. also below, pp. 363-388.

[773] [211] The origin of the world is unfortunately recorded only in scanty documents. According to the Geser legend and the aphoristic wisdom of the people, the earth arose through a churning in the water like butter (cream) in milk. It floats on top and is held by a wooden post which one day will start to grow and develop leaves. Then the earth will tip over and bring on the end of the world. The physical sky floats over the earth on a golden peg (nail); in this connection, cf. DMF, p. 115 and p. 445. Here there are conceptions that at first glance contradict those described above, but they can nevertheless be connected with them indirectly. They are recently elaborated [171] variants from Indian cosmology (churning with the world-column; turtle as earth-bearer) and are linked with Mongolic peculiarities (heavenly bell on a golden nail); in this connection, cf. W. Lüdtke, Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans [The Veneration of Genghis Khan]. Concerning the polar star as beacon, see further below, p. 883. Over against the earth with the wooden peg (modë ġadasë) stands heaven with the golden peg (xaldan ġadasë). Among the Tujen, however, the polar star is called [821] xaldan ġadasë: xaldan because of its shining color; ġadasë because of its similarity to a nail head. Actually ġadasë means post, peg, nail, tack. The polar star, to be sure, is otherwise conceived as the axle of the sky. Thus, the greening world-tree (earth-wood) and sky-axle (star-gold) correspond with each other. Here, too, the comparison of two parts of the world that are supposed to correspond is suggested: the sky above, the earth below. The conception of the tilting and finally falling earth may go back to the observation that the polar star, the sky-axle, is not in the zenith, but in the north. The way the [533] world-tree and stars belong together is poetically rendered in

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772 the many riddle-songs of the Tujen, when they sing of the tree,
[533] which bears the sun, moon, and stars in its crown; cf., for example, Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder," loc. cit., Song I and II.
[171] Further connections will be passed over here. Only the great similarity of these songs to the wedding songs of western Tibet will be mentioned; see Francke, Tibetische Hochzeitslieder [Tibetan Wedding Songs].

772 With this harmonious conception of the world and its close connection with human beings, one would also expect
779 a projection of the macrocosm into the microcosm. In Lamaism, of course, these correspondences are carried through to the smallest detail and find their symbolic representation in the well-known syllable-monogram, the rnam bču dbaṅ idan; in this connection, cf. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, pp. 160 f. These minute correspondences of the Lamaist monks, however, are too artificial for the people. They know nothing about them. Security in the great cosmos in which they literally build suffices for them. This world-feeling does not enter into sophisticated speculations.

[212] 3. The Religious Cult

a) The Basic Psychic Attitude

771 The inner attitude of the people toward the good spirits
776 is the consciousness of dependence upon them. They determine the well-being in this world, which, after all, is the focal point of thought, for one does not think much about the beyond. Hence the first thing a person does when misfortune or an unusual situation surprises him is to turn to a spirit, a mightier being, which can help here. How much this attitude dominates the common man is apparent from the above-mentioned basic thoughts of the informant, which provided the articulation of all the customs: "... now I shall tell you first what we do for the good fortune of the family, etc."; cf. "Introduction," Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 15 [p. 16 above in the HRAF translation]. Everything is thereby subordinated to the religious

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771 776 The belief in a supreme god among the Tujen must have been known to the people themselves at an early date. Tafel noted in his fairly reliable chapter: "The Turen [sic] of Weiyüanpu are a very curious tribe. Many say that they have only one single god in which they believe. But they are, like the [218] Chinese, also Buddhists" (Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], I, p. 246). The author unfortunately does not tell who these "many" are. Probably they are the Tujen themselves. Tafel is right insofar as a true monotheism is unknown to the Tujen. On the other hand they do not share the same Buddhism with the Chinese. The Tujen are Lamaists, the Chinese, on the other hand, never or only as an exception. From the customs observed, it now appears incontestably that the so-called one god [821] of the Tujen is a supreme god who is venerated in the form of the heavens. One must, therefore, start from "heaven."

a) The Name "Heaven"

rëǵuo

772 776 For "heaven" the Tujen know two expressions, namely, rëǵuo and tieńgëre. The word rëǵuo is little used and then only 192 in the sense of the physical sky, firmament. It agrees entirely with its Mongolic equivalent oktarǵui, which is to be equated [821] with the Tibetan mk'a or nam mk'a or gnam, and means: sky, empty space above the air, firmament, vault of the heavens, ether, atmosphere, air. Cf. Kovalevski, p. 430. Even among the following expressions that include oktarǵui, there is none in which oktarǵui is comprehended as a deity or spirit. Cf. op. cit., pp. 430-433. Thus it must be sharply distinguished from tengri (tieńgëre) and cannot be used synonymously with the latter. Only in the sense of the physical sky do they overlap. Among the Tujen, reǵuo is chiefly regarded as light-sky, bearer of brightness. One therefore likes to add the adjective kuǵuo (blue, light, bright), for instance, kuǵuo rëǵuo undurwa (the blue sky is high). The kuǵuo rëǵuo (light sky) stands in contrast to the [825] xara gadzier (dark earth). An appropriate bird is assigned to [539]

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772 each of them as a symbol of brightness and of darkness. Thus,
776 in a wedding song it is said: xara gadzier mundzini xela; kuguo
192 rëguoni dzindzini xela (the black earth's dark bird calls; the
[825] light sky's light bird answers). Here, it is true, the rëguo has
[539] been drawn into the -- probably Tibetan -- mythology of light and darkness, but nothing concerning a possible significance of the rëguo as spirit or deity is expressed by it. (Cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder.") Even if the expression rëguo in its meaning as light-bearer corresponds approximately to the word tieńgëre, its deeper meaning is thereby exhausted and it will not be considered further.

tieńgëre

772 tieńgëre is the Tujen form of the written Mongolic
776 tengri or tngri. It may signify both the natural sky as well as
192 heaven as a deity. As natural sky it is provided with the same
821 adjectives as the word rëguo, in other words, with kuguo (blue), undur (high), etc. Like the latter, it also, as the daylight sky, stands in contrast to the dark earth. Our expression "heaven and earth" is always rendered among the Tujen by kuguo tieńgëre, xara gadzier (light sky, dark earth). They would never [219] simply say "heaven and earth." In this conception, the Tujen go hand in hand with their Altaic-Mongolic relatives. In his dissertation, Pallisen has presented the connection of light and heaven especially clearly: Among all Altaic peoples the sky is primarily perceived as the daylight sky. According to H. Vambéry and Barbier de Maynard, the concepts "the light," "brightness" in all Altaic languages belong to the same word family as tengri (Religion der Altmongolen [Religion of the Ancient Mongols], p. 123). Pallisen then appends the word lists for 13 languages, which are intended to illustrate this connection (op. cit., pp. 123 ff.).

The sky, however, is regarded not only as the embodiment of light, but it is also the bearer of the most important cosmic phenomena. This is expressed in many everyday phrases, for example: the sky rains; the sky is cold; the sky is hot; the sky thunders; the sky is cheerful, etc. Hence,

[219 cont.]

772 the heavens, even purely sensibly, stand in the consciousness of
776 the Tujen as something important, exalted, as that immeasurable
192 space of light embracing the world, in which the natural events
821 that so impress the simple human being take place. It is not the word rëguo that arouses this consciousness in them, but the word tiengëre. Evidently, it is one of the oldest words that they, along with the other Altaic peoples, among whom it is charged with the same content, have inherited from hoary prehistory. It cannot be further analyzed etymologically.

772 For this reason, this very expression is excellently suitable
776 for designating what we call "God." Where the Tujen, who are,
192 after all, a branch of the Mongols, acquired the link between
174 the name tiengëre and the concept "God" is not to be dealt with here. That belongs in the history of the religion of the Mongols or of the Altaic peoples generally. Father W. Schmidt has made it seem probable that it is not a matter of equating the highest being with the material heaven, but only of a transference of the name "heaven" to the supreme god; this must have happened at the time of the transition to herding in the great steppes where "they have before them the huge dome of the heavens unobscured in its entire extent and with all natural phenomena taking place in the sky"; cf. Schmidt, Religionsgeschichte [History of Religion], p. 256, UdG, X, pp. 128 ff. The question arises here: Does this also apply to the Tujen and in what way? How is the name tiengëre used, as a generic or proper name? Does it actually signify God?

One must first of all go back to the general Mongolic conceptions, which, to be sure, know the same name. Pallisen in this connection comes to the following conclusion (op. cit., p. 126): "One can therefore say that in this stage of development Tengri meant something like 'God Heaven' as a proper name, not 'heaven god' and not 'god in heaven' or 'god of heaven,' as some researchers maintain.... Gradually, however, Tengri was used to designate the God of the Christians and of the Mohammedans, and finally, with the adoption of Buddhism, this word became equivalent to the Sanskritic Deva, and numerous deities of the Lamaistic pantheon, which in part were taken into it from the old folk-belief, were [220] then also called

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772 Tengri, with the addition of a definite proper name (especially
776 the 33 tengri: ghutschin ghurban Tengri)." "In other words, for
192 the interpreters and for the numerous strangers generally who
174 stayed at the court of the great Khan and among whom many priests of all religions were also represented, the significance of Tengri as a generic name for 'god' was already familiar and clear" (op. cit., p. 127). -- Later, according to Pallisen, along with Buddhism there came the term burxan, which is supposed to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word for Buddha and among the Mongols is supposed to have taken on the meaning of "idol, deity, spirit, god's image." (Concerning the origin of the word Burchan or purġan, cf. above.)

Among the Tujen this development is difficult to determine. I have often asked people how many tieńgëre there are. I always received the answer; only one. Only once did my informant observe that there were also other gods called tieńgëre. When he was then to name these gods, he did not know a single one. This is a sign of how secondary the significance of tieńgëre as a generic name must have been among the Tujen, since it could disappear from linguistic usage so completely without a trace, if it was ever present. Perhaps the above-mentioned observation of A. Tafel concerning a "single god" is to be traced back to a similar piece of information. The tieńgëre of the Tujen, in other words, does not entirely correspond with the tengri of the Mongols. Only the word purġan, which corresponds to the Mongolic burxan, has taken over the function of a generic name; purġan signifies not only the native gods, spirits, gods' images, but generally all the deities of the various religions. At times it may also designate a demon. It is used in a way similar to the Chinese fo-yeh, though to be sure never for a Tulku. The conception of a plurality, which, of course, is essential for a generic concept, is always connected with the word purġan.

772 According to all the information and on the basis of the
776 customs recorded, tieńgëre alone is reserved as the proper name
192 of the god-heaven. The bilingual Tujen generally translate it with the Chinese t'ien (heaven) or lao-t'ien (old heaven) or

[220 cont.]

772 t'ien-yeh (father "heaven"). The fact that this tiengëre applies
776 exclusively to the heavenly being appears with special clarity
192 in the constantly used formula: šge tiengëre, uluon purgan (the great heaven, the many spirits). Quite consciously here uniqueness is placed over against multiplicity and at the same time it is expressed that heaven possesses at least as much honor as the purgan, in other words, is also a deity, or can be a higher spiritual being. What the content of this god-concept is now, whether it is really a heaven as supreme god, is to be made clear in the following, and, to be sure, first of all in connection with the heaven cult of the people.

776 b) The Heaven Cult
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After all that has been said up to now, it is established beyond doubt that the Tujen venerate the heavens. It can also be confirmed further from the popular literature, as will become clear below. Thus [221] here it is only a question of the what and how of the veneration of heaven (offering, prayer), insofar as it is appropriate to provide information concerning the god-concept and the conceptions linked with it, as well as the age and the position of the belief in a supreme god.

1) The Offering

782 As regards the form, the executers, and the sentiment of the offering, what is said generally about the offering applies. Here in first place the question arises: Are there offerings that in a special way are intended for heaven or that have a special relationship to it? This is quite generally the case with every offering insofar as it can be conceived as a primitial offering. In addition there are also other offerings which -- at least originally -- were reserved for heaven, among which the incense offering and sheep offering are the most important.

The Primitial Offering

[192] The Tujen do not know a special generic name for the primitial offering. They say, depending on the circumstances:

[227 cont.]

782 mudie is already known from the early period of the Mongols, and
788 it attests to what an ancient heritage the veneration of heaven is
[174] among the Mongolic basic stock of the Tujen. There is usually a three-fold kowtow also connected with the prayer, whereby the person also wishes to indicate purely outwardly in a formal ceremony his submissiveness before the god-heaven.

c) The Nature and Characteristics of Heaven

Uniqueness

772 The discussion of the name has already indicated that the
776 designation tieṅgëre is reserved for heaven alone. It does not share this name as a title with any other deity, even, say, by adding a proper name of a certain deity to it. This unique position of heaven becomes even clearer when one considers it in relation to the other deities.

776 The position with respect to the gods in general. -- The offering, the many texts from the songs, and the other customs everywhere acknowledge heaven as the first. This is acknowledged briefly and concisely in the constantly recurring expression šge tieṅgëre, uluon purġan (the great heaven, the countless spirits). Heaven is the great one. It is especially set apart from the many other spirits. As the first it has a share in all offerings, for it -- before all other gods -- the first kowtow is made, the first dedication of the day. The Tujen express this: What would the gods be without heaven, he is their lord"; cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873. -- Heaven also has this position of pre-eminence over those deities who it might seem share the honor with him, for which reason they are to be mentioned briefly in the following.

773 The position with respect to the heaven-emperor of the
776 Geser legend. -- The Geser legend mentions three lords of heaven, among whom Šdeṅglatsien Saṅ is the highest. He lives with them in the immeasurable space of heaven, likewise

[230 cont.]

776 incense burning you say: 'Heaven, you know it. What then
782 does heaven know?' -- 'Heaven knows all, he knows the attitude of my heart, he knows that I want to venerate him.' " -- This oft-cited saying in literal translation runs: heaven to know; freely, the heaven knows; or, the heaven is knowing. This is not a petitioning prayer, but simply a pure acknowledgment of this characteristic of heaven, and it implies, according to the explanation given, an omniscience.

Other expressions are found for this consciousness of the people. Thus, a frequently used oath-formula for a deposition, for example, runs: "Heaven is not high; heaven knows it (tieńgëre undur guei; tieńgëre mudiem)." The meaning is: Heaven is high, to be sure, but not so high that it would not know. (Cf. DMF 416, where this sentence likewise is designated as a "formule de serment" [oath-formula].) Another phrase that is often used runs similarly: "tsimi mō gedzi yidza, tieńgëre mudiem. If (I) have done evil to you (if evil has happened to you), then heaven knows it"; cf. DMF 416. This especially emphasizes the knowledge of the inner attitude.

If one now adds generally that the whole veneration of heaven in offering and prayer is done under the presupposition that heaven also knows of human distress, it may be asserted that the people's consciousness of heaven simply as the knowing one is very much alive.

776 The belief in the knowledge is connected with the omnipresence of heaven. To be sure, it cannot be expressly ascertained, but the Tujen nonetheless have a conception of it when they say: "Heaven is there where one places it (tieńgëre andzi tedza, andzi-i)." According to the linguistic usage this means: Heaven is everywhere. (Cf. DMF 416, where the same meaning is explained.) This phrase seems evidently to be determined by the strong impression [231] that the all-encompassing firmament makes on the unconstrained mind of the people, especially in the steppes and on the mountains on the Koko Nor. As far as one wanders, whether by day or night, the endless heaven extends
[772] over man. It is really an all-encompassing bell, which the Tujen imagine to be fastened to a nail in the universe.

[234 cont.]

777 776 171 god of good fortune. It seems that further reminders of these times still echo in the Tujen songs: of the fate of the Mongols, which is based on good fortune; or of the sülde of the khan, which invisibly protects his subjects (UdG., loc. cit.). -- Whatever the connections may be, neither according to Uno Harva nor according to Banzarov-Schmidt nor in the conception of the Tujen themselves is there a fate or good fortune that is independent of the rule of heaven.

772 776 Summary. -- Everything that has been said about heaven proves it to be an independent deity existing for itself, sharply separated from all other gods, ruling them and dominating the entire world. Its name is "heaven," not in the physical but in the personal sense. Everything pantheistic and animistic and every mana concept remains far removed from it. To be sure, it is not one god [monotheism] in the strict sense, but an authentic supreme god, a towering unique phenomenon among all the other deities. Because of this uniqueness the statement of A. Tafel about the Tujen can now be repeated in its correct interpretation: "Many say they have only one single god in which they believe."

[235] 2. Shamanism

121 756 Whereas the discussion of the belief in a supreme god could be confined to the region of the Tujen themselves and the corresponding sources, this is not possible for shamanism, for which reason a detailed presentation would not be suitable for this work. It is reserved for a special study. Here the ground-plan can only be drawn in a sketchy fashion, merely representing a theory, because the detailed proofs must be omitted here. The question runs: Of what type is Tujen shamanism and where is it to be classified from the religio-historical standpoint? -- Three types are found among the Tujen: bö-shamanism (drum-shamans), gurtum-shamanism (warrior-shamans), and idol-shamanism (with the spear-soothsayer).

4; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

swer: the galaxy. Who walks on the milky way? Yu Huang,[7] preceded by the green dragon and the White Tiger. Under the bridge is there still another bridge or not? The dangerous bridge leading to Hell, over which passes the king of Hell, Erlik, preceded by the spirit with the head of a cow and the spirit with the head of a horse, and where spirits are waiting, who devour passing souls. What is our bridge? The bridge of the spirits. 796 756 [775]

The building of the bridge of the spirits and the confused explanations of the shamans, mixed with Taoist, shamanist, and Bön principles, reveals, nevertheless, the philosophy claiming the existence of three worlds: the upper, middle, and lower worlds, each with its own population.[8] A hint has already been given of this philosophy, in describing the rite of the stretched goat skin and the molding of clay figures, etc. At any rate the bridge provides a wonderful opportunity for the shamans to display their philosophical abilities and their proficiency in the art of telling of the nine and more heavens, one more beautiful than the other; the eighteen hells, dark and terrifying; the severe judgments after death presided over by Erlik or the Chinese Yen wang; the explanation of the three souls; shamans flying on drums to heaven, are unique occasions for story-tellers, sparkling with wit, to reap big successes. 796 756 772 779

At that time, shamans never fail to explain the appointment of their ancestor shaman by Chiang Tze-ya as servant of the god of the Five Roads; they never fail to narrate captivating episodes from the epic of Gesar. All kinds of problems are dealt with, and a lot of fun is had. The most ridiculous answers are given to the most ridiculous questions. One shaman asks for the explanation of why in each wheat grain there is always a small groove? The answer is that in the beginning of the world there was no wheat. Tengri made a wheat grain, but it seemed to be too big; with the nail of his right thumb he parted the grain in two parts. Still it seemed to be too big, and so he parted it again and then a third time. The fourth time, just when he was about to cut the grain in two parts again, it appeared to be all right without cutting through it, so he left the grain only half cut through, and so all grains of wheat have a little groove in them. This story was told to me several times by children who attended the meeting and said that the shaman told them so. 776 538

Another story, which gives us a better insight into the nature of that kind of meeting, is told when a shaman is asked at what time and why men started seducing women, and women started eloping? An interesting sociological and moral question! Tengri wanted to have men and women. After kneading red earth and water a whole day, he moulded seven men; then he 796 756 831 773

[7] The most popular god of modern China who received letters patent from the Emperor in A.D. 1017. Wieger, *Textes historiques, op. cit.*, 1846.

[8] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 138. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

[110(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

devoted to the practice of throwing in the wind slips 795
of paper on which are printed the Buddhist "flying 782
wind horses" are accustomed to performing this rite on the top of the sacred hill.

It is not permitted to cut wood, to graze animals, or to hunt on the sacred hill. In old China, the god of the earth was the tree itself, planted in a small forest.[23] The Monguors plant the Obo post in the hill, and do not allow the cutting of bushes growing on it, or the grazing of cattle. In every village the sacred hill is very conspicuous, because of the wealth of the bushes growing on it which seem to create the illusion of a small forest.

CONCLUSION

The worshipping of the mountain gods consists in the sacrifice of a sheep (or a horse), the burying of an urn, the planting of spears, the lighting of a cypress fire, prostrations, and marching three times around the Obo.

All these rites are performed by the villagers, led by the chiefs and elders. After these rites are performed, lamas start reciting texts, beating drums, and making *tormas*. This fact seems to reveal that the lama rites are additional rites of later times, that the cult of the mountain gods existed long before the lamas appeared in the country, and was performed by the communities without them. The cult preserves the old ritual used at the worshipping of the mountain gods.

The old philosophy concerning the nature of the [772]
mountain gods, their dominion over the country and control over its people, is still fresh and living. It is clearly manifested by the burying of an urn, the specific, grateful offer to a god who is regarded as owner of the earth, which contains the specimens of all the kinds of blessings and treasures provided by the earth. This philosophy places the mountain gods in the category of the earth gods. It is typical also that in every urn they never fail to put an offering of medicines, which reveals the philosophy concerning the decay of the gods whose lives have to be nursed and reinvigorated.

However, the Monguors could not explain the meaning of the planting of the spears near the pole. The explanations encountered in books relating to this puzzle seem to be unsatisfactory and arbitrary.

Taking account of this philosophy and the religious environment in which the Monguors live, claiming to have gods and Tengris as proprietors and dominators of the country, it seems easy to understand that little room is left for thinking about a God, Creator of the Universe, and that this notion is completely absent in their philosophy. Only once is the "Spirit of Heaven" recalled during the performance of the whole rite on top of the mountain—at the time the broth of mutton is ladled and thrown to the four points of the compass, honoring all the gods and spirits. However, the "Spirit of Heaven" is called first and the offering is made first

[23] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 168. [p. 116(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

ceased cannot climb to heaven (the soul cannot leave the body).[12] Like the Monguors, they call a son *Ku-hsüeh,* "bone and blood," for his bones come from the father and blood from the mother. Relationship is called *Ku-jou,* "bones and flesh." The examination of the corpse by the maternal uncle before the funeral is called *Yen-ku,* "examining the bones." 604 774 764

However, the usurped rights of the maternal uncle concern only the children of his sister. He is not a chief of a clan, and in all clans men know very well that their clan chief is not a maternal uncle. 604

All the conditions set by the maternal uncle in order to permit burial find their explanation among Monguors and Chinese in the fear, which both harbor, of the harm which the deceased might cause in case he is not decently buried, and the desire to have a splendid burial for a member of their family, which will honor the family and flatter its pride. The Chinese are extravagantly demanding about precious clothes, a nice coffin, musicians, a big dinner, and a large number of Taoist priests. Monguors are also eager for grandeur, but, having no need for these items, put their unreasonable claims in the form of fantastically large alms for lamaseries, three-fourths of which are never agreed upon. This mentality and these facts prove that religious feeling at that time plays a far lesser part in the discussions than the mania for display and worldly glory. Certainly there are devout Lamaists who, at the time of the death of a member of the family, really like to have prayers said for the deceased, spend a lot of money for entertaining lamas, giving alms, burning lamps. However, this is never done without ostentation and without advertising, and they make these claims on the day of the dinner in such a way that the whole gathering may spread the news. 764 604

THE SECOND SOUL

The concept of this soul is more confused than that of the first soul. The second soul is that which will join Buddha in his paradise, or will be condemned by the terrible judge after death to reincarnate, in order to repair injustices. The Monguors at present know perfectly well that after death this soul does not die, and that there is a reward or punishment meted out by the terrible judge. They know perfectly the eighteen hells, from having seen the pictures in the temples and having heard the lamas speak about them. It is one of the most important merits of Lamaism, that it has spread this doctrine to such an extent. The shamans, when performing the spring rites, tell about Erlik, as the lamas tell about the judge of death. The rite which is usually performed in reparation for injustices, so widely spread and practiced, supports the assumption that many 774 775 [772]

[12] This last saying of the Chinese has no meaning for the Monguors, because, immediately after death, the lama opens a way for the escape of the soul through the bregmatic fontanelle by pulling some hairs from the top of the head. The soul is thus already released before the maternal uncle arrives.

[p. 141 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

carried to the burying spot by the shamans, running at 766
a fast pace. Paper is burned with the flags and inscriptions, while the shamans prostrate themselves holding incense sticks in their joined hands. After the pit has been filled, each shaman carries three buckets of water and pours them on it. Then they build the small tumulus and return home, running without looking back at the tomb. They have a breakfast of noodles, without meat. All together they make a terrifying noise and drive the evil spirits out of the home. Except for the members of their own families and relatives, no other people attend the burial, because they are afraid of the magicians.

XIV. CULT OF HEAVEN

THE MEANING OF THE FORMULA "HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS"

Several times in the present study there has been 789
noted the stereotype formula, "Heaven and all the 772
spirits," used during the performance of religious rites. Monguors in their own language are accustomed to saying *"Tiengere uluon purgan"* meaning "Heaven and all the spirits," and even *"Sge Tiengere uluon purgan,"* that is "Great Heaven and all the spirits."

Because "Heaven" is always invoked in conjunction 772
with "all the spirits," it seems obvious that Heaven is 776
considered by them to be a being, belonging in the category of the living spirits, and that it is not supposed to be the material sky.[1]

At present, the Monguors call all the spirits Tengri or 776
purgan.[2] The shamans serve their Twelve Tengris and many families honor the Twelve Tengri as the family protectors. The Obo spirit, the earth goddess, Lung wang the dragon king, Wu tao, the goddess of children, are all called Purgan and Tengri. However, when speaking about a definite spirit, they call it by its proper name. The Obo spirit is called Yifula, the goddess of the earth, Etogen, the god of the rain, Lung

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[1] Professor N. Poppe, in reviewing W. Schmidt's *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Bd.* X in *Anthropos*, **48**: 328, 1953, notes: "Should tengri be understood as Heaven or God. . . . I think this question can be answered in favour of the word God." He adds: "No matter what the exact meaning was in the usage of the pagan Mongols of the 13th and 14th centuries," its equivalent in the official translation into the languages spoken by Christian peoples was "Deus" or "God." Schmidt, in reviewing N. Pallisen's *Die alte Religion des Mongolischen Volkes während der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden* in *Anthropos* **48**: 623, 1953, notes: "Pallisen stellt fest, dass zunächst Gotthimmel als Eigenname bedeutete, dann aber zum Gattungnamen Gott wurde. . . . Zuverlässige Nachrichten über Himmel als Schöpfer in der Religion der Mongolen des 12 und 13 jhdt. liegen night vor." (The word *Purgan*, it should be noted, is the Monguor form of the word more familiar in its standard Mongol form, *Burkhan*.)

[2] Concerning the word Purgan, see Francis Woodman Cleaves, The Bodistw-a Cari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur of 1312 by Cosgi Odsir, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* **17**: 91, note 29; and 100, note 118, 1954.

[p. 149(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

wang, the god who protects against hail, Wu tao. Al- 776
though they are accustomed to saying that all the spirits are Tengri and Purgan, they seem to prefer to use the term Tengri. *Purgan* seems to be a relatively recent term, introduced after Lamaism had been spread among them, for they seem to prefer "Purgan" when speaking about gods of Lamaism. However, they always say that *"uluon purgan"* means all the spirits, and not only the Lamaist deities.

Because in the formula *"Tiengere,"* often *"Sge Tiengere,"* "Heaven," "Great Heaven" are always used first, it is obvious that the "spirit of Heaven" seems to be prominent among the spirits in the mind of the Monguors. This prominence of Heaven is shown by the Monguors in a very conspicuous way at the time when a sheep is offered to the guardian spirit of the family, by the fact that, first of all, a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown toward Heaven in the courtyard, with the cry, "Heaven." Then a second piece is cut and thrown in the courtyard with the cry, "All the spirits," and finally the sheep is offered to the guardian deity. It is shown also at the time of the offering of a sheep to the Obo spirit on top of the mountain, when three ladles of broth are thrown in the air—first, for "Heaven," and then, consecutively, three ladles to each [823] of the four points of the compass for all the spirits, *"Uluon purgan."*

However, is it permitted, on account of this striking 771
prominence, to jump to the conclusion that the "spirit 776
of Heaven," or "Great Heaven" is a monotheos, and that the Monguors of 1910–1920 were monotheists? Monotheists are considered as worshipping but one God. People who worship and offer sacrifices to Heaven and all the spirits are consequently considered polytheists, no matter how prominent the "spirit of Heaven" may be.

Does this formula justify the conclusion that the "spirit of Heaven" is the chief of all the spirits, whom they all have to obey; that the "spirit of Heaven" alone administers the departments both blessings and punishments, and that the "spirit of Heaven" is omnipotent?[3]

When I asked the Monguors about the abode of the 772
spirits, they always pondered for a few moments, as if they did not understand the meaning of my question, and then they answered: "Of course the spirits are everywhere." Indeed it seemed obvious, in view of my European frame of mind, to interpret the expression, "Heaven and all the spirits" as meaning that all the spirits enjoyed happiness together in Heaven with their supreme chief, the great spirit of Heaven. However, the Monguors assured me that the spirits are independent of one another, and independent of the spirit called Heaven; that each of them administers its own department, and that they all know the intimate feelings and behavior of the people toward them and bless or punish accordingly. Therefore, the Monguors are afraid to [782] offend any of them and propitiate the spirit they are

[3] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217. [p. 149 (B)]

supposed to have offended. It is for that reason that 772
during the rite of spring all the spirits are invited by 782
the shamans to come down along the rope to be honored by the villagers so that all of them may extend their protection.

In the Halachih Valley, among subjects of the Lu 776
T'u-ssu, I encountered the following case. At the time 428
of division of a parental inheritance, a son considered that the decision made by the elders of the village was unjust toward him, and at the very moment when he should have appended his signature, he ran into the courtyard, pencil in hand, crying toward the sky: "Twelve Tengris, protectors of our family, you know that the division is unjust, that I am compelled to apply my signature." Then he entered the room and signed. In such circumstances the ultimate recourse of every Chinese would inevitably be to invoke "Old Father Heaven" and never another spirit.

Carpenters, building a temple in Sumdoo, having 776
had trouble with the chief of the tribe, proposed to go 466
to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to take the oath before the statue of Buddha. The chief answered, "No need to go so far, take the oath here, Buddha is everywhere; he will know it."

The belief that all the spirits are everywhere, know 776
all things, bless and punish independently, and that they are just and equitable, is deeply ingrained in the minds of the Monguors of today. It is easy to understand that in a society in which each department is administered by a particular spirit, independent and omnipotent in its sphere, little room is left for the activities of the "spirit of Heaven"; that finally "Heaven," the "Great Heaven," occupies a role of honorary dimensions and nominal importance, and the characteristics and activities of the "spirit of Heaven" among the Monguors are hard to define.

Can "Heaven," which is unable to control the good spirits, control the evil spirits? According to the Monguors, no spirit can control the department of its neighbor, and so in case of interference of evil spirits, magical devices are contrived in order to drive away and combat the evildoers and make them harmless. The good spirits, however, are invited to participate in the struggle against them. When the spirits of hail threaten the village with devastation, magic devices are used by the shamans, and the spirit protectors of the village are carried to the battlefield, and Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" are invoked. If they are unable to match their opponents, they abandon the struggle, rushing with their carriers through rivers and precipices. Good spirits can lend a hand in the struggle, but they may lose the battle and—so much for "Heaven and all the spirits." Facts speak for themselves.

Is not this fierce struggle between good and evil 771
spirits, between representatives of two opposite worlds, reminiscent of Manichaeism, fervently practiced by Turkic peoples in Central Asia during the last centuries of the first millennium? [p. 150(A)]

Does the joke played during the spring feasts between the shamans, concerning the making of men and women by the good Tengris, and the storm caused by the nefarious Erlik in order to disturb the good actions of Tengris, not warrant also the same assumption? Or is the struggle between two opposite powers a specific characteristic of shamanism? If so, it is no wonder that shamanism was a field well prepared for the planting of Manichaeism, with its dualistic principle of light and darkness, whose powers were engaged in an endless struggle. 771

BEHAVIOR OF THE MONGUORS TOWARDS HEAVEN

The whole day long the Monguors, like their neighbors the Chinese, use the word "Heaven" in their conversation. They use the Chinese expressions: "Heaven knows it," "Heaven sees all things," "It is impossible to cheat Heaven," "Heaven punishes him," "Heaven rejects him," "Heaven does not bless him," "Heaven determines destiny," "It was decided by Heaven"; even a child born out of wedlock or by a girl married with the pole, is called "born by Heaven." 772

One can easily be impressed by this fact and induced, at first glance, to believe that the Monguors are very dutiful toward Heaven, and harbor convictions that they depend entirely on Heaven; that they trust in Heaven alone in all circumstances of life, and that Heaven is considered the omnipotent, omniscient, equitable regulator of the universe and its inhabitants. However, when a happy event is announced they clap their hands, and with a gleam in their eyes happily say, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when bad news is broken they say pitifully and sorrowfully, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when they are suffering with pain, or when a calamity is imminent, they will sigh imploringly, crying, "Om Mani, Om Mani . . . help us!" The first cry of the heart is never a cry toward "Heaven" but the Om Mani to Buddha, for everybody knows that Buddha, who knows all things, is the personification of benevolence, always willing to help. 772 788 776

What is the factual position of Heaven in the fabric of the daily life of the Monguors? After the first surge of emotion and the cry to the benevolent Buddha, the "practical" Monguors start reasoning about the causes of the mischief. Because their world is crowded with mischievous spirits, they try to detect the mischief-maker, or to determine whom among the spirits they have injured. When a member of the family is smitten with a severe disease, they suspect that they have offended the god who is the proprietor of the soil of their courtyard, the god of the hearth, the guardian deity of the family, or that they are the victims of the pranks of some evil spirit or of roaming souls which they had neglected to feed. Epizootics and epidemics, are supposed to be sent by the offended god who is the proprietor of the village or of the Obo. Lack of success 772 776 [753]

[p. 150 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

in business is ascribed to the spirit who is the guardian 772
of the wealth of some family, offended by the injustices 776
perpetrated by the unsuccessful businessman. When drought imperils the crops, they implore and propitiate the dragon god who cares for rain. They never envisage calamities or troubles as being a punishment of Heaven, and never try to propitiate Heaven, but they make recourse to the god who is supposed to administer the department in question, and try to conciliate him by inviting shamans or lamas. At that time Heaven and Buddha are overlooked. Exceptionally devout Buddhists will once in a while ascribe misfortunes to punishments sent by Buddha and invite lamas to pray for some days. However, such an act of religion is "never performed for Heaven."

PRAYERS AND OFFERINGS FOR HEAVEN

I have notice of only one occasion of a thanksgiving 776
rite for the reaped harvest of the year, performed by 776
the entire village. It is led by the chief and elders of the community, and an offering of a sheep or a pig is made on that occasion. The prayer is said and the offer made for "Old Father Heaven" alone, the stereotyped "all the spirits" being omitted.

This fact seems to be controversial because every family, giving thanks for the reaped harvest privately, makes its offering and says its prayers to "Heaven and all the spirits," and not according to the thanksgiving rite of the Chinese performed in the country for Heaven alone. The rite is the more controversial because, except in this case, offerings are never made, or prayers said by the Monguors, to Heaven alone. This exceptional rite appears to have been borrowed from the [177]
Chinese at the time when the Monguors in Hsining exchanged their pastoralism for an agricultural economy.

The fact that the rite of the sacred animal still per- 776
sists among the Monguors (see above, pp. 105, 118), 782
may be evidence that the rite after the reaping of the harvest, directed to Heaven alone, was borrowed by the Monguors from the Chinese in Hsining. The rite of the sacred animal, which is characteristic of nomads, is both for the purpose of securing for the herds the blessings of fecundity and, at the same time, a rite of the first fruits, since it comes in the spring after the nomad "harvest" of lambs (see above, p. 118). It thus corresponds to the agricultural rite after the autumn harvest, when the crops have been carried to the threshing floor. The rite of the sacred animal is performed by the Monguor community at the lunar New Year (usually in February). It is in honor of the guardian deity of the village, and is performed within the temple of the village and also in the living room of each family, before the altar of the guardian spirit of the family and in its honor. This rite of thanksgiving for the newborn livestock is never devoted, by the Monguors, to Heaven, nor is it performed outdoors, on the tops of mountains;

[p151(A)]

honored in the open air temples being built only for 776
souls of the deceased.[7] Among the Monguors, temples are built for all kinds of spirits. Heaven, however, has no temples.

The Monguors have no special offering for "Heaven." In former times, according to their traditions, horses were offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." At present the sheep is the usual offering. It is offered to all kinds of spirits and on all occasions. Rich people, or large villages, often offer a pig.

The most important event in a Monguor community 241
is the rite performed in spring, in order to obtain 796
blessings upon the community and the crops during the year. All possible spirits are invited into the temple along the rope, except the lama deities. The feast starts at night, with offerings, dances, and drum beating by the shamans for "Heaven and all the spirits"—but nobody attends this night rite, not even the chief or elders of the village! And during the two days that the rite lasts, not a single mention is made of "Heaven"!

The appointment of the new Tu-ssu is announced, not 622
to "Heaven and all the spirits," but to the ancestors and to the protector deity of the clan, with an elaborate ceremonial, and their blessings are implored upon the T'u-ssu and the clan. (See Part I: 46.)

At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages, the image of the guardian deity of the clan is reverently carried to the villages and honored for three days. However, not a single rite is performed for Heaven by the chief of the clan, not even at the yearly cult of the ancestor of the clan, when the entire clan is assembled. (Part I: 37, 64.)

No Monguor hopes his soul will ascend to Heaven 775
and enjoy happiness together with the great "spirit of 772
Heaven," in a place of joy and felicity. The Mongols have no notion of such a place belonging to the "great Heaven"; they only know the luxurious paradise of Buddha, where they are told they will enjoy happiness with Buddha during the period of time preceding a new rebirth, about which they seem to have very little interest.

All these facts seem to prove that at present the Mon- 776
guors are very remiss in the cult of their undefined and 171
vague "spirit of Heaven," who is without departments of activities, having no power over good and evil spirits, and no omnipotence. The "great Heaven" is not the so-called "Hochgott," but a spirit enjoying an honorary prominence.

In connection with this problem, it should be kept in mind that the habit of ascribing prominence to one among the spirits seems to be very old in Asia: "In Babylon and Assyria [3,000 years ago] the principal god of the city which happened to dominate the entire nation, became the supreme god of the realm."[8] "Al-

[7] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 202.

[8] Albert Condamin, S.J., *La religion des Babyloniens et des Assyriens*, 692, Jos. Huby, Christus Beauchesne, Paris, 1923.

[p. 152 (A)]

/51 cont'd/

585 all until the next day, which is the day of the wedding dinner at the home of the son-in-law; we have seen that the number of guests invited to this dinner is prescribed. He will therefore have to politely send some away. To this end he comes to each person who will be sent away, without saying any more, bringing four loaves of bread and one or two pieces of raw meat. This is called pou fen tse, "to
583 431 complete the dinner." They understand and leave with many polite phrases.

/52/ The ones chosen for the feast the next day try to find
585 574 lodging for the night, either with neighbors or in the home of the bride; some of them celebrate very late into the night and pass the time singing and drinking. This part of the festivity is often less attractive for us, since the guests spoil its freshness. It has the disadvantage of sending to the wedding dinner the next day at the son-in-law's home many guests with heavy heads and in bad humor because of fatigue from a tiring trip and a night without refreshing sleep.

583 585 The T'ou-jen like to sing at weddings. Their own repertory in the language of the country is not very wide, so they ordinarily sing Tibetan songs. One of the very rare songs in the Monguor
[177] language is the one about the origin of the mythical bird Chong-nawa. (1) It is very often sung at weddings.

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1. Chong is probably the Buddhist Garuda called K'yung in Tibetan. Grunwedel says in Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet u. der Mongolei /Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia/, p. 25: semidivine being, deadly enemy of the Naga, a mounted bird, the king of the feathered /tribe/ and his kinsmen.... P. 191, ... is always represented in Lamaism with a thick body, human arms, on which the wings are located, and the horned head of a bird. He is part of the company of the formidable gods and plays

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allegorical roles, such as the role of a symbol of victory.... He also occurs in Lamaism as a human-faced bird with human hands, but then he appears to be only the adoring figure standing subordinate to another chief figure. When he is the figure of worship, he stands, with outspread arms and wings, facing a dying Yogi, his fangs /talons?/ piercing her breast. /Cited in German./ The chong live on Mount Sumeru, the T'ou-jen say, although Grunwedel (p. 180), speaking of the inhabitants of Mount Sumeru, does not mention the Garuda among them.

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A young man, Ferg-tong-kouo, goes out into the valley every day to pasture his master's horses. Tche-mei-kouo, a young wife who lives on the plain, also comes there every day, bringing her sheep. They meet and sit down on the highest mountain, from whence they watch over their herd and flock.... Every day when leaving home, they climb up opposite sides of the mountain to join each other at the top. On the way they pick flowers and cypress branches. Every day they climb the highest peak together to light /53/ a fire there and burn their flowers and cypress branches, adding a pinch of flour made from parched wheat. This is their offering to the spirit Tsang-rishié; then they prostrate themselves piously....

The husband of the young wife had developed a hatred for the herdsman on the other slope of the mountain. One evening he goes to his home, gets him drunk, and kills him with a dagger blow. When he comes home, he gives his wife the dagger covered with blood. She does not succeed in cleaning it with hot water or with cold. Then, taking saliva, she slowly succeeds. This is a revelation to her. Early in the morning she anxiously climbs the mountain in order to go and see the herdsman. People are already burning his

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[Note on foreign text pp. 62-63 cont.] Concerning its meaning as "fate," cf. Part Two, II, 1, c. -- Perhaps the Chinese lung-ma is also only a phonetic imitation of this Tibetan rluṅ (air), which perhaps came about because the dragon-horse, which likewise is called lung-ma, appears in legends and tales as a wonder horse. In the Sining chronicle, in the chapter on the Koko Nor Lake, there is a passage concerning this dragon-horse. In certain times the T'u-yü-hun were supposed to drive their horses (quite bad ones, too) into the lake, and they would then couple with the dragon. The horses descended from them were supposed to be able to cover thousands of miles in a day.

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For the paper prints of the air-horses the Chinese usually say lu-ma (good-luck horses). They claim that the above-mentioned "releasing" of these horses, fang lu-ma, is an old Chinese custom, whereas the Tujen, Fandse, and lamas claim it as their own tradition. -- In addition, the Chinese have gold-yellow paper leaves attached to house gates, animals, etc., which they burn on various occasions. They are called chih-ma [63] (paper-horses) or piao-ma (leaf-horses). Although there is no horse-image on it, many people derive the ...ma from "horse."

The ta-ch'iu is a Chinese literary botching of dardzioġ; one hears this expression mostly in the region of Tangkar. dardzioġ corresponds to the Tibetan dar lcog (DMF, p. 44); according to Ch. Das

[210 cont.]

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gurtum-shamans will go into the ideology underlying the whole (god of life, god of war, god of wealth, Pekar, tree of life, arrow of good fortune, spear, ancestral tablets, etc.); cf. also below, pp. 363-388.

[773] [211] The origin of the world is unfortunately recorded only in scanty documents. According to the Geser legend and the aphoristic wisdom of the people, the earth arose through a churning in the water like butter (cream) in milk. It floats on top and is held by a wooden post which one day will start to grow and develop leaves. Then the earth will tip over and bring on the end of the world. The physical sky floats over the earth on a golden peg (nail); in this connection, cf. DMF, p. 115 and p. 445. Here there are conceptions that at first glance contradict those described above, but they can nevertheless be connected with them indirectly. They are recently elaborated [171] variants from Indian cosmology (churning with the world-column; turtle as earth-bearer) and are linked with Mongolic peculiarities (heavenly bell on a golden nail); in this connection, cf. W. Lüdtke, Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans [The Veneration of Genghis Khan]. Concerning the polar star as beacon, see further below, p. 883. Over against the earth with the wooden peg (modë ġadasë) stands heaven with the golden peg (xaldan [821] ġadasë). Among the Tujen, however, the polar star is called xaldan ġadasë: xaldan because of its shining color; ġadasë because of its similarity to a nail head. Actually ġadasë means post, peg, nail, tack. The polar star, to be sure, is otherwise conceived as the axle of the sky. Thus, the greening world-tree (earth-wood) and sky-axle (star-gold) correspond with each other. Here, too, the comparison of two parts of the world that are supposed to correspond is suggested: the sky above, the earth below. The conception of the tilting and finally falling earth may go back to the observation that the polar star, the sky-axle, is not in the zenith, but in the north. The way the [533] world-tree and stars belong together is poetically rendered in

[221 cont.]

782 to throw the first (the first piece, the first drop, the first bowl,
192 etc.) to the heavens. For "first" they use the word toroṅ. As a number it can be adjectival and substantival, in other words, "the first" or "firstling." In addition, it also signifies a blessing, an advantage, for example: kuni toroṅ (the first of the people) is a man skilled in speech who can appear in public; or morini toroṅ (the first among horses), an especially fast and strong horse. In exactly the same way the gift at the primitial offering is simply designated as toroṅ. Whether a special blessing
782 is also to be indicated by it remains to be decided. I am not aware that especially good parts are taken for it; one does not take long to choose them, although care is always taken to see that they are not inferior, spoiled, or unclean. The primitial offering is always intended for heaven. Even where it is intended for several deities, heaven nonetheless stands in first place. Two kinds can be distinguished: the direct and the indirect.

782 The direct primitial offering is so generally widespread
264 among the Tujen that it strikes everyone who has ever observed the people at their meals. Usually it is done in the following
[826] way. In the case of beverages one dips the middle finger, which is the most superior one, into his drinking bowl, withdraws it again, and flicks the drop suspended from it into the air. This is done three times in succession. In the case of foods, for instance, bread or meat, a little piece is picked off and thrown high toward the heavens or backward over the shoulder. The direction in which one is seated does not matter. Sometimes it happens that one pours out a whole bowlful of the beverage. All confirm that they present this gift first to heaven before they themselves enjoy it. Only after heaven are they sometimes also thrown to other spirits.

782 The primitial offering is rooted deep in the consciousness of the Tujen. According to their view it must extend
773 back to the beginnings of humanity. Thus in the Geser legend
264 it is said of the first emperor Hamluo Siergän when he stopped on a [222] journey and boiled tea: "fulan tsiani sdzülgano, tsiani toroṅni kuguo tieṅgërdu tsiodlodzi" (when the red tea

[222 cont.]

782 boiled, he threw the first of the tea to the light heavens). The
773 firstling-offering is attested to even more clearly in the agricul-
264 ture myth (V. 680-690), when after long endeavor by the demiurge the first barley ripens and comes into the possession of human beings: "When after seven weeks they went to look, the barley was ripe. The head was bent over. With both hands they rubbed this (sc. the ear), which hung down like a whip. And when the kernels had come out, they wanted to make an offering to the light heavens. They offered that barley and bent their heads to the ground. But there was no way to eat." In other words, even before the people were able to make use of the blessing of the new food, they offered the firstling-gift to heaven. [192] The word šenlie, that is, to offer in the true sense, appears in the original text.

782 The indirect primitial offering is directed at the heavens only by the roundabout way of another offering. It is found in connection with almost all the offerings to the good spirits. In the religious customs one will scarcely find an offering that is not first made to heaven. This is shown by the actual offering act, the presentation, and the show of respect connected with it, the kowtow. Thus, the offering at the erection of the pole-goat, for instance, or even the obo offering is certainly intended for the weather gods or the mountain-spirit, and yet heaven receives the first three bowls; the other spirits come after it. Just as the human being first gives some of his goods to heaven before he uses them, so is it also in the spirit world. One could call this a primitial offering of the offering. There are naturally exceptions to this practice, as, say, in the case of the fire-pouring, torma, hen offering, etc., which belong more in the domain of Lamaism and of the Bon religion. By and large, however, the indirect primitial offering is always practiced.

The Incense Offering

In the section concerning the incense offering (see "First Part," Anthropos 47, 1952, pp. 43 ff. [pp. 69 ff. above in the HRAF translation]), it was emphasized that it is offered to heaven first and afterwards to the other gods. In the "Notes"

[224 cont.]

782 as a combination of a primitial offering with the matutinal in-
174 cense offering. Even these gifts, however, may not have a bad odor, which wholly corresponds with the original meaning of the incense offering. 2. The incense offering, according to these texts, is already very ancient. Even if the legends are distressingly embellished from Lamaism, they nonetheless go back to pre-Buddhist conditions. This applies especially to the [773] Geser legend. Lamaistic monks in Kumbum emphasize that the legend has nothing to do with their religion. In similar
782 fashion this type of incense offering is declared to be pre-
174 Buddhistic in western Tibet; cf. A.H.Francke, Tibetische
171 Hochzeitslieder, pp. 25 f. (Darmstadt, 1923). The pre-Buddhistic occurrence among the ancient Mongols has already been mentioned. The Tujen are of Mongolic derivation, and they also have religious links with the pre-Buddhist Tibetans, as is shown in the wedding customs and songs (6). -- How far the

6. For the distribution of the incense offering, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 49 [pp. 80-81 above in the HRAF translation]. Its occurrence in ancient China also argues in favor of its being pre-Buddhist in character; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder, Die Fandse, p. 183, where the ancient Chinese burnt offering is equated with the incense offering of the Fandse. The Na-khi juniper incense offering, whose great similarity with the incense offering of the Tujen and the Tibetans cannot be denied, is also pre-Buddhist; cf. the descriptions by J. F. Rock, Naga Cult, pp. 230 ff., and Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 34.

782 incense offering goes back is indicated by the hunting song cycle.
174 It was probably already practiced in the early period of a hunting
[538] culture and from there passed into the herding culture. It is

[224 cont.]

782 striking [225] that the agriculture myth does not mention the in-
174 cense offering. The conditions of the environment -- mountain pasture, forest, wild flowers, etc. -- do not fit in with agriculture (7). -- Here it may be asked whether the incense offering is

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7. The ancient nature of the incense offering is to be explained in the final analysis by the ancient nature of the juniper tree, which as world- and life-tree stands at the beginning of time; cf. J.F.Rock, Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 20, 21, 132, 143. Since it is the first tree of the world, even the first emperor (Geser legend) could burn only these twigs in honor of heaven. The incense offering therefore belongs in the world of the religious archetypes which became standard for the later human beings, just as the archetypes of the first human being, of the world-mountain and the tree of life, of heaven and earth, of the first obo, etc. extend back into that legendary period.

older than the primitial offering. In common with the latter it is mentioned in the legends before all other offerings. The first emperor already knows both offerings; the wedding song and the hunting song mention the incense offering, the agriculture myth only the primitial offering. The relationship of the two offerings to each other cannot be determined. 3. The incense
782 offering is always given either to heaven alone or to it in the first place. It is a true heaven-offering. It is only rarely directed to the other spirits, which, according to their collec-
[776] tive name, are called purgan and therefore are only of later Buddhist origin. Mountain heights seem to have been preferred
[823] in order to be closer to heaven. Even today this is still done. The Tujen are aware of this and give as the reason that it is

[225 cont.]

782 more suitable for heaven (8). The relationship to the supreme

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8. Above all the rising smoke connects this offering to heaven; the expression ġarġa, to make rise, is especially to be noted here. The smoke is like a living column of heaven or a living road to heaven. The shamanistic significance of the incense offering comes from this; not only promotes the trance, but is at the same time the path and motive power of the journey to heaven. The first emperor of the Geser legend demands, for instance, that during his journey to heaven the incense offering not be interrupted; the rising smoke strikes against the gate of heaven and opens the entrance for him, and he shoots his incompetent companion on the tip of his arrow into the rising column of smoke, in which he descends to earth.

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being is also expressed, for example, in the wedding songs from Khalatse (western Tibet). There, according to Francke, op. cit., pp. 25 f., it is said: "This blue smoke that rises upward signifies that no trouble will arise with brGya-byin, the lord of the gods."

The Sheep Offering

[825] The sheep as a sacrificial animal, according to the material available, is reserved in a special way for heaven and the mountain-spirit, even though it may also be offered to the other gods. It is never offered to the mountain-spirit alone without heaven, however. There are sheep offerings [241] that apply only to heaven, namely at the sowing and harvest

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782 mudie is already known from the early period of the Mongols, and
788 it attests to what an ancient heritage the veneration of heaven is
[174] among the Mongolic basic stock of the Tujen. There is usually a three-fold kowtow also connected with the prayer, whereby the person also wishes to indicate purely outwardly in a formal ceremony his submissiveness before the god-heaven.

c) The Nature and Characteristics of Heaven

Uniqueness

772 The discussion of the name has already indicated that the
776 designation tiengëre is reserved for heaven alone. It does not share this name as a title with any other deity, even, say, by adding a proper name of a certain deity to it. This unique position of heaven becomes even clearer when one considers it in relation to the other deities.

776 The position with respect to the gods in general. -- The offering, the many texts from the songs, and the other customs everywhere acknowledge heaven as the first. This is acknowledged briefly and concisely in the constantly recurring expression šge tiengëre, uluon purgan (the great heaven, the countless spirits). Heaven is the great one. It is especially set apart from the many other spirits. As the first it has a share in all offerings, for it -- before all other gods -- the first kowtow is made, the first dedication of the day. The Tujen express this: What would the gods be without heaven, he is their lord"; cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873. -- Heaven also has this position of pre-eminence over those deities who it might seem share the honor with him, for which reason they are to be mentioned briefly in the following.

773 The position with respect to the heaven-emperor of the
776 Geser legend. -- The Geser legend mentions three lords of heaven, among whom Šdenglatsien San is the highest. He lives with them in the immeasurable space of heaven, likewise

[227 cont.]

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called tieńgëre here as the dwelling place of the gods. He has a spouse, sons and daughters, a magnificent residence, a splendid army. In short, the emperor of heaven and his realm are pictured in detail according to human conceptions of earthly khans. At the request of the earthly emperor his son is reborn in this world in order to free them from the evildoers. This is Geser Khan.

Next to this figure, however, there continues to exist the formless old tieńgëre, [228] as the above-mentioned citations from the Geser legend show. He is venerated through incense offerings, and one prays to him. Here is an old conception that has been taken into the legend. The legend itself is not of Mongolic origin, but perhaps belongs in the world of the Bon with their Tibetan homeland. Despite its repudiation by the Buddhists, it was embellished with many Buddhist additions, and the lamas play a certain role in it. Now, however, every people that claims the legend as its own, including the Tujen, has further incorporated its own material in it and wants to see in it in some way or another the foundation of its old popular customs. Therefore even if the figure of the heaven-emperor is accepted, the old tieńgëre nonetheless remains alive in the consciousness of the people and also makes his entry into the Geser legend; indeed, he continues to exist as the supreme deity in rank, regardless of whether this can be harmoniously reconciled with the other heavenly figure or not. The attitude of the people can best be rendered by the passage already cited above and given here in more detail, Verses 158 ff.: "Climbing onto the high mountain, he burned great incense, implored heaven (tieńgëre), implored the countless spirits (purgan), implored Sdeńlatsien Sań, implored Warintsien Sań, implored Sëma Lortsien Sań." In other words, heaven comes first, and only after the other gods the three rulers of heaven. The preeminent position of heaven cannot be more clearly expressed. It also clearly shows, however, how here two views still not blended together go along side by side and how little the people trouble themselves about inner coherence, but cling to what they have. The tieńgëre is the most important deity to

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776 the people, and they do not want to be without it in the legend.
[773] The Sdenlatsien San has no significance in the customs.

The position with respect to the mountain-spirit and the earth-god. -- In the chapter concerning the obo, the incense offering, and in other places mention was made of a tripartition of the deities, namely, in the sequence: heaven, mountain-spirit and earth-god, countless gods. Since the mountain-spirit and earth-god are not included under the Buddhistic concept purgan, a pre-Buddhistic age is automatically suggested. In addition, the mountain-spirit has tasks that one could ascribe to heaven. What is the relationship to it?

776 The Tujen call the mountain-spirit yifula. A Tibetan
551 equivalent would be the word already mentioned earlier, ri-bo
192 lha (mountain-spirit). The informant, who himself bore this name, translated it, however, with the Chinese Shan-shen pao (mountain-spirit protection). (Concerning the name-giving, cf. above, "The Conclusion of the Confinement.") This leads, however, to a Mongolic analysis of the word. According to W.A. Unkrig, this is found in the combination: ibel (protection) and ula (mountain); cf. Koval., p. 282. The interpretation corresponds to the Chinese translation. Yifula thus would be appropriately rendered with "protector of the mountains."
776 Without settling the origin of the name, it can nevertheless be
171 maintained that the cult of the mountain-spirit in the obo festival is a Mongolic peculiarity from ancient times that is repeatedly reported in the literature. Among the Tujen, too -- as among the neighboring Tangut -- the obo festival occupied an important position; cf. "The Obo," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

776 [229] The mountain-spirit is not a terror-god, but a mild, providing father, the lord of the animals, who watches over the welfare of the herds, who cares for plants and trees, and who is concerned about the increase of human beings. He is the guardian of the ayil (village, tribe) and guards its weapons. The people gather around him for playing and dancing,
[171] prayer and offering. Although the mountain-spirit is thus

[231 cont.]

The Power of Heaven

776 Heaven as giver of all benefits. -- As repeatedly appears in the individual chapters, all benefits come from heaven. It [241] gives rain and sunshine, causes the seed to thrive, and protects [782] man and animal from sickness. Man acknowledges this in the offering, especially in the primitial offering and the harvest thank-offering. The grain, the barley, is ultimately traced back to heaven by man. (Cf. above under the primitial offering, agriculture myth, p. 340.) Man owes even his clothing [773] to heaven. Thus it is said at the beginning of the Geser legend: "Heaven provided the benefit of clothing; a boot fell down from heaven (tieńgĕre dźoǵ nāńladzi tieńgĕrdza perlõńgĕ bõdzi rĕdzia)." (Verses 6-7.) -- That other gods are also called upon for various needs does not prejudice the fact that heaven is the cause of even these benefits. The case would only be otherwise if there were things which were ascribed to these spirits to the exclusion of heaven, which, however, cannot be demonstrated from the material available.

776 The moral power of heaven. -- The moral power of 577 heaven is expressed by the fact that man puts his conscience in 626 relation to heaven and acknowledges the latter as binding and entitled to sanction. For that which we would call conscience the Tujen simply uses the word heart (sgil); sgil is not the physi- [192] cal heart, but the inner attitude, heart in the figurative sense. Thus they say, for instance, sen sgil (good heart); tsini sgil diesĕn ugua (you do not have an honest attitude); tsini sgil ugua (you have no conscience). In these cases the Tujen translates the word sgil with the Chinese leang-hsin (conscience, honest spirit). (Cf. also DMF 348.) Now, as the two prayer formulas that were explained above demonstrate, heaven knows the inner attitude, it knows the heart of a man: "If I did evil to you, heaven knows it," "Heaven is not high, it knows it." Since these sentences are used as oath or vow formulas, it is not simply confirmation of heavenly knowledge that is given by them, but rather one tacitly also presupposes a sanction by

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776 773 Heaven and creation. -- Even though the Tujen ascribe to heaven all the benefits of life, this still does not mean that they also derive from it the origin of the world. They do not concern themselves about it. "The old man gave no clear answer to the question as to whether heaven had also created the earth and human beings, where they came from: 'Who knows that? Who asks about it? No one says anything about that.'" (Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873.)

According to the Geser legend a world with living beings was present from the very beginning. In this world there lived the "lama existing by virtue of himself" (arãñ sündë lama = P'an-ku). He is by no means God, for above him there already existed heaven, which threw down in a boot the first emperor, who was raised by this lama. It is then described how the earth became populated. Finally, there still exist original beings (original animals), and it is likewise not said where they come from. Here Buddhistic, Lamaistic, and ancient popular conceptions are intermingled and run side by side. Nowhere, however, is there mention of any creation; only the first emperor came from heaven.

The same is also found in the agriculture myth. This [241] deals with the outfitting of the earth by a Buddhistically conceived demiurge. At the center of it is the creation of the food base through the bringing forth of barley from the magical vase and the introduction of agriculture. [233] This demiurge also comes down from heaven in three steps. There is no mention, however, of any creation of the world or human beings, only of an arrangement of the world into a habitable living space. The myth begins: "In the olden days of yore when the race of human beings had been produced, there was neither sun nor moon, and the race of human beings existed in darkness. There was no chance to live." Where the human beings came from remains unresolved. It says only, sëmtsien kuni darladzia (the totality of human beings had been produced). One may assume, however, that heaven was involved, for the culture hero (who outfitted the earth) likewise comes from heaven, as does the first emperor of the human beings in the Geser legend, and later Geser himself.

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776 Even less can be determined of any creative activity of
773 heaven with respect to the individual human being. To be sure, a current Tujen saying runs: suniedzëne tieńgëre xuradzia, heaven has taken the soul (DMF 361), but this expresses only the rulership of heaven over life and death. There is no mention of a creation of the soul. The Chinese also know a similar phrase: t'ien shou-la t'a-ti ling-hun.

777 Heaven and fate. -- A question suggested in connection
776 with the ancient Mongolic meaning of fate or good fortune,
192 which has had its greatest elaboration in the sülde cult, is
171 whether something similar is to be found among the Tujen, say, that there might be a fate standing over heaven. -- The Tujen know three expressions for "fate": dzieyan, šdiemdžël, kimori.

dzieyan is used predominantly in the sense of favorable conditions of life, for instance, when one says: "The girl has experienced a favorable fate," meaning that she has married into a good, wealthy family. The Tujen word corresponds to the Mongolic jayagan, but does not have the latter's essential content. The significance seems, rather, to have been transferred from the original jayagan to the Tujen expression šdiemdzël.

šdiemdzël, peculiarly enough, is now found not so much in everyday language as in song. Thus the Tujen songs popular-
[533] ly end with the verse: moṅgol kuni lõṅsda (or kimori) darlagu, šdiemdžëlgë rëdziglaya, in order to erect the air-horse of the Mongols, let (us) lay (= build) a good-fortune foundation. This conception is linked with the image of the central fort. The air-horse is grounded in the central fort. Accordingly the šdiemdžël would correspond to the basis for fate, which is symbolized in the air-horse. Evidently, ancient conceptions are mixed here with more recent Buddhistic ones, whereby in connection with the Hayagriva figure, fate and horse are brought together. Linguistically the word šdiemdžël cannot be understood unequivocally. The second syllable ... džël, however,

[245 cont.]

171 of his protégé, is involved here; in this connection cf. also
756 Bleichsteiner (or Hoffmann), "Srog-bdag," pp. 118 f. It is not
776 possible to give here all the models and possible archetypes of these warlike doubles and "alter egos." They are very widely distributed in space and time, as is the belief in tutelary spirits generally, and extend back over the archaic high cultures into still earlier times (Megalithic); cf. Dominik Wölfel, Die Religionen des vorindogermanischen Europa. A special development is represented by the sülde banner of the Mongolic khans, which also attests to the fact that in the case of these tutelary spirits true localizations and seizure are involved.

174 That these tutelary spirits are connected with ancestors,
756 and in part identical with them, can likewise be amply docu-
776 mented, as it is repeatedly emphasized in the shamanism. One special feature is still to be pointed out: the shamanistic use of armor and weapons. My informant told me that the Tujen
[523] formerly had brought the weapons and equipment of famous popular heroes into the temple where they were stored. Then
[787] when a shaman who had been called put on this equipment, the powers and the spirit of the hero descended upon him. The shift of an old popular custom into Lamaism is evident here, for prior to this the protector and guardian of the ayil (tribe) was the mountain-spirit in the obo; he watched over the weapons, and in former times arms were also buried in the obo; cf. above, pp. 351 f., and the chapter on the obo, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation]. Just as the popular festivals were later transferred from the obo to the Lamaistic temple, this also happened with the weapons and equipment and the associated donning of them by the shaman. This also explains the especially close connection of the people's gurtum with the mountain-spirit and obo and his warlike character still today. It is well-known that the obo has a special connection with the tribal lord and the latter's descendants. Like-
[773] wise it is told of Geser, who, to be sure, according to the Tujen version, was also the ancestor of the Tujen, how he donned the supernatural armor which is kept in readiness for the special task of the battle against the ills of mankind in heaven.

[246 cont.]

171 page 277, he goes into greater detail regarding the interpretation
756 of these figures: "In the grim faces ... the demoniacal power of these armored knights ..." is well represented. The helmet-mask is formed by a bird's head with a strong flavor of the Indian Garuda ... a shawl is elegantly draped around the shoulders, and tied in a knot over the chest, the two iron breastplates being visible beneath it" [cited in English]. -- In other words, the same type of warrior as in the case of the gurtum is involved: with helmet, weapons, shoulder hanging, demon battle, etc. -- Certainly further evidence for ancient China could be cited, say, in conjunction with the recent publications of C. Hentze. -- Likewise such types may be demonstrable for India, Indonesia, and the ancient Near East in connection with the ancient Iranian warrior gods and the corresponding figures in Hinduism, Indra, Shiva, etc.; in this connection cf. R. Bleichstein (based on Grünwedel), op. cit., pp. 111-124.

174 Warrior shaman and bird. -- The connections between
756 bird and shamanism are stressed often enough in the literature. The bird type of shaman is one of the basic types. Usually,
825 the original ancestor of the shaman, or the first shaman, is a bird or incarnated in a bird. The heroes of the folktales, how-
[173] ever, are also often linked with a bird ancestor. For instance, the Geser of the Tujen is supposed to have been sent to earth as a cuckoo. If this relationship applies generally, then the warrior-shaman in particular can be linked with the bird figure. There has been an attempt to show that his armor goes back to the feather armor, in other words, to the shaman attire of the bird type. I cannot go further into the sources here. The feather helmet of the ancient Chinese shaman mentioned by B. Laufer and the feather-ornamented helmet of the gNas-c'un gurtum, as well as the report by Georgi in his "Alphabetum Tibetanum," point in this direction.

174 [247] This connection between warrior and bird only
756 becomes meaningful if one understands it as a solarization of the ancestor hero. Both the mythologies of the most ancient Chinese excavations (cf. the works by C. Hentze) and the

[251 cont.]
756 lance having been implanted in the celestial vault, the hero
778 climbs all the way up with the help of the pennant" [translated
[171] from French].

However frequently the spirit-spear is used independently of a true shaman among the Tujen, it nonetheless is frequently enough part of the equipment of the gurtum. In his hand it is an important weapon. Just as the weapons and the armor of the ancient hero-ancestors endow him with special powers, so doubtless also does the ancestor spear. In the already-cited Geser
[773] legend of the Tujen, Geser takes the heavenly weapons for himself, which are all provided with the adjective sdier, for instance, sdier lëmu, sdier sëmu, etc., sacred arrow and bow. The things designated with sdier, however, are all adorned in a manner similar to the spirit-spear, above all with the colorful bands. This is supposed to express a consecration, a sacral
174 character. -- Now, however, when there is no true shaman, nothing remains but to make the spirit-spear independent.
756 It must represent the shaman and accordingly receives
778 a perfected outfit and an additional consecration, whereby,
791 as original weapon, it becomes an independent idol. It becomes tutelary-spirit possessed. As seat of the sülde it is from the outset already especially fitted for this. Since, however, it is not alive and cannot appear as a human being, [252] a man is appointed for it, the soothsayer. The latter takes over part of the operations of a true shaman, but without becoming the seat of a spirit himself. There takes place, as it were, a distribution of shamanistic functions: the essential, inner ones are peculiar to the spear; the unessential, outer ones to the soothsayer (13).

756
778

13. The shaman attire in other regions also has great similarity with the spear as spirit seat and effective unity with the shaman. It is "saturated" by spirits, who give signs of life by trembling, moving, etc.; cf. Eliade (Shirokogorov), Le Chamanisme, p. 143. Even though the spear as shaman equipment shares this property with the attire, this alone

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swer: the galaxy. Who walks on the milky way? Yu 796
Huang,[7] preceded by the green dragon and the White 756
Tiger. Under the bridge is there still another bridge
or not? The dangerous bridge leading to Hell, over [773]
which passes the king of Hell, Erlik, preceded by the spirit with the head of a cow and the spirit with the head of a horse, and where spirits are waiting, who devour passing souls. What is our bridge? The bridge of the spirits.

The building of the bridge of the spirits and the con- 796
fused explanations of the shamans, mixed with Taoist, 756
shamanist, and Bön principles, reveals, nevertheless, 772
the philosophy claiming the existence of three worlds: 779
the upper, middle, and lower worlds, each with its own population.[8] A hint has already been given of this philosophy, in describing the rite of the stretched goat skin and the molding of clay figures, etc. At any rate the bridge provides a wonderful opportunity for the shamans to display their philosophical abilities and their proficiency in the art of telling of the nine and more heavens, one more beautiful than the other; the eighteen hells, dark and terrifying; the severe judgments after death presided over by Erlik or the Chinese Yen wang; the explanation of the three souls; shamans flying on drums to heaven, are unique occasions for story-tellers, sparkling with wit, to reap big successes.

At that time, shamans never fail to explain the ap- 776
pointment of their ancestor shaman by Chiang Tze-ya 538
as servant of the god of the Five Roads; they never fail to narrate captivating episodes from the epic of Gesar. All kinds of problems are dealt with, and a lot of fun is had. The most ridiculous answers are given to the most ridiculous questions. One shaman asks for the explanation of why in each wheat grain there is always a small groove? The answer is that in the beginning of the world there was no wheat. Tengri made a wheat grain, but it seemed to be too big; with the nail of his right thumb he parted the grain in two parts. Still it seemed to be too big, and so he parted it again and then a third time. The fourth time, just when he was about to cut the grain in two parts again, it appeared to be all right without cutting through it, so he left the grain only half cut through, and so all grains of wheat have a little groove in them. This story was told to me several times by children who attended the meeting and said that the shaman told them so.

Another story, which gives us a better insight into 796
the nature of that kind of meeting, is told when a sha- 756
man is asked at what time and why men started seducing 831
women, and women started eloping? An interesting 773
sociological and moral question! Tengri wanted to have men and women. After kneading red earth and water a whole day, he moulded seven men; then he

[7] The most popular god of modern China who received letters patent from the Emperor in A.D. 1017. Wieger, *Textes historiques, op. cit.*, 1846.

[8] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 138. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

[p. 110 (B)]

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took straw, and with fine cord tied it in the shape of 796
seven women. The fourteen manikins were put in the 756
sun to dry into shape; the tengris went to sleep. Erlik, 831
chief of the underworld and antagonist of the Tengri, 773
made a terrific storm rage and one of the straw ladies finally blew away. When these thirteen figures came to life, one of the men was lacking a wife. Monguors enjoy this story and ask the shamans to tell it every year. Another of the big subjects dealt with at the meetings is that of bad dreams. Because the meetings often end in telling smutty and filthy stories, women in many villages do not attend the evening meetings. The shamans at that time compete with one another for winning the highest marks in that kind of virtuosity. Often the chiefs of the villages, when they invite the shamans, enjoin them not to go beyond certain limits.

When the meeting starts to drag, the chief of the 756
shamans makes preparations for the leave-taking of the 796
spirits. The shamans perform a dance, while the audience kneels. The shaman again enjoins the people to ask for benedictions. He has a last talk with the spirits, thanks them for the visit, reminding them of their promises, and invites them ceremoniously, one after another, to return to their splendid abodes calling them by the most pompous titles. Firecrackers are set off, and shamans dance; the people prostrate themselves and the spirits go back along the rope to their abodes.

While the shaman throws three handfuls of wheat and jujubes into the air, the people try to catch them, as they fall, in their skirts; they mix them with the seeds for next year. A hard pull on the rope fixed on the pole breaks the bag containing jujubes made with dough, coins, and peas. Everybody tries to grab a couple of them, for having been touched by the coming and going of the spirits they enjoy their celebrated magical power. Sick persons eat them in order to be healed, and women so as to become pregnant. The fork with the two rolls is unbalanced; the rolls fall and are picked up; they are reduced to crumbs and are panaceas against all kind of ailments.

NURTURING OF THE GODS OF THE TEMPLE

This rite is the last one and may be the most im- [776]
portant. The shamans explain that the spirits in the 796
temples are to be nurtured once a year, in order that 756
they may be able to protect the village against hail. 782
Here the split personality of the Monguor shamans shows up in its crudest reality.

The shamans explain, and the Monguors strongly believe their explanation, that in former times a human sacrifice was urged every year by the spirits. Other shamans say that the sacrifice was needed only every seven years, in order to ward off hail, epidemics, epizootics, etc.[9] The present rite takes the place of the

[9] This tradition, concerning the yearly human sacrifice demanded by the spirits, seems to point to the fact that in old

[p. 111 (A)]

[204 cont.]

776 of the Bon, the Dăntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance among the people that might be expected. They know of [796] Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth [535] day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha, [791] and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call 788 sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full [756] warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people. Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called [753] ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune, 777 failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the 731 plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are com- [782] bated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the Dăntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

●774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[205 cont.]

774 Unequivocal statements concerning the conceptions of the soul among the Tujen could not be secured. It is true that several souls can be inferred from the death customs described, but the naming and peculiar nature of these souls remain vague.

192 Two designations for "soul" come into consideration:
774 namsü (namšë) and suniedzë. The word namsü is seldom used. According to the DMF (256), it corresponds to the Tibetan ñams-su. This independent connection cannot be confirmed in Ch. Das, but ñams alone is found there, p. 476, with the meaning: "...the soul, mind, spirit as an entity" [cited in English]. The su could at most still be an instrumental particle. One will probably not go wrong, therefore, if he equates namsü not with ñams-su, but with the Tibetan rnam šes, pronounced nam-še. Ch. Das (762) translates it with: "...the mind, knowledge, intellect, memory" [cited in English]. H.A.Jäschke, on the other hand, has for it the explanation (315): "3. in popular language: soul, e.g. of the departed..." [cited in English]. The much more frequently used word suniedzë has the same meaning. It is the equivalent of the Mongolic sünesün. Both namsü and suniedzë signify nothing uniform, for there are three souls: nigë
774 kundu ǵuran namsü-i, or nigë kundu suniedzë ǵuran-i, that is:
775 "There are three souls to a human being"; cf. DMF 256. And of what kind are these souls? toroñ yesë saǵdzini, ǵuordani sdziewa awura sdzini, ǵurandani iliedu furani (cf. DMF 361), that is, "The first guards the bones, the second assumes the rebirth, the third transforms itself into a demon." Mostaert, op. cit., refers to Sanžeev, "Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten [World-view and shamanism of the Alar-Burjat]," Anthropos, 22, 1927, p. 585. The conception of the tripartition,
[171] however, is much more widespread; at any rate in Lamaistically influenced Asia it is found almost everywhere. Even the Tsinghai Chinese know of three souls: one goes into the underworld, one stays with the corpse (bones), one wanders around in the world. What is common to these three souls is that they can separate themselves from the body.

775 The bone-soul remains with the skeleton after death, at
764 least until the rite of the bäda has been completed, whereby it
604 is satisfied and becomes free. Its agent in this ritual and the

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171] are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
[769] ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
[764] stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
[782] the deceased would remain among the living and would need to partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
[513] even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
[753] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
[756] for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
[755] soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This catching of the soul is called: suniedzë xura-. It is unclear from this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru (rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun, moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals. Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the underworld and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

[243 cont.]
756 all more or less unimportant elements. The type of the pro-
174 tective warrior, however, goes uniformly through the various
[779] representations. Thus the question of the origin of the gurtum
becomes the question of the origin of the warrior-shaman.

The Origin of the Warrior-shaman

This question cannot be exhaustively dealt with here within the framework of a presentation of the Tujen religion, since it is closely connected with the origin of shamanism in general. The following points are therefore to be regarded merely as sketchy hints for a later investigation.

Warrior-shamans and Bon religion. H. Hoffmann writes in his book (Quellen, p. 194) of the gNas c'un oracle: "He is, therefore, a living relic of the Bon religion in Lamaism, and to be sure of that side of the Bon religion that is extremely close to the shamanism of the Siberian peoples ..." On page 205 he comes back to the same observation after he has set forth in the same chapter the shamanistic elements in the Bon religion. The type of the Bon shaman pictured there, however, does not correspond to the type of the gurtum or warrior-shaman. The clothing is different, and the Bon shaman works with the hoop drum covered on one side (cf. op. cit., p. 201). A kind of kettledrum is also used. On his drum the Bon-pa rides heavenward in ecstasy. Hoffman quite correctly links this type of shaman with the present-day Siberian form of shamanism (pp. 202 f.). Two important elements, the hoop drum
[774] and the flight of the soul, do not appear with the warrior-shaman. To be sure, in the temple, as I was able to observe in Kumbum and Kuomang-szu, large, double-sided drums were likewise beaten as the gurtum was transported into the trance, but only by the assisting lamas, and to be sure they were the drums that are otherwise used at the religious service. The hoop drum, however, of which Hoffman (op. cit., p. 203) gives an illustration, is not used. In the case of the gurtum the
[787] necessary connection between the drum and the ascent to

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coming Shih-kung can hardly be obtained except by in- 756
heritance, from a line of able priestly ancestors. They adopt no pupil who is not the son of a colleague,[49] and they use Taoist gods for their own purpose.[50]

CULT OF THE TWELVE TENGRIS SPECIFICALLY SHAMANIST

The Monguor shamans seem to belong to the Altaic classification. The traditions concerning the antiquity of the cult of the Twelve Tengris and the preference of the Monguor shamans for the cult are not to be overlooked. An obvious reason for this preference may be found in the fact that the range of activities of the Tengris is more far reaching than that of the Wu tao shen, the god of the Five Roads, because the Tengris combat all kinds of evil spirits while the god of the Five Roads and his associates combat only the hail spirits.

However, the basic reason for the preference among 774
the shamans for the cult of the Twelve Tengris is 756
deeply rooted in the peculiar philosophy of shamanism as it exists in Asia. According to Dioszegi, there existed

> two notions, from the time Shamanism was still in formation, concerning the combats of the shamans with evil spirits: the first assumes that the shaman himself, having taken the shape of an animal, is engaged in the struggle; the second, that the guardian spirit of the shaman, having taken the shape of an animal, waged war.[51]

The Tungus tell of two shamans who changed themselves into bear and tiger, fighting in the presence of the people, and of shamans who assume one of the animal spirit forms to travel a long way.[52] Concerning this philosophy Shirokogoroff notes:

> . . . the group of spirits associated, at least by name, with animals is very numerous . . . by the Northern Tungus these are not considered as animals but manifestations assumed by the spirits; there are the tiger, bear, wolf, fox, snake, dragon, deer, roe-deer, dog, horse, carp, cuckoos, falcons, hawks, eagle, etc.[53]

The old specific shamanist concept concerning animal-like beings (spirits) waging war with evil spirits lies at the base of the Tengris cult. It was realized in the rite of the twelve animal spirits who, long before our era, drove the evil spirits out of the palace of the prince.

This peculiar old philosophy must have caused the ancestors of our Monguor shamans to choose for themselves the cult of the Twelve Tengris and to dedicate themselves to these animal-like Tengris. Today the Monguor shamans unconsciously continue to perform the same dedication and to practice the same cult. The

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[49] *Ibid.*, 1252.

[50] *Ibid.*, 1254.

[51] Dioszegi, Le combat sous forme d'animal des chamans, *Acta Orientalia* 2: 315, Budapest, 1952.

[52] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 371.

[53] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 174. [p.89 (A)]

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philosophy, therefore, explains the Rite of the White Tiger performed today by the Monguor shamans against hail, and the same principle (as we will see later) is applied in the rite of the "goat skin" and of the "wooden raven" against hail. The same philosophy is encountered in the facts previously related by Owen Lattimore among the Fishkin Tatars, by W. Heissig in the Kürye-Banner, and by Shirokogoroff among the Tungus. In all the studies concerning shamanism in Asia this philosophy is attested.[54]

Therein lies the reason why the Monguor shamans practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris and why it must be said that the Monguor shamans are genuine shamans, belonging to the Altaic classification. No hints are available to suggest that the Twelve Tengris were not the initial spirits to which the ancestor of the Monguor shaman dedicated himself, and we have no hints to fix the time when their ancestor shaman lived. It may only be assumed that the Monguor shamans already served the Tengris at the time of the Yüan dynasty when they settled in Kansu, because their Tengris at that time were represented as Mongol warriors and because the shamans in Mongolia practiced for centuries the subarctic form of shamanism.

MONGUOR SHAMANS ENTER THE TAOIST GUILD

It is a well-known fact that among the

> South Mongolian tribes of the Ordos, Tümed and Chahar regions as well as among the North Mongolian Khalkha . . . Shamanism and other "unorthodox creeds" had since been "outlawed" by the code of the Jassaktu Khan, by the religious proclamation of Altan Khan (1577) and the corresponding decree of the Siditü Gabcu in Khalkha (1587), [but that] certain undercurrents of a popular Chinese Taoist mysticism, known there under the name of *Bon-po* (Bö), had continued for some while, but at the death of Ligdan Khan (1634) the Yellow Sect was well established in these parts of Mongolia.[55]

"Outlawed" does not mean that these "unorthodox creeds," these Bon-po, etc., disappeared because of codes, proclamations, and decrees, for their existence is still attested; but they were persecuted or their activities were restrained.

The Red Sect, patronized by Mongol and Ming emperors and Mongol chiefs, fought a fierce battle against shamanism and Bön. The Yellow Sect fought against the Red Sects from 1558; to these former edicts may be added that of 1640, which had stipulations concerning the suppression of shamanism. "Forty-eight princes and chiefs of Mongol tribes convened in order to fix the so-called 'Mongol-Oirat regulations.'" Among them were Mongol princes of Khalkha, Jungaria, Kukunor (near Hsining) as well as of Siberia, and later two

[54] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 94–98, 413.

[55] Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century. *Anthropos* 48: 493, 1953.

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RITE OF THE WHITE TIGER

The most important rite against hail is the one called the Rite of the White Tiger, performed by the shaman. Once in a while a Taoist priest and even a Red lama try to enact it. However, the following year a shaman is invited again by the distrustful villagers, for the rite belongs to the black magical art and is more in keeping with the attributions of the shaman. 796 756 [772] 789

It is performed in May, before the time of the hailstorms. The original and complete rite is not enacted every year, but certainly it will never be omitted the year after the crops have been destroyed. If a year passes peacefully, then the following year only a supplementary rite will be enacted, strengthening the original one. If for many years the crops have been preserved, the original rite will nevertheless be performed again, for fear the original magical power may have faded.

It will be noted that the shaman deposited, in the temple under the bushel, the bottle he used for capturing a human soul with which he nurtured the spirits. The seventh day after the performance of the spring rites, the chief of the village and the elders go to the temple to take the bottle and bushel away, and they ring the temple bell. A member of each family arrives carrying incense sticks; the sedan chair, with the statue inside, is moved into the middle of the courtyard of the temple. All those present, holding incense sticks, kneel before the sedan chair, and the chief of the village asks the god whether it is certain the crops will be reaped peacefully, and whether the hail will be certain not to play havoc. Despite the formal promises of the shaman seven days ago, suspicions are still harbored. Then according to the ceremony already noted (the sedan chair crushing the carriers, etc.) and according to the pointers given by the spirit, the chief of the village decides to invite the shaman. [774]

The shaman and three or four of his confreres examine the country and fix the place where the rite is to be performed. It is always within the boundaries of the village, on a hill or hillock, usually at the northwest corner, because hailstorms usually come from that direction. An auspicious day is chosen for the performance, and a list of all the required items for the rite is given by the shamans to the chief of the village. Here is what the list transmitted to the chief of the village of Toolong by the shaman contained: 20 black bowls; 15 wooden stakes, 2 feet in length; 15 tiles, 15 bricks, 15 eggs; 15 wooden planks, two feet long and 2 inches thick; 5 small hand mills, 5 axles and a cart wheel; an iron chain, which had been used to tie a dog, and a lock; 5 bell neckstraps with bells which had been used on horses; a mill stone, the corpse of a boy or baby, a living white dog and a white cock, water drawn from 10 different wells, 5 lions made of glazed pottery, used to adorn roofs; 6 earthen jars, among them 2 of bigger size, and a kettle; a pivot of a millstone, a pivot of threshing rolls, 2 threshing rolls, a plowshare, a harrow,

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SOULS

The concept of the soul is one of the most confused all over Asia. Chinese claim to have two souls: the *p'o* and the *hun*. The p'o appears at the moment of conception, the hun at the time of birth. At death, they are separated; the p'o dwelling with the corpse, the hun going to Heaven, to the domain of Shang ti. Hungry p'o become malignant kuei. However, according to old theories, they live only for three years after death. In later times it was imagined that there was a place for the p'o similar to that of the hun. When the mourning period is finished, the deceased becomes an ancestor.[1]

Pure shamanism—i.e., shamanism before its contact with Lamaism,—had no conception of another world or a realm of death; but another realm to which only the shaman had admission, which became adorned with many attributes of the Lamaistic Hades, as appears later in the more recent shamanistic incantations. In pure shamanism, the ghost and spirits of the dead remained in this world at their burial sites. These sites developed into haunted places, and through fear were tabu to all but the shamans who have power over these ghosts and spirits.[2]

Johannes de Plano Carpini (1246–1247) claimed that the Mongols had no notion about heaven or hell, but asserted that they entered another world after death, where they could tend animals,[3] and that their deceased, under the form of dolls, were put on a wagon guarded by shamans and honored on certain days. Later on, good men became good spirits, and so the entire branch of Chingis Khan became good spirits. Owing to Tibetan Buddhist influences, souls were incarnated in other men.[4] A judgment after death was supposed to take place, and a heaven and a hell and even a kind of purgatory to exist.[5] Schmidt concludes his synthesis of the religion of the oldest Turks by saying, "Because the soul is thought to have the shape of a bird, and because death is called 'flying away,' it seems to point to a flight to Heaven," so that a heaven might haxe existed.[6] The souls of princes were probably thought to enter Heaven where they lived in the way they lived on earth.[7]

The Buriats speak in a very confused manner about three souls.[8] The Yakuts believe the shaman has three souls, "the air soul," "the earth soul," and "the mother soul." During his childhood the threefold soul is taken away by the spirits, and his mother soul takes the shape of a "fantastic female."[9] These facts suffice to give an idea about the confusion reigning in Central Asia about the soul, and they prepare us to expect the same confu-

[1] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 186.
[2] Heissig, *op. cit.*, 510.
[3] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 194, 195.
[4] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 105.
[5] *Ibid.*, 108–110.
[6] *Ibid.* 9: 65.
[7] *Ibid.*, 35.
[8] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, *Anthropos* 23: 578, 1928.
[9] Dioszegi, Le combat sous forme d'animal des chamans, *Acta Orientalia*, 316, 1952.

[p. 140(A)]

774
sion concerning this subject among the Monguors, who 171
assume that they have three souls.

THE FIRST SOUL

The Monguors used to talk about the soul of the 774
bones,[10] which seems to adhere to the bones in general, 775
not to a definite bone. When the bones are broken or split, the soul seems not to be affected. Consequently, when Monguors kill a sheep, they do not take care to avoid the breaking of the bones. The soul seems never to leave the bones, even during life or after death; it is said to be buried with the bones in the grave, and to remain there adhering to them, and to vanish when the bones vanish. Never is it said that this soul harms people, or is harmed in anyway. However, when the shaman calls back the souls of a sick man supposed to be [756]
harmed by malignant spirits, or by souls of the deceased, the bone soul is called back with the two others.

This peculiar feeling existing over all Asia concern- 761
ing the bones is noteworthy. The bones play a large 774
role in the beliefs of the Mongol and Turkish people, [170]
to which stock the Monguors belong. The Monguors, as well as the Mongols and Turks, when asking for the name of a man's clan, ask for the name of his "bone," and their saying goes that the bones come from the father and the flesh from the mother. This basic principle is so deeply ingrained in their consciousness that when you ask a man or a woman what their bones are, they will always answer by giving the name of the clan of their father and not that of their mother. Everybody is recognized as belonging to the clan of his father. If you ask for the name of the bone of their mother, they will answer by giving the name of their mother's father's clan and not of their mother's mother's clan, for the bones come from the father. This behavior fits perfectly in the frame of a patriarchal society.

However, it is not known at what time specific facts 604
caused the Monguors to go so far as to call their 774
maternal uncle the "master of the bones" of the children 764
of his sister, to acquiesce to his illogical usurpation of the most basic rights belonging to the family chief in a patriarchal society, to allow the maternal uncle to decide, in definite circumstances, about the life and death of these children, and to be their recognized avenger in case of suicide, caused by maltreatment, and to become the only man who can permit the burial of these children.[11] In all nomadic societies in Asia this intrusion is observed on a larger or smaller scale. Even in the Chinese society the maternal uncle plays an important role, presiding over the festivities at marriages and giving permission to bury the children of his sister. The Chinese saying is well known that, when the maternal uncle brings suit at court against the son of his sister, the father of the defendant cannot withstand it, and also the saying that as long as the mother's family (maternal uncle) does not permit burial, the de-

[10] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 2: 205.
[11] Schram, Part I: 91. [p. 140 (B)]

ceased cannot climb to heaven (the soul cannot leave the body).[12] Like the Monguors, they call a son *Ku-hsüeh,* "bone and blood," for his bones come from the father and blood from the mother. Relationship is called *Ku-jou,* "bones and flesh." The examination of the corpse by the maternal uncle before the funeral is called *Yen-ku,* "examining the bones."

However, the usurped rights of the maternal uncle concern only the children of his sister. He is not a chief of a clan, and in all clans men know very well that their clan chief is not a maternal uncle.

All the conditions set by the maternal uncle in order to permit burial find their explanation among Monguors and Chinese in the fear, which both harbor, of the harm which the deceased might cause in case he is not decently buried, and the desire to have a splendid burial for a member of their family, which will honor the family and flatter its pride. The Chinese are extravagantly demanding about precious clothes, a nice coffin, musicians, a big dinner, and a large number of Taoist priests. Monguors are also eager for grandeur, but, having no need for these items, put their unreasonable claims in the form of fantastically large alms for lama-series, three-fourths of which are never agreed upon. This mentality and these facts prove that religious feeling at that time plays a far lesser part in the discussions than the mania for display and worldly glory. Certainly there are devout Lamaists who, at the time of the death of a member of the family, really like to have prayers said for the deceased, spend a lot of money for entertaining lamas, giving alms, burning lamps. However, this is never done without ostentation and without advertising, and they make these claims on the day of the dinner in such a way that the whole gathering may spread the news.

THE SECOND SOUL

The concept of this soul is more confused than that of the first soul. The second soul is that which will join Buddha in his paradise, or will be condemned by the terrible judge after death to reincarnate, in order to repair injustices. The Monguors at present know perfectly well that after death this soul does not die, and that there is a reward or punishment meted out by the terrible judge. They know perfectly the eighteen hells, from having seen the pictures in the temples and having heard the lamas speak about them. It is one of the most important merits of Lamaism, that it has spread this doctrine to such an extent. The shamans, when performing the spring rites, tell about Erlik, as the lamas tell about the judge of death. The rite which is usually performed in reparation for injustices, so widely spread and practiced, supports the assumption that many

[12] This last saying of the Chinese has no meaning for the Monguors, because, immediately after death, the lama opens a way for the escape of the soul through the bregmatic fontanelle by pulling some hairs from the top of the head. The soul is thus already released before the maternal uncle arrives.

[p. 141 (A)]

new beliefs have entered their minds. However, for how long a time will the existence of this soul last? Even though the lamas speak of a quasi-endless paradise with Buddha, and of successive rebirths, the Monguors honor the souls of only three older generations at the feast of spring, at the celebration of the family guardian deity, and at the time when shamans expel evil spirits from sick men. After that the souls seem to be finished. 774 775

The second soul seems to be more independent of the body than the first one, because, during sleep, dreaming, and fainting fits, it may wander to far-off countries, and later recall what it saw or heard, and how it acted in these countries. At the moment of death, the family, on the roof of the house, implores it not to leave them. The shaman, curing the sick, calls this soul back with the two others along the rope. Immediately after death, the lama releases this soul through the bregmatic fontenelle. Surely, threfore, this soul leaves the body after death. 774 775 761

However, its existence has always been precarious. During life it was subject to being harmed by nefarious spirits, and after death, lamas must say prayers to help it reach paradise safely, in order that vampires may not devour it on the way. In the same way, the shamans at the feast of spring tell about the dangerous crossing of the bridge after death, and about vampires waiting for these souls.[13]

Siberian shamans travel to heaven in order to bring back souls abducted by evil spirits.[14] The Tungus believe that the soul remains for a certain time near the body,[15] and then a dog carries it into the lower world;[16] that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat,[17] and that a raven looks for the souls traveling, after death, to the lower world and brings the news to the soul's owner.[18] The release of the soul is a very important function of the shamans.[19] [171]

The Monguors do not say in which part of the body the soul is located, or from where it originated. At the feast of spring, however, the shamans, when making fun, tell in a jocular manner how Tengri made seven men and seven women. The Tungus believe that the souls are given by the spirit;[20] they also say that the death of a man results in the birth of a new soul in the other (upper) world, and that the soul may be sent to a newborn human being.[21] Among the Ch'i-tan is recorded a sacrifice offered by the emperor in the tenth month, to the god of the sacred Black Mountain, who cares for the souls of the populace.[22] 774 775

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[13] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 191, 192.
[14] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 179.
[15] Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex*, 215.
[16] *Ibid.*, 210.
[17] *Ibid.*, 92.
[18] *Ibid.*, 142.
[19] *Ibid.*, 276.
[20] *Ibid.*, 128.
[21] *Ibid.*, 297.
[22] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 204–214. [p.141(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

THE THIRD SOUL

The behavior of the Monguors toward this soul illustrates the basic approach prevailing all over Asia to the problem of the soul. The Monguors care more for this soul than for the other two because they are afraid of it. It becomes after death a kind of demon, ill-disposed toward its own family, harming its cattle and its wealth. This assumption is evidenced by their unkind attitude toward it, an attitude which shocks us. When the corpse is carried out of the courtyard, the lamas and the members of the family who are still in the courtyard, cry: "Do not come back and harm us, forget us forever and go to dwell elsewhere." The evening before the cremation, after all the guests have left, having said with devotion their Om Mani for a long time, the lamas immediately brutally chase the soul out of the courtyard and all the rooms. At the very moment of the cremation, the master of ceremonies makes the last traditional speech, before the oven, addressing the corpse: "We lavishly spent money and performed all the possible rites for your well-being, now go away and never come back to disturb us or to harm us.[23] Forget us forever; we will pray for you and make offerings." The fear of the departed is a real obsession. Most of the harm suffered is ascribed to them. Many of the deceased are supposed to be peculiarly fiendish and are buried in special cemeteries, where the shamans have to be invited to keep them quiet. They like to live in lonely spots and empty ruined houses, and have to be fed, because when they become hungry they are dangerous.

However, all the distinctions concerning the three souls, based on observed facts and customs, do not bother the average Monguors. They do not care for the nature of these three souls, how long they live, when they will vanish—all they know is that they leave the body at death. However, they are accustomed to feed the souls of three generations. They do not care to which, among the three souls, offerings are made at the time of the spring rites performed by the shaman, or at the time of the cult of the family deity, or on their own graves a few days before the worshipping of the ancestor of the clan. Even the lama or shaman, calling back the soul of a sick man, calls all three of them back.

CEMETERIES

Since the submission of the Monguors to the Ming dynasty (in 1368), the chief of each of the groups, receiving the title and duty of T'u-ssu, became the ancestor-founder of his group. Their pictures then began to occupy the center of the new ancestral hall. The family register began with their name, and their grave became the head mound, which today is seen in all the old cemeteries where the yearly worship of the ancestors is held. T'u-ssu never have been cremated.[24]

[23] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, *op. cit.*, 130. Louis M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes Mongols*, 211, Genbloux, Duculot, 1947.

[24] Schram, Part I: 59–70.

/104 cont'd/

595 The T'ou-jen find this kind of polygamy rational when they
587 think of the sad condition in which orphans are put, who, they say, will have to count solely on the grandparents alone, who are already old. I believe that the true explanation of this fact must be found in the former custom which did not permit widows to leave the clan.

Notice with respect to this very special category of polygamists the very special manner in which one speaks of these marriages. One does not say that the widow looked for a husband, as one says in the case of widows who remarry outside the clan of the parents-in-law, but one says sarun xâgu, "to cover the shadow." (2) Is it the

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2. It is perhaps useful to note in connection with the expression "to cover the shadow," the way of thinking of the Ou-hoan, Sien-pi peoples (Tong hou peoples) on the subject of the condition of widows in the world beyond. Parker, A Thousand Years of the Tartars, 2nd ed., p. 85: (The widow after being remarried either to her husband's brothers or to his paternal uncles...) "after death reverted to her first husband in the next world." /Cited in English, with introductory part in French./

new husband who covers the shadow of his dead brother, so that this shadow will do no more evil? Among the T'ou-jen the shamans claim that all illnesses are caused by the passage of the shadow of a dead person over the body of a person in good health.

587 Yet it happens, when widows are no longer young, that they
589 stay in the family of their parents-in-law without remarrying, sole-
765 ly in order to care for their children. When /105/ widows who have not remarried bear another child during the two years following the death of the husband, such a case does not surprise the T'ou-jen too much; the child is supposed to be the child of the dead man. It is

351 [40 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text p. 43 cont.] rather in order to give strangers a signal so that they will not be infected and will stay outside.

Word List

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792 Lama: lama; ho-shang (Chin.).
Lama of the Yellow Sect: gelõñba (Tib.); sira lama.
Lama of the Red Sect: fulan lama.
Great lama: šge lama; ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.).
Small lama: mula lama.
Hutukhtu (6): sañ (10); šge sañ = great H.; mula sañ = small H.
huo-fuo (Chin.) = Living Buddha; fo-yeh = Buddha.

6. [Foreign text p. 42.] The common people know little about the hierarchy among the monks. They know great and small lamas. Among the great they count the hutukhtu, the tsüordzi and the känbō. According to their conception, a great lama is especially learned, knows many magical practices, and therefore has special power. The small lamas have only a little learning and are able to perform only minor ceremonies, for instance, the obo prayer.

[775] The hutukhtus are regarded as Buddhic incarnations. In this the common people do not differentiate between Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Among them everything is fuo-yeh, that is, Buddha-Father. They use this Chinese name for everything that is the seat of the spirit or a spirit itself, in other words, also for the incarnations

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[40 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] (Tulkus), the spirit-spear, gods' statues with souls. Sometimes, for the sake of clarity, they designate the incarnations as huo-fuo (Chinese), that is, Living Buddha. The Tujen name purġan is usually used only for the spirits and the spirit seats with souls. Sometimes one hears the expression sañ or sañrë-dzi. I have never encountered the names Tulku, Hutukhtu, or Gegen, which in the Tujen language has the same meaning as sañ, the enlightened one.

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10. [Foreign text p. 43.] sañrëdzi: Tibetan sañs = pure, rgyas = spread out. -- ġdzo: Tibetan ġzo = to remind, to bring to mind; dañwu: Tibetan dañ po = first time; niwa: Tibetan gñis pa = second time; gdzänba: Tibetan gsum pa = third time. -- simier: Tibetan ǰis = fortune, mar = butter. -- sidar: Tibetan ǰis = fortune, dar = silk cloth. -- sändzoñ: Tibetan ts'em bzañ = cloth good. -- doñsär: Tibetan bdun = seven, gser = golden; the seven golden ones. -- lamar: Tibetan la = wax (from the Chinese), mar = butter. -- dordzi: Tibetan rdo = stone, rje = master. -- bosë: perhaps from the Mongolic; püse = trade, business; cf. Chin. p'u-tzu. -- mäntsia: Tibetan mañ = ample, ja = tea (Unkrig).

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[Note on foreign text pp. 61-62 cont.] explanations do not connect the air-horse with the round manger, either. Thus, one can hear that the magical formulas and prayers are carried to heaven on the air-horse. Others, again, believe that the air-horses are ridden by the wandering restless spirits and souls of the dead; in this way they would find the right way and come to rest. According to them, this is also the reason why these paper horses are released in such large numbers. Then the spirits are appeased and would no longer visit and molest human beings.

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Word List

(Cf. the drawing)

The mani-tree (tree and flag together): dardzioġ (Tib.).
The mast: dardzioġ gändzë (Chin.); mani-kan-tzu (Chin.).
The sun: nara.
The moon: sara.
For the round disk and the piece on the sun there are no specified Tujen names.
The cover: rdziala ntsam (Tib.); san (Chin.) = screen (6) [see Note 6 above].
The flag: dardzioġ (Tib.); ta-ch'iu (Chin.); ki mori = air horse;
loňšda (Tib.); lu-ma (Chin.) = horse of good fortune;
lung-ma (Chin.) = dragon-horse (10).

10. [Foreign text pp. 62-63.] loňšda is the Tibetan rluň rta, air-horse; ki-mori is the literal Tujen translation of it.

[636 cont.]

775 763 778 [262] [278]

Before the dying person draws his last breath, someone puts a mani-ball, a piece of gold, a piece of silver, and a piece of butter in his mouth. The mani-ball guarantees him an advanced age after the later rebirth (2). Gold and silver testify at the

2. [Foreign text pp. 650-651.] According to the informant, in the case of the mani-ball, mani-ruru, the pill that the Chinese call chen-ling wan, that is, the soul-shaking pill, is involved. According to Taoistic reports in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien, spirit-mirror, this pill is made from the sap of the legendary fan-hun-shu, that is, the soul-restoring tree. This tree grows on the coast of the western ocean. It is of black wood. If one strikes it, it sounds like the growling of a bull. Its root is brewed into a thick brew, and out of this brew the pill is made. The pill has an exceedingly strong scent (the tree can also be smelled miles away). This scent is called fan-hun hsiang, that is, soul-restoring scent. If after someone dies he is touched with this pill within three days or it is burned before him so that the smoke passes over him, or if the pill is put in his mouth, then he comes to life again. Under the Han emperors this kind of incense was supplied as tribute from the Yüeh-chih and supposedly brought dead persons to life in the palace. This pill also plays an important role in the medicine of the lamas. It is the so-called pill of immortality. The Tujen buy this pill in the monasteries. Its color is red. According to their

775 [636 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text pp.650-651]. conceptions, to be sure, it cannot ensoul the dead corpse again, but it nonetheless brings the dead to life in another rebirth. -- W. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, also mentions this pill on p. 400 under the name rilu, and in Note 1683 under the Tibetan way of writing it, ril bu. It is clear that the Tujen pronunciation reru (ruru) is merely a corruption of the Tibetan word. Ch. Das has two ways of writing it, ril po and ril bu (with the l silent); he translates both as "ball, globule," [cited in English], and for ril bu he also adds "pill" [cited in English], [651] without any further designations for them (pp. 1184-85). This ruru is to be distinguished from nuru, the Tib. nor bu or cintāmani, the Buddhistic wishing-jewel. -- According to the conception of the lamas and of the people, the ruru pill reproduces itself; ~~cf.~~ the chapter, "Earth-god Urn." Sometimes one meets lamas who firmly believe that Europeans, too, have this wonder pill of long life, which is why they live much longer than the Chinese and the Tibetans; they claim to know that there are people in Europe who are several hundred years old.

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rebirth that he comes from a wealthy position and will again acquire gold and silver. Butter is the most superior daily food and is supposed to be that again in the later life.

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[636 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.]
jen tung). -- For the sitting burial in eastern Tibet, cf. Tafel, Tibetreise, I, 236-237, with drawing.

It is known everywhere that Tulkus and other lamas are cremated. In this connection cf. the description in Filchner, Kumbum, pp. 240-242. In the case of the sitting position of the lamas, the Taoist monks, and those who died in contemplation, however, the position is that of a sitting Buddha, with legs folded under and the hands at rest, whereas the position among the Tujen and the Chiafandse is quite different, namely, the fetal position.

Other explanations of the Tujen, perhaps the most widespread, say that the human being rests in this position in the mother's womb and is born so; naked and in the same position he then again goes back into the womb of rebirth, just as he came (reversed, to be sure). In this comparison, the earth or fire as the symbol of motherhood thrusts itself upon one, and the death-box (or among other peoples the sack or coffin) as symbolic womb. -- This explanation of the people has the most to it. It is grounded in very ancient religio-cosmogonic thought processes which closely connect birth and death. Skeletons in a crouching position occur from many cultures, and people in a fetal crouching position are repeatedly represented in the archaic high cultures, and to be sure in connection with the devouring

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[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.] figures (Chin. t'ao-t'ieh) and the underworld. Professor C. Hentze in his most recent works has extensively revealed these connections, and one is referred to them here. -- I learned nothing concerning the conception that the dead must be placed in a sleeping position, although it is known that the nomads there on the Koko Nor sleep in this position, which can sometimes also be observed among Chinese and Tujen during the day.

764 the arms bent, the hands are put with the palms together and pressed upright against the chest so that they touch the chin. The thumbs are not crossed. The wrists are tied together with a hemp string and this is placed around the neck so that the hands stay together and cannot fall forward. Then the thighs are pressed firmly against the chest and arms and the calves against the thighs, so that the feet and seat rest in one plane. The feet are wound with a hemp string so that they will stay in position (4). Now one takes a quadrangular piece of cloth,

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4. [Foreign text p. 652.] The binding of the corpse is not regarded as tying down the dead person to prevent him from returning, as is the intention among the Chinese with the tying together of the feet. The informant claims that the binding has only the purpose of making the crouching position secure.

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In view of the otherwise common use of sheep wool, it is striking that only hemp strings are taken. As a reason the people say that if one took wool, the dead would be reborn as an

[636 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 652 cont.]
animal with wool. In the case of hemp this is impossible, for one is not transformed into a plant.

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The informant claimed to know nothing about hemp as a means of frightening off demons, as, for example, in the case of the hemp whip of the shamans. It may be that Chinese influence makes itself felt here, for the Chinese, too, use only hemp in connection with the dead, and it also plays an important role in the mourning costume (hemp belt, hair string, hemp veil, etc.). Strict mourning is therefore called simply "hemp mourning," ma-hsiao, among the Chinese.

764 about two ells square, cuts a round hole in the middle, and throws it over the dead person's head in such a way that the tips fall over the chest, back, and shoulders. This cloth is [766] called "death garment." It is yellow for persons who have received the age-consecration, white for young people. It does not matter what kind of cloth it is made of (5). -- All

5. [Foreign text pp. 652-653.]
The shoulder-throw is strongly reminiscent of the shoulder-collars of the shamans. A connection could not be discovered. The Tujen maintain that the cloth is usually taken off before cre-
[789] mation: later one uses it as an amulet, since it has great healing and protective power. With regard to this, the informant observed that one could indeed take off the white shoulder-cloth before crema-
[766] tion, but that it had no magical power and was used for profane purposes. The

[641 cont.]

764 604 537 [273] The mother's brother puts the hada over his shoulders, takes a swallow of liquor, and begins his speech. Usually he demands an accounting concerning the care of his protégé during the latter's illness and demands the small fees for the prayer service, saying that they should be ashamed of such avarice, the dead had always been a good person, the pride of his family, he deserved better; now at least one should give him a decent death-box and provide the most magnificent cremation possible; far too few lamas had been invited, but now they should recompense them with much money and rice and butter, etc.

[273] Every time that the mother's brother puts forward a wish or a complaint and pauses, the master of ceremonies has his liquor bowl refilled and calls upon him to drink. Then the master of ceremonies replies in the name of the paternal relatives, seeks to invalidate the reproaches, to lessen the demands, and to emphasize the efforts of the family. He says that the most expensive medicines were procured for the deceased during his illness, for how could one neglect such a virtuous person; moreover, everything that the family could do in his honor and for his soul would be done, but one should not demand the impossible; after all, one must die sometime; the times are bad, but they would gladly give the lama that and that, etc. -- So it goes back and forth between the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies, until a course is finally agreed upon and the mother's brother declares that now he is satisfied and will release the corpse. Now the mother's brother is invited to inspect the corpse, but he usually does not do this.

764 604 After this speech, the bereaved arise, kowtow three times before the mother's brother, and return to the deathwatch by the box. The mother's brother follows them and kowtows before the dead. Then alms are distributed to the guests, usually [431] coins. This is called "to do good," for it is advantageous for the deceased. Then the meal for the relatives on the mother's side [735] takes place in a large circle. Usually there is rice, but among poor people only noodle soup.

[775] [177] [642] The ceremony of the demand for an accounting has the purpose of releasing the soul of the dead for the migration

[642 cont.]

764 of the soul, according to the saying: if the mother's brother does
604 not open his mouth, the dead cannot migrate. When the soul has
no more demands to make on this world, then it leaves house and
775 home. Its demands are advocated by the mother's brother (17). --
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17. [Foreign text pp. 655-656.] The people do not agree about the origin and meaning of this ceremony. The Chinese say that it was copied from them; the Tujen claim that it is an old custom of their ancestors. -- The Chinese also have the name bäda (pai-ta); they also say pai-wai for it. They have no special explanation for pai-ta; they interpret pai-wai as "to profit, to tain an advantage." There is no character for either word. This would not be so important, however, since there is a great number of dialectal expressions for which there are no characters. -- The informant believes that bäda is a Tujen word and means "to profit, to gain," exactly like the Chinese pai-wai. If this custom does not occur farther to the east, which would have to be investigated, then one could conceive of it as a borrowing from the Tujen.

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The pai-ta of the Chinese is somewhat more extensive. First there is the donning of the white mourning cap, tai-hsiao, then the viewing of the corpse, wang-ku, that is, to view the bones; the mother's brother in this role is called ku-chu, that is, bones-master, an expression that the Tujen also have. Then follows the speech of the mother's brother, pai-wai. And when the negotiations on this

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[Note on foreign text pp. 655-656 cont.]
occasion are concluded satisfactorily, then there follows first the kowtow with the offering for the dead before the corpse. Concerning the bone relationship, cf. Part 2, I, 2.

The speech of the mother's brother is somewhat different from that of the Tujen. He principally demands a magnificent coffin, elegant death-garments, and many bonzes for the interment. Indeed, he even reclaims things of the dead person, for instance, the cow that provided him with milk, as well as valuables that are desired as mementos, for, he says, since the beloved deceased no longer dwells among his relatives, one wants at least his personal objects out of affection. Everyone knows that this is done less out of affection than out of a desire for gain. [656] The quite un-Chinese demand for the milk cow is striking here, since the Chinese drink practically no milk.

Among the Tujen, the pai-ta makes a somewhat more selfless impression. The negotiations deal primarily with the lamas to be invited and their prayer fee, and this primarily so that the soul of the dead person will be satisfied and set out on its migration.

In the case of the pai-ta, therefore, a twofold viewpoint is to be differentiated, the social, which comes to the fore more among the Chinese, and the religious, which is of more concern among the Tujen. In the first case it is a matter of asserting the rights of the mother's family; in the second case, it is a matter of the conception

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[Note on foreign text pp. 655-656 cont.] of the souls of the dead, who evidently are regarded as living corpses. This point is decisive in explaining the meaning. It is a matter of the peace and good fortune of the family, which are endangered by a restless soul if it is not satisfied and continues to wander about. This satisfaction is brought about by providing a decent interment (clothing, coffin) and the prayer of the lama. Then "the way is open" for the soul, as the Buddhists say; the significance of the above-mentioned proverb of the Chinese is shown here. How strongly this conception still affects even the Chinese is shown by the recast saying, wai-chia pu k'ai yen, wang-jen pu shang t'ien, that is, if the mother's family does not begin to speak, the dead will not ascend to heaven. -- With all this, however, it becomes clear how strong the rights of the mother's family are, and its concern for its members even beyond death.

If there is no actual mother's brother, then the one nearest to the mother's brother takes his place; this is the one who follows the mother's brother in the inheritance.

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Time of cremation: As soon as the dead person draws his last breath, a relative goes to the soothsayer or Bon priest and has the day of cremation determined by the spirits. He does not enter the compound of the soothsayer, however, but announces himself in front of the large gate of the yard, because since he comes from the house of a dead person, he may not appear before the gods. Aside from the spirit-spear, spirit-table, spirit-litter, and the Bon priest, one may also ask a Chinese lay bonze. Lamas and Taoist bonzes never determine the time. Only the day is given, not the hour. As

[643 cont.]

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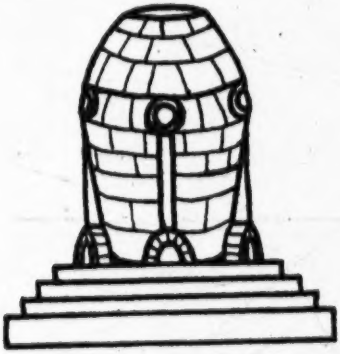

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Crematory, tab.
(Drawing of a Tujen.)

[Note on foreign text pp. 657-658 cont.]
the drawing on it; then the base is built on it. Several sheets are often pasted together. The drawing is sometimes so wide that it sticks out under the base. The ground-drawing naturally also varies in the decoration, but the thunderbolts and the lotus flower are always there. The oven with the corpse is thought of as borne by the lotus flower, out of which come the flames of the transformation of life during the burning. In this connection cf. the section, "The Fire-pouring," Note 4. -- There are certainly connections between the crematory and the bum-pa of the chorten.

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764 The funeral procession: On the morning of the day set, the mother's brother and all the relatives of the deceased burn white paper in front of the box; they kowtow three times and start a loud lamention. Four bearers take the box with the corpse up on

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[643 cont.]

764 their shoulders and carry it out to the yard gate. Before the gate the water-lamp and the paper basin are emptied. Here, too, the straw that served the bereaved as an underlayer during the deathwatch is burned. The procession goes to the crematory at a rapid pace. Old and young, men and women, follow in colorful confusion.

Young boys go with them. They carry straw, firewood, cypress twigs, a wooden bed or a door for the lama, a white felt mat, and a large iron kettle for melting the butter. At the oven, the men place the box on the ground. The relatives once more burn paper and throw themselves down to kowtow. Then
764 the master of ceremonies steps forward and addresses a few words
537 of farewell to the deceased. He says approximately the following: We have done what we could for you; we invited the lamas, we have prayed, we have given alms. We have made a beautiful box for you; you can be content. Therefore think no more of us and do not return to disturb the peace of our house. Be without care; we shall not forget you and shall continue to pray for you and to make offerings to you.

764 After this speech he distributes money among those
[431] present. This is alms and is called "box-money." Now the
[533] women once more begin the lamentation. They have a certain melody and express their grief in impromptu words. Then all go home. Only the master of ceremonies, two fire guards, the sons-in-law, the nephews, and the lama remain. The fire is serviced only by the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The sons-in-law and nephews assist with other operations.

Putting the corpse inside: The men who remained behind bring the litter to the west side of the oven where the broad slit was left. They put the litter with the back to this opening and draw the wooden wall out, so that the corpse is exposed in the back. Meanwhile the [644] fire guards have piled cypress twigs and wood on the oven floor. The corpse is now put on the firewood in the oven, the back to the east, the face to the west.
[775] Then the slit is walled off. The face must be turned to the
[823] west because the realm of the blessed is located there, to which he must now migrate.

[644 cont.]

764 The lama now takes his place on the bed or the door,
792 over which a white mat has been spread, on the west side of the oven. His face is turned toward the east, facing that of the dead person. Before him stands a little kang table with his cult implements. Next to it lie two pieces of sacking, on which two white cloth runners have been spread; the little plates with the spices and the materials for the fire-pouring (cf. the appropriate section) stand on that. On the white cloth there is also a tray with a torma. The lama prepared it in the morning in the house of mourning and brought it along. This torma rep-
[778] resents a spirit that protects the dead person and leads him west-
[775] ward into the land of rebirth. -- The lama comes from the west, the land of the Buddhas, and goes to the east; therefore he is seated opposite the dead person.

764 The fire preparation: Now the iron kettle is put on three
372 stones and a great fire is kindled under it; it does not matter how this fire is made. Several lumps of butter are thrown into the kettle and allowed to melt. The men then make the
[792] lighting pole, while the lama begins the prayers for the dead.

The lighting pole is a stick two to three meters long. Any wood desired can be used for it. A thick strand of cotton wadding is wound on one end. The master of ceremonies now brings a paper lantern, in which there is a small butter-lamp. It must be a butter-lamp; an oil-lamp or a candle is not permitted. In olden times there were no butter-lamps either, but wooden splinters from the oil fir. This lamp may not be lighted with ordinary fire, for instance, with the fire from the butter-kettle. It must be new fire which is struck from the flint on the first blow. If the master of ceremonies does not get a spark the first time, he may not try it a second time with the same stone. For this reason he keeps a whole series of flint stones in readiness (18). Now if the spark has fallen on the

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18. [Foreign text 656.] In recent times matches are also used instead of the flint stones. In this case, too,

765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The
[262] food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[585] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
[783] along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
[796] also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not officiate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean, and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

[783] After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automatically lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had
[777] been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own
[791] family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved,
[782] it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul. One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[648 cont.]

766 buried, or simply burned. No death ceremonies are undertaken. At the burning they receive no box, but are reduced to ashes, like the girls.

Like the boys, girls under ten years of age may also be exposed, buried, or burned. The corpse then usually becomes prey for dogs and wolves. Girls over ten years of age, however, must be burned, for at this time menstruation may set in, and their souls are then dangerous demons, of which even the other spirits are afraid (22). The burning is done without any ceremony

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22. [Foreign text p. 657.] Why the girls are so dangerous could not be clearly established. Perhaps the same notion as is behind the pai-ta lies at the root of it, namely, that the soul leaves this life dissatisfied, that is, that after the girl attained maturity she did not achieve her proper destiny in marriage. There is no death-marriage here, as, for example, in Shantung, so the soul cannot rest in peace. This soul demon, however, is destroyed through burning, according to the statements of the Chinese and Tujen. I know of a case in which a Chinese girl was exhumed and burned two years after her death because something uncanny was always happening in the family and one accident followed another. That, however, did not help either. -- Shamanistic conceptions, too, are certainly suggested. One need only recall that the Bon priests make the bone flute from the bones of such a girl and the whip from her skin.

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[649 cont.]

792 an actual corpse were present. On the day set this sheet of paper
766 is burned in the field, but quite simply, without any oven and without a lama. No one bothers with the ashes. The lama writes
[212] the name on a second sheet, however, and this is put in the bone-chest, which is buried at the place of the burning (23) until the

[171]

23. [Foreign text p. 657.] The neighboring Chinese have a similar custom. They place the ancestral tablet of the dead person in a little coffin and bury it in the cemetery. This interment has legal force; when it is undertaken, it is regarded as proof that the person is actually dead. A parallel is found among the Chinese in the proxy wedding with a stuffed straw-man.

[212] transfer to the kin-group cemetery takes place at the grave festival. -- The signs that the lama writes are Tibetan.

Word List

192
764 Cremation: ġaldë awu- = to put in the fire.

To die: ugei (guei) wōldzia = he has passed away.

He died sitting: sōwa guei wōldzia; tsuo-hua (Chin.) = transformed sitting.

Death of a bonze: niesā sdzia = he has flown away. yü-hua (Chin.) = feathered transformed.

Death of a lama: siaġladzia = he has turned to nothing.

[775] He is reborn: härga (xara) rëdzia = he has come back; sdziewa.

One has put him in the crouching position: ndañlalġadzia = he has been put in equilibrium.

The dead person: guei woldzañ kun = departed person.

Death clothing (shoulder hanging): bōw-la (Tib. loanword) = white garment.

Death lament: dō tedzi ula.

[650 cont.]

192 Western paradise: hsi-lo shih-chieh (Chin.) = world of joys.

[775] Oil fir: yu-sung mu (Chin.).

Thin flat-bread made with flour: kan pin-ping (Chin.) = little dry cakes.

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[Pages 650-658 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 658 and the next section begins on p. 822.]

782 [822]

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V. Customs concerning Agriculture and Livestock

1. The Sowing and Harvest Thanksgiving Festivals * (1)

* See "Notes," p. 823 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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1. [Foreign text p. 823.] For this subject, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Das Herbst-Dankopfer der Tujen im Sining-Gebiet [The Harvest Thank-offering of the Tujen in the Sining Region]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-45, 867-873. -- The report there presents only the offering from the harvest thanksgiving festival as the old man described it at that time. It is interesting to point out that he seized upon this offering as typical of the festival and mentioned the entire celebration only incidentally, always with the indication that the shamans actually had nothing to do with the offering. When I later asked him why he had not described the entire festival in

[205 cont.]

774 Unequivocal statements concerning the conceptions of the soul among the Tujen could not be secured. It is true that several souls can be inferred from the death customs described, but the naming and peculiar nature of these souls remain vague.

192 Two designations for "soul" come into consideration:
774 namsü (namšë) and suniedzë. The word namsü is seldom used. According to the DMF (256), it corresponds to the Tibetan ñams-su. This independent connection cannot be confirmed in Ch. Das, but ñams alone is found there, p. 476, with the meaning: "...the soul, mind, spirit as an entity" [cited in English]. The su could at most still be an instrumental particle. One will probably not go wrong, therefore, if he equates namsü not with ñams-su, but with the Tibetan rnam šes, pronounced nam-še. Ch. Das (762) translates it with: "...the mind, knowledge, intellect, memory" [cited in English]. H.A. Jäschke, on the other hand, has for it the explanation (315): "3. in popular language: soul, e.g. of the departed..." [cited in English]. The much more frequently used word suniedzë has the same meaning. It is the equivalent of the Mongolic sünesün. Both namsü and suniedzë signify nothing uniform, for there are three souls: nigë
774 kundu ġuran namsü-i, or nigë kundu suniedzë ġuran-i, that is:
●775 "There are three souls to a human being"; cf. DMF 256. And of what kind are these souls? toroñ yesë saġdzini, ġuordani sdziewa awura sdzini, ġurandani iliedu furani (cf. DMF 361), that is, "The first guards the bones, the second assumes the rebirth, the third transforms itself into a demon." Mostaert, op. cit., refers to Sanžeev, "Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten [World-view and shamanism of the Alar-Burjat]," Anthropos, 22, 1927, p. 585. The conception of the tripartition,
[171] however, is much more widespread; at any rate in Lamaistically influenced Asia it is found almost everywhere. Even the Tsinghai Chinese know of three souls: one goes into the underworld, one stays with the corpse (bones), one wanders around in the world. What is common to these three souls is that they can separate themselves from the body.

775 The bone-soul remains with the skeleton after death, at
764 least until the rite of the bäda has been completed, whereby it
604 is satisfied and becomes free. Its agent in this ritual and the

[205 cont.]

775 decisive authority is the mother's brother of the deceased. Therefore among the people he is accordingly called tsiğan yesë daxu, that is, "white-bone-master"; Chinese [206] ku-chu, that is, "bone-master." This soul finally becomes free at the cremation, at which, of course, the bones (better: the skeleton) are destroyed except for a few remains. The peculiarity of this soul[1] is its clan [Clan] membership, as is expressed by the name of the mother's brother and his importance. He is the representative of the mother's kin-group [Sippe]. The Tujen, however, like the Mongols and other tribes, determine the kin group according to the bones. Among the Tujen likewise the question as to the family is: "What are your bones," tsini yesë yan-i? Bones and clan (kin group) therefore are equated. Thus one has grounds for maintaining that the bone-soul is borne by the life principle of the clan and propagates itself in the clan. How is unclear. As clan-master, the mother's brother is also bone-master. He exercises more rights over his sister's child than the latter's actual father and also demands the final accounting. But what happens to the thus liberated soul? Perhaps a similar custom among the Manchuria-Tungus, specifically among the Birarčen [Birar] and Kumarčen, provides insight into this. S. M. Shirokogorov reports of their soul-migration into the underworld: "The second river is the Yellow River, after crossing which the soul meets with Mongoldai Nakču, i.e. Mongoldai 'senior of the mother's clan,' which examines the case before allowing the soul to cross the Black River beyond which Inmun-kan reigns" [cited in English] (Psychomental Complex, p. 142; as cited in UdG, X, p. 563). Mongoldai, the master of the mother's clan in the underworld, here does what the bone-master of the dead does in the upper world: he demands an accounting and investigates the condition of the dead person's soul. The result is also the same: the soul becomes free for its migration and the corpse free for the burial. I could not confirm this underworld correspondence for the bāda among the Tujen; at any rate, nothing drew one's attention in this direction. Perhaps the extension of the conception into the [769] underworld is lacking among them because they practice

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1 [i.e. - the "bone-soul", one of three souls of a human being - ANALYST]

[206 cont.]

775 practically no ancestor cult and therefore know of no ancestor
614 spirit like the Tungusic Mongoldai Nakču. Unconsciously, how-
604 ever, forgotten conceptions might still have an effect. At any
764 rate, a custom that is often explained as thirst for honor and
[769] avarice would in this way find a suitable explanation. In the case of the bǎda the principal demands of the mother's brother are directed at the inviolability of the corpse (= no violent death) and a costly death-box, as well as splendid prayers for the dead. When, in connection with the underworld custom of the Tungus, one assumes that the dead person will reach the clan-master of the underworld in an honorable, fine condition and contented, then the care of the earthly clan-master for his clan members is thereby also documented, and the clan has a good reputation in the beyond. Father W. Schmidt sought to interpret similar conditions among other peoples meaningfully, and, to be sure, in connection with the double interment of the matriarchal agrarian culture. In the latter the fleshly parts are allowed to fall to destruction. They are of no significance for the further existence of the human being. The bones, however, which are carefully cleaned and then finally interred or supplied for the cult, are important. Moon-mythological ideas lie at the bottom of this procedure. The waning moon becomes thinner and thinner, until finally only [207] a "bone" remains, but the latter gradually clothes itself again with "flesh" and grows to become the full moon, a mirror image of the perishing and becoming of man. According to this conception, the skeleton is the "essential," the support; see UdG, X, pp. 742 f. If this meaning of the bones is so harmoniously a part of the moon-mythological matriarchal agricultural culture, then the striking arrangement among the Tujen, bones -- mother's clan -- mother's brother, is also explained. -- The sociological side of this custom will not be dealt with here.

775 The second soul goes to the western paradise (Tushita)
171 and waits there for a new rebirth. The incarnation into lower forms is regarded as punishment for a vicious and evil life, exactly in the sense of the Buddhist-Lamaist wheel of life. These conceptions, however, do not have much force among

[207 cont.]

775 the Tujen. For instance, one hears little about a Buddhist hell,
171 which plays a much more important role among the neighboring Chinese and is quite graphically portrayed in many temples. It is true that the Tujen like to consider the misfortune in this world as punishment for earlier transgressions. This soul, which
775 one could call "incarnation soul" or "private soul" -- in con-
764 trast to the clan soul -- becomes free for the incarnation through the transforming lotus fire at the cremation. The informant, at any rate, interpreted the lotus-mandala and the fire at the cremation in this sense and ascribed to them a transforming power. This does not mean that this soul remains in the body as long as, say, in an animated corpse. Rather, at the death of the person, the lamas are supposed "to open the way" through prayer, so that the soul may reach Tushita. To what extent such explana-
[171] tions correspond with the orthodox Buddhist doctrine will be left undecided. Any any rate, the conceptions of the people are vague.

775 Even more unclear are the conceptions about the third
776 soul, which is supposed to transform itself into a demon. Nothing is known about its fate and about the cause of such a transformation. Such a soul is feared, however. Perhaps it is this soul that in case of dissatisfaction after the bäda disturbs the
[764] human beings at the command of the clan soul, haunts the
[782] house and yard, and causes sickness and misfortune. At any rate, a great part of the offerings and prayers at the death rites is given out of fear of this soul. The constantly expressed wish to the dead person runs: "Forget us, be content, do not come
775 back." A natural discontent and a kind of missing of life's goal
776 are connected with the soul of unmarried adult girls. It be-
589 comes a demon who is so dangerous that even other demons flee from it, for which reason the Bon priests take the material for
[765] their bone flutes, their whip, etc. from the corpses of such girls. The discontent and non-fulfillment can only be accounted for in this case by the unmarried state, which, according to Tujen conceptions, goes against every natural ordinance for a female person. One may suspect that this soul-belief also has a strong
[588] effect on the custom that the Tujen call "to arrange the heavenly

[207 cont.]
775 hairdress," through which a girl is wedded to heaven and is no
776 longer burdened with the contempt suffered by unmarried women
[589] (see above). The fear of the female demon-souls [208] is also
[588] widespread among the Chinese, and there is only one way of
being safe from them: the cremation. In the customs of the
[171] Tsinghai Chinese, this fear and contempt have their basis in
the Buddhist conception that a woman is an unclean being and
that this uncleanness is only removed through the man and his
descendants. This attitude is strengthened through the fervent
desire for sons and grandsons, which again is connected with the
ancestor cult. These Buddhistic motives are certainly also
decisive in part among the Tujen. Among them, too, the
[562] woman is regarded as unclean, even if not so harshly as among
[783] the Chinese. The veneration of the ancestors plays scarcely
any role. Nonetheless, uncleanness and demonism are closely
[841] connected. A very common expression runs: pudaǵ ilie, un-
clean demon; a woman is also pudaǵ during her period.

The demon soul therefore seems to stand in a special relationship with the female principle. This suggests the surmise that it represents the flesh-(body)-soul in the human being, which stands in contrast to the bone-soul. In northeastern Tibet and elsewhere one encounters the conception that the bones of a person come from the man and the flesh from the woman. Among the Tujen, however, this relationship is difficult to determine
[614] because it is precisely the bone-soul that is related so closely to the mother's clan. This does not, it is true, exclude an individual assignment to the man (father), but it does not permit it to make its appearance through this unquestionably matriarchal trait.

775 From everything, one can see that the Tujen are little concerned about the after-life of the soul and the beyond. To them it is enough if they are left in peace on earth. The Buddhist conceptions are more theoretical. In actuality one not infrequently encounters a this-worldly fatalism which expresses itself in the saying: "Our life does not have much meaning"
[171] (literally: we have lived in vain). Even if the conception of the
[769] soul has much similarity to that of the Chinese, the Tujen

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171] are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
[769] ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
[764] stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
[782] the deceased would remain among the living and would need to partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
[513] even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
[753] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
[756] for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
[755] soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This catching of the soul is called: suniedzë xura-. It is unclear from this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru (rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun, moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals. Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the underworld and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

[256 cont.]

792 illustrated work by this hutukhtu.

The other incarnation from dGon-luṅ, namely, the Tuguān Hutukhtu, is similarly famous. There is no explanation of this name. Perhaps it is a transference from the place to his person; it is better, however, to assume that the name of the mountain goes back to the hutukhtu, rather than the other way around. The Chinese way of writing the signs of this name [Illustrations a and b appear here] [257] varies as T'u-kuan, Tou-kuang, or T'ou-kuang, an indication that the phonetic imitation of a possibly Mongolic (Tujen) name, say, Toġan, is involved here. The Tibetan way of writing T'uu-bkvan is likewise quite strange, and therefore, according to Ch. Das, p. 577, the Mongolic name Toġan is rendered. As the first Tuguān Hutukhtu, Nag-dbaṅ c'os-kyi rgya-mts'o was called to Peking under Emperor Yung-cheng; he was born in 1679 and died in 1735; see Schulemann, pp. 178 f. The best known is his subsequent incarnation, the above-mentioned author of the work of religious history concerning the various Lamaistic and pre-Lamaistic systems and the Yellow Church; cf. Filchner, Kumbum, p. 181. He is supposed to have lived from 1702-1775 (communication from Mr. Unkrig). The Tuguān Tulkus likewise resided in Peking for the most part, whereby the relations to their tribal monastery dGon-luṅ did not suffer further; it is the case even today that many hutukhtus travel outside the country for years, in Tibet, India, Mongolia. In 1948, the present Tuguān Hutukhtu, according to the statements of his relatives from the Ch'ang-kou, had already been in Nanking in the ministry as expert for the Lamaist border region for more than two years. Curiously enough, his relatives were of the opinion that nowadays the Tuguān and lCan-skya (Ch'ang-chia) incar-
[775] nations are no longer differentiated and appear in only one representative. No clarification could be obtained from these statements. There seemed to be rivalries between the Li Clan and the Ch'ang Clan, who both claimed the incarnation succession.

In view of the pre-eminent position that these hutukhtus occupied in Peking, it is not surprising that many Tujen lamas

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Yao-ts'ao-t'ai ("the terrace of medicinal herbs"), Hung-shan-ssu, and three smaller ones. Yao-ts'ao-t'ai was the vast pasture ground for the herds of the monastery and of the lamas. According to the abbots, it soon developed to the extent of having 200 lamas. Hung-shan-ssu soon had more than 150 lamas and received from the emperor a special grant of 500 taels every year (the reason is not known; *Annals*, ch. 15, p. 8*a*). In 1747 the allocation was still provided by the officials. The Living Buddhas of the three monasteries told me that because most of their lamas were of Monguor origin, their monasteries declined after Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung had been built, and the Monguor lamas had gone over to these lamaseries. However, there are other reasons which caused the decline of the flourishing monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, which at present is in a state of indescribable dilapidation.

In 1509 the Tibetans of Kukunor, driven from their pastures by the Mongol, I-pu-la, made inroads in Huang-chung. They looted and ruined the branch monastery of Hung-shan-ssu in 1519 (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 14*a*). In 1558 the Mongols of Kukunor looted and sacked Ch'ü-t'an (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 16*b*) and the neighboring country; probably Yao-ts'ao-t'ai also. The Moslems, in 1862–1872, wrought terrible havoc on the temples and the palaces of the Living Buddhas, and burned the printing blocks of the library. In 1895 the temple was again looted by the revolting Moslems. Material damage and ruins, however, are reparable, but damage and ruin caused from within the lama institution itself are not.

The troubles started between the mother monastery of Ch'ü-t'an and the branch of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, which is situated on the rich pasture grounds and forests included in the initial domain of the old monastery granted by the emperors. Very early, a couple of small temples and homes for lamas had been built on the spot, and a superior appointed. Around 1660, according to the abbots, more than 200 lamas lived at the subsidiary and more temples had been built. Its superior, a very learned and holy man, died and was reincarnated. His reincarnation was called Karang bzang and settled at the subsidiary monastery. (At that time the vogue for reincarnations was in full swing.) Very soon the mother monastery had its own reincarnation, the Living Buddha Mei, and four small Living Buddhas. The branch also provided a small Buddha called the Liang-chou fo-yeh.

With both monasteries having Living Buddhas, friction started between them and lasted for more than two centuries. Jealousy and hatred became deep-rooted. Both monasteries behaved like ducks, appearing calm and unruffled on the surface, but paddling like devils underneath it. The eternal question of the corvées imposed by the mother monastery on its subsidiaries and the demand for land rents kept open festering wounds, and the yearly disputes grew more and more acute.

[p.23(B)]

tually, Achia Bsan, reincarnation of the father of Tsong khapa, is the proprietor and chief of Kumbum. 175 792 346

The *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* [71] notes that the series of his incarnations began in 1417 (two years before the death of his son, Tsong khapa!). It says that for fifteen incarnations Achia administered the monastery of Kumbum and was recognized as its chief and proprietor by the five tribes and the inhabitants of the seven valleys, and that he possessed a piece of pasture ground in Chahar. However, it notes also that, in 1746, the name of Achia Hutukhtu (his sixteenth incarnation) was drawn from the celebrated urn in Peking, and that an order was given to write the deeds of a pasture ground in Chahar. This text is a model of ambiguity and full of holes; it suggests that in 1746 Achia received for the very first time the title of Hutukhtu and that his name was registered on the roster of the Living Buddhas in the Mongolian Superintendency, although the process of reincarnation had begun in Lhasa only in 1475. Since deeds were then written, this implies also that at that time pasture grounds were granted to him for the first time. Thus, previous to 1746, no Achia reincarnation, chief of Kumbum, existed. 775

These assumptions seem to be supported by the fact that it was not in 1417, but in 1560, that some poor cells were built for the first time in Kumbum by lama Rintschen Dson dui tschamtso and his ten monks and also by the facts that in 1719 the emperor ordered Skal bzan rgyamts'o, chief of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu to administer the monastery,[72] and that in 1723 mK'ampo Nomun-khan, head of the monastery of Kumbum and nephew of bLo Blzan bstan dsin, stirred the lamas to revolt and was made prisoner and the monastery was burned.[73] Until that time, not a single mention is made of Achia who, as head of the monastery and Hutukhtu, must have been the man responsible in such circumstances. However, the name of the real founder of the monastery is well known, as well known as the two other later heads and chiefs of the monastery. 175 792 346

It is a fact that Achia, created Hutukhtu only in 1746, had to remain in Peking, attached to the committee for the printing and translating of Tibetan books into Mongol, which was presided over by the second incarnation of the Chang chia. "In the last half of the 18th century it seems to have been the vogue for translators to ask Achia for a postscript to their translations. Many works printed at that time bear a postscript 'by 175 214 814

the suicide of Achia, there are no more lamas of Tibet in Kumbum. In 1746 the reincarnation of Achia received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor. From that time on, according to the abbots, the prominent lamas of Kumbum have always been Monguors.

[71] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih. History of the Buddhist religion in Mongolia and Tibet* 2: 143, 1935.

[72] Han Ju-lin, *Pien cheng kung lun*, (*Frontier Affairs*) 3 (5): 15, 1944.

[73] *Yung-cheng Shih-lu, ts'e* 145, *Chuan* 14: 10.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

co-proprietor and chief of Erh-ku-lung. The figures of these three men throw a lengthening shadow over the glorious monastery of Erh-ku-lung, and over the Lamaist world in Tibet, Mongolia, Peking, and Huang-chung, during the Ch'ing dynasty. 175 792

A boy born in T'u-kuan, located at the foot of the T'u-kuan Mountains close to Erh-ku-lung, became a lama at the former hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, which had rapidly grown under the administration of Sumpa. The boy was born in the Wang chia tribe, subject to the Li T'u-ssu, and is said to have belonged to the Li T'u-ssu clan. It is also told that he was born in the Sina tribe in the Ch'ing-yang-ch'uan, in the village of T'u-kuan. The date of his birth is not recorded. However, it is noted that he fulfilled the office of Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1672, at the time when Chang-chia was studying at Lhasa.[102]

A boy born in 1680 was said to be the reincarnation of this T'u-kuan Lama and was called the Living Buddha T'u-kuan Nag dban C'osky rgyamts'o. The series of the T'u-kuan reincarnations started with him. Upon completing his studies in Tibet, he was chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1705. He founded a hermitage at C'os bzan, where he lived in retired seclusion with seven lamas, meditating and teaching.[103] He was the teacher of the young fifteenth Chang-chia incarnation and the famous Sumpa. He became the equal of Chang-chia when the Emperor K'ang Hsi called him to Peking in 1715, and bestowed on him gifts, the title of Hutukhtu and a seal. He enjoyed the high esteem of the emperor who, in 1719, ordered the lama, Skal-bzan rgya-mts'o, administrator of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu in order to have him administer his monastery.[104] (Something wrong may have happened at Kumbum.) [775] [554]

In 1720 the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was sent on a diplomatic mission to greet the seventh Dalai Lama on the upper reaches of the Yangtse River on his way to Lhasa.[105] The Dalai Lama had been confined at Kumbum for five years. He was brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence. T'u-kuan, in his capacity of imperial envoy, was granted the title of Hutukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas. He assisted at the enthusiastic enthronement of the Dalai Lama and brought letters and imperial gifts to 175 792 648

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provided by the subsequent troubled history of Erh-ku-lung (see below, p. 36).

Summarizing the literary activities of the Chang-chia incarnations, as chiefs of the imperial committee for the printing of Mongol books in Peking, they had printed in Mongol, during a period of 261 years (1650–1911), 108 volumes of the Kanjur, 226 of the Tanjur and 220 other works (2).

These facts afford conclusive evidence of the very important role played by the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung in the diffusion of Lamaism in their own country, and in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet.

[102] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 12.

[103] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283.

[104] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 15.

[105] Petech, *op. cit.*, 60.

[p. 31 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

LIVING BUDDHAS

ABODE

Living Buddhas who are possessors of lamaseries, live in them; Living Buddhas who do not possess their own lamasery, ask permission of the supreme chief of a lamasery to live as a guest on his property and to build a residence. Usually this kind of poor Living Buddha tries to dwell in a rich and celebrated monastery, where pilgrim caravans come and plenty of alms are offered. By having a share in the alms it is easier for them to make a living. This is also the reason why lamas prefer to be entered on the rolls of these rich institutions. Many Living Buddhas who have monasteries of their own like to have another residence in a celebrated lamasery such as Kumbum or Labrang. 792 794 342

These buildings enhance the splendor of the lamasery and are usually built by the tribesmen of the Living Buddhas. A stele is erected in the courtyard, with the names of all the people who contributed to the building expenses engraved on it. Larger or smaller buildings are added in order to provide quarters for them when they visit the lamasery. All the important Living Buddhas in the country possess such more or less luxurious residences in the celebrated lamaseries, built by their intendancies. This kind of residence is called Karwa. In Kumbum there are 83, in Labrang 40, in Erh-ku-lung 14.

WHAT IS A LIVING BUDDHA? 792

A Living Buddha is the incarnation of a *Bodhisattva* who, having attained the highest perfection, has potentially become a Buddha. He renounces the blessedness of *Nirvana* and makes a vow to remain in this world in order to promote, by example and teaching, the salvation of as great a number of its creatures as possible. His vital essence thus passes from body to body—because the body, like every material aggregate, is destined to dissolve—but it remains immaculate in its acquired unalterable purity and holiness.[20]

APPLICATION OF THE SYSTEM IN HUANG-CHUNG

It has been recorded that the theory of succession by reincarnation only started in Lhasa in 1475. In Huang-chung, the first known Living Buddha was Chang-chia, born in 1642. No records exist concerning the appearance of the first Living Buddhas in Ch'ü-t'an, Kumbum, or Sha-ch'üng. However, it may be taken for granted that these lamaseries would not have had their Living Buddhas as early as 1642, but it was probably close to that time that they began to follow the example set by Erh-ku-lung, rather than suffer in competition with it. 792 75

At any rate it seems that succession by reincarnation must have started and been practiced on a large scale during the period from 1600 to 1723, when numerous hermitages and branches arose all over the country of

[20] Tucci-Ghersi, *Secrets of Tibet*, 38, London, 1935.

[P.66(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Huang-chung, and the mother lamaseries became firmly established. 792 775

PROCEDURE OF BECOMING A LIVING BUDDHA IN HUANG-CHUNG

The first incarnations of the five great Hutukhtus started as minor Living Buddhas, in the same way as the innumerable minor Living Buddhas who still spring up every day. A lama who is celebrated for his saintliness and wisdom, for his zeal in the diffusion of the religion, and for his blameless life, and is considered by his friends to have displayed the signs of approaching the final illumination, may be acknowledged by them after his death to be a Bodhisattva, to have renounced the blessedness of Nirvana, and to have made the vow to remain in this world for the salvation of all creatures. However, in Huang-chung the acknowledgment of lamas has to be sanctioned by a Living Buddha, whether a minor or a great one. The Panchen Lama confirmed that Chang-chia was the incarnation of a Dharmasvanin Graspa-odzer [21]; K'ri-c'en Blogros rgyamts'o confirmed the Bodhisattvaship of T'u-kuan.[22] It has already been noted that Chang-chia declared, on a morning in 1913, that the Wang Fa-t'ai of Ch'ie-bzan was a Living Buddha, and the Living Buddha of Ch'ü-t'an declared that the nephew of the Lu T'u-ssu, a Lama of Ta-ssu, was a Living Buddha.

It is a known fact that much private influence is brought to bear in the selection of Living Buddhas, in order to secure the appointment of scions of noble, wealthy, and influential families, or to provide some other benefit. It has already been recorded how the lamas endeavored to obtain the protection of the most powerful T'u-ssu. Therefore, the first incarnation of the series of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was caused to appear in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, and two more Living Buddhas were incarnated in this clan, the old and young Li Living Buddhas. At the beginning of the Ming, a lama of the Li clan had already become a Karwa lama; the Karwa still exists and is administered by a lama of the Li clan. The nephew of the powerful Lu T'u-ssu recently became a Living Buddha, as has been noted and at the same time the branch lamasery of Ta-ssu became independent. One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan was a lama of the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng belonging to the Lu T'u-ssu; one of the incarnations of Chang-chia was born in Too long, which belongs to the Lu clan. Seerkok, as already noted, arranged to have two of its minor Living Buddhas reincarnated, one in Mongolia and one in Tibet, in order to attract lamas from these countries to fill up its depleted roster, but without avail. 792 662 775 [622]

One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan appeared in Siamar, in the Tibetan family of Ts'e-bdurk, the richest and most influential in the region. The parents, with their daughter, went to Lhasa on a pilgrimage of

[21] Huth, *op. cit.*, 273.
[22] *Ibid.*, 281.

[p. 66 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

thanksgiving for the honor bestowed upon the family. 792
Some time later, the nephew of T'u-kuan, of the Ts'e- 662
bdurk family became the reincarnation of the Living 775
Buddha of Labrang, the most intimate friend of T'u-kuan for many generations. It was T'u-kuan who, in Peking, obtained the title of Erdeni Nomun-khan for the Living Buddha of Labrang.[23] After the death of the Living Buddha of Labrang, T'u-kuan is invited to cast the horoscope in order to indicate the place where the reincarnation of his friend will occur, and *vice versa*.

SEARCH FOR THE INCARNATION

This problem has been dealt with by many authors. 792
Therefore, only data concerning Huang-chung will here 795
be recorded, because they may help to reveal the social 648
psychology of the Monguor lamas and of the Monguors. Upon the death of one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, the Dalai Lama is invited to cast the horoscope indicating the place of rebirth. Usually two or three boys seem to fulfill the requirements. Their names are sent to Peking and put in the traditional urn, according to the protocol established by imperial edict in 1793,[24] from which one is then drawn. The name drawn is supposed to be that of the genuine incarnation. For minor Living Buddhas, another Living Buddha is requested to render the service.

Usually the place of rebirth is indicated in terms as 792
vague as the oracle of Delphi, and lamas go to find the 795
candidate, but old lamas have admitted to me confi- 662
dentially that soon after the death of a Living Buddha 787
some lamas of the intendancy are sent to investigate where children were born around that time, and in what wealthy family, and actually it is usually one or two years before the horoscope is cast. Sometimes the horoscope is so vague that it is many years before the boy is found. The rebirth of Achia of Kumbum who died tragically in 1909 was found after six years, and two boys fitted the requirements. The two names were sent to Peking, and one was chosen. At that time the lamas of Kumbum were in a hurry, fearing that Achia would no longer reincarnate because of the fateful circumstances of his death. When the boy is found, lamas have him select from among several items displayed (beads, cups, etc.) the things he used in his previous existences. This is performed in the presence of lamas only.

Wonderful legends are told about the reincarnations 538
of Erh-ku-lung. T'u-kuan, bent with age, went on foot 775
to Peking, incognito, in order to heap up piles of merit. At night, in Lien-ch'eng, a good but poor lady prepared his food, and in the morning when he left she offered him her last piece of brick tea. T'u-kuan died in Peking and was reborn in the child to which the poor but charitable lady gave birth. It was her reward.

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[23] Huth, *op. cit.*, 288.

[24] W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung pao* 9 (1): 55, March, 1910.

[p.67(A)]

The horoscope concerning the incarnation of Chang-chia was on one occasion extremely vague. "Reborn in the province of Shan-hsi," it said; nothing more. Lamas, after looking for six years, did not find the boy. Tired and despondent, they entered a Chinese inn, at the same time that a boy seven years old was returning from school. He looked at the lamas, and never having seen lamas before he started laughing. His mother immediately said, "It is the very first time I ever saw my boy laughing that way." Suspicion arose in the hearts of the lamas. They asked the lady for lodging for the night, but she flatly refused. The boy implored his mother again and again to allow them to stay. Then the lamas understood, the boy was the incarnation. They knelt before him, offering the ceremonial scarf of yellow satin, and acknowledging him as their Living Buddha. The boy smiled in the most happy way. They presented the traditional scarf to the Chinese parents, who refused to let the boy go because he was their only son. Finally, when 5,000 taels of silver were promised, the parents agreed. The lamas bought two fine mules and a cart, and returned with their Living Buddha to Erh-ku-lung. 175 775 792 787

The young Living Buddha Li had been dead five years, and the horoscope revealed he would reincarnate this time in a certain family Li. On the twenty-fourth of the fourth month, in the village of Li-chia-t'ai in the Naring Valley, there was a festival at the San-pao temple. The old Li Living Buddha, a venerable old man, adored in the country, attended the festival, as he had done for many years. All the children fled upon his arrival. Squatting on the ground in front of a big tent, he talked with the crowd. A poor boy, clothed in rags, ingenuously came close to the old man, whose beads he twisted around his tiny arms. Finally he sat in the old man's lap, and the old man understood and placed a red ribbon around his neck.

When he got back home, the intendancy decided that the genuine incarnation had been found. Lamas were sent to congratulate the parents, and to offer the ceremonial scarf. The Li T'u-ssu, the elders of the village, and the maternal uncle of the boy were invited to make preparations for the installation of the new Living Buddha. The intendancy prepared a dinner and the guests decided that 500 taels should be offered to the parents; a silk gown and velvet boots to the grandfather; a long coat to the maternal uncle; a long coat in flowered silk to the Li T'u-ssu, chief of the clan; a mare and a Peking saddle to the father; a beautiful cow to the mother, and 30 ounces of tea to each of the other members of the family. [431]

The next day the village offered a dinner. Thirty lamas arrived on horseback to lead the boy to his intendancy. On the way, two small groups of lamas on horseback were waiting to congratulate the boy, offering the scarf and prostrating themselves. The next day, before the dinner prepared by the intendancy, the boy was led to the temple where texts were read and the 175 775 792

[p.67(B)]

erals, the heavenly warriors, the god of the wind, the 796
gods honored in the Monguor villages, then the spirits 756
honored in the private families of the village, the souls of the last three generations of ancestors of the villagers.[8] Every guest is ushered to his throne, greeted, and congratulated in the same way. The shaman has a gentle talk with each of them, while the audience prostrates itself in reverential silence. Finally, drum and cymbals are beaten and the shamans dance with feverish gusto, the dance of thanksgiving for the arrival of all the guests, in order to make them happy.

ENTERTAINMENT OF THE SPIRITS

Then follows the next act—making the spirits propitious and well disposed (*nan shen*). The shamans and the apprentices kneel in rows before the pole, with incense sticks in their joined hands in the same way as the audience. It is the most important and enjoyed moment of the day. It reveals the peculiar, but typical, religious frame of mind of shamans and Monguors. In the deepest and most solemn silence, the chief of the shamans starts talking with the spirits. He gives a detailed account of all the offerings displayed on the table and before the thrones of the gods—sheep, pig. "All these offerings are brought by the people who are kneeling before you . . . notwithstanding the fact they all had a hard time this year, they enjoyed spending that money for you. If it were possible, they would have given more . . . please enjoy their offerings. . . . You are their superiors, their chiefs, your power is unlimited. . . . All these people trust in you and are confident of you. . . . You came from so far, climbing high mountains, crossing dangerous rivers . . . in order to sit down for a while with them in this poor courtyard.

[8] A couple of facts already encountered reveal two principles [779
of the philosophy of the shamans concerning the duration of 776]
the existence of the spirits and the human souls. Spirits are not eternal; they weaken and become exhausted and old and consequently fade away. The famous White Tiger on the old mounds became old and had to receive new invigoration; a typical fact will be recorded of the great spirit of one of the five great Obos of the country, which had become old and had to be rejuvenated. Spirits are not eternal; even the spirits of the statues become completely exhausted after three years, and every three years the shaman has to replace the exhausted forces with brand new ones.

The souls of the deceased of only the last three generations are honored and nurtured at the time of the rite of spring. When illness is ascribed to malignant souls of the deceased, the [775
shaman, outside the courtyard, traces three small circles, and 765]
one more expansive; food is placed in the three small ones to nurture the souls of the deceased ancestors of the last three generations only; in the big circle is placed food for the roaming alien souls. These facts reveal an articulate belief that souls of the ancestors last three generations only, and also that hungry souls are dangerous beings.

In old China the souls of the deceased kings after five generations, princes after three, nobles after one, lost their original protecting power and were relegated among those of the group to whom personal offerings were refused (H. Maspero, *Chine antique, op. cit.*, 186). They were already far on the way toward decaying and fading away.

[p. 107 (B)]

4; Schram M-B (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

swer: the galaxy. Who walks on the milky way? Yu 796
Huang,[7] preceded by the green dragon and the White 756
Tiger. Under the bridge is there still another bridge
or not? The dangerous bridge leading to Hell, over [775]
which passes the king of Hell, Erlik, preceded by the spirit with the head of a cow and the spirit with the head of a horse, and where spirits are waiting, who devour passing souls. What is our bridge? The bridge of the spirits.

The building of the bridge of the spirits and the con- 796
fused explanations of the shamans, mixed with Taoist, 756
shamanist, and Bön principles, reveals, nevertheless, 772
the philosophy claiming the existence of three worlds: 779
the upper, middle, and lower worlds, each with its own population.[8] A hint has already been given of this philosophy, in describing the rite of the stretched goat skin and the molding of clay figures, etc. At any rate the bridge provides a wonderful opportunity for the shamans to display their philosophical abilities and their proficiency in the art of telling of the nine and more heavens, one more beautiful than the other; the eighteen hells, dark and terrifying; the severe judgments after death presided over by Erlik or the Chinese Yen wang; the explanation of the three souls; shamans flying on drums to heaven, are unique occasions for story-tellers, sparkling with wit, to reap big successes.

At that time, shamans never fail to explain the ap- 776
pointment of their ancestor shaman by Chiang Tze-ya 538
as servant of the god of the Five Roads; they never
fail to narrate captivating episodes from the epic of Gesar. All kinds of problems are dealt with, and a lot of fun is had. The most ridiculous answers are given to the most ridiculous questions. One shaman asks for the explanation of why in each wheat grain there is always a small groove? The answer is that in the beginning of the world there was no wheat. Tengri made a wheat grain, but it seemed to be too big; with the nail of his right thumb he parted the grain in two parts. Still it seemed to be too big, and so he parted it again and then a third time. The fourth time, just when he was about to cut the grain in two parts again, it appeared to be all right without cutting through it, so he left the grain only half cut through, and so all grains of wheat have a little groove in them. This story was told to me several times by children who attended the meeting and said that the shaman told them so.

Another story, which gives us a better insight into 796
the nature of that kind of meeting, is told when a sha- 756
man is asked at what time and why men started seducing 831
women, and women started eloping? An interesting 773
sociological and moral question! Tengri wanted to have men and women. After kneading red earth and water a whole day, he moulded seven men; then he

[7] The most popular god of modern China who received letters patent from the Emperor in A.D. 1017. Wieger, *Textes historiques, op. cit.*, 1846.

[8] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 138. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

[p. 110 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

774
sion concerning this subject among the Monguors, who 171
assume that they have three souls.

THE FIRST SOUL

The Monguors used to talk about the soul of the 774
bones,[10] which seems to adhere to the bones in general, 775
not to a definite bone. When the bones are broken or split, the soul seems not to be affected. Consequently, when Monguors kill a sheep, they do not take care to avoid the breaking of the bones. The soul seems never to leave the bones, even during life or after death; it is said to be buried with the bones in the grave, and to remain there adhering to them, and to vanish when the bones vanish. Never is it said that this soul harms people, or is harmed in anyway. However, when the shaman calls back the souls of a sick man supposed to be [756] harmed by malignant spirits, or by souls of the deceased, the bone soul is called back with the two others.

This peculiar feeling existing over all Asia concern- 761
ing the bones is noteworthy. The bones play a large 774
role in the beliefs of the Mongol and Turkish people, [171]
to which stock the Monguors belong. The Monguors, as well as the Mongols and Turks, when asking for the name of a man's clan, ask for the name of his "bone," and their saying goes that the bones come from the father and the flesh from the mother. This basic principle is so deeply ingrained in their consciousness that when you ask a man or a woman what their bones are, they will always answer by giving the name of the clan of their father and not that of their mother. Everybody is recognized as belonging to the clan of his father. If you ask for the name of the bone of their mother, they will answer by giving the name of their mother's father's clan and not of their mother's mother's clan, for the bones come from the father. This behavior fits perfectly in the frame of a patriarchal society.

However, it is not known at what time specific facts 604
caused the Monguors to go so far as to call their 774
maternal uncle the "master of the bones" of the children 764
of his sister, to acquiesce to his illogical usurpation of the most basic rights belonging to the family chief in a patriarchal society, to allow the maternal uncle to decide, in definite circumstances, about the life and death of these children, and to be their recognized avenger in case of suicide, caused by maltreatment, and to become the only man who can permit the burial of these children.[11] In all nomadic societies in Asia this intrusion is observed on a larger or smaller scale. Even in the Chinese society the maternal uncle plays an important role, presiding over the festivities at marriages and giving permission to bury the children of his sister. The Chinese saying is well known that, when the maternal uncle brings suit at court against the son of his sister, the father of the defendant cannot withstand it, and also the saying that as long as the mother's family (maternal uncle) does not permit burial, the de-

[10] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 2: 205.
[11] Schram, Part I: 91. [p. 140 (B)]

ceased cannot climb to heaven (the soul cannot leave 604
the body).[12] Like the Monguors, they call a son *Ku-* 774
hsüeh, "bone and blood," for his bones come from the 764
father and blood from the mother. Relationship is called *Ku-jou,* "bones and flesh." The examination of the corpse by the maternal uncle before the funeral is called *Yen-ku,* "examining the bones."

However, the usurped rights of the maternal uncle 604
concern only the children of his sister. He is not a chief of a clan, and in all clans men know very well that their clan chief is not a maternal uncle.

All the conditions set by the maternal uncle in order 764
to permit burial find their explanation among Monguors 604
and Chinese in the fear, which both harbor, of the harm which the deceased might cause in case he is not decently buried, and the desire to have a splendid burial for a member of their family, which will honor the family and flatter its pride. The Chinese are extravagantly demanding about precious clothes, a nice coffin, musicians, a big dinner, and a large number of Taoist priests. Monguors are also eager for grandeur, but, having no need for these items, put their unreasonable claims in the form of fantastically large alms for lama-series, three-fourths of which are never agreed upon. This mentality and these facts prove that religious feeling at that time plays a far lesser part in the discussions than the mania for display and worldly glory. Certainly there are devout Lamaists who, at the time of the death of a member of the family, really like to have prayers said for the deceased, spend a lot of money for entertaining lamas, giving alms, burning lamps. However, this is never done without ostentation and without advertising, and they make these claims on the day of the dinner in such a way that the whole gathering may spread the news.

THE SECOND SOUL

The concept of this soul is more confused than that 774
of the first soul. The second soul is that which will 775
join Buddha in his paradise, or will be condemned by the terrible judge after death to reincarnate, in order to repair injustices. The Monguors at present know perfectly well that after death this soul does not die, and that there is a reward or punishment meted out by the terrible judge. They know perfectly the eighteen hells, [772]
from having seen the pictures in the temples and having heard the lamas speak about them. It is one of the most important merits of Lamaism, that it has spread this doctrine to such an extent. The shamans, when performing the spring rites, tell about Erlik, as the lamas tell about the judge of death. The rite which is usually performed in reparation for injustices, so widely spread and practiced, supports the assumption that many

[12] This last saying of the Chinese has no meaning for the Monguors, because, immediately after death, the lama opens a way for the escape of the soul through the bregmatic fontanelle by pulling some hairs from the top of the head. The soul is thus already released before the maternal uncle arrives.

[p. 141 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

new beliefs have entered their minds. However, for how long a time will the existence of this soul last? Even though the lamas speak of a quasi-endless paradise with Buddha, and of successive rebirths, the Monguors honor the souls of only three older generations at the feast of spring, at the celebration of the family guardian deity, and at the time when shamans expel evil spirits from sick men. After that the souls seem to be finished. 774 775

The second soul seems to be more independent of the body than the first one, because, during sleep, dreaming, and fainting fits, it may wander to far-off countries, and later recall what it saw or heard, and how it acted in these countries. At the moment of death, the family, on the roof of the house, implores it not to leave them. The shaman, curing the sick, calls this soul back with the two others along the rope. Immediately after death, the lama releases this soul through the bregmatic fontenelle. Surely, therefore, this soul leaves the body after death. 774 775 761

However, its existence has always been precarious. During life it was subject to being harmed by nefarious spirits, and after death, lamas must say prayers to help it reach paradise safely, in order that vampires may not devour it on the way. In the same way, the shamans at the feast of spring tell about the dangerous crossing of the bridge after death, and about vampires waiting for these souls.[13]

Siberian shamans travel to heaven in order to bring back souls abducted by evil spirits.[14] The Tungus believe that the soul remains for a certain time near the body,[15] and then a dog carries it into the lower world;[16] that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat,[17] and that a raven looks for the souls traveling, after death, to the lower world and brings the news to the soul's owner.[18] The release of the soul is a very important function of the shamans.[19] [171]

The Monguors do not say in which part of the body the soul is located, or from where it originated. At the feast of spring, however, the shamans, when making fun, tell in a jocular manner how Tengri made seven men and seven women. The Tungus believe that the souls are given by the spirit;[20] they also say that the death of a man results in the birth of a new soul in the other (upper) world, and that the soul may be sent to a newborn human being.[21] Among the Ch'i-tan is recorded a sacrifice offered by the emperor in the tenth month, to the god of the sacred Black Mountain, who cares for the souls of the populace.[22] 774 775

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[13] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 191, 192.
[14] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 179.
[15] Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex*, 215.
[16] *Ibid.*, 210.
[17] *Ibid.*, 92.
[18] *Ibid.*, 142.
[19] *Ibid.*, 276.
[20] *Ibid.*, 128.
[21] *Ibid.*, 297.
[22] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 204–214. [p.141(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

THE THIRD SOUL

The behavior of the Monguors toward this soul illustrates the basic approach prevailing all over Asia to the problem of the soul. The Monguors care more for this soul than for the other two because they are afraid of it. It becomes after death a kind of demon, ill-disposed toward its own family, harming its cattle and its wealth. This assumption is evidenced by their unkind attitude toward it, an attitude which shocks us. When the corpse is carried out of the courtyard, the lamas and the members of the family who are still in the courtyard, cry: "Do not come back and harm us, forget us forever and go to dwell elsewhere." The evening before the cremation, after all the guests have left, having said with devotion their Om Mani for a long time, the lamas immediately brutally chase the soul out of the courtyard and all the rooms. At the very moment of the cremation, the master of ceremonies makes the last traditional speech, before the oven, addressing the corpse: "We lavishly spent money and performed all the possible rites for your well-being, now go away and never come back to disturb us or to harm us.[23] Forget us forever; we will pray for you and make offerings." The fear of the departed is a real obsession. Most of the harm suffered is ascribed to them. Many of the deceased are supposed to be peculiarly fiendish and are buried in special cemeteries, where the shamans have to be invited to keep them quiet. They like to live in lonely spots and empty ruined houses, and have to be fed, because when they become hungry they are dangerous.

However, all the distinctions concerning the three souls, based on observed facts and customs, do not bother the average Monguors. They do not care for the nature of these three souls, how long they live, when they will vanish—all they know is that they leave the body at death. However, they are accustomed to feed the souls of three generations. They do not care to which, among the three souls, offerings are made at the time of the spring rites performed by the shaman, or at the time of the cult of the family deity, or on their own graves a few days before the worshipping of the ancestor of the clan. Even the lama or shaman, calling back the soul of a sick man, calls all three of them back.

CEMETERIES

Since the submission of the Monguors to the Ming dynasty (in 1368), the chief of each of the groups, receiving the title and duty of T'u-ssu, became the ancestor-founder of his group. Their pictures then began to occupy the center of the new ancestral hall. The family register began with their name, and their grave became the head mound, which today is seen in all the old cemeteries where the yearly worship of the ancestors is held. T'u-ssu never have been cremated.[24]

[23] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos, op. cit.*, 130. Louis M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes Mongols*, 211, Genbloux, Duculot, 1947.

[24] Schram, Part I: 59–70.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Om Mani. The rite may last for two or three hours, 764
during which time two servings of tea are drunk. After the rite is finished, noodles are offered to the assembly. It is really edifying to see the courtyard crowded with people, kneeling and squatting close together, and to hear them repeat in unison, slowly and with devotion, after the cavernous voice of the lama, innumerable monotone Om Manis. One feels at that time that the Monguors are a religious people.

The custom of gathering at night to pray for the deceased seems to have been practiced by nomads long before Lamaism was born. Parker, dealing with the funeral rites of the Hsien-pi as translated from the Chinese annals notes: "On the day of the funeral the relatives and the intimates assemble at night time and sit in a circle; two men pronounce an incantation so that [775] the soul may pass unmolested by the Ghouls to the red mountains." This fact is noted as having existed before our era, two thousand years ago. It is interesting to encounter at the same time of night a similar religious rite for the same purpose among the Monguors, who were formerly nomads. It is said by them that they are very fond of the rite.[34]

CREMATION [35]

During the six days preceding the cremation, three lamas (rich people invite five or seven) pray for the dead in a private room. On the sixth day a minor Living Buddha arrives with a couple of lama assistants. At night, after the departure of the guests, the lamas drive out the souls of the dead in the usual way, and throw the nefarious *torma* on a crossroad; the neighbors cry and shoot rifles. In the very early morning, the lamas pray before the corpse, beating drums and ringing bells, so that the awakened neighbors soon arrive. Tea is drunk, lamentations are made, and the sedan chair is carried at a fast pace to the place of cremation. It is not permitted to rest on the way, or to put down the sedan chair, lest the spirit of that spot be injured. At the moment of departure, the lamas adjure the souls not to come back.

Only among a few groups of Monguors are women, the daughters of the deceased, allowed to follow the [184] cortege lamenting, supported and steadied by other [562] women. Arriving at the spot they are invited to go [431] back home; they receive a piece of cloth, a pair of trousers, and a gown in order to return easily. On a spot indicated by a Red lama or a Taoist priest the neighbors have built, the day before, a rudimentary oven which has an opening on each of the four sides. The master of ceremonies for the last time adjures the dead not to come back or to harm the family. The corpse is put in a caldron in the oven. The wood of the sedan chair, broken into pieces, is put in the oven. A lama strikes fire with a flint and lights the oven. Twenty

[34] Parker, *op. cit.*, 86.
[35] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 42. [p.145 (A)]

honored in the open air temples being built only for 776
souls of the deceased.[7] Among the Monguors, temples are built for all kinds of spirits. Heaven, however, has no temples.

The Monguors have no special offering for "Heaven." In former times, according to their traditions, horses were offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." At present the sheep is the usual offering. It is offered to all kinds of spirits and on all occasions. Rich people, or large villages, often offer a pig.

The most important event in a Monguor community 241
is the rite performed in spring, in order to obtain 796
blessings upon the community and the crops during the year. All possible spirits are invited into the temple along the rope, except the lama deities. The feast starts at night, with offerings, dances, and drum beating by the shamans for "Heaven and all the spirits"—but nobody attends this night rite, not even the chief or elders of the village! And during the two days that the rite lasts, not a single mention is made of "Heaven"!

The appointment of the new Tu-ssu is announced, not 622
to "Heaven and all the spirits," but to the ancestors and to the protector deity of the clan, with an elaborate ceremonial, and their blessings are implored upon the T'u-ssu and the clan. (See Part I: 46.)

At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages, the image of the guardian deity of the clan is reverently carried to the villages and honored for three days. However, not a single rite is performed for Heaven by the chief of the clan, not even at the yearly cult of the ancestor of the clan, when the entire clan is assembled. (Part I: 37, 64.)

No Monguor hopes his soul will ascend to Heaven 775
and enjoy happiness together with the great "spirit of 772
Heaven," in a place of joy and felicity. The Mongols have no notion of such a place belonging to the "great Heaven"; they only know the luxurious paradise of Buddha, where they are told they will enjoy happiness with Buddha during the period of time preceding a new rebirth, about which they seem to have very little interest.

All these facts seem to prove that at present the Mon- 776
guors are very remiss in the cult of their undefined and 171
vague "spirit of Heaven," who is without departments of activities, having no power over good and evil spirits, and no omnipotence. The "great Heaven" is not the so-called "Hochgott," but a spirit enjoying an honorary prominence.

In connection with this problem, it should be kept in mind that the habit of ascribing prominence to one among the spirits seems to be very old in Asia: "In Babylon and Assyria [3,000 years ago] the principal god of the city which happened to dominate the entire nation, became the supreme god of the realm."[8] "Al-

[7] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 202.

[8] Albert Condamin, S.J., *La religion des Babyloniens et des Assyriens*, 692, Jos. Huby, Christus Beauchesne, Paris, 1923.

[p. 152 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

legiance to him.[51] War broke out and finally a new dynasty arose, the Hou Han, 947–950. 175 795

Did the defeated Shat'o troops of the Hou Chin join the faithful governor? Did they submit to the new Hou Han dynasty and remain in their own country? Did the Öngüts of the northern bend of the Yellow River come over to lend a hand? For how long did the Öngüts remain in that troubled country? At least the Öngüts of Lin T'ao were taken prisoners and transplanted to Manchuria, not by the Liao (907–1125) but by the Kin (1125–1235).

It is common knowledge that the Öngüts of both Shat'o dynasties (923–947) were fervent adherents of Buddhism, as were the Shat'o of Hsining, who built the imposing monastery of Ta-fo-ssu in the very center of the city of Hsining (1280–1368). (See Chap. II, p. 14.)

Even if we suppose that Nestorianism were diffused among the Hsining Shat'o, certainly it would not have been done by the Buddhist Shat'o dynasties, but by the Shat'o from the northern bend of the Yellow River, who immigrated into Lin T'ao, if at that time they were already Nestorians. Furthermore, can the apparitions in the vision of the emperor T'ai tsung definitely be explained as Nestorian images worshipped by the Lin T'ao Öngüts, or could they have been Buddhist or Manichean images? This question is still controversial.[52]

All that I can say in summing up is that I never could succeed in tracing any evidence that Nestorianism was ever professed by the Shat'o of Hsining.

CONCLUSION OF THE CHAPTER

If the Heaven beliefs of the Turkic-Mongol tribes are to be assessed in conjunction with what is known about the Monguors, whose ancestors settled in Huang-chung in 1227, at the time of the death of Chingis Khan, then taking into account the Monguor formula of "Heaven and all the spirits," the cult of an undefined Heaven, the host of honored spirits and the predilection for shamanism which survived the intensive indoctrination of Lamaism experienced by the Monguors in Huang-chung, it seems sound to assume that among other Mongol tribes "Heaven" must have occupied a similar position of honorary preeminence. 795 776 771

The tangled problem may be summarized as follows. In former times the old Turkic-Mongol tribes had no notion of a heaven or a hell where, after death, men would be rewarded for their merits or punished for their sins. They lacked the notion of an immortal soul. The soul, after having dwelt for a short while near the burial place, or in an undefined underworld, was supposed to vanish. Even at present the Monguors believe that their ancestors vanish after three generations. Their aspirations and hopes were, ac- 795 776 775 771

[51] *Idem.* 4: 68.

[52] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 308–309. [p. 156(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

cordingly, concentrated on the happiness and help needed during their actual lifetime here on earth. 795 776

However, they had populated the world with a host of good and evil spirits on which they thought they depended. They curried the favor of the good spirits and tried to secure their good disposition so that they would stay the hands of the evil spirits, and bless them during their lifetime here on earth. Among those spirits was the Spirit of Heaven, whose nature we have no means of distinguishing from that of the other spirits to whom more sacrifices were offered. (See above, p. 153.) 775 771

The shaman, whom they knew to have access to the world of spirits, was only engaged in providing them with the protection and benefits needed during their life. At present the activities of the shamans are still limited to that same sphere of action. The diffusion of Buddhism opened new vistas in the world of religious thought of the Turkic-Mongol peoples. A Buddha of benevolence appeared, enthroned in a paradise to which all people could have access and where all could enjoy happiness during the time preceding a new, happy rebirth. The concept of this intervening time became so endlessly long that the idea of rebirth was practically forgotten and put aside. However, a more concrete notion of the soul came to be developed. 756 776 771

In addition to the paradises, Buddhism revealed the existence of the eighteen hells and the presence of the terrible judge of the dead who decided about the future, according to acts morally good or bad. The shamans also told about Erlik Khan. However, the Turkic-Mongol tribes living on earth still hoped for blessings here, and were taught that the benevolent Buddha could secure them. Hence, next to the cult of the old spirits was the cult of Buddha, the throng of devotees invoking blessings and protection through the Om Mani. In this way the fervent shamanists became also fervent Lamaists. 775 771

We have no way of making sure what the impact of Nestorianism may have been upon the Turkic-Mongol tribes in later times, in promoting the development of a more concretely defined notion of the "spirit of Heaven," and its preeminence over the other spirits or even how long such an impact may have lasted. We do know, however, that Turkic-Mongol tribes honored Heaven and offered sacrifices to it, as well as to Buddha and all the spirits, and that consequently they were not monotheists.[53]

XV. RELIGION AND THE COHESION OF THE CLAN

The Monguor clans, from the time of their submission to the Chinese empire (1368), were friendly disposed toward the empire. Their chiefs received military titles and offices, and enjoyed the right to admin- 614 648

[53] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217, *et seq.* [p. 15) (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

(*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a*) with his troops accompanied the emperor. Galdan fled but was met by the army of General Fei Yang-ku who completely annihilated his army at Chao Mu To. The Khalkhas reoccupied their country. 175x 648

In 1697 the emperor went with his armies to Ninghsia in order to destroy entirely the Jungar forces. Again T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai with his troops followed the imperial army. However Galdan died May 3, 1697, and the emperor returned to Peking. The t'u-ssu was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the Ho Pa division in Shansi, then brigadier general in Chin Hua in Chekiang Province. In 1713, upon his retirement, he fulfilled the duty of assistant commander of his clan. At his death the emperor honored him with a funeral oration.[89] [703]

In 1703 the Khoshot Mongols of Kokonor submitted to the empire. The emperor conferred on the descendants of Ku Shih Khan, bLo-bzang tanchin, and others the titles of Prince, Pei-le, Pei-tse, Kung, T'aichi (*Annals* of Kansu 64: 52*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 22*a*).

This record points to the troubles in Lhasa which had long threatened Huangchung and the Monguors. Ku Shih Khan, chief of a Khoshot group (one of the four Oirat groups), had invaded and conquered Kokonor, Tsaidam, and Kham in 1636, and had been invited by the fifth Dalai Lama, Nag dzang bLo bzang, chief of the Yellow Sect, to help him in the struggle against a Tibetan prince, fanatic adherent of the old Red Sect, who had occupied Lhasa. He defeated the prince, installed the Dalai in Lhasa, proclaimed him Sovereign of Central Tibet and assumed the duty of protector of the Yellow Church.[90] Ku Shih Khan had been under the Manchu suzerainty since 1637. He died in 1656. His son Dayan, his grandson Dalai, and his great-grandson La tsang assumed the same duty. The Dalai entrusted the temporal administration of his kingdom to an official called a *desi*. In 1670 the *desi* revolted. On the request of the Dalai Lama, Dayan quelled the revolt and committed the *desi* to prison. Sangs rgyas rgya mcho was appointed to the *desi* office. The Dalai died in 1680–1681. The *desi*, with the Panchen Lama, appointed as reincarnation of the Dalai Lama a boy born a year after his death, called Chang Yang bLo bzang, the sixth Dalai Lama. The Tibetans and lamas 175x 795 648 [775]

[89] *Annals* of Hsining 28: 4*a*. *Annals* of Kansu 42: 45b. Réné Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 607, 610, Paris, Payot, 1935.

[90] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 59–70, Roma, La Liberia della Stato., 1949. The Dalai Lama who died in 1680–1681 had built up a mighty kingdom and the supremacy of the Yellow Sect over all Tibet, leaning on the power of the Mongols, who were foreigners, arousing the suspicions of the Tibetans and the jealousy of the other sects and the old nobility. At the same time he had laid the foundation of the ruin of his kingdom, having recognized the right of some Mongol tribes to act as patrons over his lands, being bound in that way to the vicissitudes of political events. He had to take side with his protectors, later the Jungars, in their struggle with the Chinese empire.

/The Monguors/

000 on the luckless family.

N *563 M 231 [177] The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

M [886] [175]

N *563 M 515 [184] Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

5. Occupations

N *563 M 24 233 433 The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

N *563 M 24 [177] [432] The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

N *563 M 231 554 [556] [184] Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

N *563 M 233 463 Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

tion of most of the T'u-ssu mansions during the Muslim rebellion, a small room serves as the temple, and there are no longer chaplains on permanent duty except in the three clans of Lu, Li, and Ch'i, where the original temple still exists. The lamaistic deity honored by the clan of the Li T'u-ssu as its guardian is Lhamo-tsang, represented as a black rider on a black mule, wearing a necklace of human skulls. The saddle is covered with a human skin. In her right hand the deity, who is female, grasps a sword, and in her left she holds a bowl made from a human skull. The mule is painted treading in blood. Lhamo is the only female among the eight "protector deities" of lamaism. She is said to be the reincarnation of the wife of Yama and the protector of Lhasa and of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas. Her paraphernalia is said to be provided for her by the gods in order to enable her to carry on her duties as protector.[52] I was unable to find out why, and at what time, the ancestor of the clan chose this monstrous deity as the protector of the clan. Nor is there any surviving tradition to explain what the clan spirits of the Monguors were like before they became modified by Lamaism.

After the veneration of the guardian deity, there is an official reception and congratulations are exchanged. The community then leaves the courtyard and two sentries are posted at the gate to prevent free approach to the T'u-ssu. In assuming this inaccessibility at this point in the protocol, the T'u-ssu marks a departure from the familiarity of the clan or tribe, and puts on the aloofness of a high Chinese official. People who have problems to present to the T'u-ssu must ask the sentries for an audience and explain to them the problem they want to discuss. Those who want to make a legal claim, or to complain against an injustice or against the administration, must put their request in writing, and the requests are then given by the sentry to a secretary who transmits them to the T'u-ssu. Those who write down and forward the request must receive a remuneration.

On the following day the T'u-ssu begins a series of meetings with the chief men of the community, the elders, and the military officials. The first item of business is the examination of the village register, which is kept up to date every year. If any subjects have left the territory of the clan, the reasons are discussed and the possibility of bringing them back is considered. Accounts must be rendered of the administration of the village and the division of taxes and corvées. The T'u-ssu is interested in the harvest of the past three years, and in the observance of the old clan customs and traditions, veneration of the ancestors, reverence towards nobles, marriages, divorces, the religious festivals in the spring and autumn, the state of morals in the village, singing of obscene songs in the village, hospitality toward

[52] A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und Mongolei*, 66, 76, 175, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1900 (guide to the Ukhtomskii Collection).

[p. 65b]

/64 cont'd/

585 envelops the chopsticks. Then the son-in-law places himself on the left side of the bride, near enough to her so that his arm touches hers, and so that she knows when she must go ahead and stop. At the moment when they enter the courtyard, pieces of red felt are spread in their path one after the other. Cash, symbol of wealth, are thrown in front of them, and likewise wheat, symbol of fecundity. The couple is led straight to the kitchen where the T'ou-jen honor the god of the hearth. There the jug and the chopsticks which she held are taken from the bride, and these objects are put down before the god of the hearth, whom the bride salutes with three prostrations. (1)

1. "Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen /On Fire Worship among the Mongols/," by N. Poppe, Asia Major, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 141-142.

[776 782]

As can be seen from the above, much depends on the fire god. It is no wonder, then, that the young bride, when she first steps across the threshold of the new house, must bow in front of the hearth. By this act she puts herself under the protection of the fire god, since this same figure is the guardian spirit of the family. /Cited in German./

/65/ We have seen that at the bride's departure chopsticks were thrown on her mother's lap. This gesture meant that she no longer belonged to the clan; here, as soon as she arrives, she is incorporated into the bridegroom's family by being offered another pair of chopsticks and presenting them to the god of the hearth. From the kitchen she is led to the nuptial chamber, her head still veiled. On the four corners of the k'ang (1) have been put several cash, two

[354]

1. K'ang: stove used in the north, on which the family spends the night.

packages of sugar, and some red lozenges.

/82 cont'd/

21. Relations of the Married Couple with the Daughter-in-law's Family

593 585 a) Relations of the married daughter with her own family after the wedding.

The daughter-in-law is incorporated into the family of her [776 782] husband. We have seen that upon her arrival at the door of the house she was given chopsticks and a jug of gin, and that then she was taken to the kitchen to honor the god of the hearth of her new family by prostrating herself three times and presenting her offering of gin and her chopsticks.

Henceforth she will call the members of her husband's family by the same name that he calls them; in speaking of them to a third person she will add the term gadin, which means relatives by marriage.

Because the husband's family bought her, she has become its property; her original family no longer has any rights over her. One /83/ expects therefore that the relations of the married daughter with her own family would be broken, or at least that they would be very much reduced. Now this is not the case, as the long and frequent visits she continues to make to her parents after the wedding prove, as well as the custom of keeping her valuables and her clothes in her original family.

593 574 As a matter of fact, custom has it that the husband takes his wife and children to the home of their relatives in the first month of the year. His wife will stay with her family for ten or 20 days, often for even a month. When this period has gone by, her brother takes her back to her parents-in-law. Toward the fifth of the fifth moon the husband takes her to her family for the second time. This visit is shorter; after a few days her brother takes her back. About the fifteenth of the eighth moon the husband takes her to her parents' home for the third time. This time she stays there 15 or 20 days or even a month. The fourth visit to her family takes place in the last [527] month of the year and lasts about 20 days. Her brother brings her back for the festival of the god of the hearth, a festival which

[8 cont.]

114 the author owes the safety of the materials collected entirely to the helpfulness of his confreres. In addition to the Fathers Eichinger and Grünewald, S.V.D., I should like to mention here particularly Father Richard Haas, S.V.D., who shortly thereafter was overtaken by a violent death in the Koko Nor steppe.

4. The Sources (the Informant)

115 The informant came from Tuo-chia, that is, "Tuo home," about one kilometer east of Chi-chia-ling, which lies along the mountain route from Kan-chia-pu (in the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) to Pai-nai (in the Ha-la-chih-kou). Tuo-chia gets its name from [103] the informant's kin group [Sippe] and formerly embraced perhaps four farmsteads, [9] of which, however, a part has been destroyed by an avalanche. Today only two farms and the temple remain. The Tuo have not always resided here. They [166] come from the vicinity of the Tujen monastery Rgulõn, where [423] a hundred years ago they owned two large horse pastures. Later one of the ancestors moved to the vicinity of Chi-chia-ling and cultivated the fairly extensive upland which paid tribute to the monastery, but which today is the private property of the Tuo family and pays taxes to the county of Huchu. It consists of about 200 Chinese morgen.

114 The report applies primarily to this region, namely, to the Tujen villages Chi-chia-ling, Ta-yang-chüan, Hsiao-
101 yangchüan, and Sha-pa-kou, up into the Na-ling-kou. Since, however, according to my own observations and the statements of the informant, the customs in the county of Huchu are quite uniform, the area to which it is applicable can be extended farther to include the villages between Huchu and Rgulõn. These [628] villages carry on a very lively traffic with one another and are extensively interrelated. As regards numbers, this report covers approximately one quarter of all the Tujen of the Sining region, an area generally regarded as their population center.

115 The old Tuo is kin-group elder and has two younger brothers, who live with him, his sons, his sons' wives, and [776] [553] grandchildren's families. By his first name he is called yifula,

[9 cont.]

115 that is, mountain spirit, because he was consecrated to the mountain spirit when he was named. He was born under the sign [776] of the sheep, that is, in the second month; according to [553] European reckoning, this would be March, 1883.

[805] Like all Tujen, the old man is a Lamaist and adheres [771] to the faith and the customs of his fathers. He is known throughout the vicinity as one of the few who are still very well versed in the traditional customs. For that reason he is asked to perform everywhere as master of ceremonies, festive speaker, overseer of sacrifices, and singer. If anyone in that region is asked about usages and customs, the usual answer is: "Go to old Tuo, he knows it best."

115 In addition he has the advantage, rare among the Tujen, of having completed the Chinese classical school. He can read 212 and write very well, better than most of his Chinese neighbors. [871] He understands without difficulty history books, classical authors, local chronicles, etc., which in part are written in the literary language. He does not have a sufficient command of the [191] Fandse language to be able to speak it fluently, but he knows the terms of the lamas and is able to distinguish fairly well as to whether a word is a genuine Tujen word or a Fandse word. He himself in his youth took down in Chinese characters a considerable number of Fandse songs, which he can translate and explain, as well as some legends and speeches. He claims that formerly the Tujen language was also written and that the script has simply been lost. -- He does not speak the language of the Koko 115 Nor Mongols, but he claims that it could be understood if necessary. 191 Of course the Tujen live too far away from the Mongols; [648] only those in the vicinity of Huchu have a loose connection with the Mongols on the Tai-t'ung River beyond the Monastery Kuo-mang-szu.

124 [10] In the beginning it was not easy to persuade the old man, who for 20 years had not even been in nearby Sining, to visit me at the mission station at Kan-chia-pu, although the way there was only a two-hour ride. In the late fall of 1946 he came once for only a day. At that time I questioned him about the harvest thank-offering; the result was an article which appeared in Anthropos, 37/40. The old man could not imagine what I

[19 cont.]

*778
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[Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.]
and the spirit litter, called chiao-chiao-tzu in Chinese. They, too, are provided with bells, colored bands of cloth, and metal mirrors, and are consecrated by the lama or by shamans. The "black tiger" is usually regarded as the spirit-table god, and the mother-goddess, Chinese niang-niang, as the spirit of the litter. Both the table and the figure of the goddess [Fig. 2 appears here] bear intestines together with the genitals. -- The table is not to be conceived as a table, but rather as a symbolic imitation of the animal figure with four legs and rump, which is further confirmed by the added intestines. Whereas in the case of the spirit-spear only one person addresses the spirit, in the case of the litter and the table there are several men. Two men hold the table between them, one seizing the front legs and one the hind legs. During the petitioning a man plants himself in front of them, and, depending upon the answer, the table begins to shake, jump, rear up, retreat, etc., without the two men being able to do anything against it. It is the same with the litter, which is borne by four men on their shoulders. Here a man likewise stands in front of the goddess and petitions her, and, depending upon the answer, the litter shakes on the bearers' shoulders, drives them forward, backwards, in a circle, etc. The men maintain that they are

[776]

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[21 cont.]
*778 front of the spear, the men in the room itself, the women in front of the door out in the open.

●776 Only now can the spirit dwell in the spear. Which spirit
*778 it is depends entirely upon the owner of the spear. He tells this beforehand to hutukhtu who performs the consecration, and the latter gives an appropriate prayer of consecration. Only one spirit ever operates in a spear. The Tiengëre or the god of heaven never resides in the spear. The ones who do are always ordinary spirits, for instance, the mother-goddess, the tiger god, the mountain spirit, etc.

*778 After the consecration the hutukhtu stays in the house un-
[792] til the following morning and is then dismissed with an appropri-
[527] ate remuneration. The master of the household, however, in-
[273] vites his friends and acquaintances in and celebrates the new event with them over barley wine and dances with song far into the night.

Storage of the spear: Since an entire village can have a spear consecrated, it frequently happens that it is simply kept
[346] in the communal temple of the place. This is also often the case with regard to private individuals, because the temple is regarded as the most eminent place. In the temple itself it stands in a wooden stand next to the other gods on one of the many altars. Sometimes it is simply propped against the wall in a god's niche.

[346] If somebody wants to keep the spear in his own yard, a special chapel is required. Most of the house chapels are constructed specifically for such a spear. Here, too, it may stand in a rack, lean against the wall, or be driven into the clay floor. All that matters is that the spear stand upright. For instance, one may never lay it flat on the altar. The master of the
[782] household often gives the little incense offering in front of the spear. It is not necessary that a spear be kept in the house of
[791] the [22] village soothsayer; indeed, many soothsayers have no spirit-spear themselves.

346 The room or the temple in which the spear stands is sim-
*778 ply called "house of holies." It is usually only a room in the yard. It must be separated from all the other rooms by a wall and

[30 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 32-33 cont.]
to Shang-wu-chwang there is a village with a small lamasery [33] from which the shamans of Kumbum come, who appear especially on New Year's. As a missionary tells me, in the village there in quite recent times a young man was doing exercises almost daily, going into a trance on the river bank, fighting with a sword, shooting arrows, etc.

In any case all the lamaseries attach great importance to having a shaman who, possessed by the tutelary spirit dPekar, prophesies on New Year's. I observed these shamans in Kuo-mang-szu and Kumbum. In the Tujen lamasery, where a living shaman-monk was not to be found, I saw on New Year's a life-sized figure set up in full shaman regalia. At the sooth-
[791] saying on the fifteenth day, however, the spear-soothsayer acted in his stead in the temple yard, where the dances take place, before the hutukhtu, the assembled monks, and all the people. In Kuo-mang-
[562] szu I even saw a woman appear in the temple as a shaman, but she did not represent the usual type of sgurdien.

The lama does not put the shaman costume on his protégé. Usually he comes to the monastery without any costume and does not see to it until later. Frequently his own village helps to provide it. He makes the two-edged sword himself or has it made by the smith.

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●776
*[778]

The tutelary spirit: The tutelary spirit always reveals itself to the shaman; a lama cannot designate a tutelary spirit for anyone. The shaman often calls himself "spirit-disciple" or "spirit-protégé." The spirit has its seat in the

[30 cont.]

756 sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary
*778 spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front
of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he
[776] sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.
[782] The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit
are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery
[439] markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come
[792] from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

756 Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his
tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration:
776 the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in general the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the tutelary spirit of the shaman.

756 Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to
prophesy, heal the sick, conjure away storms, drive away demons.
463 He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests, or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect a mani-tree, but he may set up an ordinary mani-flag on the yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the pole-goat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate at funerals and weddings.

755 The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold.
756 The following is the most common. First of all the shaman
puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron
[787] spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open [31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly steeped. Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the sick person to drink.

756 In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to
demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their
783 hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[31 cont.]

192 The shaman's sword: aradzi = two-edged sword; wadăm (Tib.) (12); chien (Chin.).

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*[778]

12. [Foreign text p. 33.] wadam: Tibetan dpa-gdam = sword. -- sõnkuor: Tibetan skyon = protection, 'k'or = little disks (Unkrig).

[776] The tutelary-spirit -- hada: šdien = the consecrated, as it is called before it is stuck in the bag; sõnkuor (Tib. loanword) (12) [see note 12 above] = protective fort, as it is called when it is inside the bag; the amulet is also called this.

*[778] Chest-mirror: mälõn (Tib. loanword); hu-hsin ching (Chin.) = the mirror protecting the heart.

Headcloth: tolgue bãnladzin = the head covering. pao-chin = packing cloth (Chin.).

Rattles: xõnguor; ling-êrh (Chin.).

Plowshare: timur ndziesë; t'ieh-hua (Chin.).

Thorns: huang-ts'ê (Chin.).

[789] To banish devils: ilie sdzira; pudag sdzira = to banish filth.

Recompense for the shaman: hsiang-ch'ien = incense money.

[Pages 31-33 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[33]

791

3. The Bon Priest*

* See "Notes," pp. 34-35 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are two kinds of Bon priests: the nomads and the

[45 cont.]

782
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[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.]
may also be the reason why the Tujen always try to obtain such a conch and blow it in the morning at the incense offering in the yard.

For the rest, the conch in itself is made to order for the offering. It formerly served as an offering bowl; cf. Ch. Das (p. 627). Today it is regarded as the third of the eight offerings (mc'od brgyad) or good-luck symbols (bkra šis rtags brgyad) as a sign of being turned in the right direction, sending out lovely sounds to the ten points of the compass; cf. Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, p. 21.

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All these objects that have been enumerated are part of a complete incense offering. Since a family only rarely has these accessories on hand, the offering is usually given in the simple form, that is, people content themselves with cypress twigs, tsamba, and water-sprinkling. Not even butter and milk have been available recently among the Tujen.

[262]

782

Meaning: The incense offering is primarily to heaven, as is the first kowtow. In the second place, it is intended to honor the mountain and earth spirit, and in the third place all the other countless spirits. Oral prayers are not spoken, but one usually says or thinks: "Heaven knows it." The offering is a request for protection and pleases the spirits because of the distinguished gifts. Hence, the men give it at all religious ceremonies, for instance, at the sowing festival, at the veneration of the obo, at the sheep sacrifice, etc. It is left to burn for hours during the entire procedure. Since the Tujen have practiced the incense offering since time immemorial, it constantly recurs in the songs (8).

[776]

[177]

8. [Foreign text p. 49.] The incense

[63 cont.]

Report

*778 On the mountains in the vicinity of the villages, the Tujen like to erect an obo. This is a large stonepile over a pit in which all kinds of things are buried. On these stonepiles stands a large square wooden frame, in which all kinds of weapons, tree twigs, and mani-flags are placed. Frequently several smaller stonepiles run from the obo to the four points of the compass; there will be at least one row in the direction of the mountain ridge.

*778 782 [776] [792] [791] The obo is dedicated to the mountain-spirit. It protects the village and the individual family. The obo is venerated three times each month with an incense offering. Sheep sacrifices also often take place at the obo. On special occasions a lama or Bon priest is invited to pray before the obo. When air-horses are released, it is done preferably from the peak on which an obo stands. -- Every year a large folk festival takes place near the obo.

Details

*778 [621] [628] Place: The obo is always erected on a mountain height. A place by a pass is preferred. It need not be the highest mountain in the area. Each village may have its own obo, or several villages may erect an obo together. In the latter case they agree upon a favorable place between the villages (1).

[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 68.] The obo need not always be on a mountain. In other regions around Sining one finds obos on the plain, for instance, near Fandse and Chiafandse settlements. Even here, however, trees are almost always present. Nevertheless, the Tujen maintain that they would never build an obo on the plain, for, according to them, an obo belongs to the mountain-spirit and must

[63 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 68 cont.] therefore stand on a mountain. -- They take the sacred place quite seriously. Thus, it is striking that for all Tujen villages mountain terrain is set aside, a piece of grass land with forest, where no agriculture may be carried on. Where the Chinese intervene, however, these mountain groves disappear. From these sparse remains one can imagine what the now bare agricultural land looked like in former times.

[621]

*778 784 The mountain on which the obo stands may not be defiled. No fields may be laid out there; the trees may not be cut down; the grass may not be cut; the ground may not be turned up. The animals that live there, for instance, hares, foxes, birds, are not hunted or killed. Everything must be left just as it grows [231] and thrives by nature; the cattle may not graze there at any [776] time. This place, namely, belongs to the mountain-spirit and is called sacred mountain.

*778 The obo pit: When the obo is erected, a pit is dug. All [792] kinds of valuables are put in it, primarily treasure-urns (earth-[791] god urns), as in the case of the central fort of the compound. The obo is erected by a lama or Bon priest. No [64] Tujen of [178] the present generation has seen this ceremony. The present-day obos still stem from olden times and are more and more falling into disrepair. Therefore no one knows any more precisely what is buried in the obo.

The stone mound: The height of the mound varies, depending on the circumstances. First an outer wall is put in layers in circular form. A large number of little stones are put inside the circle up to the edge, and these are supposed to be white stones. At every obo veneration additional stones are

[66 cont.]

527 [171]

[Note on foreign text p. 69 cont.]
Mongols and Tangut. According to the informant, a day in the sixth month is always chosen, but it does not always have to be the sixth day. It is the time at which formerly the obos were erected, and it seems to be a matter of the yearly return. -- Nowadays these festivals have more or less degenerated into a Chinese commercial racket, as has, for instance, the festival in the New Year's month at Wei-yüan-pu (Huchu), which is really a Tujen festival. Only the horse racing and the singing of songs have remained from olden times.

[178]

*778 ●776 Obo and mountain-spirit: The obo is the dwelling of the mountain-spirit. Everything that grows on the earth, grass, trees, flowers, the wild animals, and human beings, belongs to him. From the obo he guards the welfare of the tribe (ayil) and protects animal and man. The wild and tame animals are his herd and the wolves his dogs. For that reason an offering is made to the mountain-spirit before the obo whenever the wolves become too destructive. He can keep them in check.

[782] [825]

The silk (cloths or bands) on the obo signifies the clothes of the mountain spirit; the white color of the obo wall, his eminence and his good fortune.

The obo is the armory of the village and of the mountain-spirit. In olden times it was from here that the men fetched their weapons for battle and for athletic contests. [67] And they brought them back here. Nowadays the Tujen are peaceful farmers; they no longer use their weapons. Therefore they surrender them to the mountain-spirit.

[411]

[782] The mountain-spirit is given something from everything that is valuable: gold, silver, silk, etc. All the good fortune, the wealth, and the preservation of the village are guaranteed through him. The mountain-spirit provides the descendants;

[67 cont.]
*778 the little stone mounds signify fertility (4).

●776

4. [Foreign text p. 69.] The Tujen distinguish three great spirits: the sky, the mountain-spirit, and the earth-god. It should be emphasized that the characteristics of the mountain-spirit come fairly close to those of the sky (cf. Part 2). -- The special sacrificial animal for the mountain-spirit and the sky is the sheep. -- To the earth one sacrifices pigs, and always in the compound, whereas one sacrifices to the sky and the mountain-spirit usually in the open. -- The ritual for the pig sacrifice is the same as for the sheep sacrifice: washing, fumigating, milk pouring, etc., which makes a very strange impression in the case of this animal, an indication that the pig sacrifice was not adopted until a later time and was confused with the sheep-sacrifice rituals.

[231]

539 The first obo: According to the Tujen legend of the Geser
*778 xaan, the first obo was erected in the golden age of mankind by the first xaan on earth, the Hamluo siergän:

"Everything was very good. It was a time of honey and fat. At the beginning of the three summer months he erected a regieńguo obo on the peak of the Rira-ntumbo. Hamluo siergän sank into contemplation. Of (sc. the three) Gadbo Huala, Šdonšdog Sienba, Sasin Dadma, one went to break cypress twigs, one to buy spices, and one to gather white stones. He sat in contemplation for a week. When a week had passed, he erected the regieńguo obo. In the obo he placed the mother dog Tsila, on whose body he scattered spice-medicine. He wrapped silk around its body. Then he sprinkled holy water over it. He invited the regieńguo lama, who recited the consecrating

[67 cont.]

Word List

192
*778 Obō:

lašdzë (lawdzë, ladzë) (Tib. loanword) (7).
mao-chi (Chin.);these are the signs for reed - good fortune.
Shan-shen (Chin.) = mountain-spirit (7).

[776]

7. [Foreign text p. 70.] The statement of the old man that the expression obō is unknown in his region was surprising to me. I found it confirmed; at least it is not used among the Tujen there, which is all the more surprising since the Chinese use the word obō the most. The Tujen almost exclusively use the Tibetan loanword lašdzë (or lawdzë). Farther away, to be sure, there are Tujen who are familiar with both designations; lašdzë is nothing other than the Tibetan la-rtse, "mountain top," according to Ch. Das (p. 1200): "the summit of a pass." The relationship to the cult of heights and the mountain-spirit is clear. -- Besides the foreign word obō (Mong. obuġa, DMF 296) the Chinese also have the name mao-chi.

The Chinese expression mao-chi has no logical meaning in itself. In the Tangkar chronicle I saw for it the sign for reeds (mao) and good fortune (chi); there are also other ways of writing it. This shows that a phonetic imitation of a foreign word is involved here. The original word for it, however, cannot be determined. In the region of the Chia-Hsifan around Kumbum the name shan-shen, that is, mountain-spirit, is used the most. With it the Chinese simply identify the obo with the spirit, which corresponds with the situation, since it is in fact the seat of the mountain spirit.

[776]

[68 cont.]

192
*778

[Note on foreign text p. 71 cont.]
la rtse - obo, yar = upward, stod la = upward, to place on top. -- rēdziõn: Tibetan žon = to ride. -- yifula: Tibetan ri bo = mountain, hill, lha = spirit. -- ndziġdien: Tibetan 'jig = transitoriness, rten = container. A Buddhistic mode of expression for the world: the ten containers of transitoriness (Unkrig).

Little stonepiles: lawdzē dzidziġa = obo chicks.

Obo sheep-offering: lawdzē tada xoni šēṅlie = to sacrifice a sheep before the obo.

[782] The lama prays before the obo: lama lawdzē tada mošguni.

The offerings: yilenē šēṅlie = total offerings.

To dwell at the obo: lawdze tada sō-.

To set up a tent: bekārge posġuo-.

[541] Horse racing: mori holilġa = to make horses race.

Whose horse is fast: käni mori gurdā?

[524] Shooting competition: sēmu sēmuda- = to shoot arrows.

Whose skill with weapons is great: käni xuawu šgewa?

The young people wrestle: mula kunsgē walde-.

Whose strength is great: kāni kudzi šgewa?

Large and small sing together: šge mulasgē nigē dōlā-.

Whose songs are many: käni dō uluona?

[541] Obo horse-racing: lawdzē šda rēdziõn (Tib. (8) [see Note 8 above].

[527] Obo festival: lawdzē šdodlō, mori holġani = to make the horses run pelting the obo.

[621] [757] The obo protects human beings: lawdzē ayili kun, ase, mulā-sēla, nasā, ġuosāni furõṅlāni = the obo of the village (kin group) protects human beings, animals, little children, from epidemics and strife.

[776] The mountain-spirit: yifu la (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above].

[73 cont.]

*1778 These extra features were supposed to represent the seven jewels, but they cannot be obtained, and hence the objects enumerated are used as substitutes.

In addition, all kinds of spices are put in it, which the lama himself brings. These are the 74 kinds of earth-god spices. In addition there are five strands of thread in the sacred colors, or even individual threads. They are placed vertically in the filling.

The filling is done in the following order: First the earth and the wood are placed inside and sprinkled with spring water. Then the first bundle of scrolls is set inside and filled out with the grain. Over that come the other extra features, up to half of the urn. Then the second layer with the second scroll bundle follows, exactly like the first one. Finally fluid butter is poured over the whole up to the edge, and precisely like the earth-god urn it is tied with a red or yellow cloth, sealed, and at the end where the seal hangs down it is painted with a nuru sign. Then the second large urn and the eight accompanying urns follow. The accompanying urns have no Buddha-bundles (2).

*1778
●1776

2. [Foreign text p. 78.] The scrolls placed in the urns are supposed to represent certain spirits; according to the informant, the lowest scrolls represent the earth-god and the uppermost the mountain-spirit, each with its four companions. On the other hand, according to his statements, there seem to be many kinds of such spirits since the leaves of paper are correspondingly printed differently. Clarity could not be obtained. The leaves of paper, however, also act as magic, as is indicated by their name, snag, that is, magic(sayings). The cloth and thread wrappings represent the clothes of the spirit. -- There is

[73 cont.]

*778
776

suggested the assumption that in the case of the scrolls four spirits of the compass points are involved. The fact that the lama gives a special votive prayer over them means that the urn actually does become the dwelling of the spirits. -- The four accompanying urns are supposed to have the same significance as the other earth-god urns, in other words, additional gifts to the earth-god, or offerings. It may be, however, that they represent the points of the compass, just as is possible in the case of the central fort. -- Concerning the significance of the accompanying urns, there is no uniform popular conception.

*778 Consecration of the urns: All the urns are now placed together on one or two wooden trays, on which cypress leaves and barley grains have been scattered. The trays are brought by the master of ceremonies to the chest in front of the household deity. The lama makes a torma and places it in front of the urns. Now, after a butter-lamp has been lighted in front of each urn and seven little water-bowls stand in front of them, the lama sprinkles holy water over them and places the holy water-can on a little plate with Tibetan barley before the urns on the chest. Now he sits down on a felt mat and gives the votive prayer over the urns. He may also do this on his kang. Afterwards everything is again fumigated. In the yard, meanwhile, the great incense offering is burning.

*778 824 The sky column: As soon as the lama has come, the village elders present a petition to him and have him give the regulations for the tree that is to stand as the column in the chorten chamber. They then fetch a carpenter from the village

[76 cont.]

*778 and incense, as an obo is. On these occasions new clay cones are thrown into it through the gaps. Usually this is on the first, 346 eighth, and fifteenth day of the month. At other times, too, 782 however, in case of emergency and misfortune, the people venerate the chorten chamber. The procession always goes from west to east, in other words, not in the direction of the course of the sun.

*778 Meaning: The chorten chamber is connected with the mountain-spirit and earth-god. The column establishes the [776] connection with the sky. The chamber holds down the hostile [772] earth-influences. Thus it protects against misfortune and ill- [751] ness (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 79.] The urn, the mountain, and the tree are essential for the bẽṅkãṅ. Therefore it belongs in the same conceptual realm as the central fort in the yard, [772] namely, the widespread myth of heaven and earth, joined (or separated) by the world-tree. In this connection, in the case of the central fort the mani-flag might be Lamaist-secondary, and in the case of the chorten chamber the sasa-mountain, which consists of the mani-cones, as they are sometimes called. -- Now that a house is built over it, it is probably quite secondary. It evidently only has the function of protection and no inner relationship to its contents. It is striking that the sky column likewise is not erected as the bearer of the ridge-piece; it is freestanding and does not extend to the beam. [171] Also, in the case of the customs

[623]

Details

852 787 The oracle: On the morning of the anniversary of the birth, the father brings the child into the main house or into the kitchen and sets it on the kang. He places a kang table with three little baked loaves of bread, five steamed loaves of bread, and a cup of tea in front of it. Next to it, for a boy, he puts a span-long bow with a small arrow, brush, paper, and money; for a girl, these are needle, yarn, ell, scissors, knife. The three little baked loaves signify the three Buddhistic world-[776] spirits (2). The five steamed loaves symbolize the five blessings

2. [Foreign text p. 624.] It could not be ascertained which three names are individually involved. sãṅrẽdzi (Illuminated One) is the title for the Tulkus; cf. section, "The Lama-reception," and Note 6 below.

[777] of good fortune: age, wealth, health, virtue, blessed death (1).

[171]

1. [Foreign text pp. 623.] Chinese and Tibetan conceptions are mixed in the explanation of these loaves, for the Chinese also have this birthday ceremony. The Chinese proverb, wu fu p'eng shou, the five good-fortune-[624] (signs) hold up the age-(sign). A custom at New Year's: The sign shou is written in the center of a red paper, and in a circle around it the five signs for good fortune, fu.

The parents give the child some of the bread to eat and let it drink tea, or the mother suckles it. Then they ask it to grasp at the things on the kang table. If the boy grasps [778] money, he will be an industrious tradesman; if he seizes bow

192 [623 cont.]
776 The three world-spirits: dier xsēm sañrēdzi (6) (Tib. manner of speaking).

6. [Foreign text p. 625.] dier xsēm sañrēdzi: xsēm = Tib. gsum = three; sañrēdzi = Tib. sañs -rgyas = widespread splendor = Buddhistic title for incarnation. -- dier cannot be identified; it must be Tibetan, however, and mean the same as "region, world." I would like to connect it with the three worlds of the Bon; cf. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], p. 139; Francke, Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 5 ff. -- This tripartition is also familiar to the Chinese; one has only to think of the Taoistic san-ching or the Buddhistic san-chieh.

192
777 The five blessings of good fortune: wu-fu (Chin.).

[Pages 623-625 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[625] 3. The New Year's Festival*

527

* See "Notes," pp. 628-629 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[171] The New Year is celebrated by the Tujen at the same time
[574] as by the Chinese. In the first days they rest from all work,

[626 cont.]

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[783]
[789]

[Note on foreign text p. 628 cont.] The fumigating with the red-hot stone is supposed to purify the house and drive away the demons, like the exploding of rockets.

Then a second offering follows. The master of the household takes little sticks of incense, one for each member of the family, and lights them in the room above the lamp. Then he goes out around the mani-pole and, with all the members of the family, makes a threefold kowtow to the sky, facing the main house. He puts the little sticks in the incense oven on the round manger. Then the same ceremony is repeated in the house before the household altar, where the new little sticks continue to smolder in the incense basin. During the entire ceremony rockets and cannons are fired in order to scare away the demons. Together with the incense, yellow paper is also burned, exactly as among the Chinese (8).

[789]
[171]

8. [Foreign text p. 629.] As among the Chinese, the hearth-god is also carried off and on New Year's morning is again festively carried in. I was unable to learn anything concerning an original Tujen ceremony with respect to the hearth fire. Since time immemorial an incense offering has been made to the hearth-god, but it is uncertain whether on this occasion cypress twigs were thrown into the fire. Nowadays little sticks of incense are generally put on the wall behind the hearth, precisely as among the Chinese.

[776]
[372]

Another fire ceremony takes place in the first full-moon night of the year from the fourteenth to the fifteenth day. Young people light a series of little straw fires (10 to 15) on the path or on

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[783]

[626 cont.]
527 threefold kowtow is again made to the sky. The same ceremony
782 is repeated before the household altar for the other gods.

[627] Gratulation: Meanwhile, the old people of the
527 household have also arisen. Now they, too, pay their New Year's
888 reverence to the sky and the countless spirits. Then they sit
576 down on the kang with the master of the household and the family elder for tea and receive the kowtow from their sons and daughters. Then the general breakfast takes place. The children kowtow before their parents, the younger siblings before the older siblings, the younger cousins before the older cousins, etc. The old ones give younger ones some money.

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527 The welcoming of joy: Towards midday the welcoming
[776] of the god of joy takes place. For this one drives the animals onto the threshing floor, makes an offering of bread and wine, burns incense, waters the animals, and again drives them home. This practice is exactly the same as among the Chinese (7).

[787]

7. [Foreign text p. 629.] At New Year's the Tujen also question all kinds of oracles in a way similar to that of the Chinese, for example, the feed oracle, in connection with which one feeds the animals with various kinds of bread in order to prophesy concerning the harvest (cf. Schröder, "Ying-hsi, and Note 3 above). Another oracle is the ice-breaking. Young boys and men go to the river, take a sheet of ice, and break it apart. In the break lines pictures of species of grain are recognizable; the species that appear most clearly may be expected to have the best harvest during the year. This oracle is also found among the Chinese.

[636 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.]
valley in Hsi-ch'uan. The so-called Chia Hsifan (Village Fandse), who originally were Mongols and are Sinicized today, live there. They, too, exactly like the Tujen, put the dead in a crouching position in the crouch-box, although they do not cremate them, but bury them.

Furthermore, the Taoist monks and people who died in a sitting position are buried sitting in the crouch-box. There is an interesting corresponding expression for the death of such people, sōwā guei wōldzia, he has departed sitting, in Chinese tsuo-hua, that is, to be transformed sitting. The word sō- can mean "to sit" as well as "to contemplate." Such people are regarded as saints who, in contemplation, pass into another world. A death in this position is also regarded as especially honorable. A chorten is usually erected on the graves of these people. -- For the Taoist sitting burial, cf. the picture. This photograph was posed. The Taoist priest of Kanchiapu was happy to have himself photographed in his death-box and showed how he would be placed in the box. He kept this box standing in his temple and with pride showed each visitor this beautifully painted piece of carving. A very fine picture is also to be found in F. Dransmann, T'aishan-Kūfu Guide, p. 19. It is the mummy of the Taoist priest Suin, who at the time of Kanghsi worked for 60 years on the T'aishan and, crouching in the death-box, [652]was buried there in the "Grotto of the Immortal" (hsien-

[776]

[778]

764 [637 cont.]
465 his work and, in addition, twelve
322 loaves of bread, two ells of white cloth, and a small measure of wheat (six pounds). After the work is done, this measure of wheat is put on the house-
[782] hold altar, and the carpenter puts his tools on it. The master of the household sticks a few burning incense-sticks among them and puts the loaves before them. Then everyone makes a three-
[532] fold kowtow (7). The carpenter does not receive the white cloth until the funeral meal.

Death-box
(Drawing of a Tujen)

[782]
[776]
[177]

7. [Foreign text p. 653.] This ceremony actually has nothing to do with the death-box. It is customary after all carpentry work; it is done to honor the tutelary god of the carpenter, Lu-pan-yeh. It is a Chinese custom.

764 Lying in state: If the box is already available at death, the corpse is immediately put in it. If it is not yet ready, then the people put the dead in a crouching position on the kang or on the floor of the room in which he died. First, however, they lay down a white felt mat as a pad; straw is not used. No one may sleep or live in the same room with the dead, only in an adjoining room. A table with 12 loaves of bread, which come from the deceased's own family, and a water-lamp stand before the crouching corpse.

[462] Putting the corpse in the box is always done by men. The
[593] son puts his father and mother inside. The father, however, never puts his son in; that is taken care of by the young brothers or cousins.

[637 cont.]

764 cousins. Female persons are also put in the box by men. Then, after the corpse has been propped up with straw, a board is slid in at the back from above. The men then wash their hands. The box is put in a room and placed on four raised clay bricks, so that it will be easy to pick it up later to carry it. A white felt mat is usually spread out beforehand. The box of a deceased master of the household or his wife always stands in the main house; in other cases it is put in the room in which the dead person used to live.

Next to the box there is a small, coffin-like little casket whose lid is pegged down like those of the Chinese coffins. It is the little casket in which the bones that remain after cremation are kept. Usually a rolling pin (noodle roller), which was 412 made at the same time as the coffin or death-box, leans 764 against the box (8). [638] Other rolling pins are not used at [322] all.

[177]

8. [Foreign text p. 653.] This custom, too, seems to have been borrowed from the Chinese. The rolling pin is called mien-kan or kan-ch'ang in Chinese. On the average it is one meter long and three to four centimeters thick. It is used principally to roll noodles. The rolling pin is also called pai-hu by the Chinese, that is, white tiger, because it can become the seat of the tiger god for soothsaying or shamanistic ceremonies, just as the spirit-spear becomes the seat of the spirit. The rolling pin is also handled in the following way: a man takes it with both hands and calls down the demon into it; then the roller shakes and trembles.

[778] [787] [776]

The enemy of the rolling pin is the threshing roller, lu-chu. It represents the dark (green) dragon, ch'ing-lung.

[776]

[638 cont.]

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[776]

[Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.] the declared opponent of the white tiger. -- Furthermore, the white tiger is powerless against anything that comes from the dead or is connected with the dead; he fears coffins, death-boxes, burials, etc. For that reason coffin-making is the best opportunity for making a rolling pin, and therefore the rolling pin is propped against the death-box. The relationship of the tiger to the rolling pin is thereby neutralized. -- People very rarely have a rolling pin made other than at the time of a burial; the carpenter must then plane the pole on a threshing roller, the enemy of the white tiger. The millstone also has an effect similar to that of the threshing roller, for it crushes the provider of the "white," that is, the grain from which the flour comes.

[322]

[322]

764 all. As in the case of the crouching corpse, a small kang table with the gifts to the dead is also placed before the death-box. Men and women kowtow before it, burn white paper, like the Chinese, and weep aloud (9).

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[782]

9. [Foreign text p. 653.] Aside from the bone-casket I once saw a small wooden casket of coffin-like form beside a death-box. The people said a small manlike doll lay in it. It was supposed to keep misfortune and death away from the house. The informant had not yet seen that and thought that this custom had come from

[789]

[642 cont.]

764 in the house and takes the torma to the place where he wants the
792 crematory to be built. The incense offering is then made in
782 front of the torma, but without any extra features, except tsamba and butter; the lama sprinkles the fire with holy water. While he then prays on a white felt mat, the others kowtow. In this
[776] way the lama requests the place for the cremation from the mountain-spirit; the incense and the torma are meant for the mountain-spirit. In making the choice, the lama takes into account the evenness of the ground, since for these ceremonies he needs a suitable place for the table and the mat he sits on.

764 [643] Erection of the crematory: Now [illustration ap-
333 pears here] an oven is built out of clay bricks. The torma is set to one side, and no further attention is paid to it. First the men build a quadrangular base, about two ells high and two ells wide; on this they erect the round crematory, about four ells high. It looks like a barrel. On the west side a broad longitudinal slit remains open, through which the corpse is set inside. On each side of the base a large hole is left for the firing. The oven is calked with clay and lime and then is painted white (25).

25. Foreign text pp. 657-658.] The crematory may be made in various forms. The one copied from the crematory of the lamas (cf. the drawing made by a Tujen) is regarded as the most superior one. Similarities with the understructure of the chorten cannot be
[778] denied. On graves of persons who died sitting up, I saw chorten which represented an almost exact copy of the crematory, only slightly more rounded. -- When the fire-pouring is undertaken
[532] at the cremation, the ground-drawing is naturally also made, and usually not on the ground itself, [658] but rather one puts down a large leaf of paper with

[646 cont.]

764 the little bones go into it, however, for it is only an ell long and two handbreadths high. The lid is pegged down, like a Chinese coffin. The remaining bones are carried by hand, aprons, or in a back-basket to the nearest mountain height. Animals as a rule do not eat them because they are burned. Only sheep like to nibble on them. The bones decompose very rapidly, however.

The bone-chest is placed in the oven, weighted down with clay bricks, and then the oven is torn down so that it forms a little mound with the chest buried under it. This is always done if the cremation has taken place after the harvest during the period before the grave festival in the third month.

[765] [769] At the grave festival, the Chinese ch'ing-ming, the bone-chest is buried in the communal family cemetery. The place of the cremation is leveled.

If the cremation is after the grave festival, then the oven is, to be sure, torn down and the place again cultivated, but the bone-chest is not buried at the place of the oven, but on a remote ridge of arable land in a field belonging to the deceased's own family. Only at the next grave festival [765] in the following year is it transferred to the family cemetery.

If the cremation has taken place on a distant mountain far from the family, then a tent is pitched there to wait until the third day, the bones are stored, and the chest is brought down in order to bury it on the ridge of a field on one's own land. Such a cremation may never be undertaken on the [776] [778] peak of a mountain, but about halfway up. The peak is sacred to the mountain-spirit and may not be desecrated.

[823] If the bone-chest has been buried in the oven or field, then the relatives burn white paper before it, throw pieces of bread on the bone-grave, and pour out tea before it for the dead. Then they kowtow and go home. The guests are treated with tsamba and butter in the house of mourning. The master of ceremonies receives 12 loaves of bread and two [465] ells of white cloth; the two fire guards are given six loaves each and two ells of cloth.

[648 cont.]

766 buried, or simply burned. No death ceremonies are undertaken. At the burning they receive no box, but are reduced to ashes, like the girls.

Like the boys, girls under ten years of age may also be exposed, buried, or burned. The corpse then usually becomes [775] prey for dogs and wolves. Girls over ten years of age, however, [776] must be burned, for at this time menstruation may set in, and their souls are then dangerous demons, of which even the other spirits are afraid (22). The burning is done without any ceremony

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22. [Foreign text p. 657.] Why the girls are so dangerous could not be clearly established. Perhaps the same notion as is behind the pai-ta lies at the root of it, namely, that the soul leaves this life dissatisfied, that is, that after the girl attained maturity she did not achieve her proper destiny in marriage. There [588] is no death-marriage here, as, for example, in Shantung, so the soul cannot rest in peace. This soul demon, however, is destroyed through burning, according to the statements of the Chinese and Tujen. I know of a case in which a Chinese girl was exhumed and burned two years after her death because something uncanny was always happening in the family and one accident followed another. That, however, did not help either. -- Shamanistic conceptions, too, are certainly suggested. One need only recall that the Bon priests make the bone flute from the bones of such a girl and the whip from her skin.

[822 cont.]

241 782 756 [292] The shamans are always men (2). They wear women's

2. [Foreign text p. 823.] The name for these shamans is bō, in other words, the typical Mongolic word. The Tujen strictly differentiate them from the other shamans and the Bon priests. They are the cult dancers designated by the Chinese as fa-shih, that is, sorcerer, or shih-kung, that is, teacher, whose chief goddess is the Niang-niang, that is, mother.

[776]

[534] clothes and a woman's hairdo. Their drum consists of an iron or wooden ring over which is stretched a sheepskin. They carry [535] the litter of the mother-goddess onto a threshing floor and dance before it. During the dance the drums are beaten. They do all [787] kinds of acrobatic feats, and one of them goes into a great trance and wounds himself.

241 782 The sowing festival takes place during the period from the third to the fifth month, the harvest festival in the ninth or tenth month. No village celebrates both festivals. There is no harvest festival where the sowing festival is held, and there is no sowing festival where there is a harvest festival.

[823] At the sowing festival one prays for protection against storms and for rain; at the harvest festival one expresses thanks for the harvest. [The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

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2. The Pole-goat *

* See "Notes," pp. 829-830 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designation for them in the text.]

[828 cont.]

241 The veneration of the pole-goat: During the summer the
789 farmers appear singly or together before the pole-goat, make an
791 offering, pray, burn incense, and kowtow in order to protect the
782 seed from hail. The Bon priest also comes often to pray. In former times he even pitched his tent for a longer period of time and remained there in order to be constantly on hand for the weather conjuration in case of storms. This is no longer the case today. The weather conjuration is now done by the soothsayer, usually the spirit-soothsayer.

Taking down the pole-goat: After the fifteenth day in the eighth lunar month, when the harvest has been cut, the pole-goat is again taken away. One no longer has the soothsayer determine the day, but instead acts according to the circumstances. The Bon priest is again invited; he again makes the tormas and prays. Usually a sheep is sacrificed.

241 Interpretations: The pole-goat is supposed to banish
789 bad weather and protect the harvest. The custom occurs only among farmers, even among the agricultural Fandse. The
776 goat has special protective power because its head serves as an
825 anvil for the god Däntsien Sän̊. He is the smith in the weather
821 ministry (5). During storms he hammers his iron between the horns,
[171]

5. [Foreign text pp. 829-830.] The conception of the storm ministry bears a resemblance to the Chinese lei-pu (thunder division). It is uncertain, however, whether borrowings are involved. At any rate, in the popular tradition of the Tujen the Bon priest has a special connection with weather magic (cf. also Tafel, Tibetreise). -- Concerning the storm-god Däntsän̊ (Däntsien Sän̊) the informant knew nothing other than that there is an image of

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[828 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 829-830 cont.] him in the monastery Rgulõn and that he is a tutelary god of the Bon. Däntsien is evidently a Tujen corruption of the Tibetan dam-can, "keeping a vow" (cf. Ch. Das, p. 618). This is only a general title which could be applied to many gods. According to Grünwedel (Mythologie, pp. 187 ff.), Ch. Das (p. 618), and others, however, it refers to the Lamaistic terror-god rDo-rje-legs (pa), who rides on a goat (ram) and [830] was elevated to the tutelary lord (Dharmapāla) of the doctrine. H. Hoffmann denies that he is a Tantristic god and wants to designate him as an old Bon god, in which he is correct, as the ceremony described here indicates. He then continues (Quellen [Sources], p. 164): "There is an interesting statement by Jäschke, as yet unconfirmed, according to which Rdor-legs ... was an honorable village smith. ... At any rate it is noteworthy that Waddell also speaks of a 'demon blacksmith' [cited in English]." These surmises can now be confirmed by the ceremony of the pole-goat and the tradition connected with it. The dam-can is a smith-god of the Bon and stands in a special relationship to the weather conjuration and to the goat cult which, after all, likewise belongs to the realm of the Bon or is at least pre-Buddhistic. (Cf. the old name of Lhasa, which was originally called Ra-sa, Goat-place, and had a temple of the same name.)

[828 cont.]

241 during which lightning flashes and glowing hailstones fall to
789 earth. Through this the evil demons are killed, so no misfortune
821 befalls the seed and human beings (6).

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6. [Foreign text p. 830.]
Weather magic plays an important role in all of Tsinghai. A pure Bon ceremony is involved here. Neither the Chinese nor the lamas practice it. And if it is correct that the nomads do not have it, this is an indication of the close connection of the Bon with agriculture. -- The Chinese engage in their weather magic through other shamans or through lay bonzes, exorcists, etc., never through a Bon priest. -- Only in very isolated instances does one find the pole-goat among the Chinese, and then it is along the border of the Tujen or Fandse region. I frequently saw one in a valley along the Pei-ch'uan river south of Hsin-t'ien-p'u, where there was a Chinese village; here they departed from the rule that it must be erected on a mountain.

[778]

Other types of weather conjurations are undertaken with help of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, the spirit-litter, and with thunderbolts. All these things are the seat of deities. As soon as bad weather approaches, the corresponding bearers fetch these seats of the deities, summon the spirit, and station themselves out in the open facing the storm. Further details concerning these ceremonies in another place. The entire

[831]

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3. The Mountain Sheep-offering*

* See "Notes," pp. 834-835 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

After the erection of the pole-goat up to the time of the harvest a sheep is usually offered on a mountain top. This is an occasion for the entire village. The people do this to ask heaven, the mountain-spirit, and the spirits of the four regions of the world to protect the seeds. The offering may be repeated frequently, but only one sheep is offered each time. The sacrificial meat is eaten by the participants at the conclusion.

[621] [776] [264]

Details

241 782 787 [791]

Time: At the erection of the pole-goat the soothsayer determines how frequently during the summer and on what day a sheep is to be offered. He also indicates whether the spirits concerned want to have this offering every year; sometimes it is only once, and sometimes several years in succession. If there is no other occasion during this time, this soothsaying retains its validity. After this period has elapsed the soothsaying is done anew. -- If the village has erected a pole-goat, the offering always takes place in the period after it has been erected. If no pole-goat is present, then it may sometimes fall in the time of the erection of the pole-goat.

Place: The offering always takes place on the same mountain on which the pole-goat stands, and in front of the latter. Otherwise the soothsayer determines the spot. It must be kept for the time when the offering is due. For instance,

[832 cont.]

241 The seed-master then cuts through the throat and arteries with
782 a powerful stroke, and the helpers catch the blood in the basin
231 with constant stirring. None of the blood is supposed to fall on the ground. Any traces of blood are covered with earth. When the sheep has ceased bleeding, it is skinned. Sometimes the head remains attached to the hide, or it is cut off entirely with the hide, and placed to one side on the hide.

241 Now one usually takes a broad board, places the sheep
782 on it, and eviscerates it. Excrement and unusable scraps are
252 put aside. The intestines are cleaned in warm water and filled with blood and little bits of diced flesh from the scraps. The eviscerated body [833] is rinsed out with water and cut apart. The thighs are cut off, the loins and rib pieces are cut out, and everything is finally cut into little pieces so that it can be cooked more conveniently.

The cooking; In a kettle over a hole in the earth water is brought to a boil, in which the pieces of meat are cooked. Women may not help ~~with the~~ cooking. Spices, even salt, are prohibited for the sacrificial meat. The intestines filled with blood are also boiled.

During the cooking the men sit to one side, converse, pray their mani, or offer new incense. When the meat is done, it is taken out and cut into little slices on a board, including lungs, kidneys, liver, and heart. At the same time the ribs and other bones are broken. Now several bowlfuls are scooped from the broth in the kettle and some of the little pieces of meat are put in them. Then the soothsayer is called.

241 Soothsaying: The soothsayer invokes the spirit and indi-
782 cates in which direction the bowls must be emptied. He also
791 determines how many bowls must be offered in each case. There is always an offering to the sky and to the mountain-spirit,
787 and usually also to the world-spirits; only the number of bowls varies. If one wants to make an offering to still other spirits,
[776] this is especially requested by the soothsayer. The soothsayer continues to officiate until the conclusion of the offering and with the spirit invoked supervises the performance.

[833 cont.]

241 782 [791] Offering: The seed-master takes the first bowl and throws its contents toward the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then the other bowls for the mountain-spirit and the other spirits follow. At each offering throw, the men kowtow in the appropriate direction. No one may pick up the little pieces of meat or so much as eat them. Dogs are kept away, at least until the end of the offering.

[264] Meal: After this offering the meat is taken from the kettle and divided among the men. They sit in a circle, drink tea, eat bread, converse, and laugh. After the meal all go home. Everyone takes his things with him.

Meaning: The offering is made for the protection of the seeds (4).

241 782 174 776

4. [Foreign text p. 834.] The meaning is no longer unambiguous now. The protection of the seeds is certainly involved, but whether the offering is primarily for the mountain-spirit or for the weather-spirits or for the sky is unclear. The mountain-height and the obo argue in favor of the mountain-spirit. The sky is always considered first, however. -- The old man said that in former times they had made the offering for the protection of the animals.

It is possible that originally a pure mountain-spirit or sky offering was involved, but that later, with agriculture, the weather-gods moved into the foreground, for hail and storms are feared primarily by farmers and not so much by shepherds.

[841 cont.]

778 Regardless of how the animal[1] lost its life, its flesh may never be
825 eaten.

Furthermore such animals may not be sold or given away,
[262] for they belong to the god. One may give it to a monastery
[432] where it is cared for and protected until its death. -- An animal may not be acquired for the consecration with money; it must always be given as a gift.

There is no special watch over the consecrated animals, so that they can freely mount one another. The offspring are
[422] then counted as profane animals and fall to the original owner.

Whether the animal is pleasing to the god is manifested
[787] when the milk is poured over it. If it does not shake itself, one immediately fetches another; the ceremonies are then repeated. Every healthy animal shakes itself. If there is no milk, one dissolves tsamba or white flour in pure water so that it looks like milk. Some people take only clear water. This is not proper.

There are gods who ride the animals, for instance,
[776] Amtsiensa rides [842] on a wool-goat and Lamusa on a mule (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 843.] In the monastery Rgulõh each month (on the first or fifteenth day) consecrated riding animals are magnificently saddled and led onto the colonnade of the chief temple immediately in front of the entrance. There they are offered to the god (Fo-yeh) for riding; then one lets them
[792] run. -- Perhaps it is worth mentioning in this connection that the Tulkus (incarnation) of the lamic monasteries may ride only white horses, which otherwise are not regarded as superior.

It could not be discovered which
[171] gods are the riding gods. The Amtsiensa corresponds to the Chinese Tan-chiao hao-hua, and the Lamusa to the Chinese Lo-tzu t'ien-wang, that is, the heavenly mule-king.

[1] [Lit - a consecrated animal - See cat. 116, pp 248-249- ANALYST]

[846 cont.]

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[782]

2. [Foreign text p. 847.] There are similar spirit-releasings in many variations both among the Tujen and among the Chinese. The basic feature is the same everywhere: one releases the demon with many gifts so that it will not return. The ceremonial driving away of the mBarma demon in Kumbum is nothing other than such a releasing, only with a more complicated ritual and with the expenditure of enormous sums of money. The demon is represented there by his mother's brother, a selected man, while his image is burned together with the thread (mdos) towers. In the neighboring Huchu valley, for instance, in Kanchiapu, he is represented by the dough image and then is beaten to pieces by the children and eaten; in Tsungchai he is conjured into a kind of "town fortress" (tu-ch'eng) and this is burned; farther up in Kao-ch'iang-p'u he is put, with his belongings, on a little boat and allowed to float away.

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Interpretation: The demon who disturbs the compound must be led away with all the gifts and conveniences imaginable so that he will not think back on his old location. The prayers of the lama and also the torma depend upon the demon. Regardless of whether it is a great or little exorcism, the effect is the same. Only the wealthy can afford large animals, and usually today it is only the lamic monasteries that undertake such an expensive ceremony.

[846 cont.]

789 If an evildoer steals the animal or the things,[1] the
776 demon will punish him.
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Word List

192 Demon escort: rëdzõňwa (Tib.?) ġarġani = one takes away
789 that which is to be taken away.
[778] The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].
Saddlebag: dadzë (Chin. loanword).
Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

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3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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789 Report

. . . In order to protect the children from misfortune, one
791 invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then
they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they
[777] make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.
[778] On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter
and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing.
[782] There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

[1] [i.e. - the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST.]

[857 cont.]

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[357]

[Note on foreign text pp. 858-859 cont.] comes from the fact that the urn is consecrated with certain conjuration formulas, snags (dha-rani), in other words, represents a magic treasure.

urn is buried by one or more lamas or by the master of the household, the compound is always taboo during this time.

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[858] Place: The place at which the urn is buried must always be chosen in such a way that no person or domestic animal can desecrate it. No one may run across such a place. For this reason roads and public places are avoided, for the place is, after all, not specially marked. Otherwise the urn may be buried anywhere, in the fields or in the pasture, in the yard or in the house. Indeed, one may even set it in yard and room walls and wall it up.

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Significance: The contents of the urn are the treasures and yield of the earth, everything that belongs in the realm of the earth-god or of the mountain-spirit. One wants to please these two spirits through these valuables so that they will hold down the evil earth-influences and protect human beings from misfortune. It is as though gifts were being given to persons in office (6).

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6. [Foreign text pp. 859-860.] According to this explanation, an offering to the earth-god is involved. The interpretation, however, might not suffice. One must consider the urn in its wider context. It repeatedly occurs in Tujen usage, with the arrow of good fortune, with the round manger, in the obo, in the chorten chamber, and, to be sure, in twofold form: in the one case as the seat of a deity, which through the formula scroll,

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
silk wrapping, etc. is transferred into the urn; in other cases without this deity, as, for instance, the urns accompanying the central urn in the chorten chamber and central fort, or, as in the preceding section, alone. In this case it is to be conceived as a representation of the earth with its vital and germinating forces and its treasures, as was shown above in the section on the arrow of good fortune. In the other case the earth-god takes his seat in his realm (urn). The urn is simply a part of the representation of the world-picture (mandala), as the realm of the earth-god.

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[171]

What these earth deities are is unclear. In any case the ġlu (Tib. klu) or Nagas belong among them. In addition, however, another earth-deity is venerated among the Tujen, which perhaps is of Chinese origin, for like the Chinese they also have a pig offering in honor of the earth-god and certain ceremonies for pardon that are connected with a grain offering. They are performed especially in connection with digging, housebuilding, etc., or when someone suffers harm while digging. Unfortunately I was no longer able to record these ceremonies. It cannot be definitely determined whether this earth-spirit is male or female.

Another group to be considered is ṡman. A part of the filling is called ġlu-smăn (Tib. klu-sman); cf. the chapter above, "The Incense Offering," Note 11. According to H. Hoffmann,

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.] Quellen (pp. 160 ff.), no clarification can be obtained concerning the Sman: "We can only conclude from the places at which they are mentioned, that earth-spirits or local spirits are involved." -- G. Tucci, Tib. Painted Scrolls (pp. 720 ff.), regards the Sman as the feminine counterparts of the gods and explains the connection between medicine and femininity in the following manner: "sman means either medicine or women. The connection between the two meanings is perhaps given by the implication that these sman were witches and that they were supposed to be possessed of the healing power with which, in shamanism, women are not rarely endowed" [cited in English]. And further below: "... but nothing prevents us from understanding 'lha and their wives' ..." [cited in English]. -- Therefore in the case of the treasure urn we would be dealing with the klu and their feminine counterparts, the sman.

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The burying of the treasure urn is often equated by the Chinese with the burying of other vessels. These are two different things, however. Chinese and Tujen often put tea bowls, vessels, and the like, with the opening [860] downward, into the ground in order to exorcise and hold down the demons. This custom, however, originates from shamanistic practices, such as the Taoists also have. Thus the shamans there throw tea bowls in the air or on the ground so that the demons will be capped (this is done when the bowl falls with the opening down),

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
for instance, at the erection of the weather fort, in the case of knife-climbing, disease exorcism, etc.

Word List

192
782 Earth-god: glu (glē).
Earth-god urn: sēnog-der; sēnog (Tib.) = to meditate; der (Tib.) = urn, bottle.
[746]
[778] To buy an urn: sēnog-der bula; bula = to buy; but used only for the consecrated urn, otherwise "to buy" is called awu-.

Contents of the urn: rdzē (Tib.) (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 860.]
Concerning rdzē, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 4. These additions are for the greater part designated by the Chinese as yao (yüo) and are not to be thought of merely in the sense of medicine. Everything possible that has a special effect falls under yao: minerals, powder, spices, little pieces of shell, gold, and silver, and the filling of the treasure urn. Lamas from Kumbum and Bengbar told me that there are about 30 to 40 types of treasure urns with different fillings. One of the most valuable is the one that contains mani-ruru (little balls). These little balls multiply, they "cast young," as the people say, and fill up the entire urn; cf. section, "Customs concerning the Dead," Note 2. Ch. Das (p. 874) calls the urn additions bum rdsas: "twenty-five articles (comprising

[865 cont.]

782 776 Types of fire-pouring: There is a whole series of different fire-pourings, depending upon the deity concerned. Usually the fire-pouring is undertaken to honor the following deities: the horse-god, the cattle-god, the lion-god, and the water-faced Buddha.

[822] [866] Other types depend upon the color of the gods. Thus there is a red, yellow, white, and black fire-pouring. The tormas are also colored according to the colors of these gods, which they represent. Likewise, a special kind of wood is used for the 782 individual colors: for the red, tamarisk wood; for the yellow, [824] white thorn; for the white, poplar wood; and for the black, black thorn. The ceremonies are the same for the first three fire-pourings; only the prayers vary. -- The black fire-pouring in particular, however, deviates from the others (6).

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6. [Foreign text p. 868.] Lamas report that there are many different types of fire-pourings, the four mentioned here being only the four main types, and that they have extensive books concerning the rites. -- The description of these orthodox Lamaistic rites would require a special study. In this connection, cf. Lessing, Yung Ho Kung (pp. 150-161). Only one of the many types practiced in the monastery is described there, and also only the phases "which can be easily observed by the inexperienced visitor" (p. 150) [cited in English]. Without going into a comparison with the above-described form, let it merely be pointed out here that the basic features are identical. Of the four main types characterized by Lessing, only the color agrees with the account given by my informant; he knew nothing

[866 cont.]

782 The place for the black fire-pouring is usually a remote
[792] ravine. One pitches black tents and lives there several days with the lama in solitude. In no case may one undertake the black fire-pouring in the vicinity of temples or human habitations.

[731] In case of epidemics, the black fire-pouring is used
[755] preferably, in order to annoy the demons of sickness and thus to
[777] drive them away, for with them the misfortune, too, disappears.

[776] Meaning: The fire-pouring is an offering for the gods;
[792] through it they are supposed to be induced to turn away mis-
[755] fortune and sickness (7). The seven-day prayer of the lama is

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7. [Foreign text pp. 868-869.] The whole gives very much the impression of a fire-offering. The informant, however, thought that it had nothing to do with it. According to him it was an offering to the appropriate
[776] Buddhas. The fire-god was also venerated with it, as the torma proved, but this was not the main thing. Nevertheless there is no doubt but that a fire-offering, Homa, is involved (cf. Lessing, loc. cit.). The Tujen name alone cannot be interpreted other than as a corruption of the Tibetan sbyin-sreg. sbyin is pronounced jin, which is very clearly to be seen in Note 8 (źūin-tsēg). Ch. Das, p. 940, writes under sbyin-sreg: "burnt offerings as made by Tantrik Buddhists, ... sbyin-sreg-gi [869] rdsas clarified butter, articles necessary for burnt sacrifices. ... sbyin-sreg-gi yam-śiṅ ... first wood necessary for the offering" [cited in English]. (For yam-śiṅ, cf. the Tujen foreign word yiew-siṅ.) "Homa is the

[866 cont.]

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[824]
[776]

[Note on foreign text p. 870 cont.]
help, to save; otherwise called Tārā. -- gusia: Tibetan ku ša (from the Sanskrit) = botanical Poa cynosuroides. -- sāndoṅmani: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words seṅ (Sanskrit. siṃha) = lion, gdoṅ = face, mani = jewel. It is a goddess. -- šda(m)tsēni: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words rta = horse, mgrin (pronounced din) = neck, also voice; in other words: the horse-necked one, or the horse-voiced one. -- logōṅ: Tibetan klu (pronounced lu) = dragon, and gdoṅ = face. Literally, therefore, dragon-face (Unkrig).

[372] Fire-place: taw (Tib. loanword) = oven, hearth.

[778] Misfortune-torma: ġuaġ dor (Tib.).
ġuaġ = misfortune; prayer said during the preparation of this torma.

Earth-spirit torma: ġlū-šdorma.
Mountain-spirit torma: yifula-šdorma.
Fire-torma: ġal šdorma.
Earth-god spices: ġlu smān (Tib.).
dalān dierān sāmba smān = 74 pieces of spices.

[867]

[532] Measuring string: šdag paġdzin bōdoġ = pattern-drawing string.
Pattern: arasē xuar = leather model; tsialdzē xuar = paper model.

Burning-place drawing (mandala): tawni xuar.

[333] Wall: lāṅgāṅ (Chin. loanword).
Pouring tube: šge gāṅsār (Tib. loanword) = large spoon.
Ladling spoon for butter: mula gāṅsār = little spoon.
Spoon (profane): dzieġliu (Tujen).

[372] Cloth fan: ki yūelwa = air-cloth.
rlōṅ yāg (Tib.).
Cloth (profane): bosē.

[867 cont.]

192 Lighting pole: xuāmbar.

782 Flint and steel: kidie.

[372] Fire struck with flint and steel: kidie ġal = flint-and-steel fire.

Ordinary fire: arāñka ġal.

At the fire-pouring pouring there is no loss through bad weather: dsuntsioġ surēwa, dierdzia sdzūen uguei.

At the black fire-pouring pouring the demons flee: xara dzuntsioġ surewa, mō iliesgē xuoluode pusa sdzia (sdzim).

[372] Firewood: taw siñ (Tib.) = oven-wood.

Consecration-wood: yiew (ziew) -siñ (Tib.).

192 Tibet-herbs: dziañgoñ (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

782 tsang ts'ao (Chin.) = Tib. herb.

824 Tibet-flowers: kānba (Tib. loanword).

ta t'ou mao hsiang (Chin.).

White grass (from Tsinghai): ndoluwā (9) [see Note 9 above]; pai-ts'ao (Chin.).

Tibetan hard grass (reed): gusia (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

tsang hsi-chi (Chin.).

Tamarisk?: guānbō (xuānbo); sōgā.

Poplar wood: mōdē = wood.

White thorn: siraldzin = yellow thorn.

Black thorn: xara rēguodzē.

192 Horse-god: šdamtsēni (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

782 ma-wang (Chin.).

Cattle-god: ndigsier (Tib. loanword); niu-wang (Chin.).

776 Lion-god: sāndoñmani (Tib. loanword); shih-wang (Chin.) (9) [see Note 9 above].

Water-faced Buddha: logon rēdziawu (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

shuei-lien p'usa (Chin.).

[Pages 867-870 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 870 of Vol. 47, and the next section begins on p. 202 of Vol. 48.]

3: Schröder--311 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[203 cont.]

I. The Total Religious Picture

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1. The Deities

a) The Higher Deities

The higher deities are to be understood as those figures that do not belong among the so-called purǧan, but are mentioned separately from these by their own names. These are heaven (tieṅǧëre), the mountain-spirit (yifula), and the earth-deity or earth-deities (ǧlu; itoǧa). They seem to be the older deities and will be dealt with later when the belief in a supreme god is discussed.

b) The Lower Deities

192 776 The lower deities can all be included under the generic name purǧan. The word purǧan is none other than the term customary in the literature, Burchan (Burkhan, Burkan), which, as is well known, stands for "god" in large parts of Central Asia. The origin of this name has not been clarified. Usually a connection with "Buddha" is assumed, and the word is derived from the compound Bud(dah)-Khan; see W. Schmidt, UdG, X, p. 573, with reference to the sources. This passage, which deals with the Tungus, emphasizes that there Burkan predominately refers to foreign deities, a situation that is quite close to that found among the Tujen. Another explanation connects the word with the Buddhistic grave-monument (oral communication from W. A. Unkrig), namely, purǧan supposedly arose from the Mongolic suburǧan. The word suburǧan in turn is derived from the Tibetan spur-k'aṅ, house of corpses, cremation place. Since consonant clusters are avoided in Mongolic, a u was inserted between the s and the p for easier pronunciation, just as also happens in the case of other word derivations. Thus from spur, through the transformation of the p (which the Mongols do not have) to b, the word subur arose. The n in k'an is slurred into a simple n.

192 778 776 With suburǧan (spur-k'aṅ) one designated the same thing as with the Tibetan mc'od-rten, chorten or stupa, which literally

[203 cont.]

192 means "offering container." The chortens now usually shelter
778 the ashes of Buddhist saints or their relics and frequently also
bear their pictures on the front side. Thus the meaning of an
776 idol is connected with the whole. The chortens or stupas or
suburgans are therefore the seat of a spirit or of a deceased person. A deity is present in them. They are the same as [204] what the Mongols or Tujen imagine under the expression purġan. This conception is confirmed, furthermore, by the urn shape of the stupa. In Tibetan the lower part is called bum-ba, urn, pot. As has already been shown in the case of the earth-god urn and the beṅkaṅ, urns are frequently the seat of a deity. This conception is also found elsewhere, and one might also connect the urn with the throne of the gods, which will not be discussed here. In any case, the Tujen word purġan is late and Buddhistic in origin.

776 All the inhabitants of the Buddhist, Bonist, and Taoist pantheon fall within the group of these lower gods insofar as the Tujen have taken it over. A special position seems to be oc-
776 cupied by the fire-spirit as hearth-god or god of the shaman
372 fire, whom Schram so strongly emphasizes in his book concerning marriage among the Tujen. I could no longer confirm any special veneration of the shaman fire, however. If one disregards the fire offering, which is included as part of the rite of the Lamaistic fire-pouring, there remains to the people only the hearth-god, who, however, is venerated no more frequently than among the Chinese, for example. The use of fire for purifica-
[783] tion (widow marriage, leaping over fire, fumigation, red-hot stone, etc.) seems to have nothing to do with a god. It can be explained purely magically, because the demons fear the fire. They are, of course, always regarded as unclean, as the common phrase, pudaġ ilie, dirty demon, proves.

776 Of the other gods who deserve special mention, there
are the shaman and soothsaying gods, who animate or temporarily
[791] take possession of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, and the
[787] divine images, for instance, the black and white tiger, the great mother, the dragon. Furthermore, an important role is
[177] played by the god of joy (at a wedding), who probably comes from the Chinese, the horse- and cattle-king, the world-directions spirits, and the gods of the weather ministry with the smith-god

[204 cont.]

776 of the Bon, the Däntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance among the people that might be expected. They know of [796] Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth [535] day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha, [791] and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call 788 sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This [756] Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people. Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called [753] ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune, [777] failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the [731] plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are com- [782] bated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the Däntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[207 cont.]

775 the Tujen. For instance, one hears little about a Buddhist hell,
171 which plays a much more important role among the neighboring Chinese and is quite graphically portrayed in many temples. It is true that the Tujen like to consider the misfortune in this world as punishment for earlier transgressions. This soul, which
775 one could call "incarnation soul" or "private soul" -- in con-
764 trast to the clan soul -- becomes free for the incarnation through the transforming lotus fire at the cremation. The informant, at any rate, interpreted the lotus-mandala and the fire at the cremation in this sense and ascribed to them a transforming power. This does not mean that this soul remains in the body as long as, say, in an animated corpse. Rather, at the death of the person, the lamas are supposed "to open the way" through prayer, so that the soul may reach Tushita. To what extent such explana-
[171] tions correspond with the orthodox Buddhist doctrine will be left undecided. Any any rate, the conceptions of the people are vague.

775 Even more unclear are the conceptions about the third
776 soul, which is supposed to transform itself into a demon. Nothing is known about its fate and about the cause of such a transformation. Such a soul is feared, however. Perhaps it is this soul that in case of dissatisfaction after the bäda disturbs the
[764] human beings at the command of the clan soul, haunts the
[782] house and yard, and causes sickness and misfortune. At any rate, a great part of the offerings and prayers at the death rites is given out of fear of this soul. The constantly expressed wish to the dead person runs: "Forget us, be content, do not come
775 back." A natural discontent and a kind of missing of life's goal
776 are connected with the soul of unmarried adult girls. It be-
589 comes a demon who is so dangerous that even other demons flee from it, for which reason the Bon priests take the material for
[765] their bone flutes, their whip, etc. from the corpses of such girls. The discontent and non-fulfillment can only be accounted for in this case by the unmarried state, which, according to Tujen conceptions, goes against every natural ordinance for a female person. One may suspect that this soul-belief also has a strong
[588] effect on the custom that the Tujen call "to arrange the heavenly

[207 cont.]
775 hairdress," through which a girl is wedded to heaven and is no
776 longer burdened with the contempt suffered by unmarried women
589 (see above). The fear of the female demon-souls [208] is also
588 widespread among the Chinese, and there is only one way of
being safe from them: the cremation. In the customs of the
171 Tsinghai Chinese, this fear and contempt have their basis in
the Buddhist conception that a woman is an unclean being and
that this uncleanness is only removed through the man and his
descendants. This attitude is strengthened through the fervent
desire for sons and grandsons, which again is connected with the
ancestor cult. These Buddhistic motives are certainly also
decisive in part among the Tujen. Among them, too, the
562 woman is regarded as unclean, even if not so harshly as among
783 the Chinese. The veneration of the ancestors plays scarcely
any role. Nonetheless, uncleanness and demonism are closely
841 connected. A very common expression runs: pudaǵ ilie, un-
clean demon; a woman is also pudaǵ during her period.

The demon soul therefore seems to stand in a special relationship with the female principle. This suggests the surmise that it represents the flesh-(body)-soul in the human being, which stands in contrast to the bone-soul. In northeastern Tibet and elsewhere one encounters the conception that the bones of a person come from the man and the flesh from the woman. Among the Tujen, however, this relationship is difficult to determine
614 because it is precisely the bone-soul that is related so closely to the mother's clan. This does not, it is true, exclude an individual assignment to the man (father), but it does not permit it to make its appearance through this unquestionably matriarchal trait.

775 From everything, one can see that the Tujen are little concerned about the after-life of the soul and the beyond. To them it is enough if they are left in peace on earth. The Buddhist conceptions are more theoretical. In actuality one not infrequently encounters a this-worldly fatalism which expresses itself in the saying: "Our life does not have much meaning"
171 (literally: we have lived in vain). Even if the conception of the
769 soul has much similarity to that of the Chinese, the Tujen

[211 cont.]

772 the many riddle-songs of the Tujen, when they sing of the tree,
[533] which bears the sun, moon, and stars in its crown; cf., for example, Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder," loc. cit., Song I and II.
[171] Further connections will be passed over here. Only the great similarity of these songs to the wedding songs of western Tibet will be mentioned; see Francke, Tibetische Hochzeitslieder [Tibetan Wedding Songs].

772 With this harmonious conception of the world and its
779 close connection with human beings, one would also expect a projection of the macrocosm into the microcosm. In Lamaism, of course, these correspondences are carried through to the smallest detail and find their symbolic representation in the well-known syllable-monogram, the rnam bču dbaň idan; in this connection, cf. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, pp. 160 f. These minute correspondences of the Lamaist monks, however, are too artificial for the people. They know nothing about them. Security in the great cosmos in which they literally build suffices for them. This world-feeling does not enter into sophisticated speculations.

[212] 3. The Religious Cult

a) The Basic Psychic Attitude

771 The inner attitude of the people toward the good spirits
776 is the consciousness of dependence upon them. They determine the well-being in this world, which, after all, is the focal point of thought, for one does not think much about the beyond. Hence the first thing a person does when misfortune or an unusual situation surprises him is to turn to a spirit, a mightier being, which can help here. How much this attitude dominates the common man is apparent from the above-mentioned basic thoughts of the informant, which provided the articulation of all the customs: "... now I shall tell you first what we do for the good fortune of the family, etc."; cf. "Introduction," Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 15 [p. 16 above in the HRAF translation]. Everything is thereby subordinated to the religious

[212 cont.]

771 utilitarian idea. The Tujen give their offerings and prayers in
776 order to make the spirit world favorably inclined toward them
for the purpose of earthly well-being. They are not so submis-
[782] sive to the harmful demons, however, but instead face them
[789] with greater hostility and try to vanquish them with the help
of the good spirits or through magic.

b) The Offering

The Types of Offering

782 The Tujen distinguish the following types according to what is offered: the incense offering, food and drink offering, slaughtered offering, animal-consecration. -- Aside from the incense offering and the animal-consecration, they have a
[192] common name for the offering, namely, šeńlie, which corresponds to the Chinese hsien. Thus, they say, for instance, šdimie šeńlie-, to offer bread; tsidzig šeńlie-, to offer flowers; xonini šeńlie-, to offer a sheep (cf. DMF 376). This expression šeńlie may not be used for anything else.

The incense offering, which originally was an aromatic offering, has now been greatly extended by all kinds of additions, such as butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, silk threads. Here, too, however, the rule against giving anything that smells unpleasant is maintained. The use of butter and
[174] tsamba, which are the staple foods of the nomads there, implies an old pastoral custom. Concerning the original incense offering, cf. the chapter further below, "The Belief in a Supreme God."

The food offering principally includes bread, wine, butter, tsamba. One puts them down before the spirit, for instance, before the household altar, the obo, the mani-tree, the god's image, etc. When they are taken away and consumed, some is thrown to the deity concerned. Liquids are poured on the ground or squirted into the air. The custom of
[264] throwing something to the spirits before each meal belongs here, too.

[213 cont.]

782 The pig offering proceeds like the sheep offering, however little appropriate the procedure is for this animal. -- The hen offering is done without much ceremony. The animal's head is cut or twisted off, the hen is swung around in a circle so that the blood squirts around, and then it is allowed to fly. I do not know whether the hen is consumed later. It certainly did not happen in several cases observed.

778 782 The animal-consecration is already unequivocally an offering in that the animal is given up by human beings as a voluntary gift to a god and normally may not be used any more.

I could confirm nothing about a human consecration, which Mostaert (DMF, p. 371 under ʼsdien) mentions, unless the shaman consecration is meant, or the recommendation of a child to a tutelary spirit whose name it later bears. In any event the vow of virginity could be regarded as an offering to heaven, as a sign of which a girl lets her hair fall down freely; cf. DMF, p. 103. One can also include its counterpart, namely, the marriage of a girl with heaven, whose sign is the "heavenly hairdo"; cf. Schram, Mariage, pp. 127 ff.

[831] [302] [588]

[214] Recipients of the Offering

782 776 To what extent heaven has a share in all offerings and what offerings are reserved for it will be discussed below. The pig is inadmissible as an offering for the higher deities (except for the earth), and the hen likewise. They are the sacrificial animals for lower gods and demons.

Whether there is an actual offering to the demons is questionable. In the case of the ceremonies dealing with the evil spirits, for instance, the demon-escort, the figure-litter, the various tormas, etc., one regards the accompanying gifts, designated as rdzē, as things that the demon needs or likes, for example, the riding animal, the clothes, the money, the wool, etc. Furthermore, aside from the intent to appease and to satisfy, there is also a certain contempt for the demon connected with these gifts, in that raw flesh, leeks, beans, and unclean intestines are offered to it, as though to a wild bestial creature.

[214 cont.]

782 This is intended to make him satisfied so that he will go away
776 and not return. Any feeling of awe and submissiveness, such as is characteristic towards a higher spirit and is manifested in the offering, is lacking. A similar notion of fear plays a contributing role here, which one also entertains for the souls of the dead, of whom it is expected that they will not molest human beings and will be content.

The Executers of the Offering

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771 All these offerings can be assigned primarily to the people as chief bearers. It is the most important religious activity of the ordinary people. It presupposes little, namely, a gift and an attitude. It requires no special schooling, no involved ritual, and no learning of prayers. The offerers are the family head, the seed-master, or the village elders. It is precisely these laymen themselves who at the purely Lamaistic ceremonies or those of the Bon and shamans perform the actual offering operation, for example, at the harvest thanksgiving festival and at the erection of the pole-goat or the central fort. Even the tormas, which, of course, can in part be regarded as offerings, are usually set up or carried outside by men from among the people.

c) The Prayer

782 The spontaneous and freely-formulated prayer is a natural matter-of-course among the Tujen. They are also conscious of this form of prayer when they maintain: "We farmers have forgotten our old prayers; everyone prays with his own words." (Cf. Schröder: "Herbst-Dankopfer [Harvest Thank-offering]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-1945, p. 872.)

782 Besides these spontaneous utterances they also still know
788 simple, brief prayer formulas to heaven and the gods, as when they say, "Oh you spirits, do not be like human beings!" or when they uninterruptedly recite on their prayer-string "Om

[217 cont.]

771 776 The belief in a supreme god among the Tujen must have been known to the people themselves at an early date. Tafel noted in his fairly reliable chapter: "The Turen [sic] of Wei-yüanpu are a very curious tribe. Many say that they have only one single god in which they believe. But they are, like the [218] Chinese, also Buddhists" (Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], I, p. 246). The author unfortunately does not tell who these "many" are. Probably they are the Tujen themselves. Tafel is right insofar as a true monotheism is unknown to the Tujen. On the other hand they do not share the same Buddhism with the Chinese. The Tujen are Lamaists, the Chinese, on the other hand, never or only as an exception. From the customs observed, it now appears incontestably that the so-called one god [821] of the Tujen is a supreme god who is venerated in the form of the heavens. One must, therefore, start from "heaven."

a) The Name "Heaven"

rëġuo

772 For "heaven" the Tujen know two expressions, namely, 776 rëġuo and tieńgëre. The word rẽġuo is little used and then only 192 in the sense of the physical sky, firmament. It agrees entirely with its Mongolic equivalent oktarġui, which is to be equated [821] with the Tibetan mk'a or nam mk'a or gnam, and means: sky, empty space above the air, firmament, vault of the heavens, ether, atmosphere, air. Cf. Kovalevski, p. 430. Even among the following expressions that include oktarġui, there is none in which oktarġui is comprehended as a deity or spirit. Cf. op. cit., pp. 430-433. Thus it must be sharply distinguished from tengri (tieńgëre) and cannot be used synonymously with the latter. Only in the sense of the physical sky do they overlap. Among the Tujen, reġuo is chiefly regarded as light-sky, bearer of brightness. One therefore likes to add the adjective kuġuo (blue, light, bright), for instance, kuġuo rëġuo undurwa (the blue sky is high). The kuġuo rẽġuo (light sky) stands in contrast to the [825] xara gadzier (dark earth). An appropriate bird is assigned to [539]

[218 cont.]

772 each of them as a symbol of brightness and of darkness. Thus,
776 in a wedding song it is said: xara gadzier mundzini xela; kuguo
192 rëguoni dzindzini xela (the black earth's dark bird calls; the
[825] light sky's light bird answers). Here, it is true, the rëguo has
[539] been drawn into the -- probably Tibetan -- mythology of light and darkness, but nothing concerning a possible significance of the rëguo as spirit or deity is expressed by it. (Cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder.") Even if the expression rëguo in its meaning as light-bearer corresponds approximately to the word tieńgëre, its deeper meaning is thereby exhausted and it will not be considered further.

tieńgëre

772 tieńgëre is the Tujen form of the written Mongolic
776 tengri or tngri. It may signify both the natural sky as well as
192 heaven as a deity. As natural sky it is provided with the same
821 adjectives as the word rëguo, in other words, with kuguo (blue), undur (high), etc. Like the latter, it also, as the daylight sky, stands in contrast to the dark earth. Our expression "heaven and earth" is always rendered among the Tujen by kuguo tieńgëre, xara gadzier (light sky, dark earth). They would never [219] simply say "heaven and earth." In this conception, the Tujen go hand in hand with their Altaic-Mongolic relatives. In his dissertation, Pallisen has presented the connection of light and heaven especially clearly: Among all Altaic peoples the sky is primarily perceived as the daylight sky. According to H. Vambéry and Barbier de Maynard, the concepts "the light," "brightness" in all Altaic languages belong to the same word family as tengri (Religion der Altmongolen [Religion of the Ancient Mongols], p. 123). Pallisen then appends the word lists for 13 languages, which are intended to illustrate this connection (op. cit., pp. 123 ff.).

The sky, however, is regarded not only as the embodiment of light, but it is also the bearer of the most important cosmic phenomena. This is expressed in many everyday phrases, for example: the sky rains; the sky is cold; the sky is hot; the sky thunders; the sky is cheerful, etc. Hence,

[219 cont.]

772 the heavens, even purely sensibly, stand in the consciousness of
776 the Tujen as something important, exalted, as that immeasurable
192 space of light embracing the world, in which the natural events
821 that so impress the simple human being take place. It is not the word rëguo that arouses this consciousness in them, but the word tiengëre. Evidently, it is one of the oldest words that they, along with the other Altaic peoples, among whom it is charged with the same content, have inherited from hoary prehistory. It cannot be further analyzed etymologically.

772 For this reason, this very expression is excellently suitable
776 for designating what we call "God." Where the Tujen, who are,
192 after all, a branch of the Mongols, acquired the link between
174 the name tiengëre and the concept "God" is not to be dealt with here. That belongs in the history of the religion of the Mongols or of the Altaic peoples generally. Father W. Schmidt has made it seem probable that it is not a matter of equating the highest being with the material heaven, but only of a transference of the name "heaven" to the supreme god; this must have happened at the time of the transition to herding in the great steppes where "they have before them the huge dome of the heavens unobscured in its entire extent and with all natural phenomena taking place in the sky"; cf. Schmidt, Religionsgeschichte [History of Religion], p. 256, UdG, X, pp. 128 ff. The question arises here: Does this also apply to the Tujen and in what way? How is the name tiengëre used, as a generic or proper name? Does it actually signify God?

One must first of all go back to the general Mongolic conceptions, which, to be sure, know the same name. Pallisen in this connection comes to the following conclusion (op. cit., p. 126): "One can therefore say that in this stage of development Tengri meant something like 'God Heaven' as a proper name, not 'heaven god' and not 'god in heaven' or 'god of heaven,' as some researchers maintain.... Gradually, however, Tengri was used to designate the God of the Christians and of the Mohammedans, and finally, with the adoption of Buddhism, this word became equivalent to the Sanskritic Deva, and numerous deities of the Lamaistic pantheon, which in part were taken into it from the old folk-belief, were [220] then also called

[220 cont.]

772 Tengri, with the addition of a definite proper name (especially
776 the 33 tengri: ghutschin ghurban Tengri)." "In other words, for
192 the interpreters and for the numerous strangers generally who
174 stayed at the court of the great Khan and among whom many priests of all religions were also represented, the significance of Tengri as a generic name for 'god' was already familiar and clear" (op. cit., p. 127). -- Later, according to Pallisen, along with Buddhism there came the term burxan, which is supposed to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word for Buddha and among the Mongols is supposed to have taken on the meaning of "idol, deity, spirit, god's image." (Concerning the origin of the word Burchan or purġan, cf. above.)

Among the Tujen this development is difficult to determine. I have often asked people how many tieńgëre there are. I always received the answer; only one. Only once did my informant observe that there were also other gods called tieńgëre. When he was then to name these gods, he did not know a single one. This is a sign of how secondary the significance of tieńgëre as a generic name must have been among the Tujen, since it could disappear from linguistic usage so completely without a trace, if it was ever present. Perhaps the above-mentioned observation of A. Tafel concerning a "single god" is to be traced back to a similar piece of information. The tieńgëre of the Tujen, in other words, does not entirely correspond with the tengri of the Mongols. Only the word purġan, which corresponds to the Mongolic burxan, has taken over the function of a generic name; purġan signifies not only the native gods, spirits, gods' images, but generally all the deities of the various religions. At times it may also designate a demon. It is used in a way similar to the Chinese fo-yeh, though to be sure never for a Tulku. The conception of a plurality, which, of course, is essential for a generic concept, is always connected with the word purġan.

772 According to all the information and on the basis of the
776 customs recorded, tieńgëre alone is reserved as the proper name
192 of the god-heaven. The bilingual Tujen generally translate it with the Chinese t'ien (heaven) or lao-t'ien (old heaven) or

[220 cont.]

772 t'ien-yeh (father "heaven"). The fact that this tiengëre applies
776 exclusively to the heavenly being appears with special clarity
192 in the constantly used formula: šge tiengëre, uluon purgan (the great heaven, the many spirits). Quite consciously here uniqueness is placed over against multiplicity and at the same time it is expressed that heaven possesses at least as much honor as the purgan, in other words, is also a deity, or can be a higher spiritual being. What the content of this god-concept is now, whether it is really a heaven as supreme god, is to be made clear in the following, and, to be sure, first of all in connection with the heaven cult of the people.

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b) The Heaven Cult

After all that has been said up to now, it is established beyond doubt that the Tujen venerate the heavens. It can also be confirmed further from the popular literature, as will become clear below. Thus [221] here it is only a question of the what and how of the veneration of heaven (offering, prayer), insofar as it is appropriate to provide information concerning the god-concept and the conceptions linked with it, as well as the age and the position of the belief in a supreme god.

1) The Offering

782 As regards the form, the executers, and the sentiment of the offering, what is said generally about the offering applies. Here in first place the question arises: Are there offerings that in a special way are intended for heaven or that have a special relationship to it? This is quite generally the case with every offering insofar as it can be conceived as a primitial offering. In addition there are also other offerings which -- at least originally -- were reserved for heaven, among which the incense offering and sheep offering are the most important.

The Primitial Offering

[192] The Tujen do not know a special generic name for the primitial offering. They say, depending on the circumstances:

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[223 cont.]
beings are described: "One clothed oneself in tree leaves. One ate tree fruit. One lay on flower leaves. When one was thirsty, he drank water. At daybreak one burned great incense (šdeliedzi šge fdzaň ǧarǧani)." In Verses 38-42 it is related how the first emperor burns incense in order to perform a heavy task: "When he was supposed to churn together the earth on the immense spring water, this was terribly difficult. And burning a great incense offering, he implored the light heavens (šge fdzaňni ǧarǧadzi kuǧuo tieňgërni yaňdziladzia)." Verses 158-167 describe another incense offering of the first emperor. He gathers
[824] flowers (känba flowers = Artemisia species) on the shady side of the mountain, juniper twigs on the sunny side, scoops pure water from the river, and then it is said: "Climbing onto the high mountain he burned great incense, implored the heavens, implored the countless spirits... (undur ǧadadu ǧaridzi šge fdzaňni ǧarǧaya, šge tieňgërni yaňdzilaya, uluon purǧani yaňdzilaya...)." The offering in this case is also presented to other spirits, but heaven is in first place. This is also emphasized by the fact that it takes place on a mountain. None of the purǧan is mentioned by name. The daily incense offering is mentioned in Verses 190-193: "Daily burning incense, he lived (sc. the first emperor). From below rose the great incense, and the smoke of the incense pushed open the gate of heaven; and the exalted
[776] Sdeňlatsien-saň (= the highest heaven lord) looked down." (Udurdu fdzaň ǧarǧadzi sōdzamba. dōrōdza šge fdzaňni ǧarǧano, fdzaňni funini tieňgërni udieni baǧa niedzia. Sdeňlatsien-saň dorodzi nōdzia.) The relationship of the incense to heaven is unambiguous here. (For further details concerning the Šdeňlatsien-san, cf. below.) The passage concerning the heavenly wanderings of the first emperor, Verses 1221-1222, runs similarly: "Then on his wanderings he came before the great gate of heaven, and the smoke of the great incense pushed open the gate of heaven." (Di yōdzi tieňgërni šge udie tada kurdzia. šge fdzaňni funini tieňgërni udieni baǧa niedzia.) On earth, namely, one burns incense during this time so that the undertaking of the journey to implore a ruler from heaven will succeed.

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782 striking [225] that the agriculture myth does not mention the in-
174 cense offering. The conditions of the environment -- mountain pasture, forest, wild flowers, etc. -- do not fit in with agriculture (7). -- Here it may be asked whether the incense offering is

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7. The ancient nature of the incense offering is to be explained in the final analysis by the ancient nature of the juniper tree, which as world- and life-tree stands at the beginning of time; cf. J.F.Rock, Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 20, 21, 132, 143. Since it is the first tree of the world, even the first emperor (Geser legend) could burn only these twigs in honor of heaven. The incense offering therefore belongs in the world of the religious archetypes which became standard for the later human beings, just as the archetypes of the first human being, of the world-mountain and the tree of life, of heaven and earth, of the first obo, etc. extend back into that legendary period.

older than the primitial offering. In common with the latter it is mentioned in the legends before all other offerings. The first emperor already knows both offerings; the wedding song and the hunting song mention the incense offering, the agriculture myth only the primitial offering. The relationship of the two offerings to each other cannot be determined. 3. The incense
782 offering is always given either to heaven alone or to it in the first place. It is a true heaven-offering. It is only rarely directed to the other spirits, which, according to their collec-
[776] tive name, are called purgan and therefore are only of later Buddhist origin. Mountain heights seem to have been preferred
[823] in order to be closer to heaven. Even today this is still done. The Tujen are aware of this and give as the reason that it is

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782 mudie is already known from the early period of the Mongols, and
788 it attests to what an ancient heritage the veneration of heaven is
[174] among the Mongolic basic stock of the Tujen. There is usually a three-fold kowtow also connected with the prayer, whereby the person also wishes to indicate purely outwardly in a formal ceremony his submissiveness before the god-heaven.

c) The Nature and Characteristics of Heaven

Uniqueness

772 The discussion of the name has already indicated that the
776 designation tieńgĕre is reserved for heaven alone. It does not share this name as a title with any other deity, even, say, by adding a proper name of a certain deity to it. This unique position of heaven becomes even clearer when one considers it in relation to the other deities.

776 The position with respect to the gods in general. -- The offering, the many texts from the songs, and the other customs everywhere acknowledge heaven as the first. This is acknowledged briefly and concisely in the constantly recurring expression šge tieńgĕre, uluon purgan (the great heaven, the countless spirits). Heaven is the great one. It is especially set apart from the many other spirits. As the first it has a share in all offerings, for it -- before all other gods -- the first kowtow is made, the first dedication of the day. The Tujen express this: What would the gods be without heaven, he is their lord"; cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873. -- Heaven also has this position of pre-eminence over those deities who it might seem share the honor with him, for which reason they are to be mentioned briefly in the following.

773 The position with respect to the heaven-emperor of the
776 Geser legend. -- The Geser legend mentions three lords of heaven, among whom Šdeńglatsien San is the highest. He lives with them in the immeasurable space of heaven, likewise

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called tieńgëre here as the dwelling place of the gods. He has a spouse, sons and daughters, a magnificent residence, a splendid army. In short, the emperor of heaven and his realm are pictured in detail according to human conceptions of earthly khans. At the request of the earthly emperor his son is reborn in this world in order to free them from the evildoers. This is Geser Khan.

Next to this figure, however, there continues to exist the formless old tieńgëre, [228] as the above-mentioned citations from the Geser legend show. He is venerated through incense offerings, and one prays to him. Here is an old conception that has been taken into the legend. The legend itself is not of Mongolic origin, but perhaps belongs in the world of the Bon with their Tibetan homeland. Despite its repudiation by the Buddhists, it was embellished with many Buddhist additions, and the lamas play a certain role in it. Now, however, every people that claims the legend as its own, including the Tujen, has further incorporated its own material in it and wants to see in it in some way or another the foundation of its old popular customs. Therefore even if the figure of the heaven-emperor is accepted, the old tieńgëre nonetheless remains alive in the consciousness of the people and also makes his entry into the Geser legend; indeed, he continues to exist as the supreme deity in rank, regardless of whether this can be harmoniously reconciled with the other heavenly figure or not. The attitude of the people can best be rendered by the passage already cited above and given here in more detail, Verses 158 ff.: "Climbing onto the high mountain, he burned great incense, implored heaven (tieńgëre), implored the countless spirits (purgan), implored Sdeńlatsien Sań, implored Warintsien Sań, implored Sëma Lortsien Sań." In other words, heaven comes first, and only after the other gods the three rulers of heaven. The preeminent position of heaven cannot be more clearly expressed. It also clearly shows, however, how here two views still not blended together go along side by side and how little the people trouble themselves about inner coherence, but cling to what they have. The tieńgëre is the most important deity to

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776 the people, and they do not want to be without it in the legend.
[773] The Šdenlatsien Saň has no significance in the customs.

The position with respect to the mountain-spirit and the earth-god. -- In the chapter concerning the obo, the incense offering, and in other places mention was made of a tripartition of the deities, namely, in the sequence: heaven, mountain-spirit and earth-god, countless gods. Since the mountain-spirit and earth-god are not included under the Buddhistic concept purgan, a pre-Buddhistic age is automatically suggested. In addition, the mountain-spirit has tasks that one could ascribe to heaven. What is the relationship to it?

776 The Tujen call the mountain-spirit yifula. A Tibetan
551 equivalent would be the word already mentioned earlier, ri-bo
192 lha (mountain-spirit). The informant, who himself bore this name, translated it, however, with the Chinese Shan-shen pao (mountain-spirit protection). (Concerning the name-giving, cf. above, "The Conclusion of the Confinement.") This leads, however, to a Mongolic analysis of the word. According to W.A.Unkrig, this is found in the combination: ibel (protection) and ula (mountain); cf. Koval., p. 282. The interpretation corresponds to the Chinese translation. Yifula thus would be appropriately rendered with "protector of the mountains."
776 Without settling the origin of the name, it can nevertheless be
171 maintained that the cult of the mountain-spirit in the obo festival is a Mongolic peculiarity from ancient times that is repeatedly reported in the literature. Among the Tujen, too -- as among the neighboring Tangut -- the obo festival occupied an important position; cf. "The Obo," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

776 [229] The mountain-spirit is not a terror-god, but a mild, providing father, the lord of the animals, who watches over the welfare of the herds, who cares for plants and trees, and who is concerned about the increase of human beings. He is the guardian of the ayil (village, tribe) and guards its weapons. The people gather around him for playing and dancing,
[171] prayer and offering. Although the mountain-spirit is thus

[229.cont.]

776 concerned about the well-being of the people, it is striking that
171 he is not linked with the protection of seed and harvest. Otherwise, however, his tasks correspond to those of heaven, even if he is primarily a nature god who shares his character with the lord of the animals and forests of many Siberian peoples.

776 Nonetheless there is a difference between him and heaven. First of all heaven is given precedence, even in connection with all offerings to the mountain-spirit, for instance, the obo offering. Whereas the mountain-spirit has a fixed residence in the obo, his fort, and therefore is tied to the place, heaven retains its freedom with regard to locality. The mountain-spirit can also be a tutelary spirit of the human beings who are named after him; as assisting spirit he may enter into the shaman and take possession of him in the trance. This is altogether out of the question for heaven. People are surprised if one even asks about it. There are pictures and flags of the mountain spirit; he can animate a spirit-spear. Heaven is formless, imageless; no one knows what it looks like. -- Heaven has an exalted uniqueness even in contrast to the mountain-spirit.

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174 Besides the mountain-spirit the earth-deity has its seat
776 in the obo, and, to be sure, in the layer of earth. Its name
[192] glu is doubtless the Tibetan klu, Naga, dragon. In Mongolic the word for it is lu, which is also much in use in the Tujen language. It corresponds to the Chinese lung (dragon). The customs with the earth-god urn show the earth deity of the Tujen more in the Bonistic realm of the Naga cult than in the Mongolic. It is quite possible that two types have mixed here or that the ancient Mongolic has been covered by the later Bonistic-Lamaistic. According to Pallisen (op. cit., pp. 159 f.), the ancient Mongols practiced a cult of the earth-deity, who is probably to be thought of as female. There it bears the name itoga or, in the prevocalic version, etügen, and is conceived as the tutelary deity of the homeland earth. The characteristics that are attributed to this deity correspond to those of the mountain-spirit. It is also to be surmised that this deity is to be associated with the female shamans, who call themselves udugan

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174 (udagan, idugan). (Cf. Koval., p. 386; Uno Harva, Die religiösen
776 Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker [The Religious Conceptions of the Altaic Peoples], p. 450.) As the ceremonies of the earth-god urn indicate, this deity has something to do with butter and silk (silk wrapping, butter-pouring), as well as with grain (barley filling). Something similar applies to the ètügen, which, as a female deity, is endowed with the attribute "fat-faced" and "silk-faced." (Cf. N. N. Poppe, "Schaman. Handschriften [Shamanistic Manuscripts]," Vol. I, 196-197, Manuscript XI; statement according to W. A. Unkrig.) Further indications of the connection of the earth-deity with the origin of agriculture and corresponding Tujen myths must be omitted here.

776 [230] Now regardless of where the earth-deity of the Tujen came from, it, heaven, and the mountain-spirit form an ancient trinity which has divided up the world. According to the [821] general conception of the Tujen, heaven rules over the air space, the clouds, wind, lightning, sun, moon, and stars. The mountain-spirit rules over the surface of the earth; animals, human [823] beings, birds, forests, pastures, and mountains. The earth-deity rules over the interior of the earth: metals, rock treasures, the snakes and the worms, as well as the seed that slumbers in the earth. This division, however, does not exclude heaven from the other two realms. After all that has been said, he continues to be the lord of the gods and men. If he appears here as coadministrator of the layers of the world, he only seemingly surrenders his partial domains. One might better think of a splitting off of certain activities of heaven and their being made independent, as P. W. Schmidt assumes for similar cases among other Asiatic peoples.

The Knowledge of Heaven

776 After the preceding discussions, the further characteris-
782 tics of heaven automatically present themselves. Among these characteristics knowledge appear most clearly. Concerning this knowledge the informant gave the following information (Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873): "At the

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776 incense burning you say: 'Heaven, you know it. What then
782 does heaven know?' -- 'Heaven knows all, he knows the attitude of my heart, he knows that I want to venerate him.' " -- This oft-cited saying in literal translation runs: heaven to know; freely, the heaven knows; or, the heaven is knowing. This is not a petitioning prayer, but simply a pure acknowledgment of this characteristic of heaven, and it implies, according to the explanation given, an omniscience.

Other expressions are found for this consciousness of the people. Thus, a frequently used oath-formula for a deposition, for example, runs: "Heaven is not high; heaven knows it (tieńgĕre undur guei; tieńgĕre mudiem)." The meaning is: Heaven is high, to be sure, but not so high that it would not know. (Cf. DMF 416, where this sentence likewise is designated as a "formule de serment" [oath-formula].) Another phrase that is often used runs similarly: "tsimi mō gedzi yidza, tieńgĕre mudiem. If (I) have done evil to you (if evil has happened to you), then heaven knows it"; cf. DMF 416. This especially emphasizes the knowledge of the inner attitude.

If one now adds generally that the whole veneration of heaven in offering and prayer is done under the presupposition that heaven also knows of human distress, it may be asserted that the people's consciousness of heaven simply as the knowing one is very much alive.

776 The belief in the knowledge is connected with the omnipresence of heaven. To be sure, it cannot be expressly ascertained, but the Tujen nonetheless have a conception of it when they say: "Heaven is there where one places it (tieńgĕre andzi tedza, andzi-i)." According to the linguistic usage this means: Heaven is everywhere. (Cf. DMF 416, where the same meaning is explained.) This phrase seems evidently to be determined by the strong impression [231] that the all-encompassing firmament makes on the unconstrained mind of the people, especially in the steppes and on the mountains on the Koko Nor. As far as one wanders, whether by day or night, the endless heaven extends
[772] over man. It is really an all-encompassing bell, which the Tujen imagine to be fastened to a nail in the universe.

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The Power of Heaven

776 Heaven as giver of all benefits. -- As repeatedly appears in the individual chapters, all benefits come from heaven. It [241] gives rain and sunshine, causes the seed to thrive, and protects man and animal from sickness. Man acknowledges this in the [782] offering, especially in the primitial offering and the harvest thank-offering. The grain, the barley, is ultimately traced back to heaven by man. (Cf. above under the primitial offering, agriculture myth, p. 340.) Man owes even his clothing [773] to heaven. Thus it is said at the beginning of the Geser legend: "Heaven provided the benefit of clothing; a boot fell down from heaven (tieńgëre džoǵ nãńladzia; tieńgërdza perlõńgë bõdzi rëdzia)." (Verses 6-7.) -- That other gods are also called upon for various needs does not prejudice the fact that heaven is the cause of even these benefits. The case would only be otherwise if there were things which were ascribed to these spirits to the exclusion of heaven, which, however, cannot be demonstrated from the material available.

776 The moral power of heaven. -- The moral power of 577 heaven is expressed by the fact that man puts his conscience in 626 relation to heaven and acknowledges the latter as binding and entitled to sanction. For that which we would call conscience the Tujen simply uses the word heart (sgil); sgil is not the physi- [192] cal heart, but the inner attitude, heart in the figurative sense. Thus they say, for instance, sen sgil (good heart); tsini sgil diesën ugua (you do not have an honest attitude); tsini sgil ugua (you have no conscience). In these cases the Tujen translates the word sgil with the Chinese leang-hsin (conscience, honest spirit). (Cf. also DMF 348.) Now, as the two prayer formulas that were explained above demonstrate, heaven knows the inner attitude, it knows the heart of a man: "If I did evil to you, heaven knows it," "Heaven is not high, it knows it." Since these sentences are used as oath or vow formulas, it is not simply confirmation of heavenly knowledge that is given by them, but rather one tacitly also presupposes a sanction by

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776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
577 A much-used expression is: "tieńgëre dardzia, heaven has
626 punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means
[192] literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolgue dari- (~~to force~~ the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair. (Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.) Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness: "We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge tieńgërni amudadzi, nigë nisëni dzawa dañlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram, op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). --
[831] The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzün tieńgërde fdzë bōlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

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Heaven and creation. -- Even though the Tujen ascribe to heaven all the benefits of life, this still does not mean that they also derive from it the origin of the world. They do not concern themselves about it. "The old man gave no clear answer to the question as to whether heaven had also created the earth and human beings, where they came from: 'Who knows that? Who asks about it? No one says anything about that.'" (Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873.)

According to the Geser legend a world with living beings was present from the very beginning. In this world there lived the "lama existing by virtue of himself" (arãñ sũndẽ lama = P'an-ku). He is by no means God, for above him there already existed heaven, which threw down in a boot the first emperor, who was raised by this lama. It is then described how the earth became populated. Finally, there still exist original beings (original animals), and it is likewise not said where they come from. Here Buddhistic, Lamaistic, and ancient popular conceptions are intermingled and run side by side. Nowhere, however, is there mention of any creation; only the first emperor came from heaven.

The same is also found in the agriculture myth. This [241] deals with the outfitting of the earth by a Buddhistically conceived demiurge. At the center of it is the creation of the food base through the bringing forth of barley from the magical vase and the introduction of agriculture. [233] This demiurge also comes down from heaven in three steps. There is no mention, however, of any creation of the world or human beings, only of an arrangement of the world into a habitable living space. The myth begins: "In the olden days of yore when the race of human beings had been produced, there was neither sun nor moon, and the race of human beings existed in darkness. There was no chance to live." Where the human beings came from remains unresolved. It says only, sẽmtsien kuni darladzia (the totality of human beings had been produced). One may assume, however, that heaven was involved, for the culture hero (who outfitted the earth) likewise comes from heaven, as does the first emperor of the human beings in the Geser legend, and later Geser himself.

[233 cont.]

776 Even less can be determined of any creative activity of
773 heaven with respect to the individual human being. To be sure, a current Tujen saying runs: suniedzëne tieńgëre xuradzia, heaven has taken the soul (DMF 361), but this expresses only the rulership of heaven over life and death. There is no mention of a creation of the soul. The Chinese also know a similar phrase: t'ien shou-la t'a-ti ling-hun.

777 Heaven and fate. -- A question suggested in connection
776 with the ancient Mongolic meaning of fate or good fortune,
192 which has had its greatest elaboration in the sülde cult, is
171 whether something similar is to be found among the Tujen, say, that there might be a fate standing over heaven. -- The Tujen know three expressions for "fate": dzieyan, šdiemdžël, kimori.

dzieyan is used predominantly in the sense of favorable conditions of life, for instance, when one says: "The girl has experienced a favorable fate," meaning that she has married into a good, wealthy family. The Tujen word corresponds to the Mongolic jayagan, but does not have the latter's essential content. The significance seems, rather, to have been transferred from the original jayagan to the Tujen expression šdiemdzël.

šdiemdzël, peculiarly enough, is now found not so much in everyday language as in song. Thus the Tujen songs popular-
[533] ly end with the verse: moňgol kuni lõňsda (or kimori) darlagu, šdiemdžëlgë rëdziǧlaya, in order to erect the air-horse of the Mongols, let (us) lay (= build) a good-fortune foundation. This conception is linked with the image of the central fort. The air-horse is grounded in the central fort. Accordingly the šdiemdžël would correspond to the basis for fate, which is symbolized in the air-horse. Evidently, ancient conceptions are mixed here with more recent Buddhistic ones, whereby in connection with the Hayagriva figure, fate and horse are brought together. Linguistically the word šdiemdžël cannot be understood unequivocally. The second syllable ... džël, however,

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777 is undoubtedly to be equated with the Mongolic dsol (dzol). Ac-
•776 cording to Koval. (2386), it means: good fortune, salvation.
192 Koval. gives the Tibetan equivalent stes for it. When one notes
171 that the Tujen always insert an i before an e in Tibetan loan-
words, then the first syllable šdie(m) might be this Tibetan stes, whose final s is silent. The m would then be inserted in assimilation to the following dental. As regards its meaning, the Tujen translate šdiemdžël [234] with the Chinese yün-ch'i or t'ien-ming. They also, however, render kimori in the same way. It is thereby stated that fate is under the power of heaven, which Uno Harva also stresses for the Altaians and Mongols (Vorstellungen, pp. 144-145). In other words these Altaic-Mongolic conceptions can easily be linked with the kimori and šdiemdžël of the Tujen. According to Uno Harva, in the case of the guarantors of good fortune, the tutelary spirit of man, called zajači, is involved in the form of a double: "If a person is wealthy in his lifetime, zajači is also well-dressed, rides on a horse, and is gay" ... When the person dies, zajači disappears into heaven where he lives in the company of the gods" (op. cit., pp. 276 f.). The Lamaistic air-horse of the Tujen like-
777 wise bears on its back the guarantor of good fortune, the wish-
776 ing jewel, by virtue of which the human being obtains all that
171 seems desirable to him, in other words, good fortune. It has almost the effect of an amulet. Now, according to Uno Harva, when the tutelary lord of good fortune seems to be oriented more toward the individual person, then in the case of the sülde of the Mongols he is acting for the entire people, and, to be sure, through the khan; meanwhile, the historical development among the Chinggisiden made nine Tengri of good fortune out of it. Father W. Schmidt, in conjunction with Banzarov, characterizes the sülde in the following manner (UdG., X, p. 78): "Heaven guides the world like the khan and possesses its sülde ... The sülde of the khan is a reflection of the sülde of heaven ... The nine sülde-tengri, according to their character, are always there in order to protect. They are represented in warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone, in the manner of riders ..." etc. Here, too, it is the riding

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777 god of good fortune. It seems that further reminders of these
•776 times still echo in the Tujen songs: of the fate of the Mongols,
171 which is based on good fortune; or of the sülde of the khan, which invisibly protects his subjects (UdG., loc. cit.). -- Whatever the connections may be, neither according to Uno Harva nor according to Banzarov-Schmidt nor in the conception of the Tujen themselves is there a fate or good fortune that is independent of the rule of heaven.

772 Summary. -- Everything that has been said about heaven
776 proves it to be an independent deity existing for itself, sharply separated from all other gods, ruling them and dominating the entire world. Its name is "heaven," not in the physical but in the personal sense. Everything pantheistic and animistic and every mana concept remains far removed from it. To be sure, it is not one god [monotheism] in the strict sense, but an authentic supreme god, a towering unique phenomenon among all the other deities. Because of this uniqueness the statement of A. Tafel about the Tujen can now be repeated in its correct interpretation: "Many say they have only one single god in which they believe."

[235] 2. Shamanism

121 Whereas the discussion of the belief in a supreme god
756 could be confined to the region of the Tujen themselves and the corresponding sources, this is not possible for shamanism, for which reason a detailed presentation would not be suitable for this work. It is reserved for a special study. Here the ground-plan can only be drawn in a sketchy fashion, merely representing a theory, because the detailed proofs must be omitted here. The question runs: Of what type is Tujen shamanism and where is it to be classified from the religio-historical standpoint? -- Three types are found among the Tujen: bö-shamanism (drum-shamans), gurtum-shamanism (warrior-shamans), and idol-shamanism (with the spear-soothsayer).

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a) The bō or Drum-shamans

Characterization

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The name: The Tujen name current throughout the land, bō, corresponds to the written Mongolic būge. Koval. (1242) gives for it the Chinese equivalent wu-jen, the Manchurian saman, the Tatar bugu, and the Tibetan lha-pa. The Russian expressions means: shaman, sorcerer; he translates it into French as: chaman, enchanteur. The Mongolic būge and all the other translations cited do not have any uniform meaning and can be used for the various types of shamans, exorcists, and even sorcerers.

The Chinese in the area and the Tujen translate bō with fashih, or somewhat contemptuously with shih-kung. The fa-shih call themselves only by this special name. According to communications (P.P.Eichinger, Bockwinkel), the name wu-shih is also in use in southern Kansu. It is important that all these designations are never permissible for the gurtum. The fa-shih are a special group that is to be clearly defined. (Space forbids going into an explanation of the names here.)

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Clothing and equipment. -- The fa-shih wear an old woman's costume without sleeves and usually patterned with pictures of dragons. Normally they have no head covering, but their hair is pinned up in the fashion of an old Chinese style for women, unless they are wearing an appropriate wig with hairknots, hair-bowl, and hairpin. These are not always available, however. On special occasions, they don the well-known five-part Buddhistic crown called p'ai-tzu.

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Their essential equipment consists of the hoop drum, the hemp whip, and a three-pronged broad dagger. Other objects are added according to their functions.

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Gods. -- Their principal deity is the great mother (ta niang-niang), also called mother of the nine heavens (chiu t'ien nai-nai). In addition, they also venerate the black tiger

[The bō or Drum-Shamans]

[235 cont.]

756 and, depending upon the region, various local spirits. These
776 gods predominantly come from the Taoist pantheon.

789 [236] Activity. -- Their principal task is the weather
241 conjuration, the sowing and harvest festivals, and curing sick-
755 nesses.

756 Peculiarity. -- The bō or fa-shih are differentiated from
787 the other shamans by the fact that they have no trance. If one questions the people about it, one always receives the same answer: "fa-shih pu fa shen (the fashih do not go into ectascy)." Now that is not entirely correct. Namely, at the conclusion of the sowing or harvest festival, one of them attempts an imitation of the trance and wounds himself with the knife. This is called: "fa ta-shen (to produce a great trance)." It is not a trance at all, but at most a relic suggesting it; I was able to observe it several times. Thus the people are basically right when they do not accord ecstasy to them. -- The people sum up the main
756 characteristic, however, in the saying: "fa-shih ch'uei ku, t'iao
535 shen (the fashih beat the drum and perform spirit dances)." Drum and dance are the most outstanding. They always dance in groups before the image of the great mother in order to please her, or also before the sacrificial pig. These are not shamanistic individual dances in order to induce a trance, but are cultic group-dances that follow a definite ritual. One can therefore designate them as drum- or dance-shamans, although true shamanistic features are scarcely present any more.

Classification

171 Relationship to the more recent Siberian shamanism.
756 -- There are few similarities with Siberian shamanism. One could regard the drum as the most important continuation from Siberian shamanism. The relationship with the Tungusic and Mongolic-Manchurian shamanism is stronger. The drum has almost exactly the same execution and the same appendages as, for example, among the Mongols of the Kūrie-Banner. (Cf.

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171 loc. cit., also emphasizes. W. Heissig, too, has encountered
756 the difference between these two groups among the East Mongols; cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," p. 40. There the gurtum are also called "Lajing." Exactly like the Tujen, the Chinese, too, differentiate between the bö (fashih) and the gurtum (fa-la-tzu or ku-erh-tien).

Beyond doubt, therefore, the gurtum in his present form
[779] is affiliated with Lamaism. First of all his area of distribution coincides with that of Lamaism. One finds the gurtum in Tibet, Amdo, and Mongolia. To designate him as specifically Mongolic, as is done occasionally in the expression "the Mongolic gurtum," is misleading. To be sure he was described predominantly by travelers in the Mongolic region, but detailed studies concerning him were hitherto lacking. There is no original Mongolic name for the gurtum, and the general term bö (böge, bügü) for shaman is not applicable to him. All names are Tibetan.

756 But what position does the gurtum occupy in Lamaism?
776 His main task seems to be exhausted in the representation of the tutelary gods who constitute a special conceptual realm.
779 The three aspects that are included under the word sku have
174 already been indicated "gurtum." The Lamaistic tutelary deities also bear the collective name "the five bodies," along with the other name, "the five kings" (Mongolic: tabun xaǵan) or "the protectors of the [241] doctrine" (Tibetan: c'os skyoń). R. Bleichsteiner in his article "Srog-bdag, the lord of life" (Archiv für Völkerkunde, Vienna, V, 1950, pp. 104-138) has indicated the relationships between the three aspects, the directions and world-guardians, who to be sure correspond to the five tutelary lords. Evidently elements of various origins have been combined here in the speculative melting pot of Buddhism through the popular paralleling of microcosm and macrocosm. The presence of these figures and the cultic utilization are accomplished through the gurtum or, as he is also called as presenter of the tutelary deities, the sruń-ba (ma). In the case of the people's gurtum this relationship likewise makes itself apparent through the use of the wu-tao-shen cut in paper in various colors, which were mentioned earlier. It seems, however, that this relationship is more

174 [241 cont.]
756 external and applies to the actual temple-gurtum, whereas the
779 people's gurtum is more strongly connected with the mountain-
[776] spirit and obo.

The foreign character of the gurtum in Lamaism. -- Even though the present-day figure of the gurtum, as was just stressed, belongs to Lamaism according to his appearance, his name, and his conceptual realm, this affiliation is not as close as it might seem.

In the first place the shamanistic basis of the gurtum points away from Lamaism. To be sure, tantristic Lamaism has its special presuppositions for the vivifying and presenting of deities; in this connection cf. Glasenapp, in ZDMG, 90, 1936, p. 552 (cited from Hoffmann, Quellen, p. 206), and H. Findeisen, Eine Erscheinung Yamantakas [An Appearance of Yamantaka], pp. 2 f. The ensouling of the gods' idols also lies in this direction. These presuppositions, however, are not decisive for the shaman-nature of the gurtum. The religious character of the gurtum shuns these magically colored rites. His calling and his power are independent of Lamaism. The shaman is a layman. The same is confirmed by W. Heissig (op. cit., p. 40): "The Layičing, however, belongs to no spiritual community, but is a layman." Only when he has become a shaman does he receive his confirmation in the monastery and Lamaistic instruction. The customs described in the first part concerning the gurtum and the helplessness of the monasteries in the search for a temple-shaman illuminate this
[792] fact sufficiently. This naturally does not exclude the possibility that in individual cases a shaman's calling may fall to a lama. This is not the rule, however, as the great number of people's gurtums outside the monastery proves, at least in the Koko Nor region.

Furthermore, the tutelary gods represented in the
174 gurtum do not seem to be at home in Lamaism; in the case of
756 the people's gurtum with his link to the popular mountain-spirit,
776 this is to be expected from the outset, but it is no less true for
779 the c'os-skyon, for where is the boundary line between the

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original and the borrowed to be drawn in Lamaism? Bleichsteiner (op. cit., p. 111) writes: "The relationships of Pekar and the five kings generally are so manifold and complicated that an unravelling seems to be enormously difficult." This one fact, however, is probably firmly established: two of these kings, Pekar and dGra-lha, come from the pre-Buddhist realm.

[242] Even the name Pekar, of the possessor-spirit of that famous state-oracle of gNas-c'un, in its many forms has no satisfactory Lamaistic explanation. Although Tucci may have recently confirmed the view of Grünwedel, who in agreement with Schiefner derives the name dPe-kar from the Sanskrit word vihārā (= monastery), this explanation nonetheless gives too much the impression of an "ad hoc" one, because Pekar is just moved up as monastery protector. Bleichsteiner, unconvinced by this interpretation, increases the explanations of the name by one new one and derives the word Pekar from the Iranian; cf. A. Grünwedel, Mythologie, p. 182, Note 2; R. Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 107 and 111 f.

Even more decisively than the name Pekar, Bleichsteiner designates the figure of Pekar as foreign: "With the exception of the legend ..., according to which the great magician Padmasambhava is supposed to have brought the demon Pehar or Pekar from the Indian monastery Odantapuri to the monastery founded by him, bSam-yas, as guardian and treasure protector, the sources concerning his origin from East Turkistan are fairly well in agreement." By way of confirmation he further cites Tucci: "The last-named investigator regards Pekar as a foreign tribal god that was later introduced into Tibet and converted to Buddhism by Padmasambhava." Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 110, 111; cf. also H. Hoffmann, Quellen, p. 163.

Just as Pekar is the most important representative of the five world-guardians, or of the five c'os-skyon, so dGra-lha is the main figure among the five personal tutelary spirits, who with Srog-bdag also has been moved up among the cosmic world-guardians. Here, too, the co-ordination of microcosm and macrocosm and their mutual interpenetration are to be emphasized. dGra-lha, who like Pekar appears as warrior, belongs

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174 in the pre-Buddhist Bon layer. There can be no doubt about this
756 after the expositions of Bleichsteiner, who bases himself on
776 Hoffman; cf. Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 108 and 118 f.;
779 Hoffmann, Quellen, pp. 171 f. Here let it be noted that among the Tsinghai Chinese these personal tutelary spirits are found in a Buddhist transformation, and to be sure in the so-called "golden lamps" which every man carries unseen on his body, and two of them on his shoulders.

It is unnecessary here to discuss the other figures of the five kings, since at this point no clarity concerning them can be obtained. The world-picture to which they belong, in spite of all the Buddhistic features, has such a broad base that it extends from Central Asia to India and into the ancient Orient, for even the world-mountain conception and the world-directions arrangement with corresponding guardians does not come from Buddhism in the final analysis, even though -- taken over and reinterpreted by it -- it may have been brought as on a "vessel" over extensive parts of the Orient.

The mountain-spirit, the principal tutelary spirit of the people's gurtum, is so evidently pre-Buddhist that it need not be discussed further here. It will be referred to again in the description of the weather forts in Tsinghai. Hoffmann (Quellen, pp. 159 and 166) has given a report concerning the mountain-spirits, with references to the pertinent literature. He classifies them as pre-Buddhist [243] gods under the type of the gGyal-po, to which the c'os-skyoṅ also belong. The picture of the mountain-god Kangchendzõnga permits one to see a certain similarity with the gurtum (pp. 166-167).

The position of the gurtum within Lamaism thus shows that he was not there originally. Both his being a shaman as such and the possessor-spirits represented by him come from earlier, non-Buddhist layers. Only the adaptation and
174 serviceability for the Buddhist community as its tutelary lord
756 (monastery), the speculative classification under the "aspects,"
779 the ritual embellishments during the testing and functioning of the gurtum, certain prayers, and finally the assimilation to the dress of the Buddhist deities are Lamaist, in other words,

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174 heaven is completely lacking. The type of Bon shamanism de-
756 scribed here seems rather to have its vestiges among the fashih
[787] in the Chinese Koko Nor region, whose close connection to the Bon religion was already surmised above, especially since these fashih (or bö) [244] are very frequently represented precisely in the region of Kuei-tê on the same river where today the Bon religion is still fairly strong. -- It is not to be disputed in any way that the type of the gNas-c'uń oracle is a survival from the Bon religion. However, just as the Bon religion generally is not a homogeneous structure, so the shamanism contained in it would also not have been of a uniform type. And precisely if the gNas-c'uń oracle is a survival from the Bon religion, this proves that here, too, as elsewhere, at least two shaman types were present: the Siberian drum-shamans and the warrior-shamans (10). An element that Hoffmann clearly characterizes,

10. The gurtum type of the gNas-c'uń oracle can be linked much better to Gšen-rab itself or to the Dto-mba Shi-lo of the Na-khi, the founder of Bon shamanism. The sign for Dto-mba Shi-lo is Ssu, in other words, the ancestor, tutelary god, and in the final analysis the god of life of the Na-khi family; cf. J.F. Rock, "Dto-mba Shi-lo," p. 45, Note 2. This establishes the connection with the basic figures of the other possessor-spirits of the gurtum, who, to be sure, finally manifest themselves likewise as god of life. -- Furthermore, the Dto-mbas with their swords and demon battles ("sham battles" [cited in English]) resemble the gurtum; cf. J.F. Rock, op. cit., p. 77, Pl. 12.

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however, must be considered in the case of the warrior-shaman,

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756 namely, the connections between bird and shaman (p. 199 f.).

756 Warrior-shaman and tutelary-spirit heroes. -- In shamanism the tutelary or helping spirits play a decisive role. In the
776 case of the possession-shaman, and therefore also in the case of the warrior-shaman, these spirits are at the same time the possessor-spirits. What is most important about the warrior-figures of the tutelary spirits of the temple-shamans has already been said, when mention was made of the five kings, especially Pekar and dGra-lha.

171 The dGra-lha of the Tibetans has a counterpart in the
756 good-fortune tutelary lord of the Mongols as he has already been described above in the section on the cult of heaven (p. 359),
776 and to be sure in the figure of the dsayači and its extension in the sülde. The warlike character of the sülde tengri has been described in detail by the Mongol Dordschi Banzarov in his "Černaja vjera ili šamanstvo u Mongolov" (1846). Only a characteristic quotation from the version of Father W. Schmidt (UdG, X, p. 79) is to be given here: "The nine sülde-tengri, according to their character, are always there in order to protect us. They are represented in a warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone, in the manner of riders, dressed in armor, wearing helmets on their heads, armed with swords and spears, holding a knout in one hand, a flag in the other. They are accompanied by falcons, as well as by a lion, a panther, bears and dogs." Father W. Schmidt notes in connection with this description: "Banzarow, as he states, has taken this presentation from Volume IV of the work by Mergen Diyanči; he wrote the book concerning the offerings presented to these genii." (UdG, loc. cit.) Concerning the relationship of the dGra-lha to the sülde or to the Mongolic good-fortune tengri and their warlike character, as well as their representation in the banner and on flags (jusun-sülde), Lüdtke has given a report, referring to Potanin, Waddel, Grünwedel, and other Russian as well as Mongolic sources; [245] See Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ...," op. cit., pp. 110-115. A supernatural double of the human being, who is conceived as a warlike tutelary lord and who shares and influences the weal and woe

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171 of his protégé, is involved here; in this connection cf. also
752 Bleichsteiner (or Hoffmann), "Srog-bdag," pp. 118 f. It is not
776 possible to give here all the models and possible archetypes of these warlike doubles and "alter egos." They are very widely distributed in space and time, as is the belief in tutelary spirits generally, and extend back over the archaic high cultures into still earlier times (Megalithic); cf. Dominik Wölfel, Die Religionen des vorindogermanischen Europa. A special development is represented by the sülde banner of the Mongolic khans, which also attests to the fact that in the case of these tutelary spirits true localizations and seizure are involved.

174 That these tutelary spirits are connected with ancestors,
752 and in part identical with them, can likewise be amply docu-
776 mented, as it is repeatedly emphasized in the shamanism. One special feature is still to be pointed out: the shamanistic use of armor and weapons. My informant told me that the Tujen
[523] formerly had brought the weapons and equipment of famous popular heroes into the temple where they were stored. Then
[787] when a shaman who had been called put on this equipment, the powers and the spirit of the hero descended upon him. The shift of an old popular custom into Lamaism is evident here, for prior to this the protector and guardian of the ayil (tribe) was the mountain-spirit in the obo; he watched over the weapons, and in former times arms were also buried in the obo; cf. above, pp. 351 f., and the chapter on the obo, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation]. Just as the popular festivals were later transferred from the obo to the Lamaistic temple, this also happened with the weapons and equipment and the associated donning of them by the shaman. This also explains the especially close connection of the people's gurtum with the mountain-spirit and obo and his warlike character still today. It is well-known that the obo has a special connection with the tribal lord and the latter's descendants. Like-
[773] wise it is told of Geser, who, to be sure, according to the Tujen version, was also the ancestor of the Tujen, how he donned the supernatural armor which is kept in readiness for the special task of the battle against the ills of mankind in heaven.

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171 Heissig reports similarly of the East Mongols: "In the
756 monasteries, according to tradition, weapons, helmet, and
war harnesses of famous, perhaps legendary Mongolic heroes are
776 preserved... These heroes and their arms bear the name Coyjing
(lit. coyijung). Once or twice every month, after previous praying and fasting, a number of lama-monks in the Küriye-Banner are supposed to clothe themselves with the armor of the Coyijing and seize the weapons belonging to them. The spirits and powers of the heroes immediately come over their bearers and equipment. The lamas go into ecstasy..."; cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," op. cit., p. 41. Coyjing, of course, refers to the Tibetan co's-skyon. Here, too, however, the old conception
[523] continues to have its effect of preserving the powers of the old heroes for the succeeding generations by preserving the equipment and weapons.

757 [246] One could call this custom a shamanistic preserva-
tion of antiquities. At any rate, every visitor of Lamaistic
523 temples and shrines is struck by the ample store of weapons, banners, etc. Perhaps the Tujen custom of presenting the clothing of the deceased to the monastery also goes back to this conception, even though today they are merely thought of as a bosē, a prayer fee. When a monastery lacks a shaman who can don the armor, an artificial figure is dressed in it. I once saw such a statue equipped with ancient weapons and exhibited in a sitting position in the gate of the soothsayer-temple at dGon-luṅ, just as the gurtum at the beginning of his trance is seated in the temple facing the image of his tutelary spirit. The people moved past this image and gave it the appropriate veneration. This figure is likewise called sgurdien.

171 The warrior-shaman is widespread, and was even in pre-
Lamaistic times. B. Laufer presents clear evidence for its
756 presence in ancient China in his book, Chinese Clay Figures. He presents several illustrations of excavated statuettes and dates these back to the Chou period, to an "archaic period" [cited in English]); cf. the legend for Plate XVII. Laufer describes these figures expressly as shamans "in the act of throwing a spear during a struggle with demons" [cited in English]. On

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still cannot explain its great significance and use.

The Other Idols

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Just as the spirit-spear is the seat of a deity which is activated by a middleman, so also is a series of other idols. These may be: the table, the spirit-litter, weather club, carriage axles, noodle roller, etc. Of these the spirit-table and the god-litter are the most important.

The spirit-table bears its name unjustly, for it is not a [776] table, but the representation of an animal deity, the black tiger. This is confirmed by the fact that it is consecrated at the consecration of this tiger and is regarded as possessed by the latter. Furthermore, the intestines of the tiger are attached under the top, which, however, are not visible to the eye.

[787] The soothsaying with the table is done exactly as with the spear, except that it is held by two persons.

This deity, according to all the statements, is peculiar to the Chinese shamans. That it was originally foreign to the [776] Tujen is proved precisely by the superficial name given it, sirie purgan (table-deity), where in reality the top forms the back, the table legs are the tiger's legs, and the underside bears the intestines.

The spirit-litter has no Tujen name at all, but is simply called, as in Chinese, chiao-tzu or niang-niang chiao-tzu (litter of the mother). The litter is not the main thing, but the god's [532] figure sitting in it, which is executed as realistically as possible, with magnificent clothes, real hair, and flesh-colored face. The interior likewise contains the intestines, the heart, and the maternal organs. The figure is consecrated with the litter, at which time the inner organs are put inside.

This goddess likewise belongs to the Chinese shamans (fashih), who also undertake its animation. Frequently,

he honored, and the rites he performed. It will afford 756
an opportunity to study a shamanism influenced by Taoism, honoring Taoist gods, but conserving its original character and living congenially with Taoism. The suppleness of shamanism which, according to the cir- [177]
cumstances, adapts itself as well to Lamaism as to Taoism, adopting heterodox doctrines and honoring alien gods,[1] challenges belief. However, it discloses the power of which it disposes, conserving its original rites which betray its origin and basic character. It is interesting to note how rites resist the wear of time better than doctrines.

The facts were all gathered during the ten years I lived among the Monguors, and were checked many times by shamans, chiefs and elders of villages, men and women, and children in the schools, all of whom had attended shamanist rites their whole life long. I at- [123]
tended their rites several times. Since I was best acquainted with the rites of the region situated north of the Hsining River, most of the facts concern that region.

The Mongols call the shamans *BÖ*, the Monguors call them *BÖ*, on account of the lack of the vowel Ö in [178]
their dialect. *BÖ* and *BÖ* seem to be a genuine Mongol term. The Chinese of Huang-chung call them *Fa-Shih*, "Master of Magic."

It is not easy to give a definition of shamanism and of shamans who live in a world beset with innumerable good and evil spirits with which the objective of their life is to deal.

The study of shamanism is still very confused, and 756
authors are even unable to find a definition with which 771
they will all agree. W. Schmidt defines the shaman as "a man who is supposed to have the power of making his own person a dwelling place for the spirits, who will speak out of him, but he keeps the power to dominate those spirits and to subdue them to his own will and wishes."[2]

Mircea Eliade, describing the shamanism of Asia, stresses primarily the phenomena of ecstasies and of trance, by means of which the shamans enter in communication with all kinds of spirits—originally with the Supreme Spirit of Heaven, who corresponds morpho- logically with the Supreme Spirits of the archaic re- [176] ●
ligions—and with the souls of ancestors and the departed. This communication with spirits, residing in the three worlds (heaven, earth, underworld) is symbolized by ascensions to heaven of the shaman or descents into the underworld, the calling down of spirits along the rope or the ladder. The basic element of shamanism consists not of the incorporation of spirits

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[1] Walter Heissig, Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer im Küriye-Banner, *Folklore Studies*, Catholic University of Peking, 3: 1, 1944. This very interesting study reveals the way shamanism adapted itself to Lamaism.

[2] W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Freiburg in der Schweiz, Paulus Verlag, 9: 243, 1949.

[p.77(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to drive away evil spirits. It is not used during the ceremonies celebrated in the temple of the village. The staff is considered to be endowed with magical power and is planted before the picture of the Twelve Tengris honored by the shaman at his home. It is honored like an idol; the shaman burns incense and prostrates himself before it. 756 793

Every time a shaman uses his tools they have to be purified. By smoking them above a fire of cypress boughs. It is said that some laymen who honor a special spirit are able to use a staff and to call their spirit into it.

SPIRITS HONORED BY THE SHAMANS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans involves the very interesting question of how and to what extent shamanism and Taoism became mixed and interwoven among the Monguor shamans—a question which is all the more interesting because it has often been written that shamanism and Taoism are strongly linked together. In order to tackle the problem it is necessary to determine whether the spirits honored by shamans and Taoists are the same, whether the ways of worshipping them are similar, and what may have been the reason for the intermixture of the two religions. 756 177 171

SHAMANS, DISCIPLES OF THE TAOIST GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The most baffling and confusing fact in this respect is that all the Monguor shamans overtly claim to be disciples of the "god of the five roads," the Wu-tao-shen, who is a Taoist god. 756 776 171

When the chiefs of the villages invite a shaman to perform his rites of spring or autumn for the community, they send one of the elders with an official invitation written on a slip of red paper, "to [sir] Hsien-sheng so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads." During the Mongol dynasty the term *Hsien-sheng* was only used for Taoist priests. On New Year's the shamans send to the chiefs of the villages and to outstanding people a card reading, "Happy Congratulations of so-and-so, disciple of the god of the five roads." It has already been noted that the crown worn by the Monguor shamans represents the god of the Five Roads, that one of the caps worn during the performance of the rites is the cap of the Taoist priests, and that the pattern of their gown, except for its color, is the same as that of the Taoist priests. It has been noted that the Monguor shamans are members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the city. When a shaman dies he is buried wearing the crown of the god of the Five Roads. If one adds that many of the temples in the villages in which the shamans perform their rites are dedicated to the god of the Five Roads, and that at the same time more Taoist statues are honored in them, it gives the impression that the shamans are a kind of Taoist. Not only does the cult of the god of

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the Five Roads link them to Taoism, but also the cults of Lung-wang (the Dragon King, provider of rain), Niang-Niang (the Mother Goddess of children), Ho Hu (provider of rain), Hsüan-t'an (guardian deity against hail), Ma-wang (the Horse King, protector of horses), and Ts'ai Shen (the god of wealth). During the performance of their rites these gods are called up, and are supposed to come to attend the gathering of the community. The dialogues between the shamans and the Taoist deities gave the illusion of attending a real Taoist assembly. 756 776 171

All these facts evidence the assumption that the shamans worship the gods of Taoism.

"GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS"

The Monguor shamans during the performance of their rites in spring and autumn never fail to assert before the public that they are the real disciples of the god of the five roads, who was created god by the emperors of the Chou dynasty (1122–256 B.C.) and that the General Chiang Tze-ya ordered them to worship him, teaching them the way of honoring him, and promising that he would provide his aid and support to them in the most trying and straightened circumstances, and would never falter. 175 776 756

This explanation, in crude Taoistic fashion, is a far cry from that of nomad shamans who assert that the good spirits had sent from heaven a shaman eagle to teach their ancestors the way of combatting the evil spirits,[27] and from the explanation given by the same Monguor shamans that their ancestors were chosen by the Twelve Tengris. These ambiguous and equivocal explanations seem really to cancel one another out. According to their own explanation their shamanism is ultimately founded on a mandate received from a Chinese general.[28]

The real history of the famous god of the Five Roads I never had the opportunity to find out. In some temples I read the two following inscriptions, "Duke Mu of Ch'in raised him by imperial patent to Wu-tao; prince Chuang of Ch'u gave him, by imperial grace, the title of General"; and "General Mountain before the carriage of King Chou: the spirit of T'ai mountain raised him to Wu-tao." These two inscriptions seem to be as apocryphal as the saying of the shamans, and assign to a period earlier than reliably recorded history the creation of the god. The cult of the god of the Five Roads, however, seems to be widespread along the northwestern borders of China. I met it from

[27] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 2–3.

[28] Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1658–1659, 1841, Ho Kien-fu, 1903. Chiang Tze-ya was traditionally the Shang general who became a counsellor to the founder of the Chou dynasty. He died in 1120 B.C.; twelve centuries later, during the Han dynasty, he became a very popular god of all kinds of pickled stuff. In 731, during the T'ang, he was created "war god" by the Taoist Emperor Huang-tsung, and an order was given to build temples to him.

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Hsining across Ning-hsia to Sui-yuan, and Father W. Grootaers noted in the region of Wan-ch'üan (Kalgan), 109 temples of the Wu-tao shen,[29] most of them smaller than they had once been. The representations of the god of the Five Roads in the temples are all very similar. The reason for this similarity in temples so distant one from another may be that the Chinese painters used printed books in which they found the stereotypes and traditional representations of the whole series of spirits. They also used books containing all kinds of inscriptions appropriate to the different special spirits and to the spirits in general, and this explains the uniformity of the inscriptions and paintings encountered all over the country.[30]

TEMPLES OF THE GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The abode of the god consists generally of three rooms (*chien*) situated on the north side of a mud or brick walled courtyard. On each side of the courtyard are another three or more rooms for storage of all kind of paraphernalia used for processions and for the kitchen. The entrance is in front of the abode of the god. According to the topography of the country the temple is sometimes built against a mountain without taking account of the points of the compass. In the middle of the three rooms of the front building there is always placed a sedan chair in which is the statue of a female deity clad with a more or less precious robe, or there is the statue of a male deity, such as Wu-tao or Lung-wang. The female deity usually represents the goddess, Niang Niang (mother goddess of children); seldom, Shui-mu, the goddess of the water. The statue seems to be the center of attention for the whole building. It is carried in procession when the people are praying for rain, or for protection against hail. Every year the statues of the goddesses of the temples of Sha-t'ang Valley are carried to the temple of the god Erh-lang,[31] locked up with the god for one night and brought back the next day. The god is said to enjoy the visits of all the goddesses. This curious custom will be discussed later.

On the walls of the three rooms are frescoes depicting the god of the Five Roads, who is never alone, but associated with other gods. In the central panel the god sits on a large chair, represented in the customary fashion of a corpulent Chinese general, with long black beard, military cap, red coat over armor, large loose

[29] William A. Grootaers, Temples and history of Wan-ch'üan, *Monumenta Serica*, 13: 232, 1948. What is said in this very valuable study, in Chap. 2, on the Wu-tao temples, concerning the arrangements of the temples, the images and frescoes, even the inscriptions, tallies completely with my former notes. This is the first and only study made in China concerning all the temples built in a limited area, affording interesting data for the history of religion and the history of the country.

[30] *Ibid.*, 239.

[31] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 263. The identity of this spirit seems not to be the same in North and Middle China.

belt at the waist, the legs sprawled apart, boots with thick soles on the feet, and a sword in the hand. On the eastern panel is painted another general, the god of the Mountain (Shan Shen) in nearly the same posture. On the western panel is painted an older man with white beard, vest, a yellow robe, hands hidden in his large sleeves; he is the god of the Earth (T'u-ti Shen). Why these three gods are always placed together is a mystery. 756 776 346 532

In the foreground of the three images on the east is the god P'an-tze, the judge, holding in his hands the "register of the living and the dead" (Sheng-ssu p'u). On the west is a horned, black-faced devil with red skin, holding the "Tablet to hook souls" (K'u hun p'ai). It is a strange gathering of disparate gods whose association is a puzzle. The association of these gods in the same temple explains the fact that some shamans, when performing rites, wear a crown with only one image, that of the god of the Five Roads, while others wear a crown with three images (Wu-tao, Mountain god, Earth god), and some wear the crown with five images, adding P'an-tze and the black-faced devil. It is no wonder that one also sees in some temples of the god of the Five Roads the inscription: "Wu-tao, Mountain god, and Earth god, protect this village, that it may get peace." All these disconcerting anomalies do not bother either the shamans or the Monguors.

In temples, so far distant from one another, we find not only similarity in the representation of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, but even in the subjects painted on the frescoes on both the side walls of the temple. Father Grootaers calls the subject, "the pursuit of the evil ones," explaining that "the god honored in the temple is shown on horseback, engaged in a pursuit against the powers of evil, which he then brings back enchained."[32] What, however, may have been the original mystical or ascetic meaning is not known, but the subject seems wonderfully adapted to the circumstances of the country of Hsining and the mentality of the people. The region of Hsining is mountainous. The most terrible yearly scourges, dreaded by the people, are the summer hailstorms devastating their crops. They are supposed to be produced by evil spirits, who must be combatted and subdued. The specific means used by the shamans in order to protect the crops against that scourge will be recorded later.

On the eastern wall is painted the picture of a hailstorm. The pictures in Hsining are more fantastic and in better keeping with the imagination of a Chinese painter than the pictures seen by Father Grootaers. An old, wickedly shrewd Chinese woman with disheveled hair blows wind and storm by means of a pair of bellows. A fat Chinese, elaborately vested, extends his arms, and black, threatening clouds gush effusively out 756 532

[32] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 220. [p.86(A)]

of his large sleeves—he is the spirit of the clouds. Another corpulent Chinese god pours a torrent of rain out of the urn of the rainbow, which he holds in his hands. A Chinese girl, standing in the sky, flashes two metal mirrors producing terrific lightning. A spirit with athletic appearance, having a couple of long wings attached to his back, clashes a hammer and chisel together with fury, producing thunder. All over the scene big hailstones rattle down on crops and herds of fleeing sheep and cows and people with bleeding faces. Horses, cows, sheep, birds, serpents, and a couple of men lie dead on the ground. In the sky the three famous gods on horseback, with a whole retinue of dragon riders led by the devil, and the judge accompanied by a wolf and tiger, start the pursuit of the evil doers. It is a terrific picture for people who know by experience the havoc wrought on their crops by hailstorms. 756 532

In front of this awful picture on the western wall is displayed the pageant of the victorious return of the gods and their retinue, riding spirited horses, with banners on high, tiger and wolf with mouths and teeth red with blood from devouring the evil doers. The whole procession is proceeding toward the gate of a walled town where an immense crowd, on bended knees, waits to thank and congratulate the gods.

These two pictures are never lacking, either in the temples of the dragon gods of Ho-hu, Hsüan-T'an, or in those of the goddesses of children. This fact is really significant and reveals the people's dread of hailstorms.

The God of the Five Roads with his associates, over whom he seems to preside, is supposed to be a protector against hailstorms, so much dreaded by the people.

All these cumulative facts prove without question that the Monguor shamans have adopted the gods of Taoism and honor them. [177]

SHAMANS AND THEIR OWN TWELVE TENGRIS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans is not exhausted by the cult of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, since they still honor their own old spirits, calling them, "Our Twelve good Tengris, the most potent among the spirits." The young shamans are dedicated to the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads. Moreover, the shamans honor at home the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads. 756 776 532

Who are the Tengris? Most of the pictures I saw were very primitive and painted by shamans themselves; those painted by Chinese artists were better. The pictures represented four rows of three Chinese warriors riding horses and wearing bow and quiver; a man on foot, with bow and quiver, accompanied each of the soldiers. In the center of the picture there was painted a man, not a warrior, bigger in size than the others, dressed in black, with a black face and beard, riding a white tiger and holding in his hand a knotty staff. I was curious about them, and was told that the black tiger rider was the chieftain, the leader of the

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

group, and also, that on old images painted before the Moslem rebellion, the twelve warriors and their servants were represented as Mongols, and not Chinese, and further, that a couple of modern shamans recently added to their pictures of the warriors, three Chinese girls riding on horseback, whom they called the "three small grandmothers," the *San Hsiao Niang Niang*. 756 776 532

The conviction existing among the Monguor shamans that the Twelve Tengris are their original and proper spirits is too general and too definite, and the behavior of the shamans toward them is too significant to be simply ignored or explained away. Further, the Monguors and the shamans know very well that shamans are not Taoist priests, and for that reason they call them *Bō* or *Fa shih*, "Masters of Magic," and not *Tao-shih*, "Masters of Tao," and they know very well that the rites performed by the shamans are not the same as those performed by Taoist priests in the country. Therefore, a rational explanation should exist.

CULT OF THE TWELVE TENGRIS TRACED

756 776 796

In the last month of the year the houses had to be cleansed and purified of all kinds of evil influences and spirits. At the palace of the prince a group of young boys, frightening and cursing the evil spirits hidden in the rooms, cried out that the "12 spirits" were on the way to hunt down and annihilate them; a group of 12 men, disguised as animals, led by the official exorcist (*Fang hsiang*) started pursuing the evil spirits.[33]

The eleventh on the list of the pursuing spirits was the "tiger," who was reputed the fiercest destroyer of all producers of calamities. Tigers are supposed to be the fiercest enemies of evil spirits . . . the tiger was the first dancer among the 12 performers of the rite.[34]

The tiger was the white tiger.[35]

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[33] Henri Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 246, Paris, Boccard, 1927.

[34] Marcel Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine antique*, 319, 299–320, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

[35] *Ibid.*, 306. Ch. de Harlez, *Le livre des esprits et des immortels*, 176, Bruxelles, F. Hayez, 1893: "The nature of the white tiger, according to the *Shen-hsien t'ung chien* (18th century) seems to be at least ambiguous . . . the tiger is the strongest expression of the *Yang* principle (principle of power); the tiger lives 1,000 years and becomes white only after 500 years; its claws and the powder obtained by the burning of its skin are the most powerful; the thunder is its voice, talismans; or is produced by the noise of walking heavenly tigers. . . . In the regions of the west, at Fung lung, lived a white tiger accustomed to drinking human blood; every year the people offered a human sacrifice to it in order that it might desist from killing men. Chang Tao-ling (patron of the Taoists) ordered it to desist from this practice; the tiger left the country and disappeared forever. . . ."

Owen Lattimore, The gold tribe 'Fishkin Tatars' of the lower Sungari, *Memoirs Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* 40: 62, 1933: " . . . spirits like the bear, and especially the tiger, seem to be extremely rare as familiars (of the shamans), though they appear sometimes as enemies in the course of 'great spirit' ceremonies . . . I have heard only once of a shaman who apparently had a tiger familiar; he was regarded as a person much to be dreaded." "Shamans rely on animal spirits, the eagle, sturgeon, weasel, the *alki* (an animal of the squirrel family), and otter appear to be the commonest familiars [of the shamans]."

[p.87 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

On the doors, on New Year's, was pasted the image of the tiger.[36] 756 776

These texts excerpted from the book *Lün heng* written by Wang Ch'ung, who died in A.D. 80–100, record rites practiced during the centuries before our era, and reveal that the twelve spirits were supposed the most powerful in the matter of driving out evil spirits, and that among the twelve, the White Tiger was paramount. 796

The cult of the twelve spirits led by their chieftan (Fang hsiang) combatting evil spirits seems to have been very popular in China. It was very tenacious, for it was still performed during the Liao dynasty, A.D. 907–1125. Wittfogel and Feng note: " . . . at the end of the year, 12 shamans, led by a great 'Wu,' sang, shouted, rang bells, and walked (or danced) around the tents with arrows in their hands, fighting off the spirits. Then they retreated to special tents for seven days." [37]

The cult of the twelve spirits of the Monguor shamans seems to be related to the old cult of the twelve spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount, the whole group being led by a chieftain, the Fang hsiang. Although in their pictures twelve warriors are represented plus the black rider on a white tiger, they always call the picture "the picture of the Twelve Tengris," and not the picture of thirteen spirits, or the picture of the White Tiger. They assert that they are the servants of the twelve spirits, their apprentices are dedicated to the twelve spirits, and the Monguors who honor the picture at home as a protector of the family, always call it, "The picture of the Twelve Tengris." They no longer know that the twelve warriors represented, in old times, twelve spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount. However, all these facts seem to evidence that it is deeply ingrained in their consciousness that they honor Twelve Tengris, and no more, which are the enemies and destroyers of evil spirits. What is really astonishing is that, notwithstanding that the origin of the cult is completely lost, they continue to paint twelve warriors, and to put in the center of the picture a big white tiger mounted by a rider holding, not weapons, but a knotty staff in his hand. In this way the prominent role played in old times by the white tiger seems to be conserved, for a tiger occupies the center of the picture. What is even 756 776 [532]

W. Heissig, Schamanen im Kürye-Banner, *Folklore Studies* 3: 1: 44, Peking, 1944. The shaman in the Kürye-Banner wears an apron during the performances, representing the skin of a brown spotted tiger.

Doolittle, *Social life of the Chinese*, 229. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 146. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* 1: 344–352; 2: 144, 160, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

[36] Granet, *op. cit.*, 336.

[37] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao. (907–1125), *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 218, 1949. See also Eberhard, "Ich habe es für sehr wahrscheinlich dass die Tiertänze der No-Feste auf Turkestanischen fremde Einflüsse zurück gehen," *Lokalkulturen, op. cit.* 1: 188.

[p.87(B)]

more astonishing is that the most potent rite performed 756 by the shamans against hail is called, all over the country, the Rite of the White Tiger, and that inside the mound built at that time is buried the effigy of the White Tiger with the black rider. Even today they still call the black rider the leader of the whole group, but nobody is able to explain why he is represented with a coat of black paint.

The three essential elements of the old cult are still represented in the picture, the twelve warriors representing the animals, the White Tiger being the most prominent, and the leader being the Fang hsiang of olden times.

Still another conclusion is to be drawn from the tradition that in former times, before the revolts of the Moslems, the twelve warriors were represented as Mongol warriors, and the fact that the twelve warriors are called *Tengris*, the Mongol term for a "heavenly being," and not *shen*, the Chinese term for a "spirit," notwithstanding that they call the other spirits by the Chinese name. Therefore, it seems obvious that the ancestors of the Monguor shamans must have belonged to the groups of Mongols who were settled in the country of Huang-chung by the Yüan dynasty, and that they came to Hsining bringing with them their Tengris from Mongolia. Monguor shamans seem to be of barbarian rather than Chinese stock.

Still another problem remains unsolved. The Monguors are a fusion of two important groups, Mongols and Shat'o Turks. We seem to be able to detect the share of the shamans of the Mongol group in the shamanism of the Monguors, but what has been the share of the Shat'o group? To be sure, the Shat'o were as shamanist as the other Turkish groups of Asia. Did they practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris before they settled in the country in 939? What kind of shamanism did they practice? It would be very interesting to know something about the cult of the Twelve Tengris and the role of the White Tiger among them in former times, but no data are available concerning their shamanism and at present the shamanist practices in the different groups of Monguors seem to be all the same. 756 184 [174]

We only know that the Shat'o who founded the dynasties of Hou T'ang and Hou Chin, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, honored the old Turkish "God of Heaven." After their conquest of North China the Hou Chin emperor, in 927, made offerings at the winter equinox, outside the city, to the "Barbarian God" at the hill of the White Marshal. When the emperor died, two of his best horses were sacrificed on the Western Mountain. The horse was the most important offering among all the Turkish tribes. Sacrifices were made on the tops of mountains. They liked to worship mountains. The Shat'o liked to visit the Buddhist caves of Lungmen. It is well known that the Turks had a cave myth and that with it was connected a cave

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

more supplementary decrees of Galdan Hun-tai-ji were added to them.[56] 771 628

From 1558 until 1640, regulations of Mongol chiefs followed each other, aiming primarily at the destruction of shamanism. The Monguor shamans must have known these facts, for news spreads rapidly among barbarians. At the same time they saw the favors bestowed in the country on lamaseries, Karwas, and Nang-suos, by the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, and they saw Erh-ku-lung, at the height of its glory, founding successively its forty-two branches, each having celebrated lamas. Life or death was the question for the Monguor shamans of Hsining. 756 175 795 575

It is tempting to suppose that the shamans, living in the quasi-independent territories of the T'u-ssu, near cities in which lived Taoist priests who were organized in guilds officially recognized by the empire, might have sought refuge with the Taoists in order to save their institution and traditions and that they might willingly have entered the guild of the Taoists, whose gods they worshipped for centuries.

If the shamans themselves had been opposed to enrollment in the guild, which entailed pecuniary disadvantages for them and the performance of non-remunerative rites in the city, surely the T'u-ssu, whose subjects they were, could easily have prevented the infringement of the rights, since their Monguors were only responsible to them for corvées, and since their subjects were not enrolled in Chinese guilds. Precisely herein lies the stress of the assumption that without the willing cooperation of the shamans, shamans never could have entered the guild, and when they entered the guild it was through fear of persecution by the Yellow Sect. According to this assumption, the shamans could have entered the Taoist guilds before the revolt of the lamas in 1723 and the catastrophe which befell Lamaism. It is easy, therefore, to understand the reluctance of the shamans to perform any rites in the temples dedicated to deities of Lamaism or to wear the crown of the five Dhyani. On the other hand they willingly perform rites in all kinds of Taoist temples, except the temples of Kuan-ti (God of War). I never obtained an explanation of this; in the whole Monguor region no Kuan-ti temple exists, while all the temples of the Monguors, which are the centers of the religious life of the village, are Taoist temples, and most of the protectors of the families belong to Taoism. Monguors cannot miss their shamans who only perform rites in Taoist temples.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the Monguor shamans honor two kinds of spirits—one, spirits belonging to Taoism, and the other, spirits belonging to their shamanism proper; that the Monguor shamans are related to the group of old Wu priests 756 [776]

[56] V. A. Riasanovski, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buriats, Kalmuks)*, 29–35, 1929. [A 90(A)]

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for the first time the Kurtain starts an exacting training 756
which lasts for several weeks. This consists of dancing, vaulting, fencing practices, for he has to be in top trim in order to appear on the stage. He must discipline himself to the rules of a possessed man, in order to acquire the required disposition favorable to ulterior possession by his spirit.

It is customary for spirits to have only one disciple in the village. When he dies another appears, usually after a short time, but occasionally even after a long time, to discharge the duty. When a Kurtain grows old, his spirit abandons him and chooses a younger man to take his place. Kurtains, according to the Monguors, are very often really savage and violent when they are in the full bloom of their youth. The people are more scared of them than of shamans. Later, as they grow older, they become more moderate and calm. The genuine Kurtains, according to the Monguors, have their nerves easily excited. They do not look straight at the interlocutor, shun the company of men, and are rather fond of not talking. I got the same impression. Monguors do not trust much those who brag and boast about their prodigious achievements. It is also said that many Kurtains have their nerves on edge and feel excited and anxious between the fifteenth and the twentieth of the month. They feel hysterical and terrified at the time of storms.

BY WHAT SPIRITS ARE KURTAINS POSSESSED?

The Kurtains, who are not very numerous, are said 756
to be mostly possessed by spirits of Taoism, never by 776
the Twelve Tengris of the shamans or by the Heavenly Spirit. It has already been said that many temples of the villages are dedicated to the "Wu-tao-shen," some to the dragon spirit, others to the spirit of horses, or the spirit of cows; a few to Ho-hu and to the Mother goddess, to the god of Riches and Wealth, but in all those temples there is always in evidence a nice sedan chair where the statue of the Mother goddess or the dragon god or Wu-tao is enthroned. The reason is that it is customary to have a sedan chair in each village to be carried in the processions. Most of the Monguors honor at home the picture of the same Taoist spirits, although some honor Lamaistic deities. It has been noted above that in a few villages there is also a Buddhist temple apart from the temple of the village, but these temples are never the center of the religious life of the village. No wonder that most of the Kurtains claim to be the disciples of Taoist spirits. A few Kurtains claim to be possessed by deities of Lamaism.

AUTHORIZATION OF TESTS OF THE KURTAINS

756
571

The Monguors, having found themselves tricked many times, harbor a guarded and skeptical mood, and distrust new Kurtains. Since they suspect the au-

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

buried in the mound, before the name of the spirits whom they officially use for combating hail. 782 799

Is it far fetched to suppose that the Taoists do this because it is universally recognized that the rite of the shamans, using the White Tiger, outranks their own, and that in order to succeed they must act in this way?[3]

A stunning fact also is that the Taoists, and lamas of the Red Sect in the country, when performing that kind of rite are very fond of using nearly the same group of disparate items to be buried in the pit, except for the white living dog and cock. Can the sacrifice of two living beings be too basically shamanist to be performed by pure Taoists?

STRENGTHENING OF THE OLD MOUNDS

In keeping with the basic principle of shamanism, the spirits after some time lose their powers and are subject to decay. Consequently, they have to be nurtured and strengthened in order that they may continue to help their followers effectively. The rite performed against hail, the pit with all its disparate items, and the famous rider and the White Tiger buried inside it are liable to lose their protectiveness, so every year more power has to be added to the mounds. In every village old mounds exist, built by the ancestors. According to the indication of the guardian spirit of the village, the building of a new mound is ordered from time to time because the last one has lost its power. However, the villagers believe that some effect can still be obtained from the old mounds, and in order not to lose that benefit, they strengthen every year the efficacy of all the old mounds built inside the boundaries of the village. The shaman is invited by the Monguors to do the job; the Taoist priest is invited in the Chinese villages, but seldom in Monguor villages. Both shaman and Taoist act in the same way. Small paper banners are prepared and wooden hammers and ravens, and also stakes with cabalistic designs and the inscription, "The Throne of the White Tiger god," and manikins made with boughs, holding bow and arrows. All these items are smoked by the shaman, over burning cypress boughs, before they are used. The rite takes a whole day. 782 796 [776]

A sheep is offered in the temple; water is poured in its ear to be sure the spirit agrees to the victim. The sheep is killed and offered, a dance and the beating of a drum is performed by the shaman. A "throne" (stake) is thrust in the ground in front of the temple

[3] F. W. Grootaers, in his very interesting monograph (*op. cit.*, 238), notes two inscriptions encountered on the frescoes of the temples of the god of the five roads in Wan-Ch'üan (Kalgan) "Holding bound the wolf and the tiger" and also, "Mountain general who holds bound the wolf and the tiger, *Wu-tao* god who catches the monsters" and he notes these inscriptions are, of course, not the products of the local imagination, but are copies by the local calligraphers from a popular anthology of "Inscriptions for all occasions." These calligraphers knew the history of the Twelve Tengris, among which is the White Tiger. But the wolf is unexplained.

[p. 100 (A)]

The groups join each other on the way. Friendly 796
and high-spirited, they start early in the morning, with 782
banners, drum, and cymbals in the lead. The sedan chairs are put in a row at the foot of the high hill of the temple of the god Erh-lang. The stalwart fellows, with clubs clenched in their fists, are guards of honor of the goddesses, who stay next to their respective sedan chairs, waiting to climb the hill. The tradition runs that the crops of the village whose goddess first reaches the temple will be infallibly and positively protected against hail and prodigiously blessed. As soon as the cry for departure is howled out, the thirteen groups feverishly run to the top of the hill with their goddesses, howling, cursing, cutting their way, thrusting at one another, climbing by fits and starts, falling, leaping, jumping like savages, foaming at the mouth. The chair of the goddess who makes the mark is placed nearest the throne of the god. The door of the temple is closed. The fellows take their meal and rest in the side rooms of the temple.

They return home the next day. On the way back the villagers stand waiting on the road in order to learn whether their goddess won the race or not. On the trip to the temple the fellows were friendly to one another; on the return, however, the groups are excited, angry and seething with jealousy and frequently have a serious fight with clubs. In 1913 the sedan chair of the victorious goddess of the village of Wu-ch'i was smashed, but according to custom no suits are allowed [672] for smashed heads, broken noses, bleeding faces, and torn clothes. After the famous expedition, the villages start their rites against hail in the village.

The aim of the pilgrimage of the goddesses to the temple of the god Erh-lang is to obtain his protection from hail and special blessings upon the crops of the village. They are dressed in full attire and decked out in jewels. What is the reason for sending goddesses to call on the god Erh-lang and to try and court his favors? Why is the call not made to another god such as the god of the Five Roads, the recognized protector from hail?

All over the country, Erh-lang is said to be the god [776] of the River of Hsining, whose course he ordered, and to be interested in preserving the country from hail. He is said to have opened the rocks of Hsiao hsia (the

celebrated sacred spring. They carry with them the statue of [771] the god of the rain (the dragon king) from their village temple and put it in the cave, next to that of the goddess, for a whole night, in order that the goddess may sooth the ruffled feathers of the angered dragon king, and move him to pour down streams of rain to save the dying crops. Potanin, who traveled in Kansu in 1884–1886 [*Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina, tsentral'naya Mongoliya*, 334, 1893], notes a similar practice among the Monguors of San ch'uan, subjects of the Hsia-wu T'u-ssu, in order to obtain rain. Potanin, *ibid.*, 409, also notes the struggle against hail practiced among those Monguors by their shamans, but because his description fails to point to the building of mounds, the white tiger, Wu-tao-shen, etc., he seems not to have understood the core of the rites. (I am indebted to Father J. Spriet for the translation of these passages.)

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erals, the heavenly warriors, the god of the wind, the 796
gods honored in the Monguor villages, then the spirits 756
honored in the private families of the village, the souls of the last three generations of ancestors of the villagers.[8] Every guest is ushered to his throne, greeted, and congratulated in the same way. The shaman has a gentle talk with each of them, while the audience prostrates itself in reverential silence. Finally, drum and cymbals are beaten and the shamans dance with feverish gusto, the dance of thanksgiving for the arrival of all the guests, in order to make them happy.

ENTERTAINMENT OF THE SPIRITS

Then follows the next act—making the spirits propitious and well disposed (*nan shen*). The shamans and the apprentices kneel in rows before the pole, with incense sticks in their joined hands in the same way as the audience. It is the most important and enjoyed moment of the day. It reveals the peculiar, but typical, religious frame of mind of shamans and Monguors. In the deepest and most solemn silence, the chief of the shamans starts talking with the spirits. He gives a detailed account of all the offerings displayed on the table and before the thrones of the gods—sheep, pig. "All these offerings are brought by the people who are kneeling before you . . . notwithstanding the fact they all had a hard time this year, they enjoyed spending that money for you. If it were possible, they would have given more . . . please enjoy their offerings. . . . You are their superiors, their chiefs, your power is unlimited. . . . All these people trust in you and are confident of you. . . . You came from so far, climbing high mountains, crossing dangerous rivers . . . in order to sit down for a while with them in this poor courtyard.

[8] A couple of facts already encountered reveal two principles [779
of the philosophy of the shamans concerning the duration of 776]
the existence of the spirits and the human souls. Spirits are not eternal; they weaken and become exhausted and old and consequently fade away. The famous White Tiger on the old mounds became old and had to receive new invigoration: a typical fact will be recorded of the great spirit of one of the five great Obos of the country, which had become old and had to be rejuvenated. Spirits are not eternal; even the spirits of the statues become completely exhausted after three years, and every three years the shaman has to replace the exhausted forces with brand new ones.

The souls of the deceased of only the last three generations are honored and nurtured at the time of the rite of spring. When illness is ascribed to malignant souls of the deceased, the [775
shaman, outside the courtyard, traces three small circles, and 765]
one more expansive; food is placed in the three small ones to nurture the souls of the deceased ancestors of the last three generations only; in the big circle is placed food for the roaming alien souls. These facts reveal an articulate belief that souls of the ancestors last three generations only, and also that hungry souls are dangerous beings.

In old China the souls of the deceased kings after five generations, princes after three, nobles after one, lost their original protecting power and were relegated among those of the group to whom personal offerings were refused (H. Maspero, *Chine antique*, *op. cit.*, 186). They were already far on the way toward decaying and fading away.

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in front of all the spirits invited the day before, talking 796
with them and asking for their protection upon the 756
village. The guardian of the temple, acting as representative of the whole village, kneels behind them with incense sticks in his joined hands, answering and repeating the prayers. The rite lasts for about an hour.

Around ten o'clock a lunch is served to the shamans and wine is poured in profusion. All the villagers, dressed in their festival best, flock to the temple to attend the ceremony of the possession of the chief of the shamans by the White Tiger spirit.

For a long time the shamans play and have fun. While the apprentices beat drums and cymbals, they [535] start dancing; they get excited, display all kinds of acrobatics; dance on their knees holding their heels in their hands; dance on their heads; turn cartwheels; keep whirling; jostle one another. They are stimulated to compete with one another in accomplishing the queerest eccentricities. It is not unusual for a couple to [578] get into a quarrel and start fighting and for one or another to fall down in a fainting fit.

When the excitement reaches fever pitch, the chief of the shamans exchanges his cap of the god of the Five Roads for the black cap with long tail. With his arm nude, the whip fixed into the collar, drum in hand, he starts a wild dance which lasts for a long time. He stops once in a while and cracks the whip. He takes threatening and aggressive attitudes, brawls loudly and indistinctly, and grins, distorting mouth and jaw bone. With his whole body writhing and supposed to be possessed by the White Tiger spirit, he cuts his arm [785] with a razor, making it bleed. The women rush to the shaman and apply paper to the wound. These papers are efficacious talismans for the protection of children, and are sewn on their clothes by their mothers. In former times, old Monguors said, potent shamans pierced their cheeks with an arrow and bent the blade of a sword predicting the future with wonderful accuracy, but today shamans can no longer do that. These rites are in line with the activities of Wu and shamans.[5]

GREETING OF THE GODDESS OF JOY

Around two o'clock the rite of *ying hsi-niang* is per- [776] ●
formed, the meeting with, and the greeting of, the Goddess of Joy. This rite is purely shamanistic. The Chinese perform a similar but more quiet rite, on New Year's day, meeting and greeting the "spirit" of joy. Monguor youngsters like to imitate the Chinese and enjoy the same merriment. However, the real Monguor rite is the following one performed by the shaman:

On the large threshing floor of the village is placed a table with offerings. The villagers sit around the edges of the floor in order that the shaman may have room for the performance and the evolutions. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail, and keeping

[5] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212. [p. 109 (B)]

swer: the galaxy. Who walks on the milky way? Yu 796
Huang,[7] preceded by the green dragon and the White 756
Tiger. Under the bridge is there still another bridge
or not? The dangerous bridge leading to Hell, over [775]
which passes the king of Hell, Erlik, preceded by the spirit with the head of a cow and the spirit with the head of a horse, and where spirits are waiting, who devour passing souls. What is our bridge? The bridge of the spirits.

The building of the bridge of the spirits and the con- 796
fused explanations of the shamans, mixed with Taoist, 756
shamanist, and Bön principles, reveals, nevertheless, 772
the philosophy claiming the existence of three worlds: 779
the upper, middle, and lower worlds, each with its own population.[8] A hint has already been given of this philosophy, in describing the rite of the stretched goat skin and the molding of clay figures, etc. At any rate the bridge provides a wonderful opportunity for the shamans to display their philosophical abilities and their proficiency in the art of telling of the nine and more heavens, one more beautiful than the other; the eighteen hells, dark and terrifying; the severe judgments after death presided over by Erlik or the Chinese Yen wang; the explanation of the three souls; shamans flying on drums to heaven, are unique occasions for story-tellers, sparkling with wit, to reap big successes.

At that time, shamans never fail to explain the ap- 776
pointment of their ancestor shaman by Chiang Tze-ya 538
as servant of the god of the Five Roads; they never fail to narrate captivating episodes from the epic of Gesar. All kinds of problems are dealt with, and a lot of fun is had. The most ridiculous answers are given to the most ridiculous questions. One shaman asks for the explanation of why in each wheat grain there is always a small groove? The answer is that in the beginning of the world there was no wheat. Tengri made a wheat grain, but it seemed to be too big; with the nail of his right thumb he parted the grain in two parts. Still it seemed to be too big, and so he parted it again and then a third time. The fourth time, just when he was about to cut the grain in two parts again, it appeared to be all right without cutting through it, so he left the grain only half cut through, and so all grains of wheat have a little groove in them. This story was told to me several times by children who attended the meeting and said that the shaman told them so.

Another story, which gives us a better insight into 796
the nature of that kind of meeting, is told when a sha- 756
man is asked at what time and why men started seducing 831
women, and women started eloping? An interesting 773
sociological and moral question! Tengri wanted to have men and women. After kneading red earth and water a whole day, he moulded seven men; then he

[7] The most popular god of modern China who received letters patent from the Emperor in A.D. 1017. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, *op. cit.*, 1846.

[8] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 138. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

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took straw, and with fine cord tied it in the shape of 796
seven women. The fourteen manikins were put in the 756
sun to dry into shape; the tengris went to sleep. Erlik, 831
chief of the underworld and antagonist of the Tengri, 773
made a terrific storm rage and one of the straw ladies finally blew away. When these thirteen figures came to life, one of the men was lacking a wife. Monguors enjoy this story and ask the shamans to tell it every year. Another of the big subjects dealt with at the meetings is that of bad dreams. Because the meetings often end in telling smutty and filthy stories, women in many villages do not attend the evening meetings. The shamans at that time compete with one another for winning the highest marks in that kind of virtuosity. Often the chiefs of the villages, when they invite the shamans, enjoin them not to go beyond certain limits.

When the meeting starts to drag, the chief of the 756
shamans makes preparations for the leave-taking of the 796
spirits. The shamans perform a dance, while the audience kneels. The shaman again enjoins the people to ask for benedictions. He has a last talk with the spirits, thanks them for the visit, reminding them of their promises, and invites them ceremoniously, one after another, to return to their splendid abodes calling them by the most pompous titles. Firecrackers are set off, and shamans dance; the people prostrate themselves and the spirits go back along the rope to their abodes.

While the shaman throws three handfuls of wheat and jujubes into the air, the people try to catch them, as they fall, in their skirts; they mix them with the seeds for next year. A hard pull on the rope fixed on the pole breaks the bag containing jujubes made with dough, coins, and peas. Everybody tries to grab a couple of them, for having been touched by the coming and going of the spirits they enjoy their celebrated magical power. Sick persons eat them in order to be healed, and women so as to become pregnant. The fork with the two rolls is unbalanced; the rolls fall and are picked up; they are reduced to crumbs and are panaceas against all kind of ailments.

NURTURING OF THE GODS OF THE TEMPLE

This rite is the last one and may be the most im- [776] ●
portant. The shamans explain that the spirits in the 796
temples are to be nurtured once a year, in order that 756
they may be able to protect the village against hail. 782
Here the split personality of the Monguor shamans shows up in its crudest reality.

The shamans explain, and the Monguors strongly believe their explanation, that in former times a human sacrifice was urged every year by the spirits. Other shamans say that the sacrifice was needed only every seven years, in order to ward off hail, epidemics, epizootics, etc.[9] The present rite takes the place of the

[9] This tradition, concerning the yearly human sacrifice demanded by the spirits, seems to point to the fact that in old

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of Tibet. Chinese laws, and the presence of their powerful enemies, the lamas, ready to harm their institution constrain them to act cautiously and to restrain their savage nature. 782 [782]

The rites against hail, performed after the rites just described, have been recorded in Chapter IX.

CULT OF THE MOUNTAINS

The cult of the mountains must be very old. It seems not to have originated in Lamaism, and does not fit in the frame of its philosophy, but rather to have been accepted and ritualized by it to a very large extent. 795

Concerning the Monguors it has been noted, that the Shat'o, like most of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, made sacrifices on top of the mountains and that the horse was their most important offering.[10] It is a fact of common knowledge that in old times the Mongols also honored the gods of the mountains. Chingis Khan lived in this atmosphere. Temuchin (Chingis Khan), in order to avoid a band of Merkits, galloped away to Mount Burkan Kaldun. Having escaped alive, he exclaimed, lifting his face to the sky: "Mount Burkan has protected my miserable life; henceforward, I will ever sacrifice to it and bequeath to my sons and grandsons the duty of sacrificing to it."[11] 175 795

The Monguors explain the cult of the Obos and of the sacred hill of the village by asserting that the country between the Ta-t'ung and Hsining Rivers belongs to five powerful spirits or deities who reside on the tops of the five highest mountains of the country, where celebrated Obos are built for them. These spirits claim the worship of the people living on their territory, grazing herds and farming. They are kind to their worshippers, protecting their herds and fields, but they punish the unbelievers. "It is our duty to honor them," say the Monguors earnestly, "for if we were remiss in our duty we would surely court disaster." 795 776

These five spirits do not possess the entire territory in a group, but each of them is supposed to wield power over the country surrounding its own mountain. Consequently it receives offerings and worship only from the people living within its supposed circumscription.

Besides these five important mountain spirits, other less important ones are honored, mostly on the passes or on higher mountains. Their cult is not general, but is practiced only by the people living near the passes and by travelers.

In connection with this peculiar mentality about the territory having its proprietors is to be noted the cult of the sacred hill honored in each Monguor village, for in 795 778

[10] Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers, op. cit.*, 91.

[11] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan, op. cit.*, 29. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The mountain of God*, A study in early religion and kingship, 7: 170, London, Bernard Quaritch, 1953: "Fundamentally the 'old Asiatic Religion' is the worship of the divinity of earth and its energies concentrated in some mountain and in the superhuman virtue of kingship." Reviewed by Clarence H. Hamilton in *Far Eastern Quart.* 13 (3): 370, 1954.

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the same way the territory of the village is supposed to 795
have its owner who also resides on the sacred hill, not 778
on the highest mountain of the village. This spirit lays the same claims to thorough ownership over the village's fields and obligatory worship from its inhabitants.

The Monguors and Shat'o, descendants of old nomads, who used to honor spirits residing on the tops of the highest mountains and to recognize them as the proprietors of the entire country, were unable to get rid of this old trend of mind. They must have applied the same religious notions to the sacred hill of their villages when they exchanged their nomadic economy for the agricultural, and so the change of economy not only brought about adaptations in the field of their social organizations, but also in the field of their religion and cults.

It is common knowledge that the notion and cult of 795
a spirit proprietor of the earth are very old and wide- [17]
spread all over China also.[12] From the earliest times on, this spirit used to be honored in rudimentary shrines built in the fields by each farmer, and in a temple in each village, but the Monguors, old nomads, had to have a sacred hill and to have this spirit residing on top of a hill. Therefore, besides the cult of the five spirits of the five highest mountains, they practice the cult of the proprietor of the village on the sacred hill of the village. However, because the proprietor resides on a hill, they build a small Obo and plant a pole like that on the Obos built for the five big spirits. Several times I was told by Monguors that the cult of the sacred hill is the same as the cult of the earth god (T'u-ti-yeh) of the Chinese, and not the cult of a mountain spirit; that their earth god is the goddess Etogon; further, that the sacred hill is not the highest mountain situated in the boundaries of the village, but a hill or a notable elevation. Many villages do not have mountains inside their boundaries.

OBLIGATIONS TOWARD THE MOUNTAIN GODS

The behavior of the Monguors regarding the moun- [776]
tains and village gods seems to suggest that this cult is based on the principle of the ownership, the dominion of the country, by a god, and on the principle of its lordship over the people living on its territory. This dominion and lordship of the god is to be recognized by means of sacrifices and offerings.

The same frame of mind and philosophy concerning
these gods is encountered all over Asia.[13] Buddha once [17]
enjoined his followers in India never to omit making an offering to the god of the spot where they were dwelling.[14]

In every lamasery of Huang-chung, therefore, is encountered a temple dedicated to the god of the spot oc-

[12] Maspero, *La Chine antique*, *op. cit.*, 204.
[13] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 598.
[14] de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme: Opinions et croyances*, 351 Paris, Beauchesne, 1909.

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A large part of the hog is instantly prepared for a collective dinner, the remainder being divided in as many parts as there are families in the village. Each family has to partake of the sacrifice and receive a piece of meat and one roll. The manager of the ceremony presides at the division, while shamans and apprentices each receive thirteen rolls and a piece of meat. 796 782

Planks are placed in rows in the temple yard and straw is spread on both sides of them. The audience sits down on the straw and starts dining and drinking. When the sun is about set and the dinner finished, the shamans beat the drums, the audience kneels, the chief of the village pours a last libation on the ground, throws some cypress leaves into the fire and sprinkles water. The pole is taken down while the audience prostrates three times. Paper banners and streamers and inscriptions, are burned in the fire. For that reason some Monguors call the rite "paper burning rite." The villagers go home and the next morning the shamans leave.

MEANING OF THE RITE

The rite is a genuine one of thanksgiving for the harvest reaped, striking in its simplicity. Thanks are given in the temple yard of the god who is the protector of the village—not to that god, but to "Old Father Heaven" only, as is said distinctly by the chief of the village. It has been noted before that "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored inside temples or inside rooms, but always in the open air, in courtyards, on top of the roofs, on high mountains. Here is a case where, during the whole rite, the protector god of the village is not even mentioned, although the rite is performed in its own temple yard. The performance of the rite is perfectly in line with the general worshipping of "Heaven and all the spirits" as practiced by the Monguors. 796 782 776

An amazing fact is that shamans are invited to the ceremony, but at the very moment of the performance of the rite the chief of the village himself acts as sacrificer, as the representative and chief of the community, in the same way as we already noted that the chief of the family gives thanks on the roof of his house to "Heaven and all the spirits," offering the reeking rolls, steamed with the flour of the very first reaped wheat. The role played by the shamans is, in fact, secondary, and seems to have no immediate connection with the rite, but rather with the rites of preventing hailstorms, which had been successful. The invitation to the shamans to participate at the rite appears, except for the fact of the planting and removal of the pole, to be an act of kindness and courtesy of the villagers toward the shamans for their happy achievement. The people give thanks themselves for the harvest reaped to "Old Father Heaven" alone, the "Old Father Heaven" who provided their subsistence. 796 782 [622] [756]

But is this formula not borrowed from the Chinese, who use it under the same circumstances in all their

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Khan included (for Chingis is a devoutly honored deity), to the fire and to the Obo. The rite is performed in private families by lamas. Stallions are consecrated besides other animals.[3] The tenets of the religion of the Mongols seem to be as confused as those of the religion of the Monguors.

The rite used to be performed by the Turks.[4] Marco Polo, traveling through Turkistan on the way to Peking, notes the rites of the sacred animal—in this case a sheep.[5]

This rite is not to be confused with the well-known rite of the aspersion with milk of mares after the summer solstice. On an auspicious day the mares are milked and the milk is immediately mixed with sour cow's milk, so that it will become sour after a few minutes. This sour milk is thrown to the four points of heaven, with a wooden ladle, while prayers are said. The rite is performed in honor of all kinds of deities of Lamaism; all kinds of gods of heaven; of Chingis, his wives, his sons, and companions; to the spirits of mountains.[6]

CULT OF THE FIRE

A very old element of the old religion of the Turco-Mongols is the cult of the fire, whose specific offer was butter.[7] This cult had already existed in the arctic culture, "wir gehen wohl nicht fehl wenn wir wenigstens die Wurzeln irgendeine religiösen Feuer Kultus schon in die arktischen Urkultur eingesenkt lassen."[8] Fire is supposed to carry the offerings to the supreme deity.[9] It is one of the essential elements of the old religion of the nomads.[10] Among the Ch'i-tan, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, received considerable attention during winter.[11] Among the Ch'i-tan, the burning of big fire-wood was originally

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[3] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore ordos, op. cit.*, 1 seq. Prof. Schuyler Cammann encountered in Ordos a sacred yearling camel wearing a necklace of sheep scapulas—it could never be ridden by man. *The land of the camel*, 167, New York, Ronald Press, 1951.

[4] Herman Vambery, *Das Turkenvolk*, 122, 1885.

[5] Yule-Cordier, 1: 207, 1929.

[6] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 315–322, 331. Father Mostaert also notes (*Monumenta Serica* 1: 335, n. 19, 1935) that among the Mongols this rite, which is performed by laymen, is not specifically for Heaven but for all the Burkhans, Tengris, etc. The koumis (mare's milk) is cast from a ladle toward the four points of heaven; there is not a ladle-full for Heaven alone. This rite follows the summer solstice, by which time the colts have been born. It seems to be a thanksgiving rite, a rite of first fruits; specifically enacted for the reproduction of the horses. The Monguors, no longer having herds of horses, lack this rite.

[7] W. Koppers, Die Indogermanenfrage in Lichte der historischen Volkerkunde, *Anthropos* 30: 23, 1935; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* 10: 70–76; 9: 228–241, 534–535.

[8] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 3: 550.

[9] *Ibid.* 3: 555.

[10] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 136, 1925.

[11] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *op. cit.*, 214 and 239.

[p. 119(B)]

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part of the investiture ceremony of the emperor.[12] During the funeral ceremonies for the emperor, the new emperor, facing the fire, made a libation and bowed thrice.[13] At the end of the year, in front of the hall (in open air), an offering of salt and sheep fat was made to the god of the fire by the shamans, and the emperor bowed twice before the fire.[14] 372 776

Butter was the original offering for the fire god among the Mongols and the Aryans.[15] Fire is worshipped among the Monguors in two ways: by fire in the open air, and fire on the hearth.

FIRE IN THE OPEN AIR

At marriages, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard where the marriage rites are performed and the dinner is served. The prostrations "to Heaven and to all the spirits" are made by the young couple in front of the fire. When the bride leaves the home of her parents a fire is built in the courtyard and speeches are made; the dinner is taken in front of the fire.[16] 585 372

During the celebration of the rite of the sixtieth birthday a big fire is built in the courtyard. First of all, at midnight on New Year's, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard and prostrations are given. The fire is not allowed to go out during the whole day, and this rite is performed before all the other rites.

In the temple yard of the village, the same rite is performed on New Year's in the same way. On the fifteenth of the first moon, a big cypress fire is kindled in the middle of the threshing floor, and small fires are built all around, over which men and women jump, singing, merrymaking, and making fun on stilts. During the whole performance of many rites enacted by lamas and shamans, very often a big cypress fire is kindled, as will be noted later.

MAGICAL POWER OF THE FIRE

Already the well-known Wei-sang has been noted, which seems to be an offering diffusing fragrance in honor of the spirits. It accompanies many rites. But fire is not only used to convey to the spirits the good feelings of the people, but often its magical power is expected to drive away evil spirits, even at the time of epidemics, epizootics, or when calamities intermittently harm the family. 372 789

When mourners return from funerals, they jump over a fire kindled at the entrance of the courtyard, so as not to be pursued and harmed by the souls of the deceased. [764]

[12] *Ibid.*, 223, 239, 274.

[13] *Ibid.*, 279.

[14] *Ibid.*, 267–317.

[15] Poppe, *op. cit.* 142. Edward Washburn Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 106. Agni, the fire god in old Hinduism, is a mediator between god and man, carrying to Heaven the offerings (p. 445). The ram is the sacred beast of Agni, who is seen riding a ram (p. 449). At New Year's festival on the second day is the celebration of Agni.

[16] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu, op. cit.*, 42–71.

[p.120(A)]

If, however, black and white rites do not work, the Monguors call for the Taoist priest, who paints all the items used (the wood, etc.), with a coat of goat blood. He binds the logs in a bundle by means of goat guts, and sprinkles goat blood upon the burning fire. The rite is called the "red Wei-sang." 372 789

These facts give evidence of the importance attached by the Monguors to the fire for purifying from uncleanliness and preventing harm caused by evil spirits. They show their devotion for the fire by having a big cypress fire kindled during the performance of religious rites and the most important moments of life, as at marriages or the celebration of the sixtieth birthday. However, fire does not only play an important role in the life of the Monguors in the open air; its role is as important in the private life of the families where it is worshipped under the form of the "fire of the hearth," the "hearth god."

THE HEARTH FIRE

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Among the Monguors, the Chinese, and the Tibetans, the cult of the hearth god belongs entirely to the department of the women. Everywhere, the temple of the hearth god is the kitchen. 776 372

No wonder that the hearth god is supposed to be interested in a special way in the fecundity of the wives and the protection of the children, and that it is honored at fixed times by its own ritual. [842]

FIRE AND FECUNDITY

When the Monguor bride arrives at the home of the bridegroom, she does not prostrate herself before her parents-in-law or before the guests, but is led straight to the kitchen. Here she worships the god of the hearth giving three prostrations, burning incense, offering a bottle of wine and her chopsticks, which she has brought with her. 585 354 776 372

It was noted in the first volume of this study that the youngest couple in the family always lives in the kitchen, where the god of the hearth is honored, because the Monguors say that in that way fecundity is assured. Women who have plenty of children and do not wish to have more will leave the kitchen and live in another room. It has been noted that, among the Mongols, the youngest son inherits his father's hearth, occupies his tent, and is called the prince of the fire. [428]

When poor people cannot afford the luxury of a lavish marriage, nor invite guests, they marry the young couple in the kitchen "before the god of the hearth." The makeup of the new bride is done before the god of the hearth and not in the living room.[19]

An unusual practice relates to the fecundity assumed to be bestowed on women by means of the cult of the spirit of the fire (and of the god of the hearth). On the fifteenth of the first moon, at night, on the edge of the big threshing floor of the village, a number of small heaps of cypress boughs are kindled. While musicians 842 372 776

[19] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, 39.

[p. 121 (A)]

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beat drums and play mandolins, all the younger wives 842
and their husbands pursue each other, jumping over the 372
fire heaps, merrymaking. No wives or husbands would 776
miss this practice, for the tradition goes that it provides fecundity. However, the Yassa forbids jumping over the fire.[20]

Professor N. Poppe notes that among the Mongols the spirit of the fire is represented riding a he-goat, and that the he-goat is a symbol of fecundity, as Plano Carpini already noted.[21] This note of Professor Poppe evidences the existence of the fact that a relation existed between the fire god and fecundity in olden times. The Monguors seem not to know the existence of the god of the fire riding the he-goat, although they know that the hearth god secures fecundity. The hearth god also procures fecundity among the Buriats.[22]

FIRE AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE CHILDREN

The god of the hearth not only provides fecundity to 952
the daughters-in-law, but it protects their children. On 372
the second of the second moon is performed the rite of 776
consecration of the children to the god of the hearth. In the very early morning, before boiling water for washing and making tea, the mother roasts some handfuls of spelt in the cauldron and after them some handfuls of peas. Husband and wife spread them devoutly in the courtyard in front of the door. Then the elders clip some hair from the foreheads of the children under thirteen years of age, and cut the nails on their fingers. Hair and nail parings are carefully put in a cup and covered with a red cloth. The cup is placed before the picture of the hearth god and a copper coin placed on top of it. All members of the family prostrate themselves nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and the incense sticks are then fixed before the picture of the hearth god. On the twenty-fourth of the twelfth moon, at the time the god starts its journey to Heaven, the contents of the cup are burned in the hearth, together with the picture of the god. The Monguors explain this as the yearly rite of consecration of the children to the hearth god.

CULT OF THE HEARTH GOD

Rite at the End of the Year

The most important rites in honor of the spirit of 795
the hearth are performed at its departure for Heaven, 562
and at its coming back from Heaven, for so important 354
a benefactor must receive the highest honors possible, 776
and the most affectionate greetings. This is true all 782
over China. Men do not attend these rites.

The spirit of the hearth of the Chinese starts its journey to heaven on the twenty-third of the last moon of the year, on horseback or on a mule. The spirit of

[20] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 73.

[21] Poppe, *op. cit.* 2: 135. See also n. 15, above, for Agni, the Hindu god, riding a ram.

[22] *Ibid.*, 301.

[p. 121(B)]

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the Monguors starts its journey in the same way on the twenty-fourth of the same moon. Before that day, all daughters-in-law on holiday at their mothers' have to be back, for the cult of the spirit is entrusted to the women. This rule is kept most rigidly. 795 562 354 776 782

At evening, after supper, the women don their makeup and put on their best dresses, while the children are clad in their New Year's dresses. Grandmother and the daughters-in-law and the children kneel before the image of the spirit, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The grandmother presents and puts in front of the spirit a boiled chicken and twelve rolls of steamed bread, and kindles the oil lamp. Prostrations are made and paper is burned in the oven. Then the participants, sitting on the floor chatting, recall the events of the whole year. When the lamp is nearly burned out, the offerings are removed. Some straw is spread in the oven, on which the picture of the spirit is placed. Twelve small bundles of hay, some peas (horses are fed with peas in the country), and three or four rolls are placed on the image, as well as the cup containing hair and nail parings of the children. The straw is kindled. The participants prostrate themselves and bow. The grandmother says: "Good deity, you know all that has happened in the family during the year; you know our deficiencies and shortcomings. Please do not tell about them when you arrive in Heaven, but rather, speak about our pitiable living conditions, our miseries, our afflictions, our poor cattle. Please come back soon. Do not linger in Heaven for too long a time, as we need you very much; we will wait for you on the thirtieth at midnight. Bring with you children for my daughters-in-law—boys are preferable to girls. Bring health for all of us; bring riches and wealth, and blessings for the cattle." If some member of the family becomes ill at that time, or if one of the daughters-in-law is childless, all these facts are entrusted to the spirit and put on its knees with confidence. The fire in the oven is extinguished, and the good spirit is on the way, enjoying his ride to Heaven.

This is one of the most intimate prayers the Monguors say in a group in the family. The same rite is performed among the Chinese in the same affectionate way and almost in the same terms, and it may be that the Monguors borrowed it from them.

The spirit of the hearth seems to be the envoy of Heaven, whose duty appears to be the supervision of the doings of the families. It seems to be very potent, for it is able to obtain in Heaven all kinds of blessings in behalf of its protégés.

The next day the wall is whitewashed and the kitchen is cleansed. On the thirtieth, at evening, a new image is pasted on the wall, in front of which is placed a chicken, four rolls, a lamp and incense sticks. At midnight, after the fire is worshipped in the courtyard, Heaven and all the spirits are honored on the roof, and the guardian deity in the living room. The family pros-

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trates itself before the spirit of the hearth, congratulates it, and is happy, for the spirit is supposed to have come back at that very moment with a load of blessings. In the early morning the elders will honor it also. 795 562 354 776

Several times I asked the Monguors whom the spirit of the hearth was going to see in Heaven. The answer was always: "Our women claim, as do the Chinese, that the hearth god is going to see 'Old Father Heaven.' It is true that the spirits are everywhere, and the women know it; but on that night they say the same thing that the Chinese say." 782

Rites During the Year

Every time women prepare food, the first bowl is always offered devoutly to the hearth god. 782

On the fifth of the fifth moon, steamed rolls, shaped like flowers, are offered to the spirit of the hearth, and willow boughs adorn its image. Nobody could explain the connection between the willow and the spirit of the hearth. (Is it a Chinese custom?)

It has been noted above that steamed rolls, prepared with the flour of the spelt of the new harvest, and a lamp kindled with the new oil of the year, are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the fifteenth of the eighth moon, rolls and a chicken are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the eighth of the last moon of the year, a piece of ice is put before it. (Is this a Chinese custom?)

If a member of the family has been smitten with a severe disease, old people claim that the spirit of the hearth is angry and taking in ill grace the uncleanliness of the women for having let milk drip in the fire, or for having poured water on it and on the ashes, or for poking the fire with an iron rod. In that event, rolls, wine, and chicken are offered and prostrations are made. Sometimes a sheep is offered, and a lama is invited to pray in propitiation before the image of the spirit of the hearth.

When eyes are sore, or when there is trouble with scalp and hair, the spirit of the hearth has to play physician. Before the image, a red-hot stone is put in a pot of water in which aromatic leaves of wild mint are boiled. The sick man, after prostrating himself, bows over the pot and is steamed by the vapors and healed. The same rite is used to purify the sacred animal at New Year's.

It is noteworthy that the shaman is never invited by the Monguors to honor the fire or the spirit of the hearth, although once in a while a lama is invited to perform a propitiating rite. That department, like that of the sacred animal, seems to be foreign to them.

IMAGE OF THE HEARTH GOD

The old Monguors are accustomed to paste on the wall a sheet of white paper. In the middle of the paper is pasted vertically a short but wide yellow paper ribbon, under which is pasted, horizontally, a large red-fringed paper ribbon, said to be the skirt of the spirit. 776 354 372 562

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On both sides of the red skirt are pasted two small yellow ribbons, said to represent the handkerchiefs of the spirit. On the upper part of the sheet of paper is pasted, horizontally, a large red, fringed strip of paper.

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The skirt and the handkerchiefs are items belonging to women's dress, and consequently the spirit is supposed to be a female spirit. Some Monguors, when the whole primitive representation is finished, write on the yellow ribbon in the center: "Lord of the Hearth." Many Monguors no longer use this old representation of the spirit of the hearth, but instead, they buy a Chinese picture. After a few years it will be hard to find out to which sex their hearth god belonged.

According to the interesting study of Professor N. Poppe, based only on old fire prayers and hymns, the god of the fire among the Mongols is a female god, called "mother of the hearth," "mother of the fire," etc., but also "king of the fire," and even "mother king of the fire." The god of the fire possesses a big family consisting of seven girls and five boys and many servants. It is not clear why prayers and hymns are sung once for the king of the fire, and once for the lady.[23]

Among the Mongols, as among the Monguors, the most important act of honoring the god of the hearth takes place on the last days of the year. In the hymns, all kind of blessings are implored from the god of the hearth, who seems omnipotent.[24]

The Tibetans, from the oldest times on, also had their "god of the hearth" and their "queen hearth god." Both were very touchy concerning the smallest impurities thrown into the fire; a trifle could upset them.[25]

Among the Tungus, the spirit of the fire is an old woman, who stays in the fire of the family; fire is to be revered.[26]

It is interesting to record that, among the Chinese also, the sex of the god of the hearth is not definitely fixed. Father Doré, studying twenty-nine sources related to the subject, notes that eight describe it as female, while a few assert that the spirit is not a single person, but a real couple, husband and wife. The remainder claim the masculine sex for their spirit.[27]

In old China,

Chieh was the spirit of the hearth, wearing red clothes and having the appearance of a beautiful woman. [*Chieh* means chignon.] It is strange that the spirit of the hearth has a female appearance. Confucius is reported to have said that the cult of the hearth is a cult of old ladies. There is a difference between the spirits of the hearth and of the fire: the last one is a male spirit, and the first a female, which is assimilated with the first woman cook.[28]

[23] N. Poppe, Zum Feuer Kultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major* 2: 133, 1925.

[24] *Ibid.*, 140.

[25] Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 169.

[26] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 128.

[27] H. Doré, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, Part 2, 2: 901, Shanghai, Sikawei. See also *Li-ki*, Couvreur, 1: 554. Ho Kien fu, 1899, Mission Catholique.

[28] M. Granet, *Danses et legendes de la Chine ancienne*, 308, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

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The bewilderment concerning the sex of the god of the hearth and its social position is astonishing. Sometimes the god seems to be a married couple, sometimes a single female, or a single male. The traditional picture made by the Monguor women themselves offers a definite solution concerning the sex of "their" hearth god. The traditions concerning the fecundity attached to it seem connected with the Mongol king of the fire riding a he-goat, nothwithstanding that the Monguors are unable to give any reason for this connection, and do not know anything about the existence of this he-goat rider. Maybe the solution of the puzzle is to be sought in the suggestion of Granet, that two spirits are involved, the spirit of the fire which is a male, and the god of the hearth which is a female.

OFFERING TO HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS

THE FAMILY OFFERING AFTER THE HARVEST

After the spelt is cut, some sheaves are immediately carried home and threshed. The grain is ground on the stone, which is cleansed carefully. The women steam thirteen rolls of bread made with the newly ground flour. All members of the family climb on top of the roof in their best dresses and kneel, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the family lifts up to Heaven the salver with the thirteen steaming rolls and shouts three times, at the top of his voice, the usual "*Mtchioo*" and "Heaven and all the spirits." The whole family prostrates itself thankfully for the new harvest. Crumbs of bread are thrown to the four points of the compass. The Monguors say that the crumbs must be thrown in this way in order to feed the roaming, hungry, malignant spirits of the deceased, who always are on the prowl to harm the people.

The family comes down and offers the same rolls to the guardian spirit of the family, and to the spirit of the hearth, and then the whole family eats the rolls steamed with the new flour of the year.

In autumn, when linseed and colza seed are cut and the new oil is pressed, the same rite is performed with the new oil. A lamp with the new oil is kindled on the roof of the house with the usual prostrations and shoutings, another is kindled for the guardian spirit of the family, and another for the spirit of the hearth. The Tibetans in the country perform the same rite and the Chinese do also, but the Chinese thank only the "Old Father Heaven" and not "Heaven and all the spirits."

THE OFFERING OF THE SHEEP

It has been noted above that whenever a sheep is offered to a deity in the family, first of all a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown in the court yard for "Heaven" separately, with shouts of "Heaven" and no more; that a second piece is cut and thrown in the same way, with a shout of "all the spirits," and that

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after this rite is performed the sheep is offered to the guardian deity of the family. The Ordos Mongols perform the same rite for "Heaven" only, when for a dinner a whole sheep is presented in its entirety to the guest.[29] 776 782 795

CALENDAR OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES 796

At home, at midnight on New Year's, while the old parents are still sleeping, the family starts kindling a big fire, with wood and cypress boughs, in the courtyard before the sacred pole for "Heaven and all the spirits," and prostrates itself three times. The fire is not allowed to go out the whole day. On the roof of the living room, or in the courtyard before the pole, offerings are put on a small table: rolls of bread steamed or baked in oil, raisins, butter, wine. Holding Chinese incense sticks in their hands, the family prostrates itself nine times, crying: "Heaven and all the spirits protect us during the whole year." They sprinkle some wine to the cardinal points and throw out some crumbs of bread for hungry malignant souls. Then they bring the offerings down from the roof in order to perform the same rite with the same offerings before the guardian deity of the family, the spirits of the fire, the pole, the hearth, the gate, and the stables, and fix a Chinese incense stick before each of them. At dawn the elders, upon arising, enact the same rite in the courtyard for "Heaven and all the spirits." At evening, from the first until the fifteenth of the first month, a lantern is hung on the pole in the courtyard, sticks of incense are fixed at the door, and the whole family prostrates itself every day before the door and pole saying. "We prostrate ourselves for Heaven and all the spirits and the spirit of the door and of the pole.[30]

Before sunrise, several pieces of ice are put on top of the walls of the courtyard of the families in which no persons have died during the year.

After the elders finish their worshipping, they sit on the k'ang in order to receive the congratulations of the family. The eldest son presents them with a cup of wine, and the family prostrates itself nine times. The daughters-in-law make three prostrations to their husbands, and the youngest brothers and sisters prostrate themselves before the eldest three times, and then before each other in the same way. Then follows the traditional speech of the grandfather, well known over the country: "Rise early in the morning, work till late at night, tend the herds carefully, and spend your full energy on the fields, and all live peacefully together and forgive each other's shortcomings and deficiencies. I hope that Heaven and all the spirits will bless you, in order that you may build seven farm houses several stories high, may shear the wool of hundreds of sheep,

[29] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos*, 489: 590, Peiping, 1947 (Monograph 11 of *Monumenta Serica*).

[30] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 625, *Das Neujahrsfest*, gives more details about New Year's.

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bow and arrow and quiver. The members of each 796
family kneel at the door and prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. At the return of the spirit, the chief of the village and the elders wait for it in the temple yard and congratulate the spirit and thank it for its kindness and blessings. On a table are placed three triangular *torma,* five balls of dough, adorned with some butter, and a bottle of wine. The chief of the village rubs some butter on the face of the spirit, and on the faces of the carriers and the guardian. Then the faces of the carriers are powdered with flour, and a ball of dough is pressed into their mouths. Wine is drunk and the spirit re-enters the temple.

On the fifth of April the ancestors of the clan are worshipped in the old clan cemetery followed by races and the clan assembly. Three days before, they honor their ancestors in their private cemeteries. A few days later, in all the villages, is enacted the shamanist rite of spring, as has been noted, and the rites against hail.

The twenty-ninth of the fifth moon and the sixth and the twenty-ninth of the sixth moon are days for the young folk to make merry in most of the villages. There is singing and dancing and some villages have races and wrestling.

In the sixth moon the spirit of the Obo is honored, and at the foot of the mountain a big crowd enjoys races.

In the eighth moon the Monguors honor the moon just as the Chinese do.

In the ninth moon the thanksgiving rite for the harvest is performed in the temple. A few days later Chinese performers are invited to give a puppet show for several nights in the village. If the three festivals given at the lamaseries every year be added to these as well as the distractions afforded by marriages, funerals, the celebration of birthdays, and the worshipping of the goddess of the hearth at the end of the year, an idea can be gained of the calendar of religious activities and distractions during a whole year in the Monguor society.

XII. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

THE CULT OF FAMILY DEITIES

It is a fact of common knowledge that "the earliest 776 342
obtainable reports about the popular religion of the Mongols invariably speak about the images of house gods, placed on stands at both sides of the entrances of their tents. They believed that these gods took care of their flocks . . . , that they were the protectors of the family and of its wealth." They were called "Ongghot."[1] This custom of honoring house gods was very old and general. The Monguors, when they settled in the country of Huang-chung, were addicted to this ancestral tradition and continued its practice, for today in

[1] W. Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos* 48: 511, 1953.

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every courtyard there is encountered a guardian deity of the family. 776 342

SPIRITS HONORED IN THE FAMILIES—PECULIAR CONCEPT

The Monguor concept of the deities honored in the families is very peculiar. Once a family starts worshipping a deity, its cult must be continued forever in that family, for fear that the deity, if evicted, might loose its avenging bolts of calamities and disaster, and the long train of miseries would never stop. 776 428 782 592

According to this conception, at the time of dividing the paternal inheritance the eldest son inherits the cult of the deity previously honored by the father. The duty to continue the old family cult falls upon him. His younger brothers, however, are free to make a choice among all the available deities of Taoism, of Lamaism, even of the Twelve Tengris of the shamans, and to start their newly founded families with a new guardian deity. Every two ar three years all the brothers must still convene in the house of the eldest, to attend a rite celebrated for the old family deity and to contribute to the expenses of the celebration. The tie which binds them to the cult of the old family deity is so strong, that in the event a great calamity overcomes one of the brothers, notwithstanding the fact that he honors his own deity, he will invite all his brothers to worship the old family deity at the home of the eldest brother. The old family deity which had been honored for so many generations is still supposed to harbor in its heart a predilection for all those who honored it. The old Monguor, Li San-ming, told me this in Li chia t'an in 1914, the day after his brothers had worshipped the old family deity at his home.

The fervent cult of the guardian deity of the family is a characteristic of the Monguor family. No Kuang-li of Naring Valley told the story of a poor old widower, Li ssu, living in the village of P'irke in 1908, who could hardly make both ends meet, and who had inherited from his father the picture of Twelve Tengris with the Black Tiger rider of the shamans, which he did not honor. Every time the villagers of P'irke took ill they went to the home of the old man, to honor and to propitiate the spirits, because a certain shaman had said that all the misfortunes occurring in the village were caused by these spirits, who took with bad grace the neglect of the old man. The extremely shy old man tried to make a living out of these circumstances and, stubborn as a mule, he would not allow anyone to honor the spirits in his home, as long as the villagers would not provide for his livelihood, for he knew the villagers were sick with apprehension. But the villagers, as stubborn as he, honored the spirit behind his house, burning incense there. 688 776 592

After his death, his only married daughter, living in the village of Li chia t'ai, inherited his poor house. The villagers of P'irke, having lived under the threat of

the spirits for so long a time, urged her husband to take 633
with him the fateful picture. The villagers of Li chia 776
t'ai, however, did not allow him to introduce the ill- 592
boding spirits into their village. At night the son-in-law buried the picture in a deserted, ruined house in P'irke. After one or two years the fact became known. The wrath of the P'irke villagers was great enough to bring suit against Li ssu, but the court of Li T'u-ssu ordered the defendant to defray the expenses of inviting twelve shamans (for they honor the twelve spirits) in order to conciliate the spirits, to repair the outrage, and to offer a sheep, incense, and oil. After the preparations were performed, the shamans took with them the picture,[2] and firecrackers were set off. This fact illustrates the peculiar attitude of the Monguors concerning the duty of continuing the cult of the deities honored by the ancestors.

MOST SPIRITS ARE TAOIST

Since nearly every family has an uncle or a son who 771
is a lama, it would seem obvious that most of the deities 776
honored in the families should belong to Lamaism—all the more so because in nearly every valley there is a big or a small wealthy lamasery, and Lamaism reached the highest peak of glory with its celebrated Hutukhtus two centuries ago. However, it seems not to be so. The number of families honoring a Lamaist guardian deity is far smaller than of those honoring Taoist deities, and even the twelve spirits with their black tiger rider of the shamans. This astonishing fact requires an explanation.

The Monguors are a practical people. At the feast of spring, when the shamans invite spirits to come to the temple along the rope, no Lamaist deities are invited, and none arrive. The shamans honor their Tengris and the Taoist spirits, and combat the hail scourge by help from all of them. Honoring at home the same spirits which are honored in the temple of the village will provide more security for their worshippers against the dreaded hail, so most of the Monguors prefer at home the cult of these deities honored by the shamans, who are considered to be more powerful and more expert in this field than the lamas.

The reasons for the Monguor preference for non- 771
Lamaist protector deities, explain why they adopt Taoist 776
or shamanist spirits. It was always said that "Heaven" 592
is never honored as a family spirit. However, in the families, there are encountered the cults of the spirits of the mountain, the earth, the five roads, the dragon king, the mother gooddess, the horse king, and the cow king. The temples of the villages are dedicated to the same spirits. Some families honor the Twelve Tengris of the shamans with the tiger rider. However, most of the Monguors, at the time of the division of the extended family, when they have to choose a new family

[2] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 603. Among the Alar-Buryats, images of family deities must be removed by the shaman who honors the deity.

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guardian deity do not like the cult of the twelve Tengris, 771
although these are considered the most potent protectors 776
among the spirits. The reason alleged is that these 592
spirits are very touchy and do not allow any lukewarmness in their cult and frequently during the year they urge the offering of a sheep. Therefore, the families which honor them are all families which continue a cult initiated generations ago.

However, families whose children are weakly like to dedicate them for thirteen years to the Twelve Tengris, and after thirteen years perform the rite of liberation from the dedication, and nurture the rooster of longevity. (See Part I: 102–103.)

There still exists an unusual custom concerning the cult of the Twelve Tengris for which I never found an explanation. It is customary that the images of guardian deities should be hung on the northern wall in the living room. The image of the Twelve Tengris, however, is never hung, but is kept rolled up during the whole year and put on the offering table along the wall. Only on the first of the first moon, at New Year's, is it hung for three days, and all the members of the families who, before the division of the extended family group, honored these Twelve Tengris and at present honor other deities as their protectors, are bound to come during these three days to worship the Twelve Tengris of their ancestors.

Another emotional but important reason for preferring the cult of a Taoist deity is that the families enjoy more the rite celebrated by the shaman at home for a Taoist family deity, than the rite performed for a Lamaist family deity. The lamas do not in fact honor the ancestors. They recite texts for one or seven days, make a *torma*, and the monotonous and tedious rite is finished. Because an emotional element governs the choice of the family deity, an outline of the shamanist rite will best explain what is involved.

CULT OF THE FAMILY GUARDIAN DEITY

The biennial or triennial rite is performed in the 795
eleventh month. On the first day of the celebration, 756
the same preparations are made by the shamans and 782
their apprentices as at the feast of the spring in the 592
temple of the village, but on a more reduced scale, in- 776
cluding pasting of banners and streamers, planting of the pole, binding of the rope, baking and steaming of rolls, offering of sheep, thrones for the ancestors, the hearth god, spirits of the horses, the gate, and for the protector spirits of each of the families of the brothers.

At midnight "Heaven and all the spirits" are worshipped in the courtyard by the whole family. Firecrackers are set off. On the morning of the second day the spirits are invoked and come down along the rope. Among them are the gods of the hearth, the granaries, the stables, the doors, the grindstone, the fertilizers, the well, the horses, the cows, and the last three generations of ancestors. There are the usual prostrations, in-

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cense, and libation for the throne of the ancestors. The 795
spirits are greeted and the offerings enumerated. The 756
shaman holds a long dialogue with the ancestors, asking 782
whether they are happy and will protect the descendants, 592
and makes promises. The whole group enjoys sitting 776
before the gods and the ancestors. The rite of the greeting of the Goddess of Joy and all the performances connected with it are omitted, but at evening follow the lighting of the lamps, the making of the bridge, and the departure of the spirits.

The spirits remain only one day. At night no soul is taken outside the courtyard to nurture the spirits, but during a last wild dance the chief of the shamans jerks off the head of a chicken and the guardian deity of the family is nurtured with its reeking blood. The head of the chicken is put under a box for seven days, the pole is taken down, and jujubes are gathered. After the shamans leave the courtyard, the fire in the hearth is not allowed to die out for seven days, and for seven days no guests or friends are admitted. No food is given to anybody, not even to beggars, no items are loaned out, no animals are sold, and the animals sold before that time are not allowed to be led away. However, things from outside may be accepted and brought into the courtyard.

The real nature of the feast celebrated by the shaman in honor of the family deity consists, it is clear, in honoring the guardian deity of the family and all the spirits presiding over the various departments of the household, together with the ancestors. It seems to be a heterogeneous party in which spirits and ancestors and the members of the present generation participate. The climax of the feast, however, is the entertainment of the ancestors, who are believed to be present in the courtyard, happy to look upon their descendants and disposed to extend their protection over them. The shaman is believed to see the ancestors, hear them speaking, know their intimate feelings, their desires for offerings and their good dispositions, and his dialogue with them is so animated as to give the participants hallucinations and make them happy.

New Catholic converts, talking about this feast, al- 795
ways recognized that before their conversion they en- 776
joyed the entertainment with the ancestors very much, but they never alluded to the presence of the spirits at the feast. Children of new converts often had interesting discussions at school with children more proficient in the doctrine concerning the shaman who had seen their ancestors and heard them speaking, but they never spoke about the other spirits present at such times.

The feast of the family guardian deity seems in fact 592
to have become a feast honoring the ancestors at home. 776
This delight in the presence of the ancestors is not confined to the Monguors. It is interesting to note the similarity of the rite of the invocation of the spirits of departed heroes, which still delights the Ordos Mongols.

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spirit from escaping, the foe is searched for in all the 755
nooks and corners of the rooms and stables. A terrible struggle with it is engaged in with swords and whips. It is tortured and finally driven away to a crossroad at night, with the help of the neighbors firing guns. These rites have been described hundreds of times.

Some of the answers supplied by the spirits of the staff to shamans and lamas concerning the causes of mischief and calamity among the Monguors are worthy of notice.

The goddess, sitting in the imposing sedan chair in 776
the middle of the temple of the village, receiving the 755
worshipping villagers and smelling the incense smoke, is, none the less, in an ill mood and bad tempered, because, like many of her sex, being fond of a new piece of clothing, she wants a new mantle. The shaman says: "She has worn the mantle for five or more years; its color has faded; it has been mended so many times by the thrifty villagers, that really, she can hardly keep it on her shoulders; she is ashamed to be greeted and approached by people who are better clad than she. Give a fine new mantle to your goddess and the disease will vanish." Or it is said that the goddess, while visiting the god Erh-lang, had lost her earrings which must be replaced.

Once it was the deity honored by the family in the 755
living room which resented the family's neglect and disregard of it. An act of propitiation had to be performed and a sheep or goat offered in reparation. Once it was the shadow of a deceased member of the family which passed over the sick, eager to take with it another member of the family. Once it was the Twelve Tengris, weak and starving for lack of being nourished by a sacrifice during many months, who drastically urged a sacrifice. Once it was the case of a spell cast upon the sick by a fiendish neighbor. A solution has to be found for all such cases, using one of the means noted above.

The following should be noted for its philosophical interest. When the shadow of a deceased is supposed to have caused the disease, the shaman, having made a straw manikin and transfixed it with the dagger, and pulled it burning outside the courtyard, traces outside the gate three small circles and one bigger in size. He pours in each several cups of noodles and tea. The food in the three small circles is intended to feed the ancestors of the three immediate senior generations of the sick man, and the food in the big one is intended for the roaming alien souls. Ancestors of no more than three generations are fed, because those of older generations are supposed to have vanished. The same custom has been noted at the feast of the Spring.

SPIRITS EXPELLED FROM THE VILLAGES

Not only individual families are supposed to be 783
harmed by evil spirits. The entire village may be haunted by spirits, and so every year in wintertime the

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with silk flags, to look at the hundreds of measures of 792
grain put into the chair, the hundreds of pounds of 685
sugar and raisins, the hundreds of rich garments, and 782
the herd of sheep which follows the chair (for the few 556
pieces of meat are called a "herd of sheep"), and so on, for the other items. They implore it to look at the unusual prodigality of the customer, who is a fervent adherent of the faith. After the parody is played, the lamas have a good time visiting the neighbors. On the seventh day, at night, all the neighbors help escort the troublesome spirit outside the village, forming an imposing cortege with banners flying and drums, horns, and some rifles, and carrying the sedan chair, the caldron and bull head, the spears and swords. The lamas blow the trumpets made from a human femur. The bull head, spears, and swords are buried in a deep hole; a big fire is lit and the pit is filled, at full speed, flush with the ground. The stake is thrust into it; the whole group howls and curses the avenger, rifles are fired, trumpets blown, and the lamas return. The sedan chair is emptied by the neighbors. Restitution is thus made, the avenging spirit is appeased and thrust into the hole, and the thief remains possessor of his thievery.

A rich man, Lo san lao, who lived in Ha-la-chih 425
Valley, had succeeded in bringing to his home the fine 782
young lady of the poor Monguor Li sse of Naring 789
Valley. Calamities then troubled his family, and he invited Yellow lamas to perform the rite. They placed in the sedan chair a fine paper lady. The rite of the caldron and bull head was carried out, and the avenging spirit was thrust into the hole. Restitution was thus made by means of a paper lady, but he remained the possessor of the real one.

After many years this rite as performed by Red [792]
lamas, invited by the famous Sumpa Hutukhtu in order to compensate for the injustices perpetrated by his intendants, is still talked about in the country. The splendid sedan chair was on this occasion lavishly filled with precious items. A beautiful horse which followed the cortege was abandoned for the neighbors. After the bull head had been buried and the avenging spirit thrust into the hole, hundreds of people had tried to capture the horse.

The claims of justice are deeply embedded in the 181
consciousness of the people, and the necessity of restitution for injustices is always advocated by the lamas, although the magical rite of restitution seems to be a mockery of its real intent. Justice seems to rank first among the virtues.

In connection with this peculiar mentality concerning 776
the spirit who is the avenger of injustices is to be noted 425
the cult of the Sturlong spirit. This spirit is supposed to guard the wealth of the family with ruthless severity. It does not allow anything of value belonging to the family which honors it to be taken away. It is honored as a family deity, mostly among the Monguors of the

Seerting group, but also among some families living in the Hung-nai and Ha-la-chih Valleys. It is said that long ago an old lama of Sung-chan-i (P'ing-fan hsien) introduced the cult of this spirit in the country. It has only one eye in front, and its image is honored not in the living room but behind the entrance gate of the courtyard. Many Monguors do not like to marry their daughters into families where this spirit is honored, and those who honor it are afraid to get rid of its cult, for fear of calamities. The spirit notices all visitors and watches to see whether some evil intent is not lurking behind the visit. It is said that when an undesired guest lingers waiting for dinner, Sturlong causes him tremendous intestinal troubles so that he has to run away. At the time when the dowry for a girl of the family is discussed, and the head of the family suggests that the part required by the lord of the family is not yet fixed, the go-betweens understand the hint and promise a goat for Sturlong. On the wedding day, a few moments before the bride will leave, a goat is set before Sturlong who avidly devours its prey and does not notice the bride leaving. At the time an animal is to be sold, its price is discussed not at the home of the proprietor but outside the courtyard, in order to avoid Sturlong knowing about it.

Still another spirit is honored, which steals in behalf of the families that honor it. Its cult is practiced especially in the Hung nai Valley. The Chinese call it *Mao-kui-shen* "cat spirit." It is a male spirit for which young women prepare a blanket at night, and which they "serve." On the tenth moon it steals grain and brings it to the granaries of its devotees. If guests arrive unexpectedly at noon and the food prepared is not sufficient, it is so potent that it can add food enough for all the guests by unknown means. When thieves come at night, it spirits away the things they intend to steal. However, it cannot steal Chinese coins, because Chinese characters are stamped on them; it cannot steal cloth in behalf of its devotees, because on both ends of a piece of cloth are printed the brands of the fabric. It cannot take things out of a closet which is tightly closed, but when the door is open it takes what it needs. It likes to drink liquor. A young woman poured liquor for it, one cup after another, until the cup remained full. In the blanket she found a drunken cat, which her husband killed. These tales resemble those recounted by the Mongols, concerning the well-known fox-spirit.[12]

[12] Here should be noted the very interesting study of F. A. Oberle, S.V.D., dealing with a similar frame of mind, with practices, some similar and some differing, encountered among the Tibetans of the region of Kui-te, 200 *li* south of Hsining on the right bank of the Yellow River, and among a group of Tibetans living 60 *li* west of Hsining called Chia-hsi-fan by the Chinese, i.e., Tibetans living in houses in contrast to the Tibetans living in tents. However, I never heard the Monguors explaining the rites performed against the avenger of the family wealth, suggesting the avenger having the appearance of a "Hundekopfdämon," an evil spirit with a dog head. See

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carried to the burying spot by the shamans, running at 766
a fast pace. Paper is burned with the flags and inscriptions, while the shamans prostrate themselves holding incense sticks in their joined hands. After the pit has been filled, each shaman carries three buckets of water and pours them on it. Then they build the small tumulus and return home, running without looking back at the tomb. They have a breakfast of noodles, without meat. All together they make a terrifying noise and drive the evil spirits out of the home. Except for the members of their own families and relatives, no other people attend the burial, because they are afraid of the magicians.

XIV. CULT OF HEAVEN

THE MEANING OF THE FORMULA "HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS"

Several times in the present study there has been 789
noted the stereotype formula, "Heaven and all the 772
spirits," used during the performance of religious rites. Monguors in their own language are accustomed to saying *"Tiengere uluon purgan"* meaning "Heaven and all the spirits," and even *"Sge Tiengere uluon purgan,"* that is "Great Heaven and all the spirits."

Because "Heaven" is always invoked in conjunction 772
with "all the spirits," it seems obvious that Heaven is 776
considered by them to be a being, belonging in the category of the living spirits, and that it is not supposed to be the material sky.[1]

At present, the Monguors call all the spirits Tengri or 776
purgan.[2] The shamans serve their Twelve Tengris and many families honor the Twelve Tengri as the family protectors. The Obo spirit, the earth goddess, Lung wang the dragon king, Wu tao, the goddess of children, are all called Purgan and Tengri. However, when speaking about a definite spirit, they call it by its proper name. The Obo spirit is called Yifula, the goddess of the earth, Etogen, the god of the rain, Lung

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[1] Professor N. Poppe, in reviewing W. Schmidt's *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Bd.* X in *Anthropos,* **48**: 328, 1953, notes: "Should tengri be understood as Heaven or God. . . . I think this question can be answered in favour of the word God." He adds: "No matter what the exact meaning was in the usage of the pagan Mongols of the 13th and 14th centuries," its equivalent in the official translation into the languages spoken by Christian peoples was "Deus" or "God." Schmidt, in reviewing N. Pallisen's *Die alte Religion des Mongolischen Volkes wahrend der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden* in *Anthropos* **48**: 623, 1953, notes: "Pallisen stellt fest, dass zunächst Gotthimmel als Eigenname bedeutete, dann aber zum Gattungnamen Gott wurde. . . . Zuverlässige Nachrichten über Himmel als Schöpfer in der Religion der Mongolen des 12 und 13 jhdt. liegen night vor." (The word *Purgan,* it should be noted, is the Monguor form of the word more familiar in its standard Mongol form, *Burkhan.*)

[2] Concerning the word Purgan, see Francis Woodman Cleaves, The Bodistw-a Cari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur of 1312 by Cosgi Odsir, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* **17**: 91, note 29; and 100, note 118, 1954. [p. 149(A)]

wang, the god who protects against hail, Wu tao. Although they are accustomed to saying that all the spirits are Tengri and Purgan, they seem to prefer to use the term Tengri. *Purgan* seems to be a relatively recent term, introduced after Lamaism had been spread among them, for they seem to prefer "Purgan" when speaking about gods of Lamaism. However, they always say that "*uluon purgan*" means all the spirits, and not only the Lamaist deities. 776

Because in the formula "*Tiengere*," often "*Sge Tiengere*," "Heaven," "Great Heaven" are always used first, it is obvious that the "spirit of Heaven" seems to be prominent among the spirits in the mind of the Monguors. This prominence of Heaven is shown by the Monguors in a very conspicuous way at the time when a sheep is offered to the guardian spirit of the family, by the fact that, first of all, a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown toward Heaven in the courtyard, with the cry, "Heaven." Then a second piece is cut and thrown in the courtyard with the cry, "All the spirits," and finally the sheep is offered to the guardian deity. It is shown also at the time of the offering of a sheep to the Obo spirit on top of the mountain, when three ladles of broth are thrown in the air—first, for "Heaven," and then, consecutively, three ladles to each of the four points of the compass for all the spirits, "*Uluon purgan*." [823]

However, is it permitted, on account of this striking prominence, to jump to the conclusion that the "spirit of Heaven," or "Great Heaven" is a monotheos, and that the Monguors of 1910–1920 were monotheists? Monotheists are considered as worshipping but one God. People who worship and offer sacrifices to Heaven and all the spirits are consequently considered polytheists, no matter how prominent the "spirit of Heaven" may be. 771 776

Does this formula justify the conclusion that the "spirit of Heaven" is the chief of all the spirits, whom they all have to obey; that the "spirit of Heaven" alone administers the departments both blessings and punishments, and that the "spirit of Heaven" is omnipotent?[3]

When I asked the Monguors about the abode of the spirits, they always pondered for a few moments, as if they did not understand the meaning of my question, and then they answered: "Of course the spirits are everywhere." Indeed it seemed obvious, in view of my European frame of mind, to interpret the expression, "Heaven and all the spirits" as meaning that all the spirits enjoyed happiness together in Heaven with their supreme chief, the great spirit of Heaven. However, the Monguors assured me that the spirits are independent of one another, and independent of the spirit called Heaven; that each of them administers its own department, and that they all know the intimate feelings and behavior of the people toward them and bless or punish accordingly. Therefore, the Monguors are afraid to offend any of them and propitiate the spirit they are [782] 772

[3] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217. [p. 149 (B)]

supposed to have offended. It is for that reason that 772
during the rite of spring all the spirits are invited by 732
the shamans to come down along the rope to be honored by the villagers so that all of them may extend their protection.

In the Halachih Valley, among subjects of the Lu 776
T'u-ssu, I encountered the following case. At the time 428
of division of a parental inheritance, a son considered that the decision made by the elders of the village was unjust toward him, and at the very moment when he should have appended his signature, he ran into the courtyard, pencil in hand, crying toward the sky: "Twelve Tengris, protectors of our family, you know that the division is unjust, that I am compelled to apply my signature." Then he entered the room and signed. In such circumstances the ultimate recourse of every Chinese would inevitably be to invoke "Old Father Heaven" and never another spirit.

Carpenters, building a temple in Sumdoo, having 776
had trouble with the chief of the tribe, proposed to go 466
to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to take the oath before the statue of Buddha. The chief answered, "No need to go so far, take the oath here, Buddha is everywhere; he will know it."

The belief that all the spirits are everywhere, know 776
all things, bless and punish independently, and that they are just and equitable, is deeply ingrained in the minds of the Monguors of today. It is easy to understand that in a society in which each department is administered by a particular spirit, independent and omnipotent in its sphere, little room is left for the activities of the "spirit of Heaven"; that finally "Heaven," the "Great Heaven," occupies a role of honorary dimensions and nominal importance, and the characteristics and activities of the "spirit of Heaven" among the Monguors are hard to define.

Can "Heaven," which is unable to control the good spirits, control the evil spirits? According to the Monguors, no spirit can control the department of its neighbor, and so in case of interference of evil spirits, magical devices are contrived in order to drive away and combat the evildoers and make them harmless. The good spirits, however, are invited to participate in the struggle against them. When the spirits of hail threaten the village with devastation, magic devices are used by the shamans, and the spirit protectors of the village are carried to the battlefield, and Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" are invoked. If they are unable to match their opponents, they abandon the struggle, rushing with their carriers through rivers and precipices. Good spirits can lend a hand in the struggle, but they may lose the battle and—so much for "Heaven and all the spirits." Facts speak for themselves.

Is not this fierce struggle between good and evil 771
spirits, between representatives of two opposite worlds, reminiscent of Manichaeism, fervently practiced by Turkic peoples in Central Asia during the last centuries of the first millennium? [p. 150(A)]

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Does the joke played during the spring feasts between the shamans, concerning the making of men and women by the good Tengris, and the storm caused by the nefarious Erlik in order to disturb the good actions of Tengris, not warrant also the same assumption? Or is the struggle between two opposite powers a specific characteristic of shamanism? If so, it is no wonder that shamanism was a field well prepared for the planting of Manichaeism, with its dualistic principle of light and darkness, whose powers were engaged in an endless struggle. 771

BEHAVIOR OF THE MONGUORS TOWARDS HEAVEN

The whole day long the Monguors, like their neighbors the Chinese, use the word "Heaven" in their conversation. They use the Chinese expressions: "Heaven knows it," "Heaven sees all things," "It is impossible to cheat Heaven," "Heaven punishes him," "Heaven rejects him," "Heaven does not bless him," "Heaven determines destiny," "It was decided by Heaven"; even a child born out of wedlock or by a girl married with the pole, is called "born by Heaven." 772

One can easily be impressed by this fact and induced, at first glance, to believe that the Monguors are very dutiful toward Heaven, and harbor convictions that they depend entirely on Heaven; that they trust in Heaven alone in all circumstances of life, and that Heaven is considered the omnipotent, omniscient, equitable regulator of the universe and its inhabitants. However, when a happy event is announced they clap their hands, and with a gleam in their eyes happily say, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when bad news is broken they say pitifully and sorrowfully, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when they are suffering with pain, or when a calamity is imminent, they will sigh imploringly, crying, "Om Mani, Om Mani . . . help us!" The first cry of the heart is never a cry toward "Heaven" but the Om Mani to Buddha, for everybody knows that Buddha, who knows all things, is the personification of benevolence, always willing to help. 772 788 776

What is the factual position of Heaven in the fabric of the daily life of the Monguors? After the first surge of emotion and the cry to the benevolent Buddha, the "practical" Monguors start reasoning about the causes of the mischief. Because their world is crowded with mischievous spirits, they try to detect the mischief-maker, or to determine whom among the spirits they have injured. When a member of the family is smitten with a severe disease, they suspect that they have offended the god who is the proprietor of the soil of their courtyard, the god of the hearth, the guardian deity of the family, or that they are the victims of the pranks of some evil spirit or of roaming souls which they had neglected to feed. Epizootics and epidemics, are supposed to be sent by the offended god who is the proprietor of the village or of the Obo. Lack of success 772 776 [753]

[p. 150 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

in business is ascribed to the spirit who is the guardian 772
of the wealth of some family, offended by the injustices 776
perpetrated by the unsuccessful businessman. When drought imperils the crops, they implore and propitiate the dragon god who cares for rain. They never envisage calamities or troubles as being a punishment of Heaven, and never try to propitiate Heaven, but they make recourse to the god who is supposed to administer the department in question, and try to conciliate him by inviting shamans or lamas. At that time Heaven and Buddha are overlooked. Exceptionally devout Buddhists will once in a while ascribe misfortunes to punishments sent by Buddha and invite lamas to pray for some days. However, such an act of religion is "never performed for Heaven."

PRAYERS AND OFFERINGS FOR HEAVEN

I have notice of only one occasion of a thanksgiving 776
rite for the reaped harvest of the year, performed by 776
the entire village. It is led by the chief and elders of the community, and an offering of a sheep or a pig is made on that occasion. The prayer is said and the offer made for "Old Father Heaven" alone, the stereotyped "all the spirits" being omitted.

This fact seems to be controversial because every family, giving thanks for the reaped harvest privately, makes its offering and says its prayers to "Heaven and all the spirits," and not according to the thanksgiving rite of the Chinese performed in the country for Heaven alone. The rite is the more controversial because, except in this case, offerings are never made, or prayers said by the Monguors, to Heaven alone. This exceptional rite appears to have been borrowed from the [177] Chinese at the time when the Monguors in Hsining exchanged their pastoralism for an agricultural economy.

The fact that the rite of the sacred animal still per- 776
sists among the Monguors (see above, pp. 105, 118), 782
may be evidence that the rite after the reaping of the harvest, directed to Heaven alone, was borrowed by the Monguors from the Chinese in Hsining. The rite of the sacred animal, which is characteristic of nomads, is both for the purpose of securing for the herds the blessings of fecundity and, at the same time, a rite of the first fruits, since it comes in the spring after the nomad "harvest" of lambs (see above, p. 118). It thus corresponds to the agricultural rite after the autumn harvest, when the crops have been carried to the threshing floor. The rite of the sacred animal is performed by the Monguor community at the lunar New Year (usually in February). It is in honor of the guardian deity of the village, and is performed within the temple of the village and also in the living room of each family, before the altar of the guardian spirit of the family and in its honor. This rite of thanksgiving for the newborn livestock is never devoted, by the Monguors, to Heaven, nor is it performed outdoors, on the tops of mountains;

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

and this is also true among the Mongols[4] and the 796
Buriats.[5] If, then, the rite of the sacred animal, which 782
is specifically and characteristically an ancient nomad rite, is never directed to Heaven, one would not expect the harvest rite, if it were simply a later substitute for the rite of the sacred animal, to be directed to Heaven; but since this rite, uniquely and exceptionally among the Monguors, is in fact directed to Heaven, there is strong reason to infer that the harvest rite of the Monguors is a borrowing of the identical harvest rite of the Chinese of the Hsining region.

In all other circumstances, the "spirit of Heaven" is 796
honored in conjunction with "all the spirits" by means of a single rite performed for them in a group, and by means of the same offering. At the morning Wei-sang, made by the head of the family, a cry is uttered, "Heaven and all the spirits" (some Monguors add the name of the guardian deity of the family), and three prostrations are made for all of them, while the offering burns. On New Year's eve, the chief and elders of the village, after lighting a big fire in the temple yard, prostrate themselves three times for the group "Heaven and all the spirits."

In every family, on New Year's eve, a big fire is lit and the same rite performed. During the celebration of a sixtieth birthday a fire is lit in the courtyard and the hero of the feast performs this same rite. The last rite, in order to be preserved from hail, is performed by all the villagers on top of the highest mountain of the village, where all the statues of the temple are carried and a big Wei-sang performed, and there the protection of "Heaven and all the spirits" is implored. At [585]
marriages, the new couple prostrate themselves before a big fire in the courtyard, for "Heaven and all the spirits" in keeping with the command of the master of ceremonies.[6]

Two exceptions are to be recalled, which have already 776 ●
been noted, concerning the rite on the Obo and the offering of a sheep to the guardian deity of the family. On these occasions the "spirit of Heaven" receives its part of the offer first, followed immediately by an identical offering for "all the spirits."

These two facts and that of the thanksgiving rite in the temple, to be sure, give evidence for the prominence of "Heaven" and apparently manifest its honorary position among the Monguors. Surely they help the Monguors remember this honorary prominence every time the formula, "Heaven and all the spirits," is used.

It is noteworthy that Heaven and all the spirits are always honored in the open air, in courtyards, on top of a roof, or on top of a mountain, never inside a temple or a living room. In old China, "all the spirits" were

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[4] See above, p. 119; also Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 90.

[5] Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 240.

[6] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kan-sou*, 71, Changhai, Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932. The same rite is recorded among the Mongols, by Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 74, and among the Buriats, *ibid.*, 301.

[p. 151(B)]

honored in the open air temples being built only for 776
souls of the deceased.[7] Among the Monguors, temples are built for all kinds of spirits. Heaven, however, has no temples.

The Monguors have no special offering for "Heaven." In former times, according to their traditions, horses were offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." At present the sheep is the usual offering. It is offered to all kinds of spirits and on all occasions. Rich people, or large villages, often offer a pig.

The most important event in a Monguor community 241
is the rite performed in spring, in order to obtain 796
blessings upon the community and the crops during the year. All possible spirits are invited into the temple along the rope, except the lama deities. The feast starts at night, with offerings, dances, and drum beating by the shamans for "Heaven and all the spirits"—but nobody attends this night rite, not even the chief or elders of the village! And during the two days that the rite lasts, not a single mention is made of "Heaven"!

The appointment of the new Tu-ssu is announced, not 622
to "Heaven and all the spirits," but to the ancestors and to the protector deity of the clan, with an elaborate ceremonial, and their blessings are implored upon the T'u-ssu and the clan. (See Part I: 46.)

At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages, the image of the guardian deity of the clan is reverently carried to the villages and honored for three days. However, not a single rite is performed for Heaven by the chief of the clan, not even at the yearly cult of the ancestor of the clan, when the entire clan is assembled. (Part I: 37, 64.)

No Monguor hopes his soul will ascend to Heaven 775
and enjoy happiness together with the great "spirit of 772
Heaven," in a place of joy and felicity. The Mongols have no notion of such a place belonging to the "great Heaven"; they only know the luxurious paradise of Buddha, where they are told they will enjoy happiness with Buddha during the period of time preceding a new rebirth, about which they seem to have very little interest.

All these facts seem to prove that at present the Mon- 776
guors are very remiss in the cult of their undefined and 171
vague "spirit of Heaven," who is without departments of activities, having no power over good and evil spirits, and no omnipotence. The "great Heaven" is not the so-called "Hochgott," but a spirit enjoying an honorary prominence.

In connection with this problem, it should be kept in mind that the habit of ascribing prominence to one among the spirits seems to be very old in Asia: "In Babylon and Assyria [3,000 years ago] the principal god of the city which happened to dominate the entire nation, became the supreme god of the realm."[8] "Al-

[7] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 202.

[8] Albert Condamin, S.J., *La religion des Babyloniens et des Assyriens*, 692, Jos. Huby, Christus Beauchesne, Paris, 1923.

[p. 152(A)]

though Babylonians and Assyrians had a trend toward monotheism, they never fulfilled it. They always preserved their monarchic polytheism with a prominent god, chief of an army of innumerable gods."[9] In Persia, at the time of the Achaemenians (688–333 B.C.), Ahura Mazda received the highest worship instead of the god of Heaven, and was assumed to be preeminent among the other deities.[10] It is interesting to encounter today the same trend of mind among the Buriats. 776 171

In general all Buriat groups have their own supreme deities, either special to themselves or shared with the rest of the Buriat world; with these deities they stand in a relationship of direct descent and they invoke the deities in time of need. The supreme ancestor of a given group may be one to whom that group attributes the descent of all Buriats.[11]

In concluding this section it is appropriate to remember that it is a fact that the true concept of a creation *ex nihilo* has not been found in any philosophical system or religion except the Biblical revelation; even the specific concept of the transcendency of God has not been expressed by any philosophical system or religion except Christianity. [771] 771

In order to understand the psychology of the Monguors regarding the "spirit of Heaven," it seems advantageous to recall first what is known about the subject among the old Turkic Mongol tribes, ancestors of the Monguors; second, to recall the religious experiences through which these tribes passed at the hand of foreign religions diffused in their countries. It will be well also to consider the impact of Nestorianism, especially upon the Mongols upon whom the Monguors depended, and the effects of this impact in relation to the idea of the "spirit of Heaven."

CULT OF HEAVEN AMONG THE TURKIC-MONGOLS

It is common knowledge that the Turkic-Mongol[12] tribes of Central Asia, according to historical data, rec- 776 171

[9] *Ibid.*, 698.

[10] Albert Carnoy, *La religion des Perses*, 306, Jos. Huby Christus, Paris, Beauchesne, 1923.

[11] Professor Lawrence Krader, Buriat Religion and Society, *Southwestern Jour. Anthropology* 10 (3): 339, 1954.

[12] René Grousset, *Empire Mongol, Ire phase*, 1–3, De Boddard, Paris, 1941. Only on linguistic grounds can we vindicate the existence of an Altaic group including Turks, Tungus, and Mongols. Only from the sixth century A.D. was the term "Turk" used for one of the proto-Turkic tribes. In the twelfth century appeared the term "Mongols" as generic name of the proto-Mongol tribes. Earlier, however, the Hsiungnu tribes (third century B.C to second century A.D.), and T'opa tribes (who occupied North China in the fifth and sixth centuries) spoke Turkic languages; the Hsienpi (second century), the Juan-Juan in Mongolia, the Hephthalites in Turkestan (fifth century), and the Ch'i-tan (who occupied North China 907–1125) spoke Mongol languages. The Hsiungnu Turks dominated Central Asia until the second century, A.D., the Hsienpi Mongols dominated East Mongolia in the second century A.D.; T'opa Turkic tribes succeeded in the struggle for domination

[p152(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

ognized "Heaven" as enjoying a position of prominence among the gods and spirits they worshipped. Did this recognition, however, entail an intensive cult of "Heaven" among these Altaic tribes, or was this prominence only one of purely honorary dimension, as among the Monguors? A substantial answer to this question seems to be the synthesis encountered in the study by W. Schmidt concerning the subject among the Turkic-Mongol tribes. In an account from the "oldest available texts," he concludes his study about the Hiungnu (the oldest Turkic group) by saying, "We are still uncertain whether the being called 'Heaven' is, in the strict sense of the word, the 'Highest Being'; and finally, the position and relation of this being toward the other higher beings are not explained." [13]

Concerning the problem of the offerings he remarks, "The position of the other higher beings is more prominent than that of the being called 'Heaven'." [14] In the texts, the formula, "Heaven and deities" is used by the old Turks, and beside it there is also the formula, "Ancestors, Heaven and Earth, Spirits and Deities," and several times "Heaven" alone.[15] According to these texts, the religious notions of the old Hiungnu seem to have been at least as confused as those of the Monguors of today.

The conclusion of W. Schmidt about the religious notions concerning "Heaven" among the T'u-kiue (A.D. 551–800), another Turkic group, is that the texts fail to make clear that the being called "Heaven" by the T'u-kiue is the "highest being" in the strict sense of the word, but their content seems to hint at the fact that

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in North China with the Hsienpi, while the Juan-Juan Mongols succeeded in settling in the Gobi region. During the sixth century the "Turks" dominated in Mongolia and west Turkestan; and in the eighth century the Uigur (Turks) and in the ninth the Kirgiz (Turks). From 924 on, Mongol and Turkic tribes struggled for the domination of Mongolia until the thirteenth century, when the Mongols triumphed under Chingis Khan. During all these centuries the conquerors agglomerated, collecting into their groups the defeated tribes. The empires of the steppe were composites. Pastoralism and nomadism more than identity of language held the tribes together. Hence the confusion and amalgamation in the field of religion, cult, and customs. (While the distinction between proto Turkic-Mongol tribes is often based on a few controversial linguistic data, authors do not always agree upon the classification of some tribes into one or another of the two groups; for instance the Hsienpi and Ch'i-tan. Among the She-wei a tribe called Meng-wu (seventh–ninth century) is noted, which would be the first mention of the name of the Mongols.)

[13] Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* 9: 20. "So dass wir auch noch in Ungewissen bleiben, ob das Himmels-wesen ein volles Höchstes Wesen ist. Schliesslich bleibt auch sein Erhaltnis zu den übrigen höheren Wesen ungeklärt."

[14] *Ibid.*, 19. "Das Opfer ist etwas reichlicher bezeugt, und hier treten auch die übrigen höheren Wesen mehr in den Vordergrund, sogar stärker als das Himmelswesen."

[15] *Ibid.*, 13. "Dass der Grosskhan das Opfer darbrachte 'seinen Ahnen, dem Himmel und der Erde, den Geistern und Göttern' . . . ! Er opferte den Himmel und den Göttern! . . ." B. 10: "das var vom Himmel verfügt . . . der Himmel hat dich geschickt. . . . Der Himmel erzürnte sich . . . wenn der Himmel nicht seine Pläne mit dem Hiung nu hatte. . . ."

[p. 153 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

such a notion existed in their minds.[16] His conclusions relating to the religious notions concerning "Heaven" among the Uigurs (745) who overthrew the T'u-kiue realm and the majority of whom were converted to Manicheism, are: "Since we have only a few fragmentary facts about their old religion it is impossible to get a clear idea about it."[17] This interesting study by Schmidt affords all the data available concerning the cult of "Heaven" among the old Turkic groups, which seems to have been as confused in former times as today among the Monguors.

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It would be interesting to read the syntheses of Schmidt concerning the corresponding cult among the proto-Mongols. However, only a study concerning the Altai Tatars is provided, based on data collected by Russian ethnologists since the latter half of the eighteenth century, which reflects very confused notions existing at that time.[18]

However, in the *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)* Wittfogel and Feng provide the most instructive material concerning the tribal religion of the Ch'i-tan, tribes belonging to the Mongol stock, living just before the time of Chingis (1162–1227).

> Their pantheon includes gods of Heaven, Earth, and Sun, of the *Mu-yeh* and of the Black Mountains, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, the gods of war and of metal, personified deities, supernatural powers thought to be immanent in trees, mountains, etc., an endless legion of souls of the dead, spirits of the two tribal ancestors appealed to at the temple seats; the souls of the general populace, which were protected by the gods of the Black Mountain. No explicit descriptions are encountered of the thereafter, but the funeral offers seem to imply a life after death with definite pastoral and military features. Heaven and Earth were usually appealed to together. Friendly supernatural powers had to ward off the danger of the evil ones.[19]
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> Solemn announcements were made to Heaven, Earth and the Sun, sometimes with the aid of fire, or from the top of a mountain. Twice a year the two tribal ancestors were officially honored by sacrifices of horses or oxen. Sacrifices of horses, oxen, sheep or geese were performed to win the favor of the gods, and on the tenth month were enacted for the spirits of all the dead.[20]
>
> Tribal priests or shamans exercised political and religious power, non-official Wu had become guardians of a subsidiary religion.[21]

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[16] Ibid., 39, "So fehlet also noch viel, dass das Himmelswesen der T'u-kiue Religion als ein wirkliches und volles Höchstes Wesen erscheine, aber die für uns jetzt nur schwach ansetzenden spärlichen Linien seiner Charakterisierung scheinen in ihrer Verlängerung all auf ein solches Wesen hinaus zu laufen."

[17] *Ibid.*, 40, "Bei dieser verwirrten Geschichte seines stark gemischten Volkes, das dann so bald schon eine ganz andere Religion annahm, wird es verständlich, dass wir von ihrer alten Religion nur spärliche und fragmentarische Nachrichten besitzen aus denen man unmöglich ein irgendwie klares Gesamtbild gewinnen kann."

[18] *Ibid.* 9: 71.

[19] K. A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, reprint from the *Review of Religion*, May, 1948: 351.

[20] *Ibid.*, 358.

[21] *Ibid.*, 359.

[p. 153(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

legiance to him.[51] War broke out and finally a new dynasty arose, the Hou Han, 947–950. 175 795

Did the defeated Shat'o troops of the Hou Chin join the faithful governor? Did they submit to the new Hou Han dynasty and remain in their own country? Did the Öngüts of the northern bend of the Yellow River come over to lend a hand? For how long did the Öngüts remain in that troubled country? At least the Öngüts of Lin T'ao were taken prisoners and transplanted to Manchuria, not by the Liao (907–1125) but by the Kin (1125–1235).

It is common knowledge that the Öngüts of both Shat'o dynasties (923–947) were fervent adherents of Buddhism, as were the Shat'o of Hsining, who built the imposing monastery of Ta-fo-ssu in the very center of the city of Hsining (1280–1368). (See Chap. II, p. 14.)

Even if we suppose that Nestorianism were diffused among the Hsining Shat'o, certainly it would not have been done by the Buddhist Shat'o dynasties, but by the Shat'o from the northern bend of the Yellow River, who immigrated into Lin T'ao, if at that time they were already Nestorians. Furthermore, can the apparitions in the vision of the emperor T'ai tsung definitely be explained as Nestorian images worshipped by the Lin T'ao Öngüts, or could they have been Buddhist or Manichean images? This question is still controversial.[52]

All that I can say in summing up is that I never could succeed in tracing any evidence that Nestorianism was ever professed by the Shat'o of Hsining.

CONCLUSION OF THE CHAPTER

If the Heaven beliefs of the Turkic-Mongol tribes are to be assessed in conjunction with what is known about the Monguors, whose ancestors settled in Huang-chung in 1227, at the time of the death of Chingis Khan, then taking into account the Monguor formula of "Heaven and all the spirits," the cult of an undefined Heaven, the host of honored spirits and the predilection for shamanism which survived the intensive indoctrination of Lamaism experienced by the Monguors in Huang-chung, it seems sound to assume that among other Mongol tribes "Heaven" must have occupied a similar position of honorary preeminence. 795 776 771

The tangled problem may be summarized as follows. In former times the old Turkic-Mongol tribes had no notion of a heaven or a hell where, after death, men would be rewarded for their merits or punished for their sins. They lacked the notion of an immortal soul. The soul, after having dwelt for a short while near the burial place, or in an undefined underworld, was supposed to vanish. Even at present the Monguors believe that their ancestors vanish after three generations. Their aspirations and hopes were, ac- 795 776 775 771

[51] *Idem.* 4: 68.

[52] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 308–309. [p. 156(B)]

cordingly, concentrated on the happiness and help needed during their actual lifetime here on earth. 795 776

However, they had populated the world with a host of good and evil spirits on which they thought they depended. They curried the favor of the good spirits and tried to secure their good disposition so that they would stay the hands of the evil spirits, and bless them during their lifetime here on earth. Among those spirits was the Spirit of Heaven, whose nature we have no means of distinguishing from that of the other spirits to whom more sacrifices were offered. (See above, p. 153.) 775 771

The shaman, whom they knew to have access to the world of spirits, was only engaged in providing them with the protection and benefits needed during their life. At present the activities of the shamans are still limited to that same sphere of action. The diffusion of Buddhism opened new vistas in the world of religious thought of the Turkic-Mongol peoples. A Buddha of benevolence appeared, enthroned in a paradise to which all people could have access and where all could enjoy happiness during the time preceding a new, happy rebirth. The concept of this intervening time became so endlessly long that the idea of rebirth was practically forgotten and put aside. However, a more concrete notion of the soul came to be developed. 756 776 771

In addition to the paradises, Buddhism revealed the existence of the eighteen hells and the presence of the terrible judge of the dead who decided about the future, according to acts morally good or bad. The shamans also told about Erlik Khan. However, the Turkic-Mongol tribes living on earth still hoped for blessings here, and were taught that the benevolent Buddha could secure them. Hence, next to the cult of the old spirits was the cult of Buddha, the throng of devotees invoking blessings and protection through the Om Mani. In this way the fervent shamanists became also fervent Lamaists. 775 771

We have no way of making sure what the impact of Nestorianism may have been upon the Turkic-Mongol tribes in later times, in promoting the development of a more concretely defined notion of the "spirit of Heaven," and its preeminence over the other spirits or even how long such an impact may have lasted. We do know, however, that Turkic-Mongol tribes honored Heaven and offered sacrifices to it, as well as to Buddha and all the spirits, and that consequently they were not monotheists.[58]

XV. RELIGION AND THE COHESION OF THE CLAN

The Monguor clans, from the time of their submission to the Chinese empire (1368), were friendly disposed toward the empire. Their chiefs received military titles and offices, and enjoyed the right to admin- 614 648

[58] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217, *et seq.* [p. 157 (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The emperor praised the military prestation of Li
Yin and sent delegates from Peking with laudatory 175x
letters and with the order to come to Peking, the ex- 648
penses to be defrayed by the empire. He received the [703]
promotion of Yu-fu tso-tu-tu and rich gifts. The next
year he was honored with the title of Duke of Hui
Ning, and received an emolument every year of 1,100
tan of grain. At the same time the emperor, with [554]
delicate attention, bestowed upon his deceased father, Li
Nan-ko, the same title of Duke of Hui Ning (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

Li Yin seemed to have reached the summit of a 175x
glorious career. However, a more eminent honor was 554
in store for him. His merits would be chiseled on a stele in a temple built by himself to remind future generations of the imperial dignities bestowed upon him.

In the Kuang-fu-kuan, a temple built in 1426 in the 175x
northeast corner of the city of Hsining, the following is chiseled on a stele (*Annals* of Kansu 30: 45*a–b*; *Annals* of Hsining 35: 6*a–b*):

In 1422 in the eighth moon, Emperor Yung Lo, on his 175x
way back from an expedition in the desert took a breath in 211
Yu-lin (Shensi) and called to his tent the officials who had 539
won the most distinguished merits during the expedition. [703]
He granted Li Yin the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Pillar of the Empire and Duke of Hui Ning. Then the duke asked the emperor for permission to build in Hsining a temple in honor of the god of the war, in order to show gratitude [776] ●
for the blessings bestowed upon the empire and the people, and to secure more blessings in the future. The emperor agreed. Back home, Li Yin ordered, a few days later, the building of the temple. In the tenth moon of 1426 he informed the emperor about the completion of the construction. The emperor granted to the temple the name "Kuang- [795]
fu-kuan" (Taoist temple of glory and felicity), and appointed five Taoist priests for the performance of the sacrifices and worship in the temple.

One evening Li Yin was dreaming: he heard a man saying to him, "The God of War will appear." Instantly he dressed and adjusted his hat. Another man arrived carrying a tray with fine dishes. He invited Li Yin to come to his home to enjoy the dishes. Li Yin could not understand the circumstances of such an invitation. He thought it should be a spirit. Then he invited this man to come to his home. They were about to start with the dinner when all of a sudden the man said, "The spirit is there." Li Yin opened the door. He saw a man perfectly dressed, riding a white horse with a beautiful saddle and escorted by a numerous retinue. The man was like a king. The Taoist priest Ho Chao-tsung accompanied him, dressed in Taoist fashion, holding a book in his hands. He asked Li Yin: "The god will go first to the temple of the King Li. Is that correct?" Li Yin answered that he would first call at the Ning-fan Ssu (the temple of the appeased Tibetans). The entire group left. The sky was bright. On the way they passed a beautiful high building, enclosed by a high wall. They said, "The man who is living here does not belong to the lower range of society." They arrived at the gate of the temple. Li Yin dismounted from his horse. He was terrified. This happened on the eighth day of the seventh moon in 1423. In the winter of the same year the Duke was invited to see the emperor in Peking. He received his titles and precious gifts and returned to Hsining. What the Duke saw in his dream was the appearance of the god of war. It was a reward for his

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171 /25 cont'd/
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demand to the bride's father's youngest brother (it is supposed the father is dead), he does not answer without consulting the bride's mother and usually he acts according to her wish. Shirokogoroff, pp. 72, 73. /Cited in English./

584 5. Discussion of the Bride Price and Deciding on the Wedding Gifts

Contrary to Chinese practice which requires two go-betweens, a T'ou-jen ordinarily engages only one, a friend of the family.

One is in no hurry to get a go-between. When the girl is only four or five years old, one waits two or three years more, indeed even longer, before giving this invitation. The promise of marriage having been made to the mother-in-law, there is no longer anything to fear; only at each New Year and at the festival of the fifteenth [431] day of the eighth moon, they call on each other, exchange small gifts, and call each other Guda, "relatives by alliance," all this in order to refresh the memory.

In exceptional cases, where the girl has reached marriageable age at the time of the marriage proposal, they do not delay in making use of the services of a go-between.

583 584 After choosing an auspicious day for this important matter, the go-between leaves with the traditional gifts: a small jug of gin [577 431] corked with a red (a color /26/ which brings good luck) lozenge and a strand of sheep's wool tied around the neck. Upon his arrival he puts his gift on the small table on the k'ang and pompously greets the fiancée's family with bows. They understand one another without saying a word; they drink tea, they smoke a pipe, and the go-between broaches his subject after pouring the gin for everyone present. "Now," he says, "since you have decided between yourselves on the marriage of your children, kindly set the day to decide on the gifts and discuss the traditional formalities. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, p. 73: The negotiations are always followed by

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[292] the eardrops, as well as the large pin which fastens the headdress to the coil of hair.

The dinner is not delayed; a sheep is served whole, as well as a dish of noodles. Things are not dragged out. Let us note that the guests who have spent the night are at the dinner and are present at the farewell ceremonies.

/58/ The two companions rise, take out from their bags two new jugs of gin, and offer a round to everyone present, bidding them to help everything go off in good order, for the ceremonial hour designated for taking away the bride has struck. They open the second flask immediately, pour for everybody in the same way, "and this," they say, "is to invite you all to the wedding dinner, which will take place today at our place."

Then they proceed to the dressing of the bride. She is seated in
[77] a side room on a little Chinese table on which is unfolded a piece of red felt. The bridegroom is invited by the family to enter the room. The bride keeps her eyes lowered and does not even greet him. It is the bridegroom's task to undo the unmarried girl's braid of his bride. There are always three red strings in the coil of hair; the bridegroom takes them out and puts one in his pocket. The two others will then be attached to the iang hstia (1) and kept in the family so that the

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1. The iang hstia is the family's good-luck talisman. It is an iron rod two to three feet long fixed in a bulky and wide wooden base. Attached to it are little strands of wool, hair from the tails of cows and pigs and from horse manes', red strings, ends of k'ata; on the base, carved in the shape of a saucer, are seen grains of wheat, millet, colza.... The iang hstia is held in honor by the family; it has its place beside the spirit which is honored there, and is itself honored. The T'ou-jen believe that

/58 cont'd/

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their good fortune is attached to the persons of their children, to the animals they raise, to the grain they cultivate. When a daughter is given in marriage, it is good fortune which goes away; when animals are sold, it is wealth which abandons them.... Now to keep good fortune and wealth from leaving the family, they take from the braid of the daughter given in marriage the two red strings, which they attach to the lang hsia, they take hairs from the animals, they keep some grains of the cereals they sell. Favors received from spirits cannot be sold; so they believe they are in order with the spirits by keeping a souvenir of the favors received. They will therefore kneel before the lang hsia as before the spirits.

585 family's good fortune may not go away with the daughter who is leaving the home. The son-in-law takes the new comb he has brought, passes it three times through his own hair, then three times through that of his bride. The third time he leaves it in her hair and goes out of the room.

The door of the room is closed, and the women inside comb and dress the bride. The two recent singers /59/ had brought a red [822] garment for her, because the bride must be dressed all in red today. Nevertheless, she sometimes covers her head with a green veil. The two companions stay in front of the bride's room and intone the song of the toilette while the women inside hurry to finish their task. They are heard singing, "We who are named Li have come to the home of the honorable Wang family with a comb having an even number of teeth; we have not learned to comb hair, we beg you, comb the girl's hair with art in our place.... We have brought earrings, we beg you to put them on her," and so on for all the pieces of attire.

/62 cont'd/

HM 585

friends (German translation: vigorous women friends), and more particularly in former days when the bride was tied, when she was held back by the sleeves of her dress, or when they were attached to the yurt. At half a verst of the way /translator's note: possibly "halfway"/, the husband-to-be sends wine and meat to refresh the bride and those who accompany her. Upon her arrival she remains surrounded by her companions until her yurt is ready. As soon as she enters it, she is seated on a bed. The numerous plaits of hair which she wore as a girl are undone, her coral ornaments are removed, and after they put some ornaments on the two plaits left, she is dressed in the clothes that a married woman wears.

HM [301]

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Because of her regrets and sorrow the bride does not address herself to anyone during the whole trip; according to custom, she cannot speak to anyone. The bridegroom's family sends two groups to meet the procession, and a third waits near the house. The two groups greet the guests on the road and offer them tea and gin. They have lighted a large fire right in the road where the guests can warm themselves in the winter and light their pipe. They get off their horses to go near the fire, then the procession continues.

M [571 777 484]

Since all marriages are always celebrated on special auspicious days, it is not rare to see nuptial processions meet. The custom then is that the processions stop. The young T'ou-jen bride, who has carefully put away her new comb in a piece of red cloth, takes it out and exchanges it with the unknown bride. Without speaking to each other and without being able to see each other, sobbing, they exchange their good-luck tokens. Touching little scene.

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor AE9

● 778

/For information on sacred objects and places: the spirit-spear, shaman's sword, the arrow of good fortune, the mani-tree and the central fort, the obo, and the chorten chamber, see category 116, pp. 23-50, and pp. 84-144./

[Caption for Plate 2 between pp. 48 and 49.]

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[137]
[291]
a: Mani-tree on a house roof in the village T'a-erh-wan west of Tangkar in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

b: An old Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai on the way to the obo of the Sha-pa-kou, 1949. In his right hand a poplar branch with flocks of wool, in his left and imitation spear with a flock of wool and painted spiral. In front of him on the ground: a [782] bundle of straw for the incense fire, a saddle bag with white stones that will be thrown on the obo, a jug of barley wine for the libation, and behind it a little bag with cypress needles (incense). (To accompany the chapter: "The Obo.")

[342]
[351]
[417]
c: A Tujen yard of the settlement Ha-szu (Hsia-szu) on the way from Na-ling-kou to Yang-chüan. In the center of the yard, the central fort with the mani-tree. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

000 [50] 2. The Arrow of Good Fortune*

*See "Notes," pp. 52-55 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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In every good Tujen house there is an arrow. The tip is stuck in an urn of grain, in a crevice in the wall, or in a slit in a beam. Hadas, colorful ribbons, sheep wool, hair, etc. are [792] attached to the arrow. The arrow is consecrated by a lama or a Bon priest, and on this occasion it is venerated in the house. Later, however, it is not venerated any more. The arrow is [777] not the seat of a spirit, but rather guarantees good fortune and wealth in the family.

[50 cont.]

Details

777
*778 The arrow: Originally the people used a genuine arrow (2).

[411]
[171]

2. [Foreign text p. 52.] According to the reports of the old people, the Tujen arrows are exactly like those of the Fandse and Mongols in Tsinghai. These arrows can be seen in great numbers in every lamasery. Their average length is about one meter. Their feathering is usually radial and made of eagle feathers (ying-mao). The forms of the arrow tips are exceedingly manifold. The material is always iron. -- The children's bows and arrows are simple, crude toys, as in Europe. Nowadays the bow and arrow have disappeared from the life of the Tujen.

[178]

They are rare nowadays, since the Tujen no longer have the bow and arrow as weapons. The arrows were very manifold, however. Today, only a simple arrow shaft without tip and feathering is used for the most part. There are no prescriptions for its manufacture.

The urn: An ordinary clay urn or wide vase is used, such as can be obtained anywhere. Sometimes the urn is fitted up like the treasure-urn of the earth-god. In that case, however, not several scrolls, but only one is put in it. Also, fluid butter is not poured over the grain. The following kinds of grain are contained in it: wheat, black and white barley, light and dark Tibetan barley, but never beans, peas, etc. The urn may be of any color. It is not required for the arrow of good fortune, however. Sometimes the latter is simply stuck in a measure of grain or in a wooden cylinder, or no container at all is used and the arrow is stuck anywhere in the beams or the wall,

[50 cont.]
777 always inside the house. In such a case the arrow is not made or
*778 consecrated by a lama or Bon priest (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 52.] For the preparation of the urn, cf. the section; "The Earth-god Urn."

Attachments: Always and in all cases hadas and sheep wool are attached to the arrow. If the arrow is consecrated, a small copper mirror is usually also attached to it. -- When
[237] an animal is sold or given away, some of its hair is tied to the
[432] arrow, as in the case of horses, donkeys, and mules. The hair is taken from the mane or tail. Similarly, when a sheep is sold some wool is also tied on. Hog bristles, however, may never be tied to the arrow of good fortune. -- After a child's first haircut,
[302] on the first birthday, the downy hairs that have been cut off are
[852] rolled into a little ball, and a thread is drawn out of it, with which the ball is tied to the arrow; similarly the bow and arrow that the child seized as an oracle on this occasion is tied to it. -- When a daughter is married, a number of small strips of cloth
[585] are cut from the seam of her bridal [51] dress for the arrow. Also some hair of the bride, which was combed out during the hair-dressing and adornment on the eve of her being taken away, is carefully collected and attached to the arrow of good fortune (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 52-53.] The fact that sheep wool is always attached to the arrow, as to the obo, seems to be connected with the sheep of good fortune; cf. below. F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148) would like to connect the little balls of wool (cotton) with the thread figures (mdos), which hold fast the demons. -- Occasionally, silk threads in the five sacred colors are also added. Hair

[51 cont.]

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[114]

[Foreign text pp. 52-53 cont.]
from a cow, when it is sold, is also tied to the arrow, but in no case hog bristles, as for example, L. Schram (Mariage, p. 58) maintains. L. Schram in this place generally confuses the arrow of good fortune with the spirit-spear. He designates with iang hstia a [53] "tige en fer"[iron shaft], which stands in a "gros et large socle" [large and wide base] and has a length of "deux à trois pieds" [two to three feet]. It is accorded a veneration "comme devant les esprits" [as before the spirits]. This never applies to a yãnsdzia, however, but in part only to a small spirit-spear. In the case of the latter, the tip and iron foot are visible so that it gives the impression of being entirely of iron. It is likewise stuck in a large stand and may have a length of about a meter. According to my informant, the arrow of good fortune is not venerated like a spirit among the Tujen, whereas the spear is. The other statements, however, fit the arrow of good fortune.

The urn also receives additions. For instance, some kernels of grain are always thrown into it when some is sold. Furthermore, during the night when the bride is fetched, the bridegroom's family brings a hada and bran for the bride's riding animal. Part of the bran is poured into the urn and the hada is tied to the arrow of good fortune.

[585]

Safekeeping: If the arrow of good fortune was consecrated and stuck in an urn or a bushel, the latter must always stand together with the arrow in the main house on the chest in front

[51 cont.]

777 of the Buddha image or, in case there is a chapel, kept in the
*778 chapel. If it is stuck somewhere without an urn, this must also always be in the main house.

777 Construction and consecration: The arrow without the urn
*778 is prepared and provided with the attachment by the master of the household himself without any kind of ceremony. It is then
782 fumigated once and stuck in its place with an incense offering.

In the case of an arrow with an urn, the lama is invited with the usual formalities. He makes his torma, sets up the little water-bowls, etc., just as on other occasions. Then he prays for a day or more and gives the prayer of consecration over the arrow. During this prayer the arrow is fumigated with cypress incense. Then the pot is brought, washed, and fumigated, while the lama prepares the scroll. The latter is also fumigated. After that, the grain is poured into the urn and the arrow stuck in it. The master of the household places the pot with the arrow in front of the lama on the kang, and the latter then attaches the individual objects. Each piece is first held in the incense and then handed to the lama. Everything is accompanied by the lama's prayer. It is also permissible for other persons, for example, the master of the household, to tie on the attachments. -- The master of the household then places the arrow-urn on the chest in front of the god's image with the usual offering gifts: little water-bowls, wine, grain, butter, milk, bread, etc. Outside in the yard the great incense offering is made, and inside all those present make a three-fold kowtow before the new arrow of good fortune. During the entire veneration, however, the lama remains seated on the kang and prays.

777 At noon a family festival[3] is celebrated with a banquet,
*778 and there is singing and drinking into the night. The lama stays until the following morning.
[527]

[787] Use and significance: The arrow is never used for sooth-
[585] saying because it cannot become the seat of a spirit, like the spirit-spear, for instance (5). Only once is it taken out of the

3 [to celebrate the consecration of the arrow of good fortune - ANALYST]

[51 cont.]

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5. [Foreign text p. 53.] The informant firmly insisted upon this statement, although the consecration, beribboning, mirror, and bells seem to argue that the arrow is a seat of the spirit.

777 house, namely, during the wedding. While the bride, amidst
*778 the weeping and wailing of the women, is led out to the thresh-
585 ing floor and mounts the riding animal, the father takes the arrow of good fortune and runs back and forth with it behind the bride, calling out the name of his daughter, who is led on the riding animal three times around the threshing floor before she rides off. The father wants to keep back the good fortune.

[52] The arrow holds together the good fortune and well-
[171] being of the household, as do the god of wealth and the treasure-
[432] urn among the Chinese. For that reason something is held back as "seed" and "root" from everything that is sold and attached to the arrow or added to the urn (6). With her marriage, the

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6. [Foreign text pp. 53-55.] One receives differing information among the people concerning the word yãṅsdzia. Some say yãṅ means "good fortune," whereas the informant subscribes more to the meaning "germ," root, seed, guarantee of good fortune." In the region of Bengbar (Hsi-ch'uan) the arrow is called yãṅbō. The ... bō could not be explained by anyone. The people derived the yãṅ from the Tibetan and said it meant "good fortune." Undoubtedly it is identical with the Tibetan g.yaṅ. The Chinese word ying-pao mentioned by F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 139) is phonetically very reminiscent of the designation yãṅbō. The Tujen have a third expression for

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
the arrow of good fortune in the word yãṅdar. They interpret the yãṅ as "good fortune" and the dar as "to increase." The old man, however, would not let the dar be applied to the entire arrow, but only to the hada attached to it, and he is correct in this, for dar in Tibetan signifies "cloth, silk." He stated that the whole thing, including the urn, is always only called yãṅsdzia. It is unclear to me what the sdzia in this combination actually means. It is doubtful that it is a literary botching of mda', "arrow."

In order to determine the meaning of the arrow of good fortune in more detail, it is best to start from the Tib. word g, yaṅ. According to Ch. Das, the sense of wealth, fullness of life, treasures, state of well-being is connected with g, yaṅ. This is apparent from the corresponding combinations with g, yaṅ (cf. pp. 1149ff.). The very essence of good fortune, however, seems to be the sheep; metaphorically it is simply called g, yaṅ-dkar, "the white good-fortune." White is also the color of good fortune. But how, then, is the arrow of good fortune to be comprehended as the carrier of good fortune?

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Its peculiar character becomes clearest at the wedding ceremony. When the bride departs from the parental house and is led three times around the threshing floor on horseback, the father of the bride runs behind the bride three times

[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.] with the arrow of good fortune and calls out her name. Meanwhile the attendants sing a song in which they conjure everything that the bride takes with her onto the arrow as a "germ," so that it might stay behind. -- The urn that holds the grain brought by the bride-fetchers is a similar matter. This urn is called g, yaṅ-bum in Tibetan and its meaning corresponds with that given by Ch. Das (p. 1150). It contains treasures: gold, silver, money, ornaments, etc. The arrow of good fortune and the urn of good fortune thus carry the germs and vital power of all the blessings of good fortune of the kin group [Sippe], be they animals, human beings, [54] treasures, or seed. They not only carry them, but also guarantee their preservation and increase. This conception, however, is not only found among the Tujen.

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The shepherd-nomads have a custom similar to that of the Tujen and the agricultural Fandse with their arrow of good fortune. When they sell animals, they tie some of the wool or hair to the tent post or to a string inside the tent. (G. Montell, p. 49, illustration, reports something similar from the Mongols.) This post or string has a special relationship to heaven. Among the agriculturalists the urn appears in accordance with the importance of the agricultural products. Thus, the Chinese likewise have a pao-p'ing, "treasure-vase"; similarly, the Lolo have an ancestral chest in which

[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
they keep the ornaments and mementos of the kin group in order to have a guarantee for the good fortune and wealth of the family; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa: I chia. Above all, the arrow of good fortune seems to be of great importance among the Bon; cf. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 190, 184, 178. It plays a special role in the wedding customs of the Bon, as H. Francke has described them in the wedding songs. The wedding customs of the Tujen and their songs show a certain relationship with these Bon customs, which in itself is not surprising since up to the most recent times the Bon religion in Amdo had a strong influence. The conception of the tribal animals, mother-animals, mother-treasures, to which all other earthly animals, treasures, etc. go back, however, belongs to the world-view of the Bon; cf. H. Francke; Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 8 ff. The tribal animals are also celebrated in song by the Tujen in a song-cycle bearing the name xoni, "sheep." This song-cycle actually stems from the Amdo-Fandse, among whom it is called g. yaṅ-dkar, "white good-fortune," or g. yaṅ-dkar lug, "sheep of the white good-fortune." Although various animals are celebrated in song, the sheep stands in the center as the supreme blessing of good fortune.

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If one ties these conceptions together, it may be stated of the yãṅsdzia: It bears within it the germs and origins of the gifts of fortune of this world. Living beings are allied more with heaven (are

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[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
perhaps to be interpreted as astral), and the seeds, together with the other treasures, more with earth. The arrow represents the connection of the two (heavenly post, heavenly rope). This idea also fits in well with the pre-Buddhistic -- shamanistic world-picture with the world mountain and the individual realms. Cf. for instance, the representation in the mountain torma at the ritual of the pole-goat, where all of creation is put in miniature on a mandala. A germinally pre-formed world which maintains the actual, large world through its vital power is always fundamental. -- It would be interesting to pursue these conceptions across Asia; perhaps even the Inao and the "sending off" of the Ainu are connected with them.

[772]

The arrow of good fortune and the customs connected with it have passed into Buddhism and are practiced in all lamic monasteries. The arrow is found everywhere. The most important ceremony is the summoning of good fortune (g.yaṅ 'gug). This ceremony is reported in detail in F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, pp. 139-147), where further details concerning the Lamaistic use of the [55] arrow can also be found, but this does not belong here. Only one parallel with the popular custom among the Tujen should be mentioned, where Lessing describes the procession with the arrow of good fortune (p. 146): "After this interlude, the procession continues its way and finally returns to Hall II. They have absorbed all they can the elixir

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[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
or vital forces (rasayana, Tib. bcud len, Mong. sime, shime) of heaven and earth, sun and moon, rivers and lakes, trees and herbs" [cited in English]. This corresponds precisely to the above-mentioned wedding ceremony of the Tujen at the departure of the bride, where likewise "the germs, vital force" are conjured in song onto the arrow with which the father runs behind the bride.

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The Tujen word for this "germ, seed," etc. in the songs is furie; cf. Schröder, Hochzeitslieder" [Wedding Songs]. furie is the Mongolic ūre (DMF, p. 111) and in meaning corresponds, like sime, to the Tibetan bcud in bcud len. len signifies "to seize, to grasp, to gather" (Ch. Das, p. 1220), and bcud, "sap, moistness, essence, force," etc. (p. 394). The meaning that my informant gave for the word yān is identical with this; cf. above. With regard to the expression bcud-len, Ch. Das writes (p. 394): "the art of extracting essences for prolonging health and longevity, such essences as being of different kinds ..." [cited in English]. He also mentions in particular the earth-force: "sa-yi bcud, the essence of the earth, by which the produce of the field, medicinal plants and precious metals and stones, etc., are said by Tibetans to be produced; therefore this essence is the natural fecundity of the soil ..." [cited in English]. More about this in another place (in the myth about the origin of agriculture).

[585] bride leaves the family, but it is desired that good fortune and wealth should not leave the home with her. For that reason clothing and bits of hair are also preserved on the arrow.

[52 cont.]

Word List

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Arrow: sēmu.
Arrow tip: timurdē.
Arrow feathering: sēmu fodie.
Arrow of good fortune: yãṅsdzia (1) (6) [see Note 6 above].

1. [Foreign text p. 52.] yãṅsdzia: Tib. g, yaṅ = good fortune, mda' = arrow. yãṅdẑēw: Tib. g, yaṅ (the same), skyob = to protect. An offering to guarantee good fortune is designated by it. yãṅbo (-po): seems to be connected with the Tib. g, yaṅ-bum = urn of good fortune (Unkrig).

Urn: p'endzē (Chin.).
Urn with grain: yãṅ-dẑēw = to fill with good-fortune seeds (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1 above].
To fill the urn: yãṅdzēwrē ġada = to fill up with seed stuffing.
Attachments: yãṅ rdzē = seed attachments (additions).
Hada: kadaġ (Tib.).
Cloth remnants: sdziedzē dzūldēgãn = cloth remnants of all kinds.
Mane hairs: dzãṅgãṅ; tsung-kang (Chin.).
Black hairs: sul.
Ball of hair: fudzē sdzialaġ = downy-hair ball.
Sheep wool: ṅguasē.
Consecrating prayer: yãṅpo dgē (Tib. loanword) = arrow-of-good-fortune prayer (1) [see Note 1 above].
To prepare the arrow: ilieni yãṅsdziarē fuya = to tie everything to the arrow of good fortune.

[Pages 52-55 contain the notes given as numbered footnotes.]

[59 cont.]

*778 Meaning: The mani-tree guarantees good fortune and
[777] peace for the household, yard, and people. The air-horse is a
symbol of fate. On its back it bears the precious stone of good
[772] fortune: nuru. The tree represents the world-mountain. Around
its peak circle sun, moon, and stars, and below lies the world
with the people, with house and yard and herds (9).

[357]

9. [Foreign text pp. 61-62.] This explanation by the informant indicates that only with the raising of the mani-pole is the compound complete, part of the world order, as is also expressed in other songs. It is based upon the Lamaistic conception of the world, according to which the world-mountain is in the center and everything else is situated around it. Among the lamas one always finds this interpretation, as it is presented symbolically in the monogram found everywhere, the nantśu wãńdãh. To be sure, the Tujen know nothing of the detailed interpretations of this monogram (cf. Note 3), nor of the parallel between this cosmic interpretation and the human body. -- Here it should also be noted that in this symbol the flat disk under the moon sickle is lacking, and furthermore that the colors are different; the small flame on the sun is green, the sun itself white, the moon sickle red; cf. Unkrig in Filchner: Kumbum, pp. 160-161.

[192]

[62] The word sdzi-ńkuor and the informant's translation, "center-round," phonetically and semantically give precisely the Tibetan word dkyil 'k'or; cf. DMF, p. 387, and Ch. Das, p. 56.

[71 cont.]

346 *778 [621] [792] The chorten chamber is erected by the entire village. Everyone must give a hand. The lama comes and prays for seven days, makes a series of tormas, and manufactures the urns. On the seventh day the chorten chamber is built. Only little windows are left in it. In front of the chorten chamber the men burn incense and move in a circle around the chamber as at the obo. Through the window holes they then again throw in little chorten.

[621] [777] The chorten chamber protects the village and the family from misfortune. It represses the evil earth-influences. [Fig. 8 appears here.]

Details

[361] [791] Place: The chorten chamber is always erected outside the compound and outside the village. No attention is paid to paths. The place is more precisely designated by the soothsayer, not by the lama.

[72] Form: The groundplan of the chorten chamber is rectangular. Its size varies greatly. There are small chambers as high as a man and large ones with beautiful tile roofs and columned porticoes. There is never a door in the wall. Only at head level are square peepholes left, an ell square. There is no sun-moon disk on the roof, such as is otherwise common on temples. Usually a beautiful incense oven stands before the chamber. -- There are many kinds of chorten chambers. The one here is the most common; it is called "house-chamber," for there are also some that are not roofed (1).

[192] 1. [Foreign text pp. 77-78.] According to the informant, bẽn designates the same thing as the Tibetan 'bum (in many places also pronounced bẽn), that is, 100,000. kãn is the Tibetan word for house, but it can also mean temple, for example, in the word sdienkãn.

[688]

Details

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787 The oracle: On the morning of the anniversary of the birth, the father brings the child into the main house or into the kitchen and sets it on the kang. He places a kang table with three little baked loaves of bread, five steamed loaves of bread, and a cup of tea in front of it. Next to it, for a boy, he puts a span-long bow with a small arrow, brush, paper, and money; for a girl, these are needle, yarn, ell, scissors, knife. The three little baked loaves signify the three Buddhistic world-
[776] spirits (2). The five steamed loaves symbolize the five blessings

2. [Foreign text p. 624.] It could not be ascertained which three names are individually involved. sãṅrẽdzi (Illuminated One) is the title for the Tulkus; cf. section, "The Lama-reception," and Note 6 below.

[777] of good fortune: age, wealth, health, virtue, blessed death (1).
[171]

1. [Foreign text pp. 623.] Chinese and Tibetan conceptions are mixed in the explanation of these loaves, for the Chinese also have this birthday ceremony. The Chinese proverb, wu fu p'eng shou, the five good-fortune-[624] (signs) hold up the age-(sign). A custom at New Year's: The sign shou is written in the center of a red paper, and in a circle around it the five signs for good fortune, fu.

The parents give the child some of the bread to eat and let it drink tea, or the mother suckles it. Then they ask it to grasp at the things on the kang table. If the boy grasps
[778] money, he will be an industrious tradesman; if he seizes bow

192 [623 cont.]
776 The three world-spirits: dier xsēm sañrēdzi (6) (Tib. manner of speaking).

6. [Foreign text p. 625.] dier xsēm sañrēdzi: xsēm = Tib. gsum = three; sañrēdzi = Tib. sañs -rgyas = widespread splendor = Buddhistic title for incarnation. -- dier cannot be identified; it must be Tibetan, however, and mean the same as "region, world." I would like to connect it with the three worlds of the Bon; cf. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], p. 139; Francke, Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 5 ff. -- This tripartition is also familiar to the Chinese; one has only to think of the Taoistic san-ching or the Buddhistic san-chieh.

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777 The five blessings of good fortune: wu-fu (Chin.).

[Pages 623-625 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[625] 3. The New Year's Festival*

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* See "Notes," pp. 628-629 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[171] The New Year is celebrated by the Tujen at the same time
[574] as by the Chinese. In the first days they rest from all work,

[646 cont.]

000 each and two ells of cloth.

765 At the next grave festival, which usually falls in the third
[769] lunar month, all the relatives gather at the kin-group cemetery for the offering to the dead; at that time the bone-chest is also transferred to it. A number of men go to the old burial spot at the place of cremation, dig up the chest, and bring [647] it to the cemetery without any ceremony. There they dig a small
[561] hole and put the chest in it. This is done only by men who are
[593] of the same generation as the dead person or of a lower generation. A father, for instance, would never bury his son, nor the uncle his nephew, etc.

765 As soon as the pit has been filled, the offering for the
769 dead takes place; the relatives burn paper and little sticks of incense, set down loaves of bread, meat, etc., pour out tea,
[782] liquor, and soup, and hold a little meal at the grave. Then everyone goes home. -- The transfer of the bones, however, need not be done at the next grave festival; sometimes one waits two or three years. The bones may not be interred, however, outside the period of the grave festival (21).

[192] 21. [Foreign text pp. 656-657.]
[177] The Tujen word sẽǹ-miǹ is evidently merely a phonetic imitation of the Chinese ch'ing-ming. The informant said that the Tujen did not know about the grave festival in olden times, but that they have copied it from the Chinese, which indeed is confirmed by the precisely identical rites and the asserted former exposure of the corpse. -- The postponement [657] of a final interment of the bones until this feast, however, remains unexplained, especially since the Chinese usually bury their dead immediately in the cemetery. The
[777] informant observed in this connection that the Chinese inter their dead on

[647 cont.]

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[769]
[777]

[764]

[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days [177] memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown [782] and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowa- [178] days the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

765 Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead 784 person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they [574] want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even [796] more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to [262] undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The
[262] food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[585] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
[783] along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
[796] also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not officiate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean, and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

[783] After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automatically lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul
[777] haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one
[791] questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved, it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul.
[782] One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

3: Schröder--248 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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[624]
[794]
[534]

[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor:	tōrōdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.
Trumpet:	dõṅ; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.
Cymbals:	nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rëbuoğë (?). ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.
Flags:	ch'i-tzu (Chin.).
Books:	luãn = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.
Book-bearers:	luãn rëgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

600

VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

* See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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[777]
[782]
[787]
[791]

When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

[842 cont.]

Word List

192
778 Consecration-band: šdier (Tib. loanword).
hung-tzu (Chin.) = the red.

To tie on the consecration-band: šdier fuya-.

[825] The consecration-animal: šdier.

Sacred horse: šdier mori; sheng ma (Chin.).

Sacred sheep: šdier xoni; sheng yang (Chin.).

Sacred goat: šdier ima; sheng chia-la (Chin.), etc.

[Pages 842-844 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[844]

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2. The Demon-escort *

* See "Notes," pp. 846-847 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

789 The demon-escort consists of leading the harmful spirit
[791] out of the house and releasing it in the distance. It is done upon
[777] the command of the soothsayer in case of family misfortune.

On a set day one invites a lama to the house. He prays
[792] for six days with the usual ceremonies and makes several tormas
with the appropriate additions, as on other occasions. The
[778] compound is taboo, and the master of the household makes the
[782] great incense offering three times a day.

In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes the actual
[778] demon-torma, which, with all kinds of provisions for travel, is
[792] placed on a table in front of the household altar.

On the seventh day one takes the torma, along with a
[825] riding animal carrying the travel provisions, outside the village

[846 cont.]

789 If an evildoer steals the animal or the things,[1] the
776 demon will punish him.
688

Word List

192 Demon escort: rēdzõňwa (Tib.?) ġaṅġani = one takes away
789 that which is to be taken away.
[778] The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].
Saddlebag: dadzē (Chin. loanword).
Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[847]

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3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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[778]
[782]

Report

. . . In order to protect the children from misfortune, one invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.

On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing. There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

1 [i.e. the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST.]

[855 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.]
about himself with sword and lance, hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up a straw man, swung a winnowing shovel and a sieve, danced, and foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

192

Word List

755 House-purification: rdzõňwa (rëdzõňwa).
789 The torch: huo-pa (Chin.).
[416] The stones: tašë; sa-shih (Chin.).
Oil-basin: ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
Fire-arrow: ġal sëmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
Fire-bow: ġal lëmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
The hemp whip: uhuosë yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
The hen: taǵū; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here = to live.
[778] The straw man: šdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

[856]

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7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[856 cont.]

782 soothsayer determines that the earth-god is angry and wants to
[791] have an urn. This urn is buried in the ground on a day indicated
[787] by the soothsayer. All kinds of spices are to be found in the urn,
[777] put there by a lama. This is done after a seven-day prayer in
the family itself. During these days the compound is taboo.
[792] Usually there are several urns, because one does not bother the lama for merely one. After he has filled the urn with spices on the last day, he pours liquid butter over it, ties it up with a cloth, seals the string, and paints a nuru sign on the outside. Then the urn is fumigated and sprinkled with holy water, whereupon the master of the household places it on the chest before the Buddha image.

In front of the urn one places the usual little water-bowls, butter-lamps, grain-bowls, etc. The urn, however, does not stand on the bare floor of the chest, but rather a sheet of paper is first put down as an underlayer, a few cypress leaves and grains of barley are scattered over it, and the urn is put on top.
[792] Now the lama comes down from the kang, sits on the white felt mat in front of the urn, and gives the consecration-prayer (1).

[778] 1. [Foreign text p. 858.] As is always done on other occasions, here, too, a torma is made by the lama, which is carried out into the open. It was unfortunately no longer possible to inquire as to whether this torma is put on the place where the urn is buried, say, as an offering for the earth, which is to be injured, similar to what is done at the house, at the fire-pouring, at the crematory, etc.

791 During this time the spear-soothsayer is fetched. He
787 now gives the precise hour in which the urn is to be buried.
The master of the household puts the urn on a tray, and the
782 procession moves out to the area indicated by the soothsayer.
The soothsayer follows with the invoked spear-god and then

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 858-859 cont.] comes from the fact that the urn is consecrated with certain conjuration formulas, snags (dha-rani), in other words, represents a magic treasure. urn is buried by one or more lamas or by the master of the household, the compound is always taboo during this time.

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[778]

[858] Place: The place at which the urn is buried must always be chosen in such a way that no person or domestic animal can desecrate it. No one may run across such a place. For this reason roads and public places are avoided, for the place is, after all, not specially marked. Otherwise the urn may be buried anywhere, in the fields or in the pasture, in the yard or in the house. Indeed, one may even set it in yard and room walls and wall it up.

[776]
[777]

Significance: The contents of the urn are the treasures and yield of the earth, everything that belongs in the realm of the earth-god or of the mountain-spirit. One wants to please these two spirits through these valuables so that they will hold down the evil earth-influences and protect human beings from misfortune. It is as though gifts were being given to persons in office (6).

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6. [Foreign text pp. 859-860.] According to this explanation, an offering to the earth-god is involved. The interpretation, however, might not suffice. One must consider the urn in its wider context. It repeatedly occurs in Tujen usage, with the arrow of good fortune, with the round manger, in the obo, in the chorten chamber, and, to be sure, in twofold form: in the one case as the seat of a deity, which through the formula scroll,

[860]

8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

782 In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts 792 seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions. [777] They make a small torma which one takes out into the open and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by [784] hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three [351] large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar. The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying. [791] One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual [787] ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the burning at the fire-pouring.

[778] After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the master of the household undertakes the great incense offering in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the [783] night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[866 cont.]

782 The place for the black fire-pouring is usually a remote
[792] ravine. One pitches black tents and lives there several days with the lama in solitude. In no case may one undertake the black fire-pouring in the vicinity of temples or human habitations.

[731] In case of epidemics, the black fire-pouring is used
[755] preferably, in order to annoy the demons of sickness and thus to
[777] drive them away, for with them the misfortune, too, disappears.
[776]

Meaning: The fire-pouring is an offering for the gods;
[792] through it they are supposed to be induced to turn away mis-
[755] fortune and sickness (7). The seven-day prayer of the lama is

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7. [Foreign text pp. 868-869.] The whole gives very much the impression of a fire-offering. The informant, however, thought that it had nothing to do with it. According to him it was an offering to the appropriate
[776] Buddhas. The fire-god was also venerated with it, as the torma proved, but this was not the main thing. Nevertheless there is no doubt but that a fire-offering, Homa, is involved (cf. Lessing, loc. cit.). The Tujen name alone cannot be interpreted other than as a corruption of the Tibetan sbyin-sreg. sbyin is pronounced jin, which is very clearly to be seen in Note 8 (źūin-tsëġ). Ch. Das, p. 940, writes under sbyin-sreg: "burnt offerings as made by Tantrik Buddhists, ... sbyin-sreg-gi [869] rdsas clarified butter, articles necessary for burnt sacrifices. ... sbyin-sreg-gi yam-šiṅ ... first wood necessary for the offering" [cited in English]. (For yam-šiṅ, cf. the Tujen foreign word yiew-siṅ.) "Homa is the

[204 cont.]

776 of the Bon, the Dăntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance among the people that might be expected. They know of [796] Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth [535] day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha, [791] and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call [788] sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This [756] Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people. Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called [753] ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune, [777] failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the [731] plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom [782] the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are combated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the Dăntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[231 cont.]
776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieńgëre dardzia, heaven has
punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means
[192] literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly
horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolgue dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike
a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard
before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first
place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the
Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without
burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as
concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is
sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and
shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair.
(Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.)
Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness:
"We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge
tieńgërni amudadzi, nigë nisëni dzawa dañlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is
regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram,
op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called
in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this
marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). --
The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to
[831] heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzūn
tieńgërde fdzë bōlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down
for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception
of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of
rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

[233 cont.]

776 Even less can be determined of any creative activity of
773 heaven with respect to the individual human being. To be sure, a current Tujen saying runs: suniędzëne tieńgëre xuradzia, heaven has taken the soul (DMF 361), but this expresses only the rulership of heaven over life and death. There is no mention of a creation of the soul. The Chinese also know a similar phrase: t'ien shou-la t'a-ti ling-hun.

●777 Heaven and fate. -- A question suggested in connection
776 with the ancient Mongolic meaning of fate or good fortune,
192 which has had its greatest elaboration in the sülde cult, is
171 whether something similar is to be found among the Tujen, say, that there might be a fate standing over heaven. -- The Tujen know three expressions for "fate": dzieyan, šdiemdžël, kimori.

dzieyan is used predominantly in the sense of favorable conditions of life, for instance, when one says: "The girl has experienced a favorable fate," meaning that she has married into a good, wealthy family. The Tujen word corresponds to the Mongolic jayagan, but does not have the latter's essential content. The significance seems, rather, to have been transferred from the original jayagan to the Tujen expression šdiemdzël.

šdiemdzël, peculiarly enough, is now found not so much in everyday language as in song. Thus the Tujen songs popular-
[533] ly end with the verse: moňgol kuni lõnšda (or kimori) darlagu, šdiemdžëlgë rëdziglaya, in order to erect the air-horse of the Mongols, let (us) lay (= build) a good-fortune foundation. This conception is linked with the image of the central fort. The air-horse is grounded in the central fort. Accordingly the šdiemdžël would correspond to the basis for fate, which is symbolized in the air-horse. Evidently, ancient conceptions are mixed here with more recent Buddhistic ones, whereby in connection with the Hayagriva figure, fate and horse are brought together. Linguistically the word šdiemdžël cannot be understood unequivocally. The second syllable ... džël, however,

[233 cont.]

777 is undoubtedly to be equated with the Mongolic dsol (dzol). Ac-
776 cording to Koval. (2386), it means: good fortune, salvation.
192 Koval. gives the Tibetan equivalent stes for it. When one notes
171 that the Tujen always insert an i before an e in Tibetan loan-
words, then the first syllable šdie(m) might be this Tibetan stes, whose final s is silent. The m would then be inserted in assimilation to the following dental. As regards its meaning, the Tujen translate šdiemdžël [234] with the Chinese yün-ch'i or t'ien-ming. They also, however, render kimori in the same way. It is thereby stated that fate is under the power of heaven, which Uno Harva also stresses for the Altaians and Mongols (Vorstellungen, pp. 144-145). In other words these Altaic-Mongolic conceptions can easily be linked with the kimori and šdiemdžël of the Tujen. According to Uno Harva, in the case of the guarantors of good fortune, the tutelary spirit of man, called zajači, is involved in the form of a double: "If a person is wealthy in his lifetime, zajači is also well-dressed, rides on a horse, and is gay" ... When the person dies, zajači disappears into heaven where he lives in the company of the gods" (op. cit., pp. 276 f.). The Lamaistic air-horse of the Tujen like-
777 wise bears on its back the guarantor of good fortune, the wish-
776 ing jewel, by virtue of which the human being obtains all that
171 seems desirable to him, in other words, good fortune. It has almost the effect of an amulet. Now, according to Uno Harva, when the tutelary lord of good fortune seems to be oriented more toward the individual person, then in the case of the sülde of the Mongols he is acting for the entire people, and, to be sure, through the khan; meanwhile, the historical development among the Chinggisiden made nine Tengri of good fortune out of it. Father W. Schmidt, in conjunction with Banzarov, characterizes the sülde in the following manner (UdG., X, p. 78): "Heaven guides the world like the khan and possesses its sülde ... The sülde of the khan is a reflection of the sülde of heaven ... The nine sülde-tengri, according to their character, are always there in order to protect. They are represented in warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone, in the manner of riders ..." etc. Here, too, it is the riding

[234 cont.]

777 god of good fortune. It seems that further reminders of these
776 times still echo in the Tujen songs: of the fate of the Mongols,
171 which is based on good fortune; or of the sülde of the khan, which invisibly protects his subjects (UdG., loc. cit.). -- Whatever the connections may be, neither according to Uno Harva nor according to Banzarov-Schmidt nor in the conception of the Tujen themselves is there a fate or good fortune that is independent of the rule of heaven.

772 Summary. -- Everything that has been said about heaven
776 proves it to be an independent deity existing for itself, sharply separated from all other gods, ruling them and dominating the entire world. Its name is "heaven," not in the physical but in the personal sense. Everything pantheistic and animistic and every mana concept remains far removed from it. To be sure, it is not one god [monotheism] in the strict sense, but an authentic supreme god, a towering unique phenomenon among all the other deities. Because of this uniqueness the statement of A. Tafel about the Tujen can now be repeated in its correct interpretation: "Many say they have only one single god in which they believe."

[235] 2. Shamanism

121 Whereas the discussion of the belief in a supreme god
756 could be confined to the region of the Tujen themselves and the corresponding sources, this is not possible for shamanism, for which reason a detailed presentation would not be suitable for this work. It is reserved for a special study. Here the ground-plan can only be drawn in a sketchy fashion, merely representing a theory, because the detailed proofs must be omitted here. The question runs: Of what type is Tujen shamanism and where is it to be classified from the religio-historical standpoint? -- Three types are found among the Tujen: bō-shamanism (drum-shamans), gurtum-shamanism (warrior-shamans), and idol-shamanism (with the spear-soothsayer).

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

anxious moments of the terrible events caused by evil 829
spirits, which the good spirits could not master. 869

Every day, in the early morning, they climb with 782
their grandfather to the top of the roof, or go into the courtyard before the *manikan*[1] to honor "Heaven and all the spirits," doing the Wei-sang,[2] and looking at the old man who prostrates himself devoutly, they invoke with him "Heaven and all the spirits" and recite Om Mani, in order to get blessings and protection against the alarming evil spirits. When somebody is smitten with a severe disease, they repeat after grandfather, "Heaven and all the spirits" save our mother, save our father, Om Mani, Om Mani. The children know that at home, the altar and the manikan are the most respected items; they know that spirits preside at the gate of the courtyard, at the well, at the stables, and that they protect the cattle. They know at what time and how they are to be honored, and what is to be done to avoid their wrath. The children live at home in an atmosphere of religion and fear, and when they grow up they are convinced that honoring the good spirits is a requisite for the reaping of good crops, the breeding of healthy cattle, the enjoying of the daily bread, and the protection from evil spirits on the prowl to hurt them.

A logical consequence of such a frame of mind is 777
that Monguors never perform any important act with-

[1] In the middle of the courtyard is built a circular manger in which is planted a tall post. On top of the post are often the Lamaist designs of sun and moon and a circle; a flag is attached to the post printed with Tibetan texts and the "Wind Horse" (Chinese, *Lu-ma;* Tibetan, *rlung-rta*) carrying the jewel symbol (*Norbu*). It is called *manikan,* that is, "the mani post," because the popular "Om Mani" is printed on it.

[2] *Wei-sang* (fdzan garga): *Wei* is a Chinese word meaning "kindle"; *sang* is the Tibetan word *Bsans* meaning "cypress incense." It is the rite performed before sunrise, daily during the first and fourth moon, or only on the first, eighth, or fifteenth of the month, by the heads of Monguor families for "Heaven and all the spirits"; it is also enacted simultaneously with most of the important rites. Some straw is spread in a small oven, a few pinches of pounded cones and leaves of cypress are strewn upon it, and a few pinches of flour, of roasted wheat or spelt, and a few drops of pure water are sprinkled; then all is lit and the odoriferous cypress smoke billows up. It is an "odoriferous offering," not a purifying rite. To these three essential components some devout people like to add a pinch of the six usual pounded spices, dried flowers, red or white sugar, threads of five colors, a little butter or fat; some use wine instead of water, and blow the horn and prostrate themselves three times. Prayers are not said at that time. In performing the "big wei-sang" entire branches of cypress are burned. Lamas are fond of the rite, and even during shamanist rites it is observed. The oven wherein the rite is performed is constructed before the manikan or on the roof of the living room; sometimes it is performed on the edge of the manger. In time of epidemics, etc., the whole family never fails to enact the rite as a group. See also Schröder, Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor), *Anthropos* **47** (1): 43, 1952; **48**: 222, 1953. The famous "Wind Horse" is said by some to bring wealth to the family. Others explain that the horses are offered to the roaming souls in the air (which everybody fears) in order that they might pass unmolested; also Eliade, *op. cit.,* 239–245; also W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* **6**: 67.

[p.95(B)]

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out having carefully inquired whether it is propitious 777
and whether it is a lucky day for such an action. They invite a lama of the Red or Yellow Sect, a Chinese Taoist priest, a shaman or Kurtain, to consult about the problem. Such information is required for the starting of agricultural activities, the building or repair of houses, the northern side of which would perhaps not be allowed to be repaired this year, and the southern side only next year, in order not to offend the spirits. These consultations have to be held for marriages, funerals, the starting of a journey, gelding of animals, vaccination against smallpox, even for the perforation of the ear lobes of a girl for wearing earrings.

A Monguor never starts a long journey without hav- 784
ing attached to his pigtail some copper coins of the [484]
Yüan dynasty to prevent the breaking of arms or legs in the event the horse should fall.[3] The girth of his saddle and the halter have to be made with white hair of cows or with wool; the girdle of the rider, however, requires black hair, to conform with the demands of the spirit of horses. The horseman never ties his horse to the door of a house, for the spirit of the door will hurt him. After finishing his devotion, in passing by an Obo, the horseman is not allowed to linger on top of the pass lest the spirit of the Obo punish him. If a horseman encounters some fresh water running down the road, or if he meets a woman carrying a bucket of water, these are good omens pointing to the favorable disposition of the spirits toward him.

While walking with the intendant at the lamasery of Seerkok, we met two donkeys carrying water. Immediately I received the congratulations of the intendant for the propitiousness of the spirits toward me, and he recounted the fact to the dignitaries of the monastery. However, when a woman carrying an empty basket sees a rider, she flees at full speed, in order to prevent mischief for the horseman. It is a bad sign to see a snake or hare crossing the road, and the traveler avoids encountering a nuptial procession. In carrying the clothes of a deceased at the monastery, the collar and sleeves of the clothes are put on the saddle in such a way as to hang on the left side; the collar and sleeves of clothes of a living man are hung on the right side lest the rider should die soon. Never say to a horseman that he is riding a poor animal, but congratulate him on his strong horse, for otherwise it is unlucky.

Never walk on a sheet of paper, or put your hat on 777
a book, for Buddha will punish you. Never talk about 784
possible calamities or they will certainly harm you. When a new gate is built to a courtyard, a rich man who has plenty of children and particularly boys, has to be invited to pass through the new gate first, in order

[3] The Ordos Mongol horse breakers never omit attaching to the whip a coin called *Wu chou* in order to prevent dangerous falls. The coin is called the "stirrup coin" because the old character for *Wu* (five) represents two stirrups, the upper parts of which are adjustable. (Communication of Father A. Mostaert.)

[p.96(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

that the family may become rich and be blessed with children. If a beggar happens to go through first, the gate has to be rebuilt. A guest never enters directly the home of a friend, lest he might harm the family. Never prepare a hare or chicken for dinner for a guest, because it would harm him. When two friends, having a long talk at night, see the black top of the lamp wick showing the shape of a flower, they congratulate each other, smiling, for the spirit promises to both a happy event in the family. If a crow caws on the roof, it has to be driven away immediately lest a member of the family die or get sick. A member of the family will certainly die soon if a parson crow (hooded crow) enters the door; a calamity is imminent if a magpie cries in the evening, even if, at night, foxes howl, horses neigh, and dogs bark. If a hen crows trouble will surely start in the family, the harvest will be bad, and maybe the Moslems will rebel. 777 784

A bride on her wedding day is not allowed to be put on the horse by a "half man," a widower or bachelor; her makeup is not to be done by a "half woman," a widow or a girl, for fear of becoming soon a "half woman." A person dreaming at night about unlucky events, spits for a long time in order that ominous events will not befall him. Never give things to children which are entire, for example, hold over a bit of the frosting of a cookie. The same rule is observed when something is given to a beggar, for fear the guardian spirit of your wealth, should wreak vengeance and the family be impoverished. When drinking tea or wine, or eating food, always throw a bit of it over your shoulder, or sprinkle a few drops, thereby feeding the hungry souls roaming all over the world, in order not to be harmed by them. Never urinate in a river, or facing the sun or the moon, or at night in front of the manikan. At night never appear completely naked before the manikan, or you will surely be harmed. All the taboos after childbirth and funerals are scrupulously observed.

These few facts give an insight into the mentality of fear prevailing among the Monguors concerning the whole army of malignant spirits which surround them. No wonder that the whole day long they cast horoscopes in order to avoid all possible harm. These few facts will help to understand the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live and practice their religion.[4] [154]

[4] The very valuable study of F. Johan Frick and F. Franz Eichinger, Tiere in Voklsleben. Museum of Oriental Ethnology, *Folklore Studies*, Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China), 125 sq., Charles E. Tuttle Co., Rutland, Vermont, U. S. A. (1925), concerning the region of Huan-Yüan, west of Hsining, inhabited by Tibetans and Chinese, neighbors of the Monguors, provides interesting and minute details related to this special field. Because Tibetans and Chinese are enrolled in the Monguor clans, many of those beliefs and practices are necessarily encountered among the Monguors. The study helps to shed light on the frame of mind and the world of fear in which the Monguors live. Similarly, [113]

[p. 96 (B)]

old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Each claimed to be 754
the proprietor of a small mountain. The Living Buddha lost his suit and the limping Tjaar tseen became the most celebrated man in the country. The Buddha invited three black shamans to bewitch the limping Tjaar tseen, and accused him again. He lost the second lawsuit also. Raging, the Buddha invited three black shamans to cast more efficacious spells. The chief of the village did not care any more, and the villagers graze their herds on the mountain to the present day. This fact is interesting for us because a Living Buddha, on two occasions, invited black shamans.

Hu, a rich Monguor, compelled a poor Monguor to [583]
sell to him his beautiful and willing young wife. The poor Monguor, using his last resource, invited a black shaman to bewitch his wife. The black shaman prepared skulls of a dog and of a fox, and a horn of a black goat. Inside each he enclosed three slips of paper on which he had designed cabalistic signs with dog blood around the name of the wife. The three items were buried at night under the entrance door of the courtyard of Hu, with the mouth of the skulls facing his living room. The young wife became sick. Shamans were invited to discover the cause of the illness and to neutralize the evil influences, but to no avail. The wife died and the shaman, it was said, was powerless against a punishment of Heaven and the spirits. But there was no peace in the courtyard; at night, noises disturbed the rest. Black shamans were invited for three days and they found the skulls. The poor man was accused before the T'u-ssu, but the T'u-ssu did not pay any attention because the behavior of the rich Monguor was supposed to have been unjust. It is the usual trick of the black shamans to bury magical things under the lintels of doors or in cemeteries.

In countries where there are no newspapers, such 203
tales are spread like prairie fires, by peddlers, and 754
commented on and believed, especially when outstanding persons are involved. They create the trend of mind of the people and make them fear so much the black shamans living south of the Hsining River, who are said to use beads made from human bones, to blow a trumpet made from the bone of a young woman who committed suicide, to wear a girdle made from the skin of such a woman, to braid into the enormous pigtail, coiled around the head, the hair of such a woman, and to use drums made from skulls of young girls. The most terrifying tales are told about them and they are believed by the people.

RITES CONCERNING THE GUARDIAN SPIRITS OF THE WEALTH OF THE FAMILY

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According to the Monguors, persons who commit 635
injustices are pursued by the guardian spirit of the 556
wealth of the victim of the injustice, who causes them

[p. 130(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to suffer from all kinds of mischief and misfortune.[11] 777
Persons guilty of injustices have the problem of finding 685
a means of appeasing that spirit and of remaining in 556
possession of the stolen wealth by faking restitution. Lamas of both sects are conversant with the practice. Lamas of the Yellow Sect perform the rite for those of the Red Sect, and *vice versa;* but never for a lama of the same sect.

Five lamas enact the rite, which lasts for seven days. 792
The first day, helped by a carpenter, they build a 685
rudimentary sedan chair with thin lathes, and paste on 782
it plenty of colored paper. Four flags are set up, one 556
on each of the four corners. In the sedan chair are deposited five small paper bags, each containing a handful of five kinds of grain, five kinds of thread of the five sacred colors, some packets of wool, some rolls, white and red sugar, raisins, dried apricots, some meat and some new garments of the very cheapest kind. The sedan chair is placed in the center of the living room. In front of it, in the courtyard, an enormous bull head made of paper and having two terrifying horns painted red is put in a large caldron. A lamp is lit before the caldron. A piece of black cloth about two feet wide is stretched in a square around the caldron and sedan chair and is supposed to represent the wall of a city. An opening is left where the cloth meets and is called the city gate. Outside the city walls are planted painted spears and swords, one next to the other. In front of the city gate a stake is planted on which cabalistic designs are written with red ink. The stake is supposed to be the seat of the spirit who is the avenger of injustices.

The lamas, twice every day, sit in front of the stake, ringing bells, rattling drums, manipulating the ritual daggers, and reciting texts. Absorbed in meditation, they stare for a long time at the stake. Finally, they start imploring the spirit not to release its avenging bolts, inviting it to take a look at the magnificent sedan chair upholstered with satin and brocade and adorned

[11] The notion of a guardian spirit of the family wealth among the Mongols seems to be general and old. "This housegod was commonly called, 'the very old grandmother.'" Kovalevski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, 215*b*, Kazan, 1844, gives a description of this deity which accords well with that of Yüan times: "gardien de la maison, de la famille et tous les biens. Chez les shamans on le fait des peaux de moutons et de différents torchons de toile." See also Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *op. cit.*, 511. According to Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 174, the fear of a spirit avenging injustices caused to families is familiar to the Tibetans too. The old Bön religion in Tibet honored a protector-spirit of the wealth of the individual, called *Nor-Lha*. Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Altaischen Völker*, 276, 1938. Many Turkish tribes believe each man has a special protector spirit, from the time of his birth, who protects him and his cattle. In the tents is encountered an image of this spirit and daily an offering is made for it. J. F. Rock, The Na-khi naga cult and related ceremonies, *Serie Orientale*, Roma, IV, Part I, 1952, The Naga spirits guard grains and riches. There are Naga spirits of cultivated fields, of villages, of the ground upon which houses are built, etc.

[p. 130(B)]

/The Monguors/

000on the luckless family.

N *563 M 231 [177] The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is M [886] [175] no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

N *563 M 515 [184] Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

5. Occupations

N *563 M 241 233 433 The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

N *563 M 241 [177] [432] The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

N *563 M 231 554 [556] [184] Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

N *563 M 233 463 Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society

I: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

•778

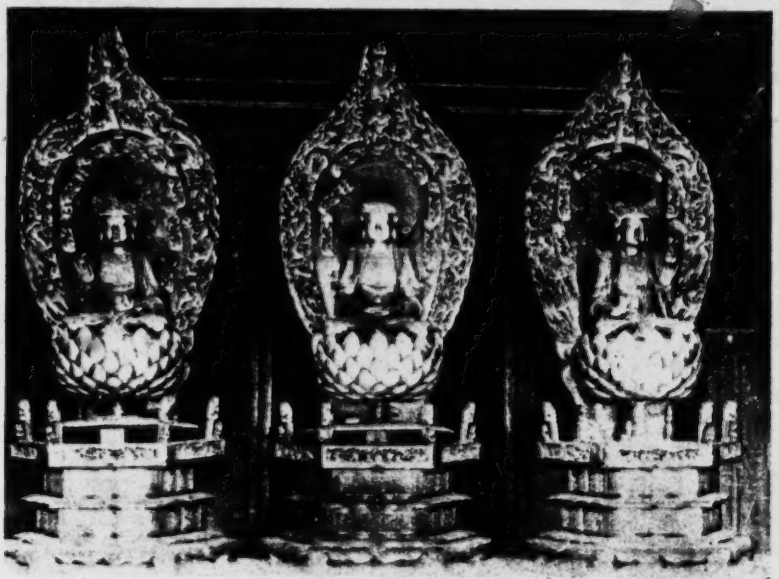

FIG. 1. The th celebrated Buddha images, said to have been brought to Hsining by the first Chinese military colonists under the Ming, from their native province of Kiangsu in 1370. They are worshipped in the Ch'eng Huang Miao (temple of the guardian spirit of the city). On the fifteenth of the first moon all the inhabitants of Hsining never omit to pay them a visit, prostrating themselves and burning incense. In the summer of every year a theatrical comedy is played in honor of these images brought from the ancestral homeland.

[p. 29a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

621 stream must be kept in repair by all the people using
312 the water of the canal throughout its length. If section *B*, the middle section of the canal, is to be repaired, the people of section *A* are not concerned. The people of the villages along sections *B* and *C* must do all the work. If section *C* is damaged, the villagers of that section must do all the work alone. Yet there are times when most of the damage is along the lowest section, and the people, getting no help from their upstream neighbors, harbor resentment.

621 Each village is allotted a fixed number of days for the
312 use of water for irrigation. In times of drought, villages will open their outlets from the main canals at night
628 when it is not their turn for water in order to steal water from the section whose turn it is, pretending that the dams broke. It is not uncommon for fights to break out over water-stealing, giving rise to long-lasting and bitter feuds between villages. When there is trouble over water the chiefs and elders of villages not involved in the case are invited to act as arbiters. If the damage done is not too serious, a dinner is given by the offenders and apologies are made; but if the damage is too great, the offending village is required to pay part of the taxes due to the T'u-ssu from the plaintiff village. Even such a settlement, however, may become the beginning of a feud.

621 Minor causes of friction between villages are the
628 stealing of sheaves from the autumn harvest by poor people or, in the spring and summer, damage to the crops of one village by straying animals from another
•778 village. The chiefs of the villages concerned patch up such petty troubles without need for arbitration. Every village raises a sacred animal, usually a Tibetan bull yak or a he-goat. These animals are allowed to roam freely and to trespass on fields, and nobody complains of the damage they cause to crops. After a few years, however, a bull begins to turn savage, and sometimes injures people. In 1914 the bull of the village of Narin ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Lungta, who was working in the fields. The village of Narin made apologies, indemnified the family, and killed the bull. The meat was offered to the village of the man who was killed, because the people of a village are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. No further trouble followed from this incident.

628 There is a strict custom that it is not allowed to sing
834 lascivious songs inside a village. The young people of villages that are not friendly sometimes sing such songs
533 in order to tease their neighbors, and fights break out; but if the chiefs of both villages concerned punish the youngsters, there are no further consequences.

628 In summary, it may be said that there are few serious quarrels between villages, except those over canals and irrigation water; in regions where irrigation is not used, in the so-called "dry land," serious quarrels never break out between villages.

[P. 81 a]

852 may be either a real brother or a classificatory brother) is introduced to the guests. He takes a taper sputtering in vegetable oil, lights a lamp with it, and carries the lamp into the courtyard, offers it to Heaven, and all the spirits, burns boughs of cypress, and, accompanied by his brother, makes nine prostrations to Heaven and all the spirits. Returning to the main room, he makes the same offerings and prostrations to his tutelary spirit.

The boy then pours wine for each of the guests, beginning with his maternal uncle, inviting them to drink and be happy. Noodles are then served to all, but the boy's own bowl is only partly filled, in order to allow each of the guests to put some of his noodles in the boy's bowl, congratulating him cordially and wishing him a long and happy life. The significance of this part of the ceremony is that the longevity of the old men present is supposed to be conferred upon the boy, assuring him a long life. I was fortunate enough to witness this simple and wonderful rite and was delighted to see how the old men carried it out in a manner imbued with religious feeling and kindliness.

• 778 755 Parents who do not "dedicate" a child also protect them with talismans. If they go to a lama, he will write a Tibetan prayer which he wraps in red cotton cloth to be hung around the neck of the child with a thin cord. At night it must be hung on a nail on the wall. If the child forgets to take it off and hang it up, it is considered to have been defiled and must be purified in the smoke of cypress boughs in order to restore its efficacy. If they go to a Chinese Taoist priest, he will write the Chinese character for "longevity" on a sheet of paper, adding a cabalistic design. The paper is then wrapped in red cotton cloth, folded in a triangle, and sewed on the back of the child's clothes. Either a lama or a Taoist priest will perform this service in return for a small present.

858 Respect for the lives of children is deeply rooted in the patrilineal family system. The rare instances of infanticide that I noted in my earlier study, *Le mariage chez les T'u-jen* (p. 105) are due to the influence of the Chinese, among whom this practice is not unusual. Among the Monguors, children are the golden threads interwoven in the fabric of life. A mother is bound by her love for her children and rarely leaves her hearth to live with another man. Her orientation toward her children is fortified by the respect for family obligations in which she herself has been brought up. Mothers who are unable to suckle their children easily find another woman in the village who will act as wet nurse. If a mother dies leaving young children, everyone is willing to help take care of them. When a child is sick, the whole village is in a hustle and bustle to try to help save its life, and when a child dies the consternation and sorrow are general and real. The religious observances on behalf of sick children will be discussed in a future work on the religious life of the Monguors. [P. 104 b]

342 need only be noted here that few Monguors are rich enough to hire Chinese or Monguor bricklayers and carpenters. Most Monguors build their own houses.

342 Rich people lay a foundation of brick for the mud walls of their houses. Even poor people, though they
778 build their own houses, buy the frames for their doors and windows from Chinese carpenters. When a new house is built, the young people of the whole village come to help in putting up the mud walls of the enclosure. They ask no pay for this work, but are rewarded with a dinner. A peculiarity of all Monguor courtyards is that in the middle of the enclosure stands a pole from which flies a "prayer flag" on which prayers have been written in Tibetan. At the base of this pole there is a small oven for burnt offerings; but sometimes the oven is built on top of the roof of the living room.

352 The Monguors do not have much in the way of furni-
353 ture. The living quarters of each nuclear family within the extended family consist of only a single room. Wealthier people may have "*k'ang* tables"—low tables, with very short legs, set on the *k'ang*. These are of the right height for people sitting crosslegged. Poorer people may have, in front of the *k'ang*, a rough table with homemade benches. A plank, on wooden pegs driven into the wall, serves for bowls and dishes. For household work, the Monguors made their own brooms from millet straw or tamarisk twigs. Only rich people paint the woodwork of their houses. Even in a poor family, however, there hangs on the wall of the chief of the family a picture of the guardian deity of the family, and in front of this picture there is a low table with brass butter lamps and bowls for offerings.

372 The fuel used by the Monguors is chiefly the dung
237 of horses, cows, and sheep, dried in the sun. The gathering of this fuel means constant hard work for the wives, who must always have some reserve in case
352 it is raining and dry fuel cannot be gathered. Sheep dung gives the most heat. It is dug out in bricks where it has accumulated and been trampled hard in the sheep pens. Straw and dry grass are also used in the little fireplaces that heat the *k'angs*. This fuel gives a quick, hot flame; though it does not last long, the sparks are drawn by the draft into the flues that run under the *k'ang*, where they set the accumulated soot smoldering, thus providing a low but relatively steady heat through the night.

352 During the winter the Monguor men, who work so much less than the women, spend most of the day sitting
372 on the *k'ang*, either at home or at a neighbor's house.
512 A primitive brazier is made by laying some bricks in a
412 circle in which earth is placed to hold the fire. On the earth is put a mixture of sheep dung, husks, and chaff.
521 This mixture burns slowly all day and is hot enough to boil tea. The men light their pipes from this glowing mixture, and sit all day long gossiping cheerfully in a haze of smoke. [P 116 b]

291 to cope with the routine of their ordinary lives as the result of a day of real happiness. At the festival they
302 had felt and acted as if they belonged to the most beautiful and happy people in the world. Proud as peacocks,
182 they had walked smiling through the throngs as if they were queens. They had listened with pleasure to the jingling of the strings of copper coins hanging from their sashes; they had been delighted by the fluttering of the silk and satin handkerchiefs hanging by the embroidered ends of their sashes. They had enjoyed the fragrance of the strong musk perfume on their garments, and they had been admired and congratulated.

291 Unmarried girls are not dressed as gaudily as the married women. They wear blue cotton trousers, the attached lower legs of which are made of red cloth. Their blue cotton boots are embroidered with Chinese designs, usually of flowers. They wear the long gown of violet, green, blue, or red cotton cloth, with an apron over it. The hem of the gown is decorated with red cotton stitching. The collar is always of red cotton, and is embroidered. The sash is a piece of red cotton cloth, without embroidery. The sleeveless jacket is of green, blue, or red cotton trimmed at the edges with red stitching. Unmarried girls wear their hair in a small "bun" on top of the head, bound with red cord and covered with a shell. The rest of their hair is braided in two plaits, bound together at the neck with red cord and covered with a short sheath decorated with shells. Unmarried girls never wear hats. In winter they cover their ears and the side of their foreheads with a strip of red cotton cloth.

301 Both married and unmarried women wear bracelets, sometimes three or four pairs, and silver rings on the fourth finger of each hand—sometimes three or four rings on the same finger. The rings are sometimes of plain silver and sometimes set with coral or turquoise. Unmarried girls wear only small, simple rings in their ears. The earlobe is pierced in the spring on the day of the festival of the ancestors.

Both men and women often wear a reliquary on the
● 778 chest, made like those worn by Mongols and Tibetans, often of silver, containing bits of writing from Tibetan scriptures, and sometimes miniature Buddhas.

HANDICRAFTS AND ORIGIN OF ARTISANS

463 There are, of course, no large scale industries among the Monguors. Most of their necessities can be bought either in the Chinese towns, or at the monastery festivals or the fairs that are held at the time of the clan assemblies. The handicrafts that are found among the Monguors themselves are limited to weaving, felt making, the making of fur coats, and the work of silversmiths. In addition there are a few carpenters and stone cutters.

286 The Monguors spin their own woolen yarn. Men, women, and older children spin when they have nothing else to do, drawing out the threads from a handful of

[P. 125 b]

[34 cont.]

000 represent long hair.

791 Equipment: Like the lamas, they have a bell, a large, two-
778 sided drum, a small double-drum (hourglass drum); for exorcising
534 demons they use a whip made of human skin and a bone flute.
[789] Furthermore, they have Tibetan books, sounding beards, and thunderbolt.

[765] The drum was formerly made of human skulls, over which human skin was stretched for the drumhead. The whip had a handle of human bones. The flute was made of the shinbone of a full-grown girl who had not yet married and had lost her life through suicide or an accident. It is open at one end and cut off smoothly. This end serves as mouthpiece and is inlaid with metal. The other end has a small hole on each of the two condyles. The flute is wrapped with the girl's skin; it is sewed tight (5). The same skin is also used for plaiting the whip and

5. [Foreign text p. 35.] The reports vary concerning the bone from which the flute is made. Most of them say that it is the shinbone; others claim that it is the thigh bone. I did not learn anywhere that the periosteum had to be eaten. -- The flute has an uncannily plaintive tone; it has an especially penetrating effect at night, when it is often heard in lamaseries. -- The Bon also try to drive away
[789] unpleasant events with the sound of the flute, for example, a punitive expedition, tax collectors, soldiers, etc., as happened in Kweiteh, for instance.

covering the drum. There are certain regulations for the manufacture of these objects. The Bon priest makes the implements himself (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 35.] What is here said concerning the making of the flute, drum, and whip is confirmed by other people, but no one has seen how they are made in detail. Some say it has to be a girl who has not yet

[34 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 35 cont.] menstruated; others maintain the opposite. At any rate, she has to be an unmarried person. In this connection cf. what is said in the section concerning death customs and cremation: that they are demons and are especially feared by demons.

791 [789] Activities: A special activity of the Bon priests is the erection of the pole-goat and conjuring away storms, as well as the making and conjuring of the figure-litter. Otherwise they have almost the same activities as the other soothsayers: they designate lucky days for housebuilding, traveling, etc.; they question fate concerning sickness and medicine, For soothsaying, [787] however, they use no special instruments; instead they have books from which they take everything. There are also Bon [755] priests who have learned to take the pulse and to prescribe medicines and are able to cure without magic. -- The Bon priests do not go into a trance, but only pray (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 35.] The Bon are regarded with a kind of secret fear by the Tujen. They also have something to do with springs and mountains. It is said that they often dwell alone in tents in remote ravines and at wells throughout the summer. There they pray, conjure away storms, etc. Perhaps this seclusion contributes to the fact that all kinds of uncanny machinations are reported of them.

Word List

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Shepherd-Bon: sënoǧsa (snaǧsa) (7); ch'an-t'ou peng-po (Chin.) = Bon with queue wound up.

[34 cont.]

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7. [Foreign text p. 35.] dziliu: Tibetan dril bu = bell. -- kãṅgergë: Mongolic k'eng-gerge = drum. -- sënoġsa (snaġsa): Tibetan sṅags pa = sorcerer; sṅags bon = Bon priest. -- (n)duombora: Tibetan sdom = to bind, spu = hair, ra = wreath. -- šgãṅdõṅ: Tibetan rkaṅ = shinbone, duṅ = trumpet, snail. -- ndarë: probably a literary botching of the Sanskritic damaru (Unkrig).

Farmer-Bon: xuändie; su-jen peng-po (Chin.) = Lay-Bon.
Bon priest (in general): peng-po-tzu (Chin.).
Hair wreath of the farmer-Bon: (n)duombõra (Tib. and Tujen) (7) [see Note 7 above].
[778] Bone flute: šgãṅ-dõṅ (Tib. and Tujen); chuo-pa (Chin.) = shinbone (7) [see Note 7 above].
[534] Hourglass drum: ndarë (Tib. loanword) (7) [see Note 7 above]; pa-lang-ku (Chin.).
Bell: dziliu (7) [see Note 7 above]; ling-tang (Chin.).
Whip: p'i-pien-tzu (Chin.) = skin-whip.
Big drum: ta-ku (Chin.); kãṅgärgë.

[Pages 34-35 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[35]
792

4. The Lama (Lama-Reception)*

*See "Notes," pp. 41-43 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are many ceremonies to which a lama is invited.

[35 cont.]

792 A distinction is made between great and small lamas. The great ones are usually Living Buddhas (hutukhtu) (1).

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1. [Foreign text p. 41.] The following presentation applies primarily to the reception of a hutukhtu. In case of lesser lamas the ceremonies are simpler. -- Divine images, for instance, the litter of the Kuan Yin, of the tiger god, etc., also receive a similar reception when they are brought into the house for exorcising evil. Unfortunately I was unable to take down the corresponding ceremonies. I once saw such a god's litter standing on a house roof. -- The lama-reception was observed by me personally.

Before one invites a lama, the house must be cleaned. A special room is prepared, in which the lama prays and sleeps. Then the people go to get him with horses. In the case of a great lama, the entire village participates in the reception. As soon as he enters the compound, incense is offered and the conch is blown. He is led into the house and given hospitality. Afterwards he gives the book-blessing in the yard and begins his ceremonies.

[36] [Fig. 3 appears here.]

792 The lama always makes a number of tormas, in front of
[978] which little water-bowls are offered. He also has with him the same objects that he has in the monastery. -- When he finishes the ceremonies he is paid. Usually the monks of the monastery are also fed at that time.

Details

792 Preparations: Before anyone invites a lama, he consults
796 with him about the time. The soothsayer sets the day for the
574 ceremonies accordingly. For instance, if according to the

[36 cont.]

Fig. 3

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[532] a. Torma; b. torma; c. wumba-can of the lama; d. thunderbolt (dordzi); e. bell. (Drawing by a Tujen.)

792 soothsaying the setting up of a mani-tree is supposed to take place
796 on the fifteenth day of a given month, then the lama must come
574 a week in advance because a prayer service of several days always precedes it. Only the higher lamas stay for just a day. The preparations are always carried out by the master of the household with the assistance of the mother's brother.

On the day before, the yard and all the rooms of the house are swept clean. The men fumigate all the rooms with the red-hot stone and the incense fire, so that no demons will carry on their mischief. For the lama, the host reserves the best room in the main house, which immediately adjoins the chapel or the household altar. He spreads one or two layers of white or red felt mats on the kang and places two beautiful saddle-blankets over them, one for the lama and one for his assistant. The place on which the lama is to sit is indicated by a hada. The latter is regarded as an honored memento and is later hung by the household altar.

Between the two blankets there is a fire basin with a large teakettle. Behind it there is a kang table with the food: a [262] round wooden bowl of tsamba on which several pieces of buttered

[38 cont.]

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Prayer service: Now he begins his prayer service. Before each prayer service a few tormas are made; if he is a great lama, his assistants see to it. The tormas vary and represent offerings to the gods. In part they are left standing on the table, or they are taken to the household altar. Before that comes a series of little water bowls, grain bowls, liquor bowls (3),

3. [Foreign text p. 41.] There is a definite number and order for these little bowls. The water offering plays an important role in the monastic cult, cf. Kumbum, p. 251. The Tujen and Chia-Hsifan [Sifan] frequently present the water offering in the morning. Thus,

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Fig. 4.

Fig. 5

Fig. 4. Two hourglass drums. (Drawing of a Tujen.) Fig. 5. Butter-lamp.

I once saw how an old man got up in the morning, washed himself, burned incense, put a large copper bowl and 12 little bowls of water on the household altar, kowtowed three times in the courtyard, one of these in the direction of Kumbum, kowtowed three times in front of the household altar, and then emptied the water bowls.

and butter-lamps, which are always kept burning. Later these tormas are either taken away or eaten by the family, and sometimes thrown

[38 cont.]
792 to the animals (2).
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[192]

2. [Foreign text p. 41.] Concerning šdorma, the DMF writes (p. 338): "pyramidal figures made of grilled dough and offered to the spirits to ward off their evil influences. Cf. Tib. gtor-ma, id. (Mong. turma, tuurma, turuma...)" [translated from French]. Ch. Das characterizes (p. 527) the expression gtor-ma, which in turn goes back to a Sanskrit word, as cast offering: "sacrificial objects, i.e., that which is strewn or scattered or given away" [cited in English]. They are said to consist mostly of dough (rice, barley, etc.), to have a pyramidal shape, and are supposed to ward off dangers, to pacify the spirits, etc. -- Much has been written concerning the meaning of the gtor-ma; in this connection cf. the accounts in Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, Ch. XIV. The Tujen conceive of the torma as the seat of a demon or of a god or as spirit food. It does not remain a permanent seat, however, but only during the time of the ceremonies. The spirit is conjured into it by the lama. I was unable to ascertain the name balih among them. As spirit food they call it by the Chinese word szu-shih, that is, offering food, but there is another interpretation, namely "corpse," which also has the form szu-shih. This is what they call the

[38 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 41 cont.]
torma that at the conclusion of the tsam dance on New Year's is carried off and burned as the murdered enemy of the religion. -- They also call the mandala-figure torma, for instance, during the erection of the pole-goat. -- The fact that the torma has a sacral function for only a brief time explains why it is no longer given any attention after the ceremonies, but is thrown away, given to the animals to eat, or even eaten by the people themselves.

Insofar as I was able to establish among the Tujen, the tormas are always made only of tsamba and butter, and not, as Filchner (Unkrig) writes, loc. cit., out of sour dough. It may be that this kind of preparation is peculiar to the monasteries.

The cult implements of the hutukhtu are the same as those he uses at home in the monastery, to wit, the holy water-can with the peacock feather, the hourglass drum, the thunderbolt, and the hand bell. He always has these things ready at hand on the table. He always holds his mani-string in his hand. While praying he does not sit at the side, but behind the table, on the kang and facing the door. He lays his prayer book in front of him on his knees or on the kang table. Sometimes he also gives the [788] water blessing while the others prepare the tormas. For this purpose he has pure spring water poured into the [39] holy can; one of the assistants throws consecrated spices into it and places the can on a little plate with Tibet barley. The lama then recites the prayer of blessing over it.

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Prayer fee: During the time of his stay the lama is entertained very hospitably. The master of the household, who is also called "master of gifts," must serve him personally. The

351 [40 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text p. 43 cont.]
rather in order to give strangers a signal so that they will not be infected and will stay outside.

Word List

192
792 Lama: lama; ho-shang (Chin.).
Lama of the Yellow Sect: gelõñba (Tib.); sira lama.
Lama of the Red Sect: fulan lama.
Great lama: šge lama; ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.).
Small lama: mula lama.
Hutukhtu (6): sañ (10); šge sañ = great H.; mula sañ = small H.
huo-fuo (Chin.) = Living Buddha; fo-yeh = Buddha.

6. [Foreign text p. 42.] The common people know little about the hierarchy among the monks. They know great and small lamas. Among the great they count the hutukhtu, the tsũordzi and the kãnbõ. According to their conception, a great lama is especially learned, knows many magical practices, and therefore has special power. The small lamas have only a little learning and are able to perform only minor ceremonies, for instance, the obo prayer.

[775] The hutukhtus are regarded as Buddhic incarnations. In this the common people do not differentiate between Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Among them everything is fuo-yeh, that is, Buddha-Father. They use this Chinese name for everything that is the seat of the spirit or a spirit itself, in other words, also for the incarnations

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[775]

[40 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] (Tulkus), the spirit-spear, gods' statues with souls. Sometimes, for the sake of clarity, they designate the incarnations as huo-fuo (Chinese), that is, Living Buddha. The Tujen name purgan is usually used only for the spirits and the spirit seats with souls. Sometimes one hears the expression sãṅ or sãṅrẽ-dzi. I have never encountered the names Tulku, Hutukhtu, or Gegen, which in the Tujen language has the same meaning as sãṅ, the enlightened one.

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10. [Foreign text p. 43.] sãṅrẽdzi: Tibetan saṅs = pure, rgyas = spread out. -- ġdzo: Tibetan ġzo = to remind, to bring to mind; dãṅwu: Tibetan daṅ po = first time; niwa: Tibetan gñis pa = second time; gdzänba: Tibetan gsum pa = third time. -- simier: Tibetan šis = fortune, mar = butter. -- sidar: Tibetan šis = fortune, dar = silk cloth. -- sändzõṅ: Tibetan ts'em bzaṅ = cloth good. -- dõṅsär: Tibetan bdun = seven, gser = golden; the seven golden ones. -- lamar: Tibetan la = wax (from the Chinese), mar = butter. -- dordzi: Tibetan rdo = stone, rje = master. -- bosẽ: perhaps from the Mongolic; püse = trade, business; cf. Chin. p'u-tzu. -- mäntsia: Tibetan maṅ = ample, ja = tea (Unkrig).

[40 cont.]

192 Lama-reception: lama ndziala.

792 Lama blessing: ndziärgän (Tib.) = in rows.

First fetching: ġdzõ dañwu (Tib. loanword) (10) [see

796 Note on preceding page].

574 Second fetching: ġdzõ niwa (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Third fetching: ġdzõ ġdzämba (Tib. loanword) 10 [see Note 10 on preceding page].

192 Tsamba bowl with buttered slices: simier (10) [see Note 10 on

262 preceding page].

796 Little plate with baked goods: sëtoġ.

Sugar candy: ping-t'ang (Chin.).

Apple: hai-t'ang (Chin.).

Nuts: ho-t'ao (Chin.).

Dates: sa-tsao-êrh (Chin.).

Dry curds: tsüra (Tib., Tuj.).

Oil sticks: san-tzu (Chin.).

Filled loaves: taġur.

Oil pies: yu-pao-tzu (Chin.).

192 Speech hada: sidär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10

796 on preceding page].

Red cloth (which one presents to the lama): sändzõn (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Grain with money: mbõ.

Loin of mutton (also the entire sheep): ndžuän.

[778] Torma: šdorma (Tib. loanword) (2) [see Note 2 above].

Little copper bowl with water, grain, etc.: dõnsär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Butter-lamp: lamar (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

[778] Holy water-can: wumbä (Tib. loanword).

Peacock's feather: k'un-ch'üo-mao (Chin.).

Thunderbolt: dordzi (Tib., Tuj.).

[41]

[534] Hourglass drum: ndarë.

Mani-string: mani.

[43 cont.]

782 Time: The incense offering is to be given as early as possible, as soon as the morning twilight appears. One is not allowed to wait until the sun is high. Nowadays, even though [178] the families are no longer pious, [44] they will nonetheless give the incense offering at the least on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of the lunar month. On these three days small butter- or [778] oil-lamps are also lighted in the house in front of the Buddha images.

782 Place: The usual place for the morning offering is the 778 yard. One may also go into the local temple or in front of the obo. This is also usually done on the above-mentioned three days. In the yard itself the fireplace is the incense plate on the central fort in front of the mani-pole (2). If there is no

[192] 2. [Foreign text p. 46.] The incense plate is called fdzãñ tše = incense terrace. The Chinese call it sang lu-tzu = cypress-incense oven. In many instances, [177] the Tujen have taken over the Chinese incense oven. It looks like a small temple. Frequently people also make do with a small clay niche. The incense plate on the edge of the round manger is either a stone plate, a brick (tile), or a smooth layer of clay.

incense plate, the master of the household burns the incense in the central fort (round manger) itself, or on the ground in front of it. Each time, however, the area must first be swept. Worship in front of the fire does not take place directly in front of it; instead people go around the round manger, so that the round manger with the mani-tree, then the fire, then the main house, and finally the mountains behind it are before one. The other persons are also there. No one may ever stand between the fire and the main house.

[44 cont.]

782 372 Offerings: The fire[1] need not be taken from the hearth or from the kang. It may be freshly lighted in the yard. It is all the same no matter which device is used for starting the fire, matches, flint, etc. To feed the fire when kindling it, straw is most commonly used. Malodorous fuels, like coal, dried dung, etc., which otherwise prevail in profane use, are not allowed.

782 824 The twigs of the cypress tree serve as incense (3).

3. [Foreign text pp. 46-47.] The cypress used for incense is the tuja tree, vulgar: tree of life. Everywhere in Tsinghai this tree is regarded as a superior tree, even among the Chinese, who prefer to use its wood for coffins. The Chinese name is pai-shu (pei-shu or pei-mu) = cedar, juniper, cypress. The Tujen word šgua is a contraction of the Tibetan šug-pa. šug-pa, as the juniper group is called, is native to Tibet: Juniperus excelsa, Juniperus squamosa, Juniperus communis. See Ch. Das, p. 1239 ff. saṅs šiṅ is given there as a synonym: wood of purity. saṅs, however, may also mean "to vaporize, to evaporate," etc.; cf. loc. cit., p. 1265: "evaporation" [cited in English]. Of the other synonyms, lha-yi šiṅ (gods-tree) should be mentioned because the informant, too, maintains that the tree is sacred to Lhamo. If genuine juniper is available, for instance, in wild mountain regions, it, with its berries, is preferred for the incense burning. The Tujen word fdzaṅ (šdzaṅ, saṅ), according to the informant, comes from the

[778]

[1] [i.e the fire for the morning offering - ANALYST]

[44 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 46-47 cont.]
Tibetan. Thus, it corresponds to bsaṅs (Ch. Das, p. 1316), "incense." -- In Mongolic the expression for this is sang idegen, "incense-food" (Unkrig). -- The Chinese, too, have taken over this word, at least in Tsinghai, and call the cypress-incense sang. In addition, they have the Chinese expression pei-hsiang: cypress-incense. They call the stick incense, in other words, the incense candles, simply hsiang or pan-hsiang (perhaps: blossom-incense); pan-hsiang is also used as a verb, to burn incense in honor of a person (rarely used). -- For "to burn incense" [47] the Tujen say fdzaṅ ġarġa, "to release incense (to let rise)." They differentiate two types. One is the "great incense," šge fdzaṅ. This incense offering always takes place in the open, and for it complete little branches and twigs are burned. The other kind is the "small incense," mula fdzaṅ. For the latter, not whole twigs, but cypress needles, which are first pounded into an incense powder, are scattered into the fire. It burns very rapidly and makes a great deal of smoke, but produces no wood-smoke. This type is preferred for incense offerings in the house and for fumigating objects at purification ceremonies.

[783]

[778] This tree is consecrated to the mother-goddess Lhamo. The blossoms are supposed to have a pleasant fragrance, no matter what color they are. The more manifold and colorful the kinds are, the better it is. To be sure, they are dried first, so that they will burn well.

[46 cont.]

[Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

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[142] a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling
[291] in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autumn
[302] of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer,
1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the
792 conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the
796 monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guämbasoma) in the vicinity
[534] of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense
[292] Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In
front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the
[782] background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-
[778] szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-
reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan.
756 Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to
enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof;
this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand
* [778] the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching
[292] line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not
wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is
very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter:
"The Gurtum.")

[621 cont.]

846 loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter,
431 and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole
[262] in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

[858] Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts
[822] for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

553 Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-
791 soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the
[787] master of the household gives the great incense offering in the yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master
[592] of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the
[778] child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

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3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guãnbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guãmbo; ifulā sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sërãṅ (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; lǎsdze sërãṅ, pass-peak-palace; tuguän ula, mountain of the Tuguän. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

[621 cont.]

852 take no further notice of this ceremony, but drink and dance
553 far into the night; then they gradually scatter. Only the closest relatives of the young mother stay until the next day.

[622]

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Word List

846 To be in childbed: sara sōdzi = she sits out the month; tsuo yüeh (Chin.).

To terminate the confinement: sara durgeni = she terminates the month.

ch'u-yüeh (Chin.) = to step out of the month.

man-yüeh (Chin.) = to fulfill the month.

[852] Reception of the shepherd: asdzi dzēlie-; ying-yang (Chin.) = to welcome the sheep.

[Page 622 contains the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

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2. The First Birthday*

* See "Notes," pp. 623-625 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[787] On the first birthday the father puts the child on the kang and places various things before it. From the object that the child
[302] grasps it can be seen what it will become in later life. After that its hair is cut and this is hung on the arrow of good fortune.
[778]

[623]

Details

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787 The oracle: On the morning of the anniversary of the birth, the father brings the child into the main house or into the kitchen and sets it on the kang. He places a kang table with three little baked loaves of bread, five steamed loaves of bread, and a cup of tea in front of it. Next to it, for a boy, he puts a span-long bow with a small arrow, brush, paper, and money; for a girl, these are needle, yarn, ell, scissors, knife. The three little baked loaves signify the three Buddhistic world-
[776] spirits (2). The five steamed loaves symbolize the five blessings

2. [Foreign text p. 624.] It could not be ascertained which three names are individually involved. sãṅrēdzi (Illuminated One) is the title for the Tulkus; cf. section, "The Lama-reception," and Note 6 below.

[777] of good fortune: age, wealth, health, virtue, blessed death (1).
[171]

1. [Foreign text pp. 623.] Chinese and Tibetan conceptions are mixed in the explanation of these loaves, for the Chinese also have this birthday ceremony. The Chinese proverb, wu fu p'eng shou, the five good-fortune-[624] (signs) hold up the age-(sign). A custom at New Year's: The sign shou is written in the center of a red paper, and in a circle around it the five signs for good fortune, fu.

The parents give the child some of the bread to eat and let it drink tea, or the mother suckles it. Then they ask it to grasp at the things on the kang table. If the boy grasps
[778] money, he will be an industrious tradesman; if he seizes bow

[623 cont.]

852 and arrow, he will be a strong warrior; if he grasps brush and
787 paper, he will be a learned scholar. It is similar for the girl.
The object that is chosen by the child is hung on the arrow of
778 good fortune (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 624.] Concerning the arrow of good fortune, cf. the appropriate section. Tying the object grasped by the child to the arrow is supposed to preserve the child's strength so it will develop in the direction indicated. On the arrow of good fortune in the yard of my informant, I saw a large number of miniature bows, arrows, and balls of hair of his children and grandchildren.

302 The haircut: The child still has downy hair because it
852 has not been shorn since birth. Now the father or some other man takes it in his arms and takes it into the yard. There another man shaves its head, regardless of whether it is a boy or a girl. One or two tufts of hair remain standing on the back of
[778] the head (4). The father twists the hair between the palms of

4. [Foreign text p. 624.] The tufts of hair that are left were probably intended as beginnings for the later hairdress (queue). It could not be determined whether they might perhaps have something to do with a consecrated Buddha-tuft, as, for example, among the Lolo; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa, I-chia. In any case the tufts of hair are nowadays shaved off again. Probably the tufts, like the custom as a whole, were taken over from the Chinese. The Chinese call these children's hair-tufts tsung-chiao

[171]

[620 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 624 cont.]
(roughly = little head horn). To what extent they thereby characterize childhood is shown by the expression tsung-chiao chih chiao, friendship since childhood (literally, little head horn connection).

[778] his hands into a little roll and twirls one thread out of it with which he ties it to the arrow of good fortune. Formerly these strands were drawn through a coin with a hole in it, and this, together with the ball of hair, was hung on the arrow. The hair of the children thus remain on the arrow of good fortune throughout their lives.

852 [782] Then the father goes with the child and the arrow of good fortune into the yard and makes the great incense offering. On this occasion the child kowtows to the sky for the first time. After the offering the arrow is taken back to its original place (5).

[527]
[177]
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5. [Foreign text pp. 624-625.]
The first birthday celebration was evidently taken over from the Chinese there. An example of how it is practiced elsewhere in China, taken from J. Doolittle, Social Life (p. 90), will be presented here for the sake of clarity: "On the first birthday the mother is presented with another thank-offering, and other gifts of clothing and food are received by the grandmother on the maternal side. If it is a boy, a pair of shoes and a cap are found among other items of clothing; if it is a girl, then arm bands and head ornaments are also found among other articles of clothing. The preparations for the thank-offering

192 [628 cont.]
527 The welcoming of joy: ying hsi (Chin.).

[Pages 628-629 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[630] 4. The Age-blessing*

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* See "Notes," pp. 634-635 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[792] Old people, men and women, invite the lama to bless and instruct them. This is a great family festival. It is prepared a long time in advance.

On a certain day acquaintances and relatives come and bring the old person presents and gratulate him. They are [574] treated with tea and cake. There is singing and dancing and a feast is held. The young people fetch the hutukhtu. When he arrives, the women of the village dance, and incense is burned in the yard. The hutukhtu blesses the guests at the feast and the old person.

In the afternoon the age-consecration is performed. The hutukhtu makes a number of tormas, which are carried off. Then the old person kneels on the felt mat before the hutukhtu, is blessed with holy water, receives instructions, and is girdled with a yellow sash. He then resembles a lay monk. The mother's [792] brother determines what compensation the hutukhtu is to receive. [465] The next morning the hutukhtu returns to his monastery.

The consecrated person must now observe special commandments, must withdraw on the first and fifteenth of the [785] month for meditation, and fast and pray. -- Not all people can afford this celebration, for it is very expensive.

[630 cont.]

Details

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The consecrated person: The person may be a woman or a man. He must be advanced in age; usually he is around sixty years old. At this age they are pious and reflective and are better able to observe the prescriptions. Young people are eager for life, violent, and uncontrolled. The consecration is done only by an incarnation, hutukhtu, not by an ordinary lama.

[792]

Preparations: The preparations are carried out in consultation with the mother's brother. He determines the day and the hutukhtu who is to be invited. Since the whole village takes part in the celebration, money is saved a long time in advance. Sheep, pigs, or a cow are slaughtered; oil-baking, bread, and oil-sticks, san-tzu, are baked for provisions; the house and yard are put in order, liquor is distilled, new clothes are purchased, and the gifts for the hutukhtu are provided. The latter, a few days in advance, sends one or several monks who put the room in order for him and prepare the kitchen, so that he may live and eat worthily.

[604] [621] [262]

Gratulation and reception of guests: On the day set, the person to be consecrated puts on his best clothes and stays in a clean side room. The visitors, relatives, and [631] guests come early in the forenoon. They gratulate the person to be consecrated and bring a gift; usually they wrap a hada around it, which they solemnly hand to the person. The gifts are put on a chest in a room, usually in front of a household altar. Bread, oil-baking, cloth, hadas, silver money, etc. are given. A master of ceremonies is designated so that all may go according to custom and order.

[431]

Of the guests, the mother's brother is the person of greatest respect. One goes toward him and hands him a hada. When he comes, the person to be consecrated steps down from the kang and receives him. He then hands the gifts to him and is treated with tea and cake in the place of honor. Then everyone together drinks tea and liquor and breaks pieces of oil-sticks into the bowls. -- Aside from the mother's brother, the daughter's

[604] [431]

[631 cont.]

527 778 888 [431] husband and the daughter's children must give a hada and money to the person to be consecrated. In return they later receive greater remuneration when they depart.

[574] [562] Feast: The feast takes place in the yard, first for the men, then for the women. Three fields are divided off, right and left for guests, and in the center for the mother's brother with the two closest relatives. These three sit on a felt mat on even ground with their backs to the main door of the main house and have before them a low kang table with the dishes; they are served separately by the master of ceremonies. On the two fields to the right and left, straw is scattered in a square; heavy planks are put in front of it and sometimes also mats, which are to represent the tables. In the middle of each square there burns a fire in which tea and liquor are warmed.

[264] [574] The food is introduced with tsamba and tea, which is taken with butter and milk. Mutton or pork follows; the fatter it is, the better liked and more superior it is. A considerable amount is drunk. Rice follows as the main dish, which is mixed with butter and sugar and sweet roots. -- The women eat after the men. -- During the meal there are always some free, who sing and dance.

527 778 888 792 604 Settling the prayer fee: After the meal, the master of ceremonies pours out liquor for the mother's brother. The sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law kneel down before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies hands him a hada and starts the negotiations over the price. The mother's brother demands expensive gifts and much money for the lama; the master of ceremonies, through his rhetorical skill, must gradually lower the demands, until finally a suitable sum is agreed upon. Then the sons and daughters stand up, kowtow, thank the mother's brother, and go. This is similar to what is done at the pai-ta before the cremation (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 634.] For further details, see chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation." Here, too, the

[631 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 634 cont.] prominent position of the mother's brother is particularly striking.

Arrival of the lama: The day before or early in the morning, horsemen have ridden to the lamasery to fetch the hutukhtu. He comes towards midday and is led into the house with the usual ceremonies. On the threshing floor before the yard gate the women dance and sing with all their might. In the yard the incense offering is burned and the conch [632] is blown. The lama is led to the kang in the main house; there he rests and drinks tea.

[604] After a considerable time, the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies introduce themselves to him, give him a hada, and request him to bless the guests at the celebration. Outside, before the door of the main house, he sits down on a chair, and all pass by with bent heads, the mother's brother first. The hutukhtu touches the crown or the forehead of each one with his heavy prayer book. This is called the lama-
[788] blessing, from which the entire ceremony gets its name (2). --

2. [Foreign text p. 634.] Cf. chapter, "Reception of the Lama." I could ascertain no name other than
[192] lama ndziala; ndziala has a whole series of meanings, among others: to invite a hutukhtu. Because the age-consecration is the greatest familial religious event to which the hutukhtu is invited, it is simply called the "invitation." It is a ceremony in which a special relationship to monasticism is established through the consecration.

The person to be consecrated does not come, but waits until later.

[632 cont.]

527 778 888 792 The age-consecration: After the usual butter-lamps and little bowls have been set before the household altar in the main house, the assisting lama makes a few tormas, among them a little one. The tormas are placed on a tray before the household altar.

On the floor before the kang of the hutukhtu a felt mat is spread and the little torma is put on it. The person to be consecrated enters, followed by the mother's brother and his children, kneels barefoot and bareheaded (the women without a headdress and with their braids hanging down) on the mat, kowtows three times, and remains kneeling before the torma.

The hutukhtu prays over the candidate for consecration. The latter holds out his cupped hands, into which the hutukhtu pours holy water from his can. He drinks it. There follows a second pouring into the cupped hands. The candidate for consecration rinses his mouth with it and spits the water twice over the torma. He washes his head with the third portion of water poured into his cupped hands. Finally the last pouring follows, with which he washes his face (4).

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4. [Foreign text p. 634.] Washing, of course, plays an important role in all consecration ceremonies; even Buddha images are washed before they become "ensouled." In this connection, cf. also Filchner, Kumbum, pp. 267 ff.; Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141; furthermore the chapter, Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation."

After that the hutukhtu sprinkles him with holy water from the can and throws Tibetan barley over him, on which he has blown three times. He consecrates the water with the spices in advance, after the tormas are finished. For the sprinkling he uses the peacock feather, not a twig from the tree of life.

Now the master of ceremonies, the husbands of the daughters, and children take the torma that stands before the

[632 cont.]

527 candidate out into the yard and throw it away. The mother's
778 brother stays there, and after that only own children still appear.
888 They stand or kneel in the side room behind the person to be
792 consecrated and shut the door, because only a few people may be present. Only the person to be consecrated remains in the lama-room, kneeling before the kang.

The candidate for consecration now washes himself again in the manner described above, is again sprinkled with holy water, and has Tibetan barley thrown at him. The master of ceremonies takes an iron spoon, puts in it some of the red-hot material from the fire-basin of the lama, scatters pounded cypress incense on it, and the lama throws fragrant spices over
[783] it. The person to be consecrated is fumigated all around with this and is now completely pure. The hutukhtu gives the consecration prayer over him and instructs him regarding the com-
[785] mandments that he must observe from now on. These commandments relate to fasting, abstention, the prohibition against killing, prayer, etc. They vary somewhat for men and women. [633] The instruction is given in the Tujen language so that the candidate will understand it.

Now follows the donning of the yellow sash. It is about
[292] a hand wide and four to five ells long. It is not supposed to be silk. Silk mixed with cotton is permitted, but usually it is cotton. The candidate must provide it himself. This sash lies before the hutukhtu on the kang table and is fumigated at the same time as the person to be consecrated. It is not sprinkled with holy water. The assisting lama places the sash over the candidate's left shoulder and ties it together under the right arm
[292] with a yellow string that has likewise been fumigated. The cloth has the same name as the loop of cloth that the lamas throw over the shoulder.

Since the consecration does not take place until late afternoon, it has meanwhile become evening. Only now does the hutukhtu partake of the main meal. In the yard, however, the guests gather around the fire, warm their liquor, and sing and dance into the night.

The next morning the hutukhtu performs his usual morn-
[465] ing prayers, drinks tea, and receives his prayer fee: several

[633 cont.]

527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
792 brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
[431] oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[465] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him. A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
[792] after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed
[766] by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
[262] longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation. This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[633 cont.]

778 incense offering in the morning. Then he withdraws to the kang, drinks "empty tea," that is, pure tea without additions and without food. He meditates and prays on his mani-string. No one may disturb him, even when guests come; he likewise does not concern himself about anything. During this time he may not sleep. Also, he may not go into the temple or to the obo. Only in the afternoon does he partake of a meal, which, however, is better and more ample than usual (5).

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[527] 5. [Foreign text pp. 634-635.] Concerning the whole affair, cf. Filchner, Kumbum, p. 199. The ceremony described here is much more detailed than there and also deviates somewhat. The name Upāsaka (or Upāsika) was not mentioned by the informant. Also, he did not know the prescriptions in detail. He did confirm, however, that after each commandment the candidate had to affirm that he would observe it. The old man had not had the consecration performed for him. The people regard the consecrated persons as lay gelong; one is reminded here of the similarity with the third order in the Christian Occident.

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778 It is also clear from the commandments why young people are not considered for the consecration. To be sure, this consecration can be completed at any age at or after death; at that time even young people are no longer capable of transgressing the commandments. The age-consecration seems to be merely the last step of a series of consecrations of laymen which are undertaken parallel with the consecration stages of the lamas. The

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[Note on foreign text pp. 634-635 cont.] The informant once mentioned a kind of baptism at which the džawdzi (Tib.) is prayed; in Chinese this prayer is called hsi-lien-ching, prayer of washing the face. Evidently the [635] ceremony observed by Filchner was such a boy's baptism; Om mani padme hum, loc. cit. Later there follows a second consecration for young people, which is called gãṅsgur (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 below] after the corresponding prayer, in Chinese san-hun ching, prayer of the three souls. So the informant told me. Unfortunately I could no longer record these ceremonies.

Word List

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778 Age-consecration: šge lama ndziala- = great lama-invitation.
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527 Master of ceremonies: kãṅguo.
To fetch the hutukhtu: ġdzõ niwa (twice) (or dãṅwu, if the first time).
Mother's brother: nēgã; achiu (Chin.); ayãṅ.
[601] Mother's brother's son: ku-chiu (Chin.).
[292] Sash: ġēdzãn (Tib. loanword) (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 635.] gēdzãn: Tibetan gazn = the yellow sash of the lama costume. -- gõṅsõn: Tib. dgoṅ = solitude, soṅ = to go away; meaning, "to go into solitude." -- gēlõṅba: Tib. dge = virtue, sloṅ = to apply oneself, pa = belonging to; meaning, "one who applies himself to virtue." -- gesnien: Tib. dge = virtue, bsñen = to approach. -- gãṅsgur:

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[633 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 635 cont.]
Tib. dbaṅ = force, bskur = to consecrate, to transfer. This is a ceremony of the transference of force, at which each lama receives a secret name (Unkrig).

To admit to lama standing with prayer: gẽsnien dẑẽwla-.
[785] To observe a day of meditation: pi-chai (Chin.); gõṅsõṅ (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Member of the Yellow Church: gẽlõṅba (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Pages 634-635 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[635] 5. Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation*

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* See "Notes," pp. 650-658 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

763 If someone is close to death, his clothes are taken off,
764 if he is wearing any on the kang. He is washed, shaved, or in the case of a woman the hair is dressed, and tied in a crouching position immediately after the last breath. A piece of cloth is thrown over the shoulder, which is the sole garment of the dead.

764 Then he is put in a death-box, which looks like a portable house, and propped up with straw. The box is placed on the floor in a room, and the closest relatives hold a death-watch there. At each meal the people bring some of the food in front of the death-box, burn paper, and kowtow. Each

[636 cont.]

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Before the dying person draws his last breath, someone puts a mani-ball, a piece of gold, a piece of silver, and a piece of butter in his mouth. The mani-ball guarantees him an advanced age after the later rebirth (2). Gold and silver testify at the

2. [Foreign text pp. 650-651.] According to the informant, in the case of the mani-ball, mani-ruru, the pill that the Chinese call chen-ling wan, that is, the soul-shaking pill, is involved. According to Taoistic reports in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien, spirit-mirror, this pill is made from the sap of the legendary fan-hun-shu, that is, the soul-restoring tree. This tree grows on the coast of the western ocean. It is of black wood. If one strikes it, it sounds like the growling of a bull. Its root is brewed into a thick brew, and out of this brew the pill is made. The pill has an exceedingly strong scent (the tree can also be smelled miles away). This scent is called fan-hun hsiang, that is, soul-restoring scent. If after someone dies he is touched with this pill within three days or it is burned before him so that the smoke passes over him, or if the pill is put in his mouth, then he comes to life again. Under the Han emperors this kind of incense was supplied as tribute from the Yüeh-chih and supposedly brought dead persons to life in the palace. This pill also plays an important role in the medicine of the lamas. It is the so-called pill of immortality. The Tujen buy this pill in the monasteries. Its color is red. According to their

775 [636 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text pp.650-651]. conceptions, to be sure, it cannot ensoul the dead corpse again, but it nonetheless brings the dead to life in another rebirth. -- W. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, also mentions this pill on p. 400 under the name rilu, and in Note 1683 under the Tibetan way of writing it, ril bu. It is clear that the Tujen pronunciation reru (ruru) is merely a corruption of the Tibetan word. Ch. Das has two ways of writing it, ril po and ril bu (with the l silent); he translates both as "ball, globule," [cited in English], and for ril bu he also adds "pill" [cited in English], [651] without any further designations for them (pp. 1184-85). This ruru is to be distinguished from nuru, the Tib. nor bu or cintāmani, the Buddhistic wishing-jewel. -- According to the conception of the lamas and of the people, the ruru pill reproduces itself; cf. the chapter, "Earth-god Urn." Sometimes one meets lamas who firmly believe that Europeans, too, have this wonder pill of long life, which is why they live much longer than the Chinese and the Tibetans; they claim to know that there are people in Europe who are several hundred years old.

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rebirth that he comes from a wealthy position and will again acquire gold and silver. Butter is the most superior daily food and is supposed to be that again in the later life.

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[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.]
valley in Hsi-ch'uan. The so-called Chia Hsifan (Village Fandse), who originally were Mongols and are Sinicized today, live there. They, too, exactly like the Tujen, put the dead in a crouching position in the crouch-box, although they do not cremate them, but bury them.

Furthermore, the Taoist monks and people who died in a sitting position are buried sitting in the crouch-box. There is an interesting corresponding expression for the death of such people, sōwā guei wōldzia, he has departed sitting, in Chinese tsuo-hua, that is, to be transformed sitting. The word sō- can mean "to sit" as well as "to contemplate." Such people are regarded as saints who, in contemplation, pass into another world. A death in this position is also regarded as especially honorable. A chorten is usually erected on the graves of these people. -- For the Taoist sitting burial, cf. the picture. This photograph was posed. The Taoist priest of Kanchiapu was happy to have himself photographed in his death-box and showed how he would be placed in the box. He kept this box standing in his temple and with pride showed each visitor this beautifully painted piece of carving. A very fine picture is also to be found in F. Dransmann, T'aishan-Kūfu Guide, p. 19. It is the mummy of the Taoist priest Suin, who at the time of Kanghsi worked for 60 years on the T'aishan and, crouching in the death-box, [652]was buried there in the "Grotto of the Immortal" (hsien-

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764 cousins. Female persons are also put in the box by men. Then, after the corpse has been propped up with straw, a board is slid in at the back from above. The men then wash their hands. The box is put in a room and placed on four raised clay bricks, so that it will be easy to pick it up later to carry it. A white felt mat is usually spread out beforehand. The box of a deceased master of the household or his wife always stands in the main house; in other cases it is put in the room in which the dead person used to live.

Next to the box there is a small, coffin-like little casket whose lid is pegged down like those of the Chinese coffins. It is the little casket in which the bones that remain after cremation are kept. Usually a rolling pin (noodle roller), which was 412 made at the same time as the coffin or death-box, leans 764 against the box (8). [638] Other rolling pins are not used at [322] all.

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8: [Foreign text p. 653.] This custom, too, seems to have been borrowed from the Chinese. The rolling pin is called mien-kan or kan-ch'ang in Chinese. On the average it is one meter long and three to four centimeters thick. It is used principally to roll noodles. The rolling pin is also called pai-hu by the Chinese, that is, white tiger, because it can become the seat of the tiger god for soothsaying or shamanistic ceremonies, just as the spirit-spear becomes the seat of the spirit. The rolling pin is also handled in the following way: a man takes it with both hands and calls down the demon into it; then the roller shakes and trembles.

[778] [787] [776]

The enemy of the rolling pin is the threshing roller, lu-chu. It represents the dark (green) dragon, ch'ing-lung,

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[642 cont.]

764 in the house and takes the torma to the place where he wants the
792 crematory to be built. The incense offering is then made in
front of the torma, but without any extra features, except tsamba
782 and butter; the lama sprinkles the fire with holy water. While
he then prays on a white felt mat, the others kowtow. In this
[776] way the lama requests the place for the cremation from the
mountain-spirit; the incense and the torma are meant for the
mountain-spirit. In making the choice, the lama takes into
account the evenness of the ground, since for these ceremonies
he needs a suitable place for the table and the mat he sits on.

764 [643] Erection of the crematory: Now [illustration ap-
333 pears here] an oven is built out of clay bricks. The torma is set
to one side, and no further attention is paid to it. First the men
build a quadrangular base, about two ells high and two ells
wide; on this they erect the round crematory, about four ells
high. It looks like a barrel. On the west side a broad longi-
tudinal slit remains open, through which the corpse is set inside.
On each side of the base a large hole is left for the firing. The
oven is calked with clay and lime and then is painted white (25).

25. Foreign text pp. 657-658.] The
crematory may be made in various
forms. The one copied from the
crematory of the lamas (cf. the draw-
ing made by a Tujen) is regarded as the
most superior one. Similarities with the
understructure of the chorten cannot be
[778] denied. On graves of persons who died
sitting up, I saw chorten which repre-
sented an almost exact copy of the
crematory, only slightly more rounded.
-- When the fire-pouring is undertaken
[532] at the cremation, the ground-drawing
is naturally also made, and usually not
on the ground itself, [658] but rather
one puts down a large leaf of paper with

[644 cont.]

764 792 The lama now takes his place on the bed or the door, over which a white mat has been spread, on the west side of the oven. His face is turned toward the east, facing that of the dead person. Before him stands a little kang table with his cult implements. Next to it lie two pieces of sacking, on which two white cloth runners have been spread; the little plates with the spices and the materials for the fire-pouring (cf. the appropriate section) stand on that. On the white cloth there is also a tray with a torma. The lama prepared it in the morning in the house of mourning and brought it along. This torma represents a spirit that protects the dead person and leads him westward into the land of rebirth. -- The lama comes from the west, the land of the Buddhas, and goes to the east; therefore he is seated opposite the dead person.

[778] [775]

764 372 The fire preparation: Now the iron kettle is put on three stones and a great fire is kindled under it; it does not matter how this fire is made. Several lumps of butter are thrown into the kettle and allowed to melt. The men then make the lighting pole, while the lama begins the prayers for the dead.

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The lighting pole is a stick two to three meters long. Any wood desired can be used for it. A thick strand of cotton wadding is wound on one end. The master of ceremonies now brings a paper lantern, in which there is a small butter-lamp. It must be a butter-lamp; an oil-lamp or a candle is not permitted. In olden times there were no butter-lamps either, but wooden splinters from the oil fir. This lamp may not be lighted with ordinary fire, for instance, with the fire from the butter-kettle. It must be new fire which is struck from the flint on the first blow. If the master of ceremonies does not get a spark the first time, he may not try it a second time with the same stone. For this reason he keeps a whole series of flint stones in readiness (18). Now if the spark has fallen on the

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18. [Foreign text 656.] In recent times matches are also used instead of the flint stones. In this case, too,

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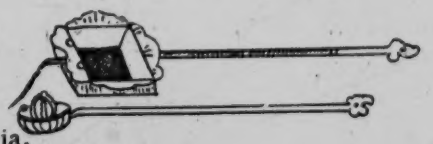
764 All who participated at the cremation wash their hands
[783] and fumigate them in a great incense fire in front of the yard
[792] gate. Then they drink tea and hold a funeral meal. The lama usually returns to his monastery on the same day.

[415] Ladling spoon and pouring tube.
In the spoon, the thunderbolt, rdo-rja.
[532] (Drawing of a Tujen.]



764 The fire-pouring is undertaken only in the case of those
795 persons who have received a Buddhist baptism. Old people in addition also receive the age-consecration and are regarded as lay
792 monks. If someone has died without the Buddhist baptism, it
[778] is performed after death. This is done by the lama with the help of a chest mirror. Since no water may flow over the dead person, the lama holds the chest shield in front of him so that the head is mirrored in it. He pours the consecrated water from his can over this mirror image and gives the baptismal prayer (20).

20. [Foreign text p. 656.] The fact that no water may flow over the dead person is not the only reason for the washing in the mirror. The mirror image is washed
[778] even in the case of living persons, just as at the consecration of Buddha images. In this connection cf. also Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141. In the passage, "Then he takes a little metal mirror, points its front side in all directions, and sprinkles it with a few drops of water from his cult vessel," it is not a matter of simply turning the mirror

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
back and forth, but in all probability it is to catch the mirror images of the boys who have been brought before the Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age, receive the age-consecration and become a member of the monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman, from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring [783] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purifica- [372] tion for the dead, similar to baptism.

764 Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then
766 no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of [792] ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of [372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is desirable, but not essential.

764 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three
602 days for the bone storage. During these three days the members of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there, kowtow, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea. Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the men and women of the deceased's own family and at least one man, but no women, of the related families, and furthermore the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the [782] oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea.
764 After they have then kowtowed, men and women dig the bones out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

[646 cont.]

764 the little bones go into it, however, for it is only an ell long and two handbreadths high. The lid is pegged down, like a Chinese coffin. The remaining bones are carried by hand, aprons, or in a back-basket to the nearest mountain height. Animals as a rule do not eat them because they are burned. Only sheep like to nibble on them. The bones decompose very rapidly, however.

The bone-chest is placed in the oven, weighted down with clay bricks, and then the oven is torn down so that it forms a little mound with the chest buried under it. This is always done if the cremation has taken place after the harvest during the period before the grave festival in the third month. [765] At the grave festival, the Chinese ch'ing-ming, the bone-chest [769] is buried in the communal family cemetery. The place of the cremation is leveled.

If the cremation is after the grave festival, then the oven is, to be sure, torn down and the place again cultivated, but the bone-chest is not buried at the place of the oven, but on a remote ridge of arable land in a field belonging to [765] the deceased's own family. Only at the next grave festival in the following year is it transferred to the family cemetery.

If the cremation has taken place on a distant mountain far from the family, then a tent is pitched there to wait until the third day, the bones are stored, and the chest is brought down in order to bury it on the ridge of a field on one's [776] own land. Such a cremation may never be undertaken on the [778] peak of a mountain, but about halfway up. The peak is [823] sacred to the mountain-spirit and may not be desecrated.

If the bone-chest has been buried in the oven or field, then the relatives burn white paper before it, throw pieces of bread on the bone-grave, and pour out tea before it for the dead. Then they kowtow and go home. The guests are treated with tsamba and butter in the house of mourning. The [465] master of ceremonies receives 12 loaves of bread and two ells of white cloth; the two fire guards are given six loaves each and two ells of cloth.

[823 conr.] 2. The Pole-goat

Report

241 789 791 778 When the seed has shot up in the early summer, one invites a Bon priest who prays on a mountain and erects the pole-goat. He comes to the seed-master on the day before, and on the following morning he goes with the men to the mountain. There they drink tea. The Bon priest sits on a felt mat. A low kang table is put before him so that he may place his cult objects upon it, and next to him is put an earthen vessel with tsamba, butter, and little gold leaves, as well as a bowl of water and red dye. He needs this for the torma. To this is added a little plate with barley and the holy-water can.

First the men make the great incense offering, which [782] is maintained throughout the performance. The Bon priest makes four little tormas, called "misfortune-tormas," which he places with all kinds of extra features on a tray. The seed-master goes in the four directions of the compass with the tray and each time throws away a torma.

[824] Then the Bon priest makes the "weather-torma." [825] Meanwhile the men slaughter a goat, stuff the hide, and put it on a tall pole. They lay this, together with the goat doll, before the Bon priest. He ties four little wooden wedges to its feet and a special wedge on the goat's forehead. He inscribes the wedges with Tibetan magical signs. Then the pole is set up, and the priest places the weather-torma, together with the extra features, before the pole. A great incense offering and [782] frequent kowtowing accompany this ceremony.

Then the priest goes to his place and makes the "mountain-torma." It has three layers and is the largest of all the tormas. He puts this behind the pole. Again incense is burned and all kowtow.

241 789 791 In the meantime other men have boiled the goat meat in the kettle. The seed-master now makes an offering of this meat to the gods. At the conclusion there is then a communal meal at which the remainder of the meat is consumed. Then [782] all go home, but there is no singing and drinking as on other [264] occasions.

[824 cont.]

241 789 791 [778] This is the ceremonial erection of the pole-goat. In the case of the simple type only one misfortune-torma is made, which represents the four others; there is also the weather-torma. The mountain-torma is omitted and no magical wedges are tied to the goat.

When one has undertaken the ceremonial erection, the [782] Bon priest must come often during the summer and hold prayer services before the pole-goat. In the autumn, after the harvest, [465] he receives from each family a certain measure of grain as compensation. In the case of the simple erection, without any summer prayer, only on the day itself is he given a large loaf of bread and a piece of meat from the loin of the goat.

Details

241 789 791 787 Time: The time of the erection is determined by the soothsayer, and in the local temple. It always falls in the period from the thirteenth day in the fifth lunar month to the sixth day in the sixth lunar month. One may also let the Bon priest determine the day. He uses three dice for this. He compares the numbers thrown with his soothsaying book and in this manner determines a day (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 829.] The time coincides with that in which the Chinese put their weather forts in order and drive in the thunderbolts (ch'a p'ai).

241 789 778 [621] [791] Place: The pole-goat is always erected on the highest mountain in the people's own local area, and only on one mountain and only one goat. Small hamlets or compounds may do it together; then the highest mountain of all these hamlets is chosen (1). -- The spot on the mountain itself is indicated by

1. [Foreign text p. 829.] If the mountain is too far away, one sets up a tent and lives there.

[824 cont.]

241 the soothsayer when the pole-goat is raised for the first time.
789 This spot is then always retained. A hole is dug there and covered
778 with a clod of earth or a rock so that it will not be destroyed by
the next year.

[791] The place is never taboo, regardless of whether the pole-goat stands there or not. One may pasture animals there, start a fire, etc. Women need not avoid it.

241 [825] Persons: Only a Bon priest may undertake the
789 performance, never a lama or a soothsayer. Nowadays the cus-
791 tom is scarcely ever practiced because the Bon priests have died
[178] out. It is still found only in very remote mountain villages. The simple ceremony is performed by a Bon priest of the second class, the solemn ceremony by a Bon priest of the first class because
[292] he has special magical power. The costume is that of the ordinary people since the Bon priest is, of course, a farmer. He merely needs to wear the forehead wreath and a long garment.

In addition the following act with him: the seed-master and his helper, the village elders, and generally all men, all soothsayers. It is enough, however, if only one soothsayer is represented, for instance, a sword-shaman, a spirit-table soothsayer, etc. Women must not witness the ceremony, but
[562] little girls may watch.

241 The pole: It does not matter of what wood and amidst
789 which ceremonies the pole is made. Usually it is a slender
778 poplar tree ten meters long. The village itself is responsible for this pole. It is used every year and kept in the family of the
[621] annually alternating seed-master. It may be burned, cut up, etc. when it has served its purpose for several years.

The goat: Ordinarily it is a wool goat; color, age, sex, size, etc. are unimportant. It is true that the people prefer horned goats over the hornless. No one cares about the origin of the goat; it may be purchased, be a gift, etc. After it has been taken down from the pole in the autumn, the hide belongs to the seed-master, but it is so dilapidated that it is not usable.

[825 cont.]
241 It therefore, with the head, is left to be eaten by wolves and
789 dogs. The hide is not used for magic.
778

[791] The misfortune-torma: The Bon priest washes his hands and face and makes a little torma of tsamba mixed with butter about ten centimeters high and three to four centimeters wide. He puts it on a tray or a wooden plate. As extra features he adds in very small quantities: raw mutton or pork, leeks, beets, breadcrumbs, white and black sheep's wool, five kinds of grain, tea leaves, money, silver, gold, five little pieces of cloth, five-colored threads, and black and white sugar and puts a dough-lamp with a burning cotton wick beside them. These extra features also apply to the three other tormas, in other words, to all four little misfortune-tormas.

The extra features, along with the tormas, are thrown
[533] in all four directions of the compass, while the seed-master,
[782] amidst blowing on the conch, makes the great incense offering
[791] and the Bon priest prays the appropriate spirit conjuration. For the first four tormas the Bon priest uses only the sounding plate and the bone flute, not the double drum and bell.

In the case of the simple ceremony with only one misfortune-torma, naturally only one direction of the compass can be considered. This one is indicated by the Bon priest himself.
[791]

241 Making the pole-goat: The Bon priest does not concern
789 himself about the goat. The men fumigate and wash the goat
778 as usual and pour milk over it; while the goat shakes itself, they make [826] a threefold kowtow in a circle around it, because
825 the sky accepts the animal. Then the goat is slaughtered and
[787] the blood caught in a basin. In skinning it one does not slit open the belly side, but rather an incision is made below the tail which just suffices to pull off the hide from behind over the head. The head is cut off inside the hide so that it remains whole and unskinned within it. In the same fashion one cuts off the feet, leaving them in the hide. Only then is the skinned goat [illustration appears here] eviscerated and cut up, and the
[252] blood, with the scraps of meat, is stuffed into the cleaned intestines.

[826 cont.]

241 These intestines, together with the meat, are cooked in a kettle over
789 a hole in the ground.

778 The hide is tightly stuffed with any kind of straw in such a
[825] way that the head and legs stick out stiffly, and the pole is stuck
[252] in it from the rear up to the head. Thus the goat sits firmly upright on the pole and need not be tied on. Then the men fumigate goat and post with incense and lay it down before the Bon priest.

The raised pole-goa
(Drawing of a Tujen

[532]

The weather-torma: The Bon priest
[791] meanwhile has finished the second torma, the weather-torma. It is exactly the same size as the first, that is, the four first tormas. With a prayer he puts it on a wooden tray with the following extra features: one to three butter-lamps, three little copper bowls with pure water, a little bowl of the barley wine, a little bowl of Tibetan barley or wheat, a little bowl of tea leaves, a little bowl of dough beans [Teigbohnen]. -- This torma also bears several colorful butter-flowers.

[791] During its preparation the Bon priest prays a special weather-prayer.
Sometimes he also pastes some paper money on the torma. [Illus-
[782] tration appears here.]

Magic dagger, wooden peg, mpuru. (From the drawing of a Tujen.)

[826 cont.]

241 The wedges: After making the torma the Bon priest in-
789 scribes the wedges. They are provided by the seed-master. They
778 have the form of the Lamaistic magic dagger; they are three-
[791] edged, seven inches (23 centimeters) long, and one inch (3.3 centimeters) wide. Only the hardest wood is used; in that region there are only the three kinds: huang-san-tzu, hei-ts'u, hua-mu (7).

[824]

7. [Foreign text p. 830.] The names could not be identified; huang-san-tzu seems to be black sandalwood; hua-mu is birch. In any case it is supposed to be the hardest wood that can be found. Among the kinds of wood there, birch is in fact regarded as one of the hardest; people even make wheel rims out of it.

It does not matter whether all of them are made from one of these kinds or whether all the kinds are used. There are five wedges in all. The head of the wedge is notched into three parts (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 829.] The shape of the magic dagger varies. The grip in particular varies, but usually it is three stepped death's-heads. The daggers that I saw were all of iron. I also heard, however, that formerly there were daggers of human bones. In this way the three-edged pointed shape and the bone knob could be easily explained; it would also fit in well with the skull drum, skin whip, bone flute, etc. -- The black color signifies iron.

[765]

[826 cont.]

241 789 778 791 [212]

The seed-master places these wedges on the table before the Bon. The latter inscribes all three sides with Tibetan magic formulas. For this purpose he uses Chinese ink and the brush or the Tibetan bamboo pencil. The wedge that is intended for the head of the goat [827] has a black hada slung around it at the head and a black string or a small chain in the middle.

[788]

Then some of the wool is cut from the pole-goat lying in front of the Bon, a few threads are twisted together, and with these the Bon priest ties on the wedges, one on each foot and one between the horns. All five wedges have the tip downward. He then sprinkles water from his holy-water can over goat and pole, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley, blows on it three times, and scatters it over the whole.

241 789 791 782 [821] [822]

The erection of the pole-goat and the offering: The men set the pole in the hole and wedge it tight with stones and earth. The goat must face the northwest because storms usually come from there. As soon as the pole is firmly set, the Bon brings the weather-torma, together with the extra features, to the foot of the pole, sets it down, and immediately returns to his place in order to continue the weather-prayer. Now he accompanies the prayer only with his drum and the bell. Again the men make a great incense offering amidst blowing on the conch.

241 789 778

The mountain-torma: Then the mountain-torma is prepared. It has three steps, is round, and looks like a pyramid with terraces about ten centimeters high. Altogether it is about 40 centimeters high. The torma is painted with soft butter colored red and is given the following extra features: on the first layer, water animals, frog, snake, fish, dragon, turtle, and, further, little stones, little lumps of earth, and finally a few squirts of water; on the second layer, mountain animals, deer, horse, yak, half-yak, sheep, goat, hare, fox, wolf, and a few little pieces of wood; on the third layer animals of the air, phoenix, eagle, peacock, magpie, dove, swallow, and, further, sun disk and moon sickle. On the uppermost tip are

[827 cont.]
241 placed various kinds of real flowers (3).
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[782]

3. [Foreign text p. 829.] This is a representation of the world with animals and stars, in other words, a mandala. It is interesting that the informant designates this torma as an offering, as well as all the extra features of the torma, whereas the two other tormas represent spirits.

[791] These figures are all made in miniature from butter and tsamba by the Bon priest himself. He places the torma on the tray with exactly the same sacrificial extra features as in the case of the weather-torma. This torma is likewise brought to the foot of the pole, usually behind it and somewhat elevated. Lamps and little bowls are put in front of it. Thus, two tormas in all stand under the pole-goat. While the Bon priest goes back and continues his prayers, the men again burn incense.
[791]
[782]

The goat offering: The goat offering consists of the throwing of sacrificial meat. While the Bon priest rests from his prayers, the spear-soothsayer (or another) indicates the direction in which the offering is to be made and, with the shaking spear, supervises the performance. The seed-master takes a bowl of the broth from the kettle and throws it in the air for the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then four throws in the four directions of the compass follow, and finally three throws toward the northwest for the weather-spirits. At each throw the men kneel down and make a threefold kowtow.
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With that the actual ceremony is concluded. The men sit down [828] around the kettle, consume the remaining meat, and drink tea. Then all go home, including the Bon priest. -- The tormas are either burned in the fire or simply left standing.
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[828 cont.]

241 during which lightning flashes and glowing hailstones fall to
789 earth. Through this the evil demons are killed, so no misfortune
821 befalls the seed and human beings (6).

[825]
[776]
[171]

6. [Foreign text p. 830.]
Weather magic plays an important role in all of Tsinghai. A pure Bon ceremony is involved here. Neither the Chinese nor the lamas practice it. And if it is correct that the nomads do not have it, this is an indication of the close connection of the Bon with agriculture. -- The Chinese engage in their weather magic through other shamans or through lay bonzes, exorcists, etc., never through a Bon priest. -- Only in very isolated instances does one find the pole-goat among the Chinese, and then it is along the border of the Tujen or Fandse region. I frequently saw one in a valley along the Pei-ch'uan river south of Hsin-t'ien-p'u, where there was a Chinese village; here they departed from the rule that it must be erected on a mountain.

[778]

Other types of weather conjurations are undertaken with help of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, the spirit-litter, and with thunderbolts. All these things are the seat of deities. As soon as bad weather approaches, the corresponding bearers fetch these seats of the deities, summon the spirit, and station themselves out in the open facing the storm. Further details concerning these ceremonies in another place. The entire

[828 cont.]

241 789 821

[Note on foreign text p. 830 cont.]
weather conjuration of this region still seems to be an inheritance from the Bon. The conditions and customs connected with it are strongly reminiscent of the description given by A. Tafel for the Bon in eastern Tibet, Tibetreise, II, pp. 198 ff.

241 789 778 The first four tormas represent evil demons. They are driven away by the throwing. The extra features are given so that they will be content and will not return; they are things which one needs in daily life.

[782] The second torma, weather-torma, represents the spirits of the weather ministry. The extra features are an offering to make them favorably disposed.

The mountain-torma represents the world-mountain. Sun and moon circle around it. This mountain is the spirit paradise. It is put under the pole so that the spirits will withdraw into this paradise and leave the human beings.

The wedges represent the magic dagger of the smith-god and his subordinates. They are the chief weapons against demons. [791] The Bon priest is also a pupil and subordinate of this smith-god. He especially venerates him and likewise uses the three-edged magic dagger in conjuring away the demons. At the temple [535] dances (tscham dances) the subordinate spirits of the weather-smith-god also appear with the dagger. Lamas never use the dagger. The three notches form three knobs which are supposed to represent the human skull. The demons especially fear this, [765] like all things that come from the dead, such as the bone flute, the whip of human skin, and the skull drum.

192 [829] Word List

241 789 The pole-goat: aradziãn (Tib. loanword) = to stretch out the goat.

ima rëdziala (Tujen) = to stretch out the goat.

[778] The goat: ima; chü-la (Chin.); chia-la (Chin.).

[829 cont.]

192 Weather-prayer: dirëdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword) (8).
241 lei-pu ching (Chin.) - weather ministry prayer.
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8. [Foreign text p. 830.] xsertsien: Tibetan gser = golden, skyem = drink. It is the Mongolic altan umdagan, golden drink, poured out at the obo offering, the tea offering before the obo. An offering to the local gods. --guax: Tibetan skyeg (pronounced kag) = misfortune. --mpuru: Tibetan p'ur bu = nail, peg; can also be a god's name. --satsiog: Tibetan sa = place, skyon = to guard, to preserve; king, protector. --darnag: Tibetan dar = silk, nag = black (Unkrig).

[778] Misfortune-torma: guax (8) [see Note 8 above] sdor (Tib.).
Weather-torma: dirdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword)? cf. weather-prayer.
Mountain-torma: rira (Tib. loanword) = world-mountain, Sumeru, mandala.
Magic dagger: mpuru (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above]; ting-shen-chuang; spirit peg (Chin.).
To notch: nduodba (Tib.?).
Magic formulas: snag (sënog).
[791] Bon priest second class: xuändie; sënogsa (snagsa) (Tib. loanword). peng-po (Chin.).
Weather conjuration: satsion (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above.]
The black hada (on the dagger): chao-t'ien p'a (Chin.) = the sky-covering veil.
darnag (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].
The black string: fsiasga (Tib. loanword) = lasso for capturing horses.
k'un-hsien sheng (Chin.): the genii-binding string.

[Pages 829-830 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[831 cont.]

241 782 787

in the case of a three-year offering, one may not choose one mountain the first year and another the second year (3). Even

3. [Foreign text p. 834.] The mountain must always be located in the people's own area. Actually such heights are always present near the villages. For example, not far from the informant's compound there is a mountain that bears the name Sheep-offering Mountain, xoni šënliedzin ula, because the offering always took place there. Among the partially Sinicized population it has retained the name hsien-yang ling, that is, Sheep-offering Height, or sheng-shan, that is, Sacred Mountain. After the greater part of the village (yang-chüan) became Christian, a high cross was erected there, and in place of the sheep offering, the people now pray there for the weather blessing.

[103]

[797]

[778]

the place of the soothsaying is oriented accordingly. It is indicated where the next soothsaying will take place. It is always a mountain height, however, never a compound or a valley, as, for instance, in the case of private offerings (1).

241 782

1. [Foreign text p. 834.] The offering may also take place before an obo. It is to be differentiated from the obo offering, however. The obo is the seat of the mountain-spirit, and since the mountain sheep-offering is done especially for the mountain-spirit, the obo is preferred. Since, on

[835 cont.] 4. The Procession around the Field

Report

241
782 As soon as the seed develops ears in the summer, the procession around the field takes place. One hundred and eight
[778] men of the village, with the seed-supervisor, set out on the way to the nearest lamasery and fetch the 108 sacred books. On this occasion they present a large kettle of tea to the lamas; before the Buddha images of the monastery they make an offering of butter for the lamps. The Tujen of this region go usually to the monastery Rgulõñ (1); the way there takes an entire day

1. [Foreign text p. 838.]
Concerning the monastery Rgulõñ,
cf. the introduction and Part 2, II, 4.

each time. The books are brought into the local temple.

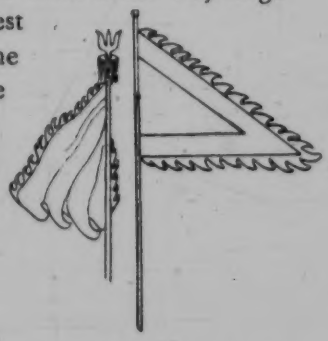
The procession takes place on the following morning. All the men of the village and all soothsayers gather in the temple yard. First a great incense offering is made. Then all
[791] the soothsayers do their soothsaying in succession, the spear-
[787] soothsayer, the sword-shaman, the litter bearers, the table-god bearers. As many soothsayers as are there must appear. One wants to find out through them how the weather and the harvest will be during the course of the summer.

Once the soothsaying is over, the procession starts moving. At the head goes the spear-soothsayer with the spear, then follow the shamans, the god-litter, the spirit-table, and the 108 book-bearers, one after the other. In this procession
[533] the drum beaters, trumpet and conch blowers, cymbal and gong beaters are in single file. Also, all the flags of the temple are taken along, and they are carried by the book-bearers, the flags over the left shoulder and the book on the back. Two men follow behind them, each with a large back-basket of straw, cypress leaves and incense additions, and a jug of pure water. Other men join on at will.

[788] During the entire procession the trumpets are blown, the drums beaten, and the Om mani padme hum prayed. The

[837 cont.]

241 782 533 There are no rules about the musical instruments. [Illustration appears here.] Whatever one has is taken along. The temple drum -- a barrel drum with a drumhead on both sides -- and the conch are always certain to be there. The drum is not very large and is carried on a belt in front of the chest so that it can be beaten on both sides. The conch shell is the same as that used at the incense offering. The trumpets are the [177] ordinary Chinese shawms (la-pa); the cymbals and the gong are also Chinese.



Flags such as are carried during the procession around the field. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

241 782 Among the flags there are black, red, yellow, etc. Usually they are provided with colorful-borders. There are also flags with pictures, for example, of the mountain-spirit. Many flags also have Chinese sayings sewed on them, usually in white. There are [532] no special Tujen names for the flags. The number is arbitrary.

Aside from the usual cypress incense the Chinese incense sticks are also popularly taken along; butter, water, tea, etc. are just as desirable as at other incense offerings. More recently yellow paper [177] is also burned in Chinese fashion.

The soothsayers must always carry along their soothsaying tokens, that is, the objects that are the seat of the spirit, in other words, [778] spear, litter, table, etc. During the entire procession, the spirit [791] remains in the object concerned, which is signified by the shaking and rattling of the bells and the movement of the bearers.

241 782 787 Soothsaying: At the soothsaying one tries to learn as precisely as possible when and where the heaviest hail will come down and how one should protect himself against it, whether by means of offerings or prayer or the mani-tree, and the like. At this time the [82] seed-master makes a brief speech to the spirit concerned, charging him with the duties that he must fulfill for a good harvest and telling him that he will be rewarded for his protection by an offering (4).

241 782 4. [Foreign text p. 838.] An offering is usually connected with the

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.]
soothsaying, for instance, a cock offering, grain or bread offering, etc., as I was able to observe.

Meaning: The purpose of the procession is to honor the gods so that they will protect the seed and provide an abundant harvest. [778] The sacred books have a special power. Above all, however, the gods that are taken along are supposed to spare the fields from hail and storms. -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have [171] this procession. The Chinese do not have it in this form (5).

5. [Foreign text pp. 838-839.] The Chinese have the procession in two stages. Once, when the seed comes up. Then the driving in of the thunderbolts in the weather forts on the mountain peaks takes place. They move with music and flags and the god-litter onto the mountain and take along the wooden wedges inscribed with magical formulas. They call this ch'a-p'ai, that is, "to drive in pegs." -- A second procession takes place later in the summer, and every 14 days, on the first and fifteenth day of each month. They call this procession chuan shan, that is, to march around (on the) mountains. On these occasions only flags or musical instruments are taken along. Formerly the conch trumpet was blown on these occasions, which otherwise is not used among the Chinese.

[177] As the informant related, the Tujen today have already to a great

3; Schröder--248 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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[624]
794
[534]

[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor:	tŏrōdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.
Trumpet:	dõn̆; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.
Cymbals:	nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rĕbuoğĕ (?). ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.
Flags:	ch'i-tzu (Chin.).
Books:	luăn = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.
Book-bearers:	luăn rĕgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

600

VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

* See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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[777]
[782]
[787]
[791]

When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

[839 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 842 cont.]
with which then the performance is
likewise supervised.

into the spear, and one asks him, for instance, "Shall we consecrate an animal?" He answers, "Yes." "Do you want a goat, a hen, a horse?" [840] "No." "Do you want a sheep?" "Yes." "Shall we consecrate it to a god?" "No." "Shall we consecrate it to the sky?" "Yes."

Then the soothsayer sets the spear aside. Hastily the people run to fetch a sheep. They bring it into the yard, because one consecrates an animal to the sky only out in the open. A man holds in his hand a little plate with barley; on top of this he places a narrow red band. He stands next to the soothsayer, who again has invoked the god and amidst spear shaking supervises the action. Now once more there is an interrogation, during which one determines when the consecration is to be renewed.

The sheep is then washed from head to foot with pure water. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from the little plate with the tip of the spear and throws them into the
[783] incense, which is burned throughout the ceremony. Another puts some of the incense in a hollow tile and fumigates the sheep all around. Then he pours a bowl of milk over the animal's neck, back, and head. All the men kneel around the sheep in a circle, and when it shakes itself they make a threefold kowtow, for the sky has accepted the animal. The soothsayer sets the spear aside.

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Now one takes the red band from the little plate, holds it in the incense, ties it in the wool on the sheep's shoulder, and lets the sheep run free. It may run where it will, for it belongs to the sky.

Each year this sacred sheep is again brought here in the first month from the first to the fifteenth day. Then the consecration is renewed in similar fashion before the spirit-spear and a new band is tied in the wool.

[840 cont.]

Details

778 Place: It is unimportant where the interrogation takes
787 place; first the spot must be swept clean and, in case it is in
[783] the house, fumigated. The hands and face are washed and the great incense offering is made in the yard.

If the ceremony is in an open field or in the pasture, the place is not swept, for field and pasture are always clean. Incense is always offered, however.

Sometimes the place of interrogation and that of the consecration are different, for instance, when during the interrogation in the house it turns out that the animal is to be consecrated to the sky. In that case, one immediately goes out into the yard and continues the performance there. -- If the animal is consecrated to the mountain-spirit, one goes outside the village on a hill or before the obo. Small animals, for instance, a hen, may be consecrated in the house before the household altar.

If the entire village consecrates an animal, then everything takes place in the temple yard, and likewise if several families jointly consecrate an animal. If there is no temple, a clean compound is sought.

Time: There are no special days for the consecration. It depends entirely upon chance, whenever illness, misfortune, etc. happen. The ceremonies are always undertaken in bright daylight.

[841] The people are always careful that the consecration follows immediately after the interrogation. For this reason they immediately fetch the animal. Sometimes it also happens that they do not immediately find an appropriate animal; then one to two days pass between the interrogation and the consecration. In this case after two days one continues amidst the same ceremonies. Only the purification of the place and of the people and the incense offering are repeated.

778 Consecration-master: The consecration-master may be:
562 an individual person, a family, a village, several families. It

[841 cont.]

778 is never women, however. It is true that a single woman may
promise an animal, for example, but in such a case other men,
562 such as the mother's brother, undertake the interrogation and
consecration. This may be done in the house of the woman.

778 Animals: As consecration-animals the following are per-
missible: horses, mules, asses, cows, sheep, goats, and even
825 hens; pigs or dogs are never taken because they are unclean. In
[783] the case of all these animals, age, color, sex, or castration
plays no role. White or male animals are not especially pre-
[178] ferred. Large animals are no longer consecrated now, because
the Tujen no longer have the large herds and are too poor.
Usually one promises sheep and goats. Hens are frequently
chosen because they are the cheapest (2).

2. [Foreign text pp. 842-843.] In the Tujen monastery Rgulõn the choice of animals is different. A lama and a shaman related: one never consecrates dogs, and no hens, [843] only cocks, but these in all colors. Of the horses one takes only stallions; they must be black with a white spot on the forehead or grey (ch'ing-ma) of black-white mixed color. Of the mules one takes only females, no male animals. Their color is a bright reddish-brown. Belly, mouth, and eye-rings should be light. Of ordinary cattle and yaks one takes only black steers that have a white spot on the forehead; similarly among the sheep only black rams, flawless and with circular or doubly curled horns. -- I also saw such animals there in the monastery. The consecrated mule was especially beautiful; it looked almost exactly like a wild

3: Schröder--252 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monghol AE9

[841 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 842-843 cont.]
chiang. The rules mentioned here lead one to surmise that conceptions from lunar mythology (black-white, circular horns) are involved here. The preference for male animals, with the exception of the mules, is also striking. -- This rule is also decisive in profane life. People who have a high opinion of themselves ride only male horses (gelding), but female mules; the reddish-brown color with white mane and white tail is regarded as elegant. White eye-rings, belly covering, and white mouth are highly esteemed for all riding animals of whatever color and help to determine the price. -- It is also interesting that among the goats the lamas prefer not black, but reddish-brown bucks.

[554]
[492]
[435]

The old man said that the ordinary people would not bother with these rules unless they gave the animal to the monastery. Otherwise the color, age, sex, castration, etc. were unimportant, so long as the animal had no physical defects.

The released animals usually stay with their own herd or in the house, for they are used to it. If they run away, nobody bothers about it. A family always keeps horses, mules, and cattle at home and uses them as before. This was not the case originally, however; it is a deviation from the old custom, brought about by poverty and work in the fields.

[178]

A consecrated animal may never be killed. It must die a natural death. If it is eaten by a wolf, it need not be replaced. If an evildoer kills the consecrated animal, then the punishment of heaven or of the consecration-deity will strike him. Also, under no circumstances may one slaughter a consecrated animal for the offering; this would be tantamount to ordinary killing.

[688]
[782]

[841 cont.]

[778] Regardless of how the animal[1] lost its life, its flesh may never be
[825] eaten.

Furthermore such animals may not be sold or given away,
[262] for they belong to the god. One may give it to a monastery
[432] where it is cared for and protected until its death. -- An animal may not be acquired for the consecration with money; it must always be given as a gift.

There is no special watch over the consecrated animals, so that they can freely mount one another. The offspring are
[422] then counted as profane animals and fall to the original owner.

Whether the animal is pleasing to the god is manifested
[787] when the milk is poured over it. If it does not shake itself, one immediately fetches another; the ceremonies are then repeated. Every healthy animal shakes itself. If there is no milk, one dissolves tsamba or white flour in pure water so that it looks like milk. Some people take only clear water. This is not proper.

There are gods who ride the animals, for instance,
[776] Amtsiensa rides [842] on a wool-goat and Lamusa on a mule (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 843.] In the monastery Rgulõn each month (on the first or fifteenth day) consecrated riding animals are magnificently saddled and led onto the colonnade of the chief temple immediately in front of the entrance. There they are offered to the god (Fo-yeh) for riding; then one lets them
[792] run. -- Perhaps it is worth mentioning in this connection that the Tulkus (incarnation) of the lamic monasteries may ride only white horses, which otherwise are not regarded as superior.

It could not be discovered which
[171] gods are the riding gods. The Amtsiensa corresponds to the Chinese Tan-chiao hao-hua, and the Lamusa to the Chinese Lo-tzu t'ien-wang, that is, the heavenly mule-king.

[1 [i.e. - a consecrated animal - See cat. 116, pp 248-249- ANALYST]

[842 cont.]

178 [825] -- The name of the animals, however, is not taken from the deity concerned, but from the consecration band. Thus, the animals are called consecrated horse, consecrated sheep, etc. The Chinese say "sacred horse," "sacred sheep," etc.

Consecration bands: The bands are simply called "the consecrated." Although all the sacred colors are permissible, red or yellow is preferred for them. It does not matter where the band comes from or what material it is made of. Hada strips, pieces of clothing, wool or silk threads, anything is permitted. The size varies, but on the average it is an ell long and two fingers wide.

The band is supposed to be tied on the front part of the body and on the upper half of the animal, for instance, on the mane, forelock, or shoulder. In the case of hens one slings it around the neck. If the animal loses the band, it is not replaced. -- One can also tear off a band from the spirit-spear, from the spirit-litter, etc. In that case, however, it must later be replaced. Nevertheless these bands are not especially fumigated; they are already pure through their earlier designation (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 843-844.] There are two names for the bands on the consecrated animal, which are valid both before the consecration and after the consecration. The one is the name šdien, exactly as for the bands on the consecrated spirit-seats (spirit-spear, -table, -litter). But whereas in that case one can call the object together with the bands šdien, here the animal together with the band is never called šdien, but only the band alone, an indication that the consecrated animal is not regarded as possessed by the spirit.

[192]

[825]

[842 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 843-844 cont.]

The second name is šdier; šdier corresponds to the Mongolic seter; cf. DMF, p. 335, "sdier, ribbon or piece of material attached to the tail or to the mane of an animal consecrated to the deities running free. Cf. Mong. seter, ord. se't'er id." [translated from French]. -- The Tujen designate both the consecration band and the consecrated animal with šdier. This likewise agrees with Mongolic linguistic usage. According to W.A. Unkrig (communication), seter is a [844] band that is tied in the animal's mane or tail. seter also refers to the animal itself and the rite by which it is consecrated. For seter, Kovalevskij (1346) gives the Tibetan equivalents bsruṅ rtags. According to Jäschke (594 and 212) this means: tutelary-spirit sign, through which it is clear that the animal belongs to the tutelary spirit. Neither Jäschke nor Das have the word combination bsruṅ rtags.

778
[791] Renewal of the consecration: Usually the renewal takes place in the local temple. The soothsayer determines which day between the new and the full moon. This day of renewal must then be maintained for the life of the animal.

One may also choose the original place of consecration. -- Consecration-master, consecration-god, and consecration-animal must always remain the same. Only if an animal no longer shakes itself when the milk is poured over it is another one taken.

Also, old lost bands are not replaced at the renewal, but
[211] every year a new band is added, so the years of consecration can be determined by the number of bands.

[171] Distribution: The animal-consecration is practiced wherever Tujen live. The Chinese do not know it; only in

[842 cont.]

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171

isolated instances do they copy it from the Tujen, where they live with them. The Fandse (Tangut) and also the lamic monasteries do have the animal-consecration. There it is much more solemn (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 844.]
The animal-consecration among the neighboring Chiahsifan in Benbar (Hsi-ch'uan) is similar to the one described here. There, however, one only takes animals capable of reproduction, but no asses. The preferred colors are chestnut-colored hide with black mane and black tail (hung-tsao-liu) and eggshell-colored hide with black mane and black tail (yin-k'uo). In place of a band of material one takes small hand-sized rags (cut in the form of streamers) in the five sacred colors and ties them together. Usually they are tied in the mane. -- The consecration is not performed by private persons, but by the lama, shamans, or Bon priests. A one-day prayer service is connected with it. -- The animals are usually kept for use in the house, and even ridden, but a saddle that a woman has used may never be put on them. The renewal takes place every year on the same day of the first consecration.

One sees many riders with such beribboned animals.

[842 cont.]

Word List

192
●778 Consecration-band: šdier (Tib. loanword).
hung-tzu (Chin.) = the red.

To tie on the consecration-band: šdier fuya-.

[825] The consecration-animal: šdier.

Sacred horse: šdier mori; sheng ma (Chin.).

Sacred sheep: šdier xoni; sheng yang (Chin.).

Sacred goat: šdier ima; sheng chia-la (Chin.), etc.

[Pages 842-844 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[844]

000

2. The Demon-escort *

* See "Notes," pp. 846-847 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

789 The demon-escort consists of leading the harmful spirit
[791] out of the house and releasing it in the distance. It is done upon
[777] the command of the soothsayer in case of family misfortune.

On a set day one invites a lama to the house. He prays
[792] for six days with the usual ceremonies and makes several tormas
[778] with the appropriate additions, as on other occasions. The
[782] compound is taboo, and the master of the household makes the great incense offering three times a day.

In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes the actual
[778] demon-torma, which, with all kinds of provisions for travel, is
[792] placed on a table in front of the household altar.

On the seventh day one takes the torma, along with a
[825] riding animal carrying the travel provisions, outside the village

[845 cont.]

789 elegant hat, black and white sugar, fresh good butter, a piece of
782 raw meat, dates, apples, and other fruits. All these things must be new; they may not have been used even once, for otherwise the demon is not satisfied and returns.

789 Releasing: In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes
[778] a large three-cornered torma (1). The master of the household
[792]

1. [Foreign text pp. 846-847.] This form of torma can frequently be seen in lamaseries. They are especially reserved for demons. It is usually a pyramid of dough from 30 to 50 centimeters high. The types seem to vary. I saw some that were hung with intestines and bore death's-head figures (at the banishing of the mBarma in Kumbum); others had an arrow with a mani-wheel stuck in them, etc. Evidently the Tibetan zor, Mongol. = sor [847] (Unkrig), is involved. Ch. Das writes under zor, p. 1098: "reaping-hook, a sickle, a knife, esp. the weapons employed in combating the evil spirits in the gtor ma offerings, such as knife, sword, sling, bow and arrows" [cited in English]. There is a very detailed description of the manufacture, consecration, and use of the zor in Pozdneev, Skizzen [Sketches] (pp. 283 ff.): "A three-cornered pyramid, hollow on the inside, which is made of dough and colored a flaming red, is called zor. Figures are engraved on it with the burin, such as flowers, circles, fiery tongues, etc., as a result

[845 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 846-847 cont.] of which the whole pyramid is given the appearance of a fiery, flaming bonfire. The representation of a skull, which is likewise made of dough, is put on the tip. But then the same kind of skulls are placed at the foot of each of the three corners. An arrow is stuck in the middle of the pyramid, from which hadak hang, and which, instead of feathering, bears a little wheel ..." etc. (Translated by W.A. Unkrig.) Lessing maintains of the arrow in the zor: "To this arrow attached a 'ghost or spirit', as my informant put it" [cited in English] (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148). -- Whether and to what extent this arrow in the demon-torma is connected with the arrow of good fortune is unclear. One conceives of the zor most simply as bearer of the weapons that are feared by the demons. A similarity with the weapon-bearing and demon-combating gurtum is undeniable.

789 places it on a table in front of the household altar, but not on the altar. Alongside it he places the sack with the clothing and food provisions.

On the following morning, the seventh day, one in-
[791] vites the spear-soothsayer. After a good breakfast he summons
[787] the spirit and determines the exact hour in which the demon must be carried away. Usually it is done immediately following the soothsaying.

[791] A man takes the saddlebag, the lama the tray with the
[792] torma that represents the demon, and behind him follows the

[846 cont.]

789 If an evildoer steals the animal or the things,[1] the
776 demon will punish him.
688

Word List

192 Demon escort: rëdzõnwa (Tib.?) gargani = one takes away
789 that which is to be taken away.
[778] The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].
Saddlebag: dadzë (Chin. loanword).
Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[847]

000

3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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789 Report

In order to protect the children from misfortune, one
791 invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then
[777] they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they
make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.
[778] On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter
and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing.
[782] There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

1 [i.e. - the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST.]

[848 cont.]

789 The litter: The litter looks like a death-box, in other
778 words, it has the shape of a small temple with a movable door. Only it is almost entirely made of paper, even the sun-moon attachment on the ridge-piece. First a floor is made out of a soft clay plate. Into this plate, at the four corners, the Bon priest sticks poles about a meter long as columns, connects them with crosslaths, and thus makes a framework. This is covered by pasting paper on it. No particular color is required. The whole is set on two carrying poles so that it looks like a litter.
[783] Then the men fumigate the litter with cypress incense. They do not use the red-hot stone. The work is not done on the kang, but on the floor.

789 The figures: First the Bon priest washes a clay vessel,
778 fumigates it, puts tsamba and butter in it, and kneads them thoroughly. In all 81 figures are formed, nine kinds with nine
791 pieces each. The kinds are: sheep, goat, hen, pig, dog, snake, frog, horse, and cattle. The Bon priests put these figures in
532 the litter and fumigate everything together. -- The men of the household assist at the making of both the litter and the figures.
[783] The Bon priests and men must wash and fumigate themselves beforehand each time; otherwise they may not give a hand.
[782] The Bon priests accompany the work with prayers said by rote.

The accompanying gifts: Since the figures are small,
[782] at most a handbreadth in size, there is still room in the litter for all kinds of accompanying gifts. These consist of Tibetan barley, white barley, wheat, beans, millet, and some small loaves of bread. To this are also added white and black sheep wool, white and black sugar, money, a raven's feather, some silver, and a sheet of paper on which the Bon priests have printed or drawn the images of the sickness-demons. Once everything has been placed inside, the door of the litter is
[783] closed and sealed, and the litter is fumigated. Then it is put on the floor in front of the household altar. A three-cornered torma and a white horse's skull are in front of it (2). The skull

[848 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether the horse's skull represents the riding animal of the spirit could not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another torma is also made.

789 [849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day
[787] the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books
[791] the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away.
[533] They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum, sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the torma.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the torma is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen.
[782] The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long
[171] migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this custom.

[755]

4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This ceremony is very similar to the figure-conjuration of the shamans

[849 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 850 cont.] and to the demon-escort. I could not ascertain from the notes whether the Bon priest touches the sick person with the figures and thus transfers the sickness to them, as is the case with the shamanistic figure-conjuration. Cf. the following chapter, Note 5.

Word List

192
789 Figure-litter: šergundi; made up of šē (Tib.) = demon, rēgun = nine (Tib.); ndi (Tib.?) = complete (3) (5).
[778]

3. [Foreign text p. 850.] This explanation by the informant is uncertain.

5. [Foreign text p. 850.] šergundi: Tibetan bse = demon, dgu = nine, k'ri (pronounced thi) = litter. Meaning: nine-demons' litter. -- šbawog: Tibetan sbal (pronounced bal) = toad, frog; nag = black (Unkrig).

[791] Bon priest: xuāndzie (xuāndie).
[778] Demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.).
[825] Sheep: xoni.
Goat: imā.
Hen: tagu.
Pig: xge.
Dog: nogue (noxue).
Snake: mogue.
Frog: šbawog (5) [see Note 5 above].
Horse: mori.
Cattle: ulā.

192 [849 cont.]
789 Raven's feather: kẽrie fõdë.
He has painted the demon on paper: tsialdzërẽ ilieni xuarladzia.
[778] Horse's skull: mori tolguẽ yãsë.
Little-bearer: ndi kurgẽdzin kun = men accompanying the whole (litter?) away.

[Pages 849-850 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[850]

000 4. The Figure-conjuration * (1)

* See "Notes," pp. 851-182 [of foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

755 [192] 1. [Foreign text p. 851.] I could not obtain any clarification concerning the actual name. It seems that the rdzõn in rdzõnwa is the same as in dzõnrë. The ceremony is quite similar to the one with the figure-litter.

[789]

Report

[756] In case of very severe illness one invites in a shaman who makes a series of figures, touches the sick person with them, and takes away the figures in the evening for burning.

[789] Afterwards he buries a series of objects in order to hold [357] down the sickness-demon. The compound remains taboo for all strangers during this time, three, five, seven, or nine days, [784] depending upon the sickness involved.

[850 cont.]

Details

755 The figures: Nine kinds of things are needed for the
778 figure-conjuration. 1. Five little paper men (2). They are
532
[171]
[789]

2. [Foreign text p. 851.] The Chinese, too, have these paper figures at their demon exorcisms; they call them wu-tao shen. Among them, however, it is not clear whether five or only one demon is involved. They are mentioned once in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien as wu-tao lei-shen, that is, five-way thunder-spirits, which punish human beings through wind, rain, water, fire, and epidemics.

about 10 to 20 centimeters high and of the type of the Chinese paper figures that are burned at the burial. Only here they wear Tujen dress, which depends on whether male or female demons are involved. One can also simply cut them out of a piece of strong paper, but usually they are stuck together in the form of a figure with the help of stalks of grass. 2. Five little tsamba men. They are not colored, but retain the characteristic tsamba color. Also, they wear no clothing and are represented as sexless. 3. A pig made of tsamba. 4. A hen or a cock made of tsamba. 5. A dog made of tsamba. 6. A sheep made of tsamba. 7. A goat of tsamba. 8. A cow of tsamba. 9. A horse of tsamba. These figures
[756] are made by shamans with the help of a skillful man, in a way similar to the figures of the figure-litter.

755 Then they are put on a tray with the following accom-
782 panying gifts: a piece of raw pork, beef, or mutton, some pieces of cloth and threads in the five sacred colors for the five little men, and bread and money. The tray is set before the household altar, and a burning dough-lamp and a basin with cypress incense or a number of incense sticks are put in front of it.

[851 cont.]

755 Then he storms out into the street, and the men follow
756 him with the things while he fights on with his sword. As soon as they are out of the village and reach a crossroads, they stop. A man piles a back-basket full of straw on the ground, and the things from the tray are thrown into it. Then the whole thing is set afire. They do not wait any longer, but quickly go home.

755 Burial of the magic objects: The shaman designates a
789 spot on the ground in front of the yard gate; the men immedi-
[787] ately dig a pit there. The shaman, still in a trance, puts nine
[756] kinds of things in it. First he puts a black food bowl on the floor of the pit; he puts red-hot coals in the food bowl, pours pure water over them, and puts in an iron knife, a small bow and arrow, a magic wooden dagger, a black chain (3), and a piece

[778]

3. [Foreign text pp. 851-852.] The magic dagger and the black chain are also used in connection with the pole-goat; cf. the appropriate section. No clarification could be obtained concerning the type of wood used for this dagger. The informant called it [852] siraldzin; he translated it with the Chinese huang-san (shan) tzu in the sense of yellow-mountain (wood). In the DMF there is the translation "armoise," Artemisia. This could not possibly be involved here. It must be a very hard kind of wood.

of iron from a town gate. He inverts a large earthen vessel over the whole (4); the men fill the pit and level it off so that one

4. [Foreign text p. 852.] The chain binds the demons, and the vessel caps them.

[851 cont.]

755 can no longer see where the things are buried.

[789] Now all go into the house. The shaman awakes from his
[787] trance.
[756]

Word List

192 Figure-conjuration: rdzõ̀ñwa (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1
755 above], (5) [see Note 5 above], (6)

6. [Foreign text p. 852] rdzõ̀ñwa or dzõ̀ñre: At the base of these two words lies the Tibetan stem rdsons = to take away (pronounced: dzon). sira dzin: Mongolic sira modon = yellow-wood. It is an especially hard kind of wood, Phellodendron amurense (Unkrig).

[778] Figures (little men): rdzõ̀ñrë (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Raw meat: tõgõ maxa.
Black food-bowl: xara iga.
Black vessel: xara pëndzë.
Knife: tsidëguo.
Magic dagger: siral(dzin) (6) [see Note 6 above] mpuru = yellow-wood magic-dagger.
Chain: fsiasga.
Iron from the town gate: badzër-udie timur.

000 [Pages 851-852 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[852] 5. The Washing of the Sick*

* See "Notes," p. 854 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation the notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[854 cont.]

Details

755 789 [416] Things: Seven things are needed for the exorcism: 1. A torch. It consists of a stick wrapped with straw and soaked in oil. At least one torch is needed, but usually there are several. 2. A measure of small pebbles of any color. 3. An oil-pan. This is usually only a large iron spoon that is filled with oil and glowing coals to make a strong flame. 4. Bow and arrow. The arrow is wrapped with wadding at the tip; it is soaked in oil and lighted. 5. A hemp whip. It is usually very long, up to two meters. To make it, three tapering strands of hemp are plaited into a braid that is so thick at one end that it can just be held in the hand, whereas the other end tapers to a fine point so that it will crack well. 6. A live hen of any color or sex. 7. A straw man (3). It is very simple. One takes a long

[778] [171]

3. [Foreign text 855.] The Chinese, too, often use these straw dolls, which they throw on the field or on crossroads, likewise without shamans. -- In the Tujen monastery of the Yellow Sect, Rgulõn, I once also saw Bon priests who had been invited by the monastery to undertake a demon-conjuration on the fifteenth day of each month. They also made a straw man and said that the Namśri was conjured into it by their prayers. On the last morning, before sunrise, they tied this straw doll to a mani-pole and hacked it to pieces with their knives.

smooth wisp of straw, bends it in the middle, ties off the upper third with pieces of straw so that a head is formed, and transversely through this third draws a smaller wisp which represents the arms. -- All these things are provided by the people themselves.

[855 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.]
about himself with sword and lance, hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up a straw man, swung a winnowing shovel and a sieve, danced, and foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

192

Word List

755 House-purification: rdzõ̀nwa (rëdzṍnwa).
789 The torch: huo-pa (Chin.).
[416] The stones: tašë; sa-shih (Chin.).
Oil-basin: ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
Fire-arrow: ġal sëmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
Fire-bow: ġal lëmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
The hemp whip: uluosë yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
The hen: taǵū; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here = to live.
[778] The straw man: šdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

[856]

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7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[856 cont.]

782 soothsayer determines that the earth-god is angry and wants to
[791] have an urn. This urn is buried in the ground on a day indicated
[787] by the soothsayer. All kinds of spices are to be found in the urn,
[777] put there by a lama. This is done after a seven-day prayer in
the family itself. During these days the compound is taboo.
[792] Usually there are several urns, because one does not bother the lama for merely one. After he has filled the urn with spices on the last day, he pours liquid butter over it, ties it up with a cloth, seals the string, and paints a nuru sign on the outside. Then the urn is fumigated and sprinkled with holy water, whereupon the master of the household places it on the chest before the Buddha image.

In front of the urn one places the usual little water-bowls, butter-lamps, grain-bowls, etc. The urn, however, does not stand on the bare floor of the chest, but rather a sheet of paper is first put down as an underlayer, a few cypress leaves and grains of barley are scattered over it, and the urn is put on top.
[792] Now the lama comes down from the kang, sits on the white felt mat in front of the urn, and gives the consecration-prayer (1).

[778] 1. [Foreign text p. 858.] As is always done on other occasions, here, too, a torma is made by the lama, which is carried out into the open. It was unfortunately no longer possible to inquire as to whether this torma is put on the place where the urn is buried, say, as an offering for the earth, which is to be injured, similar to what is done at the house, at the fire-pouring, at the crematory, etc.

791 During this time the spear-soothsayer is fetched. He
787 now gives the precise hour in which the urn is to be buried.
The master of the household puts the urn on a tray, and the
782 procession moves out to the area indicated by the soothsayer.
The soothsayer follows with the invoked spear-god and then

[857 cont.]

782 the incense offering, the good six. To this are added little leaves
[824] of Buddha gold, little pieces of silver, corals, little pieces of mother-of-pearl, sometimes rare stones or water, and then five-colored silk threads, white and black sugar, tea leaves, and a few little balls of butter.

The filling: First a mortar with pestle, a large earthen vessel, and a clean iron kettle are provided. All these objects are thoroughly washed and fumigated in the incense fire. The spices are pounded to flour in the mortar and then poured by the lama into the vessel, where they are thoroughly mixed with the five kinds of grain. The quantity depends on the size of the urn. Meanwhile the master of the household melts a lump of butter in the iron kettle over the fire. The lama pours this melted butter into the grain and spice mixture with a spoon and thoroughly kneads everything together.

He puts this mixture into the urn, but only one-third of it. Over this first filling he puts a layer of the other additions, gold, silver, etc. Then the remaining two-thirds are added, almost up to the rim of the urn, and the liquid butter is poured on, almost to overflowing. The master of the household brings a yellow or red hada (or cloth), fumigates it, and hands it to the lama. He ties up the urn with it in three layers, in which the colors yellow and red may alternate. The thread that is wound around the cloth must also be yellow or red and is first fumigated. Once everything is thoroughly tied up, the knot is covered with sealing wax (3) and finally stamped with a seal

[439] 3. [Foreign text p. 858.] Latsia, as the sealing wax is called, is obtainable from Chinese traders.

that bears Tibetan signs. Afterwards the lama paints a nuru
[778] jewel on the white urn with red pigment, usually red clay,
[386] which is to signify a treasure. This makes the urn distinguishable as a treasure for the earth-god (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 858.] The Tujen call the symbol of good

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 858 cont.]
fortune, which consists of several conchoidal eggs and is surrounded with flames, nuru. This is found very often in Lamaistic symbolism and is also borne by the air-horse. It is the cintāmaṇi. Cf. above: "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation," Note 2.

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Persons: The urn can only be made by a lama who possesses special powers. One never fetches a Living Buddha for it. The latter, however, may make and consecrate them in his monastery. -- Since one can also order the urns in the monastery (they are not in stock), the master of the household may fetch it from there and bury it at home without a lama. [791] It must always be done with the assistance of a soothsayer, however, and in the presence of an invoked spirit -- If one wants to bury several urns, however, this must always be done by a lama even if the urns were bought in the monastery. -- If one wants to have several urns made at home, then he fetches several lamas at the same time (5). -- Regardless of whether the

[357]
[784]

5. [Foreign text pp. 858-859.]
As the lamas in Kumbum maintain, there is a great number of treasure urns, and special prayers are used for each type. [859] The urns are preferably buried in obos. -- In Kumbum the urns are usually called beṅba, which seems to be the same as the Tibetan bum-ba, vessel. Another name is xdēr-wēm, which probably corresponds to the Tibetan gter-bum, treasure vessel, Chinese pao-p'ing. The expression sēnoġ-dēr (cf. section, "Mani-tree and Central Fort") perhaps

[192]

[778]

[857 cont.]

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[784]
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[Note on foreign text pp. 858-859 cont.] comes from the fact that the urn is consecrated with certain conjuration formulas, snags (dha-rani), in other words, represents a magic treasure.

urn is buried by one or more lamas or by the master of the household, the compound is always taboo during this time.

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[858] Place: The place at which the urn is buried must always be chosen in such a way that no person or domestic animal can desecrate it. No one may run across such a place. For this reason roads and public places are avoided, for the place is, after all, not specially marked. Otherwise the urn may be buried anywhere, in the fields or in the pasture, in the yard or in the house. Indeed, one may even set it in yard and room walls and wall it up.

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[777]

Significance: The contents of the urn are the treasures and yield of the earth, everything that belongs in the realm of the earth-god or of the mountain-spirit. One wants to please these two spirits through these valuables so that they will hold down the evil earth-influences and protect human beings from misfortune. It is as though gifts were being given to persons in office (6).

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6. [Foreign text pp. 859-860.] According to this explanation, an offering to the earth-god is involved. The interpretation, however, might not suffice. One must consider the urn in its wider context. It repeatedly occurs in Tujen usage, with the arrow of good fortune, with the round manger, in the obo, in the chorten chamber, and, to be sure, in twofold form: in the one case as the seat of a deity, which through the formula scroll,

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
silk wrapping, etc. is transferred into the urn; in other cases without this deity, as, for instance, the urns accompanying the central urn in the chorten chamber and central fort, or, as in the preceding section, alone. In this case it is to be conceived as a representation of the earth with its vital and germinating forces and its treasures, as was shown above in the section on the arrow of good fortune. In the other case the earth-god takes his seat in his realm (urn). The urn is simply a part of the representation of the world-picture (mandala), as the realm of the earth-god.

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What these earth deities are is unclear. In any case the ġlu (Tib. klu) or Nagas belong among them. In addition, however, another earth-deity is venerated among the Tujen, which perhaps is of Chinese origin, for like the Chinese they also have a pig offering in honor of the earth-god and certain ceremonies for pardon that are connected with a grain offering. They are performed especially in connection with digging, housebuilding, etc., or when someone suffers harm while digging. Unfortunately I was no longer able to record these ceremonies. It cannot be definitely determined whether this earth-spirit is male or female.

[171]

Another group to be considered is sman. A part of the filling is called ġlu-smān (Tib. klu-sman); cf. the chapter above, "The Incense Offering," Note 11. According to H. Hoffmann,

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
for instance, at the erection of the weather fort, in the case of knife-climbing, disease exorcism, etc.

Word List

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782 Earth-god: ġlu (glē).
Earth-god urn: sënoġ-der; sënoġ (Tib.) = to meditate; der (Tib.) = urn, bottle.
[776]
[778] To buy an urn: sënoġ-der bula; bula = to buy; but used only for the consecrated urn, otherwise "to buy" is called awu-.

Contents of the urn: rdzē (Tib.) (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 860.]
Concerning rdzē, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 4. These additions are for the greater part designated by the Chinese as yao (yüo) and are not to be thought of merely in the sense of medicine. Everything possible that has a special effect falls under yao: minerals, powder, spices, little pieces of shell, gold, and silver, and the filling of the treasure urn. Lamas from Kumbum and Bengbar told me that there are about 30 to 40 types of treasure urns with different fillings. One of the most valuable is the one that contains mani-ruru (little balls). These little balls multiply, they "cast young," as the people say, and fill up the entire urn; cf. section, "Customs concerning the Dead," Note 2. Ch. Das (p. 874) calls the urn additions bum rdsas: "twenty-five articles (comprising

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 860 cont.] consecrated objects and various sorts of medicines) required to be kept in the sacred-pot which contains the sacred water" [cited in English]. In his case, however, the holy-water urn, bum pa, is involved. Cf. the chapter above, "The Incense Offering."

All kinds of filling: yilẽ tawa ndzuomladzi = all kinds -- filling -- being complete.

Urn binding: ama budzin = opening-binding.

Sealing wax: latsia (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 860.] latsia: comes from the Chinese; la-cha = sealing wax. nuru: Tib. nor bu; also called yid-bžin = a treasure that one desires (Unkrig).

[778] Jewel of good fortune: nuru (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].

Buddha gold: fo-chin (Chin.).

Coral: ṣurẽ.

Mother-of-pearl: mãdoǵ (Tib. loanword).

[824] White rice: tsiǵan tudurǵa; no-mi (Chin.).

Yellow rape: sira yãṅsgar; shen-ts'ai-tzu (Chin.) = spirit-rape.

[Pages 858-860 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[860]

8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

782 In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in
792 the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions.
[777] They make a small torma which one takes out into the open
[784] and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three
[351] large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar. The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying.
[791] One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual
[787] ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the burning at the fire-pouring.

[778] After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the master of the household undertakes the great incense offering in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the
[783] night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[861 cont.]

782 Place: Ordinarily the fire-pouring takes place in a compound. If the affair is organized by the village, then the temple yard is preferred. They may also go to a mountain, but not to its peak, only halfway up. -- The burning-place is always indicated in detail by a soothsayer. [791]

There are no further prescriptions concerning the location of the various types of fire-pourings, except for the black fire-pouring. It may never be undertaken in a yard, temple, or in the village. For it a very remote mountain region is sought and the people stay there in tents for several days.

[791] Time: The soothsayer determines the date days or weeks ahead of time. If the lama cannot come on the day set, then [792] he is asked to state the term, and the soothsayer then determines a day within this period. The ceremony always lasts seven days; the actual fire-pouring always takes place on the morning of the last day. There are no interdicted periods; it could also be undertaken when the family concerned is still in its period of mourning or when there is still a woman in childbed in the compound. In this case, the woman in childbed, for instance, would not be allowed to watch.

778 Tormas: Six tormas in all are made. 1. A small torma, as always in connection with lama-visits. This is the misfortune- 782 torma, after whose removal the compound is taboo. 2. On the [792] morning of the second day three large tormas follow. One of [351] them represents the god (Buddha), to whom the [862] fire-pouring [784] is presented. The other two, which are slightly lower, symbolize his two subordinate companions. The color of these tormas varies according to which god is involved. The tormas are put before the household altar or in the household chapel, and they are elevated in a box that is covered with a cloth or a board so that no animal (for instance, a cat) can desecrate them. The votive gifts are put in a row in front of these tormas: seven bowls of pure water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of sugar, a bowl of dough beans, and several small butter-lamps. These little lamps remain burning day and night until the conclusion

[862 cont.]

778 of the ceremonies. -- The three tormas are left standing until
782 three days after the fire-pouring and then are eaten by the members of the family. They may also be given to the domestic animals. In summer, however, they are often already so moldy that they are only fit for dogs. The names of the three tormas
[171] agree with the names of the gods that they represent. This is similar to the ancestral tables of the Chinese, which are likewise set up and venerated. -- 3. On the afternoon of the sixth day a fifth torma is made. It is smaller than the others and represents the earth- or mountain-spirit, for which reason it is also called earth-spirit (mountain-spirit) torma. The lama puts it on the place selected for the fire-pouring. In front of it, as votive gifts, there are: three bowls of water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of tea, a butter-lamp, and three sticks of incense. The lama sprinkles the torma with holy water from
[792] the wumba can, while the master of the household burns incense in front of it. Then the lama settles down on a felt mat and says a votive prayer in which he requests the earth-spirit to free the burning-place for the fire-pouring. After the prayer the torma is put on a wall or thrown away in the field so that the birds will eat it. The color of this torma is white. 4. Finally a sixth torma is made on the morning of the seventh day. It is not made of tsamba mixed with butter like the other tormas, but of pure butter alone. It represents the fire-god and is therefore colored a fiery red. Before the fire-pouring it is placed on the ground-drawing and afterwards burned with the rest.

782 The burnt offerings: For the actual fire-pouring the
824 following things are needed: 1. Firewood and twigs from the tree of life. They are supplied by the gift-master (that is, of the particular family). The firewood is an ell long. Formerly only fir wood was used; nowadays the wood of the white poplar is popular. One takes branch- and knot-free pieces as thick as an arm, which are split lengthwise. The length and being free of branch-knots are prescribed. 2. Butter, which is melted for the fire-pouring and poured into the fire. It must not be too old.

[864]

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a

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[171]

c

d

(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
756 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[754] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
[292] village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
[534] val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[778] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-
pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip
[142] with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the
gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
[171] graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical. Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the following day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed.
[333] The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 868 cont.]
about the various forms of the burning-place (mandala) and the Tibetan-Chinese names. Also, the addresses of the fire-pouring are different (p. 151); in addition, other burnt offerings are enumerated there.

It must be noted that among the Tujen a simple, popular form is involved, which varies according to location and the situation of the population. It is only too understandable that the ordinary people know nothing about the complicated and in part tantric symbolism. It is enough for them if through the ceremony the gods provide for their welfare and protection and if the demons remain far away.

782 The black fire-pouring: The persons are the same. The
[302] lama and his helper, however, smear their faces with soot. They
[792] also wear black clothes. All objects are black, the torma, the felt mat, the wall, the ground-drawing, etc.
[372] Instead of firewood one takes pig or camel dung. Black sticks are stuck around the black torma on the ground-drawing; the intestines of a black sheep are suspended on them in garland fashion. The intestines are not cleaned, but are full of dung. In place of the butter one takes black linseed oil, and the dung is soaked in it so that it will burn better.

The burnt offerings are: black barley, black linseed, the seed of the wild rape, wheat mixed with black earth, dark beans, glutenous rice colored black, herbs colored black, etc.

[778] As votive offerings for the black tormas, which represent the demons, one takes milk from a black sheep and urine from a black donkey served in a black bowl, and, as incense, pig dung.

[866 cont.]

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[824]
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[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]
Wood for the yellow fire-pouring: maġa (Tib.); dziãṅma (Mongol.); chien-yang liu (Chin.); the wood is used a great deal for mill wheels; it seems to be a kind of maple. I also saw it a great deal among carvers, who praise it as the best wood for carving.

[778]

Fire-torma: dãmbala (Tib.).
Yellow fire-pouring: sēru dżiwi źũin tseġ (Tib.).
Red fire-pouring: ġõngë dżiwi źũin tseġ (Tib.).
White fire pouring: siwi dżiwi żũin tseġ (Tib.).
Black fire-pouring: dźoġguei dżiwi żũin tseġ (Tib.).
Burnt offerings: rdzē (Tib., Mongol.).
Butter: marku (Tib.); dasu (Mongol.).
[870]

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Grain: nie (Tib.); tara (Mongol.); the Mongols there designate Tibetan barley, ch'ing-k'o, with tara, which is simply grain.
Wheat: dšõ (Tib.); budë (Mongol.).
Beans: tšamā (Tib.); burdzieġ (Mongol.).
Barley: sō (Tib.); sōtara (Mongol.); it is probably a combination of the Tibetan sō and the Mongolic tara (grain).
White rape: yõṅgur (Tib., Mongol.); pei-ts'ai-tzu (Chin.).
Indian incense grass: gusia (Tib., Mongol.); wei-tzu ts'ao (Chin.); that is, reed. Evidently the kuśa grass designated by Filchner, Kumbum, p. 88 and Note 400, which supposedly stems from India, is involved here.

[866 cont.]

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[824]
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[Note on foreign text p. 870 cont.]
help, to save; otherwise called Tārā. -- gusia: Tibetan ku ša (from the Sanskrit) = botanical Poa cynosuroides. -- sāndōṅmani: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words seṅ (Sanskrit. siṁha) = lion, gdoṅ = face, mani = jewel. It is a goddess. -- šda(m)tsēni: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words rta = horse, mgrin (pronounced din) = neck, also voice; in other words: the horse-necked one, or the horse-voiced one. -- logōṅ: Tibetan klu (pronounced lu) = dragon, and gdoṅ = face. Literally, therefore, dragon-face (Unkrig).

[372] Fire-place: taw (Tib. loanword) = oven, hearth.

[778] Misfortune-torma: ġuaġ dor (Tib.).
ġuaġ = misfortune; prayer said during the preparation of this torma.

Earth-spirit torma: ġlū-šdorma.
Mountain-spirit torma: yifula-šdorma.
Fire-torma: ġal šdorma.
Earth-god spices: ġlu smān (Tib.).
dalān dierān sāmba smān = 74 pieces of spices.

[867]

[532] Measuring string: šdag paġdzin bōdoġ = pattern-drawing string.
Pattern: arasë xuar = leather model; tsialdzë xuar = paper model.

Burning-place drawing (mandala): tawni xuar.

[393] Wall: lāṅgāṅ (Chin. loanword).
Pouring tube: šge gāṅsār (Tib. loanword) = large spoon.
Ladling spoon for butter: mula gāṅsār = little spoon.
Spoon (profane): dzieġliu (Tujen).

[372] Cloth fan: ki yūelwa = air-cloth.
rlōṅ yāg (Tib.).
Cloth (profane): bosë.

[203 cont.]

776

I. The Total Religious Picture

1. The Deities

a) The Higher Deities

The higher deities are to be understood as those figures that do not belong among the so-called purġan, but are mentioned separately from these by their own names. These are heaven (tieṅġëre), the mountain-spirit (yifula), and the earth-deity or earth-deities (ġlu; itoġa). They seem to be the older deities and will be dealt with later when the belief in a supreme god is discussed.

b) The Lower Deities

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The lower deities can all be included under the generic name purġan. The word purġan is none other than the term customary in the literature, Burchan (Burkhan, Burkan), which, as is well known, stands for "god" in large parts of Central Asia. The origin of this name has not been clarified. Usually a connection with "Buddha" is assumed, and the word is derived from the compound Bud(dah)-Khan; see W. Schmidt, UdG, X, p. 573, with reference to the sources. This passage, which deals with the Tungus, emphasizes that there Burkan predominately refers to foreign deities, a situation that is quite close to that found among the Tujen. Another explanation connects the word with the Buddhistic grave-monument (oral communication from W. A. Unkrig), namely, purġan supposedly arose from the Mongolic suburġan. The word suburġan in turn is derived from the Tibetan spur-k'aṅ, house of corpses, cremation place. Since consonant clusters are avoided in Mongolic, a u was inserted between the s and the p for easier pronunciation, just as also happens in the case of other word derivations. Thus from spur, through the transformation of the p (which the Mongols do not have) to b, the word subur arose. The n in k'an is slurred into a simple n.

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With suburġan (spur-k'aṅ) one designated the same thing as with the Tibetan mc'od-rten, chorten or stupa, which literally

[203 cont.]

192 means "offering container." The chortens now usually shelter
778 the ashes of Buddhist saints or their relics and frequently also
776 bear their pictures on the front side. Thus the meaning of an idol is connected with the whole. The chortens or stupas or suburgans are therefore the seat of a spirit or of a deceased person. A deity is present in them. They are the same as [204] what the Mongols or Tujen imagine under the expression purġan. This conception is confirmed, furthermore, by the urn shape of the stupa. In Tibetan the lower part is called bum-ba, urn, pot. As has already been shown in the case of the earth-god urn and the beṅkaṅ, urns are frequently the seat of a deity. This conception is also found elsewhere, and one might also connect the urn with the throne of the gods, which will not be discussed here. In any case, the Tujen word purġan is late and Buddhistic in origin.

776 All the inhabitants of the Buddhist, Bonist, and Taoist pantheon fall within the group of these lower gods insofar as the Tujen have taken it over. A special position seems to be oc-
776 cupied by the fire-spirit as hearth-god or god of the shaman
372 fire, whom Schram so strongly emphasizes in his book concerning marriage among the Tujen. I could no longer confirm any special veneration of the shaman fire, however. If one disregards the fire offering, which is included as part of the rite of the Lamaistic fire-pouring, there remains to the people only the hearth-god, who, however, is venerated no more frequently than among the Chinese, for example. The use of fire for purifica-
[783] tion (widow marriage, leaping over fire, fumigation, red-hot stone, etc.) seems to have nothing to do with a god. It can be explained purely magically, because the demons fear the fire. They are, of course, always regarded as unclean, as the common phrase, pudaġ ilie, dirty demon, proves.

776 Of the other gods who deserve special mention, there
[791] are the shaman and soothsaying gods, who animate or temporarily
[787] take possession of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, and the divine images, for instance, the black and white tiger, the great mother, the dragon. Furthermore, an important role is
[177] played by the god of joy (at a wedding), who probably comes from the Chinese, the horse- and cattle-king, the world-directions spirits, and the gods of the weather ministry with the smith-god

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171] are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
[769] ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
[764] stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
[782] the deceased would remain among the living and would need to partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
[513] even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
[753] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
[756] for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
[755] soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This catching of the soul is called: suniedzē xura-. It is unclear from this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru (rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun, moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals. Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the underworld and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

[209 cont.]

772 The sky-column and world-mountain (world-tree) are emphasized
778 above all at the central fort and the chorten chamber. In both cases, however, a strong emphasis on the realm of the underworld, which is represented by the urns, is also striking. The latter are nothing other than the realm of the Nagas, who play such an important role in the Bon religion and point to the pre-Buddhistic roots of the conception of the world. The arrangement of the urns and of the scrolls in the urns mirrors the world order in the four directions of the compass and their center.
[782] The treasure urns thus represent the wealth of the earth. At the same time they are regarded as an offering to the earth-deities, whereas the main urn is the dwelling of the deities. To what extent magical effects are intended still remains to be investigated. In this connection one must also take into consideration the burying of objects in general, as, for instance, in the case of the obo, the weather fort, the warding-off magic against sickness, the construction of a compound, etc.

The air-horse on the mani-tree (mani-flag) seems to be less closely connected with the world-mountain. Indeed, it is frequently set up separately. The connection with the mani-tree is probably due to the circumstance that it simultaneously represents the four directions of the compass (2). At the same

2. The five cloth tabs on the mani-flag (cf. Anthropos 47, 1952, p. 56, Fig. 7 [see p. 100 above in the HRAF translation]) are evidently a curtailment and combination of formerly variously colored air-horse flags; four of these are regarded as the bearers of the air-horse- or wind-master and are arranged according to the four directions of the compass. This conclusion comes from a Tibetan text, for whose French résumé I am indebted to Professor Doctor R. Stein (Paris).

[209 cont.]

772 time, an inner significance cannot be denied to it. The air-
778 horse is the symbol and the guarantor of the destiny of the family,
of the kin group. Human destiny, however, is fitted into the
[614] course of the world, just as the kin-group compound occupies its
[351] place in the world-structure. According to Tujen conception, a
compound is not "complete" if the central fort and mani-tree
are lacking. Through them the living space of the kin group is
given conformity with the living space of the other living beings.

The world is no rigid schema, however; this is proved by the significance of the arrow of good fortune. In its way, the arrow of good fortune also represents the world: the [210] urn symbolizes the earth with its fruit; the arrow, the connecting column to the sky. Frequently four other arrows corresponding to the four directions of the compass are added to the central arrow. The vital force in the arrow of good fortune is new and not observable in the other world-representations (central fort, mandala, etc.). The germs of things, the force of increase and of life, are conjured into it. It guarantees wealth, good fortune, and a full life. The tufts of hair from the animals and the grain in the urn signify that these things will not be lost to the owner even when he has sold them. The oracle-toys of the children on the arrow guarantee the development of the young person in the corresponding direction; the hairs and threads of clothing from the bride insure that despite the loss of the daughter her good fortune will not escape. The dynamism of the world is expressed on the arrow of good fortune, whereas on the mandala (central fort, etc.), more the fixed order. Here, however, the cosmic force, the sap of life, and germinal base are not to be conceived as mana, but are to be derived from their connection with the superposed heaven. The astral, heavenly order is not only the model of its earthly mirror-image; it also imparts to the world its force, which permeates both. The references in the chapter on the arrow of good fortune already offer several indications of this. These conceptions can still be pursued much further. Their threads are quite tangled; they extend back to very early cultural forms and are linked with the oldest kind of communication between heaven and earth. Old forms of sacrifice and having the deities present are linked

[210 cont.]
772 with it (3).
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3. The arrow of good fortune, in other words, occupies the place of the tree of life, to which men, animals, and plants owe their existence and their development; cf. Uno Holmberg, Der Baum des Lebens [The Tree of Life], p. 69 f. Among the Na-khi this tree of life is the juniper tree (Juniperus). The well-being, wealth, and the unfolding of life of human beings are ascribed to it; cf. J.F.Rock, Muan Bpö, pp. 21, 42, 94. As the wood of life, the arrow of good fortune in the house also represents the world axis, similar to the central column in temples, chortens, god-figures (human spinal column), which is designated by the Tibetan name srog ŝin, that is, the wood of life. H.A.Jäschke (Dictionary, p. 585) translates the expression with "axle, axle tree" [cited in English]. As a supplement, let it be mentioned that this srog ŝin is probably also the equivalent for the Tujen name of the sky-column (sõn-ŝin) in the chorten chamber; cf. Anthropos 47, 1952, pp. 76, 78, 79 [pp. 143, 137, 143, in the HRAF translation]. (Personal suggestion from Professor Doctor R. Stein).

The conception of the arrow of good fortune as a personification of the god of life is no longer vital among the Tujen. That it may have this significance is proved by the Na-khi in southwestern China. Instead of the treasure urn with

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the arrow of good fortune of the Tujen, they have a basket. In it, among other things, there is a miniature tower; it represents the god of life, called Ssu, Tibetan srog lha. The basket is his home. The miniature tower (t'a, "pagoda") may also be replaced by an arrow, so that this represents the god of life; cf. J. F. Rock, Naga Cult, pp. 146, 250, 251 (according to a personal communication). The significance of the god of life and his home agrees with the significance of the arrow of good fortune and the treasure urn. -- S. Hummel has also pointed to the arrow as the bearer of reproductive power and of the cosmic vital force; cf. Geheimnisse tibetischer Malereien [Secret Tibetan Paintings], pp. 8-14 passim.

Very ancient and widespread representations are involved here. The connection of god of life and ancestor and his seat in an urn or basket, etc. can be followed all the way to Indochina; and in the burial urns and Shang bronzes in ancient China are probably to be seen the forerunners of the pagoda as seat of the god of life or ancestors, whose modern modification is the ancestral tablet, and in a certain sense also the hearth-god tsao-chün, which is also called ssu-ming (director of life). This as a brief reference.

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A special work concerning the

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772 [778] gurtum-shamans will go into the ideology underlying the whole (god of life, god of war, god of wealth, Pekar, tree of life, arrow of good fortune, spear, ancestral tablets, etc.); cf. also below, pp. 363-388.

[773] [211] The origin of the world is unfortunately recorded only in scanty documents. According to the Geser legend and the aphoristic wisdom of the people, the earth arose through a churning in the water like butter (cream) in milk. It floats on top and is held by a wooden post which one day will start to grow and develop leaves. Then the earth will tip over and bring on the end of the world. The physical sky floats over the earth on a golden peg (nail); in this connection, cf. DMF, p. 115 and p. 445. Here there are conceptions that at first glance contradict those described above, but they can nevertheless be con-
[171] nected with them indirectly. They are recently elaborated variants from Indian cosmology (churning with the world-column; turtle as earth-bearer) and are linked with Mongolic peculiarities (heavenly bell on a golden nail); in this connection, cf. W. Lüdtke, Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans [The Veneration of Genghis Khan]. Concerning the polar star as beacon, see further below, p. 883. Over against the earth with the wooden peg (modë ġadasë) stands heaven with the golden peg (xaldan
[821] ġadasë). Among the Tujen, however, the polar star is called xaldan ġadasë: xaldan because of its shining color; ġadasë because of its similarity to a nail head. Actually ġadasë means post, peg, nail, tack. The polar star, to be sure, is otherwise conceived as the axle of the sky. Thus, the greening world-tree (earth-wood) and sky-axle (star-gold) correspond with each other. Here, too, the comparison of two parts of the world that are supposed to correspond is suggested: the sky above, the earth below. The conception of the tilting and finally falling earth may go back to the observation that the polar star, the sky-axle, is not in the zenith, but in the north. The way the
[533] world-tree and stars belong together is poetically rendered in

[212 cont.]

782 The slaughtered offering, together with the animal-
[778] consecration, forms the group of animal offerings, of which
one is bloody, the other unbloody. The bloody [213] animal-
[574] offering is carried out in three steps which are clearly differen-
tiated by the people: slaughtering, presentation, sacrificial meal.
The classic example is described above as the mountain sheep-
offering. The actual presentation, usually in the form of the
offering-throw, is designated by the term "offering." Often
there is an interval of a whole day between slaughtering and
presentation and the meal.

[787] The slaughtering is preceded by the washing and the
milk-oracle, as well as the releasing and recapturing of the
[778] animal. It almost has the appearance of an abbreviated animal-
consecration, at which the animal is likewise released.

The presentation may be done in two ways. Either the skinned whole animal is set up before the deity, or it is cut up immediately, boiled, and then the pieces of meat with the broth are thrown to the deity. It also happens that the thoroughly cooked pieces are put on plates in front of the altar, like bread or wine. Putting up the pole-goat is probably a remnant of
[171] Central Asiatic form, analogous to the hanging up of the hide of sacrificial animals among the Siberian peoples. Among the Tujen, however, no attention whatever is paid to the skeleton, since, of course, the animal is cut up and boiled with the bones.

782 The sacrificial meal is consumed by all the people, by
men, women, and children. I do not know of any sacrificial
574 animals that are reserved for only certain groups. To be sure
certain parts are reserved for certain persons as especially
tasty, such as the loins, the head, etc. The sacrificial meal is
not regarded as a profane act. It is regarded as part of the
offering, there is the unequivocal expression for it: "This is a
part of our offering."

782 A peculiarity of these offerings is still to be emphasized:
the fear of blood. The blood is not spilled but caught during
826 the slaughtering and poured into the intestines. The blood be-
longs to the animal and is sacrificed and eaten with it. Traces
of blood on the ground are immediately covered with earth and
wiped away.

[213 cont.]

782 The pig offering proceeds like the sheep offering, however little appropriate the procedure is for this animal. -- The hen offering is done without much ceremony. The animal's head is cut or twisted off, the hen is swung around in a circle so that the blood squirts around, and then it is allowed to fly. I do not know whether the hen is consumed later. It certainly did not happen in several cases observed.

778 782 The animal-consecration is already unequivocally an offering in that the animal is given up by human beings as a voluntary gift to a god and normally may not be used any more.

I could confirm nothing about a human consecration, which Mostaert (DMF, p. 371 under ʼdien) mentions, unless the shaman consecration is meant, or the recommendation of a child to a tutelary spirit whose name it later bears. In any event the vow of virginity could be regarded as an offering to heaven, as a sign of which a girl lets her hair fall down freely; cf. DMF, p. 103. One can also include its counterpart, namely, the marriage of a girl with heaven, whose sign is the "heavenly hairdo"; cf. Schram, Mariage, pp. 127 ff.

[831] [302] [588]

[214] Recipients of the Offering

782 776 To what extent heaven has a share in all offerings and what offerings are reserved for it will be discussed below. The pig is inadmissible as an offering for the higher deities (except for the earth), and the hen likewise. They are the sacrificial animals for lower gods and demons.

Whether there is an actual offering to the demons is questionable. In the case of the ceremonies dealing with the evil spirits, for instance, the demon-escort, the figure-litter, the various tormas, etc., one regards the accompanying gifts, designated as rdzē, as things that the demon needs or likes, for example, the riding animal, the clothes, the money, the wool, etc. Furthermore, aside from the intent to appease and to satisfy, there is also a certain contempt for the demon connected with these gifts, in that raw flesh, leeks, beans, and unclean intestines are offered to it, as though to a wild bestial creature.

[247 cont.]

174 one, the shaman as representative of the god of life (characterized by the tree of life, etc.).

756 Among the people Buddhism found in the warrior-shaman

779 a type which could be "converted" especially easily. It connected the tutelary figures of its religion with this popular shaman. It had been especially prepared for this type of possession-shamanism through the tantrist-magical realizations so that it could easily absorb it. What then remained of other shaman types was branded and fought as xara nom, black belief, by the new "orthodox" shamanism with the spread of Lamaism. This [248] opposition, dealt with much in the literature, is aptly characterized by Lessing in a conversation with his teacher: "... 'Then is a gurtum not a shaman?' I asked him. 'By no means, something much higher. What he invokes, those are the authentic spirits, not the unclean ones of the Bö (written in Mong. böge, shaman)' ..." (Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143).

d) Idol-shamanism

756 In what follows the justification for speaking of idol-

791 shamanism as a special matter will automatically appear. One could also call it simply "thing-shamanism," because a thing

[778] represents the person as shaman. Among the shamanistic idols the spirit-spear of the Tujen occupies a favored position.

The Spirit-spear

The relationship of soothsayer and spear. -- Here the difference in the shamanizing of a gurtum and that of a spear-soothsayer should be recalled (cf. the appropriate chapters in the first part, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 18-33 [pp. 21-50 above in the HRAF translation]. Whereas the gurtum is completely possessed and in this state psychically closes himself off from the

[787] outside world, the spear-soothsayer remains in control of himself and awake. He does not go into ecstasy; only the spear is possessed by the spirit and affects the soothsayer. The soothsayer,

[248 cont.]

757 it is true, must have the special ability to "activate" the spear
791 and to interpret its movements in order to learn what the spirit in the spear wants, but he himself is not inwardly filled by it.

756 On the other hand, the relationship between spirit and
791 spear is much closer. It is the seat of the spirit and is treated as such. Like a shaman it receives a consecration, is clothed
778 with an "official garb": with bands, little bells, and mirrors. The people venerate it like a god that is present. In order to enter actively into a relationship with the world of men through soothsaying, healing, and exorcising evil, or in order to have an active effect on the outside world, this spear-idol needs a middleman who takes it in his hand and to whom it "speaks." This is the "idol-holder," the sdiendzẽn, rten 'dsin. He is not called a shaman, for it is not he, the soothsayer, but the possessed spear that is actually the shaman. The soothsayer is, as it were, merely a living extension of the idol, its loud-speaker.

778 How is the spear to be classified? As the spear is now used, it is to be regarded as a special kind of idol, as its name as spirit seat already suggests. The Tibetan compound rten-mduñ is not found in Ch. Das. However, analogous to the name sku-rten (gurtum) and corresponding to the character of the spear, the rten can here mean nothing other than container or visible representation of the deity: a weapon as seat of the deity. This suggests the question: Was the spirit-spear independent from the outset, or is it merely the tool of a shaman?

171 The spirit-spear as independent idol, in other words,
778 not as equipment of the shaman, is distributed throughout the Tujen and agricultural region of eastern Amdo. [249] One finds it frequently in temples and in family chapels, even among the Chinese. To what extent the Tangut nomads there possess it is beyond my knowledge. The spear must have had an
[174] independent significance in Lamaism even in early times, however, for one frequently encounters it in Lamic monasteries, and usually in conjunction with other standards (banners). The Geography of the Minchu-Hutukhtu is able to report: "In

[249 cont.]

171 778 Nanggardse there is a fearful chapel of the Gur, and in it there is a lance (mdun) which is said by the worshipers to be sacred and is called 'remover of the thirteen enemies of the religion'"; according to W. Unkrig, Ms, p. 14. R. Bleichsteiner writes of a similar banner: "Another narrative reports on the victorious campaign of a barbarian prince across China, Hor and Grug-gug, during which he used a magical flag into which rNam-sras, the world guardian of the north, and eight companions had been conjured" ("Srog-bdag," p. 111).

The spirit-spear can easily be linked with other similar idols, such as Stabongonen, carriage axles, weather clubs, and noodle rollers among the Tujen, all of which are beribboned and hung with little bells and little metal disks. They, too, are used by a soothsayer in exactly the same way as the spirit-spear. This shows that it is merely one among the many shamanistic idols. That such stick-idols are very widespread not only in the Koko Nor region but also in other places in Tibet is shown from a remark by Jäschke: "... the local lha are not always represented by figures resembling human beings, but even by sticks, stones and similar fetishes" [cited in English], p. 599. And on page 7 he speaks of the Pekar idol, also cited by Bleichsteiner, and notes: "... consisting like most of the popular idols in those countries of a wooden stick or log decked with rags ..."; cf. also Bleichsteiner, op. cit., p. 112. Jäschke adds that this idol is certainly pre-Buddhistic. Such idols can be shown for all of northern Asia as far to the east as the Inao of the Ainu; for example, cf. Joseph Haekel, Idolkult und Dualsystem bei den Ugriern. The shamanistic use, however, seems nowhere to be so well attested to as in the case of the spirit-spear of the Tujen.

A second link can be established from the spirit-spear to the standard, flag, or banner. The spear as standard is an anciently known article, as are its sacredness and its veneration in the flag or standard cult. This cult was practiced above all by the Mongols in the form of the sülde veneration. Now it is well possible that this very sülde cult was "co-converted" [174] to Lamaism along with the conversion of the Mongols, especially

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171 since the Buddhists in their victory banner, the rgyal-mtsan, had
●778 similar conceptions. The Mongolic Tujen would naturally also
have taken part in this change. Probably the spear-standard was
[174] at the same time also regarded as ancestor spear or clan idol; this
[614] fact is established beyond doubt for the nine-tipped sülde of
Genghis Khan. His spirit and his force have their seat in this
sülde; further details and relationships unfortunately cannot be
presented here; for that, cf., for example, the descriptions by
W. Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ...," in Archiv
für Religionswissenschaft, 25, 1927, pp. 110-115. In any case,
[614] it is striking how [250] each ayil (clan settlement) of the Tujen
is intent upon possessing a spirit-spear. Similar ideas can also
be shown elsewhere. For example, the Bhil in India are
acquainted with the clan spear at religious functions; see
W. Koppers, "Die Bhil ...," pp. 182 ff. Even more clearly
does the similarity with the spirit-spear and the connection
with the clan appear in the case of the clan standard of the
Chewsur [Khevsur]. The form of this standard with its bands,
the little bells, the ball-knob, etc. can scarcely be distin-
guished from the spirit-spear of the Tujen. Also, their clan
priest is practically a shamanistic soothsayer who works with
the spear standard. In view of the great significance that the
standards had among the Turks and Mongols (tuq-banner) and
in view of the lively history of these peoples, influences and
relics in the Caucasus are to be assumed from the first; cf.
Radde, The Chewsuren, pp. 100 ff., and Nioradze, Begräbnis,
pp. 10 ff. -- Sacral spears are abundantly known in Africa,
as are the gods' standards in the ancient Orient. The hitherto
not properly explainable Scythian pole appendages with their
hooks and prongs, perhaps for little bells and other hangings,
may also belong here. It is altogether possible that all these
standards are not simply representations and localizations of
deities, but were also used shamanistically in the manner of
the spirit-spear or the clan standard of the Chewsur.

Further connections also seem to exist between the
spirit-spear and the world-tree or the world-axle. One should
think for instance, of the cosmic significance of the jewel-
spear in the Japanese creation mythology, where it has a

[250 cont.]

171 778 function similar to the cosmic twirling pole in the milky original ocean of the South Asiatic world myth; see F. Numazawa, Weltanfänge [Original World], p. 345. Mention was made earlier of the world-pole among the Tujen; cf. above, pp. 319 ff. The conceptions connected with it are an ancient Mongolic heritage among them. The "golden nail" representing the world-pole, from which the dome of heaven is suspended, is interpreted among the Olöt Mongols as a banner that stands on the world-mountain Sumeru, and around which all the stars revolve. The same conception is found among the Ordos Mongols, where the golden nail or polar star is called 'the golden banner of the mountain Sumeru.' Among the Chalcha [Khalkha] Mongols this polar-star pole, like the jewel-spear among the Japanese, becomes the twirler with which one beats kumiss; see Lüdtke, op. cit., pp. 115, 118. Lüdtke would like to put the transformation of the world-pole into a banner in a later period, when the Mongols already possessed an extensively developed military organization. The Japanese jewel-spear, however, indicates that the basis of this conception goes back far beyond the Mongolic era (11). Accordingly, Lüdtke's view should perhaps be

> 11. The significance of the lance among the Ngadju Dajak [Dyak] in Borneo should be briefly pointed out here. The connection of lance, flag, tree of life, and "total deity" is still much more apparent and conscious there than in Central Asia and Tibet. Even the shamanistic priests as representatives of the "total deity" are much more strikingly involved in this conception than, for instance, the gurtum as representative of the god of life; cf. H. Schärer, Die Gottesidee, pp. 29 ff., 87, 148 ff.

corrected: "I would not want [251] to derive this whole

[251 cont.]

171 conceptual cycle from China either; there, too, to be sure, there
778 is a determining constellation called a 'standard,' not on the pole, however, but rather on the ecliptic" (op. cit., p. 117). At any rate, the astral spear or the standard is not merely the property of the Mongols (12). Here the similarity with the

> 12. The military flag cult of the Chinese in its well-known form is too recent to permit any ancient mythological conclusions; cf., for instance, Doolittle, Social Life, pp. 287 f.

cosmically conceived arrow of good fortune that was dealt with earlier should also be pointed out; see above, p. 321. -- After these references, which refer more or less to the spear alone, its significance in shamanism is easier to understand.

Spirit-spear and shaman. -- The spirit-spear stands in a
756 two-fold relationship with the shaman, once as world-tree and
778 as weapon, and then as something independent and representative of the shaman.

In the case of Siberian shamanism, for which the sym-
171 bolism of the journey to heaven is so important, the shaman
756 climbs up on the ladder, the tree, the pole, the bridge, etc.
778 into the world beyond. In the rite, therefore, the most varied representations of this earth-heaven connection appear. What, then, is more obvious than that the spear with its symbolism as world-tree or peak of the world-mountain should be drawn into it? Unfortunately, the evidence for a ritual use of the spear as heaven-ladder (bridge, bow) among the Central Asiatic peoples seems to be difficult to obtain. It must be all the more surprising that among the remote Australians the spear fulfills this function. M. Eliade cites Pettazzoni in this connection and says in his excellent work, Le Chamanisme, pp. 426 f.: "The bow being unknown in Australia, its place in the myth is taken by a lance which bears a long piece of material; the

[251 cont.]
756 lance having been implanted in the celestial vault, the hero
778 climbs all the way up with the help of the pennant" [translated
[171] from French].

However frequently the spirit-spear is used independently of a true shaman among the Tujen, it nonetheless is frequently enough part of the equipment of the gurtum. In his hand it is an important weapon. Just as the weapons and the armor of the ancient hero-ancestors endow him with special powers, so doubtless also does the ancestor spear. In the already-cited Geser
[773] legend of the Tujen, Geser takes the heavenly weapons for himself, which are all provided with the adjective sdier, for instance, sdier lëmu, sdier sëmu, etc., sacred arrow and bow. The things designated with sdier, however, are all adorned in a manner similar to the spirit-spear, above all with the colorful bands. This is supposed to express a consecration, a sacral
174 character. -- Now, however, when there is no true shaman,
756 nothing remains but to make the spirit-spear independent.

It must represent the shaman and accordingly receives
778 a perfected outfit and an additional consecration, whereby,
791 as original weapon, it becomes an independent idol. It becomes tutelary-spirit possessed. As seat of the sülde it is from the outset already especially fitted for this. Since, however, it is not alive and cannot appear as a human being, [252] a man is appointed for it, the soothsayer. The latter takes over part of the operations of a true shaman, but without becoming the seat of a spirit himself. There takes place, as it were, a distribution of shamanistic functions: the essential, inner ones are peculiar to the spear; the unessential, outer ones to the soothsayer (13).

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13. The shaman attire in other regions also has great similarity with the spear as spirit seat and effective unity with the shaman. It is "saturated" by spirits, who give signs of life by trembling, moving, etc.; cf. Eliade (Shirokogorov), Le Chamanisme, p. 143. Even though the spear as shaman equipment shares this property with the attire, this alone

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still cannot explain its great significance and use.

The Other Idols

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Just as the spirit-spear is the seat of a deity which is activated by a middleman, so also is a series of other idols. These may be: the table, the spirit-litter, weather club, carriage axles, noodle roller, etc. Of these the spirit-table and the god-litter are the most important.

The spirit-table bears its name unjustly, for it is not a [776] table, but the representation of an animal deity, the black tiger. This is confirmed by the fact that it is consecrated at the consecration of this tiger and is regarded as possessed by the latter. Furthermore, the intestines of the tiger are attached under the top, which, however, are not visible to the eye.

[787] The soothsaying with the table is done exactly as with the spear, except that it is held by two persons.

This deity, according to all the statements, is peculiar to the Chinese shamans. That it was originally foreign to the [776] Tujen is proved precisely by the superficial name given it, sirie purgan (table-deity), where in reality the top forms the back, the table legs are the tiger's legs, and the underside bears the intestines.

The spirit-litter has no Tujen name at all, but is simply called, as in Chinese, chiao-tzu or niang-niang chiao-tzu (litter of the mother). The litter is not the main thing, but the god's [532] figure sitting in it, which is executed as realistically as possible, with magnificent clothes, real hair, and flesh-colored face. The interior likewise contains the intestines, the heart, and the maternal organs. The figure is consecrated with the litter, at which time the inner organs are put inside.

This goddess likewise belongs to the Chinese shamans (fashih), who also undertake its animation. Frequently,

[252 cont.]
778 however, the lamas in the monastery do this. For soothsaying
791 the litter is taken up on the shoulders of four men, who then
[787] involuntarily follow the movements of the deity.

Summary

756 Both idol-shamanism and gurtum-shamanism form a unity
787 in their appearance. They have in common: the clothing
791 (= beribboning), the metal disks, the little bells or rattles, and possession by a spirit. They both belong in the conceptual realm of the connection [253] between heaven and earth and of the world- or shaman-tree that is hung with bells and mirrors; in this connection cf. the myths of the Golden or the songs of the Tujen, which tell about a tree that bears the sun, moon, and stars in its top. In the case of the human shaman all functions are united in one bearer, whereas in idol-shamanism these functions are divided between man and thing, but this division in turn constitutes a unity in the activities. There arises here the fundamental question: Is not the entire idol cult to be understood ultimately from this shamanistic standpoint? Does it not gain its real significance only through the living person? Certainly a great deal of what has hitherto been designated as "fetishism" or "idol cult" is at bottom merely a variant of shamanism, a static permanent form of that which the shaman represents for only a short period of time with great psychic upheaval: a direct link with the spirit world, culturally regularized, and ritually developed; making present and vivifying deities and demons that the human being wants to have with him.

Here it should be once more emphasized that these ideas are merely a sketch for a theory whose detailed presentation does not belong here.

3. The Bon Religion

791
779 Among the Bon there are three groups: the shepherd-Bon, the farmer-Bon, and the monastery-Bon. This division

[254 cont.]

792 a closed building, but rather as a whole settlement with temples,
[346] halls, dwelling yards, chortens, chapels, little mani-houses, and obos. To the Tujen there dGon-luń is simply the monastery.
[103] The official full name, however, is dGon-luń byams-pa gliń, just as the full name of Kumbum is sKu 'bum byams pa gliń. According to B. Laufer, byams pa gliń means "temple of the Maitreya"; see Filchner, Kumbum, p. V. Not [255] every monastery has such a temple, and for this reason people always like to mention it along with the monastery. The main temple
792 of dGon-luń contains such a gigantic image of the Maitreya
778 painted on silk, over ten meters long and several meters wide.
796 It is rolled up from the temple roof and allowed to hang down over the front into the yard usually twice a year, namely, in the first month after the tscham dances and on the sixth day of the sixth month. The ceremony is called dšamba sguni dielgē, that is, to hang out the Maitreya image; dšamba or šamba is the Tujen pronunciation of byams-pa. The Chinese call the rite simply shai Fuoeyeh, that is, to sun the Buddha. For the be-
[788] lieving populace it is the high point of the feast days; the people make pilgrimages to the place in great crowds in order to venerate the image with kowtows.

792 There is no Tujen name for the monastery; their desig-
103 nation Rgulõń (Rēgulõń) is only a corruption of dGon-luń. Even the Chinese Êrh-ku-lung is nothing more than a derivation from the Tibetan. Some people would like the êrh to be understood as the Chinese "two," since it is supposedly the second monastery, which was built anew after the destruction of the first; in fact, one also often hears the name Ku-lung without this êrh. The designation Yu-ning-szu, monastery for the protection of Sining, has not prevailed among the people. It is used almost exclusively in books and official documents.

792 The monastery corresponds to the Buddhistic require-
[361] ments in exemplary fashion, for it lies at the exit of a lonely
[346] forested valley and has been built up in part along its northern
[103] ridge, which bears the name Tuguăn-ula, Tuguăn mountain
[175] (Chin. T'u-kuan shan). A gigantic obo crowns its peak. Neither oral nor written information concerning the founding of the

[257 cont.]

792 went there. Pander speaks (op. cit., p. 204) of Man-tzu or Chinese from Sining, who were accommodated in 13 temples in Peking (1889). These Man-tzu (= barbarians), however, could only have been Tujen, for the Chinese are not Lamaists, and the Tibetans (Fan-tzu) are specifically named by Pander. The monastery Sung-chu-szu is regarded expressly as a Tujen lamasery. Even today (at least up until 1948) almost all its monks come from the Sining region and are Tujen, as the monks from this monastery related during a visit home. To be sure the number has shrunk greatly.

771 These are all facts that must be taken into account in
792 judging the Lamaism of the Tujen. The people are proud of their famous monastery. It is their pilgrimage center. Young
[788] and old gather there at the festivals. They hold horse races
[527] and sing their old popular airs there. At the temple festivals with the magnificent dances the Lamist doctrine is deepened
[796] and clarified. In the venerable halls filled with incense they see their gods in magnificent statues, painted on silk, on walls
[778] and altars. There lie also the heavy sacred books of the Kandjur and Tandjur, which they bear on their backs around the sanctuary in order to free themselves from affliction or to fulfill a vow. In the temples and yards they watch the monks hold learned disputations, read the scriptures, recite the prayers. They invite them to undertake solemn religious services in their compounds, to give their children their names, to consecrate the old, [258] to bless the young, to pray for the dead, to cre-
[574] mate the corpses. The lama is a frequent and welcome guest in the family. Generally, the people seem to link themselves
[752] to the monastic life at the important stages of life. Even the
[778] shaman receives his consecration in the monastery. Every family was proud if one of its sons became a lama; indeed, it was even an unwritten law.

771 So it was, at least until the most recent times. Today,
792 however, the young people no longer want to know anything about becoming a lama. They prefer to attend the Chinese
777 schools and are intent on the new education. They despise the old and do not take it seriously anymore. What the

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Sodalities, most of them for women, are organized [575] in every village. The members convene to recite the Om Mani as they circle the Bumkhang[3] of the village 781 all day. 788 Whenever a Monguor is in serious trouble, he prays Om Mani, and when a happy event occurs, he gives thanks by Om Mani. Supposedly, all kinds of evil are dispelled and all blessings obtainable by Om Mani.

Monguor families place in the center of their court- 778 yards a high pole with a small flag flying from atop it. Om Mani and other prayers are printed on the flag as an offering, day and night, by the family to Buddha. Prayer wheels, containing hundreds of repetitions of Om Mani printed on paper, are moved by water power, so that Om Mani will be offered continually, as the wheels revolve.

The Monguors have used their Om Mani to such an 781 extent that its true meaning no longer exists. A farmer 788 becoming angry at the lazy oxen, while plowing his fields, will beat them and swear furiously with a well-articulated Om Mani; gamblers, on losing the game, their patience wearing thin, will say Om Mani in a blasphemous tone. While weeding fields, if a lascivious song is enjoyed, farmers say Om Mani, meaning the song is well sung. When a smutty joke is told, lis- [522 teners will say Om Mani, laughing, to indicate it is a 831] good joke. It is said that thieves and robbers say Om Mani as an aid to their practice of larceny. Foreign travelers jest that, if robbers kill their victim, he will have the consolation, when dying, of hearing the killer saying Om Mani. Om Mani can be and is offered under all circumstances: riding horseback, working in the fields or at home, while laughing, gambling, singing, conducting business, and even sleeping.

The Monguor's fondness for and promiscuous use of Om Mani has reduced it to a mockery of its original intent. Nevertheless, it is in fact most often used as a real prayer.

The Monguors are not ashamed to pray in public, to

[3] A structure at the entrance to the village to prevent the entrance of evil influences. [104]

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reincarnations with an aura of glory. At Lhasa the lamas paid enthusiastic adoration to him. Their devotion went so far as to make them struggle and compete for the drinking of a draught of the water Chang-chia had used for his toilet.[92] Back in Peking, Chang-chia asked the emperor to return to the Dalai Lama the confiscated districts of Lit'ang and Batang, and to grant him a subsidy. Only a subsidy of 5,000 taels was allowed.[93]

Rolpa dorje was also a learned man. His appointment by the emperor as chief of the commission for the revision of the translation into Mongol of the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*,[94] enhanced his prestige in the learned world, even as his learned works were studied in the colleges of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung (Huth, 291). In 1725 the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama received imperial envoys, presenting them with a complete set of the *Kanjur*, together with its supplements, and the complete works of Tsong khapa and the first Chang-chia Hutukhtu.[95]

The Monguor Chang-chia Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung, conspicuous for their great abilities, extensive learning, high position at the Peking court, and former diplomatic missions, wielded an enormous influence in the highest Lamaist circles in Tibet. The appointment by the emperor of the regent Gyal ts'ab in Tibet, during the reign of the eighth Dalai Lama (1759–1804) was obtained by the influence of the Chang-chia II.[96] The influence which the Panchen Lama exercised over the temporal affairs of Tibet and the interest he enjoyed at the Peking court through his friend, Chang-chia, the lama primate, made the emperor, Ch'ien-lung, invite him to Peking, where he arrived in 1780 and died of smallpox.[97]

George Bogle in 1774–1775 was trying to get an agreement from the well-disposed Panchen Lama for Indian trade with Tibet. Even more important than the Panchen's promise to send envoys was his assurance to Bogle that he had written the Grand Lama at Peking, who had great influence with the emperor, informing him that the English were now masters of Bengal, that

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[92] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 99.

[93] Petech, *op. cit.*, 162.

[94] Walter Heissig, Die Mongolischen Publication und Ubersetzungs Wesen der Mandjuzeit, *Sinologica* 3 (3): 205, 1953. Translations of Vols. 1 to 22 of the *Kanjur* by learned Mongol lamas already existed at the time of Ligdan Khan 1604–1634: the translation of 1717–1720 is almost textually the same as the former. The duty of Chang-chia, head of the committee, consisted in supervising the dogmatical genuineness of the translation. The Mongol translation of Dharani was published in 1759. More than 200 translations of Tibetan works still exist in Mongol.

[95] Petech, *op. cit.*, 9. One of the works of the second Chang-chia Hutukhtu is known in Europe through the translation of Eugen Pander, *Das Pantheon des Tschang tscha Hutukhtu*, Berlin, 1890.

[96] Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 46.

[97] *Ibid.*, 47. Schuyler Cammann, The Panchen Lama's visit to China in 1780, *Far Eastern Quart.* 9 (1): 6–18, 1949.

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Hsining across Ning-hsia to Sui-yuan, and Father W. Grootaers noted in the region of Wan-ch'üan (Kalgan), 109 temples of the Wu-tao shen,[29] most of them smaller than they had once been. The representations of the god of the Five Roads in the temples are all very similar. The reason for this similarity in temples so distant one from another may be that the Chinese painters used printed books in which they found the stereotypes and traditional representations of the whole series of spirits. They also used books containing all kinds of inscriptions appropriate to the different special spirits and to the spirits in general, and this explains the uniformity of the inscriptions and paintings encountered all over the country.[30]

776 756 175

TEMPLES OF THE GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The abode of the god consists generally of three rooms (*chien*) situated on the north side of a mud or brick walled courtyard. On each side of the courtyard are another three or more rooms for storage of all kind of paraphernalia used for processions and for the kitchen. The entrance is in front of the abode of the god. According to the topography of the country the temple is sometimes built against a mountain without taking account of the points of the compass. In the middle of the three rooms of the front building there is always placed a sedan chair in which is the statue of a female deity clad with a more or less precious robe, or there is the statue of a male deity, such as Wu-tao or Lung-wang. The female deity usually represents the goddess, Niang Niang (mother goddess of children); seldom, Shui-mu, the goddess of the water. The statue seems to be the center of attention for the whole building. It is carried in procession when the people are praying for rain, or for protection against hail. Every year the statues of the goddesses of the temples of Sha-t'ang Valley are carried to the temple of the god Erh-lang,[31] locked up with the god for one night and brought back the next day. The god is said to enjoy the visits of all the goddesses. This curious custom will be discussed later.

756 778 776 346 532

On the walls of the three rooms are frescoes depicting the god of the Five Roads, who is never alone, but associated with other gods. In the central panel the god sits on a large chair, represented in the customary fashion of a corpulent Chinese general, with long black beard, military cap, red coat over armor, large loose

756 776 346 532

[29] William A. Grootaers, Temples and history of Wan-ch'üan, *Monumenta Serica*, 13: 232, 1948. What is said in this very valuable study, in Chap. 2, on the Wu-tao temples, concerning the arrangements of the temples, the images and frescoes, even the inscriptions, tallies completely with my former notes. This is the first and only study made in China concerning all the temples built in a limited area, affording interesting data for the history of religion and the history of the country.

[30] *Ibid.*, 239.

[31] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 263. The identity of this spirit seems not to be the same in North and Middle China.

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hail.) A grim, ghastly mask and a piece of red cloth 782
are fixed on the head of the stake. A small Chinese 789
table, covered with strips of red cloth to which is at- 796
tached a copper mirror, is considered to be a spirit in the same way.

FIGHTING THE HAILSTORMS

When the hailstorm appears threatening and the evil 731
spirits are about to loose their avenging bolts, the 789
youngsters on the top of the hill wave banners, beat drums and cymbals, blow the horn, brandish aggressively the sedan chair with the god sitting inside, and the stake gods, in the direction of the storm, howl, curse the evil spirits by means of the most obscene vocabulary, and take obscene attitudes in order to frighten them. I saw such a scene in the village of T'ao chia chai, a Chinese village of which some people were Christians, and was told that the Monguors act in just the same way.

If the storm is avoided, incense is burned, prostrations are made, and the group comes back, proud and high spirited because their performance achieved victory. But if the storm breaks with lightning, lighting up the whole valley, and thunder rumbling terrifyingly, pouring down torrents of water and rattling hail, the whole group starts fleeing in confusion, with the sedan chair and all the gods, straight down the hill, through the fields and the rivers to the temple. It is said that when this happens the youngsters lose control over the gods they are carrying; that the gods, defeated by mightier ones, unable to withstand the struggle, abandon the battlefield and themselves flee, irresistibly pulling with them their carriers, without caring for roads, precipices, or rivers. The terror throws the village into confusion and consternation. The gods could not stand against the terrible evil spirits of the hail; hopes are frustrated and the crops destroyed. The prospect of bad times, with privations and sufferings, haunts every family.

SHAMANS AND STATUES OF THE TEMPLES

The statues in temples are assumed by the Monguors 778
to be the seat of the spirits. Several facts have already 532
been recorded, in keeping with that assumption. Statues 756
decide about the invitation of the shaman for the performance of the new rites against hail. They pull their carriers irresistibly over fields and precipices, or make themselves so heavy as to become immovable and crush the carriers under their weight. According to the Monguors, the unusual power residing in the statue is due to special rites performed by the shamans.

In the stomach of every statue is a square opening capable of being closed and opened. Every time a new statue is made, the shaman is invited to animate it by means of dancing, beating drums, and inserting in the hole a live snake, a live raven, a live frog, and the intestines of a sheep and a pig. All these items have to

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be purified by smoking over cypress boughs, and a 778
sacrifice of a sheep or a hog is required. Every three 532
years the stomach is opened and the decayed animating 756
items are removed. New ones must take their place, because after three years their power has faded away. The Monguors invite the shaman most proficient in this art to perform the rite, since magical efficacy does not seem to be the same among all shamans and for that reason statues are assumed to be the seats of the spirits.

The statues in Lamaist temples need, in the same way, magical bowels; however, the lamas put Tibetan texts inside the statues. The magical power of the statues lasts as long as the Tibetan texts are uninjured.

The role played by the snake in the therapy of debilitated spirits is noteworthy. It will be seen later that the old mountain spirit of the Obo, protector and proprietor of the valley of Sha-t'ang, was healed and rejuvenated by a lot of medicines, among which the snake ranked first.

The table often mentioned above is said to be the seat of the White Tiger, and is used everywhere. It is a low Chinese table, adorned with strips of red cloth or silk and a small copper mirror in front. The four legs represent the legs of the tiger, while on the underpart of the table are painted the intestines and genitalia. It must be animated by the shaman. Often used instead of the sedan chair, it is carried by four men whom it crushes beneath it, or pulls fore or aft when asked for a decision.

CONCLUSION

This chapter gives supporting evidence for the as- 821
sumption that in the fabric of the religious life of the 829
Monguors, the struggle against the hail spirits and the 771
means of avoiding harm from them are a real obsession and play an overwhelming part. All summer this fear troubles the peace of mind, and mars the happiness especially of older people and chiefs of families. No wonder that every day around noon Monguors start examining the northwest corner of the sky. Everybody, putting on a brave front, brags and boasts about the efficacy of the rites, trying to bolster their wavering courage, but telling beads and muttering "Om Mani," hoping that finally Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" will help them.

Another conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the shamanist White Tiger bears the brunt of the struggle against the evil spirits of hail, and that the Taoist god of the Five Roads and his associates who are magnificiently enthroned in all the village temples, on whose walls they score brilliant successes defeating the evil hail spirits, play a very modest secondary role in the rank and file of the other good spirits and Buddhist deities supposed to lend a hand in the struggle. The Monguors have remained as convinced shamanists as the Turco-Mongol tribes of former times.

The struggle against the hail spirits by an entire com-

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RITE OF THE SACRED ANIMAL OF THE COMMUNITY

Almost every village has its own sacred animal, which 778 is always a male animal. The Monguors say that in the old days they used to consecrate a stallion, but at present they use mostly the bull or the he-goat, and very rarely the ram, stallion, or mule. The villages have only one sacred animal.

The preference of the Monguors for the bull is easy to understand, for their economy is actually agricultural. Their preference for the he-goat is explained by the fact that the animal is a noted symbol of reproduction and fecundity.[1]

Therefore the preference of the Monguors for the he-goat is not a mystery, for the aim of the rite consecrating an animal to the deity protector of the village and giving thanks for blessings received is to secure for the herds the blessings of fecundity.

The sacred animal of the community likes to come back to the temple of the village where a stable is built for it and where it is fed with peas, at the expense of the villagers. All day long it is free to mix with the herds of the village which it likes to follow.

The bull used is the Tibetan yak, for it produces a kind of hybrid cow, stronger than that bred in the country, and peculiarly fitted for farming. So it is easy to understand that the change in economy has been the reason why the bull has been preferred to the stallion, for farming depends on cows and oxen.

The bull is a troublesome animal, often roaming far away into the country. In summer, when the crops are growing in the fields, it does a lot of harm, but nobody dares to beat or to drive it away, for it is the sacred animal. After two or three years its savage instincts reappear and it may even pursue men. The hair of the he-goats and bulls is never clipped, so they are wild in appearance and everybody is afraid of them.

In 1914 the bull of the Naring Valley ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Long ta. The village of Naring Valley presented apologies, indemnifying the [262] family, killing the bull, and offering the meat to them, for villagers are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. The next New Year's another bull was consecrated.

Bulls and he-goats are always consecrated by the 796 chiefs of the communities in the temple yard of the 778 village, on the third day of the New Year, to the guardian deity of the village, never to "Heaven," for no temples are dedicated to heaven. The ceremony is attended by a member from each family. The animal is cleansed, smoked, washed and combed in the courtyard, then led before the open door of the temple in front of

[1] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 1925: 135. He writes: "The known fact that of old, the Mongols attributed a special significance to the he-goat is also related by Plano-Carpini, who notes that the Mongol chiefs always fed he-goats at home: that many people taught that the he-goat was related to fecundity, is a well-known fact."

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the statue or picture of the guardian deity of the village. 796
The chief of the village pours milk mixed with water, 778
while all the participants kneel, holding incense sticks in their hands. The animal shakes its head, and ribbons are attached and red paper is pasted on the horns.

Every year the animal must be presented to the deity in the temple on the third of the New Year. It is a quite dangerous and difficult job, assigned to the youngsters of the village, who wash and comb the savage bull.

The Tibetans in the country perform the Rite of the Sacred Animal in the same way.

The monasteries also feed a sacred animal. They never use a bull or he-goat, but the stallion and sometimes the mule. They never use their sacred animal for riding; it freely roams the country. The ceremonies of consecration are the same: washing, smoking, pouring of milk, prostrations, attachment of ribbons, but in the temple a special prayer is said by the lama community for the reproduction of the animals. Every year, on the third day of the New Year their animal must be presented to the deity in the courtyard of the temple. The stallion must be saddled, for the deity is supposed to take a ride on the animal on that very day. The lamas say that it is difficult to saddle a savage stallion. I could never get any information about the deity to which their animal is consecrated.

SHAMANIST RITES OF SPRING

PREPARATIONS

The reaping of a rich harvest is the dream of the 796
Monguors. After sowing is done, a religious rite is 241
performed by the shamans, not by lamas, in order to gather fine crops in autumn. The rite is performed in every Monguor village, and many Chinese villages follow the same practice. From the second until the fourth month the shamans are very busy going from village to village. In autumn, when there is plenty of grain, preparations for the feast are started. In every family, according to its wealth, spelt is gathered for the distillation of wine; wheat collected for the making of noodles, rolls, and vegetable oil for the baking of bread. It is all put in the temple for safekeeping.

A few days before the feast, the chief of the village 796
with the elders impose corvées on the villagers ordering them to prepare all the required items. Reliable men and women are chosen, because it is important that nobody should eat a roll or drink a cup of wine before all items have been offered to the gods. Consequently, faithful adherents to the traditions are carefully chosen and they take an oath accordingly. Three big loaves, each three feet in diameter, are prepared; thirteen smaller ones, called cartwheels; a large number of steamed rolls, and baskets of smaller ones steamed or boiled in oil; one or two pigs are killed, poor villages kill a sheep; chore-men are sent to the city to buy paper, incense sticks, colors, firecrackers. All the items are locked up in the temple.

[p. 106(A)]

of Tibet. Chinese laws, and the presence of their 782
powerful enemies, the lamas, ready to harm their in- [782]
stitution constrain them to act cautiously and to re-
strain their savage nature.

The rites against hail, performed after the rites just described, have been recorded in Chapter IX.

CULT OF THE MOUNTAINS

The cult of the mountains must be very old. It seems 795
not to have originated in Lamaism, and does not fit in the frame of its philosophy, but rather to have been accepted and ritualized by it to a very large extent.

Concerning the Monguors it has been noted, that the 175
Shat'o, like most of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, 795
made sacrifices on top of the mountains and that the horse was their most important offering.[10] It is a fact of common knowledge that in old times the Mongols also honored the gods of the mountains. Chingis Khan lived in this atmosphere. Temuchin (Chingis Khan), in order to avoid a band of Merkits, galloped away to Mount Burkan Kaldun. Having escaped alive, he exclaimed, lifting his face to the sky: "Mount Burkan has protected my miserable life; henceforward, I will ever sacrifice to it and bequeath to my sons and grandsons the duty of sacrificing to it."[11]

The Monguors explain the cult of the Obos and of 795
the sacred hill of the village by asserting that the coun- 776
try between the Ta-t'ung and Hsining Rivers belongs to five powerful spirits or deities who reside on the tops of the five highest mountains of the country, where celebrated Obos are built for them. These spirits claim the worship of the people living on their territory, grazing herds and farming. They are kind to their worshippers, protecting their herds and fields, but they punish the unbelievers. "It is our duty to honor them," say the Monguors earnestly, "for if we were remiss in our duty we would surely court disaster."

These five spirits do not possess the entire territory in a group, but each of them is supposed to wield power over the country surrounding its own mountain. Consequently it receives offerings and worship only from the people living within its supposed circumscription.

Besides these five important mountain spirits, other less important ones are honored, mostly on the passes or on higher mountains. Their cult is not general, but is practiced only by the people living near the passes and by travelers.

In connection with this peculiar mentality about the 795
territory having its proprietors is to be noted the cult of 778
the sacred hill honored in each Monguor village, for in

[10] Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers, op. cit.*, 91.

[11] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan, op. cit.*, 29. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The mountain of God*, A study in early religion and kingship, 7: 170, London, Bernard Quaritch, 1953: "Fundamentally the 'old Asiatic Religion' is the worship of the divinity of earth and its energies concentrated in some mountain and in the superhuman virtue of kingship." Reviewed by Clarence H. Hamilton in *Far Eastern Quart.* 13 (3): 370, 1954.

[p. 112 (B)]

the same way the territory of the village is supposed to 795 have its owner who also resides on the sacred hill, not 778 on the highest mountain of the village. This spirit lays the same claims to thorough ownership over the village's fields and obligatory worship from its inhabitants.

The Monguors and Shat'o, descendants of old nomads, who used to honor spirits residing on the tops of the highest mountains and to recognize them as the proprietors of the entire country, were unable to get rid of this old trend of mind. They must have applied the same religious notions to the sacred hill of their villages when they exchanged their nomadic economy for the agricultural, and so the change of economy not only brought about adaptations in the field of their social organizations, but also in the field of their religion and cults.

It is common knowledge that the notion and cult of 795 a spirit proprietor of the earth are very old and wide- [171] spread all over China also.[12] From the earliest times on, this spirit used to be honored in rudimentary shrines built in the fields by each farmer, and in a temple in each village, but the Monguors, old nomads, had to have a sacred hill and to have this spirit residing on top of a hill. Therefore, besides the cult of the five spirits of the five highest mountains, they practice the cult of the proprietor of the village on the sacred hill of the village. However, because the proprietor resides on a hill, they build a small Obo and plant a pole like that on the Obos built for the five big spirits. Several times I was told by Monguors that the cult of the sacred hill is the same as the cult of the earth god (T'u-ti-yeh) of the Chinese, and not the cult of a mountain spirit; that their earth god is the goddess Etogon; further, that the sacred hill is not the highest mountain situated in the boundaries of the village, but a hill or a notable elevation. Many villages do not have mountains inside their boundaries.

OBLIGATIONS TOWARD THE MOUNTAIN GODS

The behavior of the Monguors regarding the moun- [776] tains and village gods seems to suggest that this cult is based on the principle of the ownership, the dominion of the country, by a god, and on the principle of its lordship over the people living on its territory. This dominion and lordship of the god is to be recognized by means of sacrifices and offerings.

The same frame of mind and philosophy concerning these gods is encountered all over Asia.[13] Buddha once [171] enjoined his followers in India never to omit making an offering to the god of the spot where they were dwelling.[14]

In every lamasery of Huang-chung, therefore, is encountered a temple dedicated to the god of the spot oc-

[12] Maspero, *La Chine antique*, *op. cit.*, 204.

[13] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 598.

[14] de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme: Opinions et croyances*, 351 Paris, Beauchesne, 1909.

[p. 113(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

said to be caused by the offended god of the spot who must be propitiated by the offering of an urn. 795 782

Consequently, these proprietors and lords of the country and the villages are supposed to extend their protection to their worshippers, blessing their herds and crops and preserving the country against hail, epidemics, and epizootics and providing propitious rain. No wonder that the temples in many villages are dedicated to the god of the mountain, and that one can read on village temples the inscription, "[may] the God of the Five Roads, the gods of the mountain and the village, protect the village."

The cult of the five important mountain gods will be dealt with first, followed by that of the sacred hill of the village.

CULT OF THE OBO

A mountain god is honored by means of an Obo.[17] On the top of the sacred mountain is planted a big pole which secures communication between spirits and man, even as at the time of the shamanist feast of spring, and the planting of the manikan in the courtyards. Stones, mostly white ones, are piled in a big heap around the pole, enclosed with a wooden fence, painted white. Sticks, very often shaped as spears and long arrows, often painted red at the top and black at the bottom, with a tassel of red wool attached to them, are planted in the stone heap, as well as some twigs of cypress. On the top of the pole, and on most of the sticks, are fixed prayer flags, pieces of white cloth on which prayers are written with Tibetan characters, and with the "Wind Horse" printed on them. To white and black ropes (of which one end is bound to the pole and the other to small poles or sticks fixed in the ground), are attached some shoulder bones and various small bones of sheep, small prayer flags, pieces of red dyed wool. Often some small stone heaps are built around the Obo; bigger flat stones form an offering table in front of the heap. No irreverent or immodest acts are permitted in front of the pole. No information was available concerning either the way of building Obos, or the items buried inside under the pole, because I knew nobody who had met the builders of Obos.[18] 795 778

THE FIVE GREAT OBOS IN THE COUNTRY

These five chief spirits, owners of the country, are not only honored on the tops of their respective mountains. Because it is impossible to climb the mountain every day, there is built for each of them, inside the monasteries of the Yellow Sect nearest the mountain, a small temple, in which lamas daily honor them. So, the temple of the spirit Amni Chokker of the Obo near the lamasery of Ch'u erh is built in that monastery. There is one exception: the small temple of the spirit 778 782 795

[17] Stress should be put on the correct meaning of the cult of the Obo so as not to identify it with the cult of Heaven, as so often happens in studies concerning the religion of the nomads.

[18] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 68-69.

[p. 114(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Amni Chialip of the Obo in Waza is built inside the 778
courtyard of a rich Tibetan, Manguru. I was told by 782
him that every day he lit a taper and burned incense. 795
Women, and girls, even his wife or daughter-in-law, [562]
were never allowed to enter the small temple. The same prohibition existed for the women against visiting this kind of temple in the monasteries.

When and how are the five owners of the country 795
honored? On an auspicious day fixed by a lama, 796
usually of the Red Sect, at the end of the fifth moon, and usually during the sixth moon, five delegates from every village assumed to be situated in the circumscription of the territory of the spirit, are sent to the mountain. They carry a tent and drive some sheep which have been washed and combed, with red paper pasted on their horns and ribbons attached to their fleece, and a piece of red cloth eight feet long on each of their backs. The men also bring some spears and arrows painted red and black, miniature bows, firecrackers and the famous "precious bottle" (the urn).

The first day, at evening, all the representatives of the villages pitch their tents at the foot of the celebrated mountain and pass the night in merrymaking. The next day, being the auspicious day, in the early morning the chief and the elders of the village, with a large crowd of villagers, arrive to attend the rites to be celebrated on top of the mountain. Chinese merchants pitch tents and do business at the foot of the mountain.

After breakfast all the chiefs of the villages with the villagers go to the Obo. One group after another sets off firecrackers before the Obo, plants in the stone heap [389]
spears and arrows, and attaches new flags and pieces of wool and bones, and reverently bury their precious bottle in a deep hole. On the crude offering table, the killed sheep is offered, broth is thrown first toward "Heaven" and then to the four points of the compass for "all the spirits," the famous Wei-sang rite is performed and libation made, while the groups kneel and prostrate themselves. After the rites of each village are performed by the chiefs, a group of lamas, mostly of the Red Church, perform on behalf of the entire community a big Wei-sang rite, beating drums, blowing horns, and chanting some prayers; they all turn three times around the obo.

In the afternoon at the foot of the mountain an immense crowd of men and women enjoy the horseraces and the wrestling,[19] singing and drinking. At sunset most of the people leave, but groups of young folk pass the night around the tents, merrymaking. On the morning of the third day, the tents are rolled up, all the

[19] L. M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes mongoles*, 76, Gembloux, Duculot, 1947. Description of the horse races in the sixth moon at the Obo by the Mongols of Outchimts in and wrestling (on p. 109), attended by the author; also Owen Lattimore, *Mongol journeys*, 274, New York, Doubleday, 1941, with interesting description of the festivities attended by the chiefs of the Banners, etc.

[p. 114(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to the ears of the sheep and all over its fleece. Everybody endeavors to attach a couple of ribbons. 795 825

The sheep will join the herd as before; its wool will be sheared twice a year, as is done for the other sheep, but it will never be killed and will be allowed to die naturally. If it dies during the year, next New Year's another one will be consecrated and will take its place, for every family has to have its sacred animal. 251 [778]

But what if the sheep does not shake its head? This is conclusive proof that the deity is angry and ill disposed toward the family. Dread and terror instantly show upon their faces. All the members of the family, startled and panic stricken, look at one another distressed, dejected, and in deep gloom, for everybody feels that this fact bodes ill for the future. Bowing their heads to the ground and lifting their hearts in humble entreaty, they beg pardon and ask the deity to overlook their offences, to accept the offer. Then milk is poured again, and if the sheep still obstinately refuses to shake its head, it is finally removed. [787]

Then, in the living room, the situation is examined to be sure the predicament is of their own making. Maybe they had been too remiss in honoring the deity; maybe the spirit does not like the discord and resentment reigning in the family; maybe the deity wants a more valuable sacrifice? After renewed prostrations and promises for the future, the conclusion is always that the only hope remaining is to consecrate a more valuable animal, a young female mule, for they know that it is impossible to get around the spirit and defy it with impunity, and that anybody who tampers with its plans is riding for a fall.

The female mule is led into the courtyard and washed; tail and mane are combed. Two red hot stones are dropped in a utensil containing boiling water, which is adjusted under the nose of the animal so that the vapors may enter the nostrils, purifying the animal interiorly, as it has been cleansed exteriorly. The animal is led through the door of the living room, and in front of the picture of the deity. Milk, mixed with water, is poured on its head and in its ears—the head shakes. Ribbons are attached on mane and tail. The animal will be used in the same way as other animals, but never will it be sold. It is allowed to die a natural death.

The Monguors whom I asked for explanations always replied in the same way, that the rite is always performed only on the third of the New Year, by the head of the family, without Red or Yellow lamas or shamans; that the animal is always consecrated to the guardian deity of the family, inside the living room, in front of the picture of the guardian deity. Because the "spirit of Heaven" or "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored as family protectors, the animal is never consecrated to the "spirit of Heaven" or to "Heaven and all the spirits."

If it happens that the family spirits are the spirits of the mountains, the rite is always performed in the

[p. 118(B)]

[16 cont.]
128 loanwords are cited, for Tibetan is the official language of
192 Lamaism, which occupies such a large place in the life of the
177 people. Here it should be mentioned that the old man desig-
[198] nated the expressions from Tibetan or Mongolic as "higher lan-
[186] guage" or "literary language," a value that he did not accord Chinese.

Finally a note with regard to the peculiar nature of this
114 work. It presents a popular religion, and that of a certain group.
[184] This means in the first place that not everything can be gen-
[179] eralized for the Koko Nor region, not even for all the Tujen. Secondly, one will find no accounts about the dogma, the official rites, or the secret practices of monastic Lamaism and the higher Bon religion. The Tibetan and Mongolic writings give this information. Also, it was unnecessary to cite the basic literature on this subject, at least not to any considerable extent. To be sure, this is not infrequently done, but only when it seemed to be required for an understanding of the popular customs. In such cases it was preferable to start from linguistic considerations. On the other hand, a presentation of the popular religion as practiced is a help for knowledge of the
[177] official religion. The popular belief, with its various customs, casts new light on the multiformity of monastic Lamaism, which has adopted so many pre-Buddhistic traits from the conceptual realm of Central Asia.

6. The Transcription of the Tujen Language

104

The transcription of the Tujen words and the Tibetan-Mongolic loanwords is based on the orthography of the DMF. For practical reasons, however, the large letters were replaced by small ones and the diacritical marks simplified. The following table presents first the orthography used here (S), under it the one used by P. A. Mostaert in the DMF (M), and under that the phonetic values of the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[211 cont.]

772 the many riddle-songs of the Tujen, when they sing of the tree,
[533] which bears the sun, moon, and stars in its crown; cf., for example, Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder," loc. cit., Song I and II.
[171] Further connections will be passed over here. Only the great similarity of these songs to the wedding songs of western Tibet will be mentioned; see Francke, Tibetische Hochzeitslieder [Tibetan Wedding Songs].

With this harmonious conception of the world and its
772 close connection with human beings, one would also expect
779 a projection of the macrocosm into the microcosm. In Lamaism, of course, these correspondences are carried through to the smallest detail and find their symbolic representation in the well-known syllable-monogram, the rnam bču dbaṅ idan; in this connection, cf. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, pp. 160 f. These minute correspondences of the Lamaist monks, however, are too artificial for the people. They know nothing about them. Security in the great cosmos in which they literally build suffices for them. This world-feeling does not enter into sophisticated speculations.

[212] 3. The Religious Cult

a) The Basic Psychic Attitude

771 The inner attitude of the people toward the good spirits
776 is the consciousness of dependence upon them. They determine the well-being in this world, which, after all, is the focal point of thought, for one does not think much about the beyond. Hence the first thing a person does when misfortune or an unusual situation surprises him is to turn to a spirit, a mightier being, which can help here. How much this attitude dominates the common man is apparent from the above-mentioned basic thoughts of the informant, which provided the articulation of all the customs: "... now I shall tell you first what we do for the good fortune of the family, etc."; cf. "Introduction," Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 15 [p. 16 above in the HRAF translation]. Everything is thereby subordinated to the religious

[240 cont.]

171 loc. cit., also emphasizes. W. Heissig, too, has encountered
756 the difference between these two groups among the East Mongols; cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," p. 40. There the gurtum are also called "Lajing." Exactly like the Tujen, the Chinese, too, differentiate between the bö (fashih) and the gurtum (fa-la-tzu or ku-erh-tien).

Beyond doubt, therefore, the gurtum in his present form
[779] is affiliated with Lamaism. First of all his area of distribution coincides with that of Lamaism. One finds the gurtum in Tibet, Amdo, and Mongolia. To designate him as specifically Mongolic, as is done occasionally in the expression "the Mongolic gurtum," is misleading. To be sure he was described predominantly by travelers in the Mongolic region, but detailed studies concerning him were hitherto lacking. There is no original Mongolic name for the gurtum, and the general term bö (böge, bügü) for shaman is not applicable to him. All names are Tibetan.

756 But what position does the gurtum occupy in Lamaism?
776 His main task seems to be exhausted in the representation of the tutelary gods who constitute a special conceptual realm.
779 The three aspects that are included under the word sku have
174 already been indicated "gurtum." The Lamaistic tutelary deities also bear the collective name "the five bodies," along with the other name, "the five kings" (Mongolic: tabun xaǧan) or "the protectors of the [241] doctrine" (Tibetan: c'os skyoṅ). R. Bleichsteiner in his article "Srog-bdag, the lord of life" (Archiv für Völkerkunde, Vienna, V, 1950, pp. 104-138) has indicated the relationships between the three aspects, the directions and world-guardians, who to be sure correspond to the five tutelary lords. Evidently elements of various origins have been combined here in the speculative melting pot of Buddhism through the popular paralleling of microcosm and macrocosm. The presence of these figures and the cultic utilization are accomplished through the gurtum or, as he is also called as presenter of the tutelary deities, the sruṅ-ba (ma). In the case of the people's gurtum this relationship likewise makes itself apparent through the use of the wu-tao-shen cut in paper in various colors, which were mentioned earlier. It seems, however, that this relationship is more

174 [241 cont.]
756 external and applies to the actual temple-gurtum, whereas the
779 people's gurtum is more strongly connected with the mountain-
[776] spirit and obo.

The foreign character of the gurtum in Lamaism. -- Even though the present-day figure of the gurtum, as was just stressed, belongs to Lamaism according to his appearance, his name, and his conceptual realm, this affiliation is not as close as it might seem.

In the first place the shamanistic basis of the gurtum points away from Lamaism. To be sure, tantristic Lamaism has its special presuppositions for the vivifying and presenting of deities; in this connection cf. Glasenapp, in ZDMG, 90, 1936, p. 552 (cited from Hoffmann, Quellen, p. 206), and H. Findeisen, Eine Erscheinung Yamantakas [An Appearance of Yamantaka], pp. 2 f. The ensouling of the gods' idols also lies in this direction. These presuppositions, however, are not decisive for the shaman-nature of the gurtum. The religious character of the gurtum shuns these magically colored rites. His calling and his power are independent of Lamaism. The shaman is a layman. The same is confirmed by W. Heissig (op. cit., p. 40): "The Layičing, however, belongs to no spiritual community, but is a layman." Only when he has become a shaman does he receive his confirmation in the monastery and Lamaistic instruction. The customs described in the first part concerning the gurtum and the helplessness of the monasteries in the search for a temple-shaman illuminate this
[792] fact sufficiently. This naturally does not exclude the possibility that in individual cases a shaman's calling may fall to a lama. This is not the rule, however, as the great number of people's gurtums outside the monastery proves, at least in the Koko Nor region.

Furthermore, the tutelary gods represented in the
174 gurtum do not seem to be at home in Lamaism; in the case of
756 the people's gurtum with his link to the popular mountain-spirit,
776 this is to be expected from the outset, but it is no less true for
779 the c'os-skyon, for where is the boundary line between the

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[241 cont.]
original and the borrowed to be drawn in Lamaism? Bleichsteiner (op. cit., p. 111) writes: "The relationships of Pekar and the five kings generally are so manifold and complicated that an unravelling seems to be enormously difficult." This one fact, however, is probably firmly established: two of these kings, Pekar and dGra-lha, come from the pre-Buddhist realm.

[242] Even the name Pekar, of the possessor-spirit of that famous state-oracle of gNas-c'un, in its many forms has no satisfactory Lamaistic explanation. Although Tucci may have recently confirmed the view of Grünwedel, who in agreement with Schiefner derives the name dPe-kar from the Sanskrit word vihārā (= monastery), this explanation nonetheless gives too much the impression of an "ad hoc" one, because Pekar is just moved up as monastery protector. Bleichsteiner, unconvinced by this interpretation, increases the explanations of the name by one new one and derives the word Pekar from the Iranian; cf. A. Grünwedel, Mythologie, p. 182, Note 2; R. Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 107 and 111 f.

Even more decisively than the name Pekar, Bleichsteiner designates the figure of Pekar as foreign: "With the exception of the legend ..., according to which the great magician Padmasambhava is supposed to have brought the demon Pehar or Pekar from the Indian monastery Odantapuri to the monastery founded by him, bSam-yas, as guardian and treasure protector, the sources concerning his origin from East Turkistan are fairly well in agreement." By way of confirmation he further cites Tucci: "The last-named investigator regards Pekar as a foreign tribal god that was later introduced into Tibet and converted to Buddhism by Padmasambhava." Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 110, 111; cf. also H. Hoffmann, Quellen, p. 163.

Just as Pekar is the most important representative of the five world-guardians, or of the five c'os-skyoṅ, so dGra-lha is the main figure among the five personal tutelary spirits, who with Srog-bdag also has been moved up among the cosmic world-guardians. Here, too, the co-ordination of microcosm and macrocosm and their mutual interpenetration are to be emphasized. dGra-lha, who like Pekar appears as warrior, belongs

[242 cont.]

174 in the pre-Buddhist Bon layer. There can be no doubt about this
756 after the expositions of Bleichsteiner, who bases himself on
776 Hoffman; cf. Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 108 and 118 f.;
779 Hoffmann, Quellen, pp. 171 f. Here let it be noted that among the Tsinghai Chinese these personal tutelary spirits are found in a Buddhist transformation, and to be sure in the so-called "golden lamps" which every man carries unseen on his body, and two of them on his shoulders.

It is unnecessary here to discuss the other figures of the five kings, since at this point no clarity concerning them can be obtained. The world-picture to which they belong, in spite of all the Buddhistic features, has such a broad base that it extends from Central Asia to India and into the ancient Orient, for even the world-mountain conception and the world-directions arrangement with corresponding guardians does not come from Buddhism in the final analysis, even though -- taken over and reinterpreted by it -- it may have been brought as on a "vessel" over extensive parts of the Orient.

The mountain-spirit, the principal tutelary spirit of the people's gurtum, is so evidently pre-Buddhist that it need not be discussed further here. It will be referred to again in the description of the weather forts in Tsinghai. Hoffmann (Quellen, pp. 159 and 166) has given a report concerning the mountain-spirits, with references to the pertinent literature. He classifies them as pre-Buddhist [243] gods under the type of the gYal-po, to which the c'os-skyoṅ also belong. The picture of the mountain-god Kangchendzönga permits one to see a certain similarity with the gurtum (pp. 166-167).

The position of the gurtum within Lamaism thus shows that he was not there originally. Both his being a shaman as such and the possessor spirits represented by him come from earlier, non-Buddhist layers. Only the adaptation and
174 serviceability for the Buddhist community as its tutelary lord
756 (monastery), the speculative classification under the "aspects,"
779 the ritual embellishments during the testing and functioning of the gurtum, certain prayers, and finally the assimilation to the dress of the Buddhist deities are Lamaist, in other words,

[243 cont.]
756 all more or less unimportant elements. The type of the pro-
174 tective warrior, however, goes uniformly through the various
[779] representations. Thus the question of the origin of the gurtum becomes the question of the origin of the warrior-shaman.

The Origin of the Warrior-shaman

This question cannot be exhaustively dealt with here within the framework of a presentation of the Tujen religion, since it is closely connected with the origin of shamanism in general. The following points are therefore to be regarded merely as sketchy hints for a later investigation.

Warrior-shamans and Bon religion. H. Hoffmann writes in his book (Quellen, p. 194) of the gNas c'un oracle: "He is, therefore, a living relic of the Bon religion in Lamaism, and to be sure of that side of the Bon religion that is extremely close to the shamanism of the Siberian peoples ..." On page 205 he comes back to the same observation after he has set forth in the same chapter the shamanistic elements in the Bon religion. The type of the Bon shaman pictured there, however, does not correspond to the type of the gurtum or warrior-shaman. The clothing is different, and the Bon shaman works with the hoop drum covered on one side (cf. op. cit., p. 201). A kind of kettledrum is also used. On his drum the Bon-pa rides heavenward in ecstasy. Hoffman quite correctly links this type of shaman with the present-day Siberian form of shamanism (pp. 202 f.). Two important elements, the hoop drum
[774] and the flight of the soul, do not appear with the warrior-shaman. To be sure, in the temple, as I was able to observe in Kumbum and Kuomang-szu, large, double-sided drums were likewise beaten as the gurtum was transported into the trance, but only by the assisting lamas, and to be sure they were the drums that are otherwise used at the religious service. The hoop drum, however, of which Hoffman (op. cit., p. 203) gives an illustration, is not used. In the case of the gurtum the
[787] necessary connection between the drum and the ascent to

[247 cont.]

174 Indic -- Ancient-Oriental conceptions show the bird (the Indian
756 Garuda) as a symbol of light in contrast to darkness which is popularly conceived as a snake (Garuda -- snake). The winged sun is a well-known phenomenon in Chinese antiquity, in the archaic cultures of the Near East, and in the religion of the Central American high cultures, as is the equating of sun bird and king or hero in Egypt. This motif of light battling against darkness, of the bird of light against the snake of darkness, is also so widespread in America that recently Paul Radin has set it up as a fundamental life-interpretation of the peoples; cf. Radin, "The Basic Myth of the American Indians," Eranos, 1949.

The warrior-shaman in the final analysis is none other than the mythical first bird that stands in a special relationship with the human ancestors and battles the forces of darkness, the evil in the world. He is thus drawn into the very ancient mythology of mankind and the very ancient experience of the battle between light and darkness as it has been formulated, say, by Von Ow for the life-interpretation of the Avesta: "The Eranic religion penetrated deeply into private life. According to the Avesta, the principal task was: to battle against the forces of darkness. This idea is supposedly symbolized by the clothing of the Eranian, which is regarded as armor" (Ow, Hom, pp. 142 f.).

The bird symbolism of shamanism is ambiguous. In Siberian shamanism the characteristic of flight comes more to the fore, in gurtum-shamanism more the characteristic of light. Finally, it is common to both that the shaman is defender of life. Light is life and stands in contrast to darkness and death. Therefore the shaman as representative of light and of life is necessarily also fighter and warrior.

c) Summary

174 Thus the circle closes around the Lamaistic gurtum.
756 The Lamaistic gurtum arose from two components, one pre-Lamaistic and one Lamaistic. The pre-Lamaistic component
779 is the warrior-shaman. This in turn has two components; a special one, the development of the outward appearance from the fighting light-bird; and a general

[247 cont.]

174 one, the shaman as representative of the god of life (characterized by the tree of life, etc.).

756 Among the people Buddhism found in the warrior-shaman

779 a type which could be "converted" especially easily. It connected the tutelary figures of its religion with this popular shaman. It had been especially prepared for this type of possession-shamanism through the tantrist-magical realizations so that it could easily absorb it. What then remained of other shaman types was branded and fought as xara nom, black belief, by the new "orthodox" shamanism with the spread of Lamaism. This [248] opposition, dealt with much in the literature, is aptly characterized by Lessing in a conversation with his teacher: "... 'Then is a gurtum not a shaman?' I asked him. 'By no means, something much higher. What he invokes, those are the authentic spirits, not the unclean ones of the Bö (written in Mong. böge, shaman)' ..." (Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143).

d) Idol-shamanism

756 In what follows the justification for speaking of idol-

791 shamanism as a special matter will automatically appear. One

[778] could also call it simply "thing-shamanism," because a thing represents the person as shaman. Among the shamanistic idols the spirit-spear of the Tujen occupies a favored position.

The Spirit-spear

The relationship of soothsayer and spear. -- Here the difference in the shamanizing of a gurtum and that of a spear-soothsayer should be recalled (cf. the appropriate chapters in the first part, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 18-33 [pp. 21-50 above in the HRAF translation]. Whereas the gurtum is completely possessed and in this state psychically closes himself off from the

[787] outside world, the spear-soothsayer remains in control of himself and awake. He does not go into ecstasy; only the spear is possessed by the spirit and affects the soothsayer. The soothsayer,

[252 cont.]
778 however, the lamas in the monastery do this. For soothsaying
791 the litter is taken up on the shoulders of four men, who then
[787] involuntarily follow the movements of the deity.

Summary

756 Both idol-shamanism and gurtum-shamanism form a unity
787 in their appearance. They have in common: the clothing
791 (= beribboning), the metal disks, the little bells or rattles, and possession by a spirit. They both belong in the conceptual realm of the connection [253] between heaven and earth and of the world- or shaman-tree that is hung with bells and mirrors; in this connection cf. the myths of the Golden or the songs of the Tujen, which tell about a tree that bears the sun, moon, and stars in its top. In the case of the human shaman all functions are united in one bearer, whereas in idol-shamanism these functions are divided between man and thing, but this division in turn constitutes a unity in the activities. There arises here the fundamental question: Is not the entire idol cult to be understood ultimately from this shamanistic standpoint? Does it not gain its real significance only through the living person? Certainly a great deal of what has hitherto been designated as "fetishism" or "idol cult" is at bottom merely a variant of shamanism, a static permanent form of that which the shaman represents for only a short period of time with great psychic upheaval: a direct link with the spirit world, culturally regularized, and ritually developed; making present and vivifying deities and demons that the human being wants to have with him.

Here it should be once more emphasized that these ideas are merely a sketch for a theory whose detailed presentation does not belong here.

3. The Bon Religion

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779 Among the Bon there are three groups: the shepherd-Bon, the farmer-Bon, and the monastery-Bon. This division

[253 cont.]

791 is a purely popular one, and nothing about the inner relationship
779 of these groups to one another is indicated by it; they are probably not essentially different. The farmer-Bon have become most superficial and degenerate. They still wear as their sole distinguishing mark only the artificial brush garland, in order thus to imitate the massive braided turban of the shepherd-Bon; they have practically died out. -- The most important cultic
[765] implements of the Bon are taken from the human corpse: the
[534] double skull-drum covered with human skin, the whip plaited out of human skin (and probably with a bone handle), the thigh-bone flute, and the bone dagger. These implements are supposed to be taken from the corpse of an unmarried adult female person. By the special relationship to skeleton and corpse alone,
[174] the Bon might acknowledge an ancient Tibetan home, which, to be sure, is not only called the "snow land," but also the "land of corpses."

[989] Even though the Bon have much in common with the lamas, there is a series of ceremonies reserved for them, especially the various types of demon exorcism. They are even invited into the monastery by the lamas on the first and fifteenth day of every month, where they undertake these rites. Nothing more about a former opposition between
178 Buddhism and the Bon religion is to be noted here. It shares
791 with Lamaism the fate of gradual disappearance; indeed, in
779 its official form it has already preceded it in this. It is a striking fact that both the Bon religion and Lamaism wane as Chinese agriculture expands, although precisely the sedentary life [254] of the lamas in the large monasteries and the performance of the weather conjuration of the Bon should be especially appropriate for an agricultural culture. The reasons are certainly not religious in nature.

174 The Tujen, however, have probably preserved much
791 more of the Bon tradition than is recognizable at first glance.
779 The marriage customs and the popular poetry probably contain a great deal that would make this ancient layer clear and permit it to be followed deep into Tibet. It is difficult, however, to free everything from the Lamaistic embellishments.

[254 cont.]

4. Lamaism

779 792 The preceding accounts have repeatedly demonstrated how great an influence Lamaism exerts upon the people. As the latest form it has also most strongly penetrated the entire religious life; it offers the people a large number of gods and saints; it gives them the mani-trees, prayer mills, treasure urns, chorten chambers, central forts, and obos; they have it to thank for a considerable part of the world-view. To be sure, one must differentiate the ecclesiastical Lamaism of the monasteries and monks from the popular Lamaism, which in its watered-down customs remains unburdened by complicated doctrines and tantristic rites. This popular Lamaism, however, would be unimaginable without the strong support and the permanent effect of the monasteries, which are already so closely linked with the people because their community is constantly renewed from the families of the people. An important piece of the religi-
792 ous picture would therefore be lacking if one did not at least in hasty strokes characterize the monastery, which for the Tujen of that region is their spiritual center. -- The relationships to Kumbum will be passed over, although they are not to be underestimated. One merely needs to recall that it was a Chi-t'u-szu (prince) who at the beginning of the eighteenth century through his personal pledge preserved Kumbum from Chinese revenge and destruction, so that his clan until the most recent
[624] times enjoyed monastic protection and the princes (T'u-szu) themselves on their visits were received by the lamas on their knees; in this connection, cf. Schulemann, p. 179.

The name of the Tujen monastery dGon-luṅ is Tibetan.
[103] dgon (pronounced gon) means literally "solitude, hermitage." In the figurative sense it has become the established expression
[192] for "monastery" (vihāra), because a monastery must be at least 1,000 steps away from any human habitation; cf. Ch. Das, p. 275; luṅ means "valley, district." Thus, dGon-luṅ is best rendered as "monastery-valley" or "monastery-district" or simply
[346] "monastery," for a lama monastery should not be imagined as

[258 cont.]

771 Minchu Hutukhtu wrote a hundred years ago in his "Geography
792 of Tibet" has already become true: "This home of the second
177 Victorious Tsongkhapa was at one time famous in all Tibet ... Now, however, it is not only under the pressure of the deluded Chinese and Mussulmanic doctrine, but there approaches the time when Tibetans and Mongols will believe the Kung-tzu, Lao-tzu, or the teacher Naniku of Ssei"; MS, loc. cit. If one thinks of the most recent events, even in that remote area, then one sees even this melancholy prophecy surpassed, for even the doctrines of a K'ung-tzu and Lao-tzu will no longer draw the Tujen into their jurisdiction. They, too, already belong to the past.

Conclusion

174 In the course of the work it became increasingly clear
771 that the religion of the Tujen no longer represents anything uniform and independent. Rather, it grew from roots of various origins into a colorful composite that is based on the varied past of the Tujen and their present-day homeland which lies in the middle between various peoples. In particular, however, Lamaism
[779] has fostered these international connections, even to Lhasa and Peking, and has contributed decisively to religious assimilation. In this respect, the Tujen share their fate with the neighboring peoples insofar as they are not Chinese. Their belief is linked to a common layer, which, as Lamaistic popular religion, extends over the entire area of influence of the Yellow Church. Thus, the principal questions raised earlier concerning shamanism, the Bon religion, the cult of heaven, etc. are not questions that can be resolved from the point of view of the Tujen alone. Their religion has a much more general significance. To be sure, a number of special characteristics can be established. These do not suffice, however, for drawing definite conclusions concerning the origin and ethnic affiliation of the people. And even less do they permit the delimitation of any individual Tujen groups, which certainly are present. As sources for such cultural-historical and ethnic relationships, almost

shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

his father becomes old and retires, he accepts his incumbency. No more formalities are required, for he is not the shaman attached to the village and does not live at its expense. 756 868

INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS TRAINING OF THE APPRENTICES

The intellectual education of shamans is of a very low standard. Shamans are unable to read Mongol or Tibetan books. Their prayers are said in Chinese, but because the apprentices never attend schools, they are not able to read Chinese books or to write a letter. [212] The elders teach them to write a small number of Chinese characters, used on the few inscriptions pasted on the pole or on the doors and walls of the temples, but most of the time they print the inscriptions by means of engraved wooden blocks. They have, however, a few small prayer books written in Chinese and copied by the most intelligent among them, or by Monguor friends. [212] These prayer books are not printed. Monguors and shamans assured me that they did not possess any books explaining their doctrine. No wonder that the instruction differs, from teacher to teacher. It was always impossible to get a coherent explanation from the shamans about religious subjects. They do not pore over books or rack their brains over theories or philosophical or religious problems. [779] Their science is more one of fantasies, anecdotes, and miraculous tales concerning a number of spirits, told during the performance of the rites. I suppose the instruction of the apprentices would consist of being taught about the same items dealing with the spirits honored by the shamans at the rites of spring and autumn. [796] More will be said about the subject.

The conclusion seems to be that the intellectual and religious training of most of the shamans is neglected and only superficial, and that the physical training ranks first. Many apprentices, in order to perform their physical training and acrobatics, go for months to shamans celebrated in that field. Finally it is said that the education of the apprentices is carried on by accompanying the shamans; their eyes and ears are their real teachers. Some exceptions, however, seem to have existed always, even in these latter times.

Many times I heard the Monguors speaking about a famous old Lu shaman, who died around 1904. The old man went every year to the mountains of Waza with his own apprentice and the apprentices of other shamans. They lived in the caverns, fasting the whole time and sleeping only a few hours during the day. All night they were honoring their spirits, fondling and cajoling them and learning about fighting the evil spirits in the mountains, who every night attacked and combatted them. When they left the mountains, they were exhausted and emaciated from the exertion. The apprentices of the old Lu were said to be the best shamans in the country. Two among them are said to have died by jumping over a precipice in the mountains.

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VIII. PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS

Having explained the internal structure and organization of Lamaism and shamanism among the Monguors during the period of 1910–1920, and having characterized the ministers of both religions, Living Buddhas, lamas, shamans, and Kurtains, it remains to study in what ways these religions are practiced, and what is the frame of mind of the Monguors toward these religions. 128

After having explained the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live, first the public rites performed in their society will be dealt with, and then the private rites enacted by them. A chapter will deal with their death and burial customs. Another chapter will deal with the cult of "Heaven and all the Spirits."

The last chapter will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping to preserve the identity of the Monguors, maintaining their traditions and customs, and strengthening the social structure of the clans in order to prevent their absorption by the Chinese.

It should be borne in mind that among the Monguor clans of Hsining, some are of Turkish and some of Mongol origin, but that from the earliest times in Central Asia tribes mixed with tribes; tribes were torn to pieces and scattered over enormous distances, and absorbed by other tribes. On the other hand, it must be remembered that our Monguors, before they were converted to Lamaism, were religious groups who prayed. Among them sacrifices were offered by the heads of the families and of the tribes, and by the shamans. They had previously met peoples practicing Buddhism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism, and also Chinese Taoists, Confucianists, and Buddhists. Even after becoming professing Lamaists, they still remained shamanist, and preserved notions and practices originating from other religious sources. 771

It is a real paradox that Lamaism, contaminated with magic which is diametrically opposed to any religion, denying theoretically the existence of a soul and of God and spirits, has created among its adepts a new enthusiasm of fervor and religiosity. By means of stressing the principle of reversion of merits, it developed the notion of personal responsibility and of duty, by teaching that all good and bad events in this life depend on the performance in the present or former existences of good or bad deeds. Although, according to the fundamental doctrine of Buddhism, the bad acts are irreparable, means are provided to extenuate their inevitable consequences, and even to transfer acquired merits to others, and hence arose the doctrine of universal charity, the alluring physiognomy of Buddhism. 779

However, the Monguors and Tibetans of Huangchung, in a way that is even illogical, do not take account of the philosophical aspects of Lamaism. They do not care for the doctrinal discussions concerning the 829

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erals, the heavenly warriors, the god of the wind, the 796
gods honored in the Monguor villages, then the spirits 756
honored in the private families of the village, the souls of the last three generations of ancestors of the villagers.[8] Every guest is ushered to his throne, greeted, and congratulated in the same way. The shaman has a gentle talk with each of them, while the audience prostrates itself in reverential silence. Finally, drum and cymbals are beaten and the shamans dance with feverish gusto, the dance of thanksgiving for the arrival of all the guests, in order to make them happy.

ENTERTAINMENT OF THE SPIRITS

Then follows the next act—making the spirits propitious and well disposed (*nan shen*). The shamans and the apprentices kneel in rows before the pole, with incense sticks in their joined hands in the same way as the audience. It is the most important and enjoyed moment of the day. It reveals the peculiar, but typical, religious frame of mind of shamans and Monguors. In the deepest and most solemn silence, the chief of the shamans starts talking with the spirits. He gives a detailed account of all the offerings displayed on the table and before the thrones of the gods—sheep, pig. "All these offerings are brought by the people who are kneeling before you . . . notwithstanding the fact they all had a hard time this year, they enjoyed spending that money for you. If it were possible, they would have given more . . . please enjoy their offerings. . . . You are their superiors, their chiefs, your power is unlimited. . . . All these people trust in you and are confident of you. . . . You came from so far, climbing high mountains, crossing dangerous rivers . . . in order to sit down for a while with them in this poor courtyard.

[8] A couple of facts already encountered reveal two principles of the philosophy of the shamans concerning the duration of the existence of the spirits and the human souls. Spirits are not eternal; they weaken and become exhausted and old and consequently fade away. The famous White Tiger on the old mounds became old and had to receive new invigoration; a typical fact will be recorded of the great spirit of one of the five great Obos of the country, which had become old and had to be rejuvenated. Spirits are not eternal; even the spirits of the statues become completely exhausted after three years, and every three years the shaman has to replace the exhausted forces with brand new ones. [779 776]

The souls of the deceased of only the last three generations are honored and nurtured at the time of the rite of spring. When illness is ascribed to malignant souls of the deceased, the shaman, outside the courtyard, traces three small circles, and one more expansive; food is placed in the three small ones to nurture the souls of the deceased ancestors of the last three generations only; in the big circle is placed food for the roaming alien souls. These facts reveal an articulate belief that souls of the ancestors last three generations only, and also that hungry souls are dangerous beings. [775 765]

In old China the souls of the deceased kings after five generations, princes after three, nobles after one, lost their original protecting power and were relegated among those of the group to whom personal offerings were refused (H. Maspero, *Chine antique, op. cit.*, 186). They were already far on the way toward decaying and fading away.

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swer: the galaxy. Who walks on the milky way? Yu Huang,[7] preceded by the green dragon and the White Tiger. Under the bridge is there still another bridge or not? The dangerous bridge leading to Hell, over which passes the king of Hell, Erlik, preceded by the spirit with the head of a cow and the spirit with the head of a horse, and where spirits are waiting, who devour passing souls. What is our bridge? The bridge of the spirits. 796 756 [775]

The building of the bridge of the spirits and the confused explanations of the shamans, mixed with Taoist, shamanist, and Bön principles, reveals, nevertheless, the philosophy claiming the existence of three worlds: the upper, middle, and lower worlds, each with its own population.[8] A hint has already been given of this philosophy, in describing the rite of the stretched goat skin and the molding of clay figures, etc. At any rate the bridge provides a wonderful opportunity for the shamans to display their philosophical abilities and their proficiency in the art of telling of the nine and more heavens, one more beautiful than the other; the eighteen hells, dark and terrifying; the severe judgments after death presided over by Erlik or the Chinese Yen wang; the explanation of the three souls; shamans flying on drums to heaven, are unique occasions for story-tellers, sparkling with wit, to reap big successes. 796 756 772 779

At that time, shamans never fail to explain the appointment of their ancestor shaman by Chiang Tze-ya as servant of the god of the Five Roads; they never fail to narrate captivating episodes from the epic of Gesar. All kinds of problems are dealt with, and a lot of fun is had. The most ridiculous answers are given to the most ridiculous questions. One shaman asks for the explanation of why in each wheat grain there is always a small groove? The answer is that in the beginning of the world there was no wheat. Tengri made a wheat grain, but it seemed to be too big; with the nail of his right thumb he parted the grain in two parts. Still it seemed to be too big, and so he parted it again and then a third time. The fourth time, just when he was about to cut the grain in two parts again, it appeared to be all right without cutting through it, so he left the grain only half cut through, and so all grains of wheat have a little groove in them. This story was told to me several times by children who attended the meeting and said that the shaman told them so. 776 538

Another story, which gives us a better insight into the nature of that kind of meeting, is told when a shaman is asked at what time and why men started seducing women, and women started eloping? An interesting sociological and moral question! Tengri wanted to have men and women. After kneading red earth and water a whole day, he moulded seven men; then he 796 756 831 773

[7] The most popular god of modern China who received letters patent from the Emperor in A.D. 1017. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, *op. cit.*, 1846.

[8] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 138. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

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though Babylonians and Assyrians had a trend toward monotheism, they never fulfilled it. They always preserved their monarchic polytheism with a prominent god, chief of an army of innumerable gods."[9] In Persia, at the time of the Achaemenians (688–333 B.C.), Ahura Mazda received the highest worship instead of the god of Heaven, and was assumed to be preeminent among the other deities.[10] It is interesting to encounter today the same trend of mind among the Buriats. 776 171

In general all Buriat groups have their own supreme deities, either special to themselves or shared with the rest of the Buriat world; with these deities they stand in a relationship of direct descent and they invoke the deities in time of need. The supreme ancestor of a given group may be one to whom that group attributes the descent of all Buriats.[11]

In concluding this section it is appropriate to remember that it is a fact that the true concept of a creation *ex nihilo* has not been found in any philosophical system or religion except the Biblical revelation; even the specific concept of the transcendency of God has not been expressed by any philosophical system or religion except Christianity. [776] 171

In order to understand the psychology of the Monguors regarding the "spirit of Heaven," it seems advantageous to recall first what is known about the subject among the old Turkic Mongol tribes, ancestors of the Monguors; second, to recall the religious experiences through which these tribes passed at the hand of foreign religions diffused in their countries. It will be well also to consider the impact of Nestorianism, especially upon the Mongols upon whom the Monguors depended, and the effects of this impact in relation to the idea of the "spirit of Heaven."

CULT OF HEAVEN AMONG THE TURKIC-MONGOLS

It is common knowledge that the Turkic-Mongol[12] tribes of Central Asia, according to historical data, rec- 776 171

[9] *Ibid.*, 698.

[10] Albert Carnoy, *La religion des Perses*, 306, Jos. Huby Christus, Paris, Beauchesne, 1923.

[11] Professor Lawrence Krader, Buriat Religion and Society, *Southwestern Jour. Anthropology* 10 (3): 339, 1954.

[12] René Grousset, *Empire Mongol, 1re phase*, 1–3, De Boddard, Paris, 1941. Only on linguistic grounds can we vindicate the existence of an Altaic group including Turks, Tungus, and Mongols. Only from the sixth century A.D. was the term "Turk" used for one of the proto-Turkic tribes. In the twelfth century appeared the term "Mongols" as generic name of the proto-Mongol tribes. Earlier, however, the Hsiungnu tribes (third century B.C to second century A.D.), and T'opa tribes (who occupied North China in the fifth and sixth centuries) spoke Turkic languages; the Hsienpi (second century), the Juan-Juan in Mongolia, the Hephthalites in Turkestan (fifth century), and the Ch'i-tan (who occupied North China 907–1125) spoke Mongol languages. The Hsiungnu Turks dominated Central Asia until the second century, A.D., the Hsienpi Mongols dominated East Mongolia in the second century A.D.; T'opa Turkic tribes succeeded in the struggle for domination

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I. INTENSIVENESS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS AND THE POSITION OF ITS FORMS

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC RELIGIOUS LIFE

The religious life of the Monguors is very intensive, and not a superficial veneer that scales off easily. Indeed, it has not only a private and a family characteristic, but a social and compulsory aspect, as well.

A missionary, accustomed to living with Chinese, is quite surprised when he comes among the Monguors, by their almost continuous recitation of *Om Mani Padme H'um.*[1] It is repeated by old and young, both men and women, hundreds of times a day, under all circumstances. The mind of the Monguor appears to be fixed on religion in a most unusual way. Mothers, kissing and cuddling their babies, like to say happily, over and over, "Om Mani," "Om Mani," as if thanking Buddha (*Avalokita*) for the baby. The sick, suffering on the *k'ang*,[2] find relief in sighing Om Mani the whole day, hoping to be cured. When hailstorms threaten crops, Om Mani will be said hundreds of times by every terrified farm family, in the hope that Buddha will make the wind change the course of the clouds. When someone in the village dies, all the villagers gather at night in the courtyard of the deceased, where they sit for many hours saying the Om Mani for the deceased.

[1] The formula *Om Mani Padme H'um* has always been and still is an enigma. All attempts to explain it remain unsatisfactory. Each lama of a sect, each student of things Tibetan has proposed his own explanation. It appears to be of Hindu origin and not Tibetan. Some trace its appearance in Tibet back to the eighteenth, fourteenth, and thirteenth centuries; and even to the seventh century. See P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 24: 395, 1924. The explanation of the formula seems to vindicate *mani padme* as a vocative of *Manipadma*, the proper name of a female deity.

[2] A small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In the front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm.

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Sodalities, most of them for women, are organized [575] in every village. The members convene to recite the Om Mani as they circle the Bumkhang[8] of the village 781 all day. Whenever a Monguor is in serious trouble, 788 he prays Om Mani, and when a happy event occurs, he gives thanks by Om Mani. Supposedly, all kinds of evil are dispelled and all blessings obtainable by Om Mani.

Monguor families place in the center of their court- 778 yards a high pole with a small flag flying from atop it. Om Mani and other prayers are printed on the flag as an offering, day and night, by the family to Buddha. Prayer wheels, containing hundreds of repetitions of Om Mani printed on paper, are moved by water power, so that Om Mani will be offered continually, as the wheels revolve.

The Monguors have used their Om Mani to such an 781 extent that its true meaning no longer exists. A farmer 788 becoming angry at the lazy oxen, while plowing his fields, will beat them and swear furiously with a well-articulated Om Mani; gamblers, on losing the game, their patience wearing thin, will say Om Mani in a blasphemous tone. While weeding fields, if a lascivious song is enjoyed, farmers say Om Mani, meaning the song is well sung. When a smutty joke is told, lis- [522 teners will say Om Mani, laughing, to indicate it is a 831] good joke. It is said that thieves and robbers say Om Mani as an aid to their practice of larceny. Foreign travelers jest that, if robbers kill their victim, he will have the consolation, when dying, of hearing the killer saying Om Mani. Om Mani can be and is offered under all circumstances: riding horseback, working in the fields or at home, while laughing, gambling, singing, conducting business, and even sleeping.

The Monguor's fondness for and promiscuous use of Om Mani has reduced it to a mockery of its original intent. Nevertheless, it is in fact most often used as a real prayer.

The Monguors are not ashamed to pray in public, to

[8] A structure at the entrance to the village to prevent the entrance of evil influences. [104]

[p. 5(B)]

twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or 781
to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one 788
understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration to Buddha.

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. 794
The chief of the family is its religious head and its representative. 782 He worships "Heaven and all the spirits" on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each family honors the image of its family protector-deity. At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue worshipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors. The chief of the family is its representative at the performance of public rites. Attended by his family, he performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fingering his prayer beads.

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of 794
the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of 622
the village and its elders administer both the official and religious life of the people in it. Even as they apportion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth [65]
and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum for religious services. They impose corvées on the villagers for municipal functions as well as for such religious functions as protection against hailstorms or the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner, heads of families are summoned to participate in rites at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain. The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief. He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as the family chief does in his own circle.

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious [614]
life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter. It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite. On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry about public worship in the village and the morality of his subjects.

Religious activities are part of the family and social life of the Monguor society. Their social organization is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Mon- 771
guors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are 754
not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fer- 756
vent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor

[p. 6(A)]

Tibetan tribes, remnants of important ones which had 175
fled to Kukunor or Tibet. Mongol troops, divided into small units, were settled with their families under the leadership of clan chiefs at strategic points, in order to prevent possible inroads of hostile neighboring tribes. [563]
A group of Shat'o living in the country since 936 joined the conquerers and was enlisted among the frontier defenders. The descendants of these groups constitute the Monguors to whom this study is devoted. Later there came also groups of Salars, Turks of Samarkand, to whom territories were assigned. More Moslems also settled in the country.[26]

GODAN

The Yüan dynasty is well known for its devotion to 175
Lamaism. In Tibetan and Mongol literature, Godan, 797
the brother of Güyük (the Emperor T'ing tsung, 1246–1251) is celebrated as the first ardent Buddhist Mongol prince who invited to his residence in Hsi-Liang the Sa-Skya Pandita, Chief Abbot of the Sa-Skya sect.

The holy man accepted the invitation and started his "apostolic" journey. He remained seven years in Hsi-Liang successfully diffusing the religion over the entire country.[27]

According to history, the troops of Godan had de- 175
feated the Tibetans northwest of Lhasa in 1239 and 648
destroyed a monastery. The Tibetans asked for negotiations in order to end the war. Godan urged a Tibetan delegate to come to his residence, and Sa-Skya Pandita, to whom this task had been assigned, started his "apostolic" journey on "command" from Godan, in order to avoid the worst. He delivered Tibet into the hands of the Mongol Prince, received a "gold patent," became an official under Godan, and Vice-regent of Tibet. His successors inherited this office.[28] Discontent among the Tibetans over the surrender of Tibet caused a new Mongol expedition to be sent in 1251. More rivalries and discontent had to be crushed again by the Mongol troops in 1267, 1277, 1281, and 1290.[29]

The Mongol emperors, hoping to keep the Tibetans [781]
and Mongols in submission by manifesting reverence for the lamas and promoting their religion, lavishly showered favors and privileges on the lamas and became Lamaists themselves. Emperors and empresses received Lamaist initiation, and the Sa-Skya lama Phagspa, chaplain at court, was allowed to sit next to 175
the emperor.[30] The court of the Mongols was sincerely 771

[26] Louis M. J. Schram, C.I.C.M., The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 23–57, 1954.

[27] Huth, *Geschichte der Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, 130, 1896.

[28] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 8, *et seq.* It is the merit [113]
of Professor Tucci to have shed true light on this old myth about the ardent Buddhist Godan, his invitation to the Sa-Skya Pandita, and the political status of Tibet during the Yüan dynasty. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217–91, 578.

[29] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 18. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217.

[30] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 510–517–522.

[P. 13(8)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

clared that their power was too weak and unavailing, 796
that more shamans would have to be invited, and that a 756
big hog would have to be prepared. A few days later more shamans succeeded in the same way as in Hsin-yüan p'u.

This shamanist rite of the first day tallies wonderfully [171]
with that of the Wu among the Chinese and the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C. At the time of the state sacrifices, the Wu were ordered to call down the gods and human ancestors and to lead them to their "thrones," beating drums and dancing while a band of Chinese musicians played appropriate music. They pierced the future, knew the wishes of the gods and the ancestors, knew the desired sacrifices, and were proficient in predictions.[4]

Taoist priests in the country never perform such rites, 792
which are peculiar to the Monguor shamans, who after so many centuries have preserved them faithfully. They give an insight into what, centuries ago, was the religious practice of the Chinese and the surrounding barbarians, and what it is at present among the Monguors. The fantastic invitation and calling down of the spirits, their coming one after another along the rope, which the shaman pretends to see moving with his own eyes, with whom he talks, as if to persons in front of him, whom he greets cordially, is straight in the hallucinatory line specific to shamans. The best among the shamans go so far as to communicate their feelings by means of words and gestures to the well-disposed audience already believing in the reality of the rite and in the capacity of the shaman to see and communicate with gods and souls. They go so far as to make the 796
people feel happy to approach, face to face, the spirits and souls; to sit in their presence; to honor them, and trust entirely in them. To be sure, a religious feeling is awakened by the shamans at the meeting. All my [781]
Monguor informants asserted they were happy at that time and enjoyed the rite.

This is the only time during a whole year, when the community of a village prays and honors its gods and ancestors in a group. It was said that nobody would miss attending this rite. No wonder that the Monguors esteem and love their shamans, especially since the lamas never practice such a rite for a whole community.

RITES OF THE SECOND DAY

The second day is a busy one, since four rites are 796
performed: (1) possession by the White Tiger spirit, 756
(2) the greeting of the Goddess of Joy, (3) leave-taking of the spirits, and (4) the nurturing of the spirits of the temple.

POSSESSION BY THE WHITE TIGER

Very early in the morning, after breakfast, the shamans, beating drums and cymbals, sit around the pole

[4] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1188–1190; 1201–1208, 1247.

[p. 109 (A)]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

608 The Monguors, in taking this oath, never open a vein and drink their own blood as was done traditionally among the Turks and Mongols, among whom this kind of institutional brotherhood is known by the term *anda*.[32] In this ceremony each man opened a vein in his arm, mixed the blood in a cup with milk or fermented milk-wine, in the presence of witnesses, and thereafter each was not only the sworn brother of the other, but each enjoyed in his blood-brother's clan the same rights and privileges as if he were born from the same womb, and conversely was bound by the obligations expected of an elder or younger brother.[33]

Analogous ceremonies are known from the Polar regions to southern Asia. In the region of the Behring Straits, among the Koryaks, Italmen, and Yukagirs, a dinner is given, at which the men pledge mutual aid. Among the Koryaks and Yukagirs there is an exchange of possessions. Women and girls may also swear friendship or sisterhood in this manner.[34]

Among the Tungus the custom seems to be relatively recent and to have spread directly from the Chinese and indirectly from the Chinese through the Manchus. In taking the oath, the Tungus pray to the spirit of Heaven. Shirokogoroff considers that this is a borrowed custom because within Tungus society the relations of persons belonging to different clans were quite satisfactorily regulated.[35]

In Southwest China, among the Miao of the Province of Kueichou a cat is killed and its blood is mixed with wine and drunk;[36] in another account of Miao ceremony, Legendre notes that there are no religious ceremonies and that a dog is killed and its blood mixed with wine and drunk.[37]

608 782 Monguors, in addition to taking as witnesses "Heaven and all the spirits" or a temple deity, may invoke the buildings of a temple, or a well-known scripture such as the Kandjur or Tandjur, or a Living Buddha. The curses that are invoked in case of disloyalty are worded in such phrases as: "If I break my oath, may I be a man who has eaten the flesh of his own parents"; or "A man

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[32] The difference between *anda* sworn brotherhood and the institution of *nukur*, which has been mentioned above, is that the *nukur* was more purely military; he was a "man-at-arms" who, instead of serving in tribal ranks where loyalty and discipline were automatically covered by tribal sanctions, declared himself to be henceforth the follower of some military leader to whom he owed no blood-allegiance, but to whom henceforth he would profess a loyalty transcending that to clan and tribe. In the *anda* institution there was seniority, but also an equality of brotherhood. In the *nukur* relationship there was the strict subordination of the follower to the leader.—O. L.

[33] Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, 61, Paris, 1896.

[34] Hubert Konig, Das Recht der Polarvölker, *Anthropos* 22: 736, 1927.

[35] Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Tungus*, as cited, 736.

[36] P. A. Schotter, Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus aborigènes du Kouy-tcheou, *Anthropos* 3: 419, 1908.

[37] A. F. Legendre, *Le far-west chinois*, 448, Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1910.

[P. 106 b]

608 who has eaten the pig of the Dalai Lama"; or "If I
break my oath, may I be thrown into the deepest of the
782 eighteen Hells"; or "May I be punished through nine
reincarnations"; or "If I am false to my oath, may I be
killed"; or "May I have my eyes burned out." The
oaths, both positive and negative, are followed by the
declaration "Now we are as brothers who have suckled
the milk of the same mother."

The oaths are taken very seriously. There is great fear of the retribution for perjury. There is a saying that "Poison kills only the man who drinks it but perjury brings the death of his whole family."

608 Sworn brothers call on each other and present gifts at New Year, at the Spring Festival of the Fifth Moon, and at the Autumn Festival, or "Feast of the Dead" on the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon. They invite each other to marriages and funerals like members of the family. In case of clan blood feud, a sworn brother must give help and support as if he were a blood brother. A case of this kind is recorded among the Mongols of the late twelfth century. The father of Chingis was the sworn brother of Wang Khan of the Keraits. After the death of his father and after his wife had been stolen from him by the Merkits, Chingis and his brother went to Wang Khan and presented him with the sable gown that was part of the dowry of Chingis' wife and begged for his support, and Wang Khan declared war on the Merkits.[38]

In some families, the sons of sworn brothers often swear the same oath, and it is common for sworn brothers to give their children to each other in marriage. Often the ties between sworn brothers are more intense and personal than those of blood brothers.

608 Among the variations of the sworn brother relation-
ship, a rich man not engaged in crime himself may be-
685 come a sworn brother with known thieves as a protec-
tion against being robbed by them. An influential man
will in fact rarely refuse the oath of brothership if it is
proposed to him by a noted thief. In carrying out his
side of the relationship the "respectable" sworn brother
will help the thief when he is short of money and use
his influence to get him off if he has been caught. Most
of the thieves and robbers in the Monguor country are
sworn brothers, linked in one group, and when one of
them takes the oath with a rich man he informs the
others and none of them will do the rich man harm.

608 It is also true that honest people take the oath together in order either to strengthen already friendly relations, or to organize themselves as a group for mutual protection. In one case of my own knowledge a poor Monguor swore the oath with a rich man who helped him get his affairs on a sound footing. The poor man was honest and loyal and in time he became a man of substance. The relations between these two were as intimate as if they had been real brothers.

608 It is common for a rich Monguor to become the sworn
648 brother of the chief of a Tibetan tribe, as a means of se-

[38] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-khan*, as cited, 27.

[P. 107a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

241 dug out with spades in the form of large, rough bricks, which are set out in rows to dry. The next spring, before sowing, these bricks are built into a long oven. The outside is plastered with mud, and after incense and boughs of cypress have been burned to propitiate the Spirit of the Earth, a fire is built in the oven. After it has burned for two days the "bricks" have crumbled into ashes. Men and women carry these ashes in baskets on their backs and scatter them on the fields that are to be sown. In some places this heavy work is done by the women alone.

241 782 Plowing and sowing begin on the propitious day and at the appointed hour designated in the old Chinese lunar calendar. Strips of red paper inscribed with auspicious Chinese characters are pasted on all the farming implements and on the horns of the oxen. Red, in the symbolism of the Chinese, is the color for joy, fertility, and good fortune.[3]

At the appointed hour the whole family, all in their best clothes, go to the fields. The procession is led by the head of the family, guiding a plow drawn by a pair of oxen. He plows a furrow in a large circle and then a cross within the circle in such a manner that when the second stroke of the cross is completed the heads of the oxen are pointing in the direction from which, according to geomantic divination, happiness and prosperity are expected to emanate during the year. This direction may vary from year to year. The family then steps into the center of the circle, kneels, and burns incense and boughs of cypress. The head of the family offers to the Spirit of the Earth a large, flat circular loaf of bread in the center of which there is a hole in which he plants incense sticks. The family prostrate themselves while the head of the family pours a libation of wine on the ground and sprinkles wine toward the "six corners" of the universe.[4] The bread is then divided into small pieces and each member of the family, and also the two oxen, are given a piece to eat on the spot. The remainder is broken into crumbs and thrown on the field. All then return home except those who complete the plowing, and sowing begins as soon as the plowing is finished.

The Chinese in this region do not have this custom, and it is possible that the Monguors took it over from the Tibetans who have a similar ceremony of beginning the farming season by blessing the earth and asking the gods for a good harvest and for protection against hail.[5]

241 243 The Monguor field crops are barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp, and potatoes. Very little millet is grown. When the Monguors plow a virgin field, they plant barley for the first six years and wheat only the seventh year, because the earth of such fields is too

[3] White (which for the Chinese is the color of mourning) is the traditional auspicious and noble color of the Mongols.—O. L.

[4] The four quarters of the compass; upward (for the sky), and downward (for below the surface of the earth).—O. L.

[5] MacDonald, *Mœurs et coûtumes tibétaines*, 229, Paris, Payot, 1930.

[p. 111 b]

Mi Lo 585

/57 cont'd/

1. Customs of the same kind in which women play an important role in similar circumstances are found among the Miao of Kweichow. Cf. Anthropos, 6th year, Schotter, "Notes ethnologiques sur les tribus du Koei-tcheou."

Likewise among the Lolo of Szechwan a custom is found that is absolutely identical to the one we have just described among the T'ou-jen. "Enquête sur les barbares du Liang-chan /Investigation of the Barbarians of Liang-chan/" in Politique de Péking, June 20, 1931: "When the bearers of the bride arrive at her house, the women of her family begin to sprinkle them with water either with pails or hand pumps. The bearers must let them do it, they are not permitted to avoid the sprinkling."

Mo 585 782

After they have tidied their clothes, the three or four visitors are ushered into the room. They kneel before the religious image hung on the wall opposite the entrance door and get ready to kneel before the members of the family who hasten to stop them. Out of a bag they take two big jugs of gin closed by a lozenge with the traditional strand of wool, and two legs of mutton. They present the legs and apologize, saying that in other days their ancestors offered two sheep to the women. Then turning to the men, they present the gin, saying that in the old days it was customary to offer two goatskin bottles; but times are no longer like that; anyway, what we present is given wholeheartedly. Then they spread a piece of red cloth two feet long on the table and put 12 loaves of bread on it, adding the veil of red or green cloth for the bride, a comb with an even number of teeth, the helmet of copper or silver with which she will cover her head, the red cords to plait into her hair,

Mo 582 292

/64 cont'd/

585 envelops the chopsticks. Then the son-in-law places himself on the left side of the bride, near enough to her so that his arm touches hers, and so that she knows when she must go ahead and stop. At the moment when they enter the courtyard, pieces of red felt are spread in their path one after the other. Cash, symbol of wealth, are thrown in front of them, and likewise wheat, symbol of fecundity. The couple is led straight to the kitchen where the T'ou-jen honor the god of the hearth. There the jug and the chopsticks which she held are taken from the bride, and these objects are put down before the god of the hearth, whom the bride salutes with three prostrations. (1)

1. "Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen /On Fire Worship among the Mongols/," by N. Poppe, Asia Major, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 141-142.

[776 782] As can be seen from the above, much depends on the fire god. It is no wonder, then, that the young bride, when she first steps across the threshold of the new house, must bow in front of the hearth. By this act she puts herself under the protection of the fire god, since this same figure is the guardian spirit of the family. /Cited in German./

/65/ We have seen that at the bride's departure chopsticks were thrown on her mother's lap. This gesture meant that she no longer belonged to the clan; here, as soon as she arrives, she is incorporated into the bridegroom's family by being offered another pair of chopsticks and presenting them to the god of the hearth. From the kitchen she is led to the nuptial chamber, her head still veiled. On the four corners of the k'ang (1) have been put several cash, two

[354] 1. K'ang: stove used in the north, on which the family spends the night.

packages of sugar, and some red lozenges.

/82 cont'd/

21. Relations of the Married Couple with the Daughter-in-law's Family

593 585 a) Relations of the married daughter with her own family after the wedding.

The daughter-in-law is incorporated into the family of her [776 782] husband. We have seen that upon her arrival at the door of the house she was given chopsticks and a jug of gin, and that then she was taken to the kitchen to honor the god of the hearth of her new family by prostrating herself three times and presenting her offering of gin and her chopsticks.

Henceforth she will call the members of her husband's family by the same name that he calls them; in speaking of them to a third person she will add the term gadin, which means relatives by marriage.

Because the husband's family bought her, she has become its property; her original family no longer has any rights over her. One /83/ expects therefore that the relations of the married daughter with her own family would be broken, or at least that they would be very much reduced. Now this is not the case, as the long and frequent visits she continues to make to her parents after the wedding prove, as well as the custom of keeping her valuables and her clothes in her original family.

593 574 As a matter of fact, custom has it that the husband takes his wife and children to the home of their relatives in the first month of the year. His wife will stay with her family for ten or 20 days, often for even a month. When this period has gone by, her brother takes her back to her parents-in-law. Toward the fifth of the fifth moon the husband takes her to her family for the second time. This visit is shorter; after a few days her brother takes her back. About the fifteenth of the eighth moon the husband takes her to her parents' home for the third time. This time she stays there 15 or 20 days or even a month. The fourth visit to her family takes place in the last [527] month of the year and lasts about 20 days. Her brother brings her back for the festival of the god of the hearth, a festival which

/91 cont'd/

587 widow-daughter only when the go-betweens have paid them ing ts'in ts'ien, i.e., "cash for cooperation in the marriage," ordinarily 12 strings of cash. This sum paid, no time is lost; they hurry to put the widow in the saddle, the band surrounds her and leaves post-haste, taking care to go a roundabout way in order to escape all risk and conduct her safe and sound to the home of her new husband.

On arrival she dismounts; a fire is lighted in great haste in front of the house, and the widow is presented with the paper which one burns for the dead. She kneels and burns it in memory of her dead husband; then she offers up a libation of gin for him. She stands and looks into space for several moments. /92/ This is the wang [782 heou k'an /"taking the last look"/, the farewell look toward her 372] dead husband. She passes over the fire so that all the bad influences which could have attached themselves to her, or the bad spirits which could have followed her, will vanish. Having crossed the fire, she enters the house only after taking off her little felt hat and undoing her hair, which she rolls up carelessly and puts back under her hat. She will wear her hair in the style of the women of the clan or village to which she is henceforth deemed to belong.

The armed band is invited to a light meal composed of bread, meat, tea, and gin. The widow takes tea with the women of the family.

4. Settling of Accounts

587 The widow is not secure so long as the accounts are not settled
583 and the contract is not signed; so they hurry first thing in the morning
177 to finish the business. The go-betweens first pay secret sums to the grumblers, then accounts are settled with the parents-in-law and the widow. For this purpose they are asked to go, not to the home of the new husband, but to a friend's home or to a remote place. The price of a girl is paid in full, while that of a widow is subject to bold acts of stinginess. Only judge: 600 cash are worth 1,000; at present animals must be accepted in place of paying in silver, and they are evaluated at double their value. They give cloth which they claim

[18]

II. Customs concerning the Officiants

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1. The Spirit-spear Soothsayer*

*See "Notes," pp. 23-26 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

791 787 Like all other kinds of soothsaying through a deity, soothsaying with the spirit-spear is called "to question the spirit." It proceeds as follows:

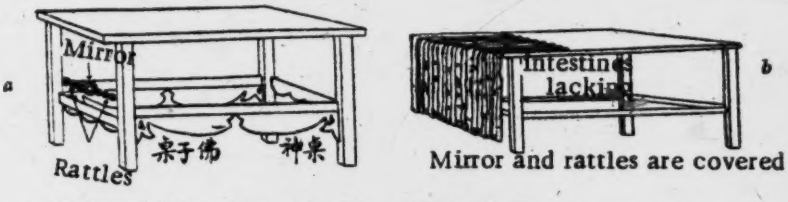
A spirit-spear is fetched in case there is none in the family. Then the soothsayer is invited. He is offered tea and [264] bread. Meanwhile the yard and the place where the soothsaying is to take place are swept. The great incense offering is pre- [782] sented in the yard in the usual form, and it remains burning throughout the ceremony. The soothsayer dons a long cloak, takes [783] off his cap, washes his hands and face, and rinses out his mouth. Then he steps in front of the spear, which has either been planted [788] in the ground or is held by a man, and kowtows three times. He rises, seizes the spear with both hands in the middle of the shaft, and holds it vertically in front of him. In this position he says the prayer of invitation. During this prayer the spirit descends. The spear starts to tremble, and with it the soothsayer's arms; one hears the bells rattle. Now the suppliant presents his case and receives directions from the spirit in the spear as to what he should do. The will and the reply of the spirit are manifested by the movement of the spear, for example, by stamping, leaping up, shaking. The soothsayer, too, questions the spear-spirit and imparts its answer. When the soothsaying is over, the soothsayer says the farewell prayer. The spear becomes quiet and stands still. The spirit is gone, and the soothsayer puts the spear aside again and makes his kowtow three times.

Spear-soothsaying is almost always practiced at all ceremonies in order to call down the spirit as witness. The soothsaying is always done in the same fashion.

[20 cont.]

*778 [824] The making of the spear: The wood of the shaft must have grown wild. Wood that has been planted or wood from inhabited, settled regions may never be taken, for it is not pure. The wood is therefore sought in lonely forests and mountains. The most superior wood is sandalwood. Since this is rare, however, the mountain ash is usually used. -- The iron is usually wrought iron. There is no prescriptions concerning its origin. It may be bought, taken from old tools, etc.

Fig. 2



a. Spirit-table without bands (sirie purgan); b. spirit-table with bands (sirie purgan).

[422] Anyone may have a spirit-spear, and anyone may make it himself, but never women. If the owner wants to have a beautiful [562] spirit-spear, however, he will go to a skilled craftsman, carpenter, [463] and smith. It is required that before starting the work the craftsman rinse out his mouth, wash his face and hands, and hold the latter [783] over the smoke of a cypress fire. The tools are also thoroughly smoked. In addition, the smith casts some cypress incense into his [782] smithy fire.

The craftsman may work at home in his workshop or in with [322] the family of his client. The individual parts are made separately, [326] in other words, the shaft by the carpenter, the tip and foot by the smith. They bring the parts to the owner's house. The latter then [782] offers twelve steamed loaves (or baked loaves) on the shelf in front of the Buddha image, as well as a piece of red cloth and a measure of barley. The craftsmen place their instruments on the grain in [788] the bushel, and all of them kowtow in front of the Buddha image, [322] while the incense offering is presented outside. The carpenter [326] receives the barley; the smith receives the twelve loaves with the red cloth.

[20 cont.]

*778 It does not matter who puts the spear together. No special ceremonies are connected with it. Now the owner tends to the bands, bells, and copper plates. The bells are the ordinary little rattling bells, such as horses wear around their necks. One [792] can take the spear to a lamic monastery or have it consecrated at home; the ceremonies are the same in both places.

*778 The consecration of the spear: The spear cannot be con-
792 secrated by an ordinary lama; he must be a Living Buddha. Only he has the power to make a spirit live in the spear.

After the hutukhtu has been entertained in the customary fashion, the general ceremonies of the lama-reception have been carried out, and the tormas [sacrificial objects made of dough] [21] stand in front of the household altar, the consecration begins. Young hutukhtus perform it in the household chapel, but old ones remain seated on the warm kang in the main house.

The master of the household drives the spear in the ground in front of the lama, unless he holds it in his hands standing upright during the entire ceremony. Another brings the attachments for the spear on a tray. First the bands and then the rattles and the mirror are attached. If the hutukhtu does not want to do this himself, it will be done by an assisting lama or by a man. Every piece, before it is tied on, is held in the incense that is kept ready in an iron spoon.

*778 Once the spear has been thus prepared, the master of the
[782] household takes it either into the chapel or to the shelf before the household altar, where he sticks it in a large stand. In front of it he burns fragrant sandalwood incense, sets up little burning oil- or butter-lamps, and offers little bowls with barley, wine, and water, and finally a large loaf of wheat bread weighing several pounds. The hutukhtu at this point goes to stand in [783] front of the spear and sprinkles it with the consecrated wumba-
[792] water. He then sits down with his legs crossed on a white felt mat in front of the spear and gives the prayer of consecration. Then he rises, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley from a little plate handed to him, blows over it, and casts it over the spear with his right hand. Meanwhile all those present kowtow in

[21 cont.]

*778 front of the spear, the men in the room itself, the women in front of the door out in the open.

776 Only now can the spirit dwell in the spear. Which spirit
*778 it is depends entirely upon the owner of the spear. He tells this beforehand to hutukhtu who performs the consecration, and the latter gives an appropriate prayer of consecration. Only one spirit ever operates in a spear. The Tiengëre or the god of heaven never resides in the spear. The ones who do are always ordinary spirits, for instance, the mother-goddess, the tiger god, the mountain spirit, etc.

*778 After the consecration the hutukhtu stays in the house un-
[792] til the following morning and is then dismissed with an appropri-
ate remuneration. The master of the household, however, in-
[527] vites his friends and acquaintances in and celebrates the new
[273] event with them over barley wine and dances with song far into the night.

Storage of the spear: Since an entire village can have a spear consecrated, it frequently happens that it is simply kept
[346] in the communal temple of the place. This is also often the case with regard to private individuals, because the temple is regarded as the most eminent place. In the temple itself it stands in a wooden stand next to the other gods on one of the many altars. Sometimes it is simply propped against the wall in a god's niche.

[346] If somebody wants to keep the spear in his own yard, a special chapel is required. Most of the house chapels are constructed specifically for such a spear. Here, too, it may stand in a rack, lean against the wall, or be driven into the clay floor. All that matters is that the spear stand upright. For instance, one may never lay it flat on the altar. The master of the
[782] household often gives the little incense offering in front of the spear. It is not necessary that a spear be kept in the house of
[791] the [22] village soothsayer; indeed, many soothsayers have no spirit-spear themselves.

346 The room or the temple in which the spear stands is sim-
*778 ply called "house of holies." It is usually only a room in the yard. It must be separated from all the other rooms by a wall and

[22 cont.]

192
*778
[824]

[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.] determined. According to the explanations of the people it is a rowan tree or mountain ash. According to others it could also be the tamarisk. The DMF likewise speaks of a mountain ash ("sorbier") and gives the Mongol. equivalent irgai, but then translates it with "chèvrefeuille" (honeysuckle) (p. 489). W.A. Unkrig (communication) gives the Mongolic xargai for it, with the meaning "larch, resinous tree, Pinus larix." The Chinese name, hsün-mu (hsün-tzu), is likewise indefinite.

Consecration prayer: rami (Tib.).
Chapel, temple: ṡdien kãṅ (Tib.) - holy house.
[23]
192 Prayer of invitation: ġsolkā (solkā) (Tib.).
● 782 ch'ing tsan (Chinese) = praise (3).
787

3. [Foreign text p. 23.] The prayer of invitation varies according to the spirits to be called down. ġsolka or solka is the Tibetan gsol k'a (cf. DMF, 354). Ch. Das (p. 1315) translates it as: "request, prayer" [cited in English]. It is a request to the spirit to descend. The Chinese expression ch'ing-tsan says literally "to pray, to praise." In point of fact these prayers of invitation are at the same time supposed to contain praise of the tutelary spirit concerned, similar to the shaman prayers.

192
787 The spirit is there (sc., in the spear): purġãn xärgëdzi kurdzia = the spirit, circling, arrived.

[28 cont.]

756 rings at the end; the spirit-spear; the winnowing tray and the
*778 sieve (2).--He must make this equipment himself in accordance

2. [Foreign text p. 32.] In the case of one other temple shaman I also saw the bow and arrow as equipment. Incidentally, the shaman carries all the customary weapons. -- The spirit-sling is twisted out of hemp, wrapped in red cloth, and is about one meter long. The iron rings on it have a symbolic significance that I have forgotten. The Chinese, so far as I can recall, call the sling k'un-hsien-sheng, that is, spirit-binding string. In the accompanying photograph the shaman holds the sling with the ring in his left thumb.

[411]

with certain rules. He keeps it at home on the altar of his tutelary deity with the sword and the god's image.

756 The trance: The trance usually takes place in the house
787 in front of the altar. The shaman rinses out his mouth, washes
[783] his hands and face, presents an incense offering in the yard or
[782] before the altar, kowtows before the sword, and puts on his garb (3). The incense fire is maintained in the yard by other

3. [Foreign text p. 32.] He always puts on his costume with prayer.

men who also blow the conch (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 32.] Some claim that the shaman has to wash himself once more before the trance.

[576] Now a long, low table is placed in front of the altar, and the shaman sits on it in the Buddha position with his legs

[30 cont.]

756 sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary
*778 spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front
[776] of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he
[782] sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.

The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit
[439] are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery
[792] markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

756 Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his
776 tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration: the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in general the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the tutelary spirit of the shaman.

756 Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to
463 prophesy, heal the sick, conjure away storms, drive away demons. He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests, or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect a mani-tree, but he may set up an ordinary mani-flag on the yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the pole-goat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate at funerals and weddings.

755 The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold.
756 The following is the most common. First of all the shaman
[787] puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open [31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly steeped. Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the sick person to drink.

756 In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to
783 demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[31 cont.]

Word List

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756 The sword-shaman: sgurdien; gurdien (Tib. Tujen) (10); ku-wai-tien (Chin.); fa-la-tzu (Chin.); fa-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); nañsuo (Tib.); Yao-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); shen-ti-tzu (Chin.) = spirit disciple.

10. [Foreign text p. 33.] The Tujen strictly differentiate the sgurdien from the bō, the Chinese fa-shih, drum-shaman. The Chinese also make this distinction. They call the gurtum ku-êrh-tien or ku-wai-tien, which is nothing other than a phonetic imitation of the word sgurdien, which in turn comes from the Tibetan sku-rten, "body container." The gurtum is regarded as the container, the carrier of his tutelary god. See the precise explanation of the name in Part Two, "The Shaman Character of the Gurtum."

[787] To go into a trance: sgurdien bōdzia = the shaman has come down, (that is, he has begun to shake); fa-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to excite the body; yao-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to shake the body.

[782] The prayer of invitation (before the trance): ǵsolkā (Tib. loan-word); ch'ing-tsan (Chin.) = praise.

Consecration prayer of the lama over the shaman: guo ǵguē (Tib. and Tuj.).

[792] Great lama: ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.) = lama with great power for prayer and magic.

*[778] The table upon which the shaman goes into a trance: t'iao-chuo-tzu (Chin.) = long table.

[38 cont.]

792 796 782 778

Prayer service: Now he begins his prayer service. Before each prayer service a few tormas are made; if he is a great lama, his assistants see to it. The tormas vary and represent offerings to the gods. In part they are left standing on the table, or they are taken to the household altar. Before that comes a series of little water bowls, grain bowls, liquor bowls (3),

3. [Foreign text p. 41.] There is a definite number and order for these little bowls. The water offering plays an important role in the monastic cult, cf. Kumbum, p. 251. The Tujen and Chia-Hsifan [Sifan] frequently present the water offering in the morning. Thus,

534 354 532

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5

Fig. 4. Two hourglass drums. (Drawing of a Tujen.) Fig. 5. Butter-lamp.

I once saw how an old man got up in the morning, washed himself, burned incense, put a large copper bowl and 12 little bowls of water on the household altar, kowtowed three times in the courtyard, one of these in the direction of Kumbum, kowtowed three times in front of the household altar, and then emptied the water bowls.

and butter-lamps, which are always kept burning. Later these tormas are either taken away or eaten by the family, and sometimes thrown

[38 cont.]

792 to the animals (2).

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2. [Foreign text p. 41.] Concerning śdorma, the DMF writes (p. 338): "pyramidal figures made of grilled dough and offered to the spirits to ward off their evil influences. Cf. Tib. gtor-ma, id. (Mong. turma, tuurma, turuma...)" [translated from French]. Ch. Das characterizes (p. 527) the expression gtor-ma, which in turn goes back to a Sanskrit word, as cast offering: "sacrificial objects, i.e., that which is strewn or scattered or given away" [cited in English]. They are said to consist mostly of dough (rice, barley, etc.), to have a pyramidal shape, and are supposed to ward off dangers, to pacify the spirits, etc. -- Much has been written concerning the meaning of the gtor-ma; in this connection cf. the accounts in Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, Ch. XIV. The Tujen conceive of the torma as the seat of a demon or of a god or as spirit food. It does not remain a permanent seat, however, but only during the time of the ceremonies. The spirit is conjured into it by the lama. I was unable to ascertain the name balih among them. As spirit food they call it by the Chinese word szu-shih, that is, offering food, but there is another interpretation, namely "corpse," which also has the form szu-shih. This is what they call the

[38 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 41 cont.]
torma that at the conclusion of the tšam dance on New Year's is carried off and burned as the murdered enemy of the religion. -- They also call the mandala-figure torma, for instance, during the erection of the pole-goat. -- The fact that the torma has a sacral function for only a brief time explains why it is no longer given any attention after the ceremonies, but is thrown away, given to the animals to eat, or even eaten by the people themselves.

Insofar as I was able to establish among the Tujen, the tormas are always made only of tsamba and butter, and not, as Filchner (Unkrig) writes, loc. cit., out of sour dough. It may be that this kind of preparation is peculiar to the monasteries.

The cult implements of the hutukhtu are the same as those he uses at home in the monastery, to wit, the holy water-can with the peacock feather, the hourglass drum, the thunderbolt, and the hand bell. He always has these things ready at hand on the table. He always holds his mani-string in his hand. While praying he does not sit at the side, but behind the table, on the kang and facing the door. He lays his prayer book in front of him on his knees or on the kang table. Sometimes he also gives the [788] water blessing while the others prepare the tormas. For this purpose he has pure spring water poured into the [39] holy can; one of the assistants throws consecrated spices into it and places the can on a little plate with Tibet barley. The lama then recites the prayer of blessing over it.

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Prayer fee: During the time of his stay the lama is entertained very hospitably. The master of the household, who is also called "master of gifts," must serve him personally. The

[39 cont.]

792 lama, however, does not have his principal meal at noon, like
796 the other guests, but only in the late afternoon. In order to en-
465 tertain him men and women dance and sing in the yard. Only
in the case of very high hutukhtus is there no dancing.

[574] On the last day, after the lama's morning meal, but while
[595] he is still drinking tea on the kang, the master of gifts appears with the ceremonial helpers and with many words expresses his gratitude for the visit and the prayer. Then he hands him a tray with the gifts, over which a hada is spread, and the master of gifts announces what the lama is receiving for his services. This hada over the tray is called "speech hada." The things are put in front of the lama on the table and kowtows are made three times. The assistants, too, receive appropriate gifts.

The fee varies according to the wealth of the master of gifts, the position of the lama, and the ceremonies performed. Usually it consists of several back-baskets of bread (5), some

5. [Foreign text p. 42.] A back-basket holds 24 loaves. The red cloth is for the lama's clothing. Why only grain and money are thought of as a unity and designated by the same name, mbō, is unclear to me. According to the DMF, it comes from the Tibetan p'ogs, "fee."

pieces of mutton (4), silver money, and red cloth. Wealthy

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4. [Foreign text p. 42.] Although Buddhism prohibits killing, the lamas, as well as the hutukhtus, eat flesh in all forms, as I repeatedly was able to observe. In the monastery Kuo-mang-szu I once noted that a sacrificial sheep, skinned and eviscerated, was set on a sacrificial table in front of the temple door. During

[39 cont.]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.]
the subsequent prayer ceremonies, the master of gifts, who had sacrificed this sheep, had the flesh cooked and a piece served to each of the monks in the temple during a pause in the prayer. It is therefore not surprising that the lama receives a loin of mutton for his fee. Since the Tujen, however, do not sacrifice a sheep in the presence of a lama (cf. the chapter, "The Mani-tree"), it seems to be a matter of not performing the killing itself before the eyes of the lama or in the same yard.

people give much more, for instance, beautiful horses, ornamental pendants, cloth, etc. When it is a matter of great occasions, a prayer service is even ordered for the monastery during the time that the lama stays with the master of gifts. During these days the master of gifts provides all the monks with rice, sugar, butter, and tea. Even pilgrims who stay in the monastery during these days and "stop in" to honor and to pray for the master of gifts are provided for and also receive alms for the journey.

The masters of gifts also usually donate the prayer tea for the entire monastery, which is drunk during the ceremonial in the prayer hall, for example, at funerals, etc. Often they also set up a great number of butter-lamps in the temple at this time, or at least they donate the butter for the lamps. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

Return: After the lama has received his gifts, he is ceremonially escorted out of the gate of the yard. An incense offering is again presented, but otherwise no further ceremonies take place. The white horse is brought up, a kang table with a felt mat is set up for mounting, and the lama is lifted into the saddle. Then the men escort him out of the village. There

[41 cont.]

192 Prayer fee: bosë (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

796 Tea provided in the lamic monastery: mäntsia (mändzia) (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

[784] Taboo of the compound: udie dzilä-; chi-men (Chin.) = to forbid the door.

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[Pages 41-43 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[43] III. Customs concerning the Dwelling and Settlement

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1. The Incense Sacrifice*

*See "Notes," pp. 46-49 [of the foreign text]. In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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Every day at sunrise the house and yard are swept clean. The housewife fans the family fire on the kang, around which young and old gather during the day. The master of the house washes his hands and face (1), takes some coals from the fire,

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1. [Foreign text p. 46.] This ablution is undertaken for all religious activities, and it is also the common way of washing oneself in the morning. Since wash-bowls are unknown or have been used only recently, it is done in the following way: one takes a mouthful of water from a bowl and rinses the mouth; then he

372 [43 cont.]
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[783]
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[Note on foreign text p. 46 cont.] takes a second mouthful and lets it run out of the mouth over the cupped hands and washes them; the third mouthful, allowed to run into the hand in the same way, serves to wash the face. This is repeated as desired, until one is clean. In case someone has a washbowl, he may under no circumstances forget to rinse his mouth, because that is part of the purification for a religious ceremony.

and puts them on the incense plate under the mani-tree out in the yard. There he blows on the coals to make a large flame, throws cypress twigs, butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, tea leaves, sugar, and a number of colored threads into it, and finally sprinkles the fire with pure water. Then, when the smoke rises up, the conch is blown, and the master of the house, as well as all those standing by, makes a three-fold [788] kowtow three times in front of the fire. With this the morning offering is concluded, and all go to their daily work.

Details

782 Persons: Usually the master of the household presents the [592] incense offering. In his stead, however, another male member [562] of the family may perform the act, but never women, unless there is no male person in the house and the children are still too small. Women may be present and make the kowtow, just as they also sweep the yard, set the things in readiness, and even hand them over for the offering. The conch is usually blown by someone who does not perform the offering. If the master of the household making the offering does it himself, it is done before the kowtow.

[43 cont.]

782 Time: The incense offering is to be given as early as possible, as soon as the morning twilight appears. One is not allowed to wait until the sun is high. Nowadays, even though [178] the families are no longer pious, [44] they will nonetheless give the incense offering at the least on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of the lunar month. On these three days small butter- or [778] oil-lamps are also lighted in the house in front of the Buddha images.

782 Place: The usual place for the morning offering is the 778 yard. One may also go into the local temple or in front of the obo. This is also usually done on the above-mentioned three days. In the yard itself the fireplace is the incense plate on the central fort in front of the mani-pole (2). If there is no

[192] 2. [Foreign text p. 46.] The incense plate is called fdzãñ tše = incense terrace. The Chinese call it sang lu-tzu = cypress-incense oven. In many instances, [177] the Tujen have taken over the Chinese incense oven. It looks like a small temple. Frequently people also make do with a small clay niche. The incense plate on the edge of the round manger is either a stone plate, a brick (tile), or a smooth layer of clay.

incense plate, the master of the household burns the incense in the central fort (round manger) itself, or on the ground in front of it. Each time, however, the area must first be swept. Worship in front of the fire does not take place directly in front of it; instead people go around the round manger, so that the round manger with the mani-tree, then the fire, then the main house, and finally the mountains behind it are before one. The other persons are also there. No one may ever stand between the fire and the main house.

[44 cont.]

782 Offerings: The fire need not be taken from the hearth or
372 from the kang. It may be freshly lighted in the yard. It is all the same no matter which device is used for starting the fire, matches, flint, etc. To feed the fire when kindling it, straw is most commonly used. Malodorous fuels, like coal, dried dung, etc., which otherwise prevail in profane use, are not allowed.

782 The twigs of the cypress tree serve as incense (3).
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3. [Foreign text pp. 46-47.] The cypress used for incense is the tuja tree, vulgar: tree of life. Everywhere in Tsinghai this tree is regarded as a superior tree, even among the Chinese, who prefer to use its wood for coffins. The Chinese name is pai-shu (pei-shu or pei-mu) = cedar, juniper, cypress. The Tujen word šgua is a contraction of the Tibetan šug-pa. šug-pa, as the juniper group is called, is native to Tibet: Juniperus excelsa, Juniperus squamosa, Juniperus communis. See Ch. Das, p. 1239 ff. saṅs šiṅ is given there as a synonym: wood of purity. saṅs, however, may also mean "to vaporize, to evaporate," etc.; cf. loc. cit., p. 1265: "evaporation" [cited in English]. Of the other synonyms, lha-yi šiṅ (gods-tree) should be mentioned because the informant, too, maintains that the tree is sacred to Lhamo. If genuine juniper is available, for instance, in wild mountain regions, it, with its berries, is preferred for the incense burning. The Tujen word fdzaṅ (šdzaṅ, saṅ), according to the informant, comes from the

[778]

[i.e the fire for the morning offering - ANALYST]

[44 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 46-47 cont.] Tibetan. Thus, it corresponds to bsaṅs (Ch. Das, p. 1316), "incense." -- In Mongolic the expression for this is sang idegen, "incense-food" (Unkrig). -- The Chinese, too, have taken over this word, at least in Tsinghai, and call the cypress-incense sang. In addition, they have the Chinese expression pei-hsiang: cypress-incense. They call the stick incense, in other words, the incense candles, simply hsiang or pan-hsiang (perhaps: blossom-incense); pan-hsiang is also used as a verb, to burn incense in honor of a person (rarely used). -- For "to burn incense" [47] the Tujen say fdzaṅ ġarġa, "to release incense (to let rise)." They differentiate two types. One is the "great incense," šge fdzaṅ. This incense offering always takes place in the open, and for it complete little branches and twigs are burned. The other kind is the "small incense," mula fdzaṅ. For the latter, not whole twigs, but cypress needles, which are first pounded into an incense powder, are scattered into the fire. It burns very rapidly and makes a great deal of smoke, but produces no wood-smoke. This type is preferred for incense offerings in the house and for fumigating objects at purification ceremonies.

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[778] This tree is consecrated to the mother-goddess Lhamo. The blossoms are supposed to have a pleasant fragrance, no matter what color they are. The more manifold and colorful the kinds are, the better it is. To be sure, they are dried first, so that they will burn well.

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.] Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot be imagined without tsamba. They roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.), that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain, and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-grain flour is eaten exactly as among the Tibetans (Fandse). After the consumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48] kneaded into a dry dough in the tea bowl with the remainder of the tea and the butter floating on it, and it is then eaten in the form of little pellets or little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used for the incense offering, however, may not be kept with the ordinary tsamba. Every family has a special little box for it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf. Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further details.

[262] [252] [171] [264]

783 never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color; therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than the white.

[783] [263]

The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop. They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

[439] [824]

4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loan-word, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

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[44 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 47 cont.] "evil spirit (?)" (p. 311), is misleading. Ch. Das (p. 1057) gives the meaning: "an article, thing, material, object" [cited in English], and further: de'i rdsas, "requisites for this purpose (sc., unclean matters); especially for sacrifices, sorceries, etc., hence also used as identical with magical agency" [cited in English]. This last signification is applicable to the accompanying gifts and offerings in connection with conjuring away demons; cf. rdzē in the chapters, "The Demon Escort," "The Figure Conjuring," etc. The explanation in the DMF (p. 311) is also in accord with this: "object that one releases with the aim of being freed from an evil (money or some other object is added to it), ransom" [translated from French]. rdzē, therefore, is to be understood in the very widest sense as outfit, utensils, provision of the gods (clothes, rings, viaticum), additions to the offering, etc., as is shown by the plethora of the incense gifts. These additions correspond extensively with the additions for the earth-god's urn (treasure urn), but they probably are to be traced back only to Lamaist influence, for in the Tujen songs that mention the incense offering they are never mentioned, in contrast to the tree of life, the water, and the flowers, which are never absent. The most important flower, mentioned again and again,

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[44 cont.]

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is the kanba; cf. Part Two, "The Incense Offering." This flower has a strong, very fragrant scent which can be perceived far and wide at the incense offering. The Tujen name corresponds with the Tibetan (Unkrig). Ch. Das (p. 140) translates k'am-pa as Tanacetum tomentosum and designates it as a "very aromatic plant growing in the high mountains of Tibet" [cited in English]. Dinand identifies the flower as the tansy, Tanacetum vulgare; cf. Handbuch der Heilpflanzen [Handbook of Medicinal Plants], p. 211, with illustration, Pl. XXIII, 2. According to G.A. Stuart, it belongs to the species Artemisia vulgaris, which is exceedingly aromatic. He distinguishes three kinds: Artemisia Indica, -- Sinensis (ai-hao), -- moxa; cf. Chinese materia medica, p. 52. -- From the use of the cypress and the flowers, one can conclude that from the outset the incense offering is to be conceived of, not as a burned offering, but as an aromatic offering. -- For further details concerning the incense offering, see Part Two. -- With respect to rdzē, cf. also the chapter, "The Earth-God Urn."

782 824 They are the same kinds as those the lama mixes in at the consecration of the wumba-water. The Tujen names have been lost. In Tibetan they are called "the good six." There are the following kinds: cloves; saffron, cardamom, marl (?), nutmeg, camphor.

Instead of the water, one can also squirt milk or barley 782 wine into the fire. They are then no longer called milk or

[44 cont.]

782 wine, however, but "libation" (6). Nevertheless water is always

6. [Foreign text p. 48.] The informant observed that "libation" is otherwise only called tusa; only in the case of the incense offering would one say tsiab. The rite implies, however, that it is not a matter of a libation at all. Drink-offerings are always poured on the ground. Here, however, the water is sprinkled on the fire; in addition, in this case water is preferred to all other liquids and is regarded as the purest and most superior. This requires a different interpretation. As a loan-word, tsiab corresponds to the Tibetan c'ab. Ch. Das (p. 409) explains c'ab: "water in any form; but not used like c'u to signify a river" [cited in English]. He further mentions sna c'ab as water with which the monks moisten their tongues before starting a religious ceremony, in order to purify themselves, which is approximately the same as the above-described purification before the incense offering. In other words, the tsiab is nothing other than a purification of the fire by sprinkling it with water. Later the people came to think of it as an offering and used milk and wine for it. Nonetheless, the awareness has remained that it should really be water.

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superior. It must be pure, from a well, a spring, or a river. Standing water, for instance, that from a kitchen tub, may not be drawn by anyone, however pure it might be. The water is sprinkled into the fire with a cypress twig (10).

[44 cont.]

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10. [Foreign text p. 49.] For the water offering, cf. the chapter, "The Lama-reception, Note 3.

The threads are in the well-known five sacred colors. The material does not matter. The best, naturally, are silk threads. Wealthy [45] people throw a small bundle of each color into the fire every time; poor people, on the other hand, merely cut off a little piece from each string, so that they will last a long time.

[556]

782 534 [439]

The conch comes from the east, from China or Tibet. It is said that none are found in the Koko Nor. Hence, not every family has a conch. It is therefore not absolutely necessary for one to be blown at the offering (7).

7. [Foreign text pp. 48-49.] The conch is the Triton horn, the Triton spiral. To the Tujen it is a symbol of purity and of the sublime. Accordingly, the word dõn̂ is also used adjectively for: pure, white, sublime, sacred. One could translate it simply as "conchlike." It is found in this sense especially commonly in songs. In order to blow it, one pierces the pointed end and edges it usually with metal; this serves as the mouthpiece. Colorful bands often hang at the other end, the horn; cf. the illustration. In spite of its dull tone, the conch resounds very far.

It is self-evident that the conch is not native to that region. The Tujen name is a phonetic imitation of the Tibetan dun̂; usually the Tibetans further add dkar, "white." In Mongolic this conch is called labai (Unkrig; Kov. 1958), which in turn is related to the Chinese la-pa,

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.] "trumpet." Judging by the sign, however, this la-pa is itself a Chinese imitation of a foreign word. The Tsinghai Chinese have the designation pi-li for the shell-horn, but this evidently comes from the Tujen verb pilie (to blow), for instance, dõngë pilie = to blow the conch. The Chinese say ch'uei pi-li for this. Otherwise, the Chinese name for the Triton horn is simply luo (lo), and the conch-goddess taken over from Buddhism (Tib. Duṅ-ma, Sanskr. Mangala śankha) is called pao-lo t'ien-nü, "heavenly elf of the preciousness-conch"; cf. Pander-Grünwedel, Pantheon, p. 105, No. 294; p. 115.

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The shell-horn and its cultic use is old and widespread in India and the South Seas and has been taken over into Buddhism. The function of the conch in the Lamaist cult naturally cannot be explored further here. For an understanding of the Tujen custom, however, the following should be noted. The blowing of the conch brings harmony into the universe and [49] can release the hunger-spirits (Preta) and lead them into the paradise of joys (Tushita); cf. Pander-Grünwedel, loc. cit. Shells whose spirals do not run from right to left, as is usual, but the opposite way are especially valuable; cf. Ch. Das (p. 628): duṅ-dkar gyas 'k'il (Sanskr. dakṣiṇā varta śankha). The sound of such a conch cures sickness, and, if it is kept in the house, it pacifies quarrels and disturbances and guarantees harmony in the family. That

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[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.]
may also be the reason why the Tujen always try to obtain such a conch and blow it in the morning at the incense offering in the yard.

For the rest, the conch in itself is made to order for the offering. It formerly served as an offering bowl; cf. Ch. Das (p. 627). Today it is regarded as the third of the eight offerings (mc'od brgyad) or good-luck symbols (bkra śis rtags brgyad) as a sign of being turned in the right direction, sending out lovely sounds to the ten points of the compass; cf. Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, p. 21.

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[262]

All these objects that have been enumerated are part of a complete incense offering. Since a family only rarely has these accessories on hand, the offering is usually given in the simple form, that is, people content themselves with cypress twigs, tsamba, and water-sprinkling. Not even butter and milk have been available recently among the Tujen.

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[776]

Meaning: The incense offering is primarily to heaven, as is the first kowtow. In the second place, it is intended to honor the mountain and earth spirit, and in the third place all the other countless spirits. Oral prayers are not spoken, but one usually says or thinks: "Heaven knows it." The offering is a request for protection and pleases the spirits because of the distinguished gifts. Hence, the men give it at all religious ceremonies, for instance, at the sowing festival, at the veneration of the obo, at the sheep sacrifice, etc. It is left to burn for hours during the entire procedure. Since the Tujen have practiced the incense offering since time immemorial, it constantly recurs in the songs (8).

[177]

8. [Foreign text p. 49.] The incense

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] offering is widespread everywhere among the nomads of Tsinghai and has been partially taken over by the Chinese. It is also practiced in all lamic monasteries. Even if it does not come from Buddhism, it has been taken up by it in the ritual and honored with "incense-sutras," which are recited during the burning of aromatic substances in honor of the gods. The additions superimposed on the original simple form also come from Lamaism. Concerning this original form, its origin and religious dedication to heaven, cf. Part Two.

783 The purification-fire: Aside from this incense offering, cypress incense is also burned on other occasions, but only for purification, for example, to fumigate the house to drive away the demons, to fumigate the sacrificial sheep, to fumigate the face and hands at religious ceremonies. This fire, however, is accorded no veneration; no kowtow is made before it; it is not sprinkled with water, and no butter or any kind of addition is put in it. It is not an offering. Should someone accidentally burn an actual incense offering, he can use even this for the purpose of purification (9).

3172 [782] [789] [782]

9. [Foreign text p. 49.] On other occasions, too, the fire is used as a means of purification. For instance, according to an ancient custom, a Tujen widow, when she remarries, must step across a fire, just as among the Chia-Fandse the bride is led over fir-tree fire (sung-p'an). The fire-jumping in the night of the full moon after New Year's may have the same significance; cf. "The New Year's Festival," Note 6. Not only the fire has

[587] [796] [782]

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] this purificatory effect, however, but also the incense itself. This is shown by its name, "purity-wood," and by the use of bsañs as a verb, which, according to Ch. Das (p. 1316), means "to cleanse, to remove" [cited in English]. For this reason incense is also scattered in the water with the red-hot stone (ch'ü-t'an) that is used for cultic purification.

Word List

192 Cypress tree: šgua sdziödzē (3) [see Note 3 above].
782 Cypress: šgua.
[824] Cypress incense: fdzāṅ (šdzāṅ, dzāṅ, sāṅ) (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba offering: fdzāṅ šdzam (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba (profane): talġa (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 49.] talġa: Tib. t'al ba or t'al k'a = powder, dust, ash; Mong. talxa = flour, rye flour, barley flour.

ġlu-smän: Tib. klu sman = the dragon medicine, bot. Angelica. There are four kinds, of which the black and the white are the best. The white Angelica is used against sickness from the earth-dragon. In Mongolic it is called luus-un em = dragon-medicine.

[824]
[757]

snaġsog: Tib. sna = many, and ts'ogs = kind. lisi = Tib. li-ši = Carophyllus. gušgum: Tib. gur-gum = saffron, crocus. sësmiel: Tib. sug-smel (rmel) = cardamom; Chin. pai-tou kuan

[824]

[45 cont.]

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824

[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.]
(white bean-tressel). gagula: Tib. ka ko la = Amomum medium; Chin. ts'ao-kuo (straw-fruit). dzati: Tib. dsa tsi (Sanskr.) = nutmeg. ġawur: Tib. ga-bur (Sanskr.) = camphor (Unkrig).

Spices: ġlu (ġlo, ġlë) sëmăn; ġlu (Tib. loanword) = earth-god;
sëmăn (Tib. loanword) = medicine, spice (11) [see Note 11 above].

Kănba flowers: kănba.

Incense additions: rdzē (Tib. loanword) = additions, things.
snaġsoġ fdzăn rdzē (Tib. loanword) = many kinds of incense additions (4), (11) [see Notes 4 and 11 above].

Cloves: lisi (Tib.); ting hsiang (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Saffron: gušgum (Tib.); tsang hung-hua (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Cardamom: sësmiel (Tib.); i-chi-jen (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Marl: gagulá (Tib); ts'ao-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Nutmeg: dzati (Tib.); jou-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Camphor: ġawur (Tib.); ping-p'ien (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

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[46]

Milk (profane): sun.

Libation: tsiab (tsiaw) (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 above].

[534] Conch: doṅ (Tib. loanword) = trumpet, horn (7) [see Note 7 above].

Heaven, you know it: tieṅgërē mudie.

[372] Purification-fire: sūndur (Tib. loanword).

[46 cont.]

[Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

115
[142] a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling
[291] in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autumn
[302] of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer,
1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the
792 conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the
796 monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guāmbasoma) in the vicinity
[534] of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense
[292] Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In
front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the
[782] background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-
[778] szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-
reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan.
756 Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to
enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof;
this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand
* [778] the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching
[292] line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not
wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is
very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter:
"The Gurtum.")

3: Schröder--86 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate 2

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*778
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塔兒寺昧尼寺之一

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351
342
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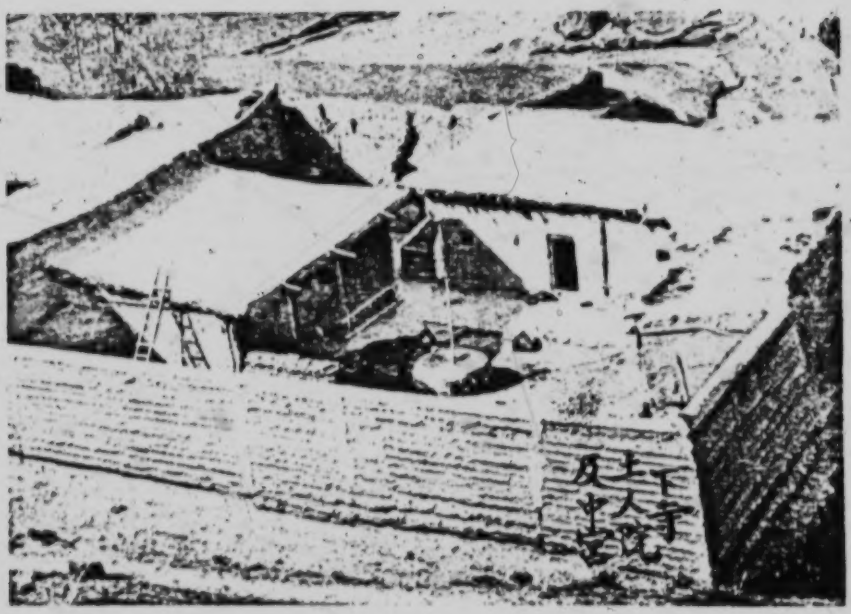

(Caption on following page.)

3: Schröder--87 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Caption for Plate 2 between pp. 48 and 49.]

*778 [137] [291] a: Mani-tree on a house roof in the village T'a-erh-wan west of Tangkar in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

b: An old Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai on the way to the obo of the Sha-pa-kou, 1949. In his right hand a poplar branch with flocks of wool, in his left and imitation spear with a flock of wool and painted spiral. In front of him on the ground: a [782] bundle of straw for the incense fire, a saddle bag with white stones that will be thrown on the obo, a jug of barley wine for the libation, and behind it a little bag with cypress needles (incense). (To accompany the chapter: "The Obo.")

[342] [351] [417] c: A Tujen yard of the settlement Ha-szu (Hsia-szu) on the way from Na-ling-kou to Yang-chüan. In the center of the yard, the central fort with the mani-tree. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

000 [50] 2. The Arrow of Good Fortune*

*See "Notes," pp. 52-55 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

353 *778 In every good Tujen house there is an arrow. The tip is stuck in an urn of grain, in a crevice in the wall, or in a slit in a beam. Hadas, colorful ribbons, sheep wool, hair, etc. are [792] attached to the arrow. The arrow is consecrated by a lama or a Bon priest, and on this occasion it is venerated in the house. Later, however, it is not venerated any more. The arrow is [777] not the seat of a spirit, but rather guarantees good fortune and wealth in the family.

[51 cont.]

777 of the Buddha image or, in case there is a chapel, kept in the chapel. If it is stuck somewhere without an urn, this must also
*778 always be in the main house.

777 Construction and consecration: The arrow without the urn
*778 is prepared and provided with the attachment by the master of the household himself without any kind of ceremony. It is then
● 782 fumigated once and stuck in its place with an incense offering.

In the case of an arrow with an urn, the lama is invited with the usual formalities. He makes his torma, sets up the little water-bowls, etc., just as on other occasions. Then he prays for a day or more and gives the prayer of consecration over the arrow. During this prayer the arrow is fumigated with cypress incense. Then the pot is brought, washed, and fumigated, while the lama prepares the scroll. The latter is also fumigated. After that, the grain is poured into the urn and the arrow stuck in it. The master of the household places the pot with the arrow in front of the lama on the kang, and the latter then attaches the individual objects. Each piece is first held in the incense and then handed to the lama. Everything is accompanied by the lama's prayer. It is also permissible for other persons, for example, the master of the household, to tie on the attachments. -- The master of the household then places the arrow-urn on the chest in front of the god's image with the usual offering gifts: little water-bowls, wine, grain, butter, milk, bread, etc. Outside in the yard the great incense offering is made, and inside all those present make a three-fold kowtow before the new arrow of good fortune. During the entire veneration, however, the lama remains seated on the kang and prays.

777 At noon a family festival[1] is celebrated with a banquet,
*778 and there is singing and drinking into the night. The lama stays until the following morning.
[527]

[787] Use and significance: The arrow is never used for soothsaying because it cannot become the seat of a spirit, like the
[585] spirit-spear, for instance (5). Only once is it taken out of the

1 [to celebrate the consecration of the arrow of good fortune - ANALYST]

[55] 3. The Mani-tree and the Central Fort *

* See "Notes," pp. 60-63 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

*778 In almost every Tujen yard a mani-tree is set up in the [357] middle of the central fort [Mittelburg] or round manger [Rundkrippe]. The mani-tree need not be erected at the same time as this central fort; it can be done later. The time is [791] determined by the soothsayer.

The mani-tree consists of a wooden mast with a tip, which represents sun and moon. Below this tip a five-colored cover is drawn over the mast-end, and below this mast-end flies the white mani-flag.

This flag is printed in the lamic monastery. At the same [792] time the master of the household invites a lama to raise the tree. The lama prays several days and on the last day undertakes [78-] the raising. During these days the yard is taboo. The great [35,] incense offering is presented three times daily.

At the raising, the mast is brought into the yard, placed [784] with its tip on the central fort, and the individual parts are attached to it. Once the pole has been set up, it is fumigated, [782] first with the red-hot stone and then with incense. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from a plate with the spear tip and throws them over the tree, and the master of the household [56] [Fig. 7 appears here] dabs the tree with butter. Then the men dig a narrow deep hole in the central fort down to the level of the ground. The soothsayer again throws some grains of barley into it with the spear, and the master of the household also strews a few incense leaves in it. Then the men set the tree in the hole and draw it up. In order to make it stand firmly, it is wedged in at the base with stones and clay. The entire operation is done under the constant supervision of the spear-god cited.

[56 cont.]

782 Now comes the offering. Incense is burned on the fumi-
*778 gating plate under the mani-tree, while a table with the follow-
ing gifts is put in front of it (1): a number of small bowls of

1. [Foreign text p. 60.] One can also burn incense directly at the foot of the tree inside the round manger and set the offerings there.

barley wine, grain, pure water, a large bowl of tea, bread, butter- or oil-lamps, and two vases of colorful flowers. -- The lama comes out, sits down on the opposite side of the central fort on a white felt mat, and gives the consecrating prayer. Meanwhile all those present kowtow and blow the conch.

After the prayer, the offerings are cleared away. Water and wine are poured on the ground, and small pieces of the bread are thrown into the air. The little oil-lamps are left standing. Everything else is taken into the house.

*778 The master of the household gives the guests a meal; they
527 dance and sing and drink into the night in the yard around the
[792] new mani-tree -- The next morning the lama is taken home to the monastery.

Details

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*778 Persons: For praying, an ordinary lama, not a Living
[782] Buddha, but sometimes a Bon priest, is invited. Everything can
[792] also be done without a lama, but then the performance lasts
[592] only one day because the praying is omitted. In this case the master of the household himself erects the tree. The ceremonies are almost the same as with a lama. The soothsayer, however, may never be lacking, whether or not he is a spear-soothsayer, or the litter-bearers or the table-god soothsayer (2).

[787] 2. [Foreign text p. 60.] The soothsayer is invited in the morning and given hospitality. He calls down the spirit and then determines precisely

[57 cont.]

*778 attached to the tree along the long side. On the average the length is 150 to 200 centimeters. The master of the household first takes this bolt of cloth to a lamic monastery where it is [782] printed with prayers and the picture of an air-horse in the monastery press, only on one side, however. About three-quarters of the flag is covered with prayers, and the lowest quarter with the air-horse. At home the man or the woman then sews a row of strings on one long side, with which the flag is tied to the pole. [58]. The other long side, fluttering in the breeze, is [822] provided with five tabs of cloth in the five sacred colors. The length depends on the flag. Usually they are about two fingers wide and a finger long. They may be quadrangular or triangular. The flag is likewise fumigated and placed next to the cover on the household altar. For these tabs, too, there are no regulations concerning the origin and nature of the material (7).

[192]

7. [Foreign text p. 61.] The mani-flag has various names; cf. below, Note 10. All these names apply in the first place to the horse-image, then to the flag, and finally to the entire tree. The image is the most important, especially when one considers that paper images are also in use.

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On every flag or every image there are the most varied sayings and representations, in Tibetan or Chinese or Mongolic. Sometimes the horse also bears on its back the sign of good fortune, nuru. These paper horses play

[171]

an important role in the ceremony of releasing the horses, which is performed by the Tujen as well as by the Chinese and Tibetans. This ceremony is practiced at certain times of the year, for instance, in the month of the

[58 cont.]

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[Foreign text p. 61 cont.]
New Year, very early in the morning, as I observed. On this occasion a great incense offering with a great many small dough-lamps are burned, bread, tea, and barley wine are offered, and finally a pack of paper horse-images with all kinds of inscriptions is thrown into the air and scattered in all directions by the wind. The entire ceremony takes place on a mountain. In case of misfortune anyone may undertake this ceremony at will.

*778 782 The sheep offering: When a lama has raised the mani-pole, then there remains the above-described offering of bread wine, flowers, etc. After that the lama withdraws into the [791] house. In the yard the spear-soothsayer divines once more [787] whether the spirits want another sheep offering or not. The soothsayer then announces the will of the spirit; sometimes the latter dispenses with a sheep offering; sometimes he wants to have it immediately, and sometimes only after a few days. [357] The yard must then remain taboo for that length of time. -- [784] The sheep offering is never given in the presence of the lama, [792] since it is, of course, always connected with the killing of the animal, and the lamas do not permit killing. The ritual of the sheep offering does not differ from the usual slaughter- and offering-ritual.

*778 Renewal of the mani-tree: If in the course of time the tree or the flag have suffered damage, they are renewed, that is, only the part that is damaged. The tattered flag is [372] burned, for instance, in the hearth or in a fire specially kindled for it, but always with pure firewood, never with the usual dry dung, for example. The unusable mani-tree is likewise burned. In no case may it be used for other purposes,

[59 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 61-62 cont.]
The various meanings of dkyil 'k'or are given there, particularly as the equivalent of the Sanskritic word mandala, the magical circles and figures and representations of the divine dwellings, etc. (cf. the chapter, "The Pole-Goat"); furthermore, for the conception of the universe under consideration here, "According to the Buddhist cosmogony there are sa-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of earth, c'u-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of water, the ocean, rlun-gi dkyil 'k'or the atmosphere, me-yi dkyil 'k'or the sphere of fire; each forming a stratum over the other. The upper stratum, i.e. that which is beyond the atmosphere, is called the sphere of fire or light [cited in English] (Ch. Das, loc. cit.). If one puts this orthodox Lamaist explanation beside the old man's explanation, he sees how indigenous and alive this conception is among the Tujen, how it is literally built into the existential sphere.

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The air-horse does not really seem to belong in this conceptual picture, and it could not be learned from the informant what the air-horse, in other words, the mani-flag, has to do with the world mountain, why it is attached to it. He thought that it would hang high on it and could flutter well in the wind, and, with its prayer and magical formulas, it would be the same as a prayer-mill that is likewise turned by the wind on the roof. Other

[59 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 61-62 cont.] explanations do not connect the air-horse with the round manger, either. Thus, one can hear that the magical formulas and prayers are carried to heaven on the air-horse. Others, again, believe that the air-horses are ridden by the wandering restless spirits and souls of the dead; in this way they would find the right way and come to rest. According to them, this is also the reason why these paper horses are released in such large numbers. Then the spirits are appeased and would no longer visit and molest human beings.

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Word List

(Cf. the drawing)

The mani-tree (tree and flag together): dardziog (Tib.).
The mast: dardziog gändzë (Chin.); mani-kan-tzu (Chin.).
The sun: nara.
The moon: sara.
For the round disk and the piece on the sun there are no specified Tujen names.
The cover: rdziala ntsam (Tib.); san (Chin.) = screen (6) [see Note 6 above].
The flag: dardziog (Tib.); ta-ch'iu (Chin.); ki mori = air horse;
lonsda (Tib.); lu-ma (Chin.) = horse of good fortune;
lung-ma (Chin.) = dragon-horse (10).

10. [Foreign text pp. 62-63,] lonsda is the Tibetan rlun rta, air-horse; ki-mori is the literal Tujen translation of it.

[59 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 62-63 cont.] Concerning its meaning as "fate," cf. Part Two, II, 1, c. -- Perhaps the Chinese lung-ma is also only a phonetic imitation of this Tibetan rluṅ (air), which perhaps came about because the dragon-horse, which likewise is called lung-ma, appears in legends and tales as a wonder horse. In the Sining chronicle, in the chapter on the Koko Nor Lake, there is a passage concerning this dragon-horse. In certain times the T'u-yü-hun were supposed to drive their horses (quite bad ones, too) into the lake, and they would then couple with the dragon. The horses descended from them were supposed to be able to cover thousands of miles in a day.

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[171]

For the paper prints of the air-horses the Chinese usually say lu-ma (good-luck horses). They claim that the above-mentioned "releasing" of these horses, fang lu-ma, is an old Chinese custom, whereas the Tujen, Fandse, and lamas claim it as their own tradition. -- In addition, the Chinese have gold-yellow paper leaves attached to house gates, animals, etc., which they burn on various occasions. They are called chih-ma [63] (paper-horses) or piao-ma (leaf-horses). Although there is no horse-image on it, many people derive the ...ma from "horse."

The ta-ch'iu is a Chinese literary botching of dardziog; one hears this expression mostly in the region of Tangkar. dardziog corresponds to the Tibetan dar lcog (DMF, p. 44); according to Ch. Das

[63 cont.]

Report

*778 On the mountains in the vicinity of the villages, the Tujen like to erect an obo. This is a large stonepile over a pit in which all kinds of things are buried. On these stonepiles stands a large square wooden frame, in which all kinds of weapons, tree twigs, and mani-flags are placed. Frequently several smaller stonepiles run from the obo to the four points of the compass; there will be at least one row in the direction of the mountain ridge.

*778 ●782 [776] [792] [791] The obo is dedicated to the mountain-spirit. It protects the village and the individual family. The obo is venerated three times each month with an incense offering. Sheep sacrifices also often take place at the obo. On special occasions a lama or Bon priest is invited to pray before the obo. When air-horses are released, it is done preferably from the peak on which an obo stands. -- Every year a large folk festival takes place near the obo.

Details

*778 [621] [628] Place: The obo is always erected on a mountain height. A place by a pass is preferred. It need not be the highest mountain in the area. Each village may have its own obo, or several villages may erect an obo together. In the latter case they agree upon a favorable place between the villages (1).

[171]

1. [Foreign text p. 68.] The obo need not always be on a mountain. In other regions around Sining one finds obos on the plain, for instance, near Fandse and Chiafandse settlements. Even here, however, trees are almost always present. Nevertheless, the Tujen maintain that they would never build an obo on the plain, for, according to them, an obo belongs to the mountain-spirit and must

[64 cont.]

*778 always thrown in, so the pile constantly grows. The outer wall of the mound is covered with whitewash. The twelve small stonepiles are called "obo children." An urn is buried under each of them.

The obo frame: The frame that is set on the stone mound has four strong corner-posts connected by crossbeams as thick as an arm. There are no regulations for its construction, not even for its material. When this frame falls into disrepair, it is replaced by a new one and the remains of the old one are used in any way desired. Depending on the size of the obo, there are frames from one to three meters long at the sides and up to two meters high. The frame serves entirely for holding weapons, tree twigs, and poles.

*778 782 Votive offerings: In the obo frame are placed wooden weapons, such as spears, swords, arrows, bows, and pikes, recently even wooden rifles. Furthermore, tree twigs and mani-flags are stuck in between.

There are no regulations concerning the wood. Bunches of sheep wool are tied to both the weapons and the tree twigs. The spears are sometimes painted red and wound spirally with strips of black cloth. The swords are likewise painted black up to the handle. The flocks of wool on the spear tip are a substitute for the spear tassels, which on real spears consist of bundles of white yak tails colored red. The black color signifies iron. Formerly the spears were wound spirally with strips of tin.

[824] The tree twigs are usually from poplars, fir trees, and cypresses. Cypresses and fir trees are preferred. The leaves may be left on them. Smooth twigs with the bark removed may also replace the spears.

Other offerings, too, are thrown inside the frame on the stone mound, such as white stones, gold, silver, money, grain, sugar, butter, flowers, tea leaves, etc. Silk threads and hadas are tied to the obo frame; a silk string is drawn around the [178] frame. Formerly the obo was draped with valuable cloths, but

[64 cont.]

*778 nowadays the people are too poor. The silk threads and the long silk string are merely a substitute for them. Similarly, gold and silver are scarcely ever thrown on the obo any more.

●782 [178] Sometimes a string with 12 mani-flags is also drawn across the nearby pass from the obo-frame or from the mani-pole. This string is of black wool and is called "wolf string." Another string, on which 12 mani-flags are hung, is frequently run from the obo to a tree. This string is white and is called "mani-string."

782 [796] [65] The month offering: Usually the obo is venerated on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of each lunar month (2).

> 2. [Foreign text p. 69.] There is no connection between obo and month. The days mentioned here are generally preferred for offering and cult, and for this the phases of the moon are decisive.

This is done usually by the master of the family. He goes to the obo very early in the morning with a spear or several twigs and all the other necessities.

First he gives the customary incense offering before it. Then he pours a bowl of barley wine on the ground before the incense fire. He places lances and twigs with bunches of wool on the obo, hangs silk threads on the frame, and throws his votive gifts on the mound, namely, butter, tea leaves, money, silver, etc., as much as he can afford. Then he goes around the obo three times from left to right, throws 108 small white [788] stones on it, and in doing so prays the om mani padme hum and in between calls out: "I throw at the white obo." Then he makes a threefold kowtow before the incense fire and facing the obo. During the entire ceremony the conch is blown by his companions. This is not necessary, however.

The sheep sacrifice: There are no definite prescriptions concerning the time of the sheep sacrifice. There are communal [621] sacrifices, at which the entire village participates for village

[65 cont.]

782 concerns, and there are private sacrifices which the individual
[621] gives for his family.

The communal sacrifice is usually given in summer after the erection of the pole-goat for a good harvest. A private sacrifice is undertaken at any time of year according to time and circumstances, for instance, in case of an illness or before an important undertaking. Since one man alone cannot carry out everything for a sacrifice, he invites several other men to it, who help him and afterwards consume the sacrificial meat. The person who makes the offering must also pay the cost.

The sacrificial rite does not differ from that of the other
[231] sheep sacrifice. Thus, the sheep is washed, has milk poured over it, is fumigated, etc. Usually a soothsayer is present.
[791] After the sacrificial meat has been boiled, several bowls of broth
[252] are scooped out. The offering-casts are made with it in the directions indicated by the soothsayer. These are always the same. Three bowls are thrown towards the north for heaven, three bowls each to the east, south, west, and north for the countless spirits, three bowls to the left of the incense offering for the mountain-spirit in the obo, three bowls to the right of the incense offering for the earth-spirit. Then follow three more bowls on the obo, and finally three additional bowls are poured before the spirit-spear. Then follows the offering meal,
[574] at which all the meat is consumed.

Before the sheep offering the general obo-veneration is first undertaken, as at the month offering.

[792] The obo prayer: Frequently a lama or Bon priest is in-
[791] vited to pray before the obo. This may last one to seven days, depending upon the request. Here, too, either the entire
[621] village or an individual person is the petitioner. Everyone pays personally for the expenses arising from it.

The prayer service begins with an incense offering of the people. Meanwhile the lama makes a šdorma. Then the people place the following offerings before the obo: three baked loaves, 13 steamed loaves, a bowl [66] of barley wine, flowers in vases, small bowls with honey, a cup of tea, black and white sugar, a bowl of tsamba with butter-disks.

[66 cont.]

782 Sitting before the obo, the lama gives the appropriate
[533] prayers, accompanying them on his hourglass drum and the bell. At the same time the people burn incense at several places, kowtow, and blow the conch. This service may sometimes last the entire day. When the lama is finished with the prayer, he takes the torma to a stone on the obo, sprinkles the obo with holy water, and casts barley on it, over which he lightly blows with his mouth. The people then take something from offerings that stand in front of the obo, pluck something off, and throw some of this into the incense fire and on the obo. The flowers are all thrown on the mound. Meanwhile others have already placed the spears, twigs, and mani-flags on the obo and have thrown the votive gifts on it, as at the month offering. Then all of them circle around the obo, throwing the white stones and praying the obo call. At this point all of them once more make a threefold kowtow, drink tea, and go home.

The prayer service may also last several days. Then people set up tents on the mountain and live and eat there.

527 The obo festival: Every year on the sixth day in the sixth
782 month an obo festival takes place. At these festivals the obo is venerated in the morning, as it is at the month offering. A sheep offering and the prayer service of the lama may also be connected with it.

527 All the people from the neighborhood, men and women, old and young, gather at the obo. If the obo terrain is too
[541] difficult and not level enough, they gather at the foot of the mountain or on a meadow. There the men hold horse races,
[533] people sit around the fire and drink and sing; they eat and
[439] dance and laugh. Chinese traders appear, set up their booths, and peddle their wares. -- Formerly, when the old weapons
[526] were still used, the horse races were followed by archery, spear throwing, and sword fights. Wrestling matches were especially
[178] popular. Nowadays this is no longer the case. Only the horse
[541] racing and the singing contests are still held. The mountain-
[533] spirit rejoices when the people are so gay (3).

[171] 3. [Foreign text p. 69.] The obo festival is also celebrated by the

[66 cont.]

527 [171]

[Note on foreign text p. 69 cont.]
Mongols and Tangut. According to the informant, a day in the sixth month is always chosen, but it does not always have to be the sixth day. It is the time at which formerly the obos were erected, and it seems to be a matter of the yearly return. -- Nowadays these festivals have more or less degenerated into a Chinese commercial racket, as has, for instance, the festival in the New Year's month at Wei-yüan-pu (Huchu), which is really a Tujen festival. Only the horse racing and the singing of songs have remained from olden times.

[178]

*778 776 Obo and mountain-spirit: The obo is the dwelling of the mountain-spirit. Everything that grows on the earth, grass, trees, flowers, the wild animals, and human beings, belongs to him. From the obo he guards the welfare of the tribe (ayil) and protects animal and man. The wild and tame animals are his herd and the wolves his dogs. For that reason an offering is made to the mountain-spirit before the obo whenever the wolves become too destructive. He can keep them in check. [782] [825]

The silk (cloths or bands) on the obo signifies the clothes of the mountain spirit; the white color of the obo wall, his eminence and his good fortune.

The obo is the armory of the village and of the mountain-spirit. In olden times it was from here that the men fetched their weapons for battle and for athletic contests. [67] And they brought them back here. Nowadays the Tujen are peaceful farmers; they no longer use their weapons. Therefore they surrender them to the mountain-spirit. [411]

[782] The mountain-spirit is given something from everything that is valuable: gold, silver, silk, etc. All the good fortune, the wealth, and the preservation of the village are guaranteed through him. The mountain-spirit provides the descendants;

[67 cont.]

192 Obo mountain: lawdzē ūla.

*778 To erect obo: lawdzē pagguni.

Obo pit: lawdzē nukuo.

Stone mound: tašē sogdō.

Obo frame: lawdzē dziadzē (Chin.).

Whitewashing: tsigandē budē.

Contents of the obo pit: rdzē.

[782] Votive offerings for the obo: lawdzē šdodlōdzān ntsuomdzia = weapons placed on the obo.

Spear: dzida.

Sword: wōldē.

Tree twigs: sdziōdzē aralag = (poplar) twigs;
šgua aralag = cypress twigs;
tāngērag aralag = fir branches.

Sheep wool: nguasē.

Silk threads: torguo sdadzē = silk threads.

Little white stones: mulgan (mula) tsigan tašē.

Spear tassel: dzida mān dziog.

[68]

Grain: dzüldē tara = all kinds of grain.

Sugar: garā.

Gold: xaldān.

Silver: miengu.

Mani-string: lang-sheng (Chin.) = wolf string.
kimori bōdog = air-horse string.

Obo call: garu (Tib.) lawdzē yara (Tib.).
šdo-o-od = the white obo from below I throw at (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 71.]
mändziog: Tibetan lcog = pennant, pinnacle, peak. The mān seems to come from the Chinese mang = pennant.
-- garu lawtsē yāre šdodla (obo call): Tibetan dkar (pronounced gar) = white,

[68 cont.]

192
*778

[Note on foreign text p. 71 cont.]
la rtse – obo, yar = upward, stod la = upward, to place on top. -- rēdziōn: Tibetan žon = to ride. -- yifula: Tibetan ri bo = mountain, hill, lha = spirit. -- ndziǧdien: Tibetan 'jig = transitoriness, rten = container. A Buddhistic mode of expression for the world: the ten containers of transitoriness (Unkrig).

Little stonepiles: lawdzē dzidziǧa = obo chicks.

Obo sheep-offering: lawdzē tada xoni šēnlie = to sacrifice a sheep before the obo.

[782] The lama prays before the obo: lama lawdzē tada mošguni.
The offerings: yilenē šēnlie = total offerings.

To dwell at the obo: lawdze tada sō-.

To set up a tent: bekärge posǧuo-.

[541] Horse racing: mori holilǧa = to make horses race.

Whose horse is fast: käni mori gurdā?

[526] Shooting competition: sēmu sēmuda- = to shoot arrows.

Whose skill with weapons is great: käni xuawu šgewa?

The young people wrestle: mula kunsgē walde-.

Whose strength is great: kāni kudzi šgewa?

Large and small sing together: šge mulasgē nigē dōlā-.

Whose songs are many: käni dō uluona?

[541] Obo horse-racing: lawdzē šda rēdziōn (Tib. (8) [see Note 8 above].

[527] Obo festival: lawdzē šdodlō, mori holǧani = to make the horses run pelting the obo.

[621] [757] The obo protects human beings: lawdzē ayili kun, ase, mulā-sēla, nasā, ǧuosāni furōnlāni = the obo of the village (kin group) protects human beings, animals, little children, from epidemics and strife.

[776] The mountain-spirit: yifu la (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above].

[75 cont.]

*778 with one another at the same height at the top. The leader
346 brings 12 loaves and some liquor and places them on a tray before the chorten-mountain. The carpenters lay the ridge-piece by it. Into it they have drilled a hole, filled it with grain and butter, and closed it again with a wooden cover. The leader binds an ell of red cloth around this place -- it is the middle. Then they burn incense and kowtow. At the same time the tools are put on a small measure of grain before the loaves.
[483] The carpenters now climb on the frame and draw up the ridge-piece by ropes. The leader then throws two loaves of bread up to them, which they throw back; likewise the liquor is handed up to them, which they drink. Only now do the carpenters put the ridge-piece on the supports, exactly above the sky column. The latter, however, does not touch the ridge-piece, but towers up in the center, not quite reaching the ridge. --
[783] The ridge-piece is likewise sprinkled with pure water beforehand and fumigated with incense and the red-hot stone.

Now the carpenters again climb down, and the men begin to erect the wall between the corner posts. When these have reached about 50 centimeters, so that the chorten can no longer roll out, they pause. Once again incense leaves are scattered over the chorten-mountain and then work is resumed, evenly on all four sides. At head level a gap is left on each side. They immediately continue to build the wall up to the roof and everything is immediately covered with clay mortar. The roof is also [76] immediately covered. When everything is dry, the outside is whitewashed. -- If it is not finished on the same day, work is continued on the next day.

Towards the end the lama once again makes a torma and places it in front of the chorten chamber. One again burns incense, blows the conch, and kowtows. Then everyone, even the women, go around the chamber, as around an obo. -- Frequently the lama once again sprinkles the new chorten chamber
[527] with holy water after the whitewashing; then all go home and celebrate the event with a feast, singing, dancing, and drinking.

[782] Veneration of the chorten chamber: Later the chorten chamber is venerated on certain days by a procession around it

[76 cont.]

*778 and incense, as an obo is. On these occasions new clay cones
346 are thrown into it through the gaps. Usually this is on the first,
782 eighth, and fifteenth day of the month. At other times, too, however, in case of emergency and misfortune, the people venerate the chorten chamber. The procession always goes from west to east, in other words, not in the direction of the course of the sun.

*778 Meaning: The chorten chamber is connected with the
[776] mountain-spirit and earth-god. The column establishes the
[772] connection with the sky. The chamber holds down the hostile
[751] earth-influences. Thus it protects against misfortune and illness (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 79.] The urn, the mountain, and the tree are essential for the beñkañ. Therefore it belongs in the same conceptual
[772] realm as the central fort in the yard, namely, the widespread myth of heaven and earth, joined (or separated) by the world-tree. In this connection, in the case of the central fort the mani-flag might be Lamaist-secondary, and in the case of the chorten chamber the sasa-mountain, which consists of the mani-cones, as they are sometimes called. -- Now that a house is built over it, it is probably quite secondary. It evidently only has the function of protection and no inner relationship to its contents. It is striking that the sky column likewise is not erected as the bearer of the ridge-piece; it is freestanding and does not extend to the beam.
[171] Also, in the case of the customs

[76 cont.]

192 hung ni-tan-tzu (Chin.) = red clay clods.

*778 Gaps in the wall: tsiäṅguäṅ = windows.

The great urn: lha-wum (Tib.) = spirit urn (receptacle).

ġlo-wum (Tib.) = earth-god urn.

ġlo-wum gõṅluo (Tuj.) = earth-god urn receptacle.

The small urns: shoġ dër (Tib. loanword) = magic-urn.

Contents of the receptacle: rdzē (Tib.).

yang-wu (Chin.) = things.

Mountain-earth: sa-sena (Tib.) (7) [see Note 7 above]; siru = earth.

Water: tsü-sena (Tib.); fdzē = water.

Wood: siṅ sena (Tib.); mõdë = wood.

Buddha gold: šdzer (7) [see Note 7 above]; sädoġ (Tib.).

Mother of pearl ? wsirë (Tib.) (7) [see Note 7 above]; shan-hu (Chin.) = coral.

Precious stone: mädoġ (Tib.) = flower; chen-chu = jewel.

Earth-god spice: ġlo-smän (Tib. loanword).

Little water-bowl: doṅsär (Tib. loanword).

Black incense: gukual

hei-hsiang (Chin.).

[782] Prayer of consecration: rami.

Red earth: fulan siru; huang-tan (Chin.) = yellow ocher.

[77]

[784] Magic formulas: snaġ (snoġ).

Mandala drawing: sdzi ṅkuor (Tib. loanword).

Ridge-piece: chung-leang (Chin.) = center beam.

Red-hot stone: ts'u-t'an, ch'ü-t'an (Chin.); sõdäṅ; sõdäṅ (7) [see Note 7 above].

Procession around the chorten chamber: sguora (Tib. loanword).

[Pages 77-79 contain the notes given above as numbered foot notes. This section ends on p. 79, and the next section begins on p. 620.]

[628 cont.]

302
852

[Note on foreign text p. 624 cont.] (roughly = little head horn). To what extent they thereby characterize childhood is shown by the expression tsung-chiao chih chiao, friendship since childhood (literally, little head horn connection).

[778] his hands into a little roll and twirls one thread out of it with which he ties it to the arrow of good fortune. Formerly these strands were drawn through a coin with a hole in it, and this, together with the ball of hair, was hung on the arrow. The hair of the children thus remain on the arrow of good fortune throughout their lives.

852 Then the father goes with the child and the arrow of good
[782] fortune into the yard and makes the great incense offering. On this occasion the child kowtows to the sky for the first time. After the offering the arrow is taken back to its original place (5).

[527]
[177]
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5. [Foreign text pp. 624-625.] The first birthday celebration was evidently taken over from the Chinese there. An example of how it is practiced elsewhere in China, taken from J. Doolittle, Social Life (p. 90), will be presented here for the sake of clarity: "On the first birthday the mother is presented with another thank-offering, and other gifts of clothing and food are received by the grandmother on the maternal side. If it is a boy, a pair of shoes and a cap are found among other items of clothing; if it is a girl, then arm bands and head ornaments are also found among other articles of clothing. The preparations for the thank-offering

[625 cont.]

527 dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
[574] moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.

Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared. During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
[782] day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated,
[888] joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon

[113] 3. [Foreign text p. 628.] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.

relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.

From the second day on the people make New Year's
[628] visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

[533] gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
[262] are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
[273] a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
[356] house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

[626 cont.]

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[354]

1. [Foreign text p. 628.]
The lamps are large copper butter-lamps or the small copper bowls. -- If there is no mani-tree, the red lamp is hung on a roof slat in front of the door of the main house. This lamp is very likely copied from the Chinese celestial lantern. The Chinese, too, draw up such a lamp on a tall mast in the yard, like a flag, and let it burn every night. It is called t'ien-teng, that is, celestial lamp.

[177]

[356] the window newly plastered. In recent times the Tujen also
[177] write vernal sayings on red paper, like the Chinese, and paste them to the door posts. This was formerly not the case.

[573] Night watch: During the night before New Year's Day sleeping is not allowed. The old people say: "Please do not sleep tonight, the gods want to be welcomed early tomorrow morning." Therefore the master of the household stays up with his whole family. They partake liberally of tea, liquor, and the New Year's food, sing and converse until dawn.

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[888]

New Year's morning: At the first cockcrow after midnight even the last stragglers put on their best clothes. Only the very old in the family remain lying on the kang. The master of the household puts large, burning butter- or oil-lamps in the room on the household altar. In the yard he hangs a red paper lantern with a butter-lamp to the mani-tree (1) [see Note 1 above]. It is attached to a transverse strip on it. Then outside, with the entire family, he gives the great incense offering, and everyone makes a threefold kowtow to the sky out in the open. The same is repeated before the household altar for the countless other spirits. During this time a stone is made red-hot in the hearth fire, and with this glowing stone all the rooms of the compound are fumigated. At the same time the conch is blown. The fumigation may also be done by women (2).

[783]

2. [Foreign text p. 628.] The

[626 cont.]

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[783]
[789]

[Note on foreign text p. 628 cont.] The fumigating with the red-hot stone is supposed to purify the house and drive away the demons, like the exploding of rockets.

Then a second offering follows. The master of the household takes little sticks of incense, one for each member of the family, and lights them in the room above the lamp. Then he goes out around the mani-pole and, with all the members of the family, makes a threefold kowtow to the sky, facing the main house. He puts the little sticks in the incense oven on the round manger. Then the same ceremony is repeated in the house before the household altar, where the new little sticks continue to smolder in the incense basin. During the entire ceremony rockets and cannons are fired in order to scare away the demons. Together with the incense, yellow paper is also burned, exactly as among the Chinese (8).

[789]
[171]

8. [Foreign text p. 629.] As among the Chinese, the hearth-god is also carried off and on New Year's morning is again festively carried in. I was unable to learn anything concerning an original Tujen ceremony with respect to the hearth fire. Since time immemorial an incense offering has been made to the hearth-god, but it is uncertain whether on this occasion cypress twigs were thrown into the fire. Nowadays little sticks of incense are generally put on the wall behind the hearth, precisely as among the Chinese.

[776]
[372]

Another fire ceremony takes place in the first full-moon night of the year from the fourteenth to the fifteenth day. Young people light a series of little straw fires (10 to 15) on the path or on

[372]
[783]

[626 cont.]

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[372]
[783]
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[Note on foreign text p. 629 cont.]
the threshing floor and jump over them. It is said that this is done in order to become pure; others say it is only for fun. The Chinese there, who also have this custom, maintain that it is an old Chinese practice. They also tell a legend about it, which I have forgotten. It has something to do with a battle ruse of old heroes whose memory one wants to celebrate. -- For the purificatory fire, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 9.

[177]

It is precisely in the New Year's practices that the strong mixture with Chinese customs appears, so that in individual instances it is impossible to say definitely what originally belonged to the Tujen. One can safely ascribe to them, however, the ying-hsi ceremony, renewal of the animal consecration, and above all the dancing and singing of songs, which the Chinese do not know.

[821]

The dances with song point to a close connection with the waxing moon, since they are usually performed at night on the fifteenth day, even throughout the night. It is almost as though the New Year's festival applies primarily to the new moon. After the first full moon, everything is quite suddenly broken off.

Once the incense ceremony is over, the master of the household places a table in the yard before the round manger. On it are put trays with five steamed loaves, five oil-loaves, three tagur loaves, and all kinds of baked goods (3) [see Note 3 above]. Then a bowl of barley wine is poured out and a

[626 cont.]
527 threefold kowtow is again made to the sky. The same ceremony
782 is repeated before the household altar for the other gods.

[627] Gratulation: Meanwhile, the old people of the
527 household have also arisen. Now they, too, pay their New Year's
888 reverence to the sky and the countless spirits. Then they sit
576 down on the kang with the master of the household and the family elder for tea and receive the kowtow from their sons and daughters. Then the general breakfast takes place. The children kowtow before their parents, the younger siblings before the older siblings, the younger cousins before the older cousins, etc. The old ones give younger ones some money.

171
527 The welcoming of joy: Towards midday the welcoming
[776] of the god of joy takes place. For this one drives the animals onto the threshing floor, makes an offering of bread and wine, burns incense, waters the animals, and again drives them home. This practice is exactly the same as among the Chinese (7).

[787]

7. [Foreign text p. 629.] At New Year's the Tujen also question all kinds of oracles in a way similar to that of the Chinese, for example, the feed oracle, in connection with which one feeds the animals with various kinds of bread in order to prophesy concerning the harvest (cf. Schröder, "Ying-hsi, and Note 3 above). Another oracle is the ice-breaking. Young boys and men go to the river, take a sheet of ice, and break it apart. In the break lines pictures of species of grain are recognizable; the species that appear most clearly may be expected to have the best harvest during the year. This oracle is also found among the Chinese.

[627 cont.]

527 782 Obo veneration: At the same time or still in the early hours of the morning some family representatives go outside to venerate the obo. On this occasion, after the stone throwing, the air-horses, which are printed on yellow paper, are released. They flutter and whirl about in the wind as a sign of good fortune for the family (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 628.]
Cf. section, "The Mani-tree,"
Note 7.

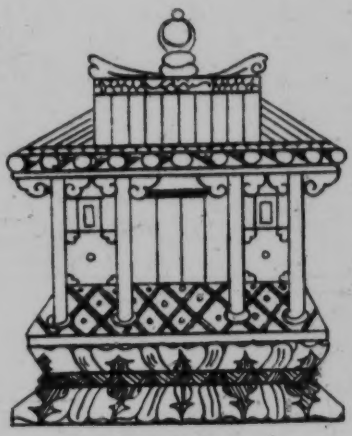
527 574 Gratulation visits: At midday the villagers visit one another. One takes five to six loaves of bread, sticks of incense, yellow paper, and a little jug of barley wine and goes to the family with which one is friendly. There the guest places the bread before the household altar, lights the little sticks, burns the paper, and pours a few drops of wine on the floor. After that he kowtows before the altar and gratulates the master of the household as well as the individual members of the family. [576] The one of lower standing or the younger one must always kowtow to the one of higher standing on this occasion. Then they sit down on the kang around the fire, drink tea or wine, converse, and sing. Sometimes a round of dancing also follows in the yard.

When women go gratulating, they take no wine, incense, or paper with them, but only bread and tea. They put the bread on the altar, pour some tea on the ground, and then kowtow. They never sit with the men on a kang, however.

It is obligatory that the younger relatives go to the older relatives. In any case on New Year's Day itself one stays in the village. Only from the second day on do the friends and relatives living farther away visit one another.

527 533 Entertainment: During the first 14 days of the new year the people meet every evening at moonrise in the yards. Incense is burned and singers who tell legends are invited. They take turns singing competitively, during which two persons grasp each other by a lappet of the coat. When one of them

764 [637 cont.]
465 his work and, in addition, twelve
322 loaves of bread, two ells of white cloth, and a small measure of wheat (six pounds). After the work is done, this measure of wheat is put on the house-
[782] hold altar, and the carpenter puts his tools on it. The master of the household sticks a few burning incense-sticks among them and puts the loaves before them. Then everyone makes a three-
[532]



Death-box
(Drawing of a Tujen)

fold kowtow (7). The carpenter does not receive the white cloth until the funeral meal.

[782] [776] [177] 7. [Foreign text p. 653.] This ceremony actually has nothing to do with the death-box. It is customary after all carpentry work; it is done to honor the tutelary god of the carpenter, Lu-pan-yeh. It is a Chinese custom.

764 Lying in state: If the box is already available at death, the corpse is immediately put in it. If it is not yet ready, then the people put the dead in a crouching position on the k[illegible]ng or on the floor of the room in which he died. First, however, they lay down a white felt mat as a pad; straw is not used. No one may sleep or live in the same room with the dead, only in an adjoining room. A table with 12 loaves of bread, which come from the deceased's own family, and a water-lamp stand before the crouching corpse.

[462] Putting the corpse in the box is always done by men. The
[543] son puts his father and mother inside. The father, however, never puts his son in; that is taken care of by the young brothers or cousins.

[638 cont.]

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[776]

[Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.] the declared opponent of the white tiger. -- Furthermore, the white tiger is powerless against anything that comes from the dead or is connected with the dead; he fears coffins, death-boxes, burials, etc. For that reason coffin-making is the best opportunity for making a rolling pin, and therefore the rolling pin is propped against the death-box. The relationship of the tiger to the rolling pin is thereby neutralized. -- People very rarely have a rolling pin made other than at the time of a burial; the carpenter must then plane the pole on a threshing roller, the enemy of the white tiger. The millstone also has an effect similar to that of the threshing roller, for it crushes the provider of the "white," that is, the grain from which the flour comes.

[322]

[322]

764 all. As in the case of the crouching corpse, a small kang table with the gifts to the dead is also placed before the death-box.
171 Men and women kowtow before it, burn white paper, like the
[782] Chinese, and weep aloud (9).

9. [Foreign text p. 653.] Aside from the bone-casket I once saw a small wooden casket of coffin-like form beside a death-box. The people said a small manlike doll lay in it. It was supposed to keep misfortune and death away from the house. The informant had not yet seen that and thought that this custom had come from

[789]

[638 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.]
the Chinese. Among the Chinese I learned the following: If someone died on an unlucky day -- which the geomancer determines -- there is danger that he will take someone else from the family with him into the beyond. In order to prevent this, the family provides a substitute at the interment. They lay a human figure made of apricot or peach wood, which the demons particularly fear, in a miniature coffin. At the interment this miniature coffin is buried at the base of the grave and the actual coffin is put on top of it. -- The Tujen bury the miniature coffin under the bone-chest. The Chinese name for this custom is ch'ung-sang, that is, double interment. One would do better to translate it as "accompanying interment." It clearly has nothing to do with an escort for the dead and the double interment in the usual sense. A kind of after-consumer [Nachzehrer] is involved here.

[789]

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Gifts for the dead: The Tujen make an offering of 12 loaves of bread and a water-lamp before the dead (10). First,

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10. [Foreign text p. 654.] Death-gifts and offering regulations correspond with those of the Chinese. The water-lamp, shui-teng, is an earthen bowl which is half-filled with water, beans are usually also added. A layer of oil is poured on the water. A little wooden plate, into which a wick is stuck, floats

[638 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] on the oil. This is to prevent the wick from burning too far down into the bowl; in order to save oil, the lower half is filled with water. -- The Chinese dough-lamp of long life, ch'ang-ming teng, has nothing to do with this lamp; it is unknown to the Tujen.

the deceased's own family must present these gifts. A so-called paper-bowl also stands on the floor next to the bread and the water-lamp. After each meal some tea, soup, or milk is poured into it, and little pieces of meat, bread, vegetable, etc. [264] are thrown in, according to what the family has just eaten. Until the day of cremation the dead is always supposed to partake of the meals of the household. The paper-bowl is an ordinary earthen bowl; it gets its name from the fact that after the paper-burning the charred leaves are thrown in it (11). Along with the

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11. [Foreign text p. 654.] The paper-burning is typically Chinese.

water-lamp it is emptied in front of the gate on the last day, when the death-box leaves the compound for cremation. It is not broken, but may be used again for other purposes.

764 On the third day after the death, the oldest married daughter of the household appears with 12 loaves of bread. Then 782 the family loaves before the death-box are replaced by the 593 daughter's loaves. This is called "bread exchange." This takes place each time a person makes an offering of loaves. The oldest daughter is followed in order by the younger ones, whether or not the corpse has already been put in the box. Unmarried [589] daughters of the household do not make offerings. Every time [152] someone offers loaves, he also burns white paper and weeps aloud; the men, it is true, do not weep (24).

[638 cont.]

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24. [Foreign text p. 657.] A custom that is no longer practiced among the Tujen was the eating of oil-dishes on the eve of the cremation, bän-sän tsinani, that is, one cooks oil-dish. The daughters and their girls (nieces) brought a measure of wheat flour and a jug of oil. Both would be roasted together in a kettle after the pai-ta and handed around. It was kneaded into dumplings like tsamba. -- Similar old Tujen customs have now been forgotten, according to the informant. The extensive customs of the Chinese are being adopted more and more, and in the foreseeable future the cremation of the dead will have yielded to the Chinese funeral celebration.

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Only after the corpse is in the box do the other relatives come, and the same rite is repeated. These are only the relatives on the father's side, however. The other acquaintances and friends also make an appearance with them. The relatives on the mother's side come only on the day before the cremation, regardless of whether the dead person is a man or a woman.

With regard to the offerings for the dead, one must always distinguish whether a person of an older, a contemporary, or a younger generation is involved. The older generation never makes an offering to the younger, for example, the father never to the son. The man does make an offering to his wife, however, and vice versa. The man also makes an offering to his older sisters-in-law.

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Of the offering of 12 loaves of bread that each one brings, he gets two back; ten are used in the house of mourning and are eaten by the relatives or guests. The loaves that are returned are called "returned plate."

[638 cont.]

292 765 Mourning dress: Mourning is worn immediately after the death. It does not consist of a special white garb, as among the Chinese, but only of a change of dress.

[171] During the period of mourning the men remove their colorful vests and take everything colored off their clothing, such as neck bands, sleeve edging, etc. Their long cloak is turned and worn with the lining, or in winter with the fur, on the outside. [302] They do not cut their hair, and they let the beard grow. The red or green trouser belt made of cloth is replaced by [639] a white or black one. Instead of the clothes-belt they wear a thick hemp string.

Like the men, the women also remove the colorful sleeve strips, trouser trimming, and shoe and boot ornamentation, especially everything red. The red or green skirt over the trousers is not worn at all. Instead of the colorful clothes, the woman puts on only a simple upper garment of one color. She takes off the ear pendants, arm bands, and the neck band, and [301] removes from her headdress all lace, tassels, and hanging strings, as well as the silver hair cap [Haarschale] and the little copper plates. She keeps only the simple, rigid frame of the headdress and covers its colorful strips uniformly by sticking green paper on them. She puts a blue cloth made of coarse linen over this as a head veil. She replaces her broad and colorful belt with a hemp string.

[602] [593] All the close relatives are required to wear mourning dress, those who also must give the death-offering. The only exception is the husband upon the death of his wife. He may not wear mourning.

764 782 [602] Prayer service: The prayer service is called "prayer tea." The relatives on the father's side assemble daily in the house of mourning; toward evening they sit on the kang around the open fire in the kitchen and pray the mani for the dead on their mani-string. When they are finished, they receive noodle soup and go home. This prayer service lasts until the day of cremation. One need not sit around the kang fire, however, but can also perform these prayers before the death-box itself.

[639 cont.]

764 782 792 The official prayer-service is undertaken by a lama, if possible by a hutukhtu. He is given a room of his own in the house of mourning, which ordinarily immediately adjoins the room in which the corpse is laid out, so that he can remain on the kang when he recites the office of the dead. A lama never prays directly before the corpse. A hutukhtu visits the house of mourning only on the day before the cremation, and stays there only one night. He also always undertakes the ceremonial cremation with the fire-pouring. Other lamas, on the other hand, may perform services in the house of mourning several days before.

[177] In recent times the Tujen also invite Chinese bonzes for the prayers. They adhere to their own rites. It also happens that bonzes and lamas are invited at the same time. Then the prayer rite is mixed. A cremation, however, is never carried out without some religious officiant first giving the prayers for the dead (12). Lamas of lower rank, who may not undertake the

[123] 12. [Foreign text p. 654.] The Tujen have no difficulties in inviting representatives of various religions for prayers. I was even requested once to give the Christian office of the dead. -- On the other hand, the Chinese Buddhists also invite the lamas to give prayers for the dead.

fire-pouring, or bonzes do not go along to the place of cremation, but remain in the house of mourning.

764 782 792 465 [604] For the prayer, the relatives, lamas, and bonzes receive a corresponding honorarium which is usually fixed by the mother's brother on the occasion of the demand for an accounting during the last mourning meal. The Chinese bonzes, to be sure, demand a fixed fee immediately upon being invited; otherwise they do not come at all. The other persons who say prayers, assistants at the cremation, etc. receive compensation in the form of alms on the eve of the cremation or on the morning after the cremation.

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764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
782 large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
792 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
465 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
[272] temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
[262] own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it. In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
[788] temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
[556] prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
[432] Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
602 Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

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13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

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[Note on foreign text pp. 654-655 cont.] father his mother's brother is the person of respect, who in case of death demands an accounting. Wei-chia and wai-chia have the same signs; only the pronunciation is different. Literally translated it means [655] "the outside family," in other words, not belonging to the male line. Instead of wai-chia one also says niang-chia, which designates the family from which the mother comes. This expression is also used for the family of the lama, who, of course, is unmarried. -- The wai-chia or niang-chia does not appear until the day before the cremation.

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The mother's brother is solemnly

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received by the master of ceremonies and led to the death-box. There he and his retinue offer the 12 loaves, burn paper, and kowtow. During this time all the relatives must express great bereavement and the women utter loud lamentations. The mother's brother also weeps. After this ceremony, the mother's brother is led into the house and onto the kang, where he is given tea and bread. He rests a little while. The other companions are given hospitality outside in the yard where everything is set up for the funeral meal and the ceremony of the accounting.

[641] The mother's brother is led into the yard and sits on a white felt mat which is spread out on the ground directly before the entrance of the main house. He sits with his back to the house, facing the mani-tree. A kang table is put in front of him. The other relatives on the maternal side sit on straw to the right and left of him in a semicircle. Boards which are supposed to represent tables are put in front of them. Now oil-baking, tea, and pastries are brought. The serving is done by the cousinhood on the father's side (16). After the first bite, the guests are

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16. [Foreign text p. 655.] At the interment, the Tujen have the

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764 a rule, all young people under 20 years of age, whether male or
[766] female, are cremated in the evening at sundown. Persons over 20 years of age are cremated in the morning at sunrise. The place of cremation is prepared the day before.

Place of cremation: The place of cremation is usually chosen by the master of ceremonies after consultation with the members of the family. Only ground that belongs to the deceased's own family or to the relatives on the father's side is considered. A dead person may never be cremated on strange soil or on land that belongs to the maternal relatives. Special preference is given to a spot on a steep ridge between fields, because the fire for the oven can most easily be set there. In
241 choosing the spot, one must see to it that the smoke will not
764 blow across a sown field. Therefore, after the sowing festival in the spring, a remote place is chosen in a ravine or on a
178 mountain where there are no more fields. Aside from the fact that the seed would be trampled, the smoke of a burning corpse is harmful for the growth and the harvest. Therefore nowadays, when even the most remote little mountain patches are planted, cremation is increasingly on the wane, especially in the valleys, and the dead are buried in coffins (19).

[177] [Foreign text p. 656.] This may not be the most decisive reason for the disappearance of the custom, however, but rather the general Sinicization. In remote ravines everywhere a place can still be found for cremation, for even the Chinese in the valleys cremate their adult, unmarried daughters in such remote places.

764 If the fire-pouring is undertaken at the cremation, then
792 the lama himself goes out to the field the day before and
782 chooses a suitable spot. For this purpose he kneads a large torma

[642 cont.]

764 in the house and takes the torma to the place where he wants the
792 crematory to be built. The incense offering is then made in
782 front of the torma, but without any extra features, except tsamba and butter; the lama sprinkles the fire with holy water. While he then prays on a white felt mat, the others kowtow. In this
[776] way the lama requests the place for the cremation from the mountain-spirit; the incense and the torma are meant for the mountain-spirit. In making the choice, the lama takes into account the evenness of the ground, since for these ceremonies he needs a suitable place for the table and the mat he sits on.

764 [643] Erection of the crematory: Now [illustration ap-
333 pears here] an oven is built out of clay bricks. The torma is set to one side, and no further attention is paid to it. First the men build a quadrangular base, about two ells high and two ells wide; on this they erect the round crematory, about four ells high. It looks like a barrel. On the west side a broad longitudinal slit remains open, through which the corpse is set inside. On each side of the base a large hole is left for the firing. The oven is calked with clay and lime and then is painted white (25).

25. Foreign text pp. 657-658.] The crematory may be made in various forms. The one copied from the crematory of the lamas (cf. the drawing made by a Tujen) is regarded as the most superior one. Similarities with the understructure of the chorten cannot be
[778] denied. On graves of persons who died sitting up, I saw chorten which represented an almost exact copy of the crematory, only slightly more rounded. -- When the fire-pouring is undertaken
[532] at the cremation, the ground-drawing is naturally also made, and usually not on the ground itself, [658] but rather one puts down a large leaf of paper with

[645 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
back and forth, but in all probability it is to catch the mirror images of the boys who have been brought before the Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age, receive the age-consecration and become a member of the monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman, from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring [783] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purifica- [372] tion for the dead, similar to baptism.

764 Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then
766 no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of [792] ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of [372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is desirable, but not essential.

764 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three days for the bone storage. During these three days the members
602 of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there, kowtow, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea. Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the men and women of the deceased's own family and at least one man, but no women, of the related families, and furthermore the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the [782] oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea.
764 After they have then kowtowed, men and women dig the bones out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

[646 cont.]
000 each and two ells of cloth.

765 At the next grave festival, which usually falls in the third
[769] lunar month, all the relatives gather at the kin-group cemetery for the offering to the dead; at that time the bone-chest is also transferred to it. A number of men go to the old burial spot at the place of cremation, dig up the chest, and bring [647] it to the cemetery without any ceremony. There they dig a small
[561 hole and put the chest in it. This is done only by men who are
593] of the same generation as the dead person or of a lower generation. A father, for instance, would never bury his son, nor the uncle his nephew, etc.

765 As soon as the pit has been filled, the offering for the
769 dead takes place; the relatives burn paper and little sticks of incense, set down loaves of bread, meat, etc., pour out tea,
[782] liquor, and soup, and hold a little meal at the grave. Then everyone goes home. -- The transfer of the bones, however, need not be done at the next grave festival; sometimes one waits two or three years. The bones may not be interred, however, outside the period of the grave festival (21).

[192] 21. [Foreign text pp. 656-657.]
[177] The Tujen word sẽn-min is evidently merely a phonetic imitation of the Chinese ch'ing-ming. The informant said that the Tujen did not know about the grave festival in olden times, but that they have copied it from the Chinese, which indeed is confirmed by the precisely identical rites and the asserted former exposure of the corpse. -- The postponement [657] of a final interment of the bones until this feast, however, remains unexplained, especially since the Chinese usually bury their dead immediately in the cemetery. The
[777] informant observed in this connection that the Chinese inter their dead on

[647 cont.]

765 [769] [777]

[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

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The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

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During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowadays the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

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[178]

765 784 [574] [796] [262]

Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The
[262] food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[585] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
[783] along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
[796] also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not officiate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean, and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

[783] After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automatically lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul
[777] haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one
[791] questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved, it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul.
[782] One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[648 cont.]

766 and on the same day on which the girl died. If she died in the morning, she is burned in the evening; if she died in the late evening, she is burned the following morning. A man from her own family takes the corpse just as it is, with the clothes, over his shoulder, carries it to a remote ravine, digs a hole by a copse, piles straw and twigs in it, puts the corpse on top, and burns it. Usually a few other people also help. One does not wait until the dead girl is completely reduced to ashes, but leaves the still smoldering corpse behind and goes home. Dogs and wolves consume the remains. As soon as a girl has been married, however, 764 even if only for a few days, she receives an honorable cremation like any other woman, with all the ceremonies, with prayer, and with a death-box. This also applies to those daughters who [588] have not yet found a man, but who are married to the sky or the mani-tree.

762 If an adult, whether a man or a married woman, has 766 killed himself, he receives the usual cremation ceremonies without fire-pouring and without a death-box. Usually no one [782] is invited to give the prayer. At the final funeral meal, how- [604] ever, the mother's brother will demand a precise accounting concerning the causes of the suicide, especially if a woman is involved, and he will insist upon an honorable death rite with a death-box. Disputes are common at such times.

766 Those who lost their lives through violence, such as drownings, falls from heights, murder, etc., receive a cremation or interment like any other person of the same age.

[649] Those who died outside the yard, be it an ordinary death or through an accident or suicide, are always laid out outside of the compound, say, in a special tent or in a cave. If a suicide has taken place inside the yard, however, the person who has taken his life is laid out in the house.

792 Persons who have died far away are brought home. If 766 this is not possible, for instance, in the case of soldiers, a lama is invited. While praying he writes down the name of the de- [212] ceased on a stiff sheet of paper and sticks it in a measure of grain (wheat), which is then placed on a table in the room into which otherwise the death-box would have been brought. All the same ceremonies are now carried out in front of it, as though

192 [649 cont.]
764 Death box: odõṅ.
Bone-chest: mula odõṅ = little death-box.
[354] Water-lamp: fdzë dzüla.
Paper-bowl: tsialdzë pendzë.
To wear the clothing reversed: diela furula mõsë.
Prayer tea: rgē tsia.
[787] Prayer for the dead: xar(i)dzãn kunë xuenuo mani sguorluo- = (to pray) in behalf of the deceased person afterwards the mani in the circle.
Prayer fee for the lama: mbõ (Tib. loanword).
Prayer alms: odõṅ dzied = death-box alms.
192 Own family: dzienāni kudë.
601 Relatives on the father's side: dzienani ˇsäni = own relatives, those with the same family name.
Relatives on the mother's side, affinity through marriage: urog. Those with different family names.
[608] Artificial kinship: ˇsäni funi = kinship-smoke. Neighbors and friends who take the place of relatives in performing services at the reception of guests, cremation, etc.
[650]
[764] Bone-master, mother's brother: tsigãn yesëni daxu = the owner of the white bones;
ku-chu (Chin.).
Mother's brother: nëgä; achiu (Chin.).
Nephew (sister's son): dzie; wai-sheng (Chin.).
Son-in-law: kurgien; nü-hsü (Chin.).
Sister: agū.
Daughter: fsdzün.
192 He died as a rider: tsürog morina bagaldilā sdzia fugudzia.
764 He died as a settler: sãṅrëdzi liela guei wõldzia.
Burned bones: xuodzën yäsë = dry bones.
Crematory: taw (tab) (Tib.).
Lighting pole: xuãmbar.
Lay bonze: lao shih-fu (Chin.) = old master.
Demand for an accounting: bäda; pai-ta (Chin.).
769 Grave festival: ch'ing-ming (Chin.); sëṅ-miṅ (21) [see Note 21
192 above].

[650 cont.]

192 Western paradise: hsi-lo shih-chieh (Chin.) = world of joys.

[775] Oil fir: yu-sung mu (Chin.).

[262] Thin flat-bread made with flour: kan pin-ping (Chin.) = little dry cakes.

[Pages 650-658 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 658 and the next section begins on p. 822.]

782 [822]

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V. Customs concerning Agriculture and Livestock

1. The Sowing and Harvest Thanksgiving Festivals * (1)

* See "Notes," p. 823 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[113]

1. [Foreign text p. 823.] For this subject, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Das Herbst-Dankopfer der Tujen im Sining-Gebiet [The Harvest Thank-offering of the Tujen in the Sining Region]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-45, 867-873. -- The report there presents only the offering from the harvest thanksgiving festival as the old man described it at that time. It is interesting to point out that he seized upon this offering as typical of the festival and mentioned the entire celebration only incidentally, always with the indication that the shamans actually had nothing to do with the offering. When I later asked him why he had not described the entire festival in

782 [822 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 823 cont.]
detail, he gave the answer: "That was too much for one afternoon." Moreover, he had described the festival as it had taken place in his little village. It had always been celebrated very simply there; now he had let the festival die out completely for his village, and they would go to the neighboring village of Chichialing, where it is much longer and larger.

[178]

Here, too, nothing is presented in detail about the individual parts, as in the other chapters, because the material is too extensive and forms a subject in itself, which is to be dealt with in connection with shamanism. It should be stated in advance here, however, that they are probably not Tujen shamans, but Chinese shamans, who are found scattered over wide areas of western China.

[756]

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The sowing festival and the festival of the harvest thanksgiving are completely identical. Only in the autumn people have more flour and meat to celebrate the festival. Both festivals last several days. A definite number of days is not prescribed. At the festival one differentiates between the offering and the dances of the shamans. The offering is undertaken by the seed-master or the village elder. The dances last for an entire day; usually a market is also connected with them.

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The shamans erect a pole in the temple yard, pray several days, send out sicknesses on the first evening, and from a distance kill children or cause them to become unconscious. In the evening of the final day, before they take down the pole, they take the sicknesses back; then the people struck by them become healthy again.

[822 cont.]

241 782 756 [292]

The shamans are always men (2). They wear women's

2. [Foreign text p. 823.] The name for these shamans is bō, in other words, the typical Mongolic word. The Tujen strictly differentiate them from the other shamans and the Bon priests. They are the cult dancers designated by the Chinese as fa-shih, that is, sorcerer, or shih-kung, that is, teacher, whose chief goddess is the Niang-niang, that is, mother.

[776]

[534] clothes and a woman's hairdo. Their drum consists of an iron or wooden ring over which is stretched a sheepskin. They carry [535] the litter of the mother-goddess onto a threshing floor and dance before it. During the dance the drums are beaten. They do all [787] kinds of acrobatic feats, and one of them goes into a great trance and wounds himself.

241 782 The sowing festival takes place during the period from the third to the fifth month, the harvest festival in the ninth or tenth month. No village celebrates both festivals. There is no harvest festival where the sowing festival is held, and there is no sowing festival where there is a harvest festival.

[823] At the sowing festival one prays for protection against storms and for rain; at the harvest festival one expresses thanks for the harvest. [The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

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2. The Pole-goat *

* See "Notes," pp. 829-830 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designation for them in the text.]

[823 cont.] 2. The Pole-goat

Report

241 789 791 778 When the seed has shot up in the early summer, one invites a Bon priest who prays on a mountain and erects the pole-goat. He comes to the seed-master on the day before, and on the following morning he goes with the men to the mountain. There they drink tea. The Bon priest sits on a felt mat. A low kang table is put before him so that he may place his cult objects upon it, and next to him is put an earthen vessel with tsamba, butter, and little gold leaves, as well as a bowl of water and red dye. He needs this for the torma. To this is added a little plate with barley and the holy-water can.

[782] First the men make the great incense offering, which is maintained throughout the performance. The Bon priest makes four little tormas, called "misfortune-tormas," which he places with all kinds of extra features on a tray. The seed-master goes in the four directions of the compass with the tray and each time throws away a torma.

[824] Then the Bon priest makes the "weather-torma." [825] Meanwhile the men slaughter a goat, stuff the hide, and put it on a tall pole. They lay this, together with the goat doll, before the Bon priest. He ties four little wooden wedges to its feet and a special wedge on the goat's forehead. He inscribes the wedges with Tibetan magical signs. Then the pole is set up, and the priest places the weather-torma, together with the extra features, before the pole. [782] A great incense offering and frequent kowtowing accompany this ceremony.

Then the priest goes to his place and makes the "mountain-torma." It has three layers and is the largest of all the tormas. He puts this behind the pole. Again incense is burned and all kowtow.

241 789 791 In the meantime other men have boiled the goat meat in the kettle. The seed-master now makes an offering of this meat to the gods. At the conclusion there is then a communal meal at which the remainder of the meat is consumed. Then [782] all go home, but there is no singing and drinking as on other occasions. [264]

[824 cont.]

241 789 791 [778] This is the ceremonial erection of the pole-goat. In the case of the simple type only one misfortune-torma is made, which represents the four others; there is also the weather-torma. The mountain-torma is omitted and no magical wedges are tied to the goat.

[782] [465] When one has undertaken the ceremonial erection, the Bon priest must come often during the summer and hold prayer services before the pole-goat. In the autumn, after the harvest, he receives from each family a certain measure of grain as compensation. In the case of the simple erection, without any summer prayer, only on the day itself is he given a large loaf of bread and a piece of meat from the loin of the goat.

Details

241 789 791 787 Time: The time of the erection is determined by the soothsayer, and in the local temple. It always falls in the period from the thirteenth day in the fifth lunar month to the sixth day in the sixth lunar month. One may also let the Bon priest determine the day. He uses three dice for this. He compares the numbers thrown with his soothsaying book and in this manner determines a day (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 829.] The time coincides with that in which the Chinese put their weather forts in order and drive in the thunderbolts (ch'a p'ai).

241 789 778 [621] [791] Place: The pole-goat is always erected on the highest mountain in the people's own local area, and only on one mountain and only one goat. Small hamlets or compounds may do it together; then the highest mountain of all these hamlets is chosen (1). -- The spot on the mountain itself is indicated by

1. [Foreign text p. 829.] If the mountain is too far away, one sets up a tent and lives there.

[825 cont.]
241 It therefore, with the head, is left to be eaten by wolves and
789 dogs. The hide is not used for magic.
778

[791] The misfortune-torma: The Bon priest washes his hands and face and makes a little torma of tsamba mixed with butter about ten centimeters high and three to four centimeters wide. He puts it on a tray or a wooden plate. As extra features he adds in very small quantities: raw mutton or pork, leeks, beets, breadcrumbs, white and black sheep's wool, five kinds of grain, tea leaves, money, silver, gold, five little pieces of cloth, five-colored threads, and black and white sugar and puts a dough-lamp with a burning cotton wick beside them. These extra features also apply to the three other tormas, in other words, to all four little misfortune-tormas.

The extra features, along with the tormas, are thrown
[533] in all four directions of the compass, while the seed-master,
[782] amidst blowing on the conch, makes the great incense offering
[791] and the Bon priest prays the appropriate spirit conjuration. For the first four tormas the Bon priest uses only the sounding plate and the bone flute, not the double drum and bell.

In the case of the simple ceremony with only one misfortune-torma, naturally only one direction of the compass can be considered. This one is indicated by the Bon priest himself.
[791]

241 Making the pole-goat: The Bon priest does not concern
789 himself about the goat. The men fumigate and wash the goat
778 as usual and pour milk over it; while the goat shakes itself, they make [826] a threefold kowtow in a circle around it, because
825 the sky accepts the animal. Then the goat is slaughtered and
[787] the blood caught in a basin. In skinning it one does not slit open the belly side, but rather an incision is made below the tail which just suffices to pull off the hide from behind over the head. The head is cut off inside the hide so that it remains whole and unskinned within it. In the same fashion one cuts off the feet, leaving them in the hide. Only then is the skinned goat [illustration appears here] eviscerated and cut up, and the
[252] blood, with the scraps of meat, is stuffed into the cleaned intestines.

[826 cont.]

241 These intestines, together with the meat, are cooked in a kettle over
789 a hole in the ground.

778 The hide is tightly stuffed with any kind of straw in such a
[825] way that the head and legs stick out stiffly, and the pole is stuck
[252] in it from the rear up to the head. Thus the goat sits firmly upright on the pole and need not be tied on. Then the men fumigate goat and post with incense and lay it down before the Bon priest.

The raised pole-goa
(Drawing of a Tujen

[532]
[791] The weather-torma: The Bon priest meanwhile has finished the second torma, the weather-torma. It is exactly the same size as the first, that is, the four first tormas. With a prayer he puts it on a wooden tray with the following extra features: one to three butter-lamps, three little copper bowls with pure water, a little bowl of the barley wine, a little bowl of Tibetan barley or wheat, a little bowl of tea leaves, a little bowl of dough beans [Teigbohnen]. -- This torma also bears several colorful butter-flowers.

[791] During its preparation the Bon priest prays a special weather-prayer.
[782] Sometimes he also pastes some paper money on the torma. [Illustration appears here.]

Magic dagger,
wooden peg, mpuru.
(From the drawing of a
Tujen.)

[826 cont.]

241 The seed-master places these wedges on the table before
789 the Bon. The latter inscribes all three sides with Tibetan magic
778 formulas. For this purpose he uses Chinese ink and the brush or
791 the Tibetan bamboo pencil. The wedge that is intended for the
[212] head of the goat [827] has a black hada slung around it at the
head and a black string or a small chain in the middle.

Then some of the wool is cut from the pole-goat lying in front of the Bon, a few threads are twisted together, and with these the Bon priest ties on the wedges, one on each foot and one between the horns. All five wedges have the tip downward.
[788] He then sprinkles water from his holy-water can over goat and pole, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley, blows on it three times, and scatters it over the whole.

241 The erection of the pole-goat and the offering: The
789 men set the pole in the hole and wedge it tight with stones
791 and earth. The goat must face the northwest because storms usually come from there. As soon as the pole is firmly set,
782 the Bon brings the weather-torma, together with the extra features, to the foot of the pole; sets it down, and immediately
[821] returns to his place in order to continue the weather-prayer.
[823] Now he accompanies the prayer only with his drum and the bell. Again the men make a great incense offering amidst blowing on the conch.

241 The mountain-torma: Then the mountain-torma is
789 prepared. It has three steps, is round, and looks like a pyramid
778 with terraces about ten centimeters high. Altogether it is about 40 centimeters high. The torma is painted with soft butter colored red and is given the following extra features: on the first layer, water animals, frog, snake, fish, dragon, turtle, and, further, little stones, little lumps of earth, and finally a few squirts of water; on the second layer, mountain animals, deer, horse, yak, half-yak, sheep, goat, hare, fox, wolf, and a few little pieces of wood; on the third layer animals of the air, phoenix, eagle, peacock, magpie, dove, swallow, and, further, sun disk and moon sickle. On the uppermost tip are

[827 cont.]
241 placed various kinds of real flowers (3).
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3. [Foreign text p. 829.] This is a representation of the world with animals and stars, in other words, a mandala. It is interesting that the informant designates this torma as an offering, as well as all the extra features of the torma, whereas the two other tormas represent spirits.

[782]

[791] These figures are all made in miniature from butter and tsamba by the Bon priest himself. He places the torma on the tray with exactly the same sacrificial extra features as in the case of the weather-torma. This torma is likewise brought to the foot of the pole, usually behind it and somewhat elevated. Lamps and little bowls are put in front of it. Thus, two tormas in all stand under the pole-goat. While the Bon priest goes back and continues his prayers, the men again burn incense.
[791]
[782]

The goat offering: The goat offering consists of the throwing of sacrificial meat. While the Bon priest rests from his prayers, the spear-soothsayer (or another) indicates the direction in which the offering is to be made and, with the shaking spear, supervises the performance. The seed-master takes a bowl of the broth from the kettle and throws it in the air for the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then four throws in the four directions of the compass follow, and finally three throws toward the northwest for the weather-spirits. At each throw the men kneel down and make a three-fold kowtow.
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[791]

With that the actual ceremony is concluded. The men sit down [828] around the kettle, consume the remaining meat, and drink tea. Then all go home, including the Bon priest. -- The tormas are either burned in the fire or simply left standing.
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[828 cont.]

241 789 791 782 The veneration of the pole-goat: During the summer the farmers appear singly or together before the pole-goat, make an offering, pray, burn incense, and kowtow in order to protect the seed from hail. The Bon priest also comes often to pray. In former times he even pitched his tent for a longer period of time and remained there in order to be constantly on hand for the weather conjuration in case of storms. This is no longer the case today. The weather conjuration is now done by the soothsayer, usually the spirit-soothsayer.

Taking down the pole-goat: After the fifteenth day in the eighth lunar month, when the harvest has been cut, the pole-goat is again taken away. One no longer has the soothsayer determine the day, but instead acts according to the circumstances. The Bon priest is again invited; he again makes the tormas and prays. Usually a sheep is sacrificed.

241 789 776 825 821 [171] Interpretations: The pole-goat is supposed to banish bad weather and protect the harvest. The custom occurs only among farmers, even among the agricultural Fandse. The goat has special protective power because its head serves as an anvil for the god Dāntsien Sāṅ. He is the smith in the weather ministry (5). During storms he hammers his iron between the horns,

5. [Foreign text pp. 829-880.] The conception of the storm ministry bears a resemblance to the Chinese lei-pu (thunder division). It is uncertain, however, whether borrowings are involved. At any rate, in the popular tradition of the Tujen the Bon priest has a special connection with weather magic (cf. also Tafel, Tibetreise). -- Concerning the storm-god Dāntsāṅ (Dāntsien Saṅ) the informant knew nothing other than that there is an image of

[791]

[828 cont.]

241 789 821

[Note on foreign text p. 830 cont.]
weather conjuration of this region still seems to be an inheritance from the Bon. The conditions and customs connected with it are strongly reminiscent of the description given by A. Tafel for the Bon in eastern Tibet, Tibetreise, II, pp. 198 ff.

241 789 778 [782]

The first four tormas represent evil demons. They are driven away by the throwing. The extra features are given so that they will be content and will not return; they are things which one needs in daily life.

The second torma, weather-torma, represents the spirits of the weather ministry. The extra features are an offering to make them favorably disposed.

The mountain-torma represents the world-mountain. Sun and moon circle around it. This mountain is the spirit paradise. It is put under the pole so that the spirits will withdraw into this paradise and leave the human beings.

The wedges represent the magic dagger of the smith-god and his subordinates. They are the chief weapons against demons. [791] The Bon priest is also a pupil and subordinate of this smith-god. He especially venerates him and likewise uses the three-edged magic dagger in conjuring away the demons. At the temple [535] dances (tscham dances) the subordinate spirits of the weather-smith-god also appear with the dagger. Lamas never use the dagger. The three notches form three knobs which are supposed to represent the human skull. The demons especially fear this, [765] like all things that come from the dead, such as the bone flute, the whip of human skin, and the skull drum.

192 [829] Word List

241 789 The pole-goat: aradziãn (Tib. loanword) = to stretch out the goat.

ima rëdziala (Tujen) = to stretch out the goat.

[778] The goat: ima; chũ-la (Chin.); chia-la (Chin.).

[829 cont.]

192 Weather-prayer: dirëdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword) (8).
241 lei-pu ching (Chin.) - weather ministry prayer.
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8. [Foreign text p. 830.] xsertsien: Tibetan gser = golden, skyem = drink. It is the Mongolic altan umdagan, golden drink, poured out at the obo offering, the tea offering before the obo. An offering to the local gods. --guax: Tibetan skyeg (pronounced kag) = misfortune. --mpuru: Tibetan p'ur bu = nail, peg; can also be a god's name. --satsiog: Tibetan sa = place, skyon = to guard, to preserve; king, protector. --darnag: Tibetan dar = silk, nag = black (Unkrig).

[778] Misfortune-torma: guax (8) [see Note 8 above] sdor (Tib.).
Weather-torma: dirdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword)? cf. weather-prayer.
Mountain-torma: rira (Tib. loanword) = world-mountain, Sumeru, mandala.
Magic dagger: mpuru (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above]; ting-shen-chuang; spirit peg (Chin.).
To notch: nduodba (Tib.?).
Magic formulas: snag (sënog).
[791] Bon priest second class: xuändie; sënogsa (snagsa) (Tib. loanword). peng-po (Chin.).
Weather conjuration: satsion (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above.]
The black hada (on the dagger): chao-t'ien p'a (Chin.) = the sky-covering veil.
darnag (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].
The black string: fsiasga (Tib. loanword) = lasso for capturing horses.
k'un-hsien sheng (Chin.): the genii-binding string.

[Pages 829-830 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[831]

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3. The Mountain Sheep-offering*

* See "Notes," pp. 834-835 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

After the erection of the pole-goat up to the time of the harvest a sheep is usually offered on a mountain top. This is an occasion for the entire village. The people do this to ask heaven, the mountain-spirit, and the spirits of the four regions of the world to protect the seeds. The offering may be repeated frequently, but only one sheep is offered each time. The sacrificial meat is eaten by the participants at the conclusion.

[621] [776] [264]

Details

241 782 787 [791]

Time: At the erection of the pole-goat the soothsayer determines how frequently during the summer and on what day a sheep is to be offered. He also indicates whether the spirits concerned want to have this offering every year; sometimes it is only once, and sometimes several years in succession. If there is no other occasion during this time, this soothsaying retains its validity. After this period has elapsed the soothsaying is done anew. -- If the village has erected a pole-goat, the offering always takes place in the period after it has been erected. If no pole-goat is present, then it may sometimes fall in the time of the erection of the pole-goat.

Place: The offering always takes place on the same mountain on which the pole-goat stands, and in front of the latter. Otherwise the soothsayer determines the spot. It must be kept for the time when the offering is due. For instance,

[831 cont.]

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in the case of a three-year offering, one may not choose one mountain the first year and another the second year (3). Even

3. [Foreign text p. 834.] The mountain must always be located in the people's own area. Actually such heights are always present near the villages. For example, not far from the informant's compound there is a mountain that bears the name Sheep-offering Mountain, xoni šënliedzin ula, because the offering always took place there. Among the partially Sinicized population it has retained the name hsien-yang ling, that is, Sheep-offering Height, or sheng-shan, that is, Sacred Mountain. After the greater part of the village (yang-chüan) became Christian, a high cross was erected there, and in place of the sheep offering, the people now pray there for the weather blessing.

[103] [797] [778]

the place of the soothsaying is oriented accordingly. It is indicated where the next soothsaying will take place. It is always a mountain height, however, never a compound or a valley, as, for instance, in the case of private offerings (1).

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1. [Foreign text p. 834.] The offering may also take place before an obo. It is to be differentiated from the obo offering, however. The obo is the seat of the mountain-spirit, and since the mountain sheep-offering is done especially for the mountain-spirit, the obo is preferred. Since, on

[831 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 834 cont.] the other hand, it is done for protection against bad weather, it is also popularly done before the pole-goat.

[562] Persons: As is the case for all religious ceremonies, the women are kept away. The participants are the seed-master, the village elders, and all other men and youths. Any kind of [791] soothsayer may appear on this occasion. It is important that at the actual offering some spirit is always summoned by the soothsayer and supervises the performance. -- Participation is also [784] prohibited to all who are in mourning and in whose compound there is a woman in childbed. -- People with empty utensils, for example, empty water pails, baskets, etc., may not come near. For this reason the gong is beaten before the offering, so that such persons will stay away (2).

[787]
[735]

2. [Foreign text p. 834.] The fear of an encounter with empty utensils is quite general in Tsinghai. It signifies poverty, vain endeavor, etc. Tujen express the wish, for example, before a journey: huodzën sawa bi pëngë, that is, "may an empty vessel not appear." The Chinese, too, have similar expressions.

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Sacrificial animal: As sacrificial animal only a sheep is considered, no goat and especially no pig. The sheep may be of any color and sex, even castrated. It must be at least a year old, however. A sheep that is too young would be an insult to the gods, aside from the fact that the meat would not [621] be sufficient for the participants. Usually the [832] sheep is purchased jointly. Every family must provide grain or money for this purpose; the owner is always given compensation. To be [784] sure, the sheep may not come from a family that is taboo at the time, for instance, through bereavement, childbed, sickness, etc.

[832 cont.]

241 Such families, however, must make their contribution. The
782 main thing is that the animal be healthy and without flaw. For
[825] instance, it may not be lame or blind. Also, ugly colors are
[621] avoided, for instance, a white animal with a black head, etc.

Objects used: For the offering one needs several iron kettles, several buckets of water, knives, ladling spoons, cords, blood basins, eating bowls, firewood, etc. In addition, one takes along all the equipment for the incense offering.

Slaughtering: The slaughtering is preceded by a great incense offering, which is maintained by the men throughout the ceremony. Anyone may repeatedly throw cypress twigs into it at will, offer barley wine, etc. At the same time the
[202] conch is steadily blown so that one can hear from afar that an offering is taking place on the mountain.

Young men bring the animal to the spot, untie it, and
241 wash it with their hands from head to tail. Then it is fumigated
782 with incense. Another places a white stone in the fire. When
783 it is hot, he scoops hot water out of a kettle with an iron spoon, puts the stone in the spoon, scatters pounded cypress leaves over it, and with it fumigates the sheep. All the men who helped with the slaughtering wash their hands and faces, rinse out their mouths, and fumigate themselves. All the implements are likewise washed and fumigated.

Now they form a circle around the sheep and pour milk
241 over its head and neck. It does not matter what kind of milk
782 it is. One may also use flour- or tsamba-water or even pure
787 water. A healthy sheep shakes itself at this pouring. This shaking is an indication that the sky accepts the animal. Then the men make a threefold kowtow in a circle around the sheep. After the milk has been poured over it, they let the sheep run free for a few steps and capture it again. In case the animal does not shake itself, they immediately fetch another.

241 The slaughtering is performed by the seed-master. His
782 helpers seize the sheep by its legs and horns, force it down on
231 the ground, and bend back its head so that the throat is tensed.

[832 cont.]

241 The seed-master then cuts through the throat and arteries with
a powerful stroke, and the helpers catch the blood in the basin
782 with constant stirring. None of the blood is supposed to fall on
231 the ground. Any traces of blood are covered with earth. When
the sheep has ceased bleeding, it is skinned. Sometimes the
head remains attached to the hide, or it is cut off entirely with
the hide, and placed to one side on the hide.

241 Now one usually takes a broad board, places the sheep
on it, and eviscerates it. Excrement and unusable scraps are
782 put aside. The intestines are cleaned in warm water and filled
252 with blood and little bits of diced flesh from the scraps. The
eviscerated body [833] is rinsed out with water and cut apart.
The thighs are cut off, the loins and rib pieces are cut out,
and everything is finally cut into little pieces so that it can
be cooked more conveniently.

The cooking; In a kettle over a hole in the earth water is brought to a boil, in which the pieces of meat are cooked. Women may not help with the cooking. Spices, even salt, are prohibited for the sacrificial meat. The intestines filled with blood are also boiled.

During the cooking the men sit to one side, converse, pray their mani, or offer new incense. When the meat is done, it is taken out and cut into little slices on a board, including lungs, kidneys, liver, and heart. At the same time the ribs and other bones are broken. Now several bowlfuls are scooped from the broth in the kettle and some of the little pieces of meat are put in them. Then the soothsayer is called.

241 Soothsaying: The soothsayer invokes the spirit and indi-
cates in which direction the bowls must be emptied. He also
782 determines how many bowls must be offered in each case. There
791 is always an offering to the sky and to the mountain-spirit,
787 and usually also to the world-spirits; only the number of bowls
varies. If one wants to make an offering to still other spirits,
[776] this is especially requested by the soothsayer. The soothsayer
continues to officiate until the conclusion of the offering and
with the spirit invoked supervises the performance.

[833 cont.]

241 Offering: The seed-master takes the first bowl and throws
●782 its contents toward the sky in the direction indicated by the sooth-
sayer. Then the other bowls for the mountain-spirit and the
[791] other spirits follow. At each offering throw, the men kowtow
in the appropriate direction. No one may pick up the little
pieces of meat or so much as eat them. Dogs are kept away, at
least until the end of the offering.

[264] Meal: After this offering the meat is taken from the
kettle and divided among the men. They sit in a circle,
drink tea, eat bread, converse, and laugh. After the meal
all go home. Everyone takes his things with him.

Meaning: The offering is made for the protection of
the seeds (4).

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4. [Foreign text p. 834.] The meaning is no longer unambiguous now. The protection of the seeds is certainly involved, but whether the offering is primarily for the mountain-spirit or for the weather-spirits or for the sky is unclear. The mountain-height and the obo argue in favor of the mountain-spirit. The sky is always considered first, however. -- The old man said that in former times they had made the offering for the protection of the animals.

It is possible that originally a pure mountain-spirit or sky offering was involved, but that later, with agriculture, the weather-gods moved into the foreground, for hail and storms are feared primarily by farmers and not so much by shepherds.

[833 cont.]

241 782 171

Distribution: The mountain sheep-offering is practiced everywhere there are Tujen, even among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiahsifan (5). In some regions it is also

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5. [Foreign text pp. 834-835.] The ritual of slaughter and offering described here is typical for all slaughtered offerings. In the case of goats and pigs the procedure is the same. Because the pig squeals too much when slaughtered (it is not unconscious), its mouth is tightly tied together. The pouring with milk is omitted for pigs. The sheep's mouth is likewise held shut. Perhaps this is a survival from a suffocation sacrifice.

241 782

In the case of longer festivals the slaughtered animal is not cut up immediately, but is tied to a longish table or frame after the skinning and the removal of the entrails, and in its natural position with the legs spread apart, if possible standing and with head raised. It is placed before the deity or the temple entrance in this fashion. Only at the conclusion of the festival is it cut up and boiled. Sometimes the cut-up uncooked parts are also presented before the deity.

The distribution of the sacrificial meat is usually done in the form indicated after the cooking as a meal. The hide is usually given back to the owner; the [835] head is received by the seedmaster or the officiating supervisor. Bon priests, lamas, shamans, etc. who

[833 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 834-835 cont.]
have been invited often receive a loin, jou-fang-tzu (Chin.), that is, "meat square," or a thigh, etc. These are not cooked, but are laid aside for this purpose.

For the rest, there are always minor variations, but always the following sequence: purification (washing), slaughtering, offering, meal. Slaughtering, offering, and meal may sometimes be distributed over various days.

[171] the custom among Chinese, but not generally. The Chinese, however, do not go on the mountains for this purpose, but make the offering in the local temple.

Word List

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To sacrifice a sheep on the mountain: uladë xoni šënlie- (šënlie-)
Offering throw: dziarin uġuo = to give throwing away.
p'ao-ts'an (Chin.) = to throw away.
Own area: dzienani satsia.
Empty utensils: huodzën sawa;
k'ung chia-shih (Chin.).

[Pages 834-835 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[835]

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4. The Procession around the Field*

*See "Notes," pp. 838-839 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[835 cont.] 4. The Procession around the Field

Report

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782 As soon as the seed develops ears in the summer, the
[778] procession around the field takes place. One hundred and eight men of the village, with the seed-supervisor, set out on the way to the nearest lamasery and fetch the 108 sacred books. On this occasion they present a large kettle of tea to the lamas; before the Buddha images of the monastery they make an offering of butter for the lamps. The Tujen of this region go usually to the monastery Rgulõñ (1); the way there takes an entire day

1. [Foreign text p. 838.]
Concerning the monastery Rgulõñ,
cf. the introduction and Part 2, II, 4.

each time. The books are brought into the local temple.

The procession takes place on the following morning. All the men of the village and all soothsayers gather in the temple yard. First a great incense offering is made. Then all
[791] the soothsayers do their soothsaying in succession, the spear-
[787] soothsayer, the sword-shaman, the litter bearers, the table-god bearers. As many soothsayers as are there must appear. One wants to find out through them how the weather and the harvest will be during the course of the summer.

Once the soothsaying is over, the procession starts moving. At the head goes the spear-soothsayer with the spear, then follow the shamans, the god-litter, the spirit-table, and the 108 book-bearers, one after the other. In this procession
[533] the drum beaters, trumpet and conch blowers, cymbal and gong beaters are in single file. Also, all the flags of the temple are taken along, and they are carried by the book-bearers, the flags over the left shoulder and the book on the back. Two men follow behind them, each with a large back-basket of straw, cypress leaves and incense additions, and a jug of pure water. Other men join on at will.

[788] During the entire procession the trumpets are blown, the drums beaten, and the Om mani padme hum prayed. The

[835 cont.]

241 782 procession moves from the temple directly to the nearest mountain and along the ridges across all the mountains of the entire village area. On each height the customary incense offering is burned by the two men, while the procession itself moves on. Towards midday, however, a halt is made on a height especially designated for this purpose. After the incense offering refreshments [264] are taken. The people bring bread, tea, and soup here in advance. Then the procession marches on. Not until evening does one return to the temple. On the following day the people take the books back to the lama monastery.

[836] **Details**

[562] Persons: Only male persons may take part in the procession, regardless of whether they are adults or boys, so long as they are strong enough to carry the heavy book and can pray the mani. The seed-supervisor determines how many persons each family must provide to make up the number of 108 book-bearers. If there are not enough people in one village, help is brought in from the neighborhood. Chinese are also admitted. -- In fetching and taking the books back to the monastery the number does not matter, so one person may carry two books. The Tibetan books are, to be sure, very large and heavy, since they are bound between two boards.

241 782 624 794 The seed-supervisor is changed every year at the harvest thanksgiving offering. He is charged with taking care of all the religious celebrations of the year. He is not the village mayor, however. Because his main concern is the seed, he is called seed-supervisor. The supervisor of the past year helps him (2).

[171] [797] 2. [Foreign text p. 838.] The Chinese, too, have such a religious supervisor who is chosen annually. Usually he is simply called t'ou-jen, that is, head man, or he is also called huei-t'ou, that is, meeting (festival) head; ch'ing-miao t'ou is also used,

[836 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.] but only for the period of the sowing festival with the cult dances. -- The Christian missionaries have taken over this arrangement for their ecclesiastical celebrations and folk festivals. Thus, besides the community mayors there are also special supervisors who, for instance, organize the festival for processions or at Easter, accommodate the guests, slaughter the festival sheep, etc.

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It is not absolutely necessary for there to be several soothsayers. If a village has several, however, they must all appear. If it has none at all, then it invites at least one from outside. A lama or a Bon priest is never invited.

Time: The time for the procession around the field is determined by the soothsayer at the pole-goat offering in the spring (aradziãñ) on the thirteenth day in the fifth month. The procession itself must always be in the seventh month, when the seed is developing ears, because the greatest danger for the coming harvest is precisely at this time on account of the many and big storms during this month (3). The time is also often

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3. [Foreign text p. 838.] Cf. the sections, "Mountain Sheep-offering" and "Pole-goat."

determined in the lamasery. Since, of course, there are many villages that want to hold the procession, it may happen that two villages set the same time. Therefore the seed-supervisor goes to the monastery a month in advance and inquires when the books are available. The day is determined accordingly. -- It is usually calculated that the ceremony will last three days, one day for fetching the books, one for the procession, and one for

[836 cont.]

241 taking them back. One day can be saved, however, if the books
782 are taken directly to the following neighboring community or fetched from there. In this case the monastery must be notified. The procession must begin at the first sign of dawn because otherwise one day would not be sufficient.

Place: Only one's own village area is considered for the
[628] procession.[1] It is not permitted, for instance, that two villages join together and hold only one procession in both areas. Also,
[346] the people always gather in the temple, for every village has at
[787] least one small temple; no soothsaying is done outside the temple or temple yard.

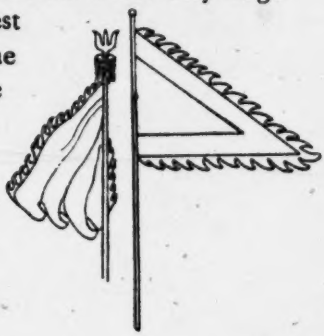
Objects: The books are not absolutely necessary. A book procession does not take place every year, but usually only every three years. In the other years the procession is held without books. The ceremonies [837] are the same, except that the monastery is not notified when the date is set; two days are saved that would have been necessary for the transportation of the books. Also, the number of participants need not be 108, al-
[801] though because of the sacred number it should be aimed at (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 839.] The book-carrying is a widespread custom in all lamic monasteries. In particular one can repeatedly see women who carry the heavy books, volume after volume like a rucksack on their backs, around the prayer halls of the temple, which often goes on for days, chuan miao (Chin.). Many Tujen women make such a vow in times of distress or sickness. -- It should also be recalled that a Tulku [Living Buddha] blesses the faithful by placing the book on their foreheads.

1 [i.e. - Procession around the field. - ANALYST]

[837 cont.]

241 There are no rules about the musical instruments. [Illustra-
782 tion appears here.] Whatever one has is taken along. The temple
533 drum -- a barrel drum with a drumhead on both sides -- and the conch are always certain to be there. The drum is not very large and is carried on a belt in front of the chest so that it can be beaten on both sides. The conch shell is the same as that used at the incense offering. The trumpets are the
[177] ordinary Chinese shawms (la-pa); the cymbals and the gong are also Chinese.



Flags such as are carried during the procession around the field. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

241 Among the flags there are black,
782 red, yellow, etc. Usually they are provided with colorful borders. There are also flags with pictures, for example, of the mountain-spirit. Many flags also have Chinese sayings sewed on them, usually in white. There are
[532] no special Tujen names for the flags. The number is arbitrary.

Aside from the usual cypress incense the Chinese incense sticks are also popularly taken along; butter, water, tea, etc. are just as desirable as at other incense offerings. More recently yellow paper
[177] is also burned in Chinese fashion.

The soothsayers must always carry along their soothsaying tokens, that is, the objects that are the seat of the spirit, in other words,
[778] spear, litter, table, etc. During the entire procession, the spirit
[791] remains in the object concerned, which is signified by the shaking and rattling of the bells and the movement of the bearers.

241 Soothsaying: At the soothsaying one tries to learn as precisely
782 as possible when and where the heaviest hail will come down and
787 how one should protect himself against it, whether by means of offerings or prayer or the mani-tree, and the like. At this time the
[821] seed-master makes a brief speech to the spirit concerned, charging him with the duties that he must fulfill for a good harvest and telling him that he will be rewarded for his protection by an offering (4).

241 4. [Foreign text p. 838.] An offer-
782 ing is usually connected with the

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.]
soothsaying, for instance, a cock offering, grain or bread offering, etc., as I was able to observe.

Meaning: The purpose of the procession is to honor the gods so that they will protect the seed and provide an abundant harvest. [778] The sacred books have a special power. Above all, however, the gods that are taken along are supposed to spare the fields from hail and storms. -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have [171] this procession. The Chinese do not have it in this form (5).

5. [Foreign text pp. 838-839.]
The Chinese have the procession in two stages. Once, when the seed comes up. Then the driving in of the thunderbolts in the weather forts on the mountain peaks takes place. They move with music and flags and the god-litter onto the mountain and take along the wooden wedges inscribed with magical formulas. They call this ch'a-p'ai, that is, "to drive in pegs." -- A second procession takes place later in the summer, and every 14 days, on the first and fifteenth day of each month. They call this procession chuan shan, that is, to march around (on the) mountains. On these occasions only flags or musical instruments are taken along. Formerly the conch trumpet was blown on these occasions, which otherwise is not used among the Chinese.

[177] As the informant related, the Tujen today have already to a great

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.]
extent taken over this ch'a-p'ai, in other words, the procession with the driving in of thunderbolts, in place of the former aradziãn (pole-goat), and for the reason that there are hardly any Bon priests. The chuan-shan of the Chinese, however, is not the same as their procession around the fields, sguora. To be sure, it also took place in the summer, but every 14 days, whereas they would hold their field procession only once. Nowadays, however, when the Tujen are already half-Chinese, they would also do it more simply, but therefore more frequently, just like the Chinese.

It is difficult to say what is earlier. It appears that a Lamaistic custom is not involved, for one never invites a lama, and even the Buddhist books are unnecessary. There must always be a soothsayer, however, with the spirit invoked. It is therefore possible that this procession [839] is connected with the original shamanistic weather conjuration as it is still practiced today, and that the Buddhist books did not come in until later.

The Chinese field procession, on the other hand, makes an impoverished impression. Only flags and musical instruments are taken along. The people participate only very poorly, and the procession lasts only three to four hours. Formerly the conch was blown on these occasions, but no longer now. The conch, however, is a peculiar feature of the Tujen and Fandse, not of the Chinese. Furthermore, the field procession

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 838-839 cont.]
is no longer held in many places. And this seems to be all the more the case the farther eastward one goes, in other words, into Chinese territory.

Thus it may be asserted with some degree of probability that the field procession is of neither Chinese nor Lamaistic origin. With the Sinicization of the Tujen, and the Fandse in particular, it was still practiced initially, then fell into disuse more and more, and finally was completely lost. -- On the other hand, non-original elements have been added, such as the Buddhist books and the Chinese musical instruments, probably also the god-litter, which almost always shelters the Chinese Niang-niang, the mother deity, and finally also the Chinese incense and the offering paper.

The Chinese thunderbolt procession will be described in more detail in a separate work. Here it should merely be noted that it is connected with the weather forts. These are found only in Tsinghai and its border region to southern Kansu. They might well belong to a shamanistic cycle of ideas.

[838] Word List

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Procession around the field: sguora (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 839.] sguora: Tibetan skor = to circle around (Unkrig).

3: Schröder--248 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor: tōrōdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.

Trumpet: dōṅ; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.

Cymbals: nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rēbuoğë (?).
ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.

Flags: ch'i-tzu (Chin.).

Books: luăn = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.

Book-bearers: luăn rēgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

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VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

* See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

[841 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 842-843 cont.]
chiang. The rules mentioned here lead one to surmise that conceptions from lunar mythology (black-white, circular horns) are involved here. The preference for male animals, with the exception of the mules, is also striking. -- This rule is also decisive in profane life. People who have a high opinion of themselves ride only male horses (gelding), but female mules; the reddish-brown color with white mane and white tail is regarded as elegant. White eye-rings, belly covering, and white mouth are highly esteemed for all riding animals of whatever color and help to determine the price. -- It is also interesting that among the goats the lamas prefer not black, but reddish-brown bucks.

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[492]

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The old man said that the ordinary people would not bother with these rules unless they gave the animal to the monastery. Otherwise the color, age, sex, castration, etc. were unimportant, so long as the animal had no physical defects.

The released animals usually stay with their own herd or in the house, for they are used to it. If they run away, nobody bothers about it. A family always keeps horses, mules, and cattle at home and uses them as before. This was not the case originally, however; it is a deviation from the old custom, brought about by poverty and work in the fields.

[178]

A consecrated animal may never be killed. It must die a natural death. If it is eaten by a wolf, it need not be replaced. If an evildoer kills the consecrated animal, then the punishment of heaven or of the consecration-deity will strike him. Also, under no circumstances may one slaughter a consecrated animal for the offering; this would be tantamount to ordinary killing.

[688]

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[842 cont.]

Word List

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778 Consecration-band: šdier (Tib. loanword).
hung-tzu (Chin.) = the red.

To tie on the consecration-band: šdier fuya-.

[825] The consecration-animal: šdier.

Sacred horse: šdier mori; sheng ma (Chin.).

Sacred sheep: šdier xoni; sheng yang (Chin.).

Sacred goat: šdier ima; sheng chia-la (Chin.), etc.

[Pages 842-844 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[844]

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2. The Demon-escort *

* See "Notes," pp. 846-847 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

789 The demon-escort consists of leading the harmful spirit
[791] out of the house and releasing it in the distance. It is done upon
[777] the command of the soothsayer in case of family misfortune.

On a set day one invites a lama to the house. He prays
[792] for six days with the usual ceremonies and makes several tormas
with the appropriate additions, as on other occasions. The
[778] compound is taboo, and the master of the household makes the
[782] great incense offering three times a day.

In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes the actual
[778] demon-torma, which, with all kinds of provisions for travel, is
[792] placed on a table in front of the household altar.

On the seventh day one takes the torma, along with a
[825] riding animal carrying the travel provisions, outside the village

[845 cont.]

789 elegant hat, black and white sugar, fresh good butter, a piece of raw meat, dates, apples, and other fruits. All these things must
782 be new; they may not have been used even once, for otherwise the demon is not satisfied and returns.

789 Releasing: In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes a large three-cornered torma (1). The master of the household
[778]
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1. [Foreign text pp. 846-847.] This form of torma can frequently be seen in lamaseries. They are especially reserved for demons. It is usually a pyramid of dough from 30 to 50 centimeters high. The types seem to vary. I saw some that were hung with intestines and bore death's-head figures (at the banishing of the mBarma in Kumbum); others had an arrow with a mani-wheel stuck in them, etc. Evidently the Tibetan zor, Mongol. = sor [847] (Unkrig), is involved. Ch. Das writes under zor, p. 1098: "reaping-hook, a sickle, a knife, esp. the weapons employed in combating the evil spirits in the gtor ma offerings, such as knife, sword, sling, bow and arrows" [cited in English]. There is a very detailed description of the manufacture, consecration, and use of the zor in Pozdneev, Skizzen [Sketches] (pp. 283 ff.): "A three-cornered pyramid, hollow on the inside, which is made of dough and colored a flaming red, is called zor. Figures are engraved on it with the burin, such as flowers, circles, fiery tongues, etc., as a result

[846 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 847.] There are similar spirit-releasings in many variations both among the Tujen and among the Chinese. The basic feature is the same everywhere: one releases the demon with many gifts so that it will not return. The ceremonial driving away of the mBarma demon in Kumbum is nothing other than such a releasing, only with a more complicated ritual and with the expenditure of enormous sums of money. The demon is represented there by his mother's brother, a selected man, while his image is burned together with the thread (mdos) towers. In the neighboring Huchu valley, for instance, in Kanchiapu, he is represented by the dough image and then is beaten to pieces by the children and eaten; in Tsungchai he is conjured into a kind of "town fortress" (tu-ch'eng) and this is burned; farther up in Kao-ch'iang-p'u he is put, with his belongings, on a little boat and allowed to float away.

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Interpretation: The demon who disturbs the compound must be led away with all the gifts and conveniences imaginable so that he will not think back on his old location. The prayers of the lama and also the torma depend upon the demon. Regardless of whether it is a great or little exorcism, the effect is the same. Only the wealthy can afford large animals, and usually today it is only the lamic monasteries that undertake such an expensive ceremony.

[846 cont.]

789 If an evildoer steals the animal or the things,[1] the
776 demon will punish him.
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Word List

192 Demon escort: rēdzõňwa (Tib.?) ġarġani = one takes away
789 that which is to be taken away.
[778] The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].
Saddlebag: dadzē (Chin. loanword).
Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[847]

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3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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Report

. . . In order to protect the children from misfortune, one
79 invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then
they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they
[777] make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.
[778] On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter
and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing.
[782] There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

1 [i.e. - the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST.]

[847 cont.]

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Details

Time: Ordinarily the ceremony takes place when a child is sick. It can also be undertaken, however, as a preventive measure against [848] sickness. Then the third or ninth month is chosen by preference.

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Place: One stays in one's own house and does not go into the local temple; the Bon priests also live in the compound. The place is taboo during these days. The burning of the objects must always be done outside the place.

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The prayer service: For the prayer service the Bon priests bring along a large double drum, which is suspended from a beam (1), and, furthermore, sounding plates, a hand bell,

1. [Foreign text p. 849.] By means of a ring the drum is suspended from a beam in the room with a cord. The Bon sticks one finger of his left hand through the second ring on the drum and thus pulls the drum tight so that it does not swing back and forth. At the same time he also holds in his left hand a sounding plate. In his right hand he has drum sticks and the second sounding plate, so that through skillful handling he can beat both instruments at the same time.

bone flute, and Tibetan prayer texts. The prayer service takes place four times a day, namely, at sunrise, after the morning tea, at noon, and in the evening; the incense offering is made in the yard each time.

[848 cont.]

789 The litter: The litter looks like a death-box, in other
778 words, it has the shape of a small temple with a movable door. Only it is almost entirely made of paper, even the sun-moon attachment on the ridge-piece. First a floor is made out of a soft clay plate. Into this plate, at the four corners, the Bon priest sticks poles about a meter long as columns, connects them with crosslaths, and thus makes a framework. This is covered by pasting paper on it. No particular color is required. The whole is set on two carrying poles so that it looks like a litter.
[785] Then the men fumigate the litter with cypress incense. They do not use the red-hot stone. The work is not done on the kang, but on the floor.

789 The figures: First the Bon priest washes a clay vessel,
778 fumigates it, puts tsamba and butter in it, and kneads them thoroughly. In all 81 figures are formed, nine kinds with nine
791 pieces each. The kinds are: sheep, goat, hen, pig, dog, snake, frog, horse, and cattle. The Bon priests put these figures in
532 the litter and fumigate everything together. -- The men of the household assist at the making of both the litter and the figures.
[783] The Bon priests and men must wash and fumigate themselves beforehand each time; otherwise they may not give a hand.
[782] The Bon priests accompany the work with prayers said by rote.

[782] The accompanying gifts: Since the figures are small, at most a handbreadth in size, there is still room in the litter for all kinds of accompanying gifts. These consist of Tibetan barley, white barley, wheat, beans, millet, and some small loaves of bread. To this are also added white and black sheep wool, white and black sugar, money, a raven's feather, some silver, and a sheet of paper on which the Bon priests have printed or drawn the images of the sickness-demons. Once everything has been placed inside, the door of the litter is
[783] closed and sealed, and the litter is fumigated. Then it is put on the floor in front of the household altar. A three-cornered torma and a white horse's skull are in front of it (2). The skull

[848 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether the horse's skull represents the riding animal of the spirit could not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another torma is also made.

789 [849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books [787] the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away. [791] They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum, [532] sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the torma.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the torma is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen. [782] The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long [171] migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this custom.

[755]

4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This ceremony is very similar to the figure-conjuration of the shamans

[850 cont.]

Details

755 778 532 [171] [789]

The figures: Nine kinds of things are needed for the figure-conjuration. 1. Five little paper men (2). They are

2. [Foreign text p. 851.] The Chinese, too, have these paper figures at their demon exorcisms; they call them wu-tao shen. Among them, however, it is not clear whether five or only one demon is involved. They are mentioned once in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien as wu-tao lei-shen, that is, five-way thunder-spirits, which punish human beings through wind, rain, water, fire, and epidemics.

about 10 to 20 centimeters high and of the type of the Chinese paper figures that are burned at the burial. Only here they wear Tujen dress, which depends on whether male or female demons are involved. One can also simply cut them out of a piece of strong paper, but usually they are stuck together in the form of a figure with the help of stalks of grass. 2. Five little tsamba men. They are not colored, but retain the characteristic tsamba color. Also, they wear no clothing and are represented as sexless. 3. A pig made of tsamba. 4. A hen or a cock made of tsamba. 5. A dog made of tsamba. 6. A sheep made of tsamba. 7. A goat of tsamba. 8. A cow of tsamba. 9. A horse of tsamba. These figures [756] are made by shamans with the help of a skillful man, in a way similar to the figures of the figure-litter.

755 782

Then they are put on a tray with the following accompanying gifts: a piece of raw pork, beef, or mutton, some pieces of cloth and threads in the five sacred colors for the five little men, and bread and money. The tray is set before the household altar, and a burning dough-lamp and a basin with cypress incense or a number of incense sticks are put in front of it.

[850 cont.]

755 The conjuration: As soon as it is dark the gurtum goes
756 into a trance in the usual fashion before the household altar.
[787] Then he rises, fights [851] the demons with his sword in the air, and goes to the sick person. The tray is brought after him. With his one free hand he takes one figure after another from the tray, touches the affected places on the patient with them while constantly swinging the sword and murmuring magic words, and puts them back on the tray (5).

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5. [Foreign text p. 852.] The custom of transferring sickness to animals or animal figures is also reported of Siberian shamans elsewhere. In this case, however, the similarity with the above-described Bon custom is to be noted. Originally actual animals might have been sacrificed. It was Buddhism that first combated these sacrifices and abolished them. Then substitute figures arose for them. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 176 and 263, writes in this connection: "...prohibits for the hated rivals the sacrifice of animals. In this connection the interesting fact is mentioned that the Bon-po were forced to make images of yaks and sheep out of grain mush, as well as wooden deer heads with wide horns, which henceforth had to serve as substitutes at the sacrificial ceremonies. The first-mentioned dough figures, made by means of wooden molds, are still found today, it is worthy of note, even in the rites of the Lamaists"; cf. loc. cit., where the literature is also cited.

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[854 cont.]

755 789 Exorcism: Towards evening, when darkness begins to fall, the shaman goes into a trance before the household altar (1).

[756] [787]

1. [Foreign text p. 855.] Before the exorcism the shaman divines, with barley on his protective mirror, which demon is involved.

During this time a man runs out of the village with the hen to a crossroads, twists or hacks off the hen's head, and with the fluttering [855] hen squirts the blood in all directions of the compass. [782] Then he throws away the hen as food for the demon and goes home. -- The straw man is put on the threshold of the main house or in the yard.

755 789 756 [787] [273] As soon as the shaman is in a trance, he jumps up and, running in wild leaps through all the rooms of the compound, performs the sword battle against the demon. The men follow him. Stones hail down on the ground. One circles around in the rooms with the torches. One man holds the oil-pan, takes mouthfuls of liquor, and blows it over the fire into the room, so that each time a red flash shoots out. Others crack the whip from room to room and shoot burning arrows at the floor. In this way the demon is driven into the straw doll. This is dragged by a hemp string or a straw rope out of the gate over the village street to the nearest crossroads, where the hen is lying. The shaman follows, fighting with his sword; stones, blows, fire-arrows, and flashes of fire rain down on the doll. It is left lying at the crossroads. The men pour the oil out of the pan over it, throw the torches, arrows, stones, etc. on it, and leave it smoldering (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 855.] This form of exorcism is the simplest of all. Usually all kinds of other ceremonies are connected with it. I once saw such a sword-shaman as he was trying to heal a child among the Chinese. He cast

[855 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.]
about himself with sword and lance, hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up a straw man, swung a winnowing shovel and a sieve, danced, and foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

192

Word List

755 House-purification: rdzõňwa (rëdzõňwa).
789 The torch: huo-pa (Chin.).
[416] The stones: tašë; sa-shih (Chin.).
Oil-basin: ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
Fire-arrow: ġal sëmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
Fire-bow: ġal lëmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
The hemp whip: uhuosë yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
The hen: taǵū; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here = to live.
[778] The straw man: šdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

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7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[856 cont.]

782 soothsayer determines that the earth-god is angry and wants to
[791] have an urn. This urn is buried in the ground on a day indicated
[787] by the soothsayer. All kinds of spices are to be found in the urn,
[777] put there by a lama. This is done after a seven-day prayer in
the family itself. During these days the compound is taboo.
[792] Usually there are several urns, because one does not bother the lama for merely one. After he has filled the urn with spices on the last day, he pours liquid butter over it, ties it up with a cloth, seals the string, and paints a nuru sign on the outside. Then the urn is fumigated and sprinkled with holy water, whereupon the master of the household places it on the chest before the Buddha image.

In front of the urn one places the usual little water-bowls, butter-lamps, grain-bowls, etc. The urn, however, does not stand on the bare floor of the chest, but rather a sheet of paper is first put down as an underlayer, a few cypress leaves and grains of barley are scattered over it, and the urn is put on top.
[792] Now the lama comes down from the kang, sits on the white felt mat in front of the urn, and gives the consecration-prayer (1).

[778]

1. [Foreign text p. 858.] As is always done on other occasions, here, too, a torma is made by the lama, which is carried out into the open. It was unfortunately no longer possible to inquire as to whether this torma is put on the place where the urn is buried, say, as an offering for the earth, which is to be injured, similar to what is done at the house, at the fire-pouring, at the crematory, etc.

791 During this time the spear-soothsayer is fetched. He
787 now gives the precise hour in which the urn is to be buried.
782 The master of the household puts the urn on a tray, and the procession moves out to the area indicated by the soothsayer. The soothsayer follows with the invoked spear-god and then

[856 cont.]
782 indicates precisely to the foot the spot where the urn is to be
[791] buried; he likewise determines the depth. Usually this is one
[787] to two ells. A few cypress twigs are put on the floor of the pit. Over them the soothsayer scatters a few barley kernels with the tip of the spear, and one or more flat white stones, depending on how many urns there are, are put on the whole, and the urn is put on it. Then on top of the urn is put a flat white stone, like a lid. Finally the space between the urn and wall is stuffed all around with cypress twigs, and everything is filled with earth, stamped down, and made level. Then the men burn cypress incense and kowtow in front of the urn thus buried.
[792] The lama remains seated on his mat in front of it for some time yet and finishes his prayers. Then all go home.

Details

782 The urn: The urn is an ordinary clay vessel such as is
415 baked in Tsinghai. Usually they are of whitish-yellow color, about 20 to 30 centimeters high, with a thick belly and a narrow neck. The urn for the earth-spirit must be uncolored and unglazed, at least on the outside, and must have a flat bottom. The master of the household buys the urn himself, washes it
[386] [857] thoroughly, and paints it on the outside with gypsum or lime water, for only white urns are given to the earth-spirit. At the conclusion, it is fumigated and ready for use by the lama.

782 Contents of the urn: There are five kinds of grain in the urn, namely: blue Tibetan barley, red wheat, white barley,
824 white rice (2), and yellow rape. The spices are the same as at

2. [Foreign text p. 858.] Why white is used twice here, white barley and white rice, is unclear. Otherwise rice is never used among the five kinds of grain and is not even present in Tsinghai. Perhaps this is an indication of a southern origin of the urn.

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[857 cont.]

782 [824] the incense offering, the good six. To this are added little leaves of Buddha gold, little pieces of silver, corals, little pieces of mother-of-pearl, sometimes rare stones or water, and then five-colored silk threads, white and black sugar, tea leaves, and a few little balls of butter.

The filling: First a mortar with pestle, a large earthen vessel, and a clean iron kettle are provided. All these objects are thoroughly washed and fumigated in the incense fire. The spices are pounded to flour in the mortar and then poured by the lama into the vessel, where they are thoroughly mixed with the five kinds of grain. The quantity depends on the size of the urn. Meanwhile the master of the household melts a lump of butter in the iron kettle over the fire. The lama pours this melted butter into the grain and spice mixture with a spoon and thoroughly kneads everything together.

He puts this mixture into the urn, but only one-third of it. Over this first filling he puts a layer of the other additions, gold, silver, etc. Then the remaining two-thirds are added, almost up to the rim of the urn, and the liquid butter is poured on, almost to overflowing. The master of the household brings a yellow or red hada (or cloth), fumigates it, and hands it to the lama. He ties up the urn with it in three layers, in which the colors yellow and red may alternate. The thread that is wound around the cloth must also be yellow or red and is first fumigated. Once everything is thoroughly tied up, the knot is covered with sealing wax (3) and finally stamped with a seal

[439] 3. [Foreign text p. 858.] Latsia, as the sealing wax is called, is obtainable from Chinese traders.

[778] [386] that bears Tibetan signs. Afterwards the lama paints a nuru jewel on the white urn with red pigment, usually red clay, which is to signify a treasure. This makes the urn distinguishable as a treasure for the earth-god (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 858.] The Tujen call the symbol of good

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 858 cont.]
fortune, which consists of several conchoidal eggs and is surrounded with flames, nuru. This is found very often in Lamaistic symbolism and is also borne by the air-horse. It is the cintāmaṇi. Cf. above: "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation," Note 2.

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Persons: The urn can only be made by a lama who possesses special powers. One never fetches a Living Buddha for it. The latter, however, may make and consecrate them in his monastery. -- Since one can also order the urns in the monastery (they are not in stock), the master of the household may fetch it from there and bury it at home without a lama. [791] It must always be done with the assistance of a soothsayer, however, and in the presence of an invoked spirit -- If one wants to bury several urns, however, this must always be done by a lama even if the urns were bought in the monastery. -- If one wants to have several urns made at home, then he fetches [351] [784] several lamas at the same time (5). -- Regardless of whether the

5. [Foreign text pp. 858-859.]
As the lamas in Kumbum maintain, there is a great number of treasure urns, and special prayers are used for each type. [859] The urns are preferably buried in obos. -- In [192] Kumbum the urns are usually called beṅba, which seems to be the same as the Tibetan bum-ba, vessel. Another name is xdēr-wēm, which probably corresponds to the Tibetan gter-bum, treasure vessel, Chinese pao-p'ing. The expression sēnoġ-dër (cf. section, [178] "Mani-tree and Central Fort") perhaps

[857 cont.]

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[784]
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[Note on foreign text pp. 858-859 cont.] comes from the fact that the urn is consecrated with certain conjuration formulas, snags (dha-rani), in other words, represents a magic treasure.

urn is buried by one or more lamas or by the master of the household, the compound is always taboo during this time.

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[858] Place: The place at which the urn is buried must always be chosen in such a way that no person or domestic animal can desecrate it. No one may run across such a place. For this reason roads and public places are avoided, for the place is, after all, not specially marked. Otherwise the urn may be buried anywhere, in the fields or in the pasture, in the yard or in the house. Indeed, one may even set it in yard and room walls and wall it up.

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[777]

Significance: The contents of the urn are the treasures and yield of the earth, everything that belongs in the realm of the earth-god or of the mountain-spirit. One wants to please these two spirits through these valuables so that they will hold down the evil earth-influences and protect human beings from misfortune. It is as though gifts were being given to persons in office (6).

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6. [Foreign text pp. 859-860.] According to this explanation, an offering to the earth-god is involved. The interpretation, however, might not suffice. One must consider the urn in its wider context. It repeatedly occurs in Tujen usage, with the arrow of good fortune, with the round manger, in the obo, in the chorten chamber, and, to be sure, in twofold form: in the one case as the seat of a deity, which through the formula scroll,

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
silk wrapping, etc. is transferred into the urn; in other cases without this deity, as, for instance, the urns accompanying the central urn in the chorten chamber and central fort, or, as in the preceding section, alone. In this case it is to be conceived as a representation of the earth with its vital and germinating forces and its treasures, as was shown above in the section on the arrow of good fortune. In the other case the earth-god takes his seat in his realm (urn). The urn is simply a part of the representation of the world-picture (mandala), as the realm of the earth-god.

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What these earth deities are is unclear. In any case the ġlu (Tib. klu) or Nagas belong among them. In addition, however, another earth-deity is venerated among the Tujen, which perhaps is of Chinese origin, for like the Chinese they also have a pig offering in honor of the earth-god and certain ceremonies for pardon that are connected with a grain offering. They are performed especially in connection with digging, housebuilding, etc., or when someone suffers harm while digging. Unfortunately I was no longer able to record these ceremonies. It cannot be definitely determined whether this earth-spirit is male or female.

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Another group to be considered is ȝman. A part of the filling is called ġlu-smăn (Tib. klu-sman); cf. the chapter above, "The Incense Offering," Note 11. According to H. Hoffmann,

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
Quellen (pp. 160 ff.), no clarification can be obtained concerning the Sman: "We can only conclude from the places at which they are mentioned, that earth-spirits or local spirits are involved." -- G. Tucci, Tib. Painted Scrolls (pp. 720 ff.), regards the Sman as the feminine counterparts of the gods and explains the connection between medicine and femininity in the following manner: "sman means either medicine or women. The connection between the two meanings is perhaps given by the implication that these sman were witches and that they were supposed to be possessed of the healing power with which, in shamanism, women are not rarely endowed" [cited in English]. And further below: "... but nothing prevents us from understanding 'lha and their wives' ..." [cited in English]. -- Therefore in the case of the treasure urn we would be dealing with the klu and their feminine counterparts, the sman.

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The burying of the treasure urn is often equated by the Chinese with the burying of other vessels. These are two different things, however. Chinese and Tujen often put tea bowls, vessels, and the like, with the opening [860] downward, into the ground in order to exorcise and hold down the demons. This custom, however, originates from shamanistic practices, such as the Taoists also have. Thus the shamans there throw tea bowls in the air or on the ground so that the demons will be capped (this is done when the bowl falls with the opening down),

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
for instance, at the erection of the weather fort, in the case of knife-climbing, disease exorcism, etc.

Word List

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782 Earth-god: ġlu (glē).
Earth-god urn: sēnoġ-der; sēnoġ (Tib.) = to meditate; der (Tib.) = urn, bottle.
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[778] To buy an urn: sēnoġ-der bula; bula = to buy; but used only for the consecrated urn, otherwise "to buy" is called awu-.

Contents of the urn: rdzē (Tib.) (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 860.]
Concerning rdzē, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 4. These additions are for the greater part designated by the Chinese as yao (yüo) and are not to be thought of merely in the sense of medicine. Everything possible that has a special effect falls under yao: minerals, powder, spices, little pieces of shell, gold, and silver, and the filling of the treasure urn. Lamas from Kumbum and Bengbar told me that there are about 30 to 40 types of treasure urns with different fillings. One of the most valuable is the one that contains mani-ruru (little balls). These little balls multiply, they "cast young," as the people say, and fill up the entire urn; cf. section, "Customs concerning the Dead," Note 2. Ch. Das (p. 874) calls the urn additions bum rdsas: "twenty-five articles (comprising

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 860 cont.] consecrated objects and various sorts of medicines) required to be kept in the sacred-pot which contains the sacred water" [cited in English]. In his case, however, the holy-water urn, bum pa, is involved. Cf. the chapter above, "The Incense Offering."

All kinds of filling: yilẽ tawa ndzuomladzi = all kinds -- filling -- being complete.

Urn binding: ama budzin = opening-binding.

Sealing wax: latsia (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 860.] latsia: comes from the Chinese; la-cha = sealing wax. nuru: Tib. nor bu; also called yid-bžin = a treasure that one desires (Unkrig).

[778] Jewel of good fortune: nuru (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].

Buddha gold: fo-chin (Chin.).

Coral: ßurẽ.

Mother-of-pearl: mãdog (Tib. loanword).

[824] White rice: tsiġan tudurġa; no-mi (Chin.).

Yellow rape: sira yãńsgar; shen-ts'ai-tzu (Chin.) = spirit-rape.

[Pages 858-860 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[860]

8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[782] [792] In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions. [777] They make a small torma which one takes out into the open and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by [784] hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three [351] large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar. The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying. [791] One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual [787] ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the burning at the fire-pouring.

[778] After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the master of the household undertakes the great incense offering in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the [783] night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[861 cont.]

782 outside for the ceremony, and the lama makes another torma of
792 pure butter. He takes this outside and puts it on the drawing of the burning-place. Then the ceremony of the fire-pouring follows, at which all kinds of wood and spices are burned.

The lama continues to pray until evening. The following morning he receives his fee and is taken back to the monastery. Sometimes, however, one keeps him a few more days for
[784] prayers. -- After the fire-pouring the yard remains taboo for at
[351] least another week.

Details

[756] Persons: The fire-pouring may not be undertaken by shamans, but only by lamas. These are not ordinary lamas, however. Only the three top classes are considered for it: the Hutukhtu, the Tsüordzi, and the Känpo. Usually three lamas are needed. It suffices if one of them belongs to the higher rank, but one often invites more (1).

[791] 1. [Foreign text p. 867.] Other Tujen claim that a Bon priest could also undertake the fire-pouring, which, after all, is to be expected, at least in the case of the black fire-pouring. The old informant, however, and other people, too, decidedly contest this. According to them, only a lama (gelõŋgba) is to be considered for this; the Bon priests, they claim, concern themselves only with demon exorcism.

782 The fire-pouring may be ordered by a private person (man or woman), by an individual family, or by the entire village. -- During the ceremony, the general avoidance pre-
[562] scriptions apply. Women may be present, but may not assist.

[861 cont.]

782 Place: Ordinarily the fire-pouring takes place in a compound. If the affair is organized by the village, then the temple yard is preferred. They may also go to a mountain, but not to its peak, only halfway up. -- The burning-place is always indicated in detail by a soothsayer. [791]

There are no further prescriptions concerning the location of the various types of fire-pourings, except for the black fire-pouring. It may never be undertaken in a yard, temple, or in the village. For it a very remote mountain region is sought and the people stay there in tents for several days.

[791] Time: The soothsayer determines the date days or weeks ahead of time. If the lama cannot come on the day set, then [792] he is asked to state the term, and the soothsayer then determines a day within this period. The ceremony always lasts seven days; the actual fire-pouring always takes place on the morning of the last day. There are no interdicted periods; it could also be undertaken when the family concerned is still in its period of mourning or when there is still a woman in childbed in the compound. In this case, the woman in childbed, for instance, would not be allowed to watch.

778 Tormas: Six tormas in all are made. 1. A small torma, 782 as always in connection with lama-visits. This is the misfortune-torma, after whose removal the compound is taboo. 2. On the [792] morning of the second day three large tormas follow. One of 351 them represents the god (Buddha), to whom the [862] fire-pouring [784] is presented. The other two, which are slightly lower, symbolize his two subordinate companions. The color of these tormas varies according to which god is involved. The tormas are put before the household altar or in the household chapel, and they are elevated in a box that is covered with a cloth or a board so that no animal (for instance, a cat) can desecrate them. The votive gifts are put in a row in front of these tormas: seven bowls of pure water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of sugar, a bowl of dough beans, and several small butter-lamps. These little lamps remain burning day and night until the conclusion

[862 cont.]

778 of the ceremonies. -- The three tormas are left standing until three days after the fire-pouring and then are eaten by the mem-
782 bers of the family. They may also be given to the domestic animals. In summer, however, they are often already so moldy that they are only fit for dogs. The names of the three tormas
[171] agree with the names of the gods that they represent. This is similar to the ancestral tables of the Chinese, which are likewise set up and venerated. -- 3. On the afternoon of the sixth day a fifth torma is made. It is smaller than the others and represents the earth- or mountain-spirit, for which reason it is also called earth-spirit (mountain-spirit) torma. The lama puts it on the place selected for the fire-pouring. In front of it, as votive gifts, there are: three bowls of water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of tea, a butter-lamp, and three sticks of incense. The lama sprinkles the torma with holy water from
[792] the wumba can, while the master of the household burns incense in front of it. Then the lama settles down on a felt mat and says a votive prayer in which he requests the earth-spirit to free the burning-place for the fire-pouring. After the prayer the torma is put on a wall or thrown away in the field so that the birds will eat it. The color of this torma is white. 4. Finally a sixth torma is made on the morning of the seventh day. It is not made of tsamba mixed with butter like the other tormas, but of pure butter alone. It represents the fire-god and is therefore colored a fiery red. Before the fire-pouring it is placed on the ground-drawing and afterwards burned with the rest.

782 The burnt offerings: For the actual fire-pouring the
824 following things are needed: 1. Firewood and twigs from the tree of life. They are supplied by the gift-master (that is, of the particular family). The firewood is an ell long. Formerly only fir wood was used; nowadays the wood of the white poplar is popular. One takes branch- and knot-free pieces as thick as an arm, which are split lengthwise. The length and being free of branch-knots are prescribed. 2. Butter, which is melted for the fire-pouring and poured into the fire. It must not be too old.

[862 cont.]

782 3. Two pieces of wood from the red and white sandal tree.
824 4. A large quantity of burning-spices, which the family itself must provide: white rape kernels, white hemp seeds, black hemp seeds, wheat, Tibetan barley, white peas, glutenous rice, white barley, certain Tibetan herbs, Tibetan flowers, a Tibetan species of reed-grass, and white grass from Tsinghai. 5. Consecration-wood. The consecration-wood varies according to the type of fire-pouring. For the [863] white fire-pouring one uses branches of the white poplar; in all there are 46 pairs of pieces of branch. Every piece has a length of nine fingerbreadths and must have formed three side twigs. These side twigs are cut off at a length of three fingerbreadths. The cut surfaces of the pieces must all run at right angles, not at a slant. The bark is left on; one may not damage it, otherwise the gift-master and his [753] relatives will later have a bad skin-eruption. In order to avoid its becoming torn, the cut surface is smeared with butter. Instead of poplar wood, tamarisk wood is also permitted. This by nature is very straight and free of branches. For this reason, in contrast to the pieces of poplar, they may not show any branch attachments. The length, however, must be the same. The color of the tamarisk wood is red (2). 6. The six spices of

2. [Foreign text p. 867.] Nothing could be discovered about the symbolism of the various types of wood. That would be interesting, especially on account of the requirement of the branch attachments.

the incense offering. They are likewise provided by the gift-master. 7. The 74 types of earth-god spices, which the lama brings with him, already pounded to powder.

782 Preparation of the burnt offerings: The lama prepares
[792] the burnt offerings on the afternoon of the sixth day. In each case he puts one kind of the burning-spices in an earthen vessel, mixes it with the five kinds of grain, pours liquid butter over it,

[863 cont.]

782 scatters over it the six incense spices and the spice-powder of the 74 earth-god spices, mixes everything together thoroughly, and in each case puts this mixture in two portions on a little plate, since at the fire-pouring he must throw the fire-offerings into the fire in two sequences, in other words, there are as many plates as there are kinds, each with two portions. In order to protect the spices from dust and impurity, they are individually covered with a sheet of paper. -- The 46 pairs of pieces of consecration-wood are put together on a separate tray. The lama sprinkles the burnt offerings thus arranged with holy water and has them taken to the household altar. [792]

782 532 Preparation of the place for the fire: In conjunction with the preparation of the burnt offerings, the spear-soothsayer determines the place for the fire-pouring. He usually selects it in the yard. [791] The lama puts the earth-god torma with the consecration-gifts on this spot. [792] Once this has been removed, the lama measures off a rectangle about two ells square on the ground with a string whitened in gypsum or powdered lime. [Illustration appears here.] He beats the lines onto the ground, just as the carpenters do on wood with their black measuring string. Inside this square he draws a second, parallel rectangle that is about a handbreadth smaller. A frame is thus formed. Likewise with white powder and with the help of a wooden or leather pattern (3), he draws eight thunderbolts on this frame,

3. [Foreign text p. 867.] The patterns were formerly made of leather. Nowadays they are usually of wood or cardboard.

namely, one in each corner and one in the center on each side. The powdered lime is simply scattered over the pattern, and when he takes this away, [864] the contours of the drawing remain. The thunderbolts run parallel to the direction of the frame, in other words, they are not diagonal to it. Finally he

[864 cont.]

●782 also draws two crossed thunderbolts in the center of the rectangle (4).

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4. [Foreign text pp. 867-868.] As other people and lamas relate, there is a great assortment of different ground-drawings which evidently merely represent variations of the mandala. My informant, for instance, had one of his relatives draw the above-described figure. He explained it in the following way [868] (see figure below): The thunderbolts represent the four principal directions and the four directions between them. The circle with the crossed thunderbolts signifies the foundation of the world-mountain rirā (Sumeru), for this rests on a golden disk. The thunderbolts signify the rest and stability and durability of the world's foundation. Originally they were supposedly made of gold as a sign of their indestructibility. The peonies are supposed to be the sumbol of the flourishing familial good fortune. The same meaning also underlies the thunderbolt that is

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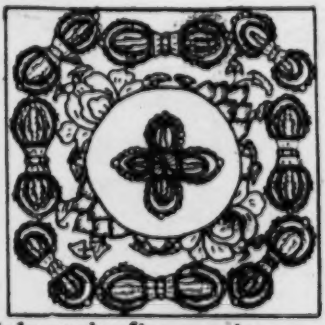

Mandala at the fire-pouring. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

[864 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp.867-868 cont.] soldered into the ladling spoon for the liquid butter. -- The significance of the peonies corresponds to the custom of the lamaseries and of the Chinese, among whom peony shrubs of various colors are planted in the yard. Tujen and Chinese believe that a wealthy, affluent man always has a peony shrub before his door. -- Instead of the peony, lotus blossoms are painted in the case of the ground-drawing of the crematory. These represent the lotus on which the Buddha supposedly sat and from which the flames of transformation emanate. Cf. the chapter on cremation.

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Now the men build a low wall with clay bricks on one side of the figure, while the lama says his prayers. This wall is terrace-shaped. The lower layer consists of two rows of bricks laid lengthwise; the second layer takes half the brick, and the third layer has only one brick. The whole wall, in other words, is six clay bricks high. The front and back side is coated with clay and lime and whitewashed. The vertical terraces remain free. With his pattern the lama again draws a thunderbolt on each of them, in other words, five thunderbolts altogether. This wall is to protect the lama from the fire, since at the pouring he is seated on level ground or only very slightly elevated (5). After the drawing, the lama again

[333]

5. [Foreign text p. 868.] There are also walls with four to six steps. According to the statements of others, the wall also bears the color of the fire-pouring concerned, and the ground-drawing likewise.

withdraws into the house for prayer.

[864 cont.]

782 The fire-pouring: On the morning of the seventh day,
[792] immediately after sunrise, the lama says his morning prayer, drinks tea, and makes the fire-torma. Meanwhile, after the incense offering, everything is prepared outside for the fire ceremony.

Next to the burning-place a large iron kettle for melting the butter is put on three stones. A pile of firewood lies next to it. A felt mat for the lama is put to the west of the wall, for he always sits facing east. Sometimes a broad kang table is set up, which serves the lama as a seat. On it is put a piece of wide cloth, which during the fire-pouring he places over his knees for protection, so that [illustration appears here] no liquid butter will drip on his clothes. Next to the seat one places the fire fan
[372] consisting of a piece of white cloth that is provided with two little parallel sticks, so that the lama can grasp it with both
[783] hands. The fire is fanned with it because one may not pollute it with his breath.

In front of the lama-seat and the wall there is a small table for the cult implements, prayer book, bell, etc. To the right of the seat there stands a small table on which to put the pouring-tube and the spoon. To the left, next to the lama-seat, one puts a wide board or a door taken off its hinges, over which one spreads a sack, and over that a white cloth runner. [Illustrations a, b, c, and d appear here.] [865] The tray with the pieces of wood and the 12 little plates with the burning-spices are on top of that. Furthermore the following are kept
[372] in readiness: several flintstones or a box of matches, a butter-lamp, a paper lantern, and a lighting pole such as is also used at the cremation.

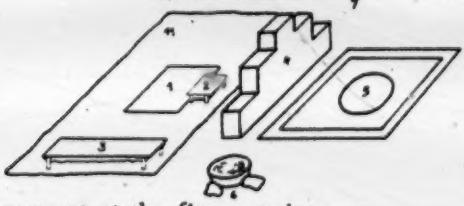
782 Now the lama comes out with the fire-torma and puts it
792 in the center of the ground-drawing on a layer of cypress twigs. Around this the men pile up the prescribed firewood in the shape of an octogon that tapers toward the top, leaving an empty space in the center around the torma. They then fill this space with cypress twigs. The gift-master then ceremoniously hands a hada to the lama and requests him to begin the ceremony. While he goes to the other side of the pile of wood and makes a threefold

[865 cont.]

782 kowtow, there to the lama, the lama sprinkles the pile of wood
792 with holy water and scatters barley kernels on it, over which he has breathed three times.

[372] Now the gift-master strikes a spark from the flint at the first blow, catches it with hemp tow, blows it to a small flame in a little bundle of straw, and lights the butter-lamp with it. Then the paper lantern lamp is lighted with the light of the butter-lamp. The ceremony and the rules are exactly the same as at the cremation. Now one hands the lama the lighting pole. [372] He holds its head of tow over the butter-lamp until it flames up and sets fire to the pile of wood with it. As soon as the fire flames high, all those present fall on their knees and make a threefold kowtow. In case the fire does not burn immediately, [372] the lama fans it with the cloth fan. Now the fire-pouring follows.

The lama places the cloth over his knees, takes the pouring tube, lays it with the outflow over the wall, holds the handle with his left hand, and with his right hand pours spoonfuls of liquid butter into the funnel, so that it flows in a stream into the fire and flames up violently. After he has done this a few times, one hands him the little plates with the burnt offerings. With the first three fingers of his right hand, he takes one of the two portions each time and with benedictions throws it into the fire. Then some pieces of wood follow, then again pourings of (text continues on p. 299)



Arrangement at the fire-pouring.

[333] 1. Seat of the lama; 2. table for prayer books; 3. table for spoons; 4. protective wall; 5. place of burning (ground-drawing); 6. butter kettle; 7. board; 8. cloth runner; 9. tray with consecration wood; 10. plates of the accompanying gifts for the burning; 11. felt mat. (Drawing according to information from the informant.)

[864]

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a

b

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[171]

c

d

(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
757 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[754] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
[292] shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
[534] village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
[778] val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[142] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
[171] graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical. Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the following day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
[333] the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed. The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[865 cont.]

782 776 Types of fire-pouring: There is a whole series of different fire-pourings, depending upon the deity concerned. Usually the fire-pouring is undertaken to honor the following deities: the horse-god, the cattle-god, the lion-god, and the water-faced Buddha.

[822] [866] Other types depend upon the color of the gods. Thus there is a red, yellow, white, and black fire-pouring. The tormas are also colored according to the colors of these gods, which they represent. Likewise, a special kind of wood is used for the 782 individual colors: for the red, tamarisk wood; for the yellow, [824] white thorn; for the white, poplar wood; and for the black, black thorn. The ceremonies are the same for the first three fire-pourings; only the prayers vary. -- The black fire-pouring in particular, however, deviates from the others (6).

782 184

6. [Foreign text p. 868.] Lamas report that there are many different types of fire-pourings, the four mentioned here being only the four main types, and that they have extensive books concerning the rites. -- The description of these orthodox Lamaistic rites would require a special study. In this connection, cf. Lessing, Yung Ho Kung (pp. 150-161). Only one of the many types practiced in the monastery is described there, and also only the phases "which can be easily observed by the inexperienced visitor" (p. 150) [cited in English]. Without going into a comparison with the above-described form, let it merely be pointed out here that the basic features are identical. Of the four main types characterized by Lessing, only the color agrees with the account given by my informant; he knew nothing

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 868 cont.]
about the various forms of the burning-place (mandala) and the Tibetan-Chinese names. Also, the addresses of the fire-pouring are different (p. 151); in addition, other burnt offerings are enumerated there.

It must be noted that among the Tujen a simple, popular form is involved, which varies according to location and the situation of the population. It is only too understandable that the ordinary people know nothing about the complicated and in part tantric symbolism. It is enough for them if through the ceremony the gods provide for their welfare and protection and if the demons remain far away.

782 The black fire-pouring: The persons are the same. The
[302] lama and his helper, however, smear their faces with soot. They
[792] also wear black clothes. All objects are black, the torma, the felt mat, the wall, the ground-drawing, etc.
[372] Instead of firewood one takes pig or camel dung. Black sticks are stuck around the black torma on the ground-drawing; the intestines of a black sheep are suspended on them in garland fashion. The intestines are not cleaned, but are full of dung. In place of the butter one takes black linseed oil, and the dung is soaked in it so that it will burn better.

The burnt offerings are: black barley, black linseed, the seed of the wild rape, wheat mixed with black earth, dark beans, glutenous rice colored black, herbs colored black, etc.

[778] As votive offerings for the black tormas, which represent the demons, one takes milk from a black sheep and urine from a black donkey served in a black bowl, and, as incense, pig dung.

[866 cont.]

782 [792] The place for the black fire-pouring is usually a remote ravine. One pitches black tents and lives there several days with the lama in solitude. In no case may one undertake the black fire-pouring in the vicinity of temples or human habitations.

[731] [755] [777] [776] In case of epidemics, the black fire-pouring is used preferably, in order to annoy the demons of sickness and thus to drive them away, for with them the misfortune, too, disappears.

[792] [755] Meaning: The fire-pouring is an offering for the gods; through it they are supposed to be induced to turn away misfortune and sickness (7). The seven-day prayer of the lama is

782 372 7. [Foreign text pp. 868-869.] The whole gives very much the impression of a fire-offering. The informant, however, thought that it had nothing to do with it. According to him it was an offering to the appropriate [776] Buddhas. The fire-god was also venerated with it, as the torma proved, but this was not the main thing. Nevertheless there is no doubt but that a fire-offering, Homa, is involved (cf. Lessing, loc. cit.). The Tujen name alone cannot be interpreted other than as a corruption of the Tibetan sbyin-sreg. sbyin is pronounced jin, which is very clearly to be seen in Note 8 (źũin-tsẽg). Ch. Das, p. 940, writes under sbyin-sreg: "burnt offerings as made by Tantrik Buddhists, ... sbyin-sreg-gi [869] rdsas clarified butter, articles necessary for burnt sacrifices. ... sbyin-sreg-gi yam-šiṅ ... first wood necessary for the offering" [cited in English]. (For yam-šiṅ, cf. the Tujen foreign word yiew-siṅ.) "Homa is the

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 868-869 cont.] chief of all fire-sacrificials" [cited in English]. -- The DMF, p. 73, likewise has the expression dzuntsiog and writes: "name of certain libations and offerings" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. t'sogs, "sacrificial offering" [cited in English]. Then it presents the expression lama dzuntsiog fudzuruna (= surina) and writes: "the lama performs the libations" [translated from French]. There can be no question of a libation here, and the ... tsiog (ts'og) is also not the Tibetan ts'ogs, which, according to Ch. Das (pp. 1032, 1033), means "accumulation," and, in connection with 'k'or, "offering in a circle (mandala)." Although the informant did not primarily emphasize the fire-offering, he nonetheless translated the dzuntsiog with the Chinese tao huo-t'an = literally, to pour on the fire surface = to undertake the fire-pouring. F. Lessing (p. 150) has for this the expression huo-t'an-i-kuei, roughly, rite of the fire-terrace.

782 just as important as the fire-ceremony. -- The fire-pouring is
792 widespread among the Tujen and Fandse. It is also undertaken
[171] in the lamic monasteries.

Word List (8)

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782

8.[Foreign text pp. 869-870.] In addition to the names mentioned here, I also learned in the Mongol lamasery Tsa-tsang-szu and in the neighboring monastery Fu-hai szu or Hsin-szu (Guăm-basoma) west

[866 cont.]

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782

[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]
of Tangkar the following details and variations:

Fire-pouring: żüin (yüin)-tsëǵ; cf. the Tujen corruption dzun-tsioǵ.

Ground-drawing (mandala): sdziṅkuor (Tib.).

Separation wall: lämbän (Tib.). Cf. längaṅ (Tujen) and lan-kan (Chin.).

Pouring spoon: rgäṅ zär (Tib.).

Butter-spoon (for liquid butter): tombō (Tib.).

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Firewood (which is placed in octagonal form on the burning-place): xsiǵ ǵa (Tib.).

Consecration-wood (which is thrown with the spices into the fire): yäm šëṅ (Tib.); cf. the Tujen word yiew siṅ.

Wood for the white fire-pouring: nia-rëx (Tib.) or, according to another pronunciation, niäw rsëǵ (Tib.); hsi-fan liu (Chin.) = Tibetan willow; chi-chua liu (Chin.) = hens-foot-willow.

Black thorn: tsërnaǵ (Tib.); or sdzirwa (Tib.); xara tsitsërnaǵ (Mongol.).

Wood for the red fire-pouring: uombō (Tib.); balaǵ (Mongol.); sa-liu (Chin.), probably the High Chinese sha-liu (= sand willow) is meant.

Tamarisk: sōgä. This word is Mongolic and Tujen in any case. The Chinese also say so-kai for it, evidently an approximation of the sound. I also heard this word from Tibetans. It is likewise used for the red fire-pouring. One prefers these switches for whip handles.

[866 cont.]

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[824]
[322]

[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]

Wood for the yellow fire-pouring: maġa (Tib.); dziäṅma (Mongol.); chien-yang liu (Chin.); the wood is used a great deal for mill wheels; it seems to be a kind of maple. I also saw it a great deal among carvers, who praise it as the best wood for carving.

[778]

Fire-torma: dämbala (Tib.).

Yellow fire-pouring: sēru dżiwi źüin tseġ (Tib.).

Red fire-pouring: ġõngë dżiwi źüin tseġ (Tib.).

White fire pouring: siwi dżiwi żüin tseġ (Tib.).

Black fire-pouring: dźoġguei dżiwi żüin tseġ (Tib.).

Burnt offerings: rdzē (Tib., Mongol.).

Butter: marku (Tib.); dasu (Mongol.).

[870]

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824

Grain: nie (Tib.); tara (Mongol.); the Mongols there designate Tibetan barley, ch'ing-k'o, with tara, which is simply grain.

Wheat: dšō (Tib.); budë (Mongol.).

Beans: tšamā (Tib.); burdzieġ (Mongol.).

Barley: sō (Tib.); sōtara (Mongol.); it is probably a combination of the Tibetan sō and the Mongolic tara (grain).

White rape: yõṅgur (Tib., Mongol.); pei-ts'ai-tzu (Chin.).

Indian incense grass: gusia (Tib., Mongol.); wei-tzu ts'ao (Chin.); that is, reed. Evidently the kuśa grass designated by Filchner, Kumbum, p. 88 and Note 400, which supposedly stems from India, is involved here.

[866 cont.]

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[824]

[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]

Butter-tsamba: süosẽn (Mongol.); a mixture to which other additions are added.

Blue flowers: dẑẽyäṅgẽ (Tib.); gõxu (according to another dialect, kõku) dzidzigẽ (Mongol.); lãn-ts'ao (Chin.) = blue grass.

Individual additions: tsiawar rdzẽ (Tib.).

All kinds of additions: ondõṅ rdzẽ (Tib., Mongol.).

[824]

Monk's herb: durẽwã (Tib., Mongol.); ping-ts'ao (Chin.) = ice herb; tao-seng-ts'ao (Chin.) = Taoist-Buddhist monk's herb; instead of seng (monk), the sign for sheng is also written; that may be false, however. It is unclear to me which herb is involved.

All the names have been written according to the dialect of the monks in Tsatsang-szu, who mostly come from the region of Dulãn (Tsaidam).

Fire-pouring: dzuntsioǵ (Tib. loanword) (9), suri = to pour fire-pouring, DMF 73.

9. [Foreign text p. 870.] Tsũordzi: Tibetan c'os = doctrine, rje = master. The representative of the monastery abbot is designated by it, teacher. -- Kãnbõ: Tibetan mk'an = master, po = particle. mk'an po = abbot of a monastery, professor, head of a lamasery. -- gãṅsär: Tibetan gaṅ sa? = tube. -- dziãṅgõn: probably arose from the Tibetan gTsaṅ = Tib. province, and sṅo = herb. -- ndoluwa: perhaps is connected with the Tibetan sgrol ba = the goddess Dolma, to

[824]

[866 cont.]

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[824]
[776]

[Note on foreign text p. 870 cont.]
help, to save; otherwise called Tārā. -- gusia: Tibetan ku ǰa (from the Sanskrit) = botanical Poa cynosuroides. -- sāndoñmani: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words seṅ (Sanskrit. siṁha) = lion, gdoṅ = face, mani = jewel. It is a goddess. -- šda(m)tsēni: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words rta = horse, mgrin (pronounced din) = neck, also voice; in other words: the horse-necked one, or the horse-voiced one. -- logoñ: Tibetan klu (pronounced lu) = dragon, and gdoṅ = face. Literally, therefore, dragon-face (Unkrig).

[372] Fire-place: taw (Tib. loanword) = oven, hearth.

[778] Misfortune-torma: ġuaġ dor (Tib.).
ġuaġ = misfortune; prayer said during the preparation of this torma.

Earth-spirit torma: ġlū-šdorma.
Mountain-spirit torma: yifula-šdorma.
Fire-torma: ġal šdorma.
Earth-god spices: ġlu smān (Tib.).
dalān dierān sāmba smān = 74 pieces of spices.

[867]

[532] Measuring string: šdag paġdzin bōdoġ = pattern-drawing string.
Pattern: arasē xuar = leather model; tsialdzē xuar = paper model.

Burning-place drawing (mandala): tawni xuar.

[333] Wall: lāṅgāṅ (Chin. loanword).
Pouring tube: šge gāṅsār (Tib. loanword) = large spoon.
Ladling spoon for butter: mula gāṅsār = little spoon.
Spoon (profane): dzieġliu (Tujen).

[372] Cloth fan: ki yīelwa = air-cloth.
rlōṅ yāg (Tib.).
Cloth (profane): bosē.

[867 cont.]

192 Lighting pole: xuãmbar.

782 Flint and steel: kidie.

[372] Fire struck with flint and steel: kidie ġal = flint-and-steel fire.

Ordinary fire: arãñka ġal.

At the fire-pouring pouring there is no loss through bad weather: dsuntsioġ surẽwa, dierdzia sdzũen uguei.

At the black fire-pouring pouring the demons flee: xara dzuntsioġ surewa, mõ iliesgẽ xuoluode pusa sdzia (sdzim).

[372] Firewood: taw siṅ (Tib.) = oven-wood.

Consecration-wood: yiew (ziew) -siṅ (Tib.).

192 Tibet-herbs: dziaṅgoṅ (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

tsang ts'ao (Chin.) = Tib. herb.

782 Tibet-flowers: kãnba (Tib. loanword).

824 ta t'ou mao hsiang (Chin.).

White grass (from Tsinghai): ndoluwã (9) [see Note 9 above]; pai-ts'ao (Chin.).

Tibetan hard grass (reed): gusia (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

tsang hsi-chi (Chin.).

Tamarisk?: guãnbõ (xuãnbo); sõgã.

Poplar wood: mõdẽ = wood.

White thorn: siraldzin = yellow thorn.

Black thorn: xara rẽguodzẽ.

192 Horse-god: šdamtsẽni (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

782 ma-wang (Chin.).

Cattle-god: ndigsier (Tib. loanword); niu-wang (Chin.).

776 Lion-god: sãndoṅmani (Tib. loanword); shih-wang (Chin.) (9) [see Note 9 above].

Water-faced Buddha: logon rẽdziawu (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

shuei-lien p'usa (Chin.).

[Pages 867-870 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 870 of Vol. 47, and the next section begins on p. 202 of Vol. 48.]

[204 cont.]

776 of the Bon, the Dăntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance among the people that might be expected. They know of [796] Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth [535] day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha, [791] and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call [788] sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full [756] warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people. Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called [753] ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune, [777] failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the [731] plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are com- [782] bated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the Dăntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[207 cont.]

775 the Tujen. For instance, one hears little about a Buddhist hell,
171 which plays a much more important role among the neighboring Chinese and is quite graphically portrayed in many temples. It is true that the Tujen like to consider the misfortune in this world as punishment for earlier transgressions. This soul, which
775 one could call "incarnation soul" or "private soul" -- in con-
764 trast to the clan soul -- becomes free for the incarnation through the transforming lotus fire at the cremation. The informant, at any rate, interpreted the lotus-mandala and the fire at the cremation in this sense and ascribed to them a transforming power. This does not mean that this soul remains in the body as long as, say, in an animated corpse. Rather, at the death of the person, the lamas are supposed "to open the way" through prayer, so that the soul may reach Tushita. To what extent such explana-
[171] tions correspond with the orthodox Buddhist doctrine will be left undecided. Any any rate, the conceptions of the people are vague.

775 Even more unclear are the conceptions about the third
776 soul, which is supposed to transform itself into a demon. Nothing is known about its fate and about the cause of such a transformation. Such a soul is feared, however. Perhaps it is this soul that in case of dissatisfaction after the bäda disturbs the
[764] human beings at the command of the clan soul, haunts the
[782] house and yard, and causes sickness and misfortune. At any rate, a great part of the offerings and prayers at the death rites is given out of fear of this soul. The constantly expressed wish to the dead person runs: "Forget us, be content, do not come
775 back." A natural discontent and a kind of missing of life's goal
776 are connected with the soul of unmarried adult girls. It be-
589 comes a demon who is so dangerous that even other demons flee from it, for which reason the Bon priests take the material for
[765] their bone flutes, their whip, etc. from the corpses of such girls. The discontent and non-fulfillment can only be accounted for in this case by the unmarried state, which, according to Tujen conceptions, goes against every natural ordinance for a female person. One may suspect that this soul-belief also has a strong
[588] effect on the custom that the Tujen call "to arrange the heavenly

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171] are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
[769] ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
[764] stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
[782] the deceased would remain among the living and would need to partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
[513] even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
[753] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
[756] for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
[755] soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This catching of the soul is called: suniedzë xura-. It is unclear from this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru (rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun, moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals. Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the underworld and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

[209 cont.]

772 The sky-column and world-mountain (world-tree) are emphasized
778 above all at the central fort and the chorten chamber. In both cases, however, a strong emphasis on the realm of the underworld, which is represented by the urns, is also striking. The latter are nothing other than the realm of the Nagas, who play such an important role in the Bon religion and point to the pre-Buddhistic roots of the conception of the world. The arrangement of the urns and of the scrolls in the urns mirrors the world order in the four directions of the compass and their center.
[782] The treasure urns thus represent the wealth of the earth. At the same time they are regarded as an offering to the earth-deities, whereas the main urn is the dwelling of the deities. To what extent magical effects are intended still remains to be investigated. In this connection one must also take into consideration the burying of objects in general, as, for instance, in the case of the obo, the weather fort, the warding-off magic against sickness, the construction of a compound, etc.

The air-horse on the mani-tree (mani-flag) seems to be less closely connected with the world-mountain. Indeed, it is frequently set up separately. The connection with the mani-tree is probably due to the circumstance that it simultaneously represents the four directions of the compass (2). At the same

2. The five cloth tabs on the mani-flag (cf. Anthropos 47, 1952, p. 56, Fig. 7 [see p. 100 above in the HRAF translation]) are evidently a curtailment and combination of formerly variously colored air-horse flags; four of these are regarded as the bearers of the air-horse- or wind-master and are arranged according to the four directions of the compass. This conclusion comes from a Tibetan text, for whose French résumé I am indebted to Professor Doctor R. Stein (Paris).

[222 cont.]

771 utilitarian idea. The Tujen give their offerings and prayers in
776 order to make the spirit world favorably inclined toward them
for the purpose of earthly well-being. They are not so submis-
[782] sive to the harmful demons, however, but instead face them
[789] with greater hostility and try to vanquish them with the help
of the good spirits or through magic.

b) The Offering

The Types of Offering

782 The Tujen distinguish the following types according to what is offered: the incense offering, food and drink offering, slaughtered offering, animal-consecration. -- Aside from the incense offering and the animal-consecration, they have a
[192] common name for the offering, namely, šeńlie, which corresponds to the Chinese hsien. Thus, they say, for instance, šdimie šeńlie-, to offer bread; tsidzig šeńlie-, to offer flowers; xonini šeńlie-, to offer a sheep (cf. DMF 376). This expression šeńlie may not be used for anything else.

The incense offering, which originally was an aromatic offering, has now been greatly extended by all kinds of additions, such as butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, silk threads. Here, too, however, the rule against giving anything that smells unpleasant is maintained. The use of butter and
[174] tsamba, which are the staple foods of the nomads there, implies an old pastoral custom. Concerning the original incense offering, cf. the chapter further below, "The Belief in a Supreme God."

The food offering principally includes bread, wine, butter, tsamba. One puts them down before the spirit, for instance, before the household altar, the obo, the mani-tree, the god's image, etc. When they are taken away and consumed, some is thrown to the deity concerned. Liquids are poured on the ground or squirted into the air. The custom of
[264] throwing something to the spirits before each meal belongs here, too.

[212 cont.]

782 The slaughtered offering, together with the animal-
[778] consecration, forms the group of animal offerings, of which one is bloody, the other unbloody. The bloody [213] animal-
[574] offering is carried out in three steps which are clearly differentiated by the people: slaughtering, presentation, sacrificial meal. The classic example is described above as the mountain sheep-offering. The actual presentation, usually in the form of the offering-throw, is designated by the term "offering." Often there is an interval of a whole day between slaughtering and presentation and the meal.

[787] The slaughtering is preceded by the washing and the
[778] milk-oracle, as well as the releasing and recapturing of the animal. It almost has the appearance of an abbreviated animal-consecration, at which the animal is likewise released.

The presentation may be done in two ways. Either the skinned whole animal is set up before the deity, or it is cut up immediately, boiled, and then the pieces of meat with the broth are thrown to the deity. It also happens that the thoroughly cooked pieces are put on plates in front of the altar, like bread or wine. Putting up the pole-goat is probably a remnant of
[171] Central Asiatic form, analogous to the hanging up of the hide of sacrificial animals among the Siberian peoples. Among the Tujen, however, no attention whatever is paid to the skeleton, since, of course, the animal is cut up and boiled with the bones.

782 The sacrificial meal is consumed by all the people, by
574 men, women, and children. I do not know of any sacrificial animals that are reserved for only certain groups. To be sure certain parts are reserved for certain persons as especially tasty, such as the loins, the head, etc. The sacrificial meal is not regarded as a profane act. It is regarded as part of the offering, there is the unequivocal expression for it: "This is a part of our offering."

782 A peculiarity of these offerings is still to be emphasized:
826 the fear of blood. The blood is not spilled but caught during the slaughtering and poured into the intestines. The blood belongs to the animal and is sacrificed and eaten with it. Traces of blood on the ground are immediately covered with earth and wiped away.

[213 cont.]

782 The pig offering proceeds like the sheep offering, however little appropriate the procedure is for this animal. -- The hen offering is done without much ceremony. The animal's head is cut or twisted off, the hen is swung around in a circle so that the blood squirts around, and then it is allowed to fly. I do not know whether the hen is consumed later. It certainly did not happen in several cases observed.

778 782 The animal-consecration is already unequivocally an offering in that the animal is given up by human beings as a voluntary gift to a god and normally may not be used any more.

I could confirm nothing about a human consecration, which Mostaert (DMF, p. 371 under sdien) mentions, unless the shaman consecration is meant, or the recommendation of a child to a tutelary spirit whose name it later bears. In any event the vow [831] of virginity could be regarded as an offering to heaven, as a sign [302] of which a girl lets her hair fall down freely; cf. DMF, p. 103. [588] One can also include its counterpart, namely, the marriage of a girl with heaven, whose sign is the "heavenly hairdo"; cf. Schram, Mariage, pp. 127 ff.

[214] Recipients of the Offering

782 776 To what extent heaven has a share in all offerings and what offerings are reserved for it will be discussed below. The pig is inadmissible as an offering for the higher deities (except for the earth), and the hen likewise. They are the sacrificial animals for lower gods and demons.

Whether there is an actual offering to the demons is questionable. In the case of the ceremonies dealing with the evil spirits, for instance, the demon-escort, the figure-litter, the various tormas, etc., one regards the accompanying gifts, designated as rdzē, as things that the demon needs or likes, for example, the riding animal, the clothes, the money, the wool, etc. Furthermore, aside from the intent to appease and to satisfy, there is also a certain contempt for the demon connected with these gifts, in that raw flesh, leeks, beans, and unclean intestines are offered to it, as though to a wild bestial creature.

[214 cont.]

782 This is intended to make him satisfied so that he will go away
776 and not return. Any feeling of awe and submissiveness, such as is characteristic towards a higher spirit and is manifested in the offering, is lacking. A similar notion of fear plays a contributing role here, which one also entertains for the souls of the dead, of whom it is expected that they will not molest human beings and will be content.

The Executers of the Offering

782 All these offerings can be assigned primarily to the
771 people as chief bearers. It is the most important religious activity of the ordinary people. It presupposes little, namely, a gift and an attitude. It requires no special schooling, no involved ritual, and no learning of prayers. The offerers are the family head, the seed-master, or the village elders. It is precisely these laymen themselves who at the purely Lamaistic ceremonies or those of the Bon and shamans perform the actual offering operation, for example, at the harvest thanksgiving festival and at the erection of the pole-goat or the central fort. Even the tormas, which, of course, can in part be regarded as offerings, are usually set up or carried outside by men from among the people.

c) The Prayer

782 The spontaneous and freely-formulated prayer is a natural matter-of-course among the Tujen. They are also conscious of this form of prayer when they maintain: "We farmers have forgotten our old prayers; everyone prays with his own words." (Cf. Schröder: "Herbst-Dankopfer [Harvest Thank-offering]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-1945, p. 872.)

Besides these spontaneous utterances they also still know
782 simple, brief prayer formulas to heaven and the gods, as when
788 they say, "Oh you spirits, do not be like human beings!" or when they uninterruptedly recite on their prayer-string "Om

[214 cont.]

782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types of prayer under the expression yandzila-, to implore, to request, and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer, however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which
[463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the
[792] lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people
[791] connect praying with these professions is shown by the common designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the
[192] Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen, that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom mošë, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching. In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer, something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of
[791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests, Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely linked.

5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

771
174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

[220 cont.]
772 t'ien-yeh (father "heaven"). The fact that this tiehgëre applies
776 exclusively to the heavenly being appears with special clarity
in the constantly used formula: šge tiehgëre, uluon purgan (the
192 great heaven, the many spirits). Quite consciously here unique-
ness is placed over against multiplicity and at the same time it
is expressed that heaven possesses at least as much honor as the
purgan, in other words, is also a deity, or can be a higher spiritual
being. What the content of this god-concept is now, whether it
is really a heaven as supreme god, is to be made clear in the
following, and, to be sure, first of all in connection with the
heaven cult of the people.

776 b) The Heaven Cult
782

After all that has been said up to now, it is established beyond doubt that the Tujen venerate the heavens. It can also be confirmed further from the popular literature, as will become clear below. Thus [221] here it is only a question of the what and how of the veneration of heaven (offering, prayer), insofar as it is appropriate to provide information concerning the god-concept and the conceptions linked with it, as well as the age and the position of the belief in a supreme god.

1) The Offering

782 As regards the form, the executers, and the sentiment of the offering, what is said generally about the offering applies. Here in first place the question arises: Are there offerings that in a special way are intended for heaven or that have a special relationship to it? This is quite generally the case with every offering insofar as it can be conceived as a primitial offering. In addition there are also other offerings which -- at least originally -- were reserved for heaven, among which the incense offering and sheep offering are the most important.

The Primitial Offering

[192] The Tujen do not know a special generic name for the primitial offering. They say, depending on the circumstances:

[221 cont.]

782 to throw the first (the first piece, the first drop, the first bowl,
192 etc.) to the heavens. For "first" they use the word toroñ. As a number it can be adjectival and substantival, in other words, "the first" or "firstling." In addition, it also signifies a blessing, an advantage, for example: kuni toroñ (the first of the people) is a man skilled in speech who can appear in public; or morini toroñ (the first among horses), an especially fast and strong horse. In exactly the same way the gift at the primitial offering is simply designated as toroñ. Whether a special blessing
782 is also to be indicated by it remains to be decided. I am not aware that especially good parts are taken for it; one does not take long to choose them, although care is always taken to see that they are not inferior, spoiled, or unclean. The primitial offering is always intended for heaven. Even where it is intended for several deities, heaven nonetheless stands in first place. Two kinds can be distinguished: the direct and the indirect.

782 The direct primitial offering is so generally widespread
264 among the Tujen that it strikes everyone who has ever observed the people at their meals. Usually it is done in the following
[826] way. In the case of beverages one dips the middle finger, which is the most superior one, into his drinking bowl, withdraws it again, and flicks the drop suspended from it into the air. This is done three times in succession. In the case of foods, for instance, bread or meat, a little piece is picked off and thrown high toward the heavens or backward over the shoulder. The direction in which one is seated does not matter. Sometimes it happens that one pours out a whole bowlful of the beverage. All confirm that they present this gift first to heaven before they themselves enjoy it. Only after heaven are they sometimes also thrown to other spirits.

782 The primitial offering is rooted deep in the consciousness of the Tujen. According to their view it must extend
773 back to the beginnings of humanity. Thus in the Geser legend
264 it is said of the first emperor Hamluo Siergān when he stopped on a [222] journey and boiled tea: "fulan tsiani sdzülġano, tsiani toroñni kuġuo tieńgërdu tsiodlodzi" (when the red tea

[222 cont.]

782 boiled, he threw the first of the tea to the light heavens). The
773 firstling-offering is attested to even more clearly in the agricul-
264 ture myth (V. 680-690), when after long endeavor by the demiurge the first barley ripens and comes into the possession of human beings: "When after seven weeks they went to look, the barley was ripe. The head was bent over. With both hands they rubbed this (sc. the ear), which hung down like a whip. And when the kernels had come out, they wanted to make an offering to the light heavens. They offered that barley and bent their heads to the ground. But there was no way to eat." In other words, even before the people were able to make use of the blessing of the new food, they offered the firstling-gift to heaven.
[192] The word šenlie, that is, to offer in the true sense, appears in the original text.

782 The indirect primitial offering is directed at the heavens only by the roundabout way of another offering. It is found in connection with almost all the offerings to the good spirits. In the religious customs one will scarcely find an offering that is not first made to heaven. This is shown by the actual offering act, the presentation, and the show of respect connected with it, the kowtow. Thus, the offering at the erection of the pole-goat, for instance, or even the obo offering is certainly intended for the weather gods or the mountain-spirit, and yet heaven receives the first three bowls; the other spirits come after it. Just as the human being first gives some of his goods to heaven before he uses them, so is it also in the spirit world. One could call this a primitial offering of the offering. There are naturally exceptions to this practice, as, say, in the case of the fire-pouring, torma, hen offering, etc., which belong more in the domain of Lamaism and of the Bon religion. By and large, however, the indirect primitial offering is always practiced.

The Incense Offering

In the section concerning the incense offering (see "First Part," Anthropos 47, 1952, pp. 43 ff. [pp. 69 ff. above in the HRAF translation]), it was emphasized that it is offered to heaven first and afterwards to the other gods. In the "Notes"

[222 cont.]
782 it was surmised that a primitial offering might likewise be involved, for it is the first offering of the day, in which man gives to heaven something of all things important to life. Arguing against the primitial offering, however, is the simple form of the incense offering, which consists essentially of the burning of fragrant things, of cypress twigs (4), flowers, etc. These,

[824]

4. When the popular word cypress is used here, the Thuja tree in the botanical sense is always meant; cf. Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 46 [p. 72 above in the HRAF translation]. The Tujen name šgua (= Tibetan šug-pa) has several meanings. Among the Tujen the Thuja tree always represents the cypress, and above all the juniper (Juniperus), which in their region of cultivation occurs only infrequently and at most is encountered in the mountains. The difference is purely material; in the religion the Thuja tree takes over the position of the juniper and the cypress. Professor Doctor J.F.Rock, as a botanical expert, no longer found any cypress north of Minchow (Kansu), but he did still find ten species of juniper (personal communication).

however, are no longer foodstuffs if one disregards the water with which the fuel for the fire is sprinkled in order to purify it.

782 539 [171] [223] This simple form of the incense offering seems at the outset to have been reserved exclusively for heaven and is of great antiquity. It is also attested to among the Mongols as a heaven-offering, and among the Tujen it is found in numerous songs. Several citations will confirm this, first from the Geser legend. In Verses 1-6 the customs of the first human

•782 539 [223 cont.]
beings are described: "One clothed oneself in tree leaves. One ate tree fruit. One lay on flower leaves. When one was thirsty, he drank water. At daybreak one burned great incense (šdeliedzi šge fdzañ ġarġani)." In Verses 38-42 it is related how the first emperor burns incense in order to perform a heavy task: "When he was supposed to churn together the earth on the immense spring water, this was terribly difficult. And burning a great incense offering, he implored the light heavens (šge fdzañni ġarġadzi kuġuo tieńgërni yañdziladzia)." Verses 158-167 describe another incense offering of the first emperor. He gathers [824] flowers (kānba flowers = Artemisia species) on the shady side of the mountain, juniper twigs on the sunny side, scoops pure water from the river, and then it is said: "Climbing onto the high mountain he burned great incense, implored the heavens, implored the countless spirits... (undur ġadadu ġaridzi šge fdzañni ġarġaya, šge tieńgërni yañdzilaya, uluon purġani yañdzilaya...)." The offering in this case is also presented to other spirits, but heaven is in first place. This is also emphasized by the fact that it takes place on a mountain. None of the purġan is mentioned by name. The daily incense offering is mentioned in Verses 190-193: "Daily burning incense, he lived (sc. the first emperor). From below rose the great incense, and the smoke of the incense pushed open the gate of heaven; and the exalted [776] Sdeńlatsien-sañ (= the highest heaven lord) looked down." (Udurdu fdzañ ġarġadzi sōdzamba. dōrōdza šge fdzañni ġarġano, fdzañni funini tieńgërni udieni baġa niedzia. Sdeńlatsien-sañ dorodzi nōdzia.) The relationship of the incense to heaven is unambiguous here. (For further details concerning the Šdeńlatsien-san, cf. below.) The passage concerning the heavenly wanderings of the first emperor, Verses 1221-1222, runs similarly: "Then on his wanderings he came before the great gate of heaven, and the smoke of the great incense pushed open the gate of heaven." (Di yōdzi tieńgërni šge udie tada kurdzia. šge fdzañni funini tieńgërni udieni baġa niedzia.) On earth, namely, one burns incense during this time so that the undertaking of the journey to implore a ruler from heaven will succeed.

[223 cont.]

782 539 Further evidence is also found in the first part of the animal song cycle, the "Moschus deer." Verses 191-201 describe the incense offering in the following manner: "There is a procedure for catching the Moschus deer. Climb the north side (of the mountain)and pick green juniper twigs. Climb the sunny side and gather white känba flowers. Go down to the flat plain and gather yellow känba flowers. Go to the bank [224] of the river and burn great incense. Venerate the great heaven, implore the countless gods." (Šge fdzańbeń ġarġaya, šge tieńgēre amudadzi, uluon purġan yańdzilaya.)

[533] Now one more example from the wedding song, "The Bird Pair." The pair, shepherd and shepherdess, sing alternately: "When the sun rises shining, we pick green cypress twigs. Climbing up the shady side, we gather white känba flowers. Descending to the flat plain, we scoop up clear water. Climbing up the high mountain, we burn great incense, and burning the great incense it is a good job when we are a pair." (Šge fdzańni ġarġaya; šge fdzańni ġarġadza, tsiari ġuori sguren-wa.)

782 174 These examples from the popular literature can be multiplied at will. The passages cited, however, suffice to secure the following conclusions: 1. The original form of the incense offering was extremely simple. Juniper twigs, flowers, and purification water belong with it. The offering was purely an aromatic offering. Although fire is naturally necessary also, it is nowhere mentioned. Not even the expression "to set afire" is used. The usual word "ġarġa" is the causative of "ġari-" (to generate, to produce, to rise) and refers here to the smoke. No foodstuffs are offered. The other additions, spices, etc., can be explained from Lamaism (5). Whatever in the way of

5. J.F.Rock also establishes for the Na-khi an original simple form, juniper twigs and butter; the other additions were not added until later; see Naga Cult, pp. 231 f.

foodstuffs is still offered in the present form should be conceived

[224 cont.]

782 as a combination of a primitial offering with the matutinal in-
174 cense offering. Even these gifts, however, may not have a bad odor, which wholly corresponds with the original meaning of the incense offering. 2. The incense offering, according to these texts, is already very ancient. Even if the legends are distressingly embellished from Lamaism, they nonetheless go back to pre-Buddhist conditions. This applies especially to the [773] Geser legend. Lamaistic monks in Kumbum emphasize that the legend has nothing to do with their religion. In similar
782 fashion this type of incense offering is declared to be pre-
174 Buddhistic in western Tibet; cf. A.H.Francke, Tibetische
171 Hochzeitslieder, pp. 25 f. (Darmstadt, 1923). The pre-Buddhistic occurrence among the ancient Mongols has already been mentioned. The Tujen are of Mongolic derivation, and they also have religious links with the pre-Buddhist Tibetans, as is shown in the wedding customs and songs (6). -- How far the

6. For the distribution of the incense offering, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 49 [pp. 80-81 above in the HRAF translation]. Its occurrence in ancient China also argues in favor of its being pre-Buddhist in character; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder, Die Fandse, p. 183, where the ancient Chinese burnt offering is equated with the incense offering of the Fandse. The Na-khi juniper incense offering, whose great similarity with the incense offering of the Tujen and the Tibetans cannot be denied, is also pre-Buddhist; cf. the descriptions by J. F. Rock, Naga Cult, pp. 230 ff., and Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 34.

782 incense offering goes back is indicated by the hunting song cycle.
174 It was probably already practiced in the early period of a hunting
[538] culture and from there passed into the herding culture. It is

[224 cont.]

782 striking [225] that the agriculture myth does not mention the in-
174 cense offering. The conditions of the environment -- mountain pasture, forest, wild flowers, etc. -- do not fit in with agriculture (7). -- Here it may be asked whether the incense offering is

[824] [773]

7. The ancient nature of the incense offering is to be explained in the final analysis by the ancient nature of the juniper tree, which as world- and life-tree stands at the beginning of time; cf. J.F.Rock, Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 20, 21, 132, 143. Since it is the first tree of the world, even the first emperor (Geser legend) could burn only these twigs in honor of heaven. The incense offering therefore belongs in the world of the religious archetypes which became standard for the later human beings, just as the archetypes of the first human being, of the world-mountain and the tree of life, of heaven and earth, of the first obo, etc. extend back into that legendary period.

older than the primitial offering. In common with the latter it is mentioned in the legends before all other offerings. The first emperor already knows both offerings; the wedding song and the hunting song mention the incense offering, the agriculture myth only the primitial offering. The relationship of the two offerings to each other cannot be determined. 3. The incense
782 offering is always given either to heaven alone or to it in the first place. It is a true heaven-offering. It is only rarely directed to the other spirits, which, according to their collec-
[776] tive name, are called purgan and therefore are only of later Buddhist origin. Mountain heights seem to have been preferred
[823] in order to be closer to heaven. Even today this is still done. The Tujen are aware of this and give as the reason that it is

[225 cont.]

782 more suitable for heaven (8). The relationship to the supreme

[823]
[773]

8. Above all the rising smoke connects this offering to heaven; the expression ġarġa, to make rise, is especially to be noted here. The smoke is like a living column of heaven or a living road to heaven. The shamanistic significance of the incense offering comes from this; not only promotes the trance, but is at the same time the path and motive power of the journey to heaven. The first emperor of the Geser legend demands, for instance, that during his journey to heaven the incense offering not be interrupted; the rising smoke strikes against the gate of heaven and opens the entrance for him, and he shoots his incompetent companion on the tip of his arrow into the rising column of smoke, in which he descends to earth.

[756]

[773]

being is also expressed, for example, in the wedding songs from Khalatse (western Tibet). There, according to Francke, op. cit., pp. 25 f., it is said: "This blue smoke that rises upward signifies that no trouble will arise with brGya-byin, the lord of the gods."

The Sheep Offering

[825] The sheep as a sacrificial animal, according to the material available, is reserved in a special way for heaven and the mountain-spirit, even though it may also be offered to the other gods. It is never offered to the mountain-spirit alone without heaven, however. There are sheep offerings that apply only to heaven, namely at the sowing and harvest

[241]

[225 cont.]

782 241 thanksgiving festivals. (Cf. D. Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer [Harvest Thank-offering]," Anthropos 37-40, 1942-45, pp. 867-874.)

That a true heaven-offering is involved is clearly expressed, loc. cit.: "It is already apparent from the entire offering performance and the words spoken in connection with it that it is an offering to heaven. To the question, 'You are therefore making an offering to the gods in the temple?' the old man responded: 'No, [226] we are making an offering to heaven... This offering is a veneration of heaven... I have already said it; we are thanking heaven for the yield of the year. He cares for seed and man and livestock'..." (Anthropos, op. cit., p. 873). The same statement must also apply to the sowing festival at which the ceremonies are almost the same.

782 241 174 Now it is striking that it is precisely in an agricultural rite, sowing and harvest festivals, that a sheep offering takes place. I was later able to visit many such festivals and to determine the actual form, which is more in keeping with the character of agriculture and shamans. In the valleys, namely, in the Chinese area of settlement, no sheep, but -- at least preferably -- a pig is offered. This pig is surrounded with many rites, among which a regular procession with the sacrificed pig takes place. The shamans accompany this procession with drum-beating and prayers. I observed it thus for instance in Tsung-chai and environs. In the mountains, on the other hand, among the Tujen, a sheep is sacrificed preferably, although the Tujen also keep pigs. There remains, therefore, only the one explanation that the original form of these agricultural festivals is connected with a pig offering and that the sheep offering of the Tujen has replaced this as a foreign body. The reason for this lies close at hand. The Tujen, according to their tradition, were once shepherds, and many elements of a herding culture can still be seen among them. With the transition to agriculture, the spring festival of the shepherds evidently became connected with the sowing festival, and the autumn festival of the shepherds with the harvest festival of the agriculturalists. Since, however, the sheep was a sacrificial animal that they were devoted to,

[226 cont.]

782 the Tujen did not want to give up the sheep offering at these
241 festivals. In the description of the festival it is, to be sure, very
174 strongly emphasized that the entire sacrificial rite in the narrower sense (slaughtering, etc.) has nothing to do with the shamans. The offerers are the elders, in other words, laymen. The shaman rite, mainly prayer service and dance, runs alongside it.

Therefore, in the harvest thank-offering and the sowing offering of the Tujen we have before us an old heaven-offering which is consciously fostered by the people and unequivocally applied to heaven.

2) The Prayer

782 What was said above about the spontaneous, unformulated,
788 and freely formulated prayer also applies to the prayer to heaven. Every person can express his need, his request, his gratitude, his feelings to the heavens, just as they come to him. One thing in particular, however, must be noted here. While the formulated prayer, the prayer service, is generally reserved for special professions and the offering more for the people, this does not wholly apply in the case of the prayer to heaven. I was unable to confirm that there are any actual prayers by religious officiants that apply only to heaven. Therefore, concerning the offering and prayer, there is no special class in relation to heaven. Both are the concern of the laymen, of the people, of the masters of the household or of individual persons.

Aside from my own observations, the personal prayer to [227] heaven is sufficiently attested to by the passages that were cited for the incense offering. There is almost always a prayer in connection with it, a supplication (yańdzi-) to heaven. And until now a prayer is also always connected with each offering, each kowtow to heaven, at least an inner one. (Cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-1945, p. 872.) The only prayer formulas of the people in the Tujen language are addressed to heaven, namely: tieńgëre mudie (heaven knows); and tieńgëre
[174] tsiad sadni wari (heaven, you hold justice). The formula tieńgëre

[227 cont.]

782 mudie is already known from the early period of the Mongols, and
788 it attests to what an ancient heritage the veneration of heaven is
[174] among the Mongolic basic stock of the Tujen. There is usually a three-fold kowtow also connected with the prayer, whereby the person also wishes to indicate purely outwardly in a formal ceremony his submissiveness before the god-heaven.

c) The Nature and Characteristics of Heaven

Uniqueness

772 The discussion of the name has already indicated that the
776 designation tieṅgëre is reserved for heaven alone. It does not share this name as a title with any other deity, even, say, by adding a proper name of a certain deity to it. This unique position of heaven becomes even clearer when one considers it in relation to the other deities.

776 The position with respect to the gods in general. -- The offering, the many texts from the songs, and the other customs everywhere acknowledge heaven as the first. This is acknowledged briefly and concisely in the constantly recurring expression šge tieṅgëre, uluon purġan (the great heaven, the countless spirits). Heaven is the great one. It is especially set apart from the many other spirits. As the first it has a share in all offerings, for it -- before all other gods -- the first kowtow is made, the first dedication of the day. The Tujen express this: What would the gods be without heaven, he is their lord"; cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873. -- Heaven also has this position of pre-eminence over those deities who it might seem share the honor with him, for which reason they are to be mentioned briefly in the following.

773 The position with respect to the heaven-emperor of the
776 Geser legend. -- The Geser legend mentions three lords of heaven, among whom Šdeṅglatsien Saṅ is the highest. He lives with them in the immeasurable space of heaven, likewise

[229 cont.]

174 (udagan, idugan). (Cf. Koval., p. 386; Uno Harva, Die religiösen
776 Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker [The Religious Conceptions of the Altaic Peoples], p. 450.) As the ceremonies of the earth-god urn indicate, this deity has something to do with butter and silk (silk wrapping, butter-pouring), as well as with grain (barley filling). Something similar applies to the etügen, which, as a female deity, is endowed with the attribute "fat-faced" and "silk-faced." (Cf. N. N. Poppe, "Schaman. Handschriften [Shamanistic Manuscripts]," Vol. I, 196-197, Manuscript XI; statement according to W. A. Unkrig.) Further indications of the connection of the earth-deity with the origin of agriculture and corresponding Tujen myths must be omitted here.

776 [230] Now regardless of where the earth-deity of the Tujen came from, it, heaven, and the mountain-spirit form an ancient trinity which has divided up the world. According to the [821] general conception of the Tujen, heaven rules over the air space, the clouds, wind, lightning, sun, moon, and stars. The mountain-spirit rules over the surface of the earth; animals, human [823] beings, birds, forests, pastures, and mountains. The earth-deity rules over the interior of the earth: metals, rocks, treasures, the snakes and the worms, as well as the seed that slumbers in the earth. This division, however, does not exclude heaven from the other two realms. After all that has been said, he continues to be the lord of the gods and men. If he appears here as coadministrator of the layers of the world, he only seemingly surrenders his partial domains. One might better think of a splitting off of certain activities of heaven and their being made independent, as P. W. Schmidt assumes for similar cases among other Asiatic peoples.

The Knowledge of Heaven

776 After the preceding discussions, the further characteris-
782 tics of heaven automatically present themselves. Among these characteristics knowledge appear most clearly. Concerning this knowledge the informant gave the following information (Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873): "At the

[230 cont.]

776 incense burning you say: 'Heaven, you know it. What then
782 does heaven know?' -- 'Heaven knows all, he knows the attitude of my heart, he knows that I want to venerate him.' " -- This oft-cited saying in literal translation runs: heaven to know; freely, the heaven knows; or, the heaven is knowing. This is not a petitioning prayer, but simply a pure acknowledgment of this characteristic of heaven, and it implies, according to the explanation given, an omniscience.

Other expressions are found for this consciousness of the people. Thus, a frequently used oath-formula for a deposition, for example, runs: "Heaven is not high; heaven knows it (tieṅgĕre undur guei; tieṅgĕre mudiem)." The meaning is: Heaven is high, to be sure, but not so high that it would not know. (Cf. DMF 416, where this sentence likewise is designated as a "formule de serment" [oath-formula].) Another phrase that is often used runs similarly: "tsimi mõ gedzi yidza, tieṅgĕre mudiem. If (I) have done evil to you (if evil has happened to you), then heaven knows it"; cf. DMF 416. This especially emphasizes the knowledge of the inner attitude.

If one now adds generally that the whole veneration of heaven in offering and prayer is done under the presupposition that heaven also knows of human distress, it may be asserted that the people's consciousness of heaven simply as the knowing one is very much alive.

776 The belief in the knowledge is connected with the omnipresence of heaven. To be sure, it cannot be expressly ascertained, but the Tujen nonetheless have a conception of it when they say: "Heaven is there where one places it (tieṅgĕre andzi tedza, andzi-i)." According to the linguistic usage this means: Heaven is everywhere. (Cf. DMF 416, where the same meaning is explained.) This phrase seems evidently to be determined by the strong impression [231] that the all-encompassing firmament makes on the unconstrained mind of the people, especially in the steppes and on the mountains on the Koko Nor. As far as one wanders, whether by day or night, the endless heaven extends
[772] over man. It is really an all-encompassing bell, which the Tujen imagine to be fastened to a nail in the universe.

[231 cont.]

The Power of Heaven

776 Heaven as giver of all benefits. -- As repeatedly appears in the individual chapters, all benefits come from heaven. It [241] gives rain and sunshine, causes the seed to thrive, and protects man and animal from sickness. Man acknowledges this in the [782] offering, especially in the primitial offering and the harvest thank-offering. The grain, the barley, is ultimately traced back to heaven by man. (Cf. above under the primitial offering, agriculture myth, p. 340.) Man owes even his clothing [773] to heaven. Thus it is said at the beginning of the Geser legend: "Heaven provided the benefit of clothing; a boot fell down from heaven (tieńgĕre dżoġ nañladzia; tieńgĕrdza perlõńgĕ bõdzi rĕdzia)." (Verses 6-7.) -- That other gods are also called upon for various needs does not prejudice the fact that heaven is the cause of even these benefits. The case would only be otherwise if there were things which were ascribed to these spirits to the exclusion of heaven, which, however, cannot be demonstrated from the material available.

776 The moral power of heaven. -- The moral power of 577 heaven is expressed by the fact that man puts his conscience in 626 relation to heaven and acknowledges the latter as binding and entitled to sanction. For that which we would call conscience the Tujen simply uses the word heart (sgil); sgil is not the physi- [192] cal heart, but the inner attitude, heart in the figurative sense. Thus they say, for instance, sen sgil (good heart); tsini sgil diesĕn ugua (you do not have an honest attitude); tsini sgil ugua (you have no conscience). In these cases the Tujen translates the word sgil with the Chinese leang-hsin (conscience, honest spirit). (Cf. also DMF 348.) Now, as the two prayer formulas that were explained above demonstrate, heaven knows the inner attitude, it knows the heart of a man: "If I did evil to you, heaven knows it," "Heaven is not high, it knows it." Since these sentences are used as oath or vow formulas, it is not simply confirmation of heavenly knowledge that is given by them, but rather one tacitly also presupposes a sanction by

[239 cont.]

756 The religious character. -- What has been said up to now about the nature and activities of the gurtum shows that they rest upon a passive and receptive basic attitude, a basic attitude that seems to be at variance with the warrior-shaman. The relationship of dependency, however, in the realm of "divine" possession, with regard to the possessor-spirit, is unequivocal. The active ability to coerce, the arbitrariness, which represents the basic element of magic, is lacking. The basis is religious, not magical.

[787] The gurtum himself can do nothing about his calling. It comes over him unwilled, sometimes against his will. One day he is seized by the spirit in a vision, put in ecstasy, and recognizes by sight his future possessor. This being chosen is 956 acknowledged most strikingly in the search for a shaman by the 792 monasteries. Even though the individual monasteries are anxious to have a gurtum, no monastery can designate or train one of its inmates for this purpose, although this would be expected in the case of tantristic Lamaism. They remain for years without the coveted shamanistic soothsayer, until one day someone who was chosen by a deity to be its vessel is found. The calling is a free gift that is not hereditary. It is known of the monastery Kumbum that for a long time it was punished by having to do without a gurtum in whom the oracle-god made himself present.

756 Everything that the gurtum does is done in the power of his possessor-spirit, like an instrument, and not because of cer- 787 tain actions, *gestures, or formulas. The inducing of ecstasy is* not a way of forcing the spirit to come down, but a ceremonial force transmitted through the calling, which does not rob the spirit of its freedom. The shaman only receives this power from his tutelary lord himself, and to be sure under certain preconditions, such as continence, donning the attire, invitation prayer. This prayer, as its name indicates, is not a magical [782] formula, but praise and a request; it does not have any effect in itself, just as the donning of the equipment alone would not draw down the deity.

Likewise the taming of the demons in the spirit battle of the trance, the soothsaying, healing, etc. are done through

[239 cont.]
756 the spirit in the shaman; he is actually the warrior, the sooth-
[787] sayer, the healer. His presence is essential. Therefore the
people also fall down before the gurtum and venerate him like
[782] a god. Finally, even the shaman himself has the duty of venerating
his tutelary spirit; he must burn incense for it, make offerings,
and pray to it. -- This religious character of the gurtum, how-
ever, by no means excludes all magic. His special position
suggests [240] that he also engages in magical practices, but
then not in his character as a shaman but as a human being
whom one especially trusts since he is in communication with
the spirit world; cf. above, p. 330.

Classification

171
756 Present-day Chinese shamanism in the form of the fashih,
wushih, or shihkung, as well as the earlier Wuism, has no direct
connection with the gurtum. The Chinese shamans are female
oriented, directed toward agriculture, and pass down their office
within the kin group; they have the dance and the drum, the
trance has become vestigial, and the rites are overlaid with
Taoistic elements. None of this applies to the gurtum. He is
the type of the manly warrior, knows no drum but weapons, and
no dance but battle. He cannot pass down his office, but re-
ceives it through individual calling. A certain enmity between
him and the fashih has already been indicated.

The present-day Siberian shaman likewise has a differ-
ent appearance. He, too, knows the drum and for the most part
practices a kind of dance. The shaman costume is not the uni-
form type like that of the gurtum and is hung with all kinds of
things, iron, feathers, figures, etc. In ecstasy he imitates the
[787] ascent to heaven or the journey of the soul which I could not
find in the case of the gurtum, even though Lessing (Mongolen,
p. 148) indicates such. Furthermore, there exists between this
type of shaman, who in Mongolic is called bö (böge) and in
Tujen bö, and the gurtum a conscious contrast which Lessing,

twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or 781
to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one 785
understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration to Buddha.

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. 794
The chief of the family is its religious head and its rep- 782
resentative. He worships "Heaven and all the spirits" on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each family honors the image of its family protector-deity. At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue worshipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors. The chief of the family is its representative at the performance of public rites. Attended by his family, he performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fingering his prayer beads.

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of 794
the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of 622
the village and its elders administer both the official and religious life of the people in it. Even as they apportion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth [65]
and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum for religious services. They impose corvées on the villagers for municipal functions as well as for such religious functions as protection against hailstorms or the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner, heads of families are summoned to participate in rites at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain. The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief. He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as the family chief does in his own circle.

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious [64]
life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter. It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite. On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry about public worship in the village and the morality of his subjects.

Religious activities are part of the family and social life of the Monguor society. Their social organization is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Mon- 771
guors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are 754
not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fer- 756
vent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor

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yard with a large veranda attached to it. On the long wall are depicted scenes of the life of Buddha, painted in Chinese style, similar to those seen in Chinese temples. 792 346

The chief temple hall (A), built on a high terrace, is the most conspicuous, thereby attracting the attention of visitors. It is larger in size and higher than the other two. It is built on the pattern of the luxurious Chinese temples, with a large porch in front and beautiful roofs; a large, magnificent staircase leads to the terrace, which is surrounded by a railing of carved red stone. It is said to have been built according to the pattern of the Temple of Heaven in Peking (built in 1420). Inside the chief temple hall, at its center, is an enormous carved white stone plinth, two meters square, which enthrones the big statue of Buddha, Jo-wo rin-po-che (the gem of majesty—Shakyamuni), gift of Emperor T'ai-tsung, according to the stele.

On either side of this central statue a copper Buddha statue is enthroned on a plinth of white stone, a little smaller in size than the central one. In front of the statues, three big white stone plinths support three huge brass cauldrons. One contains butter, one vegetable oil and wicks burning before the statues, and the third wheat, colza, and spelt, as an offering to the Buddha. It is said that at the bottom of this huge cauldron there are still a few grains dating from the time of Emperor Hui-ti, and consequently they are bigger than normal, just like the saddle and stirrups noted previously. [532] [782]

In these temples hang inscriptions, offerings of the emperors honoring the Buddhas, dating from the periods of Hung-wu, 1368–1398; Yung-lo, 1403–1425; Hung-hsi, 1425; Hsüan-te, 1426–1435; Wan-li, 1573–1619 and Ch'un cheng, 1628–1643.

In temple (B) called the Chü-k'ang, smaller red stone plinths support three copper Buddha statues, and three butter, oil, and grain cauldrons. In front of the central statue, still in the temple, is the famous dead sandalwood tree, adorned with scarves of felicity, its trunk overlaid by large copper plates in order to preserve and support it.

Temple (C), dedicated to Byams pa hlarang (Maitreya—the loving one) is built according to the same pattern, but has plinths of white stone supporting three statues, with two lamps and offering cauldrons.

The display of huge timbers in the construction of the temples reminds one of times past, when gigantic trees adorned the tops of the mountains. Special roads and carts were built to carry the massive plinths to the spot. The ruins of four stupas adorn the courtyard, one on each side of the chief temple, and one on each side of temple (C). Enormous white stone plinths carved in the shape of elephants, support four huge drums and two smashed steles on either side of the entrance.

Ch'ü-t'an, with more than six hundred lamas in the heyday of its glory, founded two large subsidiaries:

[p. 23(A)]

the boy will obey his master as he obeyed his parents. 175
By this ceremony, which is a real adoption, the novice 792
is constituted the legal heir of the fortune of his master, 571
who usually possesses a home or a small courtyard inside the monastery, some animals, and money. The novice will stay with and serve his master his whole life, the master caring for his subsistence, keep, and education.

FIRST VOWS

After a few days, on a new auspicious day, the cere- 792
mony of the taking of the first vows is performed. In [782]
the early morning, the master himself shaves the head of his pupil. It is said that a layman is not allowed to be present at that moment. Five Gelüng [5] lamas arrive; one of them sits against the wall of the k'ang, and the other four, in pairs, sit opposite each other. The kneeling novice holds incense sticks in his hands and the Gelüng starts the ceremonial prayers, reciting the thirteen traditional vows which the novice repeats after him. Nine prostrations are given before a picture of some Buddha, and the chief of the Gelüngs makes a speech. The boy thanks the Gelüng and his master by prostrations, and the vows are taken. From that time on the boy is called *Wendee*.[6] In some monasteries only two Gelüngs preside over the ceremony; at Seerkok, only one. The master then enters the name of his pupil in the roster of inmates of the monastery. The master alone is the judge of the aptitude and religious vocation of his pupil.

The master starts the education of his pupil by teach- 792
ing him how to arrange the house altar, sweep and 874
keep the house clean, care for the stables, collect cow dung for fuel, draw water, milk the cows, tend the animals, graze the cattle, prepare food and tea. The novice is the genuine servant of his master, a cheap laborer. However, when the novice is not engaged in domestic duties, he receives religious education from his master, which starts with the study of the alphabet and reading of texts, and at the same time he repeats daily after the master and commits to memory the texts recited in the head temple. When he has learned them he is allowed to attend the morning ceremonies and to share the benefit of hot tea every day, to partake of the many meals, fixed according to the calendar of the monastery, and participate in the distribution of the alms.

Memorizing is the most important point in the program of studies. Later on, the master helps his pupil to read and to commit to memory the texts used at funerals, for diseases, to protect the herds, the harvest, etc., because these texts will help him to make a living in the future. Every morning the pupil recites the prepared texts before his master. During his spare time, when he is not engaged in domestic duties, he has to

[5] L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*, 2nd Ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.
[6] *Ibid.*, 171, Ge-nen-Bandi-Rab-brun—Gelüng.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

commit the texts to memory, punishments being in- 792
flicted if he is slack in his scholastic duty. No haste 874
or fuss is made about the matter of study, for master and pupil possess endless years for the job. No dignitary at the monastery inquires about the studies of the pupil or the teaching of the master; the intellectual and religious education is a family matter, a duty between master and pupil.

SECOND VOWS

At the age of eighteen the novice takes his second 782
vows and is called *Gelüng*. According to the rules, the 792
vows are only allowed to be taken at the age of twenty, but at eighteen, one year is added for his father and one for his mother, and the required twenty years are complete. The ritual for the taking of the second vows, which number 253, is the same as for the taking of the first vows. A minor Living Buddha or a Fa-t'ai is invited to preside over the ceremony, after which an official religious name is given to the novice. The family and friends of the novice are invited to attend this important rite and they bring gifts with them, such as meat, rice, raisins, jujubes, Chinese noodles, rolls. A dinner is served, and each of the guests upon leaving for home receives two rolls from the novice.

The taking of the 253 vows is the highest rung of the ladder of Lamaist dignities reached by 99 out of 100 lamas in Huang-chung. Although the appellation of "lama" is officially reserved for monks who have passed this stage, in Huang-chung it is commonly used for all monks who have taken the second vows, and usually indiscriminately for all people who wear the lama clothing.

Old lamas naïvely admitted that in former times a [484]
lot of lamas of Huang-chung used to go to Lhasa to complete their studies and to obtain higher titles, but that at present, because the former reputed centers of learning in Tibet had fallen into a state of deterioration, no lamas are traveling to Tibet. It may be that the monasteries of Huang-chung have declined, and no appeal for serious studies is felt among the lamas. During the Moslem revolt of 1872, hundreds of lamas fled to Tibet and came back after the rebellion without having seized the opportunity to increase their knowledge.

After the second vows, the scientific and religious 792
education is complete. The lama can then read a text 874
more or less correctly, without understanding it. He cannot write a letter, but is able to recite a number of texts, which he has committed to memory in order to assure himself a living. Every morning he attends the ceremony in the main temple, where instruction is given which very seldom has any appeal to him, since he cannot grasp its confused meaning, being engaged the whole day long in domestic duties. No elementary or high schools exist at the lamaseries; there is no special instruction for boys and teenagers; no religious guid-

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question of whether a substantial principle underlies the 829
soul or not, or whether *nirvana* could be a state of happiness without there being consciousness of it. They do not care for the philosophers who discuss the existence or the inexistence of this world, of their own being, and even of Buddha himself. They only approach Lamaism from the moral and the practical angles. They endeavor to practice the rites of Lamaism, to heap up merit as prescribed by Lamaism in order to be reborn after this life, which they greatly enjoy, in a paradise of felicity where Buddha, as benevolence incarnate, will make them more and more happy every day, for the duration of time. However, this seems to be only one side of the religious frame of mind of the Lamaist Monguors and Tibetans. The other side seems rooted in the practicality, so often found among uncivilized peoples, which, in order to make more sure of attainment of the religious goal, to enjoy more blessings in this life, and avoid calamities and miseries, leads them to practice shamanist rites and rites belonging to other religions at the same time. This seems to be the complicated frame of mind of the Monguors and Tibetans of Huang-chung who are deeply religious.

Since the objective of this study is the explanation of 114
the religious frame of mind of the Monguors, there will be noted along with the rites the questions ingenuously asked by the children in the schools concerning the topics, the considerations and impressions occasionally expressed by men and women, the dialogues of shamans with the spirits denoting the hopes and the fears of the [illegible]endants and their beliefs. All these minute details will help to raise the curtain which shrouds the religious mind.

THE WORLD OF RELIGION AND FEAR IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVE

The sense of religiosity is planted in the hearts of the 829
Monguors in early life, in the family circle. Its main 869
feature seems to be fear, rather than love. The children 782
every day see their mothers performing a lot of religious practices in order to avoid the displeasure or punishments of innumerable malignant spirits which beset them everywhere. Their mother's warnings are dinned into their ears, not to do this, not to do that, for fear of being unhappy, because the spirits are very touchy, and a trifle can upset them. In this way the dread and terror of malevolent spirits cut deep furrows in their hearts, and when a hailstorm is about to destroy the crops, the oil lamps on the house altar will be lit in a hurry and the children will fall on their knees invoking Heaven and all the spirits and praying Om Mani, for [789]
as long as the threat lasts. They imitate their elders who implore, on bended knees, and urge the gods with piteous pleas, saying innumerable Om Manis and "Heaven and all the spirits" for the protection of their crops. Children cannot forget to their dying day the

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anxious moments of the terrible events caused by evil 829
spirits, which the good spirits could not master. 869

Every day, in the early morning, they climb with 782
their grandfather to the top of the roof, or go into the courtyard before the *manikan*[1] to honor "Heaven and all the spirits," doing the Wei-sang,[2] and looking at the old man who prostrates himself devoutly, they invoke with him "Heaven and all the spirits" and recite Om Mani, in order to get blessings and protection against the alarming evil spirits. When somebody is smitten with a severe disease, they repeat after grandfather, "Heaven and all the spirits" save our mother, save our father, Om Mani, Om Mani. The children know that at home, the altar and the manikan are the most respected items; they know that spirits preside at the gate of the courtyard, at the well, at the stables, and that they protect the cattle. They know at what time and how they are to be honored, and what is to be done to avoid their wrath. The children live at home in an atmosphere of religion and fear, and when they grow up they are convinced that honoring the good spirits is a requisite for the reaping of good crops, the breeding of healthy cattle, the enjoying of the daily bread, and the protection from evil spirits on the prowl to hurt them.

A logical consequence of such a frame of mind is 777
that Monguors never perform any important act with-

[1] In the middle of the courtyard is built a circular manger in which is planted a tall post. On top of the post are often the Lamaist designs of sun and moon and a circle; a flag is attached to the post printed with Tibetan texts and the "Wind Horse" (Chinese, *Lu-ma;* Tibetan, *rlung-rta*) carrying the jewel symbol (*Norbu*). It is called *manikan*, that is, "the mani post," because the popular "Om Mani" is printed on it.

[2] *Wei-sang* (fdzan garga): *Wei* is a Chinese word meaning "kindle"; *sang* is the Tibetan word *Bsans* meaning "cypress incense." It is the rite performed before sunrise, daily during the first and fourth moon, or only on the first, eighth, or fifteenth of the month, by the heads of Monguor families for "Heaven and all the spirits"; it is also enacted simultaneously with most of the important rites. Some straw is spread in a small oven, a few pinches of pounded cones and leaves of cypress are strewn upon it, and a few pinches of flour, of roasted wheat or spelt, and a few drops of pure water are sprinkled; then all is lit and the odoriferous cypress smoke billows up. It is an "odoriferous offering," not a purifying rite. To these three essential components some devout people like to add a pinch of the six usual pounded spices, dried flowers, red or white sugar, threads of five colors, a little butter or fat; some use wine instead of water, and blow the horn and prostrate themselves three times. Prayers are not said at that time. In performing the "big wei-sang" entire branches of cypress are burned. Lamas are fond of the rite, and even during shamanist rites it is observed. The oven wherein the rite is performed is constructed before the manikan or on the roof of the living room; sometimes it is performed on the edge of the manger. In time of epidemics, etc., the whole family never fails to enact the rite as a group. See also Schröder, Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor), *Anthropos* 47 (1): 43, 1952; 48: 222, 1953. The famous "Wind Horse" is said by some to bring wealth to the family. Others explain that the horses are offered to the roaming souls in the air (which everybody fears) in order that they might pass unmolested; also Eliade, *op. cit.*, 239–245; also W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* 6: 67.

[p.95(B)]

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IX. PUBLIC RITES

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN REGARD TO HAILSTORMS

In the mind of the Monguors is seared the belief in 782
an incredibly prodigious medley of gods, malignant 731
spirits, and ferocious ghosts, and consequently all events in life, happy or unhappy, must be approached from that angle.

In this chapter will be considered the calamity most [132]
dreaded by the Monguors, which does the most harm and ruins them most frequently. It is the scourge of hailstorms, which every year ruin the crops of many villages, reducing the already narrow margin of subsistence of the villagers to a minimum, and bringing many families to the verge of famine.

It is obvious that this calamity is supposedly caused 821
by malignant spirits and it is no wonder that the whole 829
religious energy of the people is bent on securing all available means and ways to avoid disaster. No wonder that the people, scared to death, seek refuge in religion against a scourge caused by evil spirits—first of all in the religion credited with the greatest potency, without refusing the help of others less potent, imploring the aid of good spirits, and engaging in a life and death struggle with the evil spirits.

In all their village temples, accordingly, one encoun- 782
ters the picture of the god of the Five Roads, the 796
Taoist combatant of hailstorms, amidst the awful 789
scenery, previously described, whether or not the temple is dedicated to it. The shaman is invited to perform his most efficient rites against hail because he is believed the most conspicuous for his great abilities in the field. All the Taoist spirits, to whom temples in the country are dedicated, are invited by the shaman to come down into the temple yard and to participate in the performance of the rite in spring. The shaman conveys to them the sympathy of the villagers and their gracious offer of hospitality, in order that they might help their village, and after the shamanist rites have been performed the villagers still indulge in Lamaist activities against hailstorms.

No wonder that, from New Year's on, the villagers are obsessed by the problem, and never fail where a Kurtain is possessed by the god of the Five Roads, to invite him on the third day of the year for an exhibition

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the study of F. Franz Eichinger, Kinderlosigkeit und ihre Be- [113]
kampfung in der Volksmedizin, *ibid.* 167 sq., is very instructive and unique. The author, during two years as member of the Chinese Health Committee in Ming-hsien, Lin t'ao, Ho-chou, and Labrang (East Kansu), traveled four months with the committee in the region of Hsining, Kung-ho, Hsing-hai (Monguor territory) and seized the exceptional opportunity to gather ethnological notes, which open vistas in this special field and give a better understanding of the frame of mind of the family concerning this capital topic; the care of children, the means of getting this blessing, the fear of being bereaved of them and the physical causes of this bereavement [p. 97(A)]

attended by the whole community. Then he sits on his 782
low table, in theatrical military attitude, shaking his 796
head and ringing his bells. At the moment his spirit 789
possesses him, the cypress fire is increased. The whole attendance, kneeling, worships the spirit dwelling in him with incense sticks in their hands and prostrations. The chief of the village, on bended knees, asks humbly first of all, for protection against hail in the summer and for a prophecy concerning the peaceful reaping of the harvest. Then the spirit, by means of the Kurtain, promises a peaceful summer, or specifies what kind of rites have to be performed to achieve the benefit of peace.

In villages where there is no Kurtain, the chief of the village, with the elders and a member of each family, orders the statue to be carried in the sedan chair into the temple yard, while the whole audience kneels with incense sticks in their hands; the cypress fire is lit. The chief, kneeling, asks the spirit about the hail scourge. If the sedan chair becomes so heavy as to crush down the carriers, the prognostication seems awful, and the chief proposes to perform such or such a rite; if the sedan chair continues crushing the carriers, a propitiatory sacrifice is promised, the attendance craves for pardon, and the sedan chair is carried into the temple.

In the first days of the New Year, all over the country, the talk runs only on the predictions proferred in neighboring villages about hailstorms. In every family horoscopes are cast several times. It is a real obsession all over the country and nobody seems to be entirely assured, despite the reassuring answers of the spirits, for so many times the hopes have been illusory. Unfavorable predictions seldom mar the spirit of the festivities of the New Year. After New Year's the busy agricultural season begins with the carrying of fertilizer, plowing, and sowing. The fields turn greener and greener every day, and at the beginning of the fourth moon (May), immediately after the spring rites, performed in order to implore good crops, the preparations for the rites against hail are begun.

A month from now, all over the country, on mountains, or on hills, or on hillocks and knolls in the valleys there will be seen here a stretched goat skin, its legs spread out and pierced with daggers, the head erect with a dagger between the horns, impaled on a pole. There, a rudimentary manikin, its outstretched arms made with boughs, holding a bow and an arrow; next to the manikin a wooden hammer and raven all stuck on poles. These are the places where rites have been performed against hail, and inside some of the mounds dwells the spirit protector against hail, the celebrated White Tiger. Every Monguor village and nearly every Chinese village in the country have many such hills. The outlook for the country has become depressing for the Monguors. [p.97(B)]

some iron taken from 4 city gates, some earth gathered 789
on four city walls, earth collected on 5 different moun- 796
tains, some earth taken in the prison of the city, 12 756
kinds of medicines; a small wooden white tiger, his rider painted black; 2 Buddha images, 2 mantles worn by statues in temples, bones of a dog, 2 skulls of a wolf and of a fox, a human skeleton, a pair of filthy trousers of a young woman, a living cat, a snake and a wooden raven. (Is it possible to imagine a more heterogeneous collection of items?)

On all these items are painted cabalistic designs, which are encircled with vermilion and painted with a brush dipped in the mixed blood of a white dog, cat, and cock.[1] All the items, in order to be effective, are to be stolen from other villages. Young folk are designated by the chief of the village to steal the required items, and if they do not succeed in the job, they have to buy the objects with their own money. If such thieves are accused at the court of the T'u-ssu, the community has to indemnify the defendant. At the times when these rites are performed, everybody in the country watches at night. All the stolen items are locked up in the temple and guarded at night by elder people, whose sleep is not so sound as that of young men. Deep secrecy is kept about the required items.

On the evening of the day fixed, the shamans arrive, clothed in the black gown; the chief of the shamans alone wears the flowery coat. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail. After sunset the villagers arrive and the temple is closed tightly. A hog and a sheep are offered, while the attendants prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks, and the shamans dance and beat drums. In the deepest silence, they go to the place prepared for the rite, holding banners. All the heterogeneous items required are loaded into a cart. A hole fifteen feet in depth has been dug beforehand. Its upper part is shaped in a circle, the middle part is square, and the lowest part triangular.

The chief of the shamans descends into the pit alone. His whole body is enveloped in red cloth; he wears a [292
cincture made of hemp, such as the people wear at 764]
funerals. Holding in his hands the whip and the ritual knife, he takes off his shoes and hose and puts on shoes made from hemp ropes. His pigtail is unplaited, and his hair disheveled. Some youngsters, their heads enveloped in a red cloth, descend with him into the pit. They communicate by signs and tokens, for it is forbidden to utter a single word inside the pit. The shamans beat the drums outside the pit.

In the center of the triangle one of the biggest jars 782
is deposited, inside of which are put the corpse of the 756
baby or boy, and the different sorts of earth. All items 796
are covered with a piece of red cloth and the kettle is 789
inverted over them. The chain is wrapped around the jar and fastened with the lock. The pair of trousers,

[1] Johann Frick, How blood is used in magic and medicine in Ch'inghai Province, *Anthropos* 46 (5–6): 954, 1951.

[p.98(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the skeleton, bones and skulls are deposited around the 756
jar, with the living snake enclosed in a basket. The 796
triangle is filled with earth, level with the base of the 782
square. Then five stakes are fixed in the earth, and 789
bowls, eggs, bricks, tiles, lions and hand mills are put around them. In the midst are erected the threshing rolls, on which is put the millstone, in the center of which is fixed a stake to support the cart wheel, to which the planks are nailed; the interspaces are filled with the remaining items. The whole is covered with boughs, and the pit is filled with earth level with the ground.

The attendants start howling like madmen, jumping and leaping around the pit in the pitch dark night, brandishing banners, while shamans dance, and beat drums and cymbals. The cart axle, sharpened to a stake, is fixed in the earth upon the pit; on it is written "Throne of the White Tiger." Some bowls placed upside down and bricks and tiles are put around the stake and the tiger; four more stakes are fixed in the ground according to the four points of the compass, and a mound is erected upon the pit. Next to the mound is placed a big wooden box containing the living white dog; a small mound is erected upon it so that the dog may see the light and breathe air through a hole. The dog will live for some days; it will howl and finally die.[2] On the other side of the big mound is erected a similar small mound, opposite the dog's mound, in which is

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[2] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 271, note 166, note that both the Liao (Khitan) and the Chin (Jurchen) sacrificed dogs. M. Granet, *Danses et légendes*, 527, records that in ancient China men used to pull the ears of a dog to make him bark, in order to drive away the bird-demon. W. Koppers, Der Hund in der Mythologie der Zirkumpazifischen Völker, *Wiener Beiträge*, 386, 1930, records that the Yao tribe buried a live dog, together with a live thief, in order that the spirit of the thief should stay in the grave; also 378, the cow used at the sacrifice for the dog ancestor of the Yao had to be stolen, in the same way that the Monguors have to steal the dog for the hail rite, and other items. [17]

Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 92, a similar case of burying a dog alive is noted: "In case of some very bad disease the Manchus sometimes bury a live dog and cat near the entrance of the house. The dog and cat may move, which may be seen a certain time after the burial when the earth is reopened; it is considered as a very bad sign if they should go away together." He further notes, p. 92, that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat; p. 210, that dogs carry the souls in the lower world; p. 179, that dog blood, like dog skins, make the clan spirits run away; dog meat is tabooed. Doolittle, *op. cit.*, 231, notes in China a heavenly dog who devours small children and is combated by a giant, represented surrounded by children shooting arrows against a dog walking on the clouds. The barking of a dog at night frightens the evil spirits. De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 464, records that the crowing of the rooster frightens the spirits at night and in the morning. A wooden rooster is put above the entrance of the courtyard to frighten the evil spirits. A living rooster is attached to the coffin when it is carried to the grave, in order that it may frighten evil spirits. In time of epidemics a white living rooster is carried, fixed on top of a stick, in the processions. See also Eliade, *op. cit.*, 405; Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, *op. cit.* 1: 29, 38; the same, *Randvölker Chinas*, *op. cit.*, 38.

[p.99(A)]

entombed the living cock in a box. It will live and die under the same circumstances as the dog. 756 796

I was told by several reliable old men that years ago an old Chinese begger instead of a dog had been buried alive, and that once in a while a little child, stolen in a far-off village, is still buried if, for three or more years in succession, hail has struck the village. The shaman in such cases requires it. Mothers told me that the elders always enjoin them to watch the small children with special care during the time these rites are performed. 787 789

When the rite is completed all the participants face the northwest, the direction from which the hailstorms usually come, and throw stones at the evil spirits, howling like madmen, uttering the most obscene threats, and taking the wildest aggressive attitudes, while the shamans crack their whips and dance a threatening dance, conjuring the evil spirit in wild gyrations. The wild act is performed three times. On the spot a big fire is lit with cypress boughs, and all the attendants, shamans included, jump over it in order that the evil spirits may no longer follow them, and in order to get purified. After a last dance in the temple yard, the whole audience enjoy themselves, making fun, eating the pork and mutton, and drinking plenty of wine.

During the whole month, day and night, corvées are imposed by the chief of the village on different shifts of four young men, relieving one another, in order to watch the mound. A small cabin is built for the watchers. Nobody is allowed to approach the mound during the whole month.

This rite gives an insight into the power wielded by the shamans and their controlling influence upon the people, who even resort to human sacrifices, when required by them. The secret about these facts is strictly kept, men are enjoined not to talk about it with women and children, and only after years, and in general terms, do the facts incidentally leak out. Among the Twelve Tengris is the famous White Tiger, the dread and terror of evil spirits, and for that reason the rite is called the Rite of the White Tiger.

THE RITES OF THE TAOISTS AGAINST HAIL

The Taoists are mostly invited to perform their rite in neighboring villages inhabited by Chinese. Once in a while they are invited by Monguors who recanted their origin, but often, when the hail has struck these villages, the more efficient Monguor shaman with a greater reputation is invited the following year to try his rites, even by Chinese. 787 789

The Taoists use three kinds of rites: the rite of the spirit Wang-lin-kuan, of the goddess Niang-Niang, and of the five thunderbolts (wu-tien-cheng). Here, also, is a mystifying thing. Although the Taoists in the country do not overtly honor the White Tiger, they always write the name of the White Tiger on the stake

[p. 99 (B)]

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buried in the mound, before the name of the spirits whom they officially use for combating hail. 782 789

Is it far fetched to suppose that the Taoists do this because it is universally recognized that the rite of the shamans, using the White Tiger, outranks their own, and that in order to succeed they must act in this way?[8]

A stunning fact also is that the Taoists, and lamas of the Red Sect in the country, when performing that kind of rite are very fond of using nearly the same group of disparate items to be buried in the pit, except for the white living dog and cock. Can the sacrifice of two living beings be too basically shamanist to be performed by pure Taoists?

STRENGTHENING OF THE OLD MOUNDS

In keeping with the basic principle of shamanism, the spirits after some time lose their powers and are subject to decay. Consequently, they have to be nurtured and strengthened in order that they may continue to help their followers effectively. The rite performed against hail, the pit with all its disparate items, and the famous rider and the White Tiger buried inside it are liable to lose their protectiveness, so every year more power has to be added to the mounds. In every village old mounds exist, built by the ancestors. According to the indication of the guardian spirit of the village, the building of a new mound is ordered from time to time because the last one has lost its power. However, the villagers believe that some effect can still be obtained from the old mounds, and in order not to lose that benefit, they strengthen every year the efficacy of all the old mounds built inside the boundaries of the village. The shaman is invited by the Monguors to do the job; the Taoist priest is invited in the Chinese villages, but seldom in Monguor villages. Both shaman and Taoist act in the same way. Small paper banners are prepared and wooden hammers and ravens, and also stakes with cabalistic designs and the inscription, "The Throne of the White Tiger god," and manikins made with boughs, holding bow and arrows. All these items are smoked by the shaman, over burning cypress boughs, before they are used. The rite takes a whole day. 782 796 [776]

A sheep is offered in the temple; water is poured in its ear to be sure the spirit agrees to the victim. The sheep is killed and offered, a dance and the beating of a drum is performed by the shaman. A "throne" (stake) is thrust in the ground in front of the temple

[8] F. W. Grootaers, in his very interesting monograph (*op. cit.*, 238), notes two inscriptions encountered on the frescoes of the temples of the god of the five roads in Wan-Ch'üan (Kalgan) "Holding bound the wolf and the tiger" and also, "Mountain general who holds bound the wolf and the tiger, *Wu-tao* god who catches the monsters" and he notes these inscriptions are, of course, not the products of the local imagination, but are copies by the local calligraphers from a popular anthology of "Inscriptions for all occasions." These calligraphers knew the history of the Twelve Tengris, among which is the White Tiger. But the wolf is unexplained.

[p. 100 (A)]

gate (throne of the White Tiger god) and a black bowl is put on the roof of the gate. 782 796

The parade starts on the left side of the village (shamans start on the left side and lamas on the right side), with banners at the head, and the horn (ox horn) is blown. On every mound the same rites are performed: a dance, a throne (stake) thrust into the mound, two black bowls buried near the throne, some paper banners planted, one hammer and one raven fixed on a stick, and the manikin, with bow and arrow pointing to the northwest. Some earth is added to the mound, which is put in good shape. The parade turns three times around the mound; on the third turn the whole group faces the northwest and howls three times, and then they start toward the next one.

When they return to the temple the shaman starts his dance, while the audience kneels and makes prostrations. Then the offered sheep is divided into as many parts as there are families in the village, and each receives a part. The tail and a hind leg are given to the shaman. On the most important mound, a plank is erected (it has to be stolen to be effective), on which a sealed statement is pasted, forbidding the pasturing of animals in the crops during three months and fixing fines for a horse, cow, or sheep caught straying in the crops. Pasturing of animals and chopping of fuel on the sacred mountain of the village are forbidden as is the felling of trees for three months and the singing of obscene songs in the village. The spirits must not be disturbed or offended, and liberty is not allowed to be taken with the conventional morals. The fines consist of a fixed amount of oil, incense sticks, paper, or cash, to be devoted to the upkeep of the temple.

MORE PRECAUTIONS AGAINST HAIL

LAMAS INVITED TO RECITE TEXTS

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Despite the promises of the shamans on the feast of spring, the performance of shamanistic rites on a new hill, and the strengthening of the old hills by means of adding magical power to them, in the fourth month the chiefs of the villages invite two or more lamas to recite texts for a couple of days, on top of the highest mountain situated inside the village land. Maybe Buddha might lend a helping hand also, and in order to assume his protection they organize a procession with the 108 sacred books of the *Kanjur*.

PROCESSION WITH THE SACRED BOOKS

A chief is appointed for the performance of the rite. He goes, with 108 men of the village, to the lamasery to borrow the books. The village defrays the expenses of a collation of butter tea with *tsamba* for the lamas, and a fixed amount of butter to be burned in the lamps before the Buddha statues in the temple. The next morning the procession starts from the village temple with at least one member from each family. The ritual

[p. 100(B)]

cypress offering, Wei-sang, is first performed in the temple. A shaman, or lama of the Red Sect, summons into his staff the spirits who predict the success and the opportuneness of the rite. He steps to the head of the procession with the spirit-laden staff, followed by a group of horn blowers and banner and drum bearers. Then come the statue of the temple, enthroned in the sedan chair, the table and stake gods, and the 108 bearers of the heavy books, one after another, while the music plays, and Om Mani prayers are devoutly recited the whole way. The procession tours around the limits of the extensive village lands, making stops on the highest mountains or most elevated spots, where the ritual cypress burning is done and where the whole group walks three times around the spot. When they return to the temple the ritual cypress offering closes the ceremony. The procession usually lasts for a whole day. The next day the books are returned to the monastery.

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The procession involves the whole male population of the village. The bearing of Buddhist books is said to be very effective, as are the praying of Om Mani, the offering of tea to the lamas and of butter for the lamps, and the shamanist spirit-laden staff, the table and stake gods, and all the other Taoist statues of the temple which tour the village at the same time. All available heterogenous forces contribute to the success of this specifically Buddhist rite. Usually this procession with the books is performed every other year; in the intervening year it is performed without the books.[4]

THE GOAT SKIN RITE

After such displays of all kinds of religious rites, however, the Monguors, still unassured, perform the celebrated goat skin rite enacted by a shaman or a lama of the Red Sect, who is proficient in subduing the hail spirits in a direct way by magical power. The rite is enacted on the highest mountain of the village—not on the sacred mountain. A big fire of cypress branches is kindled, which lasts during the entire time of the performance of the rite. The lama makes a big *torma*[5] and four smaller ones; then with *tsamba* and butter he kneads various crude figures of animals living in the water, birds of the air and of animals living on the earth.[6] Small pieces of meat are also prepared. The lama or shaman recites his awful incantations and ritual

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[4] Schröder, *op. cit.*, Der Flur Umzug, *Anthropos* 47: 835, 1952. More details are available in this valuable study.

[5] *Torma:* a small pyramidal cake, round or triangular, made with *tsamba* and butter; often pieces of butter or gold or silver paper are fixed upon it. It seems to represent an evil spirit on which incantations and ritual curses are proferred, on which all kind of inauspicious and calamitous items, sins and spiritual impurities are supposed to be loaded. It is thrown far away after the ceremony, often with a display of hatred and contempt, and with it calamities seem to be removed. (See more in Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling*, *op. cit.*, chap. XIV.) [104]

[6] According to Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 138, the dough figures represent the spirits of the upper, middle, and underworld honored in the old Bon religion. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

[p. 101 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

curses upon the *tormas*, which will be thrown to the evil spirits—the big *torma* in the direction of the northwest, and the small ones in the direction of the four points of the compass. In the meantime the goat is killed and skinned, the head and hoofs being left attached to the skin which is then stretched and fixed on a post. Magical daggers are attached to the feet and head. The goat in threatening attitude faces the northwest, where the hail spirits are supposed to dwell, and challenges them. Then horns are blown and *tormas* thrown and the goat will protect the crops against hail during the whole summer.[7] The Monguors assert that in former times they did not use the goat for this purpose, but the horse, and that a horse skin was fixed on the post.[8]

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789

RITE ON THE HIGHEST MOUNTAIN OF THE VILLAGE

Since the village is still uncertain and disturbed after all these resources have been exhausted, it is customary that on an auspicious day, without the attendance of representatives of any religion, the chief of the village, with the elders and a member of each family of the village, go to the top of the highest mountain of the village. They go with banners, drums, cymbals, horn, in front, and carrying the god or goddess of the temple in the sedan chair, in order to implore, under the vast dome of the blue sky, the protection of "Heaven and all the spirits." In a primitive oven, built with superimposed stones, a bushel of cypress leaves, pounded and passed through a sieve, are burned with some butter and roasted spelt, colza, linseed, and wheat (the kinds of grain planted by the Monguors), and some water is sprinkled over it; 108 butter lamps made with dough are lit and prostrations are made nine times. The customary cry is howled to all the spirits, notifying them of the act of adoration for them all, and the god or goddess sitting in the sedan chair seems to implore "Heaven and all the spirits" with the villagers together. Finally, prostrations are given to the god or goddess in the chair, and

[7] According to Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 215, among the reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia on the grave, "a reindeer is killed, its skin is left together with the antlers and hoofs, fastened upon a bar horizontally fixed to two trees and left hanging there. This is the reindeer which will be used by the spirit (soul) of the deceased for going to the lower world. If there is no reindeer they use a horse and its skin in the same function and manner."

Owen Lattimore, The Gold tribe "Fishkin Tatars," *Memoirs Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* **40**: 57 and 379, 1933, notes that the Gold tribe, "Fishkin Tatars," use "two slender stakes or wands, on the top of which are impaled two wooden beast figures, with four legs and tail. The legs are made by sticks thrust through the body and protruding at both sides. They looked to be otters, perhaps weasels, or sables . . . There are two wands, one much more short and slender than the other, each impaling a Keku (cuckoo or wood-pigeon) . . . these divinities keep guard over the whole house and courtyard."

[8] See Schröder, *op. cit.*, *Die Pfahlziege*, 823, where a philosophical explanation of the rite is provided. For the horse sacrifice among the Buryat Mongols, see Jeremiah Curtin, *A journey in southern Siberia*, 44 *sqq.*, Boston, Little, Brown, 1909.

[P 101 (B)]

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the chief of the village asks him or her whether "Heaven and all the spirits" will really preserve the crops.

At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion. [731]

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages situated in the Sha-t'ang Valley, which have a goddess in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death, without wearing the Monguor skirt!" [9] 175 177

On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple and spend a night with him. The tradition requires that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.[10] [792] 796 782 [784]

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[9] I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

[10] The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a [171]

[A102(A)]

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The groups join each other on the way. Friendly 796
and high-spirited, they start early in the morning, with 782
banners, drum, and cymbals in the lead. The sedan chairs are put in a row at the foot of the high hill of the temple of the god Erh-lang. The stalwart fellows, with clubs clenched in their fists, are guards of honor of the goddesses, who stay next to their respective sedan chairs, waiting to climb the hill. The tradition runs that the crops of the village whose goddess first reaches the temple will be infallibly and positively protected against hail and prodigiously blessed. As soon as the cry for departure is howled out, the thirteen groups feverishly run to the top of the hill with their goddesses, howling, cursing, cutting their way, thrusting at one another, climbing by fits and starts, falling, leaping, jumping like savages, foaming at the mouth. The chair of the goddess who makes the mark is placed nearest the throne of the god. The door of the temple is closed. The fellows take their meal and rest in the side rooms of the temple.

They return home the next day. On the way back the villagers stand waiting on the road in order to learn whether their goddess won the race or not. On the trip to the temple the fellows were friendly to one another; on the return, however, the groups are excited, angry and seething with jealousy and frequently have a serious fight with clubs. In 1913 the sedan chair of the victorious goddess of the village of Wu-ch'i was smashed, but according to custom no suits are allowed [672] for smashed heads, broken noses, bleeding faces, and torn clothes. After the famous expedition, the villages start their rites against hail in the village.

The aim of the pilgrimage of the goddesses to the temple of the god Erh-lang is to obtain his protection from hail and special blessings upon the crops of the village. They are dressed in full attire and decked out in jewels. What is the reason for sending goddesses to call on the god Erh-lang and to try and court his favors? Why is the call not made to another god such as the god of the Five Roads, the recognized protector from hail?

All over the country, Erh-lang is said to be the god [776] of the River of Hsining, whose course he ordered, and to be interested in preserving the country from hail. He is said to have opened the rocks of Hsiao hsia (the

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celebrated sacred spring. They carry with them the statue of [171] the god of the rain (the dragon king) from their village temple and put it in the cave, next to that of the goddess, for a whole night, in order that the goddess may sooth the ruffled feathers of the angered dragon king, and move him to pour down streams of rain to save the dying crops. Potanin, who traveled in Kansu in 1884–1886 [*Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina, tsentral'naya Mongoliya*, 334, 1893], notes a similar practice among the Monguors of San ch'uan, subjects of the Hsia-wu T'u-ssu, in order to obtain rain. Potanin, *ibid.*, 409, also notes the struggle against hail practiced among those Monguors by their shamans, but because his description fails to point to the building of mounds, the white tiger, Wu-tao-shen, etc., he seems not to have understood the core of the rites. (I am indebted to Father J. Spriet for the translation of these passages.)

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small rapids), 30 *li* east of Hsining, causing the region 796
of Hsining, which was a large lake in former times, to 782
dry up. He is said to have been a beautiful man, with strong classical features, taller than the men of today, and endowed with fabulous strength. He played with huge rocks as children play with marbles, and was very fond of two enormous dogs which he tied to the rocks of Hsiao hsia with chains so heavy that only he could move them. He is represented in the temple as a man of gigantic proportions, sitting on a large throne wearing yellow robes and cap, and the insignia of an official.

Father Grootaers [11] encountered this god in sixteen Erh-lang temples in Wan-Ch'üan, and notes that Erh-lang, son of Li Ping of the Han dynasty (A.D. 25–220) was famous for his works on dikes in Ssu-ch'uan Province, and became an object of the cult. However, he notes that another Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien of the Sung dynasty (beginning of the twelfth century A.D.) is also renowned for the same kind of work, and is represented with a dog at his feet. This detail, encountered in the temples of Wan ch'üan, enabled Father Grootaers, because of an inscription found on a fresco in the grottoes of P'u-fo ssu, to assume that the Erh-lang of Wan ch'üan must be the son of Yang Chien, object of a cult in Hopei Province. It seems possible that, on account of the popular tradition, the Erh-lang of Hsining with his enormous two dogs and heavy chains must also be Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien. However, how Erh-lang became the object of a cult in Hsining, and at what time, are facts shrouded in mystery. Anyway, Erh-lang, the beautiful god, is said to enjoy the annual visits of the fine goddesses of Sha t'ang Valley and to extend his protection from hail and blessings upon the crops in thanks for their gracious call.

The observance by the young people of twenty-one 821
days of continence and the restraint from indulgence in 782
wine and garlic and onions, the sending of the goddesses for a call on a god, and the custom of locking them up for a night in the temple in order to court the sympathy of the god and to reap the benefit of his protection, open up some chinks, letting in some light into the disturbed religious frame of mind of the people. Significant also is the extent of the fear of hail which makes them resort to all available means in order to get help and assistance against it.

OLD CUSTOM RECALLED

Old Monguors always recall that in former times, 789
when the shamans were still proficient in their art, it 756
was said they never failed to combat the hail. They threw stones stained with blood of white dogs in the direction of the hail spirits, shot with bloody arrows and moved stuffed horse skins. But now the shamans

[11] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 262–263. See *Folklore Studies Supplement No. 1:* 229, 1952, Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien is said to have buried two of the nine suns in the region of Kui-te (south of Hsining), and the hot wells existing in the region are thus explained. See Eberhard, *op. cit.*, *Lokalkulturen*, *Fuchs* 1: 40.

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no longer have the stuff of shamans, and the belief of 789
the young folk in the gods is waning and fading away. 756

OFFER OF BONES TO THE SPIRITS OF HAIL

On the last night of the year, a group of youngsters 782
is called by the chief of the village and ordered to gather 789
sackfuls of bones and to carry them to the mountain 796
top, from where devasting hailstorms usually come destroying the crops in summer. They are ordered to burn the bones to the "spirits of the hail" in order to thank them for their protection during the year and to beg them to extend their protection for the next year. Around New Year's, every family kills sheep or pigs, and bones are available everywhere. All kinds of bones are satisfactory, provided a full sack is secured. It is known that in the arctic culture the peculiar offer to heaven consisted of the offer of the skull and the long bones of animals (for bones contain marrow). It was the offer to the dispenser of life.[12]

Many times I asked for explanations about this rite, but nobody could give any. The answer always was the same: we are accustomed to do so in order that the crops may be protected against hail, and the hail spirits be propitious next year.

LAST REGULATIONS OF THE CHIEF OF THE VILLAGES

In the evening the shamans and the villagers return after having strengthened all the old mounds. The chief [622]
of the village makes a stereotyped speech: "In former times, the great emperor of all the Mongols divided his subjects into groups, attached to the service of the spirits of the temple. In keeping with that tradition of our ancestors we designate today groups of two men each who, day and night, will relieve one another and will stay at the temple in order to give warning of impending hailstorms. The two men who will be on duty during the next day, will sleep the night before in the temple, for continence is required of the watchers. When a storm appears in the northwest, they will beat the drums and cymbals, blow the horn, and ring the bell. Another group which we designate today will, when the bell rings, instantly leave their homes and run hurriedly to the principal ritual mound carrying with them the god of the temple in the sedan chair and all the other gods, the drums, cymbals and horn, and banners. They will take with them some black bowls, which will be placed upside down on the center of the mound. In the temple incense and cypress boughs will be offered, the throne (stake) of the god, erected in front of the temple gate, will be thrust deeper in the ground, and the bowls on top of the roof of the entrance will be turned upside down." The speech is finished. The other gods mentioned in the speech are stakes, octagonal in shape, the upper part of which represents a human head. (Taoists use octagonal stakes when they perform the rites against

[12] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 3: 542. [p. 103(B)]

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hail.) A grim, ghastly mask and a piece of red cloth are fixed on the head of the stake. A small Chinese table, covered with strips of red cloth to which is attached a copper mirror, is considered to be a spirit in the same way. 782 789 796

FIGHTING THE HAILSTORMS

When the hailstorm appears threatening and the evil spirits are about to loose their avenging bolts, the youngsters on the top of the hill wave banners, beat drums and cymbals, blow the horn, brandish aggressively the sedan chair with the god sitting inside, and the stake gods, in the direction of the storm, howl, curse the evil spirits by means of the most obscene vocabulary, and take obscene attitudes in order to frighten them. I saw such a scene in the village of T'ao chia chai, a Chinese village of which some people were Christians, and was told that the Monguors act in just the same way. 731 789

If the storm is avoided, incense is burned, prostrations are made, and the group comes back, proud and high spirited because their performance achieved victory. But if the storm breaks with lightning, lighting up the whole valley, and thunder rumbling terrifyingly, pouring down torrents of water and rattling hail, the whole group starts fleeing in confusion, with the sedan chair and all the gods, straight down the hill, through the fields and the rivers to the temple. It is said that when this happens the youngsters lose control over the gods they are carrying; that the gods, defeated by mightier ones, unable to withstand the struggle, abandon the battlefield and themselves flee, irresistibly pulling with them their carriers, without caring for roads, precipices, or rivers. The terror throws the village into confusion and consternation. The gods could not stand against the terrible evil spirits of the hail; hopes are frustrated and the crops destroyed. The prospect of bad times, with privations and sufferings, haunts every family.

SHAMANS AND STATUES OF THE TEMPLES

The statues in temples are assumed by the Monguors to be the seat of the spirits. Several facts have already been recorded, in keeping with that assumption. Statues decide about the invitation of the shaman for the performance of the new rites against hail. They pull their carriers irresistibly over fields and precipices, or make themselves so heavy as to become immovable and crush the carriers under their weight. According to the Monguors, the unusual power residing in the statue is due to special rites performed by the shamans. 778 532 756

In the stomach of every statue is a square opening capable of being closed and opened. Every time a new statue is made, the shaman is invited to animate it by means of dancing, beating drums, and inserting in the hole a live snake, a live raven, a live frog, and the intestines of a sheep and a pig. All these items have to

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took straw, and with fine cord tied it in the shape of 796
seven women. The fourteen manikins were put in the 756
sun to dry into shape; the tengris went to sleep. Erlik, 831
chief of the underworld and antagonist of the Tengri, 773
made a terrific storm rage and one of the straw ladies finally blew away. When these thirteen figures came to life, one of the men was lacking a wife. Monguors enjoy this story and ask the shamans to tell it every year. Another of the big subjects dealt with at the meetings is that of bad dreams. Because the meetings often end in telling smutty and filthy stories, women in many villages do not attend the evening meetings. The shamans at that time compete with one another for winning the highest marks in that kind of virtuosity. Often the chiefs of the villages, when they invite the shamans, enjoin them not to go beyond certain limits.

When the meeting starts to drag, the chief of the 756
shamans makes preparations for the leave-taking of the 776
spirits. The shamans perform a dance, while the audience kneels. The shaman again enjoins the people to ask for benedictions. He has a last talk with the spirits, thanks them for the visit, reminding them of their promises, and invites them ceremoniously, one after another, to return to their splendid abodes calling them by the most pompous titles. Firecrackers are set off, and shamans dance; the people prostrate themselves and the spirits go back along the rope to their abodes.

While the shaman throws three handfuls of wheat and jujubes into the air, the people try to catch them, as they fall, in their skirts; they mix them with the seeds for next year. A hard pull on the rope fixed on the pole breaks the bag containing jujubes made with dough, coins, and peas. Everybody tries to grab a couple of them, for having been touched by the coming and going of the spirits they enjoy their celebrated magical power. Sick persons eat them in order to be healed, and women so as to become pregnant. The fork with the two rolls is unbalanced; the rolls fall and are picked up; they are reduced to crumbs and are panaceas against all kind of ailments.

NURTURING OF THE GODS OF THE TEMPLE

This rite is the last one and may be the most im- [776]
portant. The shamans explain that the spirits in the 776
temples are to be nurtured once a year, in order that 756
they may be able to protect the village against hail. 782
Here the split personality of the Monguor shamans shows up in its crudest reality.

The shamans explain, and the Monguors strongly believe their explanation, that in former times a human sacrifice was urged every year by the spirits. Other shamans say that the sacrifice was needed only every seven years, in order to ward off hail, epidemics, epizootics, etc.[9] The present rite takes the place of the

[9] This tradition, concerning the yearly human sacrifice demanded by the spirits, seems to point to the fact that in old

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former human sacrifices; consequently blood and the soul of a deceased person is needed for the nurturing of the spirits. 776 756 782

The rite is performed at night. The shamans and the young folk leave the temple in order to capture the soul of a deceased human being. Sometimes they go far away, according to the indication of their spirits. Five fortresses are built by means of incense sticks planted in the ground in the form of a square, one at each corner according to the points of the compass, and one in the center. Circles are drawn around each of them. Then follows the beating of the drums and cymbals, dances, and cracking of the whips on the ground. The chief of the shamans howls at the top of his voice, "Is the northern fortress already built?" All the shamans answer by howling in the same way; this is repeated for each of the fortresses. Nuts and dates are thrown by the chief of the shamans on the four corners, and on the center; he throws some of them into the air, to attract the roaming souls of deceased people. A bottle is planted in an inclined position in a bushel containing wheat, and is supported by burning incense sticks. The shamans start their wildest dance, drearily howling at the tops of their voices, and cracking whips, in the middle of the pitch-dark night. The burning incense sticks no longer support the bottle, and it falls flat; the chief of the shamans rushes to the bottle, grasps it, and runs as fast as possible to the temple, followed by the other shamans and the young folk.

The temple gate is shut tightly. A new wild dance follows, until all of a sudden the chief of the shamans grasps a chicken, jerks off its head, and gathers its blood in a pot. He cries again, asking the gathering three times, "Are the souls here?" and runs inside the temple rooms and presents the bottle containing the gathered souls at the mouth of each of the statues and the painted gods on the walls, cajoling, wheedling and caressing them saying, "Eat, eat please! Do you like it? It is a wonderful meal, eat some more, there is plenty." Then taking the pot with blood he performs the same ceremony, "Drink, drink!" The spirits are nurtured.

He takes the pot containing the horoscope sticks placed in the temple, throws them on the ground and

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times the White Tiger devoured a person every year, as mentioned above. There is a widespread belief in human sacrifices demanded by spirits in India and Tibet (A. David Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 207, Paris, Plon, 1929. L. A. Waddell, *op. cit.*, 516). It is noted by Helmut Hoffmann (*op. cit.*, 175), as practiced by the Hsienpi in Manchuria and Mongolia at the beginning of the year; it was well known in China in former times (De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 79. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, Index, Sacrifices Humains, 2164). Helmut Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 161-162, also notes spirits called *Sri* eagerly attacking small children, sucking their blood, and devouring them. Garma Sanschejew (*op. cit.*, 592), notes among the shamans belief in a kind of spirit eager to attack and devour the children; parents know that when children start crying suddenly such spirits are around. No wonder that this belief, spread all over Asia, is still very strong at present among the Monguors.

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examines their position. "All right!" he cries. "all events will be all right this year, the village will enjoy peace and thrive; this year you will be preserved from hail!" A piece of red cloth is tied with a red rope on the bottle, which is put under the empty container inside the temple for seven days. 796 756 782

After all the rites have been accomplished, the villagers go home taking with them their own thrones of the ancestors and as many paper banners and streamers as possible, in order to place them with the deities honored at home. The shamans and the elders have a meal and plenty of wine for the whole night. The next morning the shamans leave; they came riding empty-handed on a donkey, and go back driving the donkey, laden with rolls and offerings, some wheat, and a meager payment in cash.

FEAR OF HUMAN SACRIFICES

During the second, third, and fourth months, the time during which these rites are performed in one village after another, everywhere children are encountered wearing around their necks strips of filthy, stinking cloth, with which the women had wrapped their feet (for they do not wear stockings). The heads of some children are covered with a handkerchief containing dog hair; the foreheads of some children are scratched and lightly wounded. Several times a day the children are enjoined not to eat jujubes or nuts lying along the way or in the temple yards, for fear that the spirits, avid for human sacrifices, might allure them and take their souls. Everywhere it is said that, notwithstanding the rites taking the place of the former human sacrifices, once in a while some of the spirits take a child. All these practices are used in order to frighten the spirits and to preserve the children desired by this kind of evil spirit. If, during these months, a child dies, everybody is convinced that his soul has been taken by the terrible spirits. 782 784 789 751

These practices give evidence that the belief in human sacrifices required by spirits is deeply ingrained in the minds of the people. At that time, meeting children so arrayed affords a fine opportunity to collect details about the rites of spring, and the talks of the shamans, and to get an insight into the religious trend of mind of the people. These facts make it plain that the Monguor shamans, honoring Taoist spirits and performing most of the rites of the Wu of China and of the shamans living in the neighboring countries, have preserved their urge for human sacrifices. The Monguor shamans nurture the weakened, exhausted spirits in the temples with captured human souls. The burying of the Chinese beggar in the mound, in order to succeed in the struggle against the hail spirits, and the occasional capturing of a boy for the same purpose, facts attested by many trustworthy men, give evidence of the assumption. However, constraint is imposed upon them by a more civilized environment than that 782 [115] [683]

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of Tibet. Chinese laws, and the presence of their 782
powerful enemies, the lamas, ready to harm their in- [782]
stitution constrain them to act cautiously and to restrain their savage nature.

The rites against hail, performed after the rites just described, have been recorded in Chapter IX.

CULT OF THE MOUNTAINS

The cult of the mountains must be very old. It seems 795
not to have originated in Lamaism, and does not fit in the frame of its philosophy, but rather to have been accepted and ritualized by it to a very large extent.

Concerning the Monguors it has been noted, that the 175
Shat'o, like most of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, 795
made sacrifices on top of the mountains and that the horse was their most important offering.[10] It is a fact of common knowledge that in old times the Mongols also honored the gods of the mountains. Chingis Khan lived in this atmosphere. Temuchin (Chingis Khan), in order to avoid a band of Merkits, galloped away to Mount Burkan Kaldun. Having escaped alive, he exclaimed, lifting his face to the sky: "Mount Burkan has protected my miserable life; henceforward, I will ever sacrifice to it and bequeath to my sons and grandsons the duty of sacrificing to it."[11]

The Monguors explain the cult of the Obos and of 795
the sacred hill of the village by asserting that the coun- 776
try between the Ta-t'ung and Hsining Rivers belongs to five powerful spirits or deities who reside on the tops of the five highest mountains of the country, where celebrated Obos are built for them. These spirits claim the worship of the people living on their territory, grazing herds and farming. They are kind to their worshippers, protecting their herds and fields, but they punish the unbelievers. "It is our duty to honor them," say the Monguors earnestly, "for if we were remiss in our duty we would surely court disaster."

These five spirits do not possess the entire territory in a group, but each of them is supposed to wield power over the country surrounding its own mountain. Consequently it receives offerings and worship only from the people living within its supposed circumscription.

Besides these five important mountain spirits, other less important ones are honored, mostly on the passes or on higher mountains. Their cult is not general, but is practiced only by the people living near the passes and by travelers.

In connection with this peculiar mentality about the 795
territory having its proprietors is to be noted the cult of 778
the sacred hill honored in each Monguor village, for in

[10] Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers, op. cit.*, 91.

[11] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan, op. cit.*, 29. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The mountain of God*, A study in early religion and kingship, 7: 170, London, Bernard Quaritch, 1953: "Fundamentally the 'old Asiatic Religion' is the worship of the divinity of earth and its energies concentrated in some mountain and in the superhuman virtue of kingship." Reviewed by Clarence H. Hamilton in *Far Eastern Quart.* 13 (3): 370, 1954.

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cupied by the monastery. In big lamaseries the cult of 795
this god resorts to the attributions of members of the college of rites.[15]

Every Monguor, together with his entire family in 795
their best clothes, who attends the ceremony of the start- 782
ing of the plowing of the fields, will honor in the fields [244]
the god of his fields, by burying an urn (called the precious bottle), making libations, burning incense, and offering bread. No Monguor will build a court yard, sheep or cow pen without burying an urn in the ground, thereby recognizing the lordship and dominion of the spirit of the spot, and obtaining his permission to occupy it. In the center of the courtyard, under the manikan and the manger, the Monguors used to bury five urns and invite a lama to recite texts for one, two or five days, sprinkling holy water and throwing spelt on them. This old rite has become a thoroughly Lamaist rite, to which each lama attaches his own mystical explanations.

However, frequently the Monguor invites a Chinese geomancer; he plants the manikan himself, buries the urn, and offers a sheep or a chicken. This principle is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of the Monguors that they will never proceed with the rite of the cremation of a corpse without having previously recognized the ownership of the god of the spot, and obtaining its permission by buying from it the spot required. Thus, the mountain and village gods seem to belong to the category of the earth gods for whom, in old China, victims and offerings were buried in the ground.[16] For that reason urns are buried for mountain and village gods as well as for earth gods.

The precious bottle (urn), the most important offering in the cult of the gods of the mountains, the village, and the earth, is usually prepared by a lama of the Yellow or the Red Sect, performing more or less elaborate rites, sometimes for days. He uses some [123] powder of gold, some silver, coral, turquoise, and copper coins of the K'ai-yüan (713–741) and T'ai-p'ing (1850) periods, things which are said to comprise the five precious materials. He gathers some grains of five kinds of cereals, threads of five colors, different kinds of medicines, incense sticks, and some tea leaves. All these substances are pounded for a long time with a pestle in a mortar and poured into a small urn, while the lama blows on them and recites texts. Finally molten butter is poured into the urn, level with the opening. Two pictures are pasted on the urn: one of a Lamaist deity and one of the dragon spirit. The urn is covered with a piece of red cloth. The use of the urn is known all over China; such urns can be bought in all pharmacies, in lamaseries, from Taoist priests, and from shamans. The contents of the urn are not always the same, for several kinds are said to be used. Lamas make a business out of the urns, for usually the slightest unhappinesses, illnesses, and calamities, are

[15] David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, *op. cit.*, 100.
[16] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 205.

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said to be caused by the offended god of the spot who must be propitiated by the offering of an urn. 795 782

Consequently, these proprietors and lords of the country and the villages are supposed to extend their protection to their worshippers, blessing their herds and crops and preserving the country against hail, epidemics, and epizootics and providing propitious rain. No wonder that the temples in many villages are dedicated to the god of the mountain, and that one can read on village temples the inscription, "[may] the God of the Five Roads, the gods of the mountain and the village, protect the village."

The cult of the five important mountain gods will be dealt with first, followed by that of the sacred hill of the village.

CULT OF THE OBO

A mountain god is honored by means of an Obo.[17] 795 On the top of the sacred mountain is planted a big pole 778 which secures communication between spirits and man, even as at the time of the shamanist feast of spring, and the planting of the manikan in the courtyards. Stones, mostly white ones, are piled in a big heap around the pole, enclosed with a wooden fence, painted white. Sticks, very often shaped as spears and long arrows, often painted red at the top and black at the bottom, with a tassel of red wool attached to them, are planted in the stone heap, as well as some twigs of cypress. On the top of the pole, and on most of the sticks, are fixed prayer flags, pieces of white cloth on which prayers are written with Tibetan characters, and with the "Wind Horse" printed on them. To white and black ropes (of which one end is bound to the pole and the other to small poles or sticks fixed in the ground), are attached some shoulder bones and various small bones of sheep, small prayer flags, pieces of red dyed wool. Often some small stone heaps are built around the Obo; bigger flat stones form an offering table in front of the heap. No irreverent or immodest acts are permitted in front of the pole. No information was available concerning either the way of building Obos, or the items buried inside under the pole, because I knew nobody who had met the builders of Obos.[18]

THE FIVE GREAT OBOS IN THE COUNTRY

These five chief spirits, owners of the country, are 778 not only honored on the tops of their respective moun- 782 tains. Because it is impossible to climb the mountain 795 every day, there is built for each of them, inside the monasteries of the Yellow Sect nearest the mountain, a small temple, in which lamas daily honor them. So, the temple of the spirit Amni Chokker of the Obo near the lamasery of Ch'u erh is built in that monastery. There is one exception: the small temple of the spirit

[17] Stress should be put on the correct meaning of the cult of the Obo so as not to identify it with the cult of Heaven, as so often happens in studies concerning the religion of the nomads.

[18] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 68-69.

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Amni Chialip of the Obo in Waza is built inside the courtyard of a rich Tibetan, Manguru. I was told by him that every day he lit a taper and burned incense. Women, and girls, even his wife or daughter-in-law, were never allowed to enter the small temple. The same prohibition existed for the women against visiting this kind of temple in the monasteries. 778 782 795 [569]

When and how are the five owners of the country honored? On an auspicious day fixed by a lama, usually of the Red Sect, at the end of the fifth moon, and usually during the sixth moon, five delegates from every village assumed to be situated in the circumscription of the territory of the spirit, are sent to the mountain. They carry a tent and drive some sheep which have been washed and combed, with red paper pasted on their horns and ribbons attached to their fleece, and a piece of red cloth eight feet long on each of their backs. The men also bring some spears and arrows painted red and black, miniature bows, firecrackers and the famous "precious bottle" (the urn). 795 796

The first day, at evening, all the representatives of the villages pitch their tents at the foot of the celebrated mountain and pass the night in merrymaking. The next day, being the auspicious day, in the early morning the chief and the elders of the village, with a large crowd of villagers, arrive to attend the rites to be celebrated on top of the mountain. Chinese merchants pitch tents and do business at the foot of the mountain.

After breakfast all the chiefs of the villages with the villagers go to the Obo. One group after another sets off firecrackers before the Obo, plants in the stone heap spears and arrows, and attaches new flags and pieces of wool and bones, and reverently bury their precious bottle in a deep hole. On the crude offering table, the killed sheep is offered, broth is thrown first toward "Heaven" and then to the four points of the compass for "all the spirits," the famous Wei-sang rite is performed and libation made, while the groups kneel and prostrate themselves. After the rites of each village are performed by the chiefs, a group of lamas, mostly of the Red Church, perform on behalf of the entire community a big Wei-sang rite, beating drums, blowing horns, and chanting some prayers; they all turn three times around the obo. [389]

In the afternoon at the foot of the mountain an immense crowd of men and women enjoy the horseraces and the wrestling,[19] singing and drinking. At sunset most of the people leave, but groups of young folk pass the night around the tents, merrymaking. On the morning of the third day, the tents are rolled up, all the

[19] L. M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes mongoles*, 76, Gembloux, Duculot, 1947. Description of the horse races in the sixth moon at the Obo by the Mongols of Outchimts'in and wrestling (on p. 109), attended by the author; also Owen Lattimore, *Mongol journeys*, 274, New York, Doubleday, 1941, with interesting description of the festivities attended by the chiefs of the Banners, etc.

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people leave, and the spirit of the mountain enjoys in 775
undisturbed silence his ownership over the country. 776

Concerning the offering of sheep, Monguors assert that in former times their ancestors offered a horse on top of the mountains, but that at present, for lack of horses, a sheep is offered and not a pig, because the offer of a sheep is more convenient; a sheep can be driven to the top of the mountain, a pig has to be carried; the killing of a sheep takes less time and requires less utensils, which are not available on top of the mountain.

THE SICK OBO SPIRIT HEALED

The villages situated in the valley of Sha-t'ang, be- 782
longing to the circumscription of the big spirit of the 756
celebrated Obo Lung-wang, had poor crops, spoiled by very bad hailstorms, for three years in succession. The saying went that the vitality of the spirit was declining and that it could no longer prevent these terrific calamities. The shamans were invited to restore its debilitated strength. The chiefs and elders of all the villages together with the inhabitants went in a group to the Obo, with a group of shamans, headed by drums and flags. A big cypress fire was built; the people knelt around the Obo with incense sticks in their hands. The shamans, beating drums, danced in front of the Obo; the eldest among them, in pathetic terms, invited the sick spirit to sit down in the midst of its devoted worshippers. He spoke to the spirit in the sweetest way, just as if he was in its presence and was seeing it, caressing, consoling, and comforting the old spirit. He invited it to look at the kneeling worshippers, and protested that they really loved it, and the shamans would offer a dance in order to entertain the old spirit.

After the dance was performed, in the most gracious way, the sick spirit was supposed to be happy. The shaman, like a good mother, persuaded the spirit to take some medicines in the most affable way. He said that he had prepared for it the most efficient medicine, that it had never failed to restore the strength of Obo spirits. The shaman dug a deep hole near the Obo. The precious bottles of each village were put into it first, then a box containing seventy living snakes [20] of different kinds and colors. The shaman explained to the spirit the different kinds of ailments healed by the different kinds of snakes, and then the hole was filled up. Each village offered its sheep, firecrackers were set off, prostrations, libations and Wei-sang rites were conducted, and a last dance was performed by the shamans. Then the medical performance was closed. The spirit was supposed to be bursting with vitality again,

[20] Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex*, 182. The Tungus use the snakes for making poisonous bullets. The big snake is styled by the shamans the most important spirit who gives advice to the shaman, p. 246. See also Waddell, *op. cit.*, 368, *Snakes and Nagas*; also Heissig, *op. cit.*, 48, Spirits who cause diseases flee from the snakes.

[p. 115 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

and the group then marched three times around the 782
Obo. I heard the details of this unusual rite from 756
Monguors who had attended the ceremony.

Just as women are not allowed to enter the temples of the spirits of the Obo, and are excluded from the rites performed at the top of the Obo in the sixth moon, they were also excluded from these rites of restoration of the forces of the spirit of the Sha-t'ang valley. It is [562] for this reason that the Obo festivities, horse races, wrestling, in the sixth moon, are performed at the foot of the mountain, so that women can attend. When women encounter an Obo on their way, they always avoid passing in front of it—the "front" being usually the south or southeast.

The mentality of the Monguors regarding the spirit of the Obo explains their reverence for them. A Monguor will always dismount from his horse when he passes an Obo. He will never fail to add some white stones to the heap, to cry at the top of his voice, honoring the spirit, to prostrate himself nine times, to throw some coins, some flour, a roll of bread on the stone heap, or to smear some butter on the offering table.[21]

It is not only the common people who act in this way. I saw the T'u-kuan Living Buddha, when passing the Obo of Sung-hua-ting, send some lamas ahead to perform the rite of Wei-sang.

CULT OF THE SACRED HILL OF THE VILLAGE

The cult of the sacred hill of the village is performed 795
like the cult of the Obos. A small Obo is built on 782
top of the hill, and a pole is erected. Under the pole is buried the "precious bottle" (urn), the specific offer to the earth god; ropes with flags are attached to the pole and spears planted in the stone heap piled around the pole. Obviously, the dimensions of this Obo are smaller than those of the Obos of the five mountain spirits, and perhaps because of this they are not called Obo, but the "sacred hill of the village."[22]

On New Year's each family sends a member to the sacred hill to enact the rite of Wei-sang and libation. On the fifteenth of the first moon the chiefs of the villages, with the elders and the inhabitants, officially go to the sacred hill, offering a sheep, performing Wei-sand, burying an urn, and making a libation. On the third of the fifth moon a similar group performs the same rites, in order to strengthen the vitality of the spirit of the sacred hill, which, according to the Monguors, must be in full strength in order to help avert hailstorms. Epidemics and epizootics are supposed to be caused by the outraged spirit of the sacred hill, [753] which must be propitiated by a sheep offering and Wei-sang rite, performed by the whole village.

Devout people go on the first and fifteenth of the month to perform Wei-sang and libation. Monguors

[21] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 63.

[22] R. Rahmann, Remarks on the sacrifice of Heaven of the Na-khi, *Monumenta Serica* 13: 406 *sqq.*, 1948.

[p.115(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

devoted to the practice of throwing in the wind slips of paper on which are printed the Buddhist "flying wind horses" are accustomed to performing this rite on the top of the sacred hill. 795 782

It is not permitted to cut wood, to graze animals, or to hunt on the sacred hill. In old China, the god of the earth was the tree itself, planted in a small forest.[28] The Monguors plant the Obo post in the hill, and do not allow the cutting of bushes growing on it, or the grazing of cattle. In every village the sacred hill is very conspicuous, because of the wealth of the bushes growing on it which seem to create the illusion of a small forest.

CONCLUSION

The worshipping of the mountain gods consists in the sacrifice of a sheep (or a horse), the burying of an urn, the planting of spears, the lighting of a cypress fire, prostrations, and marching three times around the Obo.

All these rites are performed by the villagers, led by the chiefs and elders. After these rites are performed, lamas start reciting texts, beating drums, and making *tormas*. This fact seems to reveal that the lama rites are additional rites of later times, that the cult of the mountain gods existed long before the lamas appeared in the country, and was performed by the communities without them. The cult preserves the old ritual used at the worshipping of the mountain gods.

The old philosophy concerning the nature of the mountain gods, their dominion over the country and control over its people, is still fresh and living. It is clearly manifested by the burying of an urn, the specific, grateful offer to a god who is regarded as owner of the earth, which contains the specimens of all the kinds of blessings and treasures provided by the earth. This philosophy places the mountain gods in the category of the earth gods. It is typical also that in every urn they never fail to put an offering of medicines, which reveals the philosophy concerning the decay of the gods whose lives have to be nursed and reinvigorated. [772]

However, the Monguors could not explain the meaning of the planting of the spears near the pole. The explanations encountered in books relating to this puzzle seem to be unsatisfactory and arbitrary.

Taking account of this philosophy and the religious environment in which the Monguors live, claiming to have gods and Tengris as proprietors and dominators of the country, it seems easy to understand that little room is left for thinking about a God, Creator of the Universe, and that this notion is completely absent in their philosophy. Only once is the "Spirit of Heaven" recalled during the performance of the whole rite on top of the mountain—at the time the broth of mutton is ladled and thrown to the four points of the compass, honoring all the gods and spirits. However, the "Spirit of Heaven" is called first and the offering is made first

[28] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 168. [p. 116(A)]

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to it, in the way the Monguors are used to doing at the 795
time of the offering to the guardian deity of the family.[24] 782

RITES OF AUTUMN

THANKSGIVING RITE

The autumn feast, called by the Monguors "Thanks- 796
giving meeting," is intended as an act of thanksgiving for the harvest reaped.

In the ninth or the tenth month, when the harvest is reaped and threshed, the chief of the village convenes with the elders to agree upon the choice of the shamans who should be invited, and upon the manager and the helpers who should be appointed in order to prepare the feast. Usually small villages invite one shaman, [756] bigger villages two or four; the number of the shamans invited depends also on the abundance or meagerness of the harvest. The shamans are usually chosen from among those who performed the rites in spring or the rites against hail.

The appointed manager of the ceremonies goes, taking with him a bottle of wine, the ceremonial scarf, and an invitation written on red paper "to the master of magic, so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads"; he fixes with him the date for the ceremony, suiting his convenience. At that time the shamans are very busy performing the same rites in a number of villages. Because the rites of spring had been performed by shamans, shamans should be invited for the present rite and not lamas or Taoist priests.

Each family of the village contributes its part of the required wheat flour for the steaming of rolls, the needed barley for the distillation of wine, and cash for buying the sacrificial hog or sheep. Big villages sacrifice a hog, small villages a sheep. The appointed preparers of rolls and wine take the oath not to eat the rolls or to drink wine before they have been offered to the spirits.

The evening before the feast day, the shamans and their apprentices arrive in order to prepare the pole and flag, to paste paper banners and streamers, and to print some Chinese inscriptions on red paper. The items are fixed and pasted on the walls and doors of the temple yard, the display of red and green and yellow paper banners turning the usual feeling of monotony and loneliness of the temple yard into one of joy and happiness.

The ceremony starts in the early morning at sunrise, with the erection of the pole. On top of the pole a white cloth flag is attached on which are printed Tibetan prayers or cabalistic designs. To the middle of the pole paper streamers are attached. While the pole is being put down into the hole of the big stone, designated for that purpose, the shamans beat the drums, build a fire in the yard, throw some cypress leaves into it, and sprinkle water on it. On windy days stones are heaped

[24] See Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 96, for the more elaborate Obo cult in the Narobanchin territory; 178, among the Chahar Mongols; 256, Dagor Mongols.

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A large part of the hog is instantly prepared for a collective dinner, the remainder being divided in as many parts as there are families in the village. Each family has to partake of the sacrifice and receive a piece of meat and one roll. The manager of the ceremony presides at the division, while shamans and apprentices each receive thirteen rolls and a piece of meat. 796 782

Planks are placed in rows in the temple yard and straw is spread on both sides of them. The audience sits down on the straw and starts dining and drinking. When the sun is about set and the dinner finished, the shamans beat the drums, the audience kneels, the chief of the village pours a last libation on the ground, throws some cypress leaves into the fire and sprinkles water. The pole is taken down while the audience prostrates three times. Paper banners and streamers and inscriptions, are burned in the fire. For that reason some Monguors call the rite "paper burning rite." The villagers go home and the next morning the shamans leave.

MEANING OF THE RITE

The rite is a genuine one of thanksgiving for the harvest reaped, striking in its simplicity. Thanks are given in the temple yard of the god who is the protector of the village—not to that god, but to "Old Father Heaven" only, as is said distinctly by the chief of the village. It has been noted before that "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored inside temples or inside rooms, but always in the open air, in courtyards, on top of the roofs, on high mountains. Here is a case where, during the whole rite, the protector god of the village is not even mentioned, although the rite is performed in its own temple yard. The performance of the rite is perfectly in line with the general worshipping of "Heaven and all the spirits" as practiced by the Monguors. 796 782 776

An amazing fact is that shamans are invited to the ceremony, but at the very moment of the performance of the rite the chief of the village himself acts as sacrificer, as the representative and chief of the community, in the same way as we already noted that the chief of the family gives thanks on the roof of his house to "Heaven and all the spirits," offering the reeking rolls, steamed with the flour of the very first reaped wheat. The role played by the shamans is, in fact, secondary, and seems to have no immediate connection with the rite, but rather with the rites of preventing hailstorms, which had been successful. The invitation to the shamans to participate at the rite appears, except for the fact of the planting and removal of the pole, to be an act of kindness and courtesy of the villagers toward the shamans for their happy achievement. The people give thanks themselves for the harvest reaped to "Old Father Heaven" alone, the "Old Father Heaven" who provided their subsistence. 796 782 [622] [756]

But is this formula not borrowed from the Chinese, who use it under the same circumstances in all their

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villages neighboring the Monguors? This assumption, it seems, should be considered because of the fact that so many Chinese who use the formula are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and that so many Monguors who have lost their identity to the extent of having lost their own language, and being ashamed to assert their Monguor origin, boast of being Chinese, and of belonging to a more civilized culture.[25]

XI. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITHOUT REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

SACRED ANIMALS IN PRIVATE FAMILIES

Monguors do not honor the "spirit of Heaven" as a family deity nor do they perform, at present, bloody or non-bloody sacrifices to Heaven. Non-bloody sacrifices, in which the animal is not killed but allowed to wander at will, are a real economic sacrifice because the animal cannot be sold or put to profitable use; but this practice does not really fit the frame of an agricultural economy because the sacred animals cause a lot of damage in the fields. It even happens, as has been noted, that persons are injured and killed by sacred bulls. No wonder that the Chinese, devoted to agriculture, do not practice this rite in China. The Monguors, however, are very fond of the rite, which originated in the nomadic economy, and this fact betrays the original economy in which their ancestors lived.

Almost every Monguor family has its own consecrated animal, which usually is a female sheep—seldom a ram.

On the third day of the New Year, the animal is led into the courtyard. The whole family is in a hustle and bustle washing the feet and the fleece of the animal, and devotedly combining the fleece. Never before has the animal enjoyed such a fine appearance. The sheep is led into the living room before the picture of the deity protector of the family. All the members of the family kneel devoutly with burning incense sticks in their joined hands. They look on with feverish anxiety as the chief of the family pours milk, mixed with water, first on the head of the animal, then into its ears. The sheep frantically shakes its head and at that very moment the whole family starts prostrating itself three times toward the picture of the deity and then toward the animal, smiling, crying with happy enjoyment *"ling liao"* ("the deity accepts our offer"). Thus, the animal is supposed to be consecrated. The family are in a happy mood, with a gleam in their eyes, for the deity will protect the cattle. The more frantically the sheep shakes its head, the better it augurs for the future.

The incense sticks are planted before the picture of the deity honored in the family and the chief of the family and all its members attach red and yellow ribbons

[25] Schröder, Das Herbst-Dankopfer der T'u-jen im Sining-Gebiet, *Anthropos* 37–40: 867, 1952.

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beat drums and play mandolins, all the younger wives and their husbands pursue each other, jumping over the fire heaps, merrymaking. No wives or husbands would miss this practice, for the tradition goes that it provides fecundity. However, the Yassa forbids jumping over the fire.[20]

Professor N. Poppe notes that among the Mongols the spirit of the fire is represented riding a he-goat, and that the he-goat is a symbol of fecundity, as Plano Carpini already noted.[21] This note of Professor Poppe evidences the existence of the fact that a relation existed between the fire god and fecundity in olden times. The Monguors seem not to know the existence of the god of the fire riding the he-goat, although they know that the hearth god secures fecundity. The hearth god also procures fecundity among the Buriats.[22]

FIRE AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE CHILDREN

The god of the hearth not only provides fecundity to the daughters-in-law, but it protects their children. On the second of the second moon is performed the rite of consecration of the children to the god of the hearth. In the very early morning, before boiling water for washing and making tea, the mother roasts some handfuls of spelt in the cauldron and after them some handfuls of peas. Husband and wife spread them devoutly in the courtyard in front of the door. Then the elders clip some hair from the foreheads of the children under thirteen years of age, and cut the nails on their fingers. Hair and nail parings are carefully put in a cup and covered with a red cloth. The cup is placed before the picture of the hearth god and a copper coin placed on top of it. All members of the family prostrate themselves nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and the incense sticks are then fixed before the picture of the hearth god. On the twenty-fourth of the twelfth moon, at the time the god starts its journey to Heaven, the contents of the cup are burned in the hearth, together with the picture of the god. The Monguors explain this as the yearly rite of consecration of the children to the hearth god.

CULT OF THE HEARTH GOD

Rite at the End of the Year

The most important rites in honor of the spirit of the hearth are performed at its departure for Heaven, and at its coming back from Heaven, for so important a benefactor must receive the highest honors possible, and the most affectionate greetings. This is true all over China. Men do not attend these rites.

The spirit of the hearth of the Chinese starts its journey to heaven on the twenty-third of the last moon of the year, on horseback or on a mule. The spirit of

[20] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 73.

[21] Poppe, *op. cit.* 2: 135. See also n. 15, above, for Agni, the Hindu god, riding a ram.

[22] *Ibid.*, 301.

[p. 121(B)]

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the Monguors starts its journey in the same way on the twenty-fourth of the same moon. Before that day, all daughters-in-law on holiday at their mothers' have to be back, for the cult of the spirit is entrusted to the women. This rule is kept most rigidly. 795 562 354 776 782

At evening, after supper, the women don their makeup and put on their best dresses, while the children are clad in their New Year's dresses. Grandmother and the daughters-in-law and the children kneel before the image of the spirit, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The grandmother presents and puts in front of the spirit a boiled chicken and twelve rolls of steamed bread, and kindles the oil lamp. Prostrations are made and paper is burned in the oven. Then the participants, sitting on the floor chatting, recall the events of the whole year. When the lamp is nearly burned out, the offerings are removed. Some straw is spread in the oven, on which the picture of the spirit is placed. Twelve small bundles of hay, some peas (horses are fed with peas in the country), and three or four rolls are placed on the image, as well as the cup containing hair and nail paring of the children. The straw is kindled. The participants prostrate themselves and bow. The grandmother says: "Good deity, you know all that has happened in the family during the year; you know our deficiencies and shortcomings. Please do not tell about them when you arrive in Heaven, but rather, speak about our pitiable living conditions, our miseries, our afflictions, our poor cattle. Please come back soon. Do not linger in Heaven for too long a time, as we need you very much; we will wait for you on the thirtieth at midnight. Bring with you children for my daughters-in-law—boys are preferable to girls. Bring health for all of us; bring riches and wealth, and blessings for the cattle." If some member of the family becomes ill at that time, or if one of the daughters-in-law is childless, all these facts are entrusted to the spirit and put on its knees with confidence. The fire in the oven is extinguished, and the good spirit is on the way, enjoying his ride to Heaven.

This is one of the most intimate prayers the Monguors say in a group in the family. The same rite is performed among the Chinese in the same affectionate way and almost in the same terms, and it may be that the Monguors borrowed it from them.

The spirit of the hearth seems to be the envoy of Heaven, whose duty appears to be the supervision of the doings of the families. It seems to be very potent, for it is able to obtain in Heaven all kinds of blessings in behalf of its protégés.

The next day the wall is whitewashed and the kitchen is cleansed. On the thirtieth, at evening, a new image is pasted on the wall, in front of which is placed a chicken, four rolls, a lamp and incense sticks. At midnight, after the fire is worshipped in the courtyard, Heaven and all the spirits are honored on the roof, and the guardian deity in the living room. The family pros-

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trates itself before the spirit of the hearth, congratulates 795
it, and is happy, for the spirit is supposed to have come 562
back at that very moment with a load of blessings. In 354
the early morning the elders will honor it also. 776

Several times I asked the Monguors whom the spirit 782
of the hearth was going to see in Heaven. The answer was always: "Our women claim, as do the Chinese, that the hearth god is going to see 'Old Father Heaven.' It is true that the spirits are everywhere, and the women know it; but on that night they say the same thing that the Chinese say."

Rites During the Year

Every time women prepare food, the first bowl is 782
always offered devoutly to the hearth god.

On the fifth of the fifth moon, steamed rolls, shaped like flowers, are offered to the spirit of the hearth, and willow boughs adorn its image. Nobody could explain the connection between the willow and the spirit of the hearth. (Is it a Chinese custom?)

It has been noted above that steamed rolls, prepared with the flour of the spelt of the new harvest, and a lamp kindled with the new oil of the year, are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the fifteenth of the eighth moon, rolls and a chicken are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the eighth of the last moon of the year, a piece of ice is put before it. (Is this a Chinese custom?)

If a member of the family has been smitten with a severe disease, old people claim that the spirit of the hearth is angry and taking in ill grace the uncleanliness of the women for having let milk drip in the fire, or for having poured water on it and on the ashes, or for poking the fire with an iron rod. In that event, rolls, wine, and chicken are offered and prostrations are made. Sometimes a sheep is offered, and a lama is invited to pray in propitiation before the image of the spirit of the hearth.

When eyes are sore, or when there is trouble with scalp and hair, the spirit of the hearth has to play physician. Before the image, a red-hot stone is put in a pot of water in which aromatic leaves of wild mint are boiled. The sick man, after prostrating himself, bows over the pot and is steamed by the vapors and healed. The same rite is used to purify the sacred animal at New Year's.

It is noteworthy that the shaman is never invited by the Monguors to honor the fire or the spirit of the hearth, although once in a while a lama is invited to perform a propitiating rite. That department, like that of the sacred animal, seems to be foreign to them.

IMAGE OF THE HEARTH GOD

The old Monguors are accustomed to paste on the 776
wall a sheet of white paper. In the middle of the paper 354
is pasted vertically a short but wide yellow paper rib- 372
bon, under which is pasted, horizontally, a large red- 562
fringed paper ribbon, said to be the skirt of the spirit.

[p. 122 (B)]

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The bewilderment concerning the sex of the god of 776
the hearth and its social position is astonishing. Some- 354
times the god seems to be a married couple, sometimes 372
a single female, or a single male. The traditional pic- 562
ture made by the Monguor women themselves offers a definite solution concerning the sex of "their" hearth god. The traditions concerning the fecundity attached to it seem connected with the Mongol king of the fire riding a he-goat, notwithstanding that the Monguors are unable to give any reason for this connection, and do not know anything about the existence of this he-goat rider. Maybe the solution of the puzzle is to be sought in the suggestion of Granet, that two spirits are involved, the spirit of the fire which is a male, and the god of the hearth which is a female.

OFFERING TO HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS

THE FAMILY OFFERING AFTER THE HARVEST 776

After the spelt is cut, some sheaves are immediately 782
carried home and threshed. The grain is ground on the 795
stone, which is cleansed carefully. The women steam thirteen rolls of bread made with the newly ground flour. All members of the family climb on top of the roof in their best dresses and kneel, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the family lifts up to Heaven the salver with the thirteen steaming rolls and shouts three times, at the top of his voice, the usual "*Mtchioo*" and "Heaven and all the spirits." The whole family prostrates itself thankfully for the new harvest. Crumbs of bread are thrown to the four points of the compass. The Monguors say that the crumbs must be thrown in this way in order to feed the roaming, hungry, malignant spirits of the deceased, who always are on the prowl to harm the people.

The family comes down and offers the same rolls to the guardian spirit of the family, and to the spirit of the hearth, and then the whole family eats the rolls steamed with the new flour of the year.

In autumn, when linseed and colza seed are cut and the new oil is pressed, the same rite is performed with the new oil. A lamp with the new oil is kindled on the roof of the house with the usual prostrations and shoutings, another is kindled for the guardian spirit of the family, and another for the spirit of the hearth. The Tibetans in the country perform the same rite and the Chinese do also, but the Chinese thank only the "Old Father Heaven" and not "Heaven and all the spirits."

THE OFFERING OF THE SHEEP

It has been noted above that whenever a sheep is offered to a deity in the family, first of all a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown in the court yard for "Heaven" separately, with shouts of "Heaven" and no more; that a second piece is cut and thrown in the same way, with a shout of "all the spirits," and that

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after this rite is performed the sheep is offered to the guardian deity of the family. The Ordos Mongols perform the same rite for "Heaven" only, when for a dinner a whole sheep is presented in its entirety to the guest.[29] 776 782 795

CALENDAR OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES 796

At home, at midnight on New Year's, while the old parents are still sleeping, the family starts kindling a big fire, with wood and cypress boughs, in the courtyard before the sacred pole for "Heaven and all the spirits," and prostrates itself three times. The fire is not allowed to go out the whole day. On the roof of the living room, or in the courtyard before the pole, offerings are put on a small table: rolls of bread steamed or baked in oil, raisins, butter, wine. Holding Chinese incense sticks in their hands, the family prostrates itself nine times, crying: "Heaven and all the spirits protect us during the whole year." They sprinkle some wine to the cardinal points and throw out some crumbs of bread for hungry malignant souls. Then they bring the offerings down from the roof in order to perform the same rite with the same offerings before the guardian deity of the family, the spirits of the fire, the pole, the hearth, the gate, and the stables, and fix a Chinese incense stick before each of them. At dawn the elders, upon arising, enact the same rite in the courtyard for "Heaven and all the spirits." At evening, from the first until the fifteenth of the first month, a lantern is hung on the pole in the courtyard, sticks of incense are fixed at the door, and the whole family prostrates itself every day before the door and pole saying. "We prostrate ourselves for Heaven and all the spirits and the spirit of the door and of the pole.[30]

Before sunrise, several pieces of ice are put on top of the walls of the courtyard of the families in which no persons have died during the year.

After the elders finish their worshipping, they sit on the k'ang in order to receive the congratulations of the family. The eldest son presents them with a cup of wine, and the family prostrates itself nine times. The daughters-in-law make three prostrations to their husbands, and the youngest brothers and sisters prostrate themselves before the eldest three times, and then before each other in the same way. Then follows the traditional speech of the grandfather, well known over the country: "Rise early in the morning, work till late at night, tend the herds carefully, and spend your full energy on the fields, and all live peacefully together and forgive each other's shortcomings and deficiencies. I hope that Heaven and all the spirits will bless you, in order that you may build seven farm houses several stories high, may shear the wool of hundreds of sheep,

[29] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos*, 489: 590, Peiping, 1947 (Monograph 11 of *Monumenta Serica*).

[30] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 625, *Das Neujahrsfest*, gives more details about New Year's.

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every courtyard there is encountered a guardian deity of the family. 776 342

SPIRITS HONORED IN THE FAMILIES—PECULIAR CONCEPT

The Monguor concept of the deities honored in the families is very peculiar. Once a family starts worshipping a deity, its cult must be continued forever in that family, for fear that the deity, if evicted, might loose its avenging bolts of calamities and disaster, and the long train of miseries would never stop. 776 428 782 592

According to this conception, at the time of dividing the paternal inheritance the eldest son inherits the cult of the deity previously honored by the father. The duty to continue the old family cult falls upon him. His younger brothers, however, are free to make a choice among all the available deities of Taoism, of Lamaism, even of the Twelve Tengris of the shamans, and to start their newly founded families with a new guardian deity. Every two ar three years all the brothers must still convene in the house of the eldest, to attend a rite celebrated for the old family deity and to contribute to the expenses of the celebration. The tie which binds them to the cult of the old family deity is so strong, that in the event a great calamity overcomes one of the brothers, notwithstanding the fact that he honors his own deity, he will invite all his brothers to worship the old family deity at the home of the eldest brother. The old family deity which had been honored for so many generations is still supposed to harbor in its heart a predilection for all those who honored it. The old Monguor, Li San-ming, told me this in Li chia t'an in 1914, the day after his brothers had worshipped the old family deity at his home.

The fervent cult of the guardian deity of the family is a characteristic of the Monguor family. No Kuang-li of Naring Valley told the story of a poor old widower, Li ssu, living in the village of P'irke in 1908, who could hardly make both ends meet, and who had inherited from his father the picture of Twelve Tengris with the Black Tiger rider of the shamans, which he did not honor. Every time the villagers of P'irke took ill they went to the home of the old man, to honor and to propitiate the spirits, because a certain shaman had said that all the misfortunes occurring in the village were caused by these spirits, who took with bad grace the neglect of the old man. The extremely shy old man tried to make a living out of these circumstances and, stubborn as a mule, he would not allow anyone to honor the spirits in his home, as long as the villagers would not provide for his livelihood, for he knew the villagers were sick with apprehension. But the villagers, as stubborn as he, honored the spirit behind his house, burning incense there. 688 776 592

After his death, his only married daughter, living in the village of Li chia t'ai, inherited his poor house. The villagers of P'irke, having lived under the threat of

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

guardian deity do not like the cult of the twelve Tengris, 771
although these are considered the most potent protectors 776
among the spirits. The reason alleged is that these 592
spirits are very touchy and do not allow any lukewarmness in their cult and frequently during the year they urge the offering of a sheep. Therefore, the families which honor them are all families which continue a cult initiated generations ago.

However, families whose children are weakly like to dedicate them for thirteen years to the Twelve Tengris, and after thirteen years perform the rite of liberation from the dedication, and nurture the rooster of longevity. (See Part I: 102–103.)

There still exists an unusual custom concerning the cult of the Twelve Tengris for which I never found an explanation. It is customary that the images of guardian deities should be hung on the northern wall in the living room. The image of the Twelve Tengris, however, is never hung, but is kept rolled up during the whole year and put on the offering table along the wall. Only on the first of the first moon, at New Year's, is it hung for three days, and all the members of the families who, before the division of the extended family group, honored these Twelve Tengris and at present honor other deities as their protectors, are bound to come during these three days to worship the Twelve Tengris of their ancestors.

Another emotional but important reason for preferring the cult of a Taoist deity is that the families enjoy more the rite celebrated by the shaman at home for a Taoist family deity, than the rite performed for a Lamaist family deity. The lamas do not in fact honor the ancestors. They recite texts for one or seven days, make a *torma*, and the monotonous and tedious rite is finished. Because an emotional element governs the choice of the family deity, an outline of the shamanist rite will best explain what is involved.

CULT OF THE FAMILY GUARDIAN DEITY

The biennial or triennial rite is performed in the 795
eleventh month. On the first day of the celebration, 756
the same preparations are made by the shamans and 782
their apprentices as at the feast of the spring in the 592
temple of the village, but on a more reduced scale, in- 776
cluding pasting of banners and streamers, planting of the pole, binding of the rope, baking and steaming of rolls, offering of sheep, thrones for the ancestors, the hearth god, spirits of the horses, the gate, and for the protector spirits of each of the families of the brothers.

At midnight "Heaven and all the spirits" are worshipped in the courtyard by the whole family. Firecrackers are set off. On the morning of the second day the spirits are invoked and come down along the rope. Among them are the gods of the hearth, the granaries, the stables, the doors, the grindstone, the fertilizers, the well, the horses, the cows, and the last three generations of ancestors. There are the usual prostrations, in-

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

cense, and libation for the throne of the ancestors. The 795
spirits are greeted and the offerings enumerated. The 756
shaman holds a long dialogue with the ancestors, asking 782
whether they are happy and will protect the descendants, 592
and makes promises. The whole group enjoys sitting 776
before the gods and the ancestors. The rite of the greeting of the Goddess of Joy and all the performances connected with it are omitted, but at evening follow the lighting of the lamps, the making of the bridge, and the departure of the spirits.

The spirits remain only one day. At night no soul is taken outside the courtyard to nurture the spirits, but during a last wild dance the chief of the shamans jerks off the head of a chicken and the guardian deity of the family is nurtured with its reeking blood. The head of the chicken is put under a box for seven days, the pole is taken down, and jujubes are gathered. After the shamans leave the courtyard, the fire in the hearth is not allowed to die out for seven days, and for seven days no guests or friends are admitted. No food is given to anybody, not even to beggars, no items are loaned out, no animals are sold, and the animals sold before that time are not allowed to be led away. However, things from outside may be accepted and brought into the courtyard.

The real nature of the feast celebrated by the shaman in honor of the family deity consists, it is clear, in honoring the guardian deity of the family and all the spirits presiding over the various departments of the household, together with the ancestors. It seems to be a heterogeneous party in which spirits and ancestors and the members of the present generation participate. The climax of the feast, however, is the entertainment of the ancestors, who are believed to be present in the courtyard, happy to look upon their descendants and disposed to extend their protection over them. The shaman is believed to see the ancestors, hear them speaking, know their intimate feelings, their desires for offerings and their good dispositions, and his dialogue with them is so animated as to give the participants hallucinations and make them happy.

New Catholic converts, talking about this feast, al- 795
ways recognized that before their conversion they en- 776
joyed the entertainment with the ancestors very much, but they never alluded to the presence of the spirits at the feast. Children of new converts often had interesting discussions at school with children more proficient in the doctrine concerning the shaman who had seen their ancestors and heard them speaking, but they never spoke about the other spirits present at such times.

The feast of the family guardian deity seems in fact 592
to have become a feast honoring the ancestors at home. 776
This delight in the presence of the ancestors is not confined to the Monguors. It is interesting to note the similarity of the rite of the invocation of the spirits of departed heroes, which still delights the Ordos Mongols.

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to suffer from all kinds of mischief and misfortune.[11] 777
Persons guilty of injustices have the problem of finding 685
a means of appeasing that spirit and of remaining in 556
possession of the stolen wealth by faking restitution. Lamas of both sects are conversant with the practice. Lamas of the Yellow Sect perform the rite for those of the Red Sect, and *vice versa;* but never for a lama of the same sect.

Five lamas enact the rite, which lasts for seven days. 772
The first day, helped by a carpenter, they build a 685
rudimentary sedan chair with thin lathes, and paste on 772
it plenty of colored paper. Four flags are set up, one 556
on each of the four corners. In the sedan chair are deposited five small paper bags, each containing a handful of five kinds of grain, five kinds of thread of the five sacred colors, some packets of wool, some rolls, white and red sugar, raisins, dried apricots, some meat and some new garments of the very cheapest kind. The sedan chair is placed in the center of the living room. In front of it, in the courtyard, an enormous bull head made of paper and having two terrifying horns painted red is put in a large caldron. A lamp is lit before the caldron. A piece of black cloth about two feet wide is stretched in a square around the caldron and sedan chair and is supposed to represent the wall of a city. An opening is left where the cloth meets and is called the city gate. Outside the city walls are planted painted spears and swords, one next to the other. In front of the city gate a stake is planted on which cabalistic designs are written with red ink. The stake is supposed to be the seat of the spirit who is the avenger of injustices.

The lamas, twice every day, sit in front of the stake, ringing bells, rattling drums, manipulating the ritual daggers, and reciting texts. Absorbed in meditation, they stare for a long time at the stake. Finally, they start imploring the spirit not to release its avenging bolts, inviting it to take a look at the magnificent sedan chair upholstered with satin and brocade and adorned

[11] The notion of a guardian spirit of the family wealth among the Mongols seems to be general and old. "This housegod was commonly called, 'the very old grandmother.'" Kovalevski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, 215*b*, Kazan, 1844, gives a description of this deity which accords well with that of Yüan times: "gardien de la maison, de la famille et tous les biens. Chez les shamans on le fait des peaux de moutons et de différents torchons de toile." See also Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *op. cit.*, 511. According to Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 174, the fear of a spirit avenging injustices caused to families is familiar to the Tibetans too. The old Bön religion in Tibet honored a protector-spirit of the wealth of the individual, called *Nor-Lha*. Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Altaischen Völker*, 276, 1938. Many Turkish tribes believe each man has a special protector spirit, from the time of his birth, who protects him and his cattle. In the tents is encountered an image of this spirit and daily an offering is made for it. J. F. Rock, The Na-khi naga cult and related ceremonies, *Serie Orientale*, Roma, IV, Part I, 1952, The Naga spirits guard grains and riches. There are Naga spirits of cultivated fields, of villages, of the ground upon which houses are built, etc.

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with silk flags, to look at the hundreds of measures of 792
grain put into the chair, the hundreds of pounds of 685
sugar and raisins, the hundreds of rich garments, and 782
the herd of sheep which follows the chair (for the few 556
pieces of meat are called a "herd of sheep"), and so on, for the other items. They implore it to look at the unusual prodigality of the customer, who is a fervent adherent of the faith. After the parody is played, the lamas have a good time visiting the neighbors. On the seventh day, at night, all the neighbors help escort the troublesome spirit outside the village, forming an imposing cortege with banners flying and drums, horns, and some rifles, and carrying the sedan chair, the caldron and bull head, the spears and swords. The lamas blow the trumpets made from a human femur. The bull head, spears, and swords are buried in a deep hole; a big fire is lit and the pit is filled, at full speed, flush with the ground. The stake is thrust into it; the whole group howls and curses the avenger, rifles are fired, trumpets blown, and the lamas return. The sedan chair is emptied by the neighbors. Restitution is thus made, the avenging spirit is appeased and thrust into the hole, and the thief remains possessor of his thievery.

A rich man, Lo san lao, who lived in Ha-la-chih 425
Valley, had succeeded in bringing to his home the fine 782
young lady of the poor Monguor Li sse of Naring 789
Valley. Calamities then troubled his family, and he invited Yellow lamas to perform the rite. They placed in the sedan chair a fine paper lady. The rite of the caldron and bull head was carried out, and the avenging spirit was thrust into the hole. Restitution was thus made by means of a paper lady, but he remained the possessor of the real one.

After many years this rite as performed by Red [792]
lamas, invited by the famous Sumpa Hutukhtu in order to compensate for the injustices perpetrated by his intendants, is still talked about in the country. The splendid sedan chair was on this occasion lavishly filled with precious items. A beautiful horse which followed the cortege was abandoned for the neighbors. After the bull head had been buried and the avenging spirit thrust into the hole, hundreds of people had tried to capture the horse.

The claims of justice are deeply embedded in the 181
consciousness of the people, and the necessity of restitution for injustices is always advocated by the lamas, although the magical rite of restitution seems to be a mockery of its real intent. Justice seems to rank first among the virtues.

In connection with this peculiar mentality concerning 776
the spirit who is the avenger of injustices is to be noted 425
the cult of the Sturlong spirit. This spirit is supposed to guard the wealth of the family with ruthless severity. It does not allow anything of value belonging to the family which honors it to be taken away. It is honored as a family deity, mostly among the Monguors of the

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Such constructions are never built inside the villages or monasteries, but outside of them, maybe along a road, or on a small elevation, but always close to the village and on the spot indicated by the Red lama. In 1917 the young T'u Kuan Hutukhtu, advised by old devout lamas, decided to build such a temple along the main way leading to his monastery. At that time one lawsuit was succeeding another and calamities desolated his lamasery. He ordered each of his lamas to mold with red clay a fixed number of small flat rectangular Buddha images, called *Tsa-tsa*. They worked for weeks, for 100,000 images were needed. In the meantime mud bricks were prepared and carpenters invited for the building of the frame of a rectangular temple, having no doors but only a square hole on each side for the windows. At the same time five Red lamas, qualified for the job, were invited to build the home of the 100,000 Tsa-tsa according to the liturgical rules. To explain the shamanist rites against hail, the most incoherent and unimaginable items required by the shamans have been recorded, and the way the pit was dug and the items buried in it. The Red lamas required the intendant of the T'u kuan to prepare the same items (except for the corpse of a child, the living snake, rooster and dog), but all the things had to be stolen in order to be effective, and all were marked with cabalistic designs. Because the Red lamas do not use a corpse, a living snake, rooster, or dog, it has been said that their rite is not as effective against hail as that of the shamans. 731 792 346

On the auspicious night, the Red lamas, dressed in their red clothes and barefooted, with a piece of red cloth around their heads, descended into the pit to bury the items, in the same way that the shamans bury items at the time they build the mound against hail, and in the same kind of pit, communicating by signs. Meanwhile, all the lamas of the monastery circumambulated the pit from west to east, flying banners, beating drums, blowing shells, throwing stones, howling and cursing in the direction of the supposed fiend, and a big cypress fire was kept burning the whole night. Finally, after the pit had been filled flush with the ground, a stake was thrust into it on which cabalistic characters had been written with red earth and encircled with the blood of a white dove. What spirit the stake represented, which would block the influxes, was not told, but it was said that it was not the White Tiger. At dawn the carpenters erected upon the pit the consecrated frame of the building, and lamas started using mud bricks to build a wall inside the frame four or five feet high, the stake being in the middle of the building. Then a big Wei-sang was kindled, pounded cones and leaves of cypress were spread on the ground, and the lamas paved the floor with the clay images, one next to the other. Then followed a new layer of pounded cypress and a new layer of images, and so on, until the 100,000 images were disposed in layers inside the building. 731 782

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When the building of the walls was finished, the images 731
having been smoked beforehand, and blessed with 782
ritual water, and having had rice thrown upon them, were stored inside. Finally a roof covered the construction and a verandah with some prayer wheels was built around it, with an oven in front for Wei-sang. Each lama received from the Hutukhtu, as remuneration for the molding of images, a piece of cloth large enough to make a new lama costume.

When, at the time of epidemics, the Om Manis and cir- 731
cumambulations have seemed ineffective, the people 782
conclude that the Bumkhang has lost its energy, and a 789
new rite is enacted in order to strengthen its impaired capacities. The Red lamas are again invited. They read texts for seven days, and thrust a new stake in the ground before the Bumkhang, at night, while the people howl. They act exactly in the same way as the shamans who strengthen debilitated hail mounds. Because this act is not seldom performed for old Bumkhangs of villages, it seems to suggest that all the Bumkhangs in the country were built on the same pattern. This was the only Bumkhang built during my stay in the country, but old Monguors told me that all the Bumkhangs were constructed in the same way, not in order to be endowed with blessings, but in order to avert calamities plotted by evil spirits, and to block the way along which the bad influxes enter the village. The facts (1) of circumambulating in a counter-clockwise direction, (2) the way of building the Bumkhang, (3) the use of the heterogeneous items, (4) the thrusting of the stake god into it, and (5) the manner of strengthening the impaired magical power of the Bumkhang all over the country, seem to support the assumption that the Bumkhang built at Erh-ku-lung by order of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, a lama of the Yellow Sect, and all the other Bumkhangs follow thoroughly magical rites belonging to the same category as the rites performed on the hail mounds built by the shamans.

It is noteworthy that no urns are buried inside the Bumkhang and that no pole is set up inside of it, to represent the "pillar of Heaven." A couple of beams support the roof of the small building, but the magical stake god is thrust into the center of the building amidst the 100,000 clay Buddha figures.

This description does not tally with the interesting [114]
study of Dom. Schröder (p. 266). It is recorded according to my notes written at the time when the Bumkhang of Erh-ku-lung was built, and investigations were made concerning these buildings existing in the country.

FASTING RITES AMONG THE MONGUORS

Fasting is practiced in the country situated north of 785
the Hsining River by lamas of the Yellow and the Red 792
Sects and by laymen; shamans are not interested in fasting exercises. At Erh-ku-lung the rite is compulsory for all lamas. It starts on the twenty-ninth

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wang, the god who protects against hail, Wu tao. Although they are accustomed to saying that all the spirits are Tengri and Purgan, they seem to prefer to use the term Tengri. *Purgan* seems to be a relatively recent term, introduced after Lamaism had been spread among them, for they seem to prefer "Purgan" when speaking about gods of Lamaism. However, they always say that *"uluon purgan"* means all the spirits, and not only the Lamaist deities. 776

Because in the formula *"Tiengere,"* often *"Sge Tiengere,"* "Heaven," "Great Heaven" are always used first, it is obvious that the "spirit of Heaven" seems to be prominent among the spirits in the mind of the Monguors. This prominence of Heaven is shown by the Monguors in a very conspicuous way at the time when a sheep is offered to the guardian spirit of the family, by the fact that, first of all, a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown toward Heaven in the courtyard, with the cry, "Heaven." Then a second piece is cut and thrown in the courtyard with the cry, "All the spirits," and finally the sheep is offered to the guardian deity. It is shown also at the time of the offering of a sheep to the Obo spirit on top of the mountain, when three ladles of broth are thrown in the air—first, for "Heaven," and then, consecutively, three ladles to each of the four points of the compass for all the spirits, *"Uluon purgan."* [823]

However, is it permitted, on account of this striking prominence, to jump to the conclusion that the "spirit of Heaven," or "Great Heaven" is a monotheos, and that the Monguors of 1910–1920 were monotheists? Monotheists are considered as worshipping but one God. People who worship and offer sacrifices to Heaven and all the spirits are consequently considered polytheists, no matter how prominent the "spirit of Heaven" may be. 771 776

Does this formula justify the conclusion that the "spirit of Heaven" is the chief of all the spirits, whom they all have to obey; that the "spirit of Heaven" alone administers the departments both blessings and punishments, and that the "spirit of Heaven" is omnipotent?[3]

When I asked the Monguors about the abode of the spirits, they always pondered for a few moments, as if they did not understand the meaning of my question, and then they answered: "Of course the spirits are everywhere." Indeed it seemed obvious, in view of my European frame of mind, to interpret the expression, "Heaven and all the spirits" as meaning that all the spirits enjoyed happiness together in Heaven with their supreme chief, the great spirit of Heaven. However, the Monguors assured me that the spirits are independent of one another, and independent of the spirit called Heaven; that each of them administers its own department, and that they all know the intimate feelings and behavior of the people toward them and bless or punish accordingly. Therefore, the Monguors are afraid to offend any of them and propitiate the spirit they are 772 [782]

[3] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217. [p. 179 (B)]

supposed to have offended. It is for that reason that 772
during the rite of spring all the spirits are invited by 782
the shamans to come down along the rope to be honored by the villagers so that all of them may extend their protection.

In the Halachih Valley, among subjects of the Lu 776
T'u-ssu, I encountered the following case. At the time 428
of division of a parental inheritance, a son considered that the decision made by the elders of the village was unjust toward him, and at the very moment when he should have appended his signature, he ran into the courtyard, pencil in hand, crying toward the sky: "Twelve Tengris, protectors of our family, you know that the division is unjust, that I am compelled to apply my signature." Then he entered the room and signed. In such circumstances the ultimate recourse of every Chinese would inevitably be to invoke "Old Father Heaven" and never another spirit.

Carpenters, building a temple in Sumdoo, having 776
had trouble with the chief of the tribe, proposed to go 466
to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to take the oath before the statue of Buddha. The chief answered, "No need to go so far, take the oath here, Buddha is everywhere; he will know it."

The belief that all the spirits are everywhere, know 776
all things, bless and punish independently, and that they are just and equitable, is deeply ingrained in the minds of the Monguors of today. It is easy to understand that in a society in which each department is administered by a particular spirit, independent and omnipotent in its sphere, little room is left for the activities of the "spirit of Heaven"; that finally "Heaven," the "Great Heaven," occupies a role of honorary dimensions and nominal importance, and the characteristics and activities of the "spirit of Heaven" among the Monguors are hard to define.

Can "Heaven," which is unable to control the good spirits, control the evil spirits? According to the Monguors, no spirit can control the department of its neighbor, and so in case of interference of evil spirits, magical devices are contrived in order to drive away and combat the evildoers and make them harmless. The good spirits, however, are invited to participate in the struggle against them. When the spirits of hail threaten the village with devastation, magic devices are used by the shamans, and the spirit protectors of the village are carried to the battlefield, and Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" are invoked. If they are unable to match their opponents, they abandon the struggle, rushing with their carriers through rivers and precipices. Good spirits can lend a hand in the struggle, but they may lose the battle and—so much for "Heaven and all the spirits." Facts speak for themselves.

Is not this fierce struggle between good and evil 771
spirits, between representatives of two opposite worlds, reminiscent of Manichaeism, fervently practiced by Turkic peoples in Central Asia during the last centuries of the first millennium? [p. 150(A)]

in business is ascribed to the spirit who is the guardian 772
of the wealth of some family, offended by the injustices 776
perpetrated by the unsuccessful businessman. When drought imperils the crops, they implore and propitiate the dragon god who cares for rain. They never envisage calamities or troubles as being a punishment of Heaven, and never try to propitiate Heaven, but they make recourse to the god who is supposed to administer the department in question, and try to conciliate him by inviting shamans or lamas. At that time Heaven and Buddha are overlooked. Exceptionally devout Buddhists will once in a while ascribe misfortunes to punishments sent by Buddha and invite lamas to pray for some days. However, such an act of religion is "never performed for Heaven."

PRAYERS AND OFFERINGS FOR HEAVEN

I have notice of only one occasion of a thanksgiving 796
rite for the reaped harvest of the year, performed by 776
the entire village. It is led by the chief and elders of the community, and an offering of a sheep or a pig is made on that occasion. The prayer is said and the offer made for "Old Father Heaven" alone, the stereotyped "all the spirits" being omitted.

This fact seems to be controversial because every family, giving thanks for the reaped harvest privately, makes its offering and says its prayers to "Heaven and all the spirits," and not according to the thanksgiving rite of the Chinese performed in the country for Heaven alone. The rite is the more controversial because, except in this case, offerings are never made, or prayers said by the Monguors, to Heaven alone. This exceptional rite appears to have been borrowed from the [177]
Chinese at the time when the Monguors in Hsining exchanged their pastoralism for an agricultural economy.

The fact that the rite of the sacred animal still per- 796
sists among the Monguors (see above, pp. 105, 118), 782
may be evidence that the rite after the reaping of the harvest, directed to Heaven alone, was borrowed by the Monguors from the Chinese in Hsining. The rite of the sacred animal, which is characteristic of nomads, is both for the purpose of securing for the herds the blessings of fecundity and, at the same time, a rite of the first fruits, since it comes in the spring after the nomad "harvest" of lambs (see above, p. 118). It thus corresponds to the agricultural rite after the autumn harvest, when the crops have been carried to the threshing floor. The rite of the sacred animal is performed by the Monguor community at the lunar New Year (usually in February). It is in honor of the guardian deity of the village, and is performed within the temple of the village and also in the living room of each family, before the altar of the guardian spirit of the family and in its honor. This rite of thanksgiving for the newborn livestock is never devoted, by the Monguors, to Heaven, nor is it performed outdoors, on the tops of mountains;

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

and this is also true among the Mongols[4] and the Buriats.[5] If, then, the rite of the sacred animal, which is specifically and characteristically an ancient nomad rite, is never directed to Heaven, one would not expect the harvest rite, if it were simply a later substitute for the rite of the sacred animal, to be directed to Heaven; but since this rite, uniquely and exceptionally among the Monguors, is in fact directed to Heaven, there is strong reason to infer that the harvest rite of the Monguors is a borrowing of the identical harvest rite of the Chinese of the Hsining region. 796 782

In all other circumstances, the "spirit of Heaven" is honored in conjunction with "all the spirits" by means of a single rite performed for them in a group, and by means of the same offering. At the morning Wei-sang, made by the head of the family, a cry is uttered, "Heaven and all the spirits" (some Monguors add the name of the guardian deity of the family), and three prostrations are made for all of them, while the offering burns. On New Year's eve, the chief and elders of the village, after lighting a big fire in the temple yard, prostrate themselves three times for the group "Heaven and all the spirits." 796

In every family, on New Year's eve, a big fire is lit and the same rite performed. During the celebration of a sixtieth birthday a fire is lit in the courtyard and the hero of the feast performs this same rite. The last rite, in order to be preserved from hail, is performed by all the villagers on top of the highest mountain of the village, where all the statues of the temple are carried and a big Wei-sang performed, and there the protection of "Heaven and all the spirits" is implored. At marriages, the new couple prostrate themselves before a big fire in the courtyard, for "Heaven and all the spirits" in keeping with the command of the master of ceremonies.[6] [585]

Two exceptions are to be recalled, which have already been noted, concerning the rite on the Obo and the offering of a sheep to the guardian deity of the family. On these occasions the "spirit of Heaven" receives its part of the offer first, followed immediately by an identical offering for "all the spirits." 776

These two facts and that of the thanksgiving rite in the temple, to be sure, give evidence for the prominence of "Heaven" and apparently manifest its honorary position among the Monguors. Surely they help the Monguors remember this honorary prominence every time the formula, "Heaven and all the spirits," is used.

It is noteworthy that Heaven and all the spirits are always honored in the open air, in courtyards, on top of a roof, or on top of a mountain, never inside a temple or a living room. In old China, "all the spirits" were

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[4] See above, p. 119; also Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 90.

[5] Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 240.

[6] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kan-sou*, 71, Changhai, Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932. The same rite is recorded among the Mongols, by Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 74, and among the Buriats, *ibid.*, 301.

[p. 151(B)]

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 M [351] [182] [353] [352] Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside. Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] M [252] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations. For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

M [194] The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, mules or donkeys. A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter and wheat flour are luxuries. Only the wealthy can afford fruit. Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

M [412]

N *563 M 264 415 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some

N *563 of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

M 576 [264] [603] [554] [561] The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank.

The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little."

M [574] It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

N *563 i. Celebrations and festivals

Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

M 614 796 N *563 M 614 527 273

N *563 M 562 [558] [852] [782] [852] Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is particularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the

[18]

II. Customs concerning the Officiants

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1. The Spirit-spear Soothsayer*

*See "Notes," pp. 23-26 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

791 787 Like all other kinds of soothsaying through a deity, soothsaying with the spirit-spear is called "to question the spirit." It proceeds as follows:

A spirit-spear is fetched in case there is none in the family. Then the soothsayer is invited. He is offered tea and [784] bread. Meanwhile the yard and the place where the soothsaying is to take place are swept. The great incense offering is pre- [782] sented in the yard in the usual form, and it remains burning throughout the ceremony. The soothsayer dons a long cloak, takes [783] off his cap, washes his hands and face, and rinses out his mouth. Then he steps in front of the spear, which has either been planted [788] in the ground or is held by a man, and kowtows three times. He rises, seizes the spear with both hands in the middle of the shaft, and holds it vertically in front of him. In this position he says the prayer of invitation. During this prayer the spirit descends. The spear starts to tremble, and with it the soothsayer's arms; one hears the bells rattle. Now the suppliant presents his case and receives directions from the spirit in the spear as to what he should do. The will and the reply of the spirit are manifested by the movement of the spear, for example, by stamping, leaping up, shaking. The soothsayer, too, questions the spear-spirit and imparts its answer. When the soothsaying is over, the soothsayer says the farewell prayer. The spear becomes quiet and stands still. The spirit is gone, and the soothsayer puts the spear aside again and makes his kowtow three times.

Spear-soothsaying is almost always practiced at all ceremonies in order to call down the spirit as witness. The soothsaying is always done in the same fashion.

[20 cont.]

*778 [824] The making of the spear: The wood of the shaft must have grown wild. Wood that has been planted or wood from inhabited, settled regions may never be taken, for it is not pure. The wood is therefore sought in lonely forests and mountains. The most superior wood is sandalwood. Since this is rare, however, the mountain ash is usually used. -- The iron is usually wrought iron. There is no prescriptions concerning its origin. It may be bought, taken from old tools, etc.

Fig. 2

a. Spirit-table without bands (sirie purgan); b. spirit-table with bands (sirie purgan).

[422] Anyone may have a spirit-spear, and anyone may make
[562] it himself, but never women. If the owner wants to have a beautiful
[463] spirit-spear, however, he will go to a skilled craftsman, carpenter, and smith. It is required that before starting the work the craftsman
[783] rinse out his mouth, wash his face and hands, and hold the latter over the smoke of a cypress fire. The tools are also thoroughly
[782] smoked. In addition, the smith casts some cypress incense into his smithy fire.

The craftsman may work at home in his workshop or in with
[322] the family of his client. The individual parts are made separately,
[326] in other words, the shaft by the carpenter, the tip and foot by the smith. They bring the parts to the owner's house. The latter then
[782] offers twelve steamed loaves (or baked loaves) on the shelf in front of the Buddha image, as well as a piece of red cloth and a measure of barley. The craftsmen place their instruments on the grain in
[788] the bushel, and all of them kowtow in front of the Buddha image,
[322] while the incense offering is presented outside. The carpenter
[326] receives the barley; the smith receives the twelve loaves with the red cloth.

[20 cont.]

*778 It does not matter who puts the spear together. No special ceremonies are connected with it. Now the owner tends to the bands, bells, and copper plates. The bells are the ordinary little rattling bells, such as horses wear around their necks. One [792] can take the spear to a lamic monastery or have it consecrated at home; the ceremonies are the same in both places.

*778 792 The consecration of the spear: The spear cannot be consecrated by an ordinary lama; he must be a Living Buddha. Only he has the power to make a spirit live in the spear.

After the hutukhtu has been entertained in the customary fashion, the general ceremonies of the lama-reception have been carried out, and the tormas [sacrificial objects made of dough] [21] stand in front of the household altar, the consecration begins. Young hutukhtus perform it in the household chapel, but old ones remain seated on the warm kang in the main house.

The master of the household drives the spear in the ground in front of the lama, unless he holds it in his hands standing upright during the entire ceremony. Another brings the attachments for the spear on a tray. First the bands and then the rattles and the mirror are attached. If the hutukhtu does not want to do this himself, it will be done by an assisting lama or by a man. Every piece, before it is tied on, is held in the incense that is kept ready in an iron spoon.

*778 [782] Once the spear has been thus prepared, the master of the household takes it either into the chapel or to the shelf before the household altar, where he sticks it in a large stand. In front of it he burns fragrant sandalwood incense, sets up little burning oil- or butter-lamps, and offers little bowls with barley, wine, and water, and finally a large loaf of wheat bread weighing several pounds. The hutukhtu at this point goes to stand in [783] front of the spear and sprinkles it with the consecrated wumba-[792] water. He then sits down with his legs crossed on a white felt mat in front of the spear and gives the prayer of consecration. Then he rises, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley from a little plate handed to him, blows over it, and casts it over the spear with his right hand. Meanwhile all those present kowtow in

[22 cont.]

must have its own door to the outside. The chapel may not be constructed in such a way that it can also be reached through another room that is occupied. It must be located in the main house. In order to avoid any danger of pollution, the chapel is preferably erected on the roof of the main house. The soothsayer determines in what part or on what side of the main house it should be. Aside from silence, the reason for this strict separation from the other rooms is that in crossing other rooms one may become unclean, especially if the rooms are accessible to the women.

Prescriptions for purity: Ordinarily, any man or boy may touch the spear, fetch it, and take it away. They may also enter the chapel at will. Women, however, may never touch the spear or visit the chapel. They are always regarded as unclean. There are also certain taboos, however, for the men.

The man's wife or any other woman in the family may not be in confinement. Not until ten days after the conclusion of the confinement, that is, 40 days after the birth, is the man pure again. If he has visited another family in which there is a woman in childbed, he is pure immediately after the conclusion of the confinement, that is, 30 days after the birth.

Those in mourning are unclean for 49 days, if they are members of the dead person's own family. If the parents have died, the children are regarded as unclean for 100 days. If someone participated in the obsequies of another family, he is unclean for only three days.

These prescriptions for purity also apply to the soothsayer. He may not enter the chapel during this time, and especially may not touch the spear or even practice soothsaying. When this period has elapsed, the men are automatically pure again; there is no special purification ceremony (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 26.] The prescriptions for purification are the same as among the Chinese in Tsinghai; they apply for all religious activities and temple visits. The Chinese also have

[22 cont.]

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171

[Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.]
special sayings concerning this, which the Tujen lack.

Word List

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To prophesy: purgandë sila = the spirit to question (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 23.]
This expression applies both to the people who question the god and to the soothsayer who calls down the spirit. The Chinese say for this ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, "to invite the Buddha-Father." This expression is applied primarily to the soothsayer himself; in an extended sense it signifies every questioning by means of a deity, soothsaying, oracle.

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Spear-soothsayer: šdiendzën; šdien (Tib.) - the consecrated, the sacred (4).
dzën (Tib. loanword) = to contain, to hold.

4. [Foreign text pp. 23-24.]
šdien is the name both for the consecrated spear with bands attached and for the consecration band (or bands) itself, but primarily for the bands after the consecration and detached from the spear. The consecrated bands on the spear, according to the informant, are called by the Tibetan names xuon (silk cloth)

[28 cont.]

756 rings at the end; the spirit-spear; the winnowing tray and the
*778 sieve (2).--He must make this equipment himself in accordance

2. [Foreign text p. 32.] In the case of one other temple shaman I also saw the bow and arrow as equipment. Incidentally, the shaman carries all the customary weapons. -- The spirit-sling is twisted out of hemp, wrapped in red cloth, and is about one meter long. The iron rings on it have a symbolic significance that I have forgotten. The Chinese, so far as I can recall, call the sling k'un-hsien-sheng, that is, spirit-binding string. In the accompanying photograph the shaman holds the sling with the ring in his left thumb.

[411]

with certain rules. He keeps it at home on the altar of his tutelary deity with the sword and the god's image.

756 The trance: The trance usually takes place in the house
787 in front of the altar. The shaman rinses out his mouth, washes
[783] his hands and face, presents an incense offering in the yard or
[782] before the altar, kowtows before the sword, and puts on his garb (3). The incense fire is maintained in the yard by other

3. [Foreign text p. 32.] He always puts on his costume with prayer.

men who also blow the conch (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 32.] Some claim that the shaman has to wash himself once more before the trance.

[576] Now a long, low table is placed in front of the altar, and the shaman sits on it in the Buddha position with his legs

[29 cont.]

756 787 792 *778

Consecration: Once the young man has tested himself and feels secure, he takes 12 loaves of steamed bread, three loaves of baked bread, money, and a hada, and goes to the monastery. There he hands the gifts to a schooled lama with special praying power and requests the consecration.

First a test takes place. With the usual ceremonies, the shaman must put himself in a trance. He must indicate given objects; thorns are scattered on the floor and he is challenged to sit on them; whips are lashed in his direction, and in every possible way attempts are made to intimidate him. If he is a genuine shaman in a genuine trance, he is not afraid and is not injured. If his state is not genuine, he becomes frightened, backs away, or comes out of the trance.

At this point the presiding lama takes a hada (13),

[192]

13. [Foreign text p. 33.] Hada, Tib. k'a btags, is a scarf-like ceremonial cloth.

slings it around the shaman's neck, and asks which tutelary spirit revealed itself to him. The shaman then pronounces the name, kneels, and receives from the lama the instructions concerning his duties as shaman. Among these are the taboo and purification prescriptions, for example: he may not officiate when he is in mourning or when his wife is in confinement; also during this time he may not worship his tutelary spirit; after sexual intercourse and after enjoyment of tobacco and a considerable amount of liquor, he is unclean (11), and he must purify himself

[783]

[273]

11. [Foreign text p. 33.] Actually, liquor is not prohibited for the shamans. Here a Buddhistic prescription seems to be in effect, but in a weakened form, for a moderate consumption of liquor does not make the shaman unclean, only drunkenness does, although in the eyes of the Tujen this by no means represents anything morally objectionable.

[29 cont.]

756 787 792 * 778 [783]

before the [30] individual acts by inflicting wounds with the sword, piercing his chest, licking red-hot iron, etc. Along with this instruction, which is contained in certain Tibetan books, the lama says the prayer of consecration over him.

Then the shaman rises and washes his hands, face, and head with the water from the lama's holy can. He must likewise first rinse out his mouth. Then barley is thrown over him and he is fumigated with incense. The lama takes the hada that he had slung around his neck, makes a knot in it, folds it together, sticks it in a little rectangular red or yellow bag, and hangs this around the shaman; it is the amulet of his tutelary spirit and is called "protective fort" (8). In place of this hada,

8. [Foreign text p. 32.] It is unclear whether this hada is the seat of the tutelary spirit. In any case it is to be regarded as a protective amulet.

or together with this hada, the shaman may also wear on his chest a large case containing the figure of his tutelary spirit (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 32-33.] The consecration ceremony might lead one to believe that the shaman is only capable of performing his office by means of it. In itself it has nothing to do with shamanizing. It is merely an official confirmation of one's capabilities, and also the people desire it. There are also shamans, however, who have not been consecrated in the monastery, especially among the people mixed with Chinese.

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The consecration appears to admit the shamans to the position of lay monks, for among the monks there are also those who act as shamans and have certain prescriptions. Thus on the route from Hei-tsuei-tzu

[30 cont.]

756 sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary
*778 spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front
[776] of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he
[782] sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.

The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit
[439] are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery
[792] markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

756 Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his
776 tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration: the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in general the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the tutelary spirit of the shaman.

756 Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to
463 prophesy, heal the sick; conjure away storms, drive away demons. He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests, or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect a mani-tree, but he may set up an ordinary mani-flag on the yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the pole-goat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate at funerals and weddings.

755 The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold.
756 The following is the most common. First of all the shaman
[787] puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open [31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly steeped. Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the sick person to drink.

756 In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to
783 demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[41 cont.]

192 Prayer fee: bosë (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

796 Tea provided in the lamic monastery: mäntsia (mändzia) (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

[784] Taboo of the compound: udie dzilä-; chi-men (Chin.) = to forbid the door.

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[Pages 41-43 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[43] III. Customs concerning the Dwelling and Settlement

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1. The Incense Sacrifice*

*See "Notes," pp. 46-49 [of the foreign text]. In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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Every day at sunrise the house and yard are swept clean.

512 The housewife fans the family fire on the kang, around which

[356] young and old gather during the day. The master of the house

[783] washes his hands and face (1), takes some coals from the fire,

[515]

1. [Foreign text p. 46.] This ablution is undertaken for all religious activities, and it is also the common way of washing oneself in the morning. Since washbowls are unknown or have been used only recently, it is done in the following way: one takes a mouthful of water from a bowl and rinses the mouth; then he

372 [43 cont.]
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[783]
[575]

[Note on foreign text p. 46 cont.]
takes a second mouthful and lets it run out of the mouth over the cupped hands and washes them; the third mouthful, allowed to run into the hand in the same way, serves to wash the face. This is repeated as desired, until one is clean. In case someone has a washbowl, he may under no circumstances forget to rinse his mouth, because that is part of the purification for a religious ceremony.

and puts them on the incense plate under the mani-tree out in the yard. There he blows on the coals to make a large flame, throws cypress twigs, butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, tea leaves, sugar, and a number of colored threads into it, and finally sprinkles the fire with pure water. Then, when the smoke rises up, the conch is blown, and the master of the house, as well as all those standing by, makes a three-fold [788] kowtow three times in front of the fire. With this the morning offering is concluded, and all go to their daily work.

Details

782 Persons: Usually the master of the household presents the [592] incense offering. In his stead, however, another male member [562] of the family may perform the act, but never women, unless there is no male person in the house and the children are still too small. Women may be present and make the kowtow, just as they also sweep the yard, set the things in readiness, and even hand them over for the offering. The conch is usually blown by someone who does not perform the offering. If the master of the household making the offering does it himself, it is done before the kowtow.

[44 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 46-47 cont.] Tibetan. Thus, it corresponds to bsaṅs (Ch. Das, p. 1316), "incense." -- In Mongolic the expression for this is sang idegen, "incense-food" (Unkrig). -- The Chinese, too, have taken over this word, at least in Tsinghai, and call the cypress-incense sang. In addition, they have the Chinese expression pei-hsiang: cypress-incense. They call the stick incense, in other words, the incense candles, simply hsiang or pan-hsiang (perhaps: blossom-incense); pan-hsiang is also used as a verb, to burn incense in honor of a person (rarely used). -- For "to burn incense" [47] the Tujen say fdzaṅ ġarġa, "to release incense (to let rise)." They differentiate two types. One is the "great incense," šge fdzaṅ. This incense offering always takes place in the open, and for it complete little branches and twigs are burned. The other kind is the "small incense," mula fdzaṅ. For the latter, not whole twigs, but cypress needles, which are first pounded into an incense powder, are scattered into the fire. It burns very rapidly and makes a great deal of smoke, but produces no wood-smoke. This type is preferred for incense offerings in the house and for fumigating objects at purification ceremonies.

[783]

[778] This tree is consecrated to the mother-goddess Lhamo. The blossoms are supposed to have a pleasant fragrance, no matter what color they are. The more manifold and colorful the kinds are, the better it is. To be sure, they are dried first, so that they will burn well.

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.] Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot be imagined without tsamba. They roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.), that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain, and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-grain flour is eaten exactly as among the Tibetans (Fandse). After the consumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48] kneaded into a dry dough in the tea bowl with the remainder of the tea and the butter floating on it, and it is then eaten in the form of little pellets or little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used for the incense offering, however, may not be kept with the ordinary tsamba. Every family has a special little box for it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf. Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further details.

[262] [252] [171] [264]

[783] never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the [263] sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color; therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than the white.

The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant [439] addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop. [824] They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

[192] 4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loan-word, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

[44 cont.]

782 wine, however, but "libation" (6). Nevertheless water is always

6. [Foreign text p. 48.] The informant observed that "libation" is otherwise only called tusa; only in the case of the incense offering would one say tsiab. The rite implies, however, that it is not a matter of a libation at all. Drink-offerings are always poured on the ground. Here, however, the water is sprinkled on the fire; in addition, in this case water is preferred to all other liquids and is regarded as the purest and most superior. This requires a different interpretation. As a loan-word, tsiab corresponds to the Tibetan c'ab. Ch. Das (p. 409) explains c'ab: "water in any form; but not used like c'u to signify a river" [cited in English]. He further mentions sna c'ab as water with which the monks moisten their tongues before starting a religious ceremony, in order to purify themselves, which is approximately the same as the above-described purification before the incense offering. In other words, the tsiab is nothing other than a purification of the fire by sprinkling it with water. Later the people came to think of it as an offering and used milk and wine for it. Nonetheless, the awareness has remained that it should really be water.

[783]

superior. It must be pure, from a well, a spring, or a river. Standing water, for instance, that from a kitchen tub, may not be drawn by anyone, however pure it might be. The water is sprinkled into the fire with a cypress twig (10).

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] offering is widespread everywhere among the nomads of Tsinghai and has been partially taken over by the Chinese. It is also practiced in all lamic monasteries. Even if it does not come from Buddhism, it has been taken up by it in the ritual and honored with "incense-sutras," which are recited during the burning of aromatic substances in honor of the gods. The additions superimposed on the original simple form also come from Lamaism. Concerning this original form, its origin and religious dedication to heaven, cf. Part Two.

783 The purification-fire: Aside from this incense offering, cypress incense is also burned on other occasions, but only for purification, for example, to fumigate the house to drive away the demons, to fumigate the sacrificial sheep, to fumigate the face and hands at religious ceremonies. This fire, however, is accorded no veneration; no kowtow is made before it; it is not sprinkled with water, and no butter or any kind of addition is put in it. It is not an offering. Should someone accidentally burn an actual incense offering, he can use even this for the purpose of purification (9).

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[782]
[789]
[782]

9. [Foreign text p. 49.] On other occasions, too, the fire is used as a means of purification. For instance, according to an ancient custom, a Tujen widow, when she remarries, must step across a fire, just as among the Chia-Fandse the bride is led over fir-tree fire (sung-p'an). The fire-jumping in the night of the full moon after New Year's may have the same significance; cf. "The New Year's Festival," Note 6. Not only the fire has

[587]
[796]
[782]

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] this purificatory effect, however, but also the incense itself. This is shown by its name, "purity-wood," and by the use of bsañs as a verb, which, according to Ch. Das (p. 1316), means "to cleanse, to remove" [cited in English]. For this reason incense is also scattered in the water with the red-hot stone (ch'ü-t'an) that is used for cultic purification.

Word List

192 Cypress tree: šgua sdziödzē (3) [see Note 3 above].
782 Cypress: šgua.
[824] Cypress incense: fdzañ (šdzañ, dzañ, sañ) (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba offering: fdzañ sdzam (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba (profane): talga (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 49.] talga: Tib. t'al ba or t'al k'a = powder, dust, ash; Mong. talxa = flour, rye flour, barley flour.

glu-smän: Tib. klu sman = the dragon medicine, bot. Angelica. There are four kinds, of which the black and the white are the best. The white Angelica is used against sickness from the earth-dragon. In Mongolic it is called luus-un em = dragon-medicine.

[824]
[757]

snagsog: Tib. sna = many, and ts'ogs = kind. lisi = Tib. li-si = Carophyllus. gušgum: Tib. gur-gum = saffron, crocus. sësmiel: Tib. sug-smel (rmel) = cardamom; Chin. pai-tou kuan

[824]

[73 cont.]

*778 and go into the mountains to look for the tree. The tree must
[824] be a wild one, not one planted by human beings. It must not be taken from inhabited places or from the edge of a path. The wood should be superior, at least fir or cypress wood.

[783] Before the carpenter sets to work, he washes his hands and face and rinses out his mouth. Then he fumigates his head and hands. He proceeds in exactly the same fashion with his tools. First he indicates on the trunk the four points of the compass; then he fells it and smoothes the four sides corresponding to [74] these directions, which the tree must also retain in the chorten chamber. The tree may be only six ells long, no more and no less. The width is about ten centimeters.

The trunk is brought home and planed smooth in the compound where the lama is staying, while the lama prays and outside the incense offering is burned. Then the carpenter brings it into the house and lays it by the lama on the kang. The latter first gives a prayer over the trunk and then inscribes
[212] Tibetan sayings on it in red. He usually uses red clay dissolved in water for this. The trunk thus inscribed is then wrapped with a yellow cloth and a number of threads is wound around it. The points of the compass are written on the cloth. Then the tree is put between the urns on the household altar and placed upright, propped against the wall. The little oil-lamps and seven water-bowls are renewed, and while a new incense offering is given in the yard, the lama sprinkles the trunk and gives the votive prayer over it (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 78.] The construction of this sky column is very similar to the making of the spirit-spear. -- The trunk need not always be smoothed. In the case of partially decayed bẽñkãñ one can see little trunks sticking out of the sasa-mountain with all their bark and without any further preparation, which allows an even more natural connection with the world-tree. It is

[75 cont.]

*778 with one another at the same height at the top. The leader
346 brings 12 loaves and some liquor and places them on a tray before the chorten-mountain. The carpenters lay the ridge-piece by it. Into it they have drilled a hole, filled it with grain and butter, and closed it again with a wooden cover. The leader binds an ell of red cloth around this place -- it is the middle. Then they burn incense and kowtow. At the same time the tools are put on a small measure of grain before the loaves.
[483] The carpenters now climb on the frame and draw up the ridge-piece by ropes. The leader then throws two loaves of bread up to them, which they throw back; likewise the liquor is handed up to them, which they drink. Only now do the carpenters put the ridge-piece on the supports, exactly above the sky column. The latter, however, does not touch the ridge-piece, but towers up in the center, not quite reaching the ridge. --
[783] The ridge-piece is likewise sprinkled with pure water beforehand and fumigated with incense and the red-hot stone.

Now the carpenters again climb down, and the men begin to erect the wall between the corner posts. When these have reached about 50 centimeters, so that the chorten can no longer roll out, they pause. Once again incense leaves are scattered over the chorten-mountain and then work is resumed, evenly on all four sides. At head level a gap is left on each side. They immediately continue to build the wall up to the roof and everything is immediately covered with clay mortar. The roof is also [76] immediately covered. When everything is dry, the outside is whitewashed. -- If it is not finished on the same day, work is continued on the next day.

Towards the end the lama once again makes a torma and places it in front of the chorten chamber. One again burns incense, blows the conch, and kowtows. Then everyone, even the women, go around the chamber, as around an obo. -- Frequently the lama once again sprinkles the new chorten chamber
[527] with holy water after the whitewashing; then all go home and celebrate the event with a feast, singing, dancing, and drinking.

[782] Veneration of the chorten chamber: Later the chorten chamber is venerated on certain days by a procession around it

[626 cont.]

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1. [Foreign text p. 628.]
The lamps are large copper butter-lamps or the small copper bowls. -- If there is no mani-tree, the red lamp is hung on a roof slat in front of the door of the main house. This lamp is very likely copied from the Chinese celestial lantern. The Chinese, too, draw up such a lamp on a tall mast in the yard, like a flag, and let it burn every night. It is called t'ien-teng, that is, celestial lamp.

[356] the window newly plastered. In recent times the Tujen also
[177] write vernal sayings on red paper, like the Chinese, and paste them to the door posts. This was formerly not the case.

[513] Night watch: During the night before New Year's Day sleeping is not allowed. The old people say: "Please do not sleep tonight, the gods want to be welcomed early tomorrow morning." Therefore the master of the household stays up with his whole family. They partake liberally of tea, liquor and the New Year's food, sing and converse until dawn.

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New Year's morning: At the first cockcrow after midnight even the last stragglers put on their best clothes. Only the very old in the family remain lying on the kang. The master of the household puts large, burning butter- or oil-lamps in the room on the household altar. In the yard he hangs a red paper lantern with a butter-lamp to the mani-tree (1) [see Note 1 above]. It is attached to a transverse strip on it. Then outside, with the entire family, he gives the great incense offering, and everyone makes a threefold kowtow to the sky out in the open. The same is repeated before the household altar for the countless other spirits. During this time a stone is made red-hot in the
[783] hearth fire, and with this glowing stone all the rooms of the compound are fumigated. At the same time the conch is blown. The fumigation may also be done by women (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 628.] The

[626 cont.]

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[783]
[789]

[Note on foreign text p. 628 cont.] The fumigating with the red-hot stone is supposed to purify the house and drive away the demons, like the exploding of rockets.

Then a second offering follows. The master of the household takes little sticks of incense, one for each member of the family, and lights them in the room above the lamp. Then he goes out around the mani-pole and, with all the members of the family, makes a threefold kowtow to the sky, facing the main house. He puts the little sticks in the incense oven on the round manger. Then the same ceremony is repeated in the house before the household altar, where the new little sticks continue to smolder in the incense basin. During the entire ceremony rockets and cannons are fired in order to scare away the demons. Together with the incense, yellow paper is also burned, exactly as among the Chinese (8).

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[171]

8. [Foreign text p. 629.] As among the Chinese, the hearth-god is also carried off and on New Year's morning is again festively carried in. I was unable to learn anything concerning an original Tujen ceremony with respect to the hearth fire. Since time immemorial an incense offering has been made to the hearth-god, but it is uncertain whether on this occasion cypress twigs were thrown into the fire. Nowadays little sticks of incense are generally put on the wall behind the hearth, precisely as among the Chinese.

[776]
[372]

Another fire ceremony takes place in the first full-moon night of the year from the fourteenth to the fifteenth day. Young people light a series of little straw fires (10 to 15) on the path or on

[372]
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[626 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 629 cont.]
the threshing floor and jump over them. It is said that this is done in order to become pure; others say it is only for fun. The Chinese there, who also have this custom, maintain that it is an old Chinese practice. They also tell a legend about it, which I have forgotten. It has something to do with a battle ruse of old heroes whose memory one wants to celebrate. -- For the purificatory fire, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 9.

[177]

It is precisely in the New Year's practices that the strong mixture with Chinese customs appears, so that in individual instances it is impossible to say definitely what originally belonged to the Tujen. One can safely ascribe to them, however, the ying-hsi ceremony, renewal of the animal consecration, and above all the dancing and singing of songs, which the Chinese do not know.

[821]

The dances with song point to a close connection with the waxing moon, since they are usually performed at night on the fifteenth day, even throughout the night. It is almost as though the New Year's festival applies primarily to the new moon. After the first full moon, everything is quite suddenly broken off.

Once the incense ceremony is over, the master of the household places a table in the yard before the round manger. On it are put trays with five steamed loaves, five oil-loaves, three tagur loaves, and all kinds of baked goods (3) [see Note 3 above]. Then a bowl of barley wine is poured out and a

[632 cont.]

527 778 888 792 The age-consecration: After the usual butter-lamps and little bowls have been set before the household altar in the main house, the assisting lama makes a few tormas, among them a little one. The tormas are placed on a tray before the household altar.

On the floor before the kang of the hutukhtu a felt mat is spread and the little torma is put on it. The person to be consecrated enters, followed by the mother's brother and his children, kneels barefoot and bareheaded (the women without a headdress and with their braids hanging down) on the mat, kowtows three times, and remains kneeling before the torma.

The hutukhtu prays over the candidate for consecration. The latter holds out his cupped hands, into which the hutukhtu pours holy water from his can. He drinks it. There follows a second pouring into the cupped hands. The candidate for consecration rinses his mouth with it and spits the water twice over the torma. He washes his head with the third portion of water poured into his cupped hands. Finally the last pouring follows, with which he washes his face (4).

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4. [Foreign text p. 634.] Washing, of course, plays an important role in all consecration ceremonies; even Buddha images are washed before they become "ensouled." In this connection, cf. also Filchner, Kumbum, pp. 267 ff.; Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141; furthermore the chapter, Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation."

After that the hutukhtu sprinkles him with holy water from the can and throws Tibetan barley over him, on which he has blown three times. He consecrates the water with the spices in advance, after the tormas are finished. For the sprinkling he uses the peacock feather, not a twig from the tree of life.

Now the master of ceremonies, the husbands of the daughters, and children take the torma that stands before the

[632 cont.]

527 candidate out into the yard and throw it away. The mother's
778 brother stays there, and after that only own children still appear.
888 They stand or kneel in the side room behind the person to be
792 consecrated and shut the door, because only a few people may be present. Only the person to be consecrated remains in the lama-room, kneeling before the kang.

The candidate for consecration now washes himself again in the manner described above, is again sprinkled with holy water, and has Tibetan barley thrown at him. The master of ceremonies takes an iron spoon, puts in it some of the red-hot material from the fire-basin of the lama, scatters pounded cypress incense on it, and the lama throws fragrant spices over
[783] it. The person to be consecrated is fumigated all around with this and is now completely pure. The hutukhtu gives the consecration prayer over him and instructs him regarding the com-
[785] mandments that he must observe from now on. These commandments relate to fasting, abstention, the prohibition against killing, prayer, etc. They vary somewhat for men and women. [633] The instruction is given in the Tujen language so that the candidate will understand it.

Now follows the donning of the yellow sash. It is about
[292] a hand wide and four to five ells long. It is not supposed to be silk. Silk mixed with cotton is permitted, but usually it is cotton. The candidate must provide it himself. This sash lies before the hutukhtu on the kang table and is fumigated at the same time as the person to be consecrated. It is not sprinkled with holy water. The assisting lama places the sash over the candidate's left shoulder and ties it together under the right arm
[292] with a yellow string that has likewise been fumigated. The cloth has the same name as the loop of cloth that the lamas throw over the shoulder.

Since the consecration does not take place until late afternoon, it has meanwhile become evening. Only now does the hutukhtu partake of the main meal. In the yard, however, the guests gather around the fire, warm their liquor, and sing and dance into the night.

The next morning the hutukhtu performs his usual morn-
[465] ing prayers, drinks tea, and receives his prayer fee: several

[645 cont.]

764 All who participated at the cremation wash their hands
[783] and fumigate them in a great incense fire in front of the yard
[792] gate. Then they drink tea and hold a funeral meal. The lama usually returns to his monastery on the same day.

[415] Ladling spoon and pouring tube.
In the spoon, the thunderbolt, rdo-rja.
[532] (Drawing of a Tujen.]

764 The fire-pouring is undertaken only in the case of those
795 persons who have received a Buddhist baptism. Old people in addition also receive the age-consecration and are regarded as lay
792 monks. If someone has died without the Buddhist baptism, it
[778] is performed after death. This is done by the lama with the help of a chest mirror. Since no water may flow over the dead person, the lama holds the chest shield in front of him so that the head is mirrored in it. He pours the consecrated water from his can over this mirror image and gives the baptismal prayer (20).

20. [Foreign text p. 656.] The fact that no water may flow over the dead person is not the only reason for the washing in the mirror. The mirror image is washed
[778] even in the case of living persons, just as at the consecration of Buddha images. In this connection cf. also Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141. In the passage, "Then he takes a little metal mirror, points its front side in all directions, and sprinkles it with a few drops of water from his cult vessel," it is not a matter of simply turning the mirror

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
back and forth, but in all probability it is to catch the mirror images of the boys who have been brought before the Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age, receive the age-consecration and become a member of the monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman, from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring [783] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purifica- [372] tion for the dead, similar to baptism.

764 Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then
766 no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of [792] ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of [372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is desirable, but not essential.

764 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three days for the bone storage. During these three days the members
602 of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there, kowtow, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea. Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the men and women of the deceased's own family and at least one man, but no women, of the related families, and furthermore the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the [782] oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea.
764 After they have then kowtowed, men and women dig the bones out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[262] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
[585] also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not offici-
[783] ate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean,
[796] and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automati-
[783] cally lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul
[777] haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one
[791] questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved, it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul.
[782] One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[832 cont.]

241 Such families, however, must make their contribution. The
782 main thing is that the animal be healthy and without flaw. For
[829] instance, it may not be lame or blind. Also, ugly colors are
[621] avoided, for instance, a white animal with a black head, etc.

Objects used: For the offering one needs several iron kettles, several buckets of water, knives, ladling spoons, cords, blood basins, eating bowls, firewood, etc. In addition, one takes along all the equipment for the incense offering.

Slaughtering: The slaughtering is preceded by a great incense offering, which is maintained by the men throughout the ceremony. Anyone may repeatedly throw cypress twigs into it at will, offer barley wine, etc. At the same time the
[202] conch is steadily blown so that one can hear from afar that an offering is taking place on the mountain.

Young men bring the animal to the spot, untie it, and
241 wash it with their hands from head to tail. Then it is fumigated
782 with incense. Another places a white stone in the fire. When
783 it is hot, he scoops hot water out of a kettle with an iron spoon, puts the stone in the spoon, scatters pounded cypress leaves over it, and with it fumigates the sheep. All the men who helped with the slaughtering wash their hands and faces, rinse out their mouths, and fumigate themselves. All the implements are likewise washed and fumigated.

Now they form a circle around the sheep and pour milk
241 over its head and neck. It does not matter what kind of milk
782 it is. One may also use flour- or tsamba-water or even pure
787 water. A healthy sheep shakes itself at this pouring. This shaking is an indication that the sky accepts the animal. Then the men make a threefold kowtow in a circle around the sheep. After the milk has been poured over it, they let the sheep run free for a few steps and capture it again. In case the animal does not shake itself, they immediately fetch another.

241 The slaughtering is performed by the seed-master. His
782 helpers seize the sheep by its legs and horns, force it down on
231 the ground, and bend back its head so that the throat is tensed.

[839 cont.]

778 [Note on foreign text p. 842 cont.]
825 with which then the performance is
787 likewise supervised.
791 into the spear, and one asks him, for instance, "Shall we consecrate an animal?" He answers, "Yes." "Do you want a goat, a hen, a horse?" [840] "No." "Do you want a sheep?" "Yes." "Shall we consecrate it to a god?" "No." "Shall we consecrate it to the sky?" "Yes."

Then the soothsayer sets the spear aside. Hastily the people run to fetch a sheep. They bring it into the yard, because one consecrates an animal to the sky only out in the open. A man holds in his hand a little plate with barley; on top of this he places a narrow red band. He stands next to the soothsayer, who again has invoked the god and amidst spear shaking supervises the action. Now once more there is an interrogation, during which one determines when the consecration is to be renewed.

The sheep is then washed from head to foot with pure water. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from the little plate with the tip of the spear and throws them into the
[787] incense, which is burned throughout the ceremony. Another puts some of the incense in a hollow tile and fumigates the sheep all around. Then he pours a bowl of milk over the animal's neck, back, and head. All the men kneel around the sheep in a circle, and when it shakes itself they make a threefold kowtow, for the sky has accepted the animal. The soothsayer sets the spear aside.

778 Now one takes the red band from the little plate, holds
825 it in the incense, ties it in the wool on the sheep's shoulder,
791 and lets the sheep run free. It may run where it will, for it belongs to the sky.

Each year this sacred sheep is again brought here in the first month from the first to the fifteenth day. Then the consecration is renewed in similar fashion before the spirit-spear and a new band is tied in the wool.

[840 cont.]

Details

778 Place: It is unimportant where the interrogation takes
787 place; first the spot must be swept clean and, in case it is in
[783] the house, fumigated. The hands and face are washed and the great incense offering is made in the yard.

If the ceremony is in an open field or in the pasture, the place is not swept, for field and pasture are always clean. Incense is always offered, however.

Sometimes the place of interrogation and that of the consecration are different, for instance, when during the interrogation in the house it turns out that the animal is to be consecrated to the sky. In that case, one immediately goes out into the yard and continues the performance there. -- If the animal is consecrated to the mountain-spirit, one goes outside the village on a hill or before the obo. Small animals, for instance, a hen, may be consecrated in the house before the household altar.

If the entire village consecrates an animal, then everything takes place in the temple yard, and likewise if several families jointly consecrate an animal. If there is no temple, a clean compound is sought.

Time: There are no special days for the consecration. It depends entirely upon chance, whenever illness, misfortune, etc. happen. The ceremonies are always undertaken in bright daylight.

[841] The people are always careful that the consecration follows immediately after the interrogation. For this reason they immediately fetch the animal. Sometimes it also happens that they do not immediately find an appropriate animal; then one to two days pass between the interrogation and the consecration. In this case after two days one continues amidst the same ceremonies. Only the purification of the place and of the people and the incense offering are repeated.

778 Consecration-master: The consecration-master may be:
562 an individual person, a family, a village, several families. It

[841 cont.]

778 is never women, however. It is true that a single woman may
562 promise an animal, for example, but in such a case other men, such as the mother's brother, undertake the interrogation and consecration. This may be done in the house of the woman.

778 Animals: As consecration-animals the following are per-
825 missible: horses, mules, asses, cows, sheep, goats, and even hens; pigs or dogs are never taken because they are unclean. In
[783] the case of all these animals, age, color, sex, or castration plays no role. White or male animals are not especially pre-
[178] ferred. Large animals are no longer consecrated now, because the Tujen no longer have the large herds and are too poor. Usually one promises sheep and goats. Hens are frequently chosen because they are the cheapest (2).

2. [Foreign text pp. 842-843.] In the Tujen monastery Rgulõn the choice of animals is different. A lama and a shaman related: one never consecrates dogs, and no hens, [843] only cocks, but these in all colors. Of the horses one takes only stallions; they must be black with a white spot on the forehead or grey (ch'ing-ma) of black-white mixed color. Of the mules one takes only females, no male animals. Their color is a bright reddish-brown. Belly, mouth, and eye-rings should be light. Of ordinary cattle and yaks one takes only black steers that have a white spot on the forehead; similarly among the sheep only black rams, flawless and with circular or doubly curled horns. -- I also saw such animals there in the monastery. The consecrated mule was especially beautiful; it looked almost exactly like a wild

[844 cont.]

789 and releases the animal. It may run where it will; no one pays
[825] any attention to it.

Details

789 Persons: The demon-releasing may be undertaken by: a
792 lama, but not a hutukhtu, a Bon priest, a shaman, a spear-
soothsayer, or other soothsayers with litter, table-god, etc. The
791 six-day prayer service, however, is undertaken only by lamas
756 and Bon priests; this is the great releasing, [845] whereas the ceremony performed by a shaman or soothsayer alone is the little releasing. Even though at the great releasing the lama may do everything himself, usually a soothsayer nonetheless goes along (spear, litter, etc.). The members of the family take care of everything else, getting the animals ready, gifts, etc.

789 The animals: The animals permissible are: horses,
825 cattle, sheep, goats, hens, and cocks. Those not permitted are
[783] dogs, pigs, mules, half-yaks. Dogs and pigs are regarded as unclean. Mules and half-yaks are incapable of reproduction; for this reason, too, one does not take castrated animals. The rules connected with the animal-consecration do not apply here. The animals are ridden by the demons and carry the burdens on their travels. The hens, however, can be burdened; one simply lets them fly. They are therefore usually used only for the "little releasing." Special ceremonies, such as washing and fumigating, are not performed on the animals; also color and age are unimportant.

782
789 The travel provisions: The following things are packed
[484] in the travel bag, which is usually woven out of wool: money
[415] (any kind of money, just so long as it is in circulation at the time), cloth (for instance, cotton, silk, linen, of any color), a strand of unspun wool, cotton or silk threads (no wool threads), tea leaves, baked or steamed loaves in any number desired, a food bowl of porcelain or clay (no ordinary wooden one), new men's clothing, elegant boots, cloth shoes, an elegant cap or an

[848 cont.]

789 The litter: The litter looks like a death-box, in other
778 words, it has the shape of a small temple with a movable door. Only it is almost entirely made of paper, even the sun-moon attachment on the ridge-piece. First a floor is made out of a soft clay plate. Into this plate, at the four corners, the Bon priest sticks poles about a meter long as columns, connects them with crosslaths, and thus makes a framework. This is covered by pasting paper on it. No particular color is required. The whole is set on two carrying poles so that it looks like a litter.
[785] Then the men fumigate the litter with cypress incense. They do not use the red-hot stone. The work is not done on the kang, but on the floor.

The figures: First the Bon priest washes a clay vessel,
789 fumigates it, puts tsamba and butter in it, and kneads them
778 thoroughly. In all 81 figures are formed, nine kinds with nine
791 pieces each. The kinds are: sheep, goat, hen, pig, dog, snake, frog, horse, and cattle. The Bon priests put these figures in
532 the litter and fumigate everything together. -- The men of the household assist at the making of both the litter and the figures.
[783] The Bon priests and men must wash and fumigate themselves beforehand each time; otherwise they may not give a hand.
[782] The Bon priests accompany the work with prayers said by rote.

The accompanying gifts: Since the figures are small,
[782] at most a handbreadth in size, there is still room in the litter for all kinds of accompanying gifts. These consist of Tibetan barley, white barley, wheat, beans, millet, and some small loaves of bread. To this are also added white and black sheep wool, white and black sugar, money, a raven's feather, some silver, and a sheet of paper on which the Bon priests have printed or drawn the images of the sickness-demons. Once everything has been placed inside, the door of the litter is
[783] closed and sealed, and the litter is fumigated. Then it is put on the floor in front of the household altar. A three-cornered torma and a white horse's skull are in front of it (2). The skull

[852 cont.] 5. The Washing of the Sick

Report

755 The washing of the sick is undertaken by the sword-
[756] shaman at the coming of darkness. He puts himself in a trance
[787] as is customary during the incense offering, then throws a few kernels of Tibetan barley on his breast-mirror, which is held flat, and prophesies which illness is involved; then he under-
[35] takes the ceremonies. The taboo for the compound begins on
[784] the following day and, depending on the declaration of the shaman, may last three, five, or seven days.

The ceremony has three parts: the actual washing, fire-blowing, and the healing drink. The things needed for the washing are provided by the family itself.

Details

The washing of the sick: The washing takes place in the kitchen. The following things are needed for it: seven bowls of fresh water, an iron knife, a door lock, seven white stones, a bowl of liquor, some flowers, three, five, and seven pieces of paper with certain prayer texts, seven different things in all.

Now in the kitchen the hearth kettle is washed, fumi-
755 gated, and placed on the fire. The master of the household
756 lights the fire and throws [853] incense twigs into it. Now the
[787] shaman, already in a trance, comes out of the main house into the kitchen; in his right hand he holds his spirit-sword, while he keeps his left hand free for the various actions.

First the seven bowls of water are poured into the kettle, and the shaman throws incense twigs and Tibetan barley into it. Then he thrusts his sword through his clothes into his chest as
[783] proof of his power and in order to purify himself. No blood flows.

Meanwhile the sick person is brought into the kitchen. The shaman bares the chest of the patient and thrusts the above-mentioned knife midway into it. No blood may flow. If the
[787] sick person bleeds, then he will not be healed; if he does not bleed, he will be saved. The shaman plasters the wound with one of the prayer sheets; he throws the knife into the kettle.

[853 cont.]
755 in the hearth fire until the water boils and the cloth and barley
are thoroughly boiled. He hands this decoction to the sick person
756 who must drink it down immediately. With that the ceremony
is ended.

[854] The shaman rests from his exertions, eats his supper, and goes home.

192
755

Word List

Washing the sick:	ġuãndzi (xuãndzie) fdzẽ ʼsdani = the shaman boils water.
[756] Sword-shaman:	sgurdien.
Knife:	tsidiġuo.
Lock:[1]	tsũrġuo.
Red-hot stone:	sõdaṅ; ts'u-t'an (ch'ü-t'an) (Chin.).
Barley liquor:	miṅ-liu dẽrasẽ.
Flowers:	tsidziġ.
Prayer texts:	dzayãṅ (1).

1. dzayãṅ: Mongolic ḍayaġan (pronounced ḍayan) = fortune, fate, etc.; meaning: prayer of fate (Unkrig).

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6. The House-purification *

* See "Notes," p. 855. [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

755 If someone is seriously ill, then the shaman, with the
789 men of the household, undertakes a house-purification. On this
756 occasion the demon is conjured out of the house in a straw doll,
[783] dragged out of the village, and burned.

[860]

8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

782 In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in
792 the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts
seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions.
[777] They make a small torma which one takes out into the open
and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by
[784] hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three
[351] large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar.
The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying.
[791] One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual
[787] ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the burning at the fire-pouring.

[778] After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the master of the household undertakes the great incense offering in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the
[783] night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[864 cont.]

782 [792] The fire-pouring: On the morning of the seventh day, immediately after sunrise, the lama says his morning prayer, drinks tea, and makes the fire-torma. Meanwhile, after the incense offering, everything is prepared outside for the fire ceremony.

Next to the burning-place a large iron kettle for melting the butter is put on three stones. A pile of firewood lies next to it. A felt mat for the lama is put to the west of the wall, for he always sits facing east. Sometimes a broad kang table is set up, which serves the lama as a seat. On it is put a piece of wide cloth, which during the fire-pouring he places over his knees for protection, so that [illustration appears here] no liquid butter will drip on his clothes. Next to the seat one places the fire fan [372] consisting of a piece of white cloth that is provided with two little parallel sticks, so that the lama can grasp it with both hands. The fire is fanned with it because one may not pollute it [783] with his breath.

In front of the lama-seat and the wall there is a small table for the cult implements, prayer book, bell, etc. To the right of the seat there stands a small table on which to put the pouring-tube and the spoon. To the left, next to the lama-seat, one puts a wide board or a door taken off its hinges, over which one spreads a sack, and over that a white cloth runner. [Illustrations a, b, c, and d appear here.] [865] The tray with the pieces of wood and the 12 little plates with the burning-spices are on top of that. Furthermore the following are kept [372] in readiness: several flintstones or a box of matches, a butter-lamp, a paper lantern, and a lighting pole such as is also used at the cremation.

782 792 Now the lama comes out with the fire-torma and puts it in the center of the ground-drawing on a layer of cypress twigs. Around this the men pile up the prescribed firewood in the shape of an octogon that tapers toward the top, leaving an empty space in the center around the torma. They then fill this space with cypress twigs. The gift-master then ceremoniously hands a hada to the lama and requests him to begin the ceremony. While he goes to the other side of the pile of wood and makes a threefold

[203 cont.]

192 means "offering container." The chortens now usually shelter
778 the ashes of Buddhist saints or their relics and frequently also
bear their pictures on the front side. Thus the meaning of an
776 idol is connected with the whole. The chortens or stupas or
suburgans are therefore the seat of a spirit or of a deceased person. A deity is present in them. They are the same as [204] what the Mongols or Tujen imagine under the expression purġan. This conception is confirmed, furthermore, by the urn shape of the stupa. In Tibetan the lower part is called bum-ba, urn, pot. As has already been shown in the case of the earth-god urn and the beṅkaṅ, urns are frequently the seat of a deity. This conception is also found elsewhere, and one might also connect the urn with the throne of the gods, which will not be discussed here. In any case, the Tujen word purġan is late and Buddhistic in origin.

776 All the inhabitants of the Buddhist, Bonist, and Taoist pantheon fall within the group of these lower gods insofar as the Tujen have taken it over. A special position seems to be oc-
776 cupied by the fire-spirit as hearth-god or god of the shaman
372 fire, whom Schram so strongly emphasizes in his book concerning marriage among the Tujen. I could no longer confirm any special veneration of the shaman fire, however. If one disregards the fire offering, which is included as part of the rite of the Lamaistic fire-pouring, there remains to the people only the hearth-god, who, however, is venerated no more frequently than among the Chinese, for example. The use of fire for purifica-
[783] tion (widow marriage, leaping over fire, fumigation, red-hot stone, etc.) seems to have nothing to do with a god. It can be explained purely magically, because the demons fear the fire. They are, of course, always regarded as unclean, as the common phrase, pudaġ ilie, dirty demon, proves.

776 Of the other gods who deserve special mention, there
[791] are the shaman and soothsaying gods, who animate or temporarily
[787] take possession of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, and the divine images, for instance, the black and white tiger, the great mother, the dragon. Furthermore, an important role is
[177] played by the god of joy (at a wedding), who probably comes from the Chinese, the horse- and cattle-king, the world-directions spirits, and the gods of the weather ministry with the smith-god

[207 cont.]
775 hairdress," through which a girl is wedded to heaven and is no
776 longer burdened with the contempt suffered by unmarried women
[589] (see above). The fear of the female demon-souls [208] is also
[588] widespread among the Chinese, and there is only one way of
being safe from them: the cremation. In the customs of the
[171] Tsinghai Chinese, this fear and contempt have their basis in
the Buddhist conception that a woman is an unclean being and
that this uncleanness is only removed through the man and his
descendants. This attitude is strengthened through the fervent
desire for sons and grandsons, which again is connected with the
ancestor cult. These Buddhistic motives are certainly also
decisive in part among the Tujen. Among them, too, the
[562] woman is regarded as unclean, even if not so harshly as among
[783] the Chinese. The veneration of the ancestors plays scarcely
any role. Nonetheless, uncleanness and demonism are closely
[841] connected. A very common expression runs: pudag̀ ilie, un-
clean demon; a woman is also pudag̀ during her period.

The demon soul therefore seems to stand in a special relationship with the female principle. This suggests the surmise that it represents the flesh-(body)-soul in the human being, which stands in contrast to the bone-soul. In northeastern Tibet and elsewhere one encounters the conception that the bones of a person come from the man and the flesh from the woman. Among the Tujen, however, this relationship is difficult to determine
[614] because it is precisely the bone-soul that is related so closely to the mother's clan. This does not, it is true, exclude an individual assignment to the man (father), but it does not permit it to make its appearance through this unquestionably matriarchal trait.

775 From everything, one can see that the Tujen are little concerned about the after-life of the soul and the beyond. To them it is enough if they are left in peace on earth. The Buddhist conceptions are more theoretical. In actuality one not infrequently encounters a this-worldly fatalism which expresses itself in the saying: "Our life does not have much meaning"
[171] (literally: we have lived in vain). Even if the conception of the
[769] soul has much similarity to that of the Chinese, the Tujen

A widow who is remarrying, when she arrives at the door of her new husband's house, jumps over a fire kindled at the entrance of his courtyard, in order that the soul of her deceased husband will no longer follow and harm her. 372 789 [537]

Every time any utensil is supposed to have become impure, it is passed over a fire. The shamans and lamas, before using their religious paraphernalia, smoke them over a fire. [783]

Usually the lamas, at the time of epidemics, try first to cajole and placate these evil doers, hoping that they will stay their calamities, making the magnificent fire offering called *tao Huo-t'an*, "the pouring of a plain of fire." It consists of burning, on a limited surface, a pile of logs of different kinds of wood, reputed to be odoriferous or expensive, with all available kinds of fragrant herbs and spices, dried aromatic flowers, all kinds of grains. The fire is lit by sparks struck from a flint, or by the rays of the sun passing through a magnifying glass, for the fire must be pure also. The fire is kept up by the intermittent pouring of molten butter on it by lamas, who recite texts during seven days in order to win the hearts of the evil doers. They make several *tormas* and design *mandalas* [17] for the arranagement of the logs. The whole is accompanied by an unusual display of the most detailed rites, for which each lama has his own explanation and his own way of acting, ringing bells, beating drums, blowing horns, while the family prostrates itself. This is the famous pouring of fire on a huge surface "in order to gain the good graces of the malignant spirits by a magnificent fire offering." [18]

Some lamas resort, for the same reason, to a "white Wei-sang." One hundred logs of odoriferous wood are white-washed with lime-wash and kindled as described above. The aim of the rite is again to pull the heartstrings of the evil spirits by means of a pure fire offering and to invite them to stop the calamities.

However, when the two rites have proved unsuccessful, the lamas try the "black Wei-sang," using the magical power of the fire for dispelling the evil spirits. In a forlorn and remote spot, a pile of the most inexpensive and dirty wood is prepared with all kinds of smelly herbs and spoiled grain. The fire is kindled with dung and on top of the blazing pile is poured the urine of a black donkey; *tormas* are made with black spoiled flour. Condemning the evil spirits with such an abject fire offering, they hope they will leave the family, or the village, in order to avoid scorn and disdain, and that the magical power of the fire for repelling them will be more effective.

[17] *Mandalas* are so-called "magic circles" by which the divinities are coerced into assisting the votary to reach "the other shore." While they are being made, the makers recite charmed sentences (dharani) supposed to have been composed by several divinities, which are used as incantations for procuring their assistance in peril as well as in ordinary temporal affairs. L. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 144, second ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

[18] Schröder, Der Feuerguss, *op. cit.*, 860.

[p 120(B)]

spirit from escaping, the foe is searched for in all the 755
nooks and corners of the rooms and stables. A terrible struggle with it is engaged in with swords and whips. It is tortured and finally driven away to a crossroad at night, with the help of the neighbors firing guns. These rites have been described hundreds of times.

Some of the answers supplied by the spirits of the staff to shamans and lamas concerning the causes of mischief and calamity among the Monguors are worthy of notice.

The goddess, sitting in the imposing sedan chair in 776
the middle of the temple of the village, receiving the 755
worshipping villagers and smelling the incense smoke, is, none the less, in an ill mood and bad tempered, because, like many of her sex, being fond of a new piece of clothing, she wants a new mantle. The shaman says: "She has worn the mantle for five or more years; its color has faded; it has been mended so many times by the thrifty villagers, that really, she can hardly keep it on her shoulders; she is ashamed to be greeted and approached by people who are better clad than she. Give a fine new mantle to your goddess and the disease will vanish." Or it is said that the goddess, while visiting the god Erh-lang, had lost her earrings which must be replaced.

Once it was the deity honored by the family in the 755
living room which resented the family's neglect and disregard of it. An act of propitiation had to be performed and a sheep or goat offered in reparation. Once it was the shadow of a deceased member of the family which passed over the sick, eager to take with it another member of the family. Once it was the Twelve Tengris, weak and starving for lack of being nourished by a sacrifice during many months, who drastically urged a sacrifice. Once it was the case of a spell cast upon the sick by a fiendish neighbor. A solution has to be found for all such cases, using one of the means noted above.

The following should be noted for its philosophical interest. When the shadow of a deceased is supposed to have caused the disease, the shaman, having made a straw manikin and transfixed it with the dagger, and pulled it burning outside the courtyard, traces outside the gate three small circles and one bigger in size. He pours in each several cups of noodles and tea. The food in the three small circles is intended to feed the ancestors of the three immediate senior generations of the sick man, and the food in the big one is intended for the roaming alien souls. Ancestors of no more than three generations are fed, because those of older generations are supposed to have vanished. The same custom has been noted at the feast of the Spring.

SPIRITS EXPELLED FROM THE VILLAGES

Not only individual families are supposed to be 783●
harmed by evil spirits. The entire village may be haunted by spirits, and so every year in wintertime the

[p. 128 (B)]

evil spirits hidden in the village have to be expelled. 783
Usually the shaman is invited to drive them out. Sometimes a lama of the Red Sect is invited.

The shaman molds a small manikin with red earth 756
and straw. It is carried from house to house by four 783
young boys. Five boys, six years of age, run in front, each having half of his face blackened with soot and half whitened with flour. Carrying a bow, hammer, spear, and knife, they enter every courtyard, shouting at the top of their voices, leaping and gesticulating. Each member of the family rubs his face with a piece of a roll and red dyed cotton, and then puts these two items in a basket before the manikin. The whole group, with the shaman, then goes to the place reputed to be the abode of evil spirits. They light a big fire and burn the manikin and all the items. The shaman performs the dance which makes the evil spirits harmless, curses them and threatens to torture them if they dare to come again. This rite is also performed every time epidemics, such as measles, harm the village.

This rite to chase the evil spirits of the year, performed at the end of the year by the shaman, accompanied by boys six years of age whose faces are half blackened with soot and half whitened with flour, recalls the rite performed by the Wu shaman in old China. It is recorded as early as the Han dynasty (202 B.C.). The *fang hsiang* Wu led boys under the age of puberty, who were the principal performers of the rite. They beat drums, cursed and drove out the evil spirits. The boys did not wear a cap and gown of the same color, but a red cap and black gown.[10] It is strange how this old rite is still performed on the borders of Tibet after so many centuries, for the same purpose and at the same season, by the Monguor shaman, accompanied by immature boys, whose faces are bicolored as was the dress of the boys in ancient times.

In all the lamaseries in the country on the twenty- 783
ninth of the last moon, the lamas drive out the evil 792
spirits hidden in the monastery. Several *torma* are prepared, a big one painted with a coat of red paint. Texts, liturgical incantations and curses are recited by the lamas in the temple. The lamas, in a group, bring the ominous *torma* out of the monastery to a lonely, deep valley where a big fire is kindled. The *tormas* are burned with the same recitation of liturgical curses, and the lamas return at full speed without looking backward. At the same time, in most of the monasteries, there is pasted up an enormous head of a bull, made of paper, on which are written the names of the Chinese generals, Nien Keng-yao and Yueh Chung-ch'i, who in 1723 burned their lamaseries. They hope that the bull spirit may still molest their foes in their graves. In Kumbum the rite is performed after the festivities of the fifteenth of the first moon.

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[10] M. Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, 300-301.

[p. 129 (A)]

of the fifth month and lasts for 108 days. During the whole period, two lamas at a time are always fasting (taking one meal a day), while the others are free to indulge in food, but during the 108 days the use of meat, garlic, leeks, and radishes is prohibited for all the lamas. Lamas of the Red Sect north of the Hsining River do not perform fasting in a group of their own sect, but always some among them attend the fasting rites practiced by laymen. 785 792

The fast of laymen is an interesting custom, the consequences of which have an important bearing on the formation of the Buddhist frame of mind of the people. The aim of the rite is the purification of sins and happy rebirth in the paradise of one of the Buddhas. [783]

ORGANIZATION AND RULES

The rite is enacted in a group, in a few temples spread over the country, under the direction of a lama of the Yellow Sect, usually a Living Buddha, or an old lama celebrated for his proficiency in oratory. At present the fasting exercises are only practiced in six localities, among which four are old Karwas (dating from the Ming period): Tsan-tsa, Pe-cha-erh-te, Marhtsang and Swor. The two others are Sumdo and T'u-kuan. The fasting exercises are never performed for laymen in monasteries. Each of the six groups has its committee which, long before the fixed time, tries to enroll fasters: Monguors, Tibetans, even Chinese, lamas of the Red Sect, men and women. In Sumdo the fasters usually number from twenty to eighty; in Pe-cha-erh-te from ten to thirty; in Marhtsang from ten to thirty; in Swor from twenty to seventy. In 1916 in Pe-cha-erh-te, I met seventeen fasters; in Marhtsang twenty-one. The Monguors of Wei-yüan-p'u and of the northern part of the Hung nai Valley are said to be the most fervent fasters. Always, a large number of men, even chiefs and elders of villages, attend the rite. 795 785 792

During the whole exercise, the fasters do not spend any money. The fast expenses are defrayed by the villagers of the locality where the exercises are held, and by the committee which has a small fund and collects some alms. To contribute to this rite is considered to be a very meritorious act. The day before the beginning of the fast, the chief of the village imposes corvées on some of the youngsters for the carrying of water, chopping of fuel, preparing cypress boughs, grinding flour, cooking, baking rolls and steaming bread, buying butter, tea, sugar, sweeping the floor. At Tsan tsa the fast starts on the fifteenth of the sixth month; at other places usually around the twenty-ninth of the third moon, and lasts for sixteen days. During the three days preceding the fast, the fasters are not allowed to eat garlic, leeks, radishes or meat, or to drink wine, or smoke tobacco, and continence is required. [622 651] [262 784]

The fasters arrive at night, drink tea, eat rolls baked in vegetable oil and go to rest. Men and women have separate rooms; they sleep on straw and cover them-

[P. 133(B)]

2: Schram--70 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
Manchu AG4

Mo 585 484 784

/63/ The travelers who meet a nuptial procession always make a detour to avoid it for fear that the evil spirit which is supposed to follow the bride will bring them misfortune. (1)

Ma 585

1. Shirokogoroff, pp. 80-81: (Those who have come to get the bride dine after taking tea.) An old experienced man, who must belong to the bride's clan, gives orders (master of ceremonies)....(Two girls of the bride's clan and a little boy are seated at dinner near the friend who comes to get the bride. In the morning, people get up early and eat. The bridegroom steals the chopsticks he has used and goes out into the courtyard....) During this meal the bride's clan women dress the bride. During the dressing she cries, or pretends to cry. When she is ready, nobody says her goodbye, and (the master of ceremonies) cries: the bride is ready. Then the bridegroom and all his party run hastily towards the carriage to put as quickly as possible the horses on the carriage. At the same time the crying and resisting bride is carried by her brothers, who throw her into the carriage that must be run out the yard as soon as possible. After this it can be stopped to arrange the harness. Usually the bride's brothers escort on horseback the bridal caravan. The customs of the ancient Manchus differ a little from these of the modern Manchus. For ex.: the bridegroom enters the bride's house only with his aid...prays to the bride's clan spirits...after this sits down on a small basket (for chickens /in English/) to await

/73 cont'd/

16. Opening of the Daughter-in-law's Mouth

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Until now the wife has not yet opened her mouth; her head has always been enveloped in the veil until the end of the marriage ceremony. On no pretext has she been able to say a word since her departure from her home. All the guests have had their /74/ eyes fixed upon her; uttering a single word would be considered one of the most fatal omens for the future. She is even forbidden to satisfy her natural needs, and in anticipation of that she has abstained from drinking the day before.

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Her mouth must be opened by the mother-in-law in person. Led back into the nuptial chamber after the marriage ceremony, she has been served tea and bread still in silence. Then comes the mother-in-law, who sits down on the k'ang and tells her point-blank, "Starting from today you are forbidden to divulge anything that goes on in the family, and anything that will happen in the future. You will not repeat within the family what you will hear outside. A daughter-in-law's mouth must be 'hard' (do not tell anything) with respect to people outside, it must be 'flexible' toward her relatives."

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The daughter-in-law answers affirmatively, her mouth is opened. They talk again together for several minutes. Henceforward the wife is permitted to talk with her maid of honor in the nuptial chamber; the women who are at the festivity go to wish her good day.

17. The Dinner

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The guests of the two families have taken their places at the tables prepared for the dinner. (1) The maternal uncle, the go-

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 84: (A dinner is served in the Chinese style. A master of ceremonies conducts the proceedings.) The clan people and especially the family members eat after the guests. When the meal approaches its end, they bring to the bride's place the ritual meal

[39 cont.]

792 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the recep-
796 tion. The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the
574 gifts are brought after him on animals.

[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers. [465] They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

351
796 Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is
784 called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the be-
[609] ginning of the performance may not enter the yard. On the
[792] other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning
[211] may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as
[177]

7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

[534]

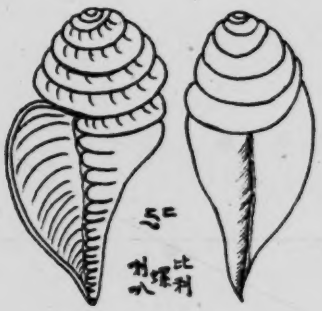

Fig. 6. Shells.

[532]

(Drawing of a Tujen.)

351 [40 cont.]
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[177]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] maintains that formerly the Tujen used no sieve and that they learned of it from the Chinese. Nowadays paper is commonly used when it is a matter of a taboo that is not connected with the prayer service. Thus the people stick a rectangular piece of red paper to the gate intrados, on the right when, for example, there is sickness in the compound, and on the left when a woman is in confinement there. White paper is used when someone has died, a custom that probably comes from the Chinese.

[574] The taboo always lasts for several days, three, five, seven, always an odd number, and always as long as the lama is staying [792] at the house, as well as two days afterwards. If, for example, the lama is there only one day, the taboo lasts three days; if he is there three days, it lasts five days, etc. If he is in the house for seven days, however, the taboo lasts for an entire week after his departure (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 42-43.] The taboo regulations mentioned here also apply to other religious ceremonies, even when no lama or Bon priest is invited. The taboo is then in force for only three days, however. -- Even the best friends are not admitted into the house, but are dealt with by the gate of the yard. For this reason they must first call out loudly so that someone will come out.

[43] Sometimes the people also say that in case of illness the yard is [751] marked not out of fear of the spirits, but

351 [40 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text p. 43 cont.]
rather in order to give strangers a signal so that they will not be infected and will stay outside.

Word List

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Lama: lama; ho-shang (Chin.).
Lama of the Yellow Sect: gĕlõñba (Tib.); sira lama.
Lama of the Red Sect: fulan lama.
Great lama: šge lama; ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.).
Small lama: mula lama.
Hutukhtu (6): sãñ (10); šge sãñ = great H.; mula sãñ = small H.
huo-fuo (Chin.) = Living Buddha; fo-yeh = Buddha.

6. [Foreign text p. 42.] The common people know little about the hierarchy among the monks. They know great and small lamas. Among the great they count the hutukhtu, the tsŭordzi and the känbõ. According to their conception, a great lama is especially learned, knows many magical practices, and therefore has special power. The small lamas have only a little learning and are able to perform only minor ceremonies, for instance, the obo prayer.

[775] The hutukhtus are regarded as Buddhic incarnations. In this the common people do not differentiate between Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Among them everything is fuo-yeh, that is, Buddha-Father. They use this Chinese name for everything that is the seat of the spirit or a spirit itself, in other words, also for the incarnations

[778]
[775]

[41 cont.]

192 Prayer fee: bosë (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

196 Tea provided in the lamic monastery: mäntsia (mändzia) (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

[784] Taboo of the compound: udie dzilā-; chi-men (Chin.) = to forbid the door.

[357]

[Pages 41-43 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[43] III. Customs concerning the Dwelling and Settlement

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1. The Incense Sacrifice*

*See "Notes," pp. 46-49 [of the foreign text]. In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

372 782 Every day at sunrise the house and yard are swept clean.

512 The housewife fans the family fire on the kang, around which

[356] young and old gather during the day. The master of the house

[783] washes his hands and face (1), takes some coals from the fire;

[575]

1. [Foreign text p. 46.] This ablution is undertaken for all religious activities, and it is also the common way of washing oneself in the morning. Since wash-bowls are unknown or have been used only recently, it is done in the following way: one takes a mouthful of water from a bowl and rinses the mouth; then he

[55] 3. The Mani-tree and the Central Fort *

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* See "Notes," pp. 60-63 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

*778 In almost every Tujen yard a mani-tree is set up in the [357] middle of the central fort [Mittelburg] or round manger [Rundkrippe]. The mani-tree need not be erected at the same time as this central fort; it can be done later. The time is [791] determined by the soothsayer.

The mani-tree consists of a wooden mast with a tip, which represents sun and moon. Below this tip a five-colored cover is drawn over the mast-end, and below this mast-end flies the white mani-flag.

This flag is printed in the lamic monastery. At the same [792] time the master of the household invites a lama to raise the tree. The lama prays several days and on the last day undertakes [782] the raising. During these days the yard is taboo. The great [351] incense offering is presented three times daily.

At the raising, the mast is brought into the yard, placed [784] with its tip on the central fort, and the individual parts are attached to it. Once the pole has been set up, it is fumigated, [782] first with the red-hot stone and then with incense. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from a plate with the spear tip and throws them over the tree, and the master of the household [56] [Fig. 7 appears here] dabs the tree with butter. Then the men dig a narrow deep hole in the central fort down to the level of the ground. The soothsayer again throws some grains of barley into it with the spear, and the master of the household also strews a few incense leaves in it. Then the men set the tree in the hole and draw it up. In order to make it stand firmly, it is wedged in at the base with stones and clay. The entire operation is done under the constant supervision of the spear-god cited.

[58 cont.]

*778
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[Foreign text p. 61 cont.]
New Year, very early in the morning, as I observed. On this occasion a great incense offering with a great many small dough-lamps are burned, bread, tea, and barley wine are offered, and finally a pack of paper horse-images with all kinds of inscriptions is thrown into the air and scattered in all directions by the wind. The entire ceremony takes place on a mountain. In case of misfortune anyone may undertake this ceremony at will.

*778 782 The sheep offering: When a lama has raised the mani-pole, then there remains the above-described offering of bread wine, flowers, etc. After that the lama withdraws into the house. In the yard the spear-soothsayer divines once more whether the spirits want another sheep offering or not. The soothsayer then announces the will of the spirit; sometimes the latter dispenses with a sheep offering; sometimes he wants to have it immediately, and sometimes only after a few days. The yard must then remain taboo for that length of time. -- The sheep offering is never given in the presence of the lama, since it is, of course, always connected with the killing of the animal, and the lamas do not permit killing. The ritual of the sheep offering does not differ from the usual slaughter- and offering-ritual.

[791] [787] [357] 784 [792]

*778 Renewal of the mani-tree: If in the course of time the tree or the flag have suffered damage, they are renewed, that is, only the part that is damaged. The tattered flag is burned, for instance, in the hearth or in a fire specially kindled for it, but always with pure firewood, never with the usual dry dung, for example. The unusable mani-tree is likewise burned. In no case may it be used for other purposes,

[372]

[58 cont.]
*778 say, as roof board. When the mani-tree or the part concerned is replaced, everything is done with the same ceremonies as at a new raising.

[357] The small mani-flag: Instead of the large mani-tree, a small pole with an air-horse pennant is frequently raised on the yard gate of the outer yard. This pennant is about an ell square and is printed only with the picture of the air-horse, or at most with a few brief Tibetan sayings as well. This pen-
[792] nant is also made in the monastery. No lama and no sooth-
[791] sayer is invited to raise this flag, however. The soothsayer merely determines a lucky day and a favorable hour. Every-
[357] thing is done without special ceremonies, even without an in-
[784] cense offering. The yard, however, is taboo for a few days. Some farmers raise both the large mani-flag in the yard and the small mani-flag on the gate.

357 The round manger: When a new compound is laid out,
*778 a round manger or central fort is always dug in the middle of the yard, exactly in accordance with the soothsayer's directions.
[791] For this purpose, the lama makes five treasure-urns, which
[792] are set in the pit. The pit is covered level with the ground and over it is raised a round wall of about two meters in diameter and one meter high. The lower three layers are stones; the upper layers, air-dried bricks. This circle is filled with clay and stamped down. In the center there is a pole or a cart axle,
[231] to which the animals are tied [59] when they are sunned and fed there during the day. For that reason the whole structure is called "round manger." It is also called "central fort," for it is the center of the yard and the buried urns protect the compound. The central fort is complete only when the mani-pole is raised. On the edge of the round manger, facing the main house, is found the fumigating plate. -- The making and burying of the urns is done with the same ceremonies that are performed in connection with the treasure-urn or the raising of a beṅkaṅ (chorten chamber). -- The round manger is painted
[527] white. After the raising, the master of the household holds a

[63 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 68 cont.] therefore stand on a mountain. -- They take the sacred place quite seriously. Thus, it is striking that for all Tujen villages mountain terrain is set aside, a piece of grass land with forest, where no agriculture may be carried on. Where the Chinese intervene, however, these mountain groves disappear. From these sparse remains one can imagine what the now bare agricultural land looked like in former times.

[621]

*778 The mountain on which the obo stands may not be defiled.
● 784 No fields may be laid out there; the trees may not be cut down; the grass may not be cut; the ground may not be turned up. The animals that live there, for instance, hares, foxes, birds, are not hunted or killed. Everything must be left just as it grows
[231] and thrives by nature; the cattle may not graze there at any
[776] time. This place, namely, belongs to the mountain-spirit and is called sacred mountain.

*778 The obo pit: When the obo is erected, a pit is dug. All
[792] kinds of valuables are put in it, primarily treasure-urns (earth-
[791] god urns), as in the case of the central fort of the compound. The obo is erected by a lama or Bon priest. No [64] Tujen of
[178] the present generation has seen this ceremony. The present-day obos still stem from olden times and are more and more falling into disrepair. Therefore no one knows any more precisely what is buried in the obo.

The stone mound: The height of the mound varies, depending on the circumstances. First an outer wall is put in layers in circular form. A large number of little stones are put inside the circle up to the edge, and these are supposed to be white stones. At every obo veneration additional stones are

[633 cont.]

527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
792 brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
[431] oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[465] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him. A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
[792] after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed
[766] by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
[262] longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation. This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[647 cont.]

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[769]
[777]

[764]

[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days [177] memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown [782] and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowa- [178] days the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

765 Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead •784 person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they [574] want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even [796] more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to [262] undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The
[262] food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[585] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
[783] along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
[796] also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not officiate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean, and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

[783] After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automatically lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul
[777] haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one
[791] questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved, it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul.
[782] One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[831 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 834 cont.] the other hand, it is done for protection against bad weather, it is also popularly done before the pole-goat.

[562] Persons: As is the case for all religious ceremonies, the women are kept away. The participants are the seed-master, the village elders, and all other men and youths. Any kind of [791] soothsayer may appear on this occasion. It is important that at the actual offering some spirit is always summoned by the soothsayer and supervises the performance. -- Participation is also [784] prohibited to all who are in mourning and in whose compound there is a woman in childbed. -- People with empty utensils, for example, empty water pails, baskets, etc., may not come near. For this reason the gong is beaten before the offering, so that such persons will stay away (2).

[787]

[735]

2. [Foreign text p. 834.] The fear of an encounter with empty utensils is quite general in Tsinghai. It signifies poverty, vain endeavor, etc. Tujen express the wish, for example, before a journey: huodzën sawa bi pëngë, that is, "may an empty vessel not appear." The Chinese, too, have similar expressions.

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Sacrificial animal: As sacrificial animal only a sheep is considered, no goat and especially no pig. The sheep may be of any color and sex, even castrated. It must be at least a year old, however. A sheep that is too young would be an insult to the gods, aside from the fact that the meat would not be sufficient for the participants. Usually the [832] sheep is [621] purchased jointly. Every family must provide grain or money for this purpose; the owner is always given compensation. To be [784] sure, the sheep may not come from a family that is taboo at the time, for instance, through bereavement, childbed, sickness, etc.

192 [849 cont.]
789 Raven's feather: kērie fōdē.
He has painted the demon on paper: tsialdzērē ilieni xuarladzia.
[778] Horse's skull: mori tolguē yāsē.
Little-bearer: ndi kurgēdzin kun = men accompanying the whole (litter?) away.

[Pages 849-850 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[850]
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4. The Figure-conjuration * (1)

* See "Notes," pp. 851-182 [of foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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[192]
[789]

1. [Foreign text p. 851.] I could not obtain any clarification concerning the actual name. It seems that the rdzõṅ in rdzõṅwa is the same as in dzõṅrē. The ceremony is quite similar to the one with the figure-litter.

Report

[756] In case of very severe illness one invites in a shaman who makes a series of figures, touches the sick person with them, and takes away the figures in the evening for burning.

[789] Afterwards he buries a series of objects in order to hold down the sickness-demon. The compound remains taboo for [357] all strangers during this time, three, five, seven, or nine days, [784] depending upon the sickness involved.

[852 cont.] 5. The Washing of the Sick

Report

755 The washing of the sick is undertaken by the sword-
[756] shaman at the coming of darkness. He puts himself in a trance
[787] as is customary during the incense offering, then throws a few kernels of Tibetan barley on his breast-mirror, which is held flat, and prophesies which illness is involved; then he under-
[35] takes the ceremonies. The taboo for the compound begins on the following day and, depending on the declaration of the
[784] shaman, may last three, five, or seven days.

The ceremony has three parts: the actual washing, fire-blowing, and the healing drink. The things needed for the washing are provided by the family itself.

Details

The washing of the sick: The washing takes place in the kitchen. The following things are needed for it: seven bowls of fresh water, an iron knife, a door lock, seven white stones, a bowl of liquor, some flowers, three, five, and seven pieces of paper with certain prayer texts, seven different things in all.

755 Now in the kitchen the hearth kettle is washed, fumi-
756 gated, and placed on the fire. The master of the household lights the fire and throws [853] incense twigs into it. Now the
[787] shaman, already in a trance, comes out of the main house into the kitchen; in his right hand he holds his spirit-sword, while he keeps his left hand free for the various actions.

First the seven bowls of water are poured into the kettle, and the shaman throws incense twigs and Tibetan barley into it. Then he thrusts his sword through his clothes into his chest as
[783] proof of his power and in order to purify himself. No blood flows.

Meanwhile the sick person is brought into the kitchen. The shaman bares the chest of the patient and thrusts the above-mentioned knife midway into it. No blood may flow. If the
[787] sick person bleeds, then he will not be healed; if he does not bleed, he will be saved. The shaman plasters the wound with one of the prayer sheets; he throws the knife into the kettle.

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 858 cont.]
fortune, which consists of several conchoidal eggs and is surrounded with flames, nuru. This is found very often in Lamaistic symbolism and is also borne by the air-horse. It is the cintāmani. Cf. above: "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation," Note 2.

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Persons: The urn can only be made by a lama who possesses special powers. One never fetches a Living Buddha for it. The latter, however, may make and consecrate them in his monastery. -- Since one can also order the urns in the monastery (they are not in stock), the master of the household may fetch it from there and bury it at home without a lama. [791] It must always be done with the assistance of a soothsayer, however, and in the presence of an invoked spirit -- If one wants to bury several urns, however, this must always be done by a lama even if the urns were bought in the monastery. -- If one wants to have several urns made at home, then he fetches [357] [784] several lamas at the same time (5). -- Regardless of whether the

5. [Foreign text pp. 858-859.]
As the lamas in Kumbum maintain, there is a great number of treasure urns, and special prayers are used for each type. [859] The urns are preferably buried in obos. -- In Kumbum the urns are usually called [192] beṅba, which seems to be the same as the Tibetan bum-ba, vessel. Another name is xdër-wēm, which probably corresponds to the Tibetan gter-bum, treasure vessel, Chinese pao-p'ing. The expression sēnoġ-dër (cf. section, [778] "Mani-tree and Central Fort") perhaps

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 858-859 cont.] comes from the fact that the urn is consecrated with certain conjuration formulas, snags (dha-rani), in other words, represents a magic treasure.

urn is buried by one or more lamas or by the master of the household, the compound is always taboo during this time.

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[778]

[858] Place: The place at which the urn is buried must always be chosen in such a way that no person or domestic animal can desecrate it. No one may run across such a place. For this reason roads and public places are avoided, for the place is, after all, not specially marked. Otherwise the urn may be buried anywhere, in the fields or in the pasture, in the yard or in the house. Indeed, one may even set it in yard and room walls and wall it up.

[776
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Significance: The contents of the urn are the treasures and yield of the earth, everything that belongs in the realm of the earth-god or of the mountain-spirit. One wants to please these two spirits through these valuables so that they will hold down the evil earth-influences and protect human beings from misfortune. It is as though gifts were being given to persons in office (6).

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6. [Foreign text pp. 859-860.] According to this explanation, an offering to the earth-god is involved. The interpretation, however, might not suffice. One must consider the urn in its wider context. It repeatedly occurs in Tujen usage, with the arrow of good fortune, with the round manger, in the obo, in the chorten chamber, and, to be sure, in twofold form: in the one case as the seat of a deity, which through the formula scroll,

[860]

8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

782 In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in
792 the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts
seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions.
[777] They make a small torma which one takes out into the open
and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by
[784] hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three
[351] large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar.
The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying.
[791] One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual
[787] ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the burning at the fire-pouring.

[778] After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the master of the household undertakes the great incense offering in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the
[783] night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[861 cont.]

782 outside for the ceremony, and the lama makes another torma of
792 pure butter. He takes this outside and puts it on the drawing of the burning-place. Then the ceremony of the fire-pouring follows, at which all kinds of wood and spices are burned.

The lama continues to pray until evening. The following morning he receives his fee and is taken back to the monastery. Sometimes, however, one keeps him a few more days for prayers. -- After the fire-pouring the yard remains taboo for at least another week.

[784] [351]

Details

[756] Persons: The fire-pouring may not be undertaken by shamans, but only by lamas. These are not ordinary lamas, however. Only the three top classes are considered for it: the Hutukhtu, the Tsüordzi, and the Känpo. Usually three lamas are needed. It suffices if one of them belongs to the higher rank, but one often invites more (1).

[791]

1. [Foreign text p. 867.] Other Tujen claim that a Bon priest could also undertake the fire-pouring, which, after all, is to be expected, at least in the case of the black fire-pouring. The old informant, however, and other people, too, decidedly contest this. According to them, only a lama (gelõngba) is to be considered for this; the Bon priests, they claim, concern themselves only with demon exorcism.

782 The fire-pouring may be ordered by a private person (man or woman), by an individual family, or by the entire village. -- During the ceremony, the general avoidance pre-
[562] scriptions apply. Women may be present, but may not assist.

[861 cont.]

782 Place: Ordinarily the fire-pouring takes place in a compound. If the affair is organized by the village, then the temple yard is preferred. They may also go to a mountain, but not to its peak, only halfway up. -- The burning-place is always indicated in detail by a soothsayer. [791]

There are no further prescriptions concerning the location of the various types of fire-pourings, except for the black fire-pouring. It may never be undertaken in a yard, temple, or in the village. For it a very remote mountain region is sought and the people stay there in tents for several days.

[791] Time: The soothsayer determines the date days or weeks ahead of time. If the lama cannot come on the day set, then [792] he is asked to state the term, and the soothsayer then determines a day within this period. The ceremony always lasts seven days; the actual fire-pouring always takes place on the morning of the last day. There are no interdicted periods; it could also be undertaken when the family concerned is still in its period of mourning or when there is still a woman in childbed in the compound. In this case, the woman in childbed, for instance, would not be allowed to watch.

778 Tormas: Six tormas in all are made. 1. A small torma, as always in connection with lama-visits. This is the misfortune-782 torma, after whose removal the compound is taboo. 2. On the [792] morning of the second day three large tormas follow. One of [351] them represents the god (Buddha), to whom the [862] fire-pouring is presented. The other two, which are slightly lower, symbolize [784] his two subordinate companions. The color of these tormas varies according to which god is involved. The tormas are put before the household altar or in the household chapel, and they are elevated in a box that is covered with a cloth or a board so that no animal (for instance, a cat) can desecrate them. The votive gifts are put in a row in front of these tormas: seven bowls of pure water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of sugar, a bowl of dough beans, and several small butter-lamps. These little lamps remain burning day and night until the conclusion

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
752 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[754] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
[292] shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
[534] village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
[778] val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[142] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-
pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip
with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the
gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest
Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The
Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
[171] graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical.
Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs
concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his
percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his
instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the follow-
ing day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless
one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing
to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
[333] the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed.
The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

for infractions of the rules, the reform of some mis- 792
behavior, the arrival of distinguished guests or pil- [626]
grims, the offer of important gifts, and special reli- 554
gious ceremonies asked for by devout people. Herein 794
consists the entire direction and instruction of the lamas, except for those who study in the colleges.

His role has been explained. He is the chief executive of the institution and administers its wealth. He has his own residence; his courtyard is his court of justice, where all the suits of the lamas and of the subjects are judged. All the officials of the institution receive his orders; he has one or two procurators helping him in the material administration, commanding a number of servants varying in accordance with the importance of the lamasery.

DISCIPLINARIANS

Their function is a really important element in the 792
government of hundreds of uncivilized lamas and turbu- 626
lent young folk living in the same lamasery, most of 794
whom wander correctly along the path of monastic life more from fear of severe corporal punishment than for pure love of Buddha. I never saw a master of discipline in the lamaseries wearing a delightful smile. More often they seemed to be the type of tormentors that might step out of a picture of the Eighteen Buddhist Hells. No wonder the lamas, especially the young folk, dread them.

Usually there are two disciplinarians appointed by the Fa-t'ai for a term of one year. Often they have been proposed for the position by the intendant and his councillors. The disciplinarian presides over a number of lictors. During ceremonies in the temple the disciplinarian maintains order among the older lamas and keeps a constant eye on the novices. A breach of silence or any irreverence is punished instantly by blows from his rawhide whip. He takes note of the presence and absence of lamas at the morning ceremonies, and must investigate to find out whether lamas, not enrolled in the monastery, or laymen, are remaining with their friends at night inside the lamasery, and is responsible in general for the observance of the rules of the monastery.

Permission is required from the intendancy to leave the lamasery for a long time. Business deals are not to be made too ostentatiously. At night lamas may gather with friends to relax, talk, play cards and chess, but are not allowed to make much noise or to disturb the sleep of their neighbors. Gambling is not allowed, 773
nor is the drinking of liquor. At night, the discipli- [525]
narian with some of his lictors, armed with rawhide 784
whips, makes a tour of the lamasery. Lamas found brawling, quarrelling, or fighting are brought to the court of the intendant, where penalties are meted out in various brutal forms. The time of the festivities is a difficult one for the disciplinarians, when merchants pitch their tents, and lamas and people drive bargains.

[p.62(B)]

even minor Living Buddhas live in luxurious residences, 792
with a private chapel and servants. Admittance to the 871
Living Buddha is very complicated; no one is even al- [511]
lowed to enter the kitchen, at the entrance of which, [784]
when the Living Buddha is present, is a high stone,
whitewashed and covered with a ceremonial scarf.

The first duty of the intendant is to acquire for his 792
new master two lama teachers of good repute and ex- 871
tensive learning, in order to provide for the education 554
of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the 292
boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity.

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks 792
before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after 554
months and months the exercises always have to be 869
repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and 868
the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.[25]

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, 157
particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training.

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and 792
writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before 875
his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he [876]
fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary lamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-ku-lung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed

[25] Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

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out having carefully inquired whether it is propitious 777
and whether it is a lucky day for such an action. They invite a lama of the Red or Yellow Sect, a Chinese Taoist priest, a shaman or Kurtain, to consult about the problem. Such information is required for the starting of agricultural activities, the building or repair of houses, the northern side of which would perhaps not be allowed to be repaired this year, and the southern side only next year, in order not to offend the spirits. These consultations have to be held for marriages, funerals, the starting of a journey, gelding of animals, vaccination against smallpox, even for the perforation of the ear lobes of a girl for wearing earrings.

A Monguor never starts a long journey without hav- 784
ing attached to his pigtail some copper coins of the [454]
Yüan dynasty to prevent the breaking of arms or legs in the event the horse should fall.[3] The girth of his saddle and the halter have to be made with white hair of cows or with wool; the girdle of the rider, however, requires black hair, to conform with the demands of the spirit of horses. The horseman never ties his horse to the door of a house, for the spirit of the door will hurt him. After finishing his devotion, in passing by an Obo, the horseman is not allowed to linger on top of the pass lest the spirit of the Obo punish him. If a horseman encounters some fresh water running down the road, or if he meets a woman carrying a bucket of water, these are good omens pointing to the favorable disposition of the spirits toward him.

While walking with the intendant at the lamasery of Seerkok, we met two donkeys carrying water. Immediately I received the congratulations of the intendant for the propitiousness of the spirits toward me, and he recounted the fact to the dignitaries of the monastery. However, when a woman carrying an empty basket sees a rider, she flees at full speed, in order to prevent mischief for the horseman. It is a bad sign to see a snake or hare crossing the road, and the traveler avoids encountering a nuptial procession. In carrying the clothes of a deceased at the monastery, the collar and sleeves of the clothes are put on the saddle in such a way as to hang on the left side; the collar and sleeves of clothes of a living man are hung on the right side lest the rider should die soon. Never say to a horseman that he is riding a poor animal, but congratulate him on his strong horse, for otherwise it is unlucky.

Never walk on a sheet of paper, or put your hat on 777
a book, for Buddha will punish you. Never talk about 784
possible calamities or they will certainly harm you. When a new gate is built to a courtyard, a rich man who has plenty of children and particularly boys, has to be invited to pass through the new gate first, in order

[3] The Ordos Mongol horse breakers never omit attaching to the whip a coin called *Wu chou* in order to prevent dangerous falls. The coin is called the "stirrup coin" because the old character for *Wu* (five) represents two stirrups, the upper parts of which are adjustable. (Communication of Father A. Mostaert.)

[p.96(A)]

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that the family may become rich and be blessed with children. If a beggar happens to go through first, the gate has to be rebuilt. A guest never enters directly the home of a friend, lest he might harm the family. Never prepare a hare or chicken for dinner for a guest, because it would harm him. When two friends, having a long talk at night, see the black top of the lamp wick showing the shape of a flower, they congratulate each other, smiling, for the spirit promises to both a happy event in the family. If a crow caws on the roof, it has to be driven away immediately lest a member of the family die or get sick. A member of the family will certainly die soon if a parson crow (hooded crow) enters the door; a calamity is imminent if a magpie cries in the evening, even if, at night, foxes howl, horses neigh, and dogs bark. If a hen crows trouble will surely start in the family, the harvest will be bad, and maybe the Moslems will rebel.

A bride on her wedding day is not allowed to be put on the horse by a "half man," a widower or bachelor; her makeup is not to be done by a "half woman," a widow or a girl, for fear of becoming soon a "half woman." A person dreaming at night about unlucky events, spits for a long time in order that ominous events will not befall him. Never give things to children which are entire, for example, hold over a bit of the frosting of a cookie. The same rule is observed when something is given to a beggar, for fear the guardian spirit of your wealth, should wreak vengeance and the family be impoverished. When drinking tea or wine, or eating food, always throw a bit of it over your shoulder, or sprinkle a few drops, thereby feeding the hungry souls roaming all over the world, in order not to be harmed by them. Never urinate in a river, or facing the sun or the moon, or at night in front of the manikan. At night never appear completely naked before the manikan, or you will surely be harmed. All the taboos after childbirth and funerals are scrupulously observed.

These few facts give an insight into the mentality of fear prevailing among the Monguors concerning the whole army of malignant spirits which surround them. No wonder that the whole day long they cast horoscopes in order to avoid all possible harm. These few facts will help to understand the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live and practice their religion.[4]

[4] The very valuable study of F. Johan Frick and F. Franz Eichinger, Tiere in Volksleben, Museum of Oriental Ethnology, *Folklore Studies*, Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China), 125 sq., Charles E. Tuttle Co., Rutland, Vermont, U. S. A. (1925), concerning the region of Huan-Yüan, west of Hsining, inhabited by Tibetans and Chinese, neighbors of the Monguors, provides interesting and minute details related to this special field. Because Tibetans and Chinese are enrolled in the Monguor clans, many of those beliefs and practices are necessarily encountered among the Monguors. The study helps to shed light on the frame of mind and the world of fear in which the Monguors live. Similarly,

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the chief of the village asks him or her whether "Heaven and all the spirits" will really preserve the crops. 782 789

At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion. [791]

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages situated in the Sha-t'ang Valley, which have a goddess in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death, without wearing the Monguor skirt!" [9] 175 177

On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple and spend a night with him. The tradition requires that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.[10] [792] 796 782 [794]

[9] I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

[10] The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a [797]

[A102(A)]

examines their position. "All right!" he cries. "all 796
events will be all right this year, the village will enjoy 756
peace and thrive; this year you will be preserved from 782
hail!" A piece of red cloth is tied with a red rope on the bottle, which is put under the empty container inside the temple for seven days.

After all the rites have been accomplished, the villagers go home taking with them their own thrones of the ancestors and as many paper banners and streamers as possible, in order to place them with the deities honored at home. The shamans and the elders have a meal and plenty of wine for the whole night. The next morning the shamans leave; they came riding empty-handed on a donkey, and go back driving the donkey, laden with rolls and offerings, some wheat, and a meager payment in cash.

FEAR OF HUMAN SACRIFICES

During the second, third, and fourth months, the time 782
during which these rites are performed in one village 784
after another, everywhere children are encountered 789
wearing around their necks strips of filthy, stinking 751
cloth, with which the women had wrapped their feet (for they do not wear stockings). The heads of some children are covered with a handkerchief containing dog hair; the foreheads of some children are scratched and lightly wounded. Several times a day the children are enjoined not to eat jujubes or nuts lying along the way or in the temple yards, for fear that the spirits, avid for human sacrifices, might allure them and take their souls. Everywhere it is said that, notwithstanding the rites taking the place of the former human sacrifices, once in a while some of the spirits take a child. All these practices are used in order to frighten the spirits and to preserve the children desired by this kind of evil spirit. If, during these months, a child dies, everybody is convinced that his soul has been taken by the terrible spirits.

These practices give evidence that the belief in human 782
sacrifices required by spirits is deeply ingrained in the minds of the people. At that time, meeting children so [115]
arrayed affords a fine opportunity to collect details about the rites of spring, and the talks of the shamans, and to get an insight into the religious trend of mind of the people. These facts make it plain that the Monguor shamans, honoring Taoist spirits and performing most of the rites of the Wu of China and of the shamans living in the neighboring countries, have preserved their urge for human sacrifices. The Monguor shamans nurture the weakened, exhausted spirits in the temples with captured human souls. The burying of the Chinese beggar in the mound, in order to succeed in the struggle against the hail spirits, and the occasional capturing of a boy for the same purpose, facts attested by many trustworthy men, give evidence of the assumption. However, constraint is imposed [112]
upon them by a more civilized environment than that

[p. 112 (A)]

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of the fifth month and lasts for 108 days. During the 735
whole period, two lamas at a time are always fasting 792
(taking one meal a day), while the others are free to indulge in food, but during the 108 days the use of meat, garlic, leeks, and radishes is prohibited for all the lamas. Lamas of the Red Sect north of the Hsining River do not perform fasting in a group of their own sect, but always some among them attend the fasting rites practiced by laymen.

The fast of laymen is an interesting custom, the con- [783]
sequences of which have an important bearing on the formation of the Buddhist frame of mind of the people. The aim of the rite is the purification of sins and happy rebirth in the paradise of one of the Buddhas.

ORGANIZATION AND RULES

The rite is enacted in a group, in a few temples 795
spread over the country, under the direction of a lama 785
of the Yellow Sect, usually a Living Buddha or an old 792
lama celebrated for his proficiency in oratory. At present the fasting exercises are only practiced in six localities, among which four are old Karwas (dating from the Ming period): Tsan-tsa, Pe-cha-erh-te, Marhtsang and Swor. The two others are Sumdo and T'u-kuan. The fasting exercises are never performed for laymen in monasteries. Each of the six groups has its committee which, long before the fixed time, tries to enroll fasters: Monguors, Tibetans, even Chinese, lamas of the Red Sect, men and women. In Sumdo the fasters usually number from twenty to eighty; in Pe-cha-erh-te from ten to thirty; in Marhtsang from ten to thirty; in Swor from twenty to seventy. In 1916 in Pe-cha-erh-te, I met seventeen fasters; in Marhtsang twenty-one. The Monguors of Wei-yüan-p'u and of the northern part of the Hung nai Valley are said to be the most fervent fasters. Always, a large number of men, even chiefs and elders of villages, attend the rite.

During the whole exercise, the fasters do not spend any money. The fast expenses are defrayed by the villagers of the locality where the exercises are held, and by the committee which has a small fund and collects some alms. To contribute to this rite is considered to be a very meritorious act. The day before the beginning of the fast, the chief of the village im- [622
poses corvées on some of the youngsters for the carry- 651]
ing of water, chopping of fuel, preparing cypress boughs, grinding flour, cooking, baking rolls and steaming bread, buying butter, tea, sugar, sweeping the floor. At Tsan tsa the fast starts on the fifteenth of the sixth month; at other places usually around the twenty-ninth of the third moon, and lasts for sixteen days. During the three days preceding the fast, the fasters are not [262
allowed to eat garlic, leeks, radishes or meat, or to drink 784]
wine, or smoke tobacco, and continence is required.

The fasters arrive at night, drink tea, eat rolls baked in vegetable oil and go to rest. Men and women have separate rooms; they sleep on straw and cover them-

[P. 133(B)]

offer to the Living Buddha, and being very exacting, 527
according to the custom, he urges that they should offer 604
five or more horses, two or three hundred sheep, two 792
or three hundred pounds of butter, five hundred dollars. This moment is the very important opportunity for the master of ceremonies to display his utmost oratorical proficiency in behalf of the celebrant who invited him, bringing the amount of required alms to a rational level (which has been fixed beforehand on both sides!). It is a means of making known all over the country the prodigality of the family toward the lamas.

The Living Buddha, with his two or four assistants, is greeted on the threshing floor by all the guests kneeling, holding in their joined hands the incense sticks, and is led to the living room in order to drink tea and rest for a while. Then he comes to sit in the courtyard where he receives the prostrations and scarf of the maternal uncle and of the celebrant, and blesses all the guests, touching each one's head with the ritual red silk tassel attached to a short wooden rod, while the assistants prepare the *torma*. He enters the living room; the celebrant kneels before him, having at his side the maternal uncle. He drinks a first draught of holy water, presented to him by the Living Buddha, and spits the second gulp upon the *torma* placed before him, and swallows a third one. All his sins are spit upon the *torma;* he is interiorly purified, and the *torma* is thrown outside the courtyard.

The Living Buddha, having blown three times upon some spelt, throws it upon him, and the celebrant is smoked with pounded cypress leaves and cones. Holy water is sprinkled upon him with the ritual peacock feathers. Ritual texts are read over him, and the Living Buddha explains before all the guests the obligations [784] ●
inherent in the blessings: to fast on the first and the fifteenth of the month and Wei-sang; to attend the fasting exercises held in the country every year; not to kill any living being, not drink alcohol, eat garlic, leeks, and radishes, nor eat birds and eggs; to abstain from the slightest injustices, to give alms, to pray more Om Mani. Finally a yellow scarf, previously blessed, is put by the Living Buddha on his left shoulder and bound under the right arm. The man has become a lay-monk. He will wear the scarf under or upon his cloths to his dying day, and hang it on the wall at night. Once in a while a very fervent lay-monk is encountered who has shaved his head like the lamas. However, it is reported that many of these lay-monks are not faithful to their obligations, because many perform the rite and invite a Living Buddha in order more to celebrate their cycle of age with greater display and pomp, than to perform an act of religion. Then follows the gala dinner in the courtyard, after which the Living Buddha retires into his private room and remains with the family overnight.

The next morning a breakfast of milk tea, rolls baked in oil, and mutton, is offered to the Living Buddha. While the family kneels in the room, an entire sheep is

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pounds of butter boil in another caldron. The Living Buddha, in full attire with the mitre of the five Dyhana Buddhas on his head, squats on a felt in front of a table, with dishes containing spelt, rice, spices, and holy water. He recites the prayers, with a curtain between him and the oven, lest the sight of the burning corpse might desecrate his eyes. He orders a lama to throw the blessed spelt and spices on the burning corpse and puts some butter into a small ladle held by the lama, who pours it on the corpse. 764 [792]

When the rite is finished the group prostrates itself and cries to the smoking corpse for the last time, "Do not harm the family," and returns. All of them jump over a fire built before the courtyard, wash their hands, and rub them over a long knife used to cut straw. Noodles without meat are prepared for all of them, and they say five-hundred Om Manis. The lama receives his alms (always in an odd number) and returns to the monastery. The horse of the deceased father or the valuable headdress of the deceased mother will be brought to the monastery with a couple of pieces of best clothes to be sold by the lamas, and to have prayers said according to the value of the sale of the items.[86] The clothes carried by the horse are to be put on the saddle with the collar and arms on the left side; a horse is mounted on the right side. 764 768

In the meantime, the sons and sons-in-law have tended the oven and closed the four openings. After three days the members of the family and relatives open the oven, pick out the bones with chopsticks and put them into the small coffin prepared for this. The remaining fragments of bones and ashes are gathered up in the skirts of the gown and scattered on the mountain. It is said that sheep are very fond of such bones. The cremation must not be performed in cultivated areas, it has to be done in deep valleys or lonely spots. Every year after the shamanist springtime feast, this prohibition is expressly announced. The sons and sons-in-law bury the small coffin in their fields or near the oven, and make a small tumulus. While the sons are kneeling before the tumulus, the sons-in-law and married and unmarried daughters bring some earth a couple of times in the skirts of their gowns, and spread it on top of the tumulus. Paper is burned, a lamp made of dough is lit, libations and prostrations are made and lamentations are uttered. The coffin will be dug up again the following April, on the feast of the worship of the ancestors buried in the family cemetery, and the name of the deceased will be noted on the genealogical register (see Part I: 71). After the tumulus rite is performed 764 765 [784]

[86] A similar custom is encountered among the Mongols: Serruys, *op. cit.*, 137. The barbarians (i.e., the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600) invited lamas to recite prayers for the dead for seven days. They gave to the lamas in remuneration the best horse, which the deceased loved most; his best clothes and his coat of armor, and all the oxen and horses which the family received from friends and relatives as mourning gifts. See also Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126, and Kervyn, *op. cit.*, 112.

[p. 145 (B)]

/The Monguors/

000 on the luckless family.

N *563 M 231 [777] The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

M [886] [775]

N *563 M 515 [784] Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

5. Occupations

N *563 M 24 233 433 The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

N *563 M 24 [177] [432] The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

N *563 M 231 554 [556] [184] Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

N *563 M 233 463 Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society

192 [628 cont.]
527 The welcoming of joy: ying hsi (Chin.).

[Pages 628-629 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[630] 4. The Age-blessing*

527
778
888

* See "Notes," pp. 634-635 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[792] Old people, men and women, invite the lama to bless and instruct them. This is a great family festival. It is prepared a long time in advance.

On a certain day acquaintances and relatives come and bring the old person presents and gratulate him. They are treated with tea and cake. There is singing and dancing and a [574] feast is held. The young people fetch the hutukhtu. When he arrives, the women of the village dance, and incense is burned in the yard. The hutukhtu blesses the guests at the feast and the old person.

In the afternoon the age-consecration is performed. The hutukhtu makes a number of tormas, which are carried off. Then the old person kneels on the felt mat before the hutukhtu, is blessed with holy water, receives instructions, and is girdled with a yellow sash. He then resembles a lay monk. The mother's [792] brother determines what compensation the hutukhtu is to receive. [465] The next morning the hutukhtu returns to his monastery.

The consecrated person must now observe special commandments, must withdraw on the first and fifteenth of the [785] month for meditation, and fast and pray. -- Not all people can afford this celebration, for it is very expensive.

[632 cont.]

527 candidate out into the yard and throw it away. The mother's
778 brother stays there, and after that only own children still appear.
888 They stand or kneel in the side room behind the person to be
792 consecrated and shut the door, because only a few people may be present. Only the person to be consecrated remains in the lama-room, kneeling before the kang.

The candidate for consecration now washes himself again in the manner described above, is again sprinkled with holy water, and has Tibetan barley thrown at him. The master of ceremonies takes an iron spoon, puts in it some of the red-hot material from the fire-basin of the lama, scatters pounded cypress incense on it, and the lama throws fragrant spices over [783] it. The person to be consecrated is fumigated all around with this and is now completely pure. The hutukhtu gives the consecration prayer over him and instructs him regarding the commandments that he must observe from now on. These com- [785] mandments relate to fasting, abstention, the prohibition against killing, prayer, etc. They vary somewhat for men and women. [633] The instruction is given in the Tujen language so that the candidate will understand it.

Now follows the donning of the yellow sash. It is about [292] a hand wide and four to five ells long. It is not supposed to be silk. Silk mixed with cotton is permitted, but usually it is cotton. The candidate must provide it himself. This sash lies before the hutukhtu on the kang table and is fumigated at the same time as the person to be consecrated. It is not sprinkled with holy water. The assisting lama places the sash over the candidate's left shoulder and ties it together under the right arm [292] with a yellow string that has likewise been fumigated. The cloth has the same name as the loop of cloth that the lamas throw over the shoulder.

Since the consecration does not take place until late afternoon, it has meanwhile become evening. Only now does the hutukhtu partake of the main meal. In the yard, however, the guests gather around the fire, warm their liquor, and sing and dance into the night.

The next morning the hutukhtu performs his usual morn- [465] ing prayers, drinks tea, and receives his prayer fee: several

[633 cont.]
527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
792 brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
[431] oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[465] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him. A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
[792] after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed
[766] by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
[262] longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation. This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[633 cont.]

778 incense offering in the morning. Then he withdraws to the kang,
888 drinks "empty tea," that is, pure tea without additions and without
[785] food. He meditates and prays on his mani-string. No one may disturb him, even when guests come; he likewise does not concern himself about anything. During this time he may not sleep. Also, he may not go into the temple or to the obo. Only in the afternoon does he partake of a meal, which, however, is better and more ample than usual (5).

[527] 5. [Foreign text pp. 634-635.] Concerning the whole affair, cf. Filchner, Kumbum, p. 199. The ceremony described here is much more detailed than there and also deviates somewhat. The name Upāsaka (or Upāsika) was not mentioned by the informant. Also, he did not know the prescriptions in detail. He did confirm, however, that after each commandment the candidate had to affirm that he would observe it. The old man had not had the consecration performed for him. The people regard the consecrated persons as lay gelong; one is reminded here of the similarity with the third order in the Christian Occident.

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778 It is also clear from the commandments why young people are not considered for the consecration. To be sure, this consecration can be completed at any age at or after death; at that time even young people are no longer capable of transgressing the commandments. The age-consecration seems to be merely the last step of a series of consecrations of laymen which are undertaken parallel with the consecration stages of the lamas. The

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[Note on foreign text pp. 634-635 cont.] The informant once mentioned a kind of baptism at which the dž̌awdzi (Tib.) is prayed; in Chinese this prayer is called hsi-lien-ching, prayer of washing the face. Evidently the [635] ceremony observed by Filchner was such a boy's baptism; Om mani padme hum, loc. cit. Later there follows a second consecration for young people, which is called gãṅsgur (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 below] after the corresponding prayer, in Chinese san-hun ching, prayer of the three souls. So the informant told me. Unfortunately I could no longer record these ceremonies.

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Word List

Age-consecration: šge lama ndziala- = great lama-invitation.

Master of ceremonies: kãṅguo.

To fetch the hutukhtu: ġdzõ niwa (twice) (or dãṅwu, if the first time).

[60] Mother's brother: nẽgã; achiu (Chin.); ayãṅ.

Mother's brother's son: ku-chiu (Chin.).

[292] Sash: ġẽdzãn (Tib. loanword) (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 635.] gẽdzãn: Tibetan gazn = the yellow sash of the lama costume. -- gõṅsõn: Tib. dgoṅ = solitude, soṅ = to go away; meaning, "to go into solitude." -- gẽlõṅba: Tib. dge = virtue, sloṅ = to apply oneself, pa = belonging to; meaning, "one who applies himself to virtue." -- gesnien: Tib. dge = virtue, bsñen = to approach. -- gãṅsgur:

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[633 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 635 cont.]
Tib. dbaṅ = force, bskur = to consecrate, to transfer. This is a ceremony of the transference of force, at which each lama receives a secret name (Unkrig).

To admit to lama standing with prayer: gēsnien dzĕwla-.
[785] To observe a day of meditation: pi-chai (Chin.); gōṅsōṅ (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Member of the Yellow Church: gēlōṅba (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Pages 634-635 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[635] 5. Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation*

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* See "Notes," pp. 650-658 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

763 If someone is close to death, his clothes are taken off,
764 if he is wearing any on the kang. He is washed, shaved, or in the case of a woman the hair is dressed, and tied in a crouching position immediately after the last breath. A piece of cloth is thrown over the shoulder, which is the sole garment of the dead.

764 Then he is put in a death-box, which looks like a portable house, and propped up with straw. The box is placed on the floor in a room, and the closest relatives hold a death-watch there. At each meal the people bring some of the food in front of the death-box, burn paper, and kowtow. Each

in front of all the spirits invited the day before, talking 796
with them and asking for their protection upon the 756
village. The guardian of the temple, acting as representative of the whole village, kneels behind them with incense sticks in his joined hands, answering and repeating the prayers. The rite lasts for about an hour.

Around ten o'clock a lunch is served to the shamans and wine is poured in profusion. All the villagers, dressed in their festival best, flock to the temple to attend the ceremony of the possession of the chief of the shamans by the White Tiger spirit.

For a long time the shamans play and have fun. While the apprentices beat drums and cymbals, they [535] start dancing; they get excited, display all kinds of acrobatics; dance on their knees holding their heels in their hands; dance on their heads; turn cartwheels; keep whirling; jostle one another. They are stimulated to compete with one another in accomplishing the queerest eccentricities. It is not unusual for a couple to [578] get into a quarrel and start fighting and for one or another to fall down in a fainting fit.

When the excitement reaches fever pitch, the chief of the shamans exchanges his cap of the god of the Five Roads for the black cap with long tail. With his arm nude, the whip fixed into the collar, drum in hand, he starts a wild dance which lasts for a long time. He stops once in a while and cracks the whip. He takes threatening and aggressive attitudes, brawls loudly and indistinctly, and grins, distorting mouth and jaw bone. With his whole body writhing and supposed to be possessed by the White Tiger spirit, he cuts his arm [785] with a razor, making it bleed. The women rush to the shaman and apply paper to the wound. These papers are efficacious talismans for the protection of children, and are sewn on their clothes by their mothers. In former times, old Monguors said, potent shamans pierced their cheeks with an arrow and bent the blade of a sword predicting the future with wonderful accuracy, but today shamans can no longer do that. These rites are in line with the activities of Wu and shamans.[5]

GREETING OF THE GODDESS OF JOY

Around two o'clock the rite of *ying hsi-niang* is performed, the meeting with, and the greeting of, the [776] Goddess of Joy. This rite is purely shamanistic. The Chinese perform a similar but more quiet rite, on New Year's day, meeting and greeting the "spirit" of joy. Monguor youngsters like to imitate the Chinese and enjoy the same merriment. However, the real Monguor rite is the following one performed by the shaman:

On the large threshing floor of the village is placed a table with offerings. The villagers sit around the edges of the floor in order that the shaman may have room for the performance and the evolutions. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail, and keeping

[5] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212. [p. 109 (B)]

When the building of the walls was finished, the images 731
having been smoked beforehand, and blessed with 782
ritual water, and having had rice thrown upon them, were stored inside. Finally a roof covered the construction and a verandah with some prayer wheels was built around it, with an oven in front for Wei-sang. Each lama received from the Hutukhtu, as remuneration for the molding of images, a piece of cloth large enough to make a new lama costume.

When, at the time of epidemics, the Om Manis and cir- 731
cumambulations have seemed ineffective, the people 782
conclude that the Bumkhang has lost its energy, and a 789
new rite is enacted in order to strengthen its impaired capacities. The Red lamas are again invited. They read texts for seven days, and thrust a new stake in the ground before the Bumkhang, at night, while the people howl. They act exactly in the same way as the shamans who strengthen debilitated hail mounds. Because this act is not seldom performed for old Bumkhangs of villages, it seems to suggest that all the Bumkhangs in the country were built on the same pattern. This was the only Bumkhang built during my stay in the country, but old Monguors told me that all the Bumkhangs were constructed in the same way, not in order to be endowed with blessings, but in order to avert calamities plotted by evil spirits, and to block the way along which the bad influxes enter the village. The facts (1) of circumambulating in a counter-clockwise direction, (2) the way of building the Bumkhang, (3) the use of the heterogeneous items, (4) the thrusting of the stake god into it, and (5) the manner of strengthening the impaired magical power of the Bumkhang all over the country, seem to support the assumption that the Bumkhang built at Erh-ku-lung by order of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, a lama of the Yellow Sect, and all the other Bumkhangs follow thoroughly magical rites belonging to the same category as the rites performed on the hail mounds built by the shamans.

It is noteworthy that no urns are buried inside the Bumkhang and that no pole is set up inside of it, to represent the "pillar of Heaven." A couple of beams support the roof of the small building, but the magical stake god is thrust into the center of the building amidst the 100,000 clay Buddha figures.

This description does not tally with the interesting [114]
study of Dom. Schröder (p. 266). It is recorded according to my notes written at the time when the Bumkhang of Erh-ku-lung was built, and investigations were made concerning these buildings existing in the country.

FASTING RITES AMONG THE MONGUORS

Fasting is practiced in the country situated north of 785
the Hsining River by lamas of the Yellow and the Red 792
Sects and by laymen; shamans are not interested in fasting exercises. At Erh-ku-lung the rite is compulsory for all lamas. It starts on the twenty-ninth

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of the fifth month and lasts for 108 days. During the whole period, two lamas at a time are always fasting (taking one meal a day), while the others are free to indulge in food, but during the 108 days the use of meat, garlic, leeks, and radishes is prohibited for all the lamas. Lamas of the Red Sect north of the Hsining River do not perform fasting in a group of their own sect, but always some among them attend the fasting rites practiced by laymen. 735 792

The fast of laymen is an interesting custom, the consequences of which have an important bearing on the formation of the Buddhist frame of mind of the people. The aim of the rite is the purification of sins and happy rebirth in the paradise of one of the Buddhas. [783]

ORGANIZATION AND RULES

The rite is enacted in a group, in a few temples spread over the country, under the direction of a lama of the Yellow Sect, usually a Living Buddha or an old lama celebrated for his proficiency in oratory. At present the fasting exercises are only practiced in six localities, among which four are old Karwas (dating from the Ming period): Tsan-tsa, Pe-cha-erh-te, Marhtsang and Swor. The two others are Sumdo and T'u-kuan. The fasting exercises are never performed for laymen in monasteries. Each of the six groups has its committee which, long before the fixed time, tries to enroll fasters: Monguors, Tibetans, even Chinese, lamas of the Red Sect, men and women. In Sumdo the fasters usually number from twenty to eighty; in Pe-cha-erh-te from ten to thirty; in Marhtsang from ten to thirty; in Swor from twenty to seventy. In 1916 in Pe-cha-erh-te, I met seventeen fasters; in Marhtsang twenty-one. The Monguors of Wei-yüan-p'u and of the northern part of the Hung nai Valley are said to be the most fervent fasters. Always, a large number of men, even chiefs and elders of villages, attend the rite. 795 785 792

During the whole exercise, the fasters do not spend any money. The fast expenses are defrayed by the villagers of the locality where the exercises are held, and by the committee which has a small fund and collects some alms. To contribute to this rite is considered to be a very meritorious act. The day before the beginning of the fast, the chief of the village imposes corvées on some of the youngsters for the carrying of water, chopping of fuel, preparing cypress boughs, grinding flour, cooking, baking rolls and steaming bread, buying butter, tea, sugar, sweeping the floor. At Tsan tsa the fast starts on the fifteenth of the sixth month; at other places usually around the twenty-ninth of the third moon, and lasts for sixteen days. During the three days preceding the fast, the fasters are not allowed to eat garlic, leeks, radishes or meat, or to drink wine, or smoke tobacco, and continence is required. [622 651] [262 784]

The fasters arrive at night, drink tea, eat rolls baked in vegetable oil and go to rest. Men and women have separate rooms; they sleep on straw and cover them-

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selves at night only with their own clothes. Before 795
dawn the conch shell trumpet is blown, and all arise and 785
wash their faces and hands. A youngster comes and 792
pours some water in their cupped hands, with which faces and hands are cleansed. The fingers pass across the hair and toilet is done. In the meantime, a big cypress fire is kindled in the courtyard and the fasters cause the smoke to enter their large sleeves and gowns, whereupon the body is supposed to be ritually purified.[13] The lama director, helped by Red lamas or laymen, kneads flour of roasted spelt with butter, makes three ritual *tormas* with the dough, and disposes them on the altar before the Buddha picture for two days. Then they are thrown away and three new ones take their place. In front of the picture, 108 butter lamps burn all day during the whole rite; 108 cups are displayed containing the ritual holy water and a flower, along with two high vessels, one of them containing pure water and the other sugar water. In the temple, men kneel behind the lama and the women behind the men. The lama starts reading the texts, which very few among the fasters are able to read with him, but it is said that the merits of devoutly listening to texts which are not understood are exactly the same. He explains the rules to be observed in order to obtain the merits of the rites. The fasting exercises are to be performed at least for two consecutive days; it would be better to perform them for more days, and it would be best of all to persevere to the end. Several fasters drop away after two days, others start again a few days later, many attend the exercises of the first and of the last two days, but all of them have to attend the meal at every noon, attend the lecture in the afternoon, and sleep in the temple every night. In the meantime, the absentees visit neighbors or bask in the sunshine.

On the days of silence, it is strictly forbidden to talk, lest all the merits of the fast be lost. Except at meal time, it is strictly forbidden to swallow anything, even saliva; the whole day the noise of spitting never stops. During the sixteen days, it is strictly forbidden to kill any living being. In the sunshine, whole rows of fasters are seen searching in their clothes for vermin and putting them on the ground with devotion. It is strictly forbidden to take a nap during the sixteen days, or to go home.

After the explanation of the rules, the exercises start. The director blesses the sugar water, and reads some texts; a servant pours a few drops of sugar water into the hands of each of the fasters, who swallow it devoutly. Holding in his hand a cypress bough dipped in pure water, the servant sprinkles some drops in their hands which they swallow and spit on the floor. It is called *chiap*, which means the ritual cleansing of the tongue and the mouth. Then follows a strict command against moving, and the servant pours milk tea,

[13] Granet, *Danses et légendes*, *op. cit.*, 383. Purification by smoke was well known in old China.

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with discretion, into the cup which every faster holds 795
hidden in his gown. Then follows a new chiap and 785
the mouth is purified. The first exercise is finished and 792
the fasters go into the courtyard to have a talk.

At nine o'clock there is a second meeting in the temple. Prayers are said by the lama, followed by 108 Om Mani said over the beads, with devotion, in a slow tempo. The recitation of the Om Manis constitutes the basis of every gathering. This time there is no instruction or preaching, but again the rite of sugar water and chiap is performed.

At eleven, the same exercise is held in the temple as at nine o'clock, and immediately thereafter they have the only meal of the day, which consists of milk tea and rolls boiled in oil, followed by the ritual chiap. According to the rules the meal has to be finished before noon.

At the three o'clock meeting in the temple, the director gives prayers and preaching which may last for two or more hours; there is no sugar water, and no chiap. Then the fasters go to the courtyard for a talk. When the sun has set, they gather in the temple. There are no more prayers, but sugar water and chiap, milk tea at discretion, again sugar water and chiap. At dusk the fasters enter their respective dormitories, and strict silence is observed.

The second day is one of strict silence. At dawn, they meet in the temple, for prayers and Om Manis. The sugar water on that day is not swallowed but rubbed on the hair. There is no chiap. After the meeting, the fasters bask in the sun, reciting Om Manis, or turning the prayer wheels. At nine o'clock the same performance is held as in the morning, and sugar water is rubbed on the hair. There is no chiap. At eleven, the same rites are held as at nine o'clock, and the same meal is held as on the first day. At the three o'clock meeting they have prayers and preaching, and put sugar water on the hair; at sunset the same rite is held as on the first evening.

On the third day, after the morning rites, it is permissable to speak, and the rites are the same as on the first day. At noon the menu is changed, and noodles and milk tea are served.

The rites on the fourth day are the same as those of the second day, with strict silence, and so on, for sixteen days. During the whole fasting time, Wei-sang is not practiced, but every morning a big cypress fire is built in order to smoke the body.

According to the fasters, the observance of the rules is very difficult. Although the Monguors are used to eating whenever they like, the whole day long, they say that the single meal is the least part of the problem; the worst parts are the terrible regularity of the schedule and the deadening silence. This is quite understandable, especially as the rites last for sixteen days. No wonder that young people are not fond of the rite, and that mostly older, devout, and religious-minded people, and

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people who have taken the Buddhist vows, are the usual practitioners.

TOPICS OF THE INSTRUCTIONS

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Each year I seized every opportunity to get information from fasters concerning that captivating subject, and asked the children in the schools about what grandpa or grandma had said about the lama director, the topics of the preachings, the anecdotes narrated, the number of fasters. Every time the fasters reported that they were happy to have performed the exercises, although they had had a hard time. They had prayed in a group innumerable Om Manis, which had caused them to have a real feeling of happiness, and they had enjoyed the preaching. They seemed to be better Lamaists than before, for they spoke with enthusiasm about their experiences. Without doubt the fast rites had helped buoy them up and had given them zest for life.

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However, it was always said that the directors of the exercises were not all interesting talkers, that some were really boring men, but that they all loved Li, the old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Every year, at three places at least, he was invited, and the fasters urged that the date of the exercises be postponed, in order to enjoy the old man's direction since he had endeared himself to the hearts of the people. He was an intelligent old Living Buddha, a picture of benevolence, with a great kind face, molded on pontifical lines, and all set for hearty smiles. He was a wonderful storyteller, with sparkling wit and a fetching sense of humor, who had the knack of keeping the fasters listening for two and three hours every day. He expounded his doctrine by means of anecdotes and unusual comparisons, which his uncultivated listeners could grasp, remember, and tell to others. He was a fine teacher.

The beloved topic of his talk was the life of Buddha, who fled from the luxurious palace of his illustrious parents; his terrifying mortifications and his endless charity, even for tigers and other animals, so that he had allowed himself to be devoured by the hungry tigress in order that she might nourish her cubs; his refusal to enter paradise, in order to remain in and save the world. Another topic was the paradise of Buddha and its oriental splendor where everybody hoped to go eventually; and also that of the eighteen hells, with all the terrifying torments used in the Orient. He used to put stress, in nearly every talk, on the omniscience of the terrible but equitable judge of death, who accepts no bribes, who knows all the merits and demerits of everyone; whose mill of justice grinds, in the most minute way, all our acts and intentions.

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All the children knew that the poor in this world are people who are suffering, for their lack of charity in former existences, or for their covetousness or injustices. The topic of the punishments for injustices was one of those most elaborately developed by all the

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directors of the exercises, and their stock of punish- 785
ments for injustices never seemed to be exhausted. 829
People who committed injustices had to repair their 869
faults by being a servant, in their future life, of the person who had suffered on their account, or of being reborn as a donkey, a horse, or an ox, plowing their fields, carrying fertilizer, or harvesting. Even the slightest injustices are not overlooked by the terrible judge, for in order to repair the smallest injustices he makes men and women transmigrate into a hen, laying eggs for years, in behalf of the person who suffered because of them. The topic of reparation for injustices seemed to be an obsession of all the preachers, who seldom hinted at other questions of morals, and so the feeling concerning the widespread rite of repairing injustices, among laymen as well as lamas, and even Hutukhtus, becomes understandable. Never did they hint at the shamanist rites performed in private families.

The topic of the old Li, concerning gentle behavior 538
with animals, was the delight of the fasters, who every year asked him to tell again the marvelous anecdotes he had stored in his repertory concerning the subject, for in his lively telling even old chestnuts took on a new glow. The keen interest of nomads in their animals is a matter of common knowledge. Since the Monguors still love their animals in the way of their ancestors, it is no wonder that they asked for that topic, and that they adored the old Li, whose talks hit straight at their hearts. Below are some of his well-known examples.

In India, an old Living Buddha went every day to 539
preach in monasteries and explain texts. He rode an old elephant which, while the religious exercises of his master lasted, knelt devoutly, listening before the temple gate. The old Living Buddha loved all animals with effusion, and especially his faithful elephant. When the elephant died, the Living Buddha made it reincarnate in a strong boy belonging to a poor family. The heavy boy had the exact gait of an elephant, a big, oval long head, unusually long nose and ears, and an appetite as voracious as that of an elephant. No room was left for doubt; the elephant had reincarnated in a human being. The boy, at the age of seven, became the beloved apprentice of the old Living Buddha. After a few years, the master and his apprentice died at the same time. The reincarnation of the holy man was found in a boy endowed with the same characteristics as an elephant, but in addition he had on the palms of both hands and the soles of his feet the marks of the Buddhist "wheel of life," the characteristic of Living Buddhas. This boy was the genuine incarnation of the holy man who had loved the elephant to such an extent. The new Buddha became as celebrated over all India for his elephant features as for his universal charity, which extended not only to human beings, but even to all animals.

Also in India, a holy lama, very fond of animals, squatted under a tree from dawn to dusk, year after

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village started ridiculing and deprecating him. Buddha could not stand this, and made five tongues protrude out of the chief's mouth and made him fall dead on the spot, after which the village became a barren waste. 539

Another of the Living Buddha's topics, several times repeated to me, was that all the Monguor and Tibetan tribes would disappear, many families already being without male issue. The reason, he said, is that nearly all the departed already dwell in paradise and wait there for us, so that now the faster Monguors and Tibetans disappear, the sooner paradise will be furnished with happy inhabitants. "Make your sons become lamas," he would say, "for lamas surely arrive in paradise. However, among the dying, only those who, at the very moment of their death, trust in Buddha may hope to be reborn in a lotus near Buddha, where for thousands of years they will be happy, and where all the inhabitants will be taller and stronger and more beautiful than we are here."

Such are the topics of most of the preaching during the fast exercises. Many times the fasters repeated that they loved the old Li because after every preaching he made them crave for pardon for all their sins, and because he could say the Om Manis over his beads with a wonderful unction. He had touched the hearts of the people. 538

IMPACT OF THE FASTING RITES UPON MONGUOR SOCIETY

Although these exercises were only attended by a relatively small number of older people, their impact upon the families cannot be overestimated, because the old people repeated at home the topics of the lectures and the anecdotes, and because, since the authority with which the old people are vested in a patriarchal society is supreme, they cultivated in the orbit of the family the sense of religiosity; the habit of praying and of craving for pardon. Chiefs, and elders of villages who had attended the meetings, unconsciously and unwittingly were guided by these principles in the administration of the village and in the patching up of troubles. The impact was all the more important because, year after year, the exercises were repeated by the adored old Li, a man with an illustrious pedigree, a scion of the noble and wealthy family of the Li T'u-ssu. The old Li was a personality who provoked a revival of religious feeling in the country. 771 785 869

The anecdotes, ingenuously narrated in the schools by the children, had led me to make inquiries among the fasters themselves about the fast exercises, which before had seemed to me to be an unimportant institution, attended by old women without any bearing on the religious life of the communities. However, taking account of the overall number of the yearly participants in the six centers, and the number of men who attended them, even chiefs of villages and elders, and of the fact that in a patriarchal society the old people wield a supreme influence and also of the strong personality of

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the old Li, I understood that for a people endowed with 771
these religious convictions, Om Manis were the sheet 785
anchor when things got stormy, and that they could fall 869
on their knees and crave for pardon for their sins and pray, when hailstorms mistreated their means of subsistence.

Probably the fast exercises were, at that time, one of the mightiest means for promoting the religious feeling inherent in Lamaism. Although the lamas never preach for laymen, in the monasteries, and although a lama only has a talk with them once in a while about religion, and although there are no schools run by lamas, the people knew by means of these fasting exercises that an all-powerful being exists whom the lamas call Buddha, who is all benevolence and goodness, and ready to forgive and to help. They knew the difference between the good Buddhas and the spirits, among which some were really evil beings trying to harm them, and others were so touchy that a trifle could upset them. They knew that a terrible omniscient judge of death exists who controls heaven and the eighteen hells, who decides about their future, according to their acts. They knew that at death their existence was not finished.

However, if account be taken also of what the shamans say at the feasts of the communities and the magical performances enacted by them in behalf of the community and private families, their savage struggle with evil spirits, the ownership of the country and the villages by powerful spirits, the cult of the ancestors subject to decay, the importance of the hearth god and all the spirits who are considered to administer independently their own departments, with punishments or blessings, who are supposed to know the acts of the people and their feelings toward them, it is easy to understand also why a tremendous confusion should exist in their religious thought processes, and why they should act according to the circumstances in unforeseen and confusing ways.

PRODIGALITY OF THE MONGUORS CONCERNING CULT AND RELIGION

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In 1914 a strong group of four or five hundred lamas, clad in rags and dirt, passed through the city of Hsining on the way to Seerkok. They were lamas of the Yellow Sect, belonging to different lamaseries situated south of the Yellow River. The whole country was upset. Rumors were spread concerning an impending revolt, organized by the lamas against the newly established Chinese Republic. Spies were sent all over the country in order to discover clues. After a few days the officials announced that the group had been invited by Seerkok in order to pray for blessings upon the Republic.

The fear of the lamas turned after a few days into a reputation for fantastic sainthood, and Monguors and Tibetans ran to Seerkok in order to offer gifts. The richest families competed with each other to provide the expenses for entertaining for one day these saintly

[p. 13D(A)]

845 787 Although the Monguors like to have large families, they have a divided attitude on the birth of twins. If the twins are of the same sex, it is a good omen, but twins of different sex are a very bad omen, foretelling the impoverishment of the family, the ending of good fortune, and the sterility of the mother.[24a] According to Shirokogoroff, both the Manchus and the Tungus consider twins dangerous. They are afraid of a woman who has had twins and will not have sexual relations with her. Although they believe that twins are so closely connected that if one dies the other must die, too, they bury them separately. The Tungus believe that twins have only one soul, and when a woman has had twins no one will borrow, buy, or accept a gift from either her or her husband, for fear of also having twins.[25]

844 Since a Monguor girl is usually married at about the age of eighteen, she usually has her first child at the age of nineteen. It is rare for a girl as young as fifteen to have a child. The rule among the Monguors is to build the kitchen in the northeast corner of the courtyard. This is also the corner that is considered most propitious for a newly married couple. A woman who already has as many children as she wants will try to move out of the northeast corner and live in another room. Monguor women bear their children lying in a horizontal position, while Chinese women of the same region give birth in a kneeling position. At the time of childbirth most of the women of the village come to offer their help. There is always one of them who has a special reputation for dexterity, and she is invited specially. The Monguors prefer to have widows assisting at childbirth, because they believe that in the presence of a widow childbirth goes more smoothly and is more painless. If the delivery is difficult and seems to be taking too long, the 845 husband climbs up on the roof and stamps furiously just above the head of the woman in labor. If this is not successful, a shaman is invited to drive away the evil spirits who are impeding the delivery, or a lama is called in to pray. Children born in such circumstances are often promised to a monastery to become lamas. As soon as the child has been born the room is tabu and men are no longer allowed to enter it. Over the entrance to the room the Monguors hang a cypress bough or a ball of wool or sometimes, in the Chinese manner, a piece of red cotton or a sieve.

[24a] The second born of twins has precedence over the first born. This belief has important consequences, because if the first born sons of an eldest son are twins, it is the second born of the twins who is entitled to hold, in due course, the office of head of the family. If the first born sons of a T'u-ssu are twins, it is the second who has the right of succession. The explanation given by the Monguors is that the first born twin is the servant of the second, because a man of importance is always accompanied by a servant, who respectfully opens the door for his master.

[25] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, as cited, 114, and *Social organization of the northern Tungus*, as cited, 275.

[p. 100a]

231 and every well-to-do family keeps a fast, handsome horse with a good saddle and trappings. They will spend freely for the purchase of a showy "Peking" outfit—a saddle edged with brass and trimmed with cloisonné enamel with stirrups to match, and a bright saddle rug. When a horse is unsaddled his head must be pointing to the west. Women as well as men may saddle horses. The Monguor vocabulary for the colors of horses and cows is very rich. They prefer black horses and cows, it being a shamanistic belief that this color is a good omen for the owner and for the increase of the livestock.

232 The Monguors geld their own horses, many of them being very proficient at this operation. The stallion is thrown on the ground and the region of the operation washed with hot water to sterilize it. The cutting is done with the sharp edge of a piece of porcelain from a freshly broken cup. The scrotum is opened and the testicles taken out. Some wine is then poured in the wound, salt rubbed into it, and the wound stitched up with a large needle, which is first "sterilized" by being rubbed in the hair of the man who is to do the stitching. Three or four threads taken from a woman's needle box are twisted together to form a coarse thread for the purpose. Finally, salt is rubbed liberally over the outside of the wound. The horse is walked around the threshing floor during the day and tied to the pole at night, in order to prevent his lying down for a few days. There is seldom a mishap in performing this operation. Some lamas are skilful in performing the operation. Horses are seldom gelded by crushing of the testicles.

787 For this important operation a shaman chooses a day of good omen. Before the operation is performed, the head of the family burns incense and boughs of cypress, offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." For seven days after the operation no visitors are allowed to enter the courtyard, at the gate of which are hung a bough of cypress and a skein of wool as a sign that a horse has been gelded.[6a]

Rich people with large herds brand a mark on the left hip of horses and cows. Sheep are marked by cutting a rough design in the ear or by clipping out a piece of the ear. The Monguors are remarkably gifted at tracking lost animals. Chinese whose animals have strayed or been stolen always ask a Monguor to track them, and a tracker will follow the trail for many days.

231 462 It is women's work, except where shepherds are hired, to take care of the livestock in their stalls and pens and also to go out with them to pasture in the summer rainy season when the grass grows quickly.

231 463 Shepherds are the best paid among those Monguors who work for hire, because of the capital value of the

[6a] Note that the same emblems are used to mark the tabu of a room in which childbirth has taken place, as described above. They are, therefore, tabu marks which are not restricted to a single kind of tabu.—O. L.

[P. 112 b]

M /22 cont'd/
582

This may occur for example, when the parents of a young man need a working woman in the house and take before the wedding, a small girl as the future wife of their son who dies before the wedding is accomplished: then the girl becomes the wife of the following son. It is seldom that the husband is older than his wife. In the condition of the Manchu social system all these combinations are quite natural, because the parents or clan relatives who marry their children have as the purpose of marriage not only marriage as such, but rather the obtaining of new working member for the family. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64. /Cited in English./

M 584 The age at which a marriage proposal is made for a girl and the way in which the mother-in-law seeks her own advantage in the matter suffice to prove that those concerned have nothing to do with it and that their marriage is solely the business of their parents.

4. How Is a Marriage Proposal Made?

M 584 787 Since marriage is the most important event in the family, it is natural that it should have a religious character and begin with a religious rite. They thus begin with an examination of the year, month, day, and hour of birth of the future partners /23/ in order to find out whether the union will be prolific and fortunate. (1)

M HM 584

1. Voyage à travers la Mongolie, en 1820 et 1821 /Trip to Peking across Mongolia in 1820 and 1821/ by Timkovski, translated and published with corrections by Klaproth in 1827, Vol. 2, p. 306. Before a marriage

M /23 cont'd/
HM
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(among the Mongols) may be concluded, it is necessary to calculate with the aid of books under what signs the future husband and wife were born, so that the heavenly body which governs the birth of the latter may not be harmful to that of the former, nor dominate it: which means that the woman must not govern the household.

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The Mongols count 12 signs which correspond to our months; they are: 1, mouse; 2, ox; 3, tiger; 4, hare; 5, dragon; 6, serpent; 7, horse; 8, ram; 9, monkey; 10, hen; 11, dog; 12, pig. The fifth year, also called ibeghel, is the year in which it is always permitted to marry. As for the seventh kharchi, it is the opposite: for example, if the girl was born under the sign of the mouse and the ox, and the boy under those of the dragon and the monkey, then the marriage is permitted. But if one of the two was born under the sign of the mouse and the other under that of the horse, in this case, even though they are of different lineage, the union cannot take place. The Mongols still claim that the ox and the tiger, the hen and the horse, and the monkey are of opposite constellations, pernicious signs, "Kharchi" which are decidedly unfavorable to marriages.

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The marriage having been recognized as likely to be fecund and peaceful, they will proceed to the marriage proposal. At the beginning of the first negotiations, they will be careful to insinuate that the alliance has been predicted to be a happy one. Nevertheless,

/23 cont'd/

584 787 the family of the fiancée will not neglect also to have the case examined by competent people. If there is a discrepancy between the two predictions, a third examination will be held.

If the alliance is sincerely desired on both sides, the solution will be quickly satisfactory; for the diviner knows the people he is dealing with.

In the opposite case, the examiner, a diplomat when necessary, will give an ill-omened solution, and the marriage will be shelved. This is a good way for one side to politely refuse a marriage proposal, and for the other to understand the refusal, without loss of face.

They say that nobody would dare do without this preliminary rite. This is easy to believe for anyone who is aware of the /24/ mania of this people for consulting fate for all events of any importance, all the more when it is a question, under the circumstances, of an act with such grave and far-reaching consequences...and in spite of everything, they often disregard this when the proposed match has won their approval.

584 793 [771] But by whom is this horoscope read?

The yellow lamas and the shamans, in Monguor bo, are never consulted, although lamaism and shamanism are the T'ou-jen's own religions. On this occasion they have recourse to the Chinese Ing-Iang sien-cheng /lit., practitioner of Yin and Yang/ (diviner) or to the lamas of the red sect. The reason for this choice has always remained a mystery to me; no T'ou-jen was able to explain it.

584 This formality carried out, the father or mother of the future bridegroom, on the occasion of a visit to the parents of the future bride, proposes the marriage. The answer having been favorable, 583 584 "the mother alone" goes to the home of the family of the future daughter-in-law to offer the parents eight, ten, or 12 steamed rolls (it must always be an even number), four feet of red cloth, a pair of shoes for the little daughter-in-law, and several lengths of red cord, which are customarily plaited into a girl's braids.

They take tea, they chat, the little chosen one presents herself, they talk of marriage, and the future mother-in-law takes her leave. The gifts have been accepted, the girl has presented

[18]

II. Customs concerning the Officiants

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1. The Spirit-spear Soothsayer*

*See "Notes," pp. 23-26 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

791 Like all other kinds of soothsaying through a deity, sooth-
●787 saying with the spirit-spear is called "to question the spirit." It proceeds as follows:

A spirit-spear is fetched in case there is none in the
[264] family. Then the soothsayer is invited. He is offered tea and bread. Meanwhile the yard and the place where the soothsaying
[782] is to take place are swept. The great incense offering is presented in the yard in the usual form, and it remains burning throughout the ceremony. The soothsayer dons a long cloak, takes
[783] off his cap, washes his hands and face, and rinses out his mouth. Then he steps in front of the spear, which has either been planted
[788] in the ground or is held by a man, and kowtows three times. He rises, seizes the spear with both hands in the middle of the shaft, and holds it vertically in front of him. In this position he says the prayer of invitation. During this prayer the spirit descends. The spear starts to tremble, and with it the soothsayer's arms; one hears the bells rattle. Now the suppliant presents his case and receives directions from the spirit in the spear as to what he should do. The will and the reply of the spirit are manifested by the movement of the spear, for example, by stamping, leaping up, shaking. The soothsayer, too, questions the spear-spirit and imparts its answer. When the soothsaying is over, the soothsayer says the farewell prayer. The spear becomes quiet and stands still. The spirit is gone, and the soothsayer puts the spear aside again and makes his kowtow three times.

Spear-soothsaying is almost always practiced at all ceremonies in order to call down the spirit as witness. The soothsaying is always done in the same fashion.

[18 cont.]

Details

791 The soothsayer: The soothsayer is called "the one who
787 seizes the consecrated." He has a close relationship with the spirit, but is not possessed by it. He, however, is not master over his movements, but the spirit is. [19] The latter shakes the spear and the soothsayer's arms. The soothsayer does not
[756] go into ecstasy like other shamans, among whom the entire body quivers.

Not everyone is capable of being moved by the spirit and of learning its meaning. Only by experimentation does one discover this characteristic; this usually happens when one is alone in a lonely place. When there is no soothsayer in a locality, the people request one person or another whom they regard as suitable to try it, especially when it is urgently necessary, for instance, in case of an approaching thunderstorm or sudden sickness. There are no special schools or teachers. Spear-soothsaying is not passed down in the family.

791 The spear-soothsayers constitute a special type that is
756 different from other soothsayers and shamans. Each one practices his profession for himself. They have no relations of any kind among themselves and have no special social position or rights. [Fig. 1 appears here.]' Also, they have no special doctrines or secrets, as do certain shamans, for instance. They are ordinary farmers with wife and child.

It is true that lamas, Bon priests, and other shamans can prophesy with the spear, but not all of them, and it has nothing to do with their status. For that reason they do not wear their own official costume for it, unless they happen to be wearing it already.

The spear-soothsayer is not tied to one specific spirit, as is the sword-shaman, for instance, who can only call down his tutelary spirit. A spear-soothsayer can prophesy with all spears and all spirits at any time of the day or night and at any place, even if he should wander a thousand miles away.

791 Hence the spear-soothsayer is the one most frequently used by the Tujen. There is one in almost every village, and he is easy to find because no special moral and social

[19 cont.]

1791 prerequisites are necessary. Thus he officiates as soothsayer
[787] and invoker of spirits for almost all undertakings, such as house-building, oracles, offerings, festivals, travel, etc. (10). [The notes are not indicated in numerical order. The first nine are given just prior to or in connection with the word list that follows.]

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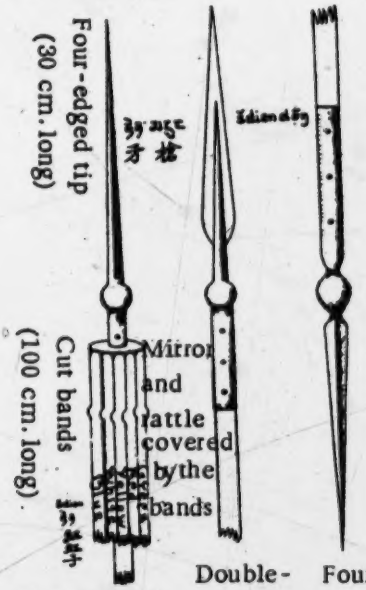
10. [Foreign text p. 26.] Besides the spirit-spear, the Tujen have other oracles that are used in like manner, namely, the spirit table, sirie purgan,

[532]



(Drawings from personal observation)

Fig. 1. Spirit-spear

[19 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.]
and the spirit litter, called chiao-chiao-tzu in Chinese. They, too, are provided with bells, colored bands of cloth, and metal mirrors, and are consecrated by the lama or by shamans. The "black tiger" is usually regarded as the spirit-table god, and the mother-goddess, Chinese niang-niang, as the spirit of the litter. Both the table and the figure of the goddess [Fig. 2 appears here] bear intestines together with the genitals. -- The table is not to be conceived as a table, but rather as a symbolic imitation of the animal figure with four legs and rump, which is further confirmed by the added intestines. Whereas in the case of the spirit-spear only one person addresses the spirit, in the case of the litter and the table there are several men. Two men hold the table between them, one seizing the front legs and one the hind legs. During the petitioning a man plants himself in front of them, and, depending upon the answer, the table begins to shake, jump, rear up, retreat, etc., without the two men being able to do anything against it. It is the same with the litter, which is borne by four men on their shoulders. Here a man likewise stands in front of the goddess and petitions her, and, depending upon the answer, the litter shakes on the bearers' shoulders, drives them forward, backwards, in a circle, etc. The men maintain that they are

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[19 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.]
not master over their movements, so strong is the propulsion.

With all these mediums, the main thing is not the soothsaying but the temporary effects of the indwelling spirit. For that reason, the spirit is always summoned when a religious act at which its presence is desired is undertaken, for instance, an offering, housebuilding, laying out a cemetery, etc. It leads everything, sees everything, guards everything. To be sure, there are always people needed who can react to the spirit's movements, for not everyone is qualified for it.

[791]

*778 The spear: The spirit-spear is simply called "the holy-sublime." It looks like an ordinary spear, except that it is more beautiful. A number of colored bands in the [20] five sacred colors and ceremonial cloths (hada) are fastened directly under the very long tip. A garland of little bells and a series of dollar-sized metal mirrors are likewise found directly below the tip, but are covered by the bands. The bands are called "consecration bands." They can be made of every possible kind of material, no matter where it is from or what purpose it has already been used. The spear is consecrated by means of the bands, so that the spirit dwells in it. It makes its activity known through the bells. The metal mirrors represent its omniscience, whereby it sees everything as in a thousand mirrors. Formerly these mirrors were made of gold, but nowadays they are usually only little copper plates which are attached by an eyelet, like buttons. The number of the bands, bells, and mirrors is not prescribed.

[53] [787]

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.]
special sayings concerning this, which the Tujen lack.

Word List

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To prophesy: purgandë sila = the spirit to question (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 23.]
This expression applies both to the people who question the god and to the soothsayer who calls down the spirit. The Chinese say for this ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, "to invite the Buddha-Father." This expression is applied primarily to the soothsayer himself; in an extended sense it signifies every questioning by means of a deity, soothsaying, oracle.

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Spear-soothsayer: šdiendzën; šdien (Tib.) – the consecrated, the sacred (4).
dzën (Tib. loanword) = to contain, to hold.

4. [Foreign text pp. 23-24.]
šdien is the name both for the consecrated spear with bands attached and for the consecration band (or bands) itself, but primarily for the bands after the consecration and detached from the spear. The consecrated bands on the spear, according to the informant, are called by the Tibetan names xuon (silk cloth)

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.] determined. According to the explanations of the people it is a rowan tree or mountain ash. According to others it could also be the tamarisk. The DMF likewise speaks of a mountain ash ("sorbier") and gives the Mongol. equivalent irgai, but then translates it with "chèvrefeuille" (honeysuckle) (p. 489). W.A. Unkrig (communication) gives the Mongolic xargai for it, with the meaning "larch, resinous tree, Pinus larix." The Chinese name, hsün-mu (hsün-tzu), is likewise indefinite.

Consecration prayer: rami (Tib.).
Chapel, temple: ṡdien kañ (Tib.) - holy house.
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192 Prayer of invitation: ġsolkā (solkā) (Tib.).
782 ch'ing tsan (Chinese) = praise (3).
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*3. [Foreign text p. 23.] The prayer of invitation varies according to the spirits to be called down. ġsolka or solka is the Tibetan gsol k'a (cf. DMF, 354). Ch. Das (p. 1315) translates it as: "request, prayer" [cited in English]. It is a request to the spirit to descend. The Chinese expression ch'ing-tsan says literally "to pray, to praise." In point of fact these prayers of invitation are at the same time supposed to contain praise of the tutelary spirit concerned, similar to the shaman prayers.

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787 The spirit is there (sc., in the spear): purġān xärgëdzi kurdzia = the spirit, circling, arrived.

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 24 cont.]
spear must always be consecrated to the same deity as the old one.

Spear shaft: sdzida gändzë (Chin.) = spear shaft.
Spear foot: sdzida xuędë = spear end.
Two-edged tip: niengän tolgue = flat tip.
Three-edged tip: guran bulondë tolgue = three edges tip.
Four-edged tip: dieran bulondë tolgue = four edges tip.
Trident tip: guran salä tolgue = three prongs tip.

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The spear is shaking: šdien (purgan, šdiendon) bōdzia (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 25-26.] The Tujen never say šdiendzën bōdzia, that is, the soothsayer is shaking. They do say sgurdien bōdzia, that is, the shaman is shaking. In the case of shamans they will never say purgan bōdzia, that is, the spirit is shaking. These distinctions are to be noted; bō- is reserved for that which is in motion, that is, the spear and the shaman, in other words šdien (= šdiendon or purgan) and sgurdien. bō- actually means (come down, descend, begin, start work," and refers to the medium of the spirit, not to the spirit itself, for the latter's descent is designated by kur- (kuru-), that is, "to arrive." This differentiates the peculiarity of the trance from the activity of the soothsayer. The Chinese, too, express a clear differentiation here. For the trance they say fashen-tzu, that is, to bring the body to a state of excitement; for the calling of the spirit for soothsaying, they say ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, to invite the Buddha(father).

Indeed, the way the soothsayers work is easy to differentiate from that of the shaman. I was able to observe both

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.]
repeatedly. There are two kinds of communication with the spirit. In the case of spear-soothsaying the center of movement lies in the spear and stays there. The spear shakes and draws only the soothsayer's arms and a little of the upper part of his body into the movement. The body is still; there is only an autonomous movement of the spear. At the same time the soothsayer is wholly aware of his surroundings; he observes everything that goes on about him and hears everything, even when he bends down to the spear and seems to speak with the spirit in it. When he speaks in the name of the spirit, he does so in a light, normal voice. When he is done, he sets the spear aside the way a craftsman lays down his tool. There is no excitement in the whole affair. -- It is different in the case of the shaman trance. The shaman, too, has weapons, for instance, sword and spear. I was able to observe in the clouds of incense how first the spear tip began to tremble, then the shaft. From the shaft the shaking went over to the arm, then on the chest to the next arm, and finally to the head and the entire body. The center of movement then lies in the shaman himself. He becomes pale or quite red. The heavy, much-too-large helmet is placed on his head, but because of his swelling head it nonetheless sits firmly. He foams at the mouth and speaks disjointed words in various languages. He is entirely inwardly directed and takes no notice of his

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.]
surroundings. To him everything is in a state of excitement and trembling. After the trance he is exhausted and has to rest for several hours.

For the conclusion of the spear-sooth-saying there is the expression šdien (šdiendõn) džuoladzia, that is, the spear is ready. For the cessation in the case of the [26] shaman one says sgurdien dõnladzia, that is, the shaman is finished. The actual meaning of dżuo- and dõn- has never been clear to me.

000 [Pages 23-26 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[27] 2. The Gurtum (Sword-shaman)*

* See "Notes," pp. 31-33 [of the original text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

756 The sword-shaman has as his most important weapon the
787 sword, with which he fights against the demons. He always per-
*[778] forms his ceremonies in a trance condition. Then his tutelary deity descends upon him and endows him with great powers.

Whether one becomes a shaman depends upon his ability to go into a trance. Some inherit it in the family. Many of them experiment in a lonely spot. As soon as one has learned
[792] how to do it, he goes to a lamic monastery. There he is tested to see if he is genuine. If he is genuine, he receives instruction and an amulet. Every year, however, he must return once to his teacher in order to train himself further.

[27 cont.]

756 The sword-shamans heal the sick, drive away demons, and
[789] practice soothsaying. In so doing, they wound themselves and
[787] the sick with the sword and burn themselves with fire, but if they are true shamans, this does not harm them.

Details

756 Dress: The shamans wear an ordinary long garment. Some-
292 times they also put on a robe similar to that of the Chinese
293 bonze, except that it is red. They girdle themselves with a
*778 red belt. On the chest they wear an amulet with a god's figure
[171] or a little bag with the hada [scarf-like ceremonial cloth] that the lama has given them at the consecration. It is their tutelary spirit. They throw the wide shoulder-collar over it, which falls with the points over the chest, back, and shoulders. It is of various colors and often beautifully cut. They hang the
[325] breast-mirror on a red string over the shoulder collar. Formerly this was made of gold; now it is made of copper. The shaman rubs it to a shine with incense ashes. The mirror is round and has a diameter of 15 to 20 centimeters. In the middle it has a round protuberance, on which the tutelary deity's name is sometimes inscribed in Tibetan signs. Several colorful hada-cloths are suspended from the two eyelets of the mirror. --
756 On their heads the shamans wear a red headcloth. It is about
292 50 to 80 centimeters square. One tip is cut off to a breadth of about 20 centimeters; at these cut ends there are two red bands; the cloth looks like an irregular pentagon. They sew five small copper horse-rattles on the cut edge. The cloth is thrown over the head in such a fashion that the edge with the little bells runs across the forehead and the other tips fall down over the ears and shoulders. They fasten the cloth on the back of the head with the bands. -- Over this headcloth they then tie a five-part crown similar to that of the lamas (4).

*[778] 4. [Foreign text p. 32.] The headcloth is not always of this kind. There are also cloths that are larger and that have no bells. In this case the shaman ties on a

[28 cont.]
756 rings at the end; the spirit-spear; the winnowing tray and the
*778 sieve (2).--He must make this equipment himself in accordance

2. [Foreign text p. 32.] In the case of one other temple shaman I also saw the bow and arrow as equipment. Incidentally, the shaman carries all the customary weapons. -- The spirit-sling is twisted out of hemp, wrapped in red cloth, and is about one meter long. The iron rings on it have a symbolic significance that I have forgotten. The Chinese, so far as I can recall, call the sling k'un-hsien-sheng, that is, spirit-binding string. In the accompanying photograph the shaman holds the sling with the ring in his left thumb.

[411]

with certain rules. He keeps it at home on the altar of his tutelary deity with the sword and the god's image.

756 The trance: The trance usually takes place in the house
●787 in front of the altar. The shaman rinses out his mouth, washes
his hands and face, presents an incense offering in the yard or
[783] before the altar, kowtows before the sword, and puts on his
[782] garb (3). The incense fire is maintained in the yard by other

3. [Foreign text p. 32.] He always puts on his costume with prayer.

men who also blow the conch (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 32.] Some claim that the shaman has to wash himself once more before the trance.

Now a long, low table is placed in front of the altar,
[576] and the shaman sits on it in the Buddha position with his legs

[28 cont.]

756 crossed under him, his face turned toward the door, and his
● 787 back to the altar. He has placed his sword across his knees.
[576] He holds a burning stick of incense upright in his hands in front of his chest, so that the smoke rises into his face. Then he speaks the prayer of invitation to his tutelary spirit. Meanwhile men make smoke around him with incense. Gradually his hands begin to tremble; the movement passes to the arms, chest, and head. Finally his entire body is trembling and shaking, but especially the head with a violence that makes the bells rattle. At this point the stick of incense is taken out of his hand and he is given his sword (6). The spirit has now

6. [Foreign text p. 32.] The little stick is placed in the incense bowl.

[789] descended upon him. He begins to prophesy and to exorcise the demons.

The shaman may also choose another place for the trance, for instance, the temple, the house chapel, a mountain top,
* [778] an obo [a mound of stones dedicated to the mountain spirit], the yard. He never undertakes the trance on the kang in a side room. If there is a god's image with a soul on the household altar, he always sits down facing this image; in the case of the obo he must turn toward the obo. -- In front of the obo or on the mountain top he need not sit on a table, but can kneel on the bare ground. If he undertakes the trance in the yard of a compound, he goes to the side opposite the main house so that he has the round manger with the mani-tree before him and faces the main house. There he kneels upright on a white felt mat. The other ceremonies are the same.

The compound in which he undertakes the trance must first be swept clean; all the rooms are fumigated with incense. The [29] table or the mat on which he kneels must also be
[609] fumigated. -- There is no taboo for strangers, however; all
[562] may witness the ceremony. Women, however, may not enter the room in which the trance takes place.

[29 cont.]

756 Soothsaying: In the common form of soothsaying, the
● 787 petitioner kowtows to the shaman in the trance and presents his request. He may also let an experienced man do the asking. The soothsayer then holds his breast-shield flat on his left hand, takes barley kernels from a little plate with the tip of the sword, and scatters them on the shield. From the pattern of the kernels he now gives his answer. Often he also moves in a violent trance and mumbles all kinds of disjointed words which a practiced man quickly writes down on paper and which afterwards are interpreted. In the trance, the soothsayer may speak any language, Tibetan, Chinese, Tujen, Mongolic, even if he has not learned it.

This soothsaying also precedes all the other ceremonies that he performs during the trance, such as exorcising demons, healing the sick, etc.

Calling: The shamans are always men. When someone
[562] thinks that he has the ability to go into a trance, he goes to a quiet, remote spot and experiments with a staff, a sword, etc. In time he becomes proficient. He also becomes aware of which spirit takes possession of him. Frequently the people in
[792] the village propose to a young man that he should try it once.
* [778] If he then succeeds, they suggest that he have himself conse-crated in the lamic monastery. -- Most shamans take up this
756 calling of their own accord. Those who receive the art from their fathers are not common. The shamans are always healthy,
[158] normal men; they are only more easily excitable (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 32.] They do not form an organization of their own. True, I have been repeatedly told that in the sixth month on the first (?) or fifteenth day the shamans of the Hsi-ch'uan gather in a village near Tuopa (west of Hei-tsuei-p'u) and organize a kind of trance competition for an entire day. This custom, however, is supposedly recent.

[29 cont.]

756 Consecration: Once the young man has tested himself
● 787 and feels secure, he takes 12 loaves of steamed bread, three
792 loaves of baked bread, money, and a hada, and goes to the
*778 monastery. There he hands the gifts to a schooled lama with special praying power and requests the consecration.

First a test takes place. With the usual ceremonies, the shaman must put himself in a trance. He must indicate given objects; thorns are scattered on the floor and he is challenged to sit on them; whips are lashed in his direction, and in every possible way attempts are made to intimidate him. If he is a genuine shaman in a genuine trance, he is not afraid and is not injured. If his state is not genuine, he becomes frightened, backs away, or comes out of the trance.

At this point the presiding lama takes a hada (13),

[192] 13. [Foreign text p. 33.] Hada, Tib. k'a btags, is a scarf-like ceremonial cloth.

slings it around the shaman's neck, and asks which tutelary spirit revealed itself to him. The shaman then pronounces the name, kneels, and receives from the lama the instructions concerning his duties as shaman. Among these are the taboo and purification prescriptions, for example: he may not officiate when he
[783] is in mourning or when his wife is in confinement; also during this time he may not worship his tutelary spirit; after sexual intercourse and after enjoyment of tobacco and a considerable amount of liquor, he is unclean (11), and he must purify himself

[273] 11. [Foreign text p. 33.] Actually, liquor is not prohibited for the shamans. Here a Buddhistic prescription seems to be in effect, but in a weakened form, for a moderate consumption of liquor does not make the shaman unclean, only drunkenness does, although in the eyes of the Tujen this by no means represents anything morally objectionable.

[29 cont.]

756 before the [30] individual acts by inflicting wounds with the
● 787 sword, piercing his chest, licking red-hot iron, etc. Along with
792 this instruction, which is contained in certain Tibetan books,
* 778 the lama says the prayer of consecration over him.

[783] Then the shaman rises and washes his hands, face, and head with the water from the lama's holy can. He must likewise first rinse out his mouth. Then barley is thrown over him and he is fumigated with incense. The lama takes the hada that he had slung around his neck, makes a knot in it, folds it together, sticks it in a little rectangular red or yellow bag, and hangs this around the shaman; it is the amulet of his tutelary spirit and is called "protective fort" (8). In place of this hada,

8. [Foreign text p. 32.] It is unclear whether this hada is the seat of the tutelary spirit. In any case it is to be regarded as a protective amulet.

or together with this hada, the shaman may also wear on his chest a large case containing the figure of his tutelary spirit (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 32-33.] The consecration ceremony might lead one to believe that the shaman is only capable of performing his office by means of it. In itself it has nothing to do with shamanizing. It is merely an official confirmation of one's capabilities, and also the people desire it. There are also shamans, however, who have not been consecrated in the monastery, especially among the people mixed with Chinese.

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The consecration appears to admit the shamans to the position of lay monks, for among the monks there are also those who act as shamans and have certain prescriptions. Thus on the route from Hei-tsuei-tzu

[30 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 32-33 cont.]
to Shang-wu-chwang there is a village with a small lamasery [33] from which the shamans of Kumbum come, who appear especially on New Year's. As a missionary tells me, in the village there in quite recent times a young man was doing exercises almost daily, going into a trance on the river bank, fighting with a sword, shooting arrows, etc.

In any case all the lamaseries attach great importance to having a shaman who, possessed by the tutelary spirit dPekar, prophesies on New Year's. I observed these shamans in Kuo-mang-szu and Kumbum. In the Tujen lamasery, where a living shaman-monk was not to be found, I saw on New Year's a life-sized figure set up in full shaman regalia. At the sooth-
[791] saying on the fifteenth day, however, the spear-soothsayer acted in his stead in the temple yard, where the dances take place, before the hutukhtu, the assembled monks, and all the people. In Kuo-mang-
[562] szu I even saw a woman appear in the temple as a shaman, but she did not represent the usual type of sgurdien.

The lama does not put the shaman costume on his protégé. Usually he comes to the monastery without any costume and does not see to it until later. Frequently his own village helps to provide it. He makes the two-edged sword himself or has it made by the smith.

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The tutelary spirit: The tutelary spirit always reveals itself to the shaman; a lama cannot designate a tutelary spirit for anyone. The shaman often calls himself "spirit-disciple" or "spirit-protégé." The spirit has its seat in the

[30 cont.]

756 sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary
*778 spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front
[776] of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he
[782] sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.

The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit
[439] are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery
[792] markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

756 Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his
776 tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration: the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in general the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the tutelary spirit of the shaman.

756 Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to
463 prophesy, heal the sick, conjure away storms, drive away demons. He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests, or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect a mani-tree, but he may set up an ordinary mani-flag on the yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the pole-goat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate at funerals and weddings.

755 The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold.
756 The following is the most common. First of all the shaman
[787] puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open [31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly steeped. Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the sick person to drink.

756 In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to
783 demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[31 cont.]

Word List

192
756 The sword-shaman: sgurdien; gurdien (Tib. Tujen) (10); ku-wai-tien (Chin.); fa-la-tzu (Chin.); fa-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); nañsuo (Tib.); Yao-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); shen-ti-tzu (Chin.) = spirit disciple.

10. [Foreign text p. 33.] The Tujen strictly differentiate the sgurdien from the bō, the Chinese fa-shih, drum-shaman. The Chinese also make this distinction. They call the gurtum ku-êrh-tien or ku-wai-tien, which is nothing other than a phonetic imitation of the word sgurdien, which in turn comes from the Tibetan sku-rten, "body container." The gurtum is regarded as the container, the carrier of his tutelary god. See the precise explanation of the name in Part Two, "The Shaman Character of the Gurtum."

[787] To go into a trance: sgurdien bōdzia = the shaman has come down, (that is, he has begun to shake); fa-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to excite the body; yao-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to shake the body.

[782] The prayer of invitation (before the trance): ǵsolkā (Tib. loan-word); ch'ing-tsan (Chin.) = praise.

Consecration prayer of the lama over the shaman: guo ǯguē (Tib. and Tuj.).

[792] Great lama: ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.) = lama with great power for prayer and magic.

*[778] The table upon which the shaman goes into a trance: t'iao-chuo-tzu (Chin.) = long table.

[34 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 35 cont.] menstruated; others maintain the opposite. At any rate, she has to be an unmarried person. In this connection cf. what is said in the section concerning death customs and cremation: that they are demons and are especially feared by demons.

791 [789] Activities: A special activity of the Bon priests is the erection of the pole-goat and conjuring away storms, as well as the making and conjuring of the figure-litter. Otherwise they have almost the same activities as the other soothsayers: they designate lucky days for housebuilding, traveling, etc.; they question fate concerning sickness and medicine, For soothsaying, [787] however, they use no special instruments; instead they have books from which they take everything. There are also Bon [755] priests who have learned to take the pulse and to prescribe medicines and are able to cure without magic. -- The Bon priests do not go into a trance, but only pray (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 35] The Bon are regarded with a kind of secret fear by the Tujen. They also have something to do with springs and mountains. It is said that they often dwell alone in tents in remote ravines and at wells throughout the summer. There they pray, conjure away storms, etc. Perhaps this seclusion contributes to the fact that all kinds of uncanny machinations are reported of them.

Word List

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Shepherd-Bon: sēnoǧsa (snaǧsa) (?); ch'an-t'ou peng-po (Chin.) = Bon with queue wound up.

[51 cont.]

777 of the Buddha image or, in case there is a chapel, kept in the
*778 chapel. If it is stuck somewhere without an urn, this must also always be in the main house.

777 Construction and consecration: The arrow without the urn
*778 is prepared and provided with the attachment by the master of the household himself without any kind of ceremony. It is then
782 fumigated once and stuck in its place with an incense offering.

In the case of an arrow with an urn, the lama is invited with the usual formalities. He makes his torma, sets up the little water-bowls, etc., just as on other occasions. Then he prays for a day or more and gives the prayer of consecration over the arrow. During this prayer the arrow is fumigated with cypress incense. Then the pot is brought, washed, and fumigated, while the lama prepares the scroll. The latter is also fumigated. After that, the grain is poured into the urn and the arrow stuck in it. The master of the household places the pot with the arrow in front of the lama on the kang, and the latter then attaches the individual objects. Each piece is first held in the incense and then handed to the lama. Everything is accompanied by the lama's prayer. It is also permissible for other persons, for example, the master of the household, to tie on the attachments. -- The master of the household then places the arrow-urn on the chest in front of the god's image with the usual offering gifts: little water-bowls, wine, grain, butter, milk, bread, etc. Outside in the yard the great incense offering is made, and inside all those present make a three-fold kowtow before the new arrow of good fortune. During the entire veneration, however, the lama remains seated on the kang and prays.

777 At noon a family festival[3] is celebrated with a banquet,
*778 and there is singing and drinking into the night. The lama
[527] stays until the following morning.

[787] Use and significance: The arrow is never used for soothsaying because it cannot become the seat of a spirit, like the
[585] spirit-spear, for instance (5). Only once is it taken out of the

3 [to celebrate the consecration of the arrow of good fortune - ANALYST]

[51 cont.]

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5. [Foreign text p. 53.] The informant firmly insisted upon this statement, although the consecration, beribboning, mirror, and bells seem to argue that the arrow is a seat of the spirit.

777 house, namely, during the wedding. While the bride, amidst
*778 the weeping and wailing of the women, is led out to the thresh-
585 ing floor and mounts the riding animal, the father takes the arrow of good fortune and runs back and forth with it behind the bride, calling out the name of his daughter, who is led on the riding animal three times around the threshing floor before she rides off. The father wants to keep back the good fortune.

[52] The arrow holds together the good fortune and well-
[171] being of the household, as do the god of wealth and the treasure-
[432] urn among the Chinese. For that reason something is held back as "seed" and "root" from everything that is sold and attached to the arrow or added to the urn (6). With her marriage, the

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6. [Foreign text pp. 53-55.] One receives differing information among the people concerning the word yãṅsdzia. Some say yãṅ means "good fortune," whereas the informant subscribes more to the meaning "germ," root, seed, guarantee of good fortune." In the region of Bengbar (Hsi-ch'uan) the arrow is called yãṅbõ. The ... bõ could not be explained by anyone. The people derived the yãṅ from the Tibetan and said it meant "good fortune." Undoubtedly it is identical with the Tibetan g.yaṅ. The Chinese word ying-pao mentioned by F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 139) is phonetically very reminiscent of the designation yãṅbõ. The Tujen have a third expression for

[56 cont.]

782 Now comes the offering. Incense is burned on the fumi-
*778 gating plate under the mani-tree, while a table with the follow-
ing gifts is put in front of it (1): a number of small bowls of

1. [Foreign text p. 60.] One can also burn incense directly at the foot of the tree inside the round manger and set the offerings there.

barley wine, grain, pure water, a large bowl of tea, bread, butter- or oil-lamps, and two vases of colorful flowers. -- The lama comes out, sits down on the opposite side of the central fort on a white felt mat, and gives the consecrating prayer. Meanwhile all those present kowtow and blow the conch.

After the prayer, the offerings are cleared away. Water and wine are poured on the ground, and small pieces of the bread are thrown into the air. The little oil-lamps are left standing. Everything else is taken into the house.

*778 The master of the household gives the guests a meal; they
527 dance and sing and drink into the night in the yard around the
[792] new mani-tree -- The next morning the lama is taken home to the monastery.

Details

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*778 Persons: For praying, an ordinary lama, not a Living
[782] Buddha, but sometimes a Bon priest, is invited. Everything can
[792] also be done without a lama, but then the performance lasts
[592] only one day because the praying is omitted. In this case the master of the household himself erects the tree. The ceremonies are almost the same as with a lama. The soothsayer, however, may never be lacking, whether or not he is a spear-soothsayer, or the litter-bearers or the table-god soothsayer (2).

[787]

2. [Foreign text p. 60.] The soothsayer is invited in the morning and given hospitality. He calls down the spirit and then determines precisely

[56 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.]
791 when the ceremony is to begin.
● 787 The soothsayer himself never takes part. He merely determines the time and names the spirit under whose supervision everything takes place.

*778 [57] Time: The time determined by the soothsayer varies in length: one, three, five, seven days, if a lama comes; otherwise only one day. The raising itself takes one forenoon at most. It is always started in the morning. -- Usually the tree is erected in conjunction with the construction of the central fort. It may also be erected, however, on any other day of the year.

The tree: The tree must always have its bark removed. Its size varies according to the proportions of the yard and the kind of wood. Fir trees are usually the longest. There are no prescriptions concerning the material and the origin of the tree. It may be cut down as desired. Also, there are no special ceremonies connected with it. There are trees up to ten meters in height, especially when it is a matter of mani-masts for the entire village or a monastery. On the average, however, they are five to six meters long (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 60.] Nowadays a complete mani-tree in the center of the yard is found only rarely. Usually an old cracked pole without a flag, to which the animals are tied, stands in the round manger. -- The mani-tree does not need to be confined to the center of the yard. One can also see mani-trees on the massive yard walls, especially where these come together at a corner. There are also communal mani-trees that are
[621] erected by an entire village, usually

[58 cont.]

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[Foreign text p. 61 cont.]
New Year, very early in the morning, as I observed. On this occasion a great incense offering with a great many small dough-lamps are burned, bread, tea, and barley wine are offered, and finally a pack of paper horse-images with all kinds of inscriptions is thrown into the air and scattered in all directions by the wind. The entire ceremony takes place on a mountain. In case of misfortune anyone may undertake this ceremony at will.

*778 782 The sheep offering: When a lama has raised the mani-pole, then there remains the above-described offering of bread wine, flowers, etc. After that the lama withdraws into the [791] house. In the yard the spear-soothsayer divines once more whether the spirits want another sheep offering or not. The [787] soothsayer then announces the will of the spirit; sometimes the latter dispenses with a sheep offering; sometimes he wants to have it immediately, and sometimes only after a few days. [357] The yard must then remain taboo for that length of time. -- [784] The sheep offering is never given in the presence of the lama, [792] since it is, of course, always connected with the killing of the animal, and the lamas do not permit killing. The ritual of the sheep offering does not differ from the usual slaughter- and offering-ritual.

*778 Renewal of the mani-tree: If in the course of time the tree or the flag have suffered damage, they are renewed, that is, only the part that is damaged. The tattered flag is [372] burned, for instance, in the hearth or in a fire specially kindled for it, but always with pure firewood, never with the usual dry dung, for example. The unusable mani-tree is likewise burned. In no case may it be used for other purposes,

[621 cont.]

846 loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter,
431 and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole
[262] in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

[858] Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts
[822] for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

553 Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-
791 soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the
[787] master of the household gives the great incense offering in the yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master
[592] of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the
[778] child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

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3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guãnbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guãmbo; ifulã sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sërãṅ (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; lasdze sërãṅ, pass-peak-palace; tuguän ula, mountain of the Tuguän. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

[621 cont.]

852 take no further notice of this ceremony, but drink and dance
553 far into the night; then they gradually scatter. Only the closest relatives of the young mother stay until the next day.

[622]

Word List

192
846 To be in childbed: sara sōdzi = she sits out the month; tsuo yüeh (Chin.).

To terminate the confinement: sara durgeni = she terminates the month.

ch'u-yüeh (Chin.) = to step out of the month.

man-yüeh (Chin.) = to fulfill the month.

[852] Reception of the shepherd: asdzi dzēlie-; ying-yang (Chin.) = to welcome the sheep.

[Page 622 contains the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

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527

2. The First Birthday*

* See "Notes," pp. 623-625 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[787] On the first birthday the father puts the child on the kang and
[302] places various things before it. From the object that the child
[778] grasps it can be seen what it will become in later life. After that its hair is cut and this is hung on the arrow of good fortune.

[623]

Details

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[787] The oracle: On the morning of the anniversary of the birth, the father brings the child into the main house or into the kitchen and sets it on the kang. He places a kang table with three little baked loaves of bread, five steamed loaves of bread, and a cup of tea in front of it. Next to it, for a boy, he puts a span-long bow with a small arrow, brush, paper, and money; for a girl, these are needle, yarn, ell, scissors, knife. The three little baked loaves signify the three Buddhistic world-
[776] spirits (2). The five steamed loaves symbolize the five blessings

2. [Foreign text p. 624.] It could not be ascertained which three names are individually involved. sãṅrẽdzi (Illuminated One) is the title for the Tulkus; cf. section, "The Lama-reception," and Note 6 below.

[777] of good fortune: age, wealth, health, virtue, blessed death (1).
[171]

1. [Foreign text pp. 623.] Chinese and Tibetan conceptions are mixed in the explanation of these loaves, for the Chinese also have this birthday ceremony. The Chinese proverb, wu fu p'eng shou, the five good-fortune-[624] (signs) hold up the age-(sign). A custom at New Year's: The sign shou is written in the center of a red paper, and in a circle around it the five signs for good fortune, fu.

The parents give the child some of the bread to eat and let it drink tea, or the mother suckles it. Then they ask it to grasp at the things on the kang table. If the boy grasps
[778] money, he will be an industrious tradesman; if he seizes bow

[623 cont.]

852 and arrow, he will be a strong warrior; if he grasps brush and
787 paper, he will be a learned scholar. It is similar for the girl.
778 The object that is chosen by the child is hung on the arrow of good fortune (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 624.] Concerning the arrow of good fortune, cf. the appropriate section. Tying the object grasped by the child to the arrow is supposed to preserve the child's strength so it will develop in the direction indicated. On the arrow of good fortune in the yard of my informant, I saw a large number of miniature bows, arrows, and balls of hair of his children and grandchildren.

302 The haircut: The child still has downy hair because it
852 has not been shorn since birth. Now the father or some other man takes it in his arms and takes it into the yard. There another man shaves its head, regardless of whether it is a boy or a girl. One or two tufts of hair remain standing on the back of
[778] the head (4). The father twists the hair between the palms of

4. [Foreign text p. 624.] The tufts of hair that are left were probably intended as beginnings for the later hairdress (queue). It could not be determined whether they might perhaps have something to do with a consecrated Buddha-tuft, as, for example, among the Lolo; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa, I-chia. In any case the tufts of hair are nowadays shaved off again. Probably the tufts, like the custom as a whole, were taken over from the Chinese. The Chinese call these children's hair-tufts tsung-chiao

[171]

[626 cont.]
527 threefold kowtow is again made to the sky. The same ceremony
782 is repeated before the household altar for the other gods.

[627] Gratulation: Meanwhile, the old people of the
527 household have also arisen. Now they, too, pay their New Year's
888 reverence to the sky and the countless spirits. Then they sit
576 down on the kang with the master of the household and the family elder for tea and receive the kowtow from their sons and daughters. Then the general breakfast takes place. The children kowtow before their parents, the younger siblings before the older siblings, the younger cousins before the older cousins, etc. The old ones give younger ones some money.

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[776] The welcoming of joy: Towards midday the welcoming of the god of joy takes place. For this one drives the animals onto the threshing floor, makes an offering of bread and wine, burns incense, waters the animals, and again drives them home. This practice is exactly the same as among the Chinese (7).

[787]

7. [Foreign text p. 629.] At New Year's the Tujen also question all kinds of oracles in a way similar to that of the Chinese, for example, the feed oracle, in connection with which one feeds the animals with various kinds of bread in order to prophesy concerning the harvest (cf. Schröder, "Ying-hsi, and Note 3 above). Another oracle is the ice-breaking. Young boys and men go to the river, take a sheet of ice, and break it apart. In the break lines pictures of species of grain are recognizable; the species that appear most clearly may be expected to have the best harvest during the year. This oracle is also found among the Chinese.

[637 cont.]

764 cousins. Female persons are also put in the box by men. Then, after the corpse has been propped up with straw, a board is slid in at the back from above. The men then wash their hands. The box is put in a room and placed on four raised clay bricks, so that it will be easy to pick it up later to carry it. A white felt mat is usually spread out beforehand. The box of a deceased master of the household or his wife always stands in the main house; in other cases it is put in the room in which the dead person used to live.

Next to the box there is a small, coffin-like little casket whose lid is pegged down like those of the Chinese coffins. It is the little casket in which the bones that remain after cremation are kept. Usually a rolling pin (noodle roller), which was 412 made at the same time as the coffin or death-box, leans 764 against the box (8). [638] Other rolling pins are not used at [322] all.

[177]

8. [Foreign text p. 653.] This custom, too, seems to have been borrowed from the Chinese. The rolling pin is called mien-kan or kan-ch'ang in Chinese. On the average it is one meter long and three to four centimeters thick. It is used principally to roll noodles. The rolling pin is also called pai-hu by the Chinese, that is, white tiger, because it can become the seat of the tiger god for soothsaying or shamanistic ceremonies, just as the spirit-spear becomes the seat of the spirit. The rolling pin is also handled in the following way: a man takes it with both hands and calls down the demon into it; then the roller shakes and trembles.

[778] [787] [776]

The enemy of the rolling pin is the threshing roller, lu-chu. It represents the dark (green) dragon, ch'ing-lung,

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[642 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 655-656 cont.] of the souls of the dead, who evidently are regarded as living corpses. This point is decisive in explaining the meaning. It is a matter of the peace and good fortune of the family, which are endangered by a restless soul if it is not satisfied and continues to wander about. This satisfaction is brought about by providing a decent interment (clothing, coffin) and the prayer of the lama. Then "the way is open" for the soul, as the Buddhists say; the significance of the above-mentioned proverb of the Chinese is shown here. How strongly this conception still affects even the Chinese is shown by the recast saying, wai-chia pu k'ai yen, wang-jen pu shang t'ien, that is, if the mother's family does not begin to speak, the dead will not ascend to heaven. -- With all this, however, it becomes clear how strong the rights of the mother's family are, and its concern for its members even beyond death.

If there is no actual mother's brother, then the one nearest to the mother's brother takes his place; this is the one who follows the mother's brother in the inheritance.

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Time of cremation: As soon as the dead person draws his last breath, a relative goes to the soothsayer or Bon priest and has the day of cremation determined by the spirits. He does not enter the compound of the soothsayer, however, but announces himself in front of the large gate of the yard, because since he comes from the house of a dead person, he may not appear before the gods. Aside from the spirit-spear, spirit-table, spirit-litter, and the Bon priest, one may also ask a Chinese lay bonze. Lamas and Taoist bonzes never determine the time. Only the day is given, not the hour. As

[822 cont.]

241 782 756 [292] The shamans are always men (2). They wear women's

2. [Foreign text p. 823.] The name for these shamans is bō, in other words, the typical Mongolic word. The Tujen strictly differentiate them from the other shamans and the Bon priests. They are the cult dancers designated by the Chinese as fa-shih, that is, sorcerer, or shih-kung, that is, teacher, whose chief goddess is the Niang-niang, that is, mother.

[776]

[534] clothes and a woman's hairdo. Their drum consists of an iron or wooden ring over which is stretched a sheepskin. They carry [535] the litter of the mother-goddess onto a threshing floor and dance before it. During the dance the drums are beaten. They do all [787] kinds of acrobatic feats, and one of them goes into a great trance and wounds himself.

241 782 The sowing festival takes place during the period from the third to the fifth month, the harvest festival in the ninth or tenth month. No village celebrates both festivals. There is no harvest festival where the sowing festival is held, and there is no sowing festival where there is a harvest festival.

[823] At the sowing festival one prays for protection against storms and for rain; at the harvest festival one expresses thanks for the harvest. [The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

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2. The Pole-goat *

* See "Notes," pp. 829-830 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designation for them in the text.]

[824 cont.]

241 789 791 [778] This is the ceremonial erection of the pole-goat. In the case of the simple type only one misfortune-torma is made, which represents the four others; there is also the weather-torma. The mountain-torma is omitted and no magical wedges are tied to the goat.

When one has undertaken the ceremonial erection, the [782] Bon priest must come often during the summer and hold prayer services before the pole-goat. In the autumn, after the harvest, [465] he receives from each family a certain measure of grain as compensation. In the case of the simple erection, without any summer prayer, only on the day itself is he given a large loaf of bread and a piece of meat from the loin of the goat.

Details

241 789 791 787 Time: The time of the erection is determined by the soothsayer, and in the local temple. It always falls in the period from the thirteenth day in the fifth lunar month to the sixth day in the sixth lunar month. One may also let the Bon priest determine the day. He uses three dice for this. He compares the numbers thrown with his soothsaying book and in this manner determines a day (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 829.] The time coincides with that in which the Chinese put their weather forts in order and drive in the thunderbolts (ch'a p'ai).

241 789 778 [621] [791] Place: The pole-goat is always erected on the highest mountain in the people's own local area, and only on one mountain and only one goat. Small hamlets or compounds may do it together; then the highest mountain of all these hamlets is chosen (1). -- The spot on the mountain itself is indicated by

1. [Foreign text p. 829.] If the mountain is too far away, one sets up a tent and lives there.

[825 cont.]
241 It therefore, with the head, is left to be eaten by wolves and
789 dogs. The hide is not used for magic.
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[791] The misfortune-torma: The Bon priest washes his hands and face and makes a little torma of tsamba mixed with butter about ten centimeters high and three to four centimeters wide. He puts it on a tray or a wooden plate. As extra features he adds in very small quantities: raw mutton or pork, leeks, beets, breadcrumbs, white and black sheep's wool, five kinds of grain, tea leaves, money, silver, gold, five little pieces of cloth, five-colored threads, and black and white sugar and puts a dough-lamp with a burning cotton wick beside them. These extra features also apply to the three other tormas, in other words, to all four little misfortune-tormas.

[533] The extra features, along with the tormas, are thrown
[782] in all four directions of the compass, while the seed-master,
[791] amidst blowing on the conch, makes the great incense offering and the Bon priest prays the appropriate spirit-conjuration. For the first four tormas the Bon priest uses only the sounding plate and the bone flute, not the double drum and bell.

In the case of the simple ceremony with only one misfortune-torma, naturally only one direction of the compass can be considered. This one is indicated by the Bon priest himself.

[791]

241 Making the pole-goat: The Bon priest does not concern
789 himself about the goat. The men fumigate and wash the goat
778 as usual and pour milk over it; while the goat shakes itself, they
825 make [826] a threefold kowtow in a circle around it, because
[787] the sky accepts the animal. Then the goat is slaughtered and the blood caught in a basin. In skinning it one does not slit open the belly side, but rather an incision is made below the tail which just suffices to pull off the hide from behind over the head. The head is cut off inside the hide so that it remains whole and unskinned within it. In the same fashion one cuts off the feet, leaving them in the hide. Only then is the skinned goat [illustration appears here] eviscerated and cut up, and the
[252] blood, with the scraps of meat, is stuffed into the cleaned intestines.

[831]

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3. The Mountain Sheep-offering*

* See "Notes," pp. 834-835 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

After the erection of the pole-goat up to the time of the harvest a sheep is usually offered on a mountain top. This is [621] an occasion for the entire village. The people do this to ask [776] heaven, the mountain-spirit, and the spirits of the four regions of the world to protect the seeds. The offering may be repeated frequently, but only one sheep is offered each time. The [264] sacrificial meat is eaten by the participants at the conclusion.

Details

241 Time: At the erection of the pole-goat the soothsayer 782 determines how frequently during the summer and on what day a sheep is to be offered. He also indicates whether the spirits con- 787 cerned want to have this offering every year; sometimes it is [791] only once, and sometimes several years in succession. If there is no other occasion during this time, this soothsaying retains its validity. After this period has elapsed the soothsaying is done anew. -- If the village has erected a pole-goat, the offering always takes place in the period after it has been erected. If no pole-goat is present, then it may sometimes fall in the time of the erection of the pole-goat.

Place: The offering always takes place on the same mountain on which the pole-goat stands, and in front of the latter. Otherwise the soothsayer determines the spot. It must be kept for the time when the offering is due. For instance,

[831 cont.]

241 782 787 in the case of a three-year offering, one may not choose one mountain the first year and another the second year (3). Even

3. [Foreign text p. 834.] The mountain must always be located in the people's own area. Actually such heights are always present near the villages. For example, not far from the informant's compound there is a mountain that bears the name Sheep-offering Mountain, xoni šenliedzin ula, because the offering always took place there. Among the partially Sinicized population it has retained the name hsien-yang ling, that is, Sheep-offering Height, or sheng-shan, that is, Sacred Mountain. After the greater part of the village (yang-chüan) became Christian, a high cross was erected there, and in place of the sheep offering, the people now pray there for the weather blessing.

[103] [797] [778]

the place of the soothsaying is oriented accordingly. It is indicated where the next soothsaying will take place. It is always a mountain height, however, never a compound or a valley, as, for instance, in the case of private offerings (1).

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1. [Foreign text p. 834.] The offering may also take place before an obo. It is to be differentiated from the obo offering, however. The obo is the seat of the mountain-spirit, and since the mountain sheep-offering is done especially for the mountain-spirit, the obo is preferred. Since, on

[831 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 834 cont.] the other hand, it is done for protection against bad weather, it is also popularly done before the pole-goat.

[562] Persons: As is the case for all religious ceremonies, the women are kept away. The participants are the seed-master, the village elders, and all other men and youths. Any kind of [791] soothsayer may appear on this occasion. It is important that at the actual offering some spirit is always summoned by the soothsayer and supervises the performance. -- Participation is also [784] prohibited to all who are in mourning and in whose compound there is a woman in childbed. -- People with empty utensils, for example, empty water pails, baskets, etc., may not come near. For this reason the gong is beaten before the offering, so that such persons will stay away (2).

[787]

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2. [Foreign text p. 834.] The fear of an encounter with empty utensils is quite general in Tsinghai. It signifies poverty, vain endeavor, etc. Tujen express the wish, for example, before a journey: huodzën sawa bi pëngë, that is, "may an empty vessel not appear." The Chinese, too, have similar expressions.

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Sacrificial animal: As sacrificial animal only a sheep is considered, no goat and especially no pig. The sheep may be of any color and sex, even castrated. It must be at least a year old, however. A sheep that is too young would be an insult to the gods, aside from the fact that the meat would not be sufficient for the participants. Usually the [832] sheep is [621] purchased jointly. Every family must provide grain or money for this purpose; the owner is always given compensation. To be [784] sure, the sheep may not come from a family that is taboo at the time, for instance, through bereavement, childbed, sickness, etc.

[832 cont.]

241 Such families, however, must make their contribution. The
782 main thing is that the animal be healthy and without flaw. For
[825] instance, it may not be lame or blind. Also, ugly colors are
[621] avoided, for instance, a white animal with a black head, etc.

Objects used: For the offering one needs several iron kettles, several buckets of water, knives, ladling spoons, cords, blood basins, eating bowls, firewood, etc. In addition, one takes along all the equipment for the incense offering.

Slaughtering: The slaughtering is preceded by a great incense offering, which is maintained by the men throughout the ceremony. Anyone may repeatedly throw cypress twigs into it at will, offer barley wine, etc. At the same time the
[202] conch is steadily blown so that one can hear from afar that an offering is taking place on the mountain.

Young men bring the animal to the spot, untie it, and
241 wash it with their hands from head to tail. Then it is fumigated
782 with incense. Another places a white stone in the fire. When
783 it is hot, he scoops hot water out of a kettle with an iron spoon, puts the stone in the spoon, scatters pounded cypress leaves over it, and with it fumigates the sheep. All the men who helped with the slaughtering wash their hands and faces, rinse out their mouths, and fumigate themselves. All the implements are likewise washed and fumigated.

Now they form a circle around the sheep and pour milk
241 over its head and neck. It does not matter what kind of milk
782 it is. One may also use flour- or tsamba-water or even pure
787 water. A healthy sheep shakes itself at this pouring. This shaking is an indication that the sky accepts the animal. Then the men make a threefold kowtow in a circle around the sheep. After the milk has been poured over it, they let the sheep run free for a few steps and capture it again. In case the animal does not shake itself, they immediately fetch another.

241 The slaughtering is performed by the seed-master. His
782 helpers seize the sheep by its legs and horns, force it down on
231 the ground, and bend back its head so that the throat is tensed.

[832 cont.]

241 The seed-master then cuts through the throat and arteries with
782 a powerful stroke, and the helpers catch the blood in the basin
231 with constant stirring. None of the blood is supposed to fall on the ground. Any traces of blood are covered with earth. When the sheep has ceased bleeding, it is skinned. Sometimes the head remains attached to the hide, or it is cut off entirely with the hide, and placed to one side on the hide.

241 Now one usually takes a broad board, places the sheep
782 on it, and eviscerates it. Excrement and unusable scraps are
252 put aside. The intestines are cleaned in warm water and filled with blood and little bits of diced flesh from the scraps. The eviscerated body [833] is rinsed out with water and cut apart. The thighs are cut off, the loins and rib pieces are cut out, and everything is finally cut into little pieces so that it can be cooked more conveniently.

The cooking: In a kettle over a hole in the earth water is brought to a boil, in which the pieces of meat are cooked. Women may not help with the cooking. Spices, even salt, are prohibited for the sacrificial meat. The intestines filled with blood are also boiled.

During the cooking the men sit to one side, converse, pray their mani, or offer new incense. When the meat is done, it is taken out and cut into little slices on a board, including lungs, kidneys, liver, and heart. At the same time the ribs and other bones are broken. Now several bowlfuls are scooped from the broth in the kettle and some of the little pieces of meat are put in them. Then the soothsayer is called.

241 Soothsaying: The soothsayer invokes the spirit and indi-
782 cates in which direction the bowls must be emptied. He also
791 determines how many bowls must be offered in each case. There is always an offering to the sky and to the mountain-spirit,
787 and usually also to the world-spirits; only the number of bowls
[776] varies. If one wants to make an offering to still other spirits, this is especially requested by the soothsayer. The soothsayer continues to officiate until the conclusion of the offering and with the spirit invoked supervises the performance.

[835 cont.] 4. The Procession around the Field

Report

241 782 As soon as the seed develops ears in the summer, the procession around the field takes place. One hundred and eight [778] men of the village, with the seed-supervisor, set out on the way to the nearest lamasery and fetch the 108 sacred books. On this occasion they present a large kettle of tea to the lamas; before the Buddha images of the monastery they make an offering of butter for the lamps. The Tujen of this region go usually to the monastery Rguloñ (1); the way there takes an entire day each time. The books are brought into the local temple.

1. [Foreign text p. 838.] Concerning the monastery Rguloñ, cf. the introduction and Part 2, II, 4.

The procession takes place on the following morning. All the men of the village and all soothsayers gather in the temple yard. First a great incense offering is made. Then all [791] the soothsayers do their soothsaying in succession, the spear- [787] soothsayer, the sword-shaman, the litter bearers, the table-god bearers. As many soothsayers as are there must appear. One wants to find out through them how the weather and the harvest will be during the course of the summer.

Once the soothsaying is over, the procession starts moving. At the head goes the spear-soothsayer with the spear, then follow the shamans, the god-litter, the spirit-table, and the 108 book-bearers, one after the other. In this procession [533] the drum beaters, trumpet and conch blowers, cymbal and gong beaters are in single file. Also, all the flags of the temple are taken along, and they are carried by the book-bearers, the flags over the left shoulder and the book on the back. Two men follow behind them, each with a large back-basket of straw, cypress leaves and incense additions, and a jug of pure water. Other men join on at will.

[788] During the entire procession the trumpets are blown, the drums beaten, and the Om mani padme hum prayed. The

[836 cont.]

241 782 taking them back. One day can be saved, however, if the books are taken directly to the following neighboring community or fetched from there. In this case the monastery must be notified. The procession must begin at the first sign of dawn because otherwise one day would not be sufficient.

Place: Only one's own village area is considered for the [629] procession.[1] It is not permitted, for instance, that two villages [346] join together and hold only one procession in both areas. Also, [787] the people always gather in the temple, for every village has at least one small temple; no soothsaying is done outside the temple or temple yard.

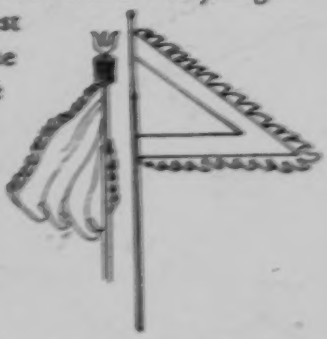
Objectu: The books are not absolutely necessary. A book procession does not take place every year, but usually only every three years. In the other years the procession is held without books. The ceremonies [837] are the same, except that the monastery is not notified when the date is set; two days are saved that would have been necessary for the transportation of the books. Also, the number of participants need not be 108, al- [801] though because of the sacred number it should be aimed at (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 839.] The book-carrying is a widespread custom in all lamic monasteries. In particular one can repeatedly see women who carry the heavy books, volume after volume like a rucksack on their backs, around the prayer halls of the temple, which often goes on for days, chuan miao (Chin.). Many Tujen women make such a vow in times of distress or sickness. -- It should also be recalled that a Tulku [Living Buddha] blesses the faithful by placing the book on their foreheads.

1 [i.e. - Procession around the field. - ANALYST]

[837 cont.]

241 782 533 There are no rules about the musical instruments. [Illustration appears here.] Whatever one has is taken along. The temple drum -- a barrel drum with a drumhead on both sides -- and the conch are always certain to be there. The drum is not very large and is carried on a belt in front of the chest so that it can be beaten on both sides. The conch shell is the same as that used at the incense offering. The trumpets are the [177] ordinary Chinese shawms (la-pa); the cymbals and the gong are also Chinese.



Flags such as are carried during the procession around the field. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

241 782 Among the flags there are black, red, yellow, etc. Usually they are provided with colorful borders. There are also flags with pictures, for example, of the mountain-spirit. Many flags also have Chinese sayings sewed on them, usually in white. There are [532] no special Tujen names for the flags. The number is arbitrary.

Aside from the usual cypress incense the Chinese incense sticks are also popularly taken along; butter, water, tea, etc. are just as desirable as at other incense offerings. More recently yellow paper [177] is also burned in Chinese fashion.

The soothsayers must always carry along their soothsaying tokens, that is, the objects that are the seat of the spirit, in other words, [778] spear, litter, table, etc. During the entire procession, the spirit [791] remains in the object concerned, which is signified by the shaking and rattling of the bells and the movement of the bearers.

241 782 787 Soothsaying: At the soothsaying one tries to learn as precisely as possible when and where the heaviest hail will come down and how one should protect himself against it, whether by means of offerings or prayer or the mani-tree, and the like. At this time the [821] seed-master makes a brief speech to the spirit concerned, charging him with the duties that he must fulfill for a good harvest and telling him that he will be rewarded for his protection by an offering (4).

241 782 4. [Foreign text p. 838.] An offering is usually connected with the

3: Schröder--248 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor:	tõrõdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.
Trumpet:	dõñ; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.
Cymbals:	nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rẽbúoğẽ (?). ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.
Flags:	ch'i-tzu (Chin.).
Books:	luãn = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.
Book-bearers:	luãn rẽgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

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VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

* See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

[839 cont.]

778 825 787 791

[Note on foreign text p. 842 cont.]
with which then the performance is
likewise supervised.

into the spear, and one asks him, for instance, "Shall we consecrate an animal?" He answers, "Yes." "Do you want a goat, a hen, a horse?" [840] "No." "Do you want a sheep?" "Yes." "Shall we consecrate it to a god?" "No." "Shall we consecrate it to the sky?" "Yes."

Then the soothsayer sets the spear aside. Hastily the people run to fetch a sheep. They bring it into the yard, because one consecrates an animal to the sky only out in the open. A man holds in his hand a little plate with barley; on top of this he places a narrow red band. He stands next to the soothsayer, who again has invoked the god and amidst spear shaking supervises the action. Now once more there is an interrogation, during which one determines when the consecration is to be renewed.

The sheep is then washed from head to foot with pure water. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from the little plate with the tip of the spear and throws them into the [783] incense, which is burned throughout the ceremony. Another puts some of the incense in a hollow tile and fumigates the sheep all around. Then he pours a bowl of milk over the animal's neck, back, and head. All the men kneel around the sheep in a circle, and when it shakes itself they make a threefold kowtow, for the sky has accepted the animal. The soothsayer sets the spear aside.

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Now one takes the red band from the little plate, holds it in the incense, ties it in the wool on the sheep's shoulder, and lets the sheep run free. It may run where it will, for it belongs to the sky.

Each year this sacred sheep is again brought here in the first month from the first to the fifteenth day. Then the consecration is renewed in similar fashion before the spirit-spear and a new band is tied in the wool.

[840 cont.]

Details

778 Place: It is unimportant where the interrogation takes
787 place; first the spot must be swept clean and, in case it is in
[783] the house, fumigated. The hands and face are washed and the great incense offering is made in the yard.

If the ceremony is in an open field or in the pasture, the place is not swept, for field and pasture are always clean. Incense is always offered, however.

Sometimes the place of interrogation and that of the consecration are different, for instance, when during the interrogation in the house it turns out that the animal is to be consecrated to the sky. In that case, one immediately goes out into the yard and continues the performance there. -- If the animal is consecrated to the mountain-spirit, one goes outside the village on a hill or before the obo. Small animals, for instance, a hen, may be consecrated in the house before the household altar.

If the entire village consecrates an animal, then everything takes place in the temple yard, and likewise if several families jointly consecrate an animal. If there is no temple, a clean compound is sought.

Time: There are no special days for the consecration. It depends entirely upon chance, whenever illness, misfortune, etc. happen. The ceremonies are always undertaken in bright daylight.

[841] The people are always careful that the consecration follows immediately after the interrogation. For this reason they immediately fetch the animal. Sometimes it also happens that they do not immediately find an appropriate animal; then one to two days pass between the interrogation and the consecration. In this case after two days one continues amidst the same ceremonies. Only the purification of the place and of the people and the incense offering are repeated.

778 Consecration-master: The consecration-master may be:
562 an individual person, a family, a village, several families. It

[841 cont.]

778 Regardless of how the animal[1] lost its life, its flesh may never be
825 eaten.

Furthermore such animals may not be sold or given away,
[262] for they belong to the god. One may give it to a monastery
[432] where it is cared for and protected until its death. -- An animal may not be acquired for the consecration with money; it must always be given as a gift.

There is no special watch over the consecrated animals, so that they can freely mount one another. The offspring are
[422] then counted as profane animals and fall to the original owner.

Whether the animal is pleasing to the god is manifested
[787] when the milk is poured over it. If it does not shake itself, one immediately fetches another; the ceremonies are then repeated. Every healthy animal shakes itself. If there is no milk, one dissolves tsamba or white flour in pure water so that it looks like milk. Some people take only clear water. This is not proper.

There are gods who ride the animals, for instance,
[776] Amtsiensa rides [842] on a wool-goat and Lamusa on a mule (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 843.] In the monastery Rgulõn each month (on the first or fifteenth day) consecrated riding animals are magnificently saddled and led onto the colonnade of the chief temple immediately in front of the entrance. There they are offered to the god (Fo-yeh) for riding; then one lets them
[792] run. -- Perhaps it is worth mentioning in this connection that the Tulkus (incarnation) of the lamic monasteries may ride only white horses, which otherwise are not regarded as superior.

It could not be discovered which
[171] gods are the riding gods. The Amtsiensa corresponds to the Chinese Tan-chiao hao-hua, and the Lamusa to the Chinese Lo-tzu t'ien-wang, that is, the heavenly mule-king.

[1] [Li'e - a consecrated animal - See cat. 116, pp 248-249- ANALYST]

[845 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 846-847 cont.]
of which the whole pyramid is given the appearance of a fiery, flaming bonfire. The representation of a skull, which is likewise made of dough, is put on the tip. But then the same kind of skulls are placed at the foot of each of the three corners. An arrow is stuck in the middle of the pyramid, from which hadak hang, and which, instead of feathering, bears a little wheel ..." etc. (Translated by W.A. Unkrig.) Lessing maintains of the arrow in the zor: "To this arrow attached a 'ghost or spirit', as my informant put it" [cited in English] (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148). -- Whether and to what extent this arrow in the demon-torma is connected with the arrow of good fortune is unclear. One conceives of the zor most simply as bearer of the weapons that are feared by the demons. A similarity with the weapon-bearing and demon-combating gurtum is undeniable.

789 places it on a table in front of the household altar, but not on the altar. Alongside it he places the sack with the clothing and food provisions.

On the following morning, the seventh day, one invites the spear-soothsayer. After a good breakfast he summons the spirit and determines the exact hour in which the demon must be carried away. Usually it is done immediately following the soothsaying.

[791] [787]

A man takes the saddlebag, the lama the tray with the torma that represents the demon, and behind him follows the

[791] [792]

[845 cont.]

789 spear-soothsayer amidst constant shaking; he must remain until
792 the end. They go in front of the yard gate. There another man
[791] waits with the animal. The master of the household places the saddlebag on the unbridled and unsaddled animal and leads it away by the head harness, followed by the lama, spear-soothsayer, and the other men. The procession goes out of the village by the usual route. Outside the village he leads the animal a distance across the fields, takes off its head harness, and chases it away, and to be sure in an uninhabited direction so that it cannot immediately run back into the village. On the [846] spot at which the animal was released, the lama sets down the torma. Before it a man erects a small wall of clay bricks with the broad side facing the village, so that the demon will not come back again. Then all go home. The animal is not supposed to run home again; no one bothers about what happens to it. It belongs to the demon. In case it does come running back again later, it is driven off with blows of a stick.

789 The simple releasing: Besides this ceremonial form,
791 there is also a simple releasing, which takes only half a day
757 or a whole day. One invites a shaman or a soothsayer, who escorts the things away. On this occasion there is no praying and no torma is made. The master of the household holds a hen in readiness and brings the traveling clothes and food on a tray before the household altar. The soothsayer or shaman invokes the spirit and, followed by the master of the household, goes with the tray out into the field. There a large pile of straw is heaped up. The things on the tray are flung into it and the whole is set afire. While the flames beat upward, the hen is allowed to fly away. -- If a soothsayer officiates, then the performance usually takes place in the morning. If a shaman undertakes the releasing, then it is not done until the late evening at the coming of darkness. The shaman follows
[787] in a state of trance and swings his sword in battle against the demon. Even if the shaman at the "great releasing" follows the lama in place of a spear-soothsayer, he performs this
[535] sword dance, but this is always in broad daylight (2).

[848 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether the horse's skull represents the riding animal of the spirit could not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another torma is also made.

789 [849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books [787] the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away. [791] They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and [532] give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum, sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the torma.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the torma is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen. [782] The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long [171] migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this custom.

[755]

4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This ceremony is very similar to the figure-conjuration of the shamans

[850 cont.]

755 The conjuration: As soon as it is dark the gurtum goes
756 into a trance in the usual fashion before the household altar.
[787] Then he rises, fights [851] the demons with his sword in the air, and goes to the sick person. The tray is brought after him. With his one free hand he takes one figure after another from the tray, touches the affected places on the patient with them while constantly swinging the sword and murmuring magic words, and puts them back on the tray (5).

[171]
[789]

5. [Foreign text p. 852.] The custom of transferring sickness to animals or animal figures is also reported of Siberian shamans elsewhere. In this case, however, the similarity with the above-described Bon custom is to be noted. Originally actual animals might have been sacrificed. It was Buddhism that first combated these sacrifices and abolished them. Then substitute figures arose for them. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 176 and 263, writes in this connection: "...prohibits for the hated rivals the sacrifice of animals. In this connection the interesting fact is mentioned that the Bon-po were forced to make images of yaks and sheep out of grain mush, as well as wooden deer heads with wide horns, which henceforth had to serve as substitutes at the sacrificial ceremonies. The first-mentioned dough figures, made by means of wooden molds, are still found today, it is worthy of note, even in the rites of the Lamaists"; cf. loc. cit., where the literature is also cited.

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[851 cont.]

755 Then he storms out into the street, and the men follow
756 him with the things while he fights on with his sword. As soon as they are out of the village and reach a crossroads, they stop. A man piles a back-basket full of straw on the ground, and the things from the tray are thrown into it. Then the whole thing is set afire. They do not wait any longer, but quickly go home.

755 Burial of the magic objects: The shaman designates a
789 spot on the ground in front of the yard gate; the men immediately dig a pit there. The shaman, still in a trance, puts nine
[787] kinds of things in it. First he puts a black food bowl on the floor
[756] of the pit; he puts red-hot coals in the food bowl, pours pure water over them, and puts in an iron knife, a small bow and arrow, a magic wooden dagger, a black chain (3), and a piece

[778]

3. [Foreign text pp. 851-852.] The magic dagger and the black chain are also used in connection with the pole-goat; cf. the appropriate section. No clarification could be obtained concerning the type of wood used for this dagger. The informant called it [852] siraldzin; he translated it with the Chinese huang-san (shan) tzu in the sense of yellow-mountain (wood). In the DMF there is the translation "armoise," Artemisia. This could not possibly be involved here. It must be a very hard kind of wood.

of iron from a town gate. He inverts a large earthen vessel over the whole (4); the men fill the pit and level it off so that one

4. [Foreign text p. 852.] The chain binds the demons, and the vessel caps them.

[851 cont.]

755 can no longer see where the things are buried.

[789] [787] [756] Now all go into the house. The shaman awakes from his trance.

Word List

192 755 Figure-conjuration: rdzṏnwa (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1 above], (5) [see Note 5 above], (6)

6. [Foreign text p. 852] rdzṏnwa or dzṏnre: At the base of these two words lies the Tibetan stem rdsons = to take away (pronounced: dzon). siradzin: Mongolic sira modon = yellow-wood. It is an especially hard kind of wood, Phellodendron amurense (Unkrig).

[778] Figures (little men): rdzṏnrë (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Raw meat: tõgõ maxa.

Black food-bowl: xara iga.

Black vessel: xara pëndzë.

Knife: tsidëguo.

Magic dagger: siral(dzin) (6) [see Note 6 above] mpuru = yellow-wood magic-dagger.

Chain: fsiasga.

Iron from the town gate: badzër-udie timur.

000 [Pages 851-852 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[852] 5. The Washing of the Sick*

* See "Notes," p. 854 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation the notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[852 cont.] 5. The Washing of the Sick

Report

755 The washing of the sick is undertaken by the sword-
[756] shaman at the coming of darkness. He puts himself in a trance
[787] as is customary during the incense offering, then throws a few kernels of Tibetan barley on his breast-mirror, which is held flat, and prophesies which illness is involved; then he under-
[357] takes the ceremonies. The taboo for the compound begins on
[784] the following day and, depending on the declaration of the shaman, may last three, five, or seven days.

The ceremony has three parts: the actual washing, fire-blowing, and the healing drink. The things needed for the washing are provided by the family itself.

Details

The washing of the sick: The washing takes place in the kitchen. The following things are needed for it: seven bowls of fresh water, an iron knife, a door lock, seven white stones, a bowl of liquor, some flowers, three, five, and seven pieces of paper with certain prayer texts, seven different things in all.

755 Now in the kitchen the hearth kettle is washed, fumi-
756 gated, and placed on the fire. The master of the household lights the fire and throws [853] incense twigs into it. Now the
[787] shaman, already in a trance, comes out of the main house into the kitchen; in his right hand he holds his spirit-sword, while he keeps his left hand free for the various actions.

First the seven bowls of water are poured into the kettle, and the shaman throws incense twigs and Tibetan barley into it.
[783] Then he thrusts his sword through his clothes into his chest as proof of his power and in order to purify himself. No blood flows.

Meanwhile the sick person is brought into the kitchen. The shaman bares the chest of the patient and thrusts the above-
[787] mentioned knife midway into it. No blood may flow. If the sick person bleeds, then he will not be healed; if he does not bleed, he will be saved. The shaman plasters the wound with one of the prayer sheets; he throws the knife into the kettle.

[353 cont.]

755 During this time a man heats the seven white stones in
756 the hearth fire until they are red-hot. Then he takes them out with an iron spoon and with it hands them to the shaman. The latter takes one stone after another in his mouth and spits them into the kettle. Then he throws the other things, the lock, the flowers, and the prayer texts, into the water and finally pours in the bowl of liquor. Now the sick person is completely disrobed, and the shaman washes him from top to bottom with his one free hand, scooping the boiling water out of the kettle with his hand. Then the sick person is put back on his kang in the house.

The water remains in the kettle, on the following two days, when the shaman has already gone, the people must repeat the washing. On the third day they pour out the water in front of the yard gate. They can use the things, the lock, knife, etc., again for ordinary purposes.

755 The fire-blowing: After the washing the shaman goes into the room of the sick person. During this time the men in
372 the yard start a strong fire with sheep dung and wood. They put
756 a plowshare in it and make it white-hot. A man puts a stick through the white-hot plowshare and takes it in to the shaman,
[787] who is still in a trance, but has given his sword to another man. Now he seizes the glowing plowshare with both hands with a hada that hangs from his breast-mirror, licks it with his bare tongue, takes a respectable mouthful of liquor, and turns to the sick person. He blows the alcohol out of his mouth over the
[273] plowshare in strong blasts, which each time makes a burst of fire shoot out toward the sick person. Then he takes the plowshare in front of the gate and places it at the foot of the yard wall. There the men immediately throw earth over it and wall it in.

755 The drink of the sick: Now the shaman again goes into
756 the room of the sick person. A man extends an iron spoon to him. He rips off a piece of the hada on his protective-mirror, places it in the spoon, and throws a few barley kernels in it. Then a man pours water into the spoon until it is full, holds it

[854 cont.]

755 789 Exorcism: Towards evening, when darkness begins to fall, the shaman goes into a trance before the household altar (1).

[756] [787]

1. [Foreign text p. 855.] Before the exorcism the shaman divines, with barley on his protective mirror, which demon is involved.

During this time a man runs out of the village with the hen to a crossroads, twists or hacks off the hen's head, and with the fluttering [855] hen squirts the blood in all directions of the compass. [982] Then he throws away the hen as food for the demon and goes home. -- The straw man is put on the threshold of the main house or in the yard.

755 789 756 As soon as the shaman is in a trance, he jumps up and, running in wild leaps through all the rooms of the compound, performs the sword battle against the demon. The men follow him. Stones hail down on the ground. One circles around in the rooms with the torches. [787] One man holds the oil-pan, takes mouthfuls of liquor, and blows it over the fire into the room, so that each time a red flash shoots out. [273] Others crack the whip from room to room and shoot burning arrows at the floor. In this way the demon is driven into the straw doll. This is dragged by a hemp string or a straw rope out of the gate over the village street to the nearest crossroads, where the hen is lying. The shaman follows, fighting with his sword; stones, blows, fire-arrows, and flashes of fire rain down on the doll. It is left lying at the crossroads. The men pour the oil out of the pan over it, throw the torches, arrows, stones, etc. on it, and leave it smoldering (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 855.] This form of exorcism is the simplest of all. Usually all kinds of other ceremonies are connected with it. I once saw such a sword-shaman as he was trying to heal a child among the Chinese. He cast

[855 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.]
about himself with sword and lance,
hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up
a straw man, swung a winnowing
shovel and a sieve, danced, and
foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

192

Word List

755 House-purification: rdzõňwa (rëdzõňwa).
789 The torch: huo-pa (Chin.).
[416] The stones: taśë; sa-shih (Chin.).
Oil-basin: ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
Fire-arrow: ġal sëmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
Fire-bow: ġal lëmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
The hemp whip: uhuosë yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
The hen: tagū; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here = to live.
[778] The straw man: śdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

[856]

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7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[856 cont.]

782 soothsayer determines that the earth-god is angry and wants to
[791] have an urn. This urn is buried in the ground on a day indicated
[787] by the soothsayer. All kinds of spices are to be found in the urn,
[777] put there by a lama. This is done after a seven-day prayer in
the family itself. During these days the compound is taboo.
[792] Usually there are several urns, because one does not bother the lama for merely one. After he has filled the urn with spices on the last day, he pours liquid butter over it, ties it up with a cloth, seals the string, and paints a nuru sign on the outside. Then the urn is fumigated and sprinkled with holy water, whereupon the master of the household places it on the chest before the Buddha image.

In front of the urn one places the usual little water-bowls, butter-lamps, grain-bowls, etc. The urn, however, does not stand on the bare floor of the chest, but rather a sheet of paper is first put down as an underlayer, a few cypress leaves and grains of barley are scattered over it, and the urn is put on top.
[792] Now the lama comes down from the kang, sits on the white felt mat in front of the urn, and gives the consecration-prayer (1).

[778] 1. [Foreign text p. 858.] As is always done on other occasions, here, too, a torma is made by the lama, which is carried out into the open. It was unfortunately no longer possible to inquire as to whether this torma is put on the place where the urn is buried, say, as an offering for the earth, which is to be injured, similar to what is done at the house, at the fire-pouring, at the crematory, etc.

791 During this time the spear-soothsayer is fetched. He
787 now gives the precise hour in which the urn is to be buried.
782 The master of the household puts the urn on a tray, and the procession moves out to the area indicated by the soothsayer. The soothsayer follows with the invoked spear-god and then

[856 cont.]
782 indicates precisely to the foot the spot where the urn is to be
[791] buried; he likewise determines the depth. Usually this is one
[787] to two ells. A few cypress twigs are put on the floor of the pit. Over them the soothsayer scatters a few barley kernels with the tip of the spear, and one or more flat white stones, depending on how many urns there are, are put on the whole, and the urn is put on it. Then on top of the urn is put a flat white stone, like a lid. Finally the space between the urn and wall is stuffed all around with cypress twigs, and everything is filled with earth, stamped down, and made level. Then the men burn cypress incense and kowtow in front of the urn thus buried.
[792] The lama remains seated on his mat in front of it for some time yet and finishes his prayers. Then all go home.

Details

782 The urn: The urn is an ordinary clay vessel such as is
415 baked in Tsinghai. Usually they are of whitish-yellow color, about 20 to 30 centimeters high, with a thick belly and a narrow neck. The urn for the earth-spirit must be uncolored and unglazed, at least on the outside, and must have a flat bottom. The master of the household buys the urn himself, washes it
[386] [857] thoroughly, and paints it on the outside with gypsum or lime water, for only white urns are given to the earth-spirit. At the conclusion, it is fumigated and ready for use by the lama.

782 Contents of the urn: There are five kinds of grain in the
824 urn, namely: blue Tibetan barley, red wheat, white barley, white rice (2), and yellow rape. The spices are the same as at

2. [Foreign text p. 858.] Why white is used twice here, white barley and white rice, is unclear. Otherwise rice is never used among the five kinds of grain and is not even present in Tsinghai. Perhaps
[174] this is an indication of a southern origin of the urn.

[860]

8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

782 In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in
792 the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts
seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions.
[777] They make a small torma which one takes out into the open
and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by
[784] hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three
[351] large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar.
The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying.
[791] One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual
[787] ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the burning at the fire-pouring.

[778] After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the master of the household undertakes the great incense offering in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the
[789] night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[203 cont.]

192 means "offering container." The chortens now usually shelter
778 the ashes of Buddhist saints or their relics and frequently also
776 bear their pictures on the front side. Thus the meaning of an idol is connected with the whole. The chortens or stupas or suburgans are therefore the seat of a spirit or of a deceased person. A deity is present in them. They are the same as [204] what the Mongols or Tujen imagine under the expression purgan. This conception is confirmed, furthermore, by the urn shape of the stupa. In Tibetan the lower part is called bum-ba, urn, pot. As has already been shown in the case of the earth-god urn and the beńkań, urns are frequently the seat of a deity. This conception is also found elsewhere, and one might also connect the urn with the throne of the gods, which will not be discussed here. In any case, the Tujen word purgan is late and Buddhistic in origin.

776 All the inhabitants of the Buddhist, Bonist, and Taoist pantheon fall within the group of these lower gods insofar as the Tujen have taken it over. A special position seems to be oc-
776 cupied by the fire-spirit as hearth-god or god of the shaman
372 fire, whom Schram so strongly emphasizes in his book concerning marriage among the Tujen. I could no longer confirm any special veneration of the shaman fire, however. If one disregards the fire offering, which is included as part of the rite of the Lamaistic fire-pouring, there remains to the people only the hearth-god, who, however, is venerated no more frequently than among the Chinese, for example. The use of fire for purifica-
[783] tion (widow marriage, leaping over fire, fumigation, red-hot stone, etc.) seems to have nothing to do with a god. It can be explained purely magically, because the demons fear the fire. They are, of course, always regarded as unclean, as the common phrase, pudag ilie, dirty demon, proves.

776 Of the other gods who deserve special mention, there
[791] are the shaman and soothsaying gods, who animate or temporarily
[787] take possession of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, and the divine images, for instance, the black and white tiger, the great mother, the dragon. Furthermore, an important role is
[177] played by the god of joy (at a wedding), who probably comes from the Chinese, the horse- and cattle-king, the world-directions spirits, and the gods of the weather ministry with the smith-god

[212 cont.]

782 The slaughtered offering, together with the animal-
[778] consecration, forms the group of animal offerings, of which one is bloody, the other unbloody. The bloody [213] animal-
[574] offering is carried out in three steps which are clearly differentiated by the people: slaughtering, presentation, sacrificial meal. The classic example is described above as the mountain sheep-offering. The actual presentation, usually in the form of the offering-throw, is designated ~~by the~~ term "offering." Often there is an interval of a whole day between slaughtering and presentation and the meal.

[787] The slaughtering is preceded by the washing and the
[778] milk-oracle, as well as the releasing and recapturing of the animal. It almost has the appearance of an abbreviated animal-consecration, at which the animal is likewise released.

The presentation may be done in two ways. Either the skinned whole animal is set up before the deity, or it is cut up immediately, boiled, and then the pieces of meat with the broth are thrown to the deity. It also happens that the thoroughly cooked pieces are put on plates in front of the altar, like bread or wine. Putting up the pole-goat is probably a remnant of
[171] Central Asiatic form, analogous to the hanging up of the hide of sacrificial animals among the Siberian peoples. Among the Tujen, however, no attention whatever is paid to the skeleton, since, of course, the animal is cut up and boiled with the bones.

782 The sacrificial meal is consumed by all the people, by
574 men, women, and children. I do not know of any sacrificial animals that are reserved for only certain groups. To be sure certain parts are reserved for certain persons as especially tasty, such as the loins, the head, etc. The sacrificial meal is not regarded as a profane act. It is regarded as part of the offering, there is the unequivocal expression for it: "This is a part of our offering."

782 A peculiarity of these offerings is still to be emphasized:
826 the fear of blood. The blood is not spilled but caught during the slaughtering and poured into the intestines. The blood belongs to the animal and is sacrificed and eaten with it. Traces of blood on the ground are immediately covered with earth and wiped away.

[229 cont.]

776 concerned about the well-being of the people, it is striking that
171 he is not linked with the protection of seed and harvest. Otherwise, however, his tasks correspond to those of heaven, even if he is primarily a nature god who shares his character with the lord of the animals and forests of many Siberian peoples.

776 Nonetheless there is a difference between him and heaven. First of all heaven is given precedence, even in connection with all offerings to the mountain-spirit, for instance, the obo offering. Whereas the mountain-spirit has a fixed residence in the obo, his fort, and therefore is tied to the place, heaven retains its freedom with regard to locality. The mountain-spirit can also be a tutelary spirit of the human beings who are named after him; as assisting spirit he may enter into the shaman and take possession of him in the trance. This is altogether out of the question for heaven. People are surprised if one even asks about it. There are pictures and flags of the mountain spirit; he can animate a spirit-spear. Heaven is formless, imageless; no one knows what it looks like. -- Heaven has an exalted uniqueness even in contrast to the mountain-spirit.

[553] [756] [787]

174 Besides the mountain-spirit the earth-deity has its seat
776 in the obo, and, to be sure, in the layer of earth. Its name
[192] glu is doubtless the Tibetan klu, Naga, dragon. In Mongolic the word for it is lu, which is also much in use in the Tujen language. It corresponds to the Chinese lung (dragon). The customs with the earth-god urn show the earth deity of the Tujen more in the Bonistic realm of the Naga cult than in the Mongolic. It is quite possible that two types have mixed here or that the ancient Mongolic has been covered by the later Bonistic-Lamaistic. According to Pallisen (op. cit., pp. 159 f.), the ancient Mongols practiced a cult of the earth-deity, who is probably to be thought of as female. There it bears the name itoga or, in the prevocalic version, etügen, and is conceived as the tutelary deity of the homeland earth. The characteristics that are attributed to this deity correspond to those of the mountain-spirit. It is also to be surmised that this deity is to be associated with the female shamans, who call themselves udugan

[The bō or Drum-Shamans]

[235 cont.]

756 and, depending upon the region, various local spirits. These
[776] gods predominantly come from the Taoist pantheon.

[789] [236] Activity. -- Their principal task is the weather
[241] conjuration, the sowing and harvest festivals, and curing sick-
[755] nesses.

756 Peculiarity. -- The bō or fa-shih are differentiated from
787 the other shamans by the fact that they have no trance. If one questions the people about it, one always receives the same answer: "fa-shih pu fa shen (the fashih do not go into ectascy)." Now that is not entirely correct. Namely, at the conclusion of the sowing or harvest festival, one of them attempts an imitation of the trance and wounds himself with the knife. This is called: "fa ta-shen (to produce a great trance)." It is not a trance at all, but at most a relic suggesting it; I was able to observe it several times. Thus the people are basically right when they do not accord ecstasy to them. -- The people sum up the main
756 characteristic, however, in the saying: "fa-shih ch'uei ku, t'iao
535 shen (the fashih beat the drum and perform spirit dances)." Drum and dance are the most outstanding. They always dance in groups before the image of the great mother in order to please her, or also before the sacrificial pig. These are not shamanistic individual dances in order to induce a trance, but are cultic group-dances that follow a definite ritual. One can therefore designate them as drum- or dance-shamans, although true shamanistic features are scarcely present any more.

Classification

171 Relationship to the more recent Siberian shamanism.
756 -- There are few similarities with Siberian shamanism. One could regard the drum as the most important continuation from Siberian shamanism. The relationship with the Tungusic and Mongolic-Manchurian shamanism is stronger. The drum has almost exactly the same execution and the same appendages as, for example, among the Mongols of the Kūrie-Banner. (Cf.

[239 cont.]

756 The religious character. -- What has been said up to now about the nature and activities of the gurtum shows that they rest upon a passive and receptive basic attitude, a basic attitude that seems to be at variance with the warrior-shaman. The relationship of dependency, however, in the realm of "divine" possession, with regard to the possessor-spirit, is unequivocal. The active ability to coerce, the arbitrariness, which represents the basic element of magic, is lacking. The basis is religious, not magical.

[787] The gurtum himself can do nothing about his calling. It comes over him unwilled, sometimes against his will. One day he is seized by the spirit in a vision, put in ecstasy, and recognizes by sight his future possessor. This being chosen is 956 acknowledged most strikingly in the search for a shaman by the 792 monasteries. Even though the individual monasteries are anxious to have a gurtum, no monastery can designate or train one of its inmates for this purpose, although this would be expected in the case of tantristic Lamaism. They remain for years without the coveted shamanistic soothsayer, until one day someone who was chosen by a deity to be its vessel is found. The calling is a free gift that is not hereditary. It is known of the monastery Kumbum that for a long time it was punished by having to do without a gurtum in whom the oracle-god made himself present.

Everything that the gurtum does is done in the power of 756 his possessor-spirit, like an instrument, and not because of cer- 787 tain actions, gestures, or formulas. The inducing of ecstasy is not a way of forcing the spirit to come down, but a ceremonial force transmitted through the calling, which does not rob the spirit of its freedom. The shaman only receives this power from his tutelary lord himself, and to be sure under certain preconditions, such as continence, donning the attire, invitation prayer. This prayer, as its name indicates, is not a magical [782] formula, but praise and a request; it does not have any effect in itself, just as the donning of the equipment alone would not draw down the deity.

Likewise the taming of the demons in the spirit battle of the trance, the soothsaying, healing, etc. are done through

[239 cont.]
756 the spirit in the shaman; he is actually the warrior, the sooth-
[787] sayer, the healer. His presence is essential. Therefore the
people also fall down before the gurtum and venerate him like
[787] a god. Finally, even the shaman himself has the duty of venerating
his tutelary spirit; he must burn incense for it, make offerings,
and pray to it. -- This religious character of the gurtum, how-
ever, by no means excludes all magic. His special position
suggests [240] that he also engages in magical practices, but
then not in his character as a shaman but as a human being
whom one especially trusts since he is in communication with
the spirit world; cf. above, p. 330.

Classification

171 Present-day Chinese shamanism in the form of the fashih,
756 wushih, or shihkung, as well as the earlier Wuism, has no direct
connection with the gurtum. The Chinese shamans are female
oriented, directed toward agriculture, and pass down their office
within the kin group; they have the dance and the drum, the
trance has become vestigial, and the rites are overlaid with
Taoistic elements. None of this applies to the gurtum. He is
the type of the manly warrior, knows no drum but weapons, and
no dance but battle. He cannot pass down his office, but re-
ceives it through individual calling. A certain enmity between
him and the fashih has already been indicated.

The present-day Siberian shaman likewise has a differ-
ent appearance. He, too, knows the drum and for the most part
practices a kind of dance. The shaman costume is not the uni-
form type like that of the gurtum and is hung with all kinds of
things, iron, feathers, figures, etc. In ecstasy he imitates the
[787] ascent to heaven or the journey of the soul which I could not
find in the case of the gurtum, even though Lessing (Mongolen,
p. 148) indicates such. Furthermore, there exists between this
type of shaman, who in Mongolic is called bö (böge) and in
Tujen bō, and the gurtum a conscious contrast which Lessing,

[243 cont.]
756 all more or less unimportant elements. The type of the pro-
174 tective warrior, however, goes uniformly through the various
[779] representations. Thus the question of the origin of the gurtum becomes the question of the origin of the warrior-shaman.

The Origin of the Warrior-shaman

This question cannot be exhaustively dealt with here within the framework of a presentation of the Tujen religion, since it is closely connected with the origin of shamanism in general. The following points are therefore to be regarded merely as sketchy hints for a later investigation.

Warrior-shamans and Bon religion. H. Hoffmann writes in his book (Quellen, p. 194) of the gNas c'un oracle: "He is, therefore, a living relic of the Bon religion in Lamaism, and to be sure of that side of the Bon religion that is extremely close to the shamanism of the Siberian peoples ..." On page 205 he comes back to the same observation after he has set forth in the same chapter the shamanistic elements in the Bon religion. The type of the Bon shaman pictured there, however, does not correspond to the type of the gurtum or warrior-shaman. The clothing is different, and the Bon shaman works with the hoop drum covered on one side (cf. op. cit., p. 201). A kind of kettledrum is also used. On his drum the Bon-pa rides heavenward in ecstasy. Hoffman quite correctly links this type of shaman with the present-day Siberian form of shamanism (pp. 202 f.). Two important elements, the hoop drum
[774] and the flight of the soul, do not appear with the warrior-shaman. To be sure, in the temple, as I was able to observe in Kumbum and Kuomang-szu, large, double-sided drums were likewise beaten as the gurtum was transported into the trance, but only by the assisting lamas, and to be sure they were the drums that are otherwise used at the religious service. The hoop drum, however, of which Hoffman (op. cit., p. 203) gives an illustration, is not used. In the case of the gurtum the
[787] necessary connection between the drum and the ascent to

[243 cont.]

174 heaven is completely lacking. The type of Bon shamanism de-
756 scribed here seems rather to have its vestiges among the fashih
[787] in the Chinese Koko Nor region, whose close connection to the Bon religion was already surmised above, especially since these fashih (or bö) [244] are very frequently represented precisely in the region of Kuei-tê on the same river where today the Bon religion is still fairly strong. -- It is not to be disputed in any way that the type of the gNas-c'uṅ oracle is a survival from the Bon religion. However, just as the Bon religion generally is not a homogeneous structure, so the shamanism contained in it would also not have been of a uniform type. And precisely if the gNas-c'uṅ oracle is a survival from the Bon religion, this proves that here, too, as elsewhere, at least two shaman types were present: the Siberian drum-shamans and the warrior-shamans (10). An element that Hoffmann clearly characterizes,

10. The gurtum type of the gNas-c'uṅ oracle can be linked much better to Gšen-rab itself or to the Dto-mba Shi-lo of the Na-khi, the founder of Bon shamanism. The sign for Dto-mba Shi-lo is Ssu, in other words, the ancestor, tutelary god, and in the final analysis the god of life of the Na-khi family; cf. J.F. Rock, "Dto-mba Shi-lo," p. 45, Note 2. This establishes the connection with the basic figures of the other possessor-spirits of the gurtum,
776] who, to be sure, finally manifest themselves likewise as god of life. -- Furthermore, the Dto-mbas with their swords and demon battles ("sham battles" [cited in English]) resemble the gurtum; cf. J.F. Rock, op. cit., p. 77, Pl. 12.

however, must be considered in the case of the warrior-shaman,

[245 cont.]

171 of his protégé, is involved here; in this connection cf. also
756 Bleichsteiner (or Hoffmann), "Srog-bdag," pp. 118 f. It is not
776 possible to give here all the models and possible archetypes of these warlike doubles and "alter egos." They are very widely distributed in space and time, as is the belief in tutelary spirits generally, and extend back over the archaic high cultures into still earlier times (Megalithic); cf. Dominik Wölfel, Die Religionen des vorindogermanischen Europa. A special development is represented by the sülde banner of the Mongolic khans, which also attests to the fact that in the case of these tutelary spirits true localizations and seizure are involved.

174 That these tutelary spirits are connected with ancestors,
756 and in part identical with them, can likewise be amply documented, as it is repeatedly emphasized in the shamanism. One
776 special feature is still to be pointed out: the shamanistic use of armor and weapons. My informant told me that the Tujen
[523] formerly had brought the weapons and equipment of famous popular heroes into the temple where they were stored. Then
[787] when a shaman who had been called put on this equipment, the powers and the spirit of the hero descended upon him. The shift of an old popular custom into Lamaism is evident here, for prior to this the protector and guardian of the ayil (tribe) was the mountain-spirit in the obo; he watched over the weapons, and in former times arms were also buried in the obo; cf. above, pp. 351 f., and the chapter on the obo, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation]. Just as the popular festivals were later transferred from the obo to the Lamaistic temple, this also happened with the weapons and equipment and the associated donning of them by the shaman. This also explains the especially close connection of the people's gurtum with the mountain-spirit and obo and his warlike character still today. It is well-known that the obo has a special connection with the tribal lord and the latter's descendants. Like-
[773] wise it is told of Geser, who, to be sure, according to the Tujen version, was also the ancestor of the Tujen, how he donned the supernatural armor which is kept in readiness for the special task of the battle against the ills of mankind in heaven.

[247 cont.]

174 one, the shaman as representative of the god of life (characterized by the tree of life, etc.).

756 Among the people Buddhism found in the warrior-shaman

779 a type which could be "converted" especially easily. It connected the tutelary figures of its religion with this popular shaman. It had been especially prepared for this type of possession-shamanism through the tantrist-magical realizations so that it could easily absorb it. What then remained of other shaman types was branded and fought as xara nom, black belief, by the new "orthodox" shamanism with the spread of Lamaism. This [248] opposition, dealt with much in the literature, is aptly characterized by Lessing in a conversation with his teacher: "... 'Then is a gurtum not a shaman?' I asked him. 'By no means, something much higher. What he invokes, those are the authentic spirits, not the unclean ones of the Bö (written in Mong. böge, shaman)' ..." (Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143).

d) Idol-shamanism

756 In what follows the justification for speaking of idol-

791 shamanism as a special matter will automatically appear. One

[778] could also call it simply "thing-shamanism," because a thing represents the person as shaman. Among the shamanistic idols the spirit-spear of the Tujen occupies a favored position.

The Spirit-spear

The relationship of soothsayer and spear. -- Here the difference in the shamanizing of a gurtum and that of a spear-soothsayer should be recalled (cf. the appropriate chapters in the first part, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 18-33 [pp. 21-50 above in the HRAF translation]. Whereas the gurtum is completely possessed and in this state psychically closes himself off from the

[787] outside world, the spear-soothsayer remains in control of himself and awake. He does not go into ecstasy; only the spear is possessed by the spirit and affects the soothsayer. The soothsayer,

[252 cont.]

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still cannot explain its great significance and use.

The Other Idols

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Just as the spirit-spear is the seat of a deity which is activated by a middleman, so also is a series of other idols. These may be: the table, the spirit-litter, weather club, carriage axles, noodle roller, etc. Of these the spirit-table and the god-litter are the most important.

The spirit-table bears its name unjustly, for it is not a [776] table, but the representation of an animal deity, the black tiger. This is confirmed by the fact that it is consecrated at the consecration of this tiger and is regarded as possessed by the latter. Furthermore, the intestines of the tiger are attached under the top, which, however, are not visible to the eye.

[787] The soothsaying with the table is done exactly as with the spear, except that it is held by two persons.

This deity, according to all the statements, is peculiar to the Chinese shamans. That it was originally foreign to the [776] Tujen is proved precisely by the superficial name given it, sirie purgan (table-deity), where in reality the top forms the back, the table legs are the tiger's legs, and the underside bears the intestines.

The spirit-litter has no Tujen name at all, but is simply called, as in Chinese, chiao-tzu or niang-niang chiao-tzu (litter of the mother). The litter is not the main thing, but the god's [532] figure sitting in it, which is executed as realistically as possible, with magnificent clothes, real hair, and flesh-colored face. The interior likewise contains the intestines, the heart, and the maternal organs. The figure is consecrated with the litter, at which time the inner organs are put inside.

This goddess likewise belongs to the Chinese shamans (fashih), who also undertake its animation. Frequently,

[252 cont.]
778 however, the lamas in the monastery do this. For soothsaying
791 the litter is taken up on the shoulders of four men, who then
[787] involuntarily follow the movements of the deity.

Summary

756 Both idol-shamanism and gurtum-shamanism form a unity
787 in their appearance. They have in common: the clothing
791 (= beribboning), the metal disks, the little bells or rattles, and possession by a spirit. They both belong in the conceptual realm of the connection [253] between heaven and earth and of the world- or shaman-tree that is hung with bells and mirrors; in this connection cf. the myths of the Golden or the songs of the Tujen, which tell about a tree that bears the sun, moon, and stars in its top. In the case of the human shaman all functions are united in one bearer, whereas in idol-shamanism these functions are divided between man and thing, but this division in turn constitutes a unity in the activities. There arises here the fundamental question: Is not the entire idol cult to be understood ultimately from this shamanistic standpoint? Does it not gain its real significance only through the living person? Certainly a great deal of what has hitherto been designated as "fetishism" or "idol cult" is at bottom merely a variant of shamanism, a static permanent form of that which the shaman represents for only a short period of time with great psychic upheaval: a direct link with the spirit world, culturally regularized, and ritually developed; making present and vivifying deities and demons that the human being wants to have with him.

Here it should be once more emphasized that these ideas are merely a sketch for a theory whose detailed presentation does not belong here.

3. The Bon Religion

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779 Among the Bon there are three groups: the shepherd-Bon, the farmer-Bon, and the monastery-Bon. This division

thanksgiving for the honor bestowed upon the family. 792
Some time later, the nephew of T'u-kuan, of the Ts'e- 662
bdurk family became the reincarnation of the Living 775
Buddha of Labrang, the most intimate friend of T'u-kuan for many generations. It was T'u-kuan who, in Peking, obtained the title of Erdeni Nomun-khan for the Living Buddha of Labrang.[23] After the death of the Living Buddha of Labrang, T'u-kuan is invited to cast the horoscope in order to indicate the place where the reincarnation of his friend will occur, and *vice versa*.

SEARCH FOR THE INCARNATION

This problem has been dealt with by many authors. 792
Therefore, only data concerning Huang-chung will here 795
be recorded, because they may help to reveal the social 648
psychology of the Monguor lamas and of the Monguors. Upon the death of one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, the Dalai Lama is invited to cast the horoscope indicating the place of rebirth. Usually two or three boys seem to fulfill the requirements. Their names are sent to Peking and put in the traditional urn, according to the protocol established by imperial edict in 1793,[24] from which one is then drawn. The name drawn is supposed to be that of the genuine incarnation. For minor Living Buddhas, another Living Buddha is requested to render the service.

Usually the place of rebirth is indicated in terms as 792
vague as the oracle of Delphi, and lamas go to find the 795
candidate, but old lamas have admitted to me confi- 662
dentially that soon after the death of a Living Buddha 787
some lamas of the intendancy are sent to investigate where children were born around that time, and in what wealthy family, and actually it is usually one or two years before the horoscope is cast. Sometimes the horoscope is so vague that it is many years before the boy is found. The rebirth of Achia of Kumbum who died tragically in 1909 was found after six years, and two boys fitted the requirements. The two names were sent to Peking, and one was chosen. At that time the lamas of Kumbum were in a hurry, fearing that Achia would no longer reincarnate because of the fateful circumstances of his death. When the boy is found, lamas have him select from among several items displayed (beads, cups, etc.) the things he used in his previous existences. This is performed in the presence of lamas only.

Wonderful legends are told about the reincarnations 538
of Erh-ku-lung. T'u-kuan, bent with age, went on foot 775
to Peking, incognito, in order to heap up piles of merit. At night, in Lien-ch'eng, a good but poor lady prepared his food, and in the morning when he left she offered him her last piece of brick tea. T'u-kuan died in Peking and was reborn in the child to which the poor but charitable lady gave birth. It was her reward.

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[23] Huth, *op. cit.*, 288.

[24] W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung pao* 9 (1): 55, March, 1910.

[p.67(A)]

The horoscope concerning the incarnation of Chang- 175
chia was on one occasion extremely vague. "Reborn in 775
the province of Shan-hsi," it said; nothing more. Lamas, 792
after looking for six years, did not find the boy. Tired 787
and despondent, they entered a Chinese inn, at the same time that a boy seven years old was returning from school. He looked at the lamas, and never having seen lamas before he started laughing. His mother immediately said, "It is the very first time I ever saw my boy laughing that way." Suspicion arose in the hearts of the lamas. They asked the lady for lodging for the night, but she flatly refused. The boy implored his mother again and again to allow them to stay. Then the lamas understood, the boy was the incarnation. They knelt before him, offering the ceremonial scarf of yellow satin, and acknowledging him as their Living Buddha. The boy smiled in the most happy way. They presented the traditional scarf to the Chinese parents, who refused to let the boy go because he was their only son. Finally, when 5,000 taels of silver were promised, the parents agreed. The lamas bought two fine mules and a cart, and returned with their Living Buddha to Erh-ku-lung.

The young Living Buddha Li had been dead five years, and the horoscope revealed he would reincarnate this time in a certain family Li. On the twenty-fourth of the fourth month, in the village of Li-chia-t'ai in the Naring Valley, there was a festival at the San-pao temple. The old Li Living Buddha, a venerable old man, adored in the country, attended the festival, as he had done for many years. All the children fled upon his arrival. Squatting on the ground in front of a big tent, he talked with the crowd. A poor boy, clothed in rags, ingenuously came close to the old man, whose beads he twisted around his tiny arms. Finally he sat in the old man's lap, and the old man understood and placed a red ribbon around his neck.

When he got back home, the intendancy decided that the genuine incarnation had been found. Lamas were sent to congratulate the parents, and to offer the ceremonial scarf. The Li T'u-ssu, the elders of the village, and the maternal uncle of the boy were invited to make preparations for the installation of the new Living Buddha. The intendancy prepared a dinner and the [431]
guests decided that 500 taels should be offered to the parents; a silk gown and velvet boots to the grandfather; a long coat to the maternal uncle; a long coat in flowered silk to the Li T'u-ssu, chief of the clan; a mare and a Peking saddle to the father; a beautiful cow to the mother, and [illegible] ounces of tea to each of the other members of the family.

The next day the village offered a dinner. Thirty 175
lamas arrived on horseback to lead the boy to his in- 775
tendancy. On the way, two small groups of lamas on 792
horseback were waiting to congratulate the boy, offering the scarf and prostrating themselves. The next day, before the dinner prepared by the intendancy, the boy was led to the temple where texts were read and the

[p. 67 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

existing in China from the dawn of history, who are 756
considered akin with the shamans of Central Asia; that the Monguor shamans probably entered the guild of the Taoist priests before the catastrophe which befell Lamaism in 1723 in order to save their institution, but that they still harbor the conviction that they are genuine shamans and not Taoist priests. The fact that during the performance of their rites they act as shamans, and not as Taoist priests, will give evidence for this assumption.

VII. THE KURTAIN

THE TYPE OF THE KURTAIN

Among the Monguors there is encountered still another type of possessed man whom they call a *Kurtain* (Tibetan, *Skurgdien*), and whom the Chinese call *Fo-la-shih* or *Ku-wai-tien*. He is found most frequently in genuine Monguor families, and plays an important role in the religious life of the Monguors.

A farmer, shepherd, or laborer—anybody, old or young, poor or rich, even a lama may become a Kurtain but well-to-do or rich men seldom do so. Several times I was told, by old Monguors, that in former times in San-ch'uan a woman subject of the Li T'u-ssu discharged that duty.

A Kurtain is a man who, all of a sudden, is seen to 756
be possessed by some spirit. It happens most often at 787
the time of a terrific storm, when he is helping combat the hail spirits, or at the feast in the spring when he sees a possessed shaman worked into a frenzy, or at night while attending the awful ceremonies which are performed to appease the avenging spirit of a suicide. Suddenly he starts speaking indistinctly, nervously gesticulating with his arms and hands, acting in an unusual way. Arriving at the temple supported and led by his companions, he declares himself to be possessed by so-and-so, a spirit who compels him to be his disciple. Such Kurtains, the Monguors told me, are usually the genuinely possessed. They always added, however, that they suspected the authenticity of Kurtains who become possessed by dint of weeks and weeks of exacting exercises in which they study how to imitate the behavior and trances of old Kurtains.

The "Kurtainship" is never inherited in the family. 756
The possessed is singled out by the spirit himself to be his disciple, and after his death, the spirit chooses another disciple in another family. Thus, no duty is imposed on the family to continue providing a successor to the Kurtain, and the honoring of this spirit. Kurtains are not like the shamans described above, whose families are bound to continue the service of the Twelve Tengris accepted by their ancestors. Shaman boys must receive a training by their masters in order to learn how to become possessed. Upon the genuine Kurtain, however, the possession is forced unexpectedly and then

[p. 90(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

thenticity of their possession, the Kurtain has to provide 756
evidence of being possessed, which has to be tested and 571
checked by qualified men, before they can enjoy the benefit of a "diploma" showing their credentials. Not only the Monguors but the lamas ask for a serious test.

If the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a Lamaist 756
deity whose incarnation is living at the lamasery, the 787
test is provided by this Living Buddha himself, who 571
is the best qualified man for the examination. If there is no such incarnation at the lamasery, the Kurtain has to invite the Living Buddha, or a Fa-t'ai, to offer him a gift, and implore him to make the test. In case the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism, the chiefs of the village urge him to pass the test before a Living Buddha anyhow, for only the Living Buddhas are supposed to possess the required yardsticks *ad hoc*. Old Kurtains cannot test the authenticity of new Kurtains. In the event the Kurtain declares himself to be possessed by a deity of Lamaism, the community of the village defrays the expenses required for the test. If he declares himself to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism he has to defray the expenses himself.

The test of a Kurtain possessed by a Taoist spirit is 756
carried out as follows: the Living Buddha, who sits on 787
his throne under the porch of the main temple with all the lamas, while the temple yard is packed to capacity with a curious and interested crowd, orders the Kurtain to sit beneath the steps.

The Kurtain wears the usual gown worn by the Monguors (seldom a red one) bound round the waist with a sash of red cloth. On a piece of red cloth, covering his head, is fixed a small copper mirror, shining on his forehead; a large red ribbon encircles his head, on which are sewn a lot of small bells. If he happens to be possessed by the spirit Wu tao shen, the spirit of the five roads, he wears a crown of that spirit. Over a large "cloud collar,"[1] which comes down over his shoulders, passes a red rope to which is attached a bigger copper mirror adorned by red, yellow, green, and blue ribbons or *khata*, dangling on his chest. On his back are sewn a couple of red and green handkerchiefs.

He sits erect on a low Chinese table, his legs always [514]
sprawled apart, imitating the exact posture of the god of the Five Roads, even though he may be possessed by the dragon god. The representation of this Chinese warrior, his theatrical attitude seen everywhere in all the temples, must have impressed the Monguors to a very large extent. On the knees of the Kurtain is

[1] This collar seems to hint at a part of the garments worn by the old Mongol princes "Ils (les princes) ont encore une autre forme (l'habit): un collet nommé 'Jaqa' sur les épaules et sur le dos, et qui finit des deux cotés en pointe aigue; il ressemble à un echiquier. Ce bord pend sur les deux épaules. Il est toujours fait en brocart ou en peau de zibeline." H. Serruys, *Pei-lou fong-sou*, Les coûtumes des esclaves septentrionaux, *Monumenta Serica* 10: 145, 1945. For the "cloud collar" (*Yün-chien*), see S. Cammann, The symbolism of the cloud collar motif, *Art Bull.*, March, 1951.

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placed a sword, and near him a dagger and a long whip. 756
He never uses the drum, which is the specific tool of 787
the shamans.

Shamans, Kurtains, and all kinds of people possessed by good spirits, are everywhere accustomed to assuming the duty of defending their customers against evil spirits. They are fighters and protectors and therefore use all the weapons befitting the job. The Kurtain, in his theatrical attitude, is most aggressive; in his acts he is violent and savage. Shamans, however, by means of their elegant dances, first try to soothe the ruffled feathers of the malignant spirits and to make their spirit protectors feel well disposed.

A fire of cypress twigs is lit before the Kurtain, who prays some version of Om Mani or the *swork'a* prayer of his spirit protector, inviting him to descend into him, while the lamas beat the drums. The Kurtain becomes excited and starts shaking his head, causing the small bells attached to his headdress to ring, making sounds like the bells on the bridle of a running horse. He shakes them more and more furiously, for a long time, becoming more and more excited, and is supposed to be possessed. The shaking of the head is the specific behavior of the Kurtain; hence the Chinese all over the country call him the "head shaking Kurtain"—*Yao t'eou fa-la-shih*. Then the Living Buddha starts asking him about the danger of hailstorms in the next summer, about the next harvest, the peace in the country, in the village, in the lamasery. Then, jumping up on his feet, he does a really furious dance. Bounding savagely, he works himself into a frenzy and starts playing with his sword, cutting and fencing against imagined spirits. He grabs the whip and beats it against the ground with deafening blows. Chasing and pursuing spirits, he jumps in all directions pretending to pierce with his dagger one enemy after another. Finally, dripping with sweat, having used all his weapons, one after another, he is ordered by the Living Buddha to sit down and keep quiet.

Then the Living Buddha asks him of whose spirit he is the disciple, and asks for explanations and the history of his spirit. In the event that the answers satisfy the Buddha and the dances are in conformity with the choreographic rules, the Buddha puts a *khatag* around his neck and declares that he is the genuine disciple of so-and-so (a spirit). Holding in his hands some ropes of cloth, dyed red, he blows on them several times, as Living Buddhas do when they bestow special blessings. He ties them around the neck of the dancer, takes a handful of barley and throws it on him, saying: "Spirit so-and-so is truly your spirit, act accordingly in order to honor him." The Kurtain is then declared officially to be the accredited disciple of the spirit, and all the evidence seems to substantiate the fact of his possession. Having succeeded in the test, the esteem of the people follows the Kurtain in the wake of his achievement. His prestige is enhanced, and surrounded with an aura of success; he will start a new career.

[p.92(A)]

However, if he does not satisfy the requirements, and 756
does not acquit himself creditably, if his answers are 787
wrong and his dances inadequate and inelegant, he fails abjectly. The angry Buddha, rebuking and snubbing him, pulls off one of his boots and throws it contemptuously and disdainfully at the head of the Kurtain, upbraiding his impudent audacity, saying: "You are not possessed by a spirit, but by an ox, go on." All hopes of the candidate are dashed forever; the trust of the people in him is uprooted. He goes away discomfited, dishonorably evicted, and the possession is finished. The Kurtain cannot withstand the verdict of a Buddha who blocks his way. Twice I attended such a test, once at the monastery of T'ien-t'ang and once at Ch'ie-bzan. I inquired about the fantastic tales current all over the country, concerning the fact that the authenticity of the Kurtains can be tested by making them lick white-hot iron, pierce their chest with a sword, walk and sit on thorns. Always the answers were that in olden times when the Kurtains were more potent, they could stand such tests, but the present Kurtains are not made of the same stuff as in olden times, and therefore these tests can no longer be made.

TESTS OF THE KURTAINS POSSESSED BY A LAMAIST DEITY

The Kurtains possessed by Lamaist deities seem to have possessions of a lower grade. The Kurtain of Seerkok was said to be possessed by the deity Kortong (?) whose incarnation was one of the minor Living Buddhas staying at the monastery. The Kurtain of Erh-ku-lung was possessed by the minor deity Nie-bturk bzan whose incarnation, of second or third rank, was living at the monastery. The pictures of both deities, which I saw at the Karwa of these incarnations, represented the familiar type of the hundreds of Buddhas quietly sitting crosslegged absorbed in meditation, but the men they possessed were none the less furious Kurtains. Learned lamas did not have any knowledge of Kurtains possessed by the so-called guardians of the faith, which are pictured as terrible, cruel warriors. They asserted that all the possessions were manifestations of minor deities, and they could not easily explain how furious Kurtains were possessed by peaceful deities. Concerning the question of the possession of a lama by a Lamaist deity, they deemed it possible, but did not remember such cases in the country.

I never had the opportunity to attend a test ceremony for the kind of Kurtains possessed by Lamaist deities, but the information acquired from Living Buddhas, [115]
lamas, and laymen, seemed to show that little difference existed between the tests of both kinds of Kurtains. The subjects, their avocation, and training are similar, as well as the theatrical performance in the court of the main temple. The Kurtain is attired in the same way and uses the same weapons in the same way, but he must wear on his head the crown of the five Dhyana

[p. 92 (B)]

Buddhas. The special *swork'a* or prayer honoring his deity is read by the lamas, and the Kurtain is proclaimed to be a genuinely possessed man. Then he is ordered to memorize his *swork'a* and to recite it before each performance, it being an invitation to his deity to descend into him. 756 787

Then follow the usual recommendations given to all Kurtains about continence on the day of a performance, not to act when his wife is giving birth and at mourning time, not to indulge in wine, to keep his weapons (sword, whip, and dagger) in a decent place and not to use them for other purposes; to give a performance at the monastery at the annual pageant time and in the families where his deity is specially honored, and always stress is put on the obligation to be loyal, honest, and dependable, so as not to cast a blight on the institution. Every time I heard this last recommendation, I remembered what the Monguors had said so many times, that among the Kurtains more dubious fellows are encountered than among the shamans, and for that reason the shamans are invited more by them than the Kurtains. They always added the story of the famous Kurtain of Toolong, which was seared in their mind. It seems really typical and sheds an unfavorable light on the institution. [844]

Many years ago, the Kurtain of Toolong used to predict whether there would be outbreaks of arson in autumn when the crops were heaped upon the threshing floor. In this way he earned a pretty good living, because the crops of the people who had invited him for the performance of his rites were preserved and those of the incredulous people were burned at night. The whole country was really disturbed. However, suspicions arose and the arsonist was taken redhanded one night. He turned out to be the old father of the Kurtain. The chief and the elders of the village hung the old man by his thumbs from a tree and he received a well-deserved lashing to make him reveal the instigator of the arson. Reeling with dizziness and pain, welts and bruises all over his body, the father accused his son, and the Kurtain was hung up and tortured. The infuriated villagers came within a hair of killing him. His mandate of disciple of the spirit was gone forever. Such events are very prejudicial to the Kurtains. They cast a blemish on their group and are commented on all over the country for years, and so the saying goes that there are few good genuine Kurtains, and for that reason all have to be tested.[2] 756 685 [627]

Some of the Kurtains not only upset the villagers once in a while, but even land the monasteries in serious trouble. A fact well known in the country runs, that on the fifteenth of the first moon in 1914, the lamas of the important lamasery of Seerkok invited their Kurtain, possessed by the deity Kortong, to the ceremony carried out in honor of the deity, with great pomp and display. 756 579

[2] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1238, notes a similar case of a *W'u* arsonist.

[p.93(A)]

to the ears of the sheep and all over its fleece. Everybody endeavors to attach a couple of ribbons. 795 825

The sheep will join the herd as before; its wool will be sheared twice a year, as is done for the other sheep, but it will never be killed and will be allowed to die naturally. If it dies during the year, next New Year's another one will be consecrated and will take its place, for every family has to have its sacred animal. 231 [778]

But what if the sheep does not shake its head? This is conclusive proof that the deity is angry and ill disposed toward the family. Dread and terror instantly show upon their faces. All the members of the family, startled and panic stricken, look at one another distressed, dejected, and in deep gloom, for everybody feels that this fact bodes ill for the future. Bowing their heads to the ground and lifting their hearts in humble entreaty, they beg pardon and ask the deity to overlook their offences, to accept the offer. Then milk is poured again, and if the sheep still obstinately refuses to shake its head, it is finally removed. [787]

Then, in the living room, the situation is examined to be sure the predicament is of their own making. Maybe they had been too remiss in honoring the deity; maybe the spirit does not like the discord and resentment reigning in the family; maybe the deity wants a more valuable sacrifice? After renewed prostrations and promises for the future, the conclusion is always that the only hope remaining is to consecrate a more valuable animal, a young female mule, for they know that it is impossible to get around the spirit and defy it with impunity, and that anybody who tampers with its plans is riding for a fall.

The female mule is led into the courtyard and washed; tail and mane are combed. Two red hot stones are dropped in a utensil containing boiling water, which is adjusted under the nose of the animal so that the vapors may enter the nostrils, purifying the animal interiorly, as it has been cleansed exteriorly. The animal is led through the door of the living room, and in front of the picture of the deity. Milk, mixed with water, is poured on its head and in its ears—the head shakes. Ribbons are attached on mane and tail. The animal will be used in the same way as other animals, but never will it be sold. It is allowed to die a natural death.

The Monguors whom I asked for explanations always replied in the same way, that the rite is always performed only on the third of the New Year, by the head of the family, without Red or Yellow lamas or shamans; that the animal is always consecrated to the guardian deity of the family, inside the living room, in front of the picture of the guardian deity. Because the "spirit of Heaven" or "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored as family protectors, the animal is never consecrated to the "spirit of Heaven" or to "Heaven and all the spirits."

If it happens that the family spirits are the spirits of the mountains, the rite is always performed in the

[p. 118(B)]

on his second ascension to the throne, and to present his offices in these times of troubles which beset the empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and somewhat later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them. The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and devastating the country. The officials in the capital grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his troops to move. He was committed to prison and deliberation concerning capital punishment was held. The emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportunity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the Mongols in the regions of Yenan and Suei-te (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*b*).

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of Li Wen?

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450–1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs and the most prominent officials, some of them friends and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions seethed with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals. Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung.

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching Ti the capital beseiged by Esen in 1449. During the illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot preparing the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthronement of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his rivals and seven executions of the most prominent officials followed. He was bestowed with the title of Pilar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky. It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, proclaimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung. The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poisoned himself. His father was committed to jail and ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta-

/33 cont'd/

583 584 bow gravely, and without having opened their mouths go away to share the lozenges and the cash.

The go-between rises and says aloud: "The flower has just been presented, let us proceed to the recognition of the alliance of the two families and the exchange of wine."

The two fathers-in-law rise and go to kneel in the middle of the rug, after bowing to each other. The go-between puts in the hand of each a little cup of gin, which they exchange and drink.

584 788 539 The cups are filled four times in a row, and they exchange them four times; those present recite aloud one of the four following couplets:

Si che iang koang	May the feast be brilliant
man siu hoa	May flowers abound.
tse suen hoa	May the flowers which are the sons and grandsons
leang mien tch'a	Bloom on both sides (to the glory of the two families).
leang kia hi ngai	May the two families be happy
tso ts'in kia	To be related to each other.
sin ts'in kia	May the new family by marriage
mou tan hoa	Be like a peony (emblem of good fortune).

584 [262] /34/ Then the two fathers-in-law rise and propose that all present drink in their turn. A light meal is served consisting of boiled mutton cut in pieces, bread, and noodles in the Chinese style....

The bride's family takes care to put into the father-in-law's carpetbag two strings of cash and several loaves of bread, always an even number; the other guests receive two loaves each. The jug is given back filled with gin.

[18]

II. Customs concerning the Officiants

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1. The Spirit-spear Soothsayer*

*See "Notes," pp. 23-26 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

791 787 Like all other kinds of soothsaying through a deity, soothsaying with the spirit-spear is called "to question the spirit." It proceeds as follows:

A spirit-spear is fetched in case there is none in the family. Then the soothsayer is invited. He is offered tea and [264] bread. Meanwhile the yard and the place where the soothsaying is to take place are swept. The great incense offering is pre- [782] sented in the yard in the usual form, and it remains burning throughout the ceremony. The soothsayer dons a long cloak, takes [783] off his cap, washes his hands and face, and rinses out his mouth. Then he steps in front of the spear, which has either been planted [788] in the ground or is held by a man, and kowtows three times. He rises, seizes the spear with both hands in the middle of the shaft, and holds it vertically in front of him. In this position he says the prayer of invitation. During this prayer the spirit descends. The spear starts to tremble, and with it the soothsayer's arms; one hears the bells rattle. Now the suppliant presents his case and receives directions from the spirit in the spear as to what he should do. The will and the reply of the spirit are manifested by the movement of the spear, for example, by stamping, leaping up, shaking. The soothsayer, too, questions the spear-spirit and imparts its answer. When the soothsaying is over, the soothsayer says the farewell prayer. The spear becomes quiet and stands still. The spirit is gone, and the soothsayer puts the spear aside again and makes his kowtow three times.

Spear-soothsaying is almost always practiced at all ceremonies in order to call down the spirit as witness. The soothsaying is always done in the same fashion.

[20 cont.]

*778 [824] The making of the spear: The wood of the shaft must have grown wild. Wood that has been planted or wood from inhabited, settled regions may never be taken, for it is not pure. The wood is therefore sought in lonely forests and mountains. The most superior wood is sandalwood. Since this is rare, however, the mountain ash is usually used. -- The iron is usually wrought iron. There is no prescriptions concerning its origin. It may be bought, taken from old tools, etc.

Fig. 2

a. Spirit-table without bands (sirie purgan); b. spirit-table with bands (sirie purgan).

[422] Anyone may have a spirit-spear, and anyone may make it himself, but never women. If the owner wants to have a beautiful [562] spirit-spear, however, he will go to a skilled craftsman, carpenter, [463] and smith. It is required that before starting the work the craftsman rinse out his mouth, wash his face and hands, and hold the latter [783] over the smoke of a cypress fire. The tools are also thoroughly smoked. In addition, the smith casts some cypress incense into his [782] smithy fire.

The craftsman may work at home in his workshop or in with [322] the family of his client. The individual parts are made separately, [326] in other words, the shaft by the carpenter, the tip and foot by the smith. They bring the parts to the owner's house. The latter then [782] offers twelve steamed loaves (or baked loaves) on the shelf in front of the Buddha image, as well as a piece of red cloth and a measure of barley. The craftsmen place their instruments on the grain in [788] the bushel, and all of them kowtow in front of the Buddha image, [322] while the incense offering is presented outside. The carpenter receives the barley; the smith receives the twelve loaves with the red [326] cloth.

[37 cont.] On the threshing
792 floor the women and children tirelessly perform their round
796 dances with song, so that one can hear them from afar; the
574 lama is supposed to see how joyfully they welcome him. Out-
[535] side the village all get off their horses; only the lama rides on alone. A man leads his horse by the reins.

As soon as he comes to the gate of the yard, a kang table is placed on the left side of the horse, and a white mat is put over it. The men help the lama out of the saddle, and all kowtow; only the women go on dancing without interruption. The lama steps out of the stirrups onto the table that has been set there and then strides toward the gate, where the master of the household is kneeling. He has placed a hada over his raised hands, and with it he extends to the lama a white bowl of milk with a cypress twig. The lama dips the twig into the milk, sprinkles the gate posts with it, and enters. The incense offering rises in the yard; people blow on all the conches they have. The men draw the lama forward with burning [38] sticks of incense and escort him to his room. There he sits down on the place indicated by the hada. The hada, however, is taken away.

792 The blessing: First of all, the lama rests with his com-
796 panions. The master of ceremonies pours him some tea and
574 invites him to fortify himself. Then the lama recites certain prayers. Meanwhile the yard fills with guests.

● 788 At this point the master of the household enters the guest room, hands the lama a hada, kowtows, and requests him to come out in order to bless the people. The lama gives him a few small gifts, which he has brought with him, with a hada. Then he rises and goes out. Outside there is an armchair with a cushion; the lama sits down on it, his back turned toward the main house; a white felt mat is spread in front of him.
[554] Now the people move past him according to rank, first the men, then the women. Each person bows low before him while he touches the forehead or the crown of the head of everyone with his prayer book. His assistant stands at his side. After this ceremony he again withdraws into the house. [Figs. 4 and 5 appear here.]

[38 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 41 cont.]
torma that at the conclusion of the tsam dance on New Year's is carried off and burned as the murdered enemy of the religion. -- They also call the mandala-figure torma, for instance, during the erection of the pole-goat. -- The fact that the torma has a sacral function for only a brief time explains why it is no longer given any attention after the ceremonies, but is thrown away, given to the animals to eat, or even eaten by the people themselves.

Insofar as I was able to establish among the Tujen, the tormas are always made only of tsamba and butter, and not, as Filchner (Unkrig) writes, loc. cit., out of sour dough. It may be that this kind of preparation is peculiar to the monasteries.

The cult implements of the hutukhtu are the same as those he uses at home in the monastery, to wit, the holy water-can with the peacock feather, the hourglass drum, the thunderbolt, and the hand bell. He always has these things ready at hand on the table. He always holds his mani-string in his hand. While praying he does not sit at the side, but behind the table, on the kang and facing the door. He lays his prayer book in front of him on his knees or on the kang table. Sometimes he also gives the water blessing while the others prepare the tormas. For this purpose he has pure spring water poured into the [39] holy can; one of the assistants throws consecrated spices into it and places the can on a little plate with Tibet barley. The lama then recites the prayer of blessing over it.

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Prayer fee: During the time of his stay the lama is entertained very hospitably. The master of the household, who is also called "master of gifts," must serve him personally. The

[39 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.]
the subsequent prayer ceremonies, the master of gifts, who had sacrificed this sheep, had the flesh cooked and a piece served to each of the monks in the temple during a pause in the prayer. It is therefore not surprising that the lama receives a loin of mutton for his fee. Since the Tujen, however, do not sacrifice a sheep in the presence of a lama (cf. the chapter, "The Mani-tree"), it seems to be a matter of not performing the killing itself before the eyes of the lama or in the same yard.

people give much more, for instance, beautiful horses, ornamental pendants, cloth, etc. When it is a matter of great
[782] occasions, a prayer service is even ordered for the monastery during the time that the lama stays with the master of gifts. During these days the master of gifts provides all the monks with rice, sugar, butter, and tea. Even pilgrims who stay in
[788] the monastery during these days and "stop in" to honor and to pray for the master of gifts are provided for and also receive alms for the journey.

[782] The masters of gifts also usually donate the prayer tea for the entire monastery, which is drunk during the ceremonial
[272] in the prayer hall, for example, at funerals, etc. Often they also set up a great number of butter-lamps in the temple at this
[354] time, or at least they donate the butter for the lamps. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

Return: After the lama has received his gifts, he is cere-
796 monially escorted out of the gate of the yard. An incense offering is again presented, but otherwise no further ceremonies
574 take place. The white horse is brought up, a kang table with a felt mat is set up for mounting, and the lama is lifted into the saddle. Then the men escort him out of the village. There

372 [43 cont.]
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[783]
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[Note on foreign text p. 46 cont.] takes a second mouthful and lets it run out of the mouth over the cupped hands and washes them; the third mouthful, allowed to run into the hand in the same way, serves to wash the face. This is repeated as desired, until one is clean. In case someone has a washbowl, he may under no circumstances forget to rinse his mouth, because that is part of the purification for a religious ceremony.

and puts them on the incense plate under the mani-tree out in the yard. There he blows on the coals to make a large flame, throws cypress twigs, butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, tea leaves, sugar, and a number of colored threads into it, and finally sprinkles the fire with pure water. Then, when the smoke rises up, the conch is blown, and the master of the house, as well as all those standing by, makes a three-fold kowtow three times in front of the fire. With this the morning offering is concluded, and all go to their daily work.

[788]

Details

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Persons: Usually the master of the household presents the incense offering. In his stead, however, another male member of the family may perform the act, but never women, unless there is no male person in the house and the children are still too small. Women may be present and make the kowtow, just as they also sweep the yard, set the things in readiness, and even hand them over for the offering. The conch is usually blown by someone who does not perform the offering. If the master of the household making the offering does it himself, it is done before the kowtow.

[64 cont.]

*778 782 [178] nowadays the people are too poor. The silk threads and the long silk string are merely a substitute for them. Similarly, gold and silver are scarcely ever thrown on the obo any more.

Sometimes a string with 12 mani-flags is also drawn across the nearby pass from the obo-frame or from the mani-pole. This string is of black wool and is called "wolf string." Another string, on which 12 mani-flags are hung, is frequently run from the obo to a tree. This string is white and is called "mani-string."

782 [796] [65] The month offering: Usually the obo is venerated on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of each lunar month (2).

> 2. [Foreign text p. 69.] There is no connection between obo and month. The days mentioned here are generally preferred for offering and cult, and for this the phases of the moon are decisive.

This is done usually by the master of the family. He goes to the obo very early in the morning with a spear or several twigs and all the other necessities.

First he gives the customary incense offering before it. Then he pours a bowl of barley wine on the ground before the incense fire. He places lances and twigs with bunches of wool on the obo, hangs silk threads on the frame, and throws his votive gifts on the mound, namely, butter, tea leaves, money, silver, etc., as much as he can afford. Then he goes around the obo three times from left to right, throws 108 small white [788] stones on it, and in doing so prays the om mani padme hum and in between calls out: "I throw at the white obo." Then he makes a threefold kowtow before the incense fire and facing the obo. During the entire ceremony the conch is blown by his companions. This is not necessary, however.

The sheep sacrifice: There are no definite prescriptions concerning the time of the sheep sacrifice. There are communal [621] sacrifices, at which the entire village participates for village

[631 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 634 cont.] prominent position of the mother's brother is particularly striking.

Arrival of the lama: The day before or early in the morning, horsemen have ridden to the lamasery to fetch the hutukhtu. He comes towards midday and is led into the house with the usual ceremonies. On the threshing floor before the yard gate the women dance and sing with all their might. In the yard the incense offering is burned and the conch [632] is blown. The lama is led to the kang in the main house; there he rests and drinks tea.

[604] After a considerable time, the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies introduce themselves to him, give him a hada, and request him to bless the guests at the celebration. Outside, before the door of the main house, he sits down on a chair, and all pass by with bent heads, the mother's brother first. The hutukhtu touches the crown or the forehead of each [788] one with his heavy prayer book. This is called the lama-blessing, from which the entire ceremony gets its name (2). --

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2. [Foreign text p. 634.] Cf. chapter, "Reception of the Lama." I could ascertain no name other than lama ndziala; ndziala has a whole series of meanings, among others: to invite a hutukhtu. Because the age-consecration is the greatest familial religious event to which the hutukhtu is invited, it is simply called the "invitation." It is a ceremony in which a special relationship to monasticism is established through the consecration.

The person to be consecrated does not come, but waits until later.

[640]

764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
782 large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
792 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
465 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
[272] temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
[262] own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people
buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the
temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it.
In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of
butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
[788] temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large
month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and
night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
[556] prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate
to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the
dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name
of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
[432] Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by
the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer
services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
602 Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain
a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

[177]

13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

[826 cont.]

241 789 778 791 [212]

The seed-master places these wedges on the table before the Bon. The latter inscribes all three sides with Tibetan magic formulas. For this purpose he uses Chinese ink and the brush or the Tibetan bamboo pencil. The wedge that is intended for the head of the goat [827] has a black hada slung around it at the head and a black string or a small chain in the middle.

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Then some of the wool is cut from the pole-goat lying in front of the Bon, a few threads are twisted together, and with these the Bon priest ties on the wedges, one on each foot and one between the horns. All five wedges have the tip downward. He then sprinkles water from his holy-water can over goat and pole, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley, blows on it three times, and scatters it over the whole.

241 789 791 782 [821] [822]

The erection of the pole-goat and the offering: The men set the pole in the hole and wedge it tight with stones and earth. The goat must face the northwest because storms usually come from there. As soon as the pole is firmly set, the Bon brings the weather-torma, together with the extra features, to the foot of the pole, sets it down, and immediately returns to his place in order to continue the weather-prayer. Now he accompanies the prayer only with his drum and the bell. Again the men make a great incense offering amidst blowing on the conch.

241 789 778

The mountain-torma: Then the mountain-torma is prepared. It has three steps, is round, and looks like a pyramid with terraces about ten centimeters high. Altogether it is about 40 centimeters high. The torma is painted with soft butter colored red and is given the following extra features: on the first layer, water animals, frog, snake, fish, dragon, turtle, and, further, little stones, little lumps of earth, and finally a few squirts of water; on the second layer, mountain animals, deer, horse, yak, half-yak, sheep, goat, hare, fox, wolf, and a few little pieces of wood; on the third layer animals of the air, phoenix, eagle, peacock, magpie, dove, swallow, and, further, sun disk and moon sickle. On the uppermost tip are

[835 cont.] 4. The Procession around the Field

Report

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782 As soon as the seed develops ears in the summer, the procession around the field takes place. One hundred and eight
[778] men of the village, with the seed-supervisor, set out on the way to the nearest lamasery and fetch the 108 sacred books. On this occasion they present a large kettle of tea to the lamas; before the Buddha images of the monastery they make an offering of butter for the lamps. The Tujen of this region go usually to the monastery Rgulõñ (1); the way there takes an entire day

1. [Foreign text p. 838.]
Concerning the monastery Rgulõñ,
cf. the introduction and Part 2, II, 4.

each time. The books are brought into the local temple.

The procession takes place on the following morning. All the men of the village and all soothsayers gather in the temple yard. First a great incense offering is made. Then all
[791] the soothsayers do their soothsaying in succession, the spear-
[787] soothsayer, the sword-shaman, the litter bearers, the table-god bearers. As many soothsayers as are there must appear. One wants to find out through them how the weather and the harvest will be during the course of the summer.

Once the soothsaying is over, the procession starts moving. At the head goes the spear-soothsayer with the spear, then follow the shamans, the god-litter, the spirit-table, and the 108 book-bearers, one after the other. In this procession
[533] the drum beaters, trumpet and conch blowers, cymbal and gong beaters are in single file. Also, all the flags of the temple are taken along, and they are carried by the book-bearers, the flags over the left shoulder and the book on the back. Two men follow behind them, each with a large back-basket of straw, cypress leaves and incense additions, and a jug of pure water. Other men join on at will.

[788] During the entire procession the trumpets are blown, the drums beaten, and the Om mani padme hum prayed. The

[204 cont.]

776 of the Bon, the Däntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance among the people that might be expected. They know of [796] Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth [535] day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha, [791] and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call [788] sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full [756] warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people. Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called [753] ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune, [777] failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the [731] plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom [782] the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are combated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the Däntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[214 cont.]

782 This is intended to make him satisfied so that he will go away
776 and not return. Any feeling of awe and submissiveness, such as is characteristic towards a higher spirit and is manifested in the offering, is lacking. A similar notion of fear plays a contributing role here, which one also entertains for the souls of the dead, of whom it is expected that they will not molest human beings and will be content.

The Executers of the Offering

782 All these offerings can be assigned primarily to the
771 people as chief bearers. It is the most important religious activity of the ordinary people. It presupposes little, namely, a gift and an attitude. It requires no special schooling, no involved ritual, and no learning of prayers. The offerers are the family head, the seed-master, or the village elders. It is precisely these laymen themselves who at the purely Lamaistic ceremonies or those of the Bon and shamans perform the actual offering operation, for example, at the harvest thanksgiving festival and at the erection of the pole-goat or the central fort. Even the tormas, which, of course, can in part be regarded as offerings, are usually set up or carried outside by men from among the people.

c) The Prayer

782 The spontaneous and freely-formulated prayer is a natural matter-of-course among the Tujen. They are also conscious of this form of prayer when they maintain: "We farmers have forgotten our old prayers; everyone prays with his own words." (Cf. Schröder: "Herbst-Dankopfer [Harvest Thank-offering]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-1945, p. 872.)

Besides these spontaneous utterances they also still know
782 simple, brief prayer formulas to heaven and the gods, as when
●788 they say, "Oh you spirits, do not be like human beings!" or when they uninterruptedly recite on their prayer-string "Om

[214 cont.]

782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types of prayer under the expression yandzila-, to implore, to request, and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer, however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which
[463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the
[792] lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people
[791] connect praying with these professions is shown by the common designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the
[192] Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen, that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom mošë, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching. In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer, something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of
[791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests, Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely linked.

5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

771
174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

[226 cont.]

782 the Tujen did not want to give up the sheep offering at these
241 festivals. In the description of the festival it is, to be sure, very
174 strongly emphasized that the entire sacrificial rite in the narrower sense (slaughtering, etc.) has nothing to do with the shamans. The offerers are the elders, in other words, laymen. The shaman rite, mainly prayer service and dance, runs alongside it.

Therefore, in the harvest thank-offering and the sowing offering of the Tujen we have before us an old heaven-offering which is consciously fostered by the people and unequivocally applied to heaven.

2) The Prayer

782 What was said above about the spontaneous, unformulated,
788 and freely formulated prayer also applies to the prayer to heaven. Every person can express his need, his request, his gratitude, his feelings to the heavens, just as they come to him. One thing in particular, however, must be noted here. While the formulated prayer, the prayer service, is generally reserved for special professions and the offering more for the people, this does not wholly apply in the case of the prayer to heaven. I was unable to confirm that there are any actual prayers by religious officiants that apply only to heaven. Therefore, concerning the offering and prayer, there is no special class in relation to heaven. Both are the concern of the laymen, of the people, of the masters of the household or of individual persons.

Aside from my own observations, the personal prayer to [227] heaven is sufficiently attested to by the passages that were cited for the incense offering. There is almost always a prayer in connection with it, a supplication (yaṅdzi-) to heaven. And until now a prayer is also always connected with each offering, each kowtow to heaven, at least an inner one. (Cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-1945, p. 872.) The only prayer formulas of the people in the Tujen language are addressed to heaven, namely: tieṅgëre mudie (heaven knows); and tieṅgëre
[174] tsiad sadni wari (heaven, you hold justice). The formula tieṅgëre

[227 cont.]
782 mudie is already known from the early period of the Mongols, and
788 it attests to what an ancient heritage the veneration of heaven is
[174] among the Mongolic basic stock of the Tujen. There is usually a three-fold kowtow also connected with the prayer, whereby the person also wishes to indicate purely outwardly in a formal ceremony his submissiveness before the god-heaven.

c) The Nature and Characteristics of Heaven

Uniqueness

772 The discussion of the name has already indicated that the
776 designation tieńgĕre is reserved for heaven alone. It does not share this name as a title with any other deity, even, say, by adding a proper name of a certain deity to it. This unique position of heaven becomes even clearer when one considers it in relation to the other deities.

776 The position with respect to the gods in general. -- The offering, the many texts from the songs, and the other customs everywhere acknowledge heaven as the first. This is acknowledged briefly and concisely in the constantly recurring expression šge tieńgĕre, uluon purǵan (the great heaven, the countless spirits). Heaven is the great one. It is especially set apart from the many other spirits. As the first it has a share in all offerings, for it -- before all other gods -- the first kowtow is made, the first dedication of the day. The Tujen express this: What would the gods be without heaven, he is their lord"; cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873. -- Heaven also has this position of pre-eminence over those deities who it might seem share the honor with him, for which reason they are to be mentioned briefly in the following.

773 The position with respect to the heaven-emperor of the
776 Geser legend. -- The Geser legend mentions three lords of heaven, among whom Šdeńglatsien Sań is the highest. He lives with them in the immeasurable space of heaven, likewise

[254 cont.]

792 a closed building, but rather as a whole settlement with temples,
[346] halls, dwelling yards, chortens, chapels, little mani-houses, and obos. To the Tujen there dGon-luń is simply the monastery.
[103] The official full name, however, is dGon-luń byams-pa gliń, just as the full name of Kumbum is sKu 'bum byams pa gliń. According to B. Laufer, byams pa gliń means "temple of the Maitreya"; see Filchner, Kumbum, p. V. Not [255] every monastery has such a temple, and for this reason people always like to mention it along with the monastery. The main temple
792 of dGon-luń contains such a gigantic image of the Maitreya
778 painted on silk, over ten meters long and several meters wide.
796 It is rolled up from the temple roof and allowed to hang down over the front into the yard usually twice a year, namely, in the first month after the tscham dances and on the sixth day of the sixth month. The ceremony is called dšamba sguni dielgë, that is, to hang out the Maitreya image; dšamba or šamba is the Tujen pronunciation of byams-pa. The Chinese call the rite simply shai Fuoeyeh, that is, to sun the Buddha. For the be-
[788] lieving populace it is the high point of the feast days; the people make pilgrimages to the place in great crowds in order to venerate the image with kowtows.

792 There is no Tujen name for the monastery; their desig-
nation Rguloń (Rëguloń) is only a corruption of dGon-luń. Even
103 the Chinese Êrh-ku-lung is nothing more than a derivation from the Tibetan. Some people would like the êrh to be understood as the Chinese "two," since it is supposedly the second monastery, which was built anew after the destruction of the first; in fact, one also often hears the name Ku-lung without this êrh. The designation Yu-ning-szu, monastery for the protection of Sining, has not prevailed among the people. It is used almost exclusively in books and official documents.

792 The monastery corresponds to the Buddhistic require-
[361] ments in exemplary fashion, for it lies at the exit of a lonely
[346] forested valley and has been built up in part along its northern
[103] ridge, which bears the name Tuguän-ula, Tuguän mountain
[175] (Chin. T'u-kuan shan). A gigantic obo crowns its peak. Neither oral nor written information concerning the founding of the

[257 cont.]

792 went there. Pander speaks (op. cit., p. 204) of Man-tzu or Chinese from Sining, who were accommodated in 13 temples in Peking (1889). These Man-tzu (= barbarians), however, could only have been Tujen, for the Chinese are not Lamaists, and the Tibetans (Fan-tzu) are specifically named by Pander. The monastery Sung-chu-szu is regarded expressly as a Tujen lamasery. Even today (at least up until 1948) almost all its monks come from the Sining region and are Tujen, as the monks from this monastery related during a visit home. To be sure the number has shrunk greatly.

771 These are all facts that must be taken into account in
792 judging the Lamaism of the Tujen. The people are proud of
[788] their famous monastery. It is their pilgrimage center. Young
[527] and old gather there at the festivals. They hold horse races
[796] and sing their old popular airs there. At the temple festivals
[778] with the magnificent dances the Lamist doctrine is deepened and clarified. In the venerable halls filled with incense they see their gods in magnificent statues, painted on silk, on walls and altars. There lie also the heavy sacred books of the Kandjur and Tandjur, which they bear on their backs around the sanctuary in order to free themselves from affliction or to fulfill a vow. In the temples and yards they watch the monks hold learned disputations, read the scriptures, recite the prayers. They invite them to undertake solemn religious services in their compounds, to give their children their names, to consecrate the old, [258] to bless the young, to pray for the dead, to cre-
[574] mate the corpses. The lama is a frequent and welcome guest in the family. Generally, the people seem to link themselves
[756] to the monastic life at the important stages of life. Even the
[778] shaman receives his consecration in the monastery. Every family was proud if one of its sons became a lama; indeed, it was even an unwritten law.

771 So it was, at least until the most recent times. Today,
792 however, the young people no longer want to know anything
777 about becoming a lama. They prefer to attend the Chinese schools and are intent on the new education. They despise the old and do not take it seriously anymore. What the

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I. INTENSIVENESS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS AND THE POSITION OF ITS FORMS

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC RELIGIOUS LIFE

The religious life of the Monguors is very intensive, and not a superficial veneer that scales off easily. Indeed, it has not only a private and a family characteristic, but a social and compulsory aspect, as well.

A missionary, accustomed to living with Chinese, is quite surprised when he comes among the Monguors, by their almost continuous recitation of *Om Mani Padme H'um.*[1] It is repeated by old and young, both men and women, hundreds of times a day, under all circumstances. The mind of the Monguor appears to be fixed on religion in a most unusual way. Mothers, kissing and cuddling their babies, like to say happily, over and over, "Om Mani," "Om Mani," as if thanking Buddha (*Avalokita*) for the baby. The sick, suffering on the *k'ang*,[2] find relief in sighing Om Mani the whole day, hoping to be cured. When hailstorms threaten crops, Om Mani will be said hundreds of times by every terrified farm family, in the hope that Buddha will make the wind change the course of the clouds. When someone in the village dies, all the villagers gather at night in the courtyard of the deceased, where they sit for many hours saying the Om Mani for the deceased.

[1] The formula *Om Mani Padme H'um* has always been and still is an enigma. All attempts to explain it remain unsatisfactory. Each lama of a sect, each student of things Tibetan has proposed his own explanation. It appears to be of Hindu origin and not Tibetan. Some trace its appearance in Tibet back to the eighteenth, fourteenth, and thirteenth centuries; and even to the seventh century. See P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 24: 395, 1924. The explanation of the formula seems to vindicate *mani padme* as a vocative of *Manipadma*, the proper name of a female deity.

[2] A small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, sits, talks, sews, etc. In the front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm.

[10.5(A)]

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Sodalities, most of them for women, are organized [575] in every village. The members convene to recite the 781 Om Mani as they circle the Bumkhang[3] of the village 788 all day. Whenever a Monguor is in serious trouble, he prays Om Mani, and when a happy event occurs, he gives thanks by Om Mani. Supposedly, all kinds of evil are dispelled and all blessings obtainable by Om Mani.

Monguor families place in the center of their court- 778 yards a high pole with a small flag flying from atop it. Om Mani and other prayers are printed on the flag as an offering, day and night, by the family to Buddha. Prayer wheels, containing hundreds of repetitions of Om Mani printed on paper, are moved by water power, so that Om Mani will be offered continually, as the wheels revolve.

The Monguors have used their Om Mani to such an 781 extent that its true meaning no longer exists. A farmer 788 becoming angry at the lazy oxen, while plowing his fields, will beat them and swear furiously with a well-articulated Om Mani; gamblers, on losing the game, their patience wearing thin, will say Om Mani in a blasphemous tone. While weeding fields, if a lascivious song is enjoyed, farmers say Om Mani, meaning the song is well sung. When a smutty joke is told, lis- [522 teners will say Om Mani, laughing, to indicate it is a 831] good joke. It is said that thieves and robbers say Om Mani as an aid to their practice of larceny. Foreign travelers jest that, if robbers kill their victim, he will have the consolation, when dying, of hearing the killer saying Om Mani. Om Mani can be and is offered under all circumstances: riding horseback, working in the fields or at home, while laughing, gambling, singing, conducting business, and even sleeping.

The Monguor's fondness for and promiscuous use of Om Mani has reduced it to a mockery of its original intent. Nevertheless, it is in fact most often used as a real prayer.

The Monguors are not ashamed to pray in public, to

[3] A structure at the entrance to the village to prevent the [104] entrance of evil influences.

[p. 5(8)]

twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or 781
to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one 788
understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the
Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration
to Buddha.

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. 794
The chief of the family is its religious head and its rep- 782
resentative. He worships "Heaven and all the spirits"
on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his
duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each
family honors the image of its family protector-deity.
At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is
the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue wor-
shipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors.
The chief of the family is its representative at the per-
formance of public rites. Attended by his family, he
performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to
start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the
various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the
spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—
and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fin-
gering his prayer beads.

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of 794
the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of 622
the village and its elders administer both the official and
religious life of the people in it. Even as they appor-
tion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth [65]
and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum
for religious services. They impose corvées on the
villagers for municipal functions as well as for such
religious functions as protection against hailstorms or
the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner,
heads of families are summoned to participate in rites
at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain.
The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief.
He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as
the family chief does in his own circle.

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious [614]
life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter.
It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite.
On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image
of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village
may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry
about public worship in the village and the morality of
his subjects.

Religious activities are part of the family and social
life of the Monguor society. Their social organization
is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of
families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All
clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Mon- 771
guors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are 754
not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fer- 756
vent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many
rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism
or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor

[p. 6(A)]

did not spend much money. Tenma, with his retinue, 792
living according to his station, giving bribes and send- 691
ing gifts, spent lavishly. Finally, the disgusted Amban, 428
in order to end the trouble, delegated his power to the Living Buddha of Seerkok.

The intendant of the living Buddha of Seerkok, prompted by the Amban, settled the question after two or three sessions. He condemned Tenma to pay 3,000 taels to the disciple as indemnity for carrying away the cattle. Tenma protested. He was put in the jail [697] of the monastery and manacled. After two months he agreed to pay the alloted sum, and so was released.

Epilogue: For seven years, the stubborn Manguru was the most talked of man in the country because of his courageous resistance to the Living Buddha. He decided to rehabilitate the poor man, on whose chieftain's prestige his tribe depended. He bought a nice black horse, a fine Peking saddle, put a piece of yellow satin on the top of it, and, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, he and the disciple prostrated themselves and, apologizing, presented the horse.

This case is unique in the annals of Lamaism in Hsining. A stubborn Living Buddha, condemned by the intendancy of Seerkok, was put in jail and manacled. What was the cause of the trouble? Living Buddhas were eternally suspicious of the honesty of their intendants. Noteworthy also is the fact that the maternal uncle, not his father or brother, defended the disciple. In the tribe of Manguru matriarchy is still prevalent.

(7) Last of all, a very important psychology is to 792
be noted regarding injustices perpetrated among the 796
Monguors and Tibetans, and among lamas as well as among Living Buddhas. When an injustice is committed, its perpetrators are pursued by the enraged guardian spirit that protects the wealth of the family involved. According to this philosophy, when intermittent calamities or misfortunes occur in a family and weigh it down, magical rites are to be performed to propitiate the enraged pursuing spirit. (This rite will be studied later.)

This rite was ordered to be performed at his branch 792
monastery by the poor Sumpa Hutukhtu when, after 788
his voluntary banishment, one misfortune succeeded another. He claimed that the misfortunes were caused by the injustices perpetrated by the former and present intendants of his monastery, who had aroused the avenging bolts of the guardian spirits of the families who had suffered their injustices. The same rite was performed at Erh-ku-lung in 1919, on the orders of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, after he had vainly built a Bumkhang in 1917, in order to put an end to the misfortunes which ruined the monastery. It was performed at Seerkok in 1920, on the orders of the supreme chief of the monastery, Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, in the same circumstances, and the same explanation was openly proclaimed by both prominent chiefs of the most important monasteries. [p.43(A)]

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I remarked that the performance of this rite, not kept secret in the fold of the monastery but put completely on public display, was not very honorable for the intendants. The lamas answered, "When squeezed to the wall and when all other rites have been of no avail, the rite has to be performed." Such facts, without stretching the point, are really informative, concerning the type of the intendants. 792 788

The overriding importance attached to the appointment of the intendant, who can make a monastery flourish or ruin it, may be explained by the enormous influence exerted in a monastery by them, which matches that of the supreme chief of the institutions, and the stumbling blocks encountered by the intendants, which endanger the correct fulfilling of their office. They serve also to gain a true insight into the frame of mind of the administrative world of the monasteries.

MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE OF THE LAMASERIES

DOMAINS

During the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties, large domains were granted to the monasteries to provide their means of subsistence. In former times it was easy for the emperors to be lavish in such grants in a sparsely populated country. I never had the opportunity to see the old deeds under which the vast domains of Erh-ku-lung and its flourishing subsidiaries had been granted. Its most important domain is that of the Fan-wu-pu, which it shares with its daughter monastery of Seerkok.[3] 792 423 643 434

The Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa Hutukhtus were the favorite Living Buddhas of the emperors. It seems an obvious assumption that private domains were also granted to each of them, because Chang-chia was able to found on his properties six branches and eleven villages. T'u-kuan founded seven villages and seven affiliates, while Sumpa founded five branches, and further it is said he disposed of more domains than both Chang-chia and T'u-kuan. The tax and rent revenues collected on their private properties must have been considerable because Chang-chia built nine oil and grain mills and T'u-kuan eighteen, in order to dispose of their grain. [256]

[3] The Fan-wu-pu (the five tribes of barbarians) are situated in the region of Wei-yüan-p'u. They are: (1) Pei-tsui-pu (Narin valley), (2) Tsan-tsa-pu (east and west Tsan-tsa), (3) Hsieh-tsa-pu, (4) Pu-tsa-pu (near the mountains), and (5) Kuang-hua-pu (west of Wei-Yüan-p'u). The people living in these vast territories were the subjects of these two lamaseries, to which they paid taxes and rent, and were liable for corvées. All the villages from Pei-tsui-pu eastward (Ha-la-chih and Hung nai valleys) belonged to Erh-ku-lung; those westward to Seerkok. In 1910 both lamaseries still collected the rent of these fields, enjoyed the privilege of traveling for alms among these former subjects, and vindicated the right of still being invited by them for the performance of public and private religious activities. In that region the monastery of Erh-ku-lung had built twenty-four oil and grain mills. These domains were administered in former times by the important T'u-kuan and Seerkok Nang suo. [p.43 (B)]

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proficient in the art of gelding, are well known to the farmers and can earn money by this skill. Others, skilled in the diseases of domestic animals, are busy all year writing prescriptions and selling medicines. 792

Still others work as doctors and earn a pretty good living. After examining the six different pulses of the patient, an agreement is made. The doctor guarantees the cure after a certain number of days, and demands immediate payment of an agreed sum, or of an animal, according to the seriousness of the disease. Then follows the prescription and the medicine. Other lamas are engaged in the tailoring business and sell cloth, silk, and brocade. Lamas like to be hired by devout people to make pilgrimages to celebrated monasteries for their intention. I once saw a lama reading texts for three days in the temple of medicine. Two bricks of tea put near him were the salary for the reading, which had been requested by a sick Monguor. I was told at Kumbum that many lamas, hired by Monguors or Tibetans, made a good living by prostrating themselves 108 times every day, for a fixed number of days, before a celebrated temple. Lamas try to be invited by their family, relatives, or friends of the family to pray at their home for several days for an agreed intention. If a sheep or goat is given as payment, they manage to put them, ear-marked, into the herds of some family, and thus in time many lamas come to own a small herd. [759] [788]

If you need some musk or saffron, or *p'ulu* cloth[9] or other products of Tibet, within an hour a lama will show up with what you want, ready to close a deal. It is the same if you need animals or a fine Peking saddle. A few lamas travel over the country to sell books. Lamas who have money in hand are ready to lend it, providing there are satisfactory guarantees. If you are calling on lamas and a lama visitor shows up, they talk business after a few minutes, always business. It was interesting to ask the young lama boys about the means used by the lamas to earn a living. They knew perfectly well how each lama made money, what his profits were, and how much he owned.

It is easy to understand that the mind of a people endowed with such a roving eye for business is not bent on prayers and meditations, and that such people are not committed to monastic life with passionate devotion. Perhaps the environment in which the lamas live, their daily conversations, the successes scored by lamas in trade, stimulate the passion to acquire more and more wealth in order to be able to live at ease in a

[9] W. W. Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891-92*, 67, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1894, describes *p'ulu* as woolen fabric woven in pieces, usually thirty feet long and about nine inches wide. The best kinds of this cloth come from Ulterior Tibet. The most popular colors are red, purple, striped and white with red and blue dyed crosses. The fabric is used in China to cover saddles or trim seats of carts. "*P'ulu*" is the Chinese transcription of the Tibetan name of this cloth, "*p'ruk*." [p. 60(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

carried to the burying spot by the shamans, running at a fast pace. Paper is burned with the flags and inscriptions, while the shamans prostrate themselves holding incense sticks in their joined hands. After the pit has been filled, each shaman carries three buckets of water and pours them on it. Then they build the small tumulus and return home, running without looking back at the tomb. They have a breakfast of noodles, without meat. All together they make a terrifying noise and drive the evil spirits out of the home. Except for the members of their own families and relatives, no other people attend the burial, because they are afraid of the magicians.

XIV. CULT OF HEAVEN

THE MEANING OF THE FORMULA "HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS"

Several times in the present study there has been noted the stereotype formula, "Heaven and all the spirits," used during the performance of religious rites. Monguors in their own language are accustomed to saying *"Tiengere uluon purgan"* meaning "Heaven and all the spirits," and even *"Sge Tiengere uluon purgan,"* that is "Great Heaven and all the spirits."

Because "Heaven" is always invoked in conjunction with "all the spirits," it seems obvious that Heaven is considered by them to be a being, belonging in the category of the living spirits, and that it is not supposed to be the material sky.[1]

At present, the Monguors call all the spirits Tengri or purgan.[2] The shamans serve their Twelve Tengris and many families honor the Twelve Tengri as the family protectors. The Obo spirit, the earth goddess, Lung wang the dragon king, Wu tao, the goddess of children, are all called Purgan and Tengri. However, when speaking about a definite spirit, they call it by its proper name. The Obo spirit is called Yifula, the goddess of the earth, Etogen, the god of the rain, Lung

[1] Professor N. Poppe, in reviewing W. Schmidt's *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Bd.* X in *Anthropos,* **48**: 328, 1953, notes: "Should tengri be understood as Heaven or God. . . . I think this question can be answered in favour of the word God." He adds: "No matter what the exact meaning was in the usage of the pagan Mongols of the 13th and 14th centuries," its equivalent in the official translation into the languages spoken by Christian peoples was "Deus" or "God." Schmidt, in reviewing N. Pallisen's *Die alte Religion des Mongolischen Volkes wahrend der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden* in *Anthropos* **48**: 623, 1953, notes: "Pallisen stellt fest, dass zunächst Gotthimmel als Eigenname bedeutete, dann aber zum Gattungnamen Gott wurde. . . . Zuverlässige Nachrichten über Himmel als Schöpfer in der Religion der Mongolen des 12 und 13 jhdt. liegen night vor." (The word *Purgan,* it should be noted, is the Monguor form of the word more familiar in its standard Mongol form, *Burkhan.*)

[2] Concerning the word Purgan, see Francis Woodman Cleaves, The Bodistw-a Cari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur of 1312 by Cosgi Odsir, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* **17**: 91, note 29; and 100, note 118, 1954.

[p. 149(A)]

Does the joke played during the spring feasts between the shamans, concerning the making of men and women by the good Tengris, and the storm caused by the nefarious Erlik in order to disturb the good actions of Tengris, not warrant also the same assumption? Or is the struggle between two opposite powers a specific characteristic of shamanism? If so, it is no wonder that shamanism was a field well prepared for the planting of Manichaeism, with its dualistic principle of light and darkness, whose powers were engaged in an endless struggle. 771

BEHAVIOR OF THE MONGUORS TOWARDS HEAVEN

The whole day long the Monguors, like their neighbors the Chinese, use the word "Heaven" in their conversation. They use the Chinese expressions: "Heaven knows it," "Heaven sees all things," "It is impossible to cheat Heaven," "Heaven punishes him," "Heaven rejects him," "Heaven does not bless him," "Heaven determines destiny," "It was decided by Heaven"; even a child born out of wedlock or by a girl married with the pole, is called "born by Heaven." 772

One can easily be impressed by this fact and induced, at first glance, to believe that the Monguors are very dutiful toward Heaven, and harbor convictions that they depend entirely on Heaven; that they trust in Heaven alone in all circumstances of life, and that Heaven is considered the omnipotent, omniscient, equitable regulator of the universe and its inhabitants. However, when a happy event is announced they clap their hands, and with a gleam in their eyes happily say, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when bad news is broken they say pitifully and sorrowfully, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when they are suffering with pain, or when a calamity is imminent, they will sigh imploringly, crying, "Om Mani, Om Mani . . . help us!" The first cry of the heart is never a cry toward "Heaven" but the Om Mani to Buddha, for everybody knows that Buddha, who knows all things, is the personification of benevolence, always willing to help. 772 788 776

What is the factual position of Heaven in the fabric of the daily life of the Monguors? After the first surge of emotion and the cry to the benevolent Buddha, the "practical" Monguors start reasoning about the causes of the mischief. Because their world is crowded with mischievous spirits, they try to detect the mischief-maker, or to determine whom among the spirits they have injured. When a member of the family is smitten with a severe disease, they suspect that they have offended the god who is the proprietor of the soil of their courtyard, the god of the hearth, the guardian deity of the family, or that they are the victims of the pranks of some evil spirit or of roaming souls which they had neglected to feed. Epizootics and epidemics, are supposed to be sent by the offended god who is the proprietor of the village or of the Obo. Lack of success 772 776 [753]

[p. 150 (B)]

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor AE9

756, 791, 792

/Information on religious specialists has been filed as follows:

756 - drum-shaman or bo (fa-shih)

756 - gurtum or warrior-shaman

791 - spirit-spear sooth-sayer

791 - bon priest

792 - lamas

[27 cont.]

756 The sword-shamans heal the sick, drive away demons, and
[789] practice soothsaying. In so doing, they wound themselves and
[787] the sick with the sword and burn themselves with fire, but if they are true shamans, this does not harm them.

Details

756 Dress: The shamans wear an ordinary long garment. Some-
292 times they also put on a robe similar to that of the Chinese
293 bonze, except that it is red. They girdle themselves with a
*778 red belt. On the chest they wear an amulet with a god's figure
[171] or a little bag with the hada [scarf-like ceremonial cloth] that the lama has given them at the consecration. It is their tutelary spirit. They throw the wide shoulder-collar over it, which falls with the points over the chest, back, and shoulders. It is of various colors and often beautifully cut. They hang the
[325] breast-mirror on a red string over the shoulder collar. Formerly this was made of gold; now it is made of copper. The shaman rubs it to a shine with incense ashes. The mirror is round and has a diameter of 15 to 20 centimeters. In the middle it has a round protuberance, on which the tutelary deity's name is sometimes inscribed in Tibetan signs. Several colorful hada-cloths are suspended from the two eyelets of the mirror. --
756 On their heads the shamans wear a red headcloth. It is about
292 50 to 80 centimeters square. One tip is cut off to a breadth of about 20 centimeters; at these cut ends there are two red bands; the cloth looks like an irregular pentagon. They sew five small copper horse-rattles on the cut edge. The cloth is thrown over the head in such a fashion that the edge with the little bells runs across the forehead and the other tips fall down over the ears and shoulders. They fasten the cloth on the back of the head with the bands. -- Over this headcloth they then tie a five-part crown similar to that of the lamas (4).

*[778] 4. [Foreign text p. 32.] The headcloth is not always of this kind. There are also cloths that are larger and that have no bells. In this case the shaman ties on a

[28 cont.]

756 crossed under him, his face turned toward the door, and his
787 back to the altar. He has placed his sword across his knees.
[576] He holds a burning stick of incense upright in his hands in front of his chest, so that the smoke rises into his face. Then he speaks the prayer of invitation to his tutelary spirit. Meanwhile men make smoke around him with incense. Gradually his hands begin to tremble; the movement passes to the arms, chest, and head. Finally his entire body is trembling and shaking, but especially the head with a violence that makes the bells rattle. At this point the stick of incense is taken out of his hand and he is given his sword (6). The spirit has now

6. [Foreign text p. 32.] The little stick is placed in the incense bowl.

• [789] descended upon him. He begins to prophesy and to exorcise the demons.

The shaman may also choose another place for the trance, for instance, the temple, the house chapel, a mountain top,
* [778] an obo [a mound of stones dedicated to the mountain spirit], the yard. He never undertakes the trance on the kang in a side room. If there is a god's image with a soul on the household altar, he always sits down facing this image; in the case of the obo he must turn toward the obo. -- In front of the obo or on the mountain top he need not sit on a table, but can kneel on the bare ground. If he undertakes the trance in the yard of a compound, he goes to the side opposite the main house so that he has the round manger with the mani-tree before him and faces the main house. There he kneels upright on a white felt mat. The other ceremonies are the same.

The compound in which he undertakes the trance must first be swept clean; all the rooms are fumigated with incense. The [29] table or the mat on which he kneels must also be
[609] fumigated. -- There is no taboo for strangers, however; all
[562] may witness the ceremony. Women, however, may not enter the room in which the trance takes place.

[31 cont.]

192 The shaman's sword: aradzi = two-edged sword; wadăm (Tib.) (12); chien (Chin.).

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*[778]

12. [Foreign text p. 33.] wadam: Tibetan dpa-gdam = sword. -- sõnkuor: Tibetan skyon = protection, 'k'or = little disks (Unkrig).

[776] The tutelary-spirit -- hada: šdien = the consecrated, as it is called before it is stuck in the bag; sõnkuor (Tib. loanword) (12) [see note 12 above] = protective fort, as it is called when it is inside the bag; the amulet is also called this.

*[778] Chest-mirror: mălõn (Tib. loanword); hu-hsin ching (Chin.) = the mirror protecting the heart.

Headcloth: tolgue bãnladzin = the head covering. pao-chin = packing cloth (Chin.).

Rattles: xõnguor; ling-êrh (Chin.).

Plowshare: timur ndziesë; t'ieh-hua (Chin.).

Thorns: huang-ts'ê (Chin.).

•[789] To banish devils: ilie sdzira; pudag sdzira = to banish filth.

Recompense for the shaman: hsiang-ch'ien = incense money.

[Pages 31-33 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[33] 3. The Bon Priest*

791

* See "Notes," pp. 34-35 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are two kinds of Bon priests: the nomads and the

[34 cont.]

000 represent long hair.

791 Equipment: Like the lamas, they have a bell, a large, two-
778 sided drum, a small double-drum (hourglass drum); for exorcising
534 demons they use a whip made of human skin and a bone flute.
[789] Furthermore, they have Tibetan books, sounding boards, and
thunderbolt.

[765] The drum was formerly made of human skulls, over which human skin was stretched for the drumhead. The whip had a handle of human bones. The flute was made of the shinbone of a full-grown girl who had not yet married and had lost her life through suicide or an accident. It is open at one end and cut off smoothly. This end serves as mouthpiece and is inlaid with metal. The other end has a small hole on each of the two condyles. The flute is wrapped with the girl's skin; it is sewed tight (5). The same skin is also used for plaiting the whip and

5. [Foreign text p. 35.] The reports vary concerning the bone from which the flute is made. Most of them say that it is the shinbone; others claim that it is the thigh bone. I did not learn anywhere that the periosteum had to be eaten. -- The flute has an uncannily plaintive tone; it has an especially penetrating effect at night, when it is often heard in lamaseries. -- The Bon also try to drive away unpleasant events with the sound of the flute, for example, a punitive expedition, tax collectors, soldiers, etc., as happened in Kweiteh, for instance.

[789]

covering the drum. There are certain regulations for the manufacture of these objects. The Bon priest makes the implements himself (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 35.] What is here said concerning the making of the flute, drum, and whip is confirmed by other people, but no one has seen how they are made in detail. Some say it has to be a girl who has not yet

[34 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 35 cont.] menstruated; others maintain the opposite. At any rate, she has to be an unmarried person. In this connection cf. what is said in the section concerning death customs and cremation: that they are demons and are especially feared by demons.

791 [789] Activities: A special activity of the Bon priests is the erection of the pole-goat and conjuring away storms, as well as the making and conjuring of the figure-litter. Otherwise they have almost the same activities as the other soothsayers: they designate lucky days for housebuilding, traveling, etc.; they question fate concerning sickness and medicine, For soothsaying, [787] however, they use no special instruments; instead they have books from which they take everything. There are also Bon [755] priests who have learned to take the pulse and to prescribe medicines and are able to cure without magic. -- The Bon priests do not go into a trance, but only pray (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 35] The Bon are regarded with a kind of secret fear by the Tujen. They also have something to do with springs and mountains. It is said that they often dwell alone in tents in remote ravines and at wells throughout the summer. There they pray, conjure away storms, etc. Perhaps this seclusion contributes to the fact that all kinds of uncanny machinations are reported of them.

Word List

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791

Shepherd-Bon: sënogsa (snagsa) (7); ch'an-t'ou peng-po (Chin.) = Bon with queue wound up.

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] offering is widespread everywhere among the nomads of Tsinghai and has been partially taken over by the Chinese. It is also practiced in all lamic monasteries. Even if it does not come from Buddhism, it has been taken up by it in the ritual and honored with "incense-sutras," which are recited during the burning of aromatic substances in honor of the gods. The additions superimposed on the original simple form also come from Lamaism. Concerning this original form, its origin and religious dedication to heaven, cf. Part Two.

783 The purification-fire: Aside from this incense offering, cypress incense is also burned on other occasions, but only for purification, for example, to fumigate the house to drive away the demons, to fumigate the sacrificial sheep, to fumigate the face and hands at religious ceremonies. This fire, however, is accorded no veneration; no kowtow is made before it; it is not sprinkled with water, and no butter or any kind of addition is put in it. It is not an offering. Should someone accidentally burn an actual incense offering, he can use even this for the purpose of purification (9).

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[782]
[789]
[782]

9. [Foreign text p. 49.] On other occasions, too, the fire is used as a means of purification. For instance, according to an ancient custom, a Tujen widow, when she remarries, must step across a fire, just as among the Chia-Fandse the bride is led over fir-tree fire (sung-p'an). The fire-jumping in the night of the full moon after New Year's may have the same significance; cf. "The New Year's Festival," Note 6. Not only the fire has

[587]
[796]
[782]

[76 cont.]

192 hung ni-tan-tzu (Chin.) = red clay clods.

*778 Gaps in the wall: tsiäṅguäṅ = windows.

The great urn: lha-wum (Tib.) = spirit urn (receptacle).

ġlo-wum (Tib.) = earth-god urn.

ġlo-wum gõṅluc (Tuj.) = earth-god urn receptacle.

The small urns: snoġ dër (Tib. loanword) = magic-urn.

Contents of the receptacle: rdzē (Tib.).

yang-wu (Chin.) = things.

Mountain-earth: sa-sena (Tib.) (?) [see Note 7 above]; siru = earth.

Water: tsü-sena (Tib.); fdzē = water.

Wood: siṅ sena (Tib.); mõdë = wood.

Buddha gold: ǰdzer (?) [see Note 7 above]; sädoġ (Tib.).

Mother of pearl ? wsirë (Tib.) (?) [see Note 7 above]; shan-hu (Chin.) = coral.

Precious stone: mädoġ (Tib.) = flower; chen-chu = jewel.

Earth-god spice: ġlo-smän (Tib. loanword).

Little water-bowl: doṅsär (Tib. loanword).

Black incense: gukual

hei-hsiang (Chin.).

[782] Prayer of consecration: rami.

Red earth: fulan siru; huang-tan (Chin.) = yellow ocher.

[77]

[789] Magic formulas: snaġ (snoġ).

Mandala drawing: sdzi ṅkuor (Tib. loanword).

Ridge-piece: chung-leang (Chin.) = center beam.

Red-hot stone: ts'u-t'an, ch'ü-t'an (Chin.); sõdäṅ; sõdäṅ (?) [see Note 7 above].

Procession around the chorten chamber: sguora (Tib. loanword).

[Pages 77-79 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 79, and the next section begins on p. 620.]

[626 cont.]

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[783]
[789]

[Note on foreign text p. 628 cont.] The fumigating with the red-hot stone is supposed to purify the house and drive away the demons, like the exploding of rockets.

Then a second offering follows. The master of the household takes little sticks of incense, one for each member of the family, and lights them in the room above the lamp. Then he goes out around the mani-pole and, with all the members of the family, makes a threefold kowtow to the sky, facing the main house. He puts the little sticks in the incense oven on the round manger. Then the same ceremony is repeated in the house before the household altar, where the new little sticks continue to smolder in the incense basin. During the entire ceremony rockets and cannons are fired in order to scare away the demons. Together with the incense, yellow paper is also burned, exactly as among the Chinese (8).

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8. [Foreign text p. 629.] As among the Chinese, the hearth-god is also carried off and on New Year's morning is again festively carried in. I was unable to learn anything concerning an original Tujen ceremony with respect to the hearth fire. Since time immemorial an incense offering has been made to the hearth-god, but it is uncertain whether on this occasion cypress twigs were thrown into the fire. Nowadays little sticks of incense are generally put on the wall behind the hearth, precisely as among the Chinese.

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Another fire ceremony takes place in the first full-moon night of the year from the fourteenth to the fifteenth day. Young people light a series of little straw fires (10 to 15) on the path or on

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[636 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 652 cont.]
animal with wool. In the case of hemp this is impossible, for one is not transformed into a plant.

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The informant claimed to know nothing about hemp as a means of frightening off demons, as, for example, in the case of the hemp whip of the shamans. It may be that Chinese influence makes itself felt here, for the Chinese, too, use only hemp in connection with the dead, and it also plays an important role in the mourning costume (hemp belt, hair string, hemp veil, etc.). Strict mourning is therefore called simply "hemp mourning," ma-hsiao, among the Chinese.

764 about two ells square, cuts a round hole in the middle, and throws it over the dead person's head in such a way that the tips fall over the chest, back, and shoulders. This cloth is [766] called "death garment." It is yellow for persons who have received the age-consecration, white for young people. It does not matter what kind of cloth it is made of (5). -- All

5. [Foreign text pp. 652-653.]
The shoulder-throw is strongly reminiscent of the shoulder-collars of the shamans. A connection could not be discovered. The Tujen maintain that the cloth is usually taken off before cre-
[789] mation: later one uses it as an amulet, since it has great healing and protective power. With regard to this, the informant observed that one could indeed take off the white shoulder-cloth before crema-
[766] tion, but that it had no magical power and was used for profane purposes. The

[638 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.] the declared opponent of the white tiger. -- Furthermore, the white tiger is powerless against anything that comes from the dead or is connected with the dead; he fears coffins, death-boxes, burials, etc. For that reason coffin-making is the best opportunity for making a rolling pin, and therefore the rolling pin is propped against the death-box. The relationship of the tiger to the rolling pin is thereby neutralized. -- People very rarely have a rolling pin made other than at the time of a burial; the carpenter must then plane the pole on a threshing roller, the enemy of the white tiger. The millstone also has an effect similar to that of the threshing roller, for it crushes the provider of the "white," that is, the grain from which the flour comes.

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764 all. As in the case of the crouching corpse, a small kang table with the gifts to the dead is also placed before the death-box. Men and women kowtow before it, burn white paper, like the Chinese, and weep aloud (9).

171
[782]

9. [Foreign text p. 653.] Aside from the bone-casket I once saw a small wooden casket of coffin-like form beside a death-box. The people said a small manlike doll lay in it. It was supposed to keep misfortune and death away from the house. The informant had not yet seen that and thought that this custom had come from

[789]

[638 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.]
the Chinese. Among the Chinese I learned the following: If someone died on an unlucky day -- which the geomancer determines -- there is danger that he will take someone else from the family with him into the beyond. In order to prevent this, the family provides a substitute at the interment. They lay a human figure made of apricot or peach wood, which the demons particularly fear, in a miniature coffin. At the interment this miniature coffin is buried at the base of the grave and the actual coffin is put on top of it. -- The Tujen bury the miniature coffin under the bone-chest. The Chinese name for this custom is ch'ung-sang, that is, double interment. One would do better to translate it as "accompanying interment." It clearly has nothing to do with an escort for the dead and the double interment in the usual sense. A kind of after-consumer [Nachzehrer] is involved here.

[789]

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Gifts for the dead: The Tujen make an offering of 12 loaves of bread and a water-lamp before the dead (10). First,

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10. [Foreign text p. 654.] Death-gifts and offering regulations correspond with those of the Chinese. The water-lamp, shui-teng, is an earthen bowl which is half-filled with water, beans are usually also added. A layer of oil is poured on the water. A little wooden plate, into which a wick is stuck, floats

[823 cont.] 2. The Pole-goat

Report

241 789 791 778 When the seed has shot up in the early summer, one invites a Bon priest who prays on a mountain and erects the pole-goat. He comes to the seed-master on the day before, and on the following morning he goes with the men to the mountain. There they drink tea. The Bon priest sits on a felt mat. A low kang table is put before him so that he may place his cult objects upon it, and next to him is put an earthen vessel with tsamba, butter, and little gold leaves, as well as a bowl of water and red dye. He needs this for the torma. To this is added a little plate with barley and the holy-water can.

[782] First the men make the great incense offering, which is maintained throughout the performance. The Bon priest makes four little tormas, called "misfortune-tormas," which he places with all kinds of extra features on a tray. The seed-master goes in the four directions of the compass with the tray and each time throws away a torma.

[824] Then the Bon priest makes the "weather-torma." [825] Meanwhile the men slaughter a goat, stuff the hide, and put it on a tall pole. They lay this, together with the goat doll, before the Bon priest. He ties four little wooden wedges to its feet and a special wedge on the goat's forehead. He inscribes the wedges with Tibetan magical signs. Then the pole is set up, and the priest places the weather-torma, together with the extra features, before the pole. [782] A great incense offering and frequent kowtowing accompany this ceremony.

Then the priest goes to his place and makes the "mountain-torma." It has three layers and is the largest of all the tormas. He puts this behind the pole. Again incense is burned and all kowtow.

241 789 791 In the meantime other men have boiled the goat meat in the kettle. The seed-master now makes an offering of this meat to the gods. At the conclusion there is then a communal meal at which the remainder of the meat is consumed. Then [782] all go home, but there is no singing and drinking as on other occasions. [264]

[824 cont.]

241 This is the ceremonial erection of the pole-goat. In
789 the case of the simple type only one misfortune-torma is made,
791 which represents the four others; there is also the weather-
[778] torma. The mountain-torma is omitted and no magical wedges are tied to the goat.

When one has undertaken the ceremonial erection, the
[782] Bon priest must come often during the summer and hold prayer services before the pole-goat. In the autumn, after the harvest,
[465] he receives from each family a certain measure of grain as compensation. In the case of the simple erection, without any summer prayer, only on the day itself is he given a large loaf of bread and a piece of meat from the loin of the goat.

Details

241 Time: The time of the erection is determined by the
789 soothsayer, and in the local temple. It always falls in the period
791 from the thirteenth day in the fifth lunar month to the sixth day
787 in the sixth lunar month. One may also let the Bon priest determine the day. He uses three dice for this. He compares the numbers thrown with his soothsaying book and in this manner determines a day (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 829.] The time coincides with that in which the Chinese put their weather forts in order and drive in the thunderbolts (ch'a p'ai).

241 Place: The pole-goat is always erected on the highest
789 mountain in the people's own local area, and only on one mountain and only one goat. Small hamlets or compounds may do
778 it together; then the highest mountain of all these hamlets is
[621] chosen (1). -- The spot on the mountain itself is indicated by
[791]

1. [Foreign text p. 829.] If the mountain is too far away, one sets up a tent and lives there.

[824 cont.]

241 the soothsayer when the pole-goat is raised for the first time.
789 This spot is then always retained. A hole is dug there and covered
778 with a clod of earth or a rock so that it will not be destroyed by
the next year.

[791] The place is never taboo, regardless of whether the pole-goat stands there or not. One may pasture animals there, start a fire, etc. Women need not avoid it.

241 [825] Persons: Only a Bon priest may undertake the
789 performance, never a lama or a soothsayer. Nowadays the cus-
791 tom is scarcely ever practiced because the Bon priests have died
[178] out. It is still found only in very remote mountain villages. The simple ceremony is performed by a Bon priest of the second class, the solemn ceremony by a Bon priest of the first class because
[242] he has special magical power. The costume is that of the ordinary people since the Bon priest is, of course, a farmer. He merely needs to wear the forehead wreath and a long garment.

In addition the following act with him: the seed-master and his helper, the village elders, and generally all men, all soothsayers. It is enough, however, if only one soothsayer is represented, for instance, a sword-shaman, a spirit-table soothsayer, etc. Women must not witness the ceremony, but
[562] little girls may watch.

241 The pole: It does not matter of what wood and amidst
789 which ceremonies the pole is made. Usually it is a slender
778 poplar tree ten meters long. The village itself is responsible for this pole. It is used every year and kept in the family of the
[621] annually alternating seed-master. It may be burned, cut up, etc. when it has served its purpose for several years.

The goat: Ordinarily it is a wool goat; color, age, sex, size, etc. are unimportant. It is true that the people prefer horned goats over the hornless. No one cares about the origin of the goat; it may be purchased, be a gift, etc. After it has been taken down from the pole in the autumn, the hide belongs to the seed-master, but it is so dilapidated that it is not usable.

[825 cont.]
241 It therefore, with the head, is left to be eaten by wolves and
789 dogs. The hide is not used for magic.
778

[791] The misfortune-torma: The Bon priest washes his hands and face and makes a little torma of tsamba mixed with butter about ten centimeters high and three to four centimeters wide. He puts it on a tray or a wooden plate. As extra features he adds in very small quantities: raw mutton or pork, leeks, beets, breadcrumbs, white and black sheep's wool, five kinds of grain, tea leaves, money, silver, gold, five little pieces of cloth, five-colored threads, and black and white sugar and puts a dough-lamp with a burning cotton wick beside them. These extra features also apply to the three other tormas, in other words, to all four little misfortune-tormas.

The extra features, along with the tormas, are thrown
[533] in all four directions of the compass, while the seed-master,
[782] amidst blowing on the conch, makes the great incense offering
[791] and the Bon priest prays the appropriate spirit conjuration. For the first four tormas the Bon priest uses only the sounding plate and the bone flute, not the double drum and bell.

In the case of the simple ceremony with only one misfortune-torma, naturally only one direction of the compass can be considered. This one is indicated by the Bon priest himself.
[791]

241 Making the pole-goat: The Bon priest does not concern
789 himself about the goat. The men fumigate and wash the goat
778 as usual and pour milk over it; while the goat shakes itself, they make [826] a threefold kowtow in a circle around it, because
825 the sky accepts the animal. Then the goat is slaughtered and
[787] the blood caught in a basin. In skinning it one does not slit open the belly side, but rather an incision is made below the tail which just suffices to pull off the hide from behind over the head. The head is cut off inside the hide so that it remains whole and unskinned within it. In the same fashion one cuts off the feet, leaving them in the hide. Only then is the skinned goat [illustration appears here] eviscerated and cut up, and the
[252] blood, with the scraps of meat, is stuffed into the cleaned intestines.

[826 cont.]

241 These intestines, together with the meat, are cooked in a kettle over
789 a hole in the ground.

778 The hide is tightly stuffed with any kind of straw in such a
[825] way that the head and legs stick out stiffly, and the pole is stuck
[252] in it from the rear up to the head. Thus the goat sits firmly upright on the pole and need not be tied on. Then the men fumigate goat and post with incense and lay it down before the Bon priest.

The raised pole-goa
(Drawing of a Tujen

[532]
[791] The weather-torma: The Bon priest meanwhile has finished the second torma, the weather-torma. It is exactly the same size as the first, that is, the four first tormas. With a prayer he puts it on a wooden tray with the following extra features: one to three butter-lamps, three little copper bowls with pure water, a little bowl of the barley wine, a little bowl of Tibetan barley or wheat, a little bowl of tea leaves, a little bowl of dough beans [Teigbohnen]. -- This torma also bears several colorful butter-flowers.

[791] During its preparation the Bon priest prays a special weather-prayer.
[782] Sometimes he also pastes some paper money on the torma. [Illustration appears here.]

Magic dagger,
wooden peg, mpuru.
(From the drawing of a
Tujen.)

[826 cont.]

241 The wedges: After making the torma the Bon priest in-
789 scribes the wedges. They are provided by the seed-master. They
778 have the form of the Lamaistic magic dagger; they are three-
[791] edged, seven inches (23 centimeters) long, and one inch (3.3 centimeters) wide. Only the hardest wood is used; in that region there are only the three kinds: huang-san-tzu, hei-ts'u, hua-mu (7).

[824]

7. [Foreign text p. 830.] The names could not be identified; huang-san-tzu seems to be black sandalwood; hua-mu is birch. In any case it is supposed to be the hardest wood that can be found. Among the kinds of wood there, birch is in fact regarded as one of the hardest; people even make wheel rims out of it.

It does not matter whether all of them are made from one of these kinds or whether all the kinds are used. There are five wedges in all. The head of the wedge is notched into three parts (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 829.] The shape of the magic dagger varies. The grip in particular varies, but usually it is three stepped death's-heads. The daggers that I saw were all of iron. I also heard, however, that formerly there were daggers of human bones. In this way the three-edged pointed shape and the bone knob could be easily explained; it would also fit in well with the skull drum, skin whip, bone flute, etc. -- The black color signifies iron.

[765]

[826 cont.]

241 The seed-master places these wedges on the table before
789 the Bon. The latter inscribes all three sides with Tibetan magic
778 formulas. For this purpose he uses Chinese ink and the brush or
791 the Tibetan bamboo pencil. The wedge that is intended for the
[212] head of the goat [827] has a black hada slung around it at the
head and a black string or a small chain in the middle.

Then some of the wool is cut from the pole-goat lying in front of the Bon, a few threads are twisted together, and with these the Bon priest ties on the wedges, one on each foot and one between the horns. All five wedges have the tip downward.
[788] He then sprinkles water from his holy-water can over goat and pole, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley, blows on it three times, and scatters it over the whole.

241 The erection of the pole-goat and the offering: The
789 men set the pole in the hole and wedge it tight with stones
791 and earth. The goat must face the northwest because storms
782 usually come from there. As soon as the pole is firmly set,
[821] the Bon brings the weather-torma, together with the extra
[823] features, to the foot of the pole, sets it down, and immediately returns to his place in order to continue the weather-prayer. Now he accompanies the prayer only with his drum and the bell. Again the men make a great incense offering amidst blowing on the conch.

241 The mountain-torma: Then the mountain-torma is
789 prepared. It has three steps, is round, and looks like a pyramid
778 with terraces about ten centimeters high. Altogether it is about 40 centimeters high. The torma is painted with soft butter colored red and is given the following extra features: on the first layer, water animals, frog, snake, fish, dragon, turtle, and, further, little stones, little lumps of earth, and finally a few squirts of water; on the second layer, mountain animals, deer, horse, yak, half-yak, sheep, goat, hare, fox, wolf, and a few little pieces of wood; on the third layer animals of the air, phoenix, eagle, peacock, magpie, dove, swallow, and, further, sun disk and moon sickle. On the uppermost tip are

[827 cont.]
241 placed various kinds of real flowers (3).

789
778

3. [Foreign text p. 829.] This is a representation of the world with animals and stars, in other words, a mandala. It is interesting that the informant designates this torma as an offering, as well as all the extra features of the torma, whereas the two other tormas represent spirits.

[782]

[791] These figures are all made in miniature from butter and tsamba by the Bon priest himself. He places the torma on the tray with exactly the same sacrificial extra features as in the case of the weather-torma. This torma is likewise brought to the foot of the pole, usually behind it and somewhat elevated. Lamps and little bowls are put in front of it. Thus, two tormas in all stand under the pole-goat. While the Bon priest goes back and continues his prayers, the men again burn incense.

[791]
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The goat offering: The goat offering consists of the throwing of sacrificial meat. While the Bon priest rests from his prayers, the spear-soothsayer (or another) indicates the direction in which the offering is to be made and, with the shaking spear, supervises the performance. The seed-master takes a bowl of the broth from the kettle and throws it in the air for the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then four throws in the four directions of the compass follow, and finally three throws toward the northwest for the weather-spirits. At each throw the men kneel down and make a three-fold kowtow.

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With that the actual ceremony is concluded. The men sit down [828] around the kettle, consume the remaining meat, and drink tea. Then all go home, including the Bon priest. -- The tormas are either burned in the fire or simply left standing.

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[828 cont.]

241 The veneration of the pole-goat: During the summer the
789 farmers appear singly or together before the pole-goat, make an
791 offering, pray, burn incense, and kowtow in order to protect the
782 seed from hail. The Bon priest also comes often to pray. In former times he even pitched his tent for a longer period of time and remained there in order to be constantly on hand for the weather conjuration in case of storms. This is no longer the case today. The weather conjuration is now done by the soothsayer, usually the spirit-soothsayer.

Taking down the pole-goat: After the fifteenth day in the eighth lunar month, when the harvest has been cut, the pole-goat is again taken away. One no longer has the soothsayer determine the day, but instead acts according to the circumstances. The Bon priest is again invited; he again makes the tormas and prays. Usually a sheep is sacrificed.

241 Interpretations: The pole-goat is supposed to banish
789 bad weather and protect the harvest. The custom occurs only among farmers, even among the agricultural Fandse. The
776 goat has special protective power because its head serves as an
825 anvil for the god Dăntsien Sañ. He is the smith in the weather
821 ministry (5). During storms he hammers his iron between the horns,
[171]

5. [Foreign text pp. 829-830.] The conception of the storm ministry bears a resemblance to the Chinese lei-pu (thunder division). It is uncertain, however, whether borrowings are involved. At any rate, in the popular tradition of the Tujen the Bon priest has a special connection with weather magic (cf. also Tafel, Tibetreise). -- Concerning the storm-god Dăntsăñ (Dăntsien Sañ) the informant knew nothing other than that there is an image of

[791]

[828 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 829-830 cont.]
him in the monastery Rgulõn and that he is a tutelary god of the Bon. Däntsien is evidently a Tujen corruption of the Tibetan dam-can, "keeping a vow" (cf. Ch. Das, p. 618). This is only a general title which could be applied to many gods. According to Grünwedel (Mythologie, pp. 187 ff.), Ch. Das (p. 618), and others, however, it refers to the Lamaistic terror-god rDo-rje-legs (pa), who rides on a goat (ram) and [830] was elevated to the tutelary lord (Dharmapāla) of the doctrine. H. Hoffmann denies that he is a Tantristic god and wants to designate him as an old Bon god, in which he is correct,as the ceremony described here indicates. He then continues (Quellen [Sources], p. 164): "There is an interesting statement by Jäschke, as yet unconfirmed, according to which Rdor-legs ... was an honorable village smith. ... At any rate it is noteworthy that Waddell also speaks of a 'demon blacksmith' [cited in English]." These surmises can now be confirmed by the ceremony of the pole-goat and the tradition connected with it. The dam-can is a smith-god of the Bon and stands in a special relationship to the weather conjuration and to the goat cult which, after all, likewise belongs to the realm of the Bon or is at least pre-Buddhistic. (Cf. the old name of Lhasa, which was originally called Ra-sa, Goat-place, and had a temple of the same name.)

[828 cont.]

241 during which lightning flashes and glowing hailstones fall to
789 earth. Through this the evil demons are killed, so no misfortune
821 befalls the seed and human beings (6).

[825]
[776]
[171]

6. [Foreign text p. 830.]
Weather magic plays an important role in all of Tsinghai. A pure Bon ceremony is involved here. Neither the Chinese nor the lamas practice it. And if it is correct that the nomads do not have it, this is an indication of the close connection of the Bon with agriculture. -- The Chinese engage in their weather magic through other shamans or through lay bonzes, exorcists, etc., never through a Bon priest. -- Only in very isolated instances does one find the pole-goat among the Chinese, and then it is along the border of the Tujen or Fandse region. I frequently saw one in a valley along the Pei-ch'uan river south of Hsin-t'ien-p'u, where there was a Chinese village; here they departed from the rule that it must be erected on a mountain.

[778]

Other types of weather conjurations are undertaken with help of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, the spirit-litter, and with thunderbolts. All these things are the seat of deities. As soon as bad weather approaches, the corresponding bearers fetch these seats of the deities, summon the spirit, and station themselves out in the open facing the storm. Further details concerning these ceremonies in another place. The entire

[828 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 830 cont.]
weather conjuration of this region still seems to be an inheritance from the Bon. The conditions and customs connected with it are strongly reminiscent of the description given by A. Tafel for the Bon in eastern Tibet, Tibetreise, II, pp. 198 ff.

241 The first four tormas represent evil demons. They are
789 driven away by the throwing. The extra features are given so that they will be content and will not return; they are things
778 which one needs in daily life.

[782] The second torma, weather-torma, represents the spirits of the weather ministry. The extra features are an offering to make them favorably disposed.

The mountain-torma represents the world-mountain. Sun and moon circle around it. This mountain is the spirit paradise. It is put under the pole so that the spirits will withdraw into this paradise and leave the human beings.

The wedges represent the magic dagger of the smith-god and his subordinates. They are the chief weapons against demons.
[791] The Bon priest is also a pupil and subordinate of this smith-god. He especially venerates him and likewise uses the three-edged magic dagger in conjuring away the demons. At the temple
[535] dances (tscham dances) the subordinate spirits of the weather-smith-god also appear with the dagger. Lamas never use the dagger. The three notches form three knobs which are supposed to represent the human skull. The demons especially fear this,
[765] like all things that come from the dead, such as the bone flute, the whip of human skin, and the skull drum.

192 [829] Word List

241 The pole-goat: aradziãń (Tib. loanword) = to stretch out
789 the goat.

ima rẽdziala (Tujen) = to stretch out the goat.

[778] The goat: ima; chũ-la (Chin.); chia-la (Chin.).

[829 cont.]

192 Weather-prayer: dirëdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword) (8).
241 lei-pu ching (Chin.) - weather ministry prayer.

789 8. [Foreign text p. 830.] xsertsien:
[782] Tibetan gser = golden, skyem = drink.
It is the Mongolic altan umdagan,
golden drink, poured out at the obo
offering, the tea offering before the
obo. An offering to the local gods.
--guax: Tibetan skyeg (pronounced
kag) = misfortune. --mpuru: Tibetan
p'ur bu = nail, peg; can also be a
god's name. --satsiog: Tibetan sa =
place, skyon = to guard, to preserve;
king, protector. --darnag: Tibetan
dar = silk, nag = black (Unkrig).

[778] Misfortune-torma: guax (8) [see Note 8 above] sdor (Tib.).
Weather-torma: dirdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword)? cf. weather-prayer.
Mountain-torma: rira (Tib. loanword) = world-mountain, Sumeru, mandala.
Magic dagger: mpuru (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above]; ting-shen-chuang; spirit peg (Chin.).
To notch: nduodba (Tib.?).
Magic formulas: snag (sënog).
[791] Bon priest second class: xuändie; sënogsa (snagsa) (Tib. loanword).
peng-po (Chin.).
Weather conjuration: satsion (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above.]
The black hada (on the dagger): chao-t'ien p'a (Chin.) = the sky-covering veil.
darnag (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].
The black string: fsiasga (Tib. loanword) = lasso for capturing horses.
k'un-hsien sheng (Chin.): the genii-binding string.

[Pages 829-830 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[842 cont.]

Word List

192
778 Consecration-band: šdier (Tib. loanword).
hung-tzu (Chin.) = the red.

To tie on the consecration-band: šdier fuya-.

[825] The consecration-animal: šdier.

Sacred horse: šdier mori; sheng ma (Chin.).

Sacred sheep: šdier xoni; sheng yang (Chin.).

Sacred goat: šdier ima; sheng chia-la (Chin.), etc.

[Pages 842-844 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[844]

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2. The Demon-escort *

* See "Notes," pp. 846-847 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

789 The demon-escort consists of leading the harmful spirit
[791] out of the house and releasing it in the distance. It is done upon
[777] the command of the soothsayer in case of family misfortune.

On a set day one invites a lama to the house. He prays
[792] for six days with the usual ceremonies and makes several tormas
with the appropriate additions, as on other occasions. The
[778] compound is taboo, and the master of the household makes the
[782] great incense offering three times a day.

In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes the actual
[778] demon-torma, which, with all kinds of provisions for travel, is
[792] placed on a table in front of the household altar.

On the seventh day one takes the torma, along with a
[825] riding animal carrying the travel provisions, outside the village

[844 cont.]

789 and releases the animal. It may run where it will; no one pays
[825] any attention to it.

Details

789 Persons: The demon-releasing may be undertaken by: a
792 lama, but not a hutukhtu, a Bon priest, a shaman, a spear-
791 soothsayer, or other soothsayers with litter, table-god, etc. The
757 six-day prayer service, however, is undertaken only by lamas and Bon priests; this is the great releasing, [845] whereas the ceremony performed by a shaman or soothsayer alone is the little releasing. Even though at the great releasing the lama may do everything himself, usually a soothsayer nonetheless goes along (spear, litter, etc.). The members of the family take care of everything else, getting the animals ready, gifts, etc.

789 The animals: The animals permissible are: horses,
825 cattle, sheep, goats, hens, and cocks. Those not permitted are
[783] dogs, pigs, mules, half-yaks. Dogs and pigs are regarded as unclean. Mules and half-yaks are incapable of reproduction; for this reason, too, one does not take castrated animals. The rules connected with the animal-consecration do not apply here. The animals are ridden by the demons and carry the burdens on their travels. The hens, however, can be burdened; one simply lets them fly. They are therefore usually used only for the "little releasing." Special ceremonies, such as washing and fumigating, are not performed on the animals; also color and age are unimportant.

782
789 The travel provisions: The following things are packed
[484] in the travel bag, which is usually woven out of wool: money
[415] (any kind of money, just so long as it is in circulation at the time), cloth (for instance, cotton, silk, linen, of any color), a strand of unspun wool, cotton or silk threads (no wool threads), tea leaves, baked or steamed loaves in any number desired, a food bowl of porcelain or clay (no ordinary wooden one), new men's clothing, elegant boots, cloth shoes, an elegant cap or an

[845 cont.]

789 782 elegant hat, black and white sugar, fresh good butter, a piece of raw meat, dates, apples, and other fruits. All these things must be new; they may not have been used even once, for otherwise the demon is not satisfied and returns.

789 [778] [792] Releasing: In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes a large three-cornered torma (1). The master of the household

1. [Foreign text pp. 846-847.] This form of torma can frequently be seen in lamaseries. They are especially reserved for demons. It is usually a pyramid of dough from 30 to 50 centimeters high. The types seem to vary. I saw some that were hung with intestines and bore death's-head figures (at the banishing of the mBarma in Kumbum); others had an arrow with a mani-wheel stuck in them, etc. Evidently the Tibetan zor, Mongol. = sor [847] (Unkrig), is involved. Ch. Das writes under zor, p. 1098: "reaping-hook, a sickle, a knife, esp. the weapons employed in combating the evil spirits in the gtor ma offerings, such as knife, sword, sling, bow and arrows" [cited in English]. There is a very detailed description of the manufacture, consecration, and use of the zor in Pozdneev, Skizzen [Sketches] (pp. 283 ff.): "A three-cornered pyramid, hollow on the inside, which is made of dough and colored a flaming red, is called zor. Figures are engraved on it with the burin, such as flowers, circles, fiery tongues, etc., as a result

[845 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 846-847 cont.] of which the whole pyramid is given the appearance of a fiery, flaming bonfire. The representation of a skull, which is likewise made of dough, is put on the tip. But then the same kind of skulls are placed at the foot of each of the three corners. An arrow is stuck in the middle of the pyramid, from which hadak hang, and which, instead of feathering, bears a little wheel ..." etc. (Translated by W.A. Unkrig.) Lessing maintains of the arrow in the zor: "To this arrow attached a 'ghost or spirit', as my informant put it" [cited in English] (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148). -- Whether and to what extent this arrow in the demon-torma is connected with the arrow of good fortune is unclear. One conceives of the zor most simply as bearer of the weapons that are feared by the demons. A similarity with the weapon-bearing and demon-combating gurtum is undeniable.

789 places it on a table in front of the household altar, but not on the altar. Alongside it he places the sack with the clothing and food provisions.

[791] [787] On the following morning, the seventh day, one invites the spear-soothsayer. After a good breakfast he summons the spirit and determines the exact hour in which the demon must be carried away. Usually it is done immediately following the soothsaying.

[791] [792] A man takes the saddlebag, the lama the tray with the torma that represents the demon, and behind him follows the

[845 cont.]
789 spear-soothsayer amidst constant shaking; he must remain until
792 the end. They go in front of the yard gate. There another man
[791] waits with the animal. The master of the household places the saddlebag on the unbridled and unsaddled animal and leads it away by the head harness, followed by the lama, spear-soothsayer, and the other men. The procession goes out of the village by the usual route. Outside the village he leads the animal a distance across the fields, takes off its head harness, and chases it away, and to be sure in an uninhabited direction so that it cannot immediately run back into the village. On the [846] spot at which the animal was released, the lama sets down the torma. Before it a man erects a small wall of clay bricks with the broad side facing the village, so that the demon will not come back again. Then all go home. The animal is not supposed to run home again; no one bothers about what happens to it. It belongs to the demon. In case it does come running back again later, it is driven off with blows of a stick.

789 The simple releasing: Besides this ceremonial form,
791 there is also a simple releasing, which takes only half a day
757 or a whole day. One invites a shaman or a soothsayer, who escorts the things away. On this occasion there is no praying and no torma is made. The master of the household holds a hen in readiness and brings the traveling clothes and food on a tray before the household altar. The soothsayer or shaman invokes the spirit and, followed by the master of the household, goes with the tray out into the field. There a large pile of straw is heaped up. The things on the tray are flung into it and the whole is set afire. While the flames beat upward, the hen is allowed to fly away. -- If a soothsayer officiates, then the performance usually takes place in the morning. If a shaman undertakes the releasing, then it is not done until the late evening at the coming of darkness. The shaman follows
[787] in a state of trance and swings his sword in battle against the demon. Even if the shaman at the "great releasing" follows the lama in place of a spear-soothsayer, he performs this
[535] sword dance, but this is always in broad daylight (2).

[846 cont.]

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[782]

2. [Foreign text p. 847.] There are similar spirit-releasings in many variations both among the Tujen and among the Chinese. The basic feature is the same everywhere: one releases the demon with many gifts so that it will not return. The ceremonial driving away of the mBarma demon in Kumbum is nothing other than such a releasing, only with a more complicated ritual and with the expenditure of enormous sums of money. The demon is represented there by his mother's brother, a selected man, while his image is burned together with the thread (mdos) towers. In the neighboring Huchu valley, for instance, in Kanchiapu, he is represented by the dough image and then is beaten to pieces by the children and eaten; in Tsungchai he is conjured into a kind of "town fortress" (tu-ch'eng) and this is burned; farther up in Kao-ch'iang-p'u he is put, with his belongings, on a little boat and allowed to float away.

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[556]

Interpretation: The demon who disturbs the compound must be led away with all the gifts and conveniences imaginable so that he will not think back on his old location. The prayers of the lama and also the torma depend upon the demon. Regardless of whether it is a great or little exorcism, the effect is the same. Only the wealthy can afford large animals, and usually today it is only the lamic monasteries that undertake such an expensive ceremony.

[846 cont.]

789 If an evildoer steals the animal or the things, the
776 demon will punish him.
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Word List

192 Demon escort: rëdzõňwa (Tib.?) ġarġani = one takes away
789 that which is to be taken away.
[778] The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].
Saddlebag: dadzë (Chin. loanword).
Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[847]

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3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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789 Report

. . . In order to protect the children from misfortune, one
791 invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then
[777] they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.
[778] On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter
and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing.
[782] There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

1 [i.e. - the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST.]

[847 cont.]

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Details

Time: Ordinarily the ceremony takes place when a child is sick. It can also be undertaken, however, as a preventive measure against [848] sickness. Then the third or ninth month is chosen by preference.

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Place: One stays in one's own house and does not go into the local temple; the Bon priests also live in the compound. The place is taboo during these days. The burning of the objects must always be done outside the place.

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[534]

The prayer service: For the prayer service the Bon priests bring along a large double drum, which is suspended from a beam (1), and, furthermore, sounding plates, a hand bell,

1. [Foreign text p. 849.] By means of a ring the drum is suspended from a beam in the room with a cord. The Bon sticks one finger of his left hand through the second ring on the drum and thus pulls the drum tight so that it does not swing back and forth. At the same time he also holds in his left hand a sounding plate. In his right hand he has drum sticks and the second sounding plate, so that through skillful handling he can beat both instruments at the same time.

bone flute, and Tibetan prayer texts. The prayer service takes place four times a day, namely, at sunrise, after the morning tea, at noon, and in the evening; the incense offering is made in the yard each time.

[848 cont.]

789 The litter: The litter looks like a death-box, in other
778 words, it has the shape of a small temple with a movable door. Only it is almost entirely made of paper, even the sun-moon attachment on the ridge-piece. First a floor is made out of a soft clay plate. Into this plate, at the four corners, the Bon priest sticks poles about a meter long as columns, connects them with crosslaths, and thus makes a framework. This is covered by pasting paper on it. No particular color is required. The whole is set on two carrying poles so that it looks like a litter.
[783] Then the men fumigate the litter with cypress incense. They do not use the red-hot stone. The work is not done on the kang, but on the floor.

789 The figures: First the Bon priest washes a clay vessel,
778 fumigates it, puts tsamba and butter in it, and kneads them thoroughly. In all 81 figures are formed, nine kinds with nine
791 pieces each. The kinds are: sheep, goat, hen, pig, dog, snake, frog, horse, and cattle. The Bon priests put these figures in
532 the litter and fumigate everything together. -- The men of the household assist at the making of both the litter and the figures.
[783] The Bon priests and men must wash and fumigate themselves beforehand each time; otherwise they may not give a hand.
[782] The Bon priests accompany the work with prayers said by rote.

[782] The accompanying gifts: Since the figures are small, at most a handbreadth in size, there is still room in the litter for all kinds of accompanying gifts. These consist of Tibetan barley, white barley, wheat, beans, millet, and some small loaves of bread. To this are also added white and black sheep wool, white and black sugar, money, a raven's feather, some silver, and a sheet of paper on which the Bon priests have printed or drawn the images of the sickness-demons. Once everything has been placed inside, the door of the litter is
[783] closed and sealed, and the litter is fumigated. Then it is put on the floor in front of the household altar. A three-cornered torma and a white horse's skull are in front of it (2). The skull

[848 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether the horse's skull represents the riding animal of the spirit could not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another torma is also made.

789 [849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day
[787] the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books
[791] the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away.
[532] They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum, sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the torma.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the torma is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen.
[782] The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long
[171] migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this custom.

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4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This ceremony is very similar to the figure-conjuration of the shamans

[849 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 850 cont.] and to the demon-escort. I could not ascertain from the notes whether the Bon priest touches the sick person with the figures and thus transfers the sickness to them, as is the case with the shamanistic figure-conjuration. Cf. the following chapter, Note 5.

Word List

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784 Figure-litter: [778] šergundi; made up of šē (Tib.) = demon, rēgun = nine (Tib.); ndi (Tib.?) = complete (3) (5).

3. [Foreign text p. 850.] This explanation by the informant is uncertain.

5. [Foreign text p. 850.] šergundi: Tibetan bse = demon, dgu = nine, k'ri (pronounced thi) = litter. Meaning: nine-demons' litter. -- šbawog: Tibetan sbal (pronounced bal) = toad, frog; nag = black (Unkrig).

[791] Bon priest: xuāndzie (xuāndie).
[778] Demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.).
[825] Sheep: xoni.
Goat: imā.
Hen: tagu.
Pig: xge.
Dog: nogue (noxue).
Snake: mogue.
Frog: šbawog (5) [see Note 5 above].
Horse: mori.
Cattle: ulā.

192 [849 cont.]
Raven's feather: kẽrie fõdẽ.
789 He has painted the demon on paper: tsialdzẽrẽ ilieni xuarladzia.
[778] Horse's skull: mori tolġuẽ yäsẽ.
Little-bearer: ndi kurgẽdzin kun = men accompanying the whole (litter?) away.

[Pages 849-850 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

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4. The Figure-conjuration * (1)

* See "Notes," pp. 851-182 [of foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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1. [Foreign text p. 851.] I could not obtain any clarification concerning the actual name. It seems that the rdzõṅ in rdzõṅwa is the same as in dzõṅrẽ. The ceremony is quite similar to the one with the figure-litter.

[789]

Report

[756] In case of very severe illness one invites in a shaman who makes a series of figures, touches the sick person with them, and takes away the figures in the evening for burning.

[789] Afterwards he buries a series of objects in order to hold
[357] down the sickness-demon. The compound remains taboo for
[784] all strangers during this time, three, five, seven, or nine days, depending upon the sickness involved.

[850 cont.]

Details

755 The figures: Nine kinds of things are needed for the
778 figure-conjuration. 1. Five little paper men (2). They are
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[789]

2. [Foreign text p. 851.] The Chinese, too, have these paper figures at their demon exorcisms; they call them wu-tao shen. Among them, however, it is not clear whether five or only one demon is involved. They are mentioned once in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien as wu-tao lei-shen, that is, five-way thunder-spirits, which punish human beings through wind, rain, water, fire, and epidemics.

about 10 to 20 centimeters high and of the type of the Chinese paper figures that are burned at the burial. Only here they wear Tujen dress, which depends on whether male or female demons are involved. One can also simply cut them out of a piece of strong paper, but usually they are stuck together in the form of a figure with the help of stalks of grass. 2. Five little tsamba men. They are not colored, but retain the characteristic tsamba color. Also, they wear no clothing and are represented as sexless. 3. A pig made of tsamba. 4. A hen or a cock made of tsamba. 5. A dog made of tsamba. 6. A sheep made of tsamba. 7. A goat of tsamba. 8. A cow of tsamba. 9. A horse of tsamba. These figures
[756] are made by shamans with the help of a skillful man, in a way similar to the figures of the figure-litter.

755 Then they are put on a tray with the following accom-
782 panying gifts: a piece of raw pork, beef, or mutton, some pieces of cloth and threads in the five sacred colors for the five little men, and bread and money. The tray is set before the household altar, and a burning dough-lamp and a basin with cypress incense or a number of incense sticks are put in front of it.

[850 cont.]

755 The conjuration: As soon as it is dark the gurtum goes
756 into a trance in the usual fashion before the household altar.
[787] Then he rises, fights [851] the demons with his sword in the air, and goes to the sick person. The tray is brought after him. With his one free hand he takes one figure after another from the tray, touches the affected places on the patient with them while constantly swinging the sword and murmuring magic words, and puts them back on the tray (5).

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[789]

5. [Foreign text p. 852.] The custom of transferring sickness to animals or animal figures is also reported of Siberian shamans elsewhere. In this case, however, the similarity with the above-described Bon custom is to be noted. Originally actual animals might have been sacrificed. It was Buddhism that first combated these sacrifices and abolished them. Then substitute figures arose for them. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 176 and 263, writes in this connection: "...prohibits for the hated rivals the sacrifice of animals. In this connection the interesting fact is mentioned that the Bon-po were forced to make images of yaks and sheep out of grain mush, as well as wooden deer heads with wide horns, which henceforth had to serve as substitutes at the sacrificial ceremonies. The first-mentioned dough figures, made by means of wooden molds, are still found today, it is worthy of note, even in the rites of the Lamaists"; cf. loc. cit., where the literature is also cited.

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[851 cont.]

755 Then he storms out into the street, and the men follow
756 him with the things while he fights on with his sword. As soon as they are out of the village and reach a crossroads, they stop. A man piles a back-basket full of straw on the ground, and the things from the tray are thrown into it. Then the whole thing is set afire. They do not wait any longer, but quickly go home.

755 Burial of the magic objects: The shaman designates a
789 spot on the ground in front of the yard gate; the men immedi-
[787] ately dig a pit there. The shaman, still in a trance, puts nine
[756] kinds of things in it. First he puts a black food bowl on the floor of the pit; he puts red-hot coals in the food bowl, pours pure water over them, and puts in an iron knife, a small bow and arrow, a magic wooden dagger, a black chain (3), and a piece

[778]

3. [Foreign text pp. 851-852.] The magic dagger and the black chain are also used in connection with the pole-goat; cf. the appropriate section. No clarification could be obtained concerning the type of wood used for this dagger. The informant called it [852] siraldzin; he translated it with the Chinese huang-san (shan) tzu in the sense of yellow-mountain (wood). In the DMF there is the translation "armoise," Artemisia. This could not possibly be involved here. It must be a very hard kind of wood.

of iron from a town gate. He inverts a large earthen vessel over the whole (4); the men fill the pit and level it off so that one

4. [Foreign text p. 852.] The chain binds the demons, and the vessel caps them.

[851 cont.]

755 can no longer see where the things are buried.

[789] [787] [756] Now all go into the house. The shaman awakes from his trance.

Word List

192 755 Figure-conjuration: rdzõ̃ňwa (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1 above], (5) [see Note 5 above], (6)

6. [Foreign text p. 852] rdzõ̃ňwa or dzõ̃ňre: At the base of these two words lies the Tibetan stem rdsons = to take away (pronounced: dzon). siradzin: Mongolic sira modon = yellow-wood. It is an especially hard kind of wood, Phellodendron amurense (Unkrig).

[778] Figures (little men): rdzõ̃ňrë (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Raw meat: tõgõ maxa.

Black food-bowl: xara iga.

Black vessel: xara pëndzë.

Knife: tsidëguo.

Magic dagger: siral(dzin) (6) [see Note 6 above] mpuru = yellow-wood magic-dagger.

Chain: fsiasga.

Iron from the town gate: badzër-udie timur.

000 [Pages 851-852 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[852] 5. The Washing of the Sick*

* See "Notes," p. 854 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation the notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[853 cont.]

755 in the hearth fire until the water boils and the cloth and barley are thoroughly boiled. He hands this decoction to the sick person 756 who must drink it down immediately. With that the ceremony is ended.

[854] The shaman rests from his exertions, eats his supper, and goes home.

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Word List

Washing the sick:	ġuāndzi (xuāndzie) fdzē ˇsdani = the shaman boils water.
[756] Sword-shaman:	sgurdien.
Knife:	tsidiġuo.
Lock:	tsūrġuo.
Red-hot stone:	sōdaṅ; ts'u-t'an (ch'ü-t'an) (Chin.).
Barley liquor:	miṅ-liu dērasë.
Flowers:	tsidziġ.
Prayer texts:	dzayāṅ (1).

1. dzayāṅ: Mongolic ḍayaġan (pronounced ḍayan) = fortune, fate, etc.; meaning: prayer of fate (Unkrig).

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6. The House-purification *

* See "Notes," p. 855. [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

755 If someone is seriously ill, then the shaman, with the 789 men of the household, undertakes a house-purification. On this 756 occasion the demon is conjured out of the house in a straw doll, [783] dragged out of the village, and burned.

[854 cont.]

Details

755 789 [416] Things: Seven things are needed for the exorcism: 1. A torch. It consists of a stick wrapped with straw and soaked in oil. At least one torch is needed, but usually there are several. 2. A measure of small pebbles of any color. 3. An oil-pan. This is usually only a large iron spoon that is filled with oil and glowing coals to make a strong flame. 4. Bow and arrow. The arrow is wrapped with wadding at the tip; it is soaked in oil and lighted. 5. A hemp whip. It is usually very long, up to two meters. To make it, three tapering strands of hemp are plaited into a braid that is so thick at one end that it can just be held in the hand, whereas the other end tapers to a fine point so that it will crack well. 6. A live hen of any color or sex. 7. A straw man (3). It is very simple. One takes a long

[778] [171]

3. [Foreign text 855.] The Chinese, too, often use these straw dolls, which they throw on the field or on crossroads, likewise without shamans. -- In the Tujen monastery of the Yellow Sect, Rgulõn, I once also saw Bon priests who had been invited by the monastery to undertake a demon-conjuration on the fifteenth day of each month. They also made a straw man and said that the Namśri was conjured into it by their prayers. On the last morning, before sunrise, they tied this straw doll to a manipole and hacked it to pieces with their knives.

smooth wisp of straw, bends it in the middle, ties off the upper third with pieces of straw so that a head is formed, and transversely through this third draws a smaller wisp which represents the arms. -- All these things are provided by the people themselves.

[854 cont.]

755 789 [756] [787] Exorcism: Towards evening, when darkness begins to fall, the shaman goes into a trance before the household altar (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 855.] Before the exorcism the shaman divines, with barley on his protective mirror, which demon is involved.

During this time a man runs out of the village with the hen to a crossroads, twists or hacks off the hen's head, and with the fluttering [855] hen squirts the blood in all directions of the compass. [182] Then he throws away the hen as food for the demon and goes home. -- The straw man is put on the threshold of the main house or in the yard.

755 789 756 [787] [273] As soon as the shaman is in a trance, he jumps up and, running in wild leaps through all the rooms of the compound, performs the sword battle against the demon. The men follow him. Stones hail down on the ground. One circles around in the rooms with the torches. One man holds the oil-pan, takes mouthfuls of liquor, and blows it over the fire into the room, so that each time a red flash shoots out. Others crack the whip from room to room and shoot burning arrows at the floor. In this way the demon is driven into the straw doll. This is dragged by a hemp string or a straw rope out of the gate over the village street to the nearest crossroads, where the hen is lying. The shaman follows, fighting with his sword; stones, blows, fire-arrows, and flashes of fire rain down on the doll. It is left lying at the crossroads. The men pour the oil out of the pan over it, throw the torches, arrows, stones, etc. on it, and leave it smoldering (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 855.] This form of exorcism is the simplest of all. Usually all kinds of other ceremonies are connected with it. I once saw such a sword-shaman as he was trying to heal a child among the Chinese. He cast

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[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.]
about himself with sword and lance, hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up a straw man, swung a winnowing shovel and a sieve, danced, and foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

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Word List

755 House-purification: rdzõňwa (rẽdzõňwa).
789 The torch: huo-pa (Chin.).
[416] The stones: tašẽ; sa-shih (Chin.).
Oil-basin: ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
Fire-arrow: ġal sẽmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
Fire-bow: ġal lẽmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
The hemp whip: uluosẽ yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
The hen: tagũ; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here = to live.
[778] The straw man: šdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

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7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.] Quellen (pp. 160 ff.), no clarification can be obtained concerning the Sman: "We can only conclude from the places at which they are mentioned, that earth-spirits or local spirits are involved." -- G. Tucci, Tib. Painted Scrolls (pp. 720 ff.), regards the Sman as the feminine counterparts of the gods and explains the connection between medicine and femininity in the following manner: "sman means either medicine or women. The connection between the two meanings is perhaps given by the implication that these sman were witches and that they were supposed to be possessed of the healing power with which, in shamanism, women are not rarely endowed" [cited in English]. And further below: "... but nothing prevents us from understanding 'lha and their wives' ..." [cited in English]. -- Therefore in the case of the treasure urn we would be dealing with the klu and their feminine counterparts, the sman.

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The burying of the treasure urn is often equated by the Chinese with the burying of other vessels. These are two different things, however. Chinese and Tujen often put tea bowls, vessels, and the like, with the opening [860] downward, into the ground in order to exorcise and hold down the demons. This custom, however, originates from shamanistic practices, such as the Taoists also have. Thus the shamans there throw tea bowls in the air or on the ground so that the demons will be capped (this is done when the bowl falls with the opening down),

[858 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
for instance, at the erection of the weather fort, in the case of knife-climbing, disease exorcism, etc.

Word List

Earth-god: ġlu (glĕ).

Earth-god urn: sĕnoġ-der; sĕnoġ (Tib.) = to meditate; der (Tib.) = urn, bottle.

To buy an urn: sĕnoġ-der bula; bula = to buy; but used only for the consecrated urn, otherwise "to buy" is called awu-.

Contents of the urn: rdzē (Tib.) (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 860.]
Concerning rdzē, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 4. These additions are for the greater part designated by the Chinese as yao (yāo) and are not to be thought of merely in the sense of medicine. Everything possible that has a special effect falls under yao: minerals, powder, spices, little pieces of shell, gold, and silver, and the filling of the treasure urn. Lamas from Kumbum and Bengbar told me that there are about 30 to 40 types of treasure urns with different fillings. One of the most valuable is the one that contains mani-ruru (little balls). These little balls multiply, they "cast young," as the people say, and fill up the entire urn; cf. section, "Customs concerning the Dead," Note 2. Ch. Das (p. 874) calls the urn additions bum rdsas: "twenty-five articles (comprising

[212 cont.]

771 utilitarian idea. The Tujen give their offerings and prayers in
776 order to make the spirit world favorably inclined toward them
for the purpose of earthly well-being. They are not so submis-
[782] sive to the harmful demons, however, but instead face them
[789] with greater hostility and try to vanquish them with the help
of the good spirits or through magic.

b) The Offering

The Types of Offering

782 The Tujen distinguish the following types according to what is offered: the incense offering, food and drink offering, slaughtered offering, animal-consecration. -- Aside from the incense offering and the animal-consecration, they have a
[192] common name for the offering, namely, šeńlie, which corresponds to the Chinese hsien. Thus, they say, for instance, šdimie šeńlie-, to offer bread; tsidzig šeńlie-, to offer flowers; xonini šeńlie-, to offer a sheep (cf. DMF 376). This expression šeńlie may not be used for anything else.

The incense offering, which originally was an aromatic offering, has now been greatly extended by all kinds of additions, such as butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, silk threads. Here, too, however, the rule against giving anything that smells unpleasant is maintained. The use of butter and
[174] tsamba, which are the staple foods of the nomads there, implies an old pastoral custom. Concerning the original incense offering, cf. the chapter further below, "The Belief in a Supreme God."

The food offering principally includes bread, wine, butter, tsamba. One puts them down before the spirit, for instance, before the household altar, the obo, the mani-tree, the god's image, etc. When they are taken away and consumed, some is thrown to the deity concerned. Liquids are poured on the ground or squirted into the air. The custom of
[264] throwing something to the spirits before each meal belongs here, too.

[214 cont.]

782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types of prayer under the expression yandzila-, to implore, to request, and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer, however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which
[463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the
[792] lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people
[791] connect praying with these professions is shown by the common designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen,
[192] that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom mošë, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching. In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer, something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of
[791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests, Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely linked.

5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

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174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

[The bō or Drum-Shamans]

[235 cont.]

756 and, depending upon the region, various local spirits. These
[776] gods predominantly come from the Taoist pantheon.

[789] [236] Activity. -- Their principal task is the weather
[241] conjuration, the sowing and harvest festivals, and curing sick-
[755] nesses.

756 Peculiarity. -- The bō or fa-shih are differentiated from
787 the other shamans by the fact that they have no trance. If one questions the people about it, one always receives the same answer: "fa-shih pu fa shen (the fashih do not go into ectascy)." Now that is not entirely correct. Namely, at the conclusion of the sowing or harvest festival, one of them attempts an imitation of the trance and wounds himself with the knife. This is called: "fa ta-shen (to produce a great trance)." It is not a trance at all, but at most a relic suggesting it; I was able to observe it several times. Thus the people are basically right when they do not accord ecstasy to them. -- The people sum up the main
756 characteristic, however, in the saying: "fa-shih ch'uei ku, t'iao
535 shen (the fashih beat the drum and perform spirit dances)." Drum and dance are the most outstanding. They always dance in groups before the image of the great mother in order to please her, or also before the sacrificial pig. These are not shamanistic individual dances in order to induce a trance, but are cultic group-dances that follow a definite ritual. One can therefore designate them as drum- or dance-shamans, although true shamanistic features are scarcely present any more.

Classification

171 Relationship to the more recent Siberian shamanism.
756 -- There are few similarities with Siberian shamanism. One could regard the drum as the most important continuation from Siberian shamanism. The relationship with the Tungusic and Mongolic-Manchurian shamanism is stronger. The drum has almost exactly the same execution and the same appendages as, for example, among the Mongols of the Kürie-Banner. (Cf.

[253 cont.]

791 is a purely popular one, and nothing about the inner relationship
779 of these groups to one another is indicated by it; they are probably not essentially different. The farmer-Bon have become most superficial and degenerate. They still wear as their sole distinguishing mark only the artificial brush garland, in order thus to imitate the massive braided turban of the shepherd-Bon; they have practically died out. -- The most important cultic
[765] implements of the Bon are taken from the human corpse: the
[534] double skull-drum covered with human skin, the whip plaited out of human skin (and probably with a bone handle), the thigh-bone flute, and the bone dagger. These implements are supposed to be taken from the corpse of an unmarried adult female person. By the special relationship to skeleton and corpse alone,
[174] the Bon might acknowledge an ancient Tibetan home, which, to be sure, is not only called the "snow land," but also the "land of corpses."

[789] Even though the Bon have much in common with the lamas, there is a series of ceremonies reserved for them, especially the various types of demon exorcism. They are even invited into the monastery by the lamas on the first and fifteenth day of every month, where they undertake these rites. Nothing more about a former opposition between
178 Buddhism and the Bon religion is to be noted here. It shares
791 with Lamaism the fate of gradual disappearance; indeed, in
779 its official form it has already preceded it in this. It is a striking fact that both the Bon religion and Lamaism wane as Chinese agriculture expands, although precisely the sedentary life [254] of the lamas in the large monasteries and the performance of the weather conjuration of the Bon should be especially appropriate for an agricultural culture. The reasons are certainly not religious in nature.

174 The Tujen, however, have probably preserved much
791 more of the Bon tradition than is recognizable at first glance.
779 The marriage customs and the popular poetry probably contain a great deal that would make this ancient layer clear and permit it to be followed deep into Tibet. It is difficult, however, to free everything from the Lamaistic embellishments.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The support and protection of the Mongols and of the emperors of China saved and established the Yellow Sect, which was on a foundation of rock. In 1717–1719 the Jungar Mongols persecuted the Red Sects and destroyed 550 of their monasteries.[60]

175 648 771 [789]

KUMBUM [61]

The insecurity in Huang-chung and the struggle in Tibet among the sects provide an explanation for the late date assigned to the founding of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum. One and a half centuries after the death (1419) of Tsong khapa, the lama Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, in 1560, built some "cells" for himself and his ten monks (hermitage). Later, twenty more cells were added. In 1577, seventeen years later, a temple was built close to the "tower," whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree which at that time must have been 220 years old (1357–1577), and a statue of Maitreya was honored in the temple.[62] According to this tradition and the customs of Buddhist India, a tower must have first been built on the spot of the birth of Tsong khapa to commemorate the event. It is not known when this tower was built.

175 792 346

[60] L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 44, 71, Leiden, Brill, 1950.

[61] Kumbum, the lamasery of the 100,000 images is, at present, the most celebrated lamasery of Huang-chung, because of its precious trees, which are lilacs (Philadelphus, coronarius; see Rockhill, W., *Land of the lamas*, 67). The main tree sprang from the placenta of Tsong khapa (1357) and is said to have 100,000 images of Buddhas growing on its leaves. Much has been written about the tree. On May 6 and October 3, 1912, and on October 10, 1914, Father J. Essens and I read on the leaves only the two letters *Pa*, the thirteenth letter of the alphabet and *Ya*, the twenty-fourth letter, repeated indefinitely, written more or less correctly where the leaves were easy to reach. They were written with the red earth, which Chinese and Tibetan teachers use to correct the compositions of pupils. The sacred leaves are a wonderful panacea, healing all kinds of diseases of men, women, and children. It has been recorded that in Ch'ü-t'an and in Hung-shan-ssu the same kind of miraculous trees are encountered.

[792 137 755]

It is worth noting what is written regarding the tree (here called a "White Sandalwood") in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomunkhan of Amdo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1887, Part I, No. I, p. 28: "On the birthplace of Tsong khapa there exists a white Sandalwood tree, on every leaf of which, at the time of the reformer's birth, there appeared a picture of the Buddha Senge naro, supernaturally inscribed. Hence, from the circumstance of a 'hundred thousand images of Buddha' having appeared on the leaves, the town and the monastery is called Kumbum. Even at the present age, images are occasionally said to be seen divinely inscribed on the leaves of the Chandan tree and Sugpa trees of the grove. The enemies of the Gelugpa say that the said images are secretly drawn with pins and needles by the Gelugpa monks." The Chinese call Kumbum T'a-erh-ssu, that is, "the lamasery of the [eight] stupas," because at its entrance there are eight stupas said to contain the ashes of eight Living Buddhas killed by General Nien Keng-yao at the time of the revolt of the Kumbum lamas in 1723. Filchner (*Dschamba-ling*, 160) notes: "They were built at the time of the 31st mK'ampo of Kumbus [date not given] by the chief of Roko, native of Amdo, after eight lamas had been killed by a Chinese prince, ruler of the country."

[62] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 29.

[p.25(A)]

of Yang-k'ou-erh, who belonged to the Yellow-Sect, 795
was a Red lama. Such anomalies happen because 792
family ties closely knit the members of both sects. The father of the intendant of the lamasery of Ch'ie bzan, which belongs to the Yellow Sect, was a Red lama, and the father of the novice of the intendant, also. I met four lamas of the Yellow Sect, pupils of a learned lama of the Red Sect, who boarded at his home.

At the monastery of Hsien-mi, the father of a young 175
lama of the lamasery, which belongs to the Yellow 795
Sect, was a Red lama. One night, in my presence, he unbosomed his grudge against the supreme chief of the lamasery who had refused permission for his Red Sect to build a temple on the property of the lamasery. "Our sect," he said, "is as the ear of the wheat plant, and the Yellow Sect is as its straw. We occupied the country and diffused our Sect long before the Yellow Sect was born. Our scriptures are so numerous that a man cannot finish reading them during a lifetime. The Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, of the Yung-lo period (1403–24), granted us extensive properties—and then came the Emperor K'ang-hsi, who protected the Yellow Sect and oppressed our Sect." These facts reveal the frame of mind of both sects, and their mutual behavior in Huang-chung.

Although the lamas of the Red Sect constitute a small minority, scattered over the country, and possess only two Living Buddhas, they exert an important influence and play a considerable part in the religious life of the Monguors.

THE RITE OF THE 108 SPRINGS

In order to give an insight into the real psychology of 792
the lamas of the Red Sect, and their attitude toward 795
magic, the Rite of the 108 Springs will be described. 789
It is performed in order to acquire magical power.

The lamas living north of the Hsining River practice the Rite of the 108 Springs at least once in their life. Those among them who have enacted it two or three times are considered by the Monguors as the most potent. It is said that very few lamas of the Yellow Sect are interested in the rite, although serious lamas of the Yellow Sect told me many times that the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu had enacted the rite together with a Red lama, after the Bumkhang he built seemed ineffective, and the troubles in his lamasery had upset him. I could hardly believe it, because the rite is not enacted to honor or to get the protection of spirits of the springs, but is thoroughly magical, and its aim, according to the lamas of both sects, is the increase of magical abilities. At any rate, because the lamas of the Red Sect all practiced it, and are said to be bound to enact the rite, it sheds a true light upon the fundamental character of the lamas of the Red group, who seem to be as fond of magic as the shamans.

Springs of water are situated mostly at the foot of [323]
mountains, in deep valleys, and in lonely spots which

[p.175(A)]

are supposed to be the favorite abodes of evil spirits. 772
The Red lamas go to these springs in order to meet 775
these demons, to frighten them, to combat them, or to 789
obtain their assistance. So goes the saying of the [223]
Monguors and the lamas of both sects.

The rite is a back-breaking work. It lasts for 129 days, more than four months. It is practiced by a single lama, never in a group. Usually a fervent Monguor accompanies the lama for some days, to carry his luggage and prepare his tea. I got the information from two such men and from people living in Waza, near a spring where the lama performed his rite.

Sometimes the lama has to wander a long way to reach a spring, and sometimes three or four springs are situated one next to the other. The rite is carried out in winter and starts with a retreat of seven days at home, during which the lama, three times during the day and three times during the night, prays and reads texts, rattling the drum made of two human skulls, blowing the trumpet made from a human femur, and ringing the bell. He is not allowed to get a long sleep or to stretch himself out on the ground. He has to sleep in a sitting position, is not allowed to undress during the 129 days, or to enter any home or cave.

I saw a Red lama who lived near the monastery of Hua-yen start his journey. All the neighbors, men, women, and children, accompanied him to the first spring. He carried on his back, in a light wooden frame of thin laths, the felt mat on which he would sleep at night, a book of texts, a picture of Padma sambhava, the chief saint of the sect, some flour, butter, tea, a cauldron, and a small tent made of white cotton cloth. If, on the way, he should happen to lose one of these items, he is not allowed to replace it. He wore a long red coat, lined with sheepskin; on his head a red hat and over his eyes a green shade, with fringes. In his right hand he held the double-skull drum, and in the left hand the trumpet. He is not allowed to speak during his wandering from one spring to another, but mutters prayers all the way along, beating the drum at the same time.

Upon reaching the first spring he puts the frame down, blows three times on the trumpet in the direction of heaven, then starts the ritual dance three times around the spring to the time of the rattling drum, describing ritual designs on the ground. He beats the ground with his heel to the time of the drum beats, then stands on one leg, completely immobile, for a long time. Thereafter he pitches the tent, displays the picture, and sits crosslegged in front of the tent reciting texts for a long time. In the meantime, the villagers had prepared tea, and he starts talking with them. People are not allowed to indicate the spot of the next spring or to ask in what direction he will move the next day. He eats the meal offered by them. He is not allowed to drink alcoholic beverages, eat garlic, [262]
leeks, or radishes. He eats only mutton. The remains of the meal offered to him are not allowed to be

[p.75 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

carried home. Before sunset his meal has to be finished 792
and the people gone. At this first spring he stays for 795
seven days. 789

Twice a day he prepares tea and eats *tsamba* along the wayside. When people see a practicer of the rite passing near the village, they all follow him, prepare his tea and his evening meal. He enjoys the real veneration of all the Monguors and the Tibetans. He remains for seven days at the first spring, praying, dancing, three times during the day and three times during the night. It is said that during the night, the time of the demons, he summons all the demons of the country, wages his ritual war with them, subduing them, or making friends of them. At night he has a terrible time, exercising his magical abilities and increasing his magical capacities. The demons do not let him sleep a wink. All kinds of terrifying tales are spread in the country about his nightly experiences.[2]

At dawn he gathers stones and builds a small cairn; then he starts for the next springs, remaining only one day at each of them and performing the same rites. At the 54th spring he stays for seven days, as at the first one, then continues his pilgrimage until the 108th, where he again enacts seven-day rites. Then all the Red lamas of the country, the people of his village, the chiefs and elders of the neighboring villages come to meet him and lead him home in order to perform the final rite, which simulates the incineration of corpses and includes a recitation of texts together with all the lamas. Sitting on a throne in front of the ritual oven in which wood is burning, he pours boiling butter on the wood, acting like an officiant at a real incineration. After this rite he is heartily congratulated and receives some gifts: sheep, butter, tea, sugar, raisins. I never obtained an explanation of this last rite, or of its connection with the pilgrimage of the 108 springs.

Springs of water play an important part in the re- 792
ligious life of lamas and of the Monguors. It is not 795
unusual to see lamas of the Yellow Sect, even Living 789
Buddhas, sitting for hours in silence at the edge of a 823
spring, slowly beating its surface with a flat broad lath. It is said that this practice produces happiness and peace of mind.

On the fifth of the fifth month the Monguors honor 792
the spirit of the well from which they draw water. 795
They make a *Wei-sang*[3] near the well, plant a stick 789
to the top of which is affixed a bouquet, and prostrate themselves. The whole family wash their hands and faces with the water in the first bucket drawn, and rinse their mouths. Tea is prepared and all of them drink several cups, for it is said that this tea prevents all kind of diseases. At the same time they bury an urn near the well, thanking the spirit of the earth where

[2] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 126: also Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase*, 384, Paris, Payot, 1951.

[3] See Chap. VIII, note 2, p. 95. [8.76(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the well bubbles, for providing them with water during the whole year. 792 795 799

HERMITS

In the region of Hsining there lived, around 1880–1895, only two hermits. One lived in the region of Waza in a cave in the mountains, and the other in the mountains around Hsien-mi. Both were strangers, who never divulged their names, or country of origin. They were not attached to any monastery and had no relations with the neighboring people. Each had a donkey which he used when he went to collect some flour and tea, for which they graciously thanked the donors and then returned to their caves. If some gifts were offered to them, they brought them to the monasteries and prostrated themselves before the closed doors of the temples for a whole day, and then returned to their caves without having said a single word to the lamas. The people said that they heard them reciting texts, ringing bells and beating drums the whole day long. Twice a day they built a fire and prepared their meals. They did not visit the people and did not like to have the people visit them; they refused all invitations to say prayers at the homes of the Monguors. During the terrible epizootics which decimated the cattle all over the country (1890–1893), they refused requests to pray for peace in the country. Their mysterious behavior intrigued the people, who could not get in touch with them. Then they disappeared, and nothing more was heard about them. They were not the kind of miracle workers so often described in records of travelers. 792 [342]

Monguors, talking about them, affirmed that in former times many lamas lived a sheltered life in caves, and possessed the art of working miracles. [789]

In 1723, at the time of the revolt of the lamas and the destruction of the monastery of Seerkok where 2,000 lamas lived, it is said that the General Nien Keng-yao destroyed more than 1,000 caves in that country.[4] Because lamas in former times received the same education as at present, and were as eager for wealth and worldly glory as those of today, one is inclined to doubt such a fantastic number of hermits. I am inclined to think that genuine hermits did not grow on every bush, and that all these wonders and miracles did not occur at every street corner.

VI. SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is not an investigation of the origin of shamanism or its philosophy and religious fundamentals. Rather it aims to be a description of the type of the Monguor shaman, his training in 1911–1921, the spirits 756

[4] Han, Ju-lin, *Pien-cheng kung-lün*, 3 (I) : 47. The text does not say that recluses lived in them. [p.96(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

question of whether a substantial principle underlies the 829
soul or not, or whether *nirvana* could be a state of happiness without there being consciousness of it. They do not care for the philosophers who discuss the existence or the inexistence of this world, of their own being, and even of Buddha himself. They only approach Lamaism from the moral and the practical angles. They endeavor to practice the rites of Lamaism, to heap up merit as prescribed by Lamaism in order to be reborn after this life, which they greatly enjoy, in a paradise of felicity where Buddha, as benevolence incarnate, will make them more and more happy every day, for the duration of time. However, this seems to be only one side of the religious frame of mind of the Lamaist Monguors and Tibetans. The other side seems rooted in the practicality, so often found among uncivilized peoples, which, in order to make more sure of attainment of the religious goal, to enjoy more blessings in this life, and avoid calamities and miseries, leads them to practice shamanist rites and rites belonging to other religions at the same time. This seems to be the complicated frame of mind of the Monguors and Tibetans of Huang-chung who are deeply religious.

Since the objective of this study is the explanation of 114
the religious frame of mind of the Monguors, there will be noted along with the rites the questions ingenuously asked by the children in the schools concerning the topics, the considerations and impressions occasionally expressed by men and women, the dialogues of shamans with the spirits denoting the hopes and the fears of the attendants and their beliefs. All these minute details will help to raise the curtain which shrouds the religious mind.

THE WORLD OF RELIGION AND FEAR IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVE

The sense of religiosity is planted in the hearts of the 829
Monguors in early life, in the family circle. Its main 869
feature seems to be fear, rather than love. The children 782
every day see their mothers performing a lot of religious practices in order to avoid the displeasure or punishments of innumerable malignant spirits which beset them everywhere. Their mother's warnings are dinned into their ears, not to do this, not to do that, for fear of being unhappy, because the spirits are very touchy, and a trifle can upset them. In this way the dread and terror of malevolent spirits cut deep furrows in their hearts, and when a hailstorm is about to destroy the crops, the oil lamps on the house altar will be lit in a hurry and the children will fall on their knees invoking Heaven and all the spirits and praying Om Mani, for [789] ●
as long as the threat lasts. They imitate their elders who implore, on bended knees, and urge the gods with piteous pleas, saying innumerable Om Manis and "Heaven and all the spirits" for the protection of their crops. Children cannot forget to their dying day the

[p.95(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

IX. PUBLIC RITES

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN REGARD TO HAILSTORMS

In the mind of the Monguors is seared the belief in an incredibly prodigious medley of gods, malignant spirits, and ferocious ghosts, and consequently all events in life, happy or unhappy, must be approached from that angle. 782 731

In this chapter will be considered the calamity most dreaded by the Monguors, which does the most harm and ruins them most frequently. It is the scourge of hailstorms, which every year ruin the crops of many villages, reducing the already narrow margin of subsistence of the villagers to a minimum, and bringing many families to the verge of famine. [132]

It is obvious that this calamity is supposedly caused by malignant spirits and it is no wonder that the whole religious energy of the people is bent on securing all available means and ways to avoid disaster. No wonder that the people, scared to death, seek refuge in religion against a scourge caused by evil spirits—first of all in the religion credited with the greatest potency, without refusing the help of others less potent, imploring the aid of good spirits, and engaging in a life and death struggle with the evil spirits. 821 829

In all their village temples, accordingly, one encounters the picture of the god of the Five Roads, the Taoist combatant of hailstorms, amidst the awful scenery, previously described, whether or not the temple is dedicated to it. The shaman is invited to perform his most efficient rites against hail because he is believed the most conspicuous for his great abilities in the field. All the Taoist spirits, to whom temples in the country are dedicated, are invited by the shaman to come down into the temple yard and to participate in the performance of the rite in spring. The shaman conveys to them the sympathy of the villagers and their gracious offer of hospitality, in order that they might help their village, and after the shamanist rites have been performed the villagers still indulge in Lamaist activities against hailstorms. 782 796 789

No wonder that, from New Year's on, the villagers are obsessed by the problem, and never fail where a Kurtain is possessed by the god of the Five Roads, to invite him on the third day of the year for an exhibition

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the study of F. Franz Eichinger, Kinderlosigkeit und ihre Bekampfung in der Volksmedizin, *ibid.* 167 sq., is very instructive and unique. The author, during two years as member of the Chinese Health Committee in Ming-hsien, Lin t'ao, Ho-chou, and Labrang (East Kansu), traveled four months with the committee in the region of Hsining, Kung-ho, Hsing-hai (Monguor territory) and seized the exceptional opportunity to gather ethnological notes, which open vistas in this special field and give a better understanding of the frame of mind of the family concerning this capital topic; the care of children, the means of getting this blessing, the fear of being bereaved of them and the physical causes of this bereavement [13]

[p.97(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

attended by the whole community. Then he sits on his 782
low table, in theatrical military attitude, shaking his 796
head and ringing his bells. At the moment his spirit 789
possesses him, the cypress fire is increased. The whole attendance, kneeling, worships the spirit dwelling in him with incense sticks in their hands and prostrations. The chief of the village, on bended knees, asks humbly first of all, for protection against hail in the summer and for a prophecy concerning the peaceful reaping of the harvest. Then the spirit, by means of the Kurtain, promises a peaceful summer, or specifies what kind of rites have to be performed to achieve the benefit of peace.

In villages where there is no Kurtain, the chief of the village, with the elders and a member of each family, orders the statue to be carried in the sedan chair into the temple yard, while the whole audience kneels with incense sticks in their hands; the cypress fire is lit. The chief, kneeling, asks the spirit about the hail scourge. If the sedan chair becomes so heavy as to crush down the carriers, the prognostication seems awful, and the chief proposes to perform such or such a rite; if the sedan chair continues crushing the carriers, a propitiatory sacrifice is promised, the attendance craves for pardon, and the sedan chair is carried into the temple.

In the first days of the New Year, all over the country, the talk runs only on the predictions proferred in neighboring villages about hailstorms. In every family horoscopes are cast several times. It is a real obsession all over the country and nobody seems to be entirely assured, despite the reassuring answers of the spirits, for so many times the hopes have been illusory. Unfavorable predictions seldom mar the spirit of the festivities of the New Year. After New Year's the busy agricultural season begins with the carrying of fertilizer, plowing, and sowing. The fields turn greener and greener every day, and at the beginning of the fourth moon (May), immediately after the spring rites, performed in order to implore good crops, the preparations for the rites against hail are begun.

A month from now, all over the country, on mountains, or on hills, or on hillocks and knolls in the valleys there will be seen here a stretched goat skin, its legs spread out and pierced with daggers, the head erect with a dagger between the horns, impaled on a pole. There, a rudimentary manikin, its outstretched arms made with boughs, holding a bow and an arrow; next to the manikin a wooden hammer and raven all stuck on poles. These are the places where rites have been performed against hail, and inside some of the mounds dwells the spirit protector against hail, the celebrated White Tiger. Every Monguor village and nearly every Chinese village in the country have many such hills. The outlook for the country has become depressing for the Monguors. [p.97(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

RITE OF THE WHITE TIGER

The most important rite against hail is the one called the Rite of the White Tiger, performed by the shaman. Once in a while a Taoist priest and even a Red lama try to enact it. However, the following year a shaman is invited again by the distrustful villagers, for the rite belongs to the black magical art and is more in keeping with the attributions of the shaman.

It is performed in May, before the time of the hailstorms. The original and complete rite is not enacted every year, but certainly it will never be omitted the year after the crops have been destroyed. If a year passes peacefully, then the following year only a supplementary rite will be enacted, strengthening the original one. If for many years the crops have been preserved, the original rite will nevertheless be performed again, for fear the original magical power may have faded.

It will be noted that the shaman deposited, in the temple under the bushel, the bottle he used for capturing a human soul with which he nurtured the spirits. The seventh day after the performance of the spring rites, the chief of the village and the elders go to the temple to take the bottle and bushel away, and they ring the temple bell. A member of each family arrives carrying incense sticks; the sedan chair, with the statue inside, is moved into the middle of the courtyard of the temple. All those present, holding incense sticks, kneel before the sedan chair, and the chief of the village asks the god whether it is certain the crops will be reaped peacefully, and whether the hail will be certain not to play havoc. Despite the formal promises of the shaman seven days ago, suspicions are still harbored. Then according to the ceremony already noted (the sedan chair crushing the carriers, etc.) and according to the pointers given by the spirit, the chief of the village decides to invite the shaman.

The shaman and three or four of his confreres examine the country and fix the place where the rite is to be performed. It is always within the boundaries of the village, on a hill or hillock, usually at the northwest corner, because hailstorms usually come from that direction. An auspicious day is chosen for the performance, and a list of all the required items for the rite is given by the shamans to the chief of the village. Here is what the list transmitted to the chief of the village of Toolong by the shaman contained: 20 black bowls; 15 wooden stakes, 2 feet in length; 15 tiles, 15 bricks, 15 eggs; 15 wooden planks, two feet long and 2 inches thick; 5 small hand mills, 5 axles and a cart wheel; an iron chain, which had been used to tie a dog, and a lock; 5 bell neckstraps with bells which had been used on horses; a mill stone, the corpse of a boy or baby, a living white dog and a white cock, water drawn from 10 different wells, 5 lions made of glazed pottery, used to adorn roofs; 6 earthen jars, among them 2 of bigger size, and a kettle; a pivot of a millstone, a pivot of threshing rolls, 2 threshing rolls, a plowshare, a harrow,

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

some iron taken from 4 city gates, some earth gathered 789
on four city walls, earth collected on 5 different moun- 796
tains, some earth taken in the prison of the city, 12 756
kinds of medicines; a small wooden white tiger, his rider painted black; 2 Buddha images, 2 mantles worn by statues in temples, bones of a dog, 2 skulls of a wolf and of a fox, a human skeleton, a pair of filthy trousers of a young woman, a living cat, a snake and a wooden raven. (Is it possible to imagine a more heterogeneous collection of items?)

On all these items are painted cabalistic designs, which are encircled with vermilion and painted with a brush dipped in the mixed blood of a white dog, cat, and cock.[1] All the items, in order to be effective, are to be stolen from other villages. Young folk are designated by the chief of the village to steal the required items, and if they do not succeed in the job, they have to buy the objects with their own money. If such thieves are accused at the court of the T'u-ssu, the community has to indemnify the defendant. At the times when these rites are performed, everybody in the country watches at night. All the stolen items are locked up in the temple and guarded at night by elder people, whose sleep is not so sound as that of young men. Deep secrecy is kept about the required items.

On the evening of the day fixed, the shamans arrive, clothed in the black gown; the chief of the shamans alone wears the flowery coat. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail. After sunset the villagers arrive and the temple is closed tightly. A hog and a sheep are offered, while the attendants prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks, and the shamans dance and beat drums. In the deepest silence, they go to the place prepared for the rite, holding banners. All the heterogeneous items required are loaded into a cart. A hole fifteen feet in depth has been dug beforehand. Its upper part is shaped in a circle, the middle part is square, and the lowest part triangular.

The chief of the shamans descends into the pit alone. His whole body is enveloped in red cloth; he wears a [292
cincture made of hemp, such as the people wear at 764]
funerals. Holding in his hands the whip and the ritual knife, he takes off his shoes and hose and puts on shoes made from hemp ropes. His pigtail is unplaited, and his hair disheveled. Some youngsters, their heads enveloped in a red cloth, descend with him into the pit. They communicate by signs and tokens, for it is forbidden to utter a single word inside the pit. The shamans beat the drums outside the pit.

In the center of the triangle one of the biggest jars 782
is deposited, inside of which are put the corpse of the 756
baby or boy, and the different sorts of earth. All items 796
are covered with a piece of red cloth and the kettle is 789
inverted over them. The chain is wrapped around the jar and fastened with the lock. The pair of trousers,

[1] Johann Frick, How blood is used in magic and medicine in Ch'inghai Province, *Anthropos* 46 (5–6): 954, 1951.

the skeleton, bones and skulls are deposited around the jar, with the living snake enclosed in a basket. The triangle is filled with earth, level with the base of the square. Then five stakes are fixed in the earth, and bowls, eggs, bricks, tiles, lions and hand mills are put around them. In the midst are erected the threshing rolls, on which is put the millstone, in the center of which is fixed a stake to support the cart wheel, to which the planks are nailed; the interspaces are filled with the remaining items. The whole is covered with boughs, and the pit is filled with earth level with the ground. 756 796 782 789

The attendants start howling like madmen, jumping and leaping around the pit in the pitch dark night, brandishing banners, while shamans dance, and beat drums and cymbals. The cart axle, sharpened to a stake, is fixed in the earth upon the pit; on it is written "Throne of the White Tiger." Some bowls placed upside down and bricks and tiles are put around the stake and the tiger; four more stakes are fixed in the ground according to the four points of the compass, and a mound is erected upon the pit. Next to the mound is placed a big wooden box containing the living white dog; a small mound is erected upon it so that the dog may see the light and breathe air through a hole. The dog will live for some days; it will howl and finally die.[2] On the other side of the big mound is erected a similar small mound, opposite the dog's mound, in which is

[2] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 271, note 166, note that both the Liao (Khitan) and the Chin (Jurchen) sacrificed dogs. [171] M. Granet, *Danses et légendes*, 527, records that in ancient China men used to pull the ears of a dog to make him bark, in order to drive away the bird-demon. W. Koppers, Der Hund in der Mythologie der Zirkumpazifischen Völker, *Wiener Beiträge*, 386, 1930, records that the Yao tribe buried a live dog, together with a live thief, in order that the spirit of the thief should stay in the grave; also 378, the cow used at the sacrifice for the dog ancestor of the Yao had to be stolen, in the same way that the Monguors have to steal the dog for the hail rite, and other items.

Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 92, a similar case of burying a dog alive is noted: "In case of some very bad disease the Manchus sometimes bury a live dog and cat near the entrance of the house. The dog and cat may move, which may be seen a certain time after the burial when the earth is reopened; it is considered as a very bad sign if they should go away together." He further notes, p. 92, that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat; p. 210, that dogs carry the souls in the lower world; p. 179, that dog blood, like dog skins, make the clan spirits run away; dog meat is tabooed. Doolittle, *op. cit.*, 231, notes in China a heavenly dog who devours small children and is combated by a giant, represented surrounded by children shooting arrows against a dog walking on the clouds. The barking of a dog at night frightens the evil spirits. De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 464, records that the crowing of the rooster frightens the spirits at night and in the morning. A wooden rooster is put above the entrance of the courtyard to frighten the evil spirits. A living rooster is attached to the coffin when it is carried to the grave, in order that it may frighten evil spirits. In time of epidemics a white living rooster is carried, fixed on top of a stick, in the processions. See also Eliade, *op. cit.*, 405; Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, *op. cit.* 1: 29, 38; the same, *Randvölker Chinas*, *op. cit.*, 38.

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entombed the living cock in a box. It will live and die under the same circumstances as the dog. 756

I was told by several reliable old men that years ago an old Chinese begger instead of a dog had been buried alive, and that once in a while a little child, stolen in a far-off village, is still buried if, for three or more years in succession, hail has struck the village. The shaman in such cases requires it. Mothers told me that the elders always enjoin them to watch the small children with special care during the time these rites are performed. 796 782 789

When the rite is completed all the participants face the northwest, the direction from which the hailstorms usually come, and throw stones at the evil spirits, howling like madmen, uttering the most obscene threats, and taking the wildest aggressive attitudes, while the shamans crack their whips and dance a threatening dance, conjuring the evil spirit in wild gyrations. The wild act is performed three times. On the spot a big fire is lit with cypress boughs, and all the attendants, shamans included, jump over it in order that the evil spirits may no longer follow them, and in order to get purified. After a last dance in the temple yard, the whole audience enjoy themselves, making fun, eating the pork and mutton, and drinking plenty of wine.

During the whole month, day and night, corvées are imposed by the chief of the village on different shifts of four young men, relieving one another, in order to watch the mound. A small cabin is built for the watchers. Nobody is allowed to approach the mound during the whole month.

This rite gives an insight into the power wielded by the shamans and their controlling influence upon the people, who even resort to human sacrifices, when required by them. The secret about these facts is strictly kept, men are enjoined not to talk about it with women and children, and only after years, and in general terms, do the facts incidentally leak out. Among the Twelve Tengris is the famous White Tiger, the dread and terror of evil spirits, and for that reason the rite is called the Rite of the White Tiger.

THE RITES OF THE TAOISTS AGAINST HAIL

The Taoists are mostly invited to perform their rite in neighboring villages inhabited by Chinese. Once in a while they are invited by Monguors who recanted their origin, but often, when the hail has struck these villages, the more efficient Monguor shaman with a greater reputation is invited the following year to try his rites, even by Chinese. 782 789

The Taoists use three kinds of rites: the rite of the spirit Wang-lin-kuan, of the goddess Niang-Niang, and of the five thunderbolts (wu-tien-cheng). Here, also, is a mystifying thing. Although the Taoists in the country do not overtly honor the White Tiger, they always write the name of the White Tiger on the stake

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

buried in the mound, before the name of the spirits whom they officially use for combating hail. 782 789

Is it far fetched to suppose that the Taoists do this because it is universally recognized that the rite of the shamans, using the White Tiger, outranks their own, and that in order to succeed they must act in this way?[3]

A stunning fact also is that the Taoists, and lamas of the Red Sect in the country, when performing that kind of rite are very fond of using nearly the same group of disparate items to be buried in the pit, except for the white living dog and cock. Can the sacrifice of two living beings be too basically shamanist to be performed by pure Taoists?

STRENGTHENING OF THE OLD MOUNDS

In keeping with the basic principle of shamanism, the spirits after some time lose their powers and are subject to decay. Consequently, they have to be nurtured and strengthened in order that they may continue to help their followers effectively. The rite performed against hail, the pit with all its disparate items, and the famous rider and the White Tiger buried inside it are liable to lose their protectiveness, so every year more power has to be added to the mounds. In every village old mounds exist, built by the ancestors. According to the indication of the guardian spirit of the village, the building of a new mound is ordered from time to time because the last one has lost its power. However, the villagers believe that some effect can still be obtained from the old mounds, and in order not to lose that benefit, they strengthen every year the efficacy of all the old mounds built inside the boundaries of the village. The shaman is invited by the Monguors to do the job; the Taoist priest is invited in the Chinese villages, but seldom in Monguor villages. Both shaman and Taoist act in the same way. Small paper banners are prepared and wooden hammers and ravens, and also stakes with cabalistic designs and the inscription, "The Throne of the White Tiger god," and manikins made with boughs, holding bow and arrows. All these items are smoked by the shaman, over burning cypress boughs, before they are used. The rite takes a whole day. 782 796 [776]

A sheep is offered in the temple; water is poured in its ear to be sure the spirit agrees to the victim. The sheep is killed and offered, a dance and the beating of a drum is performed by the shaman. A "throne" (stake) is thrust in the ground in front of the temple

[3] F. W. Grootaers, in his very interesting monograph (*op. cit.*, 238), notes two inscriptions encountered on the frescoes of the temples of the god of the five roads in Wan-Ch'üan (Kalgan) "Holding bound the wolf and the tiger" and also, "Mountain general who holds bound the wolf and the tiger, *Wu-tao* god who catches the monsters" and he notes these inscriptions are, of course, not the products of the local imagination, but are copies by the local calligraphers from a popular anthology of "Inscriptions for all occasions." These calligraphers knew the history of the Twelve Tengris, among which is the White Tiger. But the wolf is unexplained.

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gate (throne of the White Tiger god) and a black bowl is put on the roof of the gate. 782 796

The parade starts on the left side of the village (shamans start on the left side and lamas on the right side), with banners at the head, and the horn (ox horn) is blown. On every mound the same rites are performed: a dance, a throne (stake) thrust into the mound, two black bowls buried near the throne, some paper banners planted, one hammer and one raven fixed on a stick, and the manikin, with bow and arrow pointing to the northwest. Some earth is added to the mound, which is put in good shape. The parade turns three times around the mound; on the third turn the whole group faces the northwest and howls three times, and then they start toward the next one.

When they return to the temple the shaman starts his dance, while the audience kneels and makes prostrations. Then the offered sheep is divided into as many parts as there are families in the village, and each receives a part. The tail and a hind leg are given to the shaman. On the most important mound, a plank is erected (it has to be stolen to be effective), on which a sealed statement is pasted, forbidding the pasturing of animals in the crops during three months and fixing fines for a horse, cow, or sheep caught straying in the crops. Pasturing of animals and chopping of fuel on the sacred mountain of the village are forbidden as is the felling of trees for three months and the singing of obscene songs in the village. The spirits must not be disturbed or offended, and liberty is not allowed to be taken with the conventional morals. The fines consist of a fixed amount of oil, incense sticks, paper, or cash, to be devoted to the upkeep of the temple.

MORE PRECAUTIONS AGAINST HAIL

LAMAS INVITED TO RECITE TEXTS

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Despite the promises of the shamans on the feast of spring, the performance of shamanistic rites on a new hill, and the strengthening of the old hills by means of adding magical power to them, in the fourth month the chiefs of the villages invite two or more lamas to recite texts for a couple of days, on top of the highest mountain situated inside the village land. Maybe Buddha might lend a helping hand also, and in order to assume his protection they organize a procession with the 108 sacred books of the *Kanjur*.

PROCESSION WITH THE SACRED BOOKS

A chief is appointed for the performance of the rite. He goes, with 108 men of the village, to the lamasery to borrow the books. The village defrays the expenses of a collation of butter tea with *tsamba* for the lamas, and a fixed amount of butter to be burned in the lamps before the Buddha statues in the temple. The next morning the procession starts from the village temple with at least one member from each family. The ritual

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cypress offering, Wei-sang, is first performed in the temple. A shaman, or lama of the Red Sect, summons into his staff the spirits who predict the success and the opportuneness of the rite. He steps to the head of the procession with the spirit-laden staff, followed by a group of horn blowers and banner and drum bearers. Then come the statue of the temple, enthroned in the sedan chair, the table and stake gods, and the 108 bearers of the heavy books, one after another, while the music plays, and Om Mani prayers are devoutly recited the whole way. The procession tours around the limits of the extensive village lands, making stops on the highest mountains or most elevated spots, where the ritual cypress burning is done and where the whole group walks three times around the spot. When they return to the temple the ritual cypress offering closes the ceremony. The procession usually lasts for a whole day. The next day the books are returned to the monastery.

The procession involves the whole male population of the village. The bearing of Buddhist books is said to be very effective, as are the praying of Om Mani, the offering of tea to the lamas and of butter for the lamps, and the shamanist spirit-laden staff, the table and stake gods, and all the other Taoist statues of the temple which tour the village at the same time. All available heterogenous forces contribute to the success of this specifically Buddhist rite. Usually this procession with the books is performed every other year; in the intervening year it is performed without the books.[4]

THE GOAT SKIN RITE

After such displays of all kinds of religious rites, however, the Monguors, still unassured, perform the celebrated goat skin rite enacted by a shaman or a lama of the Red Sect, who is proficient in subduing the hail spirits in a direct way by magical power. The rite is enacted on the highest mountain of the village—not on the sacred mountain. A big fire of cypress branches is kindled, which lasts during the entire time of the performance of the rite. The lama makes a big *torma*[5] and four smaller ones; then with *tsamba* and butter he kneads various crude figures of animals living in the water, birds of the air and of animals living on the earth.[6] Small pieces of meat are also prepared. The lama or shaman recites his awful incantations and ritual

[4] Schröder, *op. cit.*, Der Flur Umzug, *Anthropos* 47: 835, 1952. More details are available in this valuable study.

[5] *Torma:* a small pyramidal cake, round or triangular, made with *tsamba* and butter; often pieces of butter or gold or silver paper are fixed upon it. It seems to represent an evil spirit on which incantations and ritual curses are proferred, on which all kind of inauspicious and calamitous items, sins and spiritual impurities are supposed to be loaded. It is thrown far away after the ceremony, often with a display of hatred and contempt, and with it calamities seem to be removed. (See more in Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling*, *op. cit.*, chap. XIV.)

[6] According to Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 138, the dough figures represent the spirits of the upper, middle, and underworld honored in the old Bon religion. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

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curses upon the *tormas*, which will be thrown to the evil spirits—the big *torma* in the direction of the northwest, and the small ones in the direction of the four points of the compass. In the meantime the goat is killed and skinned, the head and hoofs being left attached to the skin which is then stretched and fixed on a post. Magical daggers are attached to the feet and head. The goat in threatening attitude faces the northwest, where the hail spirits are supposed to dwell, and challenges them. Then horns are blown and *tormas* thrown and the goat will protect the crops against hail during the whole summer.[7] The Monguors assert that in former times they did not use the goat for this purpose, but the horse, and that a horse skin was fixed on the post.[8]

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RITE ON THE HIGHEST MOUNTAIN OF THE VILLAGE

Since the village is still uncertain and disturbed after all these resources have been exhausted, it is customary that on an auspicious day, without the attendance of representatives of any religion, the chief of the village, with the elders and a member of each family of the village, go to the top of the highest mountain of the village. They go with banners, drums, cymbals, horn, in front, and carrying the god or goddess of the temple in the sedan chair, in order to implore, under the vast dome of the blue sky, the protection of "Heaven and all the spirits." In a primitive oven, built with superimposed stones, a bushel of cypress leaves, pounded and passed through a sieve, are burned with some butter and roasted spelt, colza, linseed, and wheat (the kinds of grain planted by the Monguors), and some water is sprinkled over it; 108 butter lamps made with dough are lit and prostrations are made nine times. The customary cry is howled to all the spirits, notifying them of the act of adoration for them all, and the god or goddess sitting in the sedan chair seems to implore "Heaven and all the spirits" with the villagers together. Finally, prostrations are given to the god or goddess in the chair, and

[7] According to Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 215, among the reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia on the grave, "a reindeer is killed, its skin is left together with the antlers and hoofs, fastened upon a bar horizontally fixed to two trees and left hanging there. This is the reindeer which will be used by the spirit (soul) of the deceased for going to the lower world. If there is no reindeer they use a horse and its skin in the same function and manner."

Owen Lattimore, The Gold tribe "Fishkin Tatars," *Memoirs Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* 40: 57 and 379, 1933, notes that the Gold tribe, "Fishkin Tatars," use "two slender stakes or wands, on the top of which are impaled two wooden beast figures, with four legs and tail. The legs are made by sticks thrust through the body and protruding at both sides. They looked to be otters, perhaps weasels, or sables . . . There are two wands, one much more short and slender than the other, each impaling a Keku (cuckoo or wood-pigeon) . . . these divinities keep guard over the whole house and courtyard."

[8] See Schröder, *op. cit.*, *Die Pfahlziege*, 825, where a philosophical explanation of the rite is provided. For the horse sacrifice among the Buryat Mongols, see Jeremiah Curtin, *A journey in southern Siberia*, 44 *sqq.*, Boston, Little, Brown, 1909.

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the chief of the village asks him or her whether "Heaven and all the spirits" will really preserve the crops. 782 789

At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion. [791]

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages situated in the Sha-t'ang Valley, which have a goddess in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death, without wearing the Monguor skirt!" [9] 175 177

On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple and spend a night with him. The tradition requires that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.[10] [792] 796 782 [784]

[9] I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

[10] The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a [71]

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small rapids), 30 *li* east of Hsining, causing the region 796
of Hsining, which was a large lake in former times, to 782
dry up. He is said to have been a beautiful man, with strong classical features, taller than the men of today, and endowed with fabulous strength. He played with huge rocks as children play with marbles, and was very fond of two enormous dogs which he tied to the rocks of Hsiao hsia with chains so heavy that only he could move them. He is represented in the temple as a man of gigantic proportions, sitting on a large throne wearing yellow robes and cap, and the insignia of an official.

Father Grootaers [11] encountered this god in sixteen Erh-lang temples in Wan-Ch'üan, and notes that Erh-lang, son of Li Ping of the Han dynasty (A.D. 25–220) was famous for his works on dikes in Ssu-ch'uan Province, and became an object of the cult. However, he notes that another Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien of the Sung dynasty (beginning of the twelfth century A.D.) is also renowned for the same kind of work, and is represented with a dog at his feet. This detail, encountered in the temples of Wan ch'üan, enabled Father Grootaers, because of an inscription found on a fresco in the grottoes of P'u-fo ssu, to assume that the Erh-lang of Wan ch'üan must be the son of Yang Chien, object of a cult in Hopei Province. It seems possible that, on account of the popular tradition, the Erh-lang of Hsining with his enormous two dogs and heavy chains must also be Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien. However, how Erh-lang became the object of a cult in Hsining, and at what time, are facts shrouded in mystery. Anyway, Erh-lang, the beautiful god, is said to enjoy the annual visits of the fine goddesses of Sha t'ang Valley and to extend his protection from hail and blessings upon the crops in thanks for their gracious call.

The observance by the young people of twenty-one 821
days of continence and the restraint from indulgence in 732
wine and garlic and onions, the sending of the goddesses for a call on a god, and the custom of locking them up for a night in the temple in order to court the sympathy of the god and to reap the benefit of his protection, open up some chinks, letting in some light into the disturbed religious frame of mind of the people. Significant also is the extent of the fear of hail which makes them resort to all available means in order to get help and assistance against it.

OLD CUSTOM RECALLED

Old Monguors always recall that in former times, 789
when the shamans were still proficient in their art, it 756
was said they never failed to combat the hail. They threw stones stained with blood of white dogs in the direction of the hail spirits, shot with bloody arrows and moved stuffed horse skins. But now the shamans

[11] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 262–263. See *Folklore Studies Supplement No. 1:* 229, 1952, Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien is said to have buried two of the nine suns in the region of Kui-te (south of Hsining), and the hot wells existing in the region are thus explained. See Eberhard, *op. cit.*, *Lokalkulturen*, *Fuchs* 1: 40.

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no longer have the stuff of shamans, and the belief of the young folk in the gods is waning and fading away. 789 756

OFFER OF BONES TO THE SPIRITS OF HAIL

On the last night of the year, a group of youngsters is called by the chief of the village and ordered to gather sackfuls of bones and to carry them to the mountain top, from where devasting hailstorms usually come destroying the crops in summer. They are ordered to burn the bones to the "spirits of the hail" in order to thank them for their protection during the year and to beg them to extend their protection for the next year. Around New Year's, every family kills sheep or pigs, and bones are available everywhere. All kinds of bones are satisfactory, provided a full sack is secured. It is known that in the arctic culture the peculiar offer to heaven consisted of the offer of the skull and the long bones of animals (for bones contain marrow). It was the offer to the dispenser of life.[12] 782 789 796

Many times I asked for explanations about this rite, but nobody could give any. The answer always was the same: we are accustomed to do so in order that the crops may be protected against hail, and the hail spirits be propitious next year.

LAST REGULATIONS OF THE CHIEF OF THE VILLAGES

In the evening the shamans and the villagers return after having strengthened all the old mounds. The chief of the village makes a stereotyped speech: "In former times, the great emperor of all the Mongols divided his subjects into groups, attached to the service of the spirits of the temple. In keeping with that tradition of our ancestors we designate today groups of two men each who, day and night, will relieve one another and will stay at the temple in order to give warning of impending hailstorms. The two men who will be on duty during the next day, will sleep the night before in the temple, for continence is required of the watchers. When a storm appears in the northwest, they will beat the drums and cymbals, blow the horn, and ring the bell. Another group which we designate today will, when the bell rings, instantly leave their homes and run hurriedly to the principal ritual mound carrying with them the god of the temple in the sedan chair and all the other gods, the drums, cymbals and horn, and banners. They will take with them some black bowls, which will be placed upside down on the center of the mound. In the temple incense and cypress boughs will be offered, the throne (stake) of the god, erected in front of the temple gate, will be thrust deeper in the ground, and the bowls on top of the roof of the entrance will be turned upside down." The speech is finished. The other gods mentioned in the speech are stakes, octagonal in shape, the upper part of which represents a human head. (Taoists use octagonal stakes when they perform the rites against [622]

[12] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 3: 542. [p. 103(B)]

hail.) A grim, ghastly mask and a piece of red cloth 782
are fixed on the head of the stake. A small Chinese 789
table, covered with strips of red cloth to which is at- 796
tached a copper mirror, is considered to be a spirit in the same way.

FIGHTING THE HAILSTORMS

When the hailstorm appears threatening and the evil 731
spirits are about to loose their avenging bolts, the 789
youngsters on the top of the hill wave banners, beat drums and cymbals, blow the horn, brandish aggressively the sedan chair with the god sitting inside, and the stake gods, in the direction of the storm, howl, curse the evil spirits by means of the most obscene vocabulary, and take obscene attitudes in order to frighten them. I saw such a scene in the village of T'ao chia chai, a Chinese village of which some people were Christians, and was told that the Monguors act in just the same way.

If the storm is avoided, incense is burned, prostrations are made, and the group comes back, proud and high spirited because their performance achieved victory. But if the storm breaks with lightning, lighting up the whole valley, and thunder rumbling terrifyingly, pouring down torrents of water and rattling hail, the whole group starts fleeing in confusion, with the sedan chair and all the gods, straight down the hill, through the fields and the rivers to the temple. It is said that when this happens the youngsters lose control over the gods they are carrying; that the gods, defeated by mightier ones, unable to withstand the struggle, abandon the battlefield and themselves flee, irresistibly pulling with them their carriers, without caring for roads, precipices, or rivers. The terror throws the village into confusion and consternation. The gods could not stand against the terrible evil spirits of the hail; hopes are frustrated and the crops destroyed. The prospect of bad times, with privations and sufferings, haunts every family.

SHAMANS AND STATUES OF THE TEMPLES

The statues in temples are assumed by the Monguors 778
to be the seat of the spirits. Several facts have already 532
been recorded, in keeping with that assumption. Statues 756
decide about the invitation of the shaman for the performance of the new rites against hail. They pull their carriers irresistibly over fields and precipices, or make themselves so heavy as to become immovable and crush the carriers under their weight. According to the Monguors, the unusual power residing in the statue is due to special rites performed by the shamans.

In the stomach of every statue is a square opening capable of being closed and opened. Every time a new statue is made, the shaman is invited to animate it by means of dancing, beating drums, and inserting in the hole a live snake, a live raven, a live frog, and the intestines of a sheep and a pig. All these items have to

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examines their position. "All right!" he cries. "all 796
events will be all right this year, the village will enjoy 756
peace and thrive; this year you will be preserved from 782
hail!" A piece of red cloth is tied with a red rope on the bottle, which is put under the empty container inside the temple for seven days.

After all the rites have been accomplished, the villagers go home taking with them their own thrones of the ancestors and as many paper banners and streamers as possible, in order to place them with the deities honored at home. The shamans and the elders have a meal and plenty of wine for the whole night. The next morning the shamans leave; they came riding empty-handed on a donkey, and go back driving the donkey, laden with rolls and offerings, some wheat, and a meager payment in cash.

FEAR OF HUMAN SACRIFICES

During the second, third, and fourth months, the time 782
during which these rites are performed in one village 784
after another, everywhere children are encountered 789
wearing around their necks strips of filthy, stinking 751
cloth, with which the women had wrapped their feet (for they do not wear stockings). The heads of some children are covered with a handkerchief containing dog hair; the foreheads of some children are scratched and lightly wounded. Several times a day the children are enjoined not to eat jujubes or nuts lying along the way or in the temple yards, for fear that the spirits, avid for human sacrifices, might allure them and take their souls. Everywhere it is said that, notwithstanding the rites taking the place of the former human sacrifices, once in a while some of the spirits take a child. All these practices are used in order to frighten the spirits and to preserve the children desired by this kind of evil spirit. If, during these months, a child dies, everybody is convinced that his soul has been taken by the terrible spirits.

These practices give evidence that the belief in human 782
sacrifices required by spirits is deeply ingrained in the minds of the people. At that time, meeting children so [115]
arrayed affords a fine opportunity to collect details about the rites of spring, and the talks of the shamans, and to get an insight into the religious trend of mind of the people. These facts make it plain that the Monguor shamans, honoring Taoist spirits and performing most of the rites of the Wu of China and of the shamans living in the neighboring countries, have preserved their urge for human sacrifices. The Monguor shamans nurture the weakened, exhausted spirits in the temples with captured human souls. The burying of the Chinese beggar in the mound, in order to succeed in the struggle against the hail spirits, and the occasional capturing of a boy for the same purpose, facts attested by many trustworthy men, give evidence of the assumption. However, constraint is imposed [682]
upon them by a more civilized environment than that

[p. 112 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

part of the investiture ceremony of the emperor.[12] During the funeral ceremonies for the emperor, the new emperor, facing the fire, made a libation and bowed thrice.[13] At the end of the year, in front of the hall (in open air), an offering of salt and sheep fat was made to the god of the fire by the shamans, and the emperor bowed twice before the fire.[14] 372 776

Butter was the original offering for the fire god among the Mongols and the Aryans.[15] Fire is worshipped among the Monguors in two ways: by fire in the open air, and fire on the hearth.

FIRE IN THE OPEN AIR

At marriages, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard where the marriage rites are performed and the dinner is served. The prostrations "to Heaven and to all the spirits" are made by the young couple in front of the fire. When the bride leaves the home of her parents a fire is built in the courtyard and speeches are made; the dinner is taken in front of the fire.[16] 585 372

During the celebration of the rite of the sixtieth birthday a big fire is built in the courtyard. First of all, at midnight on New Year's, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard and prostrations are given. The fire is not allowed to go out during the whole day, and this rite is performed before all the other rites.

In the temple yard of the village, the same rite is performed on New Year's in the same way. On the fifteenth of the first moon, a big cypress fire is kindled in the middle of the threshing floor, and small fires are built all around, over which men and women jump, singing, merrymaking, and making fun on stilts. During the whole performance of many rites enacted by lamas and shamans, very often a big cypress fire is kindled, as will be noted later.

MAGICAL POWER OF THE FIRE

Already the well-known Wei-sang has been noted, which seems to be an offering diffusing fragrance in honor of the spirits. It accompanies many rites. But fire is not only used to convey to the spirits the good feelings of the people, but often its magical power is expected to drive away evil spirits, even at the time of epidemics, epizootics, or when calamities intermittently harm the family. 372 789

When mourners return from funerals, they jump over a fire kindled at the entrance of the courtyard, so as not to be pursued and harmed by the souls of the deceased. [764]

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[12] *Ibid.*, 223, 239, 274.

[13] *Ibid.*, 279.

[14] *Ibid.*, 267-317.

[15] Poppe, *op. cit.* 142. Edward Washburn Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 106, Agni, the fire god in old Hinduism, is a mediator between god and man, carrying to Heaven the offerings (p. 445). The ram is the sacred beast of Agni, who is seen riding a ram (p. 449). At New Year's festival on the second day is the celebration of Agni.

[16] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, *op. cit.*, 42-71.

[p.120(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

A widow who is remarrying, when she arrives at the door of her new husband's house, jumps over a fire kindled at the entrance of his courtyard, in order that the soul of her deceased husband will no longer follow and harm her. 372 789 [537]

Every time any utensil is supposed to have become impure, it is passed over a fire. The shamans and lamas, before using their religious paraphernalia, smoke them over a fire. [783]

Usually the lamas, at the time of epidemics, try first to cajole and placate these evil doers, hoping that they will stay their calamities, making the magnificent fire offering called *tao Huo-t'an*, "the pouring of a plain of fire." It consists of burning, on a limited surface, a pile of logs of different kinds of wood, reputed to be odoriferous or expensive, with all available kinds of fragrant herbs and spices, dried aromatic flowers, all kinds of grains. The fire is lit by sparks struck from a flint, or by the rays of the sun passing through a magnifying glass, for the fire must be pure also. The fire is kept up by the intermittent pouring of molten butter on it by lamas, who recite texts during seven days in order to win the hearts of the evil doers. They make several *tormas* and design *mandalas* [17] for the arranagement of the logs. The whole is accompanied by an unusual display of the most detailed rites, for which each lama has his own explanation and his own way of acting, ringing bells, beating drums, blowing horns, while the family prostrates itself. This is the famous pouring of fire on a huge surface "in order to gain the good graces of the malignant spirits by a magnificent fire offering." [18]

Some lamas resort, for the same reason, to a "white Wei-sang." One hundred logs of odoriferous wood are white-washed with lime-wash and kindled as described above. The aim of the rite is again to pull the heartstrings of the evil spirits by means of a pure fire offering and to invite them to stop the calamities.

However, when the two rites have proved unsuccessful, the lamas try the "black Wei-sang," using the magical power of the fire for dispelling the evil spirits. In a forlorn and remote spot, a pile of the most inexpensive and dirty wood is prepared with all kinds of smelly herbs and spoiled grain. The fire is kindled with dung and on top of the blazing pile is poured the urine of a black donkey; *tormas* are made with black spoiled flour. Condemning the evil spirits with such an abject fire offering, they hope they will leave the family, or the village, in order to avoid scorn and disdain, and that the magical power of the fire for repelling them will be more effective.

[17] *Mandalas* are so-called "magic circles" by which the divinities are coerced into assisting the votary to reach "the other shore." While they are being made, the makers recite charmed sentences (dharani) supposed to have been composed by several divinities, which are used as incantations for procuring their assistance in peril as well as in ordinary temporal affairs. L. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 144, second ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

[18] Schröder, Der Feuerguss, *op. cit.*, 860.

[M120(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

If, however, black and white rites do not work, the Monguors call for the Taoist priest, who paints all the items used (the wood, etc.), with a coat of goat blood. He binds the logs in a bundle by means of goat guts, and sprinkles goat blood upon the burning fire. The rite is called the "red Wei-sang." 372 789

These facts give evidence of the importance attached by the Monguors to the fire for purifying from uncleanliness and preventing harm caused by evil spirits. They show their devotion for the fire by having a big cypress fire kindled during the performance of religious rites and the most important moments of life, as at marriages or the celebration of the sixtieth birthday. However, fire does not only play an important role in the life of the Monguors in the open air; its role is as important in the private life of the families where it is worshipped under the form of the "fire of the hearth," the "hearth god."

THE HEARTH FIRE

Among the Monguors, the Chinese, and the Tibetans, the cult of the hearth god belongs entirely to the department of the women. Everywhere, the temple of the hearth god is the kitchen. 795 776 372

No wonder that the hearth god is supposed to be interested in a special way in the fecundity of the wives and the protection of the children, and that it is honored at fixed times by its own ritual. [842]

FIRE AND FECUNDITY

When the Monguor bride arrives at the home of the bridegroom, she does not prostrate herself before her parents-in-law or before the guests, but is led straight to the kitchen. Here she worships the god of the hearth giving three prostrations, burning incense, offering a bottle of wine and her chopsticks, which she has brought with her. 585 354 776 372

It was noted in the first volume of this study that the youngest couple in the family always lives in the kitchen, where the god of the hearth is honored, because the Monguors say that in that way fecundity is assured. Women who have plenty of children and do not wish to have more will leave the kitchen and live in another room. It has been noted that, among the Mongols, the youngest son inherits his father's hearth, occupies his tent, and is called the prince of the fire. [428]

When poor people cannot afford the luxury of a lavish marriage, nor invite guests, they marry the young couple in the kitchen "before the god of the hearth." The makeup of the new bride is done before the god of the hearth and not in the living room.[19]

An unusual practice relates to the fecundity assumed to be bestowed on women by means of the cult of the spirit of the fire (and of the god of the hearth). On the fifteenth of the first moon, at night, on the edge of the big threshing floor of the village, a number of small heaps of cypress boughs are kindled. While musicians 842 372 776

[19] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, 39.

[p. 121 (A)]

with silk flags, to look at the hundreds of measures of 772
grain put into the chair, the hundreds of pounds of 685
sugar and raisins, the hundreds of rich garments, and 782
the herd of sheep which follows the chair (for the few 556
pieces of meat are called a "herd of sheep"), and so on, for the other items. They implore it to look at the unusual prodigality of the customer, who is a fervent adherent of the faith. After the parody is played, the lamas have a good time visiting the neighbors. On the seventh day, at night, all the neighbors help escort the troublesome spirit outside the village, forming an imposing cortege with banners flying and drums, horns, and some rifles, and carrying the sedan chair, the caldron and bull head, the spears and swords. The lamas blow the trumpets made from a human femur. The bull head, spears, and swords are buried in a deep hole; a big fire is lit and the pit is filled, at full speed, flush with the ground. The stake is thrust into it; the whole group howls and curses the avenger, rifles are fired, trumpets blown, and the lamas return. The sedan chair is emptied by the neighbors. Restitution is thus made, the avenging spirit is appeased and thrust into the hole, and the thief remains possessor of his thievery.

A rich man, Lo san lao, who lived in Ha-la-chih 425
Valley, had succeeded in bringing to his home the fine 782
young lady of the poor Monguor Li sse of Naring 789
Valley. Calamities then troubled his family, and he invited Yellow lamas to perform the rite. They placed in the sedan chair a fine paper lady. The rite of the caldron and bull head was carried out, and the avenging spirit was thrust into the hole. Restitution was thus made by means of a paper lady, but he remained the possessor of the real one.

After many years this rite as performed by Red [792]
lamas, invited by the famous Sumpa Hutukhtu in order to compensate for the injustices perpetrated by his intendants, is still talked about in the country. The splendid sedan chair was on this occasion lavishly filled with precious items. A beautiful horse which followed the cortege was abandoned for the neighbors. After the bull head had been buried and the avenging spirit thrust into the hole, hundreds of people had tried to capture the horse.

The claims of justice are deeply embedded in the 181
consciousness of the people, and the necessity of restitution for injustices is always advocated by the lamas, although the magical rite of restitution seems to be a mockery of its real intent. Justice seems to rank first among the virtues.

In connection with this peculiar mentality concerning 776
the spirit who is the avenger of injustices is to be noted 425
the cult of the Sturlong spirit. This spirit is supposed to guard the wealth of the family with ruthless severity. It does not allow anything of value belonging to the family which honors it to be taken away. It is honored as a family deity, mostly among the Monguors of the

[p. 131(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

When the building of the walls was finished, the images 731
having been smoked beforehand, and blessed with 782
ritual water, and having had rice thrown upon them, were stored inside. Finally a roof covered the construction and a verandah with some prayer wheels was built around it, with an oven in front for Wei-sang. Each lama received from the Hutukhtu, as remuneration for the molding of images, a piece of cloth large enough to make a new lama costume.

When, at the time of epidemics, the Om Manis and cir- 731
cumambulations have seemed ineffective, the people 782
conclude that the Bumkhang has lost its energy, and a 789
new rite is enacted in order to strengthen its impaired capacities. The Red lamas are again invited. They read texts for seven days, and thrust a new stake in the ground before the Bumkhang, at night, while the people howl. They act exactly in the same way as the shamans who strengthen debilitated hail mounds. Because this act is not seldom performed for old Bumkhangs of villages, it seems to suggest that all the Bumkhangs in the country were built on the same pattern. This was the only Bumkhang built during my stay in the country, but old Monguors told me that all the Bumkhangs were constructed in the same way, not in order to be endowed with blessings, but in order to avert calamities plotted by evil spirits, and to block the way along which the bad influxes enter the village. The facts (1) of circumambulating in a counter-clockwise direction, (2) the way of building the Bumkhang, (3) the use of the heterogeneous items, (4) the thrusting of the stake god into it, and (5) the manner of strengthening the impaired magical power of the Bumkhang all over the country, seem to support the assumption that the Bumkhang built at Erh-ku-lung by order of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, a lama of the Yellow Sect, and all the other Bumkhangs follow thoroughly magical rites belonging to the same category as the rites performed on the hail mounds built by the shamans.

It is noteworthy that no urns are buried inside the Bumkhang and that no pole is set up inside of it, to represent the "pillar of Heaven." A couple of beams support the roof of the small building, but the magical stake god is thrust into the center of the building amidst the 100,000 clay Buddha figures.

This description does not tally with the interesting [114]
study of Dom. Schröder (p. 266). It is recorded according to my notes written at the time when the Bumkhang of Erh-ku-lung was built, and investigations were made concerning these buildings existing in the country.

FASTING RITES AMONG THE MONGUORS

Fasting is practiced in the country situated north of 785
the Hsining River by lamas of the Yellow and the Red 792
Sects and by laymen; shamans are not interested in fasting exercises. At Erh-ku-lung the rite is compulsory for all lamas. It starts on the twenty-ninth

[p. 133(A)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

M 562 852 [553]

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

M [203] [604] [603] [553]

Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

M [184]

j. Beard-growing

N *563 A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

M 302 [593] [888]

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

M 764 [171] [177]

4. Popular beliefs

N *563 Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

M 843 562

N *563 If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.

M 553 777 789

[18]

II. Customs concerning the Officiants

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1. The Spirit-spear Soothsayer*

*See "Notes," pp. 23-26 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

791 787 Like all other kinds of soothsaying through a deity, soothsaying with the spirit-spear is called "to question the spirit." It proceeds as follows:

A spirit-spear is fetched in case there is none in the family. Then the soothsayer is invited. He is offered tea and [264] bread. Meanwhile the yard and the place where the soothsaying is to take place are swept. The great incense offering is pre- [782] sented in the yard in the usual form, and it remains burning throughout the ceremony. The soothsayer dons a long cloak, takes [783] off his cap, washes his hands and face, and rinses out his mouth. Then he steps in front of the spear, which has either been planted [788] in the ground or is held by a man, and kowtows three times. He rises, seizes the spear with both hands in the middle of the shaft, and holds it vertically in front of him. In this position he says the prayer of invitation. During this prayer the spirit descends. The spear starts to tremble, and with it the soothsayer's arms; one hears the bells rattle. Now the suppliant presents his case and receives directions from the spirit in the spear as to what he should do. The will and the reply of the spirit are manifested by the movement of the spear, for example, by stamping, leaping up, shaking. The soothsayer, too, questions the spear-spirit and imparts its answer. When the soothsaying is over, the soothsayer says the farewell prayer. The spear becomes quiet and stands still. The spirit is gone, and the soothsayer puts the spear aside again and makes his kowtow three times.

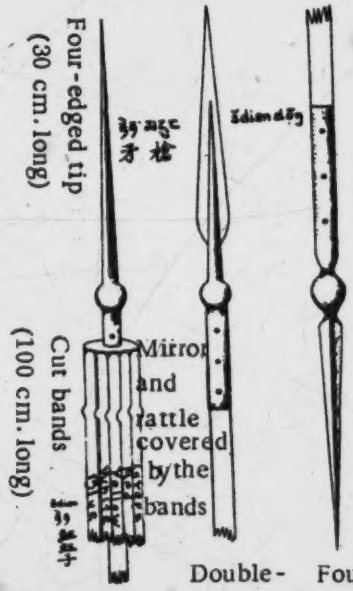
Spear-soothsaying is almost always practiced at all ceremonies in order to call down the spirit as witness. The soothsaying is always done in the same fashion.

[19 cont.]

1791 prerequisites are necessary. Thus he officiates as soothsayer
[787] and invoker of spirits for almost all undertakings, such as house-building, oracles, offerings, festivals, travel, etc. (10). [The notes are not indicated in numerical order. The first nine are given just prior to or in connection with the word list that follows.]

*778 787 10. [Foreign text p. 26.] Besides the spirit-spear, the Tujen have other oracles that are used in like manner, namely, the spirit table, sirie purgan,

[532]



Ornamental spear of the soothsayer from Erh-ku-lung-szu

(Drawings from personal observation)

Fig. 1. Spirit-spear

[18 cont.]

Details

791 The soothsayer: The soothsayer is called "the one who
787 seizes the consecrated." He has a close relationship with the spirit, but is not possessed by it. He, however, is not master over his movements, but the spirit is. [19] The latter shakes the spear and the soothsayer's arms. The soothsayer does not
[756] go into ecstasy like other shamans, among whom the entire body quivers.

Not everyone is capable of being moved by the spirit and of learning its meaning. Only by experimentation does one discover this characteristic; this usually happens when one is alone in a lonely place. When there is no soothsayer in a locality, the people request one person or another whom they regard as suitable to try it, especially when it is urgently necessary, for instance, in case of an approaching thunderstorm or sudden sickness. There are no special schools or teachers. Spear-soothsaying is not passed down in the family.

791 The spear-soothsayers constitute a special type that is
756 different from other soothsayers and shamans. Each one practices his profession for himself. They have no relations of any kind among themselves and have no special social position or rights. [Fig. 1 appears here.] Also, they have no special doctrines or secrets, as do certain shamans, for instance. They are ordinary farmers with wife and child.

It is true that lamas, Bon priests, and other shamans can prophesy with the spear, but not all of them, and it has nothing to do with their status. For that reason they do not wear their own official costume for it, unless they happen to be wearing it already.

The spear-soothsayer is not tied to one specific spirit, as is the sword-shaman, for instance, who can only call down his tutelary spirit. A spear-soothsayer can prophesy with all spears and all spirits at any time of the day or night and at any place, even if he should wander a thousand miles away.

791 Hence the spear-soothsayer is the one most frequently used by the Tujen. There is one in almost every village, and he is easy to find because no special moral and social

[19 cont.]

787 [Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.]
not master over their movements,
so strong is the propulsion.

With all these mediums, the main thing is not the soothsaying but the temporary effects of the indwelling spirit. For that reason, the spirit is always summoned when a religious act at which its presence is desired is undertaken, for instance, an offering, housebuilding, laying out a cemetery, etc. It leads everything, sees everything, guards everything. [791] To be sure, there are always people needed who can react to the spirit's movements, for not everyone is qualified for it.

*778 The spear: The spirit-spear is simply called "the holy-sublime." It looks like an ordinary spear, except that it is more beautiful. A number of colored bands in the [20] five [531] sacred colors and ceremonial cloths (hada) are fastened directly under the very long tip. A garland of little bells and a series of dollar-sized metal mirrors are likewise found directly below the tip, but are covered by the bands. The bands are called "consecration bands." They can be made of every possible kind of material, no matter where it is from or what purpose it has already been used. The spear is consecrated by means of the [787] bands, so that the spirit dwells in it. It makes its activity known through the bells. The metal mirrors represent its omniscience, whereby it sees everything as in a thousand mirrors. Formerly these mirrors were made of gold, but nowadays they are usually only little copper plates which are attached by an eyelet, like buttons. The number of the bands, bells, and mirrors is not prescribed.

[21 cont.]

*778 front of the spear, the men in the room itself, the women in front of the door out in the open.

776 Only now can the spirit dwell in the spear. Which spirit
*778 it is depends entirely upon the owner of the spear. He tells this beforehand to hutukhtu who performs the consecration, and the latter gives an appropriate prayer of consecration. Only one spirit ever operates in a spear. The Tiengëre or the god of heaven never resides in the spear. The ones who do are always ordinary spirits, for instance, the mother-goddess, the tiger god, the mountain spirit, etc.

*778 After the consecration the hutukhtu stays in the house un-
[792] til the following morning and is then dismissed with an appropri-
ate remuneration. The master of the household, however, in-
[527] vites his friends and acquaintances in and celebrates the new
[273] event with them over barley wine and dances with song far into the night.

Storage of the spear: Since an entire village can have a spear consecrated, it frequently happens that it is simply kept
[346] in the communal temple of the place. This is also often the case with regard to private individuals, because the temple is regarded as the most eminent place. In the temple itself it stands in a wooden stand next to the other gods on one of the many altars. Sometimes it is simply propped against the wall in a god's niche.

[346] If somebody wants to keep the spear in his own yard, a special chapel is required. Most of the house chapels are constructed specifically for such a spear. Here, too, it may stand in a rack, lean against the wall, or be driven into the clay floor. All that matters is that the spear stand upright. For instance, one may never lay it flat on the altar. The master of the
[782] household often gives the little incense offering in front of the spear. It is not necessary that a spear be kept in the house of
[791] the [22] village soothsayer; indeed, many soothsayers have no spirit-spear themselves.

346 The room or the temple in which the spear stands is sim-
*778 ply called "house of holies." It is usually only a room in the yard. It must be separated from all the other rooms by a wall and

[22 cont.]

346 must have its own door to the outside. The chapel may not be
*778 constructed in such a way that it can also be reached through another room that is occupied. It must be located in the main
[783] house. In order to avoid any danger of pollution, the chapel is preferably erected on the roof of the main house. The sooth-
•[791] sayer determines in what part or on what side of the main house it should be. Aside from silence, the reason for this strict sep-
[783] aration from the other rooms is that in crossing other rooms one may become unclean, especially if the rooms are accessible to the women.

783 Prescriptions for purity: Ordinarily, any man or boy may
*[778] touch the spear, fetch it, and take it away. They may also enter the chapel at will. Women, however, may never touch
[562] the spear or visit the chapel. They are always regarded as unclean. There are also certain taboos, however, for the men.

The man's wife or any other woman in the family may not be in confinement. Not until ten days after the conclusion
[846] of the confinement, that is, 40 days after the birth, is the man pure again. If he has visited another family in which there is a woman in childbed, he is pure immediately after the conclusion of the confinement, that is, 30 days after the birth.

Those in mourning are unclean for 49 days, if they are
[765] members of the dead person's own family. If the parents have died, the children are regarded as unclean for 100 days. If someone participated in the obsequies of another family, he is unclean for only three days.

[791] These prescriptions for purity also apply to the soothsayer.
*[778] He may not enter the chapel during this time, and especially may not touch the spear or even practice soothsaying. When this period has elapsed, the men are automatically pure again; there is no special purification ceremony (1).

[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 26.] The prescriptions for purification are the same as among the Chinese in Tsinghai; they apply for all religious activities and temple visits. The Chinese also have

[22 cont.]

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171

[Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.]
special sayings concerning this, which the Tujen lack.

Word List

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787
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To prophesy: purgandë sila = the spirit to question (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 23.] This expression applies both to the people who question the god and to the soothsayer who calls down the spirit. The Chinese say for this ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, "to invite the Buddha-Father." This expression is applied primarily to the soothsayer himself; in an extended sense it signifies every questioning by means of a deity, soothsaying, oracle.

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Spear-soothsayer: šdiendzën; šdien (Tib.) - the consecrated, the sacred (4).
dzën (Tib. loanword) = to contain, to hold.

4. [Foreign text pp. 23-24.] šdien is the name both for the consecrated spear with bands attached and for the consecration band (or bands) itself, but primarily for the bands after the consecration and detached from the spear. The consecrated bands on the spear, according to the informant, are called by the Tibetan names xuon (silk cloth)

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 23-24 cont.]
and sënisial (silk threads). These Tibetan names are sacred, whereas in profane speech the silk is called turguo and the threads šdadzë. For the use of šdien, cf. also the chapter, "The Animal Consecration," Note 4.

To explain the Tibetan loanword šdien, the old man wrote the Chinese sign kung-fêng, "to worship, to consecrate." In order to consecrate an object, to set it aside for the gods and make it especially worthy of worship, one should tie a band to it. Later on, so he said, the whole object, the figure, etc., was called šdien, as well as the bands and thread which made the spear sacred. The DMF (p. 371) explains šdien: "piece of red or yellow material that is put on the idols to worship them, on men or on animals to consecrate them to the gods or to preserve their life" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. rten, "visible representation, symbol, seat of deity" (?) [cited in English]. This explanation, which comes from another Tujen informant, agrees almost entirely with that of the old man. He only noted in connection with it that not only red or yellow bands, but also those of various colors could be used, [24] although one would not attach them to human beings. Red seems to be the most important color, however, as is apparent from the Chinese name hung-hung-tzu, "the red."

šdien is derived from the Tibetan rten; for further details see the following chapter, "The Gurtum," and Part Two. Here it

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 23-24 cont.] should only be noted that šdien (rten) in the narrow sense signifies "to contain, content," that is, seat of the spirit. In the broader sense one can accept the above explanation and translate it generally as "the consecrated, the sacred," etc.

dzēn = Tib. 'dsin = "to hold, carrier." Ch. Das does not have the combination rten 'dsin, but on p. 1053 he gives similar compounds, for instance, rdo rje 'dsin: "the holder of the vajra" [cited in English]. šdiendzēn has thus been rendered quite accurately by the informant as "carrier of the sacred; the one holding the consecrated."

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Spirit-spear: šdiendoṅ (5); doṅ (Tib. loanword) = conch, sublime, white, pure.
purgān = god, spirit, demon.
fo-yeh (chin.) = Buddha-Father (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 24.] When the informant here identifies the doṅ in šdiendoṅ with the Tibetan duṅ (conch), it is a rare case of an incorrect explanation by him. The phonetically similar doṅ, to be sure, has the meaning of "conch, pure, white, sublime" (cf. the chapter, "The Incense Offering"), but here it is none other than the Tibetan mduṅ, "lance, spear," in which the initial "m" is silent. Nasalized "u" is always changed into "o" among the Tujen. The Chinese tien-tung (spirit-spear), which likewise

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 24 cont.]
spear must always be consecrated to the same deity as the old one.

Spear shaft: sdzida gändzē (Chin.) = spear shaft.
Spear foot: sdzida xuedē = spear end.
Two-edged tip: nieṅgän tolġue = flat tip.
Three-edged tip: ġuran bulõndē tolġue = three edges tip.
Four-edged tip: dieran bulõndē tolġue = four edges tip.
Trident tip: ġuran salā tolġue = three prongs tip.
The spear is shaking: šdien (purġan, šdiendõn) bõdzia (9).

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9. [Foreign text pp. 25-26.] The Tujen never say šdiendzēn bõdzia, that is, the soothsayer is shaking. They do say sgurdien bõdzia, that is, the shaman is shaking. In the case of shamans they will never say purġan bõdzia, that is, the spirit is shaking. These distinctions are to be noted; bõ- is reserved for that which is in motion, that is, the spear and the shaman, in other words šdien (= šdiendõn or purġān) and sgurdien. bõ- actually means (come down, descend, begin, start work," and refers to the medium of the spirit, not to the spirit itself, for the latter's descent is designated by kur- (kuru-), that is, "to arrive." This differentiates the peculiarity of the trance from the activity of the soothsayer. The Chinese, too, express a clear differentiation here. For the trance they say fashen-tzu, that is, to bring the body to a state of excitement; for the calling of the spirit for soothsaying, they say ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, to invite the Buddha(father).

Indeed, the way the soothsayers work is easy to differentiate from that of the shaman. I was able to observe both

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.]
repeatedly. There are two kinds of communication with the spirit. In the case of spear-soothsaying the center of movement lies in the spear and stays there. The spear shakes and draws only the soothsayer's arms and a little of the upper part of his body into the movement. The body is still; there is only an autonomous movement of the spear. At the same time the soothsayer is wholly aware of his surroundings; he observes everything that goes on about him and hears everything, even when he bends down to the spear and seems to speak with the spirit in it. When he speaks in the name of the spirit, he does so in a light, normal voice. When he is done, he sets the spear aside the way a craftsman lays down his tool. There is no excitement in the whole affair. -- It is different in the case of the shaman trance. The shaman, too, has weapons, for instance, sword and spear. I was able to observe in the clouds of incense how first the spear tip began to tremble, then the shaft. From the shaft the shaking went over to the arm, then on the chest to the next arm, and finally to the head and the entire body. The center of movement then lies in the shaman himself. He becomes pale or quite red. The heavy, much-too-large helmet is placed on his head, but because of his swelling head it nonetheless sits firmly. He foams at the mouth and speaks disjointed words in various languages. He is entirely inwardly directed and takes no notice of his

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.]
surroundings. To him everything is in a state of excitement and trembling. After the trance he is exhausted and has to rest for several hours.

For the conclusion of the spear-soothsaying there is the expression šdien (šdiendõn) džuoladzia, that is, the spear is ready. For the cessation in the case of the [26] shaman one says sgurdien dõnladzia, that is, the shaman is finished. The actual meaning of džuo- and dõn- has never been clear to me.

000 [Pages 23-26 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[27] 2. The Gurtum (Sword-shaman)*

* See "Notes," pp. 31-33 [of the original text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

756 The sword-shaman has as his most important weapon the
787 sword, with which he fights against the demons. He always per-
*[778] forms his ceremonies in a trance condition. Then his tutelary deity descends upon him and endows him with great powers.

Whether one becomes a shaman depends upon his ability to go into a trance. Some inherit it in the family. Many of them experiment in a lonely spot. As soon as one has learned
[792] how to do it, he goes to a lamic monastery. There he is tested to see if he is genuine. If he is genuine, he receives instruction and an amulet. Every year, however, he must return once to his teacher in order to train himself further.

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[Note on foreign text pp. 32-33 cont.]
to Shang-wu-chwang there is a village with a small lamasery [33] from which the shamans of Kumbum come, who appear especially on New Year's. As a missionary tells me, in the village there in quite recent times a young man was doing exercises almost daily, going into a trance on the river bank, fighting with a sword, shooting arrows, etc.

In any case all the lamaseries attach great importance to having a shaman who, possessed by the tutelary spirit dPekar, prophesies on New Year's. I observed these shamans in Kuo-mang-szu and Kumbum. In the Tujen lamasery, where a living shaman-monk was not to be found, I saw on New Year's a life-sized figure set up in full shaman regalia. At the sooth-
• [791] saying on the fifteenth day, however, the spear-soothsayer acted in his stead in the temple yard, where the dances take place, before the hutukhtu, the assembled monks, and all the people. In Kuo-mang-
[562] szu I even saw a woman appear in the temple as a shaman, but she did not represent the usual type of sgurdien.

The lama does not put the shaman costume on his protégé. Usually he comes to the monastery without any costume and does not see to it until later. Frequently his own village helps to provide it. He makes the two-edged sword himself or has it made by the smith.

756 The tutelary spirit: The tutelary spirit always reveals
776 itself to the shaman; a lama cannot designate a tutelary spirit for anyone. The shaman often calls himself "spirit-
*[778] disciple" or "spirit-protégé." The spirit has its seat in the

[31 cont.]

192 The shaman's sword: aradzi = two-edged sword; wadăm (Tib.) (12); chien (Chin.).

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*[778]

12. [Foreign text p. 33.] wadam: Tibetan dpa-gdam = sword. -- sõṅkuor: Tibetan skyoṅ = protection, 'k'or = little disks (Unkrig).

[776] The tutelary-spirit -- hada: šdien = the consecrated, as it is called before it is stuck in the bag; sõṅkuor (Tib. loanword) (12) [see note 12 above] = protective fort, as it is called when it is inside the bag; the amulet is also called this.

*[778] Chest-mirror: mälõṅ (Tib. loanword); hu-hsin ching (Chin.) = the mirror protecting the heart.

Headcloth: tolgue bãṅladzin = the head covering. pao-chin = packing cloth (Chin.).

Rattles: xõṅguor; ling-êrh (Chin.).

Plowshare: timur ndziesë; t'ieh-hua (Chin.).

Thorns: huang-ts'ê (Chin.).

[789] To banish devils: ilie sdzira; pudag sdzira = to banish filth.

Recompense for the shaman: hsiang-ch'ien = incense money.

[Pages 31-33 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[33] 3. The Bon Priest*

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* See "Notes," pp. 34-35 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are two kinds of Bon priests: the nomads and the

[33 cont.]

791 farmers (1). The Bon priests of the nomads are now found only

[792]

1. [Foreign text p. 34.] There are also Bon priests who live in monasteries. Such a monastery is found near the Tujen monastery Rgulõn. The inmates of this monastery, however, do not wear any special garb, but are dressed like laymen. The lamas prefer to invite them for certain ceremonies to exorcise demons. -- The other farmer-Bon are only very rarely seen any more. They live like everyone else, marry, and work the fields.

among the Fandse, although formerly some were also Tujen. They have a very long, thick queue, which they wear wound around the head, and a long red garment with a red or yellow belt. -- The present-day Bon priests of the Tujen have almost died out; they are ordinary farmers and are distinguished from the other shamans or soothsayers as follows:

Details

791 292 [177] Clothing: They wear ordinary garb: in winter a fur, and in summer the long coat. They do not wear trousers (2). They

2. [Foreign text p. 35.] The fact that they do not wear trousers may indicate an origin from the Fandse, who formerly did not wear trousers, as is still customary for their women and lamas.

take off their shoes during prayer on the kang. They do not have any special official dress. [34] They only put a wreath of wild-pig bristles around the head (3), which are supposed to

3. [Foreign text p. 35.] The informant did not know why they have to be wild-pig bristles.

represent long hair.

[34 cont.]

000 represent long hair.

791 Equipment: Like the lamas, they have a bell, a large, two-
778 sided drum, a small double-drum (hourglass drum); for exorcising
534 demons they use a whip made of human skin and a bone flute.
[789] Furthermore, they have Tibetan books, sounding boards, and thunderbolt.

[765] The drum was formerly made of human skulls, over which human skin was stretched for the drumhead. The whip had a handle of human bones. The flute was made of the shinbone of a full-grown girl who had not yet married and had lost her life through suicide or an accident. It is open at one end and cut off smoothly. This end serves as mouthpiece and is inlaid with metal. The other end has a small hole on each of the two condyles. The flute is wrapped with the girl's skin; it is sewed tight (5). The same skin is also used for plaiting the whip and

5. [Foreign text p. 35.] The reports vary concerning the bone from which the flute is made. Most of them say that it is the shinbone; others claim that it is the thigh bone. I did not learn anywhere that the periosteum had to be eaten. -- The flute has an uncannily plaintive tone; it has an especially penetrating effect at night, when it is often heard in lamaseries. -- The Bon also try to drive away unpleasant events with the sound of the flute, for example, a punitive expedition, tax collectors, soldiers, etc., as happened in Kweiteh, for instance.

[789]

covering the drum. There are certain regulations for the manufacture of these objects. The Bon priest makes the implements himself (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 35.] What is here said concerning the making of the flute, drum, and whip is confirmed by other people, but no one has seen how they are made in detail. Some say it has to be a girl who has not yet

[34 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 35 cont.] menstruated; others maintain the opposite. At any rate, she has to be an unmarried person. In this connection cf. what is said in the section concerning death customs and cremation: that they are demons and are especially feared by demons.

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Activities: A special activity of the Bon priests is the erection of the pole-goat and conjuring away storms, as well as the making and conjuring of the figure-litter. Otherwise they have almost the same activities as the other soothsayers: they designate lucky days for housebuilding, traveling, etc.; they question fate concerning sickness and medicine, For soothsaying, [787] however, they use no special instruments; instead they have books from which they take everything. There are also Bon [755] priests who have learned to take the pulse and to prescribe medicines and are able to cure without magic. -- The Bon priests do not go into a trance, but only pray (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 35] The Bon are regarded with a kind of secret fear by the Tujen. They also have something to do with springs and mountains. It is said that they often dwell alone in tents in remote ravines and at wells throughout the summer. There they pray, conjure away storms, etc. Perhaps this seclusion contributes to the fact that all kinds of uncanny machinations are reported of them.

Word List

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Shepherd-Bon: sënogsa (snagsa) (7); ch'an-t'ou peng-po (Chin.) = Bon with queue wound up.

[34 cont.]

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7. [Foreign text p. 35.] dziliu: Tibetan dril bu = bell. -- kãṅgergë: Mongolic k'eng-gerge = drum. -- sënoġsa (snaġsa): Tibetan sṅags pa = sorcerer; sṅags bon = Bon priest. -- (n)duombora: Tibetan sdom = to bind, spu = hair, ra = wreath. -- šgãṅdõṅ: Tibetan rkaṅ = shinbone, duṅ = trumpet, snail. -- ndarë: probably a literary botching of the Sanskritic damaru (Unkrig).

Farmer-Bon: xuändie; su-jen peng-po (Chin.) = Lay-Bon.
Bon priest (in general): peng-po-tzu (Chin.).
Hair wreath of the farmer-Bon: (n)duombōra (Tib. and Tujen) (7) [see Note 7 above].
[778] Bone flute: šgãṅ-dõṅ (Tib. and Tujen); chuo-pa (Chin.) = shinbone (7) [see Note 7 above].
[534] Hourglass drum: ndarë (Tib. loanword) (7) [see Note 7 above]; pa-lang-ku (Chin.).
Bell: dziliu (7) [see Note 7 above]; ling-tang (Chin.).
Whip: p'i-pien-tzu (Chin.) = skin-whip.
Big drum: ta-ku (Chin.); kãṅgärgë.

[Pages 34-35 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[35]
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4. The Lama (Lama-Reception)*

*See "Notes," pp. 41-43 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are many ceremonies to which a lama is invited.

[55] 3. The Mani-tree and the Central Fort *

* See "Notes," pp. 60-63 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

*[78] In almost every Tujen yard a mani-tree is set up in the [35] middle of the central fort [Mittelburg] or round manger [Rundkrippe]. The mani-tree need not be erected at the same [79] time as this central fort; it can be done later. The time is determined by the soothsayer.

The mani-tree consists of a wooden mast with a tip, which represents sun and moon. Below this tip a five-colored cover is drawn over the mast-end, and below this mast-end flies the white mani-flag.

This flag is printed in the lamic monastery. At the same [79] time the master of the household invites a lama to raise the tree. The lama prays several days and on the last day undertakes [78] the raising. During these days the yard is taboo. The great [35] incense offering is presented three times daily.

At the raising, the mast is brought into the yard, placed [78] with its tip on the central fort, and the individual parts are attached to it. Once the pole has been set up, it is fumigated, [78] first with the red-hot stone and then with incense. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from a plate with the spear tip and throws them over the tree, and the master of the household [56] [Fig. 7 appears here] dabs the tree with butter. Then the men dig a narrow deep hole in the central fort down to the level of the ground. The soothsayer again throws some grains of barley into it with the spear, and the master of the household also strews a few incense leaves in it. Then the men set the tree in the hole and draw it up. In order to make it stand firmly, it is wedged in at the base with stones and clay. The entire operation is done under the constant supervision of the spear-god cited.

[56 cont.]

782 Now comes the offering. Incense is burned on the fumi-
*778 gating plate under the mani-tree, while a table with the follow-
ing gifts is put in front of it (1): a number of small bowls of

1. [Foreign text p. 60.] One can also burn incense directly at the foot of the tree inside the round manger and set the offerings there.

barley wine, grain, pure water, a large bowl of tea, bread, butter- or oil-lamps, and two vases of colorful flowers. -- The lama comes out, sits down on the opposite side of the central fort on a white felt mat, and gives the consecrating prayer. Meanwhile all those present kowtow and blow the conch.

After the prayer, the offerings are cleared away. Water and wine are poured on the ground, and small pieces of the bread are thrown into the air. The little oil-lamps are left standing. Everything else is taken into the house.

*778 The master of the household gives the guests a meal; they
527 dance and sing and drink into the night in the yard around the
[792] new mani-tree -- The next morning the lama is taken home to the monastery.

Details

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*778 Persons: For praying, an ordinary lama, not a Living
[782] Buddha, but sometimes a Bon priest, is invited. Everything can
[792] also be done without a lama, but then the performance lasts
[592] only one day because the praying is omitted. In this case the master of the household himself erects the tree. The ceremonies are almost the same as with a lama. The soothsayer, however, may never be lacking, whether or not he is a spear-soothsayer, or the litter-bearers or the table-god soothsayer (2).

[787] 2. [Foreign text p. 60.] The soothsayer is invited in the morning and given hospitality. He calls down the spirit and then determines precisely

[56 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.]
when the ceremony is to begin.

The soothsayer himself never takes part. He merely determines the time and names the spirit under whose supervision everything takes place.

*778 [57] Time: The time determined by the soothsayer varies in length: one, three, five, seven days, if a lama comes; otherwise only one day. The raising itself takes one forenoon at most. It is always started in the morning. -- Usually the tree is erected in conjunction with the construction of the central fort. It may also be erected, however, on any other day of the year.

The tree: The tree must always have its bark removed. Its size varies according to the proportions of the yard and the kind of wood. Fir trees are usually the longest. There are no prescriptions concerning the material and the origin of the tree. It may be cut down as desired. Also, there are no special ceremonies connected with it. There are trees up to ten meters in height, especially when it is a matter of mani-masts for the entire village or a monastery. On the average, however, they are five to six meters long (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 60.] Nowadays a complete mani-tree in the center of the yard is found only rarely. Usually an old cracked pole without a flag, to which the animals are tied, stands in the round manger. -- The mani-tree does not need to be confined to the center of the yard. One can also see mani-trees on the massive yard walls, especially where these come together at a corner. There are also communal mani-trees that are erected by an entire village, usually

[621]

[58 cont.]

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[Foreign text p. 61 cont.]
New Year, very early in the morning, as I observed. On this occasion a great incense offering with a great many small dough-lamps are burned, bread, tea, and barley wine are offered, and finally a pack of paper horse-images with all kinds of inscriptions is thrown into the air and scattered in all directions by the wind. The entire ceremony takes place on a mountain. In case of misfortune anyone may undertake this ceremony at will.

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[792]

The sheep offering: When a lama has raised the mani-pole, then there remains the above-described offering of bread wine, flowers, etc. After that the lama withdraws into the house. In the yard the spear-soothsayer divines once more whether the spirits want another sheep offering or not. The soothsayer then announces the will of the spirit; sometimes the latter dispenses with a sheep offering; sometimes he wants to have it immediately, and sometimes only after a few days. The yard must then remain taboo for that length of time. -- The sheep offering is never given in the presence of the lama, since it is, of course, always connected with the killing of the animal, and the lamas do not permit killing. The ritual of the sheep offering does not differ from the usual slaughter- and offering-ritual.

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[372]

Renewal of the mani-tree: If in the course of time the tree or the flag have suffered damage, they are renewed, that is, only the part that is damaged. The tattered flag is burned, for instance, in the hearth or in a fire specially kindled for it, but always with pure firewood, never with the usual dry dung, for example. The unusable mani-tree is likewise burned. In no case may it be used for other purposes,

[58 cont.]
*778 say, as roof board. When the mani-tree or the part concerned is replaced, everything is done with the same ceremonies as at a new raising.

[357] The small mani-flag: Instead of the large mani-tree, a small pole with an air-horse pennant is frequently raised on the yard gate of the outer yard. This pennant is about an ell square and is printed only with the picture of the air-horse, or at most with a few brief Tibetan sayings as well. This pennant is also made in the monastery. No lama and no soothsayer is invited to raise this flag, however. The soothsayer merely determines a lucky day and a favorable hour. Everything is done without special ceremonies, even without an incense offering. The yard, however, is taboo for a few days. Some farmers raise both the large mani-flag in the yard and the small mani-flag on the gate.

[792] [791] [357] [784]

357 The round manger: When a new compound is laid out, a round manger or central fort is always dug in the middle of the yard, exactly in accordance with the soothsayer's directions. For this purpose, the lama makes five treasure-urns, which are set in the pit. The pit is covered level with the ground and over it is raised a round wall of about two meters in diameter and one meter high. The lower three layers are stones; the upper layers, air-dried bricks. This circle is filled with clay and stamped down. In the center there is a pole or a cart axle, to which the animals are tied [59] when they are sunned and fed there during the day. For that reason the whole structure is called "round manger." It is also called "central fort," for it is the center of the yard and the buried urns protect the compound. The central fort is complete only when the mani-pole is raised. On the edge of the round manger, facing the main house, is found the fumigating plate. -- The making and burying of the urns is done with the same ceremonies that are performed in connection with the treasure-urn or the raising of a benkan (chorten chamber). -- The round manger is painted white. After the raising, the master of the household holds a

*778 [791] [792] [231] [527]

[63 cont.]

Report

*778 On the mountains in the vicinity of the villages, the Tujen like to erect an obo. This is a large stonepile over a pit in which all kinds of things are buried. On these stonepiles stands a large square wooden frame, in which all kinds of weapons, tree twigs, and mani-flags are placed. Frequently several smaller stonepiles run from the obo to the four points of the compass; there will be at least one row in the direction of the mountain ridge.

*778 782 [776] [792] [791] The obo is dedicated to the mountain-spirit. It protects the village and the individual family. The obo is venerated three times each month with an incense offering. Sheep sacrifices also often take place at the obo. On special occasions a lama or Bon priest is invited to pray before the obo. When air-horses are released, it is done preferably from the peak on which an obo stands. -- Every year a large folk festival takes place near the obo.

Details

*778 [621] [628] Place: The obo is always erected on a mountain height. A place by a pass is preferred. It need not be the highest mountain in the area. Each village may have its own obo, or several villages may erect an obo together. In the latter case they agree upon a favorable place between the villages (1).

[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 68.] The obo need not always be on a mountain. In other regions around Sining one finds obos on the plain, for instance, near Fadse and Chiafandse settlements. Even here, however, trees are almost always present. Nevertheless, the Tujen maintain that they would never build an obo on the plain, for, according to them, an obo belongs to the mountain-spirit and must

[63 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 68 cont.] therefore stand on a mountain. -- They take the sacred place quite seriously. Thus, it is striking that for all Tujen villages mountain terrain is set aside, a piece of grass land with forest, where no agriculture may be carried on. Where the Chinese intervene, however, these mountain groves disappear. From these sparse remains one can imagine what the now bare agricultural land looked like in former times.

[621]

*778 784 The mountain on which the obo stands may not be defiled. No fields may be laid out there; the trees may not be cut down; the grass may not be cut; the ground may not be turned up. The animals that live there, for instance, hares, foxes, birds, are not hunted or killed. Everything must be left just as it grows and thrives by nature; the cattle may not graze there at any time. This place, namely, belongs to the mountain-spirit and is called sacred mountain.

[231] [776]

*778 The obo pit: When the obo is erected, a pit is dug. All kinds of valuables are put in it, primarily treasure-urns (earth-god urns), as in the case of the central fort of the compound. The obo is erected by a lama or Bon priest. No [64] Tujen of the present generation has seen this ceremony. The present-day obos still stem from olden times and are more and more falling into disrepair. Therefore no one knows any more precisely what is buried in the obo.

[792] [791] [178]

The stone mound: The height of the mound varies, depending on the circumstances. First an outer wall is put in layers in circular form. A large number of little stones are put inside the circle up to the edge, and these are supposed to be white stones. At every obo veneration additional stones are

[65 cont.]
782 concerns, and there are private sacrifices which the individual
[621] gives for his family.

The communal sacrifice is usually given in summer after the erection of the pole-goat for a good harvest. A private sacrifice is undertaken at any time of year according to time and circumstances, for instance, in case of an illness or before an important undertaking. Since one man alone cannot carry out everything for a sacrifice, he invites several other men to it, who help him and afterwards consume the sacrificial meat. The person who makes the offering must also pay the cost.

The sacrificial rite does not differ from that of the other
[231] sheep sacrifice. Thus, the sheep is washed, has milk poured over it, is fumigated, etc. Usually a soothsayer is present.
[791] After the sacrificial meat has been boiled, several bowls of broth
[252] are scooped out. The offering-casts are made with it in the directions indicated by the soothsayer. These are always the same. Three bowls are thrown towards the north for heaven, three bowls each to the east, south, west, and north for the countless spirits, three bowls to the left of the incense offering for the mountain-spirit in the obo, three bowls to the right of the incense offering for the earth-spirit. Then follow three more bowls on the obo, and finally three additional bowls are poured before the spirit-spear. Then follows the offering meal,
[574] at which all the meat is consumed.

Before the sheep offering the general obo-veneration is first undertaken, as at the month offering.

[792] The obo prayer: Frequently a lama or Bon priest is in-
[791] vited to pray before the obo. This may last one to seven days, depending upon the request. Here, too, either the entire
[621] village or an individual person is the petitioner. Everyone pays personally for the expenses arising from it.

The prayer service begins with an incense offering of the people. Meanwhile the lama makes a šdorma. Then the people place the following offerings before the obo: three baked loaves, 13 steamed loaves, a bowl [66] of barley wine, flowers in vases, small bowls with honey, a cup of tea, black and white sugar, a bowl of tsamba with butter-disks.

[71 cont.]

346 *778 [621] [792] The chorten chamber is erected by the entire village. Everyone must give a hand. The lama comes and prays for seven days, makes a series of tormas, and manufactures the urns. On the seventh day the chorten chamber is built. Only little windows are left in it. In front of the chorten chamber the men burn incense and move in a circle around the chamber as at the obo. Through the window holes they then again throw in little chorten.

[621] [777] The chorten chamber protects the village and the family from misfortune. It represses the evil earth-influences. [Fig. 8 appears here.]

Details

[361] [791] Place: The chorten chamber is always erected outside the compound and outside the village. No attention is paid to paths. The place is more precisely designated by the soothsayer, not by the lama.

[72] Form: The groundplan of the chorten chamber is rectangular. Its size varies greatly. There are small chambers as high as a man and large ones with beautiful tile roofs and columned porticoes. There is never a door in the wall. Only at head level are square peepholes left, an ell square. There is no sun-moon disk on the roof, such as is otherwise common on temples. Usually a beautiful incense oven stands before the chamber. -- There are many kinds of chorten chambers. The one here is the most common; it is called "house-chamber," for there are also some that are not roofed (1).

[192] 1. [Foreign text pp. 77-78.] According to the informant, bẽṅ designates the same thing as the Tibetan bum (in many places also pronounced bẽṅ), that is, 100,000. kãṅ is the Tibetan word for house, but it can also mean temple, for example, in the word sdienkãṅ.

[72 cont.]

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*778
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[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.]
a roof, such as dźëw-yi and ger-kañ. The kañ described here is this ger-kañ. Actually this name is a tautology, for ger is Mongolic and means house (tent), in other words, the same as the Tibetan kañ. Besides these names, there are other special designations for beñkañ, such as mani beñkañ, tsäla beñkañ, dsōma beñkañ, maridzë beñkañ. Unfortunately all these types could not be inquired into precisely [78], nor likewise the meaning of the name and the contents of the beñkañ. The many rëduombeñ (7) [see Note 7 below], pyramid-like stonepiles which hold down evil demons, as is also reported in the Tujen myth of the female man-eater Mañgudzë, probably also belong among the beñkañ. For this function the Chinese have the expression pu mei-ch'i, that is, to plug up the (earth)veins' breath.

*778 Time: The chorten chamber may be erected at any time of the year, although the frost-free period is preferred because of the work on the walls. The soothsayer designates the specific [791] day and hour. -- The preparation, however, takes many weeks because the building material, the urns, and the clay cones must be manufactured. In addition, a small village festival [527] is always connected with the erection and for that reason the time after the harvest is preferred.

[621] Persons: All the persons of the village take part in the [476] preparations, men, women, and children. The leader divides [562] the work among the individual families. At the erection and the [792] consecrating ceremonies, however, only men are active. Women are kept away. -- The consecration of the urns and the service

[74 cont.]

*778

[Note on foreign text p. 78 cont.] assertion, are likewise placed in the chorten chamber. At any rate, they are to be distinguished from the tormas, which are never made of clay; cf. Ch. Das, p. 1019, and A. Tafel, I, 221, II, 331.

are carried in a pile into a temple hall or into a clean yard. On the last day before the construction the lama goes there, sprinkles them with holy water, and prays over them. Then he makes a torma on the spot, which is placed before the clay cones with the customary seven water-bowls. After everything has been fumigated with incense, he gives the votive prayer and then goes back to his host.

*778
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[791]

The erection of the chorten chamber: On the seventh day the spear-soothsayer appears very early in the morning. He divines in the yard, under the questioning of the leader, when and where the chamber is to be erected. Then he goes out and with spear-shaking indicates the precise spot by driving the spear into the ground there. The lama meanwhile drinks his morning tea.

Now the people bring everything, stones, beams, chorten, clay, straw, urns, in short, all that is necessary. For the lama a white felt mat is spread out in an easterly direction, a small kang-table is placed on it, and a delegation is sent to invite him ceremoniously and escort him to this spot. He takes his seat on the mat and begins his prayer, accompanied by bell and drum.

The soothsayer now takes away the spear, and the men scatter twigs of the tree of life and barley grains over the place where it was driven into the ground. Then they place the first large urn precisely on the mark left by the spear, and [75] each of the four other small urns at the four points of the compass. Behind these the sky column with the four points of the compass indicated on it is set up. It is not driven into the ground, but

[621 cont.]

846 loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter,
431 and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole
[262] in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

[858] Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts
[822] for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

553 Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-
791 soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the
[787] master of the household gives the great incense offering in the yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master
[592] of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the
[778] child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

551

3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guãnbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guãmbo; ifulã sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sērãṅ (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; lašdze sērãṅ, pass-peak-palace; tuguän ula, mountain of the Tuguãn. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

[621 cont.]

551

[Note on foreign text p. 622 cont.] the father or grandfather or someone else in the family was just fifty years old, but the mother's family has no influence on such names. For boys, instead of mdzuo (full) one says serāṅ, that is, roughly "sublime." Other names are, for example, wadma sdzig, that is, lotus flower, for girls; or wadma sdzia, that is, dedicated to the lotus, for boys. -- The Chinese, too, have a similar custom. They, for example, take a boy to the temple of the black tiger and then call him "dedicated to the black tiger," hei-hu-pao; or "dedicated to the mother," niang-niang-pao, when they have put the child under the protection of the mother-goddess in the temple. The Chinese pao and the sdzia of the Tujen have the same meaning.

[171]

5. [Foreign text p. 622.] sērāṅ: Tibetan sraṅ (?) = dwelling, settlement (Unkrig).

553 791 child to eat; he likewise offers it tea. It is not the child, however, but the mother who eats the gifts. Then everyone makes a threefold kowtow in the house to the soothsayer and the Buddha image, and outside to the sky.

If the spear-spirit desires that the family elder should [592] give the name, the latter performs the same ceremonies, but the soothsayer supervises the performance with the trembling spear. Also, the kowtow is then made to the family elder. -- 553 This ceremony is usually undertaken by the grandfather or 592 father, or by the man who is the master in the family (4). It [792]

765 [647 cont.]
foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The
784 food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[262] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
[585] also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune
[783] to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not offici-
ate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean,
[796] and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automati-
[783] cally lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary.
One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves,
and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival,
at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery,
the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no
ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost
775 nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do
fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims
on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had
been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul
[777] haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own
family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one
[791] questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune,
and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved,
it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul.
[782] One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering
to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray
for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is
carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the
adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[823 cont.] 2. The Pole-goat

Report

241 789 791 778 When the seed has shot up in the early summer, one invites a Bon priest who prays on a mountain and erects the pole-goat. He comes to the seed-master on the day before, and on the following morning he goes with the men to the mountain. There they drink tea. The Bon priest sits on a felt mat. A low kang table is put before him so that he may place his cult objects upon it, and next to him is put an earthen vessel with tsamba, butter, and little gold leaves, as well as a bowl of water and red dye. He needs this for the torma. To this is added a little plate with barley and the holy-water can.

First the men make the great incense offering, which [782] is maintained throughout the performance. The Bon priest makes four little tormas, called "misfortune-tormas," which he places with all kinds of extra features on a tray. The seed-master goes in the four directions of the compass with the tray and each time throws away a torma.

[824] Then the Bon priest makes the "weather-torma." [825] Meanwhile the men slaughter a goat, stuff the hide, and put it on a tall pole. They lay this, together with the goat doll, before the Bon priest. He ties four little wooden wedges to its feet and a special wedge on the goat's forehead. He inscribes the wedges with Tibetan magical signs. Then the pole is set up, and the priest places the weather-torma, together with the extra features, before the pole. A great incense offering and [782] frequent kowtowing accompany this ceremony.

Then the priest goes to his place and makes the "mountain-torma." It has three layers and is the largest of all the tormas. He puts this behind the pole. Again incense is burned and all kowtow.

241 789 791 In the meantime other men have boiled the goat meat in the kettle. The seed-master now makes an offering of this meat to the gods. At the conclusion there is then a communal meal at which the remainder of the meat is consumed. Then [782] all go home, but there is no singing and drinking as on other occasions. [264]

[824 cont.]

241 789 791 [778] This is the ceremonial erection of the pole-goat. In the case of the simple type only one misfortune-torma is made, which represents the four others; there is also the weather-torma. The mountain-torma is omitted and no magical wedges are tied to the goat.

When one has undertaken the ceremonial erection, the [782] Bon priest must come often during the summer and hold prayer services before the pole-goat. In the autumn, after the harvest, [465] he receives from each family a certain measure of grain as compensation. In the case of the simple erection, without any summer prayer, only on the day itself is he given a large loaf of bread and a piece of meat from the loin of the goat.

Details

241 789 791 787 Time: The time of the erection is determined by the soothsayer, and in the local temple. It always falls in the period from the thirteenth day in the fifth lunar month to the sixth day in the sixth lunar month. One may also let the Bon priest determine the day. He uses three dice for this. He compares the numbers thrown with his soothsaying book and in this manner determines a day (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 829.] The time coincides with that in which the Chinese put their weather forts in order and drive in the thunderbolts (ch'a p'ai).

241 789 778 [621] [791] Place: The pole-goat is always erected on the highest mountain in the people's own local area, and only on one mountain and only one goat. Small hamlets or compounds may do it together; then the highest mountain of all these hamlets is chosen (1). -- The spot on the mountain itself is indicated by

1. [Foreign text p. 829.] If the mountain is too far away, one sets up a tent and lives there.

[824 cont.]

241 the soothsayer when the pole-goat is raised for the first time.
789 This spot is then always retained. A hole is dug there and covered
with a clod of earth or a rock so that it will not be destroyed by
778 the next year.

[791] The place is never taboo, regardless of whether the pole-goat stands there or not. One may pasture animals there, start a fire, etc. Women need not avoid it.

241 [825] Persons: Only a Bon priest may undertake the
789 performance, never a lama or a soothsayer. Nowadays the custom is scarcely ever practiced because the Bon priests have died
791 out. It is still found only in very remote mountain villages. The
[178] simple ceremony is performed by a Bon priest of the second class, the solemn ceremony by a Bon priest of the first class because
[292] he has special magical power. The costume is that of the ordinary people since the Bon priest is, of course, a farmer. He merely needs to wear the forehead wreath and a long garment.

In addition the following act with him: the seed-master and his helper, the village elders, and generally all men, all soothsayers. It is enough, however, if only one soothsayer is represented, for instance, a sword-shaman, a spirit-table soothsayer, etc. Women must not witness the ceremony, but
[562] little girls may watch.

241 The pole: It does not matter of what wood and amidst
789 which ceremonies the pole is made. Usually it is a slender poplar tree ten meters long. The village itself is responsible
778 for this pole. It is used every year and kept in the family of the
[621] annually alternating seed-master. It may be burned, cut up, etc. when it has served its purpose for several years.

The goat: Ordinarily it is a wool goat; color, age, sex, size, etc. are unimportant. It is true that the people prefer horned goats over the hornless. No one cares about the origin of the goat; it may be purchased, be a gift, etc. After it has been taken down from the pole in the autumn, the hide belongs to the seed-master, but it is so dilapidated that it is not usable.

[825 cont.]
241 It therefore, with the head, is left to be eaten by wolves and
789 dogs. The hide is not used for magic.
778

[791] The misfortune-torma: The Bon priest washes his hands and face and makes a little torma of tsamba mixed with butter about ten centimeters high and three to four centimeters wide. He puts it on a tray or a wooden plate. As extra features he adds in very small quantities: raw mutton or pork, leeks, beets, breadcrumbs, white and black sheep's wool, five kinds of grain, tea leaves, money, silver, gold, five little pieces of cloth, five-colored threads, and black and white sugar and puts a dough-lamp with a burning cotton wick beside them. These extra features also apply to the three other tormas, in other words, to all four little misfortune-tormas.

[533] The extra features, along with the tormas, are thrown
[782] in all four directions of the compass, while the seed-master,
[791] amidst blowing on the conch, makes the great incense offering and the Bon priest prays the appropriate spirit conjuration. For the first four tormas the Bon priest uses only the sounding plate and the bone flute, not the double drum and bell.

In the case of the simple ceremony with only one misfortune-torma, naturally only one direction of the compass can be considered. This one is indicated by the Bon priest himself.
[791]

241 Making the pole-goat: The Bon priest does not concern
789 himself about the goat. The men fumigate and wash the goat
778 as usual and pour milk over it; while the goat shakes itself, they
825 make [826] a threefold kowtow in a circle around it, because
[787] the sky accepts the animal. Then the goat is slaughtered and the blood caught in a basin. In skinning it one does not slit open the belly side, but rather an incision is made below the tail which just suffices to pull off the hide from behind over the head. The head is cut off inside the hide so that it remains whole and unskinned within it. In the same fashion one cuts off the feet, leaving them in the hide. Only then is the skinned goat [illustration appears here] eviscerated and cut up, and the
[252] blood, with the scraps of meat, is stuffed into the cleaned intestines.

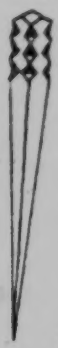
[826 cont.]

241 These intestines, together with the meat, are cooked in a kettle over
789 a hole in the ground.
778 The hide is tightly stuffed with any kind of straw in such a
[825] way that the head and legs stick out stiffly, and the pole is stuck
[252] in it from the rear up to the head. Thus the goat sits firmly upright on the pole and need not be tied on. Then the men fumigate goat and post with incense and lay it down before the Bon priest.

The raised pole-goa
(Drawing of a Tujen

[532]
[791] The weather-torma: The Bon priest meanwhile has finished the second torma, the weather-torma. It is exactly the same size as the first, that is, the four first tormas. With a prayer he puts it on a wooden tray with the following extra features: one to three butter-lamps, three little copper bowls with pure water, a little bowl of the barley wine, a little bowl of Tibetan barley or wheat, a little bowl of tea leaves, a little bowl of dough beans [Teigbohnen]. -- This torma also bears several colorful butter-flowers.

[791] During its preparation the Bon priest prays a special weather-prayer.
[782] Sometimes he also pastes some paper money on the torma. [Illustration appears here.]



Magic dagger,
wooden peg, mpuru.
(From the drawing of a
Tujen.)

[826 cont.]

241 789 778 [791] The wedges: After making the torma the Bon priest inscribes the wedges. They are provided by the seed-master. They have the form of the Lamaistic magic dagger; they are three-edged, seven inches (23 centimeters) long, and one inch (3.3 centimeters) wide. Only the hardest wood is used; in that region there are only the three kinds: huang-san-tzu, hei-ts'u, hua-mu (7).

[824]

7. [Foreign text p. 830.] The names could not be identified; huang-san-tzu seems to be black sandalwood; hua-mu is birch. In any case it is supposed to be the hardest wood that can be found. Among the kinds of wood there, birch is in fact regarded as one of the hardest; people even make wheel rims out of it.

It does not matter whether all of them are made from one of these kinds or whether all the kinds are used. There are five wedges in all. The head of the wedge is notched into three parts (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 829.] The shape of the magic dagger varies. The grip in particular varies, but usually it is three stepped death's-heads. The daggers that I saw were all of iron. I also heard, however, that formerly there were daggers of human bones. In this way the three-edged pointed shape and the bone knob could be easily explained; it would also fit in well with the skull drum, skin whip, bone flute, etc. -- The black color signifies iron.

[765]

[826 cont.]

241 789 778 791 [212] The seed-master places these wedges on the table before the Bon. The latter inscribes all three sides with Tibetan magic formulas. For this purpose he uses Chinese ink and the brush or the Tibetan bamboo pencil. The wedge that is intended for the head of the goat [827] has a black hada slung around it at the head and a black string or a small chain in the middle.

Then some of the wool is cut from the pole-goat lying in front of the Bon, a few threads are twisted together, and with these the Bon priest ties on the wedges, one on each foot and one between the horns. All five wedges have the tip downward. [788] He then sprinkles water from his holy-water can over goat and pole, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley, blows on it three times, and scatters it over the whole.

241 789 791 782 [821] [822] The erection of the pole-goat and the offering: The men set the pole in the hole and wedge it tight with stones and earth. The goat must face the northwest because storms usually come from there. As soon as the pole is firmly set, the Bon brings the weather-torma, together with the extra features, to the foot of the pole, sets it down, and immediately returns to his place in order to continue the weather-prayer. Now he accompanies the prayer only with his drum and the bell. Again the men make a great incense offering amidst blowing on the conch.

241 789 778 The mountain-torma: Then the mountain-torma is prepared. It has three steps, is round, and looks like a pyramid with terraces about ten centimeters high. Altogether it is about 40 centimeters high. The torma is painted with soft butter colored red and is given the following extra features: on the first layer, water animals, frog, snake, fish, dragon, turtle, and, further, little stones, little lumps of earth, and finally a few squirts of water; on the second layer, mountain animals, deer, horse, yak, half-yak, sheep, goat, hare, fox, wolf, and a few little pieces of wood; on the third layer animals of the air, phoenix, eagle, peacock, magpie, dove, swallow, and, further, sun disk and moon sickle. On the uppermost tip are

[827 cont.]
241 placed various kinds of real flowers (3).
789
778

3. [Foreign text p. 829.] This is a representation of the world with animals and stars, in other words, a mandala. It is interesting that the informant designates this torma as an offering, as well as all the extra features of the torma, whereas the two other tormas represent spirits.

[782]

[791] These figures are all made in miniature from butter and tsamba by the Bon priest himself. He places the torma on the tray with exactly the same sacrificial extra features as in the case of the weather-torma. This torma is likewise brought to the foot of the pole, usually behind it and somewhat elevated. Lamps and little bowls are put in front of it. Thus, two tormas in all stand under the pole-goat. While the Bon priest goes back and continues his prayers, the men again burn incense.

[791]
[782]

The goat offering: The goat offering consists of the throwing of sacrificial meat. While the Bon priest rests from his prayers, the spear-soothsayer (or another) indicates the direction in which the offering is to be made and, with the shaking spear, supervises the performance. The seed-master takes a bowl of the broth from the kettle and throws it in the air for the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then four throws in the four directions of the compass follow, and finally three throws toward the northwest for the weather-spirits. At each throw the men kneel down and make a three-fold kowtow.

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[791]

With that the actual ceremony is concluded. The men sit down [828] around the kettle, consume the remaining meat, and drink tea. Then all go home, including the Bon priest. -- The tormas are either burned in the fire or simply left standing.

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[828 cont.]

241 789 791 782 The veneration of the pole-goat: During the summer the farmers appear singly or together before the pole-goat, make an offering, pray, burn incense, and kowtow in order to protect the seed from hail. The Bon priest also comes often to pray. In former times he even pitched his tent for a longer period of time and remained there in order to be constantly on hand for the weather conjuration in case of storms. This is no longer the case today. The weather conjuration is now done by the soothsayer, usually the spirit-soothsayer.

Taking down the pole-goat: After the fifteenth day in the eighth lunar month, when the harvest has been cut, the pole-goat is again taken away. One no longer has the soothsayer determine the day, but instead acts according to the circumstances. The Bon priest is again invited; he again makes the tormas and prays. Usually a sheep is sacrificed.

241 789 776 825 821 [171] Interpretations: The pole-goat is supposed to banish bad weather and protect the harvest. The custom occurs only among farmers, even among the agricultural Fandse. The goat has special protective power because its head serves as an anvil for the god Däntsien Sãn̊. He is the smith in the weather ministry (5). During storms he hammers his iron between the horns,

5. [Foreign text pp. 829-830.] The conception of the storm ministry bears a resemblance to the Chinese lei-pu (thunder division). It is uncertain, however, whether borrowings are involved. At any rate, in the popular tradition of the Tujen the Bon priest has a special connection with weather magic (cf. also Tafel, Tibetreise). -- Concerning the storm-god Däntsän̊ (Däntsien Sän̊) the informant knew nothing other than that there is an image of

[791]

[828 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 830 cont.]
weather conjuration of this region still seems to be an inheritance from the Bon. The conditions and customs connected with it are strongly reminiscent of the description given by A. Tafel for the Bon in eastern Tibet, Tibetreise, II, pp. 198 ff.

241 789 778 The first four tormas represent evil demons. They are driven away by the throwing. The extra features are given so that they will be content and will not return; they are things which one needs in daily life.

[782] The second torma, weather-torma, represents the spirits of the weather ministry. The extra features are an offering to make them favorably disposed.

The mountain-torma represents the world-mountain. Sun and moon circle around it. This mountain is the spirit paradise. It is put under the pole so that the spirits will withdraw into this paradise and leave the human beings.

The wedges represent the magic dagger of the smith-god and his subordinates. They are the chief weapons against demons. [791] The Bon priest is also a pupil and subordinate of this smith-god. He especially venerates him and likewise uses the three-edged magic dagger in conjuring away the demons. At the temple [535] dances (tscham dances) the subordinate spirits of the weather-smith-god also appear with the dagger. Lamas never use the dagger. The three notches form three knobs which are supposed to represent the human skull. The demons especially fear this, [765] like all things that come from the dead, such as the bone flute, the whip of human skin, and the skull drum.

192 [829] Word List

241 789 The pole-goat: aradziãn (Tib. loanword) = to stretch out the goat.

ima rẽdziala (Tujen) = to stretch out the goat.

[778] The goat: ima; chũ-la (Chin.); chia-la (Chin.).

[829 cont.]

192 Weather-prayer: dirĕdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword) (8).
241 lei-pu ching (Chin.) - weather ministry prayer.
789
[782]

8. [Foreign text p. 830.] xsertsien: Tibetan gser = golden, skyem = drink. It is the Mongolic altan umdagan, golden drink, poured out at the obo offering, the tea offering before the obo. An offering to the local gods. --guax: Tibetan skyeg (pronounced kag) = misfortune. --mpuru: Tibetan p'ur bu = nail, peg; can also be a god's name. --satsiog: Tibetan sa = place, skyon = to guard, to preserve; king, protector. --darnaġ: Tibetan dar = silk, nag = black (Unkrig).

[778] Misfortune-torma: ġuax (8) [see Note 8 above] s̈dor (Tib.).
Weather-torma: dirdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword)? cf. weather-prayer.
Mountain-torma: rira (Tib. loanword) = world-mountain, Sumeru, mandala.
Magic dagger: mpuru (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above]; ting-shen-chuang; spirit peg (Chin.).
To notch: nduodba (Tib.?).
Magic formulas: snaġ (sēnoġ).
[791] Bon priest second class: xuändie; sēnoġsa (snaġsa) (Tib. loanword). peng-po (Chin.).
Weather conjuration: satsion (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above.]
The black hada (on the dagger): chao-t'ien p'a (Chin.) = the sky-covering veil.
darnaġ (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].
The black string: fsiasġa (Tib. loanword) = lasso for capturing horses.
k'un-hsien sheng (Chin.): the genii-binding string.

[Pages 829-830 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[831]

241
782

3. The Mountain Sheep-offering*

* See "Notes," pp. 834-835 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

After the erection of the pole-goat up to the time of the harvest a sheep is usually offered on a mountain top. This is [621] an occasion for the entire village. The people do this to ask [776] heaven, the mountain-spirit, and the spirits of the four regions of the world to protect the seeds. The offering may be repeated frequently, but only one sheep is offered each time. The [264] sacrificial meat is eaten by the participants at the conclusion.

Details

241 Time: At the erection of the pole-goat the soothsayer 782 determines how frequently during the summer and on what day a sheep is to be offered. He also indicates whether the spirits con- 787 cerned want to have this offering every year; sometimes it is [791] only once, and sometimes several years in succession. If there is no other occasion during this time, this soothsaying retains its validity. After this period has elapsed the soothsaying is done anew. -- If the village has erected a pole-goat, the offering always takes place in the period after it has been erected. If no pole-goat is present, then it may sometimes fall in the time of the erection of the pole-goat.

Place: The offering always takes place on the same mountain on which the pole-goat stands, and in front of the latter. Otherwise the soothsayer determines the spot. It must be kept for the time when the offering is due. For instance,

[831 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 834 cont.] the other hand, it is done for protection against bad weather, it is also popularly done before the pole-goat.

[562] Persons: As is the case for all religious ceremonies, the women are kept away. The participants are the seed-master, the village elders, and all other men and youths. Any kind of [791] soothsayer may appear on this occasion. It is important that at the actual offering some spirit is always summoned by the soothsayer and supervises the performance. -- Participation is also [784] prohibited to all who are in mourning and in whose compound there is a woman in childbed. -- People with empty utensils, for example, empty water pails, baskets, etc., may not come near. For this reason the gong is beaten before the offering, so that such persons will stay away (2).

[787]
[735]

2. [Foreign text p. 834.] The fear of an encounter with empty utensils is quite general in Tsinghai. It signifies poverty, vain endeavor, etc. Tujen express the wish, for example, before a journey: huodzën sawa bi pëngë, that is, "may an empty vessel not appear." The Chinese, too, have similar expressions.

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Sacrificial animal: As sacrificial animal only a sheep is considered, no goat and especially no pig. The sheep may be of any color and sex, even castrated. It must be at least a year old, however. A sheep that is too young would be an insult to the gods, aside from the fact that the meat would not be sufficient for the participants. Usually the [832] sheep is [621] purchased jointly. Every family must provide grain or money for this purpose; the owner is always given compensation. To be [784] sure, the sheep may not come from a family that is taboo at the time, for instance, through bereavement, childbed, sickness, etc.

[832 cont.]

241 The seed-master then cuts through the throat and arteries with
782 a powerful stroke, and the helpers catch the blood in the basin
231 with constant stirring. None of the blood is supposed to fall on the ground. Any traces of blood are covered with earth. When the sheep has ceased bleeding, it is skinned. Sometimes the head remains attached to the hide, or it is cut off entirely with the hide, and placed to one side on the hide.

241 Now one usually takes a broad board, places the sheep
782 on it, and eviscerates it. Excrement and unusable scraps are
252 put aside. The intestines are cleaned in warm water and filled with blood and little bits of diced flesh from the scraps. The eviscerated body [833] is rinsed out with water and cut apart. The thighs are cut off, the loins and rib pieces are cut out, and everything is finally cut into little pieces so that it can be cooked more conveniently.

The cooking; In a kettle over a hole in the earth water is brought to a boil, in which the pieces of meat are cooked. Women may not help with the cooking. Spices, even salt, are prohibited for the sacrificial meat. The intestines filled with blood are also boiled.

During the cooking the men sit to one side, converse, pray their mani, or offer new incense. When the meat is done, it is taken out and cut into little slices on a board, including lungs, kidneys, liver, and heart. At the same time the ribs and other bones are broken. Now several bowlfuls are scooped from the broth in the kettle and some of the little pieces of meat are put in them. Then the soothsayer is called.

241 Soothsaying: The soothsayer invokes the spirit and indi-
782 cates in which direction the bowls must be emptied. He also
791 determines how many bowls must be offered in each case. There is always an offering to the sky and to the mountain-spirit,
787 and usually also to the world-spirits; only the number of bowls
[776] varies. If one wants to make an offering to still other spirits, this is especially requested by the soothsayer. The soothsayer continues to officiate until the conclusion of the offering and with the spirit invoked supervises the performance.

[833 cont.]

241 782 [791] Offering: The seed-master takes the first bowl and throws its contents toward the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then the other bowls for the mountain-spirit and the other spirits follow. At each offering throw, the men kowtow in the appropriate direction. No one may pick up the little pieces of meat or so much as eat them. Dogs are kept away, at least until the end of the offering.

[264] Meal: After this offering the meat is taken from the kettle and divided among the men. They sit in a circle, drink tea, eat bread, converse, and laugh. After the meal all go home. Everyone takes his things with him.

Meaning: The offering is made for the protection of the seeds (4).

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4. [Foreign text p. 834.] The meaning is no longer unambiguous now. The protection of the seeds is certainly involved, but whether the offering is primarily for the mountain-spirit or for the weather-spirits or for the sky is unclear. The mountain-height and the obo argue in favor of the mountain-spirit. The sky is always considered first, however. -- The old man said that in former times they had made the offering for the protection of the animals.

It is possible that originally a pure mountain-spirit or sky offering was involved, but that later, with agriculture, the weather-gods moved into the foreground, for hail and storms are feared primarily by farmers and not so much by shepherds.

[835 cont.] 4. The Procession around the Field

Report

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782 As soon as the seed develops ears in the summer, the procession around the field takes place. One hundred and eight
[778] men of the village, with the seed-supervisor, set out on the way to the nearest lamasery and fetch the 108 sacred books. On this occasion they present a large kettle of tea to the lamas; before the Buddha images of the monastery they make an offering of butter for the lamps. The Tujen of this region go usually to the monastery Rgulõñ (1); the way there takes an entire day

1. [Foreign text p. 838.]
Concerning the monastery Rgulõñ,
cf. the introduction and Part 2, II, 4.

each time. The books are brought into the local temple.

The procession takes place on the following morning. All the men of the village and all soothsayers gather in the temple yard. First a great incense offering is made. Then all
[791] the soothsayers do their soothsaying in succession, the spear-
[787] soothsayer, the sword-shaman, the litter bearers, the table-god bearers. As many soothsayers as are there must appear. One wants to find out through them how the weather and the harvest will be during the course of the summer.

Once the soothsaying is over, the procession starts moving. At the head goes the spear-soothsayer with the spear, then follow the shamans, the god-litter, the spirit-table, and the 108 book-bearers, one after the other. In this procession
[533] the drum beaters, trumpet and conch blowers, cymbal and gong beaters are in single file. Also, all the flags of the temple are taken along, and they are carried by the book-bearers, the flags over the left shoulder and the book on the back. Two men follow behind them, each with a large back-basket of straw, cypress leaves and incense additions, and a jug of pure water. Other men join on at will.

[788] During the entire procession the trumpets are blown, the drums beaten, and the Om mani padme hum prayed. The

[836 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.] but only for the period of the sowing festival with the cult dances. -- The Christian missionaries have taken over this arrangement for their ecclesiastical celebrations and folk festivals. Thus, besides the community mayors there are also special supervisors who, for instance, organize the festival for processions or at Easter, accommodate the guests, slaughter the festival sheep, etc.

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It is not absolutely necessary for there to be several soothsayers. If a village has several, however, they must all appear. If it has none at all, then it invites at least one from outside. A lama or a Bon priest is never invited.

Time: The time for the procession around the field is determined by the soothsayer at the pole-goat offering in the spring (aradziãn) on the thirteenth day in the fifth month. The procession itself must always be in the seventh month, when the seed is developing ears, because the greatest danger for the coming harvest is precisely at this time on account of the many and big storms during this month (3). The time is also often

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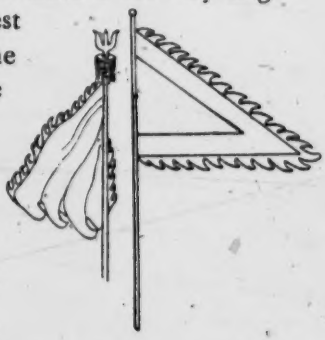
3. [Foreign text p. 838.] Cf. the sections, "Mountain Sheep-offering" and "Pole-goat."

determined in the lamasery. Since, of course, there are many villages that want to hold the procession, it may happen that two villages set the same time. Therefore the seed-supervisor goes to the monastery a month in advance and inquires when the books are available. The day is determined accordingly. -- It is usually calculated that the ceremony will last three days, one day for fetching the books, one for the procession, and one for

[837(cont.]

241 There are no rules about the musical instruments. [Illustration appears here.] Whatever one has is taken along. The temple
782 drum -- a barrel drum with a drumhead on both sides -- and the
533 conch are always certain to be there. The drum is not very large and is carried on a belt in front of the chest so that it can be beaten on both sides. The conch shell is the same as that used at the incense offering. The trumpets are the
[177] ordinary Chinese shawms (la-pa); the cymbals and the gong are also Chinese.

241 Among the flags there are black, red, yellow, etc. Usually they are pro-
782 vided with colorful borders. There are also flags with pictures, for example, of the mountain-spirit. Many flags also have Chinese sayings sewed on them, usually in white. There are
[532] no special Tujen names for the flags. The number is arbitrary.



Flags such as are carried during the procession around the field. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

Aside from the usual cypress incense the Chinese incense sticks are also popularly taken along; butter, water, tea, etc. are just as desirable as at other incense offerings. More recently yellow paper
[177] is also burned in Chinese fashion.

The soothsayers must always carry along their soothsaying tokens, that is, the objects that are the seat of the spirit, in other words,
[778] spear, litter, table, etc. During the entire procession, the spirit
[791] remains in the object concerned, which is signified by the shaking and rattling of the bells and the movement of the bearers.

241 Soothsaying: At the soothsaying one tries to learn as precisely as possible when and where the heaviest hail will come down and
782 how one should protect himself against it, whether by means of
787 offerings or prayer or the mani-tree, and the like. At this time the
[821] seed-master makes a brief speech to the spirit concerned, charging him with the duties that he must fulfill for a good harvest and telling him that he will be rewarded for his protection by an offering (4).

241 4. [Foreign text p. 838.] An offer-
782 ing is usually connected with the

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[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor: tōrōdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.

Trumpet: dõn; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.

Cymbals: nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rëbuogë (?).
ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.

Flags: ch'i-tzu (Chin.).

Books: luän = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.

Book-bearers: luän rëgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

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VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

* See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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[791]

When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

[839 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 842 cont.]
with which then the performance is
likewise supervised.

into the spear, and one asks him, for instance, "Shall we consecrate an animal?" He answers, "Yes." "Do you want a goat, a hen, a horse?" [840] "No." "Do you want a sheep?" "Yes." "Shall we consecrate it to a god?" "No." "Shall we consecrate it to the sky?" "Yes."

Then the soothsayer sets the spear aside. Hastily the people run to fetch a sheep. They bring it into the yard, because one consecrates an animal to the sky only out in the open. A man holds in his hand a little plate with barley; on top of this he places a narrow red band. He stands next to the soothsayer, who again has invoked the god and amidst spear shaking supervises the action. Now once more there is an interrogation, during which one determines when the consecration is to be renewed.

The sheep is then washed from head to foot with pure water. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from the little plate with the tip of the spear and throws them into the
[783] incense, which is burned throughout the ceremony. Another puts some of the incense in a hollow tile and fumigates the sheep all around. Then he pours a bowl of milk over the animal's neck, back, and head. All the men kneel around the sheep in a circle, and when it shakes itself they make a threefold kowtow, for the sky has accepted the animal. The soothsayer sets the spear aside.

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Now one takes the red band from the little plate, holds it in the incense, ties it in the wool on the sheep's shoulder, and lets the sheep run free. It may run where it will, for it belongs to the sky.

Each year this sacred sheep is again brought here in the first month from the first to the fifteenth day. Then the consecration is renewed in similar fashion before the spirit-spear and a new band is tied in the wool.

[842 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 843-844 cont.]

The second name is šdier; šdier corresponds to the Mongolic seter; cf. DMF, p. 335, "sdier, ribbon or piece of material attached to the tail or to the mane of an animal consecrated to the deities running free. Cf. Mong. seter, ord. se't'er id." [translated from French]. -- The Tujen designate both the consecration band and the consecrated animal with šdier. This likewise agrees with Mongolic linguistic usage. According to W.A. Unkrig (communication), seter is a [844] band that is tied in the animal's mane or tail. seter also refers to the animal itself and the rite by which it is consecrated. For seter, Kovalevskij (1346) gives the Tibetan equivalents bsruṅ rtags. According to Jäschke (594 and 212) this means: tutelary-spirit sign, through which it is clear that the animal belongs to the tutelary spirit. Neither Jäschke nor Das have the word combination bsruṅ rtags.

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[791] Renewal of the consecration: Usually the renewal takes place in the local temple. The soothsayer determines which day between the new and the full moon. This day of renewal must then be maintained for the life of the animal.

One may also choose the original place of consecration. -- Consecration-master, consecration-god, and consecration-animal must always remain the same. Only if an animal no longer shakes itself when the milk is poured over it is another one taken.

[211] Also, old lost bands are not replaced at the renewal, but every year a new band is added, so the years of consecration can be determined by the number of bands.

[171] Distribution: The animal-consecration is practiced wherever Tujen live. The Chinese do not know it; only in

[842 cont.]

Word List

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778 Consecration-band: ǰdier (Tib. loanword).
hung-tzu (Chin.) = the red.

To tie on the consecration-band: ǰdier fuya-.

[825] The consecration-animal: ǰdier.

Sacred horse: ǰdier mori; sheng ma (Chin.).

Sacred sheep: ǰdier xoni; sheng yang (Chin.).

Sacred goat: ǰdier ima; sheng chia-la (Chin.), etc.

[Pages 842-844 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[844]

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2. The Demon-escort *

* See "Notes," pp. 846-847 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

789 The demon-escort consists of leading the harmful spirit
[791] out of the house and releasing it in the distance. It is done upon
[777] the command of the soothsayer in case of family misfortune.

On a set day one invites a lama to the house. He prays
[792] for six days with the usual ceremonies and makes several tormas
with the appropriate additions, as on other occasions. The
[778] compound is taboo, and the master of the household makes the
[782] great incense offering three times a day.

In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes the actual
[778] demon-torma, which, with all kinds of provisions for travel, is
[792] placed on a table in front of the household altar.

On the seventh day one takes the torma, along with a
[825] riding animal carrying the travel provisions, outside the village

[844 cont.]
789 and releases the animal. It may run where it will; no one pays
[825] any attention to it.

Details

789 Persons: The demon-releasing may be undertaken by: a
792 lama, but not a hutukhtu, a Bon priest, a shaman, a spear-
791 soothsayer, or other soothsayers with litter, table-god, etc. The
756 six-day prayer service, however, is undertaken only by lamas and Bon priests; this is the great releasing, [845] whereas the ceremony performed by a shaman or soothsayer alone is the little releasing. Even though at the great releasing the lama may do everything himself, usually a soothsayer nonetheless goes along (spear, litter, etc.). The members of the family take care of everything else, getting the animals ready, gifts, etc.

789 The animals: The animals permissible are: horses,
825 cattle, sheep, goats, hens, and cocks. Those not permitted are
[783] dogs, pigs, mules, half-yaks. Dogs and pigs are regarded as unclean. Mules and half-yaks are incapable of reproduction; for this reason, too, one does not take castrated animals. The rules connected with the animal-consecration do not apply here. The animals are ridden by the demons and carry the burdens on their travels. The hens, however, can be burdened; one simply lets them fly. They are therefore usually used only for the "little releasing." Special ceremonies, such as washing and fumigating, are not performed on the animals; also color and age are unimportant.

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789 The travel provisions: The following things are packed
[484] in the travel bag, which is usually woven out of wool: money
[415] (any kind of money, just so long as it is in circulation at the time), cloth (for instance, cotton, silk, linen, of any color), a strand of unspun wool, cotton or silk threads (no wool threads), tea leaves, baked or steamed loaves in any number desired, a food bowl of porcelain or clay (no ordinary wooden one), new men's clothing, elegant boots, cloth shoes, an elegant cap or an

[845 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 846-847 cont.] of which the whole pyramid is given the appearance of a fiery, flaming bonfire. The representation of a skull, which is likewise made of dough, is put on the tip. But then the same kind of skulls are placed at the foot of each of the three corners. An arrow is stuck in the middle of the pyramid, from which hadak hang, and which, instead of feathering, bears a little wheel ..." etc. (Translated by W.A. Unkrig.) Lessing maintains of the arrow in the zor: "To this arrow attached a 'ghost or spirit', as my informant put it" [cited in English] (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148). -- Whether and to what extent this arrow in the demon-torma is connected with the arrow of good fortune is unclear. One conceives of the zor most simply as bearer of the weapons that are feared by the demons. A similarity with the weapon-bearing and demon-combating gurtum is undeniable.

789 places it on a table in front of the household altar, but not on the altar. Alongside it he places the sack with the clothing and food provisions.

On the following morning, the seventh day, one invites the spear-soothsayer. After a good breakfast he summons the spirit and determines the exact hour in which the demon must be carried away. Usually it is done immediately following the soothsaying.

[791] [787]

A man takes the saddlebag, the lama the tray with the torma that represents the demon, and behind him follows the

[791] [792]

[845 cont.]

789 spear-soothsayer amidst constant shaking; he must remain until
792 the end. They go in front of the yard gate. There another man
[791] waits with the animal. The master of the household places the saddlebag on the unbridled and unsaddled animal and leads it away by the head harness, followed by the lama, spear-soothsayer, and the other men. The procession goes out of the village by the usual route. Outside the village he leads the animal a distance across the fields, takes off its head harness, and chases it away, and to be sure in an uninhabited direction so that it cannot immediately run back into the village. On the [846] spot at which the animal was released, the lama sets down the torma. Before it a man erects a small wall of clay bricks with the broad side facing the village, so that the demon will not come back again. Then all go home. The animal is not supposed to run home again; no one bothers about what happens to it. It belongs to the demon. In case it does come running back again later, it is driven off with blows of a stick.

789 The simple releasing: Besides this ceremonial form,
791 there is also a simple releasing, which takes only half a day
756 or a whole day. One invites a shaman or a soothsayer, who escorts the things away. On this occasion there is no praying and no torma is made. The master of the household holds a hen in readiness and brings the traveling clothes and food on a tray before the household altar. The soothsayer or shaman invokes the spirit and, followed by the master of the household, goes with the tray out into the field. There a large pile of straw is heaped up. The things on the tray are flung into it and the whole is set afire. While the flames beat upward, the hen is allowed to fly away. -- If a soothsayer officiates, then the performance usually takes place in the morning. If a shaman undertakes the releasing, then it is not done until the late evening at the coming of darkness. The shaman follows
[787] in a state of trance and swings his sword in battle against the demon. Even if the shaman at the "great releasing" follows the lama in place of a spear-soothsayer, he performs this
[535] sword dance, but this is always in broad daylight (2).

[846 cont.]

789 If an evildoer steals the animal or the things,[1] the
776 demon will punish him.
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Word List

192 Demon escort: rëdzõnwa (Tib.?) ġarġani = one takes away
789 that which is to be taken away.
[778] The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].
Saddlebag: dadzë (Chin. loanword).
Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

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3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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789 . . . In order to protect the children from misfortune, one
79 invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then
[777] they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they
make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.
[778] On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter
and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing.
[782] There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

1 [ie - the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST.]

[847 cont.]

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Details

Time: Ordinarily the ceremony takes place when a child is sick. It can also be undertaken, however, as a preventive measure against [848] sickness. Then the third or ninth month is chosen by preference.

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Place: One stays in one's own house and does not go into the local temple; the Bon priests also live in the compound. The place is taboo during these days. The burning of the objects must always be done outside the place.

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The prayer service: For the prayer service the Bon priests bring along a large double drum, which is suspended from a beam (1), and, furthermore, sounding plates, a hand bell,

1. [Foreign text p. 849.] By means of a ring the drum is suspended from a beam in the room with a cord. The Bon sticks one finger of his left hand through the second ring on the drum and thus pulls the drum tight so that it does not swing back and forth. At the same time he also holds in his left hand a sounding plate. In his right hand he has drum sticks and the second sounding plate, so that through skillful handling he can beat both instruments at the same time.

bone flute, and Tibetan prayer texts. The prayer service takes place four times a day, namely, at sunrise, after the morning tea, at noon, and in the evening; the incense offering is made in the yard each time.

[848 cont.]

789 The litter: The litter looks like a death-box, in other
778 words, it has the shape of a small temple with a movable door. Only it is almost entirely made of paper, even the sun-moon attachment on the ridge-piece. First a floor is made out of a soft clay plate. Into this plate, at the four corners, the Bon priest sticks poles about a meter long as columns, connects them with crosslaths, and thus makes a framework. This is covered by pasting paper on it. No particular color is required. The whole is set on two carrying poles so that it looks like a litter.
[783] Then the men fumigate the litter with cypress incense. They do not use the red-hot stone. The work is not done on the kang, but on the floor.

789 The figures: First the Bon priest washes a clay vessel,
778 fumigates it, puts tsamba and butter in it, and kneads them thoroughly. In all 81 figures are formed, nine kinds with nine
791 pieces each. The kinds are: sheep, goat, hen, pig, dog, snake, frog, horse, and cattle. The Bon priests put these figures in
532 the litter and fumigate everything together. -- The men of the household assist at the making of both the litter and the figures.
[783] The Bon priests and men must wash and fumigate themselves beforehand each time; otherwise they may not give a hand.
[782] The Bon priests accompany the work with prayers said by rote.

The accompanying gifts: Since the figures are small,
[782] at most a handbreadth in size, there is still room in the litter for all kinds of accompanying gifts. These consist of Tibetan barley, white barley, wheat, beans, millet, and some small loaves of bread. To this are also added white and black sheep wool, white and black sugar, money, a raven's feather, some silver, and a sheet of paper on which the Bon priests have printed or drawn the images of the sickness-demons. Once everything has been placed inside, the door of the litter is
[783] closed and sealed, and the litter is fumigated. Then it is put on the floor in front of the household altar. A three-cornered torma and a white horse's skull are in front of it (2). The skull

[848 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether the horse's skull represents the riding animal of the spirit could not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another torma is also made.

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[849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away. They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum, sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the torma.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the torma is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen. The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this custom.

[782]
[171]

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4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This ceremony is very similar to the figure-conjuration of the shamans

[849 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 850 cont.] and to the demon-escort. I could not ascertain from the notes whether the Bon priest touches the sick person with the figures and thus transfers the sickness to them, as is the case with the shamanistic figure-conjuration. Cf. the following chapter, Note 5.

Word List

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789 Figure-litter: šergundi; made up of šē (Tib.) = demon, rēgun = nine (Tib.); ndi (Tib.?) = complete (3) (5).
[778]

3. [Foreign text p. 850.] This explanation by the informant is uncertain.

5. [Foreign text p. 850.] šergundi: Tibetan bse = demon, dgu = nine, k'ri (pronounced thi) = litter. Meaning: nine-demons' litter. -- šbawog: Tibetan sbal (pronounced bal) = toad, frog; nag = black (Unkrig).

[741] Bon priest: xuāndzie (xuāndie).
[778] Demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.).
[825] Sheep: xoni.
Goat: imā.
Hen: tagu.
Pig: xge.
Dog: nogue (noxue).
Snake: mogue.
Frog: šbawog (5) [see Note 5 above].
Horse: mori.
Cattle: ulā.

[855 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.]
about himself with sword and lance, hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up a straw man, swung a winnowing shovel and a sieve, danced, and foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

192

Word List

755 House-purification: rdzõ̀nwa (rẽdzõ̀nwa).
789 The torch: huo-pa (Chin.).
[416] The stones: taṡẽ; sa-shih (Chin.).
Oil-basin: ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
Fire-arrow: ġal sẽmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
Fire-bow: ġal lẽmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
The hemp whip: uḥuosẽ yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
The hen: taǵũ; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here = to live.
[778] The straw man: ṡdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

[856]

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7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[856 cont.]

782 soothsayer determines that the earth-god is angry and wants to
[791] have an urn. This urn is buried in the ground on a day indicated
[787] by the soothsayer. All kinds of spices are to be found in the urn,
[777] put there by a lama. This is done after a seven-day prayer in
the family itself. During these days the compound is taboo.
[792] Usually there are several urns, because one does not bother the lama for merely one. After he has filled the urn with spices on the last day, he pours liquid butter over it, ties it up with a cloth, seals the string, and paints a nuru sign on the outside. Then the urn is fumigated and sprinkled with holy water, whereupon the master of the household places it on the chest before the Buddha image.

In front of the urn one places the usual little water-bowls, butter-lamps, grain-bowls, etc. The urn, however, does not stand on the bare floor of the chest, but rather a sheet of paper is first put down as an underlayer, a few cypress leaves and grains of barley are scattered over it, and the urn is put on top.
[792] Now the lama comes down from the kang, sits on the white felt mat in front of the urn, and gives the consecration-prayer (1).

[778] 1. [Foreign text p. 858.] As is always done on other occasions, here, too, a torma is made by the lama, which is carried out into the open. It was unfortunately no longer possible to inquire as to whether this torma is put on the place where the urn is buried, say, as an offering for the earth, which is to be injured, similar to what is done at the house, at the fire-pouring, at the crematory, etc.

791 During this time the spear-soothsayer is fetched. He
787 now gives the precise hour in which the urn is to be buried.
782 The master of the household puts the urn on a tray, and the procession moves out to the area indicated by the soothsayer. The soothsayer follows with the invoked spear-god and then

[856 cont.]
782 indicates precisely to the foot the spot where the urn is to be
[791] buried; he likewise determines the depth. Usually this is one
[787] to two ells. A few cypress twigs are put on the floor of the pit. Over them the soothsayer scatters a few barley kernels with the tip of the spear, and one or more flat white stones, depending on how many urns there are, are put on the whole, and the urn is put on it. Then on top of the urn is put a flat white stone, like a lid. Finally the space between the urn and wall is stuffed all around with cypress twigs, and everything is filled with earth, stamped down, and made level. Then the men burn cypress incense and kowtow in front of the urn thus buried.
[792] The lama remains seated on his mat in front of it for some time yet and finishes his prayers. Then all go home.

Details

782 The urn: The urn is an ordinary clay vessel such as is
415 baked in Tsinghai. Usually they are of whitish-yellow color, about 20 to 30 centimeters high, with a thick belly and a narrow neck. The urn for the earth-spirit must be uncolored and unglazed, at least on the outside, and must have a flat bottom. The master of the household buys the urn himself, washes it
[386] [857] thoroughly, and paints it on the outside with gypsum or lime water, for only white urns are given to the earth-spirit. At the conclusion, it is fumigated and ready for use by the lama.

782 Contents of the urn: There are five kinds of grain in the
824 urn, namely: blue Tibetan barley, red wheat, white barley, white rice (2), and yellow rape. The spices are the same as at

2. [Foreign text p. 858.] Why white is used twice here, white barley and white rice, is unclear. Otherwise rice is never used among the five kinds of grain and is not even present in Tsinghai. Perhaps
[174] this is an indication of a southern origin of the urn.

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 858 cont.]
fortune, which consists of several conchoidal eggs and is surrounded with flames, nuru. This is found very often in Lamaistic symbolism and is also borne by the air-horse. It is the cintāmani. Cf. above: "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation," Note 2.

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Persons: The urn can only be made by a lama who possesses special powers. One never fetches a Living Buddha for it. The latter, however, may make and consecrate them in his monastery. -- Since one can also order the urns in the monastery (they are not in stock), the master of the household may fetch it from there and bury it at home without a lama. [791] It must always be done with the assistance of a soothsayer, however, and in the presence of an invoked spirit -- If one wants to bury several urns, however, this must always be done by a lama even if the urns were bought in the monastery. -- If one wants to have several urns made at home, then he fetches [357] [784] several lamas at the same time (5). -- Regardless of whether the

5. [Foreign text pp. 858-859.]
As the lamas in Kumbum maintain, there is a great number of treasure urns, and special prayers are used for each type. [859] The urns are preferably buried in obos. -- In [192] Kumbum the urns are usually called benba, which seems to be the same as the Tibetan bum-ba, vessel. Another name is xdër-wëm, which probably corresponds to the Tibetan gter-bum, treasure vessel, Chinese pao-p'ing. The expression sënog-dër (cf. section, [778] "Mani-tree and Central Fort") perhaps

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8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

782 In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in
792 the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions.
[777] They make a small torma which one takes out into the open
[784] and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three
[351] large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar. The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying.
[791] One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual
[787] ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the burning at the fire-pouring.

[778] After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the master of the household undertakes the great incense offering in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the
[783] night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[861 cont.]

782 outside for the ceremony, and the lama makes another torma of
792 pure butter. He takes this outside and puts it on the drawing of the burning-place. Then the ceremony of the fire-pouring follows, at which all kinds of wood and spices are burned.

The lama continues to pray until evening. The following morning he receives his fee and is taken back to the monastery. Sometimes, however, one keeps him a few more days for prayers. -- After the fire-pouring the yard remains taboo for at least another week.

[784] [351]

Details

[756] Persons: The fire-pouring may not be undertaken by shamans, but only by lamas. These are not ordinary lamas, however. Only the three top classes are considered for it: the Hutukhtu, the Tsüordzi, and the Känpo. Usually three lamas are needed. It suffices if one of them belongs to the higher rank, but one often invites more (1).

[791]

1. [Foreign text p. 867.] Other Tujen claim that a Bon priest could also undertake the fire-pouring, which, after all, is to be expected, at least in the case of the black fire-pouring. The old informant, however, and other people, too, decidedly contest this. According to them, only a lama (gelõhgba) is to be considered for this; the Bon priests, they claim, concern themselves only with demon exorcism.

782 The fire-pouring may be ordered by a private person (man or woman), by an individual family, or by the entire village. -- During the ceremony, the general avoidance pre-
[562] scriptions apply. Women may be present, but may not assist.

[861 cont.]

782 Place: Ordinarily the fire-pouring takes place in a compound. If the affair is organized by the village, then the temple yard is preferred. They may also go to a mountain, but not to its peak, only halfway up. -- The burning-place is always indicated in detail by a soothsayer. [791]

There are no further prescriptions concerning the location of the various types of fire-pourings, except for the black fire-pouring. It may never be undertaken in a yard, temple, or in the village. For it a very remote mountain region is sought and the people stay there in tents for several days.

[791] [792] Time: The soothsayer determines the date days or weeks ahead of time. If the lama cannot come on the day set, then he is asked to state the term, and the soothsayer then determines a day within this period. The ceremony always lasts seven days; the actual fire-pouring always takes place on the morning of the last day. There are no interdicted periods; it could also be undertaken when the family concerned is still in its period of mourning or when there is still a woman in childbed in the compound. In this case, the woman in childbed, for instance, would not be allowed to watch.

778 782 [792] [351] [784] Tormas: Six tormas in all are made. 1. A small torma, as always in connection with lama-visits. This is the misfortune-torma, after whose removal the compound is taboo. 2. On the morning of the second day three large tormas follow. One of them represents the god (Buddha), to whom the [862] fire-pouring is presented. The other two, which are slightly lower, symbolize his two subordinate companions. The color of these tormas varies according to which god is involved. The tormas are put before the household altar or in the household chapel, and they are elevated in a box that is covered with a cloth or a board so that no animal (for instance, a cat) can desecrate them. The votive gifts are put in a row in front of these tormas: seven bowls of pure water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of sugar, a bowl of dough beans, and several small butter-lamps. These little lamps remain burning day and night until the conclusion

[863 cont.]

782 scatters over it the six incense spices and the spice-powder of the 74 earth-god spices, mixes everything together thoroughly, and in each case puts this mixture in two portions on a little plate, since at the fire-pouring he must throw the fire-offerings into the fire in two sequences, in other words, there are as many plates as there are kinds, each with two portions. In order to protect the spices from dust and impurity, they are individually covered with a sheet of paper. -- The 46 pairs of pieces of consecration-wood are put together on a separate tray. The lama sprinkles the burnt offerings thus arranged with holy water and has them [792] taken to the household altar.

782 Preparation of the place for the fire: In conjunction with the preparation of the burnt offerings, the spear-soothsayer 532 determines the place for the fire-pouring. He usually selects [791] it in the yard. The lama puts the earth-god torma with the [792] consecration-gifts on this spot. Once this has been removed, the lama measures off a rectangle about two ells square on the ground with a string whitened in gypsum or powdered lime. [Illustration appears here.] He beats the lines onto the ground, just as the carpenters do on wood with their black measuring string. Inside this square he draws a second, parallel rectangle that is about a handbreadth smaller. A frame is thus formed. Likewise with white powder and with the help of a wooden or leather pattern (3), he draws eight thunderbolts on this frame,

3. [Foreign text p. 867.] The patterns were formerly made of leather. Nowadays they are usually of wood or cardboard.

namely, one in each corner and one in the center on each side. The powdered lime is simply scattered over the pattern, and when he takes this away, [864] the contours of the drawing remain. The thunderbolts run parallel to the direction of the frame, in other words, they are not diagonal to it. Finally he

[203 cont.]

192 means "offering container." The chortens now usually shelter
778 the ashes of Buddhist saints or their relics and frequently also
bear their pictures on the front side. Thus the meaning of an
776 idol is connected with the whole. The chortens or stupas or
suburgans are therefore the seat of a spirit or of a deceased person. A deity is present in them. They are the same as [204] what the Mongols or Tujen imagine under the expression purǧan. This conception is confirmed, furthermore, by the urn shape of the stupa. In Tibetan the lower part is called bum-ba, urn, pot. As has already been shown in the case of the earth-god urn and the beṅkaṅ, urns are frequently the seat of a deity. This conception is also found elsewhere, and one might also connect the urn with the throne of the gods, which will not be discussed here. In any case, the Tujen word purǧan is late and Buddhistic in origin.

776 All the inhabitants of the Buddhist, Bonist, and Taoist pantheon fall within the group of these lower gods insofar as the Tujen have taken it over. A special position seems to be oc-
776 cupied by the fire-spirit as hearth-god or god of the shaman
372 fire, whom Schram so strongly emphasizes in his book concerning marriage among the Tujen. I could no longer confirm any special veneration of the shaman fire, however. If one disregards the fire offering, which is included as part of the rite of the Lamaistic fire-pouring, there remains to the people only the hearth-god, who, however, is venerated no more frequently than among the Chinese, for example. The use of fire for purifica-
[783] tion (widow marriage, leaping over fire, fumigation, red-hot stone, etc.) seems to have nothing to do with a god. It can be explained purely magically, because the demons fear the fire. They are, of course, always regarded as unclean, as the common phrase, pudaǧ ilie, dirty demon, proves.

776 Of the other gods who deserve special mention, there
[791] are the shaman and soothsaying gods, who animate or temporarily
[787] take possession of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, and the divine images, for instance, the black and white tiger, the great mother, the dragon. Furthermore, an important role is
[177] played by the god of joy (at a wedding), who probably comes from the Chinese, the horse- and cattle-king, the world-directions spirits, and the gods of the weather ministry with the smith-god

[204 cont.]

776 of the Bon, the Däntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance among the people that might be expected. They know of [796] Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth [535] day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha, [791] and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call [788] sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This [756] Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people. Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called [753] ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune, [777] failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the [731] plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are com- [782] bated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the Däntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[214 cont.]

782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types of prayer under the expression yandzila-, to implore, to request, and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer, however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which
[463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the
[792] lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people
[791] connect praying with these professions is shown by the common designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the
[192] Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen, that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom mošë, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching. In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer, something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of
[791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests, Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely linked.

5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

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174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

[247 cont.]

174 one, the shaman as representative of the god of life (characterized by the tree of life, etc.).

756 Among the people Buddhism found in the warrior-shaman

779 a type which could be "converted" especially easily. It connected the tutelary figures of its religion with this popular shaman. It had been especially prepared for this type of possession-shamanism through the tantrist-magical realizations so that it could easily absorb it. What then remained of other shaman types was branded and fought as xara nom, black belief, by the new "orthodox" shamanism with the spread of Lamaism. This [248] opposition, dealt with much in the literature, is aptly characterized by Lessing in a conversation with his teacher: "... 'Then is a gurtum not a shaman?' I asked him. 'By no means, something much higher. What he invokes, those are the authentic spirits, not the unclean ones of the Bö (written in Mong. böge, shaman)' ..." (Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143).

d) Idol-shamanism

756 In what follows the justification for speaking of idol-

• 791 shamanism as a special matter will automatically appear. One

[778] could also call it simply "thing-shamanism," because a thing represents the person as shaman. Among the shamanistic idols the spirit-spear of the Tujen occupies a favored position.

The Spirit-spear

The relationship of soothsayer and spear. -- Here the difference in the shamanizing of a gurtum and that of a spear-soothsayer should be recalled (cf. the appropriate chapters in the first part, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 18-33 [pp. 21-50 above in the HRAF translation]. Whereas the gurtum is completely possessed and in this state psychically closes himself off from the

[787] outside world, the spear-soothsayer remains in control of himself and awake. He does not go into ecstasy; only the spear is possessed by the spirit and affects the soothsayer. The soothsayer,

[248 cont.]

756 it is true, must have the special ability to "activate" the spear
791 and to interpret its movements in order to learn what the spirit in the spear wants, but he himself is not inwardly filled by it.

756 On the other hand, the relationship between spirit and
791 spear is much closer. It is the seat of the spirit and is treated
778 as such. Like a shaman it receives a consecration, is clothed with an "official garb": with bands, little bells, and mirrors. The people venerate it like a god that is present. In order to enter actively into a relationship with the world of men through soothsaying, healing, and exorcising evil, or in order to have an active effect on the outside world, this spear-idol needs a middleman who takes it in his hand and to whom it "speaks." This is the "idol-holder," the sdiendzẽn, rten 'dsin. He is not called a shaman, for it is not he, the soothsayer, but the possessed spear that is actually the shaman. The soothsayer is, as it were, merely a living extension of the idol, its loud-speaker.

778 How is the spear to be classified? As the spear is now used, it is to be regarded as a special kind of idol, as its name as spirit seat already suggests. The Tibetan compound rten-mduñ is not found in Ch. Das. However, analogous to the name sku-rten (gurtum) and corresponding to the character of the spear, the rten can here mean nothing other than container or visible representation of the deity: a weapon as seat of the deity. This suggests the question: Was the spirit-spear independent from the outset, or is it merely the tool of a shaman?

171 The spirit-spear as independent idol, in other words,
778 not as equipment of the shaman, is distributed throughout the Tujen and agricultural region of eastern Amdo. [249] One finds it frequently in temples and in family chapels, even among the Chinese. To what extent the Tangut nomads there possess it is beyond my knowledge. The spear must have had an
[174] independent significance in Lamaism even in early times, however, for one frequently encounters it in Lamic monasteries, and usually in conjunction with other standards (banners). The Geography of the Minchu-Hutukhtu is able to report: "In

[251 cont.]

756 lance having been implanted in the celestial vault, the hero
778 climbs all the way up with the help of the pennant" [translated
[171] from French].

However frequently the spirit-spear is used independently of a true shaman among the Tujen, it nonetheless is frequently enough part of the equipment of the gurtum. In his hand it is an important weapon. Just as the weapons and the armor of the ancient hero-ancestors endow him with special powers, so doubtless also does the ancestor spear. In the already-cited Geser
[773] legend of the Tujen, Geser takes the heavenly weapons for himself, which are all provided with the adjective sdier, for instance, sdier lëmu, sdier sëmu, etc., sacred arrow and bow. The things designated with sdier, however, are all adorned in a manner similar to the spirit-spear, above all with the colorful bands. This is supposed to express a consecration, a sacral
174 character. -- Now, however, when there is no true shaman, nothing remains but to make the spirit-spear independent.

756 It must represent the shaman and accordingly receives
778 a perfected outfit and an additional consecration, whereby,
791 as original weapon, it becomes an independent idol. It becomes tutelary-spirit possessed. As seat of the sülde it is from the outset already especially fitted for this. Since, however, it is not alive and cannot appear as a human being, [252] a man is appointed for it, the soothsayer. The latter takes over part of the operations of a true shaman, but without becoming the seat of a spirit himself. There takes place, as it were, a distribution of shamanistic functions: the essential, inner ones are peculiar to the spear; the unessential, outer ones to the soothsayer (13).

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13. The shaman attire in other regions also has great similarity with the spear as spirit seat and effective unity with the shaman. It is "saturated" by spirits, who give signs of life by trembling, moving, etc.; cf. Eliade (Shirokogorov), Le Chamanisme, p. 143. Even though the spear as shaman equipment shares this property with the attire, this alone

[252 cont.]

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still cannot explain its great significance and use.

The Other Idols

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Just as the spirit-spear is the seat of a deity which is activated by a middleman, so also is a series of other idols. These may be: the table, the spirit-litter, weather club, carriage axles, noodle roller, etc. Of these the spirit-table and the god-litter are the most important.

The spirit-table bears its name unjustly, for it is not a [776] table, but the representation of an animal deity, the black tiger. This is confirmed by the fact that it is consecrated at the consecration of this tiger and is regarded as possessed by the latter. Furthermore, the intestines of the tiger are attached under the top, which, however, are not visible to the eye.

[787] The soothsaying with the table is done exactly as with the spear, except that it is held by two persons.

This deity, according to all the statements, is peculiar to the Chinese shamans. That it was originally foreign to the [776] Tujen is proved precisely by the superficial name given it, sirie purgan (table-deity), where in reality the top forms the back, the table legs are the tiger's legs, and the underside bears the intestines.

The spirit-litter has no Tujen name at all, but is simply called, as in Chinese, chiao-tzu or niang-niang chiao-tzu (litter of the mother). The litter is not the main thing, but the god's [532] figure sitting in it, which is executed as realistically as possible, with magnificent clothes, real hair, and flesh-colored face. The interior likewise contains the intestines, the heart, and the maternal organs. The figure is consecrated with the litter, at which time the inner organs are put inside.

This goddess likewise belongs to the Chinese shamans (fashih), who also undertake its animation. Frequently,

[252 cont.]
778 however, the lamas in the monastery do this. For soothsaying
791 the litter is taken up on the shoulders of four men, who then
[787] involuntarily follow the movements of the deity.

Summary

756 Both idol-shamanism and gurtum-shamanism form a unity
787 in their appearance. They have in common: the clothing
791 (= beribboning), the metal disks, the little bells or rattles, and possession by a spirit. They both belong in the conceptual realm of the connection [253] between heaven and earth and of the world- or shaman-tree that is hung with bells and mirrors; in this connection cf. the myths of the Golden or the songs of the Tujen, which tell about a tree that bears the sun, moon, and stars in its top. In the case of the human shaman all functions are united in one bearer, whereas in idol-shamanism these functions are divided between man and thing, but this division in turn constitutes a unity in the activities. There arises here the fundamental question: Is not the entire idol cult to be understood ultimately from this shamanistic standpoint? Does it not gain its real significance only through the living person? Certainly a great deal of what has hitherto been designated as "fetishism" or "idol cult" is at bottom merely a variant of shamanism, a static permanent form of that which the shaman represents for only a short period of time with great psychic upheaval: a direct link with the spirit world, culturally regularized, and ritually developed; making present and vivifying deities and demons that the human being wants to have with him.

Here it should be once more emphasized that these ideas are merely a sketch for a theory whose detailed presentation does not belong here.

3. The Bon Religion

791
779 Among the Bon there are three groups: the shepherd-Bon, the farmer-Bon, and the monastery-Bon. This division

[253 cont.]

791 is a purely popular one, and nothing about the inner relationship
779 of these groups to one another is indicated by it; they are probably not essentially different. The farmer-Bon have become most superficial and degenerate. They still wear as their sole distinguishing mark only the artificial brush garland, in order thus to imitate the massive braided turban of the shepherd-Bon; they have practically died out. -- The most important cultic
[765] implements of the Bon are taken from the human corpse: the
[534] double skull-drum covered with human skin, the whip plaited out of human skin (and probably with a bone handle), the thigh-bone flute, and the bone dagger. These implements are supposed to be taken from the corpse of an unmarried adult female person. By the special relationship to skeleton and corpse alone,
[174] the Bon might acknowledge an ancient Tibetan home, which, to be sure, is not only called the "snow land," but also the "land of corpses."

[789] Even though the Bon have much in common with the lamas, there is a series of ceremonies reserved for them, especially the various types of demon exorcism. They are even invited into the monastery by the lamas on the first and fifteenth day of every month, where they undertake these rites. Nothing more about a former opposition between
178 Buddhism and the Bon religion is to be noted here. It shares
791 with Lamaism the fate of gradual disappearance; indeed, in
779 its official form it has already preceded it in this. It is a striking fact that both the Bon religion and Lamaism wane as Chinese agriculture expands, although precisely the sedentary life [254] of the lamas in the large monasteries and the performance of the weather conjuration of the Bon should be especially appropriate for an agricultural culture. The reasons are certainly not religious in nature.

174 The Tujen, however, have probably preserved much
791 more of the Bon tradition than is recognizable at first glance.
779 The marriage customs and the popular poetry probably contain a great deal that would make this ancient layer clear and permit it to be followed deep into Tibet. It is difficult, however, to free everything from the Lamaistic embellishments.

624 of the elders of their village, to escort the T'u-ssu. They bring with them the required number of horses, finely equipped and well broken to the saddle, to be ridden by the T'u-ssu's retinue of ten or more officials and servants. The finest courtyard in the village is prepared for the sojourn of the T'u-ssu, who like a medieval seigneur enjoys the *droit de gîte* at each stopping place. The procession is headed by a soldier who carries, strapped diagonally across his back, a rolled-up painting on yellow cotton cloth of the guardian deity of the clan. This picture is to be venerated at each stopping place.

624 651 Outside the village the T'u-ssu is greeted by all the inhabitants, dressed in their best clothes and kneeling and bowing. Although the occasion costs them a great deal of money, their faces are alight with joy and exaltation, because receiving their feudal lord is traditionally a joyful festival.

One of the elders presents to the T'u-ssu a *katag* or ceremonial scarf, laying it across his outstretched hands, and another elder offers him two bottles of wine. A sheep is then led before the T'u-ssu, its horns decorated with red paper and a piece of red cotton cloth strapped on its back. At the same time he is presented with a gift of 30,000 copper coins on a dish. This offering is called the "gift of joyous entrance into the village." 527 264 In former days, the sheep was slaughtered, prepared for the dinner in the evening, and served before the guests as a whole carcass, on an enormous platter. This is the traditional dish for important guests. At the same time, the most delicate piece, the fat tail, together with 1,000 copper coins, is presented to the T'u-ssu on a special plate. In recent times the T'u-ssu sometimes accepts the sheep and orders it to be brought to his palace, together with the spices required for cooking it properly. This amounts to a double charge on the village, because another sheep must be slaughtered for the evening dinner.

624 796 When the T'u-ssu and his retinue reach the courtyard where the T'u-ssu is to stay, the picture of the guardian deity of the clan is displayed in the front room. An oil lamp is lighted and incense is burned before it as long as the T'u-ssu's visit lasts. The community as a group venerate the guardian deity, prostrating themselves; in the front row are the village elders, with sticks of incense in their joined hands. This custom of carrying the guardian deity on the triennial tour of the feudal lord of the clan, giving all the village communities an opportunity to worship it, seems to correspond with the custom of honoring the "spirits of the clan" among the Manchus, as described by Shirokogoroff.[51]

177 792 At present the guardian deities of all the Monguor clans have been taken over by Lamaism. Formerly one or two lamas served as house chaplains at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, praying and burning incense every day at the temple of the guardian deity. Since the destruc-

[51] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, Shanghai, North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924.

[P. 65a]

177 tion of most of the T'u-ssu mansions during the Muslim rebellion, a small room serves as the tem-
792 ple, and there are no longer chaplains on permanent duty except in the three clans of Lu, Li, and Ch'i, where
177 the original temple still exists. The lamaistic deity honored by the clan of the Li T'u-ssu as its guardian is
776 Lhamo-tsang, represented as a black rider on a black mule, wearing a necklace of human skulls. The saddle is covered with a human skin. In her right hand the deity, who is female, grasps a sword, and in her left she holds a bowl made from a human skull. The mule is painted treading in blood. Lhamo is the only female among the eight "protector deities" of lamaism. She is said to be the reincarnation of the wife of Yama and the protector of Lhasa and of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas. Her paraphernalia is said to be provided for her by the gods in order to enable her to carry on her duties as protector.[52] I was unable to find out why, and at what time, the ancestor of the clan chose this monstrous deity as the protector of the clan. Nor is there any surviving tradition to explain what the clan spirits of the Monguors were like before they became modified by Lamaism.

624 After the veneration of the guardian deity, there is an official reception and congratulations are exchanged.
796 The community then leaves the courtyard and two sentries are posted at the gate to prevent free approach to the T'u-ssu. In assuming this inaccessibility at this point in the protocol, the T'u-ssu marks a departure from the familiarity of the clan or tribe, and puts on the aloofness of a high Chinese official. People who have problems to present to the T'u-ssu must ask the sentries for an audience and explain to them the problem they want to discuss. Those who want to make a legal claim, or to complain against an injustice or against the administration, must put their request in writing, and the requests are then given by the sentry to a secretary who transmits them to the T'u-ssu. Those who write down and forward the request must receive a remuneration.

624 On the following day the T'u-ssu begins a series of meetings with the chief men of the community, the elders, and the military officials. The first item of business is the examination of the village register, which is kept up to date every year. If any subjects have left the territory of the clan, the reasons are discussed and the possibility of bringing them back is considered. Accounts must be rendered of the administration of the village and the division of taxes and corvées. The T'u-ssu is interested in the harvest of the past three years, and in the observance of the old clan customs and traditions, veneration of the ancestors, reverence towards nobles, marriages, divorces, the religious festivals in the spring and autumn, the state of morals in the village, singing of obscene songs in the village, hospitality toward

[52] A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und Mongolei*, 66, 76, 175, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1900 (guide to the Ukhtomskii Collection).

[p. 656]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

764 bushel basket and presented to the person who has been chosen; this act constitutes the act of appointment. The man thus chosen is assigned an assistant to take care of details. This duty is performed in rotation by heads of families..

769 Neither shamans nor lamas take part in this annual
792 veneration of the ancestors. The absence of lamas is particularly striking, because during the year the routine duties of the temple of the guardian deity of the clan are entrusted to one or two lamas, as already described, while three times a year seven lamas take part in special ceremonies of veneration at this temple. The Ch'i T'u-ssu has the right to impose on the monastery of Erhkulung the corvée obligation to provide these lamas, because this monastery was originally built in the territory of the Ch'i clan by express permission, and because it has been given many grants of property by the successive T'u-ssu of the clan.

769 More than any other single ceremony, this annual
527 veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of a Monguor clan. There is a visible effect on the clansmen, who normally live secluded in their remote valleys, when at the assembly they see the pomp and splendor of the parade to the graveyard, the soldiers with banners, the T'u-ssu in his official silk robe, adorned with embroidered patches on the breast with glittering dragons—a present from the Emperor when one of his ancestors visited Peking—and all the outstanding members of both the noble and commoner groups in their robes of ceremony. Even the discrimination between nobles and commoners fosters the sense of hierarchy. There is no doubt that the commoners, like the nobles, feel pride in recalling their old glories and are elated by the ceremonies, the festivities, the singing of old songs, and the horse races, wrestling, and merry-making in the open air.

576 The sense of hierarchy, just mentioned, is well
624 exemplified by the behavior of Monguors visiting the T'u-ssu or presenting a request to him. The visitor first prostrates himself, then arises, unrolls his "queue" and removes his hat with his right hand, placing it under his left arm. Then, placing his hands together, palm to palm, he approaches the T'u-ssu. If he is asked to sit down, he does not sit but moves to the left side of the T'u-ssu and kneels on the right knee, with the left knee up, placing his hands, still palm to palm, on the left knee, in the Tibetan manner.[58]

Monguors regard it as the worst kind of incivility to start speaking and to keep the hat on the head in the presence of the T'u-ssu. This appears to be a very old Inner Asian symbol of respect. Among the Uighur Turks in the period of the T'ang dynasty (618–906),

[58] Thus the "outside" knee, farthest from the T'u-ssu, is up, "keeping the luck" between the kneeler and the T'u-ssu. This corresponds to the protocol of kneeling in a Mongol tent where the "outside" knee is that which is nearest the door and "keeps the luck," which is concentrated in the shrine at the back of the tent, within the tent.—O. L.

[p. 72a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 in Hsining recorded during the period of Mongol rule.

The history of the Hsining Shat'o and those of Inner Mongolia can be joined up in the following manner. In 1201, when the ruler of the Naimans, in the present Outer Mongolia, was organizing a coalition against Chingis Khan, the chief of the Onguts of the Yinshan, Alakush Tegin, although a vassal of the Chin dynasty, warned Chingis of the coalition and offered to march with him against the Naimans. In gratitude, Chingis Khan sent him a present of 500 horses and 1,000 sheep. The Naimans were defeated in 1204, and in 1206 Chingis made Alakush a prince of the new empire he was founding and also gave his daughter, Alaghi Beki, in marriage to Poyaoho, son of Alakush. In 1219, when Chingis invaded Khorezm, he was accompanied by Poyaoho.[19] From then on for at least three generations princesses of the Mongol imperial line were given in marriage to the descendants of Alakush. A grandson of Alakush, the Prince George, was converted from the Nestorian heresy by John of Montecorvino.[20]

We are thus entitled to assume that when Subudei, one of Chingis' greatest commanders, invaded Hsining in the course of the campaign in which he took Lanchou in 1226,[21] he was delighted to find there kinsmen of the Shat'o-Onguts who were already allies and vassals of the Mongols, and that it was easy to take over the Hsining Shat'o as favored vassals of the Mongol dynasty on the Tibetan frontier.

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF LAMA BUDDHISM

Since completing the writing of this volume and while preparing the material for the subsequent volume on the place of religion in Monguor life I have realized that certain aspects of the history of the establishment and diffusion of Buddhism in the Monguor region should have been mentioned in this volume, as they explain why rapid economic development and growth of population in this region began only after the suppression of the revolt of Lobsang Dantsin and the Lamas in 1723.

Until 1723 this region, called Huang Chung, had been unsuccessfully colonized several times by Chinese settlers as an adjunct to Chinese garrisons. These attempts had failed because of tribal wars and frontier inroads. The population had remained thin, and its components had frequently changed and moved. The Ming dynasty, beginning in 1368, had settled Chinese colonies and posted Chinese garrisons in only a few localities, controlling the rest of the region by accepting the allegiance of the Monguors under their various T'u-ssu.

792 175 In order to promote the adherence of non-Chinese tribes and the allocation of them to permanent terri-

[19] Summarized from H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan and his conquest of north China*, 85, 101, 133, 237. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950.

[20] Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale, as cited, especially p. 631.

[21] Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan*, as cited, 290–291.

[P. 135 b]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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tories, the Ming authorities granted special favors to Lamas who encouraged the tribes to submit to China. Most of these Lamas at that time belonged to the Red sects and were married, and could be granted hereditary titles and domains. They were also encouraged to found monasteries which had special functions in administering the tribes and collecting the tribute that symbolized Chinese rule. In my subsequent volume the names of the Lamas and tribes will be established from the Chinese sources.

Under this Imperial patronage Lamaism flourished luxuriantly under the Ming dynasty and continued to expand under the Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty. The monastery of Erh-ku-lung, founded in 1604, established forty-two subordinate institutions during the ensuing 119 years, and the monasteries of Sha-ch'ung and Kumbum followed the same pattern. North of the Hsining River the number of Lamas was very large in proportion to the thin frontier population. By 1723 Erh-ku-lung was inhabited by 2,500 Lamas. Of its satellite monasteries, Seerkōk had 2,000; Chiebsang 800; Ch'i-chia-ssu 700; T'ien-t'ang-ssu 700, and Shih-men-ssu 700, while smaller satellites had from 10 to over 100. South of the Hsining River the monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, founded under imperial patronage at the very beginning of the Ming period, had more than 950 Lamas in the main monastery and its satellites. The figures for Kumbum are not recorded for that period, but must have been of much the same order, because 300 Kumbum Lamas were beheaded in 1723.

The absorption of a high proportion of the male population by these monasteries had a serious effect on the productivity of the region which should be taken into account in addition to the losses caused by frontier insecurity. Men who became Lamas were not only withdrawn from production but had to be fed by the depleted population. We may look also to this loss of manpower as an explanation of the eagerness of the T'u-ssu to enroll in their clans Tibetans and Chinese to till their domains, found new families, and above all pay the land taxes.

At the same time the influence and power of the lamaseries competed destructively with the authority and

[p. 136a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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wealth of the T'u-ssu, whose subjects frequently moved in large numbers to become "disciples" tilling the land of lamaseries which offered them more favorable terms of tenantry. Such considerations helped to explain why in 1723 the T'u-ssu so willingly helped the Chinese military expedition which crushed the revolt of the Lamas. Even before this, in 1591, T'u-ssu forces had taken part in the burning of the famous temple built in Kukunor by Altan Khan in 1576 at the time of his meeting with the Dalai Lama.

Nor is it surprising to learn from the Chinese sources that the Chinese officials exulted over the crushing of the revolt and the promulgation of new imperial regulations curtailing the excessive power and influence of the Lamas. Hints can be found that the local Chinese officials held a grudge against the "barbarian" Living Buddhas whom they despised but whom it had been the policy of Peking to honor and favor, and against the lamaseries which had become possessors of large domains whose tenants were exempt from compulsory services and whose rents were exempt from taxation. There is no doubt that a dangerous situation had developed in the ranks of the impoverished T'u-ssu and the discontented Chinese officials.

Economically, the wealth that flowed into the granaries and treasuries of the monasteries was removed from circulation and did not provide surpluses for trade; it was either consumed, or hoarded, or used to found new Lama communities, and was not even used for charitable grants to the lay population. At the same time, the rest of the community suffered from lack of labor to expand agriculture and production. The economy inevitably shrank until it produced scarcely enough for its own consumption; there was no surplus left to stimulate trade and the growth of cities.

Thus the sociological and economic history of Lamaism in the Monguor region can be summarized by saying that under political patronage its growth was artificially stimulated, with the result that it expanded so fast that it disrupted both the economic system and the social structure of the country, making improvement and progress impossible.

[p. 136 b]

Mo /105 cont'd/
587 then called, if it is a son, either, according to the Chinese custom,
589 Hiao cheng tse, i.e., "/son/ born during the mourning period," or
765 else, according to the T'ou-jen custom, xara khû, i.e., "black
[177] son," which again means "son of mourning" since black is the color
[822] of mourning among the T'ou-jen; they say "to wear black" for "to be in mourning." Black was formerly also the color of mourning among the Mongols. When widows who have not remarried bear
Mo children after two years, it happens that these children are abandoned
[847 or that they are drowned right after birth, especially if they are girls.
848] That happens when the family has many children, or when none of
Mo the neighbors wants to feed the poor being. When the newborn is
[792] a son, they will keep him, but he will not inherit family property, and as a general rule they will send him at about the age of nine or ten to a lamasery to remain a bachelor. This is the most practical solution for avoiding difficulties in the family later. (1)

Ma
[847
848]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 77: The Manchus are very strict in killing illegitimate children, i.e. the children born by unmarried girls and widows.

The other Tungus groups consider girls who have children as the best for marriage, because these girls have the proof of their fecundity. /Cited in English./

Mo c) The third category of polygamists is met in well-to-do
595 families who lack workers.

We have seen that all the work, so to speak, is assigned to
Mo the wife; the household duties, the care of the livestock, and a large
461 part of the work in the fields. A T'ou-jen wife actually kills her-
462 self with work. It is painful to us to look at these men with the
595 nomadic instinct, do-nothings, idlers, spare themselves the least fatigue. It can happen, therefore, in families which have much

/128 cont'd/

858 same right as his cousins, sons of his mother's brothers. The reason
588 given for this is that the mother, at the time of her son's birth, was no longer a girl but quite married, since she was wearing her hair in the fashion of wives. But suppose that the young woman, as a result of difficulties with a sister-in-law or with her parents, or having simply found a match which she likes, marries again at a "second" wedding, then she can either take her son with her, and he loses
[128] ipso facto his rights to inheritance in his mother's family, and he must change his family name and inherit in the family of his new father (for by the change of name he falls into the category of adoptive children), or else the grandmother opposes the departure /129/ of her daughter's son, and he stays in his mother's family, keeping his rights.

848 It often happens that neither the grandmother nor the mother
792 keeps the child but that they entrust him to a lamasery. Lamas no
178 longer having the right of inheritance, these children disappear from public life. This category of children are sent to the lamasery probably to avoid difficulties which arise later at the time of the division of property, either on the part of the uncles or the nephews, just as when the mother takes the child to the home of her new husband and the latter adopts him as his son, which makes one suppose that these children's right to inherit is nowadays no longer very stable. One feels a period of transition in the custom. We are here in the presence of a practice which must have been more general in olden times and which has its roots in an organization which is not patriarchal.

562 These girl-mothers are received in all groups and are regarded
588 as virtuous women in spite of the fact that people know this custom is
593 considered abominable in the eyes of their Chinese neighbors. These women are recognized as being married; for, they say, their marriage took place in the manner of the marriage of girls, in the courtyard of the house, in front of the sacred fire. Their children are recognized as children of the clan, and they are given the name of their mother. In T'ou-jen families, when a brother dies, leaving only daughters, his brothers inherit his property; the daughters indeed do not inherit; but when this brother has a daughter of the category of which we

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2: Schram--202 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

Lamasery of the yellow lamas of Hui-kou-tong (Northern Sinding). With few exceptions, all the lamas are T'ou-jen.

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor AE9

756, 791, 792

/Information on religious specialists has been filed as follows:

756 - drum-shaman or bo (fa-shih)

756 - gurtum or warrior-shaman

791 - spirit-spear sooth-sayer

791 - bon priest

792 - lamas

[5 cont.] Their total number cannot
161 be given with any precision since the official statistics are unreliable. An estimate in a Tsinghai chronicle (1943) sets [6] [map appears here] [7] their total number for Tsinghai at approximately 27,000-30,000; cf. Hsü Kung-wu: Ch'ing-hai chih-lüeh. I have lost the other most recent statistics, especially those of the periodical Hsi-pei-t'ung-hsün. The figure cited by P. M. Hermanns seems to me to be too low; see Hermanns, Nomaden, p. 30.

792 The religious and spiritual center of the Tujen in the county of Huchu is the monastery dGon-luṅ, called Rëgulõṅ (Rgulõṅ) in the Tujen language (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 17.] The common Chinese name is Erh-ku-lung szu, more rarely, Yuning szu. Concerning the history and significance of this monastery and its Tulkus [Living Buddhas] (Ch'ang-chia and T'ukuan Hutukhtu), cf. the discussion at the conclusion of the second part.

3. Status and Task of the Investigation

114 There is little to report concerning research on the Tujen.
648 European science did not become aware of this ethnic group until the second half of the last century, after the French missionaries Huc and Gabet traveled through the Koko Nor region on their Tibetan journey (1844-46) and also skirted the homeland of their guide, who was a former Tujen lama; cf. M. Huc, Travels, p. 281. After them other explorers came in contact with the Tujen, for example, Przewalski (1873), Potanin (1884), Rockhill (1891/92). D'Ollone visited a related group in southern Kansu (1906), but not the Tujen of Tsinghai. Similarly, Mannerheim stayed only among the Shera-Yögur, with whom there is an inclination to relate the Tujen. A. Tafel made his Tibetan journey in 1905-1908 and briefly visited the Tujen in the region of the present Huchu. Filchner has not been in the region of the Tujen during his

3:Schröder--4 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[6]

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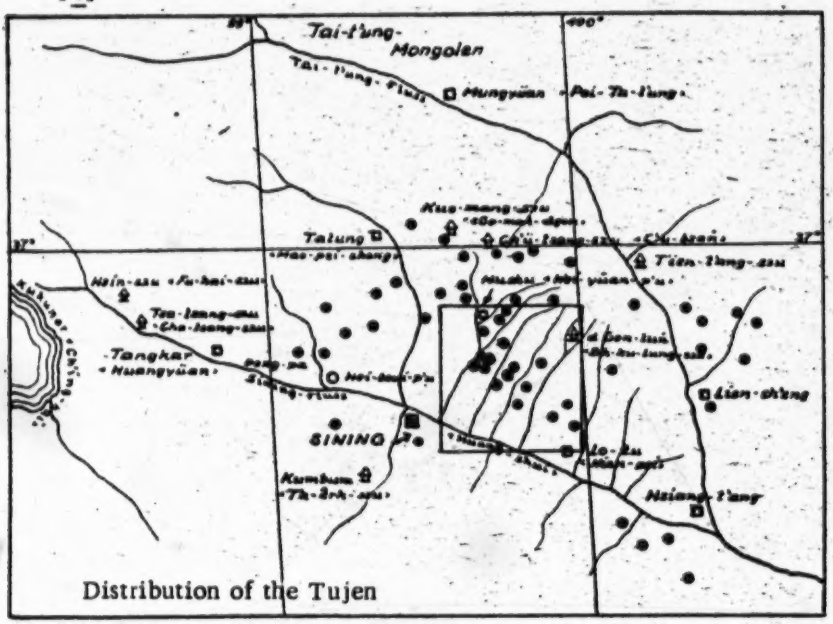
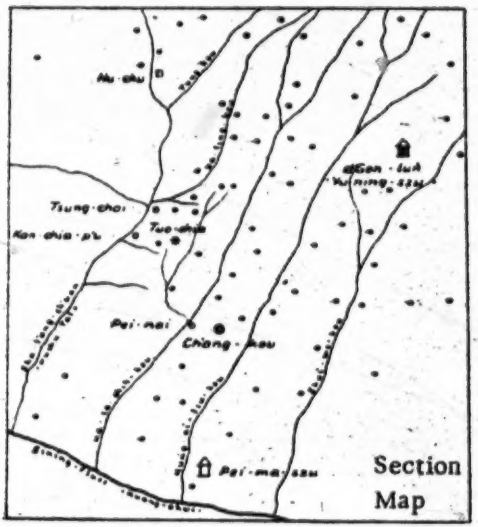


Distribution of the Tujen

From a map in Anthropos, 24, 1929, pp. 144-45.



- Monastery
- Chinese towns
- Chinese villages
- Tu-jen settlements
- Tuo-chia, the home of the informant
- Ch'ang-kou, the home of the present T'u-kuan Hutuktu, allegedly also of the lCaṅ-sKaya-Hu-tuktu
- dGon-luṅ, Erh-ku-lung-szu or Yu-ning-szu, the Tujen monastery Rëgulõṅ (Rgulõṅ).

[20 cont.]

*778 It does not matter who puts the spear together. No special ceremonies are connected with it. Now the owner tends to the bands, bells, and copper plates. The bells are the ordinary little rattling bells, such as horses wear around their necks. One [792] can take the spear to a lamic monastery or have it consecrated at home; the ceremonies are the same in both places.

*778 792 The consecration of the spear: The spear cannot be consecrated by an ordinary lama; he must be a Living Buddha. Only he has the power to make a spirit live in the spear.

After the hutukhtu has been entertained in the customary fashion, the general ceremonies of the lama-reception have been carried out, and the tormas [sacrificial objects made of dough] [21] stand in front of the household altar, the consecration begins. Young hutukhtus perform it in the household chapel, but old ones remain seated on the warm kang in the main house.

The master of the household drives the spear in the ground in front of the lama, unless he holds it in his hands standing upright during the entire ceremony. Another brings the attachments for the spear on a tray. First the bands and then the rattles and the mirror are attached. If the hutukhtu does not want to do this himself, it will be done by an assisting lama or by a man. Every piece, before it is tied on, is held in the incense that is kept ready in an iron spoon.

*778 [782] Once the spear has been thus prepared, the master of the household takes it either into the chapel or to the shelf before the household altar, where he sticks it in a large stand. In front of it he burns fragrant sandalwood incense, sets up little burning oil- or butter-lamps, and offers little bowls with barley, wine, and water, and finally a large loaf of wheat bread weighing several pounds. The hutukhtu at this point goes to stand in [783] front of the spear and sprinkles it with the consecrated wumba-[792] water. He then sits down with his legs crossed on a white felt mat in front of the spear and gives the prayer of consecration. Then he rises, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley from a little plate handed to him, blows over it, and casts it over the spear with his right hand. Meanwhile all those present kowtow in

[21 cont.]

*778 front of the spear, the men in the room itself, the women in front of the door out in the open.

776 Only now can the spirit dwell in the spear. Which spirit
*778 it is depends entirely upon the owner of the spear. He tells this beforehand to hutukhtu who performs the consecration, and the latter gives an appropriate prayer of consecration. Only one spirit ever operates in a spear. The Tiengëre or the god of heaven never resides in the spear. The ones who do are always ordinary spirits, for instance, the mother-goddess, the tiger god, the mountain spirit, etc.

*778 After the consecration the hutukhtu stays in the house un-
[792] til the following morning and is then dismissed with an appropri-
ate remuneration. The master of the household, however, in-
[527] vites his friends and acquaintances in and celebrates the new
[273] event with them over barley wine and dances with song far into the night.

Storage of the spear: Since an entire village can have a spear consecrated, it frequently happens that it is simply kept
[346] in the communal temple of the place. This is also often the case with regard to private individuals, because the temple is regarded as the most eminent place. In the temple itself it stands in a wooden stand next to the other gods on one of the many altars. Sometimes it is simply propped against the wall in a god's niche.

[346] If somebody wants to keep the spear in his own yard, a special chapel is required. Most of the house chapels are constructed specifically for such a spear. Here, too, it may stand in a rack, lean against the wall, or be driven into the clay floor. All that matters is that the spear stand upright. For instance, one may never lay it flat on the altar. The master of the
[782] household often gives the little incense offering in front of the spear. It is not necessary that a spear be kept in the house of
[791] the [22] village soothsayer; indeed, many soothsayers have no spirit-spear themselves.

346 The room or the temple in which the spear stands is sim-
*778 ply called "house of holies." It is usually only a room in the yard. It must be separated from all the other rooms by a wall and

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 24 cont.]
is copied from the Tibetan name, is phonetically less ambiguous. Otherwise the Chinese say simply mao-ch'iang (= to the Siningman, miao ch'iang), that is, spear, lance.

šdiendoṅ therefore must be rten mduṅ in Tibetan. This combination is not found in Ch. Das, but it cannot mean anything other than a spear which is the seat of a spirit. For further information, see Part Two.

[792]

The word purġan is used not only for the spirits themselves, but also for everything that they choose as a seat, though never for a Tulku (Living Buddha). The Chinese, on the other hand, designate with fo-yeh not only the Buddhistic gods and their idols, but also the Tulkus, which they also call huo-fo (fuo), "Living Buddha.".

The consecration bands: šdien, or xuon (Tib.), or sënisial (Tib.?) (4) [see Note 4 above].

Bells (rattles): xõṅġuor (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 26.] xõṅġuor: Mongolic xongxo, Manchurian honggon, probably comes from the Chinese chung = bell. -- dzändän: goes back to Sanskrit and signifies sandaltree (Unkrig).

Mirror: xaldan mälõṅ = gold-mirror.
xdzër (Tib.) mälõṅ = gold-mirror.

Sandalwood: dzändän mõdë = sandalwood (11) [see Note 11 above].

[824]

Mountain ash: ġadani yärgë mõdë = the mountain's ash wood (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 25.] The botanical name of the yärgë was not definitely

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.]
surroundings. To him everything is in a state of excitement and trembling. After the trance he is exhausted and has to rest for several hours.

For the conclusion of the spear-soothsaying there is the expression šdien (šdiendõn) džuoladzia, that is, the spear is ready. For the cessation in the case of the [26] shaman one says sgurdien dõnladzia, that is, the shaman is finished. The actual meaning of dzuo- and dõn- has never been clear to me.

000 [Pages 23-26 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[27] 2. The Gurtum (Sword-shaman)*

* See "Notes," pp. 31-33 [of the original text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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*[778]

The sword-shaman has as his most important weapon the sword, with which he fights against the demons. He always performs his ceremonies in a trance condition. Then his tutelary deity descends upon him and endows him with great powers.

Whether one becomes a shaman depends upon his ability to go into a trance. Some inherit it in the family. Many of them experiment in a lonely spot. As soon as one has learned [792] how to do it, he goes to a lamic monastery. There he is tested to see if he is genuine. If he is genuine, he receives instruction and an amulet. Every year, however, he must return once to his teacher in order to train himself further.

[29 cont.]

756 787 Soothsaying: In the common form of soothsaying, the petitioner kowtows to the shaman in the trance and presents his request. He may also let an experienced man do the asking. The soothsayer then holds his breast-shield flat on his left hand, takes barley kernels from a little plate with the tip of the sword, and scatters them on the shield. From the pattern of the kernels he now gives his answer. Often he also moves in a violent trance and mumbles all kinds of disjointed words which a practiced man quickly writes down on paper and which afterwards are interpreted. In the trance, the soothsayer may speak any language, Tibetan, Chinese, Tujen, Mongolic, even if he has not learned it.

This soothsaying also precedes all the other ceremonies that he performs during the trance, such as exorcising demons, healing the sick, etc.

[562] Calling: The shamans are always men. When someone thinks that he has the ability to go into a trance, he goes to a quiet, remote spot and experiments with a staff, a sword, etc. In time he becomes proficient. He also becomes aware of which spirit takes possession of him. Frequently the people in [792] the village propose to a young man that he should try it once. * [778] If he then succeeds, they suggest that he have himself consecrated in the lamic monastery. -- Most shamans take up this 756 calling of their own accord. Those who receive the art from their fathers are not common. The shamans are always healthy, [158] normal men; they are only more easily excitable (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 32.] They do not form an organization of their own. True, I have been repeatedly told that in the sixth month on the first (?) or fifteenth day the shamans of the Hsi-ch'uan gather in a village near Tuopa (west of Hei-tsuei-p'u) and organize a kind of trance competition for an entire day. This custom, however, is supposedly recent.

[29 cont.]

756 Consecration: Once the young man has tested himself
787 and feels secure, he takes 12 loaves of steamed bread, three
● 792 loaves of baked bread, money, and a hada, and goes to the
*778 monastery. There he hands the gifts to a schooled lama with special praying power and requests the consecration.

First a test takes place. With the usual ceremonies, the shaman must put himself in a trance. He must indicate given objects; thorns are scattered on the floor and he is challenged to sit on them; whips are lashed in his direction, and in every possible way attempts are made to intimidate him. If he is a genuine shaman in a genuine trance, he is not afraid and is not injured. If his state is not genuine, he becomes frightened, backs away, or comes out of the trance.

At this point the presiding lama takes a hada (13),

[192] 13. [Foreign text p. 33.] Hada, Tib. k'a btags, is a scarf-like ceremonial cloth.

slings it around the shaman's neck, and asks which tutelary spirit revealed itself to him. The shaman then pronounces the name, kneels, and receives from the lama the instructions concerning his duties as shaman. Among these are the taboo and purification prescriptions, for example: he may not officiate when he
[783] is in mourning or when his wife is in confinement; also during this time he may not worship his tutelary spirit; after sexual intercourse and after enjoyment of tobacco and a considerable amount of liquor, he is unclean (11), and he must purify himself

[273] 11. [Foreign text p. 33.] Actually, liquor is not prohibited for the shamans. Here a Buddhistic prescription seems to be in effect, but in a weakened form, for a moderate consumption of liquor does not make the shaman unclean, only drunkenness does, although in the eyes of the Tujen this by no means represents anything morally objectionable.

[29 cont.]

756 787 ● 792 * 778 [783] before the [30] individual acts by inflicting wounds with the sword, piercing his chest, licking red-hot iron, etc. Along with this instruction, which is contained in certain Tibetan books, the lama says the prayer of consecration over him.

Then the shaman rises and washes his hands, face, and head with the water from the lama's holy can. He must likewise first rinse out his mouth. Then barley is thrown over him and he is fumigated with incense. The lama takes the hada that he had slung around his neck, makes a knot in it, folds it together, sticks it in a little rectangular red or yellow bag, and hangs this around the shaman; it is the amulet of his tutelary spirit and is called "protective fort" (8). In place of this hada,

8. [Foreign text p. 32.] It is unclear whether this hada is the seat of the tutelary spirit. In any case it is to be regarded as a protective amulet.

or together with this hada, the shaman may also wear on his chest a large case containing the figure of his tutelary spirit (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 32-33.] The consecration ceremony might lead one to believe that the shaman is only capable of performing his office by means of it. In itself it has nothing to do with shamanizing. It is merely an official confirmation of one's capabilities, and also the people desire it. There are also shamans, however, who have not been consecrated in the monastery, especially among the people mixed with Chinese.

[184]

The consecration appears to admit the shamans to the position of lay monks, for among the monks there are also those who act as shamans and have certain prescriptions. Thus on the route from Hei-tsuei-tzu

[30 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 32-33 cont.]
to Shang-wu-chwang there is a village with a small lamasery [33] from which the shamans of Kumbum come, who appear especially on New Year's. As a missionary tells me, in the village there in quite recent times a young man was doing exercises almost daily, going into a trance on the river bank, fighting with a sword, shooting arrows, etc.

In any case all the lamaseries attach great importance to having a shaman who, possessed by the tutelary spirit dPekar, prophesies on New Year's. I observed these shamans in Kuo-mang-szu and Kumbum. In the Tujen lamasery, where a living shaman-monk was not to be found, I saw on New Year's a life-sized figure set up in full shaman regalia. At the sooth-
[791] saying on the fifteenth day, however, the spear-soothsayer acted in his stead in the temple yard, where the dances take place, before the hutukhtu, the assembled monks, and all the people. In Kuo-mang-
[562] szu I even saw a woman appear in the temple as a shaman, but she did not represent the usual type of sgurdien.

The lama does not put the shaman costume on his protégé. Usually he comes to the monastery without any costume and does not see to it until later. Frequently his own village helps to provide it. He makes the two-edged sword himself or has it made by the smith.

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The tutelary spirit: The tutelary spirit always reveals itself to the shaman; a lama cannot designate a tutelary spirit for anyone. The shaman often calls himself "spirit-disciple" or "spirit-protégé." The spirit has its seat in the

[30 cont.]

756 sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary
*778 spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front
[776] of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he
[782] sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.

The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit
[439] are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery
[792] markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

756 Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his
776 tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration: the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in general the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the tutelary spirit of the shaman.

756 Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to
463 prophesy, heal the sick, conjure away storms, drive away demons. He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests, or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect a mani-tree, but he may set up an ordinary mani-flag on the yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the polegoat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate at funerals and weddings.

755 The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold.
756 The following is the most common. First of all the shaman
[787] puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open [31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly steeped. Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the sick person to drink.

756 In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to
783 demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[31 cont.]

Word List

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756 The sword-shaman: sgurdien; gurdien (Tib. Tujen) (10); ku-wai-tien (Chin.); fa-la-tzu (Chin.); fa-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); nañsuo (Tib.); Yao-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); shen-ti-tzu (Chin.) = spirit disciple.

10. [Foreign text p. 33.] The Tujen strictly differentiate the sgurdien from the bõ, the Chinese fa-shih, drum-shaman. The Chinese also make this distinction. They call the gurtum ku-êrh-tien or ku-wai-tien, which is nothing other than a phonetic imitation of the word sgurdien, which in turn comes from the Tibetan sku-rten, "body container." The gurtum is regarded as the container, the carrier of his tutelary god. See the precise explanation of the name in Part Two, "The Shaman Character of the Gurtum."

[787] To go into a trance: sgurdien bõdzia = the shaman has come down, (that is, he has begun to shake); fa-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to excite the body; yao-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to shake the body.

[782] The prayer of invitation (before the trance): ǵsolkā (Tib. loan-word); ch'ing-tsan (Chin.) = praise.

Consecration prayer of the lama over the shaman: guo ǰguē (Tib. and Tuj.).

[792] Great lama: ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.) = lama with great power for prayer and magic.

*[778] The table upon which the shaman goes into a trance: t'iao-chuo-tzu (Chin.) = long table.

[33 cont.]

791 farmers (1). The Bon priests of the nomads are now found only

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1. [Foreign text p. 34.] There are also Bon priests who live in monasteries. Such a monastery is found near the Tujen monastery Rgulõn. The inmates of this monastery, however, do not wear any special garb, but are dressed like laymen. The lamas prefer to invite them for certain ceremonies to exorcise demons. -- The other farmer-Bon are only very rarely seen any more. They live like everyone else, marry, and work the fields.

among the Fandse, although formerly some were also Tujen. They have a very long, thick queue, which they wear wound around the head, and a long red garment with a red or yellow belt. -- The present-day Bon priests of the Tujen have almost died out; they are ordinary farmers and are distinguished from the other shamans or soothsayers as follows:

Details

791 Clothing: They wear ordinary garb: in winter a fur, and in summer the long coat. They do not wear trousers (2). They

292 [177]

2. [Foreign text p. 35.] The fact that they do not wear trousers may indicate an origin from the Fandse, who formerly did not wear trousers, as is still customary for their women and lamas.

take off their shoes during prayer on the kang. They do not have any special official dress. [34] They only put a wreath of wild-pig bristles around the head (3), which are supposed to

3. [Foreign text p. 35.] The informant did not know why they have to be wild-pig bristles.

represent long hair.

[34 cont.]

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7. [Foreign text p. 35.] dziliu: Tibetan dril bu = bell. -- kãṅgergẽ: Mongolic k'eng-gerge = drum. -- sẽnoġsa (snaġsa): Tibetan sṅags pa = sorcerer; sṅags bon = Bon priest. -- (n)duombora: Tibetan sdom = to bind, spu = hair, ra = wreath. -- šgãṅdõṅ: Tibetan rkaṅ = shinbone, duṅ = trumpet, snail. -- ndarẽ: probably a literary botching of the Sanskritic damaru (Unkrig).

Farmer-Bon: xuändie; su-jen peng-po (Chin.) = Lay-Bon.
Bon priest (in general): peng-po-tzu (Chin.).
Hair wreath of the farmer-Bon: (n)duombōra (Tib. and Tujen) (7) [see Note 7 above].
[778] Bone flute: šgãṅ-dõṅ (Tib. and Tujen); chuo-pa (Chin.) = shinbone (7) [see Note 7 above].
[534] Hourglass drum: ndarẽ (Tib. loanword) (7) [see Note 7 above]; pa-lang-ku (Chin.).
Bell: dziliu (7) [see Note 7 above]; ling-tang (Chin.).
Whip: p'i-pien-tzu (Chin.) = skin-whip.
Big drum: ta-ku (Chin.); kãṅgärgẽ.

[Pages 34-35 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

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4. The Lama (Lama-Reception)*

*See "Notes," pp. 41-43 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are many ceremonies to which a lama is invited.

[35 cont.]

792 A distinction is made between great and small lamas. The great ones are usually Living Buddhas (hutukhtu) (1).

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1. [Foreign text p. 41.] The following presentation applies primarily to the reception of a hutukhtu. In case of lesser lamas the ceremonies are simpler. -- Divine images, for instance, the litter of the Kuan Yin, of the tiger god, etc., also receive a similar reception when they are brought into the house for exorcising evil. Unfortunately I was unable to take down the corresponding ceremonies. I once saw such a god's litter standing on a house roof. -- The lama-reception was observed by me personally.

Before one invites a lama, the house must be cleaned. A special room is prepared, in which the lama prays and sleeps. Then the people go to get him with horses. In the case of a great lama, the entire village participates in the reception. As soon as he enters the compound, incense is offered and the conch is blown. He is led into the house and given hospitality. Afterwards he gives the book-blessing in the yard and begins his ceremonies.

[36] [Fig. 3 appears here.]

792 The lama always makes a number of tormas, in front of
[778] which little water-bowls are offered. He also has with him the same objects that he has in the monastery. -- When he finishes the ceremonies he is paid. Usually the monks of the monastery are also fed at that time.

Details

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Preparations: Before anyone invites a lama, he consults with him about the time. The soothsayer sets the day for the ceremonies accordingly. For instance, if according to the

[36 cont.]

Fig. 3

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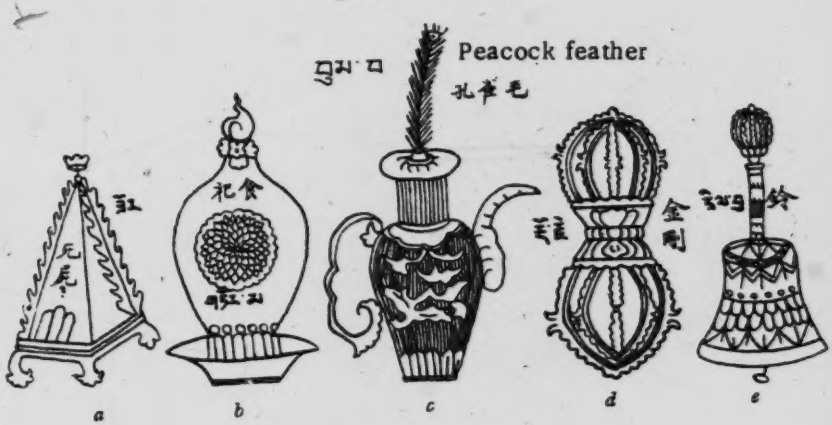

a. Torma; b. torma; c. wumba-can of the lama; d. thunderbolt
[532] (dordzi); e. bell. (Drawing by a Tujen.)

792 soothsaying the setting up of a mani-tree is supposed to take place
796 on the fifteenth day of a given month, then the lama must come
574 a week in advance because a prayer service of several days always precedes it. Only the higher lamas stay for just a day. The preparations are always carried out by the master of the household with the assistance of the mother's brother.

On the day before, the yard and all the rooms of the house are swept clean. The men fumigate all the rooms with the red-hot stone and the incense fire, so that no demons will carry on their mischief. For the lama, the host reserves the best room in the main house, which immediately adjoins the chapel or the household altar. He spreads one or two layers of white or red felt mats on the kang and places two beautiful saddle-blankets over them, one for the lama and one for his assistant. The place on which the lama is to sit is indicated by a hada. The latter is regarded as an honored memento and is later hung by the household altar.

Between the two blankets there is a fire basin with a large teakettle. Behind it there is a kang table with the food: a
[262] round wooden bowl of tsamba on which several pieces of buttered

[36 cont.]

792 bread have been placed in a pyramid and crowned with a red
796 date; a little box with tschürra (dry curds) for kneading tsamba;
574 a number of small [37] plates with black and white sugar, candy
[262] sugar, currants, and dates; a number of small plates of goods baked with sugar and oil. -- Later, when the lama performs his ceremonies, the things are cleared away so that an empty table is at his disposal.

Hutukhtus or higher lamas send ordinary, serving lamas to the people a few days in advance to prepare the room and the things needed for the ceremonies. They also help in the kitchen because they know best which dishes their hutukhtu prefers. They
[492] also see to it that the riding animals of the monastery are properly accommodated.

The fetching of the lama: On the stipulated day the young men and boys of the village set out for the lamic monastery with the most beautiful and fastest horses. Some of them ride all the way to the monastery itself; some wait halfway. The hutukhtu
[492] always rides on his own animal; it must be a white horse. The other lamas, on the other hand, may use any animals available.

When at the halfway point the lama meets the troop that has come to fetch him, the oldest man steps forward and hands the lama a hada. He accepts it and touches the kneeling man's forehead. Then the youngest with the fastest horses leap into the saddle and ride ahead at a wild gallop in order to announce the news of the lama's arrival in the village. The lama likewise tries to follow at a rapid pace. Only the old lamas take their time. This fetching is called single fetching. Sometimes the fetching is done in two or three stages; then it is called double or triple fetching. Each time the ceremonies of handing over the hada and of the blessing are repeated. In the case of the third troup, however, the fetchers are on foot, for they only go just outside the village.

Reception: As soon as the messengers come riding in, the entire village gathers in front of the house that has invited the lama. All are wearing their best clothes. On the threshing

[37 cont.] On the threshing
792 floor the women and children tirelessly perform their round
796 dances with song, so that one can hear them from afar; the
574 lama is supposed to see how joyfully they welcome him. Out-
[535] side the village all get off their horses; only the lama rides on alone. A man leads his horse by the reins.

As soon as he comes to the gate of the yard, a kang table is placed on the left side of the horse, and a white mat is put over it. The men help the lama out of the saddle, and all kowtow; only the women go on dancing without interruption. The lama steps out of the stirrups onto the table that has been set there and then strides toward the gate, where the master of the household is kneeling. He has placed a hada over his raised hands, and with it he extends to the lama a white bowl of milk with a cypress twig. The lama dips the twig into the milk, sprinkles the gate posts with it, and enters. The incense offering rises in the yard; people blow on all the conches they have. The men draw the lama forward with burning [38] sticks of incense and escort him to his room. There he sits down on the place indicated by the hada. The hada, however, is taken away.

792 The blessing: First of all, the lama rests with his com-
796 panions. The master of ceremonies pours him some tea and
574 invites him to fortify himself. Then the lama recites certain prayers. Meanwhile the yard fills with guests.
788 At this point the master of the household enters the guest room, hands the lama a hada, kowtows, and requests him to come out in order to bless the people. The lama gives him a few small gifts, which he has brought with him, with a hada. Then he rises and goes out. Outside there is an armchair with a cushion; the lama sits down on it, his back turned toward the main house; a white felt mat is spread in front of him.
[554] Now the people move past him according to rank, first the men, then the women. Each person bows low before him while he touches the forehead or the crown of the head of everyone with his prayer book. His assistant stands at his side. After this ceremony he again withdraws into the house. [Figs. 4 and 5 appear here.]

[38 cont.]

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Prayer service: Now he begins his prayer service. Before each prayer service a few tormas are made; if he is a great lama, his assistants see to it. The tormas vary and represent offerings to the gods. In part they are left standing on the table, or they are taken to the household altar. Before that comes a series of little water bowls, grain bowls, liquor bowls (3),

3. [Foreign text p. 41.] There is a definite number and order for these little bowls. The water offering plays an important role in the monastic cult, cf. Kumbum, p. 251. The Tujen and Chia-Hsifan [Sifan] frequently present the water offering in the morning. Thus,

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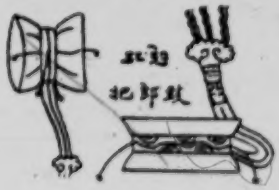

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5

Fig. 4. Two hourglass drums. (Drawing of a Tujen.) Fig. 5. Butter-lamp.

I once saw how an old man got up in the morning, washed himself, burned incense, put a large copper bowl and 12 little bowls of water on the household altar, kowtowed three times in the courtyard, one of these in the direction of Kumbum, kowtowed three times in front of the household altar, and then emptied the water bowls.

and butter-lamps, which are always kept burning. Later these tormas are either taken away or eaten by the family, and sometimes thrown

[38 cont.]
792 to the animals (2).
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2. [Foreign text p. 41.] Concerning sdorma, the DMF writes (p. 338): "pyramidal figures made of grilled dough and offered to the spirits to ward off their evil influences. Cf. Tib. gtor-ma, id. (Mong. turma, tuurma, turuma...)" [translated from French]. Ch. Das characterizes (p. 527) *the expression* gtor-ma, which in turn goes back to a Sanskrit word, as cast offering: "sacrificial objects, i.e., that which is strewn or scattered or given away" [cited in English]. They are said to consist mostly of dough (rice, barley, etc.), to have a pyramidal shape, and are supposed to ward off dangers, to pacify the spirits, etc. -- Much has been written concerning the meaning of the gtor-ma; in this connection cf. the accounts in Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, Ch. XIV. The Tujen conceive of the torma as the seat of a demon or of a god or as spirit food. It does not remain a permanent seat, however, but only during the time of the ceremonies. The spirit is conjured into it by the lama. I was unable to ascertain the name balih among them. As spirit food they call it by the Chinese word szu-shih, that is, offering food, but there is another interpretation, namely "corpse," which also has the form szu-shih. This is what they call the

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[Note on foreign text p. 41 cont.]
torma that at the conclusion of the tsam dance on New Year's is carried off and burned as the murdered enemy of the religion. -- They also call the mandala-figure torma, for instance, during the erection of the pole-goat. -- The fact that the torma has a sacral function for only a brief time explains why it is no longer given any attention after the ceremonies, but is thrown away, given to the animals to eat, or even eaten by the people themselves.

Insofar as I was able to establish among the Tujen, the tormas are always made only of tsamba and butter, and not, as Filchner (Unkrig) writes, loc. cit., out of sour dough. It may be that this kind of preparation is peculiar to the monasteries.

The cult implements of the hutukhtu are the same as those he uses at home in the monastery, to wit, the holy water-can with the peacock feather, the hourglass drum, the thunderbolt, and the hand bell. He always has these things ready at hand on the table. He always holds his mani-string in his hand. While praying he does not sit at the side, but behind the table, on the kang and facing the door. He lays his prayer book in front of him on his knees or on the kang table. Sometimes he also gives the [788] water blessing while the others prepare the tormas. For this purpose he has pure spring water poured into the [39] holy can; one of the assistants throws consecrated spices into it and places the can on a little plate with Tibet barley. The lama then recites the prayer of blessing over it.

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Prayer fee: During the time of his stay the lama is entertained very hospitably. The master of the household, who is also called "master of gifts," must serve him personally. The

[39 cont.]

792 lama, however, does not have his principal meal at noon, like
796 the other guests, but only in the late afternoon. In order to en-
465 tertain him men and women dance and sing in the yard. Only
in the case of very high hutukhtus is there no dancing.

[574] On the last day, after the lama's morning meal, but while
[535] he is still drinking tea on the kang, the master of gifts appears with the ceremonial helpers and with many words expresses his gratitude for the visit and the prayer. Then he hands him a tray with the gifts, over which a hada is spread, and the master of gifts announces what the lama is receiving for his services. This hada over the tray is called "speech hada." The things are put in front of the lama on the table and kowtows are made three times. The assistants, too, receive appropriate gifts.

The fee varies according to the wealth of the master of gifts, the position of the lama, and the ceremonies performed. Usually it consists of several back-baskets of bread (5), some

5. [Foreign text p. 42.] A back-basket holds 24 loaves. The red cloth is for the lama's clothing. Why only grain and money are thought of as a unity and designated by the same name, mbō, is unclear to me. According to the DMF, it comes from the Tibetan p'ogs, "fee."

pieces of mutton (4), silver money, and red cloth. Wealthy

[262] 4. [Foreign text p. 42.] Although
[782] Buddhism prohibits killing, the lamas, as well as the hutukhtus, eat flesh in all forms, as I repeatedly was able to observe. In the monastery Kuo-mang-szu I once noted that a sacrificial sheep, skinned and eviscerated, was set on a sacrificial table in front of the temple door. During

792 [39 cont.]
796
465
[262]
[782]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.]
the subsequent prayer ceremonies, the master of gifts, who had sacrificed this sheep, had the flesh cooked and a piece served to each of the monks in the temple during a pause in the prayer. It is therefore not surprising that the lama receives a loin of mutton for his fee. Since the Tujen, however, do not sacrifice a sheep in the presence of a lama (cf. the chapter, "The Mani-tree"), it seems to be a matter of not performing the killing itself before the eyes of the lama or in the same yard.

people give much more, for instance, beautiful horses, ornamental pendants, cloth, etc. When it is a matter of great
[782] occasions, a prayer service is even ordered for the monastery during the time that the lama stays with the master of gifts. During these days the master of gifts provides all the monks with rice, sugar, butter, and tea. Even pilgrims who stay in
[788] the monastery during these days and "stop in" to honor and to pray for the master of gifts are provided for and also receive alms for the journey.

[782] The masters of gifts also usually donate the prayer tea
[272] for the entire monastery, which is drunk during the ceremonial
[354] in the prayer hall, for example, at funerals, etc. Often they also set up a great number of butter-lamps in the temple at this time, or at least they donate the butter for the lamps. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

792 Return: After the lama has received his gifts, he is cere-
796 monially escorted out of the gate of the yard. An incense
574 offering is again presented, but otherwise no further ceremonies take place. The white horse is brought up, a kang table with a felt mat is set up for mounting, and the lama is lifted into the saddle. Then the men escort him out of the village. There

[39 cont.]

792 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the recep-
796 tion. The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the
574 gifts are brought after him on animals.

[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers. [465] They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

351
796 Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of
784 the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the be-
[609] ginning of the performance may not enter the yard. On the
[792] other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning
[211] may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as
[177]

7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

[534]

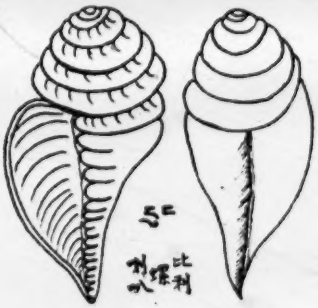

Fig. 6. Shells.

[532]

(Drawing of a Tujen.)

351 [40 cont.]
796
784
211
[177]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] maintains that formerly the Tujen used no sieve and that they learned of it from the Chinese. Nowadays paper is commonly used when it is a matter of a taboo that is not connected with the prayer service. Thus the people stick a rectangular piece of red paper to the gate intrados, on the right when, for example, there is sickness in the compound, and on the left when a woman is in confinement there. White paper is used when someone has died, a custom that probably comes from the Chinese.

[574] The taboo always lasts for several days, three, five, seven, always an odd number, and always as long as the lama is staying [792] at the house, as well as two days afterwards. If, for example, the lama is there only one day, the taboo lasts three days; if he is there three days, it lasts five days, etc. If he is in the house for seven days, however, the taboo lasts for an entire week after his departure (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 42-43.] The taboo regulations mentioned here also apply to other religious ceremonies, even when no lama or Bon priest is invited. The taboo is then in force for only three days, however. -- Even the best friends are not admitted into the house, but are dealt with by the gate of the yard. For this reason they must first call out loudly so that someone will come out.

[43] Sometimes the people also say that in case of illness the yard is marked not out of fear of the spirits, but

[751]

351 [40 cont.]
796
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751

[Note on foreign text p. 43 cont.] rather in order to give strangers a signal so that they will not be infected and will stay outside.

Word List

192
792 Lama: lama; ho-shang (Chin.).
Lama of the Yellow Sect: gelõñba (Tib.); sira lama.
Lama of the Red Sect: fulan lama.
Great lama: šge lama; ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.).
Small lama: mula lama.
Hutukhtu (6): sañ (10); šge sañ = great H.; mula sañ = small H.
huo-fuo (Chin.) = Living Buddha; fo-yeh = Buddha.

6. [Foreign text p. 42.] The common people know little about the hierarchy among the monks. They know great and small lamas. Among the great they count the hutukhtu, the tsüordzi and the känbõ. According to their conception, a great lama is especially learned, knows many magical practices, and therefore has special power. The small lamas have only a little learning and are able to perform only minor ceremonies, for instance, the obo prayer.

[775] The hutukhtus are regarded as Buddhic incarnations. In this the common people do not differentiate between Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Among them everything is fuo-yeh, that is, Buddha-Father. They use this Chinese name for everything that is the seat of the spirit or a spirit itself, in other words, also for the incarnations

[778]
[775]

[40 cont.]

192
792
778
775

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] (Tulkus), the spirit-spear, gods' statues with souls. Sometimes, for the sake of clarity, they designate the incarnations as huo-fuo (Chinese), that is, Living Buddha. The Tujen name purġan is usually used only for the spirits and the spirit seats with souls. Sometimes one hears the expression sañ or sañrë-dzi. I have never encountered the names Tulku, Hutukhtu, or Gegen, which in the Tujen language has the same meaning as sañ, the enlightened one.

192
792
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10. [Foreign text p. 43.] sañrëdzi: Tibetan saṅs = pure, rgyas = spread out. -- ġdzo: Tibetan ġzo = to remind, to bring to mind; dañwu: Tibetan daṅ po = first time; niwa: Tibetan gñis pa = second time; gdzänba: Tibetan gsum pa = third time. -- simier: Tibetan šis = fortune, mar = butter. -- sidar: Tibetan šis = fortune, dar = silk cloth. -- sändzoñ: Tibetan ts'em bzaṅ = cloth good. -- doñsär: Tibetan bdun = seven, gser = golden; the seven golden ones. -- lamar: Tibetan la = wax (from the Chinese), mar = butter. -- dordzi: Tibetan rdo = stone, rje = master. -- bosë: perhaps from the Mongolic; püse = trade, business; cf. Chin. p'u-tzu. -- mäntsia: Tibetan maṅ = ample, ja = tea (Unkrig).

[40 cont.]

192 Lama-reception: lama ndziala.

792 Lama blessing: ndziärgän (Tib.) = in rows.

First fetching: ġdzõ dañwu (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note on preceding page].

796

574 Second fetching: ġdzõ niwa (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Third fetching: ġdzõ ġdzämba (Tib. loanword) 10 [see Note 10 on preceding page].

192 Tsamba bowl with buttered slices: simier (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

262

796 Little plate with baked goods: sētoġ.

Sugar candy: ping-t'ang (Chin.).

Apple: hai-t'ang (Chin.).

Nuts: ho-t'ao (Chin.).

Dates: sa-tsao-êrh (Chin.).

Dry curds: tsūra (Tib., Tuj.).

Oil sticks: san-tzu (Chin.).

Filled loaves: taġur.

Oil pies: yu-pao-tzu (Chin.).

192 Speech hada: sidär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

796 Red cloth (which one presents to the lama): sändzõn (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Grain with money: mbõ.

Loin of mutton (also the entire sheep): ndžuän.

[778] Torma: šdorma (Tib. loanword) (2) [see Note 2 above].

Little copper bowl with water, grain, etc.: dõnsär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Butter-lamp: lamar (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

[778] Holy water-can: wumbä (Tib. loanword).

Peacock's feather: k'un-ch'üo-mao (Chin.).

Thunderbolt: dordzi (Tib., Tuj.).

[41]

[534] Hourglass drum: ndarë.

Mani-string: mani.

3: Schröder--84 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate I

115
142
291
302
● 792
796
534
292

a

b

792
796
782
292
* 778

c

d

(Caption on following page.)

[46 cont.]

000 [Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

115
[142] a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling
[291] in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autumn
[302] of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer,
1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the
792 conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the
796 monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guāmbasoma) in the vicinity
[534] of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense
[292] Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In
[782] front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the
[778] background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-
szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-
reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan.
756 Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to
enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof;
this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand
* [778] the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching
[292] line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not
wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is
very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter:
"The Gurtum.")

3: Schröder--87 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Caption for Plate 2 between pp. 48 and 49.]

*778
[137]
[291]

a: Mani-tree on a house roof in the village T'a-erh-wan west of Tangkar in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

b: An old Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai on the way to the obo of the Sha-pa-kou, 1949. In his right hand a poplar branch with flocks of wool, in his left and imitation spear with a flock of wool and painted spiral. In front of him on the ground: a
[782] bundle of straw for the incense fire, a saddle bag with white stones that will be thrown on the obo, a jug of barley wine for the libation, and behind it a little bag with cypress needles (incense). (To accompany the chapter: "The Obo.")

[342]
[351]
[417]

c: A Tujen yard of the settlement Ha-szu (Hsia-szu) on the way from Na-ling-kou to Yang-chüan. In the center of the yard, the central fort with the mani-tree. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

000 [50]

2. The Arrow of Good Fortune*

*See "Notes," pp. 52-55 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

353
*778

In every good Tujen house there is an arrow. The tip is stuck in an urn of grain, in a crevice in the wall, or in a slit in a beam. Hadas, colorful ribbons, sheep wool, hair, etc. are
[792] attached to the arrow. The arrow is consecrated by a lama or a Bon priest, and on this occasion it is venerated in the house. Later, however, it is not venerated any more. The arrow is
[777] not the seat of a spirit, but rather guarantees good fortune and wealth in the family.

[55] 3. The Mani-tree and the Central Fort *

* See "Notes," pp. 60-63 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

*778 In almost every Tujen yard a mani-tree is set up in the [357] middle of the central fort [Mittelburg] or round manger [Rundkrippe]. The mani-tree need not be erected at the same time as this central fort; it can be done later. The time is [791] determined by the soothsayer.

The mani-tree consists of a wooden mast with a tip, which represents sun and moon. Below this tip a five-colored cover is drawn over the mast-end, and below this mast-end flies the white mani-flag.

This flag is printed in the lamic monastery. At the same [792] time the master of the household invites a lama to raise the tree. The lama prays several days and on the last day undertakes [78] the raising. During these days the yard is taboo. The great [35] incense offering is presented three times daily.

At the raising, the mast is brought into the yard, placed [784] with its tip on the central fort, and the individual parts are attached to it. Once the pole has been set up, it is fumigated, [782] first with the red-hot stone and then with incense. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from a plate with the spear tip and throws them over the tree, and the master of the household [56] [Fig. 7 appears here] dabs the tree with butter. Then the men dig a narrow deep hole in the central fort down to the level of the ground. The soothsayer again throws some grains of barley into it with the spear, and the master of the household also strews a few incense leaves in it. Then the men set the tree in the hole and draw it up. In order to make it stand firmly, it is wedged in at the base with stones and clay. The entire operation is done under the constant supervision of the spear-god cited.

[56 cont.]

782 Now comes the offering. Incense is burned on the fumi-
*778 gating plate under the mani-tree, while a table with the follow-
ing gifts is put in front of it (1): a number of small bowls of

> 1. [Foreign text p. 60.] One can also burn incense directly at the foot of the tree inside the round manger and set the offerings there.

barley wine, grain, pure water, a large bowl of tea, bread, butter- or oil-lamps, and two vases of colorful flowers. -- The lama comes out, sits down on the opposite side of the central fort on a white felt mat, and gives the consecrating prayer. Meanwhile all those present kowtow and blow the conch.

After the prayer, the offerings are cleared away. Water and wine are poured on the ground, and small pieces of the bread are thrown into the air. The little oil-lamps are left standing. Everything else is taken into the house.

*778 The master of the household gives the guests a meal; they
527 dance and sing and drink into the night in the yard around the
[792] new mani-tree -- The next morning the lama is taken home to
the monastery.

Details

791
*778 Persons: For praying, an ordinary lama, not a Living
[782] Buddha, but sometimes a Bon priest, is invited. Everything can
[792] also be done without a lama, but then the performance lasts
[592] only one day because the praying is omitted. In this case the
master of the household himself erects the tree. The ceremonies are almost the same as with a lama. The soothsayer, however, may never be lacking, whether or not he is a spear-soothsayer, or the litter-bearers or the table-god soothsayer (2).

[787]

> 2. [Foreign text p. 60.] The soothsayer is invited in the morning and given hospitality. He calls down the spirit and then determines precisely

[57 cont.]

*778
[621]

[Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.]
on a raised terrace with a beautiful incense oven in front of it. Frequently a mani-pole with a fluttering pennant also stands in the center of the obo. The most beautiful and largest mani-trees are found in front of the entrance gates of the Living Buddhas in the lamaseries; they are up to 15 meters long and bear flags up to five or eight meters long which are printed all over with Tibetan texts. -- Mani-poles are found even among the Chinese, although rarely.

[792]

[171]

The tip (4): The tip is cut out of a wooden board as thick

4. [Foreign text p. 60.] This tip also occurs again and again on chorten, temple roofs, coffins, in symbols, etc. -- The large mani-trees mentioned above in front of the yard of the Living Buddhas, however, usually have a golden ball in place of the sun-moon tip.

[792]

as a thumb, in the shape of a sun resting on a half-moon. A small semicircle sits on the sun, and the moon has a handle with which the tip is set on the end of the pole. Everything, sun, half-moon, and handle, is cut out of one piece. This tip, however, does not sit directly on the pole, but instead is stuck through a round wooden plate-sized disk that comes to rest vertically on the end of the pole (5). The sun with its attached

5. [Foreign text p. 60.] The old man knew of no name for the round disk through which the handle of the moon sickle is stuck. He thought

[58 cont.]

*778
796
782

[Foreign text p. 61 cont.]
New Year, very early in the morning, as I observed. On this occasion a great incense offering with a great many small dough-lamps are burned, bread, tea, and barley wine are offered, and finally a pack of paper horse-images with all kinds of inscriptions is thrown into the air and scattered in all directions by the wind. The entire ceremony takes place on a mountain. In case of misfortune anyone may undertake this ceremony at will.

*778 782 The sheep offering: When a lama has raised the mani-pole, then there remains the above-described offering of bread wine, flowers, etc. After that the lama withdraws into the house. In the yard the spear-soothsayer divines once more whether the spirits want another sheep offering or not. The soothsayer then announces the will of the spirit; sometimes the latter dispenses with a sheep offering; sometimes he wants to have it immediately, and sometimes only after a few days. The yard must then remain taboo for that length of time. -- The sheep offering is never given in the presence of the lama, since it is, of course, always connected with the killing of the animal, and the lamas do not permit killing. The ritual of the sheep offering does not differ from the usual slaughter- and offering-ritual.

[791] [787] [357] [784] [792]

*778 Renewal of the mani-tree: If in the course of time the tree or the flag have suffered damage, they are renewed, that is, only the part that is damaged. The tattered flag is burned, for instance, in the hearth or in a fire specially kindled for it, but always with pure firewood, never with the usual dry dung, for example. The unusable mani-tree is likewise burned. In no case may it be used for other purposes,

[372]

[58 cont.]

*778 say, as roof board. When the mani-tree or the part concerned is replaced, everything is done with the same ceremonies as at a new raising.

[357] The small mani-flag: Instead of the large mani-tree, a small pole with an air-horse pennant is frequently raised on the yard gate of the outer yard. This pennant is about an ell square and is printed only with the picture of the air-horse, or at most with a few brief Tibetan sayings as well. This pennant is also made in the monastery. No lama and no soothsayer is invited to raise this flag, however. The soothsayer merely determines a lucky day and a favorable hour. Everything is done without special ceremonies, even without an incense offering. The yard, however, is taboo for a few days. Some farmers raise both the large mani-flag in the yard and the small mani-flag on the gate.

[792] [791] [357] [784]

357 *778 The round manger: When a new compound is laid out, a round manger or central fort is always dug in the middle of the yard, exactly in accordance with the soothsayer's directions. For this purpose, the lama makes five treasure-urns, which are set in the pit. The pit is covered level with the ground and over it is raised a round wall of about two meters in diameter and one meter high. The lower three layers are stones; the upper layers, air-dried bricks. This circle is filled with clay and stamped down. In the center there is a pole or a cart axle, to which the animals are tied [59] when they are sunned and fed there during the day. For that reason the whole structure is called "round manger." It is also called "central fort," for it is the center of the yard and the buried urns protect the compound. The central fort is complete only when the mani-pole is raised. On the edge of the round manger, facing the main house, is found the fumigating plate. -- The making and burying of the urns is done with the same ceremonies that are performed in connection with the treasure-urn or the raising of a beṅkaṅ (chorten chamber). -- The round manger is painted white. After the raising, the master of the household holds a

[791] [792] [231] [527]

[63 cont.]

Report

*778 On the mountains in the vicinity of the villages, the Tujen like to erect an obo. This is a large stonepile over a pit in which all kinds of things are buried. On these stonepiles stands a large square wooden frame, in which all kinds of weapons, tree twigs, and mani-flags are placed. Frequently several smaller stonepiles run from the obo to the four points of the compass; there will be at least one row in the direction of the mountain ridge.

*778 782 [776] [792] [791] The obo is dedicated to the mountain-spirit. It protects the village and the individual family. The obo is venerated three times each month with an incense offering. Sheep sacrifices also often take place at the obo. On special occasions a lama or Bon priest is invited to pray before the obo. When air-horses are released, it is done preferably from the peak on which an obo stands. -- Every year a large folk festival takes place near the obo.

Details

*778 [621] [628] Place: The obo is always erected on a mountain height. A place by a pass is preferred. It need not be the highest mountain in the area. Each village may have its own obo, or several villages may erect an obo together. In the latter case they agree upon a favorable place between the villages (1).

[171]

1. [Foreign text p. 68.] The obo need not always be on a mountain. In other regions around Sining one finds obos on the plain, for instance, near Fandse and Chiafandse settlements. Even here, however, trees are almost always present. Nevertheless, the Tujen maintain that they would never build an obo on the plain, for, according to them, an obo belongs to the mountain-spirit and must

[63 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 68 cont.]
therefore stand on a mountain. --
They take the sacred place quite
[621] seriously. Thus, it is striking that
for all Tujen villages mountain
terrain is set aside, a piece of grass
land with forest, where no agricul-
ture may be carried on. Where the
Chinese intervene, however, these
mountain groves disappear. From
these sparse remains one can imagine
what the now bare agricultural land
looked like in former times.

*778 The mountain on which the obo stands may not be defiled.
784 No fields may be laid out there; the trees may not be cut down;
the grass may not be cut; the ground may not be turned up. The
animals that live there, for instance, hares, foxes, birds, are
not hunted or killed. Everything must be left just as it grows
[231] and thrives by nature; the cattle may not graze there at any
[776] time. This place, namely, belongs to the mountain-spirit and
is called sacred mountain.

*778 The obo pit: When the obo is erected, a pit is dug. All
[792] kinds of valuables are put in it, primarily treasure-urns (earth-
[791] god urns), as in the case of the central fort of the compound.
[178] The obo is erected by a lama or Bon priest. No [64] Tujen of
the present generation has seen this ceremony. The present-
day obos still stem from olden times and are more and more
falling into disrepair. Therefore no one knows any more pre-
cisely what is buried in the obo.

The stone mound: The height of the mound varies, de-
pending on the circumstances. First an outer wall is put in
layers in circular form. A large number of little stones are put
inside the circle up to the edge, and these are supposed to be
white stones. At every obo veneration additional stones are

[65 cont.]

782 concerns, and there are private sacrifices which the individual
[621] gives for his family.

The communal sacrifice is usually given in summer after the erection of the pole-goat for a good harvest. A private sacrifice is undertaken at any time of year according to time and circumstances, for instance, in case of an illness or before an important undertaking. Since one man alone cannot carry out everything for a sacrifice, he invites several other men to it, who help him and afterwards consume the sacrificial meat. The person who makes the offering must also pay the cost.

The sacrificial rite does not differ from that of the other
[231] sheep sacrifice. Thus, the sheep is washed, has milk poured
over it, is fumigated, etc. Usually a soothsayer is present.
[791] After the sacrificial meat has been boiled, several bowls of broth
are scooped out. The offering-casts are made with it in the
[252] directions indicated by the soothsayer. These are always the same. Three bowls are thrown towards the north for heaven, three bowls each to the east, south, west, and north for the countless spirits, three bowls to the left of the incense offering for the mountain-spirit in the obo, three bowls to the right of the incense offering for the earth-spirit. Then follow three more bowls on the obo, and finally three additional bowls are poured before the spirit-spear. Then follows the offering meal,
[574] at which all the meat is consumed.

Before the sheep offering the general obo-veneration is first undertaken, as at the month offering.

[792] The obo prayer: Frequently a lama or Bon priest is in-
vited to pray before the obo. This may last one to seven days,
[791] depending upon the request. Here, too, either the entire
[621] village or an individual person is the petitioner. Everyone pays personally for the expenses arising from it.

The prayer service begins with an incense offering of the people. Meanwhile the lama makes a šdorma. Then the people place the following offerings before the obo: three baked loaves, 13 steamed loaves, a bowl [66] of barley wine, flowers in vases, small bowls with honey, a cup of tea, black and white sugar, a bowl of tsamba with butter-disks.

[71 cont.]

346 The chorten chamber is erected by the entire village.
*778 Everyone must give a hand. The lama comes and prays for
[621] seven days, makes a series of tormas, and manufactures the
[792] urns. On the seventh day the chorten chamber is built. Only
little windows are left in it. In front of the chorten chamber
the men burn incense and move in a circle around the chamber
as at the obo. Through the window holes they then again throw
in little chorten.

[621] The chorten chamber protects the village and the family
[777] from misfortune. It represses the evil earth-influences. [Fig.
8 appears here.]

Details

[361] Place: The chorten chamber is always erected outside
[791] the compound and outside the village. No attention is paid to
paths. The place is more precisely designated by the sooth-
sayer, not by the lama.

[72] Form: The groundplan of the chorten chamber is rectangular. Its size varies greatly. There are small chambers as high as a man and large ones with beautiful tile roofs and columned porticoes. There is never a door in the wall. Only at head level are square peepholes left, an ell square. There is no sun-moon disk on the roof, such as is otherwise common on temples. Usually a beautiful incense oven stands before the chamber. -- There are many kinds of chorten chambers. The one here is the most common; it is called "house-chamber," for there are also some that are not roofed (1).

[192] 1. [Foreign text pp. 77-78.]
According to the informant, bẽṅ designates the same thing as the Tibetan 'bum (in many places also pronounced bẽṅ), that is, 100,000. kãṅ is the Tibetan word for house, but it can also mean temple, for example, in the word sdienkãṅ.

[72 cont.]

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*778
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[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.]
a roof, such as dżëw-yi and ger-kãṅ. The kãṅ described here is this ger-kãṅ. Actually this name is a tautology, for ger is Mongolic and means house (tent), in other words, the same as the Tibetan kãṅ. Besides these names, there are other special designations for bẽṅkaṅ, such as mani bẽṅkãṅ, tsãla bẽṅkãṅ, dšōma bẽṅkãṅ, maridzẽ bẽṅkãṅ. Unfortunately all these types could not be inquired into precisely [78], nor likewise the meaning of the name and the contents of the bẽṅkãṅ. The many rẽduombẽṅ (7) [see Note 7 below], pyramid-like stonepiles which hold down evil demons, as is also reported in the Tujen myth of the female man-eater Mãṅgudzẽ, probably also belong among the bẽṅkãṅ. For this function the Chinese have the expression pu mei-ch'i, that is, to plug up the (earth)veins' breath.

*778 . Time: The chorten chamber may be erected at any time of the year, although the frost-free period is preferred because of the work on the walls. The soothsayer designates the specific [791] day and hour. -- The preparation, however, takes many weeks because the building material, the urns, and the clay cones must be manufactured. In addition, a small village festival [527] is always connected with the erection and for that reason the time after the harvest is preferred.

[621] Persons: All the persons of the village take part in the [476] preparations, men, women, and children. The leader divides the work among the individual families. At the erection and the [562] consecrating ceremonies, however, only men are active. Women [792] are kept away. -- The consecration of the urns and the service

[72 cont.]

*778 at the erection is undertaken only by a lama of higher rank.

[792] The urns: Altogether there are ten urns, two large urns up to 40 centimeters high and eight small urns. Concerning the purchase, the purification of the urns, etc., the same regulations apply as in the case of the earth-god urn (cf. the relevant section).

The contents of the urns: The large urns contain two layers of filling; in addition, a bundle of five prayer scrolls is stuck in each layer, in other words, ten scrolls, five in each of the two bundles, in each large urn.

The manufacture of these bundles is done in the following fashion: The lama takes a little stick of clean wood about ten centimeters long and as thick as a little finger. Around this he wraps a layer of leaves of paper printed with Tibetan texts. He [213] himself brings the wooden plates for the printing, since the texts vary according to the spirits represented by the scrolls. A very tight wrapping of silk thread in the five colors is put around this layer of paper, so that nothing can be seen of the texts. Then the lama takes five such scrolls and ties them together in such a way that the principal scroll is in the middle and the other four surround it symmetrically. Then a layer of silk or thin cloth, yellow or red in color, is put around this bundle, and finally the whole is once more wound tightly with silk thread in the five colors, like a thread-spool for spinning. -- Everything, the paper, the cloth, the threads, etc., are sprinkled each time with holy water and fumigated before use. -- Thus altogether four bundles are prepared.

[73] As extra features for the receptacle the following are used: mountain earth from sacred mountains (it must be taken from the peak); river water, pure spring water, which is sprinkled into the urn; wood from pure trees in the mountains, fir or cypress tops (foliage and bark from these trees are also permissible); grain, such as wheat, white beans, white rape, barley, and Tibetan barley (ch'ing-kuo); black and white sugar; Buddha gold, silver, little pieces of pearl, mother-of-pearl.

[621 cont.]

551 [Note on foreign text p. 622 cont.] the father or grandfather or someone else in the family was just fifty years old, but the mother's family has no influence on such names. For boys, instead of mdzuo (full) one says serãṅ, that is, roughly "sublime." Other names are, for example, wadma sdziġ, that is, lotus flower, for girls; or wadma sdzia, that is, dedicated to the lotus, for boys. -- The Chinese, too, have a similar custom. They, for example, take a boy to the temple of the black tiger and then call him "dedicated to the black tiger," hei-hu-pao; or "dedicated to the mother," niang-niang-pao, when they have put the child under the protection of the mother-goddess in the temple. The Chinese pao and the sdzia of the Tujen have the same meaning.

[171]

5. [Foreign text p. 622.] sẽrãṅ: Tibetan sraṅ (?) = dwelling, settlement (Unkrig).

553 child to eat; he likewise offers it tea. It is not the child, how-
791 ever, but the mother who eats the gifts. Then everyone makes a threefold kowtow in the house to the soothsayer and the Buddha image, and outside to the sky.

If the spear-spirit desires that the family elder should
[592] give the name, the latter performs the same ceremonies, but the soothsayer supervises the performance with the trembling spear. Also, the kowtow is then made to the family elder. --
553 This ceremony is usually undertaken by the grandfather or
592 father, or by the man who is the master in the family (4). It
[792]

[621 cont.]

553 [592] [792]

4. [Foreign text p. 622.] A lama can also perform the ceremony. This is rarely done, however. Usually the father or kin-group elder does it.

is never a woman or a relative from the family of the woman in childbed.

Following the name-giving or in the course of the day, the mother with the child in her arms must kowtow to all the guests; for this she receives a small gift of money for the child. -- Towards noon the family holds a general feast, for men and women separately. On this occasion much barley wine is drunk, and there is singing and dancing.

[431] [527] [273] [562]

852 Reception of the shepherd: Towards evening, when the animals are expected back from the pasture, the father or the mother takes the infant in his arms and takes it out in front of the gate of the yard, where they meet the homecoming herd. The shepherd must give the child some money, and in return the father gives him a loaf of bread which he must eat immediately. This custom is called "to welcome the shepherd"; the Chinese say "to welcome the sheep" (2). -- The guests

[431] [553]

2. [Foreign text p. 622.] The reception of the shepherd is also found among the Chinese, just as the termination of the confinement generally is almost the same among them. In the region of Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) I learned from the missionary there, P. Frick, that the people place the child in the manger so that it may later own many herds and become a good horseman. This custom could not be confirmed for the Tujen.

[171] [846]

192 [628 cont.]
527 The welcoming of joy: ying hsi (Chin.).

[Pages 628-629 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[630] 4. The Age-blessing*

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* See "Notes," pp. 634-635 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[792] Old people, men and women, invite the lama to bless and instruct them. This is a great family festival. It is prepared a long time in advance.

On a certain day acquaintances and relatives come and bring the old person presents and gratulate him. They are treated with tea and cake. There is singing and dancing and a [574] feast is held. The young people fetch the hutukhtu. When he arrives, the women of the village dance, and incense is burned in the yard. The hutukhtu blesses the guests at the feast and the old person.

In the afternoon the age-consecration is performed. The hutukhtu makes a number of tormas, which are carried off. Then the old person kneels on the felt mat before the hutukhtu, is blessed with holy water, receives instructions, and is girdled with a yellow sash. He then resembles a lay monk. The mother's [792] brother determines what compensation the hutukhtu is to receive. [465] The next morning the hutukhtu returns to his monastery.

The consecrated person must now observe special commandments, must withdraw on the first and fifteenth of the [785] month for meditation, and fast and pray. -- Not all people can afford this celebration, for it is very expensive.

[630 cont.]

Details

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The consecrated person: The person may be a woman or a man. He must be advanced in age; usually he is around sixty years old. At this age they are pious and reflective and are better able to observe the prescriptions. Young people are eager for life, violent, and uncontrolled. The consecration is done only by an incarnation, hutukhtu, not by an ordinary lama. [792]

Preparations: The preparations are carried out in consultation with the mother's brother. He determines the day and the hutukhtu who is to be invited. Since the whole village takes part in the celebration, money is saved a long time in advance. Sheep, pigs, or a cow are slaughtered; oil-baking, bread, and oil-sticks, san-tzu, are baked for provisions; the house and yard are put in order, liquor is distilled, new clothes are purchased, and the gifts for the hutukhtu are provided. The latter, a few days in advance, sends one or several monks who put the room in order for him and prepare the kitchen, so that he may live and eat worthily. [604] [621] [262]

Gratulation and reception of guests: On the day set, the person to be consecrated puts on his best clothes and stays in a clean side room. The visitors, relatives, and [631] guests come early in the forenoon. They gratulate the person to be consecrated and bring a gift; usually they wrap a hada around it, which they solemnly hand to the person. The gifts are put on a chest in a room, usually in front of a household altar. Bread, oil-baking, cloth, hadas, silver money, etc. are given. A master of ceremonies is designated so that all may go according to custom and order. [431]

Of the guests, the mother's brother is the person of greatest respect. One goes toward him and hands him a hada. When he comes, the person to be consecrated steps down from the kang and receives him. He then hands the gifts to him and is treated with tea and cake in the place of honor. Then everyone together drinks tea and liquor and breaks pieces of oil-sticks into the bowls. -- Aside from the mother's brother, the daughter's [604] [431]

[631 cont.]

527 778 888 [431] husband and the daughter's children must give a hada and money to the person to be consecrated. In return they later receive greater remuneration when they depart.

[574] [562] Feast: The feast takes place in the yard, first for the men, then for the women. Three fields are divided off, right and left for guests, and in the center for the mother's brother with the two closest relatives. These three sit on a felt mat on even ground with their backs to the main door of the main house and have before them a low kang table with the dishes; they are served separately by the master of ceremonies. On the two fields to the right and left, straw is scattered in a square; heavy planks are put in front of it and sometimes also mats, which are to represent the tables. In the middle of each square there burns a fire in which tea and liquor are warmed.

[264] [574] The food is introduced with tsamba and tea, which is taken with butter and milk. Mutton or pork follows; the fatter it is, the better liked and more superior it is. A considerable amount is drunk. Rice follows as the main dish, which is mixed with butter and sugar and sweet roots. -- The women eat after the men. -- During the meal there are always some free, who sing and dance.

527 778 888 792 604 Settling the prayer fee: After the meal, the master of ceremonies pours out liquor for the mother's brother. The sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law kneel down before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies hands him a hada and starts the negotiations over the price. The mother's brother demands expensive gifts and much money for the lama; the master of ceremonies, through his rhetorical skill, must gradually lower the demands, until finally a suitable sum is agreed upon. Then the sons and daughters stand up, kowtow, thank the mother's brother, and go. This is similar to what is done at the pai-ta before the cremation (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 634.] For further details, see chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation." Here, too, the

[631 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 634 cont.] prominent position of the mother's brother is particularly striking.

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[604]

Arrival of the lama: The day before or early in the morning, horsemen have ridden to the lamasery to fetch the hutukhtu. He comes towards midday and is led into the house with the usual ceremonies. On the threshing floor before the yard gate the women dance and sing with all their might. In the yard the incense offering is burned and the conch [632] is blown. The lama is led to the kang in the main house; there he rests and drinks tea.

[604] After a considerable time, the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies introduce themselves to him, give him a hada, and request him to bless the guests at the celebration. Outside, before the door of the main house, he sits down on a chair, and all pass by with bent heads, the mother's brother first. The hutukhtu touches the crown or the forehead of each [788] one with his heavy prayer book. This is called the lama-blessing, from which the entire ceremony gets its name (2). --

[192]

2. [Foreign text p. 634.] Cf. chapter, "Reception of the Lama." I could ascertain no name other than lama ndziala; ndziala has a whole series of meanings, among others: to invite a hutukhtu. Because the age-consecration is the greatest familial religious event to which the hutukhtu is invited, it is simply called the "invitation." It is a ceremony in which a special relationship to monasticism is established through the consecration.

The person to be consecrated does not come, but waits until later.

[632 cont.]

527 778 888 792 The age-consecration: After the usual butter-lamps and little bowls have been set before the household altar in the main house, the assisting lama makes a few tormas, among them a little one. The tormas are placed on a tray before the household altar.

On the floor before the kang of the hutukhtu a felt mat is spread and the little torma is put on it. The person to be consecrated enters, followed by the mother's brother and his children, kneels barefoot and bareheaded (the women without a headdress and with their braids hanging down) on the mat, kowtows three times, and remains kneeling before the torma.

The hutukhtu prays over the candidate for consecration. The latter holds out his cupped hands, into which the hutukhtu pours holy water from his can. He drinks it. There follows a second pouring into the cupped hands. The candidate for consecration rinses his mouth with it and spits the water twice over the torma. He washes his head with the third portion of water poured into his cupped hands. Finally the last pouring follows, with which he washes his face (4).

[783]

4. [Foreign text p. 634.] Washing, of course, plays an important role in all consecration ceremonies; even Buddha images are washed before they become "ensouled." In this connection, cf. also Filchner, Kumbum, pp. 267 ff.; Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141; furthermore the chapter, Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation."

After that the hutukhtu sprinkles him with holy water from the can and throws Tibetan barley over him, on which he has blown three times. He consecrates the water with the spices in advance, after the tormas are finished. For the sprinkling he uses the peacock feather, not a twig from the tree of life.

Now the master of ceremonies, the husbands of the daughters, and children take the torma that stands before the

[632 cont.]

527 candidate out into the yard and throw it away. The mother's
778 brother stays there, and after that only own children still appear.
888 They stand or kneel in the side room behind the person to be
792 consecrated and shut the door, because only a few people may be present. Only the person to be consecrated remains in the lama-room, kneeling before the kang.

The candidate for consecration now washes himself again in the manner described above, is again sprinkled with holy water, and has Tibetan barley thrown at him. The master of ceremonies takes an iron spoon, puts in it some of the red-hot material from the fire-basin of the lama, scatters pounded cypress incense on it, and the lama throws fragrant spices over
[783] it. The person to be consecrated is fumigated all around with this and is now completely pure. The hutukhtu gives the consecration prayer over him and instructs him regarding the com-
[785] mandments that he must observe from now on. These commandments relate to fasting, abstention, the prohibition against killing, prayer, etc. They vary somewhat for men and women. [633] The instruction is given in the Tujen language so that the candidate will understand it.

Now follows the donning of the yellow sash. It is about
[292] a hand wide and four to five ells long. It is not supposed to be silk. Silk mixed with cotton is permitted, but usually it is cotton. The candidate must provide it himself. This sash lies before the hutukhtu on the kang table and is fumigated at the same time as the person to be consecrated. It is not sprinkled with holy water. The assisting lama places the sash over the candidate's left shoulder and ties it together under the right arm
[292] with a yellow string that has likewise been fumigated. The cloth has the same name as the loop of cloth that the lamas throw over the shoulder.

Since the consecration does not take place until late afternoon, it has meanwhile become evening. Only now does the hutukhtu partake of the main meal. In the yard, however, the guests gather around the fire, warm their liquor, and sing and dance into the night.

The next morning the hutukhtu performs his usual morn-
[465] ing prayers, drinks tea, and receives his prayer fee: several

[633 cont.]

527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
792 brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
[431] oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[465] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him. A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
[792] after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed
[766] by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
[262] longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation. This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[633 cont.]

778 incense offering in the morning. Then he withdraws to the kang,
888 drinks "empty tea," that is, pure tea without additions and without
[785] food. He meditates and prays on his mani-string. No one may disturb him, even when guests come; he likewise does not concern himself about anything. During this time he may not sleep. Also, he may not go into the temple or to the obo. Only in the afternoon does he partake of a meal, which, however, is better and more ample than usual (5).

[527] 5. [Foreign text pp. 634-635.] Concerning the whole affair, cf. Filchner, Kumbum, p. 199. The ceremony described here is much more detailed than there and also deviates somewhat. The name Upāsaka (or Upāsika) was not mentioned by the informant. Also, he did not know the prescriptions in detail. He did confirm, however, that after each commandment the candidate had to affirm that he would observe it. The old man had not had the consecration
[792] performed for him. The people regard the consecrated persons as lay gelong; one is reminded here of the similarity with the third order in the Christian Occident.

778 It is also clear from the commandments why young people are not considered for the consecration. To be sure, this consecration can be completed at any age at or after death; at that time even young people are no longer capable of transgressing the commandments. The age-consecra-
[796] tion seems to be merely the last step
[792] of a series of consecrations of laymen which are undertaken parallel with the consecration stages of the lamas. The

[635 cont.]

764 evening the neighbors and friends gather and pray for the dead, squatting in a circle. Some days before the cremation, the master of ceremonies invites a lama to conduct the death cere-
[792] monies and burn the corpse. First, however, the mother's
[604] brother must release the corpse; this is done the evening before at the meal, when he demands an accounting for the dead person and his interment.

The cremation is undertaken outside the village in a crematory, which on each occasion is built at a different place.
[792] The lama performs almost the same ceremonies on this occasion as at the fire-pouring. After the cremation the remaining bones are kept in a wooden chest and temporarily buried on the spot.
[765] Not until the next spring do the relatives transfer them to the
766 family cemetery. -- Small children are not buried. Adult girls are burned quietly without ceremonies in an isolated place.

765 The strict period of mourning lasts 49 days. As a sign of mourning, the men turn their clothing inside out, and the women remove their ornaments and certain parts of their headdress.

[636] Details

763 Preparation of the corpse: Shortly before death, the men
764 shave first the head and then the beard of the dying person. If death sets in too suddenly, however, so that they can no longer shave him alive, it is left undone. After the shaving, he is undressed and his hands, face, and feet are washed, not the entire body. The men do this for men, the women for women. The women keep their long hair, as do girls. The hair is parted in the center and two three-stranded braids are plaited, which hang down over the breast or the back. In the case of sudden death, the corpse is merely washed and the hair dressed; the washing is then done with only a damp cloth (1).

[823]

1. [Foreign text p. 650.] Why no water may flow over the corpse could not be discovered; probably it is feared that the water would thereby be made impure; it is counted among the basic elements.

[639 cont.]

764 782 792 The official prayer-service is undertaken by a lama, if possible by a hutukhtu. He is given a room of his own in the house of mourning, which ordinarily immediately adjoins the room in which the corpse is laid out, so that he can remain on the kang when he recites the office of the dead. A lama never prays directly before the corpse. A hutukhtu visits the house of mourning only on the day before the cremation, and stays there only one night. He also always undertakes the ceremonial cremation with the fire-pouring. Other lamas, on the other hand, may perform services in the house of mourning several days before.

[177] In recent times the Tujen also invite Chinese bonzes for the prayers. They adhere to their own rites. It also happens that bonzes and lamas are invited at the same time. Then the prayer rite is mixed. A cremation, however, is never carried out without some religious officiant first giving the prayers for the dead (12). Lamas of lower rank, who may not undertake the

[123] 12. [Foreign text p. 654.] The Tujen have no difficulties in inviting representatives of various religions for prayers. I was even requested once to give the Christian office of the dead. -- On the other hand, the Chinese Buddhists also invite the lamas to give prayers for the dead.

fire-pouring, or bonzes do not go along to the place of cremation, but remain in the house of mourning.

764 782 792 465 [604] For the prayer, the relatives, lamas, and bonzes receive a corresponding honorarium which is usually fixed by the mother's brother on the occasion of the demand for an accounting during the last mourning meal. The Chinese bonzes, to be sure, demand a fixed fee immediately upon being invited; otherwise they do not come at all. The other persons who say prayers, assistants at the cremation, etc. receive compensation in the form of alms on the eve of the cremation or on the morning after the cremation.

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764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
782 large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
792 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
465 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
[272] temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
[262] own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people
[788] buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the
[552] temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it.
[432] In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of
butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large
month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and
night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate
to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the
dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name
of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by
the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer
services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
602 Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain
a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

[177]

13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 654 cont.] hsiao-tzu in Chinese, who are the male descendants and relatives of the first and second degree, for example, younger brothers, younger cousins, grandsons.

on the mother's side do not appear in the house of mourning until the eve of the cremation.

764 They must be informed, however, immediately after the death; this is called "death announcement." The master of
602 ceremonies, with a small bottle of liquor, goes to the mother's
604 brother to announce the death of the latter's nephew or niece (14).

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14. [Foreign text p. 654.] In recent times the Tujen announce the death to the mother's brother by means of a written communication, like the Chinese. The original practice, however, is the announcement with the liquor-jug, to which is tied a flock of wool.

[792] The two now consult as to how the funeral solemnities are to
[465] be arranged, how many monks are to be invited to pray, how large the fees are to be, etc. The mother's brother is intent upon setting demands as high as possible, whereas the master of ceremonies sets lower ones. Once they have agreed upon
[273] the approximate level, they drink the little jug of liquor together. If they do not agree, the master of ceremonies returns home with the liquor and he receives new instructions from the bereaved family. Sometimes this happens two or three times. A final arrangement is not made until the last day at the accounting in the house of mourning.

On the eve of the cremation, the mother's brother, and with him all the male relatives on the mother's side, appears in the yard of the bereaved. The women among the maternal

[640 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 654-655 cont.] father his mother's brother is the person of respect, who in case of death demands an accounting. Wei-chia and wai-chia have the same signs; only the pronunciation is different. Literally translated it means [655] "the outside family," in other words, not belonging to the male line. Instead of wai-chia one also says niang-chia, which designates the family from which the mother comes. This expression is also used for the family of the lama, who, of course, is unmarried. -- The wai-chia or niang-chia does not appear until the day before the cremation.

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The mother's brother is solemnly
764 received by the master of ceremonies and led to the death-box.
602 There he and his retinue offer the 12 loaves, burn paper, and
604 kowtow. During this time all the relatives must express great
[782] bereavement and the women utter loud lamentations. The mother's brother also weeps. After this ceremony, the mother's brother is led into the house and onto the kang, where he is given tea and bread. He rests a little while. The other companions are given hospitality outside in the yard where everything is set up for the funeral meal and the ceremony of the accounting.

[641] The mother's brother is led into the yard and sits on a white felt mat which is spread out on the ground directly before the entrance of the main house. He sits with his back to the house, facing the mani-tree. A kang table is put in front of him. The other relatives on the maternal side sit on straw to the right and left of him in a semicircle. Boards which are supposed to represent tables are put in front of them. Now oil-baking, tea, and pastries are brought. The serving is done by the cousin-
[273] hood on the father's side (16). After the first bite, the guests are

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16. [Foreign text p. 655.] At the interment, the Tujen have the

[642 cont.]

764 a rule, all young people under 20 years of age, whether male or
[766] female, are cremated in the evening at sundown. Persons over 20 years of age are cremated in the morning at sunrise. The place of cremation is prepared the day before.

Place of cremation: The place of cremation is usually chosen by the master of ceremonies after consultation with the members of the family. Only ground that belongs to the deceased's own family or to the relatives on the father's side is considered. A dead person may never be cremated on strange soil or on land that belongs to the maternal relatives. Special preference is given to a spot on a steep ridge between fields, because the fire for the oven can most easily be set there. In
241 choosing the spot, one must see to it that the smoke will not
764 blow across a sown field. Therefore, after the sowing festival in the spring, a remote place is chosen in a ravine or on a
178 mountain where there are no more fields. Aside from the fact that the seed would be trampled, the smoke of a burning corpse is harmful for the growth and the harvest. Therefore nowadays, when even the most remote little mountain patches are planted, cremation is increasingly on the wane, especially in the valleys, and the dead are buried in coffins (19).

[177] [Foreign text p. 656.] This may not be the most decisive reason for the disappearance of the custom, however, but rather the general Sinicization. In remote ravines everywhere a place can still be found for cremation, for even the Chinese in the valleys cremate their adult, unmarried daughters in such remote places.

764 If the fire-pouring is undertaken at the cremation, then
792 the lama himself goes out to the field the day before and
782 chooses a suitable spot. For this purpose he kneads a large torma

[642 cont.]

764 in the house and takes the torma to the place where he wants the crematory to be built. The incense offering is then made in
792 front of the torma, but without any extra features, except tsamba
782 and butter; the lama sprinkles the fire with holy water. While he then prays on a white felt mat, the others kowtow. In this
[776] way the lama requests the place for the cremation from the mountain-spirit; the incense and the torma are meant for the mountain-spirit. In making the choice, the lama takes into account the evenness of the ground, since for these ceremonies he needs a suitable place for the table and the mat he sits on.

764 [643] Erection of the crematory: Now [illustration ap-
333 pears here] an oven is built out of clay bricks. The torma is set to one side, and no further attention is paid to it. First the men build a quadrangular base, about two ells high and two ells wide; on this they erect the round crematory, about four ells high. It looks like a barrel. On the west side a broad longitudinal slit remains open, through which the corpse is set inside. On each side of the base a large hole is left for the firing. The oven is calked with clay and lime and then is painted white (25).

25. Foreign text pp. 657-658.] The crematory may be made in various forms. The one copied from the crematory of the lamas (cf. the drawing made by a Tujen) is regarded as the most superior one. Similarities with the understructure of the chorten cannot be
[778] denied. On graves of persons who died sitting up, I saw chorten which represented an almost exact copy of the crematory, only slightly more rounded. -- When the fire-pouring is undertaken
[532] at the cremation, the ground-drawing is naturally also made, and usually not on the ground itself, [658] but rather one puts down a large leaf of paper with

[644 cont.]

764 792 The lama now takes his place on the bed or the door, over which a white mat has been spread, on the west side of the oven. His face is turned toward the east, facing that of the dead person. Before him stands a little kang table with his cult implements. Next to it lie two pieces of sacking, on which two white cloth runners have been spread; the little plates with the spices and the materials for the fire-pouring (cf. the appropriate section) stand on that. On the white cloth there is also a tray with a torma. The lama prepared it in the morning in the house of mourning and brought it along. This torma represents a spirit that protects the dead person and leads him westward into the land of rebirth. -- The lama comes from the west, the land of the Buddhas, and goes to the east; therefore he is seated opposite the dead person.

[778] [775]

764 372 The fire preparation: Now the iron kettle is put on three stones and a great fire is kindled under it; it does not matter how this fire is made. Several lumps of butter are thrown into the kettle and allowed to melt. The men then make the lighting pole, while the lama begins the prayers for the dead.

[792]

The lighting pole is a stick two to three meters long. Any wood desired can be used for it. A thick strand of cotton wadding is wound on one end. The master of ceremonies now brings a paper lantern, in which there is a small butter-lamp. It must be a butter-lamp; an oil-lamp or a candle is not permitted. In olden times there were no butter-lamps either, but wooden splinters from the oil fir. This lamp may not be lighted with ordinary fire, for instance, with the fire from the butter-kettle. It must be new fire which is struck from the flint on the first blow. If the master of ceremonies does not get a spark the first time, he may not try it a second time with the same stone. For this reason he keeps a whole series of flint stones in readiness (18). Now if the spark has fallen on the

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18. [Foreign text 656.] In recent times matches are also used instead of the flint stones. In this case, too,

[644 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
however, the match must burn at the first stroke; otherwise one throws it away and takes a second one.

tinder at the first blow and has ignited it, then the master of ceremonies takes a handful of straw, holds the glowing tinder in it, and blows the whole thing into a bright flame, with which he lights the butter-lamp. Then he soaks the lighting pole in the butter-kettle containing the fluid butter, holds it over the butter-lamp in the lantern until the head of cotton wadding flares up brightly, and lights the oven with it through the four fire holes. Meanwhile the lama proceeds with his prayers. As [792] soon as the flames rise high, the master of ceremonies takes the soul-guide torma and throws it from above into the oven onto the corpse; it is burned with it. Then the lama undertakes the fire-pouring.

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Cremation and fire-pouring: The ceremony of the fire-pouring is the same as on other occasions. Only here the butter and the spices are thrown onto the [645] corpse in the oven, for which the lama holds the pouring-tube over the edge of the oven. The spices, however, are thrown into the flames by the master of ceremonies. The lama takes only a pinch each time and puts it on a [illustration appears here] little plate which the master of ceremonies holds in his hand. When the butter and the spices are used up, the lama ends his prayer and goes to the house. With him go the master of ceremonies, the sons-in-law, and the nephews.

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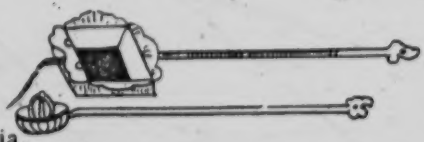
Only the two fire guards remain behind. They shatter the box, burn it with the corpse, and wait until the corpse is completely reduced to ashes. This takes several hours. Then they put the little bone-casket that was brought along in one of the fire holes without the bones and cover it with earth. They put boards over the still smoldering oven, which they weight with rocks and lumps of earth so that dogs and wolves cannot get in, and then they go home. They leave the oven alone. After three days the bones are stored.

[645 cont.]

764 All who participated at the cremation wash their hands
[783] and fumigate them in a great incense fire in front of the yard
[792] gate. Then they drink tea and hold a funeral meal. The lama usually returns to his monastery on the same day.

[415] Ladling spoon and pouring tube. In the spoon, the thunderbolt, rdo-rja.
[532] (Drawing of a Tujen.]



764 The fire-pouring is undertaken only in the case of those
795 persons who have received a Buddhist baptism. Old people in addition also receive the age-consecration and are regarded as lay
792 monks. If someone has died without the Buddhist baptism, it
[778] is performed after death. This is done by the lama with the help of a chest mirror. Since no water may flow over the dead person, the lama holds the chest shield in front of him so that the head is mirrored in it. He pours the consecrated water from his can over this mirror image and gives the baptismal prayer (20).

20. [Foreign text p. 656.] The fact that no water may flow over the dead person is not the only reason for the washing in the mirror. The mirror image is washed
[778] even in the case of living persons, just as at the consecration of Buddha images. In this connection cf. also Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141. In the passage, "Then he takes a little metal mirror, points its front side in all directions, and sprinkles it with a few drops of water from his cult vessel," it is not a matter of simply turning the mirror

[645 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
back and forth, but in all probability it is to catch the mirror images of the boys who have been brought before the Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age, receive the age-consecration and become a member of the monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman, from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring [783] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purifica- [372] tion for the dead, similar to baptism.

764 Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then
766 no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of [792] ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of [372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is desirable, but not essential.

764 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three
602 days for the bone storage. During these three days the members of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there, kowtow, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea. Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the men and women of the deceased's own family and at least one man, but no women, of the related families, and furthermore the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the [782] oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea.
764 After they have then kowtowed, men and women dig the bones out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

[648 cont.]

766 and on the same day on which the girl died. If she died in the morning, she is burned in the evening; if she died in the late evening, she is burned the following morning. A man from her own family takes the corpse just as it is, with the clothes, over his shoulder, carries it to a remote ravine, digs a hole by a copse, piles straw and twigs in it, puts the corpse on top, and burns it. Usually a few other people also help. One does not wait until the dead girl is completely reduced to ashes, but leaves the still smoldering corpse behind and goes home. Dogs and wolves consume the remains. As soon as a girl has been married, however, 764 even if only for a few days, she receives an honorable cremation like any other woman, with all the ceremonies, with prayer, and with a death-box. This also applies to those daughters who [588] have not yet found a man, but who are married to the sky or the mani-tree.

762 If an adult, whether a man or a married woman, has 766 killed himself, he receives the usual cremation ceremonies without fire-pouring and without a death-box. Usually no one [782] is invited to give the prayer. At the final funeral meal, how- [604] ever, the mother's brother will demand a precise accounting concerning the causes of the suicide, especially if a woman is involved, and he will insist upon an honorable death rite with a death-box. Disputes are common at such times.

766 Those who lost their lives through violence, such as drownings, falls from heights, murder, etc., receive a cremation or interment like any other person of the same age.

[649] Those who died outside the yard, be it an ordinary death or through an accident or suicide, are always laid out outside of the compound, say, in a special tent or in a cave. If a suicide has taken place inside the yard, however, the person who has taken his life is laid out in the house.

792 Persons who have died far away are brought home. If 766 this is not possible, for instance, in the case of soldiers, a lama is invited. While praying he writes down the name of the de- [212] ceased on a stiff sheet of paper and sticks it in a measure of grain (wheat), which is then placed on a table in the room into which otherwise the death-box would have been brought. All the same ceremonies are now carried out in front of it, as though

[649 cont.]
792 an actual corpse were present. On the day set this sheet of paper
766 is burned in the field, but quite simply, without any oven and
without a lama. No one bothers with the ashes. The lama writes
[212] the name on a second sheet, however, and this is put in the bone-
chest, which is buried at the place of the burning (23) until the

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23. [Foreign text p. 657.] The neighboring Chinese have a similar custom. They place the ancestral tablet of the dead person in a little coffin and bury it in the cemetery. This interment has legal force; when it is undertaken, it is regarded as proof that the person is actually dead. A parallel is found among the Chinese in the proxy wedding with a stuffed straw-man.

[212] transfer to the kin-group cemetery takes place at the grave festi-
val. -- The signs that the lama writes are Tibetan.

Word List

192
764 Cremation: ġaldë awu- = to put in the fire.

To die: ugei (guei) wōldzia = he has passed away.

He died sitting: sōwa guei wōldzia; tsuo-hua (Chin,) = transformed sitting.

Death of a bonze: niesā sdzia = he has flown away. yü-hua (Chin.) = feathered transformed.

Death of a lama: siaġladzia = he has turned to nothing.

[775] He is reborn: härga (xara) rëdzia = he has come back; sdziewa.

One has put him in the crouching position: ndañlalġadzia = he has been put in equilibrium.

The dead person: guei woldzān kun = departed person.

Death clothing (shoulder hanging): bōw-la (Tib. loanword) = white garment.

Death lament: dō tedzi ula.

[841 cont.]

778 Regardless of how the animal[1] lost its life, its flesh may never be
825 eaten.

Furthermore such animals may not be sold or given away,
[262] for they belong to the god. One may give it to a monastery
[432] where it is cared for and protected until its death. -- An animal may not be acquired for the consecration with money; it must always be given as a gift.

There is no special watch over the consecrated animals, so that they can freely mount one another. The offspring are
[422] then counted as profane animals and fall to the original owner.

Whether the animal is pleasing to the god is manifested
[787] when the milk is poured over it. If it does not shake itself, one immediately fetches another; the ceremonies are then repeated. Every healthy animal shakes itself. If there is no milk, one dissolves tsamba or white flour in pure water so that it looks like milk. Some people take only clear water. This is not proper.

There are gods who ride the animals, for instance,
[776] Amtsiensa rides [842] on a wool-goat and Lamusa on a mule (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 843.] In the monastery Rgulõn each month (on the first or fifteenth day) consecrated riding animals are magnificently saddled and led onto the colonnade of the chief temple immediately in front of the entrance. There they are offered to the god (Fo-yeh) for riding; then one lets them
[792] run. -- Perhaps it is worth mentioning in this connection that the Tulkus (incarnation) of the lamic monasteries may ride only white horses, which otherwise are not regarded as superior.

It could not be discovered which
[171] gods are the riding gods. The Amtsiensa corresponds to the Chinese Tan-chiao hao-hua, and the Lamusa to the Chinese Lo-tzu t'ien-wang, that is, the heavenly mule-king.

[1] [Ue - a consecrated animal - See cat. 116, pp 248-249- ANALYST]

[842 cont.]

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Word List

778 Consecration-band: šdier (Tib. loanword).
hung-tzu (Chin.) = the red.

To tie on the consecration-band: šdier fuya-.

[825] The consecration-animal: šdier.

Sacred horse: šdier mori; sheng ma (Chin.).

Sacred sheep: šdier xoni; sheng yang (Chin.).

Sacred goat: šdier ima; sheng chia-la (Chin.), etc.

[Pages 842-844 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[844]

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2. The Demon-escort *

* See "Notes," pp. 846-847 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

789 The demon-escort consists of leading the harmful spirit
[791] out of the house and releasing it in the distance. It is done upon
[777] the command of the soothsayer in case of family misfortune.

On a set day one invites a lama to the house. He prays
[792] for six days with the usual ceremonies and makes several tormas
with the appropriate additions, as on other occasions. The
[778] compound is taboo, and the master of the household makes the
[782] great incense offering three times a day.

In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes the actual
[778] demon-torma, which, with all kinds of provisions for travel, is
[792] placed on a table in front of the household altar.

On the seventh day one takes the torma, along with a
[825] riding animal carrying the travel provisions, outside the village

[844 cont.]
789 and releases the animal. It may run where it will; no one pays
[825] any attention to it.

Details

789 Persons: The demon-releasing may be undertaken by: a
792 lama, but not a hutukhtu, a Bon priest, a shaman, a spear-
soothsayer, or other soothsayers with litter, table-god, etc. The
791 six-day prayer service, however, is undertaken only by lamas
756 and Bon priests; this is the great releasing, [845] whereas the ceremony performed by a shaman or soothsayer alone is the little releasing. Even though at the great releasing the lama may do everything himself, usually a soothsayer nonetheless goes along (spear, litter, etc.). The members of the family take care of everything else, getting the animals ready, gifts, etc.

789 The animals: The animals permissible are: horses,
825 cattle, sheep, goats, hens, and cocks. Those not permitted are
[783] dogs, pigs, mules, half-yaks. Dogs and pigs are regarded as unclean. Mules and half-yaks are incapable of reproduction; for this reason, too, one does not take castrated animals. The rules connected with the animal-consecration do not apply here. The animals are ridden by the demons and carry the burdens on their travels. The hens, however, can be burdened; one simply lets them fly. They are therefore usually used only for the "little releasing." Special ceremonies, such as washing and fumigating, are not performed on the animals; also color and age are unimportant.

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789 The travel provisions: The following things are packed
[484] in the travel bag, which is usually woven out of wool: money
[415] (any kind of money, just so long as it is in circulation at the time), cloth (for instance, cotton, silk, linen, of any color), a strand of unspun wool, cotton or silk threads (no wool threads), tea leaves, baked or steamed loaves in any number desired, a food bowl of porcelain or clay (no ordinary wooden one), new men's clothing, elegant boots, cloth shoes, an elegant cap or an

[845 cont.]

789 elegant hat, black and white sugar, fresh good butter, a piece of raw meat, dates, apples, and other fruits. All these things must
782 be new; they may not have been used even once, for otherwise the demon is not satisfied and returns.

789 Releasing: In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes a large three-cornered torma (1). The master of the household
[778]
[792]

1. [Foreign text pp. 846-847.] This form of torma can frequently be seen in lamaseries. They are especially reserved for demons. It is usually a pyramid of dough from 30 to 50 centimeters high. The types seem to vary. I saw some that were hung with intestines and bore death's-head figures (at the banishing of the mBarma in Kumbum); others had an arrow with a mani-wheel stuck in them, etc. Evidently the Tibetan zor, Mongol. = sor [847] (Unkrig), is involved. Ch. Das writes under zor, p. 1098: "reaping-hook, a sickle, a knife, esp. the weapons employed in combating the evil spirits in the gtor ma offerings, such as knife, sword, sling, bow and arrows" [cited in English]. There is a very detailed description of the manufacture, consecration, and use of the zor in Pozdneev, Skizzen [Sketches] (pp. 283 ff.): "A three-cornered pyramid, hollow on the inside, which is made of dough and colored a flaming red, is called zor. Figures are engraved on it with the burin, such as flowers, circles, fiery tongues, etc., as a result

[845 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 846-847 cont.] of which the whole pyramid is given the appearance of a fiery, flaming bonfire. The representation of a skull, which is likewise made of dough, is put on the tip. But then the same kind of skulls are placed at the foot of each of the three corners. An arrow is stuck in the middle of the pyramid, from which hadak hang, and which, instead of feathering, bears a little wheel ..." etc. (Translated by W.A. Unkrig.) Lessing maintains of the arrow in the zor: "To this arrow attached a 'ghost or spirit', as my informant put it" [cited in English] (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148). -- Whether and to what extent this arrow in the demon-torma is connected with the arrow of good fortune is unclear. One conceives of the zor most simply as bearer of the weapons that are feared by the demons. A similarity with the weapon-bearing and demon-combating gurtum is undeniable.

789 places it on a table in front of the household altar, but not on the altar. Alongside it he places the sack with the clothing and food provisions.

On the following morning, the seventh day, one in-
[791] vites the spear-soothsayer. After a good breakfast he summons
[787] the spirit and determines the exact hour in which the demon must be carried away. Usually it is done immediately following the soothsaying.

A man takes the saddlebag, the lama the tray with the
[791] torma that represents the demon, and behind him follows the
[792]

[845 cont.]

789 spear-soothsayer amidst constant shaking; he must remain until
792 the end. They go in front of the yard gate. There another man
[791] waits with the animal. The master of the household places the saddlebag on the unbridled and unsaddled animal and leads it away by the head harness, followed by the lama, spear-soothsayer, and the other men. The procession goes out of the village by the usual route. Outside the village he leads the animal a distance across the fields, takes off its head harness, and chases it away, and to be sure in an uninhabited direction so that it cannot immediately run back into the village. On the [846] spot at which the animal was released, the lama sets down the torma. Before it a man erects a small wall of clay bricks with the broad side facing the village, so that the demon will not come back again. Then all go home. The animal is not supposed to run home again; no one bothers about what happens to it. It belongs to the demon. In case it does come running back again later, it is driven off with blows of a stick.

789 The simple releasing: Besides this ceremonial form,
791 there is also a simple releasing, which takes only half a day
757 or a whole day. One invites a shaman or a soothsayer, who escorts the things away. On this occasion there is no praying and no torma is made. The master of the household holds a hen in readiness and brings the traveling clothes and food on a tray before the household altar. The soothsayer or shaman invokes the spirit and, followed by the master of the household, goes with the tray out into the field. There a large pile of straw is heaped up. The things on the tray are flung into it and the whole is set afire. While the flames beat upward, the hen is allowed to fly away. -- If a soothsayer officiates, then the performance usually takes place in the morning. If a shaman undertakes the releasing, then it is not done until the late evening at the coming of darkness. The shaman follows
[787] in a state of trance and swings his sword in battle against the demon. Even if the shaman at the "great releasing" follows the lama in place of a spear-soothsayer, he performs this
[535] sword dance, but this is always in broad daylight (2).

[846 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 847.] There are similar spirit-releasings in many variations both among the Tujen and among the Chinese. The basic feature is the same everywhere: one releases the demon with many gifts so that it will not return. The ceremonial driving away of the mBarma demon in Kumbum is nothing other than such a releasing, only with a more complicated ritual and with the expenditure of enormous sums of money. The demon is represented there by his mother's brother, a selected man, while his image is burned together with the thread (mdos) towers. In the neighboring Huchu valley, for instance, in Kanchiapu, he is represented by the dough image and then is beaten to pieces by the children and eaten; in Tsungchai he is conjured into a kind of "town fortress" (tu-ch'eng) and this is burned; farther up in Kao-ch'iang-p'u he is put, with his belongings, on a little boat and allowed to float away.

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Interpretation: The demon who disturbs the compound must be led away with all the gifts and conveniences imaginable so that he will not think back on his old location. The prayers of the lama and also the torma depend upon the demon. Regardless of whether it is a great or little exorcism, the effect is the same. Only the wealthy can afford large animals, and usually today it is only the lamic monasteries that undertake such an expensive ceremony.

[856 cont.]

782 soothsayer determines that the earth-god is angry and wants to
[791] have an urn. This urn is buried in the ground on a day indicated
[787] by the soothsayer. All kinds of spices are to be found in the urn,
[777] put there by a lama. This is done after a seven-day prayer in
the family itself. During these days the compound is taboo.
[792] Usually there are several urns, because one does not bother the lama for merely one. After he has filled the urn with spices on the last day, he pours liquid butter over it, ties it up with a cloth, seals the string, and paints a nuru sign on the outside. Then the urn is fumigated and sprinkled with holy water, whereupon the master of the household places it on the chest before the Buddha image.

In front of the urn one places the usual little water-bowls, butter-lamps, grain-bowls, etc. The urn, however, does not stand on the bare floor of the chest, but rather a sheet of paper is first put down as an underlayer, a few cypress leaves and grains of barley are scattered over it, and the urn is put on top.
[792] Now the lama comes down from the kang, sits on the white felt mat in front of the urn, and gives the consecration-prayer (1).

[778] 1. [Foreign text p. 858.] As is always done on other occasions, here, too, a torma is made by the lama, which is carried out into the open. It was unfortunately no longer possible to inquire as to whether this torma is put on the place where the urn is buried, say, as an offering for the earth, which is to be injured, similar to what is done at the house, at the fire-pouring, at the crematory, etc.

791 During this time the spear-soothsayer is fetched. He
787 now gives the precise hour in which the urn is to be buried.
The master of the household puts the urn on a tray, and the
782 procession moves out to the area indicated by the soothsayer.
The soothsayer follows with the invoked spear-god and then

[856 cont.]
782 indicates precisely to the foot the spot where the urn is to be
[791] buried; he likewise determines the depth. Usually this is one
[787] to two ells. A few cypress twigs are put on the floor of the pit. Over them the soothsayer scatters a few barley kernels with the tip of the spear, and one or more flat white stones, depending on how many urns there are, are put on the whole, and the urn is put on it. Then on top of the urn is put a flat white stone, like a lid. Finally the space between the urn and wall is stuffed all around with cypress twigs, and everything is filled with earth, stamped down, and made level. Then the men burn cypress incense and kowtow in front of the urn thus buried.
[792] The lama remains seated on his mat in front of it for some time yet and finishes his prayers. Then all go home.

Details

782 The urn: The urn is an ordinary clay vessel such as is
415 baked in Tsinghai. Usually they are of whitish-yellow color, about 20 to 30 centimeters high, with a thick belly and a narrow neck. The urn for the earth-spirit must be uncolored and unglazed, at least on the outside, and must have a flat bottom. The master of the household buys the urn himself, washes it
[386] [857] thoroughly, and paints it on the outside with gypsum or lime water, for only white urns are given to the earth-spirit. At the conclusion, it is fumigated and ready for use by the lama.

782 Contents of the urn: There are five kinds of grain in the urn, namely: blue Tibetan barley, red wheat, white barley,
824 white rice (2), and yellow rape. The spices are the same as at

2. [Foreign text p. 858.] Why white is used twice here, white barley and white rice, is unclear. Otherwise rice is never used among the five kinds of grain and is not even present in Tsinghai. Perhaps this is an indication of a southern origin of the urn.

[174]

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 858 cont.]
fortune, which consists of several conchoidal eggs and is surrounded with flames, nuru. This is found very often in Lamaistic symbolism and is also borne by the air-horse. It is the cintāmani. Cf. above: "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation," Note 2.

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Persons: The urn can only be made by a lama who possesses special powers. One never fetches a Living Buddha for it. The latter, however, may make and consecrate them in his monastery. -- Since one can also order the urns in the monastery (they are not in stock), the master of the household may fetch it from there and bury it at home without a lama. [791] It must always be done with the assistance of a soothsayer, however, and in the presence of an invoked spirit -- If one wants to bury several urns, however, this must always be done by a lama even if the urns were bought in the monastery. -- If one wants to have several urns made at home, then he fetches several lamas at the same time (5). -- Regardless of whether the

[357]
[784]

5. [Foreign text pp. 858-859.]
As the lamas in Kumbum maintain, there is a great number of treasure urns, and special prayers are used for each type. [859] The urns are preferably buried in obos. -- In Kumbum the urns are usually called beṅba, which seems to be the same as the Tibetan bum-ba, vessel. Another name is xdër-wëm, which probably corresponds to the Tibetan gter-bum, treasure vessel, Chinese pao-p'ing. The expression sënoǵ-dër (cf. section, "Mani-tree and Central Fort") perhaps

[192]

[778]

[857 cont.]

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[778]
[192]
[784]
[357]

[Note on foreign text pp. 858-859 cont.] comes from the fact that the urn is consecrated with certain conjuration formulas, snags (dha-rani), in other words, represents a magic treasure. urn is buried by one or more lamas or by the master of the household, the compound is always taboo during this time.

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[778]

[858] Place: The place at which the urn is buried must always be chosen in such a way that no person or domestic animal can desecrate it. No one may run across such a place. For this reason roads and public places are avoided, for the place is, after all, not specially marked. Otherwise the urn may be buried anywhere, in the fields or in the pasture, in the yard or in the house. Indeed, one may even set it in yard and room walls and wall it up.

[776]
[777]

Significance: The contents of the urn are the treasures and yield of the earth, everything that belongs in the realm of the earth-god or of the mountain-spirit. One wants to please these two spirits through these valuables so that they will hold down the evil earth-influences and protect human beings from misfortune. It is as though gifts were being given to persons in office (6).

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6. [Foreign text pp. 859-860.] According to this explanation, an offering to the earth-god is involved. The interpretation, however, might not suffice. One must consider the urn in its wider context. It repeatedly occurs in Tujen usage, with the arrow of good fortune, with the round manger, in the obo, in the chorten chamber, and, to be sure, in twofold form: in the one case as the seat of a deity, which through the formula scroll,

[860]

8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

782 In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in
792 the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts
seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions.
[777] They make a small torma which one takes out into the open
and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by
[784] hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three
[351] large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar.
The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying.
[791] One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual
[787] ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the burning at the fire-pouring.

[778] After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the master of the household undertakes the great incense offering in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the
[783] night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[861 cont.]

782 outside for the ceremony, and the lama makes another torma of
•792 pure butter. He takes this outside and puts it on the drawing of the burning-place. Then the ceremony of the fire-pouring follows, at which all kinds of wood and spices are burned.

The lama continues to pray until evening. The following morning he receives his fee and is taken back to the monastery. Sometimes, however, one keeps him a few more days for prayers. -- After the fire-pouring the yard remains taboo for at least another week.

[784] [351]

Details

[756] Persons: The fire-pouring may not be undertaken by shamans, but only by lamas. These are not ordinary lamas, however. Only the three top classes are considered for it: the Hutukhtu, the Tsüordzi, and the Känpo. Usually three lamas are needed. It suffices if one of them belongs to the higher rank, but one often invites more (1).

[791]

1. [Foreign text p. 867.] Other Tujen claim that a Bon priest could also undertake the fire-pouring, which, after all, is to be expected, at least in the case of the black fire-pouring. The old informant, however, and other people, too, decidedly contest this. According to them, only a lama (gelõngba) is to be considered for this; the Bon priests, they claim, concern themselves only with demon exorcism.

782 The fire-pouring may be ordered by a private person (man or woman), by an individual family, or by the entire village. -- During the ceremony, the general avoidance pre-
[562] scriptions apply. Women may be present, but may not assist.

[861 cont.]

782 Place: Ordinarily the fire-pouring takes place in a compound. If the affair is organized by the village, then the temple yard is preferred. They may also go to a mountain, but not to its peak, only halfway up. -- The burning-place is always indicated in detail by a soothsayer. [791]

There are no further prescriptions concerning the location of the various types of fire-pourings, except for the black fire-pouring. It may never be undertaken in a yard, temple, or in the village. For it a very remote mountain region is sought and the people stay there in tents for several days.

[791] Time: The soothsayer determines the date days or weeks ahead of time. If the lama cannot come on the day set, then [792] he is asked to state the term, and the soothsayer then determines a day within this period. The ceremony always lasts seven days; the actual fire-pouring always takes place on the morning of the last day. There are no interdicted periods; it could also be undertaken when the family concerned is still in its period of mourning or when there is still a woman in childbed in the compound. In this case, the woman in childbed, for instance, would not be allowed to watch.

778 Tormas: Six tormas in all are made. 1. A small torma, 782 as always in connection with lama-visits. This is the misfortune-torma, after whose removal the compound is taboo. 2. On the [792] morning of the second day three large tormas follow. One of [357] them represents the god (Buddha), to whom the [862] fire-pouring [784] is presented. The other two, which are slightly lower, symbolize his two subordinate companions. The color of these tormas varies according to which god is involved. The tormas are put before the household altar or in the household chapel, and they are elevated in a box that is covered with a cloth or a board so that no animal (for instance, a cat) can desecrate them. The votive gifts are put in a row in front of these tormas: seven bowls of pure water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of sugar, a bowl of dough beans, and several small butter-lamps. These little lamps remain burning day and night until the conclusion

[862 cont.]

778 of the ceremonies. -- The three tormas are left standing until
782 three days after the fire-pouring and then are eaten by the members of the family. They may also be given to the domestic animals. In summer, however, they are often already so moldy that they are only fit for dogs. The names of the three tormas
[171] agree with the names of the gods that they represent. This is similar to the ancestral tables of the Chinese, which are likewise set up and venerated. -- 3. On the afternoon of the sixth day a fifth torma is made. It is smaller than the others and represents the earth- or mountain-spirit, for which reason it is also called earth-spirit (mountain-spirit) torma. The lama puts it on the place selected for the fire-pouring. In front of it, as votive gifts, there are: three bowls of water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of tea, a butter-lamp, and three sticks of incense. The lama sprinkles the torma with holy water from
[792] the wumba can, while the master of the household burns incense in front of it. Then the lama settles down on a felt mat and says a votive prayer in which he requests the earth-spirit to free the burning-place for the fire-pouring. After the prayer the torma is put on a wall or thrown away in the field so that the birds will eat it. The color of this torma is white. 4. Finally a sixth torma is made on the morning of the seventh day. It is not made of tsamba mixed with butter like the other tormas, but of pure butter alone. It represents the fire-god and is therefore colored a fiery red. Before the fire-pouring it is placed on the ground-drawing and afterwards burned with the rest.

782 The burnt offerings: For the actual fire-pouring the
824 following things are needed: 1. Firewood and twigs from the tree of life. They are supplied by the gift-master (that is, of the particular family). The firewood is an ell long. Formerly only fir wood was used; nowadays the wood of the white poplar is popular. One takes branch- and knot-free pieces as thick as an arm, which are split lengthwise. The length and being free of branch-knots are prescribed. 2. Butter, which is melted for the fire-pouring and poured into the fire. It must not be too old.

[862 cont.]

782 3. Two pieces of wood from the red and white sandal tree.
824 4. A large quantity of burning-spices, which the family itself must provide: white rape kernels, white hemp seeds, black hemp seeds, wheat, Tibetan barley, white peas, glutenous rice, white barley, certain Tibetan herbs, Tibetan flowers, a Tibetan species of reed-grass, and white grass from Tsinghai. 5. Consecration-wood. The consecration-wood varies according to the type of fire-pouring. For the [863] white fire-pouring one uses branches of the white poplar; in all there are 46 pairs of pieces of branch. Every piece has a length of nine fingerbreadths and must have formed three side twigs. These side twigs are cut off at a length of three fingerbreadths. The cut surfaces of the pieces must all run at right angles, not at a slant. The bark is left on; one may not damage it, otherwise the gift-master and his [753] relatives will later have a bad skin-eruption. In order to avoid its becoming torn, the cut surface is smeared with butter. Instead of poplar wood, tamarisk wood is also permitted. This by nature is very straight and free of branches. For this reason, in contrast to the pieces of poplar, they may not show any branch attachments. The length, however, must be the same. The color of the tamarisk wood is red (2). 6. The six spices of

2. [Foreign text p. 867.] Nothing could be discovered about the symbolism of the various types of wood. That would be interesting, especially on account of the requirement of the branch attachments.

the incense offering. They are likewise provided by the gift-master. 7. The 74 types of earth-god spices, which the lama brings with him, already pounded to powder.

782 Preparation of the burnt offerings: The lama prepares
[792] the burnt offerings on the afternoon of the sixth day. In each case he puts one kind of the burning-spices in an earthen vessel, mixes it with the five kinds of grain, pours liquid butter over it,

[863 cont.]

782 scatters over it the six incense spices and the spice-powder of the 74 earth-god spices, mixes everything together thoroughly, and in each case puts this mixture in two portions on a little plate, since at the fire-pouring he must throw the fire-offerings into the fire in two sequences, in other words, there are as many plates as there are kinds, each with two portions. In order to protect the spices from dust and impurity, they are individually covered with a sheet of paper. -- The 46 pairs of pieces of consecration-wood are put together on a separate tray. The lama sprinkles [792] the burnt offerings thus arranged with holy water and has them taken to the household altar.

782 Preparation of the place for the fire: In conjunction
532 with the preparation of the burnt offerings, the spear-soothsayer
[791] determines the place for the fire-pouring. He usually selects
[792] it in the yard. The lama puts the earth-god torma with the consecration-gifts on this spot. Once this has been removed, the lama measures off a rectangle about two ells square on the ground with a string whitened in gypsum or powdered lime. [Illustration appears here.] He beats the lines onto the ground, just as the carpenters do on wood with their black measuring string. Inside this square he draws a second, parallel rectangle that is about a handbreadth smaller. A frame is thus formed. Likewise with white powder and with the help of a wooden or leather pattern (3), he draws eight thunderbolts on this frame,

3. [Foreign text p. 867.] The patterns were formerly made of leather. Nowadays they are usually of wood or cardboard.

namely, one in each corner and one in the center on each side. The powdered lime is simply scattered over the pattern, and when he takes this away, [864] the contours of the drawing remain. The thunderbolts run parallel to the direction of the frame, in other words, they are not diagonal to it. Finally he

[864 cont.]

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[171]

[Note on foreign text pp.867-868 cont.] soldered into the ladling spoon for the liquid butter. -- The significance of the peonies corresponds to the custom of the lamaseries and of the Chinese, among whom peony shrubs of various colors are planted in the yard. Tujen and Chinese believe that a wealthy, affluent man always has a peony shrub before his door. -- Instead of the peony, lotus blossoms are painted in the case of the ground-drawing of the crematory. These represent the lotus on which the Buddha supposedly sat and from which the flames of transformation emanate. Cf. the chapter on cremation.

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[333]

Now the men build a low wall with clay bricks on one side of the figure, while the lama says his prayers. This wall is terrace-shaped. The lower layer consists of two rows of bricks laid lengthwise; the second layer takes half the brick, and the third layer has only one brick. The whole wall, in other words, is six clay bricks high. The front and back side is coated with clay and lime and whitewashed. The vertical terraces remain free. With his pattern the lama again draws a thunderbolt on each of them, in other words, five thunderbolts altogether. This wall is to protect the lama from the fire, since at the pouring he is seated on level ground or only very slightly elevated (5). After the drawing, the lama again

[532]

[333]

5. [Foreign text p. 868.] There are also walls with four to six steps. According to the statements of others, the wall also bears the color of the fire-pouring concerned, and the ground-drawing likewise.

withdraws into the house for prayer.

[864 cont.]

782 The fire-pouring: On the morning of the seventh day,
[792] immediately after sunrise, the lama says his morning prayer, drinks tea, and makes the fire-torma. Meanwhile, after the incense offering, everything is prepared outside for the fire ceremony.

Next to the burning-place a large iron kettle for melting the butter is put on three stones. A pile of firewood lies next to it. A felt mat for the lama is put to the west of the wall, for he always sits facing east. Sometimes a broad kang table is set up, which serves the lama as a seat. On it is put a piece of wide cloth, which during the fire-pouring he places over his knees for protection, so that [illustration appears here] no liquid butter will drip on his clothes. Next to the seat one places the fire fan
[372] consisting of a piece of white cloth that is provided with two little parallel sticks, so that the lama can grasp it with both
[783] hands. The fire is fanned with it because one may not pollute it with his breath.

In front of the lama-seat and the wall there is a small table for the cult implements, prayer book, bell, etc. To the right of the seat there stands a small table on which to put the pouring-tube and the spoon. To the left, next to the lama-seat, one puts a wide board or a door taken off its hinges, over which one spreads a sack, and over that a white cloth runner. [Illustrations a, b, c, and d appear here.] [865] The tray with the pieces of wood and the 12 little plates with the burning-spices are on top of that. Furthermore the following are kept
[372] in readiness: several flintstones or a box of matches, a butter-lamp, a paper lantern, and a lighting pole such as is also used at the cremation.

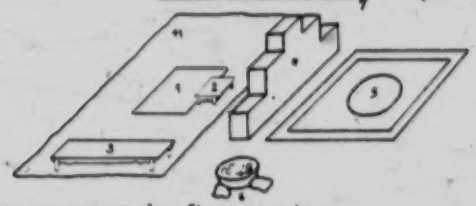
782 Now the lama comes out with the fire-torma and puts it
792 in the center of the ground-drawing on a layer of cypress twigs. Around this the men pile up the prescribed firewood in the shape of an octogon that tapers toward the top, leaving an empty space in the center around the torma. They then fill this space with cypress twigs. The gift-master then ceremoniously hands a hada to the lama and requests him to begin the ceremony. While he goes to the other side of the pile of wood and makes a threefold

[865 cont.]

782 kowtow, there to the lama, the lama sprinkles the pile of wood with holy water and scatters barley kernels on it, over which he 792 has breathed three times.

[372] Now the gift-master strikes a spark from the flint at the first blow, catches it with hemp tow, blows it to a small flame in a little bundle of straw, and lights the butter-lamp with it. Then the paper lantern lamp is lighted with the light of the butter-lamp. The ceremony and the rules are exactly the same as at the cremation. Now one hands the lama the lighting pole. [372] He holds its head of tow over the butter-lamp until it flames up and sets fire to the pile of wood with it. As soon as the fire flames high, all those present fall on their knees and make a threefold kowtow. In case the fire does not burn immediately, [372] the lama fans it with the cloth fan. Now the fire-pouring follows.

The lama places the cloth over his knees, takes the pouring tube, lays it with the outflow over the wall, holds the handle with his left hand, and with his right hand pours spoonfuls of liquid butter into the funnel, so that it flows in a stream into the fire and flames up violently. After he has done this a few times, one hands him the little plates with the burnt offerings. With the first three fingers of his right hand, he takes one of the two portions each time and with benedictions throws it into the fire. Then some pieces of wood follow, then again pourings of (text continues on p. 299)



Arrangement at the fire-pouring.

[333] 1. Seat of the lama; 2. table for prayer books; 3. table for spoons; 4. protective wall; 5. place of burning (ground-drawing); 6. butter kettle; 7. board; 8. cloth runner; 9. tray with consecration wood; 10. plates of the accompanying gifts for the burning; 11. felt mat. (Drawing according to information from the informant.)

3: Schröder--298 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[864]

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a

b

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[171]

c

d

(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
752 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[754] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
[292] shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
[534] village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
[778] val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[142] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lâmasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
[171] graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical. Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the following day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing to do with the fire-pouring.

[35] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
[333] the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed. The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 868 cont.] about the various forms of the burning-place (mandala) and the Tibetan-Chinese names. Also, the addresses of the fire-pouring are different (p. 151); in addition, other burnt offerings are enumerated there.

It must be noted that among the Tujen a simple, popular form is involved, which varies according to location and the situation of the population. It is only too understandable that the ordinary people know nothing about the complicated and in part tantric symbolism. It is enough for them if through the ceremony the gods provide for their welfare and protection and if the demons remain far away.

782 The black fire-pouring: The persons are the same. The lama and his helper, however, smear their faces with soot. They [302] also wear black clothes. All objects are black, the torma, the [792] felt mat, the wall, the ground-drawing, etc.

[372] Instead of firewood one takes pig or camel dung. Black sticks are stuck around the black torma on the ground-drawing; the intestines of a black sheep are suspended on them in garland fashion. The intestines are not cleaned, but are full of dung. In place of the butter one takes black linseed oil, and the dung is soaked in it so that it will burn better.

The burnt offerings are: black barley, black linseed, the seed of the wild rape, wheat mixed with black earth, dark beans, glutenous rice colored black, herbs colored black, etc.

[778] As votive offerings for the black tormas, which represent the demons, one takes milk from a black sheep and urine from a black donkey served in a black bowl, and, as incense, pig dung.

[866 cont.]

782 The place for the black fire-pouring is usually a remote
[792] ravine. One pitches black tents and lives there several days
with the lama in solitude. In no case may one undertake the
black fire-pouring in the vicinity of temples or human habitations.

[731] In case of epidemics, the black fire-pouring is used
[755] preferably, in order to annoy the demons of sickness and thus to
[777] drive them away, for with them the misfortune, too, disappears.
[776]

Meaning: The fire-pouring is an offering for the gods;
[792] through it they are supposed to be induced to turn away mis-
[755] fortune and sickness (7). The seven-day prayer of the lama is

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7. [Foreign text pp. 868-869.] The whole gives very much the impression of a fire-offering. The informant, however, thought that it had nothing to do with it. According to him it was an offering to the appropriate
[776] Buddhas. The fire-god was also venerated with it, as the torma proved, but this was not the main thing. Nevertheless there is no doubt but that a fire-offering, Homa, is involved (cf. Lessing, loc. cit.). The Tujen name alone cannot be interpreted other than as a corruption of the Tibetan sbyin-sreg. sbyiṅ is pronounced jin, which is very clearly to be seen in Note 8 (źũin-tsẽg). Ch. Das, p. 940, writes under sbyin-sreg: "burnt offerings as made by Tantrik Buddhists,... sbyin-sreg-gi [869] rdsas clarified butter, articles necessary for burnt sacrifices. ... sbyin-sreg-gi yam-šiṅ ... first wood necessary for the offering" [cited in English]. (For yam-šiṅ, cf. the Tujen foreign word yiew-siṅ.) "Homa is the

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 868-869 cont.] chief of all fire-sacrificials" [cited in English]. -- The DMF, p. 73, likewise has the expression dzuntsiog and writes: "name of certain libations and offerings" [translated from French]. Cf. Tib. t'sogs, "sacrificial offering" [cited in English]. Then it presents the expression lama dzuntsiog fudzuruna (= surina) and writes: "the lama performs the libations" [translated from French]. There can be no question of a libation here, and the ... tsiog (ts'og) is also not the Tibetan ts'ogs, which, according to Ch. Das (pp. 1032, 1033), means "accumulation," and, in connection with 'k'or, "offering in a circle (mandala)." Although the informant did not primarily emphasize the fire-offering, he nonetheless translated the dzuntsiog with the Chinese tao huo-t'an = literally, to pour on the fire surface = to undertake the fire-pouring. F. Lessing (p. 150) has for this the expression huo-t'an-i-kuei, roughly, rite of the fire-terrace.

782 just as important as the fire-ceremony. -- The fire-pouring is
792 widespread among the Tujen and Fandse. It is also undertaken
[17] in the lamic monasteries.

Word List (8)

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8.[Foreign text pp. 869-870.] In addition to the names mentioned here, I also learned in the Mongol lamasery Tsa-tsang-szu and in the neighboring monastery Fu-hai szu or Hsin-szu (Guäm-basoma) west

[214 cont.]

782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types of prayer under the expression yandzila-, to implore, to request, and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer, however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which [463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are [792] invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people [791] connect praying with these professions is shown by the common designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen, [192] that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom mosë, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching. In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer, something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of [791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests, Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely linked.

5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

771
174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

[216 cont.]

771 Chinese civilization, which with agriculture also brought corre-
174 sponding religious customs with it, passed over them, even if it has only slightly penetrated into the religion.

This peculiar position, conditioned by history and en-
771 vironment, makes the religion of the Tujen a significant subject
792 in the religious history of Amdo and of the Chinese border region
174 generally, so that it is actually no longer simply a matter of the religion of the Tujen alone. The Tujen monks seem to have been aware of this advantageous position and have actively taken part in the investigation of the forms of belief of the border land, especially that of Lamaism. Through this they have won a certain learned and religio-political influence. An example of this is given by Cybikov in his introduction to the "Lam rim c'en po" (pp. XVI-XVII, translated by W.A.Unkrig), where he speaks of the Ch'ang-chia hutukhtu, who, as is known, comes from the Tujen lamasery Erh-ku-lung: "But whatever the situation may be. The home of the Ch'ang-ch'a hutukhtus occupies such a position between China, Mongolia, the East Tibetans, the Tangut, and formerly also the Uigur, that it had to serve as an arena for the contact between these peoples and for the formation of a tribe in which is embodied the traits of all four of these peoples. If one takes a look at the present-day situation exclusively, without historical considerations, according to our view it has contributed greatly to the fact that these lamas had to gain enormous influence on Tibetan and Mongolic affairs and on the relationship of these peoples to the Manchu dynasty." I found this confirmed when I visited the lamasery there. If we also disregard the observation of Cybikov concerning the ethnic formation of the Tujen, it must nevertheless be admitted that this people has taken over many religious traits from its neighbors. It is therefore also no accident that it was precisely a Tulku (Tuguān
[538] hutukhtu) from the Tujen monastery [217] who in the eighteenth century wrote the only known Tibetan book about all the Tibetan sects, including the Bon. He had the most varied forms constantly and directly before his eyes, just as even today the religious customs of the Tujen still represent a living catalogue of patterns in this respect.

[239 cont.]

756 The religious character. -- What has been said up to now about the nature and activities of the gurtum shows that they rest upon a passive and receptive basic attitude, a basic attitude that seems to be at variance with the warrior-shaman. The relationship of dependency, however, in the realm of "divine" possession, with regard to the possessor-spirit, is unequivocal. The active ability to coerce, the arbitrariness, which represents the basic element of magic, is lacking. The basis is religious, not magical.

[787] The gurtum himself can do nothing about his calling. It comes over him unwilled, sometimes against his will. One day he is seized by the spirit in a vision, put in ecstasy, and recognizes by sight his future possessor. This being chosen is 756 acknowledged most strikingly in the search for a shaman by the 792 monasteries. Even though the individual monasteries are anxious to have a gurtum, no monastery can designate or train one of its inmates for this purpose, although this would be expected in the case of tantristic Lamaism. They remain for years without the coveted shamanistic soothsayer, until one day someone who was chosen by a deity to be its vessel is found. The calling is a free gift that is not hereditary. It is known of the monastery Kumbum that for a long time it was punished by having to do without a gurtum in whom the oracle-god made himself present.

756 Everything that the gurtum does is done in the power of his possessor-spirit, like an instrument, and not because of cer- 787 tain actions, gestures, or formulas. The inducing of ecstasy is not a way of forcing the spirit to come down, but a ceremonial force transmitted through the calling, which does not rob the spirit of its freedom. The shaman only receives this power from his tutelary lord himself, and to be sure under certain preconditions, such as continence, donning the attire, invitation prayer. This prayer, as its name indicates, is not a magical [782] formula, but praise and a request; it does not have any effect in itself, just as the donning of the equipment alone would not draw down the deity.

Likewise the taming of the demons in the spirit battle of the trance, the soothsaying, healing, etc. are done through

174 [241 cont.]
756 external and applies to the actual temple-gurtum, whereas the
779 people's gurtum is more strongly connected with the mountain-
[776] spirit and obo.

The foreign character of the gurtum in Lamaism. -- Even though the present-day figure of the gurtum, as was just stressed, belongs to Lamaism according to his appearance, his name, and his conceptual realm, this affiliation is not as close as it might seem.

In the first place the shamanistic basis of the gurtum points away from Lamaism. To be sure, tantristic Lamaism has its special presuppositions for the vivifying and presenting of deities; in this connection cf. Glasenapp, in ZDMG, 90, 1936, p. 552 (cited from Hoffmann, Quellen, p. 206), and H. Findeisen, Eine Erscheinung Yamantakas [An Appearance of Yamantaka], pp. 2 f. The ensouling of the gods' idols also lies in this direction. These presuppositions, however, are not decisive for the shaman-nature of the gurtum. The religious character of the gurtum shuns these magically colored rites. His calling and his power are independent of Lamaism. The shaman is a layman. The same is confirmed by W. Heissig (op. cit., p. 40): "The Layičing, however, belongs to no spiritual community, but is a layman." Only when he has become a shaman does he receive his confirmation in the monastery and Lamaistic instruction. The customs described in the first part concerning the gurtum and the helplessness of the monasteries in the search for a temple-shaman illuminate this
[792] fact sufficiently. This naturally does not exclude the possibility that in individual cases a shaman's calling may fall to a lama. This is not the rule, however, as the great number of people's gurtums outside the monastery proves, at least in the Koko Nor region.

Furthermore, the tutelary gods represented in the
174 gurtum do not seem to be at home in Lamaism; in the case of
756 the people's gurtum with his link to the popular mountain-spirit,
776 this is to be expected from the outset, but it is no less true for
779 the c'os-skyon, for where is the boundary line between the

[254 cont.]

4. Lamaism

779 The preceding accounts have repeatedly demonstrated
792 how great an influence Lamaism exerts upon the people. As the latest form it has also most strongly penetrated the entire religious life; it offers the people a large number of gods and saints; it gives them the mani-trees, prayer mills, treasure urns, chorten chambers, central forts, and obos; they have it to thank for a considerable part of the world-view. To be sure, one must differentiate the ecclesiastical Lamaism of the monasteries and monks from the popular Lamaism, which in its watered-down customs remains unburdened by complicated doctrines and tantristic rites. This popular Lamaism, however, would be unimaginable without the strong support and the permanent effect of the monasteries, which are already so closely linked with the people because their community is constantly renewed from the families of the people. An important piece of the religi-
792 ous picture would therefore be lacking if one did not at least in hasty strokes characterize the monastery, which for the Tujen of that region is their spiritual center. -- The relationships to Kumbum will be passed over, although they are not to be underestimated. One merely needs to recall that it was a Chi-t'u-szu (prince) who at the beginning of the eighteenth century through his personal pledge preserved Kumbum from Chinese revenge and destruction, so that his clan until the most recent
[624] times enjoyed monastic protection and the princes (T'u-szu) themselves on their visits were received by the lamas on their knees; in this connection, cf. Schulemann, p. 179.

The name of the Tujen monastery dGon-luṅ is Tibetan.
[103] dgon (pronounced gon) means literally "solitude, hermitage." In the figurative sense it has become the established expression
[192] for "monastery" (vihāra), because a monastery must be at least 1,000 steps away from any human habitation; cf. Ch. Das, p. 275; luṅ means "valley, district." Thus, dGon-luṅ is best rendered as "monastery-valley" or "monastery-district" or simply
[346] "monastery," for a lama monastery should not be imagined as

[254 cont.]

792 a closed building, but rather as a whole settlement with temples,
[346] halls, dwelling yards, chortens, chapels, little mani-houses,
and obos. To the Tujen there dGon-luń is simply the monastery.
[103] The official full name, however, is dGon-luń byams-pa gliń,
just as the full name of Kumbum is sKu 'bum byams pa gliń. According to B. Laufer, byams pa gliń means "temple of the Maitreya"; see Filchner, Kumbum, p. V. Not [255] every monastery has such a temple, and for this reason people always like to mention it along with the monastery. The main temple
792 of dGon-luń contains such a gigantic image of the Maitreya
778 painted on silk, over ten meters long and several meters wide.
796 It is rolled up from the temple roof and allowed to hang down over the front into the yard usually twice a year, namely, in the first month after the tscham dances and on the sixth day of the sixth month. The ceremony is called dšamba sguni dielgē, that is, to hang out the Maitreya image; dšamba or šamba is the Tujen pronunciation of byams-pa. The Chinese call the rite simply shai Fuo-yeh, that is, to sun the Buddha. For the be-
[788] lieving populace it is the high point of the feast days; the people make pilgrimages to the place in great crowds in order to venerate the image with kowtows.

792 There is no Tujen name for the monastery; their designation Rgulõń (Rēgulõń) is only a corruption of dGon-luń. Even
103 the Chinese Êrh-ku-lung is nothing more than a derivation from the Tibetan. Some people would like the êrh to be understood as the Chinese "two," since it is supposedly the second monastery, which was built anew after the destruction of the first; in fact, one also often hears the name Ku-lung without this êrh. The designation Yu-ning-szu, monastery for the protection of Sining, has not prevailed among the people. It is used almost exclusively in books and official documents.

792 The monastery corresponds to the Buddhistic requirements in exemplary fashion, for it lies at the exit of a lonely
[361] forested valley and has been built up in part along its northern
[346] ridge, which bears the name Tuguän-ula, Tuguän mountain
[103] (Chin. T'u-kuan shan). A gigantic obo crowns its peak. Neither
[175] oral nor written information concerning the founding of the

[255 cont.]

792 monastery could be obtained on account of the brevity of the visit.
175 The Sining chronicle reports nothing about it. Originally it seems to have been a Tibetan establishment. Until its destruction dGon-luṅ possessed great importance in Ambo. Then it was overshadowed by other monasteries. The patriotic monks in the first year of Emperor Yung-cheng had put themselves on the side of the Mongolic Koko Nor prince (ch'en-wang) bLo-bzan bsTan-'dsin. The consequence of this was that dGon-luṅ was destroyed by a Chinese punitive expedition in the year 1723 along with several other monasteries, among which was also sGo-maṅ-dgon (gSer-k'og-dgon-pa). Upon the request of the Tuguān Hutukhtu, who at that time resided in Peking, the emperor permitted the monastery to be rebuilt in 1733, as well as sGo-maṅ-dgon; cf. Hsü Kung-wu, pp. 113, 115; Schulemann, p. 179; Sining-Chronicle. After this reconstruction dGon-luṅ received the official name Yü-ning-szu and a memorial stone on which these events were noted. The text of this stone is reprinted in the Sining chronicle. One cannot see the stone itself. The lamas have immured it in order to be rid of the honorable but unpleasant memory. About 60 years ago the new monastery had to endure the Dunganen rebellion, which claimed the lives of many Tujen. It never again reached its old dimensions, of which an isolated remnant still remains, namely, the temple with the gurtum-deity dPekar and the spirit-spear of the monastery soothsayer.

[256] Today the monastery is under the county government of Huchu. Formerly it was independent with its lands,
792 [657] forests, and pastures and controlled many taxable Tujen villages. It numbers about 300 monks and several Tulkus, who are almost all Tujen. As affiliates under the supreme Tulku, the Tuguān Hutukhtu, its administrator mentioned to me also the following lamaseries: Man-t'ou-szu, a few kilometers northwest; Chin(g)-kang-ta-szu, 20 kilometers to the north; Chang-chia-szu, 65 kilometers southeast near Lotu; Hua-yüan-szu, 12 kilometers to the south, a Bon monastery; Hung-ku-szu, in the Lianchow region (Kansu); Ma-t'i(eh)-szu, in the Kanchow region (Kansu). These connections indicate how far the significance of the monastery must have extended. From the beginning it has been

[256 cont.]

792 a place for the cultivation of knowledge, and the fame of its learned Tulkus released the Tujen from their seclusion and drew them into the extensive domain of the Lamaistic world. The "Geography of Tibet," written in the Tibetan language by the Minchu Hutukhtu from the monastery sGo-mań-dgon around 1830, reports: "... the monastery dGon-luń, in which one counts up to 2,000 clerics and where formerly there lived: the two reincarnations lCań-skya and Sum-pa mk'an-po, the author of the History of the Yellow Cap Doctrine, Žva-ser c'os byuń, 'T'uu-bkvan bLo-bzań C'os-kyi Ni-ma, and other important learned personalities"; see MS, p. 40.

The importance of the lCań-skya Hutukhtu has already been mentioned above on page 331. The first lCań-skya Hutukhtu was born in 1641 in Amdo. His ancestors came from a region called the "Gray Meadows" (communication from Mr. Unkrig). This place name has been transferred to the person (lcań-skya = meadow-gray). The child was recognized as a reincarnation of the Dharmaśvamin of the monastery dGon-luń and was called there at the age of eight. Then the young Tulku was sent to inner Tibet for study and returned again to Amdo until Emperor Kang-hsi called him to Peking. In the service of the emperor and of Lamaism the hutukhtu led an active life as church politician and scholar. His travels led him into Mongolia, to Tibet and Amdo, where, for instance, in 1709 he reformed the program of studies in dGon-luń and other monasteries and installed several Grand Lamas. He died in 1713; cf. Schulemann, pp. 177 f., where also further sources for a more detailed orientation concerning the hutukhtu and his earlier existences are given. The lCań-skya Hutukhtu was counted among the four great church princes of Lamaism. He resided later in Peking, beside the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama in Tibet, and the Jibtsun-Dampa in Mongolia; see Pander, "Geschichte des Lamaismus," ZfE, 1889, p. (202). In the European literature his name became known above all through Pander-Grünwedel's book, which under the title Das Pantheon des Tschang-tscha Chutuktu offers a description of the world of the Lamaistic gods, which is based upon an

[256 cont.]
792 illustrated work by this hutukhtu.

The other incarnation from dGon-luṅ, namely, the Tuguān Hutukhtu, is similarly famous. There is no explanation of this name. Perhaps it is a transference from the place to his person; it is better, however, to assume that the name of the mountain goes back to the hutukhtu, rather than the other way around. The Chinese way of writing the signs of this name [Illustrations a and b appear here] [257] varies as T'u-kuan, Tou-kuang, or T'ou-kuang, an indication that the phonetic imitation of a possibly Mongolic (Tujen) name, say, Toġan, is involved here. The Tibetan way of writing T'uu-bkvan is likewise quite strange, and therefore, according to Ch. Das, p. 577, the Mongolic name Toġan is rendered. As the first Tuguān Hutukhtu, Nag-dbaṅ c'os-kyi rgya-mts'o was called to Peking under Emperor Yung-cheng; he was born in 1679 and died in 1735; see Schulemann, pp. 178 f. The best known is his subsequent incarnation, the above-mentioned author of the work of religious history concerning the various Lamaistic and pre-Lamaistic systems and the Yellow Church; cf. Filchner, Kumbum, p. 181. He is supposed to have lived from 1702-1775 (communication from Mr. Unkrig). The Tuguān Tulkus likewise resided in Peking for the most part, whereby the relations to their tribal monastery dGon-luṅ did not suffer further; it is the case even today that many hutukhtus travel outside the country for years, in Tibet, India, Mongolia. In 1948, the present Tuguān Hutukhtu, according to the statements of his relatives from the Ch'ang-kou, had already been in Nanking in the ministry as expert for the Lamaist border region for more than two years. Curiously enough, his relatives were of the opinion that nowadays the Tuguān and lCan-skya (Ch'ang-chia) incar-
[775] nations are no longer differentiated and appear in only one representative. No clarification could be obtained from these statements. There seemed to be rivalries between the Li Clan and the Ch'ang Clan, who both claimed the incarnation succession.

In view of the pre-eminent position that these hutukhtus occupied in Peking, it is not surprising that many Tujen lamas

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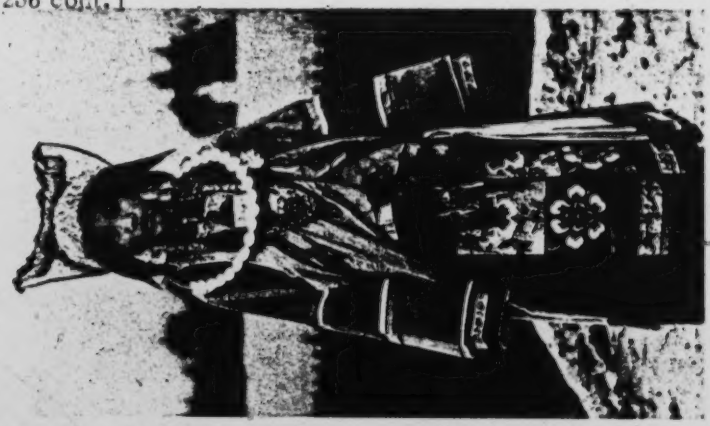

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a: The temple yard of the Tujen monastery dGon-luñ. Left, the gable of the Tuguăn palace, Tuguăn-larõñ. In the background the foothill of the Tuguăn mountain, Tuguăn-ula. (Photo. Jos. Trippner.) b: Young Tujen woman in ancient dress. Characteristic are: the high headdress, niudar, now prohibited; the neck ring; the wide sleeve rings; the wide embroidered cloth bands over the skirt. The pattern was the garb of a Tujen princess. (Photo. Mission Archives, Sining.)

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792 went there. Pander speaks (op. cit., p. 204) of Man-tzu or Chinese from Sining, who were accommodated in 13 temples in Peking (1889). These Man-tzu (= barbarians), however, could only have been Tujen, for the Chinese are not Lamaists, and the Tibetans (Fan-tzu) are specifically named by Pander. The monastery Sung-chu-szu is regarded expressly as a Tujen lamasery. Even today (at least up until 1948) almost all its monks come from the Sining region and are Tujen, as the monks from this monastery related during a visit home. To be sure the number has shrunk greatly.

771 792 [788] [527] [796] [778] These are all facts that must be taken into account in judging the Lamaism of the Tujen. The people are proud of their famous monastery. It is their pilgrimage center. Young and old gather there at the festivals. They hold horse races and sing their old popular airs there. At the temple festivals with the magnificent dances the Lamist doctrine is deepened and clarified. In the venerable halls filled with incense they see their gods in magnificent statues, painted on silk, on walls and altars. There lie also the heavy sacred books of the Kandjur and Tandjur, which they bear on their backs around the sanctuary in order to free themselves from affliction or to fulfill a vow. In the temples and yards they watch the monks hold learned disputations, read the scriptures, recite the prayers. They invite them to undertake solemn religious services in their compounds, to give their children their names, to consecrate the old, [258] to bless the young, to pray for the dead, to cre- [574] mate the corpses. The lama is a frequent and welcome guest in the family. Generally, the people seem to link themselves [756] to the monastic life at the important stages of life. Even the [778] shaman receives his consecration in the monastery. Every family was proud if one of its sons became a lama; indeed, it was even an unwritten law.

771 792 177 So it was, at least until the most recent times. Today, however, the young people no longer want to know anything about becoming a lama. They prefer to attend the Chinese schools and are intent on the new education. They despise the old and do not take it seriously anymore. What the

[258 cont.]

777 Minchu Hutukhtu wrote a hundred years ago in his "Geography
792 of Tibet" has already become true: "This home of the second
177 Victorious Tsongkhapa was at one time famous in all Tibet ... Now, however, it is not only under the pressure of the deluded Chinese and Mussulmanic doctrine, but there approaches the time when Tibetans and Mongols will believe the Kung-tzu, Lao-tzu, or the teacher Naniku of Ssei"; MS, loc. cit. If one thinks of the most recent events, even in that remote area, then one sees even this melancholy prophecy surpassed, for even the doctrines of a K'ung-tzu and Lao-tzu will no longer draw the Tujen into their jurisdiction. They, too, already belong to the past.

Conclusion

174 In the course of the work it became increasingly clear
771 that the religion of the Tujen no longer represents anything uniform and independent. Rather, it grew from roots of various origins into a colorful composite that is based on the varied past of the Tujen and their present-day homeland which lies in the middle between various peoples. In particular, however, Lamaism
[779] has fostered these international connections, even to Lhasa and Peking, and has contributed decisively to religious assimilation. In this respect, the Tujen share their fate with the neighboring peoples insofar as they are not Chinese. Their belief is linked to a common layer, which, as Lamaistic popular religion, extends over the entire area of influence of the Yellow Church. Thus, the principal questions raised earlier concerning shamanism, the Bon religion, the cult of heaven, etc. are not questions that can be resolved from the point of view of the Tujen alone. Their religion has a much more general significance. To be sure, a number of special characteristics can be established. These do not suffice, however, for drawing definite conclusions concerning the origin and ethnic affiliation of the people. And even less do they permit the delimitation of any individual Tujen groups, which certainly are present. As sources for such cultural-historical and ethnic relationships, almost

4: Schram AE9 MonguorAE9

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[For the materials on the social function of religion in Huang-chung, see category 116, pp. 157A-159B.]

4: Schram AE9 Monguor AE9

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[For information related to the organization of the lamaseries; internal social structure and its functions in Huang-chung, see category 116, pp. 37A-53B.]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

understand the striking incompatibility which exists 829
between the religious and philosophical principles of 771
these religions, while we see the paradox of things which cannot coexist logically, actually coexisting in a very smooth and natural way. The Monguors believe that each of these religions is right, and practice them according to their various circumstances of life. While their knowledge about dogmas and religion is limited and unstable, their religious spirit is unusually developed. What is the reason for this trend of mind, this carelessness concerning differences between religions and philosophical principles? Our illusions and misunderstandings ~~occur~~ because we compare the conversion to Lamaism of the Mongols and the Monguors with the conversion to Christianity of peoples in ancient times, and assume that a similar change of mind took place among the Monguors. We envision churches filled to capacity for weekly worship, people receiving instructions about definite dogmas, children attending parochial schools, learning prayers, studying religion, and being educated in their belief, and we also envision a group of religious leaders, proficient in the religious sciences, but none of these exist or form a part of Lamaism.

The vast and splendid temples in the monasteries 792
are not churches or places where the faithful fulfill in 794
common their religious duties. Lamas recite texts in 796
the temples; laymen do not. There are no spiritual 771
leaders, skilled in religious sciences, to preach and instruct the faithful. Nowhere are there parochial schools for children; nor is anything done to provide serious religious education for the people. Lamaists are like stray sheep without shepherds, for nowhere is there a pastor or rector taking care of definite groups of the faithful. In teaching Christianity, new notions and principles were instilled in the minds of prospective converts. Their incompatibility with the principles of other religions was explained. The prospective converts were taught that they must live according to the principles of Christianity; that in order to do this they would have to change from their way of life to the Christian way, by changing their conduct, feelings, habits, and way of thinking. None of these things are taught about Lamaism. The religious value of the faith is never explained. No zeal is displayed in order to form serious types of Lamaists. The lama does not care about the shaman as he performs his rites; the shaman does not mind, and acts in like manner; the Taoist, considered as the second best, does not bother, for he is very happy to be invited and to earn some money. Shamans are considered the most potent men in certain circumstances, while lamas are believed to be the appropriate performers of certain kinds of rites. Consequently, the two religions are considered equally necessary and equally right.

The fact that serious Lamaists are not formed ap- 771
pears to be responsible for the Mongours still being fer-

[p. 7(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

Confidence in the power of the shaman is so strong among the Monguors and over the whole country, that even Sinicized Mongours and neighboring Chinese from outside the clans never fail to invite the shaman to their homes, even though they have long since abandoned the lamas. Before Buddhism and Lamaism were diffused in central Asia and Tibet, these countries were entirely shamanist. There is much evidence today to show that shamanism still occupies a prominent place in the religious life of these peoples. Mme David-Neel assumes that in spite of the fact that the Tibetans are considered to be Lamaists, most of them, except the learned lamas, are shamanists.[4]

II. INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM AND LAMAISM IN HSINING (HUANG-CHUNG)

NO HISTORICAL DATA BEFORE 1227 IN THE ANNALS OF HSINING

OLD OCCUPANTS OF HUANG-CHUNG WERE NOT BUDDHISTS

The *Annals* of Hsining do not record a single fact concerning either the time or the way Buddhism first was introduced in what is now the Hsining region. Dealing with the temples and monasteries built in the country, the author of the *Annals*, in concluding ch. 15, p. 13*a* incidentally notes: ". . . the country of Huang-chung [Hsining], being properly the region of the Hsiao Yüeh-chih [Indo European Scythians], which had been lost several times at the hands of the Tibetans and the barbarians, it is no wonder that [there] Buddhists are numerous and Taoists are few in number." The author seems to suppose that these Scythians and Tibetans were Buddhist at that early time, but in ch. 30, pp. 1–12 (the only pages concerned with these early Scythians and Tibetans), he does not record any fact concerning Buddhism in regard to either these Scythians or these Tibetans.

No evidence can be offered concerning these Scythians to support the assertion of the profession of Buddhism by that "small branch of Hsining Hsiao Yüeh-chih."[1] However, the main branch of the Yüeh-chih

[4] Alexandra David-Neel, *Au Pays des brigands gentilshommes* 101, Paris, Plon, 1933.

[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30. According to the *Annals*, the Hsiung-nu Khan, Mao Tun, having killed the king of the Scythians (202–201 B.C.), a small and feeble branch among them settled in the mountains and mixed with the Tibetans (p. 1*b*). They submitted to the Chinese General Ho Ch'ü-ping (121–119 B.C.) and lived among the Chinese (colonists). They lived in seven groups, numbering in all 9000 or more soldiers, spread over the region of Huang-chung to Ling-chü (colony near Kukunor) (p. 2*a*). During the period Hung-Yüan (A.D. 89–105), refusing to revolt with the Tibetan Mi-T'ang tribes, they helped the Chinese General Tung Hsün crush the revolt. Tung-Hsün gave them the title of *I-Ts'ung-Ch'iang*, and *I-Ts'ung-Hu* (loyally following Tibetans and barbarians, re-

[A 8(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

tribes, chased from Mongolia and Turkistan by the Hsiung-nu between 176 and 165 B.C., finally became unified, and founded the realm of Kushana (between Iran and India), in the first half of our era.[2] When that branch adopted Buddhism is not known, but its third king, Kanishka (A.D. 80–11–, or A.D. 120–162), was a fervent protector of Buddhism. 175 771

The Tibetans of Huang-chung, in those early times, were still buried in barbaric darkness. It was much later, around A.D. 630–650, that Buddhism was first spread among them, and even then it had little appeal for the people on account of the strong opposition of the native *Bön* religion. The second attempt at diffusion by Padmasambhava a century later (775–788 or 797), was more successful.[3] Conclusively, Buddhism had not been spread during this period among these Scythians or the Tibetans. [177]

FIRST TEMPLE BUILT IN HUANG-CHUNG

Buddhism "seems," however, to have been spread into the country in the first centuries of our era, because the author of the *Annals* (ch. 15, p. 2*b*) mentions the "monastery" Pei Ch'an-ssu, and notes: ". . . the 'monastery' is situated five *li* outside the northern gate of the city of Hsining, at the foot of the 'Earth Tower Mountain' "; it is the very oldest monastery of which Han-yin tells: ". . . north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the monastery of the 'Earth Tower.' " 175 792

According to the Chinese "Dictionary of Famous Men of China," (*Chung-kuo ming-jen ts'e tien*) Han-yin was a native of Tun-Huang (Nan hsi-chou) who fulfilled important functions on behalf of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün (A.D. 401–439), the king of the ephemeral realm of Pei Liang. Han-yin was the author of several books, among them *The Annals of the Thirteen Chou*. In these *Annals* (p. 8), we read:

the *Shui-ching-chu* records: north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the 'Earth Tower' temple, (*shen-ssu*); according to the *Shui-ching-chu* the river Huang, turning to the east, passes on the southern side of the 'Earth Tower'; the tower on the northern side leans against the mountain, the original crest being 300 feet high, and looks steep, as if it were artificially cut; at the foot of the tower are the remainders of old walls and of carved walls of the temple (or temples).

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spectively), which titles are recorded on pp. 6*a*–11*b*. Every time they took sides with the Chinese in quelling the intermittent revolts of Tibetans. In A.D. 184 (p. 11*b*) during the revolt of the Yellow Turbans, which accelerated the fall of the later Han dynasty (A.D. 220), the Scythians revolted with the Tibetan Hsien-lin tribes, and from that time on, their name disappears from the *Annals*; nothing more seems to be known about them.

Ed. Chavannes, Les Pays d'occident d'après Le Wei Lio, *T'oung Pao*, 6: 527–528, 1905.

[2] René Grousset, *Histoire de l'extrême Orient*, 60, 61, 64, Paris, Geuthner, 1929.

[3] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 361. Bacot, Jacques, Le Mariage chinois du roi Tibetain Sron-bcan-sgan-po, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, 7, Juillet, Louvain, Istas, 1935.

"The Tibetan chronicles show that in the IXth century, Buddhism had only passed the frontiers of Tibet without having either affected the mind of the people or even the court."

[p. 8(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

According to this text, Han-yin does not report having seen the temple between 401 and 439. He notes only the text of the *Shui-ching-chu*, an earlier geographical work, probably completed before A.D. 265, by an unknown author and largely commented and expanded by Li Tao-Yüan on the basis of his own studies and observations. He died in 527.[4] Han-yin consequently used the original edition of the *Shui-ching-chu* and thus the fact of the existence of the vestiges of the ruined temple (or temples) of the "Earth Tower" before A.D. 265 is evidenced. The *Shui-ching-chu* of Li Tao-Yüan notes *verbatim* the same text (p. 24*b*), adding: ". . . when Han-yin says, 'on the northern side of Hsi-p'ing is the temple of the "Earth Tower,"' he refers to this temple."

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NOT A BUDDHIST TEMPLE

The original *Shui-ching-chu* in mentioning, "the temple of the 'Earth Tower' uses the term *Shen-ssu* for "temple." This term is not specific for temples devoted to the worship of Buddha, but rather is used to designate temples devoted to sacrifices to ancestors or to the spirits in general. The text notes that the vestiges of the "temple" were still existing in 265.

The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 notes the existence of the *Pei Ch'an-ssu*, "the northern temple of contemplation," also called *Yung-hsing-ssu*, "temple of eternal inspiration," situated five *li* outside the northern gate of the city at the foot of the "Earth Tower Mountain." The name of "Earth Tower Mountain," situated five *li* north of the city, was still well known in 1912; the temple was still called *Pei Ch'an-ssu*, which eliminates any doubt concerning the identity of the location of the temple called by these three names.[5] In 1912 a steep winding path led to the temple, which was a deep cavern, and some smaller ones, dug half way up the mountain side. A large, elaborate veranda constituted the entrance. Inside the cavern were statues of Lu tung-ping, Ho-hu-yeh, Ma-wang, and Niu-wang. It is certain that the temple was a Taoist temple. An old Taoist, living in one of its small rooms, took care of it, collecting some grain in autumn from the neighboring farmers and enjoying his job.

IT IS ACTUALLY CALLED PEI CH'AN-SSU

Ch'an-ssu suggests that the builders of the temple belonged to the Dhyana sect, diffused in China by Buddhidharma, an Indian or Iranian Buddhist missionary, who arrived only in A.D. 520 (?) and died in 535.[6] The

[4] A. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period* 2: 970 sq., note by Dr. Hu Shih and *passim* the references concerning the *Shui-ching-chu* in Vols. 1–11 (see "Index of Books," in Hummel, *op. cit.*).

[5] *Yüan huo Chün-hsien chih*, ch. 39, p. 16*a*, erroneously notes: "130 *li* west of the city of Hsi-p'ing is the mountain of the Earth-tower, at its base is the temple (*Shen-ssu*) of the Earth-tower."

[6] O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches* 2: 299–300, Leipzig, Verlag Von Walter De Gruyter, 1936.

temple must indeed have been devoted to the worship of Buddha at some time; otherwise the name *Pei Ch'an-ssu* would remain inexplicable. These facts seem to lead to the supposition that the original temple, already ruined in A.D. 265, must have been built by the early Chinese frontier colonists; and because it was not then called by the term *ssu*, the specific appellation for Buddhist temples, but *shen-ssu*, it must have been devoted to the worship of the spirits (of the locality), in the old Chinese manner. Later, after A.D. 520, the ruined original temple must have been converted into a Buddhist temple of the Dhyana sect. From that time on the people must have started calling it *Pei Ch'an-ssu*. Later still the temple, after having been changed to the cult of Taoist spirits, seems to have retained the Buddhist appellation, and the author of the *Annals* seems to have supposed erroneously that the temple was originally a Buddhist temple. 175 792

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY COLONISTS OR BY MONKS FROM TURKISTAN?

Buddhism was introduced in China "officially" between A.D. 64 and 67 by way of Turkistan,[7] before the time of King Kanishka of Kushana (80–110 or 120–162), whose realm was situated on the celebrated commercial road connecting the Roman Empire with India and China.[8] Buddhism had been diffused into the petty realms of central Asia, with which the Chinese generals waged war for two centuries (121 B.C.–A.D. 101).[9] The first translators of Buddhist scriptures, mostly of Iranian and Scythian origin, came to China from Turkistan in A.D. 148.[10] All these missionaries, on their way to China, passed through Liang-chou which at that time was one of the most important emporiums in west China. Here lived businessmen from remote countries, subjects of the Roman Empire.[11] 175 771 797

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[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 1: 410, " . . . nothing is known for sure about the way or the time Buddhism was first diffused in China." However, Franke wrote earlier, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12: 217, 1909, " . . . Buddhism was firmly established in China in the second half of the first century A.D.; it made big strides during the middle of the second century, and rode the crest of the waves during the second half of the fourth century." Grousset, *op. cit.*, 244: "In 65 A.D. there existed sporadically in Kiangsu Buddhist communities, protected by the brother of Emperor Ming-ti. The diffusion of Buddhism seems only to have started on some large scale during the middle of the second century, A.D. . . ."

[8] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 55: " . . . the transcontinental silk trade road, running through Kashgaria (Turkistan) and Iran, was already open in the second century, B.C."

[9] O. Franke, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, " . . . during the three first centuries of our era, Buddhism must have been diffused from Gandhara and Kashmir into Turkistan."

[10] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 245.

[11] Peter Boodberg, Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 1: 289, Cambridge, November, 1936, "Besides the two 'Aryan' colonies in Shensi, there are reasons to believe that there existed on the Chinese [113]

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The colonization of Huang-chung started between 121 and 119 B.C. with the transportation of Chinese families from central China, and criminals released from jail (*Annals* of Hsining. ch. 30, p. 2*b*). In A.D. 9 the colonization system was developed on a larger scale in the same way. In A.D. 132 (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9) after five new colonies were established, the total number reached only ten. Intermittently, new families and criminals had to be sent to replace those who died or ran away (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9*b*). In A.D. 220, after three centuries, the originally walled, small garrison of Hsining was expanded by the building of three new cities, on three sides of it (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 13*a*). For the first time, Hsining started to become a real city, the only one in the whole country.

It is tempting to suppose that, at the time of the expansion of the city, the temple of the "Earth Tower" might have been built, for it could easily have been protected by the garrison troops who farmed the fields around it. On the other hand, it is an historical fact that Buddhism already had a firm toehold in China in the second half of the second century A.D. It seems possible that among these colonists some might have been professing Buddhists when they arrived in Huang-chung, because Buddhism was the religion of the people. If so, Buddhism might have been imported by the colonists and practiced among them during the second century A.D. However, another possibility is not precluded. Monks who were attendants for the early translators of Buddhist texts (A.D. 148) might have settled in the emporium of Liang-chou, diffusing Buddhism as monks used to do in the oasis cities of Turkistan. Some among them might have tried to go to Hsining to spread Buddhism, after the city had been built and relative security provided. However, no historical data are available to support either of these two suppositions.

More can hardly be said about the diffusion of Buddhism in Huang-chung during the first three centuries of our era, because of the lack of historical data.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY HSIEN-PI TRIBES?

The region of Huang-chung, and its neighboring countries, upset during the second and third centuries by three noticeable invasions of Hsien-pi tribes which settled in the country, driving out the larger Tibetan

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border a third colony from the 'Far West,' this time located in modern Kansu. In the list of Hsien dependent on the prefecture of Chang-Yeh we have Li-Chien-Hsien. . . . It is tempting to see in the name of this administrative subdivision of a western Chinese province a variant transcription . . . which is one of the names under which the Roman Orient was known to the Chinese of the Han dynasty. . . . The name of the little Chinese city on the desert road to the West, would indicate that an important Western community must have sent out its sons to the distant land of the Seres to imprint the name of the metropolis on an outpost of the Han Empire." See also M. Medard, Ta-Ts'in, Province romaine en Asie, *Journal de Pékin*, 141 *et. sq.*, 1936.

the nomadic tribes, subjects adopted the religion professed by their kings or chiefs. Even in Europe there existed the sayings: *Regis ad exemplar* ("Subjects follow the pattern set by the king"), *cujus regio ejus religio* ("Let the religion of each state follow that of its prince"). However, not a single fact is recorded in the *Annals* concerning the building of Buddhist temples or monasteries in Huang-chung during this century of intensive cultural Buddhist activity promoted by the conquerers and rulers of Huang-chung in their capital of Liang-chou. This fact seems to challenge belief. Possibly the insecurity in the country on account of the military actions accompanying the conquest, carried on by the three successive rulers in the span of a century (345–439), and the disturbances following the transportation of such important groups of families, afford the explanation. Perhaps the Buddhist cultural activities did not appeal so much to the people, as to the court and the administrative centers of the capital, and so the impact of Buddhism remained confined to the area of the capital.

The T'o-pa Wei conquered the kingdom of Pei Liang in 439, but at the time it was involved in a serious persecution of Buddhism (438–452).[22] From 445 until 635 endless troubles occurred in Huang-chung, on account of the intermittent inroads of the T'u-yü-hun from Kukunor, and the T'o-pa, Sui, and T'ang dynasties successively had to wage war with them. (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 20*b*–24*b*). In 663 there started the intermittent inroads of the T'u-fan until 866 (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 25*a*–31*a*). During the Wu-tai period (907–960) China was unable to control Huang-chung. The Sung dynasty (920–1227) was powerless against the Hsi-Hsia and Chin, which successively occupied Huang-chung, but which themselves had trouble with the T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang (*Annals*, ch. 31, pp. 1*a*–8*b*). Finally, the Mongols conquered Huang-chung in 1227 and brought peace into the country. No wonder, during these eight centuries of intermittent troubles and change in the population, Buddhist activities were very limited, and the few existing institutions in depopulated Huang-chung were of minor importance.

HISTORICAL DATA ACCORDING TO TIBETAN SOURCES

However, the lack of information in the *Annals* of Hsining relating to this period is compensated for by data provided by the Tibetan *Blue Annals* of 'Gos lo-tsa-la composed between A.D. 1476 and 1478.[23]

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[22] Ware, *op. cit.*, 135, " . . . when in the period T'ai-yen (435–440) the province of Liang was conquered and its population moved to the capital, the monks and Buddhist paraphernalia all came East, and the counterfeit teaching increased far and wide. Presently, owing to the large number of Sramanas, an Imperial order was given to unfrock those under 50 years of age."

[23] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1949: 1; 1953: 11. *The Blue Annals* and the *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston Rin-po-

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

period (1280–1368). The site of the hermitage of Zin-dpon being less picturesque, it is hard to identify it with the monastery of Goorong bzan which is a neighbor of Sha-ch'ung.[25]

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[25] R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* 44: 229, 1951, identifies Sha-ch'ung (Sha-ch'ung of the Hsining *Annals*) with the monastery of the Rock of Bya-k'yun, below the city of Kui-te, south of Hsining, in the region of the Tibetans situated behind Tsong-ko. He gives details (p. 230) concerning the region of Tsong-ko situated between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng, where he notes the river of Tsong running in the valley between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng. The *Annals* of Hsining provide more details; "the River Tsong is east of the city (subprefecture of Nien-pei) (ch. 4, p. 15*a*). The valley of Tsong is situated 30 *li* west of the Great Rapids" (ch. 4, p. 10*b*), which are *circa* 30 *li* east of Nien-pei. "The River Tsong-ko which is north of the old city of Tsong-ko is [also known as] the River of Hsining [Huang-shui]; when the river reaches the city of Tsong-ko it is then called Tsong-ko River. The river changes its name according to the places [through which it flows] (ch. 4, p. 17*a*). South of the subprefecture of Nien-pei, there exists a city of Tsong-ko." The Sung *Annals* note: "The city of Lung-chih, which is the old city of Tsong-ko, depended on the Chou of Hsining. Concerning old Lung-chih there are three: at the time of the Han dynasties the city was situated west of the actual Ning-I [Hsining] in the *Chün* of the western Sea (Kukunor); at the time of the Sui and T'ang dynasties Lung-chih was situated to the southwest of the actual Nien-pei near the Yellow River; at the time of the Sung dynasty it was located to the south of Nien-pei; therefore, it is an error to say indiscriminately that the old city of Tsong-ko was only one city."

Shih-ch'eng (ch. 7, p. 13*a*) "is situated south of Nien-pei near the Yellow River." But ch. 7, p. 14 notes: "south of Nien-pei is the old city of Hua-ch'eng, which is properly the city of Shih-ch'eng established by the Hu-Wei; because in that region there was a Hua-lung valley, its name was changed to that of Hua-ch'eng hsien in 568 and in 712 the T'ang emperor adopted this appellation." (See also article *K'uo-chou*, *Annals*, ch. 7, pp. 12*a* and *b*.) However, ch. 4, p. 10 notes: "To the northwest of Hsining (region of the Kukunor) is a river running eastward (River of Hsining) passing south of Shih-ch'eng, which joins the river of the northern valley." This text and the former one concerning Tsong-ko seem to point to the strange fact that there have existed in the region of Kukunor a Tsong-ko and a Shih-ch'eng, before two cities called by the same names were established in the region south of Nien-pei.

In modern times the region south of Nien-pei near the Yellow River was separated from Nien-pei by the Ch'ing dynasty and organized as the T'ing of Pa-yen-jung. The Chinese Republic changed the name of Pa-yen-jung to Hua-lung hsien in honor of the old Hua-ch'eng hsien of 568, which at that time had taken over the place called Shih-ch'eng.

Conclusively, the former Tsong River joined the river of Hsining *circa* 10 *li* below Nien-pei; the region of Tsong-ko, Shih ch'eng in later times, was situated in the country south of Nien-pei and constitutes now, completely or at least for its largest part, the territory of Hua-lung hsien, near southwest of Nien-pei and really behind Tsong-ko as Stein notes: ". . . and southwest in Hua-lung hsien near the Yellow River is Sha-ch'ung."

More is available concerning the Tibetan tribes of Tsong-ko and the neighborhood from 1006 on (ch. 31, p. 1 *sq.*) fighting against and exterminating each other in the nomadic pattern; also about the Tsong-ko lama Li li-tsun, who married his daughter to the powerful Tibetan chief Kio-sse-louo, etc., which point to the fact that at that time these lamas belonged to the group of the Red Sect which was permitted marriage (ch.

[p. 12(B)]

Thus, in 940 dGeba rab-gsal, who had started his religious life in the monastery of Zin-dpon, built a monastery in Dantig. At that time there existed in that region "great hermitages" and a temple in Hsining, where the three learned men from Tibet were buried. Later their names were chiseled on a stone pillar in dPari (the region between the Ta t'ung River and Nanshan, reaching to P'ing fan). At what time were the "great hermitages," the monastery of Zin-dpon, and the temple at Hsining built? Were there at that time hermitages in dPari? 175 792

The *Annals of Kansu* 45, 65–66, and the *Annals of Hsining* 30A, 30 a, b, record that during the span of time from the period of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet (some years before 650 or 696), until its persecution (in 841 or 901), the T'ufan occupied Huang chung and Lungyu from 756 until 842, under the leadership of successive descendants of the imperial T'ufan family (Tsanpu), who appointed their own officials in the country without interference by the Chinese empire. It seems appropriate to assume that Tibetan lamas would at that time have followed the T'ufan tribes in Huang chung, and have built the "great hermitages" and the temple in Hsining, being encouraged by the Tsanpu leaders, the promoters of Buddhism. Thus Buddhism would have been diffused in Huang chung between 756–842 by lamas from Tibet and that is why "great hermitages" and the temple in Hsining existed before 940. 175 [792]

The minor importance of these institutions founded in troubled times, the loss of traditions concerning their origin, and the minor interest of the Chinese scholars for Lamaism, explain the lack of records in the Chinese *Annals*.

Conclusively, from the very beginning of the Chinese colonization of Huang chung until its conquest by the Mongols in 1227, the foundation of the hermitage of Dantig in 940, and the existence at that time, of "great hermitages" in that region, and of a Buddhist temple in the city of Hsining, are the only Lamaist institutions concerning which historical records exist. 175 771

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE YUAN DYNASTY (1280–1367)

When the Mongols conquered Huang-chung, the country was nearly depopulated. They found a few 175

31, p. 2*b*). Also, more is available concerning the subject in *Kansu chüan shen Hsin-t'ung-chih*, 1909, ch. 46, pp. 6*b*, 7*a* and 7*b*. See also Wolfram Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* 1: 20, Brill, Leiden, 1942, Shih ch'eng, alte Hsiung-nu Gebiet.

Incidentally, I encountered in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1887, Pt. 1, No. 1, p. 28: "The north of Machhu is occupied by Chinese, Tibetans, Hor, Mohammedans [this seems to be the region of Pa-yen Jung], in the east of this tract lie the districts called Tantig and Yantig in which Tantig Shelgi is a sacred place." The location seems to be the region directly south of Nien pei. However, in 1910 no monastery existed in that region. [103]

[p. 13 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Buddhist, and Peking was a Buddhist city. However, the Mongols also favored all religions—shamanism, Nestorianism, Catholicism.

The impact of Lamaism during the Yüan dynasty was limited to Peking. The number of conversions to Lamaism in Mongolia, and the number of monasteries, were insignificant, since when Altan, Khan of T'umed in 1578, proclaimed the Yellow Church the official religion of the Mongols, the Red Church was very nearly extinct. Possibly the appeal of Lamaism to the Mongols at that time was very limited because the marvels performed by the Red lamas (such as making rain, dispelling hail, predicting the future, rising in the air, subduing evil spirits, protecting the herds by sorcery) had already been performed by their own old shamans for centuries. So, for them, Lamaism could have seemed but another form of their own shamanism.

TA-FO-SSU

In the long list of monasteries and temples recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining, there is mention only of the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the heart of the city, with the note: " . . . it is an old monastery built by the Mongols, to which was granted during the Hung-wu period of the Ming (1368–99), the inscription 'Pacified Tibetans'" (*Annals* ch. 15, p. 1*b*). The temple complex in 1915, although in a state of total dilapidation, gave evidence that it must have constituted a fine monastery in former times. The main temple (two stories high) contained three huge statues of Buddhas, nine meters in height. The ruins of four smaller temples were still in existence, as well as a great number of small rooms, the habitations of former lamas. This temple was built by the ancestors of the Li T'u-ssu who fulfilled in Hsining the important office of Yu-ch'eng at the end of the Yüan dynasty. The clan of the Li T'u-ssu belonged to the Ch'u-yüeh tribe of the Shat'o group which founded the Later T'ang and the Later Chin dynasties (923–947). The Shat'o were Buddhists, and the emperors of their dynasties liked to visit the caves of Lung-men where they prayed for rain and snow.[31] They honored especially the Buddhist deity, Pishamen (*Vaisrayana*), one of the "Four Heavenly Kings," guardians of the four directions.[32] This devotion must have been old, because it is said that "Li K'o-yung as a youth once prayed in the temple of Vaisrayana."[33] No wonder then that the Li clan built the celebrated Ta-fo-ssu. However, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, the Shat'o had two religions. Besides Buddhism, the old Turkish "God of Heaven" was still worshipped by them. After the conquest of North China, the Shat'o also worshipped the gods of the Chinese official religion.[34]

[31] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.
[32] *Ibid.*, 96.
[33] *Ibid.*, 92.
[34] *Ibid.*, 94. Schram, *op. cit.*, 30.

[p. 14(A)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

At the beginning of the Chinese Republic (1911), 175 rumors upset the country for a long time, according to 114 which all the temples were to be confiscated and converted into schools. The Li T'u-ssu, afraid of having his family monastery confiscated, and being squeezed to the wall, chose the lesser of the two evils. He reluctantly resolved to make some money from it and suggested that I buy it. Hoping to get more information about the history of the monastery, I asked for deeds and about the circumstances under which the Yüan officials had granted to his ancestors, in the heart of the city, the grounds on which the monastery had been built. "Father," he said, "No deeds exist, but is the secular tradition, well known all over the country, not sufficient to allow me to sell the family monastery?" Later, Goorongbzan, the most influential Living Buddha of the Red Sect, was in search of an opportunity to retrieve the old glory of his sect, which had been declining and waning on account of the protection and privileges accorded by the emperors of the Ch'ing dynasty to the Yellow Sect. As he was the sworn brother of the Moslem military commander of Hsining, Ma K'o-ch'en, who was at that time omnipotent, Goorongbzan called on his "brother" to obtain the necessary permission to restore the old monastery, which had been administered for centuries by lamas of his sect. A vehement protest by all the Living Buddhas of the Yellow Sect in the country was sent to the amban and to Ma K'o-ch'en. Eventually the officials confiscated the monastery, and thus ended the Ta-fo-ssu.

SHA-CH'UNG

Traditions still fresh and living, concerning mon- 175 asteries built during the Yüan period, linger among the 792 lamas of the Red and Yellow Sects. A tradition, well known all over the country, asserts that the oldest monastery in the country is that of Sha-ch'ung, situated on the left bank of the Yellow River, 140 *li* southeast of Hsining. It affirms that its founder was Karmabakshi (1203–1282),[35] the lamas belonged to the Karmapa, and that the celebrated Tsong khapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, started his religious career at Sha-ch'ung which went over to the Yellow Sect.

In 1918 I was a guest at Sha-ch'ung, a beautiful 792 lamasery. The temple, in the center of the complex of [346] buildings, had a gilt tiled roof. It was situated on the Ami ch'ü-lu Mountain, commanding a wonderful outlook over the Yellow River and the surrounding moun-

[35] Gunther Schuleman, *Geschichte der Dalai Lama*, Heidelberg, 1911. At the time of Güyük and Mönke most of the lamas on duty at the court were of Tangut origin and adherents of the Karmapa sect, spread from Tsang to Kukunor. They were proficient in magic, and rivals of the Sa-skya (p. 51). At the end of the Yüan dynasty their chief received an imperial diploma and seal (p. 56). During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) the most prominent among the bearers of the title of *Ta-pao-fa-wang*, "Great King of the precious law," was the chief of the Karmapa sect (p. 57).

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tainous country. It was inhabited by two or three 792
hundred lamas of Tibetan origin, and had four colleges. The Abbot told me the monastery had been founded by a lama of Amdo, called Don dub. During the Yüan dynasty he had studied in Tibet. He was a learned man. The Abbot pointed to a stupa built on [34-6]
top of the temple and said it contained the relics of the founder. He went on to explain that Don dub had been the Teacher of Tsong khapa (born in 1357, ten years before the end of the Yüan dynasty) who started his religious career at Sha-ch'üng, and that the teacher brought his pupil to Lhasa when he was sixteen years of age. Then the Abbot led me to a nice building claiming it was there Tsong khapa had lived.[34]

It is not known what kind of monastery Sha-ch'ung 175
was in the beginning; whether it was a small hermitage 792
where a few unmarried Red lamas lived together or only a temple where some married Red lamas gathered at fixed times. The latter, depending more or less on a chief chosen from among them, scattered over the country, their pupils living with them, farming or raising cattle and performing cultural rites when invited by the people to do so. Important lamaseries could hardly have existed at that time, because of the disturbed circumstances. Even if Sha-ch'ung was not the hermitage of Dantig, built in 940 by dGe-ba rab-gsal, it certainly existed at the end of the Yüan dynasty. Two facts seem to support the tradition.

Sha-ch'ung in 1916 was a neighbor of the most im- 792
portant monastery of the Red Sect, whose Living 578
Buddha, Goorongbzan, presided over a group of more than two hundred lamas of his sect. The same year both lamaseries claimed to be possessors of a strip of intervening pasture, and had a fight at close quarters. Many lamas on both sides were wounded. Ma k'o-ch'en, the Moslem commander of Hsining, and sworn brother of Goorongbzān, put an end to the feud which had lasted for centuries. He adjudicated the possession [69]
of the debatable pasture to Goorong, who produced deeds dating from the period of the Yüan, but which the former officials would never recognize because of the influence wielded by the Yellow Sect. This fact supports the evidence of the tradition according to which both lamaseries had existed during the Yüan. The old feud was rooted in the fact that Sha-ch'ung, which belonged to the Red Sect, later went over to the Yellow Sect, while the monastery of Goorong clung to its original Red Sect.

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[34] E. Obermiller, Tsunkhaba le Pandit, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 2: 321, Louvain, Istas, 1934–1935. L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 2nd ed., 59, W. Heffer, Cambridge, 1934. Wilhelm Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling*, 175, Leipzig, 1933. The confirmation of this tradition is found in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo, translated by Sarat-Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Pt. I, 1: 27, "Chya Khyung, the seat of Chhöije Tondub Rinchhen, contains his tomb as well as the residence of Tsong khapa."

[p. 15(A)]

A second fact is encountered in a publication of Ma Fu-hsiang.[37] For many years he was the most prominent official of Hsining engaged with Tibetan and Mongol affairs. Later, he became governor of Suiyüan Province and a member of the Meng-Tsang Yüan in Nanking. The passage from the publication states: 792 578

> More than 100 *li* southeast of Hsining, on the territory of the 'Ten Tribes,' is the Ami chü-lu mountain upon which was built the monastery of Sha-ch'ung which had more than 1,000 lamas. It was there that Tsong khapa had his hair clipped [entered religion], and remained for more than 10 years, starting his studies and religious life, before he went to Tibet (p. 198).

In 1906 the Chinese started digging for gold in the sacred mountain. The lamas, opposed to the digging, fought and two men were killed. The governor of the province ordered punishment to be imposed upon the lamasery with ruthless severity. Ma Fu-hsiang, being acquainted with the Tibetans, sought to settle the question amicably and went to Sha-ch'ung. The rebelling lamas and 1,000 soldiers of the "Ten Tribes" were determined to fight the Chinese troops. During the long period of discussion, the head of the lamasery repeated over and over that the lamasery and the mountain were hallowed places, because it was there that the founder of the Yellow Church had clipped his hair and remained for more than ten years. He protested that by digging at these spots the "artery" of the Yellow Church would be damaged, and the ruin of its religion be made inevitable (p. 190). Finally, as always in the Orient, a way was found to settle the case, by promising that no more digging would be done on the Sacred Mountain; but on the territory of the "Ten Tribes" digging would be allowed (p. 193). This fact gives evidence of the deep-seated conviction among the Tibetans about the veracity of the tradition and infers the existence of the lamasery at the time of the Yüan period (1280–1367). More traditions exist about monasteries having been built during the Yüan period, as related by the lamas, but they are vague and no names or specific places are indicated nor do ruins exist. However, it is not impossible that the traditions point to the hermitages noted in the *Blue Annals*. The building of the big monastery of Ta fo-ssu by one of the important T'u-ssu clans reveals the fact that Lamaism was a living entity among the T'u-ssu and their Monguors. Is it not too far-fetched to suppose that among the T'u-ssu only the Li T'u-ssu were Lamaist, since it is well known that the Ch'i and Lu T'u-ssu in 1644 were proprietors of monasteries constructed by them, although we do not know when they were constructed.[38] Besides, the facts that the monastery of Goorongbzan existed near Sha-ch'ung, and that in the beginning of the Ming a board of lamas was established, suggest the assumption that in Huang-chung during the Yüan period there probably must

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[37] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng Tsang Chuang-k'uang*, Nanking, Chung-Hua yin-shu kung-ssu, 1931.

[38] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 34, p. 3a.

[p.115(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

have existed more insignificant hermitages, scattered over the country. The lack of historical data does not permit further assertion about the diffusion of Lamaism during the Yüan period. 175 771 792

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1643)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE MING

The emperors of the Ming dynasty followed in the wake of those of the Yüan dynasty, protecting and promoting Lamaism among the Tibetans and the Mongols, in order to hold in subjection the turbulent tribes living in remote countries. This policy indeed was less expensive than that of venturesome military expeditions. 175 662 771

The perspicacious Chinese Ming emperors from the very beginning grasped the capital flaw inherent in the policy of the Yüan, in regard to Tibet. Khubilai must have known that the Tibet of the thirteenth century was not the Tibet of the seventh and eighth centuries, when the Tibetan tribes, united by powerful chiefs and allured by the prospect of plundering, marauded over the western and southern frontiers of China, and in 763 even plundered the capital of China with 200,000 men. Tibet of the thirteenth century was a disintegrated country, divided among antagonistic aristocratic families, each claiming to be the protector and defender of its preferred lama sect and powerful lamasery. The armed struggles between these families had involved, necessarily, the sects they protected, and caused the sects to fight on the side of their protectors and to ruin each other. Thus the doctrinal divergences between the sects seem not to have been the capital cause of the fierce hostility among them.[39]

The appointment of the Sa-Skya great lama as Vice-regent of Tibet at the time Godan had fanned the flame of the long-standing animosity and hatred among the aristocratic families and sects, to the extent that five times Mongol armies had to be sent to quell the revolts. Notwithstanding this initial political blunder, Khubilai and his successors continued to extend their special protection to the Sa-Skya sect and to lavish on it the highest possible marks of honor at court.

However, at the end of the Mongol dynasty the powerful aBrigumpa sect had succeeded in overthrowing the Sa-Skya. Therefore, from the very beginning, the Ming dynasty avoided having to back and restore the supremacy of the decaying Sa-Skya or to patronize the most powerful aBrigumpa. It lavishly granted the same titles and favors to chiefs and influential lamas of different sects, using them for its political purposes. On the one hand, all the rival Lamaist sects had to stand on the same footing, and had to curry favors with the emperors, but, on the other hand, more and more favors had to be granted, and Lamaism reached a very high degree in Huang-chung.

[39] Tucci, *op. cit.*, 39, *et seq.* [p. 16(A)]

The author of the *Annals*, dealing with the diffusion 175
of Lamaism in Huang-chung, seems to have neglected 771
completely even the existence of Lamaism before the 114
Ming (1368). He seems very articulate concerning the problem, claiming that its diffusion had really started during the first years of the Ming and that, in fact, by the foundation of monasteries, the granting of titles to lamas, the institution of Nang-suo, Karwa, and Ch'an-shih chia, the outlook of the entire country was changed and the possession and population of Huang-chung assured.

PECULIAR POLICY IN HUANG-CHUNG

Founding of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an 175

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 13*a*, 648
13*b*) that 662

At the beginning of the Ming dynasty San-la, a Tibetan lama of Hsining, wrote a letter to induce the tribes of Han-tung to submit,[40] and built a monastery south of Nien-pei and settled there. He went to court and brought a tribute of horses, and he begged for a rescript to administer the monastery and the tribes, and for the favor of an inscription for the monastery. The Emperor T'ai-tsu (1368–1399), granted his request and favored him with an inscription reading: "Ch'ü-t'an." The Emperor established a board of lamas in Hsining and named San-la the director of the board. From that time on his pupils emulated him in building monasteries; the Emperor bestowed glorious names upon them, and in addition gave rescripts for administering them. Consequently, land and power became monopolized by the barbarian lamas. During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) there were bestowed, piecemeal, on the lamas, the titles of "Ch'an-shih" (Master in Dhyana), "Kuan-ting" (one whose head had been anointed), "Kuo-shih" (master of the empire); some were even given the title of "Ta-Kuo-shih" (great master or teacher of the empire), "Hsi T'ien Fo Tzu" (Buddha of the western Paradise; Amitabha). To all he gave seals and diplomas, and allowed [their dignities] to be transmitted, and they were ordered to bring, once every year, a tribute to the court.

Because the lamas were held in high esteem among the 175
barbarians, the government took advantage of them in 792
order to keep the barbarians in submission. The people of 622
the frontiers considered the dignity of the lamas as most glorious. For that reason, Tibetans and Monguors who had two sons, were certain to have one of them become a lama. Some even preferred not to have an heir, but ordered their sons to enter religious life. Tibetans and Monguors bequeathed their wealth to the monastery with a request for prayers, leaving their descendants destitute. Thus the barbarians became poorer and the monasteries richer. In each tribe there were people who submitted themselves to monasteries and became like a tribe, the subjects of the monastery [Shabinar].[41] The Chinese officials also entrusted the Tibetan monks with the duty of exchanging tea for horses.

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[40] E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches* 2: 218. Han tung "was situated in the land, which in the days of the Han constituted all the district of Tun-Huang."

[41] Shabinar disciples. Shabinars are the supporters of the lamas, giving them material sustenance. At first some disciples performed this task. By extension, it came to mean lay adjuncts of the lamasery, and at present it means the subjects of the lamasery.

[p. 16(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The first Ming emperor was delighted with the good will and efforts of San-la in bringing the Tibetan tribes into submission; he aimed to set an example of his high appreciation for the achievement, by rewarding San-la in an unusual way, thereby encouraging other lamas to follow his example. San-la appears to have been the first lama to act in this way, which explains the emphasis on his career in the *Annals* and the mention of him also in the general history of the Ming dynasty (ch. 300, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is further recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a* of the *Annals*, concerning the appreciation of the Ming emperors for San-la and his brothers that:

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> . . . in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) an imperial rescript was sent to build a monastery [presumably with a large sum of money]; two lamas of the group received the distinction of Kuo-shih ["teacher of the empire"], three received that of Master in Dhyana; a vast territory was granted; a gold and a silver seal were bestowed, each being 14 inches in circumference; one square jade seal, two ivory ones, and the inscription for a stele. During the Hung-hsi and Hsüan-te periods (1425–35) two texts, composed by the emperors, were again granted for two more steles.

This last text, encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining, is excerpted from the *Ming shih* (ch. 330, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is very informative concerning the pro-Lamaist policy of the Ming, and the position of Lamaism in the country of Hsining at that time. According to the text, the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) was the beginning of the granting of titles to "influential lamas," which explains why no title is recorded for the meritorious San-la who received the chieftainship of the tribes and of the lamasery in the beginning of the Hung-wu period (1368–1399). The same practice concerning the granting of titles, found in the *Ming-shih* (ch. 330, p. 4*a*), mentions that in 1426 the additional title of "great teacher of the empire" and the honor of the fourth official grade had been bestowed on five lamas of note, to whom the title of "teacher of the empire" had previously been granted (1403–1424), because of their merits in helping to quell the revolts. The title "Master in Dhyana" and the honor of the sixth official grade had been granted probably for similar reasons.[42]

[42] The granting of titles, however, did not start with the Ming; the *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih, Chüan chou* (p. 27*a*) records: "Kubilai [1280–1295] in the beginning [of his reign] granted the title of Ta-kuo-shih great teacher of the empire, to the Sa-Skya lama, Phagspa, and later bestowed on him the title of 'great king of the precious law,' *Ta-pao-fa-wang*. When he spoke to him he called him, honorably, *Ti-shih*, 'teacher of the emperor'; at the same time to lama Tan-pa was granted the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and the number of those upon whom this title had been bestowed was not restricted to one. During the Hung-wu period [1368–1398] the titles of 'teacher of the empire' and 'great teacher of the empire' were only granted to four or five lamas. During the Yung-lo period [1403–1424] the title of 'king of the law' had been granted to two lamas, and that of 'Buddha of the western Paradise' to two

[p.17(A)]

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The texts are very informative concerning the reason why, and the circumstances in which, titles were granted to lamas, and how Lamaism was as a consequence diffused in the country of Hsining and gained its tremendous influence and power.

The Ming dynasty in 1368 faced a double problem.[43] On the one hand, it had to take possession of the country and to protect it against inroads from turbulent nomadic tribes. On the other hand, the country having been depopulated during the disorders at the end of the previous dynasty, it had to find permanent trustworthy settlers and to attach them to the soil. The first problem was solved by accepting the submission of the groups of Monguors, making their chiefs T'u-ssu, Chinese officials, and wardens of the region and the passes, which they had guarded during the Yüan dynasty, and by means of sending a Chinese army of colonists and released prisoners. The second problem was tackled by favoring lamas, by attracting groups of families subject to them or tribes belonging to them or willing to submit to the empire, and assigning to them vast territories. Lamas were appointed chiefs of the tribes, granted honorable titles and privileges which could be transmitted to their successors. They encouraged the building of monasteries. Mongol tribes from Ordos which invaded Kukunor, driving out or subduing the Tibetan tribes of that country, provided a favorable opportunity to use the influence of the lamas to accept and settle the fleeing Tibetan tribes without territory, who were marauding over the country. [622]

The evidence for this policy is to be found in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 19, p. 3*b*): "The Tibetan Lung-pu tribe (2,000 families) devastated the country several times. The Chinese armies were unable to make them surrender. Finally the Chinese General Tung-lo invited So-nan-chien-tso, a lama of the monastery of Ta-ming, in order to exhort them to submit." He was successful in his attempt. The author naïvely notes that in the tribe there were "two masters of the empire."

Page 6*a*: "The Lung-pen tribe, administered by a lama, came to settle in the country [and to submit]. Its chief received the title of 'teacher of the empire' and the duty of *Chih-hui*."

Page 6*a*: "The Sina tribe [still governed by a Living Buddha] had a lama with the title of 'teacher of the empire' (because he submitted with his tribe)."

Page 6*a*: "The lama chief of the Ch'ia-erh-chih tribe

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other lamas; but to 18 lamas had been granted the titles of *Kuan-ting* or *Ta-kuo-shih*, or both. During the Ching-t'ai period (1450–1456) the titles were granted so profusely that we lose count." P. Pelliot, Les "kouo-cheu ou Maitres du Royaume" dans le Bouddhisme chinois *T'oung Pao* 12: 671, 1911. The title of "teacher of the empire" was used in China at the time of the northern Chi (550–557); the title is also encountered in north-west India in A.D. 500 and was already known in Central Asia in A.D. 382.

[43] Schram, *op. cit.*, 34.

[p. 17(B)]

bore the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and fulfilled the duty of *Chih-hui*," for the same reason. 792 554

Page 8*b*: "The Ssu-hou-mi tribe had a lama 'teacher of the empire' who had been granted a golden seal." (This unusual favor must have been granted for the same sort of reason.) 662 175

Page 10*b*: "The Ssu-ngo-ssu-ko tribe, always revolting and plundering, submitted after a lama had settled among them; also the Hsiao-cha-erh tribe (p. 11*a*) settled inside the wall and submitted after a lama living in the western mountains of Su-chou had been sent from Tibet for that purpose. The Pen-la tribe submitted after a lama coming from the south had settled among them." Three more tribes governed by lamas submitted; the Na-erh-pu (p. 5*a*), the Yeh-ch'ü (p. 6*a*), and the Nan-ta (p. 6*b*).

The submission of tribes induced by lamas started at the very beginning of the Ming (1368), and continued during the entire Ming period. The country thus became populated by tribes which professed the Lamaism of the Red Sect. The strong appeal to submit was, on the one hand, the insecurity in the region of Kukunor and, on the other hand, the benefits which attached to submission.

THREE PECULIAR INSTITUTIONS FOR LAMAS

From the very beginning the Ming created in Huang-chung for these lama chiefs three peculiar institutions: the Nang-suo,[44] the Karwa, and the Ch'an shih chia. Nang-suo and Karwa consisted basically of the granting of a territory, the fixing of a yearly tribute, the recognition of the chieftainship of the lama who had brought in the tribe, and of the heritability of that chieftainship. The Ch'an shih chia also enjoyed the privilege of heredity and a yearly allowance of wheat-flour, but no territories were granted to them. 175 792 554 793

This peculiar characteristic of heredity for lamas is explained by the fact that at that time they must have belonged to the Red Sect, and have been married. Red lamas living in the same tribe must have had a chieftain among them who had been granted the privilege of having the chieftainship transferred upon his death to his son. The difference between Nang-suo and Karwa chiefs was that the Nang-suo chief was the leader of a group or community of lamas, so constituted that the entire group was interested in his privileges and benefits. The Karwa chief was a single lama presiding over a small group of subjects. His privileges included only his own family and private interests. The Ch'an shih chia's privileges applied only to him personally. Another important difference between Nang-suo and Karwa was that later, when a group of Red lamas adhered to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privileges of their chief lama were transferred to the intendancy of the monastery, while the privileges of a Karwa chief

[44] Mathias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, 262, Wien, Herold, 1949.

[p. 18(A)]

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of the Yellow Sect were transmitted to his apprentice (usually his nephew) and remained as before a private interest.

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Nang-suo

Until 1723 there were eighteen Nang-suo in the country of Hsining. Sixteen of them were abolished after the revolt of that year. Only two managed to survive: the Nang-suo of Editsa, which had sent its allegiance to the Chinese General Nien Keng-yao before the troubles started, and the despised Sina Nang-suo which had been implicated in the revolt but changed its mind after the revolt appeared to be about to fail.[45] This explanation afforded by the Amban of Hsining and the history tallies well with what is told by the Monguors and the lamas all over the country, who disdainfully recall the sayings: *Chien pu kuo Editsa Nang-suo,* "no slyer creature than the Editsa Nang-suo," and *Sina Nang suo chiao ts'ai liang chia,* "The Sina Nang-suo plants his feet in two boats [is untrustworthy]." The Editsa Nang-suo having gone over to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privilege was inherited by the intendancy of the monastery. Editsa was still flourishing in 1910–1920; Sina, however, had passed through a bad period.

According to the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, pp. 6*a* and 6*b*;

> Sina was a group which submitted in 1380 and lived inside the wall, grazing its animals 60 *li* north of Hsining [region of T'o-pa], having a city and houses, and engaging in agriculture; it possessed a Buddhist temple, and its lama had received the title of "Master of the Empire," with silver and ivory seals. It was a group of 500 families, comprising more than 1,500 persons. It offered a yearly tribute of more than 300 horses. One of its subtribes was called the Small Sina tribe and lived in Ku-shan; its tribute was 30 or more horses. Its other subtribe was the Ssu-ta-lama tribe, and lived near the temple of Hsieh-erh-kang-chin; its tribute was 50 or more horses.

After the revolt, troubles did not cease within the Sina tribes, whose subjects had been compelled to participate in the rebellion at the beginning by the Nang-

[45] *Tung-hua-lu,* First year of Yung-cheng period, 3: 23*a*, 25. *Ming-shih-lu,* Yung-cheng period, *Chuan* 12, p. 27. In 1707 Father Regis, S.J., was sent by the emperor, during the period K'ang Hsi, to draw the map of the empire (Henri Cordier, *Histoire de la Chine,* 3: 333, Paris, Geuthner, 1920). He remained in Hsining for a month, visited T'o-pa and writes: "This village is not administered by Chinese officials, but depends on a lama, always chosen from the same family which belongs to this country. This family is the most outstanding one in the country. The lama administers these Tibetans (*Hsifan*) and punishes misbehavior. This people, not wholly subject to China, are rarely summoned by the Chinese officials, and seldom obey their orders. The lama chief does not seem to trouble the subjects very much, providing they honor him and fulfill their obligations toward Buddha, which seem not to be too burdensome. The three or four Armenians who were trading furs in T'o-pa, seemed very pleased with the chief lama, and praised his administration." (J. B. DuHalde, *Description géographique de la Chine,* 49–50, 1736.) Schram, *op. cit.,* 36.

[p. 18(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

suo chief, and had suffered enormously. Finally they refused to deliver taxes to the Nang-suo and asked the Chinese officials to accept them as Chinese subjects. The request was readily granted, and an arrangement was made between the Chinese officials and the Nang-suo by which every year the subprefect of Hsining was to pay 1,500 strings of cash to the Nang-suo; the Nang-suo could only collect the rents, and his subjects were henceforth considered Chinese subjects. This happened after 1755, because the *Annals* (ch. 19, 15*a*), say that "in 1755 the chief of the Sina tribe, which numbered 1,379 persons, resided in the village of the upper Sina lamasery." In 1910 most of its fields had been sold by the Sina intendancy, which had adhered to the Yellow Sect. Its resources were so depleted that the seals of the former Nang-suo had been mortgaged to the lamasery of Kumbum, which thereby acquired the authority to collect the rents from the remaining properties.

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The Lung pen Nang-suo is often spoken about in the country. It lived on both sides of the wall in former times and submitted in 1380, together with its neighbors, the Sina tribe, and then moved inside the wall. It numbered 130 families. Its lama chief had received the title of "Master of the empire" and the official rank of Chih-hui. Its subtribe, the Pen-pa-erh had one hundred or more families (*Annals*, ch. 19, p. 15*a*). In 1916 the impoverished chief was still called Nang-suo lama locally. He lived in the Naring Valley. He told me that his lamasery had been destroyed in 1723 and that the lamas had disappeared. His subjects, who had become subjects of the Chinese officials, lived in Ta-Hsiao-Kang-ch'eng. His predecessors had sold nearly all the fields and he could not collect the rents on the remaining fields. His neighbors said that his predecessors had mortgaged his seals to the intendancy of Sina. In early times they had two temples, Lung pen kui ssu and Lung hua ssu, which were destroyed during the revolt. Only one side of one of the temples had been rebuilt and the lama still collected some alms among his former 373 families. Often recalled also in local tradition are the Nang-suos of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, abolished after 1723. They were important in former times.

Karwa [46]

According to a tradition well known all over the region, thirteen Karwa were established north of the Hsining River during the Ming dynasty. In 1912 seven of them still existed, Li-ch'i, Ch'ien-tsun-urgon, Pei-cha-erh-ti, Sia-mer, Tsan-tsa, Chao-chia, and Huo-puo. There are no records of Karwa south of the

[46] The word *Karwa* is used in the country to designate the residences inhabited by Living Buddhas in the lamaseries; it is also used to indicate a domain and subjects granted by the Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty to meritorious lamas as their "personal" property with "right of bequeathing" it to their lama successor. It does not mean a grant of domains and subjects bestowed on a community of lamas or a lamasery.

[p. 19(A)]

Hsining River. A Karwa is a kind of mediaeval seig- 175
niory presided over by a lama. Granted by the em- 792
peror, it is a more or less vast domain in which usually 554
forty to fifty families live. Pei-cha-erh-ti Karwa had 793
152 families (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, p. 16*a*). The tenants had in former times been subjects of the lama. There is a temple on the domain, and next to it is the residence of the lama seignior, with granaries. The domain is the personal property of the lama lord who is completely independent of any Living Buddha or monastery. The three lordship lamas I have met told me that the Ming emperors had granted this privilege to their ancestor lamas, each of whom belonged at that time to the Red Sect and was married. Each of these lamas had been granted a Karwa because he had submitted to the Ming with his small tribe, or had induced a neighboring tribe to submit to the emperor or had rendered service to the Chinese army, giving secret information to the officers fighting the revolted Tibetans. They explained the disappearance of the six Karwa which no longer existed by the fact that these lamas did not follow the Yellow Sect and remained married. They said that theoretically among the lamas of the Red Sect one son should succeed the father as lama of the sect, but in reality when the father died his sons divided among them the property and the subjects, and the Karwa vanished, with the result that the temple became the property of the village. The seigniors who went over to the Yellow Sect, however, managed to survive by the fact that the lama lord of every generation adopted only one apprentice lama, to whom he bequeathed the domain. The apprentice was usually one of his nephews, and so the Karwa continued its existence, the lama collecting rents from the tenants and imposing some corvées. After the revolt of 1723 the domains of the Karwa were not confiscated but the subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials. Only rents, not taxes, were allowed to be collected and corvées continued to be imposed.

The lama seignior of the Li-ch'i Karwa (who is a 792
member of the powerful Li T'u-ssu clan) fulfills, of his 796
own free will, an important function at the monastery of Chie-bzang, but he remains the proprietor of his Karwa and has one apprentice who will inherit the domain. Every year on the tenth of the tenth moon, he invites to his small temple four lamas, alternatively, of the Yellow and the Red Sects, to pray from sunrise to sunset for blessings upon his "subjects," who bring a contribution of twenty pounds of butter and five sheep. The lord provides tea and noodles. The subjects all enjoy attending the religious ceremony and the annual dinner, and are used to the custom of going home at sunrise the next day. The Pei-cha-erh ti Karwa is still celebrated for the fasting rites held at its temple, about which more will be said. 792

The lord of the Tsan-tsa Karwa, feeling lonely in his 554
estate, married a young girl in 1914. All the members 428

[p. 19(B)]

of his family assembled and protested, urging that a 792
boy, a nephew of the family, be adopted by the lord 554
as his apprentice, and that a testament should be writ- 428
ten and signed by the officials of the village, in order to make sure that after the death of the lord, the domain and his private property (sheep, cows, horses) would be bequeathed to the apprentice. The apprentice would first have to be sent to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to receive a serious religious education. Not long after the birth of a child to the lord and his wife, the lord died. His wife received a small field and some cattle, but the Karwa was inherited by the apprentice. The domain passes at every generation to a member of the same family (from uncle to nephew). The family retains the right to keep an eye on the regular succession, and so in the country a Karwa is considered to be the property of the Karwa lama and his family. This fact reveals a social tradition existing throughout the country, and the pride of the old families to whose lama a Karwa had been granted by the emperors in former times.

This pride appears to be the reason why, when a lama lord dies without having adopted an apprentice, the whole family convenes and decides to offer the domain to a lama member of the family. However, when there is not such a lama, the members of the family divide among them the domain and private property of the deceased, and the Karwa vanishes.

Ch'an-shih-chia ("Master in Dhyana" families) 175

This institution, dating from the Ming, seems to be 792
in the line of the Karwa. In Huang-chung there was 554
attached to the title of Ch'an-shih ("Master in Dhy- [651]
ana"), the privilege of receiving every year from the Chinese administration a fixed quantity of wheat. At the same time, if the lama happened to acquire some fields on which to build a grain or oil mill, his fields and mills were exempt from taxes. The title of Ch'an-shih appears to have been hereditary. This seems to be the reason why the people always talk of Master in Dhyana "families" and seldom of Master in Dhyana lamas. In the country north of the Hsining River, with which I was best acquainted, there were still several Masters in Dhyana, independent of any monastery, living next to their relatives and each having a small temple of his own. The family tried to provide a nephew as an apprentice, for such a lama would upon the death of his master become Master in Dhyana by the transfer of the original seal and the original patent letters.

Most of these Masters in Dhyana lived in opulence, 554
their families being exempted from land taxes because 428
they were supposed to till the fields of the lama. In Suo-pu-t'an I encountered the Shih-hu Ch'an-shih-chia, a layman, who enjoyed, with his family, the privileges of a Ch'an-shih lama. Since there had been no lama in the family to succeed the previous master he had in-

[p. 20(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

herited the privilege by virtue, he said, of possessing the seal and the patent letters. Every year he received his wheat support and was exempt from land and mill taxes. To him, this condition seemed very reasonable! The same condition existed in Sha-t'ang-ch'uan with the layman Hsiao-ssu Ch'an-shih chia. It is hard to understand how the privilege could have continued after the revolt of 1723, when under orders from Peking all the seals and patent letters granted during the Ming were withdrawn.

These facts shed light on the peculiar way in which Lamaism was diffused during the Ming in Huang-chung, and explain one of the reasons why the monasteries became the proprietors of vast domains, governing subjects and exerting a tremendous influence all over the country.

During the Yüan and the very beginning of the Ming dynasties, small communities of lamas of the Red Sect had been founded by wandering lamas who had attained a certain local reputation for skill in necromancy, or who by asceticism had gained a reputation as holy men, thereby attracting a few disciples. The bonds which bound these married or unmarried men were, without doubt, looser than the bonds which tied the lamas of the lamaseries of the later Yellow Sect. However, it may be assumed that in those times none of these little communities yet exerted a prominent influence upon the country, and for that reason nothing about them was recorded in the *Annals*.

The minor importance of these monasteries seems to account also for the fact, that at the beginning of the Ming (1368), the lama, Sanla, could be appointed chief of the board of lamas. The fact, however, of the institution of such a board at the beginning of the Ming seems to prove that at that time although the communities were small, the total number of lamas was large enough to justify the creation of such a board.[47]

NO LIVING BUDDHAS IN HUANG-CHUNG DURING THE MING DYNASTY

It is noteworthy that at that time titles and benefits were indiscriminately bestowed upon meritorious lamas, lamas who were chiefs of tribes, chiefs of more or less important communities, and even single lamas. There were as yet no Living Buddhas.

The first Living Buddha, recognized as the reincarnation of Tsong khapa (1357–1419), the founder of the Yellow Sect, was Gedun-gyatso who in 1475 inherited the succession of the second head of the sect. The prin-

[47] The Ming policy of the T'u-ssu, Karwa, and Nangsuo institutions, and of the grant of Kuo shih and Ch'an-shih titles to lamas with their respective privileges, was not peculiar to Huang-chung. It was also followed in south Kansu, Lin-t'ao, and Ho-chou, where nineteen T'u-ssu, Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih, etc., were created. After the revolt of 1723 the Chinese officials of Ho-chou asked for the abolition of these institutions, because of oppressions by T'u-ssu and lamas (*Annals* of the Province of Kansu, ch. 88: 12–13).

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The prin-

ciples on which succession by reincarnation are founded had existed for centuries, but had not yet been generally applied. The next prominent lama to whom the principles were applied was the Panchen lama of Tashilhumpo. In the next two centuries succession by reincarnation, inaugurated by the Yellow Sect in 1475, spread to such an extent that every monastery, including less important ones, of whatever sect, had its own Living Buddha. Some of them had several in the same monastery.[48] Even the superior of the convent of nuns, situated on the shore of Lake Yandok, having defended her convent against the invading Mongols in 1716, became the incarnation of Palden Lhamo, celebrated all over Tibet and Mongolia, and the potent protector of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas and Lhasa.

In the first Part of this study it was noted that Palden Lhamo is the protectress of the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, which honors her in a peculiar way.[49] Her picture is carried by the T'u-ssu on his triennial visit to the Monguor villages in order that all the clansmen and the subjects may perform their obeisance before the image. In Huang-chung the passion for Living Buddhas went so far as to declare the father of Tsong khapa a reincarnation, called Achia Bsan, which is the proprietor and grand chief of the Kumbum monastery. Even this was not enough. Tsong khapa's mother was also declared a reincaration, but her reincarnation always appears in a boy, who is the Living Buddha of the monastery of Rardscha, on the upper reaches of the Yellow River. However, according to Lamaist doctrine and rites, the father's reincarnation takes precedence over the mother's. Each reincarnation has a residence in Kumbum, but the father, being the grand chief of the monastery, has his own headquarters.[50]

TEMPLES BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY

In analyzing the Ming policy concerning Lamaism in Huang-chung, it is of interest to know how many monasteries were built in Huang-chung during this period.

Included in the long list of temples found in the *Annals* of Hsining there are recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a*, the temple of Ch'ü-t'an, as having been built in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424); ch. 15, p. 2, the small temple of Hung-t'ung-ssu in the city of Hsining in 1390; ch. 15, pp. 4*b* and 5*a*, the famous monastery of Kumbum, adding that only in 1596 were negotiations begun to enlarge its buildings and to construct a big monastery; in ch. 31, p. 14*a*, in the account of revolts of Tibetans and the inroads by Mongols from Kukunor, it is incidentally noted that the monastery of Hung-shan-ssu, 60 *li* south of Ch'ü-t'an, had been looted and destroyed in 1519, as well as

[48] Maraini, Fosco, *Secret Tibet*, 144, translated from the Italian by Eric Mosbacher, New York, Viking, 1952.

[49] Schram, *op. cit.*, 65.

[50] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 237. [p.21(A)]

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the temple of T'ieh-fu-ssu, 40 *li* west of Hsining in 1537 (ch. 31, p. 15*a*). 175 792 346

The information in the *Annals* is restricted to these five poor items. Huth notes[51] that the Third Dalai Lama, Sod-nam, on his way to Ordos in 1582, went from Kukunor to Kumbum and established a college there for the explanation of sacred texts. From Kumbum he went to Ribo-nan-tig (probably the hermitage of Dantig noted on pp. 31 *sq.*), to take a long rest; then, after visiting many big lamaseries, he arrived in the Ordos. I am unable to identify the names of the lamaseries noted here, and am very sceptical about these "big" monasteries, because no ruins, vestiges or traditions of them are preserved. The big monasteries of Huang-chung which have to be studied, were all built in more recent times. The historical data are again very scanty.

CH'Ü-T'AN-SSU, FIRST LAMASERY BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY

The first lamasery built during the Ming, according to the *Annals* (ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a*), is the famous monastery of Ch'ü-t'an.[52] The history of this first lamasery, built by the Ming emperors, is preserved in broad strokes in the text (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 32, pp. 16–20) of three steles, now demolished. All three give evidence of the high consideration of the emperors for Lamaism.

The first text was granted by Emperor T'ai-tsung (Ch'eng-tsu) of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424), and concerns a "golden" (bronze) statue offered to the lamasery by the emperor. The text notes that the artisans, not succeeding in preparing the mold for the statue, went to eat their meal. While they were gone the mold grew into perfect shape of its own accord. The statue was cast from it and exuded a wonderful perfume.

The second text was granted by Emperor Jen-tsung of the Hung-hsi period (1425). It recalls the merits of Emperor T'ai-tsu of the Hung-wu period (1368–1399), who founded the monastery, ordered the building of a temple, and granted the name of "Ch'ü-t'an," and of Emperor T'ai-tsung who ordered the construction of a second temple.

The third text, granted by Emperor Hsüan-tsung of the Hsüan-te period (1426–1436), ordered the construction of a third temple, after recalling summarily the history of the lama, San-la, and his tribe, and the grant of the monastery and its title.

Legends

The origin of the celebrated monastery is overlaid with a wonderful legend, believed and enjoyed by the people. It should first be remembered that Emperor 538

[51] Huth, *op. cit.* 2: 227.

[52] Ch'ü-t'an-Gautama, a name of Shakyamuni, means "most victorious on earth."

[p.21(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

into the well and disappeared. Only his clothes were seen in the river with which the well was connected underground. The emperor ordered the well to be filled and had a beautiful tower built over it. The ruins of the tower are still shown to visitors. 539

There are displayed in the head temple three fine saddles of unusually large size, with stirrups twice as large as those used today, for in former times people of note were taller, bigger, and stronger. The saddles are said to have belonged to the emperor and his brothers. When the emperor died his two ministers, in fear of having their families exterminated, changed their names. The first adopted the name of Chen Lo-kang, and his descendants still live in the Kang-tse Valley near Nien-pei. The other adopted the name of Yang Kang-tsun; his descendants live in Chen fan Valley. 538

The emperor appointed a member of the imperial family to manage the lamasery. He was called T'ien-hu-chün, and his name was Chu, the name of the imperial family. The appointment was hereditary and the emperor had carved on a slab the provisions concerning the appointment. The descendant of Mr. Chu presided over the ceremony of theatrical representations on New Year's. Later on, a corrupt descendant, after using the revenues and land taxes of the monastery for himself, was killed by the lamas, and the slab was smashed. The plinth which supported the slab is still shown to visitors.

Inside the courtyard of the enormous temple are the ruins of four beautiful stupas built by the Emperor. At the base of each he had buried, at night, immense treasures. One of the previous incarnations of the Living Buddha dug up the treasure from one of the stupas at night and took it to his residential quarters; but within a few moments his palace vanished in a blaze. Since that time, no one has dared to try to remove the treasures.

Upon his death, the emperor was buried in the lamasery. However, the lamas of Hung-shan-ssu claim that the emperor died and was buried in their monastery, and they have the visitor admire their own ruined tower built over a well and their own old dry tree enclosed in their temple. These honored trees, enclosed by a temple, point to the tree of Kumbum which sprouted from the afterbirth of Tsong khapa buried in Kumbum, even as the small trees sprouted from the roots of the old dry one. The tower built on the well points to the stupa of Kumbum, said to be the first monument built at Kumbum. It is hard to say which of these legends is the oldest.[54]

Temples and History of the Lamasery

Inside an enormous rectangular courtyard are three temple halls built in a row; a wall encloses the court- 792 346

[54] In Kumbum in 1577 there was built a temple enclosing the celebrated tree which was at that time 223 years old.

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yard with a large veranda attached to it. On the long wall are depicted scenes of the life of Buddha, painted in Chinese style, similar to those seen in Chinese temples. 792 346

The chief temple hall (A), built on a high terrace, is the most conspicuous, thereby attracting the attention of visitors. It is larger in size and higher than the other two. It is built on the pattern of the luxurious Chinese temples, with a large porch in front and beautiful roofs; a large, magnificent staircase leads to the terrace, which is surrounded by a railing of carved red stone. It is said to have been built according to the pattern of the Temple of Heaven in Peking (built in 1420). Inside the chief temple hall, at its center, is an enormous carved white stone plinth, two meters square, which enthrones the big statue of Buddha, Jo-wo rin-po-che (the gem of majesty—Shakyamuni), gift of Emperor T'ai-tsung, according to the stele.

On either side of this central statue a copper Buddha statue is enthroned on a plinth of white stone, a little smaller in size than the central one. In front of the statues, three big white stone plinths support three huge brass cauldrons. One contains butter, one vegetable oil and wicks burning before the statues, and the third wheat, colza, and spelt, as an offering to the Buddha. It is said that at the bottom of this huge cauldron there are still a few grains dating from the time of Emperor Hui-ti, and consequently they are bigger than normal, just like the saddle and stirrups noted previously. [532] [782]

In these temples hang inscriptions, offerings of the emperors honoring the Buddhas, dating from the periods of Hung-wu, 1368–1398; Yung-lo, 1403–1425; Hung-hsi, 1425; Hsüan-te, 1426–1435; Wan-li, 1573–1619 and Ch'un cheng, 1628–1643.

In temple (B) called the Chü-k'ang, smaller red stone plinths support three copper Buddha statues, and three butter, oil, and grain cauldrons. In front of the central statue, still in the temple, is the famous dead sandalwood tree, adorned with scarves of felicity, its trunk overlaid by large copper plates in order to preserve and support it.

Temple (C), dedicated to Byams pa hlarang (Maitreya—the loving one) is built according to the same pattern, but has plinths of white stone supporting three statues, with two lamps and offering cauldrons.

The display of huge timbers in the construction of the temples reminds one of times past, when gigantic trees adorned the tops of the mountains. Special roads and carts were built to carry the massive plinths to the spot. The ruins of four stupas adorn the courtyard, one on each side of the chief temple, and one on each side of temple (C). Enormous white stone plinths carved in the shape of elephants, support four huge drums and two smashed steles on either side of the entrance.

Ch'ü-t'an, with more than six hundred lāmas in the heyday of its glory, founded two large subsidiaries:

[p. 23(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Yao-ts'ao-t'ai ("the terrace of medicinal herbs"), Hung-792 shan-ssu, and three smaller ones. Yao-ts'ao-t'ai was 346 the vast pasture ground for the herds of the monastery and of the lamas. According to the abbots, it soon developed to the extent of having 200 lamas. Hung-shan-ssu soon had more than 150 lamas and received from the emperor a special grant of 500 taels every year (the reason is not known; *Annals*, ch. 15, p. 8*a*). In 1747 175 the allocation was still provided by the officials. The 792 Living Buddhas of the three monasteries told me that 346 because most of their lamas were of Monguor origin, their monasteries declined after Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung had been built, and the Monguor lamas had gone over to these lamaseries. However, there are other reasons which caused the decline of the flourishing monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, which at present is in a state of indescribable dilapidation.

In 1509 the Tibetans of Kukunor, driven from their pastures by the Mongol, I-pu-la, made inroads in Huang-chung. They looted and ruined the branch monastery of Hung-shan-ssu in 1519 (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 14*a*). In 1558 the Mongols of Kukunor looted and sacked Ch'ü-t'an (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 16*b*) and the neighboring country; probably Yao-ts'ao-t'ai also. The Moslems, in 1862–1872, wrought terrible havoc on the temples and the palaces of the Living Buddhas, and burned the printing blocks of the library. In 1895 the temple was again looted by the revolting Moslems. Material damage and ruins, however, are reparable, but damage and ruin caused from within the lama institution itself are not.

The troubles started between the mother monastery 175 of Ch'ü-t'an and the branch of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, which is 792 situated on the rich pasture grounds and forests in- 578 cluded in the initial domain of the old monastery granted by the emperors. Very early, a couple of small temples and homes for lamas had been built on the spot, and a superior appointed. Around 1660, according to the abbots, more than 200 lamas lived at the subsidiary and more temples had been built. Its superior, a very learned and holy man, died and was reincarnated. His reincarnation was called Karang bzang and settled at [775] the subsidiary monastery. (At that time the vogue for reincarnations was in full swing.) Very soon the mother monastery had its own reincarnation, the Living Buddha Mei, and four small Living Buddhas. The branch also provided a small Buddha called the Liang-chou fo-yeh.

With both monasteries having Living Buddhas, friction started between them and lasted for more than two centuries. Jealousy and hatred became deep-rooted. Both monasteries behaved like ducks, appearing calm and unruffled on the surface, but paddling like devils underneath it. The eternal question of the corvées imposed by the mother monastery on its subsidiaries and the demand for land rents kept open festering wounds, and the yearly disputes grew more and more acute.

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Finally, in 1885 the branch declared its independence 175
and claimed to be possessor of the pasture and farm 792
grounds and the forests formerly entrusted to its care 578
by the mother monastery. A serious fight at close quarters occurred in the mother lamasery.

Ch'ü-t'an sued the branch to vindicate its rights of 691
proprietor of all the domains of Ch'ü-t'an. The lawsuit 792
was carried to the Court of Justice of the Subprefecture 662
of Nien-pe and lasted for two years. The Chinese officials, lavishly bribed by both groups, finally sent the lawsuit to the Court of the Prefecture of Hsining in order that their friends and superiors might have the opportunity to acquire some wealth and promote the cause of justice. Again, the lamas stubbornly spent their money for two years. Still unwilling to accept the verdict of the judges, the suit was sent to the Supreme Court of the capital of the province. Here the Chinese officials were very happy to meet the interested customers, and the gullible lamas started immediately to sow again, seeds of wealth and happiness in the gardens of the highest officials. For sixteen years the clever officials kept the wheels turning, encouraging both groups, exciting passions and stubbornness, promising to both sides a successful conclusion. The gullible lamas spent money, and the officials milked the meek cows dry. Finally, the wealth of the mother lamasery was exhausted first, so that the branch lamasery won the suit. The branch, during all the trouble, relied on the forests, sold wood, and was in a more advantageous position to "defend its rights." Throughout this long period the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung tried several times to spread oil on the troubled waters and settle the question amicably, but to no avail.

The loss of face for the mother monastery was too 627
humiliating. At night its lamas went to Yao-ts'ao-t'ai 579
and burned its temples; the next day the lamas of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai went at noon to Ch'ü-t'an and burned the palaces of the Living Buddha and killed two lamas. In 1905 the two groups, both bled white, agreed to have the question settled by Living Buddhas. An indemnity was fixed for the two lamas who had been killed, and because the damage caused by the fires was considered to be equal, the problem was settled.

In 1915 there were 285 lamas at Yao-ts'ao-t'ai: at the mother monastery there were only fifty or sixty, most of them children. Five hundred and fifty lamas had left the mother monastery, with four minor Living Buddhas, because they had been compelled to contribute to the expenses caused by the suit, and to fulfill the corvées imposed in connection with it. The administration of the mother monastery, in former times so flourishing and wealthy, was reduced to a minimum. One lama administered the property, a precentor led the prayers in the temple, and all the other duties were fulfilled by the Living Buddha himself. The homes formerly occupied by the six hundred lamas were inhabited by Monguor, Tibetan, and Chinese families.

[p.24(A)].

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Ch'ü-t'an was the only monastery in Huang-chung where laymen and lamas lived in the same compound. This fact reveals the mentality of the lamas and the customs of that time. These details were obtained from Living Buddhas and old lamas of Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, and in Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung, and among chiefs of the villages near these places. 792 342

STAGNATION IN THE DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM

The building of the splendid monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, the exceptionally favorable disposition of the emperors toward Lamaism, the lavish granting of titles and privileges to lamas who induced Tibetans to submit, all seemed to augur a period of intensive diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung. However, for two centuries Ch'ü-t'an remained the only important monastery in the whole country. Two reasons seem to account for this: the insecurity in the region of Huang-chung, and the violent struggle in Tibet between the sects, which depleted the forces of expansion of Lamaism abroad. 175 [771 797] 792 175

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, pp. 12*b*–19*a*) that during the period 1448–1600 there were thirty-seven inroads of Mongols from Kukunor, the Ordos, neighboring Tibetan tribes, or revolts of Tibetans. Fortunately, the construction of Ch'ü-t'an was completed (1426–1436) before the troubles started. Certainly troubled times are not propitious for the building of big monasteries, so Nang-suos and Karwas necessarily remained humble institutions.

Conditions in Tibet were just as unfavorable: Tsong khapa died in 1419. The five biggest monasteries of his sect were built before 1437. The rival Red Sects were still so aggressive as to dare to build their monasteries close to those of the Yellow Sect, and were even able to hinder the lamas of the Yellow Sect from attending (1498–1518) the famous sMon lam New Year religious festival, instituted by Tsong khapa himself.[55] In 1537 eighteen monasteries of the Yellow Sect were destroyed. In 1553 a war broke out with the Galdan monastery.[56] In 1621–1631 Mongols were called in by the Dalai Lama to rescue his sect,[57] but the Mongol Nairamdahu, an adherent of the Red Sect, fled from Mongolia to Kukunor in 1633 and persecuted the Yellow Sect which had spread.[58] Finally, in 1642, Tibet was conquered by the Ölöt Mongols whose chief, Gushi, offered it to the Dalai Lama. Although it is recognized that the effective power of the Dalai began with the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam (1542–1587), his political power was still scanty and questionable; it only began to develop with the Fifth Dalai Lama, Nag-dban Blo bzang (1617–1682), when Gushi Khan renewed in his favor the endowment conferred by Khubilai on the Sa-Skya.[59] 175 771

[55] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 39.
[56] *Ibid.*, 40.
[57] *Ibid.*, 58.
[58] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 132; also Huth, *op. cit.*, 51, 248–253.
[59] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 48.

[p.24(8)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The support and protection of the Mongols and of the emperors of China saved and established the Yellow Sect, which was on a foundation of rock. In 1717–1719 the Jungar Mongols persecuted the Red Sects and destroyed 550 of their monasteries.[60]

175 648 771 [789]

KUMBUM [61]

The insecurity in Huang-chung and the struggle in Tibet among the sects provide an explanation for the late date assigned to the founding of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum. One and a half centuries after the death (1419) of Tsong khapa, the lama Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, in 1560, built some "cells" for himself and his ten monks (hermitage). Later, twenty more cells were added. In 1577, seventeen years later, a temple was built close to the "tower," whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree which at that time must have been 220 years old (1357–1577), and a statue of Maitreya was honored in the temple.[62] According to this tradition and the customs of Buddhist India, a tower must have first been built on the spot of the birth of Tsong khapa to commemorate the event. It is not known when this tower was built.

175 792 346

[60] L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 44, 71, Leiden, Brill, 1950.

[61] Kumbum, the lamasery of the 100,000 images is, at present, the most celebrated lamasery of Huang-chung, because of its precious trees, which are lilacs (Philadelphus, coronarius; see Rockhill, W., *Land of the lamas*, 67). The main tree sprang from the placenta of Tsong khapa (1357) and is said to have 100,000 images of Buddhas growing on its leaves. Much has been written about the tree. On May 6 and October 3, 1912, and on October 10, 1914, Father J. Essens and I read on the leaves only the two letters *Pa*, the thirteenth letter of the alphabet and *Ya*, the twenty-fourth letter, repeated indefinitely, written more or less correctly where the leaves were easy to reach. They were written with the red earth, which Chinese and Tibetan teachers use to correct the compositions of pupils. The sacred leaves are a wonderful panacea, healing all kinds of diseases of men, women, and children. It has been recorded that in Ch'ü-t'an and in Hung-shan-ssu the same kind of miraculous trees are encountered.

792 137 755

It is worth noting what is written regarding the tree (here called a "White Sandalwood") in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomunkhan of Amdo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1887, Part I, No. I, p. 28: "On the birthplace of Tsong khapa there exists a white Sandalwood tree, on every leaf of which, at the time of the reformer's birth, there appeared a picture of the Buddha Senge-naro, supernaturally inscribed. Hence, from the circumstance of a 'hundred thousand images of Buddha' having appeared on the leaves, the town and the monastery is called Kumbum. Even at the present age, images are occasionally said to be seen divinely inscribed on the leaves of the Chandan tree and Sugpa trees of the grove. The enemies of the Gelugpa say that the said images are secretly drawn with pins and needles by the Gelugpa monks." The Chinese call Kumbum T'a-erh-ssu, that is, "the lamasery of the [eight] stupas," because at its entrance there are eight stupas said to contain the ashes of eight Living Buddhas killed by General Nien Keng-yao at the time of the revolt of the Kumbum lamas in 1723. Filchner (*Dschamba-ling*, 160) notes: "They were built at the time of the 31st mK'ampo of Kumbus [date not given] by the chief of Roko, native of Amdo, after eight lamas had been killed by a Chinese prince, ruler of the country."

[62] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 29.

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In 1578, a year after the building of the first temple, the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam, had his historical meeting with Altan Khan of the T'umed, at which the Yellow Sect was proclaimed the religion of the Mongols. It is amazing that neither of them, during their long stay at Kukunor, visited Kumbum (only three days distant), the birthplace of the founder of the sect, or called on Achia, incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa, or took a glance at the first Yellow Sect temple and the miraculous tree. Possibly the temple had not yet been built nor the legend of the tree spread, nor the incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa recognized. However, four years later, in 1582, the Dalai, on his way to the Ordos, visited Kumbum where he founded a school for the explanation of the sacred texts (the school only started in 1600 or 1612) and then went for a long rest, not to Kumbum where the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father must have been, but to the monastery of Ribo Nantig (Huth, 227). Perhaps it was not convenient for the Dalai Lama to take a rest at the insignificant monastery of Kumbum, where neither a school nor the incarnation of Achia yet existed.

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In 1600 the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan, on his way to Lhasa for his enthronement, passed through Kukunor, where he remained for three months without even paying a visit to Kumbum and the precious tree or to Achia, the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father! (Huth, 238). In 1652 the Fifth Dalai Lama on his way to Peking did not visit Kumbum. Was Kumbum still so insignificant at that time?[63] According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 4*b* and 5*a*), the decision to build a monastery on a large scale was made only in 1596. This decision does not seem impossible when it is connected with the fact that in 1593 new Chinese troops and colonists arrived in Huang-chung, making the peace prospects seem even brighter (ch. 31 p. 19*a*). At any rate, the monastery of Kumbum appears to have developed very slowly. Its first Tsan njid temple was erected in 1600 or 1612,[64] the Sutra temple of Mysticism in 1649,[65] the palace for the Khampo in 1687,[66] the Pakar temple in 1692,[67] Duinkhor Kalacakra College in 1825,[68] College of Medicine in 1850,[69] and the celebrated gilt tiled roof was put on the temple in 1883.[70] Ac-

175 792 346

[63] W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung Pao* 11: 14, 1910. Huth, *op. cit.*, 268.

[64] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 93.

[65] *Ibid.*, 124.

[66] *Ibid.*, 237.

[67] *Ibid.*, 230.

[68] *Ibid.*, 137.

[69] *Ibid.*, 65.

[70] *Ibid.*, 28. Because so much has been written about Kumbum, this study has been confined to the points relating to our subject. The major part of the lama population of Kumbum in 1910–1920 consisted of lamas of Monguor and Tibetan origin from Huang-chung; lamas of Mongolia have always been numerous, while lamas of Tibet constituted a minor group. Since the troubles in Kumbum in 1908–1909, between the Dalai Lama and Achia Hutukhtu, the proprietor of the monastery—reincarnation of the father of Tsong khapa—which ended with

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tually, Achia Bsan, reincarnation of the father of Tsong khapa, is the proprietor and chief of Kumbum. 175 792 346

The *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* [71] notes that the series of his incarnations began in 1417 (two years before the death of his son, Tsong khapa!). It says that for fifteen incarnations Achia administered the monastery of Kumbum and was recognized as its chief and proprietor by the five tribes and the inhabitants of the seven valleys, and that he possessed a piece of pasture ground in Chahar. However, it notes also that, in 1746, the name of Achia Hutukhtu (his sixteenth incarnation) was drawn from the celebrated urn in Peking, and that an order was given to write the deeds of a pasture ground in Chahar. This text is a model of ambiguity and full of holes; it suggests that in 1746 Achia received for the very first time the title of Hutukhtu and that his name was registered on the roster of the Living Buddhas in the Mongolian Superintendency, although the process of reincarnation had begun in Lhasa only in 1475. Since deeds were then written, this implies also that at that time pasture grounds were granted to him for the first time. Thus, previous to 1746, no Achia reincarnation, chief of Kumbum, existed. 775

These assumptions seem to be supported by the fact that it was not in 1417, but in 1560, that some poor cells were built for the first time in Kumbum by lama Rintschen Dson dui tschamtso and his ten monks and also by the facts that in 1719 the emperor ordered Skal bzan rgyamts'o, chief of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu to administer the monastery,[72] and that in 1723 mK'ampo Nomun-khan, head of the monastery of Kumbum and nephew of bLo Blzan bstan dsin, stirred the lamas to revolt and was made prisoner and the monastery was burned.[73] Until that time, not a single mention is made of Achia who, as head of the monastery and Hutukhtu, must have been the man responsible in such circumstances. However, the name of the real founder of the monastery is well known, as well known as the two other later heads and chiefs of the monastery. 175 792 346

It is a fact that Achia, created Hutukhtu only in 1746, had to remain in Peking, attached to the committee for the printing and translating of Tibetan books into Mongol, which was presided over by the second incarnation of the Chang chia. "In the last half of the 18th century it seems to have been the vogue for translators to ask Achia for a postscript to their translations. Many works printed at that time bear a postscript 'by 175 214 814

the suicide of Achia, there are no more lamas of Tibet in Kumbum. In 1746 the reincarnation of Achia received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor. From that time on, according to the abbots, the prominent lamas of Kumbum have always been Monguors.

[71] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih. History of the Buddhist religion in Mongolia and Tibet* 2: 143, 1935.

[72] Han Ju-lin, *Pien cheng kung lun, (Frontier Affairs)* 3 (5): 15, 1944.

[73] *Yung-cheng Shih-lu, ts'e* 145, *Chuan* 14: 10.

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Achia.'"[74] However, the myth of his previous existences was deeply rooted. "In 1686, a previous existence of Achia, the 16th, is said to have resided in the Yung-ho-kung temple of Peking, which had only been made a monastery in 1743. The roster of famous workers on the committee of translators at that time does not contain the name Achia."[75] 175 214 814

The emperor, after having drastically quelled the lama revolt, permitted the rebuilding of the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, giving them the text of a less honorable stele to be carved, and imposing on Erh-ku-lung the new name of Yu-ning-ssu, and on Seerkok that of Kuang-hui-ssu. The chief of the monastery of Seerkok (Chie bsan rimpoche) having been beheaded, the Dalai lama in 1727 sent to Peking a learned lama, Tsanpo of Amdo, whom he himself had previously honored by the title of Nomun-kan. In order to rebuild Seerkok, the emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu[76] and he became Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the new chief and proprietor of Seerkok. Since the chiefs of Erh-ku-lung had not plotted in the revolt, they were left undisturbed. Is it far-fetched to suppose that after the disappearance of mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the request of the Dalai Lama, Achia became the new chief and proprietor of Kumbum in 1746 in the same way that Min chu-erh had become chief of Seerkok? It would have been a fine political gesture for the emperor to ennoble the father of Tsong khapa, chief of the Yellow Church, in order to regain the sympathy of the lamas of the whole Yellow Sect whose group in Hsining he had punished so severely for their irresponsible behavior. It is probably a unique case in the history of Lamaist reincarnations that a layman then became reincarnated as a Living Buddha. 175 662 792

ERH-KU-LUNG

While Kumbum was outgrowing its infantile period, there occurred the humble beginning of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung (1604), on the northern side of the 175 792 346

[74] Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistische Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, 109, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1954.

[75] *Ibid.*, 110.

[76] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 2: 125. However, Tsampo Nomun-khan of Amdo writes about himself in his well-known Geographical work, 29: "North of Ssi ling is the great monastery of Gahdan Tam Chhoi ling (seat of lama Tsampo Nomun-khan) in ancient times called Amdo Gomang gonpa; at present known as Serkhang gonpa." Sarat Chandra Das adds: "The author is an incarnation of an eminent lama named Tag tse chove, who was invited to be the abbot of the monastery. There are 2,000 monks, many know the Tshan nid philosophy." The work of Tsampo has to be read cautiously. Before 1723 there were 2,000 lamas; at the time of his arrival Seerkok was destroyed. On pages 29 and 30 he gives the names of 18 monasteries built north of Erh-ku-lung and says: "The monasteries are mostly subordinate to the Kumbum and Tsampopa [himself] abbots, in consequence of which those under Je gampo and Phagden have been converted in Gelugpa institutions." However, these institutions had been founded by Erh-ku-lung and nine of them by Seerkok, which abbots had always belonged to the Gelugpa or Yellow Sect.

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Hsining River in the main country of the Monguors. 175
Its Tibetan name is *dGon lung*. "*dGon*" means a her- 792
mitage, hence a monastery; "*lung*" means valley—the 346
hermitage of the valley. In Chinese literature it is called *Ku-lung*; the Chinese and Monguors call it *Erh-ku-lung*. It is situated at the entrance of a valley on the northern side of the T'u-Kuan Mountains. Erh-ku-lung is the mother monastery of all those situated north of the Hsining River. Its lamas in 1911 were mostly of Monguor origin, or Mongols from Mongolia, together with Tibetans of Huang-chung. Its administration was Monguor and its prominent Living Buddhas had always been reincarnations born in Kansu or Kukunor.

Legends

The origin of Erh-ku-lung is overlaid with legends. 792
The saying goes that during the Yüan period (1280- 539
1368) a Buddha appeared to a holy lama of the Sa-skya Sect, called Diasai, absorbed in profound meditation, and ordered him to build a monastery in Huang-chung on a site he designated. The next day the lama started his journey. He wandered many years in order to find the indicated site. Finally, he recognized it at Erh-ku-lung and the Monguors started building a hermitage. A handsome, very intelligent young man of Erh-ku-lung, called Sumpa, asked the lama to accept him as his apprentice and to instruct him. The happy holy man devoted his energy and marvelous ability to educating the young man. More young recruits arrived. The holy lama returned to Tibet with two of the most intelligent novices, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan. He entrusted the task of caring for the monastery in the meantime to the young Sumpa. The lama died in Tibet and the two novices, after brilliantly completing their studies in Tibet and writing learned books, returned to Erh-ku-lung, performed miracles, and died at the same time as Sumpa. All three were reincarnated and became the celebrated three Living Buddhas, who are the co-proprietors and chiefs of Erh-ku-lung.

At that time a lama of Erh-ku-lung, born in the neighborhood of Chie-bzan, enjoyed the reputation of holiness. After his death he was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung and was called the Living Buddha Chie-bzan. Another holy lama, born in Har-ch'in (Liao tung), called Wang, died and was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung as the Living Buddha Wang. These two smaller incarnations, in conjunction with the three former incarnations who received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor, constitute the board of the monastery, called "wu-ta-nang," which is still in existence. A residence was built by them for Diasai, the holy founder of the monastery, but the holy man failed to return from Tibet. At present, however, two lamas are still appointed to keep the home ready for the eventual return of the departed saint. They enjoy the nominal privilege

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of receiving eighty shares at the time of distribution of alms to the lamas. 792 539

A second legend explains in another way the origin of the monastery, and its peculiar administration by five Living Buddhas. One of the first Dalai Lamas lay dying on his bed in Lhasa from a terrible abscess on his thigh, which was greatly swollen. It would not yield to medical attention. Finally, the state oracle of Lhasa received in his trances notification that five Living Buddhas were confined in the tumor, and had to be released before the abscess would respond to medication. Lamas were sent all over the world to find an enormous sandalwood tree, recently uprooted by a big storm, in which the five Buddhas were confined. A whole army of lamas started in search of the life-saving tree. They eventually found it in the country of Erh-ku-lung. In the presence of an enormous crowd they started sawing the trunk of the fabulous sandalwood tree. Suddenly the teeth of the saw scratched on something which seemed hard as stone, and five statues of Buddhas escaped in the air. With the instinct of homing pigeons they fell on the very spot where a monastery was to be built. This is the origin of the temple and its "Wu-ta-ñang." It is said the statues are locked in a closet in the temple, but no one is allowed to see them, the key being kept by the Chang-chia Hutukhtu.

History of the Lamasery

The origin of Erh-ku-lung seems, however, to have been less miraculous. The construction of the monastery started in 1604, after the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan (1598–1616), sent the lama, Don Yod Choskyi rgyamtso, from Lhasa to the region of Erh-ku-lung, to invite and encourage the people to build a lamasery. 175 792

The first great lama was Sumpa Danchos rgyamtso, born in Sumpa close to Erh-ku-lung.[77] He started with a small community, but attracted more and more novices. It was he who laid the foundation for the monastery.[78] Nothing more is known about this lama[79] except that twice he fulfilled the office of *Fa-t'ai* (see p. 61) of Erh-ku-lung, once in 1621 and again in 1649. These facts seem to support the supposition that the newly founded monastery soon flourished, all the more since a branch had been established at RGyud pagrva, the later monastery of Hsien mi-ssu, from the very beginning.[80] Two lamas, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan,[81] must have been members of

[77] R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. Ecole française d'Extrême Orient* 14: 253, 1951. Sumpa possibly originated from the ancient Tibetan (Mi-nag) Sumpa tribe, which had submitted to the king of Tibet. At the time of K'ri sron bde btsan (eighth century) the tribe had been appointed warden of the Sino-Tibetan frontiers of the country of Mi-nag.

[78] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 45.

[79] *Idem* 3 (5): 19.

[80] *Idem* 3 (1): 45.

[81] Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1882: 1 and 5. In Tibet all great personages are called after the name of their birthplace, also sects; *Sa-Skya, Jonanpa, Shanpa, Digun*

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the original community. Chang-chia died (1641?), and was reincarnated for the first time in 1642 near the end of the Ming dynasty, (1643) and became the first Chang-chia Living Buddha.[82] T'u-kuan, a lama born during the Ming dynasty, was chosen Fa-t'ai of Erh-ku-lung in 1672. He died and was reincarnated in 1680[83] and became the first T'u-kuan Living Buddha.

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LAMAISM AT THE END OF THE MING DYNASTY

At the very end of the Ming dynasty (1643), Ch'ü-t'an with more than 600 lamas, having branches with more than 350 lamas, was the leading monastery of Huang-chung. Kumbum began in 1560, and in 1644 was still in its period of development. Nothing is known about Sha-ch'ung, though it must still have existed. The hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, founded in 1604, had developed very fast. It had a Living Buddha boy, the Chang-chia, born in 1642. It expanded rapidly and founded hermitages for its lamas, which must have been numerous. Several Nang-suos, Karwas, and Master in Dhyana institutions existed in the country. Domains were given to many lamas who had induced Tibetans to submit to the empire. A small temple may have been built by them, and probably a few small groups of wandering lamas existed all over the country. This seems to have been the situation of Lamaism in Huang-chung at the end of the Ming dynasty.

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE CH'ING DYNASTY (1644–1911)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE CH'ING

The Ch'ing dynasty continued the policy of the Ming, protecting and promoting Lamaism. Its first act was to recognize the *status quo* of Tibet which emerged after conquest by the Ölöts during the troubled period preceding its accession to power. The Ch'ing dynasty, engaged in a terrible struggle with the western Mongols, the Jungars, which lasted for more than a century, from the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century, understood the need for a pro-Lamaist policy. Lamaism had a firm hold on the western Mongols as well as on the eastern Mongols and in Tibet. The struggle was so fierce as to induce Maurice Courant to include in the title of his book *L'Asie centrale aux XVIIme et XVIIIme siècles*, the question, *"Empire kalmouk ou empire mantchou?"*[84] It is easy to understand that in such conditions the favorable disposition of Tibet toward the dynasty would

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Pa are designated after the names of localities where they were taught and originated. *Karmapa, Bulugpa*, were taken from the names of their respective teachers. *Kahdampa, Dso-gchyenpa, Chhyay Chhempa*, and *Shi chhyepa* were named after their respective rituals and external *Kriya*.

[82] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (4) : 12.

[83] *Idem* 3 (5) : 12.

[84] *Annales de l'université de Lyon*, n.s., 2, fasc. 24, Lyon, 1912.

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be an immense asset for its policy in Central Asia and in the neighboring countries of China.[85] 175 648

LAMAISM DIFFUSED BY MONGUOR LAMAS OF ERH-KU-LUNG

During the Ch'ing dynasty, Lamaism reached its highest level of influence and power. Four Living Buddhas dominated this period: (1) the Dalai Lama, (2) the Panchen Lama, (3) the rJe-btsun dam-pa of Urga, and (4) the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the Monguor of Erh-ku-lung. The Chang-chia reincarnations were towering personalities. During this period they dominated the Lamaist world of Mongolia, Peking, and Huang-chung, and wielded an important influence in Tibet. 175 792

Next to Chang-chia came the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu and the great Sumpa, as celebrated as Chang-chia for their science, learned works and influence at court. Later on, Min-chu-erh, known as Tsanpo Nomun khan,[86] a learned man and chief of the monastery of Seerkok, an old branch of Erh-ku-lung, followed in the wake of the three preceding Hutukhtus. If the names of the chiefs of the celebrated monastery of Labrang, founded in 1708, who were intimately connected with T'u-kuan, and who obtained imperial favors for them and the title of *Erdeni Nomun han* (Huth, p. 332) are added to the glittering list of prominent personalities of Erh-ku-lung, one is not amazed to read in the relations of the Franciscan Fathers written in 1730 in Tibet:

> In my time nearly all the lecturers and lamas of the universities, masters of the Supreme Lama and of the Grand Lamas, who have been born again, came from Amdo, a province from which they do not draw soldiers, (p. 313). . . . Tibetans are generally intelligent, although not equal to the people of the state of Amdo, who are extremely quick (p. 218).[87]

Without a doubt the monastery of Erh-ku-lung profited by the names of its prominent and learned chiefs and lamas. For a long time it surpassed all the other monasteries of Huang-chung. The number of its lamas reached 2,500 in 1723. Its prodigious activity was responsible for the foundation of all the monasteries north of the Hsining River. Since Lamaism, among the Monguors and their clan chiefs, is intimately connected with the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, whose Living Buddhas were mostly born in their country, it is necessary to study Lamaism among them, in the atmosphere of their beloved monastery. In order to gain an insight into the tremendous influence exerted by the

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[85] Schram, *op. cit.*, 36, 37.

[86] *Nom-un khan*—"King of the Law." This title was given for the first time to Gushi. See Cammann, *Trade through the Himalayas*, 92, note 45, Princeton, N. J., 1951.

[87] Clement R. Markham, *Narratives of the mission of G. Bogle to Tibet*, App. 309, London, 1876; also *Brief account of the Kingdom of Tibet* by Fra Francesco Orazio della Penna di Billi, Klaproth, 1730, from the autograph manuscript of the author.

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monastery of Erh-ku-lung in the Lamaist world, the 175
three personalities who are keystones of its institutions, 792
will be briefly described.

Chang-chia Hutukhtu

In 1642 a boy was born in the village of I-k'o. He was recognized as the reincarnation of a lama of Erh-ku-lung born into the Chang family (hence his name *Chang-chia*) in the Hung nai Valley, sixty *li* northeast of Hsining.[88] He started his religious career at the age of five at the small hermitage belonging to Erh-ku-lung called T'an rim tarpa. He entered the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in 1651. In 1661 he was sent by Sumpa to Tibet where he studied for twenty years in the most celebrated colleges, knitting friendly relations with the most renowned lamas of Tibet, and teaching and preaching in the colleges. He returned to Erh-ku-lung. In 1682 his beloved teacher, the great lama of Galdan, was invited by the emperor to Peking. Chang-chia, having scored successes in Tibet, seething with ambition, and eager to rub elbows with the rich and the great of the world, hurried off to meet his teacher in Kukunor. He obtained permission from his teacher to follow him on his trip to Peking as a "humble member of his retinue" (Huth, 276). In Peking the teacher recommended his learned pupil to the emperor.[89]

After being chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1687, [554]
the emperor called him to Peking in 1693. Sumpa, leading a big retinue, brought him to the capital. The

[88] Ting Chih-ts'un, Li tai Chang-chia Hutukhtu, *Pien-cheng kung-lün* 6 (4): 4.

[89] Ting Chih-ts'un, Li tai Chang-chia Hutukhtu, *Pien-cheng kung-lün* 6 (4): 4, 1947. Much confusion has existed concerning the origin of the Chang-chia reincarnation. Mayers, *Chinese government*, Hong Kong, Kelly & Walsh, 1896, 3rd ed., No. 598 says: "The metropolitan Chang-chia, re-embodiment of a Hutukhtu, dispatched under the same title, to represent him near the Chinese court toward the close of the 17th century, by the Dalai Lama of that period, received with profound respect by K'anghsi, was assigned a residence at Dolon nor; by decree of Ch'ienlung, the successor of the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, removed his residence from Dolon nor to the Yung-ho-kung, where state services were performed under direction of the Metropolitan who it is said wielded supreme religious sway."

Baron A. von-Stael-Holstein, Remarks on an XVIIIth century Lamaist document, Kuo-hsueh chi-k'an, 401, 1923, says: "K'ang hsi invited the 5th Dalai Lama to Peking, who refused, and Nag-dban blo-bzan cos-ldan (Chang-chia XIV) took the Dalai's place. He is supposed to be the incarnation of Mkhyen-rab-grags-pa hodzer, born in Chang-chia village, Kansu-Kukunor, hence the name Chang-chia."

Walter Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos*, 48: 499, 1953: says that according to a Mongol source the 5th Dalai Lama sent a lama, Che-sen Chorji to the Manchu emperor T'ai-tsung, with letters and presents. He was delegate to the city of Mukden in 1637. T'ai-tsung appointed the lama envoy to be his own chaplain, praising him as Chang-chia Hutukhtu. Heissig notes (note 132, p. 500) that the Mongol text about the appointment of the envoy as Chang-chia is wrong, because Chang-chia came first to the Manchu court at Peking in 1687.

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emperor appointed him to the office of Jassak Great Lama, the highest office entrusted to lamas in Peking; he bestowed on him the dignity and diploma of Hutukhtu, and a golden seal, together with the eulogistic title, "entirely virtuous, vastly compassionate, great state teacher, one whose head is annointed."[90] He was vested with powers of spiritual control over the Mongols of Chahar. 175 792

The bolt of fame had struck the ambitious Chang-chia. Inner Mongolian, and Khalkha princes and nobles gathered at Dolon nor to adore the great living Buddha.

In 1696–1697, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, already raised to a high pitch of fame in Mongolia and Peking, was delegated by the emperor to go to Lhasa to bring to the recently enthroned sixth Dalai Lama a seal and diploma, and to convey imperial gifts to the Panchen and the chief lamas of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends. This diplomatic mission immensely enhanced the prestige of Chang-chia in the Lamaist world of Tibet. Back in Peking, he was showered with gifts by the emperor. 175 792 648 554

In 1709, when he was on a vacation in Erh-ku-lung, the Monguors, exulting with pride, had a feeling for him that was a little short of idolatrous. He reformed the program of studies at Erh-ku-lung and appointed eminent teachers. It is not amazing that the lamas dreamed up an illustrious pedigree for their distinguished Hutukhtu, the favorite of the emperor and idol of the people, and that they imagined thirteen reincarnations preceding the reigning one. The first was no less than Chan dana, a contemporary and disciple of the Buddha himself. As for these thirteen fabulous reincarnations, it is enough to say that the so-called thirteenth rebirth was that of a boy born in Chang-chia village, who became a simple lama and about whom nothing more is known. During the administration of Sumpa he was a simple lama at Erh-ku-lung. After his death a boy born in I-k'o in 1642 was considered to be his reincarnation and consequently was called the fourteenth Chang-chia. This "fourteenth reincarnation," actually the first, recommended by his teacher to the emperor, was the lucky founder of the glorious series.

Chang-chia Rolpa dorje, the fifteenth reincarnation (1717–1786), in fact the second, was brought to Peking at the age of seven. Considered as a miracle child endowed with an illustrious pedigree, he was the playmate and intimate friend of the imperial princes. In 1734, at the age of seventeen, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Szech' uan (mGar t'ar), with an order to accompany, as imperial envoy, the banished seventh Dalai Lama on his reinstallation in Lhasa. (The Dalai Lama had been banished in 1728.[91]) This second diplomatic mission surrounded the Chang-chia

[90] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, ti 5 p'ien*, 93.
[91] Petech, *op. cit.*, 157.

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reincarnations with an aura of glory. At Lhasa the lamas paid enthusiastic adoration to him. Their devotion went so far as to make them struggle and compete for the drinking of a draught of the water Chang-chia had used for his toilet.[92] Back in Peking, Chang-chia asked the emperor to return to the Dalai Lama the confiscated districts of Lit'ang and Batang, and to grant him a subsidy. Only a subsidy of 5,000 taels was allowed.[93]

Rolpa dorje was also a learned man. His appointment by the emperor as chief of the commission for the revision of the translation into Mongol of the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*,[94] enhanced his prestige in the learned world, even as his learned works were studied in the colleges of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung (Huth, 291). In 1725 the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama received imperial envoys, presenting them with a complete set of the *Kanjur*, together with its supplements, and the complete works of Tsong khapa and the first Chang-chia Hutukhtu.[95]

The Monguor Chang-chia Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung, conspicuous for their great abilities, extensive learning, high position at the Peking court, and former diplomatic missions, wielded an enormous influence in the highest Lamaist circles in Tibet. The appointment by the emperor of the regent Gyal ts'ab in Tibet, during the reign of the eighth Dalai Lama (1759–1804) was obtained by the influence of the Chang-chia II.[96] The influence which the Panchen Lama exercised over the temporal affairs of Tibet and the interest he enjoyed at the Peking court through his friend, Chang-chia, the lama primate, made the emperor, Ch'ien-lung, invite him to Peking, where he arrived in 1780 and died of smallpox.[97]

George Bogle in 1774–1775 was trying to get an agreement from the well-disposed Panchen Lama for Indian trade with Tibet. Even more important than the Panchen's promise to send envoys was his assurance to Bogle that he had written the Grand Lama at Peking, who had great influence with the emperor, informing him that the English were now masters of Bengal, that

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[92] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 99.

[93] Petech, *op. cit.*, 162.

[94] Walter Heissig, Die Mongolischen Publication und Ubersetzungs Wesen der Mandjuzeit, *Sinologica* 3 (3): 205, 1953. Translations of Vols. 1 to 22 of the *Kanjur* by learned Mongol lamas already existed at the time of Ligdan Khan 1604–1634; the translation of 1717–1720 is almost textually the same as the former. The duty of Chang-chia, head of the committee, consisted in supervising the dogmatical genuineness of the translation. The Mongol translation of Dharani was published in 1759. More than 200 translations of Tibetan works still exist in Mongol.

[95] Petech, *op. cit.*, 9. One of the works of the second Chang-chia Hutukhtu is known in Europe through the translation of Eugen Pander, *Das Pantheon des Tschang tscha Hutukhtu*, Berlin, 1890.

[96] Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 46.

[97] *Ibid.*, 47. Schuyler Cammann, The Panchen Lama's visit to China in 1780, *Far Eastern Quart.* 9 (1): 6–18, 1949.

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Hastings, their chief, had shown him great favor, and that the English allowed everyone to follow his religion unmolested. He closed with the suggestion that the Grand Lama send some people from China to call on Hastings and to visit the principal temples of Bengal.[98] An interesting note encountered in Gunther Schuleman's work tells that the Chang-chia Hutukhtu asked the emperor to allow the Cossacks, prisoners of war interned in a camp at Albazin on the Amur, to invite a priest or pope, and to build a chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas.[99]

The subsequent Chang-chia incarnations until the present one, the nineteenth, enjoyed the same position of eminence, privileges, and titles in Peking under the Empire and the Republic. At the beginning of the Republic, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu was sent to Mongolia to exhort the princes to recognize the newly founded Republic. He was nominated honorary president of the Committee of Mongol and Tibetan Affairs.[100] All these facts seem to bear out the assertion that the Chang-chia Hutukhtus of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung were towering personalities in the Lamaist world during the Ch'ing dynasty and under the Republic, and that they enhanced the prestige of Lamaism among the Monguors and the Tibetans of Huang-chung. When the Chinese Government fled to Formosa for fear of the Communists, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu accompanied it, and at present is living there.[101]

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[98] Schuyler Cammann, *Trade through the Himalayas*, 49.

[99] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 178.

[100] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*, *op. cit.*, 11. von Stael-Holstein, *op. cit.*, 401, says: "During the Republic the titles of Chang-chia on his visiting card, support the evidence of the high favors bestowed upon him, 'High class adviser at the president's office; inspector of the Lamaist religious establishments in Peking, Inner Mongolia, Chahar, Wü-T'ai-Shan, Jehol, and Dolon nor,'" 1923.

[101] After completing the present study, I had the opportunity to read a most valuable work by Professor Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistischen Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1954. It contains many complementary data concerning the Chang-chia incarnations, and their literary productions, excerpted from Mongol and Tibetan sources, making it possible to complement the information drawn from Chinese sources.

Chang-chia I (1642–1714), by order of Emperor Sheng tsu (K'ang-hsi period 1662–1722) came to Peking in 1693 with an imposing array of fifteen lama scholars, headed by Sumpa, chief of Erh-ku-lung. The emperor granted Sumpa the title of Jasak lama. (At that time Sumpa must have been Sumpa II, a minor Living Buddha.) Each of the fifteen other lamas was granted the title of Sula Blama. Chang-chia asked the emperor for this title as a favor to Sumpa (18). Chang-chia supervised the revision of the Kanjur (19), which had already been started in 1604–1634 by 40 scholars. He was ordered to instruct the Khalkha lamas in Dolon nor and the Mongol princes who attended his lectures, so he wielded a great influence among the princes and lamas in Mongolia (p. 20). In 1710 the emperor contributed to the foundation of the Tantra college in Erh-ku-lung (p. 28). Chang-chia I, a prolific author, died in 1714. The complete works of Chang-chia, written in Tibetan, were translated into Mongol and published in seven volumes in Peking in 1720 (pp. 58, 59). In 1729 there was published in

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T'u-kuan Hutukhtu

At the time when Chang-chia was at the height of his glory, T'u-kuan, another eminent Monguor lama of Erh-ku-lung, was on the way to becoming his equal. With Sumpa and Chang-chia he was considered the

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Peking a biography of Chang-chia which had been translated into Mongol, in four volumes, by one of his most intimate pupils (p. 63).

Chang-chia II (1717–1786) was still a boy, living in Huang chung, at the time of the revolt of the lamas (1723). The emperor, in order to save the life of the new Chang-chia incarnation, forbade the army commanders to kill boys under fifteen years of age. Chang-chia was brought to Peking at the age of nine (1724). He studied Chinese, Mongol, Manchu, etc., with the son of the emperor, the future emperor Kao tsung (Ch'ien lung period, 1736–1796), and the twelfth prince, who became his friends (64). In the friendship which existed between Chang-chia, the future emperor, and the Manchu prince lies the explanation for the tremendous influence wielded by Chang-chia in Mongolia and Tibet. It also explains the prodigious activity displayed by the board for the translation of Tibetan books and the printing of Mongol books, of which Chang-chia was the chief. The Mongol lamas were elated by the publication of lamaist literature in Mongol, and the Mongol princes offered donations for its printing. Under the leadership of Chang-chia II, 99 lamaist works were printed in Mongol in Peking (p. 72). Chang-chia used his influence to change the trend of thinking of Mongol lamas, who were very fond of writing biographies of saints according to the pattern of the Geser epos (of Tibetan origin). He did not even allow the lamas to read or preserve the epos. It had not been reprinted in Peking since 1716 (87). However, he promoted the fusion (already started during the K'ang hsi period, p. 36) of the legendary Geser with Kuan ti, the Chinese god of war, and also their cult, making of them protectors of the country, to be worshipped by the Chinese military officials (p. 148). Chang-chia laid stress on the production of works in the dogmatic line (p. 106). The revision of the Kanjur was finished in 1720 (during the boyhood of Chang-chia II). From 1741 on, Chang-chia II, with a strong group of scholars, prepared the revision of the Tanjur which was finished in 1749 (p. 85). In 1780 the Panchen Lama attending the celebration of the seventieth birthday of the emperor in Jehol, composed a biography and eulogy in Tibetan of the fifteenth preexistences of Chang-chia II. It was translated into Mongol and was very popular in Mongolia and Tibet (p. 142), as was the biography of Chang-chia I, written by T'u-kuan Hutukhtu I (1737–1802) (p. 158). [814]

The prodigious literary activity displayed during the lives of both Chang-chia I and II seems to have been notably reduced from the time of Chang-chia III on (1789–1846). In the meantime the Emperor Kao tsung, personal friend and protector of Chang-chia II died (1795); the Mongol princes had become less interested in offerings for the printing of books, and only a few lamas of Alashan continued to indulge in literary productions (165). In Heissig, not a name of a single author of Kumbum is noted during or after the period of this prodigious literary activity. Only ten new productions are noted during the nineteenth century, together with a few reprints of former books (p. 159). After the death of Chang-chia III (1846) his biography was written, starting with those of his previous existences (p. 168). Heissig notes that he does not understand why, in the historical sketch of the life of Chang-chia I, the biography of Chang-chia I written by T'u-kuan I of Erh-ku-lung is omitted (p. 167). He wonders also why the famous *History of the diffusion of Lamaism in Mongolia* written by T'u-kuan II was not printed in Peking (p. 3) during the time Chang-chia II was the chief of the imperial committee. The explanation for these pertinent questions will be [814]

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co-proprietor and chief of Erh-ku-lung. The figures of these three men throw a lengthening shadow over the glorious monastery of Erh-ku-lung, and over the Lamaist world in Tibet, Mongolia, Peking, and Huang-chung, during the Ch'ing dynasty. 175 792

A boy born in T'u-kuan, located at the foot of the T'u-kuan Mountains close to Erh-ku-lung, became a lama at the former hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, which had rapidly grown under the administration of Sumpa. The boy was born in the Wang chia tribe, subject to the Li T'u-ssu, and is said to have belonged to the Li T'u-ssu clan. It is also told that he was born in the Sina tribe in the Ch'ing-yang-ch'uan, in the village of T'u-kuan. The date of his birth is not recorded. However, it is noted that he fulfilled the office of Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1672, at the time when Chang-chia was studying at Lhasa.[102]

A boy born in 1680 was said to be the reincarnation of this T'u-kuan Lama and was called the Living Buddha T'u-kuan Nag dban C'osky rgyamts'o. The series of the T'u-kuan reincarnations started with him. Upon completing his studies in Tibet, he was chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1705. He founded a hermitage at C'os bzan, where he lived in retired seclusion with seven lamas, meditating and teaching.[103] He was the teacher of the young fifteenth Chang-chia incarnation and the famous Sumpa. He became the equal of Chang-chia when the Emperor K'ang Hsi called him to Peking in 1715, and bestowed on him gifts, the title of Hutukhtu and a seal. He enjoyed the high esteem of the emperor who, in 1719, ordered the lama, Skal-bzan rgya-mts'o, administrator of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu in order to have him administer his monastery.[104] (Something wrong may have happened at Kumbum.) [775] [554]

In 1720 the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was sent on a diplomatic mission to greet the seventh Dalai Lama on the upper reaches of the Yangtse River on his way to Lhasa.[105] The Dalai Lama had been confined at Kumbum for five years. He was brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence. T'u-kuan, in his capacity of imperial envoy, was granted the title of Hutukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas. He assisted at the enthusiastic enthronement of the Dalai Lama and brought letters and imperial gifts to 175 792 648

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provided by the subsequent troubled history of Erh-ku-lung (see below, p. 36).

Summarizing the literary activities of the Chang-chia incarnations, as chiefs of the imperial committee for the printing of Mongol books in Peking, they had printed in Mongol, during a period of 261 years (1650–1911), 108 volumes of the Kanjur, 226 of the Tanjur and 220 other works (2).

These facts afford conclusive evidence of the very important role played by the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung in the diffusion of Lamaism in their own country, and in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet.

[102] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 12.

[103] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283.

[104] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 15.

[105] Petech, *op. cit.*, 60.

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the Panchen Lama and the heads of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends.[106] He enjoyed a tremendous surge of popularity in Tibet and was honored in the same way as Chang-chia. 175 792 648 [554]

The fame of Erh-ku-lung thus rose higher and higher. In Huang-chung the Monguors were elated and proud of their glorious monastery and their eminent lamas. Back in Dolon nor, the Mongol and Khalkha princes paid him their adoration with the same devotion they had given to Chang-chia. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu received new titles from the emperor and was showered with favors. A permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He obtained for the Great Lama of the monastery of Labrang the title of Erdeni Nomun khan.[107] While on vacation at Erh-ku-lung, he died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri which belonged to Erh-ku-lung.

His next incarnation was T'u-kuan Blo-bzan C'oskyi Nima, born in 1737. He was a celebrated teacher, well known in the Lamaist world for his proficiency in logic and philosophy. He wrote his famous *History of the Doctrines of the Yellow Sects,* which he finished a year before his death in 1802. According to Baradijn, this work, in twelve chapters, is the only Tibetan study dealing with all the Tibetan sects, including those of India, China, and the old Bön.[108] He received from the emperor the same titles as his predecessor and was granted the same favors and the same permanent duty at Peking. In 1790 he built the temple of Hung-ku-ssu, to which the emperor granted the name of Yen-hsi-ssu.[109] He died in 1802. The subsequent incarnations followed in the steps of their predecessors, enjoying the same titles and privileges during the Empire and under the Republic. [114]

Sumpa Hutukhtu

Sumpa Hutukhtu is so called by Sarat Chandra Dass, the celebrated historiographer and chronologist of Tibet. Born in 1704, he is said to be the first reincarnation of the founder of Erh-ku-lung. However, because Erh-ku-lung was founded in 1604, the first Sumpa was supposed to have been a man about twenty or thirty years of age. So it would seem that a second Sumpa was intercalated between them. Sumpa II must have been the reincarnation of Sumpa I; otherwise the denomination of Sumpa is hard to explain. This supposition does not seem to be unusual if we take account of the process used for the first reincarnations of Chang-chia 175 792

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[106] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283; Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 178–9.

[107] Huth, *op. cit.*, 287.

[108] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 442, Notes 655 and 656, p. 182. The work has been translated by Sarat Chandra Dass in his Contributions on the religion and history, etc. of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* **50** and **51**, 1881–1882. I was surprised to read in it much data about Taoism and Confucianism with which he was very well acquainted.

[109] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5): 12; *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 148–149.

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and T'u-kuan, and the obsession for reincarnations which was in full swing at that time. Sumpa II must have been one of the countless so-called "minor" Living Buddhas who were not listed on the register of Buddhas in Peking, and to whom the title of Hutukhtu had not been granted, but only the title of Jassak Lama. In the same way the minor Living Buddha Sumpa II must have headed the big retinue which brought the "minor" Living Buddha Chang-chia to Peking in 1693, who, only after his arrival at Peking, received his title and became the great Chang-chia Hutukhtu. Until that time Sumpa II, Chang-chia, and T'u-kuan were all "minor" Living Buddhas, living at Erh-ku-lung. [175 792]

Sumpa III, still a minor Living Buddha, underwent a stiff course of instruction at Erh-ku-lung, under the direction of the celebrated T'u-kuan, after which he was sent for further study to Tibet. The young Sumpa must have been a very intelligent and studious pupil, for in 1726 he had already been appointed mK'ampo of the very celebrated SGoman College in aBras-spuns.[110] At the same time he must have been an unusually strong personality, a man of solidly set opinions, a special individual, a law unto himself, stern and uncompromising, for, in the teeth of strong opposition on the part of the lamas when civil war violently agitated the country, he ordered his lamas to keep quiet and to keep the strictest neutrality because, according to the principles of Buddhism, it is not allowed for anyone, particularly the lamas, to fight and kill.[111] The example was followed by the other monasteries.

Back in Huang-chung in 1730, he founded the monastery of Bshad-sgrab with eighty lamas, and admitted fifteen more from the monastery (hermitage) of Bsam gtang. He was called to Peking in 1737, and appointed by the emperor as spiritual guide of all the princes and chiefs of Mongolia. His prestige in Peking and Mongolia and the consideration the emperor had for him were extraordinary. The emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu, but he declined the offer, objecting that it was only fit for religious men aspiring to worldly glory. The amazed emperor answered, "You are a genuine religious man." In Peking he revised all the Tibetan books existent in China, and was rewarded by the emperor with the title of Erdeni Pandita. [376]

In 1745 he was appointed the head of Erh-ku-lung. There, his first step was to scale down the splendor of his environment and to simplify his retinue. Sumpa was a learned man. He wrote the famous *History of the Rise and Downfall of Buddhism in India and Tibet.*[112]

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[110] Petech, *op. cit.*, 121.

[111] *Ibid.*

[112] Sarat Chandra Dass, Contribution to the history and religion of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, **58**, 1889. This study is preceded by the translation of the biography of Sumpa.

Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 147, after giving the content of the work of Sumpa, concludes: ". . . the work is composed with a wise and discriminating choice of older sources, pointing out for

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The Monguor Sumpa was a prolific author, who wrote about all the important subjects related to the curriculum of the studies of lamas. In the official records in Peking, preserved in the Li-fan-Yüan (1793), concerning the subsequent reincarnations of Sumpa, it is said they are indistinct and vague; that maybe they are recorded in Lhasa at the office of the Dalai Lama.[113] 175 792

The two Living Buddhas, Chie bzan and Wang, members of the board of five of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, led a sheltered life in their residences and nothing is recorded concerning them.

SUBSIDIARY LAMASERIES FOUNDED BY ERH-KU-LUNG

The influence exerted upon the country of Huang-chung, and especially upon the country north of the Hsining River, by the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and its three celebrated personalities was tremendous. The whole country, void of monasteries before 1600, became dotted with institutions of the Yellow Sect, depending on Erh-ku-lung. This unusual fervor for the diffusion of Lamaism seems to account for the disappearance of nearly all the small institutions of the Red Sect in that country, and their absorption into the fold of the Yellow Sect. The forces of expansion radiating from Ch'ü-t'an, Sha-ch'ung, and Kumbum situated south of the Hsining River, never before 1723 matched those radiating from Erh-ku-lung. The reason might be the lack of celebrated, learned, influential monks enjoying the favors of the emperors. This seems to account for the fact that at present a number of small Red communities and two important monasteries of the Red Sect still exist in the country south of the Hsining River. 175 771 792

Sumpa Damchos, the first administrator of Erh-ku-lung, must have been a very capable and intelligent man, devoted to the diffusion of Lamaism. He built his monastery on a solid foundation to prepare learned and pious men. He sent the best of his novices to Tibet to study, and organized studies at home. In the very beginning (1604) he founded the hermitage of Rgyud pagrva,[114] the monastery of Hsien-mi-ssu. In 1915 it was inhabited by 4 Living Buddhas and 160 lamas; it also established two colleges. He founded the hermitage of T'an-rim tarpa, where the young Chang-chia, at the age of five, started his religious life.[115] In 1651, when Chang-chia and T'u-kuan were still children, he sent the vice-administrator of Erh-ku-lung, Dongrub rgyamat'so, of Mongol origin, to Ta- 175 792

each subject the main works. He intended to write an encyclopedia from which an idea could be had of the formation and spread of Buddhist thought. . . . It is a rich encyclopedia; harmonious composition is missing. Its value: it purports to be a *summa* of Tibetan historical traditions in which chronicles, myths, saints' lives, political changes, religious doctrines are met, in whose harmony the fortunes of the sacred doctrine of Tsung khapa become a reality and are developed."

[113] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (4): 16.

[114] *Idem* 1: 45.

[115] Huth, *op. cit.*, 272.

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t'ung wei, in order to build the later famous monastery of Seerkok, Gadan Ch'osling, also called Kou-mang-ssu, and Kuang-hui-ssu.[116] 175 792

The new daughter monastery flourished so fast as to have, before the revolt of 1723, two thousand lamas, and three colleges, among which the Tch'an-njid College was very renowned. Probably very soon Seerkok became an autonomous monastery. It developed to such an extent as to administer nine branches of its own and to have eighteen Living Buddhas within its walls.

Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the head of the lamasery, celebrated for his *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia*, is known as the Tsanpo Nomun-khan of Amdo.[117] In 1727 he was sent by the Dalai Lama to court and received from the emperor the title of Hutukhtu. He was showered with gifts and a permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He became one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung.[118] [554]

In 1693 the hermitage of Byan-c'ub existed, dependent on Erh-ku-lung. It was here that Chang-chia retired.[119] In 1705 T'u-kuan established the hermitage of C'os bzan where he retired with seven lamas.[120] He died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri, also dependent on Erh-ku-lung.[121] In 1711 the learned lama, Zabsdrun of Temma, near Erh-ku-lung, having been appointed teacher by Chang-chia[122] at the College of Tantras in Erh-ku-lung, founded a branch in Kan-ch'an-ssu which in 1915, had two hundred lamas and two Living Buddhas.

In 1730 the Great Sumpa, on his return from Tibet, immediately founded the monastery of Bshad sgrub with eighty lamas and fifteen from Bsam gtang glin.[123] From 1604 until 1730 the building of hermitages and bigger monasteries was a real obsession among the prominent lamas and chiefs of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung and its branches. The records of the havoc wrought during the crushing revolt of 1723 by the Chinese army reveal more names of sacked and destroyed monasteries: Chie-Bzan with eight hundred lamas, the monasteries of Hsia, Yao, Ku, Chu-erh, Kan-chu-erh, and more than one thousand grottoes in the mountains; also the monastery of Shih-men-ssu with two hundred lamas and two Living Buddhas; Ch'i-chia-ssu with two subsidiaries[124]; T'ien T'ang-ssu with two hundred lamas, three Living Buddhas,

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[116] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 45; 3 (4) 10; 5: 13*a*.

[117] Sarat Chandra Dass, Brief account of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1 and 27, 1887. This work was translated into Russian in 1895.

[118] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 123.

[119] Huth, *op. cit.* 277.

[120] *Ibid.*, 283.

[121] *Ibid.*, 288.

[122] *Ibid.*, 279.

[123] Sarat Chandra Dass, Life of Sumpa khampo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 198, 1889.

[124] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 46*b* and 47*a*.

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three colleges, and Chiar-too-ssu. Forty lamaseries established north of the Hsining River and in the prefectures of P'ing fan, Liang-chou, Kan-chou and Su-chou, originated from Erh-ku-lung or its subsidiaries and were built between 1604 and 1723. 175 792

The prodigious activity in Huang-chung and the flourishing of the monasteries are, beyond doubt, indebted to the position of eminence enjoyed at court by the three learned Monguor lamas and their reincarnations, and to the initial impulse given to Erh-ku-lung by its first Sumpas. Not only Huang-chung, but the whole Yellow Church derived benefits from the zeal of these fervent Monguors. Their influence was also tremendous upon the chiefs of Outer and Inner Mongolia. In Mongolia the fervor of the converted old adherents of the Red Sect to the Yellow Sect can be ascribed in great part to the influence of the Monguor lamas appointed by the emperor as their spiritual guides. This fact also accounts for the large number of Mongol lamas living in the monasteries of Huang-chung. The Mongol monasteries are also indebted to them for the development and organization of their studies on a serious basis. Their learned books were among those used in the Mongol colleges. Most of their teachers had been pupils of these eminent lamas who had studied at Erh-ku-lung, noted as the highest center of learning at that time. Back in their country they vied in building monasteries.[125]

The position of these learned scholars in Peking and the patronage of the Manchu emperors contributed to the development of that copious production, of encyclopedic and compilatory character, which marks the 18th century in Tibetan literary history.[126] [212]

REVOLT OF BLO-BZAN BSTAN-DSIN AND THE LAMAS

The year 1723 marks a turning point in the history of Lamaism in Huang-chung, and ends with one of those tragedies with which history is replete. At the time, Lamaism rode the crest of the wave of glory and success, monasteries and their affiliates dotted the country of Hsining, especially north of the river and far into the Nan-shan. The number of lamas was countless, the people paid enthusiastic adoration to their Living Buddhas. Each family offered one or more of its sons to the service of Buddha. Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662–1722) lavishly bestowed his favors upon Huang-chung, promoting Chang-chia to be the first lama in rank in Peking, and T'u-kuan to be the second. He invested them with diplomatic missions in Tibet and promoted them as the spiritual guides of the Mongol princes. 175 771

The country was at peace and the future filled with the greatest promise, when suddenly, like a colossus on feet of clay, the luxurious Lamaist institution crumbled and collapsed. The lamasery of Erh-ku-lung with 175 579 771

[125] Huth, *op. cit.*, 372–374.
[126] Petech, *op. cit.*, 242. [p. 34(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

its 2,500 lamas, from which had radiated a prodigious force of expansion for 120 years, had all its temples, stupas, and homes of lamas burned to the ground; 17 villages and 7,000 houses were destroyed. Full scale fighting erupted between the lamas and the subjects of the monastery, against the emperor's army; 6,000 were killed. At Seerkok, the branch of Erh-ku-lung having 2,000 lamas, not a single temple, stupa, or home was left; 700 lamas and 2,000 of its fighting subjects were killed. The chief of the monastery, Chie-bzan Rimpoche, was beheaded. Ch'i-chia-ssu, with its two branches, was leveled to the ground; 500 fighting lamas and 1,000 subjects were killed. The monastery of Chie-bzan vanished in flames; 800 lamas perished or fled. The monastery of Shih-men, a center of revolt, disappeared in a blaze and 700 fighting lamas and subjects were killed. All the lamaseries and important branches situated north of the river were completely ruined; their lamas were either killed or they had fled. At the monastery of Kumbum 300 lamas were beheaded, fled, or were killed. All the temples and homes of lamas were burned, except the head temple.

Nien Keng-yao, commanding the imperial army, said that because of the furious armed resistance displayed by the lamas he had to punish them.[127] The head of the monastery, the mK'ampo, surrendered. The Chinese general informed the emperor about his prisoner. He suggested that by no means should clemency be shown toward him, for he had been the cause of all the trouble, stirring the lamas and the people to revolt. Since nothing more is said about him in the *Shih-lu*, the *Tung-hua-lu* or the *Sheng-wu-chi*, it can be supposed that he was beheaded.[128] During the revolt, two more prominent Living Buddhas were beheaded, Temma grutchen and Nga-ch'i T'u-men-han.[129]

Nothing is recorded about the famous monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, and I have found it impossible to get any information whether or not it participated in the troubles. Lamas like to keep secret in their fold this dishonorable page of their history. This sudden disaster, which ruined all the institutions of Lamaism in Huang-chung, had more far-reaching harmful consequences in the future, from which Lamaism never recovered.

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[127] *Shih-lu, Yung-cheng*, ts'e 145, Chüan 14, 10.

[128] These facts are far from the legend as spread by Filchner: that the Ch'i-T'u-ssu was guarantee for Kumbum, that he was the protector of the monastery and that the amban himself could not interfere with the problem of Kumbum. In reminiscence of this fact, the grateful lamas knelt in greeting to the Ch'i T'u-ssu when he attended the festivals at the lamasery. In fact it was customary for the lamas to greet in corps all the T'u-ssu who attended the festivals with their retinue. The same honor was displayed for the Li T'u-ssu and for the Ch'i T'u-ssu at Erh-ku-lung. All the T'u-ssu who fought on the side of the Chinese at that time were intelligent enough to understand that it was not the time to interfere with the problem.

[129] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 46–48, who relies on *Tung-hua-lu, Shih-lu, Shen-wu-chi* for the period of Yung-cheng. *Annals* of the province, ch. 46; 55*b*–56*a*, 56*b*.

[p.34(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

sion, but he seems to have been back in Peking before 1723. Perhaps he remained at the capital, because Huth [135] tells us that the emperor told him that he was worried about the events in Huang-chung. However, Schuleman says [136] that having been "condoned" he was "brought" to Peking and, a few years later (1729), thanks to his counsel and influence, the emperor allowed the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok to be rebuilt and he contributed to their reconstruction.[137] At that time Sumpa was still a minor Living Buddha, studying at Lhasa. In his later works Sumpa came to the fore with stern uncompromising character in the cause of principles, condemning the acts of lamas who killed human beings. In caustic and cutting terms he frankly put all the blame of these tragic events on the mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the chiefs of the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, and on the lamas who caused the ruin of all the monasteries, the destruction of their property, and the death of their subjects, whom they had forced to take their side in the trouble. He defended the line of action and the policy of the emperor and did not put a shadow of blame on the drastic means used by the Chinese officers to crush the revolt.[138]

CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLT

The regulations governing Lamaism in Huang-chung after the repression of the revolt were as drastic as the repression itself. They show that the emperor was bursting with indignation, at the appalling ingratitude of the monasteries, for he resolved in dead earnest to use an iron policy in handling the turbulent lamas. All the titles and seals of "teachers of the empire" (*kuo-shih*) and "Masters in Dhyana" (*Ch'an-shih*), granted to outstanding and meritorious lamas during the Ming dynasty, were recalled. The complement of lamas was not to exceed three hundred men for the big monasteries, and ten or more for the small monasteries. Lamas were not allowed to have more than one disciple.

Twice a year the Chinese officials were to investigate the monasteries for observance of regulations for which the abbots had been made responsible, to check the number of lamas, and to prevent the concealing of weapons. All the subjects of the lamaseries had to become subjects of the Chinese administration, and the land taxes accruing to the lamas had to be collected by Chinese officials. The subjects of monasteries became liable to corvées imposed by the Chinese for building cities, digging canals, and for the army. Trials and suits were brought under the jurisdiction of the Chinese courts. Every year the Chinese officials had to grant

[135] Huth, *op. cit.*, 285.
[136] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 179.
[137] Petech, *op. cit.*, 87.
[138] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 47.

[p. 35(8)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

each lama a certain amount of wheat and a fixed sum of silver as compensation for the withdrawn taxes.[139] 175 792 579

The revolt of 1723 ruined the former wealth and prestige of the lamaseries. The Chinese officials, who before 1723 had acted reluctantly as humble servants of the chiefs of the lamaseries for fear of the emperor, became their superiors. They acted as such especially in courts of justice, when monasteries and lamas accused each other, or when Chinese brought suit against monasteries. In the minds of the Chinese officials the prestige of Chang-chia and other Hutukhtus of Huang-chung had slipped down many rungs of the ladder of glory. Hutukhtus had to remain in Peking where an honorable office was assigned to them, principally in order to make hostages of them and to prevent new revolts of lamas. Their powers were reduced to honorary dimensions. (The iron hand in the velvet glove!)

Regardless of the fact that titles and distinctions had been granted to the lamas, these drastic regulations were never revoked. Before 1723 the lamas were in the lap of luxury; they collected taxes on their fields which were tilled by their subjects. Now, this primary source of wealth vanished, and their land became of less value.

The boundaries of the extensive properties granted them by the emperors had never been accurately drawn. For the most part, monasteries had simply occupied land adjacent to their property, for at that time they were omnipotent. For more than a century, suits followed concerning the delimitation of the boundaries, which continually shrank, the Chinese officials being eager to sell land to Chinese.

The official revenues of the lamas were restricted to the collection of rents and to a pitifully small amount of wheat and a little silver granted to them yearly.[140] The officials soon substituted poor, cheaper barley for the wheat, and the weight of the grain received was below the official weight; silver was converted into cash and the profit on the exchange went into the pockets of the officials. The subjects of the lamaseries were now subject to the Chinese officials, under whose jurisdiction they were liable to corvée. They were thus withdrawn from the influence of the lamaseries. The once powerful lamas swallowed the bitter pill; evil times had befallen them. The consequences of the revolt of 1723, which had brought Lamaism to such a pass, still prevailed under the Republic.

CONDITIONS OF ERH-KU-LUNG IN 1910–1920

The number of lamas had shrunk from 2,500 in 1723 to 270. Only two of the four former colleges still existed. Eleven minor Living Buddhas inhabited the monastery. The temples, homes for lamas and Living Buddhas, and administrative buildings, had been re- 175 792

[139] *Shen-wu-chi*, ch. 5, p. 12; *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 525; *Fan-pu*, 1, p. 7a; *Tung-hua-lu*, *Yung cheng*, *op. cit.* 4: 34–36.
[140] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, p. 12a.

[p. 36 (A)]

constructed after 1723, and rebuilt a second time after the revolt of the Moslems in 1872 (at which time the monastery had been abandoned for three years). The internal organization of the formerly flourishing monastery was affected by dissensions among the triumvirate, and peace within its walls was disturbed by the divided lamas, who had taken opposite sides in the conflict. The Chang-chia Hutukhtu left Erh-ku-lung, and more than one hundred lamas followed him. It was a severe blow to the mother monastery. He rebuilt one of his branches, called Ch'ie-bzan, to be his abode on the very rare occasions of his short returns from Peking to the country. He never again visited Erh-ku-lung. The seeds of a callous hostility between Erh-ku-lung and Ch'ie-bzan were planted and their relations cut off. 175 792

The three founders, however, were and remained the co-proprietors of the initial domain, monastery, and branches of Erh-ku-lung. However, each of them, by means of gifts and domains offered to them individually, had built up his own fortune. They hoarded their revenues or used them to found their own branches. In 1910 T'u-kuan Hutukhtu personally was the proprietor of seven branches. He possessed expansive properties on which he built seven villages. He also possessed eighteen oil or wheat mills. His herds of sheep and horses grazed in the Alashan territory and on the domains of T'ien-t'ang-ssu, his former branch, which by 1910 had become an independent monastery. Chang-chia had six branches of his own, eleven villages, nine mills, and very expansive domains. Sumpa had five branches of his own, and wider territories than T'u-kuan and Chang-chia.

The troubles had started not on questions of doctrine or liturgy, but on matters of finance and property. Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa clashed on the question of a territory belonging to the original domain, the status of which T'u-kuan and Sumpa maintained. Chang-chia, however, claimed it to be his property. Finally, the debatable domain was recognized to be the property of the initial domain. 175 792 578

Chang-chia never forgot this loss of face. The money granted by the emperor for the reconstruction of Erh-ku-lung in 1729 was insufficient. Nevertheless, Chang-chia urged that a part of it be used for the rebuilding of his own Ch'ie-bzan. This was refused by the other two and the rift between the triumvirate became wider and wider. T'u-kuan, however, used a large part of his own wealth for the reconstruction of Erh-ku-lung, which lasted for decades. Sumpa, with his own money, built the two colleges, their temples and palaces for Fa-t'ai. Chang-chia refused to make any contribution. After the revolt of 1872 and the destruction of Erh-ku-lung by the Moslems, T'u-kuan and Sumpa rebuilt the monastery. Chang-chia again declined to help.[141] Instead, he rebuilt his own monas- 175 792 [578] 346

[141] It is not surprising that Chang-chia did not print the works of T'u-kuan (see above, p. 31).

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tery in the most luxurious style. The head temple, with 175
its gilt tiled roof, which had been preserved, was em- 792
bellished and other temples rebuilt. He rebuilt a splen- 346
did palace for himself patterned after the most luxuri-
ous palaces in Peking. Chang-chia's Ch'ie-bzan was
the wealthiest monastery in the country, with 150 lamas,
2 colleges, and 4 minor Living Buddhas. Most of its
wealth was provided by Mongols, among whom the in-
fluence and prestige of Chang-chia was proverbial.

Every year, lama expeditions of Ch'ie-bzan traveled 175
in Mongolia in order to collect alms. Chang-chia's 794
prestige was so great that the Queen of the Torgots 648
came to Ch'ie-bzan in 1913, to invite the intendant of
the monastery to send an expedition among her tribes-
men, for it had been a long time since an expedition
had reached her country. I happened to be at Ch'ie-
bzan in 1914 when the expedition returned. It had
collected 3,000 sheep, 400 horses, and 280 camels, which
were loaded with wool and skins.

The breach between T'u-kuan and Sumpa, which oc- 175
curred in 1890, was more tragic. During the rebellion 578
of the Moslems, Sumpa (born in 1854) had fled among 792
the Mongols and Tibetans, north of Kukunor. He met
with a Mongol girl, whom he had moved to his branch
monastery called Sumpa-ssu. The lama community
of Erh-ku-lung, after some years, could no longer stand
the disrepute brought on the monastery. It brought [697]
suit against Sumpa before the Amban in the prefectural
city of Hsining, claiming he was not a genuine re-
incarnation. The lama community urged that he be
erased from the list of Buddhas, and insisted on the
right to search for the genuine reincarnation. For
several months the lamas disturbed the whole city with
the scandal, and spent money. The Chinese enjoyed
all the incidents of the trial. Sumpa lost his face and
honor irretrievably. Sumpa, however, was rich and
the Amban venal. The Amban finally proposed that
Sumpa leave Erh-ku-lung and move to one of his affili-
ates. This reincarnation (the third) of the illustrious
Sumpa, having cut a sorry figure, never returned to
Erh-ku-lung, but lived at his branch where, in 1916,
his two girls delighted the old age of their father, who
was sixty. His eldest daughter had married the son
of the chief of the Aruk tribe. In 1916 the old man
made a pilgrimage to Lhasa, and the lamas said he
was atoning for his sins. No wonder that the Li-fan
yüan records lacked information concerning the subse-
quent reincarnations of the Great Sumpa.

The Living Buddha Ch'ie-bzan of Erh-ku-lung hav- 175
ing a branch monastery of his own, moved into it, 792
appearing at Erh-ku-lung only to attend the festivals. 627
The Living Buddha Wang lived in retired seclusion. 762
Soon after the trial of Sumpa, the minor Living Buddha
Tsung-tsa, one of the eleven, followed in the steps of
Sumpa and established a family in Tsung-tsa. In the
winter of the same year, the minor Living Buddha Seer-
ting was taken and beaten at night by the husband and

[p.37(A)]

friends of a lady Seerting was "visiting." He was 175
found the next morning hanging from a beam in his 792
palace. The loss of face had been too tremendous. 627
Erh-ku-lung had become a place of unrelieved misery. 762
The year 1890 was one of the most fateful in the history of Erh-ku-lung.

After the withdrawal of Chang-chia Hutukhtu and 175
Sumpa Hutukhtu, T'u-kuan became the actual omnipo- 792
tent chief of the monastery, and acted and was recognized as such. Because it is customary to hush up dishonorable facts deliberately, Chang-chia and Sumpa were very seldom spoken about. It was a long time before I knew they had been the honored co-founders of the monastery.

The former glorious days of Erh-ku-lung vanished. There were no longer learned men at the monastery, which for a century had been the most celebrated center of learning in Huang-chung. Its renown for science passed to the now flourishing monastery of Labrang. The tragic departure of two of its glorious founders put a blight on it, and left a leaden atmosphere of gloom hovering over it. Troubles had succeeded each other. Kumbum, in the meantime, had made great strides, and became the most celebrated monastery of Huang-chung. It was visited by caravans of pilgrims from Mongolia and Tibet, which no longer cared for, or even paid a visit to Erh-ku-lung. Once at the top of the Lamaist world, Erh-ku-lung became a dim shadow of its former self, a second-rate monastery.

III. THE LAMASERIES IN HUANG-CHUNG

THE YELLOW SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG 792

This chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung. The forty-two monasteries and branches situated north of the Hsining River were built according to the pattern of the old mother monastery of Erh-ku-lung. It seems obvious, therefore, to base the study on this initial institution, the most renowned and flourishing in former times. Because all the lamaseries of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung have been organized on the same pattern, a general view of Lamaist institutions can thus be obtained.

The study is founded on facts collected during a 121
stay of many years among the Monguors; which may give a better insight into the matter and reveal the trend of mind of the actors.

THE LAMASERIES OF HUANG-CHUNG INDEPENDENT OF LHASA

All the lamaseries in Huang-chung are autonomous 175
units, independent of Lhasa both in matters of admin- 792
istration and appointment of superiors, even in matters of doctrine. The Achia Lama defended the autonomy of Kumbum against the illegal interference of the Dalai Lama in 1908 by committing suicide. This energetic

[p. 37(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

revindication of the autonomy of Kumbum by Achia sharply confirms the trend of mind of the Monguor lamas concerning the autonomy of their monasteries. 175 792

Not a single lamasery in Huang-chung was founded by the Dalai Lama. Kumbum was founded in 1560 by the lama, Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, and his ten disciples of their own accord. The fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan, sent a lama to invite the Monguors of Erh-ku-lung to be so kind as to build a monastery in their country.

Seerkok had been ruined and burned to the ground. The chief lama was beheaded in 1723. Seerkok having no more leaders, the Dalai Lama sent the learned lama, Tsanpo, who was studying at Lhasa, to rebuild the monastery. He bestowed upon Tsanpo the title of Nomum-khan, and recommended him to the emperor. The emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu. Lhasa no longer cared for Seerkok because it was autonomous, having its own chief.

The other monasteries throughout the whole region were institutions of the Red Sect, such as Ch'ü-t'an, which was founded by the lama San La. Most of them later adhered to the Yellow Sect but maintained their independence. However, some small ties seem to link the lamaseries of Huang-chung to Lhasa. Upon the death of the Hutukhtus of Huang-chung, Lhasa is asked to designate three names to be placed in the golden urn at Peking. One name is drawn from the golden urn thereby determining the new incarnation. However, the three names required for the new incarnation of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu are supplied by his friend, the grand lama of Labrang. The recognition of the incarnation of all the other Living Buddhas of Huang-chung who do not enjoy the title of Hutukhtu is attested to by the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung. Confirmation of this recognition by a minor Living Buddha is sufficient to establish the Living-Buddhahood of lamas deemed by their confreres to fulfill the requirements *ad hoc*.

For more than a century (1600 to 1723) the relations between the monasteries of Huang-chung and Lhasa had been really important, because of the imposing array of learned scholars of Erh-ku-lung who taught in the most important lamaseries of Lhasa, the lamas of Huang-chung who performed their studies at Lhasa, and the several diplomatic missions of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus sent by the emperors to the Dalai Lamas.

It is not hard to understand why Lhasa displayed so little interest in the monastery of Kumbum. The reason is that Kumbum was autonomous. The Third Dalai Lama paid a short visit to Kumbum for the first time in 1583. He insisted on the founding of a school for the explanation of the sacred texts. In 1723 the chief lama of Kumbum was the fateful mK'ampo Nomun-Khan, nephew of bLo Blzan bstan dsin. He received his title of Nomun-Khan from the Dalai Lama.

[p. 38(A)]

From 1715 until 1720 the Seventh Dalai Lama was 175
confined at Kumbum by the emperor. Several visits 792
to Kumbum, made by the Dalai Lama or the Pan-chen Lama on their way to Peking, have to be added in order to complete the scheme of the relations between the two monasteries.

These facts suffice to prove that the relations between the lamaseries of Huang-chung and the Dalai Lama were of courtesy, friendship, and helpfulness, not those of subordinates with superiors. The independence from Lhasa of the lamaseries of Huang-chung is evidenced by their independence in managing their affairs. Each had its supreme chief, who was the recognized proprietor.

THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE LAMASERIES

Each monastery has a supreme chief who is the rec- 792
ognized proprietor of the lamasery and the initial territory granted by the emperor or T'u-ssu for the establishment of the monastery. He is the proprietor of the temples and buildings built by him or his previous incarnations, and of the alms offered to it. In Huang-chung the supreme chiefs of monasteries are all Living Buddhas. At present some of them are minor, others major Living Buddhas. In Kumbum, Achia Hutukhtu is the supreme chief of the monastery; in Seerkok, Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu. In Erh-ku-lung there are three supreme chiefs, Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa, but actually T'u-kuan Hutukhtu alone governs the whole monastery because of the historical circumstances already recorded. Minor Living Buddhas are Buddhas who do not enjoy the title of Hutukhtu, granted by the emperor, and whose name, usually, is not recorded in the files of the Li Fan Yüan in Peking. Minor Living Buddhas, in order to live inside the walls of the great monastery and to build a palace, must obtain the permission of the supreme chief; they are considered as guests of the lamasery.

The supreme chief is responsible before the Chinese administration for his subjects' crimes or murders committed in his monastery, or in his domain. He appoints the superiors of the various institutions established inside the monastery and in the branches. In time of trouble between the various institutions he tries to mediate. The extent to which he interferes with subordinates depends not on institutional regulations, but simply on whether he is personally a meddlesome character.

In monasteries the "community of the lamas" is a recognized autonomous unit, with its own wealth, properties (herds, fields, subjects, etc.), administration. It has its own right to bring suit in the Chinese courts, and to establish subsidiaries, whose administrators depend upon it and not upon the supreme chief. The community of Erh-ku-lung has three such subsidiaries: Ta-ssu, Hsiao-ssu, and Hsiao Erh-ku-lung. It was the

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

lama community of Erh-ku-lung that brought suit against Sumpa and spent the money for the trial, not T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, who would not interfere to prevent the scandal. 792

The colleges or faculties in monasteries are also recognized autonomous units, with their own administration, properties, wealth, gifts, alms, and the right of suing in Chinese courts. I do not have any record of colleges possessing branches, but I suppose they do. [794]

What bond binds these disparate elements together? Usually a Living Buddha who is the supreme chief of a lamasery is honored by the lamas, who know that he is always ready and braced to defend the rights of the institution, like Achia at Kumbum. When the communities or colleges meet with financial troubles, they know that the supreme chief uses his own wealth to make donations to them—"help provided makes sympathy wax." Nevertheless, each institution has its own administration, and the supreme chief does not interfere with its jurisdiction. The governing board of each institution confers with the supreme chief on the appointment of administrative officers and on such matters as the invitation to be sent when a new Fa-t'ai is needed.

If troubles arise the board of the autonomous institution takes advice from the supreme chief, and many difficulties are thus avoided. Finally, the supreme chief has the right to dismiss recalcitrant members, but if an entire group persists in standing up for its rights, and threatens to bring suit in the Chinese court or to quit the monastery, the supreme chief can rarely prevail against them. Nobody can prevent a lama or a group of lamas from quitting a monastery; no vows or bonds tie the lamas to any monastery. Undoubtedly, a great amount of kindness and devotion on the part of the supreme chief toward the members of the monastery is required. This is the real keystone of an effective administration in monasteries whose elements are so loosely united.

ADMINISTRATION OF LAMASERIES: MATERIAL ASPECTS

The administration of a lamasery is complex. In order to get a better insight into the matter the material aspects will be dealt with first, and then the religious and educational.

OFFICIALS AND THEIR ATTRIBUTES

Most Living Buddhas who are supreme chiefs of monasteries live in retirement in their palaces, and are happy to entrust the entire material administration of the institution to a lama intendant, for whom the Tibetan term is Tsuordzi and the Chinese term, Hsiang tso. The few exceptions who are meddlers with the administration are well known throughout the country, and that kind of Living Buddha usually does not get very far with his intendant.

[p. 39(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The appointment of the lama intendant is an act of 792
overriding importance and far-reaching consequences. The supreme chief himself chooses a capable, loyal, and dependable lama and appoints him as Intendant of the Monastery—not of the community of lamas, or of the colleges. The appointment is indefinite and can be transferred to another lama at the will of the supreme chief. Usually, however, it lasts for a lifetime. The intendant is a man of confidence on whom the supreme chief relies completely. He occupies a large courtyard of the administrative buildings constructed in the center of the monastery. The instruments of torture displayed at the gate of his courtyard indicate that he rules its court of justice and is its chief executive by appointment of the proprietor of the monastery.

All important administrative questions of the monastery are discussed between the supreme chief and his intendant: the invitation of the Fa-t'ai's proposed by the boards of the community of lamas and of the colleges, the appointment of procurators and of lay intendants; matters concerning the subjects, the villages, and branches of the monastery; and troubles between lamas or within the community of lamas or the colleges. The intendant knows the lamas of merit and the intrigues, competitions and factions among them. He is invited to attend the meetings between the supreme chief and the boards of the colleges and the community of lamas. Because he is a man of experience, and usually of long residence at that particular lamasery, his advice is respected and usually followed. The ability to mediate is even more important than the manner of authority.

The intendant must be a man who knows the Chinese 792
officials and the intricacies of the courts of justice. He 648
sends the seasonal gifts to the Chinese officials, visits them to knit friendship with them, and knows who among them is well or ill disposed toward the monastery. He also knows the influential persons in the city who are friends of the officials, and who among them can be used if need be for the benefit of the monastery by exerting their influence upon the officials. He visits such people occasionally during the year to offer them gifts, in order to have a foot in the door when needed. Lamas know very well that "Justice cannot stand on its own feet, it needs to be supported and steadied." The intendant must be a man who can see farther ahead than ordinary naive and ignorant lamas and is able, therefore, to dissuade them from bringing lawsuits.

The intendant of the monastery alone disposes of all 792
the wealth of the monastery (not of the wealth of the community of the lamas or of the colleges), its revenues, investment of capital, loans, gifts, and alms received (but not of alms given to the community of lamas or to the colleges). He has to cope with all the expenses of the monastery, and to try to increase the collection of gifts and alms. He is in charge of the provisioning of the monastery, and must see that the procurator secures

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the colossal amounts of butter that a monastery requires. In the temples of Erh-ku-lung eight butter lamps burn before the statues day and night. Each lamp consumes 180 pounds of butter every year, making 1,440 pounds for the eight lamps. The intendant told me that every year he had to provide a total of more than 3,000 pounds of butter for lamps, kitchen, and tea, and had to send lamas to Kukunor and Mongolia in order to collect this enormous amount. The intendant, in short, is the biggest cog in the wheel of administration. A visitor must inquire for him and pay him a visit, for it is he who cares for visitors and pilgrims of note. 792 [354]

It is easy to understand why it pays to have an experienced intendant, one who creates good relations with the outside Chinese world, acquires benefactors for the monastery, maintains control of the inside world of the monastery and has sufficient influence to be successful in the office, but these things cannot be realized in a few months.

The choice of an intendant who is capable is usually easy, but it is not so easy to find a lama who is, at the same time, capable and always loyal and dependable. Because so much power is vested in him it is not exceptional to encounter an intendant who is getting too big for his britches, stirring up trouble and acting as if none of the rules of the monastery existed for him. He disposes of so much wealth that it is almost impossible to control his financial transactions, and many intendants pile up their own comfortable fortune. They know all the liabilities and the debts of the monastery; they enjoy too much personal influence in Chinese administrative circles, and when things go wrong they can pull many wires in order to save themselves or even to harm the monastery. It is not easy to handle intendants, and it is more difficult to dismiss them, according to the sayings of experienced old lamas.

Next to the intendant comes the procurator (nirwa, in Tibetan; Takuan-chia, in Chinese). He also is appointed by the supreme chief of the monastery, in consultation with the intendant. The appointment is for three or five years, and may be renewed. The procurator supplies the personal needs of the Living Buddha, and under the supervision of the intendant he administers the internal affairs of the intendancy, including the board and jobs of servants, upkeep of buildings, stables, and equipment. He organizes the expeditions that go out to collect alms in Mongolia and Kukunor, keeps the accounts of the collection of revenues and of the corvées imposed on monastery subjects, and judges minor lawsuits. He discusses with the intendant the small loans granted to subjects or other people, dispenses the alms distributed to lamas. He is in fact the lieutenant and usually the protégé of the intendant, through whom he has obtained his appointment from the Living Buddha. If an intendant and his procurator are in collusion, they can easily dupe the supreme chief for a long time. [p.40(A)]

The procurator in turn has an assistant (htie wa, in Tibetan and erh kuan chia, in Chinese), who helps him at the job. He is appointed or dismissed by the Living Buddha at the same time as his superior. The servants under the procurators vary in numbers according to the importance of the monastery. At Erh-ku-lung there are thirty lama servants and ten lay servants. 792

Two lay intendants are also appointed by the Living Buddha. It is customary, after three years, that they present their resignation, which is accepted or refused. Their duties are more honorary than executive. When the Living Buddha goes on a journey they accompany him as masters of his retinue. Under the empire a blue button adorned the top of their hats. They take care of the impedimenta. Arriving at a destination at night, they take care of all necessities at the inn, and then take the visiting card of the Buddha to the Chinese official of the village or the city. The intendant sends them to the city to bring gifts or to greet the officials when he is unable to do it himself, and he delegates them to mediate in the villages. [57A]

When the personal wealth of the supreme chief is great enough, he appoints a private intendant and procurator to administer it.

The minor Living Buddhas who are guests, living at the monastery, have their own administration. It is more or less personal, according to their wealth (subsidiaries, villages, herds), and according to their own propensity for caring for their business. Their intendants do not enjoy such influence as the intendants of the important monasteries.

The material side of the administration of the communities of the lamas and of the colleges is identical, consisting of an intendant and procurator chosen by them but approved by the supreme chief. Their intendants are important personages who care for the wealth of the community or the college, investment of capital, revenues of villages, sale or purchase of land, herds, relations with the Chinese administration, suits at the court of justice, judgment of the suits of subjects, care of the subsidiaries and gifts. These procurators provide the food used at the meetings, and supervise the upkeep of the buildings and temples of the community of lamas and the colleges, and of the palaces of their Fa-t'ai's. They manage the expeditions to Mongolia and Kukunor for the collection of alms, distribute the share of alms offered to the lamas of the community or to the colleges, and the collection of the revenues of lands. They are appointed by the supreme chief on the joint recommendation of his own intendant and the board of the community or the college. The intendant of a community of lamas or of a college is therefore always the protégé of the superintendent, although the administration of the community and of the colleges is at the same time institutionally autonomous.

These notes give an insight on the personnel used for the material administration of the Monguor monasteries

[p.40 (B)]

and their attributions; it is identical, probably, in all 792
the monasteries of Huang-chung.

ENVIRONMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION

In order to gain an insight into the administration of a monastery, of a community of lamas, or of a college, it is not sufficient to know what officials make the wheels turn and what their respective functions are. A knowledge of the environment in which they act is also necessary. This can best be provided by examples, numbered below from 1 to 7. The intendant is ultimately the hub around which the entire administration is built.

(1). In 1914 the Lama Li, intendant of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, moved his two concubines into a nice building situated in the most remote west corner of the monastery. The three intendants of the lama community and the two colleges protested vehemently to the T'u-kuan against the impudence of the intendant and urged his dismissal, but he was only ordered to move his concubines to the "summer palace" of the Hutukhtu himself, a couple of miles distant from the monastery.

Li was a very capable man, well known all over the 792
country. He had often extricated the monastery from 426
very tight spots. A few weeks before he was given the above order, he had succeeded in sending back to Mongolia a strong group of Mongols who had been dispatched by their prince to urge the long delayed payment of an important debt contracted by one of T'u-kuan's former incarnations. For six months the Mongols had been enjoying life, eating the best food, drinking the best wine, and feeding their animals at the expense of the intendancy. They were resolved to leave the monastery only after full payment of the debt. No one had succeeded in persuading them to leave, not even by proposing to pay half of the debt at once and the remainder the following year. Intendant Li, who had been on duty in Lanchou, was finally summoned by the distressed Hutukhtu. After a few days he had succeeded so well as to make the creditors grant "reverentially" the remission of half of the debt and to make them joyfully agree to urge the payment of the remaining half by the next incarnation of T'u-kuan.

T'u-kuan was greatly indebted to his intendant for 792
the many services rendered to him, but at the same time he was unable to dismiss him for fear he would revive many old troubles and harm the monastery. The intendant was thoroughly aware of this predicament and acted impudently, breaking one of the most basic rules of the Yellow Sect, that of celibacy.

(2) A servant of the intendancy of the old and 792
venerated minor Living Buddha Li of Erh-ku-lung in- 691
advertently broke the big tea cauldron belonging to 628
the community of the lamas. The intendant of the [415]
community of lamas stirred up the turbulent lamas who urged old Li to have a new cauldron cast, but the placid

[p.41(A)]

old Li would not budge. The whole community was humming like a beehive and about to drive the old Li and his intendant out. T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was unable to pour oil on the troubled waters; the furious intendant of the community of lamas, in a flush of excitement, called thirty lamas, went to Hsining and brought an accusation against old Li. At the court the Amban immediately fell under the spell of the placid and respectable Buddha, bent with age, who explained his case peaceably. 792 691 628

The Amban did not allow the thirty or more turbulent lamas to return to the monastery, after they had, with vehemence and arrogance, several times presented their claims before him. He made them wait for the publication of the verdict, and while waiting had them live in Chinese inns, where they spent money every day, bribing the happy officials who would make their hopes run high one day and dash them to the ground on the next, thus making them spend more money. The Living Buddha and his intendant lived at peace at the home of his nephew, the Li T'u-ssu. He was acquainted with the most prominent men in the city, had them working for him and bringing small gifts. After four months the impoverished lamas became as meek as lambs and the Amban deemed the time ripe to pronounce the verdict: "The cauldron had been broken inadvertently. Because the community of lamas drank tea from the cauldron several times every day, the community should bring into his hands $800, and he would take care of the casting of a beautiful cauldron; the intendant and the board of the community should be put in jail until the money was ready." The epilogue of this interesting trial was that after a few days the money was reverentially placed in the hands of the Amban, the intendant and the men of the board were released, and the Amban had a cauldron cast—for $150!

The intendants are powerful elements in a monastery. In this case T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, belonged to the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, as did the venerable old Living Buddha Li. Yet he could not stay the hands of the intendant and the board of the community of the lamas who, incautiously disregarding the relationship between the two venerable living Buddhas were too quick on the trigger in resorting turbulently to the Chinese courts of justice, although they should have known the dangers by experience. The officials know it is impossible to talk sense into such lamas without first making them spend all their money and letting them wait for months at the gate of the court. The lesson given to the lamas is remunerative for the Chinese officials, but the lamas, stubborn as mules, appear again before the judges at the next opportunity, and receive the same lesson all over. Such is the atmosphere of a monastery and its inmates. 688 792

(3) Li, the lama intendant, of the Living Buddha Lu, supreme chief of the monastery of Yang-k'uo-erh-ssu, 691 578

[p.41(B)]

was officially appointed chiliarch (*ch'ien hu*)[1] by the 688
Amban, with the privilege of judging the subjects of 792
the monastery. He was thus simultaneously a monastic 578
official and a Chinese civil official. He had amassed a 691
comfortable fortune at the expense of the subjects of six villages belonging to the monastery. A shrewd, capable man, in order to assure his position, he cleverly moved his younger sister near the monastery in order to have the young Living Buddha "acquainted" with her.

Lamas and subjects urged the dismissal of the intendant. The Buddha refused and threatened to accuse the three ringleaders of the rebellion, but the subjects and lamas went to the court of the subprefect of Nien-pe and accused both the Buddha and the intendant. Knowing that the intendant was rich, the judge examining the case put him in jail on the very first day of the trial, to make him understand that the roles were reversed. The sister of the intendant was called to testify, and the Living Buddha lost face before the people of Nien-pe, who attended all the sessions with the keenest interest. Finally, the Buddha was divested of the privilege of having a chiliarch to judge his subjects, and blushing with shame he received a lecture from the judge on the observance of celibacy in the Yellow Sect. The girl was ordered to move far away from the monastery.

The intendant, dismissed from his office by the judge, was released after several more months. He had spent his whole fortune, and had even been forced to sell his fields, cattle, and two oil mills. During the troubles, 70 of the 150 lamas left the monastery. This intendant caused the ruin of the monastery.

(4) The most beautiful bridge in Kansu is over the 792
Ta-t'ung River, opposite the monastery of T'ien-t'ang- 578
ssu, which before 1723 had had three colleges, two 628
Living Buddhas, and 700 lamas, and at this time still had 200. When the supreme chief of the monastery was only seven years of age, troubles had started between the intendancy of the monastery and that of the community of lamas. Each claimed to be the proprietor of the bridge, with the right to collect tolls. The lamas, divided into two groups, became involved in the troubles. For twelve years both intendancies, accusing each other, moved from city to city and from one court of justice to another, and spent all the money of the respective intendancies. The head temple of the monastery was closed for three years. Finally, the Chinese judges having milked the cows dry, abolished the right of the lamas to receive the toll and took it themselves. The peace of the monastery was disturbed to the point that 120 disgusted lamas left. In 1920 only 80 lamas remained, some old men, but mostly children. The stubborn intendencies had preferred to wreck the

[1] "Chief of 1,000 families" is an official, appointed by the Chinese administration, who controls a tribe or group of people. He imposes corvées, collects taxes for the government, mediates troubles, and awards punishments. Although his subjects very seldom number 1,000 families, the title remains the same.

[p.42(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

lamasery rather than accept any of the propositions suggested to end the feud.[2] 792 578 628

(5) I was told many times, by two honorable intendants, that it was the heated rivalry between the intendancies of the three supreme chiefs of Erh-ku-lung that had, in former times, caused the departure of Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the rift between the supreme chiefs, and the decline of Erh-ku-lung. There must be a grain of truth in the traditions of these experienced men who, better than we, understand the enormous influence exerted by the intendancies upon the Living Buddhas, and the jealousies between the intendancies.

(6) Most old lamas have a disciple who, upon their death, becomes their legal heir and proprietor of their entire fortune (home, herds, money, etc.). However, it is a noted fact that it is very difficult for the disciple of an intendant to inherit the fortune of his master. The old intendant of the Tenma Living Buddha, supreme chief of the monastery of Kan-ch'an-ssu, became sick, retired, and declined into that stage of life called "second childhood." His disciple, an intelligent boy of fourteen years, following the advice of his shrewd, experienced maternal uncle, Manguru, chief of a Tibetan tribe in Waza, subject to Tenma, secretly moved the comfortable fortune of his master to the home of his rich uncle. When the master died, Tenma, thinking like every Living Buddha, suspected that his old intendant had amassed a fortune at his expense and went immediately to examine his richly furnished home, hoping to find a colossal fortune. The floors of the rooms were turned over, the chimney broken, the sheep, cow, and horse pens dug up several feet deep, but no silver was found. Railing and raging, the Living Buddha drove into his own pens the 150 cows, 40 horses, and 600 sheep of the deceased. 792 428

The maternal uncle defended the disciple, and protested. After a couple of days the deluded Tenma went to Hsining with an imposing retinue of twenty men in order to accuse the disciple and his uncle at the court of the subprefect, of having stolen the fortune unjustly amassed by the intendant. The disciple and his uncle were flogged and thrown into jail, but did not confess to being guilty. After a few days the shrewd uncle made friends with the underlings of the officials by bribing them. He and the disciple were released, and thereupon rewarded the underlings by showing them the way to extort money from Tenma. After three years, the subprefect declared both the uncle and the disciple innocent. Tenma brought suit again at the court of the Amban, where it dragged on for more than four years more, which made the officials happy. They excited his hatred against the disciple and his uncle. But the disciple and his uncle lived in a small inn and 792 691 428

[2] Reginald Farrer, *Rainbow bridge*, 111, London, Arnold, 1921. Farrer was in T'ien-t'ang-ssu during the summer months, studying the flora of the country. He describes the wonderful bridge and includes a picture of it.

[p. 42 (B)]

did not spend much money. Tenma, with his retinue, 792
living according to his station, giving bribes and send- 691
ing gifts, spent lavishly. Finally, the disgusted Amban, 428
in order to end the trouble, delegated his power to the Living Buddha of Seerkok.

The intendant of the living Buddha of Seerkok, prompted by the Amban, settled the question after two or three sessions. He condemned Tenma to pay 3,000 taels to the disciple as indemnity for carrying away the cattle. Tenma protested. He was put in the jail [697] of the monastery and manacled. After two months he agreed to pay the alloted sum, and so was released.

Epilogue: For seven years, the stubborn Manguru was the most talked of man in the country because of his courageous resistance to the Living Buddha. He decided to rehabilitate the poor man, on whose chieftain's prestige his tribe depended. He bought a nice black horse, a fine Peking saddle, put a piece of yellow satin on the top of it, and, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, he and the disciple prostrated themselves and, apologizing, presented the horse.

This case is unique in the annals of Lamaism in Hsining. A stubborn Living Buddha, condemned by the intendancy of Seerkok, was put in jail and manacled. What was the cause of the trouble? Living Buddhas were eternally suspicious of the honesty of their intendants. Noteworthy also is the fact that the maternal uncle, not his father or brother, defended the disciple. In the tribe of Manguru matriarchy is still prevalent.

(7) Last of all, a very important psychology is to 792
be noted regarding injustices perpetrated among the 796
Monguors and Tibetans, and among lamas as well as among Living Buddhas. When an injustice is committed, its perpetrators are pursued by the enraged guardian spirit that protects the wealth of the family involved. According to this philosophy, when intermittent calamities or misfortunes occur in a family and weigh it down, magical rites are to be performed to propitiate the enraged pursuing spirit. (This rite will be studied later.)

This rite was ordered to be performed at his branch 792
monastery by the poor Sumpa Hutukhtu when, after 788
his voluntary banishment, one misfortune succeeded another. He claimed that the misfortunes were caused by the injustices perpetrated by the former and present intendants of his monastery, who had aroused the avenging bolts of the guardian spirits of the families who had suffered their injustices. The same rite was performed at Erh-ku-lung in 1919, on the orders of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, after he had vainly built a Bumkhang in 1917, in order to put an end to the misfortunes which ruined the monastery. It was performed at Seerkok in 1920, on the orders of the supreme chief of the monastery, Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, in the same circumstances, and the same explanation was openly proclaimed by both prominent chiefs of the most important monasteries. [p.43(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

I remarked that the performance of this rite, not kept secret in the fold of the monastery but put completely on public display, was not very honorable for the intendants. The lamas answered, "When squeezed to the wall and when all other rites have been of no avail, the rite has to be performed." Such facts, without stretching the point, are really informative, concerning the type of the intendants. 792 788

The overriding importance attached to the appointment of the intendant, who can make a monastery flourish or ruin it, may be explained by the enormous influence exerted in a monastery by them, which matches that of the supreme chief of the institutions, and the stumbling blocks encountered by the intendants, which endanger the correct fulfilling of their office. They serve also to gain a true insight into the frame of mind of the administrative world of the monasteries.

MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE OF THE LAMASERIES

DOMAINS

During the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties, large domains were granted to the monasteries to provide their means of subsistence. In former times it was easy for the emperors to be lavish in such grants in a sparsely populated country. I never had the opportunity to see the old deeds under which the vast domains of Erh-ku-lung and its flourishing subsidiaries had been granted. Its most important domain is that of the Fan-wu-pu, which it shares with its daughter monastery of Seerkok.[3] 792 423 643 434

The Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa Hutukhtus were the favorite Living Buddhas of the emperors. It seems an obvious assumption that private domains were also granted to each of them, because Chang-chia was able to found on his properties six branches and eleven villages. T'u-kuan founded seven villages and seven affiliates, while Sumpa founded five branches, and further it is said he disposed of more domains than both Chang-chia and T'u-kuan. The tax and rent revenues collected on their private properties must have been considerable because Chang-chia built nine oil and grain mills and T'u-kuan eighteen, in order to dispose of their grain. [256]

[3] The Fan-wu-pu (the five tribes of barbarians) are situated in the region of Wei-yüan-p'u. They are: (1) Pei-tsui-pu (Narin valley), (2) Tsan-tsa-pu (east and west Tsan-tsa), (3) Hsieh-tsa-pu, (4) Pu-tsa-pu (near the mountains), and (5) Kuang-hua-pu (west of Wei-Yüan-p'u). The people living in these vast territories were the subjects of these two lamaseries, to which they paid taxes and rent, and were liable for corvées. All the villages from Pei-tsui-pu eastward (Ha-la-chih and Hung nai valleys) belonged to Erh-ku-lung; those westward to Seerkok. In 1910 both lamaseries still collected the rent of these fields, enjoyed the privilege of traveling for alms among these former subjects, and vindicated the right of still being invited by them for the performance of public and private religious activities. In that region the monastery of Erh-ku-lung had built twenty-four oil and grain mills. These domains were administered in former times by the important T'u-kuan and Seerkok Nang suo. [p.43 (B)]

Concerning Seerkok, the former subsidiary of Erh-ku-lung, it is recorded that it disposed of a property 45 miles (150 *li*) in length and 10 miles (30 *li*) wide.[4] Achia Hutukhtu of Kumbum collected taxes and rents from five tribes of farming Tibetans and the inhabitants of seven valleys.[5] The country for 200 *li* around Kumbum belongs to the monastery; several thousand "tame" barbarians are its subjects.[6] Achia Hutukhtu received from the emperor an extensive region for grazing his herds in Chahar (Inner Mongolia). The contract was written by order of the emperor in 1766.[7] Erh-ku-lung received land from the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where a lot of its subjects farmed. After the revolt of 1723, the Ch'i T'u-ssu responsible for the revolt of Erh-ku-lung lost his title and the subjects who farmed his land. Later he was given a chance to regain his title and subjects, if he could bring those who had revolted to submission. He succeeded, and recovered title and subjects, as described in Part I (p. 50).

It has been recorded that Ch'ü-t'an, which was the first lamasery founded by the Ming emperors, received wide domains so that it was able to build the two large branches of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and Hung Shan-ssu (*Annals* of Hsining. ch. 15, p. 13). During the Ming dynasty large domains had also been granted to the Karwa and Nang-suo institutions, as noted above. Most of the minor Living Buddhas also possessed domains granted by T'u-ssu or wealthy people, or which they purchased themselves.

If account is taken of all these facts, it is easy to understand why the Chinese officials, who before 1723 could not collect taxes on all these vast domains, harbored an enormous jealousy, and why they exulted after the revolt when the emperor assigned the collection of these taxes to them. The text of the author of the *Annals* of Hsining records (chap. 31, p. 22) that " . . . in 1727, by decree, the emperor in one day, put an end to calamities lasting hundreds of years." This text, on the one hand, proves the rejoicing of the Chinese officials at that time; on the other hand, the loss of these enormous revenues impoverished the monasteries tremendously. The lamas, however, were very proficient in finding a means to cushion the shock to some extent.[8]

RENTS

After the revolt, the lamas could only receive the rent of their tenants in the way in which a rich landowner received them; but it was customary that the government receive the taxes, not directly from the tenants,

[4] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 5: 123.
[5] *Ibid.*, 143.
[6] *Ibid.*, 11.
[7] *Ibid.*, 143.
[8] In 1948 according to the official data provided by the Bureau of the actual province of Ch'ing-hai (Hsining), only 177 of the 235 lamaseries, owned collectively about 500,000 *mou* (acres) of land and 5,000 to 6,000 head of livestock. Wang Wen-han, *Pien-chiang tung-ksin* 1: 1–7, 1948.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

but from the landowner who, in case the tenant disappeared or became insolvent, was responsible for the tax. In this way the lamas who were landowners had to collect the official taxes from their tenants, and accompany the endless caravans of their tenants' donkeys carrying grain to the official granaries. Before the journey to the granary started, however, each tenant had to measure the grain in the presence of the lamas and with the measure supplied by the lamas, the capacity of which was greater than the official one; this enabled the lamas to set aside a valuable surplus over the vast amount of official taxes. 792 427 651 434 [492] [804]

The properties of the lamaseries, consisting of extensive territories, contain a large part of waste and untilled land on which no taxes are imposed. The industrious intendants developed these properties by means of irrigation canals, and called in new farmers to till the new fields. The legal amount of taxes, however, has always remained the same as the initial amount, because the intendants, by means of collusion and bribery, easily succeed in gaining over the tax collectors. In this way the revenues of the intendancies are greatly increased, and they still receive surreptitiously a very large revenue. Moreover, they are able to store the surplus, which they can grind or sell when prices are highest. 792 423 651 [311 312] 434

HERDS

Sheep, cows, and horses constitute, for many intendancies, a source of revenue. Large herds are grazed in Kukunor or Mongolia where the pastures are larger, smaller herds in the country for local use. Mongol princes and Tibetan chiefs of tribes are always ready to help the monasteries. A contract is made with herdsmen by which the first calves, colts, and lambs belong to the owner, the second-born to the herdsman, and so on. Every three years a lama inspector of the intendancy examines the accounts of the herdsmen and settles with them the number of animals to be sold, and the herdsmen show the skins of the animals which died during the three-year period. If they cannot produce the skins of the dead animals it is assumed that they sold the animals and they must pay the owner of the herds. 792 434 233

OIL AND GRAIN MILLS

These mills are a large source of revenue. The monastery proper of Erh-ku-lung is owner of twenty-four oil and grain mills; the T'u-kuan himself has eighteen, Chang-chia nine. The mills are leased by Monguors or Chinese. The rent of oil mills is 300 pounds of oil for a season's use, besides which it must press the oil belonging to the monastery. The grain miller must grind the grain of the intendancy and at the New Year season give a pig weighing 120 pounds. Most of the oil which is not consumed in the kitchen in the preparation of food, or in the lamps in the temples and homes, is sent by raft to Lan-chou, the capital of the province. 792 434 256

[p.44 (B)]

The oil trade is a very important and lucrative business. Flour is sold in Hsining. The taxes imposed on the mills are very heavy, but the monasteries still enjoy the old privilege granted before 1723, and are exempted from these taxes. Even families in which a Living Buddha has been born enjoy the same privilege, for instance, the Lan family living in Hung nai tzu Valley. Every year, however, the family has to offer 10 pounds of oil at Erh-ku-lung to the intendancy of its Buddha, deceased a century ago. The lamas claim the privilege, which was granted during the Yung lo period (1403–1424), because oil is consumed in the lamps of the temples before the Buddhas, and flour is used by the lamas, the servants of Buddha. 792 [438] 434 651

FORESTS

Only two monasteries possess extensive forests—Seerkok and T'ien-T'ang. Because wood is very scarce in the northern part of the province, forests are an important source of revenue. 792 434 314

TOLL ON BRIDGES

The history of the famous bridge of T'ien T'ang has been recorded. For many years it was a source of large revenue, which finally caused its ruin. 792 434 [494]

The monastery of Kan-ch'an, belonging to the famous Tenma, receives toll on a raft, which ferries passengers across the Ta-t'ung River. Tenma is a very well-known man in the country. His first incarnation, a learned man, was appointed Fa-t'ai in Erh-ku-lung by the first Chang-chia (Huth, p. 279). It is related that he caused the ruin of Erh-ku-lung. In 1723 bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, chief of the revolt, was a prisoner in Hsining, and about to be executed. He heard that Tenma was in the city. Through the guardians of the jail, he implored him to write a letter to the Chinese generals in order to save his life. Tenma, unaware of the consequences of such an act, wrote the letter. The generals got the impression that Erh-ku-lung was mixed up with the revolt, and they destroyed the monastery. This is a fine story, manufactured on the ground out of whole cloth, in order to free the old mother monastery from blame, but why was the blame put on Tenma? 505 175

For many years during the period of my stay, the young Tenma, swelling with ambition, was the most talked-of man in the country for his audacious plan to construct a European suspension bridge over the river, like those in photographs he had seen in magazines. He started buying all the available iron in the country, felling all the big trees growing on the domain of the monastery, and building a large brickyard. Blacksmiths, carpenters, and bricklayers worked for four years. He built four great towers, two on each side of the river. The blacksmiths made enormous iron chains, too heavy to manipulate or to move. He exhausted the entire treasure of the monastery. Troubles started 792 334

[p.45(A)]

among the intendancies and the impoverished lamas. 792 334
Saddled with debts, and his plans not working out, he was compelled to give up his ambitious dreams and revert to the ancestral raft.

It is said that this holy man enjoyed the gift of bilocation. The people still state that many times many people saw him directing the shifts of blacksmiths and carpenters on the river, and at the same time saw him in ecstatic rapture in the temple.

It was after his financial collapse that he started the trouble with the disciple of his deceased intendant, which lasted for seven years, in order to retrieve his fortunes, only to land in jail in Seerkok. Finally, having debased his name and position of authority, he moved to one of his affiliates in the region of Kan-chou, where he was still living in 1920. Tenma was a typical figure in the world of Living Buddhas in 1910–1920.

COLLECTION OF ALMS IN FAR-OFF COUNTRIES

Expeditions to far-off countries are an important 792 source of revenue. They last for several months and 434 are organized by the various intendancies in their own 431 behalf. Sometimes the supreme chief of a monastery accompanies the expedition. In 1914 T'u-kuan went to the region of the Yellow Tibetans (Uigurs) living around Su-chou. He left on the second of the second moon and was back at Erh-ku-lung in the tenth moon, with 124 cows, 146 horses, 90 sheep, and 2,000 taels. He seemed to be very happy when I visited him after the trip. During the troubles in 1940, T'u-kuan went to Mongolia, among the Urats, and traveled for four years. He visited me at Man-huei in Hou T'ao. He had a lot of trouble entering Hsining with 300 horses and 200 loaded camels because he was suspected of having had connections with the revolting Mongol, Te wang.

When I was in Kumbum in 1912 I met a returning expedition from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 3,000 sheep, 260 horses, 140 cows, and loaded with butter, wool, skins, and yak hair. All the butchers from Hsining rushed to Kumbum to buy cheap cows and sheep. In December, 1914, I met a caravan of Kumbum returning from Kukunor and Ts'aidam with 6,000 sheep, 150 horses, and 200 cows. On the way they had lost 40 horses. They went to Hsining in order to [427] bring suit against the chief of the tribe on whose territory the horses had been lost. The Amban settled the trouble in one session. He ordered that a kettle containing boiling oil be brought to him. Then he ordered both groups to grasp a one dollar piece he had thrown in the boiling oil. The lamas prostrated, apologized and implored for mercy, but the Tibetan chief tucked up his sleeves and went straight to the kettle. The gesture was sufficient for the Amban. The lamas received two hundred lashes, and were put into jail until a fine of two hundred dollars was brought to the court. [p.45(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

In 1914, in Nien pe, I encountered the unusual case 792
of a lama not enlisted in any monastery, who came back 434
from Mongolia with 40 loaded camels, to the home of his brother in Kang-tzu Valley, after a trip which had lasted for sixteen years. The shrewd lama had collected alms for himself! He died a few days after his return. His brother thereafter was a rich man.

A large capital investment is required for such ex- 792
peditions. The intendancies buy all kinds of things 434
used by the nomad Tibetans and Mongols. They carry 434
prayer books, paintings and statues of Buddhas, spoons, 443
wooden cups, teapots, kettles, thread of all colors, needles, boots, cotton, silk, satin, combs, tobacco, saddles from Peking, bridles, stirrups, finger and ear rings, charm boxes, toothpicks, ear probers, tweezers, prickers (necessary for the performance of the toilet), cheap synthetic jewelry, and tea.

All these things are loaded on oxen and entrusted to loyal and dependable lamas of the intendancies who set out on the journey. All along the way they sell their wares, adding to each item a scarf of felicity, blessed by their Buddha at home. The trade is carried on by [437] barter. They accept wool, skins, yak hair, butter, sheep, cows, and horses, claiming they are collecting alms. When the animals they collect along the way become too numerous, they hire Tibetans or Mongols to help drive them. Because they get twice or thrice the cost of the wares and because labor has little value, these expeditions are really remunerative. However, if it happens that a caravan of another intendancy precedes their own, and the Tibetans or Mongols do not need anything more, then "fishing after the net is a losing business"; but according to the figures noted above, the expeditions are usually very profitable.

TAXES

At the seasonal festivals, held on the grounds of the 792
monastery, taxes are collected by the lamas from the 434
merchants of the city, who pitch their tents and do busi- [651]
ness on their territory, and from the Tibetans and Monguors who sell animals and their primitive homespun products.

MONEYLENDING

Lending of money at the Chinese legal rate of 30 per 792
cent interest is the most important source of revenue 434
for the intendancies. The lending of money is far more 426
remunerative than the purchase of land and mortgages, which afford more security. However, the intendancies prefer the bigger interest.

Intendancies dispose of capital to secure the annual subsidy granted to the lamas, the purchase of the important quantity of butter to be burned in the temple lamps, the expenses for the purchase of all the items required for the expeditions in Mongolia, Kukunor and Ts'aidam, and the expenses of the fixed festivals held at the monasteries. Besides these the intendancies dis-

[p. 46 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

pose of the amount of money provided from the various sources noted in this section. 772 434 426

Loans are made to Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese, to shopkeepers, merchants in the city, in fact to anyone who provides serious guarantors. Two guarantors are always required, a lama and a layman.

The Chinese who lend money at the same legal rate of 30 per cent interest are very, very rarely entirely successful in this financial operation, and they know it before they start. After the third year, when the capital is nearly recovered, troubles usually start and new provisions are accepted for a smaller interest, or the problem is brought to the Chinese court of justice, which inevitably decides in favor of the poor party. In China it is the custom for the judge to decide in favor of the borrower and for the richer party to give up some of its rights and benefits. However, the inexorability of the lamas in collecting interest is an attested fact. The proverbs and sayings all over the country go: *"Chiu ming ti k'o-wa, sha-jen ti lama,"* meaning "even merchants who are so eager for money, save the life of a miserable man, but the lamas kill him"; also, *"lama chang nan la, p'o-niang chang nan la,"* meaning "It is not easy to be indebted to a lama, not easy to be indebted to a woman," because nobody can withstand the curses of a woman or the eagerness of lamas. Lamas are noted as loan sharks all over the country.

The people approach the lamas to borrow money and grain, because the people of the country are poor and the lamas dispose of money. On the twenty-fifth of the twelfth moon, the interest is due. In the evening, on the fifth of the moon, groups of young lamas gather in all the streets of the monasteries crying at the top of their voices that the interest has to be brought in by the twenty-fifth. They continue this crying for several days. With this notice the lamas' guarantors set out to find the persons whom they have guaranteed, as well as the layman guarantors, their partners. If they cannot find the hiding debtor, then on the twenty-fifth the lama is tied and lashed with ruthless severity until he pays the debt himself. If the debtor and layman are subjects of the monastery, they undergo the same rough procedure. No mercy is shown until the last farthing is extorted. Subjects do not dare bring suit against the lamas at the Chinese courts, because they cannot stand up against such a rich and influential opponent as the intendant. The lamas try to lend, if possible, to their subjects, to subjects of other monasteries, to T'u-ssu, or rich people who can provide a serious guaranty.

In the Orient, wealth and money are the mightiest factors of influence and power. In this respect the regulations of 1723, which were aimed at undermining and undoing the influence and power of the monasteries, failed almost completely. The monasteries are still the most influential and powerful institutions in the country.

[p. 46 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

SUBJECTS OF THE LAMASERIES

This matter fits into the frame of the material ad- 792
ministration of the monasteries. One of the most important duties of the intendants is the administration of the subjects of the monastery, of the community of the lamas, or of the colleges.

After the revolt of 1723, when the lamas had com- 792
pelled their subjects to rebel together with them, all 651
their subjects were withdrawn from them and made subjects of the Chinese officials. The taxes, formerly imposed by the monasteries on their properties for their own benefit, were imposed by the Chinese administration for the benefit of the empire and collected by the Chinese officials, and, because all Chinese subjects were liable to corvées, the newly acquired subjects were made liable to corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The subjects of the monasteries became, at the same time, liable to the Chinese courts of justice, and the old right of the monasteries to judge their subjects was abolished. All the ties which bound the subjects to the monasteries vanished and the possibility of a new revolt stirred up by the monasteries was eliminated. The extensive properties of the monasteries were not confiscated, however, so the people who tilled their fields were still obliged to pay rental in return for the use of the fields, in the same way that rents were paid to other proprietors. This was the status which was decreed after 1723 and which still prevailed in 1910–1920.

KINDS OF SUBJECTS

The monasteries in Huang-chung, before 1723, seem 792
to have possessed two kinds of subjects: the tillers of their fields and some Tibetan tribes possessing their own territory, which for an unknown reason had become their tributaries. This latter category, according to the regulations of 1723, was entirely set free from all obligations toward the monasteries.

The origin of the status of the first category of subjects of the lamaseries, the tillers of the soil, is better known, because in the *Annals* of Hsining ch. 15, pp. 13*a* and 13*b*, the author complains that before 1723 a great many families of barbarians had gone over to the lamaseries, leaving their own chiefs in order to become their subjects, and that accordingly the influence and wealth of the lamaseries had greatly increased.

Today, among the subjects of the lamaseries, the Monguor families are the most numerous; then follow Tibetan and a few Chinese families. This fact seems to suggest that, of old, the Monguors constituted the bulk of the subjects of the lamaseries.

In Part I of this study (p. 60) it was explained that 622
the subjects of the T'u-ssu could never abandon their clan chief, and that, because the T'u-ssu were the wardens of the marches and had soldiers, the Chinese officials had to prevent their subjects from abandoning them. Consequently a subject of a T'u-ssu, in order

[p.47(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to become a subject of a lamasery, had to be relieved of 622
military service, corvée, and allegiance to his clan chief. The loss of a subject for the clan chief meant loss of a soldier, a tiller of his soil, and a payer of land taxes—a considerable detriment to his power and his wealth. It is obvious that the loss of a couple of families did not matter too much, but the loss of numerous families would have disturbed the clan chiefs and made them try to prevent the illegal desertion of their subjects.

However, at that time Lamaism was at the height of its glory and power. Even the discontented Chinese officials had no way to oppose the omnipotent Living Buddhas pampered at the court in Peking, and could not lend a helping hand to the T'u-ssu, urging the return of their subjects and bringing suit over the encroachment on their rights. The T'u-ssu, willy-nilly, saw their subjects leave them in large numbers, lured by the more favorable conditions of living offered by the lamaseries.

In this way the lamaseries assembled the group of 792
subjects referred to by the author of the *Annals*, who of 566
their own free will became genuine monastery serfs ("Shabinar"), free of allegiance to their clan chiefs. In 1723, being the actual serfs of the lamaseries, they were compelled to fight at the side of the lamas, their chiefs, against the Chinese armies, according to the general conditions imposed on serfs and subjects.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE SUBJECTS IN RELATION TO THE LAMASERIES

Notwithstanding the drastic regulations decreed after 1723 in order to loose completely all the ties which bound the subjects to the lamaseries, and to avoid revolts in the future, the subjects still continue to recognize some obligations to the lamaseries.

Farmers Offering Oil and Pigs

From 1723 until 1910, the so-called subjects paid 792
their rent in kind and carried it to the monastery; the 427
farmers were organized in villages, and each village 566
continued to offer as before, in the autumn of each year, a certain number of pounds of vegetable oil to the intendancy whose fields they tilled; it was considered as an offering for the lamps in the temples of the intendency. In addition, every year in the New Year season they continued to bring to the same intendancy a pig weighing 120 pounds. If the scale did not tip 120 pounds, the weight lacking was made up in pork. In former times when subjects married, it was customary for the family of the bride to demand from the family of the bridegroom a portion for the lamas. This [585]
consisted of 30 pounds of pork, and was offered to the intendancy on which the family of the bride depended. At present the 30 pounds of pork are still asked for and presented to the family of the bride, but the meat no longer reaches the intendancy.

[p. 47 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Service for Prayers and Alms Collections:

A strict condition of service continues which compels the farmers of the monastery to invite the lamas of the intendancy, whose fields they till, to perform both public religious rites in the village, and private services in individual families. Lamas of one intendancy or monastery are not allowed to perform these rites among subjects of another intendancy. In the same way, when lamas are touring for alms among the subjects of their own intendancy, lamas of other monasteries are not allowed to tour. 792 571

The intendancies urge the observance of this service even by former tributaries, but it does not always work. The Tibetan tribe of Sumdoo, former tributary of the community of lamas of Erh-ku-lung, accused the intendancy, in 1918, of trying to occupy a part of its territory. The Chinese court, however, recognized the ownership of the debatable ground by the tribe. Sumdoo, having a grudge against the intendancy, invited the intendancy of Seerkok to perform a tribal religious rite. The day preceding the appointed day, a group of furious lamas from Erh-ku-lung, intending to assert their prerogative to conduct the service, arrived and started with the prayers. All the ladies of the tribe, engaged in preparing the food for the three-day solemnity, arrived ranting, panting, and cursing the lamas with feminine fury, and threw their boots at the heads of the bewildered lamas. The lamas, powerless against the infuriated women, returned to their intendancy. 792 571 796 578

The next day, when the solemnities had already been started by the lamas of Seerkok, the intendant of Erh-ku-lung arrived with an imposing retinue to assert his rights. All the men of the tribe vanished, entrusting the emergency to the ladies, who arrived with the same threatening appearance of the former day, and the intendant and his retinue understood that the relations between the intendancy and Sumdoo were sundered forever. This incident illustrates the psychology of the lamas in trying by all means to retain their old rights, even among tributaries with whom all legal connections have been cut off.

Repair of the Lamasery:

The chiefs of the villages inhabited by the subjects of the intendancies are ordered by their respective intendancy to send a fixed number of men to repair the buildings belonging to the intendancy, to chop wood, grind wheat, thresh the harvest, sweep snow, and build roads or bridges. The subjects are still willing to comply with these corvées. 792 466

Travel of the Chief of the Lamasery:

When the supreme chief of the lamasery makes a long journey, the chiefs of the intendancies order the chiefs of the villages to send a couple of horsemen each 792 484 651

[p. 48(A)]

to make up his retinue, and it even happens that a 792
couple of men are asked for from former tributaries. 484
The subjects are thus liable to the corvées of the mon- 651
astery and at the same time to Chinese official corvées.

Administration of Justice

All the subjects of the monasteries are liable to the 792
Chinese courts of justice. It would seem logical to 691
have abolished all the old courts of justice existing at the monasteries, but all intendants still dispense justice to their subjects, expose at the gate of their intendancy the instruments of torture, and have their own jails. The intendants of Erh-ku-lung, Kumbum and Seerkok are even recognized officially by the Amban as ch'ien-hu, i.e., civil officials having the right to judge subjects.

In 1916 the minor Living Buddha of the monastery 792
of Dia-ik, fired by ambition and knowing my good rela- 692
tions with the Amban, importuned me for weeks to have me recommend him for the office of ch'ien-hu. He became ch'ien-hu not only of his subjects, but of the three former tributary Tibetan tribes depending on his previous incarnations. In 1917, with an air of exulting pride, he broke the news to me of having obtained in Peking the title of Hutukhtu. It is hard for a western mind to unravel these administrative mysteries.

The subjects enjoy the right of bringing suit at the 792
Chinese courts, but often they do not do so for fear of 692
retaliation by the intendancies, which they are unable 661
to match. However, since the Republic, more and more cases have been initiated by subjects who, victims of crying injustices, have plucked up their courage to challenge their intendants, because their minds were not insulated from the modern principles taught by teachers and officials. Nothwithstanding the change in the social psychology of the subjects, the intendants, the builders of big fortunes, continue to plant in the hearts of their subjects the seeds of aversion and hatred against themselves. Many of them collect the rent from their subjects with measures greater than the legal one, compelling them to fill them to the point where the grain spills on the ground, and not allowing them to collect the spilled surplus, which they appropriate. Being the most important businessmen in the country, they impose corvées on the subjects in order to carry on their own business, and when the patience of the subjects is worn thin, the clash comes, causing the ruin of the monastery. Such were the conditions prevailing between the subjects and the monasteries in 1910–1920. The monasteries had in the end succeeded in maintaining a firm grip on their subjects, notwithstanding the aim of the regulations, decreed after the revolt of 1723, to withdraw them from the baneful influence of the monasteries.

[p.48(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

LAMASERIES AS ADMINISTRATIVE CENTERS OF THE COUNTRY AND CONDITIONS OF THE SUBJECTS BEFORE 1723

792 175

The study of the material aspects of the administration of the monasteries and the status of their subjects in 1910–1920, which are the consequences of the revolt of 1723, provides many facts pointing to the situation as it existed before 1723, and makes possible a reconstruction of the conditions in which the lamaseries flourished and their subjects lived before that fateful date.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) had succeeded in driving the Mongols out of China, there existed in Huang-chung only the two cities of Hsining and Nien pei, and some fortified walled places which were garrisons established in former times to assure the occupation of the always disturbed country. The Ming started anew the colonization of the depopulated country by transplanting from central China 7,200 Chinese families (Part I: p. 30), accepting the submission of the Monguors, and assigning to each of their groups a definite territory, making them wardens of the country and their chiefs officials of the empire, with the prerogatives of the office of T'u-ssu (Part I: 46 sq.). The city of Hsining was more a military than a civil administrative center.

In order to repopulate the country, the Ming adopted the policy of attracting lamas and settling them in the region with the subjects they induced to submit to the empire. It granted them territories and made the lamas the hereditary chieftains of the groups they had brought in. They were responsible for the tribute to be offered to the emperor and had complete jurisdiction over their subjects. Hence the flourishing of lamaseries, Nang-suos, Karwas. The protection bestowed upon the lamas and the immunity granted to them by the emperor made the dissatisfied Chinese officials keep quiet and swallow their national pride. [168 648]

Consequently, large territories were assigned to the Monguor clans and larger or smaller ones to the lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas, whose inhabitants were completely withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials. Besides these autonomous groups there lived, scattered over the country, some small groups of petty Tibetan tribes, remnants of tribes which had fled from Kukunor or Tibet, depending directly upon the Chinese administration. From among those groups, from among the Monguor clans, and from their own subjects, the lama institutions recruited and increased the number of their lamas.

The chiefs of the lama institutions accredited by the emperor lived in their seigniories like princes, surrounded by a large or small retinue, occupying a more or less elaborate residence built within a compound of temples, the quarters of the lamas, and large granaries. They appointed the staffs of lama officials for administering justice among the subjects (officially appointed 792 175 692 [643]

[p.49(A)]

chiliarchs still exist in Kumbum, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok), meting out punishments (instruments of torture are still displayed at lama courts), and imprisonment (the prison of Seerkok still exists); caring for the preservation of peace and order in the territories assigned to them, inquiring about travelers passing through it; administering the distribution of fields, the imposition and collection of taxes, the imposition of tolls on bridges (the bridge of T'ien t'ang and raft of Kan ch'an), and the imposition of corvées. 792 175 692

At the time of the inroads of marauding Mongol and Tibetan tribes, the revolts of Moslems, and the lama revolt against China in 1723, the subjects were compelled by the lamas to take sides with them in combat and in defending the lamaseries and their territories. In short, the privileges bestowed upon the chiefs of the lama institutions before 1723 were far-reaching. They were units, scattered over the country, administering their subjects according to their own rules and customs, entirely free from the interference of Chinese officials.

The lamaseries were the administrative centers of the groups subordinated to them. All the country's wealth flowed into their granaries and treasuries. Moreover, the lamas tended herds of cows, sheep, and horses, built oil and grain mills, and received donations. The lamaseries were the only places where huge sums of money could be borrowed (Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu borrowed money from them by mortgaging parts of their properties). They removed the wealth of the country from circulation and hoarded it or used it to found new lama communities (the tremendous branching out of monasteries between 1600 and 1723). They did not even use it for charitable institutions for the people of the country. 792 175 425 426

The lamaseries, originally built in lonely places and in remote valleys, in order that the monks would not be disturbed in their meditations and studies by the tumult of the world, were in olden times the most animated places of the country. In autumn the subjects carried taxes and rents on long caravans of donkeys to their granaries. The measuring of grain went on, as it did all over Asia, with rumbling noise and cries, bursting with activity for weeks in succession. At the time of exchanging tea for horses all the subjects were interested in the assessment of the horses. The tumult and discussions on the grounds of the monastery lasted for days and days. The selection of the horses for tribute to the emperor was conducted with like tumult and confusion, and often for the same length of time. Two or three times a year large festivals were held at the monasteries. They were attended by all the people of the country interested in horse racing, wrestling, singing, dancing, and in the big fairs held at that time. Chinese traders came from the city, pitched their tents, paid toll to the lamas, and sold their wares. The Monguors and Tibetans also arrived with their homespun 792 175 651 427 554 443

[p.49(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

products and animals for trading. All year long the 792
silence of the holy places was disturbed by the coming 175
and going of caravans of donkeys carrying grain to the 651
oil and grain mills, and returning with flour and oil 427
which was measured with the usual rumble of noise and cries. Throughout the year, groups of subjects never failed to become involved in trials, defending their rights by roaring and crying with vehemence and passion at the court of lamas. Punishments were meted out with ruthless severity, so that cries and screams could be heard throughout the entire monastery—whetting the curiosity and disturbing the meditation of the monks.

The interest of the subjects was centered only on the 175
monastery. There was no need for them to go to the 633
city, since the necessities of life could be secured at the 792
monastery fairs and nobody cared for the Chinese officials, the lamas being their legal officials. Many, many people had never seen or entered a city. The monasteries and their subjects lived their own life, in their own orbit, alien to the city, just as if Chinese officials did not exist.

These conditions changed after 1723 when the lamas lost their privileges and the country developed economically. From that time on the city became the center of the economic, civil, and administrative life; before that time, it had been primarily a military center, engrossed in the protection of the country.

What was the social position of the subjects of the 175
lama institutions before 1723? It seems that religion 792
must have been a subsidiary and not a primary motive 571
for becoming subjects of the lamas, because all of them were spurred by the hope of earning a better living under the lama regime than under the regimes of the Chinese officials or the Monguor T'u-ssu. Having been driven out of their territories by marauding Mongols, they may have hoped to find a peaceful country within the frontier zone of China, on the domains of the lamas. Being groups or tribes, or single families of destitute people, they were happy to submit to lama chiefs, and they were thankful to them for being accepted as their subjects. They did not lay claim to any rights, and the lamas did not consider that they were entitled to any, because they had achieved nothing that could have supported such claims. In this way the lamas strove to make their domains more and more productive, and were only concerned with the duties to be imposed on the subjects, without paying any attention whatever to rights they might have claimed.

The subjects were all on the same social level; there 175
was no more question of nobles and commoners among 565
them. They were all equally subject to taxes and cor- 792
vées, and all of them were tenants of the fields of the lamas. They enjoyed the rights to live, to till the soil, and to consume the surplus of their labor. Since the lamas never sold their fields, the subjects had no opportunity to become proprietors of the soil, as was the

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case with the subjects of the T'u-ssu, and so no out- 175
standing rich families could rise up among them. Since 565
the entire administration was carried on exclusively 792
by lamas, the subjects could hardly incur any important social prestige within their circle, or become leading personalities, and certainly not during the entire Ming period (1368–1644) when intermittent troubles and interruptions of trade curtailed the opportunity to become rich. Accordingly, the lamas effectively controlled the subjects and their domains.

As no written code of law existed, the lama officials 175
helped themselves with a house law on a grand scale, 792
by imposing taxes, corvées, and tribute, mediating 692
troubles in families, meting out punishments and imprisonments for crying injustices. The subjects, pinning their hope on a better living, were submissive and obedient, simply because the chief lama was their lord.

It is easy to understand that the subjects of the monasteries enjoyed no rights of their own, but they depended entirely on the administration of the chief of the monastery and his lama officials.

It may be supposed, however, that capital punish- [638]
ment of the subjects of the monasteries was reserved to the emperor, as it was in the case of subjects of the T'u-ssu. It is not known whether, before 1723, the right of recourse of the subjects to a higher Chinese court existed or not. If it did exist, it must have been nominal, as it is at present.

The living conditions of the subjects, however, must 175
have been for the most part bearable, as evidenced by 792
the fact that so many people applied to the lamaseries 571
to become subjects. Only after 1723 are a few cases known of subjects revolting against the chief lama and his officials, such as the case of Yang-kuo-erh-ssu, and that of the subjects of the Sina tribe, who preferred to become Chinese subjects rather than remain subjects of the lamas. On the other hand, the unbelievably large number of lamas from among the subjects, since every family had a son or an uncle lama, must have disposed the families favorably toward the monasteries and their chiefs, and made the subjects overlook the shortcomings and deficiencies inherent in any human institution.

The reasons why the privileged status of the monasteries lasted for so long in Huang-chung were, first, the insecurity of the country, especially after 1509, and then the influence of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus in Peking.

The chiefs of the monasteries were, at the same time, 175
the temporal and the spiritual chiefs of the subjects. 792
The subjects were compelled to invite the lamas on 794
whom they depended to recite texts in behalf of the families or of the communities, or to perform public or private ceremonies, to the exclusion of lamas of other communities, at such times as epidemics, epizootics, the burying of the dead. They had to make donations at fixed times, when their lamas, their chiefs, came touring for alms among them. Corvées were imposed at the time of celebrations and festivities at their lamaseries.

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However, no compulsory religious instruction was provided for adults or children in order to make the subjects more fervent, and no schools or charitable institutions existed. The subjects were never compelled to attend ceremonies in the temples, for only lamas recite texts in temples, and temples are not what we are accustomed to calling churches. Finally, the religious activities imposed on the subjects reflected more a material than a spiritual interest, and bound them closer to their chiefs. 175 792 794

If we take into account the period of incredibly rapid increase in the founding and branching out of monasteries, the number of lamas must have been tremendous. Certainly the revolt of 1723 and its drastic suppression largely prove this assertion. Necessarily, the absorption into the lama communities of a large proportion of the male population of the country must have adversely affected productivity. Men who became lamas were not only withdrawn from production, but had to be fed by the depleted population. It is easy to understand that in such circumstances trade and industry could by no means develop and flourish. The large groups of lamas did not produce anything; they merely consumed the production of the country and hoarded its wealth. Their economic role was simply that of consumers, and so the economy of the country was necessarily agricultural and limited to its needs. 175 792

The same conditions existed in the two cities of Huang-chung and in the garrisons. There the soldiers and the relatively feeble population consumed what the colonists could produce. Only later on, when peace was restored, communications with the capital of the province assured, and trade had become possible, could the cities and the whole country develop and emerge from the former limited agricultural economy—an outlet had been found for the products of the country. The farmer, assured of the possibility of selling as much as he could produce, started producing to the peak of his capacity. These conditions seem to explain the deadly stagnation prevailing in the country from 1368 to 1723.

These seem to have been the conditions of lama Buddhism between 1368 and 1723 in Huang-chung, the privileged legal position of the temporal and spiritual chiefs of large and small lama institutions, the important role played by the monasteries, Nang-suos and Karwas, centers of the public and private life of the country, the bursting activity displayed inside the walls of the monasteries, the conditions of the subjects of the monasteries and the economic consequences arising from the tremendous number of the male population which had become lamas.[9]

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[9]H. H. Vreeland, 3rd, Mongol community and kinship structure, *Human Relations Area Files*, New Haven, 1954. After the completion of the present study, there appeared this outstanding study dealing with the Khalkha Mongols of the Narobanchin territory, the Chahar Mongols of the Taibas pasture and the Dagor Mongols of the Nonni River valley. The study [13]

[p. 51(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

BRANCH LAMASERIES

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It has been noted how at Erh-ku-lung there existed from the very beginning a real passion for the founding of hermitages, which began as affiliates and later became independent monasteries. Not only did the three founders of the monastery found their own branches next to those of the monastery, but the lesser Living Buddhas, the communities of lamas, and the colleges followed their example. According to the superiors of the monastery, and the general testimony in the country, forty-two branches proceeded from Erh-ku-lung. Several times prominent lamas told me that the founders of branches had a predilection for them at the time of their founding, but later they invariably became a burden.

ADMINISTRATION AND OFFICIALS

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The first act of the founder of a branch was to appoint a rector, Nirwa (Nerpa), as chief of the new community. At the beginning, when the group of lamas was still small, he held the entire authority in his own hands. Later on a lama disciplinarian, Ge-ko, a precentor, Um-dse, and an adviser to the rector were added, and the administration was complete. For a very long time, the rector also had the function of procurator. The rector and the disciplinarian were appointed by the founder of the subsidiary for a three years' tenure of office. Later, precentor, adviser, and procurator were chosen by the community. The rector and the disciplinarian were invited to the mother house to receive their appointment. The whole community of the branch had to come to the mother house in order to invite and to acknowledge the new authorities by

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concerning the lamasery of Narobanchin, based on data provided to the author by the Dilowa Hutukhtu himself, co-proprietor of the institution, gives a unique insight into the nature of a lamasery, situated in the open Gobi desert, among nomadic tribes insulated from the impact of the Chinese civilization and culture, and in its adaptation to the tribal, social and economic environment. The history of the founders is noted, the way the banner princes granted territories, allowed their subjects to abandon them in order to become plain subjects of the lamasery, the legal status of the lamasery and its subjects, the rendering of justice by the lamas, the interesting administration of the temple wealth and property, the means of subsistence of the subjects, the levies, services, and corvées imposed by the lamasery, etc. This study sheds light on what the social and economic conditions of the subjects of the Monguor lamaseries must have been before the revolt of 1723, and is a perfect foil to the actually existing conditions of the subjects of the Monguor lamaseries. This study for a long time will remain a standard work in this special field. The study of shamanism among the Dagor Mongols (p. 250) is a very valuable contribution to the subject of shamanism among the Mongols; many new facts and peculiar conceptions concerning souls, death, and spirits are secured and their impact upon the family life exposed. The peculiar position and behavior of the shamans in the Dagor society is very instructive.

The chapters concerning the social organization, economic life, and kinship and property structure of these tribes are of equal importance, but they do not fit into the frame of this study.

[p. 51(B)]

prostrations and by presentation of the ceremonial scarf. They escorted them to the branch where a sheep was killed and a dinner enjoyed. 175 792 794

DOMAINS AND REVENUES

An affiliate, in order to enjoy viability, had to possess a territorial domain. The mother house, where possible, assigned to it a part of its own domain; where this was not possible, the founder made arrangements to provide a domain. The T'u-kuan bought some ground for his affiliate of Ma-t'i-ssu. Every year the affiliate had to pay the interest of the capital thus invested, amounting to 60 taels or 36½ bricks of tea. The rector of the affiliate was bound to account for the material administration of his institution, receipt of rents, selling of trees, investment of the capital of the affiliate, and herds, and required a fixed sum to be sent out of the revenues to the intendancy of the founder. Finally, the intendant of the founder supervised the material administration of the subsidiary. When recalcitrant subjects refused obeisance, the rector and the disciplinarian sent them to the mother house, but such subjects would quit the monastery before they were summoned to see the founder. 175 792 571 794

OBLIGATION TO A FA-T'AI WHEN INVITED

When one of the members of the subsidiaries is invited to take the office of Fa-t'ai (Lob-pon) at the mother house, he is never allowed to decline the invitation, even after the subsidiary has become entirely independent, and even if the man thus summoned to officiate as invited Fa-t'ai is a Living Buddha or the supreme chief of the independent monastery. This custom seems to be general.

OBLIGATION TO JOIN THE RETINUE OF THE CHIEF OF THE LAMASERY

When the founder of the affiliate makes a long journey or accompanies an alms expedition to far-off countries, the branches must send lamas to make up his retinue. When the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu went to Peking to fulfill the assignment entrusted to him at the capital, even the independent old branches were kind enough to present a couple of lamas each to enhance his prestige. When he went to Peking for the last time, seventeen independent branches sent lamas. Lamas like to visit the capital, since it is a remunerative business. In the Orient a traveler always does some business on the way, especially an eminent personage such as T'u-kuan, traveling as a state official. He and his retinue enjoyed the privilege of going everywhere free of taxes. 175 792 484 [534]

AUTONOMY OF BRANCH LAMASERIES

How did the subsidiaries become independent? The tragic events which occurred at Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai have already been recorded. Although such 175 792 794 571

[3.52(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

tragic events seldom happen, independence is never acquired without friction between the daughter and mother houses. Usually the difficulties begin with the crucial problem of the delivery of the share of revenue required by the intendancies of the founders. The separation usually occurred, according to old lamas, at a time when the mother house was involved in inextricable difficulties and unable to assert its authority, or when the founder was still in the prime of life. 175 792 794 571

The obsession for having Living Buddhas started in Erh-ku-lung in the second half of the seventeenth century with the incarnations of the founders. Very soon some of the subsidiaries endowed themselves with their own Living Buddhas, partly for decorative reasons and partly in anticipation of a possible rupture with the founders. These Living Buddhas eventually seized a favorable opportunity provided by circumstances to declare their independence and take possession of the territory formerly allocated to the subsidiary. On the other hand, it is easy to understand that subsidiaries, which had developed to the point of having several hundred inmates, or two thousand as in Seerkok, split away (from the mother house) when they had capable authorities, or when the intendancies of the mother house were too exacting and greedy on the question of collecting a share of the revenues of the subsidiary. At such a time the veneer of filial devotion easily scales off.

This was the case with the affiliate of T'ien-T'ang with its seven hundred lamas, two Living Buddhas, and three colleges. Its founder, T'u-kuan, squeezed to the wall, understood the gravity of the situation and made the best of a bad bargain, granting independence after it had been declared, provided the duty was acknowledged of presenting a yearly allocation to the intendancy of one of the Living Buddhas of T'ien-T'ang, the teacher in a former incarnation of T'u-kuan (this was a delicate gesture), together with the right to graze his herds on the domain of the new monastery. The conditions were gratefully accepted and good relations between the former daughter and its mother house continued.

The branch of Ta-ssu, depending on the community of the lamas of Erh-ku-lung, had troubles with the intendancy of its founder concerning the crucial question of the exaction of revenues. It happened that one of the lamas of Ta-ssu, scion of the noble family of the Lu T'u-ssu, died. The shrewd lamas invited the supreme chief of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an in order to inquire whether the departed lama had or had not been of the stuff of which Living Buddhas are made. The intelligent Living Buddha of Ch'ü-t'an easily understood the meaning of the fervent lamas and declared that the noble lama was already reborn in the family of the Prince of Alashan, and it happened that the wife of the noble Lu T'u-ssu was a princess of Alashan. This was a double blessing sent by the Buddha! Independence was immediately declared, backed by the in-

[p.52(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

fluential family of the Lu T'u-ssu and the Prince of Alashan, and a new monastery was born. The community of Erh-ku-lung was powerless. 175 792 794

It sometimes happens that a branch not having its own Living Buddha does not wait to declare its independence. Chai-ya, a small branch of forty lamas dependent on T'u-kuan, possessed some forests; the selling of trees was its primary source of revenues. The subprefect of P'ing-fan confiscated the forest in 1912. At the time, rumors were spread all over the country concerning the confiscation of the domains of all the monasteries. T'u-kuan, deeming it not the appropriate time to accuse the subprefect at the capital of the province, did not help the branch to recover the forest. The frustrated and infuriated branch boldly declared its independence and thereafter had no further relations with the founder. 571

Kalang, an old, independent affiliate of Labrang, founded its own branch, Pi-t'ang. Pi-t'ang flourished and Kalang declined. Pi-t'ang prepared to invite a Living Buddha to move into its establishment, but Kalang refused permission. The lamas of the lamaseries fought among themselves in 1912, and the Moslem General, Ma K'o-ch'en, sent troops to quell the troubles. In 1915 the country was troubled by the Pai Lang (White Wolf) brigands, and the old feud flared up again. Kalang accused Pi-t'ang at the subprefecture of Hsün-hua. Finally Kalang refused to accept the verdict of the subprefect and prepared to fight Pi-t'ang. The general, Ma K'o-ch'en of Hsining, sent his troops, and twenty-one fighting lamas of Kalang and seven Moslem soldiers were killed. Kalang had to pay an indemnity of $10,000 for the soldiers killed. The members of the intendancy were put into jail and Pi-t'ang was declared independent by the Moslem general. These facts give an insight into the problems of the subsidiaries, the very loose ties which knit mother and daughter houses, the reasons which cause a scission, and the ways in which their separation may be achieved and independence acquired. Very often the part played by the intendants is paramount in creating the breach between mother and daughter houses.

LAMA ARMY

At present, the lamaseries of Huang-chung no longer have a regular armed force of lamas who are maintained by the lamasery, as is still the rule in Tibet. The only record encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 28, p 13) concerning a lama army is a supplication sent to the emperor during Cheng-te period (1506–1521) by the Chinese officials of Hsining, asking that the farmers of Hsining be exempted from the burden of supporting the lama army. At that time there existed only the important lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an, with its subsidiaries, some Nang-suos and Karwas, and the lamasery of Shachün. From the relatively small number of lamas at that time, it may be assumed that the lama army con- 175 792 701

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

sisted of lamas and the subjects of the monastery. However, during the revolt of 1723, the lamaseries were in full bloom, and must have had soldiers, because the Chinese General, Nien Keng-yao, blamed the lamas for fighting furiously, and the monasteries for being the depots of weapons. It may be assumed that after the revolt of 1723 the lamaseries were not allowed to have armies. However, during the revolt of the Moslems in 1895, the lamas of Kumbum attacked the stronghold of the rebels in To-pa as auxiliaries of the Chinese regular armies.[10] Nearly all the monasteries at that time except Kumbum were destroyed and burned.

INTERFERENCE OF THE EMPEROR AND T'U-SSU WITH THE LAMASERIES

In Europe during the Middle Ages, many monasteries and abbeys had a bad time. The princes and kings granted vast domains to religious orders to encourage them to branch out into their territories. The grants were gratefully accepted and abbeys built, but some among the gracious donors, in a surge of religiosity, went so far as to appoint an official for the collection of land taxes and the administration of the domains, whose duty it was to furnish the revenue to the abbots in order to free the monks of material troubles. Often these officials were relatives of the donors, and collected most of the taxes for themselves, and the monasteries, unable to make ends meet and to uphold and develop their institutions, had no means of protesting against the relative of the prince. Very often princes started interfering in the administration of the monasteries and claimed the right to appoint an abbot of their own, often a relative. After unworthy abbots were appointed the monasteries relaxed, with the consequences that might be expected.

I know of only two similar cases of interference in Huang-chung. The Lu T'u-ssu of Lien ch'eng had established three important lamaseries and granted vast domains to them. In 1727 the census records for the monastery of Ku-ch'eng show 140 lamas, for Lien-hua 100, and for Pao-nen-ssu 191, a total of 431 lamas. Next to them the T'u-ssu had founded two smaller monasteries, Hsi ssu and Kan-ch'an ssu, which received smaller domains from him. Two among these five monasteries had no Living Buddhas, so that the T'u-ssu appointed himself the intendant; and every three years, at appointment time, troubles arose.

The case of Ch'ü-t'an has been recorded. According to the legend the monk, Emperor Hui-ti, had appointed his relative hereditary administrator of the domains, and a tablet had been erected testifying to the appointment. The fact is, that the real emperor of the

[10] Susie Carson Rynhart, M.D., *With the Tibetans in tent and temple*, 92, London, Fleming Revell, 1902; see also M. S. Wellby, *Through unknown Tibet*, 281, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1898.

[p. 53 (B)]

Yung-cheng period, not the monk Emperor Hui-ti, had 643
appointed the administrator, who was killed. 175

Possibly the precarious position of the Li and Ch'i- 792
T'u-ssu, their financial troubles, which compelled them 622
to mortgage parts of their domains to Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, enfeebled their influence and power, and prevented them from interfering with the administration of the monasteries which had received domains from them in former times. On the other hand, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, before 1723, had prominent Hutukhtus whose influence superseded that of the T'u-ssu. Only these two cases are known to me.

IV. ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAMA-SERIES: EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS 792

It seems necessary in dealing with the educational and religious aspects of a monastery, its rules, discipline, and colleges, to know beforehand to what kind of subjects the initiation into the monastic life and religious training is given. The subjects of the monastery are its main source of lamas.

LAMAS

LACK OF CANDIDATES

The superiors of all the monasteries complained bitterly about the want of religious candidates. In fact they declared that at this time (1911–1920) there existed in Huang-chung only two monasteries still having the four colleges (Kumbum and Sha-ch'ung), and the fact that so many monasteries were shadows of their former selves was the consequence of the lack of religious candidates.

CAUSES CONTRIBUTING TO LACK OF CANDIDATES

The situation in Huang-chung in 1910 was no longer 175
the same as that before 1723. After the crushing of the 177
revolt, the country had enjoyed peace, and developed and prospered tremendously. Chinese settled in great numbers in the thinly populated country, filled with hopes for a comfortable living. Chinese officials became more and more numerous. Chinese *literati* came to take the helm and to enforce on the uncivilized Monguors, Tibetans, and lamas admiration for the superior Chinese civilization.

First of all, the Monguors, not insulated against the impact of Chinese culture because a large number of Chinese had already been enrolled in their clans, and because their T'u-ssu were already far along in the process of Sinicization, underwent the process in differing degrees. In Huang-chung, even as in the northwest border countries of China, the first consequences of the process of Sinicization are a pride in being considered Chinese, and a scorn for lamas, whom they be-

[p. 54(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

gin to consider as barbarians. When a Monguor family 173
starts losing its identity, no more children become 177
lamas, relations with the monasteries vanish, and no more alms are offered. A lamasery situated in a Chinese environment cannot maintain itself. The schools [871]
with Chinese teachers, established in the country, exert a baneful influence on the recruiting; boys who attend Chinese schools no longer become lamas.

The bulk of the endless number of lamas was pro- 175
vided in former times by the Monguors and Tibetans 792
of Huang-chung. At the time Erh-ku-lung, Seerkok, and T'ien-t'ang ssu rode the crest of the wave of glory and learning, a respectable number of Mongols of Kukunor and Mongolia, and Tibetans of Kukunor, enrolled in the monasteries of Huang-chung, but this glorious time has long vanished. Kumbum, possessing very rich revenues, is now the only prosperous lamasery in the region; a number of Mongols and Tibetans from Kukunor are on its roster. Since the troubles with the Dalai Lama (1909) very few Tibetans from Tibet proper visit and live at Kumbum (1910–1920). At present, in most of the monasteries, the population consists of older lamas and young boys. At Seerkok, Ch'ü-t'an, and T'ien-t'ang a lot of Chinese or Sinicized Monguor lamas are enrolled, even Chinese boys, mostly children of poor Chinese families. The lamas of Erh-ku-lung asserted that these monasteries were on the way to losing the real monastic spirit. Seerkok in 1723 had two thousand lamas; in 1890, according to Rockhill,[1] it still had seven hundred lamas; in 1910 only about three hundred. Four hundred lamas deserted the monastery during the last twenty years, disgusted by the public misbehavior of the supreme chief of the monastery.

He was the second reincarnation of the glorious Min chu-erh Hutukhtu, author of the celebrated *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia,* well known in Europe. Seerkok, in order to retrieve its former position, managed to reincarnate two of its small Living Buddhas, one in Mongolia, the other in Tibet, pinning its hope on fresh recruits from Mongolia and Tibet. However, the Chinese element among the lamas was already too strong. Chinese lamas had forged ahead and were invested with the most important offices, which kept new recruits away. Without doubt, another cause contributing to the lack of candidates was the troubled situation existing in the monasteries of the country. One after another, they passed through harrowing experiences which caused their ruin. This predicament, of their own making, sets the tongues of the people wagging, brings disrepute on the institutions, and disgusts the parents to the extent they refuse their boys permission to join the lama corps. These seem to be the two important reasons causing the lack of candidates.

[1] W. W. Rockhill, *Land of the lamas,* 98, New York, Century, 1891.

[p.54 (B)]

4. Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

NUMBER OF LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

Fantastic figures concerning the number of lamas are encountered in publications on the subject.[1a] Concerning Huang-chung, we possess a census of lamas and lamaseries (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, pp. 6, 9, 10, 12) existing between 1729 and 1735. Although the census returns used are largely mere estimates, they seem to have at least a general reliability. However, because there is no comparable census of the secular population, it is impossible to determine the proportion of lamas to the male population at that time.

After the revolt of 1723, each lama was to be given a certain amount of wheat yearly, for his subsistence.[2] At the same time, the number of lamas to be allowed in the big monasteries was fixed at 300, and in the small monasteries at 10 or more. A register was kept by the official containing the name and age of each lama. Lamaseries which had more than the allotted number of lamas could only get support for 300 of them. Certainly Kumbum with 3,000 and Seerkok with 700, surpassed the quota, if not in 1730, without doubt later on. It may be supposed that in this period those of the larger lamaseries that were short of the number of lamas allowed made provision (through bribery) to have the largest possible number recorded. The total figure noted, according to the census, is 5,543 lamas, living in the four subprefectures of Hsining, Nien-pei, Ta-t'ung, and Kui-te, scattered among 77 lamaseries.

According to the situation in 1910 very few of the large monasteries reached the quota of 300 lamas, except Kumbum which is said to have had 3,000. Therefore, if we suppose that the total number of lamas in the four subprefectures reached 10,000, our estimate would certainly be sufficient. Regarding the excessive number of lamas in one lamasery, it must be borne in mind that the lamas are always prone to exaggerate; for instance, the number 3,000 for Kumbum is not the number of lamas dwelling in the monastery, but the number of parts or "shares" into which the gifts distributed to the lamas are divided. The distribution differs in each monastery. In Kumbum for instance, at each distribution each of the Living Buddhas receives 50 parts, as do the five Fa-t'ais; other officials receive 20, 10, and 5 parts, etc. In this way the actual number of lamas is reduced to 2,000.

At the time I lived at Kumbum the number of lamas

[1a] W. W. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 215, cites with approval a Chinese estimate that for every family in Tibet there were three lamas.

[2] The census (1729–1735) records in the prefecture of Hsining 2,611 lamas. Each lama received yearly 1.6 *tan* of wheat; each of the 961 lamas of the subprefecture of Nien-pei received yearly 1.7 *tan* of wheat; each of the 1,331 lamas of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung received yearly 2.7 *tan* of barley; each of the 690 lamas of the subprefecture of Kuei-te received only 0.24 *tan* of barley. The 5,543 recorded lamas of the four subprefectures of Hsining received subsistence grants of 9,040 *tan* of grain as compensation for the taxes the 77 lamaseries were no longer allowed to collect after the revolt of 1723. *Annals* of Hsining 16: 6*b*, 9*a*, 10*a*, 12*a*.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

who attended the morning ceremonies in the central 175
hall never exceeded 800 or 900, although all the inmates 792
of the monastery had to attend the exercise. This fact 162
led me to make inquiries, and this was the explanation given by the officials of the monastery, and confirmed by officials of other monasteries where the same rule exists. In 1779, only fifty years after the destruction of the lamaseries in Huang-chung and the fixing of the official census, the Panchen Lama on the way to Peking, where he died from smallpox, remained for a few [164] months at Kumbum. "In Amdo were 50,000 lamas in all the monasteries whom he entertained with food, besides distributing alms of one 'san' to each monk."[3] To people conversant with the geography and history of the country, this number seems fantastic.

The most recent and reliable data concerning the figures of the lamas in the province of Ch'ing-hai were secured by Mr. Wang Wen-han in 1948.[4] He made his inquiries on the basis of the recent official census provided by the Min-cheng t'ing or "people's (local) government office." Since the establishment in 1928 of the province of Ch'ing-hai, which encompasses the whole of Kukunor, Yu-shu, and large territories around Kui-te and Ta-t'ung hsien, formerly considered as barbarian regions, 13 subprefectures have been established, in which there are 235 lamaseries having 26,534 lamas. In the remote barbarian Yu-shu only there are 99 lamaseries with 10,665 lamas. The entire population of the new province being 1,346,320 inhabitants of which 683,802 are males and 662,518 females, the proportion of lamas should be one for every 26 males. However, the computation is very confused, because of the lack of figures for the lama population in minor lamaseries and the addition of new territories, and it is impossible to find out the number of lamas in the former prefecture of Hsining, on which my own computation was based. The article by Mr. Wang gives a better insight into the number of lamas and their proportion in relation to the entire male population of the province, and one which is notably smaller than the proportion usually cited by travelers. Although all census returns are always an estimate, especially in the Orient, the study by Mr. Wang is very interesting, because for the very first time in history we have an approximate census of the population and of the lamas in 1948.

CENTERS FOR RECRUITING LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

San-ch'uan, the fertile territory assigned to the Li 175
T'u-ssu during the Ming period, is renowned for the 792
recruiting of lamas. A saying goes: *"Shan-hsi ti k'o-wa, San-ch'uan ti lama"* meaning, "Shan-hsi [province] is the most prolific in merchants, and San-ch'uan

[3] Sarat Chandra Dass, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 28, 1882.

[4] Wang Wen-han, Ch'ing-hai Meng-Tsang jen-ming chih tsung-chiao hsin-yang, in the review *Pien-chiang t'ung-hsun*, No. 1 : 1 and 2, 1948. [p. 55(B)]

is the most prolific in lamas." It is a known fact that of 175
old the clan of the Li T'u-ssu was fervently addicted to 792
Buddhism, and that the big monastery of Ta-Fo-ssu was built by the Li clan in Hsining during the Yüan dynasty. During the Ming dynasty a lama of the Li clan received the Karwa privilege, which still exists. The T'u kuan Hutukhtu was born in the Wang tribe, subjects of the Li clan. There are still two minor Li Living Buddhas at the monastery of Erh-ku-lung. In San-ch'uan there also live subjects of Ch'i, Na, and Kan T'u-ssu. Most of the San-ch'uan lamas like to enroll in Kumbum where the key offices are filled by them. It is a public secret that at various times friction and disputes have arisen in Kumbum between groups of [578]
lamas competing for the possession of the lucrative offices. As the outcome of this kind of competition, the administration of Kumbum is completely in the hands of Monguor lamas.

The next center of recruitment is the Hung-nai-tzu Valley, the birthplace of the first incarnation of the famous Chang-chia Hutukhtu, and inhabited mostly by Monguors and Tibetans. It is customary among them to have only one of the brothers marry, while the others become lamas. Their devotion to having lamas in the family goes to the extent of buying a boy for the [608]
monastery in case no male descendants are born. Several families have become extinct through lack of male descendants.

If account be taken of the number of monasteries and branches founded by Erh-ku-lung during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the fervor of the Monguors for becoming lamas must have been considerable. At present, this fervor has diminished to a large extent. Many families have not provided a lama for at least two generations; the ties which bound them to the lamaseries seem to have become looser.

WAYS AND MEANS OF RECRUITMENT

A lama, possessing some wealth, likes to have a disciple who will help and serve him to his dying day, and enable him to enjoy peacefully a ripe old age. A poor lama cannot afford the luxury of a disciple. According to the regulations of 1723, a lama is allowed to have only one disciple. However, when the rule is relaxed, rich lamas may have two or three; most of the Living Buddhas have two. The lama usually tries to choose his disciple from among his nephews or from among the children of well-to-do families, which later will help to support the disciple and indirectly his master.

The choice is made before the child has reached the age of seven. If the family agrees, the lama offers a ceremonial scarf to the father and a brick of tea to the mother. The agreement cannot thereafter be retracted. At the time the child is seven or eight years of age the mother prepares a lama costume for him. On an auspicious day he is led by his father to the lamasery.

[p. 56(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Many parents with only one boy pass through a bad time when a lama friend comes to ask for him as his disciple. Once in a while the lamas are very exacting and do not hesitate to predict the most terrible calamities in case of refusal. In 1913 the old man Chao of Lu-men-chih Valley who was seventy years of age was, after twenty years, still under the influence of the prediction of calamities made by a lama of Erh-ku-lung in the event he should refuse to give up his son. 175 792

A rich old Tibetan named Pao, father of an only son of six years, told me how the Living Buddha of Hsien-mi-ssu came to ask for his boy. The old man had begged the Living Buddha, prostrated himself and cried with his wife before him, for days in succession, and proposed to offer his beautiful mule, the best in the whole country, but to no avail. On the one hand the promises of blessings, and on the other the prediction of calamities, caused him to make the painful decision to offer his son.

There are children smitten with severe disease who are dedicated by their parents to the service of Buddha in the event they should recover, and children sent to the monastery by parents of large families. Very often it is difficult for these parents to find a lama who will assume the duty of caring for them, and arrangements are made between the lama and the parents concerning the support and the upkeep of the child. The bonds which tie such pupils to their masters are looser, and when they are able to stand on their own feet they try to find a way of making their own living. These are the usual ways of getting pupils. In all these cases the parents, not the children, make the decision for them to enter the monastic life. No question of vocation or willingness to devote a lifetime to the service of Buddha is considered by the children. The vocation consists of the decision by the parents and the readiness of a lama to accept the child as a pupil.

Children who are physically deformed or disabled, or children of butchers or notorious thieves are not allowed to become pupils. It is also said that children who do not care when a raven comes and sits near them are not fit for the monastic life.

However, I met an exception in Chie-bzan in 1913. A Tibetan named La, after being married for two years, living uncongenially with his wife, sold his horse, cows, and sheep, and, leaving a couple of cows and calves to his wife, became a lama at Chie-bzan.

PUPIL AND MASTER

NOVICE

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On an auspicious day, a father arrives at the monastery with his son. The boy presents to his master lama the traditional scarf of felicity, a couple of packets of Chinese noodles, and prostrates himself nine times. The boy receives the name of his master, for lamas are not supposed to have any family. The adoption is finished, master and novice constitute one family, and

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the boy will obey his master as he obeyed his parents. 175
By this ceremony, which is a real adoption, the novice 792
is constituted the legal heir of the fortune of his master, 571
who usually possesses a home or a small courtyard inside the monastery, some animals, and money. The novice will stay with and serve his master his whole life, the master caring for his subsistence, keep, and education.

FIRST VOWS

After a few days, on a new auspicious day, the cere- 792
mony of the taking of the first vows is performed. In [782]
the early morning, the master himself shaves the head of his pupil. It is said that a layman is not allowed to be present at that moment. Five Gelüng [5] lamas arrive; one of them sits against the wall of the k'ang, and the other four, in pairs, sit opposite each other. The kneeling novice holds incense sticks in his hands and the Gelüng starts the ceremonial prayers, reciting the thirteen traditional vows which the novice repeats after him. Nine prostrations are given before a picture of some Buddha, and the chief of the Gelüngs makes a speech. The boy thanks the Gelüng and his master by prostrations, and the vows are taken. From that time on the boy is called *Wendee*.[6] In some monasteries only two Gelüngs preside over the ceremony; at Seerkok, only one. The master then enters the name of his pupil in the roster of inmates of the monastery. The master alone is the judge of the aptitude and religious vocation of his pupil.

The master starts the education of his pupil by teach- 792
ing him how to arrange the house altar, sweep and 874
keep the house clean, care for the stables, collect cow dung for fuel, draw water, milk the cows, tend the animals, graze the cattle, prepare food and tea. The novice is the genuine servant of his master, a cheap laborer. However, when the novice is not engaged in domestic duties, he receives religious education from his master, which starts with the study of the alphabet and reading of texts, and at the same time he repeats daily after the master and commits to memory the texts recited in the head temple. When he has learned them he is allowed to attend the morning ceremonies and to share the benefit of hot tea every day, to partake of the many meals, fixed according to the calendar of the monastery, and participate in the distribution of the alms.

Memorizing is the most important point in the program of studies. Later on, the master helps his pupil to read and to commit to memory the texts used at funerals, for diseases, to protect the herds, the harvest, etc., because these texts will help him to make a living in the future. Every morning the pupil recites the prepared texts before his master. During his spare time, when he is not engaged in domestic duties, he has to

[5] L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*, 2nd Ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

[6] *Ibid.*, 171, Ge-nen-Bandi-Rab-bzun—Gelüng.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

commit the texts to memory, punishments being in- 792
flicted if he is slack in his scholastic duty. No haste 874
or fuss is made about the matter of study, for master and pupil possess endless years for the job. No dignitary at the monastery inquires about the studies of the pupil or the teaching of the master; the intellectual and religious education is a family matter, a duty between master and pupil.

SECOND VOWS

At the age of eighteen the novice takes his second 782
vows and is called *Gelüng*. According to the rules, the 792
vows are only allowed to be taken at the age of twenty, but at eighteen, one year is added for his father and one for his mother, and the required twenty years are complete. The ritual for the taking of the second vows, which number 253, is the same as for the taking of the first vows. A minor Living Buddha or a Fa-t'ai is invited to preside over the ceremony, after which an official religious name is given to the novice. The family and friends of the novice are invited to attend this important rite and they bring gifts with them, such as meat, rice, raisins, jujubes, Chinese noodles, rolls. A dinner is served, and each of the guests upon leaving for home receives two rolls from the novice.

The taking of the 253 vows is the highest rung of the ladder of Lamaist dignities reached by 99 out of 100 lamas in Huang-chung. Although the appellation of "lama" is officially reserved for monks who have passed this stage, in Huang-chung it is commonly used for all monks who have taken the second vows, and usually indiscriminately for all people who wear the lama clothing.

Old lamas naïvely admitted that in former times a [484]
lot of lamas of Huang-chung used to go to Lhasa to complete their studies and to obtain higher titles, but that at present, because the former reputed centers of learning in Tibet had fallen into a state of deterioration, no lamas are traveling to Tibet. It may be that the monasteries of Huang-chung have declined, and no appeal for serious studies is felt among the lamas. During the Moslem revolt of 1872, hundreds of lamas fled to Tibet and came back after the rebellion without having seized the opportunity to increase their knowledge.

After the second vows, the scientific and religious 792
education is complete. The lama can then read a text 874
more or less correctly, without understanding it. He cannot write a letter, but is able to recite a number of texts, which he has committed to memory in order to assure himself a living. Every morning he attends the ceremony in the main temple, where instruction is given which very seldom has any appeal to him, since he cannot grasp its confused meaning, being engaged the whole day long in domestic duties. No elementary or high schools exist at the lamaseries; there is no special instruction for boys and teenagers; no religious guid-

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ance is provided by an experienced spiritual director 792
and adapted to the needs of turbulent young people. 874
There is no novitiate. A young lama's director is his own master, who himself has received no scientific or religious training. The pupil tries to imitate the older lamas. He listens to their conversations and observes their actions. This lack of real education makes an experienced man pause.

RELATIONS BETWEEN PUPIL AND MASTER

The Wendee, after becoming a Gelung, does not leave 792
his master, but continues to serve him to his dying day. 571
A lama enjoys the highest respect and love of his family, especially when he is young. His master allows him to make frequent visits to his parents, for it pays him to do so. The saying goes that lamas are quite like married girls. When they visit their family, they take nothing with them and ride an empty horse, but when they leave their father's home their horse is loaded with gifts. The lama never returns from his parents without having received some clothing from his mother, having his clothes mended, and having received some sweet rolls, meat, and pickled vegetables. His parents slaughter a sheep or kill a pig, and a piece of meat is sent to the lama and his master. The master enjoys these small gifts and they help smooth the relations between master and pupil, who have to live congenially together, enduring each other's shortcomings and deficiencies. The intelligent master tries to cultivate good relations with the family of his pupil because this will help to make the pupil obedient and avoid friction between them.

Old, experienced lamas told me often that the problem of the pupil is of overriding importance and is a nightmare to many lamas. The young people now are not as unsophisticated as in old times. The master, an uneducated man, who has never learned to restrain his own passions and temperament, is usually not a man qualified to educate a wild pupil, but the fault does not always lie only with him. The stumbling block in the [867]
education of pupils is to be sought, not usually in the home of the master, but outside the monastery, where the pupil goes every day for hours on end, to collect fuel or graze the animals. Boys of seven, eight, and ten years of age meet with teenagers, already thoroughly corrupt, who pervert them and plant in their hearts the seeds of evil weeds which are likely to thrive for the rest of their lives.

Among these groups of young lamas all the short- 792
comings of the masters of the monastery are discussed, 867
the pitiful conditions of the pupils, the disappearance of 571
pupils, the accusations at the Chinese courts of masters by their pupils, the successful removal of a part of the master's wealth by the pupil. These young folk listen all night long to the conversations of the older lamas, who know, to the last detail, all the scandals of the lamas and of the monasteries of the whole country, who

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talk of commerce and business deals, and about the interesting places they have visited. In this way the youngsters come to know about a great deal of unedifying material which they discuss, with relish and interest, when they meet outside the monastery, and so the spirit of commercial adventure is cultivated in them, and the passion to see places and to wander. This poisoned atmosphere, woven around them, has a pernicious bearing on their careers. In the long run, the young lama receives his education outside the monastery in the groups of unrestrained young lamas, and in the evening at the home of his master when old lamas talk unguardedly. In the Orient there are no secrets.

In 1913 I was a guest at the monastery of Hsien-mi. One night the rich intendant of the community of lamas arrived after an absence of three weeks. His two disciples, sixteen and nineteen years of age, had disappeared after being beaten by him for insubordination. Finally, he had found them at the monastery of Shih-men, five days distant from Hsien-mi. By dint of promises he had succeeded in bringing them back home. Two days later I arrived at the monastery of Chu-erh. Two pupils had just undergone a terrible ordeal. One had stolen 50 taels from his master and the other had concealed the stolen money. Punishments were inflicted on both the thief and his accomplice with ruthless severity.

The old rector of the branch of Hua-Yüan-ssu, depending on Erh-ku-lung, had borrowed from a rich Monguor 200 taels. Trusting his pupil, thirty-six years of age, he had sent him with the money to the Monguor. Three months later the Monguor again asked for his money. Then the pupil disappeared and the rector had to pay the sum again. A year later the pupil returned and apologized. The rector was happy to see him again.

An old, sick, asthmatic lama, a friend of mine, came to get some medicine. His young pupil, sixteen years of age (this was his second disciple), had come back after wandering for a year. The asthmatic old man had implored him not to act in that way any more, and had promised to give him a horse and to defray all the expenses of a trip to Lhasa, after he reached his twentieth year of age.[7]

The disappearance of the young lamas is the greatest concern of the old lamas. Punishment is enough to make them leave. Often two or three young men, lured by adventure, decide to abandon their masters and disappear, taking their leave for months or years. The masters, not knowing whether they will return, cannot make provision to search for another pupil, for in case a master's pupil should return, and in the meantime another pupil had been taken on, suit could be brought in the Chinese courts by the former pupil to obtain the wealth of the master and a definite separation.

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[7] Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 36, 37, more about this matter.

[p. 58 (B)]

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Even this kind of trouble is mild enough. It is more serious when the pupil accuses his master in the Chinese court, alleging that living with his master is impossible, and demanding a part of his wealth. Such impudent acts of audacity happen from time to time. I asked the subprefects of Tat'ung and Nien-pei, and the Amban, about the reasons given for such accusations. All three told me, "Father, you do not know the secrets of the monasteries. The alleged reasons are always, in the long run, the same as those used by the daughters-in-law when they accuse their fathers-in-law." 792 571 691

A lama cannot stand having such accusations put on public display by an unscrupulous pupil who aims at getting hold of his wealth, for even if he wins the suit, his entire wealth has vanished. The pupil knows perfectly well how much his master is worth, and tells the officials and the underlings of the court how much they can expect to benefit. Such a suit makes the court happy. An intelligent lama, therefore, always tries to invite influential people to mediate the quarrel and to work out an agreement, consenting to give up a part of his fortune and to separate from the pupil. The lama can then begin again with another pupil, while he still has something to his name.

The life of a lama is not a bed of roses. Even if he should be an affluent individual, insecurity over the attitude of his uneducated pupil, fears of having the pupil accuse him at the Chinese courts, and the possibility of losing his fortune, must always hover in the background. 792 571

The life of the pupil is not a bed of roses either.[8] Not having received any real religious education, having no serious occupation, living a lazy life, the prospect of having to serve, who knows for how many years, a master who is becoming old and has many weaknesses and imperfections, is not alluring. On the other hand, being in the prime of life, used to engaging in domestic duties, enjoying the company of young people of dubious behavior, the pupil is not disposed to dedicate all his energy to study and devote himself entirely to a perfect monastic life.

These seemed to be the conditions prevailing between masters and pupils in the monasteries of Huang-chung in 1910–1920, which became evident after observing the lama life at close quarters for several years.

THE IDEAL MONGUOR LAMA IN HUANG-CHUNG

It was always very interesting to inquire, among well-acquainted, serious lamas, and among young pupils, how a "good" lama behaved the whole day long. The answers given are summed up in the following statement, bearing evidences of a long-standing tradition and of a general uniformity in the concept of a "model," or "ideal" lama. 792 157

In the very early morning the master awakens his

[8] Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 129, 130, 131.

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pupil, who prepares tea. He presents a cup of tea to his master and enjoys one with him. In the winter he kindles the brazier. Then he sweeps the courtyard while his master rises. He brings him a basin of hot water, so that he may wash his face. He wipes the dust from the house altar and the furniture, and prepares the ritual tea to be offered before the Buddha image (a yellow powder consisting of several kinds of pounded roots mixed with water). The master fills the brass cups, displayed in a row before the image, taking care not to spill a single drop outside the cup. Master and pupil recite the ritual prayer, prostrating themselves as long as the prayer lasts. Fervent lamas are accustomed to make 108 prostrations with their pupil. Everyone assured me that this is really hard work, especially in wintertime. 792 157

After the ritual the pupil empties the brass cups, pouring out the ritual tea in the courtyard in a place assumed to be clean, and cleans the cups. About this time the conches are blown and the drums beaten in the central assembly hall, and master and pupil go to attend the morning ceremony. They then come back to their quarters, and, after driving the oxen and horses to pasture, the pupil places the text book on the lap of his master and then with his back turned to the master recites the lesson indicated for that day. If he fails, the master inflicts corporal punishment and fixes the lesson for the next day. The pupil then prepares breakfast, after which he goes out to collect fuel. He is back at noon in order to serve tea and tsamba to his master. The ritual tea is offered again before the images, with prostrations, and the pupil, free for the whole afternoon, is then allowed to relax with his friends outside the monastery. He has to be back by the time the sun is as high as two posts, in order to prepare the evening meal of noodles and tea, which the master enjoys sitting on the k'ang while his pupil squats on the floor. After the kitchen chores are finished and the animals tended, the pupil starts memorizing texts for the next morning. When it is time to go to bed, a last and third ritual tea is offered, with prostrations, before the image on the house altar, and master and pupil sleep next to each other on the k'ang. A pupil is never allowed to go to bed before his master.

During the long winter nights, in order to have an [805] idea of the time, the good lamas fix three sticks of incense, end to end. To the third stick is attached a thread with copper coins. This device is suspended above a basin. When the third stick has burned down, the thread with the coins falls into the basin. The lama awakes and kindles a new series of three sticks of incense. He repeats this process a third time. When the coins fall for the third time the pupil is awakened and he starts the day's chores as before. If it happens that, when master and pupil are ready to attend the morning ceremony, the dawn is still some way off, they return to their slumbers; but if it is at hand they must, ac-

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cording to the rules, occupy the time in meditation or prayer. 792 157

A good lama should daily, once in the morning and once in the afternoon, walk around the monastery saying his beads and prostrating himself at the small shrines along the ritual way. In the fourth moon he makes the same round, prostrating himself the whole way along. This is said to be really exhausting work.

Every year a good lama enters a retreat at home for two weeks. He does not leave his room, talks with no one, and cancels all appointments with visitors. He prays and reads texts the whole day and offers the ritual tea four times daily before the image. A good lama never sits on a bench or chair, but always squats [516] cross-legged on the floor or the k'ang, barefooted, his clothes adjusted decently. He eats only mutton, beef, or pork, never the meat of the horse, donkey, hare, or [262] chicken, or fish or eggs. Lamas are not allowed to raise sheep, goats, pigs, chickens, or donkeys. A model lama lives in retirement, avoiding mixing with the groups of lamas who play chess and cards all night, or indulge in endless gossip, or tell smutty jokes and indecent stories, for the saying goes that "nothing is dirtier than the tongue of a lama." A good lama deals with books with reverence, putting them, wrapped in a yellow silk scarf, before the Buddha statues, carrying them on his back when traveling. A good lama does not even go to say prayers at private homes, when invited by the people; he does not leave the monastery.

These notes, given by older lamas and young Wendees, reveal what lamas think about an ideal lama and what sort of ideal is held up before young lamas. However, in order to be able to become an "ideal lama" some wealth is required, or at least an honorable competency, and it is precisely the lack of this primary condition which provides the clue to most of the miseries of individual lamas and the ruin of many monasteries.

HOW LAMAS PROVIDE FOR THEIR SUBSISTENCE

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Lamas have to earn a living, because support furnished by the monastery is insufficient. Poor lamas try to find a full-time job in the several intendancies of the monastery or with the minor Living Buddhas, or by accompanying expeditions to collect alms, or by working in the printing offices. Many find a part-time [466] job carrying water every day for several rich lamas, driving animals to the pasture grounds and then back home again, selling cow dung and fuel. Lamas like to be hired, by a lama whose pupil has abandoned him, to search for and bring back the strayed pupil. Lamas try to buy a young, nicely built horse or mule, and are happy to hire young lamas who will work every day at breaking it to the saddle, in order that they will be able to sell it in the cities or in Lhasa, where such animals command a good price. Lamas

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proficient in the art of gelding, are well known to the 792
farmers and can earn money by this skill. Others, skilled in the diseases of domestic animals, are busy all year writing prescriptions and selling medicines.

Still others work as doctors and earn a pretty good living. After examining the six different pulses of the patient, an agreement is made. The doctor guarantees [759]
the cure after a certain number of days, and demands immediate payment of an agreed sum, or of an animal, according to the seriousness of the disease. Then follows the prescription and the medicine. Other lamas are engaged in the tailoring business and sell cloth, silk, and brocade. Lamas like to be hired by devout people to make pilgrimages to celebrated monasteries for their intention. I once saw a lama reading texts for three days in the temple of medicine. Two bricks of tea put near him were the salary for the reading, which had been requested by a sick Monguor. I was told at Kumbum that many lamas, hired by Monguors or Tibetans, made a good living by prostrating themselves 108 times every day, for a fixed number of days, [788]
before a celebrated temple. Lamas try to be invited by their family, relatives, or friends of the family to pray at their home for several days for an agreed intention. If a sheep or goat is given as payment, they manage to put them, ear-marked, into the herds of some family, and thus in time many lamas come to own a small herd.

If you need some musk or saffron, or *p'ulu* cloth* or other products of Tibet, within an hour a lama will show up with what you want, ready to close a deal. It is the same if you need animals or a fine Peking saddle. A few lamas travel over the country to sell books. Lamas who have money in hand are ready to lend it, providing there are satisfactory guarantees. If you are calling on lamas and a lama visitor shows up, they talk business after a few minutes, always business. It was interesting to ask the young lama boys about the means used by the lamas to earn a living. They knew perfectly well how each lama made money, what his profits were, and how much he owned.

It is easy to understand that the mind of a people endowed with such a roving eye for business is not bent on prayers and meditations, and that such people are not committed to monastic life with passionate devotion. Perhaps the environment in which the lamas live, their daily conversations, the successes scored by lamas in trade, stimulate the passion to acquire more and more wealth in order to be able to live at ease in a

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* W. W. Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891-92*, 67, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1894, describes *p'ulu* as woolen fabric woven in pieces, usually thirty feet long and about nine inches wide. The best kinds of this cloth come from Ulterior Tibet. The most popular colors are red, purple, striped and white with red and blue dyed crosses. The fabric is used in China to cover saddles or trim seats of carts. "*P'ulu*" is the Chinese transcription of the Tibetan name of this cloth, "*p'rub*."

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ripe old age, with the result that they turn out to be 792
steady and sound business men, wearing religious clothes. Necessarily, the precepts and rules of the monastic life come more often to be honored in the breach than in the observance, and so the lamas drag each other down hill.

COMMUNITY OF LAMAS

How does a lamasery control its members and provide for their education? This is done through two organizations, the community of the lamas and the colleges or faculties.

Lamaseries have to control their lamas because they are responsible to the Chinese Government for the crimes and injustices caused by their members. Many lamas not dependent on any lamasery live in the country dressed as lamas and earn their own living, and do not involve any lamasery in the troubles they might cause.

In order to become a member of a lamasery, the name of the applicant must be entered on the roll of the organic community of the lamas. This carries with it permission to live in the monastery, to share its benefits and support, and to become a member of any college. The organic community of the lamas administers the entire lamasery; it fixes the rules observed by all the lamas of the institution; it sees to their observance and inflicts punishment for infractions. The community of the lamas is the hub around which the entire lamasery revolves. It possesses its own wealth and has its independent administration, as has been explained (p. [421]
38). The main temple of the lamasery is its property and in it all the lamas have to convene in the early morning to read texts. Every time the main temple is destroyed (as by revolts or fire), the organic community of the lamas must rebuild it.

In December, 1912, the vast temple of Kumbum dis- 175
appeared in a furious blaze after the morning conven- 792
tion of the lamas. The adjacent temple, containing the [421]
dried trunk of the fabulous tree, was preserved, but the entire precious library, splendid old tapestries, precious embroidered streamers, paintings, the large Buddha painting, 21 meters in length and 15 meters in width, which was hung every year on the mountain at the festival, two enormous butter lamps of massive silver, the entire wardrobe and masks used in the theatrical performances, silver *chortens* containing the ashes of celebrated Living Buddhas, disappeared in the blaze. The guardians of the temple disappeared at full speed. Devoted old lamas testified that Tsong-khapa had punished Kumbum whose old fervor had decayed. I saw the whole community, old and young, devoutly carrying the ashes of the temple on their backs into an enclosure, because it was stated that the ashes, hallowed by the prayers said in the temple, must not be allowed to be desecrated. The intendants of the community of the lamas toured the Tibetan and Mongol countries

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for the next two years collecting alms; Seerkok offered a thousand big trees, Labrang $6,000, Erh-ku-lung $1,000. After three years the temple was rebuilt. 175 792

In 1910 the same thing happened at the monastery of Chu erh under similar circumstances.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE LAMAS

FA-T'AI, CALLED "MASTER OF THE DOCTRINE" ("LOB-PON" OR "MK'AMPO")

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The supreme chief of this independent institution is the Fa-t'ai. His office is the most honorable one a lama may fill. Fa-t'ais are chosen from among respectable lamas with a blameless record, celebrated for their knowledge. Not only lamas are invited to that office, but even Living Buddhas. Most of the eminent lamas in the country have been Fa-t'ais in nearly all the big lamaseries in Huang-chung. It has been recorded that a lama, even a Living Buddha, who is a member of an affiliate, never declines the invitation to fill this office at the mother house. Each college also has its own Fa-t'ai.

The office of Fa-t'ai is held for a term of three years only. The intendancy proposes to the supreme chief of the lamasery the name of the desired lama, and, on obtaining the consent of the supreme chief, sends lamas with the invitations. The Fa-t'ai lives in a beautiful residence and has as many lama servants as he desires. He is supposed to be the spiritual director of the institution which invited him, and to possess the power to reform the behavior of the lamas and to urge even stricter observance of the rules. It has been recorded how the stubborn Sumpa of Erh-ku-lung demanded in Lhasa the complete neutrality of the lamas of his community at the time when all the lamas of Lhasa prepared to participate in the civil war, and that finally the example set by him was followed by all the lamaseries of Lhasa. The same thing happened in Kumbum in 1895 at the time of the rebellion of the Moslems. The Fa-t'ai (m'Kampo) was the Living Buddha Mina, [669] a quiet and peaceful man, who ordered the lamas to prepare only to defend the lamasery in case of attack. However, Shertoch, another Living Buddha of Kumbum, more turbulent and still recalling the destruction of the monastery except for the temple containing the celebrated tree during the revolt of 1862–1874, stirred the lamas to attack the enemy in the Moslem stronghold of T'opa, fighting on the side of the Chinese Army. After the first attacks had been unsuccessful, and several lamas had been killed, the war party grew bitter against Mina, who had to resign the post of Fa-t'ai and for some time was in fear of his life.[10] Achia, the chief and proprietor of Kumbum must have been an irresolute man, for he did not interfere even in such critical circumstances.

[10] Wellby, *op. cit.*, 281. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 72, 92.

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The Fa't'ai even has the power to redress the mal- 792
administration of the intendancies, but all these powers 794
are more nominal than effective, because the name of 554
the Fa-t'ai-to-be is proposed by the intendancies themselves to the supreme chief of the lamasery. They know very well which Fa-t'ais are bent on reforms and set in their ways, and in order to secure the peace of the lamas and their own, they avoid proposing the name of "trouble makers." The Fa-t'ais, on the other hand, are practical Orientals. They know their appointment lasts for only three years, and that, if they should start with reforms, they would meet with the general covert opposition of the intendancies and of all the lamas, and their reforms would be hamstrung, so why borrow troubles if the next Fa-t'ai would undo what his predecessor had built up?

Therefore, the powers of a Fa-t'ai in Huang-chung are in practice reduced to theoretical and honorary dimensions. They are venerated as the learned supreme teachers of the community and occupy the highest seat in the main temple, next to that of the supreme chief of the lamasery. They very seldom attend the ceremonies in the temple, except when a rich pilgrim invites the community to read texts in his behalf. They attend the ceremony at the time of the festivities in order to enhance the prestige of the community, and march in procession with a stately measured tread to the temple, with the traditional splendor of their retinue. In the fourth, sixth, and eighth months they preach in the temple for the lamas for a few days. The rest of the time they live a happy, peaceful life in their residences, devoting their time to study and meditation, and entrusting, as their predecessors did, the whole direction of the institution to the intendant, who in the final analysis governs the entire institution. Fa-t'ais are inclined more to the speculative than the practical side of life.

A Fa-t'ai has to be a rich man in order to be able to fulfill his office. On the one hand he receives a small salary and at the time of the distribution of alms he receives as many shares as the supreme chief of the lamasery, but the flow of donations is irregular and unpredictable. On the other hand, a Fa-t'ai, several times a year, has to entertain the lamas of the community in a more or less sumptuous manner, with tea, butter, *tsamba,* mutton, beef, rice, raisins, and rolls. Each lama has to take home a fixed number of rolls. These repeated entertainments of lamas, four or five times a year, are the big expenses which a poor Fa-t'ai cannot afford, and they explain why poor but celebrated lamas decline the offer of the office of Fa-t'ai in large communities.

INTENDANT

Every day, during the morning assembly, a few re- [62A]
marks are made to the community by the intendant concerning the observance of rules, the decorum required of lamas, the punishments inflicted the previous day

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for infractions of the rules, the reform of some misbehavior, the arrival of distinguished guests or pilgrims, the offer of important gifts, and special religious ceremonies asked for by devout people. Herein consists the entire direction and instruction of the lamas, except for those who study in the colleges. 792 [626] 554 794

His role has been explained. He is the chief executive of the institution and administers its wealth. He has his own residence; his courtyard is his court of justice, where all the suits of the lamas and of the subjects are judged. All the officials of the institution receive his orders; he has one or two procurators helping him in the material administration, commanding a number of servants varying in accordance with the importance of the lamasery.

DISCIPLINARIANS

Their function is a really important element in the government of hundreds of uncivilized lamas and turbulent young folk living in the same lamasery, most of whom wander correctly along the path of monastic life more from fear of severe corporal punishment than for pure love of Buddha. I never saw a master of discipline in the lamaseries wearing a delightful smile. More often they seemed to be the type of tormentors that might step out of a picture of the Eighteen Buddhist Hells. No wonder the lamas, especially the young folk, dread them. 792 626 794

Usually there are two disciplinarians appointed by the Fa-t'ai for a term of one year. Often they have been proposed for the position by the intendant and his councillors. The disciplinarian presides over a number of lictors. During ceremonies in the temple the disciplinarian maintains order among the older lamas and keeps a constant eye on the novices. A breach of silence or any irreverence is punished instantly by blows from his rawhide whip. He takes note of the presence and absence of lamas at the morning ceremonies, and must investigate to find out whether lamas, not enrolled in the monastery, or laymen, are remaining with their friends at night inside the lamasery, and is responsible in general for the observance of the rules of the monastery.

Permission is required from the intendancy to leave the lamasery for a long time. Business deals are not to be made too ostentatiously. At night lamas may gather with friends to relax, talk, play cards and chess, but are not allowed to make much noise or to disturb the sleep of their neighbors. Gambling is not allowed, nor is the drinking of liquor. At night, the disciplinarian with some of his lictors, armed with rawhide whips, makes a tour of the lamasery. Lamas found brawling, quarrelling, or fighting are brought to the court of the intendant, where penalties are meted out in various brutal forms. The time of the festivities is a difficult one for the disciplinarians, when merchants pitch their tents, and lamas and people drive bargains. [673 525 784]

[p. 62(B)]

Very often fights occur, for no important deal is closed 792
in the Orient without brawling or quarrelling. At that 626
time the disciplinarians and their lictors are on duty 794
all day and night.

At festival time women are allowed in the monastery, and relatives are allowed to visit their lama and stay at night in his home, after permission has been obtained from the intendancy. Several old lamas explained to me that the disciplinarian has to be changed every year in order to prevent the lamas from becoming too well acquainted with him, and arranging by bribery to break the rules. How officials, with such a terrible exterior appearance, can be approached so easily to be bribed is shrouded in mystery. For this reason, in all the lamaseries of Huang-chung the disciplinarians are said to be changed every year.

PRECENTOR—UM-DSE

In every lamasery there is a precentor, the leader of 792
the texts recited at the assemblies in the temple. He 794
is usually a man endowed with a voice that resounds in a deep, low, grave tone. At the same time he is the master of ceremonies who trains the officiants. He opens the prayers in a loud voice, in a special low register, the others taking up the chants in unison at the top of their voices.

COUNCILLORS

In larger lamaseries there are usually four councillors, older lamas, appointed by the Fa-t'ai for three years on the recommendation of the intendant. They constitute in effect, with the intendant, the administrative board of the institution. Before the name of the appointee is proposed to the Fa-t'ai, the intendant refers the proposal to the chief of the lamasery. The result is that the nominally supreme powers of a Fa-t'ai within his institution are in practice curtailed, and the influence wielded by the intendant upon the supreme chief of the lamasery being usually unlimited, the intendant is in reality the supreme ruler of the institution.

The rules to be observed in the lamaseries by all the inmates include the non-admittance of women, the non-admittance at night of laymen, or lamas who are not on the roster, and the obligation to attend the ceremonies prescribed for the members of the community. All other rules conform with the elementary standards of good behavior.

COLLEGES

In important lamaseries, colleges have been estab- 792
lished, theoretically as centers of higher education. 794
Some foreign travelers call them "universities." In 873
Huang-chung the only requirements for becoming a member of one of the four traditional colleges and reaping the benefits of the institution, are to be a member of the organic community of the lamas and to know the prescribed texts recited at the meetings held at the temple of the college. Accordingly, the majority

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of the members of a college, at the time they enter, have previously received only the training of ordinary lamas, which consists of learning to read and write more or less correctly. Old lamas, as well as young Wendees, from the time they fulfill these two conditions, are allowed to apply for membership if the colleges have an appeal for them. A lama is not compelled to enter any college. If he does, the manner of joining or leaving a college is the same as described for joining or leaving the community of the lamas. Every lama is allowed to remain a member of a college for as long as the appeal of the college persists, and usually he remains a member for the whole of his lifetime. 792 794 873

Each college is an independent unit within the lamasery, having its own wealth and administration, its own temple, administrative buildings, and residence for its Fa-t'ai. The administration of the colleges is built on the pattern of the organization of the community of the lamas, with the same kinds of officials, and enjoying the same kinds of autonomous rights and privileges.

The four colleges are: (1) The College of Philosophy and Metaphysics, (2) The College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, (3) The College of Medicine, and (4) The College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules. [871]

In Huang-chung at present (1910–1920) nothing more is required from the members of a college than attendance at the ceremonies in its temple and at the instruction given by the Fa-t'ai on a few fixed dates. There are no regular courses with compulsory attendance, no program of studies is required to be completed within a certain number of years, there are no compulsory examinations, and no obligation to take any degree or diploma. No director supervises the studies of the members of the college; studies are a personal matter, depending on the initiative of each individual.

A lama who has some feeling for study, who possesses some money provided by his family, or whose master is willing to spend some money for his education, goes to see a learned lama taking with him some meat, noodles, raisins, sugar, and some money, and prostrates himself, offering the ceremonial scarf and asking the lama to be his teacher. Usually, three or four lamas manage to become pupils of the same master. At fixed times they have to bring presents to the teacher. The study of the book designated by the master starts with committing the text to memory, and recitation before the master. Two or three times a week the master takes time to hear the recitation. Student and master are in no hurry; once in a while the master is too busy to teach, or one of the students is prevented from attending the lesson. The students all engage in domestic duties. Their capacities and fervor for study are not the same. After a few weeks one of them is memorizing the fourth, one the tenth sheet, and so on. After several weeks more, a couple of them have no further desire for study and drop out. [875] [876]

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The master starts with the explanation of the text 792
after the student has finished memorizing it, and so it 794
happens that, after some time, one pupil is studying a 873
second or a third book, while the others are still study- [876]
ing the first one. It is hard to teach pupils who have
not received the same educational preparation and who
progress at an unequal pace. The lack of elementary
schools and high schools compels the master to adapt [872]
his teaching to the capacity and enthusiasm of each of
the students, and inevitably the study loses its interest
for pupil and master.

It is no wonder that very few learned lamas are encountered at present among the lamas of Huang-chung. The Living Buddha Goorong bzan, of the Red Sect, was the only man celebrated for his learning all over the country during the period 1910–1920, and he enjoyed this reputation among lamas of the Yellow Sect as well as the Red Sect. In Kumbum there was also a learned Living Buddha, Chao-hsi, who was said to have given instruction in the lamasery of Galdan in Tibet. In June, 1920, he was invited by the community of lamas of Kumbum to give instruction for ten days, and Kumbum seized this opportunity to invite all the lamas of Huang-chung to attend the ceremony, remembering that each attendant should offer a ceremonial scarf to the preacher, and bring his food with him. Kumbum, however, would offer two butter-teas to the participants each day. I was at Hua-yüan, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, at that time, and the intendant, in order to have his lamas attend the instruction, himself offered to provide them with the food for twelve days; but only 12 among the 58 lamas went to Kumbum.

In 1914 I was told that among the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, 1,300 were members of the College of Philosophy, 350 of the College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, 200 each in the College of Medicine and the College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules. All these numbers have to be reduced according to the ratio previously noted for the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, but the proportion is the same for the members attending the colleges. Thus, among the 3,000 lamas 2,000 or two-thirds were enjoying a higher educational training in the colleges, and they remained members of the colleges for the whole of their lives. This was generally true for all of the colleges of Huang-chung.

The reason for the unusual attendance at the col- 792
leges is not that these institutions are centers of higher 554
education, but rather that they provide meals for their 873
members. The richest colleges, able to give the great- 814
est number and the choicest meals, are the best at- 262
tended, such as the College of Philosophy. Another
attraction of this very popular college, teaching the
most arduous of all the sciences, is the relaxation provided by the public disputations. The schedule of the
meals provided by the various colleges supports these
statements: [p. 64(A)]

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1st month from 3rd to 18th, 3 cups of butter tea and tsamba, in all the colleges. 792
2nd month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only. 554 873
3rd month from 11th to 16th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges. 814 262
4th month from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges
5th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
6th month from 1st to 10th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
8th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
9th month from 15th to 19th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
10th month from 22nd to 29th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
11th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
12th monthly from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.

During the first, second, eighth, and eleventh months there is an exception. During each of these months, the philosophers four times enjoy two cups of rice, meat, and raisins. Rich pilgrims are accustomed to ask for special ceremonies and prayers more often in the College of Philosophy than in the other colleges, and each time they offer rice, meat, raisins, and alms. The philosophers thus enjoy more extra dinners than the members of other colleges, and receive greater shares at the distribution of alms. It is not amazing that a lama who can hardly make ends meet, but is endowed with a philosophical brain, considers it more educational to enroll in the College of Philosophy than in the others. Herein lies the practical attraction to the study of philosophy.

PREDILECTION FOR THE COLLEGE OF PHILOSOPHY, ITS CAUSES

The public disputations are the next attraction. 792
Among the huge numbers of members of the College 814
of Philosophy there are always some exceptions. Small 873
groups of students are encountered who are genuinely interested in study and under the direction of competent professors invited by them, they undergo a severe course of instruction. Two or three times every week they are engaged in public disputations, attended by all the members of the college. Students studying the same book form the center of a numerous audience, squatting on the ground of the courtyard in the open air. These disputation exercises have been described by many authors; it is sufficient to record that the same circles always enjoy the biggest attendance, not for the interest of the subject disputed, which is rather mild, but in order to enjoy the virtuosity of celebrated de-

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baters who are always the same and fond of displaying their ability.

792 544 873

Not a few among them are real actors, who would honor the stages of the best theaters in the civilized world. Their poses, mimicry, jokes, verve, double meaning suggestions, affected sounds, and their knack of keeping the people amused, whet the curiosity and provide a real relaxation. Nearly the whole community huddles around them, even the old lamas who are used to sitting sleepily at these compulsory, boring meetings, for whom the novelty has worn off many, many years ago, and who have never been interested in the subject itself, strain their ears and huddle a little nearer to the stage and relax happily.

The Yellow Sect has always been fond of dialectic. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of Erh-ku-lung was celebrated for his logic in the learned world of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung.[11] The dialectic methods of Nagarjuna are particularly enjoyed by the philosophers. He used to "prove," in the most incredible ways, the non-existence of the world, of his proper self, and even of Buddhism.[12] The debaters try by means of recitation of endless memorized texts to stagger their opponents, and by tortuous questions to entice them into snares of sophism and to prove the most unbelievable theses. The attractive public disputations help to break the monotony of the monastic life, and to provide a couple of hours of relaxation.

It was said that once in a while some students passed official examinations and obtained titles and degrees, but I never had the opportunity to be present at such ceremonies.

Both these reasons explain the unusual attraction toward the College of Philosophy of the large number of lamas, who even lack the education of a student of an elementary school, and also the stubborn perseverance of the old lamas in continuing as members of the college.

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The conditions for becoming a member of the other colleges and the method of study are identical with those of the College of Philosophy. The lamas have to attend only one compulsory service in the early morning in the main temple, as required by the organization of the community of the lamas, and have plenty of time to attend the exercises prescribed by other colleges in the morning and afternoon; they even have plenty of time to indulge in domestic duties and commerce. It would be instructive to make a comparison between the standard of the studies in Huang-chung and that of the celebrated lamaseries of Tibet, as described in nearly all the works concerned with the subject.[13] After investigating the situation in Huang-chung, I harbor suspicions concerning the punctilious observance of the pro-

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[11] Huth, *op. cit.*, 281.

[12] René Grousset, *Philosophies indiennes*, ch. 9, *passim*, Paris, Desclée de Brower, 1931.

[13] Waddell, *op. cit.*, 184–188; Filchner, *op. cit.*, 350–358; Tucci, *op. cit.*, 1: 94, etc.

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gram of studies, elaborately built up and highly vaunted, 792
and the knowledge and education sometimes attributed 873
to the lamas in Tibet and Mongolia. My opinions seem 794
to be justified by the opinions of other authors, who have lived for years among the lamas, knowing their language and being themselves Buddhists.

The learned Buddhist, Mme Alexandra David-Neel, 792
who lived in the lamaseries of Tibet and Huang-chung 157
for many years, knew the language very well and was 829
always sympathetic to the lamas, giving "philosophical" justifications for much questionable behavior, but she confesses:

> At the morning exercise are intermixed subtle philosophy with commercialism, high spirituality with feverish pursuit of vile satisfactions, which are impossible to separate from each other; novices, educated in this whirlpool of contrary influences, follow one or another of them, according to their nature and the direction given to them by their master.[14] In Tibet the clerical education has produced only a "small number" of selected literary men, a "large number" of slothful brutes, joyous, gay fellows, and picturesque blusterers, and all these various characteristics, if they do not show up in every lama, are at least "simultaneously deeply ingrained in the nature of all of them."[15]

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist monk, who went to Lhasa to study Lamaism in the learned centers of Tibet, states that they graduate from the college after having studied for twenty-one years; they study especially the Buddhist Catechism and philosophy. They are from thirty to thirty-six years of age when they graduate.[16] It may safely be said that their purpose in entering the priesthood is only to procure the largest possible amount of fortune as well as the highest possible fame in that entirely secluded world of theirs. They do not seek religious truths or practice religious austerities for the work of delivering men and leading them to salvation, but they study to acquire fame, wealth, and influence, and there is nothing deep in their religious life, and 999 out of 1,000 have no conception of the problems of future life.[17] He states also that their faith is a veritable mass of superstition.[18]

These two learned Buddhists seem to confirm my suspicions and to reveal the philosophy and the behavior of the lama institutions. They corroborate my [123]
own observations, made at various institutions during the same span of time. A single fact may account only for the mentality of a single man; a multitude of facts, however, reveal the mentality of an entire corporation.[19]

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[14] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 95.

[15] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 96.

[16] Ekai Kawaguchi, *Three years in Tibet*, 291, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

[17] *Ibid.*, 348.

[18] *Ibid.*, 560.

[19] Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 108, *sq.*, gives interesting comparative data concerning the lamas and their behavior in the lamaseries situated in the Gobi Desert in the Narobanchin territory.

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LIVING BUDDHAS

ABODE

Living Buddhas who are possessors of lamaseries, live in them; Living Buddhas who do not possess their own lamasery, ask permission of the supreme chief of a lamasery to live as a guest on his property and to build a residence. Usually this kind of poor Living Buddha tries to dwell in a rich and celebrated monastery, where pilgrim caravans come and plenty of alms are offered. By having a share in the alms it is easier for them to make a living. This is also the reason why lamas prefer to be entered on the rolls of these rich institutions. Many Living Buddhas who have monasteries of their own like to have another residence in a celebrated lamasery such as Kumbum or Labrang. 792 794 342

These buildings enhance the splendor of the lamasery and are usually built by the tribesmen of the Living Buddhas. A stele is erected in the courtyard, with the names of all the people who contributed to the building expenses engraved on it. Larger or smaller buildings are added in order to provide quarters for them when they visit the lamasery. All the important Living Buddhas in the country possess such more or less luxurious residences in the celebrated lamaseries, built by their intendancies. This kind of residence is called Karwa. In Kumbum there are 83, in Labrang 40, in Erh-ku-lung 14.

WHAT IS A LIVING BUDDHA? 792

A Living Buddha is the incarnation of a *Bodhisattva* who, having attained the highest perfection, has potentially become a Buddha. He renounces the blessedness of *Nirvana* and makes a vow to remain in this world in order to promote, by example and teaching, the salvation of as great a number of its creatures as possible. His vital essence thus passes from body to body—because the body, like every material aggregate, is destined to dissolve—but it remains immaculate in its acquired unalterable purity and holiness.[20]

APPLICATION OF THE SYSTEM IN HUANG-CHUNG

It has been recorded that the theory of succession by reincarnation only started in Lhasa in 1475. In Huang-chung, the first known Living Buddha was Chang-chia, born in 1642. No records exist concerning the appearance of the first Living Buddhas in Ch'ü-t'an, Kumbum, or Sha-ch'üng. However, it may be taken for granted that these lamaseries would not have had their Living Buddhas as early as 1642, but it was probably close to that time that they began to follow the example set by Erh-ku-lung, rather than suffer in competition with it. 792 75

At any rate it seems that succession by reincarnation must have started and been practiced on a large scale during the period from 1600 to 1723, when numerous hermitages and branches arose all over the country of

[20] Tucci-Ghersi, *Secrets of Tibet*, 38, London, 1935.

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Huang-chung, and the mother lamaseries became firmly established. 792 775

PROCEDURE OF BECOMING A LIVING BUDDHA IN HUANG-CHUNG

The first incarnations of the five great Hutukhtus started as minor Living Buddhas, in the same way as the innumerable minor Living Buddhas who still spring up every day. A lama who is celebrated for his saintliness and wisdom, for his zeal in the diffusion of the religion, and for his blameless life, and is considered by his friends to have displayed the signs of approaching the final illumination, may be acknowledged by them after his death to be a Bodhisattva, to have renounced the blessedness of Nirvana, and to have made the vow to remain in this world for the salvation of all creatures. However, in Huang-chung the acknowledgment of lamas has to be sanctioned by a Living Buddha, whether a minor or a great one. The Panchen Lama confirmed that Chang-chia was the incarnation of a Dharmasvanin Graspa-odzer [21]; K'ri-c'en Blogros rgyamts'o confirmed the Bodhisattvaship of T'u-kuan.[22] It has already been noted that Chang-chia declared, on a morning in 1913, that the Wang Fa-t'ai of Ch'ie-bzan was a Living Buddha, and the Living Buddha of Ch'ü-t'an declared that the nephew of the Lu T'u-ssu, a Lama of Ta-ssu, was a Living Buddha.

It is a known fact that much private influence is brought to bear in the selection of Living Buddhas, in order to secure the appointment of scions of noble, wealthy, and influential families, or to provide some other benefit. It has already been recorded how the lamas endeavored to obtain the protection of the most powerful T'u-ssu. Therefore, the first incarnation of the series of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was caused to appear in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, and two more Living Buddhas were incarnated in this clan, the old and young Li Living Buddhas. At the beginning of the Ming, a lama of the Li clan had already become a Karwa lama; the Karwa still exists and is administered by a lama of the Li clan. The nephew of the powerful Lu T'u-ssu recently became a Living Buddha, as has been noted and at the same time the branch lamasery of Ta-ssu became independent. One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan was a lama of the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng belonging to the Lu T'u-ssu; one of the incarnations of Chang-chia was born in Too long, which belongs to the Lu clan. Seerkok, as already noted, arranged to have two of its minor Living Buddhas reincarnated, one in Mongolia and one in Tibet, in order to attract lamas from these countries to fill up its depleted roster, but without avail. 792 662 775 [622]

One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan appeared in Siamar, in the Tibetan family of Ts'e-bdurk, the richest and most influential in the region. The parents, with their daughter, went to Lhasa on a pilgrimage of

[21] Huth, *op. cit.*, 273. [p. 66 (B)]
[22] *Ibid.*, 281.

thanksgiving for the honor bestowed upon the family. 792
Some time later, the nephew of T'u-kuan, of the Ts'e- 662
bdurk family became the reincarnation of the Living 775
Buddha of Labrang, the most intimate friend of T'u-kuan for many generations. It was T'u-kuan who, in Peking, obtained the title of Erdeni Nomun-khan for the Living Buddha of Labrang.[23] After the death of the Living Buddha of Labrang, T'u-kuan is invited to cast the horoscope in order to indicate the place where the reincarnation of his friend will occur, and *vice versa*.

SEARCH FOR THE INCARNATION

This problem has been dealt with by many authors. 792
Therefore, only data concerning Huang-chung will here 795
be recorded, because they may help to reveal the social 648
psychology of the Monguor lamas and of the Monguors. Upon the death of one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, the Dalai Lama is invited to cast the horoscope indicating the place of rebirth. Usually two or three boys seem to fulfill the requirements. Their names are sent to Peking and put in the traditional urn, according to the protocol established by imperial edict in 1793,[24] from which one is then drawn. The name drawn is supposed to be that of the genuine incarnation. For minor Living Buddhas, another Living Buddha is requested to render the service.

Usually the place of rebirth is indicated in terms as 792
vague as the oracle of Delphi, and lamas go to find the 795
candidate, but old lamas have admitted to me confi- 662
dentially that soon after the death of a Living Buddha 787
some lamas of the intendancy are sent to investigate where children were born around that time, and in what wealthy family, and actually it is usually one or two years before the horoscope is cast. Sometimes the horoscope is so vague that it is many years before the boy is found. The rebirth of Achia of Kumbum who died tragically in 1909 was found after six years, and two boys fitted the requirements. The two names were sent to Peking, and one was chosen. At that time the lamas of Kumbum were in a hurry, fearing that Achia would no longer reincarnate because of the fateful circumstances of his death. When the boy is found, lamas have him select from among several items displayed (beads, cups, etc.) the things he used in his previous existences. This is performed in the presence of lamas only.

Wonderful legends are told about the reincarnations 538
of Erh-ku-lung. T'u-kuan, bent with age, went on foot 775
to Peking, incognito, in order to heap up piles of merit. At night, in Lien-ch'eng, a good but poor lady prepared his food, and in the morning when he left she offered him her last piece of brick tea. T'u-kuan died in Peking and was reborn in the child to which the poor but charitable lady gave birth. It was her reward.

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[23] Huth, *op. cit.*, 288.

[24] W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung pao* 9 (1): 55, March, 1910.

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The horoscope concerning the incarnation of Chang-chia was on one occasion extremely vague. "Reborn in the province of Shan-hsi," it said; nothing more. Lamas, after looking for six years, did not find the boy. Tired and despondent, they entered a Chinese inn, at the same time that a boy seven years old was returning from school. He looked at the lamas, and never having seen lamas before he started laughing. His mother immediately said, "It is the very first time I ever saw my boy laughing that way." Suspicion arose in the hearts of the lamas. They asked the lady for lodging for the night, but she flatly refused. The boy implored his mother again and again to allow them to stay. Then the lamas understood, the boy was the incarnation. They knelt before him, offering the ceremonial scarf of yellow satin, and acknowledging him as their Living Buddha. The boy smiled in the most happy way. They presented the traditional scarf to the Chinese parents, who refused to let the boy go because he was their only son. Finally, when 5,000 taels of silver were promised, the parents agreed. The lamas bought two fine mules and a cart, and returned with their Living Buddha to Erh-ku-lung. 175 775 792 787

The young Living Buddha Li had been dead five years, and the horoscope revealed he would reincarnate this time in a certain family Li. On the twenty-fourth of the fourth month, in the village of Li-chia-t'ai in the Naring Valley, there was a festival at the San-pao temple. The old Li Living Buddha, a venerable old man, adored in the country, attended the festival, as he had done for many years. All the children fled upon his arrival. Squatting on the ground in front of a big tent, he talked with the crowd. A poor boy, clothed in rags, ingenuously came close to the old man, whose beads he twisted around his tiny arms. Finally he sat in the old man's lap, and the old man understood and placed a red ribbon around his neck.

When he got back home, the intendancy decided that the genuine incarnation had been found. Lamas were sent to congratulate the parents, and to offer the ceremonial scarf. The Li T'u-ssu, the elders of the village, and the maternal uncle of the boy were invited to make preparations for the installation of the new Living Buddha. The intendancy prepared a dinner and the guests decided that 500 taels should be offered to the parents; a silk gown and velvet boots to the grandfather; a long coat to the maternal uncle; a long coat in flowered silk to the Li T'u-ssu, chief of the clan; a mare and a Peking saddle to the father; a beautiful cow to the mother, and 30 ounces of tea to each of the other members of the family. [431]

The next day the village offered a dinner. Thirty lamas arrived on horseback to lead the boy to his intendancy. On the way, two small groups of lamas on horseback were waiting to congratulate the boy, offering the scarf and prostrating themselves. The next day, before the dinner prepared by the intendancy, the boy was led to the temple where texts were read and the 175 775 792

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whole community lavishly entertained. The guests 175
were entertained at the intendancy. After dinner, 400 795
taels instead of 500 taels were presented to the parents. 792
Then the guests, bursting with righteous indignation, started cursing the intendancy and a feverish discussion broke up in a violent wrangle. In the scurry and confusion and unexpected hurly burly, all the lamas of the monastery and the intendants arrived to patch up the trouble. The 500 taels were paid. After ten years I heard the people of Li-chia-t'ai still cursing the intendancy.

In 1894 the intendancy of T'u-kuan got into trouble over its last incarnation. A lama boy, seven years of age, who lived at the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng which belonged to the Lu T'u-ssu, was recognized as the incarnation of T'u-kuan. Lu T'u-ssu, the lamas of Ku-ch'eng, the family of the boy, and the entire village objected, and did not allow the boy to abandon the monastery without having the intendancy pay 5,000 [431] taels to the family. The most influential mediators were invited by Erh-ku-lung in order to find a compromise. Sheep and cows were killed every day, plenty of wine distilled, and lamas and the whole village had a wonderful time enjoying dinners and drinks for ten days. Finally the compromise was reached that 3,600 taels should be paid to the family and various gifts offered to the T'u-ssu, the intendancy of Ku-ch'eng, the members of the family, and the mediators. The intendancy of T'u-kuan, which was known all over the country to be rich and wealthy, the lamas, the whole of Ku-ch'eng, and the family of the new incarnation, thus seized the opportunity to share in their own way a part of the honor befallen to Erh-ku-lung by discovery of the reincarnation.

It happens, however, that once in a while the horoscope seems to be cast in the wrong way. A nephew of T'u-kuan, two years of age, was recognized to be the incarnation of the minor Living Buddha Kao of Ch'ie-bzan. At five years of age, upon the death of his parents, he was taken to the intendancy, but seemed to be an idiot. In 1918, at thirty years of age, he was still only allowed to leave the intendancy once a month, in order to climb the mountain to the Obo and to burn incense.

EDUCATION OF THE MONGUOR LIVING BUDDHAS

Usually at the age of seven or eight the new Living 792
Buddha is brought to the lamasery, led by a splendid 871
procession of lamas, and installed in the luxurious intendancy, where a group of lama servants scrape and fawn in his presence, cater to his whims, and do his bidding.

The Orient is the country of decorum; the traditional splendor of the oriental courts is proverbial. The Living Buddhas of all the sects are extremely fond of decorum, and try to impress the uncivilized people by a display of munificence and wealth. [511] For this reason

[p. 68(A)]

4; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

even minor Living Buddhas live in luxurious residences, 792
with a private chapel and servants. Admittance to the 871
Living Buddha is very complicated; no one is even al- [811]
lowed to enter the kitchen, at the entrance of which, [784]
when the Living Buddha is present, is a high stone, whitewashed and covered with a ceremonial scarf.

The first duty of the intendant is to acquire for his 792
new master two lama teachers of good repute and ex- 871
tensive learning, in order to provide for the education 554
of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the 292
boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity.

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks 792
before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after 554
months and months the exercises always have to be 869
repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and 868
the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.[25]

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, 157
particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training.

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and 792
writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before 875
his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he [876]
fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary lamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-ku-lung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed

[25] Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

[p. 68(B)]

his bag and returned to Labrang. The master of the well-known bridge-builder, Temna, convinced that his pupil was not of the stuff of which philosophers are made, saddled his horse and went back home. It seems that such instances often occur. 792 875

Bit by bit, I pieced together the interesting curriculum of T'u-kuan. At seven years of age he entered the intendancy of Erh-ku-lung; at nine years of age he was sent to Labrang (two weeks riding on horseback) to study with a couple of young Living Buddhas there; at twelve he was back in Erh-ku-lung, at thirteen he went to Peking, and congratulated the Emperor at New Year's; at only sixteen years of age he was back at Erh-ku-lung; at seventeen he returned to Labrang for study; at nineteen he went back to Erh-ku-lung and went on a vacation with his family for four months. 792 871 484

After that he went with an expedition collecting alms among the Uigurs of Kan-chou and Su-chou, and on a second one to Mongolia, which took three and one-half years. His studies lasted over a period of seven or eight years, with intermissions of several years. It is said that the masters of the Living Buddhas never leave their pupils; they accompany them on the journeys and are said to teach philosophy and metaphysics while riding horseback during the whole of the journey. Most of the Living Buddhas and Lamas, however, go through life with only a sketchy background in Lamaist learning. [875]

What about the frame of mind and the religious formation, the interior spiritual life, the meditations and contemplations of Living Buddhas who, from the prime of life, are fed on unwholesome values by a master, swelling their pride, flaunting their superiority above others, and inflating their self-importance? What of the consequences to the minds and hearts of these teenagers of basking continually in the adulation of a group of flattering admirers, who feign to have for them a feeling that is little short of idolatrous, being always wrapped in a shining coat of adoration, wearing a look of portentous solemnity, as if the face wore a mask? Without doubt some of them are carried away with their own play-acting and like to move in this misty land of Utopia. Probably for many of them the scales will, one day or another, weigh down their eyes and bear evidence of their loss of touch with reality. 792 156

An old teacher of Living Buddhas once revealed to me that the biggest problem for teachers is to keep young men, for whom studies have not the slightest appeal, occupied all day long. They are bored by their dull and uneventful life and, upon coming of age, strike out for themselves. They have outgrown the time when corporal punishment could be inflicted. They fritter the time away on trifles, on investigating all the vices of life among the servants and former novices of their previous incarnations. They play chess and cards, and, lazing the time away, they prepare their own ruin. A large number of them are buds that will never bloom. 792 875

[p. 69(A)]

BEHAVIOR OF THE LIVING BUDDHAS OF HUANG-CHUNG

Some facts will explain this matter better than philosophical considerations. 792 276 691 157

In 1916 the Living Buddha of the monastery of Sha-ku-ssu (Yung ch'ang hsien), an old branch of Erh-ku-lung, was an inveterate opium addict and had ruined his monastery. In order to retrieve his financial position in an easy way, he called on the Living Buddha of the monastery of Nan-ying (Liang chou), saying that he remembered in all the minutest detail having loaned, five generations ago, to his honorable confrere of Nan-ying, three herds of horses, five of sheep, three of cows, and 300 taels, and that this debt had never been paid; because he was poor and his confrere rich he would like to have his confrere take care of the matter.

The answer of the equally shrewd confrere was that he did not at all remember such an enormous debt, although he remembered in all possible detail the events that had happened during five generations. Thereupon the living Buddha of Sha-ku-ssu brought suit against his confrere at the Court of Justice in Liang-chou, claiming that his confrere knew all about the question, but that his pathological craving for money made him throttle his conscience and commit this crying injustice. The confrere reciprocated along the same line, exposing the opium addict before the interested audience; but because in China a rich man must always give up some of his rights in favor of the poor, the rich Living Buddha was ordered to give ten horses, and his poor confrere was able to continue smoking his opium for some time. [696]

The reason alleged by the opium smoker should be well known among lamas and Living Buddhas. It was the same that was used by the Dalai Lama at Kumbum in 1909. In autumn he arrived at Kumbum with the traditional splendor of an Oriental potentate. Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese ran to Kumbum to honor him. The Dalai Lama and his retinue were savage and arrogant; their animals were turned loose among the crops in the fields. Every day troubles arose over the sheep and flour offered by the mandarins, and the Dalai Lama, swayed by foolish pride and insolence, insisted on transferring three lama officials of Kumbum. Achia, defending his rights, denied the Dalai Lama permission to interfere with his administration of the lamasery. 792 157 578

The reason alleged by the Dalai Lama was that in one of his previous existences he remembered having been an incarnation of Achia and supreme chief of Kumbum. But Achia, without losing his balance, flatly denied the fact because he did not remember such an incarnation. Furthermore, he pointed out that the Dalai Lama was the incarnation of Tsong khapa, who was the incarnation of Chen-resig, while he himself was the incarnation of Tsong-khapa's father. He wondered how a son could behave so insolently and impudently

[P.69(B)]

toward his father, and he could not understand how the 792
same individual could happen to be the incarnation of 157
the father and the son. Then Achia talked to him like 578
a father, telling him to be more circumspect and to behave more decently, for many tales were already spreading about his behavior with Tibetan women. Liberties of that kind, he said, outraging the Lamaist conventions, were not allowed at Kumbum. The lamas of Kumbum, breathing fire and brimstone, prepared their weapons and called together lamas of neighboring monasteries. The officials of Hsining (the Amban, the General, the tao-t'ai, and the prefect) were in a hurry, and went to Kumbum with troops in order to prevent a clash. Finally, in order to get rid of the Dalai Lama as fast as possible, they decided to let him appoint three lama officials and then to depose them after his departure. The Dalai Lama left, and the three appointed officials also left as quickly as possible for fear of being killed by the Kumbum lamas. The deposed officials assumed their jobs again, but Achia, deeming that he had ir- [762]
retrievably lost face, cut his throat. Several times I heard this tragic story, told by the Amban himself and by the officials at Kumbum.

The Dalai Lama cut a sorry figure in Hsining in 792
1909. The residence of Achia, destroyed by fire in 157
1895, was still not rebuilt in 1914, although all the materials for the reconstruction had been ready since 1909. The wood had been offered by the Tibetan Chief, Kach-htjir, and a contract had been written by the intendancy, promising Kach-htjir and his relatives the privilege of always staying at the residence, whenever they visited Kumbum.

Chao, the Living Buddha of Sia-mar, was a most celebrated man all over the country for his skill in patching up troubles, his unusual eloquence, proficiency in using the double-edged sword, of menaces and threats, soft words and blandishments. However, his influence lay in his cultivated acquaintance with the Chinese officials, to whom he paid visits and offered lavish gifts, and whom in due time he would use and provide with lawsuits that would benefit them. He was credited with having marvelous abilities and of being a powerful man. The saying went around that his special [828]
kind of intelligence weighed so heavily on one side of his body, that the soles of a new pair of shoes, after a few days, were always run down on the same side—the side where his intelligence was pressing the most.

He had obtained the office of chiliarch, the old privilege of judging the numerous tribes formerly subjected to his predecessors. He started abolishing, among his subjects, the smoking and planting of opium, with Draconian severity, and flogging and fining addicts of alcohol. He compelled the Chinese, to whom his subjects had transferred lands, to return the fields. Wherever there happened to be a festival, he pitched his tent and waited to render justice. Young women who had eloped and had been brought back by his retinue of

[p.70 (A)]

twenty Tibetan soldiers, were flogged on such occasions 792 in order to make a drastic example of them. Whenever 157 people had a serious conflict, this Living Buddha was invited as arbitrator. He extended his zeal with prodigality, indulging his greedy fondness for display, and cultivating his reputation for knowing how to straighten out problems that seemed to be in a hopeless muddle. These activities absorbed all of his time and energy.

Cha-ik Hutukhtu followed in the wake of the Living Buddha of Siamar, building up his influence among the Chinese officials by means of gifts and visits, and by obtaining of the illustrious title Hutukhtu. He was never at home.

The Living Buddha Pu of Seerkok was fond of beautiful and fast horses. Every three days he participated [526] in the morning races in the city of Hsining, riding his own horses in competition with the Moslems, who raised the best horses in the country. He was a better success at riding horses and breeding them than in philosophy and metaphysics; he was never seen in the temple.

The supreme chief of Seerkok, incarnation of the celebrated and learned Min-chu-erh, had a job at Nanking in the Bureau of Tibetan and Mongol affairs, but spent all of his spare time in Shanghai, indulging in expensive distractions and sorely depleting the funds of his intendancy. Back in Hsining, the community of the lamas stirred up trouble by not allowing him to return to the monastery, and preparing to bring suit against him at court, claiming that he was not the genuine incarnation. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu told me in Man hui, Hou-t'ao, in 1940 that he had sent his intendant to Seerkok in order to avoid scandal and to smooth the ruffled feathers of the lamas, and that after several weeks, Min-chu-erh, his behavior having been on display in the city of Hsining, had succeeded in returning to Seerkok, protected by a retinue of thirty Moslem soldiers loaned by General Ma Erh-hsiang.

It was delightful to encounter once in a while a good Living Buddha, who was really loved by the people. In Hsien mi monastery the Goomang Buddha, an old man, was engaged all year long in making up packages containing medicine, on which he blew his blessings and which he distributed gratis to people who come from far away to receive them. It was a panacea, which [757] healed all kind of diseases of men, women, and children.

Dealing with fasting rites for laymen, there will be recorded the example of a really outstanding Living Buddha, the old Li. Modest and unassuming, adored by the people, his preaching developed and revived the sense of religiosity and of justice and humanity. His beneficent influence radiated far beyond the circle of fasters, into families and the administration of villages. He was at that time, among the Living Buddhas, the only educator of the Monguors, a benefactor of the Monguor society. [p. 70(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

LAMAISM AND MONASTICISM

The study of the preceding topics will help in understanding what the Lamaist institution in Huang-chung, called lamasery, consists of fundamentally. It can best be done by means of defining the respective positions of its chiefs and its subjects. 792

In speaking about lamas and lamaseries, the terms "monk" and "monastery" are used indiscriminately, because we have no other terms. However, except for the facts that the lamas observe celibacy and that the lamaseries possess corporate wealth, it is impossible to compare the lamaseries with Christian monasteries.

The lamasery is a place where people gather for a spiritual purpose which is void of any definite qualification; where no direction is provided in any way to the inmates, who are absolutely free to adhere to whatever doctrine they wish.[26]

Lamas take the first and second vows, promising to Buddha to be faithful to them. They take no vows of submission to the chief of the community, promising nothing to him except to remain celibate and to observe the rules of the community, to attend the exercises in the temple, and not to disturb the peace of the lamasery.

The chief of the lamasery has no right to impose any duty on the lamas. A salary is paid for the fufilling of any office, and those who do not intend to earn the money, do not apply for the job. The chief of the lamasery has no right to interfere with the studies or the scientific trend of mind of the lamas. He only has the right to urge their presence at the ceremonies and knowledge of the texts recited at the meetings, because lamas attending the assembly receive a remuneration of tea, *tsamba*, meal, and a share of alms.

The chief of the lamasery has no right to interfere with the religious and spiritual education of the lamas. These fields are under the jurisdiction of the individual master who directs the studies of a pupil. The lamas have the right to bring suit against each other at the Chinese courts, and the pupil has the right to bring suit against his master, without interference from the chief of the lamasery. 792 554

The amazing respective positions of a chief of the lamasery and the lamas are crudely demonstrated by the facts of the admission of a lama to the lamasery, his retirement from it, and the conditions existing between them after the abandonment. Admission into a lamasery in Huang-chung is not complicated. Every unknown man who wears lama clothes and who goes straight to the courtyard of the intendancy of the monastery, presents 100 copper cash and asks for admittance, is given a scarf of felicity. He is led to see the intendant before whom he prostrates himself and to whom he presents the scarf; he promises to observe celibacy and the rules of the monastery, and to attend the morning ceremonies. His name is entered on the 792

[26] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 100.

[p. 71(A)]

roll of the inmates and from that time on he becomes 792
a member of the community, and is able to reap the benefits of his membership. The same rule exists for admission to the colleges.

Nobody cares about the past of the newcomer, nobody inquires about the name of his country, his parents, or the reasons for his arrival. The lamas know very well that inquiries about these matters are of no avail, for if he were a dishonorable man he would certainly not reveal his past. Therefore, it suffices to say that you are coming to worship a certain Buddha honored at the lamasery, and that the period required to satisfy your devotion will probably be long, maybe a year, two years, or more. Then you have to try and find yourself a home in the lamasery, renting a room from a lama, or sharing a room. The proprietor of a courtyard has to report the names of the lamas living in his yard. In small institutions the control is easy, but in large ones, like Kumbum, it is impossible. Frequently, lamas assured me that there was always a number of non-registered lamas, mostly of the traveling businessman type, living at the homes of their friends.

Withdrawal from the lamasery is as easy. Every lama is free to abandon the lamasery forever, at any time. He has only to inform the intendancy of his departure. Only lamas who are guarantors for debts are not allowed to leave, as long as the business is unfinished. A lama is free to sell his courtyard to another lama, and to leave at any time. Usually, a number of lamas leave after the distribution of alms. Once a lama has left the monastery, it has no obligation to care for him any more, unless he has been a guarantor or has committed an injustice against the lamasery. The rector of Chiar-too-ssu, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, left the [292]
monastery, bought property adjacent to it, and without changing his lama dress for the clothes of a layman, lived with his wife unmolested. I encountered three or more lama doctors, celebrated for proficiency in their art, who lived with their wives, still wearing their religious garb. Even the son of one of them was dressed as a lama.

If a lama whose name is inscribed on the rolls should be informed by his friends of a charge made against him at the intendancy for moral reasons or theft, he leaves the lamasery in time to avoid the punishments which are meted out with ruthless severity, and moves to another lamasery. Most of the time, a lama would be advised to leave by the intendency itself, for intendancies are reluctant to inflict such punishments, in order to avoid scandal.

In Kumbum, in 1912, I saw a lama, accused by a 792
husband for visiting his wife, beaten unconscious before 627
the main temple, while the community read imprecations. 684
Half his face was blackened with soot; a paper 681
hat, half black, half white, was put on his head; and the traditional oval was impressed on both his cheeks

[p. 71 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

with a burning ram's horn. He was carried outside the monastery wall by lamas. Ashes were spread all the way along in order to prevent his "spirit" from finding the way back to harm the lamasery. A large group of lamas followed. He was thrown on the ground, stripped of all his garments, amid the shouts of the lamas and the long blare of trumpets, and the group returned to the monastery without looking back. A round mark is burned on thieves. It is impossible for those so marked to enter any monastery. 792 627 684 631 [685]

At the time of the festival at Erh-ku-lung in 1912, three young lamas molested a young lady, causing her death. They fled the same night. The whole village of Too-long accused the monastery at Hsining, which was unable to trace the murderers and had to pay an indemnity of 3,000 taels, after spending far more at court. The whole country was bursting with righteous indignation. It was a tremendous loss of face for the lamasery. 792 684 682 [627]

Lamas not only lack the vow of obedience, but also the vow of poverty. It has been explained how lamas retain their own wealth and the means they use for increasing it.[27] Among the lamas are rich individuals enjoying a happy life, possessing a beautiful courtyard, clothed with silk and brocade, riding the finest horses and mules of the country, served by as many lamas as they wish, and there are poor individuals who have trouble making both ends meet—ill fed, ill clothed, working the whole day. Nobody takes care of them because wealth is a personal matter, and no vow of poverty exists. It has been explained how the lack of the vow of poverty is responsible in a large part for the loss of spirit in the monastic life, and how from this lack originate most of the vices encountered among the lamas and the ruination of monasteries. 792 511

Lamas lack the vow of chastity, for chastity reaches farther than celibacy. The Buddhists know this very well and the texts prove it.[28] 792 831

The reform of Tsong-khapa, the founder of the Yellow Sect, aimed at return to the traditional monastic life, based on celibacy and serious study. The sense of the necessity of celibacy still seems to prevail among the Monguor lamas. This assumption seems evidenced by the facts that the communities of lamas bring suit at Chinese courts against even supreme chiefs of lamaseries, and intendants who betray their vows, as was the case with the Living Buddhas Sumpa, Lu-chia, and Min-chu-erh, and even with Li, the intendant of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu. It was the same with the Living Buddha Seerting who was caught red-handed by the [185]

[27] The wealth possessed by a lama, his courtyard, etc. are inherited by his apprentice; in case he dies without having an apprentice, his wealth is sold by the intendancy; prayers are said by the lamas and alms given to them. If a lama who is proprietor of a courtyard marries, his courtyard is taken by the intendancy.

[28] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Morale bouddhique*, 79, Paris, Librairie Nationale, 1927.

[p.72(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

villagers, who also did not permit such liberties to Living Buddhas. Feeling the stigma attached to his exposure, he committed suicide. It also seems to be evidenced by the fact that penalties are still inflicted upon lamas, in the crudest forms, for infraction of this rule. This stigma is still attached to those who fail to meet their moral obligations. 792 831 [762]

The reform by means of serious study, however, seems to be a failure among the Monguor lamas of the present times. Among so many Monguor Living Buddhas and lamas, only the Living Buddha Chao-hsi of Kumbum enjoyed some repute, but in order to cause the lamas to attend his instructions, special benefits had to be provided for them. Very few among the Living Buddhas and lamas are interested in study at the present time, and, having nothing to occupy them all day, become involved in vice. Army officers and directors of schools are aware of the necessity of keeping young folk busy the whole day long, alternating fixed jobs with recreation. The lamas, however, except for attendance at the morning convention, which lasts only an hour, have to kill time making their own living. [185] 792 461

In the whole region of Hsining not a single school has been established by the rich monasteries, in order to promote the instruction of the Monguors and the Tibetans. Even at present in the lamaseries not a single elementary school exists for the lama boys, and no religious education is given to them. Not a single lama takes care of the spiritual needs and instruction of the adherents to their religion who live in a given area. Not a single hospital has been founded in order to assuage the pains and sufferings of the sick Monguors and Tibetans. The universal charity of Lamaism does not consist in love for one's neighbor, but in a platonic compassion for the universal sufferings of humanity and of all living things and for the impermanence of all existing beings. Lamas are not sisters of charity; they pass the sick draped in their cloak of indifference.[29] 772 871

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[29] Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, 373, notes: "Among Buddhist believers there has been scarcely anyone who has ever given any thought to social problems. The priests of ancient times were generally recluses who paid no attention whatever to the application of their religion to the needs of the practical world or to making the principles of true Buddhism as distinct as possible." [792 771 175]

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist, conversant with the Tibetan language and literature, went to Tibet to study Lamaism, and wrote an instructive note on Lamaism (p. 410). "I confine myself only to a popular exposition of the subject. Lamaism is constituted by two main branches; the older, the 'red cap sect' subdivided into many branches, and the later, the 'yellow cap sect.' They all agree upon cardinal points and in the formula for attaining perfection. The founder of the old sect was a Tantric priest, 'Lobon Padma Chungne' born in Cabul. He enjoined on his disciples the practices of flesh-eating, marriage, and drinking liquors, in order to attain Buddhahood . . . details I cannot give, for they are full of obscenity. The old sect, extremely popular in Tibet, has undergone considerable modification by lamas. . . . I note the reaction against the old sect by Atisha [from India, eleventh century], later by Tsong Khapa [fifteenth century]. The principle of Tsong Khapa was that priesthood must stand on asceticism. Therefore he urged

[p.72 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

More has been done by the chiefs and elders of the villages in promoting justice, creating respect for elders, restoring peace in families, defending the position of the women, preventing adultery, punishing the faults of the youngsters, and making the families happy than by the lamas. 792 626 888

I felt really happy to encounter among this tremendous number of lamas the single exception of the old Living Buddha Li, who in the fasting exercises taught the older people to crave pardon for their faults and to pray, and to hear them say that they were happy to have heard comforting words from the mouth of the old man.

V. THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

GENERAL ASPECTS AND FORMER CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

795 792 175

In Huang-chung, there are not only lamas of the Yellow Sect, the reformed sect of Tsong khapa, but also of the Red Sect, which still adheres to the rules observed before the reform. The red lamas marry, and live, scattered over the country, with their wives and children. They till their fields and raise cattle, indulge in wine and tobacco, eat garlic and nearly all kinds of meat. They perform their rites when invited by the people and live under the direction of a superior, who has far less power over them than the superior of the yellow lamas has over his subjects.

At home they wear the dress of the lay people; when performing rites they wear the usual lama dress—a red gown, the red hat, and a shade before the eyes, adorned with fringes of the five ritual colors. They use the same ritual paraphernalia as the lamas of the Yellow Sect, but they like to use a drum made of two skulls, and to blow a trumpet made of a human thigh bone; they recite their own texts. They seem to lay stress on the cult of water springs. All of them have the duty to perform the Rite of the 108 Springs, which lasts for 129 days, at least once in their lifetime. Some among them perform this rite two or three times. Well versed in magic, they are capable of performing not only the rites performed by the Yellow lamas, but also many other rites prohibited for the Yellow lamas. [292] [534]

All the lamas of Huang-chung belonged to the Red Sect in former times. The lamas of Ch'ü-t'an, the Nang-suo, Karwa lamas, the Dhyana family lamas, the lamas belonging to small monasteries or hermitages,

abstinence from carnal desires, liquor, and he enforced the rules of moral discipline. However, he did not denounce the images worshipped by the old sect, representing men and women in offensive postures, but gave to them a new interpretation of an abstract nature. . . . Externally the two sects do not differ much from each other." And on p. 434: "I am compelled to say that Lamaism has fallen, and that it has assumed a form quite contrary to that to which its great reformer Tsong Khapa elevated it, and I am sincerely sorry for this degeneration." 792 771 175

[p. 73(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the lamas living secluded in the mountains, all indulged 795 in magic. It is not known when most of them went 792 over to the Yellow Sect, perhaps between 1600 and 175 1723; nor is it known when the first lamas of the Yellow Sect penetrated the country, diffusing the reform. If account were taken of the date 1560, when a small hermitage of ten Yellow lamas started at Kumbum, and developed slowly; and the date of 1604 when Erh-kulung humbly began, it may be presumed that until that time the Red Sect was the only one prevalent in Huang-chung, living a precarious existence owing to the intermittent inroads and revolts in the country. Only after Gushi Khan had conquered Tibet in 1636 and [648] offered it to the Dalai Lama and after the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) had established the supremacy of the Yellow Sect, and the hated rival sects had been enfeebled, can it be assumed that the Yellow Sect entered a period of success in Huang-chung.

It was often said that, after the encounter of Altan Khan with the Dalai Lama in Kukunor (1577), where Altan proclaimed the Yellow Sect the official religion of the Mongols, and built a temple, the sect started diffusing on a large scale in Huang-chung. This assumption is hard to prove on account of the hatred fostered against the invading Mongols, and the disturbances in the country, for in 1591 the Monguor troops with the Chinese Army burned to the ground the temple built by Altan fifteen years before,[1] and the Mongol, Nairamdahu, persecuted the Yellow Sect in Kukunor in 1633.

PRESENT CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

795

The conditions under which the Red lamas lived 794 during the Ming period, in the always disturbed country, seem to have been akin with those under which they now live in the region north of the Hsining River. A small number of them are encountered in villages there. Lamas of several villages, constituting a small group, choose from among them a chief, who holds the position for one year. They possess their own small temple where, four times a year, they gather for seven days in order to read their texts, perform their rites, and discuss their own topics with their chief. Some of them have a pupil who receives training from his master. Each of them tries to be invited by the people to perform rites that are paid for. Not having a monastery or a Living Buddha, the institution lacks a backbone.

After 1642, when the Yellow Sect started the prac- 175 tice of Living Buddhas in Huang-chung and developed 795 its strong organization, two of the most important Red groups south of the Hsining River, where the Red lamas were more numerous, managed to have their own Living Buddhas. In the group of Goorong bzan near

[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, 18*b*. [p. 73(B)]

Sha-ch'ung, and the group of Kan-cha Valley which 175
had living Buddhas, the original temple yard became a 795
monastery, and the loose group thus got a chief invested with authority over his subjects and wielding influence in the country.

The small groups of Red lamas north of the Hsining River, however, had no Living Buddha. Twice a year they invited the Living Buddha of Kan-cha, and four times a year went to Kan-cha, in order to attend their rites, but for a long time now the Living Buddha has only been invited every two or three years, and the lamas seldom go to Kan-cha—all the more since Kan-cha, being in a state of dilapidation, has lost its attractiveness. It had been destroyed by the Moslems in 1868–1872, and its important library of printing blocks was burned; it has not yet been restored.

The monastery of Goorong bzan, however, is flourishing. The Living Buddha is a strong personality [792] bristling with activity. Acknowledged as the most learned Living Buddha, all over the country, even by the lamas of the Yellow Sect, he is trying to restore the former glory of the Red Sect. His difficulties with the lamasery of Sha-ch'ung, and his intentions to restore and occupy the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the center of the city of Hsining, have been recorded. His monastery is in fine shape, the temples are as beautiful as most of the temples of the Yellow Sect. Four times a year more than two hundred of his red lamas convene for seven days, for the reading and explanation of texts, and the performance of their rites. Goorong and the dignitaries of the monastery preside over the convention in the same way as those of the Yellow Sect.

Tibetans like to make pilgrimages to his lamasery [648] and offer their donations. It is a well-known fact in Huang-chung that among the Red lamas there are more learned men than among the Yellow lamas. However, the bulk of them are only versed in the recitation of the texts used at the performance of their rites, and possess only a smattering of knowledge in their religion. They attach an unusual importance to the strictest observance of all the rites during their performances. Their religious training seems to be directed in that way, for they claim that the slightest omission or error in the rites and in the recitation of the texts completely spoils the efficacy of the rite.

The subject of the different kinds of Red Sects and 795
the deities honored in their temples may be passed over 792
here, because it has been dealt with by many authors. The peculiar feature of the Red lamas' institution in Huang-chung is the only subject of our study.

Among the Red Living Buddhas, the son succeeds the father, as the Living Buddha. Goorong, a tall, upright man of immense strength, hard as nails, begot nine sons from his two wives. Four of his sons are Living Buddhas, three of them in Red monasteries south of the Yellow River. Goorong is called the father of the Living Buddhas. He is a modern man, who has visited

[p. 74(A)]

4; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Peking, Nanking, and Shanghai. He rides a bicycle, walks his smallest sons in a European baby carriage, likes photography, delights in playing a phonograph, enjoys working with electricity at home and in the temple. He possesses all kinds of medical instruments and gives injections. He is reputed to be very proficient in magic, and is the most talked-about man in the country. 795 792

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RED AND YELLOW LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

The feud between the two sects in Huang-chung never seems to have been as fierce as it was in Tibet, where lamas fought each other and destroyed each others' monasteries. The reason seems to be the troubled circumstances in the country. The people, the Red lamas, and their small institutions suffered tremendously on account of the inroads. The whole country was impoverished. The diffusion of the Yellow Sect, under such conditions, necessarily began on a small, unnoticed scale and when peace was restored the Yellow Sect was protected by the emperors and the Red Sect was powerless. 795 628 578 792

None the less, Reds and Yellows know their history well, and the embers of the old antagonism are still smoldering under the ashes. The troubles between Goorong and Sha-ch'ung, and the vehement protest of all the Yellow Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, when Goorong was trying to occupy the Ta-fo-ssu, give evidence of this. South of the Yellow River, in the subprefecture of Kui-te, lamas of the Yellow Sect recently prevented the Red lamas of Keura from rebuilding their temple. The trouble developed into full-scale fighting, and lamas on both sides were killed. The lamasery of the Yellow Sect was burned to the ground by the Moslem troops, who restored order. The Yellow Living Buddha fled, but the lamasery had to pay a heavy indemnity. On the north of the Hsining River, however, both sects seem to live congenially, because the Yellow Sect is omnipotent and the Reds are a minority, having not a single monastery in the country.

When the Red group of Erh-chia-ting near Erh-ku-lung built a new temple, the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of Erh-ku-lung offered them seven big trees and sent his intendant to attend the ceremony of the inauguration of the temple. The lamasery of Chu-erh, of the Yellow Sect, allowed the Red group to build a temple on its property. Even the intendant of one of its Living Buddhas was a Red lama. In 1915 I saw Red and Yellow lamas performing rites together at the Karwa of the Yellow Chao lama. It has been recorded that the Yellow lama, chief of the Li Karwa, alternately invited four lamas of the Yellow and of the Red Sects to perform the yearly usual rites at his Karwa. 795 792

Lamaseries of the Yellow Sect invite Red lamas to perform the rite intended to appease the avenging spirits of persons who have suffered injustices at the hand of the lamasery. The secretary of the Living Buddha Lu

[p. 74 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

of Yang-k'ou-erh, who belonged to the Yellow-Sect, 795
was a Red lama. Such anomalies happen because 792
family ties closely knit the members of both sects. The father of the intendant of the lamasery of Ch'ie bzan, which belongs to the Yellow Sect, was a Red lama, and the father of the novice of the intendant, also. I met four lamas of the Yellow Sect, pupils of a learned lama of the Red Sect, who boarded at his home.

At the monastery of Hsien-mi, the father of a young 175
lama of the lamasery, which belongs to the Yellow 795
Sect, was a Red lama. One night, in my presence, he unbosomed his grudge against the supreme chief of the lamasery who had refused permission for his Red Sect to build a temple on the property of the lamasery. "Our sect," he said, "is as the ear of the wheat plant, and the Yellow Sect is as its straw. We occupied the country and diffused our Sect long before the Yellow Sect was born. Our scriptures are so numerous that a man cannot finish reading them during a lifetime. The Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, of the Yung-lo period (1403–24), granted us extensive properties—and then came the Emperor K'ang-hsi, who protected the Yellow Sect and oppressed our Sect." These facts reveal the frame of mind of both sects, and their mutual behavior in Huang-chung.

Although the lamas of the Red Sect constitute a small minority, scattered over the country, and possess only two Living Buddhas, they exert an important influence and play a considerable part in the religious life of the Monguors.

THE RITE OF THE 108 SPRINGS

In order to give an insight into the real psychology of 792
the lamas of the Red Sect, and their attitude toward 795
magic, the Rite of the 108 Springs will be described. 789
It is performed in order to acquire magical power.

The lamas living north of the Hsining River practice the Rite of the 108 Springs at least once in their life. Those among them who have enacted it two or three times are considered by the Monguors as the most potent. It is said that very few lamas of the Yellow Sect are interested in the rite, although serious lamas of the Yellow Sect told me many times that the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu had enacted the rite together with a Red lama, after the Bumkhang he built seemed ineffective, and the troubles in his lamasery had upset him. I could hardly believe it, because the rite is not enacted to honor or to get the protection of spirits of the springs, but is thoroughly magical, and its aim, according to the lamas of both sects, is the increase of magical abilities. At any rate, because the lamas of the Red Sect all practiced it, and are said to be bound to enact the rite, it sheds a true light upon the fundamental character of the lamas of the Red group, who seem to be as fond of magic as the shamans.

Springs of water are situated mostly at the foot of [823]
mountains, in deep valleys, and in lonely spots which

[p.175(A)]

are supposed to be the favorite abodes of evil spirits. 792
The Red lamas go to these springs in order to meet 795
these demons, to frighten them, to combat them, or to 789
obtain their assistance. So goes the saying of the [223]
Monguors and the lamas of both sects.

The rite is a back-breaking work. It lasts for 129 days, more than four months. It is practiced by a single lama, never in a group. Usually a fervent Monguor accompanies the lama for some days, to carry his luggage and prepare his tea. I got the information from two such men and from people living in Waza, near a spring where the lama performed his rite.

Sometimes the lama has to wander a long way to reach a spring, and sometimes three or four springs are situated one next to the other. The rite is carried out in winter and starts with a retreat of seven days at home, during which the lama, three times during the day and three times during the night, prays and reads texts, rattling the drum made of two human skulls, blowing the trumpet made from a human femur, and ringing the bell. He is not allowed to get a long sleep or to stretch himself out on the ground. He has to sleep in a sitting position, is not allowed to undress during the 129 days, or to enter any home or cave.

I saw a Red lama who lived near the monastery of Hua-yen start his journey. All the neighbors, men, women, and children, accompanied him to the first spring. He carried on his back, in a light wooden frame of thin laths, the felt mat on which he would sleep at night, a book of texts, a picture of Padma sambhava, the chief saint of the sect, some flour, butter, tea, a cauldron, and a small tent made of white cotton cloth. If, on the way, he should happen to lose one of these items, he is not allowed to replace it. He wore a long red coat, lined with sheepskin; on his head a red hat and over his eyes a green shade, with fringes. In his right hand he held the double-skull drum, and in the left hand the trumpet. He is not allowed to speak during his wandering from one spring to another, but mutters prayers all the way along, beating the drum at the same time.

Upon reaching the first spring he puts the frame down, blows three times on the trumpet in the direction of heaven, then starts the ritual dance three times around the spring to the time of the rattling drum, describing ritual designs on the ground. He beats the ground with his heel to the time of the drum beats, then stands on one leg, completely immobile, for a long time. Thereafter he pitches the tent, displays the picture, and sits crosslegged in front of the tent reciting texts for a long time. In the meantime, the villagers had prepared tea, and he starts talking with them. People are not allowed to indicate the spot of the next spring or to ask in what direction he will move the next day. He eats the meal offered by them. He is not allowed to drink alcoholic beverages, eat garlic, [262]
leeks, or radishes. He eats only mutton. The remains of the meal offered to him are not allowed to be

[p.75 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

carried home. Before sunset his meal has to be finished and the people gone. At this first spring he stays for seven days. 792 795 789

Twice a day he prepares tea and eats *tsamba* along the wayside. When people see a practicer of the rite passing near the village, they all follow him, prepare his tea and his evening meal. He enjoys the real veneration of all the Monguors and the Tibetans. He remains for seven days at the first spring, praying, dancing, three times during the day and three times during the night. It is said that during the night, the time of the demons, he summons all the demons of the country, wages his ritual war with them, subduing them, or making friends of them. At night he has a terrible time, exercising his magical abilities and increasing his magical capacities. The demons do not let him sleep a wink. All kinds of terrifying tales are spread in the country about his nightly experiences.[2]

At dawn he gathers stones and builds a small cairn; then he starts for the next springs, remaining only one day at each of them and performing the same rites. At the 54th spring he stays for seven days, as at the first one, then continues his pilgrimage until the 108th, where he again enacts seven-day rites. Then all the Red lamas of the country, the people of his village, the chiefs and elders of the neighboring villages come to meet him and lead him home in order to perform the final rite, which simulates the incineration of corpses and includes a recitation of texts together with all the lamas. Sitting on a throne in front of the ritual oven in which wood is burning, he pours boiling butter on the wood, acting like an officiant at a real incineration. After this rite he is heartily congratulated and receives some gifts: sheep, butter, tea, sugar, raisins. I never obtained an explanation of this last rite, or of its connection with the pilgrimage of the 108 springs.

Springs of water play an important part in the religious life of lamas and of the Monguors. It is not unusual to see lamas of the Yellow Sect, even Living Buddhas, sitting for hours in silence at the edge of a spring, slowly beating its surface with a flat broad lath. It is said that this practice produces happiness and peace of mind. 792 795 789 823

On the fifth of the fifth month the Monguors honor the spirit of the well from which they draw water. They make a *Wei-sang*[3] near the well, plant a stick to the top of which is affixed a bouquet, and prostrate themselves. The whole family wash their hands and faces with the water in the first bucket drawn, and rinse their mouths. Tea is prepared and all of them drink several cups, for it is said that this tea prevents all kind of diseases. At the same time they bury an urn near the well, thanking the spirit of the earth where 792 795 789

[2] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 126: also Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase*, 384, Paris, Payot, 1951.

[3] See Chap. VIII, note 2, p. 95.

[B.76(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the well bubbles, for providing them with water during the whole year.

HERMITS

In the region of Hsining there lived, around 1880–1895, only two hermits. One lived in the region of Waza in a cave in the mountains, and the other in the mountains around Hsien-mi. Both were strangers, who never divulged their names, or country of origin. They were not attached to any monastery and had no relations with the neighboring people. Each had a donkey which he used when he went to collect some flour and tea, for which they graciously thanked the donors and then returned to their caves. If some gifts were offered to them, they brought them to the monasteries and prostrated themselves before the closed doors of the temples for a whole day, and then returned to their caves without having said a single word to the lamas. The people said that they heard them reciting texts, ringing bells and beating drums the whole day long. Twice a day they built a fire and prepared their meals. They did not visit the people and did not like to have the people visit them; they refused all invitations to say prayers at the homes of the Monguors. During the terrible epizootics which decimated the cattle all over the country (1890–1893), they refused requests to pray for peace in the country. Their mysterious behavior intrigued the people, who could not get in touch with them. Then they disappeared, and nothing more was heard about them. They were not the kind of miracle workers so often described in records of travelers.

Monguors, talking about them, affirmed that in former times many lamas lived a sheltered life in caves, and possessed the art of working miracles.

In 1723, at the time of the revolt of the lamas and the destruction of the monastery of Seerkok where 2,000 lamas lived, it is said that the General Nien Keng-yao destroyed more than 1,000 caves in that country.[4] Because lamas in former times received the same education as at present, and were as eager for wealth and worldly glory as those of today, one is inclined to doubt such a fantastic number of hermits. I am inclined to think that genuine hermits did not grow on every bush, and that all these wonders and miracles did not occur at every street corner.

VI. SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is not an investigation of the origin of shamanism or its philosophy and religious fundamentals. Rather it aims to be a description of the type of the Monguor shaman, his training in 1911–1921, the spirits

[4] Han, Ju-lin, *Pien-cheng kung-lün*, 3 (I) : 47. The text does not say that recluses lived in them.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

RITE OF THE WHITE TIGER

The most important rite against hail is the one called 796
the Rite of the White Tiger, performed by the shaman. 756
Once in a while a Taoist priest and even a Red lama [772]
try to enact it. However, the following year a shaman 789
is invited again by the distrustful villagers, for the rite
belongs to the black magical art and is more in keeping
with the attributions of the shaman.

It is performed in May, before the time of the hail-
storms. The original and complete rite is not enacted
every year, but certainly it will never be omitted the
year after the crops have been destroyed. If a year
passes peacefully, then the following year only a supple-
mentary rite will be enacted, strengthening the original
one. If for many years the crops have been preserved,
the original rite will nevertheless be performed again,
for fear the original magical power may have faded.

It will be noted that the shaman deposited, in the [774]
temple under the bushel, the bottle he used for captur-
ing a human soul with which he nurtured the spirits.
The seventh day after the performance of the spring
rites, the chief of the village and the elders go to the
temple to take the bottle and bushel away, and they
ring the temple bell. A member of each family arrives
carrying incense sticks; the sedan chair, with the statue
inside, is moved into the middle of the courtyard of
the temple. All those present, holding incense sticks,
kneel before the sedan chair, and the chief of the village
asks the god whether it is certain the crops will be
reaped peacefully, and whether the hail will be certain
not to play havoc. Despite the formal promises of the
shaman seven days ago, suspicions are still harbored.
Then according to the ceremony already noted (the
sedan chair crushing the carriers, etc.) and according
to the pointers given by the spirit, the chief of the vil-
lage decides to invite the shaman.

The shaman and three or four of his confreres exam-
ine the country and fix the place where the rite is to be
performed. It is always within the boundaries of the
village, on a hill or hillock, usually at the northwest
corner, because hailstorms usually come from that di-
rection. An auspicious day is chosen for the perform-
ance, and a list of all the required items for the rite is
given by the shamans to the chief of the village. Here
is what the list transmitted to the chief of the village
of Toolong by the shaman contained: 20 black bowls;
15 wooden stakes, 2 feet in length; 15 tiles, 15 bricks,
15 eggs; 15 wooden planks, two feet long and 2 inches
thick; 5 small hand mills, 5 axles and a cart wheel;
an iron chain, which had been used to tie a dog, and a
lock; 5 bell neckstraps with bells which had been used
on horses; a mill stone, the corpse of a boy or baby,
a living white dog and a white cock, water drawn from
10 different wells, 5 lions made of glazed pottery, used
to adorn roofs; 6 earthen jars, among them 2 of bigger
size, and a kettle; a pivot of a millstone, a pivot of
threshing rolls, 2 threshing rolls, a plowshare, a harrow,

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the chief of the village asks him or her whether "Heaven and all the spirits" will really preserve the crops.

At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion.

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages situated in the Sha-t'ang Valley, which have a goddess in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death, without wearing the Monguor skirt!"[9]

On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple and spend a night with him. The tradition requires that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.[10]

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[9] I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

[10] The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a

[A102(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

clared that their power was too weak and unavailing, 796
that more shamans would have to be invited, and that a 756
big hog would have to be prepared. A few days later more shamans succeeded in the same way as in Hsin-yüan p'u.

This shamanist rite of the first day tallies wonderfully [171]
with that of the Wu among the Chinese and the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C. At the time of the state sacrifices, the Wu were ordered to call down the gods and human ancestors and to lead them to their "thrones," beating drums and dancing while a band of Chinese musicians played appropriate music. They pierced the future, knew the wishes of the gods and the ancestors, knew the desired sacrifices, and were proficient in predictions.[4]

Taoist priests in the country never perform such rites, 792
which are peculiar to the Monguor shamans, who after so many centuries have preserved them faithfully. They give an insight into what, centuries ago, was the religious practice of the Chinese and the surrounding barbarians, and what it is at present among the Monguors. The fantastic invitation and calling down of the spirits, their coming one after another along the rope, which the shaman pretends to see moving with his own eyes, with whom he talks, as if to persons in front of him, whom he greets cordially, is straight in the hallucinatory line specific to shamans. The best among the shamans go so far as to communicate their feelings by means of words and gestures to the well-disposed audience already believing in the reality of the rite and in the capacity of the shaman to see and communicate with gods and souls. They go so far as to make the 796
people feel happy to approach, face to face, the spirits and souls; to sit in their presence; to honor them, and trust entirely in them. To be sure, a religious feeling is awakened by the shamans at the meeting. All my [78]
Monguor informants asserted they were happy at that time and enjoyed the rite.

This is the only time during a whole year, when the community of a village prays and honors its gods and ancestors in a group. It was said that nobody would miss attending this rite. No wonder that the Monguors esteem and love their shamans, especially since the lamas never practice such a rite for a whole community.

RITES OF THE SECOND DAY

The second day is a busy one, since four rites are 796
performed: (1) possession by the White Tiger spirit, 756
(2) the greeting of the Goddess of Joy, (3) leave-taking of the spirits, and (4) the nurturing of the spirits of the temple.

POSSESSION BY THE WHITE TIGER

Very early in the morning, after breakfast, the shamans, beating drums and cymbals, sit around the pole

[4] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1188–1190; 1201–1208, 1247.

[p. 109 (A)]

evil spirits hidden in the village have to be expelled. 783
Usually the shaman is invited to drive them out. Sometimes a lama of the Red Sect is invited.

The shaman molds a small manikin with red earth 756
and straw. It is carried from house to house by four 783
young boys. Five boys, six years of age, run in front, each having half of his face blackened with soot and half whitened with flour. Carrying a bow, hammer, spear, and knife, they enter every courtyard, shouting at the top of their voices, leaping and gesticulating. Each member of the family rubs his face with a piece of a roll and red dyed cotton, and then puts these two items in a basket before the manikin. The whole group, with the shaman, then goes to the place reputed to be the abode of evil spirits. They light a big fire and burn the manikin and all the items. The shaman performs the dance which makes the evil spirits harmless, curses them and threatens to torture them if they dare to come again. This rite is also performed every time epidemics, such as measles, harm the village.

This rite to chase the evil spirits of the year, performed at the end of the year by the shaman, accompanied by boys six years of age whose faces are half blackened with soot and half whitened with flour, recalls the rite performed by the Wu shaman in old China. It is recorded as early as the Han dynasty (202 B.C.). The *fang hsiang* Wu led boys under the age of puberty, who were the principal performers of the rite. They beat drums, cursed and drove out the evil spirits. The boys did not wear a cap and gown of the same color, but a red cap and black gown.[10] It is strange how this old rite is still performed on the borders of Tibet after so many centuries, for the same purpose and at the same season, by the Monguor shaman, accompanied by immature boys, whose faces are bicolored as was the dress of the boys in ancient times.

In all the lamaseries in the country on the twenty- 783
ninth of the last moon, the lamas drive out the evil 792
spirits hidden in the monastery. Several *torma* are prepared, a big one painted with a coat of red paint. Texts, liturgical incantations and curses are recited by the lamas in the temple. The lamas, in a group, bring the ominous *torma* out of the monastery to a lonely, deep valley where a big fire is kindled. The *tormas* are burned with the same recitation of liturgical curses, and the lamas return at full speed without looking backward. At the same time, in most of the monasteries, there is pasted up an enormous head of a bull, made of paper, on which are written the names of the Chinese generals, Nien Keng-yao and Yueh Chung-ch'i, who in 1723 burned their lamaseries. They hope that the bull spirit may still molest their foes in their graves. In Kumbum the rite is performed after the festivities of the fifteenth of the first moon.

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[10] M. Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, 300–301.

[p. 129 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to suffer from all kinds of mischief and misfortune.[11] 777 Persons guilty of injustices have the problem of finding 685 a means of appeasing that spirit and of remaining in 556 possession of the stolen wealth by faking restitution. Lamas of both sects are conversant with the practice. Lamas of the Yellow Sect perform the rite for those of the Red Sect, and *vice versa;* but never for a lama of the same sect.

Five lamas enact the rite, which lasts for seven days. 792 The first day, helped by a carpenter, they build a 685 rudimentary sedan chair with thin lathes, and paste on 782 it plenty of colored paper. Four flags are set up, one 556 on each of the four corners. In the sedan chair are deposited five small paper bags, each containing a handful of five kinds of grain, five kinds of thread of the five sacred colors, some packets of wool, some rolls, white and red sugar, raisins, dried apricots, some meat and some new garments of the very cheapest kind. The sedan chair is placed in the center of the living room. In front of it, in the courtyard, an enormous bull head made of paper and having two terrifying horns painted red is put in a large caldron. A lamp is lit before the caldron. A piece of black cloth about two feet wide is stretched in a square around the caldron and sedan chair and is supposed to represent the wall of a city. An opening is left where the cloth meets and is called the city gate. Outside the city walls are planted painted spears and swords, one next to the other. In front of the city gate a stake is planted on which cabalistic designs are written with red ink. The stake is supposed to be the seat of the spirit who is the avenger of injustices.

The lamas, twice every day, sit in front of the stake, ringing bells, rattling drums, manipulating the ritual daggers, and reciting texts. Absorbed in meditation, they stare for a long time at the stake. Finally, they start imploring the spirit not to release its avenging bolts, inviting it to take a look at the magnificent sedan chair upholstered with satin and brocade and adorned

[11] The notion of a guardian spirit of the family wealth among the Mongols seems to be general and old. "This housegod was commonly called, 'the very old grandmother.'" Kovalevski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, 2158, Kazan, 1844, gives a description of this deity which accords well with that of Yüan times: "gardien de la maison, de la famille et tous les biens. Chez les shamans on le fait des peaux de moutons et de différents torchons de toile." See also Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *op. cit.*, 511. According to Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 174, the fear of a spirit avenging injustices caused to families is familiar to the Tibetans too. The old Bön religion in Tibet honored a protector-spirit of the wealth of the individual, called *Nor-Lha*. Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Altaischen Völker*, 276, 1938. Many Turkish tribes believe each man has a special protector spirit, from the time of his birth, who protects him and his cattle. In the tents is encountered an image of this spirit and daily an offering is made for it. J. F. Rock, The Na-khi naga cult and related ceremonies, *Serie Orientale*, Roma, IV, Part I, 1952, The Naga spirits guard grains and riches. There are Naga spirits of cultivated fields, of villages, of the ground upon which houses are built, etc.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

with silk flags, to look at the hundreds of measures of 772
grain put into the chair, the hundreds of pounds of 685
sugar and raisins, the hundreds of rich garments, and 782
the herd of sheep which follows the chair (for the few 556
pieces of meat are called a "herd of sheep"), and so on, for the other items. They implore it to look at the unusual prodigality of the customer, who is a fervent adherent of the faith. After the parody is played, the lamas have a good time visiting the neighbors. On the seventh day, at night, all the neighbors help escort the troublesome spirit outside the village, forming an imposing cortege with banners flying and drums, horns, and some rifles, and carrying the sedan chair, the caldron and bull head, the spears and swords. The lamas blow the trumpets made from a human femur. The bull head, spears, and swords are buried in a deep hole; a big fire is lit and the pit is filled, at full speed, flush with the ground. The stake is thrust into it; the whole group howls and curses the avenger, rifles are fired, trumpets blown, and the lamas return. The sedan chair is emptied by the neighbors. Restitution is thus made, the avenging spirit is appeased and thrust into the hole, and the thief remains possessor of the thievery.

A rich man, Lo san lao, who lived in Ha-la-chih 425
Valley, had succeeded in bringing to his home the fine 782
young lady of the poor Monguor Li sse of Naring 789
Valley. Calamities then troubled his family, and he invited Yellow lamas to perform the rite. They placed in the sedan chair a fine paper lady. The rite of the caldron and bull head was carried out, and the avenging spirit was thrust into the hole. Restitution was thus made by means of a paper lady, but he remained the possessor of the real one.

After many years this rite as performed by Red [792]
lamas, invited by the famous Sumpa Hutukhtu in order to compensate for the injustices perpetrated by his intendants, is still talked about in the country. The splendid sedan chair was on this occasion lavishly filled with precious items. A beautiful horse which followed the cortege was abandoned for the neighbors. After the bull head had been buried and the avenging spirit thrust into the hole, hundreds of people had tried to capture the horse.

The claims of justice are deeply embedded in the 181
consciousness of the people, and the necessity of restitution for injustices is always advocated by the lamas, although the magical rite of restitution seems to be a mockery of its real intent. Justice seems to rank first among the virtues.

In connection with this peculiar mentality concerning 776
the spirit who is the avenger of injustices is to be noted 425
the cult of the Sturlong spirit. This spirit is supposed to guard the wealth of the family with ruthless severity. It does not allow anything of value belonging to the family which honors it to be taken away. It is honored as a family deity, mostly among the Monguors of the

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OM MANI DAYS AND BUMKHANG

It has been noted that in many villages an additional 796
temple besides the community temple, had been built 792
and dedicated by zealous villagers to a Buddhist deity. Every year, in summertime, some lamas, very often of the Red Sect, are invited to perform the rite of the Om Mani. Butter, flour of roasted spelt, and tea are collected among the villagers. The lamas prepare the *tormas*, the cups with water, spices and flowers, the 108 lamps, recite texts, beat drums, ring bells. After the texts are recited the villagers start to make the thousand circumambulations around the temple, saying "Om Mani," spinning the prayer wheels, and moving from east to west in the ritual way. Old and young are keenly interested in the practice and all help to perform the thousand turns. Three lamas sit on a woolen carpet outside the temple, noting the number of turns performed by each villager who comes to have his merits noted. It is a busy day for the lama accountants. It is an interesting rite, performed in high spirits by the whole community. Youngsters run around the temple, competing in speed, praying "Om Mani" while old people walk, absorbed in devotion.

Another quite different Om Mani rite is enacted six times a year by older people, mostly women, members of an Om Mani society, which has a small fund for securing tea and rolls for the devotees. It consists of circumambulations around a Bumkhang, and the turning of prayer wheels, but in a west to east direction. The number of circumambulations is not fixed. All day long the moving devotees go on continuously. At least one lady has to be on the way at all times saying "Om Mani." At the time of calamities the whole population performs the rite.

Bumkhang means "home of the 100.000." Outside 731
of many villages is built a small Lamaist construction 792
at the time calamities afflict the village: epidemics, epi- [96]
zootics, diseases, drought, too much rain. According to the Monguor tradition these mischievous plottings of evil spirits have to be neutralized by magical means by lamas of the Red Sect. They are reputed to be more skilled than lamas of the Yellow Sect in indicating, by means of the deity whom they personally honor and invite to descend into their staff, the way along which these evils are approaching the village, and by what magical means the way can be blocked. Because the rite is thoroughly magical, the circumambulation is made from west to east, and the prayer wheels are turned in the same direction, the opposite way from that prescribed by the Yellow Sect.

Museum of Oriental Ethnology, *Folklore Studies*, Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China) 222 sq., 1932; also Der Hundekopfdämon im Volksglauben des Westtales under des Chinesichs Tibetischen Kontakgebietes im Osttales von Kuei-te in der Provinz Ch'inghai, 143, where the same belief is noted concerning the cat and the dog among the Tibetans of Penpa, neighbors of the Monguors. See also Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, Fuchs I, 40.

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Such constructions are never built inside the villages 731
or monasteries, but outside of them, maybe along a 792
road, or on a small elevation, but always close to the 316
village and on the spot indicated by the Red lama. In 1917 the young T'u Kuan Hutukhtu, advised by old devout lamas, decided to build such a temple along the main way leading to his monastery. At that time one lawsuit was succeeding another and calamities desolated his lamasery. He ordered each of his lamas to mold with red clay a fixed number of small flat rectangular Buddha images, called *Tsa-tsa*. They worked for weeks, for 100,000 images were needed. In the meantime mud bricks were prepared and carpenters invited for the building of the frame of a rectangular temple, having no doors but only a square hole on each side for the windows. At the same time five Red lamas, qualified for the job, were invited to build the home of the 100,000 Tsa-tsa according to the liturgical rules. To explain the shamanist rites against hail, the most incoherent and unimaginable items required by the shamans have been recorded, and the way the pit was dug and the items buried in it. The Red lamas required the intendant of the T'u kuan to prepare the same items (except for the corpse of a child, the living snake, rooster and dog), but all the things had to be stolen in order to be effective, and all were marked with cabalistic designs. Because the Red lamas do not use a corpse, a living snake, rooster, or dog, it has been said that their rite is not as effective against hail as that of the shamans.

On the auspicious night, the Red lamas, dressed in 731
their red clothes and barefooted, with a piece of red 782
cloth around their heads, descended into the pit to bury the items, in the same way that the shamans bury items at the time they build the mound against hail, and in the same kind of pit, communicating by signs. Meanwhile, all the lamas of the monastery circumambulated the pit from west to east, flying banners, beating drums, blowing shells, throwing stones, howling and cursing in the direction of the supposed fiend, and a big cypress fire was kept burning the whole night. Finally, after the pit had been filled flush with the ground, a stake was thrust into it on which cabalistic characters had been written with red earth and encircled with the blood of a white dove. What spirit the stake represented, which would block the influxes, was not told, but it was said that it was not the White Tiger. At dawn the carpenters erected upon the pit the consecrated frame of the building, and lamas started using mud bricks to build a wall inside the frame four or five feet high, the stake being in the middle of the building. Then a big Wei-sang was kindled, pounded cones and leaves of cypress were spread on the ground, and the lamas paved the floor with the clay images, one next to the other. Then followed a new layer of pounded cypress and a new layer of images, and so on, until the 100,000 images were disposed in layers inside the building.

[p. 132 (B)]

When the building of the walls was finished, the images 731
having been smoked beforehand, and blessed with 782
ritual water, and having had rice thrown upon them, were stored inside. Finally a roof covered the construction and a verandah with some prayer wheels was built around it, with an oven in front for Wei-sang. Each lama received from the Hutukhtu, as remuneration for the molding of images, a piece of cloth large enough to make a new lama costume.

When, at the time of epidemics, the Om Manis and cir- 731
cumambulations have seemed ineffective, the people 782
conclude that the Bumkhang has lost its energy, and a 789
new rite is enacted in order to strengthen its impaired capacities. The Red lamas are again invited. They read texts for seven days, and thrust a new stake in the ground before the Bumkhang, at night, while the people howl. They act exactly in the same way as the shamans who strengthen debilitated hail mounds. Because this act is not seldom performed for old Bumkhangs of villages, it seems to suggest that all the Bumkhangs in the country were built on the same pattern. This was the only Bumkhang built during my stay in the country, but old Monguors told me that all the Bumkhangs were constructed in the same way, not in order to be endowed with blessings, but in order to avert calamities plotted by evil spirits, and to block the way along which the bad influxes enter the village. The facts (1) of circumambulating in a counter-clockwise direction, (2) the way of building the Bumkhang, (3) the use of the heterogeneous items, (4) the thrusting of the stake god into it, and (5) the manner of strengthening the impaired magical power of the Bumkhang all over the country, seem to support the assumption that the Bumkhang built at Erh-ku-lung by order of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, a lama of the Yellow Sect, and all the other Bumkhangs follow thoroughly magical rites belonging to the same category as the rites performed on the hail mounds built by the shamans.

It is noteworthy that no urns are buried inside the Bumkhang and that no pole is set up inside of it, to represent the "pillar of Heaven." A couple of beams support the roof of the small building, but the magical stake god is thrust into the center of the building amidst the 100,000 clay Buddha figures.

This description does not tally with the interesting [114]
study of Dom. Schröder (p. 266). It is recorded according to my notes written at the time when the Bumkhang of Erh-ku-lung was built, and investigations were made concerning these buildings existing in the country.

FASTING RITES AMONG THE MONGUORS

Fasting is practiced in the country situated north of 785
the Hsining River by lamas of the Yellow and the Red 792
Sects and by laymen; shamans are not interested in fasting exercises. At Erh-ku-lung the rite is compulsory for all lamas. It starts on the twenty-ninth

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of the fifth month and lasts for 108 days. During the whole period, two lamas at a time are always fasting (taking one meal a day), while the others are free to indulge in food, but during the 108 days the use of meat, garlic, leeks, and radishes is prohibited for all the lamas. Lamas of the Red Sect north of the Hsining River do not perform fasting in a group of their own sect, but always some among them attend the fasting rites practiced by laymen. 785 792

The fast of laymen is an interesting custom, the consequences of which have an important bearing on the formation of the Buddhist frame of mind of the people. The aim of the rite is the purification of sins and happy rebirth in the paradise of one of the Buddhas. [783]

ORGANIZATION AND RULES

The rite is enacted in a group, in a few temples spread over the country, under the direction of a lama of the Yellow Sect, usually a Living Buddha or an old lama celebrated for his proficiency in oratory. At present the fasting exercises are only practiced in six localities, among which four are old Karwas (dating from the Ming period): Tsan-tsa, Pe-cha-erh-te, Marhtsang and Swor. The two others are Sumdo and T'u-kuan. The fasting exercises are never performed for laymen in monasteries. Each of the six groups has its committee which, long before the fixed time, tries to enroll fasters: Monguors, Tibetans, even Chinese, lamas of the Red Sect, men and women. In Sumdo the fasters usually number from twenty to eighty; in Pe-cha-erh-te from ten to thirty; in Marhtsang from ten to thirty; in Swor from twenty to seventy. In 1916 in Pe-cha-erh-te, I met seventeen fasters; in Marhtsang twenty-one. The Monguors of Wei-yüan-p'u and of the northern part of the Hung nai Valley are said to be the most fervent fasters. Always, a large number of men, even chiefs and elders of villages, attend the rite. 795 785 792

During the whole exercise, the fasters do not spend any money. The fast expenses are defrayed by the villagers of the locality where the exercises are held, and by the committee which has a small fund and collects some alms. To contribute to this rite is considered to be a very meritorious act. The day before the beginning of the fast, the chief of the village imposes corvées on some of the youngsters for the carrying of water, chopping of fuel, preparing cypress boughs, grinding flour, cooking, baking rolls and steaming bread, buying butter, tea, sugar, sweeping the floor. At Tsan tsa the fast starts on the fifteenth of the sixth month; at other places usually around the twenty-ninth of the third moon, and lasts for sixteen days. During the three days preceding the fast, the fasters are not allowed to eat garlic, leeks, radishes or meat, or to drink wine, or smoke tobacco, and continence is required. [622 651] [262 784]

The fasters arrive at night, drink tea, eat rolls baked in vegetable oil and go to rest. Men and women have separate rooms; they sleep on straw and cover them-

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selves at night only with their own clothes. Before 795
dawn the conch shell trumpet is blown, and all arise and 785
wash their faces and hands. A youngster comes and 792
pours some water in their cupped hands, with which faces and hands are cleansed. The fingers pass across the hair and toilet is done. In the meantime, a big cypress fire is kindled in the courtyard and the fasters cause the smoke to enter their large sleeves and gowns, whereupon the body is supposed to be ritually purified.[13] The lama director, helped by Red lamas or laymen, kneads flour of roasted spelt with butter, makes three ritual *tormas* with the dough, and disposes them on the altar before the Buddha picture for two days. Then they are thrown away and three new ones take their place. In front of the picture, 108 butter lamps burn all day during the whole rite; 108 cups are displayed containing the ritual holy water and a flower, along with two high vessels, one of them containing pure water and the other sugar water. In the temple, men kneel behind the lama and the women behind the men. The lama starts reading the texts, which very few among the fasters are able to read with him, but it is said that the merits of devoutly listening to texts which are not understood are exactly the same. He explains the rules to be observed in order to obtain the merits of the rites. The fasting exercises are to be performed at least for two consecutive days; it would be better to perform them for more days, and it would be best of all to persevere to the end. Several fasters drop away after two days, others start again a few days later, many attend the exercises of the first and of the last two days, but all of them have to attend the meal at every noon, attend the lecture in the afternoon, and sleep in the temple every night. In the meantime, the absentees visit neighbors or bask in the sunshine.

On the days of silence, it is strictly forbidden to talk, lest all the merits of the fast be lost. Except at meal time, it is strictly forbidden to swallow anything, even saliva; the whole day the noise of spitting never stops. During the sixteen days, it is strictly forbidden to kill any living being. In the sunshine, whole rows of fasters are seen searching in their clothes for vermin and putting them on the ground with devotion. It is strictly forbidden to take a nap during the sixteen days, or to go home.

After the explanation of the rules, the exercises start. The director blesses the sugar water, and reads some texts; a servant pours a few drops of sugar water into the hands of each of the fasters, who swallow it devoutly. Holding in his hand a cypress bough dipped in pure water, the servant sprinkles some drops in their hands which they swallow and spit on the floor. It is called *chiap*, which means the ritual cleansing of the tongue and the mouth. Then follows a strict command against moving, and the servant pours milk tea,

[13] Granet, *Danses et légendes*, *op. cit.*, 383. Purification by smoke was well known in old China.

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with discretion, into the cup which every faster holds 795
hidden in his gown. Then follows a new chiap and 785
the mouth is purified. The first exercise is finished and 792
the fasters go into the courtyard to have a talk.

At nine o'clock there is a second meeting in the temple. Prayers are said by the lama, followed by 108 Om Mani said over the beads, with devotion, in a slow tempo. The recitation of the Om Manis constitutes the basis of every gathering. This time there is no instruction or preaching, but again the rite of sugar water and chiap is performed.

At eleven, the same exercise is held in the temple as at nine o'clock, and immediately thereafter they have the only meal of the day, which consists of milk tea and rolls boiled in oil, followed by the ritual chiap. According to the rules the meal has to be finished before noon.

At the three o'clock meeting in the temple, the director gives prayers and preaching which may last for two or more hours; there is no sugar water, and no chiap. Then the fasters go to the courtyard for a talk. When the sun has set, they gather in the temple. There are no more prayers, but sugar water and chiap, milk tea at discretion, again sugar water and chiap. At dusk the fasters enter their respective dormitories, and strict silence is observed.

The second day is one of strict silence. At dawn, they meet in the temple, for prayers and Om Manis. The sugar water on that day is not swallowed but rubbed on the hair. There is no chiap. After the meeting, the fasters bask in the sun, reciting Om Manis, or turning the prayer wheels. At nine o'clock the same performance is held as in the morning, and sugar water is rubbed on the hair. There is no chiap. At eleven, the same rites are held as at nine o'clock, and the same meal is held as on the first day. At the three o'clock meeting they have prayers and preaching, and put sugar water on the hair; at sunset the same rite is held as on the first evening.

On the third day, after the morning rites, it is permissable to speak, and the rites are the same as on the first day. At noon the menu is changed, and noodles and milk tea are served.

The rites on the fourth day are the same as those of the second day, with strict silence, and so on, for sixteen days. During the whole fasting time, Wei-sang is not practiced, but every morning a big cypress fire is built in order to smoke the body.

According to the fasters, the observance of the rules is very difficult. Although the Monguors are used to eating whenever they like, the whole day long, they say that the single meal is the least part of the problem; the worst parts are the terrible regularity of the schedule and the deadening silence. This is quite understandable, especially as the rites last for sixteen days. No wonder that young people are not fond of the rite, and that mostly older, devout, and religious-minded people, and

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795
785
people who have taken the Buddhist vows, are the 792
usual practitioners.

TOPICS OF THE INSTRUCTIONS

Each year I seized every opportunity to get informa- 115
tion from fasters concerning that captivating subject, [124]
and asked the children in the schools about what 785
grandpa or grandma had said about the lama director, the topics of the preachings, the anecdotes narrated, the number of fasters. Every time the fasters reported that they were happy to have performed the exercises, although they had had a hard time. They had prayed in a group innumerable Om Manis, which had caused them to have a real feeling of happiness, and they had enjoyed the preaching. They seemed to be better Lamaists than before, for they spoke with enthusiasm about their experiences. Without doubt the fast rites had helped buoy them up and had given them zest for life.

However, it was always said that the directors of the [792]
exercises were not all interesting talkers, that some 785
were really boring men, but that they all loved Li, the 869
old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Every year, at three places at least, he was invited, and the fasters urged that the date of the exercises be postponed, in order to enjoy the old man's direction since he had endeared himself to the hearts of the people. He was an intelligent old Living Buddha, a picture of benevolence, with a great kind face, molded on pontifical lines, and all set for hearty smiles. He was a wonderful storyteller, with sparkling wit and a fetching sense of humor, who had the knack of keeping the fasters listening for two and three hours every day. He expounded his doctrine by means of anecdotes and unusual comparisons, which his uncultivated listeners could grasp, remember, and tell to others. He was a fine teacher.

The beloved topic of his talk was the life of Buddha, who fled from the luxurious palace of his illustrious parents; his terrifying mortifications and his endless charity, even for tigers and other animals, so that he had allowed himself to be devoured by the hungry tigress in order that she might nourish her cubs; his refusal to enter paradise, in order to remain in and save the world. Another topic was the paradise of Buddha and its oriental splendor where everybody hoped to go eventually; and also that of the eighteen hells, with all the terrifying torments used in the Orient. He used to put stress, in nearly every talk, on the omniscience of the terrible but equitable judge of death, who accepts no bribes, who knows all the merits and demerits of everyone; whose mill of justice grinds, in the most minute way, all our acts and intentions.

All the children knew that the poor in this world are 785
people who are suffering, for their lack of charity in 829
former existences, or for their covetousness or in- 869
justices. The topic of the punishments for injustices was one of those most elaborately developed by all the

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the old Li, I understood that for a people endowed with 771
these religious convictions, Om Manis were the sheet 785
anchor when things got stormy, and that they could fall 869
on their knees and crave for pardon for their sins and pray, when hailstorms mistreated their means of subsistence.

Probably the fast exercises were, at that time, one of the mightiest means for promoting the religious feeling inherent in Lamaism. Although the lamas never preach for laymen, in the monasteries, and although a lama only has a talk with them once in a while about religion, and although there are no schools run by lamas, the people knew by means of these fasting exercises that an all-powerful being exists whom the lamas call Buddha, who is all benevolence and goodness, and ready to forgive and to help. They knew the difference between the good Buddhas and the spirits, among which some were really evil beings trying to harm them, and others were so touchy that a trifle could upset them. They knew that a terrible omniscient judge of death exists who controls heaven and the eighteen hells, who decides about their future, according to their acts. They knew that at death their existence was not finished.

However, if account be taken also of what the shamans say at the feasts of the communities and the magical performances enacted by them in behalf of the community and private families, their savage struggle with evil spirits, the ownership of the country and the villages by powerful spirits, the cult of the ancestors subject to decay, the importance of the hearth god and all the spirits who are considered to administer independently their own departments, with punishments or blessings, who are supposed to know the acts of the people and their feelings toward them, it is easy to understand also why a tremendous confusion should exist in their religious thought processes, and why they should act according to the circumstances in unforeseen and confusing ways.

PRODIGALITY OF THE MONGUORS CONCERNING CULT AND RELIGION

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In 1914 a strong group of four or five hundred lamas, clad in rags and dirt, passed through the city of Hsining on the way to Seerkok. They were lamas of the Yellow Sect, belonging to different lamaseries situated south of the Yellow River. The whole country was upset. Rumors were spread concerning an impending revolt, organized by the lamas against the newly established Chinese Republic. Spies were sent all over the country in order to discover clues. After a few days the officials announced that the group had been invited by Seerkok in order to pray for blessings upon the Republic.

The fear of the lamas turned after a few days into a reputation for fantastic sainthood, and Monguors and Tibetans ran to Seerkok in order to offer gifts. The richest families competed with each other to provide the expenses for entertaining for one day these saintly

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

lamas, whose prayers secured the remission of sins and peace in the families, and assured entrance into the paradise of Buddha. The ceremonies lasted for forty-five days and were attended by an immense crowd. All the expenses of the forty-five days were defrayed by rich families. Every day, the intendant told me, ten thousand butter lamps were lit; four hundred pounds of butter were required for the lamps and the meals of the lamas; ten bricks of tea were needed, fifteen sheep, sixty pounds of vegetable oil, flour of roasted spelt, raisins, and sugar for five hundred lamas. Moreover, every day each of them received alms of one dollar.

Their morning meal consisted of milk, tea, butter and *tsamba*.[14] At noon they received butter tea, and rolls baked in vegetable oil. At evening they were served noodles and meat or meat prepared with rice, sugar, and raisins. The entire community of Seerkok had a good time together with the saintly guests, and the monastery reaped valuable benefits. This fact gives an insight into the unusual prodigality displayed by the Monguors and Tibetans when cult and religion are concerned.

At the time of the big festivities celebrated at the monasteries in the country, the rich families are accustomed to compete with each other to defray the expenses, and to entertain the entire community of the lamas. Then the devoted donor, seated on a reviewing stand with his whole family and his relatives, enjoys the ritual representations and receives, before the faithful audience, the blessings of the Living Buddha, the red knotted ribbon on the neck, and the gracious touch of the rod to which a *khata* is attached, and the scarf of felicity put on his shoulders. Manguru, the rich Tibetan who had succeeded in winning his suit against the well-known Living Buddha Temma, the bridge builder, presiding over the ceremony, defrayed the expenses of such a festival at Erh-ku-lung immediately after his victory. He was admired and celebrated by the crowd.

Rich families, being really devoted to Lamaism, offer substantial alms to the monasteries and entertain the lamas lavishly with tea, *tsamba*, sheep, rice, sugar, and raisins, at the death of an elder member of the family, and several times during the year. This custom is not unusual because most of the families have relatives among the lamas, and the rich like to enjoy the reputation of being prodigal toward the monasteries.

CELEBRATION OF THE CYCLE OF AGE

GENERAL RITE

The Chinese, for many centuries, have been accustomed to having a celebration at the completion of their cycle of age, which is sixty years.[15] The Mon-

[14] *Tsamba*—parched barley flour, eaten in the form of dough made into balls, with butter tea.

[15] Yeh Te-lu, The celebration of the Emperor's Birthday during the T'ang dynasty *Fu-jen Hsueh-chih*, 125, 1939. A birthday was not considered an occasion for congratulations and rejoicing in ancient China. The celebration began only with

toward the middle of the courtyard where a big fire 527
is built, which will not be allowed to go out the whole day. In the presence of all the guests, on the command of the master of the ceremonies, he prostrates himself devoutly three times, honoring "Heaven and all the spirits." Then, led by the maternal uncle and followed by the guests, he enters the living room, and on the command of the master of ceremonies prostrates himself again three times before the house altar, toward the picture of the guardian deity of his family, which usually is a Taoist spirit. Lamps are lit on the adorned altar during the whole day.

Then the celebrant receives congratulations as he sits [604]
on the k'ang, surrounded by the maternal uncle, the chief of the village and the elders, and the members of the family who belong to a higher generation than his own. On the command of the master of ceremonies, first come the members belonging to the generation above his own, bowing their heads and presenting the traditional scarfs. Then arrive the members belonging to his own generation who, in a group, bow their heads and hands nine times and present their scarfs. Then follow the members belonging to younger generations, sons, grandchildren, who, in groups, one after another, prostrate themselves nine times and offer their scarfs. Then the celebrant prostrates himself before his maternal uncle and presents him with a scarf, and all the guests perform the same rite. Finally all the women prostrate themselves in a group before the celebrant and the maternal uncle. Thereafter a cup of wine is presented to the celebrant by the master of ceremonies, who makes the traditional speech with plenty of congratulations. Then follows the breakfast in the courtyard where the guests are accommodated as for the big dinners of marriage and where the celebrated "noodles of longevity" are served.[10]

The noodles are made with white flour of wheat cut in long thin filaments. The celebrant, with the maternal uncle and the most outstanding guests, occupies the middle table in the center of the courtyard, on which, in front of him, are put two empty bowls. Wine is presented and congratulations offered by the master of ceremonies, and all the guests one after another take some noodles out of their bowls and put them in the empty bowls of the celebrant, wishing him a happy new cycle of years. The breakfast of the women is served after that of the men. In the afternoon starts the gala dinner like the dinners at the marriages, followed by merrymaking.

LAMAIST RITE

Those who add the Lamaist rite send some youngsters 527
of the village on good horses to the lamasery after 604
breakfast, in order to invite the Living Buddha, who 772
will arrive at noon. In the meantime, after breakfast, the maternal uncle, in the presence of the guests, starts inquiring about the alms the family has proposed to

[10] Schram, *op. cit.*, 42. [p. 138(8)]

offer to the Living Buddha, and being very exacting, 527
according to the custom, he urges that they should offer 604
five or more horses, two or three hundred sheep, two 792
or three hundred pounds of butter, five hundred dollars. This moment is the very important opportunity for the master of ceremonies to display his utmost oratorical proficiency in behalf of the celebrant who invited him, bringing the amount of required alms to a rational level (which has been fixed beforehand on both sides!). It is a means of making known all over the country the prodigality of the family toward the lamas.

The Living Buddha, with his two or four assistants, is greeted on the threshing floor by all the guests kneeling, holding in their joined hands the incense sticks, and is led to the living room in order to drink tea and rest for a while. Then he comes to sit in the courtyard where he receives the prostrations and scarf of the maternal uncle and of the celebrant, and blesses all the guests, touching each one's head with the ritual red silk tassel attached to a short wooden rod, while the assistants prepare the *torma*. He enters the living room; the celebrant kneels before him, having at his side the maternal uncle. He drinks a first draught of holy water, presented to him by the Living Buddha, and spits the second gulp upon the *torma* placed before him, and swallows a third one. All his sins are spit upon the *torma;* he is interiorly purified, and the *torma* is thrown outside the courtyard.

The Living Buddha, having blown three times upon some spelt, throws it upon him, and the celebrant is smoked with pounded cypress leaves and cones. Holy water is sprinkled upon him with the ritual peacock feathers. Ritual texts are read over him, and the Living Buddha explains before all the guests the obligations [784] inherent in the blessings: to fast on the first and the fifteenth of the month and Wei-sang; to attend the fasting exercises held in the country every year; not to kill any living being, not drink alcohol, eat garlic, leeks, and radishes, nor eat birds and eggs; to abstain from the slightest injustices, to give alms, to pray more Om Mani. Finally a yellow scarf, previously blessed, is put by the Living Buddha on his left shoulder and bound under the right arm. The man has become a lay-monk. He will wear the scarf under or upon his cloths to his dying day, and hang it on the wall at night. Once in a while a very fervent lay-monk is encountered who has shaved his head like the lamas. However, it is reported that many of these lay-monks are not faithful to their obligations, because many perform the rite and invite a Living Buddha in order more to celebrate their cycle of age with greater display and pomp, than to perform an act of religion. Then follows the gala dinner in the courtyard, after which the Living Buddha retires into his private room and remains with the family overnight.

The next morning a breakfast of milk tea, rolls baked in oil, and mutton, is offered to the Living Buddha. While the family kneels in the room, an entire sheep is

[p. 139(A)]

presented to the Living Buddha with the scarf. It is 527
the gift for outstanding persons. Then the master of 604
ceremonies makes his traditional speech. After having 792
thanked the Living Buddha, he starts his usual speech of apology: "We are ashamed to have treated the holy man so irreverently, the meat we prepared was tough and tasteless for it was meat of an old animal. The rolls were badly kneaded and hard, and boiled in rancid oil. The k'ang, on which the holy man slept was not heated enough. The holy man could not sleep a wink the whole night. Our k'ang is too short, the saintly man could not stretch out his noble legs. The felt spread on the k'ang was too thin, his holy limbs must be sore. We are a poor family and should like to offer a herd of sheep. We are ashamed to be only able to offer an old horse, saddled with a broken saddle. Our harvest this year was the worst we ever reaped, so we can afford only to offer a couple of sacks of rancid rolls. To add to our frustration, the wool of our sheep was so bad and short this year, that we can only offer a thin felt poorly prepared by an unskilled artisan. The butter we prepared for the lamas and the lamps is nearly all rancid. What we offer to you is more like a gift offered at a burial than a gift fit for these circumstances." Then the maternal uncle and the celebrant prostrate themselves, apologizing and presenting the scarf. The Living Buddha protests that he is very happy, and thanks the family for its prodigality, and promises his blessings.

At the moment of departure the family kneels with incense sticks in their joined hands at the gate of the courtyard; each of the assistant lamas receive two strings of cash, and the Living Buddha takes with him the packet of dollars. After him follow some youngsters with a beautiful horse, saddled with the finest saddle, and a precious rug upon it, with some animals carrying butter and tea for the lamas of the monastery, rolls, meat and sugar, and the news is spread all over the country that so and so offered such and such gifts with an unusual prodigality.

Poor families offer to the Living Buddha fifty strings of cash instead of a horse. The celebrant who belongs to a still poorer family goes at noon with his maternal uncle to the lamasery, in order to see a Living Buddha who performs the rites upon him and is presented with two strings of cash.[17]

This information was given me by several masters of ceremonies and Monguors who attended the rites, [115]
and had themselves performed them.

XIII. DEATH

In connection with the funeral customs of the Mon- 761
guors, a few words should be said about their notions concerning the souls, because these have an important bearing upon the funeral customs.

[17] Schröder, *op. cit.*, *Der Alters Segen*, 630.

[P.139(B)]

pounds of butter boil in another caldron. The Living 764
Buddha, in full attire with the mitre of the five Dyhana [792]
Buddhas on his head, squats on a felt in front of a table, with dishes containing spelt, rice, spices, and holy water. He recites the prayers, with a curtain between him and the oven, lest the sight of the burning corpse might desecrate his eyes. He orders a lama to throw the blessed spelt and spices on the burning corpse and puts some butter into a small ladle held by the lama, who pours it on the corpse.

When the rite is finished the group prostrates itself 764
and cries to the smoking corpse for the last time, "Do 768
not harm the family," and returns. All of them jump over a fire built before the courtyard, wash their hands, and rub them over a long knife used to cut straw. Noodles without meat are prepared for all of them, and they say five-hundred Om Manis. The lama receives his alms (always in an odd number) and returns to the monastery. The horse of the deceased father or the valuable headdress of the deceased mother will be brought to the monastery with a couple of pieces of best clothes to be sold by the lamas, and to have prayers said according to the value of the sale of the items.[36] The clothes carried by the horse are to be put on the saddle with the collar and arms on the left side; a horse is mounted on the right side.

In the meantime, the sons and sons-in-law have 764
tended the oven and closed the four openings. After 765
three days the members of the family and relatives open the oven, pick out the bones with chopsticks and put them into the small coffin prepared for this. The remaining fragments of bones and ashes are gathered up in the skirts of the gown and scattered on the mountain. It is said that sheep are very fond of such bones. The cremation must not be performed in cultivated areas, it has to be done in deep valleys or lonely spots. Every [784]
year after the shamanist springtime feast, this prohibition is expressly announced. The sons and sons-in-law bury the small coffin in their fields or near the oven, and make a small tumulus. While the sons are kneeling before the tumulus, the sons-in-law and married and unmarried daughters bring some earth a couple of times in the skirts of their gowns, and spread it on top of the tumulus. Paper is burned, a lamp made of dough is lit, libations and prostrations are made and lamentations are uttered. The coffin will be dug up again the following April, on the feast of the worship of the ancestors buried in the family cemetery, and the name of the deceased will be noted on the genealogical register (see Part I: 71). After the tumulus rite is performed

[36] A similar custom is encountered among the Mongols: Serruys, *op. cit.*, 137. The barbarians (i.e., the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600) invited lamas to recite prayers for the dead for seven days. They gave to the lamas in remuneration the best horse, which the deceased loved most; his best clothes and his coat of armor, and all the oxen and horses which the family received from friends and relatives as mourning gifts. See also Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126, and Kervyn, *op. cit.*, 112.

[p. 145 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the great mourning period is over, and the whole group prostrates itself and thanks the master of ceremonies, who will receive twelve rolls. 764 765

The incineration ceremonies for poor people are obviously less elaborate. The maternal uncle is invited, a Red lama prays for one day, drives away the souls of the deceased, and receives five-hundred copper coins and some rolls. The people themselves perform the incineration, bury the small coffin, and build the tumulus. [764 792]

MOURNING CUSTOMS

The Monguors today still call the mourning period the "black period." A son born after the death of his father is still called a "black son." The old custom of wearing black during the mourning period is still noticeable in the clothes worn by men and women, as will be noted. 765

It is interesting how the use of black as a mourning color has been so widespread in Central Asia among the nomads, even before our era, although in China white was the mourning color from the earliest times. During the Chou dynasty (1122–202 B.C.), while the family dressed in white mourning clothes, the inside of the coffin had to be upholstered with black silk.[37] In 626 B.C. black was already the mourning color for the barbarians living in north China.[38] The Scythians (Yüeh chih) in Samarkand, in A.D. 634, wore black clothes at the time of mourning.[39] In Tibet the head of the king was enveloped with a black turban in the coffin in order to preserve him against evil spirits.[40] The Liao officials (907–1125) blackened the bright parts of their hats for a few days in mourning for the deceased emperor.[41] The maternal uncle of Emperor K'ang hsi died in Wu-lan-pu-tung during the campaign against Galdan in 1695. His ashes were carried to Peking in a small coffin, put in a sedan chair upholstered with black satin, and in Peking the coffin was placed under a canopy of black satin.[42] Black is still the mourning color of the Mongols of the Ordos.[43] 765 171

The Monguors practice the great and small mourning. The great mourning consists of men wearing their coats inside out, not buttoned or fastened, girdling the waist with a hemp rope, and undoing their plaited hair and binding it on the neck with a small hemp rope. The women turn their skirts inside out and do not wear the traditional elaborate headdress. The members of the family of a lower generation than the deceased wear the mourning dress. The relatives, sons-in-law, their wives and children, members of a higher generation, do not 765

[37] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 184.

[38] Couvreur, *Tso Chuan* 1: 431. Zottoli, *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae* 4: 39.

[39] Wieger, *op. cit.*, 1569.

[40] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 191.

[41] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 283.

[42] De Mailla, *Histoire de la Chine* 4: 147, Paris, Clousier, 1778.

[43] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130. [p. 146(A)]

ister their clans in territories assigned by the emperor. 614
They formed a genuine enclave in a border province of 648
China. It is an enigma how they could keep their social organization for five-hundred years, conserve their traditions, and withstand being absorbed in the Chinese nation.

The Monguor clans, at the time of their submission to China, were military institutions whose families were organized into groups of 10, 100, and 1,000, each under a chief. On account of the shift from pastoralism toward an agricultural economy, villages became units governed by a chief, two military commanders, and some elders appointed by the T'u-ssu, all belonging, in the beginning, to the nobility. Military service, taxes, and corvées were fixed, and troubles among the villagers were settled by those appointed chiefs in public meetings. Appeal was possible, however, to the higher authority of the T'u-ssu, and as a last resort to the Chinese authority (see Part I: 76). The Monguors thus lived their own lives in their own organized world, under powerful chiefs; their soldiers were always ready to defend the marches on the empire.

On account of the tremendous power and influence 792
radiating from the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and its three 614
celebrated Hutukhtus (who were personal friends of 175
the emperors and from whom they received territorial grants), between 1604 and 1723 many subjects of the T'u-ssu, lured by better conditions of tenantry, became subjects of the lamaseries, exempt from taxes and corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The clan chiefs willy-nilly had to comply with this situation and in order to retrieve their material assets, and to have tenants till their soil, and taxpayers and soldiers, they had to enroll Tibetans and Chinese in their clans.

The double damage wrought to the Monguor clans by 614
this situation became peculiarly conspicuous after the 177
revolt of 1723. Those Monguors who, lured by the 175
hope of better economic conditions, had become subjects of lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas and continued to live as Monguors, segregated from the Chinese, to wear their Monguor dress, keeping their family customs and traditions in marriage, burial, and other festivities, but under lama chiefs instead of clan chiefs. After 1723 their social conditions changed entirely. Becoming Chinese subjects, they could not be reintegrated in their old clans and found themselves isolated in a new world without cohesion or support, and burdened with taxes and corvées. They started to speak Chinese, adopt the Chinese style of dress, marry Chinese girls, be buried according to the Chinese rites. Such was the classical case of the thirteen villages of the Sha-t'ang Valley, which before 1723 depended on Erh-ku-lung. The bulk of the defections among the Monguors was caused by their first becoming subjects of lamaseries, and later being thrown into the hands of Chinese officials, where they lacked the support of their former chiefs and religion. These groups of Monguors re-

[p. 157 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

wrought by barbarians in their country to indulge in 648
such utopian hopes. They knew too well that more or 771
less powerful tribes never had lived peaceably next to each other; that peace had reigned inside Mongolia and Tibet only as long as an all-powerful chief was able to subdue and to dominate the tribes, but that immediately after his death the tribes had always dispersed and began a new cycle of tribal wars. They knew too that barbarian conquerors had always tried to overcome China and had repeatedly succeeded in founding dynasties. In other circumstances Mongol and Tibetan tribes had only kept quiet along the Chinese frontiers so long as China had been able to wield sufficient military power to impose peace on them. The Chinese also knew very well that Lamaism had never changed the predatory instincts of the barbarians, and that the lamas in Tibet and Huang-chung had been just as savage warriors as the laymen. Once in a while Hutukhtus had tried to mediate the troubles among the tribes, but other influential chiefs of tribes and persons of standing had also tried, with comparable results of success or failure.

It is asserted that the Yellow Sect became an important power among the barbarians from the time when Gushi Khan, after conquering Tibet, installed the Dalai Lama as temporal chief of the country (1636), and that the Manchu dynasty recognized the fact. Before that time Lamaism was divided into sects, which supported the numerous political parties in the country fighting for supremacy. By mixing in politics and wars, and because of lack of unity, the influence of the sects was dissipated. The chiefs of the sects, however, craving titles and privileges, curried the favor of the emperors. The emperors were happy to comply with their requests, appreciating the asset of having friendly disposed influential chiefs in far-off countries, but always waited for an opportunity to use them to further the interests of the empire.

It was in this way that the Ming emperors (1368– 643
1643) favored the lamas in Huang-chung, whatever 648
their sect, by lavishly granting titles and privileges, and 792
contributing to the building of monasteries in order to populate the desolate country, and to keep the Mongol tribes quiet after the overthrow of the Yüan dynasty.

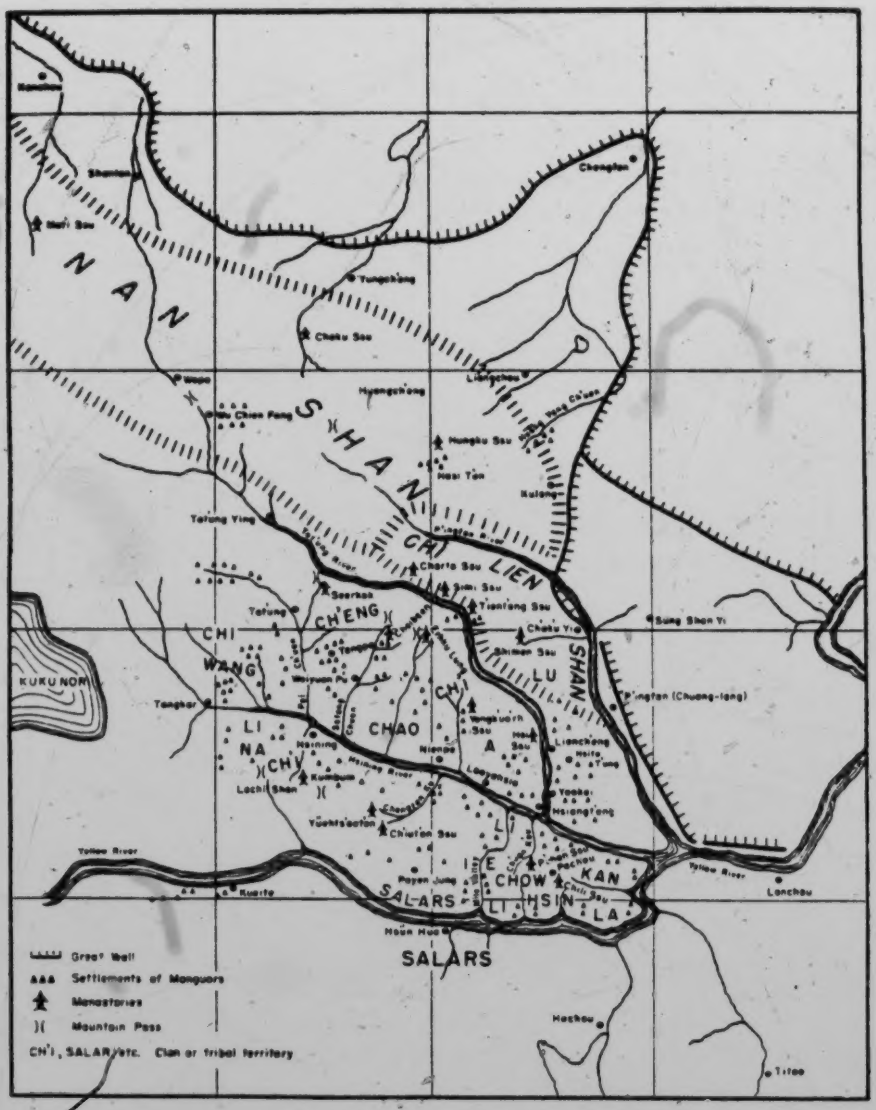
Later on, when Lamaism had become a real power, the Ch'ing dynasty engaged in war with the Kalmuks or Western Mongols. Well aware of the influence which the Yellow Sect wielded among the eastern and western Mongols and its questionable behavior toward the empire, the Ch'ing dynasty imposed its authority on Lhasa by means of its armies, but at the same time granted favors and privileges to the lamas.

The institution of the committee for the translation 814
into Mongol and the printing of Tibetan books dates 663
from the Manchu period. This was a remarkable 648
political provision. The most celebrated and learned lamas and Hutukhtus of the monasteries of Tibet,

[p. 160(A)]

5: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

102
361
133
614
792



[P. 7]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Tibet AJ2

FIRST DATA ABOUT BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

M 175x 792

The third fact is the foundation in 940 of the monastery of Dantig (Sha-ch'ung) situated southeast of Hsining, on the northern bank of the Yellow River. It was founded by dGeba rab-gsal, a lama of the Zin-dpon hermitage, who had been ordained by three lamas who had fled from Tibet on account of the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa, and had arrived in Hsining, via Khotan, and the country of the Hor (Uighurs). At that time in the region of Dantig there already existed great hermitages. The three learned men of Tibet were buried in a temple at Hsining. In sPari (the region between the Tatung River and the Nan Shan to P'ing Fan), there exists a stone pillar with the names of the three men chiseled on it. Later six more celebrated lamas fled from Tibet to Hsining. Probably the building of these hermitages happened during the span of time between the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet by Sron-btsan sgam-po who died in 650 and its persecution in 841 and especially during the years 756 until 842, when the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the entire Huangchung and East Kansu and appointed his officials. Lamas must have followed the invading T'u-fan tribes and built the hermitages and the temple in Hsining.[20] However, we have to take stock of the very judicious remark of Professor Tucci that at that time Buddhism was spread by single lama hermits and not by groups of organized monks as was the case after the reform of Tsung Khapa, born in 1354.

HT 797 648

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE SUNG PERIOD, 960–1280

M 175x 648

The Sung dynasty succeeded the fateful Five Dynasties in 960. However, it could not interfere effectively with Huangchung before 1086. Its action was limited to granting titles to Tibetan chieftains. During one and one-half centuries (875–1036) Huangchung was a no-man's-land inhabited by depleted predatory tribes each of them obeying a chieftain and having troubles among themselves (*Annals* of Hsining 30: 1, 2). Several inroads were made by them on the frontiers. They used to lie athwart the trade roads, pillaging traders and ambassadors coming to court with wares and tribute, making them prisoners and selling them and their wares and tribute.[21] Nobody could cross their country without taking his life in his hands.

M [487 487]

The waxing power of the turbulent Hsi Hsia and their inroads into East Kansu and persistent threats of invasions in Huangchung after 982 must have seriously intimidated the scattered Tibetan tribes in Huangchung and East Kansu, facing extermination one after another,

[20] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 2 (1): 63, 1949. E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism* by Buston Rin-po-che, 2: 201, 1931. Monguors II: 12, 13.

[21] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 108.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

ch'uan (i.e., of the entire Huangchung), a gift of 20,000 pieces of silk and a salary, making him understand that he was an official of the empire. At the same time he enjoined him to attack Hsi Hsia in Liangchow. Chiossulo judged his troops too feeble to risk the venture. Another official arrived with the same order. This time Chiossulo treated him very roughly. His behavior was not that of a subject treating with the emperor, but rather that of a nephew talking about an uncle,[28] because two Chinese princesses, Wen Ch'eng in 643 and Kin Ch'eng in 710, had been married to princes of the imperial Tsan-p'u house of Lhasa. The Chinese official readily understood the attitude of Chiossulo and informed the emperor (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 8*a*; *Annals* of Hsining **31B**: 2*a*). During thirty years Chiossulo did not care for the empire which intermittently waged war with Hsi Hsia in East Kansu and Shensi with varied fortune, nor did he care for the Chinese officials whom the emperor tried to appoint in Huangchung; he cared only for his own kingdom, appointing his officials in Huangchung and on the East Kansu borders. Huangchung was the only country where people lived peacefully engrossed in agriculture and where trade boomed.

M U 167 648 M 175X U 175

HSINING IN THE HEYDAY OF ITS GLORY

Chiossulo was in the heyday of his glory. He rebuilt the city of Hsining. According to the notes recorded by a Chinese official who at that time had been sent to confer with Chiossulo,[29] the circumference of the city was 20 li. The city was protected by a strong, high wall dotted with towers, and eight gates secured access to the city. In the center of this enormous city was constructed a large fortress having four strong towers at the corners. This fortress must have corresponded to the actual city of Hsining and the enormous outer city must have been built to secure a refuge for the surrounding people and their herds at the time of inroads from invading tribes. Chiossulo resided in the fortress in a sumptuous palace, whose roofs were covered with glazed tiles. In this city was a large hall built on a terrace having eight steps and a sumptuous entrance supported by huge pillars. The administration buildings were constructed inside the city, two small palaces for the princesses of the Ch'i Tan and of the Hsi Hsia, and a splendid temple in which was throned a gilded Buddha statue, ten feet high, adorned with strings of pearls and a precious mantle.

M 175X 361 M [94] M [792 532]

[28] A. Rona Tas, Social terms in the list of grants of the Tibetan Tunhuang Chronicle, *Acta Orientalia*, V. 5: 266. 1955. Relationship between the Chinese emperor and the Tibetan king, of uncle and nephew on the maternal side, essentially reflects the Tibetan avuncular system; this relationship, which used to determine the mutual position of the two rulers, is rooted in social history.

[29] Enoki, *op. cit.*, 90, 91. Oshono kika keiryaku ni tsuite (On the *Hsi-ho ching-luch* of Wang Ch'ao) in Mokoga Huho, Tokyo (*Meng-ku hsueh-pao*.) I, Shuo fu, **15**: 12 *a–b*.

5:Schram M-b (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

mantle. Trade was transacted in this city, where shops had been built and traders, artisans, and well-to-do people lived. In the outer city was a large terrace with three steps where every three years Heaven and Earth were worshipped, and also two smaller fortresses. More than one thousand houses were built in the outer city and many Buddhist temples with glazed tile roofs, and abodes for the lamas. Half of the buildings in the inner and outer cities were Buddhist buildings. Lamas presided at all the public ceremonies and participated at the councils of the chief. Five li outside the outer city, to the west, was built a very large lamasery with abodes for five hundred lamas and a splendid temple.

These notes written by the Chinese official prove that Chiossulo was fond of display and munificence, that his realm was flourishing and opulent and that he was a very fervent Buddhist, reigning over a Buddhist people and surrounded by lamas whom he revered. Hsining seems to have been a small Lhasa. Chiossulo was a descendant of princes who had lived in Lhasa, and the old traditions prevailing in Lhasa must have been fresh and living in his family and among his officials.

It is worth noticing that in the description of the opulent city written by the Chinese official, after many thousand Uighurs had surrendered and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo, not a single mention is recorded of a Manichean temple or Nestorian church. The Uighurs are known to have been professing Manicheans although many among them must also have been fervent Buddhists or shamanists or perhaps Nestorians. The Uighurs at the time of their arrival at Hsining must have been accompanied by their religious leaders and would normally have built some temples.

In the *Annals* of Hsining (15 : 2*b*), however, is noted a Pei-i-ssu the Temple of the White Clothes,[80] the stereotypical designation of Nestorian temples. This temple was situated north of the outer city and is the only Nestorian temple recorded in the *Annals*. The date of its construction is not recorded.

Chiossulo died in 1065 having had to defend twice more his independent kingdom against the Hsi Hsia, in 1058 and 1065 (*Annals* of Hsining 31B : 2*a*–*b*, 3*a*, 33*a*).

This history of Chiossulo is of overriding importance for the study of the Monguors. Unfortunately, I overlooked it at the time I prepared Part I of the study. It reveals how at the time of the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols (1227) and the Ming (1368), the population of the country had come to consist of T'u-fan tribes already mixed with Tang-hsiang tribes, a group of the Slave tribes and strong groups of Uighurs and Shat'o. It sheds light on names of tribes of Monguor commoners pointing to their Turkish and Tibetan origin. The fact that several thousand Uighur Turks had fled to Huangchung in 1038 from the corridor of West Kansu and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo,

[80] Referring to the white clothes worn at the time of baptism.

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AIH

at peace. This typical incident depicts the true mentality of the barbarian tribes at that time, and the impact of shamanism and Buddhism upon these old Manicheans.

M 175x 648
U 175 648

MA-T'I SSU, THE HORSESHOE MONASTERY

M 792

In the southern mountains of the subprefecture of Yung Ch'ang, in 1912, Fathers Essens, Selosse, and I visited a small group of Uighurs, living in the Ma-t'i Ssu-ku, the valley of the monastery of the Horseshoe. We saw two temples built in the rock. The upper temple was administered by lamas, the lower one by a couple of Chinese monks.

M 173

In the red sandstone of the mountain was a deep cave, where the lamas pointed to a large horseshoe imprinted on the floor. It was said to be the print of the shoe of the horse mounted in time of war by the legendary Gesar, who later became a Chinese god of war. Maybe for that reason Chinese monks live there. An iron stake was also planted in the cave on which two heavy chains were attached, said to be the chains with which Gesar restrained his terrible mastiffs. Legends were told claiming that Gesar had lived in the valley and built the temples.

M 792

At present the temple is an affiliate of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung belonging to the Living Buddha T'u-kuan. In one of his previous existences he had bought some land in that country, the revenues from which were used for the support of the lamas and the payment of yearly interest on the capital invested by the Living Buddha. The lama director of the monastery is responsible for the administration of the monastery and is appointed by the Living Buddha (Monguors II: 52).

M 175x 648
U 175 648

The monastery of the Horseshoe seems to have existed long before the T'u-kuan Living Buddhas and the monastery of Erh-ku-long existed (1604), for we read in the *Annals* of Kansu 97: 37, that a lama from Tibet living in Ma-t'i Ssu, named Pa-shih-ha, was appointed by the Dalai Lama to collect from the Uighurs of the country the *t'ien-pa*, the yearly field tax, and to send it to Lhasa. It is noted also that the Uighurs of the country, every time they killed an ox or a sheep, had to offer to the lamas of Ma-t'i Ssu some meat or a skin for the support of the lamas. Did the Horseshoe monastery or hermitage already exist before the Khoshot Kushihhan had conquered Tibet and offered it to the Dalai Lama in 1642? It seems to be a very old hermitage on account of the legends claiming its origin date from the time of Gesar.

U 175

The *Annals* of Kansu claim also that the Uighurs living in the Horseshoe region were Yellow and Black Tibetans (shera saro Uighurs). When these Uighurs had settled in that country is unknown. They were engaged partly in farming but mostly in cattle breeding. Their daughters married Tibetan boys; their boys married Tibetan girls. The clothes of the women were

[P-19(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

FIRST LAMASERY BUILT BY EMPEROR—CREATION OF BOARD OF LAMAS

175x
648
792

The lama San la of Hsining wrote a letter to the tribes of Han Tun to induce them to surrender and some tribes did so. The Annals of Hsining 15: 12*a*; note the surrender of the tribes, the tribute of horses offered by them, the appointment of Lama San la as chief of the surrendered tribes, the building of a lamasery south of Nien Pei, the name of Ch'u T'an bestowed upon the lamasery by the emperor, the first creation of the Board of Lamas in Hsining, and the appointment of San la as its director (Monguors II: 16–17). The example set by the emperor encouraged many lamas to act in the way of San la, attracting tribes to move into Huangchung, etc. So nan chi li ssu, the chief of the Han Tun tribes which did not follow the exhortations of San la, surrendered later, in 1397, and their chief was appointed Chih huei ch'ien shih in Han Tun. In the *Annals* of Hsining 15: 1*b*, is noted an inscription "appeased Tibetans" bestowed by the emperor upon the temple Ta-fu-ssu, built in Hsining during the Yuan by the ancestors of the Shat'o Li Nan-ko (Monguors II: 14), and there is recorded the building of the temple Kung-t'ung ssu in the city (*Annals* of Hsining 15: 2*a*). At the end of the same year T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to join the expedition of General Lan Yu against the rebel Mongol Yueh Lu Timur in Chien Ch'ang in Szechwan province. The rebel was captured and killed (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*a*; 46: 25*b*).

DEATH OF EMPEROR T'AI TSUNG (HUNG-WU), 1398

175x
[6]
648

T'ai Tsung, the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, died in 1398.

Since 1371, the date of the submission of the t'u-ssu of Huangchung, the circumstances of the country had changed entirely, the economy had developed, the population had increased, and the influence of lamaism had extended, thanks to the granting of titles and domains to lamas and the founding of peculiar institutions for those among them who induced tribes to submit and to move into the country (Monguors II: 16–18). However, the most important increase of the population was caused by the moving into Huangchung of 7,200 families of Chinese soldiers, numbering 15,854 persons, during the Hung Wu period, to start the first military colonies (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 15*a*). The civil and military administration of the country had progressively been organized and the conquest of Huangchung stabilized. During the Hung Wu period the Monguor t'u-ssu had proved their faithfulness to the Ming dynasty. They had promoted the stabilization of the country and fought for the empire in the farflung provinces of Liaotung, Yunnan, Szechwan, and Turkistan, and the prominent T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh had

appropriated the tributes brought by chiefs of Tibetan tribes, protected and hid people prosecuted by the courts of justice, and for more than ten years had fostered subversive influences. T'u-ssu Li Yin, discharged at that time the duty of Chi-hui ch'ien-shih in Hsining, conversant with these facts, killed the lama and his family. The country again enjoyed peace (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 10*a*). 175x 648

During the Yung Lo period (1403–1425) the military colonies of Huangchung did not increase in number. The same 7,200 families are recorded as at the end of the Hung-wu period. However, the number of persons constituting these families had decreased by 3,000 (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 15*a*). During the same period four more temples had been built in Huangchung: Yung-hsing-ssu, situated five li north of the city of Hsining, 1410; Hua-tsang-ssu situated south of the city, 1410; Tsang-chin-ssu situated in the southwestern corner of the city, and Kuang-fu-kuan in the northwestern corner of the city, 1426 (*Annals* of Kansu 30: 45*b*, 46*a*). Emperor Yung Lo had established in the valley of Sha t'ang, 80 li northeast of Hsining, controlled by the Li t'u-ssu, some pasturage for cavalry horses. In 1378 after the institution of the exchange bureau of tea against horses, 3,500 horses were acquired for the cavalry every year, and had to be fed on pasture. 175x 161 592 [792] [233]

T'U-SSU LI YIN

In 1426 Li Yin again was ordered to muster the Monguor troops, and to equip an expedition with the Chih-hui K'ang Cho[illegible] against the tribes of Anting and Ch'u Hsien ([illegible] old Tunhuang region), in which country the Chinese ambassadors Ch'iao Li-sse and Teng Ch'eng had been plundered and murdered on their way to Turkistan. The Monguor t'u-ssu who participated in the expedition under the command of Li Yin were Li Wen (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*), t'u-ssu Lu, t'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 29*b*), t'u-ssu Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), t'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*b*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 41*a*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*b*), Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*a*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 28: 13*a*). T'u-ssu Chou died on the field of battle during the expedition. Li Yin knew from first-hand information that the commanders of Anting, Ah-san-hsun-san-ho, and San-chi-ssu of Ch'u Hsien were the murderers. He led the army straight to their countries. The murderers fled with their tribes. Li Yin pursued them to the K'unlun mountains, and continued the pursuit several hundred li more, to the Ya-lin pass. There he administered a crushing defeat to them, capturing 1,100 men and 140,000 head of cattle. The brigands of Ch'u Hsien fled further on, but the Prince of Anting, Sang-erh-chia shih-lan, scared to death, went to court to confess his fault. 175x 648

The emperor praised the military prestation of Li 800

centurions pursued them to Kokonor and perished in an ambuscade (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 15*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 35*b*). 175x 579 64-8

In the autumn of 1583 Chulit'u, a Mongol chieftain of the group of Pin-tu from Sung Shan, in combination with the chieftain Yung Chao-pu of Kokonor, nephew of Altan, invaded the Sa-t'ang valley in Hsining with 8,000 horses. They killed and wounded more than 1,200 Tibetans, men and women, and drove away with them more than 4,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*).

In 1585 the Kotsa tribe invaded the valleys south of Hsining and was repelled (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*).

In 1586, in the sixth moon, the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih of Kokonor with Tibetans subject to him, numbering 10,000 horses, invaded Hsining, killed 500 surrendered Tibetans and stole 4,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*). At the same time Chuang T'u-lai from Kokonor raided Nienpei plundering many villages, while the brigands of Pin-tu and Sung Shan invaded the Yen-meich'uan valley, north of Hsining. They were repelled by the commander Wang Shih-te helped by the *t'u-ssu*. T'u-ssu Na was killed pursuing the brigands to Pien-Tu-Ku (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*; 31: 18).

The next year the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih in combination with Hung-mao tribes invaded the western valleys of Hsining, killed few people but stole 3,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33, 28*b*).

The Oirat Wa-la-t'a-pu-nmang, who had joined the Kokonor brigands with 5,000 Tibetans, invaded the valleys south of Hsining in 1588. He stole 1,400 cattle and 700 horses from the Chinese army. The Chinese army suffered a crushing defeat. Three t'u-ssu, Li, Ch'eng, and Chao were killed and 800 soldiers, among them 40 centurions (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*a*; 33: 29*a*).

In 1589 the Tibetan Ha-tsa tribes raided San-ch'uan south of Nienpei. The centurion Liu Ts'ung-jen repelled them and was killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*a*). At the same time the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih of Kokonor invaded the valleys south of Hsining and Nienpei with 500 horses, joined Chineng, the grand-nephew of Altan, and Tsaisengfu and Mangko-tsu, belonging to the Pin-tu group of Sung Shan with [792] 4,000 horses. They beseiged the monastery of Ch'u-t'an-sse for seven days, killing many people and burning the houses. The monastery offered them some hundreds of oxen and horses and they left. T'u-ssu Yeh and Wang pursued them and were killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19; 33: 19*a*).

In 1590 the Tibetan Tsantsa tribes plundered Sa T'ang valley and were repelled but a centurion was killed. Ch'ih-li-ko, who in 1587 had received the title of Obedient and Righteous Prince and was the second successor of Altan, accompanied the Dalai Lama with his army on his way back to Lhasa after the perform-

[P. 48(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

turing thirty horses (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*). 175x
The Wa-la tribes, afraid of the Chinese army, moved to 721
a salt lake deeper into Kokonor. 648

In 1597, however, Kokonor brigands still raided surrendered Tibetan tribes in the Hsining region. They were vigorously repelled from the Mang-la valley (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52). Chih-li-ko, Ordos brigand, raided the borders of Huangchung; 60 of his brigands were killed and 3,300 surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*).

The same year Liu Mei-kuan and Lung-yin finished 175x
the editing of a set of new *Annals*. However, a note 213
is added, no woodblocks had been carved, only a few texts existed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*; 27: 14, 15), and most of them were indecipherable.

In 1598 the Ordos Mongol Ch'ih-li-ko intended to 175x
reoccupy and to pasture in Sung Shan. He was re- 648
pelled and suffered a defeat in Liu Ko Chin. In the fifth moon he plundered the Wolanko region and was repelled again. In the fifth moon one of his tribes, the Shao-hai-hai tribe, surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*). In the seventh moon Generals T'ien Yueh and Ta Yun definitely cleared the Sung Shan region of brigands. The chieftains Pin-tu, A-shih-tu, Tsai-cheng, Chih-li-ko had long infested the Huangchung and East Kansu countries. This time the brigands were chased as far as 500 li (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*). In the eleventh month the Mongol Hao-erh-ch'i occupied Sung Shan. The Chinese Commander Li Wen and surrendered Tibetan tribes repelled them and administered a severe blow. They built a wall as long as 400 li, indicating that Sung Shan belonged to China [712] proper and was no longer the country of the barbarians (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 3*b*).

In 1600 Sung Shan, the country from which during many years many raids had been perpetrated, was cleared of brigands and integrated into China. No more raids are recorded of Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in Huangchung. For some time the Ordos brigands tried to recover Sung Shan and make forays in East Kansu, T'ao and Ming Chou, Liangchow, Chengfan, Ninghsia, but Huangchung enjoyed relative and temporary peace.

Kokonor brigands having lost many tribes previously subject to them, raided T'ao and Ming Chou to subdue Tibetan tribes not yet surrendered to China. They suffered a severe blow and 5,000 Tibetans surrendered to China (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*).

The year 1604 is important in the history of lamaism 175x
in Huangchung. On the northwest of the so many 792
times devastated Sa-t'ang valley, on the borders of one 795
of the small affluents of the Sa-t'ang River, a Tibetan lama Diasai, belonging to the Saskya sect, started the building of the humble hermitage of Erh-ku-lung. The hermitage developed to the point that it became the first lamasery of Huangchung for many centuries and founded all over the country forty daughter monasteries. Its Living Buddhas, Chang Chia, T'u Kuan

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

and Sung Pa, were learned men and enjoyed prestige in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet (Monguors II: 27, sq.). 175x 792 795

In 1607 the Brigadier General, T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chai, with his troops, was ordered to help General Ta Yun repel the raids of Kokonor brigands who in combination with Ordos brigands invaded and looted Chengfan and Liangchow. They repelled them, administering a severe blow (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 39). 175x 648

In 1612 the emperor ordered an honorific arch built to the meritorious Brigadier General Ch'i Teh, and sent the inscription to be chiseled on it: "Honorably favored by Heavenly Grace." The arch was built on the west street of the city of Hsining and still exists. Ch'i Teh is a descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i-Kung-ko-hsing-chi, who during the Yuan period fulfilled the duty of myriarch, with golden badge and purple tassel, in the region 90 li south of Hsining. The Ch'i t'u-ssu clan should have been well acquainted with the Tibetan tribes living south of Hsining. No wonder the Ch'i Teh T'u-ssu was called upon by minister of war Cheng Lo in 1591, together with Colonel Shih Chia, to induce the Tibetan tribes to surrender. His successful efforts must have been the reason for the imperial distinction (*Annals* of Hsining 10: 4*b*; 27: 28). 175x 703 211

In 1616 the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Ping-chung (descendant of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh) appointed at Yung Ch'ang, saw the Mongol Yin-ting-ssu-ts'ing arriving with 1,000 horses to besiege the city. He controlled only 300 men but fought for two days and nights, defending the city. He himself killed three Mongol brigands. When auxiliary troops arrived he himself immediately pursued the enemy and saved all the people and cattle captured by the Mongols. The grateful people of Yung-ch'ang erected in the city a stele in commemoration of his heroic behavior. The stele still exists. Commended by his superiors for his leadership and energy, he was ordered, in 1621, to move with his troops to Liaotung Province (north of Peking) to defend the region of the Pu River. When he arrived, Liao Yang was already captured. Ten thousand more soldiers were put under his command. He remained in Liao tung for two more years. Later he encountered at P'ing-yang the Manchu troops invading China. In a pitched battle he was wounded by two sword cuts and three arrow hits. He was helped on his horse by his soldiers but died on the way. On account of his meritorious achievements, the emperor bestowed upon him the title of "T'ai-tze-t'ai-pao" "Junior guardian of the heir apparent," and an imperial oration was granted at his funeral and an order given to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining with the inscription: "Served the country, manifested loyalty." The arch still exists. It was built in the large south street of the city (*Annals* of Hsining 10: 4*b*; 27: 21*a–b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*a–b*). 175x 648 [354 211] [211 703]

A very important date in the history of Kokonor, Tibet and lamaism is 1636. Ku-Shih-han, chieftain of 175x

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The situation was very serious, because the revolt spread over the whole country of Huangchung and was general. In the northern part of Huangchung, the monastery of Erh Ku Lung alone controlled forty daughter monasteries. Each monastery was a center of revolt, situated in a tortuous valley, guarded by towering mountains, for Huangchung is a mountainous country with poor means of communication, with almost impassable trails, and passes hard to overcome and control. 175* 648 579 [792]

However, Nien Keng-yao was equal to the situation and extensive powers had been granted to him. He had called from Szechwan, Shensi, and Kansu provinces combat troops inured to hardships, and had chosen capable officers whom he appointed to jobs that gave them full scope for their abilities. He called the Monguor t'u-ssu and ordered 2,000 of their troops, conversant with the intricate geography of the country and conversant with the chiefs of the tribes who lived in their neighborhood. He called all available resources into play.

Everywhere the lamas, the Kokonor Mongols and the Tibetans were the most furious fighters. This seems to point to the fact that they seethed with the greatest hatred against the empire, despite all the favors the lamas had received from the emperors. Nien Keng-yao understood that he had to fight savage and enraged enemies. He went about the job with draconian severity and acted without let-up and with incredible speed.

In the tenth moon the northern, western, and southern valleys of Hsining were cleared by three armies and the besieged fortresses saved. Many, many rebels were slaughtered. In the eleventh moon one army cleared the region of Chuang Lang and defeated Tibetan tribes. Another had to return to the Tatung valley, north of Hsining, to finish drastically the new rebellion.

bLo-bzang, considering the overwhelming forces marshalled against him and their ruthless behavior, asked to surrender. This was refused. More troops arrived at the rebelling monastery of Ch'i Chia Sse where 500 lamas and 1,000 Tibetans were mercilessly killed in the fight.

In the twelfth moon, Mongol Khoshot princes surrendered with more than 100,000 of their followers, while the army still defeated the rebelling Tibetans in the region of Kuei Te, where the monasteries were burned down.

In the first moon of 1724 the armies had to fight the monasteries of Erh Ku Lung, Kuo Mang (Seerkok), and Ch'ieh bzang, the most important centers of resistance. The lamas of Erh Ku Lung had called to arms all their subjects, who awaited the army in resolute array; 13,000 of their subjects were killed in the action. The number of lamas killed is not noted, but it is recorded that they fought furiously, that 700 lamas were killed in Seerkok alone (Monguors II: 34–37). 175* 792 579

[P.58(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The three biggest monasteries in the country were burned to the ground, also 7,000 houses and 17 villages of the subjects of the monastery of Erh Ku Lung. The whole country was a ruin. 175x 792 579

In the second moon a crushing defeat was administered to bLo-bzang in Kokonor by General Yueh Chung-ch'i; 8,000 of his troops were killed in several encounters, and 10,000 surrendered. bLo-bzang fled riding a white camel. Another army led by Nien Keng-yao, consisting mostly of Monguor soldiers, burned the monastery of Shih Men Sse, where 600 lamas and Tibetans were killed and a huge quantity of weapons was found hidden.

In the third moon Yueh Chung-ch'i went again to Kokonor in pursuit of bLo-bzang, clearing the country of the scattered rebels. Arriving at their central camp unawares, he captured the mother of bLo-bzang, his sister-in-law, and a large number of people and horses. Eight princes submitted. The Kokonor troops had been dashed into rout and ruin.

In the fourth moon the T'ieh Pu tribes from the region of Ho Chou, depending upon bLo-bzang, had started plundering while the troops were fighting in Kokonor. General Nien destroyed 41 of their villages and received the surrender of 37. Two thousand Tibetans had been killed and many had been captured with a number of cattle.

In the fifth moon General Yueh cleared the region between Chuang Lang and Liangchow from where the troops had incessantly been attacked. The Tibetan tribes and the lamas were defeated, several thousands of Tibetans captured, and the monasteries Chu Kung, Chiarto, Hoki, Nan Ch'ung, Simi and T'ien T'ang destroyed or burned. Then the army cleared the region of Cho Tze Shan. Most of the Monguor troops had participated in the punitive expedition.

In the tenth moon bLo-bzang was still not captured. An army was sent again to find him. Only one of his important officers and his wife were captured, but 33 princes submitted.[93]

It is hard to understand the reticence concerning the destruction of the entire monastery of Kumbum and the killing of eight of their most prominent lamas, for whom eight stupas were later erected. Now the Chinese call Kumbum the "monastery of the eight stupas." Nothing is said either, in the *Annals* of Kansu, concerning the beheading of two Living Buddhas (Monguors I: 34–37; II: 25, 26). 175x 792

THE T'U-SSU HAD PARTICIPATED IN QUELLING THE REVOLT

175x 624

T'u-ssu Ch'i Tsai-hsuan in 1723 had guarded the Ta Hsia rapids with his troops, in order to impede fleeing lamas and Tibetans from spreading the revolt

[93] *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52–58; 42: 24*a*. *Annals* of Hsining 16*a–b*. bLo-bzang had fled to the Jungars, where his friend Tsewang Rabdan protected him.

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Then the governor notified the lamas about the confiscation of their territories and subjects, and informed them about the revocation of the titles of Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih granted to the most prominent among them by the Ming emperors, and an order was given to hand to the Chinese officials the diploma of the promotion granted to them by the emperor. 175x 648 [534]

Most of these titles had been granted to lamas who had induced tribes to submit, and to move into the depopulated Huangchung, especially in the first century and a half of the Ming. At that time these lamas belonged to the Red sect, were married, and lived among the tribes they had induced to submit, but not in monasteries. They had received personally large proprietaries from the emperor, with a document written in their name, and a title. This had been the origin of the Karwas and Nang so (Monguors II: 18, 19). The son of the lama succeeding to the father, inherited the property and the title and was considered to be a lama. This institution lasted until 1723–1724. The entire lama family during all these years had earned a wealthy living, free from taxes and corvees, and received some taxes from the tribesmen. The *Annals* of Hsining noting this fact, and the confiscation of the territories and subjects of the lamas, adds jubilantly, "and so in one day these unjust conditions, existing for centuries, were abolished" (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 22*b*). 175x 792

In the same year, for the very first time in history, officials were appointed by the Szechwan and Kansu provinces to fix the boundaries of both provinces in the Kokonor region, and to designate which among the Tibetan tribes should depend upon each of the provinces (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 13*a*). 175x 624

During the years 1733–1745 orders were repeatedly issued for the building of more graneries in the cities and most important strongholds all over the country, for the amount of grain formerly collected by the lamas and the Khoshot princes was now collected by the officials and had to be stored (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 23*b*, 25*a*). [344 251]

In 1745 the Hsining *Annals* were printed by Yang Yin-ch'u. The first *Annals*, only two small volumes, contained many errors which were amended. 175x 653

In 1759 there was famine in the prefecture of Chuang Lang. Grain was loaned to T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng to help his subjects. The next year also was one of bad crops. Again grain was loaned for distribution to each of the Monguor families of the t'u-ssu for which restitution was to be made after three years (*Annals* of Kansu 2: 29*b*).

The commanderies of Tatung and Kuei Te became subprefectures in 1761 with complete civil and military administrations (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 4, 11*b*, 14). In Pe-ta and Yung nan a brigadier general and a lieutenant colonel with strong garrisons had already been appointed in 1725, after the revolt of bLo-bzang tan-chin (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 71*a*). 175x

[P. 63 (A)]

/23 cont'd/

584 787 the family of the fiancée will not neglect also to have the case examined by competent people. If there is a discrepancy between the two predictions, a third examination will be held.

If the alliance is sincerely desired on both sides, the solution will be quickly satisfactory; for the diviner knows the people he is dealing with.

In the opposite case, the examiner, a diplomat when necessary, will give an ill-omened solution, and the marriage will be shelved. This is a good way for one side to politely refuse a marriage proposal, and for the other to understand the refusal, without loss of face.

They say that nobody would dare do without this preliminary rite. This is easy to believe for anyone who is aware of the /24/ mania of this people for consulting fate for all events of any importance, all the more when it is a question, under the circumstances, of an act with such grave and far-reaching consequences...and in spite of everything, they often disregard this when the proposed match has won their approval.

584 793 [171] But by whom is this horoscope read?

The yellow lamas and the shamans, in Monguor bo, are never consulted, although lamaism and shamanism are the T'ou-jen's own religions. On this occasion they have recourse to the Chinese Ing-lang sien-cheng /lit., practitioner of Yin and Yang/ (diviner) or to the lamas of the red sect. The reason for this choice has always remained a mystery to me; no T'ou-jen was able to explain it.

584 This formality carried out, the father or mother of the future bridegroom, on the occasion of a visit to the parents of the future bride, proposes the marriage. The answer having been favorable, 583 584 "the mother alone" goes to the home of the family of the future daughter-in-law to offer the parents eight, ten, or 12 steamed rolls (it must always be an even number), four feet of red cloth, a pair of shoes for the little daughter-in-law, and several lengths of red cord, which are customarily plaited into a girl's braids.

They take tea, they chat, the little chosen one presents herself, they talk of marriage, and the future mother-in-law takes her leave. The gifts have been accepted, the girl has presented

/72/

585 THAT THE SECOND PROSTRATION BE MADE TO THE FATHER
181 AND MOTHER AND TO THE PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY.

Dē gŏrda thorguē āni āwa khudugu šgesdu murgu.

THAT THE THIRD BE MADE TO THE PERSONS OF THE MOTHER'S CLAN AND TO THE WHOLE CLAN.

Dē gŭrānda thorguē urug tharug imag saru ñiandu murgu.

Then in the midst of the greatest silence he continues in a solemn voice:

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO BUILD SEVEN FARMS!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO BUILD HOUSES WITH A SECOND STORY AND A VERANDA!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO SHEAR SEVERAL HUNDRED SHEEP ANNUALLY!

MAY YOU BE ABLE TO MOUNT HUNDREDS OF HORSES AND RAISE HERDS OF HUNDREDS OF OXEN!

MAY YOUR SONS BE NUMEROUS: SO THAT YOU MAY SEE YOUR GRANDSONS STILL MORE NUMEROUS!

MAY YOUR FAMILY BE FECUND AND OVERFLOWING WITH PROSPERITY LIKE THE SEA WHICH OVERFLOWS!

MAY YOU BE DURABLE AS IRON!

MAY YOU DAY BY DAY BECOME RICHER AND MORE POWERFUL LIKE FIRE ON WHICH OIL IS POURED!

585 Then the old men and the parents throw some cash on the felt at the feet of the young couple. The maid of honor removes the veil from the young wife and leads her into the nuptial chamber. The two lamps which burn on the table in the middle of the courtyard are taken away to be put before the religious image, where they will burn as long as there is any oil.

[793] Let us note the absence at this marriage ceremony of any religious personnel, shaman, lama, tao-jen /Taoist priest/; let us notice in addition that it does not take place in a temple, but that it is performed in the home, under the authority of the head of the family, in front of the ancient shamanistic sacred fire, and under the patronage of "heaven and the multifarious spirits." Marriage among the T'ou-jen is then, incontestably, /73/ something other than a simple union of the sexes. The wishes for prosperity enunciated

Mo /148 cont'd/
586 children are accepted in the family to keep the daughter-in-law
593 home better, say the T'ou-jen, and to avoid a second escapade. Then, if later one wants to get rid of them, one will send the boys to the lamasery to devote themselves to the service of Buddha; as for the girls, they will be given in marriage. I confess I have not met polyandry among the T'ou-jen.

Mo Likewise, prostitution in the strict sense of the word is not
548 known. Although there are the series of prayer-post wives and belt wives, they cannot be classed in this category. Indeed, they consider themselves as being married, and they are considered as such, and furthermore they hardly ply the trade of prostitutes. (1)

Ma [548]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 152: Prostitution as a social phenomenon among the Manchus is unknown. /Cited in English./

Mo Celibacy is practiced solely by the lamas of the yellow sect,
589 and the T'ou-jen furnish a sizable contingent to this religious body.
793 They are the only bachelors among the T'ou-jen. There is no lamasery for women in the country; all the women without exception
Mo [302] practice marriage under one or the other of the forms we have described above. It happens at the very most that one meets widows or women of advanced age who shave their heads and devote themselves especially to prayer while staying at home.

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Chapter VI

The Matriarchate

006 Summary: -- A. Present-day patriarchal state. System of the large family. B. Former matriarchate proved by: (1) Double burial. (2) The relations of the maternal uncle with the family of his sister

2: Schram--203 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Left, a T'ou-jen lama wearing the dress of the yellow lamas.
Center, his superior, T'ou-jen lama in Chinese dress.
Right, a lay T'ou-jen, their servant.

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor AE9

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/For information on the lamas and the hutukhtus (Living Buddhas) and their activities see category 792./

shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion. 771 754 [795 793]

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual. 779 792

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas." 602 792 614 775 [795]

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not 829 771

[p. 6(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

bore the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and fulfilled the duty of *Chih-hui*," for the same reason. 792 554

Page 8*b*: "The Ssu-hou-mi tribe had a lama 'teacher of the empire' who had been granted a golden seal." (This unusual favor must have been granted for the same sort of reason.) 662 175

Page 10*b*: "The Ssu-ngo-ssu-ko tribe, always revolting and plundering, submitted after a lama had settled among them; also the Hsiao-cha-erh tribe (p. 11*a*) settled inside the wall and submitted after a lama living in the western mountains of Su-chou had been sent from Tibet for that purpose. The Pen-la tribe submitted after a lama coming from the south had settled among them." Three more tribes governed by lamas submitted; the Na-erh-pu (p. 5*a*), the Yeh-ch'ü (p. 6*a*), and the Nan-ta (p. 6*b*).

The submission of tribes induced by lamas started at the very beginning of the Ming (1368), and continued during the entire Ming period. The country thus became populated by tribes which professed the Lamaism of the Red Sect. The strong appeal to submit was, on the one hand, the insecurity in the region of Kukunor and, on the other hand, the benefits which attached to submission.

THREE PECULIAR INSTITUTIONS FOR LAMAS

From the very beginning the Ming created in Huang-chung for these lama chiefs three peculiar institutions: the Nang-suo,[44] the Karwa, and the Ch'an shih chia. Nang-suo and Karwa consisted basically of the granting of a territory, the fixing of a yearly tribute, the recognition of the chieftainship of the lama who had brought in the tribe, and of the heritability of that chieftainship. The Ch'an shih chia also enjoyed the privilege of heredity and a yearly allowance of wheat-flour, but no territories were granted to them. 175 792 554 793

This peculiar characteristic of heredity for lamas is explained by the fact that at that time they must have belonged to the Red Sect, and have been married. Red lamas living in the same tribe must have had a chieftain among them who had been granted the privilege of having the chieftainship transferred upon his death to his son. The difference between Nang-suo and Karwa chiefs was that the Nang-suo chief was the leader of a group or community of lamas, so constituted that the entire group was interested in his privileges and benefits. The Karwa chief was a single lama presiding over a small group of subjects. His privileges included only his own family and private interests. The Ch'an shih chia's privileges applied only to him personally. Another important difference between Nang-suo and Karwa was that later, when a group of Red lamas adhered to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privileges of their chief lama were transferred to the intendancy of the monastery, while the privileges of a Karwa chief

[44] Mathias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, 262, Wien, Herold, 1949.

[p. 18(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

of the Yellow Sect were transmitted to his apprentice (usually his nephew) and remained as before a private interest.

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Nang-suo

Until 1723 there were eighteen Nang-suo in the country of Hsining. Sixteen of them were abolished after the revolt of that year. Only two managed to survive: the Nang-suo of Editsa, which had sent its allegiance to the Chinese General Nien Keng-yao before the troubles started, and the despised Sina Nang-suo which had been implicated in the revolt but changed its mind after the revolt appeared to be about to fail.[45] This explanation afforded by the Amban of Hsining and the history tallies well with what is told by the Monguors and the lamas all over the country, who disdainfully recall the sayings: *Chien pu kuo Editsa Nang-suo,* "no slyer creature than the Editsa Nang-suo," and *Sina Nang suo chiao ts'ai liang chia,* "The Sina Nang-suo plants his feet in two boats [is untrustworthy]." The Editsa Nang-suo having gone over to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privilege was inherited by the intendancy of the monastery. Editsa was still flourishing in 1910–1920; Sina, however, had passed through a bad period.

According to the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, pp. 6*a* and 6*b*;

> Sina was a group which submitted in 1380 and lived inside the wall, grazing its animals 60 *li* north of Hsining [region of T'o-pa], having a city and houses, and engaging in agriculture; it possessed a Buddhist temple, and its lama had received the title of "Master of the Empire," with silver and ivory seals. It was a group of 500 families, comprising more than 1,500 persons. It offered a yearly tribute of more than 300 horses. One of its subtribes was called the Small Sina tribe and lived in Ku-shan; its tribute was 30 or more horses. Its other subtribe was the Ssu-ta-lama tribe, and lived near the temple of Hsieh-erh-kang-chin; its tribute was 50 or more horses.

After the revolt, troubles did not cease within the Sina tribes, whose subjects had been compelled to participate in the rebellion at the beginning by the Nang-

[45] *Tung-hua-lu,* First year of Yung-cheng period, 3: 23*a*, 25. *Ming-shih-lu,* Yung-cheng period, *Chuan* 12, p. 27. In 1707 Father Regis, S.J., was sent by the emperor, during the period K'ang Hsi, to draw the map of the empire (Henri Cordier, *Histoire de la Chine,* 3: 333, Paris, Geuthner, 1920). He remained in Hsining for a month, visited T'o-pa and writes: "This village is not administered by Chinese officials, but depends on a lama, always chosen from the same family which belongs to this country. This family is the most outstanding one in the country. The lama administers these Tibetans (*Hsifan*) and punishes misbehavior. This people, not wholly subject to China, are rarely summoned by the Chinese officials, and seldom obey their orders. The lama chief does not seem to trouble the subjects very much, providing they honor him and fulfill their obligations toward Buddha, which seem not to be too burdensome. The three or four Armenians who were trading furs in T'o-pa, seemed very pleased with the chief lama, and praised his administration." (J. B. DuHalde, *Description géographique de la Chine,* 49–50, 1736.) Schram, *op. cit.,* 36.

[p. 18(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

suo chief, and had suffered enormously. Finally they refused to deliver taxes to the Nang-suo and asked the Chinese officials to accept them as Chinese subjects. The request was readily granted, and an arrangement was made between the Chinese officials and the Nang-suo by which every year the subprefect of Hsining was to pay 1,500 strings of cash to the Nang-suo; the Nang-suo could only collect the rents, and his subjects were henceforth considered Chinese subjects. This happened after 1755, because the *Annals* (ch. 19, 15*a*), say that "in 1755 the chief of the Sina tribe, which numbered 1,379 persons, resided in the village of the upper Sina lamasery." In 1910 most of its fields had been sold by the Sina intendancy, which had adhered to the Yellow Sect. Its resources were so depleted that the seals of the former Nang-suo had been mortgaged to the lamasery of Kumbum, which thereby acquired the authority to collect the rents from the remaining properties.

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The Lung pen Nang-suo is often spoken about in the country. It lived on both sides of the wall in former times and submitted in 1380, together with its neighbors, the Sina tribe, and then moved inside the wall. It numbered 130 families. Its lama chief had received the title of "Master of the empire" and the official rank of Chih-hui. Its subtribe, the Pen-pa-erh had one hundred or more families (*Annals*, ch. 19, p. 15*a*). In 1916 the impoverished chief was still called Nang-suo lama locally. He lived in the Naring Valley. He told me that his lamasery had been destroyed in 1723 and that the lamas had disappeared. His subjects, who had become subjects of the Chinese officials, lived in Ta-Hsiao-Kang-ch'eng. His predecessors had sold nearly all the fields and he could not collect the rents on the remaining fields. His neighbors said that his predecessors had mortgaged his seals to the intendancy of Sina. In early times they had two temples, Lung pen kui ssu and Lung hua ssu, which were destroyed during the revolt. Only one side of one of the temples had been rebuilt and the lama still collected some alms among his former 373 families. Often recalled also in local tradition are the Nang-suos of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, abolished after 1723. They were important in former times.

Karwa [46]

According to a tradition well known all over the region, thirteen Karwa were established north of the Hsining River during the Ming dynasty. In 1912 seven of them still existed, Li-ch'i, Ch'ien-tsun-urgon, Pei-cha-erh-ti, Sia-mer, Tsan-tsa, Chao-chia, and Huo-puo. There are no records of Karwa south of the

[46] The word *Karwa* is used in the country to designate the residences inhabited by Living Buddhas in the lamaseries; it is also used to indicate a domain and subjects granted by the Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty to meritorious lamas as their "personal" property with "right of bequeathing" it to their lama successor. It does not mean a grant of domains and subjects bestowed on a community of lamas or a lamasery.

[p. 19(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Hsining River. A Karwa is a kind of mediaeval seig- 175
niory presided over by a lama. Granted by the em- 792
peror, it is a more or less vast domain in which usually 554
forty to fifty families live. Pei-cha-erh-ti Karwa had 793
152 families (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, p. 16*a*). The tenants had in former times been subjects of the lama. There is a temple on the domain, and next to it is the residence of the lama seignior, with granaries. The domain is the personal property of the lama lord who is completely independent of any Living Buddha or monastery. The three lordship lamas I have met told me that the Ming emperors had granted this privilege to their ancestor lamas, each of whom belonged at that time to the Red Sect and was married. Each of these lamas had been granted a Karwa because he had submitted to the Ming with his small tribe, or had induced a neighboring tribe to submit to the emperor or had rendered service to the Chinese army, giving secret information to the officers fighting the revolted Tibetans. They explained the disappearance of the six Karwa which no longer existed by the fact that these lamas did not follow the Yellow Sect and remained married. They said that theoretically among the lamas of the Red Sect one son should succeed the father as lama of the sect, but in reality when the father died his sons divided among them the property and the subjects, and the Karwa vanished, with the result that the temple became the property of the village. The seigniors who went over to the Yellow Sect, however, managed to survive by the fact that the lama lord of every generation adopted only one apprentice lama, to whom he bequeathed the domain. The apprentice was usually one of his nephews, and so the Karwa continued its existence, the lama collecting rents from the tenants and imposing some corvées. After the revolt of 1723 the domains of the Karwa were not confiscated but the subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials. Only rents, not taxes, were allowed to be collected and corvées continued to be imposed.

The lama seignior of the Li-ch'i Karwa (who is a 792
member of the powerful Li T'u-ssu clan) fulfills, of his 796
own free will, an important function at the monastery of Chie-bzang, but he remains the proprietor of his Karwa and has one apprentice who will inherit the domain. Every year on the tenth of the tenth moon, he invites to his small temple four lamas, alternatively, of the Yellow and the Red Sects, to pray from sunrise to sunset for blessings upon his "subjects," who bring a contribution of twenty pounds of butter and five sheep. The lord provides tea and noodles. The subjects all enjoy attending the religious ceremony and the annual dinner, and are used to the custom of going home at sunrise the next day. The Pei-cha-erh ti Karwa is still celebrated for the fasting rites held at its temple, about which more will be said. 792

The lord of the Tsan-tsa Karwa, feeling lonely in his 554
estate, married a young girl in 1914. All the members 428

[p. 19(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Apprentices who receive part of their training for a couple of years from another shaman, during the summer time, and who acknowledge him as their master, offer him a gown upon completion of their education. In return, they receive a drum from him. The rules of apprenticeship among the shamans are the same as those already noted for other apprentices, such as carpenters. 756 534 [874]

The overwhelming magical significance attached to the drum by the nomad shamans is lacking among the Monguor shamans. Among the nomads, when the apprentice, after completing his depressing training, beats the drum for the first time, he becomes hypnotized and tranced.[25] Although the Monguor shamans consider the drum a sacred magical object, the same overriding importance is not attached to it.

The drum is built in a primitive way. A handle is attached to an iron circle with iron rings, which produce noise when the drum is beaten. On the iron circle is stretched a piece of goatskin, which has been soaked in water and shaved. On its surface are often painted crude pictures of heaven, with the sun, moon, the big and the little dippers, stars and clouds. The drumstick is usually made from peachwood or strips of goat hide twisted together.

THE KNIFE

The shamans use a knife when driving away the evil spirits. The knife is twelve inches long and two inches wide, and pointed at the end. To the handle are attached noisemaking iron rings. Sometimes the Chinese knife used for cutting noodles is substituted. 756 413 293

THE MAGIC STAFF

The staff, which is of wood, seems to be an important tool.[26] To the top is affixed a copper mirror surmounted by a three-pronged iron fork to which tassels of red rope are attached. The staff ends in an iron point, so that it may be planted erect in the ground during the time when council with the spirit is asked for. The magic staff is a tool used by lamas and Taoists as well as by shamans. The staff of the lamas differs from that of the shamans in that the mirror is surmounted by a copper skull, while above the skull is the point of a spear. The staff of the Taoists has an octagonal shaft with an iron point on top.

Each time, before performing a rite, the shaman asks his spirits in the staff about the most fitting rite for the circumstance, the sacrifice to be offered. The answer is supplied by the twelve spirits making the arms of the shaman shiver, and so he knows how to conjure evil spirits who harm persons, families, or herds. It is always called *Yang-t'ou san-ch'iang*. (I could never get an explanation of this Chinese term.) The staff is used when the shamans go into private families in order 756 793

[25] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 79.

[26] Ugo Holmbergs, Siberian mythology, in *Mythology of all races* 4: 522, Boston, 1927.

[p.84(A)]

to drive away evil spirits. It is not used during the ceremonies celebrated in the temple of the village. The staff is considered to be endowed with magical power and is planted before the picture of the Twelve Tengris honored by the shaman at his home. It is honored like an idol; the shaman burns incense and prostrates himself before it. 756 793

Every time a shaman uses his tools they have to be purified. By smoking them above a fire of cypress boughs. It is said that some laymen who honor a special spirit are able to use a staff and to call their spirit into it.

SPIRITS HONORED BY THE SHAMANS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans involves the very interesting question of how and to what extent shamanism and Taoism became mixed and interwoven among the Monguor shamans—a question which is all the more interesting because it has often been written that shamanism and Taoism are strongly linked together. In order to tackle the problem it is necessary to determine whether the spirits honored by shamans and Taoists are the same, whether the ways of worshipping them are similar, and what may have been the reason for the intermixture of the two religions. 756 177 171

SHAMANS, DISCIPLES OF THE TAOIST GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The most baffling and confusing fact in this respect is that all the Monguor shamans overtly claim to be disciples of the "god of the five roads," the Wu-tao-shen, who is a Taoist god. 756 776 171

When the chiefs of the villages invite a shaman to perform his rites of spring or autumn for the community, they send one of the elders with an official invitation written on a slip of red paper, "to [sir] Hsien-sheng so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads." During the Mongol dynasty the term *Hsien-sheng* was only used for Taoist priests. On New Year's the shamans send to the chiefs of the villages and to outstanding people a card reading, "Happy Congratulations of so-and-so, disciple of the god of the five roads." It has already been noted that the crown worn by the Monguor shamans represents the god of the Five Roads, that one of the caps worn during the performance of the rites is the cap of the Taoist priests, and that the pattern of their gown, except for its color, is the same as that of the Taoist priests. It has been noted that the Monguor shamans are members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the city. When a shaman dies he is buried wearing the crown of the god of the Five Roads. If one adds that many of the temples in the villages in which the shamans perform their rites are dedicated to the god of the Five Roads, and that at the same time more Taoist statues are honored in them, it gives the impression that the shamans are a kind of Taoist. Not only does the cult of the god of

[p. 84 (B)]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

TOPICS OF THE MEETINGS

623 651 The most important and delicate topic of discussion at meetings is always the subject of taxes. These taxes are decreed by the T'u-ssu as a lump sum imposed on the entire village. The villagers have then to group themselves by wealth in five classes and to pay more or less taxes according to this classification. The classification of families is a very difficult and delicate problem. In the discussion everybody asserts that he is, and proves himself to be, the poorest man in the village, deserving to be put in the lowest classification. The tax imposed on the village is compared with the taxes on other villages, and the chief of the village is criticized for not having defended the interests of his village. These meetings also fix the date on which the taxes have to be ready either to be carried by the villagers in a group to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, or to be ready for the nobles who come to collect them. Illegal and oppressive exactions by the officials of the T'u-ssu and difficulties with the collecting nobles are discussed, and entrusted to the chief of the village for redress or for conciliation with the T'u-ssu.

623 312 Another important topic is the digging or repairing of irrigation canals. The number of digging days required from each family is adjusted to the amount of land each family cultivates. Quarrels are patched up with families accused of having kept the water from the canal turned into their fields for longer than the allotted time. The proper time is calculated by the time taken to burn a certain number of incense sticks for the irrigation of a determined acreage of fields.

623 651 794 At these meetings the contributions of every family are fixed for the expenses of keeping the village temple in repair and payments to the shamans who perform the two important rites of spring and of protection against storms and hail, and of thanksgiving for the harvest.[4] An apportionment is also made of the liability of members for all kinds of corvées, or obligatory services, religious as well as administrative. The groups of youngsters must be ready day and night to stay in and even sleep in the temple in order to avert the danger of hail and storms in summer. Duties must be assigned also for taking care of the sacred animal of the village, and for preparing the performance of all kinds of religious rites carried out on behalf of the village. Villagers must also be designated for all kinds of corvée service at the mansion of the T'u-ssu.

622 627 The officials must also be prepared to deal with all kinds of problems in the private lives of the villagers (except family vengeance feuds). If a villager has got himself into difficulties or is burdened with troubles not of his own making he goes to the chief of the village, presents to him a scarf of felicity and a bottle of wine, and invites him to iron out the problem. The chief

[4] The religious aspects of Monguor life will be discussed in a second volume, now being prepared for publication.

[835 cont.]

241 782 procession moves from the temple directly to the nearest mountain and along the ridges across all the mountains of the entire village area. On each height the customary incense offering is burned by the two men, while the procession itself moves on. Towards midday, however, a halt is made on a height especially designated for this purpose. After the incense offering refreshments [264] are taken. The people bring bread, tea, and soup here in advance. Then the procession marches on. Not until evening does one return to the temple. On the following day the people take the books back to the lama monastery.

[836] **Details**

[562] Persons: Only male persons may take part in the procession, regardless of whether they are adults or boys, so long as they are strong enough to carry the heavy book and can pray the mani. The seed-supervisor determines how many persons each family must provide to make up the number of 108 book-bearers. If there are not enough people in one village, help is brought in from the neighborhood. Chinese are also admitted. -- In fetching and taking the books back to the monastery the number does not matter, so one person may carry two books. The Tibetan books are, to be sure, very large and heavy, since they are bound between two boards.

241 782 624 794 The seed-supervisor is changed every year at the harvest thanksgiving offering. He is charged with taking care of all the religious celebrations of the year. He is not the village mayor, however. Because his main concern is the seed, he is called seed-supervisor. The supervisor of the past year helps him (2).

[171] [797] 2. [Foreign text p. 838.] The Chinese, too, have such a religious supervisor who is chosen annually. Usually he is simply called t'ou-jen, that is, head man, or he is also called huei-t'ou, that is, meeting (festival) head; ch'ing-miao t'ou is also used,

[836 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.]
but only for the period of the sowing festival with the cult dances. -- The Christian missionaries have taken over this arrangement for their ecclesiastical celebrations and folk festivals. Thus, besides the community mayors there are also special supervisors who, for instance, organize the festival for processions or at Easter, accommodate the guests, slaughter the festival sheep, etc.

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It is not absolutely necessary for there to be several soothsayers. If a village has several, however, they must all appear. If it has none at all, then it invites at least one from outside. A lama or a Bon priest is never invited.

Time: The time for the procession around the field is determined by the soothsayer at the pole-goat offering in the spring (aradziãñ) on the thirteenth day in the fifth month. The procession itself must always be in the seventh month, when the seed is developing ears, because the greatest danger for the coming harvest is precisely at this time on account of the many and big storms during this month (3). The time is also often

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3. [Foreign text p. 838.] Cf. the sections, "Mountain Sheep-offering" and "Pole-goat."

determined in the lamasery. Since, of course, there are many villages that want to hold the procession, it may happen that two villages set the same time. Therefore the seed-supervisor goes to the monastery a month in advance and inquires when the books are available. The day is determined accordingly. -- It is usually calculated that the ceremony will last three days, one day for fetching the books, one for the procession, and one for

3: Schröder--248.M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor:	tōrōdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.
Trumpet:	dōṅ; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.
Cymbals:	nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rëbuoġë (?). ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.
Flags:	ch'i-tzu (Chin.).
Books:	luān = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.
Book-bearers:	luān rëgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

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VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

* See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

778
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[777]
[782]
[787]
[791]

When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or 781
to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one 788
understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration to Buddha.

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. 794
The chief of the family is its religious head and its representative. 782 He worships "Heaven and all the spirits" on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each family honors the image of its family protector-deity. At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue worshipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors. The chief of the family is its representative at the performance of public rites. Attended by his family, he performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fingering his prayer beads.

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of 794
the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of 622
the village and its elders administer both the official and religious life of the people in it. Even as they apportion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth [651]
and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum for religious services. They impose corvées on the villagers for municipal functions as well as for such religious functions as protection against hailstorms or the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner, heads of families are summoned to participate in rites at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain. The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief. He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as the family chief does in his own circle.

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious [614]
life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter. It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite. On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry about public worship in the village and the morality of his subjects.

Religious activities are part of the family and social life of the Monguor society. Their social organization is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Mon- 771
guors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are 754
not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fer- 756
vent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor

[p. 6(A)]

understand the striking incompatibility which exists 829
between the religious and philosophical principles of 771
these religions, while we see the paradox of things which cannot coexist logically, actually coexisting in a very smooth and natural way. The Monguors believe that each of these religions is right, and practice them according to their various circumstances of life. While their knowledge about dogmas and religion is limited and unstable, their religious spirit is unusually developed. What is the reason for this trend of mind, this carelessness concerning differences between religions and philosophical principles? Our illusions and misunderstandings occur because we compare the conversion to Lamaism of the Mongols and the Monguors with the conversion to Christianity of peoples in ancient times, and assume that a similar change of mind took place among the Monguors. We envision churches filled to capacity for weekly worship, people receiving instructions about definite dogmas, children attending parochial schools, learning prayers, studying religion, and being educated in their belief, and we also envision a group of religious leaders, proficient in the religious sciences, but none of these exist or form a part of Lamaism.

The vast and splendid temples in the monasteries 792
are not churches or places where the faithful fulfill in 794
common their religious duties. Lamas recite texts in 796
the temples; laymen do not. There are no spiritual 771
leaders, skilled in religious sciences, to preach and instruct the faithful. Nowhere are there parochial schools for children; nor is anything done to provide serious religious education for the people. Lamaists are like stray sheep without shepherds, for nowhere is there a pastor or rector taking care of definite groups of the faithful. In teaching Christianity, new notions and principles were instilled in the minds of prospective converts. Their incompatibility with the principles of other religions was explained. The prospective converts were taught that they must live according to the principles of Christianity; that in order to do this they would have to change from their way of life to the Christian way, by changing their conduct, feelings, habits, and way of thinking. None of these things are taught about Lamaism. The religious value of the faith is never explained. No zeal is displayed in order to form serious types of Lamaists. The lama does not care about the shaman as he performs his rites; the shaman does not mind, and acts in like manner; the Taoist, considered as the second best, does not bother, for he is very happy to be invited and to earn some money. Shamans are considered the most potent men in certain circumstances, while lamas are believed to be the appropriate performers of certain kinds of rites. Consequently, the two religions are considered equally necessary and equally right.

The fact that serious Lamaists are not formed ap- 771
pears to be responsible for the Mongours still being fer-

[p. 7(A)]

tery in the most luxurious style. The head temple, with 175
its gilt tiled roof, which had been preserved, was em- 792
bellished and other temples rebuilt. He rebuilt a splen- 346
did palace for himself patterned after the most luxurious palaces in Peking. Chang-chia's Ch'ie-bzan was the wealthiest monastery in the country, with 150 lamas, 2 colleges, and 4 minor Living Buddhas. Most of its wealth was provided by Mongols, among whom the influence and prestige of Chang-chia was proverbial.

Every year, lama expeditions of Ch'ie-bzan traveled 175
in Mongolia in order to collect alms. Chang-chia's 794
prestige was so great that the Queen of the Torgots 648
came to Ch'ie-bzan in 1913, to invite the intendant of the monastery to send an expedition among her tribesmen, for it had been a long time since an expedition had reached her country. I happened to be at Ch'ie-bzan in 1914 when the expedition returned. It had collected 3,000 sheep, 400 horses, and 280 camels, which were loaded with wool and skins.

The breach between T'u-kuan and Sumpa, which oc- 175
curred in 1890, was more tragic. During the rebellion 578
of the Moslems, Sumpa (born in 1854) had fled among 792
the Mongols and Tibetans, north of Kukunor. He met with a Mongol girl, whom he had moved to his branch monastery called Sumpa-ssu. The lama community of Erh-ku-lung, after some years, could no longer stand the disrepute brought on the monastery. It brought [691]
suit against Sumpa before the Amban in the prefectural city of Hsining, claiming he was not a genuine reincarnation. The lama community urged that he be erased from the list of Buddhas, and insisted on the right to search for the genuine reincarnation. For several months the lamas disturbed the whole city with the scandal, and spent money. The Chinese enjoyed all the incidents of the trial. Sumpa lost his face and honor irretrievably. Sumpa, however, was rich and the Amban venal. The Amban finally proposed that Sumpa leave Erh-ku-lung and move to one of his affiliates. This reincarnation (the third) of the illustrious Sumpa, having cut a sorry figure, never returned to Erh-ku-lung, but lived at his branch where, in 1916, his two girls delighted the old age of their father, who was sixty. His eldest daughter had married the son of the chief of the Aruk tribe. In 1916 the old man made a pilgrimage to Lhasa, and the lamas said he was atoning for his sins. No wonder that the Li-fan yüan records lacked information concerning the subsequent reincarnations of the Great Sumpa.

The Living Buddha Ch'ie-bzan of Erh-ku-lung hav- 175
ing a branch monastery of his own, moved into it, 792
appearing at Erh-ku-lung only to attend the festivals. 627
The Living Buddha Wang lived in retired seclusion. 762
Soon after the trial of Sumpa, the minor Living Buddha Tsung-tsa, one of the eleven, followed in the steps of Sumpa and established a family in Tsung-tsa. In the winter of the same year, the minor Living Buddha Seerting was taken and beaten at night by the husband and

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lama community of Erh-ku-lung that brought suit against Sumpa and spent the money for the trial, not T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, who would not interfere to prevent the scandal. 792

The colleges or faculties in monasteries are also recognized autonomous units, with their own administration, properties, wealth, gifts, alms, and the right of suing in Chinese courts. I do not have any record of colleges possessing branches, but I suppose they do. [794]

What bond binds these disparate elements together? Usually a Living Buddha who is the supreme chief of a lamasery is honored by the lamas, who know that he is always ready and braced to defend the rights of the institution, like Achia at Kumbum. When the communities or colleges meet with financial troubles, they know that the supreme chief uses his own wealth to make donations to them—"help provided makes sympathy wax." Nevertheless, each institution has its own administration, and the supreme chief does not interfere with its jurisdiction. The governing board of each institution confers with the supreme chief on the appointment of administrative officers and on such matters as the invitation to be sent when a new Fa-t'ai is needed.

If troubles arise the board of the autonomous institution takes advice from the supreme chief, and many difficulties are thus avoided. Finally, the supreme chief has the right to dismiss recalcitrant members, but if an entire group persists in standing up for its rights, and threatens to bring suit in the Chinese court or to quit the monastery, the supreme chief can rarely prevail against them. Nobody can prevent a lama or a group of lamas from quitting a monastery; no vows or bonds tie the lamas to any monastery. Undoubtedly, a great amount of kindness and devotion on the part of the supreme chief toward the members of the monastery is required. This is the real keystone of an effective administration in monasteries whose elements are so loosely united.

ADMINISTRATION OF LAMASERIES: MATERIAL ASPECTS

The administration of a lamasery is complex. In order to get a better insight into the matter the material aspects will be dealt with first, and then the religious and educational.

OFFICIALS AND THEIR ATTRIBUTES

Most Living Buddhas who are supreme chiefs of monasteries live in retirement in their palaces, and are happy to entrust the entire material administration of the institution to a lama intendant, for whom the Tibetan term is Tsuordzi and the Chinese term, Hsiang tso. The few exceptions who are meddlers with the administration are well known throughout the country, and that kind of Living Buddha usually does not get very far with his intendant.

[p. 39(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

case with the subjects of the T'u-ssu, and so no out- 175
standing rich families could rise up among them. Since 565
the entire administration was carried on exclusively 792
by lamas, the subjects could hardly incur any important social prestige within their circle, or become leading personalities, and certainly not during the entire Ming period (1368–1644) when intermittent troubles and interruptions of trade curtailed the opportunity to become rich. Accordingly, the lamas effectively controlled the subjects and their domains.

As no written code of law existed, the lama officials 175
helped themselves with a house law on a grand scale, 792
by imposing taxes, corvées, and tribute, mediating 692
troubles in families, meting out punishments and imprisonments for crying injustices. The subjects, pinning their hope on a better living, were submissive and obedient, simply because the chief lama was their lord.

It is easy to understand that the subjects of the monasteries enjoyed no rights of their own, but they depended entirely on the administration of the chief of the monastery and his lama officials.

It may be supposed, however, that capital punish- [683]
ment of the subjects of the monasteries was reserved to the emperor, as it was in the case of subjects of the T'u-ssu. It is not known whether, before 1723, the right of recourse of the subjects to a higher Chinese court existed or not. If it did exist, it must have been nominal, as it is at present.

The living conditions of the subjects, however, must 175
have been for the most part bearable, as evidenced by 792
the fact that so many people applied to the lamaseries 571
to become subjects. Only after 1723 are a few cases known of subjects revolting against the chief lama and his officials, such as the case of Yang-kuo-erh-ssu, and that of the subjects of the Sina tribe, who preferred to become Chinese subjects rather than remain subjects of the lamas. On the other hand, the unbelievably large number of lamas from among the subjects, since every family had a son or an uncle lama, must have disposed the families favorably toward the monasteries and their chiefs, and made the subjects overlook the shortcomings and deficiencies inherent in any human institution.

The reasons why the privileged status of the monasteries lasted for so long in Huang-chung were, first, the insecurity of the country, especially after 1509, and then the influence of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus in Peking.

The chiefs of the monasteries were, at the same time, 175
the temporal and the spiritual chiefs of the subjects. 792
The subjects were compelled to invite the lamas on 794
whom they depended to recite texts in behalf of the families or of the communities, or to perform public or private ceremonies, to the exclusion of lamas of other communities, at such times as epidemics, epizootics, the burying of the dead. They had to make donations at fixed times, when their lamas, their chiefs, came touring for alms among them. Corvées were imposed at the time of celebrations and festivities at their lamaseries.

[p. 50 (B)]

However, no compulsory religious instruction was provided for adults or children in order to make the subjects more fervent, and no schools or charitable institutions existed. The subjects were never compelled to attend ceremonies in the temples, for only lamas recite texts in temples, and temples are not what we are accustomed to calling churches. Finally, the religious activities imposed on the subjects reflected more a material than a spiritual interest, and bound them closer to their chiefs. 175 792 794

If we take into account the period of incredibly rapid increase in the founding and branching out of monasteries, the number of lamas must have been tremendous. Certainly the revolt of 1723 and its drastic suppression largely prove this assertion. Necessarily, the absorption into the lama communities of a large proportion of the male population of the country must have adversely affected productivity. Men who became lamas were not only withdrawn from production, but had to be fed by the depleted population. It is easy to understand that in such circumstances trade and industry could by no means develop and flourish. The large groups of lamas did not produce anything; they merely consumed the production of the country and hoarded its wealth. Their economic role was simply that of consumers, and so the economy of the country was necessarily agricultural and limited to its needs. 175 792

The same conditions existed in the two cities of Huang-chung and in the garrisons. There the soldiers and the relatively feeble population consumed what the colonists could produce. Only later on, when peace was restored, communications with the capital of the province assured, and trade had become possible, could the cities and the whole country develop and emerge from the former limited agricultural economy—an outlet had been found for the products of the country. The farmer, assured of the possibility of selling as much as he could produce, started producing to the peak of his capacity. These conditions seem to explain the deadly stagnation prevailing in the country from 1368 to 1723.

These seem to have been the conditions of lama Buddhism between 1368 and 1723 in Huang-chung, the privileged legal position of the temporal and spiritual chiefs of large and small lama institutions, the important role played by the monasteries, Nang-suos and Karwas, centers of the public and private life of the country, the bursting activity displayed inside the walls of the monasteries, the conditions of the subjects of the monasteries and the economic consequences arising from the tremendous number of the male population which had become lamas.[9]

[9]H. H. Vreeland, 3rd, Mongol community and kinship structure, *Human Relations Area Files*, New Haven, 1954. After the completion of the present study, there appeared this outstanding study dealing with the Khalkha Mongols of the Narobanchin territory, the Chahar Mongols of the Taibas pasture and the Dagor Mongols of the Nonni River valley. The study [13]

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BRANCH LAMASERIES

175
It has been noted how at Erh-ku-lung there existed 792
from the very beginning a real passion for the founding of hermitages, which began as affiliates and later became independent monasteries. Not only did the three founders of the monastery found their own branches next to those of the monastery, but the lesser Living Buddhas, the communities of lamas, and the colleges followed their example. According to the superiors of the monastery, and the general testimony in the country, forty-two branches proceeded from Erh-ku-lung. Several times prominent lamas told me that the founders of branches had a predilection for them at the time of their founding, but later they invariably became a burden.

ADMINISTRATION AND OFFICIALS

175
The first act of the founder of a branch was to ap- 792
point a rector, Nirwa (Nerpa), as chief of the new 794
community. At the beginning, when the group of lamas was still small, he held the entire authority in his own hands. Later on a lama disciplinarian, Ge-ko, a precentor, Um-dse, and an adviser to the rector were added, and the administration was complete. For a very long time, the rector also had the function of procurator. The rector and the disciplinarian were appointed by the founder of the subsidiary for a three years' tenure of office. Later, precentor, adviser, and procurator were chosen by the community. The rector and the disciplinarian were invited to the mother house to receive their appointment. The whole community of the branch had to come to the mother house in order to invite and to acknowledge the new authorities by

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concerning the lamasery of Narobanchin, based on data provided to the author by the Dilowa Hutukhtu himself, co-proprietor of the institution, gives a unique insight into the nature of a lamasery, situated in the open Gobi desert, among nomadic tribes insulated from the impact of the Chinese civilization and culture, and in its adaptation to the tribal, social and economic environment. The history of the founders is noted, the way the banner princes granted territories, allowed their subjects to abandon them in order to become plain subjects of the lamasery, the legal status of the lamasery and its subjects, the rendering of justice by the lamas, the interesting administration of the temple wealth and property, the means of subsistence of the subjects, the levies, services, and corvées imposed by the lamasery, etc. This study sheds light on what the social and economic conditions of the subjects of the Monguor lamaseries must have been before the revolt of 1723, and is a perfect foil to the actually existing conditions of the subjects of the Monguor lamaseries. This study for a long time will remain a standard work in this special field. The study of shamanism among the Dagor Mongols (p. 250) is a very valuable contribution to the subject of shamanism among the Mongols; many new facts and peculiar conceptions concerning souls, death, and spirits are secured and their impact upon the family life exposed. The peculiar position and behavior of the shamans in the Dagor society is very instructive.

The chapters concerning the social organization, economic life, and kinship and property structure of these tribes are of equal importance, but they do not fit into the frame of this study.

[p. 51(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Mongnor AE9

prostrations and by presentation of the ceremonial scarf. They escorted them to the branch where a sheep was killed and a dinner enjoyed. 175 792 794

DOMAINS AND REVENUES

An affiliate, in order to enjoy viability, had to possess a territorial domain. The mother house, where possible, assigned to it a part of its own domain; where this was not possible, the founder made arrangements to provide a domain. The T'u-kuan bought some ground for his affiliate of Ma-t'i-ssu. Every year the affiliate had to pay the interest of the capital thus invested, amounting to 60 taels or 36½ bricks of tea. The rector of the affiliate was bound to account for the material administration of his institution, receipt of rents, selling of trees, investment of the capital of the affiliate, and herds, and required a fixed sum to be sent out of the revenues to the intendancy of the founder. Finally, the intendant of the founder supervised the material administration of the subsidiary. When recalcitrant subjects refused obeisance, the rector and the disciplinarian sent them to the mother house, but such subjects would quit the monastery before they were summoned to see the founder. 175 792 571 794

OBLIGATION TO A FA-T'AI WHEN INVITED

When one of the members of the subsidiaries is invited to take the office of Fa-t'ai (Lob-pon) at the mother house, he is never allowed to decline the invitation, even after the subsidiary has become entirely independent, and even if the man thus summoned to officiate as invited Fa-t'ai is a Living Buddha or the supreme chief of the independent monastery. This custom seems to be general.

OBLIGATION TO JOIN THE RETINUE OF THE CHIEF OF THE LAMASERY

When the founder of the affiliate makes a long journey or accompanies an alms expedition to far-off countries, the branches must send lamas to make up his retinue. When the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu went to Peking to fulfill the assignment entrusted to him at the capital, even the independent old branches were kind enough to present a couple of lamas each to enhance his prestige. When he went to Peking for the last time, seventeen independent branches sent lamas. Lamas like to visit the capital, since it is a remunerative business. In the Orient a traveler always does some business on the way, especially an eminent personage such as T'u-kuan, traveling as a state official. He and his retinue enjoyed the privilege of going everywhere free of taxes. 175 792 484 [534]

AUTONOMY OF BRANCH LAMASERIES

How did the subsidiaries become independent? The tragic events which occurred at Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai have already been recorded. Although such 175 792 794 571

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tragic events seldom happen, independence is never acquired without friction between the daughter and mother houses. Usually the difficulties begin with the crucial problem of the delivery of the share of revenue required by the intendancies of the founders. The separation usually occurred, according to old lamas, at a time when the mother house was involved in inextricable difficulties and unable to assert its authority, or when the founder was still in the prime of life.

175 792 794 571

The obsession for having Living Buddhas started in Erh-ku-lung in the second half of the seventeenth century with the incarnations of the founders. Very soon some of the subsidiaries endowed themselves with their own Living Buddhas, partly for decorative reasons and partly in anticipation of a possible rupture with the founders. These Living Buddhas eventually seized a favorable opportunity provided by circumstances to declare their independence and take possession of the territory formerly allocated to the subsidiary. On the other hand, it is easy to understand that subsidiaries, which had developed to the point of having several hundred inmates or two thousand as in Seerkok, split away (from the mother house) when they had capable authorities, or when the intendancies of the mother house were too exacting and greedy on the question of collecting a share of the revenues of the subsidiary. At such a time the veneer of filial devotion easily scales off.

This was the case with the affiliate of T'ien-T'ang with its seven hundred lamas, two Living Buddhas, and three colleges. Its founder, T'u-kuan, squeezed to the wall, understood the gravity of the situation and made the best of a bad bargain, granting independence after it had been declared, provided the duty was acknowledged of presenting a yearly allocation to the intendancy of one of the Living Buddhas of T'ien-T'ang, the teacher in a former incarnation of T'u-kuan (this was a delicate gesture), together with the right to graze his herds on the domain of the new monastery. The conditions were gratefully accepted and good relations between the former daughter and its mother house continued.

The branch of Ta-ssu, depending on the community of the lamas of Erh-ku-lung, had troubles with the intendancy of its founder concerning the crucial question of the exaction of revenues. It happened that one of the lamas of Ta-ssu, scion of the noble family of the Lu T'u-ssu, died. The shrewd lamas invited the supreme chief of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an in order to inquire whether the departed lama had or had not been of the stuff of which Living Buddhas are made. The intelligent Living Buddha of Ch'ü-t'an easily understood the meaning of the fervent lamas and declared that the noble lama was already reborn in the family of the Prince of Alashan, and it happened that the wife of the noble Lu T'u-ssu was a princess of Alashan. This was a double blessing sent by the Buddha! Independence was immediately declared, backed by the in-

[p.52(B)]

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fluential family of the Lu T'u-ssu and the Prince of Alashan, and a new monastery was born. The community of Erh-ku-lung was powerless. 175 792 794

It sometimes happens that a branch not having its own Living Buddha does not wait to declare its independence. Chai-ya, a small branch of forty lamas dependent on T'u-kuan, possessed some forests; the selling of trees was its primary source of revenues. The subprefect of P'ing-fan confiscated the forest in 1912. At the time, rumors were spread all over the country concerning the confiscation of the domains of all the monasteries. T'u-kuan, deeming it not the appropriate time to accuse the subprefect at the capital of the province, did not help the branch to recover the forest. The frustrated and infuriated branch boldly declared its independence and thereafter had no further relations with the founder. 571

Kalang, an old, independent affiliate of Labrang, founded its own branch, Pi-t'ang. Pi-t'ang flourished and Kalang declined. Pi-t'ang prepared to invite a Living Buddha to move into its establishment, but Kalang refused permission. The lamas of the lamaseries fought among themselves in 1912, and the Moslem General, Ma K'o-ch'en, sent troops to quell the troubles. In 1915 the country was troubled by the Pai Lang (White Wolf) brigands, and the old feud flared up again. Kalang accused Pi-t'ang at the subprefecture of Hsün-hua. Finally Kalang refused to accept the verdict of the subprefect and prepared to fight Pi-t'ang. The general, Ma K'o-ch'en of Hsining, sent his troops, and twenty-one fighting lamas of Kalang and seven Moslem soldiers were killed. Kalang had to pay an indemnity of $10,000 for the soldiers killed. The members of the intendancy were put into jail and Pi-t'ang was declared independent by the Moslem general. These facts give an insight into the problems of the subsidiaries, the very loose ties which knit mother and daughter houses, the reasons which cause a scission, and the ways in which their separation may be achieved and independence acquired. Very often the part played by the intendants is paramount in creating the breach between mother and daughter houses.

LAMA ARMY

At present, the lamaseries of Huang-chung no longer have a regular armed force of lamas who are maintained by the lamasery, as is still the rule in Tibet. The only record encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 28, p 13) concerning a lama army is a supplication sent to the emperor during Cheng-te period (1506–1521) by the Chinese officials of Hsining, asking that the farmers of Hsining be exempted from the burden of supporting the lama army. At that time there existed only the important lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an, with its subsidiaries, some Nang-suos and Karwas, and the lamasery of Shachün. From the relatively small number of lamas at that time, it may be assumed that the lama army con- 175 792 701

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for the next two years collecting alms; Seerkok offered 175
a thousand big trees, Labrang $6,000, Erh-ku-lung 792
$1,000. After three years the temple was rebuilt.

In 1910 the same thing happened at the monastery of Chu erh under similar circumstances.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE LAMAS

FA-T'AI, CALLED "MASTER OF THE DOCTRINE" ("LOB-PON" OR "MK'AMPO")

792
The supreme chief of this independent institution is 794
the Fa-t'ai. His office is the most honorable one a 534
lama may fill. Fa-t'ais are chosen from among respectable lamas with a blameless record, celebrated for their knowledge. Not only lamas are invited to that office, but even Living Buddhas. Most of the eminent lamas in the country have been Fa-t'ais in nearly all the big lamaseries in Huang-chung. It has been recorded that a lama, even a Living Buddha, who is a member of an affiliate, never declines the invitation to fill this office at the mother house. Each college also has its own Fa-t'ai.

The office of Fa-t'ai is held for a term of three years only. The intendancy proposes to the supreme chief of the lamasery the name of the desired lama, and, on obtaining the consent of the supreme chief, sends lamas with the invitations. The Fa-t'ai lives in a beautiful residence and has as many lama servants as he desires. He is supposed to be the spiritual director of the institution which invited him, and to possess the power to reform the behavior of the lamas and to urge even stricter observance of the rules. It has been recorded how the stubborn Sumpa of Erh-ku-lung demanded in Lhasa the complete neutrality of the lamas of his community at the time when all the lamas of Lhasa prepared to participate in the civil war, and that finally the example set by him was followed by all the lamaseries of Lhasa. The same thing happened in Kumbum in 1895 at the time of the rebellion of the Moslems. The Fa-t'ai (m'Kampo) was the Living Buddha Mina, [669] a quiet and peaceful man, who ordered the lamas to prepare only to defend the lamasery in case of attack. However, Shertoch, another Living Buddha of Kumbum, more turbulent and still recalling the destruction of the monastery except for the temple containing the celebrated tree during the revolt of 1862–1874, stirred the lamas to attack the enemy in the Moslem stronghold of T'opa, fighting on the side of the Chinese Army. After the first attacks had been unsuccessful, and several lamas had been killed, the war party grew bitter against Mina, who had to resign the post of Fa-t'ai and for some time was in fear of his life.[10] Achia, the chief and proprietor of Kumbum must have been an irresolute man, for he did not interfere even in such critical circumstances.

[10] Wellby, *op. cit.*, 281. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 72, 92.

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The Fa't'ai even has the power to redress the mal- 792
administration of the intendancies, but all these powers 794
are more nominal than effective, because the name of 554
the Fa-t'ai-to-be is proposed by the intendancies themselves to the supreme chief of the lamasery. They know very well which Fa-t'ais are bent on reforms and set in their ways, and in order to secure the peace of the lamas and their own, they avoid proposing the name of "trouble makers." The Fa-t'ais, on the other hand, are practical Orientals. They know their appointment lasts for only three years, and that, if they should start with reforms, they would meet with the general covert opposition of the intendancies and of all the lamas, and their reforms would be hamstrung, so why borrow troubles if the next Fa-t'ai would undo what his predecessor had built up?

Therefore, the powers of a Fa-t'ai in Huang-chung are in practice reduced to theoretical and honorary dimensions. They are venerated as the learned supreme teachers of the community and occupy the highest seat in the main temple, next to that of the supreme chief of the lamasery. They very seldom attend the ceremonies in the temple, except when a rich pilgrim invites the community to read texts in his behalf. They attend the ceremony at the time of the festivities in order to enhance the prestige of the community, and march in procession with a stately measured tread to the temple, with the traditional splendor of their retinue. In the fourth, sixth, and eighth months they preach in the temple for the lamas for a few days. The rest of the time they live a happy, peaceful life in their residences, devoting their time to study and meditation, and entrusting, as their predecessors did, the whole direction of the institution to the intendant, who in the final analysis governs the entire institution. Fa-t'ais are inclined more to the speculative than the practical side of life.

A Fa-t'ai has to be a rich man in order to be able to fulfill his office. On the one hand he receives a small salary and at the time of the distribution of alms he receives as many shares as the supreme chief of the lamasery, but the flow of donations is irregular and unpredictable. On the other hand, a Fa-t'ai, several times a year, has to entertain the lamas of the community in a more or less sumptuous manner, with tea, butter, *tsamba*, mutton, beef, rice, raisins, and rolls. Each lama has to take home a fixed number of rolls. These repeated entertainments of lamas, four or five times a year, are the big expenses which a poor Fa-t'ai cannot afford, and they explain why poor but celebrated lamas decline the offer of the office of Fa-t'ai in large communities.

INTENDANT

Every day, during the morning assembly, a few re- [626]
marks are made to the community by the intendant concerning the observance of rules, the decorum required of lamas, the punishments inflicted the previous day

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for infractions of the rules, the reform of some misbehavior, the arrival of distinguished guests or pilgrims, the offer of important gifts, and special religious ceremonies asked for by devout people. Herein consists the entire direction and instruction of the lamas, except for those who study in the colleges. 792 [626] 554 794

His role has been explained. He is the chief executive of the institution and administers its wealth. He has his own residence; his courtyard is his court of justice, where all the suits of the lamas and of the subjects are judged. All the officials of the institution receive his orders; he has one or two procurators helping him in the material administration, commanding a number of servants varying in accordance with the importance of the lamasery.

DISCIPLINARIANS

Their function is a really important element in the government of hundreds of uncivilized lamas and turbulent young folk living in the same lamasery, most of whom wander correctly along the path of monastic life more from fear of severe corporal punishment than for pure love of Buddha. I never saw a master of discipline in the lamaseries wearing a delightful smile. More often they seemed to be the type of tormentors that might step out of a picture of the Eighteen Buddhist Hells. No wonder the lamas, especially the young folk, dread them. 792 626 794

Usually there are two disciplinarians appointed by the Fa-t'ai for a term of one year. Often they have been proposed for the position by the intendant and his councillors. The disciplinarian presides over a number of lictors. During ceremonies in the temple the disciplinarian maintains order among the older lamas and keeps a constant eye on the novices. A breach of silence or any irreverence is punished instantly by blows from his rawhide whip. He takes note of the presence and absence of lamas at the morning ceremonies, and must investigate to find out whether lamas, not enrolled in the monastery, or laymen, are remaining with their friends at night inside the lamasery, and is responsible in general for the observance of the rules of the monastery.

Permission is required from the intendancy to leave the lamasery for a long time. Business deals are not to be made too ostentatiously. At night lamas may gather with friends to relax, talk, play cards and chess, but are not allowed to make much noise or to disturb the sleep of their neighbors. Gambling is not allowed, nor is the drinking of liquor. At night, the disciplinarian with some of his lictors, armed with rawhide whips, makes a tour of the lamasery. Lamas found brawling, quarrelling, or fighting are brought to the court of the intendant, where penalties are meted out in various brutal forms. The time of the festivities is a difficult one for the disciplinarians, when merchants pitch their tents, and lamas and people drive bargains. [273 525 784]

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Very often fights occur, for no important deal is closed in the Orient without brawling or quarrelling. At that time the disciplinarians and their lictors are on duty all day and night. 792 626 794

At festival time women are allowed in the monastery, and relatives are allowed to visit their lama and stay at night in his home, after permission has been obtained from the intendancy. Several old lamas explained to me that the disciplinarian has to be changed every year in order to prevent the lamas from becoming too well acquainted with him, and arranging by bribery to break the rules. How officials, with such a terrible exterior appearance, can be approached so easily to be bribed is shrouded in mystery. For this reason, in all the lamaseries of Huang-chung the disciplinarians are said to be changed every year.

PRECENTOR—UM-DSE

In every lamasery there is a precentor, the leader of the texts recited at the assemblies in the temple. He is usually a man endowed with a voice that resounds in a deep, low, grave tone. At the same time he is the master of ceremonies who trains the officiants. He opens the prayers in a loud voice, in a special low register, the others taking up the chants in unison at the top of their voices. 792 794

COUNCILLORS

In larger lamaseries there are usually four councillors, older lamas, appointed by the Fa-t'ai for three years on the recommendation of the intendant. They constitute in effect, with the intendant, the administrative board of the institution. Before the name of the appointee is proposed to the Fa-t'ai, the intendant refers the proposal to the chief of the lamasery. The result is that the nominally supreme powers of a Fa-t'ai within his institution are in practice curtailed, and the influence wielded by the intendant upon the supreme chief of the lamasery being usually unlimited, the intendant is in reality the supreme ruler of the institution.

The rules to be observed in the lamaseries by all the inmates include the non-admittance of women, the non-admittance at night of laymen, or lamas who are not on the roster, and the obligation to attend the ceremonies prescribed for the members of the community. All other rules conform with the elementary standards of good behavior.

COLLEGES

In important lamaseries, colleges have been established, theoretically as centers of higher education. Some foreign travelers call them "universities." In Huang-chung the only requirements for becoming a member of one of the four traditional colleges and reaping the benefits of the institution, are to be a member of the organic community of the lamas and to know the prescribed texts recited at the meetings held at the temple of the college. Accordingly, the majority 792 794 873

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of the members of a college, at the time they enter, 792
have previously received only the training of ordinary 794
lamas, which consists of learning to read and write 873
more or less correctly. Old lamas, as well as young Wendees, from the time they fulfill these two conditions, are allowed to apply for membership if the colleges have an appeal for them. A lama is not compelled to enter any college. If he does, the manner of joining or leaving a college is the same as described for joining or leaving the community of the lamas. Every lama is allowed to remain a member of a college for as long as the appeal of the college persists, and usually he remains a member for the whole of his lifetime.

Each college is an independent unit within the lamasery, having its own wealth and administration, its own temple, administrative buildings, and residence for its Fa-t'ai. The administration of the colleges is built on the pattern of the organization of the community of the lamas, with the same kinds of officials, and enjoying the same kinds of autonomous rights and privileges.

The four colleges are: (1) The College of Philosophy [871]
and Metaphysics, (2) The College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, (3) The College of Medicine, and (4) The College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules.

In Huang-chung at present (1910–1920) nothing more is required from the members of a college than attendance at the ceremonies in its temple and at the instruction given by the Fa-t'ai on a few fixed dates. There are no regular courses with compulsory attendance, no program of studies is required to be completed within a certain number of years, there are no compulsory examinations, and no obligation to take any degree or diploma. No director supervises the studies of the members of the college; studies are a personal matter, depending on the initiative of each individual.

A lama who has some feeling for study, who possesses some money provided by his family, or whose master is willing to spend some money for his education, goes to see a learned lama taking with him some meat, noodles, raisins, sugar, and some money, and prostrates himself, offering the ceremonial scarf and asking the lama to be his teacher. Usually, three or four lamas manage to become pupils of the same master. At fixed times they have to bring presents to the [875]
teacher. The study of the book designated by the master starts with committing the text to memory, and [876]
recitation before the master. Two or three times a week the master takes time to hear the recitation. Student and master are in no hurry; once in a while the master is too busy to teach, or one of the students is prevented from attending the lesson. The students all engage in domestic duties. Their capacities and fervor for study are not the same. After a few weeks one of them is memorizing the fourth, one the tenth sheet, and so on. After several weeks more, a couple of them have no further desire for study and drop out.

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The master starts with the explanation of the text after the student has finished memorizing it, and so it happens that, after some time, one pupil is studying a second or a third book, while the others are still studying the first one. It is hard to teach pupils who have not received the same educational preparation and who progress at an unequal pace. The lack of elementary schools and high schools compels the master to adapt his teaching to the capacity and enthusiasm of each of the students, and inevitably the study loses its interest for pupil and master.

It is no wonder that very few learned lamas are encountered at present among the lamas of Huang-chung. The Living Buddha Goorong bzan, of the Red Sect, was the only man celebrated for his learning all over the country during the period 1910–1920, and he enjoyed this reputation among lamas of the Yellow Sect as well as the Red Sect. In Kumbum there was also a learned Living Buddha, Chao-hsi, who was said to have given instruction in the lamasery of Galdan in Tibet. In June, 1920, he was invited by the community of lamas of Kumbum to give instruction for ten days, and Kumbum seized this opportunity to invite all the lamas of Huang-chung to attend the ceremony, remembering that each attendant should offer a ceremonial scarf to the preacher, and bring his food with him. Kumbum, however, would offer two butter-teas to the participants each day. I was at Hua-yüan, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, at that time, and the intendant, in order to have his lamas attend the instruction, himself offered to provide them with the food for twelve days; but only 12 among the 58 lamas went to Kumbum.

In 1914 I was told that among the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, 1,300 were members of the College of Philosophy, 350 of the College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, 200 each in the College of Medicine and the College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules. All these numbers have to be reduced according to the ratio previously noted for the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, but the proportion is the same for the members attending the colleges. Thus, among the 3,000 lamas 2,000 or two-thirds were enjoying a higher educational training in the colleges, and they remained members of the colleges for the whole of their lives. This was generally true for all of the colleges of Huang-chung.

The reason for the unusual attendance at the colleges is not that these institutions are centers of higher education, but rather that they provide meals for their members. The richest colleges, able to give the greatest number and the choicest meals, are the best attended, such as the College of Philosophy. Another attraction of this very popular college, teaching the most arduous of all the sciences, is the relaxation provided by the public disputations. The schedule of the meals provided by the various colleges supports these statements:

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baters who are always the same and fond of displaying their ability.

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Not a few among them are real actors, who would honor the stages of the best theaters in the civilized world. Their poses, mimicry, jokes, verve, double meaning suggestions, affected sounds, and their knack of keeping the people amused, whet the curiosity and provide a real relaxation. Nearly the whole community huddles around them, even the old lamas who are used to sitting sleepily at these compulsory, boring meetings, for whom the novelty has worn off many, many years ago, and who have never been interested in the subject itself, strain their ears and huddle a little nearer to the stage and relax happily.

The Yellow Sect has always been fond of dialectic. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of Erh-ku-lung was celebrated for his logic in the learned world of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung.[11] The dialectic methods of Nagarjuna are particularly enjoyed by the philosophers. He used to "prove," in the most incredible ways, the non-existence of the world, of his proper self, and even of Buddhism.[12] The debaters try by means of recitation of endless memorized texts to stagger their opponents, and by tortuous questions to entice them into snares of sophism and to prove the most unbelievable theses. The attractive public disputations help to break the monotony of the monastic life, and to provide a couple of hours of relaxation.

It was said that once in a while some students passed official examinations and obtained titles and degrees, but I never had the opportunity to be present at such ceremonies.

Both these reasons explain the unusual attraction toward the College of Philosophy of the large number of lamas, who even lack the education of a student of an elementary school, and also the stubborn perseverance of the old lamas in continuing as members of the college.

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The conditions for becoming a member of the other colleges and the method of study are identical with those of the College of Philosophy. The lamas have to attend only one compulsory service in the early morning in the main temple, as required by the organization of the community of the lamas, and have plenty of time to attend the exercises prescribed by other colleges in the morning and afternoon; they even have plenty of time to indulge in domestic duties and commerce. It would be instructive to make a comparison between the standard of the studies in Huang-chung and that of the celebrated lamaseries of Tibet, as described in nearly all the works concerned with the subject.[13] After investigating the situation in Huang-chung, I harbor suspicions concerning the punctilious observance of the pro-

[11] Huth, *op. cit.*, 281.

[12] René Grousset, *Philosophies indiennes*, ch. 9, *passim*, Paris, Desclée de Brower, 1931.

[13] Waddell, *op. cit.*, 184–188; Filchner, *op. cit.*, 350–358; Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 94, etc.

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gram of studies, elaborately built up and highly vaunted, 792
and the knowledge and education sometimes attributed 873
to the lamas in Tibet and Mongolia. My opinions seem 794
to be justified by the opinions of other authors, who have lived for years among the lamas, knowing their language and being themselves Buddhists.

The learned Buddhist, Mme Alexandra David-Neel, 792
who lived in the lamaseries of Tibet and Huang-chung 157
for many years, knew the language very well and was 829
always sympathetic to the lamas, giving "philosophical" justifications for much questionable behavior, but she confesses:

> At the morning exercise are intermixed subtle philosophy with commercialism, high spirituality with feverish pursuit of vile satisfactions, which are impossible to separate from each other; novices, educated in this whirlpool of contrary influences, follow one or another of them, according to their nature and the direction given to them by their master.[14] In Tibet the clerical education has produced only a "small number" of selected literary men, a "large number" of slothful brutes, joyous, gay fellows, and picturesque blusterers, and all these various characteristics, if they do not show up in every lama, are at least "simultaneously deeply ingrained in the nature of all of them." [15]

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist monk, who went to Lhasa to study Lamaism in the learned centers of Tibet, states that they graduate from the college after having studied for twenty-one years; they study especially the Buddhist Catechism and philosophy. They are from thirty to thirty-six years of age when they graduate.[16] It may safely be said that their purpose in entering the priesthood is only to procure the largest possible amount of fortune as well as the highest possible fame in that entirely secluded world of theirs. They do not seek religious truths or practice religious austerities for the work of delivering men and leading them to salvation, but they study to acquire fame, wealth, and influence, and there is nothing deep in their religious life, and 999 out of 1,000 have no conception of the problems of future life.[17] He states also that their faith is a veritable mass of superstition.[18]

These two learned Buddhists seem to confirm my suspicions and to reveal the philosophy and the behavior of the lama institutions. They corroborate my [123]
own observations, made at various institutions during the same span of time. A single fact may account only for the mentality of a single man; a multitude of facts, however, reveal the mentality of an entire corporation.[19]

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[14] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 95.

[15] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 96.

[16] Ekai Kawaguchi, *Three years in Tibet*, 291, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

[17] *Ibid.*, 348.

[18] *Ibid.*, 560.

[19] Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 108, *sq.*, gives interesting comparative data concerning the lamas and their behavior in the lamaseries situated in the Gobi Desert in the Narobanchin territory.

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LIVING BUDDHAS

ABODE

Living Buddhas who are possessors of lamaseries, live in them; Living Buddhas who do not possess their own lamasery, ask permission of the supreme chief of a lamasery to live as a guest on his property and to build a residence. Usually this kind of poor Living Buddha tries to dwell in a rich and celebrated monastery, where pilgrim caravans come and plenty of alms are offered. By having a share in the alms it is easier for them to make a living. This is also the reason why lamas prefer to be entered on the rolls of these rich institutions. Many Living Buddhas who have monasteries of their own like to have another residence in a celebrated lamasery such as Kumbum or Labrang. 792 794 342

These buildings enhance the splendor of the lamasery and are usually built by the tribesmen of the Living Buddhas. A stele is erected in the courtyard, with the names of all the people who contributed to the building expenses engraved on it. Larger or smaller buildings are added in order to provide quarters for them when they visit the lamasery. All the important Living Buddhas in the country possess such more or less luxurious residences in the celebrated lamaseries, built by their intendancies. This kind of residence is called Karwa. In Kumbum there are 83, in Labrang 40, in Erh-ku-lung 14.

WHAT IS A LIVING BUDDHA? 792

A Living Buddha is the incarnation of a *Bodhisattva* who, having attained the highest perfection, has potentially become a Buddha. He renounces the blessedness of *Nirvana* and makes a vow to remain in this world in order to promote, by example and teaching, the salvation of as great a number of its creatures as possible. His vital essence thus passes from body to body—because the body, like every material aggregate, is destined to dissolve—but it remains immaculate in its acquired unalterable purity and holiness.[20]

APPLICATION OF THE SYSTEM IN HUANG-CHUNG

It has been recorded that the theory of succession by reincarnation only started in Lhasa in 1475. In Huang-chung, the first known Living Buddha was Chang-chia, born in 1642. No records exist concerning the appearance of the first Living Buddhas in Ch'ü-t'an, Kumbum, or Sha-ch'üng. However, it may be taken for granted that these lamaseries would not have had their Living Buddhas as early as 1642, but it was probably close to that time that they began to follow the example set by Erh-ku-lung, rather than suffer in competition with it. 792 78

At any rate it seems that succession by reincarnation must have started and been practiced on a large scale during the period from 1600 to 1723, when numerous hermitages and branches arose all over the country of

[20] Tucci-Ghersi, *Secrets of Tibet*, 38, London, 1935.

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the lamas living secluded in the mountains, all indulged in magic. It is not known when most of them went over to the Yellow Sect, perhaps between 1600 and 1723; nor is it known when the first lamas of the Yellow Sect penetrated the country, diffusing the reform. If account were taken of the date 1560, when a small hermitage of ten Yellow lamas started at Kumbum, and developed slowly; and the date of 1604 when Erh-ku-lung humbly began, it may be presumed that until that time the Red Sect was the only one prevalent in Huang-chung, living a precarious existence owing to the intermittent inroads and revolts in the country. Only after Gushi Khan had conquered Tibet in 1636 and offered it to the Dalai Lama and after the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) had established the supremacy of the Yellow Sect, and the hated rival sects had been enfeebled, can it be assumed that the Yellow Sect entered a period of success in Huang-chung.

It was often said that, after the encounter of Altan Khan with the Dalai Lama in Kukunor (1577), where Altan proclaimed the Yellow Sect the official religion of the Mongols, and built a temple, the sect started diffusing on a large scale in Huang-chung. This assumption is hard to prove on account of the hatred fostered against the invading Mongols, and the disturbances in the country, for in 1591 the Monguor troops with the Chinese Army burned to the ground the temple built by Altan fifteen years before,[1] and the Mongol, Nairamdahu, persecuted the Yellow Sect in Kukunor in 1633.

PRESENT CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

The conditions under which the Red lamas lived during the Ming period, in the always disturbed country, seem to have been akin with those under which they now live in the region north of the Hsining River. A small number of them are encountered in villages there. Lamas of several villages, constituting a small group, choose from among them a chief, who holds the position for one year. They possess their own small temple where, four times a year, they gather for seven days in order to read their texts, perform their rites, and discuss their own topics with their chief. Some of them have a pupil who receives training from his master. Each of them tries to be invited by the people to perform rites that are paid for. Not having a monastery or a Living Buddha, the institution lacks a backbone.

After 1642, when the Yellow Sect started the practice of Living Buddhas in Huang-chung and developed its strong organization, two of the most important Red groups south of the Hsining River, where the Red lamas were more numerous, managed to have their own Living Buddhas. In the group of Goorong bzan near

[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, 18*b*.

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FOOD, DRINK, AND NARCOTICS

262 796 527 The diet of the Monguors is frugal. Meat, which with milk and milk products was the staple food of their nomad ancestors, has long been a luxury. Like the Chinese, they now eat meat for half a month at the New Year, on the third of the third moon, the fifth of the fifth moon, the fifteenth of the eighth moon, and the eighth of the twelfth moon. Apart from these feasts, they eat meat only at weddings, when children have been born, at funeral feasts, or when they have distinguished guests. For such feasts, a sheep is killed. In the short summer rainy season it is also customary to kill a sheep when there is rain for several days, preventing them from going out to the fields; and it is also customary to slaughter a sheep when the harvest is carried in. Meat is always boiled. Roasted or broiled meat is very seldom eaten and is not considered tasty.

[462] 231 Every family slaughters its own animals. The slaughtering is never done by women, who are expected to produce life, not to destroy it. Most Monguor men cease to do any slaughtering when they become about fifty years old, owing to the lamaistic belief that it is not fitting for a man who is approaching the time of his own death to slaughter animals, for fear of being reincarnated as an animal.

Cows, oxen, and pigs are slaughtered by cutting the throat. Sheep are often choked. Another method of slaughtering sheep—the traditional Mongol method—is to turn the animal on its back with the head pointing west, stretching the skin tight over the breast. A slit is then cut in the skin, and the butcher slips in his hand, seizes the heart, and jerks it loose. The sheep dies instantly and no blood is shed outside the carcass.

The Monguors very seldom slaughter horses, mules, or donkeys. When these animals grow old they are either sold or allowed to live until they die a natural death. [262] The meat of horses, mules, and donkeys is never eaten, nor do the Monguors allow the use of their cooking kettles for boiling such meat.

Chickens are usually killed either by cutting off the head or by thrusting a pin into the brain.

262 All Monguors abhor the meat of marmots. Marmot fat is used as a salve on the saddle sores of horses and mules, but as food the Monguors say, "Marmots are to us Monguors what pigs are to the Mohammedans."

[715] There is a small religious sect among the Monguors, known as "those who fast," the members of which never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

[272] In the morning the Monguors drink a cup of tea and eat a piece of bread when the sun has risen in the sky "to the height of a post." Salt is always put in the boiling tea. In many families only the parents and the oldest son drink tea; the other men, and all the women, drink only water with a little milk in it. (The Chinese, of course, do not use milk in tea or in any other way.) [252] The bread is made from barley flour and is either steamed or baked. Ordinary people seldom eat wheat

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside. M [36] [782] [353] [352] Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations. M [252] For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, mules or donkeys. M [794] A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter and wheat flour are luxuries. M [412] Only the wealthy can afford fruit. Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

N *563 M 264 415 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 621 183 178 The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is M [867] dinned into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-ssu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

N *563 M 621 183 177 178 During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

e. Stealing and gambling

N *563 M [685] [673] [525] [794] Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

N *563 M 587 A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

N *563 M 867 Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meeted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

N *563 M 576 264 603 According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge

M /50 cont'd/
585 Why is the maternal uncle invited to stand near the girl during the
614 whole speech, and why does the maternal clan have precedence at
604 the festivity and at the dinner? Why is the paternal clan in the very background all this day, when it is nevertheless the one which is giving its daughter in marriage and which has the duty to defend her? Also abnormal is this custom which fixes only the gifts to be offered to the girl by the maternal aunts and uncles and not those to be given by her paternal uncles and aunts. Finally, why attach more importance to this festivity than to the one at the son-in-law's home?

M 585 Let us remember that this ceremony is held around a shamanistic
795 fire and not before an image of Buddha, although Buddhism is with-
771 out question the primary religion of the country, and that in spite of the fact that the whole clan includes numerous lamas among its members, shamanism is actually the old religion of the T'ou-jen.

M 585 Let us note again that the master of ceremonies, when he takes the floor, recalls the faraway past in which the daughter still inherited from her parents half as much as a son. One would say it was a history lesson.

We are here in the presence of a very old ceremony, one which is completely abnormal in a patriarchal organization.

After the speech and the girl's departure, the guests are in-
M vited to sit down; gin is served, and they play mora noisily; they
[262] sing and smoke while waiting for the Chinese noodles to be served.

M /51/ The master of ceremonies arranges the gifts in chests,
585 and all the pieces are numbered, so that the next day at the dinner
583 at the son-in-law's home, when he again takes the floor, he can take them out without difficulty. (1)

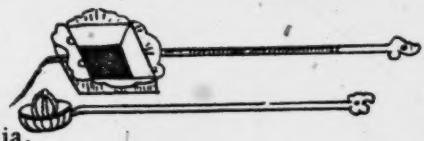
HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 308: (Mongols) As soon as the livestock has been delivered to the future wife's father (the German translation of the same work says that he himself comes to the future husband's home to get them), he gives a feast which is soon reciprocated by the husband-to-be for the relatives and

[645 cont.]

764 All who participated at the cremation wash their hands
[783] and fumigate them in a great incense fire in front of the yard
[792] gate. Then they drink tea and hold a funeral meal. The lama usually returns to his monastery on the same day.

[415] Ladling spoon and pouring tube.
In the spoon, the thunderbolt, rdo-rja.
[532] (Drawing of a Tujen.]



764 The fire-pouring is undertaken only in the case of those
795 persons who have received a Buddhist baptism. Old people in addition also receive the age-consecration and are regarded as lay
792 monks. If someone has died without the Buddhist baptism, it
[778] is performed after death. This is done by the lama with the help of a chest mirror. Since no water may flow over the dead person, the lama holds the chest shield in front of him so that the head is mirrored in it. He pours the consecrated water from his can over this mirror image and gives the baptismal prayer (20).

20. [Foreign text p. 656.] The fact that no water may flow over the dead person is not the only reason for the washing in the mirror. The mirror image is washed
[778] even in the case of living persons, just as at the consecration of Buddha images. In this connection cf. also Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141. In the passage, "Then he takes a little metal mirror, points its front side in all directions, and sprinkles it with a few drops of water from his cult vessel," it is not a matter of simply turning the mirror

[645 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
back and forth, but in all probability it is to catch the mirror images of the boys who have been brought before the Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age, receive the age-consecration and become a member of the monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman, from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring [783] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purifica- [372] tion for the dead, similar to baptism.

764 Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed 766 with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of [792] ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of [372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is desirable, but not essential.

764 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three days for the bone storage. During these three days the members 602 of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there, kowtow, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea. Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the men and women of the deceased's own family and at least one man, but no women, of the related families, and furthermore the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the [782] oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea. 764 After they have then kowtowed, men and women dig the bones out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

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PREFACE

771 175 121

the population of Huang-chung. Note must be taken of these historical facts in order to explain the actual religious mentality of the people of Huang-chung.

In the same way historical events will explain the tremendous crises which affected Lamaism in Huang-chung, and the actual position it occupies in the Hsining country.

A chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung, their material, educational, and religious aspects; their means of subsistence; the subjects of the lamaseries, branch monasteries, lamas, and living Buddhas. In this chapter, details of the numerical strength of lamas, in proportion to the population as a whole, are given. These figures throw light on a subject which has been somewhat distorted by past estimates. They show that the proportion of lamas to the total population is much lower than we have been led to expect. These figures are probably more reliable than those of past estimates; certainly they are more circumstantial.

[795] The inferior position of the Lamaism of the Red Sect in the region will also be better understood when put in its historical frame.

Similarly, the shamanism of the Monguors is approached from the angles of its peculiar connections with Taoism, the conservation of its ritual proper, and its historical connections with the "wuism" of old China and the shamanism of Central Asia. Emphasis is put also on its overwhelming importance in the religious life of the Monguors.

The second part of the study is devoted to the practical aspects of the religious life of the Monguors, its environment of fear and apprehension, and the role occupied in the fabric of daily life respectively by Lamaism and shamanism, and the various rites alien to both religions.

[114] The describing of monasteries, Lamaist monuments, iconography, programs of studies in colleges, theatrical exhibitions by lamas, festivities, and shamanist rites, has been avoided in this part, since all are encountered hundreds of times in books dealing with the subject. Instead, emphasis is put on the specific Monguor aspects of the religious life and rites that are peculiar to them, in order to understand the religious mentality of the representatives of the religions.

A chapter will deal with the death and burial customs, and still another with the cult of "Heaven and all the spirits."

The last chapter of the study will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping the Monguors to keep their identity, traditions and customs, strengthening the social structure of the clans, and preventing their absorption in the Chinese nation. [p. 1(B)]

shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

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vent shamanists, and provides a reason why Lamaism 771
never succeeded in uprooting shamanism, notwithstanding its overwhelming influence for centuries. Another important factor, without doubt, is in the very nature of the debased Lamaism. Lamas of the Red Sect, who [795] ●
were the first to come into the country, indulged in nearly all the same magical practices as the old shamans, including bloody sacrifices, except that they performed them in such a way that the people, not interested in philosophical and doctrinal discussions but in having religious men who could avert all kinds of calamities in the most efficient way, jumped to the obvious conclusion that the basic difference existing between shamanism and Lamaism was only a question of more or less proficiency in magical art. Lamaism became a kind of supplementary devotion, stimulating the heart to natural kindness and religiosity, but harmonizing perfectly with all kinds of magical practices, regardless of the performer.

POSITION OF SHAMANISM

The place shamanism occupies in the religious life of 771
the Monguors, and its persistence over centuries under 756
the most unfavorable conditions, seems to be an enigma. The lamas, who outnumber the shamans perhaps a hundred to one, are members of a wealthy institution. The few shamans are mostly poor people who derive a precarious existence from the farming of some fields and the fulfilling of their office. Lamas have temples that glisten with gilt; the shamans have none of their own. Lamas are more or less cultured men; most of the shamans are unable to read. The lama institution enjoys [64-8]
a high prestige among the Chinese officials, and controls nearly all the levers of power in the country; the poor shaman, living in the village with his family, always at the beck and call of the villagers, is an unknown and powerless entity in the official world. But, in spite of these unfavorable conditions, the shaman remains a figure of importance with his own kind of prestige, in the religious life of the Monguors.

For those who are cognizant of the power of the impact of wealth and decorum upon the societies of the Orient, this fact seems hard to understand. Its explanation is to be found in the general belief that the shamans are mightier than the lamas because they are more proficient in magical art, and in the subduing of evil spirits. People steeped in superstition, beset on every side by malignant spirits, confronted by diseases, misfortunes, and evils, have easy recourse to the men they believe might best help them, and whom they believe best master the technique of undoing the harm wrought by uncontrollable forces, namely, the shamans. This belief in the magical superiority of the shaman is so deep-rooted because lamas, and even Living Buddhas, when squeezed to the wall, unable to cope with uncontrollable forces and events, resort occasionally to their last shred of hope, the shaman.

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The prin-

ciples on which succession by reincarnation are founded had existed for centuries, but had not yet been generally applied. The next prominent lama to whom the principles were applied was the Panchen lama of Tashilhumpo. In the next two centuries succession by reincarnation, inaugurated by the Yellow Sect in 1475, spread to such an extent that every monastery, including less important ones, of whatever sect, had its own Living Buddha. Some of them had several in the same monastery.[48] Even the superior of the convent of nuns, situated on the shore of Lake Yandok, having defended her convent against the invading Mongols in 1716, became the incarnation of Palden Lhamo, celebrated all over Tibet and Mongolia, and the potent protector of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas and Lhasa.

In the first Part of this study it was noted that Palden Lhamo is the protectress of the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, which honors her in a peculiar way.[49] Her picture is carried by the T'u-ssu on his triennial visit to the Monguor villages in order that all the clansmen and the subjects may perform their obeisance before the image. In Huang-chung the passion for Living Buddhas went so far as to declare the father of Tsong khapa a reincarnation, called Achia Bsan, which is the proprietor and grand chief of the Kumbum monastery. Even this was not enough. Tsong khapa's mother was also declared a reincaration, but her reincarnation always appears in a boy, who is the Living Buddha of the monastery of Rardscha, on the upper reaches of the Yellow River. However, according to Lamaist doctrine and rites, the father's reincarnation takes precedence over the mother's. Each reincarnation has a residence in Kumbum, but the father, being the grand chief of the monastery, has his own headquarters.[50]

TEMPLES BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY

In analyzing the Ming policy concerning Lamaism in Huang-chung, it is of interest to know how many monasteries were built in Huang-chung during this period.

Included in the long list of temples found in the *Annals* of Hsining there are recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a*, the temple of Ch'ü-t'an, as having been built in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424); ch. 15, p. 2, the small temple of Hung-t'ung-ssu in the city of Hsining in 1390; ch. 15, pp. 4*b* and 5*a*, the famous monastery of Kumbum, adding that only in 1596 were negotiations begun to enlarge its buildings and to construct a big monastery; in ch. 31, p. 14*a*, in the account of revolts of Tibetans and the inroads by Mongols from Kukunor, it is incidentally noted that the monastery of Hung-shan-ssu, 60 *li* south of Ch'ü-t'an, had been looted and destroyed in 1519, as well as

[48] Maraini, Fosco, *Secret Tibet*, 144, translated from the Italian by Eric Mosbacher, New York, Viking, 1952.

[49] Schram, *op. cit.*, 65.

[50] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 237.

[p.21(A)]

thanksgiving for the honor bestowed upon the family. 792
Some time later, the nephew of T'u-kuan, of the Ts'e- 662
bdurk family became the reincarnation of the Living 775
Buddha of Labrang, the most intimate friend of T'u-kuan for many generations. It was T'u-kuan who, in Peking, obtained the title of Erdeni Nomun-khan for the Living Buddha of Labrang.[23] After the death of the Living Buddha of Labrang, T'u-kuan is invited to cast the horoscope in order to indicate the place where the reincarnation of his friend will occur, and *vice versa*.

SEARCH FOR THE INCARNATION

This problem has been dealt with by many authors. 792
Therefore, only data concerning Huang-chung will here 795
be recorded, because they may help to reveal the social 648
psychology of the Monguor lamas and of the Monguors. Upon the death of one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, the Dalai Lama is invited to cast the horoscope indicating the place of rebirth. Usually two or three boys seem to fulfill the requirements. Their names are sent to Peking and put in the traditional urn, according to the protocol established by imperial edict in 1793,[24] from which one is then drawn. The name drawn is supposed to be that of the genuine incarnation. For minor Living Buddhas, another Living Buddha is requested to render the service.

Usually the place of rebirth is indicated in terms as 792
vague as the oracle of Delphi, and lamas go to find the 795
candidate, but old lamas have admitted to me confi- 662
dentially that soon after the death of a Living Buddha 787
some lamas of the intendancy are sent to investigate where children were born around that time, and in what wealthy family, and actually it is usually one or two years before the horoscope is cast. Sometimes the horoscope is so vague that it is many years before the boy is found. The rebirth of Achia of Kumbum who died tragically in 1909 was found after six years, and two boys fitted the requirements. The two names were sent to Peking, and one was chosen. At that time the lamas of Kumbum were in a hurry, fearing that Achia would no longer reincarnate because of the fateful circumstances of his death. When the boy is found, lamas have him select from among several items displayed (beads, cups, etc.) the things he used in his previous existences. This is performed in the presence of lamas only.

Wonderful legends are told about the reincarnations 538
of Erh-ku-lung. T'u-kuan, bent with age, went on foot 775
to Peking, incognito, in order to heap up piles of merit. At night, in Lien-ch'eng, a good but poor lady prepared his food, and, in the morning when he left she offered him her last piece of brick tea. T'u-kuan died in Peking and was reborn in the child to which the poor but charitable lady gave birth. It was her reward.

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[23] Huth, *op. cit.*, 288.

[24] W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung pao* 9 (1): 55, March, 1910.

[p.67(A)]

whole community lavishly entertained. The guests 175
were entertained at the intendancy. After dinner, 400 795
taels instead of 500 taels were presented to the parents. 792
Then the guests, bursting with righteous indignation, started cursing the intendancy and a feverish discussion broke up in a violent wrangle. In the scurry and confusion and unexpected hurly burly, all the lamas of the monastery and the intendants arrived to patch up the trouble. The 500 taels were paid. After ten years I heard the people of Li-chia-t'ai still cursing the intendancy.

In 1894 the intendancy of T'u-kuan got into trouble over its last incarnation. A lama boy, seven years of age, who lived at the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng which belonged to the Lu T'u-ssu, was recognized as the incarnation of T'u-kuan. Lu T'u-ssu, the lamas of Ku-ch'eng, the family of the boy, and the entire village objected, and did not allow the boy to abandon the monastery without having the intendancy pay 5,000 [431] taels to the family. The most influential mediators were invited by Erh-ku-lung in order to find a compromise. Sheep and cows were killed every day, plenty of wine distilled, and lamas and the whole village had a wonderful time enjoying dinners and drinks for ten days. Finally the compromise was reached that 3,600 taels should be paid to the family and various gifts offered to the T'u-ssu, the intendancy of Ku-ch'eng, the members of the family, and the mediators. The intendancy of T'u-kuan, which was known all over the country to be rich and wealthy, the lamas, the whole of Ku-ch'eng, and the family of the new incarnation, thus seized the opportunity to share in their own way a part of the honor befallen to Erh-ku-lung by discovery of the reincarnation.

It happens, however, that once in a while the horoscope seems to be cast in the wrong way. A nephew of T'u-kuan, two years of age, was recognized to be the incarnation of the minor Living Buddha Kao of Ch'ie-bzan. At five years of age, upon the death of his parents, he was taken to the intendancy, but seemed to be an idiot. In 1918, at thirty years of age, he was still only allowed to leave the intendancy once a month, in order to climb the mountain to the Obo and to burn incense.

EDUCATION OF THE MONGUOR LIVING BUDDHAS

Usually at the age of seven or eight the new Living 792
Buddha is brought to the lamasery, led by a splendid 871
procession of lamas, and installed in the luxurious intendancy, where a group of lama servants scrape and fawn in his presence, cater to his whims, and do his bidding.

The Orient is the country of decorum; the traditional splendor of the oriental courts is proverbial. The Living Buddhas of all the sects are extremely fond of decorum, and try to impress the uncivilized people by a display of munificence and wealth. [511] For this reason

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More has been done by the chiefs and elders of the villages in promoting justice, creating respect for elders, restoring peace in families, defending the position of the women, preventing adultery, punishing the faults of the youngsters, and making the families happy than by the lamas. 792 626 888

I felt really happy to encounter among this tremendous number of lamas the single exception of the old Living Buddha Li, who in the fasting exercises taught the older people to crave pardon for their faults and to pray, and to hear them say that they were happy to have heard comforting words from the mouth of the old man.

V. THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

GENERAL ASPECTS AND FORMER CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

795 792 175

In Huang-chung, there are not only lamas of the Yellow Sect, the reformed sect of Tsong khapa, but also of the Red Sect, which still adheres to the rules observed before the reform. The red lamas marry, and live, scattered over the country, with their wives and children. They till their fields and raise cattle, indulge in wine and tobacco, eat garlic and nearly all kinds of meat. They perform their rites when invited by the people and live under the direction of a superior, who has far less power over them than the superior of the yellow lamas has over his subjects.

At home they wear the dress of the lay people; when performing rites they wear the usual lama dress—a red gown, the red hat, and a shade before the eyes, adorned with fringes of the five ritual colors. They use the same ritual paraphernalia as the lamas of the Yellow Sect, but they like to use a drum made of two skulls, and to blow a trumpet made of a human thigh bone; they recite their own texts. They seem to lay stress on the cult of water springs. All of them have the duty to perform the Rite of the 108 Springs, which lasts for 129 days, at least once in their lifetime. Some among them perform this rite two or three times. Well versed in magic, they are capable of performing not only the rites performed by the Yellow lamas, but also many other rites prohibited for the Yellow lamas. [792] [534]

All the lamas of Huang-chung belonged to the Red Sect in former times. The lamas of Ch'ü-t'an, the Nang-suo, Karwa lamas, the Dhyana family lamas, the lamas belonging to small monasteries or hermitages,

abstinence from carnal desires, liquor, and he enforced the rules of moral discipline. However, he did not denounce the images worshipped by the old sect, representing men and women in offensive postures, but gave to them a new interpretation of an abstract nature. . . . Externally the two sects do not differ much from each other." And on p. 434: "I am compelled to say that Lamaism has fallen, and that it has assumed a form quite contrary to that to which its great reformer Tsong Khapa elevated it, and I am sincerely sorry for this degeneration." [792 771 175]

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the lamas living secluded in the mountains, all indulged in magic. It is not known when most of them went over to the Yellow Sect, perhaps between 1600 and 1723; nor is it known when the first lamas of the Yellow Sect penetrated the country, diffusing the reform. If account were taken of the date 1560, when a small hermitage of ten Yellow lamas started at Kumbum, and developed slowly; and the date of 1604 when Erh-kulung humbly began, it may be presumed that until that time the Red Sect was the only one prevalent in Huang-chung, living a precarious existence owing to the intermittent inroads and revolts in the country. Only after Gushi Khan had conquered Tibet in 1636 and offered it to the Dalai Lama and after the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) had established the supremacy of the Yellow Sect, and the hated rival sects had been enfeebled, can it be assumed that the Yellow Sect entered a period of success in Huang-chung.

It was often said that, after the encounter of Altan Khan with the Dalai Lama in Kukunor (1577), where Altan proclaimed the Yellow Sect the official religion of the Mongols, and built a temple, the sect started diffusing on a large scale in Huang-chung. This assumption is hard to prove on account of the hatred fostered against the invading Mongols, and the disturbances in the country, for in 1591 the Monguor troops with the Chinese Army burned to the ground the temple built by Altan fifteen years before,[1] and the Mongol, Nairamdahu, persecuted the Yellow Sect in Kukunor in 1633.

PRESENT CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

The conditions under which the Red lamas lived during the Ming period, in the always disturbed country, seem to have been akin with those under which they now live in the region north of the Hsining River. A small number of them are encountered in villages there. Lamas of several villages, constituting a small group, choose from among them a chief, who holds the position for one year. They possess their own small temple where, four times a year, they gather for seven days in order to read their texts, perform their rites, and discuss their own topics with their chief. Some of them have a pupil who receives training from his master. Each of them tries to be invited by the people to perform rites that are paid for. Not having a monastery or a Living Buddha, the institution lacks a backbone.

After 1642, when the Yellow Sect started the practice of Living Buddhas in Huang-chung and developed its strong organization, two of the most important Red groups south of the Hsining River, where the Red lamas were more numerous, managed to have their own Living Buddhas. In the group of Goorong bzan near

[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, 18*b*.

Sha-ch'ung, and the group of Kan-cha Valley which 175
had living Buddhas, the original temple yard became a 795
monastery, and the loose group thus got a chief invested with authority over his subjects and wielding influence in the country.

The small groups of Red lamas north of the Hsining River, however, had no Living Buddha. Twice a year they invited the Living Buddha of Kan-cha, and four times a year went to Kan-cha, in order to attend their rites, but for a long time now the Living Buddha has only been invited every two or three years, and the lamas seldom go to Kan-cha—all the more since Kan-cha, being in a state of dilapidation, has lost its attractiveness. It had been destroyed by the Moslems in 1868–1872, and its important library of printing blocks was burned; it has not yet been restored.

The monastery of Goorong bzan, however, is flour- [792]
ishing. The Living Buddha is a strong personality bristling with activity. Acknowledged as the most learned Living Buddha, all over the country, even by the lamas of the Yellow Sect, he is trying to restore the former glory of the Red Sect. His difficulties with the lamasery of Sha-ch'ung, and his intentions to restore and occupy the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the center of the city of Hsining, have been recorded. His monastery is in fine shape, the temples are as beautiful as most of the temples of the Yellow Sect. Four times a year more than two hundred of his red lamas convene for seven days, for the reading and explanation of texts, and the performance of their rites. Goorong and the dignitaries of the monastery preside over the convention in the same way as those of the Yellow Sect.

Tibetans like to make pilgrimages to his lamasery [648]
and offer their donations. It is a well-known fact in Huang-chung that among the Red lamas there are more learned men than among the Yellow lamas. However, the bulk of them are only versed in the recitation of the texts used at the performance of their rites, and possess only a smattering of knowledge in their religion. They attach an unusual importance to the strictest observance of all the rites during their performances. Their religious training seems to be directed in that way, for they claim that the slightest omission or error in the rites and in the recitation of the texts completely spoils the efficacy of the rite.

The subject of the different kinds of Red Sects and 795
the deities honored in their temples may be passed over 792
here, because it has been dealt with by many authors. The peculiar feature of the Red lamas' institution in Huang-chung is the only subject of our study.

Among the Red Living Buddhas, the son succeeds the father, as the Living Buddha. Goorong, a tall, upright man of immense strength, hard as nails, begot nine sons from his two wives. Four of his sons are Living Buddhas, three of them in Red monasteries south of the Yellow River. Goorong is called the father of the Living Buddhas. He is a modern man, who has visited

[p. 74(A)]

Peking, Nanking, and Shanghai. He rides a bicycle, 795
walks his smallest sons in a European baby carriage, 792
likes photography, delights in playing a phonograph, enjoys working with electricity at home and in the temple. He possesses all kinds of medical instruments and gives injections. He is reputed to be very proficient in magic, and is the most talked-about man in the country.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RED AND YELLOW LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

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The feud between the two sects in Huang-chung 628
never seems to have been as fierce as it was in Tibet, 578
where lamas fought each other and destroyed each 792
others' monasteries. The reason seems to be the troubled circumstances in the country. The people, the Red lamas, and their small institutions suffered tremendously on account of the inroads. The whole country was impoverished. The diffusion of the Yellow Sect, under such conditions, necessarily began on a small, unnoticed scale and when peace was restored the Yellow Sect was protected by the emperors and the Red Sect was powerless.

None the less, Reds and Yellows know their history well, and the embers of the old antagonism are still smoldering under the ashes. The troubles between Goorong and Sha-ch'ung, and the vehement protest of all the Yellow Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, when Goorong was trying to occupy the Ta-fo-ssu, give evidence of this. South of the Yellow River, in the subprefecture of Kui-te, lamas of the Yellow Sect recently prevented the Red lamas of Keura from rebuilding their temple. The trouble developed into full-scale fighting, and lamas on both sides were killed. The lamasery of the Yellow Sect was burned to the ground by the Moslem troops, who restored order. The Yellow Living Buddha fled, but the lamasery had to pay a heavy indemnity. On the north of the Hsining River, however, both sects seem to live congenially, because the Yellow Sect is omnipotent and the Reds are a minority, having not a single monastery in the country.

When the Red group of Erh-chia-ting near Erh-ku- 795
lung built a new temple, the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of 792
Erh-ku-lung offered them seven big trees and sent his intendant to attend the ceremony of the inauguration of the temple. The lamasery of Chu-erh, of the Yellow Sect, allowed the Red group to build a temple on its property. Even the intendant of one of its Living Buddhas was a Red lama. In 1915 I saw Red and Yellow lamas performing rites together at the Karwa of the Yellow Chao lama. It has been recorded that the Yellow lama, chief of the Li Karwa, alternately invited four lamas of the Yellow and of the Red Sects to perform the yearly usual rites at his Karwa.

Lamaseries of the Yellow Sect invite Red lamas to perform the rite intended to appease the avenging spirits of persons who have suffered injustices at the hand of the lamasery. The secretary of the Living Buddha Lu

[p. 74 (B)]

of Yang-k'ou-erh, who belonged to the Yellow-Sect, 795
was a Red lama. Such anomalies happen because 792
family ties closely knit the members of both sects. The father of the intendant of the lamasery of Ch'ie bzan, which belongs to the Yellow Sect, was a Red lama, and the father of the novice of the intendant, also. I met four lamas of the Yellow Sect, pupils of a learned lama of the Red Sect, who boarded at his home.

At the monastery of Hsien-mi, the father of a young 175
lama of the lamasery, which belongs to the Yellow 795
Sect, was a Red lama. One night, in my presence, he unbosomed his grudge against the supreme chief of the lamasery who had refused permission for his Red Sect to build a temple on the property of the lamasery. "Our sect," he said, "is as the ear of the wheat plant, and the Yellow Sect is as its straw. We occupied the country and diffused our Sect long before the Yellow Sect was born. Our scriptures are so numerous that a man cannot finish reading them during a lifetime. The Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, of the Yung-lo period (1403–24), granted us extensive properties—and then came the Emperor K'ang-hsi, who protected the Yellow Sect and oppressed our Sect." These facts reveal the frame of mind of both sects, and their mutual behavior in Huang-chung.

Although the lamas of the Red Sect constitute a small minority, scattered over the country, and possess only two Living Buddhas, they exert an important influence and play a considerable part in the religious life of the Monguors.

THE RITE OF THE 108 SPRINGS

In order to give an insight into the real psychology of 792
the lamas of the Red Sect, and their attitude toward 795
magic, the Rite of the 108 Springs will be described. 789
It is performed in order to acquire magical power.

The lamas living north of the Hsining River practice the Rite of the 108 Springs at least once in their life. Those among them who have enacted it two or three times are considered by the Monguors as the most potent. It is said that very few lamas of the Yellow Sect are interested in the rite, although serious lamas of the Yellow Sect told me many times that the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu had enacted the rite together with a Red lama, after the Bumkhang he built seemed ineffective, and the troubles in his lamasery had upset him. I could hardly believe it, because the rite is not enacted to honor or to get the protection of spirits of the springs, but is thoroughly magical, and its aim, according to the lamas of both sects, is the increase of magical abilities. At any rate, because the lamas of the Red Sect all practiced it, and are said to be bound to enact the rite, it sheds a true light upon the fundamental character of the lamas of the Red group, who seem to be as fond of magic as the shamans.

Springs of water are situated mostly at the foot of [823]
mountains, in deep valleys, and in lonely spots which

[p.175(A)]

are supposed to be the favorite abodes of evil spirits. 772
The Red lamas go to these springs in order to meet 795
these demons, to frighten them, to combat them, or to 789
obtain their assistance. So goes the saying of the [273]
Monguors and the lamas of both sects.

The rite is a back-breaking work. It lasts for 129 days, more than four months. It is practiced by a single lama, never in a group. Usually a fervent Monguor accompanies the lama for some days, to carry his luggage and prepare his tea. I got the information from two such men and from people living in Waza, near a spring where the lama performed his rite.

Sometimes the lama has to wander a long way to reach a spring, and sometimes three or four springs are situated one next to the other. The rite is carried out in winter and starts with a retreat of seven days at home, during which the lama, three times during the day and three times during the night, prays and reads texts, rattling the drum made of two human skulls, blowing the trumpet made from a human femur, and ringing the bell. He is not allowed to get a long sleep or to stretch himself out on the ground. He has to sleep in a sitting position, is not allowed to undress during the 129 days, or to enter any home or cave.

I saw a Red lama who lived near the monastery of Hua-yen start his journey. All the neighbors, men, women, and children, accompanied him to the first spring. He carried on his back, in a light wooden frame of thin laths, the felt mat on which he would sleep at night, a book of texts, a picture of Padma sambhava, the chief saint of the sect, some flour, butter, tea, a cauldron, and a small tent made of white cotton cloth. If, on the way, he should happen to lose one of these items, he is not allowed to replace it. He wore a long red coat, lined with sheepskin; on his head a red hat and over his eyes a green shade, with fringes. In his right hand he held the double-skull drum, and in the left hand the trumpet. He is not allowed to speak during his wandering from one spring to another, but mutters prayers all the way along, beating the drum at the same time.

Upon reaching the first spring he puts the frame down, blows three times on the trumpet in the direction of heaven, then starts the ritual dance three times around the spring to the time of the rattling drum, describing ritual designs on the ground. He beats the ground with his heel to the time of the drum beats, then stands on one leg, completely immobile, for a long time. Thereafter he pitches the tent, displays the picture, and sits crosslegged in front of the tent reciting texts for a long time. In the meantime, the villagers had prepared tea, and he starts talking with them. People are not allowed to indicate the spot of the next spring or to ask in what direction he will move the next day. He eats the meal offered by them. He is not allowed to drink alcoholic beverages, eat garlic, [269]
leeks, or radishes. He eats only mutton. The remains of the meal offered to him are not allowed to be

[p.75 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

carried home. Before sunset his meal has to be finished and the people gone. At this first spring he stays for seven days. 792 795 789

Twice a day he prepares tea and eats *tsamba* along the wayside. When people see a practicer of the rite passing near the village, they all follow him, prepare his tea and his evening meal. He enjoys the real veneration of all the Monguors and the Tibetans. He remains for seven days at the first spring, praying, dancing, three times during the day and three times during the night. It is said that during the night, the time of the demons, he summons all the demons of the country, wages his ritual war with them, subduing them, or making friends of them. At night he has a terrible time, exercising his magical abilities and increasing his magical capacities. The demons do not let him sleep a wink. All kinds of terrifying tales are spread in the country about his nightly experiences.[2]

At dawn he gathers stones and builds a small cairn; then he starts for the next springs, remaining only one day at each of them and performing the same rites. At the 54th spring he stays for seven days, as at the first one, then continues his pilgrimage until the 108th, where he again enacts seven-day rites. Then all the Red lamas of the country, the people of his village, the chiefs and elders of the neighboring villages come to meet him and lead him home in order to perform the final rite, which simulates the incineration of corpses and includes a recitation of texts together with all the lamas. Sitting on a throne in front of the ritual oven in which wood is burning, he pours boiling butter on the wood, acting like an officiant at a real incineration. After this rite he is heartily congratulated and receives some gifts: sheep, butter, tea, sugar, raisins. I never obtained an explanation of this last rite, or of its connection with the pilgrimage of the 108 springs.

Springs of water play an important part in the religious life of lamas and of the Monguors. It is not unusual to see lamas of the Yellow Sect, even Living Buddhas, sitting for hours in silence at the edge of a spring, slowly beating its surface with a flat broad lath. It is said that this practice produces happiness and peace of mind. 792 795 789 923

On the fifth of the fifth month the Monguors honor the spirit of the well from which they draw water. They make a *Wei-sang*[3] near the well, plant a stick to the top of which is affixed a bouquet, and prostrate themselves. The whole family wash their hands and faces with the water in the first bucket drawn, and rinse their mouths. Tea is prepared and all of them drink several cups, for it is said that this tea prevents all kind of diseases. At the same time they bury an urn near the well, thanking the spirit of the earth where 792 795 789

[2] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 126: also Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase*, 384, Paris, Payot, 1951.

[3] See Chap. VIII, note 2, p. 95. [p. 96 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the well bubbles, for providing them with water during the whole year. 742 749 739

HERMITS

In the region of Hsining there lived, around 1880–1895, only two hermits. One lived in the region of Waza in a cave in the mountains, and the other in the mountains around Hsien-mi. Both were strangers, who never divulged their names, or country of origin. They were not attached to any monastery and had no relations with the neighboring people. Each had a donkey which he used when he went to collect some flour and tea, for which they graciously thanked the donors and then returned to their caves. If some gifts were offered to them, they brought them to the monasteries and prostrated themselves before the closed doors of the temples for a whole day, and then returned to their caves without having said a single word to the lamas. The people said that they heard them reciting texts, ringing bells and beating drums the whole day long. Twice a day they built a fire and prepared their meals. They did not visit the people and did not like to have the people visit them; they refused all invitations to say prayers at the homes of the Monguors. During the terrible epizootics which decimated the cattle all over the country (1890–1893), they refused requests to pray for peace in the country. Their mysterious behavior intrigued the people, who could not get in touch with them. Then they disappeared, and nothing more was heard about them. They were not the kind of miracle workers so often described in records of travelers. 742 [342]

Monguors, talking about them, affirmed that in former times many lamas lived a sheltered life in caves, and possessed the art of working miracles. [739]

In 1723, at the time of the revolt of the lamas and the destruction of the monastery of Seerkok where 2,000 lamas lived, it is said that the General Nien Keng-yao destroyed more than 1,000 caves in that country.[4] Because lamas in former times received the same education as at present, and were as eager for wealth and worldly glory as those of today, one is inclined to doubt such a fantastic number of hermits. I am inclined to think that genuine hermits did not grow on every bush, and that all these wonders and miracles did not occur at every street corner.

VI. SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is not an investigation of the origin of shamanism or its philosophy and religious fundamentals. Rather it aims to be a description of the type of the Monguor shaman, his training in 1911–1921, the spirits 756

[4] Han, Ju-lin, *Pien-cheng kung-lün*, 3 (I) : 47. The text does not say that recluses lived in them. [p. 96(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

more supplementary decrees of Galdan Hun-tai-ji were added to them.[56]

From 1558 until 1640, regulations of Mongol chiefs followed each other, aiming primarily at the destruction of shamanism. The Monguor shamans must have known these facts, for news spreads rapidly among barbarians. At the same time they saw the favors bestowed in the country on lamaseries, Karwas, and Nang-suos, by the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, and they saw Erh-ku-lung, at the height of its glory, founding successively its forty-two branches, each having celebrated lamas. Life or death was the question for the Monguor shamans of Hsining.

It is tempting to suppose that the shamans, living in the quasi-independent territories of the T'u-ssu, near cities in which lived Taoist priests who were organized in guilds officially recognized by the empire, might have sought refuge with the Taoists in order to save their institution and traditions and that they might willingly have entered the guild of the Taoists, whose gods they worshipped for centuries.

If the shamans themselves had been opposed to enrollment in the guild, which entailed pecuniary disadvantages for them and the performance of non-remunerative rites in the city, surely the T'u-ssu, whose subjects they were, could easily have prevented the infringement of the rights, since their Monguors were only responsible to them for corvées, and since their subjects were not enrolled in Chinese guilds. Precisely herein lies the stress of the assumption that without the willing cooperation of the shamans, shamans never could have entered the guild, and when they entered the guild it was through fear of persecution by the Yellow Sect. According to this assumption, the shamans could have entered the Taoist guilds before the revolt of the lamas in 1723 and the catastrophe which befell Lamaism. It is easy, therefore, to understand the reluctance of the shamans to perform any rites in the temples dedicated to deities of Lamaism or to wear the crown of the five Dhyani. On the other hand they willingly perform rites in all kinds of Taoist temples, except the temples of Kuan-ti (God of War). I never obtained an explanation of this; in the whole Monguor region no Kuan-ti temple exists, while all the temples of the Monguors, which are the centers of the religious life of the village, are Taoist temples, and most of the protectors of the families belong to Taoism. Monguors cannot miss their shamans who only perform rites in Taoist temples.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the Monguor shamans honor two kinds of spirits—one, spirits belonging to Taoism, and the other, spirits belonging to their shamanism proper; that the Monguor shamans are related to the group of old Wu priests

[56] V. A. Riasanovski, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buriats, Kalmuks)*, 29–35, 1929.

771 628 756 175 795 575 756 [776] [A 90(A)]

of Tibet. Chinese laws, and the presence of their 782
powerful enemies, the lamas, ready to harm their in- [782]
stitution constrain them to act cautiously and to re-
strain their savage nature.

The rites against hail, performed after the rites just described, have been recorded in Chapter IX.

CULT OF THE MOUNTAINS

The cult of the mountains must be very old. It seems 795
not to have originated in Lamaism, and does not fit in the frame of its philosophy, but rather to have been accepted and ritualized by it to a very large extent.

Concerning the Monguors it has been noted, that the 175
Shat'o, like most of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, 795
made sacrifices on top of the mountains and that the horse was their most important offering.[10] It is a fact of common knowledge that in old times the Mongols also honored the gods of the mountains. Chingis Khan lived in this atmosphere. Temuchin (Chingis Khan), in order to avoid a band of Merkits, galloped away to Mount Burkan Kaldun. Having escaped alive, he exclaimed, lifting his face to the sky: "Mount Burkan has protected my miserable life; henceforward, I will ever sacrifice to it and bequeath to my sons and grandsons the duty of sacrificing to it."[11]

The Monguors explain the cult of the Obos and of 795
the sacred hill of the village by asserting that the coun- 776
try between the Ta-t'ung and Hsining Rivers belongs to five powerful spirits or deities who reside on the tops of the five highest mountains of the country, where celebrated Obos are built for them. These spirits claim the worship of the people living on their territory, grazing herds and farming. They are kind to their worshippers, protecting their herds and fields, but they punish the unbelievers. "It is our duty to honor them," say the Monguors earnestly, "for if we were remiss in our duty we would surely court disaster."

These five spirits do not possess the entire territory in a group, but each of them is supposed to wield power over the country surrounding its own mountain. Consequently it receives offerings and worship only from the people living within its supposed circumscription.

Besides these five important mountain spirits, other less important ones are honored, mostly on the passes or on higher mountains. Their cult is not general, but is practiced only by the people living near the passes and by travelers.

In connection with this peculiar mentality about the 795
territory having its proprietors is to be noted the cult of 778
the sacred hill honored in each Monguor village, for in

[10] Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers, op. cit.*, 91.

[11] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan, op. cit.*, 29. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The mountain of God*, A study in early religion and kingship, 7: 170, London, Bernard Quaritch, 1953: "Fundamentally the 'old Asiatic Religion' is the worship of the divinity of earth and its energies concentrated in some mountain and in the superhuman virtue of kingship." Reviewed by Clarence H. Hamilton in *Far Eastern Quart.* 13 (3): 370, 1954.

[p. 112 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the same way the territory of the village is supposed to 795 778
have its owner who also resides on the sacred hill, not
on the highest mountain of the village. This spirit lays the same claims to thorough ownership over the village's fields and obligatory worship from its inhabitants.

The Monguors and Shat'o, descendants of old nomads, who used to honor spirits residing on the tops of the highest mountains and to recognize them as the proprietors of the entire country, were unable to get rid of this old trend of mind. They must have applied the same religious notions to the sacred hill of their villages when they exchanged their nomadic economy for the agricultural, and so the change of economy not only brought about adaptations in the field of their social organizations, but also in the field of their religion and cults.

It is common knowledge that the notion and cult of 795
a spirit proprietor of the earth are very old and wide- [17]
spread all over China also.[12] From the earliest times on, this spirit used to be honored in rudimentary shrines built in the fields by each farmer, and in a temple in each village, but the Monguors, old nomads, had to have a sacred hill and to have this spirit residing on top of a hill. Therefore, besides the cult of the five spirits of the five highest mountains, they practice the cult of the proprietor of the village on the sacred hill of the village. However, because the proprietor resides on a hill, they build a small Obo and plant a pole like that on the Obos built for the five big spirits. Several times I was told by Monguors that the cult of the sacred hill is the same as the cult of the earth god (T'u-ti-yeh) of the Chinese, and not the cult of a mountain spirit; that their earth god is the goddess Etogon; further, that the sacred hill is not the highest mountain situated in the boundaries of the village, but a hill or a notable elevation. Many villages do not have mountains inside their boundaries.

OBLIGATIONS TOWARD THE MOUNTAIN GODS

The behavior of the Monguors regarding the moun- [776]
tains and village gods seems to suggest that this cult is based on the principle of the ownership, the dominion of the country, by a god, and on the principle of its lordship over the people living on its territory. This dominion and lordship of the god is to be recognized by means of sacrifices and offerings.

The same frame of mind and philosophy concerning
these gods is encountered all over Asia [13] Buddha once [17]
enjoined his followers in India never to omit making an offering to the god of the spot where they were dwelling.[14]

In every lamasery of Huang-chung, therefore, is encountered a temple dedicated to the god of the spot oc-

[12] Maspero, *La Chine antique, op. cit.*, 204.
[13] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 598.
[14] de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme: Opinions et croyances*, 351 Paris, Beauchesne, 1909.

[p. 113(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

cupied by the monastery. In big lamaseries the cult of 795
this god resorts to the attributions of members of the college of rites.[15]

Every Monguor, together with his entire family in 795
their best clothes, who attends the ceremony of the start- 782
ing of the plowing of the fields, will honor in the fields [241]
the god of his fields, by burying an urn (called the precious bottle), making libations, burning incense, and offering bread. No Monguor will build a court yard, sheep or cow pen without burying an urn in the ground, thereby recognizing the lordship and dominion of the spirit of the spot, and obtaining his permission to occupy it. In the center of the courtyard, under the manikan and the manger, the Monguors used to bury five urns and invite a lama to recite texts for one, two or five days, sprinkling holy water and throwing spelt on them. This old rite has become a thoroughly Lamaist rite, to which each lama attaches his own mystical explanations.

However, frequently the Monguor invites a Chinese geomancer; he plants the manikan himself, buries the urn, and offers a sheep or a chicken. This principle is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of the Monguors that they will never proceed with the rite of the cremation of a corpse without having previously recognized the ownership of the god of the spot, and obtaining its permission by buying from it the spot required. Thus, the mountain and village gods seem to belong to the category of the earth gods for whom, in old China, victims and offerings were buried in the ground.[16] For that reason urns are buried for mountain and village gods as well as for earth gods.

The precious bottle (urn), the most important offering in the cult of the gods of the mountains, the village, and the earth, is usually prepared by a lama of the Yellow or the Red Sect, performing more or less elaborate rites, sometimes for days. He uses some [123]
powder of gold, some silver, coral, turquoise, and copper coins of the K'ai-yüan (713–741) and T'ai-p'ing (1850) periods, things which are said to comprise the five precious materials. He gathers some grains of five kinds of cereals, threads of five colors, different kinds of medicines, incense sticks, and some tea leaves. All these substances are pounded for a long time with a pestle in a mortar and poured into a small urn, while the lama blows on them and recites texts. Finally molten butter is poured into the urn, level with the opening. Two pictures are pasted on the urn: one of a Lamaist deity and one of the dragon spirit. The urn is covered with a piece of red cloth. The use of the urn is known all over China; such urns can be bought in all pharmacies, in lamaseries, from Taoist priests, and from shamans. The contents of the urn are not always the same, for several kinds are said to be used. Lamas make a business out of the urns, for usually the slightest unhappinesses, illnesses, and calamities, are

[15] David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet, op. cit.*, 100.
[16] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 205.

[p. 113 (B)]

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said to be caused by the offended god of the spot who must be propitiated by the offering of an urn. 795 782

Consequently, these proprietors and lords of the country and the villages are supposed to extend their protection to their worshippers, blessing their herds and crops and preserving the country against hail, epidemics, and epizootics and providing propitious rain. No wonder that the temples in many villages are dedicated to the god of the mountain, and that one can read on village temples the inscription, "[may] the God of the Five Roads, the gods of the mountain and the village, protect the village."

The cult of the five important mountain gods will be dealt with first, followed by that of the sacred hill of the village.

CULT OF THE OBO

A mountain god is honored by means of an Obo.[17] 795 On the top of the sacred mountain is planted a big pole 778 which secures communication between spirits and man, even as at the time of the shamanist feast of spring, and the planting of the manikan in the courtyards. Stones, mostly white ones, are piled in a big heap around the pole, enclosed with a wooden fence, painted white. Sticks, very often shaped as spears and long arrows, often painted red at the top and black at the bottom, with a tassel of red wool attached to them, are planted in the stone heap, as well as some twigs of cypress. On the top of the pole, and on most of the sticks, are fixed prayer flags, pieces of white cloth on which prayers are written with Tibetan characters, and with the "Wind Horse" printed on them. To white and black ropes (of which one end is bound to the pole and the other to small poles or sticks fixed in the ground), are attached some shoulder bones and various small bones of sheep, small prayer flags, pieces of red dyed wool. Often some small stone heaps are built around the Obo; bigger flat stones form an offering table in front of the heap. No irreverent or immodest acts are permitted in front of the pole. No information was available concerning either the way of building Obos, or the items buried inside under the pole, because I knew nobody who had met the builders of Obos.[18]

THE FIVE GREAT OBOS IN THE COUNTRY

These five chief spirits, owners of the country, are 778 not only honored on the tops of their respective mountains. 782 Because it is impossible to climb the mountain 795 every day, there is built for each of them, inside the monasteries of the Yellow Sect nearest the mountain, a small temple, in which lamas daily honor them. So, the temple of the spirit Amni Chokker of the Obo near the lamasery of Ch'u erh is built in that monastery. There is one exception: the small temple of the spirit

[17] Stress should be put on the correct meaning of the cult of the Obo so as not to identify it with the cult of Heaven, as so often happens in studies concerning the religion of the nomads.

[18] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 68–69.

[p. 114(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Amni Chialip of the Obo in Waza is built inside the 778
courtyard of a rich Tibetan, Manguru. I was told by 782
him that every day he lit a taper and burned incense. 795
Women, and girls, even his wife or daughter-in-law, [562]
were never allowed to enter the small temple. The same prohibition existed for the women against visiting this kind of temple in the monasteries.

When and how are the five owners of the country 795
honored? On an auspicious day fixed by a lama, 796
usually of the Red Sect, at the end of the fifth moon, and usually during the sixth moon, five delegates from every village assumed to be situated in the circumscription of the territory of the spirit, are sent to the mountain. They carry a tent and drive some sheep which have been washed and combed, with red paper pasted on their horns and ribbons attached to their fleece, and a piece of red cloth eight feet long on each of their backs. The men also bring some spears and arrows painted red and black, miniature bows, firecrackers and the famous "precious bottle" (the urn).

The first day, at evening, all the representatives of the villages pitch their tents at the foot of the celebrated mountain and pass the night in merrymaking. The next day, being the auspicious day, in the early morning the chief and the elders of the village, with a large crowd of villagers, arrive to attend the rites to be celebrated on top of the mountain. Chinese merchants pitch tents and do business at the foot of the mountain.

After breakfast all the chiefs of the villages with the villagers go to the Obo. One group after another sets off firecrackers before the Obo, plants in the stone heap [389] spears and arrows, and attaches new flags and pieces of wool and bones, and reverently bury their precious bottle in a deep hole. On the crude offering table, the killed sheep is offered, broth is thrown first toward "Heaven" and then to the four points of the compass for "all the spirits," the famous Wei-sang rite is performed and libation made, while the groups kneel and prostrate themselves. After the rites of each village are performed by the chiefs, a group of lamas, mostly of the Red Church, perform on behalf of the entire community a big Wei-sang rite, beating drums, blowing horns, and chanting some prayers; they all turn three times around the obo.

In the afternoon at the foot of the mountain an immense crowd of men and women enjoy the horseraces and the wrestling,[19] singing and drinking. At sunset most of the people leave, but groups of young folk pass the night around the tents, merrymaking. On the morning of the third day, the tents are rolled up, all the

[19] L. M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes mongoles*, 76, Gembloux, Duculot, 1947. Description of the horse races in the sixth moon at the Obo by the Mongols of Outchimts'in and wrestling (on p. 109), attended by the author; also Owen Lattimore, *Mongol journeys*, 274, New York, Doubleday, 1941, with interesting description of the festivities attended by the chiefs of the Banners, etc.

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people leave, and the spirit of the mountain enjoys in 775 ●
undisturbed silence his ownership over the country. 776

Concerning the offering of sheep, Monguors assert that in former times their ancestors offered a horse on top of the mountains, but that at present, for lack of horses, a sheep is offered and not a pig, because the offer of a sheep is more convenient; a sheep can be driven to the top of the mountain, a pig has to be carried; the killing of a sheep takes less time and requires less utensils, which are not available on top of the mountain.

THE SICK OBO SPIRIT HEALED

The villages situated in the valley of Sha-t'ang, be- 782
longing to the circumscription of the big spirit of the 756
celebrated Obo Lung-wang, had poor crops, spoiled by very bad hailstorms, for three years in succession. The saying went that the vitality of the spirit was declining and that it could no longer prevent these terrific calamities. The shamans were invited to restore its debilitated strength. The chiefs and elders of all the villages together with the inhabitants went in a group to the Obo, with a group of shamans, headed by drums and flags. A big cypress fire was built; the people knelt around the Obo with incense sticks in their hands. The shamans, beating drums, danced in front of the Obo; the eldest among them, in pathetic terms, invited the sick spirit to sit down in the midst of its devoted worshippers. He spoke to the spirit in the sweetest way, just as if he was in its presence and was seeing it, caressing, consoling, and comforting the old spirit. He invited it to look at the kneeling worshippers, and protested that they really loved it, and the shamans would offer a dance in order to entertain the old spirit.

After the dance was performed, in the most gracious way, the sick spirit was supposed to be happy. The shaman, like a good mother, persuaded the spirit to take some medicines in the most affable way. He said that he had prepared for it the most efficient medicine, that it had never failed to restore the strength of Obo spirits. The shaman dug a deep hole near the Obo. The precious bottles of each village were put into it first, then a box containing seventy living snakes [20] of different kinds and colors. The shaman explained to the spirit the different kinds of ailments healed by the different kinds of snakes, and then the hole was filled up. Each village offered its sheep, firecrackers were set off, prostrations, libations and Wei-sang rites were conducted, and a last dance was performed by the shamans. Then the medical performance was closed. The spirit was supposed to be bursting with vitality again,

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[20] Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex*, 182. The Tungus use the snakes for making poisonous bullets. The big snake is styled by the shamans the most important spirit who gives advice to the shaman, p. 246. See also Waddell, *op. cit.*, 368, *Snakes and Nagas*; also Heissig, *op. cit.*, 48, Spirits who cause diseases flee from the snakes.

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and the group then marched three times around the 782
Obo. I heard the details of this unusual rite from 756
Monguors who had attended the ceremony.

Just as women are not allowed to enter the temples of the spirits of the Obo, and are excluded from the rites performed at the top of the Obo in the sixth moon, they were also excluded from these rites of restoration of the forces of the spirit of the Sha-t'ang valley. It is [562] for this reason that the Obo festivities, horse races, wrestling, in the sixth moon, are performed at the foot of the mountain, so that women can attend. When women encounter an Obo on their way, they always avoid passing in front of it—the "front" being usually the south or southeast.

The mentality of the Monguors regarding the spirit of the Obo explains their reverence for them. A Monguor will always dismount from his horse when he passes an Obo. He will never fail to add some white stones to the heap, to cry at the top of his voice, honoring the spirit, to prostrate himself nine times, to throw some coins, some flour, a roll of bread on the stone heap, or to smear some butter on the offering table.[21]

It is not only the common people who act in this way. I saw the T'u-kuan Living Buddha, when passing the Obo of Sung-hua-ting, send some lamas ahead to perform the rite of Wei-sang.

CULT OF THE SACRED HILL OF THE VILLAGE

The cult of the sacred hill of the village is performed 795
like the cult of the Obos. A small Obo is built on 782
top of the hill, and a pole is erected. Under the pole is buried the "precious bottle" (urn), the specific offer to the earth god; ropes with flags are attached to the pole and spears planted in the stone heap piled around the pole. Obviously, the dimensions of this Obo are smaller than those of the Obos of the five mountain spirits, and perhaps because of this they are not called Obo, but the "sacred hill of the village."[22]

On New Year's each family sends a member to the sacred hill to enact the rite of Wei-sang and libation. On the fifteenth of the first moon the chiefs of the villages, with the elders and the inhabitants, officially go to the sacred hill, offering a sheep, performing Wei-sand, burying an urn, and making a libation. On the third of the fifth moon a similar group performs the same rites, in order to strengthen the vitality of the spirit of the sacred hill, which, according to the Monguors, must be in full strength in order to help avert hailstorms. Epidemics and epizootics are supposed to be caused by the outraged spirit of the sacred hill, [753] which must be propitiated by a sheep offering and Wei-sang rite, performed by the whole village.

Devout people go on the first and fifteenth of the month to perform Wei-sang and libation. Monguors

[21] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 63.

[22] R. Rahmann, Remarks on the sacrifice of Heaven of the Na-khi, *Monumenta Serica* 13: 406 *sqq.*, 1948.

[p.115(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

devoted to the practice of throwing in the wind slips 795
of paper on which are printed the Buddhist "flying 782
wind horses" are accustomed to performing this rite on the top of the sacred hill.

It is not permitted to cut wood, to graze animals, or to hunt on the sacred hill. In old China, the god of the earth was the tree itself, planted in a small forest.[23] The Monguors plant the Obo post in the hill, and do not allow the cutting of bushes growing on it, or the grazing of cattle. In every village the sacred hill is very conspicuous, because of the wealth of the bushes growing on it which seem to create the illusion of a small forest.

CONCLUSION

The worshipping of the mountain gods consists in the sacrifice of a sheep (or a horse), the burying of an urn, the planting of spears, the lighting of a cypress fire, prostrations, and marching three times around the Obo.

All these rites are performed by the villagers, led by the chiefs and elders. After these rites are performed, lamas start reciting texts, beating drums, and making *tormas*. This fact seems to reveal that the lama rites are additional rites of later times, that the cult of the mountain gods existed long before the lamas appeared in the country, and was performed by the communities without them. The cult preserves the old ritual used at the worshipping of the mountain gods.

The old philosophy concerning the nature of the [772]
mountain gods, their dominion over the country and control over its people, is still fresh and living. It is clearly manifested by the burying of an urn, the specific, grateful offer to a god who is regarded as owner of the earth, which contains the specimens of all the kinds of blessings and treasures provided by the earth. This philosophy places the mountain gods in the category of the earth gods. It is typical also that in every urn they never fail to put an offering of medicines, which reveals the philosophy concerning the decay of the gods whose lives have to be nursed and reinvigorated.

However, the Monguors could not explain the meaning of the planting of the spears near the pole. The explanations encountered in books relating to this puzzle seem to be unsatisfactory and arbitrary.

Taking account of this philosophy and the religious environment in which the Monguors live, claiming to have gods and Tengris as proprietors and dominators of the country, it seems easy to understand that little room is left for thinking about a God, Creator of the Universe, and that this notion is completely absent in their philosophy. Only once is the "Spirit of Heaven" recalled during the performance of the whole rite on top of the mountain—at the time the broth of mutton is ladled and thrown to the four points of the compass, honoring all the gods and spirits. However, the "Spirit of Heaven" is called first and the offering is made first

[23] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 168. [p. 116(A)]

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to it, in the way the Monguors are used to doing at the 795
time of the offering to the guardian deity of the family.[24] 782

RITES OF AUTUMN

THANKSGIVING RITE

The autumn feast, called by the Monguors "Thanks- 796
giving meeting," is intended as an act of thanksgiving for the harvest reaped.

In the ninth or the tenth month, when the harvest is reaped and threshed, the chief of the village convenes with the elders to agree upon the choice of the shamans who should be invited, and upon the manager and the helpers who should be appointed in order to prepare the feast. Usually small villages invite one shaman, [756] bigger villages two or four; the number of the shamans invited depends also on the abundance or meagerness of the harvest. The shamans are usually chosen from among those who performed the rites in spring or the rites against hail.

The appointed manager of the ceremonies goes, taking with him a bottle of wine, the ceremonial scarf, and an invitation written on red paper "to the master of magic, so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads"; he fixes with him the date for the ceremony, suiting his convenience. At that time the shamans are very busy performing the same rites in a number of villages. Because the rites of spring had been performed by shamans, shamans should be invited for the present rite and not lamas or Taoist priests.

Each family of the village contributes its part of the required wheat flour for the steaming of rolls, the needed barley for the distillation of wine, and cash for buying the sacrificial hog or sheep. Big villages sacrifice a hog, small villages a sheep. The appointed preparers of rolls and wine take the oath not to eat the rolls or to drink the wine before they have been offered to the spirits.

The evening before the feast day, the shamans and their apprentices arrive in order to prepare the pole and flag, to paste paper banners and streamers, and to print some Chinese inscriptions on red paper. The items are fixed and pasted on the walls and doors of the temple yard, the display of red and green and yellow paper banners turning the usual feeling of monotony and loneliness of the temple yard into one of joy and happiness.

The ceremony starts in the early morning at sunrise, with the erection of the pole. On top of the pole a white cloth flag is attached on which are printed Tibetan prayers or cabalistic designs. To the middle of the pole paper streamers are attached. While the pole is being put down into the hole of the big stone, designated for that purpose, the shamans beat the drums, build a fire in the yard, throw some cypress leaves into it, and sprinkle water on it. On windy days stones are heaped

[24] See Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 96, for the more elaborate Obo cult in the Narobanchin territory; 178, among the Chahar Mongols; 256, Dagor Mongols. [P. 116(B)]

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villages neighboring the Monguors? This assumption, it seems, should be considered because of the fact that so many Chinese who use the formula are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and that so many Monguors who have lost their identity to the extent of having lost their own language, and being ashamed to assert their Monguor origin, boast of being Chinese, and of belonging to a more civilized culture.[25] 796 782

XI. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITHOUT REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

SACRED ANIMALS IN PRIVATE FAMILIES

Monguors do not honor the "spirit of Heaven" as a family deity nor do they perform, at present, bloody or non-bloody sacrifices to Heaven. Non-bloody sacrifices, in which the animal is not killed but allowed to wander at will, are a real economic sacrifice because the animal cannot be sold or put to profitable use; but this practice does not really fit the frame of an agricultural economy because the sacred animals cause a lot of damage in the fields. It even happens, as has been noted, that persons are injured and killed by sacred bulls. No wonder that the Chinese, devoted to agriculture, do not practice this rite in China. The Monguors, however, are very fond of the rite, which originated in the nomadic economy, and this fact betrays the original economy in which their ancestors lived. 795 231 825 [174]

Almost every Monguor family has its own consecrated animal, which usually is a female sheep—seldom a ram.

On the third day of the New Year, the animal is led into the courtyard. The whole family is in a hustle and bustle washing the feet and the fleece of the animal, and devotedly combining the fleece. Never before has the animal enjoyed such a fine appearance. The sheep is led into the living room before the picture of the deity protector of the family. All the members of the family kneel devoutly with burning incense sticks in their joined hands. They look on with feverish anxiety as the chief of the family pours milk, mixed with water, first on the head of the animal, then into its ears. The sheep frantically shakes its head and at that very moment the whole family starts prostrating itself three times toward the picture of the deity and then toward the animal, smiling, crying with happy enjoyment *"ling liao"* ("the deity accepts our offer"). Thus, the animal is supposed to be consecrated. The family are in a happy mood, with a gleam in their eyes, for the deity will protect the cattle. The more frantically the sheep shakes its head, the better it augurs for the future.

The incense sticks are planted before the picture of the deity honored in the family and the chief of the family and all its members attach red and yellow ribbons

[25] Schröder, Das Herbst-Dankopfer der T'u-jen im Sining-Gebiet, *Anthropos* 37–40: 867, 1952.

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to the ears of the sheep and all over its fleece. Everybody endeavors to attach a couple of ribbons. 795 825

The sheep will join the herd as before; its wool will be sheared twice a year, as is done for the other sheep, but it will never be killed and will be allowed to die naturally. If it dies during the year, next New Year's another one will be consecrated and will take its place, for every family has to have its sacred animal. 231 [778]

But what if the sheep does not shake its head? This is conclusive proof that the deity is angry and ill disposed toward the family. Dread and terror instantly show upon their faces. All the members of the family, startled and panic stricken, look at one another distressed, dejected, and in deep gloom, for everybody feels that this fact bodes ill for the future. Bowing their heads to the ground and lifting their hearts in humble entreaty, they beg pardon and ask the deity to overlook their offences, to accept the offer. Then milk is poured again, and if the sheep still obstinately refuses to shake its head, it is finally removed. [787]

Then, in the living room, the situation is examined to be sure the predicament is of their own making. Maybe they had been too remiss in honoring the deity; maybe the spirit does not like the discord and resentment reigning in the family; maybe the deity wants a more valuable sacrifice? After renewed prostrations and promises for the future, the conclusion is always that the only hope remaining is to consecrate a more valuable animal, a young female mule, for they know that it is impossible to get around the spirit and defy it with impunity, and that anybody who tampers with its plans is riding for a fall.

The female mule is led into the courtyard and washed; tail and mane are combed. Two red hot stones are dropped in a utensil containing boiling water, which is adjusted under the nose of the animal so that the vapors may enter the nostrils, purifying the animal interiorly, as it has been cleansed exteriorly. The animal is led through the door of the living room, and in front of the picture of the deity. Milk, mixed with water, is poured on its head and in its ears—the head shakes. Ribbons are attached on mane and tail. The animal will be used in the same way as other animals, but never will it be sold. It is allowed to die a natural death.

The Monguors whom I asked for explanations always replied in the same way, that the rite is always performed only on the third of the New Year, by the head of the family, without Red or Yellow lamas or shamans; that the animal is always consecrated to the guardian deity of the family, inside the living room, in front of the picture of the guardian deity. Because the "spirit of Heaven" or "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored as family protectors, the animal is never consecrated to the "spirit of Heaven" or to "Heaven and all the spirits."

If it happens that the family spirits are the spirits of the mountains, the rite is always performed in the

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same way in the living room, never outside. They said that the aim of the rite is to obtain blessings upon the cattle and their reproduction, and that therefore gelded or old animals are never used. The custom excludes the use of donkeys, hogs, hens, and dogs. Custom does not allow the family to sell or to eat its sacred animal. They all said that the rite was never performed because persons in the family were smitten with severe diseases, or calamities had overcome the family, since other specific rites exist to obviate these miseries. The rite is only intended for the reproduction of animals and to give thanks for blessings upon them. They also said that the staff spirit was never consulted when a new animal had to take the place of the former. The shaking of the head of the animal, when milk mixed with water was poured upon its head and in its ears, was sufficient evidence that the animal was accepted by the family protector. These notes do not agree completely with those of Dom. Schröder in his very interesting article "Die Tierweihe," (*op. cit.*, 839). I write them down according to my notes which I checked many times, because the rite interested me very much.

According to the explanation of the Monguors the rite does not intend to make of the animal an "animal spirit"; the animal is not possessed by the spirit. The aim is to offer to the family protector an animal for which, if the spirit does not agree, a more valuable offer is substituted. When it agrees, however, they all cry: "The offer is accepted!" Because the animal is accepted by the spirit, it partakes of the respect of the family and prostrations are made to the spirit and to its animal. If the rite were a shamanistic rite, the shaman, who is always at hand, would certainly have been invited to perform it.[1]

Poor families must have their sacred animal also, and for this purpose they exceptionally use a rooster, very seldom a he-goat; the ritual for the consecration is the same. Every year, on the third of the New Year, the sacred animal is presented to the deity in the living room, washed, combed, and lavishly adorned with ribbons, while the family prostrates itself. If the sacred animal is a mule, it must be fed on that day with bread. Milk is poured on the animal only once, on the day of the consecration.

The rite must be very old, and must have belonged to a nomadic economy in which horses were offered. At present the rite continues to persist, but it is performed with other animals.[2]

Among the Mongols of Ordos, the rite of the sacred animal is well known and widely practiced today. The animal is consecrated to all kinds of deities, Chingis-

[1] Garma Sandschejew, Weltanschauung und Shamanismus der Alaren Burjaten. *Anthropos* 23: 938, 1928.

[2] It is worth while to note that the rites of the sacred animals of the communities and of the private families are performed on the Chinese New Year (which usually occurs in February) at the time the lambs are born, the happy time of the harvest of the nomads.

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Khan included (for Chingis is a devoutly honored deity), to the fire and to the Obo. The rite is performed in private families by lamas. Stallions are consecrated besides other animals.[3] The tenets of the religion of the Mongols seem to be as confused as those of the religion of the Monguors. 795 825 231

The rite used to be performed by the Turks.[4] Marco Polo, traveling through Turkistan on the way to Peking, notes the rites of the sacred animal—in this case a sheep.[5] [171]

This rite is not to be confused with the well-known rite of the aspersion with milk of mares after the summer solstice. On an auspicious day the mares are milked and the milk is immediately mixed with sour cow's milk, so that it will become sour after a few minutes. This sour milk is thrown to the four points of heaven, with a wooden ladle, while prayers are said. The rite is performed in honor of all kinds of deities of Lamaism; all kinds of gods of heaven; of Chingis, his wives, his sons, and companions; to the spirits of mountains.[6]

CULT OF THE FIRE

A very old element of the old religion of the Turco-Mongols is the cult of the fire, whose specific offer was butter.[7] This cult had already existed in the arctic culture, "wir gehen wohl nicht fehl wenn wir wenigstens die Wurzeln irgendeine religiösen Feuer Kultus schon in die arktischen Urkultur eingesenkt lassen."[8] Fire is supposed to carry the offerings to the supreme deity.[9] It is one of the essential elements of the old religion of the nomads.[10] Among the Ch'i-tan, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, received considerable attention during winter.[11] Among the Ch'i-tan, the burning of big fire-wood was originally 372 776

[3] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore ordos, op. cit.*, 1 seq. Prof. Schuyler Cammann encountered in Ordos a sacred yearling camel wearing a necklace of sheep scapulas—it could never be ridden by man. *The land of the camel*, 167, New York, Ronald Press, 1951.

[4] Herman Vambery, *Das Turkenvolk*, 122, 1885.

[5] Yule-Cordier, 1: 207, 1929.

[6] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 315-322, 331. Father Mostaert also notes (*Monumenta Serica* 1: 335, n. 19, 1935) that among the Mongols this rite, which is performed by laymen, is not specifically for Heaven but for all the Burkhans, Tengris, etc. The koumis (mare's milk) is cast from a ladle toward the four points of heaven; there is not a ladle-full for Heaven alone. This rite follows the summer solstice, by which time the colts have been born. It seems to be a thanksgiving rite, a rite of first fruits, specifically enacted for the reproduction of the horses. The Monguors, no longer having herds of horses, lack this rite.

[7] W. Koppers, Die Indogermanenfrage in Lichte der historischen Volkerkunde, *Anthropos* 30: 23, 1935; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* 10: 70-76; 9: 228-241, 534-535.

[8] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 3: 550.

[9] *Ibid.* 3: 555.

[10] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 136, 1925.

[11] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *op. cit.*, 214 and 239.

[p. 119(B)]

If, however, black and white rites do not work, the Monguors call for the Taoist priest, who paints all the items used (the wood, etc.), with a coat of goat blood. He binds the logs in a bundle by means of goat guts, and sprinkles goat blood upon the burning fire. The rite is called the "red Wei-sang." 372 789

These facts give evidence of the importance attached by the Monguors to the fire for purifying from uncleanliness and preventing harm caused by evil spirits. They show their devotion for the fire by having a big cypress fire kindled during the performance of religious rites and the most important moments of life, as at marriages or the celebration of the sixtieth birthday. However, fire does not only play an important role in the life of the Monguors in the open air; its role is as important in the private life of the families where it is worshipped under the form of the "fire of the hearth," the "hearth god."

THE HEARTH FIRE

Among the Monguors, the Chinese, and the Tibetans, the cult of the hearth god belongs entirely to the department of the women. Everywhere, the temple of the hearth god is the kitchen. 775 776 372

No wonder that the hearth god is supposed to be interested in a special way in the fecundity of the wives and the protection of the children, and that it is honored at fixed times by its own ritual. [842]

FIRE AND FECUNDITY

When the Monguor bride arrives at the home of the bridegroom, she does not prostrate herself before her parents-in-law or before the guests, but is led straight to the kitchen. Here she worships the god of the hearth giving three prostrations, burning incense, offering a bottle of wine and her chopsticks, which she has brought with her. 585 354 776 372

It was noted in the first volume of this study that the youngest couple in the family always lives in the kitchen, where the god of the hearth is honored, because the Monguors say that in that way fecundity is assured. Women who have plenty of children and do not wish to have more will leave the kitchen and live in another room. It has been noted that, among the Mongols, the youngest son inherits his father's hearth, occupies his tent, and is called the prince of the fire. [428]

When poor people cannot afford the luxury of a lavish marriage, nor invite guests, they marry the young couple in the kitchen "before the god of the hearth." The makeup of the new bride is done before the god of the hearth and not in the living room.[19]

An unusual practice relates to the fecundity assumed to be bestowed on women by means of the cult of the spirit of the fire (and of the god of the hearth). On the fifteenth of the first moon, at night, on the edge of the big threshing floor of the village, a number of small heaps of cypress boughs are kindled. While musicians 842 372 776

[19] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'eu-jen du Kansu*, 39.

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beat drums and play mandolins, all the younger wives and their husbands pursue each other, jumping over the fire heaps, merrymaking. No wives or husbands would miss this practice, for the tradition goes that it provides fecundity. However, the Yassa forbids jumping over the fire.[20] 842 372 776

Professor N. Poppe notes that among the Mongols the spirit of the fire is represented riding a he-goat, and that the he-goat is a symbol of fecundity, as Plano Carpini already noted.[21] This note of Professor Poppe evidences the existence of the fact that a relation existed between the fire god and fecundity in olden times. The Monguors seem not to know the existence of the god of the fire riding the he-goat, although they know that the hearth god secures fecundity. The hearth god also procures fecundity among the Buriats.[22]

FIRE AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE CHILDREN

The god of the hearth not only provides fecundity to the daughters-in-law, but it protects their children. On the second of the second moon is performed the rite of consecration of the children to the god of the hearth. In the very early morning, before boiling water for washing and making tea, the mother roasts some handfuls of spelt in the cauldron and after them some handfuls of peas. Husband and wife spread them devoutly in the courtyard in front of the door. Then the elders clip some hair from the foreheads of the children under thirteen years of age, and cut the nails on their fingers. Hair and nail parings are carefully put in a cup and covered with a red cloth. The cup is placed before the picture of the hearth god and a copper coin placed on top of it. All members of the family prostrate themselves nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and the incense sticks are then fixed before the picture of the hearth god. On the twenty-fourth of the twelfth moon, at the time the god starts its journey to Heaven, the contents of the cup are burned in the hearth, together with the picture of the god. The Monguors explain this as the yearly rite of consecration of the children to the hearth god. 952 372 776

CULT OF THE HEARTH GOD

Rite at the End of the Year

The most important rites in honor of the spirit of the hearth are performed at its departure for Heaven, and at its coming back from Heaven, for so important a benefactor must receive the highest honors possible, and the most affectionate greetings. This is true all over China. Men do not attend these rites. 795 562 354 776 782

The spirit of the hearth of the Chinese starts its journey to heaven on the twenty-third of the last moon of the year, on horseback or on a mule. The spirit of

[20] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 73.

[21] Poppe, *op. cit.* 2: 135. See also n. 15, above, for Agni, the Hindu god, riding a ram.

[22] *Ibid.*, 301.

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the Monguors starts its journey in the same way on the twenty-fourth of the same moon. Before that day, all daughters-in-law on holiday at their mothers' have to be back, for the cult of the spirit is entrusted to the women. This rule is kept most rigidly. 795 562 354 776 782

At evening, after supper, the women don their makeup and put on their best dresses, while the children are clad in their New Year's dresses. Grandmother and the daughters-in-law and the children kneel before the image of the spirit, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The grandmother presents and puts in front of the spirit a boiled chicken and twelve rolls of steamed bread, and kindles the oil lamp. Prostrations are made and paper is burned in the oven. Then the participants, sitting on the floor chatting, recall the events of the whole year. When the lamp is nearly burned out, the offerings are removed. Some straw is spread in the oven, on which the picture of the spirit is placed. Twelve small bundles of hay, some peas (horses are fed with peas in the country), and three or four rolls are placed on the image, as well as the cup containing hair and nail parings of the children. The straw is kindled. The participants prostrate themselves and bow. The grandmother says: "Good deity, you know all that has happened in the family during the year; you know our deficiencies and shortcomings. Please do not tell about them when you arrive in Heaven, but rather, speak about our pitiable living conditions, our miseries, our afflictions, our poor cattle. Please come back soon. Do not linger in Heaven for too long a time, as we need you very much; we will wait for you on the thirtieth at midnight. Bring with you children for my daughters-in-law—boys are preferable to girls. Bring health for all of us; bring riches and wealth, and blessings for the cattle." If some member of the family becomes ill at that time, or if one of the daughters-in-law is childless, all these facts are entrusted to the spirit and put on its knees with confidence. The fire in the oven is extinguished, and the good spirit is on the way, enjoying his ride to Heaven.

This is one of the most intimate prayers the Monguors say in a group in the family. The same rite is performed among the Chinese in the same affectionate way and almost in the same terms, and it may be that the Monguors borrowed it from them.

The spirit of the hearth seems to be the envoy of Heaven, whose duty appears to be the supervision of the doings of the families. It seems to be very potent, for it is able to obtain in Heaven all kinds of blessings in behalf of its protégés.

The next day the wall is whitewashed and the kitchen is cleansed. On the thirtieth, at evening, a new image is pasted on the wall, in front of which is placed a chicken, four rolls, a lamp and incense sticks. At midnight, after the fire is worshipped in the courtyard, Heaven and all the spirits are honored on the roof, and the guardian deity in the living room. The family pros-

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trates itself before the spirit of the hearth, congratulates 795
it, and is happy, for the spirit is supposed to have come 562
back at that very moment with a load of blessings. In 354
the early morning the elders will honor it also. 776

Several times I asked the Monguors whom the spirit 782
of the hearth was going to see in Heaven. The answer was always: "Our women claim, as do the Chinese, that the hearth god is going to see 'Old Father Heaven.' It is true that the spirits are everywhere, and the women know it; but on that night they say the same thing that the Chinese say."

Rites During the Year

Every time women prepare food, the first bowl is 782
always offered devoutly to the hearth god.

On the fifth of the fifth moon, steamed rolls, shaped like flowers, are offered to the spirit of the hearth, and willow boughs adorn its image. Nobody could explain the connection between the willow and the spirit of the hearth. (Is it a Chinese custom?)

It has been noted above that steamed rolls, prepared with the flour of the spelt of the new harvest, and a lamp kindled with the new oil of the year, are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the fifteenth of the eighth moon, rolls and a chicken are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the eighth of the last moon of the year, a piece of ice is put before it. (Is this a Chinese custom?)

If a member of the family has been smitten with a severe disease, old people claim that the spirit of the hearth is angry and taking in ill grace the uncleanliness of the women for having let milk drip in the fire, or for having poured water on it and on the ashes, or for poking the fire with an iron rod. In that event, rolls, wine, and chicken are offered and prostrations are made. Sometimes a sheep is offered, and a lama is invited to pray in propitiation before the image of the spirit of the hearth.

When eyes are sore, or when there is trouble with scalp and hair, the spirit of the hearth has to play physician. Before the image, a red-hot stone is put in a pot of water in which aromatic leaves of wild mint are boiled. The sick man, after prostrating himself, bows over the pot and is steamed by the vapors and healed. The same rite is used to purify the sacred animal at New Year's.

It is noteworthy that the shaman is never invited by the Monguors to honor the fire or the spirit of the hearth, although once in a while a lama is invited to perform a propitiating rite. That department, like that of the sacred animal, seems to be foreign to them.

IMAGE OF THE HEARTH GOD

The old Monguors are accustomed to paste on the 776
wall a sheet of white paper. In the middle of the paper 354
is pasted vertically a short but wide yellow paper rib- 372
bon, under which is pasted, horizontally, a large red- 562
fringed paper ribbon, said to be the skirt of the spirit.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The bewilderment concerning the sex of the god of 776
the hearth and its social position is astonishing. Some- 354
times the god seems to be a married couple, sometimes 372
a single female, or a single male. The traditional pic- 562
ture made by the Monguor women themselves offers a definite solution concerning the sex of "their" hearth god. The traditions concerning the fecundity attached to it seem connected with the Mongol king of the fire riding a he-goat, nothwithstanding that the Monguors are unable to give any reason for this connection, and do not know anything about the existence of this he-goat rider. Maybe the solution of the puzzle is to be sought in the suggestion of Granet, that two spirits are involved, the spirit of the fire which is a male, and the god of the hearth which is a female.

OFFERING TO HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS

THE FAMILY OFFERING AFTER THE HARVEST 776

After the spelt is cut, some sheaves are immediately 782
carried home and threshed. The grain is ground on the 795
stone, which is cleansed carefully. The women steam thirteen rolls of bread made with the newly ground flour. All members of the family climb on top of the roof in their best dresses and kneel, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the family lifts up to Heaven the salver with the thirteen steaming rolls and shouts three times, at the top of his voice, the usual "*Mtchioo*" and "Heaven and all the spirits." The whole family prostrates itself thankfully for the new harvest. Crumbs of bread are thrown to the four points of the compass. The Monguors say that the crumbs must be thrown in this way in order to feed the roaming, hungry, malignant spirits of the deceased, who always are on the prowl to harm the people.

The family comes down and offers the same rolls to the guardian spirit of the family, and to the spirit of the hearth, and then the whole family eats the rolls steamed with the new flour of the year.

In autumn, when linseed and colza seed are cut and the new oil is pressed, the same rite is performed with the new oil. A lamp with the new oil is kindled on the roof of the house with the usual prostrations and shoutings, another is kindled for the guardian spirit of the family, and another for the spirit of the hearth. The Tibetans in the country perform the same rite and the Chinese do also, but the Chinese thank only the "Old Father Heaven" and not "Heaven and all the spirits."

THE OFFERING OF THE SHEEP

It has been noted above that whenever a sheep is offered to a deity in the family, first of all a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown in the court yard for "Heaven" separately, with shouts of "Heaven" and no more; that a second piece is cut and thrown in the same way, with a shout of "all the spirits," and that

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

after this rite is performed the sheep is offered to the guardian deity of the family. The Ordos Mongols perform the same rite for "Heaven" only, when for a dinner a whole sheep is presented in its entirety to the guest.[29] 776 782 795

CALENDAR OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES 796

At home, at midnight on New Year's, while the old parents are still sleeping, the family starts kindling a big fire, with wood and cypress boughs, in the courtyard before the sacred pole for "Heaven and all the spirits," and prostrates itself three times. The fire is not allowed to go out the whole day. On the roof of the living room, or in the courtyard before the pole, offerings are put on a small table: rolls of bread steamed or baked in oil, raisins, butter, wine. Holding Chinese incense sticks in their hands, the family prostrates itself nine times, crying: "Heaven and all the spirits protect us during the whole year." They sprinkle some wine to the cardinal points and throw out some crumbs of bread for hungry malignant souls. Then they bring the offerings down from the roof in order to perform the same rite with the same offerings before the guardian deity of the family, the spirits of the fire, the pole, the hearth, the gate, and the stables, and fix a Chinese incense stick before each of them. At dawn the elders, upon arising, enact the same rite in the courtyard for "Heaven and all the spirits." At evening, from the first until the fifteenth of the first month, a lantern is hung on the pole in the courtyard, sticks of incense are fixed at the door, and the whole family prostrates itself every day before the door and pole saying. "We prostrate ourselves for Heaven and all the spirits and the spirit of the door and of the pole.[30]

Before sunrise, several pieces of ice are put on top of the walls of the courtyard of the families in which no persons have died during the year.

After the elders finish their worshipping, they sit on the k'ang in order to receive the congratulations of the family. The eldest son presents them with a cup of wine, and the family prostrates itself nine times. The daughters-in-law make three prostrations to their husbands, and the youngest brothers and sisters prostrate themselves before the eldest three times, and then before each other in the same way. Then follows the traditional speech of the grandfather, well known over the country: "Rise early in the morning, work till late at night, tend the herds carefully, and spend your full energy on the fields, and all live peacefully together and forgive each other's shortcomings and deficiencies. I hope that Heaven and all the spirits will bless you, in order that you may build seven farm houses several stories high, may shear the wool of hundreds of sheep,

[29] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos*, 489: 590, Peiping, 1947 (Monograph 11 of *Monumenta Serica*).

[30] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 625, *Das Neujahrsfest*, gives more details about New Year's.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

guardian deity do not like the cult of the twelve Tengris, 771
although these are considered the most potent protectors 776
among the spirits. The reason alleged is that these 592
spirits are very touchy and do not allow any lukewarmness in their cult and frequently during the year they urge the offering of a sheep. Therefore, the families which honor them are all families which continue a cult initiated generations ago.

However, families whose children are weakly like to dedicate them for thirteen years to the Twelve Tengris, and after thirteen years perform the rite of liberation from the dedication, and nurture the rooster of longevity. (See Part I: 102–103.)

There still exists an unusual custom concerning the cult of the Twelve Tengris for which I never found an explanation. It is customary that the images of guardian deities should be hung on the northern wall in the living room. The image of the Twelve Tengris, however, is never hung, but is kept rolled up during the whole year and put on the offering table along the wall. Only on the first of the first moon, at New Year's, is it hung for three days, and all the members of the families who, before the division of the extended family group, honored these Twelve Tengris and at present honor other deities as their protectors, are bound to come during these three days to worship the Twelve Tengris of their ancestors.

Another emotional but important reason for preferring the cult of a Taoist deity is that the families enjoy more the rite celebrated by the shaman at home for a Taoist family deity, than the rite performed for a Lamaist family deity. The lamas do not in fact honor the ancestors. They recite texts for one or seven days, make a *torma,* and the monotonous and tedious rite is finished. Because an emotional element governs the choice of the family deity, an outline of the shamanist rite will best explain what is involved.

CULT OF THE FAMILY GUARDIAN DEITY

The biennial or triennial rite is performed in the 795
eleventh month. On the first day of the celebration, 756
the same preparations are made by the shamans and 782
their apprentices as at the feast of the spring in the 592
temple of the village, but on a more reduced scale, in- 776
cluding pasting of banners and streamers, planting of the pole, binding of the rope, baking and steaming of rolls, offering of sheep, thrones for the ancestors, the hearth god, spirits of the horses, the gate, and for the protector spirits of each of the families of the brothers.

At midnight "Heaven and all the spirits" are worshipped in the courtyard by the whole family. Firecrackers are set off. On the morning of the second day the spirits are invoked and come down along the rope. Among them are the gods of the hearth, the granaries, the stables, the doors, the grindstone, the fertilizers, the well, the horses, the cows, and the last three generations of ancestors. There are the usual prostrations, in-

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cense, and libation for the throne of the ancestors. The 795
spirits are greeted and the offerings enumerated. The 756
shaman holds a long dialogue with the ancestors, asking 782
whether they are happy and will protect the descendants, 592
and makes promises. The whole group enjoys sitting 776
before the gods and the ancestors. The rite of the greeting of the Goddess of Joy and all the performances connected with it are omitted, but at evening follow the lighting of the lamps, the making of the bridge, and the departure of the spirits.

The spirits remain only one day. At night no soul is taken outside the courtyard to nurture the spirits, but during a last wild dance the chief of the shamans jerks off the head of a chicken and the guardian deity of the family is nurtured with its reeking blood. The head of the chicken is put under a box for seven days, the pole is taken down, and jujubes are gathered. After the shamans leave the courtyard, the fire in the hearth is not allowed to die out for seven days, and for seven days no guests or friends are admitted. No food is given to anybody, not even to beggars, no items are loaned out, no animals are sold, and the animals sold before that time are not allowed to be led away. However, things from outside may be accepted and brought into the courtyard.

The real nature of the feast celebrated by the shaman in honor of the family deity consists, it is clear, in honoring the guardian deity of the family and all the spirits presiding over the various departments of the household, together with the ancestors. It seems to be a heterogeneous party in which spirits and ancestors and the members of the present generation participate. The climax of the feast, however, is the entertainment of the ancestors, who are believed to be present in the courtyard, happy to look upon their descendants and disposed to extend their protection over them. The shaman is believed to see the ancestors, hear them speaking, know their intimate feelings, their desires for offerings and their good dispositions, and his dialogue with them is so animated as to give the participants hallucinations and make them happy.

New Catholic converts, talking about this feast, al- 795
ways recognized that before their conversion they en- 776
joyed the entertainment with the ancestors very much, but they never alluded to the presence of the spirits at the feast. Children of new converts often had interesting discussions at school with children more proficient in the doctrine concerning the shaman who had seen their ancestors and heard them speaking, but they never spoke about the other spirits present at such times.

The feast of the family guardian deity seems in fact 592
to have become a feast honoring the ancestors at home. 776
This delight in the presence of the ancestors is not confined to the Monguors. It is interesting to note the similarity of the rite of the invocation of the spirits of departed heroes, which still delights the Ordos Mongols.

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of the fifth month and lasts for 108 days. During the whole period, two lamas at a time are always fasting (taking one meal a day), while the others are free to indulge in food, but during the 108 days the use of meat, garlic, leeks, and radishes is prohibited for all the lamas. Lamas of the Red Sect north of the Hsining River do not perform fasting in a group of their own sect, but always some among them attend the fasting rites practiced by laymen. 785 792

The fast of laymen is an interesting custom, the consequences of which have an important bearing on the formation of the Buddhist frame of mind of the people. The aim of the rite is the purification of sins and happy rebirth in the paradise of one of the Buddhas. [783]

ORGANIZATION AND RULES

The rite is enacted in a group, in a few temples spread over the country, under the direction of a lama of the Yellow Sect, usually a Living Buddha or an old lama celebrated for his proficiency in oratory. At present the fasting exercises are only practiced in six localities, among which four are old Karwas (dating from the Ming period): Tsan-tsa, Pe-cha-erh-te, Marhtsang and Swor. The two others are Sumdo and T'u-kuan. The fasting exercises are never performed for laymen in monasteries. Each of the six groups has its committee which, long before the fixed time, tries to enroll fasters: Monguors, Tibetans, even Chinese, lamas of the Red Sect, men and women. In Sumdo the fasters usually number from twenty to eighty; in Pe-chä-erh-te from ten to thirty; in Marhtsang from ten to thirty; in Swor from twenty to seventy. In 1916 in Pe-cha-erh-te, I met seventeen fasters; in Marhtsang twenty-one. The Monguors of Wei-yüan-p'u and of the northern part of the Hung nai Valley are said to be the most fervent fasters. Always, a large number of men, even chiefs and elders of villages, attend the rite. 795 785 792

During the whole exercise, the fasters do not spend any money. The fast expenses are defrayed by the villagers of the locality where the exercises are held, and by the committee which has a small fund and collects some alms. To contribute to this rite is considered to be a very meritorious act. The day before the beginning of the fast, the chief of the village imposes corvées on some of the youngsters for the carrying of water, chopping of fuel, preparing cypress boughs, grinding flour, cooking, baking rolls and steaming bread, buying butter, tea, sugar, sweeping the floor. At Tsan tsa the fast starts on the fifteenth of the sixth month; at other places usually around the twenty-ninth of the third moon, and lasts for sixteen days. During the three days preceding the fast, the fasters are not allowed to eat garlic, leeks, radishes or meat, or to drink wine, or smoke tobacco, and continence is required. [622 651] [262 784]

The fasters arrive at night, drink tea, eat rolls baked in vegetable oil and go to rest. Men and women have separate rooms; they sleep on straw and cover them-

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selves at night only with their own clothes. Before 795
dawn the conch shell trumpet is blown, and all arise and 785
wash their faces and hands. A youngster comes and 792
pours some water in their cupped hands, with which faces and hands are cleansed. The fingers pass across the hair and toilet is done. In the meantime, a big cypress fire is kindled in the courtyard and the fasters cause the smoke to enter their large sleeves and gowns, whereupon the body is supposed to be ritually purified.[13] The lama director, helped by Red lamas or laymen, kneads flour of roasted spelt with butter, makes three ritual *tormas* with the dough, and disposes them on the altar before the Buddha picture for two days. Then they are thrown away and three new ones take their place. In front of the picture, 108 butter lamps burn all day during the whole rite; 108 cups are displayed containing the ritual holy water and a flower, along with two high vessels, one of them containing pure water and the other sugar water. In the temple, men kneel behind the lama and the women behind the men. The lama starts reading the texts, which very few among the fasters are able to read with him, but it is said that the merits of devoutly listening to texts which are not understood are exactly the same. He explains the rules to be observed in order to obtain the merits of the rites. The fasting exercises are to be performed at least for two consecutive days; it would be better to perform them for more days, and it would be best of all to persevere to the end. Several fasters drop away after two days, others start again a few days later, many attend the exercises of the first and of the last two days, but all of them have to attend the meal at every noon, attend the lecture in the afternoon, and sleep in the temple every night. In the meantime, the absentees visit neighbors or bask in the sunshine.

On the days of silence, it is strictly forbidden to talk, lest all the merits of the fast be lost. Except at meal time, it is strictly forbidden to swallow anything, even saliva; the whole day the noise of spitting never stops. During the sixteen days, it is strictly forbidden to kill any living being. In the sunshine, whole rows of fasters are seen searching in their clothes for vermin and putting them on the ground with devotion. It is strictly forbidden to take a nap during the sixteen days, or to go home.

After the explanation of the rules, the exercises start. The director blesses the sugar water, and reads some texts; a servant pours a few drops of sugar water into the hands of each of the fasters, who swallow it devoutly. Holding in his hand a cypress bough dipped in pure water, the servant sprinkles some drops in their hands which they swallow and spit on the floor. It is called *chiap*, which means the ritual cleansing of the tongue and the mouth. Then follows a strict command against moving, and the servant pours milk tea,

[13] Granet, *Danses et légendes, op. cit.*, 383. Purification by smoke was well known in old China.

with discretion, into the cup which every faster holds 795
hidden in his gown. Then follows a new chiap and 785
the mouth is purified. The first exercise is finished and 792
the fasters go into the courtyard to have a talk.

At nine o'clock there is a second meeting in the temple. Prayers are said by the lama, followed by 108 Om Mani said over the beads, with devotion, in a slow tempo. The recitation of the Om Manis constitutes the basis of every gathering. This time there is no instruction or preaching, but again the rite of sugar water and chiap is performed.

At eleven, the same exercise is held in the temple as at nine o'clock, and immediately thereafter they have the only meal of the day, which consists of milk tea and rolls boiled in oil, followed by the ritual chiap. According to the rules the meal has to be finished before noon.

At the three o'clock meeting in the temple, the director gives prayers and preaching which may last for two or more hours; there is no sugar water, and no chiap. Then the fasters go to the courtyard for a talk. When the sun has set, they gather in the temple. There are no more prayers, but sugar water and chiap, milk tea at discretion, again sugar water and chiap. At dusk the fasters enter their respective dormitories, and strict silence is observed.

The second day is one of strict silence. At dawn, they meet in the temple, for prayers and Om Manis. The sugar water on that day is not swallowed but rubbed on the hair. There is no chiap. After the meeting, the fasters bask in the sun, reciting Om Manis, or turning the prayer wheels. At nine o'clock the same performance is held as in the morning, and sugar water is rubbed on the hair. There is no chiap. At eleven, the same rites are held as at nine o'clock, and the same meal is held as on the first day. At the three o'clock meeting they have prayers and preaching, and put sugar water on the hair; at sunset the same rite is held as on the first evening.

On the third day, after the morning rites, it is permissable to speak, and the rites are the same as on the first day. At noon the menu is changed, and noodles and milk tea are served.

The rites on the fourth day are the same as those of the second day, with strict silence, and so on, for sixteen days. During the whole fasting time, Wei-sang is not practiced, but every morning a big cypress fire is built in order to smoke the body.

According to the fasters, the observance of the rules is very difficult. Although the Monguors are used to eating whenever they like, the whole day long, they say that the single meal is the least part of the problem; the worst parts are the terrible regularity of the schedule and the deadening silence. This is quite understandable, especially as the rites last for sixteen days. No wonder that young people are not fond of the rite, and that mostly older, devout, and religious-minded people, and

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people who have taken the Buddhist vows, are the usual practitioners.

TOPICS OF THE INSTRUCTIONS

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Each year I seized every opportunity to get information from fasters concerning that captivating subject, and asked the children in the schools about what grandpa or grandma had said about the lama director, the topics of the preachings, the anecdotes narrated, the number of fasters. Every time the fasters reported that they were happy to have performed the exercises, although they had had a hard time. They had prayed in a group innumerable Om Manis, which had caused them to have a real feeling of happiness, and they had enjoyed the preaching. They seemed to be better Lamaists than before, for they spoke with enthusiasm about their experiences. Without doubt the fast rites had helped buoy them up and had given them zest for life.

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However, it was always said that the directors of the exercises were not all interesting talkers, that some were really boring men, but that they all loved Li, the old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Every year, at three places at least, he was invited, and the fasters urged that the date of the exercises be postponed, in order to enjoy the old man's direction since he had endeared himself to the hearts of the people. He was an intelligent old Living Buddha, a picture of benevolence, with a great kind face, molded on pontifical lines, and all set for hearty smiles. He was a wonderful storyteller, with sparkling wit and a fetching sense of humor, who had the knack of keeping the fasters listening for two and three hours every day. He expounded his doctrine by means of anecdotes and unusual comparisons, which his uncultivated listeners could grasp, remember, and tell to others. He was a fine teacher.

The beloved topic of his talk was the life of Buddha, who fled from the luxurious palace of his illustrious parents; his terrifying mortifications and his endless charity, even for tigers and other animals, so that he had allowed himself to be devoured by the hungry tigress in order that she might nourish her cubs; his refusal to enter paradise, in order to remain in and save the world. Another topic was the paradise of Buddha and its oriental splendor where everybody hoped to go eventually; and also that of the eighteen hells, with all the terrifying torments used in the Orient. He used to put stress, in nearly every talk, on the omniscience of the terrible but equitable judge of death, who accepts no bribes, who knows all the merits and demerits of everyone; whose mill of justice grinds, in the most minute way, all our acts and intentions.

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All the children knew that the poor in this world are people who are suffering, for their lack of charity in former existences, or for their covetousness or injustices. The topic of the punishments for injustices was one of those most elaborately developed by all the

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

and jade. A pillow is placed under the head, which is 764
covered with a sheet of white paper and a piece of black cloth. The black cloth is a souvenir of former times, because the Chinese use a piece of red cloth.

A Taoist priest fixes the day for the burial. The master of ceremonies invites the maternal uncle (with [604]
the same discussion as at the incineration ceremonies). Finally, permission is granted for the burial, and the sons and grandsons of the deceased kneel before the maternal uncle, presenting the hammer and the wedges to fasten the cover of the coffin. The maternal uncle fastens one wedge, and allows the others to finish the job. Some among them still practice the Om Mani rite at night. The offering of the members of the family are still the Monguor offerings, as well as the lamentations. The next day the men follow the coffin on foot to the cemetery, and the women, crying and lamenting, sit on carts. On the third day there follows the ceremony of building the tumulus according to the Monguor custom.

It is not unusual that, at the request of the maternal uncle, some lamas are invited to say prayers at the same time with the Taoist priests. In that case, the lamas say their prayers in a private room next to that of the Taoist priests, since neither cares for the other.

CONFUCIANIST BURIAL OF MONGUORS

Some, among the rich and more educated Monguors, 795
follow the Confucianist rite of putting the coffin in the 766
courtyard with a red curtain hanging before it. The members of the family kneel before the coffin and a Chinese literatus, wearing a large red satin scarf on his shoulders, makes the sons kneel in the first row. While the musicians play a soft funeral tune, he reads the panegyric for the deceased whom he proposes as a model for the sons. He then places the panegyric before the coffin; next he goes to the row of daughters and then the row of grandchildren, and each time a new piece is read and deposited before the coffin.

The whole group then follows him in a silent procession to the kitchen, where each takes a cup of noodles and deposits it before the coffin, bowing and prostrating. He leads the whole group in procession behind the curtain. The literatus invites the deceased to take his meal. The whole group coughs one delicate cough, and disappears, tiptoeing into the room, in order not to disturb the deceased while dining. The literatus burns the panegyrics and retires.

The literatus, with some Taoist priests, goes to the nearest temple. Men follow him on foot while women sit on the carts and lament. He enters the temple with the priests only, reads a new panegyric, and makes the announcement of the death to the spirit and bows; then the group returns. It is amazing to see how these rude Monguors can behave with courtesy, like people "to the manner born," and how much they like the rite. Burial follows the next day.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

IMPACT OF FOREIGN RELIGIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA

In dealing with these subjects, serious account must be taken of the diffusion of Buddhism. At the beginning of our era, in A.D. 148 the first translators of Buddhist scriptures arrived in Liang Chou from the oases of Turkistan, and Liang Chou became the center of Buddhist activities (Chapter II). Among the Turkic T'opa Wei people, Buddhism was diffused on a large scale. From 399 to 557 they occupied northern China and extended their power as far as the Altai. In 538, in their two provinces of Chih-li and Shan-tung alone, are recorded thirty thousand temples and two million adherents to Buddhism.[22] The Turkic-Mongol tribes, settling or living as nomads along the western frontier of China from Turkistan to Manchuria, must have come in contact with Buddhism and felt its impact in different ways. The Chi'tan (of Mongol origin) who occupied northern China (907–1125) and extended their power over Inner and Outer Mongolia, professed Buddhism to the extent that in 942 the number of monks and nuns in Chih-li and Shan-tung swelled to 50,000 and in 1078, 360,000 are mentioned.[23]

However, from the seventh century on, new religious notions were also diffused in Central Asia among the nomadic tribes. In 762 the Uigurs had embraced Manicheism, and Nestorians were very numerous among them. The Kereits, a Turkic tribe living on Lake Baikal, were converted to Nestorianism in 1007. They were defeated by Chingis Khan, and submitted to him. The Öngüts, tribes of Shat'o origin who aided Chingis against the Chin in 1201, were Nestorians.[24] Around the end of the eleventh century Nestorian missionaries had already reached the Tatars living near the country which today is called Manchuria, because at least two of their chiefs bore Christian names, "Mark" and "John."[25] During the tenth and eleventh centuries many nomadic tribes in Central Asia were converted to Mohammedanism, among them the Qara-Khanides in 960, the Seljukides before 1043, and other Turkic tribes in 960 and 1043.[26]

IMPACT OF NESTORIANISM AMONG THE MONGOLS

The impact of these events must have been felt among the peoples of Central Asia on a larger or smaller scale and in different ways. At any rate, Nestorianism af-

[22] James R. Ware, Wei-shou on Buddhism, *T'oung Pao* 30: 179, 1933. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, *op. cit.*, 1433.

[23] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 291–296. It was under the Liao dynasty that Buddhism spread to the vast eastern expanses of Inner Asia.

[24] K. S. Latourette, *A history of Christian missions in China*, 63, N. Y., Macmillan, 1929.

[25] B. Louis Hambis, Deux noms chrétiens chez les Tatar au XIme siecle, *Journal Asiatique*, 1953: 475.

[26] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

fected the imperial family of the founder of the new 795
Mongol nation in a peculiar way.

Chingis, building his new nation, resorted to al- 175
liances with neighboring tribes. He married his fourth 648
son, Tului, to the niece of Toghrul Ong Khan, chief of 643
the powerful Nestorian Kereit tribe. The Nestorian princess bore four sons, among whom was Mönke, the fourth leader of the nation, Khubilai, who became emperor of China, and Hulagu, the ruler of Persia, who also married a Nestorian Kereit princess, the granddaughter of the same Toghrul. The latter had a chapel attached to his camp.

Chingis married his own daughter, Alagai Beki, to Po-yao-ho, the son of the chief of the Nestorian Öngüts, who helped him conquer the Chin. Chingis was so fond of his son-in-law that he made him follow him, with Kulan the well-known favorite, in his conquest of West Turkistan and Khwarezm. The relations between the Nestorian Öngüts and the imperial family were very close. Güyük, the second successor of Chingis and leader of the nation, married his daughter to the son of Po-yao-ho, who had a Christian chapel before his tent. The emperor Khubilai married his daughter to the other son of Po-yao-ho.

No wonder that many Nestorian Kereits and Öngüts 177
occupied important administrative posts in the new na- 797
tion. Chingis himself appointed the Christians Chinkhai 643
and Khadak, and all imperial orders had to bear the signature of Chinkhai. Two chief ministers of Güyük were Christians, as were also the physicians at court. The principal minister of Mönke was the Christian Bolgai. Protection enjoyed by the 30,000 Nestorians in China in the construction of churches and monasteries was due to the emperor, whose mother was a Nestorian and who gave his daughter to a Nestorian prince. Even so, the diffusion of Catholicism by the first missionaries was also made possible and even encouraged by him. The impact of Nestorianism upon the imperial family seems at first sight to have been unusual, but it was in fact merely a veneer overlying a shamanist underground, for soon after Chingis, the Mongol emperors practiced Lamaism to the extent that Peking became a Lamaist city.[27] O. Franke writes about the "Rabies Buddhica" of the Mongol emperors.[28]

Vladimirtsov writes:

Chingis Khan introduced a definite religious idea into 797
the political conception of his own suzerainty and of that 175
of his clan . . . the shaman Kokchu announced that the 643
"Everlasting Blue Sky" favored Chingis who was its own pre-ordained envoy on earth. . . . "The 'Sky' has ordered me to govern all the peoples," Chingis said. . . .

[27] K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, 63–65. Henri Cordier, Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *T'oung Pao* **18**: 56–57, 197. P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extreme Orient, *T'oung Pao* **15**: 627, 1914. P. Pelliot, Les Mongols et la Papauté, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* **23**: 4 seq., 1922–1923; **24**: 46, 1924; **28**: 169, 193–4, 199, 1931–1932. Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

[28] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 522. [p. 154 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

We have to take into consideration also the fact that 175 many of the historians of this Mongol period, such as 771 Rashid ed-Din (1302), Djouwayni (1260), and others, were Moslems, who might easily have been influenced by the tenets of their own religion in this matter, and have reflected these ideas in their writings.

Besides the very serious doubts concerning the authenticity of the texts, there arise problems of the value of these texts in explaining the cult of Heaven as it existed before Chingis and before the imperial family professed (?) or protected Nestorianism, and also the question of the real impact of Nestorianism inside the imperial family through cult and rites, and upon the bulk of tribes which are called Mongol. P. Pelliot states that "Nestorianism was the religion of most Turkic tribes and perhaps of a few genuine Mongols." [40]

It is common knowledge, corroborated by the testimony of travelers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,[41] that the Mongols and Turks during the Yüan dynasty worshipped a host of spirits and Öngüts, and were as fervent addicts of shamanism as Chingis himself.

Professor Louis Hambis writes: "The Mongols at the time of Chingis did not honor a Supreme God, but they worshipped Heaven and Earth, and their formula for taking an oath started with an invocation to the god of heaven and to the deity of earth." [42]

René Grousset notes that: "When Chingis started with his campaign against the Naiman, he made solemn sacrifices to the Banner, in which the 'Sulde,' the protector spirits of his army, were supposed to reside." [43]

At present there exists the same confusion concerning the notion of Heaven among the Mongols of the Ordos as among the Monguors.[44] No wonder that after the overthrow of the Mongol dynasty, which had long since become thoroughly Buddhist, Nestorianism almost completely disappeared from among them.[45]

NESTORIANISM AMONG THE MONGUORS

Among the Monguors and the Chinese of the region 795 of Hsining, I never encountered any facts pointing to the possibility that Nestorianism had been practiced in former times. Yet Marco Polo (born in Venice in 1254), during his long stay in Kan chou in 1274, must have made an excursion to Hsining with his father Nicolo and his Uncle Matteo. Among many minute details concerning Hsining he records: "The population

[40] P. Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extreme Orient*, *op. cit.*, 643.

[41] A. Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, 231, 232, Puaracchi, Firensie, 1929.

[42] Pelliot and Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, 411, Leiden, Brill, 1951.

[43] Grousset, *Empire Mongol, Ire Phase*, *op. cit.*, 159.

[44] A Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos*, Peking, Catholic University, 1947.

[45] *Ibid.*, *Bull. Catholic University of Peking* 9, Nov. 1934; Ordosica; Les Erkut, descendants des Chrétiens médiévaux chez les Mongols Ordos.

[p. 155 (B)]

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of the country consists chiefly of idolaters and some 175
Saracens, but there are some Christians also."[46] Because Marco Polo always noted very accurately the Nestorian churches he encountered on his way through Central Asia, and because he did not mention the existence of any Nestorian church in Hsining, it may be supposed that this Nestorian community must have been small, and probably consisted of some occasional traders.

Another fact led me to investigate the topic of 175
Nestorianism. According to Pelliot, tribes of Öngüts 195
(Shat'o) inhabited the Tenduc region, north of the great bend of the Yellow River. Some of these Öngüts migrated into south Kansu, in the region of Lin t'ao. They were taken prisoners by the Chin (1125–1235) and transplanted into mid-Manchuria at the beginning of the twelfth century. They were Nestorians. An apparition in a dream of the Chin emperor T'ai tsung (1125–1161) having been explained by means of images honored by these Öngüts, they were liberated and located in Ch'ing chou, north of the Yellow River.[47]

According to Howorth, *History of the Mongols,* 1: 26, the Öngüts had moved there in the twelfth century from northern Mongolia. Rashid ed-Din explains that the Öngüts, being in the service of the Chin, had been appointed as wardens of the Great Wall.

The problem is, the region of Lin T'ao being contiguous with that of Hsining,[48] whether there was intermingling between the Shat'o of Lin T'ao and those of Hsining, and whether the Hsining Shat'o as a consequence, ever professed Nestorianism.

The second Shat'o dynasty, that of the Hou Chin, (936–947), was conquered by the Liao dynasty (907–1125) in 947, and its imperial family (175 persons), banished into Huang lung, north of Mukden (Manchuria). However its harem, eunuchs, and servants entered the service of the Liao emperor.[49] Then the emperor decided to enroll in his army the defeated Hou Chin troops, and to use them as wardens of the southern marches of his enlarged empire. Their families were to be moved into north Shansi as hostages, and the troops were to be granted furlough from the marches every year to visit Shansi.[50]

It seems doubtful whether these provisions were ever carried out. Ho kien, an Uigur, loyal and devoted servant of both Shat'o dynasties, governor of the Tsin, Chieh, and Ch'eng chou regions, and of the marches of southeast Kansu (contiguous to Lin T'ao), in 947, immediately after the defeat of his emperor, offered the places and the region he governed to the Lord of the Kingdom of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan), and pledged his al-

[46] Yule-Cordier, *The book of Ser Marco Polo* 1: 274.

[47] P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extreme Orient, 630; Henri Cordier, Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *op. cit.*, 56.

[48] Franke, *op. cit.* 5: 113.

[49] *Ibid.* 4: 55.

[50] *Ibid.* 4: 57, 58.

[p. 156 (A)]

legiance to him.[51] War broke out and finally a new dynasty arose, the Hou Han, 947–950. 175 795

Did the defeated Shat'o troops of the Hou Chin join the faithful governor? Did they submit to the new Hou Han dynasty and remain in their own country? Did the Öngüts of the northern bend of the Yellow River come over to lend a hand? For how long did the Öngüts remain in that troubled country? At least the Öngüts of Lin T'ao were taken prisoners and transplanted to Manchuria, not by the Liao (907–1125) but by the Kin (1125–1235).

It is common knowledge that the Öngüts of both Shat'o dynasties (923–947) were fervent adherents of Buddhism, as were the Shat'o of Hsining, who built the imposing monastery of Ta-fo-ssu in the very center of the city of Hsining (1280–1368). (See Chap. II, p. 14.)

Even if we suppose that Nestorianism were diffused among the Hsining Shat'o, certainly it would not have been done by the Buddhist Shat'o dynasties, but by the Shat'o from the northern bend of the Yellow River, who immigrated into Lin T'ao, if at that time they were already Nestorians. Furthermore, can the apparitions in the vision of the emperor T'ai tsung definitely be explained as Nestorian images worshipped by the Lin T'ao Öngüts, or could they have been Buddhist or Manichean images? This question is still controversial.[52]

All that I can say in summing up is that I never could succeed in tracing any evidence that Nestorianism was ever professed by the Shat'o of Hsining.

CONCLUSION OF THE CHAPTER

If the Heaven beliefs of the Turkic-Mongol tribes are to be assessed in conjunction with what is known about the Monguors, whose ancestors settled in Huang-chung in 1227, at the time of the death of Chingis Khan, then taking into account the Monguor formula of "Heaven and all the spirits," the cult of an undefined Heaven, the host of honored spirits and the predilection for shamanism which survived the intensive indoctrination of Lamaism experienced by the Monguors in Huang-chung, it seems sound to assume that among other Mongol tribes "Heaven" must have occupied a similar position of honorary preeminence. 795 776 771

The tangled problem may be summarized as follows. In former times the old Turkic-Mongol tribes had no notion of a heaven or a hell where, after death, men would be rewarded for their merits or punished for their sins. They lacked the notion of an immortal soul. The soul, after having dwelt for a short while near the burial place, or in an undefined underworld, was supposed to vanish. Even at present the Monguors believe that their ancestors vanish after three generations. Their aspirations and hopes were, ac- 795 776 775 771

[51] *Idem.* 4: 68.

[52] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 308–309. [p. 156(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

cordingly, concentrated on the happiness and help needed during their actual lifetime here on earth. 795 776

However, they had populated the world with a host of good and evil spirits on which they thought they depended. They curried the favor of the good spirits and tried to secure their good disposition so that they would stay the hands of the evil spirits, and bless them during their lifetime here on earth. Among those spirits was the Spirit of Heaven, whose nature we have no means of distinguishing from that of the other spirits to whom more sacrifices were offered. (See above, p. 153.) 775 771

The shaman, whom they knew to have access to the world of spirits, was only engaged in providing them with the protection and benefits needed during their life. At present the activities of the shamans are still limited to that same sphere of action. The diffusion of Buddhism opened new vistas in the world of religious thought of the Turkic-Mongol peoples. A Buddha of benevolence appeared, enthroned in a paradise to which all people could have access and where all could enjoy happiness during the time preceding a new, happy rebirth. The concept of this intervening time became so endlessly long that the idea of rebirth was practically forgotten and put aside. However, a more concrete notion of the soul came to be developed. 756 776 771

In addition to the paradises, Buddhism revealed the existence of the eighteen hells and the presence of the terrible judge of the dead who decided about the future, according to acts morally good or bad. The shamans also told about Erlik Khan. However, the Turkic-Mongol tribes living on earth still hoped for blessings here, and were taught that the benevolent Buddha could secure them. Hence, next to the cult of the old spirits was the cult of Buddha, the throng of devotees invoking blessings and protection through the Om Mani. In this way the fervent shamanists became also fervent Lamaists. 775 771

We have no way of making sure what the impact of Nestorianism may have been upon the Turkic-Mongol tribes in later times, in promoting the development of a more concretely defined notion of the "spirit of Heaven," and its preeminence over the other spirits or even how long such an impact may have lasted. We do know, however, that Turkic-Mongol tribes honored Heaven and offered sacrifices to it, as well as to Buddha and all the spirits, and that consequently they were not monotheists.[88]

XV. RELIGION AND THE COHESION OF THE CLAN

The Monguor clans, from the time of their submission to the Chinese empire (1368), were friendly disposed toward the empire. Their chiefs received military titles and offices, and enjoyed the right to admin- 614 648

[88] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217, *et seq.* [p. 15) (A)]

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mantle. Trade was transacted in this city, where shops had been built and traders, artisans, and well-to-do people lived. In the outer city was a large terrace with three steps where every three years Heaven and Earth were worshipped, and also two smaller fortresses. More than one thousand houses were built in the outer city and many Buddhist temples with glazed tile roofs, and abodes for the lamas. Half of the buildings in the inner and outer cities were Buddhist buildings. Lamas presided at all the public ceremonies and participated at the councils of the chief. Five li outside the outer city, to the west, was built a very large lamasery with abodes for five hundred lamas and a splendid temple.

These notes written by the Chinese official prove that Chiossulo was fond of display and munificence, that his realm was flourishing and opulent and that he was a very fervent Buddhist, reigning over a Buddhist people and surrounded by lamas whom he revered. Hsining seems to have been a small Lhasa. Chiossulo was a descendant of princes who had lived in Lhasa, and the old traditions prevailing in Lhasa must have been fresh and living in his family and among his officials.

It is worth noticing that in the description of the opulent city written by the Chinese official, after many thousand Uighurs had surrendered and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo, not a single mention is recorded of a Manichean temple or Nestorian church. The Uighurs are known to have been professing Manicheans although many among them must also have been fervent Buddhists or shamanists or perhaps Nestorians. The Uighurs at the time of their arrival at Hsining must have been accompanied by their religious leaders and would normally have built some temples.

In the *Annals* of Hsining (15 : 2*b*), however, is noted a Pei-i-ssu the Temple of the White Clothes,[40] the stereotypical designation of Nestorian temples. This temple was situated north of the outer city and is the only Nestorian temple recorded in the *Annals*. The date of its construction is not recorded.

Chiossulo died in 1065 having had to defend twice more his independent kingdom against the Hsi Hsia, in 1058 and 1065 (*Annals* of Hsining 31B : 2*a–b*, 3*a*, 33*a*).

This history of Chiossulo is of overriding importance for the study of the Monguors. Unfortunately, I overlooked it at the time I prepared Part I of the study. It reveals how at the time of the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols (1227) and the Ming (1368), the population of the country had come to consist of T'u-fan tribes already mixed with Tang-hsiang tribes, a group of the Slave tribes and strong groups of Uighurs and Shat'o. It sheds light on names of tribes of Monguor commoners pointing to their Turkish and Tibetan origin. The fact that several thousand Uighur Turks had fled to Huangchung in 1038 from the corridor of West Kansu and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo,

[40] Referring to the white clothes worn at the time of baptism.

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1274 and also of Nestorians, probably traders as were the Moslems, originating from Kao Ch'ang. 175x 439 563

BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

The history of Chiossulo has an important bearing upon the history of Buddhism in Huangchung and upon the specific character of Shamanism in the country. 175x 795

In Part II (8–14) it is noted that, according to the *Annals* of Hsining, the first Buddhist temple in Hsining, the Ta Fo Ssu, had been built during the Yuan period (1280–1368). Since I was conversant with the history of Chiossulo, I suggested on page 12 that most probably during the occupation of Kansu by the Tsan p'u of Lhasa from 763 until 842, lamas would have followed the conquerors and spread Buddhism in Kansu. However, the first historical data are recorded in the *Blue Annals* translated by Roerich, where is noted the foundation of the monastery of Dantig in 940, on the northern borders of the Yellow River in Huangchung, and at the same time that in that country great hermitages already existed. These annals also note the existence in the city of Hsining of a Buddhist temple where Buddhist monks had been buried. These are the first historical data which prove that Buddhism was practiced in Huangchung before 940. Since the description of the city of Hsining during the reign of Chiossulo, who died in 1065, is available, we know that the city of Hsining was a Lhasa in miniature, where lamas stood at the helm, and that therefore, long before the Yuan period, Buddhism flourished on a very large scale.

SHAMANISM AND MANICHEISM

The Uighurs were converted to Manicheism in 762–763 and professed Buddhism and Nestorianism at the same time. At the time of their khanate in Kanchow in 872 their official religion was still Manicheism. Manicheism is based upon the doctrine of the existence of two distinct principles of good and evil, and of two distinct beings impersonating good and evil, both eternal, independent, and mutually antipathetic.

The shamanism of the Monguors (Monguors II: 94–97) has been explained on the one hand by the overwhelming fear of evil spirits existing among the shamanists, and on the other hand by the recognition of their dependence on good spirits in all the circumstances of life. The struggle between both groups of spirits has been recorded during the typical rite against hail. Then the people carry all their good spirits into the fields in the direction of the threatening clouds, and cry to them to fight the evil hail spirits, which they curse awfully. If it happens nonetheless that the crops are destroyed, the people sigh with despair saying: "the good spirits could not match the evil ones." 175x 795 756

Professor Wolfram Eberhard,[34] reviewing the chapter on shamanism, suggested judiciously that there

[34] Wolfram Eberhard, *Jour. Amer. Oriental Soc.* 4: 284, 1957.

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Uigur AZ4

might be reason to think seriously of the thesis of the influence of Iranian dualism upon the shamanism of the Monguors and upon that encountered in west China in a contact zone of Tibetan and Chinese populations. He notes that attention has already long ago been drawn to the Iranian elements in Central Asian shamanism. Since it is known that several ten thousands of Manichean Uighurs pledged allegiance to Chiossulo in 1036 and that they were settled in Huangchung and in East Kansu up to the borders of Szechwan, it is easy to agree with the suggestion. Without doubt Iranian elements had had time enough to influence the shamanism of Kansu, for my notes were recorded in 1910–1920, after these Manicheans had lived in the country for six centuries. Iranian influence upon the shamanism of Central Asia may be explained in the same way. The Uighur kingdom was liquidated in 840 by the Kirghiz, after the Uighurs had been converted to Manicheism eighty years earlier. Then they roamed in Turkistan and on the China borders carrying with them their Manicheism and came in contact with the shamanism of Central Asia.

M 175x 745 756

SETTLEMENT OF THE UIGHURS

M 175x 167 563 U 167 175

The arrival of thousands of Tibetans and several ten thousands of Uighurs all fleeing at the same time into Huangchung, driving before them their herds, carrying their belongings, etc., should have created a tremendous and delicate problem for Chiossulo to cope with. All these turbulent people had to be settled without hurting the feelings of the Tibetan tribes subject to him and already living in the country. This tremendous number of tribes must have upset the whole country, as many groups must have tried to occupy the territories which seemed fitting to them and have caused endless troubles.

M U [648] M 175x 167 563 U 175 167

The *Annals* of Hsining (4: 19*a*) dealing with the geography of the country note incidently that five thousand T'u-fan horsemen arrived at the well of Fu-t'i, and drove Uighurs who had settled there back to their own country. This well is situated near the well-known old fortress of Shih-pu-ch'eng (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 3*a–b*). This reveals how delicate a problem Chiossulo had to contend with, and indicates the attitude of the Tibetans toward the Uighurs intruding into their country.

It is impossible to find out which among the numerous tribe names recorded in the *Annals* for the first time in Ming times (1368) are Uighur, Tibetan, or Shat'o names, because all the tribes are generally recorded as being Tibetans.

What tribes were settled in Huangchung in 1008 when the twelve-year-old Chiossulo arrived in the country?

In Mao Ch'uan, the actual subprefecture of Nienpei, is recorded the presence of the important Tibetan

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The emperor praised the military prestation of Li Yin and sent delegates from Peking with laudatory letters and with the order to come to Peking, the expenses to be defrayed by the empire. He received the promotion of Yu-fu tso-tu-tu and rich gifts. The next year he was honored with the title of Duke of Hui Ning, and received an emolument every year of 1,100 *tan* of grain. At the same time the emperor, with delicate attention, bestowed upon his deceased father, Li Nan-ko, the same title of Duke of Hui Ning (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining **27**: 11*a*). 175x 648 [703] [554]

Li Yin seemed to have reached the summit of a glorious career. However, a more eminent honor was in store for him. His merits would be chiseled on a stele in a temple built by himself to remind future generations of the imperial dignities bestowed upon him. 175x 554

In the Kuang-fu-kuan, a temple built in 1426 in the northeast corner of the city of Hsining, the following is chiseled on a stele (*Annals* of Kansu **30**: 45*a–b*; *Annals* of Hsining **35**: 6*a–b*): 175x

In 1422 in the eighth moon, Emperor Yung Lo, on his way back from an expedition in the desert took a breath in Yu-lin (Shensi) and called to his tent the officials who had won the most distinguished merits during the expedition. He granted Li Yin the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Pillar of the Empire and Duke of Hui Ning. Then the duke asked the emperor for permission to build in Hsining a temple in honor of the god of the war, in order to show gratitude for the blessings bestowed upon the empire and the people, and to secure more blessings in the future. The emperor agreed. Back home, Li Yin ordered, a few days later, the building of the temple. In the tenth moon of 1426 he informed the emperor about the completion of the construction. The emperor granted to the temple the name "Kuang-fu-kuan" (Taoist temple of glory and felicity), and appointed five Taoist priests for the performance of the sacrifices and worship in the temple. 175x 211 539 [703] [776] [795]

One evening Li Yin was dreaming: he heard a man saying to him, "The God of War will appear." Instantly he dressed and adjusted his hat. Another man arrived carrying a tray with fine dishes. He invited Li Yin to come to his home to enjoy the dishes. Li Yin could not understand the circumstances of such an invitation. He thought it should be a spirit. Then he invited this man to come to his home. They were about to start with the dinner when all of a sudden the man said, "The spirit is there." Li Yin opened the door. He saw a man perfectly dressed, riding a white horse with a beautiful saddle and escorted by a numerous retinue. The man was like a king. The Taoist priest Ho Chao-tsung accompanied him, dressed in Taoist fashion, holding a book in his hands. He asked Li Yin: "The god will go first to the temple of the King Li. Is that correct?" Li Yin answered that he would first call at the Ning-fan Ssu (the temple of the appeased Tibetans). The entire group left. The sky was bright. On the way they passed a beautiful high building, enclosed by a high wall. They said, "The man who is living here does not belong to the lower range of society." They arrived at the gate of the temple. Li Yin dismounted from his horse. He was terrified. This happened on the eighth day of the seventh moon in 1423. In the winter of the same year the Duke was invited to see the emperor in Peking. He received his titles and precious gifts and returned to Hsining. What the Duke saw in his dream was the appearance of the god of war. It was a reward for his

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turing thirty horses (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*). 175x
The Wa-la tribes, afraid of the Chinese army, moved to 721
a salt lake deeper into Kokonor. 648

In 1597, however, Kokonor brigands still raided surrendered Tibetan tribes in the Hsining region. They were vigorously repelled from the Mang-la valley (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52). Chih-li-ko, Ordos brigand, raided the borders of Huangchung; 60 of his brigands were killed and 3,300 surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*).

The same year Liu Mei-kuan and Lung-yin finished 175x
the editing of a set of new *Annals*. However, a note 213
is added, no woodblocks had been carved, only a few texts existed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*; 27: 14, 15), and most of them were indecipherable.

In 1598 the Ordos Mongol Ch'ih-li-ko intended to 175x
reoccupy and to pasture in Sung Shan. He was re- 648
pelled and suffered a defeat in Liu Ko Chin. In the fifth moon he plundered the Wolanko region and was repelled again. In the fifth moon one of his tribes, the Shao-hai-hai tribe, surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*). In the seventh moon Generals T'ien Yueh and Ta Yun definitely cleared the Sung Shan region of brigands. The chieftains Pin-tu, A-shih-tu, Tsai-cheng, Chih-li-ko had long infested the Huangchung and East Kansu countries. This time the brigands were chased as far as 500 li (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*). In the eleventh month the Mongol Hao-erh-ch'i occupied Sung Shan. The Chinese Commander Li Wen and surrendered Tibetan tribes repelled them and administered a severe blow. They built a wall as long as 400 li, indicating that Sung Shan belonged to China [712] proper and was no longer the country of the barbarians (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 3*b*).

In 1600 Sung Shan, the country from which during many years many raids had been perpetrated, was cleared of brigands and integrated into China. No more raids are recorded of Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in Huangchung. For some time the Ordos brigands tried to recover Sung Shan and make forays in East Kansu, T'ao and Ming Chou, Liangchow, Chengfan, Ninghsia, but Huangchung enjoyed relative and temporary peace.

Kokonor brigands having lost many tribes previously subject to them, raided T'ao and Ming Chou to subdue Tibetan tribes not yet surrendered to China. They suffered a severe blow and 5,000 Tibetans surrendered to China (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*).

The year 1604 is important in the history of lamaism 175x
in Huangchung. On the northwest of the so many 792
times devastated Sa-t'ang valley, on the borders of one 795
of the small affluents of the Sa-t'ang River, a Tibetan lama Diasai, belonging to the Saskya sect, started the building of the humble hermitage of Erh-ku-lung. The hermitage developed to the point that it became the first lamasery of Huangchung for many centuries and founded all over the country forty daughter monasteries. Its Living Buddhas, Chang Chia, T'u Kuan

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and Sung Pa, were learned men and enjoyed prestige in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet (Monguors II: 27, sq.). 175x 792 795

In 1607 the Brigadier General, T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chai, with his troops, was ordered to help General Ta Yun repel the raids of Kokonor brigands who in combination with Ordos brigands invaded and looted Chengfan and Liangchow. They repelled them, administering a severe blow (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 39). 175x 648

In 1612 the emperor ordered an honorific arch built to the meritorious Brigadier General Ch'i Teh, and sent the inscription to be chiseled on it: "Honorably favored by Heavenly Grace." The arch was built on the west street of the city of Hsining and still exists. Ch'i Teh is a descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i-Kung-ko-hsing-chi, who during the Yuan period fulfilled the duty of myriarch, with golden badge and purple tassel, in the region 90 li south of Hsining. The Ch'i t'u-ssu clan should have been well acquainted with the Tibetan tribes living south of Hsining. No wonder the Ch'i Teh T'u-ssu was called upon by minister of war Cheng Lo in 1591, together with Colonel Shih Chia, to induce the Tibetan tribes to surrender. His successful efforts must have been the reason for the imperial distinction (*Annals* of Hsining **10**: 4*b*; **27**: 28). 175x 703 211

In 1616 the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Ping-chung (descendant of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh) appointed at Yung Ch'ang, saw the Mongol Yin-ting-ssu-ts'ing arriving with 1,000 horses to besiege the city. He controlled only 300 men but fought for two days and nights, defending the city. He himself killed three Mongol brigands. When auxiliary troops arrived he himself immediately pursued the enemy and saved all the people and cattle captured by the Mongols. The grateful people of Yung-ch'ang erected in the city a stele in commemoration of his heroic behavior. The stele still exists. Commended by his superiors for his leadership and energy, he was ordered, in 1621, to move with his troops to Liaotung Province (north of Peking) to defend the region of the Pu River. When he arrived, Liao Yang was already captured. Ten thousand more soldiers were put under his command. He remained in Liao tung for two more years. Later he encountered at P'ing-yang the Manchu troops invading China. In a pitched battle he was wounded by two sword cuts and three arrow hits. He was helped on his horse by his soldiers but died on the way. On account of his meritorious achievements, the emperor bestowed upon him the title of "T'ai-tze-t'ai-pao" "Junior guardian of the heir apparent," and an imperial oration was granted at his funeral and an order given to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining with the inscription: "Served the country, manifested loyalty." The arch still exists. It was built in the large south street of the city (*Annals* of Hsining **10**: 4*b*; **27**: 21*a–b*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 45*a–b*). 175x 648 [534 211] [211 703]

A very important date in the history of Kokonor, Tibet and lamaism is 1636. Ku-Shih-han, chieftain of 175x

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

with troops (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 6*b*) who, in concert with the t'u-ssu troops, exterminated the groups of brigands still roaming in the country without chiefs, and they induced the rebel Tibetan tribes to surrender. The commanders started repairing the cities, villages and fortresses in Huangchung. 175x 648

In 1646 T'u-ssu Ch'eng was appointed commander in Chuang Lang by the Manchu Prince Su and given the title of Piao-ch'i Chiang-chun. At that time groups of brigands plundered the country of Sung Shan I north of Chuang Lang. The son of T'u-ssu Ch'eng pursued and exterminated them and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*).

However, the Chinese abhorred and hated the uncouth Manchu barbarians. Many among the governors and commanders could not resist the temptation of espousing the cause of the crumbled dynasty. The opposition would last for eighteen years before the entire empire would be conquered by the Manchus. Several times their empire met precarious circumstances, but party intrigues and jealousies among the Chinese divided them, and never could they offer a permanent united front against the conquerors. [578]

The whereabouts of the heir apparent to the Ming throne being unknown, several princes of the imperial family arose in the provinces and tried to restore the dynasty. Prince Kuei succeeded in the formation in Kiangsi Province of a coalition of governors and military commanders, and the news spread like a prairie fire over the entire empire. Several governors and commanders in north China who had surrendered at the arrival of the Manchu troops, waited for the signal of the general uprising. A storm was brewing even in the remote northern region of Kanchow, Liangchow, etc. Two chiefs of the Mohammedan colony of Kanchow, Ting Kuo-tung and Milayin, started the revolt against the Ch'ing dynasty (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*). They joined the group of Chou Shih-chuan, a scion of the Ming princes, and enrolled as many Tibetans and brigands of Li Tze-ch'eng as possible. The Chinese officials of Kanchow and Liangchow followed in their wake.[88] 175x 669

At the end of the Ming dynasty in North Kansu, Huangchung, and East Kansu, in nearly all the important cities and villages along the trade routes, colonies of Mohammedans were established, having their mosques and religious leaders who were obeyed and honored by their people. Meng Ch'iao-fang, conversant with this situation, informed the emperor about his apprehensions concerning the participation of the Mohammedans in the revolt. He wrote that an order issued by their religious chiefs would suffice to enroll all the Mohammedans of Kansu in the insurrection, and then he indicated the cities and villages in Kansu where the most important groups of Mohammedans existed (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 1*a–b;* 34: 1*b*, 2*b*). 175x 162 795

[88] E. H. Parker, Kansu Mussulmans, *China Review* 16: 335, 1887.

[P. 53(B)]

General Meng Ch'iao-fang seems to have trusted the faithfulness of the Monguor t'u-ssu of Huangchung and therefore decided to stabilize his position first in Hsining before attacking Kanchow, Liangchow, etc., notwithstanding that in Hsining a strong Mohammedan colony existed. Therefore, in 1645 he sent two commanders to Hsining, and at the end of 1646 he sent another commander with troops, Ma Ju-shin, probably foreseeing imminent troubles. 175x 795

In 1647 the rebels of Kanchow aimed to join the already revolting Mohammedan groups in East Kansu. Dissension seems to have existed among the Mohammedan colonies of Hsining and those of Kanchow, Liangchow, etc. Anyway the rebel Mohammedans, Chinese, and Tibetans united, led by the two Mohammedan chiefs Ting Kuo-tung and Milayin, and marched their troops first towards Hsining in order to compel the Mohammedan colony and the whole region of Huangchung to follow in their wake. On the borders of the Tatung River, north of Hsining, a ruthless battle was fought by the Manchu commanders of Hsining, supported by all the Huangchung troops of the t'u-ssu and a resounding victory was obtained (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*a*). The Hsining Mohammedans refused to mix in the revolt, maybe for fear of the overwhelming Manchu and Monguor forces guarding the country. Anyway, the victory secured a temporary peace in the country of Huangchung. 175x 669

In 1648, after this victory, Meng Ch'iao-fang started attacking the cities of North Kansu. The cities of Liangchow and Yung Ch'ang surrendered, but Major Ma Hu-ya resisted in Kanchow. The city was carried by storm, the commander, eighteen officials, and eighty others were killed. The resistance of the rebels of Suchow was more serious. The city suffered tremendously, the commander and many people were killed (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 1, 3). T'u-ssu Li fought in Kanchow and Suchow with 500 soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*), helped by Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 54), Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*a*), and Ch'i t'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*). Meng Ch'iao-fang, informed that the rebels (*Annals* of Kansu 56: 40*a*) had proposed to move to East Kansu after the defeat on the Tatung River, had appointed t'u-ssu to guard the passes and the roads leading to East Kansu. T'u-ssu Ch'i Pei-chai (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*b*) fought the rebels in Chin Pien I, T'u-ssu Ch'i Ta-hsun (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*) in Ta Tsing, T'u-ssu Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36) and T'u-ssu Lu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 59*b*) fought them in Wu Chao Lin. T'u-ssu Kan with three hundred of his soldiers guarded the ferry on the Yellow River. However, the rebels managed to reach East Kansu and succeeded in capturing within a few months the cities of Lanchow, Ho Chou, T'ao Chou, Lin T'ao, and Kuei Te, and beseiged the city of Kung Ch'ang.

In 1649 Meng Ch'iao-fang led his army and all the troops of the t'u-ssu to East Kansu, in order to re- 175x 648

[P.54(A)]

mand of T'u-ssu Ch'i Pei-chai (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 3; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). The Monguors, familiar with the customs of the country, prepared fifty or more rafts of sheep and ox skins, and crossed the river at night in the locality of Chang Chia Wan. In the morning they unexpectedly met a large group of rebels in Hsin Ch'eng and administered a crushing defeat to them. They arrived at Lanchow which was unprepared to meet the enemy, and the city was recovered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a–b*). T'u-ssu Ch'i was appointed defender of the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). Then the Hsining troops of Wang Chin-pao and the Monguor troops helped recover, one after another, all the cities of East Kansu, with other Manchu troops. T'u-ssu Li commanded 1,000 of his Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*b*), and T'u-ssu Kan and Ah 300 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 50, 51). Then the t'u-ssu participated in the seige and the recovering of the city of P'ing Liang, and the capture of the rebel governor Wang Fu-ch'eng. The Lu t'u-ssu sent 400 *tan* of wheat to the hungry Monguor soldiers beseiging P'ing Liang, which was recovered in 1678. Wu San-kuei died August 17, 1678. After a campaign of six years the t'u-ssu returned to Huangchung with their troops.

In 1677 groups of Tibetans, in combination with Uighurs, had attacked Salar villages. Probably during the insurrection of Wu San-kuei, Salar brigands had plundered them. The Manchu army had put them to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 50*a–b*). In 1681 they returned to avenge the previously unsuccessful attack. Under the leadership of the Tibetan Huang La T'aichi they attacked the village of Su Chih and killed many Salars. The Manchu commander at night attacked the camp of the aggressors and killed many of them. They fled toward the Lao Ya pass and occupied it, blocking the communications. Troops had to come from Liangchow to repel and pursue them (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 51).

In 1689 a tremendous famine desolated East Kansu. It was followed by revolts of hungry people. In 1691 the revolt, led by a Taoist priest, had spread over the entire country. Troops of all the commanderies of Kansu were summoned, the revolt lasted until 1693 (*Annals* of Kansu 56: 45*b*). The Monguor t'u-ssu did not move into East Kansu. They had to protect their own country against inroads of poor and destitute people and forestall uprisings of the army in Huangchung, which was lacking food and was restless, for the crops in Huangchung had been bad also. In 1702, 50,000 *tan* of rice were sent from Sian to Huangchung for the troops (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*b*).

In 1693 T'u-ssu Li Hsia, assistant commander in Hsining, informed the emperor concerning the situation in the Pe-ta region, in the northern valley of Hsining. In 1647, after the rebel Mohammedans and Chinese of Kanchow had tried to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to revolt but had hit a severe blow on the border of the Tatung River, the Chinese who had fol-

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(*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a*) with his troops accompanied the emperor. Galdan fled but was met by the army of General Fei Yang-ku who completely annihilated his army at Chao Mu To. The Khalkhas reoccupied their country. 175x 648

In 1697 the emperor went with his armies to Ningh-sia in order to destroy entirely the Jungar forces. Again T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai with his troops followed the imperial army. However Galdan died May 3, 1697, and the emperor returned to Peking. The t'u-ssu was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the Ho Pa division in Shansi, then brigadier general in Chin Hua in Chekiang Province. In 1713, upon his retirement, he fulfilled the duty of assistant commander of his clan. At his death the emperor honored him with a funeral oration.[89] [703]

In 1703 the Khoshot Mongols of Kokonor submitted to the empire. The emperor conferred on the descendants of Ku Shih Khan, bLo-bzang tanchin, and others the titles of Prince, Pei-le, Pei-tse, Kung, T'aichi (*Annals* of Kansu 64: 52*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 22*a*).

This record points to the troubles in Lhasa which had long threatened Huangchung and the Monguors. Ku Shih Khan, chief of a Khoshot group (one of the four Oirat groups), had invaded and conquered Kokonor, Tsaidam, and Kham in 1636, and had been invited by the fifth Dalai Lama, Nag dzang bLo bzang, chief of the Yellow Sect, to help him in the struggle against a Tibetan prince, fanatic adherent of the old Red Sect, who had occupied Lhasa. He defeated the prince, installed the Dalai in Lhasa, proclaimed him Sovereign of Central Tibet and assumed the duty of protector of the Yellow Church.[90] Ku Shih Khan had been under the Manchu suzerainty since 1637. He died in 1656. His son Dayan, his grandson Dalai, and his great-grandson La tsang assumed the same duty. The Dalai entrusted the temporal administration of his kingdom to an official called a *desi*. In 1670 the *desi* revolted. On the request of the Dalai Lama, Dayan quelled the revolt and committed the *desi* to prison. Sangs rgyas rgya mcho was appointed to the *desi* office. The Dalai died in 1680–1681. The *desi*, with the Panchen Lama, appointed as reincarnation of the Dalai Lama a boy born a year after his death, called Chang Yang bLo bzang, the sixth Dalai Lama. The Tibetans and lamas [775] 175x 795 648

[89] *Annals* of Hsining 28: 4*a*. *Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*b*. Réné Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 607, 610, Paris, Payot, 1935.

[90] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 59–70, Roma, La Liberia della Stato., 1949. The Dalai Lama who died in 1680–1681 had built up a mighty kingdom and the supremacy of the Yellow Sect over all Tibet, leaning on the power of the Mongols, who were foreigners, arousing the suspicions of the Tibetans and the jealousy of the other sects and the old nobility. At the same time he had laid the foundation of the ruin of his kingdom, having recognized the right of some Mongol tribes to act as patrons over his lands, being bound in that way to the vicissitudes of political events. He had to take side with his protectors, later the Jungars, in their struggle with the Chinese empire.

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should have been cognizant of the fact and have considered the boy as the legitimate successor of Nag Dzang. However, the shrewd *desi*, offended by the growing interference of the emperor and of the Khoshot prince in Tibetan affairs, kept secret from the outer world both the death of the Dalai Nag dzang and the appointment of the reincarnation. He himself planned to rule the kingdom politically. Galdan who had been lama in Lhasa had been the friend of the Dalai and the *desi*, who at the time of his struggle with the Khalkhas had imprudently spoken in his favor near the emperor. In 1689 the distrusting emperor started inquiring into the matter and knew that the old Dalai had died in 1680–1681. He suspected connivance between the *desi* and the Jungars. After the crushing defeat administered to Galdan in 1696, the emperor learned that Galdan would fly to Tibet to build a new army. The emperor back in Peking immediately sent to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor the order to apprehend Galdan, his family and followers in order to check their faithfulness to the empire. However, Galdan had fled to the west and died in 1697. The princes of Kokonor, in order to dispel the suspicion of the emperor concerning their faithfulness, gathered in a group of thirty-one presided over by an eminent lama and swore allegiance to the empire. It seems that on account of the unanimous testimony of faithfulness sent to the emperor, the princes, being all descendants of Ku Shih Khan, were awarded titles.[91]

However, the *Annals* of Hsining present another version: the emperor, preoccupied with the troubled situation in Tibet and Kokonor, ordered the lama Chang Nan to *erh chih* (induce to submission) the princes of Kokonor. Having obeyed, the emperor granted titles to the descendants of Ku Shih Khan: to Blo bzang tan chin, the title of prince, to the others the titles of *Pei-le, Pei-tse, Kung, T'aichi*. A yearly allowance in silver was also granted. They were requested to bring tribute to the capital. As long as the lama was in Hsining the princes were loyal and dependable. Later Chinese officials were appointed to care for them (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 16*b*).

In the *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52, is recorded in 1708 a serious revolt of Hsi Ku Tibetans, in the region of Wen Hsien in the farthest southern corner of East Kansu. The Hsi Ku tribes are the Hsi La Ku tribes, the Shera Uighurs, the Yellow Tibetans, already noted (pp. 17, 18). They were still autonomous in 1708 and had their own chiefs, and joined in the revolt. They depended upon the Yang t'u-ssu, and their chiefs were granted titles after the revolt by the emperor, thanks to the intercession of the Yang t'u-ssu.

In 1718 the Board of Agriculture of Hsining announced that 14,678 acres of uncultivated land were still available for culture.

[91] Maurice Courant, *L'Asie centrale au XVII et XVIII siècles. Empire Kalmouk ou Empire Mantchou*, 62, 72, 73, Paris, Picard, 1912.

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still available for culture. More troops had arrived in Hsining on account of the troubles in Tibet and those in Turkistan caused by the Jungars. Troops had to be fed and more grain was required (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*a*). 175x

The period of troubles and calamities originating from Kokonor and already long present in Huangchung started in 1723.

Tsewang Rabdan, nephew of the late Galdan, had succeeded his uncle as chief of the Jungars (1697). He was as hostile to the emperor as his uncle, and was as good a friend of the *desi* Sangs rgyas as his uncle. The sixth Dalai Lama, appointed by the *desi* and the Panchen Lama and enthroned in 1697, had proved to be a debauched man. In 1701 the Kokonor Prince La Tsang, protector of the Yellow Church, the Jungar chief Tsewang Rabdan and a delegate of the emperor compelled him to resign. He obeyed but, backed by the *desi*, he reserved for himself the temporal rights of his kingdom. Prince La Tsang confined the *desi* to prison and killed him. The emperor appointed La Tsang to the office of *desi* and ordered him to bring to Peking the dethroned Dalai Lama. However, many lamas and Tibetans still favored him and objected strongly. Finally the unpopular La Tsang succeeded in 1706 in moving the escort to Peking. The caravan was attacked on the way by lamas and Tibetans, and the Dalai was killed. La Tsang, in concert with the Panchen lama, appointed as sixth reincarnation, the lama Yeches, but he was taken in ill grace by lamas and Tibetans. All the more rumors were spread that in Li T'ang the genuine reincarnation was born. The emperor, to nip in the bud all these rumors, confined the Li T'ang reincarnation and his parents in the lamasery of Kumbum in Hsining. Despite the protestations of lamas, and even of many of the princes of Kokonor, the enthroning of the sixth Dalai Lama Yeches was ordered by the emperor and performed in 1710. 175x 648 795

The Jungar chief Tsewang Rabdan was incensed by the repeated intrusions of the emperor in the affairs of Tibet, conversant with the animosity instilled in the hearts of the lamas of the entire Yellow Church and of the Tibetan tribes against the Chinese empire, conscious of the hatred fostered in the whole nation against the Khoshot La Tsang, who had dethroned their Dalai Lama and was told to have him murdered on the way to Peking. Well informed about the anti-Chinese dispositions of even the princes of Kokonor, Rabdan considered the time ripe to take possession of Tibet and Kokonor, and to rule the Yellow Church. He resolved to pose as the savior of the religion, leading his armies to Hsining to bring to Lhasa the Dalai Lama, the idol of the nation, together with lamas and the princes of Kokonor. His first army marching on Hsining was defeated, but the second, commanded by his brother Tsereng Dondoub, reached Lhasa in 1717, defended by Prince La Tsang. Treacherously, a city gate was 175x 579 795

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175x 795 579

opened and for three days the wild Jungars destroyed and looted the temples and the city, killing many people. La Tsang was killed.

175x 648

The emperor could not take this affront lying down. However, his first punitive expedition to Lhasa was defeated in 1718. The second in 1720 parted in two columns, one leaving Szechwan Province, the other starting from Hsining. On the way both encountered Jungar troops which were defeated, fled and left Tibet. T'u-ssu Lu T'i-sin was taken ill at that time and sent his son Lu Hua-lin, commanding his troops, to participate in the expedition. Back in Huangchung he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel in the Hsining army, and later colonel in Liangchow and brigadier general in Kanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The emperor, cognizant of the growing animosity of the lamas and the people against his appointed Dalai Lama Yeches, and of the aversion aroused in the hearts of the lamas and the Tibetans against the savage Jungars who had looted their temples and carried away the riches of the nation and killed many people, conversant with their eagerness to see enthroned in Lhasa the Dalai Lama secluded in Kumbum, resolved to send the lama to Lhasa with the Hsining army and to enthrone him as a new sixth Dalai Lama. The decision seemed to him apt to reconquer the sympathy of the Tibetans and the lamas, and to plant in their hearts aversion for the Jungars, who were waging war with him in Central Asia with an eye on Tibet.

175x 662 643 648 795

The emperor, averred politician, in order to assure the success of his plan, ordered the Monguor Living Buddha, T'u Kuan, chief of the renowned Monguor monastery of Erh Ku Lung in Hsining, a learned man of high repute in Tibet and Mongolia, to convey the Kumbum Lama to Lhasa in the capacity of imperial envoy. He bestowed him with the title of Huthukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas, in order to dignify his position. He gave him letters and unusual gifts to bring to the Panchen Lama and to the heads of the most important monasteries in Tibet, his former teachers and friends. The Kumbum Dalai Lama, brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence and enthroned in 1720, was enthusiastically congratulated by the lamas and the Tibetans. This act put an end to the autonomy of Tibet and of the Yellow Church. The Monguors were proud of their Huthukhtu (Monguors II: 31). The sixth Dalai Lama Yeches was dethroned and called to Peking in order to prevent possible complications.[92]

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[92] Maurice Courant, *op. cit.*, 76–77. W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China 1644–1908, *T'oung-pao*, 1–92, 1910. E. Haenich, Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas unter der Gegenwärtigen Dynasty, *T'oung-pao*, 197–235, 375–424, 1911. Réné Grousset, *op. cit.* Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ching Period*, Washington, 1943. L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century*, Lieden, Brill, 1950. H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, I, *passim*.

[P. 57(B)]

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from wars and revolts, never had suffered as much as in 1723–1724. 175x 727

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS

After relating the successful repression by General Nien Keng-yao of the terrible revolt of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas in 1723–1724 in Huangchung, something should be said concerning two Manchu princes, accused by the general before Emperor Yung Cheng, of having contributed of their own money to the building of a Catholic church in Hsining in 1723–1724. 175x 798

This is the first document concerning the existence of a Catholic church in Hsining and consequently of a Catholic community. It seems unusual to see a general make such an accusation directly to the emperor, at a time when the conjunctures of war absorbed all his forces and energies (July 1, 1724). [795]

Emperor K'ang Hsi died on December 20, 1722. His fourth son, Yung Cheng, ascended the throne in 1723. According to the time-honored custom, some of the brothers of the new emperor assumed an attitude of menacing hostility toward him. The Emperor Yung Cheng suspected his ninth brother, Sessaka, of being the chief of the discontented faction and sent him (April 15, 1723) far away to Hsining to fight the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas under the command of General Nien Keng-yao. Together with Sessaka two sons of the Manchu Prince Surniana were also sent, the sixth, Lessihin, and the twelfth.[84] [443]

Surniana, a brother of the late Emperor K'ang Hsi, member of the oldest branch of the Manchu dynasty, had been a notorious governor in Liaotung province and was the chief of one of the eight Manchu banners. He was suspected by Emperor Yung Cheng of being a sympathizer and supporter of the Sessaka group. He and his entire family were banished to Yu Wei, on the northern outskirts of the empire. His properties were confiscated, his three hundred servants and slaves taken away, all his dignities removed, and he and his family reduced to the state of subjects. The wealthy Surniana had thirteen sons and sixteen daughters. Most of the these princes and princesses were Catholics. The sixth son, Lessihin, was baptized before he left for Hsining and the twelfth son when he arrived at Hsining. They were confined in separate houses and guarded by soldiers. 175x 798 578

The reason for these troubles were the accusations sent September 7, 1723, by the Viceroy of Chekiang and Fukien provinces to the tribunal of rites, concerning the building of Catholic churches in the provinces, the customs observed by the Catholics, the large number of priests in the country, etc. The viceroy favored a

[84] The charge seems to have been based on slander. Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses 3: 366–465, Paris, Paul Daffis, 7 rue Guenegaud, 1877. Histoire Generale de la Chine, De Mailla. 11: 373–408, Paris, Clousier, rue Saint Jacques, 1880.

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"an acquaintance of mine." East of Lake Kokonor, on the west side of the Yellow River, is a prince who "wants to become a Christian." West of where the great wall protrudes around Chengfan (Liangchow) is a Christian outpost conducted by the governor of Yung-ning-p'u. Here "I preached at the tents of the Mongols." Today there are Christians there. North of this settlement is a prince of 20,000 families. In the extreme north sits a Mongol prince whose wife is the daughter of the Emperor of China. He rules over 40,000 families. (This text points to the Prince of Alashan.) 175x 797

The Khan, bKrasis Batur, second son of Gushri, the Khoshot, who conquered Kokonor and Tibet (1635) died in 1714. The Queen Mother of the successor accompanied the bier. The cremated bones of the Khan were carried for burial to the tomb of the Mongol kings situated on the borders of his kingdom between Chuang Lang and Hsining[94b] in steep mountains. I have sent an Armenian and one of my catechists to present the Queen Mother with a handkerchief and a snuff box filled with European tobacco. She has sent one of her major domos to thank me and to hear about the holy law.

Maoletti awaited the return of the Queen in the Church of the Armenians in Topa.

Maoletti worked for about fifteen years in Shensi, Kansu and Ili (Turkistan) and mentions nine places with churches or oratories (three of them with two) and fifteen or sixteen other Christian communities, some larger, some consisting of only a handful of converts; some of the congregations had been founded by the Jesuits, others by zealous laymen, but the bulk of the achievement was doubtless due to the pioneering effort of Maoletti. One may speculate that to some extent the ground had been prepared for the work of the Catholic missionaries by the Nestorians who were strong in these regions. (*Monum. Serica,* 298–303.) [795]

In Hsining, which at that time was an emporium of China with a garrison of six thousand soldiers, seven or eight adults had been baptized in 1706 by the Jesuit, Father Dehergne. The city had been visited several times in 1708–1709 by the Jesuits Jartoux and Regis, preparing the map of Kansu and Tibet on the order of the Emperor K'ang Hsi. In 1713 Maoletti bought a small church in Hsining which he dedicated to St. Gregory, the Armenian, and entrusted to the care of a fervent Armenian Catholic living in Topa. Later, the community having developed, Hsining had two churches, one of Our Lady of Angels for the men, and the other for the women. Later both had come under litigation [probably after the accusation by General Nien Keng-yao of the sons of Surniana].

At that time Topa, 60 li north of Hsining, was a stronghold, subject to a Mongol prince who was tributary to the Mongol Khan. Topa was the trading place of the foreigners, Mongols, Tibetans, Lamas, Indians, Persians, Turks, Armenians, and Muscovites. Fifteen different languages were spoken here. In this Babylon is an oratory or small church built by Armenians at my insistence. [797]

Cheng-hai-p'u, with a garrison of one thousand soldiers, a village near Topa, and at the great Gate of the Foreigners, had a very large church, which had a literate merchant as head of the congregation of the Chinese as well as the neighboring Tibetans.

[94b] Between Chuang Lang and Hsining are the tombs of the Li and the Lu t'ussu in Siangt'ang and Lien ch'eng, but I suppose no connections exist between these three cemeteries and both t'ussu and Khoshots.

The power of the lamas consisted in the number of their subject tribes and their expansive territorial possessions. Their properties were confiscated, and their subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials, liable to their corvees, and subject to their land taxes. The revolt had ruined forever the power of the lamas. Then followed a lot more regulations (Monguors II: 34, 49). 175x [66]

However, nothing was changed in the regime of the Monguor institution. Their extensive properties remained intact, and their subjects continued under the administration of their t'u-ssu, because they had been faithful for centuries to the empire, and because this time their support had been of untold value to the army. Even T'u-ssu Lu was especially rewarded for his services, and received more new subjects: the 8 Tibetan villages in the Cho Tzu Shan region, which had belonged to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor, numbering 453 families, totaling 2,365 persons (Monguors I: 33).

This terrible revolt, which had threatened the very existence of Huangchung as part of Kansu Province and the empire, ended with the annexation of Kokonor to the empire, the ruin of the lama institution in Huangchung, and the stabilization of the regime of the t'u-ssu and Monguors in Huangchung. Thanks to the connivance of the Huangchung lamas and Tibetans with the Kokonor Khoshots, all of them seethed with hatred against the empire. [795]

In 1725, the revolt having been quelled, the commandery of Hsining became a prefecture and the So of Nienpei a subprefecture. According to one of the thirteen articles in the memorandum, presented to the throne by the Governor General, Nien Keng-yao, the building was started of three cities in the northern valley of Hsining, in Tatung, in Pe-ta, and in Yung Nan, which countries formerly belonged to the Kokonor Khoshots. Garrisons were appointed in order to forestall inroads of nomads and Jungars, and to provide easy communications between the two cities of Kanchow and Hsining. Tatung became a commandery (*Annals* of Hsining 1: 21*b*). 175x 631

It had been noted that in 1647 after the defeat of the Mohammedans of Kanchow on the Tatung River, trying to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to follow them in the revolt, Chinese of Kanchow who had participated in the expedition dared not return to their original countries, but settled in the extensive pastures of Tatung and Pe-ta, recognized the lordship of the Mongol proprietors and started farming and building houses. It has been noted also that in 1693, after fifty years, the assistant commander of Hsining, T'u-ssu Li Hsia, had reported that already more than 10,000 families were living there. The census of 1730 noted that the population of these settlements, started in 1647, was composed of Chinese, Monguors, Mohammedans, and Tibetans, living in twenty-two villages. The population of two villages was entirely composed of Chinese, 175x 631 162

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Huangchung and the Monguors, after the troubles of 1723–1724, enjoyed peace for sixty years. All that time they assisted in the complete change of the administration and of the country, caused by the confiscation of the large properties and Tibetan tribes which belonged to the lamas. They assisted in the rebuilding of cities, villages and fortifications, schools and granaries, and rebuilt and overhauled their own properties. Every day new regulations were issued to which everybody had to comply, and everywhere Chinese officials and bureaus were encountered. The Chinese officials played the capital role in the country. A large army occupied the country. The influence the t'u-ssu had enjoyed during centuries was waning rapidly. 175x

FIRST MOHAMMEDAN REVOLT—WAHHABISM

All of a sudden in 1781 the terrible revolt broke out among the Mohammedans in Kansu. It portended ominous events. 175x 795 579 643

The Salars, Turks, originating from Turkistan (Samarkand, according to the traditions) inhabited during the Yuan time both borders of the Yellow River, in the region of Hsun Hua T'ing in East Kansu, and in the regions of Pa Yen Jung in southern Huangchung. The time of their arrival in Kansu is unknown, but certainly they lived in that region at the end of the Yuan because two of their chiefs had already surrendered to the Ming in 1370, and received the office of t'u-ssu. The Salars live in thirteen groups called *kong*. The four upper and the four lower groups are called the eight inside Salar *kong* and are controlled by their t'u-ssu. The remaining five groups, called the outside Salar *kong*, are controlled by the subprefecture of Pa Yen Jung (Monguors I: 22, 23). Han Pao-yuan, t'u-ssu of the four upper Salar groups, lives with his subjects in the region of Hsun Hua. His subjects adopted the surname of Han. Han Sha-pa, t'u-ssu of the four lower Salar groups, inhabits the region east of Hsun Hua. His subjects adopted the surname of Ma (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Both t'u-ssu are the founders of the two Salar groups. The Salars profess Islam, but all over the country among their neighbors are many Chinese Mohammedans.

Wahhabism, a sect founded by Ibn Abd-al-Wahhab who died in 1787, aimed at the revival of the primitive orthodoxy of Islam and the abolition of the innovations contrary to the Sunni. He reacted violently against, at that time, the more and more popular cult of the Saints, Prophets, and the Graves.[95]

It happened that in 1762 a Mohammedan from Anting in Kansu, called Ma Ming-hsin, arrived back in Hsun Hua from a pilgrimage (to Mecca?). On his way he had been captivated by the violent discussions, at that time in full swing, relating to the new sect of the

[95] Henri Masse, *L'Islam*, 208–209, Paris, Armand Colin, 1930.

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Wahhabits, and had witnessed the fanaticism and the successes reaped by its promoters. He was enthusiastic about the idea of a return to the original orthodoxy. On his arrival, he posed in the Hsun Hua community as the possessor of the genuine doctrine and the champion of the religion founded by Mohammed and his companions. In the services in the mosques he urged the recitation of prayers with a loud voice, for it was the rite practiced in the new sect. It tremendously shocked the other Mohammedan communities, used to reciting the texts in a low voice, so that they accused the disturbers of the religion to the officials. The Salar, Su Forty-three, with other Salars, invited Ma Ming-hsin as teacher and head of all the Mohammedan communities of Hsun Hua. Bitter discussions arose between the two groups, and forty adherents of the old religion were killed. An accusation was dispatched to the governor in Lanchow, who immediately sent two military officials with their troops to Hsun Hua to quell the revolt. However, the new religious group had already grown so fast and become so numerous, that Su Forty-three was able to beat the troops, kill the officials, and occupy the city of Ho Chou. New troops which arrived did not dare go to Ho Chou and they garrisoned in Ti-tao. Then the new religious rebels ran to Lanchow. They defeated the 800 poor troops of Lanchow, besieged the city, occupied the western corner of the city, and broke up the bridge over the Yellow River. New troops came from Kanchow and Szechwan. In the meantime, the officials of Anting had captured Ma Ming-hsin, the fomenter of the revolt in the city and sent him to the prison of Lanchow. The rebels requested their leader. From upon the city wall, the official made him exhort the rebels to keep quiet and return home. It did not work. Then Ma Ming-hsin was killed with his son.

Just at that time T'u-ssu Lu Fan, from Lien Ch'eng, had arrived with 300 Monguor troops and was attacked by the rebels. His troops were nearly all killed and the t'u-ssu was wounded. Then the rebels retired to the nearby Hua Lin mountains and prepared entrenchments. General A Kuei was called from Szechwan to quell the revolt. The army dared not attack the fanatic rebels in the mountains. The Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu, leading his Salar Mohammedan troops of the old religion, was first to attack and enter the mountains. He was very successful. Later he recovered the city of Ho Chou. More troops arrived from Szechwan and Mongol troops from Alashan. In the mountainous country they administered a crushing defeat to the rebels who fled to the Hua Lin temple. It was burned down with the rebels inside. Few escaped, among them Su Forty-three, who was captured and killed. The revolt was quelled. Then followed the murdering of the entire families of hundreds of the adherents to the sect, forbidden to pray with a loud voice, to collect money and alms, etc.

Where were the Monguor t'u-ssu during the revolt? 175x
The defeat of the troops of T'u-ssu Lu Fan has been 703
related. He was rewarded later by the honor of wear- 624
ing the double peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57).

The five outer Salar groups, adherents of the new 175x
religion, inhabited Pa Yen Jung situated south of Nien- 648
pei. The danger of inroads on and the plundering of [795]
these groups had to be forestalled. Lu Chen-hsien, member of the t'u-ssu clan, guarded with the troops the region of Hsiang T'ang and Huei Ho Tung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 60).

T'u-ssu Kan San Yuen-pao guarded the city of Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Chou Lin guarded the passes of Ch'i Shih near Pa Yen Jung and Feng T'ai Shan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51). T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the city of Nienpei and was later called to Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai helped guard the city of Ti-tao in East Kansu with 200 Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the Hsiao Hsia pass near Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu who had fought in Lan- [703]
chow and recovered Ho Chou, was rewarded by the honor to wear the Blue Plume or Crow feather, and received the button of the second degree, worn on the cap (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*).

The Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Lanchow and was rewarded with the same honor as the former Salar t'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*a*).

Huangchung had been spared from inroads and devastation.

YEN CH'A HUI REVOLT

After the death of Ma Ming-hsin in Lanchow in 175x
1781, T'ien Wu, a fanatic *ahong*, leader of the new sect 795
in Fu Ch'iang in East Kansu, was proclaimed chief of 648
the new sect. At that time the Chinese officials were 579
brutally murdering the entire families of the rebels, and 798
rumors were spread that all the Mohammedans of the old and new sects were to be killed. Already in 1782, in Shih Feng Pao, in the T'ung Wei district, T'ien Wu had started digging entrenchments and moving the wives and children to strongholds in the mountains, weapons had been prepared and flags, etc. Around Ku Yuen and Fu Ch'iang encounters continued unabated between the army and the rebels, who grew stronger and stronger by the accrual of countless adherents of the old sect. In 1784 T'ien Wu was wounded in a fight in Fu Ch'iang and died. The rebels, beaten in many encounters, fled to the Shin Feng Pao mountains where they finally were exterminated, and 3,000 wives and children brutally murdered. The revolt was quelled.

During the revolt T'u-ssu Lu Fan had helped guard 175x
the city of Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*) and 579

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T'u-ssu Lu yin, member of the Lu clan, guarded the Yang-chia temple region (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 58). 175x 579

T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the Ping Ku pass near Lien Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuen guarded the Lu P'an Shan region and was later called to guard Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a*–*b*).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai with 300 Monguors guarded the Kuan Miao T'an in Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). T'u-ssu Chao Huai-peh guarded the Ping Ku pass with Kan T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the bridge in Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu fought in Fu Ch'iang and was rewarded with the title of lieutenant colonel (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Fu Ch'iang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*).

Huangchung again had escaped devastation, but East Kansu for the second time had to bear the brunt of the revolt. The country and the people suffered tremendously for the officials were determined to annihilate completely the adherents of the sect and their families.[96]

NEW SECT IN HSINING

However, the sect of the new religion was already rooted too deep in the minds of the Kansu Mohammedans to get rid of it by crushing two revolts and killing many people. In 1789 a small group of adherents to the sect were discovered among the Mohammedans in Hsining by the officials. They held meetings and created disturbances in the Mohammedan colony. They were captured, a number of them killed with their families, the rest exiled to Ho Lun Chiang by order of the emperor.[97] 79x 795 [798]

The sect of the White Lotus religion had already spread in five provinces in 1796. It would still last seven years before it would be quelled. In 1798 a strong group of 12,000 rebels invaded East Kansu in the third moon, parted in two groups and started devastating and plundering the country. All available troops were ordered to come to the rescue of the Shensi and Kansu troops. T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun went with 300 Monguor soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu went with his soldiers of the old religion (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu also went to the rescue and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*a*). The remaining t'u-ssu protected the borders of Huangchung along the Yellow River. 175x 795 579 648

In the seventh moon of 1800 the country was at peace (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 59–61). Huangchung 175x 579

[96] Both revolts are summarized according to *Annals* of Kansu 47: 1–3. J. J. M. De Groot, *Sectarianism and religious persecution in China*, 311–327, sq., Amsterdam, Muller, 1903. Commandant d'Ollone, *Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois*, 229, sq., Paris, Leroux, 1911.

[97] J. J. M. De Groot, *op. cit.*, 327.

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again had escaped devastation, but East Kansu had borne for the third time the brunt of the revolt.[98] 175x 579

In 1806 tremendous rains ruined the districts of Chang Hsien, Ming Chou, and Leang Tang. Inundations of the Yellow River followed in the southern part of East Kansu. Cattle were drowned, many villages no longer existed, and the poor and destitute Tibetan tribes started plundering the country. T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-ming was sent in 1807 to Ch'i Chia Chai to guard the banks of the Yellow River where the people were used to crossing it, in order to prevent inroads of starving, pillaging people into Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*).

TIBETAN REVENGE UPON THE MONGOLS OF KOKONOR

In 1822 a revolt of twenty-three Tibetan tribes broke out in the regions of Hsun Hua and Kuei Te. The Mongols in 1509 had invaded Kokonor, the pasture grounds of the Tibetans. They had occupied the best pastures and relegated the Tibetans to poor and small pastures, or annihilated them entirely. This situation had lasted until 1726 when each tribe became the proprietor of the grounds it occupied, but the Khoshots were favored by the fact that they remained the proprietors of the large and best pastures stolen from the Tibetans in 1509. The glorious period of the Khoshots was at a very low ebb and the Tibetans deemed the opportunity at hand to recover their old pastures, to chase the hated, enfeebled Mongols and to occupy the pastures on the northern borders of the Yellow River which were in the hands of the Khoshots. 175x 628

A long period of devastation and murder succeeded. The Tibetan lama Chaghan Nom-un Khan was one of the leaders of the revolt. Many Khoshots left the country. The revolt spread rapidly. Many Tibetan tribes of the Kanchow and Yung Ch'ang and Liangchow regions joined the revolt and plundered the lands of the Mongols. Those of Liangchow attacked Mongol tribes in Sung Shan and stole 4,000 cattle, those of Kanchow plundered the Uighur tribes in the vicinity of the city, etc. The whole country was upset: the army was in a hurry. Except for an inroad in Tatung and one in Hsiao Hsia, Huangchung was not devastated. The officials removed from the lama the tribes he controlled. The revolt was not quelled until 1854, after thirty years. No notes are recorded concerning the movement of Monguor troops against the revolting Tibetans (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 62*a–b*).

The empire had a bad time, for in the meantime revolts raged unchecked in the provinces of middle and north China. A new uprising of the White Lotus sect had started in 1831. The sect continued its ravages and destruction under new names. The revolt was followed in 1850 by the insurrection of the Taiping, which 175x 579 795

[98] J. J. De Groot, *op. cit.*, 363, sq.

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lasted until 1864, during which 20 million people of Kiangsu province were killed. Simultaneously the Nien Fei sect (mounted brigands) started its ravages in 1850. This revolt ended in 1868, having devastated the same provinces of the empire. 175x 795 579

In Turkistan the Mohammedan Chang Ko Erh revolted in 1826. He conquered Turkistan and in 1828 the city of Suchow in North Kansu, situated along the well-known trade road to Central Asia. The regular troops of Liangchow, Kanchow, and Hsining were moved in a hurry to cope with the invasion which threatened to overrun Kansu. The Monguor troops had not been called to come to the rescue of the army. However, T'u-ssu Lu had sent grain to Suchow to feed the hungry troops. He was rewarded with the button of the second degree worn on the cap (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The long exhausting war of China with the Jungars ended in 1857 and a new Mohammedan uprising broke out in Turkistan in 1864. It lasted until 1876 and conquered the entire region of the Tarim basin. 175x 648 [703] [579]

REVOLT OF THE EAST KANSU AND HUANGCHUNG MOHAMMEDANS, 1860–1873

The revolt is summarized according to the *Annals* of Kansu 47: 4 sq. 175x 795

In 1859 the Mohammedan Ma-ha-pu-tu revolted in the eastern suburb of the city of Ho Chou in East Kansu. The revolt was soon quelled. The reason for the revolt is not noted. 579 628

In 1860 the Salars of Hsun Hua in East Kansu and those of Pa Yen Jung in Huangchung revolted in combination with the Mohammedans of the Shensi province, far more numerous than the Salars. A group started plundering in the Ho Chou region, and a group (that of the Salars of Pa Yen Jung who lived in Huangchung south of the subprefecture of Nienpei, north of the Yellow River) invaded the southern valleys of Hsining.

In 1861 these groups, drawing near Hsining, were put to flight by the commander Chao Erh-hsun, but they popped up in the eastern valley of Hsining, burning, destroying villages, and killing many people. The local militia could not withstand their fierce attacks.

In 1862 the rebels having no aim beyond plunder and the satisfaction of seeing their hatred against the Chinese fulfilled, roamed in strong groups all over Huangchung and East Kansu. Every day more Mohammedans of Kansu joined their groups. The lamas, Nangso, and Tibetans fought with the army. Some groups were victorious; some suffered hard reverses. The Salar t'u-ssu of the four upper and lower groups submitted with the Shensi Mohammedans in Tsa Pa Ch'eng. The suspicious officials nonetheless accepted their surrender, because the Nien Fei and Fa Fei brigands roamed in the vicinity of T'ungkuan, and they

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were afraid these brigands would join the rebel Mohammedans. 175 795 579 628

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Hsing-nan was ordered to join the troops of General Fan Pei-lin and guard the passes of Cha Ssu Kuan and Ch'ing Ling nao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). T'u-ssu Ch'i Ch'eng-kao joined the army, fighting the rebels on the passes (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a*). T'u-ssu Chao Yung-li guarded the passes in Pa Yen Jung country, and was rewarded with the two-eyed peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). [703]

T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun, having the title of brigadier general, fought with 500 of his troops around Hsining. He was helped by his nephew Lu Su-chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57, 60).

In 1863 the revolt was growing more intensive every day. East Kansu suffered tremendously.

In the tenth moon rebels of the district of Ninghsia, led by Ma Hua-lung [99] took the important city of Ninghsia by storm. The city was devastated. Many fires were set and tens of thousands of Chinese were killed. Thereafter Ma Hua-lung besieged and captured the city of Ling Chou where he killed 20,000 Chinese.

In the tenth moon Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining. For a long time dissension concerning the old and the new religion divided the Hsining Mohammedans into two camps. Governor Yu T'ung invited the Mohammedan chief Ma Wen-i to patch up the trouble and to make them desist from plundering the country. Both parties consented but a strong group of Salars and Shensi Mohammedans arrived, besieged the city, and then plundered the country. During the year 1863 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to garrison in Sheng T'ang and Ch'i-li-pu, and guard the western highway *Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*b*). [791]

In 1864 the revolt raged unchecked in East Kansu, and the city of Hsun Hua was taken by storm, followed by a tremendous massacre of the Chinese population. Another Mohammedan group attacked the city of Donkir west of Hsining, but was beaten. It invaded the Sina valley and was put to flight. Long before the attack of the city, dissension among the Mohammedans concerning the two religions had divided them into two groups. The old group was called the great group (*ta hui*), the adherents of the new religion, the group of the flowered temple (*hua ssu*). The first group disapproved of the attack on the city and called into the city 1,000 of its members from outside. The Chinese population of [563]

[99] The Moslem Ma Hua-lung, back from Turkistan, had founded a new sect in Chin Chi Pu in the prefecture of Ninghsia. He claimed to have received revelations from Allah. The people honored him as an equal of Mohammed. He was to be succeeded by his descendant after his death as chief of the sect. However, after his death, his son-in-law and his grandson struggled for the succession, and the sect parted in two groups. He did not proscribe attendance at the mosques, but he recommended praying at home, two or three families together, praying in a loud voice, with the palms of the hands turned upward. The sect spread even as far as Szechwan and Yunnan provinces (d'Ollone, *op. cit.*, 374).

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the city was grateful and ready to help them. The second group called three thousand outsiders. However, the attackers were beaten by the old group, the local militia of the Chinese population. 175x 795 679 628

In 1865 the depredation of the cities of Ku Lang, Yung Ch'ang, Shan Tan, and Kanchow, situated on the trade road to Turkistan, was wicked and ruthless. The rebels carried by storm the city of Suchow, and a terrible massacre of the population took place; 10,000 Chinese were killed. The pass of Chia Yü Kuan was captured by the rebels. At the time the rebels passed Liangchow, many Mohammedans from the vicinity fled into the city for shelter. The official, unable to put reliance on them and suspecting their connivance with the rebels, massacred them all in the city.

In the third moon the city of Hsining was besieged for a second time. The rebels were put to flight. Then they attacked the city of Donkir again. They were chased and looted several villages. At that time the dissension among the two groups had subsided. Mohammedans of Hsining attacked the city of Lao Ya Ch'eng but were beaten.

T'u-ssu Ah helped defend the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). T'u-ssu Chou Hsieh-chi died on the field of battle defending the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51*a*). T'u-ssu Hsin, after the defense of the city, disappeared in the mountains and returned only in 1886 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 53*b*). During the whole year the Mohammedans had devastated East Kansu and Huangchung.

During 1866–1867 the attacks continued, and the army resisted in the same desultory fashion. The power of the Mohammedans was too strong and that of the army too feeble and uncoordinated. All these expeditions were in the nature of pillaging parties, which were murdering and kidnapping people, and carrying away all the valuables they could find. They stirred the bitter hatred which burned in the hearts of the Chinese against the Mohammedans, and that of the Mohammedans against the Chinese.

In 1868 the Mohammedans of Hsining again looted the Donkir region and were defeated in Shen Chung. Their chief Ah Wu was captured and killed with 1,300 of his brigands.

In the tenth moon, the new governor general of Shensi-Kansu, Tso Tsung-t'ang, appointed in 1866, arrived with his troops to quell the revolt.

In 1869–1870 the general first attacked the most important center of the uprising. He quelled the revolt of Ma Hua-lung and cleared the Ninghsia district of rebels. He acted as ruthlessly with the Mohammedans as they had behaved with the Chinese. The massacre [79E] of the Mohammedans was tremendous. The stronghold of Chin Chi Pu, the center of the revolt, was burned to the ground with the defenders of the city who fought with the courage of despair. Nothing was heard of them any more. Ling Wu was taken in the same way and few defenders escaped.

[P.67(A)]

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The Mohammedan population of Ninghsia was very dense. It inhabited many important villages. One village after another was destroyed but a few Mohammedans managed to escape toward Shensi or Huangchung. The army commanders of Ninghsia and the local militia, which had suffered so many reverses and lost many soldiers at the hands of the Mohammedans, were in high spirits and revenged themselves against their former oppressors. In the meantime the revolt went on in the other prefectures of Kansu-Shensi. 175 795 579 628

In 1871 Ma Hua-lung, who had surrendered the previous year, was killed with his father, his son, brothers, and the commander of his troops. The revolt was quelled in the prefecture of Ninghsia.

In the third moon the city of Lien Ch'eng, the stronghold of the Lu t'u-ssu, was attacked by the rebels. The attack failed and the rebels were put to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 42 : 57*b*).

In 1872, in the third moon, Tso Tsung-t'ang, leading his army, went to Hsining. The Mohammedans of Hsining, in combination with Salars and Shensi rebels, were at that time plundering the country, killing people, and converting their villages into fortresses, in expectation of attacks from the Chinese army. Tso Tsung-t'ang followed the tactics he had successfully used in Ninghsia, and before long he had the situation in hand. In combination with the Hsining troops he cleared the country, destroying the villages of Mohammedans one after another, and killing all the Mohammedans he could lay hand on. The figure of those killed ran into the ten thousands. More than 100 villages had been destroyed. The Mohammedan population of the Hsining country was very dense. This fact gives an insight into the power of the Mohammedans in the country, and the difficulty for small armies assigned to defend definite countries, and, without coordination among them to cope with the situation. [795]

In the seventh moon the general moved to Lanchow to recommence the same tactics, annihilating the strongholds, killing and demoralizing the rebels.

In the eleventh moon several thousand Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining again. Among them were Salars of the two Salar t'u-ssu from Hsun Hua, the four upper and lower kungs, Mohammedans from Shensi province and from the suburbs of Hsining. The situation in Hsining seems to have been critical, for troops were sent by General Tso Tsung-t'ang from Lanchow. The troops could not cross the Tat'ung River, the boats having been burned by the rebels. The T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng, living on the borders of the river, immediately called his people to prepare a floating bridge, and the troops arrived on time in Hsining. The army administered a crushing defeat to the rebels, destroyed the Mohammedan suburb of Hsining, and the massacre followed. Then the local Mohammedans sued for peace and surrender in concert with the Salars. The officials suspected their faithfulness. They retired

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and started plundering again. They were pursued, and 175x
3,000 among them were killed. The remaining Salars 795
fled to Pa Yien Jung and the surrender of the Hsining 579
Mohammedans was accepted. The Hsining revolt was 628
quelled. The Mohammedans had suffered tremendous losses.

In 1873, in the first moon, the troops recovered the subprefecture of Tat'ung and cleared the country in the same ruthless way. For many months the army had tried to recover the city of Suchow, situated on the trade road to Turkistan. In the Suchow area the Mohammedan population was very dense. Troops were sent from Lanchow and Hsining, but did not succeed in the action. Finally, in October, Tso Tsung-t'ang himself arrived with more troops from Lanchow. In November the city was recovered, the country cleared, and the Mohammedan population of the whole country massacred.

The same year the cities of Hsun Hua and Ho Chou were recovered and the country cleared. The number of the slaughtered Mohammedans in the cities and the surrounding villages was tremendous. Huangchung and East Kansu were pacified. Both Chinese and Mohammedans had borne the brunt of the revolt, and suffered equally.

During this last revolt, 1860–1873, a relatively few [624]
number of notes are encountered concerning the role played by the t'u-ssu and their troops. The fact is quite understandable. Mohammedan groups were running all over the whole country, and the forces of the regular army were insufficient to cope with the situation on a large scale. The t'u-ssu had to protect their own strongholds and fortified villages which sheltered their subjects, in the way the officials had to protect the cities with their population. Huangchung had suffered terribly and the destroyed villages and cities told the tale. The Monguors had had a bad time, but comparatively few had lost their lives, having hid and resisted the rebels in the strongholds of their t'u-ssu. The loss of cattle, houses, etc., was tremendous.

For the second time dissension concerning the old and new religion had caused a terrible revolt. The fanatic Salars, as well as the Chinese Mohammedans, had been responsible for all the harm suffered in Kansu and Shensi. However, every time their revolt had been on the brink of disaster, both groups forgot their dissension about religion and together fought fanatically their common enemy, the army of the hated Chinese.

REVOLT OF MOHAMMEDANS IN 1895–1896

During the revolt of the Mohammedans in 1860–1873, many cities and villages of Huangchung had been devastated and many, many thousands of Chinese and Mohammedans killed. During the following twenty-two years, the country had more or less recovered from the disaster, when a new revolt of the Mohammedans

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broke out, as terrible as the preceding, and forecasting anew many days and nights of black despair. The news of a revolt of the Mohammedans was enough to cause a feeling of awe all over the country.

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This time the revolt started in Hsun Hua in East Kansu where, in 1762, Ma Ming-hsin, coming back from a pilgrimage, had founded his new religion. It was caused by dissension among the Mohammedans of Hsun Hua concerning the old and new religions. Han Mu-li was the leader of the old religion group, and Han Ssu the leader of the new religion group. Fifty thousand Salars prepared to join the revolt. In Hsun Hua, at that time, there was a garrison of only five to six thousand soldiers.

The viceroy of the provinces of Shen Kan Yang, Ch'ang-chun, was informed. Immediately he ordered the commanders of Kanchow, Hsining, and Turkistan to move their troops around the Hsun Hua region, in order to encircle the revolt (*Annals* of Kansu 47: 63*b*, 64*a*). The troops arrived too late, the city of Hsun Hua was already besieged by Han Mu-li and the Salars, the Mohammedans of Ho Chou, Hai Ch'eng, and Pa Yen Jung, Nienpei had already joined the revolt (*Annals* of Kansu 5: 49, 58*a–b*).

But there is another version of the cause of the revolt. The troubles arose in Hsun Hua from the dissensions related to the old and new religions, in the first moon of 1895. Then the viceroy sent Commander Lei Cheng-kuan immediately to garrison with his troops in the city of Ho Chou, in order to prevent the spread of the revolt. However, the whole region was upset on account of the misconduct of the troops of Ho Chou. Two Mohammedan leaders of Hsun Hua went to see the commander in Ho Chou, asking to put his troops in order. He killed the two leaders and then the revolt started and spread like a prairie fire. Hsun Hua was besieged by Salars, Ho Chou and Hai Ch'eng joined the revolt.

Later, the investigations of the conduct of Commander Lei Cheng-kuan disclosed that the reason for the misconduct of the soldiers of his troops had been the overdue payment of his soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 5: 42*a–b*, 43*a*).

Then followed many reverses and small successes of the Chinese troops, the flight of the besiegers of Hsun Hua in the fifth moon, and the spread of the revolt in Huangchung. In the sixth moon the Mohammedans of Hsining revolted, and with them all the Mohammedans of the whole country: Tatung and Pe-ta were besieged and captured. The Chinese troops were unable to cope with the revolt.

General Teng Tsen of Hsining asked for permission to order the enrollment of 200 soldiers of each of the tribes in the country (*Annals* of Kansu 47: 64).[100]

This note seems to point to the enrollment of the Monguor troops and their t'u-ssu, besides that of the

[100] d'Ollone, *op. cit.* 21: 299.

[P. 68(B)]

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Tibetan tribes. However, nowhere is recorded in this section the name of a t'u-ssu. Records about the t'u-ssu do not reach as far as 1895. 175x 795 579 628

Here we must close the chapter of the history of the Monguors during the Ch'ing dynasty, but a few words more will help one to understand the terrible devastation wrought in Huangchung during this revolt.

In the tenth moon, when the situation was completely out of hand, General Tung Fu-hsiang arrived with a strong army from Turkistan. He first went to Ho Chou and Hsun Hua, the centers of the revolt, ruthlessly murdering the Mohammedans in the way they had behaved with the Chinese. Then he pacified the Salars of Pa Yen Jung and the entire region south of Nienpei, along the northern borders of the Yellow River, all in the same bloody way. He went to Tat'ung and Pe-ta, and reached all the strongholds and fortified villages of the Mohammedans north, south, and east of Hsining, one after another, devastating the country and slaughtering the people.

In the second moon of 1896 the revolt was quelled. The remaining Mohammedans, having no way to live, fled toward Kokonor. The Tibetans and Mongols in Kokonor had been prevented from keeping in readiness to exterminate the rebels, pursued by the army. Small groups of them fled to Turkistan across the southern mountain range and submitted to the officials of Turkistan; most of them died from starvation and cold in the middle of the winter.

In 1920, traveling in the country, one encountered ruined villages and cities which told the story of both terrible Mohammedan revolts and this made it easy to understand the hatred which today still smolders in the hearts of Chinese and Mohammedans against each other in Kansu province. 175x

This first part of the book sheds light on the hopeless situation on the frontier regions during the Ming time. 175x 105

On the one hand, the uncouth Mongols were unable to organize a united front for the recovery of their lost empire; they were divided and subdivided in groups, fighting each other under the leadership of chieftains, seething with hatred and killing one another. They tumbled back into barbarism, invading the frontier regions, plundering, ravaging the country, abducting and killing the people. In Huangchung, East Kansu, and Kokonor they ruined and scattered the Tibetan tribes, reducing them to the level of slaves.

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618 as the eldest son, received the first and most distant appanage.[14] Lattimore, making a generalized comment on the nomadic Mongol society, writes as follows.

> There is a very ancient concept of authority inherent in the life of a people whose mobile property in livestock makes it easy for them to move from one place to another. According to this concept, a "tribe" consists of an indefinite number of "unnoble" families ruled by a hereditary "noble" family. The "chief," who became stabilized as a "prince" when the Manchus ruled Mongolia by remote control, was not necessarily the eldest son of the previous chief. When a chief died his successor was chosen from a "panel," which included not only his own sons but the sons of his brothers. The brothers, uncles and male first cousins of the late chief [on the father's side] formed a clan council of "yesterday's generations" of the hereditary noble family. This clan council chose the new chief from the panel of sons and nephews, which represented "today's generation." This new chief had to be accepted by the tribe. If he were not satisfactory the tribe might demur, either at once or later. The clan council might then recall the chief, replacing him by one of his brothers, one of his male first cousins on the father's side or one of his own sons or nephews in the male line. All this rested on a still more basic sanction; if the chief did not suit the tribe, the tribe or part of the tribe might desert him. They might either run away and join some tribe which had a better chief, or more rarely some new leader might, by proving his efficiency, make himself a new chief and so found a new tribe with a new, hereditary noble family. In short, a chief had ultimately to justify himself by his ability to lead his tribe, as well as by his hereditary claims. The more anxious and dangerous the times the more pressing the demand that he meet the needs of the people.[15]

INSTALLATION OF THE CLAN CHIEF

796 618 The following account of the installation of the chief of a clan is mostly from information given to me by the T'u-ssu of the Ch'i clan of Nienpei, with whom and with whose family I was on terms of intimate friendship.

An auspicious day is chosen, usually by a lama. The ceremonies begin with a banquet, at which the principal guest is the senior maternal uncle of the chief who is about to be installed. According to the Monguor saying, the brothers of the mother are the "masters of the bones" of the children of their sister. In ordinary life, they are the most honored guests when her children are married, and when her children die they cannot be buried without the permission of a maternal uncle; similarly at this most important moment in the life of a new chief, it is the maternal uncles who hold the place of honor among the guests.

To the feast are invited the heads of the noble families, the most prominent of the non-nobles, the officials of the T'u-ssu administration, and the local officials of the Monguor villages. An old nobleman makes a speech in which he says that on this day the entire clan recognizes its new chief, whom he mentions by name, as chief of

[14] W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, trans. and ed. by H. A. R. Gibb, 392, London, Luzac, 1928.

[15] Owen Lattimore, *Mongol journeys*, 317, New York, Doubleday, 1941.

[p.45a]

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796 618 the clan. The whole clan, he says, is happy to express its obedience and its willingness to help and serve him; the clan hopes that he may be as glorious a chief as his ancestors of old in defending the clan and its component families.

The new clan chief first kneels down and bows nine times to his maternal uncle; then the noble members of the clan of generations senior to that of the new chief stand in line before him, salute him reverently three times, and join hands. The new chief, at the command of the master of ceremonies, then kneels down and bows nine times to them, touching the earth with his forehead at each bow.

The noble clan members who are of the same generation as the new chief then line up, kneel down, and (again at the command of the master of ceremonies) reverently bow their heads nine times to the earth before their new chief, after which the new chief acknowledges their homage by greeting them in the same way. Finally, the members of generations younger than that of the new chief perform the ceremony, but this time the new chief makes acknowledgment only by a standing bow, not by kneeling and bowing his head to the earth. Finally the whole group of commoners and officials kneel down and bow nine times to the bowing T'u-ssu. The whole group then goes to the hall of the ancestors, where paper and incense are burned by the newly appointed chief. Those present bow their heads reverently while standing in rows according to their rank and generation, in time with the command of the master of ceremonies. The ancestors are thus supposed to have received the announcement of the appointment of the new chief. Then all go to the temple of the guardian deity of the clan.

As I shall discuss the importance of the maternal uncle in Monguor society in a later chapter, I shall here make only a brief comment on the fact that at the significant moment when, in a society organized on a patrilineal family system, the eldest son of the first wife succeeds to office as the chief of the clan, it is his maternal uncle who has the place of honor. The occasion being one in which ancient customs are likely to be preserved, we are entitled to assume that the importance of the maternal uncle goes very far back in the history of Monguor society.

THE CLAN CHIEF BECOMES A CHINESE OFFICIAL

624 175 618 The chief of the clan must next be considered in his function as T'u-ssu, an office that he holds by the appointment of the sovereign state of which the Monguor clans are quasi-feudal frontier dependents. Under the Mongol Empire, the Monguors were entitled to consider themselves kinsmen of the Mongol rulers of China. When the Mongol Empire fell and the Chinese Ming dynasty was established, the Monguor chiefs who submitted to it did so as the result of a decision of supreme importance; by adhering to the Ming dynasty they renounced the alternative of retreating into Inner Asia

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624 of sixteen. In 1916 I was present to congratulate the
648 young T'u-ssu of the clan of Lu of Lienchʼeng when he assumed office after his mother had acted as regent for eight years.

The custom of entrusting the regency to the mother is an old Mongol tradition,[17] which the Ming dynasty recognized and took over. It should be noted that the Ming dynasty, though in its early years it was strong enough to conduct campaigns far afield in Mongolia, never had a firm control of the Mongolian and Inner Asian frontier as a whole. It was, therefore, well pleased when any Mongol tribes submitted of their own free will and was glad to make concessions in the way of recognizing their tribal institutions.

INVESTITURE OF THE T'U-SSU: CEREMONY DIPLOMA, AND SEAL

624 When a T'u-ssu received his Imperial appointment,
648 he was granted a diploma and seal. Only three Mongol T'u-ssu, those of the Lu, Li, and Ch'i clans, received
796 a seal worked in brass, because of the merits of their ancestors in defending the empire against Mongol and Tibetan inroads and rebellious Muslims. The other T'u-ssu were granted a seal worked in wood.[18] These seals, under the Manchu dynasty, were engraved with Chinese and Manchu inscriptions (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 39).

It was the receipt of the diploma and the custody of the seal, equivalent to personal investiture by the emperor, that conferred on the T'u-ssu the power to exercise his functions. On the one hand they symbolized his subjection to the overlord state; on the other hand they symbolized the delegation, by the sovereign overlord, of the power to rule in the territory allocated to the custodian of the seal.

The receipt of the diploma and seal was, therefore, considered the most important moment in the life of the T'u-ssu, and an honor not only to him personally but to the whole clan. The receipt of the diploma and the consignment of the seal into the hands of the T'u-ssu were, therefore, the occasion for a celebration in which the whole clan joyfully took part, willingly contributing money and time in order to make possible a display of pomp and magnificence. The whole clan was in fact called into active service. Each village, according to its importance, was assessed for a contribution of a definite number of sheep, pigs, chickens, and a cow, all of which had to be delivered to the mansion of the chief. Each village was also assessed a certain amount of wheat, a fixed sum of money, and was required to make a

[17] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 67, 68. "Widows with minor children had autocratic power over the possessions of the family until their sons had grown up and married; consequently they took the place of their husbands in all respects and enjoyed their rights."

[18] Seals of higher ranks were carved in jade, gold, silver, etc., indicating that even the highest of the Monguor T'u-ssu were regarded as relatively petty feudatories.—O. L. [P. 46b]

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FIG. 2. Li T'u-ssu and his wife. Taken at his home in Hsining in 1914. According to Li T'u-ssu, he and his wife are wearing the costumes given to his ancestor by the Emperor Shih-Tsung (Yung Cheng period, 1723–35), of the Manchu dynasty, after the victorious campaign against Lobtsang Danzan in 1723, in which this ancestor took an active part on the side of the emperor. The costumes are reverently preserved in the family. It was customary, when a man received such a costume, to present his wife with a costume matching his in its symbols of rank and dignity.

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contribution, on loan, of kettles, bowls, chop sticks, and all kinds of utensils.[19]

A number of young folk, determined by protocol, were summoned from each village to pitch tents in the precincts of the T'u-ssu's mansion, to build small temporary kitchens, to slaughter animals, cook food, serve, grind wheat, chop wood, carry fuel and water, whitewash the whole mansion, and repair the walks and paths in the courtyards of the mansion. Everyone working was fed by his own village. The chiefs of the groups of nobles, and of the villages, were bound to supervise all the preliminary arrangements, and when the actual day of the investiture arrived, they had to attend the ceremony in full official dress and help to entertain the guests.

The Monguor troops were called out in full levy, clad in brand new uniforms which had been sewed by the village women and paid for by the villagers. In addition to neighboring T'u-ssu, the most important Chinese civil and military officials of the prefecture were invited to take part in the celebration. In the old days, before Hsining had become a separate province, a prominent official was sent from Lanchou, capital of the province

[19] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 148, notes the requisitioning of food from the common people for the nobles in Mongolia at and after the time of Chingis Khan. The term for these requisitions is *shi'üsün* (*shüsün*), meaning "ration," "provision." [p. 47a]

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of Kansu, to convey to the T'u-ssu the diploma and seal sent from Peking. For the use of a group of nobles and officials of the T'u-ssu administration a number of the best horses were requisitioned from the Monguor community, equipped with fine saddles and bridles, tassels of red yak hair, and necklaces of small bells. Mounted on these, and escorted by Monguor soldiers, they rode out a long distance beyond the T'u-ssu's village to meet and welcome the official bringing the diploma and seal, who ranked as a delegate from the government at Peking.

At the gate of the T'u-ssu's village or little town a procession was formed. The diploma and seal were displayed on a large silver dish and carried in majesty in a sedan chair, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, standard bearers, and men setting off fire crackers, to the mansion of the T'u-ssu. On the raised platform or porch at the entrance to his mansion the T'u-ssu, surrounded by his oldest nobles, the most distinguished commoners, and all the important guests, knelt to receive the precious diploma and seal presented to him by the delegate. At the command of the master of ceremonies, he clasped his hands and bowed nine times. Kneeling and bowing nine times, the forehead touching the ground each time, is regarded as the homage (*homagium*) or act of fealty of the vassal to his lord.[20]

The newly-invested T'u-ssu then accepted the congratulations of those present and went to the temple of his ancestors, followed by the members of the clan who, ranged in rows according to precedence by generation, joined him in venerating the ancestors, burning incense, kneeling, and bowing, all at the commands of the master of ceremonies. In this way the happy event was announced to the ancestors.

All then went immediately to the other temple within the mansion where the guardian deity (a lamaistic deity) is honored. Again incense was burned and the other ceremonies were performed by the whole group to invoke the protection and blessings of the deity. All then returned to the mansion, in order to take part in the official reception and the presentation of the guests. Each guest offered his congratulations and presented his gifts, consisting usually of inscriptions written by outstanding Chinese calligraphers on silk or satin scrolls, paintings on silk by Chinese artists, or, in recent times, the "western innovation" of small silver shields with engraved inscriptions. The inscriptions convey congratulations, good wishes, or record a commemoration of the happy event.

The nobles of the clan then made their submission to the T'u-ssu, kneeling and bowing nine times, forehead to the ground, at the command of the master of ceremonies, and offering congratulatory scrolls and a sum

[20] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 130, describes the "act of submission" of a vassal in the Mongol empire founded by Chingis Khan in comparable terms, and notes that in feudal Russia, as among the Mongols (and, he might have added, among the Chinese), the kneeling vassal was required to bow until his forehead touched the ground.

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of money fixed by old tradition. Following them the delegates of each village, one after the other, and the officials of the T'u-ssu's own administration went through the same ceremony. If the mother of the T'u-ssu was still alive, she also received scrolls and a gift of money from each group.

During this long ceremony the musicians played and firecrackers were set off. A banquet then began, following the Chinese protocol with presentation of cups and chopsticks to the guests. During the banquet a Chinese theatrical troupe played selected acts from traditional Chinese plays or operas; it was a special courtesy to ask a guest to select something from the repertory. Songs were also sung—usually Tibetan, not Monguor songs—by the best Monguor singers. Banquets were held in the afternoon for three or four days running, attended by three or four hundred guests. These banquets were preceded in the morning by the traditional Mongol sports of horse racing and wrestling.

When, at the end of the celebrations, the delegate who brought the diploma and seal returned to Lanchou or to Peking, he was presented with a couple of fine mules and one of the best and fastest horses in the country, together with a substantial gift of money. His attendants were also given presents according to their rank. These presents were called "The money of the sweat of the horses." [21]

The investiture and festival were an expensive burden on the whole clan and on the T'u-ssu personally. As an example, in the small clan of Chao, consisting of only 140 families, most of them poor, the young man who succeeded to the title of T'u-ssu inherited from his father, an opium addict and gambler, only a burden of insoluble debts, in addition to the old tradition of a glorious past. The funds of the family being depleted, and the subjects not being able to afford the expenses of the investiture, the young heir lost his appointment and his privileges, and his people became ordinary Chinese subjects, bound thenceforth to pay their taxes directly to the Chinese administration. But since in China it is always possible to reach a compromise, the young T'u-ssu, though not invested with official rank, was allowed to collect the taxes from his former subjects on behalf of the Chinese administration, and thus he was still able to make a living.

Throughout the Orient the seal is regarded with a special veneration. It may indeed be said to be the subject of a special cult. An emperor who lost his seal would certainly lose his empire. The loss of the imperial seal has always been considered by the Chinese

[21] To put the servants of the Son of Heaven to trouble was to "cause the horses to sweat." Thus Cleaves, *op. cit.*, 26, notes that, in an inscription, an ancestor is praised because he advised his Uighur ruler to submit to Chingis: ". . . by submitting gracefully without causing the men of the Suu-tu ("fortunate") Chinggis qayan to suffer and without causing his geldings to sweat. . . ."—O. L.

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historians as a sign that "heaven" removes its mandate from the emperor. When the imperial seal of the T'ang was lost and came into the hands of the King of Chin in 936, the fact was thus explained. In China, under the old order, the seals of officials were always entrusted to their wives, who kept them with their jewelry and asked from their husbands a small sum each time that the seal was taken out to be stamped on an official document. The accumulation of these small sums constituted the savings of the wives of officials. The Monguors took over this custom from the Chinese.

In 1908, three years before the end of the Manchu empire, the T'u-ssu of the Li clan (of Shat'o origin) lost two thousand dollars at gambling. Having no money to pay his debt, harassed day and night by his creditors, he placed his seal of office in their hands as security. This T'u-ssu was the son of the deceased first wife of his father. He had a half-brother whose mother was the second wife of the previous T'u-ssu. This woman paid the gambling debt and thus got possession of the seal, charging a small sum every time that she produced it for the stamping of a document. When she died, her son got possession of the seal, and used it as authority to collect the regular traditional contributions that are expected from the subjects of the clan to pay for the funeral of the wife of a T'u-ssu. By doing this he strengthened his position, because in China, according to classical principles, the person who conducts the funeral is considered to be the lawful heir. Having in this way created the precedent of actually exercising a degree of authority over the subjects of the clan, and having the seal in his possession, it was his intention to make an accusation against his half-brother, on the grounds of misconduct, and to have himself installed as T'u-ssu.

To forestall this move, the gambling T'u-ssu called together the elders of the clan, both noble and non-noble, and also invited three neighboring T'u-ssu to arbitrate the quarrel and get him out of his appalling situation. The meetings went on for many days. The T'u-ssu was bitterly reproached, humiliated, and dressed down. He had to ask pardon for having transgressed the limits of official convention, thus dishonoring his ancestors and his clan. All this time his half-brother, fortified by actual possession of the seal, stoutly defended his right to become T'u-ssu.

The meeting finally came to the decision that the half-brother should give back the seal to the senior brother, but that in compensation he should be allowed to collect the taxes from four villages subject to his brother, and that his descendants should enjoy this privilege in perpetuity. This drastic solution is to be explained only by the old Oriental belief that the man who is in possession of the seal comes into possession also of the powers, rights, and privileges invested in the seal.

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The "locking" and "opening" of the seal emphasized its ritual importance. Every year, as the year drew to an end, on an auspicious day chosen about the twentieth of the twelfth month, it used to be the custom to "lock up" the seals of all Chinese officials. This signified that the officials were taking a vacation and that administrative matters would not be acted on again until after the New Year. The Monguors took over this practice. At the "locking up" of the seal, they invited their officials for dinner, and then all went home.

Soon after the fifteenth of the first moon, an auspicious day was chosen for the "opening of the seal." All officials under the T'u-ssu were required to attend the ceremony, together with the chiefs of villages and the most prominent members of the clan. Disposed in rows, they made the ceremonial prostration nine times before the seal and went to the ancestral temple and the temple of the guardian deity to honor them and to invoke their protection during the new year. An important meeting then followed at which administrative matters were discussed, and this meeting was in turn followed by a dinner. Ordinary routine was then resumed. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, as described by Father Mostaert,[22] a still great reverence is attached to the seal. It is treated as a cult object held in veneration throughout the year, locked in a special ornamented case, in the palace of the prince of the Banner, with a lamp burning before it day and night. The opening of the seal is carried out in a more ceremonial manner than among the Monguors. A traditional speech is given by one of the most distinguished officials before the ceremony of veneration is carried out by those present.

ROLE OF CLAN CHIEF AS CHINESE OFFICIAL

WARDEN OF THE MARCHES

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As a vassal of the overlord state in China, the T'u-ssu has the function of a warden of the marches. When the Mongol dynasty fell in 1368, it was already rotten at the core and torn apart by struggles between internal factions. Knowing that all hope for the restoration of a Mongol dynasty was lost, most of the chiefs of Mongol tribes living in Kansu submitted to the Chinese generals who led the Ming armies into this strategic province bordering on Tibet, Central Asia, and Mongolia. The Chinese, for their part, resorted to the policy, familiar to them for some two thousand years, of using barbarian vassals along the frontier as a screen against more remote barbarians.[23] They accordingly granted titles to the chiefs of the tribes that submitted, in order to make use of them in defense against the still hostile

[22] A. Mostaert, "L'ouverture du sceau" et les adresses chez les Ordos, *Monumenta Serica* 1, Fasc. 2: 315, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1935.

[23] The relationship between "inner frontier" and "outer frontier" has been described by Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 86, 238–251, 2nd ed., New York, American Geog. Soc., 1951.

[P. 49a]

624 of the elders of their village, to escort the T'u-ssu. They bring with them the required number of horses, finely equipped and well broken to the saddle, to be ridden by the T'u-ssu's retinue of ten or more officials and servants. The finest courtyard in the village is prepared for the sojourn of the T'u-ssu, who like a medieval seigneur enjoys the *droit de gite* at each stopping place. The procession is headed by a soldier who carries, strapped diagonally across his back, a rolled-up painting on yellow cotton cloth of the guardian deity of the clan. This picture is to be venerated at each stopping place.

624 651 Outside the village the T'u-ssu is greeted by all the inhabitants, dressed in their best clothes and kneeling and bowing. Although the occasion costs them a great deal of money, their faces are alight with joy and exaltation, because receiving their feudal lord is traditionally a joyful festival.

One of the elders presents to the T'u-ssu a *katag* or ceremonial scarf, laying it across his outstretched hands, and another elder offers him two bottles of wine. A sheep is then led before the T'u-ssu, its horns decorated with red paper and a piece of red cotton cloth strapped on its back. At the same time he is presented with a gift of 30,000 copper coins on a dish. This offering is called the "gift of joyous entrance into the village." 527 264 In former days, the sheep was slaughtered, prepared for the dinner in the evening, and served before the guests as a whole carcass, on an enormous platter. This is the traditional dish for important guests. At the same time, the most delicate piece, the fat tail, together with 1,000 copper coins, is presented to the T'u-ssu on a special plate. In recent times the T'u-ssu sometimes accepts the sheep and orders it to be brought to his palace, together with the spices required for cooking it properly. This amounts to a double charge on the village, because another sheep must be slaughtered for the evening dinner.

624 •796 When the T'u-ssu and his retinue reach the courtyard where the T'u-ssu is to stay, the picture of the guardian deity of the clan is displayed in the front room. An oil lamp is lighted and incense is burned before it as long as the T'u-ssu's visit lasts. The community as a group venerate the guardian deity, prostrating themselves; in the front row are the village elders, with sticks of incense in their joined hands. This custom of carrying the guardian deity on the triennial tour of the feudal lord of the clan, giving all the village communities an opportunity to worship it, seems to correspond with the custom of honoring the "spirits of the clan" among the Manchus, as described by Shirokogoroff.[51]

177 792 At present the guardian deities of all the Monguor clans have been taken over by Lamaism. Formerly one or two lamas served as house chaplains at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, praying and burning incense every day at the temple of the guardian deity. Since the destruc-

[51] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, Shanghai, North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

tion of most of the T'u-ssu mansions during the Muslim rebellion, a small room serves as the temple, and there are no longer chaplains on permanent duty except in the three clans of Lu, Li, and Ch'i, where the original temple still exists. The lamaistic deity honored by the clan of the Li T'u-ssu as its guardian is Lhamo-tsang, represented as a black rider on a black mule, wearing a necklace of human skulls. The saddle is covered with a human skin. In her right hand the deity, who is female, grasps a sword, and in her left she holds a bowl made from a human skull. The mule is painted treading in blood. Lhamo is the only female among the eight "protector deities" of lamaism. She is said to be the reincarnation of the wife of Yama and the protector of Lhasa and of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas. Her paraphernalia is said to be provided for her by the gods in order to enable her to carry on her duties as protector.[52] I was unable to find out why, and at what time, the ancestor of the clan chose this monstrous deity as the protector of the clan. Nor is there any surviving tradition to explain what the clan spirits of the Monguors were like before they became modified by Lamaism.

After the veneration of the guardian deity, there is an official reception and congratulations are exchanged. The community then leaves the courtyard and two sentries are posted at the gate to prevent free approach to the T'u-ssu. In assuming this inaccessibility at this point in the protocol, the T'u-ssu marks a departure from the familiarity of the clan or tribe, and puts on the aloofness of a high Chinese official. People who have problems to present to the T'u-ssu must ask the sentries for an audience and explain to them the problem they want to discuss. Those who want to make a legal claim, or to complain against an injustice or against the administration, must put their request in writing, and the requests are then given by the sentry to a secretary who transmits them to the T'u-ssu. Those who write down and forward the request must receive a remuneration.

On the following day the T'u-ssu begins a series of meetings with the chief men of the community, the elders, and the military officials. The first item of business is the examination of the village register, which is kept up to date every year. If any subjects have left the territory of the clan, the reasons are discussed and the possibility of bringing them back is considered. Accounts must be rendered of the administration of the village and the division of taxes and corvées. The T'u-ssu is interested in the harvest of the past three years, and in the observance of the old clan customs and traditions, veneration of the ancestors, reverence towards nobles, marriages, divorces, the religious festivals in the spring and autumn, the state of morals in the village, singing of obscene songs in the village, hospitality toward

[52] A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und Mongolei*, 66, 76, 175, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1900 (guide to the Ukhtomskii Collection).

[p. 656]

621 without elders. The whole power of the clan was anciently embodied in the elders, who appointed and dismissed the chiefs. It is therefore no wonder that the elders in every village still play, most of the time, the most important part in local administration.

622 The chief of the village is usually selected from among the commoners, but may be a noble. He is always a villager, a man noted for his proficiency in administration and in good repute among the population for his uprightness and readiness to help members of the community. He is not always the richest man in the village, but is almost always chosen from among the most outstanding families in the village. He may even be a Chinese or a Tibetan enrolled in the clan. He is chosen by the elders on the tenth of the tenth moon. The T'u-ssu is then informed and must approve and send a written commission or appointment. Thus there is a compromise between choice by the village elders and appointment at the T'u-ssu's discretion.[3]

The tour of duty of the village chief is for one year, and he can be reappointed. He is the real executive authority of the village, responsible to the T'u-ssu for law and order and representing the village in its relations with the T'u-ssu.

701 The military officers are appointed by the T'u-ssu personally, for an indefinite tenure. In former times they were always nobles, but in the last half-century of the old Monguor society many were commoners; the office had become merely honorary, and some T'u-ssu sold it to the highest bidder. The military officers are in charge of the rolls of the village militia, who are subject to call in times of emergency. In addition a few men are on permanent service as soldiers. In case of war or bandit disorders the two officers take command, and call up all the males of the village.

[796] [431] At New Year the village chief and the two military commanders offer the T'u-ssu the New Year greetings of the village and present him with tea, sugar, 622 raisins, a couple of bottles of wine, and a piece of 701 red silk eight feet in length, a ceremonial scarf and 35,000 pierced copper cash. The same three men

[3] It should be noted, however, that in Mongol society there are many examples of compromise between selection (or approval) from below and appointment (or approval) from above. The emphasis may vary either in times of the strongly centralized power of a Mongol emperor (as under Chingis and his immediate successors) or in periods of subordination of Mongol tribes to centralized empires in China (as under the Ming and Manchu dynasties). There are even traditions that the tribe (of commoners) has the right to repudiate the prince who represents the ruling noble clan; with the proviso, however, that the ruling clan may put forward another of its own members to replace the repudiated prince. It is hard to say definitely that the right of the ruling prince, chief, or T'u-ssu is the oldest right. As Father Schram points out, there are reasons for believing that the authority of a council of elders is even more ancient and fundamental. It may be suggested that in such societies as that of the Monguors the rights of the chief tend to prevail over those of the elders when there is a strong overlord paramount over both chief and elders.—O. L.

[P. 76 b]

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592 sents the family in attending the general assembly of the clan at the spring ceremony of venerating the ancestors. At such meetings, the older people are always bitter in their condemnation of heads of families who send a delegate instead of attending in person.

592 Apart from religious practices within the family, the head of the family must also attend when shamanistic
• 796 ceremonies are staged in the village temple. Within the
769 household, it is his duty every morning to honor "heaven and all the spirits" either on the roof of his house or in the courtyard. A duty that he cannot alienate from himself is the cult of the deity honored by his father; the picture of this deity reverts to him by inheritance. It is also his responsibility to invite either shamans or lamas to his house on various occasions.

592 In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. All money coming to
471 any member of the family must be deposited with him. Individuals in the family have no right to keep money for their own use. It is he who sells and buys cattle and grain, and all contracts must be signed by him because only his signature is legally valid for the family. He also buys, sells, or mortgages land. It is his right to decide which member of the family is to become a lama, who is to be sent to school, and who is to serve as a soldier. He directs all the ordinary routine of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns to members of the family their daily duties. If members of the family wish to attend festivals, he must give permission; he must also give permission if a daughter-in-law wants to go home to visit her parents.

[553] He is of course the one who decides on the arrange-
ments for marriages and funerals, and it is his privilege
592 to give names not only to his own children but to grandchildren. He is expected to be just and even-handed in seeing that all members of the family have their fair share of clothes and their fair share of space in living quarters. Inability to handle such matters to the satisfaction of the family often leads to the break-up of an extended family and the building of new chimneys. Authority within the family is balanced by responsibility to the chief of the clan not only for the family itself but for murders or robberies committed on land belonging
592 to the family. In the event that a member of his own family is murdered, he must join with the maternal uncle
681 of the one who has been killed in leading all the men of the family to secure vengeance. When a member of his family brings shame on the family by a crime, such as stealing, and is unwilling to make amends, he must again consult with the maternal uncle of the guilty person and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. In such cases even the death penalty may be exacted without arousing the disapproval of the public authorities.

592 When visiting a Monguor family, it is always easy to recognize the head of the family. He is better dressed than the others, is almost never without a long-stemmed pipe in his hand, and does not do any hard physical

[P. 82 b]

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FOOD, DRINK, AND NARCOTICS

262 The diet of the Monguors is frugal. Meat, which with milk and milk products was the staple food of their nomad ancestors, has long been a luxury. Like the Chinese, they now eat meat for half a month at the New Year, on the third of the third moon, the fifth of the fifth moon, the fifteenth of the eighth moon, and the eighth of the twelfth moon. Apart from these feasts, they eat meat only at weddings, when children have been born, at funeral feasts, or when they have distinguished guests. For such feasts, a sheep is killed. In the short summer rainy season it is also customary to kill a sheep when there is rain for several days, preventing them from going out to the fields; and it is also customary to slaughter a sheep when the harvest is carried in. Meat is always boiled. Roasted or broiled meat is very seldom eaten and is not considered tasty.

[462] Every family slaughters its own animals. The slaughtering is never done by women, who are expected to produce life, not to destroy it. Most Monguor men cease to do any slaughtering when they become about fifty years old, owing to the lamaistic belief that it is not fitting for a man who is approaching the time of his own death to slaughter animals, for fear of being reincarnated as an animal.

Cows, oxen, and pigs are slaughtered by cutting the throat. Sheep are often choked. Another method of slaughtering sheep—the traditional Mongol method—is to turn the animal on its back with the head pointing west, stretching the skin tight over the breast. A slit is then cut in the skin, and the butcher slips in his hand, seizes the heart, and jerks it loose. The sheep dies instantly and no blood is shed outside the carcass.

The Monguors very seldom slaughter horses, mules, or donkeys. When these animals grow old they are either sold or allowed to live until they die a natural death. [262] The meat of horses, mules, and donkeys is never eaten, nor do the Monguors allow the use of their cooking kettles for boiling such meat.

Chickens are usually killed either by cutting off the head or by thrusting a pin into the brain.

262 All Monguors abhor the meat of marmots. Marmot fat is used as a salve on the saddle sores of horses and mules, but as food the Monguors say, "Marmots are to us Monguors what pigs are to the Mohammedans."

[795] There is a small religious sect among the Monguors, known as "those who fast," the members of which never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

[272] In the morning the Monguors drink a cup of tea and eat a piece of bread when the sun has risen in the sky "to the height of a post." Salt is always put in the boiling tea. In many families only the parents and the oldest son drink tea; the other men, and all the women, drink only water with a little milk in it. (The Chinese, of course, do not use milk in tea or in any other way.) [252] The bread is made from barley flour and is either steamed or baked. Ordinary people seldom eat wheat

[35 cont.]

792 A distinction is made between great and small lamas. The great ones are usually Living Buddhas (hutukhtu) (1).

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1. [Foreign text p. 41.] The following presentation applies primarily to the reception of a hutukhtu. In case of lesser lamas the ceremonies are simpler. -- Divine images, for instance, the litter of the Kuan Yin, of the tiger god, etc., also receive a similar reception when they are brought into the house for exorcising evil. Unfortunately I was unable to take down the corresponding ceremonies. I once saw such a god's litter standing on a house roof. -- The lama-reception was observed by me personally.

Before one invites a lama, the house must be cleaned. A special room is prepared, in which the lama prays and sleeps. Then the people go to get him with horses. In the case of a great lama, the entire village participates in the reception. As soon as he enters the compound, incense is offered and the conch is blown. He is led into the house and given hospitality. Afterwards he gives the book-blessing in the yard and begins his ceremonies.

[36] [Fig. 3 appears here.]

792 The lama always makes a number of tormas, in front of
[778] which little water-bowls are offered. He also has with him the same objects that he has in the monastery. -- When he finishes the ceremonies he is paid. Usually the monks of the monastery are also fed at that time.

Details

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Preparations: Before anyone invites a lama, he consults with him about the time. The soothsayer sets the day for the ceremonies accordingly. For instance, if according to the

[36 cont.]

Fig. 3

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[532] a. Torma; b. torma; c. wumba-can of the lama; d. thunderbolt (dordzi); e. bell. (Drawing by a Tujen.)

792 soothsaying the setting up of a mani-tree is supposed to take place
● 796 on the fifteenth day of a given month, then the lama must come
574 a week in advance because a prayer service of several days always precedes it. Only the higher lamas stay for just a day. The preparations are always carried out by the master of the household with the assistance of the mother's brother.

On the day before, the yard and all the rooms of the house are swept clean. The men fumigate all the rooms with the red-hot stone and the incense fire, so that no demons will carry on their mischief. For the lama, the host reserves the best room in the main house, which immediately adjoins the chapel or the household altar. He spreads one or two layers of white or red felt mats on the kang and places two beautiful saddle-blankets over them, one for the lama and one for his assistant. The place on which the lama is to sit is indicated by a hada. The latter is regarded as an honored memento and is later hung by the household altar.

Between the two blankets there is a fire basin with a large teakettle. Behind it there is a kang table with the food: a [262] round wooden bowl of tsamba on which several pieces of buttered

[36 cont.]

792 bread have been placed in a pyramid and crowned with a red
796 date; a little box with tschürra (dry curds) for kneading tsamba;
574 a number of small [37] plates with black and white sugar, candy
[262] sugar, currants, and dates; a number of small plates of goods baked with sugar and oil. -- Later, when the lama performs his ceremonies, the things are cleared away so that an empty table is at his disposal.

Hutukhtus or higher lamas send ordinary, serving lamas to the people a few days in advance to prepare the room and the things needed for the ceremonies. They also help in the kitchen because they know best which dishes their hutukhtu prefers. They also see to it that the riding animals of the monastery are properly [492] accommodated.

The fetching of the lama: On the stipulated day the young men and boys of the village set out for the lamic monastery with the most beautiful and fastest horses. Some of them ride all the way to the monastery itself; some wait halfway. The hutukhtu always rides on his own animal; it must be a white horse. The [492] other lamas, on the other hand, may use any animals available.

When at the halfway point the lama meets the troop that has come to fetch him, the oldest man steps forward and hands the lama a hada. He accepts it and touches the kneeling man's forehead. Then the youngest with the fastest horses leap into the saddle and ride ahead at a wild gallop in order to announce the news of the lama's arrival in the village. The lama likewise tries to follow at a rapid pace. Only the old lamas take their time. This fetching is called single fetching. Sometimes the fetching is done in two or three stages; then it is called double or triple fetching. Each time the ceremonies of handing over the hada and of the blessing are repeated. In the case of the third troup, however, the fetchers are on foot, for they only go just outside the village.

Reception: As soon as the messengers come riding in, the entire village gathers in front of the house that has invited the lama. All are wearing their best clothes. On the threshing

[37 cont.] On the threshing

792 floor the women and children tirelessly perform their round
796 dances with song, so that one can hear them from afar; the
574 lama is supposed to see how joyfully they welcome him. Out-
[535] side the village all get off their horses; only the lama rides on alone. A man leads his horse by the reins.

As soon as he comes to the gate of the yard, a kang table is placed on the left side of the horse, and a white mat is put over it. The men help the lama out of the saddle, and all kowtow; only the women go on dancing without interruption. The lama steps out of the stirrups onto the table that has been set there and then strides toward the gate, where the master of the household is kneeling. He has placed a hada over his raised hands, and with it he extends to the lama a white bowl of milk with a cypress twig. The lama dips the twig into the milk, sprinkles the gate posts with it, and enters. The incense offering rises in the yard; people blow on all the conches they have. The men draw the lama forward with burning [38] sticks of incense and escort him to his room. There he sits down on the place indicated by the hada. The hada, however, is taken away.

792 The blessing: First of all, the lama rests with his com-
796 panions. The master of ceremonies pours him some tea and
574 invites him to fortify himself. Then the lama recites certain prayers. Meanwhile the yard fills with guests.
788 At this point the master of the household enters the guest room, hands the lama a hada, kowtows, and requests him to come out in order to bless the people. The lama gives him a few small gifts, which he has brought with him, with a hada. Then he rises and goes out. Outside there is an armchair with a cushion; the lama sits down on it, his back turned toward the main house; a white felt mat is spread in front of him.
[554] Now the people move past him according to rank, first the men, then the women. Each person bows low before him while he touches the forehead or the crown of the head of everyone with his prayer book. His assistant stands at his side. After this ceremony he again withdraws into the house. [Figs. 4 and 5 appear here.]

[38 cont.]

792 796 782 778 Prayer service: Now he begins his prayer service. Before each prayer service a few tormas are made; if he is a great lama, his assistants see to it. The tormas vary and represent offerings to the gods. In part they are left standing on the table, or they are taken to the household altar. Before that comes a series of little water bowls, grain bowls, liquor bowls (3),

3. [Foreign text p. 41.] There is a definite number and order for these little bowls. The water offering plays an important role in the monastic cult, cf. Kumbum, p. 251. The Tujen and Chia-Hsifan [Sifan] frequently present the water offering in the morning. Thus,

534 354 532

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5

Fig. 4. Two hourglass drums. (Drawing of a Tujen.) Fig. 5. Butter-lamp.

I once saw how an old man got up in the morning, washed himself, burned incense, put a large copper bowl and 12 little bowls of water on the household altar, kowtowed three times in the courtyard, one of these in the direction of Kumbum, kowtowed three times in front of the household altar, and then emptied the water bowls.

and butter-lamps, which are always kept burning. Later these tormas are either taken away or eaten by the family, and sometimes thrown

[38 cont.]

792 to the animals (2).

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2. [Foreign text p. 41.] Concerning sdorma, the DMF writes (p. 338): "pyramidal figures made of grilled dough and offered to the spirits to ward off their evil influences. Cf. Tib. gtor-ma, id. (Mong. turma, tuurma, turuma...)" [translated from French]. Ch. Das characterizes (p. 527) the expression gtor-ma, which in turn goes back to a Sanskrit word, as cast offering: "sacrificial objects, i.e., that which is strewn or scattered or given away" [cited in English]. They are said to consist mostly of dough (rice, barley, etc.), to have a pyramidal shape, and are supposed to ward off dangers, to pacify the spirits, etc. -- Much has been written concerning the meaning of the gtor-ma; in this connection cf. the accounts in Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, Ch. XIV. The Tujen conceive of the torma as the seat of a demon or of a god or as spirit food. It does not remain a permanent seat, however, but only during the time of the ceremonies. The spirit is conjured into it by the lama. I was unable to ascertain the name balih among them. As spirit food they call it by the Chinese word szu-shih, that is, offering food, but there is another interpretation, namely "corpse," which also has the form szu-shih. This is what they call the

[38 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 41 cont.]
torma that at the conclusion of the tšam dance on New Year's is carried off and burned as the murdered enemy of the religion. -- They also call the mandala-figure torma, for instance, during the erection of the pole-goat. -- The fact that the torma has a sacral function for only a brief time explains why it is no longer given any attention after the ceremonies, but is thrown away, given to the animals to eat, or even eaten by the people themselves.

Insofar as I was able to establish among the Tujen, the tormas are always made only of tsamba and butter, and not, as Filchner (Unkrig) writes, loc. cit., out of sour dough. It may be that this kind of preparation is peculiar to the monasteries.

The cult implements of the hutukhtu are the same as those he uses at home in the monastery, to wit, the holy water-can with the peacock feather, the hourglass drum, the thunderbolt, and the hand bell. He always has these things ready at hand on the table. He always holds his mani-string in his hand. While praying he does not sit at the side, but behind the table, on the kang and facing the door. He lays his prayer book in front of him on his knees or on the kang table. Sometimes he also gives the [788] water blessing while the others prepare the tormas. For this purpose he has pure spring water poured into the [39] holy can; one of the assistants throws consecrated spices into it and places the can on a little plate with Tibet barley. The lama then recites the prayer of blessing over it.

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Prayer fee: During the time of his stay the lama is entertained very hospitably. The master of the household, who is also called "master of gifts," must serve him personally. The

[39 cont.]

792 lama, however, does not have his principal meal at noon, like
796 the other guests, but only in the late afternoon. In order to en-
465 tertain him men and women dance and sing in the yard. Only
in the case of very high hutukhtus is there no dancing.

[574] On the last day, after the lama's morning meal, but while
[535] he is still drinking tea on the kang, the master of gifts appears with the ceremonial helpers and with many words expresses his gratitude for the visit and the prayer. Then he hands him a tray with the gifts, over which a hada is spread, and the master of gifts announces what the lama is receiving for his services. This hada over the tray is called "speech hada." The things are put in front of the lama on the table and kowtows are made three times. The assistants, too, receive appropriate gifts.

The fee varies according to the wealth of the master of gifts, the position of the lama, and the ceremonies performed. Usually it consists of several back-baskets of bread (5), some

5. [Foreign text p. 42.] A back-basket holds 24 loaves. The red cloth is for the lama's clothing. Why only grain and money are thought of as a unity and designated by the same name, mbō, is unclear to me. According to the DMF, it comes from the Tibetan p'ogs, "fee."

pieces of mutton (4), silver money, and red cloth. Wealthy

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4. [Foreign text p. 42.] Although Buddhism prohibits killing, the lamas, as well as the hutukhtus, eat flesh in all forms, as I repeatedly was able to observe. In the monastery Kuo-mang-szu I once noted that a sacrificial sheep, skinned and eviscerated, was set on a sacrificial table in front of the temple door. During

[39 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.]
the subsequent prayer ceremonies, the master of gifts, who had sacrificed this sheep, had the flesh cooked and a piece served to each of the monks in the temple during a pause in the prayer. It is therefore not surprising that the lama receives a loin of mutton for his fee. Since the Tujen, however, do not sacrifice a sheep in the presence of a lama (cf. the chapter, "The Mani-tree"), it seems to be a matter of not performing the killing itself before the eyes of the lama or in the same yard.

people give much more, for instance, beautiful horses, ornamental pendants, cloth, etc. When it is a matter of great
[782] occasions, a prayer service is even ordered for the monastery during the time that the lama stays with the master of gifts. During these days the master of gifts provides all the monks with rice, sugar, butter, and tea. Even pilgrims who stay in
[788] the monastery during these days and "stop in" to honor and to pray for the master of gifts are provided for and also receive alms for the journey.

[782] The masters of gifts also usually donate the prayer tea
[272] for the entire monastery, which is drunk during the ceremonial in the prayer hall, for example, at funerals, etc. Often they also set up a great number of butter-lamps in the temple at this
[354] time, or at least they donate the butter for the lamps. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

792 Return: After the lama has received his gifts, he is cere-
796 monially escorted out of the gate of the yard. An incense offering is again presented, but otherwise no further ceremonies
574 take place. The white horse is brought up, a kang table with a felt mat is set up for mounting, and the lama is lifted into the saddle. Then the men escort him out of the village. There

[39 cont.]

792 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the reception. The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the
796 gifts are brought after him on animals.
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[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers.
[465] They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

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796 Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is
784 called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the be-
[609] ginning of the performance may not enter the yard. On the
[792] other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning
[211] may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as
[177]

7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

[534]

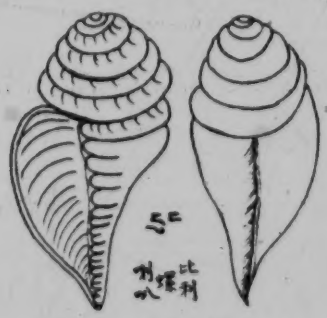

Fig. 6. Shells.

[532]

(Drawing of a Tujen.)

351 [40 cont.]
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[177]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] maintains that formerly the Tujen used no sieve and that they learned of it from the Chinese. Nowadays paper is commonly used when it is a matter of a taboo that is not connected with the prayer service. Thus the people stick a rectangular piece of red paper to the gate intrados, on the right when, for example, there is sickness in the compound, and on the left when a woman is in confinement there. White paper is used when someone has died, a custom that probably comes from the Chinese.

[574] [792] The taboo always lasts for several days, three, five, seven, always an odd number, and always as long as the lama is staying at the house, as well as two days afterwards. If, for example, the lama is there only one day, the taboo lasts three days; if he is there three days, it lasts five days, etc. If he is in the house for seven days, however, the taboo lasts for an entire week after his departure (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 42-43.] The taboo regulations mentioned here also apply to other religious ceremonies, even when no lama or Bon priest is invited. The taboo is then in force for only three days, however. -- Even the best friends are not admitted into the house, but are dealt with by the gate of the yard. For this reason they must first call out loudly so that someone will come out.

[751] [43] Sometimes the people also say that in case of illness the yard is marked not out of fear of the spirits, but

351 [40 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text p. 43 cont.]
rather in order to give strangers a signal so that they will not be infected and will stay outside.

Word List

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Lama: lama; ho-shang (Chin.).
Lama of the Yellow Sect: gelõñba (Tib.); sira lama.
Lama of the Red Sect: fulan lama.
Great lama: šge lama; ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.).
Small lama: mula lama.
Hutukhtu (6): sañ (10); šge sañ = great H.; mula sañ = small H.
huo-fuo (Chin.) = Living Buddha; fo-yeh = Buddha.

6. [Foreign text p. 42.] The common people know little about the hierarchy among the monks. They know great and small lamas. Among the great they count the hutukhtu, the tsüordzi and the kānbō. According to their conception, a great lama is especially learned, knows many magical practices, and therefore has special power. The small lamas have only a little learning and are able to perform only minor ceremonies, for instance, the obo prayer.

[775] The hutukhtus are regarded as Buddhic incarnations. In this the common people do not differentiate between Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Among them everything is fuo-yeh, that is, Buddha-Father. They use this Chinese name for everything that is the seat of the spirit or a spirit itself, in other words, also for the incarnations

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[40 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.]
(Tulkus), the spirit-spear, gods' statues with souls. Sometimes, for the sake of clarity, they designate the incarnations as huo-fuo (Chinese), that is, Living Buddha. The Tujen name purġan is usually used only for the spirits and the spirit seats with souls. Sometimes one hears the expression sãṅ or sãṅrë-dzi. I have never encountered the names Tulku, Hutukhtu, or Gegen, which in the Tujen language has the same meaning as sãṅ, the enlightened one.

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10. [Foreign text p. 43.] sãṅrëdzi: Tibetan saṅs = pure, rgyas = spread out. -- ġdzo: Tibetan ġzo = to remind, to bring to mind; dãṅwu: Tibetan daṅ po = first time; niwa: Tibetan gñis pa = second time; gdzänba: Tibetan gsum pa = third time. -- simier: Tibetan šis = fortune, mar = butter. -- sidar: Tibetan šis = fortune, dar = silk cloth. -- sändzõṅ: Tibetan ts'em bzaṅ = cloth good. -- dõṅsär: Tibetan bdun = seven, gser = golden; the seven golden ones. -- lamar: Tibetan la = wax (from the Chinese), mar = butter. -- dordzi: Tibetan rdo = stone, rje = master. -- bosë: perhaps from the Mongolic; püse = trade, business; cf. Chin. p'u-tzu. -- mäntsia: Tibetan maṅ = ample, ja = tea (Unkrig).

[40 cont.]

192 Lama-reception: lama ndziala.

792 Lama blessing: ndziärgän (Tib.) = in rows.

First fetching: ġdzō dañwu (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note on preceding page].

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574 Second fetching: ġdzō niwa (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Third fetching: ġdzō ġdzāmba (Tib. loanword) 10 [see Note 10 on preceding page].

192 Tsamba bowl with buttered slices: simier (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

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796 Little plate with baked goods: sētoġ.

Sugar candy: ping-t'ang (Chin.).

Apple: hai-t'ang (Chin.).

Nuts: ho-t'ao (Chin.).

Dates: sa-tsao-êrh (Chin.).

Dry curds: tsūra (Tib., Tuj.).

Oil sticks: san-tzu (Chin.).

Filled loaves: taġur.

Oil pies: yu-pao-tzu (Chin.).

192 Speech hada: sidār (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

796 Red cloth (which one presents to the lama): sändzōn (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Grain with money: mbō.

Loin of mutton (also the entire sheep): ndžuān.

[778] Torma: šdorma (Tib. loanword) (2) [see Note 2 above].

Little copper bowl with water, grain, etc.: dōnsär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Butter-lamp: lamar (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

[778] Holy water-can: wumbā (Tib. loanword).

Peacock's feather: k'un-ch'üo-mao (Chin.).

Thunderbolt: dordzi (Tib., Tuj.).

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[534] Hourglass drum: ndarë.

Mani-string: mani.

[41 cont.]

192 Prayer fee: bose bosē (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

796 Tea provided in the lamic monastery: māntsia (māndzia) (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

[784] Taboo of the compound: udie dzilā-; chi-men (Chin.) = to forbid the door.

[357]

[Pages 41-43 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[48] III. Customs concerning the Dwelling and Settlement

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1. The Incense Sacrifice*

*See "Notes," pp. 46-49 [of the foreign text]. In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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Every day at sunrise the house and yard are swept clean.

512 The housewife fans the family fire on the kang, around which

[356] young and old gather during the day. The master of the house

[783] washes his hands and face (1), takes some coals from the fire,

[515]

1. [Foreign text p. 46.] This ablution is undertaken for all religious activities, and it is also the common way of washing oneself in the morning. Since wash-bowls are unknown or have been used only recently, it is done in the following way: one takes a mouthful of water from a bowl and rinses the mouth; then he

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] offering is widespread everywhere among the nomads of Tsinghai and has been partially taken over by the Chinese. It is also practiced in all lamic monasteries. Even if it does not come from Buddhism, it has been taken up by it in the ritual and honored with "incense-sutras," which are recited during the burning of aromatic substances in honor of the gods. The additions superimposed on the original simple form also come from Lamaism. Concerning this original form, its origin and religious dedication to heaven, cf. Part Two.

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The purification-fire: Aside from this incense offering, cypress incense is also burned on other occasions, but only for purification, for example, to fumigate the house to drive away the demons, to fumigate the sacrificial sheep, to fumigate the face and hands at religious ceremonies. This fire, however, is accorded no veneration; no kowtow is made before it; it is not sprinkled with water, and no butter or any kind of addition is put in it. It is not an offering. Should someone accidentally burn an actual incense offering, he can use even this for the purpose of purification (9).

[587]
[796]
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9. [Foreign text p. 49.] On other occasions, too, the fire is used as a means of purification. For instance, according to an ancient custom, a Tujen widow, when she remarries, must step across a fire, just as among the Chia-Fandse the bride is led over fir-tree fire (sung-p'an). The fire-jumping in the night of the full moon after New Year's may have the same significance; cf. "The New Year's Festival," Note 6. Not only the fire has

3: Schröder--84 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate I

115
142
291
302
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a

b

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c

d

(Caption on following page.)

3: Schröder--85 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[46 cont.]

[Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

115 [145] [291] [302] a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autumn of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer, 1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the 792 conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the 796 monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guämbasoma) in the vicinity [534] of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense [292] Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In [782] front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the [778] background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan. 756 Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof; this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand * [778] the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching [292] line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter: "The-Gurtum.")

[57 cont.]

*778 attached to the tree along the long side. On the average the length is 150 to 200 centimeters. The master of the household first takes this bolt of cloth to a lamic monastery where it is [782] printed with prayers and the picture of an air-horse in the monastery press, only on one side, however. About three-quarters of the flag is covered with prayers, and the lowest quarter with the air-horse. At home the man or the woman then sews a row of strings on one long side, with which the flag is tied to the pole. [58]. The other long side, fluttering in the breeze, is [822] provided with five tabs of cloth in the five sacred colors. The length depends on the flag. Usually they are about two fingers wide and a finger long. They may be quadrangular or triangular. The flag is likewise fumigated and placed next to the cover on the household altar. For these tabs, too, there are no regulations concerning the origin and nature of the material (7).

[192]

7. [Foreign text p. 61.] The mani-flag has various names; cf. below, Note 10. All these names apply in the first place to the horse-image, then to the flag, and finally to the entire tree. The image is the most important, especially when one considers that paper images are also in use.

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On every flag or every image there are the most varied sayings and representations, in Tibetan or Chinese or Mongolic. Sometimes the horse also bears on its back the sign of good fortune, nuru. These paper horses play

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an important role in the ceremony of releasing the horses, which is performed by the Tujen as well as by the Chinese and Tibetans. This ceremony is practiced at certain times of the year, for instance, in the month of the

[58 cont.]

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[Foreign text p. 61 cont.]
New Year, very early in the morning, as I observed. On this occasion a great incense offering with a great many small dough-lamps are burned, bread, tea, and barley wine are offered, and finally a pack of paper horse-images with all kinds of inscriptions is thrown into the air and scattered in all directions by the wind. The entire ceremony takes place on a mountain. In case of misfortune anyone may undertake this ceremony at will.

*778 782 The sheep offering: When a lama has raised the mani-pole, then there remains the above-described offering of bread wine, flowers, etc. After that the lama withdraws into the [791] house. In the yard the spear-soothsayer divines once more [787] whether the spirits want another sheep offering or not. The soothsayer then announces the will of the spirit; sometimes the latter dispenses with a sheep offering; sometimes he wants to have it immediately, and sometimes only after a few days. [357] The yard must then remain taboo for that length of time. -- [784] The sheep offering is never given in the presence of the lama, [792] since it is, of course, always connected with the killing of the animal, and the lamas do not permit killing. The ritual of the sheep offering does not differ from the usual slaughter- and offering-ritual.

*778 Renewal of the mani-tree: If in the course of time the tree or the flag have suffered damage, they are renewed, that is, only the part that is damaged. The tattered flag is [372] burned, for instance, in the hearth or in a fire specially kindled for it, but always with pure firewood, never with the usual dry dung, for example. The unusable mani-tree is likewise burned. In no case may it be used for other purposes,

[64 cont.]

*778 782 [178] nowadays the people are too poor. The silk threads and the long silk string are merely a substitute for them. Similarly, gold and silver are scarcely ever thrown on the obo any more.

Sometimes a string with 12 mani-flags is also drawn across the nearby pass from the obo-frame or from the mani-pole. This string is of black wool and is called "wolf string." Another string, on which 12 mani-flags are hung, is frequently run from the obo to a tree. This string is white and is called "mani-string."

782 [796] [65] The month offering: Usually the obo is venerated on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of each lunar month (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 69.] There is no connection between obo and month. The days mentioned here are generally preferred for offering and cult, and for this the phases of the moon are decisive.

This is done usually by the master of the family. He goes to the obo very early in the morning with a spear or several twigs and all the other necessities.

First he gives the customary incense offering before it. Then he pours a bowl of barley wine on the ground before the incense fire. He places lances and twigs with bunches of wool on the obo, hangs silk threads on the frame, and throws his votive gifts on the mound, namely, butter, tea leaves, money, silver, etc., as much as he can afford. Then he goes around the obo three times from left to right, throws 108 small white [788] stones on it, and in doing so prays the om mani padme hum and in between calls out: "I throw at the white obo." Then he makes a threefold kowtow before the incense fire and facing the obo. During the entire ceremony the conch is blown by his companions. This is not necessary, however.

The sheep sacrifice: There are no definite prescriptions concerning the time of the sheep sacrifice. There are communal [621] sacrifices, at which the entire village participates for village

[633 cont.]

778 incense offering in the morning. Then he withdraws to the kang,
888 drinks "empty tea," that is, pure tea without additions and without
[785] food. He meditates and prays on his mani-string. No one may disturb him, even when guests come; he likewise does not concern himself about anything. During this time he may not sleep. Also, he may not go into the temple or to the obo. Only in the afternoon does he partake of a meal, which, however, is better and more ample than usual (5).

[527] 5. [Foreign text pp. 634-635.] Concerning the whole affair, cf. Filchner, Kumbum, p. 199. The ceremony described here is much more detailed than there and also deviates somewhat. The name Upāsaka (or Upāsika) was not mentioned by the informant. Also, he did not know the prescriptions in detail. He did confirm, however, that after each commandment the candidate had to affirm that he would observe it. The old man had not had the consecration performed for him. The people regard the consecrated persons as lay gelong; one is reminded here of the similarity with the third order in the Christian Occident.

[792]

778 It is also clear from the commandments why young people are not considered for the consecration. To be sure, this consecration can be completed at any age at or after death; at that time even young people are no longer capable of transgressing the commandments. The age-consecration seems to be merely the last step of a series of consecrations of laymen which are undertaken parallel with the consecration stages of the lamas. The

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[633 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 634-635 cont.] The informant once mentioned a kind of baptism at which the džawdzi (Tib.) is prayed; in Chinese this prayer is called hsi-lien-ching, prayer of washing the face. Evidently the [635] ceremony observed by Filchner was such a boy's baptism; Om mani padme hum, loc. cit. Later there follows a second consecration for young people, which is called gãṅsgur (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 below] after the corresponding prayer, in Chinese san-hun ching, prayer of the three souls. So the informant told me. Unfortunately I could no longer record these ceremonies.

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Word List

778 Age-consecration: šge lama ndziala- = great lama-invitation.
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527 Master of ceremonies: kãṅguo.
To fetch the hutukhtu: ġdzõ niwa (twice) (or dãṅwu, if the first time).
Mother's brother: nēgā; achiu (Chin.); ayãṅ.
[601] Mother's brother's son: ku-chiu (Chin.).
[292] Sash: ġēdzãn (Tib. loanword) (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 635.] gēdzãn: Tibetan gazn = the yellow sash of the lama costume. -- gõṅsõn: Tib. dgoṅ = solitude, soṅ = to go away; meaning, "to go into solitude." -- gēlõṅba: Tib. dge = virtue, sloṅ = to apply oneself, pa = belonging to; meaning, "one who applies himself to virtue." -- gesnien: Tib. dge = virtue, bsñen = to approach. -- gãṅsgur:

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[647 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

[764]

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

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During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowadays the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

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Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

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765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The
[762] food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[585] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
[783] along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
[796] also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not officiate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean, and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

[783] After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automatically lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had
[777] been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own
[791] family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved,
[782] it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul. One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[204 cont.]

776 of the Bon, the Däntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance among the people that might be expected. They know of [796] Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth [535] day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha, [791] and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call 788 sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full [756] warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people. Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called [753] ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune, 777 failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the [731] plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are com- [782] bated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the Däntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[254 cont.]

792 a closed building, but rather as a whole settlement with temples,
[346] halls, dwelling yards, chortens, chapels, little mani-houses,
and obos. To the Tujen there dGon-luń is simply the monastery.
[103] The official full name, however, is dGon-luń byams-pa gliń,
just as the full name of Kumbum is sKu 'bum byams pa gliń. Ac-
cording to B. Laufer, byams pa gliń means "temple of the
Maitreya"; see Filchner, Kumbum, p. V. Not [255] every
monastery has such a temple, and for this reason people always
like to mention it along with the monastery. The main temple
792 of dGon-luń contains such a gigantic image of the Maitreya
778 painted on silk, over ten meters long and several meters wide.
796 It is rolled up from the temple roof and allowed to hang down
over the front into the yard usually twice a year, namely, in
the first month after the tscham dances and on the sixth day of
the sixth month. The ceremony is called dšamba sguni dierë,
that is, to hang out the Maitreya image; dšamba or šamba is the
Tujen pronunciation of byams-pa. The Chinese call the rite
simply shai Fuo-yeh, that is, to sun the Buddha. For the be-
[788] lieving populace it is the high point of the feast days; the
people make pilgrimages to the place in great crowds in order
to venerate the image with kowtows.

792 There is no Tujen name for the monastery; their desig-
nation Rgulõń (Rëgulõń) is only a corruption of dGon-luń. Even
103 the Chinese Êrh-ku-lung is nothing more than a derivation from
the Tibetan. Some people would like the êrh to be understood
as the Chinese "two," since it is supposedly the second monastery,
which was built anew after the destruction of the first; in fact,
one also often hears the name Ku-lung without this êrh. The
designation Yu-ning-szu, monastery for the protection of Sining,
has not prevailed among the people. It is used almost exclusively
in books and official documents.

792 The monastery corresponds to the Buddhistic require-
ments in exemplary fashion, for it lies at the exit of a lonely
[361] forested valley and has been built up in part along its northern
[346] ridge, which bears the name Tuguän-ula, Tuguän mountain
[103] (Chin. T'u-kuan shan). A gigantic obo crowns its peak. Neither
oral nor written information concerning the founding of the
[175]

[257 cont.]

792 went there. Pander speaks (op. cit., p. 204) of Man-tzu or Chinese from Sining, who were accommodated in 13 temples in Peking (1889). These Man-tzu (= barbarians), however, could only have been Tujen, for the Chinese are not Lamaists, and the Tibetans (Fan-tzu) are specifically named by Pander. The monastery Sung-chu-szu is regarded expressly as a Tujen lamasery. Even today (at least up until 1948) almost all its monks come from the Sining region and are Tujen, as the monks from this monastery related during a visit home. To be sure the number has shrunk greatly.

771 792 [788] [527] [796] [778] These are all facts that must be taken into account in judging the Lamaism of the Tujen. The people are proud of their famous monastery. It is their pilgrimage center. Young and old gather there at the festivals. They hold horse races and sing their old popular airs there. At the temple festivals with the magnificent dances the Lamist doctrine is deepened and clarified. In the venerable halls filled with incense they see their gods in magnificent statues, painted on silk, on walls and altars. There lie also the heavy sacred books of the Kandjur and Tandjur, which they bear on their backs around the sanctuary in order to free themselves from affliction or to fulfill a vow. In the temples and yards they watch the monks hold learned disputations, read the scriptures, recite the prayers. They invite them to undertake solemn religious services in their compounds, to give their children their names, to consecrate the old, [258] to bless the young, to pray for the dead, to cremate the corpses. The lama is a frequent and welcome guest in the family. Generally, the people seem to link themselves to the monastic life at the important stages of life. Even the shaman receives his consecration in the monastery. Every family was proud if one of its sons became a lama; indeed, it was even an unwritten law.

[574] [756] [778]

771 792 177 So it was, at least until the most recent times. Today, however, the young people no longer want to know anything about becoming a lama. They prefer to attend the Chinese schools and are intent on the new education. They despise the old and do not take it seriously anymore. What the

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Ch'ang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

understand the striking incompatibility which exists 829
between the religious and philosophical principles of 771
these religions, while we see the paradox of things which cannot coexist logically, actually coexisting in a very smooth and natural way. The Monguors believe that each of these religions is right, and practice them according to their various circumstances of life. While their knowledge about dogmas and religion is limited and unstable, their religious spirit is unusually developed. What is the reason for this trend of mind, this carelessness concerning differences between religions and philosophical principles? Our illusions and misunderstandings occur because we compare the conversion to Lamaism of the Mongols and the Monguors with the conversion to Christianity of peoples in ancient times, and assume that a similar change of mind took place among the Monguors. We envision churches filled to capacity for weekly worship, people receiving instructions about definite dogmas, children attending parochial schools, learning prayers, studying religion, and being educated in their belief, and we also envision a group of religious leaders, proficient in the religious sciences, but none of these exist or form a part of Lamaism.

The vast and splendid temples in the monasteries 792
are not churches or places where the faithful fulfill in 794
common their religious duties. Lamas recite texts in 796
the temples; laymen do not. There are no spiritual 771
leaders, skilled in religious sciences, to preach and instruct the faithful. Nowhere are there parochial schools for children; nor is anything done to provide serious religious education for the people. Lamaists are like stray sheep without shepherds, for nowhere is there a pastor or rector taking care of definite groups of the faithful. In teaching Christianity, new notions and principles were instilled in the minds of prospective converts. Their incompatibility with the principles of other religions was explained. The prospective converts were taught that they must live according to the principles of Christianity; that in order to do this they would have to change from their way of life to the Christian way, by changing their conduct, feelings, habits, and way of thinking. None of these things are taught about Lamaism. The religious value of the faith is never explained. No zeal is displayed in order to form serious types of Lamaists. The lama does not care about the shaman as he performs his rites; the shaman does not mind, and acts in like manner; the Taoist, considered as the second best, does not bother, for he is very happy to be invited and to earn some money. Shamans are considered the most potent men in certain circumstances, while lamas are believed to be the appropriate performers of certain kinds of rites. Consequently, the two religions are considered equally necessary and equally right.

The fact that serious Lamaists are not formed ap- 771
pears to be responsible for the Mongours still being fer-

[p. 7(A)]

Hsining River. A Karwa is a kind of mediaeval seig- 175
niory presided over by a lama. Granted by the em- 792
peror, it is a more or less vast domain in which usually 554
forty to fifty families live. Pei-cha-erh-ti Karwa had 793
152 families (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, p. 16*a*). The tenants had in former times been subjects of the lama. There is a temple on the domain, and next to it is the residence of the lama seignior, with granaries. The domain is the personal property of the lama lord who is completely independent of any Living Buddha or monastery. The three lordship lamas I have met told me that the Ming emperors had granted this privilege to their ancestor lamas, each of whom belonged at that time to the Red Sect and was married. Each of these lamas had been granted a Karwa because he had submitted to the Ming with his small tribe, or had induced a neighboring tribe to submit to the emperor or had rendered service to the Chinese army, giving secret information to the officers fighting the revolted Tibetans. They explained the disappearance of the six Karwa which no longer existed by the fact that these lamas did not follow the Yellow Sect and remained married. They said that theoretically among the lamas of the Red Sect one son should succeed the father as lama of the sect, but in reality when the father died his sons divided among them the property and the subjects, and the Karwa vanished, with the result that the temple became the property of the village. The seigniors who went over to the Yellow Sect, however, managed to survive by the fact that the lama lord of every generation adopted only one apprentice lama, to whom he bequeathed the domain. The apprentice was usually one of his nephews, and so the Karwa continued its existence, the lama collecting rents from the tenants and imposing some corvées. After the revolt of 1723 the domains of the Karwa were not confiscated but the subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials. Only rents, not taxes, were allowed to be collected and corvées continued to be imposed.

The lama seignior of the Li-ch'i Karwa (who is a 792
member of the powerful Li T'u-ssu clan) fulfills, of his 796
own free will, an important function at the monastery of Chie-bzang, but he remains the proprietor of his Karwa and has one apprentice who will inherit the domain. Every year on the tenth of the tenth moon, he invites to his small temple four lamas, alternatively, of the Yellow and the Red Sects, to pray from sunrise to sunset for blessings upon his "subjects," who bring a contribution of twenty pounds of butter and five sheep. The lord provides tea and noodles. The subjects all enjoy attending the religious ceremony and the annual dinner, and are used to the custom of going home at sunrise the next day. The Pei-cha-erh ti Karwa is still celebrated for the fasting rites held at its temple, about which more will be said.

The lord of the Tsan-tsa Karwa, feeling lonely in his 792 554
estate, married a young girl in 1914. All the members 428

[p. 19(B)]

did not spend much money. Tenma, with his retinue, 792
living according to his station, giving bribes and send- 691
ing gifts, spent lavishly. Finally, the disgusted Amban, 428
in order to end the trouble, delegated his power to the Living Buddha of Seerkok.

The intendant of the living Buddha of Seerkok, prompted by the Amban, settled the question after two or three sessions. He condemned Tenma to pay 3,000 taels to the disciple as indemnity for carrying away the cattle. Tenma protested. He was put in the jail [697] of the monastery and manacled. After two months he agreed to pay the alloted sum, and so was released.

Epilogue: For seven years, the stubborn Manguru was the most talked of man in the country because of his courageous resistance to the Living Buddha. He decided to rehabilitate the poor man, on whose chieftain's prestige his tribe depended. He bought a nice black horse, a fine Peking saddle, put a piece of yellow satin on the top of it, and, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, he and the disciple prostrated themselves and, apologizing, presented the horse.

This case is unique in the annals of Lamaism in Hsining. A stubborn Living Buddha, condemned by the intendancy of Seerkok, was put in jail and manacled. What was the cause of the trouble? Living Buddhas were eternally suspicious of the honesty of their intendants. Noteworthy also is the fact that the maternal uncle, not his father or brother, defended the disciple. In the tribe of Manguru matriarchy is still prevalent.

(7) Last of all, a very important psychology is to 792
be noted regarding injustices perpetrated among the 796
Monguors and Tibetans, and among lamas as well as among Living Buddhas. When an injustice is committed, its perpetrators are pursued by the enraged guardian spirit that protects the wealth of the family involved. According to this philosophy, when intermittent calamities or misfortunes occur in a family and weigh it down, magical rites are to be performed to propitiate the enraged pursuing spirit. (This rite will be studied later.)

This rite was ordered to be performed at his branch 792
monastery by the poor Sumpa Hutukhtu when, after 788
his voluntary banishment, one misfortune succeeded another. He claimed that the misfortunes were caused by the injustices perpetrated by the former and present intendants of his monastery, who had aroused the avenging bolts of the guardian spirits of the families who had suffered their injustices. The same rite was performed at Erh-ku-lung in 1919, on the orders of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, after he had vainly built a Bumkhang in 1917, in order to put an end to the misfortunes which ruined the monastery. It was performed at Seerkok in 1920, on the orders of the supreme chief of the monastery, Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, in the same circumstances, and the same explanation was openly proclaimed by both prominent chiefs of the most important monasteries. [p.43(A)]

Service for Prayers and Alms Collections:

A strict condition of service continues which compels the farmers of the monastery to invite the lamas of the intendancy, whose fields they till, to perform both public religious rites in the village, and private services in individual families. Lamas of one intendancy or monastery are not allowed to perform these rites among subjects of another intendancy. In the same way, when lamas are touring for alms among the subjects of their own intendancy, lamas of other monasteries are not allowed to tour. 792 571

The intendancies urge the observance of this service even by former tributaries, but it does not always work. The Tibetan tribe of Sumdoo, former tributary of the community of lamas of Erh-ku-lung, accused the intendancy, in 1918, of trying to occupy a part of its territory. The Chinese court, however, recognized the ownership of the debatable ground by the tribe. Sumdoo, having a grudge against the intendancy, invited the intendancy of Seerkok to perform a tribal religious rite. The day preceding the appointed day, a group of furious lamas from Erh-ku-lung, intending to assert their prerogative to conduct the service, arrived and started with the prayers. All the ladies of the tribe, engaged in preparing the food for the three-day solemnity, arrived ranting, panting, and cursing the lamas with feminine fury, and threw their boots at the heads of the bewildered lamas. The lamas, powerless against the infuriated women, returned to their intendancy. 792 571 79. 578

The next day, when the solemnities had already been started by the lamas of Seerkok, the intendant of Erh-ku-lung arrived with an imposing retinue to assert his rights. All the men of the tribe vanished, entrusting the emergency to the ladies, who arrived with the same threatening appearance of the former day, and the intendant and his retinue understood that the relations between the intendancy and Sumdoo were sundered forever. This incident illustrates the psychology of the lamas in trying by all means to retain their old rights, even among tributaries with whom all legal connections have been cut off.

Repair of the Lamasery:

The chiefs of the villages inhabited by the subjects of the intendancies are ordered by their respective intendancy to send a fixed number of men to repair the buildings belonging to the intendancy, to chop wood, grind wheat, thresh the harvest, sweep snow, and build roads or bridges. The subjects are still willing to comply with these corvées. 792 466

Travel of the Chief of the Lamasery:

When the supreme chief of the lamasery makes a long journey, the chiefs of the intendancies order the chiefs of the villages to send a couple of horsemen each 792 484 651

[p.48(A)]

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 756 868

A small drum is prepared for the boy and the father teaches him to beat it in the right tempo; he teaches him the usual prayers. Every day in the morning and at evening he will sit cross-legged with his father in front of the picture and the staff, beating the drum, receiving instruction and asking for explanations. The father teaches him the pasting of flags and streamers with white, red, and yellow paper, the cutting of all kinds of paper designs; the kneading of all kind of dough figures used during the rites; the application on red paper of the usual seals. He also teaches him the different kinds of dancing, and how to attack imagined spirits or defend himself against them, with sword and spear; and how to use the whip, the staff, and the knife. Special stress is put on athletic exercises in order to strengthen and supple the muscles and bones, and also on all kinds of acrobatics, climbing up poles, jumping on tables, executing dangerous pirouettes. Because all the shamanist [535] rites are accompanied by dances, peculiar stress is put on moving with grace and elegance with measured steps to the beating of the drum. The best dancers among the shamans are very celebrated all over the country. All shamans are acrobats and fine dancers.

Most shamans are proficient in the art of producing tones and words without any motion of the mouth, so that the listeners are induced to refer the sound to spirits speaking in the drum and answering the questions proposed to them by the shaman. They are wonderful ventriloquists. This art is used at the time the spirits are called up in the drums, and long conversations are held between them and the shamans.

The apprentice, from the very beginning, accompanies his father in performing shamanist rites. He learns with enthusiasm and vigor, for the boy is eager to beat drums, play the acrobat, dance with the elders and imitate them, but at the same time he sees and hears his father conjuring the spirits, calling them up, attacking and chasing evil spirits. He sees the awful rictus of his mouth and jaws, the painful contortions of his whole body; he hears him, worked into a frenzy, predicting the future; and sees his eyes in a fixed stare. Hundreds of times he sees and hears the same rites performed for sick men, and hears the shaman talking to the villagers at the general rites of spring and autumn. Because the [796] same things are said and done over and over again, he remembers them all by heart. The novelty, however, of beating drums, wears off very fast, and unconsciously he starts living in a new world of spirits, acting and thinking in the way of the shamans. He believes his father and the other shamans, he becomes hypnotized by their words, gestures, and acts, and he starts seeing and hearing spirits himself. He gets the conviction that, protected by the twelve spirits to whom he is dedicated, he can also subdue evil spirits and act as the agent of good ones, and he becomes a shaman.

Helping his father and other shamans for years and having himself alone performed rites, eventually when

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his father becomes old and retires, he accepts his incumbency. No more formalities are required, for he is not the shaman attached to the village and does not live at its expense. 756 868

INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS TRAINING OF THE APPRENTICES

The intellectual education of shamans is of a very low standard. Shamans are unable to read Mongol or Tibetan books. Their prayers are said in Chinese, but because the apprentices never attend schools, they are not able to read Chinese books or to write a letter. [212] The elders teach them to write a small number of Chinese characters, used on the few inscriptions pasted on the pole or on the doors and walls of the temples, but most of the time they print the inscriptions by means of engraved wooden blocks. They have, however, a few [212] small prayer books written in Chinese and copied by the most intelligent among them, or by Monguor friends. These prayer books are not printed. Monguors and shamans assured me that they did not possess any books explaining their doctrine. No wonder that the instruction differs, from teacher to teacher. It was always impossible to get a coherent explanation from the shamans about religious subjects. They do [779] not pore over books or rack their brains over theories or philosophical or religious problems. Their science is more one of fantasies, anecdotes, and miraculous tales concerning a number of spirits, told during the performance of the rites. I suppose the instruction of the apprentices would consist of being taught about the same items dealing with the spirits honored by the shamans [796] at the rites of spring and autumn. More will be said about the subject.

The conclusion seems to be that the intellectual and religious training of most of the shamans is neglected and only superficial, and that the physical training ranks first. Many apprentices, in order to perform their physical training and acrobatics, go for months to shamans celebrated in that field. Finally it is said that the education of the apprentices is carried on by accompanying the shamans; their eyes and ears are their real teachers. Some exceptions, however, seem to have existed always, even in these latter times.

Many times I heard the Monguors speaking about a famous old Lu shaman, who died around 1904. The old man went every year to the mountains of Waza with his own apprentice and the apprentices of other shamans. They lived in the caverns, fasting the whole time and sleeping only a few hours during the day. All night they were honoring their spirits, fondling and cajoling them and learning about fighting the evil spirits in the mountains, who every night attacked and combatted them. When they left the mountains, they were exhausted and emaciated from the exertion. The apprentices of the old Lu were said to be the best shamans in the country. Two among them are said to have died by jumping over a precipice in the mountains.

[P.82(A)]

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group, and also, that on old images painted before the Moslem rebellion, the twelve warriors and their servants were represented as Mongols, and not Chinese, and further, that a couple of modern shamans recently added to their pictures of the warriors, three Chinese girls riding on horseback, whom they called the "three small grandmothers," the *San Hsiao Niang Niang*. 756 776 532

The conviction existing among the Monguor shamans that the Twelve Tengris are their original and proper spirits is too general and too definite, and the behavior of the shamans toward them is too significant to be simply ignored or explained away. Further, the Monguors and the shamans know very well that shamans are not Taoist priests, and for that reason they call them *Bō* or *Fa shih*, "Masters of Magic," and not *Tao-shih*, "Masters of Tao," and they know very well that the rites performed by the shamans are not the same as those performed by Taoist priests in the country. Therefore, a rational explanation should exist.

CULT OF THE TWELVE TENGRIS TRACED

756 776 796

In the last month of the year the houses had to be cleansed and purified of all kinds of evil influences and spirits. At the palace of the prince a group of young boys, frightening and cursing the evil spirits hidden in the rooms, cried out that the "12 spirits" were on the way to hunt down and annihilate them; a group of 12 men, disguised as animals, led by the official exorcist (*Fang hsiang*) started pursuing the evil spirits.[33]

The eleventh on the list of the pursuing spirits was the "tiger," who was reputed the fiercest destroyer of all producers of calamities. Tigers are supposed to be the fiercest enemies of evil spirits . . . the tiger was the first dancer among the 12 performers of the rite.[34]

The tiger was the white tiger.[35]

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[33] Henri Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 246, Paris, Boccard, 1927.

[34] Marcel Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine antique*, 319, 299–320, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

[35] *Ibid.*, 306. Ch. de Harlez, *Le livre des esprits et des immortels*, 176, Bruxelles, F. Hayez, 1893: "The nature of the white tiger, according to the *Shen-hsien Yang chien* (18th century) seems to be at least ambiguous . . . the tiger is the strongest expression of the *Yang* principle (principle of power); the tiger lives 1,000 years and becomes white only after 500 years; its claws and the powder obtained by the burning of its skin are the most powerful; the thunder is its voice, talismans; or is produced by the noise of walking heavenly tigers. . . . In the regions of the west, at Fung lung, lived a white tiger accustomed to drinking human blood; every year the people offered a human sacrifice to it in order that it might desist from killing men. Chang Tao-ling (patron of the Taoists) ordered it to desist from this practice; the tiger left the country and disappeared forever. . . ."

Owen Lattimore, The gold tribe 'Fishkin Tatars' of the lower Sungari, *Memoirs Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* 40: 62, 1933: " . . . spirits like the bear, and especially the tiger, seem to be extremely rare as familiars (of the shamans), though they appear sometimes as enemies in the course of 'great spirit' ceremonies . . . I have heard only once of a shaman who apparently had a tiger familiar; he was regarded as a person much to be dreaded." "Shamans rely on animal spirits, the eagle, sturgeon, weasel, the *ilki* (an animal of the squirrel family), and otter appear to be the commonest familiars [of the shamans]."

[p.87(A)]

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On the doors, on New Year's, was pasted the image of the tiger.[36] 756 776

These texts excerpted from the book *Lun heng* written by Wang Ch'ung, who died in A.D. 80–100, record rites practiced during the centuries before our era, and reveal that the twelve spirits were supposed the most powerful in the matter of driving out evil spirits, and that among the twelve, the White Tiger was paramount. 796

The cult of the twelve spirits led by their chieftan (Fang hsiang) combatting evil spirits seems to have been very popular in China. It was very tenacious, for it was still performed during the Liao dynasty, A.D. 907–1125. Wittfogel and Feng note: " . . . at the end of the year, 12 shamans, led by a great 'Wu,' sang, shouted, rang bells, and walked (or danced) around the tents with arrows in their hands, fighting off the spirits. Then they retreated to special tents for seven days." [37]

The cult of the twelve spirits of the Monguor shamans seems to be related to the old cult of the twelve spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount, the whole group being led by a chieftain, the Fang hsiang. Although in their pictures twelve warriors are represented plus the black rider on a white tiger, they always call the picture "the picture of the Twelve Tengris," and not the picture of thirteen spirits, or the picture of the White Tiger. They assert that they are the servants of the twelve spirits, their apprentices are dedicated to the twelve spirits, and the Monguors who honor the picture at home as a protector of the family, always call it, "The picture of the Twelve Tengris." They no longer know that the twelve warriors represented, in old times, twelve spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount. However, all these facts seem to evidence that it is deeply ingrained in their consciousness that they honor Twelve Tengris, and no more, which are the enemies and destroyers of evil spirits. What is really astonishing is that, notwithstanding that the origin of the cult is completely lost, they continue to paint twelve warriors, and to put in the center of the picture a big white tiger mounted by a rider holding, not weapons, but a knotty staff in his hand. In this way the prominent role played in old times by the white tiger seems to be conserved, for a tiger occupies the center of the picture. What is even 756 776 [532]

W. Heissig, Schamanen im Kürye-Banner, *Folklore Studies* 3: 1: 44, Peking, 1944. The shaman in the Kürye-Banner wears an apron during the performances, representing the skin of a brown spotted tiger.

Doolittle, *Social life of the Chinese*, 229. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 146. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* 1: 344–352; 144, 160, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

[36] Granet, *op. cit.*, 336.

[37] Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, (907–1125), *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 218, 1949. See also Eberhard, "Ich habe es fur sehr wahrscheinlich dass die Tiertanze der No-Feste auf Turkestanischen fremde Einflüsse zuruck gehen," *Lokalkulturen, op. cit.* 1: 188

[p.87(B)]

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IX. PUBLIC RITES

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN REGARD TO HAILSTORMS

In the mind of the Monguors is seared the belief in an incredibly prodigious medley of gods, malignant spirits, and ferocious ghosts, and consequently all events in life, happy or unhappy, must be approached from that angle. 782 731

In this chapter will be considered the calamity most dreaded by the Monguors, which does the most harm and ruins them most frequently. It is the scourge of hailstorms, which every year ruin the crops of many villages, reducing the already narrow margin of subsistence of the villagers to a minimum, and bringing many families to the verge of famine. [132]

It is obvious that this calamity is supposedly caused by malignant spirits and it is no wonder that the whole religious energy of the people is bent on securing all available means and ways to avoid disaster. No wonder that the people, scared to death, seek refuge in religion against a scourge caused by evil spirits—first of all in the religion credited with the greatest potency, without refusing the help of others less potent, imploring the aid of good spirits, and engaging in a life and death struggle with the evil spirits. 821 829

In all their village temples, accordingly, one encounters the picture of the god of the Five Roads, the Taoist combatant of hailstorms, amidst the awful scenery, previously described, whether or not the temple is dedicated to it. The shaman is invited to perform his most efficient rites against hail because he is believed the most conspicuous for his great abilities in the field. All the Taoist spirits, to whom temples in the country are dedicated, are invited by the shaman to come down into the temple yard and to participate in the performance of the rite in spring. The shaman conveys to them the sympathy of the villagers and their gracious offer of hospitality, in order that they might help their village, and after the shamanist rites have been performed the villagers still indulge in Lamaist activities against hailstorms. 782 796 789

No wonder that, from New Year's on, the villagers are obsessed by the problem, and never fail where a Kurtain is possessed by the god of the Five Roads, to invite him on the third day of the year for an exhibition

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the study of F. Franz Eichinger, Kinderlosigkeit und ihre Bekämpfung in der Volksmedizin, *ibid.* 167 sq., is very instructive and unique. The author, during two years as member of the Chinese Health Committee in Ming-hsien, Lin-tao, Ho-chou, and Labrang (East Kansu), traveled four months with the committee in the region of Hsining, Kung-ho, Hsing-hai (Monguor territory) and seized the exceptional opportunity to gather ethnological notes, which open vistas in this special field and give a better understanding of the frame of mind of the family concerning this capital topic: the care of children, the means of getting this blessing, the fear of being bereaved of them and the physical causes of this bereavement. [113]

[p.97(A)]

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attended by the whole community. Then he sits on his 782
low table, in theatrical military attitude, shaking his 796
head and ringing his bells. At the moment his spirit 789
possesses him, the cypress fire is increased. The whole attendance, kneeling, worships the spirit dwelling in him with incense sticks in their hands and prostrations. The chief of the village, on bended knees, asks humbly first of all, for protection against hail in the summer and for a prophecy concerning the peaceful reaping of the harvest. Then the spirit, by means of the Kurtain, promises a peaceful summer, or specifies what kind of rites have to be performed to achieve the benefit of peace.

In villages where there is no Kurtain, the chief of the village, with the elders and a member of each family, orders the statue to be carried in the sedan chair into the temple yard, while the whole audience kneels with incense sticks in their hands; the cypress fire is lit. The chief, kneeling, asks the spirit about the hail scourge. If the sedan chair becomes so heavy as to crush down the carriers, the prognostication seems awful, and the chief proposes to perform such or such a rite; if the sedan chair continues crushing the carriers, a propitiatory sacrifice is promised, the attendance craves for pardon, and the sedan chair is carried into the temple.

In the first days of the New Year, all over the country, the talk runs only on the predictions proferred in neighboring villages about hailstorms. In every family horoscopes are cast several times. It is a real obsession all over the country and nobody seems to be entirely assured, despite the reassuring answers of the spirits, for so many times the hopes have been illusory. Unfavorable predictions seldom mar the spirit of the festivities of the New Year. After New Year's the busy agricultural season begins with the carrying of fertilizer, plowing, and sowing. The fields turn greener and greener every day, and at the beginning of the fourth moon (May), immediately after the spring rites, performed in order to implore good crops, the preparations for the rites against hail are begun.

A month from now, all over the country, on mountains, or on hills, or on hillocks and knolls in the valleys there will be seen here a stretched goat skin, its legs spread out and pierced with daggers, the head erect with a dagger between the horns, impaled on a pole. There, a rudimentary manikin, its outstretched arms made with boughs, holding a bow and an arrow; next to the manikin a wooden hammer and raven all stuck on poles. These are the places where rites have been performed against hail, and inside some of the mounds dwells the spirit protector against hail, the celebrated White Tiger. Every Monguor village and nearly every Chinese village in the country have many such hills. The outlook for the country has become depressing for the Monguors. [p.97(B)]

RITE OF THE WHITE TIGER

The most important rite against hail is the one called the Rite of the White Tiger, performed by the shaman. Once in a while a Taoist priest and even a Red lama try to enact it. However, the following year a shaman is invited again by the distrustful villagers, for the rite belongs to the black magical art and is more in keeping with the attributions of the shaman. 796 756 [782] 789

It is performed in May, before the time of the hailstorms. The original and complete rite is not enacted every year, but certainly it will never be omitted the year after the crops have been destroyed. If a year passes peacefully, then the following year only a supplementary rite will be enacted, strengthening the original one. If for many years the crops have been preserved, the original rite will nevertheless be performed again, for fear the original magical power may have faded.

It will be noted that the shaman deposited, in the temple under the bushel, the bottle he used for capturing a human soul with which he nurtured the spirits. The seventh day after the performance of the spring rites, the chief of the village and the elders go to the temple to take the bottle and bushel away, and they ring the temple bell. A member of each family arrives carrying incense sticks; the sedan chair, with the statue inside, is moved into the middle of the courtyard of the temple. All those present, holding incense sticks, kneel before the sedan chair, and the chief of the village asks the god whether it is certain the crops will be reaped peacefully, and whether the hail will be certain not to play havoc. Despite the formal promises of the shaman seven days ago, suspicions are still harbored. Then according to the ceremony already noted (the sedan chair crushing the carriers, etc.) and according to the pointers given by the spirit, the chief of the village decides to invite the shaman. [774]

The shaman and three or four of his confreres examine the country and fix the place where the rite is to be performed. It is always within the boundaries of the village, on a hill or hillock, usually at the northwest corner, because hailstorms usually come from that direction. An auspicious day is chosen for the performance, and a list of all the required items for the rite is given by the shamans to the chief of the village. Here is what the list transmitted to the chief of the village of Toolong by the shaman contained: 20 black bowls; 15 wooden stakes, 2 feet in length; 15 tiles, 15 bricks, 15 eggs; 15 wooden planks, two feet long and 2 inches thick; 5 small hand mills, 5 axles and a cart wheel; an iron chain, which had been used to tie a dog, and a lock; 5 bell neckstraps with bells which had been used on horses; a mill stone, the corpse of a boy or baby, a living white dog and a white cock, water drawn from 10 different wells, 5 lions made of glazed pottery, used to adorn roofs; 6 earthen jars, among them 2 of bigger size, and a kettle; a pivot of a millstone, a pivot of threshing rolls, 2 threshing rolls, a plowshare, a harrow,

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

some iron taken from 4 city gates, some earth gathered 789
on four city walls, earth collected on 5 different moun- 796
tains, some earth taken in the prison of the city, 12 756
kinds of medicines; a small wooden white tiger, his rider painted black; 2 Buddha images, 2 mantles worn by statues in temples, bones of a dog, 2 skulls of a wolf and of a fox, a human skeleton, a pair of filthy trousers of a young woman, a living cat, a snake and a wooden raven. (Is it possible to imagine a more heterogeneous collection of items?)

On all these items are painted cabalistic designs, which are encircled with vermilion and painted with a brush dipped in the mixed blood of a white dog, cat, and cock.[1] All the items, in order to be effective, are to be stolen from other villages. Young folk are designated by the chief of the village to steal the required items, and if they do not succeed in the job, they have to buy the objects with their own money. If such thieves are accused at the court of the T'u-ssu, the community has to indemnify the defendant. At the times when these rites are performed, everybody in the country watches at night. All the stolen items are locked up in the temple and guarded at night by elder people, whose sleep is not so sound as that of young men. Deep secrecy is kept about the required items.

On the evening of the day fixed, the shamans arrive, clothed in the black gown; the chief of the shamans alone wears the flowery coat. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail. After sunset the villagers arrive and the temple is closed tightly. A hog and a sheep are offered, while the attendants prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks, and the shamans dance and beat drums. In the deepest silence, they go to the place prepared for the rite, holding banners. All the heterogeneous items required are loaded into a cart. A hole fifteen feet in depth has been dug beforehand. Its upper part is shaped in a circle, the middle part is square, and the lowest part triangular.

The chief of the shamans descends into the pit alone. His whole body is enveloped in red cloth; he wears a [292
cincture made of hemp, such as the people wear at 764]
funerals. Holding in his hands the whip and the ritual knife, he takes off his shoes and hose and puts on shoes made from hemp ropes. His pigtail is unplaited, and his hair disheveled. Some youngsters, their heads enveloped in a red cloth, descend with him into the pit. They communicate by signs and tokens, for it is forbidden to utter a single word inside the pit. The shamans beat the drums outside the pit.

In the center of the triangle one of the biggest jars 782
is deposited, inside of which are put the corpse of the 756
baby or boy, and the different sorts of earth. All items 796
are covered with a piece of red cloth and the kettle is 789
inverted over them. The chain is wrapped around the jar and fastened with the lock. The pair of trousers,

[1] Johann Frick, How blood is used in magic and medicine in Ch'inghai Province, *Anthropos* 46 (5–6): 954, 1951.

[p.98(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the skeleton, bones and skulls are deposited around the jar, with the living snake enclosed in a basket. The triangle is filled with earth, level with the base of the square. Then five stakes are fixed in the earth, and bowls, eggs, bricks, tiles, lions and hand mills are put around them. In the midst are erected the threshing rolls, on which is put the millstone, in the center of which is fixed a stake to support the cart wheel, to which the planks are nailed; the interspaces are filled with the remaining items. The whole is covered with boughs, and the pit is filled with earth level with the ground. 756 796 782 789

The attendants start howling like madmen, jumping and leaping around the pit in the pitch dark night, brandishing banners, while shamans dance, and beat drums and cymbals. The cart axle, sharpened to a stake, is fixed in the earth upon the pit; on it is written "Throne of the White Tiger." Some bowls placed upside down and bricks and tiles are put around the stake and the tiger; four more stakes are fixed in the ground according to the four points of the compass, and a mound is erected upon the pit. Next to the mound is placed a big wooden box containing the living white dog; a small mound is erected upon it so that the dog may see the light and breathe air through a hole. The dog will live for some days; it will howl and finally die.[2] On the other side of the big mound is erected a similar small mound, opposite the dog's mound, in which is

[2] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 271, note 166, note that both the Liao (Khitan) and the Chin (Jurchen) sacrificed dogs. M. Granet, *Danses et légendes*, 527, records that in ancient China men used to pull the ears of a dog to make him bark, in order to drive away the bird-demon. W. Koppers, Der Hund in der Mythologie der Zirkumpazifischen Völker, *Wiener Beiträge*, 386, 1930, records that the Yao tribe buried a live dog, together with a live thief, in order that the spirit of the thief should stay in the grave; also 378, the cow used at the sacrifice for the dog-ancestor of the Yao had to be stolen, in the same way that the Monguors have to steal the dog for the hail rite, and other items. [17]

Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 92, a similar case of burying a dog alive is noted: "In case of some very bad disease the Manchus sometimes bury a live dog and cat near the entrance of the house. The dog and cat may move, which may be seen a certain time after the burial when the earth is reopened; it is considered as a very bad sign if they should go away together." He further notes, p. 92, that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat; p. 210, that dogs carry the souls in the lower world; p. 179, that dog blood, like dog skins, make the clan spirits run away; dog meat is tabooed. Doolittle, *op. cit.*, 231, notes in China a heavenly dog who devours small children and is combated by a giant, represented surrounded by children shooting arrows against a dog walking on the clouds. The barking of a dog at night frightens the evil spirits. De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 464, records that the crowing of the rooster frightens the spirits at night and in the morning. A wooden rooster is put above the entrance of the courtyard to frighten the evil spirits. A living rooster is attached to the coffin when it is carried to the grave, in order that it may frighten evil spirits. In time of epidemics a white living rooster is carried, fixed on top of a stick, in the processions. See also Eliade, *op. cit.*, 405; Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, *op. cit.* 1: 29, 38; the same, *Randvölker Chinas*, *op. cit.*, 38.

[p.99(A)]

entombed the living cock in a box. It will live and die under the same circumstances as the dog. 756 796

I was told by several reliable old men that years ago an old Chinese begger instead of a dog had been buried alive, and that once in a while a little child, stolen in a far-off village, is still buried if, for three or more years in succession, hail has struck the village. The shaman in such cases requires it. Mothers told me that the elders always enjoin them to watch the small children with special care during the time these rites are performed. 782 789

When the rite is completed all the participants face the northwest, the direction from which the hailstorms usually come, and throw stones at the evil spirits, howling like madmen, uttering the most obscene threats, and taking the wildest aggressive attitudes, while the shamans crack their whips and dance a threatening dance, conjuring the evil spirit in wild gyrations. The wild act is performed three times. On the spot a big fire is lit with cypress boughs, and all the attendants, shamans included, jump over it in order that the evil spirits may no longer follow them, and in order to get purified. After a last dance in the temple yard, the whole audience enjoy themselves, making fun, eating the pork and mutton, and drinking plenty of wine.

During the whole month, day and night, corvées are imposed by the chief of the village on different shifts of four young men, relieving one another, in order to watch the mound. A small cabin is built for the watchers. Nobody is allowed to approach the mound during the whole month.

This rite gives an insight into the power wielded by the shamans and their controlling influence upon the people, who even resort to human sacrifices, when required by them. The secret about these facts is strictly kept, men are enjoined not to talk about it with women and children, and only after years, and in general terms, do the facts incidentally leak out. Among the Twelve Tengris is the famous White Tiger, the dread and terror of evil spirits, and for that reason the rite is called the Rite of the White Tiger.

THE RITES OF THE TAOISTS AGAINST HAIL

The Taoists are mostly invited to perform their rite in neighboring villages inhabited by Chinese. Once in a while they are invited by Monguors who recanted their origin, but often, when the hail has struck these villages, the more efficient Monguor shaman with a greater reputation is invited the following year to try his rites, even by Chinese. 782 789

The Taoists use three kinds of rites: the rite of the spirit Wang-lin-kuan, of the goddess Niang-Niang, and of the five thunderbolts (wu-tien-cheng). Here, also, is a mystifying thing. Although the Taoists in the country do not overtly honor the White Tiger, they always write the name of the White Tiger on the stake

[p.99(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

buried in the mound, before the name of the spirits whom they officially use for combating hail. 782 799

Is it far fetched to suppose that the Taoists do this because it is universally recognized that the rite of the shamans, using the White Tiger, outranks their own, and that in order to succeed they must act in this way?[3]

A stunning fact also is that the Taoists, and lamas of the Red Sect in the country, when performing that kind of rite are very fond of using nearly the same group of disparate items to be buried in the pit, except for the white living dog and cock. Can the sacrifice of two living beings be too basically shamanist to be performed by pure Taoists?

STRENGTHENING OF THE OLD MOUNDS

In keeping with the basic principle of shamanism, the spirits after some time lose their powers and are subject to decay. Consequently, they have to be nurtured and strengthened in order that they may continue to help their followers effectively. The rite performed against hail, the pit with all its disparate items, and the famous rider and the White Tiger buried inside it are liable to lose their protectiveness, so every year more power has to be added to the mounds. In every village old mounds exist, built by the ancestors. According to the indication of the guardian spirit of the village, the building of a new mound is ordered from time to time because the last one has lost its power. However, the villagers believe that some effect can still be obtained from the old mounds, and in order not to lose that benefit, they strengthen every year the efficacy of all the old mounds built inside the boundaries of the village. The shaman is invited by the Monguors to do the job; the Taoist priest is invited in the Chinese villages, but seldom in Monguor villages. Both shaman and Taoist act in the same way. Small paper banners are prepared and wooden hammers and ravens, and also stakes with cabalistic designs and the inscription, "The Throne of the White Tiger god," and manikins made with boughs, holding bow and arrows. All these items are smoked by the shaman, over burning cypress boughs, before they are used. The rite takes a whole day. 782 796 ● [776]

A sheep is offered in the temple; water is poured in its ear to be sure the spirit agrees to the victim. The sheep is killed and offered, a dance and the beating of a drum is performed by the shaman. A "throne" (stake) is thrust in the ground in front of the temple

[3] F. W. Grootaers, in his very interesting monograph (*op. cit.*, 238), notes two inscriptions encountered on the frescoes of the temples of the god of the five roads in Wan-Ch'uan (Kalgan) "Holding bound the wolf and the tiger" and also, "Mountain general who holds bound the wolf and the tiger, *Wu-tao* god who catches the monsters" and he notes these inscriptions are, of course, not the products of the local imagination, but are copies by the local calligraphers from a popular anthology of "Inscriptions for all occasions." These calligraphers knew the history of the Twelve Tengris, among which is the White Tiger. But the wolf is unexplained.

[p. 100(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

gate (throne of the White Tiger god) and a black bowl is put on the roof of the gate. 782 796

The parade starts on the left side of the village (shamans start on the left side and lamas on the right side), with banners at the head, and the horn (ox horn) is blown. On every mound the same rites are performed: a dance, a throne (stake) thrust into the mound, two black bowls buried near the throne, some paper banners planted, one hammer and one raven fixed on a stick, and the manikin, with bow and arrow pointing to the northwest. Some earth is added to the mound, which is put in good shape. The parade turns three times around the mound; on the third turn the whole group faces the northwest and howls three times, and then they start toward the next one.

When they return to the temple the shaman starts his dance, while the audience kneels and makes prostrations. Then the offered sheep is divided into as many parts as there are families in the village, and each receives a part. The tail and a hind leg are given to the shaman. On the most important mound, a plank is erected (it has to be stolen to be effective), on which a sealed statement is pasted, forbidding the pasturing of animals in the crops during three months and fixing fines for a horse, cow, or sheep caught straying in the crops. Pasturing of animals and chopping of fuel on the sacred mountain of the village are forbidden as is the felling of trees for three months and the singing of obscene songs in the village. The spirits must not be disturbed or offended, and liberty is not allowed to be taken with the conventional morals. The fines consist of a fixed amount of oil, incense sticks, paper, or cash, to be devoted to the upkeep of the temple.

MORE PRECAUTIONS AGAINST HAIL

LAMAS INVITED TO RECITE TEXTS

Despite the promises of the shamans on the least of spring, the performance of shamanistic rites on a new hill, and the strengthening of the old hills by means of adding magical power to them, in the fourth month the chiefs of the villages invite two or more lamas to recite texts for a couple of days, on top of the highest mountain situated inside the village land. Maybe Buddha might lend a helping hand also, and in order to assume his protection they organize a procession with the 108 sacred books of the *Kanjur*. 782 789

PROCESSION WITH THE SACRED BOOKS

A chief is appointed for the performance of the rite. He goes, with 108 men of the village, to the lamasery to borrow the books. The village defrays the expenses of a collation of butter tea with *tsamba* for the lamas, and a fixed amount of butter to be burned in the lamps before the Buddha statues in the temple. The next morning the procession starts from the village temple with at least one member from each family [illegible] ritual

[p. 100(B)]

the chief of the village asks him or her whether "Heaven and all the spirits" will really preserve the crops. 782 789

At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion. [731]

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages situated in the Sha-t'ang Valley, which have a goddess in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death, without wearing the Monguor skirt!"[9] 175 177

On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple and spend a night with him. The tradition requires that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.[10] [792] 796 782 [784]

[9] I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

[10] The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a [171]

[A102(A)]

The groups join each other on the way. Friendly 796
and high-spirited, they start early in the morning, with 782
banners, drum, and cymbals in the lead. The sedan chairs are put in a row at the foot of the high hill of the temple of the god Erh-lang. The stalwart fellows, with clubs clenched in their fists, are guards of honor of the goddesses, who stay next to their respective sedan chairs, waiting to climb the hill. The tradition runs that the crops of the village whose goddess first reaches the temple will be infallibly and positively protected against hail and prodigiously blessed. As soon as the cry for departure is howled out, the thirteen groups feverishly run to the top of the hill with their goddesses, howling, cursing, cutting their way, thrusting at one another, climbing by fits and starts, falling, leaping, jumping like savages, foaming at the mouth. The chair of the goddess who makes the mark is placed nearest the throne of the god. The door of the temple is closed. The fellows take their meal and rest in the side rooms of the temple.

They return home the next day. On the way back the villagers stand waiting on the road in order to learn whether their goddess won the race or not. On the trip to the temple the fellows were friendly to one another; on the return, however, the groups are excited, angry and seething with jealousy and frequently have a serious fight with clubs. In 1913 the sedan chair of the victorious goddess of the village of Wu-ch'i was smashed, but according to custom no suits are allowed [672] for smashed heads, broken noses, bleeding faces, and torn clothes. After the famous expedition, the villages start their rites against hail in the village.

The aim of the pilgrimage of the goddesses to the temple of the god Erh-lang is to obtain his protection from hail and special blessings upon the crops of the village. They are dressed in full attire and decked out in jewels. What is the reason for sending goddesses to call on the god Erh-lang and to try and court his favors? Why is the call not made to another god such as the god of the Five Roads, the recognized protector from hail?

All over the country, Erh-lang is said to be the god [776] of the River of Hsining, whose course he ordered, and to be interested in preserving the country from hail. He is said to have opened the rocks of Hsiao hsia (the

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celebrated sacred spring. They carry with them the statue of [71] the god of the rain (the dragon king) from their village temple and put it in the cave, next to that of the goddess, for a whole night, in order that the goddess may sooth the ruffled feathers of the angered dragon king, and move him to pour down streams of rain to save the dying crops. Potanin, who traveled in Kansu in 1884–1886 [*Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina, tsentral'naya Mongoliya*, 334, 1893], notes a similar practice among the Monguors of San ch'uan, subjects of the Hsia-wu T'u-ssu, in order to obtain rain. Potanin, *ibid.*, 409, also notes the struggle against hail practiced among those Monguors by their shamans, but because his description fails to point to the building of mounds, the white tiger, Wu-tao-shen, etc., he seems not to have understood the core of the rites. (I am indebted to Father J. Spriet for the translation of these passages.)

[p. 102(B)]

small rapids), 30 *li* east of Hsining, causing the region 796
of Hsining, which was a large lake in former times, to 782
dry up. He is said to have been a beautiful man, with strong classical features, taller than the men of today, and endowed with fabulous strength. He played with huge rocks as children play with marbles, and was very fond of two enormous dogs which he tied to the rocks of Hsiao hsia with chains so heavy that only he could move them. He is represented in the temple as a man of gigantic proportions, sitting on a large throne wearing yellow robes and cap, and the insignia of an official.

Father Grootaers[11] encountered this god in sixteen Erh-lang temples in Wan-Ch'üan, and notes that Erh-lang, son of Li Ping of the Han dynasty (A.D. 25–220) was famous for his works on dikes in Ssu-ch'uan Province, and became an object of the cult. However, he notes that another Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien of the Sung dynasty (beginning of the twelfth century A.D.) is also renowned for the same kind of work, and is represented with a dog at his feet. This detail, encountered in the temples of Wan ch'üan, enabled Father Grootaers, because of an inscription found on a fresco in the grottoes of P'u-fo ssu, to assume that the Erh-lang of Wan ch'üan must be the son of Yang Chien, object of a cult in Hopei Province. It seems possible that, on account of the popular tradition, the Erh-lang of Hsining with his enormous two dogs and heavy chains must also be Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien. However, how Erh-lang became the object of a cult in Hsining, and at what time, are facts shrouded in mystery. Anyway, Erh-lang, the beautiful god, is said to enjoy the annual visits of the fine goddesses of Sha t'ang Valley and to extend his protection from hail and blessings upon the crops in thanks for their gracious call.

The observance by the young people of twenty-one 821
days of continence and the restraint from indulgence in 782
wine and garlic and onions, the sending of the goddesses for a call on a god, and the custom of locking them up for a night in the temple in order to court the sympathy of the god and to reap the benefit of his protection, open up some chinks, letting in some light into the disturbed religious frame of mind of the people. Significant also is the extent of the fear of hail which makes them resort to all available means in order to get help and assistance against it.

OLD CUSTOM RECALLED

Old Monguors always recall that in former times, 789
when the shamans were still proficient in their art, it 756
was said they never failed to combat the hail. They threw stones stained with blood of white dogs in the direction of the hail spirits, shot with bloody arrows and moved stuffed horse skins. But now the shamans

[11] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 262–263. See *Folklore Studies Supplement No. 1*: 229, 1952, Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien is said to have buried two of the nine suns in the region of Kui-te (south of Hsining), and the hot wells existing in the region are thus explained. See Eberhard, *op. cit.*, *Lokalkulturen*, *Fuchs* 1: 40.

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no longer have the stuff of shamans, and the belief of the young folk in the gods is waning and fading away. 789 756

OFFER OF BONES TO THE SPIRITS OF HAIL

On the last night of the year, a group of youngsters is called by the chief of the village and ordered to gather sackfuls of bones and to carry them to the mountain top, from where devasting hailstorms usually come destroying the crops in summer. They are ordered to burn the bones to the "spirits of the hail" in order to thank them for their protection during the year and to beg them to extend their protection for the next year. Around New Year's, every family kills sheep or pigs, and bones are available everywhere. All kinds of bones are satisfactory, provided a full sack is secured. It is known that in the arctic culture the peculiar offer to heaven consisted of the offer of the skull and the long bones of animals (for bones contain marrow). It was the offer to the dispenser of life.[12] 782 789 796

Many times I asked for explanations about this rite, but nobody could give any. The answer always was the same: we are accustomed to do so in order that the crops may be protected against hail, and the hail spirits be propitious next year.

LAST REGULATIONS OF THE CHIEF OF THE VILLAGES

In the evening the shamans and the villagers return after having strengthened all the old mounds. The chief of the village makes a stereotyped speech: "In former times, the great emperor of all the Mongols divided his subjects into groups, attached to the service of the spirits of the temple. In keeping with that tradition of our ancestors we designate today groups of two men each who, day and night, will relieve one another and will stay at the temple in order to give warning of impending hailstorms. The two men who will be on duty during the next day, will sleep the night before in the temple, for continence is required of the watchers. When a storm appears in the northwest, they will beat the drums and cymbals, blow the horn, and ring the bell. Another group which we designate today will, when the bell rings, instantly leave their homes and run hurriedly to the principal ritual mound carrying with them the god of the temple in the sedan chair and all the other gods, the drums, cymbals and horn, and banners. They will take with them some black bowls, which will be placed upside down on the center of the mound. In the temple incense and cypress boughs will be offered, the throne (stake) of the god, erected in front of the temple gate, will be thrust deeper in the ground, and the bowls on top of the roof of the entrance will be turned upside down." The speech is finished. The other gods mentioned in the speech are stakes, octagonal in shape, the upper part of which represents a human head. (Taoists use octagonal stakes when they perform the rites against [622]

[12] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 3: 542. [p. 103(B)]

hail.) A grim, ghastly mask and a piece of red cloth 782
are fixed on the head of the stake. A small Chinese 789
table, covered with strips of red cloth to which is at- 796
tached a copper mirror, is considered to be a spirit in the same way.

FIGHTING THE HAILSTORMS

When the hailstorm appears threatening and the evil 731
spirits are about to loose their avenging bolts, the 789
youngsters on the top of the hill wave banners, beat drums and cymbals, blow the horn, brandish aggressively the sedan chair with the god sitting inside, and the stake gods, in the direction of the storm, howl, curse the evil spirits by means of the most obscene vocabulary, and take obscene attitudes in order to frighten them. I saw such a scene in the village of T'ao cha chai, a Chinese village of which some people were Christians, and was told that the Monguors act in just the same way.

If the storm is avoided, incense is burned, prostrations are made, and the group comes back, proud and high spirited because their performance achieved victory. But if the storm breaks with lightning, lighting up the whole valley, and thunder rumbling terrifyingly, pouring down torrents of water and rattling hail, the whole group starts fleeing in confusion, with the sedan chair and all the gods, straight down the hill, through the fields and the rivers to the temple. It is said that when this happens the youngsters lose control over the gods they are carrying; that the gods, defeated by mightier ones, unable to withstand the struggle, abandon the battlefield and themselves flee, irresistibly pulling with them their carriers, without caring for roads, precipices, or rivers. The terror throws the village into confusion and consternation. The gods could not stand against the terrible evil spirits of the hail; hopes are frustrated and the crops destroyed. The prospect of bad times, with privations and sufferings, haunts every family.

SHAMANS AND STATUES OF THE TEMPLES

The statues in temples are assumed by the Monguors 778
to be the seat of the spirits. Several facts have already 532
been recorded, in keeping with that assumption. Statues 756
decide about the invitation of the shaman for the performance of the new rites against hail. They pull their carriers irresistibly over fields and precipices, or make themselves so heavy as to become immovable and crush the carriers under their weight. According to the Monguors, the unusual power residing in the statue is due to special rites performed by the shamans.

In the stomach of every statue is a square opening capable of being closed and opened. Every time a new statue is made, the shaman is invited to animate it by means of dancing, beating drums, and inserting in the hole a live snake, a live raven, a live frog, and the intestines of a sheep and a pig. All these items have to

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munity, obeying day and night the orders of the chief of the village, pooling all its efforts and putting them at his disposition, reveals the old clan spirit of nomads united in the struggle against forces from abroad; it reveals that the entire community resorts unanimously to religious practices in order to preserve its means of subsistence and that religion in time of fear and distress is a means of securing the cohesion of the group. The civil and religious authority vested in the same chief make religion a constituent of the social organization. This note will be brought out several times further on, in the study of the religious life of the Monguors.[13]

X. VARIOUS PUBLIC RITES

PUBLIC RITES ON NEW YEAR'S

At midnight on New Year's the bell of the temple of the village rings. A group of villagers, comprised of a member of each family, led by the chief of the village, the military commanders and the elders, arrive to honor "Heaven and all the spirits" in the courtyard of the temple, by lighting a big cypress fire, offering steamed bread, raisins, and butter, pouring a libation of wine, and prostrating themselves holding incense sticks in their hands. The chief of the village says: "Heaven and all the spirits, we thank you for all the blessings of the past year, bless us during this New Year, give us good crops, and guard us from hail." Then they return home in order to perform the traditional family rites of New Year's.

On the third, as already noted, the chief of the village, the elders, and a member of each family go to the temple of the village in order to learn the prophecy of the sedan chair or table god, about the events of the New Year. In villages where there is a Kurtain possessed by the spirit of the temple, he is invited for an exhibition, which is attended by the whole community. This New Year's exhibition is the only public office discharged by the Kurtain in the community. After the exhibition there follows the Rite of the Sacred Animal.

During the first month of the New Year, in the villages where there is a temple dedicated to a Lamaist deity, some lamas are usually invited by the community to say prayers for three to seven days, for the peace of the villagers.

[13] Potanin, *op. cit.*, 397-399 *sqq.*, describes accurately the interesting elaborate rite performed by shamans, enthroning a new image of a Taoist deity (the dragon king), as the new family protector in a Monguor family (probably at the moment of the division of the family inheritance). The performance is a blend of shamanist and Taoist rites. The opening of the eyes of the image and its animation, etc., are performed in the genuine Taoist fashion. The shamanism of this group of Monguors seems to be more adulterated than that of the Monguors living on the northern side of the Hsining River; the deities they honor are all Taoist deities.

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RITE OF THE SACRED ANIMAL OF THE COMMUNITY

Almost every village has its own sacred animal, which 778
is always a male animal. The Monguors say that in the old days they used to consecrate a stallion, but at present they use mostly the bull or the he-goat, and very rarely the ram, stallion, or mule. The villages have only one sacred animal.

The preference of the Monguors for the bull is easy to understand, for their economy is actually agricultural. Their preference for the he-goat is explained by the fact that the animal is a noted symbol of reproduction and fecundity.[1]

Therefore the preference of the Monguors for the he-goat is not a mystery, for the aim of the rite consecrating an animal to the deity protector of the village and giving thanks for blessings received is to secure for the herds the blessings of fecundity.

The sacred animal of the community likes to come back to the temple of the village where a stable is built for it and where it is fed with peas, at the expense of the villagers. All day long it is free to mix with the herds of the village which it likes to follow.

The bull used is the Tibetan yak, for it produces a kind of hybrid cow, stronger than that bred in the country, and peculiarly fitted for farming. So it is easy to understand that the change in economy has been the reason why the bull has been preferred to the stallion, for farming depends on cows and oxen.

The bull is a troublesome animal, often roaming far away into the country. In summer, when the crops are growing in the fields, it does a lot of harm, but nobody dares to beat or to drive it away, for it is the sacred animal. After two or three years its savage instincts reappear and it may even pursue men. The hair of the he-goats and bulls is never clipped, so they are wild in appearance and everybody is afraid of them.

In 1914 the bull of the Naring Valley ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Long ta. The village of Naring Valley presented apologies, indemnifying the [262] family, killing the bull, and offering the meat to them, for villagers are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. The next New Year's another bull was consecrated.

Bulls and he-goats are always consecrated by the 796 ●
chiefs of the communities in the temple yard of the 778
village, on the third day of the New Year, to the guardian deity of the village, never to "Heaven," for no temples are dedicated to heaven. The ceremony is attended by a member from each family. The animal is cleansed, smoked, washed and combed in the courtyard, then led before the open door of the temple in front of

[1] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 1925: 135. He writes: "The known fact that of old, the Mongols attributed a special significance to the he-goat is also related by Plano-Carpini, who notes that the Mongol chiefs always fed he-goats at home; that many people taught that the he-goat was related to fecundity, is a well-known fact."

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the statue or picture of the guardian deity of the village. 796
The chief of the village pours milk mixed with water, 778
while all the participants kneel, holding incense sticks in their hands. The animal shakes its head, and ribbons are attached and red paper is pasted on the horns.

Every year the animal must be presented to the deity in the temple on the third of the New Year. It is a quite dangerous and difficult job, assigned to the youngsters of the village, who wash and comb the savage bull.

The Tibetans in the country perform the Rite of the Sacred Animal in the same way.

The monasteries also feed a sacred animal. They never use a bull or he-goat, but the stallion and sometimes the mule. They never use their sacred animal for riding; it freely roams the country. The ceremonies of consecration are the same: washing, smoking, pouring of milk, prostrations, attachment of ribbons, but in the temple a special prayer is said by the lama community for the reproduction of the animals. Every year, on the third day of the New Year their animal must be presented to the deity in the courtyard of the temple. The stallion must be saddled, for the deity is supposed to take a ride on the animal on that very day. The lamas say that it is difficult to saddle a savage stallion. I could never get any information about the deity to which their animal is consecrated.

SHAMANIST RITES OF SPRING

PREPARATIONS

The reaping of a rich harvest is the dream of the 796
Monguors. After sowing is done, a religious rite is 241
performed by the shamans, not by lamas, in order to gather fine crops in autumn. The rite is performed in every Monguor village, and many Chinese villages follow the same practice. From the second until the fourth month the shamans are very busy going from village to village. In autumn, when there is plenty of grain, preparations for the feast are started. In every family, according to its wealth, spelt is gathered for the distillation of wine; wheat collected for the making of noodles, rolls, and vegetable oil for the baking of bread. It is all put in the temple for safekeeping.

A few days before the feast, the chief of the village 796
with the elders impose corvées on the villagers ordering them to prepare all the required items. Reliable men and women are chosen, because it is important that nobody should eat a roll or drink a cup of wine before all items have been offered to the gods. Consequently, faithful adherents to the traditions are carefully chosen and they take an oath accordingly. Three big loaves, each three feet in diameter, are prepared; thirteen smaller ones, called cartwheels; a large number of steamed rolls, and baskets of smaller ones steamed or boiled in oil; one or two pigs are killed, poor villages kill a sheep; chore-men are sent to the city to buy paper, incense sticks, colors, firecrackers. All the items are locked up in the temple.

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The day before the feast, a couple of shamans arrive 796 with their apprentices, to paint and paste paper flags and streamers, print flower designs and inscriptions, and prepare the "thrones" of the spirits expected to attend the meeting. A "throne" is a sheet of red paper on which are printed the words, "throne of god so-and so." It is pasted on the wall of the courtyard of the temple. A large sheet, that is a big throne, is prepared for the souls of the last three generations of deceased villagers. In the middle of the courtyard the shamans erect a pole thirty feet high,[2] to the top of which is pasted a triangular banner made of red paper, trimmed with yellow paper strips. Under the banner is fixed a circle covered with yellow paper; a bit lower is hooked horizontally a two-pronged fork with two rolls impaled on the prongs, and nine streamers with flower designs and inscriptions pasted on its handle. Supplementary streamers, always attached to the pole, are offered in thanksgiving for a happy delivery or recovery from illness. In front of the pole a long table is prepared for the offerings. The statues of the gods honored in the temple and the god sitting in the sedan chair are set out in front of the table. Before the "throne of the souls of the deceased villagers" are placed the offerings of the community: tea, wine, rolls, raisins, noodles, meat. A long rope is fixed on the roof of the entrance gate, and is pulled to the top of the pole, from which it falls down on the long offering table. Halfway down the rope from the top of the pole, a long bag of cloth is attached containing nuts, peas, and jujubes, all made of dough. The rope is called the "highway rope" (*ma-lu-sheng*), the rope along which the spirits will come down and depart. It is made with hemp shackles and is supposed to be endowed with celebrated magical power, since the spirits walked on it. The shackles are very effective talismans for the protection of the sick and small children.

At midnight the two shamans and their apprentices [756] honor "Heaven and all the spirits" in the courtyard. They offer on a plate small rolls in which are fixed candles made of paper imbued with oil. They also light some butter lamps, set off fire crackers, prostrate themselves and beat drums and cymbals. They take a meal and then go to rest.

The feast, organized in order to reap a good harvest, starts by honoring "Heaven and all the spirits" at night, under the twinkling stars, in the courtyard of the

[2] The pole and the rope play an important role in the ceremonies performed by the shamans in the village temple, and in those performed in private families in honor of their guardian deities. Pole and rope assured communication between the gods and man. Pole and rope must be planted and attached by the shamans in order to be efficacious. The manikan pole (see above, p. 95, n. 1), planted in the courtyard is said by many people to have the same meaning. Because the pole and rope rites are so unusually suggestive, they are enjoyed by the people, and their use is widely spread all over Asia by shamans. Shirokogoroff notes the rites among the Tungus (*Psychomental complex*, 336), etc. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 120, 368, 381.

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temple. Shamans devoted to the cult of evil spirits 796
would not perform that rite, say the Monguors. Neither the chiefs of the village, the elders, nor the people attend this midnight rite. Around eight or nine o'clock the following morning, six or eight more shamans arrive. Drums are beaten, and the chief of the village and the elders arrive to greet them. All the villagers go to the temple. Most of them bring their private offerings of rolls, wine, incense sticks, paper, while some among them paste on the wall of the temple the throne of their own ancestors and place some offerings before it. The temple is crowded to capacity with people dressed in their festival best. The shamans finish their meal, drink wine, and start the rites with the invocation of the spirits.

FIRST DAY

INVOCATION OF THE SPIRITS

The shamans, wearing the black gown, flower-deco- 796
rated silk coat, and the crown of the god of the Five 756
Roads, stand erect before the pole and start beating the drums. The villagers prostrate themselves nine times toward the pole, in time with the command of the chief of the village, holding incense sticks in joined hands, and sit on their heels waiting. The elders sit in the first rows. The shamans start dancing before the pole, keeping time with the beating of the drums and cymbals; they become more and more excited, when all of a sudden their chief points at the rope fixed on top of the roof of the entrance gate and cries: "Here they are, the Twelve Tengris!" and continuing to point at the rope, he follows them with his finger and eyes, just as if he were seeing the spirits climbing along the rope that reaches to the top of the pole. He grasps the end of the rope lying on the table, and runs with it, straight to the throne (sheet of red paper on the wall) prepared for the Twelve Tengris and their leader. He holds reverently the end of the rope against the throne, so that the spirits may step unhurt onto the throne. The other shamans and the apprentices run to the throne and prostrate themselves; the whole audience prostrates itself with incense sticks in the hands and the chief shaman starts greeting the spirits: "We are so glad to honor you"—and the audience repeats each time the words of the shamans and prostrates itself—"You must be tired from the long journey. . . . It is kind of you to have come so far. . . . We are very happy to honor you. . . . Please sit down among us, the throne is a poor one, but be so kind as to excuse us. . . ." Then the shamans ask them about the coming of the other spirits, whether they have already started their journey. Suddenly he points again at the roof of the gate, and sees the God of the Five Roads with his four associates. Then one after another come the god of the highest Obo of the region, the dragon god, the dragons of the five lakes, of the four seas, of the nine rivers, of the eight streams, of the new rain; the goddesses of the nine heavens, the three girl goddesses, the heavenly gen-

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erals, the heavenly warriors, the god of the wind, the gods honored in the Monguor villages, then the spirits honored in the private families of the village, the souls of the last three generations of ancestors of the villagers.[3] Every guest is ushered to his throne, greeted, and congratulated in the same way. The shaman has a gentle talk with each of them, while the audience prostrates itself in reverential silence. Finally, drum and cymbals are beaten and the shamans dance with feverish gusto, the dance of thanksgiving for the arrival of all the guests, in order to make them happy. 796 756

ENTERTAINMENT OF THE SPIRITS

Then follows the next act—making the spirits propitious and well disposed (*nan shen*). The shamans and the apprentices kneel in rows before the pole, with incense sticks in their joined hands in the same way as the audience. It is the most important and enjoyed moment of the day. It reveals the peculiar, but typical, religious frame of mind of shamans and Monguors. In the deepest and most solemn silence, the chief of the shamans starts talking with the spirits. He gives a detailed account of all the offerings displayed on the table and before the thrones of the gods—sheep, pig. "All these offerings are brought by the people who are kneeling before you . . . notwithstanding the fact they all had a hard time this year, they enjoyed spending that money for you. If it were possible, they would have given more . . . please enjoy their offerings. . . . You are their superiors, their chiefs, your power is unlimited. . . . All these people trust in you and are confident of you. . . . You came from so far, climbing high mountains, crossing dangerous rivers . . . in order to sit down for a while with them in this poor courtyard.

[3] A couple of facts already encountered reveal two principles of the philosophy of the shamans concerning the duration of the existence of the spirits and the human souls. Spirits are not eternal; they weaken and become exhausted and old and consequently fade away. The famous White Tiger on the old mounds became old and had to receive new invigoration; a typical fact will be recorded of the great spirit of one of the five great Obos of the country, which had become old and had to be rejuvenated. Spirits are not eternal; even the spirits of the statues become completely exhausted after three years, and every three years the shaman has to replace the exhausted forces with brand new ones. [779 776]

The souls of the deceased of only the last three generations are honored and nurtured at the time of the rite of spring. When illness is ascribed to malignant souls of the deceased, the shaman, outside the courtyard, traces three small circles, and one more expansive; food is placed in the three small ones to nurture the souls of the deceased ancestors of the last three generations only; in the big circle is placed food for the roaming alien souls. These facts reveal an articulate belief that souls of the ancestors last three generations only, and also that hungry souls are dangerous beings. [775 765]

In old China the souls of the deceased kings after five generations, princes after three, nobles after one, lost their original protecting power and were relegated among those of the group to whom personal offerings were refused (H. Maspero, *Chine antique, op. cit.*, 186). They were already far on the way toward decaying and fading away.

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. . . These people are very happy and thankful for your 796
kindness. . . they are happy to be so close to you, and 756
they all hope you will be so kind as to preserve the peace of the village, protect the mountains and pastures, the crops and the herds against hail, and protect the children and the elders."

During the talk of the shaman, the people repeat his words while prostrating themselves. Some among the shamans really have the knack of saying things that go to the marrow of the bones. Such shamans are always invited, and are beloved by the people. Their talk is long or short, according to the inspiration of the moment and the circumstances, and at that moment the audience is in a really prayerful mood.

After the speech, all the shamans start their most gracious dance, honoring the kind spirits. Then for a long, long while the shamans sit down. They beat the drums softly, and the chief shaman, the whole time listening to his drum, makes the statement in stereotyped terms that "The gods just finished their council and have decided that during the three summer months, the crops will be protected against hail and the village will enjoy peace. The gods have decided that during the three winter months the people and the herds will enjoy peace and be preserved from illnesses. It has been decided by the gods and the decision is irreversible." The people prostrate themselves thankfully, repeating: "Irreversible." Then the gods decide that for the faithful, who are not remiss in the duty of burning incense every day during the four seasons, thieves will not find a way to come into their houses; that wolves, prowling to harm the herds, will no longer be able to open their mouths; that the swords of brigands, if they come, will bend and be useless; that childless women will enjoy this year the hope of giving birth to a boy.

After the promises of the gods, the souls of three generations of deceased villagers are honored. The shamans, standing erect before their throne, beat drums and prostrate several times, pouring wine before their throne, making the libation. Then the chief shaman gives them an account of all the offerings deposited before them by their descendants. He invites them to taste the offerings and to enjoy them, repeating several times that the descendants are happy to be in their presence and the attendants repeat his words. Finally a last dance is performed before the pole, prostrations are made, and the attendants leave the temple. By then the sun is setting, the gathering having lasted a whole day.

The shamans are very proficient in the art of predicting and promising the blessings really desired by the villagers. Although all the promises will not be implemented, the people leave the temple in a happy mood, hopeful and satisfied, for everybody likes the predictions concerning the fulfillment of his hopes and wishes. The children in the schools and the women remember very well the details of these talks, which

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have gone straight to their hearts. In order not to get a warped view of the talks of the shamans at these religious feasts, it must be said that the talks were not always sugary and sweet, adorned with delightful promises fitting the moods and feelings of the audience. Two unusual events happened, one in Too long in 1909, and the other in Hsin yüan-p'u in 1914 at the feast of spring. These were described to me several times by different Monguors and Chinese, because they were so well known for their unusualness and because they were fraught with terrible forebodings. 796 756

During the rites, at the moment when the people, kneeling in deep religious silence, were waiting for happy promises of the spirits, the shaman, listening to the spirits speaking in his drum, threw the attendance into confusion and terror, declaring the inauspicious disposition of the spirits, and foretelling threatening calamities in store for the villagers, such as hail, epizootics, diseases. The shaman saw in his drum the aversion in the hearts of the spirits and heard the bitter words on their tongues, because of the lack of fervor in the cult of the guardian spirit of the village; the disregard of the youth for them; the lasting feuds and discords among the families of the village, unwilling to overlook their petty differences.

The distressed audience was suddenly thrown into the throes of despair. All hope for blessings was dashed to the ground and crumbled in a heap. Everybody shuddered at the thought of hail and diseases. The audience, caught in a web of indecision, did not dare to laugh the threats to scorn. Predictions of impending calamities are never viewed in a light vein. The congregation was like a ship without a rudder, lashed by big waves of fear and apprehensions. Then the chief of the village said, "Let us prostrate ourselves and ask for forgiveness for our shortcomings and deficiencies," and he asked the shaman for a solution of the problem. In Hsin-yüan p'u the shamans agreed to attempt to propitiate the spirits, although, according to them, only a small hope remained. In desperation, trying to propitiate the angry spirits about to loose their avenging bolts, they danced their gentlest dances, listening to the drum, talking with the spirits, leaning towards the drums, flattering, cajoling, wheedling, apologizing, promising for the future, while the audience prostrated itself incessantly. Finally the chief of the shamans, with a glint of victory in his eyes, declared that the scales of mercy had been successfully weighted, but that an additional pig had to be offered. Breathing vows of deathless devotion, the audience was happy; solace had been brought to their sadness. Such scenes are recorded by the people to their dying day, with all the details.

In Too long, however, the angry spirits stuck by their decision. The shamans recommenced their dances, the people prostrated themselves, and the shamans, unsuccessful in pulling the heartstrings of the gods, de-

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clared that their power was too weak and unavailing, 796
that more shamans would have to be invited, and that a 756
big hog would have to be prepared. A few days later more shamans succeeded in the same way as in Hsin-yüan p'u.

This shamanist rite of the first day tallies wonderfully [171]
with that of the Wu among the Chinese and the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C. At the time of the state sacrifices, the Wu were ordered to call down the gods and human ancestors and to lead them to their "thrones," beating drums and dancing while a band of Chinese musicians played appropriate music. They pierced the future, knew the wishes of the gods and the ancestors, knew the desired sacrifices, and were proficient in predictions.[4]

Taoist priests in the country never perform such rites, 792
which are peculiar to the Monguor shamans, who after so many centuries have preserved them faithfully. They give an insight into what, centuries ago, was the religious practice of the Chinese and the surrounding barbarians, and what it is at present among the Monguors. The fantastic invitation and calling down of the spirits, their coming one after another along the rope, which the shaman pretends to see moving with his own eyes, with whom he talks, as if to persons in front of him, whom he greets cordially, is straight in the hallucinatory line specific to shamans. The best among the shamans go so far as to communicate their feelings by means of words and gestures to the well-disposed audience already believing in the reality of the rite and in the capacity of the shaman to see and communicate with gods and souls. They go so far as to make the 796
people feel happy to approach, face to face, the spirits and souls; to sit in their presence; to honor them, and trust entirely in them. To be sure, a religious feeling is awakened by the shamans at the meeting. All my [781]
Monguor informants asserted they were happy at that time and enjoyed the rite.

This is the only time during a whole year, when the community of a village prays and honors its gods and ancestors in a group. It was said that nobody would miss attending this rite. No wonder that the Monguors esteem and love their shamans, especially since the lamas never practice such a rite for a whole community.

RITES OF THE SECOND DAY

The second day is a busy one, since four rites are 796
performed: (1) possession by the White Tiger spirit, 756
(2) the greeting of the Goddess of Joy, (3) leave-taking of the spirits, and (4) the nurturing of the spirits of the temple.

POSSESSION BY THE WHITE TIGER

Very early in the morning, after breakfast, the shamans, beating drums and cymbals, sit around the pole

[4] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1188–1190; 1201–1208, 1247.

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in front of all the spirits invited the day before, talking with them and asking for their protection upon the village. The guardian of the temple, acting as representative of the whole village, kneels behind them with incense sticks in his joined hands, answering and repeating the prayers. The rite lasts for about an hour. 796 756

Around ten o'clock a lunch is served to the shamans and wine is poured in profusion. All the villagers, dressed in their festival best, flock to the temple to attend the ceremony of the possession of the chief of the shamans by the White Tiger spirit.

For a long time the shamans play and have fun. While the apprentices beat drums and cymbals, they start dancing; they get excited, display all kinds of acrobatics; dance on their knees holding their heels in their hands; dance on their heads; turn cartwheels; keep whirling; jostle one another. They are stimulated to compete with one another in accomplishing the queerest eccentricities. It is not unusual for a couple to get into a quarrel and start fighting and for one or another to fall down in a fainting fit. [535] [578]

When the excitement reaches fever pitch, the chief of the shamans exchanges his cap of the god of the Five Roads for the black cap with long tail. With his arm nude, the whip fixed into the collar, drum in hand, he starts a wild dance which lasts for a long time. He stops once in a while and cracks the whip. He takes threatening and aggressive attitudes, brawls loudly and indistinctly, and grins, distorting mouth and jaw bone. With his whole body writhing and supposed to be possessed by the White Tiger spirit, he cuts his arm with a razor, making it bleed. The women rush to the shaman and apply paper to the wound. These papers are efficacious talismans for the protection of children, and are sewn on their clothes by their mothers. In former times, old Monguors said, potent shamans pierced their cheeks with an arrow and bent the blade of a sword predicting the future with wonderful accuracy, but today shamans can no longer do that. These rites are in line with the activities of Wu and shamans.[8] [785]

GREETING OF THE GODDESS OF JOY

Around two o'clock the rite of *ying hsi-niang* is performed, the meeting with, and the greeting of, the Goddess of Joy. This rite is purely shamanistic. The Chinese perform a similar but more quiet rite, on New Year's day, meeting and greeting the "spirit" of joy. Monguor youngsters like to imitate the Chinese and enjoy the same merriment. However, the real Monguor rite is the following one performed by the shaman: [776]

On the large threshing floor of the village is placed a table with offerings. The villagers sit around the edges of the floor in order that the shaman may have room for the performance and the evolutions. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail, and keeping

[8] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212. [p. 109 (B)]

time with the beating of drums and cymbals perform their wildest dances for a long time. Usually three or four among them seem to be possessed. All of a sudden the chief of the shamans becomes excited to fever pitch, and howls "go to the goddess." Then, followed by the other shamans, he grasps a chicken and, dancing with fury, bites its neck and jerks off its head in a wild movement. Grimacing with distorted face, and glittering eyes, he throws the bleeding chicken head in the supposed direction of the goddess, uttering dreary cries and indistinct sounds. After the rite is accomplished, the people go home for dinner. It is indeed a savage means of greeting "a goddess of joy," with a bleeding head and with such wild appearance. 796 756

The split-personality of the "good" shaman who the first day was so gentle, so kind, so considerate for the spirits, shows up more and more; he has to see blood and to offer bloody sacrifices.

LEAVE-TAKING OF THE SPIRITS

After sunset all the villagers come to the temple. In some villages the women are not allowed to attend the evening rites, but elders asserted that in former times the women were admitted everywhere. [562]

A hundred small lamps are prepared, the cup made with dough and the wick with twisted cotton wool. Into the cup is poured vegetable oil. The lamps are displayed in rows on the offering table in front of the pole and the statues. The shamans first perform the usual dance, keeping time to the beating of the drums. The leave taking of the guest spirits is called the "opening of the highway" (*k'ai ma-lu*). A bridge[6] is to be built over which the guests are supposed to pass. A big roll is put on each of the four corners of the table, and a larger one in the middle; a paper banner is placed on each of the five rolls. A lamp is lit near the banners and a plate put near each of them; on the middle plate is placed the head of a chicken. [354]

The chief of the shamans asks the shamans and the apprentices for the meaning of the five rolls. The five rolls mean the five mountains; the five lamps, the five lakes; the five wicks, the five dragons; the banners, the incense which billows up into the sky. Why is the head of a chicken put on the middle plate? In order to steady the *Yin-Yang* (male and female principle of the Taoists). The chief shaman writes, around the roll in the center, the eight Chinese cyclical characters and asks for the explanation of each of them. If one of the shamans or apprentices is unable to answer he is scolded and upbraided in front of the whole gathering.

A bridge is constructed for the spirits from one end of the table to the other by disposing two rows of rolls in which are planted brand new chopsticks; on both sides of the bridge are planted incense sticks in smaller rolls. The shaman asks again for explanations: Is there still another way existing above that bridge or not? An- [442]

[6] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 419. [p. 110(A)]

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swer: the galaxy. Who walks on the milky way? Yu Huang,[7] preceded by the green dragon and the White Tiger. Under the bridge is there still another bridge or not? The dangerous bridge leading to Hell, over which passes the king of Hell, Erlik, preceded by the spirit with the head of a cow and the spirit with the head of a horse, and where spirits are waiting, who devour passing souls. What is our bridge? The bridge of the spirits. 796 756 [773]

The building of the bridge of the spirits and the confused explanations of the shamans, mixed with Taoist, shamanist, and Bön principles, reveals, nevertheless, the philosophy claiming the existence of three worlds: the upper, middle, and lower worlds, each with its own population.[8] A hint has already been given of this philosophy, in describing the rite of the stretched goat skin and the molding of clay figures, etc. At any rate the bridge provides a wonderful opportunity for the shamans to display their philosophical abilities and their proficiency in the art of telling of the nine and more heavens, one more beautiful than the other; the eighteen hells, dark and terrifying; the severe judgments after death presided over by Erlik or the Chinese Yen wang; the explanation of the three souls; shamans flying on drums to heaven, are unique occasions for story-tellers, sparkling with wit, to reap big successes. 796 756 772 779

At that time, shamans never fail to explain the appointment of their ancestor shaman by Chiang Tze-ya as servant of the god of the Five Roads; they never fail to narrate captivating episodes from the epic of Gesar. All kinds of problems are dealt with, and a lot of fun is had. The most ridiculous answers are given to the most ridiculous questions. One shaman asks for the explanation of why in each wheat grain there is always a small groove? The answer is that in the beginning of the world there was no wheat. Tengri made a wheat grain, but it seemed to be too big; with the nail of his right thumb he parted the grain in two parts. Still it seemed to be too big, and so he parted it again and then a third time. The fourth time, just when he was about to cut the grain in two parts again, it appeared to be all right without cutting through it, so he left the grain only half cut through, and so all grains of wheat have a little groove in them. This story was told to me several times by children who attended the meeting and said that the shaman told them so. 776 538

Another story, which gives us a better insight into the nature of that kind of meeting, is [illegible] when a shaman is asked at what time and why men started seducing women, and women started eloping? An interesting sociological and moral question! Tengri wanted to have men and women. After kneading red earth and water a whole day, he moulded seven men; then he 796 756 831 773

[7] The most popular god of modern China who received letters patent from the Emperor in A.D. 1017. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, *op. cit.*, 1846.

[8] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 138. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

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took straw, and with fine cord tied it in the shape of seven women. The fourteen manikins were put in the sun to dry into shape; the tengris went to sleep. Erlik, chief of the underworld and antagonist of the Tengri, made a terrific storm rage and one of the straw ladies finally blew away. When these thirteen figures came to life, one of the men was lacking a wife. Monguors enjoy this story and ask the shamans to tell it every year. Another of the big subjects dealt with at the meetings is that of bad dreams. Because the meetings often end in telling smutty and filthy stories, women in many villages do not attend the evening meetings. The shamans at that time compete with one another for winning the highest marks in that kind of virtuosity. Often the chiefs of the villages, when they invite the shamans, enjoin them not to go beyond certain limits.

When the meeting starts to drag, the chief of the shamans makes preparations for the leave-taking of the spirits. The shamans perform a dance, while the audience kneels.[1] The shaman again enjoins the people to ask for benedictions. He has a last talk with the spirits, thanks them for the visit, reminding them of their promises, and invites them ceremoniously, one after another, to return to their splendid abodes calling them by the most pompous titles. Firecrackers are set off, and shamans dance; the people prostrate themselves and the spirits go back along the rope to their abodes.

While the shaman throws three handfuls of wheat and jujubes into the air, the people try to catch them, as they fall, in their skirts; they mix them with the seeds for next year. A hard pull on the rope fixed on the pole breaks the bag containing jujubes made with dough, coins, and peas. Everybody tries to grab a couple of them, for having been touched by the coming and going of the spirits they enjoy their celebrated magical power. Sick persons eat them in order to be healed, and women so as to become pregnant. The fork with the two rolls is unbalanced; the rolls fall and are picked up; they are reduced to crumbs and are panaceas against all kind of ailments.

NURTURING OF THE GODS OF THE TEMPLE

This rite is the last one and may be the most important. The shamans explain that the spirits in the temples are to be nurtured once a year, in order that they may be able to protect the village against hail. Here the split personality of the Monguor shamans shows up in its crudest reality.

The shamans explain, and the Monguors strongly believe their explanation, that in former times a human sacrifice was urged every year by the spirits. Other shamans say that the sacrifice was needed only every seven years, in order to ward off hail, epidemics, epizootics, etc.[2] The present rite takes the place of the

[2] This tradition, concerning the yearly human sacrifice demanded by the spirits, seems to point to the fact that in old

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former human sacrifices; consequently blood and the soul of a deceased person is needed for the nurturing of the spirits. 776 756 782

The rite is performed at night. The shamans and the young folk leave the temple in order to capture the soul of a deceased human being. Sometimes they go far away, according to the indication of their spirits. Five fortresses are built by means of incense sticks planted in the ground in the form of a square, one at each corner according to the points of the compass, and one in the center. Circles are drawn around each of them. Then follows the beating of the drums and cymbals, dances, and cracking of the whips on the ground. The chief of the shamans howls at the top of his voice, "Is the northern fortress already built?" All the shamans answer by howling in the same way; this is repeated for each of the fortresses. Nuts and dates are thrown by the chief of the shamans on the four corners, and on the center; he throws some of them into the air, to attract the roaming souls of deceased people. A bottle is planted in an inclined position in a bushel containing wheat, and is supported by burning incense sticks. The shamans start their wildest dance, drearily howling at the tops of their voices, and cracking whips, in the middle of the pitch-dark night. The burning incense sticks no longer support the bottle, and it falls flat; the chief of the shamans rushes to the bottle, grasps it, and runs as fast as possible to the temple, followed by the other shamans and the young folk.

The temple gate is shut tightly. A new wild dance follows, until all of a sudden the chief of the shamans grasps a chicken, jerks off its head, and gathers its blood in a pot. He cries again, asking the gathering three times, "Are the souls here?" and runs inside the temple rooms and presents the bottle containing the gathered souls at the mouth of each of the statues and the painted gods on the walls, cajoling, wheedling and caressing them saying, "Eat, eat please! Do you like it? It is a wonderful meal, eat some more, there is plenty." Then taking the pot with blood he performs the same ceremony, "Drink, drink!" The spirits are nurtured.

He takes the pot containing the horoscope sticks placed in the temple, throws them on the ground and

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times the White Tiger devoured a person every year, as mentioned above. There is a widespread belief in human sacrifices demanded by spirits in India and Tibet (A. David Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 207, Paris, Plon, 1929. L. A. Waddell, *op. cit.*, 516). It is noted by Helmut Hoffmann (*op. cit.*, 175), as practiced by the Hsienpi in Manchuria and Mongolia at the beginning of the year; it was well known in China in former times (De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 79. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, Index, Sacrifices Humains, 2164). Helmut Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 161–162, also notes spirits called *Sri* eagerly attacking small children, sucking their blood, and devouring them. Garma Sanschejew (*op. cit.*, 592), notes among the shamans belief in a kind of spirit eager to attack and devour the children; parents know that when children start crying suddenly such spirits are around. No wonder that this belief, spread all over Asia, is still very strong at present among the Monguors.

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examines their position. "All right!" he cries. "all 796
events will be all right this year, the village will enjoy 756
peace and thrive; this year you will be preserved from 782
hail!" A piece of red cloth is tied with a red rope on the bottle, which is put under the empty container inside the temple for seven days.

After all the rites have been accomplished, the villagers go home taking with them their own thrones of the ancestors and as many paper banners and streamers as possible, in order to place them with the deities honored at home. The shamans and the elders have a meal and plenty of wine for the whole night. The next morning the shamans leave; they came riding empty-handed on a donkey, and go back driving the donkey, laden with rolls and offerings, some wheat, and a meager payment in cash.

FEAR OF HUMAN SACRIFICES

During the second, third, and fourth months, the time 782
during which these rites are performed in one village 784
after another, everywhere children are encountered 789
wearing around their necks strips of filthy, stinking 751
cloth, with which the women had wrapped their feet (for they do not wear stockings). The heads of some children are covered with a handkerchief containing dog hair; the foreheads of some children are scratched and lightly wounded. Several times a day the children are enjoined not to eat jujubes or nuts lying along the way or in the temple yards, for fear that the spirits, avid for human sacrifices, might allure them and take their souls. Everywhere it is said that, notwithstanding the rites taking the place of the former human sacrifices, once in a while some of the spirits take a child. All these practices are used in order to frighten the spirits and to preserve the children desired by this kind of evil spirit. If, during these months, a child dies, everybody is convinced that his soul has been taken by the terrible spirits.

These practices give evidence that the belief in human 782
sacrifices required by spirits is deeply ingrained in the minds of the people. At that time, meeting children so [115]
arrayed affords a fine opportunity to collect details about the rites of spring, and the talks of the shamans, and to get an insight into the religious trend of mind of the people. These facts make it plain that the Monguor shamans, honoring Taoist spirits and performing most of the rites of the Wu of China and of the shamans living in the neighboring countries, have preserved their urge for human sacrifices. The Monguor shamans nurture the weakened, exhausted spirits in the temples with captured human souls. The burying of the Chinese beggar in the mound, in order to succeed in the struggle against the hail spirits, and the occasional capturing of a boy for the same purpose, facts attested by many trustworthy men, give evidence of the assumption. However, constraint is imposed [682]
upon them by a more civilized environment than that

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Amni Chialip of the Obo in Waza is built inside the 778
courtyard of a rich Tibetan, Manguru. I was told by 782
him that every day he lit a taper and burned incense. 795
Women, and girls, even his wife or daughter-in-law, [562]
were never allowed to enter the small temple. The
same prohibition existed for the women against visiting
this kind of temple in the monasteries.

When and how are the five owners of the country 795
honored? On an auspicious day fixed by a lama, 796
usually of the Red Sect, at the end of the fifth moon,
and usually during the sixth moon, five delegates from
every village assumed to be situated in the circumscrip-
tion of the territory of the spirit, are sent to the moun-
tain. They carry a tent and drive some sheep which
have been washed and combed, with red paper pasted
on their horns and ribbons attached to their fleece,
and a piece of red cloth eight feet long on each of
their backs. The men also bring some spears and ar-
rows painted red and black, miniature bows, firecrackers
and the famous "precious bottle" (the urn).

The first day, at evening, all the representatives of
the villages pitch their tents at the foot of the cele-
brated mountain and pass the night in merrymaking.
The next day, being the auspicious day, in the early
morning the chief and the elders of the village, with a
large crowd of villagers, arrive to attend the rites to
be celebrated on top of the mountain. Chinese mer-
chants pitch tents and do business at the foot of the
mountain.

After breakfast all the chiefs of the villages with the
villagers go to the Obo. One group after another sets
off firecrackers before the Obo, plants in the stone heap [389]
spears and arrows, and attaches new flags and pieces
of wool and bones, and reverently bury their precious
bottle in a deep hole. On the crude offering table, the
killed sheep is offered, broth is thrown first toward
"Heaven" and then to the four points of the compass
for "all the spirits," the famous Wei-sang rite is per-
formed and libation made, while the groups kneel and
prostrate themselves. After the rites of each village
are performed by the chiefs, a group of lamas, mostly of
the Red Church, perform on behalf of the entire com-
munity a big Wei-sang rite, beating drums, blowing
horns, and chanting some prayers; they all turn three
times around the obo.

In the afternoon at the foot of the mountain an im-
mense crowd of men and women enjoy the horseraces
and the wrestling,[19] singing and drinking. At sunset
most of the people leave, but groups of young folk pass
the night around the tents, merrymaking. On the
morning of the third day, the tents are rolled up, all the

[19] L. M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes mongoles*, 76, Gembloux, Duculot, 1947. Description of the horse races in the sixth moon at the Obo by the Mongols of Outchimts'in and wrestling (on p. 109), attended by the author; also Owen Lattimore, *Mongol journeys*, 274, New York, Doubleday, 1941, with interesting description of the festivities attended by the chiefs of the Banners, etc.

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people leave, and the spirit of the mountain enjoys in 795
undisturbed silence his ownership over the country. 796

Concerning the offering of sheep, Monguors assert that in former times their ancestors offered a horse on top of the mountains, but that at present, for lack of horses, a sheep is offered and not a pig, because the offer of a sheep is more convenient; a sheep can be driven to the top of the mountain, a pig has to be carried; the killing of a sheep takes less time and requires less utensils, which are not available on top of the mountain.

THE SICK OBO SPIRIT HEALED

The villages situated in the valley of Sha-t'ang, be- 782
longing to the circumscription of the big spirit of the 756
celebrated Obo Lung-wang, had poor crops, spoiled by very bad hailstorms, for three years in succession. The saying went that the vitality of the spirit was declining and that it could no longer prevent these terrific calamities. The shamans were invited to restore its debilitated strength. The chiefs and elders of all the villages together with the inhabitants went in a group to the Obo, with a group of shamans, headed by drums and flags. A big cypress fire was built; the people knelt around the Obo with incense sticks in their hands. The shamans, beating drums, danced in front of the Obo; the eldest among them, in pathetic terms, invited the sick spirit to sit down in the midst of its devoted worshippers. He spoke to the spirit in the sweetest way, just as if he was in its presence and was seeing it, caressing, consoling, and comforting the old spirit. He invited it to look at the kneeling worshippers, and protested that they really loved it, and the shamans would offer a dance in order to entertain the old spirit.

After the dance was performed, in the most gracious way, the sick spirit was supposed to be happy. The shaman, like a good mother, persuaded the spirit to take some medicines in the most affable way. He said that he had prepared for it the most efficient medicine, that it had never failed to restore the strength of Obo spirits. The shaman dug a deep hole near the Obo. The precious bottles of each village were put into it first, then a box containing seventy living snakes [20] of different kinds and colors. The shaman explained to the spirit the different kinds of ailments healed by the different kinds of snakes, and then the hole was filled up. Each village offered its sheep, firecrackers were set off, prostrations, libations and Wei-sang rites were conducted, and a last dance was performed by the shamans. Then the medical performance was closed. The spirit was supposed to be bursting with vitality again,

[20] Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex*, 182. The Tungus use the snakes for making poisonous bullets. The big snake is styled by the shamans the most important spirit who gives advice to the shaman, p. 246. See also Waddell, *op. cit.*, 368, *Snakes and Nagas*; also Heissig, *op. cit.*, 48, Spirits who cause diseases flee from the snakes.

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to it, in the way the Monguors are used to doing at the 795
time of the offering to the guardian deity of the family.[24] 782

RITES OF AUTUMN

THANKSGIVING RITE

The autumn feast, called by the Monguors "Thanks- 796
giving meeting," is intended as an act of thanksgiving for the harvest reaped.

In the ninth or the tenth month, when the harvest is reaped and threshed, the chief of the village convenes with the elders to agree upon the choice of the shamans who should be invited, and upon the manager and the helpers who should be appointed in order to prepare the feast. Usually small villages invite one shaman, [756] bigger villages two or four; the number of the shamans invited depends also on the abundance or meagerness of the harvest. The shamans are usually chosen from among those who performed the rites in spring or the rites against hail.

The appointed manager of the ceremonies goes, taking with him a bottle of wine, the ceremonial scarf, and an invitation written on red paper "to the master of magic, so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads"; he fixes with him the date for the ceremony, suiting his convenience. At that time the shamans are very busy performing the same rites in a number of villages. Because the rites of spring had been performed by shamans, shamans should be invited for the present rite and not lamas or Taoist priests.

Each family of the village contributes its part of the required wheat flour for the steaming of rolls, the needed barley for the distillation of wine, and cash for buying the sacrificial hog or sheep. Big villages sacrifice a hog, small villages a sheep. The appointed preparers of rolls and wine take the oath not to eat the rolls or to drink the wine before they have been offered to the spirits.

The evening before the feast day, the shamans and their apprentices arrive in order to prepare the pole and flag, to paste paper banners and streamers, and to print some Chinese inscriptions on red paper. The items are fixed and pasted on the walls and doors of the temple yard, the display of red and green and yellow paper banners turning the usual feeling of monotony and loneliness of the temple yard into one of joy and happiness.

The ceremony starts in the early morning at sunrise, with the erection of the pole. On top of the pole a white cloth flag is attached on which are printed Tibetan prayers or cabalistic designs. To the middle of the pole paper streamers are attached. While the pole is being put down into the hole of the big stone, designated for that purpose, the shamans beat the drums, build a fire in the yard, throw some cypress leaves into it, and sprinkle water on it. On windy days stones are heaped

[24] See Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 96, for the more elaborate Obo cult in the Narobanchin territory; 178, among the Chahar Mongols; 256, Dagor Mongols.

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around the base of the pole to steady it. The villagers do not participate at the erection of the pole. After the shamans' breakfast, taken with some of the elders, the bell of the temple is rung and the drums are beaten to call the people for the ceremony. 796

A group of young folk had already been sent early in the morning to all the hills, situated within the boundaries of the village, where rites had been performed against hail, to remove the stakes, the raven, the hammers, manikins, and goat skin, planted by the shamans in the spring. All these items are stored in the side rooms of the temple. Although the shamans did not accompany the group removing the items, it is said that their presence is required in order to store them.

The long offering table is removed from the temple and placed in front of the pole. A big fire is built in front of the pole and the table, in the center of the temple yard; cypress boughs are thrown into the flames and water sprinkled on the fire. Shamans and helpers purify their hands and utensils in the smoke of the cypress boughs. In the early morning the hog is killed by cutting its throat. The blood is collected, the skin shaved, bowels cleansed, and blood mixed with flour and spices is stuffed into them, and they are exposed on the offering table. The victim is washed and smoked above the fire only. If a sheep is offered, water is poured into the ears, or milk is poured on its back (never done for a pig); the throat is cut and the blood collected and filled into the bowels in the same way. The sheep is skinned and put on the table upon the skin in its entirety, without the head; thirteen big rolls are deposited next to the victim (thirteen rolls are offered to spirits and shamans, and only twelve to the dead), at the time of burial, with a vase containing vegetable oil, a jar containing wine and two bushels with wheat, some peas, spelt, and linseed, the kind of crops reaped by the Monguors. All these offerings are the gifts of the community.

In the meantime, the villagers arrive at the temple: men, women and children, with their own offerings of rolls, meat, raisins, cookies, which they deposit on the table.

The shamans, wearing the flowery coat and the crown of the god of the Five Roads, start the rite by a beating of the drums. The audience kneels in a half circle around the fire, in front of the pole and the table. The chief and the elders of the village, in the first row, hold incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the village pours first a libation of milk and wine on the ground before the fire and throws several handfuls of pounded cypress cones and leaves on the fire and sprinkles water. When the smoke billows in the air, he kneels, and prostrating himself says, "Old Father Heaven you know that we thank you for the harvest," and the whole audience prostrates itself three times in deep silence. Then the shamans beat drums in a slow tempo and the thanksgiving ceremony is finished. 796 756

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A large part of the hog is instantly prepared for a collective dinner, the remainder being divided in as many parts as there are families in the village. Each family has to partake of the sacrifice and receive a piece of meat and one roll. The manager of the ceremony presides at the division, while shamans and apprentices each receive thirteen rolls and a piece of meat. 796 782

Planks are placed in rows in the temple yard and straw is spread on both sides of them. The audience sits down on the straw and starts dining and drinking. When the sun is about set and the dinner finished, the shamans beat the drums, the audience kneels, the chief of the village pours a last libation on the ground, throws some cypress leaves into the fire and sprinkles water. The pole is taken down while the audience prostrates three times. Paper banners and streamers and inscriptions, are burned in the fire. For that reason some Monguors call the rite "paper burning rite." The villagers go home and the next morning the shamans leave.

MEANING OF THE RITE

The rite is a genuine one of thanksgiving for the harvest reaped, striking in its simplicity. Thanks are given in the temple yard of the god who is the protector of the village—not to that god, but to "Old Father Heaven" only, as is said distinctly by the chief of the village. It has been noted before that "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored inside temples or inside rooms, but always in the open air, in courtyards, on top of the roofs, on high mountains. Here is a case where, during the whole rite, the protector god of the village is not even mentioned, although the rite is performed in its own temple yard. The performance of the rite is perfectly in line with the general worshipping of "Heaven and all the spirits" as practiced by the Monguors. 796 782 776

An amazing fact is that shamans are invited to the ceremony, but at the very moment of the performance of the rite the chief of the village himself acts as sacrificer, as the representative and chief of the community, in the same way as we already noted that the chief of the family gives thanks on the roof of his house to "Heaven and all the spirits," offering the reeking rolls, steamed with the flour of the very first reaped wheat. The role played by the shamans is, in fact, secondary, and seems to have no immediate connection with the rite, but rather with the rites of preventing hailstorms, which had been successful. The invitation to the shamans to participate at the rite appears, except for the fact of the planting and removal of the pole, to be an act of kindness and courtesy of the villagers toward the shamans for their happy achievement. The people give thanks themselves for the harvest reaped to "Old Father Heaven" alone, the "Old Father Heaven" who provided their subsistence. 796 782 [622] [756]

But is this formula not borrowed from the Chinese, who use it under the same circumstances in all their

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villages neighboring the Monguors? This assumption, it seems, should be considered because of the fact that so many Chinese who use the formula are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and that so many Monguors who have lost their identity to the extent of having lost their own language, and being ashamed to assert their Monguor origin, boast of being Chinese, and of belonging to a more civilized culture.[25] 796 782

XI. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITHOUT REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

SACRED ANIMALS IN PRIVATE FAMILIES

Monguors do not honor the "spirit of Heaven" as a family deity nor do they perform, at present, bloody or non-bloody sacrifices to Heaven. Non-bloody sacrifices, in which the animal is not killed but allowed to wander at will, are a real economic sacrifice because the animal cannot be sold or put to profitable use; but this practice does not really fit the frame of an agricultural economy because the sacred animals cause a lot of damage in the fields. It even happens, as has been noted, that persons are injured and killed by sacred bulls. No wonder that the Chinese, devoted to agriculture, do not practice this rite in China. The Monguors, however, are very fond of the rite, which originated in the nomadic economy, and this fact betrays the original economy in which their ancestors lived. 745 231 825 [174]

Almost every Monguor family has its own consecrated animal, which usually is a female sheep—seldom a ram.

On the third day of the New Year, the animal is led into the courtyard. The whole family is in a hustle and bustle washing the feet and the fleece of the animal, and devotedly combining the fleece. Never before has the animal enjoyed such a fine appearance. The sheep is led into the living room before the picture of the deity protector of the family. All the members of the family kneel devoutly with burning incense sticks in their joined hands. They look on with feverish anxiety as the chief of the family pours milk, mixed with water, first on the head of the animal, then into its ears. The sheep frantically shakes its head and at that very moment the whole family starts prostrating itself three times toward the picture of the deity and then toward the animal, smiling, crying with happy enjoyment *"ling liao"* ("the deity accepts our offer"). Thus, the animal is supposed to be consecrated. The family are in a happy mood, with a gleam in their eyes, for the deity will protect the cattle. The more frantically the sheep shakes its head, the better it augurs for the future.

The incense sticks are planted before the picture of the deity honored in the family and the chief of the family and all its members attach red and yellow ribbons

[25] Schröder, Das Herbst-Dankopfer der T'u-jen im Sining-Gebiet, *Anthropos* **37–40**: 867, 1952.

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after this rite is performed the sheep is offered to the guardian deity of the family. The Ordos Mongols perform the same rite for "Heaven" only, when for a dinner a whole sheep is presented in its entirety to the guest.[29] 776 782 795

CALENDAR OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES 796

At home, at midnight on New Year's, while the old parents are still sleeping, the family starts kindling a big fire, with wood and cypress boughs, in the courtyard before the sacred pole for "Heaven and all the spirits," and prostrates itself three times. The fire is not allowed to go out the whole day. On the roof of the living room, or in the courtyard before the pole, offerings are put on a small table: rolls of bread steamed or baked in oil, raisins, butter, wine. Holding Chinese incense sticks in their hands, the family prostrates itself nine times, crying: "Heaven and all the spirits protect us during the whole year." They sprinkle some wine to the cardinal points and throw out some crumbs of bread for hungry malignant souls. Then they bring the offerings down from the roof in order to perform the same rite with the same offerings before the guardian deity of the family, the spirits of the fire, the pole, the hearth, the gate, and the stables, and fix a Chinese incense stick before each of them. At dawn the elders, upon arising, enact the same rite in the courtyard for "Heaven and all the spirits." At evening, from the first until the fifteenth of the first month, a lantern is hung on the pole in the courtyard, sticks of incense are fixed at the door, and the whole family prostrates itself every day before the door and pole saying. "We prostrate ourselves for Heaven and all the spirits and the spirit of the door and of the pole.[30]

Before sunrise, several pieces of ice are put on top of the walls of the courtyard of the families in which no persons have died during the year.

After the elders finish their worshipping, they sit on the k'ang in order to receive the congratulations of the family. The eldest son presents them with a cup of wine, and the family prostrates itself nine times. The daughters-in-law make three prostrations to their husbands, and the youngest brothers and sisters prostrate themselves before the eldest three times, and then before each other in the same way. Then follows the traditional speech of the grandfather, well known over the country: "Rise early in the morning, work till late at night, tend the herds carefully, and spend your full energy on the fields, and all live peacefully together and forgive each other's shortcomings and deficiencies. I hope that Heaven and all the spirits will bless you, in order that you may build seven farm houses several stories high, may shear the wool of hundreds of sheep,

[29] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos*, 489: 590, Peiping, 1947 (Monograph 11 of *Monumenta Serica*).

[30] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 625, *Das Neujahrsfest*, gives more details about New Year's.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

may ride a hundred beautiful horses, and that your children and grandchildren may prosper as the waves of the sea rising with the tide, and be full of life and as exuberant as the rising flames of a fire into which oil is poured." 796

After breakfast the children in all the families collect some rolls and wine and go to congratulate the shepherds outside the village. They build a fire, warm up the wine, then pour a cup for each of them.

The youngsters go to the sacred hill to enact the Wei-sang for "Heaven and all the spirits," and throw into the air slips of paper on which is printed the picture of the "Wind Horse."

Back home the young folk enjoy performing the rite of Ying-hsi, the greeting of the goddess of Joy, after the manner of the Chinese. Sheep, horses adorned with ribbons, and cows are driven to a designated threshing floor, where a big fire is kindled, paper is burned, offerings of rolls and meat are given, and a libation is poured, while some bread is fed to the animals. Some say it is a rite honoring Lung-wang (the dragon king); others say it is a rite for the horse and cow spirits, in order that the cattle will be blessed. It is a very old rite, practiced in the entire province, from the time of the Chou (1122–256 B.C.).[31] Young folk at that time like to ride their best horses, have a race, and make fun.[32]

Back home with the animals, they go to congratulate relatives and friends, carrying with them some wine and six rolls; they honor first the guardian deity of the family they visit, and then prostrate themselves before the family. At evening, on the first and the second of New Year's, the eldest son kindles lamps and incense sticks for each of the spirits in the courtyard. He goes into all the rooms, putting a red hot stone into a pot of boiling water in order to purify the rooms.

On the morning of the third day, after performing the rite of the sacred animal, the male members of the family go to the cemetery to honor the dead, by means of libations, prostrations, burning paper, incense sticks, and offering rolls.

Some people, on the sixth, invite a lama to read texts in the family. From the sixth until the sixteenth, old people stay at home, and every evening the young folk gather on the largest threshing floor of the village, to sing, dance, and have fun.

On the fifteenth, in the morning, the Monguors kindle a large Wei-sang for "Heaven and all the spirits" on the highest mountain of the village; at evening, men and women jump over the fire heaps, which according to the Monguors is a rite promoting fecundity.

On the second of the second moon is enacted the rite of the guardian spirit of the village, who goes to pay a visit to all the families of the village. Its statue is placed in a sedan chair and carried by four youngsters, preceded by the guardian of the temple carrying an old

[31] Granet, *La Chine antique*, *op. cit.*, 166.
[32] Schröder, *Anthropos* 41–44: 185, 1946.

[p. 124(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

bow and arrow and quiver. The members of each family kneel at the door and prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. At the return of the spirit, the chief of the village and the elders wait for it in the temple yard and congratulate the spirit and thank it for its kindness and blessings. On a table are placed three triangular *torma*, five balls of dough, adorned with some butter, and a bottle of wine. The chief of the village rubs some butter on the face of the spirit, and on the faces of the carriers and the guardian. Then the faces of the carriers are powdered with flour, and a ball of dough is pressed into their mouths. Wine is drunk and the spirit re-enters the temple. 796

On the fifth of April the ancestors of the clan are worshipped in the old clan cemetery followed by races and the clan assembly. Three days before, they honor their ancestors in their private cemeteries. A few days later, in all the villages, is enacted the shamanist rite of spring, as has been noted, and the rites against hail.

The twenty-ninth of the fifth moon and the sixth and the twenty-ninth of the sixth moon are days for the young folk to make merry in most of the villages. There is singing and dancing and some villages have races and wrestling.

In the sixth moon the spirit of the Obo is honored, and at the foot of the mountain a big crowd enjoys races.

In the eighth moon the Monguors honor the moon just as the Chinese do.

In the ninth moon the thanksgiving rite for the harvest is performed in the temple. A few days later Chinese performers are invited to give a puppet show for several nights in the village. If the three festivals given at the lamaseries every year be added to these as well as the distractions afforded by marriages, funerals, the celebration of birthdays, and the worshipping of the goddess of the hearth at the end of the year, an idea can be gained of the calendar of religious activities and distractions during a whole year in the Monguor society.

XII. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

THE CULT OF FAMILY DEITIES

It is a fact of common knowledge that "the earliest obtainable reports about the popular religion of the Mongols invariably speak about the images of house gods, placed on stands at both sides of the entrances of their tents. They believed that these gods took care of their flocks . . . , that they were the protectors of the family and of its wealth." They were called "Ongghot."[1] This custom of honoring house gods was very old and general. The Monguors, when they settled in the country of Huang-chung, were addicted to this ancestral tradition and continued its practice, for today in 776 342

[1] W. Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos* 48: 511, 1953.

[p. 125(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

OM MANI DAYS AND BUMKHANG

It has been noted that in many villages an additional 796
temple besides the community temple, had been built 792
and dedicated by zealous villagers to a Buddhist deity. Every year, in summertime, some lamas, very often of the Red Sect, are invited to perform the rite of the Om Mani. Butter, flour of roasted spelt, and tea are collected among the villagers. The lamas prepare the *tormas*, the cups with water, spices and flowers, the 108 lamps, recite texts, beat drums, ring bells. After the texts are recited the villagers start to make the thousand circumambulations around the temple, saying "Om Mani," spinning the prayer wheels, and moving from east to west in the ritual way. Old and young are keenly interested in the practice and all help to perform the thousand turns. Three lamas sit on a woolen carpet outside the temple, noting the number of turns performed by each villager who comes to have his merits noted. It is a busy day for the lama accountants. It is an interesting rite, performed in high spirits by the whole community. Youngsters run around the temple, competing in speed, praying "Om Mani" while old people walk, absorbed in devotion.

Another quite different Om Mani rite is enacted six times a year by older people, mostly women, members of an Om Mani society, which has a small fund for securing tea and rolls for the devotees. It consists of circumambulations around a Bumkhang, and the turning of prayer wheels, but in a west to east direction. The number of circumambulations is not fixed. All day long the moving devotees go on continuously. At least one lady has to be on the way at all times saying "Om Mani." At the time of calamities the whole population performs the rite.

Bumkhang means "home of the 100.000." Outside 731
of many villages is built a small Lamaist construction 792
at the time calamities afflict the village: epidemics, epi- [796]
zootics, diseases, drought, too much rain. According to the Monguor tradition these mischievous plottings of evil spirits have to be neutralized by magical means by lamas of the Red Sect. They are reputed to be more skilled than lamas of the Yellow Sect in indicating, by means of the deity whom they personally honor and invite to descend into their staff, the way along which these evils are approaching the village, and by what magical means the way can be blocked. Because the rite is thoroughly magical, the circumambulation is made from west to east, and the prayer wheels are turned in the same direction, the opposite way from that prescribed by the Yellow Sect.

Museum of Oriental Ethnology, *Folklore Studies*, Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China) 222 sq., 1952; also Der Hundekopfdämon im Volksglauben des Westtales under des Chinesichs Tibetischen Kontakgebietes im Osttales von Kuei-te in der Provinz Ch'inghai, 143, where the same belief is noted concerning the cat and the dog among the Tibetans of Penpa, neighbors of the Monguors. See also Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, Fuchs I, 40.

[p. 132(A)]

in business is ascribed to the spirit who is the guardian 772
of the wealth of some family, offended by the injustices 776
perpetrated by the unsuccessful businessman. When drought imperils the crops, they implore and propitiate the dragon god who cares for rain. They never envisage calamities or troubles as being a punishment of Heaven, and never try to propitiate Heaven, but they make recourse to the god who is supposed to administer the department in question, and try to conciliate him by inviting shamans or lamas. At that time Heaven and Buddha are overlooked. Exceptionally devout Buddhists will once in a while ascribe misfortunes to punishments sent by Buddha and invite lamas to pray for some days. However, such an act of religion is "never performed for Heaven."

PRAYERS AND OFFERINGS FOR HEAVEN

I have notice of only one occasion of a thanksgiving 776
rite for the reaped harvest of the year, performed by 776
the entire village. It is led by the chief and elders of the community, and an offering of a sheep or a pig is made on that occasion. The prayer is said and the offer made for "Old Father Heaven" alone, the stereotyped "all the spirits" being omitted.

This fact seems to be controversial because every family, giving thanks for the reaped harvest privately, makes its offering and says its prayers to "Heaven and all the spirits," and not according to the thanksgiving rite of the Chinese performed in the country for Heaven alone. The rite is the more controversial because, except in this case, offerings are never made, or prayers said by the Monguors, to Heaven alone. This exceptional rite appears to have been borrowed from the [177]
Chinese at the time when the Monguors in Hsining exchanged their pastoralism for an agricultural economy.

The fact that the rite of the sacred animal still per- 776
sists among the Monguors (see above, pp. 105, 118), 782
may be evidence that the rite after the reaping of the harvest, directed to Heaven alone, was borrowed by the Monguors from the Chinese in Hsining. The rite of the sacred animal, which is characteristic of nomads, is both for the purpose of securing for the herds the blessings of fecundity and, at the same time, a rite of the first fruits, since it comes in the spring after the nomad "harvest" of lambs (see above, p. 118). It thus corresponds to the agricultural rite after the autumn harvest, when the crops have been carried to the threshing floor. The rite of the sacred animal is performed by the Monguor community at the lunar New Year (usually in February). It is in honor of the guardian deity of the village, and is performed within the temple of the village and also in the living room of each family, before the altar of the guardian spirit of the family and in its honor. This rite of thanksgiving for the newborn livestock is never devoted, by the Monguors, to Heaven, nor is it performed outdoors, on the tops of mountains;

[p151(A)]

and this is also true among the Mongols[4] and the 796
Buriats.[5] If, then, the rite of the sacred animal, which 782
is specifically and characteristically an ancient nomad rite, is never directed to Heaven, one would not expect the harvest rite, if it were simply a later substitute for the rite of the sacred animal, to be directed to Heaven; but since this rite, uniquely and exceptionally among the Monguors, is in fact directed to Heaven, there is strong reason to infer that the harvest rite of the Monguors is a borrowing of the identical harvest rite of the Chinese of the Hsining region.

In all other circumstances, the "spirit of Heaven" is 796
honored in conjunction with "all the spirits" by means of a single rite performed for them in a group, and by means of the same offering. At the morning Wei-sang, made by the head of the family, a cry is uttered, "Heaven and all the spirits" (some Monguors add the name of the guardian deity of the family), and three prostrations are made for all of them, while the offering burns. On New Year's eve, the chief and elders of the village, after lighting a big fire in the temple yard, prostrate themselves three times for the group "Heaven and all the spirits."

In every family, on New Year's eve, a big fire is lit and the same rite performed. During the celebration of a sixtieth birthday a fire is lit in the courtyard and the hero of the feast performs this same rite. The last rite, in order to be preserved from hail, is performed by all the villagers on top of the highest mountain of the village, where all the statues of the temple are carried and a big Wei-sang performed, and there the protection of "Heaven and all the spirits" is implored. At [585]
marriages, the new couple prostrate themselves before a big fire in the courtyard, for "Heaven and all the spirits" in keeping with the command of the master of ceremonies.[6]

Two exceptions are to be recalled, which have already 776
been noted, concerning the rite on the Obo and the offering of a sheep to the guardian deity of the family. On these occasions the "spirit of Heaven" receives its part of the offer first, followed immediately by an identical offering for "all the spirits."

These two facts and that of the thanksgiving rite in the temple, to be sure, give evidence for the prominence of "Heaven" and apparently manifest its honorary position among the Monguors. Surely they help the Monguors remember this honorary prominence every time the formula, "Heaven and all the spirits," is used.

It is noteworthy that Heaven and all the spirits are always honored in the open air, in courtyards, on top of a roof, or on top of a mountain, never inside a temple or a living room. In old China, "all the spirits" were

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[4] See above, p. 119; also Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 90.

[5] Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 240.

[6] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kan-sou*, 71, Changhai, Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932. The same rite is recorded among the Mongols, by Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 74, and among the Buriats, *ibid.*, 301.

[p. 151(B)]

honored in the open air temples being built only for 776
souls of the deceased.[7] Among the Monguors, temples are built for all kinds of spirits. Heaven, however, has no temples.

The Monguors have no special offering for "Heaven." In former times, according to their traditions, horses were offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." At present the sheep is the usual offering. It is offered to all kinds of spirits and on all occasions. Rich people, or large villages, often offer a pig.

The most important event in a Monguor community 241
is the rite performed in spring, in order to obtain 796
blessings upon the community and the crops during the year. All possible spirits are invited into the temple along the rope, except the lama deities. The feast starts at night, with offerings, dances, and drum beating by the shamans for "Heaven and all the spirits"—but nobody attends this night rite, not even the chief or elders of the village! And during the two days that the rite lasts, not a single mention is made of "Heaven"!

The appointment of the new Tu-ssu is announced, not 622
to "Heaven and all the spirits," but to the ancestors and to the protector deity of the clan, with an elaborate ceremonial, and their blessings are implored upon the T'u-ssu and the clan. (See Part I: 46.)

At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages, the image of the guardian deity of the clan is reverently carried to the villages and honored for three days. However, not a single rite is performed for Heaven by the chief of the clan, not even at the yearly cult of the ancestor of the clan, when the entire clan is assembled. (Part I: 37, 64.)

No Monguor hopes his soul will ascend to Heaven 775
and enjoy happiness together with the great "spirit of 772
Heaven," in a place of joy and felicity. The Mongols have no notion of such a place belonging to the "great Heaven"; they only know the luxurious paradise of Buddha, where they are told they will enjoy happiness with Buddha during the period of time preceding a new rebirth, about which they seem to have very little interest.

All these facts seem to prove that at present the Mon- 776
guors are very remiss in the cult of their undefined and 171
vague "spirit of Heaven," who is without departments of activities, having no power over good and evil spirits, and no omnipotence. The "great Heaven" is not the so-called "Hochgott," but a spirit enjoying an honorary prominence.

In connection with this problem, it should be kept in mind that the habit of ascribing prominence to one among the spirits seems to be very old in Asia: "In Babylon and Assyria [3,000 years ago] the principal god of the city which happened to dominate the entire nation, became the supreme god of the realm."[8] "Al-

[7] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 202.

[8] Albert Condamin, S.J., *La religion des Babyloniens et des Assyriens*, 692, Jos. Huby, Christus Beauchesne, Paris, 1923.

[p. 152(A)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

M 576 The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank. [264] [603] [554]

The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little." [561]

M [574] It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

N *563 i. Celebrations and festivals

Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

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Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is particularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the

N *563 M 562 [558] [852] [782] [852]

[7 cont.]

114 travels, although he provides pictures of their dress. It is un-
648 necessary to cite in detail the literature written by these investigators. For further information, see the essay by A. Mostaert, The Mongols of Kansu; cf. the bibliography at the beginning of this work. Mostaert, however, does not mention A. Tafel.

114 None of these explorers wanted to make special studies of the Tujen, and therefore their reports are brief and more or less general; it could not be otherwise in the case of extensive travel accounts. They are usually content with information about clothing, language, place names, and the presumed origins. The chapter that Tafel devoted to the Tujen is comparatively extensive; see Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], Vol. I, pp. 241-257. Tafel must have had good informants for him to have been able to report so reliably after his two days' stay in Wei-yüan-pu. His brief presentation, to be sure, provides a fairly adequate orientation concerning the problems connected with the Tujen, but it indulges in too many controversial hypotheses regarding the history. It, too, like the reports cited above, provides relatively little material for giving one a picture of the culture of the Tujen.

114 The actual investigation of the Tujen was first instituted
797 by the Scheutvelder missionaries, who at the beginning of our century took up their work in the Amdo region. Father De Smedt soon devoted himself to learning the Tujen language and gathered extensive linguistic material, which, together with the well-known Mongolist P. A. Mostaert, he worked up into three great works: the Phonetics (Anthropos, 24/25), the Monguor-French dictionary [8] (Peking, 1933), and the Monguor grammar (Peking, 1945). P. L. Schram studied the social conditions of the Tujen and published a monograph concerning marriage (Shanghai, 1932) (2). All these works appeared after the

2. [Foreign text p. 17.] Upon the completion of the manuscript, I learned that P. L. Schram has another monograph on the history and social structure of the Tujen in preparation.

[8 cont]

114 Scheutvelder missionaries had again given up their Kansu region,
[177] which they left to the Steyler missionaries. After their departure the investigation of the Tujen again came to a halt. The language was already fairly well understood, but records of the rich folk literature and a comparison with the other Tujen dialects in Kansu were lacking. A good foundation had likewise been laid for the sociology. The other spheres, however, had not yet been considered, above all the religion and material culture (economy, clothing).

When the author came to this region in 1946, he intended
121 to begin with precisely these points. The Tujen were already
[177] Sinicized to a considerable extent, but in their language, religion, and dress they were able to maintain much of their individuality until the most recent times. Therefore, in particular the legends and songs were taken down, the religious customs studied, and the dress of the Tujen women described. What seemed most interesting to the author was the religion, which is to be dealt with in the following work. The presentation is not definitive, as will become clear repeatedly below, but it does provide the fundamentals and essentials.

115 Since there are almost no written reports on this subject,
123 the author had to utilize the living sources that were available to him during his three-year stay (until 1949), in addition to his own observations. The principal one was an outstanding Tujen man, a living book concerning his people's traditions, and a Tujen singer with an enormous treasure of legends, fairy tales, and songs.

128 The work falls into two parts. The first is a critical presentation of the facts gained from the sources, and by way of introduction the chief source itself (the informant) is to be characterized. The second part presents the theoretical results derived from these facts, namely, the attempt to draw a total picture of the religion and to show the layers out of which it is formed. Hence it is not simply an offhand field report, but is also a systematic survey of the religious situation and its explanation. It is to be regretted that this work had to be
114 broken off at the site because of the suddenly erupting unrest;

[831 cont.]

241 782 787

in the case of a three-year offering, one may not choose one mountain the first year and another the second year (3). Even

3. [Foreign text p. 834.] The mountain must always be located in the people's own area. Actually such heights are always present near the villages. For example, not far from the informant's compound there is a mountain that bears the name Sheep-offering Mountain, xoni šënliedzin ula, because the offering always took place there. Among the partially Sinicized population it has retained the name hsien-yang ling, that is, Sheep-offering Height, or sheng-shan, that is, Sacred Mountain. After the greater part of the village (yang-chüan) became Christian, a high cross was erected there, and in place of the sheep offering, the people now pray there for the weather blessing.

[103]

[797] [778]

the place of the soothsaying is oriented accordingly. It is indicated where the next soothsaying will take place. It is always a mountain height, however, never a compound or a valley, as, for instance, in the case of private offerings (1).

241 782

1. [Foreign text p. 834.] The offering may also take place before an obo. It is to be differentiated from the obo offering, however. The obo is the seat of the mountain-spirit, and since the mountain sheep-offering is done especially for the mountain-spirit, the obo is preferred. Since, on

[835 cont.]

241 782 procession moves from the temple directly to the nearest mountain and along the ridges across all the mountains of the entire village area. On each height the customary incense offering is burned by the two men, while the procession itself moves on. Towards midday, however, a halt is made on a height especially designated for this purpose. After the incense offering refreshments [264] are taken. The people bring bread, tea, and soup here in advance. Then the procession marches on. Not until evening does one return to the temple. On the following day the people take the books back to the lama monastery.

[836] **Details**

[562] Persons: Only male persons may take part in the procession, regardless of whether they are adults or boys, so long as they are strong enough to carry the heavy book and can pray the mani. The seed-supervisor determines how many persons each family must provide to make up the number of 108 book-bearers. If there are not enough people in one village, help is brought in from the neighborhood. Chinese are also admitted. -- In fetching and taking the books back to the monastery the number does not matter, so one person may carry two books. The Tibetan books are, to be sure, very large and heavy, since they are bound between two boards.

241 782 624 794 The seed-supervisor is changed every year at the harvest thanksgiving offering. He is charged with taking care of all the religious celebrations of the year. He is not the village mayor, however. Because his main concern is the seed, he is called seed-supervisor. The supervisor of the past year helps him (2).

[171] [797] 2. [Foreign text p. 838.] The Chinese, too, have such a religious supervisor who is chosen annually. Usually he is simply called t'ou-jen, that is, head man, or he is also called huei-t'ou, that is, meeting (festival) head; ch'ing-miao t'ou is also used,

[836 cont.]

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[171]
[797]

[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.]
but only for the period of the sowing festival with the cult dances. -- The Christian missionaries have taken over this arrangement for their ecclesiastical celebrations and folk festivals. Thus, besides the community mayors there are also special supervisors who, for instance, organize the festival for processions or at Easter, accommodate the guests, slaughter the festival sheep, etc.

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It is not absolutely necessary for there to be several soothsayers. If a village has several, however, they must all appear. If it has none at all, then it invites at least one from outside. A lama or a Bon priest is never invited.

Time: The time for the procession around the field is determined by the soothsayer at the pole-goat offering in the spring (aradziãn) on the thirteenth day in the fifth month. The procession itself must always be in the seventh month, when the seed is developing ears, because the greatest danger for the coming harvest is precisely at this time on account of the many and big storms during this month (3). The time is also often

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3. [Foreign text p. 838.] Cf. the sections, "Mountain Sheep-offering" and "Pole-goat."

determined in the lamasery. Since, of course, there are many villages that want to hold the procession, it may happen that two villages set the same time. Therefore the seed-supervisor goes to the monastery a month in advance and inquires when the books are available. The day is determined accordingly. -- It is usually calculated that the ceremony will last three days, one day for fetching the books, one for the procession, and one for

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temple must indeed have been devoted to the worship 175
of Buddha at some time; otherwise the name *Pei Ch'an-* 792
ssu would remain inexplicable. These facts seem to lead to the supposition that the original temple, already ruined in A.D. 265, must have been built by the early Chinese frontier colonists; and because it was not then called by the term *ssu*, the specific appellation for Buddhist temples, but *shen-ssu*, it must have been devoted to the worship of the spirits (of the locality), in the old Chinese manner. Later, after A.D. 520, the ruined original temple must have been converted into a Buddhist temple of the Dhyana sect. From that time on the people must have started calling it *Pei Ch'an-ssu*. Later still the temple, after having been changed to the cult of Taoist spirits, seems to have retained the Buddhist appellation, and the author of the *Annals* seems to have supposed erroneously that the temple was originally a Buddhist temple.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY COLONISTS OR BY MONKS FROM TURKISTAN?

Buddhism was introduced in China "officially" be- 175
tween A.D. 64 and 67 by way of Turkistan,[7] before 771
the time of King Kanishka of Kushana (80–110 or 120– 797
162), whose realm was situated on the celebrated commercial road connecting the Roman Empire with India and China.[8] Buddhism had been diffused into the petty realms of central Asia, with which the Chinese generals waged war for two centuries (121 B.C.–A.D. 101).[9] The first translators of Buddhist scriptures, mostly of Iranian and Scythian origin, came to China from Turkistan in A.D. 148.[10] All these missionaries, on their way to China, passed through Liang-chou which at that time was one of the most important emporiums in west China. Here lived businessmen from remote countries, subjects of the Roman Empire.[11]

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[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 1: 410, " . . . nothing is known for sure about the way or the time Buddhism was first diffused in China." However, Franke wrote earlier, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12: 217, 1909, " . . . Buddhism was firmly established in China in the second half of the first century A.D.; it made big strides during the middle of the second century, and rode the crest of the waves during the second half of the fourth century." Grousset, *op. cit.*, 244: "In 65 A.D. there existed sporadically in Kiangsu Buddhist communities, protected by the brother of Emperor Ming-ti. The diffusion of Buddhism seems only to have started on some large scale during the middle of the second century, A.D. . . ."

[8] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 55: " . . . the transcontinental silk trade road, running through Kashgaria (Turkistan) and Iran, was already open in the second century, B.C."

[9] O. Franke, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, " . . . during the three first centuries of our era, Buddhism must have been diffused from Gandhara and Kashmir into Turkistan."

[10] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 245.

[11] Peter Boodberg, Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 1: 289, Cambridge, [113]
November, 1936, "Besides the two 'Aryan' colonies in Shensi, there are reasons to believe that there existed on the Chinese

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Tibetan tribes, remnants of important ones which had 175
fled to Kukunor or Tibet. Mongol troops, divided into small units, were settled with their families under the leadership of clan chiefs at strategic points, in order to prevent possible inroads of hostile neighboring tribes. [563]
A group of Shat'o living in the country since 936 joined the conquerers and was enlisted among the frontier defenders. The descendants of these groups constitute the Monguors to whom this study is devoted. Later there came also groups of Salars, Turks of Samarkand, to whom territories were assigned. More Moslems also settled in the country.[26]

GODAN

The Yüan dynasty is well known for its devotion to 175
Lamaism. In Tibetan and Mongol literature, Godan, 797
the brother of Güyük (the Emperor T'ing tsung, 1246–1251) is celebrated as the first ardent Buddhist Mongol prince who invited to his residence in Hsi-Liang the Sa-Skya Pandita, Chief Abbot of the Sa-Skya sect.

The holy man accepted the invitation and started his "apostolic" journey. He remained seven years in Hsi-Liang successfully diffusing the religion over the entire country.[27]

According to history, the troops of Godan had de- 175
feated the Tibetans northwest of Lhasa in 1239 and 648
destroyed a monastery. The Tibetans asked for negotiations in order to end the war. Godan urged a Tibetan delegate to come to his residence, and Sa-Skya Pandita, to whom this task had been assigned, started his "apostolic" journey on "command" from Godan, in order to avoid the worst. He delivered Tibet into the hands of the Mongol Prince, received a "gold patent," became an official under Godan, and Vice-regent of Tibet. His successors inherited this office.[28] Discontent among the Tibetans over the surrender of Tibet caused a new Mongol expedition to be sent in 1251. More rivalries and discontent had to be crushed again by the Mongol troops in 1267, 1277, 1281, and 1290.[29]

The Mongol emperors, hoping to keep the Tibetans [781]
and Mongols in submission by manifesting reverence for the lamas and promoting their religion, lavishly showered favors and privileges on the lamas and became Lamaists themselves. Emperors and empresses received Lamaist initiation, and the Sa-Skya lama Phagspa, chaplain at court, was allowed to sit next to 175
the emperor.[30] The court of the Mongols was sincerely 771

[26] Louis M. J. Schram, C.I.C.M., The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 23–57, 1954.

[27] Huth, *Geschichte der Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, 130, 1896.

[28] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 8, *et seq.* It is the merit [113]
of Professor Tucci to have shed true light on this old myth about the ardent Buddhist Godan, his invitation to the Sa-Skya Pandita, and the political status of Tibet during the Yüan dynasty. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217–91, 578.

[29] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 18. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217.

[30] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 510–517–522.

[p. 13(8)]

Ch'ü-t'an was the only monastery in Huang-chung where laymen and lamas lived in the same compound. This fact reveals the mentality of the lamas and the customs of that time. These details were obtained from Living Buddhas and old lamas of Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, and in Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung, and among chiefs of the villages near these places. 792 342

STAGNATION IN THE DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM

The building of the splendid monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, the exceptionally favorable disposition of the emperors toward Lamaism, the lavish granting of titles and privileges to lamas who induced Tibetans to submit, all seemed to augur a period of intensive diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung. However, for two centuries Ch'ü-t'an remained the only important monastery in the whole country. Two reasons seem to account for this: the insecurity in the region of Huang-chung, and the violent struggle in Tibet between the sects, which depleted the forces of expansion of Lamaism abroad. 175 771 797 792 175

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, pp. 12*b*–19*a*) that during the period 1448–1600 there were thirty-seven inroads of Mongols from Kukunor, the Ordos, neighboring Tibetan tribes, or revolts of Tibetans. Fortunately, the construction of Ch'ü-t'an was completed (1426–1436) before the troubles started. Certainly troubled times are not propitious for the building of big monasteries, so Nang-suos and Karwas necessarily remained humble institutions.

Conditions in Tibet were just as unfavorable: Tsong khapa died in 1419. The five biggest monasteries of his sect were built before 1437. The rival Red Sects were still so aggressive as to dare to build their monasteries close to those of the Yellow Sect, and were even able to hinder the lamas of the Yellow Sect from attending (1498–1518) the famous sMon lam New Year religious festival, instituted by Tsong khapa himself.[55] In 1537 eighteen monasteries of the Yellow Sect were destroyed. In 1553 a war broke out with the Galdan monastery.[56] In 1621–1631 Mongols were called in by the Dalai Lama to rescue his sect,[57] but the Mongol Nairamdahu, an adherent of the Red Sect, fled from Mongolia to Kukunor in 1633 and persecuted the Yellow Sect which had spread.[58] Finally, in 1642, Tibet was conquered by the Ölöt Mongols whose chief, Gushi, offered it to the Dalai Lama. Although it is recognized that the effective power of the Dalai began with the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam (1542–1587), his political power was still scanty and questionable; it only began to develop with the Fifth Dalai Lama, Nag-dban Blo bzang (1617–1682), when Gushi Khan renewed in his favor the endowment conferred by Khubilai on the Sa-Skya.[59] 175 771

[55] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 39.
[56] *Ibid.*, 40.
[57] *Ibid.*, 58.
[58] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 132; also Huth, *op. cit.*, 51, 248–253.
[59] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 48.

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IMPACT OF FOREIGN RELIGIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA

In dealing with these subjects, serious account must be taken of the diffusion of Buddhism. At the beginning of our era, in A.D. 148 the first translators of Buddhist scriptures arrived in Liang Chou from the oases of Turkistan, and Liang Chou became the center of Buddhist activities (Chapter II). Among the Turkic T'opa Wei people, Buddhism was diffused on a large scale. From 399 to 557 they occupied northern China and extended their power as far as the Altai. In 538, in their two provinces of Chih-li and Shan-tung alone, are recorded thirty thousand temples and two million adherents to Buddhism.[22] The Turkic-Mongol tribes, settling or living as nomads along the western frontier of China from Turkistan to Manchuria, must have come in contact with Buddhism and felt its impact in different ways. The Chi'tan (of Mongol origin) who occupied northern China (907–1125) and extended their power over Inner and Outer Mongolia, professed Buddhism to the extent that in 942 the number of monks and nuns in Chih-li and Shan-tung swelled to 50,000 and in 1078, 360,000 are mentioned.[23]

However, from the seventh century on, new religious notions were also diffused in Central Asia among the nomadic tribes. In 762 the Uigurs had embraced Manicheism, and Nestorians were very numerous among them. The Kereits, a Turkic tribe living on Lake Baikal, were converted to Nestorianism in 1007. They were defeated by Chingis Khan, and submitted to him. The Öngüts, tribes of Shat'o origin who aided Chingis against the Chin in 1201, were Nestorians.[24] Around the end of the eleventh century Nestorian missionaries had already reached the Tatars living near the country which today is called Manchuria, because at least two of their chiefs bore Christian names, "Mark" and "John."[25] During the tenth and eleventh centuries many nomadic tribes in Central Asia were converted to Mohammedanism, among them the Qara-Khanides in 960, the Seljukides before 1043, and other Turkic tribes in 960 and 1043.[26]

IMPACT OF NESTORIANISM AMONG THE MONGOLS

The impact of these events must have been felt among the peoples of Central Asia on a larger or smaller scale and in different ways. At any rate, Nestorianism af-

[22] James R. Ware, Wei-shou on Buddhism, *T'oung Pao* 30: 179, 1933. Wieger, *Textes historiques, op. cit.*, 1433.

[23] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 291–296. It was under the Liao dynasty that Buddhism spread to the vast eastern expanses of Inner Asia.

[24] K. S. Latourette, *A history of Christian missions in China*, 63, N. Y., Macmillan, 1929.

[25] B. Louis Hambis, Deux noms chrétiens chez les Tatar au XIme siecle, *Journal Asiatique*, 1953: 475.

[26] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

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fected the imperial family of the founder of the new 795
Mongol nation in a peculiar way.

Chingis, building his new nation, resorted to al- 175
liances with neighboring tribes. He married his fourth 648
son, Tului, to the niece of Toghrul Ong Khan, chief of 643
the powerful Nestorian Kereit tribe. The Nestorian princess bore four sons, among whom was Mönke, the fourth leader of the nation, Khubilai, who became emperor of China, and Hulagu, the ruler of Persia, who also married a Nestorian Kereit princess, the granddaughter of the same Toghrul. The latter had a chapel attached to his camp.

Chingis married his own daughter, Alagai Beki, to Po-yao-ho, the son of the chief of the Nestorian Öngüts, who helped him conquer the Chin. Chingis was so fond of his son-in-law that he made him follow him, with Kulan the well-known favorite, in his conquest of West Turkistan and Khwarezm. The relations between the Nestorian Öngüts and the imperial family were very close. Güyük, the second successor of Chingis and leader of the nation, married his daughter to the son of Po-yao-ho, who had a Christian chapel before his tent. The emperor Khubilai married his daughter to the other son of Po-yao-ho.

No wonder that many Nestorian Kereits and Öngüts 177
occupied important administrative posts in the new na- 797
tion. Chingis himself appointed the Christians Chinkhai 643
and Khadak, and all imperial orders had to bear the signature of Chinkhai. Two chief ministers of Güyük were Christians, as were also the physicians at court. The principal minister of Mönke was the Christian Bolgai. Protection enjoyed by the 30,000 Nestorians in China in the construction of churches and monasteries was due to the emperor, whose mother was a Nestorian and who gave his daughter to a Nestorian prince. Even so, the diffusion of Catholicism by the first missionaries was also made possible and even encouraged by him. The impact of Nestorianism upon the imperial family seems at first sight to have been unusual, but it was in fact merely a veneer overlying a shamanist underground, for soon after Chingis, the Mongol emperors practiced Lamaism to the extent that Peking became a Lamaist city.[27] O. Franke writes about the "Rabies Buddhica" of the Mongol emperors.[28]

Vladimirtsov writes:

Chingis Khan introduced a definite religious idea into 797
the political conception of his own suzerainty and of that 175
of his clan . . . the shaman Kokchu announced that the 643
"Everlasting Blue Sky" favored Chingis who was its own pre-ordained envoy on earth. . . . "The 'Sky' has ordered me to govern all the peoples," Chingis said. . . .

[27] K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, 63–65. Henri Cordier, Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *T'oung Pao* **18**: 56–57, 197. P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extreme Orient, *T'oung Pao* **15**: 627, 1914. P. Pelliot, Les Mongols et la Papauté, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* **23**: 4 seq., 1922–1923; **24**: 46, 1924; **28**: 169, 193–4, 199, 1931–1932. Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

[28] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 522. [p. 154 (B)]

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The White Banner was inhabited by the "guardian genius" of Chingis, it would protect his troops and lead them to victory; he would conquer all peoples, for the "Everlasting Blue Sky" had so ordained.[29] 797 175 643

In the same way "Ahura Mazda, among the Achaemenians in Persia, [688–330 B.C.], was said to grant to the great kings their power over other peoples, and to bestow upon them victories."[30] In ancient China "Heaven" was believed either to give or withdraw the emperor's mandate.[31]

Chingis was not only religious, he was superstitious. The need to know the will of "Everlasting Blue Sky" and of "the guardian spirits" was a constant stimulus for communing with "shamans," sorcerers, and divinators.[32] "He believed Kokchu could ascend the 'Sky' and had powerful protectors among the genii."[33] "He instituted the post of *beki* who was to be the state's chief priest, [a shaman], vested with power and officially recognized."[34] "He was fond of Ye-lü Ch'ü-tsai for he was a skillful astrologer."[35] "Chingis viewing all religions with equal favor remained himself a good shamanist, true to the traditions of his people."[36] "He remained a primitive shamanist nomad with a rudimentary sense of moral responsibility to the 'Everlasting Sky' and the 'guardian spirits' and with a fully developed instinct of acquisition."[37] 175 643 771

The impact of Nestorianism among the Mongols was not profound. Professor N. Poppe, reviewing the study of W. Schmidt concerning the religion of the Mongols,[38] notes: 771

> According to the author the Mongols had monotheism and recognized Heaven as the Supreme power. Heaven was in their opinion, the lord of life and death, was eternal, immortal and omniscient (46–47). The statement about the recognition of that Supreme power by the ancient Mongols is corroborated by quotations of sayings mentioning Heaven and attributed by ancient authors to Chingis Khan, his son Ögedei, the emperors Güyük and Mönke and other historical persons. These sayings were however preserved in writings of various authors who wrote their works much later. Therefore, the question arises whether those sayings are authentic. It is possible that in a number of cases the mention of God as "the creator of the sky and earth" attributed by later writers to the Great Yasa and other documents, reflects ideas inspired in the authors by medieval European theologians, as Dr. Pallisen believes.[39]

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[29] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 65.

[30] Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 306.

[31] H. G. Creel, *Confucious the man and the myth*, 147, New York, John Day Company.

[32] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 81.

[33] *Ibid.*, 82.

[34] *Ibid.*, 77.

[35] *Ibid.*, 105.

[36] *Ibid.*, 109.

[37] *Ibid.*, 167.

[38] *Anthropos* **48**: 327, 1953; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* **10**: 1952.

[39] Nicolaus Pallisen, Die alte Religon des mongolischen Volkes und die Geschichte des Verhältnisses der Mongolen zu anderen Religionen während der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden, 1949.

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Huang-chung, and Mongolia were appointed members 814
of the committee. They were showered with honorific 663
titles and privileges, and summoned to reside at the 648
capital. The emperors lavishly provided for their expenses and those of their numerous disciples, and secured large temples and residences for their sojourn. The Mongol princes and the lamas of Tibet and Mongolia were elated with the generosity of the emperors and the keen interest and sympathy they displayed for their religion and for their spiritual chiefs. The emperors were happy too, realizing that it paid large dividends to have the most important and esteemed representatives of the lamaseries residing at the capital, in effect as honorable hostages, who had to ask the permission of the emperor every time they wanted to leave the capital.

However, these imperial generosities did not inter- 648
fere with the strong policy implemented by the court in dealing with Tibet and Mongolia. They did not hinder the court in banishing the seventh Dalai Lama to Ssu-ch'uan, or in refusing to comply with the request of the "specially honored" Changchia Hutukhtu, to return to the Dalai Lama the regions of Li t'ang and Ba t'ang. They did not prevent the court from drastically crushing the lama revolt in Huang-chung (1723), or from burning all the monasteries in the country, even those of the "specially honored" Changchia. Later, at the request of the "beloved" Changchia and T'u-kuan, the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok were allowed to be rebuilt. The emperor offered a contribution *ad hoc,* but two steles were to be erected recording the ungratefulness of the lamas and the new humiliating provisions for the lamas by decree of the court. The steles were erected, but built inside a wall and plastered by the lamas so that nobody could read the texts.

The policy of the emperors in promoting Lamaism has to be studied in the light of the facts. They were well aware of the predatory instincts and fickleness of the barbarians, and of the influence the lamas wielded among them. In order to further their own interests and to gain the sympathy of the barbarians, they lavished on the lamas the titles and privileges which they childishly craved; but they were not afraid to deal with the lamas and barbarians with draconian severity, whenever their behavoir was not in line with the imperial policy. An iron hand was in the velvet glove.

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO TRANSFORM THE MONGUOR SOCIETY

This study also sheds light on the failure of Lamaism 797
to transform the Monguor society into a genuine Bud- 771
dhist society. In view of the really amazing bloom of Lamaism of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung between 1600 and 1723, when more than forty monasteries were built in that relatively small country during that short span of time, and taking into account the tremendous number of lamas enrolled in them—one lama at least from every family—and the honors, titles, and privileges

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granted to the religious chiefs, one could easily suppose that the entire population must have become fervent Lamaists, and that an all-pervading energy radiating from Lamaism must have animated the entire social, family, and clan system. It is easy to suppose that Lamaism, controlling all the levers of power and wealth, and ruling over its own subjects, must have penetrated all the relations of life and colored all the institutions, producing uniformity in religious thinking, improving customs, and eliminating all kinds of unorthodox doctrines.

However, this is thinking in terms of what Christianity[1] performed in the Middle Ages when the corporations, the guilds, the feudal system, the monarchy, the social habits of the people, their studies, even their amusements all stemmed from the same ecclesiastical teaching, when the church was the very heart of Christianity. The present study reveals that Lamaism was far from being the center of the religious life in the Monguor society, and that it did not succeed in eliminating shamanism. Even the coloring of the old religious rites, performed by the chiefs of the villages or the chiefs of the families, though tinged with Lamaism, did not succeed in making the Monguors live in a genuine Lamaist atmosphere.

The most baffling fact, after so many centuries, is that the temple of the community in all the Monguor villages is not dedicated to a Lamaist deity, but to Taoist or shamanist deities. In many villages a Lamaist temple was built next to the community temple, but it was never the center of the official religious activities of the villagers. More astonishing is the fact that the religious activities conducted in the village temple on behalf of the community are never performed by lamas, but by shamans or by the chiefs of the villages.

The most important rite of the year is celebrated in the spring in the village temple, in order that the harvest will be blessed. It is attended by the entire community and is performed by "shamans" who invite Taoist and shamanist spirits, *with the exclusion of Lamaist deities,* to preside over the rite and to extend their protection over the harvest.

The elaborate rites devised to obtain protection against the terrible scourge of hailstorms are performed by shamans. The Lamaist rite of the procession with the 108 sacred books is merely added as an extra precaution.

The most important rite celebrated with devotion by each family for its guardian spirit is performed by shamans, because most of these spirits are Taoist or shamanist.

Lamaism not only met with dismal failure in its struggle for the eviction of these all-important shamanist rites, but it never succeeded in impressing a Lamaist interpretation on the old rites performed by the chiefs of the villages or the chiefs of the families.

The thanksgiving rites for the harvest, performed in

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prompt prosecution and quick forwarding of the accusations to the emperor. The emperor sanctioned the accusations January 1, 1724. An edict was sent throughout the provinces on February 11, 1724. Probably on account of this edict and the connections of the Surniana family with the Sessaka faction, General Nien Keng-Yao accused both sons of Surniana on July 1, 1724. In February, 1725, both sons were ordered to join their family, already banished to Yu Wei. In June, 1725, both were carried from Yu Wei to Peking, bound in chains, and condemned to die in prison. The twelfth son died in prison after two years of suffering, and the sixth son died in prison a couple of years later. These are the conjunctures of the accusations against the sons of the Surniana in 1724 by General Nien Keng-yao. They reveal the existence of a Catholic community and the building of a church in Hsining.[94a] 175x 798 578

Recently in Volume 18 (1959) of *Monumenta Serica*, I encountered the very interesting article, "The Description and Map of Kansu by Giovanni Battista Maoletti De Serravalle," by Professor B. Szczeniak, Notre Dame University, dealing with the same subject. 175x 113

Maoletti was born in Serravalle, near Milan, in 1669. He entered the order of the Franciscans in 1689. In 1705 he arrived in Canton and went from Sian (Shensi) to Lanchow (Kansu) in 1710. He was chased from there by bonzes in 1713, and moved to Liangchow and Hsining (Kansu) where he worked until 1716. He had been appointed Administrator of the vicariate of Hukwang, but left China during the persecution in 1724. He died on the way to Canton on January 14, 1725. The report had been written by Maoletti in Hsining, where he lived from 1713 to 1716. Maoletti's map was made four to five years before the *K'ang Hsi* or Jesuit Atlas was printed in 1719. It is not a studied piece of cartography, but a sketch-map to illustrate a mission report.

The map and the description of Kansu and Kokonor at this date is the more significant, for only a short time later great changes were brought about by the Jungar invasion of Tibet (1717), and again by the terrible revolt in 1723–1724 of Mongols and Tibetans of Kokonor and Huang-chung, and Lamas. The report is interesting for it deals with many details about places and people and the products of the country,—rhubarb, musk, and coal, silver and gold mines. (*Monumenta Serica* **18**: 294–298, 1959.)

Professor B. Szczesniak, in his very interesting article, also notes the work of F. Dehergne, S.J., "Les Missions du Nord de la Chine vers 1700," Archivum Historicum Societàtis Jesu **24**, 1955. Both sources help to give a view of the mission work in remote Kansu during the period of revolts.

The Maoletti report, following the map, is alive with interest in the Tartars (Mongols) who figure so prominently on the map, with the eagerness to further mission work among them, and with details about places and people. Maoletti's interest for the conversion of the Mongols is manifest in many places of the report. He is pleased to note that north of Topa sits a prince who is lord of Topa— 175x 797

[94a] *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses* **2**: 366–465, Paris, Paul Daffis, 7 rue Guenegaud, 1877. De Mailla, *Histoire Generale de la Chine* **11**: 373–408, Paris, Clousier, Rue Saint Jacques, 1880.

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"an acquaintance of mine." East of Lake Kokonor, on the west side of the Yellow River, is a prince who "wants to become a Christian." West of where the great wall protrudes around Chengfan (Liangchow) is a Christian outpost conducted by the governor of Yung-ning-p'u. Here "I preached at the tents of the Mongols." Today there are Christians there. North of this settlement is a prince of 20,000 families. In the extreme north sits a Mongol prince whose wife is the daughter of the Emperor of China. He rules over 40,000 families. (This text points to the Prince of Alashan.) 175x 797

The Khan, bKrasis Batur, second son of Gushri, the Khoshot, who conquered Kokonor and Tibet (1635) died in 1714. The Queen Mother of the successor accompanied the bier. The cremated bones of the Khan were carried for burial to the tomb of the Mongol kings situated on the borders of his kingdom between Chuang Lang and Hsining [94b] in steep mountains. I have sent an Armenian and one of my catechists to present the Queen Mother with a handkerchief and a snuff box filled with European tobacco. She has sent one of her major domos to thank me and to hear about the holy law.

Maoletti awaited the return of the Queen in the Church of the Armenians in Topa.

Maoletti worked for about fifteen years in Shensi, Kansu and Ili (Turkistan) and mentions nine places with churches or oratories (three of them with two) and fifteen or sixteen other Christian communities, some larger, some consisting of only a handful of converts; some of the congregations had been founded by the Jesuits, others by zealous laymen, but the bulk of the achievement was doubtless due to the pioneering effort of Maoletti. One may speculate that to some extent the ground had been prepared for the work of the Catholic missionaries by the Nestorians who were strong in these regions. (*Monum. Serica,* 298–303.) [795]

In Hsining, which at that time was an emporium of China with a garrison of six thousand soldiers, seven or eight adults had been baptized in 1706 by the Jesuit, Father Dehergne. The city had been visited several times in 1708–1709 by the Jesuits Jartoux and Regis, preparing the map of Kansu and Tibet on the order of the Emperor K'ang Hsi. In 1713 Maoletti bought a small church in Hsining which he dedicated to St. Gregory, the Armenian, and entrusted to the care of a fervent Armenian Catholic living in Topa. Later, the community having developed, Hsining had two churches, one of Our Lady of Angels for the men, and the other for the women. Later both had come under litigation [probably after the accusation by General Nien Keng-yao of the sons of Surniana].

At that time Topa, 60 li north of Hsining, was a stronghold, subject to a Mongol prince who was tributary to the Mongol Khan. Topa was the trading place of the foreigners, Mongols, Tibetans, Lamas, Indians, Persians, Turks, Armenians, and Muscovites. Fifteen different languages were spoken here. In this Babylon is an oratory or small church built by Armenians at my insistence. [191]

Cheng-hai-p'u, with a garrison of one thousand soldiers, a village near Topa, and at the great Gate of the Foreigners, had a very large church, which had a literate merchant as head of the congregation of the Chinese as well as the neighboring Tibetans.

[94b] Between Chuang Lang and Hsining are the tombs of the Li and the Lu t'ussu in Siangt'ang and Lien ch'eng, but I suppose no connections exist between these three cemeteries and both t'ussu and Khoshots.

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Two days east of Hsining, at the junction of the Hsining and Tatung Rivers, in Chang Ch'uan Ku, was a Catholic community. These seem to have been the four communities existing in the region of Hsining in 1715. 175x 797

In most of the important cities in the northern part of Kansu Catholic communities existed in 1716, with churches or oratories. Lanchow had two churches since 1699, depending on the Tung t'ang of Peking (Dehergne p. 287). Kanchow had its church since 1660. In Suchow was a group of worshippers of the Cross. Maoletti, before 1713, during his stay in Liangchow, founded fifteen communities (two churches in Liangchow and one in Yung Ning P'u).

In the eastern part of Kansu, in many of the important cities, Christian communities were also encountered, with or without churches, in 1716.

Dehergne, p. 282, notes that in the middle of the seventeenth century the Jesuit missions flourished in Shensi and numbered 12,000 Christians. In 1683 Christians were in twenty-three cities of the province.

In the five prefectures of Shensi there were Christians in 1700. In 1699 there were five residences of fathers and sixteen Jesuit churches (Dehergne, p. 275).

In Turkistan in 1708, there were some Christians in Ili and Hami (Dehergne, p. 287, No. 89). During the Ch'ien Lung period, 1776–1796, many Catholics were relegated to Ili for the sake of religion (Dehergne, p. 287, 288) and also to Hsi Tatung, four days distant from Hsining (Dehergne, 289, 293).

This is a sketch of the conjectures in Shensi, Shansi, Huangchung, and Kansu concerning the mission work around 1700, according to the report of Maoletti and Dehergne.

HUANGCHUNG REORGANIZED

Nien Keng-yao, the pacification of the country having come to a successful close, presented to the throne a memorandum in thirteen articles, on the methods of pacifying the Mongols, Tibetans, and the lamas. The first article was radical. All the revolts originated on account of the too extensive power of the chiefs. The Tibetan tribes, depending upon the authority of the Supreme Khoshot Chief, have to be withdrawn from him and organized in independent units, living in their own territories allotted by the emperor, ruled by their own chiefs appointed by and responsible only to the Chinese administration. The Khoshot and other Mongol tribes, who at present depend upon the authority of one single supreme chief, have to be divided into single independent units. Titles have to be granted to each of the chieftains. and territories have to be allotted to them by the Chinese administration. Each tribal chief is to be responsible for the administration of his tribe under the supervision of the Chinese authority. The entire administrative physiognomy of Kokonor changed at once, and Kokonor was annexed to the empire. 175x 648

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the nomadic tribes, subjects adopted the religion professed by their kings or chiefs. Even in Europe there existed the sayings: *Regis ad exemplar* ("Subjects follow the pattern set by the king"), *cujus regio ejus religio* ("Let the religion of each state follow that of its prince"). However, not a single fact is recorded in the *Annals* concerning the building of Buddhist temples or monasteries in Huang-chung during this century of intensive cultural Buddhist activity promoted by the conquerors and rulers of Huang-chung in their capital of Liang-chou. This fact seems to challenge belief. Possibly the insecurity in the country on account of the military actions accompanying the conquest, carried on by the three successive rulers in the span of a century (345–439), and the disturbances following the transportation of such important groups of families, afford the explanation. Perhaps the Buddhist cultural activities did not appeal so much to the people, as to the court and the administrative centers of the capital, and so the impact of Buddhism remained confined to the area of the capital.

The T'o-pa Wei conquered the kingdom of Pei Liang in 439, but at the time it was involved in a serious persecution of Buddhism (438–452).[22] From 445 until 635 endless troubles occurred in Huang-chung, on account of the intermittent inroads of the T'u-yü-hun from Kukunor, and the T'o-pa, Sui, and T'ang dynasties successively had to wage war with them. (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 20*b*–24*b*). In 663 there started the intermittent inroads of the T'u-fan until 866 (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 25*a*–31*a*). During the Wu-tai period (907–960) China was unable to control Huang-chung. The Sung dynasty (920–1227) was powerless against the Hsi-Hsia and Chin, which successively occupied Huang-chung, but which themselves had trouble with the T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang (*Annals*, ch. 31, pp. 1*a*–8*b*). Finally, the Mongols conquered Huang-chung in 1227 and brought peace into the country. No wonder, during these eight centuries of intermittent troubles and change in the population, Buddhist activities were very limited, and the few existing institutions in depopulated Huang-chung were of minor importance.

HISTORICAL DATA ACCORDING TO TIBETAN SOURCES

However, the lack of information in the *Annals* of Hsining relating to this period is compensated for by data provided by the Tibetan *Blue Annals* of 'Gos lo-tsa-la composed between A.D. 1476 and 1478.[23]

[22] Ware, *op. cit.*, 135, " . . . when in the period T'ai-yen (435–440) the province of Liang was conquered and its population moved to the capital, the monks and Buddhist paraphernalia all came East, and the counterfeit teaching increased far and wide. Presently, owing to the large number of Sramanas, an Imperial order was given to unfrock those under 50 years of age."

[23] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1949: 1; 1953: 11. *The Blue Annals* and the *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston Rin-po-

[P. 11(B)]

Buddhism, introduced in Tibet during the reign of 175
King Sron-btsan sgam-po, who died in A.D. 650 or 698, 771
was persecuted by King Lang Darma in either 841 or [798]
901. The persecution lasted for 70 or 108 years. ●
However, the doctrine continued to exist in Western Tibet (mNa-ris).

In Book II of the *Blue Annals* (pp. 65–66) it is stated that:

dGe-ba rab-gsal started his religious life at the hermitage of Zin-dpon. Three hermits [24] had fled via Khotan, to the country of Hor (Uigur kingdom), during the persecution and proceeding to Amdo met with dGe-ba rab-gsal, born in 892 in the village of Jya-zur situated north of Hsün-hua on the northern bank of the Yellow River. One of these "Three Learned Men of Tibet" ordained dGe-ba rab-sgal who went to Kan-chou (Kansu) for study but could not enter Tibet on account of the famine. In a vision he saw "Asuras" known as the "Nine Brother Dwarfs" residing in the neighborhood of Mount Dantig, who invited him to go to their place where there are great hermitages "promising to become his lay supporters."

In order to combat certain Yogis existing there, he laid the foundation of the monastery of Dantig, disciples joined him; he resided there for 35 years and died at 84 (975). Other celebrated fugitives of Tibet, called "The Six Men from *dbUs* and *gTsan*," who inaugurated the revival of Buddhism in Tibet, had met with dGe-ba rab-sgal, and had their ordination ceremony presided over by his disciple.

The text of the *Blue Annals* presents evidences of the existence of the hermitage of Zin-dpon and the founding of a hermitage at Mount Dantig by dGe-ba rab-gsal in the country where, during that period, there existed "great hermitages."

The text (*Blue Annals*, 65) fixing the location of Mount Dantig notes: "Ri Dantig is situated on the bank of the rMa-chu or Huang-ho, southeast of Kum-'bum and north of Hsün-hua." In the Introduction (p. 17), the author notes that "dGe-ba rab-gsal was born in 892 in Tsong-ka bDe-khams" (north Amdo; according to a local tradition his native village was Jya-zur, situated on the northern bank of the rMa-chu, north of Hsün-hua).

The location of Mount Dantig on which dGe-ba rab-gsal built his hermitage in A.D. 940, southeast of Hsining on the northern bank of the Yellow River, seems to correspond perfectly with that of the Mount Ami ch'ü-lu situated 140 li southeast of Hsining on which is built the actually still existing picturesque monastery of Sha-ch'ung. In 1910 its origin had been lost, but various surviving traditions attributed its origin to the Yüan

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che composed in 1322, partly translated by E. Obermiller, 1931, are the main sources of information for all later historical compilations in Tibet. *Ibid.*, Introduction, 1.

[24] *Idem*, 63, cites Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism*. Obermiller, *Blue annals*, 2: 201. The three men are called *Bodhi-kyi mkhas-pa mi-gsum* or The Three Learned Men of Tibet. They are buried in a temple at Hsining. In dPari, north of Hsining, there exists a stone pillar with the names of three men mentioned on it (verbal communication of Rev. dGe-dun Chos-'phel). I never heard about such facts during my sojourn in the country.

[p. 12(A)]

allowed in the intimacy of the family; he is shunned. 754
He is also dominated by an inferiority complex, and ac- 756
customed to letting a wayfarer pass first on the road. 628
He knows that he does not belong at the top of society, 565
for during the empire, the Monguors say, no shaman was allowed to compete for literary degrees. Their profession was discredited in the same way as that of tailors, barbers, and comedians. The social standing of the shamans and the influence they wielded in former times are really beyond all comparison with their poor condition of today.

But do the Monguors never call the black shamans in [578]
order to perform their rites? A couple of facts will be recorded about Monguors who, in order to take vengeance on enemies, invited black shamans to cast spells upon them at night.

NO ENTHUSIASM AMONG THE MONGUORS FOR THE DUTY OF SHAMAN

It is a well-known fact all over the country that sha- 756
mans generally have an aversion to their office and do not like to carry out their functions, but, bound by the choice of their father shaman, and knowing that a refusal would be fraught with all kinds of evil consequences, they discharge their burdensome, non-remunerative duty. The Monguors say that in families where there are no shamans, permission would never be granted by the parents and the chiefs of the families for a member of the family to become a shaman.

In the Valley of Hung-nai there are no more shamans 756
at present. During the terrible Moslem rebellion, all 798
the shaman families were exterminated. The inhabitants of the valley, afraid of the burdens attached to this profession, no longer allow their sons to become shamans. They prefer to honor the more lenient deities of Lamaism and have their sons become lamas. They invite shamans of other villages to perform shamanistic rites in their village every year in the spring and at hail time; the other rites are all performed by lamas. Shamans, however, according to their own ideology, assert that no more shamans can arise among them.

Several times I heard the typical story, later attested 756
to by No Kuang-li, that when he was a boy a member of his family was ordered by his father shaman to succeed him. The unwilling boy was compelled to accompany his father at the performance of all kinds of rites, to learn the usual prayers, and to submit to the peculiar training. When his father died, the boy tried to get rid of the duty, but the family council decided that he had to comply with the choice made by his father. The boy's nerves were on edge and he went on a rampage; his health was impaired, his mind was seriously affected and he had a mental breakdown. He roamed for months in the mountains, shunning all kinds of people and finally was found hanging from a tree. After so many years this fact was still recorded and explained by the Monguors as being a punishment meted out by the spirit who had selected that boy as its

[p.80 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

from wars and revolts, never had suffered as much as in 1723–1724. 175x 727

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS

After relating the successful repression by General Nien Keng-yao of the terrible revolt of the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas in 1723–1724 in Huangchung, something should be said concerning two Manchu princes, accused by the general before Emperor Yung Cheng, of having contributed of their own money to the building of a Catholic church in Hsining in 1723–1724. 175x 798

This is the first document concerning the existence of a Catholic church in Hsining and consequently of a Catholic community. It seems unusual to see a general make such an accusation directly to the emperor, at a time when the conjunctures of war absorbed all his forces and energies (July 1, 1724). [795]

Emperor K'ang Hsi died on December 20, 1722. His fourth son, Yung Cheng, ascended the throne in 1723. According to the time-honored custom, some of the brothers of the new emperor assumed an attitude of menacing hostility toward him. The Emperor Yung Cheng suspected his ninth brother, Sessaka, of being the chief of the discontented faction and sent him (April 15, 1723) far away to Hsining to fight the Mongols, Tibetans, and Lamas under the command of General Nien Keng-yao. Together with Sessaka two sons of the Manchu Prince Surniana were also sent, the sixth, Lessihin, and the twelfth.[94] [443]

Surniana, a brother of the late Emperor K'ang Hsi, member of the oldest branch of the Manchu dynasty, had been a notorious governor in Liaotung province and was the chief of one of the eight Manchu banners. He was suspected by Emperor Yung Cheng of being a sympathizer and supporter of the Sessaka group. He and his entire family were banished to Yu Wei, on the northern outskirts of the empire. His properties were confiscated, his three hundred servants and slaves taken away, all his dignities removed, and he and his family reduced to the state of subjects. The wealthy Surniana had thirteen sons and sixteen daughters. Most of the these princes and princesses were Catholics. The sixth son, Lessihin, was baptized before he left for Hsining and the twelfth son when he arrived at Hsining. They were confined in separate houses and guarded by soldiers. 175x 798 578

The reason for these troubles were the accusations sent September 7, 1723, by the Viceroy of Chekiang and Fukien provinces to the tribunal of rites, concerning the building of Catholic churches in the provinces, the customs observed by the Catholics, the large number of priests in the country, etc. The viceroy favored a

[94] The charge seems to have been based on slander. Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses 3: 366–465, Paris, Paul Daffis, 7 rue Guenegaud, 1877. Histoire Generale de la Chine, De Mailla. 11: 373–408, Paris, Clousier, rue Saint Jacques, 1880.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

prompt prosecution and quick forwarding of the accusations to the emperor. The emperor sanctioned the accusations January 1, 1724. An edict was sent throughout the provinces on February 11, 1724. Probably, on account of this edict and the connections of the Surniana family with the Sessaka faction, General Nien Keng-Yao accused both sons of Surniana on July 1, 1724. In February, 1725, both sons were ordered to join their family, already banished to Yu Wei. In June, 1725, both were carried from Yu Wei to Peking, bound in chains, and condemned to die in prison. The twelfth son died in prison after two years of suffering, and the sixth son died in prison a couple of years later. These are the conjunctures of the accusations against the sons of the Surniana in 1724 by General Nien Keng-yao. They reveal the existence of a Catholic community and the building of a church in Hsining.[94a]

175x 798 578

Recently in Volume 18 (1959) of *Monumenta Serica*, I encountered the very interesting article, "The Description and Map of Kansu by Giovanni Battista Maoletti De Serravalle," by Professor B. Szczeniak, Notre Dame University, dealing with the same subject.

175x 113

Maoletti was born in Serravalle, near Milan, in 1669. He entered the order of the Franciscans in 1689. In 1705 he arrived in Canton and went from Sian (Shensi) to Lanchow (Kansu) in 1710. He was chased from there by bonzes in 1713, and moved to Liangchow and Hsining (Kansu) where he worked until 1716. He had been appointed Administrator of the vicariate of Hukwang, but left China during the persecution in 1724. He died on the way to Canton on January 14, 1725. The report had been written by Maoletti in Hsining, where he lived from 1713 to 1716. Maoletti's map was made four to five years before the *K'ang Hsi* or Jesuit Atlas was printed in 1719. It is not a studied piece of cartography, but a sketch-map to illustrate a mission report.

The map and the description of Kansu and Kokonor at this date is the more significant, for only a short time later great changes were brought about by the Jungar invasion of Tibet (1717), and again by the terrible revolt in 1723–1724 of Mongols and Tibetans of Kokonor and Huangchung, and Lamas. The report is interesting for it deals with many details about places and people and the products of the country,—rhubarb, musk, and coal, silver and gold mines. (*Monumenta Serica* 18: 294–298, 1959.)

Professor B. Szczesniak, in his very interesting article, also notes the work of F. Dehergne, S.J., "Les Missions du Nord de la Chine vers 1700," Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu 24, 1955. Both sources help to give a view of the mission work in remote Kansu during the period of revolts.

The Maoletti report, following the map, is alive with interest in the Tartars (Mongols) who figure so prominently on the map, with the eagerness to further mission work among them, and with details about places and people. Maoletti's interest for the conversion of the Mongols is manifest in many places of the report. He is pleased to note that north of Topa sits a prince who is lord of Topa—

175x 797

[94a] *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses* 2: 366–465, Paris, Paul Daffis, 7 rue Guenegaud, 1877. De Mailla, *Histoire Generale de la Chine* 11: 373–408, Paris, Clousier, Rue Saint Jacques, 1880.

Wahhabits, and had witnessed the fanaticism and the successes reaped by its promoters. He was enthusiastic about the idea of a return to the original orthodoxy. On his arrival, he posed in the Hsun Hua community as the possessor of the genuine doctrine and the champion of the religion founded by Mohammed and his companions. In the services in the mosques he urged the recitation of prayers with a loud voice, for it was the rite practiced in the new sect. It tremendously shocked the other Mohammedan communities, used to reciting the texts in a low voice, so that they accused the disturbers of the religion to the officials. The Salar, Su Forty-three, with other Salars, invited Ma Ming-hsin as teacher and head of all the Mohammedan communities of Hsun Hua. Bitter discussions arose between the two groups, and forty adherents of the old religion were killed. An accusation was dispatched to the governor in Lanchow, who immediately sent two military officials with their troops to Hsun Hua to quell the revolt. However, the new religious group had already grown so fast and become so numerous, that Su Forty-three was able to beat the troops, kill the officials, and occupy the city of Ho Chou. New troops which arrived did not dare go to Ho Chou and they garrisoned in Ti-tao. Then the new religious rebels ran to Lanchow. They defeated the 800 poor troops of Lanchow, besieged the city, occupied the western corner of the city, and broke up the bridge over the Yellow River. New troops came from Kanchow and Szechwan. In the meantime, the officials of Anting had captured Ma Ming-hsin, the fomenter of the revolt in the city and sent him to the prison of Lanchow. The rebels requested their leader. From upon the city wall, the official made him exhort the rebels to keep quiet and return home. It did not work. Then Ma Ming-hsin was killed with his son.

Just at that time T'u-ssu Lu Fan, from Lien Ch'eng, had arrived with 300 Monguor troops and was attacked by the rebels. His troops were nearly all killed and the t'u-ssu was wounded. Then the rebels retired to the nearby Hua Lin mountains and prepared entrenchments. General A Kuei was called from Szechwan to quell the revolt. The army dared not attack the fanatic rebels in the mountains. The Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu, leading his Salar Mohammedan troops of the old religion, was first to attack and enter the mountains. He was very successful. Later he recovered the city of Ho Chou. More troops arrived from Szechwan and Mongol troops from Alashan. In the mountainous country they administered a crushing defeat to the rebels who fled to the Hua Lin temple. It was burned down with the rebels inside. Few escaped, among them Su Forty-three, who was captured and killed. The revolt was quelled. Then followed the murdering of the entire families of hundreds of the adherents to the sect, forbidden to pray with a loud voice, to collect money and alms, etc.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Where were the Monguor t'u-ssu during the revolt? 175x

The defeat of the troops of T'u-ssu Lu Fan has been related. He was rewarded later by the honor of wearing the double peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57). 703 624

The five outer Salar groups, adherents of the new religion, inhabited Pa Yen Jung situated south of Nienpei. The danger of inroads on and the plundering of these groups had to be forestalled. Lu Chen-hsien, member of the t'u-ssu clan, guarded with the troops the region of Hsiang T'ang and Huei Ho Tung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 60). 175x 648 [795]

T'u-ssu Kan San Yuen-pao guarded the city of Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Chou Lin guarded the passes of Ch'i Shih near Pa Yen Jung and Feng T'ai Shan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51). T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the city of Nienpei and was later called to Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai helped guard the city of Ti-tao in East Kansu with 200 Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the Hsiao Hsia pass near Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu who had fought in Lanchow and recovered Ho Chou, was rewarded by the honor to wear the Blue Plume or Crow feather, and received the button of the second degree, worn on the cap (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). [703]

The Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Lanchow and was rewarded with the same honor as the former Salar t'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*a*).

Huangchung had been spared from inroads and devastation.

YEN CH'A HUI REVOLT

After the death of Ma Ming-hsin in Lanchow in 1781, T'ien Wu, a fanatic *ahong*, leader of the new sect in Fu Ch'iang in East Kansu, was proclaimed chief of the new sect. At that time the Chinese officials were brutally murdering the entire families of the rebels, and rumors were spread that all the Mohammedans of the old and new sects were to be killed. Already in 1782, in Shih Feng Pao, in the T'ung Wei district, T'ien Wu had started digging entrenchments and moving the wives and children to strongholds in the mountains, weapons had been prepared and flags, etc. Around Ku Yuen and Fu Ch'iang encounters continued unabated between the army and the rebels, who grew stronger and stronger by the accrual of countless adherents of the old sect. In 1784 T'ien Wu was wounded in a fight in Fu Ch'iang and died. The rebels, beaten in many encounters, fled to the Shin Feng Pao mountains where they finally were exterminated, and 3,000 wives and children brutally murdered. The revolt was quelled. 175x 795 648 579 798

During the revolt T'u-ssu Lu Fan had helped guard the city of Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*) and 175x 579

[P.64(B)]

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

T'u-ssu Lu yin, member of the Lu clan, guarded the Yang-chia temple region (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 58). 175x 579

T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the Ping Ku pass near Lien Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuen guarded the Lu P'an Shan region and was later called to guard Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai with 300 Monguors guarded the Kuan Miao T'an in Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). T'u-ssu Chao Huai-peh guarded the Ping Ku pass with Kan T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the bridge in Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu fought in Fu Ch'iang and was rewarded with the title of lieutenant colonel (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Fu Ch'iang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*).

Huangchung again had escaped devastation, but East Kansu for the second time had to bear the brunt of the revolt. The country and the people suffered tremendously for the officials were determined to annihilate completely the adherents of the sect and their families.[96]

NEW SECT IN HSINING

However, the sect of the new religion was already rooted too deep in the minds of the Kansu Mohammedans to get rid of it by crushing two revolts and killing many people. In 1789 a small group of adherents to the sect were discovered among the Mohammedans in Hsining by the officials. They held meetings and created disturbances in the Mohammedan colony. They were captured, a number of them killed with their families, the rest exiled to Ho Lun Chiang by order of the emperor.[97] 179x 795 [798]

The sect of the White Lotus religion had already spread in five provinces in 1796. It would still last seven years before it would be quelled. In 1798 a strong group of 12,000 rebels invaded East Kansu in the third moon, parted in two groups and started devastating and plundering the country. All available troops were ordered to come to the rescue of the Shensi and Kansu troops. T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun went with 300 Monguor soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu went with his soldiers of the old religion (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu also went to the rescue and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*a*). The remaining t'u-ssu protected the borders of Huangchung along the Yellow River. 175x 795 579 648

In the seventh moon of 1800 the country was at peace (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 59–61). Huangchung 175x 579

[96] Both revolts are summarized according to *Annals* of Kansu 47: 1–3. J. J. M. De Groot, *Sectarianism and religious persecution in China*, 311–327, sq., Amsterdam, Muller, 1903. Commandant d'Ollone, *Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois*, 229, sq., Paris, Leroux, 1911.

[97] J. J. M. De Groot, *op. cit.*, 327.

[P. 65(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

were afraid these brigands would join the rebel Mohammedans. 175 × 795

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Hsing-nan was ordered to join the troops of General Fan Pei-lin and guard the passes of Cha-Ssu Kuan and Ch'ing Ling nao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). T'u-ssu Ch'i Ch'eng-kao joined the army, fighting the rebels on the passes (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a*). T'u-ssu Chao Yung-li guarded the passes in Pa Yen Jung country, and was rewarded with the two-eyed peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). 579 628 [703]

T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun, having the title of brigadier general, fought with 500 of his troops around Hsining. He was helped by his nephew Lu Su-chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57, 60).

In 1863 the revolt was growing more intensive every day. East Kansu suffered tremendously.

In the tenth moon rebels of the district of Ninghsia, led by Ma Hua-lung [99] took the important city of Ninghsia by storm. The city was devastated. Many fires were set and tens of thousands of Chinese were killed. Thereafter Ma Hua-lung besieged and captured the city of Ling Chou where he killed 20,000 Chinese.

In the tenth moon Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining. For a long time dissension concerning the old and the new religion divided the Hsining Mohammedans into two camps. Governor Yu T'ung invited the Mohammedan chief Ma Wen-i to patch up the trouble and to make them desist from plundering the country. Both parties consented but a strong group of Salars and Shensi Mohammedans arrived, besieged the city, and then plundered the country. During the year 1863 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to garrison in Sheng T'ang and Ch'i-li-pu, and guard the western highway *Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*b*). [798] ●

In 1864 the revolt raged unchecked in East Kansu, and the city of Hsun Hua was taken by storm, followed by a tremendous massacre of the Chinese population. Another Mohammedan group attacked the city of Donkir west of Hsining, but was beaten. It invaded the Sina valley and was put to flight. Long before the attack of the city, dissension among the Mohammedans concerning the two religions had divided them into two groups. The old group was called the great group (*ta huei*), the adherents of the new religion, the group of the flowered temple (*hua ssc*). The first group disapproved of the attack on the city and called into the city 1,000 of its members from outside. The Chinese population of [563]

[99] The Moslem Ma Hua-lung, back from Turkistan, had founded a new sect in Chin Chi Pu in the prefecture of Ninghsia. He claimed to have received revelations from Allah. The people honored him as an equal of Mohammed. He was to be succeeded by his descendant after his death as chief of the sect. However, after his death, his son-in-law and his grandson struggled for the succession, and the sect parted in two groups. He did not proscribe attendance at the mosques, but he recommended praying at home, two or three families together, praying in a loud voice, with the palms of the hands turned upward. The sect spread even as far as Szechwan and Yunnan provinces (d'Ollone, *op. cit.*, 374).

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

the city was grateful and ready to help them. The second group called three thousand outsiders. However, the attackers were beaten by the old group, the local militia of the Chinese population. 175x 795 579 628

In 1865 the depredation of the cities of Ku Lang, Yung Ch'ang, Shan Tan, and Kanchow, situated on the trade road to Turkistan, was wicked and ruthless. The rebels carried by storm the city of Suchow, and a terrible massacre of the population took place; 10,000 Chinese were killed. The pass of Chia Yu Kuan was captured by the rebels. At the time the rebels passed Liangchow, many Mohammedans from the vicinity fled into the city for shelter. The official, unable to put reliance on them and suspecting their connivance with the rebels, massacred them all in the city.

In the third moon the city of Hsining was besieged for a second time. The rebels were put to flight. Then they attacked the city of Donkir again. They were chased and looted several villages. At that time the dissension among the two groups had subsided. Mohammedans of Hsining attacked the city of Lao Ya Ch'eng but were beaten.

T'u-ssu Ah helped defend the city (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 49*a*). T'u-ssu Chou Hsieh-chi died on the field of battle defending the city (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*a*). T'u-ssu Hsin, after the defense of the city, disappeared in the mountains and returned only in 1886 (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 53*b*). During the whole year the Mohammedans had devastated East Kansu and Huangchung.

During 1866–1867 the attacks continued, and the army resisted in the same desultory fashion. The power of the Mohammedans was too strong and that of the army too feeble and uncoordinated. All these expeditions were in the nature of pillaging parties, which were murdering and kidnapping people, and carrying away all the valuables they could find. They stirred the bitter hatred which burned in the hearts of the Chinese against the Mohammedans, and that of the Mohammedans against the Chinese.

In 1868 the Mohammedans of Hsining again looted the Donkir region and were defeated in Shen Chung. Their chief Ah Wu was captured and killed with 1,300 of his brigands.

In the tenth moon, the new governor general of Shensi-Kansu, Tso Tsung-t'ang, appointed in 1866, arrived with his troops to quell the revolt.

In 1869–1870 the general first attacked the most important center of the uprising. He quelled the revolt of Ma Hua-lung and cleared the Ninghsia district of rebels. He acted as ruthlessly with the Mohammedans as they had behaved with the Chinese. The massacre [798] of the Mohammedans was tremendous. The stronghold of Chin Chi Pu, the center of the revolt, was burned to the ground with the defenders of the city who fought with the courage of despair. Nothing was heard of them any more. Ling Wu was taken in the same way and few defenders escaped.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The Mohammedan population of Ninghsia was very dense. It inhabited many important villages. One village after another was destroyed but a few Mohammedans managed to escape toward Shensi or Huangchung. The army commanders of Ninghsia and the local militia, which had suffered so many reverses and lost many soldiers at the hands of the Mohammedans, were in high spirits and revenged themselves against their former oppressors. In the meantime the revolt went on in the other prefectures of Kansu-Shensi. 175 795 579 628

In 1871 Ma Hua-lung, who had surrendered the previous year, was killed with his father, his son, brothers, and the commander of his troops. The revolt was quelled in the prefecture of Ninghsia.

In the third moon the city of Lien Ch'eng, the stronghold of the Lu t'u-ssu, was attacked by the rebels. The attack failed and the rebels were put to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*b*).

In 1872, in the third moon, Tso Tsung-t'ang, leading his army, went to Hsining. The Mohammedans of Hsining, in combination with Salars and Shensi rebels, were at that time plundering the country, killing people, and converting their villages into fortresses, in expectation of attacks from the Chinese army. Tso Tsung-t'ang followed the tactics he had successfully used in Ninghsia, and before long he had the situation in hand. In combination with the Hsining troops he cleared the country, destroying the villages of Mohammedans one after another, and killing all the Mohammedans he could lay hand on. The figure of those killed ran into the ten thousands. More than 100 villages had been destroyed. The Mohammedan population of the Hsining country was very dense. This fact gives an insight into the power of the Mohammedans in the country, and the difficulty for small armies assigned to defend definite countries, and, without coordination among them to cope with the situation. [798]

In the seventh moon the general moved to Lanchow to recommence the same tactics, annihilating the strongholds, killing and demoralizing the rebels.

In the eleventh moon several thousand Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining again. Among them were Salars of the two Salar t'u-ssu from Hsun Hua, the four upper and lower kungs, Mohammedans from Shensi province and from the suburbs of Hsining. The situation in Hsining seems to have been critical, for troops were sent by General Tso Tsung-t'ang from Lanchow. The troops could not cross the Tat'ung River, the boats having been burned by the rebels. The T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng, living on the borders of the river, immediately called his people to prepare a floating bridge, and the troops arrived on time in Hsining. The army administered a crushing defeat to the rebels, destroyed the Mohammedan suburb of Hsining, and the massacre followed. Then the local Mohammedans sued for peace and surrender in concert with the Salars. The officials suspected their faithfulness. They retired

/34 cont'd/

Mo 584 431 A visitor who has come to offer presents is never allowed to leave without being given a gift. The receptacle which he brought cannot leave the house empty. Before, at each visit, they were careful to return to the go-between his jug filled with gin; the same will be done later.

7. Age Required for Marriage

Mo 582 The age required for marriage is 15 years; these 15 years are supposedly reached at the age of 14, after the winter solstice. The age of the bride varies from 15 to 17. The girls rarely pass this age without being married. This is because there are moral reasons for this general rule; as a matter of fact, the T'ou-jen claim that girls are "big" toward that age, and that there must be no more delay in Mo [301] marrying them off. Rarely girls are married at 13. Marriage never takes place when the age of the bride is an even number.

As for the age of the groom, there is no fixed rule; they do not bother about the even or odd number of years of his age. He can marry at ten, at 20, as well as at 30. Those who have the means ordinarily do not pass 17 without marrying. (1)

Mo 582

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 64: The Manchus consider as necessary, almost obligatory to marry their sons by the age of 21, and usually all Manchu young men are married before reaching this age. If this is not done "everybody will laugh" say the Manchus, because the clan to which the unmarried young man belongs may be supposed to be "inactive, weak and poor." /Cited in English./

/35/ 8. Setting of the Wedding Date; Negotiations concerning the Last Arrangements

Mo 584 When the fiancée has reached the required age for marriage, the custom is that the mother-in-law, rarely the future father-in-law,

[836 cont.]

241 taking them back. One day can be saved, however, if the books
782 are taken directly to the following neighboring community or fetched from there. In this case the monastery must be notified. The procession must begin at the first sign of dawn because otherwise one day would not be sufficient.

Place: Only one's own village area is considered for the [628] procession.[1] It is not permitted, for instance, that two villages join together and hold only one procession in both areas. Also, [346] the people always gather in the temple, for every village has at [787] least one small temple; no soothsaying is done outside the temple or temple yard.

Objects: The books are not absolutely necessary. A book procession does not take place every year, but usually only every three years. In the other years the procession is held without books. The ceremonies [837] are the same, except that the monastery is not notified when the date is set; two days are saved that would have been necessary for the transportation of the books. Also, the number of participants need not be 108, al- [801] though because of the sacred number it should be aimed at (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 839.] The book-carrying is a widespread custom in all lamic monasteries. In particular one can repeatedly see women who carry the heavy books, volume after volume like a rucksack on their backs, around the prayer halls of the temple, which often goes on for days, chuan miao (Chin.). Many Tujen women make such a vow in times of distress or sickness. -- It should also be recalled that a Tulku [Living Buddha] blesses the faithful by placing the book on their foreheads.

[1] [i.e. - Procession around the field. - ANALYST]

but from the landowner who, in case the tenant dis- 792
appeared or became insolvent, was responsible for the 427
tax. In this way the lamas who were landowners had 651
to collect the official taxes from their tenants, and ac- 434
company the endless caravans of their tenants' donkeys
carrying grain to the official granaries. Before the [492]
journey to the granary started, however, each tenant
had to measure the grain in the presence of the lamas
and with the measure supplied by the lamas, the ca- [804]
pacity of which was greater than the official one; this
enabled the lamas to set aside a valuable surplus over
the vast amount of official taxes.

The properties of the lamaseries, consisting of ex- 792
tensive territories, contain a large part of waste and 423
untilled land on which no taxes are imposed. The 651
industrious intendants developed these properties by [311
means of irrigation canals, and called in new farmers to
till the new fields. The legal amount of taxes, however, 312]
has always remained the same as the initial amount, be- 434
cause the intendants, by means of collusion and bribery,
easily succeed in gaining over the tax collectors. In
this way the revenues of the intendancies are greatly
increased, and they still receive surreptitiously a very
large revenue. Moreover, they are able to store the
surplus, which they can grind or sell when prices are
highest.

HERDS

Sheep, cows, and horses constitute, for many in- 792
tendancies, a source of revenue. Large herds are grazed 434
in Kukunor or Mongolia where the pastures are larger, 233
smaller herds in the country for local use. Mongol
princes and Tibetan chiefs of tribes are always ready to
help the monasteries. A contract is made with herds-
men by which the first calves, colts, and lambs belong
to the owner, the second-born to the herdsman, and so
on. Every three years a lama inspector of the in-
tendancy examines the accounts of the herdsmen and
settles with them the number of animals to be sold, and
the herdsmen show the skins of the animals which died
during the three-year period. If they cannot produce
the skins of the dead animals it is assumed that they
sold the animals and they must pay the owner of the
herds.

OIL AND GRAIN MILLS

These mills are a large source of revenue. The mon- 792
astery proper of Erh-ku-lung is owner of twenty-four 434
oil and grain mills; the T'u-kuan himself has eighteen, 256
Chang-chia nine. The mills are leased by Monguors or
Chinese. The rent of oil mills is 300 pounds of oil for
a season's use, besides which it must press the oil be-
longing to the monastery. The grain miller must grind
the grain of the intendancy and at the New Year sea-
son give a pig weighing 120 pounds. Most of the oil
which is not consumed in the kitchen in the preparation
of food, or in the lamps in the temples and homes, is
sent by raft to Lan-chou, the capital of the province.

[p.44 (B)]

M /23 cont'd/
HM
584

(among the Mongols) may be concluded, it is necessary to calculate with the aid of books under what signs the future husband and wife were born, so that the heavenly body which governs the birth of the latter may not be harmful to that of the former, nor dominate it: which means that the woman must not govern the household.

HM
M
[805]

The Mongols count 12 signs which correspond to our months; they are: 1, mouse; 2, ox; 3, tiger; 4, hare; 5, dragon; 6, serpent; 7, horse; 8, ram; 9, monkey; 10, hen; 11, dog; 12, pig. The fifth year, also called ibeghel, is the year in which it is always permitted to marry. As for the seventh kharchi, it is the opposite: for example, if the girl was born under the sign of the mouse and the ox, and the boy under those of the dragon and the monkey, then the marriage is permitted. But if one of the two was born under the sign of the mouse and the other under that of the horse, in this case, even though they are of different lineage, the union cannot take place. The Mongols still claim that the ox and the tiger, the hen and the horse, and the monkey are of opposite constellations, pernicious signs, "Kharchi" which are decidedly unfavorable to marriages.

M
HM
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The marriage having been recognized as likely to be fecund and peaceful, they will proceed to the marriage proposal. At the beginning of the first negotiations, they will be careful to insinuate that the alliance has been predicted to be a happy one. Nevertheless,

[9 cont.]

115 that is, mountain spirit, because he was consecrated to the
[776] mountain spirit when he was named. He was born under the sign
553 of the sheep, that is, in the second month; according to
European reckoning, this would be March, 1883.

805 Like all Tujen, the old man is a Lamaist and adheres
[771] to the faith and the customs of his fathers. He is known throughout the vicinity as one of the few who are still very well versed in the traditional customs. For that reason he is asked to perform everywhere as master of ceremonies, festive speaker, overseer of sacrifices, and singer. If anyone in that region is asked about usages and customs, the usual answer is: "Go to old Tuo, he knows it best."

115 In addition he has the advantage, rare among the Tujen,
212 of having completed the Chinese classical school. He can read
[871] and write very well, better than most of his Chinese neighbors. He understands without difficulty history books, classical authors, local chronicles, etc., which in part are written in the literary
[191] language. He does not have a sufficient command of the Fandse language to be able to speak it fluently, but he knows the terms of the lamas and is able to distinguish fairly well as to whether a word is a genuine Tujen word or a Fandse word. He himself in his youth took down in Chinese characters a considerable number of Fandse songs, which he can translate and explain, as well as some legends and speeches. He claims that formerly the Tujen language was also written and that the script has simply been lost. -- He does not speak the language of the Koko
115 Nor Mongols, but he claims that it could be understood if neces-
191 sary. Of course the Tujen live too far away from the Mongols;
[648] only those in the vicinity of Huchu have a loose connection with the Mongols on the Tai-t'ung River beyond the Monastery Kuo-mang-szu.

124 [10] In the beginning it was not easy to persuade the old man, who for 20 years had not even been in nearby Sining, to visit me at the mission station at Kan-chia-pu, although the way there was only a two-hour ride. In the late fall of 1946 he came once for only a day. At that time I questioned him about the harvest thank-offering; the result was an article which appeared in Anthropos, 37/40. The old man could not imagine what I

pupil, who prepares tea. He presents a cup of tea to 792
his master and enjoys one with him. In the winter he 157
kindles the brazier. Then he sweeps the courtyard while his master rises. He brings him a basin of hot water, so that he may wash his face. He wipes the dust from the house altar and the furniture, and prepares the ritual tea to be offered before the Buddha image (a yellow powder consisting of several kinds of pounded roots mixed with water). The master fills the brass cups, displayed in a row before the image, taking care not to spill a single drop outside the cup. Master and pupil recite the ritual prayer, prostrating themselves as long as the prayer lasts. Fervent lamas are accustomed to make 108 prostrations with their pupil. Everyone assured me that this is really hard work, especially in wintertime.

After the ritual the pupil empties the brass cups, pouring out the ritual tea in the courtyard in a place assumed to be clean, and cleans the cups. About this time the conches are blown and the drums beaten in the central assembly hall, and master and pupil go to attend the morning ceremony. They then come back to their quarters, and, after driving the oxen and horses to pasture, the pupil places the text book on the lap of his master and then with his back turned to the master recites the lesson indicated for that day. If he fails, the master inflicts corporal punishment and fixes the lesson for the next day. The pupil then prepares breakfast, after which he goes out to collect fuel. He is back at noon in order to serve tea and tsamba to his master. The ritual tea is offered again before the images, with prostrations, and the pupil, free for the whole afternoon, is then allowed to relax with his friends outside the monastery. He has to be back by the time the sun is as high as two posts, in order to prepare the evening meal of noodles and tea, which the master enjoys sitting on the k'ang while his pupil squats on the floor. After the kitchen chores are finished and the animals tended, the pupil starts memorizing texts for the next morning. When it is time to go to bed, a last and third ritual tea is offered, with prostrations, before the image on the house altar, and master and pupil sleep next to each other on the k'ang. A pupil is never allowed to go to bed before his master.

During the long winter nights, in order to have an [805]
idea of the time, the good lamas fix three sticks of incense, end to end. To the third stick is attached a thread with copper coins. This device is suspended above a basin. When the third stick has burned down, the thread with the coins falls into the basin. The lama awakes and kindles a new series of three sticks of incense. He repeats this process a third time. When the coins fall for the third time the pupil is awakened and he starts the day's chores as before. If it happens that, when master and pupil are ready to attend the morning ceremony, the dawn is still some way off, they return to their slumbers; but if it is at hand they must, ac-

[p.59 (B)]

tually, Achia Bsan, reincarnation of the father of Tsong khapa, is the proprietor and chief of Kumbum. 175 792

The *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* [71] notes that the series of his incarnations began in 1417 (two years before the death of his son, Tsong khapa!). It says that for fifteen incarnations Achia administered the monastery of Kumbum and was recognized as its chief and proprietor by the five tribes and the inhabitants of the seven valleys, and that he possessed a piece of pasture ground in Chahar. However, it notes also that, in 1746, the name of Achia Hutukhtu (his sixteenth incarnation) was drawn from the celebrated urn in Peking, and that an order was given to write the deeds of a pasture ground in Chahar. This text is a model of ambiguity and full of holes; it suggests that in 1746 Achia received for the very first time the title of Hutukhtu and that his name was registered on the roster of the Living Buddhas in the Mongolian Superintendency, although the process of reincarnation had begun in Lhasa only in 1475. Since deeds were then written, this implies also that at that time pasture grounds were granted to him for the first time. Thus, previous to 1746, no Achia reincarnation, chief of Kumbum, existed. 346 775

These assumptions seem to be supported by the fact that it was not in 1417, but in 1560, that some poor cells were built for the first time in Kumbum by lama Rintschen Dson dui tschamtso and his ten monks and also by the facts that in 1719 the emperor ordered Skal bzan rgyamts'o, chief of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu to administer the monastery,[72] and that in 1723 mK'ampo Nomun-khan, head of the monastery of Kumbum and nephew of bLo Blzan bstan dsin, stirred the lamas to revolt and was made prisoner and the monastery was burned.[73] Until that time, not a single mention is made of Achia who, as head of the monastery and Hutukhtu, must have been the man responsible in such circumstances. However, the name of the real founder of the monastery is well known, as well known as the two other later heads and chiefs of the monastery. 175 792 346

It is a fact that Achia, created Hutukhtu only in 1746, had to remain in Peking, attached to the committee for the printing and translating of Tibetan books into Mongol, which was presided over by the second incarnation of the Chang chia. "In the last half of the 18th century it seems to have been the vogue for translators to ask Achia for a postscript to their translations. Many works printed at that time bear a postscript 'by 175 214 814

the suicide of Achia, there are no more lamas of Tibet in Kumbum. In 1746 the reincarnation of Achia received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor. From that time on, according to the abbots, the prominent lamas of Kumbum have always been Monguors.

[71] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih. History of the Buddhist religion in Mongolia and Tibet* 2: 143, 1935.

[72] Han Ju-lin, *Pien cheng kung lun*, (*Frontier Affairs*) 3 (5): 15, 1944.

[73] *Yung-cheng Shih-lu, ts'e* 145, *Chuan* 14: 10.

[26(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Achia.'"[74] However, the myth of his previous existences was deeply rooted. "In 1686, a previous existence of Achia, the 16th, is said to have resided in the Yung-ho-kung temple of Peking, which had only been made a monastery in 1743. The roster of famous workers on the committee of translators at that time does not contain the name Achia."[75] 175 214 814

The emperor, after having drastically quelled the lama revolt, permitted the rebuilding of the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, giving them the text of a less honorable stele to be carved, and imposing on Erh-ku-lung the new name of Yu-ning-ssu, and on Seerkok that of Kuang-hui-ssu. The chief of the monastery of Seerkok (Chie bsan rimpoche) having been beheaded, the Dalai lama in 1727 sent to Peking a learned lama, Tsanpo of Amdo, whom he himself had previously honored by the title of Nomun-kan. In order to rebuild Seerkok, the emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu[76] and he became Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the new chief and proprietor of Seerkok. Since the chiefs of Erh-ku-lung had not plotted in the revolt, they were left undisturbed. Is it far-fetched to suppose that after the disappearance of mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the request of the Dalai Lama, Achia became the new chief and proprietor of Kumbum in 1746 in the same way that Min chu-erh had become chief of Seerkok? It would have been a fine political gesture for the emperor to ennoble the father of Tsong khapa, chief of the Yellow Church, in order to regain the sympathy of the lamas of the whole Yellow Sect whose group in Hsining he had punished so severely for their irresponsible behavior. It is probably a unique case in the history of Lamaist reincarnations that a layman then became reincarnated as a Living Buddha. 175 662 792

ERH-KU-LUNG

While Kumbum was outgrowing its infantile period, there occurred the humble beginning of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung (1604), on the northern side of the 175 792 346

[74] Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistische Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, 109, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1954.

[75] *Ibid.*, 110.

[76] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 2: 125. However, Tsampo Nomun-khan of Amdo writes about himself in his well-known Geographical work, 29: "North of Ssi ling is the great monastery of Gahdan Tam Chhoi ling (seat of lama Tsampo Nomun-khan) in ancient times called Amdo Gomang gonpa; at present known as Serkhang gonpa." Sarat Chandra Das adds: "The author is an incarnation of an eminent lama named Tag tse chove, who was invited to be the abbot of the monastery. There are 2,000 monks, many know the Tshan nid philosophy." The work of Tsampo has to be read cautiously. Before 1723 there were 2,000 lamas; at the time of his arrival Seerkok was destroyed. On pages 29 and 30 he gives the names of 18 monasteries built north of Erh-ku-lung and says: "The monasteries are mostly subordinate to the Kumbum and Tsampopa [himself] abbots, in consequence of which those under Je gampo and Phagden have been converted in Gelugpa institutions." However, these institutions had been founded by Erh-ku-lung and nine of them by Seerkok, which abbots had always belonged to the Gelugpa or Yellow Sect.

[p. 26(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

reincarnations with an aura of glory. At Lhasa the lamas paid enthusiastic adoration to him. Their devotion went so far as to make them struggle and compete for the drinking of a draught of the water Chang-chia had used for his toilet.[92] Back in Peking, Chang-chia asked the emperor to return to the Dalai Lama the confiscated districts of Lit'ang and Batang, and to grant him a subsidy. Only a subsidy of 5,000 taels was allowed.[93]

Rolpa-dorje was also a learned man. His appointment by the emperor as chief of the commission for the revision of the translation into Mongol of the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*,[94] enhanced his prestige in the learned world, even as his learned works were studied in the colleges of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung (Huth, 291). In 1725 the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama received imperial envoys, presenting them with a complete set of the *Kanjur*, together with its supplements, and the complete works of Tsong khapa and the first Chang-chia Hutukhtu.[95]

The Monguor Chang-chia Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung, conspicuous for their great abilities, extensive learning, high position at the Peking court, and former diplomatic missions, wielded an enormous influence in the highest Lamaist circles in Tibet. The appointment by the emperor of the regent Gyal ts'ab in Tibet, during the reign of the eighth Dalai Lama (1759–1804) was obtained by the influence of the Chang-chia II.[96] The influence which the Panchen Lama exercised over the temporal affairs of Tibet and the interest he enjoyed at the Peking court through his friend, Chang-chia, the lama primate, made the emperor, Ch'ien-lung, invite him to Peking, where he arrived in 1780 and died of smallpox.[97]

George Bogle in 1774–1775 was trying to get an agreement from the well-disposed Panchen Lama for Indian trade with Tibet. Even more important than the Panchen's promise to send envoys was his assurance to Bogle that he had written the Grand Lama at Peking, who had great influence with the emperor, informing him that the English were now masters of Bengal, that

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[92] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 99.

[93] Petech, *op. cit.*, 162.

[94] Walter Heissig, Die Mongolischen Publication und Ubersetzungs Wesen der Mandjuzeit, *Sinologica* 3 (3): 205, 1953. Translations of Vols. 1 to 22 of the *Kanjur* by learned Mongol lamas already existed at the time of Ligdan Khan 1604–1634: the translation of 1717–1720 is almost textually the same as the former. The duty of Chang-chia, head of the committee, consisted in supervising the dogmatical genuineness of the translation. The Mongol translation of Dharani was published in 1759. More than 200 translations of Tibetan works still exist in Mongol.

[95] Petech, *op. cit.*, 9. One of the works of the second Chang-chia Hutukhtu is known in Europe through the translation of Eugen Pander, *Das Pantheon des Tschang tscha Hutukhtu*, Berlin, 1890.

[96] Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 46.

[97] *Ibid.*, 47. Schuyler Cammann, The Panchen Lama's visit to China in 1780, *Far Eastern Quart.* 9 (1): 6–18, 1949.

[p. 30(A)]

T'u-kuan Hutukhtu

At the time when Chang-chia was at the height of 175
his glory, T'u-kuan, another eminent Monguor lama 792
of Erh-ku-lung, was on the way to becoming his equal. With Sumpa and Chang-chia he was considered the

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Peking a biography of Chang-chia which had been translated into Mongol, in four volumes, by one of his most intimate pupils (p. 63).

Chang-chia II (1717–1786) was still a boy, living in Huang chung, at the time of the revolt of the lamas (1723). The emperor, in order to save the life of the new Chang-chia incarnation, forbade the army commanders to kill boys under fifteen years of age. Chang-chia was brought to Peking at the age of nine (1724). He studied Chinese, Mongol, Manchu, etc., with the son of the emperor, the future emperor Kao tsung (Ch'ien lung period, 1736–1796), and the twelfth prince, who became his friends (64). In the friendship which existed between Chang-chia, the future emperor, and the Manchu prince lies the explanation for the tremendous influence wielded by Chang-chia in Mongolia and Tibet. It also explains the prodigious activity displayed by the board for the translation of Tibetan [814] books and the printing of Mongol books, of which Chang-chia was the chief. The Mongol lamas were elated by the publication of lamaist literature in Mongol, and the Mongol princes offered donations for its printing. Under the leadership of Chang-chia II, 99 lamaist works were printed in Mongol in Peking (p. 72). Chang-chia used his influence to change the trend of thinking of Mongol lamas, who were very fond of writing biographies of saints according to the pattern of the Geser epos (of Tibetan origin). He did not even allow the lamas to read or preserve the epos. It had not been reprinted in Peking since 1716 (87). However, he promoted the fusion (already started during the K'ang hsi period, p. 36) of the legendary Geser with Kuan ti, the Chinese god of war, and also their cult, making of them protectors of the country, to be worshipped by the Chinese military officials (p. 148). Chang-chia laid stress on the production of works in the dogmatic line (p. 106). The revision of the Kanjur was finished in 1720 (during the boyhood of Chang-chia II). From 1741 on, Chang-chia II, with a strong group of scholars, prepared the revision of the Tanjur which was finished in 1749 (p. 85). In 1780 the Panchen Lama attending the celebration of the seventieth birthday of the emperor in Jehol, composed a biography and eulogy in Tibetan of the fifteenth preexistences of Chang-chia II. It was translated into Mongol and was very popular in Mongolia and Tibet (p. 142), as was the biography of Chang-chia I, written by T'u-kuan Hutukhtu I (1737–1802) (p. 158).

The prodigious literary activity displayed during the lives of both Chang-chia I and II seems to have been notably reduced from the time of Chang-chia III on (1789–1846). In the meantime the Emperor Kao tsung, personal friend and protector of Chang-chia II died (1795); the Mongol princes had become less interested in offerings for the printing of books, and only a few lamas of Alashan continued to indulge in literary productions (165). In Heissig, not a name of a single [814] author of Kumbum is noted during or after the period of this prodigious literary activity. Only ten new productions are noted during the nineteenth century, together with a few reprints of former books (p. 159). After the death of Chang-chia III (1846) his biography was written, starting with those of his previous existences (p. 168). Heissig notes that he does not understand why, in the historical sketch of the life of Chang-chia I, the biography of Chang-chia I written by T'u-kuan I of Erh-ku-lung is omitted (p. 167). He wonders also why the famous *History of the diffusion of Lamaism in Mongolia* written by T'u-kuan II was not printed in Peking (p. 3) during the time Chang-chia II was the chief of the imperial committee. The explanation for these pertinent questions will be

[p. 31(A)]

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The master starts with the explanation of the text 792
after the student has finished memorizing it, and so it 794
happens that, after some time, one pupil is studying a 873
second or a third book, while the others are still study- [876]
ing the first one. It is hard to teach pupils who have
not received the same educational preparation and who
progress at an unequal pace. The lack of elementary
schools and high schools compels the master to adapt [872]
his teaching to the capacity and enthusiasm of each of
the students, and inevitably the study loses its interest
for pupil and master.

It is no wonder that very few learned lamas are encountered at present among the lamas of Huang-chung. The Living Buddha Goorong bzan, of the Red Sect, was the only man celebrated for his learning all over the country during the period 1910–1920, and he enjoyed this reputation among lamas of the Yellow Sect as well as the Red Sect. In Kumbum there was also a learned Living Buddha, Chao-hsi, who was said to have given instruction in the lamasery of Galdan in Tibet. In June, 1920, he was invited by the community of lamas of Kumbum to give instruction for ten days, and Kumbum seized this opportunity to invite all the lamas of Huang-chung to attend the ceremony, remembering that each attendant should offer a ceremonial scarf to the preacher, and bring his food with him. Kumbum, however, would offer two butter-teas to the participants each day. I was at Hua-yüan, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, at that time, and the intendant, in order to have his lamas attend the instruction, himself offered to provide them with the food for twelve days; but only 12 among the 58 lamas went to Kumbum.

In 1914 I was told that among the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, 1,300 were members of the College of Philosophy, 350 of the College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, 200 each in the College of Medicine and the College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules. All these numbers have to be reduced according to the ratio previously noted for the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, but the proportion is the same for the members attending the colleges. Thus, among the 3,000 lamas 2,000 or two-thirds were enjoying a higher educational training in the colleges, and they remained members of the colleges for the whole of their lives. This was generally true for all of the colleges of Huang-chung.

The reason for the unusual attendance at the col- 792
leges is not that these institutions are centers of higher 554
education, but rather that they provide meals for their 873
members. The richest colleges, able to give the great- 814
est number and the choicest meals, are the best at- 262
tended, such as the College of Philosophy. Another
attraction of this very popular college, teaching the
most arduous of all the sciences, is the relaxation provided by the public disputations. The schedule of the
meals provided by the various colleges supports these
statements: [p. 64(A)]

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1st month from 3rd to 18th, 3 cups of butter tea and tsamba, in all the colleges. 792
2nd month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only. 557 873
3rd month from 11th to 16th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges. 814 262
4th month from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges
5th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
6th month from 1st to 10th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
8th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
9th month from 15th to 19th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
10th month from 22nd to 29th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
11th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
12th monthly from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.

During the first, second, eighth, and eleventh months there is an exception. During each of these months, the philosophers four times enjoy two cups of rice, meat, and raisins. Rich pilgrims are accustomed to ask for special ceremonies and prayers more often in the College of Philosophy than in the other colleges, and each time they offer rice, meat, raisins, and alms. The philosophers thus enjoy more extra dinners than the members of other colleges, and receive greater shares at the distribution of alms. It is not amazing that a lama who can hardly make ends meet, but is endowed with a philosophical brain, considers it more educational to enroll in the College of Philosophy than in the others. Herein lies the practical attraction to the study of philosophy.

PREDILECTION FOR THE COLLEGE OF PHILOSOPHY, ITS CAUSES

The public disputations are the next attraction. 792
Among the huge numbers of members of the College 814
of Philosophy there are always some exceptions. Small 873
groups of students are encountered who are genuinely interested in study and under the direction of competent professors invited by them, they undergo a severe course of instruction. Two or three times every week they are engaged in public disputations, attended by all the members of the college. Students studying the same book form the center of a numerous audience, squatting on the ground of the courtyard in the open air. These disputation exercises have been described by many authors; it is sufficient to record that the same circles always enjoy the biggest attendance, not for the interest of the subject disputed, which is rather mild, but in order to enjoy the virtuosity of celebrated de-

[p. 64(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

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baters who are always the same and fond of displaying their ability.

Not a few among them are real actors, who would honor the stages of the best theaters in the civilized world. Their poses, mimicry, jokes, verve, double meaning suggestions, affected sounds, and their knack of keeping the people amused, whet the curiosity and provide a real relaxation. Nearly the whole community huddles around them, even the old lamas who are used to sitting sleepily at these compulsory, boring meetings, for whom the novelty has worn off many, many years ago, and who have never been interested in the subject itself, strain their ears and huddle a little nearer to the stage and relax happily.

792 544 873

The Yellow Sect has always been fond of dialectic. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of Erh-ku-lung was celebrated for his logic in the learned world of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung.[11] The dialectic methods of Nagarjuna are particularly enjoyed by the philosophers. He used to "prove," in the most incredible ways, the non-existence of the world, of his proper self, and even of Buddhism.[12] The debaters try by means of recitation of endless memorized texts to stagger their opponents, and by tortuous questions to entice them into snares of sophism and to prove the most unbelievable theses. The attractive public disputations help to break the monotony of the monastic life, and to provide a couple of hours of relaxation.

It was said that once in a while some students passed official examinations and obtained titles and degrees, but I never had the opportunity to be present at such ceremonies.

Both these reasons explain the unusual attraction toward the College of Philosophy of the large number of lamas, who even lack the education of a student of an elementary school, and also the stubborn perseverance of the old lamas in continuing as members of the college.

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The conditions for becoming a member of the other colleges and the method of study are identical with those of the College of Philosophy. The lamas have to attend only one compulsory service in the early morning in the main temple, as required by the organization of the community of the lamas, and have plenty of time to attend the exercises prescribed by other colleges in the morning and afternoon; they even have plenty of time to indulge in domestic duties and commerce. It would be instructive to make a comparison between the standard of the studies in Huang-chung and that of the celebrated lamaseries of Tibet, as described in nearly all the works concerned with the subject.[13] After investigating the situation in Huang-chung, I harbor suspicions concerning the punctilious observance of the pro-

[11] Huth, *op. cit.*, 281.

[12] René Grousset, *Philosophies indiennes*, ch. 9, *passim*, Paris, Desclée de Brower, 1931.

[13] Waddell, *op. cit.*, 184–188; Filchner, *op. cit.*, 350–358; Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 94, etc.

[p. 65(A)]

wrought by barbarians in their country to indulge in 648
such utopian hopes. They knew too well that more or 771
less powerful tribes never had lived peaceably next to each other; that peace had reigned inside Mongolia and Tibet only as long as an all-powerful chief was able to subdue and to dominate the tribes, but that immediately after his death the tribes had always dispersed and began a new cycle of tribal wars. They knew too that barbarian conquerors had always tried to overcome China and had repeatedly succeeded in founding dynasties. In other circumstances Mongol and Tibetan tribes had only kept quiet along the Chinese frontiers so long as China had been able to wield sufficient military power to impose peace on them. The Chinese also knew very well that Lamaism had never changed the predatory instincts of the barbarians, and that the lamas in Tibet and Huang-chung had been just as savage warriors as the laymen. Once in a while Hutukhtus had tried to mediate the troubles among the tribes, but other influential chiefs of tribes and persons of standing had also tried, with comparable results of success or failure.

It is asserted that the Yellow Sect became an important power among the barbarians from the time when Gushi Khan, after conquering Tibet, installed the Dalai Lama as temporal chief of the country (1636), and that the Manchu dynasty recognized the fact. Before that time Lamaism was divided into sects, which supported the numerous political parties in the country fighting for supremacy. By mixing in politics and wars, and because of lack of unity, the influence of the sects was dissipated. The chiefs of the sects, however, craving titles and privileges, curried the favor of the emperors. The emperors were happy to comply with their requests, appreciating the asset of having friendly disposed influential chiefs in far-off countries, but always waited for an opportunity to use them to further the interests of the empire.

It was in this way that the Ming emperors (1368– 643
1643) favored the lamas in Huang-chung, whatever 648
their sect, by lavishly granting titles and privileges, and 792
contributing to the building of monasteries in order to populate the desolate country, and to keep the Mongol tribes quiet after the overthrow of the Yüan dynasty.

Later on, when Lamaism had become a real power, the Ch'ing dynasty engaged in war with the Kalmuks or Western Mongols. Well aware of the influence which the Yellow Sect wielded among the eastern and western Mongols and its questionable behavior toward the empire, the Ch'ing dynasty imposed its authority on Lhasa by means of its armies, but at the same time granted favors and privileges to the lamas.

The institution of the committee for the translation 814
into Mongol and the printing of Tibetan books dates 663
from the Manchu period. This was a remarkable 648
political provision. The most celebrated and learned lamas and Hutukhtus of the monasteries of Tibet,

[p. 160(A)]

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Huang-chung, and Mongolia were appointed members 814
of the committee. They were showered with honorific 663
titles and privileges, and summoned to reside at the 648
capital. The emperors lavishly provided for their expenses and those of their numerous disciples, and secured large temples and residences for their sojourn. The Mongol princes and the lamas of Tibet and Mongolia were elated with the generosity of the emperors and the keen interest and sympathy they displayed for their religion and for their spiritual chiefs. The emperors were happy too, realizing that it paid large dividends to have the most important and esteemed representatives of the lamaseries residing at the capital, in effect as honorable hostages, who had to ask the permission of the emperor every time they wanted to leave the capital.

However, these imperial generosities did not inter- 648
fere with the strong policy implemented by the court in dealing with Tibet and Mongolia. They did not hinder the court in banishing the seventh Dalai Lama to Ssu-ch'uan, or in refusing to comply with the request of the "specially honored" Changchia Hutukhtu, to return to the Dalai Lama the regions of Li t'ang and Ba t'ang. They did not prevent the court from drastically crushing the lama revolt in Huang-chung (1723), or from burning all the monasteries in the country, even those of the "specially honored" Changchia. Later, at the request of the "beloved" Changchia and T'u-kuan, the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok were allowed to be rebuilt. The emperor offered a contribution *ad hoc*, but two steles were to be erected recording the ungratefulness of the lamas and the new humiliating provisions for the lamas by decree of the court. The steles were erected, but built inside a wall and plastered by the lamas so that nobody could read the texts.

The policy of the emperors in promoting Lamaism has to be studied in the light of the facts. They were well aware of the predatory instincts and fickleness of the barbarians, and of the influence the lamas wielded among them. In order to further their own interests and to gain the sympathy of the barbarians, they lavished on the lamas the titles and privileges which they childishly craved; but they were not afraid to deal with the lamas and barbarians with draconian severity, whenever their behavoir was not in line with the imperial policy. An iron hand was in the velvet glove.

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO TRANSFORM THE MONGUOR SOCIETY

This study also sheds light on the failure of Lamaism 797
to transform the Monguor society into a genuine Bud- 771
dhist society. In view of the really amazing bloom of Lamaism of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung between 1600 and 1723, when more than forty monasteries were built in that relatively small country during that short span of time, and taking into account the tremendous number of lamas enrolled in them—one lama at least from every family—and the honors, titles, and privileges

[p-160(B)]

[626 cont.]

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[372]
[783]
[171]

[Note on foreign text p. 629 cont.]
the threshing floor and jump over them. It is said that this is done in order to become pure; others say it is only for fun. The Chinese there, who also have this custom, maintain that it is an old Chinese practice. They also tell a legend about it, which I have forgotten. It has something to do with a battle ruse of old heroes whose memory one wants to celebrate. -- For the purificatory fire, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 9.

[177]

It is precisely in the New Year's practices that the strong mixture with Chinese customs appears, so that in individual instances it is impossible to say definitely what originally belonged to the Tujen. One can safely ascribe to them, however, the ying-hsi ceremony, renewal of the animal consecration, and above all the dancing and singing of songs, which the Chinese do not know.

[821]

The dances with song point to a close connection with the waxing moon, since they are usually performed at night on the fifteenth day, even throughout the night. It is almost as though the New Year's festival applies primarily to the new moon. After the first full moon, everything is quite suddenly broken off.

Once the incense ceremony is over, the master of the household places a table in the yard before the round manger. On it are put trays with five steamed loaves, five oil-loaves, three tagur loaves, and all kinds of baked goods (3) [see Note 3 above]. Then a bowl of barley wine is poured out and a

[826 cont.]

241 789 778 791 [217] The seed-master places these wedges on the table before the Bon. The latter inscribes all three sides with Tibetan magic formulas. For this purpose he uses Chinese ink and the brush or the Tibetan bamboo pencil. The wedge that is intended for the head of the goat [827] has a black hada slung around it at the head and a black string or a small chain in the middle:

[788] Then some of the wool is cut from the pole-goat lying in front of the Bon, a few threads are twisted together, and with these the Bon priest ties on the wedges, one on each foot and one between the horns. All five wedges have the tip downward. He then sprinkles water from his holy-water can over goat and pole, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley, blows on it three times, and scatters it over the whole.

241 789 791 782 [821] [822] The erection of the pole-goat and the offering: The men set the pole in the hole and wedge it tight with stones and earth. The goat must face the northwest because storms usually come from there. As soon as the pole is firmly set, the Bon brings the weather-torma, together with the extra features, to the foot of the pole, sets it down, and immediately returns to his place in order to continue the weather-prayer. Now he accompanies the prayer only with his drum and the bell. Again the men make a great incense offering amidst blowing on the conch.

241 789 778 The mountain-torma: Then the mountain-torma is prepared. It has three steps, is round, and looks like a pyramid with terraces about ten centimeters high. Altogether it is about 40 centimeters high. The torma is painted with soft butter colored red and is given the following extra features: on the first layer, water animals, frog, snake, fish, dragon, turtle, and, further, little stones, little lumps of earth, and finally a few squirts of water; on the second layer, mountain animals, deer, horse, yak, half-yak, sheep, goat, hare, fox, wolf, and a few little pieces of wood; on the third layer animals of the air, phoenix, eagle, peacock, magpie, dove, swallow, and, further, sun disk and moon sickle. On the uppermost tip are

[828 cont.]

241 789 791 782 The veneration of the pole-goat: During the summer the farmers appear singly or together before the pole-goat, make an offering, pray, burn incense, and kowtow in order to protect the seed from hail. The Bon priest also comes often to pray. In former times he even pitched his tent for a longer period of time and remained there in order to be constantly on hand for the weather conjuration in case of storms. This is no longer the case today. The weather conjuration is now done by the soothsayer, usually the spirit-soothsayer.

Taking down the pole-goat: After the fifteenth day in the eighth lunar month, when the harvest has been cut, the pole-goat is again taken away. One no longer has the soothsayer determine the day, but instead acts according to the circumstances. The Bon priest is again invited; he again makes the tormas and prays. Usually a sheep is sacrificed.

241 789 776 825 821 [171] Interpretations: The pole-goat is supposed to banish bad weather and protect the harvest. The custom occurs only among farmers, even among the agricultural Fandse. The goat has special protective power because its head serves as an anvil for the god Dăntsien Sa̰n̰. He is the smith in the weather ministry (5). During storms he hammers his iron between the horns,

5. [Foreign text pp. 829-830.] The conception of the storm ministry bears a resemblance to the Chinese lei-pu (thunder division). It is uncertain, however, whether borrowings are involved. At any rate, in the popular tradition of the Tujen the Bon priest has a special connection with weather magic (cf. also Tafel, Tibetreise). -- Concerning the storm-god Dăntsa̰n̰ (Dăntsien Sa̰n̰) the informant knew nothing other than that there is an image of

[791]

[828 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 829-830 cont.]
him in the monastery Rgulõn and that he is a tutelary god of the Bon. Däntsien is evidently a Tujen corruption of the Tibetan dam-can, "keeping a vow" (cf. Ch. Das, p. 618). This is only a general title which could be applied to many gods. According to Grünwedel (Mythologie, pp. 187 ff.), Ch. Das (p. 618), and others, however, it refers to the Lamaistic terror-god rDo-rje-legs (pa), who rides on a goat (ram) and [830] was elevated to the tutelary lord (Dharmapāla) of the doctrine. H. Hoffmann denies that he is a Tantristic god and wants to designate him as an old Bon god, in which he is correct,as the ceremony described here indicates. He then continues (Quellen [Sources], p. 164): "There is an interesting statement by Jäschke, as yet unconfirmed, according to which Rdor-legs ... was an honorable village smith. ... At any rate it is noteworthy that Waddell also speaks of a 'demon blacksmith' [cited in English]." These surmises can now be confirmed by the ceremony of the pole-goat and the tradition connected with it. The dam-can is a smith-god of the Bon and stands in a special relationship to the weather conjuration and to the goat cult which, after all, likewise belongs to the realm of the Bon or is at least pre-Buddhistic. (Cf. the old name of Lhasa, which was originally called Ra-sa, Goat-place, and had a temple of the same name.)

[828 cont.]

241 during which lightning flashes and glowing hailstones fall to
789 earth. Through this the evil demons are killed, so no misfortune
821 befalls the seed and human beings (6).

[825]
[776]
[171]

6. [Foreign text p. 830.]
Weather magic plays an important role in all of Tsinghai. A pure Bon ceremony is involved here. Neither the Chinese nor the lamas practice it. And if it is correct that the nomads do not have it, this is an indication of the close connection of the Bon with agriculture. -- The Chinese engage in their weather magic through other shamans or through lay bonzes, exorcists, etc., never through a Bon priest. -- Only in very isolated instances does one find the pole-goat among the Chinese, and then it is along the border of the Tujen or Fandse region. I frequently saw one in a valley along the Pei-ch'uan river south of Hsin-t'ien-p'u, where there was a Chinese village; here they departed from the rule that it must be erected on a mountain.

[778]

Other types of weather conjurations are undertaken with help of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, the spirit-litter, and with thunderbolts. All these things are the seat of deities. As soon as bad weather approaches, the corresponding bearers fetch these seats of the deities, summon the spirit, and station themselves out in the open facing the storm. Further details concerning these ceremonies in another place. The entire

[828 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 830 cont.]
weather conjuration of this region still seems to be an inheritance from the Bon. The conditions and customs connected with it are strongly reminiscent of the description given by A. Tafel for the Bon in eastern Tibet, Tibetreise, II, pp. 198 ff.

241 789 778 The first four tormas represent evil demons. They are driven away by the throwing. The extra features are given so that they will be content and will not return; they are things which one needs in daily life.

[982] The second torma, weather-torma, represents the spirits of the weather ministry. The extra features are an offering to make them favorably disposed.

The mountain-torma represents the world-mountain. Sun and moon circle around it. This mountain is the spirit paradise. It is put under the pole so that the spirits will withdraw into this paradise and leave the human beings.

The wedges represent the magic dagger of the smith-god and his subordinates. They are the chief weapons against demons. [791] The Bon priest is also a pupil and subordinate of this smith-god. He especially venerates him and likewise uses the three-edged magic dagger in conjuring away the demons. At the temple [535] dances (tscham dances) the subordinate spirits of the weather-smith-god also appear with the dagger. Lamas never use the dagger. The three notches form three knobs which are supposed to represent the human skull. The demons especially fear this, [765] like all things that come from the dead, such as the bone flute, the whip of human skin, and the skull drum.

192 [829] Word List

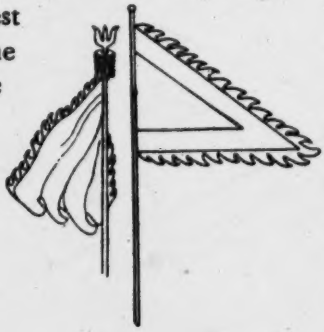
241 789 The pole-goat: aradziãn (Tib. loanword) = to stretch out the goat.

ima rĕdziala (Tujen) = to stretch out the goat.

[778] The goat: ima; chũ-la (Chin.); chia-la (Chin.).

[837 cont.]

241 782 533 There are no rules about the musical instruments. [Illustration appears here.] Whatever one has is taken along. The temple drum -- a barrel drum with a drumhead on both sides -- and the conch are always certain to be there. The drum is not very large and is carried on a belt in front of the chest so that it can be beaten on both sides. The conch shell is the same as that used at the incense offering. The trumpets are the [177] ordinary Chinese shawms (la-pa); the cymbals and the gong are also Chinese.



Flags such as are carried during the procession around the field. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

241 782 Among the flags there are black, red, yellow, etc. Usually they are provided with colorful borders. There are also flags with pictures, for example, of the mountain-spirit. Many flags also have Chinese sayings sewed on them, usually in white. There are [532] no special Tujen names for the flags. The number is arbitrary.

Aside from the usual cypress incense the Chinese incense sticks are also popularly taken along; butter, water, tea, etc. are just as desirable as at other incense offerings. More recently yellow paper [177] is also burned in Chinese fashion.

The soothsayers must always carry along their soothsaying tokens, that is, the objects that are the seat of the spirit, in other words, [778] spear, litter, table, etc. During the entire procession, the spirit [791] remains in the object concerned, which is signified by the shaking and rattling of the bells and the movement of the bearers.

241 782 787 Soothsaying: At the soothsaying one tries to learn as precisely as possible when and where the heaviest hail will come down and how one should protect himself against it, whether by means of offerings or prayer or the mani-tree, and the like. At this time the [821] seed-master makes a brief speech to the spirit concerned, charging him with the duties that he must fulfill for a good harvest and telling him that he will be rewarded for his protection by an offering (4).

241 782 4. [Foreign text p. 838.] An offering is usually connected with the

[210 cont.]

772
[778]

gurtum-shamans will go into the ideology underlying the whole (god of life, god of war, god of wealth, Pekar, tree of life, arrow of good fortune, spear, ancestral tablets, etc.); cf. also below, pp. 363-388.

[773] [211] The origin of the world is unfortunately recorded only in scanty documents. According to the Geser legend and the aphoristic wisdom of the people, the earth arose through a churning in the water like butter (cream) in milk. It floats on top and is held by a wooden post which one day will start to grow and develop leaves. Then the earth will tip over and bring on the end of the world. The physical sky floats over the earth on a golden peg (nail); in this connection, cf. DMF, p. 115 and p. 445. Here there are conceptions that at first glance contradict those described above, but they can nevertheless be connected with them indirectly. They are recently elaborated [171] variants from Indian cosmology (churning with the world-column; turtle as earth-bearer) and are linked with Mongolic peculiarities (heavenly bell on a golden nail); in this connection, cf. W. Lüdtke, Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans [The Veneration of Genghis Khan]. Concerning the polar star as beacon, see further below, p. 883. Over against the earth with the wooden peg (modë ġadasë) stands heaven with the golden peg (xaldan ġadasë). Among the Tujen, however, the polar star is called [821] xaldan ġadasë: xaldan because of its shining color; ġadasë because of its similarity to a nail head. Actually ġadasë means post, peg, nail, tack. The polar star, to be sure, is otherwise conceived as the axle of the sky. Thus, the greening world-tree (earth-wood) and sky-axle (star-gold) correspond with each other. Here, too, the comparison of two parts of the world that are supposed to correspond is suggested: the sky above, the earth below. The conception of the tilting and finally falling earth may go back to the observation that the polar star, the sky-axle, is not in the zenith, but in the north. The way the [533] world-tree and stars belong together is poetically rendered in

[217 cont.]

771 776 The belief in a supreme god among the Tujen must have been known to the people themselves at an early date. Tafel noted in his fairly reliable chapter: "The Turen [sic] of Wei-yüanpu are a very curious tribe. Many say that they have only one single god in which they believe. But they are, like the [218] Chinese, also Buddhists" (Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], I, p. 246). The author unfortunately does not tell who these "many" are. Probably they are the Tujen themselves. Tafel is right insofar as a true monotheism is unknown to the Tujen. On the other hand they do not share the same Buddhism with the Chinese. The Tujen are Lamaists, the Chinese, on the other hand, never or only as an exception. From the customs observed, it now appears incontestably that the so-called one god [821] of the Tujen is a supreme god who is venerated in the form of the heavens. One must, therefore, start from "heaven."

a) The Name "Heaven"

rëġuo

772 776 192 [821] For "heaven" the Tujen know two expressions, namely, rëġuo and tieńgëre. The word rëġuo is little used and then only in the sense of the physical sky, firmament. It agrees entirely with its Mongolic equivalent oktarġui, which is to be equated with the Tibetan mk'a or nam mk'a or gnam, and means: sky, empty space above the air, firmament, vault of the heavens, ether, atmosphere, air. Cf. Kovalevski, p. 430. Even among the following expressions that include oktarġui, there is none in which oktarġui is comprehended as a deity or spirit. Cf. op. cit., pp. 430-433. Thus it must be sharply distinguished from tengri (tieńgëre) and cannot be used synonymously with the latter. Only in the sense of the physical sky do they overlap. Among the Tujen, reġuo is chiefly regarded as light-sky, bearer of brightness. One therefore likes to add the adjective kuġuo (blue, light, bright), for instance, kuġuo rëġuo undurwa (the blue sky is high). The kuġuo rëġuo (light sky) stands in contrast to the [825] xara gadzier (dark earth). An appropriate bird is assigned to [539]

[218 cont.]

each of them as a symbol of brightness and of darkness. Thus, in a wedding song it is said: xara gadzier mundzini xela; kuguo rëguoni dzindzini xela (the black earth's dark bird calls; the light sky's light bird answers). Here, it is true, the rëguo has been drawn into the -- probably Tibetan -- mythology of light and darkness, but nothing concerning a possible significance of the rëguo as spirit or deity is expressed by it. (Cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder.") Even if the expression rëguo in its meaning as light-bearer corresponds approximately to the word tieńgëre, its deeper meaning is thereby exhausted and it will not be considered further.

tieńgëre

tieńgëre is the Tujen form of the written Mongolic tengri or tngri. It may signify both the natural sky as well as heaven as a deity. As natural sky it is provided with the same adjectives as the word rëguo, in other words, with kuguo (blue), undur (high), etc. Like the latter, it also, as the daylight sky, stands in contrast to the dark earth. Our expression "heaven and earth" is always rendered among the Tujen by kuguo tieńgëre, xara gadzier (light sky, dark earth). They would never [219] simply say "heaven and earth." In this conception, the Tujen go hand in hand with their Altaic-Mongolic relatives. In his dissertation, Pallisen has presented the connection of light and heaven especially clearly: Among all Altaic peoples the sky is primarily perceived as the daylight sky. According to H. Vambéry and Barbier de Maynard, the concepts "the light," "brightness" in all Altaic languages belong to the same word family as tengri (Religion der Altmongolen [Religion of the Ancient Mongols], p. 123). Pallisen then appends the word lists for 13 languages, which are intended to illustrate this connection (op. cit., pp. 123 ff.).

The sky, however, is regarded not only as the embodiment of light, but it is also the bearer of the most important cosmic phenomena. This is expressed in many everyday phrases, for example: the sky rains; the sky is cold; the sky is hot; the sky thunders; the sky is cheerful, etc. Hence,

[219 cont.]

772 the heavens, even purely sensibly, stand in the consciousness of
776 the Tujen as something important, exalted, as that immeasurable
192 space of light embracing the world, in which the natural events
821 that so impress the simple human being take place. It is not the word rëguo that arouses this consciousness in them, but the word tieṅgëre. Evidently, it is one of the oldest words that they, along with the other Altaic peoples, among whom it is charged with the same content, have inherited from hoary prehistory. It cannot be further analyzed etymologically.

772 For this reason, this very expression is excellently suitable
776 for designating what we call "God." Where the Tujen, who are,
192 after all, a branch of the Mongols, acquired the link between
174 the name tieṅgëre and the concept "God" is not to be dealt with here. That belongs in the history of the religion of the Mongols or of the Altaic peoples generally. Father W. Schmidt has made it seem probable that it is not a matter of equating the highest being with the material heaven, but only of a transference of the name "heaven" to the supreme god; this must have happened at the time of the transition to herding in the great steppes where "they have before them the huge dome of the heavens unobscured in its entire extent and with all natural phenomena taking place in the sky"; cf. Schmidt, Religionsgeschichte [History of Religion], p. 256, UdG, X, pp. 128 ff. The question arises here: Does this also apply to the Tujen and in what way? How is the name tieṅgëre used, as a generic or proper name? Does it actually signify God?

One must first of all go back to the general Mongolic conceptions, which, to be sure, know the same name. Pallisen in this connection comes to the following conclusion (op. cit., p. 126): "One can therefore say that in this stage of development Tengri meant something like 'God Heaven' as a proper name, not 'heaven god' and not 'god in heaven' or 'god of heaven,' as some researchers maintain.... Gradually, however, Tengri was used to designate the God of the Christians and of the Mohammedans, and finally, with the adoption of Buddhism, this word became equivalent to the Sanskritic Deva, and numerous deities of the Lamaistic pantheon, which in part were taken into it from the old folk-belief, were [220] then also called

[229 cont.]

174 776 (udagan, idugan). (Cf. Koval., p. 386; Uno Harva, Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker [The Religious Conceptions of the Altaic Peoples], p. 450.) As the ceremonies of the earth-god urn indicate, this deity has something to do with butter and silk (silk wrapping, butter-pouring), as well as with grain (barley filling). Something similar applies to the etügen, which, as a female deity, is endowed with the attribute "fat-faced" and "silk-faced." (Cf. N. N. Poppe, "Schaman. Handschriften [Shamanistic Manuscripts]," Vol. I, 196-197, Manuscript XI; statement according to W. A. Unkrig.) Further indications of the connection of the earth-deity with the origin of agriculture and corresponding Tujen myths must be omitted here.

776 [230] Now regardless of where the earth-deity of the Tujen came from, it, heaven, and the mountain-spirit form an ancient trinity which has divided up the world. According to the [821] general conception of the Tujen, heaven rules over the air space, the clouds, wind, lightning, sun, moon, and stars. The mountain-spirit rules over the surface of the earth; animals, human [823] beings, birds, forests, pastures, and mountains. The earth-deity rules over the interior of the earth: metals, rocks, treasures, the snakes and the worms, as well as the seed that slumbers in the earth. This division, however, does not exclude heaven from the other two realms. After all that has been said, he continues to be the lord of the gods and men. If he appears here as coadministrator of the layers of the world, he only seemingly surrenders his partial domains. One might better think of a splitting off of certain activities of heaven and their being made independent, as P. W. Schmidt assumes for similar cases among other Asiatic peoples.

The Knowledge of Heaven

776 782 After the preceding discussions, the further characteristics of heaven automatically present themselves. Among these characteristics knowledge appear most clearly. Concerning this knowledge the informant gave the following information (Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873): "At the

IX. PUBLIC RITES

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN REGARD TO HAILSTORMS

In the mind of the Monguors is seared the belief in an incredibly prodigious medley of gods, malignant spirits, and ferocious ghosts, and consequently all events in life, happy or unhappy, must be approached from that angle. 782 731

In this chapter will be considered the calamity most dreaded by the Monguors, which does the most harm and ruins them most frequently. It is the scourge of hailstorms, which every year ruin the crops of many villages, reducing the already narrow margin of subsistence of the villagers to a minimum, and bringing many families to the verge of famine. [132]

It is obvious that this calamity is supposedly caused by malignant spirits and it is no wonder that the whole religious energy of the people is bent on securing all available means and ways to avoid disaster. No wonder that the people, scared to death, seek refuge in religion against a scourge caused by evil spirits—first of all in the religion credited with the greatest potency, without refusing the help of others less potent, imploring the aid of good spirits, and engaging in a life and death struggle with the evil spirits. 821 829

In all their village temples, accordingly, one encounters the picture of the god of the Five Roads, the Taoist combatant of hailstorms, amidst the awful scenery, previously described, whether or not the temple is dedicated to it. The shaman is invited to perform his most efficient rites against hail because he is believed the most conspicuous for his great abilities in the field. All the Taoist spirits, to whom temples in the country are dedicated, are invited by the shaman to come down into the temple yard and to participate in the performance of the rite in spring. The shaman conveys to them the sympathy of the villagers and their gracious offer of hospitality, in order that they might help their village, and after the shamanist rites have been performed the villagers still indulge in Lamaist activities against hailstorms. 782 796 789

No wonder that, from New Year's on, the villagers are obsessed by the problem, and never fail where a Kurtain is possessed by the god of the Five Roads, to invite him on the third day of the year for an exhibition

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the study of F. Franz Eichinger, Kinderlosigkeit und ihre Bekampfung in der Volksmedizin, *ibid.* 167 sq., is very instructive and unique. The author, during two years as member of the Chinese Health Committee in Ming-hsien, Lin t'ao, Ho-chou, and Labrang (East Kansu), traveled four months with the committee in the region of Hsining, Kung-ho, Hsing-hai (Monguor territory) and seized the exceptional opportunity to gather ethnological notes, which open vistas in this special field and give a better understanding of the frame of mind of the family concerning this capital topic: the care of children, the means of getting this blessing, the fear of being bereaved of them and the physical causes of this bereavement. [113]

[p.97(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

small rapids), 30 *li* east of Hsining, causing the region 796
of Hsining, which was a large lake in former times, to 782
dry up. He is said to have been a beautiful man, with strong classical features, taller than the men of today, and endowed with fabulous strength. He played with huge rocks as children play with marbles, and was very fond of two enormous dogs which he tied to the rocks of Hsiao hsia with chains so heavy that only he could move them. He is represented in the temple as a man of gigantic proportions, sitting on a large throne wearing yellow robes and cap, and the insignia of an official.

Father Grootaers [11] encountered this god in sixteen Erh-lang temples in Wan-Ch'üan, and notes that Erh-lang, son of Li Ping of the Han dynasty (A.D. 25–220) was famous for his works on dikes in Ssu-ch'uan Province, and became an object of the cult. However, he notes that another Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien of the Sung dynasty (beginning of the twelfth century A.D.) is also renowned for the same kind of work, and is represented with a dog at his feet. This detail, encountered in the temples of Wan ch'üan, enabled Father Grootaers, because of an inscription found on a fresco in the grottoes of P'u-fo ssu, to assume that the Erh-lang of Wan ch'üan must be the son of Yang Chien, object of a cult in Hopei Province. It seems possible that, on account of the popular tradition, the Erh-lang of Hsining with his enormous two dogs and heavy chains must also be Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien. However, how Erh-lang became the object of a cult in Hsining, and at what time, are facts shrouded in mystery. Anyway, Erh-lang, the beautiful god, is said to enjoy the annual visits of the fine goddesses of Sha t'ang Valley and to extend his protection from hail and blessings upon the crops in thanks for their gracious call.

The observance by the young people of twenty-one 821
days of continence and the restraint from indulgence in 782
wine and garlic and onions, the sending of the goddesses for a call on a god, and the custom of locking them up for a night in the temple in order to court the sympathy of the god and to reap the benefit of his protection, open up some chinks, letting in some light into the disturbed religious frame of mind of the people. Significant also is the extent of the fear of hail which makes them resort to all available means in order to get help and assistance against it.

OLD CUSTOM RECALLED

Old Monguors always recall that in former times, 789
when the shamans were still proficient in their art, it 756
was said they never failed to combat the hail. They threw stones stained with blood of white dogs in the direction of the hail spirits, shot with bloody arrows and moved stuffed horse skins. But now the shamans

[11] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 262–263. See *Folklore Studies Supplement No. 1:* 229, 1952, Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien is said to have buried two of the nine suns in the region of Kui-te (south of Hsining), and the hot wells existing in the region are thus explained. See Eberhard, *op. cit.*, *Lokalkulturen, Fuchs* 1: 40.

[p. 103(A)]

be purified by smoking over cypress boughs, and a 778
sacrifice of a sheep or a hog is required. Every three 532
years the stomach is opened and the decayed animating 756
items are removed. New ones must take their place, because after three years their power has faded away. The Monguors invite the shaman most proficient in this art to perform the rite, since magical efficacy does not seem to be the same among all shamans and for that reason statues are assumed to be the seats of the spirits.

The statues in Lamaist temples need, in the same way, magical bowels; however, the lamas put Tibetan texts inside the statues. The magical power of the statues lasts as long as the Tibetan texts are uninjured.

The role played by the snake in the therapy of debilitated spirits is noteworthy. It will be seen later that the old mountain spirit of the Obo, protector and proprietor of the valley of Sha-t'ang, was healed and rejuvenated by a lot of medicines, among which the snake ranked first.

The table often mentioned above is said to be the seat of the White Tiger, and is used everywhere. It is a low Chinese table, adorned with strips of red cloth or silk and a small copper mirror in front. The four legs represent the legs of the tiger, while on the underpart of the table are painted the intestines and genitalia. It must be animated by the shaman. Often used instead of the sedan chair, it is carried by four men whom it crushes beneath it, or pulls fore or aft when asked for a decision.

CONCLUSION

This chapter gives supporting evidence for the as- 821
sumption that in the fabric of the religious life of the 829
Monguors, the struggle against the hail spirits and the 771
means of avoiding harm from them are a real obsession and play an overwhelming part. All summer this fear troubles the peace of mind, and mars the happiness especially of older people and chiefs of families. No wonder that every day around noon Monguors start examining the northwest corner of the sky. Everybody, putting on a brave front, brags and boasts about the efficacy of the rites, trying to bolster their wavering courage, but telling beads and muttering "Om Mani," hoping that finally Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" will help them.

Another conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the shamanist White Tiger bears the brunt of the struggle against the evil spirits of hail, and that the Taoist god of the Five Roads and his associates who are magnificiently enthroned in all the village temples, on whose walls they score brilliant successes defeating the evil hail spirits, play a very modest secondary role in the rank and file of the other good spirits and Buddhist deities supposed to lend a hand in the struggle. The Monguors have remained as convinced shamanists as the Turco-Mongol tribes of former times.

The struggle against the hail spirits by an entire com-

[p. 104 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

munity, obeying day and night the orders of the chief 821
of the village, pooling all its efforts and putting them 829
at his disposition, reveals the old clan spirit of nomads 771
united in the struggle against forces from abroad; it reveals that the entire community resorts unanimously to religious practices in order to preserve its means of subsistence and that religion in time of fear and distress is a means of securing the cohesion of the group. The civil and religious authority vested in the same chief make religion a constituent of the social organization. This note will be brought out several times further on, in the study of the religious life of the Monguors.[18]

X. VARIOUS PUBLIC RITES

PUBLIC RITES ON NEW YEAR'S

At midnight on New Year's the bell of the temple of 776
the village rings. A group of villagers, comprised of a member of each family, led by the chief of the village, the military commanders and the elders, arrive to honor "Heaven and all the spirits" in the courtyard of the temple. by lighting a big cypress fire, offering steamed bread, raisins, and butter, pouring a libation of wine, and prostrating themselves holding incense sticks in their hands. The chief of the village says: "Heaven and all the spirits, we thank you for all the blessings of the past year, bless us during this New Year, give us good crops, and guard us from hail." Then they return home in order to perform the traditional family rites of New Year's.

On the third, as already noted, the chief of the village, the elders, and a member of each family go to the temple of the village in order to learn the prophecy of the sedan chair or table god, about the events of the New Year. In villages where there is a Kurtain possessed by the spirit of the temple, he is invited for an exhibition, which is attended by the whole community. This New Year's exhibition is the only public office discharged by the Kurtain in the community. After the exhibition there follows the Rite of the Sacred Animal.

During the first month of the New Year, in the villages where there is a temple dedicated to a Lamaist deity, some lamas are usually invited by the community to say prayers for three to seven days, for the peace of the villagers.

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[18] Potanin, *op. cit.*, 397-399 *sqq.*, describes accurately the interesting elaborate rite performed by shamans, enthroning a new image of a Taoist deity (the dragon king), as the new family protector in a Mongnor family (probably at the moment of the division of the family inheritance). The performance is a blend of shamanist and Taoist rites. The opening of the eyes of the image and its animation, etc., are performed in the genuine Taoist fashion. The shamanism of this group of Monguors seems to be more adulterated than that of the Monguors living on the northern side of the Hsining River; the deities they honor are all Taoist deities.

[p. 105 (A)]

/58 cont'd/

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their good fortune is attached to the persons of their children, to the animals they raise, to the grain they cultivate. When a daughter is given in marriage, it is good fortune which goes away; when animals are sold, it is wealth which abandons them.... Now to keep good fortune and wealth from leaving the family, they take from the braid of the daughter given in marriage the two red strings, which they attach to the lang hsia, they take hairs from the animals, they keep some grains of the cereals they sell. Favors received from spirits cannot be sold; so they believe they are in order with the spirits by keeping a souvenir of the favors received. They will therefore kneel before the lang hsia as before the spirits.

585 family's good fortune may not go away with the daughter who is leaving the home. The son-in-law takes the new comb he has brought, passes it three times through his own hair, then three times through that of his bride. The third time he leaves it in her hair and goes out of the room.

The door of the room is closed, and the women inside comb and dress the bride. The two recent singers /59/ had brought a red [822] garment for her, because the bride must be dressed all in red today. Nevertheless, she sometimes covers her head with a green veil. The two companions stay in front of the bride's room and intone the song of the toilette while the women inside hurry to finish their task. They are heard singing, "We who are named to have come to the home of the honorable Wang family with a comb having an even number of teeth; we have not learned to comb hair, we beg you, comb the girl's hair with art in our place.... We have brought earrings, we beg you to put them on her," and so on for all the pieces of attire.

Mo /105 cont'd/
587 then called, if it is a son, either, according to the Chinese custom,
589 Hiao cheng tse, i.e., "/son/ born during the mourning period," or
765 else, according to the T'ou-jen custom, xara khû, i.e., "black
[177] son," which again means "son of mourning" since black is the color
[822] of mourning among the T'ou-jen; they say "to wear black" for "to
be in mourning." Black was formerly also the color of mourning
among the Mongols. When widows who have not remarried bear
Mo children after two years, it happens that these children are abandoned
[847 or that they are drowned right after birth, especially if they are girls.
848] That happens when the family has many children, or when none of
Mo the neighbors wants to feed the poor being. When the newborn is
[792] a son, they will keep him, but he will not inherit family property,
and as a general rule they will send him at about the age of nine
or ten to a lamasery to remain a bachelor. This is the most practi-
cal solution for avoiding difficulties in the family later. (1)

Ma
[847
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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 77:
The Manchus are very strict in killing illegitimate children, i.e. the children born by unmarried girls and widows.
The other Tungus groups consider girls who have children as the best for marriage, because these girls have the proof of their fecundity.
/Cited in English./

Mo c) The third category of polygamists is met in well-to-do
595 families who lack workers.

We have seen that all the work, so to speak, is assigned to
Mo the wife; the household duties, the care of the livestock, and a large
461 part of the work in the fields. A T'ou-jen wife actually kills her-
462 self with work. It is painful to us to look at these men with the
595 nomadic instinct, do-nothings, idlers, spare themselves the least
fatigue. It can happen, therefore, in families which have much

[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
the arrow of good fortune in the word yãṅdar. They interpret the yãṅ as "good fortune" and the dar as "to increase." The old man, however, would not let the dar be applied to the entire arrow, but only to the hada attached to it, and he is correct in this, for dar in Tibetan signifies "cloth, silk." He stated that the whole thing, including the urn, is always only called yãṅsdzia. It is unclear to me what the sdzia in this combination actually means. It is doubtful that it is a literary botching of mda', "arrow."

In order to determine the meaning of the arrow of good fortune in more detail, it is best to start from the Tib. word g.yaṅ. According to Ch. Das, the sense of wealth, fullness of life, treasures, state of well-being is connected with g.yaṅ. This is apparent from the corresponding combinations with g.yaṅ (cf. pp. 1149ff.). The very essence of good fortune, however, seems to be the sheep; metaphorically it is simply called g.yaṅ-dkar, "the white good-fortune." White is also the color of good fortune. But how, then, is the arrow of good fortune to be comprehended as the carrier of good fortune?

[822]

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Its peculiar character becomes clearest at the wedding ceremony. When the bride departs from the parental house and is led three times around the threshing floor on horseback, the father of the bride runs behind the bride three times

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[822]

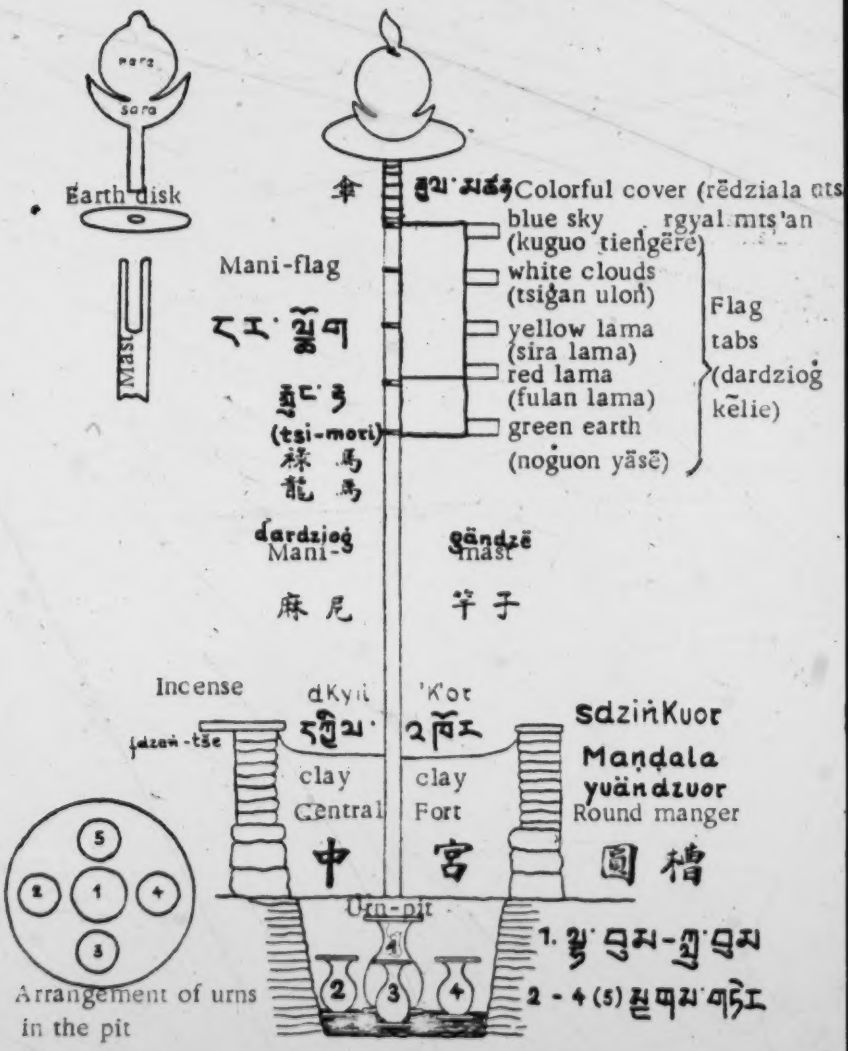

Fig. 7. Mani-tree and Central Fort.

The large urn in the center (1) is called Spirit-Naga-urn, the accompanying urns (2-5, three of which are visible), magical treasure.

[57 cont.]

*778 attached to the tree along the long side. On the average the length is 150 to 200 centimeters. The master of the household first takes this bolt of cloth to a lamic monastery where it is [782] printed with prayers and the picture of an air-horse in the monastery press, only on one side, however. About three-quarters of the flag is covered with prayers, and the lowest quarter with the air-horse. At home the man or the woman then sews a row of strings on one long side, with which the flag is tied to the pole. [58]. The other long side, fluttering in the breeze, is [822] provided with five tabs of cloth in the five sacred colors. The length depends on the flag. Usually they are about two fingers wide and a finger long. They may be quadrangular or triangular. The flag is likewise fumigated and placed next to the cover on the household altar. For these tabs, too, there are no regulations concerning the origin and nature of the material (7).

[192]

7. [Foreign text p. 61.] The mani-flag has various names; cf. below, Note 10. All these names apply in the first place to the horse-image, then to the flag, and finally to the entire tree. The image is the most important, especially when one considers that paper images are also in use.

*778 796 782

On every flag or every image there are the most varied sayings and representations, in Tibetan or Chinese or Mongolic. Sometimes the horse also bears on its back the sign of good fortune, nuru. These paper horses play [171] an important role in the ceremony of releasing the horses, which is performed by the Tujen as well as by the Chinese and Tibetans. This ceremony is practiced at certain times of the year, for instance, in the month of the

[67 cont.]

539 *778 prayer. He prayed for seven days. On this obo they heaped white stones. Within the circle of the obo they piled large stones in layers. On the peak of the obo they stuck cypress twigs and tied wool from the white sheep to them. They covered the circle of the obo with white earth (5). They wrapped the obo with silk.

[822]

5. [Foreign text p. 69.] The white color is the lucky color of Lamaism. The white conch, the white earth-god urns, the white flocks of wool on the twigs of the tree of life are to be recalled. When someone starts a journey it is said: may your way be white. Among the Tulkus this is even symbolically expressed by scattering flour, chalk, etc. on the path. The monasteries are painted white, and the palace of the earth-spirit is supposed to be white.

[484]

[346]

In the days of the three summer months they threw at the obo, galloping on their horses. They threw white stones, they threw gold and silver, they threw grain and butter. And the life of man unfolded" (6).

6. [Foreign text pp. 69-70.] This passage is literally translated from the Tujen version of the Geser legend as it was dictated to me by a singer with the aid of the old man. It characteristically shows how closely the conception of the obo is connected with Buddhistic forms. Nothing is to be seen of the repeatedly asserted hostility between Buddhism and pre-Buddhistic cults. In lamic monasteries there are books concerning the erection of obos; I did not succeed in seeing such a book, however,

[621 cont.]

846 loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter,
431 and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole
[262] in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

[858] Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts
[822] for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

553 Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-
791 soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the master of the household gives the great incense offering in the
[787] yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master
[592] of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the
[778] child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

551

3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guānbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guāmbo; ifulā sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sērāṅ (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; laśdze sērāṅ, pass-peak-palace; tuguān ula, mountain of the Tuguān. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

[865 cont.]

782 776 Types of fire-pouring: There is a whole series of different fire-pourings, depending upon the deity concerned. Usually the fire-pouring is undertaken to honor the following deities: the horse-god, the cattle-god, the lion-god, and the water-faced Buddha.

[822] [866] Other types depend upon the color of the gods. Thus there is a red, yellow, white, and black fire-pouring. The tormas are also colored according to the colors of these gods, which they represent. Likewise, a special kind of wood is used for the individual colors: for the red, tamarisk wood; for the yellow, white thorn; for the white, poplar wood; and for the black, black thorn. The ceremonies are the same for the first three fire-pourings; only the prayers vary. -- The black fire-pouring in particular, however, deviates from the others (6).

782 [824]

782 184

6. [Foreign text p. 868.] Lamas report that there are many different types of fire-pourings, the four mentioned here being only the four main types, and that they have extensive books concerning the rites. -- The description of these orthodox Lamaistic rites would require a special study. In this connection, cf. Lessing, Yung Ho Kung (pp. 150-161). Only one of the many types practiced in the monastery is described there, and also only the phases "which can be easily observed by the inexperienced visitor" (p. 150) [cited in English]. Without going into a comparison with the above-described form, let it merely be pointed out here that the basic features are identical. Of the four main types characterized by Lessing, only the color agrees with the account given by my informant; he knew nothing

[635 cont.]

764 evening the neighbors and friends gather and pray for the dead, squatting in a circle. Some days before the cremation, the master of ceremonies invites a lama to conduct the death cere-
[792] monies and burn the corpse. First, however, the mother's
[604] brother must release the corpse; this is done the evening before at the meal, when he demands an accounting for the dead person and his interment.

The cremation is undertaken outside the village in a crematory, which on each occasion is built at a different place.
[792] The lama performs almost the same ceremonies on this occasion as at the fire-pouring. After the cremation the remaining bones are kept in a wooden chest and temporarily buried on the spot.
[765] Not until the next spring do the relatives transfer them to the
766 family cemetery. -- Small children are not buried. Adult girls are burned quietly without ceremonies in an isolated place.

765 The strict period of mourning lasts 49 days. As a sign of mourning, the men turn their clothing inside out, and the women remove their ornaments and certain parts of their headdress.

[636] Details

763 Preparation of the corpse: Shortly before death, the men
764 shave first the head and then the beard of the dying person. If death sets in too suddenly, however, so that they can no longer shave him alive, it is left undone. After the shaving, he is undressed and his hands, face, and feet are washed, not the entire body. The men do this for men, the women for women. The women keep their long hair, as do girls. The hair is parted in the center and two three-stranded braids are plaited, which hang down over the breast or the back. In the case of sudden death, the corpse is merely washed and the hair dressed; the washing is then done with only a damp cloth (1).

[823]

1. [Foreign text p. 650.] Why no water may flow over the corpse could not be discovered; probably it is feared that the water would thereby be made impure; it is counted among the basic elements.

[643 cont.]

764 their shoulders and carry it out to the yard gate. Before the gate the water-lamp and the paper basin are emptied. Here, too, the straw that served the bereaved as an underlayer during the deathwatch is burned. The procession goes to the crematory at a rapid pace. Old and young, men and women, follow in colorful confusion.

Young boys go with them. They carry straw, firewood, cypress twigs, a wooden bed or a door for the lama, a white felt mat, and a large iron kettle for melting the butter. At the oven, the men place the box on the ground. The relatives once more burn paper and throw themselves down to kowtow. Then 764 the master of ceremonies steps forward and addresses a few words 537 of farewell to the deceased. He says approximately the following: We have done what we could for you; we invited the lamas, we have prayed, we have given alms. We have made a beautiful box for you; you can be content. Therefore think no more of us and do not return to disturb the peace of our house. Be without care; we shall not forget you and shall continue to pray for you and to make offerings to you.

764 After this speech he distributes money among those present. This is alms and is called "box-money." Now the [431] women once more begin the lamentation. They have a certain [533] melody and express their grief in impromptu words. Then all go home. Only the master of ceremonies, two fire guards, the sons-in-law, the nephews, and the lama remain. The fire is serviced only by the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The sons-in-law and nephews assist with other operations.

Putting the corpse inside: The men who remained behind bring the litter to the west side of the oven where the broad slit was left. They put the litter with the back to this opening and draw the wooden wall out, so that the corpse is exposed in the back. Meanwhile the [644] fire guards have piled cypress twigs and wood on the oven floor. The corpse is now put on the firewood in the oven, the back to the east, the face to the west. [775] Then the slit is walled off. The face must be turned to the [823] west because the realm of the blessed is located there, to which he must now migrate.

[646 cont.]

764 the little bones go into it, however, for it is only an ell long and two handbreadths high. The lid is pegged down, like a Chinese coffin. The remaining bones are carried by hand, aprons, or in a back-basket to the nearest mountain height. Animals as a rule do not eat them because they are burned. Only sheep like to nibble on them. The bones decompose very rapidly, however.

The bone-chest is placed in the oven, weighted down with clay bricks, and then the oven is torn down so that it forms a little mound with the chest buried under it. This is always done if the cremation has taken place after the harvest during the period before the grave festival in the third month. [765] At the grave festival, the Chinese ch'ing-ming, the bone-chest [769] is buried in the communal family cemetery. The place of the cremation is leveled.

If the cremation is after the grave festival, then the oven is, to be sure, torn down and the place again cultivated, but the bone-chest is not buried at the place of the oven, but on a remote ridge of arable land in a field belonging to [765] the deceased's own family. Only at the next grave festival in the following year is it transferred to the family cemetery.

If the cremation has taken place on a distant mountain far from the family, then a tent is pitched there to wait until the third day, the bones are stored, and the chest is brought down in order to bury it on the ridge of a field on one's [776] own land. Such a cremation may never be undertaken on the [778] peak of a mountain, but about halfway up. The peak is [823] sacred to the mountain-spirit and may not be desecrated.

If the bone-chest has been buried in the oven or field, then the relatives burn white paper before it, throw pieces of bread on the bone-grave, and pour out tea before it for the dead. Then they kowtow and go home. The guests are treated with tsamba and butter in the house of mourning. The [465] master of ceremonies receives 12 loaves of bread and two ells of white cloth; the two fire guards are given six loaves each and two ells of cloth.

[826 cont.]

241 789 778 791 [212]

The seed-master places these wedges on the table before the Bon. The latter inscribes all three sides with Tibetan magic formulas. For this purpose he uses Chinese ink and the brush or the Tibetan bamboo pencil. The wedge that is intended for the head of the goat [827] has a black hada slung around it at the head and a black string or a small chain in the middle.

[788]

Then some of the wool is cut from the pole-goat lying in front of the Bon, a few threads are twisted together, and with these the Bon priest ties on the wedges, one on each foot and one between the horns. All five wedges have the tip downward. He then sprinkles water from his holy-water can over goat and pole, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley, blows on it three times, and scatters it over the whole.

241 789 791 782 [821] [822]

The erection of the pole-goat and the offering: The men set the pole in the hole and wedge it tight with stones and earth. The goat must face the northwest because storms usually come from there. As soon as the pole is firmly set, the Bon brings the weather-torma, together with the extra features, to the foot of the pole, sets it down, and immediately returns to his place in order to continue the weather-prayer. Now he accompanies the prayer only with his drum and the bell. Again the men make a great incense offering amidst blowing on the conch.

241 789 778

The mountain-torma: Then the mountain-torma is prepared. It has three steps, is round, and looks like a pyramid with terraces about ten centimeters high. Altogether it is about 40 centimeters high. The torma is painted with soft butter colored red and is given the following extra features: on the first layer, water animals, frog, snake, fish, dragon, turtle, and, further, little stones, little lumps of earth, and finally a few squirts of water; on the second layer, mountain animals, deer, horse, yak, half-yak, sheep, goat, hare, fox, wolf, and a few little pieces of wood; on the third layer animals of the air, phoenix, eagle, peacock, magpie, dove, swallow, and, further, sun disk and moon sickle. On the uppermost tip are

[224 cont.]

782 striking [225] that the agriculture myth does not mention the in-
174 cense offering. The conditions of the environment -- mountain pasture, forest, wild flowers, etc. -- do not fit in with agriculture (7). -- Here it may be asked whether the incense offering is

[824] [773]

7. The ancient nature of the incense offering is to be explained in the final analysis by the ancient nature of the juniper tree, which as world- and life-tree stands at the beginning of time; cf. J.F.Rock, Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 20, 21, 132, 143. Since it is the first tree of the world, even the first emperor (Geser legend) could burn only these twigs in honor of heaven. The incense offering therefore belongs in the world of the religious archetypes which became standard for the later human beings, just as the archetypes of the first human being, of the world-mountain and the tree of life, of heaven and earth, of the first obo, etc. extend back into that legendary period.

older than the primitial offering. In common with the latter it is mentioned in the legends before all other offerings. The first emperor already knows both offerings; the wedding song and the hunting song mention the incense offering, the agriculture myth only the primitial offering. The relationship of the two offerings to each other cannot be determined. 3. The incense
782 offering is always given either to heaven alone or to it in the first place. It is a true heaven-offering. It is only rarely directed to the other spirits, which, according to their collec-
[776] tive name, are called purgan and therefore are only of later Buddhist origin. Mountain heights seem to have been preferred
[823] in order to be closer to heaven. Even today this is still done. The Tujen are aware of this and give as the reason that it is

[225 cont.]

782 more suitable for heaven (8). The relationship to the supreme

[823]
[773]

8. Above all the rising smoke connects this offering to heaven; the expression ġarġa, to make rise, is especially to be noted here. The smoke is like a living column of heaven or a living road to heaven. The shamanistic significance of the incense offering comes from this; not only promotes the trance, but is at the same time the path and motive power of the journey to heaven. The first emperor of the Geser legend demands, for instance, that during his journey to heaven the incense offering not be interrupted; the rising smoke strikes against the gate of heaven and opens the entrance for him, and he shoots his incompetent companion on the tip of his arrow into the rising column of smoke, in which he descends to earth.

[756]

[773]

being is also expressed, for example, in the wedding songs from Khalatse (western Tibet). There, according to Francke, op. cit., pp. 25 f., it is said: "This blue smoke that rises upward signifies that no trouble will arise with brGya-byin, the lord of the gods."

The Sheep Offering

[825] The sheep as a sacrificial animal, according to the material available, is reserved in a special way for heaven and the mountain-spirit, even though it may also be offered to the other gods. It is never offered to the mountain-spirit alone without heaven, however. There are sheep offerings that apply only to heaven, namely at the sowing and harvest

[241]

[229 cont.]

174 (udagan, idugan). (Cf. Koval., p. 386; Uno Harva, Die religiösen
776 Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker [The Religious Conceptions of the Altaic Peoples], p. 450.) As the ceremonies of the earth-god urn indicate, this deity has something to do with butter and silk (silk wrapping, butter-pouring), as well as with grain (barley filling). Something similar applies to the etügen, which, as a female deity, is endowed with the attribute "fat-faced" and "silk-faced." (Cf. N. N. Poppe, "Schaman. Handschriften [Shamanistic Manuscripts]," Vol. I, 196-197, Manuscript XI; statement according to W. A. Unkrig.) Further indications of the connection of the earth-deity with the origin of agriculture and corresponding Tujen myths must be omitted here.

776 [230] Now regardless of where the earth-deity of the Tujen came from, it, heaven, and the mountain-spirit form an ancient trinity which has divided up the world. According to the [821] general conception of the Tujen, heaven rules over the air space, the clouds, wind, lightning, sun, moon, and stars. The mountain-spirit rules over the surface of the earth; animals, human [823] beings, birds, forests, pastures, and mountains. The earth-deity rules over the interior of the earth: metals, rocks, treasures, the snakes and the worms, as well as the seed that slumbers in the earth. This division, however, does not exclude heaven from the other two realms. After all that has been said, he continues to be the lord of the gods and men. If he appears here as coadministrator of the layers of the world, he only seemingly surrenders his partial domains. One might better think of a splitting off of certain activities of heaven and their being made independent, as P. W. Schmidt assumes for similar cases among other Asiatic peoples.

The Knowledge of Heaven

776 After the preceding discussions, the further characteris-
782 tics of heaven automatically present themselves. Among these characteristics knowledge appear most clearly. Concerning this knowledge the informant gave the following information (Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873): "At the

of Yang-k'ou-erh, who belonged to the Yellow-Sect, 795
was a Red lama. Such anomalies happen because 792
family ties closely knit the members of both sects. The father of the intendant of the lamasery of Ch'ie bzan, which belongs to the Yellow Sect, was a Red lama, and the father of the novice of the intendant, also. I met four lamas of the Yellow Sect, pupils of a learned lama of the Red Sect, who boarded at his home.

At the monastery of Hsien-mi, the father of a young 175
lama of the lamasery, which belongs to the Yellow 795
Sect, was a Red lama. One night, in my presence, he unbosomed his grudge against the supreme chief of the lamasery who had refused permission for his Red Sect to build a temple on the property of the lamasery. "Our sect," he said, "is as the ear of the wheat plant, and the Yellow Sect is as its straw. We occupied the country and diffused our Sect long before the Yellow Sect was born. Our scriptures are so numerous that a man cannot finish reading them during a lifetime. The Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, of the Yung-lo period (1403–24), granted us extensive properties—and then came the Emperor K'ang-hsi, who protected the Yellow Sect and oppressed our Sect." These facts reveal the frame of mind of both sects, and their mutual behavior in Huang-chung.

Although the lamas of the Red Sect constitute a small minority, scattered over the country, and possess only two Living Buddhas, they exert an important influence and play a considerable part in the religious life of the Monguors.

THE RITE OF THE 108 SPRINGS

In order to give an insight into the real psychology of 792
the lamas of the Red Sect, and their attitude toward 795
magic, the Rite of the 108 Springs will be described. 789
It is performed in order to acquire magical power.

The lamas living north of the Hsining River practice the Rite of the 108 Springs at least once in their life. Those among them who have enacted it two or three times are considered by the Monguors as the most potent. It is said that very few lamas of the Yellow Sect are interested in the rite, although serious lamas of the Yellow Sect told me many times that the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu had enacted the rite together with a Red lama, after the Bumkhang he built seemed ineffective, and the troubles in his lamasery had upset him. I could hardly believe it, because the rite is not enacted to honor or to get the protection of spirits of the springs, but is thoroughly magical, and its aim, according to the lamas of both sects, is the increase of magical abilities. At any rate, because the lamas of the Red Sect all practiced it, and are said to be bound to enact the rite, it sheds a true light upon the fundamental character of the lamas of the Red group, who seem to be as fond of magic as the shamans.

Springs of water are situated mostly at the foot of [823]
mountains, in deep valleys, and in lonely spots which

[p.175(A)]

are supposed to be the favorite abodes of evil spirits. 792
The Red lámas go to these springs in order to meet 795
these demons, to frighten them, to combat them, or to 789
obtain their assistance. So goes the saying of the [223]
Monguors and the lamas of both sects.

The rite is a back-breaking work. It lasts for 129 days, more than four months. It is practiced by a single lama, never in a group. Usually a fervent Monguor accompanies the lama for some days, to carry his luggage and prepare his tea. I got the information from two such men and from people living in Waza, near a spring where the lama performed his rite.

Sometimes the lama has to wander a long way to reach a spring, and sometimes three or four springs are situated one next to the other. The rite is carried out in winter and starts with a retreat of seven days at home, during which the lama, three times during the day and three times during the night, prays and reads texts, rattling the drum made of two human skulls, blowing the trumpet made from a human femur, and ringing the bell. He is not allowed to get a long sleep or to stretch himself out on the ground. He has to sleep in a sitting position, is not allowed to undress during the 129 days, or to enter any home or cave.

I saw a Red lama who lived near the monastery of Hua-yen start his journey. All the neighbors, men, women, and children, accompanied him to the first spring. He carried on his back, in a light wooden frame of thin laths, the felt mat on which he would sleep at night, a book of texts, a picture of Padma sambhava, the chief saint of the sect, some flour, butter, tea, a cauldron, and a small tent made of white cotton cloth. If, on the way, he should happen to lose one of these items, he is not allowed to replace it. He wore a long red coat, lined with sheepskin; on his head a red hat and over his eyes a green shade, with fringes. In his right hand he held the double-skull drum, and in the left hand the trumpet. He is not allowed to speak during his wandering from one spring to another, but mutters prayers all the way along, beating the drum at the same time.

Upon reaching the first spring he puts the frame down, blows three times on the trumpet in the direction of heaven, then starts the ritual dance three times around the spring to the time of the rattling drum, describing ritual designs on the ground. He beats the ground with his heel to the time of the drum beats, then stands on one leg, completely immobile, for a long time. Thereafter he pitches the tent, displays the picture, and sits crosslegged in front of the tent reciting texts for a long time. In the meantime, the villagers had prepared tea, and he starts talking with them. People are not allowed to indicate the spot of the next spring or to ask in what direction he will move the next day. He eats the meal offered by them. He is not allowed to drink alcoholic beverages, eat garlic, [269]
leeks, or radishes. He eats only mutton. The remains of the meal offered to him are not allowed to be

[p.75 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

carried home. Before sunset his meal has to be finished and the people gone. At this first spring he stays for seven days. 792 795 789

Twice a day he prepares tea and eats *tsamba* along the wayside. When people see a practicer of the rite passing near the village, they all follow him, prepare his tea and his evening meal. He enjoys the real veneration of all the Monguors and the Tibetans. He remains for seven days at the first spring, praying, dancing, three times during the day and three times during the night. It is said that during the night, the time of the demons, he summons all the demons of the country, wages his ritual war with them, subduing them, or making friends of them. At night he has a terrible time, exercising his magical abilities and increasing his magical capacities. The demons do not let him sleep a wink. All kinds of terrifying tales are spread in the country about his nightly experiences.[2]

At dawn he gathers stones and builds a small cairn; then he starts for the next springs, remaining only one day at each of them and performing the same rites. At the 54th spring he stays for seven days, as at the first one, then continues his pilgrimage until the 108th, where he again enacts seven-day rites. Then all the Red lamas of the country, the people of his village, the chiefs and elders of the neighboring villages come to meet him and lead him home in order to perform the final rite, which simulates the incineration of corpses and includes a recitation of texts together with all the lamas. Sitting on a throne in front of the ritual oven in which wood is burning, he pours boiling butter on the wood, acting like an officiant at a real incineration. After this rite he is heartily congratulated and receives some gifts: sheep, butter, tea, sugar, raisins. I never obtained an explanation of this last rite, or of its connection with the pilgrimage of the 108 springs.

Springs of water play an important part in the religious life of lamas and of the Monguors. It is not unusual to see lamas of the Yellow Sect, even Living Buddhas, sitting for hours in silence at the edge of a spring, slowly beating its surface with a flat broad lath. It is said that this practice produces happiness and peace of mind. 792 795 789 923

On the fifth of the fifth month the Monguors honor the spirit of the well from which they draw water. They make a *Wei-sang*[3] near the well, plant a stick to the top of which is affixed a bouquet, and prostrate themselves. The whole family wash their hands and faces with the water in the first bucket drawn, and rinse their mouths. Tea is prepared and all of them drink several cups, for it is said that this tea prevents all kind of diseases. At the same time they bury an urn near the well, thanking the spirit of the earth where 792 795 789

[2] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 126; also Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l'extase*, 384, Paris, Payot, 1951.

[3] See Chap. VIII, note 2, p. 95. [p. 96 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

cupied by the monastery. In big lamaseries the cult of 795
this god resorts to the attributions of members of the college of rites.[18]

Every Monguor, together with his entire family in 795
their best clothes, who attends the ceremony of the start- 782
ing of the plowing of the fields, will honor in the fields [241]
the god of his fields, by burying an urn (called the precious bottle), making libations, burning incense, and offering bread. No Monguor will build a court yard, sheep or cow pen without burying an urn in the ground, thereby recognizing the lordship and dominion of the spirit of the spot, and obtaining his permission to occupy it. In the center of the courtyard, under the manikan and the manger, the Monguors used to bury five urns and invite a lama to recite texts for one, two or five days, sprinkling holy water and throwing spelt on them. This old rite has become a thoroughly Lamaist rite, to which each lama attaches his own mystical explanations.

However, frequently the Monguor invites a Chinese geomancer; he plants the manikan himself, buries the urn, and offers a sheep or a chicken. This principle is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of the Monguors that they will never proceed with the rite of the cremation of a corpse without having previously recognized the ownership of the god of the spot, and obtaining its permission by buying from it the spot required. Thus, the mountain and village gods seem to belong to the category of the earth gods for whom, in old China, victims and offerings were buried in the ground.[19] For that reason urns are buried for mountain and village gods as well as for earth gods.

The precious bottle (urn), the most important offering in the cult of the gods of the mountains, the village, and the earth, is usually prepared by a lama of the Yellow or the Red Sect, performing more or less elaborate rites, sometimes for days. He uses some [223] powder of gold, some silver, coral, turquoise, and copper coins of the K'ai-yüan (713–741) and T'ai-p'ing (1850) periods, things which are said to comprise the five precious materials. He gathers some grains of five kinds of cereals, threads of five colors, different kinds of medicines, incense sticks, and some tea leaves. All these substances are pounded for a long time with a pestle in a mortar and poured into a small urn, while the lama blows on them and recites texts. Finally molten butter is poured into the urn, level with the opening. Two pictures are pasted on the urn: one of a Lamaist deity and one of the dragon spirit. The urn is covered with a piece of red cloth. The use of the urn is known all over China; such urns can be bought in all pharmacies, in lamaseries, from Taoist priests, and from shamans. The contents of the urn are not always the same, for several kinds are said to be used. Lamas make a business out of the urns, for usually the slightest unhappinesses, illnesses, and calamities, are

[18] David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, *op. cit.*, 100.
[19] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 205.

wang, the god who protects against hail, Wu tao. Although they are accustomed to saying that all the spirits are Tengri and Purgan, they seem to prefer to use the term Tengri. *Purgan* seems to be a relatively recent term, introduced after Lamaism had been spread among them, for they seem to prefer "Purgan" when speaking about gods of Lamaism. However, they always say that *"uluon purgan"* means all the spirits, and not only the Lamaist deities. 776

Because in the formula *"Tiengere,"* often *"Sge Tiengere,"* "Heaven," "Great Heaven" are always used first, it is obvious that the "spirit of Heaven" seems to be prominent among the spirits in the mind of the Monguors. This prominence of Heaven is shown by the Monguors in a very conspicuous way at the time when a sheep is offered to the guardian spirit of the family, by the fact that, first of all, a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown toward Heaven in the courtyard, with the cry, "Heaven." Then a second piece is cut and thrown in the courtyard with the cry, "All the spirits," and finally the sheep is offered to the guardian deity. It is shown also at the time of the offering of a sheep to the Obo spirit on top of the mountain, when three ladles of broth are thrown in the air—first, for "Heaven," and then, consecutively, three ladles to each of the four points of the compass for all the spirits, *"Uluon purgan."* [823]

However, is it permitted, on account of this striking prominence, to jump to the conclusion that the "spirit of Heaven," or "Great Heaven" is a monotheos, and that the Monguors of 1910–1920 were monotheists? Monotheists are considered as worshipping but one God. People who worship and offer sacrifices to Heaven and all the spirits are consequently considered polytheists, no matter how prominent the "spirit of Heaven" may be. 771 776

Does this formula justify the conclusion that the "spirit of Heaven" is the chief of all the spirits, whom they all have to obey; that the "spirit of Heaven" alone administers the departments both blessings and punishments, and that the "spirit of Heaven" is omnipotent?[8]

When I asked the Monguors about the abode of the spirits, they always pondered for a few moments, as if they did not understand the meaning of my question, and then they answered: "Of course the spirits are everywhere." Indeed it seemed obvious, in view of my European frame of mind, to interpret the expression, "Heaven and all the spirits" as meaning that all the spirits enjoyed happiness together in Heaven with their supreme chief, the great spirit of Heaven. However, the Monguors assured me that the spirits are independent of one another, and independent of the spirit called Heaven; that each of them administers its own department, and that they all know the intimate feelings and behavior of the people toward them and bless or punish accordingly. Therefore, the Monguors are afraid to offend any of them and propitiate the spirit they are 772 [784]

[8] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217. [p. 149 (B)]

[20 cont.]

*778 [824] The making of the spear: The wood of the shaft must have grown wild. Wood that has been planted or wood from inhabited, settled regions may never be taken, for it is not pure. The wood is therefore sought in lonely forests and mountains. The most superior wood is sandalwood. Since this is rare, however, the mountain ash is usually used. -- The iron is usually wrought iron. There is no prescriptions concerning its origin. It may be bought, taken from old tools, etc.

Fig. 2

a. Spirit-table without bands (sirie purgan); b. spirit-table with bands (sirie purgan).

[422] Anyone may have a spirit-spear, and anyone may make it himself, but never women. If the owner wants to have a beautiful [562] spirit-spear, however, he will go to a skilled craftsman, carpenter, [463] and smith. It is required that before starting the work the craftsman rinse out his mouth, wash his face and hands, and hold the latter [783] over the smoke of a cypress fire. The tools are also thoroughly smoked. In addition, the smith casts some cypress incense into his [782] smithy fire.

The craftsman may work at home in his workshop or in with [322] the family of his client. The individual parts are made separately, [326] in other words, the shaft by the carpenter, the tip and foot by the smith. They bring the parts to the owner's house. The latter then [782] offers twelve steamed loaves (or baked loaves) on the shelf in front of the Buddha image, as well as a piece of red cloth and a measure of barley. The craftsmen place their instruments on the grain in [788] the bushel, and all of them kowtow in front of the Buddha image, [322] while the incense offering is presented outside. The carpenter receives the barley; the smith receives the twelve loaves with the red [326] cloth.

[22 cont.]

192
*778

[Note on foreign text p. 24 cont.] is copied from the Tibetan name, is phonetically less ambiguous. Otherwise the Chinese say simply mao-ch'iang (= to the Siningman, miao ch'iang), that is, spear, lance.

šdiendoṅ therefore must be rten mduṅ in Tibetan. This combination is not found in Ch. Das, but it cannot mean anything other than a spear which is the seat of a spirit. For further information, see Part Two.

[792]

The word purǵan is used not only for the spirits themselves, but also for everything that they choose as a seat, though never for a Tulku (Living Buddha). The Chinese, on the other hand, designate with fo-yeh not only the Buddhistic gods and their idols, but also the Tulkus, which they also call huo-fo (fuo), "Living Buddha."

The consecration bands: šdien, or xuon (Tib.), or sënisial (Tib.?) (4) [see Note 4 above].

Bells (rattles): xõṅguor (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 26.] xõṅguor: Mongolic xongxo, Manchurian honggon, probably comes from the Chinese chung = bell. -- dzändän: goes back to Sanskrit and signifies sandaltree (Unkrig).

Mirror: xaldan mälõṅ = gold-mirror.
xdzër (Tib.) mälõṅ = gold-mirror.

Sandalwood: dzändän mõdë = sandalwood (11) [see Note 11 above].

Mountain ash: ǵadani yärgë mõdë = the mountain's ash wood (8).

[824]

8. [Foreign text p. 25.] The botanical name of the yärgë was not definitely

[22 cont.]

192
*778
[824]

[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.] determined. According to the explanations of the people it is a rowan tree or mountain ash. According to others it could also be the tamarisk. The DMF likewise speaks of a mountain ash ("sorbier") and gives the Mongol. equivalent irgai, but then translates it with "chèvrefeuille" (honeysuckle) (p. 489). W.A. Unkrig (communication) gives the Mongolic xargai for it, with the meaning "larch, resinous tree, Pinus larix." The Chinese name, hsün-mu (hsün-tzu), is likewise indefinite.

Consecration prayer: rami (Tib.).
Chapel, temple: ṡdien kañ (Tib.) - holy house.
[23]
192 Prayer of invitation: ġsolkā (solkā) (Tib.).
782 ch'ing tsan (Chinese) = praise (3).
787

3. [Foreign text p. 23.] The prayer of invitation varies according to the spirits to be called down. ġsolka or solka is the Tibetan gsol k'a (cf. DMF, 354). Ch. Das (p. 1315) translates it as: "request, prayer" [cited in English] It is a request to the spirit to descend. The Chinese expression ch'ing-tsan says literally "to pray, to praise." In point of fact these prayers of invitation are at the same time supposed to contain praise of the tutelary spirit concerned, similar to the shaman prayers.

192
787 The spirit is there (sc., in the spear): purġān xärgëdzi kurdzia = the spirit, circling, arrived.

[44 cont.]

782 Offerings: The fire[1] need not be taken from the hearth or
372 from the kang. It may be freshly lighted in the yard. It is all the same no matter which device is used for starting the fire, matches, flint, etc. To feed the fire when kindling it, straw is most commonly used. Malodorous fuels, like coal, dried dung, etc., which otherwise prevail in profane use, are not allowed.

782 The twigs of the cypress tree serve as incense (3).
824

3. [Foreign text pp. 46-47.] The cypress used for incense is the tuja tree, vulgar; tree of life. Everywhere in Tsinghai this tree is regarded as a superior tree, even among the Chinese, who prefer to use its wood for coffins. The Chinese name is pai-shu (pei-shu or pei-mu) = cedar, juniper, cypress. The Tujen word šgua is a contraction of the Tibetan šug-pa. šug-pa, as the juniper group is called, is native to Tibet: Juniperus excelsa, Juniperus squamosa, Juniperus communis. See Ch. Dás, p. 1239 ff. saṅs šiṅ is given there as a synonym: wood of purity. saṅs, however, may also mean "to vaporize, to evaporate," etc.; cf. loc. cit., p. 1265: "evaporation" [cited in English]. Of the other synonyms, lha-yi šiṅ (gods-tree) should be mentioned because the informant, too, maintains that the tree is sacred to Lhamo. If genuine juniper is available, for instance, in wild mountain regions, it, with its berries, is preferred for the incense burning. The Tujen word fdzaṅ (šdzaṅ, saṅ), according to the informant, comes from the

[778]

1 [i.e. the fire for the morning offering — ANALYST]

[44 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 46-47 cont.]
Tibetan. Thus it corresponds to bsaṅs (Ch. Das, p. 1316), "incense." -- In Mongolic the expression for this is sang idegen, "incense-food" (Unkrig). -- The Chinese, too, have taken over this word, at least in Tsinghai, and call the cypress-incense sang. In addition, they have the Chinese expression pei-hsiang: cypress-incense. They call the stick incense, in other words, the incense candles, simply hsiang or pan-hsiang (perhaps: blossom-incense); pan-hsiang is also used as a verb, to burn incense in honor of a person (rarely used). -- For "to burn incense" [47] the Tujen say fdzaṅ ġarġa, "to release incense (to let rise)." They differentiate two types. One is the "great incense," šge fdzaṅ. This incense offering always takes place in the open, and for it complete little branches and twigs are burned. The other kind is the "small incense," mula fdzaṅ. For the latter, not whole twigs, but cypress needles, which are first pounded into an incense powder, are scattered into the fire. It burns very rapidly and makes a great deal of smoke, but produces no wood-smoke. This type is preferred for incense offerings in the house and for fumigating objects at purification ceremonies.

[783]

[778] This tree is consecrated to the mother-goddess Lhamo. The blossoms are supposed to have a pleasant fragrance, no matter what color they are. The more manifold and colorful the kinds are, the better it is. To be sure, they are dried first, so that they will burn well.

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.] Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot be imagined without tsamba. They roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.), that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain, and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-grain flour is eaten exactly as among the Tibetans (Fandse). After the consumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48] kneaded into a dry dough in the tea bowl with the remainder of the tea and the butter floating on it, and it is then eaten in the form of little pellets or little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used for the incense offering, however, may not be kept with the ordinary tsamba. Every family has a special little box for it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf. Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further details.

[262] [252] [171] [264]

[783] never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the [263] sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color; therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than the white.

The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant [439] addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop. [824] They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

[192] 4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loan-word, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

[44 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 47 cont.] "evil spirit (?)" (p. 311), is misleading. Ch. Das (p. 1057) gives the meaning: "an article, thing, material, object" [cited in English], and further: de'i rdsas, "requisites for this purpose (sc., unclean matters); especially for sacrifices, sorceries, etc., hence also used as identical with magical agency" [cited in English]. This last signification is applicable to the accompanying gifts and offerings in connection with conjuring away demons; cf. rdzē in the chapters, "The Demon Escort," "The Figure Conjuring," etc. The explanation in the DMF (p. 311) is also in accord with this: "object that one releases with the aim of being freed from an evil (money or some other object is added to it), ransom" [translated from French]. rdzē, therefore, is to be understood in the very widest sense as outfit, utensils, provision of the gods (clothes, rings, viaticum), additions to the offering, etc., as is shown by the plethora of the incense gifts. These additions correspond extensively with the additions for the earth-god's urn (treasure urn), but they probably are to be traced back only to Lamaist influence, for in the Tujen songs that mention the incense offering they are never mentioned, in contrast to the tree of life, the water, and the flowers, which are never absent. The most important flower, mentioned again and again,

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[824]

[44 cont.]

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is the kanba; cf. Part Two, "The Incense Offering." This flower has a strong, very fragrant scent which can be perceived far and wide at the incense offering. The Tujen name corresponds with the Tibetan (Unkrig). Ch. Das (p. 140) translates k'am-pa as Tanacetum tomentosum and designates it as a "very aromatic plant growing in the high mountains of Tibet" [cited in English]. Dinand identifies the flower as the tansy, Tanacetum vulgare; cf. Handbuch der Heilpflanzen [Handbook of Medicinal Plants], p. 211, with illustration, Pl. XXIII, 2. According to G.A.Stuart, it belongs to the species Artemisia vulgaris, which is exceedingly aromatic. He distinguishes three kinds: Artemisia Indica, -- Sinensis (ai-hao), -- moxa; cf. Chinese materia medica, p. 52. -- From the use of the cypress and the flowers, one can conclude that from the outset the incense offering is to be conceived of, not as a burned offering, but as an aromatic offering. -- For further details concerning the incense offering, see Part Two. -- With respect to rdzē, cf. also the chapter, "The Earth-God Urn."

782 824 They are the same kinds as those the lama mixes in at the consecration of the wumba-water. The Tujen names have been lost. In Tibetan they are called "the good six." There are the following kinds: cloves, saffron, cardamom, marl (?), nutmeg, camphor.

782 Instead of the water, one can also squirt milk or barley wine into the fire. They are then no longer called milk or

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] this purificatory effect, however, but also the incense itself. This is shown by its name, "purity-wood," and by the use of bsañs as a verb, which, according to Ch. Das (p. 1316), means "to cleanse, to remove" [cited in English]. For this reason incense is also scattered in the water with the red-hot stone (ch'ü-t'an) that is used for cultic purification.

Word List

192 Cypress tree: šgua sdziödzë (3) [see Note 3 above].
782 Cypress: šgua.
[824] Cypress incense: fdzañ (šdzañ, dzañ, sañ) (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba offering: fdzañ sdzam (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba (profane): talga (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 49.] talga: Tib. t'al ba or t'al k'a = powder, dust, ash; Mong. talxa = flour, rye flour, barley flour.

glu-smän: Tib. klu sman = the dragon medicine, bot. Angelica. There are four kinds, of which the black and the white are the best. The white Angelica is used against sickness from the earth-dragon. In Mongolic it is called luus-un em = dragon-medicine.

[824]
[757]

snagsog: Tib. sna = many, and ts'ogs = kind. lisi = Tib. li-si = Carophyllus. gušgum: Tib. gur-gum = saffron, crocus. sësmiel: Tib. sug-smel (rmel) = cardamom; Chin. pai-tou kuan

[824]

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.]
(white bean-tressel). gagula: Tib. ka ko la = Amomum medium; Chin. ts'ao-kuo (straw-fruit). dzati: Tib. dsa tsi (Sanskr.) = nutmeg. ġawur: Tib. ga-bur (Sanskr.) = camphor (Unkrig).

Spices: ġlu (ġlo, ġlë) sëmän; ġlu (Tib. loanword) = earth-god;
sëmän (Tib. loanword) = medicine, spice (11) [see Note 11 above].

Känba flowers: känba.

Incense additions: rdzē (Tib. loanword) = additions, things.
snaġsoġ fdzãn rdzē (Tib. loanword) = many kinds of incense additions (4), (11) [see Notes 4 and 11 above].

Cloves: lisi (Tib.); ting hsiang (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Saffron: gušgum (Tib.); tsang hung-hua (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Cardamom: sësmiel (Tib.); i-chi-jen (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Marl: gagula (Tib); ts'ao-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Nutmeg: dzati (Tib.); jou-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Camphor: ġawur (Tib.); ping-p'ien (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

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[46]

Milk (profane): sun.

Libation: tsiab (tsiaw) (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 above].

[534] Conch: don (Tib. loanword) = trumpet, horn (7) [see Note 7 above].

Heaven, you know it: tieṅgërë mudie.

[372] Purification-fire: sündur (Tib. loanword).

[64 cont.]

*778 always thrown in, so the pile constantly grows. The outer wall of the mound is covered with whitewash. The twelve small stonepiles are called "obo children." An urn is buried under each of them.

The obo frame: The frame that is set on the stone mound has four strong corner-posts connected by crossbeams as thick as an arm. There are no regulations for its construction, not even for its material. When this frame falls into disrepair, it is replaced by a new one and the remains of the old one are used in any way desired. Depending on the size of the obo, there are frames from one to three meters long at the sides and up to two meters high. The frame serves entirely for holding weapons, tree twigs, and poles.

*778 782 Votive offerings: In the obo frame are placed wooden weapons, such as spears, swords, arrows, bows, and pikes, recently even wooden rifles. Furthermore, tree twigs and mani-flags are stuck in between.

There are no regulations concerning the wood. Bunches of sheep wool are tied to both the weapons and the tree twigs. The spears are sometimes painted red and wound spirally with strips of black cloth. The swords are likewise painted black up to the handle. The flocks of wool on the spear tip are a substitute for the spear tassels, which on real spears consist of bundles of white yak tails colored red. The black color signifies iron. Formerly the spears were wound spirally with strips of tin.

[824] The tree twigs are usually from poplars, fir trees, and cypresses. Cypresses and fir trees are preferred. The leaves may be left on them. Smooth twigs with the bark removed may also replace the spears.

Other offerings, too, are thrown inside the frame on the stone mound, such as white stones, gold, silver, money, grain, sugar, butter, flowers, tea leaves, etc. Silk threads and hadas are tied to the obo frame; a silk string is drawn around the [178] frame. Formerly the obo was draped with valuable cloths, but

[73 cont.]

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suggested the assumption that in the case of the scrolls four spirits of the compass points are involved. The fact that the lama gives a special votive prayer over them means that the urn actually does become the dwelling of the spirits. -- The four accompanying urns are supposed to have the same significance as the other earth-god urns, in other words, additional gifts to the earth-god, or offerings. It may be, however, that they represent the points of the compass, just as is possible in the case of the central fort. -- Concerning the significance of the accompanying urns, there is no uniform popular conception.

*778 Consecration of the urns: All the urns are now placed together on one or two wooden trays, on which cypress leaves and barley grains have been scattered. The trays are brought by the master of ceremonies to the chest in front of the household deity. The lama makes a torma and places it in front of the urns. Now, after a butter-lamp has been lighted in front of each urn and seven little water-bowls stand in front of them, the lama sprinkles holy water over them and places the holy water-can on a little plate with Tibetan barley before the urns on the chest. Now he sits down on a felt mat and gives the votive prayer over the urns. He may also do this on his kang. Afterwards everything is again fumigated. In the yard, meanwhile, the great incense offering is burning.

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The sky column: As soon as the lama has come, the village elders present a petition to him and have him give the regulations for the tree that is to stand as the column in the chorten chamber. They then fetch a carpenter from the village

[73 cont.]

*778 and go into the mountains to look for the tree. The tree must
[824] be a wild one, not one planted by human beings. It must not
be taken from inhabited places or from the edge of a path. The
wood should be superior, at least fir or cypress wood.

[783] Before the carpenter sets to work, he washes his hands and
face and rinses out his mouth. Then he fumigates his head and
hands. He proceeds in exactly the same fashion with his tools.
First he indicates on the trunk the four points of the compass;
then he fells it and smoothes the four sides corresponding to
[74] these directions, which the tree must also retain in the
chorten chamber. The tree may be only six ells long, no more
and no less. The width is about ten centimeters.

The trunk is brought home and planed smooth in the compound where the lama is staying, while the lama prays and outside the incense offering is burned. Then the carpenter brings it into the house and lays it by the lama on the kang. The latter first gives a prayer over the trunk and then inscribes
[212] Tibetan sayings on it in red. He usually uses red clay dissolved
in water for this. The trunk thus inscribed is then wrapped
with a yellow cloth and a number of threads is wound around it.
The points of the compass are written on the cloth. Then the
tree is put between the urns on the household altar and placed
upright, propped against the wall. The little oil-lamps and
seven water-bowls are renewed, and while a new incense offering is given in the yard, the lama sprinkles the trunk and gives the votive prayer over it (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 78.] The construction of this sky column is very similar to the making of the spirit-spear. -- The trunk need not always be smoothed. In the case of partially decayed beñkañ one can see little trunks sticking out of the sasa-mountain with all their bark and without any further preparation, which allows an even more natural connection with the world-tree. It is

[826 cont.]

241 789 778 [791] The wedges: After making the torma the Bon priest inscribes the wedges. They are provided by the seed-master. They have the form of the Lamaistic magic dagger; they are three-edged, seven inches (23 centimeters) long, and one inch (3.3 centimeters) wide. Only the hardest wood is used; in that region there are only the three kinds: huang-san-tzu, hei-ts'u, hua-mu (7).

[824]

7. [Foreign text p. 830.] The names could not be identified; huang-san-tzu seems to be black sandalwood; hua-mu is birch. In any case it is supposed to be the hardest wood that can be found. Among the kinds of wood there, birch is in fact regarded as one of the hardest; people even make wheel rims out of it.

It does not matter whether all of them are made from one of these kinds or whether all the kinds are used. There are five wedges in all. The head of the wedge is notched into three parts (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 829.] The shape of the magic dagger varies. The grip in particular varies, but usually it is three stepped death's-heads. The daggers that I saw were all of iron. I also heard, however, that formerly there were daggers of human bones. In this way the three-edged pointed shape and the bone knob could be easily explained; it would also fit in well with the skull drum, skin whip, bone flute, etc. -- The black color signifies iron.

[765]

[856 cont.]
782 indicates precisely to the foot the spot where the urn is to be
[791] buried; he likewise determines the depth. Usually this is one
[787] to two ells. A few cypress twigs are put on the floor of the pit. Over them the soothsayer scatters a few barley kernels with the tip of the spear, and one or more flat white stones, depending on how many urns there are, are put on the whole, and the urn is put on it. Then on top of the urn is put a flat white stone, like a lid. Finally the space between the urn and wall is stuffed all around with cypress twigs, and everything is filled with earth, stamped down, and made level. Then the men burn cypress incense and kowtow in front of the urn thus buried.
[792] The lama remains seated on his mat in front of it for some time yet and finishes his prayers. Then all go home.

Details

782 The urn: The urn is an ordinary clay vessel such as is
415 baked in Tsinghai. Usually they are of whitish-yellow color, about 20 to 30 centimeters high, with a thick belly and a narrow neck. The urn for the earth-spirit must be uncolored and unglazed, at least on the outside, and must have a flat bottom. The master of the household buys the urn himself, washes it
[386] [857] thoroughly, and paints it on the outside with gypsum or lime water, for only white urns are given to the earth-spirit. At the conclusion, it is fumigated and ready for use by the lama.

782 Contents of the urn: There are five kinds of grain in the urn, namely: blue Tibetan barley, red wheat, white barley,
● 824 white rice (2), and yellow rape. The spices are the same as at

2. [Foreign text p. 858.] Why white is used twice here, white barley and white rice, is unclear. Otherwise rice is never used among the five kinds of grain and is not even present in Tsinghai. Perhaps this is an indication of a southern origin of the urn.

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[857 cont.]

782 the incense offering, the good six. To this are added little leaves
[824] of Buddha gold, little pieces of silver, corals, little pieces of mother-of-pearl, sometimes rare stones or water, and then five-colored silk threads, white and black sugar, tea leaves, and a few little balls of butter.

The filling: First a mortar with pestle, a large earthen vessel, and a clean iron kettle are provided. All these objects are thoroughly washed and fumigated in the incense fire. The spices are pounded to flour in the mortar and then poured by the lama into the vessel, where they are thoroughly mixed with the five kinds of grain. The quantity depends on the size of the urn. Meanwhile the master of the household melts a lump of butter in the iron kettle over the fire. The lama pours this melted butter into the grain and spice mixture with a spoon and thoroughly kneads everything together.

He puts this mixture into the urn, but only one-third of it. Over this first filling he puts a layer of the other additions, gold, silver, etc. Then the remaining two-thirds are added, almost up to the rim of the urn, and the liquid butter is poured on, almost to overflowing. The master of the household brings a yellow or red hada (or cloth), fumigates it, and hands it to the lama. He ties up the urn with it in three layers, in which the colors yellow and red may alternate. The thread that is wound around the cloth must also be yellow or red and is first fumigated. Once everything is thoroughly tied up, the knot is covered with sealing wax (3) and finally stamped with a seal

[439] 3. [Foreign text p. 858.] Latsia, as the sealing wax is called, is obtainable from Chinese traders.

that bears Tibetan signs. Afterwards the lama paints a nuru
[778] jewel on the white urn with red pigment, usually red clay,
[386] which is to signify a treasure. This makes the urn distinguishable as a treasure for the earth-god (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 858.] The Tujen call the symbol of good

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 860 cont.] consecrated objects and various sorts of medicines) required to be kept in the sacred-pot which contains the sacred water" [cited in English]. In his case, however, the holy-water urn, bum pa, is involved. Cf. the chapter above, "The Incense Offering."

All kinds of filling:	yilẽ tawa ndzuomladzi = all kinds -- filling -- being complete.
Urn binding:	ama budzin = opening-binding.
Sealing wax:	latsia (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 860.] latsia: comes from the Chinese; la-cha = sealing wax. nuru: Tib. nor bu; also called yid-bžin = a treasure that one desires (Unkrig).

[789] Jewel of good fortune:	nuru (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].
Buddha gold:	fo-chin (Chin.).
Coral:	ßurẽ.
Mother-of-pearl:	mãdoġ (Tib. loanword).
[824] White rice:	tsiġan tudurġa; no-mi (Chin.).
Yellow rape:	sira yãnsgar; shen-ts'ai-tzu (Chin.) = spirit-rape.

[Pages 858-860 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[862 cont.]

778 of the ceremonies. -- The three tormas are left standing until
782 three days after the fire-pouring and then are eaten by the members of the family. They may also be given to the domestic animals. In summer, however, they are often already so moldy that they are only fit for dogs. The names of the three tormas
[171] agree with the names of the gods that they represent. This is similar to the ancestral tables of the Chinese, which are likewise set up and venerated. -- 3. On the afternoon of the sixth day a fifth torma is made. It is smaller than the others and represents the earth- or mountain-spirit, for which reason it is also called earth-spirit (mountain-spirit) torma. The lama puts it on the place selected for the fire-pouring. In front of it, as votive gifts, there are: three bowls of water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of tea, a butter-lamp, and three sticks of incense. The lama sprinkles the torma with holy water from
[792] the wumba can, while the master of the household burns incense in front of it. Then the lama settles down on a felt mat and says a votive prayer in which he requests the earth-spirit to free the burning-place for the fire-pouring. After the prayer the torma is put on a wall or thrown away in the field so that the birds will eat it. The color of this torma is white. 4. Finally a sixth torma is made on the morning of the seventh day. It is not made of tsamba mixed with butter like the other tormas, but of pure butter alone. It represents the fire-god and is therefore colored a fiery red. Before the fire-pouring it is placed on the ground-drawing and afterwards burned with the rest.

782 The burnt offerings: For the actual fire-pouring the
824 following things are needed: 1. Firewood and twigs from the tree of life. They are supplied by the gift-master (that is, of the particular family). The firewood is an ell long. Formerly only fir wood was used; nowadays the wood of the white poplar is popular. One takes branch- and knot-free pieces as thick as an arm, which are split lengthwise. The length and being free of branch-knots are prescribed. 2. Butter, which is melted for the fire-pouring and poured into the fire. It must not be too old.

[862 cont.]

782 3. Two pieces of wood from the red and white sandal tree.
824 4. A large quantity of burning-spices, which the family itself must provide: white rape kernels, white hemp seeds, black hemp seeds, wheat, Tibetan barley, white peas, glutenous rice, white barley, certain Tibetan herbs, Tibetan flowers, a Tibetan species of reed-grass, and white grass from Tsinghai. 5. Consecration-wood. The consecration-wood varies according to the type of fire-pouring. For the [863] white fire-pouring one uses branches of the white poplar; in all there are 46 pairs of pieces of branch. Every piece has a length of nine fingerbreadths and must have formed three side twigs. These side twigs are cut off at a length of three fingerbreadths. The cut surfaces of the pieces must all run at right angles, not at a slant. The bark is left on; one may not damage it, otherwise the gift-master and his [753] relatives will later have a bad skin-eruption. In order to avoid its becoming torn, the cut surface is smeared with butter. Instead of poplar wood, tamarisk wood is also permitted. This by nature is very straight and free of branches. For this reason, in contrast to the pieces of poplar, they may not show any branch attachments. The length, however, must be the same. The color of the tamarisk wood is red (2). 6. The six spices of

2. [Foreign text p. 867.] Nothing could be discovered about the symbolism of the various types of wood. That would be interesting, especially on account of the requirement of the branch attachments.

the incense offering. They are likewise provided by the gift-master. 7. The 74 types of earth-god spices, which the lama brings with him, already pounded to powder.

782 Preparation of the burnt offerings: The lama prepares
[792] the burnt offerings on the afternoon of the sixth day. In each case he puts one kind of the burning-spices in an earthen vessel, mixes it with the five kinds of grain, pours liquid butter over it,

[864 cont.]

782 also draws two crossed thunderbolts in the center of the rectangle (4).

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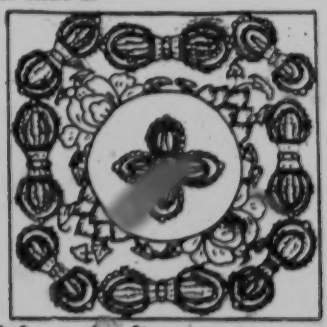
4. [Foreign text pp. 867-868.] As other people and lamas relate, there is a great assortment of different ground-drawings which evidently merely represent variations of the mandala. My informant, for instance, had one of his relatives draw the above-described figure. He explained it in the following way [868] (see figure below): The thunderbolts represent the four principal directions and the four directions between them. The circle with the crossed thunderbolts signifies the foundation of the world-mountain rirā (Sumeru), for this rests on a golden disk. The thunderbolts signify the rest and stability and durability of the world's foundation. Originally they were supposedly made of gold as a sign of their indestructibility. The peonies are supposed to be the sumbol of the flourishing familial good fortune. The same meaning also underlies the thunderbolt that is

[772]

[824]

[325]



Mandala at the fire-pouring. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

[864 cont.]

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[325]
[357]
[171]

[Note on foreign text pp.867-868 cont.] soldered into the ladling spoon for the liquid butter. -- The significance of the peonies corresponds to the custom of the lamaseries and of the Chinese, among whom peony shrubs of various colors are planted in the yard. Tujen and Chinese believe that a wealthy, affluent man always has a peony shrub before his door. -- Instead of the peony, lotus blossoms are painted in the case of the ground-drawing of the crematory. These represent the lotus on which the Buddha supposedly sat and from which the flames of transformation emanate. Cf. the chapter on cremation.

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[333]

Now the men build a low wall with clay bricks on one side of the figure, while the lama says his prayers. This wall is terrace-shaped. The lower layer consists of two rows of bricks laid lengthwise; the second layer takes half the brick, and the third layer has only one brick. The whole wall, in other words, is six clay bricks high. The front and back side is coated with clay and lime and whitewashed. The vertical terraces remain free. With his pattern the lama again draws a thunderbolt on each of them, in other words, five thunderbolts altogether. This wall is to protect the lama from the fire, since at the pouring he is seated on level ground or only very slightly elevated (5). After the drawing, the lama again

[532]

[333]

5. [Foreign text p. 868.] There are also walls with four to six steps. According to the statements of others, the wall also bears the color of the fire-pouring concerned, and the ground-drawing likewise.

withdraws into the house for prayer.

[865 cont.]

782 776 Types of fire-pouring: There is a whole series of different fire-pourings, depending upon the deity concerned. Usually the fire-pouring is undertaken to honor the following deities: the horse-god, the cattle-god, the lion-god, and the water-faced Buddha.

[822] [866] Other types depend upon the color of the gods. Thus there is a red, yellow, white, and black fire-pouring. The tormas are also colored according to the colors of these gods, which they represent. Likewise, a special kind of wood is used for the 782 individual colors: for the red, tamarisk wood; for the yellow, [824] white thorn; for the white, poplar wood; and for the black, black thorn. The ceremonies are the same for the first three fire-pourings; only the prayers vary. -- The black fire-pouring in particular, however, deviates from the others (6).

782 184

6. [Foreign text p. 868.] Lamas report that there are many different types of fire-pourings, the four mentioned here being only the four main types, and that they have extensive books concerning the rites. -- The description of these orthodox Lamaistic rites would require a special study. In this connection, cf. Lessing, Yung Ho Kung (pp. 150-161). Only one of the many types practiced in the monastery is described there, and also only the phases "which can be easily observed by the inexperienced visitor" (p. 150) [cited in English]. Without going into a comparison with the above-described form, let it merely be pointed out here that the basic features are identical. Of the four main types characterized by Lessing, only the color agrees with the account given by my informant; he knew nothing

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]
of Tangkar the following details and variations:

Fire-pouring: żüin (yüin)-tsëǵ; cf. the Tujen corruption dzun-tsioǵ.

Ground-drawing (mandala): sdziṅkuor (Tib.).

Separation wall: lämbän (Tib.). Cf. längaṅ (Tujen) and lan-kan (Chin.).

Pouring spoon: rgäṅ zär (Tib.).

Butter-spoon (for liquid butter): tombō (Tib.).

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Firewood (which is placed in octagonal form on the burning-place): xsiǵ ǵa (Tib.).

Consecration-wood (which is thrown with the spices into the fire): yäm šeṅ (Tib.); cf. the Tujen word yiew siṅ.

Wood for the white fire-pouring: nia-rëx (Tib.) or, according to another pronunciation, niäw rsëǵ (Tib.); hsi-fan liu (Chin.) = Tibetan willow; chi-chua liu (Chin.) = hens-foot-willow.

Black thorn: tsërnaǵ (Tib.); or sdzirwa (Tib.); xara tsitsërnaǵ (Mongol.).

Wood for the red fire-pouring: uombō (Tib.); balaǵ (Mongol.); sa-liu (Chin.), probably the High Chinese sha-liu (= sand willow) is meant.

Tamarisk: sōgä. This word is Mongolic and Tujen in any case. The Chinese also say so-kai for it, evidently an approximation of the sound. I also heard this word from Tibetans. It is likewise used for the red fire-pouring. One prefers these switches for whip handles.

[866 cont.]

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[322]

[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]

Wood for the yellow fire-pouring: maġa (Tib.); dziãṅma (Mongol.); chien-yang liu (Chin.); the wood is used a great deal for mill wheels; it seems to be a kind of maple. I also saw it a great deal among carvers, who praise it as the best wood for carving.

[778]

Fire-torma: dãmbala (Tib.).

Yellow fire-pouring: sẽru dżiwi ẓũin tseġ (Tib.).

Red fire-pouring: ġõngẽ dżiwi ẓũin tseġ (Tib.).

White fire pouring: siwi dżiwi ẓũin tseġ (Tib.).

Black fire-pouring: dẓoġguei dżiwi ẓũin tseġ (Tib.).

Burnt offerings: rdzẽ (Tib., Mongol.).

Butter: marku (Tib.); dasu (Mongol.).

[870]

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Grain: nie (Tib.); tara (Mongol.); the Mongols there designate Tibetan barley, ch'ing-k'o, with tara, which is simply grain.

Wheat: dšõ (Tib.); budẽ (Mongol.).

Beans: tšamã (Tib.); burdzieġ (Mongol.).

Barley: sõ (Tib.); sõtara (Mongol.); it is probably a combination of the Tibetan sõ and the Mongolic tara (grain).

White rape: yõṅgur (Tib., Mongol.); pei-ts'ai-tzu (Chin.).

Indian incense grass: gusia (Tib., Mongol.); wei-tzu ts'ao (Chin.); that is, reed. Evidently the kuśa grass designated by Filchner, Kumbum, p. 88 and Note 400, which supposedly stems from India, is involved here.

[866 cont.]

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[824]

[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]
Butter-tsamba: sŭosēn (Mongol.); a mixture to which other additions are added.
Blue flowers: dźĕyāńgĕ (Tib.); gōxu (according to another dialect, kōku) dzidzigĕ (Mongol.); lān-ts'ao (Chin.) = blue grass.

Individual additions: tsiawar rdzē (Tib.).
All kinds of additions: ondōń rdzē (Tib., Mongol.).

[824]

Monk's herb: durĕwā (Tib., Mongol.); ping-ts'ao (Chin.) = ice herb; tao-seng-ts'ao (Chin.) = Taoist-Buddhist monk's herb; instead of seng (monk), the sign for sheng is also written; that may be false, however. It is unclear to me which herb is involved.

All the names have been written according to the dialect of the monks in Tsatsang-szu, who mostly come from the region of Dulān (Tsaidam).

Fire-pouring: dzuntsioǵ (Tib. loanword) (9), suri = to pour fire-pouring, DMF 73.

9. [Foreign text p. 870.] Tsŭordzi: Tibetan c'os = doctrine, rje = master. The representative of the monastery abbot is designated by it, teacher. -- Kānbŏ: Tibetan mk'an = master, po = particle. mk'an po = abbot of a monastery, professor, head of a lamasery. -- gāńsăr: Tibetan gań sa? = tube. -- dziāńgōn: probably arose from the Tibetan gTsań = Tib. province, and sńo = herb. -- ndoluwa: perhaps is connected with the Tibetan sgrol ba = the goddess Dolma, to

[824]

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 870 cont.]
help, to save; otherwise called Tārā. -- gusia: Tibetan ku ša (from the Sanskrit) = botanical Poa cynosuroides. -- sāndoṅmani: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words seṅ (Sanskrit. siṃha) = lion, gdoṅ = face, maṇi = jewel. It is a goddess. -- šda(m)tsēni: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words rta = horse, mgrin (pronounced din) = neck, also voice; in other words: the horse-necked one, or the horse-voiced one. -- logoṅ: Tibetan klu (pronounced lu) = dragon, and gdoṅ = face. Literally, therefore, dragon-face (Unkrig).

[372] Fire-place: taw (Tib. loanword) = oven, hearth.

[778] Misfortune-torma: ġuaġ dor (Tib.).
ġuaġ = misfortune; prayer said during the preparation of this torma.

Earth-spirit torma: ġlū-šdorma.
Mountain-spirit torma: yifula-šdorma.
Fire-torma: ġal šdorma.
Earth-god spices: ġlu smān (Tib.).
dalān dierān sāmba smān = 74 pieces of spices.

[867]

[532] Measuring string: šdag paġdzin bōdoġ = pattern-drawing string.
Pattern: arasē xuar = leather model; tsialdzē xuar = paper model.

Burning-place drawing (mandala): tawni xuar.

[333] Wall: lāṅgāṅ (Chin. loanword).
Pouring tube: šge gāṅsār (Tib. loanword) = large spoon.
Ladling spoon for butter: mula gāṅsār = little spoon.
Spoon (profane): dzieġliu (Tujen).

[372] Cloth fan: ki yūelwa = air-cloth.
rlōṅ yāg (Tib.).
Cloth (profane): bosē.

[867 cont.]

192 Lighting pole: xuãmbar.

782 Flint and steel: kidie.

[372] Fire struck with flint and steel: kidie ġal = flint-and-steel fire.

Ordinary fire: arañka ġal.

At the fire-pouring pouring there is no loss through bad weather: dsuntsioġ surẽwa, dierdzia sdzũen uguei.

At the black fire-pouring pouring the demons flee: xara dzuntsioġ surewa, mõ iliesgẽ xuoluode pusa sdzia (sdzim).

[372] Firewood: taw siñ (Tib.) = oven-wood.

Consecration-wood: yiew (ziew) -siñ (Tib.).

192 Tibet-herbs: dziañgoñ (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

782 tsang ts'ao (Chin.) = Tib. herb.

Tibet-flowers: kãnba (Tib. loanword).

•824 ta t'ou mao hsiang (Chin.).

White grass (from Tsinghai): ndoluwã (9) [see Note 9 above]; pai-ts'ao (Chin.).

Tibetan hard grass (reed): gusia (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

tsang hsi-chi (Chin.).

Tamarisk?: guãnbõ (xuãnbo); sõgã.

Poplar wood: mõdẽ = wood.

White thorn: siraldzin = yellow thorn.

Black thorn: xara rẽguodzẽ.

192 Horse-god: šdamisẽni (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

782 ma-wang (Chin.).

Cattle-god: ndigsier (Tib. loanword); niu-wang (Chin.).

776 Lion-god: sãndoñmani (Tib. loanword); shih-wang (Chin.) (9) [see Note 9 above].

Water-faced Buddha: logon rẽdziawu (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].

shuei-lien p'usa (Chin.).

[Pages 867-870 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 870 of Vol. 47, and the next section begins on p. 202 of Vol. 48.]

[222 cont.]
782 it was surmised that a primitial offering might likewise be involved, for it is the first offering of the day, in which man gives to heaven something of all things important to life. Arguing against the primitial offering, however, is the simple form of the incense offering, which consists essentially of the burning of fragrant things, of cypress twigs (4), flowers, etc. These,

[824]

4. When the popular word cypress is used here, the Thuja tree in the botanical sense is always meant; cf. Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 46 [p. 72 above in the HRAF translation]. The Tujen name šgua (= Tibetan šug-pa) has several meanings. Among the Tujen the Thuja tree always represents the cypress, and above all the juniper (Juniperus), which in their region of cultivation occurs only infrequently and at most is encountered in the mountains. The difference is purely material; in the religion the Thuja tree takes over the position of the juniper and the cypress. Professor Doctor J.F.Rock, as a botanical expert, no longer found any cypress north of Minchow (Kansu), but he did still find ten species of juniper (personal communication).

however, are no longer foodstuffs if one disregards the water with which the fuel for the fire is sprinkled in order to purify it.

782 539 [171] [223] This simple form of the incense offering seems at the outset to have been reserved exclusively for heaven and is of great antiquity. It is also attested to among the Mongols as a heaven-offering, and among the Tujen it is found in numerous songs. Several citations will confirm this, first from the Geser legend. In Verses 1-6 the customs of the first human

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[223 cont.]
beings are described: "One clothed oneself in tree leaves. One ate tree fruit. One lay on flower leaves. When one was thirsty, he drank water. At daybreak one burned great incense (šdeliedzi šge fdzañ ġarġani)." In Verses 38-42 it is related how the first emperor burns incense in order to perform a heavy task: "When he was supposed to churn together the earth on the immense spring water, this was terribly difficult. And burning a great incense offering, he implored the light heavens (šge fdzañni ġarġadzi kuġuo tieṅgërni yañdziladzia)." Verses 158-167 describe another incense offering of the first emperor. He gathers
[824] flowers (kānba flowers = Artemisia species) on the shady side of the mountain, juniper twigs on the sunny side, scoops pure water from the river, and then it is said: "Climbing onto the high mountain he burned great incense, implored the heavens, implored the countless spirits... (undur ġadadu ġaridzi šge fdzañni ġarġaya, šge tieṅgërni yañdzilaya, uluon purġani yañdzilaya...)." The offering in this case is also presented to other spirits, but heaven is in first place. This is also emphasized by the fact that it takes place on a mountain. None of the purġan is mentioned by name. The daily incense offering is mentioned in Verses 190-193: "Daily burning incense, he lived (sc. the first emperor). From below rose the great incense, and the smoke
[776] of the incense pushed open the gate of heaven; and the exalted Sdeṅlatsien-sañ (= the highest heaven lord) looked down." (Udurdu fdzañ ġarġadzi sōdzamba. dōrōdza šge fdzañni ġarġano, fdzañni funini tieṅgërni udieni baġa niedzia. Sdeṅlatsien-sañ dorodzi nōdzia.) The relationship of the incense to heaven is unambiguous here. (For further details concerning the Šdeṅlatsien-san, cf. below.) The passage concerning the heavenly wanderings of the first emperor, Verses 1221-1222, runs similarly: "Then on his wanderings he came before the great gate of heaven, and the smoke of the great incense pushed open the gate of heaven." (Di yōdzi tieṅgërni šge udie tada kurdzia. šge fdzañni funini tieṅgërni udieni baġa niedzia.) On earth, namely, one burns incense during this time so that the undertaking of the journey to implore a ruler from heaven will succeed.

[224 cont.]

782 striking [225] that the agriculture myth does not mention the in-
174 cense offering. The conditions of the environment -- mountain pasture, forest, wild flowers, etc. -- do not fit in with agriculture (7). -- Here it may be asked whether the incense offering is

[824] [773]

7. The ancient nature of the incense offering is to be explained in the final analysis by the ancient nature of the juniper tree, which as world- and life-tree stands at the beginning of time; cf. J.F.Rock, Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 20, 21, 132, 143. Since it is the first tree of the world, even the first emperor (Geser legend) could burn only these twigs in honor of heaven. The incense offering therefore belongs in the world of the religious archetypes which became standard for the later human beings, just as the archetypes of the first human being, of the world-mountain and the tree of life, of heaven and earth, of the first obo, etc. extend back into that legendary period.

older than the primitial offering. In common with the latter it is mentioned in the legends before all other offerings. The first emperor already knows both offerings; the wedding song and the hunting song mention the incense offering, the agriculture myth only the primitial offering. The relationship of the two offerings to each other cannot be determined. 3. The incense
782 offering is always given either to heaven alone or to it in the first place. It is a true heaven-offering. It is only rarely directed to the other spirits, which, according to their collec-
[776] tive name, are called purgan and therefore are only of later Buddhist origin. Mountain heights seem to have been preferred
[823] in order to be closer to heaven. Even today this is still done. The Tujen are aware of this and give as the reason that it is

[52 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 53-55 cont.]
they keep the ornaments and mementos of the kin group in order to have a guarantee for the good fortune and wealth of the family; cf. Lin Yüeh-hw[illegible] I chia. Above all, the arrow of good fortune seems to be of great importance among the Bon; cf. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 190, 184, 178. It plays a special role in the wedding customs of the Bon, as H. Francke has described them in the wedding songs. The wedding customs of the Tujen and their songs show a certain relationship with these Bon customs, which in itself is not surprising since up to the most recent times the Bon religion in Amdo had a strong influence. The conception of the tribal animals, mother-animals, mother-treasures, to which all other earthly animals, treasures, etc. go back, however, belongs to the world-view of the Bon; cf. H. Francke; Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 8 ff. The tribal animals are also celebrated in song by the Tujen in a song-cycle bearing the name xoni, "sheep." This song-cycle actually stems from the Amdo-Fandse, among whom it is called g, yañ-dkar, "white good-fortune," or g, yañ-dkar lug, "sheep of the white good-fortune." Although various animals are celebrated in song, the sheep stands in the center as the supreme blessing of good fortune.

[585]
[177]
[533]
[825]

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If one ties these conceptions together, it may be stated of the yãñsdzia: It bears within it the germs and origins of the gifts of fortune of this world. Living beings are allied more with heaven (are

[66 cont.]

527 [171]

[Note on foreign text p. 69 cont.] Mongols and Tangut. According to the informant, a day in the sixth month is always chosen, but it does not always have to be the sixth day. It is the time at which formerly the obos were erected, and it seems to be a matter of the yearly return. -- Nowadays these festivals have more or less degenerated into a Chinese commercial racket, as has, for instance, the festival in the New Year's month at Wei-yüan-pu (Huchu), which is really a Tujen festival. Only the horse racing and the singing of songs have remained from olden times.

[178]

*778 776 Obo and mountain-spirit: The obo is the dwelling of the mountain-spirit. Everything that grows on the earth, grass, trees, flowers, the wild animals, and human beings, belongs to him. From the obo he guards the welfare of the tribe (ayil) and protects animal and man. The wild and tame animals are his herd and the wolves his dogs. For that reason an offering is made to the mountain-spirit before the obo whenever the wolves become too destructive. He can keep them in check.

[782] [825]

The silk (cloths or bands) on the obo signifies the clothes of the mountain spirit; the white color of the obo wall, his eminence and his good fortune.

The obo is the armory of the village and of the mountain-spirit. In olden times it was from here that the men fetched their weapons for battle and for athletic contests. [67] And they brought them back here. Nowadays the Tujen are peaceful farmers; they no longer use their weapons. Therefore they surrender them to the mountain-spirit.

[411]

The mountain-spirit is given something from everything that is valuable: gold, silver, silk, etc. All the good fortune, the wealth, and the preservation of the village are guaranteed through him. The mountain-spirit provides the descendants;

[782]

[823 cont.] 2. The Pole-goat

Report

241 789 791 778 When the seed has shot up in the early summer, one invites a Bon priest who prays on a mountain and erects the pole-goat. He comes to the seed-master on the day before, and on the following morning he goes with the men to the mountain. There they drink tea. The Bon priest sits on a felt mat. A low kang table is put before him so that he may place his cult objects upon it, and next to him is put an earthen vessel with tsamba, butter, and little gold leaves, as well as a bowl of water and red dye. He needs this for the torma. To this is added a little plate with barley and the holy-water can.

First the men make the great incense offering, which [782] is maintained throughout the performance. The Bon priest makes four little tormas, called "misfortune-tormas," which he places with all kinds of extra features on a tray. The seed-master goes in the four directions of the compass with the tray and each time throws away a torma.

[824] Then the Bon priest makes the "weather-torma." [825] Meanwhile the men slaughter a goat, stuff the hide, and put it on a tall pole. They lay this, together with the goat doll, before the Bon priest. He ties four little wooden wedges to its feet and a special wedge on the goat's forehead. He inscribes the wedges with Tibetan magical signs. Then the pole is set up, and the priest places the weather-torma, together with the extra features, before the pole. A great incense offering and [782] frequent kowtowing accompany this ceremony.

Then the priest goes to his place and makes the "mountain-torma." It has three layers and is the largest of all the tormas. He puts this behind the pole. Again incense is burned and all kowtow.

241 789 791 In the meantime other men have boiled the goat meat in the kettle. The seed-master now makes an offering of this meat to the gods. At the conclusion there is then a communal meal at which the remainder of the meat is consumed. Then [782] all go home, but there is no singing and drinking as on other [264] occasions.

[825 cont.]
241 It therefore, with the head, is left to be eaten by wolves and
789 dogs. The hide is not used for magic.
778

[791] The misfortune-torma: The Bon priest washes his hands and face and makes a little torma of tsamba mixed with butter about ten centimeters high and three to four centimeters wide. He puts it on a tray or a wooden plate. As extra features he adds in very small quantities: raw mutton or pork, leeks, beets, breadcrumbs, white and black sheep's wool, five kinds of grain, tea leaves, money, silver, gold, five little pieces of cloth, five-colored threads, and black and white sugar and puts a dough-lamp with a burning cotton wick beside them. These extra features also apply to the three other tormas, in other words, to all four little misfortune-tormas.

[533] The extra features, along with the tormas, are thrown
[782] in all four directions of the compass, while the seed-master,
[791] amidst blowing on the conch, makes the great incense offering and the Bon priest prays the appropriate spirit conjuration. For the first four tormas the Bon priest uses only the sounding plate and the bone flute, not the double drum and bell.

In the case of the simple ceremony with only one misfortune-torma, naturally only one direction of the compass can be considered. This one is indicated by the Bon priest himself.

[791]

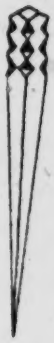
241 Making the pole-goat: The Bon priest does not concern
789 himself about the goat. The men fumigate and wash the goat
778 as usual and pour milk over it; while the goat shakes itself, they make [826] a threefold kowtow in a circle around it, because
● 825 the sky accepts the animal. Then the goat is slaughtered and
[787] the blood caught in a basin. In skinning it one does not slit open the belly side, but rather an incision is made below the tail which just suffices to pull off the hide from behind over the head. The head is cut off inside the hide so that it remains whole and unskinned within it. In the same fashion one cuts off the feet, leaving them in the hide. Only then is the skinned goat [illustration appears here] eviscerated and cut up, and the
[252] blood, with the scraps of meat, is stuffed into the cleaned intestines.

[826 cont.]

241 These intestines, together with the meat, are cooked in a kettle over
789 a hole in the ground.
778 The hide is tightly stuffed with any kind of straw in such a
[825] way that the head and legs stick out stiffly, and the pole is stuck
[252] in it from the rear up to the head. Thus the goat sits firmly upright on the pole and need not be tied on. Then the men fumigate goat and post with incense and lay it down before the Bon priest.

The raised pole-goa
(Drawing of a Tujen

[532]
[791] The weather-torma: The Bon priest meanwhile has finished the second torma, the weather-torma. It is exactly the same size as the first, that is, the four first tormas. With a prayer he puts it on a wooden tray with the following extra features: one to three butter-lamps, three little copper bowls with pure water, a little bowl of the barley wine, a little bowl of Tibetan barley or wheat, a little bowl of tea leaves, a little bowl of dough beans [Teigbohnen]. -- This torma also bears several colorful butter-flowers.
[791] During its preparation the Bon priest prays a special weather-prayer.
[782] Sometimes he also pastes some paper money on the torma. [Illustration appears here.]



Magic dagger, wooden peg, mpuru. (From the drawing of a Tujen.)

[828 cont.]

241 The veneration of the pole-goat: During the summer the
789 farmers appear singly or together before the pole-goat, make an
791 offering, pray, burn incense, and kowtow in order to protect the
782 seed from hail. The Bon priest also comes often to pray. In former times he even pitched his tent for a longer period of time and remained there in order to be constantly on hand for the weather conjuration in case of storms. This is no longer the case today. The weather conjuration is now done by the soothsayer, usually the spirit-soothsayer.

Taking down the pole-goat: After the fifteenth day in the eighth lunar month, when the harvest has been cut, the pole-goat is again taken away. One no longer has the soothsayer determine the day, but instead acts according to the circumstances. The Bon priest is again invited; he again makes the tormas and prays. Usually a sheep is sacrificed.

241 Interpretations: The pole-goat is supposed to banish
789 bad weather and protect the harvest. The custom occurs only among farmers, even among the agricultural Fandse. The
776 goat has special protective power because its head serves as an
825 anvil for the god Dăntsien Sañ. He is the smith in the weather
821 ministry (5). During storms he hammers his iron between the horns,
[171]

5. [Foreign text pp. 829-830.] The conception of the storm ministry bears a resemblance to the Chinese lei-pu (thunder division). It is uncertain, however, whether borrowings are involved. At any rate, in the popular tradition of the Tujen the Bon priest has a special connection with weather magic (cf. also Tafel, Tibetreise). -- Concerning the storm-god Dăntsăñ (Dăntsien Sañ) the informant knew nothing other than that there is an image of

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[828 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 829-830 cont.]
him in the monastery Rgulõn and that he is a tutelary god of the Bon. Dāntsien is evidently a Tujen corruption of the Tibetan dam-can, "keeping a vow" (cf. Ch. Das, p. 618). This is only a general title which could be applied to many gods. According to Grünwedel (Mythologie, pp. 187 ff.), Ch. Das (p. 618), and others, however, it refers to the Lamaistic terror-god rDo-rje-legs (pa), who rides on a goat (ram) and [830] was elevated to the tutelary lord (Dharmapāla) of the doctrine. H. Hoffmann denies that he is a Tantristic god and wants to designate him as an old Bon god, in which he is correct,as the ceremony described here indicates. He then continues (Quellen [Sources], p. 164): "There is an interesting statement by Jäschke, as yet unconfirmed, according to which Rdor-legs ... was an honorable village smith. ... At any rate it is noteworthy that Waddell also speaks of a 'demon blacksmith' [cited in English]." These surmises can now be confirmed by the ceremony of the pole-goat and the tradition connected with it. The dam-can is a smith-god of the Bon and stands in a special relationship to the weather conjuration and to the goat cult which, after all, likewise belongs to the realm of the Bon or is at least pre-Buddhistic. (Cf. the old name of Lhasa, which was originally called Ra-sa, Goat-place, and had a temple of the same name.)

[828 cont.]

241 during which lightning flashes and glowing hailstones fall to
789 earth. Through this the evil demons are killed, so no misfortune
821 befalls the seed and human beings (6).

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6. [Foreign text p. 830.]
Weather magic plays an important role in all of Tsinghai. A pure Bon ceremony is involved here. Neither the Chinese nor the lamas practice it. And if it is correct that the nomads do not have it, this is an indication of the close connection of the Bon with agriculture. -- The Chinese engage in their weather magic through other shamans or through lay bonzes, exorcists, etc., never through a Bon priest. -- Only in very isolated instances does one find the pole-goat among the Chinese, and then it is along the border of the Tujen or Fandse region. I frequently saw one in a valley along the Pei-ch'uan river south of Hsin-t'ien-p'u, where there was a Chinese village; here they departed from the rule that it must be erected on a mountain.

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Other types of weather conjurations are undertaken with help of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, the spirit-litter, and with thunderbolts. All these things are the seat of deities. As soon as bad weather approaches, the corresponding bearers fetch these seats of the deities, summon the spirit, and station themselves out in the open facing the storm. Further details concerning these ceremonies in another place. The entire

[831 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 834 cont.] the other hand, it is done for protection against bad weather, it is also popularly done before the pole-goat.

[562] Persons: As is the case for all religious ceremonies, the women are kept away. The participants are the seed-master, the village elders, and all other men and youths. Any kind of [791] soothsayer may appear on this occasion. It is important that at the actual offering some spirit is always summoned by the soothsayer and supervises the performance. -- Participation is also [784] prohibited to all who are in mourning and in whose compound there is a woman in childbed. -- People with empty utensils, for example, empty water pails, baskets, etc., may not come near. For this reason the gong is beaten before the offering, so that such persons will stay away (2).

[787]
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2. [Foreign text p. 834.] The fear of an encounter with empty utensils is quite general in Tsinghai. It signifies poverty, vain endeavor, etc. Tujen express the wish, for example, before a journey: huodzẽn sawa bi pẽṅgë, that is, "may an empty vessel not appear." The Chinese, too, have similar expressions.

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Sacrificial animal: As sacrificial animal only a sheep is considered, no goat and especially no pig. The sheep may be of any color and sex, even castrated. It must be at least a year old, however. A sheep that is too young would be an insult to the gods, aside from the fact that the meat would not be sufficient for the participants. Usually the [832] sheep is [621] purchased jointly. Every family must provide grain or money for this purpose; the owner is always given compensation. To be [784] sure, the sheep may not come from a family that is taboo at the time, for instance, through bereavement, childbed, sickness, etc.

[832 cont.]

241 Such families, however, must make their contribution. The
782 main thing is that the animal be healthy and without flaw. For
[825] instance, it may not be lame or blind. Also, ugly colors are
[621] avoided, for instance, a white animal with a black head, etc.

Objects used: For the offering one needs several iron kettles, several buckets of water, knives, ladling spoons, cords, blood basins, eating bowls, firewood, etc. In addition, one takes along all the equipment for the incense offering.

Slaughtering: The slaughtering is preceded by a great incense offering, which is maintained by the men throughout the ceremony. Anyone may repeatedly throw cypress twigs into it at will, offer barley wine, etc. At the same time the
[202] conch is steadily blown so that one can hear from afar that an offering is taking place on the mountain.

Young men bring the animal to the spot, untie it, and
241 wash it with their hands from head to tail. Then it is fumigated
782 with incense. Another places a white stone in the fire. When
783 it is hot, he scoops hot water out of a kettle with an iron spoon, puts the stone in the spoon, scatters pounded cypress leaves over it, and with it fumigates the sheep. All the men who helped with the slaughtering wash their hands and faces, rinse out their mouths, and fumigate themselves. All the implements are likewise washed and fumigated.

Now they form a circle around the sheep and pour milk
241 over its head and neck. It does not matter what kind of milk
782 it is. One may also use flour- or tsamba-water or even pure
787 water. A healthy sheep shakes itself at this pouring. This shaking is an indication that the sky accepts the animal. Then the men make a threefold kowtow in a circle around the sheep. After the milk has been poured over it, they let the sheep run free for a few steps and capture it again. In case the animal does not shake itself, they immediately fetch another.

241 The slaughtering is performed by the seed-master. His
782 helpers seize the sheep by its legs and horns, force it down on
231 the ground, and bend back its head so that the throat is tensed.

3: Schröder--248 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor: tōrōdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.

Trumpet: doṅ; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.

Cymbals: nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rēbuoğë (?).
ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.

Flags: ch'i-tzu (Chin.).

Books: luăn = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.

Book-bearers: luăn rēgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

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VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

* See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

[889 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 842 cont.]
with which then the performance is
likewise supervised.

into the spear, and one asks him, for instance, "Shall we consecrate an animal?" He answers, "Yes." "Do you want a goat, a hen, a horse?" [840] "No." "Do you want a sheep?" "Yes." "Shall we consecrate it to a god?" "No." "Shall we consecrate it to the sky?" "Yes."

Then the soothsayer sets the spear aside. Hastily the people run to fetch a sheep. They bring it into the yard, because one consecrates an animal to the sky only out in the open. A man holds in his hand a little plate with barley; on top of this he places a narrow red band. He stands next to the soothsayer, who again has invoked the god and amidst spear shaking supervises the action. Now once more there is an interrogation, during which one determines when the consecration is to be renewed.

The sheep is then washed from head to foot with pure water. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from the little plate with the tip of the spear and throws them into the
[783] incense, which is burned throughout the ceremony. Another puts some of the incense in a hollow tile and fumigates the sheep all around. Then he pours a bowl of milk over the animal's neck, back, and head. All the men kneel around the sheep in a circle, and when it shakes itself they make a threefold kowtow, for the sky has accepted the animal. The soothsayer sets the spear aside.

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Now one takes the red band from the little plate, holds it in the incense, ties it in the wool on the sheep's shoulder, and lets the sheep run free. It may run where it will, for it belongs to the sky.

Each year this sacred sheep is again brought here in the first month from the first to the fifteenth day. Then the consecration is renewed in similar fashion before the spirit-spear and a new band is tied in the wool.

[841 cont.]

778 is never women, however. It is true that a single woman may
562 promise an animal, for example, but in such a case other men, such as the mother's brother, undertake the interrogation and consecration. This may be done in the house of the woman.

778 Animals: As consecration-animals the following are per-
825 missible: horses, mules, asses, cows, sheep, goats, and even hens; pigs or dogs are never taken because they are unclean. In
[783] the case of all these animals, age, color, sex, or castration plays no role. White or male animals are not especially pre-
[178] ferred. Large animals are no longer consecrated now, because the Tujen no longer have the large herds and are too poor. Usually one promises sheep and goats. Hens are frequently chosen because they are the cheapest (2).

2. [Foreign text pp. 842-843.] In the Tujen monastery Rgulõn the choice of animals is different. A lama and a shaman related: one never consecrates dogs, and no hens, [843] only cocks, but these in all colors. Of the horses one takes only stallions; they must be black with a white spot on the forehead or grey (ch'ing-ma) of black-white mixed color. Of the mules one takes only females, no male animals. Their color is a bright reddish-brown. Belly, mouth, and eye-rings should be light. Of ordinary cattle and yaks one takes only black steers that have a white spot on the forehead; similarly among the sheep only black rams, flawless and with circular or doubly curled horns. -- I also saw such animals there in the monastery. The consecrated mule was especially beautiful; it looked almost exactly like a wild

[841 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 842-843 cont.]
chiang. The rules mentioned here lead one to surmise that conceptions from lunar mythology (black-white, circular horns) are involved here. The preference for male animals, with the exception of the mules, is also striking. -- This rule is also decisive in profane life. People who have a high opinion of themselves ride only male horses (gelding), but female mules; the reddish-brown color with white mane and white tail is regarded as elegant. White eye-rings, belly covering, and white mouth are highly esteemed for all riding animals of whatever color and help to determine the price. -- It is also interesting that among the goats the lamas prefer not black, but reddish-brown bucks.

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The old man said that the ordinary people would not bother with these rules unless they gave the animal to the monastery. Otherwise the color, age, sex, castration, etc. were unimportant, so long as the animal had no physical defects.

The released animals usually stay with their own herd or in the house, for they are used to it. If they run away, nobody bothers about it. A family always keeps horses, mules, and cattle at home and uses them as before. This was not the case originally, however; it is a deviation from the old custom, brought about by poverty and work in the fields.

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A consecrated animal may never be killed. It must die a natural death. If it is eaten by a wolf, it need not be replaced. If an evildoer kills the consecrated animal, then the punishment of heaven or of the consecration-deity will strike him. Also, under no circumstances may one slaughter a consecrated animal for the offering; this would be tantamount to ordinary killing.

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[841 cont.]

778 Regardless of how the animal[1] lost its life, its flesh may never be
825 eaten.

Furthermore such animals may not be sold or given away,
[262] for they belong to the god. One may give it to a monastery
[432] where it is cared for and protected until its death. -- An animal may not be acquired for the consecration with money; it must always be given as a gift.

There is no special watch over the consecrated animals, so that they can freely mount one another. The offspring are
[422] then counted as profane animals and fall to the original owner.

Whether the animal is pleasing to the god is manifested
[787] when the milk is poured over it. If it does not shake itself, one immediately fetches another; the ceremonies are then repeated. Every healthy animal shakes itself. If there is no milk, one dissolves tsamba or white flour in pure water so that it looks like milk. Some people take only clear water. This is not proper.

There are gods who ride the animals, for instance,
[776] Amtsiensa rides [842] on a wool-goat and Lamusa on a mule (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 843.] In the monastery Rgulõn each month (on the first or fifteenth day) consecrated riding animals are magnificently saddled and led onto the colonnade of the chief temple immediately in front of the entrance. There they are offered to the god (Fo-yeh) for riding; then one lets them
[792] run. -- Perhaps it is worth mentioning in this connection that the Tulkus (incarnation) of the lamic monasteries may ride only white horses, which otherwise are not regarded as superior.

It could not be discovered which
[171] gods are the riding gods. The Amtsiensa corresponds to the Chinese Tan-chiao hao-hua, and the Lamusa to the Chinese Lò-tzu t'ien-wang, that is, the heavenly mule-king.

[1] [i.e. - a consecrated animal - See cat. 116, pp 248-249- ANALYST]

[842 cont.]

778 [825] -- The name of the animals, however, is not taken from the deity concerned, but from the consecration band. Thus, the animals are called consecrated horse, consecrated sheep, etc. The Chinese say "sacred horse," "sacred sheep," etc.

Consecration bands: The bands are simply called "the consecrated." Although all the sacred colors are permissible, red or yellow is preferred for them. It does not matter where the band comes from or what material it is made of. Hada strips, pieces of clothing, wool or silk threads, anything is permitted. The size varies, but on the average it is an ell long and two fingers wide.

The band is supposed to be tied on the front part of the body and on the upper half of the animal, for instance, on the mane, forelock, or shoulder. In the case of hens one slings it around the neck. If the animal loses the band, it is not replaced. -- One can also tear off a band from the spirit-spear, from the spirit-litter, etc. In that case, however, it must later be replaced. Nevertheless these bands are not especially fumigated; they are already pure through their earlier designation (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 843-844.] There are two names for the bands on the consecrated animal, which are valid both before the consecration and after the consecration. The one is the name šdien, exactly as for the bands on the consecrated spirit-seats (spirit-spear, -table, -litter). But whereas in that case one can call the object together with the bands šdien, here the animal together with the band is never called šdien, but only the band alone, an indication that the consecrated animal is not regarded as possessed by the spirit.

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[842 cont.]

Word List

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778 Consecration-band: šdier (Tib. loanword).
hung-tzu (Chin.) = the red.

To tie on the consecration-band: šdier fuya-.

[825] The consecration-animal: šdier.

Sacred horse: šdier mori; sheng ma (Chin.).

Sacred sheep: šdier xoni; sheng yang (Chin.).

Sacred goat: šdier ima; sheng chia-la (Chin.), etc.

[Pages 842-844 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[844]

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2. The Demon-escort *

* See "Notes," pp. 846-847 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

789 The demon-escort consists of leading the harmful spirit
[791] out of the house and releasing it in the distance. It is done upon
[777] the command of the soothsayer in case of family misfortune.

On a set day one invites a lama to the house. He prays
[792] for six days with the usual ceremonies and makes several tormas
with the appropriate additions, as on other occasions. The
[778] compound is taboo, and the master of the household makes the
[782] great incense offering three times a day.

In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes the actual
[778] demon-torma, which, with all kinds of provisions for travel, is
[792] placed on a table in front of the household altar.

On the seventh day one takes the torma, along with a
[825] riding animal carrying the travel provisions, outside the village

[844 cont.]

789 and releases the animal. It may run where it will; no one pays
[825] any attention to it.

Details

789 Persons: The demon-releasing may be undertaken by: a
792 lama, but not a hutukhtu, a Bon priest, a shaman, a spear-
soothsayer, or other soothsayers with litter, table-god, etc. The
791 six-day prayer service, however, is undertaken only by lamas
756 and Bon priests; this is the great releasing, [845] whereas the
ceremony performed by a shaman or soothsayer alone is the
little releasing. Even though at the great releasing the lama may
do everything himself, usually a soothsayer nonetheless goes
along (spear, litter, etc.). The members of the family take
care of everything else, getting the animals ready, gifts, etc.

789 The animals: The animals permissible are: horses,
825 cattle, sheep, goats, hens, and cocks. Those not permitted are
dogs, pigs, mules, half-yaks. Dogs and pigs are regarded as un-
[783] clean. Mules and half-yaks are incapable of reproduction; for
this reason, too, one does not take castrated animals. The rules
connected with the animal-consecration do not apply here. The
animals are ridden by the demons and carry the burdens on their
travels. The hens, however, can be burdened; one simply lets
them fly. They are therefore usually used only for the "little
releasing." Special ceremonies, such as washing and fumigating,
are not performed on the animals; also color and age are unim-
portant.

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789 The travel provisions: The following things are packed
in the travel bag, which is usually woven out of wool: money
[484] (any kind of money, just so long as it is in circulation at the
[415] time), cloth (for instance, cotton, silk, linen, of any color),
a strand of unspun wool, cotton or silk threads (no wool threads),
tea leaves, baked or steamed loaves in any number desired, a
food bowl of porcelain or clay (no ordinary wooden one), new
men's clothing, elegant boots, cloth shoes, an elegant cap or an

[849 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 850 cont.] and to the demon-escort. I could not ascertain from the notes whether the Bon priest touches the sick person with the figures and thus transfers the sickness to them, as is the case with the shamanistic figure-conjuration. Cf. the following chapter, Note 5.

Word List

192
789 Figure-litter: [778]

šergundi; made up of šē (Tib.) = demon, rēgun = nine (Tib.); ndi (Tib.?) = complete (3) (5).

3. [Foreign text p. 850.] This explanation by the informant is uncertain.

5. [Foreign text p. 850.] šergundi: Tibetan bse = demon, dgu = nine, k'ri (pronounced thi) = litter. Meaning: nine-demons' litter. -- šbawog: Tibetan sbal (pronounced bal) = toad, frog; nag = black (Unkrig).

[791] Bon priest: xuāndzie (xuāndie).
[778] Demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.).
[829] Sheep: xoni.
Goat: imā.
Hen: tagu.
Pig: xge.
Dog: nogue (noxue).
Snake: mogue.
Frog: šbawog (5) [see Note 5 above].
Horse: mori.
Cattle: ulā.

[217 cont.]

771 776 The belief in a supreme god among the Tujen must have been known to the people themselves at an early date. Tafel noted in his fairly reliable chapter: "The Turen [sic] of Wei-yüanpu are a very curious tribe. Many say that they have only one single god in which they believe. But they are, like the [218] Chinese, also Buddhists" (Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], I, p. 246). The author unfortunately does not tell who these "many" are. Probably they are the Tujen themselves. Tafel is right insofar as a true monotheism is unknown to the Tujen. On the other hand they do not share the same Buddhism with the Chinese. The Tujen are Lamaists, the Chinese, on the other hand, never or only as an exception. From the customs observed, it now appears incontestably that the so-called one god of the Tujen is a supreme god who is venerated in the form of the heavens. One must, therefore, start from "heaven." [821]

a) The Name "Heaven"

rëġuo

772 776 192 [821] For "heaven" the Tujen know two expressions, namely, rëġuo and tieńgëre. The word rëġuo is little used and then only in the sense of the physical sky, firmament. It agrees entirely with its Mongolic equivalent oktarġui, which is to be equated with the Tibetan mk'a or nam mk'a or gnam, and means: sky, empty space above the air, firmament, vault of the heavens, ether, atmosphere, air. Cf. Kovalevski, p. 430. Even among the following expressions that include oktarġui, there is none in which oktarġui is comprehended as a deity or spirit. Cf. op. cit., pp. 430-433. Thus it must be sharply distinguished from tengri (tieńgëre) and cannot be used synonymously with the latter. Only in the sense of the physical sky do they overlap. Among the Tujen, reġuo is chiefly regarded as light-sky, bearer of brightness. One therefore likes to add the adjective kuġuo (blue, light, bright), for instance, kuġuo rëġuo undurwa (the blue sky is high). The kuġuo rëġuo (light sky) stands in contrast to the xara gadzier (dark earth). An appropriate bird is assigned to [825] [539]

[218 cont.]

772 each of them as a symbol of brightness and of darkness. Thus,
776 in a wedding song it is said: xara gadzier mundzini xela; kuguo
192 rëguoni dzindzini xela (the black earth's dark bird calls; the
light sky's light bird answers). Here, it is true, the rëguo has
[825] been drawn into the -- probably Tibetan -- mythology of light
[539] and darkness, but nothing concerning a possible significance of the rëguo as spirit or deity is expressed by it. (Cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder.") Even if the expression rëguo in its meaning as light-bearer corresponds approximately to the word tieńgëre, its deeper meaning is thereby exhausted and it will not be considered further.

tieńgëre

772 tieńgëre is the Tujen form of the written Mongolic
776 tengri or tngri. It may signify both the natural sky as well as
192 heaven as a deity. As natural sky it is provided with the same
821 adjectives as the word rëguo, in other words, with kuguo (blue), undur (high), etc. Like the latter, it also, as the daylight sky, stands in contrast to the dark earth. Our expression "heaven and earth" is always rendered among the Tujen by kuguo tieńgëre, xara gadzier (light sky, dark earth). They would never [219] simply say "heaven and earth." In this conception, the Tujen go hand in hand with their Altaic-Mongolic relatives. In his dissertation, Pallisen has presented the connection of light and heaven especially clearly: Among all Altaic peoples the sky is primarily perceived as the daylight sky. According to H. Vambéry and Barbier de Maynard, the concepts "the light," "brightness" in all Altaic languages belong to the same word family as tengri (Religion der Altmongolen [Religion of the Ancient Mongols], p. 123). Pallisen then appends the word lists for 13 languages, which are intended to illustrate this connection (op. cit., pp. 123 ff.).

The sky, however, is regarded not only as the embodiment of light, but it is also the bearer of the most important cosmic phenomena. This is expressed in many everyday phrases, for example: the sky rains; the sky is cold; the sky is hot; the sky thunders; the sky is cheerful, etc. Hence,

[225 cont.]

782 more suitable for heaven (8). The relationship to the supreme

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[773]

8. Above all the rising smoke connects this offering to heaven; the expression ǧarǧa, to make rise, is especially to be noted here. The smoke is like a living column of heaven or a living road to heaven. The shamanistic significance of the incense offering comes from this; not only promotes the trance, but is at the same time the path and motive power of the journey to heaven. The first emperor of the Geser legend demands, for instance, that during his journey to heaven the incense offering not be interrupted; the rising smoke strikes against the gate of heaven and opens the entrance for him, and he shoots his incompetent companion on the tip of his arrow into the rising column of smoke, in which he descends to earth.

[756]

[773]

being is also expressed, for example, in the wedding songs from Khalatse (western Tibet). There, according to Francke, op. cit., pp. 25 f., it is said: "This blue smoke that rises upward signifies that no trouble will arise with brGya-byin, the lord of the gods."

The Sheep Offering

[825] The sheep as a sacrificial animal, according to the material available, is reserved in a special way for heaven and the mountain-spirit, even though it may also be offered to the other gods. It is never offered to the mountain-spirit alone without heaven, however. There are sheep offerings that apply only to heaven, namely at the sowing and harvest

[241]

[246 cont.]

171 756 page 277, he goes into greater detail regarding the interpretation of these figures: "In the grim faces ... the demoniacal power of these armored knights ... is well represented. The helmet-mask is formed by a bird's head with a strong flavor of the Indian Garuda ... a shawl is elegantly draped around the shoulders, and tied in a knot over the chest, the two iron breastplates being visible beneath it" [cited in English]. -- In other words, the same type of warrior as in the case of the gurtum is involved: with helmet, weapons, shoulder hanging, demon battle, etc. -- Certainly further evidence for ancient China could be cited, say, in conjunction with the recent publications of C. Hentze. -- Likewise such types may be demonstrable for India, Indonesia, and the ancient Near East in connection with the ancient Iranian warrior gods and the corresponding figures in Hinduism, Indra, Shiva, etc.; in this connection cf. R. Bleichstein (based on Grünwedel), op. cit., pp. 111-124.

174 756 825 [773] Warrior shaman and bird. -- The connections between bird and shamanism are stressed often enough in the literature. The bird type of shaman is one of the basic types. Usually, the original ancestor of the shaman, or the first shaman, is a bird or incarnated in a bird. The heroes of the folktales, however, are also often linked with a bird ancestor. For instance, the Geser of the Tujen is supposed to have been sent to earth as a cuckoo. If this relationship applies generally, then the warrior-shaman in particular can be linked with the bird figure. There has been an attempt to show that his armor goes back to the feather armor, in other words, to the shaman attire of the bird type. I cannot go further into the sources here. The feather helmet of the ancient Chinese shaman mentioned by B. Laufer and the feather-ornamented helmet of the gNas-c'un gurtum, as well as the report by Georgi in his "Alphabetum Tibetanum," point in this direction.

174 756 [247] This connection between warrior and bird only becomes meaningful if one understands it as a solarization of the ancestor hero. Both the mythologies of the most ancient Chinese excavations (cf. the works by C. Hentze) and the

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villages neighboring the Monguors? This assumption, it seems, should be considered because of the fact that so many Chinese who use the formula are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and that so many Monguors who have lost their identity to the extent of having lost their own language, and being ashamed to assert their Monguor origin, boast of being Chinese, and of belonging to a more civilized culture.[25]

XI. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITHOUT REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

SACRED ANIMALS IN PRIVATE FAMILIES

Monguors do not honor the "spirit of Heaven" as a family deity nor do they perform, at present, bloody or non-bloody sacrifices to Heaven. Non-bloody sacrifices, in which the animal is not killed but allowed to wander at will, are a real economic sacrifice because the animal cannot be sold or put to profitable use; but this practice does not really fit the frame of an agricultural economy because the sacred animals cause a lot of damage in the fields. It even happens, as has been noted, that persons are injured and killed by sacred bulls. No wonder that the Chinese, devoted to agriculture, do not practice this rite in China. The Monguors, however, are very fond of the rite, which originated in the nomadic economy, and this fact betrays the original economy in which their ancestors lived.

Almost every Monguor family has its own consecrated animal, which usually is a female sheep—seldom a ram.

On the third day of the New Year, the animal is led into the courtyard. The whole family is in a hustle and bustle washing the feet and the fleece of the animal, and devotedly combining the fleece. Never before has the animal enjoyed such a fine appearance. The sheep is led into the living room before the picture of the deity protector of the family. All the members of the family kneel devoutly with burning incense sticks in their joined hands. They look on with feverish anxiety as the chief of the family pours milk, mixed with water, first on the head of the animal, then into its ears. The sheep frantically shakes its head and at that very moment the whole family starts prostrating itself three times toward the picture of the deity and then toward the animal, smiling, crying with happy enjoyment *"ling liao"* ("the deity accepts our offer"). Thus, the animal is supposed to be consecrated. The family are in a happy mood, with a gleam in their eyes, for the deity will protect the cattle. The more frantically the sheep shakes its head, the better it augurs for the future.

The incense sticks are planted before the picture of the deity honored in the family and the chief of the family and all its members attach red and yellow ribbons

[25] Schröder, Das Herbst-Dankopfer der T'u-jen im Sining-Gebiet, *Anthropos* 37–40: 867, 1952.

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to the ears of the sheep and all over its fleece. Everybody endeavors to attach a couple of ribbons. 795 825

The sheep will join the herd as before; its wool will be sheared twice a year, as is done for the other sheep, but it will never be killed and will be allowed to die naturally. If it dies during the year, next New Year's another one will be consecrated and will take its place, for every family has to have its sacred animal. 231 [778]

But what if the sheep does not shake its head? This is conclusive proof that the deity is angry and ill disposed toward the family. Dread and terror instantly show upon their faces. All the members of the family, startled and panic stricken, look at one another distressed, dejected, and in deep gloom, for everybody feels that this fact bodes ill for the future. Bowing their heads to the ground and lifting their hearts in humble entreaty, they beg pardon and ask the deity to overlook their offences, to accept the offer. Then milk is poured again, and if the sheep still obstinately refuses to shake its head, it is finally removed. [787]

Then, in the living room, the situation is examined to be sure the predicament is of their own making. Maybe they had been too remiss in honoring the deity; maybe the spirit does not like the discord and resentment reigning in the family; maybe the deity wants a more valuable sacrifice? After renewed prostrations and promises for the future, the conclusion is always that the only hope remaining is to consecrate a more valuable animal, a young female mule, for they know that it is impossible to get around the spirit and defy it with impunity, and that anybody who tampers with its plans is riding for a fall.

The female mule is led into the courtyard and washed; tail and mane are combed. Two red hot stones are dropped in a utensil containing boiling water, which is adjusted under the nose of the animal so that the vapors may enter the nostrils, purifying the animal interiorly, as it has been cleansed exteriorly. The animal is led through the door of the living room, and in front of the picture of the deity. Milk, mixed with water, is poured on its head and in its ears—the head shakes. Ribbons are attached on mane and tail. The animal will be used in the same way as other animals, but never will it be sold. It is allowed to die a natural death.

The Monguors whom I asked for explanations always replied in the same way, that the rite is always performed only on the third of the New Year, by the head of the family, without Red or Yellow lamas or shamans; that the animal is always consecrated to the guardian deity of the family, inside the living room, in front of the picture of the guardian deity. Because the "spirit of Heaven" or "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored as family protectors, the animal is never consecrated to the "spirit of Heaven" or to "Heaven and all the spirits."

If it happens that the family spirits are the spirits of the mountains, the rite is always performed in the

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same way in the living room, never outside. They said that the aim of the rite is to obtain blessings upon the cattle and their reproduction, and that therefore gelded or old animals are never used. The custom excludes the use of donkeys, hogs, hens, and dogs. Custom does not allow the family to sell or to eat its sacred animal. They all said that the rite was never performed because persons in the family were smitten with severe diseases, or calamities had overcome the family, since other specific rites exist to obviate these miseries. The rite is only intended for the reproduction of animals and to give thanks for blessings upon them. They also said that the staff spirit was never consulted when a new animal had to take the place of the former. The shaking of the head of the animal, when milk mixed with water was poured upon its head and in its ears, was sufficient evidence that the animal was accepted by the family protector. These notes do not agree completely with those of Dom. Schröder in his very interesting article "Die Tierweihe," (*op. cit.*, 839). I write them down according to my notes which I checked many times, because the rite interested me very much.

According to the explanation of the Monguors the rite does not intend to make of the animal an "animal spirit"; the animal is not possessed by the spirit. The aim is to offer to the family protector an animal for which, if the spirit does not agree, a more valuable offer is substituted. When it agrees, however, they all cry: "The offer is accepted!" Because the animal is accepted by the spirit, it partakes of the respect of the family and prostrations are made to the spirit and to its animal. If the rite were a shamanistic rite, the shaman, who is always at hand, would certainly have been invited to perform it.[1]

Poor families must have their sacred animal also, and for this purpose they exceptionally use a rooster, very seldom a he-goat; the ritual for the consecration is the same. Every year, on the third of the New Year, the sacred animal is presented to the deity in the living room, washed, combed, and lavishly adorned with ribbons, while the family prostrates itself. If the sacred animal is a mule, it must be fed on that day with bread. Milk is poured on the animal only once, on the day of the consecration.

The rite must be very old, and must have belonged to a nomadic economy in which horses were offered. At present the rite continues to persist, but it is performed with other animals.[2]

Among the Mongols of Ordos, the rite of the sacred animal is well known and widely practiced today. The animal is consecrated to all kinds of deities, Chingis-

[1] Garma Sandschejew, Weltanschauung und Shamanismus der Alaren Burjaten, *Anthropos* 23: 938, 1928.

[2] It is worth while to note that the rites of the sacred animals of the communities and of the private families are performed on the Chinese New Year (which usually occurs in February) at the time the lambs are born, the happy time of the harvest of the nomads.

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Khan included (for Chingis is a devoutly honored deity), to the fire and to the Obo. The rite is performed in private families by lamas. Stallions are consecrated besides other animals.[3] The tenets of the religion of the Mongols seem to be as confused as those of the religion of the Monguors. 795 825 231

The rite used to be performed by the Turks.[4] Marco Polo, traveling through Turkistan on the way to Peking, notes the rites of the sacred animal—in this case a sheep.[5] [171]

This rite is not to be confused with the well-known rite of the aspersion with milk of mares after the summer solstice. On an auspicious day the mares are milked and the milk is immediately mixed with sour cow's milk, so that it will become sour after a few minutes. This sour milk is thrown to the four points of heaven, with a wooden ladle, while prayers are said. The rite is performed in honor of all kinds of deities of Lamaism; all kinds of gods of heaven; of Chingis, his wives, his sons, and companions; to the spirits of mountains.[6]

CULT OF THE FIRE

A very old element of the old religion of the Turco-Mongols is the cult of the fire, whose specific offer was butter.[7] This cult had already existed in the arctic culture, "wir gehen wohl nicht fehl wenn wir wenigstens die Wurzeln irgendeine religiösen Feuer Kultus schon in die arktischen Urkultur eingesenkt lassen."[8] Fire is supposed to carry the offerings to the supreme deity.[9] It is one of the essential elements of the old religion of the nomads.[10] Among the Ch'i-tan, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, received considerable attention during winter.[11] Among the Ch'i-tan, the burning of big fire-wood was originally 372 776

[3] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore ordos*, *op. cit.*, 1 seq. Prof. Schuyler Cammann encountered in Ordos a sacred yearling camel wearing a necklace of sheep scapulas—it could never be ridden by man. *The land of the camel*, 167, New York, Ronald Press, 1951.

[4] Herman Vambery, *Das Turkenvolk*, 122, 1885.

[5] Yule-Cordier, 1: 207, 1929.

[6] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 315-322, 331. Father Mostaert also notes (*Monumenta Serica* 1: 335, n. 19, 1935) that among the Mongols this rite, which is performed by laymen, is not specifically for Heaven but for all the Burkhans, Tengris, etc. The koumis (mare's milk) is cast from a ladle toward the four points of heaven; there is not a ladle-full for Heaven alone. This rite follows the summer solstice, by which time the colts have been born. It seems to be a thanksgiving rite, a rite of first fruits, specifically enacted for the reproduction of the horses. The Monguors, no longer having herds of horses, lack this rite.

[7] W. Koppers, Die Indogermanenfrage in Lichte der historischen Volkerkunde, *Anthropos* 30: 23, 1935; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* 10: 70-76; 9: 228-241, 534-535.

[8] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 3: 550.

[9] *Ibid.* 3: 555.

[10] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 136, 1925.

[11] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *op. cit.*, 214 and 239.

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[212 cont.]

782 The slaughtered offering, together with the animal-
[778] consecration, forms the group of animal offerings, of which one is bloody, the other unbloody. The bloody [213] animal-
[574] offering is carried out in three steps which are clearly differentiated by the people: slaughtering, presentation, sacrificial meal. The classic example is described above as the mountain sheep-offering. The actual presentation, usually in the form of the offering-throw, is designated by the term "offering." Often there is an interval of a whole day between slaughtering and presentation and the meal.

[787] The slaughtering is preceded by the washing and the
[778] milk-oracle, as well as the releasing and recapturing of the animal. It almost has the appearance of an abbreviated animal-consecration, at which the animal is likewise released.

The presentation may be done in two ways. Either the skinned whole animal is set up before the deity, or it is cut up immediately, boiled, and then the pieces of meat with the broth are thrown to the deity. It also happens that the thoroughly cooked pieces are put on plates in front of the altar, like bread or wine. Putting up the pole-goat is probably a remnant of
[171] Central Asiatic form, analogous to the hanging up of the hide of sacrificial animals among the Siberian peoples. Among the Tujen, however, no attention whatever is paid to the skeleton, since, of course, the animal is cut up and boiled with the bones.

782 The sacrificial meal is consumed by all the people, by
574 men, women, and children. I do not know of any sacrificial animals that are reserved for only certain groups. To be sure certain parts are reserved for certain persons as especially tasty, such as the loins, the head, etc. The sacrificial meal is not regarded as a profane act. It is regarded as part of the offering, there is the unequivocal expression for it: "This is a part of our offering."

782 A peculiarity of these offerings is still to be emphasized:
826 the fear of blood. The blood is not spilled but caught during the slaughtering and poured into the intestines. The blood belongs to the animal and is sacrificed and eaten with it. Traces of blood on the ground are immediately covered with earth and wiped away.

[221 cont.]

782 to throw the first (the first piece, the first drop, the first bowl,
192 etc.) to the heavens. For "first" they use the word torõṅ. As a number it can be adjectival and substantival, in other words, "the first" or "firstling." In addition, it also signifies a blessing, an advantage, for example: kuni torõṅ (the first of the people) is a man skilled in speech who can appear in public; or morini torõṅ (the first among horses), an especially fast and strong horse. In exactly the same way the gift at the primitial offering is simply designated as torõṅ. Whether a special blessing
782 is also to be indicated by it remains to be decided. I am not aware that especially good parts are taken for it; one does not take long to choose them, although care is always taken to see that they are not inferior, spoiled, or unclean. The primitial offering is always intended for heaven. Even where it is intended for several deities, heaven nonetheless stands in first place. Two kinds can be distinguished: the direct and the indirect.

782 The direct primitial offering is so generally widespread
264 among the Tujen that it strikes everyone who has ever observed the people at their meals. Usually it is done in the following
[826] way. In the case of beverages one dips the middle finger, which is the most superior one, into his drinking bowl, withdraws it again, and flicks the drop suspended from it into the air. This is done three times in succession. In the case of foods, for instance, bread or meat, a little piece is picked off and thrown high toward the heavens or backward over the shoulder. The direction in which one is seated does not matter. Sometimes it happens that one pours out a whole bowlful of the beverage. All confirm that they present this gift first to heaven before they themselves enjoy it. Only after heaven are they sometimes also thrown to other spirits.

782 The primitial offering is rooted deep in the consciousness of the Tujen. According to their view it must extend
773 back to the beginnings of humanity. Thus in the Geser legend
264 it is said of the first emperor Hamluo Siergãn when he stopped on a [222] journey and boiled tea: "fulan tsiani sdzülġano, tsiani torõṅni kuġuo tieṅgërdu tsiodlodzi" (when the red tea

toward his father, and he could not understand how the 792
same individual could happen to be the incarnation of 157
the father and the son. Then Achia talked to him like 578
a father, telling him to be more circumspect and to behave more decently, for many tales were already spreading about his behavior with Tibetan women. Liberties of that kind, he said, outraging the Lamaist conventions, were not allowed at Kumbum. The lamas of Kumbum, breathing fire and brimstone, prepared their weapons and called together lamas of neighboring monasteries. The officials of Hsining (the Amban, the General, the tao-t'ai, and the prefect) were in a hurry, and went to Kumbum with troops in order to prevent a clash. Finally, in order to get rid of the Dalai Lama as fast as possible, they decided to let him appoint three lama officials and then to depose them after his departure. The Dalai Lama left, and the three appointed officials also left as quickly as possible for fear of being killed by the Kumbum lamas. The deposed officials assumed their jobs again, but Achia, deeming that he had ir- [762]
retrievably lost face, cut his throat. Several times I heard this tragic story, told by the Amban himself and by the officials at Kumbum.

The Dalai Lama cut a sorry figure in Hsining in 792
1909. The residence of Achia, destroyed by fire in 157
1895, was still not rebuilt in 1914, although all the materials for the reconstruction had been ready since 1909. The wood had been offered by the Tibetan Chief, Kach-htjir, and a contract had been written by the intendancy, promising Kach-htjir and his relatives the privilege of always staying at the residence, whenever they visited Kumbum.

Chao, the Living Buddha of Sia-mar, was a most celebrated man all over the country for his skill in patching up troubles, his unusual eloquence, proficiency in using the double-edged sword, of menaces and threats, soft words and blandishments. However, his influence lay in his cultivated acquaintance with the Chinese officials, to whom he paid visits and offered lavish gifts, and whom in due time he would use and provide with lawsuits that would benefit them. He was credited with having marvelous abilities and of being a powerful man. The saying went around that his special [828]
kind of intelligence weighed so heavily on one side of his body, that the soles of a new pair of shoes, after a few days, were always run down on the same side—the side where his intelligence was pressing the most.

He had obtained the office of chiliarch, the old privilege of judging the numerous tribes formerly subjected to his predecessors. He started abolishing, among his subjects, the smoking and planting of opium, with Draconian severity, and flogging and fining addicts of alcohol. He compelled the Chinese, to whom his subjects had transferred lands, to return the fields. Wherever there happened to be a festival, he pitched his tent and waited to render justice. Young women who had eloped and had been brought back by his retinue of

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[12 cont.]

115 respected their customs and did not condemn them or brand them
123 as backward superstitions. In this respect one cannot in the long run disguise his feelings. With a sure sense the natives noticed whether one meets them with good will and respect or regards himself as superior to them. Since the old man was no dolt and had also read many a Chinese book, he knew, for example, that the Chinese tend to dismiss the peoples on their borders as
[181] barbarians. He also knew how the Chinese nearby laugh at the Tujen as backward "natives." And finally he had heard that the Christians designate as superstition much that is dear and sacred to the Tujen and the Chinese. Thus it is understandable that occasionally he would say: "Father, do not be surprised when I tell you such and such. We believe in it." Or: "Please do not laugh at it when we do something in such a way." On his part, this inhibition was extensively bridged by the genuinely tolerant
[829] attitude of the Asiatic: "All religions are good. The goal is the same, only the ways are different." On my part, the decisive attitude was that every person's conviction is to be respected if he means it honestly, even though, objectively speaking, he may be on the wrong road. The same applies to religion. And when I told the old man, "I believe such and such, you believe such and such, but I am not therefore better than you; it depends upon the conscience," he gladly agreed. Nor was any attempt ever made to influence him in his religion. He knew little about Christianity, but neither did he regard it as mystery-mongering when he inquired about it among my people. They always stressed to him: "You can hear and see everything that we do. We have no secret religion. We tell you everything. If you want to read our books, you may have them." One day he came with the question: "Should I not become a Christian?" I told him: "That depends on you. The heart of a man cannot be forced. Everyone should act according to his insight."

115 It greatly cheered his openheartedness to find many a
171 similarity between the Christian and Tujen ceremonies. Thus he was quite surprised at the fire ceremony on Easter eve. In the church he saw altars, saints' images, an oil lamp. He saw how the Christians fell on their knees. He knew: We, too,

shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

understand the striking incompatibility which exists 829
between the religious and philosophical principles of 771
these religions, while we see the paradox of things which cannot coexist logically, actually coexisting in a very smooth and natural way. The Monguors believe that each of these religions is right, and practice them according to their various circumstances of life. While their knowledge about dogmas and religion is limited and unstable, their religious spirit is unusually developed. What is the reason for this trend of mind, this carelessness concerning differences between religions and philosophical principles? Our illusions and misunderstandings occur because we compare the conversion to Lamaism of the Mongols and the Monguors with the conversion to Christianity of peoples in ancient times, and assume that a similar change of mind took place among the Monguors. We envision churches filled to capacity for weekly worship, people receiving instructions about definite dogmas, children attending parochial schools, learning prayers, studying religion, and being educated in their belief, and we also envision a group of religious leaders, proficient in the religious sciences, but none of these exist or form a part of Lamaism.

The vast and splendid temples in the monasteries 772
are not churches or places where the faithful fulfill in 794
common their religious duties. Lamas recite texts in 796
the temples; laymen do not. There are no spiritual 771
leaders, skilled in religious sciences, to preach and instruct the faithful. Nowhere are there parochial schools for children; nor is anything done to provide serious religious education for the people. Lamaists are like stray sheep without shepherds, for nowhere is there a pastor or rector taking care of definite groups of the faithful. In teaching Christianity, new notions and principles were instilled in the minds of prospective converts. Their incompatibility with the principles of other religions was explained. The prospective converts were taught that they must live according to the principles of Christianity; that in order to do this they would have to change from their way of life to the Christian way, by changing their conduct, feelings, habits, and way of thinking. None of these things are taught about Lamaism. The religious value of the faith is never explained. No zeal is displayed in order to form serious types of Lamaists. The lama does not care about the shaman as he performs his rites; the shaman does not mind, and acts in like manner; the Taoist, considered as the second best, does not bother, for he is very happy to be invited and to earn some money. Shamans are considered the most potent men in certain circumstances, while lamas are believed to be the appropriate performers of certain kinds of rites. Consequently, the two religions are considered equally necessary and equally right.

The fact that serious Lamaists are not formed ap- 771
pears to be responsible for the Mongours still being fer-

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gram of studies, elaborately built up and highly vaunted, 792
and the knowledge and education sometimes attributed 873
to the lamas in Tibet and Mongolia. My opinions seem 794
to be justified by the opinions of other authors, who have lived for years among the lamas, knowing their language and being themselves Buddhists.

The learned Buddhist, Mme Alexandra David-Neel, 792
who lived in the lamaseries of Tibet and Huang-chung 157
for many years, knew the language very well and was 829
always sympathetic to the lamas, giving "philosophical" justifications for much questionable behavior, but she confesses:

> At the morning exercise are intermixed subtle philosophy with commercialism, high spirituality with feverish pursuit of vile satisfactions, which are impossible to separate from each other; novices, educated in this whirlpool of contrary influences, follow one or another of them, according to their nature and the direction given to them by their master.[14] In Tibet the clerical education has produced only a "small number" of selected literary men, a "large number" of slothful brutes, joyous, gay fellows, and picturesque blusterers, and all these various characteristics, if they do not show up in every lama, are at least "simultaneously deeply ingrained in the nature of all of them."[15]

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist monk, who went to Lhasa to study Lamaism in the learned centers of Tibet, states that they graduate from the college after having studied for twenty-one years; they study especially the Buddhist Catechism and philosophy. They are from thirty to thirty-six years of age when they graduate.[16] It may safely be said that their purpose in entering the priesthood is only to procure the largest possible amount of fortune as well as the highest possible fame in that entirely secluded world of theirs. They do not seek religious truths or practice religious austerities for the work of delivering men and leading them to salvation, but they study to acquire fame, wealth, and influence, and there is nothing deep in their religious life, and 999 out of 1,000 have no conception of the problems of future life.[17] He states also that their faith is a veritable mass of superstition.[18]

These two learned Buddhists seem to confirm my suspicions and to reveal the philosophy and the behavior of the lama institutions. They corroborate my [123]
own observations, made at various institutions during the same span of time. A single fact may account only for the mentality of a single man; a multitude of facts, however, reveal the mentality of an entire corporation.[19]

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[14] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 95.

[15] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 96.

[16] Ekai Kawaguchi, *Three years in Tibet*, 291, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

[17] *Ibid.*, 348.

[18] *Ibid.*, 560.

[19] Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 108, *sq.*, gives interesting comparative data concerning the lamas and their behavior in the lamaseries situated in the Gobi Desert in the Narobanchin territory.

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VIII. PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS

Having explained the internal structure and organization of Lamaism and shamanism among the Monguors during the period of 1910–1920, and having characterized the ministers of both religions, Living Buddhas, lamas, shamans, and Kurtains, it remains to study in what ways these religions are practiced, and what is the frame of mind of the Monguors toward these religions. 128

After having explained the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live, first the public rites performed in their society will be dealt with, and then the private rites enacted by them. A chapter will deal with their death and burial customs. Another chapter will deal with the cult of "Heaven and all the Spirits."

The last chapter will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping to preserve the identity of the Monguors, maintaining their traditions and customs, and strengthening the social structure of the clans in order to prevent their absorption by the Chinese.

It should be borne in mind that among the Monguor clans of Hsining, some are of Turkish and some of Mongol origin, but that from the earliest times in Central Asia tribes mixed with tribes; tribes were torn to pieces and scattered over enormous distances, and absorbed by other tribes. On the other hand, it must be remembered that our Monguors, before they were converted to Lamaism, were religious groups who prayed. Among them sacrifices were offered by the heads of the families and of the tribes, and by the shamans. They had previously met peoples practicing Buddhism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism, and also Chinese Taoists, Confucianists, and Buddhists. Even after becoming professing Lamaists, they still remained shamanist, and preserved notions and practices originating from other religious sources. 771

It is a real paradox that Lamaism, contaminated with magic which is diametrically opposed to any religion, denying theoretically the existence of a soul and of God and spirits, has created among its adepts a new enthusiasm of fervor and religiosity. By means of stressing the principle of reversion of merits, it developed the notion of personal responsibility and of duty, by teaching that all good and bad events in this life depend on the performance in the present or former existences of good or bad deeds. Although, according to the fundamental doctrine of Buddhism, the bad acts are irreparable, means are provided to extenuate their inevitable consequences, and even to transfer acquired merits to others, and hence arose the doctrine of universal charity, the alluring physiognomy of Buddhism. 779

However, the Monguors and Tibetans of Huangchung, in a way that is even illogical, do not take account of the philosophical aspects of Lamaism. They do not care for the doctrinal discussions concerning the 829

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question of whether a substantial principle underlies the 829
soul or not, or whether *nirvana* could be a state of happiness without there being consciousness of it. They do not care for the philosophers who discuss the existence or the inexistence of this world, of their own being, and even of Buddha himself. They only approach Lamaism from the moral and the practical angles. They endeavor to practice the rites of Lamaism, to heap up merit as prescribed by Lamaism in order to be reborn after this life, which they greatly enjoy, in a paradise of felicity where Buddha, as benevolence incarnate, will make them more and more happy every day, for the duration of time. However, this seems to be only one side of the religious frame of mind of the Lamaist Monguors and Tibetans. The other side seems rooted in the practicality, so often found among uncivilized peoples, which, in order to make more sure of attainment of the religious goal, to enjoy more blessings in this life, and avoid calamities and miseries, leads them to practice shamanist rites and rites belonging to other religions at the same time. This seems to be the complicated frame of mind of the Monguors and Tibetans of Huang-chung who are deeply religious.

Since the objective of this study is the explanation of 114
the religious frame of mind of the Monguors, there will be noted along with the rites the questions ingenuously asked by the children in the schools concerning the topics, the considerations and impressions occasionally expressed by men and women, the dialogues of shamans with the spirits denoting the hopes and the fears of the attendants and their beliefs. All these minute details will help to raise the curtain which shrouds the religious mind.

THE WORLD OF RELIGION AND FEAR IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVE

The sense of religiosity is planted in the hearts of the 829
Monguors in early life, in the family circle. Its main 869
feature seems to be fear, rather than love. The children 782
every day see their mothers performing a lot of religious practices in order to avoid the displeasure or punishments of innumerable malignant spirits which beset them everywhere. Their mother's warnings are dinned into their ears, not to do this, not to do that, for fear of being unhappy, because the spirits are very touchy, and a trifle can upset them. In this way the dread and terror of malevolent spirits cut deep furrows in their hearts, and when a hailstorm is about to destroy the crops, the oil lamps on the house altar will be lit in a hurry and the children will fall on their knees invoking Heaven and all the spirits and praying Om Mani, for [789]
as long as the threat lasts. They imitate their elders who implore, on bended knees, and urge the gods with piteous pleas, saying innumerable Om Manis and "Heaven and all the spirits" for the protection of their crops. Children cannot forget to their dying day the

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

anxious moments of the terrible events caused by evil spirits, which the good spirits could not master. 829 869

Every day, in the early morning, they climb with their grandfather to the top of the roof, or go into the courtyard before the *manikan*[1] to honor "Heaven and all the spirits," doing the Wei-sang,[2] and looking at the old man who prostrates himself devoutly, they invoke with him "Heaven and all the spirits" and recite Om Mani, in order to get blessings and protection against the alarming evil spirits. When somebody is smitten with a severe disease, they repeat after grandfather, "Heaven and all the spirits" save our mother, save our father, Om Mani, Om Mani. The children know that at home, the altar and the manikan are the most respected items; they know that spirits preside at the gate of the courtyard, at the well, at the stables, and that they protect the cattle. They know at what time and how they are to be honored, and what is to be done to avoid their wrath. The children live at home in an atmosphere of religion and fear, and when they grow up they are convinced that honoring the good spirits is a requisite for the reaping of good crops, the breeding of healthy cattle, the enjoying of the daily bread, and the protection from evil spirits on the prowl to hurt them. 782

A logical consequence of such a frame of mind is that Monguors never perform any important act with- 777

[1] In the middle of the courtyard is built a circular manger in which is planted a tall post. On top of the post are often the Lamaist designs of sun and moon and a circle; a flag is attached to the post printed with Tibetan texts and the "Wind Horse" (Chinese, *Lu-ma;* Tibetan, *rlung-rta*) carrying the jewel symbol (*Norbu*). It is called *manikan*, that is, "the mani post," because the popular "Om Mani" is printed on it.

[2] *Wei-sang* (fdzan garga): *Wei* is a Chinese word meaning "kindle"; *sang* is the Tibetan word *Bsans* meaning "cypress incense." It is the rite performed before sunrise, daily during the first and fourth moon, or only on the first, eighth, or fifteenth of the month, by the heads of Monguor families for "Heaven and all the spirits"; it is also enacted simultaneously with most of the important rites. Some straw is spread in a small oven, a few pinches of pounded cones and leaves of cypress are strewn upon it, and a few pinches of flour, of roasted wheat or spelt, and a few drops of pure water are sprinkled; then all is lit and the odoriferous cypress smoke billows up. It is an "odoriferous offering," not a purifying rite. To these three essential components some devout people like to add a pinch of the six usual pounded spices, dried flowers, red or white sugar, threads of five colors, a little butter or fat; some use wine instead of water, and blow the horn and prostrate themselves three times. Prayers are not said at that time. In performing the "big wei-sang" entire branches of cypress are burned. Lamas are fond of the rite, and even during shamanist rites it is observed. The oven wherein the rite is performed is constructed before the manikan or on the roof of the living room: sometimes it is performed on the edge of the manger. In time of epidemics, etc., the whole family never fails to enact the rite as a group. See also Schröder, Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor), *Anthropos* **47** (1): 43, 1952; **48**: 222, 1953. The famous "Wind Horse" is said by some to bring wealth to the family. Others explain that the horses are offered to the roaming souls in the air (which everybody fears) in order that they might pass unmolested; also Eliade, *op. cit.*, 239–245; also W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* **6**: 67.

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IX. PUBLIC RITES

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN REGARD TO HAILSTORMS

In the mind of the Monguors is seared the belief in 782
an incredibly prodigious medley of gods, malignant 731
spirits, and ferocious ghosts, and consequently all events in life, happy or unhappy, must be approached from that angle.

In this chapter will be considered the calamity most [132]
dreaded by the Monguors, which does the most harm and ruins them most frequently. It is the scourge of hailstorms, which every year ruin the crops of many villages, reducing the already narrow margin of subsistence of the villagers to a minimum, and bringing many families to the verge of famine.

It is obvious that this calamity is supposedly caused 821
by malignant spirits and it is no wonder that the whole 829
religious energy of the people is bent on securing all available means and ways to avoid disaster. No wonder that the people, scared to death, seek refuge in religion against a scourge caused by evil spirits—first of all in the religion credited with the greatest potency, without refusing the help of others less potent, imploring the aid of good spirits, and engaging in a life and death struggle with the evil spirits.

In all their village temples, accordingly, one encoun- 782
ters the picture of the god of the Five Roads, the 796
Taoist combatant of hailstorms, amidst the awful 789
scenery, previously described, whether or not the temple is dedicated to it. The shaman is invited to perform his most efficient rites against hail because he is believed the most conspicuous for his great abilities in the field. All the Taoist spirits, to whom temples in the country are dedicated, are invited by the shaman to come down into the temple yard and to participate in the performance of the rite in spring. The shaman conveys to them the sympathy of the villagers and their gracious offer of hospitality, in order that they might help their village, and after the shamanist rites have been performed the villagers still indulge in Lamaist activities against hailstorms.

No wonder that, from New Year's on, the villagers are obsessed by the problem, and never fail where a Kurtain is possessed by the god of the Five Roads, to invite him on the third day of the year for an exhibition

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the study of F. Franz Eichinger, Kinderlosigkeit und ihre Bekampfung in der Volksmedizin, *ibid.* 167 sq., is very instructive. [113]
and unique. The author, during two years as member of the Chinese Health Committee in Ming-hsien, Lin t'ao, Ho-chou, and Labrang (East Kansu), traveled four months with the committee in the region of Hsining, Kung-ho, Hsing-hai (Monguor territory) and seized the exceptional opportunity to gather ethnological notes, which open vistas in this special field and give a better understanding of the frame of mind of the family concerning this capital topic; the care of children, the means of getting this blessing, the fear of being bereaved of them and the physical causes of this bereavement.

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be purified by smoking over cypress boughs, and a 778
sacrifice of a sheep or a hog is required. Every three 532
years the stomach is opened and the decayed animating 756
items are removed. New ones must take their place, because after three years their power has faded away. The Monguors invite the shaman most proficient in this art to perform the rite, since magical efficacy does not seem to be the same among all shamans and for that reason statues are assumed to be the seats of the spirits.

The statues in Lamaist temples need, in the same way, magical bowels; however, the lamas put Tibetan texts inside the statues. The magical power of the statues lasts as long as the Tibetan texts are uninjured.

The role played by the snake in the therapy of debilitated spirits is noteworthy. It will be seen later that the old mountain spirit of the Obo, protector and proprietor of the valley of Sha-t'ang, was healed and rejuvenated by a lot of medicines, among which the snake ranked first.

The table often mentioned above is said to be the seat of the White Tiger, and is used everywhere. It is a low Chinese table, adorned with strips of red cloth or silk and a small copper mirror in front. The four legs represent the legs of the tiger, while on the underpart of the table are painted the intestines and genitalia. It must be animated by the shaman. Often used instead of the sedan chair, it is carried by four men whom it crushes beneath it, or pulls fore or aft when asked for a decision.

CONCLUSION

This chapter gives supporting evidence for the as- 821
sumption that in the fabric of the religious life of the 829
Monguors, the struggle against the hail spirits and the 771
means of avoiding harm from them are a real obsession and play an overwhelming part. All summer this fear troubles the peace of mind, and mars the happiness especially of older people and chiefs of families. No wonder that every day around noon Monguors start examining the northwest corner of the sky. Everybody, putting on a brave front, brags and boasts about the efficacy of the rites, trying to bolster their wavering courage, but telling beads and muttering "Om Mani," hoping that finally Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" will help them.

Another conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the shamanist White Tiger bears the brunt of the struggle against the evil spirits of hail, and that the Taoist god of the Five Roads and his associates who are magnificiently enthroned in all the village temples, on whose walls they score brilliant successes defeating the evil hail spirits, play a very modest secondary role in the rank and file of the other good spirits and Buddhist deities supposed to lend a hand in the struggle. The Monguors have remained as convinced shamanists as the Turco-Mongol tribes of former times.

The struggle against the hail spirits by an entire com-

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munity, obeying day and night the orders of the chief 821
of the village, pooling all its efforts and putting them 829
at his disposition, reveals the old clan spirit of nomads 771
united in the struggle against forces from abroad; it reveals that the entire community resorts unanimously to religious practices in order to preserve its means of subsistence and that religion in time of fear and distress is a means of securing the cohesion of the group. The civil and religious authority vested in the same chief make religion a constituent of the social organization. This note will be brought out several times further on, in the study of the religious life of the Monguors.[13]

X. VARIOUS PUBLIC RITES

PUBLIC RITES ON NEW YEAR'S

At midnight on New Year's the bell of the temple of 796
the village rings. A group of villagers, comprised of a member of each family, led by the chief of the village, the military commanders and the elders, arrive to honor "Heaven and all the spirits" in the courtyard of the temple, by lighting a big cypress fire, offering steamed bread, raisins, and butter, pouring a libation of wine, and prostrating themselves holding incense sticks in their hands. The chief of the village says: "Heaven and all the spirits, we thank you for all the blessings of the past year, bless us during this New Year, give us good crops, and guard us from hail." Then they return home in order to perform the traditional family rites of New Year's.

On the third, as already noted, the chief of the village, the elders, and a member of each family go to the temple of the village in order to learn the prophecy of the sedan chair or table god, about the events of the New Year. In villages where there is a Kurtain possessed by the spirit of the temple, he is invited for an exhibition, which is attended by the whole community. This New Year's exhibition is the only public office discharged by the Kurtain in the community. After the exhibition there follows the Rite of the Sacred Animal.

During the first month of the New Year, in the villages where there is a temple dedicated to a Lamaist deity, some lamas are usually invited by the community to say prayers for three to seven days, for the peace of the villagers.

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[13] Potanin, *op. cit.*, 397–399 *sqq.*, describes accurately the interesting elaborate rite performed by shamans, enthroning a new image of a Taoist deity (the dragon king), as the new family protector in a Monguor family (probably at the moment of the division of the family inheritance). The performance is a blend of shamanist and Taoist rites. The opening of the eyes of the image and its animation, etc., are performed in the genuine Taoist fashion. The shamanism of this group of Monguors seems to be more adulterated than that of the Monguors living on the northern side of the Hsining River; the deities they honor are all Taoist deities.

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people who have taken the Buddhist vows, are the usual practitioners.

TOPICS OF THE INSTRUCTIONS

Each year I seized every opportunity to get information from fasters concerning that captivating subject, and asked the children in the schools about what grandpa or grandma had said about the lama director, the topics of the preachings, the anecdotes narrated, the number of fasters. Every time the fasters reported that they were happy to have performed the exercises, although they had had a hard time. They had prayed in a group innumerable Om Manis, which had caused them to have a real feeling of happiness, and they had enjoyed the preaching. They seemed to be better Lamaists than before, for they spoke with enthusiasm about their experiences. Without doubt the fast rites had helped buoy them up and had given them zest for life.

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However, it was always said that the directors of the exercises were not all interesting talkers, that some were really boring men, but that they all loved Li, the old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Every year, at three places at least, he was invited, and the fasters urged that the date of the exercises be postponed, in order to enjoy the old man's direction since he had endeared himself to the hearts of the people. He was an intelligent old Living Buddha, a picture of benevolence, with a great kind face, molded on pontifical lines, and all set for hearty smiles. He was a wonderful storyteller, with sparkling wit and a fetching sense of humor, who had the knack of keeping the fasters listening for two and three hours every day. He expounded his doctrine by means of anecdotes and unusual comparisons, which his uncultivated listeners could grasp, remember, and tell to others. He was a fine teacher.

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The beloved topic of his talk was the life of Buddha, who fled from the luxurious palace of his illustrious parents; his terrifying mortifications and his endless charity, even for tigers and other animals, so that he had allowed himself to be devoured by the hungry tigress in order that she might nourish her cubs; his refusal to enter paradise, in order to remain in and save the world. Another topic was the paradise of Buddha and its oriental splendor where everybody hoped to go eventually; and also that of the eighteen hells, with all the terrifying torments used in the Orient. He used to put stress, in nearly every talk, on the omniscience of the terrible but equitable judge of death, who accepts no bribes, who knows all the merits and demerits of everyone; whose mill of justice grinds, in the most minute way, all our acts and intentions.

All the children knew that the poor in this world are people who are suffering, for their lack of charity in former existences, or for their covetousness or injustices. The topic of the punishments for injustices was one of those most elaborately developed by all the

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directors of the exercises, and their stock of punish- 785
ments for injustices never seemed to be exhausted. 829
People who committed injustices had to repair their 869
faults by being a servant, in their future life, of the person who had suffered on their account, or of being reborn as a donkey, a horse, or an ox, plowing their fields, carrying fertilizer, or harvesting. Even the slightest injustices are not overlooked by the terrible judge, for in order to repair the smallest injustices he makes men and women transmigrate into a hen, laying eggs for years, in behalf of the person who suffered because of them. The topic of reparation for injustices seemed to be an obsession of all the preachers, who seldom hinted at other questions of morals, and so the feeling concerning the widespread rite of repairing injustices, among laymen as well as lamas, and even Hutukhtus, becomes understandable. Never did they hint at the shamanist rites performed in private families.

The topic of the old Li, concerning gentle behavior 538
with animals, was the delight of the fasters, who every year asked him to tell again the marvelous anecdotes he had stored in his repertory concerning the subject, for in his lively telling even old chestnuts took on a new glow. The keen interest of nomads in their animals is a matter of common knowledge. Since the Monguors still love their animals in the way of their ancestors, it is no wonder that they asked for that topic, and that they adored the old Li, whose talks hit straight at their hearts. Below are some of his well-known examples.

In India, an old Living Buddha went every day to 539
preach in monasteries and explain texts. He rode an old elephant which, while the religious exercises of his master lasted, knelt devoutly, listening before the temple gate. The old Living Buddha loved all animals with effusion, and especially his faithful elephant. When the elephant died, the Living Buddha made it reincarnate in a strong boy belonging to a poor family. The heavy boy had the exact gait of an elephant, a big, oval long head, unusually long nose and ears, and an appetite as voracious as that of an elephant. No room was left for doubt; the elephant had reincarnated in a human being. The boy, at the age of seven, became the beloved apprentice of the old Living Buddha. After a few years, the master and his apprentice died at the same time. The reincarnation of the holy man was found in a boy endowed with the same characteristics as an elephant, but in addition he had on the palms of both hands and the soles of his feet the marks of the Buddhist "wheel of life," the characteristic of Living Buddhas. This boy was the genuine incarnation of the holy man who had loved the elephant to such an extent. The new Buddha became as celebrated over all India for his elephant features as for his universal charity, which extended not only to human beings, but even to all animals.

Also in India, a holy lama, very fond of animals, squatted under a tree from dawn to dusk, year after

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allegorical roles, such as the role of a symbol of victory.... He also occurs in Lamaism as a human-faced bird with human hands, but then he appears to be only the adoring figure standing subordinate to another chief figure. When he is the figure of worship, he stands, with outspread arms and wings, facing a dying Mgi, his fangs /talongs?/ piercing her breast. /Cited in German./ The chong live on Mount Sumeru, the T'ou-jen say, although Grunwedel (p. 180), speaking of the inhabitants of Mount Sumeru, does not mention the Garuda among them.

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A young man, Feng-tong-kouo, goes out into the valley every day to pasture his master's horses. Tche-mei-souo, a young wife who lives on the plain, also comes there every day, bringing her sheep. They meet and sit down on the highest mountain, from whence they watch over their herd and flock.... Every day when leaving home, they climb up opposite sides of the mountain to join each other at the top. On the way they pick flowers and cypress branches. Every day they climb the highest peak together to light /53/ a fire there and burn their flowers and cypress branches, adding a pinch of flour made from parched wheat: This is their offering to the spirit Tsang-rtshié; then they prostrate themselves piously....

The husband of the young wife had developed a hatred for the herdsman on the other slope of the mountain. One evening he goes to his home, gets him drunk, and kills him with a dagger blow. When he comes home, he gives his wife the dagger covered with blood. She does not succeed in cleaning it with hot water or with cold. Then, taking saliva, she slowly succeeds. This is a revelation to her. Early in the morning she anxiously climbs the mountain in order to go and see the herdsman. People are already burning his

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539 body without succeeding. The fire goes out continually. She takes
831 her big hairpin and throws it into the fire. The fire flares up and bites the corpse for a moment, then goes out again. She throws on it in turn the copper cup attached to her headdress, her ring, her eardrops; then, taking off all her clothes, she throws them one by one into the fire, and each time the fire burns the corpse a little more. Finally, she jumps into the fire. The fire shoots up, glowing, at once and consumes the two lovers. A tree is seen to come out of the ground at the spot; it has two branches which intertwine but separate above. The husband of the dead wife, in a transport of rage, runs up with his axe to separate the two branches....O, marvel, two wonderful birds fly away from the knot. They were the Chong-[illegible]. (1)

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1. This very old legend is found all over Asia in many various forms. Etudes Asiatiques /Asiatic Studies/, published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Far-Eastern School, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 35, "The Peacocks Flew Away"...[illegible] third-century Chinese poem by d'Aurousseau, and Vol. 1, p. 189, notes 1 and 2, Annamite poem, translated and annotated by G. Cordier.

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533 Another song which the T'ou-jen never fail to sing at a wedding
539 dinner is a Tibetan song. It is enjoyed all the more because it is accompanied by dancing and gestures. It lends itself to a very expressive mimicry. It tells the story of a T'ou-jen Judith. In the T'ou-jen region of Lien-tch'eng the brigand Wang-mang had been terrorizing the region for years. In spite of the magnificent rewards promised by the emperor of China to anyone who could catch him, nobody /54/ was succeeding in taking or killing him; for he was vulnerable only under the armpit. The wife of a T'ou-jen military man by the name of Lou, known in the country for her marvelous beauty, succeeds in seducing Wang-mang, and at night in his tent

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M 675 608 an attempt will be made to demand some kind of compensation from the son-in-law, and the affair will be ended.

The conclusion of the chapter will thus be that we are here in the presence of a deformation of the practice of spending a lifetime, on the part of the son-in-law, in the family of his parents-in-law, for the purpose of obtaining their daughter in marriage.

Mo HM 608 Have the T'ou-jen ever practiced this custom in all its fullness? In principle that is not impossible, since one still sees the Manchu practice it as such today, even while having a patriarchal system and paternal succession. In addition, we know that the Mongols, racial brothers of the T'ou-jen, formerly used to follow this custom and that they still practice it. (1) Next, it is very curious to ascertain how

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1. Vladimirtsov, Life of Ghingis Khan, p. 87: (Yesugey with his son Temuchin (future Ghingis Khan) goes to ask in marriage for the latter Börte, daughter of Dai-se-chen.) The proposal was accepted, Yesugey presented Dai-se-chen with his remount horse, and left Temuchin to stay there in the quality of future son-in-law. This, according to the Mongol custom, definitely confirmed Yesugey's decision to become related to the house of Dai-se-chen /cited in English, with introductory sentence in French in parentheses/.

the T'ou-jen easily adopt it again in all its purity as soon as they find themselves again in a place where it is practiced.

M 361 831 The subprefecture of Koei-tê, situated two days' journey to the south of Sining on the shores of the Yellow River in the middle of Tibetan territory, forming there a prosperous Chinese-T'ou-jen oasis, has for a long time been the place of refuge for T'ou-jen who fled with someone else's wife with the intention of never returning to their

/120 cont'd/

361 place of origin.' Now among the T'ou-jen of this area, a good many
331 have come to practice again the former custom of husband-sons-in-
law practiced by the Tibetans, their neighbors. As soon as they ar-
608 rive in the region they no longer give their daughters in marriage out-
184 side the house, but they seek a /121/ husband-son-in-law for them;
583 on the other hand, they send their sons to become husband-sons-in-
law in other families. Among many of these T'ou-jen, the sons no longer enjoy even the right of inheritance in their own family, where the daughters have become the sole heirs; in other families they continue to inherit beside their sisters. They are thus passing through a period of transition. One T'ou-jen family after the other adopts the customs of the Tibetans, at first some of the customs and only in part, and gradually they become Tibetanized. Besides, it is a fact that the Tibetan environment is not disagreeful to them, and that T'ou-jen girls given in marriage to Tibetans quickly feel at home.

562 The T'ou-jen of the Sining region, speaking of their brothers
184 of Koei-tê, say, laughing, that among the latter the wife is owner
177 and mistress of the home, niu-jen tang ts'ai, that the men do not count there; that there are women there who themselves send away their husbands, that women are found there who have more than one husband, and that the old men there are to be pitied. Thus Tibetan customs.

178 How must one explain the deformation of the practice of
608 husband-sons-in-law among the T'ou-jen?
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First, it is necessary to know that the Mohammedan revolutions decimated the T'ou-jen population in Kansu. Some T'ou-jen, in order to remake their groups and get rents for their lands, accepted in their clans numerous heterogeneous Chinese and Tibetan elements; other T'ou-jen headmen never succeeded in rebuilding the ruins. Add to that the use of opium which especially undermined the families of the headmen and put them in debt and impoverished them; it is thus not surprising that the power and also the influence of the t'ou-
[622] se were decidedly impaired. The prime blow of all was more and more frequent recourse to Chinese magistrates on the part of the T'ou-jen. In the old days, say the elders, the t'ou-se alone was

[213 cont.]

782 The pig offering proceeds like the sheep offering, however little appropriate the procedure is for this animal. -- The hen offering is done without much ceremony. The animal's head is cut or twisted off, the hen is swung around in a circle so that the blood squirts around, and then it is allowed to fly. I do not know whether the hen is consumed later. It certainly did not happen in several cases observed.

778 The animal-consecration is already unequivocally an
782 offering in that the animal is given up by human beings as a voluntary gift to a god and normally may not be used any more.

I could confirm nothing about a human consecration, which Mostaert (DMF, p. 371 under ʼdien) mentions, unless the shaman consecration is meant, or the recommendation of a child to a tutelary spirit whose name it later bears. In any event the vow
[831] of virginity could be regarded as an offering to heaven, as a sign
[302] of which a girl lets her hair fall down freely; cf. DMF, p. 103.
[588] One can also include its counterpart, namely, the marriage of a girl with heaven, whose sign is the "heavenly hairdo"; cf. Schram, Mariage, pp. 127 ff.

[214] Recipients of the Offering

782 To what extent heaven has a share in all offerings and
776 what offerings are reserved for it will be discussed below. The pig is inadmissible as an offering for the higher deities (except for the earth), and the hen likewise. They are the sacrificial animals for lower gods and demons.

Whether there is an actual offering to the demons is questionable. In the case of the ceremonies dealing with the evil spirits, for instance, the demon-escort, the figure-litter, the various tormas, etc., one regards the accompanying gifts, designated as rdzē, as things that the demon needs or likes, for example, the riding animal, the clothes, the money, the wool, etc. Furthermore, aside from the intent to appease and to satisfy, there is also a certain contempt for the demon connected with these gifts, in that raw flesh, leeks, beans, and unclean intestines are offered to it, as though to a wild bestial creature.

[231 cont.]
776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieńgëre dardzia, heaven has
punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means
[192] literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly
horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolgue dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike
a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard
before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first
place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the
Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without
burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as
concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is
sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and
shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair.
(Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.)
Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness:
"We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge
tieńgërni amudadzi, nigë nisëni dzawa dañlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is
regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram,
op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called
in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this
marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). --
The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to
[831] heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzūn
tieńgërde fdzë bōlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down
for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception
of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of
rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

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Sodalities, most of them for women, are organized [575] in every village. The members convene to recite the Om Mani as they circle the Bumkhang[3] of the village 781 all day. 788 Whenever a Monguor is in serious trouble, he prays Om Mani, and when a happy event occurs, he gives thanks by Om Mani. Supposedly, all kinds of evil are dispelled and all blessings obtainable by Om Mani.

Monguor families place in the center of their court- 778 yards a high pole with a small flag flying from atop it. Om Mani and other prayers are printed on the flag as an offering, day and night, by the family to Buddha. Prayer wheels, containing hundreds of repetitions of Om Mani printed on paper, are moved by water power, so that Om Mani will be offered continually, as the wheels revolve.

The Monguors have used their Om Mani to such an 781 extent that its true meaning no longer exists. A farmer 788 becoming angry at the lazy oxen, while plowing his fields, will beat them and swear furiously with a well-articulated Om Mani; gamblers, on losing the game, their patience wearing thin, will say Om Mani in a blasphemous tone. While weeding fields, if a lascivious song is enjoyed, farmers say Om Mani, meaning the song is well sung. When a smutty joke is told, lis- [522 teners will say Om Mani, laughing, to indicate it is a 831] good joke. It is said that thieves and robbers say Om Mani as an aid to their practice of larceny. Foreign travelers jest that, if robbers kill their victim, he will have the consolation, when dying, of hearing the killer saying Om Mani. Om Mani can be and is offered under all circumstances: riding horseback, working in the fields or at home, while laughing, gambling, singing, conducting business, and even sleeping.

The Monguor's fondness for and promiscuous use of Om Mani has reduced it to a mockery of its original intent. Nevertheless, it is in fact most often used as a real prayer.

The Monguors are not ashamed to pray in public, to

[3] A structure at the entrance to the village to prevent the [104] entrance of evil influences.

[p. 5(8)]

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with a burning ram's horn. He was carried outside the 792
monastery wall by lamas. Ashes were spread all the 627
way along in order to prevent his "spirit" from finding 684
the way back to harm the lamasery. A large group of 681
lamas followed. He was thrown on the ground, stripped
of all his garments, amid the shouts of the lamas and
the long blare of trumpets, and the group returned to
the monastery without looking back. A round mark [685]
is burned on thieves. It is impossible for those so
marked to enter any monastery.

At the time of the festival at Erh-ku-lung in 1912, 792
three young lamas molested a young lady, causing her 684
death. They fled the same night. The whole village 682
of Too-long accused the monastery at Hsining, which
was unable to trace the murderers and had to pay
an indemnity of 3,000 taels, after spending far more at
court. The whole country was bursting with righteous [627]
indignation. It was a tremendous loss of face for the
lamasery.

Lamas not only lack the vow of obedience, but also 792
the vow of poverty. It has been explained how lamas 511
retain their own wealth and the means they use for increasing it.[27] Among the lamas are rich individuals enjoying a happy life, possessing a beautiful courtyard, clothed with silk and brocade, riding the finest horses and mules of the country, served by as many lamas as they wish, and there are poor individuals who have trouble making both ends meet—ill fed, ill clothed, working the whole day. Nobody takes care of them because wealth is a personal matter, and no vow of poverty exists. It has been explained how the lack of the vow of poverty is responsible in a large part for the loss of spirit in the monastic life, and how from this lack originate most of the vices encountered among the lamas and the ruination of monasteries.

Lamas lack the vow of chastity, for chastity reaches 792
farther than celibacy. The Buddhists know this very 831
well and the texts prove it.[28]

The reform of Tsong-khapa, the founder of the Yellow Sect, aimed at return to the traditional monastic [185]
life, based on celibacy and serious study. The sense of the necessity of celibacy still seems to prevail among the Monguor lamas. This assumption seems evidenced by the facts that the communities of lamas bring suit at Chinese courts against even supreme chiefs of lamaseries, and intendants who betray their vows, as was the case with the Living Buddhas Sumpa, Lu-chia, and Min-chu-erh, and even with Li, the intendant of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu. It was the same with the Living Buddha Seerting who was caught red-handed by the

[27] The wealth possessed by a lama, his courtyard, etc. are inherited by his apprentice; in case he dies without having an apprentice, his wealth is sold by the intendancy; prayers are said by the lamas and alms given to them. If a lama who is proprietor of a courtyard marries, his courtyard is taken by the intendancy.

[28] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Morale bouddhique*, 79, Paris, Librairie Nationale, 1927.

[p.72(A)]

villagers, who also did not permit such liberties to Living Buddhas. Feeling the stigma attached to his exposure, he committed suicide. It also seems to be evidenced by the fact that penalties are still inflicted upon lamas, in the crudest forms, for infraction of this rule. This stigma is still attached to those who fail to meet their moral obligations. 772 831 [762]

The reform by means of serious study, however, seems to be a failure among the Monguor lamas of the present times. Among so many Monguor Living Buddhas and lamas, only the Living Buddha Chao-hsi of Kumbum enjoyed some repute, but in order to cause the lamas to attend his instructions, special benefits had to be provided for them. Very few among the Living Buddhas and lamas are interested in study at the present time, and, having nothing to occupy them all day, become involved in vice. Army officers and directors of schools are aware of the necessity of keeping young folk busy the whole day long, alternating fixed jobs with recreation. The lamas, however, except for attendance at the morning convention, which lasts only an hour, have to kill time making their own living. [185] 772 461

In the whole region of Hsining not a single school has been established by the rich monasteries, in order to promote the instruction of the Monguors and the Tibetans. Even at present in the lamaseries not a single elementary school exists for the lama boys, and no religious education is given to them. Not a single lama takes care of the spiritual needs and instruction of the adherents to their religion who live in a given area. Not a single hospital has been founded in order to assuage the pains and sufferings of the sick Monguors and Tibetans. The universal charity of Lamaism does not consist in love for one's neighbor, but in a platonic compassion for the universal sufferings of humanity and of all living things and for the impermanence of all existing beings. Lamas are not sisters of charity; they pass the sick draped in their cloak of indifference.[29] 772 871

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[29] Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, 373, notes: "Among Buddhist believers there has been scarcely anyone who has ever given any thought to social problems. The priests of ancient times were generally recluses who paid no attention whatever to the application of their religion to the needs of the practical world or to making the principles of true Buddhism as distinct as possible." 792 [771] 175

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist, conversant with the Tibetan language and literature, went to Tibet to study Lamaism, and wrote an instructive note on Lamaism (p. 410). "I confine myself only to a popular exposition of the subject. Lamaism is constituted by two main branches; the older, the 'red cap sect' subdivided into many branches, and the later, the 'yellow cap sect.' They all agree upon cardinal points and in the formula for attaining perfection. The founder of the old sect was a Tantric priest, 'Lobon Padma Chungne' born in Cabul. He enjoined on his disciples the practices of flesh-eating, marriage, and drinking liquors, in order to attain Buddhahood . . . details I cannot give, for they are full of obscenity. The old sect, extremely popular in Tibet, has undergone considerable modification by lamas. . . . I note the reaction against the old sect by Atisha [from India, eleventh century], later by Tsong Khapa [fifteenth century]. The principle of Tsong Khapa was that priesthood must stand on asceticism. Therefore he urged

[p.72 (8)]

swer: the galaxy. Who walks on the milky way? Yu 796
Huang,[7] preceded by the green dragon and the White 756
Tiger. Under the bridge is there still another bridge
or not? The dangerous bridge leading to Hell, over [775]
which passes the king of Hell, Erlik, preceded by the spirit with the head of a cow and the spirit with the head of a horse, and where spirits are waiting, who devour passing souls. What is our bridge? The bridge of the spirits.

The building of the bridge of the spirits and the con- 796
fused explanations of the shamans, mixed with Taoist, 756
shamanist, and Bön principles, reveals, nevertheless, 772
the philosophy claiming the existence of three worlds: 779
the upper, middle, and lower worlds, each with its own population.[8] A hint has already been given of this philosophy, in describing the rite of the stretched goat skin and the molding of clay figures, etc. At any rate the bridge provides a wonderful opportunity for the shamans to display their philosophical abilities and their proficiency in the art of telling of the nine and more heavens, one more beautiful than the other; the eighteen hells, dark and terrifying; the severe judgments after death presided over by Erlik or the Chinese Yen wang; the explanation of the three souls; shamans flying on drums to heaven, are unique occasions for story-tellers, sparkling with wit, to reap big successes.

At that time, shamans never fail to explain the ap- 776
pointment of their ancestor shaman by Chiang Tze-ya 538
as servant of the god of the Five Roads; they never fail to narrate captivating episodes from the epic of Gesar. All kinds of problems are dealt with, and a lot of fun is had. The most ridiculous answers are given to the most ridiculous questions. One shaman asks for the explanation of why in each wheat grain there is always a small groove? The answer is that in the beginning of the world there was no wheat. Tengri made a wheat grain, but it seemed to be too big; with the nail of his right thumb he parted the grain in two parts. Still it seemed to be too big, and so he parted it again and then a third time. The fourth time, just when he was about to cut the grain in two parts again, it appeared to be all right without cutting through it, so he left the grain only half cut through, and so all grains of wheat have a little groove in them. This story was told to me several times by children who attended the meeting and said that the shaman told them so.

Another story, which gives us a better insight into 796
the nature of that kind of meeting, is told when a sha- 756
man is asked at what time and why men started seducing 831 ●
women, and women started eloping? An interesting 773
sociological and moral question! Tengri wanted to have men and women. After kneading red earth and water a whole day, he moulded seven men; then he

[7] The most popular god of modern China who received letters patent from the Emperor in A.D. 1017. Wieger, *Textes historiques, op. cit.*, 1846.

[8] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 138. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

[p. 110 (B)]

took straw, and with fine cord tied it in the shape of 796
seven women. The fourteen manikins were put in the 756
sun to dry into shape; the tengris went to sleep. Erlik, 831
chief of the underworld and antagonist of the Tengri, 773
made a terrific storm rage and one of the straw ladies finally blew away. When these thirteen figures came to life, one of the men was lacking a wife. Monguors enjoy this story and ask the shamans to tell it every year. Another of the big subjects dealt with at the meetings is that of bad dreams. Because the meetings often end in telling smutty and filthy stories, women in many villages do not attend the evening meetings. The shamans at that time compete with one another for winning the highest marks in that kind of virtuosity. Often the chiefs of the villages, when they invite the shamans, enjoin them not to go beyond certain limits.

When the meeting starts to drag, the chief of the 756
shamans makes preparations for the leave-taking of the 796
spirits. The shamans perform a dance, while the audience kneels. The shaman again enjoins the people to ask for benedictions. He has a last talk with the spirits, thanks them for the visit, reminding them of their promises, and invites them ceremoniously, one after another, to return to their splendid abodes calling them by the most pompous titles. Firecrackers are set off, and shamans dance; the people prostrate themselves and the spirits go back along the rope to their abodes.

While the shaman throws three handfuls of wheat and jujubes into the air, the people try to catch them, as they fall, in their skirts; they mix them with the seeds for next year. A hard pull on the rope fixed on the pole breaks the bag containing jujubes made with dough, coins, and peas. Everybody tries to grab a couple of them, for having been touched by the coming and going of the spirits they enjoy their celebrated magical power. Sick persons eat them in order to be healed, and women so as to become pregnant. The fork with the two rolls is unbalanced; the rolls fall and are picked up; they are reduced to crumbs and are panaceas against all kind of ailments.

NURTURING OF THE GODS OF THE TEMPLE

This rite is the last one and may be the most im- [776]
portant. The shamans explain that the spirits in the 796
temples are to be nurtured once a year, in order that 756
they may be able to protect the village against hail. 782
Here the split personality of the Monguor shamans shows up in its crudest reality.

The shamans explain, and the Monguors strongly believe their explanation, that in former times a human sacrifice was urged every year by the spirits. Other shamans say that the sacrifice was needed only every seven years, in order to ward off hail, epidemics, epizootics, etc.[9] The present rite takes the place of the

[9] This tradition, concerning the yearly human sacrifice demanded by the spirits, seems to point to the fact that in old

[p. 111 (A)]

621 stream must be kept in repair by all the people using the water of the canal throughout its length. If section
312 *B*, the middle section of the canal, is to be repaired, the people of section *A* are not concerned. The people of the villages along sections *B* and *C* must do all the work. If section *C* is damaged, the villagers of that section must do all the work alone. Yet there are times when most of the damage is along the lowest section, and the people, getting no help from their upstream neighbors, harbor resentment.

621 Each village is allotted a fixed number of days for the use of water for irrigation. In times of drought, villages
312 will open their outlets from the main canals at night when it is not their turn for water in order to steal
628 water from the section whose turn it is, pretending that the dams broke. It is not uncommon for fights to break out over water-stealing, giving rise to long-lasting and bitter feuds between villages. When there is trouble over water the chiefs and elders of villages not involved in the case are invited to act as arbiters. If the damage done is not too serious, a dinner is given by the offenders and apologies are made; but if the damage is too great, the offending village is required to pay part of the taxes due to the T'u-ssu from the plaintiff village. Even such a settlement, however, may become the beginning of a feud.

621 Minor causes of friction between villages are the stealing of sheaves from the autumn harvest by poor
628 people or, in the spring and summer, damage to the crops of one village by straying animals from another
778 village. The chiefs of the villages concerned patch up such petty troubles without need for arbitration. Every village raises a sacred animal, usually a Tibetan bull yak or a he-goat. These animals are allowed to roam freely and to trespass on fields, and nobody complains of the damage they cause to crops. After a few years, however, a bull begins to turn savage, and sometimes injures people. In 1914 the bull of the village of Narin ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Lungta, who was working in the fields. The village of Narin made apologies, indemnified the family, and killed the bull. The meat was offered to the village of the man who was killed, because the people of a village are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. No further trouble followed from this incident.

628 There is a strict custom that it is not allowed to sing lascivious songs inside a village. The young people of
● 834 villages that are not friendly sometimes sing such songs
533 in order to tease their neighbors, and fights break out; but if the chiefs of both villages concerned punish the youngsters, there are no further consequences.

628 In summary, it may be said that there are few serious quarrels between villages, except those over canals and irrigation water; in regions where irrigation is not used, in the so-called "dry land," serious quarrels never break out between villages.

[p. 81a]

858 family, give them strength and courage in the struggle
596 for the necessities of life, and finally, as I always observed, the love of the grandparents for their grandchildren holds the family united, because only when the grandparents love their children can the daughters-in-law, who are so numerous in the family, forgive each other's and the grandparent's shortcomings and deficiencies. Love for the children is the oil that makes the wheels of the Monguor family turn smoothly. No Monguor can withstand the love displayed for his children.

MORALITY IN THE MONGUOR FAMILY

592 It is a general phenomenon that husbands and wives
577 who really enjoy the delights of a happy family life do not feel the need of indulging themselves with pleasures shocking to each other's feelings. People engrossed the whole year long with the problem of making ends meet, dispose of little time to spend in that way and cannot afford its costs. In order to understand the problem we must take stock of the peculiar conditions under which the members of an extended family live. The sons, with their wives and children, live in the same courtyard, one next to the other, with the chief of the family and his wife among them. Permission for absence must be granted by the chief of the extended family, and because there is only one small gate to enter the courtyard, every visitor is instantly noticed, the reasons for his visit are discussed by all the daughters-in-law, and the length of his stay is well observed. Every one in the courtyard is the guardian of the other members of the family, and so the opportunity for misbehavior at home is reduced to a minimum. These are the conditions of every extended family. There is no secrecy. They live in glass houses. The opportunity for misbehavior in small families consisting of husband, wife, and small children is greater, although these families have next door neighbors whose tongues they cannot prevent from wagging. A married daughter who visits her parents, sometimes for many weeks, is more free since her parents do not have as much commanding influence upon her as when she was a child. Very long visits of married daughters at the home of their parents are discouraged by the older people, who seem to know more about the matter. Attendance at the public meetings when such problems are tackled in the presence of all the very interested villagers and the infliction of dishonorable punishments undoubtedly have a salutary and preventive effect upon the people; but in the Monguor society, as in all other societies, it happens that once in a while somebody falls from grace.

• 834 It is not allowed to the young folk to tell smutty jokes in public or to sing lascivious songs in the village; at weeding time, however, obscene songs are sung in the open fields and allowance seems to be made for that custom. At public festivities, at the lamaseries and at the general assembly of the clan, men and women are

[P. 110a]

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used to sing and to dance. It is not at such times that regrettable things happen; but at night, when the festivities are over and most of the people have returned home, it is not unusual to see young couples scatter into the surrounding countryside, into valleys in retired places, and to hear them sing the whole night long, answering each other's songs, each couple hidden in its own place. Allowance seems to be made for such customs at such times; but necessarily these groups are not numerous, for mothers with children have to go home and to take care for them, and all Monguors have children. The morality of the Monguors, who live in villages and are occupied with farming, is undoubtedly on a higher standard than that of the nomad Mongols. Monguor families on the average seemed to me to be happy families that worked hard but enjoyed life.

VI. MONGUOR ECONOMIC LIFE

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An analysis of the economic life of the Monguors must begin by taking into account the shift from pastoral nomadism to settled farming. The shift probably began gradually when the Mongol conquests in 1275 drove the Tibetans back along the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, and the ancestors of the Monguors occupied the country and began to amalgamate with the Shat'o Turks who were already there. Specific historical data for the Mongol period are scarce, though we know that in 1287 a son-in-law of Chingis Khan, whose Chinese name was Chang Ch'i, was made governor of the region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 8*b*). We know also that the ancestors of the Monguors began to submit to the new Chinese Ming dynasty in 1368–1373, that each T'u-ssu and his clan were then allotted a fixed territory, and that, between 1368 and 1399, 7,200 Chinese families were sent as military colonists to this frontier (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, p. 15*a*).

THE HISTORICAL SHIFT FROM PASTORALISM TO FARMING

The next important date is 1509 when the Mongols of the Kukunor plateau of Tibet began to disturb the frontier with their inroads. From then on all through the period of decline of the Ming dynasty and the wars and disturbances that attended the founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644 and right up to the great Tibetan uprising of 1723 this frontier country was never long at peace. It was during this long and troubled period that walled towns and villages were built for better defense. We may well assume that it was during this period that the number of livestock decreased, partly because of the border raids and partly because of the difficulty of maintaining large herds in the relatively small side valleys inhabited by the Monguors, with the consequence that the Monguors became more and more dependent on the farms adjacent to their fortified villages.

[P. 110 b]

/129 cont'd/

562 speak, and when she has a son, then the brothers of the deceased will
588 not have the right to demand his property for themselves. In addition,
593 these same brothers who would not permit their brother to bequeath his property to his daughter and a son-in-law not adopted into the clan recognize the right of inheritance of a niece married to a prayer pole and of her children.

As long as the girl-mother stays home with her children, it is rare that difficulties arise; but often the situation changes when the woman is married at a "second" wedding /130/ and her children are still young. Then the woman's uncles, if she has no brothers, or these brothers if she has any, try to make her take her children with her and have them adopted by the new husband. They want to secure the property of the brother for themselves; for the property of the clan cannot pass to another clan. If the sons of the girl-mother are married at the time when she marries for the second time, there is no longer anything to fear for their rights. Let us note again that for these women, when they later remarry someone of their choice, there is no festivity as at the marriage of girls; they are satisfied with inviting a few neighbors. The second marriage can, in a way, be compared to a widow's marriage; however, such a woman will never have to fear being abducted.

The present case then is very strange in a society which, today, has strictly paternal descent. The fact that these rights are universally recognized is a sign that they date from far back; also the T'ou-jen cannot explain their origin and simply admit the fact.

B. Marriages to a Belt

588 These marriages, although they are as abnormal as those of the
184 preceding series, nevertheless seem to constitute a separate series.
574 First, they are practiced less than those we have just described, and
● 837 then their origin does not seem to be the same. They find their explanation in the custom of offering, for the night, a girl or a woman to a passing guest; in short, it is prostitution for the sake of hospitality. (1)

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1. Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 140: Guest Prostitution. Guest prostitution, which is found among the polar peoples, also belongs in the same category. It is the custom of giving guests not only accommodations and lodgings, but in addition putting the wife or daughter at their disposal for sexual relations. It is very widespread among the polar peoples, although it is not characteristic. I have found no report of it among the central North Asiatics, with the exception of the Tungus. /Cited in German./

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This kind of marriage is practiced more where there is /131/ no son, but only a nubile daughter who has not yet been given in marriage. These are therefore very rare cases. This custom is again a way for the parents to keep their daughter with them; the daughter can in this way know the advantages of motherhood while taking care of her parents; the latter on their part will not have to be exposed to the risks inherent in the practice of husband-sons-in-law. This is the explanation given by the T'ou-jen.

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When the father offers his daughter to some passing guest, the latter must give his belt in exchange and leave it with the girl. The importance attached to the belt has never been explained. We have met the belt twice before in the marriage of widows. The guest goes away in the morning and will perhaps never come back; but if the girl is found pregnant, they make her new clothes as well as a married woman's hat; they comb her hair in the bride's style, they invite several neighbors, they put the belt on red felt spread out on the ground. The girl kneels and makes the great prostration to the belt, to her parents, and to those present, saying that she is the wife of the guest. Later, she will give her child the name of the guest and will herself be called by the same name by all the neighbors, although perhaps she will never see this passing traveler again. The

/135 cont'd/

586 and will if need be help her in the task. Thus the wife maintains face; she will be able to say that she did not want her husband any more, and he will not have any difficulties with his wife's family either, since it is the daughter who wanted to go away. In the end, the husband will even profit greatly by the sale of his wife. On the other hand, if the wife insists on not wanting to look for another match, the husband will be patient and will not resort to repudiation except as a last extreme. That is the ordinary course of the preambles to divorce.

/136/ 2. Causes of Divorce

593 The causes of divorce appear to be more or less numerous.
586 The primary and most ordinary cause is certainly interest in another person, which brings on mutual and daily increasing aversion between the husband and wife. A wife can fall and that is understood; the husband will even allow his wife not to come home at night from time to time, for he himself does not come home regularly every evening, either. Grounds for divorce require regular and therefore public relations.

626 Do not think, however, that husbands give complete freedom
837 to their wives; do not believe that all husbands are indifferent to
539 these things. They tell about a good many cases in which the wife and her lover, having been surprised at night, were tied together or tied to a stake, beaten, etc., by the heads of the village with whom
837 the husband had lodged a complaint. The families of the guilty ones
672 were called, they had to act as guarantors for their members; then the guilty man had to offer his apologies to the injured husband and give him a pig, a sheep, etc. The level of morality among the T'ou-jen has not yet fallen so low that they no longer know their duties and rights in these matters. So it is not rare to see a husband beat his wife and to hear the wife, on her knees, beg her husband, "Big brother, pardon me this time; big brother, treat me with indulgence this time, that won't happen any more." Now one does not ask pardon and one does not allow oneself to be beaten when one's conscience is clear.

N over his sister's children. His rights in this regard are manifested
*563 mainly in three cases: (1) upon the natural death of his sister's
M children, they cannot be buried without his permission. The
604 maternal uncle is considered "master of the bones" of the deceased, and has the right to permit the burial, to impede it or to prevent it. (2) If they have been murdered or have committed suicide, he is required to initiate and execute vengeance for the blood of his sister's child. (3) When they are subject to punishment for violating the society's rules, the maternal uncle must punish the children of his sister. Such punishment may range from capital to very minor forms.

N Divorce is extremely rare among the Mongours. So, too, are
*563 cases of repudiation or desertion by the husband. Schram does
M not mention the way in which a divorce is finalized, nor how long
586 a waiting period, if any, after divorce before remarriage is permitted.

N Cases of adultery are extremely rare in Mongour society.
*563 The people are engrossed constantly with the problem of making
M a living, and they have little time for complicated affairs. The
• 837 close physical proximity of life in an extended family makes it extremely difficult for anyone's lengthy absence or a stranger's presence in the home to go unnoticed. Schram concludes that

M "The morality of the Mongours who live in villages and are occu-
[577] pied with farming, is undoubtedly on a higher standard than that
[184] of the nomad Mongols. Mongour families on the average seemed
[114] to me to be happy families that work hard but enjoy life."

[207 cont.]
775 hairdress," through which a girl is wedded to heaven and is no
776 longer burdened with the contempt suffered by unmarried women
[589] (see above). The fear of the female demon-souls [208] is also
[588] widespread among the Chinese, and there is only one way of
[171] being safe from them: the cremation. In the customs of the Tsinghai Chinese, this fear and contempt have their basis in the Buddhist conception that a woman is an unclean being and that this uncleanness is only removed through the man and his descendants. This attitude is strengthened through the fervent desire for sons and grandsons, which again is connected with the ancestor cult. These Buddhistic motives are certainly also decisive in part among the Tujen. Among them, too, the
[562] woman is regarded as unclean, even if not so harshly as among
[783] the Chinese. The veneration of the ancestors plays scarcely any role. Nonetheless, uncleanness and demonism are closely
[841] connected. A very common expression runs: pudaǵ ilie, unclean demon; a woman is also pudaǵ during her period.

The demon soul therefore seems to stand in a special relationship with the female principle. This suggests the surmise that it represents the flesh-(body)-soul in the human being, which stands in contrast to the bone-soul. In northeastern Tibet and elsewhere one encounters the conception that the bones of a person come from the man and the flesh from the woman. Among the Tujen, however, this relationship is difficult to determine
[614] because it is precisely the bone-soul that is related so closely to the mother's clan. This does not, it is true, exclude an individual assignment to the man (father), but it does not permit it to make its appearance through this unquestionably matriarchal trait.

775 From everything, one can see that the Tujen are little concerned about the after-life of the soul and the beyond. To them it is enough if they are left in peace on earth. The Buddhist conceptions are more theoretical. In actuality one not infrequently encounters a this-worldly fatalism which expresses itself in the saying: "Our life does not have much meaning"
[171] (literally: we have lived in vain). Even if the conception of the
[769] soul has much similarity to that of the Chinese, the Tujen

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

843 society are naturally reflected in popular religion. Spe-
562 cial deities in the lama monasteries are supposed to be interested in these affairs of mankind. The Monguors often invite lamas to help them with prayers, make vows to go on pilgrimages to far distant monasteries if they
842 are granted a son, and give alms lavishly. Their religious interpretation is that lack of sons is a punishment for sins of the parents in previous incarnations. The condition of a childless woman is pitiable—she is always despondent and dejected and drags out a miserable existence. Not having a son means having no stake in the family and society in which she lives. Her life is lonely, for it is not easy for a childless woman to make friends. I have often had a mother come to me with her childless daughter-in-law, kneeling, weeping, and begging for medicine that will make the girl bear a child, repeating over and over again "Father, the ancestors will have no one to sacrifice to them, the family will have no posterity." Such pitiful scenes gave me an understanding of the social outlook of the people among whom I lived; I could even understand why they indulged in polygamy.

Childlessness is not common among the Monguors, however. On the contrary, a Monguor woman will frequently have six or more surviving children—an astonishingly large number, considering the great amount of hard work that the mother has to do and the fact that, owing to ignorance of the most elementary rules of hygiene, lack of doctors, and miscarriages, fully a third of the children die in early infancy. The Monguors are in fact much more prolific than their kinsmen who are still nomads. One reason for this may be the fact that they live in houses while the children of nomads living in tents
842 are more exposed to variations of temperature. Prob-
164 ably a more important reason is that there is less venereal disease among the Monguors than among nomads. The lamas, most of whom are promiscuous in spite of their vows, and great carriers of venereal disease, have less opportunity to indulge themselves in the crowded and public dwellings of the Monguors than they do among the scattered tents of the nomads.[24] The neighboring Tibetans have a very high opinion of the prolificness of the Monguors. When they are childless, they prefer to adopt a Monguor boy rather than one of their own stock, and they like to marry Monguor girls because they bear
597 more children. The Monguors have no objection to giving a girl to a Tibetan family, especially if it is a rich family.

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[24] In view of the fact that venereal disease is much less common, and families much larger, among the settled agricultural Mongols of southern and eastern Inner Mongolia than among the nomad Mongols, it is also probable that the transition from nomadism to agriculture among the Monguors has led to a stricter morality. When land becomes the principal form of property, the man who owns land wants to make sure that the son who inherits it is his legitimate son, whereas among pastoral Mongols a son, regardless of legitimacy, is a new herdsman, making it possible to look after an increased number of stock.—O. L.

[P. 99-b]

Mo 595 /100 cont'd/
the land is limited and rather poor. Now to procure for oneself two wives, maintain them, and raise the children who will be born is assuredly a heavy burden. It will therefore be necessary either to have the means and be more or less rich, or to be forced to it by circumstances. This is what we shall ascertain while examining the various categories of polygamists.

Let us always keep in mind the fact that since polygamy is not at all reprehensible in the eyes of the T'ou-jen, one sees it practiced by the most respectable people.

Is the number of wives limited? How many wives /101/ could one take and still remain an upright man in the eyes of the people? This is an idle question; I know of only a few cases of T'ou-jen who had three wives. I have never heard it said that a T'ou-jen went beyond this number.

2. The Four Categories of Polygamists

Mo 595 842 a) The first category of polygamists includes sterile couples. One sees polygamy where there are no children or where there is a scarcity of children. The necessity of having male children takes precedence over everything in T'ou-jen life. It is this way of thinking which gives the courage to live more poorly, sharing the daily bread, which is already very scarce, with a new life partner; it is again this way of thought which persuades the official wife and makes her allow the husband to take another partner. At the time of family disputes the sterility of the wife is the decisive argument to make her listen to reason and to preach patience and harmony in the family. Thus as a general rule, although the economic condition of the family permits it ever so little, a sterile couple will see a second wife added. (1). Fortunately, sterility always remains the

Mo 595 842

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64:
Generally speaking the Manchus do not consider polygamy as a good institution, except in the case of the woman's

/101 cont'd/

Ma 595 842

sterility. In such case both wives are called "grand wife" in opposition to the concubines called "secret (to be hidden) young wife." /Cited in English./

Mo 595 842

exception.

Therefore in well-off families polygamy will often be seen where there are only one or two daughters; and at the same time one will not always meet two wives in rich families where there are very few children. How can one explain these facts?

Mo 593 171

It is that polygamy among the T'ou-jen remains in practice a very delicate and complex problem. In the family circle the T'ou-jen wife occupies a position much more important than the one which the Chinese wife occupies; in addition T'ou-jen family /102/ life is more intimate than Chinese family life. It proceeds from there that the T'ou-jen wife has more influence on the husband than her Chinese sister has. As schools are rare and intellectual formation among the men is almost nil, the wife will not be inferior to men in that direction. Let us suppose now that she has been able to make herself more or less appreciated by her husband, or let us suppose that having one or two children she is categorically opposed to the introduction of a second wife into the home; or let us suppose that she has won over to her side her /his?/ own parents and that they show themselves displeased with the project; or let us suppose that the wife suggests the word suicide... and then how many suppositions are still possible when one knows that the heart of a jealous woman is an inexhaustible source of expedients... and we shall understand that in practice polygamy bristles with numberless difficulties. As a general rule, if there are no serious motives which enter into it, like sterility or one of the causes explained below: a simple stray impulse, a desire of the lower instinct, even wealthiness, these alone are not enough for practicing polygamy.

Mo 595 589

b) The second category of polygamists: widows, or the levirate.

The feast is celebrated all over the country. The 756
Kurtain is dressed by the lamas in a splendid, long green 579
gown with large sleeves, cut according to the style of the gown worn by Taoist priests. On his back are fixed a couple of small flags, and on his head he wears a helmet. He wears a sword, and holds in his hands a bow and three arrows. He is costumed like the warriors often seen in the theatrical exhibitions performed by Chinese actors.

The Living Buddha Kortong, incarnation of the deity, opened the pageant in the main temple, sitting on his throne presiding over the ceremony. The lamas, cross-legged, sat in a circle in the temple. The Kurtain sat on his low Chinese table in the center of the gathering of the monks with his legs sprawled wide apart. The throng crowded into the forecourt, following the display by looking through the open doors of the temple. The lamas started singing in unison the *swork'a*, and the Kurtain shook his head, ringing his small bells. Becoming excited, he danced his furious dance, worked himself into a frenzy, and played with his sword, whip, and dagger. Then he ran out of the temple, shot three arrows in the air, drank a draught of ox blood out of a bucket and spat it on some handfuls of barley which he threw in the direction of the audience, who tried to catch them in the skirts of their gowns. These grains are supposed to cure all kinds of illness and procure [942] ●
fertility for the women. However, the grains once they fall on the ground lose their magical efficacy.

Then followed the customary questions. The Kurtain all of a sudden again became so mad and wild as to unsheath his sword, and killed an employee of the tribunal of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung, who was attending the show. The Kurtain fled after his savage exploit and disappeared. The lamasery was saddled with the trouble and had to pay a very substantial indemnity. This fact, well known all over the country, is always recalled when Monguors talk about the violence and ferocity of the possessed Kurtains. It is no wonder that, during the exhibitions of Kurtains in the village temples, some people are often frightened out of their wits, take to their heels in panic, and leave the temple.

It happens more often that the Kurtain troubles the 756
feast of the spring, performed by shamans in the village. 578
At the moment when the people are devoutly and happily listening to the prophesies of the shamans, concerning the auspicious prospects for the harvest, a Kurtain arises and furiously asserts that his spirit has revealed to him that terrible hailstorms will destroy the crops of the village. In the southern valley, in the village called "the Eleventh House of the Li T'u-ssu," in 1914, a serious fight started between the shamans and the Kurtain, who was carried away unconscious. The Kurtain brought suit against the shamans at the Chinese court. The prefect delegated the guild of the Taoist priests to settle this matter between religious people.

[p. 93 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

If, however, black and white rites do not work, the Monguors call for the Taoist priest, who paints all the items used (the wood, etc.), with a coat of goat blood. He binds the logs in a bundle by means of goat guts, and sprinkles goat blood upon the burning fire. The rite is called the "red Wei-sang." 372 789

These facts give evidence of the importance attached by the Monguors to the fire for purifying from uncleanliness and preventing harm caused by evil spirits. They show their devotion for the fire by having a big cypress fire kindled during the performance of religious rites and the most important moments of life, as at marriages or the celebration of the sixtieth birthday. However, fire does not only play an important role in the life of the Monguors in the open air; its role is as important in the private life of the families where it is worshipped under the form of the "fire of the hearth," the "hearth god."

THE HEARTH FIRE

Among the Monguors, the Chinese, and the Tibetans, the cult of the hearth god belongs entirely to the department of the women. Everywhere, the temple of the hearth god is the kitchen. 775 776 372

No wonder that the hearth god is supposed to be interested in a special way in the fecundity of the wives and the protection of the children, and that it is honored at fixed times by its own ritual. [842]

FIRE AND FECUNDITY

When the Monguor bride arrives at the home of the bridegroom, she does not prostrate herself before her parents-in-law or before the guests, but is led straight to the kitchen. Here she worships the god of the hearth giving three prostrations, burning incense, offering a bottle of wine and her chopsticks, which she has brought with her. 585 354 776 372

It was noted in the first volume of this study that the youngest couple in the family always lives in the kitchen, where the god of the hearth is honored, because the Monguors say that in that way fecundity is assured. Women who have plenty of children and do not wish to have more will leave the kitchen and live in another room. It has been noted that, among the Mongols, the youngest son inherits his father's hearth, occupies his tent, and is called the prince of the fire. [428]

When poor people cannot afford the luxury of a lavish marriage, nor invite guests, they marry the young couple in the kitchen "before the god of the hearth." The makeup of the new bride is done before the god of the hearth and not in the living room.[19]

An unusual practice relates to the fecundity assumed to be bestowed on women by means of the cult of the spirit of the fire (and of the god of the hearth). On the fifteenth of the first moon, at night, on the edge of the big threshing floor of the village, a number of small heaps of cypress boughs are kindled. While musicians 842 372 776

[19] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, 39.

[p. 121 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

beat drums and play mandolins, all the younger wives 842
and their husbands pursue each other, jumping over the 372
fire heaps, merrymaking. No wives or husbands would 776
miss this practice, for the tradition goes that it provides fecundity. However, the Yassa forbids jumping over the fire.[20]

Professor N. Poppe notes that among the Mongols the spirit of the fire is represented riding a he-goat, and that the he-goat is a symbol of fecundity, as Plano Carpini already noted.[21] This note of Professor Poppe evidences the existence of the fact that a relation existed between the fire god and fecundity in olden times. The Monguors seem not to know the existence of the god of the fire riding the he-goat, although they know that the hearth god secures fecundity. The hearth god also procures fecundity among the Buriats.[22]

FIRE AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE CHILDREN

The god of the hearth not only provides fecundity to 952
the daughters-in-law, but it protects their children. On 372
the second of the second moon is performed the rite of 776
consecration of the children to the god of the hearth. In the very early morning, before boiling water for washing and making tea, the mother roasts some handfuls of spelt in the cauldron and after them some handfuls of peas. Husband and wife spread them devoutly in the courtyard in front of the door. Then the elders clip some hair from the foreheads of the children under thirteen years of age, and cut the nails on their fingers. Hair and nail parings are carefully put in a cup and covered with a red cloth. The cup is placed before the picture of the hearth god and a copper coin placed on top of it. All members of the family prostrate themselves nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and the incense sticks are then fixed before the picture of the hearth god. On the twenty-fourth of the twelfth moon, at the time the god starts its journey to Heaven, the contents of the cup are burned in the hearth, together with the picture of the god. The Monguors explain this as the yearly rite of consecration of the children to the hearth god.

CULT OF THE HEARTH GOD

Rite at the End of the Year

The most important rites in honor of the spirit of 795
the hearth are performed at its departure for Heaven, 562
and at its coming back from Heaven, for so important 354
a benefactor must receive the highest honors possible, 776
and the most affectionate greetings. This is true all 782
over China. Men do not attend these rites.

The spirit of the hearth of the Chinese starts its journey to heaven on the twenty-third of the last moon of the year, on horseback or on a mule. The spirit of

[20] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 73.

[21] Poppe, *op. cit.* 2: 135. See also n. 15, above, for Agni, the Hindu god, riding a ram.

[22] *Ibid.*, 301.

[p. 121(B)]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

604 177 that the assumption of this role by the maternal uncle was only one of several non-patriarchal features introduced into the Monguor system as a result of contact with matriarchal systems. Third, that the property, assistance, and respect relationships which existed between a brother and his sister and her children, as described above, were not specific to either the patriarchal or matriarchal systems, but were founded in human nature, in conditions common to both systems. Fourth, I would add that normally the sister and her children are respected and loved in the husband's family and go through life happily—more because the two families are really friendly and intimate than because of the maternal uncle's power to intervene. After all, the solid foundation of families is not fear and hatred but love, and the functions of the maternal uncle must be viewed with not only his emergency powers in mind, but this as well.

THE CHILD

858 562 Among the Monguors, as in most societies in Asia, boys are preferred to girls. The description given by Father J. Van Oost of the favoritism shown toward boys among the Mongols of the Ordos might well have been written of the Monguors:

> He is surrounded with a kind of idolatry. His parents are proud of him; they cater to all his whims; they rush to dry his tears. A mother is always ready to suckle her son whenever he seems to want it, whether it be night or day. He is a petty tyrant who knows how to make himself obeyed, and his mother carries him around on her back when she is doing her household work. . . . If he gets sick, there is a major crisis. They think he is the victim of evil spirits. They resort to superstitious practices and go to fetch a lama who makes divinations, conjures away the spirits and prescribes remedies and talismans.[23]

843 562 When a woman is pregnant the whole village knows about it, and all of the women and girls are eagerly interested. Every soothsayer passing through the village is invited to foretell the sex of the expected child, and all the young wives ask him to foretell also when they themselves may expect a similar blessed event. When a pregnant woman enters a doorway and steps over the threshold, the other women always watch to see which foot she puts forward first. They believe that if she regularly steps over a threshold with the right foot, the child will be a boy; if it is the left foot, it will be a girl. This is because they believe that a son lies on the left side of the womb and a daughter on the right; accordingly, if the left side is heavy the mother will instinctively raise her right foot when making a step upward.[23a]

The festivities for the birth of a first son are especially important, and among the ways of propitiating fate to provide a long life, the selection of a lucky name is particularly important. Matters of such importance in the

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[23] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, as cited, 102.

[23a] Compare the Mongol expression *kul kundu*, "leg-heavy," for "pregnant."—O. L.

[p. 99a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

843 society are naturally reflected in popular religion. Special deities in the lama monasteries are supposed to be
562 interested in these affairs of mankind. The Monguors often invite lamas to help them with prayers, make vows to go on pilgrimages to far distant monasteries if they
842 are granted a son, and give alms lavishly. Their religious interpretation is that lack of sons is a punishment for sins of the parents in previous incarnations. The condition of a childless woman is pitiable—she is always despondent and dejected and drags out a miserable existence. Not having a son means having no stake in the family and society in which she lives. Her life is lonely, for it is not easy for a childless woman to make friends. I have often had a mother come to me with her childless daughter-in-law, kneeling, weeping, and begging for medicine that will make the girl bear a child, repeating over and over again "Father, the ancestors will have no one to sacrifice to them, the family will have no posterity." Such pitiful scenes gave me an understanding of the social outlook of the people among whom I lived; I could even understand why they indulged in polygamy.

Childlessness is not common among the Monguors, however. On the contrary, a Monguor woman will frequently have six or more surviving children—an astonishingly large number, considering the great amount of hard work that the mother has to do and the fact that, owing to ignorance of the most elementary rules of hygiene, lack of doctors, and miscarriages, fully a third of the children die in early infancy. The Monguors are in fact much more prolific than their kinsmen who are still nomads. One reason for this may be the fact that they live in houses while the children of nomads living in tents
842 are more exposed to variations of temperature. Prob-
164 ably a more important reason is that there is less venereal disease among the Monguors than among nomads. The lamas, most of whom are promiscuous in spite of their vows, and great carriers of venereal disease, have less opportunity to indulge themselves in the crowded and public dwellings of the Monguors than they do among the scattered tents of the nomads.[24] The neighboring Tibetans have a very high opinion of the prolificness of the Monguors. When they are childless, they prefer to adopt a Monguor boy rather than one of their own stock, and they like to marry Monguor girls because they bear
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[24] In view of the fact that venereal disease is much less common, and families much larger, among the settled agricultural Mongols of southern and eastern Inner Mongolia than among the nomad Mongols, it is also probable that the transition from nomadism to agriculture among the Monguors has led to a stricter morality. When land becomes the principal form of property, the man who owns land wants to make sure that the son who inherits it is his legitimate son, whereas among pastoral Mongols a son, regardless of legitimacy, is a new herdsman, making it possible to look after an increased number of stock.—O. L.

/The Monguors/

N *563 first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

M 562 852 [553]

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

M [203] [604] [603] [553]

Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

M [184]

j. Beard-growing

N *563 A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

M 302 [593] [888]

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

M 764 [191] [199]

4. Popular beliefs

N *563 Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

M • 843 562

If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.

N *563 M 553 [99] 989

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

845 787 Although the Monguors like to have large families, they have a divided attitude on the birth of twins. If the twins are of the same sex, it is a good omen, but twins of different sex are a very bad omen, foretelling the impoverishment of the family, the ending of good fortune, and the sterility of the mother.[24a] According to Shirokogoroff, both the Manchus and the Tungus consider twins dangerous. They are afraid of a woman who has had twins and will not have sexual relations with her. Although they believe that twins are so closely connected that if one dies the other must die, too, they bury them separately. The Tungus believe that twins have only one soul, and when a woman has had twins no one will borrow, buy, or accept a gift from either her or her husband, for fear of also having twins.[25]

844 Since a Monguor girl is usually married at about the age of eighteen, she usually has her first child at the age of nineteen. It is rare for a girl as young as fifteen to have a child. The rule among the Monguors is to build the kitchen in the northeast corner of the courtyard. This is also the corner that is considered most propitious for a newly married couple. A woman who already has as many children as she wants will try to move out of the northeast corner and live in another room. Monguor women bear their children lying in a horizontal position, while Chinese women of the same region give birth in a kneeling position. At the time of childbirth most of the women of the village come to offer their help. There is always one of them who has a special reputation for dexterity, and she is invited specially. The Monguors prefer to have widows assisting at childbirth, because they believe that in the presence of a widow childbirth goes more smoothly and is more painless. If the delivery is difficult and seems to be taking too long, the 845 husband climbs up on the roof and stamps furiously just above the head of the woman in labor. If this is not successful, a shaman is invited to drive away the evil spirits who are impeding the delivery, or a lama is called in to pray. Children born in such circumstances are often promised to a monastery to become lamas. As soon as the child has been born the room is tabu and men are no longer allowed to enter it. Over the entrance to the room the Monguors hang a cypress bough or a ball of wool or sometimes, in the Chinese manner, a piece of red cotton or a sieve.

[24a] The second born of twins has precedence over the first born. This belief has important consequences, because if the first born sons of an eldest son are twins, it is the second born of the twins who is entitled to hold, in due course, the office of head of the family. If the first born sons of a T'u-ssu are twins, it is the second who has the right of succession. The explanation given by the Monguors is that the first born twin is the servant of the second, because a man of importance is always accompanied by a servant, who respectfully opens the door for his master.

[25] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, as cited, 114, and *Social organization of the northern Tungus*, as cited, 275.

[p. 100a]

/126 cont'd/

588 A. To a prayer pole, a tree, a wall, a lion of baked clay, etc.

B. Marriages to a belt

Let us note that the marriages in the first series are also practiced by the Tibetans of Kansu, who live in a seminomadic and semi-agrarian state; they are not found among the Chinese of the region.

A. Marriages to a Prayer Pole, etc.

114 Let us first put forth the case, then let us justify the classification of this practice in the series of marriages.

One can read in the books which speak of the T'ou-jen that this people includes girls, unmarried all their lives, who, however, bear children just the same. The Chinese books especially try to disparage this people particularly because of this custom. Now, they are mistaken. These superficial observers have understood nothing about the customs of these regions. It is not by this custom that the morality of the T'ou-jen must be judged.

844 To be able to bear a child honestly (for there is an honesty also
[302 among these peoples), custom /127/ requires, without any exception
554] whatever, that the mother wear her hair in the style of married women; in other words, this is to say that it is necessary to be married to be able to become a mother.

Now it happens that girls not yet given in marriage are pregnant.
848 Two solutions then present themselves: the first is to bring on an
[847] abortion or to wait until the child is born to make it disappear or to offer it to anyone who wants it; the second is to change the hair style of the girl, that is to say, to get her married.

588 When the second solution is adopted, they invite three or four
[848] neighbors, who with the family are present at the "marriage." They have been careful to prepare the attire of the bride. She arrays herself with it and has her hair done in the style of married women. Two lamps are lighted, and the sacred fire placed in the middle of the courtyard is maintained by means of cypress branches. After spreading out pieces of red felt, they proceed to the marriage, which

/157 cont'd/

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1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 90-91: The second long visit of the newly married wife in her mother's house may be also understood as a survival of the customs that prescribed to the newly married wife to keep her place in her mother's house. Furthermore the Manchus never say "the wife's father's clan" but "the wife's mother's clan." At the same time they say " he husband's clan" and "the husband's father's clan." Thus all these facts cannot be explained without a supposition of the materline clan system in the past. /Cited in English./

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her finest clothes, her ornaments, her jewels, and everything that is dear to her. One keeps one's treasures at one's home; now, the home of the daughter-in-law does not seem to be near her husband. This last custom, which still effectively recognizes that the wife today has certain property rights, does not belong to a patriarchal organization; furthermore, we saw in the speech of the master of ceremonies that formerly the daughter enjoyed property rights since in her own family she inherited half of a son's share.

e) Festivities at the birth of daughters.

Mo
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We shall describe elsewhere the extraordinary noisy festivities in which the whole village takes part, given on the occasion of the birth of the first child of a daughter-in-law, whether this child be a son or daughter, the celebration is equally solemn. Now such a festivity upon the birth of a daughter is again absolutely abnormal in a patriarchal system, where only the male descendant counts. We must note that already in many T'ou-jen families this festivity is celebrated only upon the birth of the first son. This celebration is absolutely inconceivable to a Chinese mind.

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[71]

f) Wedding dinner at the bride's home.

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In a patriarchal system how does one justify the dinner given at the bride's home for the members of her family alone on the eve of

[623 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.]
down again and grasped a seal. She then no longer paid any attention to the things that lay before her. And now the result: this girl became chancellor of an imperial realm." -- The oracle at this birthday celebration corresponds essentially with that of the Tujen.

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The Tujen celebrate birthdays otherwise, too, both men and women, but only from the forty-fifth year on. A feast is held, at which all the relatives take part. As presents, nine loaves of bread are customary. Eight steamed loaves signify the eight genii, pa-hsien, and one loaf represents the god of age, shou-hsing (star of age). Towards sundown, all go outside to the graves and give the ancestral offering. Then they go home and drink and dance into the night. -- As the names show, this custom is also borrowed from the Chinese. The Tujen originally had no ancestral offering; to the Chinese, on the other hand, the arrow of good fortune and the dance with song are foreign.

[769]

[177]
[769]

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Word List

[844] To give birth: tōrō-.
[527] Birthday: tōrōdzān udur; or contracted, tōrōdzūdur.
To celebrate the birthday: tōrōdzūdur noġdzi-.
That woman has given birth: nie bieri tōrōdzia.
When were you born? tsini kidzie tōrōwa?
Yes, I am really celebrating: noġdzidza ligunadzi.

Buddhas. The special *swork'a* or prayer honoring his deity is read by the lamas, and the Kurtain is proclaimed to be a genuinely possessed man. Then he is ordered to memorize his *swork'a* and to recite it before each performance, it being an invitation to his deity to descend into him. 756 787

Then follow the usual recommendations given to all Kurtains about continence on the day of a performance, not to act when his wife is giving birth and at mourning time, not to indulge in wine, to keep his weapons (sword, whip, and dagger) in a decent place and not to use them for other purposes; to give a performance at the monastery at the annual pageant time and in the families where his deity is specially honored, and always stress is put on the obligation to be loyal, honest, and dependable, so as not to cast a blight on the institution. Every time I heard this last recommendation, I remembered what the Monguors had said so many times, that among the Kurtains more dubious fellows are encountered than among the shamans, and for that reason the shamans are invited more by them than the Kurtains. They always added the story of the famous Kurtain of Toolong, which was seared in their mind. It seems really typical and sheds an unfavorable light on the institution. [844]

Many years ago, the Kurtain of Toolong used to predict whether there would be outbreaks of arson in autumn when the crops were heaped upon the threshing floor. In this way he earned a pretty good living, because the crops of the people who had invited him for the performance of his rites were preserved and those of the incredulous people were burned at night. The whole country was really disturbed. However, suspicions arose and the arsonist was taken redhanded one night. He turned out to be the old father of the Kurtain. The chief and the elders of the village hung the old man by his thumbs from a tree and he received a well-deserved lashing to make him reveal the instigator of the arson. Reeling with dizziness and pain, welts and bruises all over his body, the father accused his son, and the Kurtain was hung up and tortured. The infuriated villagers came within a hair of killing him. His mandate of disciple of the spirit was gone forever. Such events are very prejudicial to the Kurtains. They cast a blemish on their group and are commented on all over the country for years, and so the saying goes that there are few good genuine Kurtains, and for that reason all have to be tested.[2] 756 685 [627]

Some of the Kurtains not only upset the villagers once in a while, but even land the monasteries in serious trouble. A fact well known in the country runs, that on the fifteenth of the first moon in 1914, the lamas of the important lamasery of Seerkok invited their Kurtain, possessed by the deity Kortong, to the ceremony carried out in honor of the deity, with great pomp and display. 756 579

[2] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1238, notes a similar case of a *Wu* arsonist.

[p.93(A)]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

845 787 Although the Monguors like to have large families, they have a divided attitude on the birth of twins. If the twins are of the same sex, it is a good omen, but twins of different sex are a very bad omen, foretelling the impoverishment of the family, the ending of good fortune, and the sterility of the mother.[24a] According to Shirokogoroff, both the Manchus and the Tungus consider twins dangerous. They are afraid of a woman who has had twins and will not have sexual relations with her. Although they believe that twins are so closely connected that if one dies the other must die, too, they bury them separately. The Tungus believe that twins have only one soul, and when a woman has had twins no one will borrow, buy, or accept a gift from either her or her husband, for fear of also having twins.[25]

844 Since a Monguor girl is usually married at about the age of eighteen, she usually has her first child at the age of nineteen. It is rare for a girl as young as fifteen to have a child. The rule among the Monguors is to build the kitchen in the northeast corner of the courtyard. This is also the corner that is considered most propitious for a newly married couple. A woman who already has as many children as she wants will try to move out of the northeast corner and live in another room. Monguor women bear their children lying in a horizontal position, while Chinese women of the same region give birth in a kneeling position. At the time of childbirth most of the women of the village come to offer their help. There is always one of them who has a special reputation for dexterity, and she is invited specially. The Monguors prefer to have widows assisting at childbirth, because they believe that in the presence of a widow childbirth goes more smoothly and is more painless. If the delivery is difficult and seems to be taking too long, the 845 husband climbs up on the roof and stamps furiously just above the head of the woman in labor. If this is not successful, a shaman is invited to drive away the evil spirits who are impeding the delivery, or a lama is called in to pray. Children born in such circumstances are often promised to a monastery to become lamas. As soon as the child has been born the room is tabu and men are no longer allowed to enter it. Over the entrance to the room the Monguors hang a cypress bough or a ball of wool or, sometimes, in the Chinese manner, a piece of red cotton or a sieve.

[24a] The second born of twins has precedence over the first born. This belief has important consequences, because if the first born sons of an eldest son are twins, it is the second born of the twins who is entitled to hold, in due course, the office of head of the family. If the first born sons of a T'u-ssu are twins, it is the second who has the right of succession. The explanation given by the Monguors is that the first born twin is the servant of the second, because a man of importance is always accompanied by a servant, who respectfully opens the door for his master.

[25] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, as cited, 114, and *Social organization of the northern Tungus*, as cited, 275.

[p. 100a]

.846 For a whole month after the birth of a child, most people will not enter the courtyard. This tabu applies not only to the room occupied by the woman and child, but to the whole courtyard and contact with the whole family. During this month the mother lives principally on a thin gruel of millet (*mi-t'ang*). The period of seclusion is twenty-nine days after the birth of a boy and thirty days after the birth of a girl. During this period the mother should not go outside of the courtyard to draw water from the well, and she is not allowed to touch religious objects. Among poor people, where the mother cannot afford to be completely idle for a whole month, she begins to do a little household work after three days.

Every three days the mother washes herself with a concoction of cypress twigs, a Tibetan custom, and the child with a concoction of pepper, which is a Chinese custom. The mother puts under the head of her child a small pillow stuffed with dried peas, in order that the child's head may grow perfectly round, and she rubs the child's head several times a day for the same reason. On [302] the twentieth day the child's head is shaved. The mother, also constantly pulls the lobes of the child's ears in order that they may grow long and pendulous.[26] A round head, long ear lobes and small, fine hands are the most important criteria of beauty and an omen of good fortune in life.

On the third day after the birth of the child the father, dressed in his best and carrying a bottle of wine and a *khatag* or scarf of felicity goes to announce the happy news to his wife's family. When he enters their room, he asks for a cup, pours wine, and offers the cup to his wife's parents and her maternal uncles; he then bows, makes a prostration, and formally announces the sex of the child and the fact that mother and child are doing well, and invites his relatives-in-law to pay a visit. On the same day the mother-in-law comes to see her grandchild and to congratulate her daughter, bringing with her a present of some millet and some money. On the seventh day the father consults a lama of the Red Hat sect and asks him to foretell the fortune of the child by divination. On the twentieth day (the same day that the child's head is shaved), the father pays another visit to his wife's parents, again with wine and a scarf of felicity, and formally invites them and the maternal uncles to take part in festivities on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth day, according to the sex of the child.

NAME-GIVING

553 If the child is a boy, he is given his name on the
251 twenty-ninth day, before the guests arrive. The father, in his best clothes, goes to the room of the grandfather

[26] In the most ancient Buddhist iconography Buddha as a young prince, before he turned to religion, was represented with heavy earrings that dragged down the lobes of his ears. In later representations of Buddha as a divinity, the ear rings have disappeared but the deformed lobes remain. Hence pendulous ear lobes are regarded as "Buddha-like."—O. L. [p. 100b]

[22 cont.]

346 must have its own door to the outside. The chapel may not be
*778 constructed in such a way that it can also be reached through another room that is occupied. It must be located in the main
[783] house. In order to avoid any danger of pollution, the chapel is preferably erected on the roof of the main house. The sooth-
[791] sayer determines in what part or on what side of the main house it should be. Aside from silence, the reason for this strict sep-
[783] aration from the other rooms is that in crossing other rooms one may become unclean, especially if the rooms are accessible to the women.

783 Prescriptions for purity: Ordinarily, any man or boy may
*[778] touch the spear, fetch it, and take it away. They may also enter the chapel at will. Women, however, may never touch
[562] the spear or visit the chapel. They are always regarded as unclean. There are also certain taboos, however, for the men.

The man's wife or any other woman in the family may not be in confinement. Not until ten days after the conclusion
*[846] of the confinement, that is, 40 days after the birth, is the man pure again. If he has visited another family in which there is a woman in childbed, he is pure immediately after the conclusion of the confinement, that is, 30 days after the birth.

Those in mourning are unclean for 49 days, if they are
[765] members of the dead person's own family. If the parents have died, the children are regarded as unclean for 100 days. If someone participated in the obsequies of another family, he is unclean for only three days.

[791] These prescriptions for purity also apply to the soothsayer. He may not enter the chapel during this time, and especially
*[778] may not touch the spear or even practice soothsaying. When this period has elapsed, the men are automatically pure again; there is no special purification ceremony (1).

[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 26.] The prescriptions for purification are the same as among the Chinese in Tsinghai; they apply for all religious activities and temple visits. The Chinese also have

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IV. Customs concerning the Human Being

* See "Notes," p. 622 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

846 Soon after the birth of a child one makes the happy event
[851] known to the family of the mother of the woman in childbed.
The mother then comes to visit her daughter. The other rela-
[431] tives, however, come only after one month. They bring gifts
and hold a feast. On the morning of this day the child is
[553] solemnly given a name, and in the evening it is brought before
the gate of the yard for the reception of the shepherd. Then
[527] there is singing and drinking and dancing into the night.
[852]

Details

Birth announcement: Three days after the birth of a
[851] boy or girl, the father-in-law of the woman in childbed takes
a little jug of liquor and some oil-baking and goes to the family
[273] of his daughter-in-law. It is immediately apparent why he has
come to visit, and he need only tell the day and the hour of
birth and whether it is a boy or girl. After they have drunk the
[593] liquor, the mother goes directly to her daughter in order to take
care of what needs to be done. She stays there a few days and
then often repeats her visit.

846 Conclusion of the confinement: Exactly 29 days after
431 the birth, in other words, on the thirtieth day, the parents and
nearest relatives of the woman in childbed appear at her
husband's house. They bring clothing for the child [621] and
[262] the woman (a long upper garment and shoes) and, further, four
large loaves of bread, oil-cakes, and other baked goods. The

[621 cont.]

846 431 [262] loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter, and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

[858] [822] Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

553 791 [787] [592] Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the master of the household gives the great incense offering in the yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: [778] "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

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3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guãnbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guãmbo; ifulā sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sërãń (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; lasdze sërãń, pass-peak-palace; tuguãn ula, mountain of the Tuguãn. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

[621 cont.]

553 [592] [792]

4. [Foreign text p. 622.] A lama can also perform the ceremony. This is rarely done, however. Usually the father or kin-group elder does it.

is never a woman or a relative from the family of the woman in childbed.

Following the name-giving or in the course of the day, the mother with the child in her arms must kowtow to all the [431] guests; for this she receives a small gift of money for the [527] child. -- Towards noon the family holds a general feast, for [273] men and women separately. On this occasion much barley [562] wine is drunk, and there is singing and dancing.

852 Reception of the shepherd: Towards evening, when the animals are expected back from the pasture, the father or the mother takes the infant in his arms and takes it out in front of the gate of the yard, where they meet the homecoming herd. [431] The shepherd must give the child some money, and in return the father gives him a loaf of bread which he must eat immediately. This custom is called "to welcome the shepherd"; [553] the Chinese say "to welcome the sheep" (2). -- The guests

[171] [846]

2. [Foreign text p. 622.] The reception of the shepherd is also found among the Chinese, just as the termination of the confinement generally is almost the same among them. In the region of Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) I learned from the missionary there, P. Frick, that the people place the child in the manger so that it may later own many herds and become a good horseman. This custom could not be confirmed for the Tujen.

[621 cont.]

852 take no further notice of this ceremony, but drink and dance
553 far into the night; then they gradually scatter. Only the closest relatives of the young mother stay until the next day.

[622]

Word List

192
846 To be in childbed: sara sōdzi = she sits out the month; tsuo yüeh (Chin.).

To terminate the confinement: sara durgeni = she terminates the month.

ch'u-yüeh (Chin.) = to step out of the month.

man-yüeh (Chin.) = to fulfill the month.

[852] Reception of the shepherd: asdzi dzēlie-; ying-yang (Chin.) = to welcome the sheep.

[Page 622 contains the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

852
527

2. The First Birthday*

* See "Notes," pp. 623-625 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[787] On the first birthday the father puts the child on the kang and places various things before it. From the object that the child
[302] grasps it can be seen what it will become in later life. After
[778] that its hair is cut and this is hung on the arrow of good fortune.

Mo /105 cont'd/
587 then called, if it is a son, either, according to the Chinese custom,
589 Hiao cheng tse, i.e., "/son/ born during the mourning period," or
765 else, according to the T'ou-jen custom, xara khû, i.e., "black
[172] son," which again means "son of mourning" since black is the color
[822] of mourning among the T'ou-jen; they say "to wear black" for "to be in mourning." Black was formerly also the color of mourning among the Mongols. When widows who have not remarried bear
Mo children after two years, it happens that these children are abandoned
[847 or that they are drowned right after birth, especially if they are girls.
848] That happens when the family has many children, or when none of
Mo the neighbors wants to feed the poor being. When the newborn is
[792] a son, they will keep him, but he will not inherit family property, and as a general rule they will send him at about the age of nine or ten to a lamasery to remain a bachelor. This is the most practical solution for avoiding difficulties in the family later. (1)

Ma
[847
848]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 77: The Manchus are very strict in killing illegitimate children, i.e. the children born by unmarried girls and widows.

The other Tungus groups consider girls who have children as the best for marriage, because these girls have the proof of their fecundity. /Cited in English./

Mo c) The third category of polygamists is met in well-to-do
595 families who lack workers.

We have seen that all the work, so to speak, is assigned to
Mo the wife; the household duties, the care of the livestock, and a large
461 part of the work in the fields. A T'ou-jen wife actually kills her-
462 self with work. It is painful to us to look at these men with the
595 nomadic instinct, do-nothings, idlers, spare themselves the least fatigue. It can happen, therefore, in families which have much

/126 cont'd/

588 A. To a prayer pole, a tree, a wall, a lion of baked clay, etc.

B. Marriages to a belt

Let us note that the marriages in the first series are also practiced by the Tibetans of Kansu, who live in a seminomadic and semi-agrarian state; they are not found among the Chinese of the region.

A. Marriages to a Prayer Pole, etc.

114 Let us first put forth the case, then let us justify the classification of this practice in the series of marriages.

One can read in the books which speak of the T'ou-jen that this people includes girls, unmarried all their lives, who, however, bear children just the same. The Chinese books especially try to disparage this people particularly because of this custom. Now, they are mistaken. These superficial observers have understood nothing about the customs of these regions. It is not by this custom that the morality of the T'ou-jen must be judged.

844 To be able to bear a child honestly (for there is an honesty also
[302 among these peoples), custom /127/ requires, without any exception
554] whatever, that the mother wear her hair in the style of married women; in other words, this is to say that it is necessary to be married to be able to become a mother.

Now it happens that girls not yet given in marriage are pregnant.
848 Two solutions then present themselves: the first is to bring on an
[847] abortion or to wait until the child is born to make it disappear or to offer it to anyone who wants it; the second is to change the hair style of the girl, that is to say, to get her married.

588 When the second solution is adopted, they invite three or four
[848] neighbors, who with the family are present at the "marriage." They have been careful to prepare the attire of the bride. She arrays herself with it and has her hair done in the style of married women. Two lamps are lighted, and the sacred fire placed in the middle of the courtyard is maintained by means of cypress branches. After spreading out pieces of red felt, they proceed to the marriage, which

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588 /126 cont'd/

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/127 cont'd/

588 is usually contracted with the prayer pole, called mané kan, which is found in nearly all courtyards of T'ou-jen residences. (It is a pole set up in the middle of the courtyard, at the top of which float streamers on which are printed lamaic prayers in Tibetan characters.) Often the marriage is also contracted with a wall, with a tree which is in front of the house, with the little lion of baked clay which is above all the house roofs, even with a rock, etc.

The girl kneels three times and each time makes three great prostrations as one does at a wedding. She makes the prostrations in the direction of the prayer pole or the tree or the object she is supposed to be marrying; at the same time she says each time, "Heaven has combed my hair, the prayer pole, etc. is my husband..."; then she makes the same prostrations to her parents and the others present.

588 The children resulting from such a "marriage" are called t'ien
848 cheng tse, i.e., "begotten by heaven," and they bear the name of the mother's family. /128/ These kinds of marriages are not at all numerous, for the reason that nearly all girls are given in marriage at an early age. They occur from time to time, especially in certain regions. The vicinities of Wei-iuen p'ou, Hong-ngai-tse-keou, and San-tch'oan are the regions where these practices are most frequent.

They occur more rarely in families where there are married sons; they are found most often in families where there are only one or two daughters. These women very often remain in this condition all their lives and continue to become mothers; others do not persist in this abnormal state and end up by marrying someone of their choice.

I have classified this practice in the series of marriages because it creates for the mother and children a legal position identical to that which marriage creates for the married couple and their offspring. In addition, its purpose is manifestly the procreatio et educatio prolis "the procreation and rearing of offspring"/ of the mother's clan.

858 As a matter of fact, the child born of this kind of marriage be-
588 comes legitimate heir of its mother's family; it is, they say, wai-cheng ting kieou-kieou, i.e., "the son of a daughter holds the rank of maternal uncle." Even if there are sons in the family who have children, the son of the woman in question will become heir by the

/128 cont'd/

858 same right as his cousins, sons of his mother's brothers. The reason
588 given for this is that the mother, at the time of her son's birth, was no longer a girl but quite married, since she was wearing her hair in the fashion of wives. But suppose that the young woman, as a result of difficulties with a sister-in-law or with her parents, or having simply found a match which she likes, marries again at a "second" wedding, then she can either take her son with her, and he loses
[128] ipso facto his rights to inheritance in his mother's family, and he must change his family name and inherit in the family of his new father (for by the change of name he falls into the category of adoptive children), or else the grandmother opposes the departure /129/ of her daughter's son, and he stays in his mother's family, keeping his rights.

It often happens that neither the grandmother nor the mother
848 keeps the child but that they entrust him to a lamasery. Lamas no
792 longer having the right of inheritance, these children disappear from
178 public life. This category of children are sent to the lamasery probably to avoid difficulties which arise later at the time of the division of property, either on the part of the uncles or the nephews, just as when the mother takes the child to the home of her new husband and the latter adopts him as his son, which makes one suppose that these children's right to inherit is nowadays no longer very stable. One feels a period of transition in the custom. We are here in the presence of a practice which must have been more general in olden times and which has its roots in an organization which is not patriarchal.

562 These girl-mothers are received in all groups and are regarded
588 as virtuous women in spite of the fact that people know this custom is
593 considered abominable in the eyes of their Chinese neighbors. These women are recognized as being married; for, they say, their marriage took place in the manner of the marriage of girls, in the courtyard of the house, in front of the sacred fire. Their children are recognized as children of the clan, and they are given the name of their mother. In T'ou-jen families, when a brother dies, leaving only daughters, his brothers inherit his property; the daughters indeed do not inherit; but when this brother has a daughter of the category of which we

/155 cont'd/

606 587 593 ahead of all the other members of the family. What is typical is that they call the money given to the mother-in-law k'ai k'eou ts'ien, "the sum which opens her mouth," for if she does not open her mouth, that is to say, if she does not consent, the marriage comes to nought. /156/

b) Succession on the maternal side.

562 593 588 Without admitting a former matriarchate, how can one explain the situation of the women in the series of marriages to the prayer pole, etc.? In this case the "girl-mother" is seen to enjoy all the rights of a married woman, her children bear her name and inherit in her clan beside the children of her brothers. This is certainly the case which makes kinship, order of succession, and the property of the family pass on the mother's side. This single case which continues to exist in the middle of a patriarchal period in which the children of daughters as well as their mother are considered as outside the family, deserves all attention.

c) Admission into the family of children born of outsider fathers.

● 848 Is it not permitted to see vestiges of the matriarchate in the great facility with which they admit into the family the children of daughters-in-law and widows, born certainly of fathers who are outsiders; partus sequitur ventrem /"offspring proceed from the womb"/: they recognize only the mother. We have seen that here they are in a period of transition which begins to make this practice more and more difficult.

562 421 593 574 d) Frequent family visits of the daughter-in-law and right to keep her property at her mother's home.

Again what can be said of the abnormal custom which allows the daughter-in-law these frequent visits and these long vacations with her family? This custom is not natural in a patriarchal organization where the daughter-in-law is the property of her husband, and where she must give this clan her life, her time, and all her work. This custom gives the impression that the daughter, after marriage, always continues to live with her own family and not that of her husband, (1) all the more /157/ because she keeps at her parents' home

846 For a whole month after the birth of a child, most people will not enter the courtyard. This tabu applies not only to the room occupied by the woman and child, but to the whole courtyard and contact with the whole family. During this month the mother lives principally on a thin gruel of millet (*mi-t'ang*). The period of seclusion is twenty-nine days after the birth of a boy and thirty days after the birth of a girl. During this period the mother should not go outside of the courtyard to draw water from the well, and she is not allowed to touch religious objects. Among poor people, where the mother cannot afford to be completely idle for a whole month, she begins to do a little household work after three days.

Every three days the mother washes herself with a concoction of cypress twigs, a Tibetan custom, and the child with a concoction of pepper, which is a Chinese custom. The mother puts under the head of her child a small pillow stuffed with dried peas, in order that the child's head may grow perfectly round, and she rubs the child's head several times a day for the same reason. On [302] the twentieth day the child's head is shaved. The mother also constantly pulls the lobes of the child's ears in order that they may grow long and pendulous.[26] A round head, long ear lobes and small, fine hands are the most important criteria of beauty and an omen of good fortune in life.

On the third day after the birth of the child the father, dressed in his best and carrying a bottle of wine and a *khatag* or scarf of felicity goes to announce the happy news to his wife's family. When he enters their room, he asks for a cup, pours wine, and offers the cup t his wife's parents and her maternal uncles; he then bows, makes a prostration, and formally announces the sex of the child and the fact that mother and child are doing well, and invites his relatives-in-law to pay a visit. On the same day the mother-in-law comes to see her grandchild and to congratulate her daughter, bringing with her a present of some millet and some money. On the seventh day the father consults a lama of the Red Hat sect and asks him to foretell the fortune of the child by divination. On the twentieth day (the same day that the child's head is shaved), the father pays another visit to his wife's parents, again with wine and a scarf of felicity, and formally invites them and the maternal uncles to take part in festivities on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth day, according to the sex of the child.

NAME-GIVING

553 851 If the child is a boy, he is given his name on the twenty-ninth day, before the guests arrive. The father, in his best clothes, goes to the room of the grandfather

[26] In the most ancient Buddhist iconography Buddha as a young prince, before he turned to religion, was represented with heavy earrings that dragged down the lobes of his ears. In later representations of Buddha as a divinity, the ear rings have disappeared but the deformed lobes remain. Hence pendulous ear lobes are regarded as "Buddha-like."—O. L. [P. 100b]

553 taking with him a bottle of wine, a scarf of felicity, and
two hundred copper cash strung on a red cord to which
.851 a flock of wool is attached. He prostrates himself nine
times and invites the grandfather to name the child.
The grandfather is seated on the *k'ang* in all his dignity,
and the whole family is gathered in the room. The
mother, cradling the child in her arms and her eyes wet
with tears stands before the grandfather with her hus-
band at her side. The father ceremoniously lays the
scarf of felicity across the outstretched hands of the
grandfather, and presents a cup of wine. Father and
mother prostrate themselves nine times, and the mother
then asks the grandfather to bestow on the child a name
of good omen. This is the first time that the grand-
father has seen the child. Looking like the living image
of ancestral pride, he solemnly confers a name and makes
the mother a present of a few pierced copper cash—
always an even number. He then takes his grandson
in his arms and kisses him and the child is then passed
on to all the other members of the family who embrace
him in the same way, joyfully congratulating the father
and mother.

608 In families where there are few children or where a
number of children have died in infancy, it is common
851 to invite the head of a family that is blessed with many
children to name the child, thus passing on the "luck"
553 of his own fertile family. This custom is of Chinese
origin as is the custom, in poor families, of inviting a
rich and respected man to preside at the name-giving
ceremony, thus becoming the *kan-fu* or "dry father" (a
Chinese term) of the child. This relationship some-
what resembles that of an adoptive father, and the child
throughout his life is considered to be in some way re-
lated to the family of his "dry father." At the New
Year and other important festivals he will always visit
his "dry father," showing him much the same kind of
affection and respect that he shows to his maternal uncle.
The "dry father" keeps up a protective interest in the
child and can be expected to help in such things as ar-
ranging his marriage; but the relationship is not one of
full adoption, in which the child is actually taken into
the adopting family.

553 Boys are frequently given the Tibetan names of lama-
istic deities or the Chinese names of Taoist deities, or
names such as "Longevity," "Felicity," "Peace," "Pros-
perity," "Strength," "Lion," or "Tiger." (The Tibetan
neighbors of the Monguors usually go to a lama of the
Red Hat sect to ask him to name a boy according to the
character indicated by his horoscope.) Girls are given
the names of lamaistic or Taoist female divinities or
the names of flowers.

Many children, both boys and girls, are given a name
that records the age of their father's mother when they
were born, such as "sixty," or "sixty-five." The name
of the father's father is given in this way only if the
father's mother is no longer living. Among the Chi-
nese of this region, on the other hand, a child is fre-

[P. 101a]

553 quently named according to the age of the grandfather but never according to the age of the grandmother. Among the Manchus, the child is not named until it is a full year old, and it is customary to give the first son the name of the oldest son of the father's oldest brother.[27]

553 608 When, as described above, a man is invited to act as "dry father," the name that he gives to a boy as a personal name is his own clan name, combined with the Chinese words *chia pao,* so that the child is known as Lichiapao or Machiapao, "Protected by the Li family," or "Protected by the Ma family." In an analogous way, if an influential man has visited the family about the time when the boy was born, his name may be given to the boy.[28]

553 Sometimes in a poor family the mother will take her son in her arms on the twenty-ninth day and go out to the highway where she will prostrate herself before the first traveler she meets and ask him to give his name to the boy. In such cases, it is good luck if the mother meets an influential person. I myself was once riding on a journey when a woman with a child in her arms prostrated herself before me in this manner. She was a woman who had seen me before and recognized me. Turning her smiling face up to me and with a light in her eyes she said "Are you not the Father? Today I am a happy mother; I will name my child Shenfupao—Protected by the Priest." This custom, it should be noted, is never followed in the case of a first-born son.

While living among the Monguors I never heard names describing bodily deformities, nor names such as Five Pounds, or Seven Pounds, recording the weight of the child at birth, or Big Horse, Second Mule, Small Cow. Such names are used by the Chinese of this region, but not by the Monguors. On the other hand, both Monguors and Chinese sometimes give names such as Bad Son, Whom the Dogs Will Not Eat, Monstrous Boy, Monstrous Girl. Such names are intended to deceive the evil spirits, so that they will pass by the "Bad Boy" and choose some other victim.[29]

553 851 The actual giving of the name, as already described, takes place in the privacy of the father's extended family, without the presence of the mother's relatives or other guests. The mother's parents and her maternal uncles arrive about noon, and at the same time representatives of each family in the village come to take part in the festivities. Tea is first served and then the father and the mother with her child in her arms prostrate themselves nine times before the whole gathering while the mother says "The boy is paying homage."

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[27] Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus,* as cited, 119.

[28] Thus Chingis Khan was given the name of Temujin, after an important prisoner whom his father had captured at the time he was born.—O. L.

[29] This practice among the Monguors may not be due solely to Chinese influence. Among the Western Mongols, especially the Torguts of the Altai, who are remote from Chinese influence, it is also very common to give names of this kind.—O. L.

[p. 101b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

553 851 When the child has been admired and the parents congratulated, the mother's mother presents her with sixteen loaves of steamed bread, four loaves baked in oil, a leg of mutton, and some clothes—a gown, a pair of trousers, or a jacket. The costliness of the clothes varies according to the wealth of the family. The mother's mother also presents the boy with a complete suit of clothes and a fine cap. A special custom, the significance of which I was unable to discover, is that the family of the father's mother and the family of the mother's mother each present the midwife with a piece of red cotton cloth four feet long.

431 553 851 A practical present from a guest to the young mother is 100 pierced copper cash on a red cord, or a four foot piece of red or green cotton cloth. Another common gift is an embroidered cap for the boy, or, following Chinese custom, a "long life lock"—a small brass lock hung around the boy's neck. Rich families are frequently given scrolls with Chinese texts inscribed on them. The boy's maternal uncle gives him "flowers of long life"—a pair of earrings, each studded with a small flower. The boy wears these in childhood and when he grows up he buys himself a larger pair. These earrings are supposed to insure him a long life.

When the presents have been given the father of the child offers wine to each guest, beginning with the child's maternal uncles, and to each guest, as the wine is offered, the mother prostrates herself with the child in her arms and says "The boy prostrates himself and thanks you."

FEAST IN THE VILLAGE

553 527 851 A merry crowd of village youngsters then leads into the courtyard a cow whose horns have been painted red and decorated with flowers. A red-painted bell hangs around the cow's neck, and she is saddled with a fine saddle and a bright saddle-rug. The grandfather is invited by the youngsters to ride on the cow, and willy nilly he has to accept this invitation. The youngsters help him up to the saddle and then hold the child up for him to take it in his arms. The cow is then led in triumph through the village, two banners from the temple at the head of the procession, drums beating and all the guests following the cow and its rider. When they return to the courtyard, the grandfather offers the young people two bottles of wine, two legs of mutton, and bowls of noodles and wheat fried in butter. This part of the entertainment is noisy and merry.

If the father's father is no longer living, it is the father's mother who has to make the triumphal ride on the cow. Otherwise the father's mother's share of the ceremonies consists in presenting to the mother of her daughter-in-law two loaves of bread, two strings of pierced copper cash, and a scarf of felicity. As she does so, she bows, presents a cup of wine, and thanks her daughter-in-law's mother for accepting the invitation to the feast and wishes her joy and happiness.

Up to this point the whole village has taken part in

[P. 102a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

553 the festivities, except for the herdsmen and shepherds
851 who are out in the hills. They must not be overlooked,
527 however, for the tradition of the nomadic past of the Monguors assures them a part. When the sun is deep in the west, therefore, the father and mother take their child and go out to a place beyond the village, which has been previously agreed upon. The father takes with him a bottle of wine and twelve rolls of bread, eight of which are to be distributed to passers-by met along the road and four to be given to the shepherds.

The shepherds have woven a long girdle for the child from wool as white as snow, and this they present to the child. They also have with them some copper coins, and these they place kindly on the milk-swollen breast of the happy mother. They crowd around to see the child and pat its soft cheeks with their rough and calloused hands. When they congratulate the mother, they present her with a small bundle of whitest wool, plucked from the backs of young sheep, saying "This wool has been gathered from the backs of hundreds of the most beautiful sheep; may your boy grow up to shear the wool of hundreds of sheep and may he have hundreds of horses to ride." The four rolls of bread are then presented to the shepherds, together with a cup of wine and some copper coins for each man. The mother invites the shepherds to dinner, the herds are driven to their stalls, and the shepherds dine and make merry all night in the courtyard.

I have often seen this simple, pastoral, and idyllic spectacle outside the village at sundown, the happy parents, the faithful shepherds, and the flocks and herds around them making a wonderful picture that recalls the past of centuries ago when the Monguors were a pastoral people. Even the traditional words of greeting and congratulation used by the shepherds are an echo of this nomadic past.

All the details that I have described emphasize the importance attached by the Monguors to the birth of a boy who will grow up to sacrifice to the ancestors and be himself a new link in the ancestral chain. The ceremonies are observed in full, as I have described them, only for the first son of each daughter-in-law in the extended family. For younger sons and for girls all that is required is that the grandfather give a name and that the parents and maternal uncles of the mother be invited. In poor families, of course, the celebration is less elaborate; but well to do families often help their poorer neighbors with the expenses of a feast for the first-born son.

DEDICATION OF THE CHILD TO THE SPIRITS

852 When a family has few children, or has had several children die, a child is often dedicated to some particular spirit. The dedication is seldom done for a first boy in good health. Very seldom is the child dedicated to a deity of the lama-Buddhist pantheon, for in that case the boy is supposed to have to become a lama later.

[P. 102 b]

[620]

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IV. Customs concerning the Human Being

* See "Notes," p. 622 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

846 Soon after the birth of a child one makes the happy event
[851] known to the family of the mother of the woman in childbed.
The mother then comes to visit her daughter. The other rela-
[431] tives, however, come only after one month. They bring gifts
and hold a feast. On the morning of this day the child is
[553] solemnly given a name, and in the evening it is brought before
the gate of the yard for the reception of the shepherd. Then
[527] there is singing and drinking and dancing into the night.
[852]

Details

Birth announcement: Three days after the birth of a
[851] boy or girl, the father-in-law of the woman in childbed takes
a little jug of liquor and some oil-baking and goes to the family
[273] of his daughter-in-law. It is immediately apparent why he has
come to visit, and he need only tell the day and the hour of
birth and whether it is a boy or girl. After they have drunk the
[593] liquor, the mother goes directly to her daughter in order to take
care of what needs to be done. She stays there a few days and
then often repeats her visit.

846 Conclusion of the confinement: Exactly 29 days after
431 the birth, in other words, on the thirtieth day, the parents and
nearest relatives of the woman in childbed appear at her
husband's house. They bring clothing for the child [621] and
[262] the woman (a long upper garment and shoes) and, further, four
large loaves of bread, oil-cakes, and other baked goods. The

[633 cont.]

778
796

[Note on foreign text pp. 634-635 cont.] The informant once mentioned a kind of baptism at which the džawdzi (Tib.) is prayed; in Chinese this prayer is called hsi-lien-ching, prayer of washing the face. Evidently the [635] ceremony observed by Filchner was such a boy's baptism; Om mani padme hum, loc. cit. Later there follows a second consecration for young people, which is called gãṅsgur (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 below] after the corresponding prayer, in Chinese san-hun ching, prayer of the three souls. So the informant told me. Unfortunately I could no longer record these ceremonies.

[851]
[527]

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Word List

778 Age-consecration: šge lama ndziala- = great lama-invitation.
888
527 Master of ceremonies: kãṅguo.
To fetch the hutukhtu: ġdzõ niwa (twice) (or dãṅwu, if the first time).
[601] Mother's brother: nēgā; achiu (Chin.); ayãṅ.
Mother's brother's son: ku-chiu (Chin.).
[292] Sash: ġēdzãn (Tib. loanword) (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 635.] gēdzãn: Tibetan gazn = the yellow sash of the lama costume. -- gõṅsõn: Tib. dgoṅ = solitude, soṅ = to go away; meaning, "to go into solitude." -- gēlõṅba: Tib. dge = virtue, sloṅ = to apply oneself, pa = belonging to; meaning, "one who applies himself to virtue." -- gesnien: Tib. dge = virtue, bsñen = to approach. -- gãṅsgur:

[785]

852

852 CEREMONIAL DURING INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD--rites of passage prior to puberty; maturation ceremonies (e.g., at first step, at first tooth); rites associated with cutting of hair, ear piercing, and circumcision; ceremonies correlated with achievements (e.g., first animal killed, first cloth woven); adult guidance and sponsorship; participation of children in adult ceremonies (e.g., Christmas); etc. See also:

Mutilation 304
Birthdays 527
Naming ceremonies 553
Artificial kin relationships 608
Baptism and confirmation 795, 851
Religious ceremonial 796

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

553 the festivities, except for the herdsmen and shepherds
851 who are out in the hills. They must not be overlooked,
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[P. 102 b]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

852 A first-born sick child, the future head of a new family, is never dedicated to such spirits. Usually the child is dedicated to one of the Taoist spirits whose statues are honored in the temple of the village, or to the twelve Tengris of the shamans. The shaman, accordingly, is the usual performer of the ceremony, which is most often carried out in the village temple, but may be enacted at home, in which case the shaman is invited to bring with him the picture of the deity to which the child is to be dedicated. In the case of a son the ceremony is performed when he is twenty-nine days old, in the case of a girl when she is thirty days old.

The child is taken to the temple. Thirteen rolls of steamed bread are offered to the spirit and a piece of red cotton cloth five feet in length is hung on the statue of the deity while incense and boughs of cypress are burned before the statue. The shaman then takes from the statue a piece of cloth which had been previously offered in a similar ceremony, tears a strip from it and wraps it around the neck of the child. He then prays for a while, sitting with his legs crossed under him, beating his shaman drum, and then ties knots in the strip of cloth. Then he takes a loop of the rope used at the religious ceremony of the spring festival. This rope is made up of small loops of hemp around which the spirits are supposed to have descended from heaven to bless the community. It is therefore a sacred and powerful talisman. The loop of rope is covered with a tightly sewn cover of red cotton cloth. It is taken from the statue and attached to the neck of the child with a red cord. This loop of rope has the Chinese name *malu sheng* or "the rope of the highway." Some people fasten the two ends of the loop with a "lock of longevity" carved from peach wood.[30] When such a lock is used, a small arrow, made of willow wood, is sewn in a cover of red cotton cloth and attached to the back of the child's clothes. The use of the lock and the arrow is Chinese in origin and is intended to increase the effectiveness of the shamanistic rites for protection from evil spirits.

If the parents still have doubts and are not satisfied with the effectiveness of the rites that have been performed, they may take some hair from a white dog, wrap it in red cotton cloth folded in a triangle, and sew it under the child's armpit; for a dog does not die easily, and by sympathetic magic it is hoped that the child will be resistant to death. Other people wrap a clove of garlic in the same way, because the smell of garlic drives away evil spirits. Another talisman is made by taking a piece of paper which has been soaked in blood taken from a vein in the arm of a shaman while he was in a trance (as happens at the spring observances) wrapped and sewn in the same way. This is considered the most efficient of all talismans.

The loop of the "rope of the highway" is worn for five, seven, nine, or thirteen years, and during the whole of

[30] The peach is itself one of the Chinese symbols of longevity. —O. L.

[P. 103a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

852 this time the child is considered to be dedicated to the tutelary spirit. During these years the child's head may not be shaved; though some people shave everything except the crown of the head, where the hair is allowed to grow and is braided in a "pigtail."

At about the age of thirteen, when the child is supposed to have passed successfully the dangerous years of infancy, it can be released from its "dedication"; but this requires a special ceremony, because in theory the intention is supposed to have been to dedicate the child to the deity for the whole of its life.

The ceremony of release, like the ceremony of dedication, is performed by shamans. The ceremony—which is never omitted, for fear that misfortune may overtake the child—must be performed either at the temple or at the home of the shaman, in the presence of the picture or the statue of the deity to which the child is dedicated.

The father goes to the temple with the boy and some friends. He offers thirteen rolls of steamed bread on the altar of the deity, a whole piece of red cotton cloth, and three strings of coins. He also takes to the temple a cock, a winnowing basket, a red rope five or seven yards in length, a comb, a small broom, a roll of bread, and a pair of scissors. The shaman ties one end of the rope to the statue and the other to the neck of the boy. Sitting cross-legged, he beats his drum and prays, while all those present kneel on the ground. The shaman then cuts the rope with the scissors, close to where it is tied to the statue. He takes the loose end made by the cut and ties it around the neck of the cock. He then cuts a tuft of hair from the boy, combs it, and puts it in the winnowing basket with the broom. The loaf of bread and the scissors are also placed in the basket.

One of those who has accompanied the father to the temple then takes the basket; another carries the cock, which is still attached by the red rope to the boy, and starts toward the boy's home, with the boy walking on the left side of the man who is carrying the cock. The whole of the way home the man carrying the basket repeatedly cries out at the top of his voice, calling the name of the boy: "Boy So-and-So, did he come home?" The man carrying the cock replies in the same loud voice "Yes, he is here," at the same time teasing and stirring up the cock to make it crow. When they reach the gate into the family courtyard the whole group stand for awhile repeating the same question and response. Finally they enter the courtyard where the whole family, all in their best clothes, are drawn up as if they were waiting for a distinguished guest. They bow and congratulate the boy as if he had come from a great distance, and lead him to the main room. Here the rope is untied and the cock is released in the courtyard.

The boy is seated on the *k'ang*, where he behaves as if he were a distinguished guest, drinking tea and eating some of the bread brought home in the basket. Then the rope by which he had been tied to the cock, which is still around his neck, is untied and all the talismans

[P. 103 b]

852 that had been sewn in his clothing during the period of his "dedication" are taken and placed in the winnowing basket. The contents of the basket are put at the place on the *k'ang* where the boy sleeps, and covered with the basket, upside down. The boy's head is then shaved, and he is free. A dinner follows, for all who took part in the ceremony.

On the third day after the ceremony the contents of the basket are taken away and buried in a far off, hidden place. The cock is allowed to grow old. He may not be killed, and when he dies may not be eaten. He is known as "the cock of longevity," and is treated in the same way as sacred or dedicated animals.

Girls dedicated to a tutelary spirit are liberated in the same way as boys. Most children, when they are liberated, are given back the name that they were given at birth. In addition to children who are "dedicated" in this way when they are very small, as a protective measure, children are frequently "dedicated" when they fall seriously ill.

The importance of the "cock of longevity" is illustrated by the following story. A boy of the Ngao family threw a stone and accidentally killed a "cock of longevity" belonging to the Li family. The incident threatened to become of life and death importance, because the life of a boy in the Li family depended on the cock, and the Li family was prepared to bring suit before the Li T'u-ssu, the chief of the clan. The village elders, however, proposed settlement of the incident by compromise. At a public meeting on the village threshing floor, attended by the whole community, old and young, men and women, boys and girls, it was decided to abide by the decision of an old and experienced shaman who was requested to think of a way to save the life of the Li boy. His solution was that a new cock was to be provided and a bolt of red cotton cloth offered to the tutelary deity, while he, as shaman, would say prayers in expiation of the outrage. In addition, the elders ordered the Ngao family to defray all expenses, to make an apology to the Li family, and to bring the Li family as an offering a sheep with horns adorned with a piece of red cotton cloth, while fire crackers were to be set off at the entrance to the Li family courtyard and within the courtyard.

In families where there are few children or where one of the children has been dedicated to a deity, a lovely and naive ceremony can be seen. On the sixth or seventh birthday of the boy for whom the ceremony is to be performed, the parents invite a lama of the Yellow Hat sect to say the "prayers for a peaceful life" on his behalf. These prayers are said in the early morning. Later in the day the boy's maternal uncle, some of the oldest men of the village, and the members of the family are invited to a dinner for which a sheep has been specially slaughtered. The boy, guided by one of his brothers (a person of the same generation is required, but

[P. 104a]

852 may be either a real brother or a classificatory brother) is introduced to the guests. He takes a taper sputtering in vegetable oil, lights a lamp with it, and carries the lamp into the courtyard, offers it to Heaven, and all the spirits, burns boughs of cypress, and, accompanied by his brother, makes nine prostrations to Heaven and all the spirits. Returning to the main room, he makes the same offerings and prostrations to his tutelary spirit.

The boy then pours wine for each of the guests, beginning with his maternal uncle, inviting them to drink and be happy. Noodles are then served to all, but the boy's own bowl is only partly filled, in order to allow each of the guests to put some of his noodles in the boy's bowl, congratulating him cordially and wishing him a long and happy life. The significance of this part of the ceremony is that the longevity of the old men present is supposed to be conferred upon the boy, assuring him a long life. I was fortunate enough to witness this simple and wonderful rite and was delighted to see how the old men carried it out in a manner imbued with religious feeling and kindliness.

778 Parents who do not "dedicate" a child also protect them with talismans. If they go to a lama, he will write
755 a Tibetan prayer which he wraps in red cotton cloth to be hung around the neck of the child with a thin cord. At night it must be hung on a nail on the wall. If the child forgets to take it off and hang it up, it is considered to have been defiled and must be purified in the smoke of cypress boughs in order to restore its efficacy. If they go to a Chinese Taoist priest, he will write the Chinese character for "longevity" on a sheet of paper, adding a cabalistic design. The paper is then wrapped in red cotton cloth, folded in a triangle, and sewed on the back of the child's clothes. Either a lama or a Taoist priest will perform this service in return for a small present.

858 Respect for the lives of children is deeply rooted in the patrilineal family system. The rare instances of infanticide that I noted in my earlier study, *Le mariage chez les T'u-jen* (p. 105) are due to the influence of the Chinese, among whom this practice is not unusual. Among the Monguors, children are the golden threads interwoven in the fabric of life. A mother is bound by her love for her children and rarely leaves her hearth to live with another man. Her orientation toward her children is fortified by the respect for family obligations in which she herself has been brought up. Mothers who are unable to suckle their children easily find another woman in the village who will act as wet nurse. If a mother dies leaving young children, everyone is willing to help take care of them. When a child is sick, the whole village is in a hustle and bustle to try to help save its life, and when a child dies the consternation and sorrow are general and real. The religious observances on behalf of sick children will be discussed in a future work on the religious life of the Monguors. [p. 104 b]

[50 cont.]
777 always inside the house. In such a case the arrow is not made or
*778 consecrated by a lama or Bon priest (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 52.] For the preparation of the urn, cf. the section: "The Earth-god Urn."

Attachments: Always and in all cases hadas and sheep wool are attached to the arrow. If the arrow is consecrated, a small copper mirror is usually also attached to it. -- When
[237] an animal is sold or given away, some of its hair is tied to the
[432] arrow, as in the case of horses, donkeys, and mules. The hair is taken from the mane or tail. Similarly, when a sheep is sold some wool is also tied on. Hog bristles, however, may never be tied to the arrow of good fortune. -- After a child's first haircut,
[302] on the first birthday, the downy hairs that have been cut off are
[852] rolled into a little ball, and a thread is drawn out of it, with which the ball is tied to the arrow; similarly the bow and arrow that the child seized as an oracle on this occasion is tied to it. -- When a daughter is married, a number of small strips of cloth
[585] are cut from the seam of her bridal [51] dress for the arrow. Also some hair of the bride, which was combed out during the hair-dressing and adornment on the eve of her being taken away, is carefully collected and attached to the arrow of good fortune (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 52-53.] The fact that sheep wool is always attached to the arrow, as to the obo, seems to be connected with the sheep of good fortune; cf. below. F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148) would like to connect the little balls of wool (cotton) with the thread figures (mdos), which hold fast the demons. -- Occasionally, silk threads in the five sacred colors are also added. Hair

[620]

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IV. Customs concerning the Human Being

* See "Notes," p. 622 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

846 Soon after the birth of a child one makes the happy event
[851] known to the family of the mother of the woman in childbed.
The mother then comes to visit her daughter. The other rela-
[431] tives, however, come only after one month. They bring gifts
and hold a feast. On the morning of this day the child is
[553] solemnly given a name, and in the evening it is brought before
the gate of the yard for the reception of the shepherd. Then
[527] there is singing and drinking and dancing into the night.
[852]

Details

Birth announcement: Three days after the birth of a
[851] boy or girl, the father-in-law of the woman in childbed takes
a little jug of liquor and some oil-baking and goes to the family
[273] of his daughter-in-law. It is immediately apparent why he has
come to visit, and he need only tell the day and the hour of
birth and whether it is a boy or girl. After they have drunk the
[573] liquor, the mother goes directly to her daughter in order to take
care of what needs to be done. She stays there a few days and
then often repeats her visit.

846 Conclusion of the confinement: Exactly 29 days after
431 the birth, in other words, on the thirtieth day, the parents and
nearest relatives of the woman in childbed appear at her
husband's house. They bring clothing for the child [621] and
[262] the woman (a long upper garment and shoes) and, further, four
large loaves of bread, oil-cakes, and other baked goods. The

[621 cont.]

553
[592]
[792]

4. [Foreign text p. 622.] A lama can also perform the ceremony. This is rarely done, however. Usually the father or kin-group elder does it.

is never a woman or a relative from the family of the woman in childbed.

Following the name-giving or in the course of the day, the mother with the child in her arms must kowtow to all the guests; for this she receives a small gift of money for the child. -- Towards noon the family holds a general feast, for men and women separately. On this occasion much barley wine is drunk, and there is singing and dancing.

[431]
[527]
[273]
[562]

852 Reception of the shepherd: Towards evening, when the animals are expected back from the pasture, the father or the mother takes the infant in his arms and takes it out in front of the gate of the yard, where they meet the homecoming herd. The shepherd must give the child some money, and in return the father gives him a loaf of bread which he must eat immediately. This custom is called "to welcome the shepherd"; the Chinese say "to welcome the sheep" (2). -- The guests

[431]
[553]

[171]
[846]

2. [Foreign text p. 622.] The reception of the shepherd is also found among the Chinese, just as the termination of the confinement generally is almost the same among them. In the region of Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) I learned from the missionary there, P. Frick, that the people place the child in the manger so that it may later own many herds and become a good horseman. This custom could not be confirmed for the Tujen.

[621 cont.]

852 take no further notice of this ceremony, but drink and dance
553 far into the night; then they gradually scatter. Only the closest relatives of the young mother stay until the next day.

[622]

192

Word List

846 To be in childbed: sara sōdzi = she sits out the month; tsuo yüeh (Chin.).

To terminate the confinement: sara durgeni = she terminates the month.

ch'u-yüeh (Chin.) = to step out of the month.

man-yüeh (Chin.) = to fulfill the month.

[852] Reception of the shepherd: asdzi dzēlie-; ying-yang (Chin.) = to welcome the sheep.

[Page 622 contains the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

852
527

2. The First Birthday*

* See "Notes," pp. 623-625 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[787] On the first birthday the father puts the child on the kang and
[302] places various things before it. From the object that the child
[778] grasps it can be seen what it will become in later life. After that its hair is cut and this is hung on the arrow of good fortune.

[623]

Details

852
787 The oracle: On the morning of the anniversary of the birth, the father brings the child into the main house or into the kitchen and sets it on the kang. He places a kang table with three little baked loaves of bread, five steamed loaves of bread, and a cup of tea in front of it. Next to it, for a boy, he puts a span-long bow with a small arrow, brush, paper, and money; for a girl, these are needle, yarn, ell, scissors, knife. The three little baked loaves signify the three Buddhistic world-
[776] spirits (2). The five steamed loaves symbolize the five blessings

2. [Foreign text p. 624.] It could not be ascertained which three names are individually involved. sãṅrẽdzi (Illuminated One) is the title for the Tulkus; cf. section, "The Lama-reception," and Note 6 below.

[777] of good fortune: age, wealth, health, virtue, blessed death (1).
[171]

1. [Foreign text pp. 623.] Chinese and Tibetan conceptions are mixed in the explanation of these loaves, for the Chinese also have this birthday ceremony. The Chinese proverb, wu fu p'eng shou, the five good-fortune-[624] (signs) hold up the age-(sign). A custom at New Year's: The sign shou is written in the center of a red paper, and in a circle around it the five signs for good fortune, fu.

The parents give the child some of the bread to eat and let it drink tea, or the mother suckles it. Then they ask it to grasp at the things on the kang table. If the boy grasps
[778] money, he will be an industrious tradesman; if he seizes bow

[623 cont.]

852 and arrow, he will be a strong warrior; if he grasps brush and
787 paper, he will be a learned scholar. It is similar for the girl.
778 The object that is chosen by the child is hung on the arrow of good fortune (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 624.] Concerning the arrow of good fortune, cf. the appropriate section. Tying the object grasped by the child to the arrow is supposed to preserve the child's strength so it will develop in the direction indicated. On the arrow of good fortune in the yard of my informant, I saw a large number of miniature bows, arrows, and balls of hair of his children and grandchildren.

302 The haircut: The child still has downy hair because it
852 has not been shorn since birth. Now the father or some other man takes it in his arms and takes it into the yard. There another man shaves its head, regardless of whether it is a boy or a girl. One or two tufts of hair remain standing on the back of
[778] the head (4). The father twists the hair between the palms of

4. [Foreign text p. 624.] The tufts of hair that are left were probably intended as beginnings for the later hairdress (queue). It could not be determined whether they might perhaps have something to do with a consecrated Buddha-tuft, as, for example, among the Lolo; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa, I-chia. In any case the tufts of hair are nowadays shaved off again. Probably the tufts, like the custom as a whole, were taken over from the Chinese. The Chinese call these children's hair-tufts tsung-chiao

[171]

[628 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 624 cont.]
(roughly = little head horn). To what extent they thereby characterize childhood is shown by the expression tsung-chiao chih chiao, friendship since childhood (literally, little head horn connection).

[778] his hands into a little roll and twirls one thread out of it with which he ties it to the arrow of good fortune." Formerly these strands were drawn through a coin with a hole in it, and this, together with the ball of hair, was hung on the arrow. The hair of the children thus remain on the arrow of good fortune throughout their lives.

852 Then the father goes with the child and the arrow of good
[782] fortune into the yard and makes the great incense offering. On this occasion the child kowtows to the sky for the first time. After the offering the arrow is taken back to its original place (5).

[527]
[177]
852
171

5. [Foreign text pp. 624-625.]
The first birthday celebration was evidently taken over from the Chinese there. An example of how it is practiced elsewhere in China, taken from J. Doolittle, Social Life (p. 90), will be presented here for the sake of clarity: "On the first birthday the mother is presented with another thank-offering, and other gifts of clothing and food are received by the grandmother on the maternal side. If it is a boy, a pair of shoes and a cap are found among other items of clothing; if it is a girl, then arm bands and head ornaments are also found among other articles of clothing. The preparations for the thank-offering

[623 cont.]

852
171

[Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.]
are carried out by the grandmother on the maternal side ..." etc. "Before this festival is celebrated, a large bamboo sieve, such as the farmers use for screening the grain, is placed on the table before the ancestral tablets, where incense and candles have already been lighted. On this sieve are placed a series of coins, a pair of scissors, an ell measure, a copper mirror, brush, inks, paper, inkstone, one or two books, the abacus, a gold or silver ornamental object or some other implement, fruit, etc. The child wears the new clothes which it has just been given and is put on the sieve amidst the objects. Now it is a question of what the child grasps first, holds, and plays with. This moment has an exceedingly great fascination for the parents and assembled friends. It is said that the object the child seizes first indicates its later activities, profession, character, and position in the world. If the child is a boy and seizes a book or an object that has something to do with literature, such as a brush or ink, then one assumes that he will be a great scholar. If he grasps the money or [625] gold and silver objects, then he will be famous on account of his wealth and skill in acquiring money. Once in the Sung dynasty a girl, when she was a year old and had been set on the sieve, first grasped two little miniature weapons with one hand and with the other two vessels such as are used for certain offerings on state occasions. After a few minutes she laid these things

[623 cont.]

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171

[Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.]
down again and grasped a seal. She then no longer paid any attention to the things that lay before her. And now the result: this girl became chancellor of an imperial realm." -- The oracle at this birthday celebration corresponds essentially with that of the Tujen.

527

The Tujen celebrate birthdays otherwise, too, both men and women, but only from the forty-fifth year on. A feast is held, at which all the relatives take part. As presents, nine loaves of bread are customary. Eight steamed loaves signify the eight genii, pa-hsien, and one loaf represents the god of age, shou-hsing (star of age). Towards sundown, all go outside to the graves and give the ancestral offering. Then they go home and drink and dance into the night. -- As the names show, this custom is also borrowed from the Chinese. The Tujen originally had no ancestral offering; to the Chinese, on the other hand, the arrow of good fortune and the dance with song are foreign.

[769]

[177]
[769]

Word List

192
[844] To give birth: tōrō-.
[527] Birthday: tōrōdzān udur; or contracted, tōrōdzūdur.
To celebrate the birthday: tōrōdzūdur noġdzi-.
That woman has given birth: nie bieri tōrōdzia.
When were you born? tsini kidzie tōrōwa?
Yes, I am really celebrating: noġdzidza ligunadzi.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

beat drums and play mandolins, all the younger wives 842
and their husbands pursue each other, jumping over the 372
fire heaps, merrymaking. No wives or husbands would 776
miss this practice, for the tradition goes that it provides fecundity. However, the Yassa forbids jumping over the fire.[20]

Professor N. Poppe notes that among the Mongols the spirit of the fire is represented riding a he-goat, and that the he-goat is a symbol of fecundity, as Plano Carpini already noted.[21] This note of Professor Poppe evidences the existence of the fact that a relation existed between the fire god and fecundity in olden times. The Monguors seem not to know the existence of the god of the fire riding the he-goat, although they know that the hearth god secures fecundity. The hearth god also procures fecundity among the Buriats.[22]

FIRE AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE CHILDREN

The god of the hearth not only provides fecundity to 952
the daughters-in-law, but it protects their children. On 372
the second of the second moon is performed the rite of 776
consecration of the children to the god of the hearth. In the very early morning, before boiling water for washing and making tea, the mother roasts some handfuls of spelt in the cauldron and after them some handfuls of peas. Husband and wife spread them devoutly in the courtyard in front of the door. Then the elders clip some hair from the foreheads of the children under thirteen years of age, and cut the nails on their fingers. Hair and nail parings are carefully put in a cup and covered with a red cloth. The cup is placed before the picture of the hearth god and a copper coin placed on top of it. All members of the family prostrate themselves nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and the incense sticks are then fixed before the picture of the hearth god. On the twenty-fourth of the twelfth moon, at the time the god starts its journey to Heaven, the contents of the cup are burned in the hearth, together with the picture of the god. The Monguors explain this as the yearly rite of consecration of the children to the hearth god.

CULT OF THE HEARTH GOD

Rite at the End of the Year

The most important rites in honor of the spirit of 795
the hearth are performed at its departure for Heaven, 562
and at its coming back from Heaven, for so important 354
a benefactor must receive the highest honors possible, 776
and the most affectionate greetings. This is true all 782
over China. Men do not attend these rites.

The spirit of the hearth of the Chinese starts its journey to heaven on the twenty-third of the last moon of the year, on horseback or on a mule. The spirit of

[20] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 73.

[21] Poppe, *op. cit.* 2: 135. See also n. 15, above, for Agni, the Hindu god, riding a ram.

[22] *Ibid.*, 301.

[p. 121(B)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

M 576 [264] [603] [554] [561] The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank.

The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little."

M [574] It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

i. Celebrations and festivals

N *563 M 614 796 Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

N *563 M 562 [558] [852] [782] [852] Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is particularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 562 852 [553] first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

M [203] [604] [603] [553]

Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

M [184]

N *563 M 302 [593] [888]

j. Beard-growing

A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

N *563 M 764 [171] [177]

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

N *563 M 843 562

4. Popular beliefs

Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 [77] 789

If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.

2: Schram--1974.5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

291
442
855
177
142

Young T'ou-jen woman, given in marriage to a Tibetan family.
The father-in-law is riding the richly accoutered horse and the mother-in-law has the baby in her arms. The whole group wears Tibetan costume.

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

576 and a felt hat which is a simpler edition of the ceremonial
606 hat with its additional ornament of a miniature spear
291 and shield.

MARRIAGE AND ITS REGULATION

581 Because of the veneration of ancestors and the necessity for having male children in order to carry on the
•858 ancestral cult, marriage is not an optional but a necessary part of Monguor life, except of course for lamas. The poorest people will scrimp and save in order to be able to meet the expenses of getting a bride for a son. They will sell animals and land, and go into debt. When a paternal inheritance is divided, money must first be set aside to provide wives for the brothers who are not yet married. People will be consoled or resigned at the death of a husband or wife, but never for the death of an only son, and the sweetest consolation of an old man nearing death is to have married all his sons and to have cradled his grandsons. When two old Monguors meet for the first time, the polite greeting includes the question, "are all your sons married and do you have grandsons?"

582 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There is absolute prohibition against marrying a girl belonging to the same clan. Within the clan, therefore, there are no marriages between nobles and commoners, because all bear the same clan name. It has already been noted above, however, that there began to be exceptions to this rule among the commoners in the period of decay and breakdown of the Monguor society, partly because the commoners are in fact not the actual descendants of the ancestors of the noble clan but merely "assimilated" as a result of being the subjects of the noble clan, with the result that poor nobles began to marry their daughters to sons of commoners. It has also been noted that this loosening of the rules among the commoners was aided by the enrollment of Tibetans and Chinese in the Monguor clans; Tibetan and Chinese women were frequently married by Monguor commoners, and occasionally by the nobles.

The rule of exogamy makes impossible marriage between the children of two brothers, but marriages between the children of a brother and a sister are allowable and even frequent, because the sister married out of her brother's clan and her children and his children therefore have different clan names. Very often, also, when family *A* gives a girl to family *B*, family *B* reciprocates by giving a girl to be married to a boy of family *A*. In all marriages, however, boys and girls must be of the same generation—a custom which may be the result of Chinese influence.

581 The influence of wealth on marriage is of several
565 kinds. The fact that chiefs of clans and rich nobles and rich commoners are prone to marry girls from rich families, including Chinese families, has already been mentioned. The influence of wealth is also shown when

[P. 87a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

604 177

that the assumption of this role by the maternal uncle was only one of several non-patriarchal features introduced into the Monguor system as a result of contact with matriarchal systems. Third, that the property, assistance, and respect relationships which existed between a brother and his sister and her children, as described above, were not specific to either the patriarchal or matriarchal systems, but were founded in human nature, in conditions common to both systems. Fourth, I would add that normally the sister and her children are respected and loved in the husband's family and go through life happily—more because the two families are really friendly and intimate than because of the maternal uncle's power to intervene. After all, the solid foundation of families is not fear and hatred but love, and the functions of the maternal uncle must be viewed with not only his emergency powers in mind, but this as well.

THE CHILD

858 562

Among the Monguors, as in most societies in Asia, boys are preferred to girls. The description given by Father J. Van Oost of the favoritism shown toward boys among the Mongols of the Ordos might well have been written of the Monguors:

> He is surrounded with a kind of idolatry. His parents are proud of him; they cater to all his whims; they rush to dry his tears. A mother is always ready to suckle her son whenever he seems to want it, whether it be night or day. He is a petty tyrant who knows how to make himself obeyed, and his mother carries him around on her back when she is doing her household work. . . . If he gets sick, there is a major crisis. They think he is the victim of evil spirits. They resort to superstitious practices and go to fetch a lama who makes divinations, conjures away the spirits and prescribes remedies and talismans.[23]

843 562

When a woman is pregnant the whole village knows about it, and all of the women and girls are eagerly interested. Every soothsayer passing through the village is invited to foretell the sex of the expected child, and all the young wives ask him to foretell also when they themselves may expect a similar blessed event. When a pregnant woman enters a doorway and steps over the threshold, the other women always watch to see which foot she puts forward first. They believe that if she regularly steps over a threshold with the right foot, the child will be a boy; if it is the left foot, it will be a girl. This is because they believe that a son lies on the left side of the womb and a daughter on the right; accordingly, if the left side is heavy the mother will instinctively raise her right foot when making a step upward.[23a]

The festivities for the birth of a first son are especially important, and among the ways of propitiating fate to provide a long life, the selection of a lucky name is particularly important. Matters of such importance in the

[23] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, as cited, 102.

[23a] Compare the Mongol expression *kul kundu*, "leg-heavy," for "pregnant."—O. L.

[p. 99a]

852 may be either a real brother or a classificatory brother) is introduced to the guests. He takes a taper sputtering in vegetable oil, lights a lamp with it, and carries the lamp into the courtyard, offers it to Heaven, and all the spirits, burns boughs of cypress, and, accompanied by his brother, makes nine prostrations to Heaven and all the spirits. Returning to the main room, he makes the same offerings and prostrations to his tutelary spirit.

The boy then pours wine for each of the guests, beginning with his maternal uncle, inviting them to drink and be happy. Noodles are then served to all, but the boy's own bowl is only partly filled, in order to allow each of the guests to put some of his noodles in the boy's bowl, congratulating him cordially and wishing him a long and happy life. The significance of this part of the ceremony is that the longevity of the old men present is supposed to be conferred upon the boy, assuring him a long life. I was fortunate enough to witness this simple and wonderful rite and was delighted to see how the old men carried it out in a manner imbued with religious feeling and kindliness.

778 Parents who do not "dedicate" a child also protect them with talismans. If they go to a lama, he will write
755 a Tibetan prayer which he wraps in red cotton cloth to be hung around the neck of the child with a thin cord. At night it must be hung on a nail on the wall. If the child forgets to take it off and hang it up, it is considered to have been defiled and must be purified in the smoke of cypress boughs in order to restore its efficacy. If they go to a Chinese Taoist priest, he will write the Chinese character for "longevity" on a sheet of paper, adding a cabalistic design. The paper is then wrapped in red cotton cloth, folded in a triangle, and sewed on the back of the child's clothes. Either a lama or a Taoist priest will perform this service in return for a small present.

858 Respect for the lives of children is deeply rooted in the patrilineal family system. The rare instances of infanticide that I noted in my earlier study, *Le mariage chez les T'u-jen* (p. 105) are due to the influence of the Chinese, among whom this practice is not unusual. Among the Monguors, children are the golden threads interwoven in the fabric of life. A mother is bound by her love for her children and rarely leaves her hearth to live with another man. Her orientation toward her children is fortified by the respect for family obligations in which she herself has been brought up. Mothers who are unable to suckle their children easily find another woman in the village who will act as wet nurse. If a mother dies leaving young children, everyone is willing to help take care of them. When a child is sick, the whole village is in a hustle and bustle to try to help save its life, and when a child dies the consternation and sorrow are general and real. The religious observances on behalf of sick children will be discussed in a future work on the religious life of the Monguors. [P. 104 b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Women also own personal property, including their clothes and jewelry, which are for the most part presents from the woman's own family. It has also been noted above that it is customary for a girl's maternal uncle to give her, before she is married, some land and calves, or to plant some trees for her, and to give her in addition, when she is married, some land and some more animals. The maternal uncle looks after this property for her. Similarly, sisters entrust their personal treasures to the care of a brother or brothers. Thus a married woman has a kind of insurance in the form of property that is partly in the care of a brother and partly in the care of one of her mother's brothers. (Among the circum-Polar peoples, including the Koryaks, Chukchis, and Lapps there is also "women's property"; livestock belonging to a woman before marriage, or given her by her father at the time of marriage, remain her personal property.) [41]

A woman's property may continue to increase after her marriage. When she goes to visit her own family, they frequently give her presents of cotton cloth, clothes, or money. Monguor women have also adopted from Chinese women the practice of keeping chickens. In the extended family, each daughter-in-law has her own chickens, the eggs of which she collects herself and is allowed to sell. In addition, after the crops are threshed the gleanings on the threshing floor are collected and divided by the daughters-in-law. Similarly when opium is harvested the poppy juice is cooked until it becomes thick and gluey. Each individual family in the extended family cooks its own share of the harvest, which must be poured into the kettle of the head of the family; but each daughter-in-law may keep that part of the opium that sticks to the inside of her own kettle without being scraped off— a valuable saving.

Another perquisite is that when peddlers and traveling merchants come around selling sugar, fruit, candies, and cakes to the women and their children it is not unusual for a daughter-in-law to "steal" a little grain from the family granary, while the parents-in-law pretend not to notice, in order to pay for such purchases.

The jewelry and other little treasures that a woman keeps with her in her husband's family are carefully stored in a locked chest in the woman's own room.

CONCLUSIONS

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The general conclusions to be drawn from these data on family life seems to be that the children are the hub around which the whole Monguor family turns. The chief of the extended family is a happy man at home and is esteemed in the Monguor society only if he has grandchildren; the sons love their wives only when they bear children; the wives feel that they are important in the family only when they have children and sons. The children build up the morale of all the members of the

[41] Hubert Konig, *op. cit.*, 625.

[p. 109b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

858 596 family, give them strength and courage in the struggle for the necessities of life, and finally, as I always observed, the love of the grandparents for their grandchildren holds the family united, because only when the grandparents love their children can the daughters-in-law, who are so numerous in the family, forgive each other's and the grandparent's shortcomings and deficiencies. Love for the children is the oil that makes the wheels of the Monguor family turn smoothly. No Monguor can withstand the love displayed for his children.

MORALITY IN THE MONGUOR FAMILY

592 577 It is a general phenomenon that husbands and wives who really enjoy the delights of a happy family life do not feel the need of indulging themselves with pleasures shocking to each other's feelings. People engrossed the whole year long with the problem of making ends meet, dispose of little time to spend in that way and cannot afford its costs. In order to understand the problem we must take stock of the peculiar conditions under which the members of an extended family live. The sons, with their wives and children, live in the same courtyard, one next to the other, with the chief of the family and his wife among them. Permission for absence must be granted by the chief of the extended family, and because there is only one small gate to enter the courtyard, every visitor is instantly noticed, the reasons for his visit are discussed by all the daughters-in-law, and the length of his stay is well observed. Every one in the courtyard is the guardian of the other members of the family, and so the opportunity for misbehavior at home is reduced to a minimum. These are the conditions of every extended family. There is no secrecy. They live in glass houses. The opportunity for misbehavior in small families consisting of husband, wife, and small children is greater, although these families have next door neighbors whose tongues they cannot prevent from wagging. A married daughter who visits her parents, sometimes for many weeks, is more free since her parents do not have as much commanding influence upon her as when she was a child. Very long visits of married daughters at the home of their parents are discouraged by the older people, who seem to know more about the matter. Attendance at the public meetings when such problems are tackled in the presence of all the very interested villagers and the infliction of dishonorable punishments undoubtedly have a salutary and preventive effect upon the people; but in the Monguor society, as in all other societies, it happens that once in a while somebody falls from grace.

834 It is not allowed to the young folk to tell smutty jokes in public or to sing lascivious songs in the village; at weeding time, however, obscene songs are sung in the open fields and allowance seems to be made for that custom. At public festivities, at the lamaseries and at the general assembly of the clan, men and women are

[P. 110a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

291 The gown is of dark blue cotton cloth, cut from the neck down and across under the right arm, and buttoned under the arm and down the side. A woman's gown opens on the left side instead of the right, and is worn hanging down to the heels. Men wear a sash or belt, keeping the hem of the gown hanging just a little below the knees, and loosening up the breast of the gown so that it provides a capacious pocket into which they stuff their eating bowls and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown roughly woven of white wool. A woman's working gown is woven of black and brown wool. Rich people wear a gown woven of Tibetan wool serge (*p'u-lu*). The ends of the men's sashes are seldom embroidered and on holidays they wear a vest or sleeveless jacket which is much less ornamented than that worn by women.

Men shave the front of the head and grow the hair at the back of the crown long so that it can be braided into a "pigtail" which is lengthened with green strings with tassels at the ends. They wear small, round felt hats.

302 A boy's head is not shaved until he is seven or eight, [858] at which time he begins to braid his hair in a "pigtail." A boy's costume is in general just like that of a man, but with few ornaments.

A man is not allowed to grow a beard as long as his parents are living. A man may begin to grow a beard when he is about the age of thirty if his parents died when he was relatively young. The growing of the beard is started on the first day of either the first or second moon of the new year. Some old men shave their heads clean when they reach the age of about sixty, and women of sixty also frequently cut off their long hair. Both men and women when they do this take vows like those taken by lamas and devote the rest of their lives to prayer in order to provide for a happy rebirth.

306 The only men who wear earrings are those who, described in the chapter on children, have received the "flower of longevity" from a maternal uncle in childhood. Later this "flower of longevity" is replaced by a single large silver earring.

Many men are fond of wearing a bracelet, but only on one wrist. It is usually a heavy copper ring, silver plated and carved with Chinese designs. Nearly all young people wear a bracelet on each wrist, resembling the single bracelet of a grown man. A man also hangs from his belt or sash a sheath containing a knife and chopsticks. Some of these are beautifully carved and ornamented with coral and turquoise.

A man's finger ring is made of two thin, small rings with a broad ring soldered outside them. A piece of coral or turquoise is set in this ring.

173 The national legends and traditions of the Monguors
291 are associated much more with the striking costumes
562 of the women than with the comparatively simple costumes of the men. Some of these legends have already been mentioned. Another concerns the Li clan of Shat'o Turkish origin which claims as its ancestor the

[P. 1186]

/7 cont'd/

627 The argument of the judges, before the whole village and the
581 families in question, is very instructive for us. The young man, they
181 said, has not respected the customs of our race, furthermore, he has been unjust with respect to the girl's family; these are grave errors; after the principal accusers, tirades are heard on the necessity of marriage and the indigence of the unfortunate man; finally, he is excused by going back to the extreme obligation to marry. As for the girl, disobedience is censured and the rights of the parents are loudly proclaimed, but she was brave in offering the young man the chance to marry, for marriage is a duty.

We should scarcely admit such reasons; and so I remarked to my catechist and explained to him that in my opinion this was only the commonplace story of a couple who loved each other. "That is possible," he replied, "but it is certain that the young man thought above all of the duty of marriage, and it is poverty which induced him to leave with the girl; as for the girl, she was courageous." It was the same argument. I encountered therefore the same way of thinking in my catechist.

This case would probably be resolved in the same way in the West as in the East, that is to say the union would be legalized; but the motives which would be invoked would be completely different.

/8/ This fact was for me a revelation at the time, and I was able to verify it many times later; it made me acquainted with the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of the general necessity for marriage.

2. Necessity for Male Descendants

858 Another mental habit among the T'ou-jen is an excessive de-
562 sire to see children born, and especially male children.
181 In Europe one is not too concerned when a family has no chil-
581 dren or when there are only girls. Among the T'ou-jen the greatest of misfortunes is the absence of male children. It is necessary to be in the Orient to "live" the text of canon law: Matrimonii finis primarius est procreatio atque educatio prolis /"The primary purpose

/8 cont'd/

858 of marriage is the procreation and rearing of offspring"/. The son is
562 the dream of the Orient. One will resign oneself to poverty, but one
181 will never be consoled for not having a son; one will be consoled over
581 the death of a husband or wife, but one will continue to weep for the loss of an only son. The fact of having no son will be interpreted as a punishment of heaven for sins committed in former lives. One will disregard expenses required for good works and pilgrimages in the interest of producing a male child. Extraordinarily noisy celebrations will be given upon the birth of a first-born son, in which the whole village will take part. The greatest happiness of a T'ou-jen woman will be that of having many sons; so that when one lives in T'ou-jen country, one thinks involuntarily of the Roman mother of the Gracchi presenting her children to her friends, saying, "Here are my jewels." One rarely sees alms refused to the numerous religious and lay beggars; it is because the terrible curse they are accustomed to offer, "Be without descendants," is feared. On the contrary, after receiving alms, the beggar will thank the giver by wishing him a numerous male posterity.

181 We must therefore expect to see matrimonial customs strongly
595 influenced by this way of thinking. Thus, when the wife has no children or no sons, it seems natural /9/ to everyone to take a second wife and even a third. Every T'ou-jen, even the most upright, if means permit, will act in this way. He will not lose the esteem of his fellows in the least for doing so; none of them will even advise him to do so, the most religious man as well as the most pious woman. When the first wife has borne sons, and the husband takes a second, nothing shocking is seen in it, for the more sons one has, the better it is.

I always remember the discussions I had with T'ou-jen friends on the subject of polygamy. I admit that it seemed to me that my arguments did not convince them, even that they were not understood. The good fortune of having sons was for them too sublime an entity to be capable of being put on the same level with the family troubles which polygamy entails; if the bringing up of children of different mothers must leave something to be desired, this disadvantage is a negligible quantity in their eyes, even a quantity of lower order

/127 cont'd/

588 is usually contracted with the prayer pole, called mané kan, which is found in nearly all courtyards of T'ou-jen residences. (It is a pole set up in the middle of the courtyard, at the top of which float streamers on which are printed lamaic prayers in Tibetan characters.) Often the marriage is also contracted with a wall, with a tree which is in front of the house, with the little lion of baked clay which is above all the house roofs, even with a rock, etc.

The girl kneels three times and each time makes three great prostrations as one does at a wedding. She makes the prostrations in the direction of the prayer pole or the tree or the object she is supposed to be marrying; at the same time she says each time, "Heaven has combed my hair, the prayer pole, etc. is my husband..."; then she makes the same prostrations to her parents and the others present.

588 848 The children resulting from such a "marriage" are called t'ien cheng tse, i.e., "begotten by heaven," and they bear the name of the mother's family. /128/ These kinds of marriages are not at all numerous, for the reason that nearly all girls are given in marriage at an early age. They occur from time to time, especially in certain regions. The vicinities of Wei-iuen p'ou, Hong-ngai-tse-keou, and San-tch'oan are the regions where these practices are most frequent.

They occur more rarely in families where there are married sons; they are found most often in families where there are only one or two daughters. These women very often remain in this condition all their lives and continue to become mothers; others do not persist in this abnormal state and end up by marrying someone of their choice.

I have classified this practice in the series of marriages because it creates for the mother and children a legal position identical to that which marriage creates for the married couple and their offspring. In addition, its purpose is manifestly the procreatio et educatio prolis "the procreation and rearing of offspring" of the mother's clan.

858 588 As a matter of fact, the child born of this kind of marriage becomes legitimate heir of its mother's family; it is, they say, wai-cheng ting kieou-kieou, i.e., "the son of a daughter holds the rank of maternal uncle." Even if there are sons in the family who have children, the son of the woman in question will become heir by the

/128 cont'd/

858 same right as his cousins, sons of his mother's brothers. The reason
588 given for this is that the mother, at the time of her son's birth, was no longer a girl but quite married, since she was wearing her hair in the fashion of wives. But suppose that the young woman, as a result of difficulties with a sister-in-law or with her parents, or having simply found a match which she likes, marries again at a "second" wedding, then she can either take her son with her, and he loses
[428] ipso facto his rights to inheritance in his mother's family, and he must change his family name and inherit in the family of his new father (for by the change of name he falls into the category of adoptive children), or else the grandmother opposes the departure /129/ of her daughter's son, and he stays in his mother's family, keeping his rights.

848 It often happens that neither the grandmother nor the mother
792 keeps the child but that they entrust him to a lamasery. Lamas no
178 longer having the right of inheritance, these children disappear from public life. This category of children are sent to the lamasery probably to avoid difficulties which arise later at the time of the division of property, either on the part of the uncles or the nephews, just as when the mother takes the child to the home of her new husband and the latter adopts him as his son, which makes one suppose that these children's right to inherit is nowadays no longer very stable. One feels a period of transition in the custom. We are here in the presence of a practice which must have been more general in olden times and which has its roots in an organization which is not patriarchal.

562 These girl-mothers are received in all groups and are regarded
588 as virtuous women in spite of the fact that people know this custom is
593 considered abominable in the eyes of their Chinese neighbors. These women are recognized as being married; for, they say, their marriage took place in the manner of the marriage of girls, in the courtyard of the house, in front of the sacred fire. Their children are recognized as children of the clan, and they are given the name of their mother. In T'ou-jen families, when a brother dies, leaving only daughters, his brothers inherit his property; the daughters indeed do not inherit; but when this brother has a daughter of the category of which we

588 /131 cont'd/
574 children born later will continue to be always given the name of the
[858] guest. It goes without saying that the latter does not bother in any way with the support of either the child or the woman.

[428] Important remark: No right of inheritance is recognized for these children in the family of their mother. They are considered as the children of a daughter married to some individual, for they bear another name; now, another name, another family.

588 This curious custom finds its place in the series of marriages
554 because it creates a legal position in favor of the mother identical in every way to that of any married woman. The woman married to a belt is considered the wife of husband X and no one will ever venture to abduct her.

588 /132/ Marriages to a belt and those to prayer poles resemble each other strongly; the manner of celebrating them is the same; women who have contracted these marriages are considered as duly married, and the children, in the two groups, are recognized as legitimate. The only difference between the two groups of marriages lies in the fact that those of the prayer-pole group are recognized by the mother's clan, and those of the other are considered as not belonging to this clan. Those of the prayer-pole group seem to be direct vestiges of one of the stages of the matriarchate; indeed, they bring about inheritance in the family by the daughter. Those of the second group, on the contrary, by the fact that the woman and the children are considered as having left the clan, do not seem to have this origin; but if the prayer-pole marriages had not existed formerly, those of the belt group would never have been practiced.

588 The following item throws a singular light on this category of
593 marriages. A certain Tchang-kia-pa of Hong-ngai-tse-keou had a daughter married to a belt, mother of a small child; in addition, he had a married son at home. As a consequence of continual friction between the daughter married to the belt and the daughter-in-law, the first sought a match, married, and left the paternal home, taking away her son. Thus a certain Hou Iu-leang bought her as his second wife for the sum of 200 strings of cash.

After five or six years, at the time of the great fair and festivities of Wei iuen-p'ou which take place in the second moon, a

M /141 cont'd/
586 sum or to find signers and go-between, for nobody wants to expose
672 himself to the vengeance of the family of the repudiated wife. I knew a case where all was ready for the repudiation of a woman who was claimed to be badly formed physically. Since the family was
M rich, it was on the point of turning up its nose at all threats. At the
[762] last moment it changed its mind when it learned that the wife had just procured opium to end her life.

M Thus those who do not fear exposing themselves to such troubles
586 will repudiate their wives. Fortunately, these people are extremely
432 rare.

It must therefore be admitted that in this respect the T'ou-jen have not undergone the pernicious influence of their neighbors and masters, the Chinese, among whom repudiation and the sale of the wife often occur in normal times. One will never see T'ou-jen women sold in great numbers in time of famine as is seen in China even today. One will not meet T'ou-jen who will take a mortage on their wives, as I have seen happen twice among the Chinese. One will never see the T'ou-jen put a woman on the mountain of filial piety as I once saw done. Although with them the wife must work very hard, she is more highly esteemed and respected than in China.

M If, however, repudiation does take place, they begin by getting
586 go-between, who will go to consult with the wife's family. When the discussions have reached an end and the money demanded has been promised, the contract is written and signed as for divorce. The go-between, after bringing the promised sum to the family of the
M repudiated woman, /142/ will go to get the latter and present her to
[858] her parents. The children in this case stay with the husband's family. (1)

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1. Timkovski, Voyage à Pékin, Vol. 2, p. 313: (Mongols.) Divorce is very frequent; the least dissatisfaction on one side or the other is enough to have it declared. If the husband wants to be separated from his wife without a

[621 cont.]

846 431 [262] loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter, and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

[858] [822] Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

553 791 [787] [592] Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the master of the household gives the great incense offering in the yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the [778] child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

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3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guänbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guämbo; ifulā sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sērāṅ (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; laśdze sērāṅ, pass-peak-palace; tuguän ula, mountain of the Tuguän. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

622 sends one of his assistants to invite the elders and summons the defendant. If the problem is important, 627 the military commanders are also invited. Problems of this kind include delimitation of the boundaries of fields—a kind of arbitration case often made necessary by contracts drafted ambiguously by incapable men. Cases of dividing a paternal inheritance are often laborious and consume many days. The whole community is [681] interested in such cases. In personal quarrels, disputes, and fights the offending party may be flogged with up to one hundred stripes. If the complainant has been wounded, the defendant is condemned, in addition, to defray the expenses for the doctor and for medicine and to pay indemnity for a fixed number of days of recuperation.

685 Stealing seems to be an ineradicable evil among the Monguors, and stealing of animals is the worst of all. The Monguors still seem to have the old attitude toward thieving and the stealing of animals, although thieves are severely punished. Among the neighboring nomads, when a man is caught red-handed stealing animals, he is taken to a lonely spot, the tendons of his ankle joints are cut, and he is left, crippled, to die on the spot. The nomads show no pity for cattle thieves. The Monguors do not punish as cruelly and do not inflict capital punishment, but the thief has his hands bound behind his back and is then hung by the thumbs, until he loses consciousness. Water is then poured on his head. When he recovers consciousness, the same sport is repeated two or three times. He is then flogged with up to five hundred stripes, or even more. If a thief is caught the second time, he is sent to the T'u-ssu's prison, and when he emerges from jail, he is a wreck of his former self—provided he escapes at all, by bribing the guards.

People who steal sheaves from the field at harvest time are flogged with up to fifty or one hundred stripes and are led through the village, the sheaves on their back, [865] crying the whole way long that they are guilty. Boys accused by their parents of disobedience are flogged in the same way, after having been forced to apologize to their parents.

684 In cases of adultery the guilty pair, if caught *in flagrante delictu*, are flogged with up to one hundred stripes or more. The woman is beaten on her bare back with rawhide lash, the man on his bare buttocks and thighs. Apologies are made to the injured husband. A sheep or pig is brought to his home. Fire crackers are set off. The guilty pair ask a guarantor to speak for their proper conduct in the future. An official statement is written attesting the fact of adultery and the supplication for pardon. The two guilty persons place their right thumbs on an inked pad and then make an impression with the thumb on the statement. They are then led through the village, two drums beating before them, while they confess their guilt.

Once in a while a young woman runs away from her

EDUCATION OF THE CHILD

603 In their early years children are brought up as much by their grandparents as by their parents. The grandfather and grandmother play with the children all day long, carrying them on their backs, holding them in their arms, fondling them, and making slaves of themselves like devoted nursemaids—and the children love them as they would a nurse. The children know very well that it is to their grandparents that they must look for sweets and candies and extra delicacies, and that when grandfather goes for a walk they may go along with him. Boys and girls are treated with the same affection.

603 606 In this relationship lies the deepest secret of why daughters-in-law become attached to the families into which they marry. Although a girl is not consulted about her marriage, although she comes to know her husband only after she has been married to him, and although she lives in an extended household where she must adjust herself to the other daughters-in-law, the fondness of the grandparents for her children goes a long way to smooth inevitable frictions and jealousies.

882 It is when the boys begin to grow up that they cease to be regarded as children and lose some of their intimate contact with their grandparents. They like to leave the family courtyard to play with other boys; and as they get bigger, small jobs are assigned to them. They begin to go out with the herds and flocks to the pastures, to help with the farming, and to learn from their fathers how to make tools. The girls help their mother in the kitchen, gather fuel, tend animals in the stalls and stables, and learn to sew. Before she is married, each girl works on her "hope chest," and under her mother's direction prepares most of the clothes that she will take with her when she marries, including the embroidered girdle and the monumental ceremonial hat and fancy boots. Through learning to cook and sew, to look after animals, and to understand farming in her own family, a girl learns how to become a good daughter-in-law.

867 The Monguors are not a people who have a fondness for learning. There are few villages that have a school, and in any case girls never go to school. The education for life of both boys and girls is mainly in the family. Children are not prevented from watching and listening to anything that goes on in the crowded extended family and in the village. At a very early age they know which woman in the village is pregnant and when the birth of the child is expected. They know how many animals are owned by each family in the village, how many colts, calves, and lambs there are; how the harvest has turned out and what the current prices are for the horses, cows, sheep, goats, skins, wool, wheat, and millet that the villagers have to sell and what the prices are for the cotton cloth, thread, needles, salt, spices, and so forth that they buy.

A boy accompanies his father to the nearest market town when he goes there to sell wheat and sees the shops, the soldiers, and the crowds. At the monastery festivals

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867 boys accompany their father and girls their mother and there they see the horse races and the merrymaking, the dancing and the singing.

869 In their religious life there are no churches, for the temples are not churches. Children never hear sermons or receive formal instruction in religion; but every morning they see grandfather honoring "Heaven and all the spirits" on the roof of the house, and they can go up there with him and make their prostrations as he does. All day long they hear him whispering his "Om Mani" as he fingers his Buddhist rosary, and they learn to pray with him. Similarly they watch their mother honoring the god of the hearth, and on the first and fifteenth of the month they see the burning of the incense and cypress boughs before the family altar. Everything that they see they ask about; and though their elders give them explanations that are closer to folklore than to theology, the children readily accept and believe the marvelous stories that they hear about Buddhas and other deities. Through watching the religious rites at monasteries and village temples and taking part in the family ceremonies for the veneration of ancestors and for deaths and marriages, children acquire, not so much a formal creed as a definite religious attitude that is a part of their social outlook.

867 The village threshing-floor is almost as important a factor as the family in the education of a child. It is at public meetings at the threshing floor that the elders of the village and the village chief make all their decisions in community matters. Compromise is the prevailing rule of all such decisions, resort to the law being only a last expedient, and compromise in a village can only be reached through long discussion and public comment. The older generation takes it for granted that children should be brought to such meetings. Women and girls are as much interested as men and boys. Because from childhood they have heard disputes with neighboring villages settled at the threshing floor, men and women alike know the boundaries of their own villages, and what wood lots in the mountains belong to their village and where fuel can be obtained. They know also that there is a sacred hill on which fuel may not be obtained, because they can remember when somebody was publicly punished by beating at the meeting for breaking the tabu. Similarly they know that each family must pay its share for keeping up the cult of the clan ancestors and the religious observances of the village, because they have seen people punished and harshly reproved by the elders for attempting to evade payment of their share.

Not only have they seen men lashed and hung up by their thumbs for theft and other crimes, but they have seen young women beaten and shamed before the whole community for scandalous behavior toward their elders or for escapades with men.

They hear, moreover, every detail that goes with every story, no matter how intimate and delicate, including

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

867 quarrels among husbands and wives. It is thus that they acquire a training in what is allowed and what is not allowed in their own society, and can absorb exact knowledge of what constitutes authority in the family and the village.

INSTITUTIONAL KINSHIP

608 The custom of "sworn brotherhood" is ancient in Mongol society and is widespread in Asia. The purpose of the institution is to bind together two or more men either for aid and support in general or for specific purposes. Sworn brotherhood is binding only on the individuals concerned and not on family or social groups to which they belong. Men need not belong to the same clan in order to swear brotherhood; in fact the institution probably arose out of the necessity for mutual loyalty in situations not covered by clan or family loyalty. Thus a Monguor will swear brotherhood not only with other Monguors but with Mongols, Tibetans, Chinese, or Muslims. Nor does difference in social condition matter, because a rich man may take the oath with a poor man and even a T'u-ssu with one of his subjects. Women, however, are very seldom "sworn sisters," and man and women are never "sworn brother and sister."

The oath then can be taken under various conditions. Men whose purpose is not honorable will take the oath at night, in secrecy, while those whose purpose is honorable will act quite openly, taking the oath either at the home of one of them or in the village temple.

Among the Monguors the rite requires that a sheep, goat, or chicken be killed, some of its blood gathered in a bowl, and wine added. Holding incense sticks in their joined hands, the two or more men who are going to take the oath of brotherhood prostrate themselves simultaneously before a picture or statue of the temple deity, or before "Heaven and all the spirits." Each then makes a prostration to the other as they swear solemnly an oath of mutual aid and support, calling for punishment from the spirits in case of falsehood or disloyalty. Each puts on the other's head the picture of the spirit who is being invoked, or a book containing Tibetan prayers, and both (or all) drink the blood of the sacrificial animals, mixed with wine.[21] If there are more than two taking the oath, each is given a number and from then on they address each other only by number, as "big brother number 1," "number 2," and so on. While such an oath may be taken perfectly openly, there is often about it an air of secrecy and of something reprehensible, which is not strange in view of the fact that rebellions in China have traditionally been started by bands of sworn brothers.

After the rite has been performed, the brothers present each other with articles of clothing, such as a hat or a pair of boots.

[21] R. Grousset, *Empire des steppes*, 268. Paris, Payot, 1939, notes that when Wang Khan of the Kerait made peace with Chingis Khan, he sent him "blood contained in a cowhorn," to be used at the time of the swearing of the oath.

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ance is provided by an experienced spiritual director 792
and adapted to the needs of turbulent young people. 874
There is no novitiate. A young lama's director is his own master, who himself has received no scientific or religious training. The pupil tries to imitate the older lamas. He listens to their conversations and observes their actions. This lack of real education makes an experienced man pause.

RELATIONS BETWEEN PUPIL AND MASTER

The Wendee, after becoming a Gelüng, does not leave 792
his master, but continues to serve him to his dying day. 571
A lama enjoys the highest respect and love of his family, especially when he is young. His master allows him to make frequent visits to his parents, for it pays him to do so. The saying goes that lamas are quite like married girls. When they visit their family, they take nothing with them and ride an empty horse, but when they leave their father's home their horse is loaded with gifts. The lama never returns from his parents without having received some clothing from his mother, having his clothes mended, and having received some sweet rolls, meat, and pickled vegetables. His parents slaughter a sheep or kill a pig, and a piece of meat is sent to the lama and his master. The master enjoys these small gifts and they help smooth the relations between master and pupil, who have to live congenially together, enduring each other's shortcomings and deficiencies. The intelligent master tries to cultivate good relations with the family of his pupil because this will help to make the pupil obedient and avoid friction between them.

Old, experienced lamas told me often that the problem of the pupil is of overriding importance and is a nightmare to many lamas. The young people now are not as unsophisticated as in old times. The master, an uneducated man, who has never learned to restrain his own passions and temperament, is usually not a man qualified to educate a wild pupil, but the fault does not always lie only with him. The stumbling block in the [867] education of pupils is to be sought, not usually in the home of the master, but outside the monastery, where the pupil goes every day for hours on end, to collect fuel or graze the animals. Boys of seven, eight, and ten years of age meet with teenagers, already thoroughly corrupt, who pervert them and plant in their hearts the seeds of evil weeds which are likely to thrive for the rest of their lives.

Among these groups of young lamas all the short- 792
comings of the masters of the monastery are discussed, 867
the pitiful conditions of the pupils, the disappearance of 571
pupils, the accusations at the Chinese courts of masters by their pupils, the successful removal of a part of the master's wealth by the pupil. These young folk listen all night long to the conversations of the older lamas, who know, to the last detail, all the scandals of the lamas and of the monasteries of the whole country, who

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talk of commerce and business deals, and about the interesting places they have visited. In this way the youngsters come to know about a great deal of unedifying material which they discuss, with relish and interest, when they meet outside the monastery, and so the spirit of commercial adventure is cultivated in them, and the passion to see places and to wander. This poisoned atmosphere, woven around them, has a pernicious bearing on their careers. In the long run, the young lama receives his education outside the monastery in the groups of unrestrained young lamas, and in the evening at the home of his master when old lamas talk unguardedly. In the Orient there are no secrets.

In 1913 I was a guest at the monastery of Hsien-mi. One night the rich intendant of the community of lamas arrived after an absence of three weeks. His two disciples, sixteen and nineteen years of age, had disappeared after being beaten by him for insubordination. Finally, he had found them at the monastery of Shih-men, five days distant from Hsien-mi. By dint of promises he had succeeded in bringing them back home. Two days later I arrived at the monastery of Chu-erh. Two pupils had just undergone a terrible ordeal. One had stolen 50 taels from his master and the other had concealed the stolen money. Punishments were inflicted on both the thief and his accomplice with ruthless severity.

The old rector of the branch of Hua-Yüan-ssu, depending on Erh-ku-lung, had borrowed from a rich Monguor 200 taels. Trusting his pupil, thirty-six years of age, he had sent him with the money to the Monguor. Three months later the Monguor again asked for his money. Then the pupil disappeared and the rector had to pay the sum again. A year later the pupil returned and apologized. The rector was happy to see him again.

An old, sick, asthmatic lama, a friend of mine, came to get some medicine. His young pupil, sixteen years of age (this was his second disciple), had come back after wandering for a year. The asthmatic old man had implored him not to act in that way any more, and had promised to give him a horse and to defray all the expenses of a trip to Lhasa, after he reached his twentieth year of age.[7]

The disappearance of the young lamas is the greatest concern of the old lamas. Punishment is enough to make them leave. Often two or three young men, lured by adventure, decide to abandon their masters and disappear, taking their leave for months or years. The masters, not knowing whether they will return, cannot make provision to search for another pupil, for in case a master's pupil should return, and in the meantime another pupil had been taken on, suit could be brought in the Chinese courts by the former pupil to obtain the wealth of the master and a definite separation.

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[7] Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 36, 37, more about this matter.

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/The Monguors/

N *563 M 621 183 178 The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is M [867] dinned into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-ssu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

N *563 M 621 183 179 178 During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

e. Stealing and gambling

N *563 M [685] [673] [525] [794] Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

N *563 M 587 A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

N *563 M 867 Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meeted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

N *563 M 576 264 603 According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge

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even minor Living Buddhas live in luxurious residences, 792
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Living Buddha is very complicated; no one is even al- [511]
lowed to enter the kitchen, at the entrance of which, [784]
when the Living Buddha is present, is a high stone,
whitewashed and covered with a ceremonial scarf.

The first duty of the intendant is to acquire for his 792
new master two lama teachers of good repute and ex- 871
tensive learning, in order to provide for the education 554
of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the 292
boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity.

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks 792
before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after 554
months and months the exercises always have to be 869
repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and 868
the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.[25]

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, 157
particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training.

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and 792
writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before 875
his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he [876]
fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary lamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-ku-lung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed

[25] Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

minister. Such recollected facts always sear the mind 756
of the Monguors, convincing them that the spirit is to be obeyed, and that it is a terrible spirit.

When we take stock of what has been said of the behavior of the Monguors toward the shamans, the inferiority complex of the shamans, the exacting requirements of the spirit, and the poor remuneration of the office, it is no wonder that the shamans do not enjoy their profession and meet their obligations with revulsion. What is more remarkable is that the same trend of mind exists among all the shamans all over Asia.[14]

DEDICATION AND TRAINING OF THE MONGUOR SHAMANS[15]

Usually the son succeeds the father, and the father is the trainer of his son; the father has no other apprentices. However, during the slack season of agricultural routine, it is not unusual to see sons of different shamans staying for a couple of months with a shaman relative, celebrated for the proficiency of his art. The boys recognize the shaman as their master.

The training of the shaman boy starts when he is 756
about ten years of age. At that time the father invites 868
the elders of his family and some shamans, he kills a sheep and performs the ceremony of the dedication. The boy kneels with incense sticks in his joined hands. The shamans beat drums, perform a dance before the picture of the twelve spirits especially honored by them, and before the staff placed before the picture. A shaman, holding the staff in his hands, then invites the spirits to descend into it. When the staff starts shaking, he makes the announcement to the spirits of the dedication of the boy to their service, and asks them whether or not they approve the dedication of the boy. The invited spirits make the staff shiver and shake more and more in the hands of the shaman. The shaman states that the boy is accepted and dedicated for his whole life to the Twelve Tengris; that they will help him, but will get him into serious trouble if he gives only lip service to them; that he is no longer his own master, but is linked to them by the dedication; then he describes the most terrible calamities which are in store for undutiful shamans, while the staff shakes feverishly in his hands. A dance is performed around the boy while drums are beaten and the ceremony is completed. The gamut of all kind of misfortunes and calamities visited on undutiful shamans will be dinned in his ears in all circumstances, so that the boy, living in an atmosphere of fear and apprehensions, will reach his manhood. Stress is to be put on the fact that the shaman is dedicated to the Twelve Tengris who descended into the staff.

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[14] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 977. Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 55-56. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 248-706.

[15] See also Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 249, *sq.*, for shamanism among the Daghor Mongols.

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PHYSICAL TRAINING

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A small drum is prepared for the boy and the father teaches him to beat it in the right tempo; he teaches him the usual prayers. Every day in the morning and at evening he will sit cross-legged with his father in front of the picture and the staff, beating the drum, receiving instruction and asking for explanations. The father teaches him the pasting of flags and streamers with white, red, and yellow paper, the cutting of all kinds of paper designs; the kneading of all kind of dough figures used during the rites; the application on red paper of the usual seals. He also teaches him the different kinds of dancing, and how to attack imagined spirits or defend himself against them, with sword and spear; and how to use the whip, the staff, and the knife. Special stress is put on athletic exercises in order to strengthen and supple the muscles and bones, and also on all kinds of acrobatics, climbing up poles, jumping on tables, executing dangerous pirouettes. Because all the shamanist [535] rites are accompanied by dances, peculiar stress is put on moving with grace and elegance with measured steps to the beating of the drum. The best dancers among the shamans are very celebrated all over the country. All shamans are acrobats and fine dancers.

Most shamans are proficient in the art of producing tones and words without any motion of the mouth, so that the listeners are induced to refer the sound to spirits speaking in the drum and answering the questions proposed to them by the shaman. They are wonderful ventriloquists. This art is used at the time the spirits are called up in the drums, and long conversations are held between them and the shamans.

The apprentice, from the very beginning, accompanies his father in performing shamanist rites. He learns with enthusiasm and vigor, for the boy is eager to beat drums, play the acrobat, dance with the elders and imitate them, but at the same time he sees and hears his father conjuring the spirits, calling them up, attacking and chasing evil spirits. He sees the awful rictus of his mouth and jaws, the painful contortions of his whole body; he hears him, worked into a frenzy, predicting the future; and sees his eyes in a fixed stare. Hundreds of times he sees and hears the same rites performed for sick men, and hears the shaman talking to the villagers at the general rites of spring and autumn. Because the [798] same things are said and done over and over again, he remembers them all by heart. The novelty, however, of beating drums, wears off very fast, and unconsciously he starts living in a new world of spirits, acting and thinking in the way of the shamans. He believes his father and the other shamans, he becomes hypnotized by their words, gestures, and acts, and he starts seeing and hearing spirits himself. He gets the conviction that, protected by the twelve spirits to whom he is dedicated, he can also subdue evil spirits and act as the agent of good ones, and he becomes a shaman.

Helping his father and other shamans for years and having himself alone performed rites, eventually when

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his father becomes old and retires, he accepts his incumbency. No more formalities are required, for he is not the shaman attached to the village and does not live at its expense. 756 868

INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS TRAINING OF THE APPRENTICES

The intellectual education of shamans is of a very low standard. Shamans are unable to read Mongol or Tibetan books. Their prayers are said in Chinese, but because the apprentices never attend schools, they are [212] not able to read Chinese books or to write a letter. The elders teach them to write a small number of Chinese characters, used on the few inscriptions pasted on the pole or on the doors and walls of the temples, but most of the time they print the inscriptions by means of engraved wooden blocks. They have, however, a few [212] small prayer books written in Chinese and copied by the most intelligent among them, or by Monguor friends. These prayer books are not printed. Monguors and shamans assured me that they did not possess any books explaining their doctrine. No wonder that the instruction differs, from teacher to teacher. It was always impossible to get a coherent explanation from the shamans about religious subjects. They do [779] not pore over books or rack their brains over theories or philosophical or religious problems. Their science is more one of fantasies, anecdotes, and miraculous tales concerning a number of spirits, told during the performance of the rites. I suppose the instruction of the apprentices would consist of being taught about the same items dealing with the spirits honored by the shamans [796] at the rites of spring and autumn. More will be said about the subject.

The conclusion seems to be that the intellectual and religious training of most of the shamans is neglected and only superficial, and that the physical training ranks first. Many apprentices, in order to perform their physical training and acrobatics, go for months to shamans celebrated in that field. Finally it is said that the education of the apprentices is carried on by accompanying the shamans; their eyes and ears are their real teachers. Some exceptions, however, seem to have existed always, even in these latter times.

Many times I heard the Monguors speaking about a famous old Lu shaman, who died around 1904. The old man went every year to the mountains of Waza with his own apprentice and the apprentices of other shamans. They lived in the caverns, fasting the whole time and sleeping only a few hours during the day. All night they were honoring their spirits, fondling and cajoling them and learning about fighting the evil spirits in the mountains, who every night attacked and combatted them. When they left the mountains, they were exhausted and emaciated from the exertion. The apprentices of the old Lu were said to be the best shamans in the country. Two among them are said to have died by jumping over a precipice in the mountains.

[P.82(A)]

A lot of anecdotes, overlaid with fabulous legends, 756
are told about powerful shamans who lived in former 538
times. A famous shaman of Too long was invited to cure a dying man. The man died before his arrival. The soul of the shaman, after the completion of certain rites, went to see Erlik Khan, the King of Hell, and examining the files he found that the man had died several years before his destined time. The soul of the shaman came back; he performed a set of new rites and the man came to life and lived for several more years. I wondered how such anecdotes, known all over Asia, were spread among the Monguors. The overall con- [868]
clusion, after all the talks about old famous shamans, was always: "We no longer have the stuff of which shamans are made, for the apprentices are no longer trained in the right way."

MONGUOR SHAMANS AND NEUROSIS

What about the general statement of the ethnologists 756
that shamans are victims of neurosis? It is said of the 158
brutal training of the apprentices among the nomads, in opposition to the most elementary principles of pedagogy, that nothing could have been devised, better calculated to unseat the reason and to form pitiable neurotics of them.

In former times, according to the Monguors, the training of the Monguor shamans must have been very similar. The recent cases of the two apprentices of the old Lu shaman seem to evidence this assumption. On the other hand, it is a known fact that among the hereditary diseases neurosis is the most frequently inherited. Because children of shamans must marry children of [582]
shamans, the danger of inheritance is increased and it creates a predisposition to produce more easily suggestions and hallucinations among the members of such families. The fact of the suicide of the boy No, unwilling to become a shaman, is suggestive. It seems, therefore, not too far fetched to suppose that the shamans and their apprentices easily get the conviction of seeing spirits and hearing them talk. Because they will see and hear them, they act accordingly, notwithstanding their actual superficial training. On the other hand, for neurosis, as for all diseases, the question of plus and minus is always open, but the morbid basis of the disease is always existent.

Some of the shamans performing the rites seem to act as though in a play, straining for effects. They give the profession a black eye, while others seem to mean business and to act as real shamans. After all, the fact remains that shamans never dare to quit the profession, notwithstanding that it is a poor means of livelihood.

SHAMAN DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS

DRESSES

The shaman when not performing rites for communi- 756
ties or private families, dresses in the same way as the 292
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867 boys accompany their father and girls their mother and there they see the horse races and the merrymaking, the dancing and the singing.

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tensive learning, in order to provide for the education 554
of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the 292
boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity.

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks 792
before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after 554
months and months the exercises always have to be 869
repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and 868
the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.[25]

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, 157
particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training.

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and 792
writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before 875
his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he [876]
fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary lamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-ku-lung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed

[25] Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

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question of whether a substantial principle underlies the 829
soul or not, or whether *nirvana* could be a state of happiness without there being consciousness of it. They do not care for the philosophers who discuss the existence or the inexistence of this world, of their own being, and even of Buddha himself. They only approach Lamaism from the moral and the practical angles. They endeavor to practice the rites of Lamaism, to heap up merit as prescribed by Lamaism in order to be reborn after this life, which they greatly enjoy, in a paradise of felicity where Buddha, as benevolence incarnate, will make them more and more happy every day, for the duration of time. However, this seems to be only one side of the religious frame of mind of the Lamaist Monguors and Tibetans. The other side seems rooted in the practicality, so often found among uncivilized peoples, which, in order to make more sure of attainment of the religious goal, to enjoy more blessings in this life, and avoid calamities and miseries, leads them to practice shamanist rites and rites belonging to other religions at the same time. This seems to be the complicated frame of mind of the Monguors and Tibetans of Huang-chung who are deeply religious.

Since the objective of this study is the explanation of 114
the religious frame of mind of the Monguors, there will be noted along with the rites the questions ingenuously asked by the children in the schools concerning the topics, the considerations and impressions occasionally expressed by men and women, the dialogues of shamans with the spirits denoting the hopes and the fears of the attendants and their beliefs. All these minute details will help to raise the curtain which shrouds the religious mind.

THE WORLD OF RELIGION AND FEAR IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVE

The sense of religiosity is planted in the hearts of the 829
Monguors in early life, in the family circle. Its main 869
feature seems to be fear, rather than love. The children 782
every day see their mothers performing a lot of religious practices in order to avoid the displeasure or punishments of innumerable malignant spirits which beset them everywhere. Their mother's warnings are dinned into their ears, not to do this, not to do that, for fear of being unhappy, because the spirits are very touchy, and a trifle can upset them. In this way the dread and terror of malevolent spirits cut deep furrows in their hearts, and when a hailstorm is about to destroy the crops, the oil lamps on the house altar will be lit in a hurry and the children will fall on their knees invoking Heaven and all the spirits and praying Om Mani, for [789]
as long as the threat lasts. They imitate their elders who implore, on bended knees, and urge the gods with piteous pleas, saying innumerable Om Manis and "Heaven and all the spirits" for the protection of their crops. Children cannot forget to their dying day the

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anxious moments of the terrible events caused by evil 829
spirits, which the good spirits could not master. 869

Every day, in the early morning, they climb with 782
their grandfather to the top of the roof, or go into the courtyard before the *manikan*[1] to honor "Heaven and all the spirits," doing the Wei-sang,[2] and looking at the old man who prostrates himself devoutly, they invoke with him "Heaven and all the spirits" and recite Om Mani, in order to get blessings and protection against the alarming evil spirits. When somebody is smitten with a severe disease, they repeat after grandfather, "Heaven and all the spirits" save our mother, save our father, Om Mani, Om Mani. The children know that at home, the altar and the manikan are the most respected items; they know that spirits preside at the gate of the courtyard, at the well, at the stables, and that they protect the cattle. They know at what time and how they are to be honored, and what is to be done to avoid their wrath. The children live at home in an atmosphere of religion and fear, and when they grow up they are convinced that honoring the good spirits is a requisite for the reaping of good crops, the breeding of healthy cattle, the enjoying of the daily bread, and the protection from evil spirits on the prowl to hurt them.

A logical consequence of such a frame of mind is 777
that Monguors never perform any important act with-

[1] In the middle of the courtyard is built a circular manger in which is planted a tall post. On top of the post are often the Lamaist designs of sun and moon and a circle; a flag is attached to the post printed with Tibetan texts and the "Wind Horse" (Chinese, *Lu-ma;* Tibetan, *rlung-rta*) carrying the jewel symbol (*Norbu*). It is called *manikan,* that is, "the mani post," because the popular "Om Mani" is printed on it.

[2] *Wei-sang* (fdzan garga): *Wei* is a Chinese word meaning "kindle"; *sang* is the Tibetan word *Bsans* meaning "cypress incense." It is the rite performed before sunrise, daily during the first and fourth moon, or only on the first, eighth, or fifteenth of the month, by the heads of Monguor families for "Heaven and all the spirits"; it is also enacted simultaneously with most of the important rites. Some straw is spread in a small oven, a few pinches of pounded cones and leaves of cypress are strewn upon it, and a few pinches of flour, of roasted wheat or spelt, and a few drops of pure water are sprinkled; then all is lit and the odoriferous cypress smoke billows up. It is an "odoriferous offering," not a purifying rite. To these three essential components some devout people like to add a pinch of the six usual pounded spices, dried flowers, red or white sugar, threads of five colors, a little butter or fat; some use wine instead of water, and blow the horn and prostrate themselves three times. Prayers are not said at that time. In performing the "big wei-sang" entire branches of cypress are burned. Lamas are fond of the rite, and even during shamanist rites it is observed. The oven wherein the rite is performed is constructed before the manikan or on the roof of the living room; sometimes it is performed on the edge of the manger. In time of epidemics, etc., the whole family never fails to enact the rite as a group. See also Schröder, Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor), *Anthropos* **47** (1): 43, 1952; **48**: 222, 1953. The famous "Wind Horse" is said by some to bring wealth to the family. Others explain that the horses are offered to the roaming souls in the air (which everybody fears) in order that they might pass unmolested; also Eliade, *op. cit.*, 239–245; also W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* **6**: 67.

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people who have taken the Buddhist vows, are the usual practitioners. 795 785 792

TOPICS OF THE INSTRUCTIONS

Each year I seized every opportunity to get information from fasters concerning that captivating subject, and asked the children in the schools about what grandpa or grandma had said about the lama director, the topics of the preachings, the anecdotes narrated, the number of fasters. Every time the fasters reported that they were happy to have performed the exercises, although they had had a hard time. They had prayed in a group innumerable Om Manis, which had caused them to have a real feeling of happiness, and they had enjoyed the preaching. They seemed to be better Lamaists than before, for they spoke with enthusiasm about their experiences. Without doubt the fast rites had helped buoy them up and had given them zest for life. 115 [124] 785

However, it was always said that the directors of the exercises were not all interesting talkers, that some were really boring men, but that they all loved Li, the old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Every year, at three places at least, he was invited, and the fasters urged that the date of the exercises be postponed, in order to enjoy the old man's direction since he had endeared himself to the hearts of the people. He was an intelligent old Living Buddha, a picture of benevolence, with a great kind face, molded on pontifical lines, and all set for hearty smiles. He was a wonderful storyteller, with sparkling wit and a fetching sense of humor, who had the knack of keeping the fasters listening for two and three hours every day. He expounded his doctrine by means of anecdotes and unusual comparisons, which his uncultivated listeners could grasp, remember, and tell to others. He was a fine teacher. [792] 785 869

The beloved topic of his talk was the life of Buddha, who fled from the luxurious palace of his illustrious parents; his terrifying mortifications and his endless charity, even for tigers and other animals, so that he had allowed himself to be devoured by the hungry tigress in order that she might nourish her cubs; his refusal to enter paradise, in order to remain in and save the world. Another topic was the paradise of Buddha and its oriental splendor where everybody hoped to go eventually; and also that of the eighteen hells, with all the terrifying torments used in the Orient. He used to put stress, in nearly every talk, on the omniscience of the terrible but equitable judge of death, who accepts no bribes, who knows all the merits and demerits of everyone; whose mill of justice grinds, in the most minute way, all our acts and intentions.

All the children knew that the poor in this world are people who are suffering, for their lack of charity in former existences, or for their covetousness or injustices. The topic of the punishments for injustices was one of those most elaborately developed by all the 785 829 869

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directors of the exercises, and their stock of punish- 785
ments for injustices never seemed to be exhausted. 829
People who committed injustices had to repair their 869
faults by being a servant, in their future life, of the person who had suffered on their account, or of being reborn as a donkey, a horse, or an ox, plowing their fields, carrying fertilizer, or harvesting. Even the slightest injustices are not overlooked by the terrible judge, for in order to repair the smallest injustices he makes men and women transmigrate into a hen, laying eggs for years, in behalf of the person who suffered because of them. The topic of reparation for injustices seemed to be an obsession of all the preachers, who seldom hinted at other questions of morals, and so the feeling concerning the widespread rite of repairing injustices, among laymen as well as lamas, and even Hutukhtus, becomes understandable. Never did they hint at the shamanist rites performed in private families.

The topic of the old Li, concerning gentle behavior 538
with animals, was the delight of the fasters, who every year asked him to tell again the marvelous anecdotes he had stored in his repertory concerning the subject, for in his lively telling even old chestnuts took on a new glow. The keen interest of nomads in their animals is a matter of common knowledge. Since the Monguors still love their animals in the way of their ancestors, it is no wonder that they asked for that topic, and that they adored the old Li, whose talks hit straight at their hearts. Below are some of his well-known examples.

In India, an old Living Buddha went every day to 539
preach in monasteries and explain texts. He rode an old elephant which, while the religious exercises of his master lasted, knelt devoutly, listening before the temple gate. The old Living Buddha loved all animals with effusion, and especially his faithful elephant. When the elephant died, the Living Buddha made it reincarnate in a strong boy belonging to a poor family. The heavy boy had the exact gait of an elephant, a big, oval long head, unusually long nose and ears, and an appetite as voracious as that of an elephant. No room was left for doubt; the elephant had reincarnated in a human being. The boy, at the age of seven, became the beloved apprentice of the old Living Buddha. After a few years, the master and his apprentice died at the same time. The reincarnation of the holy man was found in a boy endowed with the same characteristics as an elephant, but in addition he had on the palms of both hands and the soles of his feet the marks of the Buddhist "wheel of life," the characteristic of Living Buddhas. This boy was the genuine incarnation of the holy man who had loved the elephant to such an extent. The new Buddha became as celebrated over all India for his elephant features as for his universal charity, which extended not only to human beings, but even to all animals.

Also in India, a holy lama, very fond of animals, squatted under a tree from dawn to dusk, year after

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village started ridiculing and deprecating him. Buddha 539
could not stand this, and made five tongues protrude out of the chief's mouth and made him fall dead on the spot, after which the village became a barren waste.

Another of the Living Buddha's topics, several times repeated to me, was that all the Monguor and Tibetan tribes would disappear, many families already being without male issue. The reason, he said, is that nearly all the departed already dwell in paradise and wait there for us, so that now the faster Monguors and Tibetans disappear, the sooner paradise will be furnished with happy inhabitants. "Make your sons become lamas," he would say, "for lamas surely arrive in paradise. However, among the dying, only those who, at the very moment of their death, trust in Buddha may hope to be reborn in a lotus near Buddha, where for thousands of years they will be happy, and where all the inhabitants will be taller and stronger and more beautiful than we are here."

Such are the topics of most of the preaching during 538
the fast exercises. Many times the fasters repeated that they loved the old Li because after every preaching he made them crave for pardon for all their sins, and because he could say the Om Manis over his beads with a wonderful unction. He had touched the hearts of the people.

IMPACT OF THE FASTING RITES UPON MONGUOR SOCIETY

Although these exercises were only attended by a 771
relatively small number of older people, their impact 785
upon the families cannot be overestimated, because the 869
old people repeated at home the topics of the lectures and the anecdotes, and because, since the authority with which the old people are vested in a patriarchal society is supreme, they cultivated in the orbit of the family the sense of religiosity; the habit of praying and of craving for pardon. Chiefs, and elders of villages who had attended the meetings, unconsciously and unwittingly were guided by these principles in the administration of the village and in the patching up of troubles. The impact was all the more important because, year after year, the exercises were repeated by the adored old Li, a man with an illustrious pedigree, a scion of the noble and wealthy family of the Li T'u-ssu. The old Li was a personality who provoked a revival of religious feeling in the country.

The anecdotes, ingenuously narrated in the schools by the children, had led me to make inquiries among the fasters themselves about the fast exercises, which before had seemed to me to be an unimportant institution, attended by old women without any bearing on the religious life of the communities. However, taking account of the overall number of the yearly participants in the six centers, and the number of men who attended them, even chiefs of villages and elders, and of the fact that in a patriarchal society the old people wield a supreme influence and also of the strong personality of

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the old Li, I understood that for a people endowed with 771
these religious convictions, Om Manis were the sheet 785
anchor when things got stormy, and that they could fall 869
on their knees and crave for pardon for their sins and pray, when hailstorms mistreated their means of subsistence.

Probably the fast exercises were, at that time, one of the mightiest means for promoting the religious feeling inherent in Lamaism. Although the lamas never preach for laymen, in the monasteries, and although a lama only has a talk with them once in a while about religion, and although there are no schools run by lamas, the people knew by means of these fasting exercises that an all-powerful being exists whom the lamas call Buddha, who is all benevolence and goodness, and ready to forgive and to help. They knew the difference between the good Buddhas and the spirits, among which some were really evil beings trying to harm them, and others were so touchy that a trifle could upset them. They knew that a terrible omniscient judge of death exists who controls heaven and the eighteen hells, who decides about their future, according to their acts. They knew that at death their existence was not finished.

However, if account be taken also of what the shamans say at the feasts of the communities and the magical performances enacted by them in behalf of the community and private families, their savage struggle with evil spirits, the ownership of the country and the villages by powerful spirits, the cult of the ancestors subject to decay, the importance of the hearth god and all the spirits who are considered to administer independently their own departments, with punishments or blessings, who are supposed to know the acts of the people and their feelings toward them, it is easy to understand also why a tremendous confusion should exist in their religious thought processes, and why they should act according to the circumstances in unforeseen and confusing ways.

PRODIGALITY OF THE MONGUORS CONCERNING CULT AND RELIGION

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In 1914 a strong group of four or five hundred lamas, clad in rags and dirt, passed through the city of Hsining on the way to Seerkok. They were lamas of the Yellow Sect, belonging to different lamaseries situated south of the Yellow River. The whole country was upset. Rumors were spread concerning an impending revolt, organized by the lamas against the newly established Chinese Republic. Spies were sent all over the country in order to discover clues. After a few days the officials announced that the group had been invited by Seerkok in order to pray for blessings upon the Republic.

The fear of the lamas turned after a few days into a reputation for fantastic sainthood, and Monguors and Tibetans ran to Seerkok in order to offer gifts. The richest families competed with each other to provide the expenses for entertaining for one day these saintly

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[9 cont.]

115 that is, mountain spirit, because he was consecrated to the
[776] mountain spirit when he was named. He was born under the sign
[553] of the sheep, that is, in the second month; according to
European reckoning, this would be March, 1883.

[805] Like all Tujen, the old man is a Lamaist and adheres
[771] to the faith and the customs of his fathers. He is known throughout the vicinity as one of the few who are still very well versed in the traditional customs. For that reason he is asked to perform everywhere as master of ceremonies, festive speaker, overseer of sacrifices, and singer. If anyone in that region is asked about usages and customs, the usual answer is: "Go to old Tuo, he knows it best."

115 In addition he has the advantage, rare among the Tujen,
212 of having completed the Chinese classical school. He can read
[871] and write very well, better than most of his Chinese neighbors. He understands without difficulty history books, classical authors, local chronicles, etc., which in part are written in the literary
[191] language. He does not have a sufficient command of the Fandse language to be able to speak it fluently, but he knows the terms of the lamas and is able to distinguish fairly well as to whether a word is a genuine Tujen word or a Fandse word. He himself in his youth took down in Chinese characters a considerable number of Fandse songs, which he can translate and explain, as well as some legends and speeches. He claims that formerly the Tujen language was also written and that the script has simply been lost. -- He does not speak the language of the Koko
115 Nor Mongols, but he claims that it could be understood if neces-
191 sary. Of course the Tujen live too far away from the Mongols;
[648] only those in the vicinity of Huchu have a loose connection with the Mongols on the Tai-t'ung River beyond the Monastery Kuo-mang-szu.

124 [10] In the beginning it was not easy to persuade the old man, who for 20 years had not even been in nearby Sining, to visit me at the mission station at Kan-chia-pu, although the way there was only a two-hour ride. In the late fall of 1946 he came once for only a day. At that time I questioned him about the harvest thank-offering; the result was an article which appeared in Anthropos, 37/40. The old man could not imagine what I

[14 cont.]

115 people with whom he was so well acquainted. As a kin-group
124 father, he was accustomed to a free life as his own master, and all compulsion was hateful to him.

Finally it should be taken into account that for a native it is not easy to pick out what seems worth knowing to the stranger. Everything is self-evident to him. And even the stranger cannot exhaustively inquire into all the details at one time, or even at the third or fourth time. But even in this respect the old man assisted me as much as possible.

5. The Taking of Notes

124 The conversations and questioning always took place in
191 Chinese, a language which all Tujen men and almost all Tujen women speak, except when they are among themselves. Now-
[871] adays there are schools in most of the villages, in which Chinese is the prescribed language of instruction. Since I was still on the point of learning the Tujen language, Chinese was the only one possible, and in view of our mutual familiarity with this language the possibility of a misunderstanding was very slight. In case of obscurities in the dialect, the old man was always able to give the corresponding Chinese signs; he then explained the meaning by various circumlocutions.

124 The old man proceeded from the assumption that I
126 wanted to learn the Tujen language. He therefore dictated to me brief sentences about a certain object, which I took down; for instance, "The lama is coming. They are sweeping the house. They are burning incense. Lamps are placed on the table, etc. ..." Unfortunately I did not keep these sentences. Afterwards he repeated the sense for me in Chinese; some explanations of words were added. That was the first report each time. I immediately wrote this down in German. Sometimes it was very brief, sometimes somewhat longer. In every case, however, the course of an action, the peculiarity of a ceremony, etc. were briefly and concisely summarized. Since I was actually not primarily concerned with the language, but rather with the content, I asked for supplementary details after each report, at times immediately following, and at times only in

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gin to consider as barbarians. When a Monguor family 173
starts losing its identity, no more children become 177
lamas, relations with the monasteries vanish, and no more alms are offered. A lamasery situated in a Chinese environment cannot maintain itself. The schools [871] with Chinese teachers, established in the country, exert a baneful influence on the recruiting; boys who attend Chinese schools no longer become lamas.

The bulk of the endless number of lamas was pro- 175
vided in former times by the Monguors and Tibetans 792
of Huang-chung. At the time Erh-ku-lung, Seerkok, and T'ien-t'ang ssu rode the crest of the wave of glory and learning, a respectable number of Mongols of Kukunor and Mongolia; and Tibetans of Kukunor, enrolled in the monasteries of Huang-chung, but this glorious time has long vanished. Kumbum, possessing very rich revenues, is now the only prosperous lamasery in the region; a number of Mongols and Tibetans from Kukunor are on its roster. Since the troubles with the Dalai Lama (1909) very few Tibetans from Tibet proper visit and live at Kumbum (1910–1920). At present, in most of the monasteries, the population consists of older lamas and young boys. At Seerkok, Ch'ü-t'an, and T'ien-t'ang a lot of Chinese or Sinicized Monguor lamas are enrolled, even Chinese boys, mostly children of poor Chinese families. The lamas of Erh-ku-lung asserted that these monasteries were on the way to losing the real monastic spirit. Seerkok in 1723 had two thousand lamas; in 1890, according to Rockhill,[1] it still had seven hundred lamas; in 1910 only about three hundred. Four hundred lamas deserted the monastery during the last twenty years, disgusted by the public misbehavior of the supreme chief of the monastery.

He was the second reincarnation of the glorious Min chu-erh Hutukhtu, author of the celebrated *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia*, well known in Europe. Seerkok, in order to retrieve its former position, managed to reincarnate two of its small Living Buddhas, one in Mongolia, the other in Tibet, pinning its hope on fresh recruits from Mongolia and Tibet. However, the Chinese element among the lamas was already too strong. Chinese lamas had forged ahead and were invested with the most important offices, which kept new recruits away. Without doubt, another cause contributing to the lack of candidates was the troubled situation existing in the monasteries of the country. One after another, they passed through harrowing experiences which caused their ruin. This predicament, of their own making, sets the tongues of the people wagging, brings disrepute on the institutions, and disgusts the parents to the extent they refuse their boys permission to join the lama corps. These seem to be the two important reasons causing the lack of candidates.

[1] W. W. Rockhill, *Land of the lamas*, 98, New York, Century, 1891.

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of the members of a college, at the time they enter, have previously received only the training of ordinary lamas, which consists of learning to read and write more or less correctly. Old lamas, as well as young Wendees, from the time they fulfill these two conditions, are allowed to apply for membership if the colleges have an appeal for them. A lama is not compelled to enter any college. If he does, the manner of joining or leaving a college is the same as described for joining or leaving the community of the lamas. Every lama is allowed to remain a member of a college for as long as the appeal of the college persists, and usually he remains a member for the whole of his lifetime. 792 794 873

Each college is an independent unit within the lamasery, having its own wealth and administration, its own temple, administrative buildings, and residence for its Fa-t'ai. The administration of the colleges is built on the pattern of the organization of the community of the lamas, with the same kinds of officials, and enjoying the same kinds of autonomous rights and privileges.

The four colleges are: (1) The College of Philosophy and Metaphysics, (2) The College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, (3) The College of Medicine, and (4) The College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules. [871]

In Huang-chung at present (1910–1920) nothing more is required from the members of a college than attendance at the ceremonies in its temple and at the instruction given by the Fa-t'ai on a few fixed dates. There are no regular courses with compulsory attendance, no program of studies is required to be completed within a certain number of years, there are no compulsory examinations, and no obligation to take any degree or diploma. No director supervises the studies of the members of the college; studies are a personal matter, depending on the initiative of each individual.

A lama who has some feeling for study, who possesses some money provided by his family, or whose master is willing to spend some money for his education, goes to see a learned lama taking with him some meat, noodles, raisins, sugar, and some money, and prostrates himself, offering the ceremonial scarf and asking the lama to be his teacher. Usually, three or four lamas manage to become pupils of the same master. At fixed times they have to bring presents to the teacher. [875] The study of the book designated by the master starts with committing the text to memory, and recitation before the master. [876] Two or three times a week the master takes time to hear the recitation. Student and master are in no hurry; once in a while the master is too busy to teach, or one of the students is prevented from attending the lesson. The students all engage in domestic duties. Their capacities and fervor for study are not the same. After a few weeks one of them is memorizing the fourth, one the tenth sheet, and so on. After several weeks more, a couple of them have no further desire for study and drop out.

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whole community lavishly entertained. The guests were entertained at the intendancy. After dinner, 400 taels instead of 500 taels were presented to the parents. Then the guests, bursting with righteous indignation, started cursing the intendancy and a feverish discussion broke up in a violent wrangle. In the scurry and confusion and unexpected hurly burly, all the lamas of the monastery and the intendants arrived to patch up the trouble. The 500 taels were paid. After ten years I heard the people of Li-chia-t'ai still cursing the intendancy. 175 795 792

In 1894 the intendancy of T'u-kuan got into trouble over its last incarnation. A lama boy, seven years of age, who lived at the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng which belonged to the Lu T'u-ssu, was recognized as the incarnation of T'u-kuan. Lu T'u-ssu, the lamas of Ku-ch'eng, the family of the boy, and the entire village objected, and did not allow the boy to abandon the monastery without having the intendancy pay 5,000 taels to the family. The most influential mediators were invited by Erh-ku-lung in order to find a compromise. Sheep and cows were killed every day, plenty of wine distilled, and lamas and the whole village had a wonderful time enjoying dinners and drinks for ten days. Finally the compromise was reached that 3,600 taels should be paid to the family and various gifts offered to the T'u-ssu, the intendancy of Ku-ch'eng, the members of the family, and the mediators. The intendancy of T'u-kuan, which was known all over the country to be rich and wealthy, the lamas, the whole of Ku-ch'eng, and the family of the new incarnation, thus seized the opportunity to share in their own way a part of the honor befallen to Erh-ku-lung by discovery of the reincarnation. [431]

It happens, however, that once in a while the horoscope seems to be cast in the wrong way. A nephew of T'u-kuan, two years of age, was recognized to be the incarnation of the minor Living Buddha Kao of Ch'ie-bzan. At five years of age, upon the death of his parents, he was taken to the intendancy, but seemed to be an idiot. In 1918, at thirty years of age, he was still only allowed to leave the intendancy once a month, in order to climb the mountain to the Obo and to burn incense.

EDUCATION OF THE MONGUOR LIVING BUDDHAS

Usually at the age of seven or eight the new Living Buddha is brought to the lamasery, led by a splendid procession of lamas, and installed in the luxurious intendancy, where a group of lama servants scrape and fawn in his presence, cater to his whims, and do his bidding. 792 871

The Orient is the country of decorum; the traditional splendor of the oriental courts is proverbial. The Living Buddhas of all the sects are extremely fond of decorum, and try to impress the uncivilized people by a display of munificence and wealth. For this reason [511]

[p.68(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

even minor Living Buddhas live in luxurious residences, 792
with a private chapel and servants. Admittance to the 871
Living Buddha is very complicated; no one is even al- [811]
lowed to enter the kitchen, at the entrance of which, [784]
when the Living Buddha is present, is a high stone,
whitewashed and covered with a ceremonial scarf.

The first duty of the intendant is to acquire for his 792
new master two lama teachers of good repute and ex- 871
tensive learning, in order to provide for the education 554
of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the 292
boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity.

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks 792
before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after 554
months and months the exercises always have to be 869
repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and 868
the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.[25]

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, 157
particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training.

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and 792
writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before 875
his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he [876]
fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary lamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-ku-lung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed

[25] Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

[p. 68(B)]

his bag and returned to Labrang. The master of the well-known bridge-builder, Temna, convinced that his pupil was not of the stuff of which philosophers are made, saddled his horse and went back home. It seems that such instances often occur. 792 875

Bit by bit, I pieced together the interesting curriculum of T'u-kuan. At seven years of age he entered the intendancy of Erh-ku-lung; at nine years of age he was sent to Labrang (two weeks riding on horseback) to study with a couple of young Living Buddhas there; at twelve he was back in Erh-ku-lung, at thirteen he went to Peking, and congratulated the Emperor at New Year's; at only sixteen years of age he was back at Erh-ku-lung; at seventeen he returned to Labrang for study; at nineteen he went back to Erh-ku-lung and went on a vacation with his family for four months. 792 871 484

After that he went with an expedition collecting alms among the Uigurs of Kan-chou and Su-chou, and on a second one to Mongolia, which took three and one-half years. His studies lasted over a period of seven or eight years, with intermissions of several years. It is said that the masters of the Living Buddhas never leave their pupils; they accompany them on the journeys and are said to teach philosophy and metaphysics while riding horseback during the whole of the journey. Most of the Living Buddhas and Lamas, however, go through life with only a sketchy background in Lamaist learning. [875]

What about the frame of mind and the religious formation, the interior spiritual life, the meditations and contemplations of Living Buddhas who, from the prime of life, are fed on unwholesome values by a master, swelling their pride, flaunting their superiority above others, and inflating their self-importance? What of the consequences to the minds and hearts of these teenagers of basking continually in the adulation of a group of flattering admirers, who feign to have for them a feeling that is little short of idolatrous, being always wrapped in a shining coat of adoration, wearing a look of portentous solemnity, as if the face wore a mask? Without doubt some of them are carried away with their own play-acting and like to move in this misty land of Utopia. Probably for many of them the scales will, one day or another, weigh down their eyes and bear evidence of their loss of touch with reality. 792 156

An old teacher of Living Buddhas once revealed to me that the biggest problem for teachers is to keep young men, for whom studies have not the slightest appeal, occupied all day long. They are bored by their dull and uneventful life and, upon coming of age, strike out for themselves. They have outgrown the time when corporal punishment could be inflicted. They fritter the time away on trifles, on investigating all the vices of life among the servants and former novices of their previous incarnations. They play chess and cards, and, lazing the time away, they prepare their own ruin. A large number of them are buds that will never bloom. 792 875

[p. 69(A)]

villagers, who also did not permit such liberties to Living Buddhas. Feeling the stigma attached to his exposure, he committed suicide. It also seems to be evidenced by the fact that penalties are still inflicted upon lamas, in the crudest forms, for infraction of this rule. This stigma is still attached to those who fail to meet their moral obligations. 792 831 [762]

The reform by means of serious study, however, seems to be a failure among the Monguor lamas of the present times. Among so many Monguor Living Buddhas and lamas, only the Living Buddha Chao-hsi of Kumbum enjoyed some repute, but in order to cause the lamas to attend his instructions, special benefits had to be provided for them. Very few among the Living Buddhas and lamas are interested in study at the present time, and, having nothing to occupy them all day, become involved in vice. Army officers and directors of schools are aware of the necessity of keeping young folk busy the whole day long, alternating fixed jobs with recreation. The lamas, however, except for attendance at the morning convention, which lasts only an hour, have to kill time making their own living. [185] 792 461

In the whole region of Hsining not a single school has been established by the rich monasteries, in order to promote the instruction of the Monguors and the Tibetans. Even at present in the lamaseries not a single elementary school exists for the lama boys, and no religious education is given to them. Not a single lama takes care of the spiritual needs and instruction of the adherents to their religion who live in a given area. Not a single hospital has been founded in order to assuage the pains and sufferings of the sick Monguors and Tibetans. The universal charity of Lamaism does not consist in love for one's neighbor, but in a platonic compassion for the universal sufferings of humanity and of all living things and for the impermanence of all existing beings. Lamas are not sisters of charity; they pass the sick draped in their cloak of indifference.[29] 792 871

[29] Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, 373, notes: "Among Buddhist believers there has been scarcely anyone who has ever given any thought to social problems. The priests of ancient times were generally recluses who paid no attention whatever to the application of their religion to the needs of the practical world or to making the principles of true Buddhism as distinct as possible." [792 771 175]

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist, conversant with the Tibetan language and literature, went to Tibet to study Lamaism, and wrote an instructive note on Lamaism (p. 410). "I confine myself only to a popular exposition of the subject. Lamaism is constituted by two main branches; the older, the 'red cap sect' subdivided into many branches, and the later, the 'yellow cap sect.' They all agree upon cardinal points and in the formula for attaining perfection. The founder of the old sect was a Tantric priest, 'Lobon Padma Chungne' born in Cabul. He enjoined on his disciples the practices of flesh-eating, marriage, and drinking liquors, in order to attain Buddhahood . . . details I cannot give, for they are full of obscenity. The old sect, extremely popular in Tibet, has undergone considerable modification by lamas. . . . I note the reaction against the old sect by Atisha [from India, eleventh century], later by Tsong Khapa [fifteenth century]. The principle of Tsong Khapa was that priesthood must stand on asceticism. Therefore he urged

[p. 72 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*) had fought with the Chinese army. M 175x 648

In 1463 the Pa Sha tribe made a foray again in the Sa-t'ang Valley but was repelled (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 12*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 28*a*). HM 175 648

In 1464 again the Pa Sha tribe raided Huangchung. This time the Chinese army entered their country and exterminated some of their tribes (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 28*b*).

T'u-ssu Lu followed the commanders Liu Yu and Shih Hsiang-chung in 1468, repelling the brigand Manssu in Ku Yuan. He fled to his fortress Shih-ch'eng. The army, having lost many soldiers, finally captured the fortress; the brigand was captured, sent to Peking, and killed (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 29*a*).

In 1470 T'ing Chang built more schools in Hsining. Shih Chao had built the first schools in 1428 (*Annals* of Kansu 31: 12*b*). M [37]

In 1472 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to help repel the Ordos Mongols making raids in Yenan and Suei-te. At the same time incursive Mongol tribes made forays in the regions of Chin-pien-i (Ku-lang). T'u-ssu Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*a*), T'u-ssu Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), followed the Chinese troops, beat the brigands and pursued them as far as Hua-ling-erh.

T'u-ssu Li Wen and Commander Liu Wen were sent to Hami in 1473 to investigate the troubled conditions prevailing in the country. Having secured the promise of help from the Ch'ih-chin and Han Tun tribes, they sent an army to Hami in 1474. Upon the arrival of the army both tribes refused to move. Li Wen, deeming his forces too feeble to fight the enemy, returned to Kansu.

In 1475 Emperor Hsien Tsung ordered the local officials to erect an honorific arch in front of the mansion of the T'u-ssu Lu Chien, granting the inscription *"During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and probity, incessantly he exercised fidelity and zeal."* M 175x 648 703

It has been noted that the erection of the spirit way stele in honor of Li Yin happened in the very same year, 1475.

In 1480 T'u-ssu Lu Chien was promoted lieutenant colonel in Hsining.

In 1482 the tribes of Ch'ih-chin and Han Tun with the help of Chinese troops and T'u-ssu Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*a*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), attacked and conquered Hami.

In 1488, ninety years after the surrender of the *t'u-ssu* in a group in Huangchung (1371), there was appointed a military and administrative tao t'ai (ping pi tao), a governor, vested with civil and military powers (*Annals* of Hsining 22: 5*b*; 23: 4*a*–*b*) with residence in the city of Hsining. There was also established a bureau of customs, and a bureau of colonization. In the city of Nienpei, in the strongholds of Chinghai, Kuei Te was appointed a major, in the fortress in the M 175x 727

is fighting must be fought, but always at the same time the tribes should be induced to surrender peacefully. The debates lasted for seven years and nothing was done (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 10*b*, 11*a*). Finally in 1530 the Tibetan tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou started plundering the country. The tribes had fled from Kokonor for fear of the Mongols. Their destitution was tragic. Commander Liu Wen-yu, protagonist of the third group, left with his army, but at the same time sent officials to induce the tribes to surrender, promising them help. Among them only twenty-one tribes decided to revolt, the Lung-po (Uighur) tribe being the leader of the group. The commander defeated two tribes, killed 360 rebels and then started peace talks. He succeeded, receiving the surrender of seventy or more tribes. He returned with the army. The regions of T'ao and Ming Chou were at peace. 175x 648 723

The same year, while the tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou, situated south of the Yellow River, were pacified, the Tsantsa tribes, living on the northern bank of the Tatung River, plundered the region of Nienpei, but were defeated in the T'u-ku-hung valley. Splinter groups of Mongols raided Chengfan, and small groups of Kokonor brigands invaded Hsining and were pursued.

In 1534, amidst all these troubles, the Ming dynasty was still interested in education and instruction. More schools were built in several small fortresses, and in Hsining the Hall of the Faithful and Meritorious officials was constructed. On the stele erected inside the hall, we read among the names of the celebrated personalities those of four Monguor t'u-ssu: Li Nan-ko, Li Yin, the Duke of Huei-ming, his son, T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih, and T'u-ssu Li Ch'ang, son of Li Yin (*Annals* of Hsining 35: 9*b*, 10*a*). 175x 871 211

The situation grew worse every day and all of Huangchung was upset. Liu T'ien-ho, vice-president of the ministry of war, was sent in 1536 to direct the military operations in Kansu and Shensi. The third son of Dayan, Barsa Bolot, with his son, the Jinong had settled in Ordos. The turbulent Jinong made raids in Ninghsia, Liang and Kanchow. T'u-ssu Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40), Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49), Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 54), were ordered to help stem the forays. T'u-ssu Hsin died on the field of battle. The Jinong invaded Hsining and hit a severe blow. T'u-ssu Lu and Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52) helped the commander beat the Jinong. 175x 648 [845]

The next year the Kokonor brigands made a raid in Hsining and were severely beaten, twice, at the temple T'ieh-fu, 50 li north of the city.

General Liu T'ien-ho, having studied the situation of the country, ordered first the repair of the walls and towers of the eighteen existing small fortresses and villages and cities, and to start immediately with the building of seventeen new fortified villages. He promoted agriculture around the fortresses, dug irrigation 175x 712 [502 312]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

canals, helped the people with grain and oxen, etc. 175x
He built the two large cities of Pa-yien-jung and San- 712
ch'uan, south of Nienpei, and established there two [502
strong garrisons, in order to control the whole region 312]
north of the Yellow River, reaching from the south of Hsining to Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu **24**: 18; **23**: 16). At that time the only fortified villages were near the mansions of the t'u-ssu, where in time of troubles the people found shelter with their cattle and helped to defend the fortress, and from which they attacked and pursued brigands. Only near these fortresses were living and farming possible. No wonder that the helpless scattered tribes incessantly revolted, plundered on their own account, or joined the invaders after having been plundered.

In 1537 groups of Ordos brigands raided the for- 175x
tress of Ch[illegible]g-ch'iang-I, situated between Liangchow 648
and Lanchow. T'u-ssu Yeh defended the fortress heroically and died in the battle. The people esteemed his brave conduct and erected a stele in commemoration [211]
inside the village.

In 1541 the Jinong from Ordos raided Hsia-ch'uan-ku in Huangchung; a crushing defeat was administered to him by General Liu T'ien-ho in Ho-shuei-wan. His son Chin-shao was killed in the battle. T'u-ssu Lu, Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 40), Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 45) participated in the action. Groups belonging to the Tsa tsa tribes of Huangchung plundered San-ch'uan and were chased by T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 45), and Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38).

In 1543 the turbulent Jinong, leading a strong army, arrived at Kokonor, where he defeated I-pu-la, and captured half of his followers. I-pu-la fled to Mongolia plundering the Liangchow country on his way back. The Jinong was the grandson of Dayan and had a score to settle with I-pu-la, who, seceding with his tribes, had offended his grandfather Dayan. I-pu-la had raided and plundered Huangchung, had scattered or subdued and ruined the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor during thirty-four years (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 15*b*; **20**: 12*a*). Pu-erh-hai, a Mongol chieftain who had joined I-pu-la in 1525, had already abandoned I-pu-la, and had hidden in the mountains to avoid the Jinong. Previously he had manifested his intention to submit to China and was better disposed toward the Tibetans. Many tribes returned to Kokonor hoping to enjoy a precarious peace for some years (*Annals* of Hsining **20**: 12*b*). The same year T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to lead his troops to Tatung in Shansi province to help chase the invading Mongols.

In 1546 the emperor ordered the officials to erect an [211]
Honorific Arch glorifying the merits of T'u-ssu Lu.

Until 1549 the students in Hsining had been unable 175x
to pass the literary examination and acquire titles. 871
This year, on account of the new regulations, diplomas were granted in Hsining.

[P. 45 (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

valley of Hsining, 60 li distant from the city on the way to Kokonor, a strong fortified city was built and a strong garrison appointed. The place controlled the western valley and the raids from Kokonor. In Chung-tsai in the Sa-t'ang valley, which so many times had been looted by invading Tibetans, a strong fortress was also built and a garrison appointed. The same dispositions were taken to improve the strength of the cities of Pa-yen-jung and San Ch'uan against brigands of Sung Shan and Ordos. For the first time troops were available to occupy permanently the strategic points in the country and from the t'u-ssu were required good soldiers to share with the Chinese troops the burden of the defense of the strongholds (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 29*b*, 30*a*). General Liu Mei-kuan started with the exploitation of iron ore in the mountains north of Hsining, three foundries were built and blacksmiths started preparing weapons to be distributed among the subdued tribes. To the nineteen tribes of Komi numbering 7,000 people, reputed first-rate warriors, were sent military instructors with weapons, to drill them. The director of colonization reported that 80,000 acres of uncultivated land were still available to farmers. To destitute Tibetans of Kokonor and East Kansu, pouring into the country every day, were given land to till and grain and oxen. Orders were sent to promote education, build schools in each village and improve existing ones (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*b*; 25: 23*b*; 35: 24).

175x 712 175x 701 [327] 175x 708 659

In a report sent by General T'ien Yueh is encountered an interesting note relating to the education given to the people of north Kansu and Huangchung in these desperate times. In each of the schools of the city of Kanchow, sixty or seventy students attend the lessons of three teachers. In each of the schools of the cities of Kao T'ai, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, Liangchow, Cheng Fan and Chuang Lang are encountered only thirty or forty students, in the smallest of these cities only twenty or thirty students. In each of the schools are two teachers. Then follows an exhortation to promote education (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 20*a*).

175x 871

In the same year, 1596, after the brilliant victories, the country seeming radiant and everywhere walls and fortresses being built, the lamas of T'a-erh-sse (Kumbum) (situated 40 li south of Hsining) decided to build a wall around the hermitages existing at that time. In 1560 some cells had been built for ten monks and, in 1577, a small temple next to a tower whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree, the glory of Kumbum (Monguors II: 25 sq.).

175x 712 346

The same year the brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih, feeling insecure in Kokonor, intending to leave the country and to return to Ordos, asked to pass through Huangchung. The request was refused. He passed the Yellow River, looted T'ao and Ho Chou and was pursued in his flight to the Ordos (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*).

175x 721 648

The La-pu-erh tribe boldly repelled alone an attack of Kokonor brigands, killing fifteen brigands and cap-

[P. 49 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The master starts with the explanation of the text 792
after the student has finished memorizing it, and so it 794
happens that, after some time, one pupil is studying a 873
second or a third book, while the others are still study- [876]
ing the first one. It is hard to teach pupils who have not received the same ducational preparation and who progress at an unequal pace. The lack of elementary schools and high schools compels the master to adapt [872] his teaching to the capacity and enthusiasm of each of the students, and inevitably the study loses its interest for pupil and master.

It is no wonder that very few learned lamas are encountered at present among the lamas of Huang-chung. The Living Buddha Goorong bzan, of the Red Sect, was the only man celebrated for his learning all over the country during the period 1910–1920, and he enjoyed this reputation among lamas of the Yellow Sect as well as the Red Sect. In Kumbum there was also a learned Living Buddha, Chao-hsi, who was said to have given instruction in the lamasery of Galdan in Tibet. In June, 1920, he was invited by the community of lamas of Kumbum to give instruction for ten days, and Kumbum seized this opportunity to invite all the lamas of Huang-chung to attend the ceremony, remembering that each attendant should offer a ceremonial scarf to the preacher, and bring his food with him. Kumbum, however, would offer two butter-teas to the participants each day. I was at Hua-yüan, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, at that time, and the intendant, in order to have his lamas attend the instruction, himself offered to provide them with the food for twelve days; but only 12 among the 58 lamas went to Kumbum.

In 1914 I was told that among the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, 1,300 were members of the College of Philosophy, 350 of the College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, 200 each in the College of Medicine and the College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules. All these numbers have to be reduced according to the ratio previously noted for the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, but the proportion is the same for the members attending the colleges. Thus, among the 3,000 lamas 2,000 or two-thirds were enjoying a higher educational training in the colleges, and they remained members of the colleges for the whole of their lives. This was generally true for all of the colleges of Huang-chung.

The reason for the unusual attendance at the col- 792
leges is not that these institutions are centers of higher 554
education, but rather that they provide meals for their 873
members. The richest colleges, able to give the great- 814
est number and the choicest meals, are the best at- 262
tended, such as the College of Philosophy. Another attraction of this very popular college, teaching the most arduous of all the sciences, is the relaxation provided by the public disputations. The schedule of the meals provided by the various colleges supports these statements:

[p. 64(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Very often fights occur, for no important deal is closed in the Orient without brawling or quarrelling. At that time the disciplinarians and their lictors are on duty all day and night. 792 626 794

At festival time women are allowed in the monastery, and relatives are allowed to visit their lama and stay at night in his home, after permission has been obtained from the intendancy. Several old lamas explained to me that the disciplinarian has to be changed every year in order to prevent the lamas from becoming too well acquainted with him, and arranging by bribery to break the rules. How officials, with such a terrible exterior appearance, can be approached so easily to be bribed is shrouded in mystery. For this reason, in all the lamaseries of Huang-chung the disciplinarians are said to be changed every year.

PRECENTOR—UM-DSE

In every lamasery there is a precentor, the leader of the texts recited at the assemblies in the temple. He is usually a man endowed with a voice that resounds in a deep, low, grave tone. At the same time he is the master of ceremonies who trains the officiants. He opens the prayers in a loud voice, in a special low register, the others taking up the chants in unison at the top of their voices. 792 794

COUNCILLORS

In larger lamaseries there are usually four councillors, older lamas, appointed by the Fa-t'ai for three years on the recommendation of the intendant. They constitute in effect, with the intendant, the administrative board of the institution. Before the name of the appointee is proposed to the Fa-t'ai, the intendant refers the proposal to the chief of the lamasery. The result is that the nominally supreme powers of a Fa-t'ai within his institution are in practice curtailed, and the influence wielded by the intendant upon the supreme chief of the lamasery being usually unlimited, the intendant is in reality the supreme ruler of the institution.

The rules to be observed in the lamaseries by all the inmates include the non-admittance of women, the non-admittance at night of laymen, or lamas who are not on the roster, and the obligation to attend the ceremonies prescribed for the members of the community. All other rules conform with the elementary standards of good behavior.

COLLEGES

In important lamaseries, colleges have been established, theoretically as centers of higher education. Some foreign travelers call them "universities." In Huang-chung the only requirements for becoming a member of one of the four traditional colleges and reaping the benefits of the institution, are to be a member of the organic community of the lamas and to know the prescribed texts recited at the meetings held at the temple of the college. Accordingly, the majority 792 794 873

[p. 63(A)]

of the members of a college, at the time they enter, 792
have previously received only the training of ordinary 794
lamas, which consists of learning to read and write 873
more or less correctly. Old lamas, as well as young Wendees, from the time they fulfill these two conditions, are allowed to apply for membership if the colleges have an appeal for them. A lama is not compelled to enter any college. If he does, the manner of joining or leaving a college is the same as described for joining or leaving the community of the lamas. Every lama is allowed to remain a member of a college for as long as the appeal of the college persists, and usually he remains a member for the whole of his lifetime.

Each college is an independent unit within the lamasery, having its own wealth and administration, its own temple, administrative buildings, and residence for its Fa-t'ai. The administration of the colleges is built on the pattern of the organization of the community of the lamas, with the same kinds of officials, and enjoying the same kinds of autonomous rights and privileges.

The four colleges are: (1) The College of Philosophy [871]
and Metaphysics, (2) The College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, (3) The College of Medicine, and (4) The College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules.

In Huang-chung at present (1910–1920) nothing more is required from the members of a college than attendance at the ceremonies in its temple and at the instruction given by the Fa-t'ai on a few fixed dates. There are no regular courses with compulsory attendance, no program of studies is required to be completed within a certain number of years, there are no compulsory examinations, and no obligation to take any degree or diploma. No director supervises the studies of the members of the college; studies are a personal matter, depending on the initiative of each individual.

A lama who has some feeling for study, who possesses some money provided by his family, or whose master is willing to spend some money for his education, goes to see a learned lama taking with him some meat, noodles, raisins, sugar, and some money, and prostrates himself, offering the ceremonial scarf and asking the lama to be his teacher. Usually, three or four lamas manage to become pupils of the same master. At fixed times they have to bring presents to the [875]
teacher. The study of the book designated by the master starts with committing the text to memory, and [876]
recitation before the master. Two or three times a week the master takes time to hear the recitation. Student and master are in no hurry; once in a while the master is too busy to teach, or one of the students is prevented from attending the lesson. The students all engage in domestic duties. Their capacities and fervor for study are not the same. After a few weeks one of them is memorizing the fourth, one the tenth sheet, and so on. After several weeks more, a couple of them have no further desire for study and drop out.

[p. 63(B)]

The master starts with the explanation of the text 792
after the student has finished memorizing it, and so it 794
happens that, after some time, one pupil is studying a 873
second or a third book, while the others are still study- [876]
ing the first one. It is hard to teach pupils who have not received the same educational preparation and who progress at an unequal pace. The lack of elementary schools and high schools compels the master to adapt [872]
his teaching to the capacity and enthusiasm of each of the students, and inevitably the study loses its interest for pupil and master.

It is no wonder that very few learned lamas are encountered at present among the lamas of Huang-chung. The Living Buddha Goorong bzan, of the Red Sect, was the only man celebrated for his learning all over the country during the period 1910–1920, and he enjoyed this reputation among lamas of the Yellow Sect as well as the Red Sect. In Kumbum there was also a learned Living Buddha, Chao-hsi, who was said to have given instruction in the lamasery of Galdan in Tibet. In June, 1920, he was invited by the community of lamas of Kumbum to give instruction for ten days, and Kumbum seized this opportunity to invite all the lamas of Huang-chung to attend the ceremony, remembering that each attendant should offer a ceremonial scarf to the preacher, and bring his food with him. Kumbum, however, would offer two butter-teas to the participants each day. I was at Hua-yüan, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, at that time, and the intendant, in order to have his lamas attend the instruction, himself offered to provide them with the food for twelve days; but only 12 among the 58 lamas went to Kumbum.

In 1914 I was told that among the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, 1,300 were members of the College of Philosophy, 350 of the College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, 200 each in the College of Medicine and the College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules. All these numbers have to be reduced according to the ratio previously noted for the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, but the proportion is the same for the members attending the colleges. Thus, among the 3,000 lamas 2,000 or two-thirds were enjoying a higher educational training in the colleges, and they remained members of the colleges for the whole of their lives. This was generally true for all of the colleges of Huang-chung.

The reason for the unusual attendance at the col- 792
leges is not that these institutions are centers of higher 554
education, but rather that they provide meals for their 873
members. The richest colleges, able to give the great- 814
est number and the choicest meals, are the best at- 262
tended, such as the College of Philosophy. Another attraction of this very popular college, teaching the most arduous of all the sciences, is the relaxation provided by the public disputations. The schedule of the meals provided by the various colleges supports these statements: [p. 64(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

1st month from 3rd to 18th, 3 cups of butter tea and tsamba, in all the colleges. 792
2nd month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only. 554 873
3rd month from 11th to 16th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges. 814 262
4th month from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges
5th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
6th month from 1st to 10th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
8th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
9th month from 15th to 19th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
10th month from 22nd to 29th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
11th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
12th monthly from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.

During the first, second, eighth, and eleventh months there is an exception. During each of these months, the philosophers four times enjoy two cups of rice, meat, and raisins. Rich pilgrims are accustomed to ask for special ceremonies and prayers more often in the College of Philosophy than in the other colleges, and each time they offer rice, meat, raisins, and alms. The philosophers thus enjoy more extra dinners than the members of other colleges, and receive greater shares at the distribution of alms. It is not amazing that a lama who can hardly make ends meet, but is endowed with a philosophical brain, considers it more educational to enroll in the College of Philosophy than in the others. Herein lies the practical attraction to the study of philosophy.

PREDILECTION FOR THE COLLEGE OF PHILOSOPHY, ITS CAUSES

The public disputations are the next attraction. 792
Among the huge numbers of members of the College 814
of Philosophy there are always some exceptions. Small 873
groups of students are encountered who are genuinely interested in study and under the direction of competent professors invited by them, they undergo a severe course of instruction. Two or three times every week they are engaged in public disputations, attended by all the members of the college. Students studying the same book form the center of a numerous audience, squatting on the ground of the courtyard in the open air. These disputation exercises have been described by many authors; it is sufficient to record that the same circles always enjoy the biggest attendance, not for the interest of the subject disputed, which is rather mild, but in order to enjoy the virtuosity of celebrated de-

[p. 64(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

baters who are always the same and fond of displaying their ability. 792 814 873

Not a few among them are real actors, who would honor the stages of the best theaters in the civilized world. Their poses, mimicry, jokes, verve, double meaning suggestions, affected sounds, and their knack of keeping the people amused, whet the curiosity and provide a real relaxation. Nearly the whole community huddles around them, even the old lamas who are used to sitting sleepily at these compulsory, boring meetings, for whom the novelty has worn off many, many years ago, and who have never been interested in the subject itself, strain their ears and huddle a little nearer to the stage and relax happily. 792 544 873

The Yellow Sect has always been fond of dialectic. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of Erh-ku-lung was celebrated for his logic in the learned world of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung.[11] The dialectic methods of Nagarjuna are particularly enjoyed by the philosophers. He used to "prove," in the most incredible ways, the nonexistence of the world, of his proper self, and even of Buddhism.[12] The debaters try by means of recitation of endless memorized texts to stagger their opponents, and by tortuous questions to entice them into snares of sophism and to prove the most unbelievable theses. The attractive public disputations help to break the monotony of the monastic life, and to provide a couple of hours of relaxation.

It was said that once in a while some students passed official examinations and obtained titles and degrees, but I never had the opportunity to be present at such ceremonies.

Both these reasons explain the unusual attraction toward the College of Philosophy of the large number of lamas, who even lack the education of a student of an elementary school, and also the stubborn perseverance of the old lamas in continuing as members of the college.

The conditions for becoming a member of the other colleges and the method of study are identical with those of the College of Philosophy. The lamas have to attend only one compulsory service in the early morning in the main temple, as required by the organization of the community of the lamas, and have plenty of time to attend the exercises prescribed by other colleges in the morning and afternoon; they even have plenty of time to indulge in domestic duties and commerce. It would be instructive to make a comparison between the standard of the studies in Huang-chung and that of the celebrated lamaseries of Tibet, as described in nearly all the works concerned with the subject.[13] After investigating the situation in Huang-chung, I harbor suspicions concerning the punctilious observance of the pro- 792 873 794

[11] Huth, *op. cit.*, 281.

[12] René Grousset, *Philosophies indiennes*, ch. 9, *passim*, Paris, Desclée de Brower, 1931.

[13] Waddell, *op. cit.*, 184–188; Filchner, *op. cit.*, 350–358; Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 94, etc.

[p. 65(A)]

4; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

gram of studies, elaborately built up and highly vaunted, 792
and the knowledge and education sometimes attributed 873
to the lamas in Tibet and Mongolia. My opinions seem 794
to be justified by the opinions of other authors, who have lived for years among the lamas, knowing their language and being themselves Buddhists.

The learned Buddhist, Mme Alexandra David-Neel, 792
who lived in the lamaseries of Tibet and Huang-chung 157
for many years, knew the language very well and was 829
always sympathetic to the lamas, giving "philosophical" justifications for much questionable behavior, but she confesses:

> At the morning exercise are intermixed subtle philosophy with commercialism, high spirituality with feverish pursuit of vile satisfactions, which are impossible to separate from each other; novices, educated in this whirlpool of contrary influences, follow one or another of them, according to their nature and the direction given to them by their master.[14] In Tibet the clerical education has produced only a "small number" of selected literary men, a "large number" of slothful brutes, joyous, gay fellows, and picturesque blusterers, and all these various characteristics, if they do not show up in every lama, are at least "simultaneously deeply ingrained in the nature of all of them." [15]

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist monk, who went to Lhasa to study Lamaism in the learned centers of Tibet, states that they graduate from the college after having studied for twenty-one years; they study especially the Buddhist Catechism and philosophy. They are from thirty to thirty-six years of age when they graduate.[16] It may safely be said that their purpose in entering the priesthood is only to procure the largest possible amount of fortune as well as the highest possible fame in that entirely secluded world of theirs. They do not seek religious truths or practice religious austerities for the work of delivering men and leading them to salvation, but they study to acquire fame, wealth, and influence, and there is nothing deep in their religious life, and 999 out of 1,000 have no conception of the problems of future life.[17] He states also that their faith is a veritable mass of superstition.[18]

These two learned Buddhists seem to confirm my suspicions and to reveal the philosophy and the behavior of the lama institutions. They corroborate my [123]
own observations, made at various institutions during the same span of time. A single fact may account only for the mentality of a single man; a multitude of facts, however, reveal the mentality of an entire corporation.[19]

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[14] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 95.

[15] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 96.

[16] Ekai Kawaguchi, *Three years in Tibet*, 291, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

[17] *Ibid.*, 348.

[18] *Ibid.*, 560.

[19] Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 108, *sq.*, gives interesting comparative data concerning the lamas and their behavior in the lamaseries situated in the Gobi Desert in the Narobanchin territory.

[p. 65(B)]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

462 ditions offer opportunities to the kind of man who is clever with his hands and with tools. As such a man usually works for people who live in the same village or are members of the same clan, what usually happens is that the "clever" friend is invited to come over to lend a helping hand. A large part of his reward is in the opportunity to show his superior skill. When the job has been done he is invited to dinner, or if he is a poor man he is given some grain. Such opportunities are not enough, however, to enable a man to become a full-time specialized artisan.

Two Monguor artisans, self-made men, gave me the clue to the answer to this problem. "If there were no rich people," they said, "and above all if there were no monasteries in our country, we could never have been able to make a living as artisans; we would never have been anything but helpers. Because of the monasteries and the rich people, however, we are able to work all the year round and to take on apprentices." For this kind of artisan employment, rich people and monasteries provide the materials and the artisan provides only the special skill in using the materials.

463 A youngster who is handy with tools and wants to be-
874 come an artisan invites two elders of his village to go with him at the New Year to see the artisan to whom he wants to apprentice himself. He presents the traditional "scarf of felicity" and two pieces of meat. The elders stand as surety for his obedience and honesty. He makes nine prostrations to the master artisan and promises obedience. A contract is then signed by the guarantors, the master artisan, and the boy. The period of apprenticeship is usually three years, during which the apprentice lives at the home of his master and in addition to learning his trade works, without pay, at all kinds of odd jobs, such as preparing his master's food, and working in his fields in the busy times of sowing and harvesting.

After three years, if the master is satisfied, the apprentice prepares a sheep and wine and invites his master, his two guarantors, and the former apprentices of his master to a feast. He presents his master with a gown or a pair of trousers or boots, prostrates himself nine times and receives from his master a set of the tools of his trade. He is then himself a master-artisan, and although he still has to work another year for his master, he is now paid for his work. For the rest of his life he feels indebted to his master and bound to help him whenever asked.

415 One of the minor industries engaged in by Monguors
313 is the manufacture of wooden bowls and small wooden
[322] boxes. The wood used is poplar, which is turned on a lathe and then coated with oil. Another small-scale occupation is the making of charcoal. Monguors living near forests belonging to lamaseries pay the monastery for the right to cut trees from which they burn charcoal which they take to the towns to sell. Other Monguors buy trees as they stand in the forest, cut them, and saw

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the boy will obey his master as he obeyed his parents. 175
By this ceremony, which is a real adoption, the novice 792
is constituted the legal heir of the fortune of his master, 571
who usually possesses a home or a small courtyard inside the monastery, some animals, and money. The novice will stay with and serve his master his whole life, the master caring for his subsistence, keep, and education.

FIRST VOWS

After a few days, on a new auspicious day, the cere- 792
mony of the taking of the first vows is performed. In [782]
the early morning, the master himself shaves the head of his pupil. It is said that a layman is not allowed to be present at that moment. Five Gelüng[5] lamas arrive; one of them sits against the wall of the k'ang, and the other four, in pairs, sit opposite each other. The kneeling novice holds incense sticks in his hands and the Gelüng starts the ceremonial prayers, reciting the thirteen traditional vows which the novice repeats after him. Nine prostrations are given before a picture of some Buddha, and the chief of the Gelüngs makes a speech. The boy thanks the Gelüng and his master by prostrations, and the vows are taken. From that time on the boy is called *Wendee*.[6] In some monasteries only two Gelüngs preside over the ceremony; at Seerkok, only one. The master then enters the name of his pupil in the roster of inmates of the monastery. The master alone is the judge of the aptitude and religious vocation of his pupil.

The master starts the education of his pupil by teach- 792
ing him how to arrange the house altar, sweep and 874
keep the house clean, care for the stables, collect cow dung for fuel, draw water, milk the cows, tend the animals, graze the cattle, prepare food and tea. The novice is the genuine servant of his master, a cheap laborer. However, when the novice is not engaged in domestic duties, he receives religious education from his master, which starts with the study of the alphabet and reading of texts, and at the same time he repeats daily after the master and commits to memory the texts recited in the head temple. When he has learned them he is allowed to attend the morning ceremonies and to share the benefit of hot tea every day, to partake of the many meals, fixed according to the calendar of the monastery, and participate in the distribution of the alms.

Memorizing is the most important point in the program of studies. Later on, the master helps his pupil to read and to commit to memory the texts used at funerals, for diseases, to protect the herds, the harvest, etc., because these texts will help him to make a living in the future. Every morning the pupil recites the prepared texts before his master. During his spare time, when he is not engaged in domestic duties, he has to

[5] L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*, 2nd Ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

[6] *Ibid.*, 171, Ge-nen-Bandi-Rab-brun—Gelüng.

commit the texts to memory, punishments being inflicted if he is slack in his scholastic duty. No haste or fuss is made about the matter of study, for master and pupil possess endless years for the job. No dignitary at the monastery inquires about the studies of the pupil or the teaching of the master; the intellectual and religious education is a family matter, a duty between master and pupil. 792 874

SECOND VOWS

At the age of eighteen the novice takes his second vows and is called *Gelüng*. According to the rules, the vows are only allowed to be taken at the age of twenty, but at eighteen, one year is added for his father and one for his mother, and the required twenty years are complete. The ritual for the taking of the second vows, which number 253, is the same as for the taking of the first vows. A minor Living Buddha or a Fa-t'ai is invited to preside over the ceremony, after which an official religious name is given to the novice. The family and friends of the novice are invited to attend this important rite and they bring gifts with them, such as meat, rice, raisins, jujubes, Chinese noodles, rolls. A dinner is served, and each of the guests upon leaving for home receives two rolls from the novice. 782 792

The taking of the 253 vows is the highest rung of the ladder of Lamaist dignities reached by 99 out of 100 lamas in Huang-chung. Although the appellation of "lama" is officially reserved for monks who have passed this stage, in Huang-chung it is commonly used for all monks who have taken the second vows, and usually indiscriminately for all people who wear the lama clothing.

Old lamas naïvely admitted that in former times a lot of lamas of Huang-chung used to go to Lhasa to complete their studies and to obtain higher titles, but that at present, because the former reputed centers of learning in Tibet had fallen into a state of deterioration, no lamas are traveling to Tibet. It may be that the monasteries of Huang-chung have declined, and no appeal for serious studies is felt among the lamas. During the Moslem revolt of 1872, hundreds of lamas fled to Tibet and came back after the rebellion without having seized the opportunity to increase their knowledge. [484]

After the second vows, the scientific and religious education is complete. The lama can then read a text more or less correctly, without understanding it. He cannot write a letter, but is able to recite a number of texts, which he has committed to memory in order to assure himself a living. Every morning he attends the ceremony in the main temple, where instruction is given which very seldom has any appeal to him, since he cannot grasp its confused meaning, being engaged the whole day long in domestic duties. No elementary or high schools exist at the lamaseries; there is no special instruction for boys and teenagers; no religious guid- 792 874

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ance is provided by an experienced spiritual director 792
and adapted to the needs of turbulent young people. 874
There is no novitiate. A young lama's director is his own master, who himself has received no scientific or religious training. The pupil tries to imitate the older lamas. He listens to their conversations and observes their actions. This lack of real education makes an experienced man pause.

RELATIONS BETWEEN PUPIL AND MASTER

The Wendee, after becoming a Gelüng, does not leave 792
his master, but continues to serve him to his dying day. 571
A lama enjoys the highest respect and love of his family, especially when he is young. His master allows him to make frequent visits to his parents, for it pays him to do so. The saying goes that lamas are quite like married girls. When they visit their family, they take nothing with them and ride an empty horse, but when they leave their father's home their horse is loaded with gifts. The lama never returns from his parents without having received some clothing from his mother, having his clothes mended, and having received some sweet rolls, meat, and pickled vegetables. His parents slaughter a sheep or kill a pig, and a piece of meat is sent to the lama and his master. The master enjoys these small gifts and they help smooth the relations between master and pupil, who have to live congenially together, enduring each other's shortcomings and deficiencies. The intelligent master tries to cultivate good relations with the family of his pupil because this will help to make the pupil obedient and avoid friction between them.

Old, experienced lamas told me often that the problem of the pupil is of overriding importance and is a nightmare to many lamas. The young people now are not as unsophisticated as in old times. The master, an uneducated man, who has never learned to restrain his own passions and temperament, is usually not a man qualified to educate a wild pupil, but the fault does not always lie only with him. The stumbling block in the [867]
education of pupils is to be sought, not usually in the home of the master, but outside the monastery, where the pupil goes every day for hours on end, to collect fuel or graze the animals. Boys of seven, eight, and ten years of age meet with teenagers, already thoroughly corrupt, who pervert them and plant in their hearts the seeds of evil weeds which are likely to thrive for the rest of their lives.

Among these groups of young lamas all the short- 792
comings of the masters of the monastery are discussed, 867
the pitiful conditions of the pupils, the disappearance of 571
pupils, the accusations at the Chinese courts of masters by their pupils, the successful removal of a part of the master's wealth by the pupil. These young folk listen all night long to the conversations of the older lamas, who know, to the last detail, all the scandals of the lamas and of the monasteries of the whole country, who

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Apprentices who receive part of their training for a couple of years from another shaman, during the summer time, and who acknowledge him as their master, offer him a gown upon completion of their education. In return, they receive a drum from him. The rules of apprenticeship among the shamans are the same as those already noted for other apprentices, such as carpenters. 756 534 [874]

The overwhelming magical significance attached to the drum by the nomad shamans is lacking among the Monguor shamans. Among the nomads, when the apprentice, after completing his depressing training, beats the drum for the first time, he becomes hypnotized and tranced.[25] Although the Monguor shamans consider the drum a sacred magical object, the same overriding importance is not attached to it.

The drum is built in a primitive way. A handle is attached to an iron circle with iron rings, which produce noise when the drum is beaten. On the iron circle is stretched a piece of goatskin, which has been soaked in water and shaved. On its surface are often painted crude pictures of heaven, with the sun, moon, the big and the little dippers, stars and clouds. The drumstick is usually made from peachwood or strips of goat hide twisted together.

THE KNIFE

The shamans use a knife when driving away the evil spirits. The knife is twelve inches long and two inches wide, and pointed at the end. To the handle are attached noisemaking iron rings. Sometimes the Chinese knife used for cutting noodles is substituted. 756 413 293

THE MAGIC STAFF

The staff, which is of wood, seems to be an important tool.[26] To the top is affixed a copper mirror surmounted by a three-pronged iron fork to which tassels of red rope are attached. The staff ends in an iron point, so that it may be planted erect in the ground during the time when council with the spirit is asked for. The magic staff is a tool used by lamas and Taoists as well as by shamans. The staff of the lamas differs from that of the shamans in that the mirror is surmounted by a copper skull, while above the skull is the point of a spear. The staff of the Taoists has an octagonal shaft with an iron point on top.

Each time, before performing a rite, the shaman asks his spirits in the staff about the most fitting rite for the circumstance, the sacrifice to be offered. The answer is supplied by the twelve spirits making the arms of the shaman shiver, and so he knows how to conjure evil spirits who harm persons, families, or herds. It is always called *Yang-t'ou san-ch'iang*. (I could never get an explanation of this Chinese term.) The staff is used when the shamans go into private families in order 756 793

[25] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 79.

[26] Ugo Holmbergs, Siberian mythology, in *Mythology of all races* 4: 522, Boston, 1927.

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of the members of a college, at the time they enter, have previously received only the training of ordinary lamas, which consists of learning to read and write more or less correctly. Old lamas, as well as young Wendees, from the time they fulfill these two conditions, are allowed to apply for membership if the colleges have an appeal for them. A lama is not compelled to enter any college. If he does, the manner of joining or leaving a college is the same as described for joining or leaving the community of the lamas. Every lama is allowed to remain a member of a college for as long as the appeal of the college persists, and usually he remains a member for the whole of his lifetime. 792 794 873

Each college is an independent unit within the lamasery, having its own wealth and administration, its own temple, administrative buildings, and residence for its Fa-t'ai. The administration of the colleges is built on the pattern of the organization of the community of the lamas, with the same kinds of officials, and enjoying the same kinds of autonomous rights and privileges.

The four colleges are: (1) The College of Philosophy and Metaphysics, (2) The College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, (3) The College of Medicine, and (4) The College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules. [871]

In Huang-chung at present (1910–1920) nothing more is required from the members of a college than attendance at the ceremonies in its temple and at the instruction given by the Fa-t'ai on a few fixed dates. There are no regular courses with compulsory attendance, no program of studies is required to be completed within a certain number of years, there are no compulsory examinations, and no obligation to take any degree or diploma. No director supervises the studies of the members of the college; studies are a personal matter, depending on the initiative of each individual.

A lama who has some feeling for study, who possesses some money provided by his family, or whose master is willing to spend some money for his education, goes to see a learned lama taking with him some meat, noodles, raisins, sugar, and some money, and prostrates himself, offering the ceremonial scarf and asking the lama to be his teacher. Usually, three or four lamas manage to become pupils of the same master. At fixed times they have to bring presents to the teacher. The study of the book designated by the master starts with committing the text to memory, and recitation before the master. Two or three times a week the master takes time to hear the recitation. Student and master are in no hurry; once in a while the master is too busy to teach, or one of the students is prevented from attending the lesson. The students all engage in domestic duties. Their capacities and fervor for study are not the same. After a few weeks one of them is memorizing the fourth, one the tenth sheet, and so on. After several weeks more, a couple of them have no further desire for study and drop out. [875] [876]

[p. 63(B)]

even minor Living Buddhas live in luxurious residences, 792
with a private chapel and servants. Admittance to the 871
Living Buddha is very complicated; no one is even al- [511]
lowed to enter the kitchen, at the entrance of which, [784]
when the Living Buddha is present, is a high stone,
whitewashed and covered with a ceremonial scarf.

The first duty of the intendant is to acquire for his 792
new master two lama teachers of good repute and ex- 871
tensive learning, in order to provide for the education 554
of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the 292
boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity.

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks 792
before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after 554
months and months the exercises always have to be 869
repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and 868
the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.[25]

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, 157
particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training.

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and 792
writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before 875
his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he [876]
fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary lamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-ku-lung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed

[25] Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

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his bag and returned to Labrang. The master of the well-known bridge-builder, Temna, convinced that his pupil was not of the stuff of which philosophers are made, saddled his horse and went back home. It seems that such instances often occur. 792 875

Bit by bit, I pieced together the interesting curriculum of T'u-kuan. At seven years of age he entered the intendancy of Erh-ku-lung; at nine years of age he was sent to Labrang (two weeks riding on horseback) to study with a couple of young Living Buddhas there; at twelve he was back in Erh-ku-lung, at thirteen he went to Peking, and congratulated the Emperor at New Year's; at only sixteen years of age he was back at Erh-ku-lung; at seventeen he returned to Labrang for study; at nineteen he went back to Erh-ku-lung and went on a vacation with his family for four months. 792 871 484

After that he went with an expedition collecting alms among the Uigurs of Kan-chou and Su-chou, and on a second one to Mongolia, which took three and one-half years. His studies lasted over a period of seven or eight years, with intermissions of several years. It is said that the masters of the Living Buddhas never leave their pupils; they accompany them on the journeys and are said to teach philosophy and metaphysics while riding horseback during the whole of the journey. Most of the Living Buddhas and Lamas, however, go through life with only a sketchy background in Lamaist learning. [875]

What about the frame of mind and the religious formation, the interior spiritual life, the meditations and contemplations of Living Buddhas who, from the prime of life, are fed on unwholesome values by a master, swelling their pride, flaunting their superiority above others, and inflating their self-importance? What of the consequences to the minds and hearts of these teenagers of basking continually in the adulation of a group of flattering admirers, who feign to have for them a feeling that is little short of idolatrous, being always wrapped in a shining coat of adoration, wearing a look of portentous solemnity, as if the face wore a mask? Without doubt some of them are carried away with their own play-acting and like to move in this misty land of Utopia. Probably for many of them the scales will, one day or another, weigh down their eyes and bear evidence of their loss of touch with reality. 792 156

An old teacher of Living Buddhas once revealed to me that the biggest problem for teachers is to keep young men, for whom studies have not the slightest appeal, occupied all day long. They are bored by their dull and uneventful life and, upon coming of age, strike out for themselves. They have outgrown the time when corporal punishment could be inflicted. They fritter the time away on trifles, on investigating all the vices of life among the servants and former novices of their previous incarnations. They play chess and cards, and, lazing the time away, they prepare their own ruin. A large number of them are buds that will never bloom. 792 875

[p. 69(A)]

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of the members of a college, at the time they enter, 792
have previously received only the training of ordinary 794
lamas, which consists of learning to read and write 873
more or less correctly. Old lamas, as well as young Wendees, from the time they fulfill these two conditions, are allowed to apply for membership if the colleges have an appeal for them. A lama is not compelled to enter any college. If he does, the manner of joining or leaving a college is the same as described for joining or leaving the community of the lamas. Every lama is allowed to remain a member of a college for as long as the appeal of the college persists, and usually he remains a member for the whole of his lifetime.

Each college is an independent unit within the lamasery, having its own wealth and administration, its own temple, administrative buildings, and residence for its Fa-t'ai. The administration of the colleges is built on the pattern of the organization of the community of the lamas, with the same kinds of officials, and enjoying the same kinds of autonomous rights and privileges.

The four colleges are: (1) The College of Philosophy [871]
and Metaphysics, (2) The College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, (3) The College of Medicine, and (4) The College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules.

In Huang-chung at present (1910–1920) nothing more is required from the members of a college than attendance at the ceremonies in its temple and at the instruction given by the Fa-t'ai on a few fixed dates. There are no regular courses with compulsory attendance, no program of studies is required to be completed within a certain number of years, there are no compulsory examinations, and no obligation to take any degree or diploma. No director supervises the studies of the members of the college; studies are a personal matter, depending on the initiative of each individual.

A lama who has some feeling for study, who possesses some money provided by his family, or whose master is willing to spend some money for his education, goes to see a learned lama taking with him some meat, noodles, raisins, sugar, and some money, and prostrates himself, offering the ceremonial scarf and asking the lama to be his teacher. Usually, three or four lamas manage to become pupils of the same master. At fixed times they have to bring presents to the [875]
teacher. The study of the book designated by the master starts with committing the text to memory, and [876]
recitation before the master. Two or three times a week the master takes time to hear the recitation. Student and master are in no hurry; once in a while the master is too busy to teach, or one of the students is prevented from attending the lesson. The students all engage in domestic duties. Their capacities and fervor for study are not the same. After a few weeks one of them is memorizing the fourth, one the tenth sheet, and so on. After several weeks more, a couple of them have no further desire for study and drop out.

[p. 63(B)]

The master starts with the explanation of the text 792
after the student has finished memorizing it, and so it 794
happens that, after some time, one pupil is studying a 873
second or a third book, while the others are still study- [876]
ing the first one. It is hard to teach pupils who have
not received the same educational preparation and who
progress at an unequal pace. The lack of elementary
schools and high schools compels the master to adapt [872]
his teaching to the capacity and enthusiasm of each of
the students, and inevitably the study loses its interest
for pupil and master.

It is no wonder that very few learned lamas are encountered at present among the lamas of Huang-chung. The Living Buddha Goorong bzan, of the Red Sect, was the only man celebrated for his learning all over the country during the period 1910–1920, and he enjoyed this reputation among lamas of the Yellow Sect as well as the Red Sect. In Kumbum there was also a learned Living Buddha, Chao-hsi, who was said to have given instruction in the lamasery of Galdan in Tibet. In June, 1920, he was invited by the community of lamas of Kumbum to give instruction for ten days, and Kumbum seized this opportunity to invite all the lamas of Huang-chung to attend the ceremony, remembering that each attendant should offer a ceremonial scarf to the preacher, and bring his food with him. Kumbum, however, would offer two butter-teas to the participants each day. I was at Hua-yüan, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, at that time, and the intendant, in order to have his lamas attend the instruction, himself offered to provide them with the food for twelve days; but only 12 among the 58 lamas went to Kumbum.

In 1914 I was told that among the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, 1,300 were members of the College of Philosophy, 350 of the College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, 200 each in the College of Medicine and the College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules. All these numbers have to be reduced according to the ratio previously noted for the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, but the proportion is the same for the members attending the colleges. Thus, among the 3,000 lamas 2,000 or two-thirds were enjoying a higher educational training in the colleges, and they remained members of the colleges for the whole of their lives. This was generally true for all of the colleges of Huang-chung.

The reason for the unusual attendance at the col- 792
leges is not that these institutions are centers of higher 554
education, but rather that they provide meals for their 873
members. The richest colleges, able to give the great- 814
est number and the choicest meals, are the best at- 262
tended, such as the College of Philosophy. Another
attraction of this very popular college, teaching the
most arduous of all the sciences, is the relaxation provided by the public disputations. The schedule of the
meals provided by the various colleges supports these
statements:

[p. 64(A)]

even minor Living Buddhas live in luxurious residences, 792
with a private chapel and servants. Admittance to the 871
Living Buddha is very complicated; no one is even al- [811]
lowed to enter the kitchen, at the entrance of which, [784]
when the Living Buddha is present, is a high stone, whitewashed and covered with a ceremonial scarf.

The first duty of the intendant is to acquire for his 792
new master two lama teachers of good repute and ex- 871
tensive learning, in order to provide for the education 554
of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the 292
boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity.

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks 792
before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after 554
months and months the exercises always have to be 869
repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and 868
the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.[25]

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, 157
particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training.

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and 792
writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before 875
his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he [876]
fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary lamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-ku-lung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed

[25] Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

[p. 68(B)]

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EDUCATION OF THE CHILD

603 In their early years children are brought up as much by their grandparents as by their parents. The grandfather and grandmother play with the children all day long, carrying them on their backs, holding them in their arms, fondling them, and making slaves of themselves like devoted nursemaids—and the children love them as they would a nurse. The children know very well that it is to their grandparents that they must look for sweets and candies and extra delicacies, and that when grandfather goes for a walk they may go along with him. Boys and girls are treated with the same affection.

603 606 In this relationship lies the deepest secret of why daughters-in-law become attached to the families into which they marry. Although a girl is not consulted about her marriage, although she comes to know her husband only after she has been married to him, and although she lives in an extended household where she must adjust herself to the other daughters-in-law, the fondness of the grandparents for her children goes a long way to smooth inevitable frictions and jealousies.

882 It is when the boys begin to grow up that they cease to be regarded as children and lose some of their intimate contact with their grandparents. They like to leave the family courtyard to play with other boys; and as they get bigger, small jobs are assigned to them. They begin to go out with the herds and flocks to the pastures, to help with the farming, and to learn from their fathers how to make tools. The girls help their mother in the kitchen, gather fuel, tend animals in the stalls and stables, and learn to sew. Before she is married, each girl works on her "hope chest," and under her mother's direction prepares most of the clothes that she will take with her when she marries, including the embroidered girdle and the monumental ceremonial hat and fancy boots. Through learning to cook and sew, to look after animals, and to understand farming in her own family, a girl learns how to become a good daughter-in-law.

867 The Monguors are not a people who have a fondness for learning. There are few villages that have a school, and in any case girls never go to school. The education for life of both boys and girls is mainly in the family. Children are not prevented from watching and listening to anything that goes on in the crowded extended family and in the village. At a very early age they know which woman in the village is pregnant and when the birth of the child is expected. They know how many animals are owned by each family in the village, how many colts, calves, and lambs there are; how the harvest has turned out and what the current prices are for the horses, cows, sheep, goats, skins, wool, wheat, and millet that the villagers have to sell and what the prices are for the cotton cloth, thread, needles, salt, spices, and so forth that they buy.

A boy accompanies his father to the nearest market town when he goes there to sell wheat and sees the shops, the soldiers, and the crowds. At the monastery festivals

/114 cont'd/

Mo 587 assets and his widow being the property of his own family, they go back into its domain.

428 593 These conditions show clearly that the widow is considered to have left the family of her former parents-in-law completely; the Mo 589 latter have given up all the rights they had with respect to her and have entrusted the children to her with the obligation to raise them for their clan.

Mo 584 When such a marriage is made, a contract is always written in duplicate; /115/ one copy is kept by the husband, and the other is 587 given to the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow. In it 675 minute mention is made of properties, debts, ... and then of the obligations of the new husband.

Mo 582 If they remain poor after the marriage and find it impossible to marry off the sons, when the latter have grown up they end up by going away as they wish.

Mo 587 591 There is no abduction to fear in the present case; the marriage takes place very simply and openly. If the widow has plots of land and the husband does not, he comes to live with her; in the opposite case, the widow with the children moves in with him. If neither one nor the other has anything, they look for a place to stay and go to live together. One prostration to heaven and to the spirits, in the presence of the go-between and the parents, and this is all the ceremony of such marriages; add to it another to the parents and to the go-between. (1)

Mo 428 589 425

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit.[1], p. 142: If the widow and her daughters do not wish to be cared for by their husband's and father's brothers, they may also receive a part of the property. This part is equal to that of a brother. In this way the woman may become the owner of land and house. But this ownership can be maintained only during two generations (from mother to daughter) because the bride's

[1. op. cit. ie: Social Organisation of the Manchus --- Analyst.]

[627 cont.]

527 533 cannot sing or sings incorrectly, his opponent cuts a piece from the lappet. Thus one can sing away his whole garment in an evening.

Above all, the young people meet on the threshing floor and in a circle sing all kinds of songs. This lasts the entire night, especially at the first [628] full moon. Only towards [883] morning do they stop. Boys and girls mingle freely in the circle. Small boys dressed in reversed hides represent demons and beat on pieces of wood; others imitate Chinese traders, play all kinds of tricks, etc. (5).

[535] [171]

5. [Foreign text pp. 628-629.] These round dances are exactly like those among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiafandse. Men and women and boys and girls form [629] a circle. One person leads the song and also indicates the dance movement. The others sing the refrain and repeat the movement together. They also dance in twos to the rhythm of the song. These dances are also performed generally at entertainments, for example, at a wedding, upon the arrival of the lama, etc. There are many kinds of the songs. They are divided into two groups: family songs, which are decent and are sung in the house; wild songs, whose content, taken from love-life, is usually quite crude. The melodies to a great extent are the same as among the Fandse. Besides Tujen songs Chinese and Tibetan songs are also sung. The song given here is Tibetan in its original text. -- At these moonlight dances the young people spend the entire night out in the open, and more than

[171]

[539] [883]

[628 cont.]

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[533]
[883]

[Note on foreign text pp. 628-629 cont.]
one couple is seen disappearing off to one side. Concerning the types of songs, cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder."

After the fifteenth day the common workaday life begins again. The many oil-loaves, however, are eaten for a long time. [262]

[539]
[533]

Song: On New Year's the following song is popularly sung:

1. On New Year's one makes a kowtow to the sky, burns incense, and then one eats.
2. If you observe the laws of the emperor, in later life you will become a minister
3. If you do not forget the kind deeds of the parents, you will later live long.

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Word List

New Year: šeni sara = new month.
To celebrate the New Year: šeni sara nogdzini.
Last day of the old year: tsiafudzarë šëlõn = of the thirtieth evening.
udurdza xuänuo = day - late.
To slaughter pigs: xgeni ala-.
To bake oil-baking: tsiãnguor tsina-. [252]
To distill wine: dërasëngë dzinlie-.
To roll thin noodles: narin šëlõnge dielge-.
To steam pastry: šëmienge dzinlie-.
To bake Tachur bread: tagur šdimienge sira-.
To celebrate the thirtieth when it grows dark: xara wolgu tsiafudzar nogdzi-.
Please do not sleep today, the gods are to be welcomed early tomorrow morning: niu šëlõn bi ndëra, malõn siernege purgan dzëliegu-.
To burn a little stick of incense: gudzi šda-; shao-hsiang (Chin.).
To burn paper: bio šda; shao huang piao (Chin.).

765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[262] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
[585] along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse; also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune
[783] to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not offici-
[796] ate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean, and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automati-
[783] cally lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul
[777] haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one
[791] questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved, it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul.
[782] One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

on the luckless family.

N *563 M 231 [777] The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

M [886] [775]

N *563 M 515 [784] Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

N *563 M 24 233 433 5. Occupations

The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

N *563 M 24 [777] [432] The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

N *563 M 231 554 [556] [784] Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

N *563 M 233 463 Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

596 go on living as a group even though the new head of the family is not obeyed as he should be and each component man-and-wife family is jealous and resentful of the others.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW FAMILIES

Continuing with the example of the four brothers who have been taken as a typical case of the breaking up of an extended family, it will be found that there are no dramatic ceremonies ratifying the establishment of the four new "chimneys." Sometimes the man who is establishing his own "chimney" will kill a sheep, invite some elders and his maternal uncle, offer them wine, and receive their good wishes for a happy future, while his sons and daughters-in-law and the grandchildren prostrate themselves before him and his wife. Thereafter, four new "chimneys" are registered in the archives of the village instead of one.

Generally speaking, it can be said that family ties among the Monguors are not as binding as they used to be. There is an increasing tendency to separate into small families. The bonds and associations of the clan have resisted change more successfully than the extended family.

596 888 Certain aspects of the family, however, remain strong, especially the gradation of respect according to seniority of generation. Children, from their earliest years, are accustomed to seeing each generation show respect to the generations senior to it, especially on formal occasions such as funerals, marriages, the installation of the chief of the clan, and all ceremonies connected with veneration of the ancestors. They grow up accustomed to this kind of respect, which is as important in the community and the clan as it is in the family. The result is a social outlook in which the individual is subordinated to the family and the community.

CLASSIFICATION OF KINSHIP

601 In the classification of relationship, the Monguors use the same term for all members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Thus, I address as "grandfather" not only my own grandfather, but all his brothers and the sons of his father's brothers. The term is *adic*, with differentiation of *sge* ("big") for those members of this class who are older than my grandfather, and *mula* ("little") for those who are younger. Similarly, I address as *anic* not only my own grandmother but the wives of all the men whom I address as "grandfather," with the same distinction of "big" and "little" for those who are older or younger than my actual grandmother. This term *anic*, which is also the polite expression for "madame," I likewise apply not only to the "grandmothers" who are married to my "grandfathers," but to my grandfather's sisters, because they have the same clan name that he has. In other words, his "sisters" are not only his father's daughters but the daughters of his father's brothers—

[P. 836]

[13 cont.]

123 view of the highly developed sense of honor of the old man.
115 For instance, he could not be persuaded to dictate the well-
[888] known mountain songs which often contain quite crude observations. On such occasions he would say: "For an old man like me this is not fitting, nor is it for you. Yes, when I was younger ... "Actually, younger people are freer in this respect. But even then they will ask: "Are there no women nearby?" It is not to be overlooked that the old man knew very well that my notations were also to go abroad. He told me about the informant of Father De Smedt, who helped the latter to write books and had even been far away in Mongolia. -- Ordinary uneducated farmers are easily satisfied with the observation: "If you came to Europe, would you not ask what they eat and drink there and what peculiar customs they have? What kind of songs they sing, what gods they worship?" And in fact one can often hear the people say: K'an i-ko jê-nao, k'an i-ko hsi-ch'a, that is, "Let us take a look at the excitement and see what is extraordinary." In view of the ethnic and religious mixture in Tsinghai, the people are in this respect much more generous.

The old man immediately understood that my notations would form a book. And he was proud of helping with it: "You Europeans are to be admired. We Tujen do nothing [14] to preserve our history for our descendants. In some ten years we will have become Chinese; then nothing more will be known of our language, our customs, our religion. And you want to write down everything now so that nothing will be forgotten; your service is great."

115 Another obstacle in taking notes was the informant's age.
124 He tired very easily, made digressions, and at times would interrupt the most interesting narrative by suddenly asking: "Is your father still alive? How old is he? Are you going to Koko Nor shortly?" -- and then everything would lapse into a purposeless digressive conversation. Or he would suddenly feel unwell, would want to go to sleep at once, etc. Apparently he had the following attitude: I am the guest here of a good acquaintance, just as with my kin group; we talk about this and that, go home when we want, and come back... Accordingly, it also happened that he showed up when I was not at home, merely to visit the

[625 cont.]

527 dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
[574] moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.

Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared. During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
[782] day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated,
[888] joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon

[113]

3. [Foreign text p. 628.] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.

relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.

From the second day on the people make New Year's
[628] visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

[533] gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
[262] are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
[273] a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
[356] house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

[626 cont.]

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[354]

[177]

1. [Foreign text p. 628.]
The lamps are large copper butter-lamps or the small copper bowls. -- If there is no mani-tree, the red lamp is hung on a roof slat in front of the door of the main house. This lamp is very likely copied from the Chinese celestial lantern. The Chinese, too, draw up such a lamp on a tall mast in the yard, like a flag, and let it burn every night. It is called t'ien-teng, that is, celestial lamp.

[356] the window newly plastered. In recent times the Tujen also
[177] write vernal sayings on red paper, like the Chinese, and paste them to the door posts. This was formerly not the case.

[573] Night watch: During the night before New Year's Day sleeping is not allowed. The old people say: "Please do not sleep tonight, the gods want to be welcomed early tomorrow morning." Therefore the master of the household stays up with his whole family. They partake liberally of tea, liquor, and the New Year's food, sing and converse until dawn.

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782
[888]

New Year's morning: At the first cockcrow after midnight even the last stragglers put on their best clothes. Only the very old in the family remain lying on the kang. The master of the household puts large, burning butter- or oil-lamps in the room on the household altar. In the yard he hangs a red paper lantern with a butter-lamp to the mani-tree (1) [see Note 1 above]. It is attached to a transverse strip on it. Then outside, with the entire family, he gives the great incense offering, and everyone makes a threefold kowtow to the sky out in the open. The same is repeated before the household altar for the countless other spirits. During this time a stone is made red-hot in the
[783] hearth fire, and with this glowing stone all the rooms of the compound are fumigated. At the same time the conch is blown. The fumigation may also be done by women (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 628.] The

[626 cont.]
527 threefold kowtow is again made to the sky. The same ceremony
782 is repeated before the household altar for the other gods.

527 [627] Gratulation: Meanwhile, the old people of the
household have also arisen. Now they, too, pay their New Year's
888 reverence to the sky and the countless spirits. Then they sit
576 down on the kang with the master of the household and the family elder for tea and receive the kowtow from their sons and daughters. Then the general breakfast takes place. The children kowtow before their parents, the younger siblings before the older siblings, the younger cousins before the older cousins, etc. The old ones give younger ones some money.

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527 The welcoming of joy: Towards midday the welcoming
of the god of joy takes place. For this one drives the animals
[776] onto the threshing floor, makes an offering of bread and wine, burns incense, waters the animals, and again drives them home. This practice is exactly the same as among the Chinese (7).

[787]

7. [Foreign text p. 629.] At New Year's the Tujen also question all kinds of oracles in a way similar to that of the Chinese, for example, the feed oracle, in connection with which one feeds the animals with various kinds of bread in order to prophesy concerning the harvest (cf. Schröder, "Ying-hsi, and Note 3 above). Another oracle is the ice-breaking. Young boys and men go to the river, take a sheet of ice, and break it apart. In the break lines pictures of species of grain are recognizable; the species that appear most clearly may be expected to have the best harvest during the year. This oracle is also found among the Chinese.

192 [628 cont.]
527 The welcoming of joy: ying hsi (Chin.).

[Pages 628-629 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[630] 4. The Age-blessing*

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* See "Notes," pp. 634-635 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[792] Old people, men and women, invite the lama to bless and instruct them. This is a great family festival. It is prepared a long time in advance.

On a certain day acquaintances and relatives come and bring the old person presents and gratulate him. They are treated with tea and cake. There is singing and dancing and a [574] feast is held. The young people fetch the hutukhtu. When he arrives, the women of the village dance, and incense is burned in the yard. The hutukhtu blesses the guests at the feast and the old person.

In the afternoon the age-consecration is performed. The hutukhtu makes a number of tormas, which are carried off. Then the old person kneels on the felt mat before the hutukhtu, is blessed with holy water, receives instructions, and is girdled with a yellow sash. He then resembles a lay monk. The mother's [792] brother determines what compensation the hutukhtu is to receive. [465] The next morning the hutukhtu returns to his monastery.

The consecrated person must now observe special commandments, must withdraw on the first and fifteenth of the [785] month for meditation, and fast and pray. -- Not all people can afford this celebration, for it is very expensive.

[630 cont.]

Details

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The consecrated person: The person may be a woman or a man. He must be advanced in age; usually he is around sixty years old. At this age they are pious and reflective and are better able to observe the prescriptions. Young people are eager for life, violent, and uncontrolled. The consecration is done only by an incarnation, hutukhtu, not by an ordinary lama.

[792]

Preparations: The preparations are carried out in consultation with the mother's brother. He determines the day and the hutukhtu who is to be invited. Since the whole village takes part in the celebration, money is saved a long time in advance. Sheep, pigs, or a cow are slaughtered; oil-baking, bread, and oil-sticks, san-tzu, are baked for provisions; the house and yard are put in order, liquor is distilled, new clothes are purchased, and the gifts for the hutukhtu are provided. The latter, a few days in advance, sends one or several monks who put the room in order for him and prepare the kitchen, so that he may live and eat worthily.

[604] [621] [262]

Gratulation and reception of guests: On the day set, the person to be consecrated puts on his best clothes and stays in a clean side room. The visitors, relatives, and [631] guests come early in the forenoon. They gratulate the person to be consecrated and bring a gift; usually they wrap a hada around it, which they solemnly hand to the person. The gifts are put on a chest in a room, usually in front of a household altar. Bread, oil-baking, cloth, hadas, silver money, etc. are given. A master of ceremonies is designated so that all may go according to custom and order.

[431]

Of the guests, the mother's brother is the person of greatest respect. One goes toward him and hands him a hada. When he comes, the person to be consecrated steps down from the kang and receives him. He then hands the gifts to him and is treated with tea and cake in the place of honor. Then everyone together drinks tea and liquor and breaks pieces of oil-sticks into the bowls. -- Aside from the mother's brother, the daughter's

[604] [431]

[631 cont.]

527 778 888 [431] [574] [562] husband and the daughter's children must give a hada and money to the person to be consecrated. In return they later receive greater remuneration when they depart.

Feast: The feast takes place in the yard, first for the men, then for the women. Three fields are divided off, right and left for guests, and in the center for the mother's brother with the two closest relatives. These three sit on a felt mat on even ground with their backs to the main door of the main house and have before them a low kang table with the dishes; they are served separately by the master of ceremonies. On the two fields to the right and left, straw is scattered in a square; heavy planks are put in front of it and sometimes also mats, which are to represent the tables. In the middle of each square there burns a fire in which tea and liquor are warmed.

[264] [574] The food is introduced with tsamba and tea, which is taken with butter and milk. Mutton or pork follows; the fatter it is, the better liked and more superior it is. A considerable amount is drunk. Rice follows as the main dish, which is mixed with butter and sugar and sweet roots. -- The women eat after the men. -- During the meal there are always some free, who sing and dance.

527 778 888 792 604 Settling the prayer fee: After the meal, the master of ceremonies pours out liquor for the mother's brother. The sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law kneel down before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies hands him a hada and starts the negotiations over the price. The mother's brother demands expensive gifts and much money for the lama; the master of ceremonies, through his rhetorical skill, must gradually lower the demands, until finally a suitable sum is agreed upon. Then the sons and daughters stand up, kowtow, thank the mother's brother, and go. This is similar to what is done at the pai-ta before the cremation (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 634.] For further details, see chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation." Here, too, the

[631 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 634 cont.]
prominent position of the mother's brother is particularly striking.

Arrival of the lama: The day before or early in the morning, horsemen have ridden to the lamasery to fetch the hutukhtu. He comes towards midday and is led into the house with the usual ceremonies. On the threshing floor before the yard gate the women dance and sing with all their might. In the yard the incense offering is burned and the conch [632] is blown. The lama is led to the kang in the main house; there he rests and drinks tea.

After a considerable time, the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies introduce themselves to him, give him a hada, and request him to bless the guests at the celebration. Outside, before the door of the main house, he sits down on a chair, and all pass by with bent heads, the mother's brother first. The hutukhtu touches the crown or the forehead of each one with his heavy prayer book. This is called the lama-blessing, from which the entire ceremony gets its name (2). --

[604]

[788]

2. [Foreign text p. 634.] Cf. chapter, "Reception of the Lama." I could ascertain no name other than lama ndziala; ndziala has a whole series of meanings, among others: to invite a hutukhtu. Because the age-consecration is the greatest familial religious event to which the hutukhtu is invited, it is simply called the "invitation." It is a ceremony in which a special relationship to monasticism is established through the consecration.

[192]

The person to be consecrated does not come, but waits until later.

[632 cont.]

527 778 888 792 The age-consecration: After the usual butter-lamps and little bowls have been set before the household altar in the main house, the assisting lama makes a few tormas, among them a little one. The tormas are placed on a tray before the household altar.

On the floor before the kang of the hutukhtu a felt mat is spread and the little torma is put on it. The person to be consecrated enters, followed by the mother's brother and his children, kneels barefoot and bareheaded (the women without a headdress and with their braids hanging down) on the mat, kowtows three times, and remains kneeling before the torma.

The hutukhtu prays over the candidate for consecration. The latter holds out his cupped hands, into which the hutukhtu pours holy water from his can. He drinks it. There follows a second pouring into the cupped hands. The candidate for consecration rinses his mouth with it and spits the water twice over the torma. He washes his head with the third portion of water poured into his cupped hands. Finally the last pouring follows, with which he washes his face (4).

[783]

4. [Foreign text p. 634.] Washing, of course, plays an important role in all consecration ceremonies; even Buddha images are washed before they become "ensouled." In this connection, cf. also Filchner, Kumbum, pp. 267 ff.; Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141; furthermore the chapter, Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation."

After that the hutukhtu sprinkles him with holy water from the can and throws Tibetan barley over him, on which he has blown three times. He consecrates the water with the spices in advance, after the tormas are finished. For the sprinkling he uses the peacock feather, not a twig from the tree of life.

Now the master of ceremonies, the husbands of the daughters, and children take the torma that stands before the

[632 cont.]

527 candidate out into the yard and throw it away. The mother's
778 brother stays there, and after that only own children still appear.
888 They stand or kneel in the side room behind the person to be
792 consecrated and shut the door, because only a few people may be present. Only the person to be consecrated remains in the lama-room, kneeling before the kang.

The candidate for consecration now washes himself again in the manner described above, is again sprinkled with holy water, and has Tibetan barley thrown at him. The master of ceremonies takes an iron spoon, puts in it some of the red-hot material from the fire-basin of the lama, scatters pounded cypress incense on it, and the lama throws fragrant spices over
[783] it. The person to be consecrated is fumigated all around with this and is now completely pure. The hutukhtu gives the consecration prayer over him and instructs him regarding the com-
[785] mandments that he must observe from now on. These commandments relate to fasting, abstention, the prohibition against killing, prayer, etc. They vary somewhat for men and women. [633] The instruction is given in the Tujen language so that the candidate will understand it.

[292] Now follows the donning of the yellow sash. It is about a hand wide and four to five ells long. It is not supposed to be silk. Silk mixed with cotton is permitted, but usually it is cotton. The candidate must provide it himself. This sash lies before the hutukhtu on the kang table and is fumigated at the same time as the person to be consecrated. It is not sprinkled with holy water. The assisting lama places the sash over the candidate's left shoulder and ties it together under the right arm
[292] with a yellow string that has likewise been fumigated. The cloth has the same name as the loop of cloth that the lamas throw over the shoulder.

Since the consecration does not take place until late afternoon, it has meanwhile become evening. Only now does the hutukhtu partake of the main meal. In the yard, however, the guests gather around the fire, warm their liquor, and sing and dance into the night.

The next morning the hutukhtu performs his usual morn-
[465] ing prayers, drinks tea, and receives his prayer fee: several

[633 cont.]

527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
792 brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
[431] oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[465] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him. A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
[792] after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed
[766] by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
[262] longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation.

This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[633 cont.]

778 incense offering in the morning. Then he withdraws to the kang, drinks "empty tea," that is, pure tea without additions and without 888 food. He meditates and prays on his mani-string. No one may [785] disturb him, even when guests come; he likewise does not concern himself about anything. During this time he may not sleep. Also, he may not go into the temple or to the obo. Only in the afternoon does he partake of a meal, which, however, is better and more ample than usual (5).

[527] 5. [Foreign text pp. 634-635.] Concerning the whole affair, cf. Filchner, Kumbum, p. 199. The ceremony described here is much more detailed than there and also deviates somewhat. The name Upāsaka (or Upāsika) was not mentioned by the informant. Also, he did not know the prescriptions in detail. He did confirm, however, that after each commandment the candidate had to affirm that he would observe it. The old man had not had the consecration [792] performed for him. The people regard the consecrated persons as lay gelong; one is reminded here of the similarity with the third order in the Christian Occident.

778 It is also clear from the commandments why young people are not considered for the consecration. To be sure, this consecration can be completed at any age at or after death; at that time even young people are no longer capable of transgressing the [796] commandments. The age-consecration seems to be merely the last step [792] of a series of consecrations of laymen which are undertaken parallel with the consecration stages of the lamas. The

[633 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 634-635 cont.] The informant once mentioned a kind of baptism at which the džawdzi (Tib.) is prayed; in Chinese this prayer is called hsi-lien-ching, prayer of washing the face. Evidently the [635] ceremony observed by Filchner was such a boy's baptism; Om mani padme hum, loc. cit. Later there follows a second consecration for young people, which is called gãṅsgur (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 below] after the corresponding prayer, in Chinese san-hun ching, prayer of the three souls. So the informant told me. Unfortunately I could no longer record these ceremonies.

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Word List

778 Age-consecration: šge lama ndziala- = great lama-invitation.

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527 Master of ceremonies: kãṅguo.

To fetch the hutukhtu: ġdzõ niwa (twice) (or dãṅwu, if the first time).

[601] Mother's brother: nẽgã; achiu (Chin.); ayãṅ.

Mother's brother's son: ku-chiu (Chin.).

[292] Sash: ġẽdzãn (Tib. loanword) (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 635.] gẽdzãn: Tibetan gazn = the yellow sash of the lama costume. -- gõṅsõn: Tib. dgoṅ = solitude, soṅ = to go away; meaning, "to go into solitude." -- gẽlõṅba: Tib. dge = virtue, sloṅ = to apply oneself, pa = belonging to; meaning, "one who applies himself to virtue." -- gesnien: Tib. dge = virtue, bsñen = to approach. -- gãṅsgur:

[785]

[633 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 635 cont.]
Tib. dban = force, bskur = to consecrate, to transfer. This is a ceremony of the transference of force, at which each lama receives a secret name (Unkrig).

To admit to lama standing with prayer: gẽsnien dẑẽwla-.
[785] To observe a day of meditation: pi-chai (Chin.); gõnsõ (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Member of the Yellow Church: gẽlõba (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Pages 634-635 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[635] 5. Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation*

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* See "Notes," pp. 650-658 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

763 If someone is close to death, his clothes are taken off,
764 if he is wearing any on the kang. He is washed, shaved, or in the case of a woman the hair is dressed, and tied in a crouching position immediately after the last breath. A piece of cloth is thrown over the shoulder, which is the sole garment of the dead.

764 Then he is put in a death-box, which looks like a portable house, and propped up with straw. The box is placed on the floor in a room, and the closest relatives hold a death-watch there. At each meal the people bring some of the food in front of the death-box, burn paper, and kowtow. Each

More has been done by the chiefs and elders of the villages in promoting justice, creating respect for elders, restoring peace in families, defending the position of the women, preventing adultery, punishing the faults of the youngsters, and making the families happy than by the lamas. 792 626 888

I felt really happy to encounter among this tremendous number of lamas the single exception of the old Living Buddha Li, who in the fasting exercises taught the older people to crave pardon for their faults and to pray, and to hear them say that they were happy to have heard comforting words from the mouth of the old man.

V. THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

GENERAL ASPECTS AND FORMER CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG 795 792 175

In Huang-chung, there are not only lamas of the Yellow Sect, the reformed sect of Tsong khapa, but also of the Red Sect, which still adheres to the rules observed before the reform. The red lamas marry, and live, scattered over the country, with their wives and children. They till their fields and raise cattle, indulge in wine and tobacco, eat garlic and nearly all kinds of meat. They perform their rites when invited by the people and live under the direction of a superior, who has far less power over them than the superior of the yellow lamas has over his subjects.

At home they wear the dress of the lay people; when performing rites they wear the usual lama dress—a red gown, the red hat, and a shade before the eyes, adorned with fringes of the five ritual colors. They use the same ritual paraphernalia as the lamas of the Yellow Sect, but they like to use a drum made of two skulls, and to blow a trumpet made of a human thigh bone; they recite their own texts. They seem to lay stress on the cult of water springs. All of them have the duty to perform the Rite of the 108 Springs, which lasts for 129 days, at least once in their lifetime. Some among them perform this rite two or three times. Well versed in magic, they are capable of performing not only the rites performed by the Yellow lamas, but also many other rites prohibited for the Yellow lamas. [292] [534]

All the lamas of Huang-chung belonged to the Red Sect in former times. The lamas of Ch'ü-t'an, the Nang-suo, Karwa lamas, the Dhyana family lamas, the lamas belonging to small monasteries or hermitages,

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abstinence from carnal desires, liquor, and he enforced the rules of moral discipline. However, he did not denounce the images worshipped by the old sect, representing men and women in offensive postures, but gave to them a new interpretation of an abstract nature. . . . Externally the two sects do not differ much from each other." And on p. 434: "I am compelled to say that Lamaism has fallen, and that it has assumed a form quite contrary to that to which its great reformer Tsong Khapa elevated it, and I am sincerely sorry for this degeneration." [792 771 175]

[p. 73(A)]

N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [191] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

M [888]

N *563 M 301 Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 769 614 a. Ancestor worship

Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 769 614 ginning of April according to the lunar calendar, in a festival similar to the Chinese Ch'ing-ming. On this occasion the clan assembles to venerate its ancestors, enjoy a great feast and reunion, and discuss matters of concern to the clan.

On the day of the assembly, the T'u-ssu, the chiefs and elders of the villages and all the family heads go to the graveyard immediately after breakfast, followed by all the other members of the clan. At the graveyard, offerings are made and rites are performed. Then food for the offerings is divided among the families, the oldest generations receiving their portions first.

M [182] [767] This annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of the Mongour clan. One of the family heads, usually of the nobility, is appointed to care for the graveyard during the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions and offerings, and the making of repairs. An assistant is assigned to help him with details.

b. Respect for elders and family heads

N *563 M 554 888 The Mongours once lived without chiefs, but never without village elders. Traditionally, the whole power of the clan was vested in the elders, who had the authority to appoint and dismiss chiefs. The village elders still take the most important part in local administration. Elders need not be rich or from noble stock, but they are men of good reputation from the more outstanding families.

N *563 M 554 592 Heads of families are also honored. At public meetings, all are allowed to express their views and defend their rights, but final decisions are made only after the heads of families have spoken.

c. Adultery

N *563 M 684 Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If caught, the guilty pair is flogged, the woman on her bare back, the man on bare buttocks and thighs, up to a hundred stripes. The man must confront the husband and make apologies, and present him with a sheep or a pig. A trial is held and fingerprints are taken. Then the pair is led through the village with drums beating while they make public confession of their sin, and they must secure an official statement of pardon.

d. Moral and legal concepts

N *563 M 183 M [593] [587] [421] Both moral and legal concepts of the Mongours seem to be based upon customs, tradition and what the community accepts as just. Some typical social values and concepts are: Wrongs must be righted and injustices corrected. Parents have authority over their children, and husbands over their wives. A widow has the right to remarry or to dispose of herself. Private property must be protected. No one has the right to disturb the peace of the community.

/The Monguors/

N *563 first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

M 562 852 [553]

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

M [203] [604] [603] [553]

Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

M [184]

j. Beard-growing

N *563 A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

M 302 [593] [888]

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

M 764 [191] [199]

4. Popular beliefs

N *563 Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

M 843 562

If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.

N *563 M 553 [99] 989